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The icon of Pantokrator from Mesembria (Nesebăr, Bulgaria), 13th century, today in the Museum of Christian Art, Crypt of the cathedral of St. Alexander Nevsky. Photo: Viktoria Marinov

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Professor Oktawiusz Jurewicz

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PROFESSOR OKTAWIUSZ JUREWICZ AS A BYZANTINIST (1926–2016)

Professor Oktawiusz Jurewicz, an eminent Polish classicist, philologist and translator, passed away on 26 April 2016. A doyen of Byzantine studies in Poland, Jurewicz made a significant contribution to their development. Not only did he publish his own works but he also translated works by Byzantine authors, reviewed and edited scholarly texts of his contemporaries, and engaged in organizing academic life. An inspiration to a great number of younger scholars, to whom he was always ready to offer his assistance, Jurewicz belonged to a generation that faced the challenge of organizing scholarly life under very unfavourable conditions – the country suffered international isolation, and those who, because of their experience and significant scholarly achievements, could aspire to the role of the leaders of academic life had either perished during the war or emigrated abroad, never to return. Nevertheless, at the end of his life, he could see his discipline flourish, liberated from previous troubles and limitations. Jurewicz played a significant role in the transformation Polish Byzantinology has undergone over the past few decades. To commemorate his legacy and the lasting influence he had on the students of Byzantium, we wish to present his outstanding scholarly achievements.

While the majority of Polish scholars focused on the study of the Latin and Greek authors of the classical era, Jurewicz turned his linguistic interests to the historiography of the middle Byzantine period. His fundamental accomplishment lay in translating some of the greatest works of Byzantine historiography from the eleventh and twelfth centuries into Polish. The works, which continue to present a number of interpretive challenges, are still vastly used by modern scholars. Aware of how important they were for Byzantine intellectual circles and of the meaning they held outside the Byzantine scholarship, Jurewicz spared no efforts in translating thick volumes of medieval historiography. The first work on which he worked was *The Alexiad* by Anna Comnena, a daughter of Emperor Alexius I Comnen. Books 1–6 were published in 1969. The publication of the remaining nine books came in 1972¹. An outstanding narrative, due to its literary qualities, its value as

¹ ANNA KOMNENA, *Aleksjada*, vol. I–II, trans. & comm. O. JUREWICZ, Wrocław 1969–1972.

a basic account of the reign of the Comnenian dynasty and the personality of the author, the work attracted the attention of scholars from different fields of study. The *Material for History* by Nicephorus Bryennios, Anna Comnena's husband, was the next text which Jurewicz set out to translate. Less voluminous than the work by Anna Comnena, but equally important as a source to the history of the empire between 1070–1079, the *Material* formed something of an introduction to the *Alexiad*². After translating the *Material*, he became involved in the translation of the *Chronography*. Penned by Michael Psellos, a great Byzantine writer and politician³, the *Chronography* is not so much a comprehensive account of political events from 976 to 1077 as a portrayal of Byzantine monarchs from Basil II to Michael VII Ducas. With the author failing to keep his hubris in check and descending into psychologism, the work is hardly an objective exposition of the times about which it tells, yet still of great importance.

Finally, Polish readers could become familiar with the *Bibliotheca* of Photius. Five volumes, running to more than 1400 pages altogether, were published between 1986 and 1999⁴. It was not without some hesitations regarding his ability to complete the ambitious task that Jurewicz decided to become involved in translating these thick volumes. A *philological contrariness*, to cite his own words, prevailed. However, there were more profound reasons for him to succeed. A humanist and an erudite, deeply fond of all Greek literature, he stressed Photius' significance for preserving the knowledge of the literary output of earlier writers. His own scholarly *akríbeia* allowed him to achieve the goal of preparing a translation to be used by future generations of Polish scholars. It took a brilliant scholar like Jurewicz to translate so complex a work, and except for the French translation of the text his was the only one that existed at the time.

Jurewicz had the ability to reveal the deep meaning of the works he translated, and it should be kept in mind that, leaving aside Bryennios, he dealt with the most distinguished representatives of Byzantine literature. All the publications mentioned above contained learned introductions yielding new insights into the works and their authors. Despite the passage of time Jurewicz's translations have not become outdated. It remains to be seen whether new critical editions of the Byzantine historiography with which he was concerned will make it necessary to introduce any significant amendments to his work.

In the task of translating works by Byzantine authors, Jurewicz found himself confronted with the issue, which had remained unresolved, of rendering Greek proper names into Polish. The efforts he took in this regard yielded an important publication on the Polonization of Greek names. Although this glossary was

² NIKEFOR BRYENNIOS, *Materiały historyczne*, trans. & comm. O. JUREWICZ, Wrocław 1974.

³ MICHAŁ PSELLOS, *Kronika czyli historia jednego stulecia Bizancjum*, trans. & comm. O. JUREWICZ, Wrocław 1985.

⁴ FOCJUSZ, *Biblioteka*, vol. I–V, trans. & comm. O. JUREWICZ, Warszawa 1986–1999.

included in the new edition of Georg Ostrogorsky's *History of the Byzantine State* which was published as late as 2008, scholars had already been familiar with it, using for some time its typescript version. Although created for practical reasons, it has become an important argument for the protection of the Polish classical onomastics, and even if it is too radical in some of its suggestions, it is more consistent with the Polish language traditions than all the other attempts of this kind and at the same time meets the standards of modern academic and sophisticated Polish.

Jurewicz's long preoccupation with Byzantine historiography resulted in the publication of *Historia literatury bizantyńskiej* (*A History of Byzantine Literature*), the only work on the issue that has so far been published in Polish⁵. This concise book, which does not aspire to be a definitive exposition of the subject-matter it deals with, has been used by scholars and students as a convenient general reference on the literature in question. Part of the early Byzantine period is omitted from it as the author starts his analysis with 527. The history of the medieval Greek literature is presented in chronological order and divided into six distinct periods (527–610, 610–717, 717–867, 867–1081, 1081–1204, 1204–1453). Since Jurewicz, following in the tradition of Karl Krumbacher, understood the term 'literature' as applying to all forms of writing, all literary genres are discussed in the *History*, beginning with historiography and poetry and ending with medicine, mathematics and architecture.

Two other monographs by Jurewicz are the evidence that he was not only an expert on Byzantine literature but was also well versed in a variety of other aspects of the Eastern Roman civilization. One of the monographs mentioned above deals with the person of Emperor Andronicus I Comnenus (1183–1185)⁶. The brief reign of this ruler, usually seen through the prism of bloodshed and its tragic end, received a thorough analysis from Jurewicz who in the account of the emperor's reign managed to modify his image as a cruel tyrant by presenting his rule as one filled with attempts to reform the state machinery (e.g. fiscal system). The book was met with some interest and received reviews from such distinguished scholars as Robert Browning and Alexander Kazhdan⁷. It was subsequently translated into German and published by Hakkert in Amsterdam⁸.

⁵ *Historia literatury bizantyńskiej*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk–Łódź 1984. There were only two works on Byzantine literature published in Polish before 1984: the one by Jan SAJDAK (*Literatura bizantyńska*, [in:] *Wielka literatura powszechna*, vol. IV, Warszawa 1933, p. 679–760), and the other by Oktawiusz JUREWICZ himself (*Literatura bizantyńska*, [in:] *Dzieje literatur europejskich*, ed. W. FLORYAN, Warszawa 1977, p. 137–188).

⁶ *Andronik I Komnenos*, Warszawa 1962.

⁷ R. BROWNING – EHR 80, 1965, p. 822–823; A. KAŻDAN – VV 24, 1964, p. 253–254; cf. S. WIŚNIEWSKI – Bsl 26, 1965, p. 387–389.

⁸ *Andronikos I. Komnenos*, Amsterdam 1970. Rev.: O. KRESTEN – JÖB 20, 1971, p. 328–334.

The second monograph, *Schizma Wschodnia (The eastern schism)*⁹, is a popular account of the process resulting in the ultimate split between the Latin and Greek Byzantine Church. Jurewicz introduced the readers to the world of Byzantine civilization, especially to its religious dimension. Another important initiative designed to popularize Byzantine studies concerned the publication of the *Byzantine Encyclopedia of culture (Encyklopedia kultury bizantyńskiej)*. The idea of publishing this encyclopedia was born in 1980s, prior to the publication of the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* or *A Biographical Dictionary of the Byzantine Empire*. Although the project was finished in 1993, it wasn't until 2002 that the encyclopedia was finally published. 25 scholars were involved in the realization of the project, working under the direction of professor Jurewicz who was the editor of the volume and the author of a few dozens of entries. The encyclopedia remains one of the most ambitious projects of this kind.

In order to fully illuminate the role Jurewicz played in developing Byzantine studies in Poland, it is necessary to mention the efforts he took as an organizer of academic life. He was the first chairman of both the Byzantine Commission of the Committee on Ancient Culture of the Polish Academy of Sciences (KNO-KA PAN) and the Polish National Committee of the International Association of the Byzantine Studies (AIEB). Patron of this journal, Professor Waldemar Ceran worked closely with Oktawiusz Jurewicz on the Commission from its inception. Both scholars made a significant contribution to the development of Polish Byzantine studies, inspiring a great number of scholars from around the country. Although Oktawiusz Jurewicz did not create his own school he was the pillar of Polish Byzantinists. He will be remembered as a brilliant scholar and a kind and helpful friend.

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⁹ *Schizma wschodnia*, Warszawa 1969.

¹⁰ Based on the bibliography placed in M. STAROWIEYSKI, *Professore Ottavio Jurewicz, [in:] Mélanges d'histoire byzantine offerts à Oktawiusz Jurewicz à l'occasion de Son soixante-dixième anniversaire*, ed. W. CERAN, Łódź 1998, p. 6–9; revised and enlarged by the authors.

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STAROWIEYSKI M., *Professore Ottavio Jurewicz*, [in:] *Mélanges d'histoire byzantine offerts à Oktawiusz Jurewicz à l'occasion de Son soixante-dixième anniversaire*, red. W. CERAN, Łódź 1998, p. 6–9.

Abstract. The authors summarize the academic legacy of late Oktawiusz Jurewicz and his role as a leading Polish byzantinist of the second half of the 20th century. The text is supplemented by the detailed and updated bibliography of Jurewicz.

Keywords: Oktawiusz Jurewicz, classical Philology, Byzantine studies in Poland, history of humanities.

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THE BIBLE
IN THE BYZANTINE-SLAVIC WORLD
FROM LITURGICAL BOOKS TO PRINTED SCRIPTURE

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LE PIÙ RECENTI RICERCHE SUI VANGELI SLAVI (1999–2016) QUALCHE RIFLESSIONE CRITICA

Premessa

Quindici anni fa uscì in Germania la monografia *Die altslavische Version der Evangelien. Forschungsgeschichte und zeitgenössische Forschung*¹, in cui ho voluto presentare la produzione scientifica sulla versione slava dei vangeli dalle prime ricerche di J. Dobrovský fino alla fine del XX sec. esaminando criticamente i principali risultati.

Quando mi è stato proposto di realizzare una versione in lingua russa del volume, ho creduto necessario aggiornare questa bibliografia e presentare le più recenti ricerche. Nel complesso si deve riconoscere che in questi ultimi quindici anni sono stati raggiunti nuovi e importanti risultati e che questo campo di studi rappresenta ancora un tema fondamentale della slavistica nell'ambito della paleografia, della critica testuale e dell'analisi linguistica.

La diffusione della tecnologia informatica e la pratica della digitalizzazione rendono ora disponibili non solo gran parte dei materiali bibliografici, comprese le tesi di dottorato, ma persino la riproduzione fotografica dei manoscritti. In tal modo ho potuto coprire diverse lacune nella bibliografia precedente e avere facilmente a disposizione preziosi materiali. A ciò si deve aggiungere la creazione di portali dedicati alla tradizione manoscritta dei vangeli greci o slavi o più in generale alla tradizione manoscritta medievale che contengono anche corpora interrogabili. Tutto questo sta trasformando il modo di lavorare delle nuove generazioni di ricercatori.

La tradizione manoscritta greca

La versione slava dei vangeli, è opportuno ricordarlo, ha le sue basi nella traduzione di un ignoto originale greco, mentre la successiva tradizione manoscritta slava si è sviluppata, pur con l'eccezione della tradizione croato-glagolitica, in stretta

¹ M. GARZANITI, *Die altslavische Version der Evangelien. Forschungsgeschichte und zeitgenössische Forschung*, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2001.

connessione con la tradizione greca. Per questo è molto importante seguire con attenzione i progressi nelle ricerche sui vangeli greci.

Questi anni hanno visto nuovi importanti sviluppi nelle ricerche dell'*International Greek New Testament Project* (IGNTP). Dopo aver offerto negli anni ottanta un significativo contributo allo studio della tradizione manoscritta del Vangelo di Luca², il progetto si è concentrato sul Vangelo di Giovanni. Dopo l'uscita a stampa dell'edizione secondo la testimonianza dei papiri³, il gruppo di studiosi, sotto la guida di D.C. Parker, ha cominciato a collaborare all'*Editio Critica Maior* del Nuovo testamento, promossa dall'*Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung* (INTF, Münster, v. *infra*), assumendosi la responsabilità di preparare l'edizione del Vangelo di Giovanni (2005)⁴. Dopo aver pubblicato le testimonianze dei codici maiuscoli⁵, è stato creato un portale che offre on line l'edizione dei codici maiuscoli sulla base della seconda edizione a stampa (2013)⁶ e promette la progressiva trascrizione dei papiri, dei codici maiuscoli e minuscoli e, infine, dei lezionari⁷. Allo stesso tempo nell'ambito del medesimo progetto, su richiesta di un gruppo di chiese ortodosse, è stata pubblicata l'edizione del medesimo vangelo secondo la tradizione bizantina, uscita prima in forma cartacea⁸ e in seguito aggiornata nella forma digitale⁹ che comprende codici maiuscoli e minuscoli, ma anche lezionari e testimonianze dei vangeli commentati.

Nel frattempo l'INTF di Münster, sempre nell'ambito della preparazione all'*Editio Critica Maior* del Nuovo testamento, ha offerto un contributo che, come vedremo, può essere di grande rilevanza anche per lo studio della versione slava. Seguendo il metodo "locale-genealogico"¹⁰ sono stati identificati, infatti, alcu-

² *The Gospel According to St Luke. Part One. Chapters 1–12*, ed. The American and British Committees of the International Greek New Testament Project, Oxford 1984; *The Gospel According to St Luke. Part Two. Chapters 13–24*, ed. The American and British Committees of the International Greek New Testament Project, Oxford 1987.

³ *The Gospel According to St John. The Papyri*, ed. W.J. ELLIOTT, D.C. PARKER, Leiden 1995 (= NTTS 20).

⁴ Cf. K. WACHTEL, D.C. PARKER, *The Joint IGNTF/INTF Editio Critica Maior of the Gospel of John. It's Goal and their Significance for New Testament Scholarship Proposed Paper for SNTS 2005* (Halle), www.uni-muenster.de/INTF/ECM%20Halle6.pdf [15 VI 2016].

⁵ *The Gospel According to St John. The Majuscules*, ed. U.B. SCHMID, W.J. ELLIOTT, D.C. PARKER, Leiden 2007 (= NTTSD 37).

⁶ Cf. www.iohannes.com/majuscule/index.html [15 VI 2016].

⁷ Cf. www.iohannes.com/IGNTPtranscripts/index.html [15 VI 2016].

⁸ *The Gospel According to John in the Byzantine Tradition*, ed. R.L. MULLEN, S. CRISP, D.C. PARKER, Stuttgart 2007.

⁹ Cf. www.iohannes.com/byzantine/index.html [15 VI 2016].

¹⁰ Le regole del metodo locale-genealogico ("Lokal-genealogisches Method") per distinguere e interpretare le varianti sono esposte brevemente nello studio di K. e B. Aland (B. ALAND, K. ALAND, *The Text of the New Testament. An Introduction to the Critical Editions and the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism*, Grand Rapids–Leiden 1987, p. 275). Per una sua evoluzione con la definizione di "coherence-based genealogical method", soprattutto in relazione alla complessa questione della contaminazione, si veda G. MINK, *Problems of a highly Contaminated Tradition: the New Testament*.

ni principali “nodi di varianti”, che, a prescindere dalla tradizionale distinzione dei codici in gruppi e famiglie, consentono di raggruppare le testimonianze della tradizione manoscritta greca nel suo complesso. In particolare si distinguono le varianti del cosiddetto “testo standard” dalle lezioni del “testo bizantino”, chiamato anche *koiné*. Il testo bizantino non è semplicemente la versione di Luciano, che si sarebbe conservata immutata nei libri ecclesiastici, come spesso si ritiene, ma un testo, che si è formato nel corso di alcuni secoli, a partire dall’area antiochena. Questo testo è definito sulla base del cosiddetto “testo maggioritario (*majority text*)”, cioè il testo costituito dai passi senza varianti e dalle lezioni, testimoniate dalla maggioranza dei manoscritti¹¹.

Sulla base di 467 “nodi di varianti”, infatti, sono state analizzate le diverse lezioni di numerosi codici (1984 mss. per i sinottici e 1987 mss. per il vangelo di Giovanni) che sono state messe a disposizione in diversi corposi volumi¹². Purtroppo il numero dei “nodi” non è omogeneo fra i vangeli e sono stati esclusi dall’analisi gli oltre millecinquecento lezionari. Abbiamo, comunque, a disposizione per i vangeli di Matteo, Marco e Luca e per i primi dieci capitoli di Giovanni un importante strumento per lo studio della tradizione manoscritta greca.

Nell’ambito della tradizione manoscritta dei lezionari, a oltre cinquant’anni dagli studi della scuola di Chicago è uscita la ricerca di Ch.R.D. Jordan, *The Textual Tradition of the Gospel of John in Greek Gospel Lectionaries from the Middle Byzantine Period (8th–11th Century)*. Quest’ampia dissertazione illustra le testimonianze manoscritte più antiche del lezionario greco nei loro diversi aspetti sulla base di un ampio corpus (126 codici fra l’VIII e l’XI sec.) e analizza in particolare 44 nodi testuali del vangelo di Giovanni¹³.

Stemmata of Variants as a Source of a Genealogy for Witnesses, [in:] *Studies in Stematology II*, ed. P. VAN REENEN, A. DEN HOLLANDER, M. VAN MULKEN, Amsterdam–Philadelphia 2004, p. 13–86.

¹¹ *Der Mehrheitstext des NT besteht aus den unvariirt überlieferten Textabschnitten und der Summe aller Mehrheitslesarten. Eine Mehrheitslesart ist die von der Mehrheit aller griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments bezeugte Lesart einer variierten Stelle... Als Byzantinischer Text wird diejenige Textform bezeichnet, der seit dem 9. Jahrhundert in vielen hundert Exemplaren weitgehend identisch reproduziert wurde. Diese Textform ist seither, nicht zuletzt durch die Lektionare, in der griechischen Christenheit allgemein verbreitet und als der Text des Neuen Testaments anerkannt...* (K. WACHTEL, *Der Byzantinische Text der Katholischen Briefe. Eine Untersuchung zur Entstehung der Koine des Neuen Testaments*, Berlin 1995, p. 7).

¹² Cf. *Text und Textwert der Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments. IV. Die Synoptischen Evangelien. 1. Das Markusevangelium*, ed. K. ALAND, B. ALAND, K. WACHTEL, K. WITTE, vol. II, Berlin–New York 1998; *Text und Textwert der Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments. IV. Die Synoptischen Evangelien, 2. Das Matthäusevangelium*, ed. K. ALAND, B. ALAND, K. WACHTEL, K. WITTE, vol. II, Berlin–New York 1999; *Text und Textwert der Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments. IV. Die Synoptischen Evangelien. 3. Das Lukasevangelium*, ed. K. ALAND, B. ALAND, K. WACHTEL, K. WITTE, vol. II, Berlin–New York 1999; *Text und Textwert der Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments. V. Das Johannesevangelium*, ed. K. ALAND, B. ALAND, K. WACHTEL, K. WITTE, vol. II, Berlin–New York 2005.

¹³ CH.R.D. JORDAN, *The Textual Tradition of the Gospel of John in Greek Gospel Lectionaries from the Middle Byzantine Period (8th–11th Century)*. A Thesis Submitted to The University of Birmingham

Sulla struttura del libro dei vangeli

Riguardo alla tradizione manoscritta sia greca sia slava, in tempi recenti è cresciuta l'attenzione nei confronti della struttura di questo libro, come dimostrano peraltro le descrizioni contenute nei cataloghi (v. *infra*). In modo sempre più evidente si percepisce la funzione liturgica, non solo del lezionario, ma anche del tetraevangelo. La testimoniano in particolare le rubriche, le glosse a margine e le appendici, ma la si può riconoscere anche nella forma testuale dei vangeli che mostrano una serie di adattamenti prodotti dalla divisione in pericopi o determinati dall'influenza dei passi paralleli¹⁴.

Una questione rilevante è stata sollevata, ancora alla fine degli anni novanta, da S.Ju. Temčín che ha individuato, oltre alle note tipologie del lezionario, un "aparakos a colonna". Con questa definizione lo studioso intende una breve raccolta di pericopi del vangelo e dell'apostolo con le undici letture dei vangeli domenicali per il mattutino, le otto letture per il sabato e la domenica secondo i toni dell'ottoeco, le letture per ogni giorno della settimana, cui si può aggiungere una selezione delle pericopi per le feste dei santi¹⁵. Se, però, consideriamo la questione nel complesso dei libri liturgici della tradizione bizantino-slava si deve riconoscere che in genere proprio al libro dell'ottoeco è associato l'*anthologion* (in slavo *anfologionŭ*) in cui si offrono i testi delle principali feste liturgiche del calendario fisso e mobile con una serie di pericopi dell'apostolo e dei vangeli¹⁶. In questa prospettiva si dovrebbero allora considerare anche gli eucologi che contengono una serie di letture dei vangeli per le diverse celebrazioni dei sacramenti. Così ha fatto Temčín che coerentemente si è spinto a parlare di "aparakos eucologico"¹⁷. Pur ritenendo molto utili

for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Birmingham 2009, www.theses.bham.ac.uk/578/1/Jordan-10PhD.pdf [29 VI 2016].

¹⁴ Recentemente ho pubblicato una versione aggiornata della riflessione sulla struttura del lezionario e del tetraevangelo, contenuta nella nostra monografia: M. GARZANITI, *The Gospel Book and its Liturgical Function in the Byzantine-Slavic Tradition*, [in:] *Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts in their Liturgical Context*, vol. I, *Challenges and Perspective*, ed. K. SPRONK, G. ROUWHORST, S. ROYÉ, Turnhout 2013, p. 35–54.

¹⁵ С.Ю. ТЕМЧИН, *Столпный апракос – еще один неизвестный структурный тип славянского служебного Евангелия (по рукописям XIII–XVI вв)*, [in:] *Библия в духовной жизни, истории и культуре России и православного славянского мира. К 500-летию Геннадьевской Библии. Сборник материалов международной конференции. Москва, 21–26 сентября 1999 г.*, ed. Г. БАРАНКОВА, Москва 2001, p. 127–159.

¹⁶ Se ne conserva un'interessante testimonianza nel *Codex Hankensteinianus* (Wien, Cod. slav. 37), un manoscritto galiziano-voliniano risalente al XIII–XIV sec. del quale G. BIRKFELLNER ha studiato approfonditamente le pericopi e le rubriche (G. BIRKFELLNER, *Codex Hankenstein. Codex Vindobonensis slavicus 37. Altukrainisches liturgisches Anthologion des 13.–14. Jahrhunderts. Textus manuscriptus linguae ecclesiastico-slavonicae versionis ucrainicae (parvorossicae) saeculi XIII–XIV*, vol. II, *Neutestamentliche Perikopen, Evangelien und Apostelschriften*, Münster 2006).

¹⁷ С.Ю. ТЕМЧИН, *О возможном балканском влиянии на структуру церковнославянских богослужбных книг ВКЛ и Польского Королевства*, SRu 18, 2000, p. 275–280.

queste osservazioni, ci sembra, però, che in entrambi i casi abbiamo a che fare con tipologie librarie diverse dal libro dei vangeli che vanno studiate in primo luogo all'interno della propria tradizione manoscritta. Non escludiamo, comunque, che si possano analizzare anche in relazione ai libri del lezionario e del tetraevangelo.

Allo studio dei lezionari ha dato un importante impulso J. Ostapczuk, che oltre a numerosi articoli, ha pubblicato due ampie monografie¹⁸. Nella prima si offrono in particolare le edizioni di molti frammenti di lezionari e l'analisi di alcune pericopi della liturgia pasquale, del mercoledì della quarta settimana dopo Pasqua e della pentecoste monografia, mentre nella seconda si presenta l'analisi delle pericopi del ciclo matteoano.

In quest'ultimo volume si offre una versione aggiornata della lista dei codici presente nella nostra monografia¹⁹ con l'aggiunta in particolare dei dati offerti dai nuovi cataloghi usciti in questi ultimi quindici anni, fra cui ovviamente occupa un posto di rilievo il primo volume del catalogo dei codici del XIV sec., conservati in Russia, nei paesi SNG e nei paesi baltici²⁰. Nella lista si introduce, tuttavia, una serie di nuovi dati che possono creare una certa confusione. Non solo si considerano anche gli ottoechi (v. *supra*), ma ci si basa anche su cataloghi precedenti il secondo dopoguerra, che non sempre sono affidabili sia per la metodologia, sia a causa dei cambiamenti intervenuti (dispersione o riagggregazione delle raccolte, ecc...). Lo studioso, inoltre, nel comporre la lista non tiene più conto del limite temporale della prima metà del XVI sec., che avevamo giustificato sulla base dell'avvento della stampa e dei possibili influssi reciproci fra tradizione manoscritta e a stampa quando si trasformò radicalmente la trasmissione del libro dei vangeli e in genere delle sacre scritture. Si presenta così una lista più abbondante di codici che offre in ogni caso nuovi spunti alla ricerca²¹.

¹⁸ J. OSTAPCZUK, *Cerkiewnosłowiański przekład liturgicznych perykop okresu paschalnego i święta Pięćdziesiątnicy w rękopiśmiennych ewangeliarzach krótkich*, Warszawa 2010; IDEM, *Sobotnie i niedzielne perykopy liturgiczne z Ewangelii Mateusza w cerkiewnosłowiańskich lekcjonarzach krótkich*, Warszawa 2013.

¹⁹ Cf. M. GARZANITI, *Die altslavische Version der Evangelien...*, Anhang II.

²⁰ Cf. *Сводный каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг, хранящихся в России, странах СНГ и Балтии. XIV век*, vol. I (*Апокалипсис — Летопис Лаврентьевская*), ed. O.A. КНЯЗЕВСКАЯ, H.A. КОБЯК, A.J. ЛИФШИЦ, H.B. ТИХОМИРОВ, A.A. ТУРИЛОВ, H.B. ШЕЛАМАНОВА, Москва 2002. Grazie a questo catalogo, in particolare, abbiamo avuto la conferma che il cosiddetto *Evangelium Bucovinense*, un tetraevangelo già conservato a Černivci e descritto da V. Jagić (*V. JAGIĆ, Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung der altkirchenslavischen Evangelientexte (Evangelium Bucovinense)*, Wien 1916, *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, 180.1. *Abhandlung*) si deve identificare con il codice RNB F.p.I.122, acquisito dalla Biblioteca Nazionale russa nel 1945 (e; II metà XIV sec.; ff. 86; *Сводный каталог...*, 245).

²¹ J. OSTAPCZUK, *Sobotnie i niedzielne perykopy liturgiczne...*, p. 9–60. Nella monografia segue uno studio dedicato alla presenza dei codici dei vangeli in Polonia in uno spettro temporale molto ampio che arriva alle testimonianze manoscritte di epoca contemporanea.

Le pericopi del menologio

Uno dei settori che ha visto una più marcata evoluzione è stata la ricerca sul menologio dei lezionari e sulle liste delle pericopi del menologio nei tetraevangeli.

In anni a noi più vicini hanno lavorato in questo ambito E. Dogramadžieva, C. Vakareliyska e O.V. Loseva. Su una base assai ampia di codici Dogramadžieva offre i numerosi dati raccolti in quattro preziose diverse tabelle: la prima contiene un repertorio completo delle letture con le indicazioni della data, della festa, del contenuto della pericope e dei testimoni manoscritti ordinati secondo il calendario; la seconda presenta i dati nell'ordine alfabetico delle memorie liturgiche con l'indicazione della data e della pericope e con le eventuali varianti in corsivo; la terza presenta le pericopi dei vangeli ordinate secondo l'evangelista; la quarta confronta le indicazioni delle pericopi dei codici con la testimonianza del primo vangelo a stampa, realizzato dal monaco Makarije (1512)²². L'imponente lavoro nell'ambito dell'uso liturgico dei vangeli non ha paragoni con analoghe ricerche sui vangeli greci e rappresenta un punto di riferimento fondamentale per gli studi non solo sulla tradizione manoscritta dei vangeli, ma più in generale per la conoscenza della storia della liturgia e dell'agiografia bizantino-slava.

Nei medesimi anni C. Vakareliyska ha creato un archivio informatico delle memorie contenute nei menologi di oltre un centinaio di vangeli (X–XV sec.), che può essere di grande aiuto per lo studio della tradizione manoscritta dei vangeli²³. Nella sua pubblicazione dedicata al Vangelo di Curzon (Brit.Lib. Add.39628) la studiosa americana ha offerto, inoltre, un importante contributo allo studio dei menologi e delle liste dei menologi dei vangeli slavi di area balcanica sulla base del confronto fra il Vangelo di Banica (NBKM 847) e il Vangelo di Curzon nel contesto del suo vasto *corpus* di codici²⁴.

Per l'area slava orientale una nuova tappa nella storia degli studi è rappresentata dalla monografia di Loseva, che raccoglie i risultati di precedenti ricerche condotte sulla base di oltre centocinquanta vangeli e apostoli²⁵. Si dovrebbero poi aggiungere numerosi studi che si occupano dei menologi dei singoli codici o di singole memorie, finalizzate allo studio del culto dei santi e in generale alla conoscenza

²² E. ДОГРАМАДЖИЕВА, *Месецесловните четива в славянските ръкописни евангелия (X–XVII в.)*, София 2010 (= КМс 19).

²³ C. VAKARELIYSKA, *A Typology of Slavic Menology Traditions*, [in:] *American Contributions to the XIVth International Congress of Slavists (Ohrid 2008)*, vol. I, *Linguistics*, ed. CH.Y. BETHIN, Bloomington 2008, p. 227–244; C. VAKARELIYSKA, D. BIRNBAUM, *A Computerized Database of Medieval Slavic Gospel Menologies*, [in:] *Слово: Към израждане на дигитална библиотека на южнославянски ръкописи. Доклади от международната конференция 21–26 февруари, 2008, София, България*, ed. X. МИКЛАС, А. МИЛТЕНОВА, София 2008, p. 220–226.

²⁴ C. VAKARELIYSKA, *The Curzon Gospel*, vol. II, *A Linguistic and Textual Introduction*, New York 2008, p. 226–285.

²⁵ O.B. ЛОСЕВА, *Русские месяцесловы XI–XIV веков*, Москва 2001.

della storia del cristianesimo ortodosso. Per ricostruire la storia del menologio slavo, tuttavia, si deve considerare il più ampio contesto della tradizione liturgica bizantino-slava, a cominciare dall'influsso della liturgia della Cattedrale di Santa Sofia in Costantinopoli, come testimonia il confronto con i testimoni del libro del *typikon* e le menee liturgiche. Per una prima introduzione metodologica e un'analisi delle memorie liturgiche della più antica tradizione manoscritta del vangelo e dell'apostolo slavo si possono leggere alcuni nostri lavori²⁶.

L'ornamentazione del libro dei vangeli

Nello studio della tradizione manoscritta dei vangeli assume un ruolo sempre più importante l'analisi dell'ornamentazione dei codici al di là dell'aspetto estetico delle vignette e delle miniature. L'attenzione degli studiosi recentemente si è concentrata, infatti, sull'analisi della funzione dell'ornamentazione in relazione alla struttura del libro considerando principalmente il suo uso liturgico e, in epoca più tarda, la diffusione dell'uso personale.

Sotto quest'aspetto ha assunto un ruolo centrale la ricerca di E. Musakova, che fin dagli anni novanta ha considerato i più antichi lezionari di redazione bulgara, a partire dal menologio studiando la “segmentazione” testuale dei lezionari sabato-domenicali, creata con l'ausilio dell'ornamentazione, in relazione all'uso liturgico. Fra i suoi numerosi studi si può citare un contributo di ampio respiro con riferimenti alle precedenti ricerche, pubblicato in un volume della serie *Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo*²⁷. La sua ricerca è proseguita con un articolo dedicato interamente al Vangelo di Assemani (Bib. Vat. slav.3) in cui si mette in luce la “struttura gerarchica” delle forme ornamentali in funzione della liturgia sia nel sinassario sia nel menologio. In quest'ultimo è evidente una serie di affinità soprattutto con alcuni lezionari greci di tradizione costantinopolitana (X–XI sec.)²⁸. La studiosa si è occupata ugualmente di testimonianze manoscritte più tarde, come il Vangelo di Rila (NBKM 31), NBKM 33 e il Vangelo di Ioan Aleksandr (Brit. Lib. Add.39627). Delle miniature di quest'ultimo codice si è occupato recentemente I.V. Talev,

²⁶ M. GARZANITI, *Il culto dei santi nella Slavia ortodossa: la testimonianza dei libri del Vangelo e dell'Apostolo. Sviluppi storici e diffusione geografica: l'eredità bizantina e la formazione della prima tradizione manoscritta (X–XI sec.)*, [in:] *Il tempo dei santi tra Oriente e Occidente. Liturgia e agiografia dal tardo antico al Concilio di Trento*, ed. A. BENVENUTI, M. GARZANITI, Roma 2005, p. 311–341; IDEM, *Il culto dei santi nella Slavia ortodossa alla luce dei libri del Vangelo e dell'Apostolo. Prima parte*, [in:] *Liturgia e agiografia e tra Roma e Costantinopoli*, ed. K. STANTCHEV, S. PARENTI, Grottaferrata 2007, p. 89–108.

²⁷ E. MOUSSAKOVA, *The Illuminated Old-Bulgarian Gospel Lectionaries in the Light of their probable Byzantine Models*, [in:] *Древнерусское искусство. Искусство рукописной книги. Византия. Древняя Русь*, ed. E.H. ДОБРЫНИНА, Санкт-Петербург 2004, p. 277–289.

²⁸ E. МУСАКОВА, *Графическата сегментация на текста в Асеманиевото евангелие*, Slo 56–57, 2006–2007, p. 391–404.

che in genere segue l'interpretazione offerta da B. Filov, ma soprattutto critica l'idea di un 'Rinascimento' (o 'Prerinascimento') slavo delle lettere e delle arti²⁹.

Nei medesimi anni E.V. Uchanova ha considerato le più antiche testimonianze glagolitiche mettendole in relazione con i centri scrittori dei monasteri che si mostrano assai più conservativi rispetto alla tradizione delle scuole della capitale bizantina. In particolare la studiosa ha osservato l'affinità con le testimonianze manoscritte dei monasteri dell'Italia meridionale³⁰. Nelle successive ricerche sono considerate le più antiche testimonianze manoscritte di area slava orientale, a cominciare dal Vangelo di Ostromir (RNB F.p.I.5) che viene messo in relazione con la tradizione manoscritta occidentale. Sviluppando sistematicamente quanto avevano osservato qualche anno prima O.S. Popova a proposito dei volti raffigurati in alcune lettere capitali (v. *infra*) e E.S. Smirnova riguardo ai simboli degli evangelisti³¹, la studiosa mette in luce, pur nel perdurante dominio dell'arte bizantina, l'influsso della tradizione manoscritta occidentale di epoca ottoniana³².

Le nuove edizioni

Nell'ambito delle edizioni dei vangeli costituisce un evento di rilievo la pubblicazione del Vangelo di Matteo, curata a Pietroburgo sotto la direzione di A.A. Alekseev³³. Quest'edizione, come la precedente del Vangelo di Giovanni (1998), non si basa, infatti, sui metodi tradizionali, ma considerando l'alto numero delle testimonianze manoscritte e il complesso problema della contaminazione, adotta un metodo statistico e sulla base dell'analisi di un breve passo presente nei codici a disposizione cerca di individuare il coefficiente di vicinanza dei manoscritti per raggrupparli nelle diverse redazioni identificandone i principali esponenti. Nella prima appendice del volume D.M. Mironova illustra il metodo adottato indicando che l'individuazione dei tipi testuali è stata condotta su 532 codici nel frammento Mt 14, 14–34 in cui sono stati individuati 545 "unità di varianti"³⁴. Naturalmente il metodo adottato non è l'unico possibile, come dimostra un precedente studio di Mironova in cui si confronta la metodologia adottata a Pietroburgo con

²⁹ И.В. ТАЛЕВ, *Български "предренесанс". Митове и реалност*, София 2005.

³⁰ Е.В. УХАНОВА, *К вопросу о происхождении принципов оформления глаголических рукописей X–XI вв.*, [in:] *Древнерусское искусство. Искусство рукописной книги. Византия. Древняя Русь*, ed. Е.Н. ДОБРЫНИНА, Санкт-Петербург 2004, p. 221–244.

³¹ Е.С. СМИРНОВА, *Миниатюры Остромирова Евангелия. Особенности иконографии*, [in:] *Образ Византии. Сборник статей в честь О.С. Поповой*, ed. А.В. ЗАХАРОВА, Москва 2008, p. 457–472.

³² Е.В. УХАНОВА, *Западноевропейские источники в древнерусской книжной культуре XI века и Остромирово Евангелие*, [in:] *Путем орнамента. Исследования по искусству Византийского мира. Сборник статей*, ed. А.Л. САМИНСКИЙ, Москва 2013, p. 206–230.

³³ *Евангелие от Матфея...*

³⁴ Д.М. МИРОНОВА, *Классификация рукописей евангелия от Матфея*, [in:] *Евангелие от Матфея...*, p. 163.

il cosiddetto *Three Level Method*, messo a punto da E. Wattel, evidenziando quanto siano vicini i risultati ottenuti con entrambi³⁵.

Nel frattempo la citata edizione del Vangelo di Giovanni ha ricevuto una serie di recensioni, suscitando un dibattito che ha toccato in particolare la questione della precedenza della versione del tetraevangelo rispetto al lezionario. Non vogliamo entrare nel merito della complessa questione, ma ci limitiamo a segnalare che anche per la versione slava si dovrebbe adottare la distinzione fra archetipo e “testo iniziale” (*Ausgangstext*), già proposta per la versione per l'originale greco³⁶ che aiuterebbe a distinguere fra una prima versione, la cui notizia è attestata dalle fonti cirillicometodiane, e le testimonianze manoscritte che riflettono già la stratificazione del testo iniziale da collocarsi preferibilmente nell'impero bulgaro della fine del IX sec.

Si deve riconoscere, comunque, che in generale il testo greco con le sue varianti rimane in secondo piano ancora in questa edizione anche se il suo vasto apparato può aiutarci a orientarci nel *mare magnum* delle varianti greche e slave. In questo ambito hanno cercato di dare il proprio contributo lo scrivente insieme a A. Alberti che in questi anni si sono proposti di analizzare la versione slava considerando i principali “nodi di varianti” della tradizione greca individuati nelle citate pubblicazioni curate dall'INTF.

All'inizio è stato necessario verificare l'applicabilità del metodo e la sua utilità prendendo in considerazione le edizioni esistenti del testo slavo (Voskresenskij, Vajs, Alekseev) e analizzando i nodi di varianti del testo greco contenuti nei primi dieci capitoli del Vangelo di Giovanni, avuti a disposizione in anteprima³⁷. Nell'ultimo contributo citato (2009) Garzaniti si è avvalso della collaborazione di A. Alberti per l'analisi di alcuni nodi di varianti greche del vangelo di Marco. La collaborazione si è consolidata con l'analisi dei nodi di varianti dei primi dieci capitoli di Giovanni e dell'intero Marco nel Vangelo di Ioan Aleksandr³⁸ realizzata per l'edizione di questo codice, che uscirà a cura dell'Accademia delle Scienze bulgara. In seguito Alberti ha proseguito autonomamente analizzando il Vangelo di Elisavetgrad (GBL Muz. 9500) sulla base di ben 467 nodi testuali del testo greco,

³⁵ D. MIRONOVA, *Cluster Analysis and the Three Level Method in the Study of the Gospels in Slavonic*, [in:] *Studies in Stemmatology II*, ed. P. VAN REENEN, A. DEN HOLLANDER, M. VAN MULKEN, Amsterdam–Philadelphia 2004, p. 241–267.

³⁶ K. WACHTEL, D.C. PARKER, *The joint IGNTP/INTF Editio Critica Maior...*

³⁷ М. ГАРДЗАНИТИ, *Перевод и екзегеза на примере Евангелия царя Ивана Александра*, [in:] *Преводите през XIV столетие на Балканите*, ed. Л. ТАСЕВА, М. ЙОВЧЕВА, К. ФОС, Т. ПЕНТКОВСКАЯ, София 2004, p. 59–69; ИДЕМ, *Текстология рукописной традиции славянского Евангелия*, Sla 78.3–4, 2009, p. 303–312.

³⁸ М. ГАРДЗАНИТИ, А. АЛБЕРТИ, *Славянская версия греческого текста евангелия: Евангелие Ивана Александра и правка перевода Священного писания*, [in:] *Проблеми на Кирило-Методиевото дело и на Българска култура през XIV век*, София 2007, p. 180–190 (= Кмс 17).

all'interno di un *corpus* slavo di 43 testimoni³⁹. Con lo stesso metodo sono stati messi a confronto il Vangelo di Banica, il Vangelo di Dobrejšo (NBKM 17; NBB 214) e quello di Curzon⁴⁰.

Quest'ultimo studio ha potuto avvalersi della pubblicazione in due volumi dedicata interamente al Vangelo di Curzon, curata da Vakareliyska, che offre un'edizione di questo codice ampiamente commentata, uno dei più significativi contributi usciti negli ultimi anni sui vangeli slavi. Nel primo volume si offre la trascrizione del testo con una serie di note paleografiche, che segnalano fra l'altro le mende dei copisti, e un accurato apparato critico in cui si presentano le varianti di una dozzina di codici paleoslavi e paleobulgari. Per la lista del menologio si confronta il Vangelo di Curzon con un numero molto più ampio di fonti. Alla fine si trova un prezioso *Index verborum* con i corrispondenti termini greci sulla base dell'edizione di Nestle-Aland (1985, 26 ed.). Nel secondo volume questo tetraevangelo liturgico è descritto accuratamente e messo in relazione in particolare alle testimonianze dei Vangeli di Banica e Dobrejšo⁴¹.

Più tradizionale è l'edizione del cosiddetto Tetraevangelo macedone (JAZU IIIb7), un codice mutilo e lacunoso della fine del XIV sec., di cui si conservano 146 fogli. Conosciuto anche come Vangelo di Mihanović, giacchè apparteneva alla sua collezione, è stato studiato in passato da diversi studiosi. V. Kostovska insieme alla riproduzione fotografica offre una dettagliata analisi paleografica, ortografico-fonetica, morfologico-sintattica e lessicale del codice. Oltre a certe particolarità lessicali si analizzano i titoli dei "grandi capitoli"⁴². Sempre nell'ambito della tradizionale analisi linguistica si segnala l'edizione del Vangelo di Evsevij (GBL M.3168; 1282/1283), curata da V. Nimčuk⁴³.

Rimanendo nell'area galiziano-voliniana, fra le edizioni fototipiche si ricorda la riproduzione del Vangelo di Luck (GBL Rum.112), un lezionario feriale della seconda metà del XIV sec., promossa dal metropolita di Luč'k e della Volinia, Nifont⁴⁴. Diverse sono oramai le edizioni di codici manoscritti dei vangeli disponibili in rete, sia in trascrizione, come nel progetto promosso dalla Norwegian University of Science and technology (Trondheim) e dalla New Bulgarian University (Sofia)⁴⁵,

³⁹ A. ALBERTI, *Gli scriptoria moldavi e la tradizione mediobulgara. Il caso del Vangelo di Elisavetgrad*, [in:] *Linee di confine. Separazioni e processi di integrazione nello spazio culturale slavo*, ed. G. MORACCI, A. ALBERTI, Firenze 2013, p. 15–61.

⁴⁰ A. ALBERTI, *The Banica, Dobrejšo and Curzon Gospels in Light of the Greek Text*, [in:] *The Bible in Slavic Tradition*, ed. A. KULIK, C.M. MACROBERT, S. NIKOLOVA, M. TAUBE, C.M. VAKARELIYSKA, Leiden–Boston 2016, p. 271–310.

⁴¹ C. VAKARELIYSKA, *The Curzon Gospel*, vol. I, *An Annotated Edition*, New York 2008; EADEM, *The Curzon Gospel*, vol. II, *A Linguistic and Textual Introduction*, New York 2008.

⁴² В. КОСТОВСКА, *Македонско четвороевангелие*, Скопје 2003.

⁴³ *Євсевієве Євангеліє 1283 року*, ed. В.В. НИМЧУК, Киев 2001.

⁴⁴ *Луцьке євангеліє*, Луцьк 2011.

⁴⁵ Cf. www.hf.ntnu.no/SofiaTrondheimCorpus/notis.html [15 VI 2016].

sia in riproduzione fotografica, come i codici del Fondo slavo della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana⁴⁶. Fra le più rilevanti segnaliamo la riproduzione fotografica del *Codex Zographensis* conservato nella Biblioteca nazionale russa (San Pietroburgo)⁴⁷.

In collaborazione con l'Istituto di Paleoslavistica di Zagabria S.O. Vialova ha curato la pubblicazione dei frammenti glagolitici conservati nella medesima biblioteca a San Pietroburgo. Insieme al volume delle riproduzioni in facsimile si può consultare una dettagliata descrizione dei medesimi con una serie di indici, fra cui si segnala l'indice dei passi biblici che comprende una serie di passi dei vangeli presenti nei messali o nei breviari⁴⁸. Ne ha recentemente sottolineato l'importanza Alekseev che ha sviluppato un confronto con l'edizione del Vangelo di Giovanni, da lui diretta⁴⁹.

Saggi sui manoscritti e sulle questioni più rilevanti

Alla fine di ottobre del 2007, in occasione dei 950 anni dalla realizzazione del Vangelo di Ostromir, si è svolta presso la Biblioteca nazionale russa a San Pietroburgo un'importante conferenza dedicata alla prima testimonianza manoscritta slava orientale e più in generale alla tradizione manoscritta dei codici neotestamentari. Nella prima parte del volume che contiene gli atti, si segnala la riflessione di E.V. Krušel'nickaja sulla sua conservazione e il suo studio, la ricerca di Alekseev sul ruolo di questo lezionario nella tradizione manoscritta delle sacre scritture slave e l'intervento di Popova sulle miniature e la loro ornamentazione. Nella terza sezione dedicata ai manoscritti corredati di notazione musicale si può leggere uno studio di N.V. Ramazanova sulla notazione ecfonetica del famoso lezionario. Molti altri sono i temi trattati nelle diverse sezioni, dalla tradizione manoscritta neotestamentaria conservata in Siberia (V.A. Esipova), ai singoli copisti (Turi-lov e S.G. Žemajtis), dalle note marginali dei Vangeli nella Bibbia di Gennadij (V.A. Romodanovskaja), ai simboli degli evangelisti (O.V. Čumičeva). Le celebrazioni del giubileo di questo codice sono state accompagnate da una mostra di codici dei vangeli conservati nella medesima Biblioteca, non solo slavi, che vengono presentati con succinte, ma interessanti annotazioni alla fine del volume. Riguardo ai codici slavi meridionali si veda lo studio di Ž.L. Levšina, mentre per i codici slavo orientali si può leggere il contributo O.S. Sapožnikova con E.E. Ševčenko⁵⁰.

⁴⁶ Cf. www.mss.vatlib.it/gui/scan/link1.jsp?fond=Vat.slav [15 VI 2016].

⁴⁷ Cf. http://expositions.nlr.ru/ex_manus/Zograph_Gospel/index.php [15 VI 2016].

⁴⁸ S.O. VIALOVA, *Glagoljski fragmenti Ivana Berčića u Ruskoj nacionalnoj biblioteci. Faksimili*, Zagreb 2000; ЕАДЕМ, *Glagoljski fragmenti Ivana Berčića u Ruskoj nacionalnoj biblioteci. Opis fragmenata*, Zagreb 2000.

⁴⁹ А.А. АЛЕКСЕЕВ, *О взаимосвязи православной и католической традиции Нового завета в рукописную эпоху*, Slo 56–57, 2006–2007, p. 57–65.

⁵⁰ *Остромирово Евангелие и современные исследования рукописной традиции новозаветных текстов. Сборник научных статей*, ed. Ж.Л. ЛЕВШИНА, Санкт-Петербург 2010.

Negli anni duemila T.V. Pentkovskaja ha condotto uno studio sistematico sulla lingua del Nuovo Testamento del monastero Čudovskij con una serie di saggi che sono confluiti in un'importante monografia. Tenendo conto del più ampio panorama della revisione dei libri liturgici l'analisi prende in considerazione l'intera famiglia di codici, di cui il manoscritto citato è il principale testimone. La studiosa ha messo in luce come questa redazione testimoni una fase più antica della revisione del Nuovo testamento rispetto alla redazione atonita che si sarebbe diffusa in seguito con finalità diverse⁵¹. Fra le monografie si può segnalare ancora l'interessante monografia di O. Strachova dedicata alla parte glagolitica del Vangelo di Reims (Reims, Bibliothèque municipale), un importante contributo per la ricostruzione delle origini del famoso vangelo, su cui in passato si è molto discusso⁵².

Negli ultimi vent'anni E.M. Vereščagin ha pubblicato una serie di contributi che hanno trovato la loro sistemazione in un'ampia monografia incentrata proprio sulla testimonianza del Vangelo di Ostromir e che rappresenta la più matura espressione delle sue ricerche caratterizzate da un rigido approccio di linguistica sincronica⁵³.

Nell'ambito delle ricerche, soprattutto in campo lessicale, si deve menzionare il progetto, coordinato da G. Jovanović in collaborazione con V. Savić, di un "Dizionario dei vangeli slavo-ecclesiastici di redazione serba" che si baserà su una quarantina di testimonianze manoscritte⁵⁴. Se consideriamo la tradizione manoscritta dei vangeli nel più ampio complesso dei "libri sacri", potremmo alla fine menzionare l'edizione del Vangelo didattico di Costantino di Preslav, di cui si deve ancora studiare l'influenza sulla tradizione manoscritta dei vangeli⁵⁵.

Infine si deve accennare ai progressi nella ricostruzione della storia degli studi, di cui abbiamo fatto già menzione a proposito dell'intervento di Krušel'nic-kaja sul Vangelo di Ostromir (v. *supra*). In questo ambito merita una particolare menzione la monografia di F. Thomson sul contributo del padre della slavistica, J. Dobrovský⁵⁶.

⁵¹ Т.В. ПЕНТКОВСКАЯ, *К истории исправления богослужебных книг в Древней Руси в XIV веке: Чудовская редакция Нового Завета*, Москва 2009.

⁵² In appendice al volume viene presentata una nuova edizione del testo in parallelo con le testimonianze dei messali di Hervoje e di New York. О.Б. СТРАХОВА, *Глаголическая часть Реймского евангелия. История, язык, текст*, Cambridge 2014 (= Psl 22.3).

⁵³ Е.М. ВЕРЕЩАГИН, *Кирилло-Мефодиевское книжное наследие. Межъязыковые, межкультурные и междисциплинарные разыскания. С двумя приложениями*, Москва 2012.

⁵⁴ Г. ЈОВАНОВИЋ, В. САВИЋ, *Старословенски јеванђељски речник српске редакције*, Sla 76, 2007, p. 57–64; *Српскословенски речник јеванђеља, Огледна свеска*, ed. В. САВИЋ, Г. ЈОВАНОВИЋ, Београд 2007 (= БЈФ 23).

⁵⁵ *Старобългарското Учително Евангелие на Константин Преславски*, ed. М. ТИХОВА, Е. УХАНОВА, Freiburg im Breisgau 2012.

⁵⁶ F. THOMSON, *Dobrowsky and the Slavonic Bible: Josef Dobrowsky's Contribution to the Study of the Slavonic Bible together with a Survey of Previous Scholarship and an Appreciation of his Lasting Influence on Slavic Biblical Studies*, Praha 2004.

Conclusioni

Questa breve presentazione delle pubblicazioni dedicate alla tradizione manoscritta dei vangeli nello scorcio di questo nuovo millennio ci mostra i notevoli progressi che sono stati fatti, ma allo stesso tempo il permanere di alcuni limiti nelle ricerche in quest'ambito.

Certamente la slavistica rimane all'avanguardia nell'ambito dello studio della struttura del libro dei vangeli slavi nei confronti degli studi neotestamentari greci. Le ricerche odierne ci consentono di comprendere meglio la funzione sia del lezionario sia del tetraevangelo nella loro evoluzione storica all'interno del complesso dei libri liturgici. In questo modo il libro dei vangeli ritrova il suo più autentico contesto a servizio delle comunità soprattutto della Slavia ortodossa, senza escludere comunque la tradizione glagolitica d'area croata nell'ambito della Slavia latina. Questa ricostruzione può avere delle ricadute positive anche nello studio della tradizione testuale in cui, invece, si osservano ancora limiti notevoli rispetto agli studi neotestamentari greci.

Certamente rappresenta un fatto positivo che per la prima volta si sia adottato un metodo statistico per la ricostruzione della tradizione manoscritta slava e per la realizzazione di una nuova edizione scientifica. Trattandosi di un primo tentativo è naturale che si possano riscontrare dei limiti, ma si è intrapresa la direzione giusta che si sta già percorrendo anche per l'originale greco pur in forme diverse. In quest'ultimo ambito l'attenzione rimane rivolta alla costruzione del testo più antico, mentre nell'ambito slavo ci si concentra maggiormente sulla sua evoluzione nelle diverse epoche e aree geografiche.

Questo precipuo interesse per le relazioni con il territorio, tuttavia, può ridurre lo studio della tradizione manoscritta slava dei vangeli a puro materiale linguistico per la ricostruzione della storia delle diverse redazioni dello slavo ecclesiastico oppure per evidenziare l'influenza delle singole parlate slave. Lo testimoniano talvolta gli studi paleografici e linguistici soprattutto in ambito lessicale su cui ci siamo solo brevemente soffermati.

Ne emerge un panorama che evidenzia tutta la complessità della ricerca sulla tradizione manoscritta dei vangeli il cui studio implica ampie conoscenze nell'ambito delle diverse discipline, dalla paleografia alla storia dell'arte, dalla linguistica alla critica testuale mettendo inevitabilmente a dura prova lo studioso. Questo, inevitabilmente, dovrà portare sempre di più alla creazione di gruppi di lavoro formati da specialisti con competenze diverse. Si tratta, dunque, di un campo in estrema evoluzione e in grado di offrire nuove interessanti prospettive negli studi filologici slavi che speriamo possano essere percorse nei prossimi anni.

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Abstract. Recent Researches in the Field of Slavic Gospel. Some Critical Reflections (1999–2016).

In the last fifteen years, research on the Slavic Gospel manuscript tradition have reached new and important achievements especially with the spread of computer technology and digitization process. Taking into account progress in the study of the Greek manuscript tradition, the author explains some basic guidelines: the textual structure of the Gospel book, the Menologion pericopes, the Gospel book ornamentation, the new editions. At the end the main essays on individual manuscripts or on particular issues are introduced. The Slavic Gospel, therefore, is still a key issue of Slavic studies in the field of Slavic paleography, textual criticism, and linguistic analysis.

Parole chiave: Vangelo slavo, tradizione manoscritta slava, storia della slavistica.

Keywords: Slavic Gospel, Slavic Manuscript Tradition, History of Slavic Studies.

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LINGUISTIC EQUIVALENCE OF THE HEBREW TERM *EDEN* IN SLAVIC TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE¹

A thought expressed by Irena Kwilecka, a prominent researcher of early Polish, Czech and French translations of the Bible, constitutes an appropriate introduction to the divagations included in this dissertation. Kwilecka wrote that

the text of the Bible poses an exceptionally formidable challenge for a translator, since its original version was written in chunks, and many ages ago, was drafted by various authors, and contained numerous literary genres, i.e. it was a creation of a separate and very old culture. Additionally, since the Bible contains references to the majority of issues related to political, social and economic life in the past, including politics, social issues, economy, trade, craft, art, philosophy, religion, and the knowledge of plant and animal life, it not only requires the translator to be a skilful language expert and linguist, but also an erudite, perfectly familiar with the state of contemporary general knowledge².

The interpretation of the Books of the Bible was particularly challenging for the authors of older translations, including Slavic versions. The most problematic issue was how to comprehensibly present the reality of the Hamito-Semitic culture, which gave birth to the Bible, since the culture was so distant and unknown to the target reader of any translation. Problems stemmed not only from the genetic, systematic and lexical differences between the languages of the Bible and the Slavic Indo-European tongues, but also from the discrepancy in the spheres of mentality and conceptuality. Over time subsequent generations of translators began to solve such issues by seeking assistance and inspiration in the translations made into other languages and versions prepared by their predecessors. As is commonly known, authors of virtually any biblical translation utilise – to a greater or lesser extent

¹ The publication was released as part of the project called *Reception of the Literary Output and Folk Culture of the Slavia Orthodoxa circle in Poland – the History and Bibliography of the Translation Production (Recepcja piśmiennictwa oraz literatury ludowej kręgu Slavia Orthodoxa w Polsce – historia i bibliografia twórczości przekładowej)* and implemented at the Ceraneum Centre, the University of Łódź. The project was financed by the National Science Centre, decision number DEC-2012/05/E/HS2/03827.

² I. KWILECKA, *Średniowieczna Biblia francuska a najstarsze zachodniosłowiańskie przekłady biblijne*, [in:] EADEM, *Studia nad staropolskimi przekładami Biblii*, Poznań 2003, p. 153–175 (153).

– the translation tradition. Nowadays this approach is also universally applied, even though our pool of knowledge in the field of biblical philology is incomparably more advanced than in the times of the first Slavic translations.

The Bible opens a wide spectrum of research opportunities for various branches of science, including philological divagations in the first place. Its original text has been the subject of great scientific interest since ancient times; initially, however, the issue of translation into particular languages drew researchers' attention in the context of their role in shaping literary languages.

Proper names in translations of the Bible are a particularly absorbing area of research, although it must be emphasised that initially the focus was, for obvious reasons, on proper names within the original text, with particular attention paid to the explanation of their origins. Among ancient researchers who were involved in studies over this aspect of linguistics, it is noteworthy to mention Philo of Alexandria (40 C.E.), even if his research work did not possess a significantly substantial value, since he sought Greek roots in foreign Hebrew names and, on such a basis, he also attempted to explain the genesis of these names. Another work which should also be quoted here is *Antiquitates iudicae* by Titus Flavius Josephus (100 C.E.), the content of which was actually distorted by the actions of the author himself, as he never went beyond adding Greek suffixes to Hebrew names (e.g. *Abraham* > *Abramos*). Other scientists who also showed a keen interest in biblical etymology were Christian researchers such as Origen, Saint Jerome and Eusebius of Caesarea. The results of their research work related to the said scope of interest were included in the compendium entitled *Onomastica sacra*, compiled by Paul de Lagarde, with a philological survey and supplements by Franz Wutz.

In the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, a great interest was taken in biblical names by such scholars as i.a. Joseph ben Simson, Nicholas of Lyra, Alfonso de Zamora, Santes Pagnino, Georg Witzel, Drusus of Leiden, Johannes Leusden, Jan Simson. On the one hand, they focused on etymologising *nomina propria*, and on the other hand, on registering them in various onomasticons. At that time, however, a thoroughly scientific and multi-faceted research on the origins and the morphological structure of biblical names was unfeasible, due to the lack of compendia on Hebrew grammar, which was released no earlier than in the 19th century. The works by Gesenius, Ewald and Olshausen on the system of Hebrew language resulted in a breakthrough in the field of biblical onomastics. It is when more significant publications began to appear, mainly by Nestle, Grunwald, Kerber, Hommel and Gray. These scholars scrutinised biblical names against a broader Semitic background, by applying the historical and comparative approach, which allowed them to indicate various linguistic relations between Hebrew, Babylonian and Egyptian names³.

³ Cf. A. KLAWEK, *Onomastyka biblijna*, On 7, 1961, p. 403–416.

The perspective of onomastic research of translations is noticeably different when compared to studies of the names within the original text of the Bible, since the focus is shifted from the etymology and the linguistic structure of names to the description of methods in which they function in the translated text, with particular attention paid to the issues related to the linguistic adaptation of proper names.

By and large, *nomina propria* may find their way into the translation in three forms, which substantially depends on the strategy the translator opts for⁴. The simplest approach is to transfer names in the so-called translocated form, i.e. carried from the original text in their unchanged form. One can speak of a full and complete translocation only if both the language of the original and the translation uses an alphabet based on a similar source. Thus, in the case of biblical translations, full translocation is possible between the Latin *Vulgate* (*cetera*: VG)⁵ and translations into Western European languages (e.g. French, Italian, Spanish, English and German) and some Slavic tongues (e.g. Polish, Czech, Slovak and Slovenian). Translocation was a commonly applied technique in reference to names in the earliest Slavic translations of the Bible, since its translators experienced great linguistic difficulties as far as some names were concerned. This process most frequently consisted in transferring any given form of the foreign oblique case from the base text into the translation without any formal changes, e.g. *do Derben* (< Greek: Δέρβην, Latin: *in Derben*)⁶ (Act 14,20) (the *Leopolita's Bible*)⁷.

The second and the least complex solution applied to proper names in translation is their linguistic adaptation. This can be performed only either on the graphic and phonetic layer or on the morphological surface (inflectional and word-formative). Another alternative is to perform it on both levels at the same time. If the process of name translocation is accompanied by the change of alphabet, we can speak about the graphic adaptation, e.g. *do Derben* (< Greek: Δέρβην). In the biblical translations into Slavic languages, adaptation is usually performed simultaneously on numerous surfaces. The accommodation of phonetics and spelling of names to individual languages, due to their inflectional nature, is often combined with inflectional adaptation, and more often than not also with word-forming adaptation (particularly in reference to derivative forms of any given names, i.e. nouns and adjectives used to describe names of inhabitants or locative adjectives).

The most comprehensive phase of adapting any given name into another language system is its translation. Generally, there is a tendency to emphasise the untranslatability of proper names, as they primarily identify and nominate an object, without possessing any lexical meaning. In the Bible, however, proper

⁴ Cf. A. CIEŚLIKOWA, *Jak „ocalić w tłumaczeniu” nazwy własne?*, [in:] *Między oryginałem a przekładem II. Przekład, jego tworzenie się i wpływ*, ed. J. TWARDZIKOWA, M. FILIPOWICZ-RUDEK, Kraków 1996, p. 311–320.

⁵ *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, <http://www.drbo.org/lvb/> [20 IV 2016].

⁶ As cited in: *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine*, ed. E. NESTLE, K. ALAND, Stuttgart 1984.

⁷ *Leopolita's Bible* is based on the VG.

names are often of greater importance, since they frequently have a wider purpose than just to identify objects. On numerous occasions, biblical proper names play a symbolic role, as they can characterise the denoted object in terms of ideology. Occasionally, names must be translated due to the theandric nature of the text, related to the fact that Hebrew names were an expression of faith (cf. numerous biblical theophoric names, e.g. *Elimelek* 'mój Bóg jest królem/My God is King', *Ezechiel* 'Jahwe umocnił/God strengthens', *Izajasz* 'niech Bóg cię ocali/Yah is salvation')⁸. The semantics of appellatives which are present in the background of some names is so important for the global message of the biblical text that it forces translators to refer to the semantic equivalent in the target language.

The issue of translating biblical names is complex and multi-faceted. Theoretically speaking, each name can be translated, because it is the appellative lexis that lies in its foundations. Only some names, however, are actually translated (in particular, the ones burdened with a greater symbolic load). This procedure was already implemented in the first translations of the Bible, as proven by some names translated in the *Septuagint* (cetera: LXX)⁹ and the VG. Attempts were made to translate some Hebrew names, which were asemantic in Greek and Latin, in order to increase the communicativeness of these translations, e.g. Greek: Γολγοθά, ὃ ἐστὶν κρανίου τόπος λεγόμενος, Latin: *Golgotha*, **quod est** *Calvariae locus* (Mt 27,33)¹⁰. Some names were only translated in the VG (or they were explained, often with the application of a metalinguistic formula which introduced the Latin semantic equivalent, e.g. *quod est*, *quod interpretatur*, etc.), and they were left untranslated in the Greek version, e.g. *Saphaneth Phanec* (*quod interpretatur Salvator mundi*) (Gn 41,45) (LXX, Greek: Ψονθομφανήχ).

The practices and approaches implemented in reference to proper names in the earliest translations of the Bible (i.e. Greek and Latin) have had a substantial influence upon the names used in other language versions. This is so because the translation base is one of the most significant extra-linguistic factors which determine the final shape of any given translation. And when one takes into consideration the fact that this shape is also impacted by other extra-linguistic factors such as the approach to translation (philological, liberal, literal, dynamic, ecumenical, poetic, etc.), the attitude towards the translation tradition (patterning oneself on the decisions made by predecessors, breaking with the translation traditions within any given national language systems, a creative dialogue with such traditions, etc.), and religious conditionings in which a particular translation was made, it will turn out that the onomastic problems within any given translation constitute an extremely elaborate and complex issue. The final shape of any name is the resultant of various

⁸ O. ODELAIN, R. SÉGUINEAU, *Dictionnaire des noms propres de la Bible*, Paris 1978.

⁹ *Septuaginta*, ed. A. RAHLFS, ⁹Stuttgart 1971, <http://www.ellopos.net/elpenor/physics/septuagint-genesis/41.asp?pg=5> [21 IV 2016].

¹⁰ The Greek text as cited in: *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine...*, and the Latin text after the VG.

factors of a linguistic and extra-linguistic nature, which renders the subject of names in biblical translations to be an attractive and yet quite challenging research problem.

The translation of biblical proper names can be scrutinised from various research perspectives. Some scholars signal the complexity of issues and methodological difficulties¹¹, while others show a keener interest in the issues related to the linguistic adaptation of genetically foreign proper names¹² or the influence of extra-linguistic factors upon the final form of the names in various translations of the Bible¹³. Linguists also focus on the onomastics of specific examples of translations¹⁴, selected books of the Bible¹⁵, and the stipulated onomastic category (anthroponyms, toponyms)¹⁶. Sometimes studies centre on a very limited issue (e.g. a single name), which not only impacts the final linguistic and stylistic form of the translation, but it also allows the researcher to demonstrate methodological difficulties and the research complexity of the translation itself¹⁷. From the methodological perspective, the study presented in this article is of similar nature.

The purpose of this publication is to scrutinise the translation equivalents of the name *Eden* ('rozkosz/pleasure') in selected – old and contemporary – Slavic translations of the Bible. The rationale behind focusing on this particular name

¹¹ M. KAMIŃSKA, *Onomastyka biblijna tekstów przekładowych jako problem badawczy*, [in:] *Onomastyka literacka*, ed. M. BIOLIK, Olsztyn 1993, p. 321–328.

¹² E. BREZA, *Odmiana nazw własnych w Nowym Testamencie Biblii Wujka i Biblii Tysiąclecia*, [in:] *Biblia a kultura Europy*, vol. I, ed. M. KAMIŃSKA, E. MAŁEK, Łódź 1992, p. 152–159; F. SOWA, *Osobowe nazwy własne w polskich przekładach Biblii*, [in:] *Biblia a kultura Europy...*, p. 81–85; M. MALEC, *Onomastyka w „Rozmyślanii przemyskim”*, *Po* 22–23, 2003, p. 345–390.

¹³ D. BIEŃKOWSKA, *O niektórych problemach przekładu biblijnego (na przykładzie miast, miasteczek i wsi)*, [in:] *Biblia w kulturze polskiej*, ed. S. RZEPČYŃSKI, Słupsk 1996, p. 215–228.

¹⁴ K. DŁUGOSZ-KURCZABOWA, *Onomastyka Nowego Testamentu*, *SOcc* 46–47, 1989–1990, p. 71–88; E. UMIŃSKA-TYTOŃ, *Nazwy osobowe w tzw. dynamicznym przekładzie Nowego Testamentu*, [in:] *Onomastyka literacka...*, p. 329–335; L. MOSZYŃSKI, *Szymon Budny jako onomasta*. 3. *Ojkonimia*, [in:] *Ogród nauk filologicznych. Księga Jubileuszowa poświęcona Profesorowi Stanisławowi Kochmanowi*, ed. W. CHLEBDA, M. BAŁOWSKI, Opole 2005, p. 445–455.

¹⁵ S. ROSPOND, *Onomastica sacra*. 3. *Ewangelia św. Mateusza w świetle nazewnictwa*, *RHu* 30–31.6, 1982–1983, p. 183–191; IDEM, *Onomastica sacra w Nowym Testamencie: Ewangelia św. Marka w świetle nazewnictwa*, *On* 27, 1983, p. 5–32; T. FRIEDELÓWNA, *Biblijna onomastyka w staro-cerkiewno-słowiańskim Psalterzu synajskim*, *AUNC.FP* 40, 1993, p. 3–25.

¹⁶ D. BIEŃKOWSKA, *Nazwy własne i formy od nich derywowane w XVI-wiecznych przekładach tekstów ewangelicznych*, *AUL.FL* 27, 1993, p. 9–14; K. KOMÁREK, *Osobní jména v českých biblích*, Olomouc 2000; R. DITTMANN, *Místní jména v českých překladech Starého zákona*, Olomouc 2009; R. ZARĘBSKI, *Nazwy osobowe w polskich przekładach Nowego Testamentu*, Łódź 2006; IDEM, *Tłumaczenie obcych nazw geograficznych w dawnych i współczesnych polskich przekładach Nowego Testamentu*, [in:] *Studia nad słownictwem dawnym i współczesnym języków słowiańskich*, ed. J. KAMPER-WAREJKO, I. KAPROŃ-CHARZYŃSKA, J. KULWICKA-KAMIŃSKA, Toruń 2007, p. 113–123; IDEM, *Номинации с определителна филиативна дескрипция в Зографския кодекс на фона на някои славянски преводи на Евангелието*, *Pbg* 37.4, 2013, p. 81–94.

¹⁷ L. MOSZYŃSKI, *Hebr. ha – Adam: nomen appellativum – nomen proprium w renesansowych przekładach biblijnego opisu życia pierwszego człowieka (Gen I 26 – V5)*, *Sla* 61, 1992, p. 503–508.

is that even in the original text of the Bible its status was quite ambiguous (as it alternated between the function of a common and proper name, being noticeably closer to the latter). In the VG¹⁸, however, it was translated into *paradisium voluptatis* (Latin), which highlighted its appellative nature and stemmed, to a substantial extent, from the ambiguous interpretation of this lexical item in the Bible itself¹⁹. Such discrepancies resulted in a certain chaos in translations, where the name appears in the form of various equivalents. Another factor determining the selection of philological study of the Hebrew *Eden* was the fact that the name was burdened with a heavy symbolic load in the original text. Such conditions led to the peculiar manner in which it also functions in contemporary Slavic languages (and some non-Slavic as well)²⁰.

‘Equivalence’ in translation is understood as a state in which two constituents (the source and its translation) possess the same value or are identical in terms of function and effects of co-operation. The relatedness of sameness may occur between morphological, lexical, syntactic and semantic elements. In consequence, the source text is transformed into the target one, and there is a relationship between the two, which can be called the relation of equivalence²¹.

The ambiguous nature of the name *Eden*, alternating between its appellative and proper dimension, as well as the dilemmas experienced by various translators of the Bible requires that the researcher scrutinise the name and its translation variants also in the context of such phenomena as properisation (onimisation) and appellativisation (deonimisation, depropriation). The division of vocabulary within any natural language into common and proper names had already been made in Antiquity, and as early as the times of Aristotle. Due to the fact that the Bible is characterised by the abundance of literary genres and figures of speech (epithets, metaphors, synecdoche, metonymies, allegories, personifications and depersonifications, periphrases, ironies, hyperboles, etc.), numerous names within its content contain certain religious truths, which ought to be explained in the original and must be clarified in the translation. This phenomenon is related to the fluctuant nature of many biblical names, since – as mentioned above – they can function both as *propria* and *appellativa*²². Thus, the process of *appellativisation* is understood as the transformation of a proper name into the class of common names. As stated by Długosz-Kurczabowa:

¹⁸ In the *Biblia Sacra Vulgata* the name *Eden* appears only in Gn 4,16: *ad orientalem plagam Eden* (Latin), cf. K. KOMÁREK, *Apelatywizacja w toponimii biblijnej*, [in:] *Onimizacja i apelatywizacja*, ed. Z. ABRAMOWICZOWA, E. BOGDANOWICZ, Białystok 2006, p. 113–117.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*.

²⁰ This issue is not the subject of the analysis herein.

²¹ Cf. W. OSADNIK, *Teoria wielosystemowa i rodzaje ekwiwalencji w przekładzie*, Katowice 2010, p. 86.

²² It is noteworthy to add that biblical names tend to become common words when outside the biblical text, in other national languages, e.g. *Judasz* > *judasz* in Polish (English: Judas) means ‘zdrajca/a traitor’ or ‘wizjer/a peephole’. *Eden* is also such a word, as it may mean ‘miejsce szczęśliwe/a place

the essence of appellativisation is based on the fact that out of many constituents of the onomastic meaning within any given name, one begins to dominate – it may be accidental and of minor importance – and becomes the base of the lexical meaning²³.

Proprialisation, on the other hand, is related to the loss of features of the predicate of the word. Both in the process of onimisation and appellativisation the function of a word (a name) undergoes a change, which is always accompanied by semantic derivation²⁴.

The transaction equivalents of the Hebrew name *Eden* have been excerpted from the Slavic versions of the Bible, the selection of which was dictated by the concern about the possibly most varied set of criteria²⁵. The selected texts have been aligned chronologically, which is manifested in the following oppositions: old translations (from the earliest to the first quarter of the 20th century) (*The Olomouc Bible* (cetera: OL)²⁶, *The Kralice Bible* (cetera: KR)²⁷, *Queen Sophia's Bible* (cetera: KZ)²⁸, *Leopolita's Bible* (cetera: BL), *The Brest Bible* (cetera: BRZ)²⁹, *Nesvizh Bible* translated by Symon Budny (cetera: BB)³⁰, *Jakub Wujek's Bible* (cetera: BW)³¹, *The Bible* translated by Francisk Skorina (cetera: FS)³², *The Ostrog Bible* (cetera:

of happiness'. Cf. K. DŁUGOSZ-KURCZABOWA, *Apelatywizacja biblijnych nazw własnych w języku polskim*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1990, p. 5–11, 31–32, 43–44.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 5–11, 69.

²⁴ A. CIEŚLIKOWA, *Onimizacja, apelatywizacja a derywacja*, [in:] *Onimizacja i apelatywizacja...*, p. 47–56.

²⁵ It must be emphasised that the selection of texts subjected to excerption is arbitrary. Our desire was to present a relatively wide representation of Slavic translations, even though we do realise this may not be a wide spectrum. Any restrictions were introduced primarily due to the limited length of this article. For comparative purposes, references to the texts are in Hebrew (BH), Greek (LXX) and Latin (VG).

²⁶ *Staročeská bible Drážďanská a Olomoucká: kritické vydání nejstaršího českého překladu bible ze 14. století. 3, Genesis – Esdráš*, ed. V. KYAS, Praha 1988.

²⁷ *Bible svatá aneb všecka svatá písma Starého i Nového Zákona podle posledního vydání kralického z roku 1613*, <http://www.etf.cuni.cz/~rovnanim/bible/k/Mt1.php> [21 IV 2016].

²⁸ *Biblia Królowej Zofii (szarospatacka): wraz ze staroczeskim przekładem Biblii*, ed. S. URBAŃCZYK, V. KYAS, Wrocław 1965–1971.

²⁹ *Biblia Święta tho iest Księgi Starego y Nowego Zakonu, właśnie z żydowskiego, greckiego y łacińskiego, nowo na Polski język z pilnością y wiernie wyłożone... drukowano w Brześciu Litewskim z roskazania a nakładem... Mikolaia Radziwila... Roku Pańskiego [1563] miesiąca Wrzesnia dnia czwartego*, <http://mbc.malopolska.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=83322&from=publication> [19 IV 2016].

³⁰ *Biblia to jest Księgi starego i Nowego Przymierza. Księgi Nowego Przymierza Kto pospolicie Nowym Testamentem zową z wielką pracą y pilnym poprawieniem z Greckiego na Polski język przetłumaczone*, <http://www.dbc.wroc.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=4263&from=publication> [10 IV 2016].

³¹ *Biblia To Iest Księgi Starego Y Nowego Testamentu, Według Łacińskiego przekładu starego, w kościele powszechnym przyjętego, na Polski język z pilnością przelozone [...] Przez [...] Iakuba Wuyka [...]*, <http://www.dbc.wroc.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=12433> [11 IV 2016].

³² “Библия руска” выложена доктором Франциском Скориною из славного града Полоцка, Богу ко чти и людем посполитым к доброму научению, Прага 1517–1519.

BO)³³, *Gdansk Bible*³⁴ (cetera: GD), *The Wenceslas Bible* (cetera: VA)³⁵, *The Old Testament* translated by Josef Heger (cetera: HG)³⁶, *The Old Testament* translated by Đuro Daničić (cetera: D)³⁷, *Carigradska Bible* (cetera: BC)³⁸, the so-called synodic edition of *The Bulgarian Bible* (cetera: S)³⁹ versus contemporary ones, drafted in the second half of the 20th century and in the 21st century (*Millennium Bible* (cetera: BT)⁴⁰, the Czech ecumenical translation (cetera: EK)⁴¹, *The Jerusalem Bible* (cetera: JR)⁴²), geographically linguistic; the selected examples represent three groups of Slavic languages: Western Slavic (BZ, BL, BRZ, BB, BW, GD, BT, OL, KR, VA, HG, EK, JR)⁴³, Eastern Slavic (FS, BO) and Southern Slavic (S, BC, D), the division related to the base of the translation: source text and/or Greek version (KR, BRZ, BB, GD, HG, BT, EK, JR, S) versus Latin version (OL, BZ, BL, BW, VA, FS, D), religious: Catholic (OL, BZ, BL, BW, VA, JR), Protestant (KR, BRZ, BB, BC), Orthodox (FS, BO, S) and also related to the method of translation, since the set of the excerpted examples includes both literal and more liberal translations. At the same time, it ought to be borne in mind that numerous translators applied a combination of various translation strategies. Although the discussed contemporary translations are usually philological in their nature (i.e. translators aim at remaining faithful to the source text of the translation), they are not free of religious influences.

³³ Библия сиречь книги Ветхого и Нового Завета на языке словенском, Остргор 1581.

³⁴ Biblia święta, to jest księgi Staroego i Nowego Przymierza z żydowskiego i greckiego języka na polski pilnie i wiernie przetłumaczone, Gdańsk 1632, <http://www.bibliagdanska.pl/biblia.php?d>, [12 IV 2016].

³⁵ BJBŁJ Česká to gest Swatě Pjsmo Podlé Starožitného a Obecného Latinského od Wsseobecně Cýrkwe Swatě Ržjmské potvrzeného a vžjwaného Přeloženj [...] W Starém Městě Pražském w Kollegi Sw. Kljmenta Towaryšstwa P. Gežjsse skrze Joachyma Jana Kamenického Faktora Léta M. DCC. XV. [= 2. díl] Prorokowě A Knihy Machabeyský. Nákladem Dědictwj Swatého Wáclawa [...] Léta 1712. [= 3. díl] Druhý djl Biblj totižto Nowý Zákon Podlé starého obecného Latinského textu, od samospasytedlné Ržjmské Katoljcké Cýrkwe schwáleného, a až posawad wtěž Cýrkwi vžjwaného [...] Léta Páně 1677 [...] [= 3. díl, NZ].

³⁶ Pismo svatě Starého zákona, ed. F. KOTALÍK, J. MERELL, Praha 1955–1958.

³⁷ Biblija ili Sveto pismo Staroga i Novoga zavjeta, <http://www.pouke.org/svetopismo/> [15 IV 2016].

³⁸ Библия, сиреч Священото писание на вехтий и новий завет. Вярно и точно преведено от първообразното, Цариград 1871, <http://biblia.bg/index.php?k=30&g=1&tr2=1> [16 IV 2016].

³⁹ Библия, сиреч книгите на Свещеното писание на Вехтия и Новия Завет, http://www.bg-patriarshia.bg/index.php?file=bible_old_testament.xml [16 IV 2016].

⁴⁰ Pismo Święte Staroego i Nowego Testamentu w przekładzie z języków oryginalnych, ed. K. DYNARSKI, Poznań 1965, ⁴¹1983, <http://biblia.deon.pl/> [15 IV 2016].

⁴¹ Český ekumenický překlad: Pismo svatě Starého i Nového Zákona podle ekumenického vydání z r. 1985, Praha 1987, <http://www.biblenet.cz/> [23 IV 2016].

⁴² Jeruzalémská bible. Pismo svatě vydané Jeruzalémskou biblickou školou, Praha 2005, <http://www.jeruzalemskabible.cz/> [24 IV 2016].

⁴³ The issue of equivalents of the Hebrew word *Eden* in Czech translations is scrutinised by R. Dittmann (*op. cit.*, p. 229–232). The examples excerpted from the Czech translations (EK, HG, JR, KR, OL, VA) have been taken from his work.

The name *Eden* (Hebrew: *gan b' 'ēden*) in the Bible is for the first time used in Gn 2,8. In the LXX and VG, *gan* was translated into *paradisus* (Latin) (cf. Persian: *pairi-deza* 'miejsce zamknięte/a closed place'), and the word 'ēden was represented by the noun *voluptas* (Latin) 'rozkosz/pleasure', which finally resulted in *paradisus voluptatis* (Latin) 'raj rozkoszy/the paradise of pleasure'. However, 'ēden in the Bible means 'rozkosz/pleasure' when it is written in plural (Ps 35,9; Ier 51,34). Thus, the use of this word without an article and with a preposition *b'* (Gn 2,8; 2,10; 2,15; 3,23; 4,16; Ez 28,13; 31,9; 31,16; 31,18; 36,35; Il 2,3) as well as the context make us understand it as a proper name (cf. KR 202). Sometimes the meaning of the word *Eden* is also related to the Sumerian word *edin*, which stands for 'pustkowie, równina, step/wilderness, plain, steppe'⁴⁴.

At first, we shall focus on the translation equivalents of the Hebrew *Eden* in Gn. This name in *The Hebrew Bible* (cetera: BH) is used six times (Gn 2,8: Εδεμ LXX, *paradisus voluptatis* VG; 2,10: Εδεμ LXX: *locus voluptatis* VG; 2,15: ὁ παράδεισος LXX: *paradisus voluptatis* VG; 3,23 and 3,24: ὁ τρυφή LXX: *paradisus voluptatis* VG; 3,24; 4,16: Εδεμ LXX, *Eden* VG). The translations based on the original text are usually quite consistent in that matter and each time the name *Eden* is used (BRZ, GD, KR, EK, JR, BT), even if they do apply various appellatives to name *ogród Eden*: *ogród*⁴⁵ (*w*) *Eden* (Gn 2,8; 2,15; 3,23; 3,24), *sad*⁴⁶ (*w*) *Eden* (BRZ, GD). In the case of some translations based on the original text, however, the form of the translation equivalent is influenced by the Greek LXX. Then three types of counterparts are possible: 1) a proper name only, e.g. *Едем* (Gn 2,10; 4,16) (S, BC, D), *Eden* (BB, HG), 2) *appellativum* + an adverbial phrase with a noun in the form of proper name, e.g. *рай*⁴⁷ в *Едем* (Gn 2,8) (S, BC), *врт*⁴⁸ у *Едему* (Gn 2,8) (D),

⁴⁴ *Eden* was identified with a perfect garden of pleasure, i.e. paradise. It is quite difficult to determine the actual location of the garden in Eden. In Gn 2,8 it is placed 'na wschodzie/in the east', which usually means Mesopotamia. In Gn 2,10–14 there is a reference to the Near East tradition, according to which four rivers flow from the idyllic garden (*Ogród*, [in:] *Słownik wiedzy biblijnej*, ed. B.M. METZGER, M.D. COOGAN, Warszawa 1997, cetera: SWB). Cf. F. RIENECKER, G. MAIER, *Leksykon biblijny*, scientifically ed. W. CHROSTOWSKI, Warszawa 2001 (cetera: LB).

⁴⁵ *Ogród* – 1. 'teren zajęty pod uprawę warzyw, kwiatów, drzew i krzewów owocowych, zwykle ogrodzony i znajdujący się w pobliżu domu', 2. 'teren służący jako miejsce spacerów dla publiczności, zasadzony drzewami, ozdobiony trawnikami, klombami kwiatów, itp.; park' (*Słownik języka polskiego*, ed. W. DOROSZEWSKI, vol. I–XI, Warszawa 1996–1997).

⁴⁶ *Sad* – 'kawał ziemi, na którym rosną drzewa i krzewy owocowe' (*Słownik staropolski*, ed. S. URBAŃCZYK, vol. I–XI, Kraków 1953–2002, cetera: Sstp.).

⁴⁷ *Рай* – м. 1. 'според някои религиозни представи – място, където живеят блажено душите на праведниците след смъртта им', *Насила в рая се не влиза*. 2. 'прекрасна градина, в която според Библията са живели Адам и Ева до грехопадението', *Изгонване от рая*. 3. *прен.* 'особено красива местност', *През пролетта полето е рай*. 4. *прен.* 'място, страна, където може да се живее леко и безгрижно, където за някого или нещо съществуват отлични условия'; 'Земен рай – красива местност' (*Български тълковен речник*, ed. Д. Попов, София 2001, cetera: BTR).

⁴⁸ *Врт* – 1. 'ограђено земљиште на којем се гаји поврће и цвеће' (М. МОСКОВЪЛЕВИЋ, *Речник савременог српског језика с језичким саветником*, Београд 2000).

sad Eden (BB), and finally 3) the nominal group with a noun derived from the name of *Eden*, e.g. *Едемската градина*⁴⁹ (Gen 2,15; 3,23; 3,24) (S), *рай Едемски* (BC), *врт едемски* (D), *Edenská zahrada*⁵⁰ (HG), *sad Edeński* (BB). At this point, the 16th century translation by Symon Budny (BB) is worth noticing, as the translator, who was aware of the ambiguous onomastic status of the name *Eden* when it was used for the first time in the Bible (Gn 2,8), provided it with a commentary on the margin:

Eden roznie rozni rozumieją, iedni to apellaciw wykładają, drudzy maiȧ za własne imie Krainy niektore na wschod słońca leżące⁵¹.

In all probability, the search for a compromise between various translation equivalents of the name forced the author to refer to counterparts which accumulate various solutions. Therefore, the phrase *sad Edeń(ski)* comes as no surprise in Gn 2,15 of BB, which by means of a graphic trick (brackets) combines the noun and adjective form of the name.

In the Latin VG, the name *Eden* appears in Gn 4,16, and in all other fragments where the Hebrew text (BH) had the toponym *Eden*, VG follows LXX and offers the equivalent *paradisum* (Latin). The lexeme *paradeisos* (Greek), *paradisus* (Latin) originates from the Old Persian language (Avestan) *paridaeza* (Persian: *pardes*, Hebrew: *pardes*, Aramaic: *pardesa*) ‘park, ogród, ogród rozkoszy/park, garden, garden of pleasure’, ‘ogrodzone miejsce, obwałowania/enclosed place, rampart’. The word was first used in LXX in reference to the garden in *Eden* (SWB; LB)⁵². Translations based on the VG are faithful here to the translation base: *ray*⁵³ *ro/kof/zy*⁵⁴ (Gn 2,28; 2,15; 3,23; 3,24) // *mya/fo*⁵⁵ *ro/kof/zy* (Gn 2,10) (BZ, BW), *ráj rozkoši* (Gn 2,28; 2,15; 3,23; 3,24) // *miesto rozkoši* (Gn 2,10) (OL), *ráj rozkoše* (VA), *рай*⁵⁶ *коҳаниа* (Gn 2,28; 2,15; 3,23; 3,24) (FS) // *место коҳаниа* (Gn 2,10) (FS)

⁴⁹ *Градина* – ж. ‘място, засадено с цветя, дървета или зеленчук, обикн. заградено и близо до селището’ (BTR).

⁵⁰ *Zahrada* ‘ohrazený pozemek, zprav. při obydlích, na kt. se pěstují květiny, zelenina, ovocné i okrasné stromy’ (*Slovník spisovného jazyka českého*, <http://ssjc.ujc.cas.cz/search.php?hledej=Hledat&heslo=zahrada&sti=EMPTY&where=hesla&hsubstr=no> [20 IV 2016]).

⁵¹ *The word Eden is understood differently by various people – some interpret it as an appellative and others claim it to be the name of a land in the east.*

⁵² Cf. *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. XVI, ed. S. WILK, Lublin 2012 (cetera: EKat).

⁵³ *Raj* – 1. ‘(w Biblii) ogród, w którym przebywali pierwsi ludzie, Adam i Ewa’ (Sstp).

⁵⁴ *Rozkosz* – 1. ‘najwyższa przyjemność, zmysłowa lub duchowa, przyjemne doznanie’, 2. ‘to, co wywołuje przyjemne odczucia, przyczyna przyjemnych doznań, radości, wesela’, 3. ‘radość, wesołość’ (Sstp).

⁵⁵ *Miasto* – 1. ‘miejsce’ (Sstp).

⁵⁶ *Рай*, *а* (*raj*, gr. *parádeisos*) – dosł. Raj; 1. ‘miejsce zamieszkania prarodziców’ (Rdz 2,8); 2. ‘królestwo wiecznej szczęśliwości’ (Łk 23,43) (A. ZNOSKO, *Słownik cerkiewnosłowiański-polski*, Białystok 1996, cetera: SCP).

next to *Eden* (Gn 4,16) (VA, BL, BW) // *ЄДЕМЪ* (FS). It should also be noted that while in the examples quoted above all translators consistently used the lexeme *rozkosz* (*pleasure*), the 16th century Polish translation BL shows a tendency to use the word *raj* (*paradise*) at the expense of the appellative *rozkosz*: *Ray* (Gn 2,10) // *Ray rofkoszy* (Gn 2,8; 2,15; 3,23; 3,24) (BL). In some older translations which were based on the Latin text of Gn 4,16 an amplification is performed, the purpose of which is to explain, at least to a certain extent, the inconsistency in using various variants of the name: *od raya gefz to flowye Eden* (BZ), *ráj, ješto slóve Eden* (OL). Such specifying of some biblical realities is related to the technique of medieval liberal translations, which were chiefly aimed at a simple audience⁵⁷. Here, it is worth pointing out that despite his faithful pursuit of the Latin text, Jakub Wujek – displaying his regular conscientiousness – on the margin of Gn 2,10 and 2,15 jotted down variants which were in the spirit of the Hebrew text and functioned as proper names: *abo z Edena* (Gn 2,10), *abo w sadu edeńskim* (Gn 2,15).

The issue of translation equivalents of the said name looks slightly different in the translation of BO. The solutions there alternate between the translations from original languages and VG, although the influence of the Greek text (LXX) dominates: *въ єдемѣ* (Gn 2,8; 2,10; 4,16), *ран пица*⁵⁸ (Gn 2,15; 3,23; 3,24) (BO). Such a state of affairs is connected with the complexity and variety of sources of the BO, among which one can find e.g. translations by Skoryna, selected old-Czech and old-Polish versions, the LXX and the VG⁵⁹.

A strong relationship between the translation base and the selection of an appropriate translation equivalent of the name *Eden* is also clearly visible in the excerpted translations in their reference to other Books of the Bible. The Hebrew text (BH) uses the form *Eden* in the same meaning as it is used within Gn, in: Ez 28,13; 31,9; 31,16; 31,18; 31,18; 36,35; II 2,3. And its example is faithfully followed by translations from original languages: *Eden* (BRZ, GD, KR, BT, HG, EK, JR), although they do happen to apply both the noun and adjective variant: *Едем* (Ez 28,13) (S, BC, D), *Едем* (31,18; 31,18; 36,35) (BC) // *едемски* (Ez 31,9; 31,16; II 2,3) (S, BC, D), (Ez 31,18; 31,18; 36,35) (S, D). At this point, translations based on the VG consistently utilise *appellativum*, whose presence stems from the Latin text (Ez 28,13: *deliciae*; Ez 31,9; 31,16; 31,18; 31,18: *voluptas*; Ez 36,35; II 2:3: *hortus*

⁵⁷ Cf. I. KWILECKA, *Rola przekładów biblijnych w rozwoju języka polskiego od Średniowiecza do Renesansu*, [in:] ЕАДЕМ, *Studia nad staropolskimi przekładami Biblii*, Poznań 2003, p. 265–279 (269–270).

⁵⁸ *Пица, и* (*piszcza, gr. broma*) – (*piszcza, gr. broma*) – ‘żywność, pokarm’ (Kpł 25,37; Hb 6,7); *райскал* ‘raj słodyczy’ (Rdz 2,15; Min.VII.11) (SCP); *Пица* < *пишта* – f. 1. βρωμα, ‘пића, храна’: I Мојс. 49,20; III Мојс. 25,37; 2. трофј, διατροφј, ‘живеж, јело’: Дел. 9,19; I Тим. 6,8; 3. ‘духовна храна’: Јевр. 5,12.14; 4. трупј, отрпјноζ, ‘раскош, сласт’: Лук. 7,25; Апок. 18,3. (С. ПЕТКОВИЋ, *Речник црквено-словенскога језика*, Сремски Карловци 1935); *Пица* – ж. старин. 1. ‘храна’, 2. прен. ‘нешто, което поддржа и развива духовната природа на човека’ (BTR).

⁵⁹ Cf. *К истории отечественной Библии (130-летие Синодального перевода)*, www.rpsc-spb.ru/2010-12-23-14-47-16 [22 IV 2016].

voluptatis): пища рѣдъ (Ez 28,13; 31,9) (BO), дѣрева пища (Ez 31,16; 31,18; 31,18) (BO), градъ пищ'ныи (Ez 36,35) (BO), рѣи пища (II 2,3) (BO), *w rokoszach raiu* (Ez 28,13) (BL, BW), *drzewa rokoszy* (Ez 31,16; 31,18; 31,18) (BL), (Ez 31,16) (BW), *drzewa rokoszne* (Ez 31,9) (BL), (Ez 31,18; 31,18;) (BW), *ogrod rokoszy* (Ez 36,35; II 2,3) (BL), *ogrod rokoszny* (Ez 36,35; II 2,3) (BW), *ray* (Ez 31,9) (BW), *rozkoš* (VA).

At this point, it is again noteworthy to pay attention to the 16th century translation by Symon Budny, who recognised the Hebrew text as the base of the original and this time, surprisingly enough, decided to apply a solution used in the VG: *ray rokoszny* (Ez 28,13), *drzewa rokoszne* (Ez 31,9; 31,16; 31,18; 31,18), *sad rokoszny* (Ez 36,35; II 2,3) (BB). It was only in the margin that he wrote down: *abo Hedeńskie (drzewa)* (Ez 31,9), *abo Hedeński (sad)* (Ez 36,35), thus indicating the possibility to use *nomen proprium* there, but without adding that such a solution is imposed by the Hebrew text (BH).

The clear dividing line between translations from original languages and the remaining ones is not marked in reference to Is 51,3 either. In the Hebrew text (BH) the proper name *Eden* is used, which is continued in the Polish BT, the Czech HG, EK, JR, and the South-Slavic: *Едем* (BC, D). Other versions based on the original text use appellative expressions: *ogrod rokoszny* (BRZ), *přerokošný* (KR), the common noun: *paŕ* (S), *рѣи* (BO), or descriptive structures: *uczyni puszcze jego bardzo rozkosznq* (GD). The BB offers *appellativum ray* with the following marginal gloss: *abo iako sad*. Translations from the VG (Latin: *deliciae*) consistently have *appellativum*, which is a semantic calque of the Latin lexeme: *rokoszy* (BL), *rozkosze* (plural) (BW), *rozkoše* (VA).

In the Bible, the name *Eden* appears not only in the context of the paradise garden, but also as a description of a national and ethnic group (4Reg 19,12; Is 37,12; Ez 27,23). In the text of 4Reg 19,12 we can read about *B^enê 'Eden*, i.e. the Arameans who resided in *Bit-Adini*, an area mentioned in cuneiform scripts and located between the Balikh and the Euphrates Rivers. Mentioning the sons of *Eden*, the authors of the Bible most likely had in mind the inhabitants of the Aramean state of Bit'Adini, the capital city of which was Til Barsip (modern Tell Ahmar). The settlements of this state were on both banks of the middle course of the Euphrates, east of Aleppo (cf. KR 202).

Regarding the aforementioned locations, translations from original languages offer the following solutions: 1) a phrase containing a proper name, e.g. *synu Eden* (4Reg 19,12; Is 37,12) (BRZ, KR, GD, EK) (HG: 4Reg 19,12), *синовете на Еден* (4Reg 19,12; Is 37,12) (S), 2) a phrase with a possessive adjective derived from the place name, e.g. *synu Edenowe* (4Reg 19,12; Is 37,12) (BB), *Еденовите синове* (4Reg 19,12; Is 37,12) (BC), *синове Еденове* (4Reg 19,12; Is 37,12) (D), 3) an ethnonym in the noun form, e.g. *Edeńczysy* (Ez 27,23) (BRZ), *Edanici* (4Reg 19,12; Is 37,12) (BT), *Edenité* (JR), 4) *nomen proprium*: *Eden* (Ez 27,23) (KR, GD, HG,

EK, JR), *Edon* (Ez 27,23) (BT), *Hiden* (Ez 27,23) (BB), *Еден* (Ez 27,23) (S, BC, D), 5) a name Semitism, e.g. *Bit Adin* (Is 37,12) (HG). The footsteps of the Greek LXX are followed by the BO: *εἰς τὴν ἄδωνᾶ* (LXX: *Εδεμ*) (4Reg 19,12), no name (LXX: *χωρα* (?)) (Is 37,12), no name (LXX: none) (Ez 27,23).

Even though biblical translations based on the VG (4Reg 19,12; Is 37,12: *filios Eden*; Ez 27,23: *Eden*) faithfully follow in its footsteps, e.g. *syny Eden* (4Reg 19,12; Isa 37,12), *Eden* (Ezek 27,23) (BL, BW), *Eden* (4Reg 19,12) (BZ), some formal variation within translation equivalents, e.g. *Eden* (4Reg 19,12; Ez 27,23) (VA) next to the adjective *Edenský* (Is 37,12) (VA). The FS in 4Reg 19,12 has the adjective form: **И СЫНОВ' ЄДЕМИИ**⁶⁰.

Another biblical fragment which is noteworthy due to the mention of *Eden* it contains is Am 1,5. In the BH, the phrase *Bet Eden* is used, whereas in the LXX it is translated as *Χαρραν*, and in the VG as *domus Voluptatis*. The contemporary biblical exegesis provides no answer to the question regarding what name specifically is referred to there. *Bet-Eden* is identified as *Bit-Aidini*, a settlement on the banks of the central course of the Euphrates River known from the Assyrian records. It is also worth noticing that the equivalent used in the VG functions as a symbolic name of Damascus: *domus Voluptatis* 'dom rozkoszy/house of pleasure'⁶¹. Thus, the appellativisation of the Hebrew name was influenced by the LXX and the VG, which in consequence impacted the variety of equivalents in all individual translations into national languages.

In this case, the excerpted Slavic translations show significant discrepancies, which only to a limited extent depend on the source of the translation. First of all, it is noteworthy to analyse Czech translations. The texts based on the original sources: 1) take the form of *Bet-Eden* (HG, JR), 2) have a phrase consisting of a native noun and a foreign name: *dům Eden* (KR), 3) and incorporate a solution adopted from the Latin tradition: *Dům rozkoše* (EK). The appellative phrase *dům rozkoše*, which is a semantic calque of the Latin version, was used in the VA translation that is based on the Latin VG. The situation is similar as far as Polish translations are concerned. Those made from original languages take the toponym *Bet-Eden* (BT), *Beteden* (BRZ). The author of the BB and the GD decided to arrive at a certain type of compromise, which consists in the use of the Hebrew name and the semantic calque of the Latin word *domus*, as applied in the VG: *dom Heden* (GD), *dom Hedenowy* (BB). Analogically, the same technique is applied in South-Slavic translations: *дом Еденов* (S, BC, D). Translations based on the Latin text of the VG continue using its solutions, abandoning the proper nature of the name: *dom rofkoszy* (BL, BW), even if the author of the BW inserted a marginal gloss where he noted down the Hebrew form: *z Beth-edena*.

⁶⁰ For Is 37,12 and Ez 27,23 there are no variants within the FS (untranslated books).

⁶¹ Cf. *Księgi proroków mniejszych. Ozeasza – Joela – Amosa – Abdiasza – Jonasza – Micheasza. Wstęp – Przekład z oryginału. Komentarz*, ed. S. ŁACH, Poznań 1968, p. 190.

In a short article, it is virtually impossible to scrutinise all translation variants of the selected source form in the possibly widest corpus of biblical translations. Thus, it was necessary to focus exclusively on several selected Slavic translations, the choice of which was, however, performed on numerous various criteria. The analysis of translation equivalents of the Hebrew name *Eden* in the excerpted texts renders it possible to notice the variety of meaning and formal equivalents, and, even more interestingly, the relationships and influences between translations (especially within the denominational class or based on any source text: the Hebrew original, the LXX, the VG). At the same time, it demonstrates the difficulties that the authors of Slavic translations experienced while struggling with the demanding linguistic matter. Such problems stemmed from a variety of factors: the genetic and structural discrepancies between Semitic and Slavic languages, additionally magnified by the influence of the first translations of the Bible (the Greek LXX and the Latin VG), different outlooks on reality in cultures that are so distant to one another (which is also connected with the specific standing of proper names in the Bible that usually identified and characterised an object), the incongruence of certain biblical realities to the reality of the Slavic territory, religious conditionings, and – in the case of the earliest Slavic translations – also the incomparably lower biblical knowledge in comparison to our times. It must also be emphasised that some proper names which were particularly expressive in terms of ideology (including beyond any doubt the *proprium Eden*) alternate between their proper and common meaning in translation. The analysis of such meanings and use is so valuable, since it also has its repercussions in individual national languages, cf. e.g. the use of the name *Eden* as a synonym to ‘*kraina szczęśliwości*/the land of happiness’ in various tongues.

In conclusion, attention should be paid to one more aspect of the conducted research. One of the premises of drafting this article was also the wish to stress the validity of any effort put into making mini-monographs of that kind, the purpose of which is to describe translation equivalents of any given name in a possible broad corpus of translated texts. In the future they may contribute to the making of a larger synthesis, in which the analysis of translation variants of individual biblical names could become starting point to indicate basic tendencies and mechanisms within the scrutinised issues, and common features and discrepancies in any given individual Slavic translations.

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Abstract. The authors study different equivalents of the Hebrew word *Eden* in selected old and new Slavic translations of the Bible. The equivalents of this lexeme have been excerpted from several Slavic translations of the Bible, which were selected on the basis of diverse criteria. The translations are presented chronologically and old translations are opposed to the new ones. They represent three groups of Slavic languages: West Slavic, East Slavic and South Slavic and are connected with the base of translation, i.e. the original text and/or Greek or Latin text. They can also be classified according to religious denomination and the strategy of the translation.

The observation of those equivalents enables us to see not only their variety and mutual influence among translations but also the struggle of Slavic translators with a very difficult language matter. Many factors were important in that struggle: genetic and structural distances between Semitic and Slavic languages, different perceptions of reality in distant cultures, the discrepancy between biblical and Slavonic realities and the influence of religious denomination. Another important factor was the state of biblical knowledge at the time – incomparably poorer in the case of the oldest Slavic translations in comparison to modern ones.

Keywords: Slavic old and new translations of the Bible, proper names, *Eden*.

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THE ROLE OF THE BIBLE IN THE FORMATION OF PHILOSOPHICAL THOUGHT IN KIEVAN RUS' (AS EXEMPLIFIED BY ILARION OF KIEV, KLIMENT SMOLATIČ, AND KIRILL OF TUROV)

The existence of philosophy in Kievan Rus' (10th–13th centuries) is a controversial issue. We do not find there a philosophy in a sense of theoretical and rational reflection with abstract notions and schemes about the world and Man but we do find a philosophy understood as a love of wisdom (*любомудрие*). Wisdom at that time meant a great knowledge of the Bible, proficiency in allegorical interpretation of it, a certain worldview and an ethical attitude that enabled to set intellectual standards, to teach, to guide society and to create popular ideas. The concept of “*книжность*” partly covers the semantic field encompassing these activities and virtues. The Eastern and Southern Slavonic “*книжник*” was a scholar, (bookman) either a monk or a priest whose work laid foundations for the cultural development of the country.

The work of Ilarion of Kiev (ca. 990–1055), Kliment Smolatič († ca. 1164), and Kirill of Turov (1130–1182) fits within the concept of “*книжность*” only partially and does not exhaust it. These men are the most representative though not the only figures in the theological (and thus philosophical) life of Kievan Rus'¹. The period of their activity bears the name of the Golden Age due to enterprises extremely important for the nascent Rus' identity, such as the erection of St. Sophia's Cathedral in Kiev, the foundation of the Caves monastery, and the transmission of “Cyrillo-Methodian” tradition into Rus'.

¹ The opinion according to which the writings of Ilarion, Kliment and Kirill ought to be considered the most important for the period is well-known. It was held by such distinguished researchers of Russian spirituality as Georgy Fedotov, Georgy Florovsky and Dmitry Likhachov. The latter called them *the best representatives of Old Russian byzantinism*. Florovsky also referred to this notion but in a pejorative sense: the Old Russian Hellenism that marked works of these authors is seen by him as indicating their lack of originality. Cf.: Д.С. ЛИХАЧЕВ, *Развитие русской литературы X–XVIII в.*, [in:] ИДЕМ, *Избранные работы*, Ленинград 1987, p. 93; Г.В. ФЛОРОВСКИЙ, *Пути русского богословия*, Москва 2009, p. 21; Г.П. ФЕДOTOV, *Русская религиозность. Христианство Киевской Руси X–XIII вв.*, [in:] ИДЕМ, *Собрание сочинений в двенадцати томах*, vol. X, Москва 2001, p. 68.

It is the Slavophilism, a 19th century trend in the Russian philosophy, that has to be attributed with particular merits in promoting the notion that the peculiar for Kievan Rus' way of life was ideal in terms of morals, outlook, and religion, as well as in implanting into the national consciousness the idea of Russian exceptionalism (combination of byzantinism with "Slavonic sensitivity"). Slavophiles, such as Ivan Kireevsky (1806–1856), maintained that it was in this epoch that the "integral life"² in culture and popular consciousness (i.e., a holistic and organic perception of reality – of man, world, and God) was really attainable. From the Slavophile point of view the pre-Mongol period thus appears as exceptional and, importantly, favourable for the intellectual, philosophic and theological activity.

The above-mentioned activity was centred around the Holy Scripture. The Bible played in Kievan Rus' the role of a paramount source, despite the fact that its first full translation, by Gennady and his literary circle, appeared as late as 1499. Before that, only certain fragments had been available and these had been used for liturgical purposes. In the 11th century there existed and functioned a version of the Holy Scripture translated within the "Cyrillo-Methodian" tradition, but it was not complete and mostly used during liturgy. In the second half of the 11th century there appeared the *Arkhangelsk Gospel* and the *Ostromir Gospel* of the aprakos type, that is an abbreviated version of parts of the Gospels ordered as they would be read during services. Whereas in the 12th century one observes an increase in translation and compilation of biblical sources in Old Rus'. Most importantly, *Halicz Gospel* (1144), containing the full text of the four Gospels, becomes available. However, the liturgical, that is partial, type of Bible remains the most popular. This includes e.g. *Prolog*, i.e. Old Rus' version of synaxarion and menaions that is the collections of lives of saints, *Apostle-aprakos*, containing Acts of the Apostles, Apostolic Letters and the Book of Revelation, *Grigorovichev Parimejnik* (fragments of the Old Testament books) and *Psalter*.

Both local and more global events were explained through biblical imagery. However, it should be emphasised that the quotations were not always strict. Waclaw Hryniewicz states that *the Old Russian writers did not quote fragments from the Holy Scripture word for word*³, they often quoted from memory and complemented the translations with apocrypha. The apocrypha were very popular in Old Rus', which shows that the Old Rus' way of thinking was of mythological rather than rational character. The biggest and the oldest collection of apocrypha, containing e.g. apocrypha on Solomon, on Thomas the Apostle, and on Adam and Eve, was included in *Paley Tolkovaya* (between the 11th and 13th centuries) and later in *Paley Hronograficheskaya* (the 14th century). Apocrypha is an example

² И.В. КИРЕВСКИЙ, *О характере просвещения Европы и о его отношении к просвещению России*, [in:] ИДЕМ, *Полное собрание сочинений*, vol. I, Москва 1911, p. 218.

³ А. НАУМОВ, *Апокрыфы в системе литературы церквеностолівніської*, PKSł 36, 1976, p. 30.

of mythologisation of experience, but when myths are *used to transfer us to the spiritual level of consciousness* (Joseph Campbell), the development of spirituality leads to the development of sensitivity and hence to wisdom and philosophy.

Ilarion of Kiev is the first figure, whose activity seems to be philosophically-oriented in a sense described above. There is relatively more known about his life and work compared to others, owing to the preserved historical sources and extensive modern research⁴. The main source is the oldest Rus' chronicle: *Primary Chronicle* (from the beginning of the 12th century). The authorship of this chronicle is attributed to Nestor (1050–1114), a monk from Caves monastery. We read there that Ilarion was a presbyter and a monk in a newly created Caves monastery in Kiev and the first Rus' metropolitan, appointed by Yaroslav the Wise (978–1054) in 1051:

Prince Yaroslav was fond of Berestovo and the Church of the Holy Apostles there situated. He gathered a large company of priests, among whom was a presbyter named Ilarion, a virtuous man, learned and ascetic⁵.

There is no information with regard to his education but it is known that from the second half of the 10th century the educational system called “*книжное учение*”⁶ was in place. Moreover, a certain level of education implied the Slavonic-Greek bilingualism because (as researchers suggest) a knowledge of Greek was a pre-requisite for learning the Old Church Slavonic, which functioned as the liturgical and literary language in Kievan Rus'⁷.

Ilarion authored one work entitled *On Law and Grace* (ca. 1037), which from a formal point of view is a solemn homily. Homilies are often of oral character and it seems that this was also the case of *On Law and Grace*. It is likely that the sermon was given on the occasion of consecration of the Saint Sophia's Cathedral in Kiev. The Saint Sophia's Cathedral was a special place, which symbolised the identity of Old Rus'. It was a place where the opinions were shaped, the religious and intellectual heart of Kiev, which in the 11th century had an ambition of becoming a cultural centre equal to Constantinople and independent of it⁸.

⁴ Слово о законе и благодати, [in:] Библиотека литературы Древней Руси, ed. Д.С. ЛИХАЧЕВ, Л.А. ДМИТРИЕВ, А.А. АЛЕКСЕЕВ, Н.В. ПОНЬРКО, vol. I, Санкт-Петербург 1997; *Идейно-философское наследие Илариона Киевского*, ed. В.В. Мильков, vol. I–II, Москва 1986.

⁵ *The Russian Primary Chronicle. Laurentian Text*, trans. et ed. S. HAZZARD CROSS, O.P. SHERBO-WITZ-WETZOR, Cambridge 1953, p. 139.

⁶ В.В. КУСКОВ, *История древнерусской литературы*, Москва 1982, p. 29.

⁷ Сф. Б.А. УСПЕНСКИЙ, *Языковая ситуация Киевской Руси и ее значение для истории русского литературного языка*, Москва 1983, p. 18–21.

⁸ Сф.: М.В. ЛЕВЧЕНКО, *Очерки по истории русско-византийских отношений*, Москва 1956, p. 444; Д.С. ЛИХАЧЕВ, *Великое наследие. Классические произведения литературы Древней Руси*, Москва 1979, p. 45.

On Law and Grace is customarily divided into four parts: 1) On Law and Grace, 2) How Grace spreads and reaches Rus', 3) The encomium of Vladimir 4) The prayer (Confession of faith), where the author indicates that he knew of and identified himself with the results of the councils and the teachings of the Church Fathers. It is the first three parts that are important from a philosophical point of view. The content of the first part indicates that Ilarion viewed himself as a maintaining the tradition of Byzantine theology. Writing about the superiority of the New Testament over the Old and in his philosophical formulation of the doctrine of God's Grace, he was most likely inspired by *Homilies on Jews and Judaizing Christians* (387) by John Chrysostom (350–407), a Byzantine theologian and speaker. *Homilies* were divided into eight parts in which the author contrasted two rivalling communities (politeias) in Antioch: Christian and Jewish. The Church Father portrayed the Jews and their religious holidays as devoid of values (the first homily), so anyone involved in the Jewish proselytism (especially "judaizing Christians" or "Antiochean half-Christians") was condemned by him (third and eighth homilies). All this was aimed to prove the superiority of Christian doctrine and its future social victory⁹.

It should be mentioned that the works of John Chrysostom were treated with reverence in the Old Rus'. The Church Father is mentioned in the anthology of aphorisms translated from Bulgarian and compiled by a deacon John for the Grand Prince Sviatoslav of Kiev (1027–1076), called *Izbornik of Sviatoslav* from 1076: *Listen to the lives of Saint Basil, Saint John Chrysostom and Saint Cyril the philosopher*¹⁰. Earlier, at the end of the 9th century (in Bulgaria), fragments of John Chrysostom's works appeared in the so-called *Golden stream* (Златоструй).

Ilarion's sermon refers to the Old Testament parable of Hagar and Sarah (Gn 15,1–21,34), with its allegorical interpretation aimed at presenting the notion of God's Grace. Sarah was Abraham's wife, who could not have offsprings. However, Abraham had a slave named Hagar and at Sarah's will she bore him a son, Ishmael. This occurrence has been compared to the moment of receiving the Ten Commandments on Mount Sinai by Moses. Ishmael was identified with the Law, the announcement. In old age, however, Sarah gave birth to a son, Isaac, who in turn, has been identified with Jesus the Godman. Isaac (Jesus) was free while Ishmael (the Jews) was a slave and limited by law. Jews thanks to the Law, have gained only forgiveness for their behaviour, while Christians, thanks to God's Grace, have received salvation. The value of the Law has been diminishing, while the Christian promise of salvation has been growing owing to the sacrifice of the Christ. The homily presents a number of comparisons, "Christological antitheses" which prove the two natures of Jesus: *one of the Trinity, in two natures*,

⁹ Cf. *Discourses against judaizing Christians*, trans. P.W. HARKINS, Washington 1979, *passim*.

¹⁰ Из Изборника 1076 года, [in:] Библиотека литературы..., vol. II, Санкт-Петербург 1999, <http://lib.pushkinskiydom.ru/Default.aspx?tabid=2167> [28 V 2016].

divine and human. He was fully human, becoming man not merely in appearance; yet not merely man, for in His divinity He was also fully God¹¹. Ilarion seems to have a deep awareness of the idea of Godmanhood of Jesus, the divine logos in human flesh, although not using there such a sophisticated word like "Logos". The author allegorically illustrated the dogma of the hypostatic union canonical from 451 (Council of Chalcedon).

In the Orthodox tradition and from a theological and philosophical points of view, God's Grace is identified with God himself: *Truth and Grace is the servant of the age to come, of life incorruptible*¹². The Orthodox theology identifies it with the non-created energies, God's powers through which God manifests His presence to man and the world. Man, by experiencing God's Grace, becomes free and redeemed (e.g. deified). Also, the entire Old Rus' nation is encompassed by God's Grace – and this nation is the subject of the second part.

Ilarion compares pagan times with a dried-up ground: *our land was parched and desolate*¹³, which only became fertile after the dawn of Christianity. People blind, deaf and poor in spirit are becoming aware and wise: *He [God] brought us unto the knowledge of the Truth*¹⁴. Christian Old Rus' is treated as a fully-fledged nation inferior to none with her history recognised as a part of the general history of humankind. Owing to Christianity, the state obtained a new identity and a chance for a brighter future. The argumentation involved the figure of Vladimir the Great, the ruler responsible for the baptism of Old Rus'. Vladimir was compared there to Constantine the Great given the historical importance of his deed. Vladimir's Christianisation of Old Rus' was, in the eyes of Ilarion, a deed that put Vladimir on par not only with the Byzantine emperor but also with the Evangelists:

Rome with the voices of praise, praises Peter and Paul, for through Peter and Paul Rome came to believe in Jesus Christ, Son of God. Asia and Ephesus and Patmos praise John the Theologian. India praises Thomas, Egypt praises Mark: every land and every city and every nation honours and glorifies its teacher that taught it the Orthodox faith. We too, therefore, let us praise to the best of our strength, with our humble praises, him whose deeds were wondrous and great, our teacher and guide, the great kagan of our land, Volodimer, the grandson of Igor of old and son of the glorious Svjatoslav. When these reigned in their time, their renown spread abroad for their courage and valour; and still they are remembered, renowned even now for their victories and might. For they ruled not some feeble, obscure, unknown land, but in this land of Rus', which is known and renowned to the ends of the earth¹⁵.

With the Christianisation of Old Rus' Vladimir (having accepted the baptismal name Basil) gave evidence of his wisdom, justice and kindness of heart. This

¹¹ *Sermons and rhetoric of Kievan Rus'...*, p. 10.

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 4.

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 14.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 17–18.

wisdom turned out to be the legacy of Great Princess Olga (890–969), who is considered as one of the first to accept Christianity from the Byzantine Emperor¹⁶. In turn, Vladimir's work was continued by his son Yaroslav (baptismal name George) by erecting the Saint Sophia's Cathedral in Kiev, *the city, shining in splendour*¹⁷, which became the symbol of Old Rus' enlightenment.

Ilarion mythologised this event, as he believed that the Christianisation meant a good and successful future for Old Rus' – as Old Rus' became equal to other nations before God and was given a chance of participating in God's Grace. This does not involve the notion of a chosen nation – all nations are equally important before God. There is, however, a tendency to make a distinction, as all the comparisons he makes turn out to be in favour of Old Rus' (e.g. Vladimir the Great – Constantine the Great).

Ilarion's work, according to the researchers, was *the first document of Russian historical self-consciousness*¹⁸. The Old Rus' nation was described as *the herd of Jesus the shepherd* and included in the universal history of salvation. Therefore local themes are interwoven with the more global ones. It is clear that the author of *On Law and Grace* had an evangelising streak in him, which, after all, seems quite natural given the position he held: Ilarion interpreted, allegorised, taught history of his land, and felt a deep sense of responsibility to fulfil his mission as a guide of Old Rus' and its philosopher, a creator of national ideas.

An additional reason why we can consider him a philosopher is his language, which was reaching out for philosophic metaphors, e.g. *humankind was (...) like a fouled vessel*¹⁹; or Grace as *sun's warmth warmed the earth*²⁰. Here we encounter a simile of light. Holiness and Grace, as everything that comes from God, was associated with light. So, in the case of homily *On Law and Grace*, one can speak of traces of the metaphysics of light, the light that liberates and delivers from bondage: *Yet God had mercy upon us and the light of understanding shone forth upon us, that we might know Him*²¹. But in as much as Ilarion was distinctly sensitive in abstract and metaphysical matters, he remained a practical philosopher and an astute theologian. So, his considerations were confined to the following postulates: a necessity to abdicate from the material side of life: *we gave ourselves over to carnal lust, we became slaves to sin and the cares of the world*²² and the reality of truth, both eternal and practical: *(...) Christians' salvation is generous and beneficent extending to all corners of the earth*²³.

¹⁶ *The Russian Primary Chronicle...*, p. 82.

¹⁷ *Sermons and rhetoric of Kievan Rus'...*, p. 25.

¹⁸ Cf. С. СЕНДЕРОВИЧ, *Слово о законе и благодати как экзегетический текст*, ТОДЛ 51, 1999, p. 43.

¹⁹ *Sermons and rhetoric of Kievan Rus'...*, p. 4.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 7.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 15.

²² *Ibidem*, p. 27.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 7.

The ideas from the sermon *On Law and Grace* are picked up in *An Epistle written by Kliment, metropolitan of Rus', to Foma the Presbyter, with interpretations by the monk Afanasij* (ca. 1147) authored by Kliment Smolatič. Kliment was the second, after Ilarion, metropolitan of Kiev of local origin (he performed this function between 1147–1154). In *Hypatian Chronicle* (from the 13th century) he is called a “great philosopher”²⁴, which should be understood as a description of an exceptional, active writer, a bookman. There is a suggestion that he might have authored some philosophical works but these have not survived to modern times²⁵. He was surrounded by people with Greek-styled education, indicating that he might have had such education himself. Neither Kliment’s personality nor his works have been subject of a large interest among Western researchers and there is no publication describing his literary output (with the exception of professor Simon Franklin from Harvard). In Russian too, there is only one monograph on the topic, written by Nikolay Nikolsky in 1892 and a translation from the Old Church Slavonic made in the Institute of Russian Literature (Russian Academy of Sciences, the Pushkin House).

The Epistle, formally, was addressed to Foma, who was one of the trustees of the Grand Prince of Kiev Izjaslav II Mstislavič (1096–1154) and to the circle of disciples of Gregory, about whom information is scarce, but in practice it involved the Prince himself: *But if I did write, then it was not to you but to the prince*²⁶. We know that this work was read out to the Prince and his entourage but we do not know what was the Prince’s reaction. In terms of form and topic, this text, similarly to *On Law and Grace*, can be described as solemn homiletics combining local – Old Rus’-related – themes with more general ones – pertaining to the Christian world at large. Apart from Byzantine influences, Kliment may have been inspired by *Shestodnev* (of the 10th century) by bishop John the Exarch – as he followed John in reproducing the name of a sea creature – (*ехион морьский*), the abilities of which (to cope with storms, winds and thunders) were seen as a testimony to God’s wisdom and kindness²⁷. *Shestodnev* was a type of *Hexameron*, where the author contemplated the secret of world creation, referring to various Byzantine theologians e.g. John of Damascus and the Cappadocian Fathers. Together with strictly theological ideas, one also finds there philosophical considerations as well as those relating to the natural world – John the Exarch often quotes and summarises parts of Aristotle’s philosophy (describing geography, the heavenly bodies and the soul)²⁸.

²⁴ *Летопись по Ипатьевскому списку*, Санкт-Петербург 1871, p. 241; Е.Э. ГРАНСТЕРН, *Почему митрополита Климента Смолятича называли «Философом»*, ТОДЛ 25, 1970, p. 20–28.

²⁵ Cf. Н. НИКОЛЬСКИЙ, *О литературных трудах митрополита Климента Смолятича, писателя XII века*, Санкт-Петербург 1892, p. 3.

²⁶ *Sermons and rhetoric of Kievan Rus’...*, p. 31.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 49.

²⁸ Cf.: *Из «Шестоднева» Иоанна экзарха болгарского*, trans. Г.М. ПРОХОРОВА, [in:] *Библиотека литературы...*, vol. II, <http://lib.pushkinskijdom.ru/Default.aspx?tabid=2166> [28 V 2016];

It seems that in the *Epistle* the definition and essence of “philosophy” and “philosophising” is broadened. Figures such as Plato, Aristotle and even Homer are mentioned in the context of the above notions:

You say to me: «you write so as to glorify yourself, making yourself out to be a philosopher». Yet the fault is primarily your own! As if I ever wrote any such thing to you! But neither did I write nor would I write thus! And yet you say: «You write philosophically», while in fact you yourself wrote most falsely, as though I had abandoned the revered Scriptures and had instead written using Homer and Aristotle and Plato, who were renowned in the colonnades of the Hellenes²⁹.

At first, it seems that Kliment is merely distancing himself from the pagan cultural authorities. But given the background of his polemic and his plausible intellectual horizons we might suggest that he did in fact value Plato, Aristotle and Homer more than his ignorant opponent, since the first two of them were valued by John Chrysostom and Gregory the Theologian, whom Kliment regards as authorities.

Philosophy helped Kliment to discover divine secrets, hence he is not ashamed of calling himself a philosopher:

I do not think what I wrote was «philosophy». Christ said to the holy disciples and apostles: «Unto you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom, but to the rest in parables» (Lc 8,10). Dear Foma, is this the «philosophy» through which I seek glory from the men?³⁰

Kliment addressed potential misunderstandings and explained that philosophising is not just trying to be smart, looking for attention and a sign of pride. The wisdom of pagan philosophers, especially of Plato, can be used in allegorical interpretation of the Holy Scripture and in explaining the truths of the faith. This was, after all, done by the early Christian apologists writing in Greek – Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Justin Martyr. On such practices, the Alexandrian school of Christian theology was based. Kliment does not mention these figures but perhaps he was familiar with their views. The only available Slavonic translations of fragments of Plato’s work were contained in the already-mentioned *Shestodnev* by John the Exarch, a Byzantine compilation of aphorisms and sayings by Greek philosophers and the Church Fathers called *Melissa*, the Greek original of which was translated in the 12th century, that is when Kliment probably had been already dead. Hence, he may have known some extracts from Plato’s works in Greek. However, there is

Г.С. БАРАНКОВА, *Античная философия, мифология, научные знания в древнеславянских переводных памятниках и выработка научной терминологии*, [in:] *Философские и богословские идеи в памятниках древнерусской мысли*, ed. МН. ГРОМОВ, Москва 2000, p. 25–27.

²⁹ *Sermons and rhetoric of Kievan Rus’...*, p. 31.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 45.

no doubt that Kliment read the works of John Chrysostom, as certain fragments of his works had been available in Old Rus' as early as in the 11th century (or perhaps even in the 9th century).

Kliment, to prove his respect towards the Bible and his excellent knowledge of it, undertook an allegorical interpretation of the fragments on Divine Wisdom (Prv 9,1) and the Judah and Tamar (Gn 38,12–23). An allegorical interpretation of the latter Old Testament fragment assumes that God is symbolised by wisdom and humankind is symbolised by the house, since Christ entered the house as he assumed a body, and the seven columns symbolise seven general councils. This interpretation entails that the Divine Wisdom found a harbour and the best way of expressing itself in humankind, hence the task of man is to cultivate it.

The cult of Saint Sophia has been exceptionally strong in the consciousness of the Kievan Rus'. The Old Rus' depictions of St. Sophia were as multifaceted as the Byzantine ones. Slavs, especially the Eastern and Southern ones, perceived her in their own way, which reflected their type of sensitivity. At the turn of the 19th century, the cult of St. Sophia acquired a philosophical dimension – Russian sophiologists (Vladimir Solovyov, Pavel Florensky, Sergey Bulgakov and Aleksei Losev) interpreted the image of St. Sophia within the framework of their theological and philosophical, iconographic, hesychastic and onomatodoxical analyses.

The Epistle is not the only work by Kliment (there is also a number of answers to the so-called *Questions of Kirik the Novgorodian* and *Sermon on love*, first half of the 12th century), yet it is this text that gives evidence of the philosophical dimension of this author. Among other sources, Kliment could have been inspired by a *Letter to Titus* (5th century) of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, in which the author explained his understanding of *the Divine and Mystical Truth, unapproachable by the profane*³¹ and a variety of symbolic representations of Divinity, i.e. Images of God. One of the symbolic representations of Divinity turns out to be the image of the Divine Wisdom (which also appealed to Kliment) that invites to the feast and distributes the food, i.e. the gifts from God, *life-giving and nourishing and perfecting*³².

The reception of the *Corpus Areopagiticum* in Kievan Rus' seems to be significant to the investigation on the development of philosophical ideas there. A manuscript of the translation of the *Corpus Dionisiacum* made by a Serbian monk Isaiah in 1371 was imported from the Balkans to Rus' only in the 19th century. But researchers believe that a translation had been known there earlier³³. The issue had been discussed by the first Russian female philosopher Maria Bezobrazova (1856–1914), as well as by the contemporary scholars: Anatoly Ticholaz and Gelian Prokhorov³⁴.

³¹ *The Works of Dionysius the Areopagite*, trans. J. PARKER, London 1897, p. 169.

³² *Ibidem*, p. 176.

³³ Cf. A. ТИХОЛАЗ, *Platonizm w Rosji*, trans. H. RAROT, Kraków 2004, p. 36–37.

³⁴ Cf.: Г.М. ПРОХОРОВ, *Сочинения Дионисия Ареопагита в славянской рукописной традиции*, [in:] ИДЕМ, *Русская и армянская средневековые литературы*, Ленинград 1982; М.В. БЕЗОБРАЗОВА, *Творения Святого Дионисия Ареопагита*, Санкт-Петербург 1898.

Kliment Smolatič was a representative of the same trend in Old Rus' literary activity as Kirill of Turov (1130–1182). The characteristic feature of this current was an attempt at synthesis of Greek loans (metaphors, patterns, epithets) with the Old Rus' native outlook. It is not unlikely that during Kirill's times he has been taught in Turov by the Byzantine scholars gathered around a Greek princess Barbara (died 1190), who resided there, being the second wife of Sviatopolk Yurevič. Kirill's works, which include paschal homilies, ascetic writings and prayer-related texts, are considered to be least philosophical and he is viewed rather as a poet, whose writings do not emphasise the intellectual element. Since his theological legacy is described in detail, e.g. by Simon Franklin³⁵, let us just focus on a single text entitled *The tale of the Body and the Soul (On the Lame and the Blind)* (dated to the 1160s) that contains a number of philosophical theses worth considering. The text begins with the praise of *understanding the books* (книжное знание): *Sweet is the honeycomb, and sugar is good; but understanding the books is better than both, for the books are treasure houses of eternal life*³⁶. We deal here with the advocacy of wisdom in the sense of conscious and ample knowledge of the sacred texts and the ability of their proper (allegorical) interpretation. Such knowledge ennoble the soul, the mind and the heart. A man, who acquired this knowledge is the master of himself and his fate, moves away from the possibility of sin, and more importantly, becomes predisposed to partake in God's Grace.

The allegory of soul and body was based on the biblical story of mischievous farmers, who had robbed their neighbour's orchard (Mt 21,33–41). In the Bulgarian Empire, it was known during the reign of Symeon I the Great, that is in the 9th/10th century³⁷. There was a householder, who had a vineyard and was looking for night guards of his crops – eventually he chose a blind one and a lame one as he thought that they would not be able to rob him, given their disabilities. As it turned out, however, the blind one put the lame one on his back and with the lame one's directions they were able to go over the fence and rob the orchard. When the householder asked them about it in the morning, they cast aspersions at each other.

According to Kirill, the householder symbolised God, the lame one symbolised the body, the blind one symbolised the soul, the vineyard symbolised the world, and the fence symbolised divine laws. The philosophical content of this parable can be reduced to the thesis on the unity of the soul and the body. Both body and soul are equal parts of man, they function in collaboration and neither of them can be rejected. Sin is a spiritual burden, it is not only the body but also the soul that is responsible for it – both these elements constitute a man. Similar topics

³⁵ *Sermons and rhetoric of Kievan Rus'*..., p. lxxx-xciv.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 55.

³⁷ Cf.: Сон Джонг Со, *Еще раз о соотношении двух древнерусских редакций Притчи о слепце и хромце*, ТОДЛ 54, 2003, p. 390; И.П. ЕРМИН, *Притча о слепце и хромце в древнерусской письменности*, ИОРЯС 30, 1925, p. 323–352.

had been dealt with before, long reflections on the relation between body and soul are contained in an anonymous collection of translations, the so-called *Izbornik* of 1073, where we can read that the soul and the body are one: *Unity of the being (essence) takes place in individual substances, unity of individual substances takes place in beings (essences) like in the case of soul and body*³⁸. The *Izbornik* (1073) is a text on natural philosophy, hence the topic of the soul and the body is analysed in the logical context (apart from the religious one). The true being, that is what exists, that is *сущее*, can be divided into concrete and accidental beings. Hypostases are concrete beings. The essence can exist without hypostasis but a hypostasis cannot exist without essence. Peter is a hypostasis but only when he also has essence, e.g. being a man.

In the case of Christ, there is no similar parallelism. In contrast to Ilarion, who emphasised the godman nature of Christ, Kirill did not devote much attention to the problem of the human aspects of Jesus. Through Jesus, God manifests the will to become known to man. Allegorically, this is expressed by the open orchard gates:

The unclosed Gateway is the wondrous ordering of God's nature. As it is said: «Know the Creator by His creation» (Rom 1,19–20). But you must understand that this means not His quality but His magnitude and might, the glory and the grace which He created in His care for the high and the low, for the visible and invisible.³⁹

This fragment shows that Kirill was aware (or perhaps it was just his intuition) of the essence and energies of God, differentiated within Him. Man gets to know God through His actions that manifest themselves in the order and harmony of the surrounding world.

* * *

Ilarion of Kiev, Kliment Smolatič, and Kirill of Turov were not the only significant thinkers of Kievan Rus'. Vladimir Monomach (1053–1125), Theodosius of the Caves (1029–1074), Daniel the Immured (12th–13th centuries), Nicephorus I († 1121) and the chroniclers also deserve to be noted. Regarding the latter, Dmitry Likhachov said: [they] *undertook a comprehensive attempt to approach the history from the Russian perspective, while expressing their views in historiosophical and cosmological ways*⁴⁰. The inspiration for the chroniclers, both Byzantine and Old Rus', was the Bible: *the chronicler expresses his feelings in the language of the Bible*⁴¹. Old Rus' chronicles were partly inspired by the Byzantine ones – the

³⁸ Из *Изборника 1073 года*, trans. Г.М. ПРОХОРОВ, [in:] *Библиотека литературы...*, vol. II.

³⁹ *Sermons and rhetoric of Kievan Rus'...*, p. 58.

⁴⁰ Д.С. ЛИХАЧЕВ, *Великое наследие. Классические произведения литературы Древней Руси...*, p. 48–52, 105.

⁴¹ W. HRYNIEWICZ, *Staroruska teologia paschalna w świetle pism św. Cyryla Turowskiego*, Warszawa 1993, p. 80.

chronicle of John Malalas emerged in Rus' in the 10th century and the chronicle of George Hamartolos in the 11th century – and partly by “the Slavic sensibility”.

Old Rus' philosophical thought expressed in the works of Ilarion, Kliment and Kirill emphasised the religious, ethical, eschatological, cosmological and metaphysical concepts, while putting little stress on formalized rational reasoning. Georgy Fedotov wrote that religious cosmology and history evident in the works of the above-mentioned thinkers were founded on eschatological visions. These authors appear to be more of the moralizers than ethicists; more the exponents of the Christian economy of salvation than metaphysicians.

Consequently, the thought we observe in Kievan Rus' is pre-philosophical rather than philosophical (in the sense of a theological philosophy found in Byzantium), but the time between 11th and 13th centuries can be defined as the formative time for Russian outlook. That is why it can be seen as an integral part of the study of the sources of Russian philosophy (especially Russian religious philosophy).

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Abstract. The article is an attempt to critically evaluate the manifestations of the philosophical culture sprouting in Rus'. With the baptism in the Byzantine Rite, Rus' in the 10th century joined the family of Christian nations and defined the future direction of her own cultural development. The Middle Ages in Rus' were eminently theocentric. Literature (which was mostly translated from the Greek in Bulgarian monasteries) had a religious character. Sacral content, assimilated in Rus' mainly through the Old Church Slavonic (due to the scarce knowledge of Greek) had a decisive influence on formation of the philosophical worldview of Rus' intellectual elite. The Bible thus became the main reference framework for the first Rus' thinkers-philosophers: Ilarion of Kiev († 1055), Kirill of Turov († 1183) and Kliment Smolatič († 1164). Ilarion of Kiev, the first metropolitan of the Kievan Rus' in his rhetoric work (which postulated the superiority of the New Testament to the Old) expressed a philosophical thesis of the equality of all Christian nations before God. Kliment Smolatič, the second metropolitan of Rus', in his Letter to Presbyter Foma, defended the allegorical method

of interpreting the Bible. Kirill of Turov, in his turn, in his Parable of the human soul and body allegorically tried to answer the question about the relationship of the body and the soul. For the Rus' thinkers the content of the Bible served as a pretext for philosophical reflection, e.g. on the role of man in the universe, on the nature of reality, on the relation between matter and spirit. In their works we find the beginnings of the theory of knowledge, metaphysics, ethics, and aesthetics.

Keywords: Kievan Rus', Russian philosophy, Byzantine culture, Orthodox religion, Ilarion of Kiev, Kliment Smolatič, Kirill of Turov.

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THE PLACE OF THE MIHANOVIĆ PSALTER IN THE FOURTEENTH-CENTURY REVISIONS OF THE CHURCH SLAVONIC PSALTER

Among the revised versions of Church Slavonic biblical and liturgical texts from the early fourteenth century, the Psalter occupies a special place, because it appears in two related but distinct revisions of approximately the same date. One of these, variously known as the ‘Athonite Redaction’¹ or as Redaction III², is found in Bulgarian manuscripts of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, notably the Šopov–Karadimov psalter fragments in Sofia³, and the Mihanović psalter fragments, HAZU III a 49 and NSK R. 4494/1, in Zagreb; Serbian copies⁴ are extant from the mid fourteenth century onward, and the redaction seems to have been in widespread use in the South Slav lands: it was printed in the Cetinje Psalter⁵ at the end of the fifteenth century. The other early fourteenth-century revision of the Church Slavonic Psalter is so far attested only in one manuscript, the Bulgarian Norov Psalter⁶. In Thomson’s classification this is Redaction IV⁷.

As is shown in Karačorova’s contrastive studies⁸ of the early textual tradition and the fourteenth-century revisions of the Church Slavonic Psalter, Redactions

¹ Е.В. ЧЕШКО, *Об афонской редакции славянского перевода псалтыри в ее отношении к другим редакциям*, [in:] *Язык и письменность среднеболгарского периода*, ed. Е.В. ЧЕШКО *et al.*, Москва 1982, p. 60–93.

² F. J. THOMSON, *The Slavonic Translation of the Old Testament*, [in:] *Interpretation of the Bible*, ed. J. KRAŠOVEC, Ljubljana–Sheffield 1998, p. 815–820.

³ Plus a fragment recently discovered in the Central State Archive in Constantinople, see Е. МУСАКОВА, *Новооткрит фрагмент от Шоповия-Карадимов псалтир*, [in:] *Богослужбните книги – познати и непознати*, София 2008, p. 27–35.

⁴ С.М. МАКРОБЕРТ, *Problems in the study of the ‘Athonite’ redaction of the Psalter in South Slavonic manuscripts*, [in:] *Studies of Medieval South Slavic Manuscripts. Proceedings of the 3rd International Hilandar Conference held from March 28 to 30, 1989 = Проучавање средњовековних јужнословенских рукописа. Зборник радова са III међународне Хиландарске конференције одржане од 28. до 30. марта 1989*, ed. П. ИВИЋ, Београд 1995, p. 195–213.

⁵ Д. МАТИНОВИЋ, *Псалтир с последовањем Ђурђа Црнојевића 1494*, Cetinje 1986.

⁶ *Норовская псалтырь: Среднеболгарская рукопись XIV века, I–II*, ed. Е.В. ЧЕШКО *et al.*, София 1989.

⁷ F. J. THOMSON, *op. cit.*, p. 820.

⁸ И. КАРАЧОРОВА, *Към въпроса за Кирило-Методиевския старобългарски превод на псалтира*, КМС 6, 1989, p. 130–245; ЕАДЕМ, *Към изучаването на псалтирните редакции от XIV в.*

III and IV have much in common: they share not only a large number of individual readings, but also recurrent instances of systematic lexical preferences, e.g. *скоро*, *един-*, *тоуше* instead of earlier *адро*, *ин-*, *ашоути/спыти/безоума*. The most obvious difference between them consists in their relationship to the Greek text and to the previous Church Slavonic versions. Redaction III has clearly been reworked with reference to Greek, but the resulting changes are limited in type and extent; behind them elements of the older Redactions I and II can readily be detected. By contrast, Redaction IV reflects a much more radical attempt to align Church Slavonic syntax and morphology with Greek: verbal rection tends to be influenced by the choice of case in Greek⁹; the distribution of prepositional phrases is based more closely on Greek usage than in Redaction III, including the systematic use of conjunctions and prepositions to govern infinitives¹⁰; *ѣже* is regularly deployed as the equivalent of the Greek definite article to introduce attributive prepositional phrases and nominalized infinitives¹¹; as far as possible, the word order of Greek is reproduced, e.g. by treating the traditional postposition *ряди* as a preposition¹²; reflexive verbs, rather than passive participles, correspond to Greek passive forms¹³; Slavonic prefixes are added to verbs, either in response to local norms or in strict imitation of Greek¹⁴, producing instances of double prefixation unusual in earlier Church Slavonic, e.g. 27:3 *съпогоуѣи*, 48:18 *сънизидетъ*, 68:11 *съпокрыхъ*, 88:22 *съзастъжитъ*, 93:16 *съпрѣстанетъ*, 100:6 *съпсидити*, 78:13 *възъисповѣмы*, 96:9 *прѣвъзвыси*, 104:22 *спрѣмъдрити*, 118:15 *поразоумѣж*, 143:6–7 *изпосли*. Similarly, one-to-one correspondences between Church Slavonic and Greek lexical items are imposed, such as the calques *възвыситисѧ* rather than *възвнестисѧ* I II III for *ὑψοῦσθαι*¹⁵, *стенание* rather than *въздыханіе* I II III for *στεναγμός*¹⁶; the generalized use of *изчезати* instead of *исконъчатисѧ* I II or *съконъчатисѧ* III for *ἐκλείπειν*¹⁷

(*Библейски песни*), [in:] *Нѣсть оученикъ надъ оучителемъ своимъ. Сборникъ в чест на проф. д-р Иван Добрев, член-кореспондент на БАН и учител*, ed. А.-М. ТОТОМАНОВА, Т. СЛАВОВА, София 2005, p. 345–356.

⁹ *Норовская псалтырь...*, I, p. 72–74; И. КАРАЧОРОВА, *Към изучаването...*, p. 349–350.

¹⁰ Е.В. ЧЕШКО, *Кирилло-мефодиевский перевод Псалтыри и среднеболгарские правленные редакции. Структура слова и реляционные элементы*, [in:] *Studia slavico-byzantina et mediaevalia europensia*, I, ed. П. ДИНЕКОВ *et al.*, София 1988, p. 224–226; *Норовская псалтырь...*, I, p. 70–71; И. КАРАЧОРОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 350; С.М. MACROBERT, *Maksim Grek in linguistic context*, [forthcoming in:] *Latinitas in the Slavic World*, ed. V.S. TOMELLERI [PhS].

¹¹ Е.В. ЧЕШКО, *Кирилло-мефодиевский перевод...*, p. 225–226; *Норовская псалтырь...*, I, p. 70; И. КАРАЧОРОВА, *Към въпроса...*, p. 154–156; ЕАДЕМ, *Към изучаването...*, p. 349; С.М. MACROBERT, *op. cit.*

¹² *Норовская псалтырь...*, I, p. 71–72; И. КАРАЧОРОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 350.

¹³ Е.В. ЧЕШКО, *Кирилло-мефодиевский перевод...*, p. 228.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 220–222; И. КАРАЧОРОВА, *Към въпроса...*, p. 198; ЕАДЕМ, *Към изучаването...*, p. 352.

¹⁵ Е.В. ЧЕШКО, *Кирилло-мефодиевский перевод...*, p. 223; *Норовская псалтырь...*, I, p. 68.

¹⁶ In 11:6, 30:11, 37:9–10, 101:6, 101:21, but not 6:7, 78:11.

¹⁷ Е.В. ЧЕШКО, *Кирилло-мефодиевский перевод...*, p. 222.

and of *лжкавъ* to render *πονηρός*¹⁸ in place of *лютъъ* I II III; or the preference given to *храмъ* over *црѣкѣвъ* I II III as a translation of *ναός*¹⁹. A tendency to use translations rather than loanwords is sporadically discernible, for instance the three instances of *пѣсн*-²⁰ rather than *ψалм*- I II III and such isolated occurrences as 42:4 *жрътъвникѣу* for *олтарю* I II III, 44:8 *масло* for *олѣи* I II *ели* III. Redaction IV also goes further than Redaction III in morphological and syntactic developments such as increased use of the pronoun *тъ*²¹, the reduplicated stem *ддд*- in aorist forms²², the animate accusative of pronouns²³ and the dative case in correspondence to Greek genitive²⁴.

At the same time Redaction IV is not a totally new translation, independent of what came before. Even in its imitations of Greek infinitival constructions it sometimes betrays, through incoherence or inconsistency, its dependence on the wording of Redactions I, II and III, e.g.:

34:13 ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦς παρενοχλεῖν μοι

(вѣн)егда они огавиѣ творѣахъ I II III

вѣнегда они огавствовати мѣ IV

In imitation of Greek an infinitive has been substituted here for a finite verb, but the required concomitant change from nominative to dative subject has not been carried through.

45:3 ἐν τῷ тарάσσεσθαι τὴν γῆν καὶ μετατίθεσθαι ὄρη

(вѣн)егда съмжцаетъсѧ зѣмля и прѣлагажтъсѧ горы I II III

вѣнегда съмжцатисѧ зѣми и прѣлагажтсѧ горы IV

The first of two conjoined verbs has been changed to an infinitive, as in Greek, but either the reviser has neglected to change the second verb, or the scribe has copied a finite form from a conservative exemplar.

¹⁸ In 33:22, 36:19, 48:6, 77:49, but not 40:2, 93:13, 143:10.

¹⁹ In 17:7, 26:4, 28:9, 44:16, 64:5, 67:30, 78:1, 143:12, but not 5:8, 10:4, 27:2, 137:2.

²⁰ In 70:22, 107:3, 151:3.

²¹ E.g. 77:6.

²² E.g. 111:9, 115:3.

²³ И. КАРАЧОРОВА, *Към изучаването...*, p. 348; С.М. МАСРОBERT, *The variable treatment of clitics in 14th-century South Slavonic psalter translations*, [in:] *Многократните преводи в Южнославянското Средновековие*. София, 7–9 юли 2005, ed. Л. ТАСЕВА, Р. МАРТИ, М. ЙОВЧЕВА, Т. ПЕНТКОВСКАЯ, София 2006, p. 381–382.

²⁴ E.g. 28:6, 44:13, 77:61, 100:4, 105:22.

106:6+13+19+28 ἐν τῷ θλίβεσθαι αὐτούς

(вѣн)егда вѣстѣжишѧ I II III

106:6 вънегда вѣстѣжѣшѧ 106:13+19+28 вънегда скръбѣти имѣ IV.

Conversely to the previous example, a finite verb is retained from earlier redactions in the first instance, but replaced by an infinitive on the model of Greek in subsequent iterations.

Perhaps because the Grecizing tendency in Redaction IV is so strong, less scholarly attention has been given to the differences in native Slavonic usage between it and Redaction III. Yet these are also systematic, and they complicate the relationship between the two redactions. In some respects Redaction III follows the tradition of Redactions I and II, while Redaction IV innovates, for instance by preferring великъ²⁵ and тамо²⁶ to велии and тоу. At the same time, however, Redaction IV retains consistently the verb съмластисѧ as in I and II, whereas Redaction III just as consistently replaces it with съмжтитисѧ. Both redactions vacillate between the old loanword христѣ, found in I and II, and the calque помазаныи, but in different distributions: in 104:15, 131:10+17 Redaction III has помазаныи while Redaction IV has христѣ, but in 88:39 Redaction IV has помазаныи whereas Redaction III has христѣ. Thus neither redaction can be explained simply as a modification or elaboration of the other: they relate to previous tradition in different ways and, for all their similarities, they reflect divergent Slavonic norms.

A direct textual relationship between Redaction IV and earlier versions, unmediated by Redaction III, is also demonstrated by the number of early readings which are reproduced in IV but are alien to III²⁷. Some of these are standard in Redactions I and II, reflecting either their Greek textual tradition or their shared approach to translation and interpretation:

Revisions in III

2:12, 7:3, 12:4+5, 27:1, 37:17, 49:22 μήποτε

да некогда

15:7 & 9, 77:17 ἔτι ἔτι

21:17 ὄρουξαν ископашѧ

24:16 μονογενής единородѣ

34:16 ἐπείρασαν искоушишѧ

Early readings in IV

егда когда²⁸ I II

пакы I II

пригвоздишѧ I II

иноруденѣ cf. иночлѣдѣ I II

мжчишѧ I II

²⁵ In 20:6, 46:3, 47:2, 76:14, 85:13, 88:8, 94:3, 98:2, 105:21, 107:5, 110:2, 134:5, 137:5, 144:3, 146:5. This form also appears sporadically in Redaction II.

²⁶ In 35:13, 47:7, 68:36, 121:5, 131:17, 132:3, 136:1+3, 138:8+10.

²⁷ *Норовская псалтырь...*, I, p. 75–76.

²⁸ In the first four instances да некогда has been inserted as a correction in the Norov Psalter.

41:2 οὕτως сице	тако I II
44:10+14 πεποικιλμένη προφисπισηνα	профогкрашена I II
44:14 ἔσωθεν вънхтръ	вънхтръждоу I II
46:10 οἱ κραταιοὶ дрѣжкавѣнии	крѣпци I II
72:6 ἀσέβειαν αὐτῶν нечестѣмь своимь	нечестиеж своеж I II
75:6 ὕπνον αὐτῶν сѣнѣ свои	сномѣ своимѣ I II
75:8 ἀντιστήσεται противѣ станетѣ	противитса I II
77:19, 118:23 καταλάλειν κλεветати	глати I II
80:5 κρίμα сѣдѣба	сѣдѣ I II
87:9+19 τοὺς γνωστούς знаемыя	знанныя cf. знаниа I II
101:28 ὁ αὐτός τѣждѣ	самѣ I II
105:29 παρώξυναν/παρώργισαν? прогнѣваша	раздражиша I II
113:5 σοί/σύ тебѣ	ты I II
117:2–4 δὴ οὐβο	нѣѣ I II
118:49 τῶν λόγων/τὸν λόγον словесѣ твоихѣ	слово твоѣ I II
118:129 ἐξηρένησεν? испытаетѣ	изпыта I II
118:136 ἐφύλαξαν/ἐφύλαξα сѣхраниша	сѣхранихѣ I II
120:8 νῦν нѣѣ	селѣ I II

Others are peculiar to Redaction I or are even minority variants known only from a few early manuscripts:

Revisions in III

16:14 τὰ κατάλοιπα останѣкѣ II
19:8 ἄρμασιν колееницахѣ
26:6 ἐκύκλωσα обидохѣ II
63:10 τὰ ποιήματα творениа
67:26, 93:15 ἐχόμενοι близѣ II
72:7 εἰς διάθεσιν въ любовѣ
77:47 συκαμίνος енкаминие I
101:28 ἐκλείψουσιν окжѣжѣтѣ II
104:23 παρώκησεν пришьлѣствова II

Early variants in IV

ωλѣкы I
ωρжжнї minority reading in I II
обидѣ I
твори I
адѣ I
въ любви I
чрѣниче cf. чрѣница variant in I
скончажтса cf. ископчажтѣса I
приїде I

The readings cited above are the more striking instances where Redaction IV follows earlier tradition; an attentive reading of Karačorova's studies will supply further examples. The fact that some of these vestigial early readings are unusual should not occasion surprise: very conservative versions of the Church Slavonic translation, such as the Pogodin and Sofia Psalters, were still being copied in late thirteenth and early fourteenth-century Bulgaria. In addition, the sporadic indications of *diapsalmata* in the Norov Psalter have parallels almost exclusively in Redac-

tion I²⁹; they might of course have been reproduced directly from Greek, but this seems less likely, since they tend to be omitted from later Greek manuscripts³⁰.

There is clearly a problem here: Redactions III and IV, as well as displaying both coincidences and divergences in their innovations, contain different sets of readings retained from earlier redactions. Consequently there seems to be no straightforwardly reliable way of deriving one version from the other on the basis of internal evidence: each appears to relate to earlier tradition independently of the other. For this reason, arguments for the priority of one or other redaction have been based on the date of their manuscripts. Starting from the traditional dating of the Norov Psalter to the later thirteenth century, and from the dissemination of Redaction III in the fourteenth century, Češko and Karačorova assumed that Redaction IV came first³¹ and Redaction III was a subsequent modification, a compromise between its radical Grecizing stance and older tradition. But the Norov Psalter is now thought to date from the early fourteenth century³², and Thomson has argued that Redaction III preceded it³³. His argument appears to rely on Mošin's dating³⁴ of the Mihanović Psalter fragment, which largely follows Redaction III, to the late thirteenth century. However, Jagić referred the Mihanović Psalter to the early fourteenth century³⁵, and recently this dating has been revived by Turilov³⁶, on the grounds that the manuscript was written by the same scribe as the first and main hand of the Norov Psalter. If this is the case, it undermines any attempt to derive the chronological sequence of the two redactions from the dates of these manuscripts; it also brings into sharper focus the problem of the textual relationship between them.

The primary affiliation of the Mihanović Psalter to Redaction III is beyond doubt: it exhibits not only the textual features which are shared by both the early fourteenth-century revisions, but also the range of variants mentioned above which set Redaction III apart from Redaction IV, both in those places cited above³⁷

²⁹ C.M. MACROBERT, *On the headings and marginal notes in the two Glagolitic psalter manuscripts in S. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai*, [in:] *Philology Broad and Deep: In Memoriam Horace Gray Lunt*, ed. M. S. FLIER, D. J. BIRNBAUM, C.M. VAKARELIYSKA, Bloomington, IN 2014, p. 177–179.

³⁰ A. RAHLFS, *Septuaginta*, vol. X, *Psalmi cum Odis*, Göttingen 1979³, p. 77.

³¹ Е.В. ЧЕШКО, *Об афонской редакции...*, p. 86; И. КАРАЧОРОВА, *Към въпроса...*, p. 133, 239–240.

³² *Норовская псалтырь...*, p. 48–49.

³³ F.J. THOMSON, *op. cit.*, p. 815.

³⁴ V. MOŠIN, *Ćirilski rukopisi Jugoslavenske akademije*, Zagreb 1955, I, p. 55–6, II, p. 13–14.

³⁵ V. JAGIĆ, *Zwei illustrierte serbische Psalter* (= introduction to J. STRZYGOWSKI, *Die Miniaturen des Serbischen Psalters der Königlichen Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München*), DKAW.PhH 52.2, 1906, p. lxxv–lxxi.

³⁶ А.А. ТУРИЛОВ, *Болгарские книжники раннего XIV в. между Тырновом, Святой горой и Святой землей*, КМс 21, 2012, p. 236–239.

³⁷ In 44:10+14 *прѣспышюна*, 44:14 *вънѣтръ*, 46:10 *дръжавѣнѣн*, 63:10 *творенѣа*, 72:6 *нечѣстнѣмъ своимъ*, 72:7 *въ любовь*, 75:6 *сѣмъ свон*, 75:8 *противъ станетъ*, 77:19 *клеветашъ*, 77:47 *скалѣнны*,

where Redaction IV is conservative, and also in some places where the two redactions innovate:

Revisions in III and Mihanović Psalter

79:6 ψωμιεῖς напитаеши II
 104:20 ἀφῆκεν остави
 104:22 τοῦ παιδεῦσαι наοучити
 114:7 εὐηργέτησεν благо сътвори
 118:127 τοπάζιον пазиа
 128:3 ἐμάκρυναν оудалиша

Readings in other redactions

натровеши I, насыштаеши IV
 испоуети I II ѿпоуети IV
 да наоучитъ I да накажетъ II
 еже наказати IV
 добро сътвори I II бл҃годѣиствова IV
 тв[м]па[н]зиа I II топазиа IV
 заддлъжиша I II оудлъжишж IV

In addition, the Mihanović Psalter displays a peculiarly systematic use of **съмжтити** (сж), not only in the numerous places where other manuscripts of Redaction III deploy this verb³⁸ but also in 64:8³⁹ and 67:5⁴⁰.

As a witness to Redaction III, however, the Mihanović Psalter is unusual in two ways. Firstly, it contains more inherited readings, especially from Redaction I, than do most of the other witnesses to Redaction III⁴¹. In its partial retention of old accusative pronominal forms it presents the appearance of an incomplete revision, but there are also more substantive relics of early tradition:

Revisions in III and IV

41:10 ἐν τῷ ἐκθλίβειν τὸν ἐχθρόν με
 егда стжжаетъ ми врагъ III
 вънегда стжжати врагоу IV
 72:28 72:28 τοῦ ἐξαγγεῖλαι
 да възвѣщж III еже извѣстити IV
 77:57 ἀπέστρεψεν
 овратишася III ѿвратишж сж IV
 89:2 πρὸ τοῦ ὄρη γενηθῆναι

Early readings in Mihanović Psalter

ѿ печали врага I II
 да исповѣмъ I II
 възвратишжсж I II

80:5 сждѣа, 101:28 тѣждѣ, 101:28 вскждѣжт, 104:23 пришельствова, 105:29 прогнѣваш, 113:5 твѣѣ, 118:23 клеветашж, 118:49 словесъ твоихъ, 118:129 испытаетъ, 118:136 съ<хра>нишж, 120:8 нинѣ.
³⁸ In 41:7, 45:4, 45:7, 47:6, 54:3, 54:5, 59:4, 63:9, 76:5, 82:16, 89:7, 106:27, 118:60; 82:18, also 75:6 възмжтитжсж; the reading пограматъсж in 82:18b is probably an anticipation of постыдѣтсж in the second half of the verse.

³⁹ възмжтитжсж/възмжтатъсж I II, възмжтатъсж III, сжмжтжтсж IV.

⁴⁰ сжмжтжтсж I II III IV.

⁴¹ С.М. MacROBERT, *Problems...*, p. 211.

прѣжде даже горами не быти III	прѣжде даже горы не быша I II
прѣжде еже горами быти IV	
89:2 πλασθῆναι τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην	
сѣзѣдати сѣ земли и вѣселенѣи III IV	сѣзѣдасѣ земли и вѣселенасѣ I II
54:14 γνωστέ μου	
знаемыи мои III знаише мои IV	знание мое I II
68:4 κράζων зовы III зовѣщѣ IV	вѣпиасѣ I II
101:10 ὅτι ζανε III τὰκο IV	иде I II
101:26 κατ' ἀρχάς	
вѣ началѣцѣхѣ III	вѣ началѣхѣ I II
вѣ началѣхѣ IV	
42:2 κραταίωμα дрѣжава III IV	крѣпость I II
44:12 ἐπεθύμησεν	
вѣжделетѣ III вѣзжелаетѣ IV	вѣсхощетѣ I II
55:13 αἰ εὐχαὶ μολιτῆς III IV	обѣти I II
64:8 ὑποστήσεται ποσειδι III IV	противѣж стаетѣ I II
77:11 τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν βλαгодѣянии III IV	блѣгодати I II
77:38 & 45 διαφθερεῖν растѣлетѣ III IV	погубити I II
78:5 ἐκκαυθήσεται ραζγορι III IV	раждежетѣ I II
80:13 τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα / τὰς ἐπιθυμίας?	
начинанию III начинании IV	похотенѣ ⁴² I II

Rather as in Redaction IV, these earlier readings are sometimes conservative or minority variants:

Shared readings in III and IV

113:6 ἐσκιρτήσατε / ἐσκιρτήσαν
 вѣзыграстѣсѣ III IV, minority reading in I
 101:23 ἐν τῷ συναχθῆναι
 (вѣн)вѣда сѣверитѣсѣ II III
 вѣнвѣда сѣвратисѣ IV
 108:3 ἐκύκλωσαν οβιδοшѣ II III IV
 121:6 ἐρωτήσατε вѣпроситѣ II III IV

Early variants in Mihanović Psalter

вѣзыграшжсѣ I II
 вѣда сѣнѣмжтсѣ I
 ѡбѣдѣж I
 ѡμολитѣ I

It may be mere chance that inherited readings in the Mihanović Psalter are also found in Redaction IV, but the fact that some of them recur in the same distribution as in the Norov Psalter looks like more than coincidence:

⁴² A reminiscence, whether in Greek or in Church Slavonic, of 9:24 and 20:3.

Revisions in III

41:2 οὕτως сице
 49:17 ἐξέβαλες ѡβρѣже
 58:12 κατάγαγε низложи
 60:2 τῆς δεήσεώς μου.. τῆ προσευχῆ μου
 МОЛЕННЕ МОЕ... МОЛИТВЕЖ МОИЖ
 64:11 μέθυσον оупои
 69:6 χρονίσης закъсни
 72:3 θεωρῶν зра
 73:4 ἔγνωσαν разоумѣшж
 74:9 τοῦτο сиж
 75:2 γωστός вѣдоумѣ
 86:3 δεδοξασμένα ἐλαλήθη
 прѣславна глѣшеа
 89:3 εἶπας рекль еси
 96:2 γνώφος съиракѣ
 98:9 προσκυνεῖτε поклонитеа
 108:1 τὴν αἴνεσίν μου хвалж моиж
 108:2 ἐλάλησαν глѣшж
 118:49 τῷ δούλῳ равоу твоємоу
 118:49 ἐπήλπισας με
 оупѣвание даагъ ми еси
 127:6 ἴδοις видиши
 134:17 οὐδὲ γάρ ἐστιν ни во есть

Early readings in Mihanović Psalter and IV

тако⁴³ I II
 изврѣже I II
 разъдрогши I II
 млтвы моеж... моление мое cf.
 молиТВеж моиж... моление мое I II
 напои I II
 замѣди⁴⁴ I II
 видж I II
 познашж I
 онж I II
 знаемѣ I II
 прѣславно глѣса I II
 рѣ I II
 иракѣ I II
 кланѣкитеа I II
 хвалы моеж I II
 вѣзглѣшж I II
 рава твоєго I II
 миѣ оупование даа еси I II
 озрѣши I II
 нѣсть вѡ I II

Once again, part of this common inheritance is conservative and even unusual:

Shared readings in III

86:7 ἐν σοί оу теве I II III
 131:4 τοῖς κροτάφοις кротафома I III
 72:1 ὡς коль I II III
 77:21 ἀνεβάλετο разгнѣваса II III

Early variants in Mihanović Psalter and IV

вѣ тевѣ minority reading in I II
 скраниама II
 тако minority reading in I
 раздражѣса I

Of particular interest are the places where the Mihanović Psalter appears to duplicate the patterns of distribution noted above in Redaction IV:

⁴³ Corrected in the Mihanović Psalter to сице.

⁴⁴ The Norov Psalter also had this reading originally in 39:18.

Revisions in III

49:22 μήποτε **ΔΑ** **ΝΕΚΟΓΔΑ**
 77:17 ἔτι **ΕΠΕ**
 104:15, 131:10 & 17 **Χριστός** **ΠΟΜΑΖΑΝΗ**

Early variants in Mihanović Psalter and IV

ΕΔΑ **ΚΟΓΔΑ** I II
ΠΑΚΥ I II
Χριστῆ I II

Unfortunately the fragmentary state in which the Mihanović Psalter has survived⁴⁵ makes it impossible to establish exactly how many early readings it shared with the Norov Psalter.

The second and more remarkable peculiarity of the Mihanović Psalter is that it shares some of the distinctive new readings of Redaction IV. The examples of shared lexis and parallel grammatical innovation are limited in number, and some may be due to chance, though it must be stressed that they are uncommon in the textual tradition up to the fourteenth century:

Shared readings in I II III

48:12 σκηνώματα **ΣΕΛΑ** I II III
 52:6 φόβος **ΣΤΡΑΧΑ** x2 I II III
 88:47 ἐκκαυθήσεται **ΡΑΖΓΟΡΙΤῆΣΛ** I II III
 88:49 ζήσεται **ΠΟЖИВЕТῆ** I II III
 90:10 ἐγγιεῖ **ΠΡΙΣΤΑЖΠИΤῆ** I II III
 98:6 ἐπήκουσαν **ΟΥΣΛЫШАШЕ** I II III
 106:7 ὠδήγησεν **ΝΑΒΕΔΕ** I II III
 106:22 ἐξαγγειλάτωσαν
ИСПОВѢΔΑΤῆ I II **ΠΟΒ'ΕΔΑΤῆ** III
 70:17 ἐδίδαξας **ΝΑΟΥЧИ ΜΛ** I II III
 120:5 σκέπη σου
ΠΟΚΡОВῆ I II **ΠΟΚΡОВῆ** **ΤΒΟИ** III
 123:1–2 εἰ μὴ ὅτι **ΙΑΚΟ** **ΑΨΕ** **ΝΕ** I II III

Revisions in Mihanović Psalter and IV

ΣΕΛΕΝΙΑ
ΒΟΔΖΗ
ΡΑЖДЕЖЕΤῆΣΛ
ЖИВЕТῆ
ΠΡΙΒΛИЖИТЕΣΛ
ΠΟΣΛΟΥШАШЕ
ΝΑΣΤΑΒИ
ΒῆΖΒ'ΕΣΤΑΤῆ / **ИЗΒ'ΕΣΤΑΤῆ** IV
ΝΑՃՈՒԴԻ **ՄԼ** **ԵՍԻ**
ΠΟΚΡОВῆ **ΤΒΕ'Ε**
ΑΨΕ **ΝΕ**

Of more weight are the shared instances of approximation to Greek: standard lexical equivalents, morphological calque, choice of number, case, preposition or word order in direct imitation of Greek, and the use of **ИЖЕ** as a definite article:

⁴⁵ The manuscript has the following lacunae: pss. 1–40:7, 50:21–end of 51, 67:20–33, 83:7–end of 85, 87:8–88:26, 91:8–95:8, 104:27–105:23, 108:8–109:3, 115:10–end of 117, 135:7 to the end.

Shared readings in I II III

Revisions in Mihanović Psalter and IV

49:14 εὐχὰς οὐρανῶν I II III	МОЛІТВИ
119:4 τοῖς ἀνθρώποις	
γορᾶσιν ἰσχυροῦ I II III	ЖГЛЪМИ
77:22, 105:24, 118:66 πιστεῦσαι	
ἄτι βῆρυ I II III	ВЪРОВАТИ
106:34 καρποφόρον πλοδοποιῆσαι I II III	ПЛОДОНОСИЖ
71:16 ἐπ' ἄκρων	
να βρῆχοῦ I II на βρῆχῶν III	НА ВРЪСЪХЪ
72:21 νεφροὶ ἰσχυροῦ μοῦ I II III	ЖТРОВЫ МОЖ
88:32 τὰς ἐντολάς μου	
заповѣди моихъ I II III	ЗАПОВѣДИ МОА
118:40 τὰς ἐντολάς σου	
заповѣди твоихъ I II III	ЗАПОВѣДИ ТВОА
118:136 τὸν νόμον τοῦ θεοῦ I II III	ЗАКОНЪ ТВОИ
119:7 ἐπολέμουν με	
борѣхъ сѣ мѣнои I II III	БОРЪХЪ МА
100:6 ἐν ὁδῷ ἀμώμῳ	
по пѣти непорочнѣ I II III	ВЪ ПѢТИ НЕПОРОЧНѢ
118:51 ἕως σφόδρα βελῶν I II III	ДО ЗЪЛА
118:120 ἐκ τοῦ φόβου σου τὰς σάρκας μου	
страсѣ твоимъ плѣтъ мою I II III	Ѡ СТРАХА ТВОЕГО ПЛѢТЪ МОА
44:17 ἀντὶ τῶν πατέρων σου	
вѣ ѡцѣ твоихъ мѣсто I II III	ВѢ МѢСТО ѠЦЪ ТВОИХЪ
128:7 ὁ τὰ δράγματα συλλέγων	
сѣбираи ржколати I II III	ИЖЕ РЖКОЛАТИ СѢБИРАЖ

More remarkable still are readings common to the Mihanović and Norov Psalters which derive from variants within the Greek textual tradition:

Greek variants in I II III

Greek variants in Mihanović Psalter and IV

55:8 σώσεις / ὤσεις сѣпациши I II III	ИЗРИНЕШИ
57:6 φαρμακοῦ τε φαρμακευομένη	
отъ... обаваньника обаваема I	
фармакоῦται φαρμακευομένη	
обаваема обаваѣшисѣ II	ОБАВАЕТСѦ ОБАВАЕМА IV
обаваемъ обаваертъсѣ III	ОБАВАЕТСѦ ОБАВАЕМЪ Mihanović

61:9 ἡμῶν / ὑμῶν НАШЪ I II III	БАШЪ
102:13 οἰκτεῖρει? / οἰκτίρησεν ПОМИЛОУЕТЪ I II ΟΥΨΕΔΡΗΤЪ III	ШЦЕДРИ Mihanović ΟΥΨΤΕΔΡΗ 16 IV
118:39 ἐντολάς? / κρίματα ΠΟΒΕΛΕΝΙΑ ТВОЯ I II III	СЖДЕБИ ТВОЯ
118:143 εἰσιν СЖТЪ / ЕСТЪ I II III	omitted in Mihanović and IV
121:8 δὴ omitted in I II III	ШЕО

These are indicative of a revision based on a slightly different Greek text from that used for Redaction III as otherwise attested⁴⁶.

What is more, in the Mihanović Psalter the innovatory and Grecizing tendencies extend beyond the variants which this manuscript shares with the Norov Psalter, to emerge in a scattering of idiosyncratic lexical items, innovatory grammatical forms, choices of case, preposition or word order prompted by Greek, and reflexive verbs in place of passive participles to render Greek medio-passive forms:

Shared readings in I II III IV

Revisions in Mihanović Psalter

68:22 εἰς τὸ βρῶμά μου ІАДЪ МОИЖ I II III IV	БРАШНО МОЕ
88:41 καθείλες РАЗОРИЛЪ ЕСИ I II IV НИЗЛОЖИЛЪ ЕСИ III	НИЗЛОЖИ ПР'КИДЕТЪ
89:5 παρέλθοι ΜΗΜΟΙΔΕΤЪ I II III IV	
105:44 τῆς δεήσεως МОЛИТВЪЖ I II III МОЛИТВЫ IV	МОЛЕНИЕ
61:7 ὅτι ИВО I II III IV	ТАКО
47:14 βάρεις ДОМЪ I II III ТЛЖЕСТИ IV	БОГАТСТВО
59:4 συνετάραξας СЪМΛΑΤΕ Λ I II IV СЪМЖТИ Λ III	СМЖТИЛЪ Λ ЕСИ
88:48 ἔκτισας СЪЗЪДА I II III IV	СЪЗДАЛЪ ЕСИ
115:7 διέρρηξας РАСТΡЪЗА I II III IV	РАСТΡЪЗАЛЪ ЕСИ
90:9 καταφυγὴν σου ПРИВ'КЖИЩЕ ТВОЕ I II III IV	ПРИВ'КЖИЩЕ СЕБѢ
103:14 τῇ δουλείᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων НА СЛОУЖЬБЪЖ ЧЛѢКОМЪ I II III IV	СЛОУЖЕ'К ЧЛ'ЧЕСТ'КИ
44:14 ἐν κροσσωτοῖς χρυσοῖς ТР'КНЫ ЗЛАТЫ I II IV	

⁴⁶ C.M. MACROBERT, *The Textual Tradition of the Church Slavonic Psalter up to the Fifteenth Century*, [in:] *Interpretation of the Bible*, ed. J. KRAŠOVEC, Ljubljana–Sheffield 1998, p. 933.

РАСНЫ ЗЛАТЫ III	ВЪ РАСНАХЪ ЗЛАТЫХЪ
118:68 ἐν τῇ χρηστότητί σου	
БЛАГОСТНИЖ ТВОЕЖ I II III IV	ВЪ БЛАГОСТИ ТВОЕИ
118:154 διὰ τὸν λόγον σου	
СЛОВЕСЕ ТВОЕГО РАДИ I II III	
РАДИ СЛОВЕСЕ ТВОЕГО IV	ЗА СЛОВО ТВОЕ
52:5 βρώσει ἄρτου	
ВЪ ХЛѢБА МѢСТО I II III	
ВЪ ІАДЬ ХЛѢБА IV	ВЪ ПИЩѢ ХЛѢБА
48:15 ἔθεντο	
ПОЛОЖЕНЫ СЖТЬ I II III IV	ПОЛОЖИШЖСА
106:27 κατεπόθη	
ПОГЛѢЩЕНА БЫСТЬ I II III IV	ПОГЛОΤΗΣΑ

These readings peculiar to the Mihanović Psalter mirror the shared linguistic practices which set it and Redaction IV apart from other versions, and raise the possibility that this manuscript may occasionally preserve traces of revision which have been lost in the Norov Psalter.

The problems of the textual relationship between the Mihanović Psalter and Redaction IV as represented by the Norov Psalter thus replicate those for Redactions III and IV: the parallels between them are too pronounced to be due to mere chance, yet the versions are to some extent independent of each other both in their inheritance from earlier tradition and in their innovations. How are these complexities to be explained?

When considering how deliberate conflation or accidental contamination has arisen between texts, it is important to keep in view the factors which shape the specific textual tradition. In the case of the Church Slavonic Psalter, the first point to bear in mind is that the redeployment of pre-existing translations was intrinsic to the process by which redactions came into being: each new version was a modification of an earlier one. Secondly, because the Psalter was so widely and frequently used, at each successive stage in the development of the text familiarity with a pre-existing redaction was inevitable: the compilers, copiers and early users of revised versions would initially have known the older, unrevised wordings better than the corrected ones. To these circumstances must be added more general considerations which bear on the revision of texts in manuscript: the production of a complete new copy was expensive of time and material, but the alternative option, correction of an extant manuscript, was laborious and difficult to carry through systematically. Scribes conscious of the potential for error – the part played by memory and inadvertence in the processes of copying or correction

– might seek to control their text by consulting more than one exemplar, only to introduce further contamination⁴⁷.

Several different ways can be envisaged in which a mixture of variants from different redactions might come to coexist in witnesses to the Church Slavonic psalter tradition:

Type 1. When a scribe worked from an exemplar containing a pre-existing version of the Church Slavonic text, but modified the text, more or less consistently, either by inserting corrections or by emending as he copied on the basis of recurrent reference to Greek. This is likely to have been the process by which the Church Slavonic version of Theodoret's commentary on the psalms was produced in the tenth century, since it reflects a different set of Greek variant readings from those characteristic of Redaction I, but betrays the lingering influence of that redaction in certain lexical inconsistencies⁴⁸. A parallel consultation of Latin gave rise to the Croatian Church Slavonic modification of Redaction I.

Type 2. When a scribe produced a copy of a new redaction by introducing corrections, more or less consistently, into a manuscript containing an older version of the text. Such an expedient might be adopted if the exemplar of the new redaction was available only for a limited time on loan, or if the cost of an entirely new manuscript could not be met. This practice is instantiated in the fourteenth-century manuscripts Peć 68⁴⁹ and F.n.1.3.⁵⁰, where it can immediately be detected by large numbers of overwritten erasures.

Type 3. When a scribe chose to work from more than one Church Slavonic exemplar, as explicitly indicated in the colophon to Sinai 9a⁵¹. The concurrent use of multiple exemplars may be signalled by alterations in mid word or mid phrase, for instance in Sinai 9a⁵² and in the Oxford Psalter⁵³, by conflation of distinct textual types, as in those East Slavonic manuscripts of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries which draw on the two Church Slavonic translations of commentaries

⁴⁷ R. POPE, *On Contamination, Multiple Exemplars, and Establishing the History of Collated Texts*, [in:] *Русь и южные славяне. Сборник статей к 100-летию со дня рождения В.А. Мошина (1894–1987)*, ed. В.М. ЗАГРЕБИН, Санкт-Петербург 1998, p. 289–294.

⁴⁸ В.А. ПОГОРЕЛОВ, *Толкования Феодорита Киррского на Псалтырь в древне-болгарском переводе. Рассмотрение списков и исследование особенностей Псалтырного текста*, Варшава 1910, p. 113–116; J. LÉPISSEIER, *Les Commentaires des Psaumes de Théodoret*, Paris 1968, p. 3–4, 304–306.

⁴⁹ C.M. MACROBERT, *Two for the Price of One: the Psalter MS Peć 68*, OSP, New Series 22, 1989, p. 1–33.

⁵⁰ C.M. MACROBERT, *The historical significance of the Frolov Psalter (Russian National Library, F.n.1.3)*, WS 42, 1997, p. 34–46.

⁵¹ Е.В. ЧЕШКО, *Об афонской редакции...*, p. 61.

⁵² C.M. MACROBERT, *What was the izvod Svetogorski?*, [in:] *Русь и южные славяне...*, p. 274–275.

⁵³ C.M. MACROBERT, *The Textual Tradition of the Oxford Serbian Psalter MS e Mus 184*, ПК, 25/26, 1994, p. 147–148.

on the psalms⁵⁴, or by a clear switch from one textual tradition to another within a single manuscript⁵⁵. It implies the existence of competing redactions, or at least uncertainty on the scribe's part about the authority of the versions available to him.

Type 4. When readings from a different redaction, typically a more recent one, were added to a manuscript on an unsystematic basis, as an afterthought by the scribe himself or by a subsequent reader. This might be done either by erasure and correction, e.g. in the psalter manuscripts Sinai 7 and 8 and the Athens Psalter⁵⁶, or by marginal or interlinear glossing, as in the two Sinai Glagolitic Psalters⁵⁷.

Type 5. When a scribe copying a new version of the text reverted sporadically to an older version which he knew by heart. Interference by memory probably explains the occasional variants characteristic of Redaction II which can be detected in manuscripts primarily affiliated to Redaction I, e.g. the fourteenth-century commented Sofia Psalter⁵⁸, or to Redaction III, e.g. the Munich Psalter⁵⁹.

Type 6. When revisers worked independently but against a similar linguistic background, on similar, typically literalistic, translational principles, or from the same Greek textual tradition, and so might arrive at the same wording by pure coincidence. This possibility has to be kept in view in evaluating some of the more literal variants in the manuscripts under consideration in this study. For instance, where the Mihanović Psalter has *ѣтѣ* for 81:6 *ἐστε* rather than *вждѣтѣ* I III IV, or both it and the Norov Psalter have *спѣсмѣ* for 79:8 *σωθησόμεθα* in place of *спѣени* *вждѣмъ* I III, these are not necessarily borrowings from Redaction II, since they are typical of the fourteenth-century approach to translation. For the same reason, there is no need to assume that the Norov Psalter took *начала* for 138:17 *αἱ ἀρχαὶ* directly from the Sinai Glagolitic Psalter in preference to the usual Church Slavonic translation *владычествия* in Redactions I II and III.

⁵⁴ C.M. MACROBERT, *The compilatory Church Slavonic catena on the Psalms in three East Slavonic manuscripts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*, Sla 74.2/3 (2005) (CyrilloMethodiana 2005 ad honorem Zdeňka Ribarova et Ludmila Pacnerová), p. 213–238.

⁵⁵ C.M. MACROBERT, *Alphabetic suspension in Glagolitic and Cyrillic manuscripts*, Slo 56/57, 2007, p. 324–327. E.B. ЧЕШКО, *Об афонской редакции...*, p. 86–91, suggests that a change of exemplars, from Redaction V to Redaction III, can be detected in the Kiev Psalter, but this is doubtful, since the latter part of this manuscript contains variants alien to Redaction III, see C.M. MACROBERT, *The impact of interpretation on the evolution of the Church Slavonic psalter text up to the fifteenth century*, [in:] *Congress Volume Ljubljana 2007*, ed. A. LEMAIRE [= Supplements to *Vetus Testamentum*, vol. 133], Leiden–Boston 2010, p. 431.

⁵⁶ C.M. MACROBERT, *On the role of memory and oral tradition in the early transmission of the Church Slavonic psalter text*, [in:] *Християнска агиология и народни вярвания. Сборник в чест на ст. н. с. Елена Коцева*, ed. А. МИЛТЕНОВА, Е. ТОМОВА, Р. СТАНКОВА, София 2008, p. 341.

⁵⁷ C.M. MACROBERT, *On the headings...*, p. 179–183.

⁵⁸ For examples, see И. КАРАЧОРОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 185–188, and the use of *взвозума* in 34:7 and 19, which is characteristic of Redaction II.

⁵⁹ E.g. the typical Redaction II reading in 62:2 *како прострѣтѣ*.

The outcomes of these different processes can be distinguished from each other when direct evidence for Type 2, 3 or 4 is available, in the form of scribal comment or detectable correction. Types 1 and 2 may also be distinguishable from Type 4 in quantitative terms, because they are likely to produce a preponderance of readings from the newer target version. The same consideration may apply to Type 3, but only if the scribe has given clear priority to one version among those on which he draws, or has made a clean change from one version to another in the course of his work.

However, once the manuscript in which the conflation or contamination took place was re-copied, any type could result in a text which mainly follows one redaction but contains sporadic readings from another. So Pope suggests that doublet readings are indicative of Type 3⁶⁰, and they are indeed a feature of the early fifteenth-century compilatory catenas on the psalms from the Jaroslavl' and Barsov collections and the related Luck Psalter of 1384⁶¹; but he concedes that doublets might also appear when a manuscript containing glosses of Type 4 was copied by a scribe who incorporated them into the text. The operation of Type 5 could likewise give rise to doublet readings, if a scribe wrote a word or phrase from memory, then realised that his exemplar contained a different wording, and added it rather than make a correction. Possible examples of this kind occur in the Luck Psalter⁶²; their interpretation as instances of Type 5 contamination relies on the information provided in the colophon, that the scribe wrote in haste and the fear of death.

Where a combination of the processes enumerated above was in operation, the outcome was liable to be correspondingly complex. For instance, the scribe of the Bucharest psalter probably worked from two manuscripts, a commentated version of Redaction I from which he reproduced the Church Slavonic translation of the pseudo-Athanasian commentary, and the newly introduced Redaction III of the simple Psalter. It is hardly surprising that the resulting text of the psalms themselves is an unpredictable mixture of the two redactions⁶³, nor that occasionally variants typical of Redaction II have crept in⁶⁴, presumably because this version was still familiar to the scribe from liturgical practice in the early fourteenth century. The alternative interpretation put forward by Karačorova⁶⁵, that the readings in this manuscript which are typical of Redaction III crept in by Type 5 contamination, relies on the assumption that Redaction III was already so well established by 1346 that the scribe of the Bucharest Psalter could have known it by heart, and so begs the question of dating.

⁶⁰ R. POPE, *On Contamination...*, p. 290.

⁶¹ C.M. MACROBERT, *The compilatory Church Slavonic catena...*, p. 222–223; EADEM, *The textual peculiarities of the Luck Psalter of 1384 (Acquisti e Doni MS 360, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence)*, RS. New Series 8 (54), 2010, p. 106.

⁶² C.M. MACROBERT, *The textual peculiarities...*, p. 107–110.

⁶³ EADEM, *Problems...*, p. 201, 211.

⁶⁴ E.g. ps. 34:19 *везоума*, ps. 39:8 *въ глбвнзнь книжнѣмь*, ps. 62:2 *како прострѣсе*.

⁶⁵ И. КАРАЧОРОВА, *Към въпроса...*, p. 243.

Allowance has also to be made for the provenance and dissemination of specific versions. For example, the fourteenth-century East Slavonic manuscript Typ.34 was patently copied from the commentated version of Redaction I, which is not otherwise attested from the East Slavonic area after the twelfth century; but it also contains readings characteristic of Redaction II⁶⁶. In principle this copy could be an instance of Type 3, if we assume that the scribe worked from two manuscripts; but this assumption seems unlikely – why should a scribe have chosen to make such a conflation? – and unnecessary, since the scribe's deviations from Redaction I can more plausibly be explained as an instance of Type 5: given the peculiar difficulties of producing a simple copy of the psalms from an unfamiliar commentated redaction, the scribe was more than usually liable to revert to the version of the text most widely used and known among the East Slavs up to the late fourteenth century, i.e. Redaction II.

In the South Slav lands, by contrast, Redaction I and Redaction II continued to be used interactively at least up to the fourteenth century, giving rise to manuscripts of hybrid textual character, probably by Type 5 contamination⁶⁷. This state of textual fluidity no doubt contributed both to renewed interest in recognizably conservative versions and to the demand for new revised texts securely based on Greek. Consequently the mixture of features characteristic of Redactions I and II which is observable in Redaction III is open to more than one interpretation. It could be the outcome of deliberate conflation by Type 3⁶⁸; but to undertake such a complex process of revision, consulting more than one Church Slavonic manuscript as well as the Greek text, would surely have been justified only by the wish to reconcile competing authoritative versions⁶⁹. At present we lack evidence that Redactions I and II of the Psalter had such a status in the South Slav lands towards the end of the thirteenth century; it is not even clear how far they were recognized as distinct from each other. An alternative hypothesis is that Redaction III is a product of Type 1: that it was copied from a pre-existing version in current use – inevitably to some extent a hybrid – with systematic checking against Greek and some linguistic normalization. Under this hypothesis the shared characteristics

⁶⁶ C.M. MACROBERT, *A Missing Link in the Early Tradition of the Church Slavonic Psalter (the Tolstoy, Sluck, Eugenius and Vienna Psalters and MS 34 of the Moscow Synodal Typography)*, WSJ 39, 1993, p. 63–65.

⁶⁷ C.M. MACROBERT, *On the role of memory...*, p. 345–351.

⁶⁸ This seems to be implied by the suggestion that Redaction II functioned as a 'коректив' for the fourteenth-century revised versions, see И. КАРАЧОРОВА, *Към въпроса...*, p. 183. Deliberate conflation of earlier redactions is likewise posited for the Athonite revision of the Apostol, see И. ХРИСТОВА-ШОМОВА, *Служебният Апостол в славянската ръкописна традиция*, 1. *Изследване на библейския текст*, София 2004, p. 771.

⁶⁹ Type 3 conflation is more plausible as a stage in the genesis of Redaction V, which seems to have been a compromise between the recently compiled and still authoritative Redactions III and IV with some limited supplementary reference back to Greek, see F. J. THOMSON, *op. cit.*, p. 823–825. For an alternative view, based on selective material, of Type 6 convergence between Redactions IV and V, see Т.А. АФАНАСЬЕВА *et al.*, *Языковые инновации в переводах, связанных с именем Киприана*, Slov 1, 2015, p. 21–26.

of Redactions II and III⁷⁰ can for the most part be explained either by reference to a common Greek textual tradition or as instances of grammatical and lexical trends which operated from the tenth century onwards.

But how do the Mihanović Psalter, apparently an early witness to Redaction III, and the Norov Psalter, the sole representative of Redaction IV, fit into the picture? Trivially they are both examples of Type 4: each has been sporadically corrected in later hands and inks to Redaction III⁷¹, thus corroborating the view that this redaction predominated in the South Slav lands. Considered in isolation, each could be an example of Type 2 or 5: either a manuscript containing an older version was corrected, somewhat inattentively, to bring it in line with Redaction III, or Redaction III was copied by a scribe who introduced older readings from memory; Type 3 conflation, though possible in principle, is less likely, for the reasons set out above. At the same time changes, systematic in the Norov Psalter, sporadic in the Mihanović Psalter, were made to align wording more closely with Greek. Once again these accounts presuppose some concurrent use of more than one Church Slavonic version, plus consultation of Greek. They also depend on the assumption, for which we lack decisive independent evidence, that Redaction III was already in existence when the manuscripts were written⁷².

However, if the textual peculiarities of the two manuscripts are considered together, the inadequacy of these interpretations becomes apparent: they fail to explain the shared distributions of inherited material, innovations, and distinctive Greek variants in the Norov and Mihanović Psalters. If it is conceded that these patterns are not merely fortuitous, then we can infer that the two manuscripts derive, whether immediately or at a small remove, from a common source, which we may call Version X. To this stage in transmission we may refer:

- with confidence, the shared textual and linguistic features, both old and new, of the Mihanović and Norov Psalters;
- with reasonable probability, the shared textual and linguistic features of Redaction III and the Norov Psalter in places where the Mihanović Psalter is defective;

⁷⁰ И. КАРАЧОРОВА, *Към въпроса...*, p. 183–197.

⁷¹ Е.В. ЧЕШКО *et al.*, *Норовская псалтырь...*, I, p. 80 on corrections mainly to the first 17 psalms.

⁷² The dating of Redaction III is a matter of ongoing debate: for instance, Е. КОЦЕВА, *Към състава на три ръкописи от Националната библиотека в София: Едински апостол, Шопов-Карадимов псалтир и Софийски апостол* (НБКМ 882), СЛ, 47, 2013, p. 280–283, argues that the textual antecedents of the Sorov-Karadimov may go back into the thirteenth century, while К. ПАВЛИКЯНОВ, *Духовная и филологическая деятельность иноков славянского происхождения в Великой Лавре святого Афанасия Афонского в XIV–XV веках*, [in:] *Афон и славянский мир. Сборник I. Материалы международной научной конференции, посвященной 1000-летию присутствия русских на Святой горе*, ed. Ж.Л. ЛЕВШНИА, Athos 2014, p. 73–80, suggests that the ‘Athonite’ revisions took place in the 1340s–50s. If Redaction III of the Psalter is identified with the ‘Athonite’ revision, the latter dating is difficult to reconcile with the attestation of this redaction in manuscripts, particularly in the Bucharest Psalter of 1346.

– conjecturally, the conservative readings of the Norov Psalter where the Mihanović Psalter is defective, though these could alternatively be due to secondary contamination when the Norov Psalter was copied;

– also conjecturally, the idiosyncratic innovations in the Mihanović Psalter where the Norov Psalter either innovates differently or reverts to the readings of older redactions.

This leaves two sets of data in need of explanation:

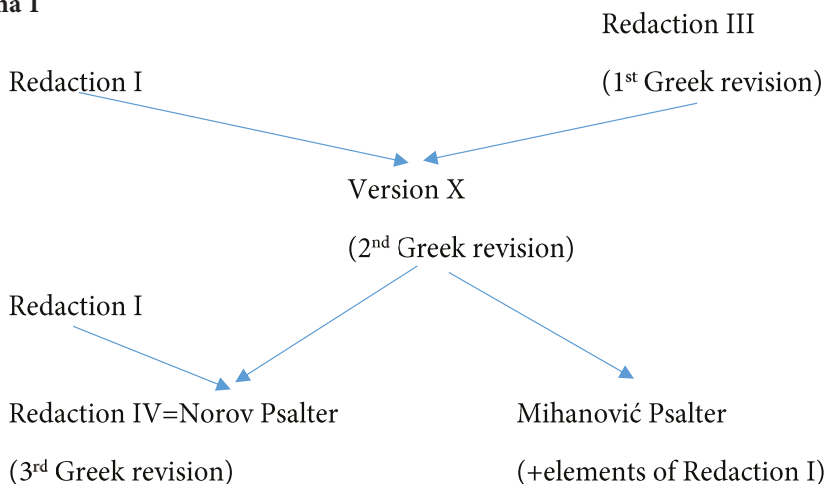
– conservative readings in the Mihanović Psalter where the Norov Psalter innovates independently of Redaction III: these might belong to Version X, or might be secondary contaminations;

– conservative readings in either manuscript where the other agrees with Redaction III, to which Version X seems to have been closely allied: these are most numerous in the Norov Psalter, but also figure in the Mihanović Psalter.

Unless we assume that some of the readings which the Norov Psalter shares with Redaction III independently of the Mihanović Psalter are instances of Type 6 coincidence, they preclude the possibility that the Mihanović Psalter could itself have been an exemplar for the Norov Psalter. A parallel conclusion can be drawn from the presence of Redaction III readings in the Mihanović Psalter where the Norov Psalter has conservative ones; in any case the likelihood that the Mihanović Psalter, which lacks such peculiarities as double prefixation on verbs and combinations of $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$ or $\beta\eta\eta\epsilon\rho\alpha$ with infinitives, could have been copied from the Norov Psalter is remote.

There is more than one way of envisaging the relationship between Version X and Redaction III. One possibility is an elaboration of Thomson's hypothesis, which can be represented as follows:

Schema 1

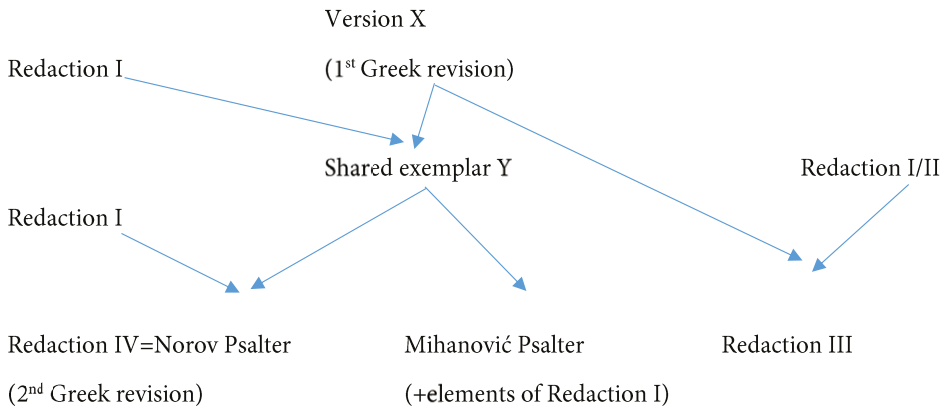


This schema presupposes that Redaction III, a Type 1 revision starting from some blend of Redactions I and II, produced a moderate approximation to Greek

in the late thirteenth century; that Version X, a Type 2 copy of Redaction III using a conservative manuscript of Redaction I with some further piecemeal revision against Greek, is reflected in the Mihanović Psalter, which underwent some additional Type 5 contamination in the process of copying; and that the Norov Psalter is in turn a Type 2 copy of Version X, also using a manuscript of Redaction I but with more thorough and literalistic revision on the basis of Greek to produce Redaction IV. So this view involves three successive stages of increasingly systematic revision against Greek, and implies that both the inconsistencies shared by the Mihanović and Norov Psalters and those peculiar to the Norov Psalter alone result from imperfect reproduction of Redaction III.

An alternative possibility is to take Version X as the starting point for change in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century:

Schema 2



This schema assumes that Version X was a Type 1 revision starting from Redaction I (perhaps with a small admixture of Redaction II readings) with thorough but not slavish reference to Greek; that this gave rise to Y, a Type 2 copy using a manuscript of Redaction I; that Y was the exemplar for both the Mihanović Psalter, which stands close to it, albeit with some Type 5 reversions to Redaction I, and for the Norov Psalter, another Type 2 copy but with further literalistic revision against Greek; and that other manuscripts of Redaction III derived from a conflation of Version X with older readings by Type 2 or Type 3 in the first half of the fourteenth century. On this view, only two revisions on the basis of Greek have to be posited⁷³, but the first of these, in Version X, has to be reconstructed from the combined witness of the Mihanović and Norov Psalters and Redaction III. Each

⁷³ This position is consistent with the absence from Redaction III of distinctive variant readings based on Greek, see C.M. MACROBERT, *The Textual Tradition of the Church Slavonic Psalter...*, *passim*.

of these contains elements of Version X, such as the use of reflexive verbs with passive function in the Mihanović and Norov Psalters, the instances of *помазаныи* in the Norov Psalter and Redaction III; but each, including Redaction III, is an imperfect witness to Version X because all of them have undergone types of contamination or conflation.

This tentative conclusion raises further questions in turn. More attention needs to be paid to traces of possible influence from Redaction IV in psalter manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Such influence has been detected in Redaction V, the version of the psalms supposed to have been the psalter translation promoted by Metropolitan Kiprian and later incorporated into the Genadian Bible. Readings characteristic of Redaction IV also appear in some South and East Slavonic manuscripts of the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, particularly the Serbian Oxford Psalter⁷⁴ and the catenas on the psalms in the Jaroslavl' and Barsov collections. More investigation of manuscripts from this period may clarify the picture.

The other open issue is the identification of the 'Athonite' redaction of the Psalter. Since the 1980s Redaction III has been regarded as Athonite in provenance; but the evidence for this association is open to question, since it relies on generalizing Popov's interpretation⁷⁵ of the word *izvod* as 'translation' and by extension '(new) version', rather than its usual sense of 'copy, manuscript'⁷⁶. Moreover, investigations of the Athonite redactions of other Church Slavonic translations suggest that their linguistic usage and approach to translation ally them more closely with Redaction IV. Hristova-Šomova finds that the Athonite revision of the Apostol is characterized by the use of the animate accusative, reflexive verbs in passive function, *ижѣ* / *ѣжѣ* as equivalents to Greek definite articles, particularly in combination with infinitives, multiple prefixation on verbs in imitation of Greek, and increased occurrence of the pronoun *тъ*⁷⁷. Yet in the textual tradition of the Church Slavonic Psalter these usages are more prominently attested in Redaction IV than in Redaction III. Both Taseva's summary overview of linguistic usage in early fourteenth century revisions⁷⁸ and the more detailed analysis provided by Taseva and Jovčeva⁷⁹ list nominalized infinitives and infinitival clauses among the distinguishing

⁷⁴ С.М. МАСРОБЕРТ, *The Textual Tradition of the Oxford Serbian Psalter...*, ПК, 25/26, 1994, p. 152–154; ЕАДЕМ, *Maksim Grek in linguistic context*.

⁷⁵ Г. ПОПОВ, *Новооткрито сведение за переводческа дейност на българските книжовници от Света гора през първата половина на XIV в.*, БЕ, 5, 1978, p. 402–410.

⁷⁶ С.М. МАСРОБЕРТ, *What was the izvod Svetogorski?*, p. 272, 280–281.

⁷⁷ И. ХРИСТОВА-ШОМОВА, *Служебният Апостол в славянската ръкописна традиция*, 1. *Изследване на библейския текст*, София 2004, p. 771–777.

⁷⁸ Л. ТАСЕВА, *Езикът на книжнината през XIV век*, [in:] *История на българската средновековна литература*, ed. А. МИЛТЕНОВА, София 2008, p. 569–574.

⁷⁹ Л. ТАСЕВА, М. ЙОВЧЕВА, *Езиковите образци на атонските редактори*, [in:] *Българска филологическа медиевистика. Сборник. Научни изследвания в чест на проф. дфн Иван Хара-*

features of the Athonite redactions, but in the Psalter these are occasionalisms in Redaction III; they are deployed systematically only in Redaction IV. The use of Redaction III of the Church Slavonic Psalter as a guide to Athonite translational practice is therefore open to question and, if uncritically accepted, may lead to distortion in our picture of linguistic norms and trends in the early fourteenth century.

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Abstract. Modern scholarship on the textual history of Church Slavonic biblical translation recognizes two distinct revisions of the Church Slavonic Psalter from the early fourteenth century, Redaction III (sometimes called the ‘Athonite’ redaction) and Redaction IV, known only in the Norov psalter manuscript. Although they are both attested from the same period and in manuscripts of similar Bulgarian provenance, these two redactions are in some respects systematically different in their linguistic character, their approach to translational issues and their Greek textual basis. In the light of A.A. Turilov’s observation that the Mihanović Psalter, possibly the earliest witness to Redaction III, is written in the same hand as the greater part of the Norov Psalter, this paper examines the textual antecedents of the two redactions and the importance of the Mihanović Psalter as a link between them.

Keywords: Church Slavonic Psalter, ‘Athonite’ redaction, conflation, contamination.

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ОБ ОДНОЙ НЕЗНАКОМОЙ БОЛГАРСКОЙ КАТЕНЕ НА ПСАЛТЫРЬ В СПИСКЕ XIV ВЕКА

Тексты древнейшего славянского перевода Псалтыри являются одними из наиболее подробно изученных текстов Кирилло-Мефодиевских переводов во всех их разновидностях. Уже их история выяснена во многих отношениях. Несмотря на этот факт, важным является обстоятельство, что исследования и издания строятся обычно на очень узком круге рукописей, большинство которых выявлено и введено в научный оборот еще в XIX в., очень редко появляются новые данные о рукописной традиции до XIV в., не привлекаются к исследованиям даже давно известные списки. Это наблюдение относится в наибольшей степени к толковым текстам, хотя в последние годы внимание исследователей к ним заметно усилилось.

Конечно, поиски новых текстов – это довольно сложная задача ввиду того, что Псалтырь является самой распространенной ветхозаветной книгой в эпоху Средневековья в славянском мире. Пока нам известно из трудов Ивана Евсеева 1911 г., что в разных хранилищах, главным образом в России, имеется 3750 списков Псалтыри XI–XVIII вв., а общее число списков ветхозаветных книг этого периода составляет 4145¹. Вероятно, их больше, потому что в течение двадцатого века появились данные о неизвестных списках. После Евсеева, однако, никто не осмелился даже приступить к подобным подсчетам. В результате очевидной невозможности использовать в интенсивных исследованиях псалтырного текста на сегодняшний день даже все известные благодаря современным описаниям существующие коллекции списков Псалтыри, возникшие до конца XIV – нач. XV в., не говоря об исследованиях толкований, современные ученые опираются на небольшое число рукописей, не больше 60-и болгарских, сербских и русских списков², написанных главным образом до середины XV в., и на существующие до сих пор их издания. Вероятной причиной выбора рукописей можно считать мнение,

¹ А.А. АЛЕКСЕЕВ, *Текстология славянской Библии*, Санкт-Петербург 1999, р. 132.

² Например, наиболее активные исследователи Псалтыри 20-го века К.М. Макробрет и И. Карачорова, которые опубликовали наиболее подробные и разносторонние исследования славянского псалтырного текста, опираются, по моим подсчетам, соответственно, на около 55 списков (Макробрет) и около 20 (Карачорова).

что эти списки отражают достаточно полно все характерные черты развития псалтырного текста до конца XIV в., как и развитие рукописной традиции толковых текстов, и на их основе можно делать вполне достоверные выводы. Вероятно также, что такое мнение, которое, конечно, основывается на весомом вкладе в изучение псалтырного текста и толкований славистами, по моему мнению, привело к тому, что поиски новых важных текстов практически прекратились в современной славистике.

Все-таки, однако, были и некоторые новые данные. Этого можно было ожидать, потому что Псалтырь не только входит в число первых славянских Кирилло-Мефодиевских переводов, осуществленных сразу после окончательного оформления славянской азбуки еще до поездки братьев в Великую Моравию (вместе с Евангелием и Апостолом), но также – это одна из важнейших ветхозаветных книг православных славян. Она интенсивно используется в богослужении и для индивидуального чтения, переписывается как отдельный кодекс до Геннадиевской Библии, а почти во всех случаях и после появления полного библейского кодекса 1499 г. и не входит в общий том с другими ветхозаветными книгами. Кроме того, Псалтырь часто цитируется в оригинальных (конечно, и в переводных) произведениях славянской средневековой книжности и ее текст хорошо знаком не только книжникам, но и всем прихожанам.

Вот несколько примеров

В 1996 г. К.М. Макробрет показала, что в славянской рукописной традиции XIV в. имеются заглавия псалмов, принадлежащих т.наз. *Hypotheses* Евсевия Кесарийского (PG, 23, cols 57–72) как в восточнославянских рукописях этого времени, так и в южнославянских рукописях, близких к ним в хронологическом отношении или возникших немного позднее³.

В 2005 г. она уже проанализировала одну компилятивную катену на Псалтырь, которую обнаружила в трех восточнославянских рукописях XV и XVI вв.⁴ Они хранятся в: 1. Региональном музее в Ярославле, рукопись начала XV в., *написанная восточнославянской орфографией, смешанной с новыми южнославянскими орфографическими нормами (in a mixture of late fourteenth-century East Slavonic spelling and the newer South Slavonic orthographical norms* [p. 213]); 2. Рукопись № 96 собрания Е.В. Барсова Государственного

³ С.М. MACROBERT, *The classificatory Importance of Headings and Liturgical Directions in Church Slavonic Psalters of the 11th–15th Centuries*, Bsl 57.1, 1996, p. 160, 164–168, 173.

⁴ ЕАДЕМ, *The Compilatory Church Slavonic catena on the Psalms in three East Slavonic manuscripts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*, Sla 74. 2–3, 2005, p. 213–238; ЕАДЕМ, *The variable treatment of clitics in 14th-century South Slavonic psalter translations*, [in:] *Многократните преводи в Южнославянското Средновековие. Доклади от международната конференция София, 7–9 юли 2005 г.*, София 2006, p. 373–396.

исторического музея в Москве начала XV в., в которой *отсутствуют южнославянские орфографические элементы* (*it lacks the South Slavonic orthographical elements* [p. 214]); 3. Рукопись Ms 1250 Саратовской университетской библиотеки, *датированная XVI в. (attributed to the 16th century), в которой заглавия псалмов переведены с немецкого* (*which has headings to the psalms translated from German* [p. 214]). В заключение автор пишет:

it emerges from this analysis that the Jaroslavl', Saratov and Barsov manuscripts contain a Church Slavonic catena consisting for the most part of materials translated from Greek but compiled somewhere in the East Slavonic, most likely the northern East Slavonic area. The allusion in the prefatory section of the Jaroslavl' manuscript to the new monastery of the Holy Saviour in Vologda suggests that the composition of this catena can be regarded as yet another manifestation of the flowering of monastic and spiritual life in Russia in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries [p. 221].

В 2012 г. Ив. Карачорова сообщила, что обнаружила катену на Псалтырь в русской рукописи XVI в. собрания Хилендарского монастыря, № 117, содержащую толкования начиная с псалма 77 до конца Псалтыри⁵. В 2014 г. она представила две новые катены: одна из них находится в сербской рукописи XVI в. с русскими дополнениями XVIII в. собрания Национальной библиотеки в Софии, № 13, а вторая – в русском кодексе XVI в., № 116 собрания Хилендарского монастыря; ученая установила, что этот Хилендарский список является первой частью рукописи № 117 и содержит толкования с начала Псалтыри до пс. 76 включительно⁶. Она представила также состав Хилендарских списков, сравнила текст псалмов 77–84 с известными до сих пор редакциями псалтырного текста и указала, что Хилендарские списки следуют за т.наз. „Киприановой”, или – по другой терминологии – „четвертой” или „пятой” редакцией. Карачорова указала также, что замеченные ею изменения в псалтырном тексте катены не могут считаться доказательствами появления новой редакции текста Псалтыри. Она считает, что катена хилендарских рукописей является переводом с греческого и будет интересно исследовать отношения между толкованиями этих рукописей и славянским текстом комментариев Псевдо-Афанасия Александрийского и Феодорита Кирского, а также сравнить их комментарии с многочисленными греческими

⁵ И. КАРАЧОРОВА, *Новооткривена катена на Псалтиру у рукопису из Хилендарског манастира*, [in:] *Научни састанак слависта у Вукове дане*, 42.2, 2013, p. 463–472.

⁶ На международной научной конференции „Библейският текст от Средновековието до Новото време (Функции. Рецепция. Интерпретации)”, София, 9–10.10.2014 в докладе *Две новооткрити катени към Псалтира*, опубликованном на сайте cyrillomethodiana.uni-sofia.bg/mdocs/.../8-archive?...77... (доступный 17.02.2016 г.) См. также: И. КАРАЧОРОВА, *Към изучаването на славянските библейски книги с тълкувания*, [in:] *Информатика, граматика, лексикография. Сборник доклади и материали от заключителната конференция*, София 29–30.06.2015 г., София 2015, p. 171–179.

катенами на Псалтырь⁷. В этих публикациях автор не говорит ничего о проблемах, касающихся времени и места появления этих катен в славянской рукописной традиции и поэтому я не могу принять во внимание эти рукописи в настоящей публикации.

Таким образом, в настоящее время мы знаем очень немного о новых текстах Псалтыри и почти ничего нового о тексте толкований на Псалтырь по сравнению с тем, что известно о славянских текстах толкований Псевдо-Афанасия Александрийского и Феодорита Кирского.

С начала 2015 г. Кирилло-Мефодиевский научный центр в Софии начал подготовку очередной международной конференции в рамках совместного проекта с Центром исследования христианства Еврейского университета в Иерусалиме по теме „Идентифицирование еврейских и христианских моделей в литературе поздней античности и средних веков” и она была проведена с 3 по 8 сентября 2015 г. Это был для меня подходящий случай работать по одной теме, давно привлекшей мое внимание, но у меня никогда не хватало времени заняться этой проблемой. Речь идет о цитировании 10-го стиха 40-го псалма в десятой главе Пространного жития св. Кирилла в связи с его полемикой во время Хазарской миссии. Обычно комментаторы жития отмечали, что здесь ошибочно толкуется смысл этого текста. Имея в виду, что Константин был прекрасно образован, а автор самого жития знал хорошо текст Священного писания, как видно из множества цитат, трудно было поверить, что кто-нибудь из них мог ошибиться в этом случае. Но это надо было доказать. Я очень быстро нашла источник толкования и сделала доклад по теме *Пространное житие св. Кирилла и патристическая литература (The Long Life of st. Cyril and the Patristic Literature)*. Когда начала готовить публикацию доклада, я сочла нужным проверить толкование на более широкой основе. Так началось мое довольно детальное изучение состояния исследований как самого славянского псалтырного текста, так и исследование списков с комментариями и в связи с этим – анализ исследований византийских комментариев, а также поиски новых комментированных текстов.

Таким образом я обратила внимание и на маленькую сноску К.М. Макробрт в упомянутой ее статье 1996 г.⁸ Говоря об известных ей славянских комментариях и подчеркивая их активное распространение среди восточных славян в XIV в., совместно с развитием, которое наблюдается в южнославянской афонской редакции, она отмечает возможное существование других неидентифицированных комментариев и ссылается на устное сообщение проф. Ф. Томсона: *Professor F.J. Thomson informs me that the commentary on the psalms by Nicetas of Heracleias, of which a Church Slavonic translation is extant*

⁷ И. КАРАЧОРОВА, *Новонайденная катена к Псалтыри в двух рукописях Хиландарского монастыря*, Pbg 39.1, 2015, p. 55–71.

⁸ С.М. MACROBERT, *The classificatory Importance...*, p. 167, сноска 46.

from the 14th century (Ms 18 in the Moscow Theological Academy), contains excerpts from *de Titulus psalorum, Byzantinoslavica*, 57, 1996. Дальше я продолжила искать, что было написано об этой рукописи после этого сообщения.

Сам Ф. Томсон об этом сообщил два года позже⁹. По его мнению, перевод – дело болгарского книжника. Он сообщает свое мнение по поводу изменений в тексте и в толкованиях Исихия Иерусалимского (Псевдо-Афанасия) и Феодорита Кирского, но не приводит никаких доказательств этого, никаких примеров, только утверждает: *The same applies to Nicetas of Heracleia's Catena in Psalmos translated by a Bulgarian in the 14th century*. Это утверждение сопровождается следующая сноска (№ 937):

The earliest copy so far traced is *codex 18* in the collection of Moscow Theological Academy, a 14th century Bulgarian MS, which only contains Pss 1–54; on the codex see Shelamanoва, *Spisok* no. 1294. The preface and commentary on Ps 1 are found as one of the prefaces to the psalter in MSS from the 16th century on, including Matthew the Tenth's Bible, see Alekseyev, *Sbornik* 74. They are also found in some printed editions of the psalter, e.g. the 1642 and 1645 Moscow editions.

В следующем году А. Алексеев опубликовал несколько своих размышлений об этой рукописи¹⁰. Публикуя перечень толковых библейских текстов в славянской рукописной традиции, он отмечает перевод Максима Грека под № 5:

Толкования на Псалтырь в переводе Максима Грека известно (sic! – С.Н.) по многим рукописям XVI–XVIII вв. См. Библиографию: Синицына 1977, с. 65. О составе толкований см.: Описание, т. 2, с. 91–99; Андреев 1918. Вопрос о том, был ли Максим переводчиком готовых катен или сам составлял их и, если составлял, какова доля его авторского участия, не изучен.

В конце этого текста Алексеев поместил знак для сноски № 3:

Толкования на Псалтырь Никиты Ираклийского, вероятно, не были переведены, но предисловие к ним известно в нескольких русских рукописях XVI в. РНБ, Соф. 1464, л. 200–217, РНБ, Соф. 1465, л. 89–96; РГАДА, ф. 181, № 478, л. 97 об.– 116; РГБ, Унд. 53. Это предисловие, содержащее сведения о библейских переводчиках, цитирует архиеп. Геннадий в своем послании 1489 г. (Казакова, Лурье 1955, с. 319). В болгарской рукописи XIV в. РГБ, МДА, Фунд. 18, как будто бы содержатся и толкования на псалмы 1–54. См. Леонид. Сведения о славянских пергаменных рукописях. М., 1887. С. 17–19. По-гречески издано только это предисловие при толкованиях на Псалтырь Кирилла Александрийского (PG, t. 69, p. 699–714).

⁹ F. THOMSON, *The Slavonic Translation of the Old Testament*, [in:] *Interpretation of the Bible*, ed. J. KRAŠOVEC, Ljubljana–Sheffield 1998, p. 801.

¹⁰ А.А. АЛЕКСЕЕВ, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

Несмотря на эти данные, рукопись не вызвала внимания исследователей. Только в 2012 г. появилось утверждение, что, вероятно, введение Никиты Ираклийского к катене, а может быть, и комментарии, переведены в Тырнове в XIV в.¹¹, однако для этого тоже нет никаких доказательств: *Probably Trnovo is where the translation of the foreword by Nicetas of Heraclea to the catena on the Psalter was made and maybe of the commentaries themselves*. В сноске к этому тексту отмечается только: *The Middle Bulgarian manuscript RGB Bogoslov. 18 contains a translation of this foreword and the commentaries: see Thomson 1998: 801; a different opinion – Алексеев 1999: 36, footnote 3*.

Конечно, подобные мнения вызвали мое пристальное внимание и я хотела более подробно ознакомиться с этой рукописью, поискать в ней нужные мне места и увидеть, какой в ней псалтырный текст и какие там толкования, вызвавшие столь неясные и противоречивые мнения. И конечно, я это сделала. Здесь я должна сказать, что я только в начале своей работы. Мне предстоит большая работа по исследованию текста рукописи, который оказался очень важным и интересным в целом и заслуживает внимания ученых. Поэтому мою статью следует расценивать как предварительное сообщение о рукописи и о проблемах, которые я собираюсь выяснить в другой работе. Здесь я представляю только самые важные вопросы и некоторые из наиболее интересных своих наблюдений об этой, оказывается, по сути дела, никому незнакомой болгарской катене.

Когда я познакомилась с рукописью, оказалось, что никто из упомянутых исследователей не видел ее и не имеет ни малейшего представления о ее тексте.

Что это за рукопись?

Во первых нужно ясно указать, что рукопись теперь находится в Российской государственной библиотеке в Москве, в собрании Московской духовной академии под шифром Ф.173.І, № 18¹². Время написания рукописи установлено еще в конце XIX в. В своем альбоме филиграней Н.П. Лихачев продемонстрировал специальное внимание к ней и выделил больше одной

¹¹ М. УОВСНЕВА, L. ТАСЕВА, *Translated Literature in the Bulgarian Middle Ages as a Social and Cultural Phenomenon*, SeS 10/11, 2012, p. 299.

¹² О ней см.: АРХИМ. ЛЕОНИД, *Сведения о славянских пергаменных и бумажных рукописях, поступивших из книгохранилища Святой Троицкой Сергиевой Лавры в библиотеку Троицкой духовной семинарии в 1747 г. (ныне находящейся в библиотеке Московской духовной академии)*, fasc. 2, Москва, 1887, pars II, № 4 (18), p. 17–19; Н.Б. ШЕЛАМАНОВА, *Предварительный список славяно-русских рукописей XI–XIV вв., хранящихся в СССР (для „Сводного каталога рукописей, хранящихся в СССР, до конца XIV в. включительно)*, [in:] *Археографический ежегодник за 1965 год*, Москва 1966, p. 225, № 653; *Рукописные собрания Государственной библиотеки СССР имени В.И. Ленина, Указатель*. t. 1, fasc. 2, Москва 1986, p. 106; А.А. АЛЕКСЕЕВ, *op. cit.*, p. 36, сноска 3. Текст рукописи см. в: <http://old.stsl.ru/manuscripts/book.php?col=5&manuscript=18>.

страницы, чтобы датировать ее, публикуя также филигранные этой рукописи. В результате своего анализа он определил время возникновения кодекса между 1345 и 1360 г.¹³ (фиг. 1, л. 20об.–21). Я могу добавить, что много филигранных того же типа и очень подобные филиграммам рукописи № 18 можно увидеть в книге Лихачева, они указаны им как обнаруженные главным образом в славянских и греческих рукописях XIV в., преимущественно середины столетия¹⁴. При этом в большинстве случаев они находятся и в других болгарских рукописях того же времени, например: в рукописи № 237 собрания А.И. Хлудова в Государственном историческом музее в Москве, написанной, по мнению Лихачева, вероятнее всего между 1340 и 1350 гг.¹⁵ – это важная болгарская рукопись, много раз исследованная с различных точек зрения, большая часть которой занята списком Сводного патерика¹⁶; в рукописи № F.I.461 коллекции Российской национальной библиотеки в Санкт-Петербурге, датированная им третьей четвертью XIV в., причем одна филигрань типа Ф.173. I, № 18 проанализирована в деталях и обнаружена преимущественно в греческих рукописях и документах между 1337 и 1362 гг.¹⁷ – это первая попытка собрать в одном томе текст Ветхого завета, конечно за исключением Псалтыри, привлекавшая с конца XX в. внимание ряда ученых и частично опубликованная¹⁸; рукопись № 164 (1722) коллекции Троицко-Сергиевой лавры

¹³ Н.П. Лихачев, *Палеографическое значение бумажных водяных знаков*, pars 1. *Исследование и описание филигранных*, Санкт-Петербург 1899, р. 200–202; pars 3. *Альбом снимков*, Санкт-Петербург 1899, tab. CCLXXXIX, № 2050–2054.

¹⁴ Н.П. Лихачев, *Палеографическое значение...*, pars 1, р. XCVII–XCVIII, XCIX–CIII, CVIII–CIX, 27 (из греческой рукописи 1345 г.), р. 58–62 (из греческой рукописи, написанной между 1350-м и 1360-м годами), 71–72, 207–209, 214, 217 (pars 3, tab. CCCII, № 2140; tab. CCCXXV, № 2295; tab. LXII, № 321; tab. CIX, № 646; tab. CCXCV, № 2091; tab. CCCI, № 2132, tab. CCCII, № 2140; tab. CCCVI, № 2167).

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, pars 1, р. XCIX–CIII, р. 214.

¹⁶ Последнее до настоящего времени описание рукописи и литературу до 1999 г. см. в: Св. Николова, М. Йовчева, Т. Попова, Л. Тасева, *Българското средновековно културно наследство в сбирката на Алексей Хлудов в Държавния исторически музей в Москва*, София 1999, р. 80–81, обр. 141.

¹⁷ Н.П. Лихачев, *op. cit.*, pars 1, р. CVIII–CXII, 216, 232.

¹⁸ Последние опубликованные описания этой рукописи см. в: *Сводный каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг, хранящихся в России, странах СНГ и Балтии, XIV век*, fasc. 1 (*Апокалипсис – Летопись Лаврентьевская*), Москва 2002, р. 172–174, № 64 (к сожалению, в указании о публикациях, посвященных этой рукописи, содержатся важные ошибки); Б. Христова, В. Загребин, Г. Енин, Е. Шварц, *Славянские рукописи болгарского происхождения в Российской национальной библиотеке – Санкт-Петербург / Славянски ръкописи от български произход в Руската национална библиотека – Санкт Петербург*, София 2009, р. 105–108, tab. LXXXI–LXXXIV, CLXXXIX (к сожалению, это описание, подготовленное в 80-ые годы XX в., содержит много неточностей и не принимает во внимание многочисленные исследования и издания рукописи, опубликованные после 1984 г.). См. также: *Старобългарският превод на Стария Завет*, ed., introductio Св. Николова, t. I. Р. Златанова, *Книга на дванадесетте пророци с тълкования*, София 1998; t. II. *Книга на пророк Иезекиил с тълкования*, ed. Л. Тасева,

Российской государственной библиотеки в Москве, датированная Лихачевым „около 1350 года”¹⁹, в которой находится список слов Аввы Дорофея²⁰. После поисков в других альбомах филиграней, вышедших из печати после труда Н.П. Лихачева, вероятно будут обнаружены и другие параллели, однако они вряд ли изменят эту датировку.

Нужно сразу сказать, однако, что эта датировка Лихачева касается только основной части рукописи с л. 10 по конец текста на л. 157. С листа 1 по л. 9об. текст написан в конце XV или начале XVI в. Еще в книге Лихачева можно прочитать: *Первые девять листов просто приплетены и относятся к исходу XV столетия (знак trois monts с большим крестом)*²¹. Именно благодаря Лихачеву можно датировать эту часть рукописи, прослеживая в альбоме филигрании в других рукописях, включенных в его фундаментальный труд. Филигрании, подобные филиграням этой части рукописи № 18, можно обнаружить еще в четырех русских рукописях. Первая находится в рукописи Российской государственной библиотеки в Москве, № 90 (1546) книгохранилища Троицко-Сергиевой лавры, содержит книги 16-и толковых пророков и написана дьяконом Стефаном в Иосифо-Волоколамском монастыре с 1 октября по 9 февраля 6997 г. (1488/1489)²². Вторая находится на дополнительном листе, датированном Лихачевым 1488 г., рукописи конца XIV – начала XV в. с Толковым евангелием Феофилакta Болгарского, находящийся теперь в собрании М.П. Погодина Российской национальной библиотеки, № 175²³. Третья рукопись является Октоихом, написанным монахом Феодосием Шастуном в Троицко-Сергиевой лавре в 1497 г., № 368 (246) и хранится теперь в коллекции этого монастыря в Российской государственной библиотеке²⁴. Четвертая филигрань срисована Лихачевым с рукописи, содержащей, по его мнению, Скитский патерик, написанный в 1501 г. по поручению игумена „Кириллова монастыря”²⁵, в конце XIX в. принадлежащей собранию Воскресенского (Новоиерусалимского) монастыря²⁶, возможно, теперь

М. ЙОВЧЕВА, *textus graecus* Т. Илиева, София 2003; т. III, Т. Илиева, *Старобългарско-гръцки словоуказател към Книгата на пророк Иезекиил*, ed. Т. Мострова, София 2013.

¹⁹ Н.П. ЛИХАЧЕВ, *op. cit.*, pars 1, p. 207–209.

²⁰ О ней см.: [ИЛАРИЙ, иером. и АРСЕНИЙ, иером.], *Описание славянских рукописей библиотеки Свято-Троицкой Сергиевой лавры*, pars 1, Москва, 1878, p. 143–144; *Рукописные собрания Государственной библиотеки СССР имени В.И. Ленина, Указатель*, т. 1, fasc. 2, Москва, 1986, p. 218.

²¹ Н.П. ЛИХАЧЕВ, *op. cit.*, pars 1, p. 201.

²² [ИЛАРИЙ, иером. и АРСЕНИЙ, иером.], *op. cit.*, pars 1, p. 77; Н.П. ЛИХАЧЕВ, *op. cit.*, pars 1, p. 121–122, 260, № 1225 – 1488/1489; pars 3, tab. CLXXXVIII.

²³ *Ibidem*, pars 1, p. 259, 260, № 2429–1488 г.; pars 3, tab. CCCXLI. Описание см. в: *Рукописные книги собрания М.П. Погодина. Каталог*, fasc. 1, Ленинград 1988, p. 125–126.

²⁴ [ИЛАРИЙ, иером. и АРСЕНИЙ, иером.], *op. cit.*, pars 2, Москва 1878, p. 122.

²⁵ Н.П. ЛИХАЧЕВ, *op. cit.*, pars 1, p. 125–126, 260, № 1272 – 1497 г.; pars 3, tab. CXCIV.

²⁶ См. П. СТРОЕВ, *Описание рукописей монастырей Волоколамского, Новый Иерусалим, Саввина Сторожевского и Пафнутиева Боровского*, Санкт-Петербург 1891, p. 247, № 45.

часть коллекций Государственного исторического музея в Москве²⁷. Если судить по заглавию второй части, которую начали писать 7-го ноября 7010 (1502) г., откуда, вероятно, скопирована вторая филигрань, она содержит слова Аввы Дорофея, а первая часть, обозначенная в описании как Скитский патерик начала XVI в., написана другим писцом и если судить по заглавию, она содержит Сводный патерик. Рукопись передана Воскресенскому монастырю еще патриархом Никоном в 7169 (1664) г.

Итак, рукопись № 18 содержит две разновременные части. Начало болгарской рукописи середины XIV в. утрачено и к концу XV/нач. XVI в. было заполнено русским книжником. Переплет не оригинальный, похоже, он был добавлен в XIX в. В начале рукописи, в русском добавлении конца XV/нач. XVI в., на л. 1 находится заглавие рукописи, где указано, что Никита Ираклийский собрал толкования на 150 псалмов „различных отцов и учителей” (фиг. 2, л. 1). Дальше до л. 9об. тремя русскими книжниками написаны коричневыми и черными чернилами предисловие (до л. 7), где начинается „беседа о первом псалме” (л. 7–7об.), начало псалтыри небольшим киншварным инициалом и начало первого стиха, а до л. 9об. текст продолжается с комментариями на первые два стиха, оставляя последнюю половину страницы пустой. На л. 10, где начинается болгарская рукопись XIV в., первые две строки на листе являются концом комментария первой части третьего стиха первого псалма, после них находится последняя часть третьего стиха первого псалма с комментарием (фиг. 3, л. 9об.–10). Несмотря на то, что текст продолжается после наполовину пустой страницы, нет никакого пробела в тексте комментария между последними словами, написанными русским переписчиком и первыми словами, написанными болгарским книжником. Дальше следует комментированный текст псалмов до л. 157, где текст завершается неоконченным комментарием на стихе 12-ом 54-го псалма (фиг. 4, л. 156об.–157).

Здесь я не могу входить в детали относительно кодикологических, палеографических и орфографических черт рукописи. Отмечу только некоторые важные особенности.

Во-первых, нужно указать некоторые орфографические черты дополнительно добавленной в начале русской части. Все трое переписчиков, работавших одновременно, использовали в некоторых случаях, например, большой юс. В тоже время у всех наблюдаются различия в степени использования этого графического знака и много непоследовательностей его использования. Так, например, первый переписчик, который написал светлыми

²⁷ См. *Собрание рукописей Воскресенского Ново-Иерусалимского монастыря*, [in:] М.В. Щепкина, Т.Н. Протасьева, *Сокровища древней письменности и старой печати. Обзор рукописей русских, славянских, греческих, а также книг старой печати Государственного исторического музея*, ed. Т.В. Дианова, Москва 1995², p. 25.

коричневыми чернилами только 42 строки *Предисловия* на л. 1–1об., использует его очень часто (на л. 1: строка 4 в заглавии никитѣ; 9 разъгнѣти, сѣ, възысканіѣ; 18 мѣжнѣ, 22–23 истѣговашѣ, 21 съгласишѣ)²⁸, есть, однако, и формы с заменой юсов, и с заменой на ‘у’ (на л. 1об.: строка 3 начинающе, 4 имѣхѣ, 6 полъза, 13 мѣжнѣ; видно, что переписчик колебался – на л. 1об., строка 22 он написал сѣ, но под ѣ можно увидеть остатки от верхней части ж). Второй переписчик, писавший более темными коричневыми чернилами с л. 1об. до л. 8об., очень редко использует ж: до л. 5об. ж не встречается ни разу; дальше до конца л. 8об. можно увидеть его только в нескольких случаях: л. 5об., строка 13 мѣжнѣ, 27 имѣжнѣ; л. 7 строка 12 съсѣдѣ. Дальше до конца текста второго книжника ж использован только два раза, в начале комментированного текста, но только в самом псалтырном тексте и в псалтырной цитате и то непоследовательно (л. 7об., строка 13–14 блаженъ мѣжъ иже не иде на съвѣтъ нечестивы и на пѣти грѣшны не ста Пс. 1,1; л. 8, строка 18 азъ рѣ вози вѣдѣте цитата из Пс. 81,6); в остальном тексте этого переписчика все слова, содержащие этимологическое ж пишутся только через ‘у’, включительно и эти два слова (л. 2, строка 13 мѣ, 22 мѣ; л. 2об. 13 воудѣтъ, воуденъ). В коротком тексте третьего книжника (46 строк на л. 9–9об., написанные черными чернилами), где больше случаев использования ж, тоже наблюдаются такие непоследовательные написания: л. 9, строка 7 воудѣтъ, 10 ходащѣ в поуть, 11 воудѣтъ, 13 ѿонѣдоу, 13, 23 воудѣтъ; л. 9об., строка 4 лѣпотѣ, 7 цвѣтоуще, 10 воудѣще, 11 винѣ, 12 цвѣтѣтъ. Этот факт, по-моему, можно интерпретировать либо как какие-то остатки устраненной первой части болгарской рукописи, которая была в очень плохом состоянии, судя по тому, что с л. 68-го до л. 92-го имеются поврежденные места, заполненные русским книжником (может быть, вторым переписчиком *Предисловия*) с маленькими приклейками с текстом, либо как принадлежность этого книжника к скрипторию, в котором продолжала использоваться в небольшой степени такая орфография, о чем говорит факт, что, например, на л. 7об. в первых двух словах Псалтыри, написанных вторым книжником, мы находим блаженъ мѣжъ, а тот же самый переписчик дальше в том же самом стихе, продолжая писать этот текст киноварью, написал на пѣти.

Что касается болгарской рукописи, то она принадлежит к среднеболгарской традиции доевфимиевского периода и написана одним книжником. Только на л. 10об. появляется другой переписчик. Он не пишет среднеболгарской орфографией и написал киноварью только пять с половиной строк, как во всех остальных случаях, когда киноварью написаны тексты из псалмов (тексты комментариев написаны обычными коричневыми чернилами). По всей вероятности, он был русским книжником или тот же самый болгарский

²⁸ Передаю текстов русских переписчиков без ударений.

XIV в.²⁹ и вызывает различные предположения, на которых я не буду здесь останавливаться.

Структура катены состоит из нескольких частей. В начале короткое предисловие, называемое обычно *всѣда*, но иногда *тлѣкованіе* или *сказаніе* (в одном случае – *сѣбраніе*), отсутствующее только в нескольких случаях. Потом следует отрывок псалтырного текста, за ним следует толкование. Обычно после псалтырного текста имеется только одно толкование. Чаще всего авторы толкований не обозначены.

Однако на полях, хотя и не очень часто, отмечены имена ряда выдающихся византийских экзегетов, главным образом эпохи византийской патристики³⁰. Перечислю их в хронологическом порядке: Евсевий Кесарийский (260/265–339/340), чьи комментарии (*Commentarii in Psalmos*) написаны вероятно между 325 и 339 г. (вероятнее всего, после 327 г.) и сохранились частично только в катенах и схолиях³¹ (фиг. 5, л. 38об.–39); Диодор, епископ Тарсийский (305/310–392/394), который составил комментарий (*Interpretationes in Psalmos*) вероятно до 378 или даже до 372 г.³² (фиг. 6, л. 52об.–53); Василий Великий (329/330–379), кому принадлежат, по мнению современных исследователей, 15 аутентичных гомилий на псалмы³³ (фиг. 7, л. 105об.–106); Григорий Богослов (325/330–389/390), который напрямую назван и отрыв-

²⁹ Св. НИКОЛОВА, *Повестта „Стефанит и Ихнилат“ в българската средновековна литература и книжнина*, Pbg 14.3, 1990, p. 36–37, 39; ЕАДЕМ, *За българския текст на повестта „Стефанит и Ихнилат“*, СЛ 25/26, 1991, p. 119–120; *Стефанит и Ихнилат. Старобългарска преводна повест от XIII век*, ed. Св. НИКОЛОВА, София 1996, p. 145, 162–163, 172.

³⁰ Литература о греческих текстах и рукописях патристических комментариев обширна. Здесь я укажу только на некоторые обобщительные работы, главным образом, последних десятилетий и на такие работы относительно упомянутых в рукописи греческих авторов, в которых можно проследить развитие исследований, издания и богатую литературу о них: М. HARL, *La chaîne palestinienne sur le psaume 118 (Origene, Eusebe, Didyme, Apollinaire, Athanase, Théodoret)*, vol. I. *Introductio, textus criticus, translatio* G. DORIVAL, Paris 1972 [SC 189]; vol. II. *Catalogus fragmentarum, commentarii, indices*, Paris 1972 [SC 190]; М.-J. RONDEAU, *Les commentaires patristiques du Psautier (IIIe–Ve siècles)*, vol. I. *Les travaux des pères grecs et latins sur le Psautier. Recherches et bilan*, Roma 1982 [OCA 219]; vol. II. *Exégèse prosopologique et théologique*, Roma 1985 [OCA 220]; G. DORIVAL, *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur les psaumes: Contributions à l'étude d'une forme littéraire*, vol. 1, Leuven 1986, vol. 2, Leuven 1989, vol. 3, Leuven 1992, vol. 4, Leuven 1995 [SSLo 43, 44, 45, 46]; Н.С. ШИВАРОВ, *Древни източни коментари на Псалтира и старобългарските им преводи*, ГДА 28 (54).1. (1978/1979), 1986, p. 3–79. То же самое относится к процитированной здесь литературе о более поздних комментариях на Псалтырь и к новым обобщительным статьям об отдельных авторах.

³¹ М.-J. RONDEAU, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 64–75; vol. II, p. 169–195; А. ЯСТРЕБОВ, *Евсевий*, [in:] *Православная энциклопедия*, t. 17, Москва 2008, p. 252–267.

³² М.-J. RONDEAU, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 93–102; Д.В. ЗАЙЦЕВ, *Диодор*, [in:] *Православная энциклопедия*, t. 15, Москва 2007, p. 228–234.

³³ М.-J. RONDEAU, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 107–112; *Василий Великий*, [in:] *Православная энциклопедия*, t. 7, Москва 2004, p. 131–191.

ки сочинений которого встречаются в греческих рукописях, однако, может быть, речь идет о Григории Нисском (331/335–ок. 394), которому принадлежит большое сочинение о надписании псалмов (*In Inscriptiones Psalmorum*), отдельная беседа на шестой псалом (*In sextum Psalmum*), как и несколько гомилий, основанных на псалмах³⁴ (фиг. 8, л. 79об.–80); Дидим Слепец (313 – ок. 398), кому принадлежит комментарий на псалмы (*Expositio in Psalmos*), написанный, вероятно, между 367 и 387 гг. сохранившийся в катенах, как и под именем Диодора³⁵; Кирилл Александрийский (ок. 375/376–444), написавший, по мнению исследователей, комментарии на все псалмы, однако они сохранились частично и их авторство пока не точно установлено³⁶; Феодорит Кирский (ок. 393–ок. 458/466), кому принадлежит большой комментарий на все псалмы, о котором ученые думают, что был написан после 436 г.³⁷; Исидор Пелусиот (между 350 и 360 – между 435 и 440), который не писал специальные толкования на псалмы, но толкования Священного писания Ветхого и Нового завета составляют основу его огромного эпистолярного наследия, включающего около 2000 писем, отрывки из которых с некоторыми изменениями помещаются в экзегетические катены³⁸; Максим Исповедник (ок. 580–662), который не комментировал систематически Псалтырь, но написал отдельное толкование на 59-й псалом и чье имя упоминается в катенах³⁹; Арефа, архиепископ Кесарии Каппадокийской (ок. 850 – ок. 932), которому принадлежат схолии на Священное писание⁴⁰ (фиг. 9, л. 110об.–111); Никифор Влеммид (1197/1198–1269/1272), который написал несколько комментариев на псалмы: короткий комментарий (Ψαλτήριον ἐξηγήμενον), о котором считается, что он очень близок к комментарию Евфимия Зигабена (ок. 1050 – после 1118), частично опубликованный комментарий *Explicatio quorundam Psalmorum* и собрание избранных псалмов, предназначенное для литургических нужд (Ἐκλογαὶ ἐκ τῆς βίβλου τῶν Ψαλμῶν)⁴¹. Имя

³⁴ M.-J. RONDEAU, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 112–116; Григорий, [in:] *Православная энциклопедия*, т. 12, Москва 2006, p. 480–526; GRÉGOIRE DE NISSE, *Sur les titres des Psaumes*, introductio, textus criticus, translatio, commentarii, index J. REYNARD, Paris 2002 [SC 466]; Григорий Богослов, [in:] *Православная энциклопедия*, т. 12, Москва 2006, p. 668–712.

³⁵ M.-J. RONDEAU, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 116–121; vol. II, p. 223–274; П.Б. МИХАЙЛОВ, Дидим Слепец, [in:] *Православная энциклопедия*, т. 14, Москва 2006, p. 677–686.

³⁶ M.-J. RONDEAU, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 131–134.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 134–137; Н.Ст. ШИВАРОВ, *op. cit.*, p. 22–53.

³⁸ Исидор Пелусиот, [in:] *Православная энциклопедия*, т. 27, Москва 2011, p. 209–224.

³⁹ M.-J. RONDEAU, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 125, 264, 293; А.И. СИДОРОВ, *Преподобный Максим Исповедник: эпоха, жизнь, творчество*, [in:] *Творения преподобного Максима Исповедника*, т. 1. *Богословские и аскетические трактаты*, translatio, introductio et commentarii А.И. СИДОРОВ, Москва 1993, p. 66.

⁴⁰ И.В.Т., Арефа, [in:] *Православная энциклопедия*, т. 3, Москва 2001, p. 216–217.

⁴¹ NICÉPHORE VLEMMIDÈS, *Œuvres théologiques*, t. I. Introductio, textus criticus, translatio et commentarii M. STAVROU, Paris 2007 [SC 517]; t. II, Paris 2013 [SC 558].

Никифора Влеммида является единственным случаем, когда оно написано в тексте рукописи № 18 – *влеммидово* (фиг. 10, л. 94об.–95). В редких случаях, когда появляется второй комментарий на соответствующий отрывок стиха, написанный после комментария на предыдущий отрывок, этот факт отмечен в тексте или на полях (напр., *иню, дроуѣ, дроуѣгоѣ*).

Атрибуцию включенных в катену комментариев, конечно, мне предстоит установить, потому что обычно в них имена комментаторов не указаны, а кроме того, из греческой рукописной традиции катен хорошо известен факт, что указанные в рукописях имена не всегда обозначают действительных авторов текстов. Сейчас я не имею возможности останавливаться на том материале, в котором я установила авторство толкований, это является предметом другой работы. Скажу только, что наиболее часто используется комментарий Феодорита Кирского и это очень важно, потому что до сих пор не было обнаружено ни одного болгарского списка Толковой псалтыри Феодорита.

Но даже в случаях, когда указанные имена не соответствуют уже установленному исследователями византийских катен действительному авторству, сам факт присутствия на полях имен византийских экзегетов является знаком, что болгарские средневековые книжники середины XIV в. знали хотя бы имена многих выдающихся византийских комментаторов Псалтыри. Но самое главное – они доказывают, что в это время книжники интересовались различными патристическими комментариями на такую важную книгу Священного писания как Псалтырь, не ограничиваясь толкованиями, засвидетельствованными в болгарской рукописной традиции до этого времени, которые приписываются Псевдо-Афанасию Александрийскому (ок. 295–373) и которые обычно современные ученые считают трудом Исихия Иерусалимского (2-я пол. IV в.– ок. 451)⁴².

Более того, очевидно составитель катены был ознакомлен также и с некоторыми более поздними комментаторами псалтырного текста. Здесь я хочу отметить особо присутствие имен двух замечательных византийских деятелей: архиепископа Кесарии Каппадокийской Арефы, ученика патриарха Фотия (858–867, 877–886), активного участника церковной, культурной, и даже политической жизни Византии во времена правления императора Льва VI (886–912)⁴³ и имя Никифора Влеммида⁴⁴, выдающегося церковного

⁴² Е.В. Ткачев, *Исихий Иерусалимский*, [in:] *Православная энциклопедия*, т. 27, Москва 2011, р. 257–276.

⁴³ О месте и значении деятельности Арефы в эту эпоху см., напр.: *История Византии в трех томах*, т. 2, ed. А.П. Каждан, Москва 1967, р. 113, 177, 180, 181, 358–360, 368.

⁴⁴ О месте и значении деятельности Никифора Влеммида в эту эпоху см., напр.: *История Византии в трех томах*, т. 3, ed. Г.Г. Литаврин, Москва 1967, р. 12, 38, 82, 220–221, 234–235, 237–238, 241–242, 257–258; *Nicéphore VLEMMIDES, op. cit.*, t. I, p. 9–84.

деятеля, ученого монаха, учителя и близкого сотрудника молодого и талантливого византийского императора Федора II Ласкариса⁴⁵ (1254–1258), которому было только 33 года, когда он вступил на престол и которого византологи считают самым образованным человеком, занимавшим византийский престол после Константина VII Багрянородного (913–959).

Кроме толкований библейских текстов и произведений отцов церкви, Арефа писал полемические сочинения по богословским и каноническим вопросам и политические памфлеты. Он известен также как собиратель наследия греческой античной книжности. Считается, что по его заказу переписаны лучшие сохранившиеся до нашей эпохи списки сочинений Платона, Эвклида и других античных писателей. Он комментировал их и, принадлежа к направлению, опиравшемуся на Аристотелевскую философию, спорил с неоплатониками, обвиняя их в увлечении язычеством и отречении от христианской веры. До настоящего времени сохранились рукописи, принадлежащие библиотеке Арефы, где на полях даже помещались особые знаки, которые связывали текст со схолиями на полях, где сам он отмечал разночтения, вносил исправления и комментировал.

Никифору Влеммиду принадлежит немало философских и богословских сочинений, его учебники логики, физики и географии, широко распространенные как в Византии, так и на Западе, являлись компиляциями, основанными на переложении сочинений Аристотеля, Платона, Птолемея, Эвклида и других античных авторов, как и на сочинениях отцов церкви, напр., Василия Великого, Иоанна Дамаскина, блаженного Августина; он писал придворные стихи, написал две автобиографии, письма византийским императорам, его сочинения использовались в общении с Римской церковью и демонстрировал в дискуссиях по вопросам вероучения примирительную позицию.

Никифор считался своими современниками самым образованным человеком в период короткого существования Никейского царства (1205/1206–1259), а исследователи считают его самой представительной фигурой духовной жизни Византии того времени, обеспечившей переход между эпохой Комненов и т. наз. Палеологовим ренесансом, и даже высказывают мнение, что его труды подготавливают Предренесанс⁴⁶. Уроженец Константинополя, благодаря своему солидному образованию и способностям,

⁴⁵ О месте и значении личности и деятельности Федора II Ласкариса во время короткого существования Никейской империи см., напр.: *История Византии...*, т. 3, р. 12, 37–39, 41, 61–65, 220–221, 257–259, 347, 349; NISÉRNORE BLEMIDÈS, *op. cit.*, t. I, р. 9–84; t. II, р. 37–62. Интересное описание этого периода и характеристику этого замечательного византийского императора см., напр., в: Ф.И. Успенский, *История Византийской империи. Период VI Комнины. Период VII. Расчленение империи. Период VIII. Ласкари и Палеологи*, Екатеринбург 2013, р. 381–427.

⁴⁶ NISÉRNORE BLEMIDÈS, *op. cit.*, t. I, р. 13, 70.

он попал очень рано в поле зрения императора Иоанна III Дука Ватаца (1222–1254) и был человеком, который обеспечил образование его сына и будущего императора Феодора II Ласкариса. Как у личности неаристократического происхождения, у него были две возможности продвигаться в византийском обществе – войти или в императорскую администрацию, или в церковный клир. Долгое время он находился в двойственной ситуации, поддерживая близкие связи с двором и с высшим церковным клиром и в то же время ведя аскетическую жизнь монаха, однако всегда предпочитал монашескую жизнь и в конце концов после 1249 г. начал удаляться от своих контактов и с императором и с высшим клиром и этот процесс закончился около 1258 г. Он был активным участником проводившихся в это время прений с латинянами в связи с тринитарным вопросом и в своих сочинениях выразил свое мнение. Здесь я упомяну письмо Влеммида 1256 г. относительно этого вопроса, посланное одному архиепископу, вероятно правившему Охридской архиепископией в период 1240–1259, между правлениями двух очень известных в болгарской церковной истории замечательных охридских архиепископов – Димитрия Хоматиана (1220–1236) и Константина Кавасилы (до 1259–ок. 1261) – это т. наз. Яков Болгарский (Проархий)⁴⁷. Уместно напомнить также, что в это время между Болгарией и Никейской империей существовали активные контакты, даже династические связи, которые были то союзническими, то враждебными⁴⁸. В этой связи можно указать и на факт, что ситуация в отношениях между никейскими императорами и Охридской архиепископией была подобной. Она зависела от взаимоотношений между разьединенными греческими царствами (Феодор II Ласкарис даже арестовал Константина Кавасилу), однако границы Охридской архиепископии никогда не нарушались никейцами⁴⁹. Очевидно, однако, что отношение охридских архиепископов к никейским императорам не было негативным. Об этом свидетельствует, например, факт, что Константин Кавасила включил в одну из двух редакций Службы св. Науму Охридскому наряду с двумя своими канонами в честь святого и третий канон, посвященный Богоматери, чьим автором является Федор II Ласкарис⁵⁰. Хорошо известно, что и Хоматиан, и Кавасила очевидно поддерживали хорошие связи с их болгарской

⁴⁷ NISÉRNORE ВЛЕММИДÈS, *op. cit.*, t. II, p. 35–153; И. СНЕГАРОВ, *История на Охридската архиепископия*, т. 1. *От основаването ѝ до завладяването на Балканския полуостров от турците*, София 1995², p. 157, 211, 280, 283.

⁴⁸ Об этом см., напр.: *История на България*, т. 3. *Втора българска държава*, София 1982, p. 171–178, 268.

⁴⁹ И. СНЕГАРОВ, *op. cit.*, t. 1, p. 152–157.

⁵⁰ Св. Николова, *За един непознат препис от Службата на св. Наум Охридски*, [in:] *Хиляда и осемдесет години от смъртта на св. Наум Охридски*, ed. М. БЪЧВАРОВ, Е. ДОГРАМАДЖИЕВА, Св. Николова, София 1993, p. 52–54, 57.

паствой⁵¹ и даже написали ряд произведений в честь особо почитаемых в ее среде св. Климента и св. Наума. В такой обстановке неудивительно, что Никифор Влеммид написал важное послание, предназначенное, конечно, для более широкого чтения, именно Якову. Важен факт, что Никифор занимался довольно долго изучением греческих рукописей и поэтому знал хорошо византийскую рукописную традицию, которую он по всей вероятности активно использовал в своих трудах, в том числе и при толковании псалмов. Можно отметить также, что Никифор был незаурядной личностью и вел себя довольно независимо. Он не боялся отказывать высшим властям в исполнении их просьб и отстаивал свое мнение по богословским вопросам, которое не всегда нравилось его современникам.

На основе всего сказанного можно заключить, что само упоминание имени Никифора Влеммида в рассматриваемой рукописи можно считать знаком широкого круга интересов и кругозора болгарского книжника, составившего катену. Пока установлено, что в болгарской рукописной традиции, но без имени автора, имеются два списка избранных псалмов Никифора Влеммида XIV в., в которых они находятся в самом начале рукописей, однако в их заглавном тексте не содержится имя автора⁵². Оба списка созданы позднее рукописи № 18 и поэтому не могут подтвердить более раннее знакомство болгарских книжников хотя бы с именем выдающегося византийского духовника.

Кому в действительности принадлежит эта катена?

Этот вопрос самый сложный по нескольким причинам. Во-первых, потому что, несмотря на многие исследования и издания греческих катен на Псалтырь с XVII в. по сей день, пока нет всеобъемлющего полного исследования греческой рукописной традиции и бесспорного и ясного, вполне убедительного представления о развитии катенной традиции в Византии до XIV в., что было бы подспорьем для изучения славянской традиции и дало бы более прочную основу для сопоставлений греческих и славянских текстов. Во-вторых, нужно сказать, что и до сих пор существуют неизданные тексты, а многие – плохо опубликованы⁵³. Укажу также на факт, что наблюдается немало

⁵¹ О Хоматиане см. из последних публикаций: Ил. Илиев, *Охридският архиепископ Димитър Хоматиан и българите*, София 2010. О Констанине Кавасиле пока нет монографии, которая обобщала бы всю его жизнь и деятельность.

⁵² *Норовская псалтырь. Среднеболгарская рукопись XIV века*, pars I, ed. Е.Б. Чешко, И.К. Бунина, В.А. Дыбо, О.А. Князевская, Л.А. Науменко, София 1989, р. 57–61; pars II, София 1989, р. 212–231; И. Карачорова, *Избраните псалми в славянската ръкописна традиция*, [in:] *В памет на Петър Динев. Традиция, приемственост, новаторство*, София 2001, р. 545–556; Хр. Кодов, Б. Райков, Ст. Кожухаров, *Опис на славянските ръкописи в библиотеката на Зографския манастир*, София 1985, р. 30–32.

⁵³ М.-J. RONDEAU, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 17.

противоречий между мнениями исследователей, как и существование колеблющихся мнений. Несмотря на это, нужно отметить, что до сих пор опубликованы сотни исследований и изданий. Так или иначе уже установлены некоторые важные факты. Во-первых, уже выявлено несколько десятков различных типов катен, засвидетельствованных в довольно большом количестве списков, появившихся с V по XVII вв., и уже известно, что катены на Псалтырь превышают по количеству катены на все другие книги Ветхого завета. Бесспорно также, что катены появились очень рано. Сам факт, что еще в одном из трех известных древнейших списков Септуагинты – Александрийском кодексе V-го в. – уже присутствуют *Hypotheses* Евсевия Кесарийского, дает основания предположить, что сама катена Евсевия появилась еще в IV в.⁵⁴, потому что названия псалмов очевидно появились в результате появления систематической экзегезы. Дальнейшая история греческих катен однако так и не выяснена. Исследователи выявляют состав различных типов катен; анализируют вопросы, связанные с указанными в них авторами, подчеркивая, что нужно всегда проявлять осторожность, потому что не всегда это действительные авторы толкований, а их нужно устанавливать; выявляют источники катен, отмечая зависимость новопоявившихся катен от собрания предыдущих составителей, изменения текстов в ходе составления новых компиляций, в которых присутствуют и некоторые оригинальные тексты, комбинирование текстов различных авторов и парафразы авторских текстов; отмечают также плохую трансмиссию греческих экзегетических сочинений, но и факт, что несмотря на значительные лакуны в катенной традиции, она очень богата и разнообразна в сохранившихся рукописях; подчеркивают факт, что составители катен черпали в ряде случаев тексты не только у предыдущих составителей, но и из прямой традиции комментариев эпохи патристики – период, называемый ими „Золотой век комментариев”⁵⁵ на библейские тексты.

Что касается катены Никиты Ираклийского (ок. 1050 – ок. 1120)⁵⁶, пока что установлено, что это новая оригинальная компиляция⁵⁷, принадлежащая к т.наз. „первичным” катенам, которые составлены самостоятельно, а не скомпилированы на основе других катен и что в огромной по своему объему греческой катенной традиции (пока исследователи говорят о существовании около пятидесяти различных катен⁵⁸) Никита является единственным автором катен, о котором можно утверждать с некоторой уверенностью, что

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 197–198.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 19.

⁵⁶ Биографические данные с критическим анализом различных мнений см. в: G. DORIVAL, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 494–496.

⁵⁷ GRÉGOIRE DE NISSE, *Sur les titres des Psaumes...*, p. 129–133; G. DORIVAL, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 492–565.

⁵⁸ G. DORIVAL, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 12.

именно он является ее составителем⁵⁹. Считается, что она возникла до 1080 г. или около 1100 г.⁶⁰, что опиралась не только на катены, но и на прямую традицию, например, на трактат *In Inscriptiones Psalmorum* Григория Нисского, 2/3 которого представлены в тексте этой катены⁶¹. Она является самой распространенной катеной: пока обнаружено 30 ее списков: наиболее ранние тексты засвидетельствованы в рукописях XII в., а наиболее поздние написаны в XVIII в.; обнаружено также несколько рукописей, в которых катена Никиты использовалась для создания новых компиляций. Замечательно, что более половины из сохранившихся до сих пор списков возникли в XII и XIII вв. (14 из всех 30-и списков). Исследователи считают, что этот факт свидетельствует об авторитете автора и он подтверждается качеством использованных авторов и его работ⁶². Это подтвердится и фактами его биографии, также присутствием других его сочинений в греческой и даже в славянской рукописной традиции эпохи Средневековья. В начале своей карьеры, после того, как стал дьяконом, он становится учителем в патриаршей школе, может быть, ок. 1080 г. стал директором одной присоединенной к ней школы в Халкопратии, потом его вызвали в Св. Софию в Константинополь, где преподавал, о чем свидетельствуют его труды по грамматике и риторике. Потом преподавал теологию, а его комментарии на Псалтырь, на Евангелие и на послания ап. Павла являются свидетельством того, что он преподавал именно об этих книгах Священного писания. Существуют многочисленные данные, что ему были присвоены также должности синкела и скевофиакса. Позднее он стал митрополитом Иракии и точно известно, что был им в 1117 г. В некоторых рукописях прямо отмечено, что он был племянником бывшего митрополита Сересса. Стоит подчеркнуть, что он был другом и корреспондентом Охридского архиепископа Феофилакты (ок. 1055–ок. 1126). Интересно указать на тот факт, что его имя было широко известно в славянском православном мире, благодаря двум болгарским версиям коллекции 16-и слов Григория Назианзина с толкованиями Никиты Иракийского, которые сохранились в более 120-и рукописях XIV–XVII вв.⁶³

Я не буду вдаваться сейчас в вопрос о том, именно катену Никиты ли использовал книжник, написавший катену в рукописи № 18 и если да, в какой степени и в какой именно рукописи можно искать ее источник, потому что выяснение этого вопроса требует в дальнейшем новых поисков

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, vol. 1, p. 19, 23; G. DORIVAL, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 494.

⁶⁰ G. DORIVAL, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 23

⁶¹ GRÉGOIRE DE NISSE, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

⁶² О списках катены и работе Никиты см. G. DORIVAL, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 496–565.

⁶³ См. А.М. Бруни, *Θεολόγος. Древнеславянские кодексы Слов Григория Назианзина и их византийские прототипы*, Москва–Санкт-Петербург 2004.

среди сохранившегося греческого материала, так как пока текст катены Никиты еще не опубликован. По моим, конечно, неполным, наблюдениям, рассматриваемая здесь болгарская катена не связана с текстом толкований Максима Грека. Есть некоторые совпадающие по смыслу толкования (я обнаружила напр., такие тексты Феодорита Кирского, однако текст Максима не совпадает с текстом в № 18 и несомненно, он не знал болгарскую рукопись). Катена, обнаруженная Ив. Карачоровой, по своему объему и составу указанных авторов никак не подходит к тексту болгарской рукописи XIV в. По устному сообщению К.М. Макроберт на конференции в Лодзи 20-го мая 2016 г. в катене Хилендарских рукописей, обнаруженной И. Карачоровой, представлен именно текст Толковой псалтыри Максима Грека. Рукопись № 13 собрания Болгарской национальной библиотеки в Софии по сути дела не является катеной, потому что в ней отсутствуют комментарии на псалмы, а есть только короткие схилии на полях, которые относятся к немногим текстам псалмов. Относительно катены, обнаруженной К.М. Макроберт, сама она сказала на упомянутой конференции, что компилятивная катена на Псалтырь, которую обнаружила в трех восточнославянских рукописях XV и XVI вв., не совпадает по своему содержанию с катеной № 18, которую я представила на конференции.

Конечно, еще рано определять автора катены, которую перевел болгарский книжник и время ее возникновения. В этой связи хочу упомянуть, что, например, имя Ареты находится в катене 17-ой по одной из классификаций катен, и *terminus a quo* для ее возникновения исследователи византийской традиции определяют 984 г., а *terminus ante quem* – 994 г.⁶⁴, а имя Никиты Ираклийского, если окажется, что его надо принять во внимание в этом случае, отодвигает почти еще на столетие эти границы. Имя Никифора Влеммида, если действительно отрывок принадлежит именно ему, указывает на появление катены не ранее первой половины XIII в. Мы не знаем, существовали ли какие-нибудь списки до рукописи № 18, или этот кодекс является сам неоконченным переводом. Может быть, удастся установить это в будущем. На сей день можем сказать только, что эта рукопись является древнейшим славянским списком настоящей катены на Псалтырь, а может быть, и древнейшим славянским переводом такой катены на Псалтырь. Ее открытие для библеистов имеет значение также в общем плане изучения катен на Псалтырь, поскольку пока в науке говорится о существовании таких компиляций толкований только в других средневековых традициях, а как очень часто бывает в библеистике, славянская традиция для библеистов остается неизвестной. Достаточно процитировать мнение одного из самых авторитетных исследователей греческих катен последних десятилетий XX века – Жилия Доривала. Он пишет в 1986 г.:

⁶⁴ M.-J. RONDEAU, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 239.

A partir du 6^e siècle apparaît, dans l'église grecque de Palestine, une forme nouvelle d'interprétation de l'Écriture. Peu à peu cette forme nouvelle se diffuse à travers l'ensemble du monde byzantin, et au-delà, dans les domaines latin, syriaque, arménien, copte, arabe et étiopien. Elles se montre d'une fécondité remarquable, puisqu'elle est attestée à l'heure actuelle par plusieurs centaines de manuscrits grecs. Elle rest productive jusqu' à la fin de l'Empire byzantin, et même plus tard dans l'Italie du 16^e siècle et dans les monastères du Mont-Athos⁶⁵.

И до сих пор исследователям греческих катен остается известным только то, что написал и опубликовал Ватрослав Ягич в 1917 г.⁶⁶ Поэтому текст рукописи № 18 поможет включить эту катену в описание общего развития жанра в средневековую эпоху, а этот процесс, несомненно, поможет также осветить лучше все особенности текстов этой катены, указать ее место в распространении толковых текстов не только в болгарской книжности, но и в православном мире этого периода.

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⁶⁵ G. DORIVAL, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. VII.

⁶⁶ См.: *Supplementum Psalterii Bononiensis. Incerti auctoris explanation Psalmorum Graeca ad fidem. Ad fidem codicum edidit V. JAGIĆ, Vindobonae 1917.*

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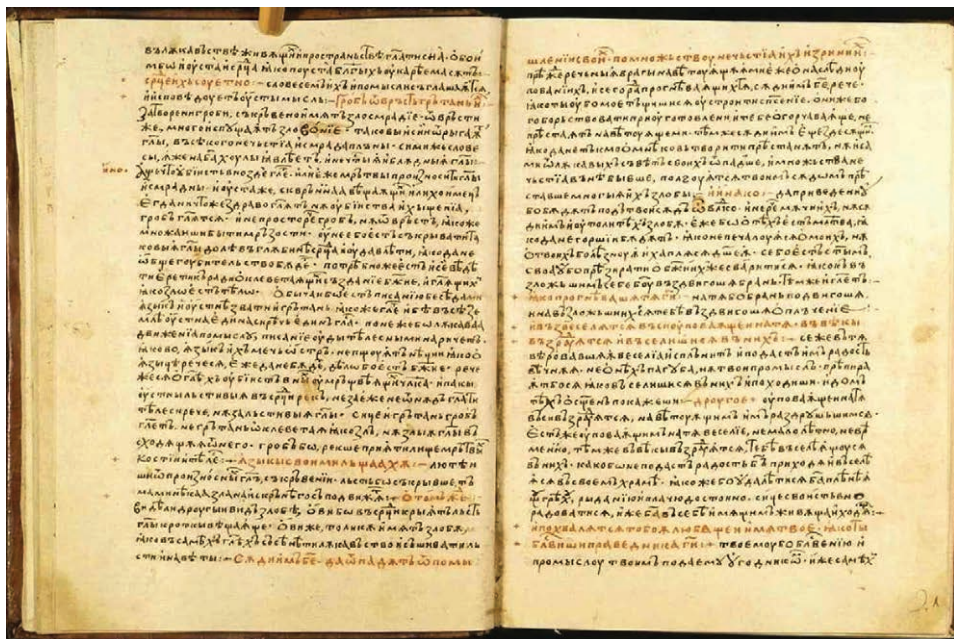
Abstract. On an Unknown Mid-14th Century Bulgarian Manuscript Containing the Catena to the Psalter. The texts of the oldest Slavonic translation of the Psalter are among the most thoroughly studied texts of Cyril's and Methodius' translations in all their different forms. The history of these texts has already been clarified in many respects. However, we observe the fact that research and publications are usually based on a very narrow range of manuscripts, the largest part of which were discovered and put into scientific circulation already in the 19th century. Very rarely, new data appear on the manuscript tradition until the 14th century, the studies do not even use manuscripts known for a long time. This observation applies mostly to the commented texts. This article introduces for the first time into scientific circulation the text of a so far unknown catena to the Psalter, found in a Bulgarian manuscript from the 14th century, and makes a first attempt to determine its place and importance in the development of the Psalter text among the Slavs.

Ключевые слова: Псалтырь, катена, болгарская рукописная традиция, XIV век.

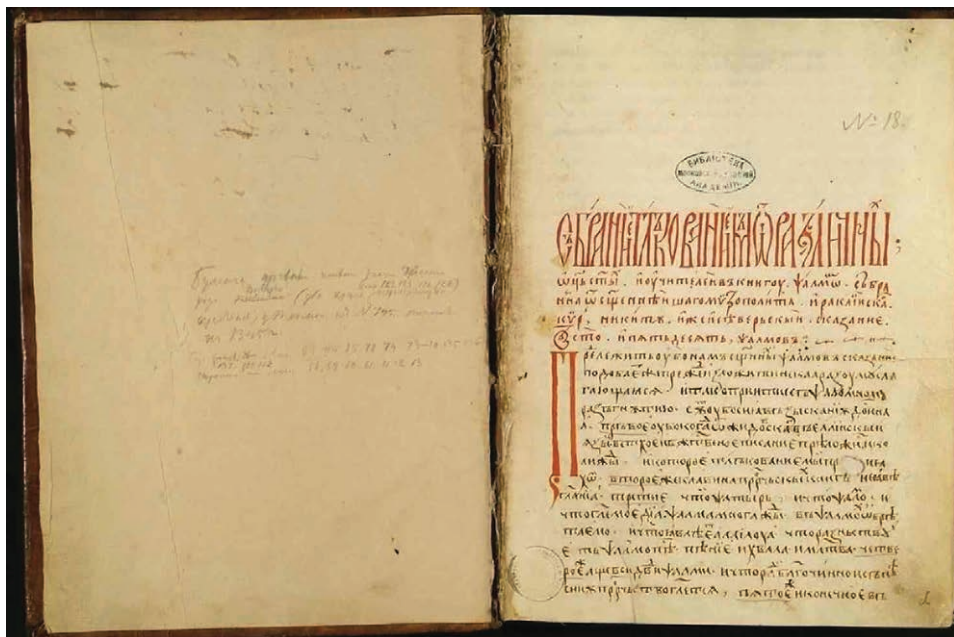
Keywords: Psalter, Katena, Bulgarian manuscript tradition, 14th century.

Светлина Николова

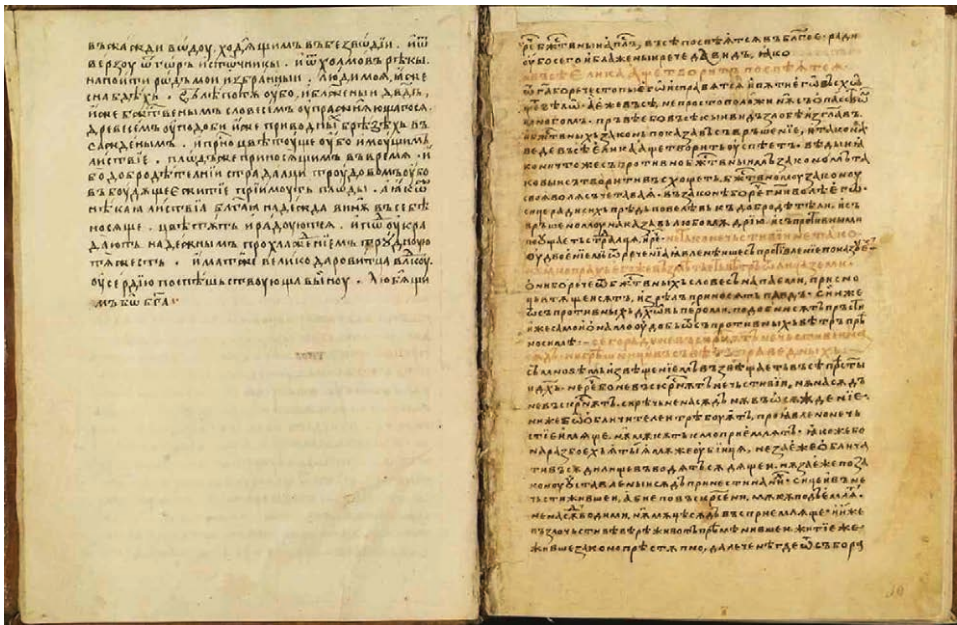
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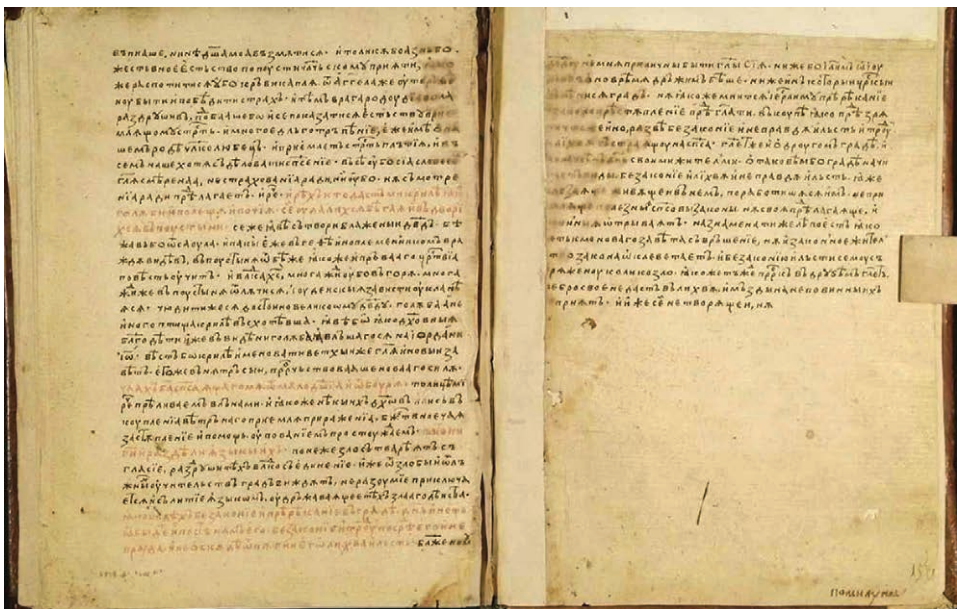
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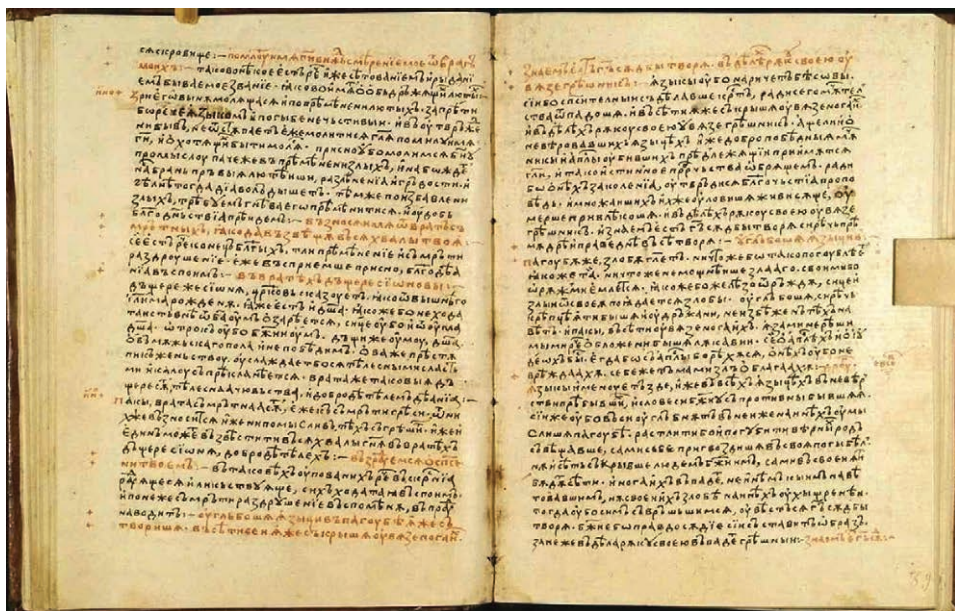
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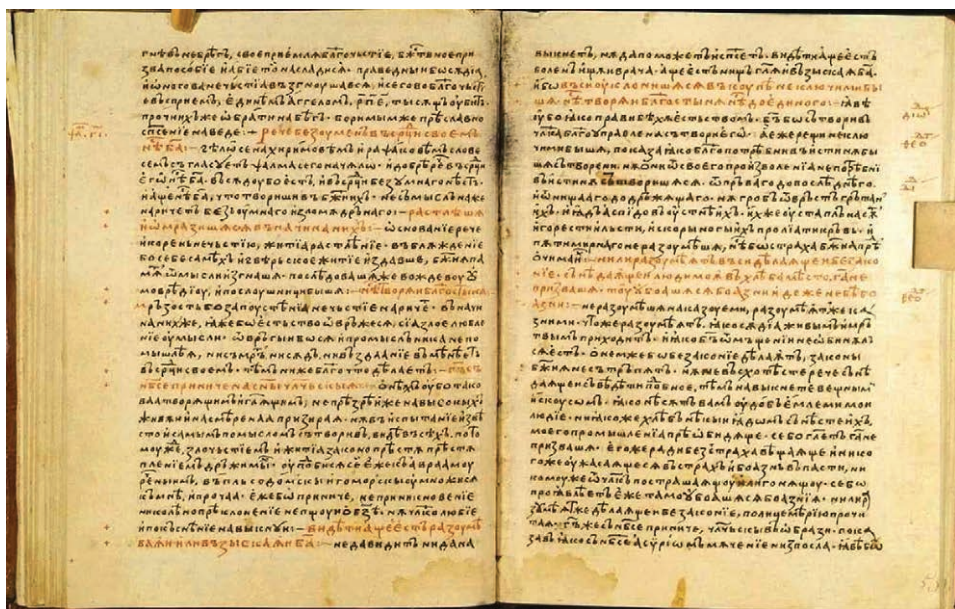
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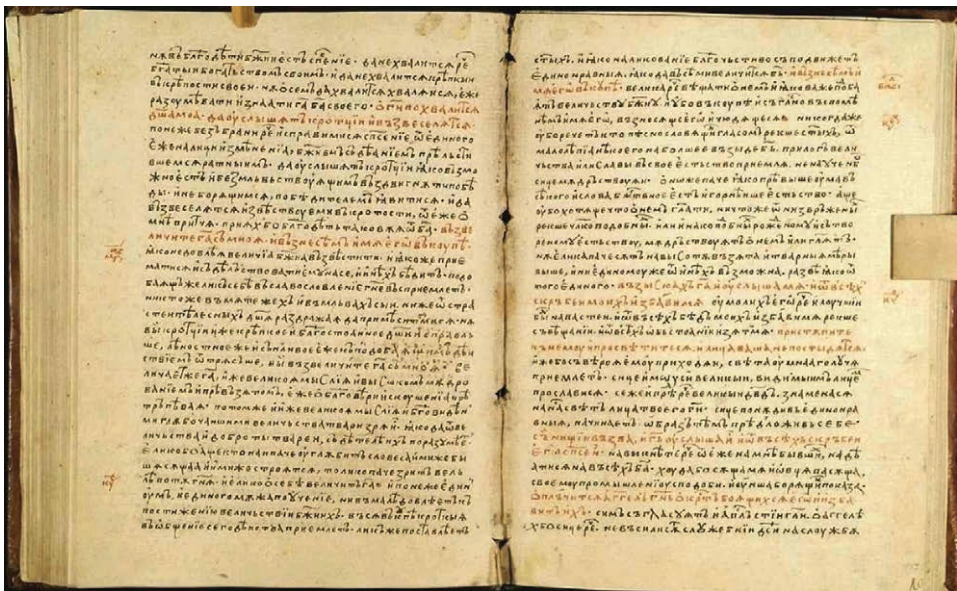
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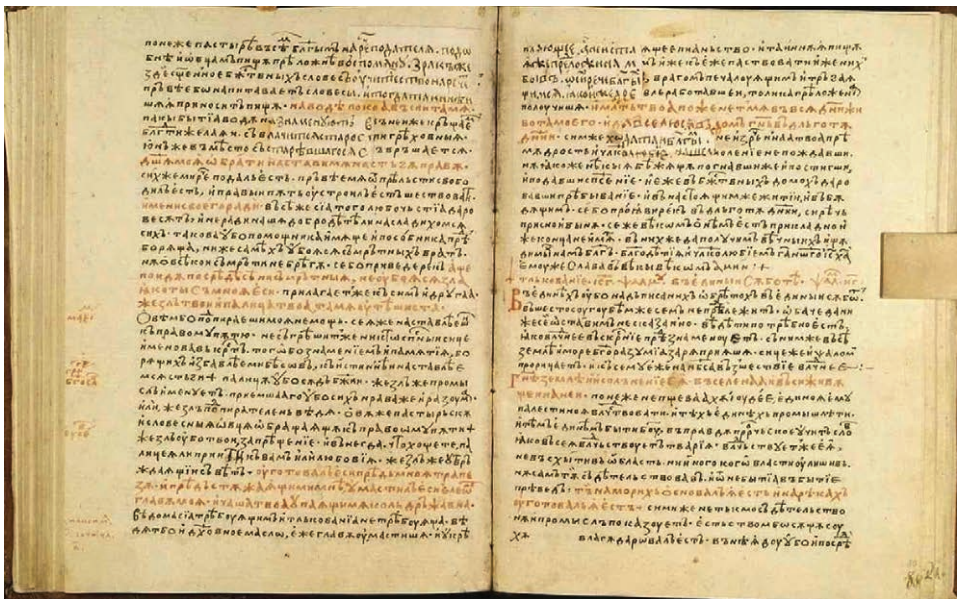
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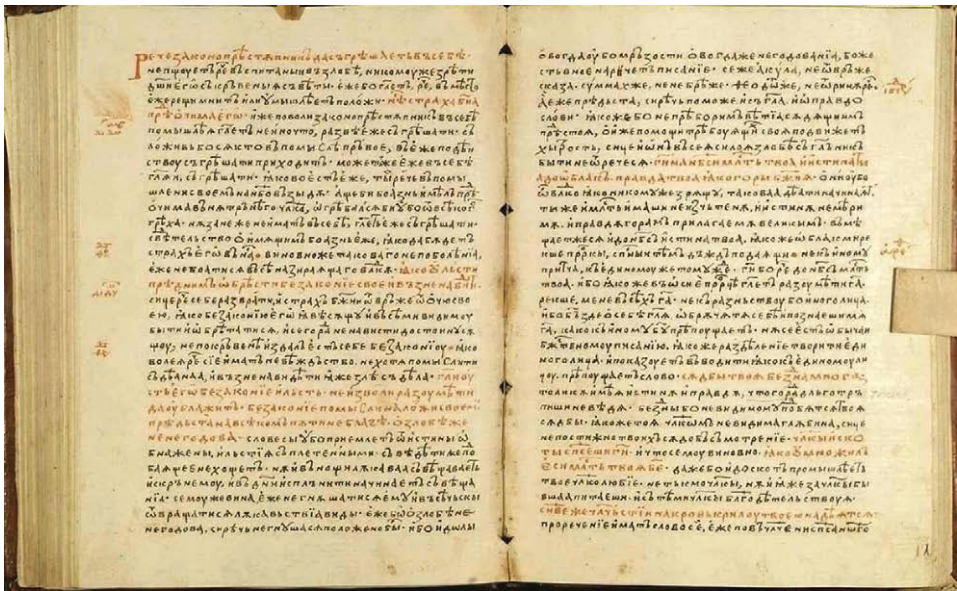
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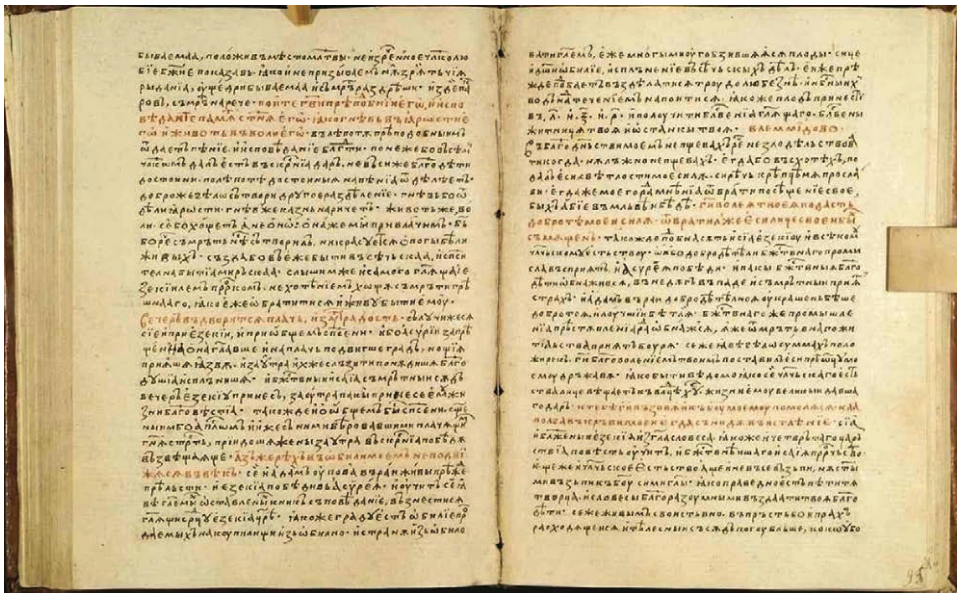
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Фиг. 8., л. 79об.-80 – стр. 111.



Фиг. 9, л. 110б.-111 – стр. 111.



Фиг. 10, л. 940б.-95 – стр. 112.

Jerzy Ostapczuk (Warsaw)

TYPOLOGICAL CLASSIFICATION OF THE CYRILLIC MANUSCRIPTS AND EARLY PRINTED BOOKS WITH THE GOSPEL TEXTS

The tradition of dividing the books of the Holy Scripture is very old. It was known already in the Jewish tradition, in which the biblical texts received a threefold division: 1) the Law or the Pentateuch (Torah), 2) the Prophets (Nebi'im), and 3) the Writings (Ketuvim)¹. This tripartite canon was recognized by the authors of the New Testament (Luke 24,44; John 10,35; 2 Tm 3,15), as well.

The Evangelists and Apostles (2 Cor 3,14; Heb 8,7 etc.) distinguished in the Holy Scripture the Old² and the New Testament. This division was established by the Church Fathers (e.g. Origen), who divided the second part of the Bible into the works of: 1) the Evangelists (τὰ εὐαγγελικά) and 2) the Apostles (τὰ ἀποστολικά). These ancient divisions of the Holy Scripture served as a model for any further divisions with regard of the characteristic features and aspects of the books (i.e. their authorship, the date of creation or the type of the text).

The Gospels, written in the 1st century in the Greek language, are an inseparable component of the Bible, especially of its second part – the New Testament. This, however, does not mean that they always had stand a part of the Bible or the New Testament, for they could have been written in one separate and independent codex together with the Acts and Epistles of the Holy Apostles (i.e. Apostolos), but without the Apocalypse (Revelation). The Gospels, similarly to the Apostolos, could have also constituted a separate volume. This is why the Greek tradition of the Holy Scripture of the New Testament distinguished several different types of the books with Gospel text, namely: the Bible, the New Testament, the Gospels with the Apostolos³ and finally only the Gospels.

The Sacred tradition regarded only four Gospels as canonical, i.e. those written by Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. The text of these four books – written in one volume – is called “tetraevangelion” (Greek: τέτταρα and εὐαγγέλιον).

¹ The Tanakh is the acronym of the Hebrew Bible's tripartite division.

² In the Jewish tradition, the Old Testament was divided into: 1) historical books (21 books), 2) didactical (7 books), and 3) prophetic (16 books). Similarly the New Testament, which was divided into: historical (4 Gospels), didactical (Acts and Epistles of Holy Apostles) and prophetic (Revelation).

³ The Apocalypse is the only New Testament book excluded from public reading at Orthodox services.

The development of the liturgical tradition and various regularities of celebration of Divine Liturgies – in rural areas, cathedral and metropolitan cities or monasteries – resulted in the division of the Gospel text into liturgical readings (pericopes) and the extension of the tetragospels with a supplement containing essential information for priests about the order in which the pericopes occur in the church year. The products of these liturgical needs were tetraevangelions with different divisions of the Gospel texts – corresponding to the frequency of celebrating Divine Liturgies – and a liturgical apparatus placed at the end of the volume or sometimes – when divided into two parts: the Synaxarion⁴ and the Menologion⁵ – also at its beginning.

Most of the liturgical readings comprise of only of a single fragment from a Gospel, but some of them may include several fragments, i.e. two⁶, three⁷ or even five⁸, taken from one or even different Gospel books. A good example of the latter is the periscope for the Good Friday Vespers, which reading contains five fragments from three Gospels: of Matthew (27,1–38), of Luke (23,39–43), of Matthew (27,39–54), of John (19,31–37) and once again of (27,55–61).

The system of liturgical readings was in some cases quite complicated, as some pericopes incorporated fragments from different parts of the tetraevangelion. In case of the above-mentioned pericope, priests had to read first the fragment from the first Gospel book (Matthew), then from the third (Luke), and again from the first (Matthew), from the last (John) and again from the first (Matthew). This problem with looking for the appropriate Gospel fragments by a priest did not occur (at least not entirely) in relation to the other type of the book with the text of the Gospel, i.e. the lectionary, in which the Gospel text divided into pericopes is arranged according to the cycles of the church year and is chanted in this order by

⁴ The Synaxarion (the so-called “moveable year”) begins with Easter and provides readings for the moveable feast days.

⁵ The menologion (the so-called “fixed year”) begins on September 1 (the Indiction, i.e. the beginning of the secular year) and contains readings for fixed feast days.

⁶ For example readings for: the Holy Pentecost: John 7,37–51 and 8,12; the 16th Saturday of Matthew: Matt 24,34–49 and 42–44.

⁷ For example readings for: the 1st Sunday of Matthew: Matt 10,32–33.37–38 and 19,27–30; the 17th Friday of Luke: Mark 15,22.25.33–41. It is worth mentioning that the last reading from the Gospel of Mark 15,22.25.33–41 (with omission of the verses 23–24 and 26–32) corresponds to the results of the historical-critical method of research carried out by Wolfgang Schenk (W. SCHENK, *Die gnos-tisierende Deutung des Todes Jesu und ihre kritische Interpretation durch den Evangelisten Markus*, [in:] *Gnosis und Neues Testament: Studien aus Religionswissenschaft und Theologie*, ed. K.-W. TRÖGER, Berlin 1973, p. 231–243). In his opinion, the Gospel of Mark at 15,22–41 contains doublets and additions. This part of the text has also two separate descriptions of the crucifixion. The similarity of the Gospel reading to the reconstruction of the primary Gospel text, carried out by W. Schenk, shows that the Orthodox system of liturgical readings could have been created even in the 1st century, even before the edition of the New Testament’s text.

⁸ For example readings for the Elevation of the Holy Cross: John 19,6.9–11.13–20.25–28.30–35.

the priests during the Divine Liturgies throughout the entire year, i.e. the pericope for Monday, the pericope for Tuesday, the pericope for Wednesday etc. On the basis of the different number of Scripture readings at the Synaxarion⁹ the typological classification of the lectionaries was carried out.

A distinction of the various types of books containing the Gospel text was already characteristic for Greek tradition. It was based on some principles: the arrangement of the text in the Gospel or the liturgical pericopes and various regularities of celebrating Divine Liturgies – in rural areas, cathedral and metropolitan cities or monasteries. This classification was not based on the characteristics of the Gospel text (i.e. textual variants), as this is the basis for textological classification¹⁰.

In the catalogue of the Greek manuscripts of the New Testament published by Kurt Aland, two¹¹ main types of books with the Gospel text have been distinguished with the following abbreviations¹²:

- e – tetraevangelions;
- l – Gospel¹³ lectionaries¹⁴.

⁹ The number of the Gospel readings at the menologion was not taken into account during the typological classification of the lectionaries.

¹⁰ Authors of the Chicago Lectionary Project examined the text of the Gospel lectionaries. For the results of the Project (with main publications (including doctoral dissertations) of H.M. Buck, W.F. Specht, R. Harms, B.M. Metzger, W.D. Bray, J.R. Branton, F.C. Kuehner, D. Pellett, M.W. Redus and A.S. Illingworth) see: A. WIKGREN, *Chicago studies in the Greek Lectionary of the New Testament*, [in:] *Biblical and Patristic Studies in Memory of Robert Pierce Casey*, ed. J.N. BIRDSALL, R.W. THOMSON, Freiburg 1963, p. 96–121; M.L. DOLEZAL, *The Elusive Quest for the „Real Thing“: The Chicago Lectionary Project Thirty Years On*, *Ges 35/2*, 1996, p. 128–141; А.А. АЛЕКСЕЕВ, *Библия в богослужении. Византийско-славянский лекционарий*, Санкт-Петербург 2008, p. 109–113; J. OSTARCZUK, *Cerkiewnosłowiański przekład liturgicznych perykop okresu Paschalnego i święta Pięćdziesiątnicy w rękopiśmiennych ewangeliarzach krótkich*, Warszawa 2010, p. 146–157.

¹¹ See also А.М. ПЕНТКОВСКИЙ, *Лекционарии и четвероевангелия в византийской и славянской литургических традициях (Приложение 1)*, [in:] *Евангелие от Иоанна в славянской традиции (Novum Testamentum Palaeoslovenice 1)*, ed. А.А. АЛЕКСЕЕВ, А.А. ПИЧХАДЗЕ, М.Б. БАБИЦКАЯ et al., Санкт-Петербург 1998, p. 1.

¹² K. ALAND, *Kurzgefasste liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments: I Gesamtübersicht (Arbeiten zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung 1)*, Berlin 1963, p. 23–24. See also: K. ALAND, B. ALAND, *The Text of the New Testament. An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism*. Second Edition, trans. by E.F. RHODES, Grand Rapids Michigan 1989, p. 170; А.М. ПЕНТКОВСКИЙ, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

¹³ The abbreviation l^a was used for lectionaries with the text of the Apostolos (K. ALAND, *op. cit.*, p. 24), i.e. the Acts and Epistles of the Holy Apostles. It is also sometimes called “The Epistle Lectionary” (*The Epistle Lectionary. The Apostolos of the Greek Orthodox Church According to the King James Version*. Emended and Arranged for the Liturgical Year, Etna (California) 2004). The lectionary of the Old Testament is called “prophetologion” (see А.А. АЛЕКСЕЕВ, *Византийско-славянский профитологий (формирование состава)*, ТОДЛ, LVI, 2004, p. 46–77; А.А. АЛЕКСЕЕВ, *Библия в богослужении...*, p. 159–193).

¹⁴ This symbol is used for the lectionary with Byzantine Church order. There are also others, for example the Palestine lectionary (А.А. АЛЕКСЕЕВ, *op. cit.*, p. 12–15; А.М. ПЕНТКОВСКИЙ, *op. cit.*, p. 10).

Also, the manuscripts called the Apostolos-Gospel lectionary (*l⁺a*) were distinguished, which contain readings from the Gospel and the Apostolos.

Beside theses, there were also other sigla for Acts and Catholic Letters (a), Pauline Letters (p) and Revelation (r). These abbreviations were used in those cases, in which the manuscript comprised of more than one group of the books of the New Testament. An example of such type of manuscript can be the Codex Sinaiticus, which has the following abbreviation: *eapr*¹⁵.

Kurt Aland did not divide the tetraevangelia into subgroups¹⁶, as he did with the lectionaries, among which he distinguished¹⁷:

– *le* – a lectionary with liturgical pericopes for all days of the week¹⁸ in the Synaxarion (“e” from the Greek word ἑβδομάδες);

– *lesk* – a lectionary with pericopes for all days of the week from Easter to Pentecost (“e” from the Greek word ἑβδομάδες) and only for Saturday and Sunday from Pentecost to Palm Sunday (“s” from the Greek word σάββατον and “k” from the Greek word κυριακή);

– *lsk* – a lectionary with pericopes only (with some exceptions¹⁹) for Saturday and Sunday (“s” from the Greek word σάββατον and “k” from the Greek word κυριακή);

– *lsel* – a lectionary with pericopes for the Great Feasts²⁰ of the Church (“sel” from the Latin word *selectio*);

– *llit* – a lectionary which, except for the fragments from the New Testament, comprises predominantly of liturgical texts²¹, for example three different Divine Liturgies and for different occasions (Baptism, Confirmation, Funeral, etc.).

The presented above typological classification developed from continuous research on the Greek biblical manuscripts. Among the lectionaries appears also another type with the abbreviation *lk* and it contains pericopes only (with some exceptions²²) for Sundays (“k” from the Greek word κυριακή).

¹⁵ K. ALAND, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

¹⁶ Among Greek tetraevangelia there are those with partial liturgical division of the Gospel text into pericopes – corresponding to the *lesk* type lectionary – as well as those with full division of the Gospel text into pericopes – corresponding to the *le* type lectionary (A.M. ПЕНТКОВСКИЙ, *op. cit.*, p. 7).

¹⁷ K. ALAND, *op. cit.*, p. 24; K. ALAND, B. ALAND, *op. cit.*, p. 170. See also A.A. АЛЕКСЕЕВ, *op. cit.*, p. 29–30.

¹⁸ This doesn't apply to the movable feast days when the liturgy, according to Typicon, is not celebrated, for example: Monday to Friday during Lent.

¹⁹ For example Holy Thursday and Good Friday of the Holy Week, Monday and Tuesday after the Easter.

²⁰ The Greek Gospel lectionary (*l300*) preserved at the Library of St. Catherine monastery on Sinai (no 204; 1000 y.; 204 folios) comprises only of 71 Gospel fragments. Another lectionary (*l1044*) of this type (*lsel*) preserved at the University Library in Iași (no 194; end of the 8th – beginning of the 9th c.) has only 18 Gospel fragments. See J. OSTAPCZUK, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

²¹ The liturgical manuscripts (for example euchologias or Prayer books) even with a few New Testament pericopes are usually classified to this group of the lectionaries.

²² For example Holy Thursday and Good Friday of the Holy Week, Monday and Tuesday after the Easter.

This typological classification, developed for the Greek manuscripts²³, scholars²⁴ adopted for the Slavic tradition – treated as its younger equivalent. In most cases, both Greek and Slavonic²⁵ books exploit the same types of Gospel manuscripts. But in the last one there are some types of Gospel manuscripts not known in the first one²⁶. This typological classification of the Gospel manuscripts was adopted also for the Cyrillic early printed books (to the year 1800).

Church Slavonic tetraevangelions were divided into three types. This classification was not done on the basis of the order of the four Gospels (Matthew, Mark, Luke and John), but on the liturgical information located on margins or introduced into the Gospel text. These information and liturgical apparatus placed at the end of the codex enabled tetraevangelia to be used for Divine Liturgies in rural areas, cities or monasteries. These three types are²⁷:

- tetraevangelia without or with partial liturgical instructions (usually on margins) and the division of the Gospel text into pericopes;
- tetraevangelia with full liturgical instructions (usually within the body of the text) and the division of the Gospel text into pericopes;
- tetraevangelia with full liturgical instructions and the division of the Gospel text into pericopes for reading only during weekdays (from Monday to Friday) of the Lent.

The first group of the tetraevangelia is sometimes divided by some scholars, e.g. by J. Vrana²⁸, into two separate groups, i.e.: 1) those without instructions and the division of the Gospel text into pericopes; 2) those with instructions and the division of the Gospel text into pericopes with a liturgical apparatus at the end (or at the beginning) of the manuscript.

²³ Codices of the New Testament didn't have the abbreviation eap̄r, but NT (M. GARZANITI, *Die altslavische Version der Evangelien: Forschungsgeschichte und zeitgenössische Forschung* [BSPK.SF 33], Köln–Weimar–Wien 2001, p. 527). In the history of biblical studies, the abbreviation systems of the biblical manuscripts were developed several times. For example Herman von Soden described codices of the New Testament with the letter δ (from Greek word διαθήκη).

²⁴ For example G.A. Voskresenski, L.P. Zhukovskaia, E. Dogramadziewa, L. Moszyński, A.A. Alekseev, M. Garzaniti, S.J. Temčin, etc.

²⁵ Marcello Garzaniti, in his hugely influential book on the Slavonic Gospel, used also the abbreviations: brev., miss. and lec. (M. GARZANITI, *op. cit.*, p. 510–511), as in his list of manuscripts he included also missals and breviars.

²⁶ This opinion is true till the moment the same types of the Gospels (e.g. lectionaries) are discovered in the Greek tradition.

²⁷ For more on this types of the Gospels (with cited literature) see J. OSTAPCZUK, *op. cit.*, p. 105–148.

²⁸ J. VRANA, *O tipovima, redakcijama i medusobnom odnosu staroslovenskih evanđelija (Četvero-evanđelja)*, Sla XXIX.4, 1960, p. 552–553.

Most of the catalogued Slavonic tetraevangelia manuscripts belong to the first two groups²⁹. Only three³⁰ manuscripts, written at the territories of Pskov³¹ and dated to the second half of the 14th century, belong to the third group.

The comparison of both Greek and Slavonic tetraevangelia manuscript tradition showed that in the first one the Lenten tetraevangelion is not known. This type of the Gospel manuscript was popular only in the Slavonic tradition, but only locally and in the second half of the 14th century.

The text of the four Gospels, in the commonly accepted order, could have been a part of the other books, i.e. the New Testament or the Bible.

On the basis of preserved Slavonic manuscripts it can be stated that those volumes which were a combination of the Tetraevangelion and the Apostolos in one volume were not popular in Slavonic tradition. Only several codices of this type have survived to this day and they are usually³² dated to the 15th³³, 16th³⁴, 17th³⁵, or even the 18th³⁶ century.

Such combination of the tetraevangelion with the Apostolos and the Revelation in one volume – as in the previous case (e+a) – was also not popular in Slavonic

²⁹ The oldest manuscripts belong to the first group of tetraevangelia (J. OSTAPCZUK, *op. cit.*, p. 105). The number of pericopes corresponds to abbreviated (*lesk*) lectionaries (see L. MOSZYŃSKI, *Zografskie i Mariańskie Tetraewangelia jako księgi liturgiczne. Część I: Etap głągolski*, ПИК XIV–XV, 1985, p. 76–99; А.М. ПЕНТКОВСКИЙ, *op. cit.*, p. 15). In time the number of pericopes were extended to correspond to the full lectionaries (J. OSTAPCZUK, *op. cit.*, p. 107). The second group – liturgical tetraevangelia – belong to younger manuscripts (J. OSTAPCZUK, *op. cit.*, p. 106). The number of pericopes in these codices corresponds to the full (*le*) lectionaries (see L. MOSZYŃSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 76–99; А.М. ПЕНТКОВСКИЙ, *op. cit.*, p. 15).

³⁰ Two of them are preserved at the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts at Synodal Collection (ф. 381) № 1 (about 1341 y.; 152 folios) and № 3 (mid. XIV c., 144 folios); the third one at the National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg at Collection of Library of the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Novgorod (ф. 728) № 9 (end XIV c.; 136 folios).

³¹ See *Сводный каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг, хранящихся в России, странах СНГ и Балтии, XIV век*, fasc. 1 (*Апокалипсис – Летопись Лаврентьевская*), ed. О.А. КНЯЗЕВСКАЯ, Н.А. КОБЯК, А.Л. ЛИФШИЦ, Н.Б. ТИХОМИРОВ, А.А. ТУРИЛОВ, Н.Б. ШЕЛАМАНОВА, Москва 2002, p. 381–382, 410, 461.

³² For example the manuscript preserved at the Bulgarian National Library Sts. Cyril and Methodius in Sofia № 509 (mid. of the 14th c.; 215 folios).

³³ For example the manuscripts preserved at: the National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg at Pogodin's Collection № 106 (IV quart. of the 15th c.; 329 folios); Russian State Library in Moscow at Rumiantsev's Collection (ф. 256) № 123 (II half of the 15th c.; 469 folios) and Egorov's Collection (ф. 90) no 2070 (1540/1541 y.); National Library of France № Slav 27 (mid. 15th c.; 298 folios).

³⁴ For example the manuscript preserved at: the National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg № F.I.657 (end of the 15th – beginning of the 16th c.; 331 folios).

³⁵ For example the manuscript from the Russian State Library in Moscow № M.3881 (17th c.; 298 folios).

³⁶ For example the manuscript from the Treasure of the Institute of Russian Literature (The Pushkin House) in St. Petersburg at I.N. Zavoloko's Collection № 335 (I quart. of the 18th c.; 540 folios).

tradition. Only a few codices of this type, i.e. the New Testament³⁷, sometimes with the addition of the book of Psalms³⁸, were preserved to this day.

The compilation of all books of the Holy Scripture, i.e. the Old and New Testament in one volume, which makes for the complete codex of the Bible, was with high probability a huge challenge due to a number of reasons (translation³⁹, philological edition⁴⁰, finances). This type of book in the Slavonic tradition was produced for the first time in the 1499 at the end of the 15th century. This was the Gennady's Bible and was the result of the venture of Gennady, archbishop of Novgorod the Great and Pskov.

In the Slavonic tradition, apart from those books with the text of the four Gospels in a commonly accepted order, there were also books containing Gospel readings arranged according to the cycle of the church year. Such type of manuscript is known as the *aparakos*.

The Slavonic manuscripts of the gospel lectionaries – as in the Greek tradition – can be divided into the following groups⁴¹:

- *le* – the so-called full lectionaries;
- *lesk* – the so-called abbreviated lectionaries;
- *lsk* – the so-called Saturday-Sunday lectionaries;
- *lk* – the so-called Sunday lectionaries;
- *lek* – the so-called Easter-Sunday lectionary⁴².

In the Slavonic tradition, as in the Greek known were also liturgical books containing a complex array of texts, because beside fragments from the New Testament, they also comprise the liturgical services (i.e. Divine Liturgies, sacraments, etc.). These books have usually the abbreviation *lit.* Within this group of lectionaries, called sometimes *euchological*⁴³, S.J. Temčín distinguished the so-called columnar

³⁷ For example: the lost Chudov New Testament of metropolitan Aleksii of Kyiv and all Rus; the manuscript from the Treasure of the Institute of Russian Literature (The Pushkin House) in St. Petersburg at Karelia's Collection № 478 (16th c., 332 folios); the manuscript from the National Library of St. Mark's in Venice № Or 227 (14th c.; 1+289 folios).

³⁸ For example the Codex of Hval Krstjanin from the University Library in Bologna № 3575B (1404 y., 359 folios).

³⁹ Because not all books (if concerns the Old Testament) were translated.

⁴⁰ Books were translated in different places and in different centuries.

⁴¹ For more on these types of the Gospels lectionaries (with cited literature) see J. OSTAŔCZUK, *op. cit.*, p. 36–83.

⁴² Only one manuscript of this type is known – it is preserved at the Archive of the Bulgarian Academy of Science in Sofia № 49 (16th c., 285 folios (*I*^{2a}; ff. 50–285)). The first information about the typology of this lectionary was published by S.J. Temčín (С.Ю. ТЕМЧИН, *Пасхально-воскресный апракос – неизвестный структурный тип славянского служебного Евангелия*, УЗРПУ, fasc. 4, Москва 1998, p. 61–79).

⁴³ See: А.А. ТУРИЛОВ, Л.В. МОШКОВА, *Славянские рукописи Афонских обителей*, Фессалоники 1999, p. 44–45; С.Ю. ТЕМЧИН, *О возможном балканском влиянии на структуру церковнославянских богослужебных книг ВКЛ и Польского Королевства*, SRU XVIII, Budapest 2000, p. 278.

lectionary⁴⁴. Its most characteristic feature is that it does not⁴⁵ have two liturgical parts corresponding to the Synaxarion and the Menologion, but has at least two⁴⁶ sets of the New Testament readings. These fragments are read during the ecclesiastical year or one of its cycles⁴⁷ once, several or many times. The other lectionaries of type *l*Lit, which have a small number of the New Testament readings – can be called the Apostolos-Gospel readings⁴⁸. It is worth mentioning here, two reconstructed (by S.J. Temčín) *aparakoses*⁴⁹: the Easter lectionary and the Slavonic protolectionary. A parallel examination of the Greek liturgical books will probably prove the existence in Greek tradition of similar subgroups to the Slavonic types of the lectionaries (columnar and Easter). Too little research has been carried out on these types of the Gospel books. At the moment, more questions remain than answers about these Greek and Slavonic lectionaries. For this reason it is such an important challenge, that scholars should not ignore these books and pay serious attention to this fundamental question. Every new information about these liturgical books will lead to further progress.

The comparison of the distinguished types of the lectionaries both in the Slavonic and Greek traditions showed that the former tradition comprised of no known *aparakos lsel*⁵⁰ whereas the latter of the Easter-Sunday lectionary (*lek*).

The changes the Slavonic Gospel manuscript tradition underwent in a period of decades left their trace on the Cyrillic printed tradition. There is no doubt that the latter is an heir of the former⁵¹.

⁴⁴ More on this type of the Gospel (with cited literature) see J. OSTAPCZUK, *op. cit.*, p. 95–103 and the updated publication of S.J. Temčín: С.Ю. ТЕМЧИН, *Исследования по кирилло-мефодиевистике и палеославистике* [KWSS 5], Kraków 2010, p. 147–202.

⁴⁵ In columnar lectionaries there are not liturgical cycles (С.Ю. ТЕМЧИН, *Столпный апракос – еще один неизвестный структурный тип славянского служебного Евангелия (по рукописям XIII–XVI веков)*, [in:] *Библия в духовной жизни, истории и культуре России и православного славянского мира: К 500-летию Геннадиевской Библии, Сборник материалов международной конференции (Москва, 21–26 сентября 1999 г.)*, ed. Г. БАРАНКОВА, Москва 2001, p. 128; С.Ю. ТЕМЧИН, *Сербский столпный апракос Равулы (ок. 1353 г.): происхождение, особенности языка, структура*, SVi 52.2), 2003, p. 132; С.Ю. ТЕМЧИН, *Исследования по кирилло-мефодиевистике...*, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

⁴⁶ Four blocks of the New Testaments readings have been distinguished (J. OSTAPCZUK, *op. cit.*, p. 96; С.Ю. ТЕМЧИН, *op. cit.*, p. 148).

⁴⁷ С.Ю. ТЕМЧИН, *Столпный апракос...*, p. 127–128.139.

⁴⁸ They are simply selections from the Gospel, the Acts and Epistles and do not make a permanent liturgical structure (С.Ю. ТЕМЧИН, *op. cit.*, p. 158).

⁴⁹ For more on these types of the Gospels lectionaries (with cited there literature) see J. OSTAPCZUK, *op. cit.*, p. 83–95.

⁵⁰ А.М. ПЕНТКОВСКИЙ, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

⁵¹ We also have to remember about the influence of the early printed books on the manuscripts (A. KASZLEJ, *Wpływ cerkiewnosłowiańskiej książki drukowanej na rękopiśmienną (na podstawie zbiorów Biblioteki Narodowej w Warszawie)*, [in:] *Najstarsze druki cerkiewnosłowiańskie i ich stosunek*

Tetraevangelia without or with a partial liturgical division of the Gospel text into pericopes, that were popular in the oldest period of the Slavonic writing tradition, were in time replaced with liturgical tetraevangelia. Their origin is usually connected with the reforms of Saint Sava of Serbia (1169–1237)⁵². Among early printed Gospel books there are not known the first and the third (known only on a local scale) types of the Slavonic tetraevangelion. The only known type of the early printed Gospels is the liturgical tetraevangelion. It was first⁵³ published in 1512 by the hieromonk Makarie in Tîrgoviște. Till the year 1800, this type of the Gospel was printed about 120 times⁵⁴.

Among the Cyrillic early printed books none are known that were originally intended by the printer to be the combination of the Tetraevangelion and the Apostolos. It was possible to join these two separately printed books in one volume with their own title pages. This type of book can be treated as codex e+a.

The text of the four Gospels, in a commonly accepted order, could have been included also in other early printed books. Two of them are⁵⁵:

- the New Testament, which was printed 51 times (13 times with the Psalms);
- the Bible, printed 18 times.

The popularity of the lectionaries in Slavonic tradition started to decrease from the middle of the 14th (– beginning of the 15th)⁵⁶ century⁵⁷. The invention of the printing press did not change this tendency, but resulted in removing the lectionaries, almost entirely, from the Cyrillic printing tradition. The result of this was that in the 19th century only archeographs remembered about the lectionaries⁵⁸.

do tradycji rękopiśmiennej, Materiały z sesji Kraków 7–10 XI 1991, ed. J. RUSEK, W. WITKOWSKI, A. НАУМОВ, Kraków 1993, p. 167–179).

⁵² Cf. А.А. АЛЕКСЕЕВ, *Текстология славянской Библии* [BSPK.SF 24], Санкт-Петербург 1999, p. 172; *Евангелие от Иоанна...*, p. 13 (1st pagination); J. ОСТАРЦУК, *op. cit.*, p. 124–125.

⁵³ Till the half of the 16th c. tetraevangelia were printed on South Slavic territories. The first time the tetraevangelion was printed in Moscow was in the '50s of the 16th c.

⁵⁴ For the preliminary list of the early printed tetraevangelia see J. ОСТАРЦУК, *Sobotnie i niedzielne perykopy liturgiczne z Ewangelii Mateusza w cerkiewnosłowiańskich lekcjonarzach krótkich*, Warszawa 2013, p. 137–148.

⁵⁵ For the preliminary list of the Cyrillic early printed New Testaments (also with Psalms) see J. ОСТАРЦУК, *op. cit.*, p. 148–152.

⁵⁶ Sometimes it is dated even to the end of the 13th c. (С.Ю. ТЕМЧИН, *Исследования по кирилло-мефодиевистике...*, p. 76.141).

⁵⁷ The proportion of Gospel manuscripts dated to the 11th–13th c. is the following: 29 tetraevangelia – 73 lectionaries. The proportion of the Gospel manuscripts' (dated to the 11th–14th c.) list prepared by L.P. Zhukovskaia is the following: 250 tetraevangelia – 250 lectionaries. The proportion for the Gospel manuscripts dated to the 15th s. is the following: 280 tetraevangelia – 110 lectionaries. See *Евангелие от Иоанна...*, p. 17 (1st pagination); А.А. АЛЕКСЕЕВ, *op. cit.*, p. 22).

⁵⁸ *Евангелие от Иоанна...*, p. 18 (1st pagination).

It is proved by Cyrillic early printed aprakoses. During the period of almost 300 years they were printed only four times⁵⁹.

Three out of the four aprakoses are the Apostolos-Gospel Sunday lectionaries. All of them were printed on the territories of contemporary West Ukraine (Uherce 1620, Lutsk 1640⁶⁰ and Lviv 1706). The first two aprakoses were printed in a small and movable printing house of Paul Domzhiv Lutkovich Telica⁶¹.

The last, fourth, aprakos is a full Gospel lectionary. It was printed in Kiev in 1707. This unique example of an early printed full Gospel lectionary was prepared under the instruction of Ivan Mazepa according to the manuscript of the Gospel brought by archimandrite from the Holy Mount Athos⁶². This is why this aprakos is not of East Slavonic origin.

The Cyrillic printing tradition exploited only two types of lectionaries (*le* and *lsk*), out of all five confirmed in the Slavonic manuscript tradition (*le*, *lesk*, *lsk*, *lk i lek*). It is worth remembering that the early printed Sunday lectionaries were published and most likely used only on a local scale⁶³ (in western Ukraine). The model for the only full lectionary came from the holy Mount Athos (possibly from the Zograf Monastery). These themselves are witnesses to an old Slavonic liturgical Gospel tradition that existed in a particular point in time.

The special popularity of the tetragospels and the tendency to standardize the liturgical tradition are the reason for the absence of lectionaries, albeit with four exceptions⁶⁴, among the early printed Cyrillic books.

Apart from the above-mentioned books containing the text of the Gospel, and at times other parts of the Holy Scriptures, the Cyrillic printing tradition includes also other books⁶⁵:

⁵⁹ See А.А. АЛЕКСЕЕВ, *Библия в богослужении...*, p. 140–141.

⁶⁰ For more about this Apostolos-Gospel Sunday lectionary see J. OSTAPCZUK, *Cyrylicki apostoł-ewangeliarz niedzielny z Drukarni Brackiej w Łucku (1640 r.)*, RTeo LVII.2, 2015, p. 169–201.

⁶¹ After the death of Paul Domzhiv Lutkovich Telica, the Brotherhood in Lutsk inherited his printing house (J. OSTAPCZUK, *op. cit.*, p. 176).

⁶² More about this lectionary J. OSTAPCZUK, „Та книга Новаго Завета от святых горы Афонския в дар принесенная...”: о единственном старопечатном полном Евангелии-апракос (1707), [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.)*, Святая Гора Афон 2016, p. 299–310.

⁶³ A.V. Voznesensky suggests that they could not have been printed or used in Moscow (A.B. ВОЗНЕСЕНСКИЙ, *К истории славянской печатной Псалтири, Московская традиция XVI–XVII веков, Простая Псалтирь*. Москва–Санкт-Петербург 2010, p. 37, footnote 164).

⁶⁴ In the 19th c., lectionaries were printed several times. In all cases, except one, these books were Apostolos-Gospel Sunday lectionaries. They were printed in Lviv and Vienna. See more in: J. OSTAPCZUK, *Sobotnie i niedzielne perykopy...*, p. 164–166. In the 19th c. the full Gospel lectionary was printed once – in Moscow in 1854. The manuscript model for this aprakos was prepared by Kristaki Pavlovich from Macedonian Dupnitsa (J. OSTAPCZUK, *Cyrylicki apostoł-ewangeliarz...*, p. 172).

⁶⁵ See J. OSTAPCZUK, *Sobotnie i niedzielne perykopy...*, p. 154–155.

- the Gospel readings for Holy Thursday and Good Friday of the Holy Week, printed 18 times;
- the Gospel readings for all days of the Holy Week, printed 3 times;
- the Gospel readings for Sunday Orthros (Matins), printed once.

All these books do not exceed 50 pages.

The last three types of the Gospel books have sprung, most likely, on the basis of liturgical practice and seems to be the result of a practical attitude to reading several fragments from the Holy Scripture during one service⁶⁶. These books provide some compound Gospel pericopes for those days with special significance in the one of liturgical cycle – the Holy Week. As it was mentioned at the beginning, the pericope for the Good Friday Vespers comprises of five fragments. Should a priest use the tetraevangelion, he has to look for every fragment at its different parts, but if he uses the above-mentioned books, he can simply read the compound pericopes arranged in the appropriate sequence. This makes the celebration easier, especially in the case of the quite complicated and long services of the Holy Week.

This short comparison of different types of the manuscripts and early printed books of the Gospel text in Slavonic cannot be treated as complete and exhaustive⁶⁷. Remarkable variations of details presented in this publication are fundamental for Bible studies and Slavonic Gospel scholarship in general. These were confronted and presented together in order to make it easily accessible to all students of the subject, and then there who will no longer need to explore many other scientific publications (including catalogues) devoted to the Slavonic tradition. This comparison makes it possible to show what types of the Gospel were transmitted into Slavonic ground from the Greek tradition (tetraevangelion and different types of the lectionaries) as well as which were originally created by the Slavs (the Lenten tetraevangelion and the Easter-Sunday lectionary).

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⁶⁶ Gospel pericopes for Thursday and Friday of the Great and Holy Week were sometimes attached to the early printed tetraevangelia. As examples can serve books printed in: Lviv at 1743 and in Moscow at 1771, 1774, 1779, 1785, 1789 etc.

⁶⁷ Information about some early printed Cyrillic books with readings for the Great and Holy Week is derived from catalogues. A detailed typological classification needs the examination *de visu* of these editions.

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Abstract. The paper presents the rules for typological classification of Slavonic manuscripts and early printed books with the Gospel text. It enumerates different types of the books with the Gospel and sometimes also with other parts of the Holy Scripture. Information about the Greek tradition of the Gospel is also included in the article and serves as the basis of comparison.

Keywords: typological classification, Cyrillic, manuscript, early printed books, Gospel.

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ИЗДАНИЯ БИБЛЕЙСКИХ ТЕКСТОВ В ЮЖНОСЛАВЯНСКОЙ КИРИЛЛОВСКОЙ СТАРОПЕЧАТНОЙ ТРАДИЦИИ XVI ВЕКА

Библейские тексты принадлежат к корпусу южнославянских старопечатных источников как в виде изданий отдельных текстов, так и в качестве фрагментов книг, в которых тот или иной библейский текст является не основой издания, а лишь одним из составляющих основного (чаще всего, литургического) жанра. В данной статье внимание будет сосредоточено на памятниках первой группы: ранних южнославянских печатных изданиях кирилловского (или кириллического) шрифта, содержащих отдельные библейские книги и издававшихся прежде всего в XVI веке. Эти источники представляют собой образцы и примеры основных палеотипических южнославянских традиций: черногорской и сербской, румыно-болгарской, венецианской¹. Стоит отметить, что наравне с определением «старопечатная книга» в настоящей статье используется термин «палеотип» (и производные от него), который представляется вполне удобным и емким и который встречается, хоть и не часто, в отдельных исследованиях, посвященных проблематике старопечатных славянских изданий².

Стоит подчеркнуть, что издания, о которых пойдет речь, вписываются в раннюю историю кирилловской палеотипии в целом и являются частью довольно большого по размерам и важного, но в то же время пренебрегаемого, как представляется, корпуса источников. Обыкновенно исследователи (по крайней мере, до последнего времени), которые в своих работах в той или иной степени затрагивают начало славянского книгопечатания кирилловским шрифтом, сосредотачивают внимание на краковских инку-

¹ На тему типологии старопечатных южнославянских традиций см., напр.: И. Богданов, *Български първопечатни книги от XVI–XVIII вв.*, ГББИ 9, 1963, p. 85–123, IDEM, *Българската книга през вековете*, София 1978, p. 182–196; I. PETROW, *Od inkunabułów do pierwszych gramatyk. Konteksty rozwoju bułgarskiego języka literackiego (koniec XV – początek XVII wieku)*, Łódź 2015, p. 79–84.

² См., напр., М. ЦИБРАНСКА-КОСТОВА, *Етюди върху кирилската палеотипия XV–XVIII век*, София 2007; Е.Л. НЕМИРОВСКИЙ, *Иван Федоров и его эпоха: энциклопедия*, Москва 2007, p. 562; М. ЦИБРАНСКА-КОСТОВА, *Сборникът „Различни потреби“ на Яков Крайков между Венеция и Балканите през XVI век*, София 2013.

набулах Швайпольта Фиоля (1491) и прежде всего на восточнославянской палеотипической традиции (Франциск Скорина, Иван Федоров и др.), придавая существовавшему до появления Острожской Библии (1581) и активно развивавшемуся в XVI веке кирилловскому книгопечатанию для южных славян и румын значительно меньшее значение. Свидетельством тому является отсутствие монографических исследований в этой области – нет синтетических работ ни на тему венецианского издательского дома Божидара и Виченцо Вуковичей и их последователей (1519–1638), ни на тему румыно-болгарских (и собственно румынских) палеотипов, издававшихся во второй половине XVI века дяконом Кореси и его учениками и соратниками (1557–1588). Конечно, существуют отдельные работы (прежде всего текстологические и лингвистические), посвященные конкретным источникам, однако в целом, особенно по сравнению с издававшимися в этот же период восточнославянскими печатными книгами, южнославянская палеотипическая традиция довольно мало изучена.

А ведь появление и развитие кирилловской печати, что очевидно, не только переориентировало текстологическую и переводческую стратегию многих издателей того времени, включая издателей библейских текстов. Оно также коренным образом повлияло на процессы языкового характера. Ведь именно с кирилловским книгопечатанием связывают такой важный для ареала *Slavia Orthodoxa* феномен, как появление т.н. ново-церковно-славянского языка (или церковнославянского языка Нового времени), его кодификацию в грамматиках конца XVI и начала XVII вв. (Лаврентий Зизаний, Мелетий Смотрицкий и другие), а также его позднейшую роль в становлении национальных языков православных славян, прежде всего болгар и сербов. Если мы согласимся со мнением Н.Б. Мечковской, что появление грамматики любого языка является не начальным, а скорее конечным этапом определенной фазы его развития³ и соотнесем его с кодификационными процессами церковнославянского языка, то мы вынуждены будем признать, что значение старопечатной традиции XVI в. – как восточнославянской, так и южнославянской, а также их взаимосвязи – это вопрос, которым не стоит пренебрегать.

В начале презентации южнославянских изданий библейских текстов стоит сказать несколько слов о выходявших параллельно с кирилловскими глаголических книгах, предназначенных прежде всего для католических и протестантских общин. Согласно сводному каталогу глаголических печатных книг московского исследователя Андрея Круминга⁴, до конца XVI века были изданы лишь две глаголические книги с библейскими текстами

³ Н.Б. Мечковская, *Ранние восточнославянские грамматики*, Минск 1984, р. 32.

⁴ А.А. Круминг, *Сводный каталог старопечатных изданий глаголического шрифта 1483–1812 гг.*, Москва 1998.

(конечно, если не считать отдельных фрагментов, содержащихся в миссалах, бревиариях и других изданиях).

Первое глаголическое издание, в котором содержание библейских текстов обозначено уже на уровне заглавия (номер 18 в каталоге Круминга), – это Псалтырь хорватской редакции, вышедшая не ранее 1531 года в городе Фиуме (ныне Риека), в типографии Шимона Кожича. Стоит отметить, однако, что в действительности это сборник различных текстов (сам Круминг называет его печатным глаголическим букварем⁵), среди которых, помимо азбуки и молитв, помещены псалмы 42, 50, 90, 109–113, а также новозаветные Песнь Богородицы и Песнь Симона Богоприимца из Евангелия св. Луки. Следующим глаголическим библейским изданием было „первое издание Нового Завета на хорватском языке”⁶, вышедшее в 1562–1563 гг. в Тюбингене у Примуса Трубера (номер 24). Подчеркнем, что в 1563 г. в Тюбингене вышло еще одно издание Нового Завета на хорватском языке, напечатанное уже кириллицей⁷.

Если говорить непосредственно об основных палеотипических традициях раннего южнославянского кирилловского книгопечатания для православных славян и румын, то они могут быть прослежены и очерчены прежде всего благодаря изданным в последние десятилетия сводным каталогам Евгения Немировского⁸ и Александры Гусевой⁹ (ниже в скобках перед каждым источником указывается порядковый номер по каталогу – соответственно N и G). Традиции эти (в хронологическом порядке) представлены следующими изданиями библейских текстов:

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 44.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 53.

⁷ Л.И. Сазонова пишет об этом издании так: *Сразу вслед за глаголическим изданием на хорватском языке (1562/1563) вышел основанный на словенском переводе Трубера перевод [...], адресованный и католикам, и православным [...]. На Балканах соседствовали славяне разных конфессий, включая мусульманство, они не только граничили друг с другом, но и, пересекаясь, жили в тесном контакте, как, например, в районах современной Боснии. По замыслу протестантского проповедника, изданный им перевод Нового Завета должен был послужить укреплению славян в христианской вере и спасению их от опасности исламизации.* (Л.И. САЗОНОВА, *Книги кириллической печати во второй половине XVI века между Римом и Москвой*, [in:] А.А. ГУСЕВА, *Издания кирилловского шрифта второй половины XVI века. Сводный каталог*, vol. I–II, Москва 2003, p. 1244).

⁸ Немировский издал две серии каталогов (обе еще не завершены), т.н. немецкий (до конца первой половины XVI в.) и т.н. московский: E.L. NEMIROVSKIJ, *Gesamtkatalog der Frühdrucke in kyrillischer Schrift*, vol. I–VII, Baden–Baden 1996–2007; E.J. НЕМИРОВСКИЙ, *Славянские издания кирилловского (церковнославянского) шрифта 1491–2000. Инвентарь сохранившихся экземпляров и указатель литературы*, vol. I, 1491–1550, Москва 2009; vol II.1, 1551–1592, Москва 2011; vol. II.2, 1593–1600, Москва 2012.

⁹ А.А. ГУСЕВА, *Издания кирилловского шрифта второй половины XVI века. Сводный каталог*, vol. I–II, Москва 2003.

Первым представителем является один из четырех инкунабулов, изданных Джураджем Црноевичем в черногорском Цетинье:

(N: 7) Псалтырь с воследованием, 22 сентября 1495, 348 л., 31 экз. и фрагм.

В научной литературе существует мнение о возможном существовании еще одного черногорского библейского инкунабула – т.н. цетинском Четвероевангелии. Основано оно на ошибочных, скорее всего, упоминаниях в некоторых каталогах и описаниях, изданных еще в XIX веке, а также на интерпретации ряда т.н. анаграфических текстов (предисловия, послесловия, колофоны) иных изданий XVI века. Немировский и Гусева относят существование цетинского Четвероевангелия (а также ряда других несохранившихся черногорских инкунабулов) к вопросам не только спорным, но и весьма сомнительным, а Немировский и вовсе в некоторых своих публикациях решительно называет утверждения об этом издании, повторяющиеся в работах прежде всего сербских и черногорских исследователей, научной легендой¹⁰.

Палеотипическую традицию изданий XVI века, предназначенных для южных славян и румын, открывает румыно-болгарская (валашская) типография иеромонаха Макария, в которой были изданы три книги, в том числе известное Тырговиштское Четвероевангелие:

(N: 11) Четвероевангелие, 26 июля 1512, 293 л., 23 экз. и фрагм.

Нет никаких сомнений, что этот палеотип был самым важным изданием типографии Макария. Во-первых – это первое печатное издание новозаветного библейского текста в ареале *Slavia Orthodoxa* (если не брать во внимание упомянутую выше гипотезу, касающуюся цетинского Четвероевангелия). Во-вторых – это издание оказало огромное влияние на дальнейшее развитие южнославянского книгопечатания – как в румынских, так и сербских землях. Как указывает Немировский,

в течение многих десятилетий Четвероевангелие 1512 г. старательно копировали на южнославянских землях как рукописным, так и типографским способом. Валашское издание является оригиналом для Четвероевангелий, напечатанных в 1537 г. в монастыре Руйно, в 1552 г. – в Белграде и в 1562 г. в монастыре Мркшина Црква. Использовалось оно и для Евангелий, печатавшихся на территории Валахии. Надо сказать, что последующие типографы копировали не только текст, но и орнаментальные украшения издания 1512 года¹¹.

Лингво-текстологические исследования этого палеотипа были проведены болгарской исследовательницей Дианой Ивановой, которая в своих работах использует метод хронологической проекции языковых черт

¹⁰ Е.Л. НЕМИРОВСКИЙ, *История славянского кирилловского книгопечатания XV – начала XVII века*, vol. II, *Начало книгопечатания у южных славян*, Москва 2005, pars 2, p. 485–504.

¹¹ Е.Л. НЕМИРОВСКИЙ, *Славянские издания...*, vol. I, p. 84.

данного издания на предшествовавшие его появлению южно- и восточнославянские евангелические рукописные памятники (в том числе на Геннадиевскую Библию 1499 года), а также на более поздние (южные и восточные) печатные кодексы с библейскими текстами, как: Острожская Библия 1580–1581, ее московское переиздание 1663 г. (т.н. Московская Библия), ее петербургское переиздание 1751 года (т.н. Елизаветинская Библия). Выводы этих исследований относятся как к истории самого славянского библейского текста, так и к роли южнославянской составляющей в процессе формирования церковнославянского языка Нового времени:

Анализът на текста и езиковите средства показва, че по-късните църковнославянски преводи не са изолирани нито от старата ръкописна традиция, нито от предходните печатни книги [...]. Очевидна е рецепцията на българската печатна книга от XVI век върху по-сетнешните църковнославянски преводи, отпечатвани в края на XVI и през XVII–XVIII век в Русия и Украйна. Променени фонетично и редактирани, те отново се връщат и разпространяват широко в България¹².

После издания Тырговиштского Евангелия румыно-болгарская печатная традиция на несколько десятилетий прерывается, а на первый план выдвигается издательская деятельность жившего в Венеции сербского книгоиздателя Бодижара Вуковича, основавшего просуществовавшую почти век (с перерывами) типографию. Среди первых книг, изданных Вуковичем, фигурируют два издания Псалтыри:

(N: 24) Псалтырь, 7 апреля 1519, 160 л., 6 экз. и фрагм.

(N: 38) Псалтырь с воследованием, 12 октября 1520, 352 л., 51 экз. и фрагм.

Вторая из этих книг была дважды переиздана после смерти Бодижара его сыном Виченцо Вуковичем, причем типографическое оформление этих изданий было чрезвычайно богатым:

(N: 75) Псалтырь с воследованием, 1546, 308 л., 73 экз. и фрагм. [переиздание Псалтыри 1520 г. (N: 38)].

(N: 100; G: 21) Псалтырь с воследованием, 1561, 284 л., 32 экз. и фрагм. [переиздание Псалтыри 1546 г. (N: 75)].

Псалтырь с воследованием издают также последователи Вуковичей, работавшие в их типографии во второй половине XVI века – Йеролим Загурович и Яков Крайков:

(N: 130; G: 46) Псалтырь с воследованием, 1569–1570, 276 л., 55 экз. и фрагм.

Эта же библейская книга стала последним отголоском венецианской палеотипической кирилловской традиции: в основанном уже в XVII веке

¹² Д. ИВАНОВА, *Традиция и приемственность в новобългарските преводи на Евангелието. Текстология и език*, Пловдив 2002, р. 96.

издательском доме династии Бартоломео, Марка и Бартола Джинамми (Ginammi) было в 1638 году выпущено переиздание Псалтыри с воследованием, сделанное на основе издания Загуровича и Крайкова:

Псалтырь с воследованием, 1638, 276 л., 34 экз. и фрагм. [переиздание Псалтыри с воследованием 1569–1570 г. (N: 130)]¹³.

Практически одновременно с венецианской традицией южнославянского кирилловского книгопечатания возникла традиция сербская, связанная прежде всего с деятельностью нескольких монастырских типографий. В рамках этой традиции, помимо Псалтыри, было издано несколько четвероевангелий.

В качестве первой книги данной традиции модно указать на Псалтырь с воследованием, выпущенную в Горажде (город на территории нынешней Республики Боснии и Герцеговины) Феодором Любавичем, сыном Божида-ра Любавича, начало книгоиздательской деятельности которого некоторые исследователи связывают с Венецией:

(N: 39/40) Псалтырь с воследованием, 25 октября 1521, 352 л., 10 экз. и фрагм.

Спустя несколько лет возникает первая известная по сохранившимся источникам сербская монастырская типография – Руйна, которая выпускает в 1537 г. Четвероевангелие:

(N: 66) Четвероевангелие, 1537, 302 л., 5 экз. и фрагм.

Подробный анализ типографических особенностей сохранившихся экземпляров, размеров шрифта, а также графики и орнаментики, убеждает исследователей в том, что монах Феодосий, печатавший Четвероевангелие в монастыре Руйно использовал в своей работе румыно-болгарское Тырговиштское евангелие 1512 года. Приведу слова Е. Немировского:

вне всякого сомнения, в руках у Феодосия было валашское Четвероевангелие 1512 г., откуда он скопировал некоторые свои заставки. Состав обоих изданий одинаков. Вступительной молитвы перед чтением Евангелия или же известия о так называемом четвертичном числе Евангелий, которые есть, например, в московских безвыходных Четвероевангелиях, ни в валашском, ни в руянском изданиях нет. Между тем орфография в обоих изданиях различна. В валашском издании мы встречаем болгарское правописание с характерными для него юсами, в руянском – сербское без юсов¹⁴.

Добавлю, что Руянское Четвероевангелие 1537 г. является одним из трех сохранившихся кириллических палеотипов первой половины XVI века, содержащих текст четырех Евангелий (помимо Тырговиштского и его переиздания,

¹³ Е.Ль. НЕМИРОВСКИ, *Издања Божидача и Вићенца Вуковића, Стефана Мариновића, Јакова од Камене Реке, Јеролима Загуровића, Јакова Крајкова, Ђованиа Антониа Рампацета, Марка и Бартоломеа Ђинамми (1519–1638)*, Цетиње 1993, р. 195–196 (издание описано в каталоге под номером 28).

¹⁴ E.L. NEMIROVSKIJ, *Gesamtkatalog der Frühdrucke...*, vol. VII, Baden–Baden 2007, р. 109–110.

выпущенного в 1546 году Филиппом Молдаванином, о чем будет упомянуто ниже). Во второй половине столетия таких изданий было уже более десяти.

Следующим монастырским центром, выпускавшим в XVI веке печатные библейские книги, была обитель Милешева (недалеко от города Припеоля в юго-западной Сербии), где два раза была издана Псалтырь с воследованием:

(N: 70) Псалтырь с воследованием (т.н. первая), 30 октября 1544, 350 л., 24 экз. и фрагм.

(N: 88; G: 7) Псалтырь с воследованием (т.н. вторая), 4 ноября 1557, 294 л., 16 экз. и фрагм.

Издание 1544 г. в значительной степени копирует издание Божидара Вуковича 1520 г., в особенности с точки зрения формата книги, ее орфографии и акцентуации, используемых сокращений и надстрочных знаков. Однако между двумя изданиями можно все-таки найти целый ряд различий, хотя бы в очередности содержания дополнительной части или же в анаграфических текстах (послесловиях и колофонах), где, конечно же, указываются различные выходные и фактографические данные.

Несмотря на то, что монастырем Милешева на протяжении нескольких десятилетий руководил один и тот же игумен Даниил, в истории типографии этой обители можно выделить два этапа, поскольку в середине XVI века наступает радикальная перемена издательской практики (прежде всего в отношении используемых шрифтов и элементов орнамента). Стоит отметить, что издание 1557 г. – это вовсе не перепечатка Псалтыри 1544 года, а практически новое издание. Скорее всего, над подготовкой этой книги трудились совсем другие монахи, хотя в послесловии их имена не упоминаются.

В этом месте стоит сказать об одном загадочном издании Псалтыри ок. 1550 г., которое вышло в анонимной (скорее всего, сербской) типографии и сохранилось только во фрагментах всего лишь в двух экземплярах, находящихся в настоящее время в Белграде и Новом Саде:

(N: 78) Псалтырь, ок. 1550, более 80 л., 2 экз. и фрагм.

Шрифты, которые были использованы для издания этой Псалтыри, не встречаются ни в одном из известных сегодня кирилловских палеотипов, хотя некоторые исследователи указывают на возможные параллели между этой книгой и венецианскими изданиями Вуковичей¹⁵.

Во второй половине XVI века, помимо второй милешевской, действовали еще две сербские типографии – обе связанные с иеромонахом по имени Мардарий. Первая из них, известная в научной литературе под названием Белградская типография, выпустила лишь одну книгу:

(N: 82; G: 2) Четвероангелие, 4 августа 1552, 212 л., 60 экз. и фрагм.

¹⁵ Более подробно об этом издании и о сербских монастырских изданиях в целом см.: Е.Л. Немировский, *Сербские монастырские типографии 16 века*, Москва 1995.

Так же, как это случалось во время работы над многими выше представленными палеотипами, создатели Белградского Четвероевангелия использовали в качестве образца издания своих предшественников. На основе графических черт и орнамента, а также некоторых языковых особенностей (прежде всего графических и фонетических) можно утверждать, что Мардарий пользовался румыно-болгарским Тырговиштским Евангелием 1512 года. Стоит также отметить, что среди других образцов Белградского Четвероевангелия, некоторые сербские исследователи указывают на несохранившееся (или легендарное) Цетинское Четвероевангелие¹⁶.

Белградское Четвероевангелие было десять лет спустя перепечатано в монастыре Мркшина Црква (точное местонахождение неизвестно), скорее всего тем же иеромонахом Мардарием:

(N: 104; G: 24) Четвероевангелие, 24 июня 1562, 212 л., 39 экз. и фрагм.

В середине XVI века возрождается кирилловское книгопечатание на румынских землях, а одним из первых изданий этой группы является Апостол, напечатанный в Тырговиште внуком Божидача и сыном Феодора Любавича – Дмитрием Любавичем Логофетом. Стоит подчеркнуть, что это первая изданная на Балканах книга, содержащая текст Апостола (до этого Апостол был издан Франциском Скориной в Вильнюсе в 1525 г.). Издание имеет два варианта: валахский и молдавский (они отличаются прежде всего колофонами и упоминаемыми в них владетелями):

(N: 76) Апостол, 18 марта 1547, 268 л., 16 экз. и фрагм.

В румынских землях, одновременно с типографией Любавича-внука, в трансильванском городе Сибиу (Sibiu, Hermannstadt) действовала типография Филиппа Пиктора Молдаванина, где ок. 1544 года был издан напечатанный по-румынски кириллицей лютеранский катехизис, а также славянское Четвероевангелие, которое является практически дословной перепечаткой Тырговиштского Четвероевангелия 1512 года:

(N: 73) Четвероевангелие, 22 июня 1546, 300 л., 3 экз. и фрагм.

В этом же городе несколько лет позже был издан еще один схожий палеотип, хотя вопрос о датировке и месте этого издания не до конца ясен:

(N: 81; G: 1) Четвероевангелие, 1551–1554, 128 л., 2 экз. и фрагм.

Этот памятник, сохранившийся во фрагментах, содержит параллельный текст Евангелия на румынском и церковнославянском языках. По причине отсутствия выходных данных невозможно определить имя издателя, а исследователи (в том числе – авторы каталогов) связывают его как

¹⁶ М. ПЕШИКАН, *Лексикон српскославенског штампарства*, [in:] *Пет векова српског штампарства 1494–1994. Раздобље српскословенске штампе XV–XVII в.*, ed. М. ПАНТИЋ, Београд 1994, р. 213.

с Филиппом Молдаванином, так и с другим румынским издателем – дьяконом Кореси, с чьим именем связан также целый ряд валашско-румынских или валашско-болгарских (в более широком смысле – румыно-болгарских) изданий второй половины XVI в., среди которых не последнее место занимают библейские книги. Кореси работал в нескольких городах: в Тырговиште, Брашове, Себеше и в связи с этим вопрос локализации некоторых сохранившихся румыно-болгарских палеотипов, в которых отсутствуют выходные данные, не вполне ясен. Стоит также отметить, что дискуссионным считается вопрос и о конфессиональной принадлежности дьякона, поскольку он выпустил кирилловский румынский перевод Катехизиса Мартина Лютера.

На церковнославянском языке румыно-болгарской редакции дьяконом Кореси были выпущены следующие библейские книги:

- (N: 106; G: 17) Евангелие, 13 октября 1562, 242 л., 8 экз. и фрагм.;
- (N: 122; G: 40) Апостол, 15 декабря 1566, 320 л., 5 экз. и фрагм.;
- (N: 134; G: 44) Псалтырь, ок. 1568/1570, 161 л., 2 экз. и фрагм.;
- (N: 140; G: 55) Псалтырь с воследованием, ок. 1572/1573, 296 л., 2 экз. и фрагм.;
- (N: 148; G: 63) Псалтырь, ок. 1576, 148 л., 2 экз. и фрагм.;
- (N: 150; G: 65) Псалтырь, 1577, 316 л., 2 экз. и фрагм., книга содержит тексты на румынском и церковнославянском языках¹⁷;
- (N: 151; G: 66) Псалтырь с воследованием, 1577, 172 л., 4 экз. и фрагм.;
- (N: 156; G: 71) Псалтырь, ок. 1578, 337 л., 2 экз. и фрагм., книга содержит тексты на румынском и церковнославянском языках;
- (N: 158; G: 74) Евангелие, 1579, 206 л., 13 экз. и фрагм.;
- (N: 165; G: 78) Псалтырь, ок. 1580, 156 л., 1 экз.;
- (N: 180; G: 90) Четвероевангелие, ок. 1583, 202 л., 4 экз. и фрагм.

К румыно-болгарской традиции относится также деятельность типографа дьяка Лоринца, работавшего, скорее всего, независимо от дьякона Кореси. Среди его печатной продукции имеется изданное в трансильванском городе Алба-Юлия (Alba Iulia), называемом также Белградом или Балградом, Четвероевангелие:

¹⁷ А. Гусева в своем каталоге пересказывает послесловие этого палеотипа: *Послесловие: от лица печатника дьякона Кореси (по-румынски)*. В нем говорится, что все народы имеют на своих языках Слово Божие, а лишь румыны не имеют его на своем языке. Обращаясь к священникам, печатник говорит, что издал для них эту Псалтырь, переведя текст на румынский язык с сербского издания. В заключение просит у читающих благословения и обозначает год печатания Псалтири – А.А. ГУСЕВА, *op. cit.*, p. 501.

(N: 157; G: 73) Четвероевангелие, 16 мая 1579, 211 л., 4 экз. и фрагм.

Последним из румынско-болгарских типографов, издававших библейские книги в XVI веке, был иеромонах Лаврентий, основатель монастыря св. Иоанна Крестителя на реке Колентина неподалеку от Бухареста. Его деятельность отражена прежде всего в двух изданиях Четвероевангелия, называемого в болгаристике „Лаврентиевото Четириевангелие” (в исследованиях на русском языке чаще встречается название „Бухарестское Евангелие”). Авторы сводных каталогов описывают это издание как два отдельных памятника, причем Гусева считает, что второе издание вышло не в Бухаресте, а в Брашове.

(N: 173; G: 86) Четвероевангелие, 1582, 218 л., 10 экз. и фрагм.

(N: 175; G: 88) Четвероевангелие, после 1582 г., более 240 л., 4 экз. и фрагм.

В новейших археографическо-языковых работах¹⁸ говорится о скорее всего двух изданиях одного и того же текста, а общее число известных на данный момент сохранившихся экземпляров составляет 19: 13 – первого издания и 6 – второго.

Д. Иванова, которая также исследовала язык Бухарестского евангелия (тем же методом хронологической проекции, о котором говорилось выше), подчеркивает, что среди особенностей этого памятника можно указать на новоболгарские инновации, характерные для восточноболгарских мизийских говоров. Эти явления, однако, немногочисленны и появляются на фоне очевидной тырновско-ресавской орфографии:

в езиково-правописно отношение тырновската норма е доста стабилна, но в Лаврентиевото четириевангелие се наблюдава проникване на елементи от ресавски (или западнобългарски) тип, а също, макар и спорадично, са отразени явления и от говоримата реч (главно на фонетично и морфологично равнище)¹⁹.

Добавлю также, что в некоторых румынских работах с именем Лаврентия связывается также еще один библейский кирилловский палеотип – недатированная Псалтырь²⁰. Мне не удалось, однако, обнаружить достоверных сведений, подтверждающих его существование.

Представленные выше основные составляющие и главные этапы южнославянской кирилловской старопечатной традиции (а также конкретные библейские издания) должны быть, конечно же, соотнесены с параллельной

¹⁸ К. Мано-Зиси, *Штампано „Четворојеванђеље” Монаха Лаврентија. (Друго издање, после 1582. године)*, АПри 25, 2003, р. 239–251; Д. ИВАНОВА, *Южнославянските печатни книги от XVI век и пътят към окончателната църковнославянска кодификация на библейския (евангелски) текст*, [in:] *Славянска филология 25. Сборник, посветен на XV славистичен конгрес в Минск*, София 2013, р. 24–46.

¹⁹ Д. ИВАНОВА, *Традиция и приемственост...*, р. 32.

²⁰ М. PĂCURĂRIU, *Dicționarul teologilor români*, ²București 2002.

восточнославянской традицией книгопечатания (намного лучше изученной), которую составляют: деятельность Франциска Скорины (Прага–Вильнюс, 1517–1525); деятельность т.н. анонимной типографии (Москва, ок. 1553–1565); деятельность Ивана Федорова (Москва–Заблудов–Львов–Острог, 1564–1581); деятельность московских книгопечатников после отъезда из Москвы Ивана Федорова и появление Московского печатного двора (1568–); деятельность львовских (1591–1594) и острожских (ок. 1583–1612) книгопечатников после отъезда из этих городов Ивана Федорова; деятельность печатников Вильна: издательского дома Мамоничей (1574–1624), типографии Василия Гарабудры (ок. 1580–1582) и типографии Братства Св. Троицы / Св. Духа (1595–). Нет, однако, никаких сомнений, что недооценивание южнославянских палеотипических традиций XVI века может создавать не совсем адекватную картину истории славянского библейского текста, а также нести в себе опасность искажения нашего понимания тех процессов, которые легли в основу создания ново-церковно-славянского языка. Надеюсь, что палеославистике удастся этой опасности избежать.

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Abstract. Editions of the Biblical texts in the Cyrillic South Slavic tradition during the Sixteenth Century. The article is devoted to the printing Cyrillic South Slavic Biblical texts from the beginning (incunabula) until the early seventeenth century, along with the presentation and characteristics of the sources from Montenegro, Venice, Serbia, Wallachia and others. This history is referred to some Glagolitic sources and to the much better recognised history of Eastern Slavic paleotypy, both from the area of the First Republic of Poland, as well as from typographical centres of the Russian Tsardom.

Ключевые слова: Библия, глаголические и кирилловские инкунабулы, старославянские печатные издания, ново-церковно-славянский язык.

Keywords: Bible, Glagolitic and Cyrillic incunabula, old Slavic prints, New Church Slavonic language.

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БИБЛЕЙСКИЕ ЦИТАТЫ ВО ВТОРОМ СЛАВЯНСКОМ ПЕРЕВОДЕ ИСТОРИЧЕСКОЙ ПАЛЕИ (ПРЕДВАРИТЕЛЬНЫЕ ЗАМЕЧАНИЯ)

Термин «парабиблейский текст» представляется достаточно объемным. Это дает возможность использовать его при изучении памятников разных эпох, отличающихся с точки зрения генологии и эстетики¹. Например, «парабиблейскими» считаются «небиблейские Кумранские рукописи»², а также авторские переработки текстов Ветхого Завета, такие как Апокриф Книги Бытия (*Genesis Apocryphon*), комментарий к Бытию, а также «переработанное» Пятикнижие³. Термин «парабиблейская литература» используется и для произведений, которые содержат мотивы, вдохновленные библейскими текстами. Это, в частности, т.н. апокрифы, которые не согласовываются с официальной позицией, но пользуются в определенных кругах не меньшим авторитетом, чем канонические тексты⁴. По моему мнению, это позволяет использовать данный термин в отношении материала, которым является Историческая палея (далее ИП): собрание библейских текстов, эпизодов, сцен, сгруппированных по многочисленным, снабженным заголовками, разделам. В течение примерно семисот лет это произведение функционировало в византийско-славянском мире⁵. Памятник, который появился в IX веке, славяне переводили по крайней мере трижды; он пользовался

¹ О парабиблейской литературе культурного пространства, в котором функционировала ИП или близком ему, см. напр.: А. МИЛТЕНОВА, *Reception of Parabiblical (Paratextual) Literature in Mediaeval Bulgaria*, FE VI–VII, 2007, p. 9–20.

² См. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader*, vol. 3. *Parabiblical Texts*, ed. D.W. PARRY, E. Tov with the assistance by C. ANDERSON, Leiden–Brill 2004.

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⁴ См. напр.: F. BADALANOVA-GELLER, *Cosmogonies and mythopoesis in the Balkans and beyond*, SMer 14, 2014, p. 87–147; ср. А. МИЛТЕНОВА, А. АНГУШЕВА, *Апокрифи*, [in:] *История на българската средновековна литература*, ed. А. МИЛТЕНОВА, София 2009, p. 217.

⁵ См. напр.: Е.Н. ЗАХАРЕНКО, Л.Н. КОМАРОВА, И.В. НЕЧАЕВА, *Новый словарь иностранных слов: 25 000 слов и словосочетаний*, Москва 2003 [<http://slovari.ru/search.aspx?s=0&p=3068&di=vsis&wi=11705>; <http://slovari.ru/search.aspx?s=0&p=3068&di=vsis&wi=13308>] [дата обращения: 30.06.2016].

особой популярностью на Руси, о чем, однако, можно судить только на основании сохранившихся списков⁶, так как нет информации о рецепции текста или замечаниях, которые были бы сделаны после его прочтения. Размещенные в кодексах, содержащих, в частности, христианские истории и топографию (Георгий Амартол, Козьма Индикоплов), объяснения литургии, жития, проповеди и псевдоканонические тексты, славянские переводы ИП особым образом, вероятно, должны были заменять собой Ветхий Завет в представлении христианина византийско-славянского мира, а точнее, пространства *Slavia Orthodoxa*⁷.

Уверенно можно сказать, что использование термина «парабиблейский» в этом контексте более адекватно, чем определение «псевдобиблейский». Важнейшими факторами, которые не позволяют утверждать, что ИП относится к имитирующим или наследующим Ветхий Завет произведениям, являются оригинальное (хотя и спорное, а в некоторых вариантах ошибочное) заглавие, а также использование большого количества заимствований ненарративных текстов (поэзии). Нужно подчеркнуть, что литературное содержание ИП (функционирование в традиции, которая была близка официальной; структура и диапазон текста; требования, предъявляемые потенциальному читателю) находится на несравненно более высоком уровне, чем содержание псевдоканонических произведений (или буквально апокрифических)⁸.

Наличие цитат из Писания в литературе византийско-славянского мира осмысливается и анализируется на протяжении нескольких десятилетий – в последних работах обращается внимание на недостаточно полный характер рефлексии. Ситуацию точно характеризует утверждение, что „проблема выявления и атрибуции цитат в средневековой литературе достаточно

⁶ Сохранилось ок. 30 списков I-го перевода XV–XVII вв., все восточнославянские, кроме того, несколько списков II-го перевода, сербских и среднеболгарских XIV–XVI вв.

⁷ О Палее см.: Chr. BÖTTGICH, *Palaea/Palaja. Ein byzantinisch-slavischer Beitrag zu den europäischen Historienbibeln*, [in:] *Fragmentarisches Wörterbuch. Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese und christlichen Theologie*. Horst Balz zum 70 Geburtstag, ed. K. SCHIFFNER, K. WENGT, W. ZAGER, Stuttgart 2007, p. 304–313; А. МИЛТЕНОВА, *Палея*, [in:] *Старобългарска литература. Енциклопедичен речник*, ed. Д. ПЕТКАНОВА, Велико Търново 2003, p. 345–346; Р. СТАНКОВ, *Историческая Палея – памятник древней болгарской культуры*, Pbg 10.4, 1986, p. 55–63, О.В. ТВОРОГОВ, *Палея историческая*, [in:] *Словарь книжников и книжности Древней Руси (вторая половина XIV–XVI в.)*, pars 1 et 2, ed. Д.С. ЛИХАЧЕВ, Ленинград 1988–1989, 2, p. 160–161.

⁸ В то же время нужно обратить внимание на функционирование термина ‘парабиблейский текст’, ‘парабиблейская традиция’ в контексте устной народной традиции. Понимаемая таким образом ‘парабиблейская традиция’, хотя и без связи с обстоятельствами функционирования ИП, должна была бы развиваться «среди европейских крестьян параллельно с элитарной культурой в связи с глубокой адаптацией церковного катехизиса, приспособленного к миру деревни», цит. по: M. ZOWCZAK, *Przedmowa do wydania drugiego*, [in:] M. ZOWCZAK, *Biblia ludowa. Interpretacje wątków biblijnych w kulturze ludowej*, Toruń 2013, p. 12.

трудоемка, она осложняется еще и тем, что цитаты достаточно подвижны, зачастую мы сталкиваемся просто с аллюзиями и реминисценциями⁹. Особой проблемой является вопрос библейских цитат в парабиблейском произведении – в ИП. Это произведение – кроме фрагментов, явно заимствованных из небиблейских источников – само по себе является парафразом первых книг Ветхого Завета, то есть цитатой из гипертекста¹⁰ с включением прямых цитат и отсылок. Конечно, по этой причине легко поддаться искушению и рассматривать нарратив и сюжет ИП в качестве библейских, впрочем, нужно помнить о различиях библейского текста и собственного текста автора ИП. Возможно, что именно в ИП библейские нарратив и сюжет – или, скорее, созданные по модели библейских – не представляются нам «пустой и застывшей формулой, но полным жизни и динамики «приключением», у которого всегда есть своя, заданная автором, структура и логика»¹¹. Посмотрим на пример специфического использования текста Писания в ИП (на материале второго славянского перевода, в котором – в отличие от т.н. первого перевода – больше библейских цитат¹²). Рассмотрение этого примера позволит охарактеризовать цитаты (прямые) и подчеркнуть их отличие от переработок, заимствований и аллюзий, основываясь на новейших

⁹ А.В. Сизиков, *Новозаветные цитаты в древнерусском переводе Жития Андрея Юродивого*, [in:] *Священное Писание как фактор языкового и литературного развития. Материалы международной конференции „Священное Писание как фактор языкового и литературного развития (в ареале авраамических религий)“*, Санкт-Петербург, 30 июня 2009 г., ed. Е.Н. Мещерская, Санкт-Петербург 2011, p. 159.

¹⁰ Zob. M. Гардзанини, *Библейские цитаты в церковнославянской книжности*, Москва 2014, p. 13–14.

¹¹ Цит. по: D. Dziadosz, *Teologiczne przesłanie teofanii Boga pod dębami Mamre (Rdz 18,1–16)*, [in:] *Język Biblii. Od słuchania do rozumienia. XXXII Tydzień Biblijny*, Lublin (KUL), 29.–30.11.2003, ed. W. Ptkor, Kielce 2005, p. 24.

¹² Т.н. II перевод ИП (далее: ИП II) в списке рукописи Николяц 83 (1425–1435), л. 1216–229а; о рукописи см.: Д. Богдановић, *Инвентар ћирилских рукописа у Југославији (XI–XVII века)*, Београд 1982, p. 38; Д. Медаковић, *Манастир Савина*, Београд 1978, p. 89–96. Представленные здесь фрагменты ИП II в основном соответствуют греческому тексту единственного на сегодняшний день издания Византийской палеи: *Палея историческая*, [in:] A. Vassiliev, *Anecdota graeco-byzantina* [СПВЛ, t. 11], Москва 1893, p. 188–292. Текст Ветхого Завета в староболгарском переводе по спискам: Загребская Библия – опись кодекса в: V. Mošin, *Ćirilski rukopisi Jugoslavenske Akademije, I. dio. Opis rukopisa*, Zagreb 1955, № 61, p. 117–118; и: Г. Минчев, *Пшинская Библия первой четверти XVI века – малоизвестная южнославянская рукопись, содержащая перевод Восьмикнижия*, [in:] *Священное Писание как фактор языкового и литературного развития. Материалы международной конференции „Священное Писание как фактор языкового и литературного развития (в ареале авраамических религий)“*, Санкт-Петербург, 30 июня 2009 г., отв. ред. Е.Н. Мещерская, Санкт-Петербург 2011, p. 223–240; Пшинская Библия – опись кодекса в: Б. Христова, Е. Мусакова, Е. Узунова, *Опис на славянските ръкописи в Църковно-историческия и архивен институт – София*, t. 1. *Библейски книги*, ed. Кл. Иванова, София 2009, p. 26–27 (№ 1, иллюстрации I–V, p. 149–150), и: Г. Минчев, *op. cit.*

подходах к подобным заимствованиям в текстах ареала *Slavia Orthodoxa*¹³, а также оценить творческие способности автора ИП в использовании первоисточника для создания оригинального литературного произведения¹⁴.

Марчелло Гардзанити в своей классификации выделяет следующие типы заимствований из гипертекста:

I. Ссылка на понятия и реалии (события или лица):

1. Упоминание без какого-либо комментария. 2. Толкование понятий или описание реалий (изложение событий, перечень их участников и пр.).

II. Цитата:

[1.] Аллюзия. [2.] Парафраз или пересказ. [3.] Прямая цитата.

III. Инсценировка (пересказ события или понятия в диалоге):

[1.] Парафраз. [2.] Цитата. [3.] Композиционное объединение цитат¹⁵.

Итак, первый специфический тип, толкования и упоминания, можно обнаружить в ИП в одной из глав о делах Израиля под водительством Иисуса Навина. Это не чистый тип, предложенный М. Гардзанити, а лишенная комментария «отсылка к реальности», она вводится через конкретизацию: мысли придается персональный и событийный характер. Глава *Об Аендоре* (ИП II) была названа издателем английского перевода Греческой палеи «удачной обработкой» Пс 82(83),10–11¹⁶. Топоним 'Аендор' („Сделай им то же, что Мадиаму, что Сисаре, что Иавину у потока Киссона, которые истреблены в Аендоре, сделались навозом для земли”¹⁷) превратился в имя героя

¹³ Проблема классификации и типологии библейских цитат в текстах православных славян уже поднималась в следующих работах: Р. Пикио, *Функцията на библейските тематични ключове в литературния код на православното*, [in:] Р. Пикио, *Православното славянство и старобългарската културна традиция*, София 1993, р. 385–435; А.Е. НАУМОВ, *O kartotece cerkiewnosłowiańskich użyć biblijnych*, RSI 44, 1983, № 1, р. 21–29; Кр. СТАНЧЕВ, *За художествена специфика на старобългарската литература*, [in:] Кр. СТАНЧЕВ, *Стилистика и жанрове на старобългарската литература*, София 1985, р. 5–21.

¹⁴ Необходимо, кроме того, обратить внимание на двойственную – историкоформирующую и нехудожественную – природу (а скорее функцию) библейских цитат в ИП.

¹⁵ По: М. ГАРДЗАНИТИ, *op. cit.*, р. 13–14.

¹⁶ С коммент.: *The Palaea, as it does elsewhere, understood 'en' to mean 'by' and imagined that a fictional character named 'Endor' was responsible for their destruction [...]. The author may have placed this episode after the death of Joshua, because the preceding verse of the Psalm describes events occurring at the time of the judges. The details of the story bear some similarities to the account of Ehud's killing of Eglon king of Moab in Judg 3:16–26 [...]*, цит. по: W. ADLER, *Palaea Historica* („The Old Testament Story”). *A new translation and introduction*, [in:] *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. More noncanonical scriptures*, vol. 1, ed. R. ВАУСКНАМ, J.R. DAVILA, А. ПАНАЮТОВ, Michigan 2013, р. 650, прим. б (полностью на р. 585–672).

¹⁷ Библейские цитаты по изданию: *Библия. Книги Священного писания Ветхого и Нового Завета. Синодальный текст* [http://www.biblioteka3.ru/biblioteka/biblija/] (дата обращения: 1.07.2016).

– освободителя из-под ига халдеев. В целях повествования был создан герой и его лаконичная характеристика: *вста же въ юудеихъ моужь именемъ ел'дорь. сынъ въ ревность пришъ. како ѿчьство его поработи се халдеѡ. и помолити се сътворити свободу, ѿчьствоу своемоу. и рече къ юудеимъ что да сътворите ми. и свобожоу ѿчьство ваше ѡ роукоу хал'деискоу* [Николяц 83, л. 196–196об.].

В ИП есть еще один герой, прообраз которого напрасно искать в Писании – в главе *О переписи народа* (ИП II). Царь Давид планирует переписать народ Израиля; когда он поручает сделать это Иоаву, последний отказывается, дабы не преступить закон (ср. 2 Цар 24,1–3), однако, позднее „слово царя Иоаву и военачальникам превозмогло; и пошел Иоав с военачальниками от царя считать народ Израильский” (2 Цар 24,4). Тем временем автор ИП в это место повествования вводит образ другого поверенного, который исполняет царскую волю: *и не послышавъ ишавъ цѣра двѣ сътворити се. рече къ дрѣгомиѣ его члѣкѣ. именемъ акъхна. иже и понде начеть прѣписовати* [Николяц 83, л. 227об.]. Особенности этого персонажа¹⁸ помогают Иоаву остаться праведником, он преобразуется – по контрасту – в антагониста царя, который свою волю поставил выше воли Господа.

Практически в стороне от упомянутой классификации остается еще одно (хотя и похожее) вмешательство автора ИП в текст Восьмикнижия – оно касается конструкции образа: в главе *Слово о Деворе* (ИП II). Из истории смелой девы, принадлежащей в Израиле к судейскому кругу, которая появляется в Суд 4 и 5, заимствовано только имя. Это сделано для того, чтобы сформировать образ, связанный с повествованием о Юдифи (Июдифь 8–16). Начало главы не оставляет никаких сомнений:

Сина дѣворѣра бѣше прѣва. ѡ блгородны градѣ іерѣлма. быѣ же принити артасироу цѣроу пер'скомоу на градъ, и вблжати его. и ратоваше его на в'сакъ днь. и хотѣше вниити въ него. съпротивахоу же се гражане. дон'деже имахоу силоу съпротивити се. егда же изнемогоше съпротивити се пер'сѡ. съвѣщаше се ѡдати градъ. вставши же девора [рече къ начеликѡ градѣ іерлѣма. почто тако съвѣщасте ѡдати градъ стѣи въ роуцѣхъ езыхѡ. вставите до заѣра, и тако да сътворите такоже хощете. слышавше вси змльчаше. въ днь же онь вставши дѣвора] и оукраши себе. и възеть двѣ равини носещи ввоцина всака. и два отроцища носеще ветхо вино изрѣд'но. и колакы (!), и чисти хлѣбкы. и ина вращ'на блговон'наа. оуслажающа в'сакѡ чоув'ство, и вонаніе. и изышши ѡ града своего. понде къ артасироуѣ вонскоу. и вѣрь оубо соуци. видѣвъ ею артасирь оудиви се. бѣше бо видѣниемъ красна... [Николяц 83, л. 212–212об.]¹⁹.

¹⁸ У. Адлер подчеркивает, что [t]his name is unknown in the account told in 2 Samuel. The name is possibly related to the Greek word 'achreia' ('useless'), цит. по: W. ADLER, *op. cit.*, p. 668, прим. b. Если принять эту этимологию имени, оно приобретает иронические черты – Ахия оказывается, с точки зрения царя, исключительно полезным.

¹⁹ Дополнение в квадратных скобках по списку ИП из собрания Музея Сербской православной церкви в Белграде, сигн. 42 (далее: МСПЦ 42), л. 104об. 25–30.

Этот пример подтверждает правильность мнения, согласно которому для автора ИП важнее было описать ход разворачивающихся событий, заострить стремительную сюжетную линию, усилить яркость героев, нежели передать скрупулезность размышлений об истории избранного народа, теологические проблемы или мораль – содержание нравственного характера дается почти мимоходом.

Среди способов цитирования содержания Библии в ИП особого внимания заслуживает инсценировка (третий тип по классификации М. Гардзанини). В сущности, это определенная стилистическая обработка, например, изменение порядка слов в предложении или изменение подлежащего и дополнения, а прежде всего изменение формы словесного выражения (т.е. превращение нарратива в третьем лице в монолог или диалог, а значит, использование прямой речи). Можно предположить, что инсценировка требует значительных композиционных и стилистических способностей, обладание которыми уменьшает риск появления ошибок при трансляции исходного текста.

С этой техникой в ИП мы встречаемся, в частности, в главе *О жене Урии*, в которой описывается драматическая судьба Вирсавии (ИП II): если в Писании „Урия спал у ворот царского дома со всеми слугами своего господина, и не пошел в свой дом” (2 Цар 11,9), то в ИП мы знакомимся с этой ситуацией со слов достойного воина: *оурина же поиде въ двѣ свои. и вѣѣти еже ничѣше съ дрѣжинюю своею. да не приближитъ се одрѣ своему. не спати на вдрѣ своемь, глѣе. како мога дрѣжина нѣна стражоу блюде на рати. азъ же како почию на вдрѣ моемь. довлѣетъ ли видѣнїе домуу моего. и почить на земли* [Николяц 83, л. 221об.].

Подобным образом прямая речь включена в библейский нарратив в главе *О царе иудейском Озии* (ИП II). Во второй книге Паралипоменон мы читаем о царе: „возгордилось сердце его на погибель его, и он сделался преступником пред Господом Богом своим, ибо вошел в храм Господень, чтобы воскурить фимиам на алтаре кадильном” (2 Пар 26,16) – в свою очередь, в ИП его слова звучат так: „сказал царь Озия [священнику]: «позволь и мне воскурить фимиам»” (*Црѣвоушоу ноудею wzноу. вьниде въ храмь бѣжїи. и пришѣшоу іерею покаднїи. рѣ wzноа црѣ. дажѣ и мнѣ покаднїи* [Николяц 83, л. 228об.]).

Еще один вариант упомянутой выше инсценировки – фокусирование действия (нарратива) не на ветхозаветном герое. Это приводит к изменению композиции персонажей. Обратимся к истории Иеффая – когда оказывается, что в качестве благодарения за победоносное возвращение из похода против аммонитян он поклялся принести в жертву собственную дочь, библейский Иеффай вступает с дочерью в разговор, объясняя причины своих действий:

и рече дъщи моа прѣста мѣ. и вѣрѣно бѣ прѣ шчина моима. азъ бо ѿврьздѣ оуста своа къ гѣви о тѣвѣ. и не възмогу ѿвертити. и рѣ къ нѣмоу ѿче. аще ѿ мнѣ ѿврьзла еси оуста своа къ гѣви. сътвори мнѣ такѣ ю изышло изъ оустъ твоихъ. елѣма же сътвори гѣ ѿмьщеніе врагомъ нашѣмъ ѿсиновъ аминь. [Суд 11,35–36, по: Загребская Библия, л. 311об.–312].

Тем временем в ИП именно девушка инициирует разговор; таким образом, она приобретает более активную позицию героя, наделенного речью: ефѣи же видѣвъ дъщерь свою, начеть плакати, дъщи же его начеть въпрашати его глѣе. что ѣ вына ѿче еже ради плачѣши. ѿнѣ же рѣ жръвоу тѣ нарекохъ принести гѣу бѣу [Николяц 83, л. 198об.].

История обета и утраты Иеффая принадлежит, впрочем, к тем повествованиям, в которых автор ИП отчетливо воздействует на читателя посредством эмоций, вызванных специфической переработкой библейского мотива. В книге Судей последние месяцы жизни девушки представлены коротко, без драматизма констатируется ее прощание с миром: иде сама и дроугинѣ. и хѣлаше по горѣ и плакаше се дѣвства своего. и высть на конѣцъ втораго мѣа. и възврати се къ ѿцоу своему. и поеть ю ѿцѣ юе ефтѣе. и възнесе ю на възсе съжеженіе. и съврши молвоу еюже вѣ ѿвѣща [Суд 11,38–39, по: Загребская Библия, л. 312], в то же время в ИП мы находим описание: и вѣше хѣдеши за гѣ мѣе. ѿ мѣста на мѣсто. събираюши цѣвѣти горѣскыя, съ дроугынами своими, и съ гоуслѣми. наслажаюши се мира сего красотѣ. по прѣшъствію же трѣ мѣе. прїиде къ ѿцоу своему. и пожрѣтъ ю гѣу бѣу жрътѣвоу чистоу [Николяц 83, л. 198об.–199]. Демонстрация радости последних дней (с цветами, музыкой) создает явный контраст между невинностью принесенного в жертву ребенка и его страшной судьбой, уготованной ему несчастным отцом. Может быть, именно своеобразная суровость описания, связанная с отсутствием комментария, действует так проникновенно. Начало разговора с дочерью Иеффая вводит в повествование дополнительный драматизм: предпринятая ею попытка прояснить причины грусти Иеффая неизбежно приводит к трагедии.

Стоит отметить, что в ИП используются приемы противоположные инсценировке (в которой можно увидеть особую драматизацию библейского нарратива), а именно изъятие фигурирующих в Писании высказываний в форме прямой речи (монологи, диалоги), а также многочисленных деталей, таких как различные обстоятельства, сопутствующие событиям. Это делается ради сокращения содержания и обобщения – кратко пересказа того, чему посвящено повествование. Например, в главе *О моавском царе Балаке* (ИП II) автор ИП явно избегает повторения пространных увещаний и пророчеств прорицателя Валаама, записанных последовательно в четырех фрагментах Книги Чисел (Чис 23,7–10, Чис 23,18–24, Чис 24,3–9

и Чис 24,15–24), завершая их коротким обобщением: и ѿверъзе оуста свога клети люди іславы. и начеть бесѣдовати. и также не хощѣше глаше (!). и въ мѣсто клетвы блвеніе тѣмъ глаше. и паки се дваши и трици сътвори [Николяц 83, л. 184об.]²⁰.

Категорию «композиционного объединения цитат» в ИП представляют случаи пересказа и сокращения – как в высказываниях в форме прямой речи (репликах), так и в сюжетной линии, а также в описании деталей художественного мира. Сокращения (или скорее подборки из) прямой речи можно найти в следующих главах *О скинии откровения* и *О святых священнических ризах* (ИП II). В этих двух самых коротких главах ИП используется главным образом нефабулярный материал: они состоят почти полностью из напоминания слов Бога, призывающего Моисея подготовить надлежащие объекты культа и утварь. Эти главы представляют из себя пересказ ряда фрагментов Книги Исход (очередно: Исх 25,40, Исх 26, Исх 28,1–14, Исх 30,10, Исх 27,1 и Исх 30,1–10):

и сѣни свѣніа. По сѣмъ же рѣ гѣ мѡѡсею. сътвори ми сѣнь. [по] пѡбнѡ нѣномоу. и повелѣніе бжтѣмъ. възвигнѡше се облаци. и гави се мѡѡсею пѡбнѡ нѣсно чисто. и рѣ емоу гѣ. таковою ми сѣнь сътвори. и въноутрь сею да приносиши ми слоужбы. не хошю бо да твориши ми жртвы на хльмѡ. и на каменѣ, нь въноутрь въ сѣни. иже іе образъ нѣнын. и да сътвориши ми сѣнь сице. сътвори ею единокровноу. по образоу нѣномоу. и сътвориши въ неи ,г прѣграженіа. // двоихъ ради завѣсь, вънѣшнѡе оубо сѣнь. въходимо въсѣмыи. сѣнѡе же сѣни въходимо чистѡ. въноутрьне же ею. единамъ тѣчию іерѡ. всак же хоте вънити въ сѣнь. да измиваютъ се водою чистою. прѣ скиннею. и тако да въходитъ въ скинню:~

и стѡи сѣиннычской одежи:~ По сихъ да сътвориши ми одеждоу стѡу. и вдѣи ею аарвна врата своего. и да въходитъ въ невъходимое. сирѣ вънѡтрьнѡе сѣни. и и всѣмъ лирѣ. и и възоусѣ і вдѣжи. и и црихъ. и и властѣ. [и] и людѣ. и и всѣмъ лирѣ да молитъ се въ неи. да сътвориши же ми въ скинии ,б. ковчѣга. единаго оубо въноутрь, въ невъходимѣмъ. дроугаго же посрѣ стѡ. и вънѣшни оубо, да приимлетъ хлѣбы. и мяса, и вино. въноутрьшнии же. тѣчию тѣмъ/тань.

²⁰ Другой пример мы находим в главе *О восстании на Моисея* (ИП II), которая начинается с констатации недовольства евреев из рода Рувена и Дафана, связанного с запретом им приносить жертву. В Чис 16,2–3, откуда взят мотив, читаем: и всташе прѣ мѡѡсеа. и мѡжи сновъ ісрѡ. сн, старѣиши сьнѡ. причети и свѣтѡ. мѡжи нарочити, всташе на мѡѡсеа. и на арона. и рѣста къ нимъ. оустави се вань. тако вѣ сьнѡ. вси стѡи и въ нѣ гѣ. да почто встаетѣ на сьнѡ гнѣ [Пшинская Библия, л. 119об.]. В ИП тем временем нареkania звучат более весомо, они приводят к конкретным действиям: всташе мѡжине на мѡѡсеа, і аарвна глѡщи. почто и мыи не приносимъ боу каженіе. нь тѣчию единь аарѡ. еда арвноу тѣчию гави се бѣ. еда не и мы вси видѣхоль его на горѣ синансѣни. еда не и мы іаковле сѣме есны. еда не и мы,бѣ колѣнь испльнаемы [Николяц 83, л. 175]. Речь восставших евреев в ИП является парафразами Писания, изложением, которое позволяет читателю получить четкую информацию, касающуюся сути дела.

и сътвори вса мѡѵси повелѣнѣна ѿ г҃а. и по семь рече къ мѡѵсеѣ г҃ъ бж҃е. виждь елика ти заповѣдаю азъ да съхраниши. и рци аарѡноу братѡу своему. да не вхѡдѣтъ на всакъ чѣ въ стѡе, да не оумрѣтъ. и оустави г҃ъ бж҃е мѡѵсею заповѣди. исписа и бытие. иже ѿ бж҃а сътвореннымъ въсѣмъ. и ѡ избавленнѣ грѣхѡмъ. и ѡцѣщени чл҃къ съгрѣшающѣмъ [Николяц 83, л. 172об.–173об.]²¹

Несколько раз в классификации М. Гардзанити появляется тип цитаты, понимаемой не только как вариант инсценировки (в рамках третьего типа), но и как прямой перенос фрагмента библейского текста в другое произведение (прямая цитата в рамках второго типа), и как парафраз.

Категория парафразы дает возможность включить в нее различные приемы работы с исходным текстом. Один из примеров парафразы в ИП можно найти в главе *О Амалике* (ИП II). Она повествует о противостоянии израильтян с амаликитянами в Рефидиме (Исх 17,8–16)²²:

ИП II [Николяц 83, л. 165–165об.]	Загребская Библия, л. 86об.–87
<p>Възвигнѣше же се снѡве илѣви ѿ мора чрѣмнаго. и идехѡу по поустинни. и прїидоше въ горѣ синаискоую. Слыша же амаликъ, тако богатство егѣптьское възвмѣше снѡве ислѣви. прїиде ратовати ѣ съ мнѡжствомъ тисоущь. Гл҃не тако безъворжжи соутъ, и прѣкимоу ѣ въ поустинни сѣи, и възмоу богатство егѣптьское, еже ѡни възвше. и прїиде амаликъ съ мнѡжствомъ тисоущь. и съвкоупише брань съ еврей. мѡѵси же възиде на горѣ, и простреть рѣцѣ на мѣтвѣ. и егда възвизаше сѣна повѣжахоу амалика. егда же штрѣпахоу рѣцѣ его и сънижаше ѣ, и повежѣни бивахѣ люде ислѣви. и пакы егда възвизаше рѣцѣ мѡѵси, повежѣхѣ амалика. и съвкоупише брань еше мнѡжанше: Видѣвѣ же аарѡнъ, и воръ тако егда възвизаетъ рѣцѣ, повежѣаетъ амаликѣ. въниде едина въ десноую, а дрѣги въ левоую. и възвизахѣ рѣцѣ, и повѣжахѣ амаликоу. и до конца погоубише ихъ.</p>	<p>Прїиде амаликъ, и воєва на іслѣа въ рафидинѣ. рече же мѡѵси къ ісоу. избери себе моужїи силны. и шѣ въплъчи се на амалика заоутра. се же азъ станѣ на връхоу горь. и жъзль же бж҃їи въ роуцѣ свои и сътвори ісоусъ такоже рече мѡѵси, и изъшѣ въплъчи се на амалика. мѡѵси же и аарѡнъ и іворъ. възыдоше на връхъ горь. и бы егда възвигнѣаше мѡѵси роуцѣ, ѡдолѣваше іслѣ. егда ли пригнѣше роуцѣ ѡдолѣваше амаликъ. роуцѣ же мѡѵсеѡвѣ тѣжѣцѣ. и възвмѣше каликъ пѡложише емоу и сѣдеша на немъ. аарѡнъ же іворъ подрѣжаста роуцѣ емоу. едина ѿ соуде, а дрѣги ѿ ѡноудѣ. и вѣста мѡѵсїинѣ роуцѣ оукрѣплене до запѣ слѣчнаго. и ѡдолѣ іслѣ и ісоусъ амаликоу. и въсе люди его изсѣче мьчѣмъ.</p>

²¹ Дополнение в квадратных скобках по списку МСПЦ 42.

²² В таблице сравнивается фабулярная часть главы ИП II без поэтических комментариев и начало библейской главы Исх 17,8–13.

Оба фрагмента равны по объему, но значительно отличаются друг от друга деталями. ИП подробно описывает мотивы нападения амаликитян на избранный народ, но игнорирует образ Иисуса Навина, первого предводителя и архитектора победы израильтян – может быть потому, что в центральной части повествования именно Патриарх занимает главное место. Это лишает Моисея возможности предсказать ход событий – иначе трудно было бы не вспомнить об Иисусе Навине. В то же время образ простирающего руки и взывающего Моисея прямо интерпретируется как «молитва».

Конечно, в ИП можно выявить значительно больше примеров категорий, предложенных М. Гардзанити – типов связи с библейским гипертекстом. Можно добавить и другие виды вмешательства в первоисточник, которые трудно напрямую связать с предложенной схемой. Таким образом, к жанровым можно добавить художественные приемы, показывающие специфическую чувствительность автора ИП относительно конструирования сюжетной линии, нарратива и элементов литературного мира.

В тексте ИП заметен эффект авторских усилий, которые можно назвать попыткой углубления изобразительного, визуального слоя отдельных сцен. Они заключаются в обогащении библейского содержания элементами, принципиально с ним созвучными, но более зрелищными с точки зрения фабулы. Например, введение ангелологии и реплики нового, с точки зрения Писания, героя – ангела – вместо трансляции реплик аутентичных ветхозаветных героев. Таким образом текст Писания обогащается в главе *О жене Урии*: в эпизод обращения пророка Нафана к царю Давиду (2 Цар 12,1) введен персонаж ангела. Он говорит с пророком, а затем участвует в разговоре Нафана с царем:

ѿ же гъ къ прѣроку нафанѣ. поиди и слычи цѣра дѣла. како любадѣство сътвори и оубиство. ѿ же прѣркъ къ агглас бою се. да не како цѣрь слыченна не трыпе збьетъ ме. поиди вѣйши ме прѣб собою. да аще цѣрь слыченіе ѿринеть азъ его оубию. и поиде прѣркъ къ дѣдѣ цѣрѣ. и възходящъ емѣ видѣ аггла, готово мнѣща копие. и оусъзиди цѣра стоѣща. да аще възнегодуетъ ѡ обличени да збьетъ его. и какоже видѣ прѣркъ аггла. дръзотъ приѣмъ ѿ къ цѣрѣ [Николяц 83, л. 222].

Явление ангела Господня вводится в фабулу главы *О переписи народа* (ИП II) ранее, чем это делается в фабуле Писания – непосредственно после того, как царский чиновник начинает перепись:

и не послѣшавъ ишавъ цѣра дѣла сътворити се. ѿ къ дрѣго мѣсто его члѣкъ. именовъ акхна. иже и поиде начеть прѣписовати. и авне приде аггль гнѣ глѣ дѣвоу. разгнѣва гѣ бѣ и прогнѣва се на те гѣ. и начеть плакати се глѣ. и что ѣ съгрѣшеніе мое, како прогнѣва се на ме гѣ. ѿ емоу аггль гнѣ поннеже покоусилъ се еси. прѣчьсти люди гнѣ. и се гѣ бѣ скончаваеть на те гнѣвь. не въ законѣ ли пишѣ. како неизъчтенно

Ѣ сѣмѣ іслѣво. и естъ проклетъ вѣсакъ, иже прѣчѣтеть лѣи гнѣ. и се гѣ бѣ сконча-
ваеть гнѣвъ съ моукою. иже // хоцеть привести на те. ѿ три сихъ искоушени. Глы
таково хоцеша оубѣгнѣти. дали ѿ гра въ градъ гонимъ боудеши за .г. лѣта. или за
.б. лѣтѣ глады. или за .г. дны съмръ. [Николяц 83, л. 227об.–228]

В Писании пророк Гад передает царю предназначение наказания вместе с возможностью его выбора (2 Цар 24,16), ангел же Господень появляется в этом эпизоде только после уничтожения семидесяти тысяч человек, когда „простер [...] руку свою на Иерусалим, чтобы опустошить его” (2 Цар 24,16). Уверенно можно сказать, что англофания представляется более ярким и проникновенным для воображения читателя явлением, чем образ достойного, поучающего царя, пророка. Оба упомянутых примера представляют собой одновременно реализацию описанной выше идеи; произошло не только изменение авторства избранных произведений, но были созданы новые персонажи, был введен новый элемент воображаемого мира библейской фабулы. Для сохранения ветхозаветного содержания была использована новая форма.

Благодаря внимательному чтению ИП можно сделать еще одно наблюдение. Оно касается хронологического порядка историй – на микроуровне, то есть в рамках конкретных глав. Как правило, структура содержания соответствует библейскому образцу²³, но четко прослеживается тенденция изменения последовательности библейских эпизодов в богатых, с точки зрения материала, главах, посвященных одному основному герою (Самсону, Саулу и Давиду). Прослеживается тенденция изменения логики и последовательности событий внутри эпизодов. Например, в истории Давида ИП переносит эпизод его свадьбы с Мелхолой (1 Цар 18) в отрывок, предшествующий походу против амаликитян (1 Цар 15) и противоборству с Голиафом (1 Цар 18); «злой дух» возмущает Саула в момент между помазанием Давида на царство (1 Цар 16,1–13) и попыткой лишения его жизни (1 Цар 18,1–3,10); впечатление, произведенное видением Самуила во время встречи с волшебницей из Аендора (1 Цар 28) становится в ИП причиной смерти Саула, хотя согласно Писанию, царь уже после этой встречи отправляется в поход

²³ Исключения для произведения такого объема немногочисленны: глава *О горькой воде Мерры* (основанная на Исх 15,22–17) размещена после главы *О Амалике* (Исх 18,8–16); глава *О законе, данном Богом Моисею* (Исх 20) размещена после *О восхождении Моисея на гору Синай* (Исх 24, Исх 32); глава *О Ковчеге Завета* (Исх 25) размещена после *О втором восстании на Моисея* (Чис 16, Чис 15); глава *Об укусах змей* (Чис 21) размещена после *О земле обетованной* (Чис 13 и Чис 14); глава *Об искушении Озы* (2 Цар 6,3–7) размещена после *О земле обетованной* (Чис 13 и Чис 14), но перед *О манне небесной* (Исх 16, Чис 11); глава *История Иаили* (Суд 4) размещена после истории Самуила (1 Цар) и после *Истории священника Илия* (1 Цар); главы: *История Самуила* (1 Цар) и *История священника Илия* (1 Цар) размещена после главы *О судьях из колена Левия* (Суд 19).

против амаликитян (1 Цар 15) и оказывается свидетелем смерти своих сыновей (1 Цар 31) в день своей собственной смерти (1 Цар 31,6). Это не должно свидетельствовать о недостаточном знании первоисточника; скорее, это довод в пользу субъективного выбора ветхозаветных эпизодов, творческого подхода к гипертексту и естественной заботы о яркости повествования. Нужно подчеркнуть, что ни одно из этих изменений не приводит к искажению смысла Писания.

Рассмотрим теперь другой конструктивный элемент ИП – прямую цитату (второй тип классификации). Обращает на себя внимание факт, что прямые цитаты выполняют в ИП две функции: историообразующую (как часть нарратива, повествования) и нехудожественную – как обобщение, доминанты сцен и эпизодов (или скорее глав). В ИП есть множество небольших – размером с половины предложения или библейской фразы до двух-трех предложений – цитат, вплетенных в структуру глав. Можно предположить, что во многих случаях автору ИП было трудно найти фрагменты, которые были бы параллельны библейским, но в то же время обладали бы такой же повествовательной силой – фрагменты высказываний конкретных персонажей или включенные в пересказ «предвидения» библейской истории. Автор и комментатор английского перевода Палеи указывает примерно на шестьдесят таких мест²⁴. Здесь я представлю наиболее характерное из них. Прежде всего, по причине большого объема оно функционирует практически без изменения исходного текста – как по отношению к репликам героев, так и по отношению к нарративу. То есть мы имеем дело с прямой цитатой. Это глава *О горькой воде Мерры*, полностью состоящая из библейской перикопы (Исх 15,22–27)²⁵:

ИП II [Николяц 83, л. 166об.–167]	Загребская Библия, л. 84–84об.
и хожахѣ три дѣни по поустинны и не шбрѣтахѣ водѣ въ поустинны да пию и придоше въ мер'рѣ. и не можахѣ пить водоу ѿ мер'рѣ, гор'ка бо бѣ. Сего ради нарѣ се илѣ мѣстоу шномоу горѣсть. и рп'тахоу (!)	и идоше въ пѣстинню три дѣни, и не шбрѣтаахѣ води пити. прїидоше же въ мер'роу. и не можаахѣ пити воды ѿ мер'ры, гор'ка бо бѣше. сего ради прозва се илѣ мѣстоу томоу горѣсть.

²⁴ См. W. ADLER, *op. cit.*, p. 585–672.

²⁵ Фрагмент Исх 15,22–27.16,1 – а значит, почти вся глава *О горькой воде Мерры* – представляет из себя перикопу, как третье чтение на Богоявление Господне (ср. З. РИБАРОВА, З. ХАУПТОВА, *Григоровичев паримејник. Текст со критички апарат*, Скопје 1998, p. 27). Возможно, хорошее знание текста и осведомленность о его использовании во время литургии привели к выделению этого фрагмента в самостоятельную главу ИП (II). Это единственный фрагмент ИП, который – как цитату из Ветхого Завета – можно связать с сегментацией библейского текста для лекционария.

<p>люде на мѡўсеа глѡще что пиюмь. въ- зоупи же мѡўси къ бѡу и показа юмоу гѣ дрѣво и въложи въ водѣ. и оусладн се вода. тамо бо положи емѣ бѣ въправдан- ниа и соудѣбы. тамо его искоушаше и рѣ. аще слоухѡ оуслышиши гласъ гѣ ба твое- го. и оугоднаа прѣ нимь сътвориши. и съ- блюдеши заповѣдь его. и съхраниши вса въправданниа его. всакѣ болезнь юже на- ведѣо на египтѣни не наведѣо на те. азъ бо есмь гѣ исцѣлѣви те. и прїдоше въ елинь. и бѣше тамо, бѣ, источникъ вода. и, ѡ. стѣбель финиквъ. и падоше тамо въсь сынѣмъ снѡвъ ирѣлювъ.</p>	<p>и рѣпѣтаахѣ люде на мѡўсеа глѡще, что ни ѣ пити. възоупи же мѡўси къ гѣ. и показа юмоу гѣ дрѣво, и въложи е въ водѣ, и слади се вода. тоу ѣстави юмоу бѣ правды и соуди. тоу же и нака- заше и. и рѣ, аще слыше послѡушашеши глѣ (!) гѣ ба твоего. и оугоднаа прѣ нимь сътвориши. и въноушиши заповѣди его. и сънабдиши правды его. въсоу болѣзнь юже наведѣо на егѣптѣни, не на- ведѣо на те. азъ бо есмь гѣ исцѣлѣви те. и прїдоше въ елинь. бѣше же тоу, бѣ, источникъ вода. и, ѡ. стѣбель финиковъ. и сташе тоу въ кран воды.</p>
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Как уже говорилось выше, второй тип заимствований/упоминаний в виде прямых цитат выполняет в ИП нефабулярную функцию²⁶. Библейских цитат, выполняющих функцию обобщения, в ИП около двадцати, большинство из них – поэтические фрагменты Псалтири²⁷. Они предваряются формулировками: «говорит псалом», «свидетельствует Псалтирь», «упоминает Давид», «так, как упоминает Писание», «упоминает Псалмопевец» (то есть «Гимнопевец»):

къ силѣ же и пѣнописць рѣ [л. 127об.-128];
о сихъ црѣхъ глѣеть пѣмникъ [л. 142об.]; о семъ поменуеъ пѣсаломѣникъ
[л. 179об.]; о семѣ бо воспоминаеть тѣже пѣмникъ глѣю [л. 180]; и пѣмникъ
въспоминае се глѣеть [л. 188]; сего ради и пѣмникъ [л. 197об.];

²⁶ В нарративе автор ИП трижды обращается к авторитету Писания, он ссылается на определенные библейские книги, но не приводит их содержания. Во втором славянском переводе ИП (иначе, чем в доступном греческом тексте по изданию Васильева и первом переводе, где первая из указанных ниже цитат не появляется) ссылки выглядят так: 1. также повѣдоуеъ мѡўсеава книга. завистию вълакѣ се въ змиа. и прїде въседовати съ еѣвою [л. 122]; 2. также во и въ книзѣ бытиа пише тако ѡ всакого дрѣва иже въ ран пишоу снеге, сирѣ ѡ дрѣвѣсь снѣнѣ. ѡ дрѣва же животнаго иже посрѣ раа. да не прикосниши се юмоу [л. 123об.]; 3. темѣ же и бѣвни ѡче наследова. также пишеть въ бытиа [л. 153]. Эти предложения не являются обобщением отдельных эпизодов, так как появляются в середине истории, в продолжении нарратива (как ассоциация или указание), а не в начале или в конце глав, как большинство цитат из Псалтири (или литургической поэзии).

²⁷ Пс 9,17; Пс 29(28),8; Пс 78(77),35; Пс 78(77),55; Пс 81(80):17; Пс 83(82),11; Пс 83(82),12; Пс 87(86),4; Пс 88(87),6–7; Пс 95(94),7–11; Пс 95(94),10–11; Пс 105(104),11; Пс 106(105),17–18; Пс 106(105),28; Пс 106(105),30–31; Пс 107(106),40; Пс 110(109),2; Пс 110(109),4.

ѡ немѣ же рѣ п'ѣноп'ѣв'ць ѡ х'ѣ пр'рч'ст'в'е [л. 143]; т'ѣм'же и ѡ семь аб'іе въ-
 споминаѣ п'ѣсноп'ѣв'ць г'ліе [л. 180]; нь и п'ѣноп'ѣв'ць тако г'ліеть [л. 189об.];
 еже поминаеть п'ѣсноп'ѣв'ць г'ліе [л. 194];
 поминаеть п'ѣв'ць г'ліе тако [л. 175об.]; се тавлае п'ѣв'ць въ н'ѣквель ψал'м'ѣ
 рѣ [л. 177]; се во ю' еже г'ліеть п'ѣв'ць [л. 187об.]; се во поминае п'ѣв'ць г'ліеть
 [л. 209об.].
 и съврши се п'лнское слово ѡ семь [л. 165об.];
 еже да не без'д'ѣл'но ѡно еже ѡ д'ѣда слышеть п'ѣваемое [л. 174об.]; сие оубо
 поминае д'ѣдъ, проклинае врагы г'ліе [л. 197об.].

Они распределены в тексте неравномерно, например, в главах, посвя-
 щенных Аврааму нет ни одной подобной цитаты, но их относительно много
 в третьей тематической части ИП, то есть в описании судьбы Израиля после
 смерти Моисея. В нефабулярной функции обобщения в ИП выступают
 и четыре фрагмента, связанные с Новым Заветом (слова Иисуса из Еванге-
 лия и фрагменты апостольских Посланий)²⁸. Это новозаветные цитаты:

– приведены слова Христа из Мф 24,37–38 (и ѡ с'ѣмь р'одѣ въспоминаеть
 х'с въ е'л'и г'ліе. такоже въ д'ни ноєви гадоуше и пиюше приде на н'е потопъ [Нико-
 ляц 83, л. 127об., глава *Об Авеле*]);

– фрагмент Евр 7,9 (Сего ради и павль рѣ иже десетини приемлен десет'коуѣт' се
 [Николяц 83, л. 140], глава *О Лоте*);

– стих, заканчивающий размышления о символике креста – нефабуляр-
 ная часть истории – 1 Кор 15,55 (гдѣ ти съмр'тн жело. гдѣ ти ад'ѣ пов'ѣда
 [Николяц 83, л. 177об.], глава *Об укусах змей*);

– фрагмент 1 Кор 10,4 (пиах'ѣ бо ѡ (!) д'ховнаго посл'ѣдоующе каны. камен'
 же в'ѣ х'с [Николяц 83, л. 189об.], глава *О воде, текущей из разбитого камня*).

Это своеобразный выбор. Несомненно, можно было бы найти выдерж-
 ки из Ветхого Завета, которые тематически отвечали бы этим цитатам,
 впрочем, их так немного, что встает вопрос: почему выбраны именно эти
 цитаты? Сделано это было точно неслучайно. Представляется правильным
 рассматривать их в качестве подсказок для интерпретации Ветхого Завета
 в свете Нового.

В общей сложности, ветхо- и новозаветных прямых цитат и отсылок (но не
 парафразов) различного объема, выполняющих различные функции, а имен-
 но коррелирующих нарратив и высказывания героев, обобщающих отдельные

²⁸ Пятая новозаветная цитата ИП – это фрагмент Евр 7,3, относящийся к Мелхиседеку (вез' ма-
 тере вез' ѡца и вез' р'ода [Николяц 83, л. 136об.], глава *О Мелхиседеке*). В этой главе указывается
 на сходство Мелхиседека и Христа. Она связана с оригинальным небиблейским произведени-
 ем, которое является основой этой части ИП. То есть речь идет о копировании источника, а не
 об оригинальном решении автора ИП разместить очередную цитату именно в данном месте.

главы и комментарии описываемых событий, можно насчитать в ИП II более ста двадцати. Это цитаты из следующих книг: Бытия (48), Исхода (26), Псалтири (19), Левита (2), Иисуса Навина (6), Судей (5), Второзакония (3), 1 и 2 Царств (2 и 3), Чисел (2), из I Послания к Коринфянам (2), из Послания к Евреям (2), Исаяи (2), Иеремии (1), Захарии (1), Евангелия от Матфея (1).

Представленный выше обзор типов указаний и заимствований библейского текста для парабиблейского произведения позволяет сделать следующий вывод (он может быть уточнен в ходе дальнейших возможных текстологических исследований): процесс конституирования ИП на библейском материале происходит тремя способами: во-первых – на уровне тематической основы целостного произведения – с помощью выбора соответствующих фрагментов и, в большинстве глав, через оригинальный текст, (по образцу ветхозаветного) и причинно-следственные связи историй. Во-вторых, с помощью включения в текст (как нарратива, так и реплик героев) фрагментов Писания. В-третьих, через ссылки на Писание с помощью цитаты, предваряемой вступлением нарратора ИП, а также через указание на книгу, содержащую формулировки, соответствующие парабиблейскому произведению.

* * *

Среди суждений о повествовании в Ветхом Завете можно найти и такие, согласно которым «библейское повествование [...] не поощряет т.н. эстетическое чтение, результатом которого может быть радость вхождения в мир литературной композиции»²⁹, тем временем ИП, как парабиблейский текст, тонко реинтерпретирующий источник (с точки зрения нового контекста прочтения библейского текста), без сомнения можно отнести к «художественным», дополнительно эстетизированным текстам. Сила слова ИП состоит главным образом в более четком, чем в гипертексте, прорисовывании отдельных героев и событий, даже если факты, с ними связанные, не выходят за границы библейского материала.

Кажется, что именно характерная сегментация повествования уводит на второй план моральные и религиозные поучения, представляя персонажи (их можно назвать не только историческими, библейскими, но и литературными), которые прежде всего являются центрами отдельных фабул³⁰. Сделанный автором ИП выбор – хотя он и не помогает уточнить факты (или скорее прояснить эпизоды), которые имеют историческое значение

²⁹ Цит. по: Z. PAWŁOWSKI, *Narracja i egzystencja. Genesis w hermeneutyce opowieści* [STT 29], Toruń 2013, p. 50.

³⁰ Во многих частях ИП мы находим прием своеобразной корректировки библейского повествования с помощью включения небиблейского материала (напр., в истории первых колен или Мелхиседека).

для народа Израиля – показывает индивидуальные черты героев, делает из малоизвестных ветхозаветных персонажей второго плана настоящих *dramatis personae*, независимо от их исходной (то есть оригинальной, библейской) роли. Так создаются легкие для передачи читателю истории. Позиция ИП согласовывается с библейским посланием, в ней нет слов, сомнительных с богословской или догматической точек зрения, а изменения и дополнения содержания нельзя назвать результатом стремления исказить гипертекст. Кажется, что вмешательство автора ИП вносит больше всего изменений в ту часть повествования, которая связана с точкой зрения нарратора. Такие приемы, как предоставление слова Вирсавии и дочери Иеффая, свидетельствуют о взгляде на повествование скорее с их перспективы, которая отличается от оригинальной, ветхозаветной.

Можно попытаться найти параллели между этой авторской стратегией и определенными принципами литературного творчества средних веков. Например, Александр Наумов подчеркивает, что *в средневековье [...] создание текстов не было [...] литературной забавой, игрой правил и конвенций, но создаваемой с большой ответственностью записью истории Божьего творения, открытием по мере возможности первозданной Книги Бытия [...]. Творец, автор, только воплощает тип автора. Он не дистанцируется от создаваемого им языкового и литературного сообщения, но каждый раз соединяется с предметом своего описания [...]*³¹, а само творчество целенаправленно лишено созидательного начала³². Безусловное принятие этого тезиса ведет к опасному выводу, согласно которому все отступления ИП от гипертекста являются случайностью, связанной с недостатками памяти и отказом от сверки с фактическим библейским материалом. Полагаю, однако, что активность автора ИП, которую можно заметить в обращении к иным (небиблейским и поэтическим) источникам, в композиции текста, размещенного таким образом, чтобы нарратив был контрапунктом поэзии, вместе с отступлениями, свидетельствует о целенаправленном представлении текста Ветхого Завета в новой форме – форме, отличающейся от первоисточника. В противном случае, какой смысл в переработке Писания? Было бы достаточно выбрать из него фрагменты и представить в неизменном виде, возможно, и с новыми заглавиями.

³¹ *W średniowieczu [...] pisanie nie było [...] zabawą literacką, grą reguł i konwencji, lecz odpowiedzialnym zapisywaniem dziejów Bożego stworzenia, odtwarzaniem w miarę możliwości pierwowzorowej Księgi Bytu, by znaleźć się w Księdze Żywota. Twórca, autor nie jest sobą, on realizuje typ autora. Nie ma dystansu wobec tworzonego komunikatu językowego i literackiego, każdorazowo wpisuje się w przedmiot swojego opisu, wobec którego jedynie zewnętrzny jest Bóg i w pewnym sensie Jego wybrańcy*, цит. по: А.Е. НАУМОВ, *Biblia w strukturze artystycznej utworów cerkiewnosłowiańskich*, Kraków 1983, p. 9.

³² *Ibidem*, p. 10.

Примеры множества отсылок к гипертексту, разнообразие способов использования заимствований, специфическая конструкция парабиблейского текста, в которой смешиваются слои изменяемых форм и цитат (главным образом, ветхозаветных) – все это дает представление о том, насколько вдохновляющей была когда-то библейская история³³. Это позволяет нам утверждать, что способ формирования этого фундаментального компонента ИП был результатом творческого и многопланового подхода ее автора к гипертексту, а кроме того, свидетельством его творческой компетентности и мастерских способностей.

Перевод: Ян Моравицкий

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Abstract. On imitative and creative art of parabiblical texts' author. Remarks on biblical quotations in the second Slavic translation of the Palaea historica. The aim of the paper is to present the results of analysis of the biblical quotations and borrowings found in the *Palaea Historica* (9th century) in its second Slavic translation, according mostly to the classification of biblical quotations given by M. Garzaniti (2014). Having its narrative material based on the Octateuch as well as the *Books of Samuel*, *Books of Kings* and *Books of Chronicles*, the *Palaea* contains a variety of adaptations of the biblical text, which provide evidence for the creative usage of the hypertext (through *inter al.* summary, contamination of episodes, expansion of details, dramaturgization). Literal quotations from the *Old* and *New Testaments* also form an important group of such borrowings. Curiously, a part of these play no narrative role, but rather a structural one, as they summarize the meanings of particular chapters (stories).

Ключевые слова: Ветхий Завет, Историческая палея, парабиблейские тексты, славянские переводы византийской литературы, обработка гипертекста.

Keywords: Old Testament, *Palaea Historica*, para-biblical literature, Slavic translations of Byzantine literature, adaptations of the hypertext.

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ОТКРОВЕНИЕ СВ. ИОАННА БОГОСЛОВА СРЕДИ ПРАВОСЛАВНЫХ СЛАВЯН И В ЮЖНОСЛАВЯНСКОЙ ПИСЬМЕННОСТИ

Откровение св. Иоанна Богослова (Апокалипсис) является единственной библейской пророческой книгой в составе Нового Завета и последней канонической книгой в корпусе христианской Библии. Она была написана, скорее всего, во время правления Домициана в конце I в. на острове Патмос в юго-восточной части Эгейского моря. Во II в. она получила широкое распространение и признание в греко- и латиноязычных молитвенных практиках, но потом, во время формирования состава Нового Завета, стала одной из самых обсуждаемых книг. Апокалипсис упоминается в числе канонических книг на Иппонском соборе 393 г. и на Карфагенском соборе 419 г. (33 правило). На Западе с признанием вдохновения и каноничности Откровения начинается и его богослужебное употребление, но среди отцов Восточной церкви споры продолжаются еще почти два столетия. В Римско-католической церкви уже с V–VI вв. тексты Откровения зачитывали на литургии в период между Пасхой и Пятидесятницей, а песнопения с мотивами из него вошли и в т. н. Литургию часов (ежедневный круг молитвенных богослужений). Для восточноправославного мира, наоборот, книга остается вне церковного богослужения. В православной литургической традиции имеется только воспоминание о Страшном суде за три недели до начала Великого поста, в так называемой Неделе Мясопустной (Неделе о Страшном суде), но в соответствии с евангельским текстом.

Таким образом, различное восприятие Откровения в западной и восточной литургической практике в значительной мере определяет дальнейшую судьбу книги: надо говорить как о западной, так и о восточной традиции восприятия и распространения данного текста. Поскольку Апокалипсис не входит в богослужебную практику восточной церкви, то его текст, в отличие от текста других книг Нового завета, засвидетельствован реже. Он обычно не был частью общего новозаветного корпуса, но входил в состав сборников разнородных текстов. Он также известен в ряде древних переводов и в разных цитатах из сочинений отцов церкви¹.

¹ Более подробно см. *Иоанна Богослова Откровение*, [in:] *Православная энциклопедия*, ed. Патриарх Московский и всея Руси Кирилл, vol. XXIV, Москва 2010, p. 705–745.

Содержание Откровения св. Иоанна Богослова всегда смущает эсхатологической символикой и мистической образностью, которые давно перешли рамку богословского догматизма и исключительно церковного восприятия текста. И в латинской, и в византийской традиции популярны различные комментарии на эту книгу. Поскольку данное исследование фокусируется на византийской и славянской традиции, то следует отметить, что в византийской литературе были написаны только три полных комментария на Апокалипсис: Икумения, епископа Трикии во Фракии (IV в.), Андрея Кесарийского (между 563–614 гг.) и Арефы Кесарийского (ок. 850–после 932 гг.). В славянской рукописной традиции, равно как и в грузинской и армянской, были восприняты только толкования Андрея Кесарийского².

Таким образом, в славянской православной письменности установились две греческие версии распространения Апокалипсиса: без толкований и с толкованиями св. Андрея Кесарийского. Рукописная традиция книги в славянском переводе, которая относится к Кирилло-Мефодиевскому наследию, имеет, однако, свои характерные особенности.

Самый ранний сохранившийся список книги содержит толкования св. Андрея Кесарийского. Он датируется XIII в., написан на пергамене и имеет новгородские орфографические особенности (БАН, Санкт-Петербург, сб. Никольского I (N1)³). Существует много разных по происхождению списков книги XIV и XV вв., которые содержат различные версии текста. В некоторых из них сохраняется древнейший перевод, а в других – текст, содержащий поздние изменения. Это создает большие трудности при определении происхождения и истории различных версий Апокалипсиса. Поскольку он не входит в литургическую практику восточной церкви, до нас дошло не так много славянских списков Апокалипсиса, если сравнивать с библейскими книгами богослужебного пользования, таких как Евангелие, Псалтырь, Апостол.

Сохранившиеся списки книги XIV и XV вв. содержатся в сборниках, которые имеют различные функции. Эти списки отражают чтения, возникшие в разное время и на разных местах. Они или являлись частью различных типов средневековых составных книг, или представляли самостоятельные книги (в ее толковой версии). К традиции *Slavia Orthodoxa*, которая связывается с Кирилло-Мефодиевским переводческим наследием, относятся и те списки Апокалипсиса, которые находятся в составе хорватских богослужебных книг. Все это делает текстологическую картину изучения книги довольно сложной.

² M. DE GROOTE, *Oecumenii commentarius in Apokalypsin*, Lovanii 1998 (= TEG 8); H. HOSKIER, *The Complete Commentary of Oecumenius on the Apocalypse*, Ann Arbor 1928; J. SCHMID, *Der Apokalypsetext des Arethas von Kaisareia und einiger anderer jüngerer Gruppen*, Athen 1936; *Latin Commentaries on Revelation (Ancient Christian Texts)*, ed. et trans. W. WEINRICH, Downers Grove 2011.

³ Смотри список сокращений рукописей.

До недавнего времени внимание ученых было сосредоточено главным образом на описании и изучении двух групп списков: 1) Толковые списки XIII–XIX вв., которые обычно после XVI в. сопровождаются миниатюрами и сохранились главным образом среди восточных славян; 2) Боснийские списки и хорватские глаголические фрагменты⁴, которые сейчас считаются самыми ранними в текстологическом отношении списками. Только в последние два десятилетия научные исследования были направлены на обнаружение, систематизацию и изучение сохранных южнославянских кириллических списков. Их немного, и они до сих пор не заняли свое достойное место в общей истории текста Апокалипсиса. Исследования этих списков имеют важное значение, они снова ставят вопросы о путях распространения Апокалипсиса среди восточных славян, потому что в введенных в научный оборот южнославянских списках содержится ряд древнейших особенностей. Их можно проследить на структурном, текстологическом и языковом уровнях, и таким образом переосмыслить существующие знания об истории Откровения в средневековых восточноправославных землях⁵.

Настоящее изложение сосредоточено на распространении Откровения св. Иоанна Богослова среди православных славян в средних веках и на обзоре существующих славянских версий книги. Поэтому я хотела бы поблагодарить сотрудников Хилендарской исследовательской библиотеки Информационного центра исследований славянского Средневековья в Университете штата Огайо (Колумбус, США), которые предоставили мне большую часть списков Апокалипсиса и часть необходимой научной литературы.

⁴ V. OBLAK, *Die kirchenslavische Übersetzung der Apokalypse*, ASP 13, 1891, p. 321–361; I. BERČIĆ, *Ulomci svetoga pisma obojega uvjeta staroslavenskim jezikom. Skupio iz rukopisa i tiskanih knjiga hrvatskoga razreda*, vol. V, Praga 1866, p. 108–145; Ф.И. БУСЛАЕВ, *Русский лицевой апокалипсисъ. Свод изображений из лицевых апокалипсисов по рукописям с XVI-го века по XIX-ый*, Москва 1884; *Новый заветъ господа нашето І. Христа, писанный рукою святителя Алексія митрополита всея Россіи, сфотографированный въ 8-мь дней въ началъ августу 1887 г. фотографомъ Александромъ Андреевымъ Багнеровскимъ подъ непосредственнымъ наблюдениемъ Даниловскаго Архимандрита Амфилохія*; А.А. АЛЕКСЕЕВ, О.П. ЛИХАЧЕВА, *К текстологической истории древнеславянского апокалипсиса*, [in:] *Материалы и сообщения по фондам Отдела рукописной и редкой книги БАН СССР* 1985, ed. А.И. КОПАНЕВ, Ленинград 1987, p. 8–22; K. GRÜNBERG, *Die kirchenslavische Überlieferung der Johannes-Apokalypse*, HPS.LR 9, Frankfurt am Main–Berlin–Bern–New York–Paris–Wien 1996; H. KUNA, *Zbornik Hvala krstjanina*, vol. I, *Faksimile*, vol. II, *Transkripcija i komentar*, Sarajevo 1986.

⁵ J. ГРКОВИЋ-МЕЏОР, *Хилендарска апокалипса Јована Богослова (ХИЛ 474)*, ЈФ 56.1–2, 2000, p. 311–320; J. JURIC-KARPEL, *Bosanske apokalipse u svome (južno)slavenskom kontekstu*, WSJ 48, 2002, p. 75–94; И. ТРИФОНОВА, *Южнославянската редакция на Тълковния апокалипсис (Речник-индекс и издание на запазената част от Националната библиотека Св. Св. Кирил и Методий, София, № 101, XVI в.)*, Psl 22.1, 2014, p. 119–163.

Восточнославянская толковая редакция

Надо заметить, что в восточнославянской литературной культуре особое место имеют списки с комментариями св. Андрея Кесарийского, а после XVI в. – с комментариями и миниатюрами (т.н. Лицевые Апокалипсисы). Эта версия книги обычно распространялась отдельно, в качестве самостоятельной книги. Она, как и оригинальный труд св. Андрея Кесарийского, состояла из 24 слов, 72 глав, 311 стихов. В начале стоит оглавление книги, затем следует содержание. Текст сегментирован на отдельные стихи, а после них следуют их толкования (Фиг. 1 и 2)⁶. Списки в начале распространения книги содержали сокращенный вариант толкования св. Андрея Кесарийского. После сравнения с греческим текстом, наверное в XIV в., они были завершены, а после XVI в. они часто сопровождалась и толкованиями других авторов. В текстологическом отношении библейский текст в индивидуальных списках стал в основном идентичным после публикации Острожской Библии 1580–81 гг., первого полного издания Библии на церковнославянском языке, и после издания толкового Апокалипсиса св. Андрея Кесарийского в 1625 г. в Киеве, в типографии Киево-Печерской лавры.

Ф. Буслаев в 1885 г. впервые описывает и классифицирует основные толковые версии текста Апокалипсиса, сопровождающиеся миниатюрами, XVI–XIX вв. Он разделяет списки на четыре основные группы, исходя из специфики текста и принципов создания миниатюр⁷. Своеобразным продолжением тематики является исследование истории иллюстрированных рукописей среди старообрядцев в XVIII–XIX вв. Н. Ануфриевой и И. Починской⁸. В 1995 г. был издан сборник *Откровение св. Иоанна Богослова в мировой книжной традиции: Выставка*⁹. Во вступительной части Г.В. Попов обращает внимание на значение сюжета Страшного суда в искусстве христианского мира и разделяет бытующее мнение, что Апокалипсис был переведен впервые св. Мефодием¹⁰. Он считает, что еще в X в. болгарские книжники перевели и толковую книгу на Апокалипсис св. Андрея Кесарийского, он также

⁶ Иллюстрации взяты с сайта Троице-Сергиевой лавры, <http://old.stsl.ru/manuscripts/medium.php?col=1&manuscript=119&pagefile=119-0003>, <http://old.stsl.ru/manuscripts/medium.php?col=1&manuscript=119&pagefile=119-0007> [11 XI 2016].

⁷ Ф.И. БУСЛАЕВ, *op. cit.*

⁸ Н.В. АНУФРИЕВА, И.В. ПОЧИНСКАЯ, *Лицевые Апокалипсисы Урала: Православная традиция и элементы европейского культурного влияния*, Екатеринбург 2014, р. 4–21.

⁹ С.П. БАВИН, Г.В. ПОПОВ, *Откровение св. Иоанна Богослова в мировой книжной традиции: Выставка*, Москва 1995.

¹⁰ Характерно также и то, что именно лицезрение картин Страшного суда явилось переломным событием при „выборе веры” как болгарским князем Борисом в IX в. – соответственно сообщению Симона Логофета, так и столетие спустя великим киевским князем Владимиром

отмечает факт, что сохранившихся южнославянских списков очень мало и что они без иллюстраций:

У южных славян Апокалипсис, судя по всему, не получил широкого распространения, несмотря на то большое значение, которое приобрели здесь эсхатологические сочинения как в эпоху византийского владычества XI–XII вв., когда даже события средневековой истории Болгарии осмыслялись местными книжниками в эсхатологическом ключе, так и при несомненном всплеске ожиданий конца света во времена османского завоевания Балкан во втор. пол. XIV–XV вв.¹¹

Факт, что самый ранний сохранившийся список книги является восточнославянским толковым Апокалипсисом XIII в., содержащим новгородские орфографические особенности, дает основание А. Алексееву и О. Лихачевой предположить, что в XII в. была сформирована традиция передачи комментированной версии книги среди восточных славян¹². Как пишет ранее сам А. Алексеев,

отсутствие на славянском юге в XIV в. преславской традиции текста Св. Писания говорит о том, что на Русь она попала не в ходе миссионерской деятельности накануне или сразу после крещения Руси, а в составе библиотеки болгарских царей. Последняя, как известно, хранилась до поры в Преславе, а затем была целиком перенесена в Киев¹³.

Надо отметить тот факт, что Апокалипсис с толкованиями – это часть содержания Архивского хронографа¹⁴, который, как предполагается, в значительной степени отражает состав предполагаемой библиотеки болгарского царя Симеона (893–927 гг.), а, как хорошо известно, перевод библейских книг с комментариями в основном связан с деятельностью Преславского литературного центра.

– согласно „Повести временных лет” (Г.В. Попов, *Апокалипсис в искусстве христианского мира*, [in:] *Откровение св. Иоанна Богослова...*, р. 8).

¹¹ Г.В. Попов, *Рукописи древнерусские в старообрядческой традиции*, [in:] *Откровение св. Иоанна Богослова...*, р. 28.

¹² А.А. Алексеев, О.П. Лихачева, *op. cit.*, р. 20–21.

¹³ И еще: *До сих пор историческая гипотеза о судьбе преславской библиотеки основана была на том факте, что среди древнейших восточнославянских рукописей обнаружены непосредственные копии с экземпляров этой царской библиотеки; имеются в виду Изборник 1073 (ГИМ, Син. 1043), Учительное евангелие Константина Болгарского (ГИМ, Син. 252), Слова Ипполита Римского об антихристе (ГИМ, Чуд. 12). Принадлежность оригиналов этих рукописей царской библиотеке видна по включенным в них портретам царей Симеона и Бориса-Михаила [...]. Как видно, текстологические особенности славянских библейских рукописей подтверждают эту историческую гипотезу (А.А. Алексеев, *Текстология славянской библии*, Санкт-Петербург 1999, р. 139).*

¹⁴ М. Оболенский, *Летописец Переславы Суздальского*, ВИМОИ 9, 1851, р. lix–lxii.

Тексты Апокалипсиса без комментариев необычны для восточных славян. В основном они представлены Апокалипсисом Чудовского Нового завета середины XIV в. (С), и его позднейшими тремя копиями (Т710, U310, Т1), Апокалипсисом Геннадиевской Библии 1499 г. и текстом в Острожской Библии 1580–81 гг. Их следует выделить как отдельные редакции текста:

1. *Чудовская редакция Апокалипсиса*. В тексте нет толкований, нет деления на главы, его вторично сравнивали с греческим образцом, и на каждом уровне он максимально приближен к греческому тексту. Уже доказано, что текст Евангелия и Псалтыри в Чудовской редакции особый, и что его можно сравнивать с афонской редакцией библейских книг середины XIV в. Его возникновение обусловлено литургическими реформами московского митрополита Алексея, связанными с переходом на Иерусалимский устав. На основе типикарского аппарата и текстологических особенностей Т. Пентковская предполагает, что

наличие целого ряда грецизмов, которых не было в древнейшем переводе Евангелия тетра и Апостола полного состава, типологически сближает Чудовскую редакцию Нового Завета с южнославянскими списками древнего текста XII–XIII вв. и указывает на возникновение архетипа Чудовской редакции в контактной византийско-славянской зоне¹⁵.

2. *Апокалипсис в Геннадиевской Библии*. Важен вывод А. Горского и К. Невоструева при описании рукописей Московской синодальной библиотеки, что текст Апокалипсиса в Геннадиевской Библии – это не новый перевод, а выводящийся из знакомой уже толковой версии книги. В нем сохраняется деление книги на 24 слова и 72 главы¹⁶. А как известно, Геннадиевская Библия является самым старым полным сводом библейских книг, имеющим большое значение для истории библейского текста среди славян. Отредактированный, тот же самый перевод стоит и в основе Апокалипсиса в Острожской Библии 1580–81 гг., Московской Библии 1663 г. и в Елизаветинской Библии 1751 г.

В 1987 г. в обзорной статье об истории текста Апокалипсиса на базе анализа 19 списков текста А. Алексеев и О. Лихачева обратили внимание на то, что перевод канонического текста книги и толкования на него могли бы иметь независимое происхождение и, по всей вероятности, различные текстологические традиции:

¹⁵ Т.В. ПЕНТКОВСКАЯ, *Чудовская редакция Нового завета и ее взаимоотношение с другими редакциями*, Pbg 27.3, 2003, p. 32.

¹⁶ А.В. ГОРСКИЙ, К.И. НЕВОСТРУЕВ, *Описание Славянскихъ рукописей Московской синодальной библиотеки*, Москва 1855, p. 157–160 (= MLSDV 2, 1964). В собрании рукописей Троице-Сергиевой лавры находятся еще два нетолковых текста Апокалипсиса XVI в. (№ 83 и № 84), в которых есть текст книги и содержание, оглавление, деление на 72 главы и 24 слова, а толкования удалены. Cf. <http://old.stsl.ru/manuscripts/book.php?col=1&manuscript=083>, <http://old.stsl.ru/manuscripts/book.php?col=1&manuscript=084> [11 XI 2016].

Такое расхождение двух текстологических схем как будто бы исключает вопрос о южнославянском происхождении толкований, но оставляет открытым вопрос об их западнославянском (на чем настаивал Перетц) или восточнославянском происхождении. Стоит, однако, отметить, что текст Апокалипсиса, который был использован переводчиком толкований, стоит в наибольшей близости к хорватскому глаголическому тексту¹⁷.

Особый интерес представляют исследования К. Грюнберга, автора самых объемных публикаций по этому вопросу, которые дают и стабильную текстологическую основу для будущих работ. Он пишет, что самые важные тексты для реконструкции истории Апокалипсиса – это боснийские тексты и редакция Ć, которым он посвятил свои анализы 1999 г.¹⁸ Он заметил, что очень вероятно боснийские списки, в которых есть деление на 72 главы и интерполяции из толковой версии книги, первоначально были толковыми, а потом толкования были вторично удалены, а текст версии Ć – результат поздней редакции славянского текста при сопоставлении с греческим оригиналом.

Боснийская кириллическая редакция

Эта редакция книги известна ученым давно. Она находится в боснийских богослужебных сборниках, а сам текст Апокалипсиса помещается после Евангелия и перед Апостолом. Она знакома по четырем рукописям XV и начала XVI вв.: 1) Апокалипсис Хвалового сборника 1404 г. (Hv); 2) Апокалипсис из Библиотеки Марциана в Венеции, XV в. (Ml); 3) Апокалипсис в Радосавлевом сборнике, где текст принят как основной, XV в., сегодня эта рукопись хранится в Ватиканской апостольской библиотеке в Риме (Rad); 4) Список, найденный в Супрасльском монастыре, 1507 г. (SSMD). Принято считать, что это самая древняя версия славянского текста Откровения. Интерес представляет тот факт, что в библейском тексте добавлено деление на 72 главы, знакомое из труда св. Андрея Кесарийского (Фиг. 3). В них есть и несколько интерполяций, которые, как уже известно, заимствованы тоже из толковой версии книги, но нет комментария, что является своеобразным отступлением от православной нормы¹⁹.

¹⁷ А.А. АЛЕКСЕЕВ, О.П. ЛИХАЧЕВА, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

¹⁸ K. GRÜNBERG, *Die Apokalypse. Edition zweier Hyparchetypi*, SSp 11, 1999; K. GRÜNBERG, *Zur lexikalischen Variation in der slavischen Überlieferung der Johannes-Apokalypse*, [in:] *Ars Philologica. Festschrift für Baldur Panzer zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. P. LANG, Frankfurt am Main–Berlin–Bern–Bruxelles–New York–Wien 1999, p. 639–648.

¹⁹ Как предположил J. НАММ, *Apokalipsa bosanskih krstjana*, Slo 9–10, 1960, p. 60.

Текст Апокалипсиса из Хвалового сборника и особенности этой редакции исследовал впервые Д. Даничич²⁰. В 1882 г. Ф. Рачки опубликовал текст из Радосавлевого сборника. Он обратил внимание на содержание рукописи и на наличие двух колофонов в тексте – кириллического и глаголического, – благодаря которым стали известными переписчик и датировка рукописи:

Си книги пише радосавъ крѣстиѣнинъ гонсакъ крѣстиѣнинъ; а писаше се 8 дни гдна крапа томаша и дида ратка. гсподо, ако самъ що лоше поставио, немоите се томъ и порѣгати, ере ми ста рѣци трѣдни тежеѣ; читите и благословите, а васъ богъ блгослови 8 вики динь (л. 58)²¹.

Ф. Рачки сопоставил содержание и расположение текстов в этой рукописи с Катарским требником из Лионской библиотеки и попытался найти связь между богослужениями боснийских патаренов и западных катаров²². В науке давно сложилось мнение, что Апокалипсис являлся одной из любимых книг богомилов. В своем исследовании 1957 г. Я. Шидак доказал, что по составу Нв и Мl одинаковы и обобщил мнения о характере Боснийской церкви на основе состава Нв, Мl и Rad – являлась ли она патаренской или православной:

Prema tome su već Rački i Daničić bili načistu s time, da se tekstovi Hvalova rukopisa s obzirom na svoj sadržaj i raspored ne razlikuju od novozavjetnih kniga u istočnoj crkvi, osim dvaju izuzetaka: mjesta, na kojem se nalazi Apokalipsa, i neobične pojave Dekaloga unutar tih knjiga. Rački je za prvi od tih izuzetka našao analogiju (ne istovjetnost!) u francuskih katarata, a drugi je pokušao objasniti na svoj način kao jedan od znakova približavanja "Crkve bosanske" pravovjernom kršćanstvu²³.

²⁰ Д. ДАНИЧИЋ, *Hvalov rukopis*, Star 3, 1871, p. 1–146; ИДЕМ, *Apokalypsa iz Hvalova rukopisa*, Star 4, 1872, p. 86–109; *Kako se iz kolofona vidi, pisan je 1404. god. za Hrvoja Vukčića Hrvatnića bosanskog vojvodu i vrlo značajnog feudalca tog vremena, koji je upravo tada dobio i naslov hercega grada Splita, te hrvatskodalmatinskog bana. On je, u stvari, u to doba namjestnik kralja Ladislava, koji se 1403. god. krunisao u Zadru za hrvatsko-ugarskog kralja. Za istog feudalca istovremeno pisan je i poznati glagoljski Hrvojev misal. U kolofonu se pisar predstavio kao Hval kristjanin, što je direktno naznačenje pripadnosti crkvi bosanskih krstjana, a osim toga, kao što je običaj u bosanskim kodeksima, nominiran je i vjerski poglavica tog doba did Radomir. Iz teksta kolofona takođe je vidljivo da je kodeks pisan, najvjerovatnije, na jugozapadnijem tlu, tj. u Dalmaciji ili neposrednom zaleđu, sudeći bar po jezičkim pokazateljima kao to je upotreba termina 'мещарѣства'* (Н. КУНА, *op. cit.*, p. 12).

²¹ Ф. РАЧКИ, *Dva nova priloga za poviest bosanskih patarena*, Star 4, 1882, p. 22; Он опубликовал и глаголическую запись на л. 59 в кириллической транслитерации: с(в) павль апсль говорн къ титѣ, да ѿвръжеше се нечастивнѣ и пльтске похоти циломудро, благоврньо пожнвмо въ нннашнелъ внци, чающе блаженого шпваниѣ и посвищеннѣ слави великаго бога (*Ibidem*, p. 23.)

²² *Ibidem*.

²³ Ј. ШИДАК, *Marginalija uz jedan rukopis "crkve bosanske" u Mletačkoj marcionani*, Slo 6–8, 1957, p. 141.

В 1903 г. В. Ягич сравнил заглавия 72 глав в трех боснийских списках Нv, Rad и Мl и обнаружил, что они идентичны с заглавиями восточнославянской версии книги, несмотря на то, что близость между Нv и Rad гораздо больше, чем между Нv и Мl²⁴.

В 1891 г. В. Облак сделал первое аналитическое исследование истории славянского перевода Апокалипсиса на основании публикаций Нv, Rad и хорватских глаголических фрагментов Берчича. Он высказал мнение, что в основе этих текстов стоит один греческий оригинал, а следы латинского текста установились, наверное, позднее – благодаря западной редакции греческого текста. Он предположил, что перевод сделан не в самый ранний период славянской письменности, и в качестве места первого перевода принял Македонию, Афон или Боснию²⁵.

В 2002 г. в своей публикации о боснийских списках Откровения св. Иоанна, после обобщения существующих уже исследований, Я. Юрич-Капел вновь напомнила об особенностях вероятного славянского оригинала или оригиналов этой редакции, поскольку один из ее непосредственных источников был, наверное, глаголический, о чем говорят числовые ошибки и замены ера другими вокалами, на что обратил внимание Й. Хам:

Greške u bosanskim prepisima na koje je upozorovao Hamm (1960:52) načijnje, po njemu, zbog glagolične matice mogle su nastati samo pod utjecajem oble ili poluoble glagoljice. Još bitnijim argumentom koji bi govorio protiv neposredne veze između ovih grupa jeste postojanje tzv. „preslavskoga” leksičkog sloja u Vid, od kojega nema niti traga u bosanskima²⁶.

На текст Апокалипсиса в Супрасльском сборнике 1507 г. как на важнейший для составления полного свода библейских книг без прямой зависимости от Геннадиевской Библии опыт впервые обратили внимание А. Алексеев и О. Лихачева. По их мнению, такой свод был приспособлен к монастырскому и церковному литургическому использованию. Они указали на сходства с Хваловой рукописью – и по местоположению Апокалипсиса в кодексе (после Евангелия и перед Апостолом), и по структурным особенностям текста. Авторы отметили, что часть разночтений возникла при ориентации на различные греческие списки, но определили общий первоисточник двух текстов, который не моложе XIII в., судя по незначительному количеству сербизмов²⁷. Связь этой рукописи с боснийскими списками имеет важное значение для определения культурных контактов между западнорусскими

²⁴ V. JAGIĆ, *Analecta romana*, ASP 25, 1903, p. 28.

²⁵ V. ОБЛАК, *op. cit.*

²⁶ J. JURIC-KARPEL, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

²⁷ А.А. АЛЕКСЕЕВ, О.П. ЛИХАЧЕВА, *Супрасльский сборник 1507 г.*, [in:] *Материалы и сообщения по фондам Отдела рукописной и редкой книги БАН СССР*, ed. М.В. Кукушкина, Ленинград 1978, p. 80–82.

монастырями и сербским патриархом без зависимости от Москвы или Новгорода²⁸. Сборник 1507 г. попал и в поле зрения И. Евсеева, который в 1912 г. писал:

Лучшимъ представителемъ, въ литовской Руси, библейскихъ переводовъ болгарского типа, уже обрусѣвшихъ въ XV вѣкѣ, является библейскій сводъ 1502–1507 года, т. наз. „Десятоглавъ Матвея Десятого“²⁹.

Сербская копия Апокалипсиса без толкований

В 2000 г. Я. Гркович-Мейджор систематизировала известные до тех пор южнославянские списки Апокалипсиса и ввела в обращение научную информацию о самом раннем сохранившемся сербском списке книги³⁰. Он является частью сборника последней четверти XIV в. с исихастскими и противолатинскими текстами из собрания Хилендарского монастыря № 474 (НМ 474) (Фиг. 4)³¹. Она определила этот список как „старый тип“, с делением на 72 главы и без комментариев (в тексте написаны заглавия первых 5 глав, а остальные отмечены инициалом)³². Исследовательница связывает сербский список по типу и структуре с боснийскими списками и обращает внимание на тот факт, что хронологически НМ 474 – самый ранний текст

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 87. Комментарий на приписке на л. 476–477об.: В ней писец сообщает о себе и своей семье, что он происходит из Торонца, что он десятый сын в семье (отчего и назван Матфей Десятый), что его родители и все братья и сестры удалились, каждый своим путем, в монастыри близ Полоцка, Вильны и Новгорода, и только он, Матфей, остался в миру на княжеской службе, но в конце жизни взамен монашеских подвигов решил написать книгу и оставить ее в том монастыре, где закончит свои дни. Этот сборник он начал писать в Вильне в 1502 г., а закончил в 1507 г. в Супрасльском монастыре (*Ibidem*, p. 55–56).

²⁹ И.И. Евсеев, *Очерки по истории славянского перевода Библии*, ХЧ 92.12, 1912, p. 1355. И потом добавляет: Любопытно, что составитель замѣчательнаго виленскаго библейскаго свода стоитъ въ самой тѣсной связи съ Новгородомъ (*Ibidem*, p. 135).

³⁰ J. Гркович-Мейджор, *op. cit.*

³¹ Д. Богданович опубликовал запись на л. 426: Сїа книга глаголема Силогизмо изъ олтарске кѣће понѣсе игъменъ Герасимъ оу сръбскѣ землѣ на прочитанїе. Паки е донѣсе попь Герасимъ, и прѣжде сего изгоре манастирь 1722. оуъ пирагъ светога Сави до пирагъ светы Георгїе. Бившоу тогда патріархъ васеленскому Сръбїи а пецкомѣ Моисею, митрополитѣ Виѣнтию, игъменъ Герасимъ хиландарсколиѣ. Паки се поче правити 1728 при патриархѣ васеленском Паисїи сръбском Ярсенїю и при митрополитѣ Моисею и при том же игъменѣ Герасимѣ. Прв(...) торъ вїестъ проигъменъ хаѣи Партенїе Хиландарацъ за (...) ч гроша дадѣ, и тада се прѣстави дѣховникъ Захарїа оу Каравлашкѣ оу Бяю, а проигъменъ Сѣвастїанъ у Влашкѣ оу Ченен и таде приде проигъман Данила Трончанинъ из Херъцеговинѣ на поклонїенїе (Д. Богдановиѣ, *Каталог ћирилскихъ рукописа манастира Хиландара*, vol. I, Београд 1978, p. 181).

³² Исследовательница приняла мнение Д. Драгойловича, что в православном мире распространялись два типа текста Апокалипсиса: старый, подобный НМ 474, и младший, с комментариями св. Андрея Кесарийского (по: D. DRAGOJLOVIĆ, *Apokalipse bosanskih krstjana i staroslovensko književno nasleđe*, КИ 13 (52), 1981, p. 605).

этой редакции. Анализ полученных данных в этом смысле опроверг общепринятый тезис Й. Хама о западном глаголическом пути проникновения текста в Боснию³³.

С другой стороны, важно, что НМ 474 связывается с толковой версией книги – не только по названию глав и стиха 17,3 (о нем смотри ниже), но и по трем интерполяциям из толкований св. Андрея Кесарийского. Они до сих пор не отмечены в исследованиях:

1) 1,17 καὶ κόψονται ἐπ' αὐτὸν πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς. ναί, ἀμήν

НМ 474: и възплачют се прѣ нимь вса племена земльнага. словѣнскы. жидовскы⁴¹ оутверѣжають словеси.

Остальные редакции текста:

Нv: и плачь и въпаль створеть о немь вса колына земльна. аминь.

Н1: и плачь въпльствать о немь. вса колѣна земьскага

Ї: и всплачют са о нѣ вса племена земнага. еи аминь

Р1 4б: и възплачѣть о немь вси езыци земльсцѣи. юи аминь

MSOC 43: и възрыдаеть по немь въсѣко плема земнше, аминь

О: и плачь сътворѣ на са о нѣ вса колѣна земьскага. еи аминь

Это добавление в НМ 474 – словѣнскы. жидовскы⁴¹ оутверѣжають словеси – не встречается в библейском тексте других версий книги, оно, как правило, имеется только в славянских толковых списках. В толковании к 1,7 в греческом тексте стоит: Ἑλληνίδι τῇ τε Ἑβραίδι γλώττῃ ἐσήμανε³⁴, а в славянском – словѣнски и жидовьскыи оутверѣжають словесе. В Т 119 (л. 7об) этот текст, например, оформлен как заголовок киноварью (Фиг. 5).

2) 2,2 καὶ ἐπειρασας τοὺς λέγοντας ἑαυτοὺς ἀποστόλους καὶ οὐκ εἰσίν, καὶ εὐρεσ αὐτοὺς ψευδεῖς·

НМ 474: искүсылъ юси глѡүще се быти аплы. въ симѣже и дѣла скворьныи нико-
лаитѣнь възненавидѣ. и не соүть. и оворѣте и лже

Остальные редакции текста:

Нv: искүсылъ еси глѡүще себе аплы бити, и нѣсоүть, и оворѣте (ε MI) лже

³³ J. HAMM, *op. cit.*, p. 52–63; J. ГРКОВИЧ-МЕЦОР, *op. cit.*, p. 317–318.

³⁴ J. SCHMID, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse – Textes*, vol. I. *Der Apokalypse – Kommentar des Andreas von Kaisareia. Text*, München 1955, p. 17.

N1 (разночтения по T119)

(сп̄а) И шба на десѣте врата. бѣ. висера. да ѳдина кажда врата воудотѣтъ. ѿ ѳдиногѣ висера (сп̄а) Хви ѳченици. двога на десѣте врата. илиже вратѣ поутѣ. познахомъ. а.бѣ. висера. ѿ х̄а ѳдиногѣ висера. илѳоша лшаниѳе (сп̄е) При кладомъ истинѣ. вѣшьнаго града. блѣтъхъ не можеть състави-ти. надъ всеи во юстѣ (-) слоухомъ. и видѣниѣмъ. (и) помѣшленіѣмъ. тѣмже пост-ланіѣ градоу. тако заа многоѣ га (ра̄) чѣтѣты сказаѣтъ. си же вса гави ап̄лѣтъ тако можааше.

F15

(сп̄г) И обоа на десѣте врата дванадесѣте висера. да ѳдина кажѣ врата бѣдетѣ ѿ ѳдиногѣ висера. (тѣѣ) Хви ѳченици, двоѣ на десѣте врата, илиже вратѣ пѣ животенъ по-з'нахѣмъ. а два на десѣте висера, илици блещаніѣ. (сп̄) Пѣтъ во градѣ златѣ чисто. тако стѣкло блещѣ. (тѣѣ) При кла-дѣ истинѣ вѣшьнаго града блѣтъ. не можѣт прѣстави-ти. паче во всакого слоухѣ и видѣніѣ. и помѣшленіѣ сѣ. тѣмже поставленіѣ гроу тако златѣ многога чистѣты ра̄т сказаѣ. сѣа же вса гави ап̄лѣтъ тако можааше.

J. SCHMID, *Studien zur...*
p. 248

Kaì oí dōdeka pulōnes dōdeka margarítai. aná eîz êkastos tōn pulōnōn ên êz ênōs margarítou. Oí dōdeka pulōnes, dhlahē oí tou Christou mathētai, di' ōn tēn thūran kai tēn ōdon epégōmen, dōdeká eisi margarítai, êz ênōs polutimētou margarítou, tou Christou, tēn diaūgeian ktēsámenoi.

Kaì h̄ plateía tēs póleωs χρυσίον καθαρὸν ὡς ὕαλος διαυγής. Ἐν παράδειγμα τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τῶν τῆς ἄνω πόλεωσ ἀγαθῶν παραστήσαι οὐ δύναται. διὸ τὴν πλατεῖαν τῆς πόλεωσ διὰ μὲν τὸ πολυτελὲς καὶ εὖχρουν ὡς χρυσίον, διὰ δὲ τὸ καθαρὸν ὡς κρύσταλλον ἐθεάσατο ἄπερ ἀμφοτέρα ἐν ἐνὶ συνδραμεῖν παρ' ἡμῖν ἀδύνατον. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ὁ ἅγιος ταθέαται, καθὼς ἡδύνατο ἢ δὲ ἀκραιφνῆς τῆς ἄνω πόλεωσ κατανόησις ὑπερβαίνει καὶ ἀκοῖην καὶ ὄρασιν καὶ διάνοιαν.

Эта путаница в библейском тексте – лакуна второй части библейского стиха в ранних списках N1 и T119, наводит на мысль, что НМ 474 хоть и связана с боснийскими текстами, но в большой степени – также и с ранней традицией текста с комментариями.

Я. Гркович-Мейджор связывает появление этой рукописи с расцветом исихазма на Афоне в XIV в³⁵. В тексте на фонологическом и морфологическом уровне прослеживается высоко стандартизированная сербская редакция старославянского языка, а в отличие от боснийских списков, находятся

³⁵ Занимљиво је да су исихасти били оптуживани за јеретичку месалијанску оријентацију, као што је Црква босанска, у оквиру које су три босанске апокалипсе настале, без утемељених доказа оптуживана као богумилска (Ј. Грковић-Мејџор, *op. cit.*, p. 313).

и некоторые лексические варианты, типичные для т.н. преславской школы – *съборъ* (2,9), *съборище* (3,9), *масло* (6,6; 18,13), *лѣвъ* (10,2), *племѣ* (1,7; 13,7), *блѣдница* (17,5). Она отмечает, что между этими копиями текста нет противопоставления в использовании „охридской” и/или „преславской” лексики. И ставит вопрос: лежат ли в основе НМ 474 и боснийской редакции Откровения различные переводы, или НМ 474 является результатом поздней, вероятно, святогорской исихастской редакции Апокалипсиса, чей первоисточник находится и в основе боснийских текстов.

Хорватские глаголические фрагменты

Эта редакция текста Апокалипсиса находится в хорватских богослужебных книгах (бревиариях и миссалах). Эти рукописи известны с конца XIII – начала XIV в. и до XVI в. В них текст сегментирован на 22 главы, согласно латинской традиции, но перевод сделан с греческого языка (Фиг. 6).

Их изучение началось в 1886 г., когда И. Берчич опубликовал эти фрагменты³⁶. В 2002 г. Я. Юрич-Капел подтвердила, что боснийские списки имеют общий источник, который лежит и в основе хорватского списка Vid (1396 г.), и в основе сербской копии текста НМ 474, как и в Rum – представителе восточнославянской толковой традиции³⁷. Она обратила внимание на интерполяцию из толковой редакции книги в 17,3, которая является общей для боснийских текстов, Vid и НМ 474:

17,3: καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἦν εἶδες ἔστιν ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη ἡ ἔχουσα τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλείων τῆς γῆς

Vid: žena juže vide gradъ veliki estъ. iže imatъ c(ěsa)r(st)vie nadъ c(ěsa)ri z(e)ml'nimi

Нв: и жена, юже вѣдѣ(хъ), градъ велики юсть, иже имать царьствыѣ (црствовати М) надъ цары земльними.

НМ 474: жена юже видѣ градъ великыи юѣ, иже имать црвине надъ юзыкы великѣими³⁸.

Этот пример становится весьма интересным, поскольку эта интерполяция – часть толкования на 17,3 (где цитируется 17,18) – стоит и в других ранних толковых списках как T119 и Rum (Фиг. 7), где она встречается в основном тексте и имеет свое толкование, но не присутствует, например, в N1, как и в поздних нетолковых списках редакции C³⁹.

³⁶ I. BERČIĆ, *op. cit.*

³⁷ J. JURIĆ-KAPPEL, *op. cit.*

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 77.

³⁹ T119: ...иже имаше главъ.з. и роугъ.г. тѣ Си любодѣицю друзи" римскии градъ мѣнати. тако на седми родъ (!) стогащъ. женскииъ во именемъ. всакъ гречьскии градъ нарицаеть с.з. главъ

Результаты исследования Я. Юрич-Капел подтверждают выводы, которые сделал еще В. Облак: предположение о южном пути движения текста Апокалипсиса, как представляется, из Афона через Македонию, Боснию и на северо-запад, в Хорватию. Подтверждением этому служит и отсутствие т.н. „паннонизмов” или „моравизмов” в хорватских глаголических списках книги. Исследовательница приводит и некоторые примеры употребления „преславизмов” в тексте, таких как *скръвь* (1,9), *съборище* (2,9), *съблазнь* (2,14), *съборъ* (3,9), *вждница* (17,5). Нерешенным, разумеется, остается вопрос, из какого первоисточника появились в Vid и НМ 474 эти преславизмы, которых нет в боснийских списках. М. Михалевич также отмечает важное значение Vid для гипотезы о *južnom putu dolaska staroslavenskoga bogoslužja i jezika u hrvatske krajeve* – взаимодействие, которое могло бы объяснить связь с боснийскими рукописями⁴⁰.

Южнославянская толковая версия

Недавно были опубликованы данные о неизвестной до сих пор в научной среде южнославянской толковой редакции Апокалипсиса с комментариями св. Андрея Кесарийского (Фиг. 8)⁴¹. Эта редакция, в отличие от известных уже книг с комментариями, не имеет вводной части, нет делений на слова, стихи или главы, как это наблюдается у св. Андрея Кесарийского. Тут деление на главы следует латинской традиции: они введены порядковым номером (напр. глава .д.), библейский текст введен с *сѣшоѳе*, а комментарии – с *тлькъ*. Редакция библейского текста имеет свои специфические особенности, а толкования, которые являются своеобразной редакцией комментариев св. Андрея Кесарийского, значительно отличаются от уже знакомых.

Эта редакция известна только среди южных славян. Она является частью сборников, которые сохранены с XV и XVI вв. и известна в 3 списках: 1) Сборник из монастыря Плевля (Pl 46). В. Мошин предполагает, что это сборник первой четверти XV в.⁴², а Р. Станкович по водяным знакам датировал его концом XVI в. (1590–1600 г.)⁴³. Текст Апокалипсиса начинается с самого начала рукописи (от 1,5) и сохранен до конца. Имеются лакуны между

звѣри иже ю носить.ѳ. црѣв нечтивыхъ (!). ѿ дометиана до диоклитиана. иже црѣвѣ гониша. ли греческѣи црѣв градъ мѣнитъ .:сѣ. Жена юже видѣ градъ великин естъ. иже имать црѣвие надъ языки великини .: тл̄ Мъ же глѣмъ ѿ прочьихъ наставляюми се все земное црѣвие гра̄ мѣнитъ. поустыню .: запустѣние града мѣнитъ. хоташие вѣйти тогда. а звѣрь диаволѣ оубиство. и крови радование его мѣнитъ. или на бѣ хѳолоу възлагаетъ. соуровы иво ї сверѣпы и шбразъ звѣрь же и червеленага шаюта нагавлагати.:

⁴⁰ М. Миналјевич, *Jezična slojevitost Brevijara Vida Omišljanina iz 1396. godine*, Filol 29, 1997, p. 136.

⁴¹ И. Трифонова, *Южнославянската редакция на Тълковния...*

⁴² В. Мошин, *Бирилски рукописи манастира св. Тројице код Пьеваља*, ИЗ.ЕН 14, 1958, p. 242.

⁴³ Р. Станкович, *Рукописне књиге манастира Свете Тројице код Пьеваља. Водени знаци и датирање*, Београд 2003, p. 16–17.

л. 60б и л. 7 (от 2,3 до части стиха 2,7). 2) Сборник из Печской патриархии (Р 99). Эта рукопись сегодня в очень плохом состоянии. В. Мошин считает, что она написана в последней четверти XVI в., а М. Грозданович и Р. Станкович предположили, что она датируется началом XVII в. (1610–1615)⁴⁴. Текст Апокалипсиса помещен от л. 1 до л. 92, начинается с конца 4,5 и сохранен до конца. 3) Апокалипсис толковый, XVI в. (MSOC 101). Он сохранен частично, только 22 л. Текст начинается в начале 13 главы и кончается в начале 17 главы. Есть лакуны между л. 1 и л. 2 (часть комментария 13,4 до библейского текста 13,10 включительно), как и между л. 5 и л. 6 (от комментария к 14,1 до части библейского стиха 14,5).

Эти списки показывают общую тенденцию, типичную для поздних редакций Апокалипсиса (как С, Р1 46, О, F, MSOC 43): они не так гомогенны в лексическом отношении, и в них можно найти много примеров самостоятельных переводческих решений и контекстуально обусловленных замен слов. Это показывает своеобразное переосмысление текста, которое приводит к лексическим различиям, как результат деятельности в различное время и в различных местах преславских книжников, и предпринятых компромиссов в афонской редакции.

Все три сборника имеют одинаковый состав, сербские орфографические особенности – одноеровые, безюсовые, без украшений. В Р1 46 и Р 99 текст идентичен, несмотря на то, что имеются некоторые морфологические отличия, несущественные различия в порядке слов или отдельные лексические замены, у них, без сомнения, общий источник. MSOC 101 восходит к тому же источнику, но не непосредственно – он содержит и дополнительное редактирование. Текстовая версия, которая стоит в основе этих списков, наверное, содержит тот же самый первоначальный славянский перевод Откровения. В этой редакции толкования являются неделимой частью библейского текста. И толкования, и библейский текст подвергались вторичной редакции, и это, вероятно, относится к деятельности афонских монастырей в XIV в. Слово Епифания Кипрского о двенадцати камнях, которое помещено в составе Апокалипсиса при описании Небесного Иерусалима (21 глава), занимает логическое место в контексте и содержании книги, и его присутствие здесь можно считать особенностью первоисточника. Этот первоисточник был, наверное, частью сборника, предназначенного для чтения в монашеском центре. А сам сборник был составлен, вероятно, в южнославянских землях или южнославянскими монахами в середине или в конце XIV в. К этому выводу приводят и содержащиеся в его составе Слово Епифания Кипрского и Сказание Афродитиана⁴⁵.

⁴⁴ М. Гроздановић-Пајић, Р. Станковић, *Датирање и водени знаци српских ћирилских рукописних књига Пећке патријаршије*, АПри 13, 1991, р. 54–55.

⁴⁵ И. Трифонова, *Јужнославјанската редакција на Тълковниа...*, р. 125.

Болгарская календарная версия Апокалипсиса без толкований

В этом сложном контексте важное место занимает еще одна отдельная редакция Откровения св. Иоанна Богослова. О ней до сих пор очень мало известно, обычно ученые определяют ее как македонскую, как это сделано в описании Д. Богдановича (на базе MSOC 43)⁴⁶, несмотря на статью К. Ивановой, опубликованную в 1972 г., где исследовательница определила ее как болгарскую⁴⁷.

Эта редакция – нетолковая, в ней нет никаких следов толковой версии книги св. Андрея Кесарийского. Она входит в состав новоизводных календарных сборников под датой 8 мая (день памяти св. Иоанна Богослова), а хронологически эти сборники датируются с середины XIV по XVII в. В них отражена восточноболгарская тырновская литературная традиция передачи текста (**Фиг. 9**)⁴⁸.

До настоящего времени известны пять списков этой версии книги, в последний раз они описаны в каталоге К. Ивановой⁴⁹: 1) Календарный сборник избранных житий на январь–июль с нарушением календарного порядка, сер. XIV в. (ок. 1350), л. 61–79об. Писан полууставом, орфография – с двумя ерами, тремя юсами, болгарская, текст без украшений или миниатюр. Он хранится в Музее Сербской Православной Церкви под № 43, куда поступил из Крушедольского монастыря (MSOC 43)⁵⁰. 2) Календарный сборник на декабрь–июль, сер. XV в. (1441 г.), л. 171–189об. Писан полууставом, орфография болгарская – двуеровая, двуюсовая. Он написан Гавриилом Уриком. Рукопись принадлежала монастырю Нямц. В настоящее время она хранится в библиотеке Румынской академии наук в Бухаресте, под сигнатурой Sl. 165 (R 165)⁵¹. 3) Календарный сборник на апрель–июнь, XVII в.,

⁴⁶ Д. БОГДАНОВИЋ, *Инвентар ћирилских рукописа у Југославији (XI–XVII века)*, Београд 1982, р. 32.

⁴⁷ К. ИВАНОВА, *Археографски бележки од книгохранилишта во Југославија*, ЕЛ 27.4, 1972, р. 52–55.

⁴⁸ И. ТРИФОНОВА, *Лексиката на нај-стария български препис на Апокалипсиса на св. Йоан Богослов во контекста на българските преводачески школи през Средновековието*, София 2008.

⁴⁹ К. ИВАНОВА, *Bibliotheca hagiographica balcano-slavica*, София 2008, р. 529 (за исключением списков Хил445 и Хил474, которые являются представителями другой редакции текста); К. IVANOVA, *Canonic and Apocryphal Texts from the Bible in Balkan Calendrical Miscellanies (Based on Material from Bibliotheca Hagiographica Balcano-Slavica)*, [in:] *The Bible in Slavic Tradition*, ed. A. KULIK, C.M. MACROBERT, S. NIKOLOVA, M. TAUBE, C.M. VAKARELIYSKA, Leiden–Boston 2016, р. 494–495 (= SJsI 9).

⁵⁰ Д. БОГДАНОВИЋ, *Инвентар ћирилских рукописа...*, р. 32; V. MOŠIN, *Izvjestaj o naučnom putovaniju u Srjensku Mitrovicu*, Београд, Пећ, Дећане, Савнат, Дубровник 1953. године, [in:] *Inventar ћирилских рукописа Музеја Српске православне цркве и Београду*, LHAZU 60, 1955, р. 218–226; С. ПЕТКОВИЋ, *Опис рукописа манастира Крушедола*, Сремски Карловци 1914, р. 212–213.

⁵¹ P. PANAITESCU, *Manuscrisele slave din Biblioteca Academiei RPR*, vol. I, București 1959, р. 248–250. Я хочу поблагодарить Анисаву Милтену за возможность работать с текстом рукописи.

л. 57–69, писан полууставом, молдавский по происхождению. Орфография – двуеровая и двуюсовая, тырновская. Рукопись принадлежала монастырю Молдовица, затем была в монастыре Драгомирна в Буковине, где находится и теперь под шифром 1828/739⁵². 4) Календарный сборник на февраль–май, XVII в., л. 144–159об, без начала и конца, с недостатком, писан полууставом, молдавский. Орфография тырновская, но в отдельных текстах встречаются и русизмы. Эта рукопись была подарена монастырю Драгомирна от сучавского митрополита Анастасия Кримки. Теперь она находится во Львовской научной библиотеке им. В. Стефаника Национальной академии наук Украины, в коллекции Петрушевича № 2⁵³. 5) Календарный сборник на апрель–май, написан в 1474 г., находится в коллекции монастыря Путна № 31, л. 59–81об⁵⁴. Издание этой версии Откровения предстоит в будущем.

В заключение можно сказать, что, несмотря на разнообразие вариантов текста, сравнение показывает, что в основе всех указанных списков Апокалипсиса лежит общий первоначальный славянский перевод, отредактированный в разное время и в разных местах. Этот перевод обнаруживается одновременно и в восточнославянских толковых книгах, и в боснийских нетолковых кириллических списках, и в части хорватских глаголических фрагментов, и в сербском списке текста. Позже он был отредактирован в трех разных вариантах – в составе библейских сводов в русских и болгарских списках (Ї, П, U310, T710), в болгарских календарных новоизводных сборниках, в сербских списках с толкованиями св. Андрея Кесарийского.

Существуют две возможности возникновения самой ранней версии текста книги: либо это перевод св. Мефодия, к которому в Болгарии были добавлены толкования, либо перевод св. Мефодия был потерян и перевод был выполнен снова в Болгарии вместе с комментариями св. Андрея Кесарийского. Мне кажется, что более вероятна вторая возможность, но надо отметить, что в тексте нет большого количества преславизмов, как следовало бы ожидать для перевода, сделанного в Болгарии, и как было в других библейских книгах с толкованиями, составленных в Преславе (Книга пророков Исаяи, Даниила, Книги Двенадцати Пророков). После этого перевод появился на Руси, где распространение Апокалипсиса с толкованиями приобрело большую популярность. В это время в среде южных славян библейский текст вторично был выделен из толковой книги. Это могло

⁵² З. Юфу, *За десеттомната колекция Студион (Из архива на румънския изследвач Йон Юфу)*, SB 2, 1970, p. 326–329; Е. Калужняцки, *Werke des Patriarches von Bulgarien Euthimius (1375–1395)*, Wien 1901, p. cvl.

⁵³ І. Свенціцький, *Опис рукописів Народного Дому з колекції Ант. Петрушевича*, vol. I. *Українсько-руський архів*, Львів 1906, p. 108–112.

⁵⁴ Р. POPESCU, *Manuscrise slavone din manastirea Putna*, BOR 1–2, 1962, p. 105–145; И. Годоров, *Из ръкописната сбирка на манастира Путна*, СЛ 10, 1981, p. 76–78.

быть сделано в Болгарии или Сербии, а, возможно, и в Боснии. Книга дошла до Боснии, вероятно, через богомилов, и там был распространен библейский текст, отделенный от интерпретаций. Потом текст был отредактирован дополнительно в Болгарии для больших календарных тырновских сборников, и, вероятно, на Афоне, в его толковой и нетолковой версии, при составлении библейских корпусов и для монастырского чтения.

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- P99: Апокалипсис толковый, сербский, последняя четверть XVI в., Белградская народная библиотека, собр. Печской патриархии, № 99⁶³.

⁵⁵ W. LENFELD, *Neues Testament des Čudov-Klosters*, Köln 1989 (= BGLS).

⁵⁶ М. МАТЕЈИЋ, *Slavic Manuscripts from the Fekula Collection: A Description*, Columbus 1983, p. 79–81; Р. МАТЕЈИЋ, Н. ТНОМАС, *Catalog Manuscripts on Microform of the Hilandar Research Library (The Ohio State University)*, vol. I, Columbus 1992, p. 88.

⁵⁷ Д. БОГДАНОВИЋ, *Katalog ћирилских рукописа...*, p. 181; Р. МАТЕЈИЋ, Н. ТНОМАС, *Catalog Manuscripts...*, p. 562.

⁵⁸ Текст издан два раза – впервые Д. Даничићем: Д. ДАНИЋИЋ, *Hvalov rukopis...*; ИДЕМ, *Apokalypsa iz Hvalova rukopisa...*, а потом еще раз под редакцией Х. Куны: Н. КУНА, *op. cit.*

⁵⁹ M. SARALDO, *Les manuscrits slaves et leur etude en Italie*, ПК 1, 1978, p. 15–33; Н. КУНА, *op. cit.*

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 32; V. MOŠIN, *op. cit.*; С. ПЕТКОВИЋ, *op. cit.*, p. 212–213.

⁶¹ *Сводный каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг, хранящихся в СССР, XI–XIII в.*, ed. О. ШМИДТ, Л.П. ЖУКОВСКАЯ, Н.Н. ПОКРОВСКИЙ *et all.*, Москва 1984, p. 241; Е.Ф. КАРСКИЙ, *Славянская кирилловская палеография*, Ленинград 1928, p. 378–279.

⁶² Б. ЦОНЕВ, *Опис на ръкописите и старопечатните книги на Народната библиотека в София*, vol. I, София 1910, p. 78.

⁶³ Д. БОГДАНОВИЋ, *Инвентар ћирилских рукописа...*, p. 120.

- Pl:** Апокалипсис толковый, сербский, первая четверть XV в., л. 10б–122об, Белградская народная библиотека, собр. Плевли, № 46⁶⁴.
- R165:** Апокалипсис, без толкований, болгарский, XV в., л. 171–189об, Бухарест, РАН, Sl.165⁶⁵.
- Rad:** Апокалипсис, без толкований, боснийский, сер. XV в., л. 1–56, Рим, Ватиканская апостольская библиотека, Cod.illir.12⁶⁶.
- Rum:** Апокалипсис толковый, русский, пергамен, нач. XIV в., Москва, РГБ, фонд 256, собр. Румянцева, № 8⁶⁷.
- SSMD:** Апокалипсис, без толкований, молдавско-валашские орфографические особенности, 1507 г., л. 290–298об., Санкт-Петербург, БАН, фонд 27, 24.4.28⁶⁸.
- T119:** Апокалипсис толковый, русский, XIV в., л. 10б–152об., Москва, РГБ, фонд 304, собр. Троице-Сергиевой лавры, № 119⁶⁹.
- T710:** Апокалипсис, без толкований, русский, с болгарскими орфографическими особенностями, 1493 г., л. 156–166, Москва, РГБ, фонд 304, собр. Троице-Сергиевой лавры, № 710.
- Tl:** Апокалипсис, толкования после библейского текста книги, русский, XV в., 10б–39 (л. 39б–125 толкования), Санкт-Петербург, РНБ, фонд 7, собр. Толстого, Q.п.1.6.
- U310:** Апокалипсис, без толкований, русский, XV в., л. 431–442, Москва, РГБ, фонд 310, собр. Ундольского, № 1.
- Vid:** Апокалипсис Вида Омишлянина, без толкований, хорватский, 1396 г., Вена, Австрийская национальная библиотека, Cod.slav.3.

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⁶⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁵ Р. РАНАГЕСКУ, *op. cit.*, p. 248–250. Я хочу поблагодарить Анисаву Милтену за возможность работать с этой рукописью и с текстом SSMD.

⁶⁶ Ф. РАЌКИ, *op. cit.*; А. ДЖУРОВА, К. СТАНЧЕВ, М. ЯПУНДЖИЧ, *Опис на славянските ръкописи във Ватиканската библиотека*, София 1985, p. 164–165.

⁶⁷ Текст издан архимандритом Амфилохием (*Новый завѣтъ господа нашего...*).

⁶⁸ А.А. АЛЕКСЕЕВ, О.П. ЛИХАЧЕВА, *Супрасльский сборник...*, p. 55–56.

⁶⁹ АРСЕНИЙ, *Описание славянских рукописей библиотеки Свято-Троицкой Сергиевой лавры*, vol. I, Москва 1878, p. 87–88.

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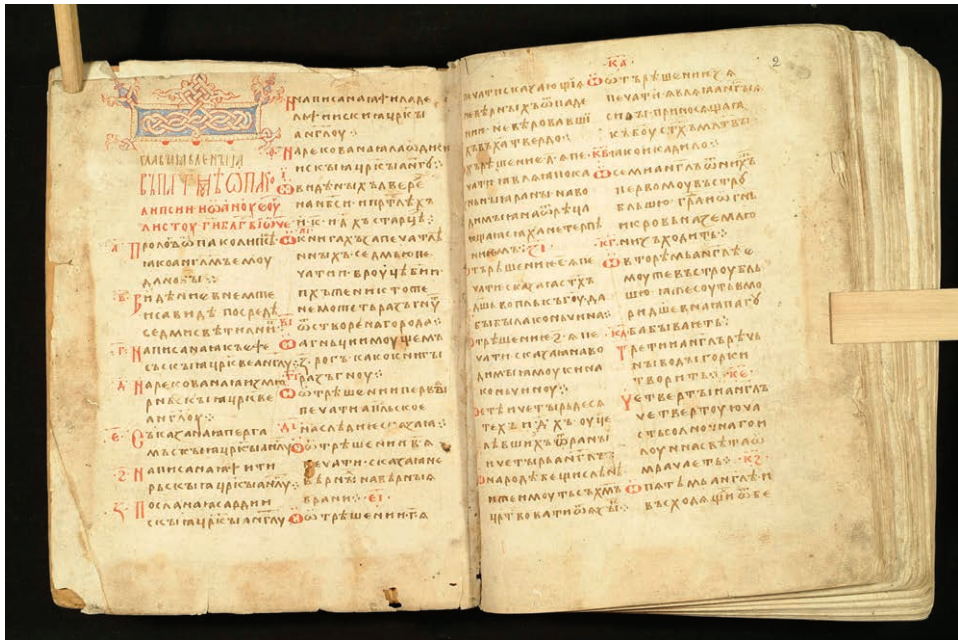
Abstract. The Revelation of St. John the Theologian among Orthodox Slavs and in South-Slavonic Literature. The article focuses on the history of the Book of Revelation of St. John the Theologian among Orthodox Slavs in the Middle Ages. The aim is to present its place among the other biblical books, related to Cyril and Methodius' literary tradition and follow its origin, its way of life and spreading in the *Slavia Orthodoxa*. The two main versions of the distribution of the book are presented – without interpretations and with the interpretations of St. Andrew of Caesarea, while the specifics of the basic versions of the book are also presented (East Slavonic and South Slavic versions with commentaries, Bosnian Cyrillic version, the earliest Serbian transcript, Croatian Glagolitic fragments, Bulgarian calendar version). An opinion has been expressed that a common initial translation is at the root of all these versions of the book, which was accompanied by interpretations, and probably made in Bulgaria at the end of 9th–10th C. Subsequently, it has been edited at different times and in different locations, placed in the composition of different collections, or as a separate book.

Ключевые слова: Откровение св. Иоанна Богослова, Апокалипсис, история текста среди восточных славян в Средние века, редакции текста, южнославянские списки.

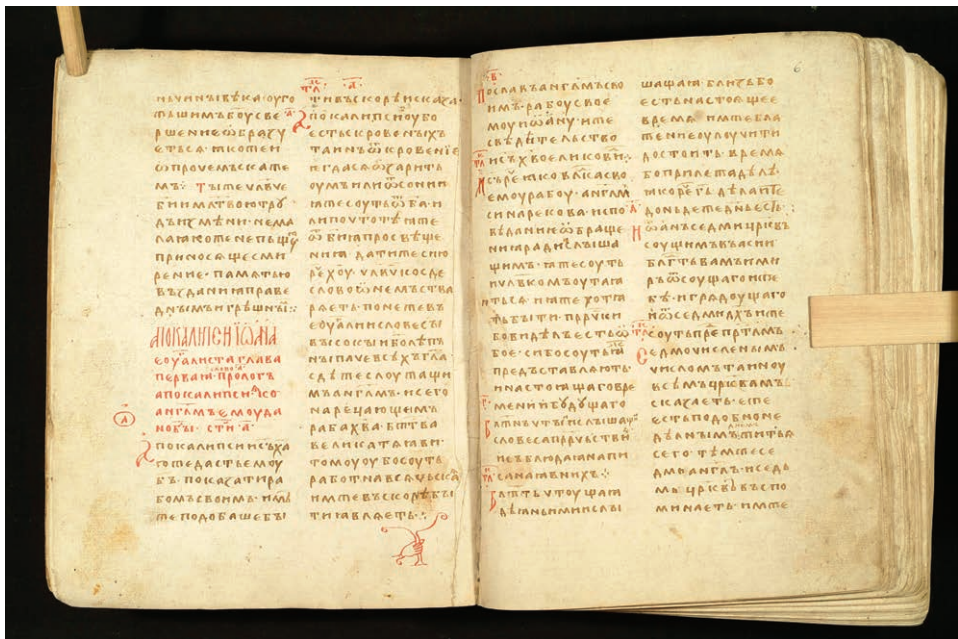
Keywords: Apocalypse St. John the Theologian, the history of the text in the Middle Ages, the version of the text, South Slavonic copies.

Iva Trifonova

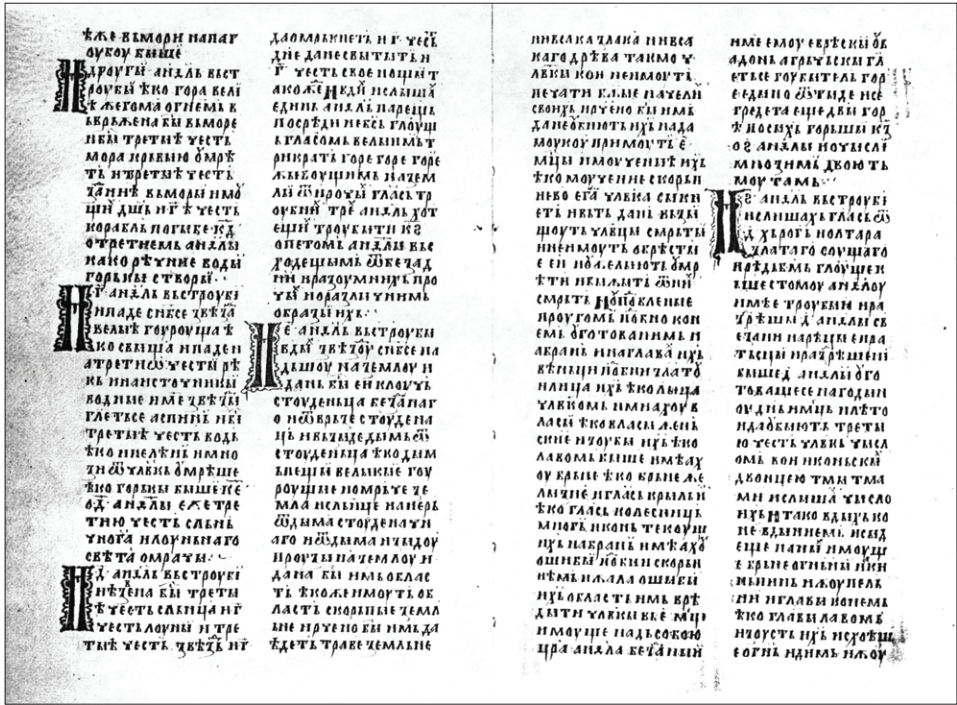
Cyrillo-Methodian Research Centre
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1000 Sofia, Bulgaria
iva_3@abv.bg



Фиг. 1. Т119: Апокалипсис толковый, русский, XIV в., л. 106–2.



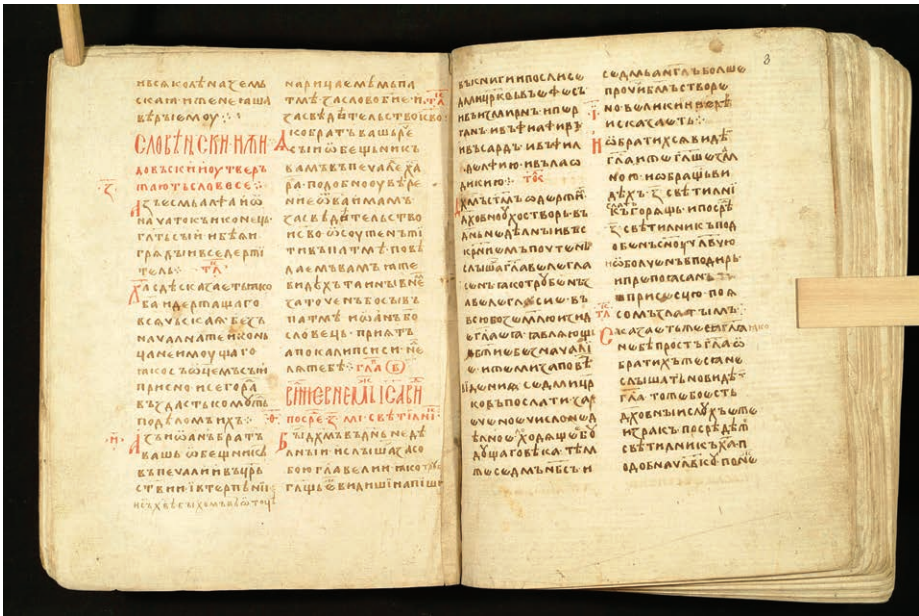
Фиг. 2. Т119: Апокалипсис толковый, русский, XIV в., л. 506–6.



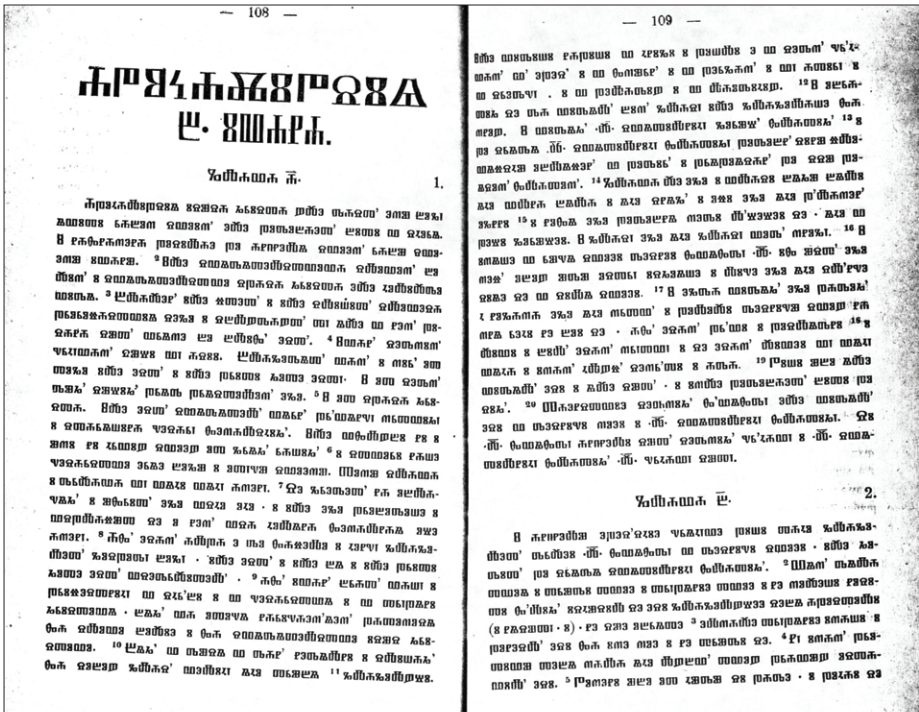
Фиг. 3. Нв: Апокалиписс Хвалового сборника, без толкований, боснийский, 1404 г, л. 140.



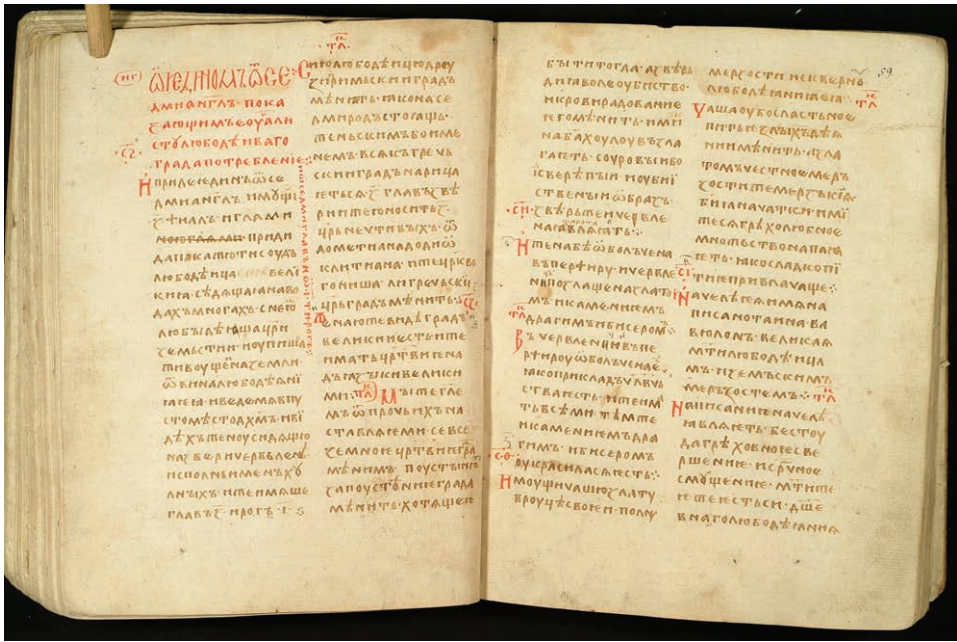
Фиг. 4. НМ 474: Апокалиписс, без толкований, сербский, последняя четверть XIV в., л. 365.



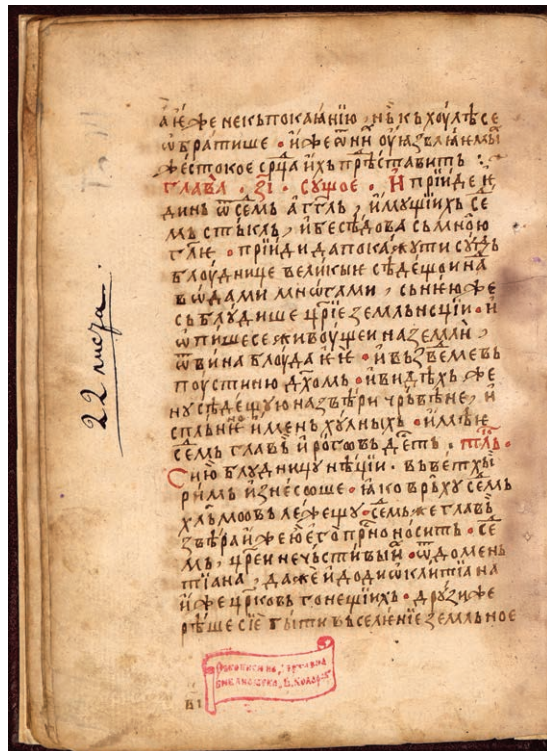
Фиг. 5. Т 119: л. 70б.



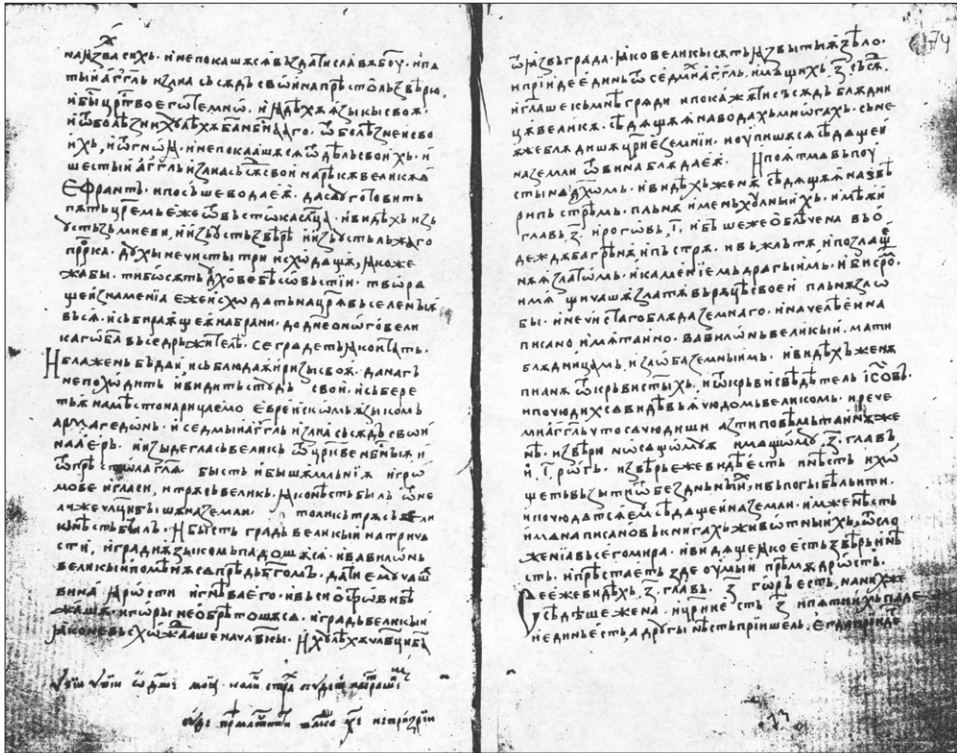
Фиг. 6. I. BERČIĆ, *Ulomci svetoga pisma...* 140.



Фиг. 7. Т 119: л. 58об-59.



Фиг. 8. NB101: Апокалипсис толковый, сербский, XVI в., 22об.



Фиг. 9. MSOC 43: Апокалипсис, без толкований, болгарский, XIV в., 73об-74.

Cynthia M. Vakareliyska (Eugene)

DOTS AND ACUTE ACCENT SHAPES IN THE DOBREJŠO GOSPEL

1. Introduction

Dots, accents, and other diacritical marks positioned over letters are common features of medieval Church Slavonic manuscripts. For the purposes of this paper, these can be very generally categorized as either primarily paleographic or primarily orthographic in nature, although the boundary between the two categories is fuzzy. Paleographic diacritics generally imitate meaningful orthographic conventions in Greek manuscripts, but have only a decorative function in Slavic manuscripts, since they were not a standard part of the Glagolitic or Old Cyrillic orthographic system. These can include a regularly-occurring dot over the letter *w*; breathing marks over vowel letters; and apparent accent marks whose placement does not reflect the actual stressed syllable of the Church Slavonic words they appear over. In contrast, orthographic-level diacritics, which are the focus of this paper, have a disambiguating punctuational function, and serve to assist readers in parsing the text. Examples of these are acute accents placed over the stressed syllable of the words in which they appear; a regularly-occurring double dot over *i* and ligated vowel letters *ѣ*, *ѥ*, *ѧ*, disambiguating them from *и* and other similarly-shaped letters; and a single dot or breathing mark over any vowel letter that immediately follows another vowel letter, either word-internally or word-initially.

This paper examines four unusual patterns in orthographic-level diacritical markings in the Dobrejšo Gospel, a western Bulgarian liturgical tetraevangelion generally dated to the 13th century¹. The sporadic nature of the diacritics distinguishes them from the types described above. So far I have not come across any of the four Dobrejšo

¹ No. 17 (307), Cyril and Methodius National Library, Sofia; typeset edition: Б. ЦОНЕВ, *Добрейшово четвороевангелие. Среднобългарски паметник от XIII век (Софийска Нар. Библиотека No. 307 и Белградска Нар. Библиотека No. 214)*, БСт 1, 1906. A digital facsimile of the manuscript is available at http://www.europeana.eu/portal/en/record/2063614/BU_280_01.html. The analysis in this paper is based on my first-hand examination of the manuscript and handwritten corrections of Conev's flawed 1906 transcription edition, in connection with a second, corrected diplomatic edition and analysis of the manuscript that I am currently compiling.

patterns in other medieval Slavic manuscripts, with the exception of one somewhat similar diacritic type in a few early East Slavic manuscripts (see subsection 3.1 below, n. 5). Following the overview in section 2 below, each diacritic pattern is discussed separately in sections 3 through 6, and conclusions are presented in section 7.

2. Orthographic diacritics in the Dobrejšo Gospel

The diacritics that are the focus of this study are written by the main scribe of the Dobrejšo Gospel, the priest Dobrejšo, whose name appears twice in the manuscript and whose self-portrait is included in the frontispiece to the Book of John². Dobrejšo regularly employs double dots in *ī* (including in *иī*) and *ŭ*, and over the ligatures in *īī*, *īe*, and *īю*; and a single dot over vowel letters immediately preceded by another vowel letter: e.g., *и́ида, зидѣи́тъ*. It is important to note that the manuscript does not mark either accentuation or, with only rare exceptions, dropped etymological weak jers.

A frequent diacritic in the Dobrejšo Gospel with an extralinguistic function is what looks like a single acute accent or a series of three acutes over or near a letter that immediately follows the large red initial letter marking the beginning of a lection: e.g., *Г'а́ава* (with red *Г*). As the introduction to Conev's transcription edition of the manuscript explains, this is simply a placemaker left by the scribe for himself to show where to insert a red letter after he had completed writing a page of text in black ink³. Finally, as in very common in medieval Slavic manuscripts, there are many ambiguous superfluous dots in the Dobrejšo Gospel that look like accent marks, but that were clearly produced inadvertently as the scribe rested his pen as he consulted his copying source.

The four sporadic diacritic patterns in the manuscript that are the subject of this paper are less straightforward in function than the ones described above. Most frequent among these is a dot or a shape similar to an acute accent placed over or near the letter *ρ*: i.e., in some places *ρ̇*, in others *ρ´*. Since distribution of the dot vs. accent shapes is random, the scribe appears to have intended both to represent a single symbol. Although Conev remarks on this diacritic in his introduction⁴, he does not offer an explanation for it, and apparently he did not observe any

² Although Conev expresses reservations in the introduction to his edition of the manuscript as to whether the primary scribe is priest Dobrejšo, this can be extrapolated from Dobrejšo's appearance in the frontispiece to the Book of John (fol. 72v), together with the illustrator's note on the frontispiece to the Book of Luke seeking divine assistance to do a better job on the upcoming portrait of St. John (fol. 18v). Although Conev identified numerous contributing copyists, including a guest scribe who marked dropped weak jers with a double acute accent on fols. 12v and 13r, the writing on both frontispieces appears to be in the hand of the primary scribe. Cf. Б. ЦОНЕВ, *Добрейшово четвъроевангелие...*, p. 16.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 19.

⁴ Б. ЦОНЕВ, *op. cit.*

pattern behind its occurrence. In fact, the dotted/“accented” ρ most often occurs in the manuscript in canonical Old Church Slavonic (OCS) spellings of historical **ṪorT*, **ṪbrT*, **TṙoT*, and **TṙvT* formations (hereafter referred to generally as **ṪorT* and **TṙoT*) such as *п̇ръсѣтъ* (fol. 5v5).

Less commonly, the dot or acute accent shape appears in the Dobrejšo Gospel over a letter ρ adjacent to another consonant letter in words that did not historically have a jer either immediately preceding or immediately following /r/ in a consonant cluster: e.g., *п̇іт̇ръкъ* (fols. 8r5, 31r21), *т̇р̇ѣти* (fol. 9r21), *п̇́р̇ост̇р̇и* (fol. 4v6). This phenomenon is analyzed in section 2 below.

The second sporadic pattern, discussed in section 3.5 and 4, is a series of two or three apparent acute accent forms over ρ, and from one to three acute accents or a single dot over л, where that letter immediately follows another consonant letter in a word that did not historically have a jer either immediately before or immediately after the liquid consonant: e.g., *п̇́́́р̇́́́авѣдѣнѣ* (fol. 61v1), *гл̇́́́а́́́сѡмъ* (fol. 114r6), *възг̇́́́ласитѣ* (fol. 67r15), *възг̇́́́ласитѣ* (fol. 67r18). These diacritics are distinguishable from the acute shapes following a red letter that are discussed above, since they do not come at the beginning of a lection.

From one to three acute accent shapes, or, alternatively, a single dot, also occur sporadically over н, predominantly in forms of OCS *dnv̇*: e.g., fol. 39r2 *д̇́́́н̇́́́нь*, fol. 64r19 *д̇́́́н̇́́́тъ*, fol. 3r19 *д̇́́́н̇́́́къ*. This pattern is examined in section 5. Finally, in approximately one-third of the occurrences of the OCS lexeme *sqbota*, there is a dot, a single acute shape, or three consecutive acute accent shapes over or near the ж: e.g., fol. 4r5 *с̇́́́ж̇́́́бот̇́́́ж*, fol. 48r3 *с̇́́́ж̇́́́бот̇́́́ѣ*, fol. 4r12 *с̇́́́ж̇́́́в̇́́́от̇́́́ж* (see section 6 below).

3. Dotted/accented ρ

3.1. **ṪorT* and **TṙoT* formations. As noted above, scribe Dobrejšo has occasionally placed a dot or acute accent shape over the ρ in his canonical OCS spelling of words that contained a neutral jer⁵. Examples include the following historical **ṪorT* formations, i.e., words with a historical neutral front or back jer immediately preceding a consonant cluster ending in /r/: fol. 4r2 *въс̇́́́т̇́́́ръгати*, fol. 4r16 *скв̇́́́рън̇́́́жтъ* (cf. fol. 26r4 *скръ̇́́́жца*), fol. 4r16 *н̇́́́ ж̇́́́рътвѣ*, fol. 5v5 *п̇́́́ръсѣтъ*, fol. 11r18

⁵ Following H.G. LUNT, *Old Church Slavonic Grammar*, ⁷Berlin–New York 2001, p. 38–39, I use the term “neutral jer” to mean a written jer letter (usually ѣ in OCS manuscripts) between the letter ρ or л and an immediately following consonant letter in the same word. As Lunt observed (*ibidem*, p. 38), evidence from later Slavic dialects and languages suggests that in this configuration, the neutral jer letter represents a jer vowel that originally preceded the liquid consonant /r/ or /l/ in Common Slavic. (Cf., in Early East Slavic manuscripts, the characteristic positioning of the jer letter to the left of the ρ or л; H.G. LUNT, *op. cit.*, and В.М. МАРКОВ, *К истории редуцированных гласных в русском языке*, ²Казань 2007, among others.) There is no attestation in OCS manuscripts of the lowering of such jer vowels to full vowels in strong position. I have extended the scope of this term in this paper to refer to phonological jers as well as orthographic jer letters.

–19 трѣжни|комѣ, fol. 62v3 трѣжницихъ (cf. 76r21 трѣжникомѣ), fol. 26r16–17 четѣврѣтовластоуѣщоу (cf. l. 18 четѣврѣтовлаस्थ्यствоуѣщоу), fol. 48v20 ѿврѣзи, fol. 54r5 жрѣвѣнѣ (sic!, for OCS жрѣновѣнѣ), fol. 76r1 почрѣпѣте (cf. врѣха earlier on same line, fol. 78v3 почрѣпала). The dot or acute accent also occurs in words that contain historical Common Slavic **Tr̥T* formations, in which the jer followed the /r/: for example, fol. 47v22 ѿкрѣстѣ, fol. 2r22 трѣсти, fol. 33v14 крѣви (with a barely visible dot). That the convention covers both historical **T̥rT* and **Tr̥T* roots is unsurprising, of course, since both formations are believed to have merged into the syllabic liquid formation *TRT* in Early South Slavic before being reanalyzed in OCS solely as the formation **Tr̥T* (but cf. Bulgarian and Macedonian dialects, in section 3.4 below)⁶.

This sporadic diacritic is similar to the fairly regular use of a dot over a consonant letter that immediately precedes either *ρ* or *λ* in some East Slavic manuscripts, including the Archangel Gospel and the 11th-century Putjata Menaion⁷, to mark a vocalic element before the liquid consonant in OCS *tr̥ot* and *tr̥ot* forms⁸. In contrast to the East Slavic manuscripts, however, no equivalent diacritic ever occurs over the letter *λ* in Dobrejšo's canonical OCS spellings of historical **T̥lT*/**T̥lT* formations (both hereafter **T̥lT*), or **Tl̥T*/**Tl̥T* formation (both hereafter **Tl̥T*), such as *млѣж*. This lack of symmetry may explain why Conev failed to recognize the meaning of the diacritics over *ρ*, despite the fact that his introduction discusses the representation of roots containing neutral jers⁹. Indeed, in the introduction Conev has more to say about **T̥lT* roots than **T̥rT* roots: he lists 31 instances of historical **T̥lT* forms in the manuscript in which the jer precedes the *λ* rather than following it as in OCS spelling (*t̥olt* spelling; e.g., *млѣв*- or *млѣв*- for OCS *млѣв*- in Mt 27,24; 26,5; 26,63; Mc 5,39; 9,23; Lc 10,40)¹⁰. A parallel spelling pattern of *t̥ort* for historical **T̥rT* or **Tr̥T* formations does not occur anywhere in the manuscript¹¹.

⁶ On the development of new syllabic liquids in Middle Bulgarian, see A.-M. ТОТОМАНОВА, *За природата и съдбата на гласната ѱ в българския език*, [in:] ЕАДЕМ, *Из българската историческа фонетика*, София 2001, p. 45–67 (57).

⁷ Markov (*op. cit.*, p. 82) gives these examples from the Putjata Menaion: *плѣж* (fol. 5r), *оумлѣва* (6v), *ѣрѣж* (14v), *испѣльненіе* (73r), *жрѣтѣвѣ* (73r), *млѣнниама* (76v), *ѣлѣннѣштѣа* (114r), *ѣлѣноуѣтѣ* (114v), *дѣлга* (79r), *дѣлѣжнѣ* (108v), *ѣлѣннѣшнѣ са* (111r), *млѣва* (126v), *отѣѣрѣзи* (126v), *стѣлѣтѣ* (134); see also discussion on p. 93.

⁸ В.М. МАРКОВ, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

⁹ Б. ЦОНЕВ, *op. cit.*, p. 55–56.

¹⁰ Conev provides a list of 34 instances of what he calls *tr̥p* and *tr̥l* spellings (referred to in this paper as *t̥ort* and *t̥olt*, where *t* represents any consonant letter and *̥* represents either jer letter). Cf. Б. ЦОНЕВ, *op. cit.*, p. 56. All but three of these are with *λ*, and one is incorrect: Conev has mistakenly included in the list as “*млѣв*” the canonically spelled root *млѣв*- in Lc 10,41, which he rendered correctly, however, in the transcription portion of the edition. Moreover, three of the instances that Conev lists as *t̥olt* spellings in the manuscript actually are spelled *t̥olt̥*; see discussion in section 3.3 below.

¹¹ The three instances that Conev includes in his list as *t̥ort* spellings in the Dobrejšo Gospel actually have the form *t̥ort̥*, not *t̥ort*; see discussion in section 3.3 below.

To summarize, the Dobrejšo Gospel's sporadic non-canonical spellings of historical neutral jer formations are in complementary distribution. Historical **TǫlT* and **TlǫT* formations occasionally are written as *tǫlt*¹², but historical **TǫrT* and **TrǫT* are not written as *tǫrt* (with the exception of a correction of a *tǫrǫt* spelling, discussed in 3.2 below). Instead, while generally the historical **TǫrT*/**TrǫT* formations appear in the manuscript in the canonical OCS spelling *trǫt*, sporadically a dot or a mark that looks like an acute accent (i.e., a longish diagonal line ascending upward to the right) is placed over or near the *ρ* (hereafter referred to as 'dotted/'accented' *ρ*'). This diacritic does not appear correspondingly over *λ* in historical **TǫlT* or **TlǫT* forms.

3.2. *Tǫrǫt* and *tǫlǫt* spellings. Conev's introduction obscures the issue of the distribution between 'dotted/'accented' *ρ*' and *tǫlt* spellings in the manuscript, because seven of the forms in his list of what he claims are *tǫrt* or *tǫlt* spellings actually have the shape *tǫrǫt*/*tǫlǫt*: *мѣлѣва* (fol. 30r of the Belgrade portion of the manuscript, which was lost during World War II), *вѣлѣкѣ* (fol. 38v, Belgrade portion), *оу|мѣлѣчѣшѣ* (fol. 61v11–12), *сѣ|вѣрѣшени* (fol. 51r7–8), *мѣрѣзостѣ* (fols. 21r, 22r, Belgrade portion), *тѣрѣни* (*дѣ'н'ни*) (fol. 76v8)¹³. This sporadic spelling of neutral-jer formations – which also occurs on fol. 119v3, in *вѣρ<ѣ>гѣшѣ*¹⁴ – is the only one that is used in the manuscript to represent both OCS *trǫt* and *tlǫt* forms.

The *tǫrǫt*/*tǫlǫt* orthographic forms in the Dobrejšo Gospel are graphically identical to the secondary pleophony spellings in East Slavic manuscripts. Both Conev and Koneski treat these essentially as *tǫrt*/*tǫlt* spellings, however, listing them together with the *tǫlt* examples¹⁵ – although Conev argues that in *tǫlǫt* forms the copyist was deliberately preserving the OCS spelling while at the same time also deliberately inserting a jer before the *λ* to represent his own dialect pronunciation. If both jers in the *tǫlǫt* spelling were indeed deliberate, however, then it is puzzling why this spelling is so rare in the manuscript. A more likely explanation is that scribe Dobrejšo was striving throughout to reproduce canonical OCS spelling and to suppress orthographic expression of the *tǫlt* feature in his vernacular dialect, but that the dialect feature occasionally crept in nevertheless, both in the superfluous jer in the three *tǫlǫt* forms, and in the 30 *tǫlt* forms, which occur

¹² Since the Dobrejšo Gospel's sporadic *tǫlt* spelling is not a feature of its close relatives, the Curzon and Banica liturgical gospels, it must be a fairly late development in the manuscript's prehistory. Cf. Add. MS 39,628, British Library, London, c.1354; typeset edition by C.M. VAKARELIYSKA, *The Curzon Gospel*, vol. I, *An Annotated Edition*, vol. II, *A Linguistic and Textual Introduction*, Oxford 2008; НБКМ No. 17, Cyril and Methodius National Library, Sofia; typeset edition by E. ДОГРАМАДЖИЕВА, Б. РАЙКОВ, *Банишко евангелие. Среднобългарски паметник от XIII век*, София 1981.

¹³ Б. ЦОНЕВ, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

¹⁴ The symbol <> represents an erased segment.

¹⁵ Б. ЦОНЕВ, *op. cit.*, p. 56; Б. КОНЕСКИ, *История на македонскиот јазик*, Скопје 1965, p. 33.

primarily in the OCS root *mlōv-*: *мѣлѣ-/мѣлѣ-* Mt 27,24; 26,5; 26,63; Mc 5,39; 9,23; Lc 10,40–41, and *мѣлѣва*, fol. 30r, Belgrade portion; see 3.4 below.

The four *tōrt* occurrences in the manuscript are difficult to explain as failures to suppress a *tōrt* dialect feature, because the Dobrejšo Gospel has no occurrences of unambiguous *tōrt* spellings to suggest that the extra jer in *tōrt* results from a combination of OCS *trōt* and vernacular *tōrt* spelling variants, whether deliberate or not¹⁶. This differs from the situation in East Slavic manuscripts, which can contain both *tōrt*/*tōlt* and *tōrt*/*tōlt* spellings of the same word.

3.3. *Tōlt*, *tōlt*, *tōrt*, and dotted/“accented” *trōt* spellings within the context of modern Bulgarian and Macedonian dialects. While it must be kept in mind that not all features of modern Bulgarian dialects date back to Middle Bulgarian vernaculars, a brief look at the Dobrejšo Gospel’s various OCS *trōt* and *tlōt* representations from the perspective of Bulgarian and Macedonian dialects is nevertheless somewhat instructive with respect to any phonological significance of the asymmetry in the manuscript’s sporadic *tōrt*, *tōlt*, and dotted/“accented” *trōt* spellings.

Considering first the sporadic dotted/“accented” *ρ* in the Dobrejšo Gospel’s *trōt* spellings, which seems to be indicating a non-OCS phonological treatment of the neutral jer, might the diacritic be intended to mark a syllabic /r/? The manuscript does have two instances of *trt* spellings (*вѣрѣрѣ* Mt 14,2, *мртѣрѣхъ* Lc 9,7)¹⁷, which Blaže Koneski identifies in the twelfth-century Ohrid Apostolus, and other Macedonian manuscripts of the same general time period, as a reflection of a syllabic liquid¹⁸. Koneski’s examples from the Ohrid Apostolus include *пана* and *мртвѣхъ*,

¹⁶ In their volume of Macedonian manuscripts, Despodova and Slaveva misread *сѣвѣръшени* in Conev’s introduction as *сѣвѣршени*, and thus presented it as an example of sporadic *tōrt* spellings in the Dobrejšo Gospel, when in fact the manuscript has none of these, with the exception of the correction of *вѣрѣрѣ* to *вѣрѣрѣ* (cf. В. ДЕСПОДОВА, Л. СЛАВЕВА, *Македонски средновековни ракописи*, Прилеп 1988, p. 116.). The spelling *вѣрѣрѣ* on fol. 119v cannot be counted as a *tōrt* spelling, however, because the erasure probably was made by a later editor. This is suggested by the fact that the erasure in the manuscript leaves a gap in the word and is not written over. In any event, in contrast both to Koneski and to Despodova and Slaveva, I find the Dobrejšo Gospel generally to reflect western Bulgarian rather than Macedonian phonological features (cf. C.M. VAKARELIYSKA, *Western Bulgarian or Macedonian? The Dobrejšo Gospel (XIII c.)*, Slo 50, 2010, p. 13–26, http://www.moderna.uu.se/slovo/Issue_Pages/2010issue50.html [14 XII 2014]). Also relying on p. 56 of Conev’s introduction, Horace Lunt specifically mentioned the Dobrejšo Gospel’s *tōrt*/*tōlt* spellings in his article on syllabic liquids, but stated generally that the Dobrejšo Gospel has more of what he called “jer + liquid” spellings than the earlier Bologna Psalter, since Conev’s discussion does not indicate that that the “jer + liquid” spelling occurs only as *tōlt* and not *tōrt* (cf. H.G. LUNT, *Old Church Slavonic Syllabic Liquids?*, WS 7, 1962, p. 350–358 (p. 358, n. 21)).

¹⁷ The numbers provided in this paper are based on a single preliminary search through the manuscript; hence there may be some other instances that I have missed this time round.

¹⁸ Б. КОНЕСКИ, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

Citing *вълны*, *хълмиъ*, and *мъръзостъ* from Conev's introduction as sporadic *tōlt* and *tōrt* spellings in the Dobrejšo Gospel, Koneski stated that the jer preceding the liquid consonant letter reflected *the dark vocalic overtone [темниот вокален призвук] before the syllabic r and l*²⁵, going on to note that most modern Macedonian dialects are characterized by the development of a similar vocalic element (*вокален приспан*) before a liquid into a full vowel²⁶.

In assuming that both the *tōrōrt/tōlōt* and the *tōlt* spellings in the Dobrejšo Gospel represent a single reflex of **TōrT/*TōlT* forms in the scribe's dialect, both Conev and Koneski were apparently unperturbed by the fact that the same reflex is expressed by two different spelling conventions. It may be for this reason that Conev, and those scholars who relied on his description, did not differentiate between the exceedingly rare *tōrōrt/tōlōt* spellings in the manuscript, on one hand, and *tōlt* and (actually non-existent) *tōrt* spellings, on the other. (Since Conev had not observed the sporadic dotted/"accented" ρ and its potential phonological significance, of course Koneski was unaware that there was another possible marker of a vocalic element preceding what at least used to have been a syllabic liquid.)

Some support for the proposition that the *tōrōt* spelling in the Dobrejšo Gospel reflected a vocalic element both before and after /r/ can be found in Miletič's transcription of the sequence he transcribes as *q̄q̄* (that is, /ürü/) for CSB /ür/ in early twentieth-century Preslav-area dialects (in the sole example *m̄q̄q̄zlivičk̄o*)²⁷, but a relationship between this feature of certain eastern Bulgarian dialects and the western Bulgarian Dobrejšo Gospel would be tenuous. Moreover, Miletič provided no equivalent sequence of /ülü/ for /ül/ that might offer a parallel phonological explanation the manuscript's *tōlōt* spellings.

The apparent absence of Bulgarian dialect /ülü/ forms corresponding to Miletič's single /ürü/ example reflects the general asymmetry in many Bulgarian

the 1981 Bulgarian dialect atlas did not use acoustic measurements, the phonetic values that they recorded for the reflexes of **TōRT* and **TrōT* formations could be simply the values that they were perceiving under the influence of the general phonemic system of Contemporary Standard Bulgarian (CSB). Consequently, he questioned the accuracy of any transcriptions of a syllabic /r/ in Bulgarian dialects that have the vowel /ü/, citing Trubetzkoy's statement that recorded differences could simply reflect variations in tempo or emphasis caused by extralinguistic factors. Horace Lunt made a similar observation about South Slavic syllabic liquids earlier, grounded in the same work by Trubetzkoy: *The descriptions of dialects vary considerably according to the perception of the observer, and one must always reckon with the automatic subjective reaction based on the situation on the observer's native speech. Thus Serbs and Bulgars recording the same Macedonian words will write now trt, now tr̄rt or tr̄t̄ (...)*. H.G. LUNT, *Old Church Slavonic Syllabic Liquids?*, WS 61.2, 1962, p. 353, n. 14.

²⁵ My translation. Koneski also cites the late 11th-century Macedonian Cyrillic Folio for *вѣрхъ*, *гѣрдъ*, *пѣлти*, and the early 13th-century Bologne Psalter for sporadic occurrences of *пѣрдин*, *пѣреть*, *пѣланиж*. Cf. B. КОНЕСКИ, *op. cit.*

²⁶ Koneski also notes that in some southeastern Macedonian dialects, the vowel develops *following* the liquid (*grüb*, *vrūx*, *trūgna*, *vlūk*, *žlūt*). *Ibidem.*

²⁷ L. МИЛЕТИЧ, *Südslavische Dialektstudien*, vol. II, *Das Ostbulgarische*, Wien 1903, p. 75.

and Macedonian dialects between the reflexes of $*T\bar{o}RT$ and $*T\bar{o}LT$ – an asymmetry that also likely is behind the distribution of dotted/“accented” *tr̄ot* vs. *t̄olt* spellings in the Dobrejšo Gospel. For example, the 2001 Academy dialect atlas records syllabic /r/ in Teteven, Vraca, Blagoevgrad, Trūn, Skopje, and Niš, as opposed to syllabic /l/ in Teteven, Vraca, Vidin, Sofia and Trūn²⁸, thus demonstrating that in some dialects, $*T\bar{o}RT$ and $*T\bar{o}LT$ reflexes have not evolved in parallel. Moreover, not only does the 2001 atlas record more variation and inconsistency in $*T\bar{o}LT$ reflexes than in $*T\bar{o}RT$ reflexes, but it also includes maps devoted to the geographic distribution of the reflexes of specific $*T\bar{o}LT$ roots (OCS *vl̄bk̄o*, *dl̄vḡo*, *žl̄bt̄*) that tend to be exceptions to the usual $*T\bar{o}LT$ reflexes in some dialects²⁹. No similar set of maps is provided for the reflexes of any $*T\bar{o}RT$ roots. Similarly, Bojadžiev observed in his study of Thracian dialects that $*T\bar{o}LT$ and $*T\bar{o}RT$ reflexes are often flexible and even word-specific, as in *želt* for OCS *žl̄bt̄o* but *dlek* for *dl̄vḡo*³⁰. The existence of specific roots in *t̄olt* in some dialects that usually exhibit *tl̄ot* suggests that the Dobrejšo Gospel’s higher occurrence of *t̄olt* spellings with OCS root *ml̄ov-* is not coincidental, but that it instead reflects a similar word-specific pattern in $*T\bar{o}LT$ reflexes in the scribe’s vernacular. If so, the scribe may have found it more difficult to suppress the *t̄olt* spellings of words that took exceptional *t̄olt* or *telt* shapes in his dialect.

Bojadžiev’s examples of discrepancies within individual dialects include the Dedagackso and Lozengradsko dialects, which have both /ūr/ and /rū/, and /ül/ and /lū/, in monosyllabic forms and in polysyllabic forms with a single consonant following the liquid³¹; the Odrinsko dialect, which has /ūr/–/rū/ variation, but only /ül/, in monosyllabic forms³²; the Malgarsko and Kešansko dialects, which exhibit *s̄v̄rp*, *ḡv̄rk*, *v̄l̄k*, *p̄v̄l̄*, *ž̄v̄lt/ž̄elt*, and *dlek* but *pr̄os*, *tl̄os*³³; and the dialects of Silivrija, Čorlu and Carigradsko/Čataldžansko, which have *gr̄ok*, *pl̄ox*, *vr̄ox*, *tl̄os*, the doublets *br̄os/b̄v̄rs* (Čanakča), *v̄l̄k/vl̄ok* (Dajakadūn and Tarfa), and *ž̄v̄lt/ž̄l̄ot* (Tarfa), and polysyllabic *ḡv̄rcki* with two consonants following the liquid, but no equivalent in polysyllabic forms in /l/.³⁴

The extent of /ūr/–/rū/ and /ül/–/lū/ discrepancies within individual modern dialects – not to mention within CSB itself – suggests that there is no reason to assume that the sporadic non-OCS spellings of either $*T\bar{o}rT$ or $*T\bar{o}lT$ reflexes reflect consistent phonological features in the Dobrejšo scribe’s vernacular dialect either.

²⁸ Български диалектичен атлас..., F 142, 146. See also discussion of syllabic /r/ and /l/ in J. ДУМА, *Wokalizacja jerów słabych w rdzennej sylabie nagłosowej w południowo-wschodniej słowiańszczyźnie*, Wrocław 1979, p. 19 (map 12), 20 (map 14), 21 (map 16), 45.

²⁹ Български диалектичен атлас..., F 150, 151, 152.

³⁰ Т. БОЯДЖИЕВ, *Български говори в западна /беломорска/ и източна /одринска/ Тракия*, София 1991.

³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 134, 149.

³² *Ibidem*, p. 142–43.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 185.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 192.

3.4. Titla over non-abbreviated OCS *tr̥ot* spellings. In opposition to the Dobrejšo Gospel's two *tr̥t* spellings without diacritics (въскресе, мртвъѣхъ), discussed in 3.3 above, considerably more frequently a titlo appears over an unabbreviated canonical OCS *tr̥ot* spelling in which the jer has not been omitted. These occasional titla appear predominantly over the same two roots that occur once apiece as *tr̥t* spellings without titla: for example, fol. 9r10 мр̣ѣтъвъѣ, fol. 52v13 мр̣ѣтъвъѣ, fol. 53r8 мр̣ѣтъвъѣ, fol. 70v6 мр̣ѣтъвъѣиѣни, fol. 8r18 мр̣ѣтъвъѣиѣхъ въскр̣ѣеть, fol. 13v10 въскр̣ѣснѣтъ, fol. 17r21 в̣ѣѣскр̣ѣеть³⁵, fol. 35r1 въскр̣ѣеть, fol. 97v5 въскр̣ѣснѣтъ, fol. 79v11 въскр̣ѣснѣти, fol. 97r12 сѣѣмр̣ѣти, fol. 1v10 кр̣ѣста, fol. 98v3 ѡкр̣ѣстъ. These titla likely have no phonological significance and are simply automatic, since they are limited to OCS *tr̥ot* forms that commonly are abbreviated in Church Slavonic manuscripts. That is, the scribe has inserted a titlo out of habit after he has already written the form in full, including the jer. In this respect the titla over unabbreviated *tr̥ot* word forms in which the neutral jer is still present differ from the sporadic dot or acute accent shape over the ρ in *tr̥ot* forms, which appears over both commonly abbreviated forms and forms that are not generally abbreviated.

3.5. Dotted/“accented” ρ in non-*tr̥ot* consonant clusters. Although a dot or accent shape over or near an ρ occurs most frequently in OCS *tr̥ot* spellings, it can be found in the manuscript also over forms containing a consonant cluster ending in /r/ that never included a historical neutral jer. I have observed the following forms with non-*tr̥ot* dotted/“accented” ρ :

tr, dr: fol. 2r22 вѣѣромъ, fol. 3r16 дръе, fols. 8r5 пѣтръ, 31r21 пѣтръ, fol. 4v6 п̣ростри, fol. 9r21 трѣти, fol. 11r7 въоутр̣ѣтний
pr: fol. 4r21 въпр̣осишѣ, fol. 4v6 п̣ростри, fol. 8v4 пр̣ишедѣ, fol. 30v12 п̣ривождѣхъ, fol. 25v10 п̣аскы (originally пр̣аскы, with erased ρ)
vr: fol. 1v5 в̣рази
mr: fol. 34r7 о̣м̣ръѣтъ, fol. 62r1 о̣м̣ръѣтъ

While it is possible that one or more of the above diacritics are simply resting points, their distribution indicates that at least the majority of them are deliberate. In three of the six OCS forms above with dental clusters, the historical /tr/ or /dr/ later developed into /tŭr/ or /dŭr/, respectively, in CSB (*vjatŭr, dŭrvo, Petŭr*), suggesting that the diacritic over the ρ marks an immediately preceding vocalic element, as it likely does in the dotted/“accented” *tr̥ot* spellings. The preceding vocalic element that is suggested by the two instances of dotted/“accented” ρ in OCS aorist *umrĕtŭ* is less interesting, of course, since it likely developed by analogy to the non-past stem *umŕ-*³⁶.

³⁵ Conev's typeset edition omits the titlo in this example.

³⁶ A dot is used over the first of two consecutive consonant letters in non-*tr̥ot* (and non-*tl̥ot*) formations also in the East Slavic Putjata Menaion, and in a broader range of environments than in the

The manuscript also contains four instances of double or triple acute accent shapes in historical non-*trōt* forms. To demonstrate that the accent shapes do not correlate to sentence stress or location, I have included the textual context for each form: fol. 16v23, Mc 16,3 ѿ дв''ери гроба³⁷; fol. 18r21–22, Lc 17,20 ѿ слово оутверъ''ждаѿщюу ѿ послѣдѣствую''щи; fol. 61v1, Lc 20,21 Оучителю • вѣмъ іако п''р'аведнѣ глѣши; fol. 39v8, Lc 10,21 Бъ ть ч'ѣсъ въз''радова сѧ. With the exception of въз''радова сѧ, in which the double acute accent shapes may simply be marking the location of the beginning of the lection text following the incipit formula Бъ ть ч'ѣсъ, possibly together with the accent in ч'ѣсъ, there appears to be no relation between the acute accent shapes in these occurrences and the location of the lexeme either syntactically or within the lection. Instead, like the single diacritics above, the double or triple acute accent shapes in these forms appear to be indicating a vocalic element between the first consonant in the cluster and the /r/. There is also a single instance of a dot over л in a non-*trōt* consonant cluster: fol. 1v14 приѣмлетъ. The dot may have been intended to be placed over the segment пр, or it could be an inadvertent resting point. On the other hand, if, as other spellings in the manuscript suggest, Dobrejšo's dialect did not retain epenthetic /l/, the dot could be appropriately be marking word-internal /ml/ as an unnatural consonant cluster³⁸.

A related orthographic pattern in the Dobrejšo Gospel that sheds some light on the meaning of the dotted/"accented" ρ in OCS *trōt* and non-*trōt* forms alike (as well as the dotted л in приѣмлетъ) is a sporadically-occurring dotted ρ in forms of OCS *arxierei*: fol. 66v21 ἀρχιερὼνъ; fols. 68r10, 71r17, 98v16 and 23 ἀρχιερεῖ (cf. 99r4 ἀρχιερεῖ). In contrast to the non-*trōt* forms above, in which the dotted/"accented" ρ immediately follows another consonant letter in a cluster, in *arxierei* the ρ is the first consonant letter in the cluster. It is telling that this particular Greek borrowing is often written in other Church Slavonic manuscripts with a jer or a *paerok* between the ρ and the χ, as if it were an etymologically Slavic word, in order to break up the consonant sequence /rx/, which was not a natural cluster in Slavic vernaculars. Like the dotted/"accented" ρ in *trōt* spellings, the occasional dot or accent shape over the first ρ in *arxierei* appears to be indicating a vocalic element between the consonants /r/ and /x/, while at the same time preserving the canonical OCS spelling. This diacritic has essentially the same function as the dot in some

Dobrejšo Gospel: for example, ѿсѣда (fols. 81v, 98r, 106v, 124r), ѿвон (fol. 4r), and forms in жд (B.M. МАРКОВ, *op. cit.*, p. 93).

³⁷ Cf. дьври in Mt 25,10, Lc 13,25, and Io 10,7 and 9 of the Curzon Gospel. See also A.-M. ТОТОНА-НОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 59, on the likelihood of the reflection of a syllabic /v/ in the spelling дьври; and J. ДУМА, *op. cit.*, on syllabic /v/ in southeastern Slavic dialects, p. 49.

³⁸ On this issue, see C.M. ВАКАРЕЛИСКА, *The Dobrejšo Gospel...* Cf., however, the high frequency of word-initial /ml/ in forms of *mladъ* and *mlěko*, which are never marked with a diacritic in the manuscript.

Greek manuscripts that is placed over word-final consonant clusters, which were unnatural in Greek, and it may well have been adopted from Greek manuscripts³⁹.

The occurrence of a dot over the *Ϸ* in the Slavic form *пѣомѣ* on fol. 5r18, the first in a series of two letters representing obstruents, offers further evidence that a diacritic above or near *Ϸ* immediately following or preceding another consonant letter marks what would be an unnatural consonant cluster in etymologically Slavic words. The word-initial cluster /*ps*/ did not exist historically in Common Slavic until the loss of the weak jer in forms of *pvs̆* that ended in a full vowel, and in the root *pvs-* ‘write’ (cf. later regularized *pis-*). Scribe Dobrejšo may have perceived a vocalic element between the two obstruents in this form in the same way that Bulgarian speakers might perceive an /*ǔ*/ before or after the /*r*/ Serbian *trt* forms (see section 3.3 above). In borrowings with initial cluster /*ps*/, such as *psalm̆*, he avoids this issue by using the Greek digraph *ψ*, but he feels obliged to write the initial cluster in OCS *pvsom̆* as *пѣ* because the word is Slavic. It is fortunate that he did not circumvent the problem by writing out the first weak jer rather than inserting the diacritic, but instead left this indirect evidence the function of the diacritic over the letter *Ϸ*⁴⁰.

In the forms of *arxierei* above, the dot seems to function as a *paerok*, although no jer is written between the /*r*/ and /*x*/ in this word in OCS. While the /*rx*/ cluster in *arxierei* is not native to Slavic cluster, some of the consonant clusters shown above that the Dobrejšo Gospel has sporadically marks with a dotted/“accented” *Ϸ* are native and fairly high-frequency, including as /*tr*/ and, particularly, /*pr*/, which occurs word-initially in several different prefixes and in the preposition *prěd̆*. Relevant here is Lunt’s observation that numerous regional dialects of Standard American English, including his own, have a liquid /*r*/ following initial /*p*/ in unstressed syllables of certain words, including ‘perplex’, ‘propose’, and ‘prevent’, and that he vacillated between transcribing these in his own idiolect as, for example, /*pərpléks*/ vs. /*prpléks*/⁴¹.

³⁹ I am most grateful to Mary MacRobert for pointing out to me the convention in some Greek manuscripts of inserting a diacritic over word-final consonant clusters (personal communication, May 2016; see also B.M. METZGER, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: Introduction to Paleography*, Oxford 1981, p. 3, describing the diacritic in that environment as looking like a grave accent or a smooth breathing mark), and for her comments on the significance of the distribution of *пѣ* and *ψ* in the manuscript. Of course, I am solely responsible for any misunderstanding or misapplication of this information. Cf. the use of a *kamora* to mark stress after a sonorant in the much later Russian Pandekt of Nikon Černogorca (1570) (B.V. КОЛЕСОВ, *Надстрочные знаки «силы» в русской орфографической традиции*, [in:] *Восточнославянские языки. Источники для их изучения*, ed. Л.П. ЖУКОВСКАЯ, Н.И. ТАРАБАСОВА, Москва 1973, p. 228–257 (242).

⁴⁰ Note a similar dot in *псаннемѣ* in the 11th-century East Slavic codex of the Thirteen Homilies of St. Gregory of Nazianzus (fol. 297r.) and in the Greek borrowing *псаннехѣ* in the Ostromir Gospel; see B.M. МАРКОВ, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

⁴¹ H.G. LUNT, *Old Church Slavonic Syllabic Liquids?...*, p. 354, n. 12.

These facts together suggest that Dobrejšo's *t̄r̄t̄* and *t̄l̄t̄* spellings indicate a vocalic element that he perceived to occur before the liquid consonant in the cluster in that particular word, either in addition to, or, more likely, instead of, the vocalic element represented by the jer following the ρ or λ in the canonical OCS spelling. Similarly, the dotted/"accented" ρ adjacent to another consonant letter in both *tr̄t̄* and non-*tr̄t̄* spellings, likely reflects his perception of a vocalic element between the two consonants. The reason that vocalic elements are indicated by a diacritic rather than by a jer is probably because Dobrejšo was striving to reproduce OCS and had no interest in replacing the OCS spelling with a phonemic transcription of his vernacular.⁴² Hence the diacritic probably was intended to convey that the reader either should, or could (but did not have to), read aloud the word with a left-adjacent vocalic element rather than a right-adjacent one as the OCS spelling indicated. The reason why a corresponding dot does not occur over the letter λ in the manuscript's OCS *tl̄t̄* spellings likely is that while Dobrejšo's dialect was characterized, at least inconsistently, by *t̄rt̄* forms, it had primarily *tl̄t̄* forms, with the exception of certain roots in *t̄olt̄* that occasionally appear spelled in the manuscript as they likely were pronounced in that dialect⁴³.

4. Dotted/"accented" λ

The dots and acute accent shapes that occur over the letter λ in the manuscript have a distinctly different function from that of the sporadic dots and acute accent shapes over ρ. None of these occurs in a historical **T̄l̄LT* or **TL̄t̄T* formation, and in all but one instance, they appear in a word formed from the root *glas-*: fol. 16r1, Mc 15,34 ΓΛ'Α'ΣΟΜЪ (ВЕЛИЕ|МЪ); fol. 16r10, Mc 15,37 Γ'Λ'ΑΣЬ (ВЕЛИКЪ); fol. 61v14–15, Lc 20,27 Γ'Λ'Α|Γ'ΟΛЖЦЕ; fol. 67r15 ВЪЗΓΛ'АСИТЬ; fols. 67r18, 98v18 ВЪЗΓΛ'АСИТЬ; fol. 69v17 ВЪЗΓΛАСИ ΓΛ'ΣΟМЪ (ВЕЛИЕ|МЪ; cf. fol. 98v5 ΓΛ'ΣΟМЪ, with superfluous titlo); fol. 114r6 (ЁДИНЪМЪ) ΓΛ'Α'ΣΟМЪ. Their function appears to be punctuational, aiding the reader to distinguish forms in *glas-* from the very high-frequency abbreviation Γ'Λ for the third person singular aorist form *glagola*⁴⁴.

⁴² For other examples of Dobrejšo's efforts to preserve OCS orthographic and morphological forms, see C.M. VAKARELIYSKA, *The Dobrejšo Gospel: An Annotated Edition and Comparative Analysis* (forthcoming).

⁴³ See discussion of *telt* pronunciation in specific words in modern Bulgarian dialects, above in section 3.3. That the *telt* spellings in the Dobrejšo Gospel likely are Dobrejšo's and not a predecessor scribe's is suggested by the absence of these spellings in the related Curzon and Banica Gospels (cf. C.M. VAKARELIYSKA, *The Curzon Gospel...*, chapters 2 and 4).

⁴⁴ The possibility must also be considered that a secondary function of the triple acute accent shapes in this environment is to indicate a perceived vocalic element between the /g/ and /l/. If so, the vocalic element would probably be similar to the inserted /ə/ between /p/ and /l/ in emphatic or facetious pronunciation of the word "please" in numerous American English dialects. The spelling "puh-leeze" for emphatic/facetious "please" is even sometimes listed in online dictionaries as a separate lexeme.

The reason for the triple acute accent shapes over the participle $\Gamma^{\prime}\Lambda^{\prime\prime}\text{A}\Gamma^{\circ}\text{O}\text{L}\text{J}\text{I}\text{E}$ is similar, but more complex. Dobrejšo usually abbreviates participial forms of *glagolati*, using a titlo. Here he has not, because he began the word at line-end, and breaking up the usual abbreviation $\Gamma^{\prime}\text{L}\text{I}\text{E}$ between the segments $\Gamma^{\prime}\text{L}$ and IE would result in ending a line with a consonant letter, making the abbreviation difficult to parse. Therefore, having started the word already, Dobrejšo has decided to write it out in full instead, but has only enough room to add the A after ΓL on the first line. This means that readers likely would misread the segment $\Gamma\text{L}\text{A}$ as the abbreviation of the 3PSg aorist *glagola*, with the titlo missing (exactly the scenario that Dobrejšo has tried to avoid by inserting diacritics over words in *glas-*). Furthermore, if line-end $\Gamma\text{L}\text{A}$ is read as *glagola*, the repetition of the segment *gol* on the following line ($\text{-}\Gamma^{\circ}\text{O}\text{L}\text{J}\text{I}\text{E}$) would further throw the reader off. Therefore, he has added the triple acute accent shapes over the A , as he has done earlier on occasion over forms with the root *glas-*, in order to clarify that the line-end segment is not the abbreviated aorist $\Gamma^{\prime}\text{L}\text{A}$, but rather the beginning portion of a different form that continues onto the next line. In this respect, in $\Gamma^{\prime}\Lambda^{\prime\prime}\text{A}\Gamma^{\circ}\text{O}\text{L}\text{J}\text{I}\text{E}$ the triple acute accent shapes function essentially as a hyphen⁴⁵.

5. Dotted/“accented” H

From one to three acute accent shapes, and in one instance what looks more like a dot, occur sporadically also over the letter H . Six of these instances are over forms with root *dvn-*. These are shown here in their syntactic and textual contexts: fol. 3r19, Mt 11,22 $\text{B}^{\prime}\text{K}$ $\text{D}\text{E}^{\prime}\text{N}^{\prime\prime}\text{H}$ $\text{S}\text{J}\text{A}\text{D}\text{N}^{\circ}\text{I}\text{I}^{\prime}$ ⁴⁶; fol. 3v2, Mt 11,23 $\text{P}\text{R}^{\circ}\text{E}\text{B}^{\circ}\text{B}\text{I}\text{L}\text{I}$ DO $\text{D}^{\prime}\text{N}^{\prime\prime}$ $\text{E}^{\circ}\text{S}\text{H}\text{N}\text{E}\text{R}\text{O}$ DNE ; fol. 25r18, Lc 2,37 $\text{D}^{\prime}\text{E}^{\prime\prime}\text{N}^{\prime\prime}$ H $\text{N}\text{O}\text{I}\text{I}^{\circ}\text{C}^{\circ}$; fol. 39r2, Lc 10,12 B°K $\text{T}^{\circ}\text{C}^{\circ}$ $\text{D}^{\prime}\text{E}^{\prime\prime}\text{N}^{\prime\prime}$ $\text{O}\text{R}\text{A}\text{D}\text{N}^{\circ}\text{E}$ $\text{B}\text{J}\text{A}\text{D}\text{E}\text{T}^{\circ}\text{C}^{\circ}$; fol. 64r19, Lc 21,34 H $\text{N}\text{A}\text{N}\text{D}\text{E}\text{T}^{\circ}\text{C}^{\circ}$ NA B°K $\text{V}\text{N}\text{E}\text{Z}\text{A}\text{Y}\text{A}\text{P}\text{J}$ $\text{D}^{\circ}\text{N}^{\circ}\text{C}^{\circ}$ $\text{T}^{\circ}\text{C}^{\circ}$ (sentence-end); fol. 76v8, Io 22,19 H $\text{T}^{\circ}\text{P}^{\circ}\text{E}\text{R}\text{H}$ $\text{D}\text{E}^{\prime}\text{N}^{\prime\prime}$ MH B°K $\text{Z}^{\circ}\text{V}\text{H}\text{G}\text{H}\text{J}$ IJ (sentence-end).

Only in two of these forms can the acute accent shapes be viewed as perhaps marking an omitted jer letter, as in $\text{H}\text{O}\text{M}\text{E}$ above (subsection 3.5): a preceding front jer in $\text{D}^{\prime}\text{N}^{\prime\prime}$ $\text{E}^{\circ}\text{S}\text{H}\text{N}\text{E}\text{R}\text{O}$ (although there is no diacritic or titlo marking the omitted weak jer in DNE , which immediately follows), and a following front jer in $\text{D}\text{E}^{\prime}\text{N}^{\prime\prime}$ MH . A single acute accent shape also appears over the form $\text{D}^{\circ}\text{N}^{\circ}\text{C}^{\circ}$, which, unusually for this manuscript, has C° rather than E for the strong jer in this word form. The fact that in four of the six forms the front jer is in strong position and written as E indicates that the purpose of the diacritic in this root is not to mark a vocalic element

⁴⁵ Although the sentence containing $\Gamma^{\prime}\Lambda^{\prime\prime}\text{A}\Gamma^{\circ}\text{O}\text{L}\text{J}\text{I}\text{E}$ starts off the lection, the word itself is located mid-sentence, far enough away from the red incipit letter that it is unlikely to have been intended as a placeholder for the red initial letter in the incipit formula: Lc 20,27 B°K $\text{B}\text{R}\text{E}\text{M}\text{A}$ VNO $\text{P}\text{R}\text{H}\text{E}\text{I}\text{J}\text{H}\text{I}\text{J}\text{H}$ $\text{I}\text{E}^{\circ}\text{P}\text{E}\text{R}\text{H}$ O $\text{S}\text{A}\text{D}\text{O}\text{U}\text{K}\text{E}\text{H}$ • $\Gamma^{\prime}\Lambda^{\prime\prime}\text{A}\Gamma^{\circ}\text{O}\text{L}\text{J}\text{I}\text{E}$.

⁴⁶ Since I have not been able to identify any purpose for the dot over the preposition B°K , I am tentatively considering it to have been a resting point for Dobrejšo’s pen.

preceding the /n/ in the root. It remains unclear, however, what the point of the diacritic is in this form. Perhaps the original purpose was to disambiguate nominative/accusative singular *дѣнь* from the pronominal form *нѣ* (not the conjunction *нѣ*, however, since that form is spelled through the manuscript as *нѣ*).

Triple acute accent shapes, and in one case a titlo, occur on three occasions over the preposition *на* in the phrase *на небо*, and once over both elements of the phrase: fol. 18r14–15, Мс 16,19 *вѣзънесѣ сѧ нѣ́а́ | нѣ́́́ево*; fol. 35v3, Лс 9,16 *и́ вѣзърѣвѣ́ нѣ́́а́ нево*; fol. 52v4, Лс 15,21 *ѡ́чѣ сѣгрѣшихѣ́ ꙗ́а нево*. The titlo over *ꙗ́а* on fol. 52v4 may be a perseveration from *ѡ́чѣ* in place of an intended triple acute accent. The diacritics over *на* in this phrase appear to have a disambiguating function, although it is unclear what that might be: perhaps to help the readers parse the phrase as two separate words, or to indicate stress on *на* within the phrase?

Acute accent shapes also occur over *н* in fol. 16v22 *слѣ́нѣ́цѡу́*, fol. 41v1 *нѣ́́́твори ми трѡудѣ́*, and fol. 41r9 *Ѡ́чѣ нѣ́́́шѣ́*. In the last case, they likely are meant to highlight the beginning of the Lord's Prayer (which is also the beginning of the lection, as indicated by the red initial *Ѡ*), so that it can be found easily by the reader. The other two occurrences are more difficult to explain. The double acute accent shapes in *слѣ́нѣ́цѡу́* may also be marking a (in this case historical) vocalic element between the consonants /n/ and /c/, like the dot over the cluster in *ѡ́рхидерѣ́и* and *пѣ́омь*. Since the phrase *нѣ́́́твори* is at the beginning of a sentence, perhaps the triple acute shapes are intended to show that, or to indicate sentence stress on *не*?

Triple acute accent shapes occur in one other environment, next to *р*, in *и́ ѡ́бло-вѣ́зѧ и́ • нѣ́́́рѣ́́́че́ ю́моу́ сѣ́нѣ́* (fol. 52v4, Лс 15,21). This segment, which is part of the Prodigal Son lection, immediately precedes *ѡ́чѣ сѣ́грѣшихѣ́ ꙗ́а нево*, which was discussed above in the context of the triple acute accent shapes that sporadically appear over *на небо*. Although, according to the rubrication, the lection does not start at *рѣ́́́че́ ю́моу́ сѣ́нѣ́*, perhaps the triple acute shape here is meant to highlight the introduction to the son's famous speech, since one of the two most common incipit formulae begins with *reče*⁴⁷. If that is the case, then, to revisit the titlo over *на*, perhaps Dobrejšo felt obliged to use a different diacritic to mark *на небо* later in the same line, and in the same sentence.

Thus the double and triple acute accent shapes in the phrases examined in this section appear to have multiple functions. What precisely these intended functions are is a matter of conjecture, but, as shown above in the case of *слѣ́нѣ́цѡу́*, one of them appears to be the *paerok*-like marking of a vocalic element (in this case the etymological *jer* in the word) between the two consonants in the cluster. It remains unclear, however, why the manuscript marks a dropped weak *jer* letter, or a phonological vocalic element, only in these few instances.

⁴⁷ I.e., *reče imъ gospodъ* (the other most common incipit formula being *въ оно врѣмѣ*).

6. Diacritics over forms of *sġbota*

The remaining environment for sporadic diacritics is over or near the *jus major* in *sġbot-*. The whole gamut of diacritics is found here: dots, single acute accent shapes, triple acute accent shapes, and titla over unabbreviated word forms: fol. 4r5 $\text{с}\dot{\text{ж}}\text{вотж}$; fol. 4r12 $\text{с}\dot{\text{ж}}\dot{\text{в}}\text{от}\dot{\text{ж}}$ (with dots over the two consonant letters); $\text{с}\dot{\text{ж}}\text{'}\text{в''отж}$ (cf. l. 22 $\text{с}\dot{\text{ж}}\text{вотж}$, l. 17 $\text{с}\dot{\text{ж}}\text{вотж}$); fol. 4v2 $\text{с}\dot{\text{ж}}\text{вотж}$; fol. 16v16–17 $\text{с}\dot{\text{ж}}\text{''}\text{в|отж}$; fol. 16v20–21 $\text{с''}\dot{\text{ж}}\text{вотж}$; fol. 48r3 $\text{с}\dot{\text{ж}}\text{'}\text{вот}\dot{\text{ж}}$, fol. 48r10 $\dot{\text{в}}\text{с}\dot{\text{ж}}\text{'}\text{вотж}$, l. 15 $\dot{\text{в}}\text{с}\dot{\text{ж}}\text{вотж}$; fol. 49v6 $\text{в}\text{с}\dot{\text{ж}}\text{'}\text{вотж}$ (cf. l. 11 $\text{в}\text{с}\dot{\text{ж}}\text{вот}\dot{\text{ж}}$); fol. 70r12, 15 $\text{с}\dot{\text{ж}}\text{вот}\dot{\text{ж}}$; fol. 88r1 $\text{с}\dot{\text{ж}}\text{вот}\dot{\text{ж}}$ (cf. $\text{с}\dot{\text{ж}}\text{вот}\dot{\text{ж}}$ in the rubric on l. 17). Since the diacritics are mostly above or next to the first ж , it seems that this is where they were intended to go. In two of these instances, both on fol. 48r, a *paerok*-like dot appears over the preceding preposition $\dot{\text{в}}$, appearing to mark a dropped weak jer ($\dot{\text{в}}\text{с}\dot{\text{ж}}\text{'}\text{вотж}$, $\dot{\text{в}}\text{с}\dot{\text{ж}}\text{вотж}$). Because there is no diacritic over $\text{с}\dot{\text{ж}}\text{вотж}$ in the second occurrence, however, it seems likely that in both instances the dot was intended to be placed over $\text{с}\dot{\text{ж}}\text{вотж}$ rather than over $\dot{\text{в}}$.

It is unlikely that the diacritic is intended to disambiguate the full word *sġbota* from the abbreviated form that appears in the rubrics, because the latter is distinguished by a superscript letter ($\text{с}\dot{\text{ж}}$). Perhaps it is meant to mark the word *sġbota* as a *nomen sacrum*. If *sġbota* were to be abbreviated in the text, as *nomina sacra* generally are, the usual abbreviation $\text{с}\dot{\text{ж}}$ could indeed cause confusion, since it appears only in rubric instructions. A way to avoid confusion would be to add a titlo to the unabbreviated form of the word, as Dobrejšo does in the last three occurrences of *sġbota* with diacritic ($\text{с}\dot{\text{ж}}\text{вот}\dot{\text{ж}}$). Perhaps he came to this solution at that point in the text after finding unsatisfactory the multi-purpose dot and triple acute accent shapes that he had been using earlier for that purpose. A closer study of the distribution of textual environments for forms of *sġbota* with and without a diacritic may yield a clearer answer to this puzzle.

7. Conclusion

The most certain conclusion that can be drawn from the analysis above is that the sporadic dots, acute accent shapes, and superfluous titla in the Dobrejšo Gospel have more than one purpose apiece. Although their purposes in certain environments is presently unclear, and while it is often difficult to determine whether a given single dot or acute accent is a deliberate marking or a slip of the pen or resting point, nevertheless the following generalizations can be made on the basis of the diacritic patterns in the manuscript:

a. The dot and single acute accent shape are essentially two paleographic variants of a single diacritic. This is unsurprising, considering that in many medieval Slavic manuscripts that do not mark accentuation, hurriedly or carelessly executed superscript dots often look like acute accents.

b. The double or triple acute accent shape is a different orthographic symbol from the dot or single acute accent shape, although their functions overlap.

c. The single dot or acute accent shape is used for the following purposes:

(i) to mark a vocalic element between two consonants that would otherwise be perceived as an unnatural cluster, in both canonical OCS *tröt* spellings and certain OCS non-*tröt* spellings with two consecutive consonant letters, one of which usually is *ρ* (ἀρχιερείη, word-initial ἱρ, but cf. прии́дѣтъ). With the exception of ꙗ́ѡмь, the consonant clusters that the two consecutive letters represent are not historically the result of a dropped weak jer, and in fact /pr/ is a fairly high-frequency Slavic cluster, as it occurs in several verb prefixes. On the other hand, since other spellings in the manuscript indicate that Dobrejšo's dialect did not preserve epenthetic /l/, the word-internal cluster /ml/ likely was uncommon for him;

(ii) in two instances, to mark forms of *дѡнь* (дѣнь, дѣнь). This is a primary function of the double or triple acute accent shape (see (d)(iii) below);

(iii) in seven instances, to mark forms of the unabbreviated word *sobota* in the Gospel text (сѣвотѣ, сѣвотѣ), as opposed to the liturgical rubrics, where it also occasionally occurs in unabbreviated form. The fact that this word appears twice with a superfluous titlo (сѣвота) suggests that the dot or acute accent shape functions similarly to a titlo here in marking the word as a *nomen sacrum*. This word is also marked, less frequently, by double or triple acute accent shapes.

d. The double or triple acute accent shape is used sporadically for the following purposes, some of which overlap with the functions of the single dot or acute accent shape:

(i) in four instances, to indicate the insertion of a vocalic element into a perceived unnatural consonant cluster in certain non-*tröt* spellings (дѣвѣри, ꙗ́ѡмь, вѣзѣрадова сѣ, сѣньцоу), and in a single instance, to mark a *tröt* spelling (оуѣврѣжѣдѣиѣ). This marking, which suggests the insertion of a vocalic element, is usually made with a single dot or acute accent shape (see (c)(i) above)⁴⁸;

(ii) to mark words with the root *glas-* (e.g., глѣсѣ), probably in order to help the reader differentiate them from the abbreviation for the very high-frequency third person singular aorist form *glagola* (гѣла);

(iii) in four instances, to mark forms of the word *дѡнь* (дѣнь) and, also on four occasions, the phrase *na nebo* (нѣ небо). While the purposes of these markings is unclear (though once again, the marked words contain a sonorant), perhaps it is to highlight the word or phrase on the textual level, or, in the case of нѣ небо, to indicate phrasal stress on the preposition. Forms of *дѡнь* are also marked with a single dot/acute accent shape (see (c)(ii) above);

⁴⁸ In all but ꙗ́ѡмь and дѣвѣри, the marked cluster contains a sonorant.

(iv) in three instances, to mark unabbreviated forms of the word *sǫbota* in the Gospel text, probably in order to indicate that the word is a *nomen sacrum* (сѣ́бѣ́тѣ́). The single dot or acute accent is used more commonly in this environment (see (c)(iii) above);

(v) in two instances, apparently to highlight the beginning of a often-quoted passage within a lection (и́ рѣ́че ю́моу сѣ́тъ; О́че нѣ́шь).

The overlap in functions between the single dot/acute accent shape, on one hand, and the double or triple acute accent shape, on the other, suggests that for Dobrejšo, these two diacritic types were more or less interchangeable, except in instances where he sought to highlight a word in the text. In those case, he used the multiple acute accent shapes, undoubtedly because they were more noticeable.

The above-described diacritics occur rarely, and only twice in an appropriate environment for a *paerok* from an OCS perspective (пѣ́омь, сѣ́тънѣ́цѣ́). When a diacritic occurs over *ρ* left- or right-adjacently to another consonant letter (and also over *л* in прѣ́млетъ, fol. 1v14, if the dot here is not an inadvertent resting point), it appears to be marking a consonant cluster that Dobrejšo perceives as unnatural either on the phonological level, in the absence of an intervening vocalic element, or on the orthographic level, in the absence of a jer letter.

There remains the vexed question of the strict complementary distribution in the sporadic spellings of OCS *trǫt* vs. *tlǫt* forms: that is, why canonical OCS *trǫt* spellings in the manuscript sporadically include a dot or acute accent shape, suggesting the insertion of a vocalic element left-adjacent to the /r/, whereas OCS *tlǫt* forms sporadically are written as *tǫt* but never as *tlǫt* with a diacritic. The orthographic distinction between OCS *trǫt* and *tlǫt* forms, when it occurs, probably reflects asymmetry in the reflexes of **TǫrT*/**TrǫT* and **TǫlT*/**TlǫT* in Dobrejšo's vernacular dialect. A likely explanation is that, like certain modern western Bulgarian dialects, Dobrejšo's Middle Bulgarian dialect tended to have *tǫrt* as the reflex of **TǫrT*/**TrǫT* (at least when not followed by another consonant), but *tlǫt* as the reflex of **TǫlT*/**TlǫT*, with the exception of certain specific lexemes, some of which show up sporadically in the manuscript in *tǫt* spellings.

In conclusion, the most important issue regarding the diacritics in the Dobrejšo Gospel is not the use of a dot or acute accent shape over the letter *ρ* to mark a preceding vocalic element, but rather the distribution of the diacritics. Rampant and maddening inconsistencies on both the orthographic and the dialectological levels present serious obstructions at this point to a definitive determination of the various functions of those dots and acute accent shapes in the manuscript that occur in environments other than sequences of two consonant letters. These inconsistencies include the sporadic and inconsistent placement of the diacritics; frequent ambiguities between dots and acute accent shapes (and between deliberate dots and inadvertent inkstains); a general tendency of scribes sometimes to miss the

target letter when inserting diacritics; overlap in the environments where the scribe has used single vs. multiple diacritics; and asymmetry in numerous Bulgarian dialects between the reflexes of *T̄orT*/**Tr̄oT* and **T̄olT*/**Tl̄oT*, as well as variations within the reflexes of each of those two historical forms. The combination of these obstacles may make it impossible ever to know for certain what was going on in Dobrejšo's mind when he sporadically employed these diacritics, but further investigation may yield more certainty, particularly once an index verborum to the manuscript is completed. Meanwhile, there may be some reassurance in recalling that consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds.

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Abstract. This paper examines the distribution of three types of sporadic and infrequent diacritics in the Dobrejšo Gospel and their functions: a dot or acute-accent shape over a liquid consonant letter in OCS *trǫt/trǫt* formations, and, more rarely, over other consonant letters in clusters; a single or multiple acute-accent shape over the letter л or н in certain words; and a titlo over unabbreviated words containing OCS *trǫt/trǫt* formations.

Keywords: Old Church Slavonic, Bulgarian Church Slavonic, Slavic linguistics, medieval Slavic manuscripts, liquid consonants, vocalic liquids, historical Slavic phonology, Gospels.

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ПАРИМЕЙНЫЕ ЧТЕНИЯ В ЧЕТЫХ СПИСКАХ КНИГИ ИСХОД

В средневековой славянской письменности Книга Исход, как и большинство ветхозаветных книг, сохранилась в двух функциональных разновидностях: богослужебной и небогослужебной. Богослужебная версия содержится в Паримейнике, а с XIII в. также в Триоди и в Минее. В палеославистике не подлежит сомнению факт, что Паримейник был переведен Кириллом и Мефодием одновременно с Евангелием-апракосом, служебным Апостолом и Псалтырью, поскольку он принадлежал к числу книг, без которых не могло совершаться богослужение¹. Лингвистические данные подтверждают это предположение: анализ лексики и характерных особенностей перевода показывает сходство между Паримейником и древнейшими редакциями Евангелия, Апостола и Псалтыри. Паримейник известен более чем в 70 списках, которые относятся к разным редакциям и группам. Самое существенное деление – это деление на вид древний (представленный в большинстве списков) и вид более поздний, который связывается с деятельностью болгарских книжников на Афоне или в Константинополе в XIII–XIV вв. Богослужебная разновидность книги Исход исследована довольно хорошо в 80–90-ых годах прошлого века А.А. Пичхадзе². Ею же подготовлено и издание паримейных чтений Книги Исход, основанное на предварительном текстологическом исследовании 32 списков Паримейника³. Благодаря этому изданию мы имеем хорошее представление о первоначальном паримейном переводе книги Исход, а также, благодаря подробному критическому аппарату издания, о дальнейшей истории памятника – о редакторских переработках и стихийных изменениях. В Паримейнике содержится 16 паримий из книги Исход, которые входят во все его отделы: рождественский (чтения на Рождество и Богоявление), триодный (круг чтений начиная с Сырной

¹ О. Новицкий, *О первоначальном переводе Священного писания на славянский язык*, Киев 1837, p. 18.

² А.А. Пичхадзе, *Типология паримейных чтений книги Исход*, Рбг 10.1, 1986, p. 20–34; ЕАДЕМ, *К истории славянского Паримейника (паримейные чтения книги Исход)*, [in:] *Традиции древнейшей славянской письменности и языковая культура восточных славян*, ed. В.П. Вомперский, Москва 1991, p. 147–173.

³ А.А. Пичхадзе, *Книга „Исход“ в древнеславянском Паримейнике*, УЗРПУ 4, 1998, p. 5–60.

недели и заканчивая неделей всех святых) и месячный (чтения на праздники и нарочитые дни по месяцеслову).

Небогослужебный (четий) перевод книги Исход появился позднее. Исторические источники свидетельствуют, что полный перевод Восьмикнижия был выполнен Мефодием. В этом переводе сохранилась книга Руфь в хорватском глаголическом бревиарии 1396 г.⁴, но перевод остальных книг Восьмикнижия утрачен. Списки, которые дошли до нас, отражают новый перевод, сделанный в X в. в Болгарии⁵. Возможно, в этом переводе в какой-то мере использован первоначальный мефодиевский перевод⁶. На основании ряда архаических черт в некоторых списках книг Бытия и Судей был сделан вывод, что в этих списках довольно хорошо сохранились особенности этого первоначального перевода⁷.

Впервые некоторые наблюдения над славянской рукописной традицией четвѣй версии книги Исход представила А. Пичхадзе⁸. Ее исследования параллельно были продолжены украинской исследовательницей Т. Вилкул⁹ и мною¹⁰.

Установлено, что славянская рукописная традиция книги Исход сохранилась в трех разновидностях: южнославянской, русской и промежуточной (согласно А. Пичхадзе) или хронографической (согласно Т. Вилкул). В рамках этих групп выделяются и подгруппы. Так, А. Пичхадзе разделяет русскую группу на две большие группы: 1. Списки без глос и исправлений по еврейскому тексту и 2. Списки с глоссами и исправлениями по еврейскому тексту. В зависимости от характера паримейных чтений первая группа делится на две подгруппы: списки, в которых текст некоторых паримий совпадает с текстом южнославянской группы („ранняя” группа) и списки, в которых текст паримий совпадает с поздней редакцией Паримейника („поздняя” группа)¹¹.

⁴ А.В. Михайлов, *Древнеславянский перевод кн. Руфь*, РФВ 60, 1908, р. 1–36.

⁵ И.Е. Евсеев, *Григорий пресвитер, переводчик времени царя Симеона*, ИОРЯС 3, 1902, р. 356–366.

⁶ А.А. Алексеев, *Кирилло-мефодиевское переводческое наследие и его исторические судьбы*, [in:] *X международный съезд славистов. История, культура, этнография и фольклор славянских народов*, ed. И.И. Костюшко, Москва 1988, р. 134–135.

⁷ Т. Славова, *Следи от Методиев превод на библијската книга Битие*, Pbg 19.1, 1995, р. 53–70; ЕАДЕМ, *Библијското Осмокнижие в състава на Архивния хронограф*, Pbg 34.3, 2010, р. 26–48.

⁸ А.А. Пичхадзе, *К истории четвѣго текста славянского Восьмикнижия*, ТОДРЛ 49, Санкт-Петербург, р. 10–21.

⁹ Т.Л. Вилкул, *Книга Исход. Древнеславянский полный (четий) текст по спискам XIV–XVI веков*, Москва 2015.

¹⁰ В. Желязкова, *Орфографические и фонетические особенности книги Исход по рукописи № 3 из собрания Е. Барсова в Государственном историческом музее в Москве*, [in:] *Jews and Slavs: Judaeo-Bulgarica, Judaeo-Russica et Palaeoslavica*, vol. XV, ed. W. Moskovich, S. Nikolova, Jerusalem–Sofia 2005, р. 138–146; ЕАДЕМ, *Средневековая болгарская рукописная традиция книги Исход*, [in:] *Jews and Slavs: Messianic Ideas in Jewish and Slavic Cultures*, vol. XVIII, ed. W. Moskovich, S. Nikolova, Jerusalem–Sofia 2006, р. 23–31 et sqq.

¹¹ А.А. Пичхадзе, *К истории четвѣго текста...*, р. 20–21.

Мои занятия всеми сохранившимися южнославянскими списками Исхода показали, что в рамках этой группы тоже выделяются две подгруппы: 1. Валашко-молдавские рукописи, антиграф которых – среднеболгарская рукопись XIV в. тырновского происхождения, и 2. Западно-болгарские и сербские рукописи¹². Между двумя группами существует довольно много отличий, но в том, что касается паримейных чтений, они абсолютно идентичны, так что в дальнейшем я буду говорить просто о „южнославянских рукописях”.

Итак, наличие двух разновидностей (богослужебной и небогослужебной) книги Исход ставит вопрос о том, в каком соотношении находятся они между собой, или другими словами, использован ли Паримейник (а если да, то в какой степени) во время полного перевода этой библейской книги или в X в. заново были переведены как четвѣ, так и паримейные части Книги Исход? Вопрос о соотношении паримейной и четвѣй версий библейских книг совсем не новый. Он был поставлен еще первыми исследователями славянской рукописной традиции библейских книг, привлекает внимание и современных исследователей. Так, в сравнительно новом обобщающем труде „История болгарской средневековой литературы” по этому вопросу сказано следующее:

Според мнението на изследователите впоследствие паримейният превод се включва в пълния небогослужебен (чети или тълковен) превод на старозаветните книги по няколко начина: 1) Без изменения, например паримиите в тълковните преписи на книгите на пророк Даниил и пророк Исая, паримиите в южнославянските преписи на Осмокнижието, паримиите в чети версията на книги Царства; 2) с изменения (в редактиран вид), например паримиите от Битие в Архивския и Вилнюския хронограф и паримиите от Съдии в група южнославянски преписи; 3) в нов превод, например паримиите в тълковната версия на Книгата на пророк Иезекиил¹³.

Мнение, что южнославянские списки Восьмикнижия включают паримейный перевод без изменений, основано на исследованиях книги Бытия А. Михайлова¹⁴ и Т. Славовой. Т. Славова пишет:

Паримейните части на книга Битие в южнославянските преписи в голяма степен са съхранили първоначалния препис на Паримейника, запазен и в хърватските глаголически бревиари, и дори на места пазят по-древното четене, отколкото

¹² V. ZHELYAZKOVA, *The Headings in South Slavonic Copies of the Book of Exodus*, [in:] *The Bible in Slavic Tradition*, ed. A. KULIK, C.M. MACROBERT, S. NIKOLOVA, M. TAUBE, C.M. VAKARELIYSKA, Leiden–Boston 2016, p. 107–122.

¹³ Т. Славова, *Библейски преводи*, [in:] *История на българската средновековна литература*, ed. А. Милтенова, София 2008, p. 96.

¹⁴ А.В. Михайлов, *Опыт изучения книги Бытия пророка Моисея в древнеславянском переводе*, vol. I, *Паримейный текст*, Варшава 1912.

паримейниците от XIII–XIV вв. Паримиие представят текст, редактиран от страна на преславските книжовници много по-слабо и непоследователно в сравнение с руските преписи¹⁵.

Однако наблюдения над рукописной традицией книги Исход показывают, что это по существу отлично обоснованное мнение нельзя распространять на все книги Восьмикнижия. Видимо, каждая из них имеет собственную традицию, которая не повторяет традиции других книг.

Вопрос об отношении четьего текста Исхода к паримейному поставлен и в новом издании книги Исход, в основе которого лежит Виленский хронограф, подготовленном Т. Вилкул¹⁶. В вводной части издания исследовательница делает следующие заключения: 1. Древнеболгарский переводчик сделал перевод всего Восьмикнижия, а лишь впоследствии составители редакций и кописты, каждый в отдельности, заменяли четий текст служебным; 2. В разных кодексах использован паримейник разных видов, при этом в редакциях четьего текста и даже в отдельных рукописях введены несовпадающие группы служебных чтений; 3. Можно предполагать, что писцы вносили паримейные выражения по памяти, заменяя переписываемый текст более привычным служебным; 4. В южнославянских списках использован Паримейник древнего вида, явных чтений, которые сигнализировали бы сверку по среднеболгарскому позднему виду, нет; 5. Нет ни одного кодекса с абсолютно чистым четвым текстом. В наибольшей степени четий текст сохранился в хронографической редакции и в южнославянских списках, в меньшей степени – в ранних русских рукописях, и в наименьшей степени – в более поздних русских рукописях¹⁷.

¹⁵ Т. Славова, *Библейското Осмокнижие в...*, р. 30.

¹⁶ Т.Л. Вилкул, *Книга Исход...*, р. 18–23.

¹⁷ Неоспоримым доказательством того, что практика заменять неслужебные чтения служебными существовала, является древнейший славянский список Пятикнижия, так наз. Лаврское пятикнижие. Рукопись датируется второй половиной XIV в., хранится в РГБ в Москве, в собрании Троицко-Сергиевой лавры под № 1. Еще А.В. Михайлов писал о том, что паримейные чтения в этом списке переписаны не с полного (четьего) списка, а с Паримейника, содержащего очень архаический перевод. Ученый объяснил этот факт желанием составителей сохранить паримии в той редакции, которая исконно употребляется в богослужении. Cf. А.В. Михайлов, *Опыт изучения книги Бытия...*, р. LVIII–LIX. Подробные текстологические и лингвистические доказательства архаичности паримейных чтений в Лаврском пятикнижии были приведены и в: Т. Славова, *Най-ранният славянски ръкопис на Мойсеевото петокнижие*, СЛ 31, 1999, р. 54–65. Особенно интересно, что в рукописи встречается несколько контаминаций, когда четвы чтения продублированы паримейными. Напр., в Ех 1,7 ἐπλήθυνεν δὲ ἡ γῆ αὐτοῦς переписчик сначала написал текст по четьему переводу – и оумножи же сѧ земля, а потом продолжил по паримейному – и исполниша землю тѣ. Аналогично в Ех 2,5 гр. κατέβη δὲ ἡ θυγάτηρ Φαραὼ λούσασθαι ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν дано последовательно по четьему и паримейному переводу – приде же дщи фараонова на рѣкѣ купать сѧ // сниде дщи фараонова измытъ сѧ на рѣкѣ.

Мои собственные наблюдения полностью подтверждают эти суждения. Цель настоящей работы – подтвердить и расширить эти выводы при помощи текстологических и языковых данных. Текст книги Исход цитируется по следующим рукописям: № 3 из собрания Е. Барсова (ГИМ, Москва) 70–80-х годов XV в. (южнославянская группа, в дальнейшем B₃); № 44 из собрания Троицко-Сергиевой лавры (РГБ, ф. 304.1) XV в. (ранняя русская группа, в дальнейшем Tr); № 1 из собрания Е. Барсова (ГИМ, Москва) XV в. (поздняя русская группа, в дальнейшем B₁), Архивский хронограф (РГАДА, ф. 181) XV в. (хронографическая редакция, в дальнейшем Ar). Привлекается и древнейший список Пятикнижия – Лаврское пятикнижие XIV в. (РГБ, Москва, ф. 304.1). Использовано издание Григоровичева паримейника XII в.¹⁸ (Gr), а также существующее издание паримейных чтений книги Исход¹⁹. Греческий текст Исхода дается по критическому изданию Дж. Виверса²⁰.

* * *

Полное сопоставление паримейных чтений в паримейниках и в четырех списках книги Исход показало, что отношения между ними довольно сложные и очень трудно установить какие-то закономерности и сделать выводы, относящиеся ко всем паримейным чтениям. На самом деле выводы могут быть разными в зависимости от конкретного текста. Так, если мы рассмотрим *Паримию на Страстной понедельник* (Ex 1,1–20), то увидим, что текст в южнославянских списках²¹ примерно на 90% совпадает с текстом Паримейника древнего типа. В рукописях поздней русской группы текст паримии следует тексту поздней редакции Паримейника (в дальнейшем ПР). В Архивском хронографе и в рукописях ранней русской группы, по-видимому, сохранен четий перевод. Например:

Ex 1,10 δεῦτε οὖν κατασοφισώμεθα αὐτοῦς μήποτε πληθυνθῆ καὶ ἡνίκα ἂν συμβῆ ἡμῖν πόλεμος προστεθήσονται καὶ οὗτοι πρὸς τοὺς ὑπεναντίους καὶ ἐκπολεμήσαντες ἡμᾶς ἐξελεύσονται ἐκ τῆς γῆς

Гр придыте прѣмѣдримъ ѿ. еда когда ѡмножѣтъ сѧ. и вѣгда аще приключитъ сѧ намъ брань. приложѣтъ сѧ и ти къ ратнымъ. и повѣжѣше ны изыдѣтъ ѿ змѧ нашеѧ.

B₃ прїидѣте, и прѣмѣдрїѣ ѿ. да вѣгда оумножѣт сѧ. и вѣгда же аще приключит сѧ на брань, приложѣт сѧ и си къ ратныѣ, и повѣжѣше ны, изыдѣѣ ѿ земли наша.

¹⁸ З. РИБАРОВА, З. ХАУПТОВА, *Григоровичев паримейник. Текст со критички апарат*, Скопје 1998.

¹⁹ А.А. ПИЧХАДЗЕ, *Книга „Исход“...*

²⁰ *Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum. Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum*, vol. II.1. *Exodus*, ed. J.W. WEVERS, Göttingen 1991.

²¹ Здесь и далее примеры из южнославянских рукописей даются по B₃.

Б₁ придѣте оубо оупремоудрии ѿ. да некогда оумножѣт сѧ. и внигда аще приключит сѧ намѣ бранѣ. приложат сѧ и ти соупостѣтнѣи. и истовавше насѣ. изыдоуѣ изъ земли нашеѧ.

Тр ходите оубо да я прѣмыслимѣ. еда когда възможаютъ. и егда сѧ лоучитъ нѧ рать. пристаноуѣтъ и си къ соупостѣтномѣ. и долѣбше нѧ ѿидуѣтъ ѿ нѧ

Ар ходите оубо да премоудриимѣ ѧ. еда когда възможаютъ. и егда лучит сѧ намѣ рать. пристаноуѣтъ си къ соупостѣтномѣ. и долѣбшимѣ намѣ ѿидоуѣтъ ѿсюдоу

Совершенно иные отношения между паримейными чтениями в Паримейнике и четых списках Исхода можно найти в *Паримии на Страстную среду* (Ех 2,11–22). С одной стороны стоит текст в древнейших паримейниках. Рукописи поздней русской группы, видимо, содержат чтения, характерные для ПР. Обеим группам довольно четко противопоставляются чтения в южнославянских списках, рукописях ранней русской группы и Архивском хронографе, в которых, без сомнения, сохранился четий перевод. Например:

Ех 2,13 ἐξελθὼν δὲ τῆ ἡμέρα τῆ δευτέρα ὁρᾷ δύο ἄνδρας Εβραίουσ διαπληκτιζομένους καὶ λέγει τῷ ἀδικοῦντι διὰ τί σὺ τύπτεις τὸν πλησίον

Гр ишедѣтъ въ днѣ.б. видѣ.б. мѧжа еврѣинина тѧжѧща сѧ. и глѧ ѡбидѧщемоу. почто виши искрѣнѣго.

Б₁ изъшеѣ же въ вторыи днѣ. видѣ два мѧжа еврѣина прѧща сѧ. и глѧ ѡбидѧщемоу. что ради ты виши искрѣнѣго.

Б₃ ишеѣ же въ вторыи днѣ. оузрѣ ина два мѧжа евреина которѧща сѧ. и рѣ кѣ ѡбидѧщемоу, почто ты виши дроугѧ своего.

Тр ишеѣ въ вторыи днѣ видѣ два моужѧ евреинина которѧща сѧ. и рѣ кѣ ѡбидѧщемоу. почто ты ѡбидиши дроугѧ своего.

Ар ишедѣтъ въ вторыи днѣ. оузрѣ два моужѧ евреинина которѧща сѧ. и рѣ кѣ ѡбидѧщемоу. почто ты ѡбидиши дроугѧ своего.

Третий тип отношений между списками мы находим в *Паримии на Богоявление и Великую субботу* (Ех 14,15–29). В данном случае паримейный перевод содержится как в Паримейнике, так и в рукописях ранней и поздней русской группы, однако в них текст правлен по ПР. Южнославянские списки и Архивский хронограф содержат четий перевод этой паримии. Например:

Ех 14,19 ἐξῆρεν δὲ ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ προπορευόμενος τῆσ παρεμβολῆσ τῶν υἰῶν Ισραηλ καὶ ἐπορεύθη ἐκ τῶν ὀπισθεν ἐξῆρεν δὲ καὶ ὁ στῦλος τῆσ νεφέλησ ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτῶν καὶ ἔστη ἐκ τῶν ὀπίσω αὐτῶν

Гр вбрати же сѧ аггль гнѣ [вожеи]. ходѧи прядѣ плѣквомѣ снѡвѣ илѣвѣ. и поидѣ зади. и възвѣдвѣже сѧ стѣлпѣ вблаченѣ. ѿ лица ихѣ и ста сѣ зади ѿхѣ.

Л вбрати же сѧ аггль бѣи. ходѧ прѣ полкомѣ снѡвѣ илѣвѣ. и поидѣ сѣ зади. възвѣдвѣже сѧ столпѣ облачныи ѿ лица ихѣ. и ста вѣ зади ѿ

Тр вбрати же сѧ аггль ходѧи прѣ плѣкомѣ снѡвѣ илѣвѣ. и поидѣ сѣ зади. възвѣдвѣже сѧ стѣлпѣ вблѧка ѿ лица ихѣ. и ста сѣ зади ихѣ.

Б₁ вбрати же сѧ аггль ходѧи прѣ полкомѣ снѡвѣ илѣвѣ. и поидѣ сѣ зади ѿ...

Б₃ пристѣпѣи же аггль гнѣ иже идѣше прѣ плѣквомѣ снѡвѣ илѣвѣ, и ста за ними. пристѣпѣи же и стѣлѣ вгнѣныи ѿ лица ѿ, и ста за ними.

Ар пристѣпѣи же аггль гнѣ иже идѣше прѣ полкомѣ снѡвѣ илѣвѣ, и ста за ними. пристѣпѣи же и столпѣ вблаченѣ ѿ лица ихѣ, и ста за ними.

* * *

В дальнейшем изложении я хотела бы привести текстологические и лингвистические доказательства того, что паримейные чтения в небогослужебных (четых) списках книги Исход представляют собой новый перевод. Местами он довольно сильно отличается от богослужебного перевода, находящегося в Паримейнике. Местами разница не такая серьезная, т.е. паримейный и четый перевод очень близки друг к другу. Это можно объяснить фактом, что славянский Паримейник опирается прежде всего на Лукиановую редакцию библейских книг, которая была использована и в четьем переводе. Вполне логично также, что переводчик четьего текста книги Исход был хорошо знаком с текстом Паримейника и, переводя заново библейский текст, по памяти иногда восстанавливал более древний перевод.

Еще раз подчеркиваю, что четый перевод в его чистом виде не сохранился ни в одном списке. Во всех группах и кодексах есть паримейные вставки – в некоторых больше, в других меньше. Тем не менее в большинстве случаев определение четьей версии сравнительно легко. Лучше всего она представлена в Ар, далее следуют южнославянские списки. В ранних русских списках в некоторых паримиях сохранился четый перевод, а в других – четья версия заменена чтениями из ПР. В рукописях поздней русской группы четья версия не сохранилась, она почти полностью заменена чтениями из ПР.

Сначала приведу некоторые примеры, указывающие на то, что в паримейном и четьем варианте использованы **разные греческие источники**. На самом деле таких примеров не так много, что можно объяснить тем, что как славянский Паримейник, так и полная версия книги Исход опираются на Лукиановую редакцию.

прием характерен для кирилло-мефодиевских переводов, а второй – для более поздних переводов, осуществленных в Преславе.

Ex 3,7 τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ: сжишихъ въ егѣптѣ – иже въ егѣптѣ

Ex 14,19 ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ προπορευόμενος τῆς παρεμβολῆς: англь гнь ходан
прѣ полкомъ – агль гнь иже идѣше прѣ плквомъ

Ex 14,28 τοὺς εἰσπεπορευμένους ὀπίσω αὐτῶν: вшедшую по нѣ – иже вънидошъ
въ слѣ нѣ

Ex 12,10 τὰ δὲ καταλειπόμενα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ: и останъкы же соущая ѿ него – еже
останѣ ѿ него

2. В паримейной версии книги Исход греческие причастия, как правило, переводятся причастием, а в непаримейной используются личные формы глагола.

Ex 33,16 ἀλλ' ἢ συμπορευομένου σου μεθ' ἡμῶν: грядущоу тебѣ съ нами – аще
идеши ты съ нами

Ex 2,16 ποιμαίνουσαι τὰ πρόβατα: пасоуще овца – и пасѣхъ овца

3. На месте греческого перфекта и плюсквамперфекта в паримейной версии книги Исход находим аорист или имперфект, в то время как в четвертом переводе используются сложные формы глагола.

Ex 1,8 ὃς οὐκ ἴδει τὸν Ἰωσηφ: иже не вѣдѣше иосифа – иже не бѣ (бѣаше) видѣль
иосифа

Ex 14,3 συκέκλεικεν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἡ ἔρημος: затвори бо я пустыни – обышла
нѣ е пустына

Ex 33,13 εἰ οὖν εὔρηκα χάριν: аще оубо вобрѣтохъ блгодать – аще оубо есмь вбрѣль
блгодать

Ex 33,17 εὔρηκας γὰρ χάριν: обрѣте бо блгодать – вбрѣл бо еси блгодать

4. Для перевода греческой конструкции ἐν + дательный падеж в паримейном переводе используется беспредложный творительный, что не характерно для четвертого перевода книги Исход.

Ex 12,10 ἐν πυρὶ κατακαύσετε: огнемъ съжежете – на огни ижебѣте

Ex 14,21 καὶ ὑπήγαγεν κύριος τὴν θάλασσαν ἐν ἀνέμῳ νότῳ βραΐω: и возгна гь море
вѣтрѣмъ оугомъ вурнымъ – наведе гь на море вѣтръ югъ крѣпѣ

Ex 19,18 διὰ τὸ καταβεβηκέναι ἐπ' αὐτὸ τὸν θεὸν ἐν πυρί: занє ģъ снїде на нл
ωгнєнѣъ – сѣхѡжєнїа ради (д'ѣла) бжїа на нл вѣ ωгни

5. В некоторых случаях в паримейной версии книги Исход употреблено настоящее время глагола, а в непаримейной – аорист.

Ex 1,18 καὶ ἐζωογονεῖτε τὰ ἄρσена: и живлѣете мжѣскыи полѣ – и оживїете
моужскыи полѣ

Ex 3,7 οἶδα γὰρ τὴν ὀδύνην αὐτῶν: вѣмѣ во волѣзны ģхъ – видѣхѣ волѣзны ихѣ

6. Довольно часто на месте страдательных конструкций, характерных для паримейной версии, в непаримейной употребляются личные формы глагола. Обратные случаи встречаются значительно реже.

Ex 14,5 καὶ ἀγγελίη τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων: и вѣзвѣщено бы ģ црїю юегупѣтъ-
скоу – и повѣдашѣ црїю егїпѣскѣ

Ex 19,13 ἐν γὰρ λίθοις λιθοβοληθήσεται ἢ βολίδι κατατοξευθήσεται: каменїемъ
во повїенѣъ воудеть. ли стрѣлами сѣстрѣланѣъ воудеть – да не каменїемъ повїет
сѣ. или стрѣлоѣ оустрѣлит сѣ

Ex 33,11 καὶ ἀπελεύετο εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν: и посланѣъ бываше вѣ станѣъ – и пѣца-
аше и вѣ плѣъ

Ex 1,12 καὶ ἐβδελύσσοντο οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι: и мьрзѣхѡу юегупѣномѣъ (ПР и гноушахѡу
сѣ егїптѣнє) – и хѡїни вѣхѣ егїптѣнє

7. О разных переводческих решениях говорят и другие отличия между паримейным и четвѣм переводом.

Ex 12,7 καὶ λήψονται ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος: и примѡутѣ ѡ крѣвє – и вѣзѣше ѡ крѣвє

Ex 33,20 οὐ γὰρ μὴ ἴδῃ ἄνθρωπος τὸ πρόσωπόν μου: не иматѣъ во члѣкѣъ видѣти
лица моєго – нѣ во аще видитѣ члѣкѣъ лице моє

Ex 15,24 τί πιόμεθα: что пиємъ – что ны ģ пити (что ны пить)

8. Для паримейной версии книги Исход характерен суффикс -скѣъ, а для непаримейной – суффикс *-жѣ. Хотя пример только один, он показателен, потому что подобное соотношение характерно и для переводов книги пророка Иезекииля²⁴.

²⁴ Старобългарскїят превод на Стария завет, ed. С. Николова, vol. II, Книга на пророк Иезекиил с тълкования, София 2003, p. 35.

Ex 2,15 ἐν γῆ Μαδιάμ въ землю мадыямскоу – въ земли мадііаміи

Обратим внимание на две конструкции. Считается, что беспредложные конструкции места, как и конструкции типа *къждо ихъ* являются более архаичными и часто их присутствие в каком-нибудь тексте используется как аргумент его отнесения к кирилло-мефодиевским переводам²⁵. Интересно, что в книге Исход архаичные конструкции характерны для полного, а не для более старого паримейного перевода. Это означает, что не во всех случаях более древнее чтение можно определить по „архаичности” языка.

Ex 12,8 καὶ φάγονται τὰ κρέα τῆ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ: и сънѣдѣтъ мѣса въ сию ноць
– и да изѣдѣтъ мѣса той ноци

Ex 1,1 ἕκαστος: къждо – къждо ѿ

Особенно интересны лексические разночтения. В целом это лексемы, являющиеся одинаково возможными соответствиями одного греческого слова. Анализ этих разночтений показывает, что в паримейном переводе книги Исход последовательно употребляется кирилло-мефодиевская лексика, в то время как в четъем переводе находим лексемы, характерные для преславской редакции библейских книг.

На первом месте следует указать на факт, что в паримейном варианте употребляются непереуведенные греческие лексемы, в то время как в четъем варианте грецизмы полностью устранены. В палеослауистике общепризнано, что устранение грецизмов связано с преславской редакцией богослужебных книг²⁶. Интересно, что для ПР грецизмы тоже не характерны.

Ex 1,14 πλίνθος плинѣтъ (ПР калѣ) – лаино

Ex 1,16 Ἑβραία еврейныя – жидовыни

Ex 2,16; 3,1 ἱερεὺς иереи (ПР священникѣ) – жьрьць

Ex 33,11 σκηνή скиния (ПР сѣнь) – храмѣ

Ex 14,9 ἔπαυλις павли (епавли) – ограда²⁷

Ex 1,11 Ἠλίου πόλις – илишполѣ – слъньчьныи градѣ²⁸

²⁵ Cf., напр., Т. СЛАВОВА, *Следи от Методиев превод...*, р. 57.

²⁶ И. ДОБРЕВ, *Гръцките думи в Супрасълския сборник и втората редакция на старобългарските богослужебни книги*, БЕ 28.2, 1978, р. 89–98.

²⁷ Гр. ἔπαυλις используется как наименование географического понятия Пи-Гахироф – место, где израильтяне расположились станом перед переходом через Черное море. Перевод буквальныи и означает „неогороженное поселение”. Cf. J.W. WEVERS, *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus*, Atlanta 1990, р. 218–219.

²⁸ Название египетского города Он в земле Гесем.

В других случаях находим типичные пары, которые в палеославистике давно используются для атрибуции переводов как кирилло-мефодиевские или преславские²⁹.

- Ех 1,10 πόλεμος **брань** – **рать**
 Ех 2,14 ἄρχων **кѣнѡзь** – **старѣшина**
 Ех 2,15 φρέαρ **стоуденьць** (ПР **кдденыць**) – **кддѡзь**
 Ех 2,19 ποιμήν **пастырь** – **пастоухъ**
 Ех 3,15; 12,11 ὑπόδημα **сапоги** – **оноуца / овоуца**
 Ех 12,4 πλησίος **искрънии** – **ближнии**
 Ех 13,2,15 μήτρα **ложесно** – **жтроба**
 Ех 14,9; 14,18; 14,23; 14,25–26; 14,28 ἄρμα **колесница** – **оржжнѣ**
 Ех 14,22; 14,29 ἐξ εὐωνύμων **ошоуѡѡ** – **ѡ лѣвѡѡ**
 Ех 16:1 συναγωγή **сънѡмъ** – **съборъ**
 Ех 19,16–17; 33,11 παρεμβολή **станъ** – **плѣкъ**
 Ех 33,16 ἔθνος **ѡзыкъ** – **страна**
 Ех 33,17 λέγω **рѣци** – **вѣцати**
 Ех 40,3; 40,5 κίβωτός **кивотъ** (ПР **ковчегъ**) – **ковчегъ**

В ряде случаев вторым членом пары является лексема, характерная для восточно-болгарских письменных памятников.

- Ех 1,11 ἐπιστάτης τῶν ἔργων **приставникъ дѣломъ** (ПР **настоятель дѣломъ**) – **погоничъ дѣлесный**³⁰
 Ех 2,13 διαπληκτίζομαι **тѡжати сѡ** (ПР **прати сѡ**) – **которати сѡ**³¹
 Ех 12,5 συναγωγή **сънѡмъ** (ПР **съборъ**) – **вѣще**³²

²⁹ Т. СЛОВОВА, *Преславска редакция на Кирило-Методиевия старобългарски евангелски превод*, КМс 6, 1989, р. 15–129.

³⁰ О лексеме **погоничъ** и словах с суффиксом **-ничъ** cf. В. ЖЕЛЯЗКОВА, *Към историята на един словообразователен модел*, [in:] *Актуални проблеми на балканистиката и славистиката. Доклади от Втората международна конференция, проведена на 9 и 10 ноември 2012 г. във Великотърновския университет „Св. св. Кирил и Методий“*, ed. И. ХАРАЛАМПИЕВ, М. СПАСОВА, Ж. КОЛЕВА-ЗЛАТЕВА, А. ПЕТРОВА, К. ДИМИТРОВ, Г. ПЕНАКОВА, Велико Търново 2014, р. 80–87.

³¹ Глагол **которати сѡ** ‘спорить’, как и существительное **которичъ** ‘человек, который склонен к ссорам’, известны из Супрасльского сборника XI в. (*Старобългарски речник*, ed. Д. ИВАНОВА-МИРЧЕВА, vol. I, София 1999, р. 747). Cf. и употребление лексемы **которичъ** в Изборнике 1073 г. (Ц. РАЛЕВА, *Имена за лица в Изборника от 1073 г. в съпоставка с лексиката на старобългарските паметници* (кандидатска дисертация, машинопис), София 1989, р. 176).

³² Лексема **вѣще** употребляется в *Супрасльском сборнике* XI в. в словосочетании **вѣще творити на кого** ‘устраивать заговор против кого-н.’, гр. *οτασιάζω κατά τίνος* (*Старобългарски речник...*,

Ex 33,12 ὀπή окъньце – сквозня³³

Можно указать и на целый ряд других лексических разночтений, которые тоже дают все основания утверждать, что паримии в рамках четьего текста являются новым, самостоятельным переводом.

Ex 1,9 ἔθνος языкъ – тоземьць

Ex 1,10 ὑπεραντίος ратьныи (ПР соупостатъныи) – соупостатъ

Ex 2,5 θίβις кравица (ПР ковчежьць) – ковчегъ

Ex 2,11 πόνος страсть (ПР болѣзнь) – болѣзнь

Ex 2,15; 2,21 κατοικέω въселити сѧ – обитати

Ex 2,16 ἀντλέω чръпати – лияти / наливати

Ex 2,22 πάροικός пришельць – обитальникъ

Ex 3,6 εὐλαβέομαι бояти сѧ – говѣяти

Ex 12,7 οἰκία домъ – клѣтъ

Ex 12,8 πικρία жлътеница – горестъ

Ex 14,6; 4,15 ζεύγυμι, ἀναζεύγυμι въповадити – въпраши

Ex 14,23 ἀναβάτης съноуэникъ (ПР въсадникъ) – въсадникъ

Ex 14,24 φυλακῆ τῆ ἑωθινῆ стража оутрънична (ПР стража оутръняя) – часть оутрънии

Ex 14,31 θεράτων оугодъникъ – рабъ

Ex 19,13 κτήνος скотъ – звѣрь

Особое внимание заслуживают те разночтения, в которых наблюдается не просто замена одного слова другим. Речь идет о целых словосочетаниях, порою целых стихах, в которых использована и различная лексика, и различные грамматические и синтаксические приемы передачи смысла. Почти во всех случаях возможно предполагать не просто различные переводческие решения, а и использование различных греческих источников. При этом почти во всех случаях ближе к греческому тексту, представленному

р. 330), восходит к праслав. *věito и встречается во всех славянских языках (М. Фасмер, *Этимологический словарь русского языка*, vol. I, Москва 1986, р. 308). В значении 'народное собрание' довольно часто употребляется в русских летописях, в других письменных памятниках встречается сравнительно редко (И.И. Срезневский, *Словарь древнерусского языка*, vol. I, Москва 1989, р. 499–500). Видимо, оно являлось малоупотребимым и в XV–XVI вв. уже было непонятно книжникам, так как во всех южнославянских списках книги Исход встречается в искаженном виде – вѣка. В Ар употреблено в русской огласовке – вѣчеви.

³³ Лексема зафиксирована в *Супрасльском сборнике*, творчестве Иоанна Экзарха, Книге пророка Иезекииля с толкованиями и др.

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Abstract. Paroemia readings in non-liturgical (četi) copies of the Book of Exodus. The article studies the correlation between the Slavonic liturgical and non-liturgical versions of the Book of Exodus. The linguistic-textological data as well as some variant readings allow us to conclude that during the translation of the non-liturgical (full, četi) text of the Book of Exodus the translator did not use already translated paroemias. There is every reason to associate this new translation with the texts translated or revised in Preslav in the 10th century. The liturgical (paroemias) readings were included in the full copies of Exodus later and thus partially replaced the non-liturgical text. Most often this replacement was performed in the full copies of late Russian group.

Ключевые слова: Паримейник, Книга Исход, преславские переводы

Keywords: Book of Paroemias, Book of Exodus, Preslav translations

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ARTICLES

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LA CONNAISSANCE DE LA LOI ECCLÉSIASTIQUE CHEZ SOCRATE DE CONSTANTINOPLE EN CONFRONTATION AVEC L'OEUVRE DE HERMIAS SOZOMÈNE

Dans la littérature spécialisée, il a été question de l'éducation juridique de Socrate, auteur de l'*Histoire ecclésiastique*¹. Assez longtemps on cherchait la confirmation de son appartenance à des avocats de part son titre de *Scolastique* qui lui fut attribué², et lequel d'une part, a surgi relativement tard parce que le plus tôt il peut être daté de la moitié du VII^{ème} siècle³, et en même temps il n'apparaît dans son manuscrit qu'au XI^{ème}⁴, d'autre part, il pouvait signifier seulement un homme instruit⁵. L'attention a été également accordée à l'absence de familiarité juridique de Socrate⁶ ou à son opinion critique sur la profession d'avocat⁷. Socrate de Constantinople est connu, cependant, principalement comme un historiographe chrétien. Alors, quelle était vraiment sa compréhension de la loi ecclésiastique? Hermias Sozomène, considéré comme un avocat, écrivant son *Histoire ecclésiastique* fondée sur la relation de Socrate⁸, apportait-il des modifications aux arguments juridiques de son prédécesseur?

¹ Les aspects les plus importants de la discussion à ce sujet étaient présentés par Theresa Urbainczyk (*Socrates of Constantinople: Historian of Church and State*, Michigan 1997, p. 13–14) et Pierre van Nuffelen (*Un Héritage de Paix et de Piété. Étude sur les histoires ecclésiastiques de Socrate et de Sozomène*, Leuven–Paris–Dudley 2004, p. 8–10).

² Cf. M. WALLRAFF, *Der Kirchenhistoriker Sokrates. Untersuchungen zu Geschichtsdarstellung, Methode und Person*, Göttingen 1997, p. 215, n. 29.

³ Au milieu du VII^{ème} siècle Théodore de Paphos (*Vita Spyridonis*, [in:] *La Légende de S. Spyridon, évêque de Trimithonte*, ed. trad. P. VAN DEN VEN, Louvain 1953, p. 78, 11) dénota Socrate comme σχολαστικός.

⁴ Il s'agit du manuscrit Laurentianus 69, 5, qui mettait σχολαστικός comme le surnom de Socrate dans le titre de l'*Histoire ecclésiastique*. Aussi dans la version arménienne de l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* de Socrate, datée du XIII^{ème} siècle, l'auteur a été nommé Scolastique; cf. G.C. HANSEN – SOKRATES, *Kirchengeschichte*, ed. G.C. HANSEN, Berlin 1995 [= GCS.NF 1], p. XXVI, LV.

⁵ Cf. P. VAN NUFFELEN, *Un Héritage de Paix et de Piété...*, p. 8–9.

⁶ Cf. M. WALLRAFF, *Der Kirchenhistoriker Sokrates...*, p. 215–217.

⁷ Socrate (*Histoire ecclésiastique*, VI, 3, 2, texte grec de l'éd. G.C. HANSEN (GCS), trad. française par P. PÉRICHON, P. MARAVAL, Paris 2005 [= SC, 505], cetera: SOKRATES, p. 264) écrivait à propos de Jean Chrysostome: *Ayant l'intention de se destiner au barreau, mais voyant la vie mauvaise et injuste qu'on menait dans les tribunaux, il préférerait se tourner vers la vie paisible* (trad. franç. p. 265).

⁸ On prêtait souvent attention sur la dépendance de la narration de Sozomen à Socrate, cf. G.C. HANSEN, SOZOMENUS, *Kirchengeschichte*, ed. J. BIDEZ, G.C. HANSEN, Berlin 1960 [= GCS. NF 4], p. XLV–XLVII;

La loi ecclésiastique est appelé *le droit canon* ou *canonique*. Repris au grec, le mot *canon* avait déjà été utilisé par les juristes romains pour désigner une règle de droit⁹. Au V^{ème} siècle, alors quand les historiens précités créaient leurs œuvres, le terme grec *canon* avait beaucoup de significations de part la règle ou la norme de la foi, à travers le canon biblique, les préceptes du droit de l'Église, le modèle de conduite ou des normes morales, l'ordre liturgique, et même faisait référence aux rangs de l'Église, donc à la hiérarchie¹⁰. L'expression *canon* dans le langage juridique signifiait à l'origine toutes les lois, à la fois civile et ecclésiastique, elles ont ensuite été appliquées aux dispositions relatives à la foi et à la morale posées par les autorités ecclésiastiques, et surtout édictées par les synodes et les conciles. Au concile de Nicée (325), il a été fait référence aux canons comme un ensemble de règles applicables dans l'Église en matière de mesures disciplinaires¹¹. Les empereurs de l'Empire romain employaient la notion de canons ecclésiastiques dans sa législation déjà dans le V^{ème} siècle. L'empereur Justinien distinguait clairement entre les termes *canon* et *nomos*. Le premier d'entre eux, il réservait pour les lois de

G.F. CHESNUT, *The First Christian Histories. Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Evagrius*, Paris 1977, p. 205; G. SABBAB, *Introduction*, [in:] SOZOMÈNE, *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, ed. B. GRILLET, G. SABBAB, Paris 1983 [= SC, 306], p. 59; F. YOUNG, *From Nicaea to Chalcedon*, London 1983, p. 32; T.D. BARNES, *Athanasius and Constantius*, Cambridge 1993, p. 206; T. URBAINCZYK, *Observations on the differences between the Church Histories of Socrates and Sozomen*, *Hi* 46, 1997, p. 355–373. P. van Nuffelen (*Un Héritage de Paix et de Piété...*, passim) consacrait une monographie entière à la comparaison de tous les deux de l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* en termes de similitudes et les différences. Dans conviction P. Janiszewski (*Żywioły w służbie propagandy, czyli po czyjej stronie stoi Bóg. Studium klęsk i rzadkich fenomenów przyrodniczych u historyków Kościoła w IV i V wieku*, [in:] *Chrześcijaństwo u schyłku starożytności. Studia źródłoznawcze*, t. III, ed. T. DERDA, E. WIPSYZKA, Kraków 2000, p. 153) Sozomène voulait créer un oeuvre compétitifs pour Socrate, plus près aux canons de la littérature classique et aux goûts classicistes des cercles intellectuels de Constantinople. à mon avis, la subordination d'oeuvre Sozomène à Socrate, il était probablement résultat de l'implication du premier d'eux en conflit au sein de l'Église, lequel la culmination avait lieu au concile d'Ephèse (*Latrocinium efesinum*) en l'an 449. Son *Histoire ecclésiastique*, dédiée à l'empereur Théodose II, pourrait être une tentative de conviction du souverain à changer le cours de sa politique ecclésiastique, mais pour atteindre le résultat souhaité, il devait être rapidement écrit; donc Sozomène interprétait et étendait le travail écrit auparavant par Socrate; cf. S. BRALEWSKI, *Obraz papiestwa w historiografii kościelnej wczesnego Bizancjum*, Łódź 2006 [= BL, 10], p. 274–278.

⁹ J. GAUDEMET, *Les sources du droit de l'Église en Occident du I^{er} au VI^e siècle*, Paris 1985, p. 12; sur la genèse et les origines du droit ecclésiastique cf. H. HESS, *The early development of canon law and the Council of Serdica*, Oxford 2002, p. 35–59; K. PENNINGTON, *The growth of church law*, [in:] *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. II: *Constantine to c. 600*, ed. A. CASIDAY, F.W. NORRIS, Cambridge 2008, p. 386–400; S. WESSEL, *The Formation of Ecclesiastical Law in the Early Church*, [in:] *The History of Byzantine and Eastern Canon Law to 1500*, ed. W. HARTMANN, K. PENNINGTON, Washington 2012, p. 1–23.

¹⁰ *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, ed. G.W.H. LAMPE, Oxford 1961, p. 701–702.

¹¹ Le canon 2 et 5, *Dokumenty Soborów Powszechnych, tekst grecki, łaciński, polski*, t. I: *Nicea I, Konstantynopol I, Efez, Chalcedon, Konstantynopol II, Konstantynopol III, Nicea II (325–787)*, ed. A. BARON, H. PIETRAS, Kraków 2002, p. 27; 31.

l'Église, et l'autre pour le droit civil¹². Comment Socrate et Sozomène ont-ils utilisé les expressions juridiques mentionnées? Est-ce qu'ils utilisaient le terme canon seulement pour le droit ecclésiastique, ou l'appliquaient dans des sens différents?

Socrate a mentionné que les participants du concile de Nicée (325) ont rédigé aussi le reste de *divers autres textes, qu'on a coutume d'appeler canons*¹³. Sozomène a corrigé légèrement cette information indiquant clairement que

le concile, s'efforçant de redresser les moeurs de ceux qui servent dans l'Église, établit des lois, qu'on nomme canons¹⁴, (...) qui dussent servir de règle pour le gouvernement de l'Église¹⁵.

Ainsi, selon Sozomène, ce ne sont pas les dispositions de nature non précisée, comme les décrit Socrate, mais les règles de la loi relatives à la sphère disciplinaire. Tous les deux utilisaient le nom *canons*. Socrate dans son oeuvre a appliqué ce terme 35 fois, tandis que Sozomène l'a fait seulement 10 fois. Qu'est-ce qui a causé cet écart?

1. La signification de l'expression « canon » dans l'Histoire ecclésiastique de Socrate en confrontation avec le texte de Hermias Sozomène

Après l'analyse des cas individuels d'utilisation de l'expression *canon* par Socrate, il est clair que l'historien le pratiqua de plusieurs façons:

1a. Norme, règle

Pour la première fois, Socrate a exploité l'expression *canon* parlant d'une conversation de l'empereur Constantin avec Akésios, l'évêque novatien, censée avoir lieu pendant le concile de Nicée¹⁶. Quand le souverain demanda au prêtre pourquoi il se détache de la communauté ecclésiale lorsqu'il accepte la résolution de concile.

¹² H.-G. BECK, *Nomos, Kanon und Staatsraison in Byzanz*, Wien 1981 [= SÖAW.PHK, 384], passim; H. OHME, *Kanon ekklesiastikos*, Berlin 1998, passim; P. RODOPOULOS, *An Overview of Orthodox Canon Law*, Rollinsford 2007, passim; S.N. TROIANOS, *Nomos und Kanon in Byzanz*, [in:] IDEM, *Historia et Ius* (1999–2004), vol. II, Athen 2004, p. 199–222. Au sujet du concept du droit chez l'empereur Justinien cf. D. SIMON, *Legislation as Both a World Order and a Legal Order*, [in:] *Law and Society in Byzantium: Ninth–Twelfth Centuries*, ed. A.E. LAIOU, D. SIMON, Washington 1994, p. 5–9.

¹³ SOCRATES, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, I, 13, 11, texte grec de l'éd. G.C. HANSEN (GCS), trad. française par P. PÉRICHON, P. MARAVAL, Paris 2004 [= SC, 477], p. 152 (trad. franç. p. 153): τότε δὲ οἱ ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ ἐπίσκοποι καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ἐγγράψαντες, ἃ κανόνας ὀνομάζειν εἰώθησαν.

¹⁴ SOZOMÈNE, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, I, 23, 1 (cetera: SOZOMENUS), éd. J. BIDEZ, Paris 1983 [= SC, 306], p. 212: Ἡ δὲ σύνοδος ἐπανορθῶσαι τὸν βίον σπουδάζουσα τῶν περὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας διατριβόντων ἔθετο νόμους οὓς κανόνας ὀνομάζουσιν.

¹⁵ SOZOMENUS, I, 23, 5, p. 214 (trad. franç. p. 215): νόμους ἀνεγράψατο, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων, ἥπερ αὐτῇ καλῶς ἔχειν ἐδόκει, νόμους ἀνεγράψατο, καθ' οὓς πολιτεύεσθαι προσήκει τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πράγματα.

¹⁶ SOCRATES, I, 10, p. 140–142.

Il avait entendu en réponse, que Akesios le fit en raison d'observance scrupuleuse d'une sévère norme de ne pas autoriser l'octroi de pardon à ceux qui ont commis le péché mortel après le baptême. Pour décrire cette norme Socrate a utilisé le terme canon¹⁷. Tandis que Sozomène se limita seulement à décrire les propos d'Akesios dans le passage adéquat¹⁸.

En s'employant d'une date pour célébrer les Pâques chez Novatiens Socrate profita quatre fois le mot *canon* et le verbe créé à partir de ce nom. Il les utilisa en ce qui concerne des règles respectés par eux pour ne pas admettre aux sacrements *ceux qui après le baptême avaient commis un péché qui conduit à la mort*¹⁹. Il écrivit sur la règle rigoureuse de leur Église (ὁ ἀκριβῆς τῆς ἐκκλησίας κανὼν)²⁰, que «l'affirmation d'une telle règle semblait rude et cruelle pour les uns, tandis que les autres acceptaient la règle comme juste et efficace pour corriger la conduite»²¹. Un peu plus loin, il indiqua que les Novatiens recevaient leurs règles des évêques novatiens de l'époque, les évêques de Constantinople, de Nicée, de Nicomédie et de Cotyée²². Dans un passage adéquat Sozomène ne mentionne pas de principes respectés par les Novatiens²³.

Socrate employa aussi le terme canon pour décrire la position prise par des participants synodaux à Pazos²⁴ au sujet de la date de célébration de la Pâque. Parce qu'ils reconnurent les différences dans la célébration de cette fête comme trop insignifiante pour provoquer un schisme dans l'Église, ils appelèrent ce canon indifférent²⁵. Socrate souligna également que la décision laquelle les évêques prirent à Pazos sur la fête de Pâque n'a pas violée en aucune manière le pré-existant canon universel (τῷ καθολικῷ κανόνι)²⁶, en ce qu'il faut voir la coutume ou une règle universelle. Cette fois, Sozomène décrit ces faits de façon similaire que Socrate. Dans sa relation les évêques de Novatiens réunis à Sangaros (non à Pazos) établirent le canon appelé *neutre*²⁷.

¹⁷ SOCRATES, I, 10, 3, p. 140: τὴν ἀκριβείαν τοῦ αὐστηροῦ κανόνος.

¹⁸ SOZOMENUS, I, 22, p. 210–212.

¹⁹ SOCRATES, IV, 28, 5, p. 120; trad. P. PÉRICHON, P. MARAVAL, SC, 505, p. 121.

²⁰ SOCRATES, IV, 28, 1, p. 118.

²¹ SOCRATES, IV, 28, 5, p. 120: τοῖς μὲν ἐδόκει πικρὰ καὶ ἀπληγῆς εἶναι τοῦ τοιοῦτου κανόνος ἢ ἔκθεσις, οἱ δὲ ὡς δίκαιον τὸν κανόνα καὶ ὀρθοῦντα τὴν πολιτείαν ἐδέχοντο; trad. P. PÉRICHON, P. MARAVAL, SC, 505, p. 121.

²² SOCRATES, IV, 28, 18, p. 122.

²³ SOZOMENUS, VI, 24, 6–8, p. 362–364.

²⁴ La localisation de Pazos n'est pas connue. Selon Socrate (IV, 28, 17, p. 122) Pazos c'était un village situé là où se trouvait les sources du fleuve Sangarios.

²⁵ SOCRATES, V, 21, 14, p. 214.

²⁶ SOCRATES, V, 21, 14, p. 216.

²⁷ SOZOMENUS, VII, 18, 4, p. 160: καὶ κανόνα περὶ τούτου ἔθεντο, ὃν ἀδιάφορον ἐπωνόμασαν.

1b. Les règles de la grammaire

Amenant les lecteurs au caractère Didym d'Alexandrie, appelé Aveugle, et en accordant une attention à son éducation complète en dépit de la perte de vue, Socrate a souligné que celui apprenait facilement les règles de la grammaire. L'historien les décrit en même temps comme les *canons* (γραμματικῆς τε γὰρ τοὺς κανόνας)²⁸. Et cette fois Sozomène, bien qu'il écrive également sur les extraordinaires compétences Didym, il ne fait aucune mention de sa perfection dans les règles de la grammaire²⁹.

1c. Résolution, décision

Décrivant les événements associés avec la privation de Paul par la force de la dignité d'évêque de Constantinople et l'intronisation de son successeur Macédonius, ce qui conduisit à l'effusion de sang en raison de résistance des habitants de la capitale, Socrates constata que Macedonius a été introduit au trône de l'évêque plutôt en raison du préfet accomplissant la volonté de l'empereur Constance II, que le canon ecclésiastique³⁰. Ce terme dans ce cas doit être lu comme une résolution ou une décision. Sozomène indiqua ici que par le changement sur le trône de l'évêque de Constantinople s'accomplit la volonté de l'empereur³¹. Le règlement établissant les prêtres préposé aux pénitents, Socrate appela aussi le *canon*³², alors que Sozomène se limita à la présentation générale de cette institution³³.

1d. Registres ecclésiastiques

De même, alors que Socrate parla d'Helena, mère de Constantin le Grand, servant aux vierges inscrites dans les registres ecclésiastiques, et ceux décrits comme canons, Sozomène écrivit seulement à propos des vierges consacrées au service de Dieu, sans parler d'aucun recensement³⁴. Lorsque Socrate écrivit à propos de l'abolition de l'office des prêtres préposé aux pénitents dans les Églises, il indiqua que ceux-ci devaient être inscrits dans un spécial registre ecclésiastique, appelé par l'historien canon³⁵. Alors que Sozomène traitant de la même question ne mentionna pas de canon³⁶.

²⁸ SOCRATES, IV, 25, 4, p. 104.

²⁹ SOZOMENUS, III, 15, p. 140–146.

³⁰ SOCRATES, II, 16, 14, p. 62.

³¹ SOZOMENUS, III, 9, 4, p. 94.

³² SOCRATES, V, 19, 3, p. 206.

³³ SOZOMENUS, VII, 16, p. 144–150.

³⁴ SOCRATES, I, 17, 12, p. 57; SOZOMENUS, II, 2, 2, p. 234.

³⁵ SOCRATES, V, 19, 2, p. 206.

³⁶ SOZOMENUS, VII, 16, p. 144–150.

1e. Formules de foi, le modèle ou le règle d'une vraie foi

Socrate traitant du conflit entre les orthodoxes et les ariens souligna la fidélité indéfectible des provinces occidentales de *l'Empire romain* aux canons du concile à Nicée³⁷, par ce qu'il comprenait une formule de la foi. Dans une situation similaire Sozomène n'utilisa pas de l'expression *canon*, et il écrivit du dogme de la même assemblée des évêques³⁸. Présentant errements de la réunion au cours du Synode des Ariminum (359) Socrate utilisa le terme ancien canon ecclésiastique. Le clergé orthodoxe l'utilisa, le voyant comme un idéal ou la règle d'une vraie foi, puisque ce canon avait à condamner toutes les hérésies, les reconnaissant pour le blasphème³⁹. Dans la partie pertinente de son texte Sozomène n'utilisa pas de mot canon, mais il écrivit du dogme adopté par les prédécesseurs des évêques réunis à Ariminum⁴⁰.

1f. canons disciplinaires

Dans le prologue à l'exposée de foi proposée au synode de Séleucie d'Isaurie (359) par un parti d'Acace et citée par Socrate, ses auteurs jetèrent ses adversaires, qu'ils apportèrent au synode les évêques ordonnés contre les canons⁴¹ (canons disciplinaires). Il note que les auteurs de ce crédo écrivirent sur les canons en général sans indiquer l'un d'eux. Sozomène, qui ne cita pas ce document, mentionna seulement les évêques ordonnés illégalement (paranōmwj)⁴².

Quand après la mort de l'empereur Constance II, en vertu de l'ordonnance rendue par son successeur-empereur Julien, Lucifer, évêque de Cagliari de Sardaigne, et Eusèbe, évêque de Verceil en Italie, ont été libérés de l'exil de Haute Tébaida, Socrate montra qu'ils avaient tenu une consultation commune, se demandant comment prévenir d'autres contrefaçons de la science de l'Église et de la violation des canons ecclésiastiques⁴³. Cette fois, Socrate lui-même mentionna ces canons en général. Alors que Sozomène n'utilisa pas de telle expression, écrivant seulement sur un accord commun conclu en vue d'améliorer la situation dans l'Église⁴⁴.

Dans la narration de Socrate décrivant le schisme d'Antioche lorsque sous le règne de l'empereur Gratien, Mélèce rentra d'exil et ses partisans demandèrent qu'il gouverne lui-même comme l'évêque avec Paulin, ce dernier a considéré cela comme le contraire aux canons (παρά κανόνας), parce que Mélèce a été consacré

³⁷ SOCRATES, II, 27, 8, p. 126: τὸν παραδοθέντα ἐκ τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνόδου κανόνα κρατεῖν.

³⁸ SOZOMENUS, III, 11, 2, p. 101: ἀρκεῖσθαι γὰρ ἔφασαν τοῖς ἐν Νικαίᾳ δόξασι.

³⁹ SOCRATES, II, 37, 26, p. 168: καθ' ὃν τρόπον καὶ τὰς ἄλλας αἰρέσεις ὁ παλαιὸς κανὼν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὡς βλασφημίου ἐξέβαλεν.

⁴⁰ SOZOMENUS, IV, 17, 6, p. 272: ἀλλ' ἀρκεῖσθαι τοῖς ἤδη δόξασι πρὸ αὐτῶν.

⁴¹ SOCRATES, II, 40, 9, p. 208.

⁴² SOZOMENUS, IV, 22, 14, p. 306.

⁴³ SOCRATES, III, 5, 2, p. 272: Ἄμφω οὖν τῶν ἄνω Θεβῶν τῆς ἐξορίας ἐπανιόντες συμβουλήν ἐποιού- ντο, τίνα τρόπον τὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας κανόνα διαφθειρόμενον μὴ παρίδωσιν.

⁴⁴ SOZOMENUS, V, 12, 1, p. 148: ἐπὶ διορθώσει τε τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων κοινῇ συνθήκη.

comme l'évêque par les Ariens⁴⁵. Sozomène complètement ignora la question de canons et il mentionna seulement que les supporters de Paulin étaient contre Mélèce parce qu'il a été ordonné évêque par les Ariens⁴⁶. Il n'avait pas des canons concrets qui auraient défini le problème ci-dessus et il paraît que Sozomène était au courant de cela. Comme nous pouvons voir, l'historien évitait la détermination comme les canons les références générales au droit ecclésiastique faits par Socrate, lesquels il pourrait aussi bien appeler la coutume ecclésiale.

Socrate assignait la générosité laquelle Jean Chrysostome manifesta à Épiphane de Salamine de Chypre. Selon l'historien *Jean ne se fâcha pas parce qu'Épiphane avait fait une ordination contre les canons dans une église qui dépendait de lui*⁴⁷. Un peu plus tôt Socrate a dit qu'Épiphane, quand il débarqua du navire, célébra une synaxe et ordonna un diacre⁴⁸, et donc il les a fait sur le terrain subordonné à la juridiction de l'évêque Jean, ce qui était interdit par les canons⁴⁹. Cette question Sozomène aussi a évité⁵⁰ dans sa narration, mais cette fois il semble que la raison était complètement différente qu'auparavant. Comment on peut croire, le non-respect des canons par Épiphane était inconciliable avec la conviction de Sozomène sur le caractère sacré de l'évêque de Salamine, mentionné par l'historien comme le plus célèbre avec la vie humaine sans tache à cette époque⁵¹. Alors, peut-être, l'historien ne croyait pas que ce saint évêque violait la loi ecclésiastique. Socrate décrivant les péripéties de Jean Chrysostome après son premier exil, indiqua que l'évêque était alors accusé qu'il *après sa déposition ait pris possession de son trône sans que le concile l'ait décidé*⁵². Selon l'historien Jean en réponse

rétorquait que cette règle [canon] n'était pas celle de leur Église, mais celle des Ariens (car ceux qui s'étaient réunis à Antioche pour abolir la foi consubstantielle avaient édicté cette règle [canon] par haine d'Athanase), ils n'acceptèrent pas ces justifications et le condamnèrent, sans penser que, en se servant de la même règle [canon], ils auraient aussi déposé Athanase⁵³.

Les trois fois donc, Socrate a mentionné le canon concret adopté en l'an 341 au Synode d'Antioche appelé le synode *in Encaeniis*. Il est intéressant de noter que dans sa relation Sozomène n'écrivit pas dans ce cas sur le canon, mais sur la loi d'hétérodoxe (ἑτεροδόξων νόμον)⁵⁴, il semble donc que les lois hérétiques n'étaient pas considérées comme des canons.

⁴⁵ SOCRATES, V, 5, 4, p. 158.

⁴⁶ SOZOMENUS, VII, 3, 2, p. 78.

⁴⁷ SOCRATES, VI, 14, 1, p. 320; trad. P. PÉRICHON, P. MARAVAL, SC, 505, p. 321.

⁴⁸ SOCRATES, VI, 12, 2, p. 316.

⁴⁹ Cela interdisait qu'au moins 2 canon de Constantinople de l'année 381.

⁵⁰ SOZOMENUS, VIII, 14, 6–11, p. 294–298.

⁵¹ SOZOMENUS, VIII, 14, 1, p. 294.

⁵² SOCRATES, VI, 18, 8, p. 338; trad. P. PÉRICHON, P. MARAVAL, SC, 505, p. 339.

⁵³ SOCRATES, VI, 18, 11, p. 338; trad. P. PÉRICHON, P. MARAVAL, SC, 505, p. 339.

⁵⁴ SOZOMENUS, V, III, 20, 5, p. 322.

Dans l'un des derniers chapitres de son *Histoire ecclésiastique*, Socrate, en expliquant pourquoi Proclos n'a pas été élu évêque de Constantinople, indiqua les arguments avancés par des personnalités influentes, prouvant que le canon ecclésiastique n'a pas permis quiconque déjà nommé évêque d'une ville – d'être transféré dans une autre ville⁵⁵. Proclos avait déjà été auparavant évêque de Cyzique⁵⁶. Dans la prochaine partie de son raisonnement sur ce sujet Socrate utilisait trois fois le terme canon par rapport à cette disposition du droit de l'Église⁵⁷. L'historien critiquait également des adversaires de Proclos pour l'envie ou l'ignorance des canons et les pratiques qui ont eu lieu dans cette affaire dans les différentes Églises⁵⁸. Pour authentifier ses raisons il cita le 18 canon du synode d'Antioche de l'année 341⁵⁹. Il a justifié des évêques ne remplissant pas leurs fonctions ecclésiastiques en raison de rejet par la communauté, laquelle ils allaient conduire. Selon Socrate les adversaires de Proclos s'étaient reportés à cette disposition de la loi, en l'interprétant faussement. Peut-être Sozomène aurait abordé cette question dans les dernières parties de son *Histoire ecclésiastique*, mais vu qu'il n'a pas fini son œuvre, il n'a pas pris en compte l'affaire de Proclos.

2. Le manque de précision dans l'utilisation de la terminologie juridique par Socrate

Il est donc clair que Socrate utilisait le terme canon dans de nombreux sens, non seulement par rapport aux lois de l'Église. De plus, ces dernières ne sont pas toujours appelées par lui les canons. Lorsqu'il informait sur les nouvelles dispositions de la discipline, lesquelles les participants du concile de Nicée souhaitaient mettre en application, il n'a pas utilisé le terme canon, mais *nomos* (νόμος νεαρός)⁶⁰. Analogique, il écrivait sur le sujet de la loi qui interdisait la détermination quiconque pour la dignité d'évêque sans le consentement de l'évêque de Constantinople en utilisant l'expression *nomos*⁶¹. La même chose avait lieu dans le cas du 3^{ème} canon du concile de Constantinople, où il a utilisé le mot ὄρος⁶².

⁵⁵ SOCRATES, VII, 35, 2, p. 126.

⁵⁶ SOCRATES, VII, 28, p. 106.

⁵⁷ SOCRATES, VII, 36, 1; 5; 8, p. 128; 130.

⁵⁸ SOCRATES, VII, 36, 2, p. 128.

⁵⁹ SOCRATES, VII, 36, 6–7, p. 128; SCL, t. I, p. 140.

⁶⁰ SOCRATES, I, 11, 3, p. 144. Il est vrai que Sozomène (I, 23, 3, p. 214) appela également ce prévu *nomos* le canon, mais parce que dans son cas c'était une exception, puisque il toujours décrivait la loi ecclésiastique comme canons, il faut reconnu que historien ne voulait pas appeler le canon du projet de loi, qui a été rejetée.

⁶¹ SOCRATES, VII, 28, 2, p. 106.

⁶² SOCRATES, V, 8, 13, p. 168.

3. L'ignorance de la loi ecclésiastique par Socrate

Dans son *Histoire ecclésiastique*, Socrate informait parfois faussement sur les pouvoirs spéciaux des évêques de Rome et de Constantinople garantis par la loi. Il a fait valoir, par exemple, que selon l'un des canons ecclésiastiques, les diverses Églises ne pouvaient pas *kanonidzesthai* (nous comprenons par cela l'interdiction de la mise en place de nouveaux canons)⁶³. Dans un autre endroit, un peu plus loin, Socrate a remarqué que c'était Julius, évêque de Rome, qui accusa les participants de synode d'Antioche de l'année 338 à violer les canons, parce qu'ils l'ont pas invité au synode malgré que le canon ecclésiastique interdisait clairement les Églises *kanon...zein* sans le consentement de l'évêque de Rome⁶⁴. Bien sûr, Sozomène était conscient que tel canon n'existait pas, alors il écrivait de manière générale sur la coutume ou la loi (*nomos*) en vigueur pour les prêtres, qui interdisait de prendre des mesures contre le pape⁶⁵, en outre, ce qui aussi ne correspondait pas à la vérité, mais s'accordait avec le concept promu par l'historien. De même, la demande de Socrate concernant la loi ou la coutume existante (cette fois historien utilisa au lieu de l'expression canon le terme *nomos*) interdisant la détermination quiconque pour la dignité d'évêque sans le consentement de l'évêque de Constantinople⁶⁶, était fausse. Peut-être Sozomène considérait aussi comme fausse cette affirmation de Socrate et donc il l'omit dans le silence, mais il ne peut pas être exclu le fait qu'il n'avait pas assez de temps pour aborder cette question.

Il est intéressant de noter que lorsque Socrate traitait l'affaire de l'évêque Proclus (déjà mentionnée), citant le canon 18 du Synode d'Antioche de l'an 341, il entièrement omit canon 21 du même Synode⁶⁷ et 15 canon du concile de Nicée⁶⁸, ou 1 et 2 canon du Synode de Sardic⁶⁹, qui interdisaient explicitement déménagement des évêques et qui correspondaient beaucoup plus à la situation contemporaine de Proclus. Omettant des canons indiqués, Socrate dénudait son ignorance de la loi ecclésiastique, bien qu'il semble que dans ce cas, il laissait une certaine manipulation, car il savait le canon 18 du synode d'Antioche, il faut supposer qu'il connaissait bien le 21 canon de ce synode, mais il l'a ignoré parce que ce fut en non-conformité avec les raisons présentées par lui. Il convient également de souligner que Socrate n'avait pas l'esprit que le synode dont les canons s'invoquait était le synode des Ariens. Probablement, Sozomène n'avait pas le temps à répondre aux questions liées à la candidature de Proclus pour l'évêque de Constantinople⁷⁰.

⁶³ SOCRATES, II, 8, 4, p. 36.

⁶⁴ SOCRATES, II, 17, 7, p. 66.

⁶⁵ SOZOMENUS, III, 10, 1, p. 96.

⁶⁶ SOCRATES, VII, 28, 2, p. 106.

⁶⁷ SCL, t. I, p. 141.

⁶⁸ *Dokumenty...*, p. 40.

⁶⁹ SCL, t. I, p. 147–148.

⁷⁰ Sozomène (IX, 2, 18, p. 388) réussissait à mentionner une seule fois Proclus.

4. Loi ecclésiastique d'après Hermias Sozomène

Sozomène, bien que son message fût fortement dépendant de la relation de Socrate, il ne voulait pas utiliser le terme canon en sens proposé par son prédécesseur. Il décrivit les mêmes faits en d'autres termes, alors que certains étaient ignorés. Dans son *Histoire ecclésiastique*, il réservait l'expression canon aux dispositions de la loi de l'Église. Une seule fois ce terme est apparu dans sa relation en signification de norme et de règle, quand Sozomen, suivant Socrate, appelait la résolution de synode novatien de Sangaros comme canon. Une autre fois, le mot canon s'est manifesté au sens du registre ecclésial, mais il n'a pas été utilisé dans ce sens par le Sozomène, mais a seulement été cité par lui. En effet, il a été présenté par l'historien dans la lettre de George, évêque de Laodicée, par rapport au registre du clergé de l'Église d'Antioche⁷¹. Dans un cas, l'importance de l'expression canon utilisée par Sozomène est incertaine. En relation de l'historien, Apollinaire dut être retiré de l'Église par George, évêque de Laodicée, l'arien modéré, à cause du fait (contrairement aux canons et la loi ou la coutume des prêtres (ιερέων νόμος) qu'il a établi un contact chaleureux et amical avec Athanase, évêque d'Alexandrie, qui revint d'exil⁷². En comparaison avec ιερέων νόμος les canons peuvent ici signifier les coutumes et la loi ecclésiastique. Pareillement comme la même ιερέων νόμος. L'expression *la loi cléricale* (ιερατικού κανόνος) laquelle montrait (selon Sozomène) les évêques jugeant la cause de Jean Chrysostome en tant que temoignant contre lui, est alors sans ambiguïté⁷³.

Dans d'autres cas également, le terme canon utilisé par Sozomène fait référence uniquement à la loi de l'Église. Ce donc fut le cas avec le concile de Nicée, lorsque, comme il l'écrivit Sozomen, les évêques réunis là établirent les lois, appelées canons⁷⁴, ou du synode des Sangaros où les évêques des novatiens statuèrent le canon appelé neutre⁷⁵. Présentant le rapport des débats du concile de Constantinople en l'an 381, Sozomène souligna que les évêques ont décidé que toutes les Églises étaient gérées selon les anciens canons (κατὰ τοὺς πάλαι κανόνας)⁷⁶. Dans la partie suivante de sa narration, l'historien développait sa pensée, en indiquant que les évêques

resteraient dans leurs propres Églises et ne mettraient pas le pied à la légère dans territoires situés en-dehors de leur administration ecclésiastique: ni ne se mêleraient pas, sans y être invités, d'ordinations qui ne les appartenaient pas (...). Les affaires propres à chaque Église seraient réglées et exécutées, comme il paraîtrait le mieux, par le synode provincial. Après l'évêque de

⁷¹ SOZOMENUS, IV, 13, 3, p. 244.

⁷² SOZOMENUS, VI, 25, 8, p. 368.

⁷³ SOZOMENUS, VIII, 20, 5, p. 322.

⁷⁴ SOZOMENUS, I, 23, 1, p. 212.

⁷⁵ SOZOMENUS, VII, 18, 4, p. 160: καὶ κανόνα περὶ τούτου ἔθεντο, ὃν ἀδιάφορον ἐπωνόμασαν.

⁷⁶ SOZOMENUS, VII, 9, 1, p. 104.

Rome, c'est l'évêque de Constantinople qui avait la primauté comme occupant le siège de la nouvelle Rome⁷⁷.

Sozomène a cité aussi une lettre d'Innocent, évêque de Rome, adressée au clergé de l'Église de Constantinople, dans laquelle celui indiquait clairement qu'il ne faut suivre que des canons qui ont été établis au concile de Nicée:

Ce sont les seuls auxquels l'Église catholique doit obéir et lesquels doit reconnaître. Et si quelqu'un fait référence à d'autres canons différents de ceux de Nicée dont il est prouvé qu'ils ont été composés par des hérétiques, ceux-ci sont rejetés par les évêques catholiques. Car il ne faut pas en effet adjoindre aux canons catholiques ceux qui ont été inventés par les hérétiques.⁷⁸

Dans la croyance d'Innocent, on ne peut pas laisser que les mauvaises décisions prises contrairement aux canons aient la moindre force⁷⁹.

Conclusion

Il résulte de nos observations que Socrate n'a pas eu la meilleure compréhension de la loi ecclésiastique. Il a utilisé le terme canon dans de nombreuses significations, et les lois de l'Église n'étaient qu'un d'entre eux. Donc, ce n'est pas par hasard que ce nom se trouve dans son oeuvre aussi souvent, lorsque l'historien l'appliquait dans un contexte et une signification plus larges, se référant à la loi ecclésiastique en tant que telle, mais aussi aux règles ou à la pratique de l'Église, aux règlements, résolutions, registres ecclésiastiques et même la formule de foi. En outre, Socrate n'appelait pas toujours la loi ecclésiastique comme les canons où on voit clairement qu'il lui manque de précision dans l'utilisation de termes juridiques. Alors que Sozomène, en faisant des ajustements de texte de Socrate, limitait la signification du mot *canon* aux règles disciplinaires et concrètes de l'Église, en excluant celles-ci, qui étaient établies par les synodes considérés comme les hétérodoxes, ce qui a considérablement impacté sa fréquence d'apparition. La désinvolture dans l'utilisation de termes juridiques par Socrate peut être considérée comme un argument supplémentaire pour le fait qu'il n'a pas été avocat ; ainsi que les lacunes dans la connaissance du droit ecclésiastique clairement visibles dans la détermination des pouvoirs des évêques de Rome et de Constantinople.

⁷⁷ SOZOMENUS, VII, 9, 2, p. 104.

⁷⁸ SOZOMENUS, VIII, 26, 14–15, p. 352.

⁷⁹ SOZOMENUS, VIII, 26, 16, p. 352–354.

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Abstract. The Knowledge of Ecclesiastical Law by Socrates of Constantinople Confronted with the Works by Hermias Sozomen. In subject literature there has been a discussion regarding juridical education of Socrates, the author of *Ecclesiastical History*. For quite long he has been believed to be a lawyer, owing to the title *scholastikos*, attributed to him. Recently, however, his legal education has been questioned by some scholars. The purpose of this article is to try to answer whether Socrates, as viewed from the work of Sozomen, also presumably a lawyer, could have knowledge of ecclesiastical law and distinguished between the terms of *canon* (used in ecclesiastical law) and *nomos* (used in civil law). The analysis of both *Ecclesiastical Histories* proves that the word *canon* had numerous meanings for Socrates, who used it while referring to pure ecclesiastical law, as well as to church regulations or practices, ordinances, resolutions, church registry, or even expressions of faith. Moreover, some regulations in ecclesiastical law were not always called canons by Socrates, which demonstrates some lack of precision while using legal terminology. Sozomen, on the other hand, while correcting Socrates' narration, restricted the meaning of the term canon only to the particular church regulations, excluding those established by heterodox synods, which had a significant impact on how frequently they appeared in the text. The liberty of using legal terms by Socrates can be an additional argument to prove that he was not a professional lawyer, just like some discrepancies in the knowledge of ecclesiastical law are clearly visible in describing powers of the bishops of Rome and Constantinople.

Keywords: Socrates of Constantinople, Hermias Sozomen, Ecclesiastical History, ecclesiastical law.

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AUGUSTUS POLONUS. THE IMAGE OF THE EMPEROR IN POLISH HISTORIOGRAPHY IN INTER-WAR PERIOD: PRELIMINARY REMARKS

In this paper I would like to examine the image of the first Roman emperor presented in the Polish historiography in the inter-war period. This issue has been dealt with in three main aspects: the cult of an emperor, the eschatological approach presented by Tadeusz Zieliński and the description of Augustus' anniversary (1937). I will limit my remarks to three most prominent scholars in this field of research in the inter-war Poland: the above-mentioned Tadeusz Zieliński, Ludwik Piotrowicz and Mieczysław Stanisław Popławski. Polish historiography of antiquity is not well recognized and it is my intention to try to present the basic information about the most eminent Polish inter-war period scholars who in their works devoted a lot of attention to the figure of Augustus¹.

¹ For about twenty years the history of studies on the ancient world has been one of the most important subject area in *Altertumswissenschaften*. Although I limited myself mainly to the field of the history of the Roman religion I would like to indicate further references: *Franz Cumont et la science de son temps*, [in:] *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée*, Rome 1999; C. BONNET, 'L'Histoire séculière et profane des religions' (F. Cumont): *Observations sur l'articulation entre rites et croyance dans l'historiographie des religions de la fin du XIX^e et de la première moitié du XX^e siècle*, [in:] *Rites et croyances dans le religions du monde romain. Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique*, vol. LIII, Vandoeuvres–Genève 2007, p. 1–28; *Les religions orientales dans le monde grec et romain cent ans après Cumont (1906–2006). Bilan historique et historiographique*, ed. C. BONNET, V. PIRENNE-DELFORGE, D. PRAET, Brussels–Rome 2009; monographical issue of *ARG* 5, 2003 devoted to Georg Wissowa; V.S. SEVERINO, *La religione di questo mondo di Raffaele Pettazzoni*, Roma 2009; C. SANTI, *La religione romana negli studi di R. Pettazzoni*, *SASL* 24, 2009, p. 173–188. Extremely interesting data on the ways of transmission of knowledge are to be found in the collections of the letters between scholars: D. ACCORINTI, *Herbert Jennings Rose (1883–1961). The Scholar and his Correspondents*, *ICS* 33/34, 2008/2009, p. 65–107; D. ACCORINTI, *Raffaele Pettazzoni and Herbert Jennings Rose, Correspondence 1927–1958. The Long Friendship between the Author and the Translator of The All-knowing God*, Leiden–Boston 2014; *Mongolus Syrio salutem optimam dat: La Correspondance entre Mikhaïl Rostovtzeff et Franz Cumont*, ed. G. BONGARD-LEVINE, C. BONNET, Y. LITVINENKO, A. MARCONE, Paris 2007; *S'écrire et écrire sur l'Antiquité. L'apport des correspondances à l'histoire des travaux scientifiques*, ed. C. BONNET, V. KRINGS, Grenoble 2008. The correspondence of Tadeusz Zieliński is partly published: H. GEREMEK, *Deux lettres adressées à M. Rostovtzeff en 1933*, *DHA* 18, 1992, p. 15–25; *Listy do Stefana Srebrnego*, ed. G. GOLIK-SZARAWARSKA, Warszawa 1997; *Tadeusz Zieliński (1859–1944). Spuren und*

The first researcher whose output in this field I would like to discuss is Tadeusz Zieliński, one of the greatest experts on the European antiquity of the first half of the 20th century². His academic achievements were commonly accepted – not only in Poland. He was awarded honoris causa doctorates by the universities in Moscow (on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of his research work), Athens, Groningen, Oxford, Vilnius, Warsaw, Cracow, Poznań, Lviv, Brno, Paris and Brussels. He was a member of numerous academies, e.g. the Bavarian, the British and Accademia dei Lincei in Rome³. His well-known studies dealt with the Old Attic Comedy, Homeric psychology and Cicero's speeches as well as his influence over the ages⁴. His works on the history of ancient religion were less popular although in my opinion Zieliński's views on Roman religion were undervalued. At this point I would only like to sketch the basic characteristics of his views on this subject. His ideas can be compared only to the work of Franz Cumont, who cannot be omitted in this regard.

Zieliński treated the development of Roman religion not in terms of "organic development" but what he proposed instead was the description of three directions of its development: the "national", the "Greek" and the "Eastern" direction. Zieliński endeavoured to show the "psychology" of religious feelings. He tried to understand the religious experience of the Greco-Romans by writing on something more than merely the cult practices and acts as it had been done so far – suffice to mention the classic book *Religion und Kultus der Römer* of Georg Wissowa⁵. As Zieliński himself admitted, the first approach to the interpretation of the beliefs of ancient Romans was created as a kind of supplement to this work. He considered the way of thinking about Roman religion presented by German scholar as a climax of previous research in this field and as a starting point for further studies – although he noticed certain deficiencies there. That is why the first larger study by Zieliński devoted to Roman religion was considered to be the supplement to the Wissowa's magisterial book presenting the elements which the German scholar had omitted – namely the psychological background⁶. Wissowa criticized

Zeugnisse seines Lebens und Wirkens aus süddeutschen Beständen, ed. U. DUBIELZIG, Toruń 2009; *Tadeusz Zieliński (1859–1944). W 150 rocznicę urodzin*, ed. E. OLECHOWSKA, Warszawa 2011. Some other studies on history of *Altertumswissenschaften* are quoted below.

² Cf. T. ZIELIŃSKI, *Mein Lebenslauf – Erstausgabe des deutschen Originals – und Tagebuch 1939–1944*, ed. J. AXER, A. GAVRILOV, M. VON ALBRECHT, Frankfurt am Main–Berlin–Bern et al. 2002, p. 51–146. Short introduction to Zieliński's life and work: A. GILLMEISTER, *The Point of View. Tadeusz Zieliński on Ancient Religions*, Warsaw 2013 (Akme. Studia historica, 11).

³ Zieliński's academical achievements are enlisted in *Tadeusz Zieliński (1859–1944). Spuren und Zeugnisse...*, p. 171–176.

⁴ E.g. T. ZIELIŃSKI, *Die Gliederung der altattischen Komödie*, Leipzig 1885; IDEM, *Das Clauseigesetz in Ciceros Reden*, Leipzig 1904; IDEM, *Der constructive Rhythmus in Ciceros Reden*, Leipzig 1914; IDEM, *Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte*, Leipzig 1897 (5th edition: Stuttgart 1967).

⁵ G. WISSOWA, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, München 1912².

⁶ T. ZIELIŃSKI, *Rom und seine Gottheit*, München 1903 (= T. ZIELIŃSKI, *Iresione tomus II. Dissertationes ad antiquorum religionem spectans continens*, Leopoli 1936, p. 111–153. I refer to this edition).

Zieliński's ideas rather strongly for their excessive psychologisation⁷. Undoubtedly, Zieliński was aware of the role of a ritual in ancient religions but according to him the essence of religion was perceptible only when a ceremony was perceived with respective feelings. He also believed that if a contemporary reader lit in himself *a bright torch of religious feeling*, he would get the direct access to the spiritual experience of the ancients. He included this assumption in the third axiom of his six-point methodology which he published at the beginning of each part of the series *Religions of the ancient world*, the consummation of his research on ancient religions⁸. He believed that the inborn religious experience which lies in the human nature and not in an image is the proto-source of religion as such. Nevertheless it cannot be concealed that Zieliński sometimes seemed to forget that religion is also a historical phenomenon which undergoes development and change. The difference in perspective between Zieliński and Wissowa (and also Theodor Mommsen) is remarkable⁹.

One important note for the further discussion should be highlighted. Tadeusz Zieliński's views were marked by deep Christocentricity. To him Christian religion was *the acme of humanity pursuits* whereas *ancient religion – the right Old Testament of this Christianity*¹⁰.

How did Tadeusz Zieliński's views relate to the cult of an emperor considering this background? At this point it is worth making one more remark on Zieliński's understanding of Roman religion – the fact that under the influence of Schopenhauer's philosophy he defined religion as *an ingredient of the common Will in its various manifestations* and particular deities were considered as the *objectification* of that Will. A Roman deity was *single in a plurality and plural in a singularity*. He saw the genesis of the cult of an emperor in the cult of *genii* who were thought to be a particle of a deity. The particle which manifested itself in an individual will and the genius of the Roman people was the highest emanation of the collective will¹¹.

⁷ G. WISSOWA, *Religion...*, p. 17. More on the topic: A. GILLMEISTER, *The Point of view...*, p. 44–46.

⁸ The cycle is composed of six parts: history of Greek religion (Petrograd 1917; Polish tr. 1921, English tr. 1926, French tr. 1926), history of Hellenistic religion (Petrograd 1922; Polish tr. 1925) and published only in Polish: comparison of Hellenism and Judaism (vol. I–II, Warsaw 1927); religion of Roman Republic (vol. I–II, Warsaw 1933–1934) and volumes about religion in Roman empire and ancient Christianity, published from the manuscript at the end of 20th century (Toruń 1999).

⁹ Cf. A. MOMIGLIANO, *Religious History without Frontiers: J. Wellhausen, U. Wilamowitz, and E. Schwartz*, HT 21, 1982, p. 49–64; C. FRATEANTONIO, *Konzepte der Independenz von Religion, Stadt und Recht bei Theodor Mommsen und Georg Wissowa*, ARg 5, 2003, p. 41–46; and also J.-L. DURAND, J. SCHEID, "Rites" et "religion". *Remarques sur certains préjugés des historiens de la religion des Grecs et des Romains*, ASSR 85, 1994, p. 23–43. T. Zieliński seemed to anticipate, at least partly, the point of view of French scholars who seemed to be inspired by structuralism.

¹⁰ He used those expressions in six *Axioms*, the formulation of which was the achievement of his life and his scientific *credo*. They were published at the beginning of every volume of the religious series, cf. A. GILLMEISTER, *The point of view...*, p. 14–15.

¹¹ T. ZIELIŃSKI, *Rom...*, p. 114–115.

Thus in 7 BC by setting up the statue of his own genius in shrines of the *lares compitales*¹² Augustus replaced the genius of the people as the manifestation of the collective will of *Quirites*. This did not mean the deification of the emperor, which Zieliński clearly stressed, but it contributed to the concentration in the cult of Augustus' genius of which the emperor was the highest embodiment¹³. Hence the celebration of *Virtuti Augustae* or *Pietati Augustae*, which in abstract terms he called *Augustianisation*. In this regard Zieliński explicitly stated that this form of the cult concerned the living ruler or, to be more precise, his deity and not himself. It was also supposed to be more important than the celebration of *divorum*, that is posthumously deified emperors. *Consecratio divorum* was based on the belief that the dead emperors were *fortes et boni*. This in turn gave partly ethical character to hitherto juridical state religion because apotheosis thought to be the reward for merit. As we can see Zieliński did not fully free himself from Mommsonian mode of thinking on religion and law. Zieliński treated posthumous deification of emperors as the consequence of the Republican cult of *deorum Manium* which, as he believed, was the expansion of the cult of dead ancestors. The fact is that since Augustus' times each emperor as the head of the state was perceived as the father of the whole nation. Zieliński believed that the cult of an emperor had its roots in the Republican religion and not in Greece. At that time this was a new assumption that opposed the views which treated Roman religion as a poor comparison to the Greek religion and dated the cult of a ruler back to Alexander the Great perceiving this issue only in political terms. Zieliński also noticed changes in the cult of rulers though he tried to marginalise them. Analysing the genesis of the cult Zieliński omitted the figure of Julius Caesar, because he thought his deification to be exceptional. He did not try to determine when this deification took place. He considered Augustus as the actual creator of this type of the cult. He devoted to Augustus a considerable part of his research especially in the context of the eschatological examination about which I will write below. Zieliński saw the roots of the cult of a ruler in the Republican religion and not in Greece, which made his views original especially in Poland. He also noticed changes in the cult of an emperor, that is transition from the veneration of Augustus as a god after his death to the veneration of the living emperor, though he did not attach much importance to them¹⁴.

The next Polish scholar who dealt with the problem of emperors' divinity was Ludwik Piotrowicz (1886–1957). He was the head of the department of the ancient history at the University of Poznań and then he took up position at the Jagiellonian

¹² About significance of Augustus' reform see: G. WISSOWA, *Religion...*, p. 70.

¹³ T. ZIELIŃSKI, *Rom...*, p. 140–141.

¹⁴ T. ZIELIŃSKI, *Religia cesarstwa rzymskiego [Religion of the Roman Empire]*, Toruń 1999, p. 149–199 is the most complex presentation of Zieliński's view on the subject. Compare in short: T. ZIELIŃSKI, *Rom...*, p. 139–145. About the circumstances in which he wrote this fragment cf. A. GILLMEISTER, *The Point of view...*, p. 13–14.

University in Kraków. He also treated Augustus as a basis for a more elaborate discussion. While he worked in Poznań, he wrote a comprehensive study *The cult of a ruler in antiquity*¹⁵. Piotrowicz, whose academic interests were not limited only to the classical antiquity but also included the history of the Middle East, treated the subject in a holistic manner. The question of the Roman cult of an emperor was only a part of his research. Piotrowicz, a student of a Cracovian philologist Kazimierz Morawski, supplemented his education by studying in Berlin. It should be noted that the influences of the German scholars of the first years of the 20th century are strongly visible in his research, e.g. in treating Roman religion as an official and ritual form and in emphasising its politicisation¹⁶. It is easy to point out the sources of his inspiration such as the works of Eduard Meyer (whose student Piotrowicz was) and Ernst Kornerman. It corresponded to the contemporary understanding of the Roman culture as poorer and ectypal in comparison to what had been created by the Greeks. In the part of this study which he devoted to Rome, Piotrowicz presented an opinion that the cult of an emperor was another argument proving Hellenisation of Roman religion. The pattern began with the veneration of Alexander the Great, which took place in the Greek East. Therefore the veneration of Roman emperors was a consecutive political step in the development of the cult of rulers. In this respect the honours given to Caesar were, according to Piotrowicz, nothing more than a political act which was to help to legalise the exceptional position of the dictator on the Roman political arena. Piotrowicz having been inspired by German scholars and Zieliński's ideas, linked in a quite original manner the beginning of the Augustus' cult with people tired of war and unrest awaiting for a saviour who would bring peace. He claimed that this was the source of honours given to Caesar's successor, e.g. incorporation of his name into religious hymns. As far as his understanding of the role of Augustus in the development of the cult of a ruler in Rome Piotrowicz differs from Zieliński in some ways. The latter saw the roots of the cult of a ruler in the cult of a genius whereas according to Piotrowicz Augustus' reform in 7 BC was only an attempt at *connecting the cult of a ruler with the Republican traditions in the least jarring manner, because of an indirect way*. Further development was to go along the line that *had been long since settled in the Greek East*¹⁷. In relation to Augustus' religious politics Piotrowicz was particular about its duality regarding the popularisation of the cult of a ruler – it took different shapes in the Eastern and the Western part of the Empire. He also pointed out some inconsistencies in the Western part of the

¹⁵ L. PIOTROWICZ, *Kult panującego w starożytności*, Poznań 1922¹, 2006². I cited here the second edition.

¹⁶ L. MROZEWICZ, *Ludwik Piotrowicz, Poznań i kult panującego*, [in:] *ibidem*, p. 16–17. Cf. L. MROZEWICZ, *Badania nad dziejami Grecji i Rzymu w Poznaniu (1919–2008)*, [in:] *Świat starożytny, jego polscy badacze i kult panującego*, ed. L. MROZEWICZ, K. BALBUZA, Poznań 2011, p. 16–17.

¹⁷ L. PIOTROWICZ, *Kult...*, p. 65.

Empire where the living emperor was not acclaimed a god as in Rome but was venerated with divine glory in other parts of Italy¹⁸.

Another scholar who dealt with the question of the cult of an emperor was Mieczysław S. Popławski (1893–1947), a professor at the Catholic University in Lublin¹⁹. Unfortunately, this brilliant scholar is somewhat forgotten, even by the Polish historians. Popławski was a very original researcher who combined the achievements of ethnography and anthropology with his excellent historical skills and abilities²⁰. He is, *inter alia*, the author of the long study published in French on Sulla and Augustus' apotheoses in which he dealt with, among other topics, the genesis of the cult of an emperor²¹. Popławski attributed it, just like other scholars, to the Greek East. Strictly speaking, the consecration of Hellenistic rulers was the result of two tendencies: the tradition of heroization in the classical Greece and some forms of the cult of Eastern kings (a classic example is of course the pharaohs of Egypt) who were recognised as *revealed gods*. In his work he emphasised clear differences between the cult of a ruler in Rome and in Greece. One of the main differences concerned *l'individualisme pratique* which prevailed in Rome in the last century of the Republic. Therefore he devoted part of his work to the analysis of the sources which have a poetic or philosophical character and which Piotrowicz had thoroughly omitted. Popławski finds Sulla as the first Roman who consciously tried to put himself above other mortals. Hence his nickname *Epaphroditus* and patronage in the figure of Aphrodite-Venus; however, it concerned *Aeneadam genetrix* and a mighty deity of Asian origins, the goddess of the earth, people and all life – *l'impulsion primordiale et la cause de la vie*. Therefore, Sulla seemed to be not a mere mortal who was aware of his inferiority towards the deity but an incarnation of the divine will and, consequently, power. The dictator's will coincided with divine will.

In his study Popławski points out the difference in the way Sulla, Caesar and Augustus treated apotheosis which in short can be defined *from the chosen by gods (Sulla Felix) through god (Iuppiter Iulius) to the deified (Divus divi Filius Augustus)*. He saw the source of the idea of human deification itself partly in the cult of Greek heroes and Hellenistic rulers but also in Caesar and Augustus' legal theory and practice. He also pointed out the natural human tendency to recognize distinguished personalities as divine and to the old traditions giving each ruler a sacral character. He believed that in comparison to the cult of rulers and heroes in Hellenistic societies we could notice in Rome extension and expansion of the

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 65–66.

¹⁹ H. KOWALSKI, *Lublin ośrodkiem badań nad historią starożytną (1918–2010)*, [in:] *Świat starożytny, jego polscy badacze...*, p. 48–49.

²⁰ E.g. M.S. POPŁAWSKI, *Bellum romanum. Sakralność wojny i prawa rzymskiego*, Lublin 1923¹, 2011². Popławski devoted to Augustus and his age some fragments of his other book which concerned political writing. See IDEM, *Polityczna publicystyka w dobie Cezara i Augusta*, Lublin 1935, p. 183–238.

²¹ IDEM, *L'apothéose de Sylla et d'Auguste*, E 30, 1927, p. 273–338.

content covered by this term mainly by legal and social aspects. Therefore it can be assumed that Mieczysław St. Popławski saw deified emperors through a transcendent perspective and not in an inherent one as it was in the case of Ludwik Piotrowicz²².

Ludwik Piotrowicz was an author of the Polish first modern study book for the Roman history²³. He devoted its rather big part to Augustus. Piotrowicz drew his attention to the main difference between the aspiration of Octavian / Augustus and his adopted father. In his opinion, Julius Caesar wanted to change the government from republican into purely monarchic. Augustus however started to come back to the republican form and in 27 B.C. he resigned from all his positions. Piotrowicz explained that as a result of this move Octavian became Augustus in psychological dimension. For the Polish scholar the first emperor was a person of calm and a stoic mind. In small steps, *festina lente*, he achieved everything what he had planned. He was not a genius as Caesar or Sulla but through his intelligent and cautious politics he transformed the Roman political system from the model for *civitas* into a system for the *imperium*. The novelty that Piotrowicz saw in the Augustus' actions was the concentration of the old republican dignities and entitlements in one hand. From this perspective the emperor appears as a continuator of the well-established tradition but also as sly and calculating politician.

Now let's return to Tadeusz Zieliński and his research. He proposed another understanding of the first princeps' deeds in the field of religion. In his works published during a 40-year period, Zieliński presented an original understanding of the crisis of Republican religion, perceived not in political but in eschatological terms. In other words, the changes in the civic religion in the 1st century B.C. were perceived by Zieliński not in terms of the *religious downfall* (as Mommsen and Wissowa) but of the *fin de Rome*, an eschatological spin which he connected with the figure of Sibyl. As I have already mentioned, Zieliński dealt with the question of a *sibylline messianism* for a long period. For the first time he presented it in Russian in 1899, then in French in the work *La Sibylle* published in 1924. This version became the basis of the most comprehensive overview of the subject that was published in Polish in the book *Religion of the Roman Republic*. The chapter included in this work was in turn presented in short in *Quaderni Augustei. Studi stranieri VIII* titled *La sacra missione di Augusto*, which was published in 1937²⁴.

There is a clear shift in the paradigm of the studies on Roman religion, especially in regard to Theodor Mommsen and Georg Wissowa's proposals. A hidden basis for his reflections was the assumption of Zieliński that Christianity was a universal

²² More about emperors' cult can be found in the works of A. GILLMEISTER, *Kult cesarski w polskich badaniach historycznych*, [in:] *Świat starożytny...*, p. 193–203. I resume my research there.

²³ L. PIOTROWICZ, *Dzieje rzymskie*, Warszawa 1934.

²⁴ T. ZIELIŃSKI, *La Sibylle. Trois essais sur la religion antique et la christianisme*, Paris 1924; IDEM, *La sacra missione di Augusto. Quaderni Augustei. Studi Stranieri 8*, Roma 1938. Cf. IDEM, *Religia rzeszypolitej rzymskiej*, vol. II, Warszawa 1934, p. 193–309.

model of religious experience, as it stressed the individual and personal contact with God. Zieliński treated ancient religion (he used this term sometimes in a plural and sometimes in a singular form) as a *preparation psychologique* for Christianity. Tadeusz Zieliński was one of a few researchers of his period who wanted to reject the still picture of ritualised and fossilised Roman religion. He showed it clearly in the analysis of religious transformation at the end of Republic and creation of the Empire. The religious crisis of those times was a fact for him but he saw it in a metaphysical and eschatological perspective and thus the religious politics of Augustus was for him a *rebirth* and redemption from the annihilation²⁵.

Now I would like to focus only on the role which the first princeps played in the model proposed by the Polish scholar. There is no place to make a wider presentation of Zieliński's idea, which after all belongs more to the field of historiosophy than historiography. It is worth noting that Zieliński clearly employed Christianised language, and e.g. used certain typical terminology. He used terms such as *la prophète de la Sibylle* or *péché originel*. In regard to the Greek religion, Zieliński used the word prophet in reference to artists such as Praxiteles²⁶. Whereas in regard to Rome he used this term referring to Virgil and Horace, whom he called *les prophètes de la Sibylle*²⁷. Let me quote a passage from Zieliński:

L'aspect des temps avait changé, et celui de la Sibylle aussi. L'époque stoïcienne – nous pouvons l'appeler ainsi – ne savait que faire de l'éon d'Héraclite, cet «enfant folâtre, jouant aux dames», la doctrine du Portique, tout en acceptant pour base la physique du philosophe ténébreux, avait remplacé son éon par l'idée de la providence. Le devenir devait avoir une essence morale; or, le fond même de la morale consiste dans l'axiome que tout châtimeur a pour cause un délit. Quel était donc le délit qui allait avoir pour effet ce châtimeur suprême: l'anéantissement de cette Rome qui était devenue le monde?

C'est ici que l'idée du *péché originel* se présente au monde antique. Ce n'était pas la première fois; on devrait remonter à Anaximandre pour en tracer l'évolution. Mais, cette fois, ce péché devait être quelque chose de palpable, un péché originel non pas métaphysique, mais historique.²⁸

In the quoted part the most important elements of Zieliński's concept are clearly visible – the wrath of gods, the original sin (Remus' killing) and the threatening danger. In another passage of his study he described the atmosphere of the period of civil wars and everyday terror, which lasted for many years and intensified after Caesar's death²⁹. Additionally, various prophecies related to the Sybil's

²⁵ T. ZIELIŃSKI, *La Sibylle...*, p. 97–125, IDEM, *La sacra...*, p. 3–24.

²⁶ IDEM, *The Religion of Ancient Greece*, Oxford 1926, p. 67.

²⁷ Zieliński used this expression many times in numerous places, e.g.: IDEM, *Dies irae. Studium religijnistyczne z antycznych przeddziewów chrześcijaństwa* [*Dies irae. The religionism study on the ancient pre-Christian times of Christianity*] Warszawa 1929, p. 28; IDEM, *La sacra...*, p. 7.

²⁸ IDEM, *La Sibylle...*, p. 121–122.

²⁹ Cf. IDEM, *Horace et la société romaine du temps d'Auguste*, Paris 1938, p. 51.

name started to go the round which raised the question about the time of the known world's end. Calculations depended on the assumption about the Sibylline age – 100 or 110 – and about the point from which the so-called 'year zero' should be counted. However, all the calculations pointed to the second half of the 1st century BC. The Roman world needed a messiah: the child who Virgil referred to in the famous 4th eclogue. So, was young Caesar to be this child – who took on the patron deity Apollo who according to the Sibylline prophecies was to revive the world as the god-protector of the last century? Do we come across something that has to do with the embodiment of a god into a human? Or a human into a god? Nevertheless, as Zieliński wrote, such a *merry hearsay* had spread 20 years before Jesus' birth. And it was propagated, despite initial reluctance, by the poets of the Augustan era. Zieliński claimed that the Sibylline prophecies – the term he used to call the whole chain of the consecutive prophecies – gave a religious dimension to the political events which led to the rise of the new regime. Consequently, gratefulness towards the creator of the Principate must have had the same dimension of a religious veneration³⁰.

This is the perspective Zieliński took while analysing the foundations of Octavian's authority including the acquisition of the title of Augustus. He claimed that the end of the civil war and the realisation of the Sibylline prophecies signified the beginning of the new era, which in turn demanded new rituals and honouring *the saviour*. The end of the old era which had begun with Romulus' reign would suggest that the first king's name should be adopted but the sense of *odium regni* was strong enough among the Roman people for the idea to fail. Therefore the princeps took the title of Augustus as the memento of the first auspices. Zieliński interpreted it as *una nuova fondazione della città – finora macchata dal peccato originale – ormai espiata, redenta e pura*³¹. The final exoneration of the original fault was the solemn celebration of the beginning of the new era through the observance of *Ludi Saeculares*. Zieliński gave much attention to the date of these celebrations. A large part of his examination – in every version of the study – is devoted to the determination of the proper date. One cannot dispose of the impression that this outstanding intellectual, a candidate for the Nobel Prize in Literature, a holder of honoris causa doctorates at many universities, an honorary member of numerous academic associations, treated the issue as of fairly poetic character with nearly mystical attitude. It is, to stress it once again, another example of the shift of Zieliński's focus from historiography to historiosophy. In any case, in the Italian

³⁰ About the role of Sibyl in Augustan politics cf.: A. GILLMEISTER, *Sibyl in Republican Rome – literary construction or ritual reality?*, [in:] *Society and Religion. Studies in Greek and Roman History*, vol. III, ed. D. MUSIAŁ, Toruń 2010, p. 9–26 and A. GILLMEISTER, *Cultural Paraphrases in the Roman Religion in the Age of Augustus. The Case of Sibylline Books*, AA.ASH 55, 2015, p. 211–222 with an expanded bibliography.

³¹ T. ZIELIŃSKI, *La sacra...*, p. 17.

version of the study on *sacred mission of Augustus* Zieliński wrote about *storiosofia religiosa: Nel centro della storiosofia religiosa dei Romani troviamo la figura e la dottrina della Sibilla*³².

To sum up this discussion, it is worth noting that for Zieliński the real old testament of Christianity was not Judaism but ancient religion. He claimed that Greek and Roman religion (he used these terms quite freely; although he often highlighted the distinctions between Greek and Roman beliefs it is sometimes difficult to understand which beliefs he meant while he wrote about the ancient religion in a singular form) had prepared the minds of the ancients for the reception of the new religion³³. He clearly expanded the old concept of *praeparatio evangelica* with belief that ancient religion was the mother of two 'dogmas', which were fully realised in Christianity. This is a common point of view which Zieliński shared with Cumont. For the latter the oriental cults were also a kind of *praeparatio evangelica*³⁴. Belgian scholar wrote the sentences which could be written by Zieliński: *L'esprit religieux et mystique de l'Orient s'était peu à peu imposé à la société entière, et il avait préparé tous les peuples à se réunir dans le sein d'une Église universelle*³⁵.

In Zieliński's case it was the assumption about the incarnation of an eternal divine entity which appeared in Rome in the twilight of the Republic and which led to, as Zieliński said, the *sacrilegious* cult of rulers. The other dogma concerns the appearance of 'the son of god'. One could distinguish two variations: god-son, that is Apollo, and son-god, that is Hercules. These religious ideas were supposed to lead directly to the Christian messiah, now with his function significantly changed as it intertwined with the Judaic concept. In other words, the idea of the Roman messiah, which to some extent was embodied by Apollo, consisted of his universal character³⁶. However, as Zieliński convincingly wrote in the Italian version which is the most recent one:

lo sviluppo della storia dei secoli seguenti ha dimostrato in un modo irrefragabile, che la relazione del «vangelo» della Sibilla con l'imperatore Augusto era stata erronea. Il Salvatore del mondo apparì infatì, ed apparì presso a poco nel tempo predetto, ma non nella persona del padrone potente del mondo visibile.³⁷

³² *Ibidem*, p. 3.

³³ In a more expanded form: IDEM, *Préparation du christianisme dans la religion antique*, [in:] IDEM, *La Sibylle...*, p. 7–16; cf. also IDEM, *Erudition und Gefühl*, [in:] IDEM, *Iresione...*, p. 460–479.

³⁴ F. CUMONT, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, ed. C. BONNET, F. VAN HAEPEREN, Torino 2009, p. 313–314; D. PRAET, *Oriental Religions and the Conversion of the Roman Empire. The Views of Ernst Renan and of Franz Cumont on the Transition from Traditional Paganism to Christianity*, [in:] *Religion and Competition in Antiquity*, ed. D. ENGELS, P. VAN NUFFELEN, Bruxelles 2014, p. 304–305.

³⁵ F. CUMONT, *Les religions orientales...*, p. 314.

³⁶ T. ZIELIŃSKI, *Le Dieu fait homme et l'homme devenue Dieu*, [in:] IDEM, *La Sibylle...*, p. 17–25.

³⁷ IDEM, *La sacra...*, p. 24.

There are two reasons why I have paid so much attention to the ideas of Tadeusz Zieliński. Firstly, because of their unquestionable originality due to which they were recognized in historiography. Secondly, I believe it is worth reminding ourselves some of Zieliński's neglected works in the field of religious studies especially in the context of the recently noticed phenomenon of developing studies on our own identity³⁸. With regard to the studies on Roman religion it is enough to mention the monumental edition of Franz Cumont's works³⁹ and the studies which were published on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the first edition of *Religion und Kultus der Römer* by Georg Wissowa⁴⁰.

To sum up, I would like to devote a few words to the bimillennium of Augustus' birthday in 1937. In comparison to other European countries this anniversary did not evoke much response in the Polish academic world. However, a couple of festive sessions of academic societies took place and the presented papers were published as separate volumes. Two booklets by L. Piotrowicz and M. St. Popławski are worth mentioning, a popular presentation of Augustus' life and achievements⁴¹. Several texts appeared in newspapers⁴² and scientific journals⁴³. Only a little engagement was also made on the side of the Italian embassy which took part, mostly indirectly, only in few undertakings⁴⁴. The chronicle published in the *Filomata* journal, designed then for school students, suggests that the anniversary of Augustus' birthday was noticed and used by the teachers of the classical languages⁴⁵. *Filomata* was also a place where some of articles related to the anniversary were published. They had popular character but were written by renown scholars and presented a high level⁴⁶.

³⁸ Cf. works cited in note 1.

³⁹ F. CUMONT, *Lux perpetua*, ed. B. ROCHETTE, A. MOTTE, Torino 2009; IDEM, *Les religions orientales...*; IDEM, *Les mystères de Mithra*, ed N. BELAYCHE, A. MASTROCINQUE, Torino 2013.

⁴⁰ ARg 5, 2003.

⁴¹ L. PIOTROWICZ, *Cesarz August*, Kraków 1937; M.S. POPŁAWSKI, *Oktawian August*, Lublin 1938.

⁴² T. Z[IELIŃSKI], *Śmierć Augusta* [*The Death of Augustus*], "Gazeta Polska", nr 14 XI 1936; T. SINKO, *2000lecie cesarza Augusta* [*Bimillemium of emperor Augustus*], "Przegląd Współczesny" 10, 1937, p. 1–19. Four articles were published in PKI 3, 1938: R. GANSZYNIEC, *Posłannictwo Augusta* [*The mission of Augustus*], p. 559–570; H. MARKOWSKI, *Doradcy filozoficzni Augusta* [*The philosophical advisers of Augustus*], p. 571–594; P. KLARFELDÓWNA, *Cesarz i poeta* [*Emperor and Poet*], p. 595–634; W. KOZŁOWSKI, *O wielkości Augusta* [*On the greatness of Augustus*], p. 635–652.

⁴³ S. HAMMER, *Oktawian w roli triumwira* [*Octavianus as triumvir*], E 39, 1938, p. 61–81, 191–216; IDEM, *2000lecie cesarza Augusta* [*Bimillemium of emperor Augustus*], E 39, 1938, p. 118–124.

⁴⁴ 23 April 1937 The Italian Institute in Warsaw organised a lecture about Augustus. The lecture was given by W. Kozłowski and was published in a shorter version in *Polonia-Italia* 5, 1937. The expanded version: W. KOZŁOWSKI, *O wielkości...*

⁴⁵ Fil 95, 1937, p. 187; 97, 1938, p. 293–296 (report on trial on Augustus); 98, 1938, p. 337–338; 99, 1938, p. 397–338; 105, 1938, p. 186–187.

⁴⁶ Fil 84, 1936, p. 99–101; 92, 1937, p. 5–32; 93, 1937, p. 51–67; 99, 1937, p. 99–118; 95, 1937, p. 147–154.

All these events are linked by one trait. In the Polish historiography of the inter-war period which includes works by T. Zieliński, L. Piotrowicz and St. Popławski presented in this paper, the emphasis was clearly put on presenting Augustus as the creator of a new culture, the real father of Empire united under the banner of *romanitas* and an example of wise ruler who treated his power as a way to be the first citizen and the *pater patriae*. Not a cruel dictator but a father of European culture⁴⁷. We can also see a strong attempt of the Polish scholars to distance themselves from the celebration of bimillennium of Augustus in Italy by Benito Mussolini. As Tadeusz Sinko stated: *what is for Italy a political feast, for other European nations is a feast of culture*⁴⁸.

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⁴⁷ Cf. M. St. PIOTROWICZ, *Oktawian...*, p. 46.

⁴⁸ T. SINKO, *2000lecie...*, p. 1.

- GILLMEISTER A., *Kult cesarski w polskich badaniach historycznych*, [in:] *Świat starożytny, jego polscy badacze i kult panującego*, ed. L. MROZEWICZ, K. BALBUZA, Poznań 2011, p. 193–203.
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Abstract. The figure of the first Roman emperor in many ways had an impact on the Polish culture, especially in historiography and literature. In my paper I focus on some issues connected with the subject. I discuss the ideas presented by Tadeusz Zieliński, one of the most eminent researchers of the ancient world in Europe in the first part of 20th century. He devoted a significant part of his *opus* to present his own vision of Augustus seen as a reformer of the Roman state religion. Zieliński built the emperor's image as the saviour of the Roman world in the face of „the end of times.” This term played significant role in Zieliński's thinking about Roman history at the end of the Republic. For the Polish scholar celebration of the secular game in 17 BC was the final task done by Augustus. This task Zieliński defined as the *sacred mission* and connected with the figure of Sibyl and the impact of the Etruscan theory of *saeculum*. For Zieliński, Augustus belonged to the most important men of providence in Roman history. In the same way I discuss the ideas presented by Ludwik Piotrowicz and Mieczysław St. Popławski. Both scholars analysed the question of imperial cult in depth. Popławski expressed original view on Augustus apotheosis seen as the development of imperial cult in transcendental perspective. Piotrowicz instead saw this problem as a purely political phenomenon. Last part of my paper is devoted to short presentation of the echos of Augustus' bimillennium in Polish scholar activity.

Keywords: Augustus' anniversary, Polish historiography, reception of ancient history, Polish scholars of antiquity.

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ADVERSUS IUDAEOS IN THE SERMON WRITTEN BY THEODORE SYNCELLUS ON THE AVAR SIEGE OF AD 626

AS is generally known, the war that is labelled as the last great war of the Antiquity (AD 602–628) and the rise of Islam associated with it changed substantially the relations between Christians and Jews in the Eastern Roman Empire¹. Local Christians reacted to the dramatic events of this war (especially the fall of Jerusalem in AD 614 and the Heraclius' recovery of the True Cross) mainly by confrontational polemic tone focused against their long-time ideological rivals². Recently, this topic has been addressed by several researchers who have thoroughly analysed and interpreted these texts³. However, from this point of view at least one of such texts has not been paid sufficient attention.

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² In this connection, see above all D. OLSTER, *Roman Defeat. Christian Response, and the Literary Construction of the Jew*, Philadelphia 1994.

³ On the analysis of the individual anti-Judaic texts in this period, see above all P. SPECK, *Byzantinische Feindseligkeit gegen die Juden im frühen siebten Jahrhundert nebst einer Untersuchung zu*

This marginalised text is a sermon ascribed to the cleric Theodore Syncellus and it is known by its Latin title *De obsidione avarica Constantinopolis*⁴. It describes the great siege of Constantinople in AD 626, exercised between 29th July and 7th August by the Avars supported by the Slavs, Bulgars and Gepids with a more or less symbolic support from the Persian troops lead by the general Shahrbaraz⁵.

Syncellus was a deacon and presbyter of the Church of the Divine Wisdom in Constantinople⁶. On Saturday 2nd August AD 626, he participated in the unsuccessful peace negotiations in the camp of the Avar khagan⁷. Syncellus wrote his sermon before the end of the last Roman-Persian war in AD 628 and the believers might have listened to it in the Constantinopolitan temple of Hagia Sophia on the occasion of the triumph over the Avars and the Slavs in AD 627⁸.

Anastasios dem Perser, Bonn 1997 [= PB, 15]; A. KÜLZER, *Disputationes Graecae contra Iudaeos. Untersuchungen zur byzantinischen antijüdischen Dialogliteratur und ihrem Judenbild*, Stuttgart–Leipzig 1999; G. DAGRON, V. DÉROCHE, *Juifs et chrétiens en Orient byzantine*, Paris 2010 [= BR, 5].

⁴ *De obsidione Constantinopolis homilia*, ed. L. STERNBACH, RAU.WF, ser. II, vol. XV, p. 1–38 [cetera: THEODORUS SYNCELLUS, *De obsidione Constantinopolis*]; F. MAKK, *Traduction et commentaire de l'homélie écrite probablement par Théodore de Syncelle sur le siège de Constantinople en 626*, AUAJ. AAA 19, 1975.

⁵ On the timeline of historical events of this siege among others, see F. BARIŠIĆ, *Le siège de Constantinople par les Avars et les Slaves*, B 24, 1954, p. 371–395; A. STRATOS, *The Avars' Attack on Byzantium in the Year 626*, BF 2, 1967, p. 370–376; IDEM, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, vol. I, Amsterdam 1968, p. 173–196; B.C.P. TSANGADAS, *Fortifications and Defense of Constantinople*, New York 1980, p. 80–106; W. POHL, *Die Awaren. Ein Steppenvolk in Mitteleuropa 567–822*, München 1988, p. 248–255; J. HOWARD–JOHNSTON, *The Siege of Constantinople in 626*, [in:] *Constantinople and its Hinterland. Papers from the Twenty–Seventh Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, April 1993*, ed. C. MANGO, G. DAGRON, London 1995, p. 131–145; W. KAEGI, *Heraclius – Emperor of Byzantium*, Cambridge 2003, p. 132–139; G. CSIKY, *Konstantinápoly városfalai és a 626. évi avar ostrom*, [in:] *Középkortörténeti tanulmányok 7*, ed. P. KISS, F. PITI, GY. SZABADOS, Szeged 2012, p. 165–183; M. HURBANIČ, *A topographical note concerning the Avar siege of Constantinople the question of the localization of St. Callinicus Bridge*, BS 70, 2012, p. 15–24; IDEM, *A Neglected Note to the Naval Defense of Constantinople during the Avar Siege: the Position of σκαφοκάραβοι in the Golden Horn*, [in:] *Byzanz und das Abendland*, vol. III, *Studia Byzantino-Occidentalia*, ed. E. JUHÁSZ, Budapest 2015 [= ABR.BB, 15.3], p. 211–220. On the historical context, see IDEM, *Posledná vojna antiky. Avarský útok na Konštantínopol roku 626 v historických súvislostiach*, Prešov 2009 [= Byzslav.M, 1]; IDEM, *História a mýtus. Avarský útok na Konštantínopol v roku 626 v legendách*, Prešov 2010 [= Byzslav.M, 2]; IDEM, *Konstantinopol 626. Historiia legenda*, Praha 2016.

⁶ On its authorship and textual tradition S. SZÁDECZKY-KARDOSS, *Textkritische Bemerkungen zur Homilia De obsidione avarica Constantinopolis auctore ut videtur Theodoro Syncello*, AA.ASH 30, 1982/1984, p. 443–450; IDEM, *Zur Textüberlieferung der "Homilia de obsidione Avarica Constantinopolis auctore ut videtur Theodoro Syncello"*, AUAJ. AAA 24, 1986, p. 175–184. Most recently M. KOZELNICKÁ, *Several notes on homily Peri tés tón atheón Abarón te kai Persón – the source on the Avar siege of Constantinople in AD 626*, Bslov 2, 2008, p. 131–144 (in Slovak with the German summary).

⁷ *Chronicon paschale*, rec. L. DINDORF, vol. I, Bonn 1832 [= CSHB], p. 721, 4–722, 14.

⁸ F. BARIŠIĆ, *Le siège de Constantinople...*, p. 373; S. SZÁDECZKY-KARDOSS, TH. OLAJOS, *Breviarum Homiliae Theodori Syncelli de obsidione avarica Constantonopolis* (BHG 1078m), AB 108, 1990, p. 148–149.

The author of the sermon describes the events of the Avar siege chronologically, day after day, mentioning several valuable details that cannot be found elsewhere. By his testimony, he wanted to stress predominantly the salvation of Constantinople after the intervention by the Holy Mother of God on the last day of the siege. This salvation in Syncellus' account proved the unique status of Christianity and its centre – the New Jerusalem (Constantinople) – in comparison with the Jewish religion and the old Jerusalem. The context of the sermon shows that the reader deals with more than a mere historical description of a specific event. In its very essence, the text is clearly a polemic piece of writing focused against the supposed Jewish opponents. Therefore, it is indeed surprising that apart from one exception the text has not been so far approached from this aspect with sufficient attention⁹.

Although Syncellus describes the individual phases of the Avar siege, he uses the attack as a mere historical backdrop against which he develops his polemic with the Jews. Thus he became the first of a number of other Byzantine authors who would in this way come to terms with unexpected catastrophes accompanying the collapse of the Christian empire in the 7th century. The main leader of the attack – the Avar khagan – is depicted as the new pharaoh, while the author's patron – the Constantinopolitan patriarch Sergius – features in the sermon as the new Moses. However, the main role is enacted by the inhabitants of Constantinople and their capital protected by God. In his reasoning, Syncellus uses several motifs from the Old Testament – especially the passages written by the prophets Isaiah, Zechariah and Ezekiel. The Avar siege of Constantinople is compared to an ancient and similarly unsuccessful attack on Jerusalem and Judah that was led against the city in 735 BC by Resin and Pekah, the kings of Syria and Israel. Both rulers then stood at the front of a large Middle Eastern coalition aimed against the expansive Assyria. However, Ahaz, the ruler of Judah in that era, refused to join the coalition, by which decision he summoned up an enemy attack against his kingdom. The prophet Isaiah encouraged Ahaz not to worry about the fate of Jerusalem, warning him not to ally with Assyria (Isa 7, 10–12).

For Syncellus, however, the motif of the ancient attack on Jerusalem was not important from the historical point of view, nor did he want to compare it to his era following the traditional rules of classical rhetoric. Although a scholar, Syncellus was a cleric in the first place and similarly as many of his colleagues, he perceived

⁹ From this perspective, Syncellus' sermon has been interpreted among relevant authors only by David OLSTER (*Roman Defeat...*, p. 73–78). Although A. KÜLZER (*Disputationes...*, p. 36–92) takes into consideration various forms of Byzantine anti-Judaic literature including the homiletic (p. 53–55), he did not include Syncellus' homily in his list. The eschatological motifs of this homily were also briefly mentioned by P.J. ALEXANDER, *The Strength of Empire and Capital as Seen Through Byzantine Eyes*, S 37.3, 1962, p. 346–347; S. SPAIN ALEXANDER, *Heraclius, Byzantine Imperial Ideology, and the David Plates*, S 52.2, 1977, p. 222–223; P. MAGDALINO, R. NELSON, *Introduction*, [in:] *The Old Testament in Byzantium*, ed. IDEM, Washington 2010, p. 16–17; W. BRANDES, *Anastasios ó δίκροπος: Endzeiterwartung und Kaiserkritik*, BZ 90, 1997, p. 38–39.

the events of the Old Testament as mere prefigurations of the actual fulfilment of God's message that took place only after Christ's arrival into this world¹⁰. The author knowingly changed Isaiah's historical account of the allied attack of Syria and Israel against Jerusalem into a prophecy, with the intention to persuade his readers and listeners that the entire story took place in their own lifetime. Hence, the Avars and their allies became the ones that Isaiah had had actually on his mind:

What the prophet said and wrote as a history and allegory came to materialize to the Judeans of that time in Jerusalem as in a shadow or prefiguration, but this prophecy actually refers to You [the inhabitants of Constantinople] upon whom God poured all the grace of his love through the Holy Mother of God¹¹.

Syncellus notices this passage from Isaiah for a specific reason: it speaks of a virgin that gives birth to a son and names him Emmanuel. Since antiquity, Christians have been interpreting these words as a prophecy of the birth of Christ from the Virgin Mary¹². However, the Judean king Ahaz in Isaiah's account refused the divine sign, which Syncellus symbolically understands as the refusal of the real Christ by the Jews. He tried to point out that Ahaz had been only an imperfect prefiguration of a pious and God-fearing Byzantine emperor Heraclius (AD 610–641), even though the latter did not participate in the Avar siege in person:

Then how could this city [of Constantinople] not have received greater help and divine support than that [old] Jerusalem, when it received from God such a God-loving emperor [Heraclius] and when it has a new Isaiah, my high priest [patriarch Sergius], who is constantly alert and with a sober spirit announces God's messages to people¹³.

Syncellus perceives the terrifying Avar attack on Constantinople as a divine punishment for the sins of the capital's inhabitants, similarly as it was in the case of the city's Old Testament predecessor. Subsequently, he explains the causes of the siege. In his opinion, the Avars attacked the city:

¹⁰ This level of interpretation of the Old Testament surely arose in the course of the polemical debates between the early Christians and Jews. For the first time it is probably expressed by Justin the Martyr – cf. JUSTIN MARTYR, *Dialogue avec Tryphon*, 90.2, rec. PH. BOBICHON, vol. I, Fribourg 2003, p. 430–432. On the influence of semi-biblical typology on Byzantine texts dealing with the motive of Constantinople see V. ZERVAN, *Konstantinopel – Präfiguration Jerusalems?*, [in:] *Laetae segetes iterum*, ed. I. RADKOVA, Brno 2008, p. 417–418; IDEM, *Typológia–kresťanská forma myslenia na východe. Podoby typologickej myšlienkovvej formy v rannej Byzancii 6. storočia*, Bratislava 2013, p. 58–74 (with further literature).

¹¹ THEODORUS SYNCELLUS, *De obsidione Constantinopolis*, p. 299, 26–29.

¹² The original Jewish versions of Isaiah's prophecy mention in this point a maiden, while the Septuagint uses the noun Virgin. In this relation see A. KÜLZER, *Disputationes...*, p. 262.

¹³ THEODORUS SYNCELLUS, *De obsidione Constantinopolis*, p. 299, 1–5.

because of the magnitude and variety of our sins and because in the public life, we do not in dignity follow the commandments of our God, our Saviour, we bite and devour each other and are ready to perpetrate any form of evil¹⁴.

The victory of the defenders of Constantinople is, on the contrary, depicted as evidence of God's mercy, with the influence of interceding by the Virgin Mary. Syncellus especially and on various occasions stresses the fact that the decisive defeat of the Avars and the Slavs occurred on 7th of August, i.e. on the fifth day of the week, on the seventh day of August and on the tenth day from the beginning of the siege:

Exactly this fifth day, but also together with it the seventh and especially the tenth day, has shown us all the signs of divine redemption – each number expressed itself clearly in some different way. The fifth day effectively fulfilled all our senses with good divine will... The seventh day, as a Virgin of some kind, motherless, was well worthy of the grace of the eternal Virgin and Mother of God. In the end, the tenth day brought us the full freedom through God and the Virgin.¹⁵

Syncellus perceives the mystical symbolic of the numbers five, seven and ten in the context of yet another Old Testament prophecy, addressed to the Jewish community by the prophet Zacharias. Similarly to him, Syncellus looked in these numbers for contemporary parallels to his own interpretation. Even more interesting is his rendering of the symbolical meaning of the tenth day, on which the inhabitants of Constantinople achieved the final victory over the Slavs in the Golden Horn. In this relation, he literally cites another of the prophets, Jeremiah, who speaks about the first destruction of the Jewish temple in Jerusalem (Jer 52, 12–16) that took place during the reign of the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar II (605–562 BC). The temple was allegedly torn down by Nabuzardan, the commander of the king's bodyguard. According to Jeremiah, this catastrophe happened on the tenth day of the fifth Jewish month called 'Ab'. It is not without specific reason that Syncellus points out that the month 'Ab' is often coinciding with the Roman month of August, suggesting that the Babylonian attack on Jerusalem and the Avar attack on Constantinople might have both occurred in the same month. Using the mystics of numbers, he again brings forward the qualitative superiority of Christendom and its new centre – Constantinople – which God did not leave to the mercy of the enemies, unlike the centre of the Jewish world.

Nevertheless, the author of the sermon does not limit himself to these comparisons. As another piece of evidence supporting his arguments, he mentions the date of the second destruction of the Jewish temple that occurred in AD 70

¹⁴ THEODORUS SYNCELLUS, *De obsidione Constantinopolis*, p. 301, 10–13; See also D. OLSTER, *Roman defeat...*, p. 73.

¹⁵ THEODORUS SYNCELLUS, *De obsidione Constantinopolis*, p. 308, 34–40.

in the wake of the attack of the Roman legions of the emperor Titus (AD 79–81). According to the report by the Jewish historian Josephus Flavius, whom Syncellus cites literally, the Romans destroyed the shrine on the tenth day of the Macedonian month 'Loos'. Syncellus again stresses the correspondence of the month 'Loos' with the Roman month of August. In his view, this correspondence confirms that both ancient destructions of Jerusalem occurred on the same day and in the same month as the Avar attack on Constantinople. As he follows:

The scripture shows that Nabuzardan destroyed the temple in Jerusalem on the tenth day of the fifth month. Also Titus ruined the same city on the tenth day of the fifth month. And the khagan, the evil tyrant, also launched an attack with a colossal enemy army from the East and West, from the sea and land, exactly in the fifth month and on the fifth day after his arrival...¹⁶

The author of the sermon knowingly manipulates the historical data, but this time he reveals the weak points of his arguments. The definitive defeat of the Avars occurred on the seventh, not on the tenth day of August and Syncellus was well aware of this fact. He argued that by the numeral tenth he did not mean the position of the day in the month (10th August), but the entire period of the siege (i.e. 10 days, from 29th July till 7th August AD 626). As he meaningfully mentions in this relation:

both dates (i.e. the tenth day and the fifth month of the Avar siege) correspond with the previous [dates of the Babylonian and the Roman siege of Jerusalem], although we do not count it from the beginning of the month, but from the arrival of the enemy and the villain [the Avar khagan]¹⁷.

Of course, the use of numeral symbolic was nothing of a novelty in the Judaeo-Christian environment, as can be assumed from the popularity of the second and seventh book of the prophet Daniel¹⁸. Approximately in the same period as the Avar attack on Constantinople occurred, such calculations appear in the Jewish liturgical texts. In those times, Palestine was occupied by the Persians who had invaded it in AD 614. The new governors of the Holy Land initially promoted a tolerant religious policy towards the Jewish communities, raising new hopes for liberation of the people of Israel from the oppression by foreign powers¹⁹. According to one of the Jewish prophecies of the era, the final liberation was supposed to come after 550 years of foreign rule. The fundamental point in time that was to serve as the

¹⁶ THEODORUS SYNCELLUS, *De obsidione Constantinopolis*, p. 310, 11–17.

¹⁷ THEODORUS SYNCELLUS, *De obsidione Constantinopolis*, p. 310, 33–35.

¹⁸ In this relation, see the classical monograph G. PODSKALSKY, *Byzantinische Reicheschatologie: Die Periodisierung der Weltgeschichte in den vier Grossreichen (Daniel 2 und 7) und dem tausendjährigen Friedensreiche (Apok. 20)*, München 1972.

¹⁹ See H. SIVAN, *From Byzantine to Persian Jerusalem...*, p. 302–303.

start for the calculation was the year AD 68, when the Romans destroyed Jerusalem, as the Jewish sources mention²⁰. When the Persians conquered and occupied Jerusalem in AD 614 they renewed the Jewish hopes for the reconstruction of their shrine. Therefore, it is not a coincidence that Theodore Syncellus stresses in his sermon the twofold destruction of the temple by the Babylonians and the Romans. In compliance with Christ's prophecy, the Christians believed that it would never be renewed²¹. Had the contrary have proven to be true, the trust in the Saviour's message might have been undermined²².

However, the lengthy digression that Syncellus dedicated in his sermon to the Avar attack is not a mere play on numbers. The author used it on purpose to show his listeners that the Jewish Jerusalem and its temple were twice destroyed by their enemies. This time, the Avar khagan only intended to conquer the city on the tenth day after his arrival, but the Christian metropolis and the main temple of Hagia Sophia were left intact. Thus, Syncellus thought that Isaiah's words were finally fulfilled in the new and better Jerusalem. What else could have served as a better proof of the dominancy of the New Testament over the Old Testament or Christendom over Judaism, than this miraculous salvation? Two smoking torches mentioned by Isaiah, symbolically represented the Syrian king Rasin and the Israelite king Pekah who did not succeed in their intention to destroy Jerusalem. Nevertheless, in Syncellus' opinion, the prophet actually talked about the Avar khagan and the Persian general Shahrbaraz, the khagan's ally during the siege. As the author symptomatically mentions in this relation:

they could not harm Jerusalem [i.e. Constantinople], nor they managed to drive away David's descendants, nor they made the Tubals' son a ruler as they had agreed and confirmed by their consent when they closed such agreement. On the contrary: they received an everlasting shame and humiliation in front of all the people and among all nations. Thus it was clearly shown that the most divine Isaiah prefigured in shadow and prefiguration the miracles that occurred in the present-day Jerusalem [Constantinople]...²³

None of the Christian authors had until then expressed more convincingly the idea that later became important for the Byzantine identity: Constantinople is the New Jerusalem²⁴. Syncellus considered his listeners as the people of the New

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 283–284.

²¹ AV. CAMERON, *The Jews...*, p. 79; EADEM, *Byzantines and Jews...*, p. 256.

²² EADEM, *The Jews...*, p. 79.

²³ THEODORUS SYNCELLUS, *De obsidione Constantinopolis*, p. 313, 30–36.

²⁴ AS R. OUSTERHOUT (*Sacred Geographies and Holy Cities: Constantinople as Jerusalem* [in:] *Hierotopy. The Creation of Sacred Spaces in Byzantium and Medieval Russia*, ed. A. LIDOV, Moscow 2004, p. 2) rightly comments, such references appear more often in current scholarship than in Byzantine texts. According to V. ZERVAN (*Konstantinopel...*, p. 414–421, with a good overview of the different approaches to this scheme in the present historiography), in the present historiography and Byzantology, the concept of Constantinople as the New or Heavenly Jerusalem remained under the shadow

Testament, i.e. the New Israel. This was not a novelty, but a traditional opinion that had been present in Christendom since the times of the apostle Paul. However, the situation is different in the case of describing Constantinople as the New Jerusalem. The young capital on Bosphorus was not established as a pure Christian city²⁵. Even later, in the 5th century, it was not the spiritual centre of the orthodox belief neither the home of saints without any trace for.

Neither in the widely cited biography of the St. Daniel Stylites (ca. AD 409–493) is Constantinople mentioned as the New Jerusalem, but only as the second Jerusalem, merely due to its belief and sacral buildings and not from the viewpoint of Christian redemption²⁶. The focal point of Christ's message still lies on the Jerusalem

of the more famous scheme, that of Constantinople as New Rome. Clearly, the exact references to Constantinople as the New Jerusalem are virtually absent prior to Syncellus' homily. The only exception is Eustratius' Vita of patriarch Eutychius of Constantinople (552 to 565 and 577 to 582). He referred to Constantinople as the New Jerusalem and Queen of cities in connection with the triumphal return of his hero Eutychius after his forced exile from Amaseia. Cf. *Eustratii Presbyteri Vita Eutychiei Patriarchae Constantinopolitani*, ed. C. LAGA, Turnhout 1992 [= CC.SG, 25], 2070–2079. Various comparisons of Constantinople with Jerusalem were collected by E. Fenster, however not systematically by means of separate chapter – See E. FENSTER, *Laudes Constantinopolitanae*, München 1968 (the various references are given on p. 102–105, 109, 114–115, 121, 124, 135, 140–141, 154, 159, 214, 250, 279–280). An excellent overview of the various references to Constantinople – the New or Second Jerusalem is presented by V. ZERVAN, *Konstantinopol ako Nový Jeruzalem. Náčrt polo-biblickej typológie*, Bslov 3, 2010, p. 86–98; on the concept of Constantinople as the New Jerusalem in generally: PH. SHERRARD, *Constantinople, Iconography of a Sacred City*, London 1965, p. 79–136; J. PAHLITZSCH, *Zur ideologischen Bedeutung Jerusalems für das orthodoxe Christentum*, [in:] *Konflikt und Bewältigung. Die Zerstörung der Grabeskirche zu Jerusalem im Jahre 1009*, ed. TH. PRATSCH, Berlin 2011 [= MSt, 32], p. 239–255, esp. 243–252; on its emergence: J. WORTLEY, *Israel and Byzantium: A Case of Socio-Religious Acculturation*, [in:] *Traditions in Contact and Change. Selected Proceedings of the 14th Congress of the International Association for the History of Religions*, ed. P. SLATER ET AL., Waterloo 1983, p. 361–376; P. MAGDALINO, *The history of the future and its uses: prophecy, policy and propaganda*, [in:] *The Making of Byzantine History: Studies dedicated to Donald M. Nicol*, ed. R. BEATON, C. ROUECHÉ, Aldershot 1993, p. 11–12; P. GURAN, *The Constantinople – New Jerusalem at the Crossing of Sacred Space and Political Theology in New Jerusalem*, [in:] *Hierotopy and Iconography of Sacred Spaces*, ed. A. LIDOV, Moscow 2009, p. 35–57, and most recently V. ZERVAN, *Typológia...*, p. 58–74 (with further literature).

²⁵ On the foundation of Constantinople and its alleged Christian character see the critical observations by A. BERGER, *Konstantinopel, die erste christliche Metropole?*, [in:] *Die spätantike Stadt und ihre Christianisierung*, ed. G. BRANDS, H.G. SEVERIN, Wiesbaden 2003, p. 204–215, in the given relation see above all p. 204–207, and recently IDEM, *Konstantinopel: Geschichte, Topographie, Religion*, Stuttgart 2011, p. 7–20.

²⁶ *Vita S. Danielis Stylitae*, 10, 12–14, rec. H. DELEHAYE, [in:] *Les saints stylites*, Brussels 1923, p. 12. On this topic, see H. SARADI, *Constantinople and its Saints (IVth–VIth c.): The Image of the City and Social Considerations*, SMed 36, 1995, p. 98; V. ZERVAN, *Konstantinopel...*, p. 419; IDEM, *Typológia...*, p. 67–68. Recently B. BLECKMAN (*Apokalypse und kosmische Katastrophen: Das Bild der theodosianischen Dynastie beim Kirchenhistoriker Philostorg* [in:] *Endzeiten. Eschatologie in den monotheistischen Weltreligionen*, ed. W. BRANDES, F. SCHMIEDER, Berlin 2008, p. 37) has argued that the comparison of Constantinople to Jerusalem may be older than it has been usually expected. In this regard

in Palestine. The early Christians forged for themselves a celestial counterpoint to the original Jewish Jerusalem – its improved and perfect archetype – and their belief acquired with time an imperial dimension. From the times of Constantine the Great onwards, Jerusalem was gradually turning into a more Christian and pilgrimage-oriented city with a multitude of churches and holy places²⁷. However, in AD 614, it was occupied and pillaged by the Persians²⁸. This catastrophe can only be compared to the first plundering of the eternal city of Rome. Logically, such a dramatic event had a profound influence on many authors of the era, including Syncellus.

In the times of the Avar attack, the Persians had been occupying Jerusalem for twelve years already. It can be assumed, that the new rulers initially supported the Jewish community and preferred it to the local Christians. There was even a slight possibility of renewal of the ruined temple, but we do not know how familiar the inhabitants of Constantinople were with these activities. The last time the Jews had been trying to renew their temple was a long time before that – during the reign of the emperor Julian (AD 361–363)²⁹. The last pagan ruler on the Roman throne also in this way wanted to weaken the growing influence of the Christians; however, his premature death turned his plans fruitless. Since then, the Jews had inferior social and political status in Palestine and the empire as such. However, the Persian occupation brought about a new era, fostering the religious expectations of the Jews. In this new situation, they could pay back the Christians with the same currency: Jerusalem, the sacred site of the passion and resurrection of Christ, fell into the hands of the enemies. Was not this a strong enough proof that Christians believed in a false Messiah?

Nevertheless, Syncellus was far from expressing regrets over the occupation of the Holy Land and the destruction of its sacred centre, as his predecessors often did. His words are addressed to the Christian audience and not to the Jewish opponents, despite the highly polemic tone and reproaches. His words were meant to bring the attentions of the believers to the fact that the search for the real and Christian Jerusalem in Palestine is not possible anymore. In this indirect way he tries to come to terms with the loss of Jerusalem, seeing Constantinople as its substitute, which is a higher level of the Old Testament earthly metropolis of Judea. God and his Mother saved the New Jerusalem and – as the author adds –

he brings attention to the quotation from the anonymous *Life of Constantine* (BHG 365) thought to be a part of Philostorgius' Church history. This fragment relates to the building of Constantinople by the emperor Constantine the Great which was, as the text states, pleasing to God, no less than the Jerusalem of old.

²⁷ See R. WILKEN, *The Land Called Holy: Palestine in Christian History and Thought*, New Haven 1992, p. 326, n. 11.

²⁸ For the analysis and summary of this event, see B. FLUSIN, *Saint Anastase le Perse...*, p. 129–181; see also: Y. STOYANOV, *Defenders and Enemies of the True Cross. The Sasanian Conquest of Jerusalem in 614 and Byzantine Ideology of Anti-Persian Warfare*, Wien 2011.

²⁹ R. WILKEN, *The Land Called Holy...*, p. 139.

showed us – although we are not worthy of salvation – loving goodness. They showed us that God welcomes and loves better the pure and bloodless service of Christians, than the one ruled by the Old Testament, with blood and burnt sacrifices carried out in the land of Israel...³⁰

* * *

Theodore Syncellus considered the Avar siege of Constantinople as the prologue to the end of this world. His opinions reflected the views of many people who faced the consequences of the last Roman-Persian war (AD 602–628). From the moment the conflict was unleashed, the East witnessed the spread of apocalyptic expectations among Christians within the empire and outside its borders³¹. Out of these generally spread notions, Syncellus created an integrated concept, inspired by the Old Testament prophecy by Ezekiel, speaking of the last days of humankind. Ezekiel described his visions in times that were extremely difficult for the Jews, during the Babylonian captivity. He predicted that both parts of the scattered people of Israel and Judea would unite and then, in the end of all times, God would summon against his people the lord of darkness – Gog from the country Magog in the far North, who would fall upon Israel with a terrible blow. Gog and his allies would afflict the country with grave plunder, but God would show his greatness, destroying their army and leaving their remains to the birds and wild animals (Ez 38).

It was in the times of the last Roman-Persian war when testimonies of the popularity of this prophecy appear among the Middle-Eastern Jews and it is referred to by certain passages of the popular Jewish Apocalypse *Sefer Zerubbabel*³². Anti-

³⁰ THEODORUS SYNCELLUS, *De obsidione Constantinopolis*, p. 310, 17–24.

³¹ The first of these expectations seems to be reflected in the Revelation commentary of Andrew of Caesarea written probably not long before 614, see *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes*, vol. I, *Der Apokalypse-Kommentar des Andreas von Kaisareia*, Text, ed. J. SCHMID, München 1955 [cetera: ANDREAS CAESARIENSIS]. For the date of its composition see recently E.S. CONSTANTINOU, *Guiding to a Blessed End: Andrew of Caesarea and His Apocalypse Commentary in the Ancient Church*, Washington 2014, p. 61–71. In fact, most of these texts were completed after the end of the last Roman-Persian war. Saint Theodore of Sykeon, who died in AD 613, foretold the raids by the barbarian nations, bloodshed and cities being turned into ruins, but his biographer George finished this Vita only after the death of Emperor Heraclius. Cf. *Vie de Theodore de Sykeon*, c. 119, 134, ed. A.J. FESTUGIÈRE, Brussels 1970, p. 96, 20–22, 106, 22–34. The other contemporary prophecies are presented by Theophylactus Simocattes – *Theophylacti Simocattae historiae*, V, 15, 5–6, ed. C. DE BOOR, Leipzig 1887, p. 216, 21 – 217, 6. For these and other texts see also G.J. REININK, *Heraclius, the New Alexander. Apocalyptic Prophecies during the Reign of Heraclius*, [in:] *The Reign of Heraclius (610–641): Crisis and Confrontation*, ed. IDEM, B.H. STOLTE, Leuven–Paris–Dudley 2002, p. 81–83; W. BRANDES, *Anastasios...*, p. 47–48.

³² *Sefer Zerubbabel*, [in:] *Rabbinic Fantasies: Imaginative Narratives from Classical Hebrew Literature*, ed. D. STERN, M. MIRSKY, New Haven 1998 [= YJS, 29], p. 78. This text emerged between 603–630, probably as a response to the persecution of the Jews by Emperor Heraclius after the end of the Roman-Persian war. In this regard: B.M. WHEELER, *Imaging the Sasanian Capture of Jerusalem. The „Prophecy and Dream of Zarubbabel” and Antiochus Strategos „Capture of Jerusalem”*, OCP 57, 1991,

ceptions of the end of all times can also be found in the Jewish synagogal poetry (*piyyut*), speaking of, among other things, the lethal war of the kings of the East and West, during which the Last Judgement and the attack of Gog and Magog against the people of Israel shall occur³³. Recently, the passage in question has been also put into relation with the last war of antiquity³⁴. According to the Jewish interpreters of the Holy Scripture, this conflict marked the beginning of the end of the Roman/Byzantine supremacy in Palestine. The era of the Persian occupation of Palestine is reflected in yet another *piyyut*, written by an anonymous author on the occasion of the anniversary of the destruction of the Jewish temple by the Babylonians. This song also anticipates the end of the supremacy of the country known as Edom, identified by Jews with the Roman (alt. Byzantine) Empire³⁵.

Dramatic changes, brought about by the last confrontation of the traditional powers, undoubtedly influenced the mental landscape of Christians. After the conquering of Jerusalem in AD 614, many might have assumed that doomsday was near. However, the Palestinian clerics who were lamenting the fall of Jerusalem were not preoccupied that it would mean the approaching of the end of the world³⁶. Nevertheless, their Constantinopolitan contemporary Theodore Syncellus was of a different opinion. In corresponding places in his sermon on the Avar siege he cites selected passages of Ezekiel's prophecy, especially those referring to the destruction of the northern enemies of Israel (Gog and Magog)³⁷.

p. 73–77; G. STEMBERGER, *Jerusalem in the Early Seventh Century: Hopes and Aspirations of Christians and Jews*, [in:] *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, ed. L. LEE. New York 1999, p. 267; J.W. VAN BEKKUM, *Jewish Messianic Expectations in the Age of Heraclius*, [in:] *The Reign of Heraclius...*, p. 103–112. The similarity of the motifs in Syncellus' homily and Jewish eschatological literature in this period has been recently stressed by Alexei SIVERITSEV (*Judaism and Imperial eschatology in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge 2011, p. 9, 13).

³³ *On that Day*, [in:] H. SIVAN, *From Byzantine to Persian Jerusalem...*, p. 294–296.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 296.

³⁵ *Time to Rebuke*, [in:] H. SIVAN, *From Byzantine to Persian Jerusalem...*, p. 287–289.

³⁶ Such expressions are nowhere to be found in the contemporary texts describing the Persian onslaught of Jerusalem in 614. However, Strategius used even such an occasion to enhance the contrast between the destruction of the Christian Jerusalem and the Old Jewish one. He makes this comparison through the use of Biblical typology similar to Syncellus. But whereas Syncellus can prove the superiority of the New Testament over the Old one by means of the miraculous salvation of his terrestrial New Jerusalem, in Strategius' lamentation over the fall of the Christian Holy city, such a distinction remains logically impossible. Cf. STRATEGIUS, *La prise de Jérusalem par les Perses en 614*, I, 12–17, ed. G. GARITTE, Louvain 1960 [= CSCO.SI, 203.12], p. 3; see also R. WILKEN, *The Land called Holy...*, p. 325–326.

³⁷ On this prophecy, see especially S. BØE, *Gog and Magog: Ezekiel 38–39 as Pre-text for Revelation 19: 17–21 and 20: 7–10*, Tübingen 2001 [= WUNT, 2nd Series, 135], and A.R. ANDERSON, *Alexander's Gate: Gog and Magog and the Enclosed Nations*, Cambridge, 1932 [= MMAA, 5]. For an overview of the most important early Christian interpreters of Gog and Magog see O.J. MAENCHEN-HELFEN, *The World of the Huns*, Los Angeles 1973, p. 3–5; R. MANSELLI, *I popoli immaginari: Gog e Magog*, [in:] *Popoli e paesi nella cultura altomedievale*, Spoleto 1983 [= SSCISAM, 29], p. 487–519; P. ALEX-

Syncellus brings forward the fact that Ezekiel wrote his testimony during the Jewish captivity in Babylon, which is a matter of an ancient past. However, he could not find in the troubled lot of the Jewish community in Palestine any event that could be identified with the prophet's words about the last days of humankind. Especially in this relation, he mentions two examples: the uprising led by the high priest Matatiah during the reign of the Hellenistic king Antiochus Epiphanes (176/5–164/3 BC); and the victorious Roman expedition against Jerusalem in AD 70. As the author observes both events brought hardship and suffering to the Jews. In the same time he adds that although the enemies had plundered the Holy Land and looted whatever they could find, none of the inhabitants was doomed, as Ezekiel had been predicting in his prophecy. None of the enemies up to that point could be considered as the apocalyptic figure of Gog from the country of Magog. Having finished with the citations from the book of Ezekiel, Syncellus states:

See, you have heard the words of the prophet. Can someone with a sober judgement decide whether these prophecies refer to the Old Israel and its land and whether they might see their fulfilment? Time wise, such fulfilment is impossible in Israel. Concerning the places in which it was supposed to take place, as the prophet says, neither these lead us to a conclusion that it indeed is Israel according to the flesh.³⁸

Nevertheless, Syncellus did not finish off his polemic by this statement, being convinced that Jews would not ever see the fulfilment of this prophecy. He saw the possibility in which Gog's hordes would ever fall upon the Holy Land and pillage it as hardly probable, as it had already been thoroughly plundered and nothing valuable was left there to be found and stolen.

Today, there is none of those things in that land of Israel that could become a pretence for war, nor there ever will be,

– he concludes symptomatically³⁹.

The author of the sermon logically assumed that Ezekiel's prophecy about Gog's plundering of the land and of the multitude of loot do not refer to Palestine, even less so to its original owners. The historical land of Israel is for him, as for other Christian commentators of the Holy Scripture, a prefiguration of the actual

ANDER, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, Los Angeles–London 1985, p. 185–192; S. BØE, *Gog and Magog...*, p. 211–218; W.J. AERTS, *Gog, Magog, Dogheads and Other Monsters in the Byzantine World*, [in:] *Gog and Magog: The Clans of Chaos in World Literature*, ed. A.A. SEYED-GOHRAB ET AL., Amsterdam 2007, p. 23–34; E. VAN DONZEL, A. SCHMIDT, *Gog and Magog in Early Eastern Christian and Islamic Sources. Sallam's Quest for Alexander's Wall*, Leiden 2010, p. 12–56. However, they all omitted to mention and analyse the homily of Theodore Syncellus from this point of view.

³⁸ THEODORUS SYNCELLUS, *De obsidione Constantinopolis*, p. 315, 31–35.

³⁹ THEODORUS SYNCELLUS, *De obsidione Constantinopolis*, p. 316, 29–30.

Promised Land. Hence, the Jews would not witness the dusk of the times and the arrival of new times of justice, since – as Syncellus says –

today they live scattered among all nations and Israel according to the flesh does not own land which Gog might attack with the intention to pillage and loot⁴⁰.

Syncellus does not perceive Gog as a formless apocalyptic figure. Instead, in compliance with the Revelation of John the Apostle, he considers him as a certain type of assembly of the impure nations (Rev 20, 7–9). Unlike Ezekiel, John says that the destruction of the world shall be preceded by the arrival of Satan who shall collect the nations from the four corners of the land of Gog and Magog. Comparing these to sand in the sea, John the Apostle says that these nations shall round God's beloved city (Rev 20, 8–9). These visions, along with literal citations from the Apocalypse, are used by Syncellus in his sermon to describe the start of the Avar attack on Constantinople, symptomatically combining the Old Testament and the New Testament notions of the end of the world and setting them into the context of the Avar siege.

Theodore Syncellus made every effort to prove the connection of the Avar attack with the aforementioned prophecies. Ezekiel's prophecy is cited according to the Septuagint – the oldest translation of the Hebrew alphabet into Greek. This translation includes that God shall send Gog against those who inhabit the eye of the land. This invasion shall be allegedly witnessed by the Carchedonian, i.e. Carthaginian merchants⁴¹. However, Syncellus intentionally modified the name of the Carchedonian merchants to Chalcedonian merchants when citing from the Septuagint. Chalcedon was an Asian suburb of Constantinople, in which the Persian armies of general Shahrbaraz – who tried to conquer the city as well – were stationed. This manipulation of words served Syncellus as yet another proof that Ezekiel's prophecy refers to the Avar attack.

Nevertheless, the author is also here aware of the weak points in his argumentation, knowing that such interpretation of the cited passage digresses from other Christian exegetes. Be it this way or another, he concludes his consideration meaningfully:

But if somebody was to say that the Chalcedonian merchants are allegedly merchants from Libya [Carthage], even in such case it remains clear that the prophet did not mean the land of Israel according to the flesh. The Chalcedonian merchants never traded with the land of Israel⁴².

⁴⁰ THEODORUS SYNCELLUS, *De obsidione Constantinopolis*, p. 316, 22–24. The Byzantine commentaries of the apocalypse do not stress that the target of this attack would become the Holy Land itself. See P. ALEXANDER, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition...*, p. 190.

⁴¹ It should be remarked here that other versions of the Old Testament mention in this point the merchants of Tarshish, a locality that is being identified with Tarsus, a city in Southern Spain. For more details see W.S. LASOR, *Tarshish*, [in:] *ISBE*, vol. IV, ed. G.W. BROMILEY, Grand Rapids 1995, p. 734; F. MAKK, *Traduction et commentaire...*, p. 217.

⁴² THEODORUS SYNCELLUS, *De obsidione Constantinopolis*, p. 317, 11–14.

Another passage from Ezekiel's prophecy that speaks about the destruction of Gog is interpreted in a similarly dubious way. Syncellus does not identify Gog directly with the Avar khagan, assuming that Gog does not refer to a single person, but to an assembly of nations. Ezekiel speaks about the ultimate destruction of Gog, yet that cannot be said about the Avars, since the substantial part of them returned home, including the khagan himself. However, Syncellus rejects the contradiction between the prophecy and the Avar siege, pointing out that Ezekiel in the cited passage literally speaks of 'the fall' of Gog and not of his physical doom. The author of the sermon appeals to the experts in Bible who are familiar with several meanings of the verb 'to fall', stating that this word has

in the Holy Scripture many meanings and significations and there are many and different ways to interpret it⁴³.

Syncellus interprets the word 'fall' symbolically, as could be expected in his case, understanding it as the expression for doomed hopes that the Avar khagan had been harbouring when he decided to besiege a city protected by God. *As the godly prophet Ezekiel clarified*, – he adds in conclusion – *thus the tyrant fell and his fall illustrated that the combat-worthy part of his people fell in truth and in reality*⁴⁴.

Syncellus knowingly identifies all the nations mentioned in the prophecy with the Avars and their allies who had arrived under the walls of Constantinople. They are the apocalyptic Gog predicting the destruction, but also the spiritual renewal of this world. Already the early Christian manuscripts feature a common idea that Ezekiel's prophecy of the unification of the people of Israel shall fulfil among the people of the New Testament, i.e. the Christians. The Church of Christ – a community of believers – became a new unified Israel.

The first of the Christian authors who knowingly tried to persuade his readers that this prophecy was fulfilled in his own times was probably St. Ambrose, the bishop of Milan (ca. 340 – 4th April AD 397). He identified the apocalyptic Gog with the Goths, seemingly on the basis of the impending threat to the Roman Empire after the disastrous battle of Adrianople in 378, but the similarity of both names probably played a certain role as well⁴⁵. Nevertheless, this opinion was not shared by St. Augustine. In his *De civitate Dei (The City of God)* he roundly refused any identification not only of Gog, but also of Magog, with a specific ethnic entity⁴⁶.

⁴³ THEODORUS SYNCELLUS, *De obsidione Constantinopolis*, p. 316, 1–3.

⁴⁴ THEODORUS SYNCELLUS, *De obsidione Constantinopolis*, p. 316, 6–7.

⁴⁵ ST. AMBROSE, *De fide* [ad Gratianum Augustum], II, XVI, 137–138, ed. O. FALLER, [in:] CSEL, vol. 78, Vienna 1962 (written after the famous battle of Adrianople in 378). St. Isidore of Seville also identified Gog with the Goths, see ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, *Historia Gothorum, Vandalorum et Suevorum*, cc. 1–2, ed. C. RODRIGUEZ ALONSO, Leon 1975, p. 172–173.

⁴⁶ AUGUSTINE, *De civitate Dei*, XX, 11, ed. B. DOMBART, A. KAIB, Turnhout 1955 [= CC.SL, 48/49], p. 720.

Somewhat later, another effort aiming to interpret Ezekiel's prophecy historically and not allegorically appeared⁴⁷. For the Constantinopolitan patriarch Proclus (AD 434–437), the Huns who almost attacked Constantinople under the lead of Rua, the uncle of the great Attila, become the biblical Gog⁴⁸. Theodore Syncellus is perhaps the second Greek author who identifies the prophecy with a concrete historical event⁴⁹. Hence, the Avars together with their allies became in his opinion the toughest of the tests that the chosen people had to withstand. It should be pointed out that his definition of the chosen people was rather narrow, including only the citizens of Constantinople, not the inhabitants of the whole empire. Syncellus was not thinking in imperial dimensions, since in his times, the Late Roman

⁴⁷ The great Hunnic raid into Mesopotamia in 395/6 was observed by the famous Church father Jerome. Despite various comments on his letter 77, he did not make any special references to Gog or Magog in connection with these Huns. See *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae*, II, rec. I. HILBERG, Wien 1996 [= CSEL, 55], p. 45. In his commentary on Ezekiel, Jerome mentioned the identification of Gog and Magog with the Scythians, however, not as a fact but as a mere statement of his opponents – the Jews and the Judaizing Christians. He subsequently rejects such proposal together with the other ones and clearly states that the apocalyptic Gog and Magog cannot be identified with any particular historical nation. See JEROME, *Commentarium in Hezechielem libri XIV*, ed. F. GLORIE, Turnhout 1964 [= CC.SL, 75], p. 525–527. In another commentary on Genesis he questioned a certain person, probably St. Ambrose (see note 45) who had tried to give a historical explanation of Ezekiel's prophecy by equating Gog with the Goths. JEROME, *Hebraicae Quaestiones in libro Geneseos*, ed. P. DE LAGARDE, Leipzig 1868, p. 14.

⁴⁸ This text is, unfortunately, no longer extant. Gog and Magog topic in Proclus' homily is stressed by SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS, *Kirchengeschichte*, VII, 43, ed. G.CH. HANSEN, Berlin 1995, p. 391, 8 – 392, 3. Cf. also THEODORETUS, *Historia ecclesiastica*, V, 37, 4, rec. L. PARMENTIER, G.CH. HANSEN, Berlin 1998, p. 340, 6–12. In this regard, see W. BRANDES, *Anastasios ó dikopos...*, p. 32–37, and recently IDEM, *Gog, Magog und die Hunnen. Anmerkungen zur eschatologischen „Ethnographie“ der Völkerwanderungszeit*, [in:] *Visions of Community in the Post-Roman World. The West, Byzantium, and the Islamic World*, ed. W. POHL, C. GANTNER, R. PAYNE, Aldershot 2012, p. 477–498, esp. 478–485. It is of some interest that Theodore mentioned neither Proclus' homily nor its eschatological context. Also his commentary on Ezekiel is explained only as a future prophecy and did not contain any concrete historical framework. Although the early ecclesiastical author Theodoret of Cyrillus identified Gog with the Scythians, he refused the claim that Ezekiel's prophecy referred to the end of the world. According to him, it referred only to the end of the Jewish diaspora. THEODORETUS, *Interpretatio in Ezechielem*, [in:] PG, vol. LXXXI, col. 1217 A–C. (see note 44). The same can be said about another Greek author, the archbishop Andrew of Caesarea. Despite the emergence of barbarian incursions into the empire, he did not believe that the end of the world was approaching. He mentioned proposed identifications of the Gog and Magog with Scythians called in his time the Huns, but only as a general statement, not as his own opinion. He also rejected proposed identification of Gog and Magog with the past historical events. See ANDREAS CAESARIENSIS, p. 223. Theodore Syncellus himself did not use the term Huns, but his contemporary George of Pisidia did, at least on one occasion when describing the last day of the Avar siege. Cf. GEORGIUS PISIDES, *Bellum avaricum*, v. 197, rec. L. TARTAGLIA, [in:] *Carmi di Giorgio di Pisidia*, Torino 1998, p. 166.

⁴⁹ According to W.J. AERTS (*Gog, Magog...*, p. 33), 'the great career' of Gog and Magog begins only with Pseudo-Methodius and it has a clear Syrian background (with regard to the Syrian original of this text). Taking into consideration Syncellus' homily, this opinion can no longer be maintained.

Empire was being shaken to its foundations. Therefore, he saw the localism of the chosen city – the New Jerusalem surrounded and besieged by enemies – as the point of departure:

By the land of Israel I mean this city, in which God and the Virgin are both devotedly praised and ceremonies are held with the utmost devotion. Because Israel actually means that God is adored in a devote heart and to live in an innocent land of Israel means to bring pure and bloodless sacrifices. What other city, if not the ours, can unmistakably and rightly be in completeness called the place of God's sacrifice, seeing the single Church that brings glory and hymns to God and the Virgin?⁵⁰

The author of the sermon comments on the selected verses of the prophecy, aiming to bring forward the compliance with the times in which he himself lived. Ezekiel speaks of an unprotected land that shall experience the arrival of Gog. Syncellus understands this in such a way that there is no ruler present in that country, repeatedly seeking the compliance with his interpretation, as the emperor Heraclius was indeed absent from Constantinople during the Avar siege. Another parallel that the author sees is the claim that Gog and his allies shall strike upon the chosen people in times of peace. Syncellus knew that the last time Constantinople had faced a serious threat was three years before that, when the Avars managed to cross the fortification known as the 'Long Walls' and plundered the city's suburbs⁵¹. Yet the most important argument of the Syncellus' updating of Ezekiel's prophecy rests in the commented passage stating that Gog and his allies shall be crushed near the sea:

because the prophet said that when the nations would come against the land of Israel, their common grave would be a place by the sea and after their defeat, the island would be inhabited without any fears⁵².

It is not a matter of coincidence that Syncellus explicitly stresses this passage, since it was indeed by the sea, more precisely in the Golden Horn, where the fleet of Slavic monoxyla was drowned:

this bay is thus called... also the common grave of Gog... and in the same time, the Red Sea, where the entire Pharaoh's army and all his chariots were drowned⁵³.

⁵⁰ THEODORUS SYNCCELLUS, *De obsidione Constantinopolis*, p. 316, 37 – 317, 3.

⁵¹ THEODORUS SYNCCELLUS, *De obsidione Constantinopolis*, p. 317, 23–26. On the Avar invasion of AD 623 most recently M. HURBANIČ, *The Eastern Roman Empire and the Avar Khaganate in the Years 622–624 AD*, AA.ASH 51, 2011, p. 315–328.

⁵² THEODORUS SYNCCELLUS, *De obsidione Constantinopolis*, p. 315, 35–37.

⁵³ THEODORUS SYNCCELLUS, *De obsidione Constantinopolis*, p. 318, 4–8.

Syncellus does not intend to engage in further polemics with his alleged Jewish opponents:

Should the sons of the Hebrews want to interpret the words of the prophet in a different way and not in this way, let them interpret it the way they want⁵⁴.

Nevertheless, also in this case he was too tempted to use a polemical tone:

What other common grave of nations that had come with Gog against the land of Israel can they show upon the sea? When and how were the islands inhabited without any fears after Gog had been destroyed on his expedition against Israel?⁵⁵

The author of the sermon does not doubt anymore that Ezekiel's prophecy had been fulfilled in his lifetime:

Which other city could rightfully call itself *the Eye of the Land* if not this city [of Constantinople], in which God has established the kingdom of Christians and made it a central point to become an intermediary between the East and the West. Against this, the rulers, armies and nations have gathered, whose power has been broken by the Lord who said to Zion: *Have courage, Zion, let your arms not hang down, look, your mighty God is amidst you to save you*.⁵⁶

Several Christian and Judaic texts written nearly about the same time as Syncellus' homily stressed the fear of the end of the world. From this we can conclude that the apocalyptic expectations were surely on the increase after the end of the last Roman-Persian war⁵⁷. Nevertheless, Syncellus' sermon is a unique testimony for various reasons. First, it is the only preserved early Christian text which clearly relates the exegesis of Chapter 38 and 39 of Ezekiel to the concrete historical event – the Avar siege of Constantinople. Syncellus firstly interpreted the Old Testament siege of Jerusalem by the use of typology as prefiguration of the Avar siege of Constantinople and then he tried to connect it with the apocalyptic prophecy of Ezekiel, which he finally surprisingly changes into the triumph of the New Israel

⁵⁴ THEODORUS SYNCELLUS, *De obsidione Constantinopolis*, p. 316, 7–9.

⁵⁵ THEODORUS SYNCELLUS, *De obsidione Constantinopolis*, p. 316, 9–10.

⁵⁶ THEODORUS SYNCELLUS, *De obsidione Constantinopolis*, p. 317, 29–34.

⁵⁷ Most of these texts containing the topic have clearly Syrian origin and go back to the so-called Alexander Legend written c. 630, probably in North Mesopotamia. Cf. *The History of Alexander the Great*, rec. A.W. BUDGE, Cambridge 1889. Here the apocalyptic Gog and Magog are clearly identified with the Huns (see p. 150–155). See also G.J. REININK, *Die Entstehung der syrischen Alexanderlegende als politischreligiöse Propagandaschrift für Herakleios' Kirchenpolitik*, [in:] *After Chalcedon: Studies in Theology and Church History*, ed. C. LAGA, Leuven 1985, p. 263–281. For the other texts (Alexander Poem, Pseudo-Ephraem and Pseudo-Methodius) see P. ALEXANDER, *Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition...*, p. 13–60; G.J. REININK, *Heraclius the New Alexander...*, p. 81–94; E. VAN DONZEL, A. SCHMIDT, *Gog and Magog...*, p. 16–31.

in the New Jerusalem. His comments on Ezekiel were not pessimistic as those of the other contemporary authors dealing with the Gog and Magog theme, but his triumphalism is related not to the empire but mainly to the faith of its inhabitants and their God-protected city. Although the motif of Constantinople as the New Jerusalem is not entirely new in the early Christian literature, it is only Syncellus who clearly defines and explains the content of this concept by highlighting its spiritual and eschatological aspects. His New Jerusalem is neither a convenient metaphor for Constantinople nor a mere imitation or 'Abbild' of the older one. It is the typological 'Urbild' in the very sense of that meaning and in that way the 'real' and not imaginary one⁵⁸. Such concept has, to my knowledge, no further parallel in Byzantine literature⁵⁹.

At the first sight, this homily clearly reflects the historical narrative and proposes its eschatological explanation, but such themes, although important and stressed by many scholars, were only the means of expression of his basic idea to prove the primacy of the New Testament over the Old one and the spiritual truth of Christianity over Judaism⁶⁰. It is without doubt a unique text but it remained an isolated testimony as further development and its own textual tradition clearly reveals⁶¹.

⁵⁸ See the comments by R. OUSTERHOUT, *Sacred Geographies...*, p. 98; J. PAHLITZSCH, *Zur ideologischen Bedeutung Jerusalems...*, p. 245–246.

⁵⁹ From the list of quotations preserved by E. FENSTER and V. ZERVAN (see note 24) is clear that the majority of the expressions referring to Constantinople as the New Jerusalem belongs to the category of traditional rhetorical comparisons. Of some interest is *The Life of St. Andrew the Fool*, in which a special sanctity of Constantinople – the New Jerusalem is highlighted through the idea of its eternal being. Cf. *The Life of St. Andrew the Fool*, vol. II, *Text, Translation, Notes*, ed. L. RYDÉN, Uppsala 1995, p. 260. This text is dated by its editor between 950–1000. Cf. L. RYDÉN, *The Life of St. Andrew the Fool*, vol. I, *Introduction, Testimonies and Nachleben. Indices*, Uppsala 1995, p. 41–56. The subsequent passage is commented by A. KÜLZER (*Konstantinopel in der apokalyptischen Literatur der Byzantiner*, JÖB 50, 2000, p. 73) who rightly concludes that the concept of Constantinople as New Jerusalem can be traced back to the seventh century, but he never touched upon Syncellus' homily despite the fact that his contribution deals with the image of Constantinople in apocalyptic literature.

⁶⁰ To my knowledge, such scheme might be unique in the Byzantine texts but there is at least one example in Early Russian literature – the *Sermon on Law and Grace* of the Kievan metropolitan Illarion. The historical conversion of the knjaz' Vladimir is, like in Syncellus account of the Avar siege, mere historical backdrop against which he develops his polemic with the imaginary Jews. It is not without interest that Constantinople is here referred to not only as the centre of the orthodox belief and source of Russian Christianity but also as the New Jerusalem; see *Слово о Законе и Благодати Илариона*, rec. А.Н. МОЛДОВАН, Киев 1984. For commentary see recently С. ТЕМЧИН, *Слово о законе и благодати киевского митрополита. Илариона и раннехристианская полемика*, Ru 7, 2008, p. 30–40.

⁶¹ As clearly pointed out by A. KÜLZER (*Peregrinatio graeca in Terram Sanctam: Studien zu Pilgerführern und Reisebeschreibungen über Syrien, Palästina und den Sinai aus byzantischer und metabyzantischer Zeit*. Frankfurt am Main 1994 [= STB, 2], p. 136). The Syncellus homily is preserved in four manuscripts but only one of them (Codex Graecus Parisinus Suppl. 241) is complete. The long eschatological passages were omitted by later copyist (Codex Athous Pantokrator gr. 26; ms.

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ТЕМЧИН С., *Слово о законе и благодати киевского митрополита. Илариона и раннехристианская полемика*, Ru 7, 2008, p. 30–40.

Abstract. A sermon attributed to Theodore Syncellus (Theodoros Synkellos) is considered as one of the basic sources for the study of the Avar siege of Constantinople in AD 626. Therefore, the most historians paid more attention to the analysis of its historical background than to its ideological content. From the ideological point of view, the document serves as an evidence that a fear for the future of the Empire and its capital Constantinople began to rise within emerging Byzantine society. The Avar siege served its author mainly as a model for developing his polemics with imaginary Jewish opponents and their religion. It deserves to be included in a long succession of similar polemical treatises, which have existed in Christianity from its earliest times.

Keywords: Avars, Constantinople, Theodore Syncellus, De obsidione avarica Constantinopolis, patriarch Sergius, the Avar Siege of 626, typology, Jews, Gog and Magog, New Jerusalem, Old Testament prophecies, eschatology, the last war of Antiquity.

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FACES OF AENEAS. REPRESENTATIONS ON ROMAN COINS AND MEDALLIONS

Aeneas (Aineias), the Trojan exile, his fate, personality and role in the Mediterranean world, his life story *sine qua non* of the Roman history, has become an interesting object of study. Here, especially, the circulating literary accounts of Aeneas' adventures provide material for such analyses of his portrait¹. Also in ancient art the image of Aeneas as the progenitor of the Roman people is far from modest. In this context I focus upon the monetary representations of Aeneas in Roman coinage. This view includes republican and imperial coins as well as provincial and 'pseudo-autonomous' coins and medallions.

Aspects of Aeneas's image, based on numismatic sources, become a recurring theme of numerous studies² in which, however, either because of the abundance of material analyzed or a too-narrow a set of numismatic references, the specific traits of Aeneas's numismatic iconography and the sense of the Aeneas motif have been lost or deformed. In the present study too I do not pretend to have exhausted the theme. I principally explore those aspects of Aeneas's image that become manifest through the way he is portrayed in the company of his family members and entourage, and placed in a definite framework referring to the pre-beginnings and the history of the Roman people, as suggested by various attributes in the monetary iconography as well.

A review of monetary representations used within a period of a few centuries in the Roman world, shows how rare direct Aeneas-related motifs were³. Moreover,

¹ E.g. G.K. GALINSKY, *Aeneas, Sicily, and Rome*, Princeton 1969; G. VANOTTI, *L'altro Enea. La testimonianza di Dionigi di Alicarnasso*, Roma 1995; M. BETTINI, M. LENTANO, *Il mito di Enea. Immagini e racconti dalla Grecia a oggi*, Torino 2013.

² T. DUNCAN, *The Aeneas Legend on Coins*, CJ 44, 1948/1949, p. 15–29; W. FUCHS, *Die Bildgeschichte des Flucht des Aeneas*, [in:] ANRW, vol. I/4, ed. H. TEMPORINI, Berlin–New York 1973, p. 615–632; P. AICHHOLZER, *Darstellungen römischer Sagen*, Wien 1983, p. 1–29; M. KRUMME, *Römische Sagen der antiken Münzprägung*, Marburg 1995, p. 22–25, 94–111; A. KENDALL, *The depictions of Aeneas in Roman numismatic and medallion art*, The Picus 1996, p. 22–37; R. CAPPELLI, *Questioni di iconografia*, [in:] Roma, *Romolo, Remo e la fondazione della città*, Roma, ed. A. CARANDINI, R. CAPPELLI, Milano 2000, p. 151–183; C. MC INNIS, *Foundation Iconography on Roman Coins: A Study of the Romulus and Remus and Aeneas Legends*, CMNSJ 2/1, 2001, p. 5–22.

³ Cf. J.-P. MARTIN: *Les thèmes de l'épopée romaine dans la numismatique impériale*, [in:] *Imago Antiquitatis. Religions et iconographie du monde romain. Mélanges offerts à Robert Turcan*, ed. N. BLANC, A. BUISSON, Paris 1999, p. 331, 335–337.

as a reverse theme, Aeneas was introduced relatively late. While in Greek coinage, the oldest known image of Aeneas can be seen on the tetradrachms of Aeneia on the Chalcidic peninsula dating back to the end of the 6th century BC⁴ and recurs at the turn of the 5th to 4th century BC⁵. While in the Roman world, Aeneas appears on the coins, as presumed, and depending on the admitted chronology of definite emissions and the identification of the iconographic representations, as late as the second half of the 3rd century BC⁶ or the end of the 2nd century BC⁷. Yet, there are also opinions that it was in the 1st century BC⁸.

Emissions with the Aeneas motif are limited to several cases only in republican and imperial coinage. At the same time, the circulating issues were accumulated in the declining Republic, under Augustus and during the Julio-Claudian dynasty; they appeared occasionally in the Year of the Four Emperors and during the period of the Adoptive and Antonine Emperors⁹. In terms of content they are enriched by the imperial medallions from the 2nd century¹⁰ and the medallions and the contorniates from the 4th century¹¹.

⁴ E. BABELON, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines* (cetera: Bab. *Traité*), vol. II.1, Paris 1907, no 1556; H. GAEBLER, *Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands, Makedonia und Paionia*, Berlin 1935, p. 20–21, no 1 (6th C. – 480 BC); R. TEXIER, *A propos de deux représentations archaïques de la fuite d'Énée*, RA 14, 6th s., 1939, p. 16–18 (ca. 550 BC); A. ALFÖLDI, *Die trojanischen Urahnen der Römer*, Basel 1957, p. 17; W. FUCHS, *op. cit.*, p. 617–618 (ca. 500 BC); M. PRICE, N. WAGGONER, *Archaic Greek Coinage. The Asyut Hoard*, London 1975, p. 43–44 (490–480 BC).

⁵ *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum*, ed. R.S. POOLE, London 1873–1927 (cetera: BMC), Macedonia, Aeneia, p. 41, nos 1–5; Bab. *Traité* 2/1, nos 1557–1558; Bab. *Traité* 2/4, Paris 1926, no 925, nos 927–930 (Ascanius); H. GAEBLER, *op. cit.*, p. 21, nos 2–5, p. 22, nos 8–10. Cf. M. MIELCZAREK, *Mennictwo starożytnej Grecji. Mennictwo okresów archaicznego i klasycznego*, vol. I, Warszawa–Kraków 2006, p. 89.

⁶ BMC Sicily, Segesta, p. 137, nos 59–61; cf. A. ALFÖLDI, *Die trojanischen Urahnen...*, p. 29; G.K. GALINSKY, *op. cit.*, p. 173. M.H. CRAWFORD, *Roman Republican Coinage*, Cambridge 1974 (cetera: RRC), nos 28/1–2, 29/1–2; cf. F. CANCELANI, *Aineias*, [in:] *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*, ed. L. KAHIL, vol. I.1, Zürich–München 1981, no 178.

⁷ RRC, no 308/1a–b; cf. S. PETRILLO SERAFIN, *La pietas di Enea: due monete a confronto*, BA 13, 1982, p. 37–38, n. 20; I. BITTO, *Per una proposta di interpretazione del denarius del monetiere M. Herennius con leggenda PIETAS*, Messana 3, 1990, p. 147–168; EADEM, *M. Herennius, il mito eneico, la dea Herentas*, [in:] *La tradizione iconica come fonte storica: il ruolo della numismatica negli studi di iconografia*, ed. M. CACCAMO CALTABIANO, D. CASTRIZIO, M. PUGLISI, Reggio Calabria 2004, p. 385–388; J.D. EVANS, *The Art of Persuasion, Political Propaganda from Aeneas to Brutus*, Ann Arbor 1992, p. 37.

⁸ RRC, no 458/1; cf. W. FUCHS, *op. cit.*, p. 625–626.

⁹ Cf. W. FUCHS, *op. cit.*, p. 624–625; F. CANCELANI, *op. cit.*, nos 128–141; M. KRUMME, *op. cit.*, p. 98–107; Kat. 21/1, 23/1, 31/1–33/1, 37/1, 48/8, 59/1–3, 93/1–95/3; A. DARDENAY, *Les mythes fondateurs de Rome. Images et politique dans l'Occident romain*, Paris 2010, p. 77–81.

¹⁰ Cf. F. CANCELANI, *op. cit.*, nos 142–144, 169–172; M.R. JENKINS, *Mythological narrative art in Roman numismatics*, Diss. Univ. of Tasmania 1991, p. 50–66, 108–121, 153–156; M. KRUMME, *op. cit.*, p. 107–117; Kat. 56/1–57/1, 67/1, 85/1, 92/1. J.M.C. TOYNBEE, *Roman Medallions*, New York 1986, p. 142–144; A. DARDENAY, *Les mythes...*, p. 121–122.

¹¹ *The Roman Imperial Coinage* (cetera: RIC), 7, ed. P.M. BRUUN, London 1966, p. 334, no 317; A. ALFÖLDI, E. ALFÖLDI, C.L. CLAY, *Die Kontorniat-Medaillons*, Berlin 1976, p. 202, nos 90–91, p. 6,

On the other hand, more often and cumulatively over a longer time perspective (from the latter part of the 1st century until the 50s of the 3rd century), the Aeneas motif occurred on coins struck in the Roman East. It was featured, among others, on the reverse sides of provincial coins from Corinth, Coela in Thrace, Patras in Achaea, Apamea in Bithynia-Pontus, Otrus in Phrygia, Berytus in Phoenicia, Parium in Mysia, and from Antandrus, Dardanus and Scepsis in Troas¹².

Obviously Ilium could not be missing among these cities. Here the Aeneas motif was commonly explored in the 'pseudo-autonomous' coinage under the Flavians and Antonines¹³ and also in the provincial coinage under Augustus (27 BC – 14 AD), Hadrian (AD 117–138), Marcus Aurelius (AD 161–180), Lucius Verus (AD 161–169) and Elagabalus (AD 218–222)¹⁴. On the other hand, in the western part of the Mediterranean, the Aeneas motif can be found on the coins of Segesta in Sicily¹⁵.

no 20, p. 114–115, no 349, p. 117, no 355; F. CANCIANI, *op. cit.*, no 145; M.R. JENKINS, *Mythological narrative art...*, p. 270–271.

¹² E.g. Corinth – *Roman Provincial Coinage* (cetera: RPC), 4, no 5152 temp. (Marcus Aurelius), 5225 temp., 9502 temp. (Commodus); Coela – RPC 9, no 164 temp. (Trebonianus Gallus); <http://www.ancientcoinage.org/the-trojan-war.html> [13 IV 2016] (Gallienus); Patras – *BMC Peloponnesus*, Patrae, p. 28, no 44; RPC 4, no 4623 temp., 9879 temp. (Commodus); Apamea – RPC, 3, no 1032 (Hadrian); *BMC Pontus*, Apamea, p. 114, no 37 (Severus Alexander); Otrus – H. VON AULOCK, *Münzen und Städte Phrygiens*, Tübingen 1980 (cetera: vA Phrygiens), nos 787–789 (Caracalla), no 816, 835; *BMC Phrygia*, Otrus, p. 345, no 14 (Geta); Berytus – *BMC Phoenicia*, Berytus, p. 84, nos 213–215 (Elagabalus); Parium – <http://www.ancientcoinage.org/the-trojan-war.html> [13 IV 2016] (Gallienus); Antandrus – C. FONTANA, *Note su alcune monete inedite o poco conosciute della serie urbica greca coniate durante l'Impero Romano*, RINSA 18, 1967, p. 54, no 18 (Caracalla); A. GIAMPAGLIA, *Enea, il fondatore: Roma e la Troade a confronto*, [in:] *Polis, urbs, civitas, moneta e identità*, ed. L. TRAVAINI, G. ARRIGONI, Roma 2013, p. 160; <https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=114901> [13 IV 2016] (Severus Alexander); Dardanus – RPC 3, no 1561 (Trajan); *BMC Troas*, Dardanus, p. 51, no 29 (Geta); *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum Deutschland: Sammlung von Aulock*, rev. G. KLEINER et al., Berlin 1957–1968 (cetera: SNG vA), no 1505; RPC 4, no 67 (Crispina); Scepsis – <http://www.ancientcoinage.org/the-trojan-war.html> [13 IV 2016] (Faustina II); K. KRAFT, *Das System der kaiserzeitlichen Münzprägung in Kleinasien. Materialien und Entwürfe*, Berlin 1972, p. 161, no 27 (Julia Domna); *BMC Troas*, Scepsis, p. 85, no 38 (Julia Mamaea). Cf. K.W. HARL, *Civic Coins and Civic Politics in the Roman East A.D.180–235*, Berkeley–Los Angeles–London 1987, p. 74; R. LINDNER, *Mythos und Identität: Studien zur Selbstdarstellung kleinasiatischer Städte*, Stuttgart 1994, p. 45–64; Ch. HOWGEGO, *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*, [in:] *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*, ed. Ch. HOWGEGO, V. HEUCHERT, A. BURNETT, Oxford–New York 2005, p. 5–6.

¹³ H. VON FRITZE, *Die Münzen von Ilion*, [in:] *Troja und Ilion: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen in den vorhistorischen und historischen Schichten von Ilion 1870–1894*, ed. W. DÖRPFELD, 2, Athen 1902 (cetera: vF Ilion), nos 28–31; *BMC Troas*, Ilium, p. 59, no 20; A.R. BELLINGER, *Troy. The Coins*, Princeton 1961, nos T 129, 140, 141, 208, 210; SNG vA, nos 1524–1526; RPC 3, no 1577; RPC 4, no 2487 temp.

¹⁴ vF Ilion, no 41; *BMC Troas*, Ilium, p. 60, no 28; A.R. BELLINGER, *op. cit.*, no T 115; RPC 1, no 2306 (Augustus); vF Ilion, no 55; SNG vA, no 1533; A.R. BELLINGER, *op. cit.*, no T 134; RPC 3, no 1570 (Hadrian); vF Ilion, no 62; A.R. BELLINGER, *op. cit.*, no T 148; RPC 4, no 85 (Marcus Aurelius); A.R. BELLINGER, *op. cit.*, no T 154; RPC 4, no 91 (Lucius Verus); <https://www.pecunem.com/auction-24/lot-296> [15 XII 2015] (Elagabalus).

¹⁵ *BMC Sicily*, Segesta, p. 137, nos 59–61; R. CALCIATI, *Corpus nummorum siculorum: la monetazione di bronzo*, vol. I, Milano 1983, Segesta, p. 304, nos 54, 56, 57; M. KRUMME, *op. cit.*, p. 98, Kat. 155/1.

It is striking how popular the Aeneas motif was in the numerous minting centres that produced pseudo-autonomous and provincial coins in the times of the Empire, and how modestly it was represented in the parallel imperial coinage.

This observation stands in contrast to Aeneas' role as the progenitor of the Romans. He appears more as a hero of the Roman East than of the whole Roman world. Especially on the coins minted in the city of Ilium he was a symbol of the city's identity by the reference to its mythological beginnings. Moreover, the inscription: τὸ[v] πάτριον θε[ὸν]¹⁶ suggests that Aeneas was an object for worship here. On the other hand, in Italia and especially in Lavinium, Aeneas became a local hero for whom a heroon was erected with the inscription: πατρός θεοῦ χθονίου¹⁷. Another way of distinguishing Aeneas was by calling him *indigenes pater*, who *in deorum numero relatus (est)* which can be seen in the inscription on the Domus Eumachiae next to the Pompeii forum¹⁸. Furthermore, within the multi-branched Greek and Roman tradition relating to Aeneas, it was sometimes to him that the foundation of Rome was ascribed¹⁹.

A rather modest representation of the Aeneas motif in Roman coinage and its narrow chronological frame are due to the specific character of the numismatic sources and to the fact that it was relatively late that the exile from Troy became associated with the future of the Romans. After all, the story of Aeneas was continually transformed, both in ancient literature and in works of art, their episodes being nuanced in various ways. There exists a wide range of possibilities between Aeneas mentioned in the *Iliad* and Aeneas as the embodiment of a supreme religious and political idea in the *Aeneid*²⁰. Still the precondition for introducing him into monetary iconography was that the contemporary coin issuers noticed a quasi-genealogical relationship to him or his independent ideological attractiveness. For this reason two clear-cut caesuras are revealed in Roman coinage: one of them falls at the time of the declining Republic and Augustus's reign, when both of the aforementioned conditions were fulfilled, and the other becomes manifest under Hadrian (117–138 AD) and Antoninus Pius (138–161 AD), when the second condition is fulfilled.

Cf. G.K. GALINSKY, *op. cit.*, p. 173; M.C. CALTABIANO, *Gli eroi omerici nella tipologia monetale antica*, RINSA 90, 1988, p. 28.

¹⁶ CIG 3606, [in:] *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, ed. A. BOECKHIUS, Berolini 1843; Iv Ilion 143, [in:] P. FRISCH, *Die Inschriften von Ilion*, Bonn 1975.

¹⁷ D.H., I, 64, 5, [in:] *Dionysi Halicarnasiensis Antiquitatum Romanarum quae supersunt*, ed. C. JACOBUS, Lipsiae 1885–1905 (cetera: D.H.).

¹⁸ CIL X, 808 = 8348, [in:] *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, ed. Th. MOMMSEN, Berolini 1883.

¹⁹ Hellanicos, in D.H., I, 72, 2; Sall., *Cat.* 6, [in:] *C. Sallustii Crispi Catilina*, post A.W. AHLBERG ed. A. KURFESS, Lipsiae 1972 (cetera: SALL., *Cat.*)

²⁰ Cf. (e.g.) N.M. HORSEFALL, *The Aeneas-Legend from Homer to Virgil*, BICS 34, 1987, Suppl. Nr 52: *Roman Myth and Mythography*, p. 12–24; IDEM, *Aeneas the colonist*, Verg 35, 1989, p. 8–27.

A review of the occurrence of the Aeneas motif reveals that there were few iconographic models used in Roman coinage. The catalogue that Fulvio Canciani made on the basis of the Aeneas representations in the works of ancient art familiar to him, enumerates over 20 different models²¹. Only three of them can be found on the reverses of the Roman coins. They refer to the themes, which the Italian researcher defines as the flight from Troy, the arrival in Italy and the pact with Latinus, yet in their content they also comprise the first offering made on Italian land and the foundation of the city.

Such a course of events, arranged according to the legendary chronology, and complemented by successive episodes, reveals itself in the inscription on the base of a statue that once stood in Pompeii:

Aenea[s Ven]eris et Anchisa[e filius Troia]nos / qui capta Tr[oia et incensa s]uper / [fue]rant in It[aliam adduxit] /.../ [oppidum Lavinium] con[didit ...]... regnavit an[nos tris in / [bel]lo Lauren[tin]o non con / [pa]ruit appel[latus]q est indigens / [pa]ter et in deo[rum n]umero relatus²².

The episodes of Aeneas' life, rendered symbolically on the coins, are set within the framework of the same canonical associations.

A model that was most commonly used on the reverses of provincial coins was the three-person Aeneas group, consisting of Aeneas carrying his father Anchises on his arm and holding his son Ascanius by the hand. On the imperial coins, however, the Aeneas Group was depicted rather rarely and usually played a secondary role.

As an example, on the *sestertii* of Caligula it adorns, together with other sculptures, the *fastigium* of the temple of the *divus* Augustus on the Palatine hill²³; the same detail can also be found on some variants of Antoninus Pius coins, depicting *templum* or *aedes divi Augusti restituta*²⁴. On the other hand, on the *sestertii* PIETAS AVGVSTI S C of Galba, the Aeneas Group is featured in the relief frieze of an altar at which Pietas makes her offering²⁵. A complement to this group

²¹ F. CANSIANI, *op. cit.*, p. 381–394. See, e.g., subjects indicated by A. DARDENAY, *Images des Fondateurs. D'Énée à Romulus*, Bordeaux 2012, p. 13–75: “la Fuite d'Énée” and “les images secondaires illustrant la légende troyenne”.

²² See note 18 above. Aeneas' *elogium* – CIL VI, 40931 = AE 1934, 149 = AE 1938, 4 = AE 1949, 165 = AE 1999, 177.

²³ *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, ed. H. MATTINGLY et al., London 1923 sqq (cetera: *RIC*), 1², Calig., nos 36, 44, 51; *A Catalogue of the Roman Coins in the British Museum. Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, ed. H. MATTINGLY, London 1965–1976 (cetera: *BMCRE*), 1, Calig., no 41; M. KRUMME, *op. cit.*, p. 104, Kat. 31/1; cf. G. FUCHS, *Architekturdarstellungen auf römischen Münzen der Republik und der frühen Kaiserzeit*, Berlin 1969, p. 45.

²⁴ *RIC* 3, Ant.P., nos 124, 143, 272a–b, 284, 289–290, 755, 787, 795–796, 973, 978, 988, 994, 998, 1003–1004, 1017, 1021; *BMCRE* 4, Ant.P., p. 74†, 147*, 354†, 355*, 355‡, nos 549, 552, 916, 924, 938–939, 1652, 1718, 1729–1730, 2051, 2063–2066, 2098; M. KRUMME, *op. cit.*, p. 104, Kat. 93/1a–95/3.

²⁵ *BMCRE* 1, Galba, p. 358‡; *RIC* 1², Galba, no 483; M. KRUMME, *op. cit.*, p. 104, Kat. 37/1.

is a Hadrian medallion of a VENERI GENETRICI type. Here the motif of the Aeneas group adorns the shield on which the goddess Venus is sitting²⁶. Placing the Aeneas Group within the ornamental elements of a temple, an altar or a shield indicates that the motif was characteristic and easily recognizable. However, the Aeneas group rarely appears as the main element of reverse iconography in imperial coinage²⁷; the model was *par excellence* typical for provincial coinage where such pictures were widespread, lasting and only slightly diversified. It implies the iconographic and compositional dependence of these monetary representations upon a common source or a widely known work²⁸.

It seems that the inspiration came from the statuary representation of the Aeneas group, raised in the Forum of Augustus in Rome in the 20s of the 1st century BC²⁹. At the same time, in the strophes of the *Aeneid*, Virgil pictures Aeneas fleeing from the city of Troy:

ergo age, care pater, ceruici imponere nostrae;
 ipse subibo umeris nec me labor iste grauabit;
 [...] mihi paruus Iulus
 sit comes. [...]
 tu, genitor, cape sacra manu patriosque penatis; [...]
 haec fatus latos umeros subiectaque colla
 ueste super fuluque insternor pelle leonis,
 succedoque oneri; dextrae se paruus Iulus
 implicuit sequiturque patrem non passibus aequis³⁰.

On the basis of these words, it is easy to compose an image that recalls the one known from the monetary representations, where Aeneas, carrying his father on his back and leading his son by the hand, is shown as *profugus*³¹. Still, the sculpture from the Forum of Augustus did not survive into our times. We can find only a very general description of it in Ovid:

²⁶ F. GNECCHI, *I medaglioni romani, descritti ed illustrati*, Milano 1912, 3, Adr., no 92. References to Venus and her son Aeneas may be associated with an allusion to the mythical ancestress of the Julian family, and to the dynastic idea, cf. P. ZANKER, *August i potęga obrazów*, przeł. L. OLSZEWSKI, Poznań 1999, esp. p. 101, 198 sqq; O. HEKSTER, *Emperors and Ancestors: Roman Rulers and the Constraints of Tradition*, Oxford 2015, esp. p. 239–241.

²⁷ F. GNECCHI, *I medaglioni...*, 3, Ant.P., no 158; *RIC* 3, Ant.P., nos 91, 615, 627; *BMCRE* 4, Ant.P., nos 237, 1264, 1292; M. KRUMME, *op. cit.*, p. 104, Kat. 59/1–3.

²⁸ Cf. vF Iliion, p. 519.

²⁹ W. FUCHS, *op. cit.*, p. 627–629; ca. 27–22 BC. Cf. F. CANCELANI, *op. cit.*, no 146.

³⁰ VERGILIUS, *Aen.* II, 707–708, 710–711, 717, 721–724, [in:] VIRGILE, *Énéide*, trans. et ed. J. PERRET, Paris 1987–1993 (cetera: VERG., *Aen.*).

³¹ VERG., *Aen.* I, 2. Cf. VERG., *Aen.* VII, 300; VIII, 118; X, 158; LIV., I, 1, 5 and 8, [in:] TYTE-LIVE, *Histoire romaine*, trans. et ed. R. BLOCH, J. BAYET, G. BAILLET et al., Paris 1968 sqq (cetera: LIV.); SALL., *Cat.* 6. Cf. V. RIMELL, *The Closure of Space in Roman Poetics. Empire's Inward Turn*, Cambridge 2015, p. 34, 70.

Hinc uidet Aenean oneratum pondère caro
 et tot Iulæe nobilitatis auos;
 hinc uidet Iliaden umeris ducis arma ferentem³².

The painting on the facade of the *fullonica* in Via dell'Abbondanza in Pompeii is presumed to depict the Roman sculpture of Aeneas with his father and son (cf. fig. 1)³³. The painting reproduces the composition of the statue that once stood on the facade of Domus Eumachiae in Pompeii, which itself was a copy of a Roman prototype³⁴. The presence of the Aeneas group in the relief of Sebasteion in Aphrodisias³⁵ and in numerous monuments of major and minor art such as altar reliefs, gems, clay lamps, and others testifies to its popularity (cf. fig. 2).

In the literature and visual arts of the period, from which images of the Aeneas group became popular in the coinage, there was a certain convention in depicting the Trojan hero. Different monetary designs in which it was reproduced prove that this portrait of Aeneas was so universal that it was adopted in diverse geographic and chronological environments. The inspiration was presumably drawn, directly or indirectly, from the Roman statuary prototype. This reasoning is justified by the chronological order in which the monetary representations of the Aeneas group developed. Still, the entire group of these coins repeated, in a transformed iconographic version, what was a part of Aeneas' myth as it functioned in the times of Augustus. We can see here the conservatism of coin representations, which exhibit far fewer individual variants than, for example, the ornaments on contemporary lamps that also depict the Aeneas group³⁶, and the permanence of the model. On the other hand, the elements suggesting the relation between the Trojan hero and the foundation of Rome, were a reference to Augustan times, when the conviction about the exceptional role played by Aeneas was excessively developed and established.

These features of the model – permanence, schematism – indicate a symbolic value of the Aeneas group in numismatic imagery. The fact of drawing from this model, well-established in provincial coinage, proves that it was referred to in order to show the connection with the Roman state either of the Julian colonies, or the towns benefiting from *pax romana*, or simply the places, which via the mythical stories, were somehow related to Aeneas' journey. On the other hand, in the original iconography found on the reverses of the medallions, the figures of Aeneas and

³² OVIDIUS, *Fasti*, V, 563–665, [in:] *Ovid's Fasti*, trans. J.G. FRAZER, London–Cambridge Mass. 1959 (cetera: Ov., *Fast.*).

³³ F. CANCIANI, *op. cit.*, no 98.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, no 147.

³⁵ R.R.R. SMITH, *Myth and Allegory in the Sebasteion*, [in:] *Aphrodisias Papers: Recent work on architecture and sculpture*, ed. Ch. ROUECHÉ, K.T. ERIM, JRA Suppl. 1, 1990, p. 97–100.

³⁶ Cf. W. FUCHS, *op. cit.*, p. 629; A. DARDENAY, *Le rôle des ateliers de lampes dans la diffusion iconographique de la fuite d'Énée*, MCV 35.2, 2005, p. 161–189.

his relatives are woven into the scenes which explain the episodes from the Trojan's life with references to associations other than the Aeneas group.

The early representations in Roman coinage depict Aeneas with Anchises only³⁷. The son of the hero, Ascanius, was only introduced later, on emissions featuring the Aeneas group.

Ascanius (Askanios), which is peculiar especially to the iconographic representations of Aeneas in the Greek world, did not appear frequently nor did it play a primary role. We do not find him in the earliest preserved representation of Aeneas' flight from Troy in the vase painting (ca 540 BC)³⁸. Sometimes, however, a child or even more children appear in the pictorial decorations of the Greek vases in the 6th and 5th century BC³⁹, which would correspond to the version of Aeneas' numerous offsprings. Still, in the 2nd century BC Cassius Hemina mentions that two of Aeneas' sons were lead out of Troy⁴⁰.

In Italia, Ascanius was called Julius. This change of name was to signify maturity: a youth took part in the war, hair began growing on his face⁴¹. Creusa was supposed to call her son Ilius, first he was called Iolus, then Iulus. These changes of name establish a closer relationship between Ascanius, or the Trojan tradition on one side and the *gens* Iulia on the other⁴².

This genealogical connection with the Trojans – *via* Ascanius – is not reflected in the coin imagery of the declining Republic and the beginning of the Empire. It is striking that Ascanius is absent from the coins related to the person of C. Julius Caesar and Octavian, in these cases the representation is confined to Aeneas and Anchises. It would be a trace of the Greek tradition established, for example, in the

³⁷ Cf. the *denarii* of M. Herennius – H.A. GRUEBER, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*, London 1910 (cetera: *BMCR*), Rome, nos 1231–1258 (ca. 91 BC); E.A. SYDENHAM, *The Coinage of the Roman Republic*, London 1952 (cetera: *CRR*), nos 567–568 (101 BC); *RRC*, nos 308/1a–b (108 or 107 BC); Caesarian *denarii* – *BMCR* East, p. 469, nos 31–35 (48 BC); *CRR*, no 1013 (48 BC); *RRC*, no 458/1 (47–46 BC); M. KRUMME, *op. cit.*, p. 94, 98–100, Kat. 21/1; *denarii* of L. Regulus – *BMCR* Rome, nos 4257–4258 (ca. 39 BC); *CRR*, nos 1104–1104a (42 BC); *RRC*, nos 494/3a–b (42 BC); M. KRUMME, *op. cit.*, p. 101–102, Kat. 23/1. See also *BMC Sicily*, Segesta, p. 137, nos 65, 66; R. CALCIATI, *op. cit.*, Segesta, p. 305, no 61; *RPC* 1, no 652; M. KRUMME, *op. cit.*, p. 98, Kat. 164/1; and vF Ilion, no 41; *BMC Troas*, Ilium, p. 60, no 28; A.R. BELLINGER, *op. cit.*, no T 115; *RPC* 1, no 2306.

³⁸ F. CANCIANI, *op. cit.*, no 59.

³⁹ Child – F. CANCIANI, *op. cit.*, no 60 (ca. 520 BC); see <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/image?img=Perseus:image:1992.06.1379> [17 XII 2015]; also F. CANCIANI, *op. cit.*, nos 63–65, 67–69, 87; children – *ibidem*, nos 66, 79.

⁴⁰ Hem. in SERVIUS, *Aen.* II, 717: *Idem historiarum libro I ait, Ilio capto (Aenean cum dis pena)tibus umeris impositis empisse duosque filios Ascanium et Eurybaten brachio eius innixos ante ora hostium praetergressos [...]*, [in:] *Servii Grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii*, rec. G. Thilo, Lipsiae 1881, 1884 (cetera: SERV., *Aen.*).

⁴¹ SERV., *Aen.* I, 267 and 286.

⁴² LIV., I, 3, 2; APP., *Civ.* II, 10, 68, [in:] *Appian's Roman History*, trans. H. WHITE, London–Cambridge Mass. 1964 (cetera: APP.); SERV., *Aen.* I, 267. Cf. further A. ERSKINE, *Troy between Greece and Rome. Local tradition and imperial power*, Oxford 2001, p. 17–23; O. HEKSTER, *op. cit.*, p. 240–250.

statue from the island of Cos (2nd century BC) that repeats the composition well-known earlier in the East, and also in the statuette from Kharayeb in Lebanon (4th–1st BC)⁴³.

It is only on the imperial coins from the times of Caligula (AD 37–41), as previously mentioned, that the whole three-person Aeneas Group was portrayed. Yet, it was just a detail here, not the main theme of the reverse conception. Besides, this second version of the image was introduced late and remained predominantly an iconographic motif of the provincial issues. Within the regular imperial coinage it appears only during the reign of Antoninus Pius.

In these official numismatic declarations, for the issuers and authors of the monetary designs, Ascanius was not an obvious link between the history of the Trojans and that of the Romans. Furthermore, within the most numerous group of the representations in which he appears, Ascanius is only a single element of the Aeneas Group, a complement to the central figure of Aeneas.

It is Aeneas himself who remains the thread binding the Romans with the Trojans and the condition *sine que non* of the Roman future. The appearance of both Anchises and Ascanius is optional, which proves that – in order to recall the relationship with the Trojan hero and his significance for the Roman history – the message was built up around Aeneas. The figures of Anchises or Ascanius are also interchangeable: the introduction of one or the other entailed different associations.

The presence of Anchises serves to emphasize the *caritas* and *pietas* of the Trojan hero. Even though, the image of Anchises, walking behind Aeneas functioned in Greek art⁴⁴, in monetary iconography Anchises – always lame, old and therefore unable to leave Troy on his own – is saved solely by his son who, burdened with his father, becomes *pius*⁴⁵.

On the imperial coins of Antoninus Pius⁴⁶, on ‘pseudo-autonomous’ coins of Ilium, issued in the times of the Flavians⁴⁷, on the provincial coins from Apamea, issued in the times of Hadrian⁴⁸, and on those from Otrus with the portrait of Geta⁴⁹ etc., the object that deserves attention is the small *cista* or *pyxis*, held by Anchises. However, it is difficult to establish if the detail, which is rather small,

⁴³ W. FUCHS, *op. cit.*, p. 622; A. DARDENAY, *Les mythes...*, p. 47.

⁴⁴ Lekythos, Gela, 480/470 BC; metope 28N of the Parthenon, 447–438 BC, cf. W. FUCHS, *op. cit.*, p. 619–620; F. CANCIANI, *op. cit.*, nos 155, 156.

⁴⁵ E.g. Ov., *Fast.* IV, 37–38: *hinc satus Aeneas, pietas sceptata, per ignes / sacra patrem umeris, altera sacra, tulit*. Cf. (e.g.) D.H., I, 48, 2; LYC., *Alex.* 1270, [in:] *Lykophron: Alexandra*, ed., trans. et comm. S. HORNBLLOWER, Oxford 2015 (cetera: LYC., *Alex.*); APP., *Civ.* IV, 41; OGR IX, 1, [in:] Pseudo-Aurélius Victor, *Les Origines du Peuple Romain*, trans. et ed. J.-C. RICHARD, Paris 1983.

⁴⁶ RIC 3, Ant.P., nos 91, 615, 627; BMCRE 4, Ant.P., nos 237, 1264, 1292; M. KRUMME, *op. cit.*, p. 104, Kat. 59/1–2a,b, 59/3.

⁴⁷ vF Ilium, no 28; BMC Troas, Ilium, p. 59, no 20 (2nd c.); A.R. BELLINGER, *op. cit.*, no T 129; SNG vA, no 1524.

⁴⁸ RPC 3, no 1032.

⁴⁹ BMC Phrygia, Otrus, p. 345, no 14; vA Phrygiens, nos 816, 835.

can also be found on other coins. Probably, it was introduced into the provincial coins quite accidentally and depended on how faithful to the prototype, that is to the statue from the Roman Forum or to another source of inspiration, the image was. It is significant that a *cista* was surely a Roman iconographic invention as *sacra* were not present in the Greek tradition⁵⁰ while in the Roman world they appear in numerous iconographic works⁵¹. In numismatic representations this detail accentuated the spiritual aspect of Aeneas' portrait: here he is not only his father's saviour (*pietas erga parentem*) but also the one who (*pius duplex*) brings the *sacra patriosque penatis* out of Troy⁵² thus adopting the attitude of *pietas erga patriam*. Unknown remains a reverse variant with Aeneas carrying the *sacra*, yet within the literary tradition the merit for saving these sanctities was ascribed to him by metaphorically putting the *sacra*, the Penates, or the household gods, and the sacred fire of Vesta in his hands⁵³.

Nonetheless, the leading role of Aeneas in rescuing his father, who is bringing the household gods, was rendered in the iconography through the popular model in which Anchises – carried by Aeneas – holds a *cista*. In this model Aeneas, carrying a double burden, becomes, metaphorically, the carrier of the household gods: a *penatiger*⁵⁴. It expands his role as the detail binds the exile from the Teucric land with the future of his descendants in Italy for whom the possession of these *sacra* is a guarantee of prosperous existence.

Due to the relationship of Aeneas with the Penates, the group of coins referring to him can be extended to include the republican *denarii* of C. Sulpicius (106 BC). On their obverse, two jugate heads represent the Penates, as the letters DPP (*sc. Dei Penates Publici*) say, while the reverse depicts two men standing over a sow (fig. 3)⁵⁵. It is therefore probable that one of them is Aeneas and the other is the king Latinus. They are making a pact with each other, as described much later by Virgil⁵⁶. It would be one of the original images of Aeneas in Roman coinage.

On the other hand, the connection of Aeneas with the contents of the L. Papius Celsus' *denarii* (ca 46 BC), with an image of Juno on the obverse and a she-wolf

⁵⁰ Exceptionally – the Etruscan scarab, 5th c. BC, Paris, Bibl. nat., Coll. de Luynes 276, R. TEXIER, *op. cit.*, p. 12–21; A. ALFÖLDI, *Die trojanischen Urahnen...*, p. 15–16; F. CANCIANI, *op. cit.*, no 95; and the Etruscan RF amphora, Vulci, 470–460 BC, Monaco, Antikesamml. 3186 – F. CANCIANI, *op. cit.*, no 94; G.K. GALINSKY, *op. cit.*, p. 60; *contra* N. HORSFALL, *The Iconography of Aeneas' Flight: a Practical Detail*, AK 22/2, 1979, p. 104–105.

⁵¹ E.g. F. CANCIANI, *op. cit.*, nos 98, 102–126, 149–151, 153–154.

⁵² Cf. VERG., *Aen.* II, 717.

⁵³ E.g. OV., *Fast.* IV, 37–38; VERG., *Aen.* I, 68–69; II, 296–297. Cf. (e.g.) Hem. in SERV., *Aen.* II, 717; VERG., *Aen.* I, 6, 378–379; II, 293–295, 717, 747–748; III, 12, 148–149; IV, 598; V, 632; VII, 120–122; VIII 10–13 and 39; XII, 191–194.

⁵⁴ OV., *Met.* XV, 450, [in:] P. OVIDIUS NASO, *Metamorphoses*, ed. R. EHWALD, Lipsiae 1931.

⁵⁵ BMCRR Rome, nos 1314–1326; CRR, no 572 (103–102 BC); RRC, no 312/1 (106 BC).

⁵⁶ VERG., *Aen.* XII, 191–194.

(rather than wolf) and an eagle over the flames on the reverse⁵⁷, results from the fact that the story related to the foundation of Lanuvium was erroneously associated with Lavinium. Dionysius of Halicarnassus mentions prophetic signs that preceded the foundation of Lavinium by Aeneas: a wolf and an eagle were feeding the fire while a fox was trying in vain to douse it. The scene found expression in a sculpture standing in Lavinium showing a wolf, an eagle and a fox⁵⁸.

Aeneas was also associated with the Palladion (Palladium), a statuette of Pallas Athena, representing the goddess, *xoanon* type, described by Apollodorus⁵⁹. In various versions of the myth, it was supposed to be a gift for Dardanus that was kept in a temple in Troy to ensure its inviolability. Still, subsequently, Diomedes and Odysseus (Ulysses) carried the statuette away and brought it to the Greek camp⁶⁰. It remains unclear how the statuette again fell into the hands of the Trojans fleeing from the falling city⁶¹. Diomedes would hand the Palladium over to Nautes or Aeneas. In Latium, Aeneas would receive it from Diomedes⁶². Possibly, however – as others claim⁶³ – a copy was left to them while the original Palladium was brought to Italia by Aeneas.

The Palladium motif is featured on the coins struck in Ilium both during the Hellenistic epoch⁶⁴ and in Augustan times⁶⁵. It was frequently exploited on the provincial coins of Ilium, starting from the age of the Antonines. Yet, because of the dependence of the monetary motif on the said Roman sculpture, from which this detail was lacking, it does not appear as an element of the Aeneas Group, so frequently featured on these coins. However, the Palladium was pictured as an autonomous element of the reverse iconography in the 2nd and 3rd century⁶⁶. On the

⁵⁷ *BMCRR* Rome, nos 4018–4024 and *CRR*, nos 964–965. Cf. *RRC*, nos 472/1–2: wolf.

⁵⁸ D.H., I, 59, 4–5. Cf. P.M. MARTIN, *Sur un prodige délivré à Énée* (D.H., I, 59, 4–5): *essai d'interprétation*, REL 64, 1986, p. 41–42, 57–58.

⁵⁹ APOLL., *Bibl.*, III, 12, 3, [in:] APOLLODORUS, *Epitome of the Library*, trans. J.G. FRAZER, London 1921.

⁶⁰ E.g. D.H., I, 68–69; VERG., *Aen.* II, 164.

⁶¹ OV., *Fast.* VI, 433–435: *seu gener Adrasti, seu furtis aptus Ulixes, seu fuit Aeneas, eripuisse ferunt; / auctor in incerto, res est Romana.*

⁶² Hem. in SOL., II, 14: *Nec omissum sit Aenean [...] ut Hemina tradii [...] in agro Laurenti possuisse castra: ubi [...] a Diomede Palladium suscepit*, [in:] C. Iulii Solini *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, rec. Th. MOMMSEN, Berolini 1895 (cetera: SOL.).

⁶³ Arctinos, in D.H., I, 69, 3, cf. *ibidem*, II, 66, 5.

⁶⁴ *Inventaire sommaire de la Collection Waddington* [...] ed. E. BABELON, Paris 1898 (cetera: Bab. Wadd.), no 1151; Bab. *Traité 2/2*, Paris 1910, no 2398; vF Ilium, p. 511–512 and nos 3–13, 16–25; *BMC Troas*, Ilium, p. 57, nos 1–9; p. 59, nos 14–15. Cf. L. LACROIX, *Les reproductions de statues sur les monnaies grecques*, Liège 1949, p. 101–131.

⁶⁵ Bab. Wadd., no 1155; vF Ilium, nos 26–27, 40; *BMC Troas*, Ilium, p. 59, nos 16–19.

⁶⁶ vF Ilium, no 64; *BMC Troas*, Ilium, p. 65, no 57 (Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus); *BMC Troas*, Ilium, p. 65, no 58 (Lucius Verus); no 55 (Faustina II); L. LACROIX, *op. cit.*, p. 109 (Commodus); vF Ilium, nos 92–93; *BMC Troas*, Ilium, p. 68, no 78 (Julia Domna); Bab. Wadd., no 1178 (Geta); *BMC Troas*, Ilium, p. 71, no 99 (Gordian III); Bab. Wadd., no 1186 (Trajan Decius).

emissions dating from the reign of the Antonines the statuette is set in a temple⁶⁷ while on those struck under the Antonines, the Severi and Gordian III, it is placed on a column⁶⁸. In the emissions under the early Severi the Palladium was depicted alongside Ilus and Hector⁶⁹ while on the coins issued under Marcus Aurelius it is set in the scene with Ganymedes and an eagle⁷⁰. On the coins with the portrait of Crispina, the Palladium is held by Tyche, standing beside Athena⁷¹ and in the bronze coinage at the time of Elagabalus, Aeneas, standing before Tyche, is handing over the statuette into the hands of Roma⁷².

The popularity of the Palladium motif on the coins from Ilium could partly be due to the fact that its inhabitants, considering themselves the successors of the Trojans, believed that the statuette had never been carried away from the city of Troy⁷³. Likewise, other cities such as Luceria in Apulia, Siris in Lucania, Lavinium, and finally Rome also boasted possessing it⁷⁴. After all, at the very beginning of its “history” Athena’s gift for Dardanus was of two statuettes deposited in Troy⁷⁵.

The tradition concerning the fate of the Palladium was so diverse that it was depicted on the coins issued in the city of Dardanus in Troas, whose eponym was Dardanus (Dardanos)⁷⁶. In addition, it was introduced into the Troezenian coins⁷⁷ and into those minted in Synnada in Phrygia⁷⁸, with some variants in which the Palladium was held by Lacedaemon⁷⁹. Iconographically, however, it was more often associated with the figure of Diomedes, who apparently, was one of those who carried it away from Troy. This thread was taken up by the coins of Tyre in Phoenicia⁸⁰

⁶⁷ vF Ilium, no 58 (Marcus Aurelius).

⁶⁸ vF Ilium, nos 67–69; *BMC Troas*, Ilium, p. 64–65, nos 53–54 (Faustina II); *BMC Troas*, Ilium, p. 66, no 60 (Commodus); Bab. Wadd., no 1167; vF Ilium, no 85; *BMC Troas*, Ilium, p. 67, nos 67–68; A.R. BELLINGER, *op. cit.*, no 198; *RPC* 4, no 131 temp. (Crispina); Bab. Wadd., no 1168 (Septimius Severus); Bab. Wadd., no 1170; *BMC Troas*, Ilium, p. 68, nos 76–77 (Julia Domna); *BMC Troas*, Ilium, p. 69, no 86 (Caracalla); Bab. Wadd., nos 1184–1185; vF Ilium, nos 110–111 (Gordian III).

⁶⁹ Bab. Wadd., nos 1175–1176; vF Ilium, p. 520, 524 and nos 91, 98; *BMC Troas*, Ilium, p. 69–70, nos 87–89.

⁷⁰ Bab. Wadd., no 1160; vF Ilium, p. 525–526 and no 61; *BMC Troas*, Ilium, p. 64, no 51.

⁷¹ vF Ilium, no 86; *BMC Troas*, Ilium, p. 67, no 70; A.R. BELLINGER, *op. cit.*, no 200; *RPC* 4, no 132 temp.

⁷² <https://www.pecunem.com/auction-24/lot-296> [17 XII 2015].

⁷³ E.g. APP., XII, 53, 213.

⁷⁴ Cf. PLUT., *Cam.* 20, 5, [in:] *Plutarch's Lives*, trans. B. PERRIN, London–Cambridge, MA 1914.

⁷⁵ D.H., I, 68, 3; Varro, in SERV., *Aen.* II, 166.

⁷⁶ Bab. Wadd., no 1137 (Julia Domna); Bab. Wadd., no 1138 (Severus Alexander).

⁷⁷ *BMC Peloponnesus*, Troezen, p. 167, no 19; *RPC* 4, no 4640 temp. (Commodus).

⁷⁸ Bab. Wadd., no 6540; *RPC* 4, no 2987 temp. (Antoninus Pius); *BMC Phrygia*, Synnada, p. 400, no 45; *RPC* 4, no 2210 temp. (Marcus Aurelius *caesar*).

⁷⁹ *RPC* 4, no 2205 temp. (Antoninus Pius).

⁸⁰ E. BABELON, *Les Perses Achéménides, les satrapes et les dynasties tributaires de leur empire, Cypre & Phénicie*, Paris 1893, nos 2300, 2301; *RPC* 9, no 2003 temp. (Volusian); E. BABELON, *Les Perses...*, nos 2304, 2314; *BMC Phoenicia*, Tyre, p. 289, no 467 (Valerian); E. BABELON, *Les Perses...*, no 2346 (Gallienus).

and especially those of Argos in Argolis, where the Palladium was supposedly kept⁸¹. Here the Palladium appears in three variants as an isolated statue⁸², a small Palladium in a temple⁸³, and as one held by Diomedes⁸⁴.

However, the Palladium was introduced rather late into monuments of Roman art. The Palladium held by Anchises, on an intaglio dating from the 1st century BC, should be considered an iconographic peculiarity⁸⁵. Yet, in monetary iconography it was very rarely placed in Aeneas' hands. This idea was present in the coinage of the declining Republic and under Augustus. On the other hand, the *denarii* struck in the years 27–21 BC in Segesta⁸⁶, feature Aeneas striding, holding the Palladium in his right hand and carrying Anchises, with an eagle behind them while on the earlier *denarii* struck in 47–46 BC in Africa and associated with C. Julius Caesar⁸⁷, the figures of Aeneas and Anchises were combined with the symbolic imagery of the Palladium and the *sacra*. Here the Trojan hero strides, raising the Palladium in his right hand while his father is holding the *sacra* on his knees (fig. 4).

It remains unknown when the Romans started claiming possession of the Palladium. Records of its presence in Rome are late and there is no evidence of it, and other *sacra*, being carried over from Lavinium to Rome⁸⁸. Nonetheless, within the period in which the said coins, representing Aeneas with the Palladium, were issued, there was a well-established tradition about the Palladium being *pignus imperii*, which Cicero expressed in 54 BC: *Palladium illud quod quasi pignus nostrae salutis atque imperii custodiis Vestae continetur*⁸⁹. So in monetary iconography,

⁸¹ PAUSANIAS, II, 23, 5, [in:] PAUSANIAS, *Graeciae Descriptio*, ed. M.H. ROCHA-PEREIRA, Leipzig 1973.

⁸² Bab. *Traité 2/3*, Paris 1914, nos 628–629; *BMC Peloponnesus*, Argos, p. 140, no 48 (4th c. BC); *RPC* 4, no 9662 temp. (Marcus Aurelius); *RPC* 4, no 5260 temp. (Lucius Verus).

⁸³ *BMC Peloponnesus*, Argos, p. 149, no 157; *RPC* 4, no 4631 temp. (Antoninus Pius); *BMC Peloponnesus*, Argos, p. 151, no 165 (Septimius Severus).

⁸⁴ Bab. *Traité 2/3*, nos 625–627; *BMC Peloponnesus*, Argos, p. 139, nos 44–46 (5th–4th c. BC); *BMC Peloponnesus*, Argos, p. 148, no 150 (Hadrian); *RPC* 4, no 3514 temp. (Antoninus Pius).

⁸⁵ E.g. intaglio, 1st c. BC, Latakayah, Paris, Bibl. nat., de Clercq 3131 – <http://medaillesetantiques.bnf.fr/ws/catalogue/app/collection/record/ark:/12148/c33gb1rm1b> [17 XII 2015].

⁸⁶ *BMC Sicily*, Segesta, p. 137, nos 65, 66; R. CALCIATI, *op. cit.*, Segesta, p. 305, no 61; *RPC* 1, no 652; M. KRUMME, *op. cit.*, p. 98, Kat. 164/1; cf. S. MANI HURTER, *Die Didrachmenprägung von Segesta mit einem Abhang der Hybriden, Teilstücke und Tetrachmen sowie mit einem Überblick über die Bronzeprägung*, Bern 2008, p. 49.

⁸⁷ *BMCRR* East, p. 469, nos 31–35 (48 BC); *CRR*, no 1013 (48 BC); *RRC*, no 458/1 (47–46 BC); M. KRUMME, *op. cit.*, p. 94, 98–100, Kat. 21/1.

⁸⁸ Cf. A. DUBOURDIEU, *Les origines et le développement du culte des Pénates à Rome*, Rome 1989, part. p. 460–469.

⁸⁹ CICERO, *Scaur.* 48, [in:] CÍCÉRON, *Discours. Pour M. Aemilius Scaurus*, trans. et ed. P. GRIMAL, Paris 1976. Cf. SERV., *Aen.* VII, 188: *septem fuerunt pignora, quae Imperium Romanum tenent: Faius matris Deum, quadriga fictilis Veientanorum, cineres Orestis, sceptrum Priami, uelum Ilionae, Palladium, ancilia.*

the symbolic scene of saving the father Anchises, the Palladium and the Penates by the Trojan hero generates associations with the idea of persistence and eternity of *Imperium Romanum* as well as the prosperity of Rome itself: *aetheriam servate deam, servabitis urbem: imperium secum transferet illa loci*⁹⁰. Moreover, saved by Aeneas and then kept and carefully guarded in the temple of Vesta⁹¹, the Palladium could be, as Jane DeRose Evans claims, an allusion to the role of Caesar as *pontifex maximus*⁹². Such an approach would be both rare and novel. Yet, it is worth following this trace and viewing in a similar, individual context the presence of the Palladium in Aeneas' hand on the coins of Segesta, with the portrait of Augustus on their obverse, and also linking the Palladium itself more clearly with the idea of ruling and authority. These portraits of Aeneas, therefore, may be viewed as a paraphrase of the roles of Caesar and Augustus as in relation to Rome, in the years of the civil wars and afterwards, they fulfill a mission similar to that of Aeneas, who having escaped from the maelstrom of war, reached Latium, founded a city there and governed it. The imagery of Caesar's *denarii* was especially permeated with such associations, swathing Aeneas in an aura radiating from the Palladium itself but also from the symbolic figure of the father Anchises with a *cista* containing the *sacra*.

This last monetary type, used in the times of the Republic and associated with Caesar, was repeated in *nummi restituti* series issued under Trajan (ca 112/113)⁹³. Alexandra Dardaney claims that this republican type found its place in the series due to the image of the Palladium in Aeneas' hand. It was namely the symbol of the power and legitimacy of Trajan's position⁹⁴. Though it is difficult to agree with this opinion – it could be verified only by finding out the inspiration for all the prototypes of restitution coins – the thought of linking the Palladium with the idea of imperial power seems reasonable. It is evident not so much during the reign of the Julio-Claudians, but rather in the later period. When the Julio-Claudian dynasty came to an end in AD 68, the symbol of the Palladium was invoked by the subsequent pretenders to the imperial purple⁹⁵. Likewise, in the following years

⁹⁰ Ov., *Fast.* VI, 427–428.

⁹¹ Cf. (e.g.) D.H., II, 66, 3; Cic., *Scaur.* 48; Cic., *Phil.* XI, 10, 24, [in:] CICÉRON, *Discours, Philippiques*, trans. et ed. P. WUILLEUMIER, Paris 1973; Ov., *Fast.* VI, 445–450; Liv. XXIV, 27, 4; V, 53, 7; PLUT., *Cam.* 20, 5; SERV., *Aen.* I, 378; II, 166.

⁹² J.D. EVANS, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

⁹³ H. KOMNICK, *Die Restitutionsmünzen der frühen Kaiserzeit. Aspekte der Kaiserlegitimation*, Berlin–New York 2001, no 38.0; B. WOYTEK, *Die Reichsprägung des Kaisers Traianus (98–117)*, Wien 2010, no 836. Cf. M. KRUMME, *op. cit.*, p. 104–105, Kat. 48/8.

⁹⁴ A. DARDENAY, *Les mythes...*, p. 117.

⁹⁵ E.g. RIC 1³, Galba, no 469. Cf. RIC 1, p. 198: [...] *illustration of Galba's rise of power*; J.M.C. TOYNBEE, *The Hadrianic School. A Chapter in the History of Greek Art*, Roma 1967, p. 102: *symbol of Imperial sovereignty*. Palladium appears to have been important in Roman coins iconography, as an attribute of Nobilitas, Roma, Vesta, Victory or emperor. Cf. C. GATTI, *Il Palladio sulle monete di Galba*, ACRDAC 11, 1980–1981, p. 109–116; R. PERA, *L'imperatore ed il divino: il simbolismo del Palladio*,

the emperors exploited this motif on their coins yet they did so without referring directly to the figure of Aeneas.

The portraits of Aeneas were enhanced on bronze medallions under the Adoptive and Antonine Emperors: their reverses refer to adventure episodes of the Trojan hero other than the ones described so far, and those that were already known, are pictured in a new way. More intelligible is also the foundational aspect of Aeneas' activity depicted on the medallions.

The first reverse of these medallions was conceived in the following way: in its upper part there is Aeneas carrying Anchises, next to him there is a temple and an altar on one side and a *puteal* with a tree growing out of it on the other. Below, there is a sow with her piglets, and the bottom part depicts city walls with a gate and towers. Such an image was embossed on the reverse side of Hadrianic medallion dating from the years AD 134–138 (fig. 5)⁹⁶ and repeated later, on undated medallions under Antoninus Pius (fig. 6)⁹⁷.

The occasional character of these medallions and their original reverses confirm that in this case, the picture was designed exclusively for Hadrian's medallion; this reverse iconography was faithfully repeated on Antoninus Pius medallions. In the attempt to find out the sources of this conception, attention was turned towards the above-mentioned sculptures. The characteristic figure of Aeneas with Anchises can be a modified representation of the famous statue from Rome, just like the huge sow. After all, Varro mentions a bronze statue of the sow and her litter in Lavinium⁹⁸. The episodes of Aeneas' life were researched in ancient literature as a possible source of inspiration for this reverse imagery. The *Aeneid*, with its description of Aeneas' flight from Troy⁹⁹, his encounter with the sow with piglets¹⁰⁰, and raising the walls around Lavinium¹⁰¹ provides a natural nourishment for such associations. An alternative for this is a fragment of the work *Alexan-*

[in:] *La tradizione iconica come fonte storica: il ruolo della numismatica negli studi di iconografia*, ed. M. CACCAMO CALTABIANO, D. CASTRIZIO, M. PUGLISI, Reggio Calabria 2004, p. 75–91; P. ASSEMAKER, *Pignus salutis atque imperii. L'enjeu du Palladium dans les luttes politiques de la fin de la République*, EC 75, 2007, p. 381–412.

⁹⁶ *Monnaies Romaines Antiques (collection H.C. Levis)*, Genève 1925, no 526; M. KRUMME, *op. cit.*, p. 104, Kat. 56/1; Abb. 122; P.F. MITTAG, *Römische Medaillons. Caesar bis Hadrian*, Stuttgart 2010, p. 85, Kat. Hadr 98 (132?–138). Cf. J.M.C. TOYNBEE, *Roman Medallions...*, p. 143; G. GIORGI, *La leggenda delle origini di Roma in un raro medaglione di Adriano*, RINSA 3, 1955, p. 85–87; M.S. POND ROTHMAN, *Posthumous Hadrianic Medaillons*, ANSMN 23, 1978, p. 111–113; F. BARENGHI, *Scene leggendarie della storia di Roma su alcuni medaglioni*. A proposito del medaglione di Enea e Anchise, RINSA 94, 1992, p. 115–120.

⁹⁷ F. GNECCHI, *I medaglioni...* 2, Ant.P., no 115; M. KRUMME, *op. cit.*, p. 104–105, Kat. 57/1 (139 AD). Cf. M.S. POND ROTHMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 111–113; G.G. BELLONI, *Celebrazioni epiche in medaglioni di Antonino Pio. Una pagina di cultura erudita*, [in:] *Serta historica antiqua* 2, 1989, p. 198–200.

⁹⁸ VARRON, RR II, 4, 18, [in:] VARRON, *Économie rurale*, trans. et ed. Ch. GUIRAUD, Paris 1985.

⁹⁹ VERG., *Aen.* II, 713–716.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibidem* III, 389–393.

¹⁰¹ *Ibidem* VII, 157–159.

dra by Lycophron of Chalcis. In her prophecy, Cassandra foretold that in the city [Lavinium] Aeneas would raise a statue of a sow (a black one) and her piglets and erect a temple to the goddess Myndia Pallenis [Athena], where he would deposit the statuettes of the household gods [Penates] that he would venerate together with his aged father¹⁰².

On the medallions of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius one representation accumulates the elements whose meanings merge, mix and symbolically refer to the past, the present and the future of Aeneas¹⁰³. The hero with his father in his arms (though actually he died in Sicily¹⁰⁴) is an allusion to the flight from Troy. It is the past. Then, the present, symbolized by a great sow, is an allusion to the destination he found on Italian land. The future, in turn, might be hidden beneath the image of the city walls, denoting the foundation of a city, Lavinium or Alba Longa¹⁰⁵. On the other hand, the Penates, to which attention is drawn *via* the image of a temple and an altar, meld into one concept: the past (saving them from Troy), the present (making an offering), and the future associated with a guarantee of the continuance of the state that possesses them. It is difficult to distinguish one central motif, even though in terms of size, it is the image of the sow which dominates here. The associations evoked are of general kind and refer to the established and canonical deeds of Aeneas and his services to the Romans. On the one side, particular elements of this representation recall the episodes connected with Aeneas' wanderings but on the other side, they relate to his settlement in Latium and point to the foundational aspect in his life story. This chain of associations leads eventually to Rome, although it has not been explicitly recalled by any element of the reverse representation.

Another interesting reverse comes from the medallion of Antoninus Pius dating from the years AD 140–143. The whole scene is oriented towards the left which allows “reading” and combining its individual elements in this order. Aeneas and Ascanius are coming out of a boat onto the shore; their companions are still in the boat. Stretching forth his hand Aeneas points to a cave under a tree and a sow with piglets, while in the background, there are elements of architecture, a round temple, an altar and a *puteal* (fig. 7)¹⁰⁶.

¹⁰² LYC., *Alex.* 1259–1265. Cf. LYCOPHRON, *Alexandra*, p. 449.

¹⁰³ Cf. N. HANNESTAD, *Roman Art and Imperial Policy*, Aarhus 1986, p. 212–213; M.R. JENKINS, *The „Aeneid” Medallion – a Narrative Interpretation*, NC 148, 1988, p. 148–152; IDEM, *Mythological narrative art...*, p. 58–66, 150–152; A. DARDENAY, *Les mythes...*, p. 120–122; EADEM, *Images...*, p. 57–62.

¹⁰⁴ See VERG., *Aen.* III, 707–710. Cf. the suggestion by D.H., I, 64, 5: Anchises died in Latium.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. BMCRE 4, p. xciv: *the great Sow standing before the new Troy in Italy, while, in the background, Aeneas carries Anchises between a temple and an altar.*

¹⁰⁶ F. GNECCHI, *I medaglioni...*, 2, Ant.P., no 99; M. KRUMME, *op. cit.*, p. 106, Kat. 67/1. Cf. J.M.C. TOYNBEE, *Roman Medallions*, p. 221–222; G.G. BELLONI, *op. cit.*, p. 201; M.R. JENKINS, *Mythological narrative art...*, p. 114–121; A. DARDENAY, *Les mythes...*, p. 123–125; EADEM, *Les héros fondateurs de Rome, entre texte et image à l'époque romaine*, Pall 93, 2013: *Texte et image dans l'Antiquité*, ed. J.-M. LUCE, p. 175–176.

Compared with the reverse discussed earlier, this medallion of Antoninus Pius exhibits a significant structural change which consists of replacing Anchises with Ascanius and introducing an image of a boat reaching the shore. The most significant compositional change, however, is moving the elements of architecture into the background and placing the newcomers from Troy and the sow found on the river shore on the same plane, as Helenus foretold in his prophecy:

cum tibi sollicito secreti ad fluminis undam
litoreis ingens inuenta sub ilicibus sus
triginta capitum fetus enixa iacebit,
alba solo recubans, albi circum ubera nati,
is locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum¹⁰⁷.

The motif of the sow and her piglets was more frequently present in Roman coinage. The story of Aeneas' arrival in Italy, after his long journey, and finding a white sow with thirty piglets in a secluded place under an oak tree, which according to the prophecy, designated the end of his wanderings, found expression in the coinage minted under Vespasian, Hadrian and – especially – Antoninus Pius¹⁰⁸. The image of a sow with her piglets sufficed, their number changing, sometimes the motif of a tree was introduced. On the medallion of Antoninus Pius just described – *via* the figures of Aeneas and his son Ascanius and through the elements of a temple architecture of Lavinium or rather Alba Longa – the motif of the sow was combined with the essence of the story about the Trojan hero as the progenitor of the Romans. From this image, as Amedeo Giampaglia notes, the associations quite easily drift towards the twins fed by the she-wolf under *ficus ruminalis*¹⁰⁹.

In iconographic and semantic terms the image of Aeneas from the medallion of Antoninus Pius was integrated into “future” events only. The abandonment of the Trojan past is rendered by another iconographic detail: Aeneas and Ascanius are getting out of the boat. At this point the provincial emissions of Antandrus struck in the times of the Severan dynasty form an intriguing opposition to this medallion of Antoninus Pius. They depict a scene of leaving Troas in which Aeneas, carrying his father in his arms and with his son at his side, is heading towards a boat¹¹⁰. A certain iconographic parallel with this solution is solely the scene of the

¹⁰⁷ VERG., *Aen.* III, 389–393. Cf. too *ibidem* VIII, 81–83.

¹⁰⁸ Vespasian – *RIC* 2/1, Vesp. nos 982–983; *RIC* 2/1, Tit., under Vesp., no 986; Hadrian – F. GNECCHI, *I medaglioni...*, 3, Adr., nos 155, 156; P.F. MITTAG, *op. cit.*, Kat. Hadr 21; Antoninus Pius – F. GNECCHI, *I medaglioni...*, 3, Ant.P., no 144; *RIC* 3, Ant.P., nos 629, 722, 733, 768. Cf. A. ALFÖLDI, *Early Rome and the Latins*, Ann Arbor 1965, p. 271–273.

¹⁰⁹ A. GIAMPAGLIA, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

¹¹⁰ C. FONTANA, *op. cit.*, p. 54, no 18 (Caracalla); A. GIAMPAGLIA, *op. cit.*, p. 160; <https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=114901> [13 IV 2016] (Severus Alexander).

flight from Troy on the Tabula Iliaca Capitolina, in which Ascanius, Aeneas and Anchises with the *sacra* are setting out for Hesperia¹¹¹.

Another interesting reverse representation referring to Aeneas is on a medallion with the portrait of *caesar* Marcus Aurelius on its obverse (ca 145–146). It features a sacrificial offering of pig meat, a sacrificer *capite velato*, a young man in a Phrygian cap but also *victimarii* and in the background – a temple (fig. 8)¹¹². The main protagonists of this scene are said to be Aeneas and Ascanius. Besides this, in terms of composition, this representation bears a likeness to the panel of Ara Pacis. Yet, a number of doubts arise in connection with Paul Rehak's hypothesis that on the Ara Pacis it is not Aeneas but Numa Pompilius making an offering to the Penates¹¹³. Still, it is certain that the image on the medallion conveys both symbolic and conventional meaning.

It cannot be excluded that another episode associated with Aeneas' presence on Italian land was recalled on other medallions from the times of Antoninus Pius: two foot warriors are fighting each other; one of them has already brought the other down to his knees¹¹⁴. Here Jocelyn M.C. Toynbee allows for a possibility that it is a duel between Aeneas and Turnus¹¹⁵.

Even more precisely, but also more metaphorically, the interrelation between Aeneas and the history of the Romans is reflected on still other medallions of Antoninus Pius (AD 158). In their reverse iconography, Roma, sitting on a rock or on a shield under a tree, is holding out her hand to a man in armour and *paludamentum* who is standing opposite her, while another woman with a bundle on her head and a child in a Phrygian cap and with *pedum* are standing behind the man (fig. 9)¹¹⁶. According to Robert Turcan, it is Aeneas who is holding Roma's hand and the persons standing behind him are Launa or Lavinia and Ascanius¹¹⁷. Here, the exile from Troy has been juxtaposed with the figure Roma, which conveys various meanings. Dea Roma was a personification of the Roman people, the city and the whole

¹¹¹ Cf. A. SADURSKA, *Les Tables Iliques*, Warszawa 1964, p. 29, no 1A.

¹¹² F. GNECCHI, *I medaglioni...*, 2, M.Aur., no 84; H. DRESSEL, *op. cit.*, p. 65–69, no 33; M. KRUMME, *op. cit.*, p. 107–110, Kat. 85/1. Cf. J.M.C. TOYNBEE, *Roman Medallions...*, p. 218–219; A. DARDENAY, *Images...*, p. 63–65.

¹¹³ P. REHAK, *Aeneas or Numa? Rethinking the Meaning of the Ara Pacis Augustae*, *ArtB* 83.2, 2001, p. 190–208.

¹¹⁴ F. GNECCHI, *I medaglioni...*, 2, Ant.P., no 119.

¹¹⁵ J.M.C. TOYNBEE, *Roman Medallions...*, p. 146, n. 197. Cf. M.R. JENKINS, *Mythological narrative art...*, p. 159–161; F. MARCATILLI, *Et ipsa suis deplangitur Ardea pennis. Enea, Turno et le ceneri di Ardea in un medaglione di Antonino Pio*, *RINSA* 117, 2016, p. 117–128. See VERG., *Aen.* XII, 896–907, cf. *ibidem* XII, 926–927 and 950–952.

¹¹⁶ F. GNECCHI, *I medaglioni...*, 2, Ant.P., no 57.

¹¹⁷ R. TURCAN, *Numismatique romaine du culte métroaque*, Leiden 1983, p. 32–34. Cf. W. FROEHLNER, *Les médailles de l'Empire romain depuis le règne d'Auguste jusqu'à Priscus Attale*, Paris 1878, p. 64–65: Aeneas, Iulus, Italia and Vesta; F. GNECCHI, *I medaglioni...*, 2, Ant.P., p. 15, no 57: Antoninus Pius, Atys, Rome and Cybele.

imperium populi Romani; she was also associated with the person of the emperor and, as Roma aeterna, became a symbol of eternity and the continuance of Rome¹¹⁸.

Two types of provincial coins of Ilium build a framework for such an expression of the relation between Aeneas and Rome, as on the medallions of Antoninus Pius. The first type of coins is bronzes date from the times of Hadrian (AD 117–138). Their reverse representations show the Aeneas group and – in exergue – the she-wolf with the twins (fig. 10)¹¹⁹. This fusion of two symbols, of which the first refers to a Trojan myth and the other to a Roman one, is a unique solution in the coinage. Equally interesting, in this perspective of linking the “eastern” Aeneas with the “Italian” context is a bronze coin from the times of Elagabalus (AD 218–222). The reverse inscription ΙΑΙΩΝ ΑΙΝΕΙΑΚ ΡΩΜΗ, is illustrated with images of Tyche and Aeneas giving over the Palladium to Roma who is standing opposite him¹²⁰. Here Aeneas is both a Trojan and the one, who as the donor of the Palladium, causes the advent of Rome and its continuance. It may be another metaphor of Aeneas’ role as the founder of Rome.

The material presented in this study reveals the diversity of the numismatic representations relating to Aeneas. On the one hand he is perceived as *profugus*, and on the other, as *fundator*. However, these two portraits of Aeneas do not stand in opposition to each other; the second is rather the continuation of the first. They also provide a frame for such virtues and features of Aeneas as *pius* and *penatiger* connoted through the representations.

Various portraits of Aeneas in Roman coinage are created exclusively *via* images. Even the name of Aeneas – apart from above-mentioned provincial bronzes of Ilium, issued under Elagabalus – was not introduced into the inscriptions on Roman coins and medallions. Nonetheless he is clearly recognizable as the main protagonist of the Aeneas group that was so popular in the coinage. In the majority of other iconographic solutions, discussed in the present study, the references to Aeneas do not raise doubt. On the other hand, as to the remaining imagery, there are presumptions based on the ‘canonical’ ways of presenting the figure of the Trojan hero but also on some of his attributes and on the possibility of integrating the reverse scene into certain themes of a more widespread tradition, in order to enrich the group of coins and medallions with the Aeneas motif in Roman coinage by assuming that it is Aeneas who is represented on them. In further research it would be worth paying closer attention to the political context of the coins and medallions reviewed in the present study.

The coins of the Republican epoch and the first years of the Empire, exhibit the potential attractiveness of the figure of Aeneas for the issuers of coins. However, the Aeneas motif was rarely exploited on the coins and few iconographic solutions

¹¹⁸ Cf. R. MELLOR, *The Goddess Roma*, [in:] ANRW II, vol. XVII.2, ed. W. HAASE, Berlin–New York 1981, p. 950–1030.

¹¹⁹ vF Ilium, no 55; SNG vA, no 1533; A.R. BELLINGER, *op. cit.*, no T 134; RPC 3, no 1570.

¹²⁰ <https://www.pecunem.com/auction-24/lot-296> [17 XII 2015].

were introduced. Here the fundamental difference between the emissions of the Roman Republic and those from the times of the Empire consists in the fact that at the beginning, the figures of Aeneas and Anchises sufficed while the figure of Ascanius was introduced quite late. It was a reminiscence of the statuary type of the Aeneas Group.

In the times of the Empire all types of coins repeated the same schematic image of the Aeneas group. In this context the reverses of the medallions dating from the times of the Adoptive and Antonine Emperors, which combined various scenes and details to render symbolically different episodes from Aeneas' life, look interesting. On the other hand, compared with these solutions, the models occasionally used, in which the power of associations resides in the personification of Roma and the She-wolf and the twins, look original. The coherence between the figure of Aeneas and Roman history was accentuated in this way.

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Abstract. On the basis of numismatic material I present aspects of the figure of Aeneas as they appear in ancient tradition. I have concentrated on the iconographic details and the arrangement of the reverse scenes which allow one to isolate the elements of Aeneas's portrait in the coinage that are closely associated with his role as the one who, by carrying over the *sacra* to Italy, made way for the foundation and continuation of Rome.

Keywords: Aeneas, Troy, Rome, Roman coins, Roman medallions, iconography of Roman coin types.

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Fig. 1. Wall painting (copy), 1st century AD, Pompeii, Aeneas carrying Anchises and leading Ascanius, Museo della Civiltà Romana.



Fig. 2. Terracotta figurine, 1st century AD, Pompeii, Aeneas carrying Anchises and leading Ascanius, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli 110338, W.H. ROSCHER, *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischer und Römischen Mythologie*, 1, Leipzig 1884, col. 163.



Fig. 3. D, *serratus*, Rome, 106 BC, Obv. D P P, jugate heads of Dii Penates, Rv. C, two soldiers standing facing each other, holding spears and pointing at a sow which lies between them, in exergue C SVLPICI C F, cf. M.H. CRAWFORD, *Roman Republican Coinage*, Cambridge 1974, nr 312/1.



Fig. 4. D, African mint, 47–46 BC, Rv. CAESAR, Aeneas, advancing to the left, holding the palladium in his hand, and Anchises on his shoulder, cf. M.H. CRAWFORD, *Roman Republican Coinage*, Cambridge 1974, nr 458/1.



Fig. 5. ÆM, Rome, Hadrian, AD 134–138, Rv. Aeneas, carrying Anchises, ara, puteal, Great Sow, walls and architectural features, cf. *Monnaies Romaines Antiques* (collection H.C. Levis), Genève 1925, pl. 21, nr 526.



Fig. 6. ÆM, Rome, Antoninus Pius, [AD 138–161], Rv. Aeneas, carrying Anchises, ara, puteal, Great Sow, walls and architectural features, cf. F. GNECCHI, *I medaglioni romani, descritti ed illustrati*, Milano 1912, 2, tav. 55, 8.



Fig. 7. ÆM, Rome, Antoninus Pius, AD 140–143, Rv. Aeneas, Ascanius, Great Sow, prow of the boat, architectural features, puteal, cf. F. GNECCHI, *I medaglioni romani, descritti ed illustrati*, Milano 1912, 2, tav. 54, 9.



Fig. 8. ÆM, Rome, Antoninus Pius, c. AD 145–146, Rv. Aeneas *capite velato*, with patera, behind him Ascanius, *victimarius* holds the sow, *ara*, woman, in background temple, cf. F. GNECCHI, *I medaglioni romani, descritti ed illustrati*, Milano 1912, 2, tav. 66, 6.



Fig. 9. ÆM, Rome, Antoninus Pius, AD 158, Rv. TR P XXI COS III, Roma seated l., facing Aeneas? Behind him the woman and Ascanius? cf. F. GNECCHI, *I medaglioni romani, descritti ed illustrati*, Milano 1912, 2, tav. 50, 1.



Fig. 10. Æ, Ilium, Hadrian, [AD 117–138], Rv. IAI EΩN, Aeneas carrying Anchises and leading Ascanius, in the exergue, She-wolf and twins, cf. H. VON FRITZE, *Die Münzen von Ilium*, [in:] *Troja und Ilium: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen in den vorhistorischen und historischen Schichten von Ilium 1870–1894*, ed. W. DÖRPFELD, 2, Athen 1902, Nr 55, Beilage 62

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MEDICAL SCIENCE OF MILK INCLUDED IN CELSUS' TREATISE *DE MEDICINA*

Milk has always been a very significant food product in the Mediterranean¹ (but also in other regions of the ancient world²). Thus, it comes as no surprise that ancient and Byzantine physicians devoted their research to this subject³. It is commonly believed that fresh milk was quite rare in everyday diet of those times, whereas its derivative – namely cheese – was consumed much more frequently. This general production-consumption pattern survived the Antiquity and was equally characteristic of the early Middle Ages⁴.

¹ For the areas initially untouched by the Greek culture, and later by the Roman culture, cf. E. BRESCIANI, *Nourritures et boissons de l'Égypte ancienne*, [in:] *Histoire de l'alimentation*, ed. J.-L. FLANDRIN, M. MONTANARI, Paris 1996, p. 63, 65, 67; J. SOLER, *Les raisons de la Bible: règles alimentaires hébraïques*, [in:] *Histoire...*, p. 73–74, 79; A. SPANÒ GIAMMELLARO, *Les Phéniciens et les Carthaginois*, [in:] *Histoire...*, p. 91, 96 etc. For the Greco-Roman area of the Mediterranean basin, cf. M.-C. AMOURETTI, *Villes et campagnes grecques*, [in:] *Histoire...*, p. 138, 143; J.P. ALCOCK, *Milk and its Products in Ancient Rome*, [in:] *Milk. Beyond the Dairy. Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery 1999*, ed. H. WALKER, Totnes 2000, p. 31–38; C.A. DÉRY, *Milk and Dairy Products in the Roman Period*, [in:] *Milk...*, p. 117–125; A. DALBY, *Food in the Ancient World from A to Z*, London–New York 2003, p. 217–218 etc.

² M. STOL, *Milk, Butter and Cheese*, BSA 7, 1993, p. 99–113; N. BATMANGLIJ, *Milk and its By-products in Ancient Persia and Modern Iran*, [in:] *Milk...*, p. 64–73 etc.

³ Medical interest in milk can be found already in *Corpus Hippocraticum* – K. DEICHGRÄBER, *Zur Milchtherapie der Hippokratiker (Epid. VII)*, [in:] *Medizin-Geschichte in unsere Zeit. Festgabe E. Heischkel-Artel und W. Artel*, ed. H.H. EULNER, Stuttgart 1971, p. 36–53; M. CHRONE, *Ἡ πανίδα στὴν διατροφή καὶ στὴν ἰατρικὴ στὸ Βυζάντιο*, Αθήνα 2014, p. 201–222; M. KOKOSZKO, *Galaktologia terapeutyczna (γαλακτολογία ἰατρική)* *Galena zawarta w De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus*, PNH 14, 2, 2015, p. 5–23. On application of milk in folk medicine, cf. M. ABDALLA, *Milk and its Uses in Assyrian Folklore*, [in:] *Milk...*, p. 9–18, especially 11–13.

⁴ C. PERRY, *Medieval Arab Dairy Products*, [in:] *Milk...*, p. 275–277; I. ANAGNOSTAKIS, C. ANGELIDI, *Ἡ βυζαντινὴ θεώρηση τοῦ κύκλου τοῦ γάλακτος (10ος-12ος αἰώνας)*, [in:] *Ἱστορία τοῦ ἐλληνικοῦ γάλακτος καὶ τῶν προϊόντων τοῦ (Ξάνθη 7–8 Οκτωβρίου 2005)*, Αθήνα 2008, p. 199–209; I. ANAGNOSTAKIS, T. PARAMASTORAKIS, *Ἀγραυλοῦντες καὶ ἀμέλγοντες*, [in:] *Ἱστορία...*, p. 211–237; M. KOKOSZKO, *Smaki Konstantynopola*, [in:] *Konstantynopol – Nowy Rzym. Miasto i ludzie w okresie wczesnobizantyńskim*, ed. M.J. LESZKA, T. WOLIŃSKA, Warszawa 2011, p. 487–489, 560–562; IDEM, *Rola nabiału w diecie późnego antyku i wczesnego Bizancjum (IV–VII w.)*, ZW 16, 2011, p. 8–28. Milk was

What is more, milk also played a certain role as far as the cult is concerned⁵.

The present dissertation is not devoted to milk as such, but to therapeutic galactology, *galaktología iatriké* (γαλακτολογία ιατρική), which is a set of views on milk contained in the Latin work *De medicina* composed by a Roman encyclopaedist⁶ called Celsus (also known as Aulus Cornelius Celsus [*Aulus Cornelius Celsus*]), who compiled a work consisting of at least 26 books⁷ during the reign of emperor Tiberius (14–37 AD). Only 8 books survived to this day, all of them devoted to medicine⁸.

From the point of view of our discussion it is important that in his narration, the author of *De medicina* often reflects on the proper diet of the readers of his treatise. He compares medicine to farming already in the introduction to his work, arguing that the former provides people with health, while the latter one supplies food⁹. Diet is a capacious term for this Roman author, as he uses it to refer to a lifestyle in general, i.e. a whole set of activities practiced by human beings in their natural environment. This issue was dealt with by the branch of medicine called *diätetiké* (διαιτητική)¹⁰, which was further divided into speculative and empirical dietetics¹¹. Food plays a significant role in this concept, as both the amount and type of food have a significant influence on our health¹².

also generally allowed for alimentary uses of the Christian clergy – B. CASEAU, *Nourritures terrestres, nourritures célestes. la culture alimentaire à Byzance*, Paris 2015, p. 83 (though it was excluded from diet of all the faithful on certain days – p. 187–188).

⁵ K. WYHS, *Die Milch im Kultus der Griechen and Römer*, Giessen 1914, *passim*; C. GROTTANELLI, *La viande et ses rites*, [in:] *Histoire...*, p. 122.

⁶ Celsus was certainly an amateur, not a professional in medicine – V. NUTTON, *Ancient Medicine*, London–New York 2013, p. 5. However, according to Dioscorides (φιλιτρούντες – *Pedanii Dioscuridis Anazarbei de materia medica*, V, 19, 3, 2, [in:] *Pedanii Dioscuridis Anazarbei de materia medica libri quinque*, ed. M. WELLMANN, vol. I–III, Berlin 1907–1914 [cetera: DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, V, 19, 3, 2]) and Galen (φιλοφάρμακος – GALEN, *De compositione medicamentorum per genera libri VIII*, 636, 2, [in:] *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, ed. C.G. KÜHN, vol. XIII, Lipsiae 1827), in the Roman world he was not the only one of this kind. Recently, Ido Israelowich acknowledged the phenomenon of general public interest in medicine in the times of the Empire (*Patients and Healers in the High Roman Empire*, Baltimore 2015, p. 73). Also cf. C.F. SCHULTZE, *Aulus Cornelius Celsus – Arzt oder Laie? Autor, Konzept und Adressaten der De medicina libri octo*, Trier 1999, *passim*.

⁷ Originally, his works contained not only information about medicine, but also about agriculture and animal husbandry, rhetoric, military art, philosophy and law.

⁸ About Celsus and his works, e.g., cf. F. MARX, *Prolegomena*, [in:] *A. Cornelii Celsi quae supersunt*, ed. F. MARX, Lipsiae–Berolini 1915, p. I–XXV; C.M. OSER-GROTE, *Celsus*, [in:] *Antike Medizin. Ein Lexikon*, ed. K.-H. LEVEN, München 2005, col. 189–191 etc.

⁹ *A. Cornelii Celsi quae supersunt*, I, *Prooemium*, 1, ed. F. MARX, Lipsiae–Berolini 1915 (cetera: CELSUS, *De medicina*).

¹⁰ CELSUS, *De medicina*, I, *Prooemium*, 9.

¹¹ CELSUS, *De medicina*, I, *Prooemium*, 11.

¹² The issue of right proportion in terms of food and drink – CELSUS, *De medicina*, I, 2, 8–10.

It comes as no surprise then that the most important types of food were described by Celsus in *De medicina* (in a more or less systematic way) both in terms of their nutritional and therapeutic functions. We can infer from the narration that in the author's opinion, the latter was immanently connected with the former. Such a view was a reflection of a traditional doctrine adopted by the Greek medicine, on whose accomplishments Celsus based his work. Celsus mentions many authorities, most of them Greek. The very word "Greeks", meaning "Hellenic physicians", is used a few dozen times in his output¹³. Nota bene, his knowledge of Greek medical thought is also revealed in the terminology used by him, which is a Latinised jargon of the Asclepiads¹⁴.

Having discussed the general aspects of Celsus' work, let us now focus on his detailed knowledge of milk and its derivatives. In order to learn about it, it is necessary to look at book II of *De medicina*, which contains an interesting fragment concerning procedures of cleansing the gastrointestinal tract. According to the author, in order to achieve this, enemas were used or drugs of two kinds were administered to patients, namely those that provoke cleansing through excretion and those that induce vomiting. Milk was enumerated in the first class of the second group, or, to be precise, among substances facilitating excretion. Such a laxative effect was to be achieved by animal milk, and Celsus specified three types of milk here, namely donkey's, cow's and goat's milk. His narration also reveals that people would make this remedy more effective by adding some salt to it. Moreover, we learn from Celsus that milk is not a homogenous substance, but a complex one, and it is whey (referred to as *serum*, ὀρός in Greek)¹⁵ that is the active element in the cleansing procedure. Celsus also gave us some clues with regard to the way of separating curd from the remaining liquid. According to the text,

¹³ Cf. W. DEUSE, *Celsus im Prooemium von "De medicina": Römische Aneignung griechischer Wissenschaft*, [in:] ANRW, ed. W. HAASE, T. II, Bd. 37, 1, Berlin–New York 1993, p. 819–841.

¹⁴ D.R. LANGSLOW, *Celsus and the Makings of a Latin Medical Terminology*, [in:] *La Médecine de Celse. Aspects historiques, scientifique, and littéraires, Mémoires du Centre Jean Palerne*, vol. XIII, ed. G. SABBAH, P. MUDRY, Saint-Étienne 1994, p. 297–318; S. SCONOCCHIA, *Aspetti della lingua di Celso*, [in:] *La Médecine...*, p. 281–296.

¹⁵ E.g., cf. *Galenii De alimentorum facultatibus libri III*, 684, 16 – 685, 6, [in:] *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, ed. D.C.G. KÜHN, vol. VI, Lipsiae 1823 (cetera: GALEN, *De alimentorum facultatibus*). About the life and work of Galen, e.g. cf. V. NUTTON, *Galen and the Traveller's Fare*, [in:] *Food in Antiquity*, ed. J. WILKINS, D. HARVEY, M. DOBSON, Exeter 1999, p. 359–370; IDEM, *Ancient...*, p. 222–235; R.J. HANKINSON, *The Man and His Work*, [in:] *The Cambridge Companion to Galen*, ed. IDEM, Cambridge 2008, p. 1–33; M. KOKOSZKO, K. JAGUSIAK, Z. RZEŹNICKA, *Wstęp. Wiedza o pokarmach w źródłach medycznych. Dietetyka, farmakologia i sztuka kulinarna*, [in:] IDEM, *Dietetyka i sztuka kulinarna antyku i wczesnego Bizancjum (II–VII w.)*, part I, *Zboża i produkty zbożowe w źródłach medycznych antyku i wczesnego Bizancjum*, Łódź 2014, p. 8–16; IDEM, *Introduction. Knowledge of Foods in Medical Sources. Dietetics, Pharmacology and Culinary Art*, [in:] IDEM, *Cereals of Antiquity and Early Byzantine Times. Wheat and Barley in Medical Sources (Second to Seventh Centuries AD)*, transl. K. WODARCZYK, M. ZAKRZEWSKI, M. ZYTKA, Łódź 2014, p. 8–19.

it was a result of heating milk, which caused coagulation of protein (not used during this procedure) and consequent separation of the liquid which was subsequently administered to patients¹⁶. The author also concluded that the cleansing procedure with the use of milk was considered safer than the use of other (more radical) remedies, so it is a good choice for patients with fever, especially considering the fact that whey not only softens the intestines, but also provides valuable nourishment¹⁷. This passage has a great educational value for a number of important clues, as it places milk and milk-derived products among therapeutic substances (namely, laxatives), indicates the methods of processing such substances, and also provides the readers with interesting details as regards the dietary and pharmacological characteristics of dairy foods.

Let us start with some basic issues. According to Celsus, milk is a combination of at least two elements which make this product a nutrient with additional properties that can be used for therapeutic purposes. It is also worth noticing that although the discussed fragment lacks precise description of milk or its components, the author in fact refers to a medical theory which established and adopted such characteristics. Celsus indicates that curd shares certain specific nutritional values with whey and that both of them contribute to the evaluation of milk as nourishing substance. We know it because the author recommends the latter as far as cleansing the digestive tract is concerned, so it can be assumed that curd has a different effect with regard to stimulating the digestive system to excrete. Therefore, it seems that Celsus suggested that it was considered by the medical specialists to be the reason for constipation. Furthermore, it should also be concluded that cheese made of curd had similar properties, as it was a derivative of the latter one. The technology described by the author of *De medicina* (which was supposed to show the way of obtaining whey) was in fact also a method of obtaining raw material used to produce cheese. Moreover, we may conclude on the basis of Celsus' narration that (from the point of view of pharmacological properties) cheese could not be used as a laxative, because it acquired the properties of the curd. *Nota bene*, one of the elements of milk was not mentioned within the analysed part of the text, but surely Celsus was aware of its existence. It was fat, used to produce butter (*buturum/butyrum* in Latin, βούτυρον in Greek). Butter, in turn, was often mentioned as one of therapeutic remedies and it was even described as an active substance, which means that it was in the scope of interest of pharmacology. Therefore, there is no doubt that it was addressed to by the theory acknowledged by *De medicina*. The analysed fragment also suggests that milk itself (as a mixture) could change its properties depending on the amount of constituents. The quantity

¹⁶ Analogical, though a more specific narration is for instance used by Oribasius, cf. *Oribasii libri ad Eunapium*, I, 9, 9, 1 – 12, 1, [in:] *Oribasius synopsis ad Eustathium filium et libri ad Eunapium*, ed. I. RAEDER, Lipsiae–Berolini 1926 (cetera: ORIBASIIUS, *Libri ad Eunapium*).

¹⁷ CELSUS, *De medicina*, II, 12, 1 a–c.

of such elements was fully contingent on the type of milk (which is suggested by the remark about the possibility to obtain milk from various animals) and it could be modified through processing of milk. The therapeutic effect of milk could also be intensified with the use of excipients, for instance salt, as mentioned by Celsus¹⁸.

Far-reaching as the aforementioned conclusions may seem (in view of the general character of the analysed fragment of *De medicina*), they are fully confirmed in the part which discusses the role of food as a significant element of diet and which is in fact a catalogue of food groups listed according to a dominant property of a given product. It has to be indicated that medical literature of that time knows many such listings. Their fully-fledged form can be found in the works of Oribasius¹⁹, and then of Aetius of Amida²⁰ (and in the later treatises). We should also mention here that the dietetic characterizations composed by Celsus refer directly or indirectly to all the products mentioned here, however with the exception of butter. As we will see later, butter was characterized only from the point of view of its pharmacological properties, so it can be concluded that in the light of the medical theory adopted in *De medicina* it was mainly treated not as a foodstuff, but as a medicament. Such a position in the doctrine is a sign of its minimal participation in the consumption pattern of the Mediterranean world as known to Celsus and his authorities.

Let us now present Celsus' doctrines in order of appearance in his work. The author started with emphasising the high nutritious value of milk²¹, and he ascribed the same property to cheese, which is conclusively confirmed by the fact that he classified baked cereal foods with the addition of (animal fat, honey and) cheese as wholesome diet elements²². Celsus also claimed that milk and soft (*mollis*, meaning fresh) cheese are evaluated as diet elements belonging to the group of food with good juices (*boni suci [alimenta]*)²³, whereas old (*vetus*) cheese was classified as one of the foodstuffs characterised by harmful humours (*mali suci [alimenta]*)²⁴. This obviously presents Celsus as a person familiarised with the humoral theory (of some sort). Milk was also placed in the category of foodstuffs with gentle, i.e. non-pungent juices (*lenes*)²⁵. Apart from that, it was also indicated that this drink thickens the phlegm (*crassiorem pituitam facit*)²⁶. Moreover, milk and cheese of every kind were classified as food products that may disrupt the

¹⁸ Salt intensified the laxative effect of milk.

¹⁹ Firstly, in book III of *Collectiones medicae*, to be later included in *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium* and in *Libri ad Eunapium*.

²⁰ Book II of *Iatricorum libri*.

²¹ CELSUS, *De medicina*, II, 18, 11.

²² CELSUS, *De medicina*, II, 18, 2.

²³ CELSUS, *De medicina*, II, 20, 1.

²⁴ CELSUS, *De medicina*, II, 21.

²⁵ CELSUS, *De medicina*, II, 22, 2.

²⁶ CELSUS, *De medicina*, II, 23.

stomach (*aliena stomacho*)²⁷, whereas milk and all kinds of edibles to which it was added, as well as all types of cheese were considered to be a part of a group of products that get acidified easily²⁸ (*faciliter intus corrupta*) in the stomach²⁹. Moreover, Celsus returned to the subject that he discussed in the first analysed fragment of his work by indicating that milk and food products containing milk improve intestinal peristalsis (*alvum movent*), and therefore stimulate excretion³⁰. Eventually, we also find information that cheese with pungent flavour (whether due to its age or change of properties during transport³¹ or as a result of boiling it with honey or water and honey) causes constipation and slows down the activity of the digestive tract (*astringit*)³².

Selected dairy products also appear in another catalogue. They are present as elements of respective classes of pharmacologically active substances which are listed in book V of *De medicina*. The catalogue of the most significant medicament groups is opened by remedies that staunch bleeding³³, and concluded by effective skin cleansing substances³⁴. In total, there were sixteen classes of active substances enumerated by Celsus. In terms of the present discussion, it is important that even though milk and butter are present among listed medicaments, cheese and whey are not. The author does not explain the reasons for such absence in any way. It may be the case that the sources used by him did not specify these two products in the categories of our interest. Nota bene, the absence of these products does not mean that Celsus did not consider them useful for medical procedures were concerned. As it has already been explained, whey was an element of purgative diets and was referred to as *lac*. Cheese (also absent from the analysed list) was also taken into consideration in treatment of aphthous stomatitis, which means that it was used in the therapeutic method known to Celsus. However, such cases were rare, so this product was treated mainly as a foodstuff. It should be mentioned here that in later Greek medical sources cheese is invariably classified as *phármakon*. This may be proved by the testimonies to which we shall refer later in this paper³⁵. However, a conclusion can be drawn that progress in this area took place later than the state of medicine as known to Celsus was formed³⁶.

²⁷ CELSUS, *De medicina*, II, 25, 1.

²⁸ Translation has been accepted on the basis of terminology from the Greek sources. Cf. relevant parts of the theory, as quoted from Oribasius.

²⁹ CELSUS, *De medicina*, II, 28, 1.

³⁰ CELSUS, *De medicina*, II, 29, 2.

³¹ Duration of a journey was probably one of the factors contributing to the process of cheese maturing.

³² CELSUS, *De medicina*, II, 30, 2.

³³ CELSUS, *De medicina*, V, 1.

³⁴ CELSUS, *De medicina*, V, 16.

³⁵ Cf. later parts of this text.

³⁶ About the types and applications of cheese in cookery and medical procedures, cf. M. CHRONE, *Ἡ παρὶδὰ...*, p. 217–226.

As far as information from *De medicina* is concerned, it has to be stated that milk is found among substances capable of dispersing harmful substances concentrated in any part of the body³⁷. Moreover, it is listed among those medicaments that soothe irritation (together with zinc oxide, ivory etc.)³⁸. Butter was also placed in two catalogues. First of all, we learn that it belongs to the group of medical substances causing tissue growth and filling the cavities that are formed as a result of ulcers (*carnem alens; ulcus implens*)³⁹. Secondly, it is listed among the softening medicaments (*molliens*)⁴⁰ that could eliminate tumorous calluses and swellings of all kinds. Interestingly enough, all effects of milk and butter listed above are confirmed by specific applications in treatments enumerated by Celsus. Therefore, we know that the theory to which he referred is both internally coherent and practically applicable.

Having concluded these considerations, it is necessary to pay attention to the fact that the characterizations of milk and dairy products with regard to their dietary properties and application as *phármakon* (φάρμακον) are not an exclusive feature of *De medicina*, but they are regularly mentioned not only in medical works, such as *De diaeta I–IV*⁴¹, works of Dioscorides⁴², extant fragments penned by Rufus of Ephesus⁴³,

³⁷ CELSUS, *De medicina*, V, 11. It can be effective as an anti-tumour substance. Cf. F.G. BRUNNER, *Pathologie und Therapie der Geschwülste in der antiken Medizin bei Celsus und Galen*, Zurich 1977, *passim*.

³⁸ CELSUS, *De medicina*, V, 13.

³⁹ CELSUS, *De medicina*, V, 14.

⁴⁰ CELSUS, *De medicina*, V, 15.

⁴¹ Cf. milk – *Hippocratis de diaeta*, 41, 4–7, ed. R. JOLY, S. BYL, Berlin 1984 (cetera: *De diaeta I–IV*); whey – *De diaeta I–IV*, 42, 20–22; cheese – *De diaeta I–IV*, 51, 1–4; milk fat (for butter) – *De diaeta I–IV*, 51, 3.

⁴² DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, II, 70, 1, 1 – 72, 3, 9 (milk – II, 70, 1, 1 – 3, 5; II, 70, 5, 1 – 6, 12; whey – II, 70, 3, 6 – 4, 10; cheese – II, 71, 1, 1–9; butter – II, 72, 1, 1 – 2, 8). About Dioscorides, for instance cf. M. WELLMANN, *Dioscorides*, [in:] *RE*, Bd. V, Stuttgart 1905, col. 1131–1142; J.M. RIDDLE, *Dioscorides on Pharmacy and Medicine*, Austin 1985, *passim*; M. KOKOSZKO, *Ryby i ich znaczenie w życiu codziennym ludzi późnego antyku i Bizancjum (IV–VII w.)*, Łódź 2005, p. 12; M. STAMATU, *Dioscorides*, [in:] *Antike Medizin...*, col. 227–229; V. NUTTON, *Ancient...*, p. 174–177; R.A. GABRIEL, *Man and Wound in the Ancient World. A History of Military Medicine from Sumer to the Fall of Constantinople*, Washington 2012, p. 174–175.

⁴³ His works have not been preserved as a whole, but they are cited by the later Asclepiads. Cf. milk – RUFUS D'EPHESE, *De renum et vesicae morbis*, II, 19, 1 – 21, 7, [in:] *Oeuvres de Rufus d'Ephese*, ed. C. DAREMBERG, C.E. RUELLE, Paris 1879; RUFUS D'EPHESE, *De satyriasmō et gonorrhoea*, 28, 5, [in:] *Oeuvres de Rufus d'Ephese*, ed. C. DAREMBERG, C.E. RUELLE, Paris 1879 (cetera: RUFUS OF EPHESE, *De satyriasmō et gonorrhoea*); *Oribasii collectionum medicarum reliquiae*, II, 61, 1, 1 – 10, 2, ed. I. RAEDER, vol. I–IV, Lipsiae–Berolini 1928–1933 (cetera: ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*); *Oribasii synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, I, 40, 1, 1 – 6, 3, [in:] *Oribasii synopsis ad Eustathium filium et libri ad Eunapium*, ed. I. RAEDER, Lipsiae–Berolini 1926 (cetera: ORIBASIIUS, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*); *Aetii Amideni libri medicinales I–VIII*, II, 86, 1 – 87, 15, ed. A. OLIVIERI, Lipsiae–Berolini 1935–1950 (cetera: AETIUS OF AMIDA, *Iatricorum libri*); cheese – RUFUS OF EPHESE, *De satyriasmō et gonorrhoea*, 28, 5. About Rufus of Ephesus, cf. H. GOSSEN, *Rufus* (18), [in:] *RE*, 2. Reihe, Bd. I, 1,

Galen⁴⁴, Oribasius⁴⁵, Aetius of Amida⁴⁶ and Paul of Aegina⁴⁷, but also in *Historia*

Stuttgart 1914, col. 1207–1212; A. SIDERAS, *Einleitung*, [in:] RUFUS EPHESIUS, *De renum et vesicae morbis*, ed. A. SIDERAS, Berlin 1977, p. 58–69; IDEM, *Rufus von Ephesos und sein Werk im Rahmen der antiken Medizin*, [in:] ANRW, ed. H. TEMPORINI, W. HAASE, T. II, Bd. 37, 2, Berlin–New York 1994, p. 1077–1253; H. THOMSEN, C. PROBST, *Die Medizin des Rufus von Ephesos*, [in:] ANRW, ed. H. TEMPORINI, W. HAASE, T. II, Bd. 37, 2, Berlin–New York 1994, p. 1254–1292; S. IHM, *Rufus v. Ephesos*, [in:] *Antike Medizin...*, col. 759–760.

⁴⁴ Milk and dairy products were characterized in many Galen's works. For the widest description of their dietary and pharmacological properties, cf. GALEN, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, 681, 11 – 699, 9 (milk, whey – 681, 11 – 689, 7; cheese – 696, 7 – 699, 9; butter – 683, 11 – 684, 6; *Galenii de simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus libri XI*, 263, 12 – 269, 15, vol. XII, [in:] *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, ed. D.C.G. KÜHN, vol. XI–XII, Lipsiae 1826–1827 (cetera: GALEN, *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus*) (milk – 263, 12 – 269, 15, vol. XII; whey – 266, 7 – 269, 15, vol. XII; cheese – 269, 16 – 272, 8, vol. XII; butter – 272, 9 – 273, 18, vol. XII).

⁴⁵ Information about them can be found both in *Collectiones medicae* and in *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium* and in *Libri ad Eunapium*. The most extensive fragments of this kind are included in the first title. Cf. ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, II, 59, 1, 1 – 14, 5 (milk – II, 59, 1, 1 – 11, 1; XV, 2, 1, 1 – 3, 1; whey – II, 59, 3, 2; XV, 2, 3, 1 – 5, 1; cheese – II, 59, 11, 1 – 14, 5; XV, 2, 5, 1; butter – XI, β, 14, 1–9; XV, 2, 8, 1–5). It is important to remember that, apart from the descriptive characteristics, all the products were included in book III of *Collectiones medicae*, in the list of products presented according to their most prominent dietary property. Cf. below. About the life and works of Oribasius cf. B. BALDWIN, *The Career of Oribasius*, *AClas* 18, 1975, p. 85–97; M. GRANT, *Oribasios and Medical Dietetics or the Three Ps*, [in:] *Food in Antiquity...*, p. 368–379; K. GEORGAKOPOULOS, *Αρχαίοι Έλληνες ιατροί*, Αθήνα 1998, p. 62–63; R. DE LUCIA, *Oreibasios v. Pergamon*, [in:] *Antike Medizin...*, col. 660–661; IDEM, *Oribasio di Pergamo*, [in:] A. GARZYA, R. DE LUCIA, A. GUARDASOLE, A.M. IERACI BIO, M. LAMAGNA, R. ROMANO, *Medici byzantini. Oribasio di Pergamon. Aezio d' Amida. Alessandro di Tralle. Paolo d' Egina. Leone medico*, Torino 2006, p. 21–29; V. NUTTON, *Ancient...*, p. 295–296; K. JAGUSIAK, M. KOKOSZKO, *Życie i kariera Orybazjusza w świetle relacji źródłowych*, *PNH* 10, 2011, p. 5–21; IDEM., *Pisma Orybazjusza jako źródło informacji o żywieniu ludzi w późnym Cesarstwie Rzymskim*, *VP* 33, 2013, p. 339–357; M. KOKOSZKO, K. JAGUSIAK, Z. RZEŹNICKA, *Wstęp. Wiedza o...*, p. 16–20; IDEM, *Introduction. Knowledge of Foods...*, p. 19–22.

⁴⁶ Milk – AETIUS OF AMIDA, *Iatricorum libri*, II, 86, 1 – 95, 28; II, 97, 1–11; whey – II, 95, 28–58; cheese – II, 101, 1 – 103, 7; butter – II, 104, 1–13. In *Iatricorum libri* we can find the same dietary and pharmacological categories, which were included in book III of *Collectiones medicae*. They are part of book II of the medical encyclopedia composed by Aetius of Amida. Cf. below. About the life and works of Aetius of Amida cf. H. LEHMANN, *Au Aëtius Amidenus*, *Sar* 23, 1930, p. 205–206; P. DIEPGEN, *Zur Frauenheilkunde im byzantinischen Kulturkreis des Mittelalters. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur. Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaften Klasse*, Wiesbaden 1950, p. 4–5; H. HUNGER, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, Bd. I, München 1978, p. 294–296; V. NUTTON, *From Galen to Alexander. Aspects of Medicine and Medical Practice in Late Antiquity*, *DOP* 38, 1984, p. 1–14; J. SCARBOROUGH, *Early Byzantine Pharmacology*, *DOP* 38, 1984, p. 224–226; K. GEORGAKOPOULOS, *Αρχαίοι...*, p. 24–26; M. KOKOSZKO, *Ryby i ich znaczenie...*, p. 9–10; A. GARZYA, *Aetios v. Amida*, [in:] *Antike Medizin...*, col. 19–20; V. NUTTON, *Ancient...*, p. 295; M. KOKOSZKO, K. JAGUSIAK, Z. RZEŹNICKA, *Wstęp. Wiedza o...*, p. 20–21; IDEM, *Introduction. Knowledge of Foods...*, p. 22–24.

⁴⁷ Cf. the general characteristics of milk – *Paulus Aegineta*, VII, 3, 3, 2–11, ed. I.L. HEIBERG, vol. I–II, Lipsiae–Berolini 1921–1924 (cetera: PAUL OF AEGINA, *Epitome*); whey – VII, 3, 3, 2–5; cheese – VII, 3, 19, 101–95; butter – VII, 3, 2, 63–66. About Paul of Aegina, cf. H. DILLER, *Paulos* (23), [in:] *RE*,

naturalis by Pliny⁴⁸. This is a clear sign that milk was considered to be significant from the medical point of view and was as such very interesting both for the Asclepiads and for general public. It should be added here that considering all these facts, *De medicina* appears as a typical work, not an exceptional one. Details contained in it are simply a testimony (recorded in the first half of the 1st century) of the evolution of the doctrine that was already present in *De Diaeta I-IV* and later developed by the most prominent physicians.

As we read the works of Greek medical specialists, we can clearly see that the assumptions of dietetic and pharmacological galactology presented in *De medicina* were not in contradiction to the theories adopted by other medical authors. Such teachings appear to be rather invariable. In order to show the doctrinal stability of galactology, it is enough to compare the already presented classifications of milk and milk-derived products contained in Celsus' *De medicina* with medical and pharmacological descriptions presented in Oribasius' treatises. The latter writings, although compiled as late as in the late 4th century, were by assumption a selection of the most important views on this subject in the medical theory (and practice) going back to the times of Hippocrates. Accordingly, we read that Oribasius included freshly obtained milk (coming from a healthy animal) as a food-stuff generating good bodily juices⁴⁹ and considered it to be nutritious (adding that thick γάλα tends to give more nourishment than its watery version)⁵⁰, and that is why eventually stimulating creation of viscous humours⁵¹. The physician also warned his readers that fresh milk could adversely affect the stomach. He explained that in the case of a cold one, milk would easily acidify, whereas

Bd. XVIII, 4, Stuttgart 1949, col. 2386–2397; P. PORMANN, *Paulos v. Aigina*, [in:] *Antike Medizin...*, col. 681–682; IDEM, *The Oriental Tradition of Paul of Aegina's Pragmateia*, Leiden 2004, *passim*; M. KOKOSZKO, K. JAGUSIAK, Z. RZEŹNICKA, *Wstęp. Wiedza...*, p. 21–22; IDEM, *Introduction. Knowledge of Foods...*, p. 24.

⁴⁸ PLINY, *Natural History*, transl. H. RACKHAM, W.H.S. JONES, D.E. EICHHOLZ, vol. VIII, London–Cambridge, Mass. 1963 (cetera: PLINY, *Historia naturalis*) (milk – XXVIII, 33, 123–130; whey – XXVIII, 33, 126–127; cheese – XXVIII, 34, 131–132; butter – XXVIII, 35, 133–134). About Pliny and the aspects of his output that are interesting to us here, cf. W. KROLL, *Plinius* (5), [in:] *RE*, Bd. XXI, 1, Stuttgart 1951, col. 271–439; J.F. HEALY, *Pliny the Elder on Science and Technology*, Oxford 2000; I. MIKOŁAJCZYK, *Rzymska literatura agronomiczna*, Toruń 2004, *passim*.

⁴⁹ ORIBASIOS, *Collectiones medicae*, III, 15, 1, 1–22, 3 (milk – III, 15, 1, 1–2, 1); ORIBASIOS, *Libri ad Eunapium*, I, 32, 1, 1–15, 3 (milk – I, 32, 1, 1–2); ORIBASIOS, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, IV, 14, 1, 1–21, 3 (milk – IV, 14, 1, 1–2).

⁵⁰ ORIBASIOS, *Collectiones medicae*, III, 13, 1, 1–13, 2 (thick milk – III, 13, 4, 1; thin milk – III, 13, 4, 1–5, 1); ORIBASIOS, *Libri ad Eunapium*, I, 29, 1, 1–15, 2 (thick milk – I, 29, 5, 1; thin milk – I, 29, 5, 1–6, 1); ORIBASIOS, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, IV, 12, 1, 1–15, 2 (thick milk and thin milk – IV, 12, 5, 1–6, 1).

⁵¹ ORIBASIOS, *Collectiones medicae*, III, 3, 1, 1–7, 3 (boiled down milk – III, 3, 6, 4); ORIBASIOS, *Libri ad Eunapium*, I, 19, 1, 1–5, 4 (boiled down milk – I, 19, 4, 5); ORIBASIOS, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, IV, 2, 1, 1–5, 3 (boiled down milk – IV, 2, 4, 5).

in a warm organ the process of concoction taking place therein could lead to its emitting “greasy” fumes (whose features were similar to those characterizing the smoke soaring from offerings burnt in the altar)⁵². Moreover, Oribasius noted that milk could cause flatulence⁵³ and bring about headaches⁵⁴. On top of this, the author remarked that consumption of milk in large quantities was to blame for the formation of kidney stones in the urinary tract) as well as for incidence of blockages in the liver⁵⁵. Apart from this, Oribasius classified milk as one of the foodstuffs which slowed down the activity of the alimentary tract and explained that boiled milk had stronger properties of the sort, as thermal treatment reduced its content of whey⁵⁶. No wonder that the medical doctor included the latter in the enumeration of substances with laxative properties, and added that they could be even stronger if honey or salt is mixed with milk⁵⁷. As a result, it is logical that whey was similarly listed as a foodstuff belonging to the class of edibles capable of diluting thick juices, removing blockages and cleanse the bowels⁵⁸. Moreover, it was included in the group of cleansing substances⁵⁹ and also in the list of those with a moderate warming action⁶⁰.

⁵² It is also harmful for those in fever. For various versions of this argument, cf. ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, III, 20, 1, 1 – 10, 2 (milk – III, 20, 5, 1 – 7, 1); ORIBASIIUS, *Libri ad Eunapium*, I, 37, 1, 1 – 8, 2 (milk – I, 37, 4, 1 – 6, 1); ORIBASIIUS, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, IV, 19, 1, 1 – 10, 2 (milk – IV, 19, 5, 1 – 7, 1).

⁵³ ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, III, 23, 1, 1 – 9, 4 (milk – III, 23, 7, 1); ORIBASIIUS, *Libri ad Eunapium*, I, 39, 1, 1 – 7, 1 (milk – I, 39, 4, 1 – 5, 1); ORIBASIIUS, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, IV, 22, 1, 1 – 10, 1 (milk – IV, 22, 7, 1 – 8, 1).

⁵⁴ ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, III, 21, 1, 1 – 6, 2 (milk – III, 21, 5, 1 – 6, 1); ORIBASIIUS, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, IV, 20, 1, 1 – 4, 2 (milk – IV, 20, 3, 1).

⁵⁵ ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, III, 25, 1, 1 – 8, 2 (milk – III, 25, 1, 1–5); ORIBASIIUS, *Libri ad Eunapium*, I, 41, 1, 1 – 7, 2 (milk – I, 41, 1, 1 – 2, 1); ORIBASIIUS, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, IV, 24, 1, 1 – 8, 2 (milk – IV, 24, 1, 1 – 2, 1).

⁵⁶ ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, III, 30, 1, 1 – 9, 3 (milk – III, 30, 4, 1–2); ORIBASIIUS, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, IV, 30, 1, 1 – 13, 3 (milk – IV, 30, 5, 1).

⁵⁷ In the same fragment, he mentioned that milk with a larger amount of ὀρός had the same effect. Cf. ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, III, 29, 1, 1 – 22, 2 (milk – III, 29, 8, 1 – 10, 1); ORIBASIIUS, *Libri ad Eunapium*, I, 45, 1, 1 – 17, 1 (milk – I, 45, 8, 1 – 10, 1); ORIBASIIUS, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, IV, 28, 1, 1 – 27, 2 (milk – IV, 28, 9, 1 – 12, 1).

⁵⁸ ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, III, 24, 1, 1 – 16, 7 (whey – III, 24, 7, 1 – 8, 1); ORIBASIIUS, *Libri ad Eunapium*, I, 40, 1, 1 – 14, 7 (whey – I, 40, 6, 1 – 7, 1); ORIBASIIUS, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, IV, 23, 1, 1 – 16, 7 (whey – IV, 23, 7, 1). Whey as a product that diluted excessively thick juices – ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, III, 2, 1, 1 – 26, 2 (whey – III, 2, 26, 1); ORIBASIIUS, *Libri ad Eunapium*, II, 15, 1, 1–26 (whey – II, 15, 1, 4); ORIBASIIUS, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, IV, 1, 1, 1 – 22, 3 (whey – IV, 1, 22, 1–2).

⁵⁹ ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, XIV, 48, 1, 1–42 (whey – XIV, 48, 1, 4); ORIBASIIUS, *Libri ad Eunapium*, II, 15, 1, 1–26 (whey – II, 15, 1, 4); ORIBASIIUS, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, II, 34, 1, 1–19 (whey – II, 34, 1, 3).

⁶⁰ ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, XIV, 15, 1, 1–5 (whey – XIV, 15, 1, 5); ORIBASIIUS, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, II, 3, 1, 1–3 (whey – II, 3, 1, 3).

As for cheese, Oribasius observed that it could have various properties with regard to its freshness and thermal treatment. He remarked that soft types of cheese (probably the fresh ones) could lead to generation of black bile⁶¹, whereas old cheese contributed to production of what he termed "harmful humours"⁶². He considered both these kinds to be hard to digest, but also remarked that matured cheese was particularly unhealthy in this respect, whereas fresh varieties were easier to concoct in the stomach⁶³. For the same reason the physician included the product in the class of the edibles able to generate thick juices, adding that fresh cheeses were less effective in this respect⁶⁴. The latter variety (with an addition of honey) was also classified as a foodstuff which could accelerate the action of the alimentary tract⁶⁵. Apart from this, Oribasius noted that consumption of old cheese resulted in warming up the body and induced thirst⁶⁶, whereas the fresh one had a limited cooling influence⁶⁷. He also noted down that consumption of the foodstuff could bring about flatulence⁶⁸ and is likely to contribute to generation of raw juices⁶⁹. Last but not least, he included fresh cheese of the ὄξυγαλάκτινος kind in the group of moderately diaphoretic foodstuffs⁷⁰.

When it comes to butter, Oribasius did not omit it in his catalogues either. On the basis of his teachings, one can come to the conclusion that he fully followed

⁶¹ ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, III, 9, 1, 1 – 2, 5 (cheese – III, 9, 2, 4); ORIBASIIUS, *Libri ad Eunapium*, I, 25, 1, 1 – 2, 4 (cheese – I, 25, 2, 3); ORIBASIIUS, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, IV, 8, 1, 1 – 2, 5 (cheese – IV, 8, 2, 4).

⁶² ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, III, 16, 1, 1 – 18, 3 (cheese – III, 16, 7, 3); ORIBASIIUS, *Libri ad Eunapium*, I, 33, 1, 1 – 16, 4 (cheese – I, 33, 5, 2 an obvious error on the part of the editor, who instead of the adjective παλαιός inserted the word ἀπαλός); ORIBASIIUS, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, IV, 15, 1, 1 – 18, 4 (cheese – IV, 15, 6, 2).

⁶³ ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, III, 18, 1, 1 – 13, 1 (cheese – III, 18, 7, 2 – 8, 1); ORIBASIIUS, *Libri ad Eunapium*, I, 35, 1, 1 – 8, 2 (cheese – I, 35, 5, 2); ORIBASIIUS, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, IV, 17, 1, 1 – 12, 1 (cheese – IV, 17, 5, 2 – 6, 1).

⁶⁴ ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae* III, 3, 1, 1 – 7, 3 (cheese – III, 3, 6, 4–5); ORIBASIIUS, *Libri ad Eunapium*, I, 19, 1, 1 – 5, 4 (cheese – I, 19, 4, 5–6); ORIBASIIUS, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, IV, 2, 1, 1 – 5, 3 (cheese – IV, 2, 4, 5–6).

⁶⁵ ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, III, 29, 1, 1 – 22, 2 (cheese – III, 29, 12, 2); ORIBASIIUS, *Libri ad Eunapium*, I, 45, 1, 1 – 17, 1 (cheese – I, 45, 11, 3); ORIBASIIUS, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, IV, 28, 1, 1 – 27, 2 (cheese – IV, 28, 15, 2).

⁶⁶ ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, III, 31, 1, 1 – 8, 4 (cheese – III, 31, 7, 1 – 8, 1); ORIBASIIUS, *Libri ad Eunapium*, I, 47, 1, 1–9 (cheese – I, 47, 1, 5); ORIBASIIUS, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, IV, 31, 1, 1 – 8, 4 (cheese – IV, 31, 7, 1 – 8, 1).

⁶⁷ ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, XIV, 19, 1, 1–22 (cheese – XIV, 19, 1, 21–22); ORIBASIIUS, *Libri ad Eunapium*, II, 4, 1, 1 – 4, 2 (cheese – II, 4, 1, 14 – 2, 1); ORIBASIIUS, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, II, 7, 1, 1–14, (cheese – II, 7, 1, 13–14).

⁶⁸ ORIBASIIUS, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, IV, 22, 1, 1 – 10, 1 (cheese – IV, 22, 1, 1).

⁶⁹ ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, III, 6, 1, 1 – 2, 7 (cheese – III, 6, 2, 6).

⁷⁰ ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, XIV, 60, 1, 1 – 2, 49 (cheese – XIV, 60, 2, 41–42); ORIBASIIUS, *Libri ad Eunapium* II, 23, 1, 1–32 (cheese – II, 23, 1, 26); ORIBASIIUS, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, II, 50, 1, 1–18 (cheese – II, 50, 1, 15–16).

the line of medical tradition represented by Celsus, since he characterised the product in terms of its therapeutic properties. As a result, it was listed as an emollient⁷¹, was classified as moderately diaphoretic⁷², said to clear the chest by coughing⁷³, and attributed with the ability to evacuate pus from the body⁷⁴. The physical doctor noted only one diet-related quality, namely its capability of supporting digestion⁷⁵.

The analysis presented above indicates that the characterization of milk and dairy products was significantly expanded until the second half of the 4th century. On the other hand, the presented material also proves that none of the statements included in the works of Oribasius implies departure from the rules adopted by the theory presented by Celsus in the 1st century AD.

Having proved a connection between Celsus' findings and the well-established dietetic and pharmacological doctrine represented by the Greek physicians of antiquity and the Byzantine period, it should also be noted that *De medicina* contains many details regarding the role of dairy products in the feeding patterns of ancient patients as prescribed by their physicians. It should be emphasized that those practical applications of the adopted theory are not only a demonstration of the internal cohesion of Celsus' knowledge, but also relevant material for examination of the eating pattern typical of the Mediterranean up to the first half of the 1st century. Let us now move on to the presentation of data.

Milk (without indication of its type) was for example recommended as an element of diet used in the cases of permanent loss of weight, which was a symptom of a disease called in Latin *phthisis* (φθίσις in Greek). Celsus reveals that adding milk to soups for consumptives, like for example the famous *ptisáne* (πιτισάνη), called *tisana*⁷⁶ in the language of Cicero, to spelt flour pulp, and also to a certain starch dish (*amulum/amylum* in Latin, ἄμυλον in Greek)⁷⁷ was a standard therapeutic procedure. The author also added that according to his medical knowledge milk should be completely eliminated if patients suffered from acute fever, thirst

⁷¹ ORIBASIUS, *Libri ad Eunapium*, II, 13, 1, 1–23 (butter – II, 13, 1, 23); ORIBASIUS, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, II, 27, 1, 1–6 (butter – II, 27, 1, 6).

⁷² ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, XIV, 60, 1, 1 – 2, 49 (butter – XIV, 60, 2, 42); ORIBASIUS, *Libri ad Eunapium*, II, 23, 1, 1–32 (butter – II, 23, 1, 26); ORIBASIUS, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, II, 50, 1, 1–18 (butter – II, 50, 1, 16).

⁷³ ORIBASIUS, *Libri ad Eunapium*, II, 17, 1, 1 – 2, 2 (butter – II, 17, 1, 2); ORIBASIUS, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, II, 39, 1, 1 – 3, 8 (butter – II, 39, 1, 1).

⁷⁴ ORIBASIUS, *Libri ad Eunapium*, II, 12, 1, 1–16 (butter – II, 12, 1, 13); ORIBASIUS, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, II, 26, 1, 1–3 (butter – II, 26, 1, 3).

⁷⁵ ORIBASIUS, *Libri ad Eunapium*, II, 11, 1, 1–4 (butter – II, 11, 1, 3); ORIBASIUS, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, II, 25, 1, 1–3 (butter – II, 25, 1, 3).

⁷⁶ M. KOKOSZKO, K. JAGUSIAK, Z. RZEŹNICKA, *Kilka słów o zupie zwanej ptisane (πιτισάνη)*, ZW, 18, 2013, s. 282–292.

⁷⁷ CELSUS, *De medicina*, III, 22, 11.

caused by an increase of body temperature, swelling of chest, bleeding or when their urine contained bile⁷⁸. On the fourth or fifth day of the treatment, apart from spicy food, the patients were given a cup of broadleaf plantain (*Plantago maior* L) juice or a teaspoon of white horehound (*Marrubium vulgare* L) juice boiled with honey as a medicament. Terebinth resin (*Pistacia terebinthus* L) cooked with butter and honey were another medicament suitable for this kind of treatment⁷⁹.

Milk was also a product used in curing a condition that was manifested by difficulties with breathing. Its mildest variety was described by the Greeks as δύσπνοια, the more severe one was called ἄσθμα, whereas the most dangerous one was classified as ὀρθόπνοια⁸⁰. The procedure recommended by Celsus included bloodletting and facilitation of intestinal cleansing through consumption of milk and, when necessary, provoking excretion through enemas⁸¹.

Milk was also essential as a foodstuff given to patients suffering from throat ulcers⁸². In turn, food that was spicy or coarse in texture was avoided. Instead, honey, lentil, spelt wheat soup called *tragum*, milk, the aforementioned barley soup known as *tisana*, fatty meat and leek decoction were recommended⁸³. Cough was also a definitely very frequent condition. Several varieties of this ailment were distinguished (mainly productive and non-productive one)⁸⁴. Regardless of the type of this affliction, Celsus recommended travelling, especially sea journeys⁸⁵. Living near the coast and swimming in the sea were also favourable. When it comes to food, the author recommended both mild and spicy products. Among the former ones, Celsus suggested consuming mallow and young nettle tips. Among the spicy ones, he listed milk cooked with garlic, soups with asafoetida (*laser*) or leek (cut into pieces), soft-boiled eggs with sulphur and water to drink (and then either water or wine on alternate days)⁸⁶.

On the other hand, when a patient suffered from spleen disease which was manifested by its augmentation, swelling on the left side, tension of abdomen part, oedema of the legs and other symptoms, milk and cheese⁸⁷ (also sweets)

⁷⁸ CELSUS, *De medicina*, III, 22, 10.

⁷⁹ CELSUS, *De medicina*, III, 22, 13.

⁸⁰ CELSUS, *De medicina*, IV, 8, 1.

⁸¹ CELSUS, *De medicina*, IV, 8, 2.

⁸² *In interiore vero faucium parte exulceratio* – CELSUS, *De medicina*, IV, 9, 1.

⁸³ CELSUS, *De medicina*, IV, 9, 3.

⁸⁴ CELSUS, *De medicina*, IV, 10, 1.

⁸⁵ *Aióra* – a form of medical procedure. Cf. M. KOKOSZKO, *Medycyna bizantyńska na temat aióra (αἰώρα)*, czyli kilka słów o jednej z procedur terapeutycznych zastosowanych w kuracji cesarza Aleksego I Komnena (na podstawie pism medycznych Galena, Orybazjusza, Aecjusza z Amidy i Pawła z Eginy, [in:] *Cesarstwo bizantyńskie. Dzieje, religia, kultura. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Waldemarowi Czeranowi przez uczniów na 70-lecie Jego urodzin*, ed. P. KRUPCZYŃSKI, M.J. LESZKA, Łask–Łódź 2006, p. 87–111.

⁸⁶ CELSUS, *De medicina*, IV, 10, 4.

⁸⁷ It is the only Celsus' medical recommendation, which *expressis verbis* refers to cheese.

were completely eliminated from the eating pattern⁸⁸. Instead, sour substances were recommended in such cases, especially spicy wine vinegar or vinegar with sea onion (*Squilla maritima* L), drunk slowly with small sips. Salted fish, olives in strong brine, salad, endive with vinegar, beetroots with mustard etc. were also prescribed, along with trotters (*ungulae*), chaps (*rostra*), non-fattened poultry (*aves macrae*) and game⁸⁹.

The case was different when the patients experienced chronic colic. When they suffered from a condition called *colitis* (κοιλιακή διάθρασις in Greek), which was manifested by stomachache, inability to excrete gases cumulated in the intestines, constipation, a drop in the temperature of the extremities of patient's body and difficulties with breathing⁹⁰, the pain was alleviated by warm compresses, triggering vomiting (in order to empty the stomach) and cupping therapy in the area of abdomen and hips⁹¹. In order to provoke purgation, patients were administered milk without any additions or milk mixed with water on a one-for-one basis. One of Celsus' remarks is particularly interesting as far as the possibility to determine the intake of milk is concerned. He wrote that patients were given (probably on a daily basis) two to three cups (*cyathi*) of milk and, if necessary, the same amount of milk mixed with water (1:1). One cup, that is *cyathus*, contained 42 cubic centimetres, which equals around 0.042 l, so four *cyathi* would be equal to a daily dose of milk of about 0.170 l (less than a standard glass). We need to remember that such an amount was prescribed for a particular case of disease (in order to provoke purgation), so it can be assumed that standard consumption was smaller. It was also believed that excretion of gases would be easier when the pressure in the intestines increases, so ground garlic was added to milk. Apart from this, αιώρα, e.g. in the form of sea journeys, rubbing with the use of olive oil with soda, cleansing with warm water, mustard plasters (which caused skin reddening, the procedure was called σιναπισμός) applied on the limbs and many other remedies were also recommended⁹².

Milk was also used in diets for the therapy of eye disorder. Celsus wrote that ulcers on eyeballs and eyelids were typical of eye inflammation. In order to eliminate them people would use enemas, go on a diet requiring limitation of food (starvation) and they also drank milk. According to the author, it was supposed to neutralise pungent juices that were responsible for the disease⁹³. Milk was also

⁸⁸ CELSUS, *De medicina*, IV, 16, 1.

⁸⁹ CELSUS, *De medicina*, IV, 16, 2. On the dangers of consuming the milk cf. K. ALBALA, *Milk: Nutritious and Dangerous*, [in:] *Milk...*, p. 19–30; F. BLANK, *Milk-borne Diseases: An Historic Overview and Status Report*, [in:] *Milk...*, p. 81–85; H. MORROW BROWN, *The Health Hazards of Milk*, [in:] *Milk...*, p. 259–267.

⁹⁰ CELSUS, *De medicina*, IV, 19, 1.

⁹¹ CELSUS, *De medicina*, IV, 19, 2.

⁹² CELSUS, *De medicina*, IV, 19, 3.

⁹³ CELSUS, *De medicina*, VI, 10.

mentioned with regard to the diet of patients suffering from *phthirisis* (φθειρίασις in Greek). The author wrote that this ailment (usually attacking patients who did not care about hygiene) was characterized by lice appearing in the eyelashes and pus of acrid nature coming out of the eye. If the ulcers appeared on the eyeballs, the pus could even lead to loss of vision. Patients were given an enema, their hair was cut and their head was rubbed. Fasting, active walks, mouthwash with *mulsum* (boiled down with catmint and figs), warm baths and rinsing head with hot water were recommended. Food should have soothing properties. Additionally, patients were told to drink milk and sweet wine, which were supposed to neutralise the acrid character of juices that were produced during this disease⁹⁴.

De medicina also contains many tips referring to milk as a simple therapeutic substance and as an ingredient of complex medicaments. Let us start with a conclusion that Celsus' work teaches us that the *medicamentum* of our interest was applied both internally and externally. Accordingly, when reading *De medicina*, we learn that milk was considered to be an antidote, especially with regard to mild poisons. For example, it was administered (without any additions) in the case of cantharidin poisoning (cantharidin is a substance acquired from a *cantharis* [κανθαρίς] fly). Another method applied in order to help the patient was using allheal, that is *panaces* (*Ferula galabnifera* Mill) ground with milk or administering galbanum (juice made of the aforementioned plant) dissolved in wine⁹⁵. In the case of black henbane (*Hyoscyamus niger* L) poisoning, drinking any type of milk (but especially donkey milk) or hot wine with honey (that is *mulsum*)⁹⁶ was recommended.

Milk was classified by Celsus as a product used as a mouthwash and gargle. The same effect was demonstrated by (probably watered-down) barley soup (*tisana*) and bran gruel⁹⁷. The drink of our interest in such a form was used in the final stage of tonsillitis, but bran stock could also be used for the same purpose⁹⁸. It is also worth adding that the only remark presented by Celsus with regard to therapeutic properties of cheese applies to oral cavity disorders. We learn that *aphtae* (*aphthae* in Latin, ἄφθαι in Greek) in children's mouth were removed by applying (probably fresh) cheese mixed with honey on them⁹⁹.

One of the frequent ailments described in Greek and Latin sources was dysentery. Celsus wrote that the patient suffering from this disease was supposed to rest. Special plasters that could stop diarrhoea were put on his stomach and his anus was rinsed with warm water with verbena boiled in it (*Verbena officinalis* L)¹⁰⁰.

⁹⁴ CELSUS, *De medicina*, VI, 6, 15 – 15 b.

⁹⁵ CELSUS, *De medicina*, V, 27, 12.

⁹⁶ CELSUS, *De medicina*, V, 27, 12 b. Cf. A. TOUWAIDE, *La toxicologie dans le De medicina: un système asclépiado-méthodique?*, [in:] *La Médecine...*, p. 211–256.

⁹⁷ CELSUS, *De medicina*, V, 22, 9.

⁹⁸ CELSUS, *De medicina*, VI, 10, 4.

⁹⁹ CELSUS, *De medicina*, VI, 11, 3.

¹⁰⁰ CELSUS, *De medicina*, IV, 22, 2.

People were also given enemas in such a situation. Here, clysters made of thin *tisana* or milk were described by the author as effective. Moreover, melted animal fat, deer marrow, olive oil, rose oil mixed with butter (another dairy product of our interest) or egg white, as well as many other substances were introduced into the intestines¹⁰¹. Themison, as Celsus accounts, even recommended using to this end the brine in which olives were kept. As for the food given to patients, it should have astringent properties¹⁰².

In gynaecology described by Celsus, milk was used to cure hysteria. Firstly, nightshade fruits (*Solanum nigrum* L) were dipped in milk and then ground with white wax or deer marrow (mixed with iris oil) or beef suet (or goat suet with rose oil) to produce ointment, which was then put as an emollient on patient's abdomen being hard as a result of the disease (*super imum ventrem*)¹⁰³. Apart from this, the therapeutic procedure included emptying patient's intestines, which was achieved by means of giving an enema or milk¹⁰⁴. We also learn that woman's milk was used to produce suppositories to trigger menstruation. In order to make such a medicament, the pulp of a wild cucumber (*cucumis silvestris*) was ground and mixed with human milk¹⁰⁵, and then a piece of soft wool saturated with this substance was inserted into the genitals¹⁰⁶.

Milk was also among the substances used by ancient nephrology. The author of *De materia medica* claimed that in the case of kidney disorders, patients should rest, sleep on a soft bed, cleanse the intestines regularly (even by means of enemas), take warm baths, avoid cold food and drinks, as well as abstain from salty, sour and hot food¹⁰⁷. In order to cure the patient of this disease, he was given a mixture made of wild cucumber seed, pine nuts, aniseed and saffron, which were given to him with sweet *mulsum* wine. However, when pain appeared, an appropriate remedy made of thirty seeds of a squirting cucumber (*Ecballium elaterium* [L.] A. Rich.), twenty pine nuts, five almonds (*nucis Graecae*) and a bit of saffron (*crocus*) was administered. The ingredients were ground and then mixed with milk¹⁰⁸.

When it comes to external applications, Celsus reveals that joint problems (both concerning upper and lower limbs) occurring in the case of diseases such as gout (*podagra* in Latin, ποδάγρα in Greek) and thumb arthritis (*cheragra* in Latin, χειράγρα in Greek) were cured with the use of donkey milk treated as a *sensu stricto* medicament. However, it has to be concluded that this medicament was effective only in the initial phase of illness. Nota bene, the same effect was supposed to

¹⁰¹ CELSUS, *De medicina*, IV, 22, 3.

¹⁰² CELSUS, *De medicina*, IV, 22, 4.

¹⁰³ CELSUS, *De medicina*, IV, 27, 1.

¹⁰⁴ CELSUS, *De medicina*, IV, 27, 2.

¹⁰⁵ CELSUS, *De medicina*, V, 21 b, 1.

¹⁰⁶ CELSUS, *De medicina*, V, 21, a.

¹⁰⁷ CELSUS, *De medicina*, IV, 17, 1.

¹⁰⁸ CELSUS, *De medicina*, IV, 17, 2.

be achieved by avoiding wine, *mulsum* and sex¹⁰⁹. In the advanced stage of the disease patients were given the following recommendations: they should take a lot of exercise, visit a hot bath and ferment the sore limb in a medical solution¹¹⁰. Sometimes a wet cooling therapy was also used, especially when the temperature of the body areas attacked by the disease was increased¹¹¹. When the pain became so strong that it was impossible to touch the place affected by the disease, it could be soothed by rinsing the affected area with a sponge dipped in hot extract of poppy-head skin or *cucumis silvestris*¹¹². Then, the place was smeared with saffron, poppy juice and sheep milk¹¹³. The author also added that patients who were aware of the fact that they suffer from seasonal joints ache should try to fend off this danger by a special diet and avoiding excess of dangerous substances in the food. In order to do this, they should use emetics and cleanse their intestines by drinking milk. The author of *De medicina* also added that the latter method was rejected by Erasistratus in fear of the risk of dangerous juices inflow into the feet in gout. However, Celsus considered the fear as unjustified and suggested that the famous physician was wrong, because the aforementioned remedies resulted in the equal removal of the juices from both upper and lower parts of the body¹¹⁴.

Milk was also used as an ingredient of remedies for wounds¹¹⁵. Celsus wrote that when uncontrolled tissue growth occurred on the edges of such bodily damage, certain substances supposed to stop this phenomenon were applied. It was achieved by means of applying dry lint (*siccum linamentum*) or copper scales (*squamae*) on the affected skin area. When fungation was widespread, corossives were used. After removing the dressing, boxthorn (lycium – *Rhamnus infectorius* L) decoction dissolved in *passum* wine or in milk was poured over the wound, which was supposed to speed up the process of scarring¹¹⁶.

Milk was also an ingredient of medicaments used in ophthalmology. Celsus mentioned that woman's milk was added (in order to alleviate their effect) to eye ointments (or salves) known in Latin as *collyrium*, and in Greek as κολλύριον. However, the author also indicated that it was used in order to modify the salve known as *cycnon* (or *tephron*)¹¹⁷ and also to another one known by the name

¹⁰⁹ CELSUS, *De medicina*, IV, 31, 1.

¹¹⁰ CELSUS, *De medicina*, IV, 31, 3–4.

¹¹¹ CELSUS, *De medicina*, IV, 31, 5.

¹¹² Probably another name of squirting cucumber.

¹¹³ CELSUS, *De medicina*, IV, 31, 6.

¹¹⁴ CELSUS, *De medicina*, IV, 31, 9.

¹¹⁵ About this issue in the works of Celsus, cf. I. ISRAELOWICH, *Patients...*, p. 96–97.

¹¹⁶ CELSUS, *De medicina*, V, 26, 30 c.

¹¹⁷ *Cycnon/tephron* – made from starch, astragalus and acacia juice, *cummis* gum, poppy seed juice, rinsed white lead (in Latin: *cerussa*; in Greek: ψιμμίθιον) and lead monoxide. The ingredients were mixed together with rainwater. In the case specified by Celsus, water was replaced with breast milk

of *trygodes*¹¹⁸. Both those remedies were applied to the eyes in the case of moderate inflammation. Milk (without indication of the animal which gave it) was also mixed with other medicaments within the same group. Thus, in *De medicina* we read that in the case of acute eye inflammation called *proptosis* (πρόπτωσις in Greek), which was manifested by swelling that created an impression of eye-balls falling out of the orbits, when loss of vision occurred and pus was coming out of the outer corner of the eye (the one on the temple side), eyeball incision was performed. The aim of the procedure was to create an outlet for the accumulated pus, stop the pain and avoid permanent disfigurement. After the operation, Cleon's or Nileus' *kollyrion* was applied to the eye, but it was mixed (for the sake of alleviation of its effect) with milk (or with egg)¹¹⁹. Moreover, in the case of eye ulcers, Philaletes's *kollyrion*¹²⁰ mixed with milk¹²¹ was used.

Woman's milk was added to remedies for ear inflammation, such as the medicament made of Egyptian broad beans (*Nelumbium speciosum* L) ground with rose oil and myrrh or of bitter almond juice with rose oil and myrrh¹²². It was instilled into the auricula, which was then closed with a tampon so that the fluid could not come out¹²³. When the ear got swollen and discharge was flowing out of it, milk (of no specified type) with boxthorn extract was poured into the ear¹²⁴. Interestingly enough, attar and milk were also used in skull surgery. The drops were supposed to help the trephine (*modiolus*, χοινεϊκίς¹²⁵ in Greek) sink into the skull bones, because the fluids reduced friction¹²⁶.

Even though cheese is mentioned rarely in *De medicina*, and the therapeutic applications of whey could only be guessed from the fragments concerning the purgative properties of milk, Celsus' remarks indicate that butter was an ingredient of many remedies used externally, mainly in the treatment of wounds and

– CELSUS, *De medicina*, VI, 6, 7. Galen also knew about this medicament (*De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos*, 795, 4–10, vol. XII, [in:] *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, ed. C.G. KÜHN, vol. XII–XIII, Lipsiae 1826–1827) (cetera: GALEN, *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos*), and so did Aetius of Amida (*Iatricorum libri*, VII, 106, 75–80).

¹¹⁸ *Trygodes* made from Castoreum, lycium (boxthorn/lyceum – *Rhamnus infectorius* L), nard, poppy seed juice, saffron, myrrh, aloe, burned copper, *cadmia* loam, antimonite, acacia juice and *cummis* gum – CELSUS, *De medicina*, VI, 6, 8. They are also familiar to Galen – GALEN, *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos*, 713, 9–10, vol. XII).

¹¹⁹ CELSUS, *De medicina*, VI, 6, 9 b–c.

¹²⁰ Philaletes' *Kollyrion* – myrrh, poppy seed juice, rinsed lead, loam from Samos, astragalus juice, antimony, starch, rinsed zinc oxide and white lead – CELSUS, *De medicina*, VI, 12.

¹²¹ CELSUS, *De medicina*, VI, 12.

¹²² CELSUS, *De medicina*, VI, 7 e.

¹²³ CELSUS, *De medicina*, VI, 7 c.

¹²⁴ CELSUS, *De medicina*, VI, 7, 3 b–4.

¹²⁵ CELSUS, *De medicina*, VIII, 3, 1.

¹²⁶ CELSUS, *De medicina*, VIII, 3, 3. Cf. I. MAZZINI, *La chirurgia celsiana nella storia della chirurgia greco-romana*, [in:] *La Médecine...*, p. 135–166. Milk in medical sources of Byzantine period cf. M. CHRONE, *Ἡ πανίδα...*, p. 202–209.

ulcers. For example, it was an element of *enneapharmacum* (έννεαφάρμακον in Greek)¹²⁷, which was used to cleanse wounds. It consisted of wax, milk, suet, resin, myrrh, rose oil, bone marrow (deer, veal or beef), lanolin and butter mixed in equal proportions¹²⁸. *Nota bene*, in order to remove contamination and fill the wounds created within the tendon (after removing the pus), it was smeared with a less complex mixture, namely butter ground with rose flowers and a bit of honey¹²⁹. *Buturum* was also referred to as an ingredient of the so-called *enchrista* (ἐγχρίστα¹³⁰), which were, as Celsus explained, liquid medicaments used to cure ulcers (while the Roman author referred to ulcers created on hard tissues, such as tendons, in his narration). One of the medicaments of this kind consisted of equal parts of butter, veal bone marrow, veal fat, goose schmaltz, wax, honey, terebinth, rose oil and castor oil. If the last but one ingredient was replaced with cypress oil, the medicament became also an emollient, so it helped with calluses¹³¹. Attention should also be paid to the fragments of Celsus' works which prove that butter was used as an ingredient of remedies for treatment of delicate and sensitive body parts (which were usually protected naturally from contact with the outer world), like for example treatment of meninx damages. The author of *De medicina* claimed that in order to eliminate swelling (so grave that the meninx was visible and started to come out of the wound, even beyond skull bones), ground lentil or grape vine leaves with fresh butter or goose schmaltz were applied on the area affected by the inflammation¹³².

The treatise also comprises a note that butter was suitable for genitals treatment (both in females and males). Endometritis was often cured with the use of Numenius' medicine. Its ingredients included saffron, wax, butter, goose schmaltz, boiled egg yolks and attar¹³³. On the other hand, treatment of male penises (if ulcers on this body part were dry) consisted of rinsing the spot with warm water, and then smearing it with butter mixed with rose oil, lycium barbarum extract or amurca (*amurca*) mixed with wine. When the exudate appeared, ulcers were rinsed with wine, and then the area affected was covered with a mixture of butter, rose oil, honey and terebinth resin¹³⁴.

¹²⁷ This medicament was well known to Greek medics, e.g. cf. GALEN, *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos*, 310, 15 – 311, 5, vol. XIII; *Oribasii eclogae medicamentorum*, 146, 17, 1–3, [in:] *Oribasii collectionum medicarum reliquiae*, ed. I. RAEDER, vol. IV, Lipsiae–Berolini 1933 (cetera: ORIBASIIUS, *Eclogae medicamentorum*); AETIUS OF AMIDA, *Iatricorum libri*, XVI, 82, 16–19; PAUL OF AEGINA, *Epitome*, VII, 24, 6, 1–3.

¹²⁸ CELSUS, *De medicina*, V, 19, 10.

¹²⁹ CELSUS, *De medicina*, V, 26, 30.

¹³⁰ This term is used by e.g. Oribasius – ORIBASIIUS, *Libri ad Eunapium*, III, 34, 4, 4.

¹³¹ CELSUS, *De medicina*, V, 23, 3.

¹³² CELSUS, *De medicina*, VIII, 4, 19.

¹³³ CELSUS, *De medicina*, V, 21, 4.

¹³⁴ CELSUS, *De medicina*, VI, 18, 2 c. Butter in medical sources of Byzantine period, cf. M. CHRONE, *Η πανίδα...*, p. 209–217.

The scope of data contained in the catalogue of diseases and treatments with the use of milk and milk-derived products is yet another confirmation of the conclusion that has already been presented, namely that the ancient galactology had developed significantly before *De medicina* was written. Nevertheless, it has to be emphasized that the lists of analogous diseases and similar applications of milk (and milk-derived products) in the treatment of such diseases can be found in many treatises written by the Asclepiads of Antiquity, and then of the early Byzantine Empire¹³⁵. In order to show the position of Celsus' therapeutics more expressly, it would be proper to refer to, as in the case of dietetic and pharmacological characterizations, the selected parallels recorded by other authors who were also interested in this subject. These are, first of all, the work of Pliny representing Latin literature and scholarship (the author was familiar with Celsus' treatise¹³⁶), and the works of Dioscorides, who was chosen as the representative of the Greek medical output. Both treatises were created in the period relatively close to Celsus, so they constitute a perfect proof of galactology expertise level in the second half of the 1st century.

Our comparative analysis shall be commenced with the issue of using milk for rescuing people who were poisoned. Pliny wrote quite a lot about the effectiveness of milk as an antidote, and when doing so he *expressis verbis* listed poisonings caused by administration of cantharidin to a patient. The methods of counteracting such a poisoning were earlier referred to by Celsus. Apart from the treatment mentioned, the author of *Historia naturalis* described milk as a medicine used in curing poisonous snakes' bites or in the case of drinking venom derived from *pityocampis* caterpillar (called *πιτυοκάμπη* in Greek)¹³⁷, *buprestis* beetle (which was referred to by the Greeks as *βούπρηστις*), salamander, as well as consuming other substances potentially dangerous for human beings¹³⁸. It should be mentioned here that Dioscorides confirms this effect of milk and he mentions almost the same examples as Pliny¹³⁹.

We also discover the convergence of information provided by those three authors in the case of treatment of throat complaints. Just like Celsus did before him, the author of *Historia naturalis* described the use of milk as gargle in the

¹³⁵ Cf. analogies of the *enneapharmacum*. Unfortunately, this topic is too complex, and will not be elaborated within this study. I will focus on it in the future.

¹³⁶ Pliny points to Celsus as a source for book XV. Cf. C.M. OSER-GROTE, *op. cit.*, col. 189.

¹³⁷ *Thaumatococcus pityocampa*.

¹³⁸ PLINY, *Historia naturalis*, XXVIII, 33, 128–129.

¹³⁹ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, II, 70, 5, 1–4 (cantharidin – II, 70, 5, 2). Also in the later sources we read about the detoxifying effect of milk. E.g. we know from Oribasius that Rufus of Ephesus claimed that cow or goat milk (as well as chicken broth) were recommended as enemas for those poisoned by black henbane (*Hyoscyamus niger* L.) – ORIBASIVS, *Collectiones medicae*, VIII, 24, 1–2.

case of throat ulcers¹⁴⁰, whereas Dioscorides stated that cow milk was particularly effective with regard to irritation of oral cavity and tonsils¹⁴¹.

In the case of dysentery treatment, in which the author of *De medicina* also recommended this product, Pliny listed milk several times (both fresh and boiled with stones) as a medicament used in the form of enema¹⁴², describing sheep milk as the most effective one with regard to this disease¹⁴³. On the other hand, Dioscorides, even though he did not quote the name of the condition in question, claimed in his characterization of dairy products that boiled milk (using the same method as described by the author of *Historia naturalis*) was used as an enema in the case of digestive tract disorders¹⁴⁴.

Furthermore, fresh milk was considered by Pliny to be a good remedy for colic, and in such cases it was also used as an enema¹⁴⁵. Even though Dioscorides did not refer *expressis verbis* to this condition in book II of *De materia medica*, he stated that milk (which became less carminative once boiled), reduced by half, was suitable for treating internal irritation and combating inflow of vicious juices into the digestive tract (κοιλία)¹⁴⁶. On the other hand, in *Euporista vel de simplicibus medicinis* he *expressis verbis* recommends starch cooked with milk as appropriate for patients suffering from colic¹⁴⁷.

As we have already mentioned, the author of *De medicina* draws the reader's attention to the fact that milk was used as one of the medicaments in gynaecology. Pliny also acknowledges the position of milk as a remedy for women diseases

¹⁴⁰ PLINY, *Historia naturalis*, XXVIII, 33, 129.

¹⁴¹ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, II, 70, 5, 4–6. Identical applications can be found in later literature. For example, Galen suggested using milk as a mouthwash or applying it for any inflammations of oral cavity. Milk soothed afflictions of tonsils and it was applied in cases of tonsillitis – GALEN, *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus*, 268, 11–18, vol. XII. In turn, Oribasius advised donkey, cow or goat milk mouthwash. He also suggested preparing a decoction from olive and plane leaves that were boiled in vinegar. This malady has been also treated with dry fillings of patina that formed on iron, and pomegranate flower – ORIBASIUS, *Eclogae medicamentorum*, 18, 1, 1–2, 6 (milk – 18, 1, 1).

¹⁴² PLINY, *Historia naturalis*, XXVIII, 33, 128.

¹⁴³ Sheep milk is mentioned twice. Other reference cf. PLINY, *Historia naturalis*, XXVIII, 33, 130.

¹⁴⁴ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, II, 70, 2, 7–8. As an analogy we suggest Galen's discourse. He wrote that, as for the therapeutical properties of curd, it is an effective cure for dysentery and all the other afflictions resulting from the excess of gastric juices cumulated inside the stomach – GALEN, *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus*, 267, 1–2, vol. XII. In 4th century Oribasius advised enemas of lukewarm milk or starched milk. To each of these enemas, a myrtle, rose, pomegranate pod, lentil or wild pomegranate flower decoction was also added – ORIBASIUS, *Eclogae medicamentorum*, 54, 16, 1–17, 1 (milk – 54, 16, 3).

¹⁴⁵ PLINY, *Historia naturalis*, XXVIII, 33, 128.

¹⁴⁶ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, II, 70, 3, 3–5.

¹⁴⁷ *Pedanii Dioscuridis Anazarbei euporista vel de simplicibus medicinis*, II, 51, 2, 1–2, [in:] *Pedanii Dioscuridis Anazarbei de materia medica libri quinque*, ed. M. WELLMANN, vol. III, Berlin 1914 (cetera: DIOSCORIDES, *Euporista vel de simplicibus medicinis*).

(he considered sheep milk to be particularly useful in gynaecological therapies¹⁴⁸) and indicates this product as a substance used in intrauterine wash¹⁴⁹. This last application is confirmed with the words of the author of *De materia medica*¹⁵⁰.

Apart from this, Pliny (just like Celsus before him) described milk as a medicament administered to the patients suffering from nephritis and cystitis¹⁵¹, which is fully confirmed by Dioscorides¹⁵². It was probably used in the form of washes, as excessive consumption of this substance could lead to kidney stones¹⁵³.

When it comes to the analogy with curing rheumatism treatment, it has to be indicated that the author of *Historia naturalis*, just like Celsus, determined an important role for donkey milk as an element of gout and thumb arthritis treatment¹⁵⁴, whereas Dioscorides mentioned woman's milk as an element of therapy for the former condition¹⁵⁵. What is more, Pliny recommended milk as a solution for all tendon conditions¹⁵⁶, whereas Dioscorides came to the conclusion that the best remedy for hard tissue disorders would be human milk¹⁵⁷.

It comes as no surprise, then, that Celsus mentioned application of milk in remedies for wounds, as this can be expressly derived from the characterization of this drink and food as a dispersant and soothing substance that he adopted in his work. Pliny also considered milk to be so soothing and delicate that it was suitable even in the cases of internal organ damage¹⁵⁸, whereas Dioscorides mentioned numerous external applications of milk in the treatment of external itchy irritation (κνησμοί)¹⁵⁹.

¹⁴⁸ PLINY, *Historia naturalis*, XXVIII, 33, 130.

¹⁴⁹ PLINY, *Historia naturalis*, XXVIII, 33, 128.

¹⁵⁰ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, II, 70, 5, 11–12. On the other hand, Galen of Pergamon claimed that milk may be injected into an ulcerated uterus. It could be applied on its own or mixed with other soothing remedies. It is also used in the treatment of proctitis (caused by acrid juices and inflammations), and painful anal corrugation – GALEN, *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus*, 268, 2–6, vol. XII. For example Oribasius recommended wolfberry decoction with milk in vaginal discharge problems – ORIBASIIUS, *Libri ad Eunapium*, IV, 111, 1, 1 – 11, 2 (milk – IV, 111, 10, 4–5).

¹⁵¹ PLINY, *Historia naturalis*, XXVIII, 33, 125.

¹⁵² DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, II, 70, 2, 10.

¹⁵³ GALEN, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, 686, 16 – 687, 4. Obviously, milk rinses were allowed in treatment of even the most delicate body parts, which was shown earlier, cf. the gynaecological use of milk in the works of Galen.

¹⁵⁴ PLINY, *Historia naturalis*, XXVIII, 33, 125.

¹⁵⁵ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, II, 70, 6, 5.

¹⁵⁶ PLINY, *Historia naturalis*, XXVIII, 33, 128.

¹⁵⁷ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, II, 70, 6, 6.

¹⁵⁸ PLINY, *Historia naturalis*, XXVIII, 33, 128.

¹⁵⁹ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, II, 70, 5, 11–12. Galen suggested the use of fresh cheese in order to cicatrize wounds – GALEN, *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus*, 270, 13 – 272, 2, vol. XII. He also mentioned the specific kind of this product, invented in his homeland – *oksygaláktinos* (ὄξυγαλάκτινος) – GALEN, *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus*, 272, 2–5, vol. XII.

As for the universality of milk applications in ophthalmology that we encounter in the fragments of *De medicina*, Pliny recommended using it (mixed with ground sesame) to rinse the eyes¹⁶⁰, whereas the author of *De materia medica* described its¹⁶¹ usefulness for treatment of eyes bloodshot as a result of strikes¹⁶². Nota bene, in eye therapy (in the case of inflammation and extravasation) he especially recommended fresh cheese used as poultice¹⁶³. Ultimately, it is no wonder that Celsus provided for the use of milk as far as ear treatment is concerned, as we already know that he acknowledged the application of milk for sensitive body parts. Similar views were confirmed by Pliny and Dioscorides¹⁶⁴.

When it comes to butter and its use in medicine known to Celsus, the characterization of *buturum* as presented in *Historia naturalis* shows that (despite lack of specification of particular therapeutic applications) the Latin author of the work considered it to have exactly the same effect as the one that was required from the medicaments the recipes for which were presented by Celsus. Pliny provided the reader with the following characterization of butter: „*Natura eius [buturi] est adstringere, mollire, replere, purgare*”. This statement proves that, according to the theory known to Pliny, the fat in question was classified as a product of astringent, softening, filling and cleansing properties¹⁶⁵. Therefore, it could be used in the treatment of wounds and ulcers. Dioscorides presents this matter in an almost identical way¹⁶⁶, pointing to the same application that can be found in the work of Celsus, namely curing hard tissue damage, especially if pus was excreted from it¹⁶⁷.

¹⁶⁰ PLINY, *Historia naturalis*, XXVIII, 33, 130.

¹⁶¹ When combined with frankincense.

¹⁶² DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, II, 70, 6, 3–4.

¹⁶³ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, II, 71, 1, 5–6. Galen, in *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos*, listed more than twenty ways of using milk in the treatment of the sight organ. To show the parallel between him and Celsus, it suffices to mention the recommendation to instil milk, apart from fenugreek and egg white brew, in eye problems referred to as *ophthalmia* (ὀφθαλμία), in order to alleviate the pain – GALEN, *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos*, 711, 6 – 714, 11, vol. XII (milk – 712, 10, vol. XII). Two centuries later Oribasius said that in the case of a small foreign body in the eye, it ought to be washed with water or milk. Those objects that got stuck deeper were taken out with small pincers. If the foreign body remained under the eyelid, it was removed after the eyelid was pulled away, and the eye was washed with milk afterwards – ORIBASIVS, *Libri ad Eunapium*, IV, 31, 1, 1 – 4, 2 (milk – IV, 31, 1, 1; IV, 31, 4, 2).

¹⁶⁴ Cf. above for Pilinius' and Dioscorides' ophthalmology. It is worth mentioning that this therapy was well known, and Oribasius used to quote the words of Antyllos (2nd century AD), who recommended instilling the poppy seed juice mixed with milk (or water) into one's ear – ORIBASIVS, *Collectiones medicae*, X, 35, 2, 1–2.

¹⁶⁵ PLINY, *Historia naturalis*, XXVIII, 33, 134.

¹⁶⁶ The author claims, analogically do Pliny, that butter is used if the doctor needs a filling, cleansing and cicatrizing effect – DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, II, 72, 2, 5–6. There is no information about its astringency, but we can conclude about it on the basis of the idea of using *bouútyron* in dysentery – DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, II, 72, 2, 2.

¹⁶⁷ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, II, 72, 2, 1–7 (hard tissue – II, 72, 2, 4).

Moreover, butter was an ingredient of remedies for testicles conditions¹⁶⁸, and (used externally) if applied without any additions, it was an effective cure for endometritis¹⁶⁹.

Time has come for us to draw some conclusions. The results of the analysis presented in the present discussion depict Celsus' treatise to be competent as far as galactology is concerned, that is well-set in the Greek medical thought. The results of the research have led us to the conclusion that the knowledge about milk was well developed at the moment of compiling the encyclopaedia and it did not undergo significant changes after the author's death. The successors of Celsus' authorities only added to the already existing theory. This doctrine, as physicians generally believed, assumed a double role of milk and milk-derived products, describing and using in therapeutic practice both nutritional and therapeutic functions of dairy. It was sufficiently developed to be recognized as a separate branch in both dietetics and pharmacology.

It is worth emphasizing that due to their factual content, both Celsus' treatise and other medical works containing galactological doctrine have become not only a source of the history of medicine, but also source of information concerning gastronomy, farming and breeding technologies. They also teach us about the consumption patterns of individual dairy products. Information contained in *De medicina* makes us think that only small amount of milk was consumed. We may also guess that this was a position of milk in the diet of educated town inhabitants to whom *De medicina* was addressed. They must have belonged at least to the middle class of that time, because they could afford making choices regarding food products – otherwise, Celsus' advice regarding using or rejecting particular food products in the diet recommended by him would have been irrelevant.

The data presented by Celsus show that milk that was fresh (as required by the physician) was hard to obtain. We learn it from the remark stating that milk easily

¹⁶⁸ DIOSCORIDES, *Euporista vel de simplicibus medicinis*, I, 132, 2, 9.

¹⁶⁹ DIOSCORIDES, *Euporista vel de simplicibus medicinis*, II, 73, 2, 1. Consistency in using butter in similar cases should be confirmed by Galen's works. The fat called *boutyron* was most often employed for treating serious, open sores, for example head injuries. In his treatise, Galen informs that Archigenes (1st–2nd cent. AD) recommended application of calamintha decoction, alfita barley powder or the aforementioned fat directly into the wound – GALEN, *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos*, 520, 7 – 528, 2, vol. XII (quoted recommendations – 523, 9–13, vol. XII; butter – 523, 12, vol. XII). It is also worth mentioning that butter (as had been also advised by Archigenes mentioned above) was applied as eardrops when ears were injured in a fight – GALEN, *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos*, 662, 7 – 663, 17, vol. XII (butter – 662, 15, vol. XII). As it facilitates self-digestion of the fluids which cause localized medical conditions, it was also used in the treatment tissue hardening due to heavy inflammation. For instance, this is how a suppository (the recipe of which Galen borrowed from Charixenus) worked. It was applied in the treatment of “dry” ears. It consisted of lanolin, deer bone marrow, goose fat, Tyrrhenian wax, camphor oil and other ingredients – GALEN, *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos*, 635, 4 – 640, 3, vol. XII (recipe – 635, 8–14, vol. XII; butter – 635, 10, vol. XII).

curdled while it was heated. Therefore, it is no wonder that we usually encounter this partly spoiled (meaning fermented) product described as food belonging to the group of products that easily acidify in the stomach and have purgative properties. Another explanation of purgative effectiveness of milk is lactose intolerance displayed by ancient inhabitants of the Mediterranean.

The dietetic characterizations quoted here also indicate that some methods of extending the useful life of milk were applied, like adding salt to it or heating it. Let us add that fresh milk was easy to obtain in the countryside, but it was more difficult to acquire it in the towns, where most patients cured by the physicians listed by Celsus lived.

The following animals were described as giving milk: donkeys¹⁷⁰, sheep¹⁷¹ and cows¹⁷². Donkeys, used mainly for transportation purposes, gave little milk, so it could be used primarily for specialist therapies. Its qualities as food were also not valued. Galen described it as watery and almost deprived of fat, which implied that it hardly had any nutritional value from the point of view of dietetics. The case was different with sheep and cow milk, which was highly evaluated as food¹⁷³. It can also be assumed that the opinions of the physician from Pergamon were connected with the preferences of milk consumers, and therefore with the market availability of this product. If this was the case, sheep and cow milk was much more popular than that obtained from donkeys.

When it comes to butter, it did not play a significant dietary role. It is confirmed not only by the factual content of *De medicina*, but also by the fact that Galen did not describe it in detail in *De alimentorum facultatibus* (which was his most important diet-related work), but in *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus* (which is a treatise devoted to simple medicaments) and he referred to it simply as *phármakon*. On the other hand, Pliny wrote that it was commonly consumed among Barbarians and appreciated by them. Such a statement implies not so much the strangeness of this product in the Mediterranean region, as more limited interest in this product in the Roman world (due to the preferences of the people towards olive oil)¹⁷⁴.

Celsus provides us with more detail concerning the role of cheese, consumed both in its fresh (short-lasting) and mature (long-lasting) form. The latter was

¹⁷⁰ For the subject of these animals and their products cf. M. CHRONE, *Ἡ πανίδα...*, s. 90–91, 362, 395–395.

¹⁷¹ For information on sheep cf. Z. RZEŹNICKA, *Rola mięsa w diecie w okresie pomiędzy II a VII w. w świetle źródeł medycznych*, [in:] *Dietetyka i sztuka kulinarna...*, p. 249–257.

¹⁷² *Ibidem*, p. 266–279.

¹⁷³ GALEN, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, 681, 11 – 682, 2 (thickness of milk and the species of animals from which it was obtained; donkey milk – 682, 1, vol. VI; sheep milk – 682, 2, vol. VI; cow milk – 681, 14, vol. VI); 684, 7–9, vol. VI (fat content in milk and the species of animals from which it was obtained; donkey milk – 684, 9, vol. VI; sheep milk – 684, 8, vol. I; cow milk – 684, 7, vol. VI).

¹⁷⁴ PLINY, *Historia naturalis*, XXIII, 35, 133.

suitable for transport, and therefore it could be carried to distant places. It can be assumed that export was cost-effective only in the case of products that could be sold for an appropriate (high) price. Therefore, we expect that the common types of cheese were already known before the moment when *De medicina* treatise was written down. They were produced in accordance with the established recipes and found consumers even in the distant places. Celsus' reflections also reveal that cheese was a subject of culinary interest. At the same time, data concerning cooking cheese indicate various methods used in order to modify its taste.

Due to the fact that galactology described in *De medicina* was formed before the 1st century AD, this branch of medicine gives us an insight into the food consumed until that time. The works of Galen, who as a bright observer of life verified with his own experience the theories that reached him from his sources¹⁷⁵, can also be perceived as the witnesses of those times. Starting from Oribasius, we encounter only repetitions of the established dietetic and pharmacological doctrines regarding milk. This fact questions the credibility of the medical treatises as sources regarding the period contemporary with their authors. However, it is possible that he, as well as Aetius of Amida and Paul of Aegina, wrote down classic doctrines, because changes of the range of available food products and methods of their production were rare or did not happen at all. If so, then the physicians of the early Byzantine Empire simply chose and passed to the next generations such elements of the theory that they considered suitable for their own medical practice.

Eventually, it has to be emphasized that both Celsus' treatise and other medical sources give us a valuable insight into different details of the diet than applications of milk and milk-derived products. Interestingly enough, there are no remarks regarding luxury spices or exotic products in the tips found in *De medicina* (in the context of milk and milk-derived products). Thus, it is probable that the diet-related details contained there reflect the consumption pattern characteristic for lower and middle social classes. Therefore, Celsus' treatise is a perfect reference to be used in studies concerning daily life of a broad range of the society.

¹⁷⁵ When talking about the raw material from which the butter is obtained, he even dared to argue with the authority in the field of *materia medica*, namely Dioscorides (whose other theories he usually respected). He was surprised that the physician from Anazarbus suggested that butter should be obtained from sheep and goat milk, while he knew it was obtained from cow milk as well, and the name comes from the noun *boiūs* (βοῦς) – GALEN, *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus*, 272, 12–15, vol. XII. Cf. DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, II, 72, 1, 2–3.

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Abstract. Milk was a very significant food product in the Mediterranean. The present study is not devoted to milk as such, but to therapeutic galactology, *galaktología iatriké* (γαλακτολογία ιατρική), a version of which is extant in *De medicina* penned by a Roman encyclopaedist called Celsus. The author places milk and milk-derived products among therapeutic substances, indicates the methods of processing such substances, and also provides the readers with details on dietary and pharmacological characteristics of dairy foods as well as indicating their place in a number of cures.

It is necessary to pay attention to the fact that the characterizations of milk and dairy products with regard to their dietary properties and application as *phármakon* (φάρμακον) are not an exclusive feature of *De medicina*, but they are regularly mentioned not only in medical works, such as *De diaeta I–IV*, teachings of Dioscorides, extant fragments penned by Rufus of Ephesus, Galen, Orbasius, Aetius of Amida and Paul of Aegina, but also in *Historia naturalis* by Pliny. This is a clear sign that milk was considered to be significant from the medical point of view and was as such very interesting both for the medical profession and for general public. Therefore *De medicina* appears as a typical work, and details contained in it are simply a testimony of the evolution of the doctrine that was already present in *De Diaeta I–IV* and later developed by the most prominent physicians.

Keywords: Celsus; history of medicine; history of pharmacology; milk; dairy products.

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BREAD AS FOOD AND MEDICAMENT IN ORIBASIIUS' WRITINGS

The Greek word *diaíta* can be translated into English as a way of life¹. Accordingly, ancient and medieval Greeks gave it a broader meaning than we do today and did not narrow it down to the nutritional schema typical of or recommended to a person. On the other hand, it should be borne in mind that the role of food in this concept was prominent enough to justify the modern simplification of the term.

The foundations of medical knowledge on food are thought to have been laid down by Hippocrates of Cos (V–IV c. BC). As we read, for instance, in the work entitled *De alimento*, Hippocrates' school promoted the concept that each food simultaneously plays a nutritional and medicinal role². This approach resulted in treating the research into food and into drugs as one, and made foodstuffs a subject of professional discussions³,

¹ A *Greek-English lexicon*, ed. H.G. LIDDELL, R. SCOTT, Oxford 1996, p. 356. Cf. E. CRAIK, *Hippocratic diaita*, [in:] *Food in antiquity*, ed. J. WILKINS, D. HARVEY, M. DOBSON, Exeter 1999, p. 343–350; J. JOUANNA, *Greek medicine from Hippocrates to Galen*, Leiden–Boston 2012, p. 137–141.

² HIPPOCRATE, *De alimento*, 19, 1–2, [in:] *Œuvres complètes d'Hippocrate*, ed. E. LITTRE, vol. IX, Amsterdam 1962. Hippocratic dietetics can be retrieved from treatises included in the *Corpus Hippocraticum*. On the crucial concepts of the Hippocratic school, cf. V. NUTTON, *Galen and the traveler's fare*, [in:] *Food in antiquity...*, p. 359–370; IDEM, *Ancient medicine*, London–New York 2007, p. 72–86, especially 77–85. Concerning the general role of food in *Corpus Hippocraticum* – S. BYL, *L'alimentation dans le Corpus Hippocratique*, [in:] *Voeding en geneeskunde/Alimentation et médecine. Acten van het colloquium/Actes du colloque Brussel–Bruxelles 12.10.1990*, ed. R. JANSEN-SIEBEN, F. DAELMANS, Brussels 1993, p. 29–39. Regarding pharmacology in the Hippocratic school, cf. J. SCARBOROUGH, *Theoretical assumptions in Hippocratic pharmacology*, [in:] *Formes de pensée dans la collection hippocratique. Actes du IVe Colloque Internationale Hippocratique, Lausanne, September 1981*, ed. F. LASSERRE, P. MUDRY, Geneva 1983, p. 307–325.

³ Cf. C. GARCIA GAUL, *Dieta hipocrática y prescripciones alimentarias de los pitagóricas*, [in:] *Dieta Mediterránea, Comidas y hábitos alimenticios en las culturas Mediterráneas*, ed. A. PÉREZ JIMÉNEZ, G. CRUZ ANDREOTTI, Madrid 2000, p. 44–50; F. PUCCI DONATI, *Dieta, salute, calendari. Dal regime stagionale antico ai regimina mensium medievali: origine di un genere nella letteratura medica occidentale*, Spoleto 2007, p. 17–18; J. JOUANNA, *Le régime dans la médecine hippocratique: définition, grands problèmes, prolongements*, [in:] *Colloque. Pratiques et discours alimentaires en Méditerranée de l'antiquité à la renaissance. Actes*, ed. J. LECLANT, A. VAUCHEZ, M. SARTRE, Paris 2008, p. 53–72.

which over time led to food becoming one of the main points of interest of medical specialists⁴.

A few centuries after the doctor of Cos, Galen (II–III c.)⁵ adopted the doctrines of his great predecessor⁶ and developed them into an even more complex, but at the same time cohesive system⁷. His theory and practice set out in his writings, exerted an overwhelming influence both on his contemporaries and on his followers.

One of these ‘students’ was Oribasius (IV–Vth c.)⁸. He was not an independent researcher of Galen’s calibre but rather a meticulous and skilful compiler. This medical doctor, acting upon the instructions of the Emperor Julian (361–363), whose physician and political collaborator he was, created a voluminous work originally comprising probably some 70 books⁹, which nowadays is referred to as the *Collectiones medicae*. Later in his life he also composed other versions of his *opus magnum*, which are today called the *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium* and the

⁴ On dietetics before Galen cf. for example K. BERGOLDT, *Wellbeing. A cultural history of healthy living*, transl. J. DEWHURST, Cambridge–Malden, Mass. 2008, p. 30–37, 41–46, 62–72.

⁵ On Galen’s life and activities cf. for example L. THORNDIKE, *Galen. The man and his times*, ScM 14. 1, 1922, p. 83–93; G. SARTON, *Galen of Pergamon*, Lawrence, KS, 1954, *passim*; V. NUTTON, *Galen and medical autobiography*, PCPS 198 (New Series no. 18) 1972, p. 50–62; IDEM, *The chronology of Galen’s early career*, CQ 23, 1973, p. 158–171; IDEM, *Galen in the eyes of his contemporaries*, BHM 58, 1984, p. 315–324; IDEM, *Ancient medicine...*, p. 222–235; R.J. HANKINSON, *The man and his work*, [in:] *The Cambridge companion to Galen*, ed. R.J. HANKINSON, Cambridge 2008, p. 1–33.

⁶ Hippocrates’ statement, quoted above, was also cited by Galen himself – *Galen de alimentorum facultatibus* 467, 15–16, [in:] *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, ed. D.C.G. KÜHN, vol. VI, Lipsiae 1823 (cetera: *Galen, De alimentorum facultatibus*). Concerning the main assumptions of Galenism – V. NUTTON, *Ancient medicine...*, p. 230–247, especially 240–244.

⁷ Cf. A. BEDNARCZYK, *Galen. Główne kategorie systemu filozoficzno-lekarskiego*, Warszawa 1995, *passim*, especially 49–113. Concerning Galen’s dietetic regime – P. VOLPE CACCIATORE, *El régimen según Galeno*, [in:] *Dieta Mediterránea...*, p. 91–101, especially 91–95.

⁸ On Oribasius’ life and activities, cf. B. BALDWIN, *The career of Oribasius*, AClas 18, 1975, p. 85–97; M. GRANT, *Oribasios and medical dietetics or the three ps*, [in:] *Food in antiquity...*, p. 368–379; K. ΓΕΩΡΓΑΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Ἀρχαῖοι Ἑλληνες ἰατροί*, Ἀθήνα 1998, p. 62–63; R. DE LUCIA, *Oreibasios v. Pergamon*, [in:] *Antike Medizin. Ein Lexikon*, ed. K.-H. Leven, München 2005, col. 660–661; M. KOKOSZKO, *Ryby i ich znaczenie w życiu codziennym ludzi późnego antyku i Bizancjum (IV–VII w.)*, Łódź 2005, p. 14–15; R. DE LUCIA, *Oribasio di Pergamo*, [in:] A. GARZYA, R. DE LUCIA, A. GUARDASOLE, A.M. IERACI BIO, M. LAMAGNA, R. ROMANO, *Medici byzantini. Oribasio di Pergamon. Aezio d’ Amida. Alessandro di Tralle. Paolo d’Egina. Leone medico*, Torino 2006, p. 21–29; V. NUTTON, *Ancient medicine...*, p. 295–296; K. JAGUSIAK, M. KOKOSZKO, *Życie i kariera Orybazjusza w świetle relacji źródłowych*, PNH 10. 1, 2011, p. 5–21; IDEM, *Pisma Orybazjusza jako źródło informacji o pożywieniu ludzi w późnym Cesarstwie Rzymskim*, VP 33, 2013, p. 339–357.

⁹ On the original number of 70 books cf. ORIBASIIUS, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium, Prologus*, 1, 1–3, [in:] *Oribasii synopsis ad Eustathium filium et libri ad Eunapium*, ed. I. RAEDER, Leipzig 1964 (cetera: ORIBASIIUS, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*); PAULUS AEGINETA, *Prooimion*, [in:] PAULUS AEGINETA, ed. I.L. HEIBERG, Leipzig–Berlin 1921, p. 4; PHOTIUS, *Bibliothèque*, ed. R. HENRY, vol. I–VIII, Paris 1959–1977, cod. 217, p. 180. *Liber Suda* in turn refers to 72 books of the *Collectiones medicae*, cf. *Suidae lexicon*, Ὀρειβάσιος, ο, 543, 3–4, ed. A. ADLER, vol. I–IV, Lipsiae 1928–1935.

Libri ad Eunapium. Moreover, he compiled a work on ancient drug-lore entitled the *Eclogae medicamentorum*. All of them contain a vast body of information on food and food-based medicaments, including bread, which was in Oribasius' times a staple in the Mediterranean¹⁰.

The production of bread goes far back in history, and archaeological findings from various parts of the Old World demonstrate that it was already known in the Neolithic era¹¹. In addition to other ways of processing cereal grains for consumption such as boiled soups and paps, the baking of the dough made of flour and water (kneaded together and left to bake in a high and constant temperature) was certainly one of the fundamental methods of food preparation in the Mediterranean region. Greek and Romans alike put a premium on bread (especially if made from wheat¹²) and referred to it as the most important of all basic foodstuffs, even though there must have been individual preferences, which today appear as entirely elusive¹³. Bread was still highly valued in late antiquity and the Byzantine period¹⁴. In the sphere of cultural and political influence of the Greek and Roman

¹⁰ Although the writings of Oribasius refer to breads produced from different cereals, for the purpose of the present discussion I decided to narrow our interest down to wheat bread, because it was the most extensively covered in the physician's medical theory and generally in doctrines of other medical authors. On the justification of the conclusion and other kinds of bread cf. M. KOKOSZKO, K. JAGUSIAK, Z. RZEŹNICKA, *Cereals of antiquity and early Byzantine times. Wheat and barley in medical sources (second to seventh centuries AD)*, transl. K. WODZIŃSKA, M. ZAKRZEWSKI, M. ZYTKA, Łódź 2014, *passim*; IDEM, *Dietetyka i sztuka kulinarna antyku i wczesnego Bizancjum (II–VII w.)*, cz. I, *Zboża i produkty zbożowe w źródłach medycznych antyku i wczesnego Bizancjum*, Łódź 2014.

¹¹ Cf. A. DALBY, *Food in the ancient world from A to Z*, London–New York 2003, p. 58–61; H. MCGEE, *On food and cooking. The science and lore in the kitchen*, New York 2004, p. 517.

¹² The available sources almost unambiguously indicate that the variety in greatest demand across the society was by far the common wheat bread (see the remaining part of the introduction). Greek and Roman civilisations knew also varieties made of other cereal species, but these were considerably less valued than wheat-based products, irrespective of individual consumer preferences, the impact of climate, soil, culinary and agricultural traditions on local communities, and economic factors. See: R. HUNTER, D. KOUKOZIKA, *Food in Greek literature*, [in:] *A companion to food in the ancient world*, ed. J. WILKINS, R. NADEAU, Malden, Mass.–Oxford 2015, p. 25. Over the centuries, bread produced on the basis of common wheat flour was becoming more popular than other varieties, see: PLINY, *Natural history*, XVIII, 14, 74, transl. H. RACKHAM, W.H.S. JONES, D.E. EICHHOLZ, vol. I–X, Cambridge, Mass. 1938–1963; M. LEIGH, *Food in Latin literature*, [in:] *A companion to food...*, p. 49.

¹³ N. JASNY, *The daily bread of the ancient Greeks and Romans*, *Osi* 9, 1950, p. 227–253; K.D. WHITE, *Cereals, bread and milling in the Roman world*, [in:] *Food in antiquity...*, p. 38–43; M. KOKOSZKO, K. JAGUSIAK, *Zboża Bizancjum. Kilka uwag na temat roli produktów zbożowych na podstawie źródeł greckich*, *ZW* 17, 2012, p. 34. Bread as an element of a merry, nourishing and peaceful feast was mentioned by Homer (HOMERUS, *Odyssea*, IX, 5–10, [in:] HOMERUS, *Homeric carmina*, ed. A. NAUCK, vol. II, Berolini 1874); later on it also appeared in artistic descriptions of imaginary worlds, ignorant of hunger and replete with lavishly prepared dishes – see R. HUNTER, D. KOUKOZIKA, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

¹⁴ A. DALBY, *Flavours of Byzantium*, Blackawton–Totnes 2003, p. 77–81; J. KODER, *Stew and salted meat – opulent normality in the diet of every day?*, [in:] *Eat, drink and be merry (Luke 12:19). Food and wine in Byzantium. In honour of Professor A.A.M. Bryer*, ed. L. BRUBAKER, K. LINARDOU, Aldershot,

civilisations, the consumption of bread grew steadily over the centuries and gradually prevailed over cereal soups and paps¹⁵. This process can be explained not only by the culinary preferences of consumers. Certainly, also other factors had their impact, including the unwaveringly positive opinion of medical writers concerning the beneficial qualities of most varieties of bread and the way in which they affect the human body (discussed further below) as well as the market ascendancy of cereal species suitable for the production of healthy and palatable high-quality bread (particularly common wheat)¹⁶. In the imperial period (also during the lifetime of Oribasius) the vast acreage of Roman Egypt and North Africa produced and exported such huge amounts of common wheat grain that wheat bread gradually ceased to be the preserve of the elite or of the inhabitants of the regions where this variety of wheat was traditionally cultivated¹⁷. However, other species such as barley, emmer wheat or millet continued to be the most basic cereal foodstuff for many people¹⁸.

Bread was a crucial product on the menu of the ancients and for this reason people in the time of Oribasius knew a significant number of its varieties, which may be categorised in several ways. In terms of the methods of production, bread could be baked in ash, in embers, on coals, in special ovens (*kribanon/klíbanon*), on spits, or in stoves (*ipnós*)¹⁹. It was based on various plants, such as common,

Hampshire 2007, p. 65–66; M.L. RAUTMAN, *The daily life of the Byzantine Empire*, Westport 2006, p. 46; M. KOKOSZKO, K. JAGUSIAK, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

¹⁵ See, for example, N. MORLEY, *Trade in classical antiquity*, Cambridge 2007, p. 38–39; M. KOKOSZKO, K. JAGUSIAK, Z. RZEŹNICKA, *Cereals of antiquity...*, p. 47–49; G. KRON, *Agriculture*, [in:] *A companion to food...*, p. 162; P. ERDKAMP, *Supplying cities*, [in:] *A companion to food...*, p. 184. It has to be noted that the inhabitants of rural areas in Asia Minor included *pyroi hefithoi* in their diet – it was a wheat-based pap, much more easy to make than bread, the production of which required considerable effort and was much more time-consuming; see GALEN, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, 498, 5 – 499, 1, KÜHN VI; M. KOKOSZKO, K. JAGUSIAK, Z. RZEŹNICKA, *Cereals of antiquity...*, p. 125–127.

¹⁶ Por. M. KOKOSZKO, K. JAGUSIAK, Z. RZEŹNICKA, *Cereals of antiquity...*, p. 37–39.

¹⁷ See G.E. RICKMAN, *The grain trade under the Roman Empire*, [in:] *The seaborne commerce of ancient Rome. Studies in history and archaeology*, ed. J.H. D'ARMS, E.C. KOPFF, Rome 1980, p. 261–275; D. KESSLER, P. TERMIN, *The organization of the grain trade in the early Roman Empire*, *ECHR* 60, 2007, p. 313–332; E. TENGSTROM, *Bread for the people. Studies of the corn-supply of Rome during the Late Empire*, Stockholm 1974, p. 14; P. ERDKAMP, *The grain market in the Roman Empire. A social, political and economic study*, Cambridge 2005, p. 207; M. KOKOSZKO, K. JAGUSIAK, Z. RZEŹNICKA, *Cereals of antiquity...*, p. 38–39; P. ERDKAMP, *Supplying cities...*, p. 184. See also R.J. FORBES, *Studies in ancient technology*, vol. III, Leiden 1965, p. 92.

¹⁸ On the diversity of cereal species well known and often eaten by ancient Mediterranean people see, for example J.R. HARLAN, *The origins of cereal agriculture in the Old World*, [in:] *Origins of agriculture*, ed. C.A. REED, the Hague–Paris 1977, p. 357–384; D. ZOHARY, M. HOPF, *Domestication of Plants in the Old World. The origin and spread of cultivated plants in West Asia, Europe and the Nile Valley*, Oxford 1993, p. 15–85.

¹⁹ A. CUBBERLEY, *Bread-baking in ancient Italy. Clibanus and sub testu in the Roman world: Further thoughts*, [in:] *Food in antiquity...*, p. 55–68; A. DALBY, *Food...*, p. 101; J. LIVERSIDGE, *Roman kitchens*

emmer, and einkorn wheat, barley, proso millet and other cereals, but also on flour produced from pulses or dates²⁰. Some varieties of bread involved the use of yeast in the process of preparing the dough²¹. Other categorisations are based on the type of flour (e.g. white, wholemeal, coarse milled, or unsifted), the additional ingredients used as flavouring (e.g. honey, poppy seed, flax seed, milk, pepper, olive oil) or, finally, the shape and size of loaves offered to consumers²².

There must have been a vast array of bread varieties available in late antiquity. Some of them were described in Greek and Roman medical literature. The treatises included in the Corpus Hippocraticum (5th c. BC and later) contained lists of wheat bread types distinguished by the quality of flour (dark and white), its coarseness, the use of yeast and the technology of baking (*ipnítai*, *kribanítai* and other)²³. Barley bread was also mentioned in those texts²⁴. The first century writer Dioscorides gave a long list of bread varieties; in addition to other cereal species used for production, wheat bread was divided into several categories (*setánios*, *katharós*, *semidalítes*, *synkomistós*)²⁵, some of which were seasoned with flavourings (salt

and cooking utensils, [in:] *The Roman cookery book. A critical translation of The art of cooking by Apicius for use in the study and in the kitchen*, ed. and transl. B. FLOWER, E. ROSENBAUM, London 1958, p. 29–38; B. SPARKES, *The Greek kitchen*, JHS 82, 1962, p. 121–137; IDEM, *The Greek kitchen: Addenda*, JHS 85, 1965, p. 162–163; D. THURMOND, *A handbook of food processing in classical Rome. For her bounty no winter*, Leiden–Boston 2006, p. 68–72.

²⁰ M. KOKOSZKO, K. JAGUSIAK, *op. cit.*, s. 36; I. ANAGNOSTAKIS, *The Loaves of the King and the Loaves of Cinderella. Byzantine Tales of Bread in Silk and in Ash*, [in:] ...come sa di sale lo pane altrui Il Pane di Matera e i Pani del Mediterraneo Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studio promosso dall'IBAM-CNR nell'ambito del Progetto MenSALe Matera, 5–7 Settembre 2014, ed. A. PELLETIERI, Foggia 2014, p. 117–118. M. KOKOSZKO, J. DYBAŁA, K. JAGUSIAK, Z. RZEŹNICKA, *Dieta mnichów syryjskich. Komentarz do terminu artos kachrydias (ἄρτος καχυδίας) w Historia religiosa Teodoretą z Cyru*, BPT 8. 3, 2015, p. 123–156. On breads made of alm dates and legumes and eaten especially by monks see, for example, Athenaei *Naucratisae dipnosophistarum libri XV*, III, 114 b–c (81, 1–7 KAIBEL), rec. G. KAIBEL, vol. I–III, Lipsiae–Berolini 1887–1890 (cetera: ATHENAEUS OF NAUCRATIS, *Deipnosophistae*); M. DEMBIŃSKA, *Diet: A comparison of food consumption between some Eastern and Western monasteries in the 4th–12th centuries*, B 55, 1985, p. 435, 438; S. BRALEWSKI, *Od obżarstwa do postu – praktykowanie wstrzemięźliwości od pokarmu przez chrześcijan do VII w.*, [in:] *Dietetyka i sztuka kulinarna antyku i wczesnego Bizancjum (II–VII w.)*, cz. II, *Pokarm dla ciała i ducha*, ed. M. KOKOSZKO, p. 504. Different kind of untasty bread eaten by monks was that made of common millet, see, for example, THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, II, 4, [in:] THÉODORET DE CYR, *Histoire des moines de Syrie*, vol. I–II, trad. P. CANIVET, A. LEROY-MOLINGHEN, Paris 1977–1979; M. KOKOSZKO, J. DYBAŁA, K. JAGUSIAK, Z. RZEŹNICKA, *Dieta mnichów syryjskich. Komentarz do terminu ospria (ὄσπρια) w Historia religiosa Teodoretą z Cyru*, BPT 7. 1, 2014, p. 118.

²¹ M. KOKOSZKO, K. JAGUSIAK, *op. cit.*, p. 36; I. ANAGNOSTAKIS, *op. cit.*, p. 115–116.

²² A treasure trove of relevant information can be found in Book III of *Deipnosophistae* by Athenaeus; ATHENAEUS OF NAUCRATIS, *Deipnosophistae*, III, 108 f – 116 a (73, 2 – 83, 37 KAIBEL).

²³ *Hippocratis de diaeta*, 40, 1–30; 42, 1–27, ed. R. JOLY, S. BYL, Berlin 2003 (cetera: *De diaeta*).

²⁴ *De diaeta*, 40, 10–30.

²⁵ For his views on wheat bread, see: *Pedanii Dioscuridis Anazarbei De materia medica libri V*, II, 85, 1, 7, ed. M. WELLMANN, vol. I–III, Berolini 1906–1914 (cetera: DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*)

or poppy seeds)²⁶, also depending on the type of wheat (einkorn²⁷, emmer²⁸, or spelt²⁹). Galen, who wrote over a century later (2nd/3rd c. AD), asserted that bread is the most common staple³⁰. In his view, common wheat bread was dominant in cities (and was hailed as being the best of all kinds of bread), while other wheat varieties along with other cereal species were used for baking in rural areas³¹. The doctor described the production process, beginning with the selection of grain for milling and the properties of well-kneaded dough³², and discussed in more detail the basic kinds of bread. In his account, the wheat bread varieties were divided into white (made of the most refined flour) and dark (made of flour with bran and other impurities³³; in his view, the best of these was *silignites*, followed by *semidalites*, and inferior varieties arranged according to the decrease in quality: *autopyrós* / *synkomistós*, *ryparós*, and *pityriás*³⁴). Coarse and rough flour (*chondrites*) was also in use³⁵. Galen mentioned also einkorn wheat bread, which was particularly delicious when still warm³⁶, brittle emmer wheat bread³⁷, and spelt bread, particularly popular in the countryside³⁸. Other varieties referred to in his work included bread made from barley (of various classes depending on the purity of the flour, in the same way as in the case of common wheat)³⁹, millet and foxtail millet (used as a last resort, especially in villages)⁴⁰, or rye (known for its rather unsavoury taste and smell, produced by some rural communities in Thrace and Macedonia)⁴¹.

(*setánios*); *De materia medica*, II, 85, 1, 7 (*katharós*); *De materia medica*, II, 85, 1, 5 (*semidalites*); *De materia medica*, II, 85, 1, 6 (*synkomistós*).

²⁶ DIOSCURIDES, *De materia medica*, II, 85, 2, 7; IV, 64, 1, 1–8.

²⁷ DIOSCURIDES, *De materia medica*, II, 89, 1, 3–4.

²⁸ *Dioscuridis Peri haplon farmakon*, II, 89, 1, 3–4, [in:] *Pedanii Dioscuridis Anazarbei De materia medica libri quaque*, ed. M. WELLMANN, vol. I–III, Berolini 1914.

²⁹ DIOSCURIDES, *De materia medica*, II, 91, 1, 2.

³⁰ GALEN, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, 493, 14–16, KÜHN VI.

³¹ Por. GALEN, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, 486, 1–5, KÜHN VI; 518, 4–8, KÜHN VI.

³² GALEN, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, 480, 14 – 482, 4, KÜHN VI; see also *Galenus De victu attenuante*, 33, 1 – 34, 1, ed. K. KALBFLEISCH, Leipzig–Berlin 1923.

³³ GALEN, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, 482, 13–15, KÜHN VI.

³⁴ GALEN, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, 484, 1–4, KÜHN VI; na temat Galenowej klasyfikacji por. też M. KOKOSZKO, J. DYBAŁA, K. JAGUSIAK, Z. RZEŹNICKA, *Chleb nieodpowiedni dla chrześcijan: moralne zalecenia Klemensa Aleksandryjskiego w konfrontacji z naukowymi ustaleniami Galena*, VP 35, 2015, p. 274–280.

³⁵ GALEN, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, 496, 14–16, KÜHN VI.

³⁶ GALEN, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, 518, 15, KÜHN VI.

³⁷ GALEN, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, 517, 3, KÜHN VI.

³⁸ GALEN, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, 517, 7–9, KÜHN VI.

³⁹ GALEN, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, 504, 5 – 506, 13, KÜHN VI.

⁴⁰ GALEN, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, 523, 10–11; see also Galeni in Hippocratis de victu acutorum commentaria libri IV, 876, 1 – 2, Galen, *In Hippocratis de victu acutorum commentaria*, 876, 1–2, KÜHN XII.

⁴¹ GALEN, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, 514, 14, KÜHN VI.

He also made a distinction with regard to the use of yeast and asserted that the varieties which did not involve its use in production were ultimately inferior⁴². Other distinctions were made on the basis of technology⁴³.

The text in hand will focus exclusively on the work of Oribasius, which may serve as particularly useful source material to illustrate the theory and practice of late antique and early Byzantine doctors with regard to the use of foodstuffs (with an emphasis on bread) in medicine and their dietary prescriptions for preserving or restoring health.

Culinary information on bread

As for the information on the culinary aspect of bread preparation, Oribasius based his writings on excerpts made from the works of Dieuches (IVth c. BC)⁴⁴, Athenaeus of Attaleia (Ist c. AD)⁴⁵, Antyllus (IInd c. AD)⁴⁶ and Galen (IInd c. AD), while the first and the last of the enumerated authors provide the bulk of the most informative data. However, Galen's prevailing input into the ancient research into bread is underscored by the fact that Oribasius' teachings on the foodstuff follow the pattern imposed by the doctor from Pergamum both doctrinally as well as structurally. Consequently, other authors were introduced only and exclusively to supplement Galen's doctrines.

It is worth noting that Oribasius is fairly precise as far as *termini technici* describing the food are concerned. He enumerates almost all kinds of bread known to Galen with the exception of *ártos ázymos*⁴⁷, i.e. unleavened bread, though he was well aware of the differences between leavened and unleavened bread. Thanks to his having made excerpts of the works of Athenaeus of Attaleia, Oribasius also precisely distinguished the term *ártos silignítes*, i.e. common wheat bread⁴⁸ from

⁴² GALEN, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, 485, 4 – 487, 10, KÜHN VI.

⁴³ GALEN, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, 489, 8 – 490, 1, KÜHN VI.

⁴⁴ On Dieuches' life see M. WELLMANN, *Dieuches* (3), [in:] *RE*, Bd. V, Stuttgart 1905, col. 480.

⁴⁵ On Athenaeus' life see M. WELLMANN, *Athenaios aus Attalia*, [in:] *RE*, Bd. II, Stuttgart 1896, col. 2034–2036; E. KULF, *Untersuchungen zu Athenaios von Attaleia. Ein Beitrag zur antiken Diätetik*, Göttingen 1970, *passim*; V. NUTTON, *Athenaeus* (6), [in:] *Brill's New Pauly. Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World*, vol. II, Leiden–Boston 2003, col. 244–245; K.-H. LEVEN, *Athenaios v. Attaleia*, [in:] *Antike Medizin. Ein Lexikon*, hrsg. K.-H. LEVEN, München 2005, col. 119–120.

⁴⁶ On Antyllus' life see A.M. IERACI BIO, *Antyllos*, [in:] *Antike Medizin...*, col. 62–63; V. NUTTON, *Antyllus*, [in:] *Brill's New Pauly...*, vol. I, Leiden–Boston 2002, col. 810–811.

⁴⁷ There is only the general term *ázymon pémma*, which may – but does not have to – concern unleavened bread – *Oribasii collectionum medicarum reliquiae*, I, 7, 3, 1–2; III, 3, 1, 3, ed. I. RAEDER, vol. I–IV, Lipsiae–Berolini 1928–1933 (cetera: ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*). In any case, the deliberations that we find in Oribasius' writings provide us with information considerably more limited than those surviving in the works of Galen.

⁴⁸ For example – ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, III, 13, 5, 1. This bread was also known as *aleurites*.

ártos semidalítes, i.e. durum wheat bread⁴⁹. Moreover, he borrowed from Antyllus and used correctly the term *ártos zymítes*, i.e. leavened bread⁵⁰, which was absent from Galen's treatises.

It is also worth mentioning that Oribasius provides us with two pieces of additional information on *ártos plytós*, i.e. light bread⁵¹, which are absent from Galen's treatises. First, and thanks to the information he borrowed from Antyllus⁵², he informs the reader that properly prepared *ártos plytós* is made from painstakingly purified *trimeniaíos*, i.e. three-month, wheat⁵³. Second, it is also interesting to note that Antyllus wrote that *ártos plytós* was eaten not only in solid form, but also soaked or cooked in water⁵⁴. The latter dish was, however, recommended first and foremost for the ill⁵⁵.

What is more, Oribasius' writings also contain references to *ártos dípyros*⁵⁶. This term was used to describe twice-baked bread, i.e. hard biscuits (rusks), usually intended for prolonged storage as a food provision. Not much can be said about its features, however, for it was mentioned only once⁵⁷. Let us add that we are indebted for this information to Athenaeus of Attaleia⁵⁸.

As for the technology of producing and baking bread Oribasius preserves two main versions of teachings. The main body of information on bread was taken by Oribasius from Galen's works and constitutes a chapter included in Book I of the *Collectiones medicae*, entitled *Perí ártion pyrínon*. It was written on the basis of the *De alimentorum facultatibus*, but Oribasius' version of Galen's teachings is heavily abridged.

The author of the *Collectiones medicae* started by noting that healthy bread, by which he understood (just like the doctor of Pergamum) *ártos pyrínos*, is made with a large quantity of yeast (*zýme*) and salt (*halés*). It must be very well kneaded before baking in an evenly heated portable *kribanon* oven. The taste of bread dough indicates whether the appropriate amount of the abovementioned ingredients was utilised, while an unpleasant gustatory sensation reveals the food's harmful characteristic in respect to the body.

⁴⁹ For example – ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, III, 13, 6, 1.

⁵⁰ ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, IV, 11, 2, 5.

⁵¹ Cf. K. JAGUSIAK, M. KOKOSZKO, Z. RZEŹNICKA, *Cakes and breads in Oribasius' Collectiones medicae*, SPP 25. 1, 2015, p. 131.

⁵² ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, IV, 11, 1. 1 – 14, 4.

⁵³ ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, IV, 11, 2, 2–3.

⁵⁴ ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, IV, 11, 1, 3 – 2, 1.

⁵⁵ ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, IV, 11, 1, 1. The information agrees with Dieuches' prescriptions concerning bread in general. Compare below.

⁵⁶ Cf. K. JAGUSIAK, M. KOKOSZKO, Z. RZEŹNICKA, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

⁵⁷ ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 9, 2, 2–3.

⁵⁸ ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 9, 1, 1 – 3, 3.

Having finished that part of his treatise, Oribasius goes on to describe *ártos plytós*⁵⁹. The selected thoughts borrowed from Galen's deliberations are structured so that the description could prove that it is a variety which, though also prepared in the above-presented way, is very different from regular *pýros* bread owing to its lightness and very limited nutritional properties.

As regards the division of breads according to the baking method, Emperor Julian's friend and physician underlined the fact that Galen had distinguished the following bread categories. The best were *kribanítai*. *Ipnítai* breads, i.e. the ones obtained from a regular bread oven, and they came second since they tended to bake not as evenly as *kribanítai*, and could remain uncooked inside. Third were the kinds baked on the *eschára*, i.e. a hearth, (and for this reason referred to generally as *escharítai*). The last were *enkryphíai* breads, which were subject to the procedure of baking directly in the ashes. Both the latter two varieties were dietetically inadvisable, since they tended to burn on the outside while their inside had a tendency to stay raw⁶⁰.

Oribasius also alluded to the fact that according to Galen the second position after *ártoi pýrinoi* was held by those types of bread produced from spelt, i.e. *ártoi olýrinoi*, provided they were produced from a good quality *ólyra* grain. The last in the line were loaves obtained from einkorn flour, which were termed *ártoi tífinoi*⁶¹.

A supplement to those teachings can be found in book IV of the *Collectiones medicae*, namely in the chapter *Ek tón Galénou, perí paraskeués trofón*⁶², which contains a passage on wheat products, including bread⁶³. It is important, because it preserves some supplementary information missing from the chapter inserted in book I of Oribasius' *opus magnum*. First and foremost the passage enumerates and cursorily discusses three other bread varieties known to Galen, we mean *ártos synkomistós* (also known as *ártos autópyros*), i.e. wholemeal bread, *ártos rhyparós*, that is black bread, and *ártos pityrítēs*, i.e. bran bread. Second, the fragment describes differences in their production, especially addressing the amount of yeast and laboriousness of the kneading involved in bread production. Accordingly, we learn that the whiter the bread, the more leaven and kneading it required.

The other body of data concerning recipes for bread comes from Dieuches' works. However, there are no particularly significant differences between the two Oribasius' authorities, with the exception of one single aspect, namely the issue of the best method of baking. The remaining views and opinions of both physicians are more or less concordant.

⁵⁹ Cf. K. JAGUSIAK, M. KOKOSZKO, Z. RZEŹNICKA, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

⁶⁰ Cf. K. JAGUSIAK, M. KOKOSZKO, Z. RZEŹNICKA, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

⁶¹ ORIBASIVS, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 8, 1, 1 – 6, 3; cf. K. JAGUSIAK, M. KOKOSZKO, Z. RZEŹNICKA, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

⁶² ORIBASIVS, *Collectiones medicae*, IV, 1, 1 – 45, 2.

⁶³ ORIBASIVS, *Collectiones medicae*, IV, 3, 1 – 6, 4.

As for details, Dieuches advised that wheat bread should be made from a flour that does not have an excessive sticky character, and with a small quantity of leaven, which by the bye has a pleasant taste, so that the dough achieved through the process of prolonged kneading would be fairly solid⁶⁴.

As for thermal processing, Dieuches preferred the baking of bread in an *ipnós* to producing the food in a *kribanon*. He also alluded to an *ámes* as an oven excellent for that purpose. The physician maintained that he postulated such an option for the reason that the process of making bread in an *ipnós* (and in an *ámes*, i.e. a cake oven) takes a fairly long time, and bread therein is subject to a temperature that is not excessively high, and, as a result, loaves are not burnt on the outside⁶⁵.

Ártos obtained from a *kribanon*, as he opined, is in turn drier than that from an *ipnós* and, although tastier, baking it in this device is risky, for the crust of bread burns quickly, whereas the interior remains raw⁶⁶.

Subsequently, not having mentioned *escharítai*, he proceeded direct to *enkryphíai*. The physician evaluated them as the driest. As for the technology of preparing the food, he stated that its production requires much fuel as well as an appropriate type of wheat. As far as the fuel is concerned, he wrote that it is indispensable to ensure the appropriate quantity of charcoal in order to obtain a large amount of ash, and this aspect of the process is laborious. Moreover, the dough for this purpose has to be kneaded using *áleuron* flour, and not *semídalís*. Furthermore, the pastry has to be less solid than that used for bread processed in a *kribanon*, and this is so, since *enkryphías* bread is baked by placing and covering it in the (still burning) ashes (which, as we interpret the words, leads to a greater loss of moisture). This method causes scorching (mainly on the surface) and that is why the loaf thus obtained is the driest of all known varieties. Finally, Dieuches introduced in the text his dietetic recommendations, stating that *enkryphías* is good for those whose alimentary tract is characteristic of an excess of water and therefore inefficient in digesting, and whose intestines accumulate phlegm (*phlégma*)⁶⁷.

Wheat bread was recommended by Dieuches not only as a solid food. As a consequence, he provides a cornucopia of data concerning its utilisation in the preparation of liquid dishes, prescribed first and foremost for the seriously ill (because such food was considered to be much easier to consume and assimilate by them). Judging by the number of references to this subject, the procedure was often profited from in numerous therapies, and the method was used not only to transform bread, but also all other types of cereal foodstuffs. They were cooked in pure water, in a meat (for instance, lamb) broth, or in other types of stock⁶⁸.

⁶⁴ ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, IV, 5, 1, 1 – 2, 1.

⁶⁵ ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, IV, 5, 2, 1–4.

⁶⁶ ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, IV, 5, 3, 1–2.

⁶⁷ ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, IV, 5, 4, 1 – 6, 3.

⁶⁸ ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, IV, 7, 10, 3–5.

Although, as for bread, Dieuches maintained that the highest nutritional value is provided by warm, crumbled, and previously soaked loaves⁶⁹, further on in his text he also postulated the boiling of any type of the foodstuff, whether baked with leaven (or not), dry, or fresh⁷⁰.

As regards further recipe details, he wrote that bread should first be soaked, then crushed, and finally strained through a cloth. To the liquid thus obtained one could add roasted wild cucumber seeds, almonds, pine nuts, rowanberries, anise or fennel, and pour some *melikraton*⁷¹.

It is interesting that, from time to time, and just as in modern cookbooks, in the text of the *Collectiones medicae* we can suddenly bump into detailed information referring to the proportions of individual ingredients. For example, for the feverish, the author recommended boiling ten drachms of dried, previously pulverised and subsequently soaked bread in two *kotylai* of water, and informs us that the thus obtained *rhóphema* was mixed with almonds or cucumber seeds⁷². In the next recipe we read that bread was first pounded into grains of the size of *semídalís* flour or to the size of *chón-dros*, subsequently soaked for a short time, and then ten drachms of these bread groats were boiled in three *hemikotylai* of water. The final product was a soup or a gruel, served with honey or other additives⁷³.

Dietetic evaluations of bread

Oribasius' writings also retained a wealth of data on the dietetic aspect of bread, while his main doctrines constitute a derivative of the earlier deliberations penned by Antyllus and Dieuches.

Wheat bread was first and foremost very nutritious (and the quality resulted from the fact that it was obtained from a cereal that represented the same characteristic, i.e. *pyrós*), but it could have different qualities depending on the variety of wheat from which it was produced. The best in terms of its nutritional value was *ártos silignítes*, i.e. a white bread prepared from *sitánios* flour⁷⁴. Second in terms of its nutritive value was *ártos semídalítes*, while the third place was allotted to *ártos synkomistós*. Since the abovementioned classification was consistently included not only in his *Collectiones medicae*⁷⁵ but also both in *Synopsis ad Eustathium*

⁶⁹ ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, IV, 7, 3, 2–3.

⁷⁰ ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, IV, 7, 10, 2.

⁷¹ ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, IV, 7, 13, 1 – 14, 4.

⁷² ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, IV, 7, 36, 1–4.

⁷³ ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, IV, 7, 37, 1–4.

⁷⁴ Cf. M. DECKER, *Tilling the Hateful Earth. Agricultural production and trade in the late antique East*, Oxford 2011, p. 97, wherein this type of bread is also considered as being the best.

⁷⁵ ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, III, 13, 5, 1 – 6, 1. The chapter concerning products classified as nutritious – ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, III, 13, 1, 1 – 13, 2.

*filium*⁷⁶ as well as *Libri ad Eunapium*⁷⁷, it was undoubtedly representative of doctrines accepted by the author.

As for the most distinctive features of the best quality white bread, a full characterisation was included in the those parts of Oribasius' treatises, which contain dietetic categories. Accordingly we learn that *kribanítes*⁷⁸ was allowed in the thinning diet, i.e. *leptýnousa díaita*⁷⁹, and that this recommendation is a consequence of the inclusion of wheat bread in the class of foods whose features are between those causing the generation of thick juices and contributing to their dilution⁸⁰.

In addition, carefully prepared *ártos katharós* was characterised by good juices and also caused their generation in the body, and for this reason it was mentioned in the chapter enumerating *eúchyma*, i.e. foodstuffs generating good bodily humours⁸¹. Moreover, Oribasius referred to well-kneaded and properly baked wheat *ártos* amongst substances that were easily digestible⁸². Finally, bread was assessed as a warming food, and this characteristic is evidenced in the third book of the *Collectiones medicae*, subsequently in the *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, and ultimately in the work dedicated to Eunapius⁸³. All of these findings are concordant with Galen's tradition, for in essence they constitute a repetition of his theses included in the *De alimentorum facultatibus* and other works.

A variety of *katharós* bread was the so-called *ártos plytós*. When describing this foodstuff, Oribasius made use of the writings and doctrines of both Galen and Antyllus. As regards the qualities of this bread interpreted by the former writer⁸⁴, one cannot observe any deviation from the doctrines of the medical doctor

⁷⁶ ORIBASIVS, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, IV, 12, 6, 1–2. The chapter concerning products classified as nutritious – ORIBASIVS, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, IV, 12, 1, 1 – 15, 2.

⁷⁷ *Oribasii Libri ad Eunapium*, I, 29, 1, 1 – 15, 2 (light bread – I, 29, 6, 1 – 7, 1), [in:] *Oribasii synopsis ad Eustathium filium et libri ad Eunapium*, ed. I. RAEDER, vol. VI, 3, Leipzig 1964 (cetera: ORIBASIVS, *Libri ad Eunapium*).

⁷⁸ ORIBASIVS, *Collectiones medicae*, III, 2, 5, 2–3.

⁷⁹ ORIBASIVS, *Collectiones medicae*, III, 2, 1, 1 – 26, 2.

⁸⁰ ORIBASIVS, *Collectiones medicae*, III, 4, 1, 1–14 (wheat bread – III, 4, 1, 1); ORIBASIVS, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, IV, 3, 1, 1–15 (wheat bread – IV, 3, 1, 1); ORIBASIVS, *Libri ad Eunapium*, I, 20, 1, 1–14 (wheat bread – I, 20, 1, 1).

⁸¹ ORIBASIVS, *Collectiones medicae*, III, 15, 1, 1 – 22, 3 (wheat bread – III, 15, 18, 1); ORIBASIVS, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, IV, 14, 1, 1 – 21, 3 (wheat bread – IV, 14, 17, 1); ORIBASIVS, *Libri ad Eunapium*, I, 32, 1, 1 – 15, 3 (wheat bread – I, 32, 11, 1 – 12, 1).

⁸² ORIBASIVS, *Collectiones medicae*, III, 17, 1, 1 – 11, 1 (wheat bread – III, 17, 1, 1); ORIBASIVS, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, IV, 16, 1, 1 – 11, 1 (wheat bread – IV, 16, 1, 1); ORIBASIVS, *Libri ad Eunapium*, I, 34, 1, 1 – 11, 2 (wheat bread – I, 34, 1, 1).

⁸³ ORIBASIVS, *Collectiones medicae*, III, 31, 1, 1 – 8, 3 (wheat bread – III, 31, 1, 1); ORIBASIVS, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, IV, 31, 1, 1 – 8, 4 (wheat bread – IV, 31, 1, 1); ORIBASIVS, *Libri ad Eunapium*, I, 47, 1, 1–9 (wheat bread – I, 47, 1, 1).

⁸⁴ ORIBASIVS, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 8, 3, 1 – 4, 1.

of Pergamum⁸⁵. Therefore, we shall not return to them. Additionally, the most prominent characteristics of this kind of bread taken from Galen's writings are present in the lists of foodstuffs collected by Oribasius according to their predominant dietetic qualities. *Ártos plytós* was therefore mentioned in the third book of the *Collectiones medicae* as one of the foods displaying features that were intermediate between warming and cooling⁸⁶, and an identical characterisation may be found in other treatises⁸⁷. Finally, light bread is included in Oribasius' category of foods that give the body little nourishment⁸⁸.

As for Antyllus' discussion, he described the action of the said cereal product in his work *Perí boethemáton*, in the fragment on the food appropriate for those who suffer from frequent ailments⁸⁹. There we can read that such people should consume food that easily ripens in their stomachs, is easily assimilated, but not excessively nutritious, and in addition readily excreted from the body through perspiration. Other kinds, and especially if they were to remain in the body for an extended period of time, would lead to a fever. Since, once the bodily temperature had been morbidly raised, Antyllus prescribed *ártos plytós* boiled to a pulp in water, one can conclude that it was exactly that kind which satisfied all of the conditions enumerated above⁹⁰.

Ártos synkomistós did not receive a proper and separate dietetic characterisation in any work penned by the Emperor Julian's friend. However, from the doctrines of Galen borrowed by Oribasius it is clear that it was in between the qualities of white and bran bread. Accordingly, it was fairly nutritious, quite easily digested and contributed fairly efficiently to the production of good quality humours.

On the other hand, Oribasius makes remarks referring to black bread. The author stressed only one of dietetic features. Namely, he mentioned that *ártos rhyparós*, differed considerably *in minus* in terms of nutritive value from *katharós*. Therefore, he specified its limited nutritional value products first in his *Collectiones medicae*, and subsequently in the work dedicated to his son, and the one compiled for Eunapius⁹¹.

⁸⁵ They were cursorily mention in our discussion of *res coquinaria* concerning bread.

⁸⁶ ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, III, 32, 1, 1 – 12, 3 (light bread – III, 32, 12, 2).

⁸⁷ ORIBASIUS, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, IV, 32, 1, 1 – 13, 2 (light bread – IV, 32, 13, 1–20; ORIBASIUS, *Libri ad Eunapium*, I, 48, 1, 1 – 7, 3 (light bread – I, 48, 7, 1–2).

⁸⁸ ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, III, 14, 1, 1 – 13, 3 (light bread – III, 14, 7, 2); ORIBASIUS, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, IV, 13, 1, 1 – 12, 4 (light bread – IV, 13, 6, 2); ORIBASIUS, *Libri ad Eunapium*, I, 30, 1, 1 – 8, 2 (light bread – I, 30, 6, 2).

⁸⁹ ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, IV, 11, 1, 1 – 14, 4.

⁹⁰ ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, IV, 11, 1, 1 – 2, 1.

⁹¹ ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, III, 14, 1, 1 – 13, 3 (black bread – III, 14, 7, 2); ORIBASIUS, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, IV, 13, 1, 1 – 12, 4 (black bread – IV, 13, 6, 1–2); ORIBASIUS, *Libri ad Eunapium*, I, 30, 1, 1 – 8, 2 (black bread – I, 30, 6, 2).

The dietetic properties of the bread known as *pityrites* are described in the physician's writings in somewhat greater detail. The author emphasised three of its most important qualities. The first was its limited nutritional value⁹². The second constituted its purgative strength⁹³. The third was its action stimulating the generation of black bile⁹⁴.

Unfortunately, Oribasius' works lack a separate characterisation of unleavened bread. Having in mind the logic of his doctrine, one may, however, conclude that its qualities were the opposite of those attributed to *ártos katharós*.

In turn, *ártos chondrites*, since it was made from *chóndros*, had the same qualities as the groats. It was therefore considered highly nutritious, but also one that is slow and difficult to pass through the alimentary tract⁹⁵.

Finally, information included in Oribasius' writings teaches the reader that the nutritional value of bread was determined by the difference in baking techniques used in its making, with *ártoi* made in the *kribanon* or *ipnós* being presented as the most wholesome, while those subject to thermal processing on the *eschára* and in the ashes were evaluated as inferior.

Medical applications of bread

Starting our reflections on different therapeutic uses of bread, it is worth noting that the texts of Oribasius do not contain a single prohibition on the consumption of the foodstuff in any prescribed cure. This stems from the fact that the product was generally classified as contributing to the health of its consumers. As a result, it was appropriate for any diet including even those which were designed for the naturally prone to frailty due to their advanced age⁹⁶.

The recommendation to consume wheat bread may, however, be encountered not only in the diets prescribed to those who were already well-past their prime. For instance, the white variety baked in the *ipnós* (due to the fact that it retained more moisture than other kinds) was recommended by Ruphus of Ephesus (I c.) in his chapter (preserved in the *Collectiones medicae*) on foods to be consumed in order to lead a satisfying sexual life, since such foodstuffs better contributed

⁹² ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, III, 14, 1, 1 – 13, 3 (*pityrites* – III, 14, 7, 1); ORIBASIIUS, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, IV, 13, 1, 1 – 12, 4 (*pityrites* – IV, 13, 6, 1); ORIBASIIUS, *Libri ad Eunapium*, I, 30, 1, 1 – 8, 2 (*pityrites* – I, 30, 6, 1–2).

⁹³ ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, III, 29, 1, 1 – 22, 2 (*pityrites* – III, 29, 4, 1); ORIBASIIUS, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, IV, 28, 1, 1 – 27, 2 (*pityrites* – IV, 28, 5, 1); ORIBASIIUS, *Libri ad Eunapium*, I, 45, 1, 1 – 17, 1 (*pityrites* – I, 45, 5, 1).

⁹⁴ ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, III, 9, 1, 1 – 2, 5 (*pityrites* – III, 9, 2, 2–3); ORIBASIIUS, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, IV, 8, 1, 1 – 2, 5 (*pityrites* – IV, 8, 2, 2–3); ORIBASIIUS, *Libri ad Eunapium*, I, 25, 1, 1 – 2, 4 (*pityrites* – I, 25, 2, 2).

⁹⁵ ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, I, 5, 2, 1–2.

⁹⁶ For example – ORIBASIIUS, *Libri ad Eunapium*, I, 11, 1, 1 – 19, 3 (bread – I, 11, 4, 2).

to bodily humidity (which, apart from warmth) was the prerequisite for intensive sexual intercourse (and typically characteristic of young persons)⁹⁷.

In the part of our discussion of *res coquinaria* concerning bread we alluded to the fact that bread was often recommended to be served both solid, moistened, and transformed into a soup. Much was written on the subject by Dieuches and a lot was also explained by Antyllus⁹⁸. We have already pointed to the latter's information on the preparation of *ártos plytós* for the ill. In turn, since *semidalítes* was classified as having too strong an effect on the seriously and chronically ailing, it was indispensable to select stale and well-leavened bread of this kind, and scoop the inside of a loaf, which subsequently had to be thoroughly moistened with warm water (for the hard crust is too difficult to eat and digest). The bread should be soaked until its volume increases and the yeast is washed out (which one can learn the moment when it loses the smell of leaven)⁹⁹. We should surmise that the described practice was considered to be therapeutically effective, for Oribasius returns to the doctrines of Antyllus in *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*¹⁰⁰.

The treatises of Oribasius clearly prove that in the medical science of the fourth century, bread was not only an important element of medicinal diets, but also an ingredient of numerous medications. Such applications are so numerous that it is best to resort to just a few examples. For instance, in the chapter concerning clysters¹⁰¹, which contains Ruphus' of Ephesus teachings, Oribasius included a concoction (*aphépsēma*) from bread¹⁰² amongst the group of enemas with a mild action (*hapaloí klystéres*)¹⁰³. From the text we learn that bread clysters were generally obtained by means of boiling it, and had a certain nutritive action. We are also informed that they were used (once the intestines had been purified of excrement) for persons with severe crises brought about by paralysis and cardiac problems (as these patients usually have problems with food assimilation and their intestines are blocked with the products of metabolism)¹⁰⁴.

It should be added that bread was also used to prepare therapeutic gargles. For example, when a patient suffered from sore throat and the illness led to the formation of painful eruptions in the throat (*anadorá*), it was recommended to wash the throat with warm liquor left over from soaking bread (*apóbregma*)¹⁰⁵.

⁹⁷ ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, VI, 38, 1, 1 – 30, 5 (qualities of the bread – VI, 38, 15, 5–6); humidity and warmth – VI, 38, 9, 1–2).

⁹⁸ ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, IV, 11, 1, 1 – 14, 4.

⁹⁹ ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, IV, 11, 2, 3 – 3, 1.

¹⁰⁰ ORIBASIUS, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, IV, 37, 1, 1 – 9, 2 (wetting of the stale bread and removal of yeast – IV, 37, 2, 1 – 4, 1).

¹⁰¹ ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, VIII, 24, 1, 1 – 39, 3.

¹⁰² ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, VIII, 24, 1, 4.

¹⁰³ ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, VIII, 24, 1, 2 – 3, 1.

¹⁰⁴ ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, VIII, 24, 13, 1 – 14, 2.

¹⁰⁵ ORIBASIUS, *Eclogae medicamentorum*, 35, 1, 1 – 4, 6 (liquor – 35, 1, 6).

Bread, however, is discussed first and foremost as an ingredient of poultices, and Oribasius' treatises preserve a cornucopia of information on their composition and applications. The said medicinal substance was so significant in his times that bread cataplasms received a separate chapter in the *Collectiones medicae*¹⁰⁶, which was excerpted from the writings of Lycus (I c. BC)¹⁰⁷. Accordingly, bread poultices were thought to act effectively against a variety of inflammations¹⁰⁸, and were prepared in a great many varieties. The author commenced their listing by stating that such medicaments may be obtained by adding some rose oil to bread soaked in cold water. Such medicines were regarded as effective in the treatment of conditions similar to erysipelas (*erysipelas*)¹⁰⁹. Another recipe provided for the soaking of bread in *oxykraton*, and the poultice was supposed to be even more efficient in its healing action for the said ailment than the former¹¹⁰. A bread cataplasm could also be made by dipping the foodstuff in hot water and adding olive oil, while the medicament was thought to soften inflammations which brought about swellings that occurred without suppuration¹¹¹. Continuing his text, the physician remarked that butter can be substituted for olive oil with no harm to the curative properties of the medicine whatsoever¹¹². In turn, another kind of cataplasm was produced as follows. Bread was mixed with water into a liquid form, to which olive oil or butter was added, and the gruel was boiled until it acquired the appropriate thickness¹¹³. The medication was considered a very good drug for the treatment of inflammations brought about by physical injury (since it facilitated the excretion of pus from ulcerated wounds)¹¹⁴, moreover, (with some tar addition) it could have beneficial effects on tendon contusion, and finally was appropriate in gout treatment¹¹⁵. Another method of preparing bread cataplasms was based on pulverising the inside of a loaf to the consistency of *áleuron* flour. The powder thus obtained was mixed with honey and a small quantity of water¹¹⁶, and subsequently boiled to the appropriate thickness to be ultimately enriched with some olive oil¹¹⁷.

¹⁰⁶ ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, IX, 26, 1, 1 – 10, 3.

¹⁰⁷ On Lycus life see E. KIND, *Lykos* (51), [in:] *RE*, Bd. XIII, 2, Stuttgart 1927, col. 2407–2408; A. TOWWAIDE, *Lycus* (10), [in:] *Brill's New Pauly...*, vol. VII, Leiden–Boston 2005, col. 938–939.

¹⁰⁸ ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, IX, 26, 1, 2.

¹⁰⁹ ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, IX, 26, 1, 2 – 2, 1.

¹¹⁰ ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, IX, 26, 2, 1 – 3, 1.

¹¹¹ ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, IX, 26, 3, 1 – 4, 1.

¹¹² ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, IX, 26, 4, 1–2.

¹¹³ ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, IX, 26, 5, 1–3.

¹¹⁴ ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, IX, 26, 5, 3 – 6, 1.

¹¹⁵ ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, IX, 26, 6, 1 – 8, 1.

¹¹⁶ ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, IX, 26, 9, 1 – 10, 1.

¹¹⁷ ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, IX, 26, 8, 1–5.

Such poultices were said to cure *hypochôndria* ailments¹¹⁸. we should also remark that an analogous passage concerning the nature of bread poultices is repeated in his *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*¹¹⁹.

Conclusion

In conclusion, we would like to underline the fact that medical sources, including the treatises penned by Oribasius, constitute a vast body of information on bread as food and medicine, which, in turn, is part of an ancient system of medical knowledge.

Oribasius' interest in food resulted from the doctrine adopted by all ancient and later medical doctors who used to treat any foodstuff as both a provider of nutrients as well as a factor that shapes the internal balance of the human body. The adoption of the view led to the development of dietetics which worked out a cohesive system of evaluation of foodstuffs according to their most important features, and categorising methods of food preparation able to modify its properties in line with individual health requirements. Therefore those who practised and theorised on medicine started to become interested in and had to be knowledgeable about the art of food preparation, i.e. gastronomy. So did Oribasius as a faithful follower of the ancient, particularly Galenic, tradition.

As a result, the medical theory (and also that presented by the Emperor Julian's friend) is much richer than mere dietetic deliberations and also refers to the state of food production (I mean the range of foodstuffs produced by the agriculture of the period and methods of their production) and food processing techniques (that is methods utilised in order to preserve a foodstuff or transform it into a dish), which were both thought to have an impact upon the quality of foodstuffs prescribed by the doctor to his patients as well those included in composed medicaments. The resulting output, as it has been demonstrated, is a readily available corpus of material, which still waits to be analysed, not only by historians of medicine (first of all dieticians, bromatologists and pharmacologists), but also by those interested in food history, ancient and medieval economy historians, as well as those researching the history of society.

It is to be hoped that in the very near future the resources of information will be subject to even more thorough research on a wider scale.

¹¹⁸ ORIBASIVS, *Collectiones medicae*, IX, 26, 8, 5 – 9, 1.

¹¹⁹ ORIBASIVS, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, III, 78, 1, 1 – 7, 3.

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Abstract: Treatises left by Oribasius (first and foremost his *Collectiones medicae* and *Eclogae medicamentorum*) preserve a vast body of information on the varieties of bread eaten in late antiquity, characterise them from the point of view of dietetics, list medical conditions in which a given variety is especially beneficial, and name medical preparations which include the product. The present study elaborates on Oribasius' dietetic knowledge and his input into the development of dietetic discourse (namely his influence on Byzantine dietetic doctrine), determines Oribasius' main information sources on bread, characterises bread as food, lists varieties which were thought to be used by physicians and explains reasons for the preferences, and finally exemplifies cures and medical preparations which include bread.

Keywords: Oribasius; history of ancient and Byzantine medicine; ancient and Byzantine food history; ancient and Byzantine dietetics; ancient and Byzantine drug-lore; bread; cereals.

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IMAGING EVIL IN THE FIRST CHAPTERS OF GENESIS: TEXTS BEHIND THE IMAGES IN EASTERN ORTHODOX ART

It is a well-known fact that the Bible is the metatext of the Christian civilization, the foundation of the Christian worldview. It has given rise to a large part of the Christian imagery we know today from icons, frescoes in churches and illustrated manuscripts. Yet, the Biblical text is not the exclusive supplementary source for the images in medieval art. Sometimes these images, no matter Eastern orthodox or Western in their origin, owe their emergence and visual characteristics to different homiletic, liturgical, and, above all, apocryphal texts¹. In Christian art the image not only illustrates specific text, but it may also act as a form of exegesis. In these cases it exceeds its specific textual basis adding motifs from other written sources in order to express a particular idea. Thus, the image superimposes new semantic levels on the literary subject, enriching it with ecclesiological, didactic, political and ideological aspects. This kind of elaborated role of the image is a product of a deep theological knowledge, thus representing the views of a highly educated

¹ The literature on the links between apocryphal texts and religious images is rich and here only some of the publications will be quoted: D. CARLIDGE, J. ELLIOTT, *Art and the Christian Apocrypha*, London 2001; J. LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE, *Iconography of the Cycle of the Life of the Virgin*, [in:] *The Kariye Djami, IV. Studies in the Art of the Kariye Djami and its Intellectual Background*, ed. P. UNDERWOOD, Princeton 1975, p. 161–194; EADEM, *Iconography of the Cycle of the Infancy of Christ*, [in:] *The Kariye Djami...*, p. 195–241; N. THIERY, *L'illustration des apocryphes dans les églises de Cappadoce*, *Аноср* 2, 1991, p. 217–248; E. BAKALOVA, *Principles of Visualization of the Pseudo-Canonical Texts in the Art of the Byzantine Commonwealth*, [in:] *Biblia Slavorum Apocryphorum II. Novum Testamentum*, ed. G. MINCZEW, M. SKOWRONEK, I. PETROV, Łódź 2009, p. 167–189; E. БАКАЛОВА, *За апотропейната сила на Божието слово и образ (легендата за Авгар в изкуството)*, [in:] *Средновековният човек и неговият свят. Сборник в чест на 70-та годишнина на проф. Казимир Попконстантинов, Велико Търново 2014*, p. 339–358; in this respect see also the other articles of the proceedings of the series of international conferences *Biblia Slavorum Apocryphorum I. Vetus Testamentum*. [FE, 4, fasc. VI/VII], Gniezno 2007; *Biblia Slavorum Apocryphorum II. Novum Testamentum*. Materiały z Międzynarodowej Konferencji Naukowej „Biblia Slavorum Apocryphorum. II. Novum Testamentum” Łódź, 15–17 maja 2009 r., ed. G. MINCZEW, M. SKOWRONEK, I. PETROV, Łódź 2009; for Byzantine art and its connections with different recensions of the text of the *Palaea*, see R. STICHEL, *Außerkanonische Elemente in byzantinischen Illustrationen des Alten Testaments*, *RQ* 69, 1974, p. 159–181; M. МАРКОВИЋ, J. МАРКОВИЋ, *Циклус Генезе и Старозаветне фигуре у параклису Св. Димитрија*, [in:] *Зидно сликарство манастира Дечана. Грађа и студије*, ed. В.Ј. ЂУРИЋ, Београд 1995, p. 323–352.

elite. Simultaneously, images can also consign to a layer of ideas – ancient cosmological and ethical models, sometimes originated in pre-biblical mythology, which are distributed through a different kind of literature, the non-canonical texts². This capacity to encompass multiple meanings applies particularly to the images associated with the Old Testament accounts in the Byzantine and Eastern Orthodox art. In the present study, in order to illustrate the idea of this polysemy the focus will be put on the image of evil in the story of Adam and Eve and their children.

In Christian milieu the primary personification of evil is a single personality, known by different names in different traditions. Whether he is called the Devil, Lucifer, Sammael or Satanael, he is the obstructor of the kingdom of God, the one who tempts humans together with his demons in order to turn them away from God³. The biblical text of the Genesis does not refer at all to Satan's figure, nor does it speak of any personified evil interference in the life of the protoplasts. Satan is mentioned numerous times in different context in the New Testament⁴ and following some of these patterns the Church Fathers allude to him often in their works⁵. Yet, in Byzantium, this "learned" notion of Devil never became a systematic teaching, rather consisted of different observations scattered here and there in exegetic, polemic, homiletic or hagiographical writings⁶. At the same time, there exists

² In literature on the topic, the texts with quasi and non-canonical elements are discussed using different terms – "apocrypha", "pseudepigrapha", "pseudo-canonical", "parabiblical" or "paratextual" literature, and it seems the terminology is still under clarification, see for example A. MILTENOVA, *Parabiblical (paratextual) literature in Mediterranean World and its Reception in Medieval Bulgaria (10th–14th cc)*, [in:] *Biblia Slavorum Apocryphorum I. Vetus Testamentum* [FE, 4, fasc. VI/VII], Gniezno 2007, p. 9–20; A. МИЛТЕНОВА, *Маргиналност, интертекстуалност, паратекстуалност в българската средновековна книжнина*, [in:] *ТРИАНТАФУЛЛО: In Honorem Hristo Trendafilov. Юбилеен сборник в чест на 60-годишнината на проф. д.фил.н. Христо Трендафилов*, ed. V. ПАНАГОТОВ, Шумен 2013, p. 128–150 with a brief survey of the development of the terminology in the field.

³ On the terminology for the evil one in the early Christian writings see F. GOKEY, *The terminology for the Devil and Evil Spirits in the Apostolic Fathers*, Washington 1961.

⁴ See for example Luke 10:18, 22:3, 22:31; Mathew 4:10; Marc 4:15; Acts 26:18; 2 Corinthians 11:14, etc.

⁵ It could be said that the foundation of Christian demonology was laid by Origen (ca. 185–254) who assembled and elaborated a range of previously existing demonological beliefs. The idea of the Devil as a personal being and a fallen angel was further developed in the early Christian and patristic period, see for example the homily of John Chrysostom *Against Those Who Say that Demons Govern Human Affairs*, and his two sermons *On the Power of Man to Resist the Devil*, [in:] *Творения Святого Отца Нашего Иоанна Златоуста, архиепископа Константинопольского, в русском переводе*. Т. 2, pars. 1, ed. А. ЛОПУХИН, Санкт Петербург 1896, p. 270–289. See also J. RUSSELL, *Satan: The Early Christian Tradition*, New York 1987; A. DUCCELLIER, *Le Diable à Byzance*, [in:] *Le diable au Moyen Âge: Doctrine, problèmes moraux, représentations. Nouvelle édition*, Aix-en-Provence 1979, p. 195–212 <http://books.openedition.org/pup/2636>.

⁶ It is generally accepted among scholars that the notion of Satan in Eastern Orthodox Christianity lacks a systematic theological attention, i.e. there is no fixed teaching or description of the Devil. On this topic, besides the literature quoted in the previous notes, see two short essays, observing mainly the presence of demons in hagiographic literature, but also some aspects of Satan's image in Byzantium:

another, more influential source of information about Satan and this is the great number of apocryphal accounts that retell the Biblical narration of Creation, the life of Adam, Eve and their children, incorporating stories about the origin of Satan, about his role in the creation of the world and in the life of the proto-plasts⁷.

In this extensive literary field two main aspects of the Devil can be differentiated – the Devil as a demiurge and the Devil as a tempter. The first one exists in the Christian cosmological concepts of the origin and structure of the world. There, Satan is the most senior among the angels, he was created by God as good, but, because of his free choice to abandon the good, he fell, losing his dignity. While in the moderate Christian dualism Satan was given the role of the creator of the terrestrial world, in radical dualist teachings he was even regarded as a creator of Paradise⁸. Elements and motifs of this cosmic dualism are interrelated to the pseudo-canonical texts, especially those which circulated in the Slavonic milieu as was, for instance the *Tale about the combat between Satan and Archangel Michael*, even though this example will not be discussed further here, since it has been thoroughly studied with its textual and visual sources⁹.

Satan the tempter, however, will be at the center of our interest. According to a widespread understanding about the Devil, he used the snake to make Adam and Eve transgress God's will. In the Christian exegesis an equation of Satan with the serpent or the dragon exists as well; such motif occurred in the text of the

A. GUILLOU, *Le diable byzantin*, [in:] *Polyplevros Nous. Miscellanea für Peter Schreiner zu seinem 60. Geburtstag*, ed. C. SCHOLZ, G. MAKRIKIS, BArchiv 19, Munich–Leipzig 2000, p. 45–55, and C. MANGO, *Diabolus Byzantinus*, DOP 46, 1992, p. 215–223. See also Θ. ΠΡΩΒΑΤΑΚΗΣ, *Ο διάβολος εις την βυζαντινήν τέχνη. Συμβολή εις την έρευναν της ορθοδόξου ζωγραφικής, και γλυπτικής*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1980; R. GREENFIELD, *Fallen into Outer Darkness: Later Byzantine Conceptions and Depictions of Evil*, Efo 5, 1992, p. 61–80. One of the rare writings concerning demonology in Byzantium, the dialogues *On the Operation of daemons*, has been considered as a work of Michael Psellos (1018–1078 or later), but this authorship has been questioned and the date of the dialogues shifted to the end 13th century, see P. GAUTIER, *Le De daemonibus du Pseudo-Psellos*, REB 38, 1980, p. 105–194.

⁷ Some of these writings will be referred to further in this text with the related literature; in addition, for the Slavonic apocryphal variants of the stories paralleling the first chapters of Genesis, see A. ЯЦИМИРСКИЙ, *Библиографический обзор апокрифов в южнославянской и русской письменности (Списки памятников)*, fasc. 1. *Апокрифы ветхозаветные*, Петроград 1921; *Стара българска литература. 1. Апокрифи*, ed. Д. ПЕТКАНОВА, София 1981; *Апокрифы Древней Руси: тексты и исследования*, ed. В. МИЛЬКОВ, Москва 1997; *Апокрыфы i legendy starotestamentowe Słowian rođudniowuch*, ed. G. MINCZEW, M. SKOWRONEK, Kraków 2006.

⁸ И. ИВАНОВ, *Богомилски книги и легенди*, София 1970; Д. ДИМИТРОВА-МАРИНОВА, *Богомилская космогония в древнеславянской литературной традиции*, [in:] *От Бытия к Исходу. Отражение библейских сюжетов в славянской и еврейской народной культуре*, ed. В. ПЕТРУХИН et al., Москва 1998, p. 38–58; Y. СТОЯНОВ, *Medieval Christian Dualist Perceptions and Conceptions of Biblical Paradise*, SСer 3, 2013, p. 149–166; M. SKOWRONEK, *Remarks on the Anathemas in the Palaea Historica*, SСer 3, 2013, p. 131–144.

⁹ See G. MINCZEW, *John Chrysostom's Tale on How Michael Vanquished Satanael – a Bogomil Text?*, SСer 1, 2011, p. 23–54 and the earlier literature on the topic cited in this study.

Revelation¹⁰ and was implied in the works of some of the Church Fathers¹¹. Still, the view that protoplasts were deceived by Satan through his interference with the snake prevailed. It is mentioned in homiletic writings, for instance in John Chrysostom's 17th homily on Genesis, in the commentary of the expulsion from Eden: *...the good God, too, have pity on man for the plot to which he fell victim with his wife after being deceived and accepting the devil's advice through the serpent*¹². The episode of Satan's contact with the snake, which enables him to enter Paradise is present with much more details in some apocryphal works, for instance in the Greek and Slavonic versions of the *Life of Adam and Eve*¹³, in the Slavonic *Apocalypse*

¹⁰ *And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world: he was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him* (Rev 12:9).

¹¹ Justin Martyr (103–165) wrote in his *First Apology: the chief of the wicked demons we call the serpent, Satan, the devil... will be cast into the fire of Hell* and explained in the *Dialogue with Trypho* that the Devil had a compound name made up of the actions which he performed; for the word "Sata"... means "apostate", while "nas" is the word which means in translation 'serpent'; thus, from both parts is formed the one word 'Satanas', see Saint Justin Martyr, *The first apology, the second apology, dialogue with Trypho, exhortation to the Greeks, discourse to the Greeks, the monarchy, or the rule of God* [FC, vol. 6], trans. T. FALLS, Washington 1965, p. 64, 310. As a comparison, in the corresponding episodes from the life of the protoplasts in the *Koran (Quran)* the snake is entirely substituted by Satan, see *Koran* 7, 20. The differences between Christian and Muslim faith concerning the creation of man and the place of Satan in it were discussed in Byzantium as early as 9th century by Nicetas of Byzantium in his polemic against Islam (*The Refutation of the Quran*, PG 105, 741A), see A. KHOURY, *Polémique byzantine contre L'Islam* (VIIIe–XIIIe s.), Leiden 1972, p. 147.

¹² SAINT JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *Homilies on Genesis 1–17* [FC, vol. 74], tr. R. HILL, ed. Th. HALTON, Washington 1986, p. 222. The association of the Eden serpent with Satan is characteristic for the Armenian Christian sources, where it received considerable elaboration and has different aspects, see M. STONE, 'Be You a Lyre For Me': *Identity or Manipulation in Eden*, [in:] *The Exegetical Encounter between Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity*, ed. E. GRYPEOU, H. SPURLING, Leiden 2009, p. 87–99. This connection is likewise attested in midrashic tradition, but its amplification remained limited, see H. SPURLING, E. GRYPEOU, *Pirke de-Rabbi Eliezer and Eastern Christian Exegesis*, CCO 4, 2007, p. 217–243. According to the authors *given the widespread popularity of the idea of the devil using the serpent as an intermediary in Christian sources, it seems likely that Pirke de-Rabbi Eliezer may have incorporated such a tradition through knowledge of the Christian idea*.

¹³ For the *Life of Adam and Eve*, which is probably the most popular apocryphal writing on the life of the protoplasts with extant recensions in Greek, Latin, Slavonic, Armenian, Georgian, Coptic, see J. TROMP, *The Life of Adam and Eve in Greek: A Critical Edition*, Leiden-Boston 2005 (this book remained inaccessible for me); for the Slavonic variants see V. JAGIC, *Slavische Beiträge zu den biblischen Apocryphen, I, Die altkirchenslavischen Texte des Adamsbuche*, Wien 1893 (=DKAW.PhH 42, p. 1–104); A. МИЛТЕНОВА, *Текстологически наблюдения върху два апокрифа: Апокрифен цикъл за кръстното дърво, приписван на Григорий Богослов, и апокрифа за Адам и Ева*, СЛ 11, 1982, p. 35–55; Д. ДИМИТРОВА, *Някои наблюдения върху литературните особености на апокрифа "Слово за Адам и Ева"*, 11, 1982, p. 56–66. Here the text from V. JAGIC, *op. cit.*, will be quoted (English translation by S. FRENCH, R. LAYTON, G. ANDERSON as published on <http://www2.iath.virginia.edu/anderson/vital/english/vita.sla.html#per18> the website of the project *The Life of Adam and Eve: The Biblical Story in Judaism and Christianity*, last visited August 31, 2015): *Then Eve said, „I will share with you, my children, in what manner our enemy deceived us... Adam watched the*

of *Baruch*¹⁴ (3 Baruch), *The Sea of Tiberias*¹⁵ or in the *Historical Palaea*¹⁶. Although very popular in literature, this Devil-snake relationship did not find its equivalent visualization in Eastern Orthodox art. Indeed there are images of *The Fall* with special characteristics of the serpent, which are influenced by non-biblical texts, but they are very rare¹⁷. Such an example we see in three of the illustrated

eastern and northern sides of Paradise... And so the enemy entered in from that side on which Adam was, and he called the serpent to himself and said to it: You are loved by God, therefore she (Eve) will give credence to you before any other creature. And he instructed it in everything and sent it to me. The serpent believed that it was an angel, and came to me. And the devil had changed to the form of an angel and came here with radiance, singing an angel's song, just like an angel, and said to me: 'Do you eat from everything in Paradise?' And at that time I took him for an angel, because he had come from Adam's side, so I said to him, 'From one tree the Lord commanded us not to eat, the one which stands in the middle of Paradise.' The devil said, 'I am very sorry for you, because you don't understand; I alone will tell you so much: That tree is better than all the others. If you tasted from that tree, you would become like gods and radiant like the angels.' And I listened to these words and as I tasted from the tree, immediately my eyes were opened and I saw, that I was naked, and I cried bitterly about what I had done. The devil, however, became invisible".

¹⁴ For Slavonic manuscripts of *The Apocalypse of Baruch* (3 Baruch), see A. ЯЦИМИРСКИЙ, *op. cit.*, p. 227–232; *Стара българска литература. 1...*, p. 71–76, 353–354, A. KULIK, *3 Baruch: Greek-Slavonic Apocalypse of Baruch*, Berlin 2010. See also F. BADALANOVA, *These Blasphemous Rustic Scriptures (Indigenous Apocryphal Heritage of Slavia Orthodoxa)*, [in:] ΤΡΙΑΝΤΑΦΥΛΛΟ: In Honor of Hristo Trendafilov. Юбилеен сборник в чест на 60-годишнината на проф. д.фил.н. Христо Трендафилов, ed. V. ΡΑΝΑΥΤΟΥ, Шумен 2013, p. 80 and note 117 with the narration of this episode as it is attested in 15th century Russian recension of the *Apocalypse of Baruch*, here the English translation will be quoted: *According to this text, after his having been cast out (on the account of his refusal to obey God's order to bow down to Adam), Sotonail returned to Paradise in the following way: Then having gone, Sotonail [i.e. Satan] found the serpent and he made himself into a worm. And he said to the serpent, "Open [your mouth], consume me into your belly. And he went through the fence into Paradise, wanting to deceive Eve (quoted after: H.E. GAYLORD, How Satanael lost his 'e', JJS 33, 1982, p. 304.*

¹⁵ Д. ДИМИТРОВА, *Сказание за Тивериадското море. Текстологично изследване и критическо издание (SMSB 4)*, София 2014; see also F. BADALANOVA, *These Blasphemous Rustic Scriptures...*, p. 66–106, esp. p. 90 with an edition and English translation of the text which is part of the 18th century Miscellany (N 448, former N 56) from the Grigorovich's collection at Odessa State Scientific Library: *and Satan envied Adam, who reigned in Paradise living in perfection... And Satan curled himself around the grapevine and began to speak to Eve with the lips of a serpent: "Why don't you taste of this grapevine? You will become gods like the Heavenly God".*

¹⁶ А. ПОПОВ, *Книга Бытия небеси и земли: Палея историческая с приложением сокращенной Палеи Русской редакции*, ЧИОИДР 1, 1881, 3–4.

¹⁷ A different situation is observed in Western art. From the 13th century onward in the scene of *The Fall* a new motif appeared, the woman-headed serpent. The majority of the scholars who dealt with this novelty agree that it is influenced by the text of Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*, composed in the middle of the 12th century, namely, the Comestor's commentary on Genesis 3:1, which states that in order to deceive Eve the Devil used a serpent with a woman's face thus gaining Eve's confidence, because one accepts more easily what is similar to oneself:... *He [Satan] also chose a certain kind of serpent, as Bede says that had the countenance of a virgin because 'similia similibus applaudunt'*, see J. BONNEL, *The Serpent with a Human Head in Art and in Mystery Play*, AJA 21, 3,

Byzantine Octateuchs from the 12th century: in MS gr. 8 (Istanbul, Topkapi Sarayi Library, ca. 1125–1155); MS Vat. Gr. 746 (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ca. 1125–1155) and Smyrna Octateuch (Cod. A1, once in the Library of the Evangelical School of Smyrna, not extant today). In these manuscripts in the scene of the *Temptation of Eve* the snake is represented in conjunction with a camel¹⁸. This peculiar image was much discussed in the literature¹⁹ and Kurt Weitzmann²⁰ was the first to point out its connection to an account in the explanatory Jewish texts, according to which Satan, having chosen the serpent for his purposes, descended from heaven and saddled the snake as if he was saddling a camel; then the snake became possessed by his spirit, henceforth everything it spoke was affected by Satan²¹.

1917, p. 255–291; H. KELLY, *The Metamorphoses of the Eden Serpent During the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, V 2, 1971, p. 301–328; for the occurrence and meaning of this motif in Jewish art see S. LADERMAN, *Two Faces of Eve: Polemics and Controversies Viewed Through Pictorial Motifs*, Ima 2, 2008, p. 1–20. The woman-headed serpent occurred in a much later period in the Eastern Orthodox variants of *The Fall*, no doubt under Western influence, but it seems that Eastern icon painters simply borrowed the model without any notion of its meaning.

¹⁸ M. BERNABÒ, *Searching for Lost Sources of the Illustration of the Septuagint*, [in:] *Byzantine East, Latin West. Art Historical Studies in Honor of K. Weitzmann*, Princeton 1995, p. 333, fig. 4; K. WEITZMANN, M. BERNABÒ, R. TARASCONI, *The Byzantine Octateuchs, 1: Text; 2: Plates* (Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint, 2.), Princeton 1999, p. 33–34; J. LOWDEN, *Illustrated Octateuch Manuscripts: A Byzantine Phenomenon*, [in:] *The Old Testament in Byzantium*, eds. P. MAGDALINO, R. NELSON, Washington, D.C. 2010, p. 126–129, 143; M. BERNABÒ, *The Illustration of the Septuagint: The State of the Question*, MJBK, series 3, t. 63, 2012, p. 37–68.

¹⁹ See the bibliography in K. WEITZMANN, M. BERNABÒ, R. TARASCONI, *op. cit.*, p. 33–34.

²⁰ K. WEITZMANN, *The Illustration of the Septuagint*, [in:] *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, ed. H. KESSLER, Chicago 1971, p. 48.

²¹ The corresponding text is in the chapter 13 of *Pirke de-Rabbi Eliezer: Sammael was the great prince, who was in heaven [...] He [...] descended and saw all the creatures which the Holy One, Blessed be He, had created, and he found none so clever to do evil as the serpent [...] Its likeness was like a kind of camel, and he mounted and rode upon it [...] Thus it was with the serpent. All the deeds which it did, and all the words which it spoke, it did not speak and it did not do except by the intention of Sammael*. The text is quoted from *The Book of Genesis in Late Antiquity: Encounters Between Jewish and Christian Exegesis*, ed. E. GRYPEOU, H. SPURLING, Leiden 2013, p. 48. The possible source of the camel-like image of the snake in the above-mentioned Byzantine Octateuchs is still under discussion: another eminent scholar in the field, Massimo Bernabò, suggested as more plausible the connection with Hebrew *Genesis Rabbah*, see K. WEITZMANN, M. BERNABÒ, R. TARASCONI, *op. cit.*, p. 33–34; or with a tale close to *The Cave of Treasures*, see M. BERNABÒ, *op. cit.*, p. 51–52. Both Weitzmann's and Bernabò's opinions were questioned by John Lowden, who is more inclined to search for influences from contemporary to the Octateuchs discussions echoed in Constantinopolitan chronicles, which described the serpent as having feet (Chronicle of Zonaras), or specifically mentioned it not to have had feet (Chronicle of Kedrenos), see J. LOWDEN, *op. cit.*, p. 126–127. All these debates appeared in the context of the polemic on the common model for the illustrated Octateuchs and though the problem of the possible literary source for the camel-like quadruped image of the serpent was of importance for this polemic, it remained somehow peripheral for the researchers and still needs more attention.

Aside from this interesting example, Orthodox art does not display explicitly the role of the Devil in the temptation episode²².

We should note that in general Satan's image in Byzantine and Orthodox art has a variety of disguises, but some of its features remained unchanged for a long period. Two main types of Devil images are distinguished by the researchers. The first is the so-called 'eidolon' (gr. εἶδωλον 'double, apparition, phantom, ghost'), which is a winged naked figure in a gray or darker color with hair sticking up, while the second is again an anthropomorphic figure, often without wings, similar to the ancient Pan or satyr²³. Exactly in this second variant the Devil is rendered in scenes that represent him deceiving Adam to sign a contract. The pact between Satan and Adam is another story which acquired great popularity in *Slavia Orthodoxa* through several apocrypha, among them the Slavic version of *The Life of Adam and Eve*²⁴ and *The Sea of Tiberias*²⁵. Adam wrote this contract in exchange for the right to work the land, or in exchange for the return of the light, according to

²² On the other hand, *The Slavonic Apocalypse of Baruch* and *The Sea of Tiberias* include another episode of Satan's interference – the *Second Temptation of Eve*, which equally was practically not visualized in Orthodox art. One of the rare exclusions is the existence of a miniature on the subject in the 16th century illustrated manuscript of Georgios Choumnos – *Metrical Paraphrase of Genesis and Exodus*, Add MS 40724, where the scene probably appears under Western influence. In the Western art there are images of the Second temptation, as well as the image of the Devil as a bright angel in *The Temptation* and *The Fall*.

²³ See Д. Антонов, М. Майзульс, *Демоны, монстры и грешники в пространстве древнерусской иконографии*, Оди 2010/2011, p. 144–198 and the literature quoted in this study.

²⁴ The text in the Slavonic *Life of Adam and Eve* is quoted here after English translation made by S. French, R. Layton, G. Anderson on the website of the project *The Life of Adam and Eve: The Biblical Story in Judaism and Christianity*, <http://www2.iath.virginia.edu/anderson/vita/english/vita.sla.html#per3> (last visited August 31, 2015): *Accordingly, Adam took oxen and began to till, that he might obtain nourishment. Then the devil appeared and stood steadfastly in front of the oxen and wouldn't allow Adam to till the earth, and the devil said to Adam, 'the earth is mine, God owns Heaven (and Paradise). If you want to become mine, then, by all means, till the earth. If, however, you want to belong to God then go only into Paradise'. Adam said, 'God owns Heaven and Paradise, but God also owns the earth and the sea and the entire world'. The devil said, 'I will not permit you to till the earth, unless you sign a cheirograph (contract), pledging that you belong to me'. Adam said, 'Whoever is Lord of the earth, to him both I and my children belong'. Adam knew of course that the Lord would come down to the earth and take on himself the form of a man and trample down the devil. The devil was, nevertheless, extremely pleased and said, 'Write for me your cheirograph'. And Adam wrote and said, 'Whoever is Lord of the earth, both I and my children belong to him'.*

²⁵ Here I will quote the English translation according to F. BADALANOVA, *op. cit.*, p. 91: *And Adam, together with his wife, began mourning and weeping on account of being cast out of Paradise; the Lord wanted to pardon him, having seen his pure repentance from the heart and sighs and tears on his face [and prayers]: "Most merciful ruler, you who know all fates, save the fine Adam!" And Satan heard Adam's mourning and his lamenting on account of the sin, and because the Devil had been cunning and hateful from the very beginning, he came to Adam and said to him, "I will give you good tidings. The Lord is willing to pardon you. Give me a writ for yourself and your kin. As for you, Eve, swear an oath to me".*

a parallel version of this story²⁶. The extant images that visualize this apocryphal tale are known mainly from fresco cycles with the story of Adam, Eve, Cain and Abel on the facades of several churches in northeastern Romania depicted in the 16th century²⁷.

The present study is focused on another example – the inclusion of the image of the Devil behind Cain's figure in a number of depictions of the scene *The Murder of Abel* in the Russian art of the 16th and 17th centuries. It seems that the earliest example of this motif appears on the famous quadripartite icon from the Annunciation Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin (Moscow, 1547–1551)²⁸ and then in later icons affected by this iconography²⁹. The same motif is extant in *The Murder*

²⁶ In early publications on the problem of the origin of the plot, its existence and spread, particularly in the Slavic version of *The Life of Adam and Eve*, is explained by the influence of Bogomilism – a heretical doctrine with dualistic basis and serious impact in the history of Orthodoxy, see V. JAGIĆ, *op. cit.*, p. 41–49; Й. ИВАНОВ, *Богомилски книги и легенди*, p. 215, 223–227. Later, Emil Turdeanu criticized this idea, arguing that not always, when it comes to a dualistic concept of the world, the relation to Bogomilism is justified and provable, see É. TURDEANU, *Apocryphes bogomiles et apocryphes pseudo-bogomiles*, [in:] ИДЕМ, *Apocryphes slaves et roumains de l'Ancien Testament* [SVTP, 5], Leiden 1981, p. 17–31 (1–74). On the other hand, Alexander Naumov drew attention to liturgical texts as a possible source for the motif of Adam's contract, see A. NAUMOW, *Апокрыфы в системі літургічної церкiewно-слов'янської*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1976. The textual and visual tradition associated with this motif has been reviewed in the last study of Michael Stone, see M. STONE, *Adam's Contract with Satan: The Legend of the Cheirograph of Adam*, Indiana University Press 2002.

²⁷ This composition is depicted on the western façade of the catholicon of the Moldovita Monastery (1532), on the north façade of the catholicon of the Voronet Monastery (1547) and on the north façade of the catholicon of the Sucevita Monastery (1596); some of the images were published in P. HENRY, *Les églises de la Moldavie du Nord des origines à la fin du XVIIe siècle. Architecture et peinture*, Paris 1930.

²⁸ The upper left field, named “И почи Бог в день седьмый” (“*And God rested on the seventh day*”) represents scenes from the story of Adam, Eve, Cain and Abel, among them *The Murder of Abel*, where the Devil is represented behind Cain, see И. КАЧАЛОВА, Н. МАЯСОВА, Л. ЩЕННИКОВА, *Благовещенский собор Московского Кремля: К 500-летию уникального памятника русской культуры*, Москва 1990, p. 61–64, ill. 178. This example is discussed in: Н. КВЛИВИДЗЕ, *Сотворение мира и история Адама и Евы в росписи Успенского собора Свяяжского монастыря: к проблеме интерпретации сакрального пространства в русском искусстве XVI в.*, [in:] *Древнерусское искусство. Идея и образ. Опыт изучения византийского и древнерусского искусства*, Москва 2009, p. 343–366; Д. АНТОНОВ, М. МАЙЗУЛЬС, *Анатомия ада: Путеводитель по древнерусской визуальной демонологии*, Москва 2014, p. 52.

²⁹ Among these examples are: the icon with the composition “И почи Бог в день седьмый” (“*And God rested on the seventh day*”), 17th century, today in the Church Historical and Archeological Museum in the Ipatiev Monastery, Kostroma, Russia, see Н. КОМАШКО, С. КАТКОВА, *Костромская икона XII–XIX веков: Свод русской иконописи*, Москва 2004; the icon *Creation of the world with saints* from the collection of the Tretyakov State Gallery in Moscow, Stroganov school, end 16th – beginning 17th century, see *София. Премудрость Божия. Каталог выставки русской иконописи XIII–XIX веков из собраний музеев России*, Москва 2000, № 61, p. 184–185; an icon, part of the south doors of the iconostasis of St. Nicholas Monastery, Pereslavl-Zalessky, Russia, end 17th century, Inv. № ПЗМ-368, ЖТ-2.

of Abel from the lavishly illustrated *Chronicle of Ivan the Terrible* (*Лицевой летописный свод*) dating from the late '60s of the 16th century³⁰. It can be seen also in the church murals, for example in the Dormition cathedral of Svijazhsk monastery³¹, in the Church of the Resurrection of Christ in Kostroma (1650–52)³², or the Church of Resurrection in Tutaev (1680). The existence of these images raises several questions: what is the literary context of the relationship Cain-Devil, is there any earlier tradition of visualizing this motif and why he received a higher prevalence in Russian painting.

In literature, the connection between Cain and Satan was made early: the New Testament speaks of the devil as a sinner, a liar, and a murderer from the beginning, and of Cain and other sinners as children of the Devil (In. 8, 44; 1 In. 3,8–12). Several of the Church Fathers in their homiletic writings share the opinion that Satan deceived Cain and caused him to kill Abel, among them Basil of Seleucia, John Chrysostom, Isaac of Antioch³³.

As far as images are concerned, it should be noted that there are earlier examples of the inclusion of the Devil in *The Murder of Abel* of Western provenance: in French illuminated manuscripts and stained glass, dating back to 13th–15th century³⁴. There is no obvious connection between these Western images and the Russian ones. In addition, the art of the Byzantine period did not include this iconography. Basically, the Creation of the world and the story of Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel were rarely illustrated in Byzantium³⁵, a relatively larger number of examples

³⁰ Н. КВЛИВИДЗЕ, *op. cit.*, p. 362.

³¹ *Ibidem*. The Creation cycle in the Dormition cathedral of Svijazhsk monastery has been considered as the earliest example among the extant today late medieval Russian fresco ensembles, having been dated by the majority of Russian scholars to 1560s. This opinion has been questioned lately by Aleksandr Preobrazhensky with sustainable arguments for a later execution date of this fresco program – early 17th c., see А. ПРЕОБРАЖЕНСКИЙ, *О стиле и времени создания росписи собора Успенского монастыря в Свяжске*, [in:] *Лазаревские чтения. Искусство Византии, Древней Руси, Западной Европы*, Москва 2009, p. 268–308.

³² А. КИЛЬДЫШЕВ, *Фрески церкви Воскресения на Дебре в Костроме*, Кострома 1996.

³³ J. GLENTHOJ, *Cain and Abel in Syriac and Greek writers (4th–6th centuries)*, Louvain 1997, p. 147, p. 279–281. Basil the Great in his *Sermon on Envy*, wrote that the Devil is sly and contributes to falling in all sins, one of the most devastating of which is envy; the Devil himself, in his envy, sought revenge on Adam because of God's gifts to him, and because he could not exact revenge on God himself, and Cain did the same as the first disciple of the devil, learned from him envy and murder, see *Творения иже во святых отца нашего Василия Великого архиеп. Кесарии Каппадокийской*, t. 1–3, Санкт-Петербург 1911, t. 2, p. 162–176.

³⁴ See, for example, the miniature of *The Murder of Abel* from the illustrated Bible Mazarine (ms. 0036, f. 6) from the 12th century, represented in the CNRS database ENLUMINURES, available online: http://www.enluminures.culture.fr/documentation/enlumine/fr/presentation_00.htm, last visit 30 August 2015; or the miniature of the *Murder of Abel* in the lavishly illustrated Book of Hours of Jean de Montauban, Bretagne ca. 1450 (Rennes, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 1834).

³⁵ For the Genesis cycle in Byzantine art, in addition to the literature on the illustrated Byzantine Octateuchs mentioned above, see A. EASTMOND, *Narratives of the Fall: Structure and Meaning in the*

are preserved in the Orthodox art of 16th–17th century. A variety of cycles are known today, including those in the churches Arbore (1541), Voroneț (1547), Moldovița (1532), Sucevița (1596)³⁶ in northeastern Romania; the cycle in St. Nicholas church of the Philanthropinon monastery (1560) at Ioannina, Greece³⁷; the cycles in the refectory of the Great Lavra (third quarter of the 16th century)³⁸, in the narthex of the monastery Docheiariou, also on Mount Athos (1568)³⁹, as well as several examples from 17th and 18th centuries⁴⁰. Although some of them end with the story of Cain and Abel, in no case was the figure of the Devil represented behind Cain. As we see, the earliest images are Russian, and they are numerous.

Here I will give only some preliminary notes on the possible reasons for the occurrence of this motif precisely on Russian soil. The phrase: ‘and Satan entered into Cain and incited him to kill Abel’ (‘и сотона влезе в каина и пострекаше убити авеля... и рече сатана: вземеши камень, удари Авеля и уби его’) is actually a prevalent element that is transmitted with minor variations in different texts, which were popular in 16th–17th century Russia. We find the motif much earlier, for example in the some of the recensions of the *Short* and the *Explanatory Palaea*⁴¹, and as early as 12th century in the text of the Old Russian *Tale of Bygone Years* (*Povest’ vremennykh let* or *Primary Chronicle*)⁴². At the same early stage the motif

Genesis Frieze at Hagia Sophia, Trebizond, DOP 53, 1999, p. 219–236; J. МАРКОВИЋ, М. МАРКОВИЋ, *Циклус Генезе и старозаветни фигури у параклису св. Димитрија*, [in:] *Зидно сликарство Дечана. Грађа и студије*, Београд 1995, p. 324–330.

³⁶ P. HENRY, *op. cit.*; A. VASILIU, *Monastères de Moldavie, XIVe-XVIe siècles: Les architectures de l’image*, Paris 1998, p. 201–205; G. HEREA, *Mesajul eshatologic al spațiului liturgic creștin: arhitectură și icoană în Moldova secolelor XV–XVI*, Suceava 2013, p. 148, 163, fig. 73, 74, 190–195, 302. See also M. KUYUMDZHIEVA, *Creation of the World and Adam and Eve in Post-Byzantine Art: Some Notes on Genesis Cycles in Arbore and Sucevița*, APu XI, 1, 2015, p. 233–248.

³⁷ *Μοναστήρια νησου Ιωαννίνων. Ζωγραφική*, ed. Μ. ΓΑΡΙΔΗΣ, Α. ΠΑΛΙΟΓΡΑΣ, Ιωαννίνα 1993, p. 145–147.

³⁸ J. YIANNIAS, *The Refectory paintings of Mount Athos: An Interpretation*, [in:] *The Byzantine Tradition after the Fall of Constantinople*, ed. IDEM, Charlottesville-London 1991, p. 269–340, 290.

³⁹ G. MILLET, *Monuments de l’Athos, I. Les peintures*, Paris 1927, pl. 240, 2; A. ΜΠΕΚΙΑΡΗΣ, *Ο ζωγραφικός διάκοσμος του νάρθηκα και της λιτής της μονής Δοχειαρίου (1568)*, Πανεπιστήμιο Ιωαννίνων 2012, p. 325–338.

⁴⁰ See A. ΜΠΕΚΙΑΡΗΣ, *Ο ζωγραφικός διάκοσμος...*; M. KUYUMDZHIEVA, *op. cit.*, p. 233–238 and the earlier literature cited there. For several examples in manuscripts and on icons which survived on the territory of Bulgaria see E. МУСАКОВА, *Надписи и изображения Шестоднева в болгарских рукописях и церковной живописи XVII–XIX вв.*, [in:] *От Бытия к Исходу. Отражение библейских сюжетов в славянской и еврейской народной культуре*, ed. В. ПЕТРУХИН *et al.*, Москва 1998, p. 118–129.

⁴¹ *Паляя Толковая по списку сделанному в Коломне 1406 г.*, Москва 1892, Стлб. 190. Same detail occurred in the corresponding text of the *Rumiantsev’s Palaea* from 1494, Ms. № 453, see A. ПЫПИН, *Памятники старинной русской литературы, издаваемые Графом Григорием Кушелевымъ-Безбородко. Выпуск третій. Ложныя и отреченныя книги русской старины, собранныя А.Н. Пыпинымъ*, Санкт-Петербург 1862, p. 9.

⁴² The motif here occurs in the speech of the Christian Philosopher before Vladimir, which retells the biblical story. There is a hypothesis that this part of the *Tale of Bygone Years* together with the

Cain-Satan was reinterpreted in Russian hagiographical literature dedicated to Sts. Boris and Gleb⁴³. The Devil's influence upon Cain is mentioned also in some Russian recensions of the apocryphon *The Sea of Tiberias*⁴⁴, and of the apocryphal *Revelation of Pseudo-Methodius of Patara*⁴⁵. This great intensity in the literary field shows that the motif of Satan's influence on Cain in the episode of the murder of Abel has almost turned into a topic. Hence, its emergence in Russian milieu, and more specifically in the icon from the Annunciation Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin (Moscow, 1547–1551) as earliest case in point, becomes more explicable.

In the 17th century the image of the Devil behind Cain's figure appeared also in the frescoes of the Nativity Church in Arbanassi village, Bulgaria, where the scene of *The Murder of Abel* is part of the iconographical program of the eastern end of the gallery painted in 1643⁴⁶. These murals are a work of icon painters of Greek provenance or education; all the inscriptions in the church are in Greek. The other known to me Greek examples of *The Murder of Abel* do not include the figure of the Devil⁴⁷. The existence of this motif in Arbanassi murals is most likely connected to

corresponding parts from the Explanatory Palaea have a common source – a variant of Slavic Chronograph, see А. ШАХМАТОВ, *Повесть временных лет и ее источники*, ТОДЛ 4, 1940, p. 6–151, 139; С. МИХЕЕВ, *Кто писал «Повесть временных лет»?», Москва 2011.*

⁴³ The Kievan Princes Boris and Gleb were killed during a revolt following Vladimir's death in 1015 by their stepbrother Sviatopolk. Not surprisingly, because of his fratricide Sviatopolk was compared to Cain and described as a tool of the Devil's plot in the saints' vitae (*Сказание о Борисе и Глебе, Чтение о житии и о погублении блаженных страстотерпцев Бориса и Глеба*), see Б. УСПЕНСКИЙ, *Борис и Глеб: восприятие истории в древней Руси*, Москва 2000.

⁴⁴ See the Barsov's edition of the text from the 16th century manuscript (N 2486, ГИМ): Е. БАРСОВ, *О Тивериадском море*, ЧИОИДР 2, 1886, p. 5–8, and an 18th century variant published in Д. ДИМИТРОВА-МАРИНОВА, *Богомилъская космогония...*, p. 55.

⁴⁵ The motif of the Devil's interference on Cain (“Каин же послуша прелести Дяволи”) is a late Slavic interpolation in the *Revelation of Pseudo-Methodius of Patara*; it is absent from the Greek original, in the first Slavic translation (Mount Athos Monastery of Chilandar, Ms. 24, f. 70–77), as well as in the second recension, but is present in the interpolated redaction, known from a 16th–17th century manuscript, see В. ИСТРИН, *Откровение Мефодия Патарского и апокрифические Видения Даниила в византийской и славяно-русской литературах: исследование и тексты*, Москва 1897.

⁴⁶ Л. ПРАШКОВ, *Църквата “Рождество Христово” в Арбанаси*, София 1979.

⁴⁷ These examples are numerous and here only two will be quoted: *The Murder of Abel*, part of the Genesis cycle from the gallery of the catholicon of the Monastery St. Nicholas Philanthropinon (1560), Ioannina, Greece, see Μοναστήρια ηθσου..., p. 147; and *The Murder of Abel* in the refectory of the Great Lavra (third quarter of the 16th century), Mount Athos, see G. MILLET, *Monuments de l'Athos. 1: Les peintures*, Paris 1927. In this context it is worth to note that Dionysius of Fourna in his *Painter's manual (Hermeneia)*, while describing how to depict *The Murder of Abel*, did not mention any presence of the Devil in the composition, the only important detail clarified in his prescription is the tool of the murder – a staff, see П. УСПЕНСКИЙ, *Ерминия или наставление в живописном искусстве, составленное иеромонахом и живописцем Дионисием Фурноаграфиотом. 1701–1733 год*, Киев 1868 [= ТКДА 1868, t. 1, 2, 4]. Regarding the object which was used in the murder, in the written sources, hence in the imagery, there are several variants – a staff, a stone, a club or other agricultural instrument, a jaw-bone, etc., see М. ШАПИРО, *Cain's Jaw-Bone that did the First Murder*, ArtB 24,

the influence of Russian painting on Balkan art, which is enhanced from 16th century onward⁴⁸. In support of this suggestion comes the fact that the program of the same church includes another typically Russian iconographic model, also known by the four-partite icon from the Annunciation Cathedral – a specific version of St. Trinity⁴⁹. The model of *The Murder of Abel*, which depicted the Devil behind Cain, lasted until the 19th century, as we see by the frescoes of the Rila Monastery and St. Nicholas church in Raduil village near Samokov, Bulgaria. The compositions there were again influenced by Russian variants, this time probably deriving from illustrated Synodicons⁵⁰ or folk Bibles, for example the Bible of Vasilyi Koren' (1692–96) where the corresponding scene has a lot of captures, and although none of them mentions the Devil, he is still represented behind Cain⁵¹.

Taking into account the visual sources it seems that for Eastern orthodoxy Satan's figure occupies a marginal position in relation to the events of the Creation of the world and the life of the protoplasts. This irrelevance recalls in mind Simon Franklin's words from his article on the Russian Literary Demonism and the Orthodox tradition: *...when all is said and done, or tried and tempted, the Devil is a loser. He has no hold over the future; he can act only where God permits and where man loses vigilance; he can be resisted and expelled*⁵². On the other hand, all these visual examples illustrate the idea that indeed the text determines the appearance of images in Christianity: the subjects on the icons, frescoes and in the illustrated books are stories from written sources. Furthermore, sometimes images help understand certain processes in literature; they can reveal how texts were interpreted by learned men and, correspondingly, the perception and understanding of these texts by icon-painters and illiterate believers. For this reason, for medievalists, texts and images were long ago proved equally valuable.

1942, p. 205–212. According to Shapiro's conclusion *the jaw-bone as Cain's instrument recalls to us that in English, as in older Christian and Jewish tradition, Cain was seen as the son of the devil*.

⁴⁸ A. GRABAR, *L'expansion de la peinture russe aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles*, [in:] *L'art à la fin de l'antiquité et du Moyen Âge*, II, Paris 1968, p. 939–963; M. SABADOS, *Influences occidentales dans la peinture roumaine d'icône du XVIIe siècle*, RRHA.BA 40, 2002–2003, p. 33, 36–37; I. IANCOVESCU, *Les sources russes et ukrainiennes de la peinture au temps de Constantin Brancovan*, RRHA.BA 45, 2008, p. 101–116.

⁴⁹ М. Куюмджијева, *Изображението на Св. Троица в наоса на църквата „Рождество Христово“ в Арбанаси – иконографски прототипи и съдържание*, СЛ 43–44, 2010, p. 209–235.

⁵⁰ See the illustration №5 in: Д. АНТОНОВ, М. МАЙЗУЛЬС, *Анатомия ада...*, p. 55. For the illustrated Synodicons in Bulgaria and their influence on Bulgarian art from the National Revival period see И. ГЕРГОВА, *Духовни образи. Руски илюстриран синодик*, София 2014.

⁵¹ *Библия Василия Кореня. 1692–1696*, Москва 1983, p. 18; А. САКОВИЧ, *Народная гравированная книга Василия Кореня*, Москва 1983, p. 37.

⁵² See S. FRANKLIN, *Nostalgia for Hell: Russian Literary Demonism and Orthodox Tradition*, [in:] *Russian Literature and its Demons*, ed. P. DAVIDSON, New York-Oxford 2000, p. 31–58.

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ΜΠΕΚΙΑΡΗΣ Α., Ο ζωγραφικός διάκοσμος του νάρθηκα και της λιτής της μονής Δοχειαρίου (1568), Πανεπιστήμιο Ιωαννίνων 2012.

Abstract: Satan's interference in the events described in the first chapters of the book of Genesis and in the life of the protoplasts is not mentioned at all in the biblical text. This happens, however, in pseudo-canonical texts. The article is a short survey on the apocryphal accounts that mention Satan and their influence on art. The main focus is put on the inclusion of the image of Satan behind Cain's figure in a number of depictions of the scene *The Murder of Abel* in the Russian art of the 16th and 17th centuries. The possible links between this visual motif with several literary sources is examined, among them the Short and the Explanatory Palaea, the Tale of Bygone Years (Povest' vremennykh let or Primary Chronicle), Russian recensions of the apocryphon The Sea of Tiberias, and of The Revelation of Pseudo-Methodius of Patara. In addition, some instances of the same visual decision in Balkan art are pointed out and their connection to Russian models is underlined.

Keywords: Satan, Devil, Genesis, Cain, Abel, Eastern Orthodox art, pseudo-canonical texts, apocrypha.

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Fig. 1. The image of the snake-camel in the scene of the Temptation, Octateuch, Constantinople, ca. 1125–1155, Rome, Bibl. Apost. Vat., gr. 746, fol. 37v (source: K. WEITZMANN, M. BERNABÒ, R. TARASCONI, *The Byzantine Octateuchs*, 1: Text; 2. Plates (Illustrations in the Manuscript of the Septuagint, 2.), Princeton 1999).



Fig. 2. Adam's Contract with Satan, north façade of the catholicon, Sucevița Monastery (1596), Romania.



Fig. 3. The quadrupartite icon from the Annunciation Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin (Moscow, 1547–1551), detail of the upper left field, named “И почи Бог в день седьмый” (“And God rested on the seventh day”) representing scenes from the story of Adam, Eve, Cain and Abel, among them The Murder of Abel, where the Devil is represented behind Cain (source: И.Я. Качалова, Н.А. Маясова, Л.А. Щенникова, *Благовещенский собор Московского Кремля = The Annunciation Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin: К 500-летию уникального памятника русской культуры*, Москва: Искусство, 1990).



Fig. 4. Detail of the icon with the composition “И почи Бог в день седьмый” (“And God rested on the seventh day”), 17th century, The Church Historical and Archeological Museum in the Ipatiev Monastery, Kostroma, Russia (source: Н. Комашко, С. Каткова, *Костромская икона XII–XIX веков: Свод русской иконописи*, Москва 2004).



Fig. 5. Detail from an icon, Russia, end 17th century, Inv. № ПЗМ-368, ЖТ-2, part of the south doors of the iconostasis of St. Nicholas Monastery, Pereslavl-Zalessky (source: *Переславль-Залесский государственный историко-архитектурный и художественный музей-заповедник*, via <http://www.iconrussia.ru/icon/detail.php?ID=6026>).



Fig. 6. The Devil behind Cain's figure in the frescoes of the Nativity church (1643) in Arbanassi village near Turnovo, Bulgaria.

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VERSES OF FAITH AND DEVOTION. SEEING, READING, AND TOUCHING MONUMENTAL CRUCIFIXES WITH INSCRIPTIONS (12TH–13TH CENTURY)*

If we want to sketch the general iconographical and compositional scheme of the late medieval monumental crucifixes, we observe that the earliest surviving examples display Living Christ and the scenes of the Passion, the Entombment, and the Resurrection, depicted in ordered narratives and flanking the centrally-positioned Crucified. The initial decades of the 13th century saw the emergence of new iconography, the Suffering Christ, as well as the introduction of a much simplified form of these large-scale painted images. Thenceforth, historiated crosses were replaced by crucifixes customary equipped with the bust-length figures of Virgin Mary on the Christ's right, and John the Evangelist on the left terminal of the cross. While the text was normally limited to *titulus crucis* containing the INRI acronym, in some cases the imagery was supported by a more elaborate textual interpretation in form of a verse inscription running on the horizontal arm of the cross. As far as crucifixes supplied with inscriptions are concerned, both imagery and text have to be examined as they formed two poles of the communication of the Passion to the devout beholder praying before a crucifix.

The interplay of text and imagery on crucifixes has recently been studied by H.L. Kessler. Kessler's insight is particularly important because he drew attention to inscriptions as distinctive features of some 12th-century crucifixes. According to Kessler, "inscriptions not only articulate the meaning of the imagery but also bear on the use(s) in liturgical and private spaces"¹. Focusing his attention on the Rosano cross (ca. 1130–1150), and its inscriptions under the smaller narrative scenes, he has convincingly shown how such objects were intended for communal or personal meditation on the Passion of Christ². Moreover, the analysis

* This paper grew out of a presentation entitled "Monumental Crucifixes and the Text-Image-Text Strategies of Communicating of Passion," delivered at the "Text Versus a Piece of Art" conference held in Łódź in May 2015. I have benefited greatly from several discussions on the topic of my research with Marco Collareta, a professor of medieval art at the University of Pisa.

¹ H.L. KESSLER, *Inscriptions on Painted Crosses and the Spaces of Personal and Communal Meditation*, [in:] *Inscriptions in Liturgical Spaces* [= AAAHP 24], ed. K.B. AAVITSLAND, T. KARLSEN SEIM, Rome 2011, p. 161.

² *Ibidem*, p. 167, 178.

of verse inscription and their function, combined with the imagery they support, has led him to conclusion on the issue of the original location of crucifixes. Contrary to predominant opinion in the existing scholarship, Kessler argues that such-like crucifixes were not designed to be hung in the triumphal arches or above the rood screens. The function of verses and the comprehensive narrative of Passion determined the placement of objects, concludes Kessler, given that both text and detailed imagery had to be positioned near the viewer in order to be visible³.

The issue here briefly outlined may seem to fall under the text-versus-image problem, but it would be a simplification to represent it exclusively in these terms. The study of inscriptions on devotional objects to some extent differs from the approach to the text-image relations in manuscripts or prayer books. Nevertheless two poles in communication of Passion, imagery and text have to be looked upon as aspects of a much broader question of devotional practices performed before crucifixes with inscriptions. When crucifixes are desacralized and decontextualized in museum collections, cleared away from their native environment which do not exist anymore or have radically changed over time, it does seem as if we are addressing the image-supported-by-text problem. However, if we perceive them as objects placed in richly decorated church interiors, furnished not only with images, lights, colours and inscriptions, but also filled with sounds, smells, and, most importantly, medieval devotees, the broader view of the problem becomes evident.

This necessary multifaceted approach was underlined by M. Mostert who argued how the “reading of an image has to be looked upon together with ‘reading’ of the church building”⁴. A devotional object in liturgical space was never autonomous and its contextualisation in research is thus fundamental. In the field of research of text within liturgical spaces, S. Riccioni has very recently adopted an approach designated as “epiconografia”, a combination of studies in iconography and epigraphy⁵. The method proposed by Riccioni insists on research of inscriptions combined with the study of relation between text, inscriptions, and imagery. Although here I do not intend to offer an extensive text-based study, but rather seek to place these objects in devotional and liturgical framework by examining their function, I will follow the guidelines proposed by Riccioni, departing from the starting point so clearly articulated by Mostert.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 178.

⁴ M. MOSTERT, *Reading Images and Text: Some Preliminary Observations Instead of An Introduction*, [in:] *Reading Images and Texts. Medieval Images and Texts as Forms of Communication: Papers from the Third Utrecht Symposium on Medieval Literacy, Utrecht, 7–9 December 2000*, ed. M. HAGEMAN, M. MOSTERT, Turnhout 2005, p. 6.

⁵ S. RICCIONI S., *La Croce in Rosano oltre il Lazio e la Toscana. Riflessi ‘europei’ della ‘riforma gregoriana’*, [in:] *La pittura su tavola del secolo XII. Riconsiderazioni e nuove acquisizioni a seguito del restauro della Croce di Rossano*, ed. C. FROSININI, G. WOLF, A. MONCIATTI, Firenze 2012, p. 119; cf. also IDEM, *Epigrafia, spazio liturgico e Riforma gregoriana, un paradigma: il programma di esposizione grafica di Santa Maria in Cosmedin a Roma*, HAM 6, 2000, p. 143–156.

In aiming to do so, this paper will examine a group of 13th-century crucifixes from modern-day Croatia and Italy with particular attention dedicated to three crucifixes from Zadar. They offer an interesting insight into the topic but, as so far, only limited scholarly attention was dedicated to their inscriptions as well as to their devotional context. Following Kessler's observations, along with the problem of relation between imagery and text, main questions arise: What is that sets apart crucifixes supplied by inscriptions from other crucifixes? Was their use in devotional performance different or alike in comparison to other devotional objects, primarily crucifixes without inscriptions? Consequently, did the original location of crucifixes in question differ from other sacred objects in liturgical space? In addressing these inquiries I will analyse inscriptions, confront them with the imagery, and then focus on their performativity and original setting.

Devotion through Inscription

Prior to starting a case-by-case discussion, a brief remark should be made upon the frequency of inscriptions on crucifixes in the Late Middle Ages. The *titulus crucis* above the head of Christ was conventional, and usually the solely written text present on crucifixes. The inscription "Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews," or the INRI abbreviation, derives from the Gospel of John according to which the message was trilingual, written in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew⁶. My prime concern, however, are unorthodox, longer and much intricate forms of writing. Judging by the number of survived examples, only a handful of which contain an additional text, inscriptions on crosses were not a frequent phenomenon. Even though their number is relatively small, it is important to point out to the variety of the text inscribed, roughly subdivided in *tituli*, dedicatory, votive, and devotional inscriptions. In every case they stood for much more than words inscribed or painted⁷.

Of special interest for the topic under discussion are devotional inscriptions. According to the usual typology, they fall under the category of "sacred epigrams /inscriptions"⁸. By defining them "devotional" their function and use as a text intended for the beholder praying beneath a crucifix is underlined. When reading the inscription, churchgoers were not informed on the commissioner of the work or the master who executed it, the date of consecration of the altar where it could have been exhibited, nor was the verse explanatory in a sense that described a certain depicted scene. As will be discussed, this type of text triggered a specific pious performance.

⁶ P. THOBY, *Le Crucifix des Origines au Concile de Trente: étude iconographique*, Nantes 1959, p. 7.

⁷ A. RHOBY, *The meaning of inscriptions for the early and middle Byzantine culture. Remarks on the interaction of word, image and beholder*, [in:] *Scrivere e leggere nell'alto Medioevo: Spoleto, 28 aprile - 4 maggio 2011*, Spoleto 2012, p. 731-753.

⁸ G. SCALA, *Le epigrafi*, [in:] *Lo spazio letterario del Medioevo*, vol. 2: *La circolazione del testo*, ed. G. CAVALLO, C. LEONARDI, E. MENESTÒ, Roma-Salerno 1994, p. 411.

What is important to keep in mind is that the medieval response to the written text displayed in public was fundamentally different to the modern one. While today we generally read in silence, our medieval predecessors would have done it audibly⁹. The inscriptions on crucifixes were written horizontally, regularly located beneath the arms of Christ, running parallel to them, and were split in two by the body of the Crucified. The strongest evidence for oral performance of the verses is their metrical structure. All of them are composed in the form of leonine verses with rhyme between the middle and the end of the line. Internal rhyme in the verse originates from medieval practices of reading developed in monastic contexts. Together with the repetition of words, asserted Bernard of Clairvaux, its main purpose was to make the pronunciation easier and to help the devotees to memorise the text¹⁰. Double rimmed verses can also be found on numerous late medieval church portals, facades, narrative fresco cycles, and altars¹¹. In the world of limited literacy their form surely contributed to the easier comprehension of the written word.

Two of the earliest surviving historiated crosses, Guillelmo's cross in Sarzana (1138) and the Rosano cross (ca. 1130–1150), contain verses under every single narrative scene. Verses on the former have been very recently studied by T. Gramigni¹², while the inscriptions on the latter were subject of aforementioned seminal studies on epigraphy and interrelationship of imagery and text on crucifixes. The author of the Rosano verses was Hildebert of Lavardin (1056–1133)¹³. The text merged with the imagery was not composed for this purpose, but faithfully applied onto the object, as was characteristic for the early and central middle ages. As has been underscored above, in the course of the same century emerged a much simpler type of crucifixes. The viewer's attention was focused to the crucified Christ and Mary and John, while inscriptions articulated messages related to the Crucifixion, occasionally referring to the supplicants, and, as will be discussed, to the devotee who venerated the object.

⁹ A. PAPALEXANDROU, *Text in Context: Eloquent Monuments and the Byzantine Beholder*, W&I 17/3, 2001, p. 261. For development of the silent reading cf.: P. SAENGER, *Space Between Words: the Origins of Silent Reading*, Stanford 2000.

¹⁰ K. AMBROSE, *Visual poetics of the Cluny hemicycle capital inscriptions*, W&I 20/2, 2004, p. 161.

¹¹ Cf. C.B. KENDALL, *The Allegory of the Church: Romanesque Portals and Their Verse Inscriptions*, Toronto 1998; IDEM, *The Gate of Heaven and the Fountain of Life: Speech-Act Theory and Portal Inscriptions*, EMS 10, 1993, p. 112–115; R. FAVREAU, *Fonctions des inscriptions au moyen âge*, CCM 32, 1989, p. 225–226. On the Eastern Adriatic there is a very interesting example of two leonine verses below the cross in the center of the interior portal of the Trogir cathedral, I. BABIĆ, *Unutarinja strana lunete glavnog portala trogirске katedrale – djelo majstora Radovana*, ShP III/21, 1991, p. 232.

¹² T. GRAMIGNI, *Le iscrizioni della croce di Sarzana e le scritture d'apparato toscane del XII secolo*, [in:] *Scrittura epigrafica e scrittura libraria: fra Occidente e Oriente*, ed. M. MANIACI, P. ORSINI, Cas-sino 2015, p. 133–174.

¹³ H.L. KESSLER, *The French connection: word and image on the Rosano cross*, [in:] *La pittura su tavola...*, p. 133–134.

Let us take for example the crucifix from the Franciscan church of Santa Maria Gloriosa in Venice. This large late 13th-century painted cross was remodelled in the course of the time and the secondary figures, most likely included in the original design, were cut off¹⁴. On the transverse limb two verse inscriptions with Leonine rhyme were discovered during the restoration in 1992:

+IN CRUCE MOSTRAVIT QUANTUM TE GRATIS AMAVIT / PRO MUNDI
VITA SUAM CRUCIFIXIT ITA

(On the cross He has showed how He loved you gratuitous / For the life
of the World, He crucified His in this way)¹⁵

The most distinctive characteristic of these verses is a clear reference to the devotee, and as such they can be rightfully defined as devotional. C. Corsato described their function as a “reminder to the faithful” which needs to be viewed in the context of Franciscan church where the crucifix had been placed¹⁶. The setting of verses, moreover, is inseparable from the effigy of Christ. When reading the inscription one was led to simultaneous meditation on the meaning of the verse and imagery. While it can be argued that on some crucifixes here quoted the inscriptions are not so prominently placed or are smaller in scale, the three Zadar crucifixes amply illustrate the point of the prominently placed text certainly used in devotional performance.

Performativity of Verse Inscriptions on Zadar Crucifixes

Monumental crucifixes from the Benedictine nunnery of Saint Mary, Collection of the Franciscan friary and the church of Saint Michael are among the earliest in the East Adriatic, and all display Latin verses beneath or above the arms of Christ¹⁷. They are all included in the pioneer study on painted crosses, published in 1929 by E. Sandberg Valalà,¹⁸ and later in the comprehensive index of the Romanesque panel painting by E.B. Garrison¹⁹. With no signature and date,

¹⁴ A. AUGUSTI, *Un crocifisso duecentesco ai Frari*, VenA 7, 1993, p. 155. The Frari crucifix is attributed to the so-called Maestro della Cappella Dotto, C. Santini, *Un'antologia pittorica del primo Trecento nella Chiesa di San Francesco a Udine*, ArtC 82/762, 1994, p. 187, 195 (n. 8).

¹⁵ A. AUGUSTI, *Un crocifisso...*, p. 155 (n. 18).

¹⁶ C. CORSATO, *Public Piety and Private Devotion: The Altar of the Cross, Titian and the Scuola della Passione at the Frari*, [in:] *Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari: Immagini di Devozione, Spazi della Fede / Devotional Spaces, Images of Piety*, ed. C. CORSATO, D. HOWARD, Padova 2015, p. 103–104.

¹⁷ G. GAMULIN, *The Painted Crucifixes in Croatia*, trans. E. ELIAS BURSAĆ, Zagreb 1983, p. 13–14; N. KLAJČ – I. PETRICIOLLI, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku do 1409. godine*, Zadar 1976, p. 268–269.

¹⁸ E. SANDBERG VALALÀ, *La croce dipinta italiana e l'iconografia della passione*, Verona 1929.

¹⁹ All are included in the group of “crucifixes of simple shape” due to their outlines. E.B. GARRISON, *Italian Romanesque Panel Painting. An Illustrated Index*, Florence 1949, p. 177, 180.

the major obstacle in their research is the lack of archival material and any indication not only on their original context, but also on their subsequent histories. Virtually nothing is known on how they found their way to collections and churches where they are treasured today. The full recreation of their original spatial context will therefore not be possible, which by no means should hamper us to investigate the response they evoked from their audience, and the “synthesis between object and environment”²⁰.

Despite these obstacles, art historians have dedicated numerous studies to questions of formal patterning, aesthetic qualities, and their stylistic kinship²¹. All these features were closely examined in the context of the eastern Adriatic medieval art, mostly in occasion of important exhibitions held over the last few decades. However, the palaeographical features of verses were not studied and thus have yet to be brought together in a critical study. The analysis of the epigraphical and palaeographical features of inscriptions in order to establish the precise time of execution of crucifixes was in the focus of earlier scholars of the Zadar crucifixes, but recently has not gained special interest²². Comparatively little attention was devoted to the (inter)-relation between the text and imagery, primarily because inscriptions were understood only as an additional message to the Passion of the crucified Christ. My aim here is to investigate different strategies of communicating the Passion through these objects starting from the type of text used to support the image of Christ.

The most important crucifix to answer the questions raised no longer survives. Probably manufactured around the middle of the 13th-century, it was destroyed in the WW II during the bombing of Zadar. On the transverse limb of the cross two inscriptions were displayed, above and under the arms of Christ respectively, as is visible on the photograph taken prior to its destruction. The lower one consisted of capital letters, while the letters on the upper exhibited characteristics of the minuscule Gothic script. Moreover, the numerous contractions of the words were necessary to write the thirteen-word long text on the upper part of the arm. Both different epigraphy and heavily abbreviated text indicate how the upper inscription was etched onto the crucifix after the lower inscription. In this context

²⁰ B. WILLIAMSON, *Altarpieces, Liturgy, Devotion*, Spe 79/2, 2004, p. 405.

²¹ Particular attention was dedicated to their stylistic origin and the “Byzantinizing” characteristics. For the most recent overview of scholarship cf.: E. HILJE, *Cat. No. 15 Nepoznati majstor. Slikano raspelo; XII./XIII. stoljeće; Cat. No. 16 Zadarski majstor (?). Slikano raspelo; XIII. stoljeće*; and *Cat. No. 17 Zadarski majstor (?). Slikano raspelo; XIII. stoljeće*, [in:] E. HILJE – R. TOMIĆ, *Slikarstvo: umjetnička baština Zadarske nadbiskupije*, Zadar 2006, p. 92–99 (with further references); I. FISKOVIĆ, *Crucifixion with the Living Christ, 12th/13th c.*, [in:] *The Croats: Christianity, Culture, Art: Exhibition Catalogue*, Musei Vaticani 1990–2000, Zagreb 1999, p. 438, 440; IDEM, *Romaničko slikarstvo u Hrvatskoj*, Zagreb 1987, p. 50–51; G. GAMULIN, *The painted crucifixes...*, p. 13–17, 115–116.

²² Many of conclusions have been discredited. In the first place the datation of crucifixes to the 9th and 11th century. Cf. G. GAMULIN, *Raspelo 12. stoljeća u Zadru*, ZR 16.2/3, 1967, p. 169, 173.

it appears highly likely that the destroyed crucifix from the Benedictine nunnery had originally only one verse inscription displayed under the arms of Christ, as is the case with other two crucifixes from Zadar (see further).

Due to the mediocre quality of the only two remaining photographs, and the fact that the crucifix no longer exists, scholars are constrained to operate with the transcription provided by C. Cecchelli²³. While editing the catalogue of the most significant works of art in Zadar, Cecchelli saw the crucifix *de visu*, a little less than a decade before it was destroyed. The inscription along the lower edge of the transverse arm of the cross reads:

+SOL LATET ORBISQVE TREMIT SAXVM CREPITAT ISTE CEDIT

(The sun is hiding, the world is trembling, the cliff is shaking, this one dies)

The reading of the upper inscription is somewhat more problematic. However, by reaching to the original text, out of which the verse was extracted (and presuming it was faithfully reproduced) it is possible to establish that the two double-rimed verses originated from the mid-1100s poem *Carmen paraeneticum ad Rainaldum*²⁴. In the 17th-century the poem was included in the *Opera omnia* of Saint Bernard of Clairveaux. Since then his authorship was questioned, and the uncertain author is often referred to as Pseudo-Bernard. Two verses inscribed on the crucifix were:

QVISQVIS AMAT CHRISTVM MVNDVM NON DILIGIT ISTVM / SED QVASI
FETORES SPERNENS ILLIVS AMORES

(Who loves Christ does not love this world / but scorns its love as it scorns a stench)²⁵.

This lengthy poem was highly popular in the later middle Ages, and as such was circulating in the Adriatic area. Literary culture of the Eastern Adriatic is reasonably well studied, whereas the ways by which texts were circulating are usually impossible to trace²⁶. B. Lučin has recently discovered that an epitaph walled in

²³ *Catalogo delle cose d'arte e di antichità d'Italia: Zara*, ed. C. CECHELLI, Roma 1932, p. 151 (caetera: C. CECHELLI, *Catalogo*).

²⁴ The full poem is available at the Biblioteca Catolica Omnia; AUCTOR INCERTUS, *Carmen paraeneticum ad Rainaldum*, 1100–1200; http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/04z/z_1100-1200_Auctor_Incertus_Carmen_Paraeneticum_Ad_Rainaldum_MLT.pdf.html [15 IV 2016].

²⁵ Transcription presented by Cecchelli in *Catalogo di cose d'arte* slightly differs from the original text in the Pseudo-Bernard's poem. Translation according to G. GAMULIN, *The painted crucifixes...*, p. 50 (n. 25).

²⁶ Cf.: N. KOLUMBIĆ, *Hrvatska književnost na prijelazu iz romanike u gotiku*, [in:] *Majstor Radovan i njegovo doba*, ed. I. BABIĆ, Trogir 1994, p. 241–246; J. BRATULIĆ, *Hrvatska srednjovjekovna poezija latinskog jezičnog izraza*, [in:] IDEM, *Sjaj baštine. Rasprave i članci o hrvatskoj dopreporodnoj književnosti*, Split 1990, p. 35–51.

the cloister of the Franciscan friary in Split is composed of the verses from the same Pseudo-Bernard's work²⁷. The six verses inscribed on the epitaph were extracted from the original poem and then set together forming a new one. The defunct, Leo Cacete, died in 1296, at the end of the same century in which the Benedictine crucifix from Zadar was fabricated. Future research on book culture in these cities will possibly bring to light new findings about the circulation and use of this particular poem.

The second example from Zadar is an impressive life-sized carved and polychrome image of the Living Christ, best known as the crucifix from the Collection of the Saint Francis' Friary. Generally dated around or shortly after 1200, this crucifix bears three registers of inscriptions. The first and the highest one, the *titulus*, is a combination of the chi-ro monogram and the shortened Latin reference to Jesus as the king of Jews, REX IVDEORVM. On the upper part of the arm the Greek word for Crucifixion, ICTAVBRΩCIC, is inscribed²⁸. On the lower part runs biblically inspired verse, possibly an elaboration of a section from Ezekiel (39, 17–18):

+IN ME CREDENTES AD ME CONCVRRITE GENTES

(People who believe in me, run to me)

B. Brenk in 1999 labelled this inscription as “typically Franciscan”. Without going deeper in his argument of the origin of inscription, he pointed to the fact that the crucifix was commissioned for a Franciscan church and its style and typology is Umbro-Tuscan, that is, as well tied to the artistic production of the Mendicant orders in central Italy²⁹. However, the Franciscan church in Zadar was consecrated only in 1280, and, although Brenk suggests the dating of the crucifix to the end of the 13th-century, the generally accepted dating places its manufacturing much earlier.

Finally, the crucifix from the Saint Michael's church is roughly dated to the 13th-century, and exhibits similar formal characteristics as the Franciscan one. Likewise other two examples from Zadar its original provenance is not certain since no archival evidence acknowledge its original location and context. Generally accepted reading of its verse in scholarly publications is: REX OBIT HIC PLORAT MARIA DOLET IMPIVS ORAT³⁰. Even though the inscription is generally well

²⁷ B. Lučin published his finding on blog “MARVLVS ET AL”. See the entry “Još jedan splitski srednjovjekovni epitaf”: http://marcusmarulus.blogspot.com/2011/06/jthe_os-jedan-splitski-srednjovjekovni.html [15 IV 2016].

²⁸ G. GAMULIN, *Raspelo iz 12. stoljeća...*, p. 169.

²⁹ B. BRENK, *Il ciborio esagonale di San Marco a Venezia*, [in:] *L'arte di Bisanzio e l'Italia al tempo dei Paleologi 1261–1453*, ed. A. IACOBINI, M. DELLA VALLE, Roma 1999, p. 147–148.

³⁰ The transcription provided by Cecchelli was reproduced in all succeeding publications: C. CECHELLI, *Catalogo...*, p. 151; G. GAMULIN, *The painted crucifixes...*, p. 116; E. HILJE, *Cat. No. 16...*, p. 96. Cecchelli should also be credited for pointing to similar inscriptions. Another example, which

preserved, some letters have lacerated, in particular the word read as MARIA. It is clear, however, that the word finishes with an AR, followed by an abbreviation for US, which makes the proposed reading of the word unlikely. When comparing this inscription with a relatively numerous group of depictions baring the similar verse, it is convincing to read the word as CARUS. The “beloved one” is identifiable with John the Evangelist, still visible on the Christ’s left. As a consequence, the third word of inscription has to be read as HEC (fem.), referring to Mary, now obliterated but once depicted on the opposite end of the cross. The full text must be therefore transcribed as:

+REX OBIT HEC PLORAT CARVS DOLET IMPIVS ORAT

(The King dies, she cries, the beloved one grieves, the impious one prays)³¹

The verse, including its alternated versions, can be found in at least ten other examples, which makes the cited *Rex obit* inscription frequently used through the Latin West³². Probably more striking is the fact that the inscription was broadly disseminated, from Iberian Peninsula and Northern Europe to, as this case attest, the East Adriatic coast. Together with the considerable geographical diffusion of the verse, it can be found on different supports, as well as in various contexts. For example, the verse is inscribed on one of the pier reliefs in the monastery cloister (Santo Domingo de Silos in Spain), church portal (Ribe cathedral in Denmark), and prayer books once used through the Continent. The contexts also vary: the inscription on the church portal was addressing the wide audience, the cloister is a semi-public space, while devotional books had different, surely more private use³³. Addition of Zadar crucifix to this group both broadens the area in which the inscription was diffused and expands the variety of its contexts. Given the fact that a monumental crucifix was most obviously located in the sacral space, it makes it a unique case.

The inscription is an opening verse of a poem by Hildebert of Lavardin, or one of his followers. Hildebert’s eight verses long poetry came down to us in the Copenhagen miscellanea and is therefore known as the *Copenhagen octave*³⁴. It was used as a prayer or a hymn, and possibly even as a liturgical text³⁵. The most recent contribution to the understanding of the *Rex obit* inscription is a remarkable

was known to him and which he confronted with the inscription on the Zadar crucifix, is the one found on the cover of the Trier Gospel from the 12th century: *Ista flet, hec surgit, obit hic, cadet hec, dolet iste*.

³¹ I am following the translation in: P. SCOTT BROWN, *The verse inscription from the deposition relief at Santo Domingo de Silos: word, image, and act in medieval art*, JMS 1/1, 2009, p. 95.

³² P. SCOTT BROWN, *op. cit.*, p. 88–89.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 89, 100.

³⁴ For the whole poem cf.: *ibidem*, p. 95.

³⁵ Cf. R. FAVREAU, *Sources es inscriptions médiévales*, CRAIBL 153/4, 2009, p. 1295–1296.

article by P. Scott Brown. In his thought-provoking discussion on the Deposition relief in Silos, Scott Brown has convincingly argued how the inscription served as a mnemonic device. Combined with the imagery, it functioned as a help in evocation of a larger text. For devotees who were familiar enough with this poem, the text and imagery were devices to “trigger devotional and performative responses to works of art”³⁶. Textual and visual strategies – verse inscription and relief – created the devotional pattern so that the beholder was instructed to meditate upon the Passion of Christ using the exact poem and specific object of devotion.

The next aspect of inscription, as well pointed out by Scott Brown, is its flexibility. It could have served as a support to either Crucifixion or Deposition³⁷. As a matter of fact, its presence in Zadar is even more captivating when confronted with the iconography of the crucifix. Besides the figure of Saint Michael in the highest part of the vertical limb of the cross, all other figures are indicated in the text. The Christ as the central figure is the king that dies (REX OBIT). Secondary figures, Mary, once depicted on Christ’s right side is weeping (HEC PLORAT), while John the Evangelist, his teacher’s beloved one, is mourning (CARVS DOLET). Holding their inclining heads with both hands, supplicants in grief are pointed out in the verse causing that both imagery and text displayed the right way to meditate over the death of Christ. Following their example, double-stressed by text and imagery, devotees were instructed on how to compassionate with the death of Christ.

Furthermore, the devotee is explicitly mentioned at the end of the verse inscription. The expression “the indigenous one prays” (IMPIVS ORAT) stands for the devotee before a crucifix. In this case this is more than a formula frequently used in medieval sources where patrons referred to themselves as indigenous or sinful; on Saint Michael’s crucifix the *impius* had a precise function in devotional experience. As Scott Brown makes clear, the “indigenous one” in the verse was identified with the “indigenous” one in the real sphere before the crucifix through “conscious mimetic identification”³⁸. Since none of the figures depicted can be interpreted as “impious,” in the eyes of the devotee it becomes *ego*³⁹.

Text-Image-Text Strategies and the Pious Performance

After briefly discussing the origin of inscriptions and their function and use, it is necessary to turn our attention to the interrelation between the text and imagery. In comparing the message communicated through verses with iconography of the crucified Christ, strictly semantically speaking, it is clear that it was not obligatory

³⁶ P. SCOTT BROWN, *The Verse Inscription...*, p. 91.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 89.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 97.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 97.

for the text and imagery to complement one another. For instance, Christ on the destroyed Benedictine cross from Zadar was a Living one. The depiction of Christ in his triumph over death is in opposition to the apocalyptically intoned text. While the imagery suggests Christ's victory, the verse stresses antipodal message – the hiding sun, trembling world, and the shaking of the cliff – all followed by the death on the cross. The use of pronoun “this one” (ISTE) deliberately establishes connection with the imagery. The inscription is referring to Christ, but while depicted as living on the cross He died (CEDIT) in inscription.

The question of victory over death, expressed either in text or imagery, is of particular importance for the topic under discussion. On the mid-13th-century crucifix in San Pietro in Vinculis in Pisa, better known as San Pierino, Christ has died on the cross and Mary and John are mourning over his death⁴⁰. Nonetheless, the verse above Christ's arms does not describe death of Christ nor does it point to supplicants in pain. On the contrary, the Christ is referred to as a “destructor of death, restorer and creator of life.” The inscription in original reads:

+MORTIS DESTRVCTOR VITE REPARATOR ET AVCTOR

Observing from this angle, it is interesting to point out that the image of the suffering Christ was accompanied by a VICTOR MORTIS caption on the two crucifixes from Sicily, both dated to the 13th century⁴¹. Cited cases attest that text and imagery were sometimes contrasting. The medieval devotee would have found himself before the object consisting of text and imagery, semantically conflicting between them.

Bearing in mind the use of crucifixes with inscriptions as devotional objects, one might ask were medieval viewers perceiving this text-image inconsistency, as we do today? According to M. Bacci the answer is negative. From our modern-day art-historical perspective the iconographical schemes of Living and Suffering Christ do seem too different not to be perceived. However, inscriptions on crucifixes indicate how during the 13th century, when the Suffering Christ had become a prevalent iconographical theme, the understanding of Passion did not necessary change⁴². Two crucifixes from Pisa and Zadar speak in favor of these observations

⁴⁰ For the San Pierino crucifix cf.: L. CARLETTI, *Croce dipinta (no. 41)*, [in:] *Cimabue a Pisa. La pittura pisana del Duecento da Giunta a Giotto*, ed. M. BURRESI, A. CALECA, Ospedaletto 2005, p. 178–179.

⁴¹ M.C. DI NATALE, *Le croci dipinte in Sicilia: l'area occidentale dal XIV al XVI secolo*, Palermo 1992, p. 7, 13.

⁴² In other words, the change of iconography was not followed by the shift in the perception of Christ's nature. In the same way, two crucifixes from Arezzo (the end of the 12th and the first half of the 13th century) on the perisome display designation of Christ from the Gospel of John (17, 14): REX REGUM ET DOMINUS DOMINANTIUM. M. BACCI, *Pro remedio animae. Immagini sacre e pratiche devozionali in Italia centrale (secoli XIII e XIV)*, Pisa 2000, p. 108–109, 111.

and support the general remark in dealing with inscriptions, which, as scrutinized by K. Ambrose, *do not consistently ground the meaning of a work of art but can stand in any number of semantic relations to it*⁴³. Furthermore, all this calls to mind a D. Freedberg's stance on crucifixes as *fetishistic object to a much greater extent than all other images*⁴⁴. According to Freedberg, it may be argued that, since they were the most impassioned focus of beholders, their form (and iconography) were *more or less irrelevant to the kinds of response they engendered*⁴⁵.

However, the problem as I see it, becomes complicated when we are dealing with devotional objects in question, and can broadly be summarized in one question: Was it text or image that played a decisive role in development of devotional practices? Or, to put it differently, was Passion communicated by text, imagery, or a combination of both? Although it is tempting to answer "both," the two cited crucifixes and the ambiguity that exists in their verses require a more elaborate response. At this point it is necessary to turn our attention to the aspects of devotional performance. Consequently, rather than focus only on the visionary, it is mandatory to include into the discussion other senses as well.

The growing scholarship on the role of senses in devotion paints it as a deeply multisensory experience. Vision, although perceived either as a reliable or blurred mode of perception⁴⁶, was irreplaceable since it was crucial to have a focus of worship. The visual representation was therefore required. When looking at the image as a whole, the devotees would concentrate on eyes and head. Eyes, notes M. Holmes, *emerge as critical element in representational economy*⁴⁷. This is, in fact, particularly true for the iconography of the Living Christ whose wide-open eyes are the most distinct part of the face. The importance of the psychology of eyes and physiognomy in general is evident in the case of the destroyed Benedictine cross whose leaned aureole was pointing the eyes of the Crucified directly to the ones of the devotee⁴⁸.

Medieval piety was also somatic. The touch *provided immediate knowledge of the world*, and, when controlled, was able to *lead to God*⁴⁹. J. Cannon has recently dedicated a study to the visual representations of touching and kissing of the Virgin's foot

⁴³ K. AMBROSE, *Attunement to the Damned of the Conques Tympanum*, Ges 50/1, 2011, p. 12–13.

⁴⁴ D. FREEDBERG, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response*, Chicago–London 1991, p. 307.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁶ For the different perceptions of the senses in the Middle Ages cf.: J.E. JUNG, *The Tactile and the Visionary: Notes on the Place of Sculpture in the Medieval Religious Imagination*, [in:] *Looking Beyond: Visions, Dreams, and Insights in Medieval Art and History*, ed. C. HOURIHANE, Princeton 2010, p. 203–204, 207–210.

⁴⁷ M. HOLMES, *The Miraculous Image in Renaissance Florence*, New Haven 2013, p. 183.

⁴⁸ For the reciprocity in rituals of gazing cf.: T. LENTES, 'As Far as the Eye Can See...': *Rituals of Gazing in the Late Middle Ages*, [in:] *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, ed. J.F. HAMBURGER, A. BOUCHÉ, Princeton 2005, p. 360–362.

⁴⁹ J.E. JUNG, *The Tactile and the Visionary...*, p. 208.

in early Sienese panel painting. A wide range of evidence she presented speak in favor of this kind of interaction with large-sized images as a usual practice in central Italy⁵⁰, typical for devotional practices of both East and West⁵¹. The same act was applied in lay domestic spaces where small-scale panels, usually triptychs, triggered the same form of tactile devotion⁵². The damage caused by such a use of objects is rarely preserved, and evidence on their haptic handling can usually be found only in literary accounts⁵³. However, this is not the case with crucifixes displaying a verse inscriptions.

There are two basic types of physical engagement with devotional objects. The first one is direct contact with palms. The second one is more complex because consists of a gift-offering to an image as a sign of a vow in form of a silver or gold plaque, candle, wax body part or even the whole figure⁵⁴. The plaques fall under this category because were attached onto the object through physical contact. Devotees were pinning *ex voto* gifts on the Venetian crucifix from Santa Maria dei Frari and the Benedictine crucifix from Zadar. On the other hand, the relief from Santo Domingo de Silos and, as I will suggest below, other crucifixes from Zadar are worn out due to the constant touching of the feet of Christ by devotees. In other words, while eyes were instrumental for the sense of sight, the focus of the sense of touch were feet⁵⁵.

Seeing, as it seems, was initial step in inspiring veneration, and praying to Christ was much easily performed with an image of Christ before one's eyes. Distinction between these two modes of perception is a modern one, since it was rather fluid in the Middle Ages⁵⁶. Therefore, rather than defining touch as a secondary mode of perception, meaning that it came after the visionary, in the case of crucifixes with inscriptions it seems reasonable to opt for the contemporaneity

⁵⁰ J. CANNON, *Kissing the Virgin's Foot: Adoratio Before the Madonna and Child enacted, depicted, imagined*, *Slc* 31, 2010, p. 19–23.

⁵¹ S. BRAJOVIĆ – J. ERDELJAN, *Praying with senses. Examples of icon devotion and the sensory experience in medieval and early modern Balkans*, *30f* 39, 2015, p. 57–63.

⁵² D.G. WILKINS, *Opening the Doors to Devotion: Trecento Triptychs and Suggestions Concerning Images and Domestic Practice in Florence*, [in:] *Italian Panel Painting of the Duecento and Trecento*, ed. V.M. SCHMIDT, Washington 2001, p. 376.

⁵³ G. LUTZ, *The Drop of Blood: Image and Piety in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century*, *Preter* 4/1, 2015, p. 37–51.

⁵⁴ Cf. M. HOLMES, *Ex-votos: Materiality, Memory, and Cult*, [in:] *The Idol in the Age of Art. Objects, Devotions and the Early Modern World*, ed. M.W. COLE, R. ZORACH, Farnhout 2009, p. 159–181.

⁵⁵ The legs must have played particular role in the devotion of the 13th century, primarily because of Saint Francis. On monumental crucifixes he was represented as adoring the wounds on the feet of Christ (see, for instance, 13th-century Umbrian crosses). Even later Franciscan sources, such as writings of St Bernardine of Siena, underline Francis' devotion to the legs of the Crucified. M. BOSKOVITS, *Immagine e preghiera nel tardo Medioevo: osservazioni preliminari*, *ArtC* 76, 1988, p. 94.

⁵⁶ C. LAWLESS, *Sensing the Image: Gender, Piety and Images in Late Medieval Tuscany*, *OAJ* 4, 2014–2015, p. 63.

of both perceptions. Indeed, it is not difficult to imagine devotees fixing their eyes on the face of Christ, clinging onto His feet, and addressing Him with prayers by reading and pronouncing the words displayed on the cross.

Here, finally, the verse inscription, prayer or most likely used as one, offered a devotional pattern to devotees⁵⁷. Aside from containing the rendering of Christ as the King of the Glory, Author of life or Victor over death, its textual strategies added a further aspect to the devotional performance. The use of the present tense provided a direct link between the historical time of Christ's death on the cross and the moment when the devotee was meditating under the crucifix⁵⁸. This is a clear indication on how the presence of devotee in the verse also functioned to transcend the object, stating that the Passion is occurring *here and now*⁵⁹. In such a way the relation of the historical event on the Golgotha with the time, space, and experience of the devotee was created by bridging several realities. The present tense is used on the Benedictine crucifix as well, the difference being that the verse indicates just one of the depicted figures, which is the dying Christ. Other motifs in inscription (hiding sun, trembling world and the shaking cliff) aim to (re)create the moment of Christ's death in the mind of the devotee. Since none of the motifs were depicted, devotees were imagining them in the process of meditation before the crucifix.

The Frari crucifix from Venice and Franciscan from Zadar have somewhat different verses. On the Venetian one the verse is referring directly to the devotee pointing out to him (HE has shown his love to YOU). The first verse directly addresses the one praying before the crucifix, while the second one is more general, aiming to underscore Christ's love for the world that caused his passion and crucifixion. On the crucifix from Zadar words inscribed are in fact words by Christ himself, written in the first person. The spread arms of Living Christ are combined with the powerful plea for running towards Saviour on the cross. For imperative form of its verse (*concurrere*) the Franciscan crucifix can be interpreted as a *speaking work of art whose 'voice' directs viewers to adopt a pious and emotional response*⁶⁰. Textual strategies of communicating the Passion, as all these examples illustrate, were at least two: enacted or by explicitly mentioning the one praying before the cross, or by using the present tense. Intensifying the potency of devotional experience and reaching out to the devotee was of particular importance, and thus the purpose they served was profoundly practical. Discrepancy

⁵⁷ Epigrams and inscriptions in the Byzantine world were also used in similar way, cf.: B.V. PENTCHEVA, *Epigrams on Icons*, [in:] *Art and Text in Byzantine Culture*, ed. L. JAMES, Cambridge 2007, p. 120–122.

⁵⁸ P. SCOTT BROWN, *The Verse Inscription...*, p. 96.

⁵⁹ The same can be deduced from the 9th-century meditation composed by Hrabanus Maurus: "concentrate upon the image (...) as if Christ were right now dying on the cross." H.L. KESSLER, *The French connection...*, p. 138–139.

⁶⁰ L. ROSS, *Language in the Visual Arts: The Interplay of Text and Imagery*, Jefferson 2014, p. 37.

between imagery and text points to conclusion that inscriptions were conditioned by requirements of audience rather than that of iconography. It was their devotional effectiveness and contemplative potential that mattered.

The Visibility of Verses and the Original Setting of Crucifixes

Although evidence on the original location of crucifixes with inscriptions is scarce, the use of written text inscribed on them, as well as the strategies implemented in them, can yield further indication in aiming to solve this issue. Instrumental in understanding their function, it is a first step towards setting them before the eyes of medieval devotees⁶¹. None of the crucifixes here discussed has maintained its original position and neither written sources can easily solve the problem. Since the manufacturing of crucifixes in some cases predates written evidence even for centuries, they are usually of little use. When discussing the possible location of the Frari crucifix in the 13th-century church of Santa Maria Gloriosa, A. Augusti argued how monumental crucifixes were commonly placed in the triumphal arches or mounted above choir screens of Mendicant churches throughout the Apennine peninsula⁶². Her observation is most certainly correct, although the inscriptions running on the transverse limb of the crucifixes may point to different location for several reasons.

Firstly, all inscriptions on crucifixes are double-rimmed ones. Their metrification implies that medieval devotees, at least the ones capable of deciphering the text, pronounced them out loud. As argued above, the rimmed, short verse aimed to help the devotee not only to pronounce it, but also to memorise it, or even, as aptly argued by Scott Brown, to evoke the verses following the one inscribed. To enact the devotional performance of reading the verse, and contemplating on its meaning and imagery, it was obligatory for the object to be located near the beholder. In this regard, the placement of crucifixes in the triumphal arches does not seem convincing. How such placement does or does not apply to their function can be examined in the case of the *Rex obit* crucifix. After the modern restoration it was placed in the triumphal arch of the Saint Michael church in Zadar. The line of reasoning for such a placement was based on the general belief that monumental crucifixes were necessary hung in the triumphal arch, above the main altar. The same setting was proposed for the other two crucifixes from Zadar⁶³. But does this allocation permit to read the inscription easily, if at all?

⁶¹ For the setting of crucifixes within the interior of later-medieval churches cf.: V.M. SCHMIDT, *Tavole dipinte. Tipologie, destinazioni e funzioni*, [in:] *L'arte medievale nel contesto 300–1300. Funzioni, iconografia, tecniche*, ed. P. PIVA, Milano 2006, p. 208–210.

⁶² A. AUGUSTI, *Basilica dei Frari: arte e devozione*, Venezia 1994, p. 20.

⁶³ I. PETRICIOLI, *Umjetnička baština samostana Sv. Marije u Zadru*, [in:] *Kulturna baština samostana Svete Marije u Zadru*, ed. G. NOVAK, V. MAŠTROVIĆ, Zadar 1968, p. 86; E. HILJE, *Slikarstvo zadarske nadbiskupije od IV. do kraja XV. stoljeća*, [in:] E. HILJE – R. TOMIĆ, *Slikarstvo...*, p. 15.

Material evidence may offer substantial evidence in reassessing the original setting. Prior to the bombing of Zadar, when Cecchelli detected the crucifix hanging besides the main entrance of the nunnery, he noted that the legs of Christ were abraded due to the “kisses of the devotees,” with a small *ex voto* plaque attached⁶⁴. During the restoration of the Frari crucifix in 1992 similar material evidence was found, with traces of numerous votive offerings once clustered in the bottom of Christ’s legs⁶⁵. When observing closely the feet of Christ on other crucifixes in Zadar, it is noticeable that the painted layer have deteriorated. In every single case the legs of Christ are destroyed due to the “pious vandalism,” as this activity is amusingly defined⁶⁶. These signs granted a special aura to the object that displayed it. More than just a visible proof of a worshiper’s closeness to a particular object, these gradually visible signs of numerous palms, finger and lips imprinted a memory, created through the use of an object in devotion⁶⁷.

However, the pious vandalism is a process, first signs of which are visible after years, if not decades. It may be objected, therefore, that the acts that caused damages and objects are not contemporary. It is true that some of these findings could easily be tied to the 15th and 16th centuries when the devotion to the Frari crucifix was at peak due to its activation as a miracles-working object⁶⁸. But contrary to the Venetian case, crucifixes from Zadar were not wonder-working. It should be added that they are not listed in any of the Early Modern inventories of churches in Zadar which suggests that no cult or particular devotion was developed around them. C.F. Bianchi, author of the extensive 19th-century ecclesiastical history of Zadar, writes how the Saint Michael crucifix was possessed by confraternities from the 16th century onwards⁶⁹. Whether this was the confraternity of Lady of Snow or Lady of Varoš is not clear, and he is relaying on local narratives more than on written. The precise time of occurrence of damages is, indeed, uncertain. However, it seems reasonable to suppose that the non-existence of a later cult in the case of Zadar crucifixes can point to the conclusion that the process initiated right after their placement in sacred spaces. That was also the time when the religious literature displayed on crucifixes was circulating and eliciting response from devoted individuals.

Where, then, were these crucifixes placed within the church interiors? The evidence brought together so far – prominently placed, rimmed verse inscriptions, detailed iconography, as well as material evidence of devotional ware – point to the conclusion that the original location appears to have been accessible to church-

⁶⁴ C. CECHELLI, *Catalogo...*, p. 72.

⁶⁵ A. AUGUSTI, *Un crocifisso...*, p. 155.

⁶⁶ E. MOGNETTI, *Marks of Devotion: Case Study of a Crucifix by Lorenzo di Bicci*, [in:] *Italian Panel Painting...*, p. 355.

⁶⁷ A.W.B. RANDOLPH, *Touching Objects. Intimate Experiences of Italian Fifteenth-Century Art*, New Haven–London 2014, p. 228.

⁶⁸ C. CORSATO, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

⁶⁹ Cited in G. GAMULIN, *The painted crucifixes...*, p. 116.

goers, granting the physical proximity between beholders and these life-size paintings. Their most likely location are side altars, plausibly the ones dedicated to the Holy Cross. They commonly served as lay altars where the mass for the dead was delivered, and were traditionally erected in the middle of the nave, with their back attached to the choir screens or set against the lateral wall⁷⁰. Frari crucifix was painted from both sides and, as students of this crucifix unanimously argue, textual and material evidence point to its setting “in the middle of the church” (*a mezza chiesa*)⁷¹.

Other altars could have displayed monumental crucifixes as well. For example, 13th-century Tuscan painter Coppo di Marcovaldo produced two crucifixes for the cathedral of San Zeno in Pistoia, one of which was intended for the choir screen, and the other for the altar of Saint Michael. The surviving cross (ca. 1274), today exhibited in cathedral, is usually identified with the one commissioned for the altar⁷². According to C. Frosinini, crosses displaying narrative scenes were not originally intended for altars and have not played any role in the liturgy. Taking into consideration detailed scenes on crosses, Frosinini draws connection between this group of crucifixes and lay piety rather than with liturgy⁷³. It should be made clear, however, that our knowledge of the liturgical use of the side altars is poor. Apart from particular feast day, no daily celebrations seem to have taken place on these altars, and it is attainable that they have primarily served as “stages for devotion”⁷⁴. Accordingly, the altar dedicated to Saint Michael in San Zeno cathedral would have been liturgically “active” only in occasion of the saint’s feast day. However, the focus of much greater devotional interest was Coppo’s crucifix⁷⁵.

The further aspect of the liturgy versus devotion issue is the difficulty of defining the palpable linkage between works of art and strictly liturgical practices⁷⁶. An exception to this general rule could be the Pisan crucifix whose Easter *prefatio*

⁷⁰ Much more attention has been dedicated to the Holy Cross altars in the Early Middle Ages. For symbolical, liturgical, and Eucharistic connotations cf.: A.E. FISHER, *Cross Altar and Crucifix in Ottonian Cologne. Past Narrative, Present Ritual, Future Resurrection*, [in:] *Decorating the Lord’s Table. On the Dynamics between Image and Altar in the Middle Ages*, ed. S. KASPERSEN, E. THUNØ, Copenhagen 2006, p. 43–62; K. IMESCH, *The Altar of the Holy Cross and the ideal of Adam’s progeny: ‘Ut paradysiacae loca possideat regionis’*, [in:] *Death and Dying in the Middle Ages*, ed. E.E. DUBRUCK, B.I. GUSICK, New York 1999, p. 73–76.

⁷¹ C. CORSATO, *op. cit.*, 103; A. AUGUSTI, *Un crocifisso...*, p. 155. The figure painted on the retro of the cross is identified as Saint Mark; C. SANTINI, *op. cit.*, p. 195 (n. 8).

⁷² M. BOSKOVITS (ass. by A. LABRIOLA, A. TARTUFFI), *The origins of Florentine painting, 1100–1270: A critical and historical corpus of Florentine Painting*, vol. I, Florence 1993, p. 596.

⁷³ C. FROSININI, *La riforma gregoriana e la nascita della croce dipinta*, [in:] *Pinxit Guilielmus. Il restauro della croce di Sarzana*, ed. M. CIATTI, C. FROSININI, R. BELLUCCI, Firenze 2001, p. 27.

⁷⁴ J.E.A. KROESEN, *The Altar and its Decorations in Medieval Churches. A Functionalist Approach*, Med 17, 2014, p. 173 (n. 60).

⁷⁵ The document also stipulated a *figura seu sepultura sancti Michaelis*. For the original document and its translation in Italian cf.: M. BURRESI – A. CALECA, *Le croci dipinte*, Pisa 1993, p. 95.

⁷⁶ For a broader view see B. WILLIAMSON, *op. cit.*

formula, as suggested by S. Sindig Larsen, could indicate the connection with Eucharistic celebration⁷⁷. Moreover, the verse it displays is rather neutral in a sense that does not exhibit any of devotional strategies used on other crucifixes. Modern restoration undertaken in 2005 has revealed that the cross contained relics treasured in its lower part and that the mid-13th-century crucifix incorporated an earlier one, which has led scholars to speculate on the high cultic value of the older crucifix⁷⁸. All these characteristics separate the Pisan crucifix from the other discussed here. The proposed location on the rood screen remains plausible⁷⁹, even if, on the basis of the high devotional value of both object and relics, it can be argued that this crucifix was placed somewhere closer to the devotees.

A more concrete bonding of crucifixes with specific time in the liturgical year was suggested by Kessler. An iron ring on the back surface of the Rosano cross led him to hypothesize on its movability, namely during the Easter *adoratio*, *depositio*, and *elevatio* rituals⁸⁰. The crucifixes have certainly played an important role in the Holy Week rituals as can be deduced from written sources, and the *prefatio* formula on the Pisan crucifix is no exception. Devotional and liturgical role of monumental crucifixes does seem self-evident, but there is usually little or no firm ground to tie specific crucifix with surviving descriptions of Easter practices. Moreover, by the late 12th-century large Deposition scenes and, from the middle of the next century, crucifixes with movable arms emerged on the devotional landscape of medieval Europe⁸¹. These objects could have suited much better the requirements of the Holy Week practices than large and heavy crucifixes whose size and function point to their stationarity rather than movability.

With and without Verse Inscription. Conclusion

Nevertheless, the *direct, close, and quotidian engagement with the image*, as Holmes puts it⁸², led to both emotional and contemplative responses, as well as to the performance of several devotional acts and ritual practices. Far from being passive observers, devotees would meditate on the Passion of Christ by looking at the

⁷⁷ The full verse is as follows: "Qui mortem nostram moriendo destruxit, et vitam resurgendo reparavit". Cited in M. BACCI, 'Pro remedio animae'..., p. 109, 455.

⁷⁸ M. BACCI, *Shaping the Sacred: Painted Crosses and Shrines in Thirteenth-Century Pisa*, RJBH 38, 2007–2008, p. 122, 127.

⁷⁹ Bacci writes how the crucifix possibly hanged from a now disappeared rood screen, M. BACCI, *Shaping the Sacred...*, p. 122.

⁸⁰ H.L. KESSLER, *Inscriptions...*, p. 178–180.

⁸¹ Cf. K. KOPANIA, *Animated Sculptures of the Crucified Christ in the Religious Culture of the Latin Middle Ages*, Warsaw 2010.

⁸² M. HOLMES, *The Miraculous Image...*, p. 209. Although Holmes in her study refers primarily to the miracle- and wonder-working images, the quoted section holds true for images without a particular cult.

Crucified, gazing at His eyes, wounds and mourning supplicants, doing the same by reading out loud the verse inscription, reaching out for Christ's feet, attaching votive gifts and lighting candles – all of which constituted vital parts of the multisensory and physically engaging devotion in the Middle Ages⁸³. The most important aspect added by inscriptions to their function and use is directing the spectator in his/her devotion by offering a specified prayer, as well as through its reciting and, finally, hearing the inscribed message.

At first sight nothing seems to distinguish crucifixes with inscriptions from other crucifixes: their iconography is equal and their size and materiality inserts in the variety of the late medieval monumental sculpture and painting. On the other hand, art historians include them in the well-known general scheme of crucifixes hanging from the vaults of the church, applied in scholarship to all extant examples. A closer examination of not numerous, but intriguing group of crucifixes with prayer-inducing verses, as I hope to have demonstrated, shows how they required a multifaceted response and were profoundly experienced by their audience. More generally speaking, they underline the important fact that not all typologically equal objects (devotional or not) triggered the same kind of response. For instance, in her discussion on the various functions of the *vita* panels, J. Cannon has argued how panels of women saints from central Italy did not necessary have correspondent type and function⁸⁴. All equal in appearance, they could have served for different religious and devotional purposes. Crucifixes here discussed represent the comparable, if not the equivalent functional diversity within the same typological framework. To repeat Cannon's concluding remarks, *similarity of type should not lead us to assume similarity of function*⁸⁵.

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⁸³ For the most recent comprehensive contribution to the field cf.: B. CASEAU, *The Senses in Religion: Liturgy, Devotion, and Deprivation*, [in:] *A Cultural History of the Senses in the Middle Ages*, ed. R.G. NEWHAUSER, London 2014, p. 89–110. For devotion to crucifixes cf.: S. LIPTON, "The Sweet Lean of His Head": Writing about Looking at the Crucifix in the High Middle Ages, S 80/4, 2005 p. 1172–1208.

⁸⁴ J. CANNON, *Beyond the Limitations of Visual Typology: Reconsidering the Function and Audience of Three Vita Panels of Women Saints c. 1300*, [in:] *Italian Panel Painting...*, p. 290–311.

⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 307.

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Abstract. The paper discusses a group of monumental crucifixes from the 13th-century East Adriatic and Italy, pained or executed in low relief, that display a verse inscriptions on the transverse limb of the cross. The main scope of the paper is to examine the provenance of the text inscribed in order to yield clearer insight into their function, use and original location in the church interiors. The paper specifically aims at analyzing three monumental crucifixes from the East-Adriatic city of Zadar which, although have already been the subject of a respectable number of studies, have not attracted attention as objects of devotion. My interest, therefore, is turned towards verse inscription as their distinctive feature and, as I shall argue, a key aspect in understanding their function. Examining the nature of the text displayed, iconography and materiality of these crucifixes, my main argument is to demonstrate how these objects provoked a multi-faced response from their audience, since were experienced by seeing, hearing and touching respectively.

Keywords: monumental crucifixes, pained crosses, verse inscriptions, medieval devotional poetry, medieval devotional practices, Zadar.

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Fig. 1. Unknown master, Painted cross, ca. 1130–1150, Saint Mary's Monastery, Rosano (courtesy of the Ministero per le beni e attività culturali – Opificio delle Pietre Dure, further reproduction prohibited).

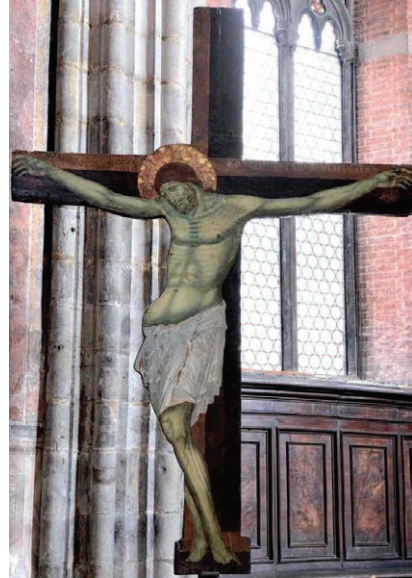


Fig. 2. Maestro della Cappella Dotto (att.), Painted Cross, ca. 1250–1300, Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice (source: C. CORSATO, *Public Piety and Private Devotion: The Altar of the Cross, Titian and the Scuola della Passione at the Frari*).



Fig. 3. Unknown master, Painted cross, ca. 1250, formerly at the Saint Mary Nunnery, Zadar (source: G. GAMULIN, *The painted crucifixes in Croatia*).



Fig. 4. Unknown master, Crucifix, ca. 1150–1200, Collection of the Franciscan Friary, Zadar (source: G. GAMULIN, *The painted crucifixes in Croatia*).



Fig. 5. Unknown master, Crucifix, ca. 1200–1300, Saint Michael church, Zadar (source: G. GAMULIN, *The painted crucifixes in Croatia*).



Fig. 6. Michele di Baldovino (att.), Painted cross, ca. 1250–1300, San Pietro in Vincolis, Pisa (courtesy of the Soprintendenza delle arti e paesaggio per le province di Pisa e Livorno, further reproduction prohibited).

BOOK REVIEWS

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IVAN PETROV, *Od inkunabułów do pierwszych gramatyk. Konteksty rozwoju bułgarskiego języka literackiego (koniec XV – początek XVII wieku)* [From Incunabula to First Grammars. Contexts of the Development of the Bulgarian Literary Language (Late 15th – Early 17th Century)], Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Łódź 2015, pp. 268.

Ivan Petrov's monograph, published by Łódź University Press, basically fits into the mainstream of his research interest, since it refers to the history of language (Bulgarian, in this case). In contrast to the vast majority of his previous publications, which focused on issues related to the development of the systems of Bulgarian and, to a slightly lesser extent, Polish (i.e. the inner history of these languages, according to the nomenclature applied in diachronic linguistics¹), this monograph is devoted to the so-called outer history, which comprises the entirety of the historical and sociocultural factors that, on the one hand, accompany any given language and, on the other hand, influence its development (cf. p. 9). The author undertakes to describe possibly the most interesting and dynamic

era in the history of the Bulgarian language, namely the transitional period between the Middle Bulgarian representation of the Old Church Slavonic tradition, which was, to some extent, present in the literature of that time, and the so-called pre-renaissance age, which was characterised by breaking with this tradition. The same period witnessed the decline of the era of handwritten manuscripts, already proclaimed at the invention of printing, and the onset of the new age of the printed book. And it is the beginnings of the latter in the territory of *Slavia Orthodoxa* that the monograph focuses on.

Chapter 1 (*Church Slavonic Language and its Influences upon Bulgarian: the Concepts of Description and Interpretation*, p. 17–54) is devoted mainly (but not exclusively) to terminological issues – the author provides a meticulously detailed outline of the massive debate on the definition of 'Church Slavonic language' and its related terms, which has been held in Paleo-Slavonic circles since the second half of the 19th century, illustrating the discourse with numerous extensive examples from the subject literature (some fragments may even come as excessively extensive) and referring to it critically. Such a profound synthesis of the previous studies makes it possible for the reader to learn in detail the evolution of the term and the difficulties related to its unambiguous determination and definition. As the title of the chapter indicates, the vast majority of its content is related to the manner of describing such a phenomenon as what Church Slavonic language was (and still is, to a certain extent). Nevertheless, Petrov himself declares that *a holistic collection, an exhaustive critical presentation and a thorough systematisation of opinions*

¹ Cf. e.g.: I. PETROV, *Zdania temporalne w Biblii nowobułgarskiej (1924 r.) i ich odpowiedniki w średniobułgarskim Kodeksie Ochrydzkim (XII w.)*, AUL. FL 43, 2005, p. 91–110; IDEM, *Древнеславянские источники и функциональный (семантический) подход к изучению развития языковой системы: на примере болгарского языка*, SeS 3–4, 2005–2006, p. 173–182; IDEM, *Wyrażanie struktur polipredykatywnych w rozwoju języka bułgarskiego*, Łódź 2007; IDEM, *Наблюдения върху синтаксиса на старобългарската епиграфика (X–XI век)*, Pbg 32.1, 2008, p. 36–46; I.N. PETROV, W.B. TWARDZIK, *Kamień, który odrzucili budując, czyli o staropolskich imiesłowach nieodmiennych w funkcji podmiotu*, JPo 90.1, 2010, p. 5–15; IDEM, *Nie masz, kto ratując, czyli o staropolskich imiesłowach nieodmiennych czasu teraźniejszego w zdaniach podmiotowych*, JPo 93.2, 2013, p. 65–76; IDEM, *Gdyby przysięgły człowiek widział kogo raniąc barzo, czyli o staropolskich imiesłowach nieodmiennych czasu teraźniejszego w funkcji biernej*, JPo 94.1, 2014, p. 63–68; IDEM, *O staropolskich imiesłowach dociekliwie i odkrywco*, Sla 83.4, 2014, p. 423–431.

[regarding various methods in which Church Slavonic language had been described – A.K.] *is currently an unachievable task* (cf. p. 27), and thus, he focuses on the studies published no earlier than in the second half of the 19th century. It is also noteworthy that the author does not confine himself to linguistic studies *per se*, but he also refers to research conducted in other branches of science. For obvious reasons, Petrov pays special attention to Bulgarian studies and treatises when theorising on Church Slavonic language, its function and influence upon Bulgarian language.

Chapter 2 (*Incunabula and Cyrillic Old Prints: Issues of Taxonomy and Nomenclature*, p. 57–84) is devoted to the presentation and explanation of terminological intricacies and complexities (e.g. problems related to such definitions as ‘incunabulum’, ‘old print’, ‘first printing’, etc. within the territory of *Slavia Orthodoxa*), and the issues regarding the systematisation and classification of the resource database covered in the publication. Petrov also pays particular attention to the role of writings which accompanied the base texts of old prints, e.g. forewords, afterwords, and colophons, and he consistently names them ‘anagraphic texts’ (following the terminology applied by Mariyana Tsibranska-Kostova²).

In Chapter 3 (*16th Century South Slavonic Cyrillic Incunabula: Fundamental Traditions and Source Contexts*, p. 87–142) the author chronologically presents the history of Glagolitic incunabula, Cyrillic incunabula from Cracow and Cetinje, Romanian and Bulgarian incunabula (in three variations) with some related centres, Venetian and Serbian printing houses, and finally a brief description of East Slavonic Cyrillic incunabula. Importantly, Petrov does it not only on the grounds of the existing subject literature, but also through the analysis of source texts.

In the last part of his book, Petrov draws the reader’s attention to the growing interest that the printers and their patrons of the time took in publishing works that were of an educational and lexicological nature (and that frequently referred to other works of this kind), which

was, to some extent, a response to normative processes within the language. What is more, Petrov also nominates the most significant publications focusing on the ‘pre-grammatical’ linguistic tradition of South Slavs (p. 146sq.). The summary of the deliberations included in the three chapters (p. 143–149) also allows for speculation regarding the future direction of the author’s research work (p. 144), i.e. a multi-dimensional comparison of the language of various incunabula (both base and anagraphic texts).

Additionally, it is noteworthy to mention that throughout almost the whole book the author manages to strike the right balance between compactness of language and the clarity of his reasoning, which is by no means common practice in scientific works.

Another integral part of the monograph, apart from *Bibliography* (p. 151–187) and *Index of Source Texts* (p. 189–195), is an annex (p. 199–260) which contains a chronological list of Polish translations of forewords, afterwords and colophons, originating from South Slavonic Cyrillic incunabula, and old prints dated between the late 15th century and early 17th century. The annex constitutes a supplement to Chapter 3, in which (more or less extensive excerpts of) these texts had already been quoted in their original version, and it also corresponds with Chapter 2, where the author indicated the importance of these types of texts. It is also worth mentioning that the author of nearly all translations included in the annex is Professor Aleksander Naumow, a prominent paleo-Slavist, expert in (Old) Church Slavonic literature and Polish translator of numerous incunabula, and emphasising the fact that the vast majority of the anagraphic texts published in the monograph had never been published before, which is of crucial importance, since Petrov – indicating the justifiability of multi-faceted research of such metatexts – at the same time provides a substantial amount of material for such studies.

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Translated by Konrad Brzozowski

² Cf. M. ЦИБРАНСКА-КОСТОВА, *Сборникът „Различни потреби” на Яков Крайков между Венеция и Балканите през XVI век*, София 2013.

³ Uniwersytet Łódzki, Wydział Filologiczny, Katedra Filologii Słowiańskiej

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Хърватските бугарцици и техните български съответствия. Статии и материали [Croatian bugarštica and Their Bulgarian Equivalents. Articles and materials], ed. СТЕФАНА СТОЙКОВА, София 2015, pp. 152¹.

Bugarštica [Croatian: *bugarštici*] belong to the canon of South Slavic folk narrative songs, the oldest known examples of which originate from 16th century manuscripts compiled in the region of the Croatian coast and north-western Croatia. Their recorded lyrics were often accompanied by an appropriate musical notation. They were written in long verses of fifteen and sixteen syllables, which was – in centuries to come – substituted with the decasyllable, typical for the South Slavic heroic epos. In the 19th century, a scientific debate was initiated on the genesis of the *bugarštica*, which – among other things – focused upon the etymological relationship between the Dubrovnian *bugariti* (to sing sorrowfully, to wail) and the parallel *bugarska pesen*, *bugarsztica*, which for some researchers was the proof of the Bulgarian origin of the songs.

The presented publication was prepared by Stefana Mincheva Stoikova, a Bulgarian expert in ethnology and author of numerous scientific publications, including editions of Bulgarian folk culture². For many years, Professor Stoikova

was deputy head of the Folklore Institute at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and the head of the 'Verbal Folklore' Department within the Institute. Not only is the publication, entitled *Хърватските бугарцици и техните български съответствия. Статии и материали*, a summary of previous research in *bugarštica* conducted both by the author and other Bulgarian ethnologists and folklorists, but also a form of encouragement to continue the studies.

The publication consists of an introduction written by Stoikova and eight articles, two of which are also compiled by Stoikova herself, followed by annexes, a dialect dictionary, indexes (of people and geographical names which are included in the texts of the songs, their performers and persons responsible for passing the lyrics, historical figures and researchers), and a summary in English. As explained by Stoikova, the main purpose behind the publication is to present – on the example of some selected texts by Bulgarian ethnologists – the development of Bulgarian scientific thought over the phenomenon of *bugarštica*. The research papers and studies are supplemented with source annexes, i.e. texts of epic songs collected during fieldwork conducted in Bulgaria in the second half of the 20th century, which are similar to *bugarštica* in terms of form, genre and content. The publication is aimed at all those interested in the subject of the oldest known Slavic folk songs.

The reader's initial contact with the very first part, entitled *Articles*, may come as a disappointment, since it only contains quotations of the selected texts, even if in the *Introduction* their publication in a shared collection was justified

¹ The publication was released as part of the project called *Reception of the Literary Output and Folk Culture of the Slavia Orthodoxa circle in Poland – the History and Bibliography of the Translation Production (Recepcja piśmiennictwa oraz literatury ludowej kręgu Slavica Orthodoxae w Polsce – historia i bibliografia twórczości przekładowej)* and implemented at the Ceraneum Centre, the University of Łódź. The project was financed by the National Science Centre, decision number DEC-2012/05/E/HS2/03827.

² A selected bibliography: Цв. РОМАНСКА, Ст. СТОЙКОВА, *Принос към изучаването на българския партизански бит и фолклор (По материали от Плевенско и Ловешко)*, София 1954; Ст. СТОЙКОВА, *Огнището в българския бит*, София 1956; ЕАДЕМ, *Български народни гатанки*, София 1961; *Български юнашки епос*, ed. П. АНГЕЛОВА, Л. БОГДАНОВА, Цв. РОМАНСКА, Е. СТОИН, Ст. СТОЙКОВА, София 1971; *Българска народна поезия и проза в седем тома*, т. III, *Хайдушки*

и исторически песни, ed. Ст. СТОЙКОВА, София 1983; *Български хайдушки и революционен песенен фолклор*, ed. Л. БОГДАНОВА, П. ИВАНОВА, Ст. СТОЙКОВА, София 2001; Ст. СТОЙКОВА, *Български гатанки*, София 2011.

by the fact that studies are dispersed and not easy to be accessed. Naturally, anyone knowledgeable in Slavic folkloristics is well aware of the fact that, for instance, in its original edition, the article by Ivan D. Shishmanov (p. 11–14) numbered several dozen large-format pages and did not refer exclusively to *bugarštica*, but to the contemporary problems of the then-developing Bulgarian ethnography, and therefore, reissuing its complete text in this publication would be of little or no use. The part entitled *Articles* mainly contains excerpts from selected texts, which can be treated as a chrestomathy or an academic textbook that outlines the issue and encourages the reader to expand their knowledge (perhaps, footnotes should refer to complete texts and not only to the quoted fragments). The excerpts have been arranged chronologically, in the order they were written (and which does not always reflect their publication date), which proves to be a perfect solution to present the course of development of the Bulgarian scientific interests. To my mind, however, the publication lacks texts (or, at least, a single example) by representatives of Croatian folkloristics, e.g. Maja Bošković-Stulli, which would demonstrate the standpoint of folkloristics other than the Bulgarian one³.

A exceptionally valuable part of the *Хрватските бугарици и техните български съответствия. Статии и материали* is another article by Stoikova entitled *Materials and Comments on the Issue of Bulgarian Equivalents of Croatian Bugarštica (Материали и бележки към въпроса за българските съответствия на хрватските бугарици*, p. 60–98), which has been published for the very first time and contains a somewhat scientific compromise. Initially, the author does not opt for any of the scientific theses formulated to explain the origins of *bugarštica*. Instead, as Stoikova emphasises on numerous occasions, she focuses on the very few (and yet recorded) examples of Bulgarian epic songs of a longer verse (decasyllable), which are similar to *bugarštica*. The analysis of over a dozen of texts leads the researcher to note a series of similarities between Bulgarian heroic epos, written in the 19th and 20th centuries, and the old-

est Croatian *bugarštica*. Having scrutinised the plots of more modern songs, Stoikova concludes that the shorter verse (four syllables), which can be encountered in decasyllable Bulgarian epic songs, may have been created upon the decomposition of the archaic verse of thirteen syllables.

Aiming at quoting new facts related to the origins of *bugarštica*, Stoikova refers to other directions of research – she abandons linguistic and even ethnographic studies and turns to the latest musicological research. The performance of Croatian *bugarštica* was accompanied by music, e.g. played on the stringed instrument called the *bulgarina* (tamburica), which – in turn – would explain the nomenclature of the genre. Nevertheless, the explanation would be partial since the instrument has been immensely popular across the whole Balkan territory, where it had probably been brought from Asia Minor. And that means its route was not convergent with the direction from which the long-versed poems may have come (Italy). Eventually, however, the author is inclined to accept the thesis of the Bulgarian origin of *bugarštica* – admittedly, these songs were not originally Bulgarian, but they may have been carried to the Croatian coast by Bulgarian highland craftsmen who had been seeking jobs abroad.

The source-based part of the publication entitled *Annexes* begins with the two oldest Croatian *bugarštica*, collected by Petar Hektorović in 1555. The further part of the annex chapter consists of Bulgarian ‘equivalents’ of Croatian texts – named as such for the sake of their similarity in terms of form and content, provided in various versions, compared with one another in columns, and frequently including corresponding musical notation. The collection contains eighteen texts of Bulgarian songs, with some that have never been published before. The majority of these works, which were written down in the course of ethnographical field research in the second half of the 20th century, prove how lively South Slavic oral traditions were and how important it is for them to be further researched and published in print. The annex section closes with four songs which had been included in the collection by Stefan Ilić Verković and then reprinted by Petko Rachov Slaveykov.

³ Cf. M. BOŠKOVIĆ-STULLI, *Balladic Forms of the Bugarštica and Epic Songs*, OT 6.2/3, 1991, p. 225–238.

These are lyrical works, similar to ballads, which allows Stoikova to draw the conclusion that there are both epic and lyrical *bugarštica*. The subject matter of the remaining songs is congruent with the motifs known from heroic epos, i.e. it is related to the struggle of such heroes as Prince Mark and other gallant swordsmen, including very young ones, against the Turkish enemy, and occasionally to the events of their love life. The songs have their local colour, expressed in the names of characters, the development of the plot and fictional details. They contain a number of constituents which are described as 'extremely archaic', of mythological provenance (e.g. characters presented as little kids and their superhuman strength).

As Stoikova notices in the *Summary*, Bulgarian archives are in possession of numerous unique texts of songs which have never been published before and deserve special attention and professional analysis. When presenting the results of the past research, the author of *Хърватските бугарицици и техните български съответствия* aptly points to those aspects of *bugarštica* which still await to be studied: their poetic form, tonal verse structure, musicological approach, and comparative analysis of their language against other 16th century texts, e.g. sermons by Damaskinos Stouditis. A similar revision would be required in the case of some

studies which were already conducted, e.g. comparative analysis with Greek verse.

The discussed study, despite its relatively short length, provides the reader with a substantially sound pool of knowledge, expressed both in the scientific text and the publication of original source material. My remarks regarding the validity of quoting only fragments of articles are of secondary importance in the face of Stoikova's comment summarising the present state of research in *bugarštica* and the content of the annex. On the one hand, the publication synthesises earlier scientific theories and conclusions and, on the other hand, it includes their profound revision, encouraging further studies and provoking with an intriguing source text. Thus, it deserves to be read, reviewed, commented on and promoted. *Хърватските бугарицици и техните български съответствия* is an important voice in the debate on what is common and foreign within Slavic cultures and relationships which represent miscellaneous religious traditions, a voice that emphasises the gravity of Slavic-Slavic relations, resulting, for instance, in the permeation and interaction of literary threads and motifs in the mainstream and within folklore, as can be noticed at the textual, linguistic and translation levels.

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PRZEMYSŁAW MARCINIAK, *Taniec w roli Tersytyesa. Studia nad satyrą bizantyńską* [Dance in the role of Tersytes: A study of Byzantine satire], Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, Katowice 2016, pp. 225 [= Prace Naukowe Uniwersytetu Śląskiego w Katowicach, 3420].

The work under review, written by Przemysław Marciniak, an expert on Byzantine literature, theatre and humour¹, deals with the issue of Byzantine satirical literature. The book's chronological focus is mainly the twelve century. The work is divided into five parts.

¹ Among his most important works are: *Greek Drama in Byzantine Times*, Katowice 2004 and *Ikona dekadencji. Wybrane problemy europejskiej recepcji Bizancjum od XVII do XX wieku*, Katowice 2009.

In Part 1, *Satyra w Bizancjum* [*Satire in Byzantium*], p. 15–31, Marciniak attempts to define satire as a literary genre, reaching as far back as (*silloi*) Xenophanes. In his search for the meaning of the concept of satire, he follows some distinguished Byzantine authors such as Eusthatus, John of Lidia, Phocius, Psellos and Tzetzes. His analysis indicates a semantic affinity between the term satire, as understood in Byzantine culture, and other concepts such

as invective, comedy, lerody and drama. In the conclusion of this part of the book, Marciniak states that satire, which owed its popularity to the contradictions that plagued the Byzantine society and which provided an outlet for both individual and group emotions, was present in Byzantine literature on a noticeable scale.

Part 2, *Z kogo się śmiejecie? Z innych się śmiejecie! – humor w bizantyńskich satyrach* [Whom are you laughing at? You are laughing at others! Humour in Byzantine satires], p. 33–55), focuses on the Byzantine sense of humour. In addition to highlighting the difficulties that the contemporary reader is likely to encounter in trying to understand this, the author specifies its constitutive elements and points out subjects commonly joked about (those in position of power, sex, religious zealotry). He also emphasises the fact that there are both coarse and subtle jokes to be found in Byzantine satirical literature. The jokes that fall into the second category called for some familiarity with the literary canon.

Part 3, *Z Samosat do Konstantynopola* (*From Samosata to Constantinople*, pp. 55–90), is devoted to Lucian of Samosata and to the great influence he exercised on the Byzantine satirical literature. The author tries to explain the popularity that Lucian's works enjoyed in Byzantium – a fact quite remarkable in view of the latter's dislike of Christianity. Marciniak also tries to retrace the process of Lucian's acquisition of the status of a classic author, indicating that his oeuvre drew much attention in the twelfth century, especially in the circle of Theodore Prodromos.

Part 4, *Bizantyński Lukian – Teodor Prodromos i jego satyry* [A Byzantine Lucian – Theodore Prodromus and his satires], p. 91–130, contains the analysis of some selected satirical works by Prodromus, including *Sale of political and poetical lives* (*Bion Prasis*), *Against a lustful old woman* and *Against an old bearded man*. While Prodromus' work is shown to be indebted to that of Lucian's, the author also convincingly demonstrates the originality of the Byzantine author.

Part 5, *Wesołe podziemia, czyli satyryczna katabaza* (*Merry underworld, or a satirical katabasia*), p. 131–162) is devoted to Byzantine katabasias. The author analyses the following works: *Timarion*², a satire against Stephan Hagiochristoforites, *Mazaris' journey to Hades* and an anonymous cento modelled on *Dialogues of the dead* by Lucian. Marciniak explains their origin, characterises their content and shows their common characteristics.

The annexes form an important part of the book. They contain the translations of *Against a lustful, old woman*, of an anonymous cento analysed in the fifth chapter and of the edition of *Sale of political and poetical lives* prepared by E. Cullhed (p. 167–203). The work also includes a preface (p. 7–13) and a bibliography (p. 205–225).

To conclude, Przemysław Marciniak has given us an interesting and important work. *Taniec w roli Tersytyesa* greatly deepens our understanding of Byzantine satirical literature and the Byzantine sense of humour. Given the fact that respective parts of the book appeared as articles in important scholarly journals devoted to the history of Byzantium (*Byzantinoslavica* and *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*), the author's findings will become part of scholarly conversation outside Poland. It is worth noting that the translations of Byzantine works into Polish included in the book add to a small number of Byzantine literary texts available to the Polish reader.

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² The work has recently been translated into Polish by Przemysław Marciniak and Katarzyna Warcaba (*Timarion albo Timariona przypadki przez niego opowiedziane*, trans. P. MARCINIAK, K. WARCABA, pref. P. MARCINIAK, Katowice 2014, pp. 120).

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STANISŁAW REK, *Kosowe Pole 1389 [Kosovo 1389]*, Bellona, Warszawa 2016, pp. 180 [= *Historyczne Bitwy*].

The battle of Kosovo in June 1389 formed an important part of the Serbs' struggle against the Turks who, in the latter half of the fourteenth century, had begun to conquer the Balkans. Contrary to what one might be inclined to think the battle, which did not end in as clear a victory for the Turks as is often assumed, did not have a particularly significant impact on the future of the Serbian lands. However, there can be no doubt that the myth that has built up around this battle has played a very significant role in shaping the Serbian national consciousness.

For a long time the battle of Kosovo did not attract the attention of Polish scholars. However, this has recently changed. The years 2015 and 2016 saw the publication of books by Ilona Czamańska and Jan Leśny¹, and Stanisław Rek, respectively. Although the book under review is intended for readers who are not necessarily experts on the subject matter, it is written by a professional historian and so is based on a wide range of primary sources and on a huge body of secondary literature². It is divided into three parts. Part 1, *Turcy i ich ekspansja w Azji*

i w Europie [The Turks and their expansion in Asia and in Europe], p. 15–52, deals with the rise of the Ottoman state, characterizes the military organization the Turks created and discusses the expansion pursued until the 1360s, first in Asia and then in the Balkans. Part 2, *Imperium osmańskie i „stare imperia” na Bałkanach [The Ottoman state and “old empires” in the Balkans]*, p. 53–82, describes the situation that emerged in the Balkans after the battle of Maritsa and recounts the Turkish expansion that took place between the clash at Maritsa, so tragic for the Serbs, and the battle of Kosovo. Part 3, *Wielka bitwa [The Great Battle]*, p. 85–166, is the main part of the book and provides a thorough analysis of the Kosovo campaign, including its causes, the description of the strength of both sides, the course of the battle itself and its effects. The work also contains a preface (p. 5–13), maps and plans (p. 167–170), the list of abbreviations (p. 171), and a bibliography (p. 173–180).

Minor remarks. Given the devaluation of the imperial title in the fourteenth century, one should not attach a special weight to Stefan Dušan's imperial ambitions. Laonicus Chalcondyles was the Byzantine historian and the author of *Historiarum Libri decem*, not Chalcondyles (p. 174).

¹ I. CZAMAŃSKA, J. LEŚNY, *Bitwa na Kosowym Polu 1389*, Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, Poznań 2015, pp. 245. The review of the book – M.J. LESZKA, SCer 5, 2015, pp. 379–380.

² It seems that the author should have made greater use of Bulgarian literature (for example. П. ПАВЛОВ, И. ТЮТЮНДЖИЕВ, *Османските турци и краят на средновековна България*, Велико Търново 1991; ИДЕМ, *Българите и османското завоевание (краят на XIII – средата на XV в.)*, Велико Търново 1995) as well as Polish one (M. SALAMON, *Bizancjum i Bułgaria wobec ekspansji tureckiej w dobie bitwy na Kosowym Polu*, [in:] *600-lecie bitwy na Kosowym Polu*, red. K. WASZKOWSKI, Kraków 1992, s. 29–43;

K. MARINOW, *Problem zdobycia Tyrnowa przez Turków Osmańskich w literaturze naukowej oraz w świetle źródeł pisanych i archeologicznych*, Mars 17, 2004, s. 3–23; ИДЕМ, *Wybrane problemy upadku Tyrnowa*, AUL.FH 80, 2005, p. 139–160). These works would not add any significant details to the picture of the battle itself, but would highlight some specific issues raised in Rek's book (Bulgarian-Turkish relations, the failure to form the anti-Turkish coalition in the fourteenth century).

Although presented in a popular form, Stanisław Rek's book proposes interesting hypotheses and provides original conclusions. It can be considered to perfectly complement the work by Ilona Czamańska and Jan Leśny. Written in

a fluid language, it is certain to attract a great number of readers.

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BŁAŻEJ SZEFLIŃSKI, *Trzy oblicza Sawy Nemanjicia. Postać historyczna – autokreacja – postać literacka* [Three Faces of Sava Nemanjić: a historical figure, self-creation and literary character], Łódź 2016, pp. 342 [= Byzantina Lodziensia, 25].

Sava Nemanjić-Rastko – the son of Stephan Nemanja, the founder of the medieval Serbian state – is an eminent figure who left his mark on the history of his own country and of the whole Christian ecumene. He was a founder of an independent Serbian church and its first archbishop; a sainted monk; a co-founder of Hilandar, the Serbian monastery on Athos; the author of the typikons of many monasteries; a lawgiver; a man of letters; and a politician. Proclaimed a saint, he is still held in reverence by the members of the Orthodox Church. He has attracted the attention of a great number of scholars, not only the Serbs, and the number of published works about him runs to thousands.

The book under review was written by Błażej Szepliński, a slavist of the younger generation from Łódź. Perhaps it is his young age that gave the author the courage to deal with the topic, which has already been covered by so many distinguished scholars. The main aim of the book is to collect all the available information about Sava's life and to juxtapose it with the saint's image found both in his own works and in the works of other medieval Serbian authors (epic literature).

The book is divided into four main parts. Chapter 1, *Stan badań nad życiem i średniowiecznym wizerunkiem literackim Sawy Nemanjicia* [The State of research into the life and medieval literary image of Sava Nemanjić], p. 7–26,

offers a survey of the book's primary sources and presents the modern scholarship's findings regarding Sava's life and literary image. Chapter 2, *Sawa jako postać historyczna* [Sava as a historical figure], p. 27–148, recounts Sava's life. Of particular note here are the paragraphs that deal with the issue of dating Sava's birth, the problem of the establishment of Serbian archbishopric, and the question of whether the saint owned a city district before escaping to Athos. In Chapter 3, *Kreacja własnego wizerunku przez Sawę* [Sava's creation of self-image], p. 149–172, Szepliński analyses Sava's writings [e.g.: *Karyes Typikon, Life of Simeon, The letter to Spiridon, the hegumen of Studenica*] in terms of the deliberate attempts to create his self-image. This analysis indicates that Sava tended to present himself as a humble person – a tendency that was to a certain extent fuelled by existing convention. What also shines through the saint's writings is his strong self-esteem. Chapter 4, *Sawa jako postać literacka w serbskich utworach epickich epoki średniowiecza* [Sava as a literary figure in Serbian medieval epic works], p. 173–220, provides an analysis of some Serbian texts containing references to the subject of Szepliński's book: *Hilandarska povelja* and *The Life of St. Simeon* by Stefan Nemanja; *The Prologue Life of Saint Sava* by Arsenius; *The Prologue Life of Saint Sava* (older), *The Life of St. Sava* by Domentian; *The Life of St. Sava* by Theodosius of Hilandar; *The Life of Archbishop*

Arsenius by Daniel II; and *A Short Life of St. Sava*. Szefliński tries to examine the way in which Sava is portrayed in these works. He also aims to explain the reasons why different authors described St. Sava in so different ways.

The book also includes an annex (a translation of an extensive fragment of *The Life of St. Sava* by Theodosius of Hilandar, p. 227–274), a preface (p. 1–6), conclusions (p. 221–226), the list of abbreviations (p. 275–278), a bibliography (p. 279–314), summary (p. 315–320), a names index (321–328), the index of administrative, ethnic and place names (p. 329–334), illustrations (p. 335–337).

This book is the first monograph on St. Sava written in Polish. Along with the work by Jan

Leśny¹, it can be used by Polish readers as a reliable source of knowledge about the first members of the Nemanjić dynasty. The inclusion of extensive fragments of *The Life of St. Sava* by Theodosius of Hilandar, translated into Polish, adds to a small number of Serbian medieval texts available to the Polish reader. One can also hope that this young scholar's book will become part of the international scholarly discourse.

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¹ J. LEŚNY, *Studia nad początkami serbskiej monarchii Nemaniczków (połowa XI – koniec XII wieku)*, Wrocław 1989.

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Симеонов сборник (по Светославовия препис от 1073 г.) [Сборник Симеона (по списку Святослава 1073 г.)], ed. ПЕТЯ ЯНЕВА, vol. III, Гръцки извори [Греческие источники], Издателство на БАН „Проф. Марин Дринов”, София 2015, pp. 1242.

Рецензируемое издание создано при поддержке Кирилло-Методиевского научного центра Болгарской академии наук и Лингвотекстологической лаборатории при Софийском университете им. св. Климента Охридского под руководством проф. Р. Павловой. Книга вышла под общей редакцией акад. П. Динекова.

Сам сборник был переведен для болгарского царя Симеона I (правление 893–927 г.) с греческого на славянский язык в конце IX – начале X века. Настоящее издание было подготовлено по его списку 1073 г., сделанному для Святослава Ярославича. Список был открыт в 1817 г. в Воскресенском Ново-иерусалимском монастыре К. Ф. Калайдовичем и П.М. Строевым.

Книга посвящена греческим источникам славянского перевода и является частью серии, состоящей из трех томов: первый

том¹ был опубликован в 1991 г. и содержит исследования и текст; второй том² был издан в 1993 г. и содержит словарь-индекс. За основу славянского текста было взято фототипное издание 1983 г. (Москва) Изборника 1073, с привлечением литографического издания 1880 г. (Санкт-Петербург).

В третьем томе воспроизводится издание славянского текста 1991 г., из которого, после дополнительной сверки, были устранены допущенные неточности и учтены проведенные с того времени лингвотекстологические исследования. Издание открывает краткое введение и пять глав

¹ *Симеонов сборник (по Светославовия препис от 1073 г.)*, ed. П. ДИНЕКОВ, vol. I. *Изследвания и текст*, София 1991.

² *Симеонов сборник (по Светославовия препис от 1073 г.)*, ed. П. ДИНЕКОВ, vol. II. *Речник-индекс*, София 1993.

с научными статьями, в которых собраны основные сведения и результаты исследований, относящиеся к сборнику Симеона и его греческим источникам. В своих исследованиях П. Янева использовала комплекс методов палеографии, кодикологии, текстологии и критики текста. Автор замечает, что при издании исторического текста необходимо провести анализ в четырех вышеупомянутых сферах. Это позволит дать объективную оценку анализируемому произведению.

В первой главе (*Към палеографската и кодикологическата характеристика на гръцките сборници [К палеографической и кодикологической характеристике греческих сборников]*, с. 17–32) автор дает характеристику греческих рукописей, использованных при создании издания. Приводится исторический очерк на тему изучения греческих источников и их славянского перевода.

Вторая глава (*Съдържание на текста [Содержание текста]*, с. 33–55) посвящена составу сборника Симеона. Автор анализирует содержание текста, а именно, какие отрывки входят в греческие сборники и какие из них находятся в славянских текстах. Предлагается обзор библейских цитат, используемых в греческих источниках. Представлены наблюдения, касающиеся композиции текста и его возможных изменений в процессе компиляции. Оговариваются вопросы, связанные с авторством и редакциями текста. П. Янева замечает, что в антологии представлены более 40 различных авторов, 140 произведений, 10 книг Нового Завета и 24 Ветхого.

В третьей главе (*Структура на текста [Структура текста]*, с. 56–69) анализируется структура текста с точки зрения технических и тематических аспектов. Оговаривается оформление текста, в частности, обсуждается вопрос маргиналий и тематического деления компиляции.

В четвертой главе (*Хронология и културен контекст на разпространението на гръцките антологии [Хронология и культурный контекст распространения греческих антологий]*, с. 70–82) представля-

ются хронологические данные и сведения о контексте распространения греческих источников. Автор пытается определить хронологические рамки возникновения греческих основ сборника Симеона и время, в котором компиляция получила свое окончательное оформление, а также выяснить, на каком этапе существования греческого текста появился его славянский перевод. Представлены предположения относительно отрывков, вошедших в состав компиляции, места ее создания и т. д.

В пятой главе (*Езикови особености [Языковые особенности]*, с. 83–95) автор проследит связи между греческими и славянскими рукописями на основе их языковых и текстологических особенностей. Далее следует статья, посвященная выводам П. Яневой (*Изводи [Выводы]*, с. 96–101), библиография, в которой были учтены новые публикации, вышедшие после 1991 г. (с. 102–108), а также перечень использованных рукописей и список приложений (с. 109).

К вводным главам прилагается краткое резюме на английском языке (*Textology and language peculiarities of the Greek filologia – sources of the Symeon's miscellany [According to Svetoslav's Copy of 1073]*, с. 110), посвященное текстологии и особенностям греческих источников и статья, в которой оговариваются принципы издания греческого текста (с. 113–114). В разделе *Sigla* отражены специальные знаки, использованные в издании (с. 115), в разделе *Conspectus librorum* (с. 116) представлены сокращения названий библейских книг и изданий. В заключении находится статья о принципах издания славянского текста (с. 117–118), написанная А. Минчевой, Ц. Досевой и Ц. Ралевой, а также библиография исследований сборника Симеона (с. 1223), составленная В. Желязковой. В состав издания входит CD-диск с приложениями.

Что касается греческого текста, то он издан с использованием византийских кодексов, наиболее близких к славянскому списку: Coislinianus graecus 120, Coislinianus graecus 258, Vaticanus graecus 423, Ambrosianus graecus 489, olim L 88 sup. и частично

Athous Laurae Г 115. В издании славянский перевод опубликован параллельно по отношению ко греческому тексту. Тексты синхронизированы и находятся на противоположных страницах. Из-за расхождений между структурой греческих текстов и славянским переводом, представленным списком Изборника Святослава 1073, в издании автор следует структуре греческого списка *Coislirianus graecus* 120, который является наиболее близким к первоначальному оформлению текста.

В заключение хотелось бы отметить, что данное издание является результатом многолетнего труда П. Яневой, начавшей свою работу над греческими источниками сборника Симеона еще в 1984 г. За все эти годы

П. Яневой необходимо было исследовать огромное количество разнородного материала и провести комплексный сопоставительный анализ греческого и славянского текстов. В издании собраны и представлены результаты этой трудоемкой работы.

Третий том издания сборника Симеона (по списку Святослава 1073 г.), несомненно, представляет большой научный интерес и является солидным научным трудом, вносящим значительный вклад как в болгарскую, так и в мировую медиевистику.

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MAREK WILCZYŃSKI, *Gejzeryk i „czwarta wojna punicka” [Geiseric and the ‘Fourth Punic War’]*, Wydawnictwo Napoleon V, Oświęcim 2016, pp. 241.

The presented book was written by prof. Marek Wilczyński, a Polish historian of Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages from the History Institute of the Pedagogical University of Cracow. He is well known in Polish academia for his research that concerns such topics as the history of the Migration Period and the Germanic Kingdoms, especially those of Vandals and Sueves, and the role of barbarians in the political and military structures of the Late Roman Empire. The presented book, an extended biography of Geiseric, the King of the Vandals, is the most recent in the long list of the author's publications about these problems¹. The author however does not only present the newest research and ideas on the Vandal Kingdom, but also intends to popularize the

history of the Late Antiquity among a broader, more general public.

The book starts with an extensive preface divided into several subsections (p. 7–28) where the author introduces the topic of the study with basic information about Geiseric, his time and the sources, as well as presenting his concept of the narrative. The book is divided into nine chapters presenting Geiseric's life and the historical background in a chronological order. The first one, *Trudne dzieciństwo. Pochodzenie Gejzeryka i jego droga ku granicy Imperium Romanum [Difficult Childhood. The Origins of Geiseric and His Way to the Border of Imperium Romanum]*, p. 29–41, is concerned with rarely approached topic of Geiseric's youth and his roots. It is followed by the second chapter, *U boku brata [By His Brother's Side]*, p. 43–76, which describes the events of the Vandal march through Gaul and their settlement in Spain, when Geiseric was a co-ruler alongside of Gunderic. The third chapter, *Afrykański zbożowy sen złoty [The African Golden Cereal Dream,*

¹ The most important of which are the following books; *Zagraniczna i wewnętrzna polityka afrykańskiego państwa Wandalów*, Kraków 1994; *Germanie w służbie zachodniorzymskiej w V w. n.e. Studium prosopograficzne*, Kraków 2001; *Królestwo Swebów – regnum in extremitate mundi*, Kraków 2011.

p. 77–86], explains why the African lands were so tempting for barbarian tribes and describes earlier unsuccessful Gothic attempts to conquer them. The fourth chapter, *Gdzie dwóch się bije tam trzeci korzysta. Wielka przeprawa na łód afrykański i marsz na wschód ku Kartaginie* [*When Two Quarrel, a Third Wins. The Great Crossing to the African Soil and the March Eastwards Towards Carthage*, p. 87–110], is concerned with the situation in Africa at the brink of the Vandal attack, the invasion itself, and the events surrounding the conflict until the conclusion of the first peace of 435. The next one, *Kto nie wątpił w czyją przyjaźń? Pierwsza faza „czwartej wojny punickiej”. Zajęcie Kartaginy i pokój 442 r.* [*Who Did not Doubt in Whose Friendship? The First Phase of the 'Fourth Punic War', The capture of Carthage and the peace of 442*, p. 111–124], covers the relationship between Vandals and Romans after the peace, the surprise capture of Carthage in 439, and the ensuing war. The sixth chapter, *Dyplomacja, bunty, zaręczyny i rozwody. Okres pokojowej koegzystencji 442–454 r.* [*Diplomacy, Riots, Betrothals and Divorces. The Time of Peaceful Coexistence 442–454*, p. 125–143], describes how Geiseric peacefully managed to achieve his goal of becoming a recognized ruler through the means of diplomacy, and linking his house with the Imperial by having his son Huneric betrothed to the Valentinian's daughter. The following chapter, *Czego Hannibal nie dokonał – Gisericus intra portas! Zdobyć i złupienie Rzymu w 455 r.* [*What Hannibal Did not Manage – Gisericus Intra Portas! The Capture and Sack of Rome in 455*, p. 145–155], tells about his most famous deed, the sack of Rome, which was Geiseric's direct answer to the death of his previous political partners and an attempt at securing his assets attained earlier. In the eighth chapter, *Drugiej Zamy nie było. Gejzeryk nie pozwala odebrać sobie zdobyczy. Nieudane rzymskie próby rewindykacji Afryki i zawarcie ostatecznego pokoju.* [*There Was No Second Zama. Geiseric Doesn't Let His Spoils Be Taken*

Away. Unsuccessful Roman Attempts at the Recovery of Africa and the Conclusion of the Final Peace, p. 157–189], the author proceeds to explain how the King managed to defend himself against Roman attempts at the reconquest and established a lasting peace that enabled Vandals to rule over Africa for almost six decades. The ninth chapter, *Pozamilitarne tło „czwartej wojny punickiej”* [*The Non-Military Background of the 'Fourth Punic War'*, p. 191–209], delves into topics that are much more obscure in the sources, namely the King's piety and stewardship. The final chapter, *Zwycięzca w „czwartej wojnie punickiej”. Gejzeryk Wielki – parę słów na zakończenie.* [*The Winner in the 'Fourth Punic War'. Geiseric the Great – a Couple of Concluding Words*, p. 211–214], contains author's assessment of the persona of Geiseric, and as a conclusion, he justifiably calls the hero of his book one of the greatest statesmen and leaders in the history of antiquity. The book also contains bibliography (p. 215–233) and an index (p. 234–241).

The work of Marek Wilczyński provides an expert analysis and an enjoyable lecture. The author utilizes a variety of sources, the most recent research in the field, and also voices his own opinions, adding to the discussion in the academia, so the scientific value of the narrative is not affected by lighter tones, meant to cater to more general audience. Considering the scarcity of sources regarding some aspects of Geiseric's life, it is an impressive achievement that the author managed to deliver such a complete and thorough biography.

In conclusion, the book is an important entry in the Polish historiography of Late Antiquity, as it captures its best traditions, combining both scientific expertise and literary value.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA.ASH	Acta antiqua. Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
AAAHP	Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia
AB	Analecta Bollandiana
ABR.BB	Antiquitas, Byzantium, Renascentia. Bibliotheca Byzantina
AClas	Acta Classica: Proceedings of the Classical Association of South Africa
ACRDAC	Atti del Centro Ricerche e Documentazione sull'Antichità Classica
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AK	Antike Kunst. Zeitschrift für klassische Archäologie
AKi	Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> , T. I, <i>Von den Anfängen Roms bis zum Ausgang der Republik</i> , Bd. I–IV, hrsg. H. TEMPORINI, New York–Berlin 1972–1973; T. II, <i>Principat</i> , Bd. I–XXXVII, hrsg. H. TEMPORINI, W. HAASE, New York–Berlin 1974–.
ANSMN	American Numismatic Society, Museum Notes
Apocr	Apocrypha
APu	Analele Putnei/The Annals of Putna
ARg	Archiv für Religionsgeschichte
ArtB	The Art Bulletin: a quarterly published by the College Art Association of America
ArtC	Arte Cristiana
ASP	Archiv für slavische Philologie
ASSR	Archives de Sciences Sociales des Religions
AUAJ.AAA	Acta Universitatis de Attila József nominatae. Acta Antiqua et Archaeologica
AUL.FH	Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Historica
AUL.FL	Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Linguistica
AUNC.FP	Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici. Filologia Polska
B	Byzantion. Revue internationale des études byzantines
BA	Bollettino d'arte

BArchiv	Byzantinisches Archiv
BESL	Beiträge der Europäischen Slavistischen Linguistik
BF	Byzantinische Forschungen. Internationale Zeitschrift für Byzantinistik
BGLS	Bausteine zur Geschichte der Literatur bei der Slaven
BHG	Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca
BHM	Bulletin of the History of Medicine
BICS	Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London
BL	Byzantina Lodziensia
BMGS	Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies
BOR	Biserica Ortodoxă Română
BPT	Biblica et Patristica Thoruniensia
BR	Bilans de Recherche
BSA	Bulletin on Sumerian Agriculture
Bsl	Byzantinoslavica. Revue internationale des études byzantines
Bslov	Byzantinoslovaca
Bslov.M	Byzantinoslovaca. Monographiae
BSPK.SF	Bausteine zur slavischen Philologie und Kulturgeschichte, Neue Folge. Reihe A: Slavistische Forschungen
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
CC.SG	<i>Corpus christianorum, Series graeca</i>
CC.SL	<i>Corpus christianorum, Series latina</i>
CCM	Cahiers de civilisation médiévale, Xe–XIIe siècles
CCO	Collectanea Christiana Orientalia
CJ	Classical Journal
CMNSJ	The Classical and Medieval Numismatic Society Journal
CQ	Classical Quarterly
CRAIBL	Comptes rendus des séances de l'année de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres
CSCO.SI	<i>Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium. Scriptores Iberici</i>
CSEL	<i>Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum</i>
CSHB	<i>Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae</i>

DHA	Dialogues d'histoire ancienne
DKAW.PhH	Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Classe
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
E	Eos. Commentarii Societatis Philologiae Polonorum
EC	Les Études classiques
EcHR	The Economic History Review
Efo	Etnofoor. Anthropological Journal
EHR	English Historical Review
EMS	Essays in Medieval Studies
FC	The Fathers of the Church
FE	Fundamenta Europaea
Fil	Filomata
Filol	Filologija. Časopis Razreda za filološke znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti
GCS	<i>Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten [drei] Jahrhunderte</i>
Ges	Gesta. International Center of Medieval Art
GRBS	Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies
HAM	Hortus Artium Medievalium: Journal of the International Research Center for Late Antiquity and Middle Ages
Hi	Historia. Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte
HPS.LR	Haidelberger Publikationen zur Slavistik, Linguistische Reihe
HT	History and Theory: Studies in the Philosophy of History
ICS	Illinois Classical Studies
Ima	Images. A journal of Jewish art and visual culture
ISBE	<i>The International Standard Bible Encyclopaedia</i>
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JÖB	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik
JPo	Język Polski
JRA	Journal of Roman Archaeology
KWSS	Krakowsko-Wileńskie Studia Slawistyczne
LBa	Linguistique balkanique

LHAZU	Ljetopis Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti
Mars	Mars. Problematyka i Historia Wojskowości. Studia i Materiały
MCV	Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez. Antiquité et moyen âge
Med	Medievalia. Revista d'estudis medievals
MJBK	Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst
Mil.S	Millennium-Studien. Studien zu Kultur und Geschichte des ersten Jahrtausends n. Chr. / Studies in the Culture and History of the First Millennium C.E.
<i>MLSDV</i>	<i>Monumenta Linguae Slavicae Dialecti Veteris</i>
MMAA	Monographs of the Mediaeval Academy of America
NC	The Numismatic Chronicle. The Journal of the Royal Society
NTP	Novum Testamentum Palaeoslovenice
NTTS	New Testament Tools and Studies
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
OCP	Orientalia Christiana Periodica
On	Onomastica
Osi	Osiris. A Research Journal Devoted to the History of Science and Its Cultural Influences
OSP	Oxford Slavonic Papers
OT	Oral Tradition
Pall	Pallas
PB	Poikila Byzantina
Pbg	Palaeobulgarica / Старобългаристика
Phon	Phonetica. International Journal of Phonetic Studies
PKl	Przegląd Klasyczny
PKSł	Prace Komisji Słowianoznawstwa
Po	Polonica
Preter	Preternature: Critical and Historical Studies on the Preternature
Psl	Palaeoslavica
RA	Revue archéologique
RAU.WF	Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności. Wydział Filologiczny
<i>RE</i>	<i>Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , ed. G. WISSOWA, W. KROLL, Stuttgart 1894–1978

REB	Revue des études byzantines
REL	Revue des études latines
RHu	Roczniki Humanistyczne
RINSA	Rivista italiana di numismatica e scienze affini
RJBH	Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana
RQ	Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte
RRHA.BA	Revue Roumaine de l'Art. Série Beaux-Arts
RS	Ricerche slavistiche
RSI	Rocznik slawistyczny
RTeo	Rocznik Teologiczny
Ru	Ruthenica. Journal of East European Medieval History and Archaeology
S	Speculum. A Journal of Medieval Studies
SAr	Sudhoffs Archiv. Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftsgeschichte (1929–1933 Sudhoffs Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin; 1934–1965 Sudhoffs Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften)
SASL	Storia, antropologia e scienze del linguaggio
SB	Studia Balcanica
SC	Sources chrétiennes
SCer	Studia Ceranea. Journal of the Waldemar Ceran Research Center for the History and Culture of the Mediterranean Area and South-Eastern Europe
SCIsr	Scripta Classica Israelica. Yearbook of the Israel Society for the Promotion of Classical Studies
ScM	The Scientific Monthly
SeS	Scripta & e-Scripta
SGa	Slavica Gandensia
ShP	Starohrvatska prosvjeta
SIc	Studies in Iconology
SJsl	Studia Judaeoslavica
Sla	Slavia
Slo	Slovo: Journal of Slavic Languages and Literatures
Slov	Slověne

SMed	Studi medievali
SMer	Slavia Meridionalis
SMSB	Studia mediaevalia Slavica et Byzantina
SÖAW.PHK	Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen (Österreichischen) Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse
SOcc	Slavia occidentalis
SPhS	<i>Specimina Philologiae Slavicae</i>
SPP	Symbolae Philologorum Posnaniensium
SRu	Studia Russica
SSCISAM	Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo
SSLo	Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense. Études et documents
SSp	Die Slawischen Sprachen
Star	Starine, na sviet izdaje Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Zagreb
STB	Studien und Texte zur Byzantinistik
STT	Scripta Theologica Thorunensia
SVi	Slavistica Vilnensis
TCLP	Travaux du Cercle Linguistique du Prague / Prague Linguistic Circle Papers
TEG	Traditio Exegetica Graeca
TM	Travaux et mémoires du Centre de recherches d'histoire et civilisation byzantines
UMS.HS	University of Michigan Studies. Humanistic Series
Verg	Vergilius
VP	Vox Patrum. Antyk Chrześcijański
WI	Word & Image
WS	Die Welt der Slaven
WSJ	Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
YJS	Yale Judaica Series
ZR	Zadarska Revija
ZW	Zeszyty Wiejskie

* * *

АПри	Археографски прилози
БЕ	Български език
БЈф	Библиотека Јужнословенског филолога
БСт	Български старини
ГББИ	Годишник на Българския библиографски институт
ВВ	Византийский Временник
ВИМОИ	Временникъ Императорского Московского общества истории и Древностей Российскихъ
Зог	Зограф: часопис за средњовековну уметност
ИЗ.ЕН	Историјски записи/Ecrits historiques. Орган Историјског института НР Црне горе
ИОРЯС	Известия Отделения русского языка и словесности [Императорской/Российской Академии Наук]
КИ	Књижевна историја. Часопис за науку о књижевности
КМс	Кирило-Методиевски студии
Оди	Одиссей. Человек в истории
ПК	Полата књигописнаџа / Polata Knigopisnaja. A Journal Devoted to the Study of Early Slavic Books, Texts and Literature
РФВ	Русский филологический вестник
СЛ	Старобългарска литература
СПВЛ	Сборник памятников византийской литературы
ТКДА	Труды Киевской духовной академии
ТОДЛ	Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы Института русской литературы Академии наук СССР
УЗРПУ	Ученые записки Российского православного университета ап. Иоанна Богослова
ХЧ	Христианское чтение
ЧИОИДР	Чтения в Императорском обществе истории и древностей российских при Московском университете
ЈФ	Јужнословенски филолог

The full list of abbreviations may be found at:
ceraneum.uni.lodz.pl/s-ceranea/dla-autorow

GUIDELINES FOR THE AUTHORS

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THEOPHANES, AM 5948, p. 109, 22–24.

EUNAPIUS, *Testimonia*, I, 1, 19–20, [in:] *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire. Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus*, vol. II, ed. et trans. R.C. BLOCKLEY, Liverpool 1983 (cetera: EUNAPIUS), p. 13–14.

Number of the book should be given in Roman numerals. Sources with singular structure are cited only in Arabic numerals. Pages are to be cited only when verses are counted on every page separately.

– **with the same source cited subsequently the shortened version (signalized in the first use), and not ‘*ibidem*’ should be used, e.g.:**

²⁵ ZONARAS, XV, 13, 11.

²⁶ ZONARAS, XV, 13, 19–22.

2. Books of modern scholars should be referenced as below:

²¹ M. ANGOLD, *A Byzantine Government in Exile. Government and Society under the Laskarids of Nicaea, 1204–1261*, Oxford 1975, p. 126.

²² И. ИЛИЕВ, *Св. Климент Охридски. Живот и дело*, Пловдив 2010, p. 142.

²³ G. OSTROGORSKI, *Geschichte...*, p. 72.

²⁴ A. VAN MILLINGEN, *Byzantine Constantinople...*, p. 123.

²⁵ G. OSTROGORSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

²⁶ A. VAN MILLINGEN, *Byzantine Churches...*, p. 44.

3. Articles and papers should be mentioned in the notes as:

L.W. BARNARD, *The Emperor Cult and the Origins of the Iconoclastic Controversy*, B 43, 1973, p. 11–29.

P. GAUTIER, *Le typikon du sebasto Grégoire Pakourianos*, REB 42, 1984, p. 5–145.

Names of the journals are used only in their abbreviated versions – the full list of abbreviations is available in the e-site of “Studia Ceranea”

<http://ceraneum.uni.lodz.pl/s-ceranea/dla-autorow>

Numbers of fascicles are cited only if pages are counted separately for every volume within a single year.

4. Articles in festschrifts, collections of studies etc. are cited as below:

M. WHITBY, *A New Image for a New Age: George of Pisidia on the Emperor Heraclius*, [in:] *The Roman and Byzantine Army in the East. Proceedings of a Colloquium Held at the Jagiellonian University, Kraków in September 1992*, ed. E. DA̧BROWA, Cracow 1994, p. 197–225.

Г. ТОДОРОВ, *Св. Княз Борис и митът за мнимото: избиване на 52 болярски рода*, [in:] *Християнската култура в средновековна България. Материали от национална научна конференция, Шумен 2–4 май 2007 година по случай 1100 години от смъртта на св. Княз Борис-Михаил (ок. 835–907 г.)*, ed. П. ГЕОРГИЕВ, Велико Търново 2008, p. 23.

5. Examples of notes referring to the web pages or sources available in the internet:

Ghewond's History, 10, trans. R. BEDROSIAN, p. 30–31, www.rbedrosian.com/ghew3.htm [20 VII 2011].

www.ancientrome.org/history.html [20 VII 2011].

6. Reviews:

P. СПЕСК, [rec.:] *Nikephoros, Patriarch of Constantinople: Short History / Nicephori patriarchae Constantinopolitani Breviarium Historicum...* – BZ 83, 1990, p. 471.

The footnote number should be placed before the punctuation marks.

In all of the footnotes only the conventional Latin abbreviations should be used to literature both in Latin and in Cyrillic alphabet. These are:

cetera:	<i>ibidem</i>	rec. [here: <i>recensuit</i>
cf.	IDEM/EADEM	/ <i>recognovit</i>]
col. [here: <i>columna</i>]	IDEM/IIDEM/EADEM	[rec.:] [here: <i>recensio</i>]
coll. [here: <i>collegit</i>]	[in:]	s.a. [here: <i>sine anno</i>]
e.g.	<i>l. cit.</i>	s.l. [here: <i>sine loco</i>]
ed.	<i>op. cit.</i>	sel. [here: <i>selegit</i>]
et al.	p. [here: <i>pagina</i>]	sq, sqq
etc.	<i>passim</i>	trans.
		vol.

References to the Bible are also used in typical Latin abbreviations.

Gn Ex Lv Nm Dt Ios Idc Rt 1Sam 2Sam 1Reg 2Reg 1Par 2Par Esd Ne Tb Idt Est Job
Ps Prv Eccle Ct Sap Eccli Is Ier Lam Bar Ez Dn Os Il Am Abd Ion Mich Nah Hab
Soph Ag Zach Mal 1Mac 2Mac
Mt Mc Lc Io Act Rom 1Cor 2Cor Gal Eph Phil Col 1Thess 2Thess 1Tim 2Tim Tit
Philm Heb Iac 1Pe 2Pe 1Io 2Io 3Io Ids Apc

Greek and Latin terms are either given in original Greek or Latin version, in nominative, without italics (a1), or transliterated (a2) – italicized, with accentuation (Greek only)

(a.1.) φρούριον, ιατροσοφιστής

(a.2.) *ius intercedendi, hálme, asfáragos, proskýnesis*

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Aristotle, not Aristoteles or Aristotélēs

Constantine, not Constantinus or Konstantinos

John II Comnenus, not Ioannes Komnenos

Helena Cantacuzena, not Elene Kantakouzene

George II Xiphilinus, not Georgios Xiphilinos etc.

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Byzantium, not Byzantion

Lesbos, not Lesvos

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