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Homiletic Collections in Greek and Oriental Manuscripts

Edited by Jost Gippert and Caroline Macé

Proceedings of the Conference ‘Hagiographico-Homiletic Collections in Greek, Latin and Oriental Manuscripts – Histories of Books and Text Transmission in a Comparative Perspective’

Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures, Universität Hamburg, 23–24 June 2017

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Layout

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Cover

The front cover shows the three church fathers Cyril of Jerusalem, Nicholas of Myra and John Chrysostom in a 16th-century fresco of the Church of the Archangels in Matskhvarishi, Latali, Svanetia (photography by Jost Gippert). All three fathers bear a board with text fragments from the *Liturgy* by John Chrysostom (CPG 4686) in Georgian; the text passage held by Cyril of Jerusalem is the beginning of the sentence რამეთუ სახიერია და კაცთ-მოყუარე ღმერთი ხარ ‘For you are a benevolent and philanthropic God’, which also appears in lines 6–7 of Fig. 1 on p. 2 below (from an 11th-century scroll of the Iviron Monastery on Mt Athos, ms. Ivir. georg. 89).

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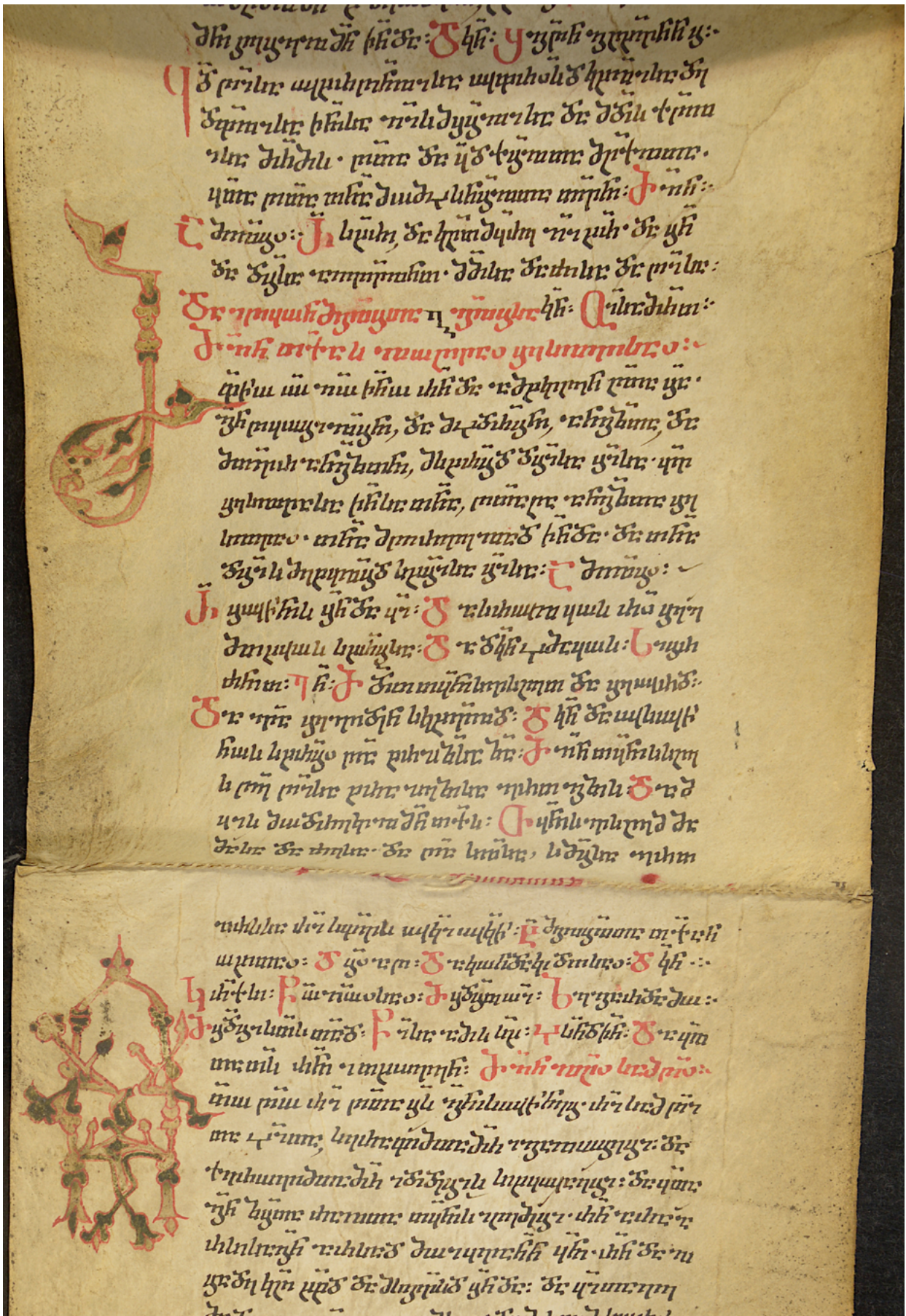


Fig. 1: Mt Athos, Iviron Monastery, georg. 89, 11th-century scroll containing the *Liturgy* by John Chrysostom (CPG 4686).

Introduction

Homiletic Collections in Greek and Oriental Manuscripts – Histories of Books and Text Transmission from a Comparative Perspective

Jost Gippert and Caroline Macé | Frankfurt a.M., Göttingen

Not much is known about the origins of homiletic collections (collections of sermons by Church Fathers) in Greek. Albert Ehrhard spent his life looking for Greek manuscripts that contain such collections and classifying them according to their content and the principles of their organisation.¹ Despite the large number of manuscripts that he found and described (c.2,750),² evidence for the situation before the ninth century remained very meagre, and the success of Symeon Metaphrastes's *Menologium* (a collection of 148 saints' lives) by the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century obscured much of the early history of these collections. In the present volume, which comprises nine scholars' contributions to a special workshop dedicated to homiletic collections,³ Sever Voicu outlines the oldest Greek homiliaries that have been preserved, drawing some conclusions on the probable date (around the middle of the sixth century), place

(Constantinople) and circumstances of the composition of the original Greek collection – should it ever have existed.

To enhance the research in this field, we believe that a comparative perspective can bring about some new insights on the prehistory of these collections, which were a very important part indeed of Byzantine book production and literary culture. Several paths of research are likely to lead to promising results in this respect: firstly, the comparative study of transmission patterns of the same works within hagiographical collections (collections of saints' lives and legends) and in other types of manuscripts, especially corpora dedicated to one author. Albert Ehrhard already devoted a section of his work to 'Panegyriken⁴ einzelner Autoren', especially to Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa and John Chrysostom.⁵ For the latter's 'Spezialpanegyrik', see Sergey Kim's and Christian Hannick's contributions in this volume. Regarding Gregory of Nyssa, Matthieu Cassin shows that the situation is especially complicated, with the inclusion of some works in the collections corresponding to various needs in liturgical use, but also depending on peculiar literary and intellectual interests. André Binggeli examines the complex multilingual tradition of Cyril of Scythopolis' *Lives of the Monks of Palestine*, showing that this corpus of monastic *Lives* arrived between the sixth and the eighth century from Palestine (where it was also translated into Syriac and Arabic) both in southern Italy and in Constantinople and how it was rearranged to fit in the liturgical year of the Constantinopolitan rite and was then rapidly subsumed in the metaphrastic collections. Michael

¹ Ehrhard 1937–1952. In his preface, Ehrhard complained vehemently about the difficult conditions under which he had to work: 'Die starken Hemmungen, unter denen ich 40 Jahre gelitten habe, berechtigen mich dazu, eine laute Klage über die ungenügenden Arbeitsverhältnisse der Geisteswissenschaftler zu erheben und noch lauter die Forderung nach einer Verbesserung ihrer Forschungsbedingungen auszusprechen!' (vol. I, vi.) 'The powerful restraints I have suffered from for 40 years provide me justification to express a loud lament about the inadequate working conditions of humanities scholars, and even louder to demand an improvement of their research conditions!'. Not so much has changed in this matter, although we now can sometimes take advantage of digitised catalogues and images of manuscripts.

² Sergey Kim is preparing new indices to Ehrhard's work: of saints, of liturgical dates and of *incipits*. Two indices of manuscripts exist (Perria 1979 and Paschke and Risch 2017) and the database of Greek manuscripts *Pinakes* | Πινάκες: *Textes et manuscrits grecs* tends to refer to Ehrhard's volumes systematically.

³ The workshop was held at the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC) at Universität Hamburg on 23 June 2017 (see the workshop program on p. 5 below). We wish to thank Michael Friedrich and the staff of the Centre, especially Daniela Niggemeier and Christina Kaminski, for having made this workshop possible. Our thanks are also due to the Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, which supported the workshop financially.

⁴ Cf. below for the term.

⁵ Ehrhard 1937–1952, vol. II (1938), 208–224. The 'liturgical' collections of Gregory of Nazianzus's homilies (see Somers 2002) are most likely an outcome of the complete collections, and the same seems true for the inclusion of some homilies of this Church father in 'Panegyriken'.

Muthreich examines the occurrence of works attributed to Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita in Arabic homiliaries.

As often, looking at the ‘Oriental’ traditions around Byzantium sheds new light on Greek manuscripts. There are of course some difficulties inherent in this kind of comparative approach. In many cases, the state of the art is less advanced and research tools (catalogues, reproductions, etc.) are less developed than for the Greek tradition, as several contributors to the present volume point out. It was surely Ehrhard’s work that instigated the contributions in the fields of Arabic (see Muthreich), Ethiopic (see Bausi), Syriac (see Kim), Armenian (see Outtier), Georgian (see Gippert) and Slavic Studies (see Hannick), but in many cases, this work is only at its beginning and needs to be extended and continued. It also proved important in this context to investigate the terminology that exists in these traditions, differing from the terminology developed by Ehrhard for Greek: terms such as Georgian *mravaltavi* (see Gippert), Armenian *tawnakan* and *čāṛəntir* (see Outtier), Slavonic *panegirik* and *sbornik* (see Hannick), Syriac *hudrō* (see Kim) or Arabic *kitāb al-mayāmīr* (see Muthreich) all denote homiliaries from a certain point of view, but not necessarily as collections of homilies, as do Armenian *čāṛəntir*, lit. ‘collection of speeches’, or Arabic *kitāb al-mayāmīr*, lit. ‘book of sermons’, in its turn reflecting Syriac *mimrā* ‘homily’. Armenian *tawnakan*, lit. ‘related to feasts’, is clearly a calque of Greek *πανηγυρικόν*, in its

turn borrowed into Slavonic *panegirik*; a term that denotes homiliaries with respect to their usage in solemn liturgy. Some terms simply mean ‘collections’ without further specification. This is true, e.g. of Slavonic *sbornik* and Georgian *mravaltavi*, lit. ‘containing many chapters’, the use of which may nevertheless be determined, differentiating homiliaries proper from mixed collections (hymnographic-homiletic as in the case of Syriac *hudrō* or hagiographical-homiletic) or purely hagiographical ones as those designated by Ethiopic *Gadla samā ‘tāt* or *Gadla qəddusān* (see Bausi).

The coexistence of so many different types of collections and so many divergent terms raises several questions that could be only touched upon during the workshop and require further investigation: when and where did the production of ‘homiletic collections’ originate, and for what reason? Do the ‘purer’ collections represent an older stage of development, and is this reflected in the chronology of the manuscript witnesses we have? Is the relation to major ecclesiastical feasts an intrinsic characteristic of the collections or a secondary one? To what extent were collections translated as such from one language to another? And, lastly, what does their representation in manuscript form (concerning the assignment of authors, titles and dates, the style of biblical and other quotations and, in general, the layout) tell us about the chronology of the types and their cross-linguistic interchange? Topics for many further workshops to come...

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Workshop Program

Hagiographico-Homiletic Collections in Greek, Latin and Oriental Manuscripts – Histories of Books and Text Transmission in a Comparative Perspective

**A workshop at the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures, Universität Hamburg
23–24 June 2017**

Session I: The Greek Tradition (chair: Ekkehard Mühlenberg)

Sever Voicu, Rome

The Earliest Greek Homiliaries

Matthieu Cassin, Paris

Gregory of Nyssa's Hagiographic Homilies: Authorial Tradition and Hagiographico-Homiletic Collections, a Comparison

Session II: The Coptic, Arabic and Ethiopic Traditions (chair: Sever Voicu)

Alin Suciu, Göttingen

Greek Patristics in Coptic: Early Translations and Later Systematisations within Homiliaries

Michael Muthreich, Göttingen

Dionysius Areopagita in the Arabic and Ethiopic Homiletic Tradition

Antonella Brita & Alessandro Bausi, Hamburg

A Few Remarks on the Hagiographico-Homiletic Collections in Ethiopic Manuscripts

Session III: Specific Cases of Transmission Through Ancient Translations (chair: Caroline Macé)

André Binggeli, Paris

The Transmission of Cyril of Scythopolis' Corpus in Greek and Oriental Hagiographico-Homiletic Collections

Session IV: Instrumenta Studiorum (chair: Jost Gippert)

Daniel Stoekl, Paris

THALES (via video call)

André Binggeli & Matthieu Cassin, Paris

BHGms (Pinakes)

Sergey Kim, München

Liturgical Index of Ehrhard

Sever Voicu, Rome

Pseudo-Chrysostomica: An Online Database

Session V: The Armenian, Georgian and Slavonic Traditions (chair: Tinatin Chronz)

Bernard Outtier, Paris

The Armenian Hagiographic-Homiletic Tradition

Jost Gippert, Frankfurt

Codex Vindobonensis Georg. 4: an Untypical *mravaltavi*

Christian Hannick, Würzburg

Zusammenstellung und Überlieferung der hagiographisch-homiletischen Sammlungen in der slavischen Tradition des Mittelalters

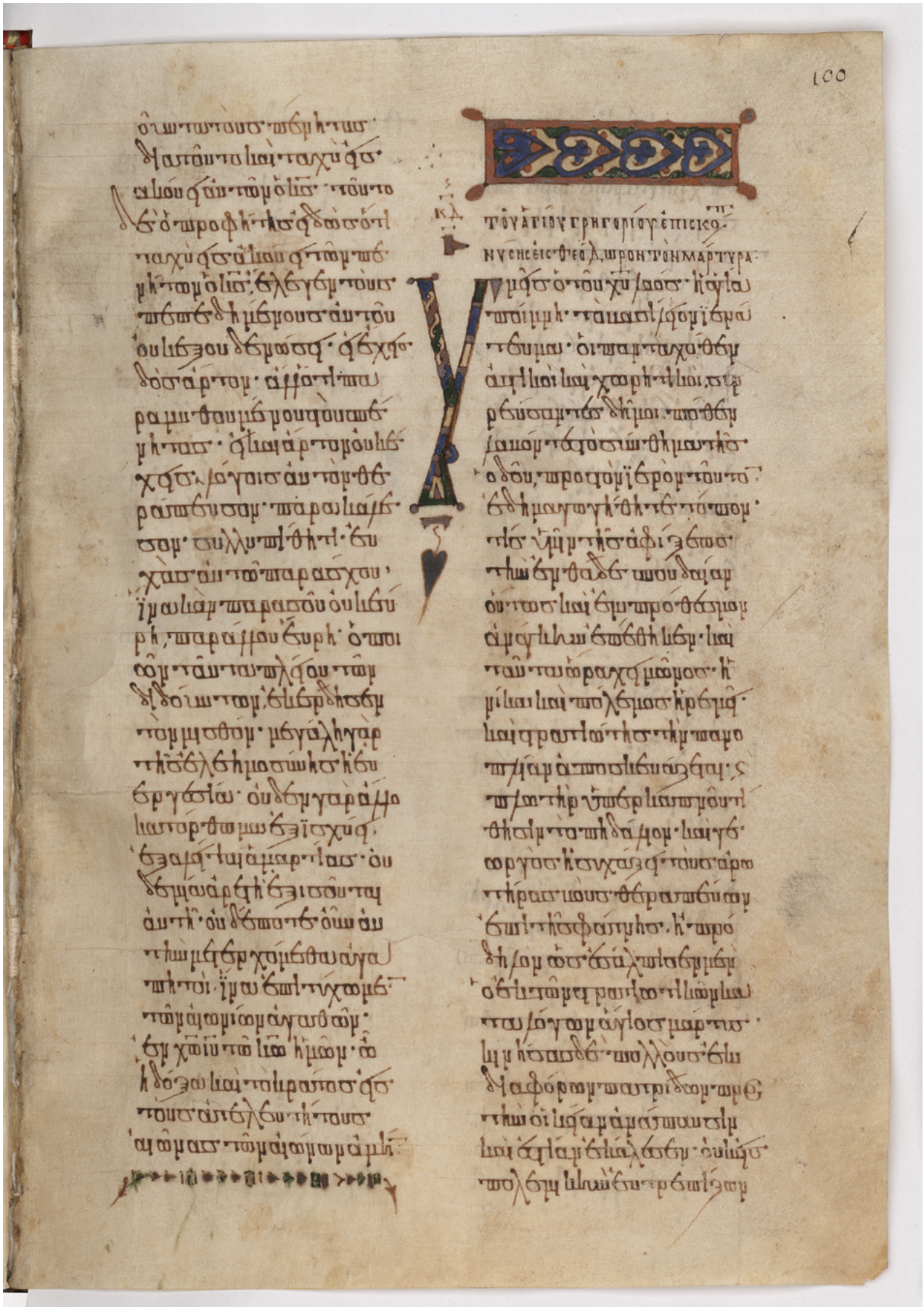


Fig. 2: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottoboni gr. 85, fol. 100^r (incipit of Gregory of Nyssa, *De s. Theodoro*, see Matthieu Cassin, this volume, (15–28).

Article

The Earliest Greek Homiliaries

Sever J. Voicu | Vatican City

A preliminary remark: in this paper the word *homiliary* exclusively applies to a collection of homilies by several authors that has some intentional connection with the liturgical year. Thus, we shall not deal with other types of collections, such as those by one author arranged according to a liturgical cycle, e.g. the corpus of Severus of Antioch¹ and the selection for liturgical use of sixteen homilies by Gregory of Nazianzus² or the Sahidic manuscript London, British Library, Oriental 5001, which contains homilies by a variety of authors but has no visible connection with a liturgical cycle.³

The obvious foundation of this paper is the enormous inventory of homiliaries established by Albert Ehrhard in his work on Greek homiletic and hagiographical manuscripts.⁴ Ehrhard's book conveys most of the data relevant to our purpose, but some bits of new information were published later and they will pinpoint Ehrhard's hypothesis that homiliaries were first created in the sixth century. However, some unsolved issues will remain concerning the place and the precise date of this process.

1. Majuscule Greek homiliaries

The only sensible starting point for our investigation is the earliest majuscule Greek homiliaries.⁵ However, there is room for some disappointment, because such manuscripts are few and often in poor condition. Moreover, dating majuscule codices is still largely a question of guesswork.

¹ Described by Brière 1960, 50–62.

² See Somers-Auwers 2002 (also with other examples of similar collections).

³ Published by Budge 1910.

⁴ Ehrhard 1937–1952.

⁵ Two Syriac homiliaries were translated from Greek probably during the seventh century and underwent some local adaptation. But Vaticanus sir. 368 (mid-eighth century) and Vaticanus sir. 369 (first half of the ninth century) will not be used here, since their description by Sauget (1961) is not satisfactory (but see Sergey Kim, this volume, 31ff.). The Georgian homiliaries described by Van Esbroeck 1975 are comparatively late and do not supply useful information for our purpose. On the *khanmeti* fragments, see Jost Gippert, this volume, 86.

1.1. Grottaferrata B. a. LV

Some of these issues are visible in the Grottaferrata homiliary. It is a palimpsest and its folia have survived in four different codices. Originally, its two volumes comprised almost 500 folia and contained around 90 texts. Fewer than 200 folia are extant and to a large extent their content has not been identified.⁶

Grottaferrata B. a. LV is a palaeographical *unicum*. According to Charles Martin it is probably a Western product.⁷ However, some of its features point decidedly to the city of Rome, where it could have been copied in one of the numerous Greek-speaking monasteries.⁸

The first hint – so far unnoticed – is the existence of two fragmentary homilies devoted solely to the apostle Paul towards the end of the second volume. They were probably assigned to June 30, which is in accordance with the Roman rather than the Byzantine practice.⁹

In addition, the second volume begins at Easter with a still unpublished *Festal Letter* by Eulogius, Patriarch of Alexandria (580–607/8).¹⁰ Grottaferrata is the sole witness of this unique text, and no other festal letters by Eulogius have survived. Its inclusion in the homiliary is best explained either by the known fact that Eulogius and Gregory the Great (590–604) certainly were acquainted, as proven by their

⁶ The systematic description of Crisci 1990, I, 220–235, should be completed with Voicu 2002–2003. In addition, a few remarks by Charles Martin have escaped Crisci's attention; see Ehrhard 1937–1952, I, 713.

⁷ Martin 1936, 341 (mainly).

⁸ See Sansterre 1983.

⁹ Even now, June 29 is still officially devoted to both Peter and Paul in the Roman Church. However, in practice it long ago became the feast of Peter alone, and the celebration of Paul has been postponed to the following day. This Roman custom is never met with in the East, but already obtained in some early Roman homiliaries. See, e.g. the *Homiliary of Agimundus* (beginning of the eighth century; Vat. lat. 3835 and 3836), described by Grégoire 1980, 365–370, nos 95–114. The ancient liturgical order of probable Antiochian origin that commemorates Peter and Paul on different days is totally unrelated. See Voicu 2004.

¹⁰ Martin 1936, 341–343.

correspondence,¹¹ or as a late instance of the prescription of the Council of Nicea of 325 that the *Festal Letters* were to be sent by the Patriarch of Alexandria to the other main sees.

I wonder whether there is not an additional text pointing to Rome. The first volume of Grottaferrata B. a. LV ends on Holy Saturday with a fragmentary witness of *In sanctum Pascha sermo 6* under the name of Hippolytus of Rome.¹² This is the only Greek homily attributed to a bishop of Rome. Unfortunately, Hippolytus of Rome probably never existed, so the attribution is unlikely to be true. *In sanctum Pascha* has a definite link with the Lateran Synod of 649, convened in the presence of none other than Maximus the Confessor, since it is quoted by its florilegium precisely under Hippolytus's name.¹³ This is an exceptional circumstance, since – leaving aside one quotation transmitted in a Syriac florilegium¹⁴ – all the other witnesses ascribe this homily to John Chrysostom.

In sum, since palaeographical evidence is indecisive, there is an acceptable possibility that the homiliary of Grottaferrata was composed in the early years of the seventh century¹⁵ and actually used in 649.¹⁶

1.2. *Sinaiticus gr. 491 + 492*

Although Sin. gr. 491 + 492 (Fig. 1) is not a palimpsest, it is fairly lacunose.¹⁷ The analysis of its contents shows that it is an ancient collection that has been augmented with Palestinian materials, since it is the only known witness to two

homilies by Hesychius of Jerusalem.¹⁸ Its Palestinian origin is confirmed by palaeographical evidence. The date of Sin. gr. 491 + 492 is unknown but it may be rather late, perhaps ninth–tenth century. Anyway, its scribe was not very well acquainted with Greek and the manuscript has many defective spellings and syntactic mistakes.

1.3. *Vaticanus gr. 2061A*

Vat. gr. 2061A is a fragmentary palimpsest produced in southern Italy.¹⁹ Its date in the eighth–ninth century is conventional. The surviving folia comprise parts of the Holy Week and Eastertide.²⁰

1.4. *Patmos, Joh. Theol., 190*

Patmos 190²¹ is so fragmentary that its remains are unfortunately useless for our purposes.

1.5. *Escorial Φ. III. 20*

Despite a long lacuna in its first part, Escorial Φ. III. 20 is the best-preserved majuscule homiliary, since it offers a continuous sequence of texts from the Saturday of Lazarus until the beheading of John the Baptist on 29 August, that is to say almost up to the end of the Byzantine liturgical year.²² This collection contains several homilies that point to a Constantinopolitan origin, notably by Theodore Studite and Germanus of Constantinople. However, palaeographical evidence indicates that it was probably produced in southern Italy, perhaps during the tenth century.

Unfortunately, its choice of texts makes it scarcely suited for our purposes, since it has been largely adapted to the later Byzantine calendar.

1.6. *Paris, BNF, grec 443*

For the sake of completeness, mention should be made of another palimpsest, Paris grec 443. This, however, is a major

¹¹ Only the letters sent by Gregory have survived; see Norberg 1982, II, 1136 (index).

¹² *Clavis patrum Graecorum (CPG)* 4611; critical edition: Visonà 1988.

¹³ This quotation is published in Riedinger 1984, 282. See also Visonà 1988, 192–193. But if our considerations about the date of the Grottaferrata manuscript are right, then the quotation was simply taken from the lost folio of *In sanctum Pascha sermo 6*.

¹⁴ Rucker 1933, 64–67.

¹⁵ Sharing the widespread scepticism about the dates assigned to majuscule manuscripts, the late Paul Canart affirmed in a private communication that the writing of the Grottaferrata manuscript could be earlier than the traditional date around the ninth century; see Crisci 1990, II, Tav. 103–105.

¹⁶ If we are dealing with a later copy, it must have been extraordinarily faithful to its model, since it has kept some of the archaic features we shall consider later.

¹⁷ See Ehrhard 1937–1952, II, 195–197 and I, 134–137, updated by Van Esbroeck 1978. A fragment of the index was found among the new manuscripts discovered at Mt Sinai (now MF 61), but its provenance was not recognised; see *The new finds of Sinai*, 152 and Tab. 80.

¹⁸ See Aubineau 1972, mainly 61 and 119.

¹⁹ Full description of its remains and connections in Voicu 1982–1983.

²⁰ Vat. gr. 2061A is clearly related to the minuscule homiliary Vaticanus gr. 2013, described by Ehrhard 1937–1952, II, 143–146. The similarities between the two manuscripts are obvious for the Holy Week, but there are none for Eastertide. This fact shows that both homiliaries depend on ancient models in two volumes, the second beginning at Easter, as in the Grottaferrata palimpsest.

²¹ Description in Ehrhard 1937–1952, II, p. 10–11. This manuscript was probably produced in southern Italy.

²² Description in Andrés 1965–67, II, 77–80.

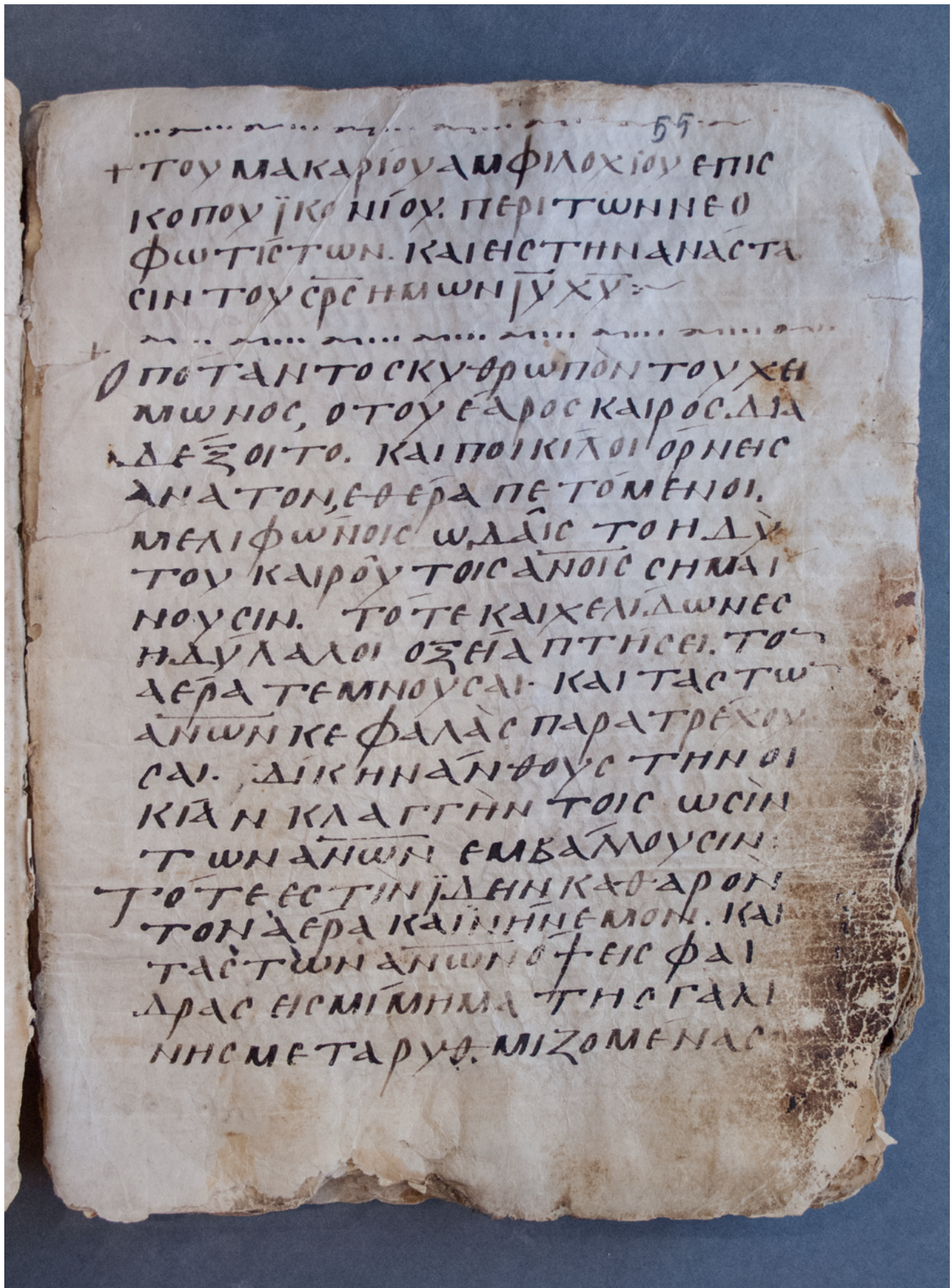


Fig. 1: Mt Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, gr. 492, fol. 55r.

disappointment, since it already contains a full-fledged Byzantine liturgical cycle for Lent and a number of commemorations of saints, at least in its first part (the second part is almost totally lost).²³

2. Analysis of the evidence

These homiliaries are very different and show an amazing variety in their choice of texts. The evolution of the liturgical year and their geographic estrangement easily explain most of the differences among them.

However, their comparison reveals some important common elements and confirms the hypothesis that all known homiliaries descend – perhaps in devious ways – from one and the same initial project. These common features can be found around the great feasts, both at a structural level and in some texts shared by several collections. But only a restricted, even though very important portion of the liturgical year, namely from Holy Thursday to Pentecost, supplies reliable information that has some bearing on the question of the origin and date of the earliest homiliaries.²⁴

2.1. Eastertide

The first hint is related to the liturgical calendar. Sin. gr. 491 + 492 and Vat. gr. 2061A concur on one point: they foresee a little-developed Eastertide, the only two mandatory feasts between Easter and Pentecost being the first Sunday after Easter (Sunday of Thomas)²⁵ and Ascension.²⁶

Perhaps Grottaferrata B. a. LV, too, bears witness to the same situation, since it has no texts between these two days. However, it is better not to draw any conclusion from this fact, given the lacunose state of its reconstruction. Be that as it may, this mirrors an ancient situation, since Ascension was celebrated on the fortieth day after Easter already by the end

of the fourth century²⁷ and the Sunday of Thomas is firmly attested by the mid-fifth century.²⁸

Anyway, neither Sinai nor Vat. gr. 2061A reveal traces of the Byzantine cycle that appears in the ninth-century *Typikon of the Great Church*,²⁹ where every paschal Sunday has a prescribed Gospel lection taken mostly from the Gospel of John (the Samaritan woman, the man born blind, the paralytic).

A rather surprising fact is that none of the earliest collections commemorates Mid-Pentecost. This feast is seemingly of Western origin and not earlier than the fifth century,³⁰ but it is attested in the East at the beginning of the sixth century by Severus of Antioch in his *Cathedral Homily* 46.³¹ Perhaps Mid-Pentecost was introduced by Severus himself³² and for some time remained just a local Antiochian custom.

2.2. Baptismal catecheses

Following an analysis by Charles Martin,³³ Ehrhard highlighted striking similarities between the Grottaferrata and the Sinai codices, although he was in no position to properly assess them.³⁴

The most important common feature shared by both manuscripts is the presence of two homilies showing that adult Christian initiation was still relevant in the original system, since Pseudo-Chrysostom's *De recens baptizatis*³⁵ and Pro-

²³ Full description in Noret 1970.

²⁴ E.g., authentic homilies by Gregory of Nazianzus and John Chrysostom are common for Christmas, Epiphany and Easter, but they do not supply historical data about the circumstances of their insertion in the homiliaries.

²⁵ The first Sunday after Easter was devoted to the dismissal of the newly baptised already by the end of the fourth century. But apparently – at least in Constantinople – the reading of the apparition of Christ to Thomas was not prescribed for the occasion, witness the homily *In ascensionem et in principium Actorum* (CPG 4187), delivered by Severian of Gabala in 402. See Bishop and Rambault 2017, 137.

²⁶ The same scheme is followed also by the Syriac homiliaries Vat. sir. 368 (see Sauget 1961, 408–409) and Vat. sir. 369 (Sauget 1961, 421–422).

²⁷ See also Voicu 2016d, 422.

²⁸ The pseudo-Chrysostomian homily *In sanctum Thomam Apostolum* (CPG 5832) has been attributed to Proclus of Constantinople, but its authenticity has never been clearly established.

²⁹ Mateos 1962–1963, II, 108–131.

³⁰ See Drobner 1993. It must be noted that other homilies for Mid-Pentecost – most of them attributed to John Chrysostom – have not yet been investigated. The only exceptions are two homilies by Leontius of Constantinople explicitly devoted to the feast, which undoubtedly presuppose the late Byzantine system. However the traditional date of Leontius – towards the mid-sixth century – is but one of the many problems attached to his corpus. Voicu 2016b proposes a seventh-century date for Leontius, but an overall assessment of his oeuvre is still lacking.

³¹ CPG 7035. Brière and Graffin 1969, 288–303.

³² Severus might have been acquainted with some Western liturgical practices, for example the closing of the baptistery at the beginning of Lent, which is attested only in Toledo and Gaul. See Voicu 2016a, 325.

³³ Martin 1936, 349.

³⁴ Ehrhard 1937–1952, I, 135.

³⁵ CPG 3238. The attribution of this homily to Amphilochius of Iconium in the Sinai manuscript stems from a transmission problem. See Voicu 1993, 470, n. Its real author was a Cappadocian priest (?) active in Constantinople

clus's *Homily 31*³⁶ are both clearly catecheses delivered at the occasion of Easter baptismal ceremonies.³⁷

Also the homily *In s. Pascha et in recens illuminandos* by Basil of Seleucia confirms the relevance of Christian initiation, since it is devoted to the dismissal of the newly baptised combined with the apparition of Christ to Thomas.³⁸ We do not know when Christian initiation became irrelevant in the East. In Antioch it was still flourishing up to the time of Severus, at the beginning of the sixth century,³⁹ but his texts are the latest actual catecheses we know of. Anyway, it is sure that by the eighth century – if not earlier – adult Christian initiation had become largely obsolete, as shown by the so-called *Sermo catecheticus in Pascha*⁴⁰ falsely attributed to John Chrysostom, which is addressed to an audience of only baptised believers.

2.3. Severian of Gabala, *De lotione pedum* (CPG 4216)

Among the texts for Holy Thursday, the collections very often include the homily *De lotione pedum* by Severian of Gabala.⁴¹ It exists in three homiliaries, namely Grottaferrata, Sinai and Vatican.⁴² Therefore, it is reasonable to suppose that it belonged to the earliest stratum of the collections.

However, it should be noted that in the direct tradition, *De lotione pedum* is never attributed to its true author, but always to John Chrysostom. This fact conveys some chronological information, since it has been proven that Severian's

towards the end of the fourth century. On this attribution, see Voicu 2013 (with previous bibliography). Some additional discussion of this issue can be found in Bonnet and Voicu 2012, 89–94.

³⁶ CPG 5830; edition: Leroy 1967, 224–225.

³⁷ Both homilies are extremely rare in Greek, proof that they had soon lost their relevance. However, their fate was slightly different. Whereas Proclus's *Homily 31* survives only in the two homiliaries of Grottaferrata and Sinai, *De recens baptizatis* (CPG 3238) exists also in a third manuscript and enjoyed some indirect tradition, including its reuse in later texts and an Armenian translation – in turn translated into Georgian.

³⁸ PG 28, 1081–1092; CPG 6658. This text is transmitted and was published under the name of Athanasius of Alexandria, to whom it is attributed in the Grottaferrata homiliary. On its attribution to Basil of Seleucia, see Tevel 1990, 67.

³⁹ See Voicu 2016a, 322.

⁴⁰ PG 59, 721–724; CPG 4605.

⁴¹ CPG 4216. Edition: Wenger 1967. Its authenticity was confirmed by Voicu 1994.

⁴² It is also transmitted by the manuscript Vatican City, BAV, Ott. gr. 85 (see below).

homiletic corpus was placed under Chrysostom's name towards the mid-sixth century.⁴³

3. An unexpected witness: Severus of Antioch, *Homily 77*

A minuscule homiliary consisting of Vatican City, BAV, Ott. gr. 85 (first tome) plus Vat. gr. 1990 (fragments from the second tome)⁴⁴ is the earliest known Greek manuscript containing the *Cathedral Homily 77* by Severus of Antioch (Fig. 2).⁴⁵ This text is devoted to a *uexata quaestio*: the contradictions between the Gospels about Christ's apparitions after his resurrection. It was probably deemed a convenient reading for Easter and played an important role in the original project.

We find here a rather unexpected clue that points again towards the mid-sixth century, since Severus's oeuvre was condemned in 536 and this fact provoked the destruction of almost all his writings in Greek, except a large number of fragments in florilegia and catenae. Apparently the only work that has survived in its entirety is precisely *Homily 77*.

Even if the corpus of the *Cathedral homilies* survived somewhere for at least a century,⁴⁶ it is difficult to imagine that much later than the mid sixth century a homily written by such a controversial author would have been chosen for a pivotal role at Easter.

Severus's name is absent from the manuscripts, where it has been replaced by a more palatable author: Hesychius of Jerusalem.⁴⁷ Probably in some cases it was decided to omit this text altogether when planning a new homiliary. It is not far-fetched to imagine that this was the solution chosen for the majuscule manuscripts, where Severus's homily is never encountered.

4. Provisional conclusion: when and where

If we combine the pride of place of Severus's *Homily 77* and the role conferred upon the homily *De lotione pedum* by Severian of Gabala, the former being condemned in 536 and

⁴³ Voicu 2006. It has also been surmised that this change may have had some connection with the condemnation of Severus of Antioch in 536. See Voicu 2006, 332.

⁴⁴ Ehrhard 1937–1952, II, 13–17.

⁴⁵ CPG 7035. Critical edition: Kugener and Triffaux 1922.

⁴⁶ See Kugener and Triffaux 1922, 768–769 [8–9].

⁴⁷ Its attribution to Gregory of Nyssa and, perhaps, John Chrysostom is secondary.



Fig. 2: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottoboni gr. 85, fol. 178r.

the latter being somehow rescued in the following years, we should posit that the earliest Greek homiliary was composed around the mid-sixth century.⁴⁸

The interest in Severus may indicate that the homiliaries originated in an anti-Chalcedonian milieu and were later adopted by the Byzantine Church. But this is speculative because of the vagaries of theological ideas under Emperor Justinian and his changing attitude towards the Cyrillian party.⁴⁹

It is reasonable to suppose that the homiliaries were first composed at an important ecclesiastical see. Alexandria and Jerusalem can be ruled out, since their authors are poorly represented in the earliest manuscripts. The absence of texts for Mid-Pentecost is best explained if the project did not start in Antioch. Therefore the only remaining candidate is Constantinople.

An additional argument in favour of Constantinople may be inferred from the homily by Severian of Gabala, since apparently his homiletical corpus was placed under Chrysostom's name in the Byzantine capital.⁵⁰

The homiliaries were probably born in a context in which preaching was deemed a hazardous job that made it preferable to resort to what approved Fathers had already said.⁵¹ The project might have been prompted by two causes that are not mutually exclusive: the need to warrant the orthodoxy of the predication⁵² and some cultural decay in the Greek realm.

⁴⁸ The earliest Latin homiliaries were produced around the mid-seventh century. See Bouhot 1985.

⁴⁹ See, however, Sauget 1961, 400, n. 1, about the possible Monophysite origin (or adaptation?) of the ancient Syriac homiliaries.

⁵⁰ See the conclusions of Voicu 2006, 331–332. Also the presence of the two catecheses *De recens baptizatis* and Proclus's *Homily 31* points to a Constantinopolitan origin of the system.

⁵¹ Reading and reusing earlier patristic texts as literary and, probably, theological sources certainly had become common practice by the end of the fifth century. E.g. the pseudo-Chrysostomian homily *In ascensionem Domini* (CPG 4908) depends on a large spectrum of texts by Chrysostom; see Voicu 2016c, 168–175.

⁵² I am grateful to Mario Re for this suggestion, which in fact is confirmed by the prescription of the so-called Council *In Trullo* (691–692) in its canon 19: 'Those presiding over the churches (bishops) (...) should not deviate from the already established limits or the tradition limits of the God-bearer Fathers' (translated from Ohme 2013, 33; see also Sergey Kim, this volume, 29). This injunction is a clear invitation to preachers to play it safe and prefer relying on earlier homilies to composing their own homilies. It also supplies a reasonable explanation about the comparative paucity of Greek homilies surely delivered after the Council of Chalcedon (451).

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Article

Gregory of Nyssa's Hagiographic Homilies: Authorial Tradition and Hagiographical-Homiletic Collections. A Comparison

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Introduction

Among Patristic authors, Gregory of Nyssa is one of the few who have benefited from a wide-scale process of critical edition. Today, all but one or two authentic texts of Gregory are published in the *Gregorii Nysseni opera* series. However, these editions have not been generally coordinated and sometimes offer contradictory conclusions about manuscripts;¹ moreover, they generally do not take into account the nature, content and history of manuscripts and proceed mainly from philological investigation. Fortunately for our research, the main exceptions concern the editions of hagiographical orations. Therefore, my task will be easier, thanks to the previous work of some scholars, in particular Andreas Spira, Friedhelm Mann and Otto Lendle. I hope, however, to show that there is still much room left for investigation of this topic.²

I will first present a general overview of the transmission of hagiographical orations by Gregory of Nyssa, and then briefly investigate three test cases, *In Meletium*, *De s. Theodoro* and *In s. Stephanum protomartyrem*, to see what we can learn about hagiographical-homiletic collections thanks to the history of these texts by Gregory and how these collections conversely shed some light on the transmission of Gregory's texts, in particular on the question of the coherence of his corpus. In this paper, I will base my presentation on the distinction between manuscripts containing exclusively or mainly Gregory of Nyssa's texts (i.e. one author's corpus/manuscripts) on the one hand and hagiographical-homiletic collections on the other hand – with, of course, subdivisions and sub-classifications within each category.

¹ See, however, Hörner 1971, published long before the completion of the whole series.

² For an example of another and complementary way of investigating the circulation and usage of hagiographical-homiletic texts, see Cunningham 2011.

1. Collections of hagiographical-homiletic texts by Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory's texts in hagiographical-homiletic collections

1.1. *An old, lost panegyrikon made of texts by Gregory of Nyssa?*

There are indeed many of Gregory's texts in hagiographical-homiletic collections.³ But, unlike what happened with other authors, there is no preserved liturgical collection made exclusively from Gregory of Nyssa's homilies.⁴ However, Albert Ehrhard has proposed to recognise a trace of such a collection (Gregory of Nyssa's *Panegyrikon*, hereafter the 'Milan group', according to the current localisation of its main manuscript) in a group of Gregorian manuscripts that contain a given series of hagiographical texts.⁵ All these manuscripts contain only texts by Gregory of Nyssa (corpus) and are not at all hagiographical-homiletic collections. According to Ehrhard, the sequence of texts given in Table 1 below should be read according to the liturgical year, even if none of the manuscripts bears any indication of a liturgical date. Moreover, there is not even any asking for benediction (κύριε, εὐλόγησον) at the beginning of the texts in the 'Milan group', as is usual in manuscripts meant for liturgical use.

³ *Vita s. Macrinae* (CPG 3166; BHG 1012); *In diem luminum* (CPG 3173; BHG 1934); *In sanctum pascha* (CPG 3174); *De tridui... spatio* (CPG 3175); *In sanctum et salutare pascha* (CPG 3176); *In ascensionem Christi* (CPG 3178); *Oratio funebris in Meletium episcopum* (CPG 3180; BHG 1243); *Oratio funebris in Flacillam imperatricem* (CPG 3182; BHG 1548); *De s. Theodoro* (CPG 3183; BHG 1760); *De uita Gregorii Thaumaturgi* (CPG 3184; BHG 715); *In Basilium fratrem* (CPG 3185; BHG 244); *Encomium in s. Stephanum protomartyrem I* (CPG 3186; BHG 1654); *Encomium in s. Stephanum protomartyrem II* (CPG 3187; BHG 1655); *Encomium in XL martyres Ia-b* (CPG 3188; BHG 1206–1207); *Encomium in XL martyres II* (CPG 3189; BHG 1208); *De Spiritu sancto siue in Pentecosten* (CPG 3191); *De deitate Filii et Spiritus sancti* (CPG 3192; BHG 2354); *Oratio in diem natalem Christi* (CPG 3194; BHG 1915). I leave aside all pseudepigraphical texts.

⁴ See Ehrhard 1938, II, 208–242.

⁵ Ehrhard 1938, II, 214–215.

Table 1: Sequence of Gregory's texts.

<i>De deitate Filii et Spiritus sancti et in Abraham</i>	(CPG 3192 ; BHG 2354)	Sunday τῶν προπατόρων	
<i>Oratio in diem natalem Christi</i>	(CPG 3194 ; BHG 1915)	25 December	
<i>Encomium in s. Stephanum protomartyrem I</i>	(CPG 3186 ; BHG 1654)	27 December	
<i>In Basilium fratrem</i>	(CPG 3185 ; BHG 0244)	1 January	
<i>In diem luminum</i>	(CPG 3173 ; BHG 1934)	6 January	
<i>In illud: Quatenus uni (De pauperibus amandis II)</i>	(CPG 3170)	Sunday τῆς ἀποκρέω	Unattested elsewhere for this liturgical date
<i>De mortuis non esse dolendum</i>	(CPG 3168 ; BHG 2103mg)	Saturday τῆς τυροφάγου	Unattested elsewhere for this liturgical date
<i>De s. Theodoro</i>	(CPG 3183 ; BHG 1760)	1 st Saturday of Lent (or 17 February)	
<i>Oratio funebris in Meletium episcopum</i>	(CPG 3180 ; BHG 1243)	12 February	
<i>Encomium in XL Martyres Ia-b</i>	(CPG 3188 ; BHG 1206-1207)	9 March	
<i>De tridui spatio (In Christi resurrectionem I)</i>	(CPG 3175)	Easter Sunday (or around then)	
Seuerus Antiochenus, <i>In Christi resurrectionem (hom. cathedralis 77)</i>	(CPG 7035)	Easter Sunday (or around then)	
<i>In sanctum Pascha (In Christi resurrectionem III)</i>	(CPG 3174)	Easter Sunday (or around then)	
<i>In ascensionem Christi</i>	(CPG 3178)	Ascension	
<i>Ad Eustathium de s. Trinitate</i>	(CPG 3137)	Pentecost	Never attested in liturgical collections

So, Ehrhard has reconstructed liturgical dates on the basis of other testimonies of Gregory's orations and of the sequence of texts, without finding any indication in the manuscripts of the 'Milan group'. However, some dates are still without any clear parallel and based on mere *diuinatio*.

Here are the manuscripts – all Gregorian corpus – that follow the sequence discovered by Ehrhard ('Milan group'):

- Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C 135 inf. (tenth century), fols 5–178;⁶
- Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (BSB), Cod. graec. 370 (eleventh century), fols 1–174;⁷
- *Codex Grimani*, now lost, known through *descripti* from the sixteenth century: Munich, BSB, Cod. graec. 107;⁸

⁶ Martini and Bassi 1906, II, 959–961.

⁷ Hardt 1810, IV, 92–101; Antonopoulou 2000, 10–11.

⁸ Molin Pradel 2013, 314–320.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), gr. 585⁹ (with few changes in the texts' order), 586;¹⁰ Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, 4758,¹¹ 4864 (with John Beccus, *De processione Spiritus sancti* inserted between *In illud: Quatenus uni* and *De mortuis*);¹²

- Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana (BNM), gr. Z 67 (middle of eleventh century), fols 3–95^v (and its *descripti*);¹³
- Same sequence (but only until *In sanctum Pascha*) in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB), theol.

⁹ Omont 1886, I, 99.

¹⁰ Omont 1886, I, 99–100.

¹¹ De Andrés 1987, 352–354.

¹² PG 141, 157–276. De Andrés 1987, 485–488.

¹³ Mioni 1981, 92–93; Anthonopoulou 2000, 3–8.

gr. 42 (second half of twelfth century), not at the beginning of the manuscript (fols 78–165^v).¹⁴

Two texts are unattested or extremely rarely preserved in liturgical collections. *In illud: Quatenus uni (De pauperibus amandis II)* and *De mortuis non esse dolendum* appear in only one hagiographical-homiletic collection, preserved in one manuscript, Mt Athos (Hagion Oros), Monē Ibērōn, gr. 26 (eleventh century), classified by Ehrhard as ‘zweibändiges Homiliar, Typus B’.¹⁵ There is no indication of a liturgical date in this manuscript (see Fig. 1); however, its liturgical sequence can be reconstructed quite securely, thanks to parallels. Moreover, according to the editors of *De mortuis* and of *In illud: Quatenus uni*, Ibērōn, gr. 26 is an indirect parent of the ‘Milan group’.¹⁶ However, it does not contain any of Gregory’s texts other than these two. So, the reconstruction of a liturgical usage of *In Illud: Quatenus uni* and *De mortuis* on the sole basis of this manuscript (Ibērōn 26) and of Gregory’s *Panegyrikon* is possible, but not ascertained.

The last text of Ehrhard’s sequence is even more problematic, since it is not a homily at all – there is indeed a homily by Gregory for Pentecost: *De Spiritu sancto siue in Pentecosten* (CPG 3191), which is present later in the Ambr. C 135 inf. (fols 312–314^v) and in the Vienna manuscript (theol. gr. 42, fols 229^v–230^v). Moreover, in the ‘Milan group’, *Ad Eustathium* opens a series of doctrinal texts, followed by *Ad Ablabium quod non sint tres dei*, *Ad Petrum fratrem de differentia essentiae et hypostaseos*, *Ad Hierium de infantibus praemature abreptis*, *Ad Simplicium de fide* etc. It seems that we have here a new coherent series that is based on a different principle, since all these texts are short treatises addressed to someone from Gregory’s circles. Since it is not only the ‘liturgical-homiletic’ part of the manuscript that is arranged thematically, but also another part containing texts of a different genre, it is likely that the rationale behind the two arrangements is literary and thematic rather than liturgical, and that the same learned Byzantine man cared for the ordering of both groups of texts. The liturgical sequence is therefore unlikely to

be ‘original’. It remains, however, that this learned Byzantine man seems to have been influenced by the liturgical year to organise the sequence of homilies, as well as by existing usage of some of Gregory’s homilies in liturgical context, and perhaps by previously existing liturgical-homiletic collections of a single author. Moreover, we never find in any liturgical manuscript such a complete sequence or any significant group of Gregory’s texts, but only the usage of a small number of his texts – generally one or two.

1.2. Gregory’s hagiographic texts in hagiographic collections

Among Gregory’s homiletic texts, almost every one that can fit into a hagiographic collection has been used in one of them, but to an extent that is extremely variable and in very different configurations. In this paper, I will leave aside the homilies for the movable feasts and the other feasts of Jesus Christ and focus only on hagiographic homilies. The most disseminated text of all is quite certainly *De uita Gregorii Thaumaturgi* (more than 150 manuscripts). This fact is due to the insertion of the *Vita* in the metaphrastic *menologion* on 17 November. The other seven hagiographic texts by Gregory (*On the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste* [mainly two homilies]; *On Basil*; *On Stephen the Protomartyr* [again two texts, of which the second is of disputed authorship and rarely attested];¹⁷ *On Theodore the Recruit*; *On Meletius, Bishop of Antioch*; *Life of Macrina*)¹⁸ have been inserted secondarily in various hagiographic-homiletic collections, and not on a regular basis.

I will not consider here some other funerary orations by Gregory of Nyssa, in particular on two women from the imperial family, Pulcheria and Flacilla, since the two women did not receive a proper cult. Therefore, these orations have not been inserted in the hagiographic collections and are known today only thanks to manuscripts transmitting Gregory’s works; more than 30 manuscripts contain *On Pulcheria*, less than 30 *On Flacilla*. However, there is a rubric for Flacilla in the *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, on 14 September.¹⁹ And there is indeed one hagiographical-homiletic collection (Oxford, Bodleian Library [BL], Holkham gr. 25)²⁰ where the text is present; a large part of

¹⁴ Hunger and Kresten 1976, 80–82.

¹⁵ Ehrhard 1938, II, 277–278; Sötēroudēs 1998, 39–43.

¹⁶ Heil 1967, 14–16 and stemma 21: a family other than the ‘Milan group’, but in the same branch of the stemma. Van Heck, in Heil et al. 1967, 86–87 and stemma 88: one of the manuscripts of *classis* B, together with other manuscripts from the ‘Milan group’.

¹⁷ Masi 2015.

¹⁸ This last text is clearly a *vita*, not a homily.

¹⁹ Delehaye 1902, col. 46.

²⁰ Ehrhard 1952, III, 868–870.

that manuscript, including our text, was copied by Maximos Margounios at the very end of the sixteenth or at the beginning of the seventeenth century. He copied *On Flacilla* from one corpus of Gregory of Nyssa's texts, either Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, C.I.11 (second half of the twelfth century), or Athens, Ethnikē Bibliothēkē tēs Hellados (EBE), Metochion 773 (sixteenth century).²¹ The Holkham manuscript seems to be an attempt to gather hagiographic texts for the whole year, and in particular for saints who had no established liturgical text. So Gregory's text seems to be a decent choice for this female saint, even if there was no proper tradition of celebrating her through a homily or *vita* in liturgical context. The manuscript in question is a modern hagiographical and liturgical reconstruction, not a testimony of Byzantine liturgical usage. As the editor, Andreas Spira († 2004), put it, Flacilla had the bad luck to be celebrated on the day of the Feast of the Cross.²² However, Pulcheria, who had not been commemorated in the *Synaxaria*, was left aside by Margounios.

Now I will have a look at the manuscript tradition of three homilies, with different types of traditions and different insertions into hagiographical-homiletic collections. I aim at seeing which type of information these books offer on the transmission of the homilies, and conversely, which type of information the manuscript tradition of these homilies offers on the hagiographical-homiletic collections and on their manuscripts.

2. *Oratio funebris in s. Meletium*: 12 February

The first text belongs to the genre of the *orationes funebres* and was delivered by Gregory during the Council of Constantinople in 381, for Meletius, Bishop of Antioch and first Chair of the Council (*Melet.*). Andreas Spira edited this text, and he did consider the types of manuscripts in his classification.²³ Fewer than 50 manuscripts contain the homily. The editor distinguished four groups: two main families, α and β ; a supplementary family consisting of two manuscripts com-

ing from southern Italy;²⁴ and three manuscripts that transmit the text under the name of Basil of Caesarea.²⁵ He also isolated another group of manuscripts, *viz. menologia*.²⁶ The *menologia* sub-group clearly belongs to the β family, according to Spira. This family consists mainly of manuscripts we have already discussed earlier (the 'Milan group'): Ambr. C 135 inf, Marc. gr. Z 67, Monac. gr. 370 and the descendants of the *Codex Grimani*, plus some others.²⁷ Therefore, in the case of *Melet.*, it seems that there is a link between the learned tradition represented by the 'Milan group', probably coming from Constantinople, and the hagiographic collections, in particular the *menologia*.

How are the different *menologia* of this sub-group interrelated? The clearest group is constituted by three manuscripts of the *Imperial Menologion* (a *menologion* made of abbreviated or rewritten texts, produced on behalf of Emperor Michel IV, 1034–1041), 'Typus B' (Ehrhard) or 'Baltimore' (D'Aiuto).²⁸ In these manuscripts, *Melet.* has been thoroughly revised and slightly augmented. So these manuscripts not only share a common ancestor or filiation, they also attest to a new version of the text. Another manuscript is closely linked to this *Imperial Menologion* group. This is Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, F.V.29, which, according to Ehrhard, is an 'altes Jahrespanegyrikum, Typus A' dating from the twelfth century,²⁹ it offers the same textual form as the *Imperial Menologion*, but without the revisions and rewriting that characterises it. Therefore, it shares a common ancestor with the *Imperial Menologion*, but prior to its rewriting. This proximity may be of interest for the history both of the *Imperial Menologion* and of the collection contained in the Basel manuscript.

²⁴ Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV), Vat. gr. 448: Devresse 1937, 197–199. Florence, Bibl. Medicea Laurenziana, plut. 5.10: Bandini 1764, I, 23–30.

²⁵ Vienna, ÖNB, theol. gr. 37: Hunger and Kresten 1976, 67–70. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. 4.9: Bandini 1764, I, 528–530. Berlin, SBB, Phillipps 1467: Studemund and Cohn 1890, 20–21.

²⁶ Spira, in Heil et al., 1967, 375–382.

²⁷ See *supra*. p. 16.

²⁸ D'Aiuto 2012; D'Aiuto 2018. Hagion Oros, Monē Koutloumoussiou, 23: Ehrhard 1943, III, 407–409; Lambros 1895, I, 276 (no. 3092). Bibl. tou Prôtatou, 47: Ehrhard 1943, III, 409–411; Lambros 1894, I, 7 (no. 47). Athens, EBE, 982: Ehrhard 1943, III, 409; Halkin 1983, 71.

²⁹ Ehrhard 1938, II, 45–49.

²¹ Spira, in Heil et al. 1967, 432–433, and personal investigations; both manuscripts have been used (Turin) or copied (Athens) by Maximos Margounios.

²² Spira, in Heil et al. 1967, 432.

²³ Spira in Heil et al. 1967, 345–416 and 439–457. See also *Pinakes*: <<http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/oeuvre/11203/>>.

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χαρίσατο. ἀπαύξει ἀβύσσοι
 παρὰ γαμβρῶν. ἀπαύξει ἀφίμασι
 αὐτῆσ παρ' αὐτοῦ. ἐβλήσά
 ἡμᾶσ ὄψο. ἀπαυδὲ βαυτοῖσ μελὶ
 ἐβλήσμεν. τίσ ἡμῶν φέσται. ἐβλήσορ
 τὸν ἀρῆσορ. καὶ ἐβλή
 ἠθλήσῃ παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ θυ. πῶ
 σοι καὶ ἐβλήσῃ μετράμ. παρ
 σέρχομαι μετράμ τῶ ἐβλήσορ
 μετ. καὶ οὐδὲ βῶλ ἀρῆσῃ. πό
 σοι γαμβροί. πῶσοι ἀπάσῃ ἡρῶι.
 καὶ οὐ βῶλ καμπαρὸ μετράμ. ἀφ
 ῆσ παρ' αὐτοῦ μετράμ αὐτοῦ
 τῶσ ἡβλήσῃσ. πῶσο οὐκ αὐ
 θροῖσ ἐβλήσῃσ. αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ
 ἀβροῦ ἐβλήσορ πῶσορ. γῶσ
 μετράμ οὐκ ἐβλήσορ. γῶσ μετ
 ράμ ἐβλήσορ. ἡρῶσ. ἔ
 ἀρῆσσο μετράμ τῶσ. καὶ βῶλ
 τῶσ μετράμ. τῶσ ὀπῆσ μετράμ
 ῆσ. τοῖσ ἄσπῶσ μετράμ
 χαρὶ καὶ ἀφίμασι αὐτοῦ ἡμῶν
 ἡμῶν. μετράμ. τῶσ πῶσ. ἀματῶ
 ῆσ πῶσ. δῶσ. ἡρῶσ. τί
 με. ἡμῶσ καὶ ἀφ. καὶ ἔσσο τοῖσ
 αὐτοῦσ τῶσ ἀφίμασι

λόγοσ ἱε: φ: κ:



Τὸν ἐν δόξιοισ πῶσ ἡμῶν. γρη
 γορίου. ἐπισκόπου νύσσε.
 περὶ τῶν ἐν πίστει κεκοιμη
 μένων:



ἰθὺ ἀφ' ἡμῶν τῆσ φύσσοσ
 ἡμῶν ἀλοφουδία. ἐβλήσορ
 ἔβροῦσ μετράμ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σῆμφο
 ράμ πῶσο μετράμ. καὶ καρῶ
 πῶσ τοῦσ μετράμ ἐπὶ τοῖσ μετράμ
 μετράμσ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐβλήσορ
 πῶσο τὸν μετράμ καὶ ἀσῶμα
 τῶσ, οὐκ αὐτοῦσ μετράμ
 φῆσ τῆσ ἐβλήσορ ἡμῶν ἡπίσ
 ἔβροσ ἀφῆσ τῶσ μετράμ πῶ
 ῆσ. οὐκ αὐτοῦσ ἀφῆσορ
 μετράμσ τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖσ ἀσ
 καρῶσ μετράμσ. οὐκ αὐτοῦσ
 ἡ. καὶ τοῖσ. τῶσ λόγῶσ καὶ δι
 ἀφοῖσ τῆσ ἀφῆσορ φύσσοσ
 πῶσο μετράμσ, πῶσο τῶσ
 μετράμ τῆσ ῶσ πῶσ μετράμ
 σῆσ μετράμ. ἡμῶσ, τῆσ τοῦ λόγου ἐβ
 σῆσ καρῶσ καὶ ἀφῆσορ ἀφῆ
 φῆσ μετράμ. καὶ μετράμ τῶσ πῶ
 πῶσ ἀφῆσορ, οὐκ αὐτοῦσ αὐ
 τοῖσ ἐβλήσορ ἡμῶσ τῶσ

Η Η
 Η Η

Fig. 1: Mt Athos, Monē Ibērōn, gr. 26, fol. 72' (beginning of De mortuis).

Outside of this small group, there are only three other manuscripts in the *menologia* group of Spira: first, a rather well-known ancient *menologion*, Jerusalem, Patriarchikē bibliothēkē, Panaghiou Taphou 1 (tenth century), which comes from the St Gerasimos Lavra in Palestine.³⁰ Then, two manuscripts stemming from the Dionysiou Monastery on Mt Athos.³¹ According to Andreas Spira, the Moscow manuscript that comes from Dionysiou is not the ‘father’ of Dionysiou 145, but its ‘brother’³²: this conclusion seems strange, though, since it implies that the model of both manuscripts should have been present in Dionysiou until the seventeenth century and disappeared only then; the relations between the two manuscripts should perhaps be reconsidered.

Therefore, we have, according to the editor, at least three different sub-groups of hagiographical-homiletic collections containing *Melet.* in Spira’s *menologia* group, all coming from the same lost source, but with rather distinct origins. First, Taphou 1, which seems to be of Palestinian origin. Jacques Noret, in his edition of the *Vita* of St Maruta of Mayferqat, has shown that this is the only surviving testimony of this *Vita* (BHG 2265) and that it was used as a source for the redaction of the corresponding *Vita* in the *Imperial Menologion*, redaction A (BHG 2266).³³ The textual history of *Melet.* may suggest a similar relation between Taphou 1 and the *Imperial Menologion*, even if Spira has not gone so far as to suggest this on a textual basis. At least, Taphou 1 comes from the same source as the *Imperial Menologion*. The Moscow manuscript (coming from Dionysiou) – the main part of the manuscript, in which the text by Gregory of Nyssa is included – is dated between the end of the tenth century (Santo Lucà)³⁴ and the beginning of the eleventh century (Elina Dobrynina)³⁵. It is assigned either

to the Syro-Palestinian area (Lucà) or to Constantinople (Aksinia Džurova),³⁶ considering its script and decoration (*stile blu*). It may stem from the same place of origin as Taphou 1 or may be simply linked to the branch attested in Constantinople in the eleventh century.

These links, which are known thanks to the history of the manuscripts and the textual history, shed some light on the history both of *Melet.* and of some hagiographical-homiletic collections. The *menologia* tradition of Andreas Spira seems to come from Syria or Palestine or at least to be linked with this area in early times. It was disseminated through various types of books, since Gregory of Nyssa’s *Melet.* was not the core text for the feast of St Meletius of Antioch in the Byzantine tradition. In fact, it seems to have never been part of the core of any given family of hagiographical-homiletic collections. The relationships between all these books should now be investigated more thoroughly, in order to confirm this first hypothesis.

Last, we shall add two more hagiographical-homiletic manuscripts to this group that Andreas Spira included in his β family, and not in the *menologia* group.³⁷ The first one is a well-known manuscript now kept in Venice, BNM stemming from the monastery of the Prodromos of Petra in Constantinople.³⁸ It represents one of the four volumes of the *panegyrikon* from this monastery; *Melet.* was introduced in this collection again from the β family, but independently from the *menologia* group. Some links exist between Marc. gr. VII. 25 and a manuscript from Mt Athos dating from 1227 that contains Ephrem’s works and a small collection of hagiographical texts.³⁹ This decorated manuscript still awaits a detailed study.

In conclusion, a group of closely related hagiographic manuscripts was clearly established in Spira’s edition: they all belong to family β and mainly form a subgroup (*menologia*) within this family. This group may stem from the corpus of Gregory’s texts, forming an autonomous subgroup of it, or the origin of the β family for *Melet.* may come from hagiographical-homiletic collections. In the

³⁰ Ehrhard 1937, I, 567–570; Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1891, I, 1–8.

³¹ Moscow, State Historical Museum (GIM), Sinod. gr. 124 (Homilies, mainly Chrysostom, tenth–eleventh and eleventh century): *Melet.* is in the tenth century section: Fonkič and Poljakov 1993, 64; Vladimir 1894, I, 171–175. Mt Athos, Monē Dionysiou, 145 (‘erweiterter Metaphrast’, February to August, seventeenth century): Ehrhard 1943, III, 46–48; Lambros 1895, I, 344 (no. 3679).

³² Spira, in: Heil et al. 1967, 376–378.

³³ Noret 1973, 77–79. For the singularity of Taphou 1, see also Lampadaridi 2016, 38 and 44–45.

³⁴ Lucà 2011, 155–156.

³⁵ Dobrynina 2008, 486–488.

³⁶ Džurova 2011, 113.

³⁷ Spira, in Heil et al. 1967, 370–374.

³⁸ Venice, BNM, Marc. gr. VII.25, twelfth century: Ehrhard 1943, III, 501–504; Mioni 1960, 40–44.

³⁹ Hagion Oros, Monē Pantokratoros, 86: Ehrhard 1952, III, 1002; Lambros 1895, I, 86 (no. 1120); Pelekanidou et al. 1979, 152, 280–281.

present state, it is impossible to say whether the hagiographic tradition dates back long into the history of this text and gave birth, later, to one of the families of manuscripts within the Gregorian tradition, or if it derived from the main Gregorian tradition at a later stage.⁴⁰ The history of the manuscripts and their relation suggest a possible Syro-Palestinian origin,⁴¹ but their textual state also spread from Constantinople via its inclusion in the *Imperial Menologion*, probably later in the first half of the eleventh century. Another smaller group of hagiographic manuscripts, clearly inserted in the same β branch, contains only two manuscripts and may be linked to the Prodromos of Petra.

3. The *Encomium* of the megalomartyr Theodore Tyro

John P. Cavarinos published in 1990 the first critical edition of the widespread *Encomium* of the megalomartyr Theodore Tyro, transmitted by around 100 manuscripts (*Theod.*).⁴² Unlike what happened with *Melet.*, there is no clear split for this text between the transmission within Gregory's corpus and the transmission in the hagiographical-homiletic collections, nor an unequivocal link between hagiographical-homiletic collections and one branch of the Gregorian tradition. The editor again distinguished two families, which, however, are exactly the opposite of the *Melet.* scheme: the α family is formed mainly of the 'Milan group',⁴³ while the β family gathers almost all the other manuscripts (see Fig. 2). The vast majority of hagiographical-homiletic manuscripts are found in the β family, so not in the family to which these collections belonged in the case of *Melet.*

The feast of St Theodore Tyro is celebrated on 17 February. However, Gregory's oration is generally not read at this date, with but a few exceptions. The homily is used on the first Saturday of Lent because of the later tradition regarding the Miracle of the *Kolyva* ('boiled wheat') linked

to Theodore,⁴⁴ even if there is no mention of this miracle in Gregory's panegyric of Theodore. So the suggestion by Louis Petit, even though condescending in its formulation, is probably right: the feast was transferred from 17 February to the first Saturday of Lent because of the *Kolyva Miracle* and the concurrence of the beginning of Lent with the usual liturgical date.

Let's now start with the α family (corresponding to the β family of *Melet.*, i.e. the 'Milan group'), which contains mainly two groups of manuscripts and fewer than 20 codices.⁴⁵ Among these two groups, John P. Cavarinos identified three hagiographical-homiletic manuscripts (see Fig. 2): first, a metaphrastic *menologion* for the second half of January⁴⁶ that was completed by readings for the beginning of Lent, among them *Theod.*; this manuscript is a direct parent of Monac. gr. 370 and of the *Codex Grimani*. Then, a 'nachmetaphrastische, gemischte Sammlung',⁴⁷ where the text is subsumed under the 17 February; it is closely related to Ambr. C 135 inf. and Marc. gr. Z 67. Finally, a strange pre-metaphrastic annual collection without order, which also contains *Theod.* for 17 February, in a textual form close to the α family.⁴⁸ In this family, *Theod.* is used for both 17 February and the first Saturday of Lent, and it appears in three different types of hagiographical-homiletic collections.

In the β family (see Fig. 2), for which the editor distinguished six groups (c-h) with more than 60 manuscripts, there is no clear distinction between manuscripts of the Gregorian corpus proper and hagiographical-homiletic collections. The grouping of the witnesses based on textual criticism does not correspond to the classification according to the types of hagiographical-homiletic manuscripts (*menologia*, *panegyrika* and homiliaries). There are, however, some exceptions: group h⁴⁹ derives from a Moscow manuscript stemming from the Great Lavra on Mt Athos, an 'alte Jah-

⁴⁰ In the case of the *Vita Macrinae*, the editors have indicated that even in the *Gregorian corpus*, the text seems to come from a hagiographical-liturgical context: Maraval 1971, 118–119, with references to previous bibliography.

⁴¹ Unfortunately, the Syriac translation does not fit clearly in any of the two Greek families (see Spira, in Heil et al. 1967, 396–404), and so cannot help establishing the geographic origin of one or the other family.

⁴² Cavarinos, in Heil et al. 1990, CXXXV–CLXXII, 59–71. See also *Pinakes* <<http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/oeuvre/3819/>>.

⁴³ Monac. gr. 370, *Codex Grimani's* sons, Ambr. C 135 inf. and Marc. gr. Z 67; see *supra*.

⁴⁴ Petit 1899, 324; Delehay 1909, 16. Haldon 2016, 31–32; Efthymiadis 2011.

⁴⁵ Cavarinos, in Heil et al. 1990, CXXXIX–CXL.

⁴⁶ Vatican City, BAV, Pal. gr. 308, eleventh-twelfth century, 'N': Ehrhard 1938, II, 553–554; Stevenson 1885, 172–174.

⁴⁷ Athens, EBE, 2560, eleventh century: Ehrhard 1952, III, 798; Halkin 1983, 145.

⁴⁸ Mt Athos, Monē Batopediou, 456, eleventh century, 'V': Ehrhard 1952, III, 728–729; Eustratiades and Arcadios Vatopedinos 1924, 91–92.

⁴⁹ Cavarinos, in Heil et al. 1990, CLXII–CLXIII.

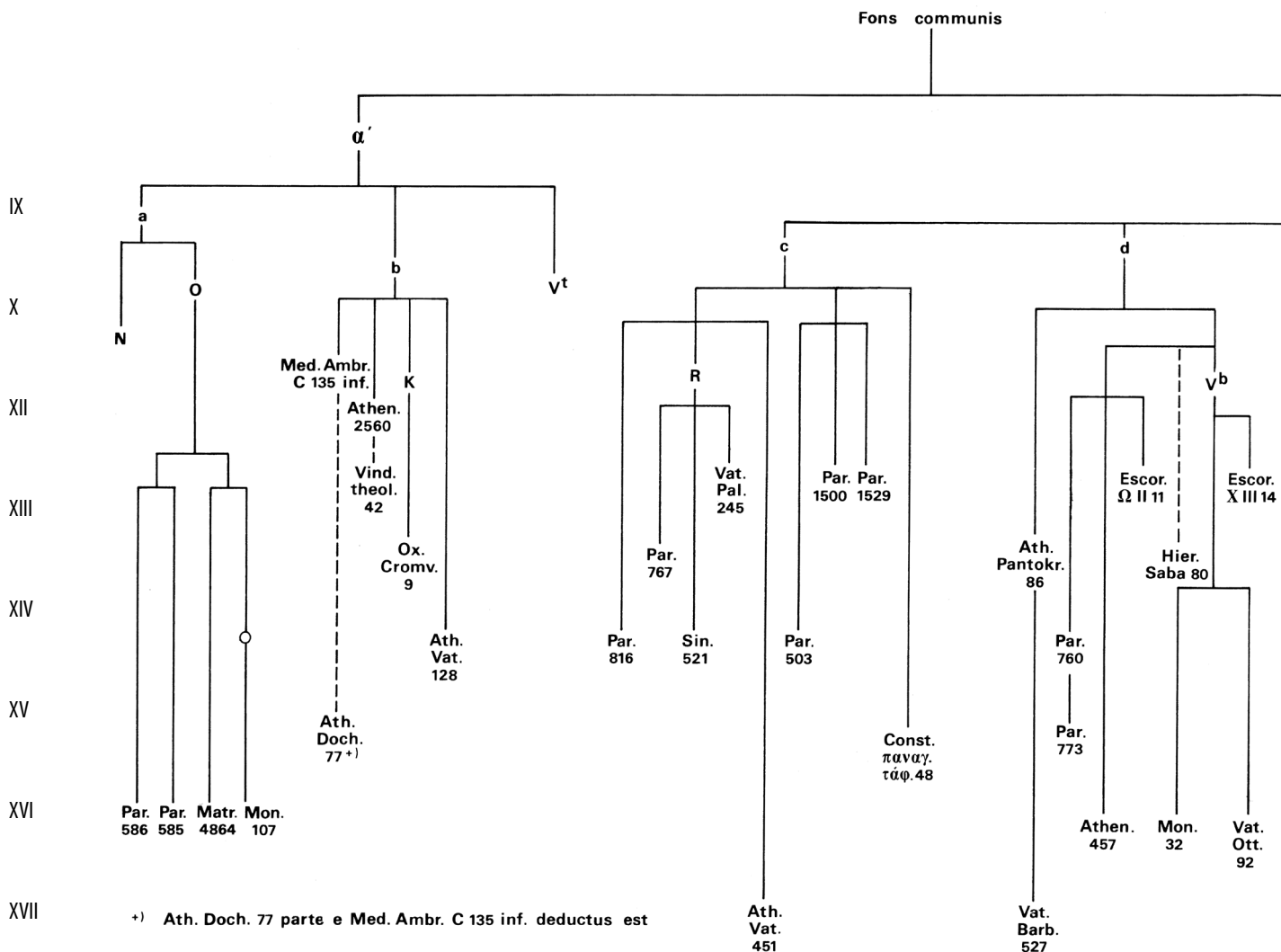


Fig. 2: Stemma of the manuscript tradition of *Theod.* (Cavarnos, in Heil et al. 1990, CLXVIII^{bis}).

ressammlung, Typus A'.⁵⁰ All the other manuscripts of this group are homiliaries or *panegyrika*, all coming from Mt Athos, too, and all probably direct or indirect copies of the Lavra manuscript, at least for *Theod.*

Group c is another interesting one.⁵¹ It includes two branches, one consisting of homiliaries, *panegyrika*⁵² and

two 'gemischte Sammlungen'⁵³. The other branch contains metaphrastic *menologia*, two from Mt Sinai⁵⁴ and two derived from them, now in Paris, both of the twelfth century.⁵⁵ Almost all the metaphrastic *menologia* that have preserved our text belong to the c group, and in particular to this last branch.

⁵⁰ Moscow, GIM, Sinod. gr. 26, eleventh century, 'Σ': Ehrhard 1937, I, 194–195; Vladimir 1894, 577–578; Fonkič and Poljakov 1993, 126.

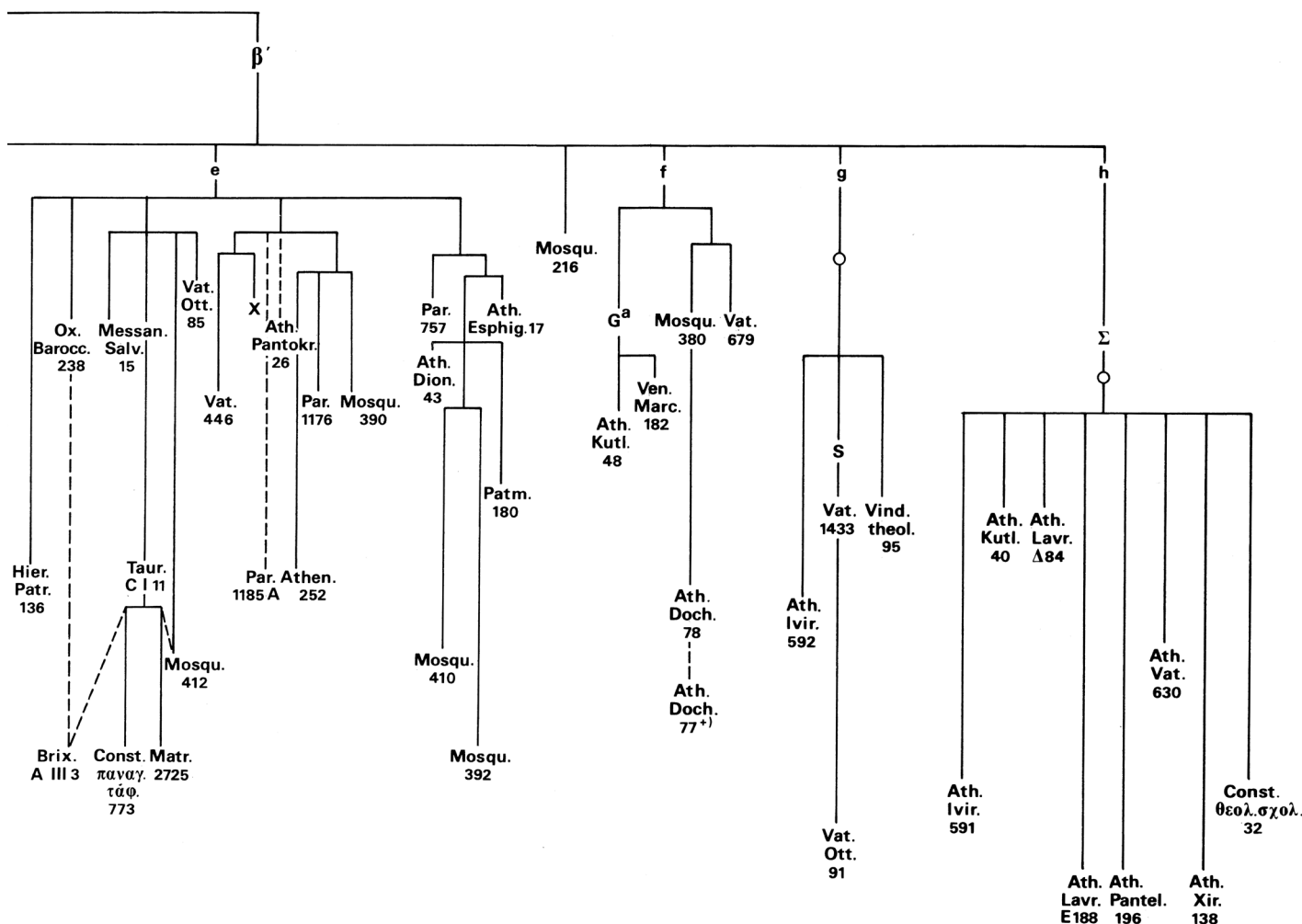
⁵¹ Cavarnos, in Heil et al. 1990, CXLIII–CXLVIII.

⁵² Paris, BnF, gr. 767, twelfth century, from the Prodomos of Petra: Omont 1886, I, 133–134. Oxford, BL, Roe 28, thirteenth–fourteenth century, 'R': Hutter 1977, 31–33 (no. 20); Hutter 1982, 325–326. Vatican City, BAV, Pal. gr. 245, twelfth–thirteenth century: Ehrhard 1938, II, 41–43; Stevenson 1885, 133–135.

⁵³ Paris, BnF, gr. 816, fourteenth century: Ehrhard 1952, III, 825; Omont 1886, I, 151–152. Mt Athos, Monē Batopediou, 451, seventeenth century: Ehrhard 1952, III, 887; Eustratiades and Arcadios Vatopedinos 1924, 90.

⁵⁴ Sinai, Monē Aikaterinēs, gr. 326, eleventh century: Ehrhard 1938, II, 602; Gardthausen 1886, 65. Gr. 515, twelfth century: Ehrhard 1943, III, 77–78; Gardthausen 1886, 126.

⁵⁵ Paris, BnF, gr. 1500: Ehrhard 1938, II, 598; Omont 1898, II, 68. Gr. 1529: Ehrhard 1943, II, 598–599; Omont 1898, II, 80–81.



However, we also find our text in at least two ancient *menologia*,⁵⁶ within families that contain both a corpus of Gregory's texts and various homiletic collections (families d and e). Therefore, the general type of manuscripts (here, *menologia*) is not a sufficient indication for grouping these manuscripts; it must be refined, at least by using Ehrhard's sub-categories.

Since the homily on St Theodore Tyro has generally not been included in the metaphrastic *menologia*,⁵⁷ and since it is not regularly included in any type of *panegyrikon* or homiliary, its transmission is nonlinear in terms of hagiographical-homiletic collections. There was obviously a

steady circulation between Gregory of Nyssa's corpus and hagiographical-homiletic collections or, rather, multiple derivations and borrowings, mainly from Gregorian corpus to hagiographic collections.⁵⁸ Strangely enough, we can also see that in the majority of manuscripts, there is no strict correlation between the textual families and the type of hagiographical-homiletic collections (with some exceptions). So we must use textual filiation in order to trace and verify the history of such hagiographical-homiletic collections: are they coherent groups of texts, or are they composed, inde-

⁵⁶ Vienna, ÖNB, hist. gr. 3, eleventh century, 'V^b': Hunger 1961, 2-4. Oxford, BL., Barocci 238, tenth century: Coxe 1969, col. 406-407.

⁵⁷ For some exceptions, see *supra*.

⁵⁸ There is one problematic occurrence the other way around, in family b, from Athens, EBE 2560 to Vienna, ÖNB, theol. gr. 42. But this section of the manuscript is generally considered to be a direct copy of ms. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C 135 inf., after corrections (M²): see Heil et al. 1967, 150-151, 159, 174, 362-363; Heil et al. 1990, cxii-cxviii; Rhein et al. 1996, 20-21, 152-156, 276-279. So, J. P. Cavarnos' conclusions (cxli) should perhaps be submitted to revision on this point.

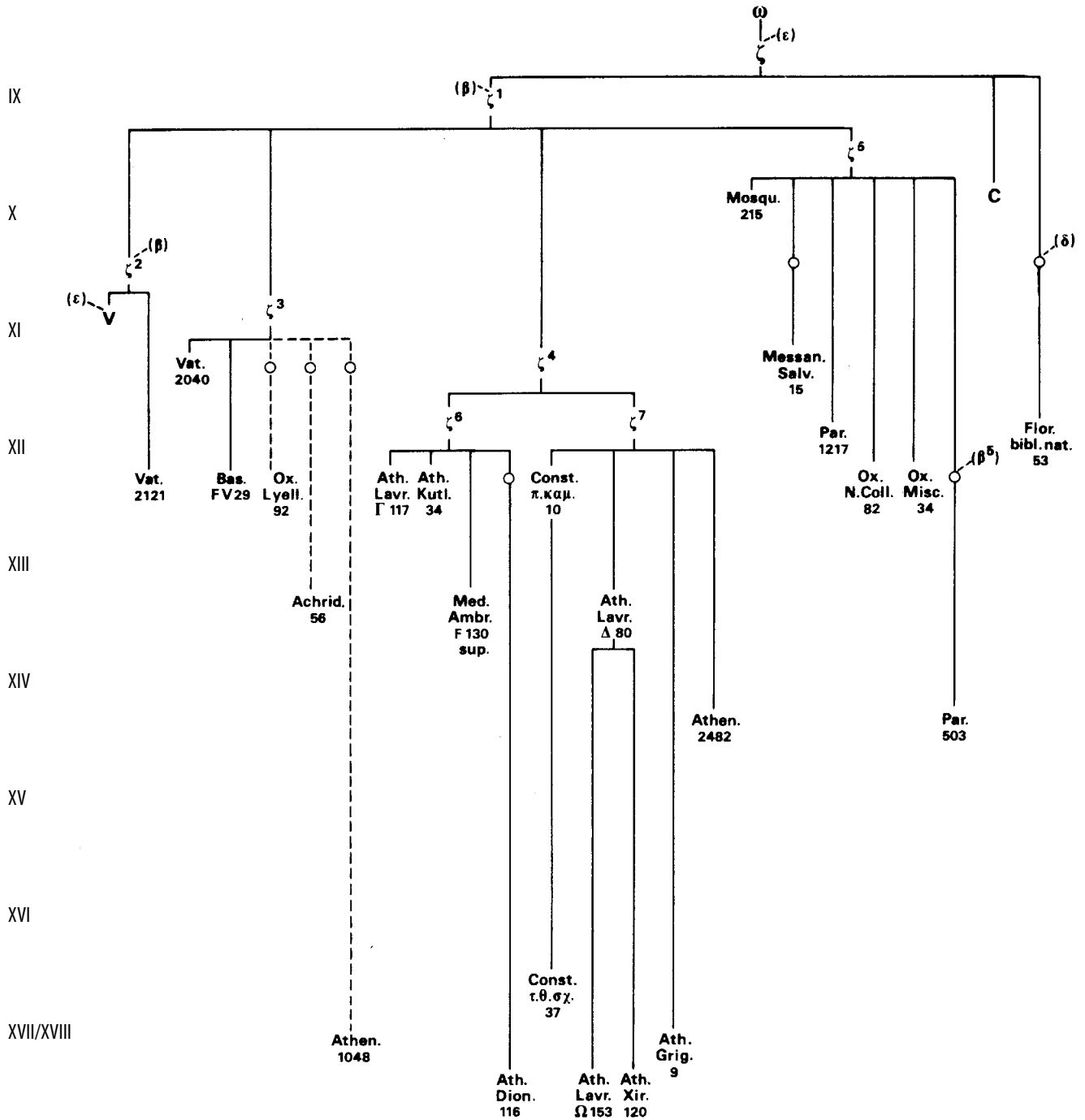


Fig. 3: Stemma of the manuscript tradition of *Steph. I*, family ζ (Lendle, in Heil et al. 1990, ccIII).

pendently, from various sources? I am not sure that we can extrapolate the indications given by the history of transmission of peripheral texts such as *Theod.* to the history of collections themselves.⁵⁹ *Theod.* may be an errant text, passing ‘off the beaten track’ from one collection to another, but such a textual history gives us some first, marginal indications on

the history of the collections, and on the reception and reading of *Theod.*

4. *In s. Stephanum protomartyrem I*

I would now like to turn briefly to a third text by Gregory of Nyssa, which is dedicated to Stephen the protomartyr (*Steph. I*). This homily, which is contained in more than 160 manuscripts, was not included in the metaphrastic *menologion* from the beginning, since there 27 December is dedi-

⁵⁹ By ‘peripheral text’, I mean texts not included in the core model of such collections, but added in some manuscripts belonging to this type.

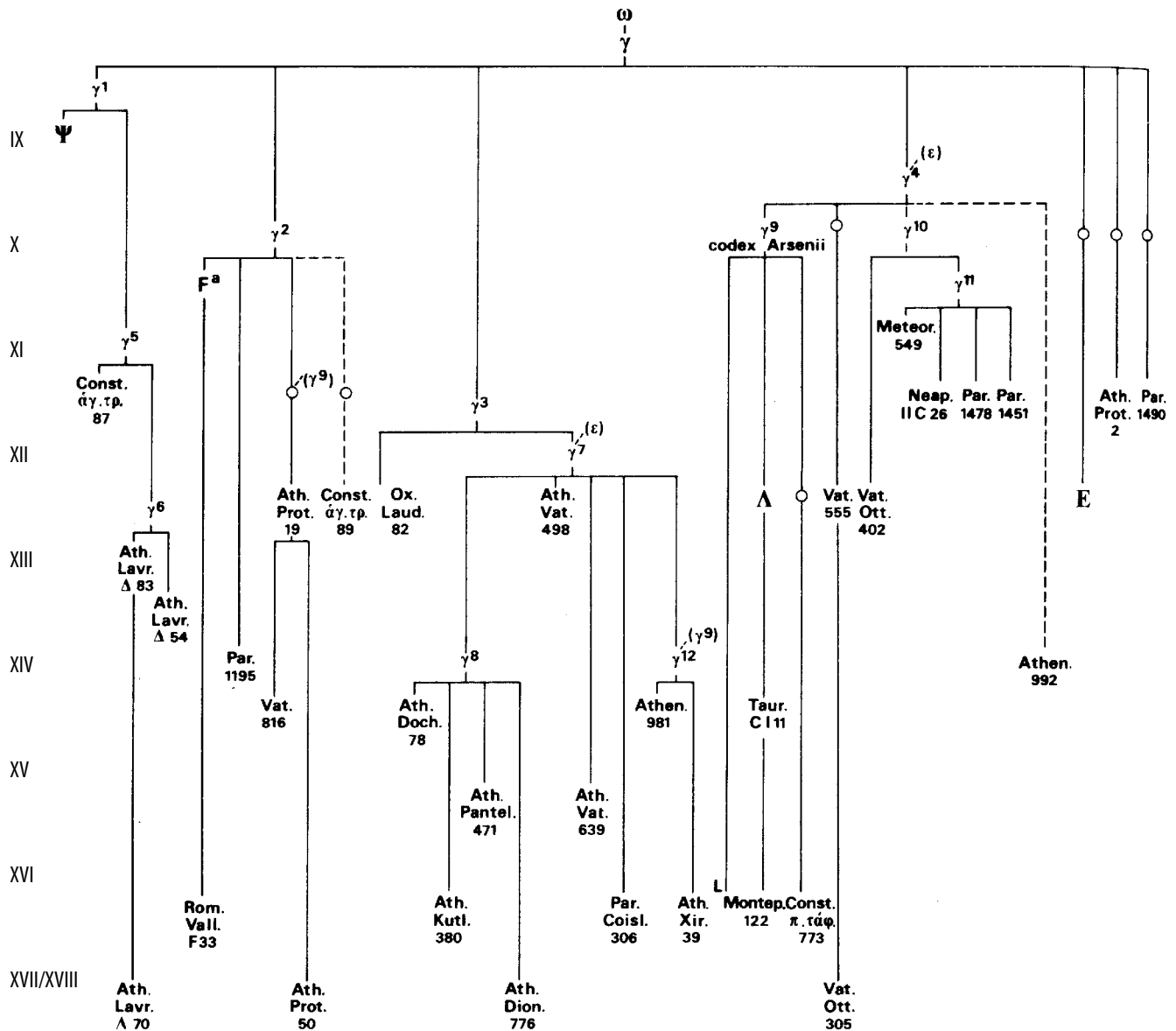


Fig. 4: Stemma of the manuscript tradition of *Steph. I*, family γ (Lendle, in Heil et al. 1990, cx).

cated to the commemoration of Theodore and Theophanes Graptoi. However, *Steph. I* has often been added to metaphrastic *menologia* and is also present, but not as frequently, in *panegyrika* and other types of annual or semi-annual collections under 27 December. As in the case of *Theod.*, and perhaps even more so, the various (6) families reconstructed by the editor, Otto Lendle, include both Gregorian corpus and hagiographical-homiletic collections.⁶⁰ If we zoom in on smaller zones of the stemma, we can see again a coherence between types of collection and textual families, for example in the sub-family $\zeta 7$ (see Fig. 3):⁶¹ this group is composed

mainly of manuscripts transmitting the *panegyrikon* in four volumes, which is independent from the Metaphrast,⁶² and is closely related to a Lavra manuscript, Γ 117. Elsewhere, however, we see no coherence. For example, in the $\gamma 11$ subgroup (see Fig. 4),⁶³ we find two ‘alte Jahrespanegyriken, Typus A’,⁶⁴ and two ‘alte Menologien’, one for two months⁶⁵

⁶⁰ Lendle, in Heil et al. 1990, CLXXIII–CCXVI, 73–94; Lendle 1968.

⁶¹ Lendle, in Heil et al. 1990, CCI–CCVII; Lendle 1968, 244–247.

⁶² Ehrhard 1952, III, 509–513.

⁶³ Lendle, in Heil et al. 1990, CLXXXVIII–CXIII; Lendle 1968, 198–200.

⁶⁴ Meteora, Monē Metamorphōseōs, 549, tenth century: (Beēs) 1998, 551–557, 677. Paris, BnF, gr. 1478, eleventh century: Ehrhard 1938, II, 30–31; Omont 1888, II, 58–59.

⁶⁵ Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, II C 26, eleventh century: Mioni 1992, 194–196.

and the other for four months.⁶⁶ These two *menologia* are closely related and seem to descend from a common model, now lost, for *Steph. I*. Was this a Gregorian corpus or already a hagiographic collection? It is possible that it was a Gregorian manuscript, since we have in the same family the *Codex Arsenii*, a well-known lost manuscript of the Gregorian corpus dated to October 912 and written by one Arsenios, disciple of Metrophanes of Smyrna.⁶⁷ Was the model of the two *menologia* a different, more ancient hagiographical-homiletic collection? This is also possible, since in this sub-group, and even in the whole γ family, all manuscripts that do not stem from the *Codex Arsenii* are hagiographical-homiletic collections. In this case, the compiler of the *Codex Arsenii* would have taken *Steph. I* from a hagiographical-homiletic collection. We also find in this γ family one of the most ancient manuscripts containing our text, a ninth-century non-menologic collection in majuscule, now on Mt Sinai.⁶⁸

For *Steph. I*, there is therefore no clear separation between a hagiographical-homiletic tradition versus a Gregorian tradition, but again multiple derivations and interrelations. Even within the given subgroups, it remains difficult to discover whether the origin of a given tradition is to be found in a corpus of Gregory's works or in a liturgical and hagiographical context.

Conclusion

We have examined three different cases of textual transmission among Gregory of Nyssa's hagiographic homilies: one in which the hagiographical-homiletic collections occupy a specific zone in the stemma, a clearly defined sub-group, with links of filiation between the manuscripts in question (*Melet.*), and a second case (*Theod.*) in which hagiographical-homiletic collections are located in both families but form the majority of one of them. In the last case (*Steph. I*), hagiographical-homiletic collections are scattered all over the stemma. Therefore, in these three cases at least, there is a real porosity leading from manuscripts of Gregory's corpus to hagiographical-homiletic collections; the converse rela-

tion (from hagiographical-homiletic collections to Gregory's corpus) is rarer and less easy to ascertain, even if we consider this possibility for the *Codex Arsenii* in the case of *Steph. I* and for the relation between the *menologia* group and the β family in the case of *Theod.*⁶⁹

We have also seen that the coherence of the filiations varies according to the integration of the text in the collections. When a text is marginal, not included in the core of the given collection but only added in such or such manuscripts, the nature of the collections is of no major importance in the filiations. The validity of this hypothesis should be tested on *De uita Gregorii Thaumaturgi*, the only text of Gregory that is regularly included in the metaphrastic *menologion*, and on specific subgroups of a given type of hagiographical-homiletic collections. Conversely, the groups of hagiographical-homiletic collections and their nature may be of major interest for constructing a stemma, but also for interpreting the history of transmission and reception of a patristic homily. When consideration of the nature and transmission of hagiographical-homiletic collections is articulated with the history of manuscripts, it can lead to important results concerning the history of the circulation of texts. We have seen that these indications confirm many of Ehrhard's hypotheses of links between manuscripts, at least in a narrow perspective, for small, well-defined groups of manuscripts. The history of manuscripts and hagiographical-homiletic collections may also help to solve some problems of the origins of collections, as suggested for the *Imperial Menologion* in connection with Syro-Palestinian manuscripts. However, there is still a long way to go in this field: even though Gregory of Nyssa is already a well-investigated author, perhaps even the best-investigated patristic author in terms of the edition of his texts, we are only at the beginning of the road...

⁶⁶ Paris, BnF, gr. 1451, eleventh century: Ehrhard 1937, I, 389–392; Omont 1888, II, 46.

⁶⁷ It is known thanks to a sixteenth-century copy: Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Gronov. 12: Declercq 2002, ccccx–ccccxxvi, with previous bibliography, and *Pinakes* <<http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/37783/>>.

⁶⁸ Sinai, Monē Aikaterinēs, gr. 493: Ehrhard 1937, I, 146–148; Gardthausen 1886, 120.

⁶⁹ However, Maraval 1971, 118–119, 121 (Vienna, ÖNB, theol. gr. 42 as sole exception), has shown that the majority of witnesses of the *Vita Macrinae* tradition come from hagiographical-homiletic collections.

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Article

Unedited Sermons Transmitted under the Name of John Chrysostom in Syriac Panegyric Homiliaries*

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1. Preamble. Preaching to create books or books to create preaching?

On 1 September 691, the Quinisext Council convened in the ‘Trullus’ chamber of the Palace of Justinian II; it issued 102 rules of administrative and canonical value.¹ Its rule no. XIX endeavours to formulate a methodology of predication by delimiting the personal initiative of homilists and demanding that preachers rely primarily on the teaching of the ancient Fathers.

19. The superiors of the Churches must instruct all their clergy and their people in true piety every day, but especially on Sundays, choosing for them from divine Scripture the thoughts and judgements of truth and following unswervingly definitions already set forth and the tradition of the God-bearing Fathers. If a Scriptural passage should come up for discussion, they shall in no wise interpret it differently than the luminaries and Doctors of the Church have set down in their writings (συγγραμμάτων). In this way shall they distinguish themselves, rather than by composing their own works, being at times incapable of this and thereby falling short of what is proper. For through the teaching of the aforementioned Fathers the people are given knowledge of important things and virtues, and of unprofitable things and those to be rejected: thus they reform their lives for the better and escape being taken captive by the emotions of ignorance [...]²

* By the term ‘panegyric homiliary’, here we mean a manuscript containing a collection of homilies by different authors organised according to the logic of a Church calendar (cf. the Greek πανήγυρις – ‘a feast, a festive celebration’).

¹ For a recent volume on the Council in Trullo see Nedungatt and Featherstone 1995.

² For the English translation and a critical edition of the Greek text, see Nedungatt and Featherstone 1995, 94–9696; see also Sever Voicu, this volume, 13, n. 52.

Although this instruction echoes the *Apostolic Canon* no. LVIII³ regarding the duty of the bishops to preach, the general accent here is entirely different. The preacher is invited to hold close to the writings (συγγραμμάτων) of the ancient Fathers; furthermore, it could be argued that the decree presupposes a library or a collection of homiletic and exegetic patristic texts at the disposal of the homilist. While inaugurating a conservative approach to the art of preaching, the decree implies that the bishops should pay special attention to the written text of the forerunners and that they read and cite what has been written before.

It is tempting to suggest a link between this tendency towards homiletical conservatism expressed by the conciliar decree and the emergence of a new genre of panegyric homiletical manuscripts in the Christian book culture. It is not impossible that one – albeit indirect – reason why panegyric homiliaries emerged as a book type was the demand for ancient homiletic texts promoted by the Fathers of the Council in Trullo.

It could be argued as well that, chronologically, the most ancient panegyric homiliaries of the Christian East go back to this very period, i.e. to the end of the seventh and the beginning of the eighth century. In Armenian, almost all panegyric homiliaries are derivative of the large homiliary of Solomon of Mak‘enoc’, who accomplished his titanic endeavour around the year 747.⁴ In Georgian, the palimpsest homiliary with *khanmeti* linguistic features (manuscript Tbilisi, National Centre of Manuscripts, S-3902) is datable to

³ ‘If any bishop or presbyter neglects the clergy or the people, and does not instruct them in the way of godliness, let him be excommunicated, and if he persists in his negligence and idleness, let him be deposed’ (my translation). See Joannou 1962, 38.

⁴ See Bernard Outtier, this volume, 117ff.; see also Van Esbroeck 1984, 237–238.

the beginning of the eighth century⁵ or even to the seventh century.⁶ For the Syriac, we have a number of manuscripts that contain corpora (or fragments of corpora) by various authors – Aphrahat,⁷ Ephrem,⁸ Chrysostom,⁹ Severus of Antioch¹⁰ etc. – from the fifth (!) century onwards, but the earliest panegyric homilies in the Syriac language go back at most to the mid-eighth century.

One would also wish to recall that, back in 1910, Anton Baumstark endeavoured to propose a typology of Syriac panegyric homilies,¹¹ suggesting that the most ancient type of panegyric homily comprised mostly translated and, consequently, prose homilies, called *turgomo* (as opposed to original Syriac rhymed or rhythmic homilies, *memro*). Baumstark deplored the fact that no pure ‘prose’ homilies had survived. He argued that the second stage of evolution was the contamination of the ‘prose’ homilies with the original Syriac *memro* sermons. This must have happened ‘an der Wende des 7. zum 8. Jahrhundert’ (‘at the turn of the seventh to the eighth century’)¹² according to Baumstark’s calculations. A further stage of development, not relevant for our research here, was the mixture of hymnography with homiletic materials within a single volume – *hudrō*. What is important to note is that the intense evolution of Syriac homilies took place in the seventh to eighth centuries, as put forward by Baumstark.

With all due caution, we find it quite symptomatic that the burgeoning of the panegyric type of homilies throughout the cultures of the Christian East fits the general context of the homiletical conservatism witnessed by the canonical legislation of the Council in Trullo.

2. Syriac panegyric homilies and John Chrysostom

The procedure of constituting early panegyric homilies in the Eastern Christian cultures, and especially in Syriac, is of utmost interest, given that their compilers used materials that are no longer available to us. It is instructive to recall that immediately after Albert Ehrhard published the first volume of his monumental work on the typology of the Greek homilies, Charles Martin underlined the role of the Oriental homilies, *viz.* Syriac ones, for the study of the earliest stage of homiletic book culture.¹³ It is on his trail that Joseph-Marie Sauget undertook a systematic analysis of the Syriac panegyric homilies in a series of studies, venturing to elucidate the principles of the compilation of Syriac homilies and of the use of translated Greek texts.¹⁴

In our paper, we limit ourselves to the texts, either translated into Syriac from Greek or original Syriac compositions, that the earliest Syriac panegyric homilies transmit under the name of John Chrysostom. It turns out that several homilies ascribed to him in their titles or their *explicit*s have not yet been edited or altogether studied. Surprisingly, a total of 38 such sermons showed up in the Syriac panegyric homilies. In what follows, we offer a list of unedited Chrysostomica and Pseudo-Chrysostomica extant in Syriac panegyric collections, hoping that this list will encourage specialists in Patristic and Oriental Christian Studies to proceed to editions and studies of this hitherto neglected heritage.¹⁵

We have not included in the list two Pseudo-Chrysostomian texts discovered recently by Paul Géhin,¹⁶ because the manu-

⁵ See Šanize 1927.

⁶ See Jost Gippert, this volume, 86; see also Gippert 2016, 69 and especially Gippert 2017, 896.

⁷ See, for example, the manuscript London, British Library, Add. 17182 (474 and 512).

⁸ See Butts 2017 for a recent study on the oldest textual witnesses of Ephrem’s works.

⁹ See, for example, Childers 2013 and Childers 2017.

¹⁰ See the manuscript Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. sir. 143 (563).

¹¹ Baumstark 1910, 53–62, chapter ‘Die nichtbiblischen Lesestücke (das Homiliar)’.

¹² Baumstark 1910, 56.

¹³ Martin 1937, 355–358.

¹⁴ Sauget 1961, Sauget 1968, Sauget 1985, Sauget 1986; see also a brief overview in Brock 2007, 19–20.

¹⁵ See the exemplary study Chahine 2002, in which one of the Syriac texts attributed to John Chrysostom was edited on the basis of panegyric homilies and identified as a peculiar redaction of the homily *Sermo cum iret in exsilium* (CPG 4397).

¹⁶ See Géhin 2017, 869–870 and 873.

scripts that contain them (Sinai syr. 10¹⁷ and Sinai syr. 16¹⁸) are not panegyric homilies.

For the purpose of the present study, we used the following manuscripts:

Eighth century

- Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV), Vat. sir. 253¹⁹ (mid-eighth century) (Fig. 1)
- Vatican City, BAV, Vat. sir. 368²⁰ (mid-eighth century)

Ninth century

- Vatican City, BAV, Vat. sir. 369²¹ (first quarter of the ninth century)

Tenth to eleventh century

- Damascus (olim Homs), Syrian Orthodox Patriarchate (SOP), syr. 12/19²²



Fig. 1: Vatican City, BAV, Vat. sir. 253, fol. 75¹.

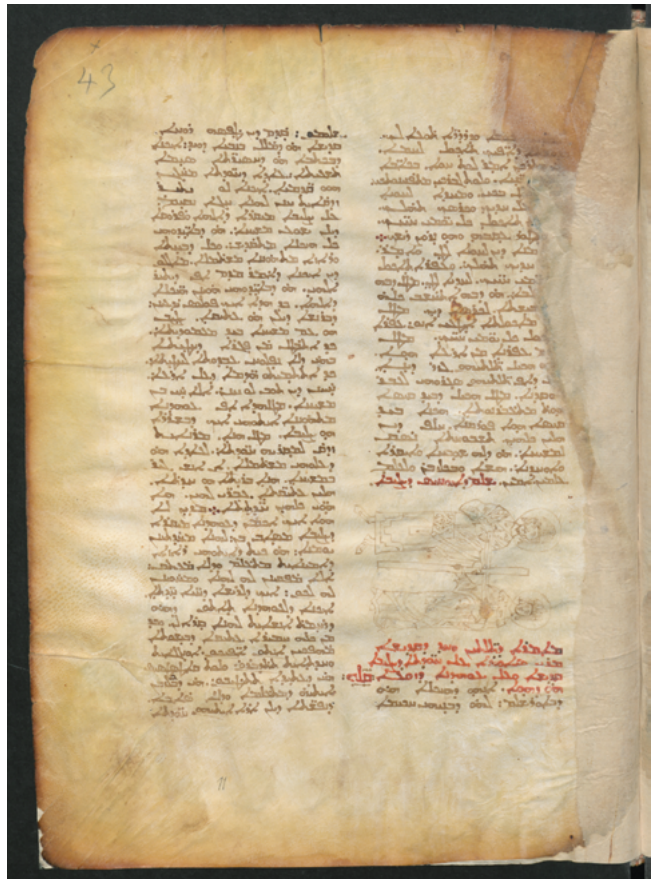


Fig. 2: Berlin, SPK, Sachau 28/220, fol. 43¹.

¹⁷ *In defunctos*.

MS: Sinai, syr. 10, fols 60^v-62^r

BIBL: Géhin 2017, 869–870 (no. A1b)

TIT: ܕܡܠܬܐ ܒܢܘܠܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܗ ܕܟܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܠܟܠ ܥܢܝܢܐ

‘Of the same, on the suffering, the penitence and the delay concerning those who passed away’

INC: ܕܥܡܝܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܗ ܕܟܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܠܟܠ ܥܢܝܢܐ

‘My brothers, everyone has to leave the world and to depart from life’

DES: ܕܟܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܗ ܕܟܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܠܟܠ ܥܢܝܢܐ

‘Glory from all those who take pleasure in the kingdom and those who are tormented in the Gehenna of blindness, to the age of the ages, amen’.

¹⁸ An unidentified fragment in a section comprising quotations from Chrysostomian works.

MS: Sinai, syr. 16, fols 195^{a-b} (inc. mut.)

BIBL: Géhin 2017, 873 (no. B2d)

TIT: —

INC: ܕܟܘܢܝܢܐ (...)

‘(...) and the impurity’

DES: ܕܟܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܗ ܕܟܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܠܟܠ ܥܢܝܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܗ ܕܟܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܠܟܠ ܥܢܝܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܗ ܕܟܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܠܟܠ ܥܢܝܢܐ ܕܗܝܘܢܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܗ ܕܟܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܠܟܠ ܥܢܝܢܐ

‘and sits on the right hand of God, His Father, to Him and to His Father who sent our Saviour, and to the Spirit of holiness, now and in all times and to the age of ages, amen’.

¹⁹ See Sauget 1968 and a recent correction in Kim 2018. The manuscript is available in digitised form on the website of the Vatican Library: <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.sir.253>.

²⁰ Sauget 1961. See the digitised manuscript on the website of the Vatican Library: <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.sir.368>.

²¹ Sauget 1961. See the digitised manuscript on the website of the Vatican Library: <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.sir.369>.

²² Brock 1994–1995; Sauget 1986, 144–145.

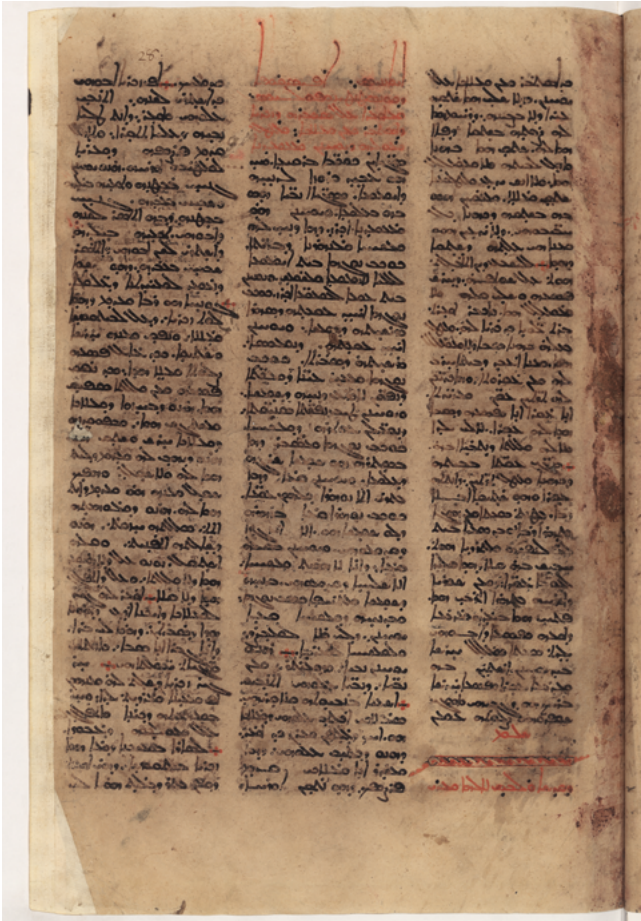


Fig. 3: Vatican City, BAV, Vat. sir. 117, fol. 28r.



Fig. 4: London, BL, Add. 12165, fol. 68r.

Eleventh century

- Damascus (*olim* Homs), SOP, syr. 12/20²³ (1000)
- London, British Library (BL), Add. 12165²⁴ (1015) (Figs 4–13 and 15).
- Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz (SPK), Sachau 28/220²⁵ (beginning of the eleventh century) (Fig. 2)

Twelfth century

- Vatican City, BAV, Vat. sir. 117²⁶ (Fig. 3)

Twentieth century

- Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library, Mingana Collection, syr. 545²⁷ (1929)

Additional manuscripts

We have occasionally also used the following homiliaries:

- London, BL, Add. 14516²⁸ (ninth century)
- London, BL, Add. 14515²⁹ (893)
- London, BL, Add. 14725³⁰
- London, BL, Add. 14727.³¹

Unseen manuscripts

We have unfortunately not had access to:

- the manuscript Chicago, Oriental Institute, A. 12008³² (eleventh to twelfth century)

²³ Brock 1994–1995, Sauguet 1986, 144–145.

²⁴ Wright 1871, 842–851 (no. DCCCXXV); Sauguet 1986.

²⁵ See Malki 1985, Brock 1985, and especially Sauguet 1985. See the digitised manuscript on the website of the Berlin State Library: <<http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0001588000000000>>.

²⁶ See Assemani and Assemani 1759, 1759, 87–107 and Sauguet 1968b, 133–135. See the digitised manuscript on the website of the Vatican Library: <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.sir.117>.

²⁷ See Rilliet 1982. In spite of its recent date, this Syriac homiliary comprises numerous texts from medieval panegyric collections; the scribe copies the colophon of one of them dated 1312 (see Rilliet 1982, 579–580).

²⁸ Wright 1870, 244–246 (no. CCCVIII).

²⁹ Wright 1870, 240–243 (no. CCCVI).

³⁰ Wright 1871, 827–828 (no. DCCCXIV)

³¹ Wright 1871, 886–890 (no. DCCCXLVIII).

³² See the summary description in Vööbus 1973a, 121–127 and Vööbus 1973b, 81–87.

- the lost codex Jerusalem, St Mark's Monastery, Syr. 43³³ (before the year 1143/1144).

3. Analytical list of unedited *Chrysostomica* and *Pseudo-Chrysostomica* CPG 5145³⁴

CPG 5145.1

In sanctum ieiunium

MSS:

- London, BL, Add. 12165, no. 22, fols 68^v–71^v (Fig. 4)
- Damascus, SOP, syr. 12/19, no. 39, fols 142^b *sqq.*
- Damascus, SOP, syr. 12/20, no. 41, fols 171^a *sqq.*

BIBL: Wright 1871, 843^b (no. DCCCXXV); Sauget 1986, 140; Brock 1994–1995, 616 and 622.

TIT: ܘܡܢܝܟܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܪ ܝܗܘܢܢ ܕܝܘܠܝܐ ܕܡܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܪ ܝܗܘܢܢ ܕܡܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܪ ܝܗܘܢܢ
‘Of holy Mar John, sermon on the holy Lent of forty days’

INC: ܕܡܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܪ ܝܗܘܢܢ ܕܡܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܪ ܝܗܘܢܢ ܕܡܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܪ ܝܗܘܢܢ
ܕܡܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܪ ܝܗܘܢܢ ܕܡܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܪ ܝܗܘܢܢ

‘Nous sommes réunis aujourd’hui pour nous réjouir à propos d’une grande fête. C’est, en effet, une véritable (fête) pour l’âme lorsque celle-ci par les vertus se rapproche (de Dieu)’ (Sauget 1986, 140).



Fig. 5: London, BL, Add. 12165, fol. 93^v.

CPG 5145.2

In sanctum ieiunium et de paenitentia

MSS:

- London, BL, Add. 12165, no. 30, fols 93^v–96^r (Fig. 5)
- Damascus, SOP, syr. 12/19, no. 41, fols 147^b *sqq.*
- Damascus, SOP, syr. 12/20, no. 43, fols 178^a *sqq.*

BIBL: Wright 1871, 844^b (no. DCCCXXV); Sauget 1986, 140; Brock 1994–1995, 616 and 622.

TIT: ܘܡܢܝܟܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܪ ܝܗܘܢܢ ܕܝܘܠܝܐ ܕܡܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܪ ܝܗܘܢܢ ܕܡܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܪ ܝܗܘܢܢ
ܕܡܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܪ ܝܗܘܢܢ ܕܡܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܪ ܝܗܘܢܢ

‘Of holy Mar John, sermon on holy Lent and on repentance’

INC: ܕܡܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܪ ܝܗܘܢܢ ܕܡܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܪ ܝܗܘܢܢ ܕܡܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܪ ܝܗܘܢܢ
ܕܡܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܪ ܝܗܘܢܢ ܕܡܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܪ ܝܗܘܢܢ

‘(Il y a un jour), je vous ai parlé du jeûne: je disais que c’est le temps de la pénitence’ (Sauget 1986, 140).



Fig. 6: London, BL, Add. 12165, fol. 120^v.

³³ See the description by Baumstark 1911, 300–309 and interesting remarks in Baumstark 1910, 54–56.

³⁴ This *Clavis patrum Graecorum* (ed. Geerard 1974–1998; CPG) number contains only unedited Syriac homilies that do not have parallel versions in other ancient languages.

Fig. 7: London, BL, Add. 12165, fol. 125^v.Fig. 8: London, BL, Add. 12165, fol. 168^r.

CPG 5145.3

In meso-ieiunium quaranta dierum

MSS:

- London, BL, Add. 12165, no. 38, fols 120^r–121^v (Fig. 6)
- Damascus, SOP, syr. 12/19, no. 63, fols 200^a *sqq.*
- Damascus, SOP, syr. 12/20, no. 65, fols 255^b *sqq.*

BIBL: Wright 1871, 845^a (no. DCCCXXV); Sauguet 1986, 140; Brock 1994–1995, 617 and 623.TIT: ܡܪܝܢܘܨܘܢ ܡܪܝܢܘܨܘܢ ܡܪܝܢܘܨܘܢ ܡܪܝܢܘܨܘܢ ܡܪܝܢܘܨܘܢ
ܡܪܝܢܘܨܘܢ ܡܪܝܢܘܨܘܢ ܡܪܝܢܘܨܘܢ ܡܪܝܢܘܨܘܢ ܡܪܝܢܘܨܘܢ

‘Of holy Mar John, sermon on the middle of the holy Lent of forty (days)’

INC: ܡܪܝܢܘܨܘܢ ܡܪܝܢܘܨܘܢ ܡܪܝܢܘܨܘܢ ܡܪܝܢܘܨܘܢ ܡܪܝܢܘܨܘܢ
ܡܪܝܢܘܨܘܢ ܡܪܝܢܘܨܘܢ ܡܪܝܢܘܨܘܢ ܡܪܝܢܘܨܘܢ ܡܪܝܢܘܨܘܢ

‘Le combat du jeûne poursuivant sa course devant lui est arrivé au milieu du temps’ (Sauget 1986, 140).

CPG 5145.4

In psalmum 100

MSS:

- London, BL, Add. 12165, no. 40, fols 125^v–127^v (Fig. 7)
- Damascus, SOP, syr. 12/19, no. 71, fols 219^b *sqq.*
- Damascus, SOP, syr. 12/20, no. 73, fols 281^a *sqq.*

BIBL: Wright 1871, 845^b (no. DCCCXXV); Sauguet 1986, 140; Brock 1994–1995, 617 and 623.TIT: ܡܪܝܢܘܨܘܢ ܡܪܝܢܘܨܘܢ ܡܪܝܢܘܨܘܢ ܡܪܝܢܘܨܘܢ ܡܪܝܢܘܨܘܢ
ܡܪܝܢܘܨܘܢ ܡܪܝܢܘܨܘܢ ܡܪܝܢܘܨܘܢ ܡܪܝܢܘܨܘܢ ܡܪܝܢܘܨܘܢ

‘Of holy Mar John, sermon on Psalm 100, “Glorify the Lord, all the earth”’

INC: ܡܪܝܢܘܨܘܢ ܡܪܝܢܘܨܘܢ ܡܪܝܢܘܨܘܢ ܡܪܝܢܘܨܘܢ ܡܪܝܢܘܨܘܢ
ܡܪܝܢܘܨܘܢ ܡܪܝܢܘܨܘܢ ܡܪܝܢܘܨܘܢ ܡܪܝܢܘܨܘܢ ܡܪܝܢܘܨܘܢ

‘Aujourd’hui, nous avons entendu le bienheureux David qui pince sa cithare et qui dit: Entrez dans ses portes avec la louange et dans ses atriums avec la glorification (Ps. 100:4). Les chants qui sont agréables à l’ouïe et qui conduisent à la félicité de l’esprit (...)’ (Sauget 1986, 140).

CPG 5145.5

In diuitem cui uberes fructus ager attulit (Lk. 12:16)

MSS:

- London, BL, Add. 12165, no. 54, fols 168^r–171^r (Fig. 8)
- Damascus, SOP, syr. 12/19, no. 65, fols 203^b *sqq.*
- Damascus, SOP, syr. 12/20, no. 67, fols 260^a *sqq.*

BIBL: Wright 1871, 846^b (no. DCCCXXV); Sauguet 1986, 141; Brock 1994–1995, 617 and 623.



Fig. 11: London, BL, Add. 12165, fol. 300^r.

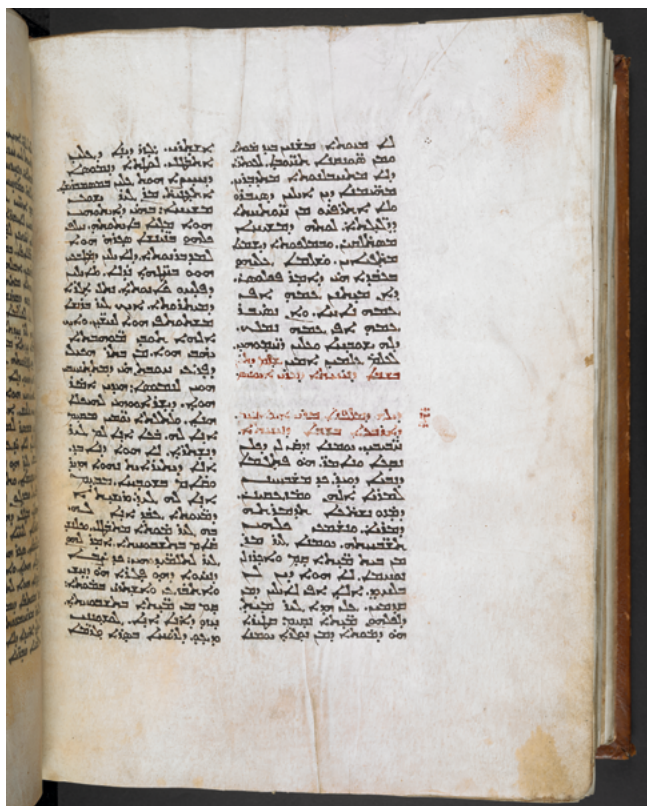


Fig. 12: London, BL, Add. 12165, fol. 301^r.

“Let there be no dissolute (ἄσωτος) nor drunkards”
(Deut. 21:20)

INC: ܩܘܠܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܘܬܐ

‘Mes bien aimés, aujourd’hui (c’est) l’espérance, aujourd’hui le salut, aujourd’hui l’allégresse, aujourd’hui la fête et la fête des fêtes du roi (...)’ (Sauget 1986, 141).

CPG 5145.8

Admonitio: unusquisque adulterium fugiat

MSS:

- London, BL, Add. 12165, no. 90, fols 300^r–301^v (Fig. 11)
- Damascus, SOP, syr. 12/19, no. 105, fols 318^a *sqq.*
- Damascus, SOP, syr. 12/20, no. 115, fols 444^b *sqq.*

BIBL: Wright 1871, 849^a (no. DCCCXXV); Sauget 1986, 141; Brock 1994–1995, 619 and 625.

TIT: ܩܘܠܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܘܬܐ

‘Of holy Mar John, sermon on the Monday of the Week of Rest and admonition to avoid adultery’

INC: ܩܘܠܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܘܬܐ

‘Durant la commémoration de la résurrection de Notre-Seigneur, il m’est apparu qu’il convient que nous rappelions aussi nos saints pères qui ont institué et établi les fêtes que nous célébrons’ (Sauget 1986, 141).

CPG 5145.9

Sine titulo, pro feria quarta post Pascha

MSS:

- London, BL, Add. 12165, no. 91, fols 301^v–303^r (Fig. 12)
- Damascus, SOP, syr. 12/19, no. 106, fols 319^a *sqq.*
- Damascus, SOP, syr. 12/20, no. 116, fols 446^a *sqq.*

BIBL: Wright 1871, 849^a (no. DCCCXXV); Sauget 1986, 141–142; Brock 1994–1995, 619 and 625.

TIT: ܩܘܠܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܘܬܐ

‘Of the same teacher Mar John, on the Wednesday of the Week of Rest’

INC: ܩܘܠܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܘܬܐ

‘Mes bien aimés, aujourd’hui nous devons tous crier et dire ce verset du prophète David, en glorifiant le Seigneur notre Dieu et en proclamant: “Qui racontera les merveilles du Seigneur ?” (Ps. 106:2)’ (Sauget 1986, 141–142).

CPG 5145.10

In sanctos martyres et confessores

MSS:

- London, BL, Add. 12165, no. 102, fols 341^r–343^v (Fig. 13)
- Berlin, SPK, Sachau 28/220, no. 31, fols 47^{r-v} (inc. mut.) (Fig. 14)
- Damascus, SOP, syr. 12/19, no. 113, fols 340^b *sqq.*
- Damascus, SOP, syr. 12/20, no. 126, fols 484^a *sqq.*

BIBL: Wright 1871, 850^a (no. DCCCXXV); Sachau 1899, 120; Malki 1984; Brock 1985, 301; Brock 1994–1995, 619 and 625; Sauget 1985, 386; Sauget 1986, 142.

TIT: *ܘܡܫܘܚܘܢܐ ܕܡܪ ܝܗܢܐ ܕܥܠ ܡܪܝܩܘܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܩܘܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܩܘܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܩܘܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܩܘܢܐ*
'Of holy Mar John, sermon on the holy martyrs and confessors'

INC: *ܘܥܠ ܗܝܘܡܐ ܕܡܪܝܩܘܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܩܘܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܩܘܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܩܘܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܩܘܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܩܘܢܐ* (London, BL, Add. 12165)
'Ce jour est celui de la commémoraison des martyrs et des confesseurs, ceux dont la mémoire est signée par le sang de leur meurtre' (Sauget 1986, 142).



Fig. 13: London, BL, Add. 12165, fol. 341^r.

CPG 5145.11

Ne tantum mortuos lugeamus et ne tantum sacrificia offeramus pro defunctis, et in illud: Quod Iob sacrificia fecit filiis suis

MSS:

- London, BL, Add. 12165, no. 105, fols 350^v–352^r (Fig. 15)
- Damascus, SOP, syr. 12/20, no. 133, fols 484^a *sqq.*

BIBL: Wright 1871, 850^a (no. DCCCXXV); Sauget 1986, 142; Brock 1994–1995, 620 and 625.

TIT: *ܘܡܫܘܚܘܢܐ ܕܡܪ ܝܗܢܐ ܕܥܠ ܡܪܝܩܘܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܩܘܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܩܘܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܩܘܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܩܘܢܐ*
'Of holy Mar John, sermon on that we must not simply worry about those who passed away, and that we must not simply offer the Mysteries for the deceased, and that Job too used to make sacrifices for his sons'

INC: *ܘܥܠ ܗܝܘܡܐ ܕܡܪܝܩܘܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܩܘܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܩܘܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܩܘܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܩܘܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܩܘܢܐ* (Damascus 12/20)
'Ne pleurons donc pas simplement sur ceux qui sont morts' (Sauget 1986, 142).



Fig. 14: Berlin, SPK, Sachau 28/220, fol. 47^r.



Fig. 15: London, BL, Add. 12165, fol. 350^v.

CPG 5145.12

In dominicam resurrectionis

MSS:

- London, BL, Add. 14727, no. 8q, fols 130^v–133^v
- Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library, Mingana Collection, Syr. 545, Ea

BIBL: Wright 1871, 889^b (no. DCCCXLVIII); Rilliet 1982, 582 (no. 18).

TIT: ܟܪܫܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܪܥܘܢܐ

‘Sermon on the Sunday of Resurrection’

INC: ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܪܥܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܪܥܘܢܐ

ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܪܥܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܪܥܘܢܐ

‘Mes bien aimés, aujourd’hui toute la création respandit, se réjouit et exulte de joie, car le créateur de toute créature se lève de la tombe dans la gloire’ (Rilliet 1982, 582).

CPG 5145.13

In annuntiationem Zachariae factam

MSS:

- London, BL, Add. 14515, no. 1, fols 2^v–6^r
- London, BL, Add. 14516, no. 1, fols 1^r–4^r
- London, BL, Add. 14725, no. 1^a, fols 2^v–4^v
- Vatican City, BAV, Vat. sir. 117, no. 10, fols 28^{rb}–29^{rc}

- Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library, Mingana Collection, Syr. 545, Bc

BIBL: Assemani and Assemani 1759 88; Assemani 1719, 308^b (no. 8); Wright 1870, 240^a (no. CCCVI); Wright 1870, 245^a (no. CCCVIII); Wright 1871, 827^a (no. DCCCXIV); Rilliet 1982, 582 (no. 19).

TIT: ܕܠܗ ܘܒܝܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܪܥܘܢܐ
‘In annuntiationem Zachariae, quando annunciata ei fuit ab Angelo Nativitas Johannis Baptistae’ (Assemani and Assemani 1759, 88).

INC: ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܪܥܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܪܥܘܢܐ
ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܪܥܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܪܥܘܢܐ
ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܪܥܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܪܥܘܢܐ
‘Plures sunt stellae in firmamento, una autem effecta est praedicatrix ortus diei; plures etiam fuere in mundo Prophetae, Johannes vero ille Baptista praedicavit, quod ecce ortus est Christus illuminator creaturarum’ (Assemani and Assemani 1759, 88).

Texts not included in CPG:

[1]

In ieiunium

MS: Vatican City, BAV, Vat. sir. 368, no. 10, fols 35^{ra}–38^{ra}

BIBL: Assemani and Assemani 1831, 42 (no. 9); Sauget 1961, 404.

TIT: ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܪܥܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܪܥܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܪܥܘܢܐ

‘Again, sermon on the holy Lent of forty days, pronounced by St John, bishop of Constantinople’

INC: ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܪܥܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܪܥܘܢܐ

‘Higher than a trumpet I raise my voice’.

[2]

In Lazarum, quem dominus resuscitavit

MS: Vatican City, BAV, Vat. sir. 368, no. 15, fols 62^{ra}–63^{rb} (inc. mut.)

BIBL: Assemani and Assemani 1831, 42 (no. 14); Sauget 1961, 405.

TIT: —

INC: ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܪܥܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܪܥܘܢܐ (...)

‘(...) to the tomb and they saw the body of the dead one’

DES: ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܪܥܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܪܥܘܢܐ

‘to all of you, children of Adam, when He shines in His glory’

EXPL: ܥܠܡ ܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܚܠ ܠܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܕܡܨܚ ܡܚܘ ܕܡܨܚܐ ܠܡܨܚܐ ܡܚܘ,
ܡܨܚܐ
‘Here ends the sermon on Lazarus whom our Lord
resurrected, pronounced by the holy Mar John’.

[3]
In ascensionem

MSS:
• Vatican City, BAV, Vat. sir. 368, no. 32, fols 121^{ra}–122^{va}
(lac.);
• London, BL, Add. 14605 (no. DCCLV), fols 1^v–5^v
BIBL: Assemani and Assemani 1831, 42 (no. 29); Wright
1871, 715^b; Sauget 1961, 409.

TIT: ܕܘܚܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܘܚܘܢܐ ܕܡܨܚܐ ܡܚܘ, ܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ ܕܚܠ ܡܨܚܐ
ܡܨܚܐ
‘Again of the same, the holy Mar John, the second homily
on Ascension’

INC: ܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ
‘In all times the godly nature is praised by humans’.

[4]
In apostolos

MS: Vatican City, BAV, Vat. sir. 368, no. 34, fols 125^{rb}–
126^{rb} (lac.)
BIBL: Assemani and Assemani 1831, 42 (no. 31); Sauget
1961, 409.

TIT: ܕܘܚܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܘܚܘܢܐ ܕܡܨܚܐ ܡܚܘ, ܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ ܕܚܠ ܡܨܚܐ
ܡܨܚܐ
‘Again of the same, the holy Mar John, sermon on the
holy Apostles’

INC: ܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ
‘I see that the nets of the churches are full today’.

[5]
Homilia, qua ostendit honorandam esse diem dominicam

MS: Vatican City, BAV, Vat. sir. 368, no. 36, fols 129^{va}–
132^{va}
BIBL: Assemani and Assemani 1831, 42–43 (no. 33);
Sauget 1961, 409

TIT: ܕܘܚܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܘܚܘܢܐ ܕܡܨܚܐ ܡܚܘ, ܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ ܕܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ
ܡܨܚܐ
‘Again, of the same St John, sermon which demonstrates
that we ought to venerate the Sunday’

INC: ܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ
‘Our holiday is small, and very small in comparison with
(other) holidays’.

[6]
In laudem martyrum I

MS: Vatican City, BAV, Vat. sir. 368, no. 38, fols 136^{ra}–137^{va}
BIBL: Assemani and Assemani 1831, 43 (no. 35); Sauget
1961, 410.

TIT: ܕܘܚܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܘܚܘܢܐ ܕܡܨܚܐ ܡܚܘ, ܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ ܕܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ
ܡܨܚܐ
‘Again, sermon of Mar John Chrysostom (*krwsstms*) on
praising the martyrs’

INC: ܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ
‘Receive this admonition about martyrs, too, and let us
gather from far, too’.

[7]
In laudem martyrum II

MS: Vatican City, BAV, Vat. sir. 368, no. 39, fols 137^{va}–
139^{vb}

BIBL: Assemani and Assemani 1831, 43 (no. 36); Sauget
1961, 410.

TIT: ܕܘܚܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܘܚܘܢܐ ܕܡܨܚܐ ܡܚܘ, ܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ ܕܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ
ܡܨܚܐ
‘Again, of the same St John Chrysostom (*krwsstms*),
second sermon on martyrs’

INC: ܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ
‘God brought us again unto this priestly and pleasant
holiday’.

[8]
In apostolum Paulum

MS: Vatican City, BAV, Vat. sir. 368, no. 41, fols 146^{ra}–
149^{vb}

BIBL: Assemani and Assemani 1831, 43 (no. 38); Sauget
1961, 410–411.

TIT: ܕܘܚܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܘܚܘܢܐ ܕܡܨܚܐ ܡܚܘ, ܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ ܕܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ
ܡܨܚܐ
‘Again, of the same, the holy Mar John, sermon on saint
Paul’

INC: ܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ
‘He accomplished contests for us in their competitions’.

[9]
In poenitentiam

MS: Vatican City, BAV, Vat. sir. 368, no. 53, fols 194^{ra}–
197^{ra}

BIBL: Sauget 1961, 413.

TIT: ܐܘܘܢ ܕܢܘܫܝܐ ܕܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܘܢܝܢܐ
ܕܘܢܝܢܐ
‘Again, of the same St John Chrysostom (*krwswtms*), sermon on repentance’
INC: ܕܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܘܢܝܢܐ
‘Here it is necessary to wail and to weep a lot’.

[10]

In diem manifestationis Domini
MS: Vatican City, BAV, Vat. sir. 369, no. 8, fols 29^{vb}–31th
BIBL: Sauget 1961, 415.
TIT: ... ܕܘܢܐ ... ܕܘܢܐ (poorly legible in the reproduction)
INC: ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ
‘On the day of the birth of our Saviour there was true ... divinity in the flesh, too’.

[11]

In baptismum Domini et in pugnam contra diabolum
MS: Vatican City, BAV, Vat. sir. 369, no. 9, fols 31th–33^{ra}
BIBL: Sauget 1961, 415.
TIT: ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ
ܕܘܢܐ (poorly legible in the reproduction)
‘Again of the same, holy Mar Chrysostom, on the Baptism of our Lord and ...’
INC: ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ
‘Come, rejoice at the spiritual efforts which I left behind’.

[12]

In manifestationem Domini
MS: Vatican City, BAV, Vat. sir. 369, no. 11, fols 36th–39^{ra}
BIBL: Sauget 1961, 416.
TIT: ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ
ܕܘܢܐ (poorly legible in the reproduction)
‘Again of the same, holy Mar John, on the Manifestation ... of our Lord’
INC: ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ
‘Listen to the apostle who preaches about the liberality’.

[13]

De introitu Domini in templum I
MS: Vatican City, BAV, Vat. sir. 369, no. 13, fols 41^{vb}–45th
BIBL: Sauget 1961, 416.
TIT: ܕܘܢܐ ... ܕܘܢܐ ... (poorly legible in the reproduction)
‘The homily (of) ... saint ...’
INC: ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ
‘I call all of you, blessed ones, because of the love of God’.

‘My beloved, who can narrate the miracles of the Lord (and) all His glorious (deeds)?’.

[14]

De introitu Domini in templum II
MS: Vatican City, BAV, Vat. sir. 369, no. 14, fols 47^{ra}–48^{vb}
BIBL: Sauget 1961, 417.
TIT: ... (not legible in the reproduction)
‘Sur l’entrée du seigneur au Temple’ (Sauget 1961, 417)
INC: ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ
‘Today, too, it is a feast of the Lord’.

[15]

De ieiunio
MS: Vatican City, BAV, Vat. sir. 369, no. 20, fols 68th–74^{ra}
BIBL: Sauget 1961, 418.
TIT: ... (not legible in the reproduction)
‘Sur le jeûne’ (Sauget 1961, 418)
INC: ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ
‘My beloved, it is the time therefore (?) and it is the hour to get awake’.

[16]

In ieiunium et in Ps. 19, 17
MS: Vatican City, BAV, Vat. sir. 369, no. 21, fols 74^{ra}–75^{vb}
BIBL: Sauget 1961, 418.
TIT: ... ܕܘܢܐ ... ܕܘܢܐ ... ܕܘܢܐ ... (poorly legible in the reproduction)
‘Now, the second homily of Mar ... on ...’
INC: ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ
‘Fasting is a beautiful stick’.

[17]

De ieiunio et de gratia
MS: Vatican City, BAV, Vat. sir. 369, no. 22, fols 75^{vb}–77^{va}
BIBL: Sauget 1961, 418.
TIT: ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ
ܕܘܢܐ (poorly legible in the reproduction)
‘Of the same saint John, ... homily on Lent and on charity’
INC: ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐ
‘I call all of you, blessed ones, because of the love of God’.

[18]

In annuntiationem
MS: Vatican City, BAV, Vat. sir. 369, no. 27, fols 92^{ra}–93th
BIBL: Sauget 1961, 419.

TIT: ܕܗܘܬ ܗܘܢܐ ܗܘܢܐ ܗܘܢܐ ܗܘܢܐ ܗܘܢܐ
 ‘Now, of the same, on Annunciation’
 INC: ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪ ܝܗܘܢܢ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ
 ‘Now, who praises the Virgin, glorifies the Christ’.

[19*]

*In feriam quintam*³⁵

MS: Vatican City, BAV, Vat. sir. 369, no. 32, fols 101^{ra}–106^{vb} (inc. mut.)
 BIBL: Sauget 1961, 420.
 TIT: —
 INC: ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ (...)
 ‘(...) and the Cherubim cover him with glory’
 DES: ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ
 ‘But once a year (and) only with a distinction of the days’
 EXPL: ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ [ܐܠܗܐ]
 ‘Here ends the sermon of the holy fifth day of the Week of Mysteries’.

[20]

In crucifixionem Domini

MSS:
 • Vatican City, BAV, Vat. sir. 369, no. 36, fols 117^{va-b} (des. mut.)
 • Damascus, SOP, syr. 12/20, no. 106, fols 405^a sqq.
 BIBL: Sauget 1961, 420; Brock 1994–1995, 619 and 624.
 TIT: ܕܗܘܬ ܗܘܢܐ ܗܘܢܐ ܗܘܢܐ ܗܘܢܐ [ܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ]
 ‘Of the same, (holy Mar) John Chrysostom, (...) sermon on the Crucifixion of the Lord’
 INC: ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ
 ‘My beloved, in all times the Passion of our Saviour and His Cross are praised by us’.

[21]

In resurrectionem Domini

MSS:
 • Vatican City, BAV, Vat. sir. 369, no. 40, fols 126^{rb}–128^{va} (lac.)
 • Vatican City, BAV, Vat. sir. 253, no. 33, fols 137^{rb}–144^{rb}
 BIBL: Sauget 1961, 421; Sauget 1968, 338–339.

TIT: ܕܗܘܬ ܗܘܢܐ ܗܘܢܐ ܗܘܢܐ ܗܘܢܐ ܗܘܢܐ
 ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ
 ‘Now, the homily of holy Mar John, bishop of Constantinople, on the Resurrection of our Lord’ (Vat. sir. 369)
 INC (1): ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ
 (Vat. sir. 369)
 INC (2): ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ
 (Vat. sir. 253)
 ‘Apes quando supra radices se ponunt et oribus suis colligunt flores’ (Sauget 1968, 339).

[22]

De Cruce et latrone

MS: Vatican City, BAV, Vat. sir. 253, no. 27, fols 75^{rb}–77^{va}
 BIBL: Sauget 1968, 335.
 TIT: ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ
 ‘Sermo sancti Iohannis de Cruce et Latrone’ (Sauget 1968, 335)
 INC: The beginning is poorly readable: ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ (...)
 ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ
 ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ
 ‘(...) super eos qui ab eo effugerant. Simulatque enim apparuit in mundo permutavit illa in voluntates ad abundantiam’ (Sauget 1968, 335)
 DES: ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ
 ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ
 ‘Rogemus ergo etiam nos ut cum latrone simus, et dicamus cum eo domino nostro: memento mei in tuo regno. Quia ei Gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen’ (Sauget 1968, 335).

[23]

In sanctum Stephanum

MSS:
 • Vatican City, BAV, Vat. sir. 253, no. 40, fols 165^{ra-vb} (inc. mut.)
 • Vatican City, BAV, Vat. sir. 117, n. 44, fols 116^{va}–117^{rb}
 BIBL: Sauget 1968, 342; Assemani 1719, 91–92.
 TIT: ܕܗܘܬ ܗܘܢܐ ܗܘܢܐ ܗܘܢܐ ܗܘܢܐ ܗܘܢܐ
 ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ
 ‘Again a sermon of the holy Mar John on the holy martyr Stephen, the first-born of the martyrs’
 INC: ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ
 ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܫܐ
 ‘Pulchritudo triumphorum Stephani Martyris, primaevae Ecclesiae’ (Assemani 1719, 91–2).

³⁵ It is not clear why Sauget ascribed this fragmentary text to Chrysostom; we find no explicit mention of ‘John’ or ‘Chrysostom’ in the only manuscript that transmits it. We decided to include it in our list nevertheless, numbered with an asterisk, leaving further investigations on its authorship open.



Fig. 16: Berlin, SPK, Sachau 28/220, fol. 12r.

4. Incipits

[19*]	(...) ܡܗܠܠܝܟܐ ܗܠܡܐ, ܕܝܘܟܐ ܕܡܥܬܘܟܐ
[22]	(...) ܗܠ ܗܘܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ. ܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ, ܗܠܝܝܢ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ
[2]	(...) ܗܠ ܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ
CPG 5145.3	ܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ. ܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ
[14]	ܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ, ܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ
[10]	ܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ
[3]	ܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ
CPG 5145.1	ܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ. ܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ
CPG 5145.8	ܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ. ܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ
[21]	ܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ
[21]	ܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ
[9]	ܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ
[5]	ܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ
[20]	ܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ
[25]	ܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ
[15]	ܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ
CPG 5145.9	ܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ
CPG 5145.7	ܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ
CPG 5145.6	ܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ
[13]	ܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ
CPG 5145.12	ܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ
[6]	ܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ
[4]	ܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ
[17]	ܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ
CPG 5145.10	ܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ
CPG 5145.4	ܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ
[1]	ܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ
CPG 5145.11	ܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ
[18]	ܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ

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Article

The Transmission of Cyril of Scythopolis' *Lives* in Greek and Oriental Hagiographical Collections

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The *Lives of the Monks of Palestine* was composed in the second half of the sixth century by Cyril of Scythopolis and appears to have been originally conceived by the author, a monk himself at the Laura of Saint Sabbas in the Judean Desert, both as a hagiographical cycle meant to glorify the great figures of Palestinian monasticism who fought for the Chalcedonian creed and as a chronicle relating the history of foundations of monasteries around the Laura of Saint Sabbas. Cyril of Scythopolis' hagiographical writing amounts to no less than seven *Lives* of figures who distinguished themselves in establishing the monastic movement in the Judean Desert during the fifth and sixth centuries: Euthymius (BHG 647–648b), Sabbas (BHG 1608), John the Hesychast (BHG 897–898), Cyriacus of Souka (BHG 463), Theodosius the Cenobiarch (BHG 1777), Theognius, Bishop of Betylia (BHG 1787) and Abraamius, Bishop of Cratea (BHG 12). One last *Life*, viz. that of Gerasimus of the Jordan (BHG 693), is sometimes associated with the Cyrillian cycle, but recent scholarship considers it to be pseudepigraphic.¹

It is the merit of Eduard Schwartz's critical edition published in 1939 to have reconstructed the unity of Cyril's authorial project and edited the collection of *Lives* to form a coherent work. In its present form, the collection of 'Monastic histories' (Μοναχικαὶ ἱστορίαι) consists of three 'discourses', or *logoi* (λόγοι), as shown by Bernard Flusin:² the two longer *Lives* dedicated to the major monastic figures, Euthymius and Sabbas, are the first and second *logoi* of the cycle, conceived as a kind of diptych and preceded by a dedicatory epistle to Abba George of Beella; the *Life of John the Hesychast* appears to be the first of the third *logos*,

which would have comprised the minor *Lives*, although, as we will see, the precise number and sequence of *Lives* in this third *logos* is uncertain. For the needs of liturgy in Byzantium, where most collections were organised in terms of the liturgical year, the original corpus was dismembered and from the ninth century onwards, the *Lives* were included in the Byzantine menological collections at their liturgical date, some of them directly, some of them indirectly through metaphrastic rewritings.

Notwithstanding its qualities, Schwartz's edition is by no means the awaited *editio maior* of the Cyrillian cycle:³ he used a very limited selection of Greek manuscripts (mainly three); he barely looked at the Oriental versions, which are contemporary with the oldest preserved Greek witnesses; and he ignored the metaphrastic rewritings. In themselves, all of these are sufficient grounds to look back at the textual transmission of the corpus. One more reason is that a great deal of new material has come to light since the publication of Schwartz's edition that allows a new assessment of the corpus of Cyrillian *Lives*. Most of this new material comes from the New Finds made at the Monastery of Saint Catherine on Mt Sinai in 1975 and gives us access to some ancient ninth- and tenth-century manuscripts that were produced in Palestine in Greek and in Oriental languages, precisely in the same monastic environment where the original work was written and first circulated three centuries earlier.

The cycle of *Lives* composed by Cyril of Scythopolis thus appears to be a perfect case study for the present topic. Are there any means of evaluating the ways in which the cycle was read and circulated in different kinds of collections before it underwent the process of Byzantine standardisation? How exactly did the change from it being an authorial collection to a liturgical one occur? It is also the occasion to study a particular category of collections, viz. the 'Spezial-

¹ See Flusin 1983, 35–40, with a discussion of former scholarship on the question of the authenticity of the *Life of Gerasimus*.

² Flusin 1983, 34–35. The title Μοναχικαὶ ἱστορίαι, which was restored by Flusin, is derived from the title of the *Life of Sabbas* (Μοναχικὴ ἱστορία δευτέρα..., 'Second Monastic History...'), which is found in two of the oldest Greek manuscripts, Vatican City, BAV, Ott. gr. 373 and Vat. gr. 1589.

³ See the book reviews by Dölger 1940; Thomsen 1940; Stein 1944.

sammlungen', in particular the collections of monastic *Lives* ('Sammlungen von Mönchsleben') that Albert Ehrhard discussed at the end of his monumental *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur* (1952) and which have little in common with homiletic literature proper.⁴

1. The Greek corpus in Southern Italy

For his edition, Schwartz used three main Greek manuscripts that all contain a similar corpus of *Lives*. The oldest of the three, Vatican City, BAV, Ott. gr. 373, a ninth-century early minuscule manuscript (241 folios, 245 × 175 mm), is a typical example of a monastic collection of hagiographical texts.⁵ In its present form, it begins in a mutilated form with the *Life of Chariton* (BHG 300z) the founder of Palestinian monasticism, followed by the *Life of Anthony* (CPG 2101) the founder of Egyptian monasticism, a block of three Cyrillian *Lives* in the middle, Euthymius, Sabbas and John the Hesychast, the latter mutilated at the end, and, after a lacuna of undetermined length, the *Life of Gregory the Illuminator* (CPG 7545.2). Although not specifically monastic, this last text – which is devoted to the founder of the Armenian Church, who allegedly converted Armenia to Christianity – goes with the general theme of this collection, which is centred on foundation stories.

The second manuscript, Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1589, from the tenth century (305 folios, 224 × 160 mm), is a much larger collection and celebrates many more pioneering figures of Palestinian and Egyptian monasticism.⁶ It offers in particular a similar sequence to that of the first manuscript Ott. gr. 373 with the *Lives* of Chariton, Anthony, and the Cyrillian corpus, which appears here in an extended version preceded by the *Life of Theodosius the Cenobiarch* and followed by the *Life of Cyriacus of Souka*.

The third manuscript, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. 11.9, was copied in the early eleventh

century (312 folios, 390 × 340 mm).⁷ The first part of the manuscript contains a large collection of *Lives*, many of them concerning monastic figures and practically all of Syrian, Palestinian or Egyptian origin; these include the block of three main Cyrillian *Lives* and the two minor *Lives of Cyriacus of Souka* and of *Theodosius the Cenobiarch*. The collection also contains a short section of ascetic literature. The second part of the manuscript contains a collection of homilies or *Margaritai* by John Chrysostom; this section appears to be a totally independent one that was originally copied from another model. The manuscript was used for liturgical purposes in a second stage and liturgical dates were added in the upper margin at the beginning of most of the *Lives*.

As Ehrhard pointed out, the three manuscripts are clearly related in their general structure and belong to the same general tradition, which he called 'Sammlungen von Mönchsleben'.⁸ They contain the same block of three main Cyrillian *Lives* (Euthymius, Sabbas, and John the Hesychast), to which two more *Lives* (Cyriacus of Souka and Theodosius the Cenobiarch) are more loosely connected. They also have several other texts in common – the *Lives of Anthony, Hilarion* (CPG 3630), *Chariton*, and *Pachomius* (BHG 1396) – although not in the same version for this last text.⁹

This general structure is probably not a mere coincidence and could be due to a common model (see Table 1). When the history of these manuscripts is considered, it is striking that all three of them have a connection with Southern Italy. The origin of plut. 11.9 is proven by its colophon, which states that the manuscript was copied in 1020/1021 by two monks, Loukas and Isaias, belonging to the 'itinerant scriptorium' of Nilus of Rossano, for Isidoros, *hegumen* of the Basilian monastery of San Giovanni a Piro, in Campania.¹⁰ Vat. gr. 1589, formerly from the Monastery of Grottaferrata, a complex manuscript which was copied by no less than nine scribes, has equally been ascribed a Campanian or Calabrese

⁴ Ehrhard 1952, III, 916–942.

⁵ On this manuscript, see Feron and Battaglini 1893, 191; Hagiographi Bollandiani and Franchi de' Cavalieri 1899, 273–274; Ehrhard 1952, III, 917–918. Also see a complete description by Lafontaine 1973, 72–76 with reference to earlier bibliography.

⁶ It must be noted, however, that the last text in the manuscript is the *Life of Stephen the Younger*, a martyr of iconoclasm. On this manuscript, see Giannelli 1950, 211–215; Ehrhard 1952, III, 918–920. Also see the description by Faraggiana di Sarzana 2000, 48, and recently Ronconi 2018, which was published just as the current article was going into press.

⁷ On this manuscript, see Bandini 1764, I, 502–507; Ehrhard 1952, III, 938–940. Also see the description by Baldi 2009, 123–128.

⁸ Ehrhard 1952, III, 921.

⁹ Plut. XI.9 contains a substantial Pachomian dossier beginning with the *Vita prima*, of which it is the main witness, while Vat. gr. 1589 has the *Vita altera* (BHG 1400), the most widely circulated version of the text in Byzantium.

¹⁰ Baldi 2009, 127.

Table 1: *Lives* in manuscripts Vatican City, BAV, Ott. gr. 373, Vat. gr. 1589, and Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. 11.9.

Ott. gr. 373	Vat. gr. 1589	plut. 11.9
	Barypsabas (<i>BHG</i> 238)	
	Arsenius (<i>BHG</i> 167z)	
	Paul of Thebes (<i>CPG</i> 3636)	
Chariton (<i>inc. mut.</i>)	Chariton	
Anthony	Anthony	
	Hilarion	Hilarion (<i>inc. mut.</i>)
	Theodosius the Cenobiarch ¹³	
Euthymius	Euthymius	Euthymius
Sabbas	Sabbas	Sabbas (5 Dec.)
John the Hesychast (<i>des. mut.</i>)	John the Hesychast	John the Hesychast (7 Dec.)
	Cyriacus of Souka	
Gregory the Illuminator	John the Armenian (<i>BHG</i> 895)	Epiphanius of Constantia (<i>BHG</i> 596–599)
	Martinianus (<i>BHG</i> 1177–1177g)	Miracles of Menas (11 Nov.; <i>CPG</i> 2527)
	Mary the Egyptian (<i>CPG</i> 7675)	Miracles of Michael (8 Nov.; <i>BHG</i> 1285–8)
	Synkletike (<i>CPG</i> 2293)	Elias et Elijah (20 July; <i>BHG</i> 572yb)
	Xenophon (<i>BHG</i> 1877z)	Symeon Salos (21 July; <i>CPG</i> 7883)
	Eudocia (<i>BHG</i> 604–605)	Abramius the ascetic (29 Oct.; <i>CPG</i> 3937)
		Ascetic treatises (<i>CPG</i> 7868.1 + 2266)
		Spyridon of Tremithus (12 Dec.; <i>CPG</i> 7884)
		Cyriacus of Souka (29 Sept.)
		Theodosius the Cenobiarch (11 Jan.)
	Pachomius (<i>BHG</i> 1400)	Pachomius (<i>BHG</i> 1396)
	Stephen the Younger (<i>BHG</i> 1666)	

origin by specialists.¹¹ The origin of the last manuscript, Ott. gr. 373, is more difficult to specify.¹² However, it has some

polychrome illuminated initials (fols 14^v, 60, 198) which could well be of Southern Italian origin. Even though this

¹¹ Lucà 1991, 356; Faraggiana di Sarzana 2000, 48.

¹² Contrary to Garitte 1954, 75–76, and Lafontaine 1973, 76, who refer to Hengstenberg 1909, 38, there seems to be no particular reason to set the production of the manuscript itself in Palestine, even if the collection of monastic *Lives* that it contains is certainly of oriental origin. The script in any case is without parallel in Palestinian scripts of the ninth century. Giannelli 1950, 214, firmly believes the manuscript to be of Southern Italian origin, while Ehrhard 1952, III, 917, n. 1 is more cautious. The fact is that the manuscript has not been thoroughly examined on a palaeographical basis yet. Perria 2000, 65, however, rightly points out some common palaeographical

features shared by our manuscript and Munich, BSB, gr. 457, an early minuscule manuscript, which is probably of Constantinopolitan origin.

¹³ As the second column of fol. 95^r, at the end of the *Life of Theodosius* by Cyril of Scythopolis, has been left blank in the Vatican manuscript and the copyist has written in the margin ζῆτ(εῖται), Ronconi 2018, 165 and 182, assumes that the *Life* is mutilated. This assumption does not seem relevant. The *Life* lacks indeed a final doxology, but other short Cyrillian *Lives*, for example that of Theognius, have the same characteristic. The recent literary analysis of this *Life* by Déroche, 2018 pleads on the contrary for the completeness of the *Life*.

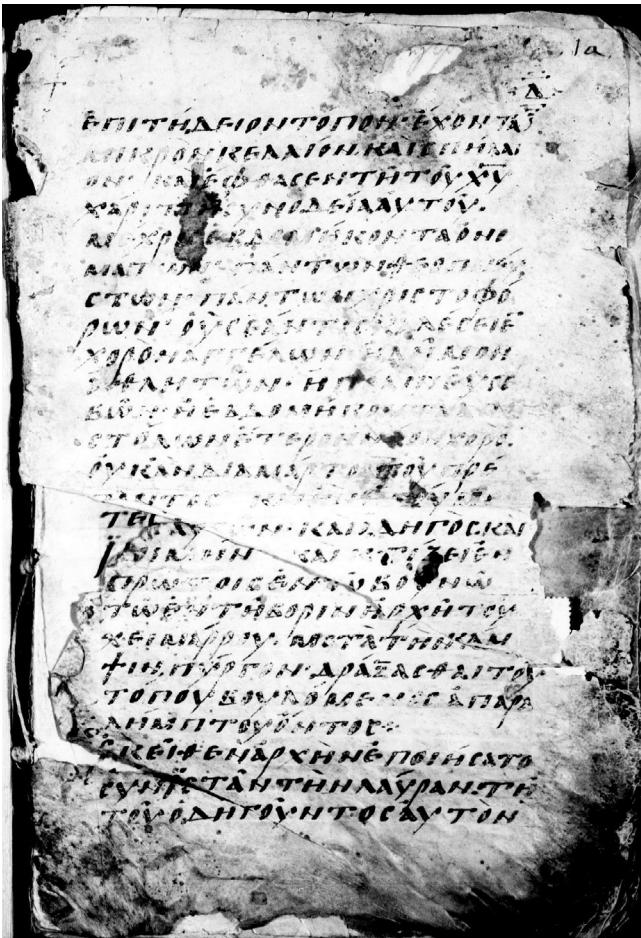


Fig. 1: Mt Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, gr. 494, fol. 1a' (formerly Harris 17 + 28).

decoration was a later addition¹⁴ and does not hint at the place where the manuscript was originally copied, this feature does suggest that the book was used in an Italo-Greek environment at an early stage.¹⁵ Besides this, their relatively large format – especially that of plut. 11.9 – indicates that they could have been used for community reading in monasteries.

Thus the 'corpus' manuscripts of Cyrillian works are all monastic collections devoted to major Palestinian and Egyptian figures. They resemble similar thematic monastic collections that have been dated to Late Antiquity in other parts of the Mediterranean, in particular in the Syriac world.¹⁶ Although it

¹⁴ The original initials, in a minuscule set back in the margin, are still visible on certain folios; see Lafontaine 1973, 73–74.

¹⁵ One later manuscript of Southern Italian origin, Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 2022 from the twelfth century, contains the *Life of John the Hesychast* and the *Life of Paul of Thebes* in a fragmentary part (fols 206–235), followed by some *apophthegmata*. Although it is of a smaller format (185 × 140 mm), it is probably related to the three 'corpus' manuscripts; see Ehrhard 1952, III, 923.

¹⁶ See Binggeli 2012, 60–62.

is impossible to reconstruct a single original collection at this stage without having done a precise philological examination on each *Life* in the collection, these three manuscripts probably reflect the kind of collections that were brought to Italy in the sixth to eighth century with the migration of monks from the Eastern provinces.¹⁷ It would also be interesting to see if this collection had an influence on the early Latin translations that were made of Cyrillian *Lives* in Italy by comparing these manuscripts with the Latin versions. The *Life of Euthymius* was, indeed, translated in Naples by John the Deacon in the first decade of the tenth century, but this version appears to have had a very limited diffusion as it is only known by way of a single surviving manuscript.¹⁸ The *Life of Sabbas*, on the other hand, was probably translated into Latin in Rome in the monastery of Saint Sabbas, where Palestinian emigrants settled in the seventh century, and appears to have been circulated much more widely, as more copies of it have survived.¹⁹

2. Early translations in the Palestinian milieu

Now let us come back to Palestine, where the Cyrillian corpus originated. It is unfortunate that Schwartz did not use the oldest known Greek manuscript, Mt Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, gr. 494 (Figs 1 and 2), for his edition – it is a ninth-century manuscript in a sloping majuscule of Palestino-Sinaitic origin (170 folios, 275 × 187 mm).²⁰ In its present mutilated form, this manuscript only contains Cyrillian *Lives*, but it has a slightly different corpus than the one that is preserved in the South Italian manuscripts: the first text is the *Life of Sabbas*, which is acephalous, followed by the *Life of John the Hesychast* and the *Life of Abraamius of Cratea*, which is atelous; the Sinai manuscript is the only preserved Greek witness of this last text. Unfortunately, we do not have the end of the manuscript to see how the collection continued. The beginning is also missing, but the gap can be partly filled by three fragments. The first two, which James Rendell Harris described separately as fragments 17 and 28 in 1894,²¹ were reinserted into the main manuscript before

¹⁷ For more on this movement, see Sansterre 1993, for example.

¹⁸ BHL 2778d: see Dolbeau 1982.

¹⁹ BHL 7406: see Dolbeau 1982, 315, n. 4, and Sansterre 1993, I, 148–149.

²⁰ Schwartz 1939, 319–328, nevertheless named the variants in a separate apparatus. For more on this manuscript, see Gardthausen 1886, 121; Grégoire 1906a; Ehrhard 1952, III, 916–917.

²¹ Rendell Harris 1894, 110, 113–114. Also see Ehrhard 1936, I, 79–80. On

the photographic mission of the Library of Congress in 1951, and now form the first folio of the manuscript, numbered '1a': this is the initial folio of the fourth quire, with the signature Δ' in the upper right-hand corner (Fig. 1).²² The first quire of the manuscript was found among the New Finds brought to light in Saint Catherine's Monastery on Mt Sinai in 1975 and now bears the shelf mark Sin. gr. NF MF 57.²³

This discovery confirms the fact that the manuscript originally began with the *Life of Sabbas*, but it also has two curious features. Firstly, the dedicatory epistle to Abba George of Beella, which precedes the *Life of Euthymius* in the Southern Italian tradition, comes before the *Life of Sabbas*, albeit with a change of names and subject: 'May faith be my guide in this narration (*diegema*) on the citizen of heaven Sabbas' instead of 'May faith be my guide in this sermon (*logos*) on Euthymius the well-named'.²⁴ Secondly, the introductory phrase of the *Life of John the Hesychast*, which presented this text as the first of the 'third' *logos*, is lacking. These adaptations are probably due to the model or to the copyist himself, who probably wanted to copy a corpus suited to his own taste or to that of the monastic community for which the book was intended.²⁵ However, it also suggests that the Cyrillian corpus was not as immutably fixed in Palestine as the Southern Italian tradition might let us think.

Another very fragmentary manuscript from Mt Sinai gives us one more example of manuscripts containing *Lives* by Cyril of Scythopolis that were copied for personal use in the monasteries of Palestine or Sinai. St Petersburg, RNB, gr. 28 (formerly Tischendorf Fragment 17) is a single folio from a very small manuscript (just 170 × 130 mm in size),

the fate of the fragments described by Rendell Harris, see Velkovska 2013. In any case, the insertion of the fragment is posterior to the edition of the *Life of Sabbas* by Augustinos Iordanites in the periodical *Néa Síon* in 1914.

²² Library of Congress, *Digital Collections: Manuscripts in St. Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai* <<https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00279381828-ms/?sp=3>>.

²³ On this fragment, see Nikolopoulos 1998, 152, and pl. 77. The join is due to Harlfinger 2010, 472 and pl. xvi.

²⁴ Mt Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, gr. NF MF 57, fol. 1: Πίστις προηγείσθω τ[ὸν] περι τοῦ οὐρανοπο[λίτου] ἀββᾶ Σάβα δηγημ[άτων], instead of Πίστις προηγείσθω τῶν περι Εὐθυμίου τοῦ φερωνύμου λόγων (*VEuth* 5, 4–5). The word οὐρανοπολίτης is typically Cyrillian (cf. *VEuth* 8, 20; 84, 24; *VTheo* 235, 27), but without a full collation of the prologue, no specific conclusions can be made about it.

²⁵ It is notable that the Sinai manuscript is of a similar format to those of the Southern Italian tradition, but as it is written in majuscule, it contains much less text and may not have contained much more than the Cyrillian corpus originally.

which contains the beginning of the *Life of John the Hesychast*.²⁶ The format of the fragment makes it unlikely that the original manuscript would have contained much more than one or two *Lives*.

The New Finds of Mt Sinai have also brought new Cyrillian material to light in Syriac, Arabic and Georgian. The Syriac version was completely unknown until the publication of the catalogues of the Syriac New Finds in 1995 and 2008, where several fragments containing *Lives* by Cyril of Scythopolis are described.²⁷ All these fragments have a similar small format (148–165 × 115–120 mm) and were copied by at least two different hands in a Melkite transition script from the ninth or the tenth century. The fragments have been grouped into two different entities, according to the hands, the layout and the texts they contain. The first codex, Sin. syr. NF 11 (Fig. 3), contains the *Life of Sabbas* copied by a scribe we shall simply call 'A' here. The second, Sin. syr. NF 13, to which several smaller fragments must be added,²⁸ contains the *Life of Euthymius*, which begins in a mutilated form, the *Life of Gerasimus* and possibly a third *Life*,²⁹ which ends in a mutilated form, copied by scribe 'B'. On closer inspection, however, it appears that there is some overlapping of codicological features between both codices (see Table 2). Firstly, the last quire of Sin. syr. NF 11, which contains the end of the *Life of Sabbas* by scribe A, also contains the beginning of the *Life of Euthymius* by scribe B and links up to the second codex perfectly. Secondly, this same quire, which was copied consecutively by both scribes, uses the same palimpsest manuscript with the *Catecheses* of Cyril of Jerusalem as an undertext, as has been highlighted by the Sinai Palimpsests Project.³⁰ Considering the fact that the second codex, after the transition quire copied by scribe B,

²⁶ On this fragment, see Granstrom 1959, 228; Ehrhard 1936, I, 77–78.

²⁷ On these fragments, see Brock 1995, 32–33, 100–101 (Sparagma 36), 222–227 (photos 220–229) and 278–279 (Sparagma 77: photos 371–372); Philothée 2008, 300–305 (M11N), 312–314 (M13N), 539–540 (M57N); Géhin 2009, 74–75.

²⁸ Géhin 2017, 183: M13N + M57N + Sparagma 36 + Sparagma 77 (photos 371–372). According to some recent images of the manuscript (see footnote 31), apparently all of these fragments have now been reunited under one single shelfmark Sin. syr. NF 13, and the total number of folios would be today 81 or 84.

²⁹ Géhin 2009, 75.

³⁰ Müller-Kessler 2018 <sinai.library.ucla.edu>, especially fols 105–112.

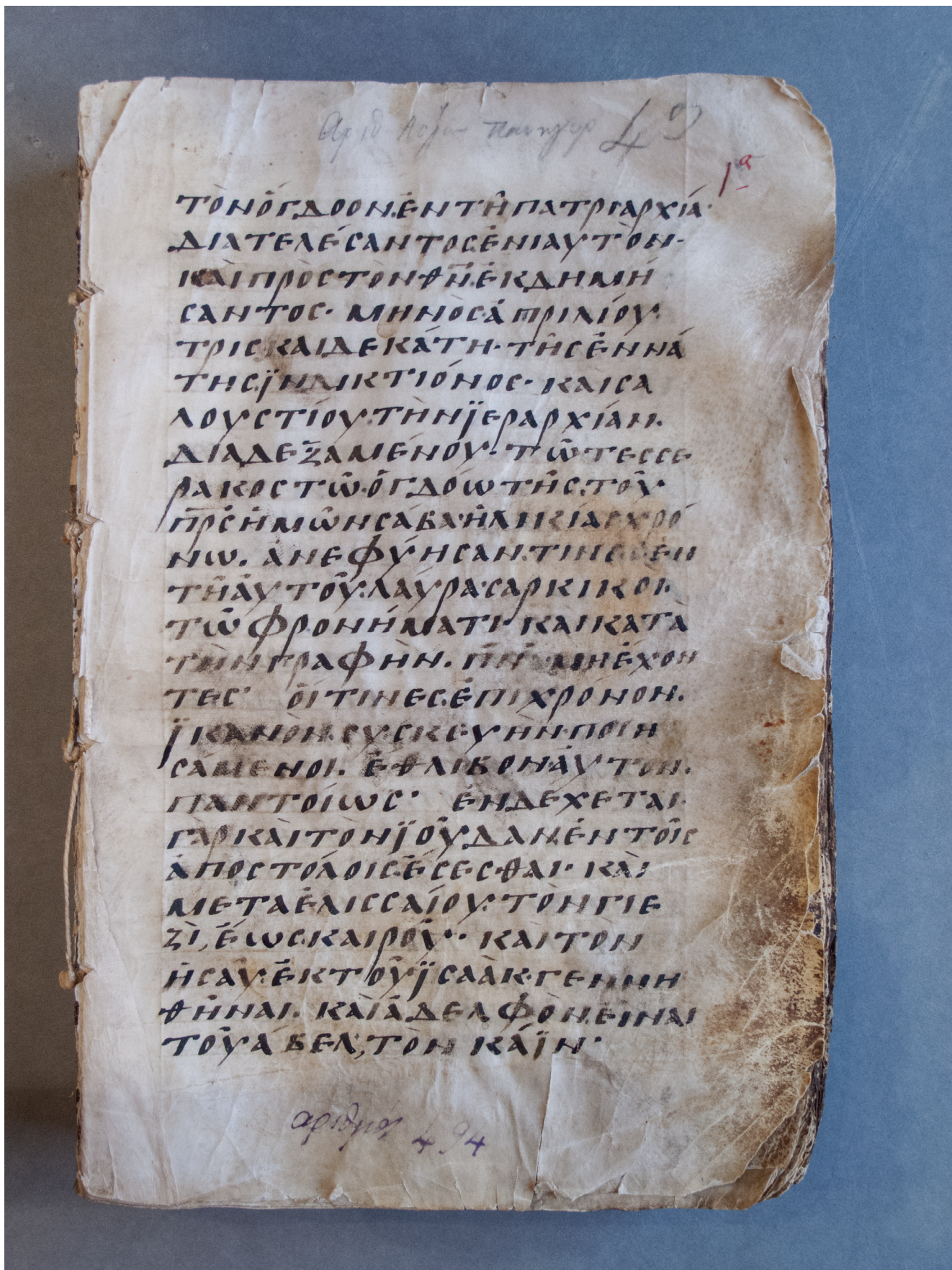


Fig. 2: Mt Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, gr. 494, fol. 1^r.



Fig. 3: Mt Sinai, St. Catherine's Monastery, syr. NF 11, fol. 1^r (beginning of the *Life of Sabbas*).



Fig. 4: Mt Sinai, St. Catherine's Monastery, syr. NF 11, fol. 109^v (end of the *Life of Sabbas*, with the *explicit* of fol. 110^r appearing in rubrics in the left margin).

is also a palimpsest³³ and that it has the same format and a similar layout, it seems very probable that both codices belong to the same manuscript: scribe B completed the volume containing the *Life of Sabbas* started by scribe A by adding two more *Lives* in his irregular – and rather ugly – hand, and by starting a new series of quire marks. A study of translation techniques in both parts, a thorough examination of the manuscript itself and deciphering of the undertexts in the second part would probably allow us to clarify whether both parts were foreseen in the original project and were copied contemporaneously or whether the second part is a later continuation.

Nonetheless, it can be observed that, as in the case of Sin. gr. 494, which was copied in the same Palestino-Sinaitic mi-

lieu and approximately in the same period, the Syriac manuscript appears to have been copied by monks for personal use in their cells because of its pocket format. Preference was given to the *Life of Sabbas*; as the first text in the manuscript, it seems to have been considered the main source of inspiration for the monks. The corpus was then enlarged in another direction, the *Life of Euthymius* being followed by a pseud-epigraphic text, the *Life of Gerasimus* and possibly one more work.³⁴ This unusual Syriac ‘corpus’ manuscript of the work by Cyril of Scythopolis gives us a very different impression compared to those with a uniform Italo-Greek tradition.

The situation in Arabic is even more complex than in Syriac. The most representative manuscript is a very fragmentary one that is now dispersed between Leipzig, St Petersburg, Cambridge, UK and the New Finds of Mt Sinai.³⁵ The manu-

³³ Sin. syr. NF 13 has not been examined by the *Sinai Palimpsests Project*, but the beginning of the manuscript is apparently a palimpsest according to Philothée 2008, 539 (described as M57N; see Géhin 2017, 183); according to Brock 1995, 33, the same goes also for the middle part (described as Sparagma 37). The last part (described as M13N by Philothée 2008, 312–314) is equally a palimpsest: it presents a Syriac undertext according to the images of fols 65^r–72^v which were kindly sent to me by Father Justin in February 2019 – let him be warmly thanked here.

³⁴ Géhin 2009, 75.

³⁵ For a reconstruction of the manuscript and the identification of the copyist, see Binggeli 2016, 100–106, with reference to earlier catalogues and bibliography. One last fragment from the manuscript, Cambridge, UL, Add. 1879.5, was identified by Tchernetska 2001. Also see Rossetto 2018 <sinai.library.ucla.edu>.

Table 3: *Lives* in the fragmented Arabic manuscript Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, gr. 2 (L) + St Petersburg, RNB, gr. 26 (P) + Mt Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, arab. NF perg. 66 (S) + Cambridge, University Library, Add. 1879(C).

L + P	Euthymius (<i>inc. mut.</i>)
	Sabbas
	Abraamius of Cratea
	Theodosius the Cenobiarch (<i>des. mut.</i>)
	...
S + C?	Stephen of Mar Saba (<i>inc. mut.</i>)
	Stephen and Nicon (<i>des. mut.</i>)

script, which is a palimpsest, was copied in the early tenth century by a scribe named David of Homs in the Monastery of Mar Saba in Palestine. This large volume (300 × 230 mm) containing more than 300 folios must have originally contained a great number of texts; all of those preserved today relate to Palestinian monasticism, or rather Sabaitic monasticism (see Table 3).

It is difficult to say what the other texts in this collection might have been, but the parallel with Greek manuscripts of the South Italian tradition and with other contemporary Arabic collections which preserve individual *Lives* of Cyril as well as the Georgian tradition described below seems to point to a collection composed exclusively of Palestinian and Egyptian monastic hagiography or a mixture of hagiography and ascetical literature.

Nevertheless, several points can be made on this particular Cyrillian corpus. Firstly, the *Life of John the Hesychast*, which is regularly found as the third text of the corpus after the *Life of Sabbas*, is absent in this manuscript (unless it was once included in a part of it that has now been lost).³⁶ Secondly, the Arabic corpus contains the *Life of Abraamius of Cratea*, also found in Greek in Sin. gr. 494, but absent in the Italo-Greek and the Byzantine tradition. Thirdly, the *Life of Theodosius the Cenobiarch* is a translation of a lost Greek original, which is neither Cyril's version nor Theodore of Petra's.³⁷

³⁶ Curiously, the *Life of John the Hesychast* has not been preserved in any early Arabic manuscript; see Garitte 1954, 83, n. 1. However, it certainly existed in Arabic at an early date, since the Georgian version of the *Life*, present in the codex London, BL, Add. 11281, was in all likelihood translated from Arabic; see p. 55 below.

³⁷ Van Esbroeck 1993, 48–49.

This is the only preserved 'corpus' manuscript in Arabic, but other manuscripts from the same milieu also exist containing one or two *Lives* by Cyril of Scythopolis.³⁸ One of them in particular, Vatican City, BAV, Vat. ar. 71 (236 folios, 230 × 170 mm), was copied in 885 CE by Anthony David of Baghdad, again at the monastery of Mar Saba.³⁹ It contains, at the beginning of a collection of hagiographic and ascetical literature, the *Lives of Euthymius* and of *Sabbas*, broadly in the same version, though slightly abridged according to Van Esbroeck.⁴⁰

The Georgian tradition is very similar to the Arabic one, on which it appears to be largely based. The main manuscript for the Georgian tradition, which is now preserved in the British Library in London as 'Additional 11281' (see Fig. 5), is a large book of 369 folios (350 × 250 mm in size) that was copied at the Georgian Monastery of the Holy Cross near Jerusalem during the first half of the eleventh century by a monk named Black John.⁴¹ It contains a collection of hagiographical texts concerning monks of Egyptian, Palestinian and Syrian origin (see Table 4).

Most of these texts, if not all of them, appear to have been translated from Arabic – even those on Syrian monks.⁴² This is especially true of the Cyrillian *Lives*, which are parallel texts to those present in the Arabic manuscript.⁴³ What is striking here is that Add. 11281 has the same general structure of a monastic hagiographic collection as the Italo-Greek tradition, with some common texts (the *Lives of Anthony* and of *Chariton*). For the first time, however, the *Lives* by Cyril of Scythopolis are not presented as a coherent corpus, but are dispersed throughout the collection.

³⁸ See a preliminary survey of the Arabic manuscripts containing Cyrillian *Lives* by Graf 1944, 407–408.

³⁹ On this manuscript, see Binggeli 2016, 82–83, 90–95, with reference to earlier catalogues and literature.

⁴⁰ Van Esbroeck 1986, 88; Van Esbroeck 1993, 49–50.

⁴¹ Wardrop 1913, 397–405 and the complete edition by Imnaišvili 1979. Also see the description on the British Library website *Digitised Manuscripts* <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_11281> (accessed on 10 September 2018) and the additional study in Gippert 2016.

⁴² This has been shown by Lamoreaux and Khairallah 2000, 446–447 for the *Life of John of Edessa*, by Outtier 1977, 103–104 for the *Life of Ephrem*, and by Peeters 1909 for the *Life of Barlaam of Mount Casius*.

⁴³ On the *Life of Cyriacus of Souka*, see Garitte 1971; on the *Life of Theodosius the Cenobiarch*, which is not, however, the version by Cyril of Scythopolis, see Van Esbroeck 1993.

Table 4: *Lives* in the Georgian codex London, BL, Add. 11281.

Anthony
Sabbas
Chariton
Euthymius
Theodosius the Cenobiarch
Barlaam of Mt Casius
Ephrem the Syrian
John of Edessa
Cyriacus of Souka
Stephen and Nikon
Paul and John (<i>BHG</i> 1476)
John the Hesychast
Symeon the Fool
Gerasimus

The New Finds of Mt Sinai have also brought some new fragments of the Cyrillian corpus in Georgian to light, apparently related to the same translation from Arabic that is found in the London manuscript. They represent both sides of the Palestino-Sinaitic book tradition in Oriental languages. On the one hand, we find small-format manuscripts for personal monastic use containing single *Lives*, such as Sin. georg. 43 and NF 94 (137 + 2 folios, 165 × 125 mm), which was copied in Palestine in the tenth century, possibly at the monastery of Mar Chariton or at Mar Saba, and then sent to Mt Sinai; this manuscript only contains the *Life of Euthymius*.⁴⁴ On the other hand, we find larger hagiographical collections with several *Lives*, mainly those of holy monks, similar to the London manuscript – for example Sin. georg. NF 17 (132 folios, 180 × 140 mm), also from the tenth century, which contains the *Life of Theodosius the Cenobiarch* and the *Life of John the Hesychast*.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ On this manuscript, see Garitte 1956, 159–161; Aleksidze et al. 2005, 435.

⁴⁵ On this manuscript, see Aleksidze et al. 2005, 390. For a preliminary survey of manuscripts containing the *Lives* of Cyril of Scythopolis in Georgian, see Garitte 1962, 399–400. Also see Gippert 2016 for the *Life of Sabbas* in Mt Athos, Iviron Monastery, georg. 40.

The number of Palestino-Sinaitic manuscripts from the ninth and tenth centuries containing Cyrillian material has dramatically grown with the addition of the New Finds of 1975. This reminds us that the *Lives* of Cyril of Scythopolis were one of the favourite readings of the Palestinian monks – probably both as community reading and as private reading in their cells, as attested by the pocket-size books – and that they were translated at an early date in all the languages used in the monasteries of Palestine and Sinai (Syriac, Arabic and Georgian), especially at Mar Saba.⁴⁶ The Palestino-Sinaitic tradition in both Greek and Oriental languages seems to reflect the same general features as what we find in manuscripts from Southern Italy, albeit with more variety in terms of forms and usage. The authorial collection of *Lives* by Cyril of Scythopolis appears to have been transmitted originally as a coherent corpus independently or inside large collections devoted exclusively to monastic hagiography and having practically no intersection with homiliaries. At the same time, the Palestinian tradition shows much more fluctuation in the sequence of the *Lives* than the Italo-Greek tradition and reminds us that the reconstruction of the Cyrillian corpus by Schwartz is partly hypothetical.

3. Reception in Byzantium and the Greek metaphrastic version

The reception of the work of Cyril of Scythopolis in Byzantium brings us to the breaking up of the corpus into individual *Lives* to serve the purpose of the Byzantine liturgical tradition. Several questions arise here. How and when did the *Lives* arrive in Constantinople? Was it directly from Palestine or through Southern Italy? Did they arrive as a corpus or was the corpus already dismembered in Palestine, seeing as we have not encountered any corpus manuscript of proven Constantinopolitan origin yet?⁴⁷

⁴⁶ To all the new witnesses that have been discovered over the last few decades, we should also add an extract of the *Life of Euthymius* in Greek, which has been identified at the end of one of the oldest dated manuscripts of Palestinian origin, the Uspensky Psalter (St Petersburg, RNB, gr. 216), copied in the year 862/863 or 878 CE at the Church of the Anastasis in Jerusalem; see Olivier 2011, 61–63.

⁴⁷ Although it is not impossible that BAV, Ott. gr. 373 is of Constantinopolitan origin; see n. 12 above.

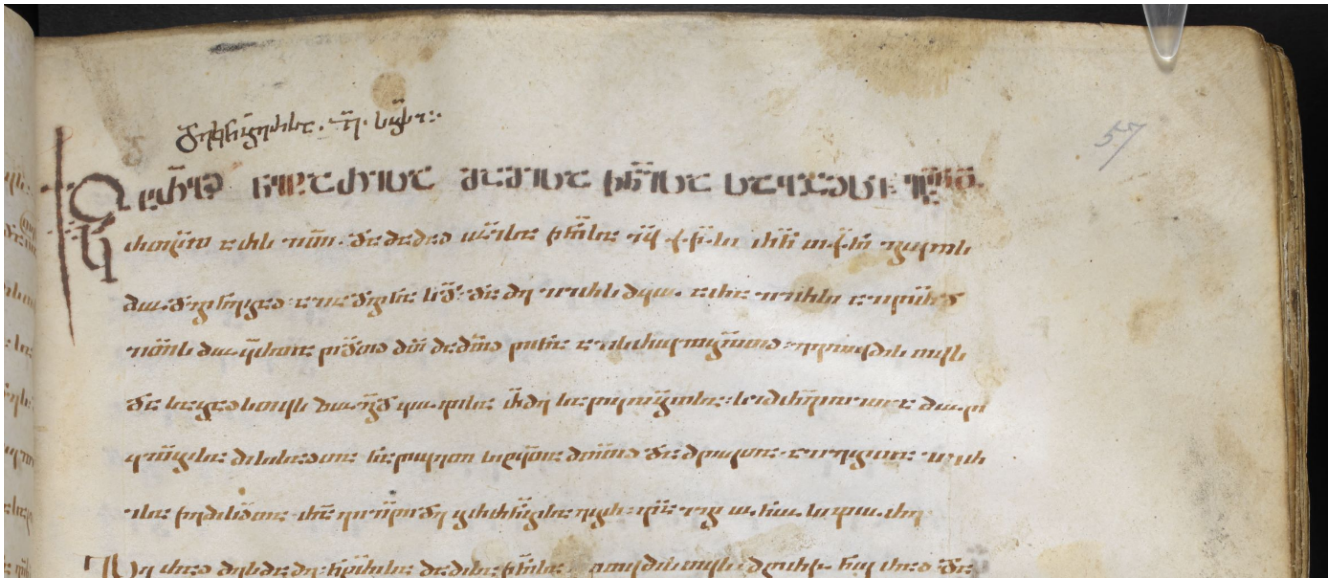


Fig. 5: London, BL, Add. 11821, fol. 57r (beginning of the *Life of Sabbas*).

A manuscript that was not used by Schwartz gives us part of the answer to the second question: Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. VII.34, from the tenth century (242 folios, 311 × 219 mm),⁴⁸ is badly mutilated now, unfortunately, and only contains parts of the *Life of Euthymius*, but a later *pinax* allows us to reconstruct the general structure of the collection it contained (see Table 5). It is clearly related to the three Italo-Greek manuscripts by its contents, and we find the same texts in it, mainly devoted to monastic founders of Egyptian and Palestinian origin. However, the texts have been reordered here according to the liturgical calendar, from September to January, as a prefiguration of the Byzantine *menologion*.⁴⁹ At the end, the manuscript originally contained the *Lives* of several bishops: Gregory of Nazianzus, John the Almsgiver of Alexandria, John Chrysostom and Basil of Caesarea. The liturgical calendar is curiously muddled in this last part, as if the copyist originally intended the collection to contain nothing other than monastic *Lives* and *Passions*, but on second thought he added bishops' *Lives* as well, albeit in a separate section.

Table 5: *Lives* in Venice, Marc. gr. VII. 34 (*pinax*).

Chariton (28 Sept.)
Cyriacus of Souka (29 Sept.)
Gregory Thaumaturgus (17 Nov.)
Sabbas (5 Dec.)
John the Hesychast (8 Dec.)
Eustratius the martyr & companions (13 Dec.)
Martyr monks of Sinai (14 Jan.)
Anthony (17 Jan.)
Euthymius (20 Jan.)
Gregory of Nazianzus (25 Jan.)
John the Almsgiver (12 Nov.)
John Chrysostom (13 Nov.)
Basil of Caesarea (1 Jan.)

Van Ommeslaeghe has shown that this last part of the manuscript starting with the *Life of John the Almsgiver* is composed of different units copied by different hands in the tenth century. The various parts of the manuscript were then put together before the end of the fourteenth century at the latest, but probably much earlier. So the original part of the manuscript up to the *Life of Gregory of Nazianzus*, as reconstructed by the *pinax* (if this actually reflects a unitary manuscript), was a *menologion* for the first semester mainly

⁴⁸ On this manuscript, see Ehrhard 1952, III, 920–921; Mioni 1960, 63–64. See especially van Ommeslaeghe 1982, who corrects Mioni's mistakes.

⁴⁹ The only preserved liturgical date in the first part of the manuscript, at the beginning of the *Life of Gregory of Nazianzus*, appears to be original (fol. 29r in the upper margin): μηνὶ ἰαννουαρίῳ κε'. The manuscript itself is posterior to the appearance of *menologia* in Byzantium, however.

containing monastic *Lives* (but not exclusively), including four Cyrillian *Lives*. It is probably not a coincidence that its contents are very closely related to those of the Southern Italian collections, as already noted by Ehrhard,⁵⁰ even if the texts are re-arranged here according to the Byzantine liturgical year. The fact is that the manuscript could be of Constantinopolitan origin if Van Ommeslaeghe's identification in a handwritten note from the Monastery of the Acheiropoietos or of the Abraamites in Constantinople is correct.⁵¹ The close relationship that exists between the Byzantine and the Italo-Greek traditions thus seems to point to the fact that the same type of collections of monastic hagiography containing the corpus of *Lives* by Cyril of Scythopolis arrived from Palestine both in Constantinople and Southern Italy.

The case of the *Life of Theognius* also gives us some interesting insights into the process of the Cyrillian corpus's transmission from Palestine to Constantinople. The *Life* is now preserved in a single Greek manuscript: Paris, BnF, Coislin 303 from the tenth century (364 folios, 235 × 185 mm). This is yet another collection of monastic hagiography, characteristic of the Palestinian tradition. However, it contains none of the usual *Lives* that have been referred to up till now.⁵² In fact, many of the texts are *unica*; some of them are related to the Monastery of Mar Saba, but they pertain to the period after the Arabic conquests of Palestine in the seventh century. The collection also contains lay hagiography devoted to Christian martyrs killed at the hands of the Arabs. In a note at the end of the manuscript, it is said that the collection was brought from Jerusalem; I have shown elsewhere that it was actually brought to Constantinople in the late ninth or early tenth century, probably to the Monastery of Stoudios or of Chora, a little after the period when the first pre-metaphrastic *menologia* were being constituted in the Studite milieu.⁵³ Curiously, none of the hagiographic texts contained in the Coislin manuscript – including the *Life of Theognius of Betylia* by Cyril of Scythopolis –, which essentially form a corpus of 'forgotten' Palestinian hagiography, entered the Byzantine liturgical tradition and the manuscript was buried

in the Library of the Monastery of Stoudios or another Constantinopolitan monastery.

Conversely, it is probably not a coincidence that the oldest manuscript of the *Life of Sabbas* that is definitely of Constantinopolitan origin – Istanbul, Patriarchikē Bibliothēkē, Trin. 88 from the late ninth to the early tenth century (286 folios, 390 × 270 mm) – is precisely a representative of the Studite pre-metaphrastic *menologion* for December.⁵⁴ The *Life of Sabbas* by Cyril of Scythopolis was indeed well circulated in Byzantium in this period, *viz.* as the reading for 5 December.⁵⁵ The *Life of Euthymius* was copied equally often in the pre-metaphrastic *menologion* as a reading for 20 January.⁵⁶

The fact is that the whole of the Cyrillian corpus did not have the same fate in Byzantium (see Table 6). Of the seven *Lives* written by Cyril of Scythopolis, only five entered the Byzantine liturgical tradition and actually only the two *Lives* of the great founders Euthymius and Sabbas were widely circulated in the Constantinopolitan pre-metaphrastic *menologia* (i.e. collections of *Lives*). The minor *Lives* of John the Hesychast and Cyriacus of Souka appear to have had a very limited transmission in these pre-metaphrastic *menologia*,⁵⁷ although they must have been read, since the saints entered the liturgical calendar of the Church of Constantinople and metaphrastic *Lives* were composed. The *Life of Theodosius the Cenobiarch* is a special case because it is the *Life* written by Theodore of Petra (CPG 7533), longer and more complete than that by Cyril of Scythopolis, which circulated in Byzantium and entered the pre-metaphrastic *menologia* as a reading for 11 January. The *Lives* of Abraamius, Bishop of Cratea, and of Theognius, Bishop of Betylia, which happen to be the two texts that were completely left out of the Greek 'corpus' manuscripts, had

⁵⁰ Ehrhard 1952, III, 921.

⁵¹ Van Ommeslaeghe 1982, 507, 513.

⁵² On this manuscript, see Devreesse 1945, 286–288; Ehrhard 1952, III, 926–927. See also Binggeli 2018.

⁵³ Binggeli 2018, 271–275.

⁵⁴ For more on this manuscript, see Binggeli et al. 2019, 238–241.

⁵⁵ On the insertion of the *Life of Sabbas* in the pre-metaphrastic *menologion* for December, see Ehrhard 1937, I, 509–521 and Schwartz 1939, 328.

⁵⁶ On the insertion of the *Life of Euthymius* in the pre-metaphrastic *menologion* for January, see Ehrhard 1937, I, 532–540 and Schwartz 1939, 328. To the tenth-century manuscripts listed by Ehrhard and Schwartz, we can add a manuscript known as Glasgow, University Library, MS Gen 1112 (BE 8.x.5); see Halkin 1957.

⁵⁷ The *Life of John the Hesychast* is found on 13 May in Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 819, an eleventh-century *menologion* of the type 'vermischter Metaphrast' running from May to August. A Slavonic translation is also included in the Codex Suprasliensis on 29 March, a witness of the Byzantine pre-metaphrastic *menologion* in Slavonic (see Christian Hannick, this volume, 133–134). The *Life of Cyriacus of Souka* is found on 29 September in a single *menologion*, Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 866, a *menologion* for the whole year of the eleventh–twelfth century, of Southern Italian provenance.

no success whatsoever in Byzantium – they are completely absent in Byzantine *menologia*, no metaphrastic rewriting exists, and the saints never entered the liturgical calendar of the Church of Constantinople.

Table 6: The Cyrillian corpus in Byzantium.

	Synaxarion	Metaphrastic Life
Euthymius	20 Jan.	BHG 649
Sabbas	5 Dec.	BHG 1609
John Hesychast	7 Dec.	–
Cyriacus of Souka	29 Sept.	BHG 464
Theodosius the Cenobiarch	11 Jan.	BHG 1778
Abraamius of Cratea	–	–
Theognius of Betylia	–	–

The *Lives* written by Cyril of Scythopolis were rapidly replaced in the Byzantine *menologia* by the metaphrastic rewritings, which appear to be of some value in understanding the process of transmission that the Cyrillian corpus experienced. Henri Grégoire pointed out the existence of a passage concerning the monk Gerasimus in the metaphrastic version of the *Life of Euthymius*,⁵⁸ absent from all the Greek manuscripts except for one,⁵⁹ Sin. gr. 524, which contains an odd collection of *Lives* (Gregory Thaumaturgus, Gregory of Agrigent, Gregory of Nazianzus, Euthymius, Barlaam and Ioasaph) from the eleventh or the twelfth century (195 folios, 300 × 225 mm).⁶⁰ Schwartz and Flusin quite convincingly believe this passage to be an interpolation, probably going back to a sixth- to seventh-century rewriting of the Cyrillian *Life* made at the Old Laura (Souka) in Palestine in order to

associate Gerasimus with the Sabaitic monastic tradition.⁶¹ Whether or not this passage is an interpolation, it does provide some interesting insights into the process of transmission that the Cyrillian corpus went through on its way from Palestine to Constantinople. This manuscript could represent an alternative tradition that arrived in Constantinople and served as a basis for the metaphrastic version. As neither this manuscript nor the other manuscripts which contain the *Life of Euthymius* were collated by Schwartz, we cannot say what the diffusion of this particular version actually was at this stage.

4. Conclusion

This case study has highlighted the fact that the corpus of *Lives* of the Palestinian monks composed by Cyril of Scythopolis was mainly read and transmitted in a monastic environment, either through small manuscripts intended for personal use or through larger collections of monastic hagiography which circulated in Palestine. All of these older collections of monastic hagiography seem to have overlapped very little with homiletical collections, if at all. It is probable that one or more of these monastic collections arrived in Constantinople at an early date as well as in Southern Italy, but we have no trace of the reading of the corpus as a whole in Constantinople and no trace of a specifically monastic use of the collection. It was digested and then included in the standardised Byzantine liturgical collections very rapidly.

⁵⁸ PG 114, 672–673.

⁵⁹ Two fragments of a manuscript apparently containing the same version have been discovered in flyleaves of Patmos manuscripts: Patmos, Mone Hagiou Ioannou tou Theologou, 13, fol. Γ' + 43, fol. 327; see Kominis 1988, κη', 19, 112.

⁶⁰ On this manuscript, see Gardthausen 1886, 128; Grégoire 1906b. The manuscript contains some other strange textual features as well. On the *Life of Barlaam and Josaphat*, see Volk 2009, 442, who says it is the 'wichtigste Zeuge für die systematisch verkürzte Familie des Barlaam-Romans'. On the *Life of Gregory of Agrigent*, see Berger 1995, 125: 'Auf der Grenze zwischen einer variantenreichen Handschrift der alten Gregorios-Vita und einer eigenen Rezension steht die Fassung des Sin. Gr. 524 ... möglicherweise sind alle diese Veränderungen das Werk eines einzigen Redaktors, der freilich nicht mit dem Schreiber der Handschrift

identisch sein muss'; Berger 1995, 88, believes that the manuscript could be of Southern Italian origin.

⁶¹ Flusin 1983, 36–40, referring to Grégoire 1906b.

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Article

A Few Remarks on Hagiographical-Homiletic Collections in Ethiopic Manuscripts*

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1. Introduction

The Ethiopian manuscript culture is no exception amongst the Christian oriental ones. Like the others, the Ethiopic or Gə'əz literary tradition is rich in hagiographical-homiletic material. At the latest since the adoption of the Christian faith by the king of Aksum in the mid-fourth century, the diffusion and transmission of a literary corpus translated from Greek was in all likelihood committed to manuscripts, presumably codices.¹ This corpus, albeit limited, was instrumental to Christian practice, and, besides biblical and para-biblical (apocryphal) texts, it certainly included patristic writings concerning theology, liturgy and monasticism, as well as hagiographical and homiletic literature. If this early Aksumite corpus consisted to a large extent of translations going back to Greek originals and in this way included authentic and spurious materials, a small and still little explored portion might have consisted of pieces of local production, for which, however, we do not yet have definitive evidence.

Most of this corpus was probably translated between the fourth and the sixth century and survived through complex processes of manuscript transmission. Some texts were simply copied, while other texts have come down to us only in a much reshaped form due to partial re-translations from

Arabic into Ethiopic, with Arabic translations documented starting from the thirteenth century at the latest, which is also the date of the most ancient precisely dated Ethiopic manuscripts. Attested are even double versions, based on different models from different languages, of what was originally the same text. If for texts translated in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries Arabic was the ultimate language of provenance, the origin of this additional corpus could be very different and displays a variety of possible channels of transmissions and adoptions, both linguistic – Greek-Coptic-Arabic-Ethiopic, Coptic-Arabic-Ethiopic, Greek-Syriac-Ethiopic, Syriac-Arabic-Ethiopic – and regional, with translations possibly carried out in different places. The systematic analysis of this corpus has just started with a few sporadic attempts, and every evaluation of its importance and extent is still premature.

The presence of historical texts reshaped in the form of hagiography or homiletics is a recently ascertained fact. A case study from this genre provides precise clues to the strategies and practices employed to re-use an earlier legacy. In particular, for at least the last four decades, a specific form of archaic hagiographical-homiletic collection, with similar contents, has attracted researchers' attention. It was first documented in three archaic homiliaries, manuscripts Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library (henceforth EMLL), nos 1763 and 8509, and London, British Library (henceforth BL), Or. 8192, but it now appears to have been present in other collections where ancient materials were preserved, as well. This seems to be the earliest form of homiliaries of which we have any precise evidence in the Ethiopic domain.

Soon after or even at the same time, fully fledged hagiographical collections appear, in the form of the archaic collections known as *Gadla samā'tāt* ('Acts of martyrs') and *Gadla qəddusān* ('Acts of saints'), transmitting hagiographies about martyrs of the Western as well as of the Eastern

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¹ For essential coordinates, see Phillipson 2012; Marrassini 2014; and for the manuscript cultures, the relevant section in the *COMSt* manual, Bausi et al. 2015.

Churches, mostly Egyptian. In rare cases, they also include a few texts on Ethiopian saints.

The manuscripts transmitting these hagiographic collections were widespread mostly between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, but they are also attested, to a lesser extent, earlier in the thirteenth, as well as later, after the sixteenth century. This peculiarity, along with the presence of specific codicological features, allows us to draw some conclusions about the circulation of these texts and their use. *Gadla samā'ītāt* – and to a lesser extent *Gadla qəddusān* – is a label identifying specific multiple-text manuscripts containing a well-defined corpus of texts. The corpus known includes at least 143 different hagiographies transmitted in c. 70 manuscripts recorded so far. Although they are never all present in one and the same manuscript, groups of them can be attested in a given manuscript and can be associated in different ways in the collection.

The number of still extant manuscripts preserved in monasteries and churches in Ethiopia indicates that these manuscripts were essentially canonised collections largely used for the liturgical service. Their nature as liturgical books influenced the internal structure and the arrangement of the texts transmitted in them. Each manuscript is organised according to the liturgical calendar, but a single manuscript contains readings for only a few days per month. The layout of these multiple-text manuscripts is specifically designed to enable the reader to identify the texts at a glance and to use them easily. Furthermore, there are two precise features that seem to characterise short hagiographical texts in multiple-text manuscripts that belong to the more ancient and archaic layer of the Ethiopian literary heritage: (a) a Greek-Coptic form of the name in the commemoration date, which is usually placed at the beginning of the text; and (b) a sort of double title, placed both at the beginning and at the end of the text. This element might definitely be a point to be carefully examined having in mind what happens in the Coptic tradition.² The selection criteria of the texts to be included in each manuscript are still to be investigated. This is also a very crucial point since it is related, on the one hand, to the local veneration of foreign saints and, on the other hand, to the material function that the multiple-text manuscripts containing these collections attained in the course of time, thus facilitating the emergence of a local hagiography.

² For more details on this point, see Bausi 2017a, 223–224.

2. The scope of the Hamburg SFB Ethiopian manuscripts project

The Hamburg SFB 950 ‘Manuskriptkulturen in Asien, Afrika und Europa’ has hosted since its first phase (2011–2015) the sub-project (Teilprojekt C05) ‘Cross-Section Views of Evolving Knowledge: Canonico-Liturgical and Hagiographic Ethiopic Christian Manuscripts as Corpus-Organizers’, where the hagiographical and canonical-liturgical collections have been the centre of research.³ Within the second phase of the SFB (2015–2019), the sub-project has focussed on “‘Parchment Saints’ – The Making of Ethiopian Hagiographic Manuscripts: Matter and Devotion in Manuscript Practices of Medieval and Pre-Modern Ethiopia’, also with consideration of the role of hagiographical collections.⁴

As for their contents, there is a deep dynamic relationship between the canonico-liturgical and the hagiographical-homiletic collections, as the case of a revealing text, the *Acts of Peter of Alexandria* in the form of a homily, will demonstrate. With a more general approach, and against the trend to deal episodically and sporadically either with a single item of the corpus or with a single manuscript randomly selected among many without any understanding of its precise role and interconnections,⁵ the aim of the SFB projects was to set up the framework for a broader understanding of the context.⁶

³ The canonical-liturgical collections are not the focus of this paper, but it is a fact that, for example, several homilies of pseudo-Chrysostomian attribution are transmitted within the standard collection of canon law of the Ethiopian Church, known as the *Sinodos* (dating from the thirteenth/fourteenth centuries). For an overview, see ‘Senodos’, *EAE*, IV (2010), 623a–625a (Bausi).

⁴ Still within the SFB and its project area C ‘Manuscript Collections and Manuscripts as Collections’, the case study of the Ethiopic canonical-liturgical and hagiographical collections also offered the opportunity to propose and discuss the term of ‘corpus-organizer’ (‘CO’), which was first defined in a research note (Bausi 2010) and appeared to have some usefulness for heuristic purposes. The SFB group ‘Theory and Terminology’ also keeps the ‘CO’ on its agenda, and there is the hope that an extended definition might be proposed in the near future.

⁵ See for example Labadie 2015.

⁶ This means that at this moment we have at our disposal twice as many manuscripts of hagiographical collections of *Gadla samā'ītāt* (*Acts of martyrs*) as we had a few years ago. The additional manuscripts were made available through Antonella Brita’s field research within the SFB 950 and thanks to the European Research Council, European Union Seventh Framework Programme IDEAS (FP7/2007–2013) / ERC grant agreement no. 240720 (Ethio-SPaRe), directed by Denis Nossitsin. See Bausi 2017b, with a new edition of the *Gadla 'Azqir* based upon 25 manuscripts and further references; see also Bausi 2015a.

3. Definition of 'homily'

Aside from the liturgical definition of 'homily' in the Christian ritual, the Ethiopic term normally taken as indicating a 'homily' in the Ethiopic tradition is *dərsān*, which actually means 'the exegetical or homiletic activity developed by an ecclesiastical interpreter, or *darāsi*'.⁷ In keeping with this, the Ethiopic tradition is rich in *dərsān* collections that are thematically organised and actually contain one or more pieces of truly homiletic genre, as well as, narrowly defined, non-homiletic materials. The *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* (*EAE*), for example, has entries for no fewer than ten major works in the form of *dərsānāt*: *Dərsāna 'abrāhām wasārā bagəbs* ('Homily on Abraham and Sara in Egypt'), *Dərsāna gabrə'el* ('Homil(iar)y on Gabriel'), *Dərsāna māḥəyawī* ('Homil(iar)y on the Saviour'), *Dərsāna māryām* ('Homil(iar)y on Mary'), *Dərsāna mikā'el* ('Homil(iar)y on Michael'), *Dərsāna rāgu'el* ('Homil(iar)y on Ragu'el'), *Dərsāna rufā'el* ('Homil(iar)y on Rufael'), *Dərsāna sanbat* ('Homil(iar)y on the Sabbath'), *Dərsāna šəllāse* ('Homil(iar)y on the Trinity'), *Dərsāna 'urā'el* ('Homil(iar)y on Urael').⁸

However, if we just look at the index of the same *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, we find no fewer than 43 works or textual units titled *dərsān* and mention of no fewer than 32 authors of homilies, among whom there are very few Ethiopians ('Elyās, Giyorgis of Saglā, Mārḡos, Minās, Rətu'a Haymānot, Salāmā, Yoḥanni, Zar'a Yā'qob), but mostly fathers of the Western or Eastern Churches: Aphrahat, the disputed author of the monastic treatise *The Spiritual Elder* ('*Aragāwi manfasāwi*'), Athanasius, Basil, Cyriacus of Antioch, Cyriacus of Jerusalem, Cyril of Alexandria, Cyril of Jerusalem, Ephrem, Epiphanius of Salamis, Eusebius of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, Hippolytus of Rome, Isaac of Nineveh, Jacob of Sarug, John Chrysostom, Michael the Syrian, Proclus of Cyzicus, Severus of Antioch, Severus of Ašmunayn, Theodosius of Alexandria, Theodotus of Ancyra, Theophilus of Alexandria

⁷ See 'Dərsan', *EAE*, II (2005), 136b–137a (Steven Kaplan).

⁸ See 'Dərsanā Abrahām wāsara bəgəbs', *EAE*, II (2005), 137b (Kaplan); 'Dərsanā Gəbrə'el', *EAE*, II (2005), 137b–138a (Samuel Yalew); 'Dərsanā māḥəyawī', *EAE*, II (2005), 138a–b (Lusini); 'Dərsanā māryām', *EAE*, II (2005), 138b–139a (Lusini); 'Dərsanā Mika'el', *EAE*, II (2005), 139a–140a (Lusini); 'Dərsanā Ragu'el', *EAE*, II (2005), 140a–141a (Lusini); 'Dərsanā Rufā'el', *EAE*, II (2005), 141a (Lusini); 'Dərsanā sənbat', *EAE*, II (2005), 141a–142b (Nosnitsin); 'Dərsanā šəllāse', *EAE*, II (2005), 143a (Lusini); 'Dərsanā 'Urā'el', *EAE*, II (2005), 143a–b (Lusini). A comprehensive *Clavis* is being developed by the project Beta masāḥəft in cooperation with the aforementioned TraCES project and the SFB 950 sub-project (cf. notes * and 6 above).

and Timothy of Alexandria.⁹ Conversely, under 'homily', no fewer than 74 individual homilies are explicitly mentioned.¹⁰ Still, there are complex works containing homilies but with no *dərsān* appearing in their titles, typically the *Gəbra ḥəmāmāt*, the 'Homiliary for the Passion Week',¹¹ or even the archaic patristic collection known as *Qerəllos*, i.e. *Cyril of Alexandria*, which is probably the best known of all Ethiopic collections, thanks to the editorial effort by Bernd Weischer for the series of *Äthiopistische Forschungen*.¹²

4. The state of the art

What is the state of the art? We can distinguish several phases in the development of research on Ethiopic hagiographical-homiletic corpora. It is obviously impossible to provide all details here,¹³ but some high points can be defined with some accuracy.

4.1. The beginnings: from Petraeus to Dillmann

The very first printed homily in Ethiopic brings us back to the origins of oriental studies, and to the personality of Theodorus Petraeus (c.1630–1672), active in Ethiopic and Coptic studies: in 1660 he published in Leyden a homily on the Nativity, *Dərsān ba'ənta lədatu la'əgzi'əna 'iyasus krəstos* ('Homily about the Nativity of Our Lord Jesus Christ').¹⁴ The manuscript from which the homily was taken is known: it is the famous manuscript Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung, Ms. or. fol. 117.¹⁵

⁹ See *EAE*, V (2014), 811a–812a.

¹⁰ See *EAE*, V (2014), 934a–935a.

¹¹ See 'Gəbrā ḥəmamat', *EAE*, II (2005), 725b–728b (Ugo Zanetti).

¹² See 'Qerəllos', *EAE*, IV (2010), 287a–290a (Bausi).

¹³ A more substantial bibliographic contribution can be found in Bausi 2016, where I presented a report on the relationship between Coptic (Egyptian) and Ethiopian traditions, with a large part concerning literary borrowing; see in particular the sections on homiletics (pp. 546–547) and Aksumite literature (pp. 542–543).

¹⁴ See Petraeus 1660; Lockot 1982, no. 6459.

¹⁵ See Dillmann 1878, 56–57, no. 66 ('12. Homilie des hl. Johannes Chrysostomus über die Geburt unseres Herrn Jesu Christi, am 28 Tahsäs'), Ms. or. fol. 117, pp. 272–285, with marginal notes by Petraeus. The manuscript used by Petraeus as a draft for publication is also known and is found in the same library, Ms. or. quart. 162 (Dillmann 1878, no. 67); 'Vorn auf dem Titelblatt steht: Homilia Aethiopica de Nativitate Domini nostri Jesu Christi, in Latinum ad verbum conversa et notis necessariis ac Aethiopum proverbii illustrata, addito textu Graeco S. Johannis Chrysostomi itidemque Latinitate donato; nunc primum in lucem edita a

The homily was reprinted without the Ethiopic *incipit* in 1668 in Amsterdam¹⁶ and once again by Christoph Schlichting (d. post 1729), this time in Hamburg.¹⁷

The father of Ethiopian studies Hiob Ludolf seems not to have been very conversant or interested in patristics in Ethiopic versions. Only with the edition of a small selection of homilies by August Dillmann, included in his *Chrestomathia Aethiopica edita et glossario explanata*, did it become manifest how much Ethiopic could contribute to patristics and to homiletics in particular. In this work, Dillmann provided text editions both in section ‘7. Epistolae’ (a: *Epistola Joannis Antiocheni ad Cyrillum missa* and b: *Epistola Cyrilli ad Joannem*, pp. 70–76) and, particularly, in section ‘8. Sermones vel homiliae’ (a: *Homilia Severiani Gabalorum*, b: *Cyrilli de Melchisedec homilia prior*, c: *Cyrilli de Melchisedec altera*, d: *Homilia Severi, episcopi Synnadorum*, e: *Homilia Juvenalis Hierosolymitani*, f: *Homilia Eusebii, episcopi Heracleae*, g: *Homilia Theodoti episcopi Ancyrae*, h: *Homilia Firmi episcopi Caesareae*, pp. 77–107).¹⁸

4.2. Pereira and Peeters

At the turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth century, interest in patristic and homiletic Ethiopic literature was again only episodic: this was the time when the local sources started to be researched and attracted the interest of historians who saw in them a new source to explore the past, whereas those interested in literature found much more important major works to work on like the *Book of Enoch* or even the Bible. Patristic and homiletic works were confined to a small group of passionate scholars: for homiletics, one should mention at least Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira, who published between 1906 and 1915 several homilies attributed to John Chrysostom, along with a comprehensive study of them;¹⁹

whereas for hagiography translated into Ethiopic, one should mention the pioneering work carried out, not only in this field, by Paul Peeters, the Bollandist Father who put together for the first time all hagiographical traditions from the Eastern Churches in the form of a *clavis* (*Bibliotheca hagiographica orientalis*, 1910).²⁰

4.3. Weischer and the Qerällos

What we could call the medial period of research on Ethiopic patristic collections is marked by a major editorial enterprise, that is the almost complete edition by Bernd Manuel Weischer of the extensive collection known as the *Qerällos*. The *Qerällos* is a patristic collection, for the major part translated from Greek into Gə‘əz in the Aksumite period – as a whole, one of the most important works of Gə‘əz literature. Named after Cyril of Alexandria,²¹ it contains writings originating in the context of the councils of Ephesus (431) and its immediate aftermath, with the later addition of a few patristic writings. The *Qerällos* results from the conflation of two different main collections, both of Alexandrian origin, with the addition of later materials. The first collection, besides major treatises, contained homilies by Theodotus of Ancyra, Cyril of Alexandria, Severus of Synnada, Acacius of Melitene, Juvenal of Jerusalem, Reginus of Constantia, Eusebius of Heracleia and Firmus of Caesarea, as well as some letters. The second section consists of seven writings (homilies and symbols) on christological and trinitarian questions and includes one homily each by Epiphanius of Cyprus, Proclus of Cyzicus, Severianus of Gabala and Cyril of Alexandria on Melchizedek.²²

Some of the texts were referenced in the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* (CPG), but definitely not all of them. Still in the times of the *Clavis*, the exploration of Ethiopic patristic versions was of little importance to mainstream research in the field. Among the few systematic contributions to be mentioned here is a short one comprising the first approach

M. Theodoro Petraeo, Flensburgo-Holsato, Londini (sic) typis 1659 (sic). For other copies of Ms. or. fol. 117, see Zanetti 2015, 99.

¹⁶ See Petraeus 1668; Lockot 1982, no. 6458.

¹⁷ See Schlichting 1691; Lockot 1982, no. 6462, but Lockot writes some words incorrectly; the same in ‘Schlichting, Christoph’, *E Ae*, IV (2010), 575a–b (Sophia Dege and Uhlig) and also Six 1999, 258–263 on manuscript Kiel, Universitätsbibliothek, Cb 5152 (the description of the work on p. 259); the *Homilia Aethiopica* is found on fols 85^v–91^r, with an interlinear translation in Latin and handwritten corrections.

¹⁸ See Dillmann 1866, 70–107.

¹⁹ See Pereira 1906, 1907, 1910a, 1910b, 1911a, 1911b, 1915. On Pereira

see now Pacheco Pinto 2019 and in the same volume the republication of a homily, Pereira 2019.

²⁰ See Socii Bollandiani 1910; Goussen 1915.

²¹ Published in six volumes from 1973 to 1993, plus several articles starting from 1967, the first volume in the *Afrikanistische Forschungen* and then in the *Äthiopistische Forschungen*. See Weischer 1969, 1971, 1973, 1977, 1979a, 1979b, 1980a, 1980b, 1993.

²² For all details including the reference to the CPG see ‘Qerällos’, *E Ae*, IV (2010), 287a–290a (Bausi); ‘Melchizedek’, *E Ae*, III (2007), 914b–916b (Bausi).

to the corpus of Gregorius of Nazianzus, published in 1983 by Emery van Donzel – an excellent scholar in Islamic studies and an Ethiopianist as well, within the framework of a comprehensive enterprise carried out in Louvain-la-Neuve on the homiletic corpus of Gregorius of Nazianzus.²³

4.4. *The impact of the EMMML enterprise*

At the end of the 1980s, the increasing and progressing micro-filming and cataloguing effort carried out by the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library (EMML) project brought about substantial consequences.²⁴ Particularly important was the partial access to and microfilming of the libraries of Dabra Ḥayq ʿĀstifānos and Ṭānā Qirqos: the first one revealed manuscript EMMML no. 1763 – early studied by Getatchew Haile, who dedicated to this manuscript fourteen pages of thorough and detailed description in his catalogue, while the latter, with manuscript EMMML no. 8509, eventually studied by Sergew Hable Sellasie, showed that the typology of an archaic homiliary attested by manuscript EMMML no. 1763 was not a *unicum*. This was also confirmed by the existence of a third manuscript earlier catalogued by Stefan Strelcyn from the new acquisitions of the British Library in London, Or. 8192, with provenance from the historical church of Gʷənāgʷənā in Eritrea,²⁵ the contents of which matched to a large extent those of the others, also with a similar arrangement.²⁶ As early revealed by Getatchew Haile's publications, it was apparent that these archaic homiletic collections contained materials of different age and provenance, and a few texts with an apparent Greek *Vorlage* were published. Getatchew Haile's opening contributions were those of a series of texts from manuscript EMMML no. 1763 (starting with the *Acts of Peter of Alexandria* in 1980 and the *Acts of Mark* in 1981),²⁷ whereas Sergew Hable Sellasie provided a detailed description of manuscript EMMML no. 8509, also focusing on palaeographical aspects.²⁸

²³ See Van Donzel 1983.

²⁴ See Stewart 2017.

²⁵ See 'Gʷənāgʷənā', *E Ae*, II (2005), 943b–944a (Bausi).

²⁶ See Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1981, 218–231; Strelcyn 1978, 89–92 (no. 56).

²⁷ See an updated bibliography in the Appendix at the end of this paper.

²⁸ See Getatchew Haile 1979, 1980, 1981a, 1985, 1990; Sergew Hable Sellasie 1987–1988; on EMMML no. 8509, see also Nosnitsin 2012; Bausi and Camplani 2016.

4.5. *The first systematic attempts: Lusini and Proverbio*

In these years and in the climate of expectation of new discoveries, an article by Gianfrancesco Lusini with the promising title 'Appunti sulla patristica greca di tradizione etiopica' appeared in 1988. Probably inspired by the interests of Gianfranco Fiaccadori, Lusini clearly posed several questions that had been highlighted in the most recent contributions and attempted a first, albeit limited and later revised and emended, *recensio* of Greek patristic writings in Ethiopic translation, with particular attention to homiletics traced both in collections of exclusively homiletic character and in other kinds of multiple-text manuscripts.²⁹ There was nothing in his article that had not already been stated in current publications – the importance of the *Qerallōs*, the double process of penetration of Greek patristics into Ethiopic first from Greek models and later from Arabic ones – and he also maintained a relatively late date for the earlier translations of the Aksumite age in the sixth century, to which one would not subscribe now. Yet, it was the first time that the topic was defined in a systematic way.

The specific question of the archaic homilies was taken up again in a little-known postdoc research project undertaken at the University of Florence by Delio Vania Proverbio, now *scriptor orientalis* at the Vatican Library, formally directed by Paolo Marrassini, but in fact unofficially tutored by Gianfranco Fiaccadori. Unfortunately, the project ended before it could produce what it promised. It is therefore really surprising that, although stressing the importance of liturgical homilies in a 2001 overview paper on Greek translations from Coptic and Ethiopic, Marrassini did not even mention Proverbio's work.³⁰ This latter paper also provides a comprehensive list of texts, with reference to the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*.

Proverbio, however, used his preliminary work for other contributions and introduced the concept of *codices trigemini* ('trigeminal manuscripts') to define the kind of archaic homiletic collection attested by manuscripts EMMML nos 1763 and 8509, and BL Or. 8192.³¹ In addition to several

²⁹ See Lusini 1988a.

³⁰ See Marrassini 2001, 1003, 'dall'altro, quella etiopica, conformemente alla minore capacità innovativa di quest'area, sembra poter riservare non poche sorprese, soprattutto se si vorrà procedere a uno spoglio sistematico della enorme massa di materiale a disposizione, in special modo di quello contenuto negli omeliari liturgici'.

³¹ See Proverbio 2001, 518–519, n. 3.

other publications of patristic texts of which he could demonstrate the existence of a Greek *Vorlage*,³² Proverbio's main contribution was the deep and thorough study, with edition and large philological and linguistic commentary, of the pseudo-Chrysostomian homily *De ficu exarata* (CPG 4588), with consideration of the whole oriental background. The study was published as volume 50 of *Aethiopistische Forschungen* in 1998.³³ Although extremely complex and sometimes not immediately accessible, pages 59–90 of this remarkable work provided the first detailed and reliable survey of the pseudo-Chrysostomian homiletic tradition, as well as an overview of the translation literature in Ethiopic and a detailed presentation of the manuscript tradition of the edited homily.³⁴ After twenty years, this book still remains the most important contribution on pseudo-Chrysostomian homilies in Ethiopic versions.

5. New perspectives

What are the new frontiers of research on Ethiopic homiletic collections? Several authors have valuably contributed in the last few years, searching for further texts from the older layer of Ethiopic literature. Among these, Sever Voicu deserves to be mentioned, who early maintained the importance of an 'earlier layer' of Ethiopic literary heritage, along with Osvaldo Raineri, Tedros Abreha, Robert Beylot and others,³⁵ who have actually contributed to the discovery and publication of new texts that can all be attributed to the homiletic genre. Others have resumed research on texts already published, like Gianfrancesco Lusini, who has re-edited the *Acts of St Mark* with the addition of new manuscripts.³⁶ Also the publication of the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* has greatly contributed, with many comprehensive articles, chiefly by Gianfranco Fiaccadori, Gianfrancesco Lusini, Witold Witakowski and some by the present author, whereas for individual authors an overview of the relevant textual tradition

was provided, sometimes but not always with references to the *CPG*. All in all, however, the references to an essential work like the *CPG* were by far below expectations, and not at variance with the references to the *BHG*.³⁷

5.1. New findings

It is a true merit of the Ethio-SPaRe project to have documented and, with the competent contribution of the project fellows, started to catalogue additional, at times fragmentary, archaic homilies, which increase the dossier of the *codices trigemini* and also better suggest the kind of distribution and dissemination of these collections. These collections now appear to have been present in several most important libraries of the Christian kingdom of Ethiopia, although their copying ended at a relatively early time and their transmission probably ceased before the fifteenth century. The reasons why this happened should be further investigated and can only be surmised at this moment. These additional liturgical homilies are known from the most important library of 'Urā Masqal/'Urā Qirqos, representing the registration (or even circulation) units catalogued under the shelf marks UM-037, UM-045, UM-046 and UM-050. These shelf marks contain portions from at least seven, five, four, and ten manuscripts respectively, but it should be verified whether more hands and more craftsmen originally worked on the production of individual manuscripts, as is frequently the case.³⁸ Getatchew Haile used small excerpts from these bundles of leaves for the editions included in his *The Ethiopian Orthodox Church's Tradition on the Holy Cross*.³⁹

5.2. The earliest translations

The crucial question of when the first translations from Arabic into Ethiopic started is still disputed: the term was confidently fixed at the fourteenth century, but we are sure now that it must be anticipated in the thirteenth at the latest. Conversely,

³² For an example in the case of Epiphanius' *Ancoratus*, see Proverbio 1997.

³³ See Proverbio 1998.

³⁴ See Proverbio 1998, 59–90, 'Appendice al capitolo II: Un primo registro della tradizione omiletica etiopica *sub nomine Chrysostomi*'; 38–45, 'Letteratura di traduzione'; 46–58, 'La tradizione manoscritta relativa all'omelia *de ficu exarata* (CPG 4588)'. See in general Voicu 2013.

³⁵ See Raineri and Tedros Abraha 2003; Voicu 2004; Beylot 2007; Tedros Abraha 2012; Kim 2009.

³⁶ See Lusini 2009. There appear to be additional manuscripts of this text, among them manuscript EML no. 8628.

³⁷ Below in appendix 7.2. you will find a review of the occurrences of *CPG* and *BHG* references in the *EAE*. It appears that the usage was relatively sporadic; the first volume has almost no references to *CPG* and *BHG*, and a self-sufficient approach to Ethiopic literature prevails.

³⁸ One specific case belonging to this genre was documented by Antonella Brita, see Brita 2015, 10 and 15. The preliminary identification of hands and texts of the 'Urā Masqal/'Urā Qirqos manuscripts for the Ethio-SPaRe project was carried out by Massimo Villa, now at the University of Naples 'L'Orientale', who worked for the Beta maṣāḥāft project until May 2018.

³⁹ Getatchew Haile 2017a, 266 (index), manuscripts Ethio-SPaRe UM-030, fols 29^v, 31^v, 28^v and 35^v; UM-037, fols 115^f–116^v; UM-045, fols 77^f–78^v, 12^f–15^v, 76^v, 75^f, 75^v and 79^v; UM-050, fols 150^f–152^f.

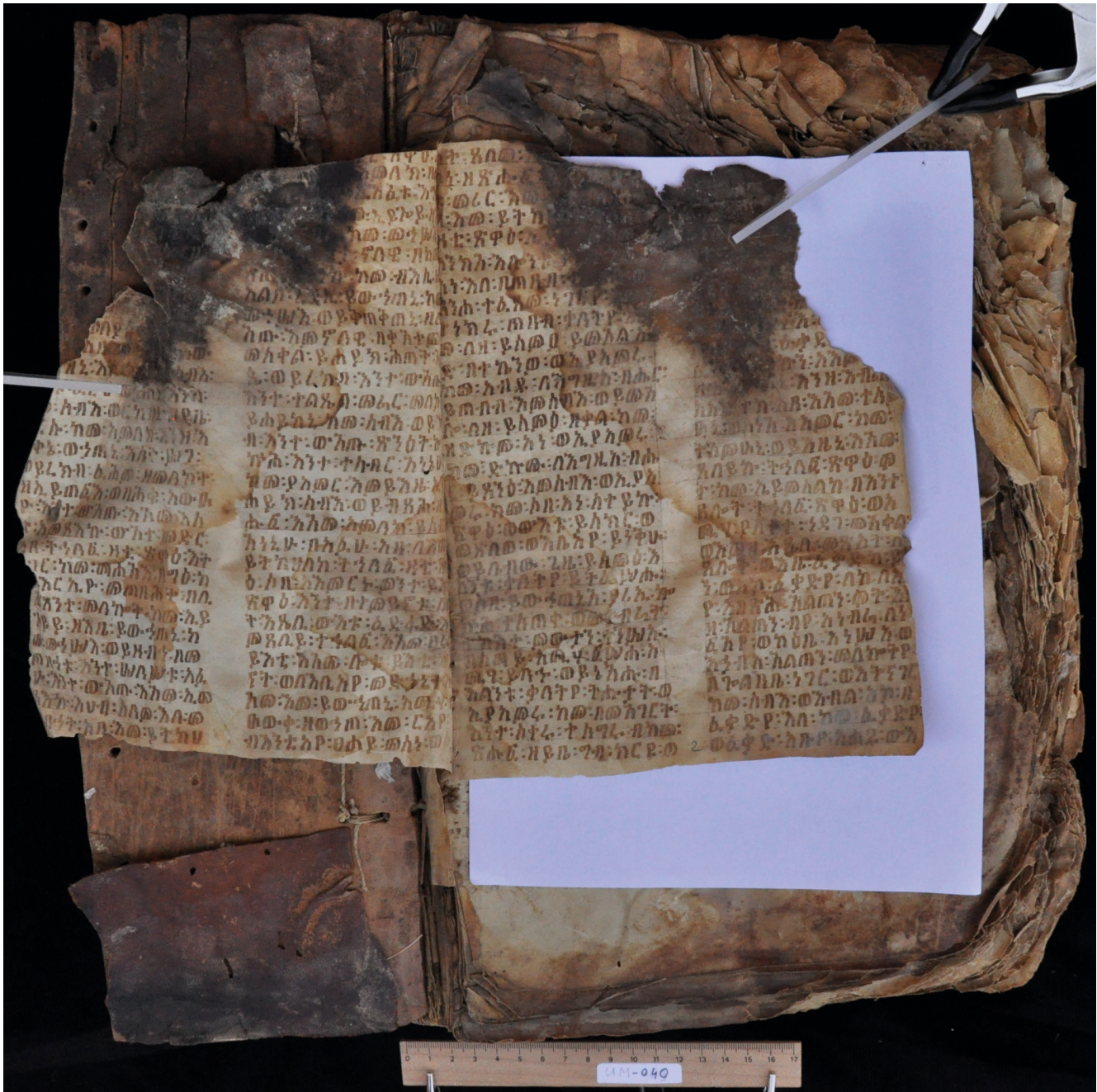


Fig. 1: Ethiopia, Tagrāy, 'Urā Masqal, Ethio-SPaRe UM-040, fols 1^r–2^r: opening of a bifolium of the pseudo-Chrysostomian homily *CPG* 4654 on Mt 26:39 ('Father, if it is possible, let this chalice pass away from me'), re-used as endleaves in a manuscript of the Octateuch.

aside from the question of their models and of the time of the translations from Arabic, there is now fresh evidence of the early translation of pseudo-Chrysostomian homilies, as it was surmised also in the past. I will briefly mention a few interesting case studies from the more recent past:

a. Manuscript 'Abbā Garimā III (carbon-14 dated to the fifth to sixth centuries) contains an 'Ethiopic Preface: On the Agreement of the Words of the Four Gospels', which is actually a homily of John Chrysostom, *Homilies on*

Matthew, 1, 5–10 (= *PG* 57, 13–18; see *CPG* 4424 *In Matthaeum homiliae* 1–90);⁴⁰

b. one more case is the endleaves of one of the oldest biblical Octateuchs – *Orit* in the Ethiopic tradition – known

⁴⁰ See McKenzie et al. 2016, 217–220.

so far, manuscript UM-040:⁴¹ fols 1–4 are endleaves in J. Peter Gumbert’s terminology; they are written in two different hands, probably earlier than that of the Octateuch. One hand, on fols 1–2 (2 cols, 29–31 ll.), exhibits a very archaic writing with noteworthy palaeographical peculiarities (Fig. 1).⁴² Fols 1–2 contain approximately half of the homily attributed to John Chrysostom, on Jesus’ words in Mt 26:39 (‘Father, if it is possible, let this chalice pass away from me’): the words are not interpreted as an expression of fear but as having a hidden theological meaning. The homily (CPG 4654; cf. Proverbio 1998, 71–72 and 104) was included in the *Gəbra ḥəmāmāt* or *Homiliary for the Passion Week*, among the readings for Good Friday.⁴³ The Octateuch is probably the oldest known manuscript containing the homily, which is also attested (among others) in manuscript EMML no. 1763, fols 204^{vb}–209th (no. 41), dating to 1336/1337 or 1339/1340.

- c. In a recent article, Fr. Maximous el-Antony, Jesper Blid and Aaron Michael Butts have provided carbon-14 datings of an Ethiopic manuscript leaf found *in situ* in the original archaeological context during excavations at the monastery of St Antony at the Red Sea: 1185–1255 (68.2%) and 1160–1265 (95.4%).⁴⁴ Besides the two ‘Abbā Garimā manuscripts,⁴⁵ this is the third Ethiopic manuscript ever to have been carbon-14 dated. The manuscript leaf certainly contains a homily *On silence* attributed to John Chrysostom and also known from later monastic collections.⁴⁶ The name of a ‘John metropolitan (*pāpās*)’, can be also read in the fragmentary leaf, which is of paper. As the editors state,

The fragment from the Monastery of St Antony, and especially its witness to ‘On Silence’ by (Pseudo-) John Chrysostom, prompts us to augment this picture. If ‘On Silence’ was translated directly from Greek, then it adds another text to the very small corpus of Ethiopic literature from the Aksumite period. If ‘On Silence’ was translated from Arabic, then it pushes the translations from Arabic into Ethiopic to before the Solomonic period. It is of course also possible that ‘On Silence’ is an Ethiopic composition, pseudonymously associated with John Chrysostom, which would make it the first such piece that could be dated to before the Solomonic period.⁴⁷

- d. A new promising field of investigation in the research on homiletic works appears to be Ethiopic palimpsest manuscripts. Ethiopic palimpsests were noticed a long time ago, for example manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Éthiopien d’Abbadie 191, but no systematic research was carried out so far. The manuscript Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung, Peterm. II Nachtr. 24⁴⁸ was investigated in 2016 within the framework of the DFG project ‘Textkritische Ausgabe und Übersetzung des 1 Henoch’, directed by Loren Stuckenbruck. Multi-spectral imaging has revealed ‘fragments from at least nine earlier codices’ containing Old Testament Apocrypha and a lectionary, a homiliary and multiple hagiographical codices from the fourteenth century and before, with texts containing archaic linguistic features attested in only the earliest layers of Ethiopic material evidence, thus confirming the archaic character of Ethiopic homiletic collections.⁴⁹

⁴¹ Also documented and microfilmed by Jacques Mercier in 1999, described by the author, later digitised by Antonella Brita and later digitised again and re-catalogued by the Ethio-SPaRe project.

⁴² The sixth order of *s* is the same as in the *Orit*; the fourth order is marked by a vertical stroke along the right leg of the letter, which however does not descend under the writing baseline; there is no vowel shift from *-a* to *-ā* in syllables ending in a laryngeal consonant; there are archaic *-e* endings instead of *-a* endings; the writing is very similar to that of manuscript EMML no. 8509, from Ṭānā Qirqos.

⁴³ See ‘Gəbrā ḥəmamat’, *EAE*, II (2005), 725b–728b (Zanetti); full text of the homily in Ethiopian Orthodox Church 1989–1990, 257a–262a; the passage in fols 1–2 of the Octateuch, on pp. 259b.13–262a.12: beginning and end are missing.

⁴⁴ See Maximous el-Antony et al. 2016.

⁴⁵ See McKenzie et al. 2016.

⁴⁶ See Maximous el-Antony et al. 2016, 33, n. 12, with reference to Arras 1963a, 174 (text), and Arras 1963b, 127–128 (Latin translation, no. 29).

⁴⁷ See Maximous el-Antony et al. 2016, 46. The conventional term ‘Solomonic period’ refers to the period starting with the purported ‘restoration’ of the dynasty founded by King Yəkunno ‘Amlāk (1270–1285), who allegedly claimed origin from King Solomon of Jerusalem.

⁴⁸ Described by Dillmann 1878, iii and 52–53 (no. 63), who detected a lower script dating to the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries for fols 8–107, also recorded as a palimpsest by Uhlig 1988, 233, see Bausi 2008, 542–543.

⁴⁹ Ted Erho has provided a few details of current work on Ethiopic palimpsests in the paper ‘Ethiopic Palimpsests and the Curious Case of Petermann II Nachtr. 24’, delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature held in Boston in 2017, followed by Loren Stuckenbruck’s paper on ‘The Recoverable Text to 1 Enoch in Petermann II Nachtrag 24’.



Fig. 2: Ethiopia, Wallo, Lālibalā, Beta Gabra'el church: wooden panel with the *incipit* of the *Sermo de transfiguratione* of Anastasius the Sinaite (CPG 7753).

e. One more interesting case is that of the *Sermo de transfiguratione* of Anastasius the Sinaite (CPG 7753), which is one of the most ancient attested homilies in Ethiopic.⁵⁰ What makes this case extremely peculiar and

⁵⁰ All CPG volumes and supplements published so far, besides the Greek, mention only the Arabic and Slavonic versions. For a recent study, while a critical edition also of the Greek text is still missing, see Bucur 2013.

actually unique is that the homily is attested written on wooden panels presently preserved in two churches of Lālibalā, where the panels have been variously reused (Fig. 2).⁵¹ There is some uncertainty about the exact number of the original panels – the homily is much longer than the fragments preserved – and their function, and even whether all of them attest the same text, due to the material loss they underwent,⁵² but the homily is explicitly attributed to Anastasius the Sinaite in the panel, which appears to contain the *incipit*. This set of wooden panels is contemporaneous with the period of King Lālibālā⁵³ and presumably dates to the early thirteenth century. Besides the material aspect of the transmission, what is extraordinary is the role that this homily plays in determining a large part of the artistic programme devised by the king, which centred on the theology of Transfiguration. The most advanced art historical studies carried out so far have reconnected architectural and pictorial motifs to the text of the homily, but have not considered the whole text of the Ethiopic version.⁵⁴ This text, however, appears to be preserved also in at least two later manuscripts, and the edition of this homily, which is an urgent desideratum, will illuminate an important episode of the cultural life of the early thirteenth century (Fig. 3).⁵⁵

5.3. Origins and geneses of the collections

The question of the *origins* and *geneses* of the earliest extant collections remains unanswered; we have, however, one pre-

⁵¹ Panels A, B and C are in Beta Gabra'el church and panel D is in Madhane 'Alam church, according to the last reliable description by Mercier and Lepage 2013, 206, n. 57.

⁵² The fragments consist all in all of 86 lines (A 13, B 26, C 19 and D 19), see Gigar Tesfaye and Pirenne 1984, 108–114, who provided the first edition.

⁵³ Lālibālā, not Lālibalā, is the correct spelling that should be observed. See Bausi 2018a, 441.

⁵⁴ See Mercier and Lepage 2013, 169–207, particularly 180–183 on the wooden panels.

⁵⁵ The edition is already being carried out. The two manuscripts were indicated by Lusini 1988a, 477, who did not reconnect them to the wooden panels of Lālibalā and did not give a CPG entry, but who provides other useful information on the Christian Arabic collection to which the two manuscripts are related: the Ethiopic manuscripts attesting the homily are London, British Library, Or. 774, of the fifteenth century (see Wright 1877, 227–229, no. 340, here p. 229), fols 157^r–165^v (no. 32), and Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung, Ms. orient. fol. 3075, of the sixteenth century (see Hammerschmidt and Six 1983, 296–301, no. 161, here p. 300), fols 133^{ab}–141^{ab} (no. 28). On the homilies see now Butts and Erho 2018.



Fig. 3: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung, Ms. orient. fol. 3075, fol. 133r: *incipit* of the *Sermo de transfiguratione* of Anastasius the Sinaite (CPG 7753).

cise case in which, for the absolutely first time, a manuscript from the church of ‘Urā Masqal⁵⁶ shows a textual phase earlier than that of the archaic homiletic collections. One text already known from archaic homiliaries, edited as the *Acts of Peter of Alexandria*, appears to have been excerpted from a larger historical narrative that is preserved in this manuscript: this points with clear evidence to the transmission processes by which the typology of the archaic homiletic collections, or at least some of their texts, emerged.

6. Brief conclusions

Being at the end of a long transmission chain, the Ethiopian literary tradition, in the course of its history from Late An-

⁵⁶ I learned of the manuscript from a 1999 documentation provided by Jacques Mercier, later digitised (among others) by Antonella Brita and finally by the Ethio-SPaRe project (digitised as manuscript UM-039), which also took care of its restoration.

tiquity to the Middle Ages and beyond, has received many collections in different arrangements as they were created or even organised within other traditions, but especially in the Christian Arabic one. This latter, in turn, collected different traditions depending directly or indirectly on the Greek, Syriac and Coptic domains.⁵⁷

1. Ethiopian homiletic collections therefore presumably reflect collections as they were originally organised, according to either *author*, *topics* or the *liturgical calendar*; all these possibilities are represented in Ethiopian manuscripts. This does not mean that no new collections were formed along these axes: this certainly happened, but it is much too early to present any systematic evaluation of which was the original contribution of Ethiopian collections in this domain.
2. The specific case, however, of excerpting short pieces to serve as homilies from longer hagiographical compositions should be remarked.⁵⁸ This process, in turn, is at times the result of more complex processes, since longer hagiographies are in some cases the expansion of an originally very short homiletic text: a case in point is the *Gadla Libānos* (*Acts of Libānos*), one of the oldest hagiographic texts known so far that is dedicated to an Ethiopian saint in the form of a *gadl*, the earliest recension of which is also attested in two of the *codices trigemini*, namely manuscripts EML nos 1763, fols 110^{rb}–113^{va}, and 8509, fols 43^r–45^v, plus manuscript EML no. 7602, fols 126^{ra}–128^{ra}.⁵⁹ There are several longer recensions of the *Gadla Libānos* that can be considered a variation on the theme of the shorter homily, which in turn is based upon the motifs of *Gadla Gabra Krastos*, i.e. the well-known *Life of St Alexis*.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ See Bausi 2018b for an overview on multilingualism and translations in late-antique Ethiopia.

⁵⁸ The inclusion of short notices in the *Synaxarion* is nothing but the last and most obvious phase of this development and trend, see Colin 1988, 310–314.

⁵⁹ The text was edited by Getatchew Haile 1990 from manuscripts EML nos 1763 and 7602; this short recension of the *Acts of Libānos* was not resumed in the edition and translation of the whole hagiographical dossier on St Libānos or Maṭā’ (see Bausi 2003a, 2003b), because the third manuscript witness, EML no. 8509, has not yet been accessible. For a synoptic presentation of the contents of the recensions, see Bausi 2003a, xxiv–xxvii.

⁶⁰ See Cerulli 1969a, 1969b.

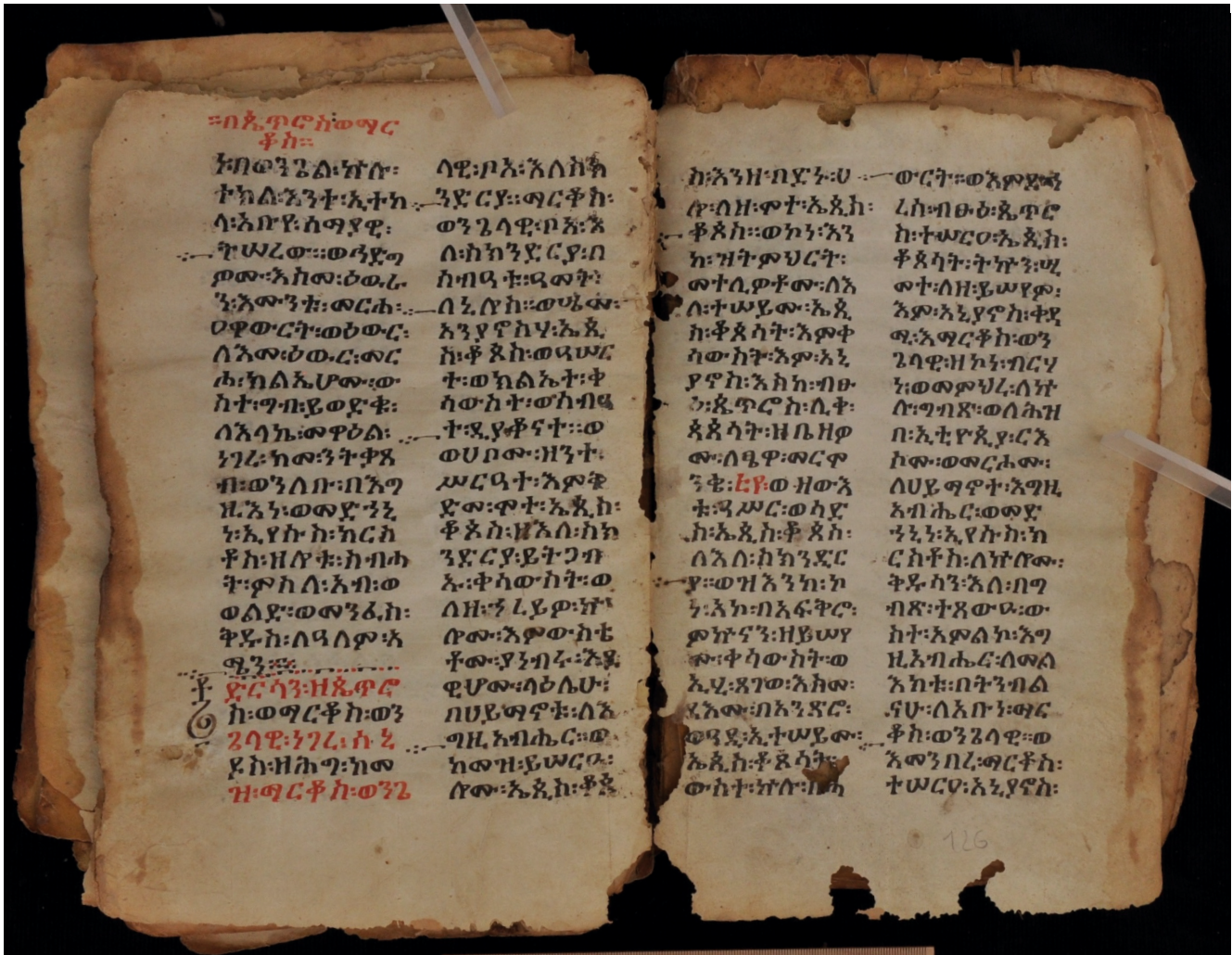


Fig. 4: Ethiopia, Tagrāy, 'Urā Masqal, Ethio-SPaRe UM-037, fols 125^v–126^r: incipit of the Acts of Peter or Homily on Peter (of Alexandria) and the Evangelist Mark.

3. The most remarkable case presented by the Ethiopian tradition is exemplified by the *Acts of St Peter of Alexandria*, as mentioned before. This is the only case researched so far for which the two forms of the same narrative documenting the origin and the process of excerpting of a homiletic piece are fully preserved and documented:

a. The textual form before the process of excerption took place, i.e. the continuum of the longer narrative of historiographical genre of the *History of the Episcopate of Alexandria* in the manuscript of the *Aksumite Collection* (a canonical-liturgical collection), all the more precious since the Greek text is lost and we have only a partial Latin version, in manuscript Ethio-SPaRe UM-039 as part of the *History of the Episcopate of Alexandria*, within the *Aksumite Collection*,⁶¹

⁶¹ See Bausi and Camplani 2016 for all details and complete references to date.

b. The textual form after the excerption as a shorter homily (a *darsān* as it is formally called), that was later included in the oldest homiletic liturgical collections attested since the thirteenth/fourteenth century at the latest, in manuscripts EMMML nos 1763 and 8509, and manuscript Ethio-SPaRe UM-037 (Fig. 4). That this is the case and not the other way around is explicitly stated at the beginning of the *Acts of Peter*, where the narrative of the homily (*darsān*) is given as from the ‘Synodicon of the (Christian) law’, *sinodos za-həgg*, which was probably also the name under which the *Aksumite Collection* was indicated.⁶²

⁶² See Getatchew Haile 1980, 88; and the new edition with consideration of manuscripts EMMML no. 8509 and Ethio-SPaRe UM-037, in Bausi and Camplani 2016, 266, apparatus, with a presumably reconstructed text as follows: *darsān zaṗetros wamāriqos* (archaic form for *Mārḳos*, see Bausi 2012, 64, § 24, and Bausi 2015b, 125, § 5, commentary) *wangelāwi nagara sinodos zahəgg kamazā*, ‘Homily on Peter and the Evangelist Mark, narrative of the Synodicon of the Law, as follows’.

This is formidable evidence of how elements of the late antique Ethiopian (Aksumite) heritage, almost certainly translated from Greek *Vorlagen*, were re-used in later times in the form of short homilies, in this case starting from a historiographical text, and served in the liturgical service as a *darsān*: probably a good example of what Arnaldo Momigliano, in his celebrated essay on the ‘caduta senza rumore dell’impero’ (‘fall of the empire without noise’), though in another context, called the ‘sacralizzazione della retorica’ (‘the sanctification of the rhetoric’).⁶³ Moreover, this case alerts our attention to further possible cases for which we lack the documentation of the earlier and later textual phase.

7. Appendices

7.1. The state of research on manuscript EMLL no. 1763

As appears from what I have shown, the remarkable manuscript EMLL no. 1763 plays an important role in research on Ethiopic archaic homiliaries. Getatchew Haile described it thoroughly in the EMLL catalogue published in 1981⁶⁴ and already started to publish a few selected pieces. Since the manuscript has been frequently studied since then, I would like to provide here a synopsis of all the pieces that have been published to my knowledge, arranged in the sequence of texts in the manuscript. Note that among the 280 leaves of the manuscript, only 20% of the whole homiliary has been published so far.

Fols 10^{rb}–14^{ra}: *Homily by Minās, Metropolitan of Aksum, for the feast day of the Cross*: ed. and tr. in Getatchew Haile 2017a, 112–125 (§ 3.1.1), along with manuscript Ethio-SPaRe UM-045, fols 77^r–78^v, 12^r–15^v, 76^v and 75^r; probably the same text as in manuscript EMLL 8509, fols 4^r–6^v (no. 2).

Fols 14^{ra}–15^{va}: *Homily by James of Sarug, ‘for (the feast of) the Cross’*: ed. and tr. in Getatchew Haile 2017a, 126–129 (§ 3.2.1).

Fols 15^{va}–23^{ra}: *Anonymous Homily on the Appearance of the Image of the Cross to Caesar Constantine*: ed. and tr. in Getatchew Haile 2017a, 130–149 (§ 3.3.1), along with manuscript Ethio-SPaRe UM-030, fols 29^{rv}, 31^{rv}, 28^{rv} and 35^{rv}.

Fols 23^{ra}–27^{ra}: *Anonymous Homily on the Finding of the True Cross, for the feast day of Saint Helen*: ed. and tr. in Getatchew Haile 2017a, 150–161 (§ 3.4.1), along with manuscripts Ethio-SPaRe UM-037, fols 115^r–116^v and UM-045, fols 75^{rv}–79^{rv}; probably the same text as in manuscript EMLL 8509, fols 6^v–9^v (no. 3).

Fols 34^{vb}–35^{vb}: *Anonymous Homily in Honor of King ‘Ella ‘Aṣḥaba of Aksum*: ed. and tr. in Getatchew Haile 1981a.

Fols 36^{vb}–37^{va}: *Homily by Minās, Metropolitan of Aksum, on ‘Abbā Yoḥanni*: see Nosnitsin 2018, 299–300; probably the same text as in manuscript EMLL 8509, fols 16^r–17^r (no. 6).

Fols 37^{va}–48^{va}: *Homily on the Sabbaths by Rātu‘a Haymānot*: ed. and tr. in Lusini 1988b; additional remarks in Lusini 1989; re-edited in Lusini 1993, 130–175; see further remarks in Bausi 2006, 535.

Fols 79^{rb}–80^{va}: *The Acts of St Peter of Alexandria*: ed. and tr. in Getatchew Haile 1990; re-edited and collated with manuscripts EMLL no. 8509, fols 21^{rb}–22^{rb}, and Ethio-SPaRe UM-037, along with the manuscript of the *Aksumite Collection* (manuscript Ethio-SPaRe UM-039) in Bausi and Camplani 2016.

Fols 84^{va}–86^{ra}: *Homily on Frumentius*: ed. and tr. in Getatchew Haile 1979; see also Villa 2017; the same text as in manuscript EMLL 8509, fols 22^r–23^r (no. 10).

⁶³ See Momigliano 1973, 407, ‘la vecchia retorica si sacralizza e si avvicina al miracolo’ (‘the old rhetoric is sanctified and comes close to the miracle’).

⁶⁴ See Getatchew Haile and Macomber 1981, 218–231.

- Fols 110^{ra}–113^{va}: *Homily of 'Abbā 'Elāyās, Bishop of Aksum on Maṭā'*: ed. and tr. in Getatchew Haile 1990; see also Bausi 2003a, xxiv; the same text as in manuscript EMLL 8509, fols 43^r–45^v (no. 19).
- Fols 123^{rb}–124^{va}: *Treatise by Athanasius of Alexandria on the Incarnation*: ed. and tr. in Getatchew Haile 2017b, 73–82.
- Fols 164^{rb}–166^{vb}: *Anonymous Homily on the Finding of the True Cross, for 10 Maggābit*: ed. and tr. in Getatchew Haile 2017a, 162–171 (§ 3.5.1), along with manuscript Ethio-SPaRe UM-050, fols 150^r–152^r; probably the same text as in manuscript EMLL 8509, fols 79^r–81^r (no. 33).
- Fols 167^{ra}–169^{vb}: *Homily by John (Chrysostom), for 12 Maggābit*: ed. and tr. in Getatchew Haile 2017a, 172–181 (§ 3.6.1).
- Fols 169^{vb}–171^{ra}: *Anonymous Homily on the Holy Wood of the Cross, for 27 Maggābit*: ed. and tr. in Getatchew Haile 2017a, 182–187 (§ 3.7.1).
- Fols 201^{vb}–204^{vb}: *Easter Homily by Philo of Carpasia*, ed. and tr. in Raineri and Tedros Abraha 2003, along with manuscript BL Or. 8192, fols 72^{va}–77^{ra}; see also Voicu 2004; probably the same text as in manuscript EMLL 8509, fols 99^r–102^r (no. 40).⁶⁵
- Fols 224^{rb}–227^{ra}: *The Acts of St Mark*: ed. and tr. in Getatchew Haile 1981b; re-edited with remarks by Lusini 2009, also on the basis of a further manuscript witness, Pistoia, Biblioteca Forteguerriana, Martini et. 5 (= Zanutto no. 2), fols 82^{rb}–89^{rb}; see also Lusini 2002a, 2006; on manuscript Martini et. 5, see Lusini 2002b, 171–176, and Mazzei 2017. The emergence of further manuscripts makes a new edition of this text an urgent desideratum.
- Fols 258^{rb}–259^{rb}: *Homily of Lulāyānos, Bishop of Aksum, on the Holy Fathers*: ed. and tr. in Getatchew Haile 1985, along with manuscript BL Or. 8192, fols 119^{vb}–120^{vb}; probably the same text as in manuscript EMLL 8509, fols 139^r–140^v (no. 49).
- Fols 270^{vb}–272^{ra}: *XIV Cathedral Homily of Severos of Antioch*: see Proverbio 2001, 518, along with manuscripts EMLL 8509, fols 151^v–153^r (no. 52), and BL, Or. 8192, fols 134^{rb}–136^{rb}.

7.2. *A review of the occurrences of CPG and BHG references in the Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*

'Anaphoras', *EAE*, I (2003), 251a–253b (Habtemichael Kidane) (CPG 1737, 1732, 1743); 'Athanasius', *EAE*, I (2003), 392a–393b (Witakowski) (CPG 2101, 2122); 'Didasqalya', *EAE*, II (2005), 154a–155a (Bausi) (CPG 1730, 1731, 1735, 1738); 'Ephesus, Councils of', *EAE*, II (2005), 329a–331a (Bausi) (CPG 8620–8867, 8910–8941, but identified in Ethiopic 8744); 'Epiphanius of Salamis', *EAE*, II (2005), 336a–338a (Witakowski) (CPG 3744–3807, but no specific identification in Ethiopic); 'Eusebios of Caesarea', *EAE*, II (2005), 454a–456a (Fiaccadori) (CPG 3465 plus others, but not in Ethiopic); 'Eusebios of Herakleia', *EAE*, II (2005), 456a–b (Fiaccadori) (CPG 6143); 'Evagrius', *EAE*, II (2005), 457a–459a (Bausi) (CPG 2430–2482, but identified are only 2451, 2435, 2481, 2447, 2452, 2430); 'Gregentius', *EAE*, II (2005), 889b–891a (Fiaccadori) (CPG 7008, 7009); 'Gregory of Nazianzos', *EAE*, II (2005), 891a–892b (Witakowski) (CPG 3010, 3032 plus unidentified 3010–3125); 'Gregory of Nyssa', *EAE*, II (2005), 892b–894a (Witakowski) (CPG 3158, 3161 plus unidentified 3135–3226); 'Ḥaṣurā Māsḡāl', *EAE*, II (2005), 1045a–1046a (Bogdan Burtea and editorial board) (CPG 4525); 'Heraclius', *EAE*, III (2007), 14a–15a (Basil Lourié and Fiaccadori) (CPG 7793); 'Hippolytus', *EAE*, III (2007), 35a–36b (Bausi) (CPG 1742, 1872, 1925 = 4611); 'Historiography', *EAE*, III (2007), 40b–45b (Sevir Chernetsov and editorial board) (CPG 1641, 1667); 'John the Baptist (in Ethiopian literature)', *EAE*, III (2007), 288b–291b (Bausi) (possibly to be identified, CPG 4518, 4521, 4570, 4656, 4736, 4859, 4862, 4867, 4913, 4914, 4929, 4935, 5023, 5150, 5175; certainly identified CPG 4522, 5150, 7385, Suppl. 5150.3); 'John Chrysostom', *EAE*, III (2007), 293a–295b (Witakowski) (51 different

⁶⁵ I base this indication on Sergew Hable Selassie 1988, 73, but note that Voicu 2004, 5, n. 3, gives fols 92–105, I do not know exactly on which basis.

entries; *CPG* 4305, 4334, 4336, 4342, 4440, 4519, 4522, 4525, 4560, 4570, 4580, 4588, 4602, 4654, 4681, 5190.6, 5190.8, 5832, 7385, extensively based on Proverbio 1998; note that Witakowski 2008, 223 states that no Ethiopic version of Chrysostom's homily is mentioned in *CPG*; 'Melchizedek', *E Ae*, III (2007), 914b–916b (Bausi) (*CPG* 2252, spuriously attributed to Athanasius); 'Nestorius', *E Ae*, III (2007), 1169a–1171a (Fiaccadori) (*CPG* 5665–5676 and Suppl. p. 368, but no identification); 'Qerellos', *E Ae*, IV (2010), 287a–290a (Bausi) (*CPG* 1764, 3765, 3744, 4206, 5218, 5219, 5228, 5249, 5250, 5260, 5280, 5339, 5792, 5800, 6121 (only in Ethiopic), 6127, 6145 (only in Ethiopic), 6132, 6143, 6310, 6486, 6712, Suppl. no. 5246); 'Qwəsqaṃ (Koskam, Kōskam) in Ethiopian tradition', *E Ae*, IV (2010), 318a–b (Bausi) (*CPG* 2628); 'Särgis Abərgawi', *E Ae*, IV (2010), 540a–542a (Bausi) (*CPG* 7793); 'Senodos', *E Ae*, IV (2010), 623a–625a (Bausi) (*CPG* 2520); 'Testamentum Domini', *E Ae*, IV (2010), 927a–928b (Bausi) (*CPG* 1743); 'Theodosios of Alexandria', *E Ae*, IV (2010), 943b–944a (Witakowski) (*CPG* 7130–7132, 7134–7159, plus more with no correspondence); 'Theodotos of Ankyra', *E Ae*, IV (2010), 944b–945b (Witakowski) (*CPG* 6126, 6127, 6132); 'Theophilos of Alexandria', *E Ae*, IV (2010), 947b–948b (Witakowski) (*CPG* 2589, 2628); 'Timothy of Alexandria', *E Ae*, IV (2010), 961a–963a (Witakowski) (*CPG* 2520, 5476, 5477, 5482, 5490); 'Traditio apostolica', *E Ae*, IV (2010), 980a–981b (Bausi) (*CPG* 1730 ff. esp. 1737); 'Cyriacus of Jerusalem', *E Ae*, I (2003), 843b–844a (Lourié) (*BHG* 465); 'Gregentius', *E Ae*, II (2005), 889b–891a (Fiaccadori) (*BHG* 705, 706d, 706h–i = *CPG* 7009); 'Särgis Abərgawi', *E Ae*, IV (2010), 540a–542a (Bausi) (*BHG* 1322^m, 1322^{mb}); 'Theophilus the Indian', *E Ae*, IV (2010), 530a–531b (Fiaccadori) (*BHG*³ 167, 166z).

ABBREVIATIONS

BHG = François Halkin and Socii Bollandiani, *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*, I–III; *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca: Auctarium*; *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca: Novum Auctarium* (Subsidia Hagiographica 8a, 47, 65) (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1957, 1969, 1984).

CPG = Maurits Geerard, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, I: *Patres antenicaeni, schedulis usi quibus rem paravit F. Winkelmann*; II: *Ab Athanasio ad Chrysostomum*; III: *A Cyrillo Alexandrino ad Iohannem Damascenum*; IV: *Concilia Catenae*; V: *Indices, initia, concordantiae*; Maurits Geerard and Jacques Noret, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum: Supplementum*; Jacques Noret, *Clavis patrum Graecorum*, IIIA: *A Cyrillo Alexandrino ad Iohannem Damascenum, addenda* (Corpus Christianorum) (Turnhout: Brepols, 1983, 1974, 1979, 1980, 1983, 1987, 1998, 2003).

E Ae = Siegbert Uhlig (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, I: *A–C*, II: *D–Ha*, III: *He–N*; Siegbert Uhlig in cooperation with Alessandro Bausi (eds), IV: *O–X*; Alessandro Bausi in cooperation with Siegbert Uhlig (eds), V: *Y–Z, Supplementa, Addenda et Corrigenda, Maps, Index* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2010, 2014).

EMML = Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa and Collegeville, Minnesota, Hill Monastic Microfilm Library.

PG = Jacques-Paul Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca* (Paris: Migne, 1857–1866).

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Article

Cod. Vind. georg. 4 – An Unusual Type of *Mravaltavi*

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In his short catalogue of the collection of Georgian manuscripts in the Austrian National Library of Vienna, Grigol Peradze stated in 1940:¹ ‘Unter den Wienerhss. sind vor allem zwei von der allergrößten Bedeutung, Nr. 2 und 4. [...] Nr. 4 ist eine ausschließlich patristische Hs. Sogar das an georgischen Hss. reiche Altertumsmuseum in Tphilisi besitzt nicht viele solche Texte.’ In a footnote, the author added: ‘Eine solche Hs. heißt bei den georgischen Gelehrten *Mravalthawi* (= etwa πολυκέφαλος Βίβλος).’² The term *mravaltavi*, for the first time introduced into German scientific literature by Peradze in the given context, is peculiar indeed, and its application to the Cod. Vind. georg. 4, which will be dealt with below, remains problematical. To illustrate this, it is appropriate to start with some general observations concerning the type of ‘πολυκέφαλος Βίβλος’ Peradze alluded to.

1. The Georgian *mravaltavis*

The first extensive study of the codices of patristic content that are termed *mravaltavi* in the Georgian tradition was published by Michel Van Esbroeck in his thesis of 1975, who defined a *mravaltavi* as ‘un équivalent assez approchant des homéliaires grecs’ and added: ‘Conçus pour donner les lectures de la tradition aux fêtes du Seigneur et de la Vierge, ce type de collection a pour armature l’année mobile...’³ Van Esbroeck’s definition was based upon a thorough analysis of six codices from the ninth to tenth centuries, plus a fragment from approximately the seventh century preserved

in palimpsest form. The seven witnesses referred to by Van Esbroeck are:⁴

Siglum	stands for	present location	shelf mark ⁵	date
A	Athos	Ivion Monastery	Ivir-11	10 th c.
S	Sinai	St Catherine’s Monastery	Sin-32-57-33 (+ N 89)	864
T	Tbeti	Tbilisi, KKNCM	A-19	10 th c.
P	Parxali	Tbilisi, KKNCM	A-95	10 th c.
U	Udabno	Tbilisi, KKNCM	A-1109	9 th –10 th cc.
K	Klaržeti	Tbilisi, KKNCM	A-144	10 th c.
F	Fragment	Tbilisi, KKNCM	S-3902	c.7 th c.

Of the seven prototypical *mravaltavis*, three have been edited *in toto* (S, U and K);⁶ only partial editions exist of the others (A, T, P, and F).⁷ For the sake of easy reference, a short description of each of them may suffice here.

1.1 Together with that of Parxali (‘P’), the ‘Athos’ *mravaltavi* (Ivir-11, ‘A’), which Van Esbroeck took as the basis for his

¹ ‘Two of the Viennese manuscripts are of particular importance: no. 2 and no. 4. [...] No. 4 is a patristic manuscript. Even Tbilisi’s Antiquities Museum, which possesses a wealth of Georgian manuscripts, has very few texts of this kind.’ Peradze 1940, 220. The author, canonised as a saint of the Orthodox Church since 1995, was a professor of Patrology at the University of Warsaw from 1933 onwards until he was killed by the Nazis in Auschwitz on 6 December 1942.

² ‘Georgian scholars call a manuscript of this type *Mravalthawi* (= approximately πολυκέφαλος Βίβλος).’ Peradze 1940, 220 n. 3.

³ Van Esbroeck 1975, 5; cf. also Gippert 2016, 47.

⁴ In the Table, KKNCM stands for the Korneli Kekelidze National Centre of Manuscripts, Tbilisi; A- (in A-19 etc.) and S- (in S-3902) refer to the different collections in the Centre. To avoid misunderstandings, the numbers of manuscripts pertaining to the individual collections are connected to the respective sigla with a hyphen (e.g., A-19 for the *Tbeti mravaltavi*), whereas the individual texts in the seven *mravaltavis* are indicated by numbers connected to the respective sigla without a hyphen (e.g., A 1 for the first text in ‘A’ = Ivir-11).

⁵ For the sake of brevity, ‘Ivir-’ refers to the Georgian manuscripts of the Ivion Monastery on Mt Athos (‘Ivir. georg.’), ‘Sin-’ to the Georgian manuscripts of St Catherine’s Monastery on Mt Sinai (‘Sin. georg.’), ‘Jer-’ to the Georgian manuscripts of the Greek Patriarchate in Jerusalem (‘Jer. georg.’), and ‘Kut-’ to the manuscripts of the Kutaisi State Historical Museum in the present article.

⁶ For S: Šaniže 1959; for U: Šaniže et al. 1994; for K: Mgaloblišvili 1991.

⁷ For A: Maisuraze et al. 1999; for T and P: Abulaže 1944; for F: Šaniže 1927, re-edited in Molitor 1956, 65–90, and Gippert 2017. For editions of individual texts or text groups, cf. below.

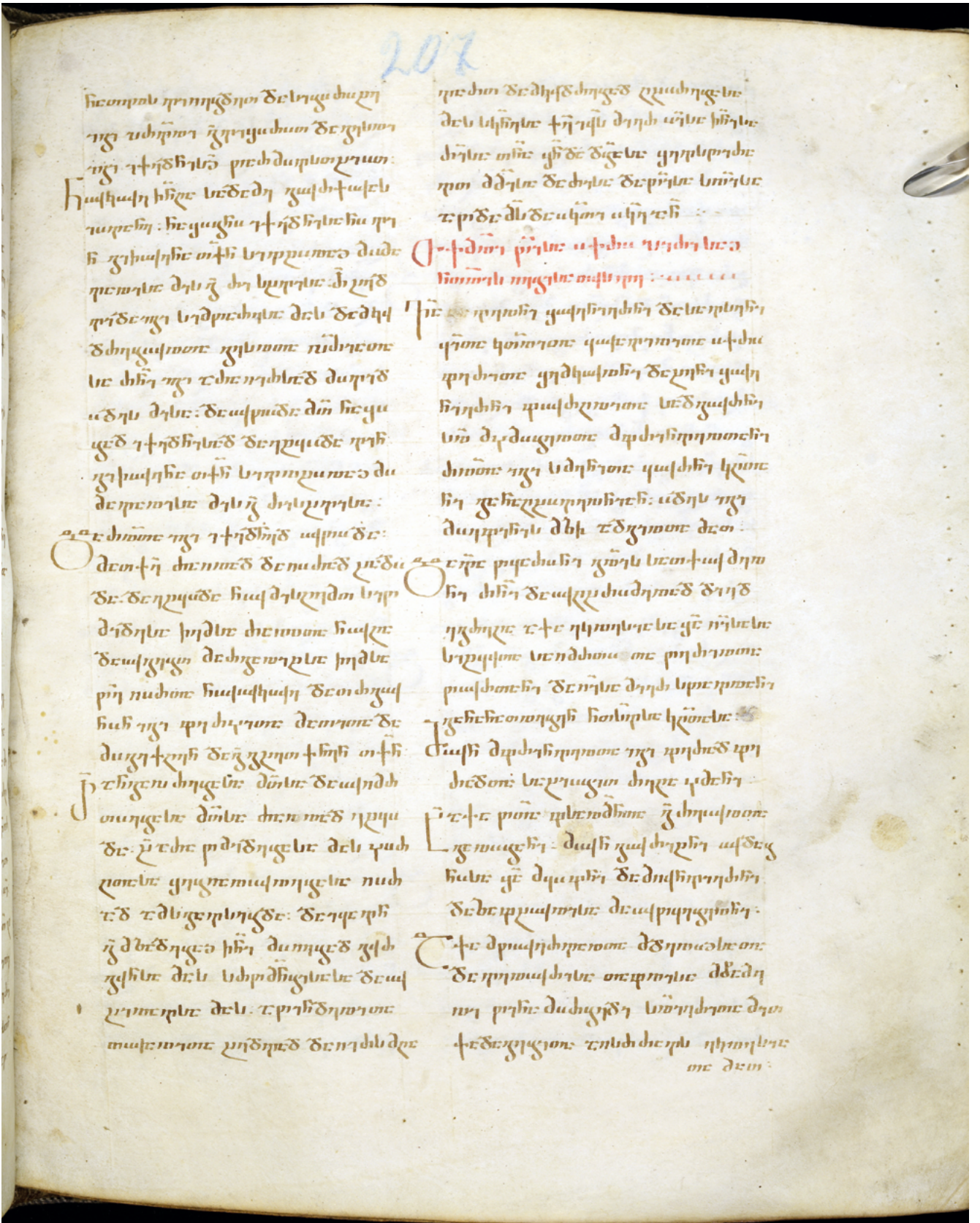


Fig. 1: Mt Athos, Iviron Monastery, georg. 11 (the Athos *mrvaltavi*), fol. 207' (texts nos 72 and 73).

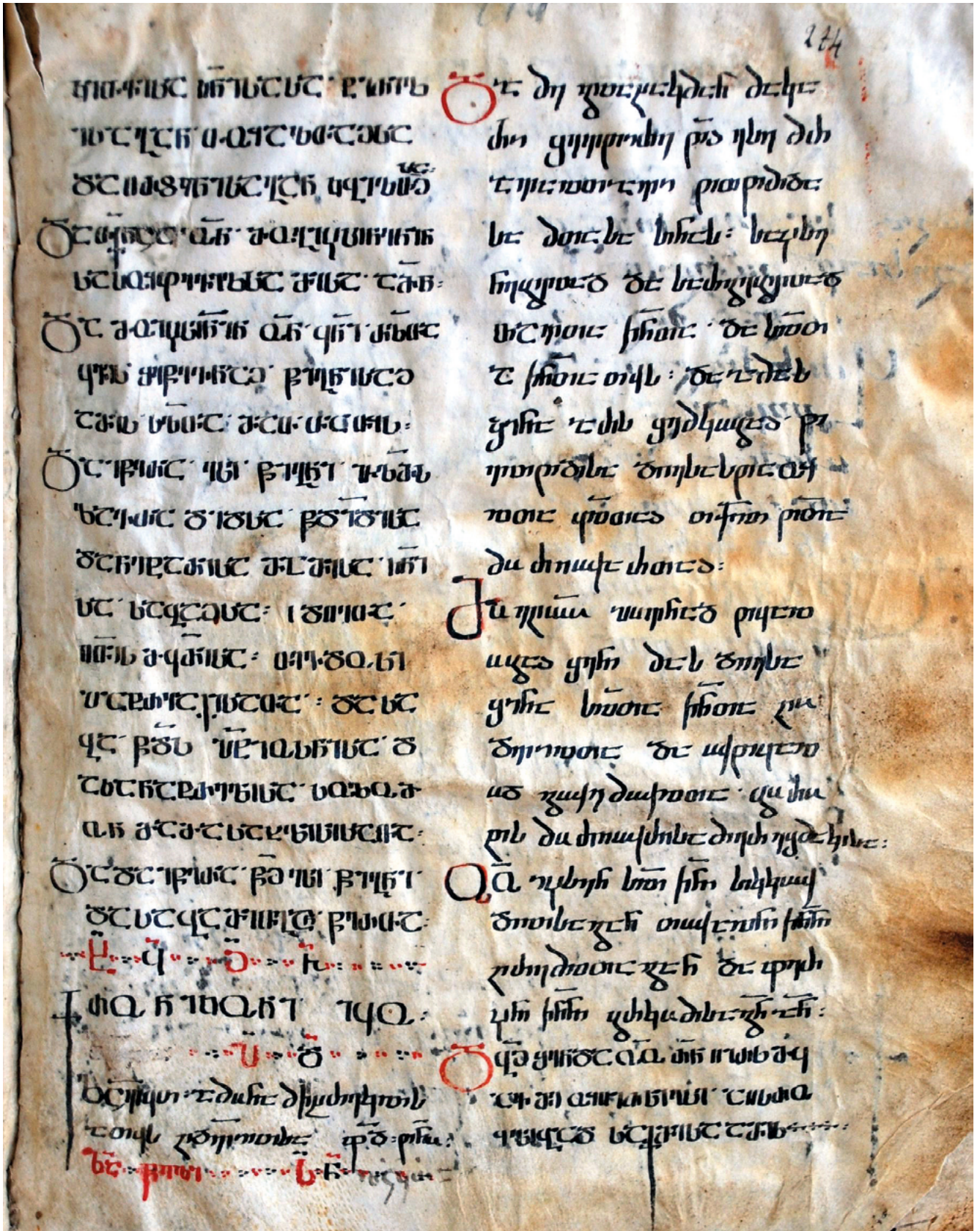


Fig. 2: Mt Sinai, St Catherine's Monastery, georg. 32-57-33 + N 89 (the Sinai mrvaltavi), fol. 274r (scribe's colophon).

investigation, is the most comprehensive. On its 292 folios written in tenth-century minuscules (the so-called *nuskhuri* script; see Fig. 1), it contains a total of 94 texts, beginning with a sermon on the Annunciation by Gregory of Nyssa (*recte* Gregory of Neocaesarea, the Miracle Worker; *CPG* 1775) and ending with Basil of Caesarea's homily on Lent (*CPG* 2845). The codex contains no colophon, so that its original provenance and date remain uncertain.

1.2 The 'Sinai' *mravaltavi* ('S') is the oldest Georgian codex with an exact dating. According to its scribe's colophon (Fig. 2), it was written in 864 in the Great Laura of St Sabbas in Palestine before it was donated to St Catherine's Monastery on Mt Sinai. It long ago fell into three parts registered separately under the shelf marks Sin. georg. 32, 57 and 33; recently, a fragment from the 'New Finds' of 1975 (Sin. georg. N 89, consisting of one bifoliate) has been identified as pertaining to it.⁸ On the 275 + 4 folios extant today (ca. 75 folios are still missing between fols 144^v and 145^r, i.e. texts no. S 26 and S 27), it contains a total of 50 texts, all written in ninth-century majuscules (the so-called *mrglovani* script), beginning with the same sermon on the Annunciation by Gregory of Neocaesarea (here named correctly) as 'A' and ending with the account of the martyrdom of the Fathers of Sinai and Raithu by Ammonius (*CPG* 6088).

1.3 The *mravaltavi* from Tbeti (A-19, 'T') in the former Georgian region Şavşeti in East Anatolia (now the province Şavşat of Turkey),⁹ often also styled the 'Svanetian' *mravaltavi* because it was found in Svanetia in the late nineteenth century,¹⁰ contains on its 242 folios a total of 79 texts, beginning with a sermon by Gregory of Nyssa¹¹ on the Annunciation (*CPG* 3214) and ending with the homily by Cyril of Jerusalem on the Apparition of the Holy Cross (*CPG* 3607). It is nearly *in toto* written in tenth-century *mrglovani* majuscules (cf. Fig. 3); only one quire (comprising fols 95–102) is in *nuskhuri* minuscules (cf. Fig. 4). This quire

was obviously inserted later; it contains a homily by Jacob of Sarug (or Batna) on the Annunciation and the Nativity (T 31), which does not exist in any of the other *mravaltavis* or in any other Georgian manuscript.¹²

1.4 The codex from Pařxali (A-95, 'P'), a monastery also located in former Şavşeti,¹³ is peculiar in that it consists of two clearly distinguishable parts, one comprising the *mravaltavi* proper (271 folios) and one a big collection of hagiographical texts mostly concerning female saints (378 folios). It is written in tenth-century minuscules throughout (cf. Fig. 5); for the *mravaltavi* part, Van Esbroeck lists a total of 99 texts,¹⁴ beginning with the same sermon on the Annunciation as in the Tbeti codex (*CPG* 3214) and ending with eight homilies that are ascribed to a bishop named John of Bolnisi (*Ioane Bolneli*), an autochthonous author allegedly of the eighth century (cf. below). Outside of the *mravaltavi* proper, the Pařxali codex includes the apocryphal letter of Dionysius Areopagita to Timothy on the martyrdom of SS Peter and Paul in Rome (*CPG* 6631; cf. Fig. 6), which is also contained in fragmentary form in the Tbeti *mravaltavi* (T 30), preceding the inserted homily by Jacob of Sarug (cf. Fig. 3). In the Pařxali codex, the letter is the second to last text of the hagiographical part today (fols 646^r–651^v); however, according to the first description of the codex, it used to follow closely after the end of the *mravaltavi* part (on fols 557–568, with only the legend of SS Euphemitus and Alexius¹⁵ interceding), so that it may once have belonged to it;¹⁶ in the present treatise, it is referred to as P 101.

¹² Cf. Pataridze 2008, 373–402. It is possible that the text, which is very different from the Syriac homily published by Bedjan 1902, 720–774, was translated from an Arabic version, as indicated by the name of the city of Sarug being spelt *sarozj* in the heading; nevertheless, Pataridze 2008, 386–388 argues for a Greek model.

¹³ The coordinates of the Pařxali Monastery (in Turkish *Barhal kilisesi*) are 40°58'12.9" N and 41°23'01.4" E; it is located in the present village of Altıparmak.

¹⁴ In Van Esbroeck's treatise, all cross-references to P under A 75 ff. are shifted downwards by one (P 91 instead of P 92 etc.); the error is repeated in Verhelst et al. 2015, 193 ff.

¹⁵ The text is published in Keçelize 1918, 161–165; for later text versions, cf. Gabiřaşvili 2004, 127 no. 55.

¹⁶ Cf. Žordania 1902–1903, I, 105, where the text is listed under number 96 but marked as 'гл. 100', i.e. the 100th chapter; Van Esbroeck's reference to 'P 100' (1975, 193 sub T 30) obviously refers to this. For the legend of Euphemitus and Alexius (*BHG* 51), cf. Keçelize 1918, XXXIV, XLIII and 161–165. For the present structure of A-95, see Bregaže et al. 1973, 391. The problem of the original order is related to the question of the provenance

⁸ Cf. Aleksidze et al. 2005, 150, 305, 432 and Gippert 2016, 57.

⁹ The coordinates of the Tbeti Monastery (in Turkish *Tibeti kilisesi*) are 41°18'16.3" N and 42°23'21.4" E; it is located in the present village of Cevizli.

¹⁰ See Gorgaže 1927, 1.

¹¹ The title is lost in 'T' but is present in 'S' (S 3). Here, the author is simply referred to as 'of the same' (also for the preceding homily, S 2), thus suggesting Gregory of Neocaesarea.

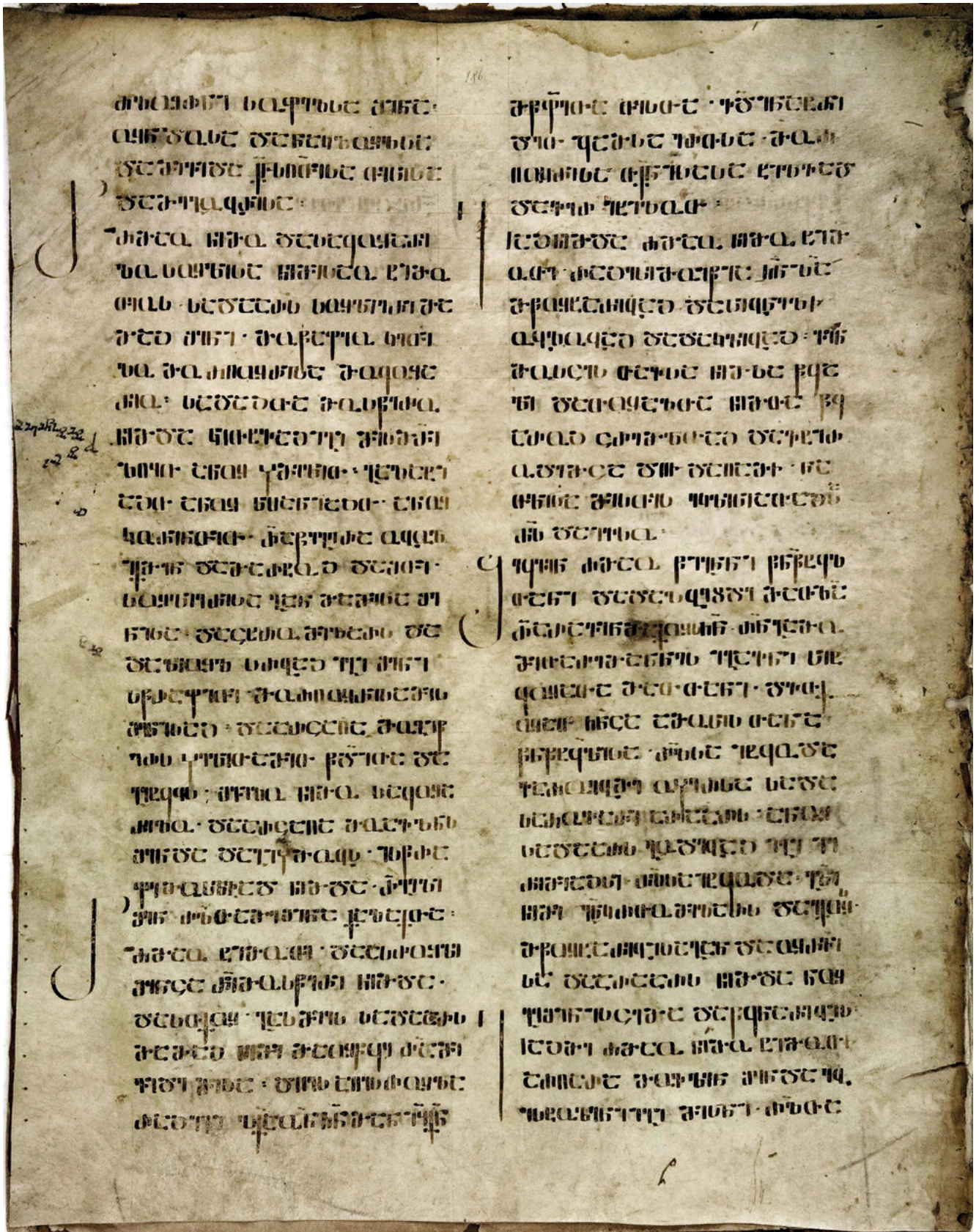


Fig. 3: Tbilisi, KKNCM, A-19 (the Tbeti mravaltavi), fol. 94r.

1.5 The Udabno *mravaltavi* (A-1109, ‘U’), which originated in the tenth century in the Monastery of Šatberdi, also in East Anatolia,¹⁷ has not been preserved in its entirety. On the 179 folios extant, it contains about 50 texts, beginning with (remnants of) the account of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste by Basil the Great (*CPG* 2863). The last text (U 46e), not attested in any other of the *mravaltavis*, has remained unidentified; in contrast to this, the second to last text (U 46d), a sermon attributed to John Chrysostom on the Decollation of St John the Baptist (*CPG* 4614), is also present in A (no. 53) and S (no. 37).

1.6 The K̄laržeti *mravaltavi* (A-144, ‘K’), from the same region as its name indicates, is acephalous, too. It begins, after a long lacuna, with six homilies by John of Bolnisi, all of them also figuring among the texts closing the P̄arxali *mravaltavi* (nos 92–98; cf. 1.4 above). On its 217 folios, it contains a total of 61 texts, ending with a homily on the Silence of Zacharias ascribed to Cyril of Jerusalem (*CPG* 3585.2:3). Of both U and K, there are no photographs available at present, but both have been published *in toto*.

1.7 The palimpsested fragment (‘F’), contained in the undertext of the lectionary manuscript S-3902 and written in *mrglovani* majuscules (cf. Figs 7¹⁸ and 8¹⁹), is by far the oldest representative of the *mravaltavi* type of Georgian homiliaries. It pertains to the *khanmeti* period, which covered roughly the time from the beginning of Georgian literacy in the fifth century up to the seventh century. Because of a few younger linguistic traits it contains,²⁰ F may be assigned to the end of that period. Of the fragmentary texts preserved in it, ten have been determined with certainty so far; all of them reappear, in linguistically developed form, in at least one of the later *mravaltavis*. Only parts of the palimpsest have been

of the chapter numbers and cannot be solved here. The first notice of the P̄arxali codex (Žanašvili 1897) does not mention the text.

¹⁷ Different from T̄beti and P̄arxali, the Monastery of Šatberdi has not yet been identified with certainty. Two locations have been proposed, one west of present-day Ardanuç (41°5’50” N and 41°55’20” E, near the present village of Okumuşlar), and one east of it (‘Rabat kilisesi’, 41°04’29.0” N and 42°09’56.3” E, in the present village of Bulanık). For a thorough discussion, cf. Pağava 2011, 58–68.

¹⁸ For a transcript of the lower text, see Gippert 2017, 917–927.

¹⁹ The image is wrongly assigned to ms. H-1329 in Karanaže et al. 2012, 137. For a transcript of the lower text, see Kažaia et al. 2017, 674.

²⁰ Cf. Gippert 2017, 911.

reconstructed thoroughly; further work on the remaining parts is a task of utmost importance indeed.

1.8 None of the texts contained in the *mravaltavis* appears in all of them, the maximum we find being two texts that are represented by six witnesses each. This is true, first of all, of the sermon on Baptism and the Precursor ascribed to John Chrysostom (*CPG* 4571), which occurs in F (no. 2) as well as A (no. 73), S (no. 14), T (no. 53), P (no. 40) and U (no. 5), only the K̄laržeti *mravaltavi* standing apart. All the younger *mravaltavis* share the homily by Cyril of Jerusalem on the Apparition of the Holy Cross (*CPG* 3607: A 58, S 42, T 79, P 75+76, U 13+14 and K 35); the fact that it is not attested in F may be due to the fragmentary state of the palimpsest, but it is not certain whether it was ever present in it. In some cases, F shares its texts with three of the later witnesses (F 1, a homily on the Nativity by John Chrysostom, *CPG* 4334, with A 8, T 7 and P 6; F 3, a sermon by Julian of Tabia on the Epiphany, *CPG* 6155, with A 14, T 54 and P 41; and F 4, a homily by John Chrysostom on Palm Sunday, *CPG* 4602, with A 21, S 24 and U20a). In some cases, an equivalent in S may have been lost in the big lacuna between S 26 and S 27 (F 8, a homily by John Chrysostom on the Footwashing on Maundy Thursday, *CPG* 4216, with A 78 and U 27; possibly also F 5, a homily by Hesychius of Jerusalem on the Resurrection, *CPG* 6581, with U 23; and F 6, a homily by John Chrysostom on the Council of the Pharisees, *CPG* 4640, with U 24a).²¹ For F 7, a homily by John Chrysostom on the Wednesday of the Holy Week (*CPG* 4579, with U 25), the counterpart may have fallen into a lacuna in both A and S (Van Esbroeck reconstructs A 27 for this). – Of the texts not contained in F, three are shared by five of the younger *mravaltavis*, viz. a homily attributed to John of Bolnisi on the Epiphany (*CPG* 5175.14: A 12, S 13, T 49, P 39, U 4), one by John Chrysostom on the same topic (*CPG* 5175.15: A 72, S 14, T 52, P 47, U 7), and the sermon by Cyril of Jerusalem on the Invention of the Clues (*CPG* 3608: A 59, S 43, P 77, U 15, K 36), which is usually joined to the sermon on the Apparition of the Holy Cross (see above) but missing in T.

²¹ This homily has been partly reconstructed in Gippert 2017.

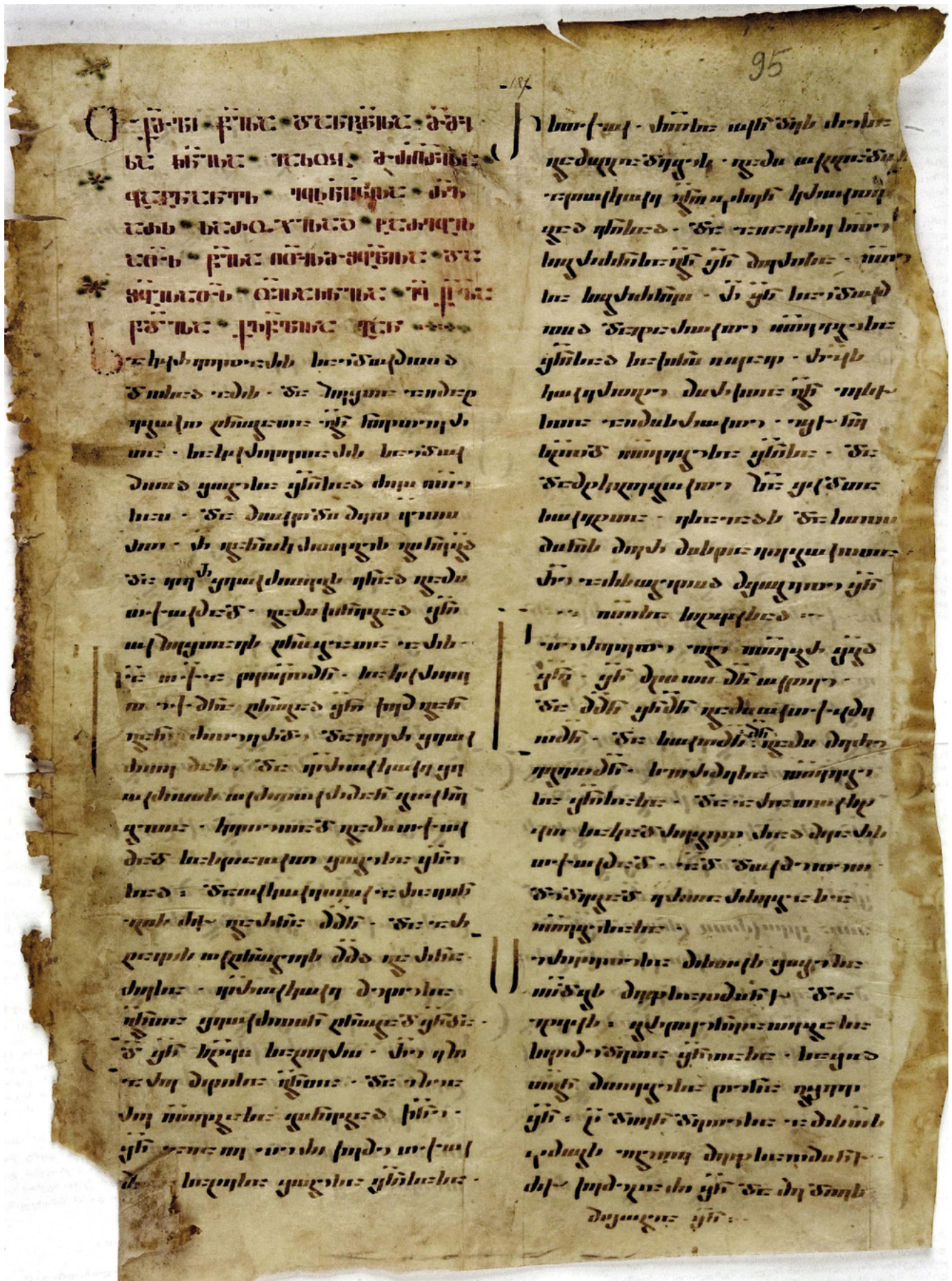


Fig. 4: Tbilisi, KKNCM, A-19 (the Tbeti mravaltavi), fol. 95^r.

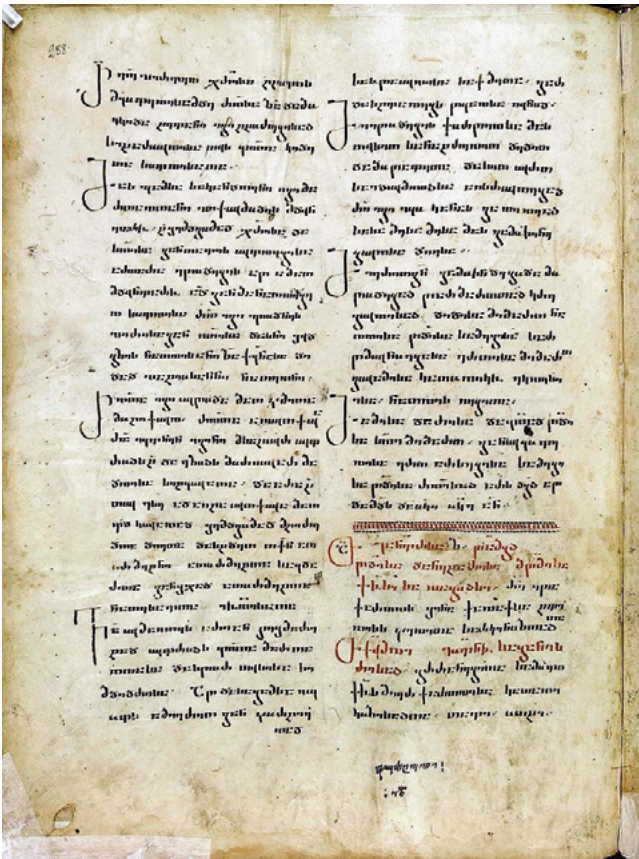


Fig. 5: Tbilisi, KKNCM, A-95 (the Parxali *mravaltavi*), fol. 145v.

1.9 Taking these cases individually, the picture of the interrelationship of the *mravaltavis* seems rather chaotic – this is at least the impression that Van Esbroeck’s treatise yields. However, if we try to draw the picture in a more systematic way regarding the topics and their arrangement in connection with the ecclesiastical year, several observations impose themselves that may be taken as indications of a common basic structure of the Georgian *mravaltavi* tradition.

1.9.1 First of all, we may state that the sequence of the texts in the *mravaltavis* most often coincides between A and S, T and P, U and K. In addition, A and S normally go together with either T and P or U and K. We further note obvious groupings of the contents in accordance with the ecclesiastical year, which may be regarded as a set of ‘cycles’; they begin with the Annunciation and the Nativity (contained in F, A, S, T, P but not in U, K), continuing with feasts of the Apostles at the end of December (S, T, P, not in A, U, K), feasts of January (St Basil, Epiphany; F, A, S, T, P, U, not in K), feasts of February and March, and Lent (A, S, P, U, not in T, K), the Holy Week, Eastertide and Pentecost

(F, A, S, U, K, not in T, P), feasts of May to December (A, S, U, K, inserted elsewhere in T, P) and the commemoration of Martyrs (A, S, T, P, not in U, K). In addition, there is another set of groupings recognisable that touches upon dates and feasts already covered by the first set or that is primarily hagiographical, thus revealing a secondary character; they concern Feasts of January (Epiphany; only in A, vs. S, T, P, U, K where the texts in question are contained in the January cycle of the first set), Saints of January (St Anthony etc., but also the autochthonous St Habo of Tbilisi; T, P, U), Lent (homilies by John of Bolnisi; A, P, K) and a miscellany of other topics (A, U, partially T, P). We further note that there is a steady increase of items per cycle in accordance with the date of the *mravaltavi* in question, with F and S being much poorer than A, and T, P, U and K abounding in their respective domains.

1.9.2 Regarding the parallelisms, we note first of all that A and S diverge in the cycle concerning the feasts of the Apostles at the end of December, which is not represented at all in A (vs. S, T and P).²² On the other hand, S does not share the secondary cycle concerning the Sundays of Lent, which is all represented by sermons of John of Bolnisi (in A, P and K); as a matter of fact, no sermon that is attributed to the autochthonous bishop is found in S. Another secondary cycle that S does not share with A is the ‘miscellaneous’ one that finishes A (with but few matches in T, P and U). Neither A nor S show any trace of the secondary cycle of Saints of January, well established in T, P and U; the fact that the Sinai *mravaltavi* does include, at its end, the sermon by Ammonius on the Martyrs of Sinai and Raithu, which was read on 13 January, is obviously due to ‘local’ necessities²³ and does not contradict this. Similar considerations may apply for the fact that the texts on the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste (*CPG* 2863 and *BHG* 1201) are found initially in U, not at the end of the cycle concerning February and Lent as in S and P. There are specific texts in the other *mravaltavis*, too, like the *Protoevangelium Jacobi* (*BHG* 1046) figuring only in A (no. 54, on 8 September, within the cycle of May to December)²⁴ and the two texts

²² It may be noted that most texts of this cycle are contained in another Athos manuscript (Ivir-8), also of East Anatolian provenance.

²³ Cf. Van Esbroeck 1975, 132.

²⁴ Cf. Van Esbroeck 1975, 276. For the *khanmeti* version of the Protoevangelium in the Vienna palimpsest Cod. Vind. georg. 2, see Gippert 2007, 5-1-26.

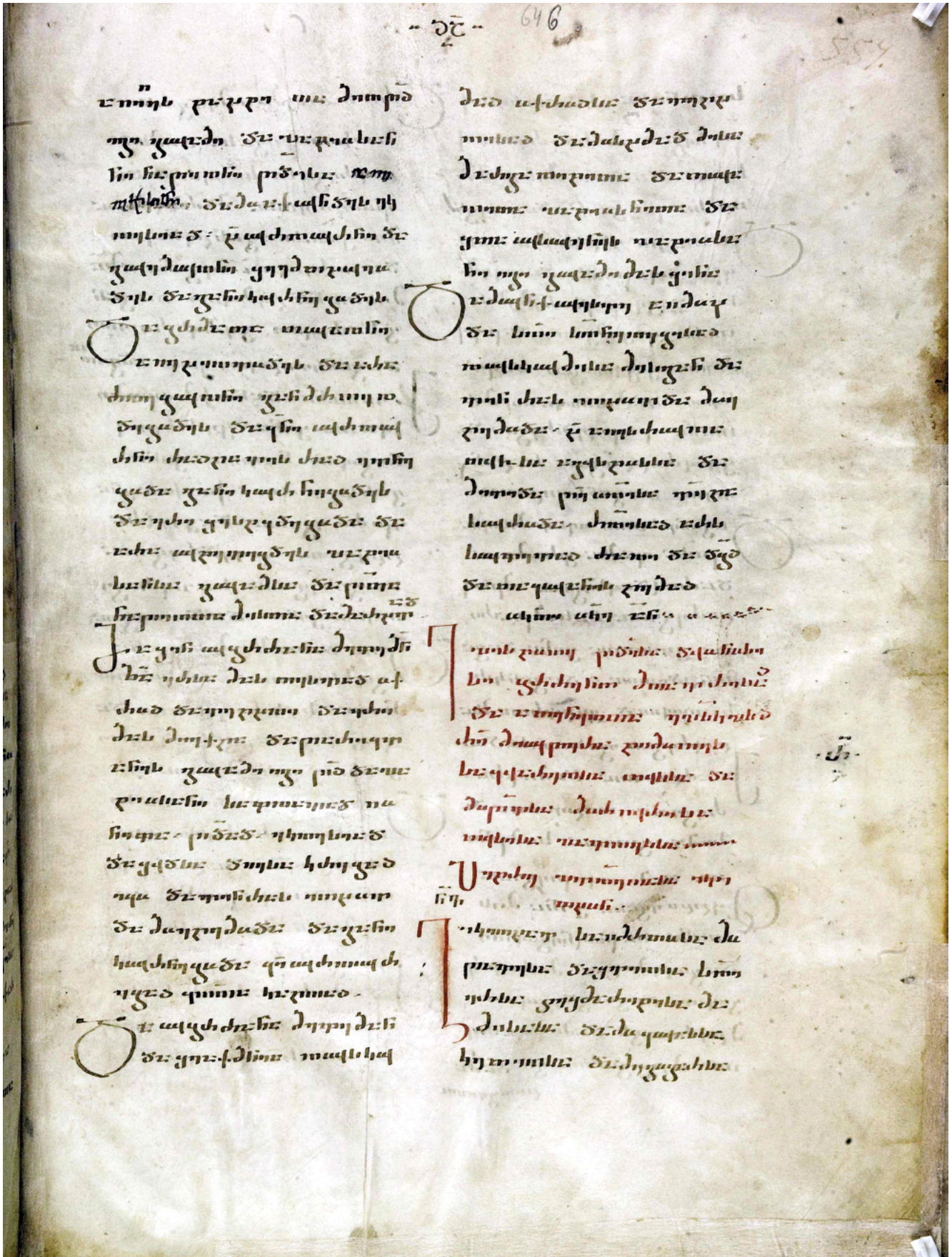


Fig. 6: Tbilisi, KKNCM, A-95 (the Parxali mravaltavi), fol. 646r.

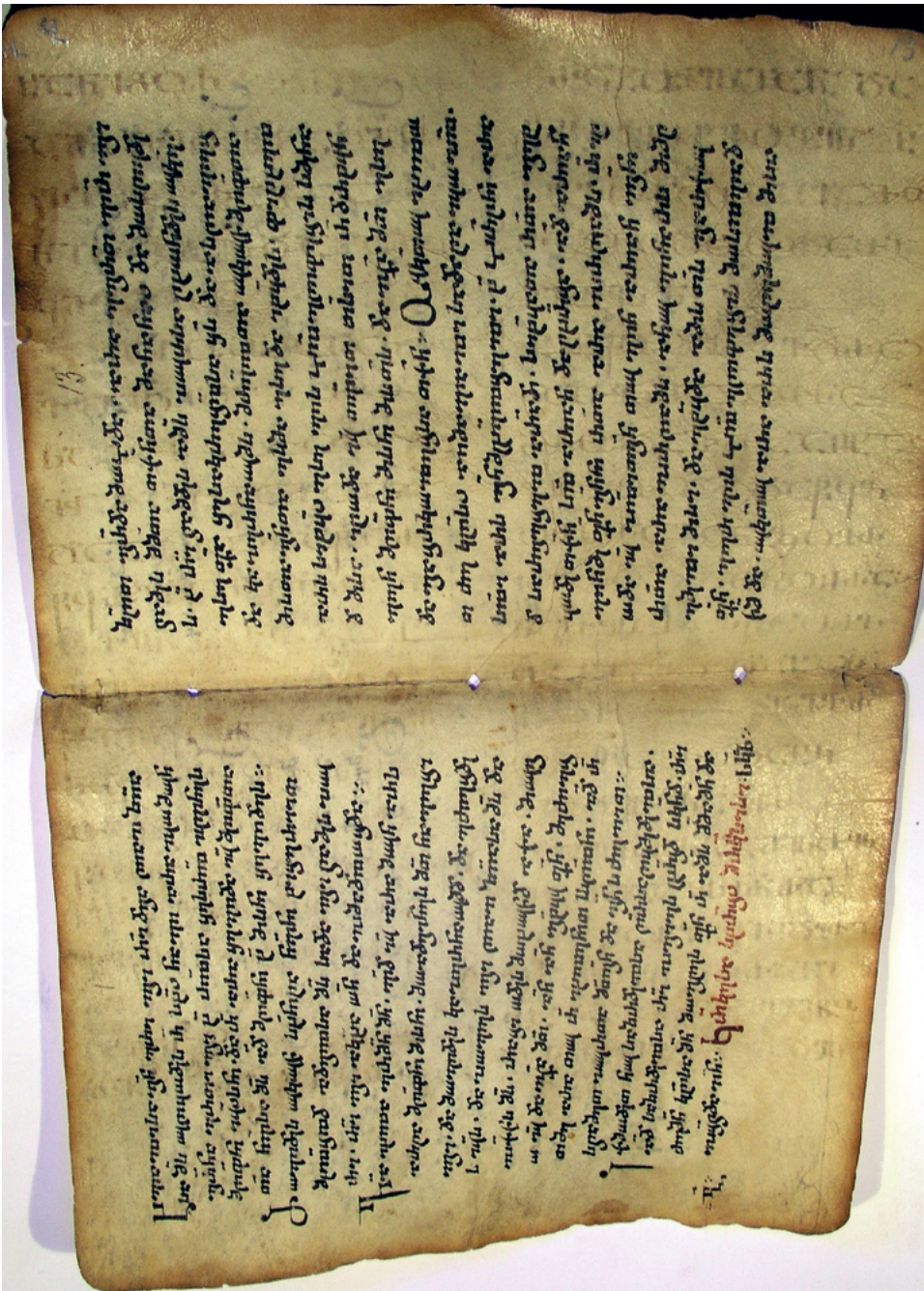


Fig. 7: Tbilisi, KNCM, S-3902 (the palimpsest *mravaltavi*), fols 6^v–7^r.

attributed to St Nino, the converter of the Georgians, on the Nativity (only P 13, within the first cycle) and on the Epiphany (T 60 and P 49, within the January cycle).²⁵

1.9.3 The internal order of texts reveals remarkable similarities across the witnesses, even where several homilies concern the same date or feast. This is visible right from the first cycle on, where A and S as well as T and P proceed in par-

allel wherever they share their texts. Noteworthy deviations deserve special explanations, as in the case of the Passions of Peter and Paul (*BHG* 1484 and 1451; S 44 and S 45), which in S, unlike in T and P, are not found in the cycle of the feasts of Apostles (end of December) but between Cyril of Jerusalem’s sermon on the Invention of the Clues (*CPG* 3608; S 43) and a sermon attributed to John Chrysostom on the Martyrs (*CPG* 5175.26; S 46). It is likely that they originally finished the cycle of feasts of May to December, with the date 28 December; the alternative assumption that their peculiar placement reflects the date of the Apostles’ martyrdom on 29 June cannot be substantiated. A change of dates may, on the other hand, be responsible for the difference between P and K in assigning the *Indices of Apostles* by Dorotheus of Tyr (*BHG* 151–152) to either 28 December (P 25 and P 26) or the feast of *Vardoba* (end of June; K 45 and K 46).²⁶ In a similar way, the homilies of Cyril of Jerusalem on the Ap-

parition of the Cross and the Invention of the Clues (*CPG* 3607 and 3608) were read either on 14 September (A 58 and A 58; S 42 and S 43), 29 January (T 79, P 75 and P 76, and U 13–15) or 7 May (K 35 and K 36).

1.9.4 The following Tables illustrate the cycles assumed above and the distribution of texts pertaining to them across the *mravaltavis*. For the sake of easy reference, the sequence

²⁵ These texts were published in Džanašvili 1898, 81–86 and 87–93.

²⁶ For the *Indices of Apostles*, cf. Van Esbroeck 1994, 132–135.

provided by A is taken as the basis as in Van Esbroeck's treatise even though A proves to be deviant in several aspects. In the Tables, the sigla of individual texts are printed in bold if an edition exists; the background colour is slightly darkened where there are minor divergences in the order of texts between different witnesses, and a dark background colour is applied where a text is found farther apart. When texts are mentioned in more than one cycle, they are marked by parentheses at the secondary positions. Authors are named according to the titles of the texts, not according to present-day scholarly knowledge (but differences are indicated by exclamation marks after the corresponding CPG numbers). Under 'other mss.', only a few additional witnesses with more than one parallel are mentioned. CPG numbers are indicated wherever available; otherwise *BHG* and *BHO* numbers are given as far as possible. In the case of texts attributed to John of Bolnisi (JB), the editions by Žanašvili (1911), Baramize (1962), Maisuraže et al. (1999) and Verhelst et al. (2015) are referenced as J, B, M, and V; the references in question are marked with a yellowish background.²⁷

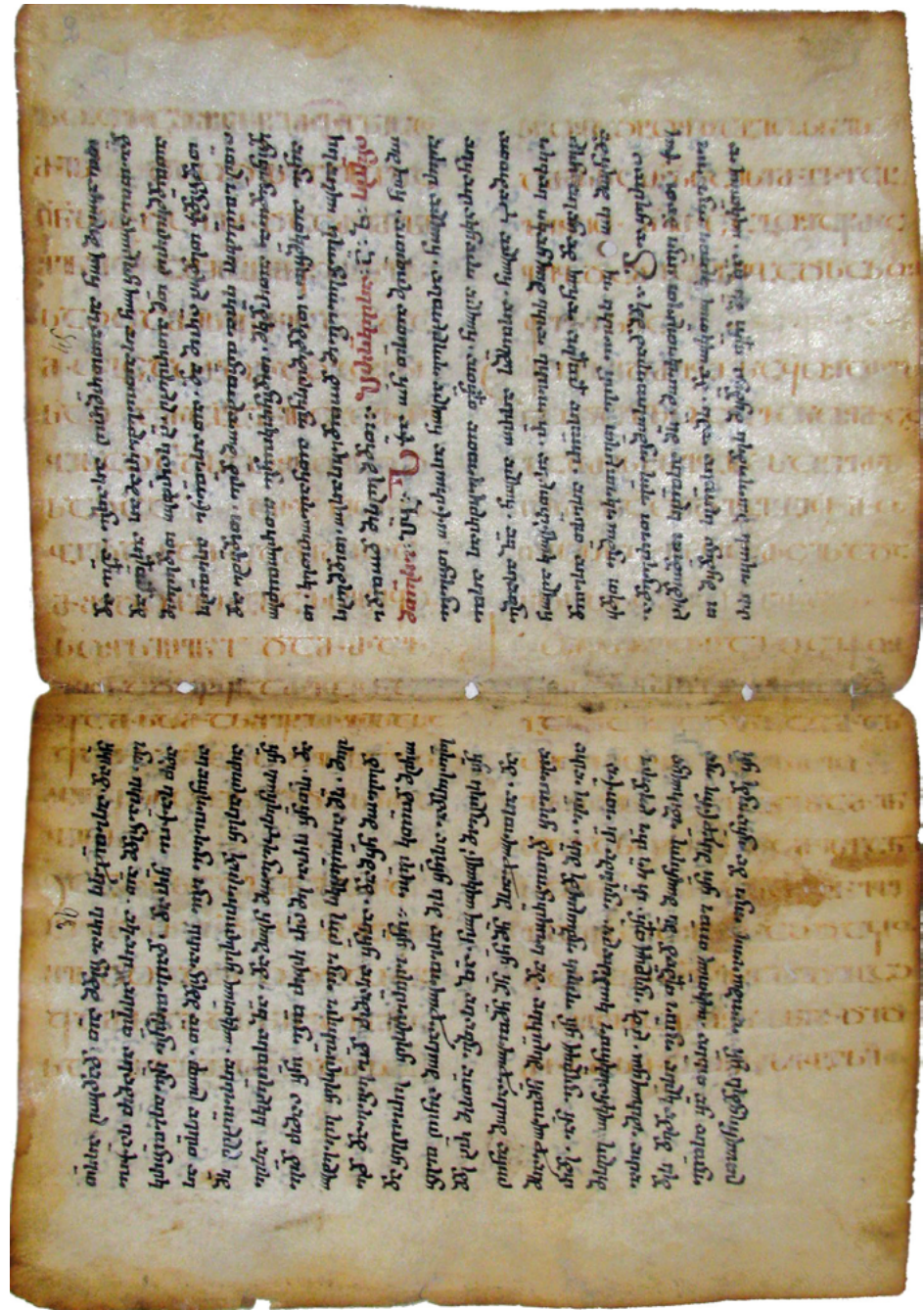


Fig. 8: Tbilisi, KNCM, S-3902 (the palimpsest *mravaltavi*), fols 23^r–18^r.

²⁷ Note that for several of the homilies in question, the author is given in the title as John Chrysostom or simply John the Bishop; this suggests that the texts attributed to John of Bolnisi represent just another set of Pseudo-Chrysostomica, with *Boln-* representing a popular substitution of the name of Constantinople like Arabic *būlin* found in Al-Mas'ūdī's travel accounts of the tenth century, cf. Stachowski and Woodhouse 2015, 230–231.

Tab. I: First Cycle (Annunciation and Nativity)

Date	Author	S-3902 (F)	Ivir-11 (A)	Sin-32+ (S)	A-19 (T)	A-95 (P)	A-1109 (U)	A-144 (K)	other mss.	CPG
03.25. Ann.	Greg. Neoc.		A 01	S 01						1775
03.25. Ann.	Greg. Neoc.		A 02	S 02						1776
03.25. Ann.	Greg. Neoc.			S 03	T 01	P 01				3214!
03.25. Ann.	(aceph.)				T 02					—
03.25. Ann. Zach.	Antip. Bostr.		A 03	S 04				(K 62)		6680
03.25. Ann.	Athan. Alex.			S 05	T 09	P 08				4560!
03.25. Ann.	Procl. Const.		A 04	S 06	T 03+T 05?	P 02				5800
03.25. Ann.	Joh. Chrys.				T 04	P 04				4628
03.25. Ann.	Mel. Antioch.					P 05				3425.8
12.25. Nat.	Greg. Naz.		A 05		T 15					3010.38
12.25. Nat.	Joh. Chrys.		A 06			P 14				4753
12.25. Nat./03.25. Ann.	Epiph. Cypr.		A 07	S 07	T 06	P 03				3800
12.25. Nat.	Joh. Chrys.	F 01	A 08		T 07	P 06				4334
12.25. Nat.	Joh. Chrys.				T 08	P 07				(4913)
12.25. Nat.	Clem. Rom.				T 10	P 09a				—
12.25. Nat.	Greg. Naz.				T 11	P 09b				3010.38
12.25. Bapt.!	Greg. Naz.				T 12 > T 56	P 09c				3010.39
12.25. Nat.	Greg. Nyss.				T 13	P 09d			Ivir-14, 189 ^v	3186
12.25. Nat.	Joh. Chrys.				T 14 > T 07	P 10				4334
12.25. Nat.	Justin.				T 16	P 11				6892
12.25. Nat.	Petr. Jerus.				T 17					7017
12.25. Nat.	Eus. Alex.				T 18	P 12				5519
12.25. Nat.	Nino					P 13				—

Tab. II: Second Cycle (Apostles End of December)

Date	Author	S-3902 (F)	Ivir-11 (A)	Sin-32+ (S)	A-19 (T)	A-95 (P)	A-1109 (U)	A-144 (K)	other mss.	CPG
12.26. Jac.	(apocryph.)			S 08	T 19	P 15			H-535, 40 ^r	BHG 763z
12.26. Zach. Sym. Jac.	(apocryph.)				T 20	P 16				—
12.26. Dav. Jac.	Joh. Chrys.				T 21					4544
12.27. Steph.	(apocryph.)			S 09	T 22	P 17			Ivir-8, 2 ^r	—
12.27. Greg. Steph.	Greg. Antioch.					P 18			Ivir-8, 17^r	7389
12.27. Greg. Steph.	Greg. Antioch.					P 19			Ivir-8, 21^v	7390
12.27. Inv. Steph.	(apocryph.)			S 10	T 23	P 20			Ivir-8, 3^r	BHG 1648y
12.27. Transl. Steph.	(apocryph.)				T 24	P 21			Ivir-8, 9^r	BHG1650/1
12.27. Ecl. Steph.	(apocryph.)				T 25				Ivir-8, 25^r	—
12.28. Petr.	(apocryph.)			(S 44)	T 26	P 22			Ivir-8, 29 ^r	BHG 1484
12.28. Paul.	(apocryph.)			(S 45)	T 27	P 23			Ivir-8, 33 ^v	BHG 1451
12.28. Petr. Paul	Joh. Chrys.				T 28	P 24			div.	4572
12.28. Apost.	Doroth. Tyr.					P 25		(K 45 < Vard.)		BHG 151-2
12.28. Apost.	Doroth. Tyr.					P 26		(K 46 < Vard.)		BHG 152f
12.28. Dion. Areop.	Dion. Areop.				T 29				Ivir-8, 51^r	6633, BHO 255a-b
12.28. Dion. Tim.	Dion. Areop.				T 30	(P 101)			Ivir-8, 57 ^v	6631, BHO 967
Ann. Nat.	Jac. Sarug.				T 31					—
12.29. Joh. Ev. Proch.	Joh. Proch.				T 32	P 27				BHG 916/917s
12.29. Act. Joh. Ev.	(apocryph.)				T 33	P 27				BHG 916/917w
12.29. Ev. Joh. Ev.	(apocryph.)				T 34	P 27				BHG 917^r
12.29. Joh. Ev.	Joh. Chrys.				T 35				H-535	BHG 912-3

Tab. III: Third Cycle (St Basil and Epiphany)

Date	Author	S-3902 (F)	Ivir-11 (A)	Sin-32+ (S)	A-19 (T)	A-95 (P)	A-1109 (U)	A-144 (K)	other mss.	CPG
01.01. Bas.	Amph. Icon.				T 36					3253; BHG 247
01.01. Bas.	(Amph. Icon.)				T 37	P 33			A-70, 111 ^r	3253; BHG 253
01.01. Bas.	(Amph. Icon.)			S 11	T 38	P 28	U 03		A-70, 115 ^v	3253 (BHG 256)
01.01. Bas.	(Amph. Icon.)		A 09							3253; BHG 256a
01.01. Bas.	(Amph. Icon.)			S 12	T 39	P 29	[U 03a]		A-70, 116 ^v	3253 (BHG 248)
01.01. Bas.	(Amph. Icon.)		A 10		T 40	P 34				3253 ; BHG 259
01.01. Bas.	(Amph. Icon.)				T 41	P 35			A-70, 118 ^v	3253; BHG 258
01.01. Bas.	(Amph. Icon.)				T 42	P 31			A-70, 119 ^v	3253; BHG 255b
01.01. Bas.	(Amph. Icon.)				T 43	P 30			A-70, 121 ^v	3253; BHG 257
01.01. Bas.	(Amph. Icon.)				T 44	P 32			A-70, 123 ^r	3253; BHG 254
01.01. Bas.	(Amph. Icon.)				T 45					(3253)
01.01. Bas. Greg.	Bas. Greg.				T 46	P 36				3067
Conf. Theod. Iud.	(anonym.)				T 47					BHG 810–811
Sanct./Episc.	Joh. Boln.		(A 62 > 09.15.)			P 37				JBM11 J12 V12
01.06. Epiph.	Joh. Chrys.		A 11		T 48	P 38			A-90, 235 ^v	JBM12 / 5180.5
01.06. Epiph.	Joh. Chrys.		A 12	S 13	T 49	P 39	U 04		A-90, 237 ^v	JBM13 / 5175.14
01.06. Epiph.	Joh. Chrys.		(A 71)		T 50	P 46	U 05a		A-90, 232 ^v	JBM17 / 5180.12
01.06. Epiph.	Joh. Chrys.		(A 72)	S 14	T 52	P 47	U 07		A-90, 234 ^r	5175.15
01.06. Epiph.	Joh. Chrys.	F 02	(A 73)	S 15	T 53	P 40	U 05			4571
01.06. Epiph.	Joh. Chrys.				T 51		U 05b		A-90, 233 ^v	5180.20
01.06. Epiph.	Greg. Naz.				T 56	P 43				3010.39
01.06. Epiph.	Joh. Chrys.				T 57	P 44	U 06		A-90, 229 ^r	7385!
01.06. Epiph.	Joh. Chrys.				T 58	P 45				4522
01.06. Epiph.	Cyr. Jerus.			S 16	T 59			(K 63 > 09.25.)		3585.2:3
01.06. Epiph.	Nino				T 60	P 49				—
01.06. Epiph.	Eus. Alex.		(A 74)		T 61	P 48		(K 40 > 06.24.)		5520
01.06. Epiph.	Procl. Const.		A 13		T 55	P 42			A-90, 244 ^v	5806
01.06. Epiph.	Jul. Tabia	F 03	A 14		T 54	P 41			A-90, 241 ^v	6155

Tab. IV: Fourth Cycle (February, March, and Lent)

Date	Author	S-3902 (F)	Ivir-11 (A)	Sin-32+ (S)	A-19 (T)	A-95 (P)	A-1109 (U)	A-144 (K)	other mss.	CPG
02.02. Hypap.	Hes. Jerus.		A 15	S 17		P 78	U 16			6565
02.02. Hypap.	Tim. Jerus.		A 16	S 18		P 79	U 16a			7405
02.02. Hypap.	Eus. Alex.					P 80				5519
02.02. Hypap.	Cyr. Jerus.		A 17			P 81				3592
Joach. Anna	(apocryph.)					P 82				—
lei.	Joh. Chrys.			S 19		P 85	U 17a			4333.5
lei.	Eus. Alex.					P 86				5510?
lei.	Ephr. Syr.			S 20					Sin-97, 182 ^v	4145.19
Carit.	Eus. Alex.					P 87				5511
Paen.	Cyr. Jerus.					P 88			Ivir-25, 208 ^v	3585.2:1
Paen.	Mel. Antioch.					P 90	U 17b			3425.5
Paen.	Cyr. Jerus.					P 89	U 18		Ivir-25, 199 ^v	3585.2:2
Fil. prod.	Joh. Chrys.						U 18a	(> K 05)		4577
Samarit.	Joh. Chrys.						U 19			(4655/4674)
03.09. 40 Martyr.	Bas. Magn.			S 21		P 84	U 01		Ivir-8, 187 ^r	2863
03.09. 40 Martyr.	(anonym.)					P 83	U 02		Ivir-8, 180 ^v	BHG 1201

Tab. V: Fifth Cycle (Eastertide and Pentecost)

Date	Author	S-3902 (F)	Ivir-11 (A)	Sin-32+ (S)	A-19 (T)	A-95 (P)	A-1109 (U)	A-144 (K)	other mss.	CPG
Palm Sat. Martha Maria	Joh. Chrys.		A 18	S 22			U 20			4639
Palm Sat. Lazarus	Eust. Antioch.		A 19							3394
Palm Sat. Lazarus	Procl. Const.		A 20							5808
Palm Sun. Intr.	Sever. Gab.	F 09, 11, (12)		S 23						4287
Palm Sun. Intr.	Joh. Chrys.	F 04	A 21	S 24			U 20a		Borg. 4:1	4602
Palm Sun. / Sat.?	Joh. Chrys.		A 22 (> A 82)							JBM8b / 5180.6
Palm Sun.	Joh. Chrys.		A 23							JBM14 / 5180.7
Palm Sun.	Tit. Bostr.		A 24							3580 (/6594)
Palm Sun.	Mel. Antioch.			S 25			U 21			3425.9
Magn. Mon. Fig	Joh. Chrys.		A 25	S 26			U 22			5175.16 / 4588
Res. Mort.	Hes. Jerus.	F 05		lac			U 23			6581
Magn. Tue. Virg.	Joh. Chrys.		A 26	lac			U 24			4333.3
Magn. Wed. Consil.	Joh. Chrys.	F 06		lac			U 24a		Jer-4, 65'	4640
Magn. Wed. Accus.	Joh. Chrys.	F 07	[A 27]	lac			U 25			4579
Magn. Thu. Footw.	Joh. Chrys.	F 08	A 28	lac			U 27			4216
Magn. Thu. Judas	Joh. Chrys.			lac			U 27a		Borg. 4:2; Jer-4, 68'	4336
Magn. Thu. Judas	Athan. Alex.		A 29	lac						6661
Magn. Thu. Judas	Mel. Antioch.		A 30	lac			U 26			3425.1
Magn. Thu. Calic.	Bas. Magn.			lac			U 27b	K 09		4654
Magn. Fri. Cruc.	Mel. Antioch.		A 31	lac						3425.2
Magn. Fri. Cruc.	Joh. Chrys.		A 32 (> A34)	lac			U 28		A-691, 181	1092!
Magn. Fri. Cruc.	Mel. Antioch.		A 33	lac						3425.3
Magn. Fri. Cruc.	Mel. Antioch.		A 34 (> A32)	lac					S-1246, 240 ^v	1092!
Magn. Fri. Cruc.	Joh. Chrys.			lac			U 29			4728
Magn. Fri. Cruc.	Joh. Chrys.			lac			U 30			—
Magn. Fri. Sat.	Joh. Chrys.			lac			U 31			—
Magn. Sat.	Joh. Chrys.			lac			U 32			(4424.89)
Magn. Sat. Bur.	Epiph. Cypr.		A 35	lac					Borg. 4:3; div.	3768
Magn. Sat. Bur.	Mel. Antioch.			lac			U 33			3425.7

Tab. V (cont.)

Date	Author	S-3902 (F)	Ivir-11 (A)	Sin-32+ (S)	A-19 (T)	A-95 (P)	A-1109 (U)	A-144 (K)	other mss.	CPG
Pas. Sun. Res.	Mel. Antioch.		A 36	S 27			U 35	K 10	S-1246, 140 ^r	3425.4
Pas. Sun. Res.	Cyr. Jerus.		A 37	S 28			U 34	K 11		3585.2:14
Pas. Sun. Res.	Joh. Chrys.		A 38				U 36	K 12	A-70, 130 ^r	JBM15
Pas. Sun. Res.	Joh. Chrys.						U 37	K 13		—
Pas. Sun. Res.	Joh. Chrys.						U 38	K 14	A-70, 129 ^r	—
Pas. Sun. Res.	Joh. Chrys.						U 39	K 15	A-70, 132 ^r	JBV14
Pas. Sun. Res.	(aceph.)						U 40			—
Pas. Sun. Res.	Epiph. Cyr.						U 41			3238!
Pas. Sun. Res.	Eus. Alex.							K 16		5527
Pas. Sun. Res.	Cyr. Jerus.							K 17		3585.2:18
Pas. Mort. Anim.	Ephr. Syr.							K 18	Sin-36, 129 ^r	4145.11
Pas. Mort. Anim.	(aceph.)							K 19		—
Pas.1 Sun.	Joh. Boln.							K 20		JB10V11
Pas.1 Sun.	Joh. Chrys.		A 39	S 30			U 43	K 21		5175.17
Pas.1 Sun.	Eus. Alex.							K 22		5525
Pas.1 Sun. Thom.	Joh. Chrys.		A 40	S 29			U 42	K 22a / K 29		5832
Pas.1 Sun.	Joh. Chrys.		A 41							5832
Pas.2 Thu. El. Mich.	Ephr. Syr.							K 23	A-691, 33 ^v	4145.24
Pas.X Jos. Arim. Lydd.	Ant. Strat.							K 24	Ivir-9, 155 ^v	BHG 779r
Pas.6 Thu. Asc.	Joh. Chrys.		A 42					K 26		5528
Pas.6 Thu. Asc.	Joh. Chrys.		A 43	S 31			U 44	K 25		5175.18
Pas.6 Thu. Asc.	Joh. Chrys.		A 44							4737
Pas.6 Thu. Asc.	Joh. Chrys.						U 45	K 25a		5180.21
Pas.6 Thu. Asc.	Athan. Alex.							K 27		(2280) > 6659
Pas.6 Thu. Asc.	Joh. Chrys.							K 28		4342
Pent. Sun.	Joh. Chrys.		A 46	S 32			U 45a	K 30		5175.19
Pent. Sun.	Cyr. Jerus.		A 45	S 33			U 45b	K 31	Jer-17, 115 ^v	3585.2:17
Pent. Sun.	Sever. Gab.							K 32		4286
Pent. Sun.	Athan. Alex.							K 33		(4538) > 6666!

Tab. VI: Sixth Cycle (May to December)

Date	Author	S-3902 (F)	lvir-11 (A)	Sin-32+(S)	A-19 (T)	A-95 (P)
Pent. Wed. Mcx.	Greg. Diac.					
05.07. Appar. Cruc.	Cyr. Jerus.		(A 58)	(S 42)	(T 79 > 09.14.)	(P 75+P 76)
05.07. Inv. Cl.	Cyr. Jerus.		(A 59)	(S 43)		(P 77)
05.07. Cruc.	Cyr. Jerus.					
06.24. Joh. Bapt.	(apocryph.)		A 47			
06.24. Joh. Bapt.	Jacob. fr.					
06.24. Joh. Bapt.	Eus. Alex.		(A 74)		(T 61)	(P 48 > 1.6.)
06.24. Joh. Bapt.	Joh. Chrys.					
06.24. Petr. Elias	Cyr. Jerus.					
Vard. Apost.	Sever. Gab.					
Vard. Apost.	Joh. Episc.					
Vard. Apost.	Joh. Chrys./Doroth. Tyr.					P 25 (> 12.28.)
Vard. Apost.	Doroth. Tyr.					P 26 (> 12.28.)
08.06. Transf.	Joh. Chrys.		A 48	S 34		
08.06. Transf.	Joh. Chrys./Boln.		A 49			
08.06. Transf. Tent.	(anonym.)					
08.06. Transf.	Theod. Harr.					
08.15. Dorm.	(anonym.)					
08.15. Dorm.	Joh. Chrys.		A 50	S 35		
08.15. Dorm.	Joh. Chrys.					
08.15. Dorm.	Joh. Chrys.		A 51	S 36		
08.15. Dorm.	Joh. Theol.		A 52			
08.15. Dorm.	(apocryph.)					
08.15. Dorm.	(apocryph.)					
08.15. Dorm.	Joh. Damasc.					
08.29. Decoll.	Joh. Chrys.		A 53	S 37		
08.29. Decoll.	(aceph.)					
08.29. Decoll.	Joh. Chrys.			S 38		
09.08. Prot. Jac.	Protev. Jac.		A 54			
09.13. Consecr.	Joh. Chrys.		A 55	S 39		
09.13. Turt.eccl.	Joh. Chrys.		A 56	S 40		
09.13. Consecr.	Joh. Boln.		A 57			

A-1109 (U)	A-144 (K)	other mss.	CPG
	K 34		—
(U 13+U 14)	K 35		3607; BHG 396-8
(U 15)	K 36		3608; BHG 404
	K 37		7398!
	K 38	Jer-17, 119 ^r	BHG 833-4
	K 39		BHG 919g/766i/779hb
	K 40		5520
	K 41		4859
U 45c	K 42		4513
U 45d	K 43		4285
	K 44		4704/7900.7
	K 45		BHG 151-2
	K 46		BHG 152f
U 46	K 47		5175.20
	K 48		JBM9/3939?
	K 49		3939b?
U 46a	K 50		3939c
	K 51		—
U 46b	K 56		5175.21
U 46c			—
	K 52		5175.22
	K 53	Jer-17, 142 ^r	BHG 1055
	K 54		—
	K 55		—
	K 57		8062
U 46d		Jer-17, 148 ^r	4614
U 46e			—
			5175.23/4570
			BHG 1046
			4536
			4547
			JBM10V13

Tab. VI (cont.)

09.14. Appar. Cruc.	Cyr. Jerus.		A 58	S 42	T 79 (> 01.29.)	P 75+P 76
09.14. Inv. Cl.	Cyr. Jerus.		A 59	S 43		P 77
09.14. Cruc.	(aceph.)					
09.14. Cruc.	Athan. Alex.					
09.14. Anim. Corp.	Mel. Sard.					
09.14. Cruc.	(aceph.)					
09.25. Conc. Bapt.	Antip. Bostr.	F 10	(A 3)	(S 4)		
09.25. Sil. Zach.	Cyr. Jerus.					
10.24. Inv. Cap. Bapt.	Marcell.		A 60			
02.24. Inv. Cap. Bapt.	Marcell.		A 61			
09.15. Sanct. /Episc.	Joh. Chrys.		A 62			(P 37 > 1.6.)
12.28. Petr.	(apocryph.)			S 44	(T 26)	(P 22)
12.28. Paul.	(apocryph.)			S 45	(T 27)	(P 23)

Tab. VII: Seventh Cycle (Martyrs)

Date	Author	S-3902 (F)	Ivir-11 (A)	Sin-32+ (S)	A-19 (T)	A-95 (P)	A-1109 (U)	A-144 (K)	other mss.	CPG
Archang.	Joh. Chrys.		A 63						Jer-17, 206'	—
Martyr.	Joh. Chrys.			S 46	T 70	P 62				5175.26
Martyr.	Joh. Chrys.		A 64		T 71 (01.22.)	P 59 (01.22.)				5180.8
Martyr.	Joh. Chrys.		A 65			P 66 (01.22.)				5180.9
Martyr. Steph.	Joh. Chrys.		A 66			P 72 (01.22.)				—
Martyr.	Joh. Chrys.		A 67	S 47	T 72	P 64 (01.22.)				JBM16/5175.24
Martyr.	Joh. Chrys.		A 68		T 68 (01.22.)	P 60 (01.22.)				5180.10
Martyr.	Joh. Chrys.		A 69		T 69 (01.22.)	P 61 (01.22.)				5180.11
Martyr.	Joh. Chrys.		A 70	S 48	T 73 (01.22.)	P 65 (01.22.)				5175.25
Martyr.	Eus. Alex.				T 76 (01.22.)	P 63 (01.22.)				5517
Martyr.	Joh. Chrys.					P 67 (01.22.)				5180.15
Martyr.	Joh. Chrys.					P 68 (01.22.)				5180.16
Martyr.	Joh. Chrys.					P 69 (01.22.)				5180.17
Martyr.	Joh. Chrys.					P 70 (01.22.)				5180.18
Martyr.	Joh. Chrys.					P 71 (01.22.)				5180.19
Defunc.	Ephr. Syr.			S 49					Sin-97, 191'	4145.6

U 13+U 14	(K 35 > 05.07.)		3607; BHG 396-8
U 15	(K 36 > 05.07.)		3608; BHG 404
	K 58		—
	K 59		1093.14?
	K 60		1093.14?
	K 61		1093.14?
	K 62		6680
	K 63		3585.2:3
			<i>BHG 839</i>
			<i>BHG 840</i>
			JBM11J12V12
		Ivir-8, 29 ^r	BHG 1484
		Ivir-8, 33 ^v	BHG 1451

Tab. VIII: First Secondary Cycle (Epiphany)

Date	Author	S-3902 (F)	Ivir-11 (A)	Sin-32+ (S)	A-19 (T)	A-95 (P)	A-1109 (U)	A-144 (K)	other mss.	CPG
01.06. Bapt.	Joh. Chrys.		A 71		(T 50)	(P 46)	(U 05a)		A-90, 232 ^v	JBM17/5180.12
01.06. Bapt.	Joh. Chrys.		A 72	(S 14)	(T 52)	(P 47)	(U 07)		A-90, 234 ^r	5175.15
01.06. Bapt.	Joh. Chrys.	(F 02)	A 73	(S 15)	(T 53)	(P 40)	(U 05)			4571
01.06. Bapt.	Joh. Chrys.				(T 51)		(U 05b)		A-90, 233 ^v	5180.20
01.06. Bapt.	Greg. Naz.				(T 56)	(P 43)				3010.39
01.06. Bapt.	Joh. Chrys.				(T 57)	(P 44)	(U 06)		A-90, 229 ^r	7385!
01.06. Bapt.	Joh. Chrys.				(T 58)	(P 45)				4522
01.06. Bapt.	Cyr. Jer.			(S 16)	(T 59)			(K 63 > 09.25.)		3585.2:3
01.06. Bapt.	Nino				(T 60)	(P 49)				—
01.06. Bapt.	Eus. Alex.		A 74		(T 61)	(P 48)		(K 40 > 06.24.)		5520

Tab. IX: Second Secondary Cycle (Saints of January)

Date	Author	S-3902 (F)	Ivir-11 (A)	Sin-32+ (S)	A-19 (T)	A-95 (P)	A-1109 (U)	A-144 (K)	other mss.	CPG
01.08. Habo	Joh. Saban.				T 62-66	P 50-53	U 08a-d		Ivir-8, 70 ^v	—
01.13. Sin. Rait.	Ammon.			S 50					Ivir-8, 92 ^r	6088
01.17. Paul Theb.	(anonym.)					P 54	U 09			3636
01.17. Anton. Apophth.	(anonym.)					P 55	U 10		div.	5560
01.17. Anton.	Athan. Alex.				T 67	P 56	U 11		Add. 11281, 1 ^r	2101
01.28. Patr.defunc.	Ephr. Syr.				T 77	P 57	U 12		Sin-97, 111 ^r	3921
01.28. Patr. defunc.	Ephr. Syr.					P 58	U 12a		Sin-25, 135 ^r	3937
01.28. Patr. defunc.	Ephr. Syr.				T 78		U 12b		Sin-97, 175 ^v	3922
01.29. Appar. Cruc.	Cyr. Jerus.		(A 58)	(S 42)	T 79 (> 09.14.)	P 75+ P 76	U 13+U 14	(K 35)		3607; BHG 396-8

Tab. X: Third Secondary Cycle (Lent)

Date	Author	S-3902 (F)	Ivir-11 (A)	Sin-32+ (S)	A-19 (T)	A-95 (P)	A-1109 (U)	A-144 (K)	other mss.	CPG
Carn.	(Joh. Boln.)							[K 01]	A-70, 138 ^r	JB1V1
lei. Vin.cons.	(Joh. Boln.)								A-70, 141 ^r	JB11V2
Carn. Phar. Publ.	Joh. Boln.		A 75			P 92		[K 02]	Sin-44, 2 ^r	JBM1J2V3
lei.2 Sun.	Joh. Boln.		A 76			P 93		K 03	Sin-44, 32 ^v	JBM2J3V4
lei.3 Sun.	Joh. Boln.		A 77			P 94		K 04	Sin-44, 53 ^v	JBM3J4V5
lei.4 Sun.	Joh. Boln.		A 78						Sin-44, 70^r	JBM4B2V6
lei.4 Sun.Fil.prod.	Joh. Chr./Boln.					P 95	(> U 18a)	K 05		JB15B1/4577
lei.5 Sun.	Joh. Boln.		A 79			P 96		K 06	Sin-44, 89 ^v	JBM5J6V7
lei.6 Sun.	Joh. Boln.		A 80			P 97		K 07	Sin-44, 106 ^v	JBM6J7V8
lei.7 Sun.	Joh. Boln.		A 81			P 98		K 08	Sin-44, 124 ^v	JBM7J8V9
lei.7 Sun. Palm.	Joh. Boln.		A 82 (> A 22)			P 99			Sin-44, 142 ^v	JBM8J9V10
Magn. Sat.	Ephr. Syr.		A 83							4145.22

Tab. XI: Fourth Secondary Cycle (Miscellaneous)

Date	Author	S3902 (F)	Ivir-11 (A)	Sin-32+ (S)	A19 (T)	A95 (P)	A1109 (U)	A144 (K)	other mss.	CPG
Jes. Christ. Eccl.	Barsab. Jerus.		A 84							1685
Cruc.	Ephr. Syr.		A 85							3948
11.01. SS Cosm. Dam	Ephr. Syr.		A 86						Sin-62, 100'	BHG 372
11.01. SS Cosm. Dam	(hagiogr.)		A 87							BHG 376
11.14. St Phil. Apost.	(apocryph.)		A 88							BHG 1526
11.14. St Phil. Apost.	(apocryph.)		[A 89]							—
Chrys. Paen. Cont. Virg.	Joh. Chrys.		A 90						Ivir-25, 148'	7555
Hipp. Aphr. Pact.	Hippol. Aphr.		A 91						S-1141, 203'	1923
Bas./Chrys. Virg.	Bas./Chrys.		A 92		T 74 (01.22.)	P 73 (01.22.)				5180.13
Bas./Chrys. Virg.	Bas./Chrys.		A 93		T 75 (01.22.)	P 74 (01.22.)				5180.14
Bas. lei.	Bas. Magn.		A 94			P 91 (lei.)	U 17			2845

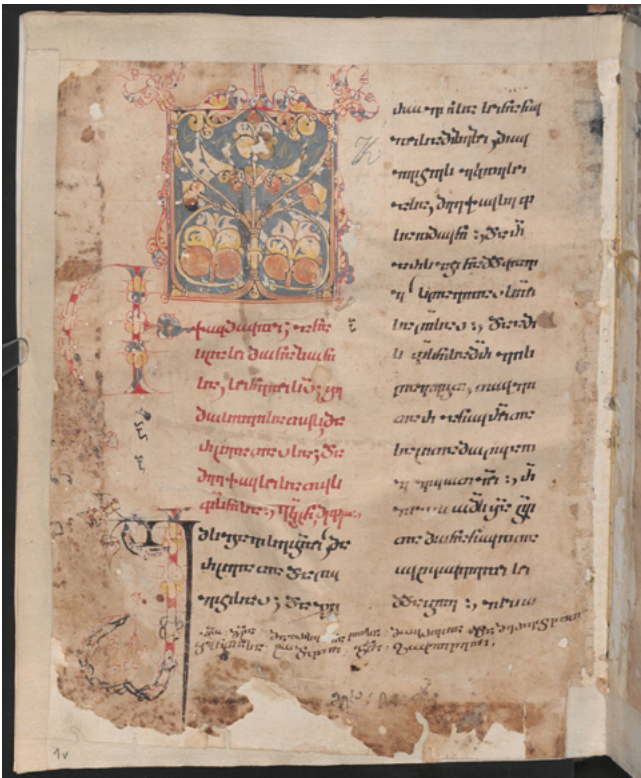


Fig. 9: Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Vind. georg. 4, fol. 1r.



Fig. 10: Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Vind. georg. 4, fol. 41r.

1.9.5 Summing up the observations, none of the prototypical *mravaltavis* covers the whole ecclesiastical year, and the division into cycles and the distribution of texts among the *mravaltavis* is not equal – but not accidental either. We may further state that hagiographical texts are included only rarely, mostly in accordance with local preponderances; the *mravaltavis* are therefore best styled homiliaries. The *mravaltavis* of greater age represent a more ancient state of the collection; because of its extraordinary age, F deserves special attention. The original scope can be reconstructed for the most basic cycles (Nativity, Epiphany, Lent, Holy Week and Pentecost); the other cycles are much less straightforward. The highest probability of great age can be assumed where F agrees with A and S, where A and S agree with T and P, and where A and S agree with U and K. The later *mravaltavis* (A, T, P, U, K) systematically add thematically related materials in cycles.²⁸

²⁸ Peradze 1940, 220–221, n. 2, mentions a few other codices that he regarded as *mravaltavis*: Ivir-57 (now Ivir-8; cf. Blake 1931–32: [1], 318–329); Oxford, Bodleian Library, georg. 1, cf. Peeters 1912; London, British Library, Add. 11281, cf. Wardrop 1913, 397–405; and Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchate, georg. 2 and 3, cf. Blake 1922–26: [1], 357–365. None of these meets the structural premises closely enough to be further considered here.

2. Cod. Vind. georg. 4, an atypical *mravaltavis*

The Cod. Vind. georg. 4 of the Austrian National Library comprises 305 folios, inscribed in two columns in *nuskhuri* script with handsome illuminations and stylised initials at the beginning of the individual texts it contains.²⁹ According to a colophon on fol. 304^v, it was written by a scribe named Niġolaoz Niġra in a place called Ķedva or Berta near the Monastery of David of Gareja in South-East Georgia;³⁰ the date is given as ‘chronicon 380’, which means the time between 1 September 1160 and 31 August 1161.³¹ According to Peradze, the Austrian National Library bought the codex in the year 1931 in Alexandria; before that, it must have been in the property of an Archdeacon (later Archbishop) Kleopas of Jerusalem, who had removed it from the library of the Mon-

²⁹ Excellent digital images of the whole codex are available on <<http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC14395029>>.

³⁰ Another manuscript written by the same scribe is the Tbilisi codex H-1669, which contains the Georgian translation of the ‘Ladder to paradise’ by John the Sinaite (or Climacus), see Ćxikvaze et al. 2012, 72–73 for specimens. For a more thorough description of the Cod. Vind. georg. 4 and its colophons, see Žoġua 2002.

³¹ For the Old Georgian time reckoning system, see Gippert 2016, 62; for the colophon in question and additional information concerning the Vienna codex, see Gippert 2015, 114–117.

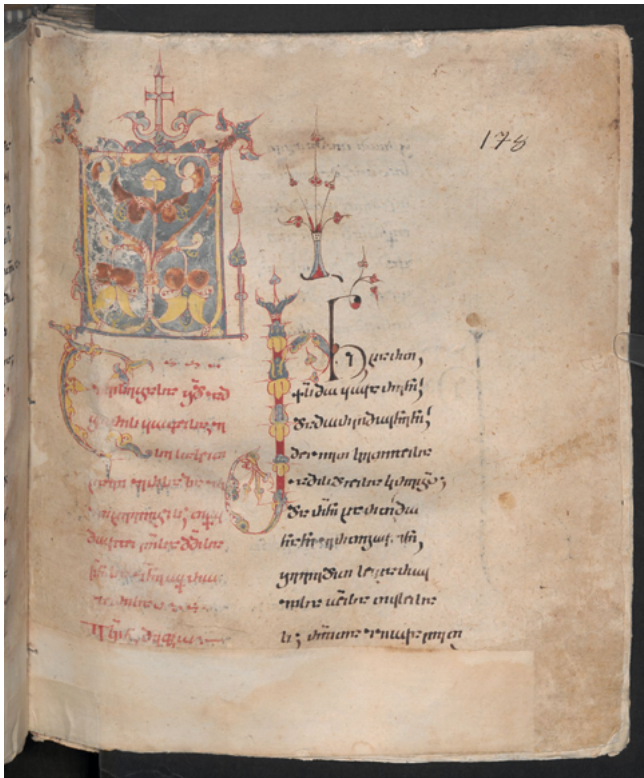


Fig. 11: Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Vind. georg. 4, fol. 178r.



Fig. 12: Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Vind. georg. 4, fol. 180v.

astery of the Holy Cross near Jerusalem.³² All in all, Cod. Vind. georg. 4 comprises twelve texts, mostly homilies but also of other genres. A short survey may suffice to illustrate its contents.

2.1. The first text contained in the Vienna codex is the *Oratio in sextum psalmum* by the seventh-century author Anastasius Sinaita (CPG 7751), which is associated with the beginning of Lent; it comprises folios 1^v–41^r. Its title is written in red ink on fol. 1^v (see Fig. 9) and reads: *Tkumili Anastasi monazonisa Sinelisay šemoslvisatws marxvataysa da meekusisatws psalmunisa*, ‘Sermon by Anastasius, monk

of the Sinai, on the beginning of Lent and the sixth psalm’.³³ Its incipit agrees by and large with that of the Greek text in PG 89, 1077–1116: *šemsgavsebuli marxvata dačqebisay da žerovnis sinanulisa mizezi miugebies eklesiasa meekuse psalmuni...*, ‘As befitting for the beginning of Lent and a reason for appropriate repentance, the church has received the sixth psalm...’ The text is not contained in any of the *mravaltavis* introduced above, but is found in several later manuscripts.³⁴

2.2 The second item in the codex is Gregory of Nyssa’s *Orationes viii de beatitudinibus* (CPG 3161), by far the longest text in the collection (fols 41^v–177^v). The text version present in the Vienna codex is the translation that

³² Peradze 1940, 222: ‘Die Wienerhss. stammen aus dem Kreuzkloster in der Nähe von Jerusalem [...]. Nr. 4 stammt ebenfalls aus dem Kreuzkloster, ist aber schon vor Zagareli [i.e. in 1882, J.G.] aus diesem Kloster entfernt worden, kam in den Besitz des Archidiakons (späteren Erzbischofs) Kleopas, und nach dessen Tod wurde sie wahrscheinlich von seinen Erben nach Alexandria verkauft. Die Verwaltung der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek kaufte diese drei wertvollen Hss. im Jahre 1931 bei einem Antiquar in Alexandrien.’ (‘The Vienna manuscripts come from the Monastery of the Holy Cross near Jerusalem [...]. No. 4 likewise originates from the Monastery of the Holy Cross, but it was already removed from this monastery before Tsagareli [i.e., in 1882, J.G.]; it came into the possession of Archdeacon (later Archbishop) Cleopas, and after the latter’s death was probably sold in Alexandria by his heirs. The administration of the Austrian National Library purchased these three valuable manuscripts in the year 1931 from an antiquarian bookseller in Alexandria.’).

³³ In the present pagination, fols 2 and 3 are skipped between fols 1^v and 4^r; cf. the digital facsimiles kindly provided by the ÖNB on <<http://data.onb.ac.at/rep/10025FDE>>.

³⁴ Kekeleze 1957a, 12 lists the manuscripts A-5 (pp. 98–120), A-182 (650–685=fols 322–339), A-129 (152–161) and ‘Gelati 8’ = Kut. 8 (29–40); in A-129, the text is styled a translation of Teopile (*targmili teopilesi*, cf. Bregaze et al. 1976, 133). Of the four manuscripts mentioned, A-129 is the oldest (twelfth to thirteenth centuries). In all of them, the text is identical, judging from the *incipits*. Outtier 1977, 105, dealing with the version contained in the tenth to eleventh centuries codex A-249 (fols 27–36), assumes two different Georgian versions, one translated from the Arabic (in A-249) and one from Greek by the priest-monk Teopile (cf. below).

was produced by the Athonite Giorgi in the eleventh century (between 1009 and 1065);³⁵ it is also contained in manuscripts georg. 49 (translator's autograph, fragmentary: 1^r–11^v) and georg. 14 (78^r–125^v) of the Iviron Monastery (eleventh and sixteenth century resp.).³⁶ Its title as given in red ink on fol. 41^v runs (see Fig. 10): *Targmanebay momiqsenisay tkumuli çmidisa Grigoli Noselisay*, 'Explanation of the "Remember me", sermon by St Gregory of Nyssa'. After the quotation of the first beatitude (*neřar iqvnen glaxakni sulita rametu mati ars sasupeveli catay*, 'Blessed be the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven'), the homily begins, in close agreement with the Greek text (PG 44, 1193–1302): *Vinmca uřuē iqo řemokrebulata amat řoris esevitari, romelimca ġirs iqo moçape-řopad řitřwsa...*, 'Who, then, would there be among those assembled here, such that he would be worthy of being a disciple of the Word...' In the left margin, the first chapter is indicated by *tavi ā*. Neither the complete homily nor any of its parts is contained in any of the prototypical *mravaltavis*.

2.3 The next text in the Vienna codex is the *Sermo catecheticus in sanctum pascha* by John Chrysostom (CPG 4605). Its title, appearing in red ink on fol. 178^r (see Fig. 11), reads: *Aġvsebasa řemdgomad amboris-řopisa ese řakıřxavi ersa zeda ikıřxvebis; tkumuli çmidisa mamisa çuenisa Ioane Okropirisay*, 'On Easter, after the kissing, this lection is read to the people. A sermon by our holy father John Chrysostom'. The text, quite conformant with the Greek homily (PG 59, 721–724), begins in the second column: *Romelni xart krisřes mořuareni da morçmuneni miıřet řetilisa amis dġisa řrebay...*, 'You who are lovers and believers of Christ, receive the assembly of this good day...'. This short text (covering fols 178^r–180^v) is not contained in any of the prototypical *mravaltavis* either.³⁷

³⁵ The inclusion of the text as translated by Giorgi the Athonite in a codex that was written in South-East Georgia about one century later bears witness to the close contacts between the Georgian monastery on Mt Athos (Iviron) and the Georgian homeland.

³⁶ Keķelize 1957a, 27 mentions two further manuscripts that contain the text, viz. A-55 (278–309) and A-108 (57–124 = 30^r–63^v), tenth to eleventh centuries.

³⁷ Keķelize 1957a, 75 notes six other manuscripts that contain the homily, viz. A-5 (413–415), A-50 (56–58), A-71 (1–2), A-674 (217–218), 'saazio muz. Georg. 150b' (= St Petersburg, Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, E-16, fols 241^r–242^r), cf. Ceraze and Xoperia 2016, 679) and Ivir. georg. 7 (239 = fol. 326^v).

2.4 The same holds true of the fourth text (fols 180^v–186^v), again by John Chrysostom. The title of his *In ascensionem sermo primus* (CPG 4531) is given as *Çmidata řoris mamisa çuenisa Ioane Okropirisay Kořantınepolel mtavar-epiřkoposisay, řitřquay aġmaġlebisatws uplisa çuenisa Iesu Kristęsa*, 'Speech by our father among the saints, John Chrysostom, Archbishop of Constantinople, on the Exaltation of Our Lord Jesus Christ' (fol. 180^v; see Fig. 12); the text begins, quite in agreement with the Greek homily (PG 52, 791–794): *Samni gansaķwrvebelni řakmeni*³⁸ *da ara sacnaurni řacobrivisa bunebisagan...*, 'Three things, miraculous and not known from the nature of man...'.³⁹

2.5 Whereas the four texts described so far are all homilies in the proper sense of the term and are all well documented in Greek and other languages, the fifth text in the Vienna codex (fols 187^v–208^r) represents another genre and remains without a parallel. It is a *Dialogus* of the *Erotapokriseis* type, attributed to Gregory Nazianzen and Basil the Great; its title reads (on fol. 187^v, see Fig. 13): *Řitřwsgebay řitřva-migebit didisa Basilisi da Grigoli ġmrtis-meřquelisay*, 'Questions and answers [lit. "answering with question raising"] of Basil the Great and Gregory the Theologian'. The present dialogue is contained neither in the collection assembled under CPG 3064–3080 nor among the 'Gesprächsbücher' published by Heinrici (1911). To illustrate its contents, the first question-and-answer pair as contained in the first column of fol. 187^v is transcribed here: *Řitřvay řirveli. Hrkua Grigol: Vissa řehgavs çodebad ġulisqmıřopad; Miugo Basili: Romelsa igi ucnobies řeřmarıřad vitarmed cxorebasa amas řazomi akus...*, 'First question. Gregory said: "Who can be named "understanding"?" Basil replied: "He who has truly understood that this life has a limit..."'. Note that both the question and the answer are introduced by large initials and their introductory words are in rubrics.

2.6 The sixth text included in the Cod. Vind. georg. 4 (from fol. 208^v to fol. 224^r) is the *Narratio Zosimi* (CAVT 166; BHG 1889–1890), a monastic apocryphon. Its title (on fol.

³⁸ The manuscript has *sa|řakmeni* with a dittography at the line break.

³⁹ Keķelize 1957a, 75 lists A-272 (fols 173–175), A-674 (fols 180–182), A-613 (no indication of folios) and 'Gelati 8' (= Kut. 8, fols 334–336) as manuscripts containing the same homily. As the last word of the *incipit*, he gives *çuenebisagan* 'from the appearance', which is not confirmed by the Vienna codex and does not match Greek φϋσιν in the given context. According to Keķelize, the text is a translation by the eleventh-century author Eprem Mcire (Ephrem the Lesser).



Fig. 15: Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Vind. georg. 4, fol. 223^v–224^r.

St Nisime, who was the daughter of the King of Egypt and became the abbess in the desert of the grazing (anchorites), 400 by number'. This text, too, was published by Kōrneli Kēkelize in his edition of pre-metaphrastic hagiographical texts (the Keimena redaction, Georg. *ķimeni*),⁴³ the codices he used were A-249 (tenth–eleventh centuries; fols 51^r–57^v) and A-382 (fifteenth century; fols 94^r–100^v).⁴⁴ As Nani Čakaze convincingly argued,⁴⁵ the Georgian text, albeit exhibiting three recensions,⁴⁶ must have been translated from Arabic.⁴⁷

⁴³ Kēkelize 1918, 202–214.

⁴⁴ Outtier 1977, 104 adds A-146 (fols 90^r–108^v) and A-124 (fols 302^v–315^v) to the witnesses.

⁴⁵ Čakaze 1973 and 1975.

⁴⁶ According to Čakaze 1973, 108, the Georgian legend is contained in a total of 20 manuscripts, 18 of them preserved in the KKNCM and two in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; the Vienna codex remained unnoticed by her. From the former group, the author mentions A-146 and A-126 besides the two codices used by Kēkelize. A list comprising 17 witnesses is provided by Gabižašvili 2004, 299, no. 879; the Vienna codex is missing there, too.

⁴⁷ Čakaze 1975, 79.

According to Kēkelize, the legend is associated with the date 10 May;⁴⁸ it is not contained in any one of the *mravaltavis*.

2.8 The eighth text of the Vienna codex (fols 249^v–254^v) is entitled (on fol. 249^v, see Fig. 17) *Čvalebisa činamzguarta šečuenebay*, which can be translated as ‘Anathema of the prophets of heresy’. The heretics cursed are Arius, Eunomius, Severus, Nestorius and Eutychius; the text is structured like a hymn. The initial part (on Arius) reads (fol. 249^v, first column): *Arioz ucxokmnuli ġmrtisagan mčvalebelta činamzguari; siŋquaman mxolodšobilman, romelsa-igi daŋknebad borgda boroŋi; gankueta da šečuena, da suli misi bilči...*, ‘Arius, the leader of the heretics, alienated from God, was cut apart and cursed by the only-born Word, for the impoverishment of which the evil one turned mad, and his wicked soul...’. The same text is found in two Georgian codices of the Iviron Monastery on Mt Athos (georg. 64, an autograph by Giorgi the Athonite of the eleventh century, fol. 1^v, and georg. 38,

⁴⁸ Kēkelize 1918, 202 indicates the date in square brackets at the beginning of the title of the legend; in his edition however, it is contained neither in any of the Georgian manuscripts, nor in the Syriac tradition.

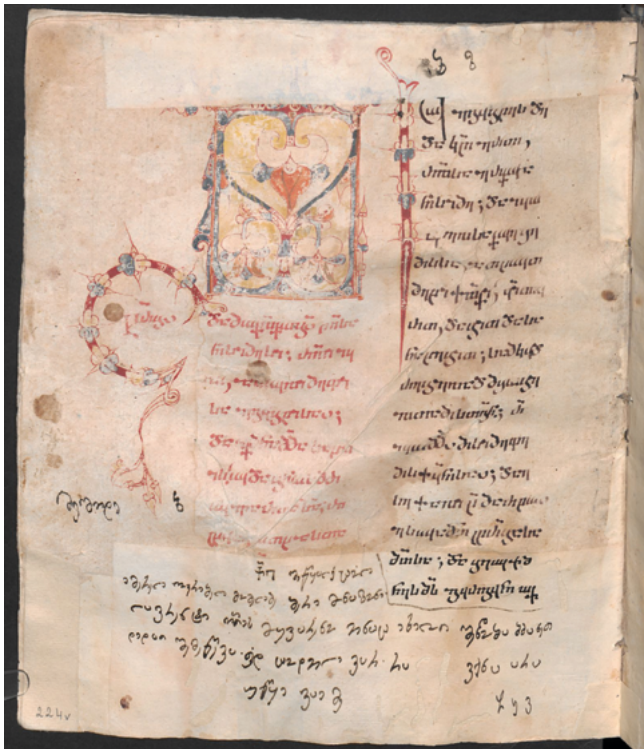


Fig. 16: Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Vind. Georg. 4, fol. 224r.

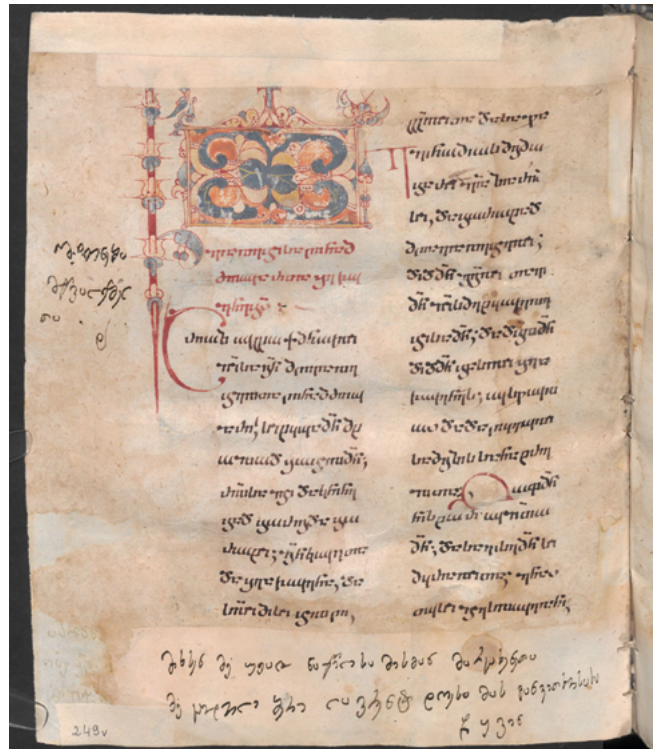


Fig. 17: Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Vind. Georg. 4, fol. 248v.

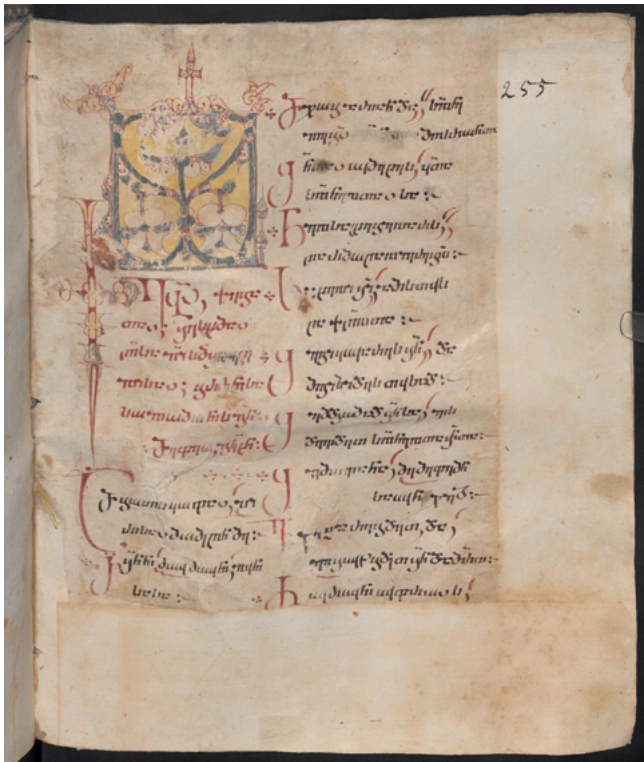


Fig. 18: Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Vind. Georg. 4, fol. 255r.



Fig. 19: Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Vind. Georg. 4, fol. 266v.

fourteenth century, fol. 335^v); in both these witnesses it forms part of the hymnary materials for Easter Saturday.

2.9 The ninth text of the Cod. Vind. georg. 4 (fols 255^r–266^r) represents yet another genre. It is the *Canticum canticorum* attributed to King Solomon, the only Biblical text in the volume. The text version in the Vienna codex, entitled *Kebay kebatay, šesxmay čmidisa ġmrtismšobelisay brznisa Solomonisgan*, ‘Song of Songs, a song in praise of the Holy Godmother by the wise Solomon’ (fol. 255^r, see Fig. 18), is peculiar indeed, given that it represents a redaction in its own right (distinct from the oldest version available that we find in the so-called Oshki Bible, ms. Ivir. georg. 1, and all other known Georgian versions) and that it is provided with neumes (clearly distinguishable in Fig. 18).⁴⁹ In the cycle-based *mravaltavis* outlined above, neither this nor any other Biblical text is included.⁵⁰

2.10 The tenth text in the Vienna codex (fols 266^v–292^r) is the *Sermo in nativitate Domini* by John Damascene (CPG 8067; BHG 1912). It is entitled (fol. 266^v, see Fig. 19): *Učqebatagan pırvelta gamoçulilvit šekrebuli nețarisia Ioanesgan xucisa da monazonisa Damaskelisay saķitxavi šobisatws uplisa čuenisa Iesu Kristšesa*, ‘Lecture, gathered with scrutiny from the first teachings by the blessed John, priest and monk, of Damascus, on the Nativity of Our Lord Jesus Christ’. In his catalogue, Peradze erroneously identifies this text with ‘PG 96, 736–768’, which is John Damascene’s *Oratio in laudem sancti Ioannis Chrysostomi* (CPG 8064), and even attributes this to John Chrysostom himself (‘hier steht diese Homilie unter dem Namen des Johannes Chrysostomus’); however, his reference to an edition of ‘Kuthais 1912’ is correct. The anonymous edition in question (see the title page in Fig. 21)⁵¹ was based upon ms. Ivir. georg. 7, fols 1^r–13^v, where the same text is related to 25 December and determined to be a translation by Giorgi the

Athonite (in a note reading *i(eso)w k(ri)st(e) adide m(a)m(a)y ġ(iorg)i targmani*, ‘Jesus Christ, exalt Giorgi, the translator’, added to the title, see Fig. 20; the addition in the Vienna codex, restorable as *ġ(ua)ķ(urt)x(e)n me(u)peo*, simply means ‘Lord, bless us’). In the *mravaltavis*, we find only one text of John Damascene, viz. his sermon on the Dormition of the Theotokos (CPG 8062), and only in one of the homiliaries (K 57), which suggests that it was a later addition.

2.11 The eleventh text of the Vienna codex (fols 292^v–303^r) is the only one that is also met with in one of the *mravaltavis*, viz. the so-called *Autobiography of St Dionysius the Areopagite* (CPG 6633; BHO 255), which is contained in the Tbeti codex (A-19) within the cycle referring to the feasts of the Apostles in the last week of December (T 29, with the date of 28 December indicated), preceding the saint’s letter to Timothy (cf. 1.4 above). In the Vienna codex, the title of the Georgian text, which was published on the basis of the manuscript Ivir. georg. 8, (fols 51^r–57^v, see the title at the bottom of fol. 51^r in Fig. 23) by Paul Peeters,⁵² runs (fol. 292^v, see Fig. 22): *Cxorebay čmidisa Dionisios episkoposisay, romeli iġo ze Sokratšisi da mtavari atenetay*⁵³, *romelsa eçoda kalaki brzentay, motxrobay žuarcumisatws uplisa čuenisa Iesu Kristšesa*, ‘Life of the holy bishop Dionysius, who was the son of Sokrates (and) the head of the inhabitants of Athens, which is called the city of the wise; narration of the crucifixion of Our Lord Jesus Christ.’ The fact that the autobiography occurs in only one of the *mravaltavis* again suggests that it was added later, together with the letter to Timothy.

2.12 The last text in the Vienna codex is the only one that is not introduced by an illumination; at the same time, it is the shortest one, covering only two pages (fols 303^v–304^r). According to Peradze, who provided a full German translation of it, it is ‘a short report by Basil the Oproph on the chronography from the creation of the world onwards’.⁵⁴ As a matter of fact, it covers the time span from Adam up to the reign of Alexios I Komnenos (c.1048–1118); its last lines (on fol. 304^r, see Fig. 25) contain an adequate dat-

⁴⁹ An electronic version provided by Zurab Sarjveladze 1999 is available at <<https://tinyurl.com/kebay-vind4>>.

⁵⁰ The text of the Song of Songs is also included, in *mkhedruli* script, in the eleventh-century codex A-65, the oldest Georgian codex on paper, on fols 211^v–214^v, together with a commentary (fols 193^r–210^r); the latter was reproduced in lithographic form in Šaniže 1924. Note that the codex A-65 also contains a text on the Gymnosophists (fol. 176^{r-v}), but not the *Narratio Zosimi*.

⁵¹ On the last page (p. 36), the edition is signed by a monk named Pimen (or Parmen?): *mta čmida atoni, ioane ġvtis meťqelis (!) savane. P-n monazoni*, ‘Holy Mt Athos, skete of John the Theologian. P-n the monk’.

⁵² Peeters 1921, 293–313.

⁵³ Sic; the correct form would be *ateneltay*.

⁵⁴ Peradze 1940, 230: ‘Ein kurzer Bericht des Basilios des Oprophen über die Chronographie von der Erschaffung der Welt an’.

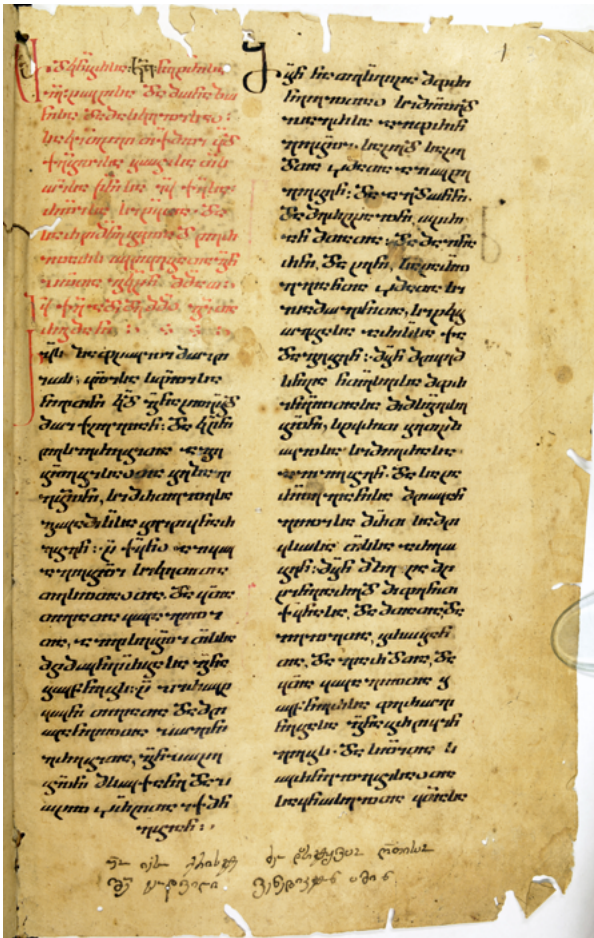


Fig. 20: Mt Athos, Iviron Monastery, georg. 7, fol. 1'.

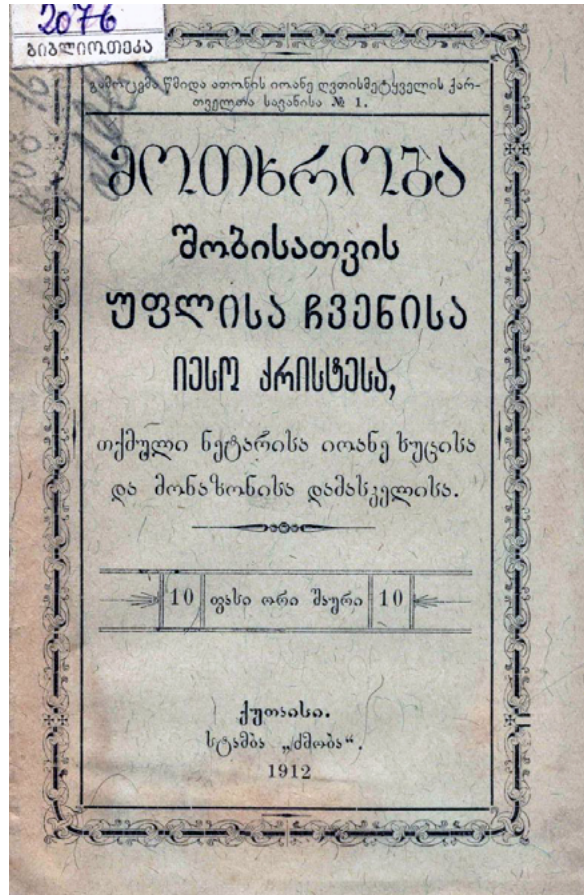


Fig. 21: Edition of John Damascene, *On the Nativity*.



Fig. 22: Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Vind. georg. 4, fol. 292'.

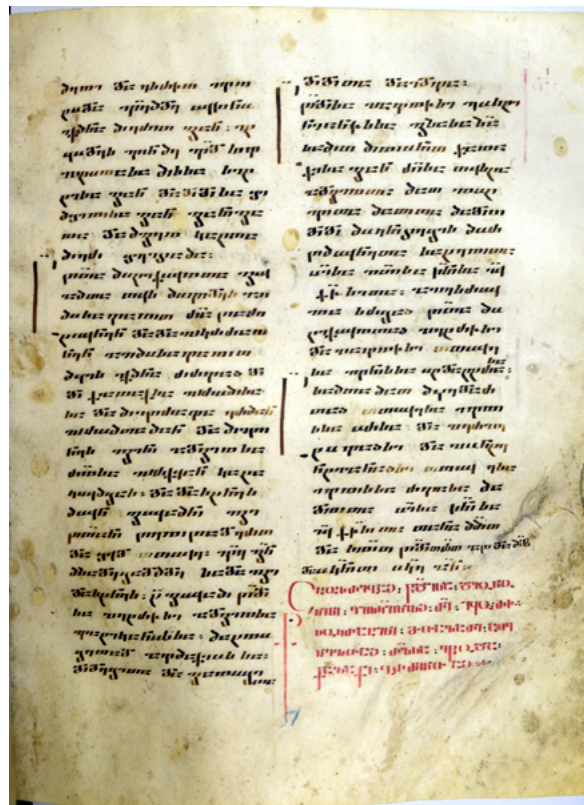
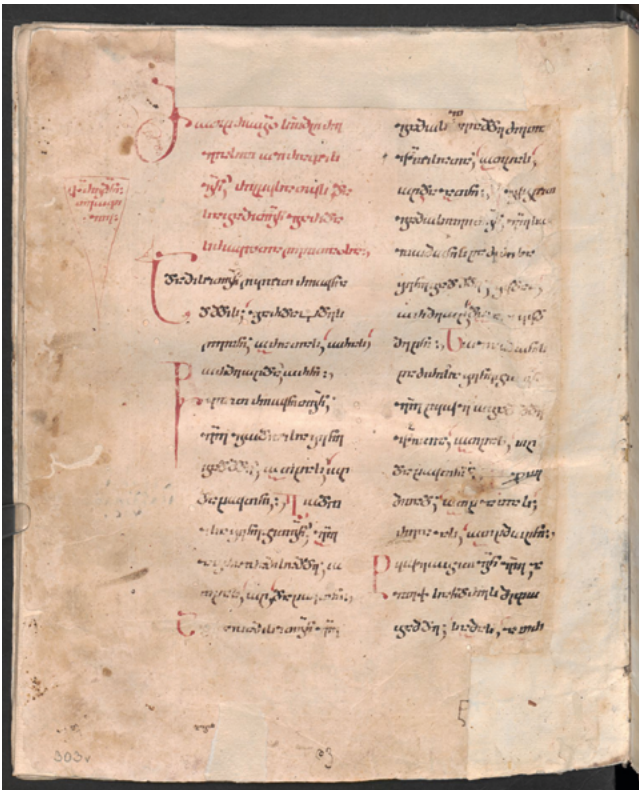
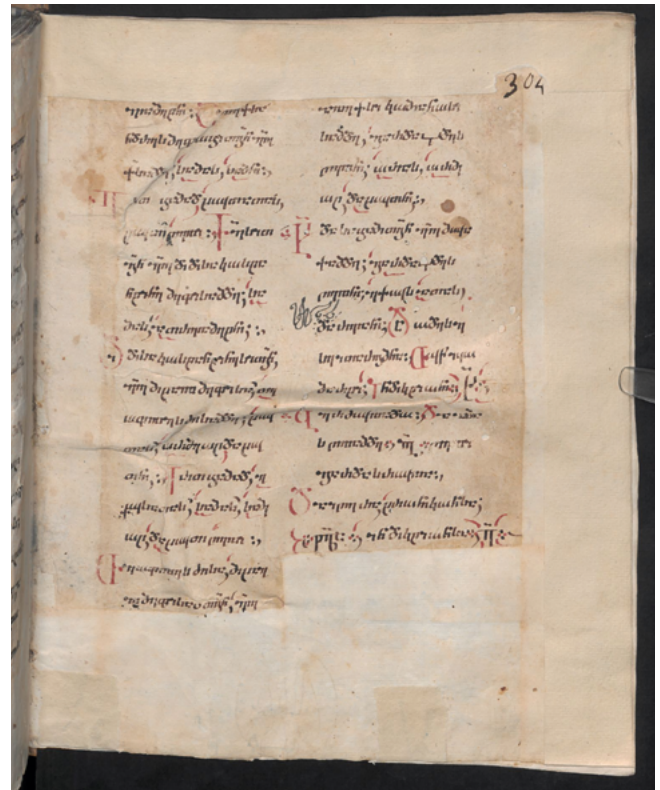


Fig. 23: Mt Athos, Iviron Monastery, georg. 8, fol. 51'.

Fig. 24: Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Vind. georg. 4, fol. 303^v.

ing in both the Georgian and the Byzantine style, viz. the ‘chronicon’ 331 and the ‘indiction’ 5 (*daiçera xronikonsa t̄la indik̄tionsa ē*), both referring to the years 1111–1112. In his account, Peradze was not only mistaken as to the ‘indiction’, which he assigned the number $\bar{1} = 30$,⁵⁵ but also about the name of the author and his alleged epithet. This is clear from a close look at the title, which reads (fol. 303^v, see Fig. 26): *Motxrobay sulmcire vasilograpisgan, ricxwsatws dasabamitgan gardasrulta çeltaysa*, ‘Short account from the *vasilograpi* on the number of years elapsed since Creation’. The *vasilograpi* mentioned here is not a person but a type of text, as explained in the Georgian chronicle *Kartlis Cxovreba*, in the subtext *Iştoriani da azmani şaravandedtani* (‘Histories and Praises of the Crowned’), which relates to the reign of Queen Tamar of Georgia (1160–1213). Here we read: ‘Now I shall render what I have seen or what I have heard from the wise and prudent men, into a history and a *vasilograpi*, i.e. an “account of kings”. Just as Luke advances his account from “Set, Adam and God” (Luke 3:38), I, too will start from

⁵⁵ The Byzantine ‘indiction’ system was based upon cycles of 15 years so that a ‘30th indiction never existed.

Fig. 25: Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Vind. georg. 4, fol. 304^r.

that Tamar...’⁵⁶ If, then, *vasilograpi* meant something like an ‘account of kings’,⁵⁷ it is obvious that it reflects a Greek compound βασιλογραφεῖον (or βασιλογράφιον) in the sense of a ‘chronicle of emperors’. It is true that the Greek term has been attested only with different meanings so far, rendered as ‘prophetical work on emperors’ and ‘anti-imperial script’ in Erich Trapp’s *Lexikon*,⁵⁸ this, however, cannot disprove the assumption proposed here. There is one piece of

⁵⁶ Qauxčišvili 1959, 2–3: *aç me, romeli gina tu mixilavs, gina tu brzenta da gonierta kacagan masmian, gardavsce iştoriasa da vasilograpsa, romel ars ‘motxroba mepeta’. vinatgan luğa aġnavlobasa siŋqwsasa ikms ‘seitisa, adamisa da ġmrtisa’, meca esret viçqo amis tamarisa...* For the reference to the genealogy contained in the Gospel of Luke (3:23–28), see Qauxčišvili 1959, n. 1.

⁵⁷ See Žožuā 2002, 107 for a similar suggestion.

⁵⁸ Trapp 2001, 269: ‘antikaiserliche Schrift’ (referring to the History by Georgios Pachymeres, thirteenth to fourteenth centuries) and ‘prophetisches Buch über Kaiser’ (referring to the *Patria of Constantinople*, where we find the phrase τὸν βασιλέων γράφειν τὰς ἱστορίας, cf. Preger 1901, 45, l. 15 within sect. 40 of the Παραστάσεις σύντομοι χρονικά). Βασιλογράφια in the latter sense is found, e.g., in the work of Nicetas Choniates (twelfth century, cf. Bekker 1835: 405 n. ad l. 20) or, in the later form βασιλογράφιν, in two recensions of the *Historia Alexandri Magni* (ch. 44, sect. 3 in rec. E, cf. Kōnstantinopulos and Lōlos 1983, and p. 53, l. 2 in rec. V, cf. Mētsakēs 1967) and in a Latin adaptation (*vasilographo*) in the *Vaticinium Sibillae Eritheae* (Holder-Egger 1890, 155). Bogiatzidēs 1925, 163–164 established ‘golden bull’ (χρυσόβουλλον) as a third meaning.

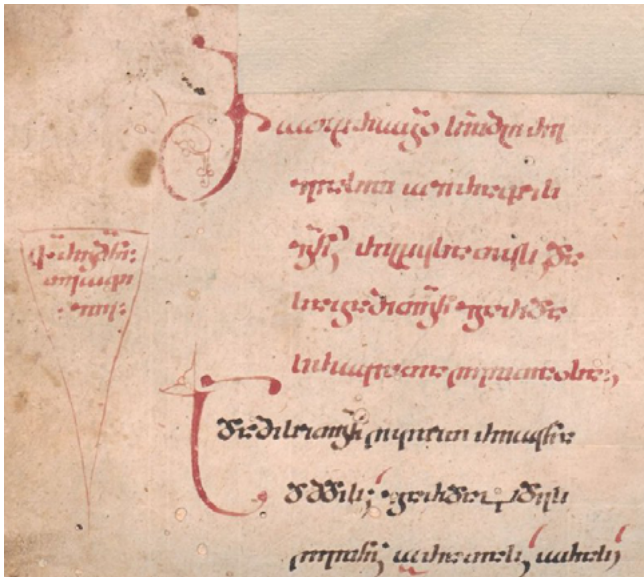


Fig. 26: Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Vind. georg. 4, fol. 303^v, detail.

more important information contained in the Vienna codex in that it indicates, in the margin left of the title, the translator of the chronicle with *t(a)rgm(a)ni teopile*, i.e. ‘translator Teopile’, which probably refers to the famous scribe of this name who lived approximately from 1050 to 1120 and who worked as a priest-monk in the Monastery of the Holy Theotokos in Constantinople until 1114.⁵⁹ That his translation was included in a codex that was conceived and produced 50 years later in South-East Georgia again speaks in favour of close contacts between Georgia and the Greek world in the twelfth century.⁶⁰

3. Conclusion

Was Peradze right, then, in styling the Vienna codex a *Mrawalthawi*? It is true that it contains mostly homiletic texts, which would speak in favour of this. However, it also contains apocryphal and hagiographical materials like the *Narratio Zosimi* or the *Vita (O)nesimae*, which are certainly not in the scope of the original *mrawaltavis*.⁶¹ With the ‘Anathema of the heretics’, it further contains a product of hymnography, and it even includes a Biblical text (the *Canticum Canticorum*) – neither of these genres pertains to the ‘canon’ of the *mrawaltavis*, either. What is more, no clear-cut correspondence to the ecclesiastical year and its feasts is recognisable – where there are relations to dates, they extend vaguely from the beginning of Lent to the end of December, but there is by no means a clear order in (or in relation to) them. If we consider that only one of the texts contained in the Vienna codex co-occurs in one of the prototypical *mrawaltavis* (the autobiography of (Pseudo-)Dionysios Areopagita, see 2.11 above), we should rather regard it as an ad hoc ‘collection’ like the famous codex from Šaṭberdi (S-1141, end of the tenth century), whose second part (written in minuscules) combines ancient homiletic materials (among them writings by Hippolytus of Rome) with the legend of the Conversion of Georgia by St Nino (*Mokcevey Kartlisay*), the life of Jacob of Nisibis (c.308–350) and the Commentary on the Psalms (CPG 6202) of Theodoret of Cyrrhus (c.393–466).⁶² This, however, does not diminish the value of the Vienna codex, which remains indeed a remarkable work of Georgian erudition of the twelfth century.

⁵⁹ Cf. Kekelize 1980, 243–246 and Tarchnišvili 1955, 176–180 as to Teopile’s life and works and Žožua 2002, 108 for the time span in question.

⁶⁰ Cf. note 34 above as to another text in the Vienna codex that may have been translated by Teopile.

⁶¹ Cf. Žožua 2002, 106, who also rejects the usage of the term for the Vienna codex.

⁶² Cf. the edition by Giginešvili and Giunašvili 1979.

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Article

The Armenian Homiliaries: An Attempt at an Historical Overview

Bernard Outtier | Lavau, Saint-Martin de la Mer

To the best of my knowledge, the history of Armenian homiliaries has not been written yet. About half a column is devoted to Armenian homiliaries in the article ‘Homéliers’ of the *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*.¹ Forty years ago, Michel Van Esbroeck and Ugo Zanetti wrote: ‘Few tools exist so far that allow us to study the collections called *ճառքնատիր* (*čarəntir*, lit. ‘choice of discourses’), which consist of lections organised according to the liturgical year. [...] In order to open the way for a more comprehensive study of the homiletic-hagiographic collections of the Armenian Church, it did not seem useless to publish the description of the items contained in [such] a very big volume’ as the Yerevan ms. 993 of the Matenadaran.² I shall not pretend to fill this gap here; my aim is to suggest some regions in the field where systematic research needs to be done.

I shall first speak about the Armenian terminology of these collections and then show how the literary monument styled *čarəntir* was created, since we are fortunate enough to be able to date it and localise its origin. After a few words about the relationship between ‘homiliary’ and ‘lectionary’ in Armenian, we shall see how the former increased in many ways, including more and more Armenian compositions, enlarging the number of celebrations, especially by the inclusion of new saints and, as a consequence, of the texts to be read, and introducing texts taken from the rationale of the feasts.

1. Terminology

In the Armenian literature, we find different words that refer to a ‘homiliary’, mainly *տառնական* (*tawnakan*), which corresponds to *πανηγυρικόν* in Greek, and *ճառքնատիր* (*čarəntir*). For instance, in a medieval list of historians whose texts were translated into Armenian, we read: ‘History of holy

pontiffs and martyrs, today called *ճառքնատիր* (*čarəntir*). It was translated from various languages by many (translators); later, the holy father Solomon of Mak‘enoc’ collected it in one volume and called it *տառնական* (*tawnakan*),³ because up to that time there was no *յայսմաւորք* (*yaysmawowrk*) ‘martyrology-synaxary’ among us’.⁴ The first translation into Armenian of a martyrology-synaxary was made from the Greek in Constantinople in the year 991.⁵

Why were homiliaries included in a list of historians, as shown above? The homiliary of Muš (Yerevan, Matenadaran 7729), which was based on the *tawnakan* by Solomon of Mak‘enoc’, gives us some clues. The title found in the manuscript itself (fol. 3r; Fig. 1) begins with the following words: *Սկիզբն պատմութեանց, աստուածարեալ եւ սրբազանազունդ վարդապետութեանց հոգիացելոց արանց, սրբոց հարց, եպիսկոպոսաց եւ վարդապետաց (...)*⁶ ‘Beginning of the *histories* of the teachings, inspired by God and full of holiness, of the spiritual men, of the *holy* Fathers, *bishops* and *masters* (...)’ (my emphasis). From the title of the homiliary of Muš it is clear that the texts found in it were considered *պատմութիւնք* (*patmowt’iwnk*) ‘histories’.

The passage from the list of historians quoted above is important because it shows that the term *ճառքնատիր* (*čarəntir*) was used later than the term *տառնական* (*tawnakan*) to refer to a homiliary. Actually, we find no example of the term *ճառքնատիր* (*čarəntir*) in the 357 colophons of Armenian manuscripts (from the fifth to the twelfth century) published by A. Mat‘evosyan.⁷ Here I give the words that can be found

¹ Barré 1969, 607.

² Van Esbroeck and Zanetti 1977, 123 (my translation).

³ About the term *տառն* (*tawn*) (‘feast’), see Belardi and Cardona 1968.

⁴ Anasyan 1959, LVI (my translation).

⁵ Mat‘evosyan 1988, no. 86.

⁶ Mat‘evosyan 1988, 31.

⁷ Mat‘evosyan 1988.



Fig. 1: The homiliary of Muš, Yerevan, Matenadaran 7729, fol. 3r.

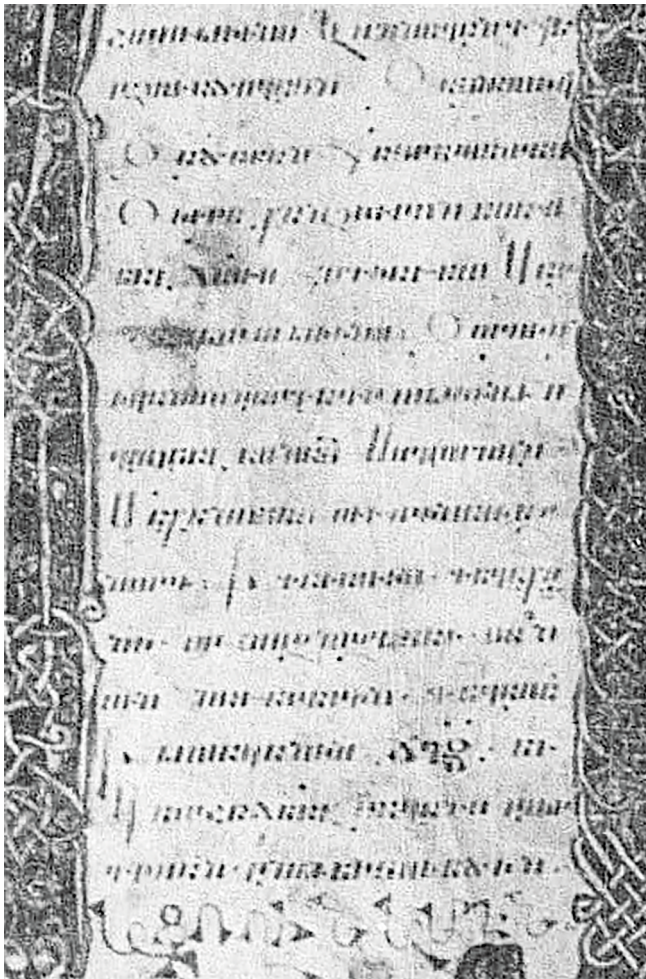


Fig. 2: The homiliary of Muš, Yerevan, Matenadaran 7729, fol. 3^a, detail.

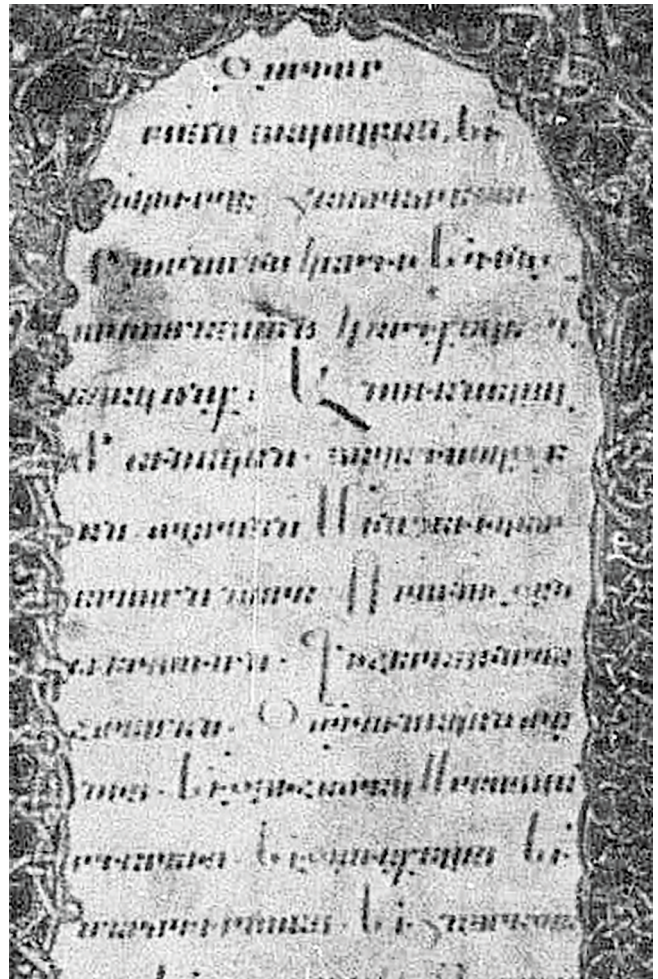


Fig. 3: The homiliary of Muš, Yerevan, Matenadaran 7729, fol. 3^b, detail.

in colophons beside *tawnakan*, all of them in the twelfth century. The most frequently used is also the one with the largest scope, viz. գիրք (*girk*) ‘book’.⁸ We also find կտակ (*ktak*) ‘testament’, denoting a manuscript as being left as a heritage.⁹ We further find a group of words that indicate that many feasts of martyrs were added to the celebrations of the moveable feasts, viz. ճառք վկայական հանդիսից (*čark’ vkayakan handisic*) ‘discourses for the celebrations of martyrs’¹⁰

Since the eleventh century, we find collections of passions that have no more direct links with the liturgical year. So the codex Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, arm.

⁸ Yerevan, Matenadaran 3777 (1195 AD); Matenadaran 9296 (twelfth century); Venice, San Lazzaro 205.

⁹ Yerevan, Matenadaran 1522 and 3782, both from the twelfth century. The last one has also the old word տանական (*tawnakan*), while the former uses the less common տանացուցակ (*tawnac’owc’ak*) ‘inventory of feasts’.

¹⁰ Venice, San Lazzaro 201, from the twelfth century.

178 (twelfth century) is a վկայական մատեան (*vkayakan matean*), i.e. a book of martyrs that, however, is not a ‘martyrologion’ in the liturgical sense of the term, since the texts are not given according to the order of the liturgical year, but alphabetically.¹¹

Beside the տանական (*tawnakan*), we should also mention the existence of another related collection, the տանապատճառ (*tawnapatčar*) ‘rationale of the feasts’¹² or, more explicitly as in the codex Matenadaran 3795,¹³ տանից պատճառ եւ ընթերցուածոց մեկնութիւն (*tawnic’ patčar ew ant’erc’owacoc’ meknowt’wn*), ‘cause of the feasts and explanation of the lections’. In a very generic way, the codex Matenadaran 1007 calls this a գիրք (*girk*) ‘book’, as

¹¹ Outtier 1998. Curiously, one short text was copied twice in this manuscript, based on two different models.

¹² On this type of collection, see Ant’abyan 1971.

¹³ 1190 CE (Mat’evosyan 1988, no. 271).

we have already seen above.¹⁴ The first shaping of this type of collection has been attributed to Samuel of Kamrhadzor (tenth–eleventh century); Yovhannes of Gandzak and Vardan Arewelc'i (both thirteenth century) can also be named as compilers of that kind of collections. Unlike the *tawnakan*, it seems that the texts of a *tawnapatčar* were not read during the liturgical celebrations.

2. The first Armenian homiliary

The list of translated historians quoted above names Solomon of Mak' enoc' as the compiler of the first Armenian homiliary in the eighth century.¹⁵ But of course, the Armenians did not wait until the eighth century before they started reading lections during the night services.¹⁶ But until then, there must have been a certain liberty of choice for each church or monastery. We know that it was such for the hymnals before the practice became more unified.¹⁷

The homiliary of Solomon of Mak' enoc' is not preserved as such, but the homiliary of Muš (Matenadaran 7729, cf. above), which was written down between 1200 and 1202, claims to be a copy from the exemplar of Solomon.¹⁸ However, Charles Renoux assumed that between the exemplar of Solomon and the copying of the Muš homiliary, some lections were moved so that we do not have the original state anymore.¹⁹ It is obvious that the contents underwent some

changes from the original of the year 747, as it is the rule for liturgical books.²⁰ This is proven by the presence of lections by the Catholicos Zak' aria (†877) and even three lections taken from the Commentary of St Luke's Gospel by Ignatios Vardapet (thirteenth century).

Matenadaran 7729 is not a pocketbook: its size is 705 × 553 mm, and 603 parchment folios are preserved, so when it was still complete, it must have weighed some 30 kg. It is therefore clear that it must have lain permanently on a lectern. It still contains 342 lections, but must have had about 350 originally. This is not the only giant in this kind of collection. In the year 1307, a manuscript measuring 695 × 465 mm was copied in Crimea. 979 paper folios are preserved, but the last twenty lections are lost and some folios are missing at the beginning as well, so we may assume that there were more than 1,000 folios when it was still complete. Too heavy to be transported, weighing probably around 30 kg, the manuscript was unbound and divided into three volumes, today kept as Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, arm. 116, 117 and 118. The manuscript Jerusalem, St James, 1, from the year 1419, contains 521 titles (some of them cover more than one lection). It was copied in Jerusalem, has 940 folios measuring 570 × 445 mm, and has been divided into four volumes. The manuscript Matenadaran 993, copied in 1456, contains 445 lections.²¹

Having studied the decoration of the homiliary of Muš, Mat'evosyan linked it to the scriptorium of Awag Vank' in Upper Armenia.²²

3. Relationship between homiliary and lectionary and sources of the homiliary

The title of the homiliary of Muš clearly shows a relationship between the homiliary and the lectionary: 'These lections from the theologian pontiffs, each of them (are) teachings spoken by the (Holy) Ghost, which the man of God Solomon, head of the community of Mak' enoc', collected in well-ordered disposition (...) in the year 196 (= 747 AD). And he made them fit with the disposition of the lectionary set out by SS James and Cyril, according to the same order, calling these ecclesiastical ordinations *tawnakank'*, (extending) from the beginning of the year to its end, which contain what

¹⁴ Dated to the eleventh–twelfth centuries by Ant'abyan (1971) or to the twelfth century by Mat'evosyan 1988.

¹⁵ See Van Esbroeck 1969.

¹⁶ See Renoux 1993 as to the Palestinian origin of the Armenian hymnary.

¹⁷ A text by Kirakos Ganjakec'i (thirteenth century) is very telling in this matter: '[About 650] it happened to him [the Catholic Nerses Šinol] to be in Bagowan for the Feast of the Transfiguration with a multitude coming from all over the country. The singing of the hymns had multiplied in the churches of the Armenians, to the point that the cantor of one region did not know those of another. And they pronounced the *Harc'* [hymn of the morning office] of the Transfiguration, and the other group could not answer. And they multiplied many hymns, and they did not know them any more. Then the patriarch Nerses, with the agreement of all, chose what was useful and profitable, so that there was in all churches every day a unique liturgy according to the mystery of the day. They chose wise men to ramble throughout the country of the Armenians. They established the same disposition which is still that of today' (Kirakos Ganjakec'i, *Patmowt' iwn Hayoc'* [History of the Armenians], ed. Melik'-Ohanjanyan 1961, 61–62; my translation). The tradition attributes the act of unification to Barseł Čon (seventh century?).

¹⁸ For a full description of the manuscript, see Van Esbroeck 1984a; on the structure of the homiliary, see Van Esbroeck 1984b.

¹⁹ Renoux 1986–1987, 132, n. 57.

²⁰ See Zanetti and Voicu 2015.

²¹ See the description in Van Esbroeck and Zanetti 1977.

²² Mat'evosyan 1969; on this monastery, see Thierry 1988–1989, 409–417.

is read during the night service, for the feasts of the Lord and for the commemoration of the holy prophets and apostles, and martyrs and pontiffs and emperors'.²³

Indeed, in his 1987 study, Dom Renoux showed very well that the titles of the liturgical sections of the homiliary were borrowed from the lectionary and that the choice of lections in the homiliary was largely influenced by the Gospels read in the lectionary.²⁴

Dom Renoux also proved that the old Armenian lectionary was translated from the Greek lectionary of Jerusalem, probably between the years 418 and 422.²⁵ However, whereas it is clear today that the lectionary, the ritual, the book of hymns and the breviary all drew from Hierosolymitan Greek sources, this is not the case for the homiliary. For his compilation, Solomon used texts already extant in Armenian. This is why the texts are less typically Palestinian in it than in the Georgian *mrvaltavi*.²⁶

4. The enrichment of the homiliary

In the course of time, new texts were added to the original homiliary of Solomon. According to the description by Michel Van Esbroeck (1984a), John Chrysostom takes the lion's share of the homiliary of Muš, with 81 lections (including some *pseudo-chrysostomica*) out of 342 (82 if we count the anonymous lection no. 184, the beginning of which is by Chrysostom while the ending part is by Severian of Gabala). We have already seen that homilies by Catholicos Zak'aria and Ignatios Vardapet were inserted later. The procedure is obvious: a new text, by a younger author, is normally added at the end of a section. Van Esbroeck remarked that this enrichment is compensated by an abridgement of lections, which are otherwise often longer in the homiliary of Muš than in later homiliaries. As in Matenadaran 3782 (fifteenth century), nos 20–25, long lections are generally cut

into pieces: two for the Gospel of Nicodemus, five for the homily on the Nativity of Christ attributed to Ephrem the Syrian (in fact by Jacob of Sarug).

At least since the twelfth century (Matenadaran 948, of the year 1196), we observe an 'Armenisation' of the lections, with the introduction of the homilies known under the name of Johannes Mandakuni (also transmitted under the names of Ephrem and John Chrysostom), an Armenian author from the seventh century. We find them, for instance, in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, arm. 116–118 and Matenadaran 993. In Paris, arm. 116–118, we also find seven homilies attributed to Theophile, a disciple of John Chrysostom; these homilies, unknown in Greek, could have been composed by an Armenian.

Another way of enrichment consists of introducing new celebrations, especially for saints. So we find 26 celebrations in the homiliary of Muš, but 141 in the manuscript Paris, arm. 116–118, including many Armenian saints.

A third way has not been noticed up to now. It consists of introducing into the homiliary explanations taken from the rationale, ten of which are to be found in Matenadaran 993.

Sometimes a scribe changes the presentation and provides a new structure. So, in the manuscript Paris, arm. 120 (fourteenth century), we read first the homilies for the whole liturgical year, including homilies by Zak'aria Catholicos and Ignatios Vardapet (fols 1–151), then the lives of the saints in alphabetical order (fols 152–519).²⁷

5. By way of conclusion

Liturgy is always alive, as the study of liturgical books shows very clearly: there are no two identical homiliaries. The body grows but keeps its original frame: it is still possible to follow the order of the lectionary of Jerusalem, and it is still possible to find fixed units, for example the lections for the deceased (this time without correspondence in the lectionary).²⁸

The origin of the Armenian homiliary is Armenian, even though it is in a way similar to the Greek *panegyrika* (especially to 'type C' of Albert Ehrhard²⁹). This is also the case with the Georgian *mrvaltavi*, and we could say about the Armenian what Michel van Esbroeck wrote about

²³ Ջայնոսիկ զաստուածաբան հայրապետա, զիրաքանչիրսն ասացեալ ճառս հոգիախաւս վար[դապ]ետութիւնս, զորս ի կանոն կարգադրութիւն ժողովեալ առն Աստուծոյ՝ Մաքնոցաց ուխտին առաջնորդ (...) ի թուական ճՂԶ: Եւ պատշաճեալ յաղագս ըստ դրման ընթերցուածին, զոր ի սրբոյն Յակովբայ եւ ի Կիրղէ հաստատեցաւ ընդ նմին կարգի եղին, զոր ի սմայս են կարգք եկեղեցականք անուանելով Տաւնականք, յաղագս սկզբան տարոյն մինչեւ ի կատարումն նորա, որ ունի զընթերցումն գիշերային պաշտաման, զտէրունական տաւնից, եւ գլխատակ սրբոց մարգարէից եւ զառաքելոց, եւ մարտիրոսաց, եւ հայրապետաց եւ թագաւորաց.

²⁴ Renoux 1987.

²⁵ Renoux wrote extensively about the models of the Armenian liturgical books, see for instance Renoux 2003.

²⁶ See Jost Gippert, this volume.

²⁷ See Muyldermans 1961.

²⁸ Lections nos 100–127 in the homiliary of Muš and nos 85–107 in ms. Paris arm. 110 were divided into four parts in ms. Matenadaran 993, as nos 118–123, 125–126, 137–145 and 147–150.

²⁹ Ehrhard 1937–1952, II/1 (*Fünfter Abschnitt*), 65–91.

the Georgian: ‘Without any doubt, these correspondences [between the Greek and the Georgian] show evidence of the high age of the separation of the two traditions and the long isolated evolution of the old Georgian homiliary.’ The prehistory of the Armenian *tōnakan* before the eighth century still needs to be studied.

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Article

Preliminary Remarks on Dionysius Areopagita in the Arabic Homiletic Tradition

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1 Terminology

In Arabic there are two words that may be translated as ‘homily’: *turġām* (تُرْجَام) and *mīmar* (مِيمَر), sometimes also pronounced *maymar*. Both words are derived from the Syriac language: *turġām* is essentially the Syriac word *tūrgāmā* (ܬܘܪܓܡܐ), which means ‘homily’ as well as ‘interpretation’ or ‘explanation’. In Arabic, *turġām* is a particular ‘Christian term’ in contrast to the very common Arabic word *tarġama* (تَرْجَمَة) meaning ‘translation’, which is built upon the same four radicals (root consonants).

In the Christian Arabic tradition, a *turġām* is very often rhymed. It usually consists of an explanation of New Testament texts.¹ Thus, it is a sermon that follows the Gospels. In the Eastern Syriac tradition, a *tūrgāmā* is an expository anthem preceding a reading of the Gospels or of Paul’s Epistles. In Syriac, the word may also mean ‘allegory’, ‘commentary’, ‘discourse’ or even ‘funeral oration’. There is also an Ethiopic word that is based on the same four radicals, viz. *tarġwāme* (ተርገዌ) meaning ‘commentary’ or ‘exegesis’ and signifying mainly Biblical commentaries.

Mīmar, also a very specific Christian Arabic term, is derived from the Syriac word *mimrā* (ܡܡܪܐ) meaning ‘discourse’ or ‘sermon’. *Mīmar* translates ‘speech’, ‘homily’ or ‘theological discourse’ in Arabic. An Arabic *mīmar* is usually not rhymed, whereas in Syriac a *mimrā* normally signifies a metrical homily. Ephrem the Syrian, for example, wrote many of these metrical homilies or *mimrē* (which is the plural of *mimrā*).

2. Arabic homiletic collections

2.1 Designation of the collections in catalogues

It is not really easy to find homilies in catalogues of Arabic manuscripts, because collections of homilies may have different names in Arabic, depending on their content. The

general term for ‘homiliaries’, كتاب الميامير (*kitāb al-mayāmīr*), may be translated as ‘Book of *mīmars*’. However, we also find them mentioned as

- كتاب المواعظ (*kitāb al-mawā‘iz*, ‘Book of Exhortations’)
 - كتاب الخطب (*kitāb al-ḥuṭab*, ‘Book of Speeches’, i.e. ‘Sermons’)
 - كتاب عظات للصيام الكبير أو اعياد أخرى مشهورة (*kitāb al-‘izāt liṣ-ṣiyām al-kabīr ‘aw ‘a’yād ‘uḥrā mašhūra*, ‘Book of exhortations for Lent and other important feast days’)
- or even with special titles such as
- روضة الواعظ (*rawḍat al-wā‘iz*, ‘Meadow of the preacher’) or
 - بوق السماء (*būq as-samā’*, ‘The trumpet of Heaven’).

Besides the titles given above, homiliaries can be found in connection with ‘Saints’ Lives’, ‘Acts’ and ‘Martyrdoms’ or even as ‘Prayer Books’ and ‘Service Books’. Thus, Arabic manuscript catalogues (especially the older ones) do not in fact classify such collections under a specific or well defined rubric so far.

2.2 Authors of homilies found in Arabic homiliaries

If we follow Graf’s monumental *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*,² especially volumes I and II, we find mainly homilies by the following Greek and Syriac authors in Arabic translations. Most of them are well known:

- Theophilus (Monophysite) bishop of Alexandria (c.385–412)
- Gregory of Nyssa (c.335–395)
- John Chrysostom (c.349–407) (very copious)
- Epiphanius of Salamis (c.320–403)
- Cyril of Alexandria (c.376–444)
- Theodosius of Alexandria (Monophysite, sixth century)
- Ephrem the Syrian (c.306–373)
- Jacob of Sarug (c.451–521)

¹ Cf. Graf 1954, 29.

² Graf 1944–1947.



Fig. 1: Mt Sinai, St Catherine's Monastery, ar. 448^{bis}, fols 23^v-24^r.

It is possible to arrange homiletic collections in accordance with different denominations or Churches. In doing so, we may again follow Graf. The given list is, like the one above, extracted from Graf's *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*. I mention only important authors before the fifteenth century, some of them not native Arabs or not Arabic-speaking:

- Jacobite Church (Syrians)
- Moses bar Kepha (†903)
- Michael the Syrian (†1199)
- Coptic Church (Egyptians)
- Būlus al-Būšī (twelfth/thirteenth century)
- Al-Waḡīh Yūḡannā al-Qalyūbī (thirteenth century)
- Aṣ-Ṣaḡīf abu'l-Faḡā'il ibn al-'Assāl (thirteenth century)
- Al-Mu'taman Abu-Iṣḡāq ibn al-'Assāl (thirteenth century)

- Šams ar-Ri'āsa Abu'l-Barakāt ibn Kabār (thirteenth/fourteenth century)
- Melkite Church
- Athanasius, patriarch of Jerusalem (uncertain)³
- Nestorian Church
- Abū Ḥalīm Īlīyā ibn al-Ḥadīlī (†1190).⁴

3. Works by pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite or attributed to him in Arabic homiletic collections

There are essentially only two Dionysian texts in Arabic that are explicitly called *mīmar*, i.e. 'homilies': the *Narratio de vita sua* (CPG 6633, hereinafter *NVS*) and 'On Good and

³ Cf. Graf 1947, 86–87.

⁴ Cf. Graf 1947, 202.



Fig. 2: Mt Sinai, St Catherine's Monastery, ar. 475, fols 156^v-157^r.

Evil', an extract of *De divinis nominibus* (IV, 18–35). Neither of these two texts is a 'homily' in the proper sense. The *NVS* is a report in which Dionysius the Areopagite allegedly narrates his conversion to Christianity. It is related to the seventh letter to Polycarp attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite and belonging to the *Corpus Dionysiacum*.⁵ In this letter, Dionysius relates that he saw the solar eclipse during the crucifixion of Christ when he was in Heliopolis. The *NVS* also reports this experience and connects it with St Paul's speech at the Areopagus. The two events finally led to his baptism.

3.1 Narratio de vita sua

We find the *NVS* mainly in homiletic collections such as the 'Holy Book of Homilies', where it follows a homily of

وختارين للشهدا بطرس وبولص العمد
القويح والصخرة الثانية المختارين حين
نقلوا اجسادهم للقديس من ذلك الموضع
الى الهياكل الجدد بكل امة كتاره
وتسبحه وقرانه وتهليل حتى وضعوا
جسد كل واحد منهم في كنيسته
اما جسد بطرس فجعلوه في موضع
يقال له باطيفيانون قريب من البحر واما
جسد بولص فجعلوه في موضع قريب
من روميه علي ميلين منها علي البحر
علي طريق اسطاسيه الذي ان موضعه
تعمل العجايب بسفاعةهم وطلبتهم
باسم ربنا يسوع المسيح كملت سهادت
وجهاد ريسا السليحيين بطرس الذي
سماه المسيح الصخرة وعمود الكنسه
وبولص المختار كاروز ربنا وسيدنا
يسوع المسيح في جميع الدنيا وكان ثمار

⁵ The *Corpus Dionysiacum* comprises four treatises (*De divinis nominibus*, *De coelesti hierarchia*, *De ecclesiastica hierarchia*, *De mystica theologia*) and ten letters (*Epistolae*). It was originally ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite mentioned in Acts 17:34, which does not prove to be true.

⁶ In Ethiopic, we find the *NVS* in connection with a homily by Benjamin I, as well. The homily in question is different though; it is on the crucifixion of Christ. In Arabic, on the other hand, the *NVS* follows the homily of Benjamin I; in Ethiopic it is included in it. Cf. Müller 1968, 43–49 (47).

⁷ 'A locality the name of which cannot be read with safety' as Mingana says, see Mingana 1939, 52.

the prayer of the sixth hour on Good Friday; and second, the text is followed by a homily of Jacob of Sarug on the angel who guarded the Paradise of Eden and on the believing malefactor, i.e. the thief on the right side of Jesus when he was crucified, which was read after the prayer of the ninth hour on Good Friday. This homily of Jacob usually follows or precedes the *NVS* immediately in Ethiopic lectionaries for the Passion Week. Ethiopic lectionaries, on the other hand, were adopted from the Coptic Church in the fourteenth century and thus translated from Arabic.

Arabic homiletic collections containing the *NVS* are found in the following manuscripts:

1. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds arabe, 147 (fols 146^r–162^r).
Paper; fifteenth century; 326 folios; 25 × 16 cm; 15–17 lines.
McGuckin 1883–1895, 32–33.
2. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds arabe, 212 (fols 129^r–134^v).⁸
Paper; 1601; 322 folios; 21 × 15 cm; 17 lines.
McGuckin 1883–1895, 53.
3. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library, Mingana Collection, additional Christian Arabic ms. 247 [Chr. Arab. add. 258] (fols 1–6^v).
Paper; fourteenth century; 8 folios; 20.6 × 14.7 cm; 12 lines.
Mingana 1939, 51–52.
4. Cairo, Coptic Museum, 455 [Graf], 654 [Simaika, serial number] (fols 33^v–39^v).
Paper; 1741; 244 folios; 21 × 16 cm; 14 lines.
Graf 1934, 170.
Simaika and 'Abd al-Masīḥ 1942, 299.
5. Cairo, Coptic Museum, 446 [Graf], 861 [Simaika, serial number].
Paper; 1782; 208 folios, 32 × 23 cm; 17 lines.
Graf 1934, 166.
Simaika and 'Abd al-Masīḥ 1942, 388.
6. Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. ar. 75 (fols 157^v–168^v).
Paper; thirteenth/fourteenth century.
Mai 1831, 154.
Sauget 1984, 201–240.



Fig. 3: Mt Sinai, St Catherine's Monastery, ar. 482, fol. 269^r.

7. Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Borg. ar. 99 (fols 352^r–366^v).⁹
Paper; eighteenth century, 475 folios.
Tisserant 1924, 15.
Graf 1944, 269.

The content of all of these collections varies. In Paris, Fonds arabe, 147 we find homilies about the resurrection, the death or the body of Christ. In Paris, Fonds arabe, 212 we find homilies about the circumcision of Christ and his entry into the temple, combined with saints' lives. Cairo 446 contains 18 homilies of the Fathers for Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday. In all cases, the *NVS* is read on the sixth hour of Good Friday. In this usage, the Ethiopic Church follows the Coptic Arabic Church.

⁸ McGuckin erroneously says that it is on folios 122^r–135^r.

⁹ Graf 1947 gives page numbers: 666–710.

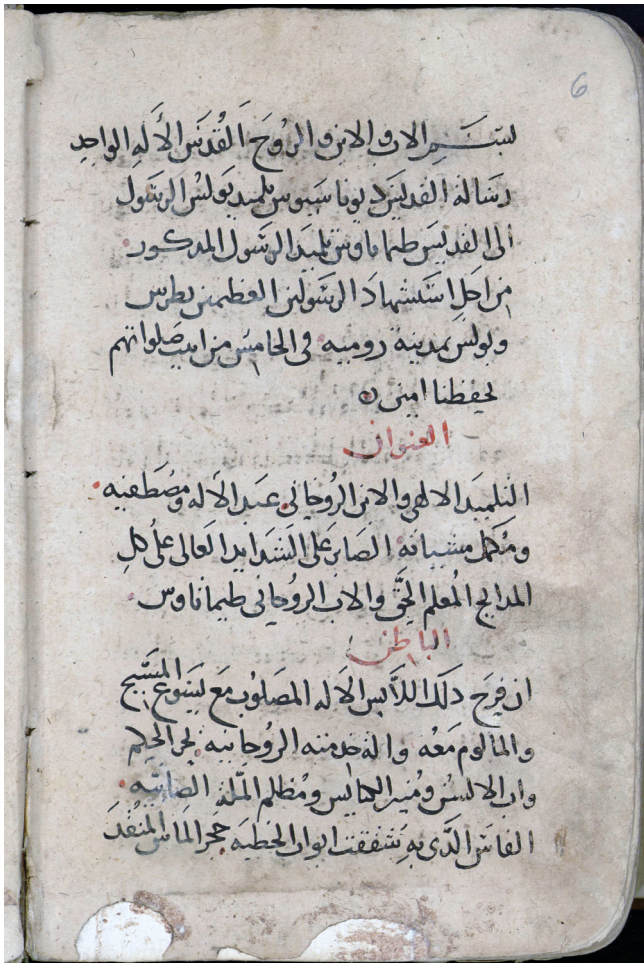


Fig. 4: Göttingen, State and University Library, MS arab. 104, fol. 6r.

3.2 'On Good and Evil'

'On Good and Evil' is extant in different kinds of collections. The text is found, for example, as an appendix to the work of Sim'ān al-Kalīl al-Maqāra (Macarius), which is called 'Garden of the Anchorite and Benediction of the Solitary'.¹⁰ In his book, Sim'ān (Macarius) praises moral virtues such as patience, forgiveness, humility, piety and faith. Its subject is thus the Good, which makes it a proper place to add the Dionysian treatise on Good and Evil.

We further find 'On Good and Evil' in manuscripts containing texts from the *Corpus Dionysiacum*. It is sometimes located after the eighth letter of Dionysius (the letter to Demophilus), which is – broadly speaking – about doing good or acting righteously in the Church. It is otherwise placed between the Apocalypse of John and the Dionysian 'Celestial Hierarchy'.

¹⁰ Graf 1947, 336–337. Graf translates it 'Garden of the Anchorite and Consolation of the Solitary'.



Fig. 5: Göttingen, State and University Library, MS arab. 105, fol. 142v.

3.3 The Epistola de morte Apostolorum Petri et Pauli

In addition to the liturgical books mentioned above, the *NVS* is sometimes found in homiletic collections, too, where it appears after the *Epistola de morte Apostolorum Petri et Pauli* (CPG 6631, hereinafter *EMA*).¹¹ The *EMA* ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite is, as the title says, an epistle (رسالة *risāla* in Arabic). It is never called a 'homily', neither in Arabic nor in Syriac, although about a third of all Arabic translations of the *EMA* extant in Arabic manuscripts (as far as I have been able to locate them as yet) are found in homiletic collections. Another large part of Arabic translations of the *EMA* appears in manuscripts containing the Pauline Epistles, either as a sort of preamble or preface or as an apostil or postscript. Two Arabic manuscripts in Göttingen containing

¹¹ A critical edition of this text, also covering translations from almost every Christian oriental language, is being prepared by the Göttingen Academy of Sciences and Humanities (Patristic Commission) and is expected to be published in 2020.



Fig. 6: Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale, Ms. 512, fols 151^v-152^r.

the *EMA*, for instance, are collections of Pauline epistles.¹² The *EMA* is otherwise extant in collections of saints' lives and martyrdoms or in various collections, dogmatic or other.

The *EMA* is not really a homily, as mentioned above. It is a 'Letter of Consolation', and it was written by (a certain) Dionysius to Timothy, Paul's disciple, on the occasion of St Paul's and St Peter's martyrdom. If we take a closer look, we find it to be a eulogy for St Paul, telling the story of his martyrdom. The martyrdom of St Peter is mentioned only briefly, with the information that he was crucified upside down.

Arabic homiletic collections containing the *EMA* are found in the following manuscripts:

a) Melkite¹³:

1. Jerusalem, Melkite Seminary of St Anne of the White Fathers, 38 (207–214).
Paper; 1874; 150 folios; 20.5 × 13 cm.
Graf 1914, 107–109.
Sauget 1986.
2. Lebanon, Dair Mār Dūmīṭ Fairtrūn, 10.
Paper; 1710¹⁴.
al-Lubnānī 1928, 458–459.
3. Aleppo, Library of Paul Sbath, 523 [14] (348–356).
Paper; seventeenth century; 452 pages; 23 × 17 cm.
Sbath 1928, 201–203.

¹³ The division into Melkite, Jacobite and Maronite homiletic collections is not meant to be strict. Jacobite homiletic collections, for example, were indeed used in the Melkite Church, with Monophysite statements sometimes being marked as heretical. Numbers seven and eight of the Melkite group are, for instance, most probably of Jacobite origin.

¹² Göttingen, State and University Library, Arab. 104 and Arab. 105.

¹⁴ Graf mentions the date 1694, see Graf 1947, 490.

4. Lebanon, Dair aš-Šuwair, 335.
Paper; eighteenth/nineteenth century.
Nasrallah 1961, 228.
5. Lebanon, Harissa, 37.
Paper; seventeenth century; 379 pages; 22 × 16 cm.
Nasrallah 1958, 66–69.
Sauget 1986.
6. Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale, 510 [61] (fols 232^r–234^v [445–450]).
Paper; eighteenth century; 278 folios; 36 × 21 cm.
Cheikho 1926, 214–215 [308–309].
Cheikho 1905, 471–473.
Sauget 1988, 231–290.
7. Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale, 511 (fols 334^v–341^r [655–668]).
Paper; 1867; 668 pages; 23.5 × 18 cm.
Cheikho 1926, 215 [309].
8. Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale, 512 (fols 152^r–156^r [352–361]).
Paper; sixteenth century; 744 pages; 21 × 14 cm.
Cheikho 1926, 215–216 [309–310].
9. Mt Sinai, St Catherine's Monastery, ar. 448^{bis} (fols 24^r–28^r).
Paper; thirteenth century; 323 folios; 21 × 13 cm.
Dunlop Gibson 1894, 86–87.
Clark 1952, 35b.
10. Mt Sinai, St Catherine's Monastery, ar. 475 (fols 157^r–164^v, incomplete).
Paper; thirteenth century; 272 folios; 21 × 11 cm.
Dunlop Gibson 1894, 92–93.
Clark 1952, 36a.
11. Mt Sinai, St Catherine's Monastery, ar. 482 (fols 269^v + 271^r–276^v).
Paper; thirteenth century; 297 folios; 24 × 15 cm.
Dunlop Gibson 1894, 94.
Clark 1952, 36a.
- b) Jacobite:
1. Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. sir. 196 (fols 429^r–436^v).
Bombycinus (silken paper); 1551 (Garshuni); 437 leaves.
Assemani and Assemani 1759, 416–426.
2. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library, Mingana Collection of Manuscripts, Mingana 461 (fols 59^v–67^v).
Paper; nineteenth century; 93 folios; 21.7 × 15.4 cm; 20 lines.
Mingana 1933, 822–825.
3. Cairo, Coptic Museum, 799 [2].
Paper; 110 folios; 39 × 23 cm; 16 lines.
Simaika and 'Abd al-Masīḥ 1942, 361.
4. Cairo, Library of the Church of St Sergius and Bacchus, 110 (fols 42^r–52^r).
Paper; 1716; 214 folios, 20.0 × 14.5 cm; 13 lines.
Burmester and Khater 1977, 38–39.
- c) Maronite:
1. Lebanon, Library of the Lebanese Missionaries of Dair al-Kreīm, 26.
Paper; end seventeenth century; 27 × 20 cm.
Nasrallah 1963, 28–29.

Why do we find the *EMA* in homiletic collections? The reason is that in the Coptic-Arabic tradition the *EMA* was read on 29 June, the day of the martyrdoms of St Peter and St Paul. It covers basically the same story as the account of their martyrdom given in the Coptic synaxary (a liturgical book containing hagiographies),¹⁵ but it goes into greater detail about St Paul.

4. Conclusion

Whereas the Dionysian writings proper, as we may style them, were passed down because they were being collected in the *Corpus Dionysiacum*, smaller and more dubious writings that were also ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite, such as the *EMA* and the *NVS*, were obviously handed down from one generation to the next because they were read as homilies and preserved in synaxaria, homiliaries or menologia, among other collections, and thus survived in manuscripts until today.

¹⁵ See for example St George Coptic Orthodox Church 1995, 417–418. The exact Coptic date is the 5th of the month of Abib.

Article

Compilation and Transmission of the Hagiographical-Homiletic Collections in the Slavic Tradition of the Middle Ages

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1. Introduction

The beginnings of Slavonic literary culture go back to the ‘Apostles to the Slavs’, SS Cyril and Methodius, who were active from 863 until their deaths (Cyril in 869, Methodius in 885) in the central Balkan region north of the Danube, jurisdictionally dependent on Rome but based on Greek-Byzantine culture. For the purpose of spreading Christianity, Cyril and Methodius created a first Slavic alphabet, the ‘Glagolitic’ script, which is not based on the Greek alphabet except for the order of the characters, thus representing an independent invention. After their death, this script was supplanted by the ‘Cyrillic’ alphabet, which was developed in Bulgaria and reflects the Greek one, with some extra characters for the special sounds of Slavonic.

When Methodius had deceased, the small group of their disciples went to Bulgaria (under Khan Boris, 852–889), where a significant cycle of homilies in the Old Bulgarian language was composed in the western area of the territory, in the region of Ohrid, under the direction of bishop Kliment (d. 916), a pupil of Methodius. In the Apostles’ Vitae (*Vita Cyrilli, Vita Methodii*)¹ preserved in the Old Slavonic language, in which the translation activity from Greek is reported (*Vita Methodii*, XV), works from the homiletic or hagiographic literature are not mentioned.² The expressions found in the Old Slavonic *Vita Methodii* (XV, 5) are ambiguous: *тъгда же и номоканонъ рекъше законоу правило и отъчскыя книги прѣложи* ‘tunc autem et nomocanonem id est legis regulam et patrum libros transtulit’³

or, in the older translation by Miklosich, ‘nomocanonem, id est legis regulam, et patericum vertit’.⁴

This passage from the *Vita Methodii* touches upon a central question in translation activity, and thus in the presentation of the extent of Old Slavonic literacy, that has not yet been completely clarified. We know that in the older period of Old Church Slavonic literature, during the time that is called the Moravian epoch, i.e. between the beginning of the activity of the Apostles to the Slavs, as a result of the embassy of Prince Rastislav to the Byzantine Emperor Michael III in 863 and the death of Methodius in 885, a *Paterikon* existed. It is unclear, however, whether this *Paterikon*, translated from Greek, was a collection of stories about desert fathers and monks or a collection of patristic writings, perhaps in the form of a homiliary without exact indication of its type and arrangement.⁵ The term *отъчскыя книги* used in the *Vita Methodii*, which Grivec and Tomšič aptly render as ‘patrum libri’, does not correspond to a *terminus technicus* in early Christian literature. Several *Paterika* are known in the Old Slavonic tradition, e.g. the collection of apophthegms under the name *Ἀνδρῶν ἁγίων βιβλος* (the so-called *Skitskij paterik*), or the *Dialogi de Vita et miraculis patrum italicorum* (the *Rimskij paterik*), a work by Pope Gregory I (590–604) in the Greek translation of Pope Zacharias (741–752).⁶

¹ See Hannick 1997.

² The overview by Mareš 1970, 25 remains fundamental even after almost half a century.

³ Grivec and Tomšič 1960, 235.

⁴ Miklosich 1870, 23; cf. also Schmid 1922, 1.

⁵ Cf. Vašica 1966, 252–253.

⁶ See *Slovar knižnikov* 1987, 313–316, 321–325 (N. Nikolaev). For a short overview, see Hannick 1974.

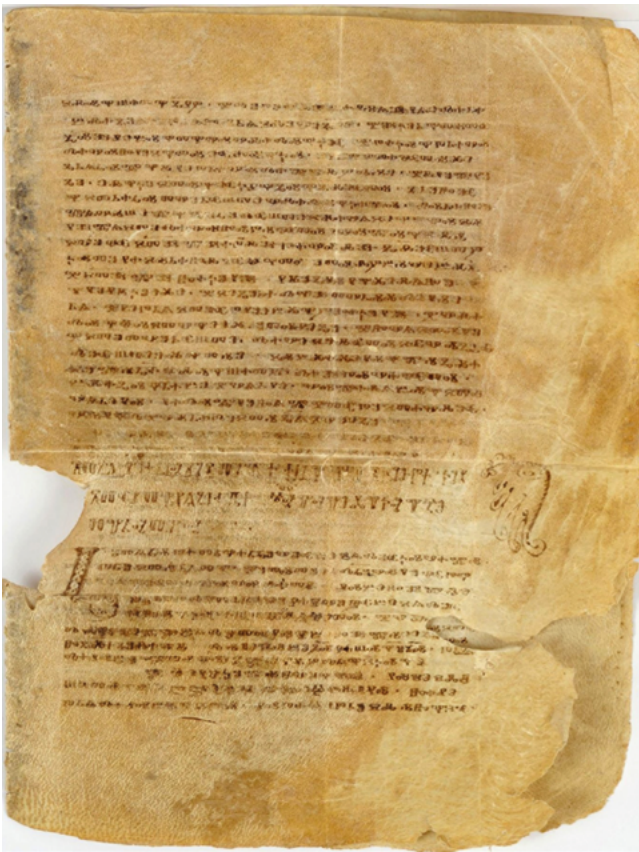


Fig. 1: *Codex Clozianus*. Innsbruck, Ferdinandeum, Dip. 973, fol. 3^r. Beginning of John Chrysostom, *De proditione Iudae homilia 1* (CPG 4336), read on Holy Thursday.

2. The oldest manuscripts

2.1 *The oldest Slavonic homiliary: the Codex Clozianus*

If ‘books of the fathers’ is to be understood as a collection of patristic writings, essentially from the genre of homiletics,⁷ then reference is first made to it in an anonymous homily preserved in the oldest Church Slavonic homiliary, the *Codex Clozianus*, which most scholars attribute to Methodius.⁸ This homily, which lacks its beginning and therefore also its title, does certainly not belong to the best products of the Old Slavonic type of festive sermons, recalling rather the simple diction and compositional technique of the sermons of Kliment of Ohrid, the pupil of Methodius, who, as his biographer Theophylact, the later Byzantine archbishop of the same see (d.1126), wrote, ‘composed simple and clear sermons for all feasts’ (λόγους γὰρ συντεθεικῶς εἰς πάσας

τὰς ἑορτὰς ἀπλοῦς καὶ σαφεῖς).⁹ The homily attributed to Methodius is an *adhortatio* to princes and judges and is intended as a lection for the Holy Week, a fact that cannot be justified on liturgical grounds.

The *Codex Clozianus* (Fig. 1) is undoubtedly the oldest monument of Old Slavonic homiletics. It consists of two fragments in Glagolitic script, with a total of 14 folios, which are kept partly in Trento (Museo civico, 2476) and partly in Innsbruck (Ferdinandeum, Dip. 973). On the basis of the quire numberings they contain, it is assumed that the original codex comprised at least 488 folios,¹⁰ an extremely imposing and unusual size. The preserved part includes five homilies for the Holy Week, by John Chrysostom, Athanasius of Alexandria and Epiphanius of Salamis.¹¹

The main part of the manuscript, which is kept in Trento, was published by Bartholomaeus Kopitar in Vienna in 1836; the edition of the Innsbruck part by Franz Miklosich appeared also in Vienna, in 1860. A new and to this day still exemplary edition was prepared by Antonín Dostál in Prague in 1959.

As the oldest monument of Old Slavonic ecclesiastical culture (‘codicis glagolitici inter suos facile antiquissimi’, as Kopitar notes on the title page of his edition), the *Codex Clozianus* illustrates both the connection between the Glagolitic script and the island of Krk in northern Dalmatia and the relationship to homiletics in the Cyrillic monuments of Bulgaria and Serbia from the thirteenth–fourteenth century. Copied in the early eleventh century from a western Bulgarian model, it exhibits a type of Glagolitic script that stands in the transition between the old round Glagolica and the later rectangular Croatian script style¹² and was therefore created, in the opinion of many researchers, on Croatian territory,¹³ for which, however, it is difficult to pinpoint scriptoria in the early epoch. The so-called *Glagolita Clozianus* is indeed the only Old Slavonic manuscript of which we can say to this day that it was written on Croatian soil.¹⁴

⁹ Milev 1966, 132: xxii, 66.

¹⁰ Kuev 1986, 191; codicological description of the document in Musakova 2000.

¹¹ Detailed analysis of the contents, with references to the Greek sources, in Bláhová 1973, 8–12.

¹² Dostál 1959, 6.

¹³ Štefanić 1955, 129–130.

¹⁴ Štefanić 1955, 153; see also Štefanić 1960, 251.

⁷ The whole question is dealt with by Nikolova 1995.

⁸ Cf. Bláhová 1973, as well as references to more recent relevant literature in Ilieva 2016.

The manuscript was discovered in 1830 by the Austrian count Paris Kloc (or Cloz, hence the name *Clozianus*) from Trento in the episcopal library of the island of Krk (Veglia), the ‘cradle’ of Glagolitic culture,¹⁵ and handed over to Kopitar for his edition. According to a note in the Tridentine part of the manuscript, it was already on the island of Krk in 1500, in the possession of Ivan III Frankopan, Prince of Krk, who had yielded the island to the Venetians in 1480 as the last descendant of the branch of the Frankopans on Krk, shortly before his death in 1486.

No less remarkable is the fact that all the homilies contained in the Glagolitic *Codex Clozianus* – except, of course, for the anonymous sermon attributed to Methodius – are also attested in the Cyrillic tradition, not infrequently in a different translation or redaction. This includes manuscripts by Serbian and Bulgarian redactors of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which will be discussed later on.¹⁶

More problematic with respect to the relationship between Slavonic homiletics in the Glagolitic and Cyrillic traditions is the extensive body of sermons in the Glagolitic breviaries of the thirteenth–fifteenth centuries stemming from the Croatian cultural sphere.¹⁷ In contrast to the older layer of homiletics in the Cyrillic tradition and the only Old Slavonic Glagolitic homiliary, these are liturgical books following the Roman rite, which exhibit a completely different cycle of patristic lections. However, in the Glagolitic breviaries, texts of Greek origin, which are also known in the Cyrillic tradition of the Byzantine rite, are encountered as well. Unfortunately, the identification of these patristic lections in the Glagolitic breviaries has not made much progress so far. A basic study of the sources, as in the case of the *Codex Suprasliensis* (see below), is still a desideratum in the field. One of the difficulties consists in the fact that their Latin models must have been older than the *textus receptus*, which was generally adopted after the *Concilium tridentinum* (1545), and that these models are not extant. As a consequence, the patristic texts in the Glagolitic breviaries have remained much less explored than the Biblical pericopes. An example of this is the analysis provided in the printed edition of a breviary of 1491 by the excellent connoisseur of Glagolism,

Josip Tandarić (1935–1986),¹⁸ who cites only the *incipit* of the respective homily after the name of the Church Father in question.¹⁹

2.2 The Cyrillic homiliary Codex Suprasliensis

After the *Codex Clozianus*, the *Codex Suprasliensis* is the second-oldest representative of Old Slavonic homiletics and hagiography (Fig. 2). The Cyrillic codex, which was kept in the Supraśl monastery on the border between Poland and Belarus until the first half of the nineteenth century,²⁰ dates from the eleventh century. It was probably produced in eastern Bulgaria in a scriptorium near the former capital Preslav. Occasionally, the *Codex Suprasliensis* is still dated to the tenth century. Vladimir Mošin points out that in the absence of dated Old Slavonic manuscripts from the eleventh century, exact dating criteria are missing, but emphasises that, palaeographically, the *Suprasliensis* is presumably older than the famous Old Russian Ostromir Gospels from the years 1056–1057.²¹ Today the incomplete codex, which was written by a single copyist named Retko, is divided into three parts: Ljubljana, National and University Library, Kopitar 2 (118 folios); St Petersburg, National Library of Russia (RNB), Q. II. I. 72 (16 folios); Warsaw, National Library, Zamojski 201 (151 folios).²² It is a homiletic-hagiographic collection for the month of March with homilies for Lent (from Lazarus Saturday on) and Easter (until Thomas Sunday). The texts recorded in it are of different origin and presumably not even of equal age.²³ Because of its uniqueness and its importance for the typology of the homiletic collections, Ehrhard subjected the *Codex Suprasliensis* to a detailed analysis among the ‘Märzmenologien’.²⁴ The size

¹⁵ Cf. Bolonić 1980.

¹⁶ Bláhová 1973, 8–12 deals comprehensively with this question.

¹⁷ See in general Ivšić 1925.

¹⁸ Tandarić 1993.

¹⁹ For a short reference to the representatives of Greek patristic literature in Glagolitic breviaries, see Hannick 2004.

²⁰ Cf. Kuev 1980.

²¹ Mošin 1971, 62.

²² Cf. Mošin 1971, 58–71; *Svodnyj katalog* 1984, no. 23; Ščapov 1976, I, 54–64, no. 18; Naumow-Kaszlej 2004, 306, no. 633 provide a more precise dating: the first quarter of the eleventh century.

²³ Ehrhard 1937, I, 593–603; see the additions by Klostermann 1937; a short description of the codex by Hannick 1981, 71–72; see also Kuev 1986, 195–199 and, above all, Ivanova 2008, 134–136.

²⁴ A list of the Greek sources is given in *Slovník jazyka staroslověnského*, I (1966), lxxiv–lxxvi, as well as in the edition by Zaimov and Capaldo 1982–1983, I, 11–12; see also Čertorickaja 1994, 535.

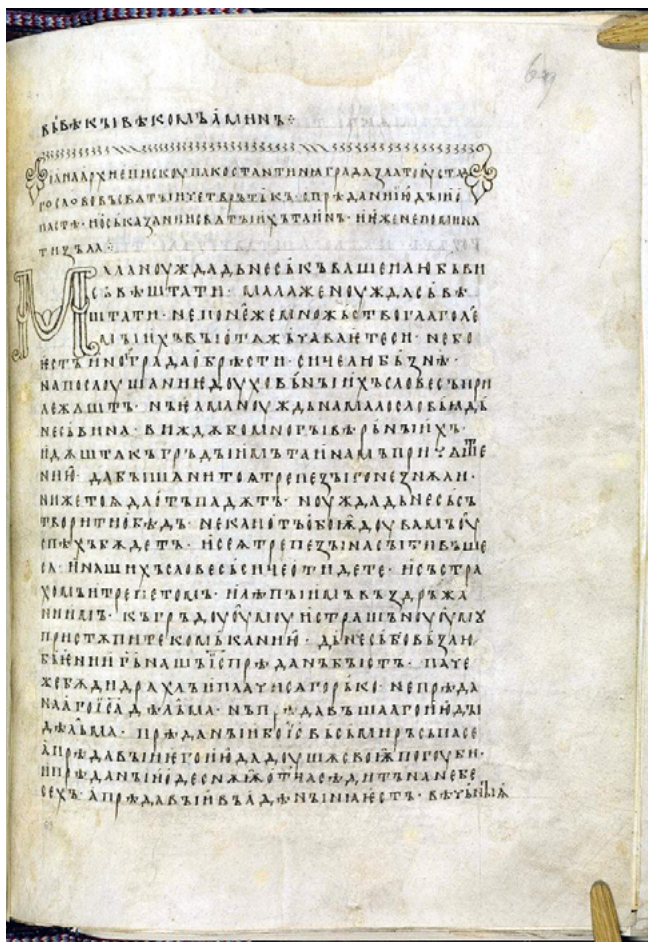


Fig. 2: *Codex Suprasliensis*, fol. 203^r (of the reconstructed entire codex). Beginning of John Chrysostom, *De proditione iudae homilia 2* (CPG 4336), read on Holy Thursday (Homily 36; Zaimov and Capaldo 1982–1983, II, 270).

of the codex is unusually large: despite gaps before 5 March and at the end, it contains 48 sermons or saints' lives, six of which have not yet been identified in Greek.²⁵ Among other rare texts, it includes a homily for Palm Sunday by Patriarch Photius from the middle of the ninth century (Supr. No. 29), for which the *Codex Suprasliensis* is the only witness in the Slavonic tradition.²⁶

2.3 The Old Russian menologion Codex Uspenskij

The third-oldest Slavonic homiliary is the *Uspenskij sbornik*, a manuscript of Russian redaction from the end of the twelfth to the beginning of the thirteenth century (Moscow,

State Historical Museum [GIM], Usp. 4 perg),²⁷ the origin of which has not yet been clarified definitively (Fig. 3). The content and layout of the texts it contains also present some difficulties.²⁸ Two features of the content should be emphasised. Firstly, the *Uspenskij sbornik* includes five homilies for the Holy Week that are also recorded in the *Codex Clozianus*, but with deviations suggesting that the Old Russian manuscript was not copied from the latter codex, but from a common *Vorlage* that did not survive.²⁹ Secondly, the *Uspenskij sbornik* contains the oldest copy of the *Vita* of the Apostle to the Slavs, Methodius, and it also provides the narrative (*Skazanie*) about SS Boris and Gleb and the martyrdom of SS Vitus and Modestus, a hagiographic text whose origin is associated with Bohemia.³⁰ Due to this peculiarity, the *Uspenskij sbornik* has been associated with the Czech Church Slavonic culture in the period after the founding of the Slavonic-speaking monastery of Sázava in 1032.³¹

An even stranger feature of the *Uspenskij sbornik* is its internal structure. It first contains saints' lives for the month of May, from the 1st (the beginning is lost) to the 16th. This is followed by homilies by John Chrysostom for the Holy Week and Easter, as well as sermons by Eusebius of Alexandria, Andrew of Crete, Gregory of Antioch, Cyril of Alexandria and Ephrem the Syrian. In this way, the homiletic part of the *Uspenskij sbornik* strongly differs from the type of the so-called *Zlatoust*, which contains only homilies by Chrysostom ('Zlatoust' in Slavic) and which will be discussed later on. A few further hagiographic texts contained in the *Uspenskij sbornik* refer to the months of April, June and October. This *panegirik*³² thus represents a special type whose characteristics cannot be explained.³³ One solution was offered by Marfa Vjačeslavovna Ščepkina, who identified its commissioner, a certain Princess Maria

²⁷ *Svodnyj katalog* 1984, no. 165; Freydank 1980; edition by Knjazevskaja, Dem'janov and Ljapon 1971.

²⁸ Cf. Freydank 1973; Bláhová 1966.

²⁹ Bláhová 1966, 86.

³⁰ Sobolevskij 1903; Mareš 1979, 135–145.

³¹ Cf. Ščepkina 1972.

³² Cf. Hannick 1981, 26–29 on the term *panegirik*, a loan of Greek πανηγυρικόν 'collection of festive sermons', and its diffusion in the Slavonic manuscript tradition, and further 3 below.

³³ Cf. Sergij 1901, 260–263.

²⁵ Cf. Capaldo 1980.

²⁶ Čertorickaja 1994, 250; edition of the Greek text by Laurdas 1959, 83–88.

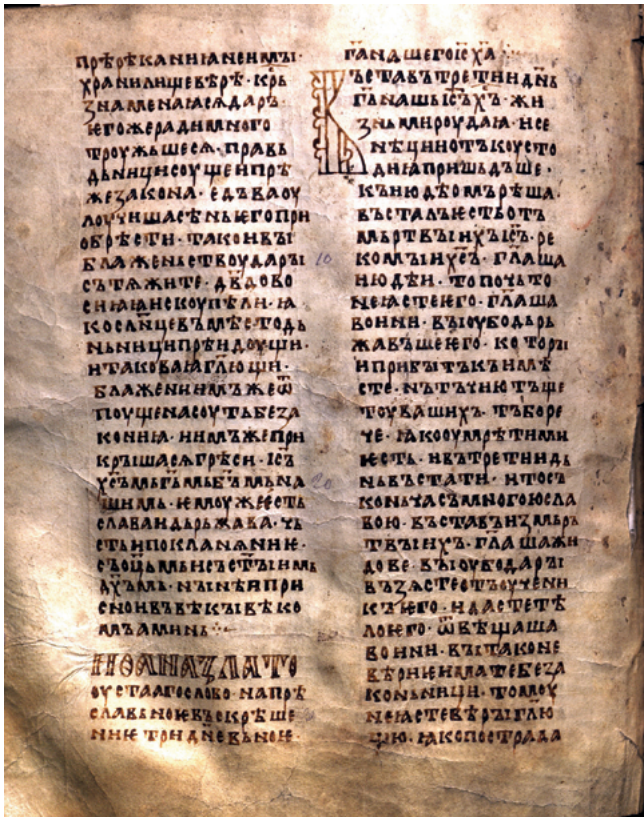


Fig. 3: *Codex Uspenskij*, fol. 245^v. Pseudo-Chrysostom (or Pseudo-Eusebius of Alexandria), *In resurrectionem Domini* (BHG 635u; CPG 5527; Hannick 1981, 264; Čertorickaja 1994, 313, no. 11.7.05; Ivorogov 1998, 38, no. 78).

Švarnovna of Černigov, who came from Moravia and died in Kiev in 1206. This suggests that the *Uspenskij sbornik* was a type of ‘family homiliary’.³⁴

2.4 The South Slavic homiliary of Mihanović

There is one more homiliary of South Slavonic provenance and belonging to the Byzantine tradition that deserves to be discussed here. This is the *Mihanović Homiliary* from the end (or last quarter) of the thirteenth century (Zagreb, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts [HAZU], III c 19),³⁵ which was added to the collection of the former South Slavonic Academy in 1865–1867. The founder of the collection, Antun Mihanović (1796–1861), had been the Consul of Austria in Thessaloniki and had acquired manuscripts in the Athos monasteries. Whether the homiliary named after him comes from the (Serbian) monastery of Hilandar or another

Athonite monastery cannot be determined exactly.³⁶ The *Mihanović Homiliary*, which pertains to the oldest Serbian redaction of Ras (today Stari Ras), was probably based on an Old Bulgarian *Vorlage*;³⁷ it is a semi-annual collection (*panegirik* or *panegyrikon*, as noted in its title) for the summer months (March to August), including the movable year from the 25 March on.³⁸ The *Vorlage* of this *panegyrikon* was dated by Rajko Nahtigal to the time of Methodius (d. 885) and related to the term ‘books of the fathers’ in the *Vita Methodii*, XV.³⁹ As evidence of an archaic layer in the *Mihanović Homiliary*, we may regard a homily by Pseudo-Gregory of Neocaesarea for the feast of the Annunciation on the 25 March (BHG 1139n, CPG 1775), which was translated a second time in the circle of Patriarch Euthymius (Evtimij) of Târnovo in the late fourteenth century.⁴⁰ From the extensive contents of the *Mihanović Homiliary*, we may further mention a festive sermon for the prophet Elijah on the 20 July, which is attributed to Basil of Seleucia and attested only here in the Slavonic tradition (BHG 575, CPG 6656),⁴¹ as well as a homily by John the Exarch (Ioan Prezviter) of Bulgaria from the turn of the ninth to the tenth century for the feast of the Ascension of Christ (Mih. fol. 82^v). The youngest Byzantine author represented in this codex is Georgios, Bishop of Nicomedia from the second half of the ninth century, a contemporary of Patriarch Photius, with a homily on the Cross and the Blessed Virgin (Mih. fol. 23^v).

The *Mihanović Homiliary* from Zagreb is currently accessible only in an exquisite facsimile edition. A critical edition with Greek parallel texts remains a desideratum. However, the school of Rudolf Aitzetmüller has provided three dissertations with partial editions of this *panegyrikon*, which in total contains 64 sermons of Greek origin.⁴²

³⁶ Mošin 1955b, 78; Mošin 1955a, 6.

³⁷ Ivanova-Mirčeva 1968.

³⁸ The movable (ecclesiastical) year encompasses the dates calculated on the basis of the movable feast of Easter. On the order of the texts, see Hannick 1981, 81.

³⁹ Nahtigal 1950; Grivec and Tomšič 1960, 235.

⁴⁰ Hannick 1981, 199, no. 201; Ivanova 2008, 499, no. 7.

⁴¹ Ivanova 2008, 586, no. 1.

⁴² Two of them were published: Wezler 1971 and Hahn 1969.

³⁴ Ščepkina 1972, 71 and 77.

³⁵ Facsimile edition by Aitzetmüller 1957; cf. Mošin 1955a, 95–100.

3. Panegirik and Toržestvennik

The structure of the Slavic homiliaries corresponds to that of the Byzantine collections, the majority of which combine hagiographic and homiletic material arranged after the calendar from September to August, with or without inclusion of the movable ecclesiastical year from the beginning of Lent until the end of the Easter period (Sunday of All Saints). Depending on the number of texts (saints' lives and homilies) they contain for specific days or for selected feasts, the Byzantine and Slavic homiliaries cover either the whole year or only half a year (September–February, March–August), a quarter, two months (as maybe in the *Vorlage* of the *Codex Suprasliensis*)⁴³ or one month. The usual name is *panegyrikon*, which in the Slavonic tradition is adapted as *panagirik* (for example in the collection of Djak Andrej from the year 1425, Sofia, National Church Museum of History and Archaeology, 182),⁴⁴ or the like.⁴⁵ In Russian, a *panegyrikon* is styled *toržestvennik*,⁴⁶ with *toržestvo* rendering Greek πανήγυρις 'feast'.

3.1 The South Slavonic Codex German

Special homiliaries for the feasts of the Lord and the Virgin have not achieved wide dissemination in the Slavonic tradition; their existence is mostly only deducible from *Typika*. One such special homiliary is the *Codex German*, a manuscript of Middle Bulgarian redaction from the year 1358/59 (Bucharest, Patriarhia Română, slav. 1), thus from the time before the Bulgarian Patriarch Evtimij of Tărnovo (1375–1393) and his far-reaching reforms. The *Codex German* was written in Tărnovo, then the Bulgarian capital, in the time of Tsar Ivan Aleksandăr (1331–1371) and during the second 'golden age' of Old Bulgarian culture, at a time when also a famous, richly illuminated Four Gospels book was created.⁴⁷ The *Codex German* was then transferred from the Romanian monastery Voroneţ in Moldavia to Czernowitz, where the Austrian Slavist Emil Kałuźniacki made it

known to the scholarly community.⁴⁸ The codex consisting of 296 parchment folios was analysed several times from the 1960s on by Romanian and Bulgarian researchers such as Ioan Iufu and Dora Ivanova-Mirčeva,⁴⁹ and finally extensively studied and edited by Elka Mirčeva.⁵⁰

The name that this codex has received in the scholarly literature hints at an unsolved but extremely significant problem. In an extensive colophon added towards the end of the manuscript (fols 269^v–270^v), before the Life of St Georgios on 23 April (text no. 41), it is mentioned that a copyist with the curious name Ktoliboby ('whosoever') wrote the manuscript, which he calls *săbornik*, in the time of Tsar Ivan Aleksandăr and that the compilation of the texts did not depend on his own decision (*izvolenie*), but was a result of the work (*trud*) of a metropolitan 'German' whose see is not named.⁵¹ For the time of the reign of Tsar Ivan Aleksandăr and of the emergence of the *Codex German*, the following patriarchs of the Bulgarian Church are known: Simeon I (about 1346), Teodosij II (about 1350), Ioannik II, who was previously the Hegumen of the monastery of the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia in Tărnovo, and finally Evtimij (about 1375–1393), but no German(os).⁵² It was therefore considered several times, also in view of the linguistic archaisms of the *Codex German*, that the composition of the texts might have taken place not in the time of Tsar Ivan Aleksandăr but earlier, perhaps even during the Old Bulgarian period.⁵³ This extremely important question cannot be solved here, but a hitherto overlooked fact should be taken into account: a certain Germanos is attested as a metropolitan of Traianupolis, the metropolis of the ecclesiastical province of the Rhodopes, for the years 1351–1356; he signed the *Tomos* of 1351, which, under the authority of Emperor John VI Kantakuzenos and of Patriarch Kallistos I, defended the teachings of the Metropolitan of Thessaloniki, Gregory

⁴³ Dobrev 1981, 32.

⁴⁴ Cf. Pandurski 1974, 226; Hannick 1981, 28.

⁴⁵ Čertorickaja 1980 analyses eleven old collections of homilies, from the eleventh (*Codex Suprasliensis*) to the fourteenth century; see also Hannick 1981, 29.

⁴⁶ Cf. Trifunović 1990, 232–234; Hannick 1981, 26–27.

⁴⁷ Recently edited and studied by Popova and Miklas 2017.

⁴⁸ Kałuźniacki 1899, 55ff.

⁴⁹ Iufu 1960; Ivanova-Mirčeva 1965.

⁵⁰ Mirčeva 2006, in particular the bibliography 243–252.

⁵¹ Mirčeva 2006, fols 269^v–270^v.

⁵² Cacov 2003, 19.

⁵³ Comprehensive discussion of the different positions in Mirčeva 2006, 49–60.

Palamas.⁵⁴ The personality of Germanos of Traianupolis and his activities remain otherwise unknown.

The *săbornik* that is known as the *Codex German* contains 44 homilies and saints' lives for the Lord's and the Virgin's feasts, as well as those of the main saints for the entire liturgical year, beginning with the *Protevangelium Jacobi* (*inc. mut.*) for the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary on the 8 September⁵⁵ and ending up with the commemoration of the Decapitation of John the Baptist on 29 August, celebrated with a homily by Anatolius of Thessalonica from the tenth century.⁵⁶ Authored by a tenth-century homiletic, this last text, which is also recorded in the *Mihanović homiliary*, should not be overlooked in an attempt to date the 'compilation' of the *Codex German*.

3.2 Chrysostomica in the Slavonic tradition

Since the very beginning of Slavic literacy, the collections of homilies associated with the name of John Chrysostom were much better known amongst the Slavs than special homiliaries like the *Codex German*.⁵⁷ A precise delimitation of the various types of Chrysostomian collections is not always possible though. In what follows, I will provide only some elements of the complex history of these collections, since a precise description of the many problems would require constant recourse to the Greek models, which is not possible in the present context. I have gone into these questions in more detail elsewhere.⁵⁸

3.2.1 Zlatostruj

One collection of homilies that goes back to the oldest layer of Old Russian literature is the one known as *zlatostruj* (St Petersburg, RNB, Q. II. I. 74), which is unfortunately preserved only as a fragment of four folios so that a characterisation of its typology is not possible. It has been named *zlatostruj Byčkov*⁵⁹ after its previous owner, Afanasij

F. Byčkov, then the director of the Imperial Public Library in Saint Petersburg (1882–1899).⁶⁰

A considerably larger fragment of the same collection, comprising 198 folios (with the beginning and end missing), is preserved in the codex St Petersburg, RNB, F. II. I. 46, from the twelfth century.⁶¹ On the basis of preliminary work by Vasilij Malinin,⁶² Grigorij A. Il'inskij was able to reconstruct the typology of the *Byčkov Fragment*, concluding that the *zlatostruj*⁶³ (i.e. χρυσορροάς 'streaming with gold') homiliary was a collection of ascetic and ethical writings, dating from the time of the Bulgarian Tsar Simeon (893–927) and containing, in the complete redaction, 137 sermons by Chrysostom.⁶⁴ Moreover, Il'inskij could show some striking similarities with the collection of eclogues about Chrysostom authored by Theodore Daphnopates in the tenth century. Two redactions of the *zlatostruj* can be distinguished, both being preserved in both the South Slavonic and the Russian traditions.⁶⁵ The Byčkov fragment may well belong to the shorter redaction and thus represent the oldest surviving version of this collection in the Slavonic tradition.⁶⁶

3.2.2 Zlatoust

Another collection of sermons by John Chrysostom bears the common name *zlatoust* (i.e. χρυσόστομος 'golden mouth'), even if texts by other authors, such as Amphilochius of Iconium, Basil of Caesarea, Athanasius of Alexandria and Emperor Leo VI (886–912), may be represented in them. The most common type of *zlatoust* provides homilies for Lent and, separately, for Easter. Another type contains sermons for the Sundays of the ecclesiastical year based on the *kyriakodromion* or *evangelie učitel'noe*,⁶⁷ this is already attested in the work of the Bulgarian priest Constantine

⁵⁴ Trapp 1977, no. 3857, with reference to Darrouzès 1977, nos 2324 and 2326 *sqq.*

⁵⁵ BHG 1046. Cf. Hannick 1981, 88, no. 8; Ivanova 2008, 192–194.

⁵⁶ Cf. Hannick 1981, 250–252, no. 280; Ivanova 2008, 622–624.

⁵⁷ Granstrem 1980.

⁵⁸ Hannick 1981, 31 *sqq.*

⁵⁹ *Svodnyj katalog* 1984, no. 18; edition by Il'inskij 1929.

⁶⁰ *Sotrudniki RNB* 1995, I, 115–123 (O. D. Golubeva).

⁶¹ *Svodnyj katalog* 1984, no. 74.

⁶² Malinin 1878.

⁶³ It seems that this designation did not appear before the sixteenth century: *Slovar' russkogo jazyka XI–XVII vv.* 1979, VI, 13.

⁶⁴ Il'inskij 1929, 41.

⁶⁵ Cf. Ivanova-Konstantinova 1976; Trifunović 1990, 98.

⁶⁶ Cf. Thomson 1982; Miltenov 2013.

⁶⁷ Cf. Hannick 1981, 30; Podskalsky 2000, 186.

of Preslav from the beginning of the tenth century.⁶⁸ The *zlatoust* is a fixed homiletic collection only by its structure; in its contents, it offers a larger selection of texts, some of them of Slavic origin.⁶⁹

The distinction between a *zlatoust* and a *panegyrikon* / *toržestvennik* is not always clear. This is already evident in the case of the ‘*zlatoust Jagić*’ (Saint Petersburg, RNB, Q. II. I. 56) from the third quarter of the thirteenth century.⁷⁰ This is a homiletic collection for the whole year (September to August), including the movable year after the feast of the *Hypapante* on 2 February. Some texts it contains are attributed to Kliment of Ohrid (about 830–916). According to Francis Thomson, who introduced the term ‘*Sinai florilegium*’, no other Slavonic manuscript offers the same selection of texts.⁷¹

3.2.3 *Andriantis, Margarit, Agirist*

There are two further Chrysostomian collections, which can be better distinguished in terms of contents. *Andria(n)tis* designates the corpus of homilies addressed by Chrysostom to the people of Antioch (CPG 4330). This collection, which survives in both Russian and South Slavonic manuscripts, was translated by Antonie, a pupil of Starec Genadie from the Athonite monastery of Vatopediou around the middle of the fifteenth century, as reported by the famous Old Serbian copyist Vladislav Gramatik in a note in his copy of the *andriantis* in the Codex Rila 3/6 of 1473.⁷²

Vladislav Gramatik also provides valuable information about a second Chrysostomian collection. This is the *margarit* (‘pearl’) containing, among other texts, the five homilies *De incomprehensibili* (CPG 4318), the homilies *Adversus Iudaeos* (CPG 4327) and *De Lazaro conciones* (CPG 4329) and the four *Sermones in Job* (CPG 4564).⁷³ In the miscellaneous manuscript Zagreb, HAZU III a. 47, dated 1469, Vladislav Gramatik mentions that the translator of the

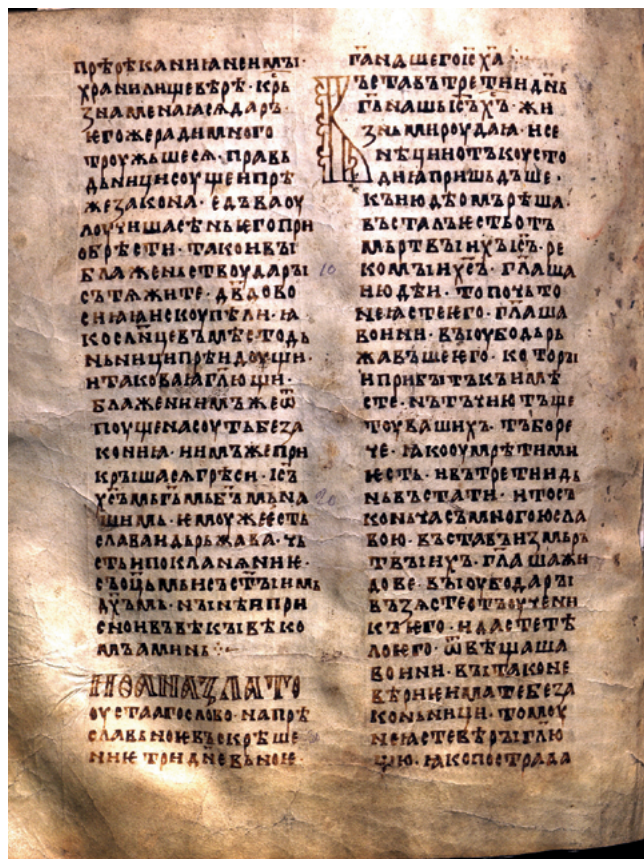


Fig. 4: Mt Sinai, St Catherine's Monastery, slav. 19, fol. 217^r. Colophon by the copyist, hieromonk Mefodije from the lavra of St Athanasius on Mt Athos (fourteenth century). The colophon contains a list of books translated and copied by his master, Starec Ioann, in which *agirist* is mentioned.

margarity was Kir Dionisije, surnamed *Divni* (‘famous’).⁷⁴ Dionisije was a pupil of the founder of the monastery and hesychast Teodosije of Tärnovo (from the beginning of the fourteenth century until 1367) in the time of Tsar Ivan Aleksandär.

What the *agirist* collection meant remains unclear. It may be a homiliary with Chrysostomian texts whose content cannot be specified. This rare term appears, e.g., in the codex Moscow, GIM, Chludov 55 (late fourteenth century),⁷⁵ as well as in Mt Sinai, St Catherine's Monastery, slav. 19 from the sixteenth century (Fig. 4).⁷⁶

⁶⁸ Tvorogov and Čertorickaja 1985, 246–249.

⁶⁹ Cf. Tvorogov 1985 with an analysis of the contents, without any reference to the Greek parallels.

⁷⁰ *Svodnyj katalog* 1984, no. 392; Jagić 1898.

⁷¹ Thomson 1980, 34–36.

⁷² Edition and historical commentary of the colophon by Christova 1996, 60–61; English translation by Petkov 2008, 515; see also Dančev 1969, 142–143, as well as Hannick 1981, 31–32.

⁷³ A precise analysis of the contents is found in Hannick 1981, 33.

⁷⁴ Cf. Christova 1996, 32; Angelov 1980.

⁷⁵ Cf. Bláhová 1979; Bláhová 1981.

⁷⁶ Cf. Hannick 1972, 415; Hannick 1981, 34.

4. Conclusion: the importance of the Slavonic tradition for the *Quellenforschung*

Slavic homiletics is grounded in the Byzantine tradition and thus in the tradition of the Greek Church, which had its golden age in late Antiquity with Church Fathers such as John Chrysostom, Proclus of Constantinople, Gregory of Nazianzus and many others. One of the characteristics of the Slavic homiletic collections, whose typology is, of course, inseparable from the development of the Byzantine tradition, is that they preserved Greek texts, especially from the Byzantine period, that have been lost in the original Greek version. A single example may suffice to illustrate this. For the feast of the *Theophania* and the Baptism of Christ on the 6 January, Slavic homilies contain a sermon by Bishop Julian of Tavia (Tabia) from the time of the Council of Chalcedon (451), which is completely unknown in Greek.⁷⁷ This homily has also been transmitted in Georgian.⁷⁸ In his 1911 edition of the great *Menaion*, a work of the Metropolitan Macarius (Markarij) of Moscow from the mid-sixteenth century, the orientalist Boris Alexandrovič Turaev was able to use the Georgian text to establish the Old Russian version. The Slavonic translation of the homily of Julian of Tavia on the baptism of Christ was made in the fourteenth century in a circle of *literati* around Evtimij of Tărnovo in Bulgaria and is already preserved in South Slavonic manuscripts from the last quarter of the fourteenth century. The Greek source is lost.

The above observations will have shown that the Slavic homiletic collections have preserved much that can help clarify the problems that the Greek tradition still offers. It is therefore very much to be welcomed that the monumental work by Mauritus Geerard, the *Clavis patrum Graecorum* (CPG), which is frequently quoted in the present contribution, referred to the Slavic tradition whenever possible.

⁷⁷ Cf. Hannick 1981, 176–178, no. 169 (CPG 6155); Ivanova 2008, 422–423.

⁷⁸ Cf. Van Esbroeck 1975, 297–299; the Georgian homily is already attested in a palimpsest from ca. the seventh century (ms. S-3902 of the K. Kekelidze National Centre of Manuscripts, Tbilisi), cf. Jost Gippert, this volume, 86.

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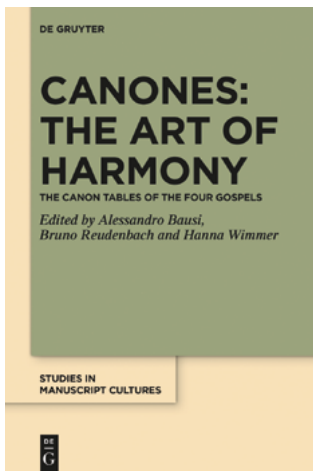
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This book offers an updated overview on the topic of ‘Canon Tables’ in a comparative perspective and with a precise look at their context of origin, their visual appearance, their meaning, function and their usage in different times, domains, and cultures.

New release



20 – *Fakes and Forgeries of Written Artefacts from Ancient Mesopotamia to Modern China*, edited by Cécile Michel and Michael Friedrich

Fakes and forgeries are objects of fascination. This volume contains a series of thirteen articles devoted to fakes and forgeries of written artefacts from the beginnings of writing in Mesopotamia to modern China. The studies emphasise the subtle distinctions conveyed by an established vocabulary relating to the reproduction of ancient artefacts and production of artefacts claiming to be ancient: from copies, replicas and imitations to fakes and forgeries. Fakes are often a response to a demand from the public or scholarly milieu, or even both. The motives behind their production may be economic, political, religious or personal – aspiring to fame or simply playing a joke. Fakes may be revealed by combining the study of their contents, codicological, epigraphic and palaeographic analyses, and scientific investigations. However, certain famous unsolved cases still continue to defy technology today, no matter how advanced it is. Nowadays, one can find fakes in museums and private collections alike; they abound on the antique market, mixed with real artefacts that have often been looted. The scientific community’s attitude to such objects calls for ethical reflection.

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