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

Edited by

Roman Krivko

Basil Lourié

Andrei Orlov

Part 2

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ARS CHRISTIANA

**Scrinium: Journal of Patrology,
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7–8

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**Hymnographica
&
Liturgica**

A TYPOLOGY OF BYZANTINE OFFICE MENAIA OF THE NINTH – FOURTEENTH CENTURIES*

I. INTRODUCTION

I.1. The Research Goal and Classification Criteria

This article aims at describing the structure of Byzantine office Menaia of the 9th–14th cc. from a historical point of view. The typological classification of sources will be based on *a)* genre content, and *b)* structure, i. e. the order in which the genres are arranged. The following classification criteria are taken into consideration: 1) the use of

(*) This article was written as a part of the research project “Sprache der altkirchenslavischen liturgischen Denkmäler” carried out at the Seminar für Slavische Philologie der Georg-August-Universität Göttingen (2009-2010) and financed by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation. For the invitation to Göttingen and for every support provided during my research stay in Göttingen, I am deeply grateful to Prof. em. Dr. Dr. h.c. Werner Lehfeldt. The manuscripts from the collections of the Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana were consulted according to the microfilms held by the Vatican Film Library – Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies at St. Louis University (St. Louis, MO, USA); the research in the Vatican Film Library was supported by the NEH – National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship (October 2008). For numerous bibliographical consultations regarding Vatican manuscripts I am obliged to Dr. Susan L’Engle (St. Louis, MO). The Slavonic manuscripts held by the monasteries of Mt. Athos were consulted according to the microfilms preserved at The Hilandar Research Library – The Resource Center for Medieval Slavic Studies at The Ohio State University (Columbus, OH, USA) with the support of the Summer Stipend of the Resource Center for Medieval Slavic Studies. For their help with my visit to the Center I am grateful to Dr. William Veder, emeritus professor (Deerfield / Chicago, IL), Dr. Predrag Matejić, and Helene Senecal (Columbus, OH). For remarks, discussions, and substantial corrections, I am in debt to Dr. Alexandra Nikiforova (Moscow, Russia) and Asst. Prof. Dr. Apostolos Spanos (Kristiansand, Norway).

monostrophic chants called *κάθισμα εἰς Θεὸς Κύριος* or *τροπάριον εἰς Θεὸς Κύριος*, *τροπάριον τῆς ἑορτῆς* or *ἀπολυτίκιον*; 2) the use of *makarismoï* (μακαρισμοί) — monostrophic hymns chanted at the liturgy after each of the Beatitudes; 3) the use of *kontakion* and 4) *exapostelilarion* (ἑξαποστειλάριον) or *photagogikon* (φωταγωγικόν); 5) rules of arrangement and combination of different *kanons* chanted on the same day; 6) the ordering of the chants, either by their liturgical position or by genre; 7) the presence of biblical pericopes and 8) the Synaxarion; 9) the division of the office into the Great and the Little Vespers; 10) the use of *theotokia* (sg., θεοτοκίον) with *kathismata* after the third ode of the *kanon*; and 11) the use of *staurotheotokia* (σταυροθεοτοκίον) and 12) *kathismata* after the 50th Psalm and the *polyeleos* (πολύελεος). The loss of the second ode in the originally nine-ode *kanons* and the interpolation of the second ode into the eight-ode *kanons* by John Damascene and Kosmas of Mayouma will not be examined in this article because of the special complexity of the issue.¹ Typological groups

(1) L. BERNARD, *Der Ausfall der 2. Ode in byzantinischem Neunodenkanon*, in: TH. MICHELS (ed.), *Heuresis. Festschrift für Andreas Rohrer* 25 Jahre *Erzbischof von Salzburg* (Salzburg: Müller, 1969) 91–101; Θ. Ε. ΔΕΤΟΡΑΚΗ, *Κοσμάς ὁ Μελωδός. Βίος καὶ ἔργον* (Θεσσαλονίκη: Πατριαρχικὸν Ἰδρυμα Πατερικῶν Μελετῶν, 1979) (Ἀνάλεκτα Βλατάδων, 28) 126–128; see also: Π. ΤΡΕΜΠΕΛΑ, *Ἐκλογή ἑλληνικῆς ὀρθοδόξου ὑμνογραφίας* (Ἀθήναι, 1949) 301; Ε. Ι. ΤΩΜΑΔΑΚΗ, *Ἰωσήφ ὁ Ὑμνογράφος. Βίος καὶ ἔργον* (Ἀθήναι: Τυπογραφεῖον ἀδελφῶν Μυρτίδη, 1971) (“Ἀθηνᾶ” σύγγραμμα περιοδικὸν τῆς ἐν Ἀθῆναις Ἐπιστημονικῆς Ἑταιρείας. Σειρὰ διατριβῶν καὶ μελετημάτων, 11) 107–203; Μ. Φ. ΜΟΥΡΥΑΝΟΒ, *Славистические маргиналии к книге грузинского византолога*, in: *ИДЕМ, Гимнография Киевской Руси* (Москва: Наука, 2003) 395–400 (first published in: *Известия Академии наук Грузинской ССР, серия языка и литературы* 4 (1982), 168–178 [the journal title is in Georgian and in Russian]); for details and further references see the most recent publication: Θ. ΚΟΛΛΥΡΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, *Ἐκδοσὴ τῶν β' ᾠδῶν οἱ ὁποῖες ἐξέπεσαν ἀπὸ τοὺς ἐκδιδόμενους κανόνες στὰ λειτουργικὰ βιβλία καὶ τὰ ΑΗΓ, ΕΕΒΣ 51 (2003) 404–479. Giuseppe Schirò erroneously affirmed that the second ode had often been included in the *kanons* by Kosmas of Mayouma: G. SCHIRÒ, *Caratteristiche dei canoni di Andrea Cretese. Studio su alcune composizioni inedite del melode*, *Κρητικὰ Χρονικὰ* II/15–16 (1961–62) 133. This declaration was supported by no evidence, therefore Theocharis Detorakes called this “ἀληθινὰ περίεργη”, since indeed no available *kanon* by Kosmas of Mayouma contains the second ode (“σὲ κανένα ἀπὸ τοὺς γνωστοὺς κανόνες τοῦ Κοσμά δὲν ὑπάρχει δευτέρα ᾠδή”); see: ΔΕΤΟΡΑΚΗ, *Κοσμάς ὁ Μελωδός...*, 126; on the interpolation of second odes into the originally eight-ode *kanons* by John Damascene and Kosmas of Mayouma: R. ΚΡΙΝΚΟ, *К истории второй песни**

of Menaia revealed on the basis of these criteria are described below through a consideration of the dates of the manuscripts, which makes it possible to uncover the correspondence between the chronological and the typological features of the sources.

I.2. The Source Basis

For the present study I have examined Byzantine office Menaia from the collections of the Vatican Apostolic Library, St. Catherine's Monastery on Mt. Sinai, the Great Laura of Mt. Athos, the Greek Abbey of St. Mary of Grottaferrata, the National Library of France, the National Library of Spain, the SS. Cyril and Methodios National Library of Bulgaria, the Austrian National Library, the Bodleian Library, the Russian National Library, and the Ivan Dujčev Centre for Slavo-Byzantine Studies (Sofia, Bulgaria).²

гимнографического канона: утраты и интерполяции [Zur Geschichte zweiter Ode hymnographisches Kanons: Ausfälle und Interpolationen], in: D. CHRISTIANS, D. STERN, V. TOMELLERI (eds.), *Bibel, Liturgie und Frömmigkeit in der Slavia Byzantina, Festgabe für Hans Rothe zum 80. Geburtstag* (München: Otto Sagner, 2009) (Studies on Language and Culture in Central and Eastern Europe, 3) 229–242 (in Russian with a summary in German). In my article (КРИВКО, К истории...) I did not mention a Syriac-Melkite hymnography, in which the interpolated second ode is attested in the kanon for Epiphany translated from Greek into Syriac. The original Greek text of the Syriac version was uncovered by Heinrich Husmann in cod. *Sin. gr. 598* (H. HUSMANN, Die melkitische Quelle der syrischen Qanune iaonaie, *OCP* 41/1 [1975] 24). The scholar published the incipita of the troparia of the interpolated second ode, which turned out to be identical to those of the Tropologion *Sin. gr. NE MG 5*. The Greek text of the interpolated second ode has been published in full by the author of this article (КРИВКО, К истории...). So the interpolation of the second ode features archaic Greek Palestinian, Old Georgian, Old Syriac-Melkite, early Constantinopolitan Studite, and early Church Slavonic (Old Bulgarian) hymnographic traditions.

(2) Unless otherwise specified the dates of the manuscripts are reported as in the catalogues: E. STEVENSON SENIOR, *Codices manuscriptorum graeci Reginae Suecorum et Pii Pp. II Bibliothecae Vaticanae descripti praesidia I. B. Cardinali Pitra episcopo portuensi S. R. E. bibliothecario* (Romae: Ex Typographico Vaticano, 1888); E. FERON, F. BATTAGLINI (rec.), *Codices manuscriptorum graeci Ottoboniani Bibliothecae Vaticanae descripti praesidia ALPHONSO cardinali Capucelatro archiepiscopo Capuano S. R. E. bibliothecario* (Romae: In typographico Vaticano, 1893); S. DE RICCI, Liste sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliotheca Barberina, *Revue des bibliothèques* 17 (1907) 81–125 (the more updated catalogues of the Bibliotheca Barberina do not cover the co-

I.3. A Survey of Previous Scholarship

Typological studies of Byzantine and Church Slavonic office Menaia were initiated by Vatroslav Jagić in his introduction to the edition of the earliest precisely dated Slavonic Menaia for September, October, and November (AD ca. 1095–1097) of Old Russian provenance.³ The Byzantine Menaia he consulted made it possible to establish certain

dices Vaticani Barberini consulted for the present study; appropriate bibliographic information is available in: J.-M. OLIVIER (éd.), *Répertoire des bibliothèques de manuscrits grecs de Marcel RICHARD*. Troisième édition entièrement refondue [Brepols, Turnhout: Corpus Christianorum, 1995] 231–233; R. DEVRESSE, *Codices Vaticani graeci III: Cod. 604–866* (Vatican: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1950); C. GIANELLI, *Codices Vaticani graeci: Cod. 1485–1683* (Vatican: In Bibliotheca Vaticana, 1950); P. CANART, *Codices Vaticani Graeci: Cod. 1745–1962*, t. I: *Codicum enarrationes* (Vatican: In Bibliotheca Vaticana, 1970); Π. Γ. ΝΙΚΟΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, *Τὰ νέα εὐρήματα τοῦ Σινᾶ* (Ἀθήναι: Ὑπουργεῖο Πολιτισμοῦ – Ἴδρυμα Ὁροῦς Σινᾶ, 1998); V. GARDTHAUSEN, *Catalogus codicum graecorum sinaïticorum* (Oxonii: E typographeo Clarendoniano, 1886); K. W. CLARK, *Checklist of Manuscripts in St. Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai, microfilmed for the Library of Congress, 1950* (Washington, D. C.: Library of Congress, 1952); SPYRIDON of the Laura, S. EUSTRATIADIS (eds.), *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Laura on Mount Athos with Notices from other Libraries* (Cambridge, MA, 1925) (Harvard Theological Studies, 12 (reprint: New York, 1969)); D. HARLFINGER, D. R. REINSCH, A. M. SONDERKAMP, *Specimina Sinaitica: die datierten griechischen Handschriften des Katharinen-Klosters auf dem Berge-Sinai; 9. bis 12. Jh.* (Berlin: Dietrich Reiner Verlag, 1983); A. ROCCHI, *Codices Cryptenses, seu Abbatiae Cryptae Ferratae in Tusculano* (Tusculani: Typus Abbatiae Crypto Ferratae, 1883); A. MANCINI, *Codices graeci Monasterii Messanensis S. Salvatoris* (Messanae, 1907); A. OMONT, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale I: Ancien fonds grec, Théologie* (Paris, 1886); R. DEVRESSE, *Le Fonds Coislin* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1945); G. DE ANDRÈS, *Catálogo de los códices griegos de la Biblioteca Nacional* (Madrid: Min. de Cultura, Dir. Gen. del Libro y Bibliotecas, 1987); М. СТОЯНОВ, *Опис на гръцките и други чуждозични ръкописи в Народната библиотека "Кирил и Методий" (София, 1973); H. HUNGER, O. KRESTEN, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek 3/1: Codices theologici 1–100* (Wien, 1976) (Museion, N.F. 4, 1/2); N. G. WILSON, D. STEFANOVIĆ, *Manuscripts of Byzantine Chants in Oxford* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1963); D. ГЕТОВ, *A Catalogue of Greek Liturgical Manuscripts in the "Ivan Dujčev Centre for Slavo-Byzantine Studies"* (Roma: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2007) (OCA, 279).*

(3) V. JAGIĆ, *Menaia septembris, octobris, novembris, ad fidem vetustissimorum codicum* (Petropoli: Издание Отдѣленія русскаго языка и словесности Императорской Академіи наукъ, 1886) (Памятники древнерусскаго языка, I) XLIX–LXXVI.

structural similarities between the Slavonic and the Byzantine sources, although an exact typological counterpart of the Slavonic version has not been discovered.⁴ The description of the genre content of the so-called Jagić Menaia was performed once again almost a century later by Dimitrije Stefanović, who, however, was also unsuccessful in revealing the Byzantine typological pattern of the earliest Old Russian Menaia.⁵ Without taking into consideration the work of Vatroslav Jagić, Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus noticed that offices (*akolouthiai*, ἀκολουθίαι) in Menaia of the 10th c., the codes or shelfmarks of which he did not mention, always start with kathisma (or kathismata, the number of which depends on the significance of the feast) followed by *stichera* and *kanon*,⁶ an observation that partially supports Jagić's work. Papadopoulos-Kerameus' conclusion is of great significance for the typology of the early Byzantine office Menaia, though for more than half a century after his publications, scholars have not made any efforts to examine more deeply the typology of the early Byzantine office Menaia on the basis of more representative material. Moreover, Jagić's edition containing an extensive research chapter was neglected by some Western scholars, whose enlightened ignorance is justified by the global rule *russica non leguntur*.

The impressive examples of the neglect of Slavic literary and scholarly tradition by the editors of *Analecta hymnica graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris*⁷ were reported by such an outstanding expert in both Byzantine and Slavonic liturgical traditions as Christian Hannick: "Die Methode der Mitarbeiter von G. SCHIRÒ sei am besten an Hand eines Beispiels dargelegt: Der häufig Theophanes zugeschriebene Kanon auf den hl. Ionas am 22. September, den A. Debiasi Gonzato <...> nach zehn Handschriften herausgibt, ist keineswegs ein Specificum der Magna Graecia. V. Jagić fand eine slavische Version im Menaion Nr. 294 der Sinodal'naja Biblioteka (A. D. 1095–96) und fügte bereits <...> die griechische Vorlage aus einem weiter nicht genau definierten Menaion der Sammlung Uspenskij (12. Jh.) hinzu. <...> Dieses Beispiel

(4) JAGIĆ, *Menaia*..., LII–LXXIII.

(5) D. STEFANOVIĆ, The Development of the Slavonic Menaia Manuscripts, *Musica Antiqua* 5 (Acta scientifica. Materiały naukowe z V Międzynarodowej sesji muzikologicznej "Musica Antiqua Europae Orientalis", Bydgoszcz, 1978) (1978) 211–220.

(6) Α. ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ-ΚΕΡΑΜΕΩΣ, Σχεδιάσμα περί τῶν λειτουργικῶν μηναιῶν, *BB* 1 (1894) 360.

(7) AHG.

zeigt deutlich das Fluktuieren des Begriffs ‘süditalienisch’ und die relative Unsicherheit, die aus der strengen Auswahl der Handschriften in den AHG entsteht”.⁸ Michail Murianov noticed later that the series *Analecta hymnica graeca* contains eight kanons allegedly published by Giuseppe Schirò and his colleagues for the first time, although these texts had already been edited by Vatroslav Jagić in the supplemental part of his book⁹ which he wrote in Latin: “При первом же случае, когда книга И. В. Ягича могла бы принести реальную пользу, — византологам, готовившим под руководством кардинала Ж. Питра римское издание греческих Минеи (1888–1901), — ее не использовали, хотя русский академик, зная бытующее на Западе правило *russica non leguntur*, весь авторский текст главы «Указатель греческих источников» написал на латинском языке. Покажем только на одном примере, что потеряли итальянские византологи. В их издании, как и во всех греческих, принято одни и те же ирмосы, если они применяются неоднократно, давать полным текстом не каждый раз, а для экономии места ограничиваться кратким зачалом — в расчете на то, что текст или общеизвестен, или в крайнем случае может быть найден на другой странице. <...> Отсутствие системы отсылок не могло не привести к издержкам: случилось так, что на каком-то этапе традиции полный текст одного ирмоса был вместе со всем канонам исключен из Минеи, а зачал этого ирмоса в других местах осталось невосполненным. Это произошло с ирмосом первой песни восьмого гласа (четвертого плагального, по греческому счету), имеющим зачалο Τῷ ἐκτίναξάντι. Оно фигурирует в минейной службе на 2 сентября и в предтеченском каноне Октоиха во вторник утра. Налицо дефект и Минеи, и Октоиха — зачал ирмоса не есть ирмос, а ирмоса нигде нет! Его полный текст можно было найти только в аппарате книги И. В. Ягича <...> ученый сумел обнаружить полный греческий текст — в рукописной греческой Минеи XII в. Петербургской Публичной библиотеки (в книге — с. 585). <...> византология датирует его открытие 1932 годом — появлением публикации С. Евстриадиса. Неведение о книге И. В. Ягича остается в силе и поныне, изданная Римским университетом 12-томная серия «*Analecta Hymnica Graeca*»

(8) Ch. HANNICK, *Studien zu liturgischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* (Wien—Köln—Graz: In Kommission bei Hermann Böhlaus Nachf., 1972) (*Byzantina Vindobonensia*, 6) 26.

(9) JAGIĆ, *Menaea*...

(1966–1980) на некоторых своих страницах выглядела бы иначе, если бы не открывались заново первоисточники, найденные И. В. Ягичем. Так, в соответствии с принятым в этой серии принципом не брать каноны, где-либо публиковавшиеся, можно было не включать в издание каноны св. Сусанне и пророку Ионе (АНГ I), Петру Капитолийскому, Евлампии и Евлампии, Карпу и Папиле (АНГ II), Акепсиму, Галактиону и Иоанну Милостивому (АНГ III) — все эти восемь обширных произведений опубликовал И. В. Ягич по рукописным греческим Минеям Петербурга и Москвы”.¹⁰

While the classical investigations by Carsten Høeg of Denmark, Egon Wellesz of Great Britain, Miloš Velimirović and Oliver Strunk of the USA, Enrica Follieri of Italy, Christian Hannick of Austria and Germany, and Michail Fyodorovich Murianov of Russia covered numerous problems of musical, literary, hagiographical, liturgical, and symbolic content of Byzantine and Slavic liturgical poetry,¹¹ even such a great scholar as Fr. Robert Taft was unaware of the date of the earliest manuscript containing the office Menaion even in 1991, when he wrote: “The first systematic *menaia* with hymnography for each day of the year appear only in MSS of the 11th–12th C”.¹² Indeed, the struc-

(10) М. Ф. Мурьянов, О работе И. В. Ягича над Службными Минеями 1095–1097 гг., in: ИДЕМ, *История книжной культуры России. Очерки*, т. 2 (Санкт-Петербург: Мирь, 2008) 58 (first published in: *Вопросы языкознания* 5 (1981) 93–105).

(11) See the publications of the series *Monumenta Musica Byzantinae* founded by Carsten Høeg: <http://www.igl.ku.dk/MMB/pub.html>; classical bibliography on the state of the issue: J. Szövérfy, *A Guide to Byzantine Hymnography: A Classified Bibliography of Texts and Studies*, vol. I–II (Brookline, MA, 1978–1979) (Medieval classics: Texts and studies, 11–12); for more references see the surveys: Сн. HANNICK, Zur Entwicklung der Forschungen zur byzantinischen Liturgie, in: M. A. MOMINA, N. TRUNTE (eds.), *Triodion und Pentekostarion nach slavischen Handschriften des 11.–14. Jahrhunderts I* (Paderborn—München—Wien—Zürich, 2004) (Abhandlungen der Nordrheinwestfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 110; *Patristica Slavica*, 11) 361–369; D. TOULIATOS, Research in Byzantine Music Since 1975, *Acta Musicologica* 60/3 (1988) 205–228.

(12) R. TAFT, Menaion, in: A. P. KAZHDAN (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C., 1991) 1338. The earliest available office Menaia are dated to the end of the 9th – first half of the 10th cc. (see below). For further detailed criticism of this remarkable mistake by Fr. Robert Taft, see: А. Ю. НИКИФОРОВА, Рождение Минеи. Греческие Минеи IX–XII вв., *Вес-*

tural development of this hymnographic book in the 9th–14th cc. as a whole was not at all understood. It is noteworthy that even in 2002 Elena Velkovska's survey of Byzantine and Church Slavonic office Menaia was limited to one paragraph consisting of four lines with no bibliographical references,¹³ although in 1978 and 1982 Dimitrije Stefanović described at least two Old Church Slavonic and two Byzantine types of office Menaia of the 11th–13th cc.¹⁴

In 2005 Alexandra Nikiforova of Moscow defended her Ph.D. dissertation covering the topic of the present article and thereafter prepared several publications and delivered a few papers dedicated to the history and typology of early Byzantine Menaia in comparison with the archaic hymnographic manuscripts newly discovered on Mt. Sinai in 1975, which she consulted *de visu*.¹⁵ The scholar convincingly argues

тник Православного Свято-Тихоновского гуманитарного университета, Серия 3: Филология 4/22 (2010) 103–122 (<http://pstu.ru/download/1294824265.nikiforova.pdf>).

(13) Е. ВЕЛКОВСКА, Система на византийските и славянските богослужбени книги в периода на възникването им, in: V. GYUZELEV, A. MILTENOVA (eds.), *Medieval Christian Europe: East and West. Traditions, Values, Communications* (s.l., 2002) 230: “<М>инеи: съдържат променливите химнографски елементи за празниците от неподвижния слънчев цикъл на месеците <...> Най-старите запазени минеи са от IX в.” (neither codes nor shelfmarks of manuscripts were reported).

(14) D. STEFANOVIĆ, The Development... ; IDEM, Greek Daily Menaia Manuscripts, *Musica Antiqua* 5 (Acta scientifica. Materiały naukowe z VI Międzynarodowego Kongresu Muzikologicznego “«Musica Antiqua Europae Orientalis», Bydgoszcz, 1978”) (1982) 251–263; cf.: E. GUERGOVA, Old Slavic Menaia: Structure and Content, in: C. GRIBBLE, P. МАТЕЈІС (ed.), *Monastic Traditions. Selected Proceedings of the Fourth International Hilandar Conference* (The Ohio State University, 14–15 August 1998) (Bloomington, IN: Slavica, 2003) 143–152; П. СИМИЋ, Структура и редакције словенских минеја, *Богословље* 18/1–2 (1974) 67–108.

(15) А. Ю. НИКИФОРОВА, Проблема происхождения служебной минеи: структура, состав, месяцеслов греческих миней IX–XII вв. из монастыря святой Екатерины на Синае, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Moscow: Gor'ky Literature Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences) 2005 (extensive summary in Russian (“avtoreferat”) is available on line: <http://librarius.narod.ru/autor/nikiforova.pdf>). For further information see the publications: ЕАДЕМ, К истории исчезнувшего гимнографического жанра. Праздничные блаженны из греческих Миней IX–XII веков библиотеки монастыря вмц. Екатерины на Синае, *Богословский сборник* 10 (2002) 155–171; ЕАДЕМ, Проблема происхождения и формирования служебной Миней. Структура, состав,

that the complete daily office Menaion was compiled on the basis of the Byzantine Tropologion of the younger type in the second half of the 9th c. The Tropologion had long been available only in Syriac and Georgian manuscripts¹⁶ until its Greek version was uncovered in 1975

месяцеслов греческих Миней IX–XII вв. из монастыря вмч. Екатерины на Синае, in: *Россия — Афон: тысячелетие духовного единства. Материалы международной научно-богословской конференции, Москва, 1–4 октября 2006 г.* (Moscow: St. Tichon Orthodox University for the Humanities, 2008) 380–389; the article dedicated to the structure and the content of the archaic hymnographic books, including the newly discovered Tropologia *Sin. gr. NE MG 5* and *56* as well as the office Menaia of the 9th–14th cc.: ЕАДЕМ, Рождение Миней...; see also: ЕАДЕМ, Оpozнание разбитых статуй. От Тропология к Минее, in: *Первая ежегодная конференция “Современная православная гимнография” (к 100-летию со дня кончины А. В. Попова)* (Москва: Издательский совет РПЦ, in press, free on-line access to the full text: <http://www.ror.ru/news/news/2011/02/Nikiforova.pdf>); ЕАДЕМ, “Сокрытое сокровище”. Значение находок 1975 года в монастыре вмч. Екатерины на Синае для истории служебной Миней, in: *Гимнология 6* (Москва: Московская консерватория, 2011) 8–31; ЕАДЕМ, “Синайская сокровищница”: структура последований греческого Тропология VIII–IX вв. и ранних Миней IX–XII вв. (in press). The newly discovered hymnographic sources from St. Catherine’s Monastery have been described in the monograph which Alexandra Nikiforova prepared in 2009 under the preliminary title *Из истории Миней в Византии: Гимнографические памятники VIII–XII вв. из собрания монастыря св. Екатерины на Синае*; the monograph was officially approved for printing by the scholarly council of the Gor’ky Literature Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Moscow). I am grateful to Dr. Alexandra Nikiforova for the chance to read her unpublished texts.

(16) “Die ältesten Hss. des georg.<ischen> T.<ropologions> (Tbilisi H-2133, Sin. iber. 18, 40, 41) stammen aus dem 9.–10. Jh. ... seine liturg.<ische> Tradition auf das Jerusalemer Lektionar zurückgeht” (Ch. HANNICK, Tropologion, *LMA 8* [1999] 1045); on the oldest Tropologion: H. LEEB, *Die Gesänge im Gemeindegottesdienst von Jerusalem: vom 5.–8. Jahrhundert* (Wien: Herder, 1970) (Wiener Beiträge zur Theologie, 28); E. MET’REVELI, C. Č’ANKIEVA, L. XEVSURIANI, *uzvelesi iadgari (The Oldest Iadgari)* (Tbilisi, 1980); H. MÉTRÉVÉLI, Ts. TSCHAN-KIEVA, L. KHEVSOURIANI, Le plus ancien tropologion géorgien, *Bedi Kartlisa 39* (1981) 55–62; A. WADE, The Oldest Iadgari. The Jerusalem Tropologion, V–VIII c., *OCP 50* (1984) 451–456 (a comprehensive review of the above-mentioned edition by E. MET’REVELI, C. Č’ANKIEVA, L. XEVSURIANI (*uzvelesi iadgari*) and description of *iadgari*’s structure and content); H.-M. SCHNEIDER, *Lobpreis im rechten Glauben. Die Theologie der Hymnen an den Festen der Menschwerdung der alten Jerusalemer Liturgie im Georgischen Udzelesi Iadgari* (Bonn: Borengässer, 2004) (Hereditas. Studien zur Alten Kirchengeschichte, 23); C. RENOUX (transl., introd., ed.), *Les hymnes de la Résurrection. 1. Hymnographie liturgique*

and briefly described by Panagiotes Nikolopoulos (codd. *Sin. gr. NE MG 5*, 8th–9th cc., and *Sin. gr. NE MG 56*), and then much more precisely by Stig Frøyshov;¹⁷ the most extensive description by far of the newly discovered Byzantine Tropologion *Sin. gr. NE MG 5* was published by the author of this article.¹⁸

géorgienne. Textes du Sinaï 18. (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2000) (Sources liturgiques, 3); IDEM, Hymnographie géorgienne ancienne et hymnaire de Saint-Sabas (V^e–VII^e siècle), *Irénikon* 8/1 (2007) 36–69; IDEM (intr., transl., ed.), *L'Hymnaire de Saint-Sabas (V^e–VIII^e siècles): le manuscrit géorgien H 2123. I. Du samedi de Lazare à la Pentecôte* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008) (PO 50/3); T. CHRONZ, Das griechische Tropologion-Fragment aus dem Kastellion Kloster und seine georgischen Parallelen, *Oriens Christianus* 92 (2008) 113–118 (further references; the classification of the Greek fragment consisting of a few troparia seems problematic because of the typologically insignificant extent of the preserved text); see also: E. METREVELI, Les manuscrits liturgiques géorgiens des IX^e–X^e siècles et leur importance pour l'étude de l'hymnographie byzantine, *Bedi Kartlisa* 36 (1978) 48 (on the second, or younger, version of the Georgian Tropologion). See the analytical review: P. JEFFERY, The Earliest Christian Chant Repertory Recovered: The Georgian Witnesses to Jerusalem Chant, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 47/1 (1994) 1–38; the most recent and comprehensive study: S. S. FRØYSHOV, The Georgian Witness to the Jerusalem Liturgy: New Sources and Studies, in: *Inquiries into Eastern Christian Worship. Selected Papers of the Second International Congress of the Society of Oriental Liturgy, Rome, 17–21 September 2008* (Leuven–Paris–Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2012) (*Eastern Christian Studies*, 12) 227–268.

(17) ΝΙΚΟΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, *Τὰ νέα εὐρήματα...*, 144; P. GÉHIN, S. FRØYSHOV, Nouvelles découvertes Sinaïtiques: à propos de la parution de l'inventaire des manuscrits Grecs, *RÉB* 58 (2000) 172, 178–179; "Le Tropologion était l'hymnaire qui contenait l'abondante production poétique de l'Église de Jérusalem. Au début, tous les stichères, les canons et les cathismes, appartenant à tous les cycles liturgiques, étaient rassemblés dans un seul livre. Ensuite, avec la multiplication des hymnes, le Tropologion global fut divisé en plusieurs parties, une pour chaque cycle liturgique" (*ibid.*, p. 178).

(18) Р. Н. КРИВКО, Синайско-славянские гимнографические параллели, *Вестник Православного Свято-Тихоновского гуманитарного университета. Серия 3: Филология* 1/11 (2008) 59–60, 84–89 (free on-line access: <http://pstgu.ru/download/1222152433.krivko.pdf>). Svetlana Kuyumdzhieva (С. КУЮМДЖИЕВА, Химнографска книга Трополог: извори и идентификации, *Palaeobulgarica / Старобългаристика* 33.3 (2009) 41–68; ЕАДЕМ, The Hymnographic Book of the Tropologion: Sources and Identifications, in: *Proceedings of the 22nd International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Sofia, 22–27 August 2011, II: Abstracts of round table communications* (Sofia, 2011) 187–188) examined *Sin. gr. NE MG 5* according to the fragments published by Panagiotes

After the publications by Alexandra Nikiforova, it is no longer possible to assume that “the earliest Greek Menaia were the so-called fest <sic, instead of *festal* — R. K.> Menaia” and that “<t>hey <the festal Menaia — R. K.> were compiled in the seventh and eighth centuries at the time when the special services <sic, instead of *the most significant offices* — R. K.> were written for the great festivals and the great saints”,¹⁹ while it is still absolutely correct to argue that “<t>he rise of the hymnographic activity after the end of the Iconoclast controversy (843) led to the compilation of the daily Menaia at the end of the ninth century”.²⁰ It was Egon Wellesz who was the first to propose the correlation between the Constantinopolitan Synaxaria and the early office Menaia: “We may assume that the calendar of the lives of the saints which are nowadays collected in the Synaxarium originally formed

Nikolopoulos and the article by Stig Frøyshov (P. ГЕ́ИИИ, S. ФРӨЙШОВ, Nouvelles découvertes...). Her observations are influenced by a misunderstanding of the hymnographic term *Tropologion*, which can be applied to different types of books (Menaion, Triodion, and even Kondakarion): “Первые триоди, повидимому, назывались общим именем древних сборников однородных пѣснопѣний — тропологіями <...> Точно такое же название — трополо́γιον носили и древнія минеи и октоихи” (И. КАРАБИНОВЪ, *Постная Триодь: Историческій обзоръ ея плана, состава, редакцій и славянскихъ переводовъ* (Санктпетербургъ, 1910 (<http://www.mzh.mrezha.ru/lib/karabinov/krb1910a.pdf>) 207); for further detailed observations see: H. HUSMANN, *Hymnus und Troparion. Studien zur Geschichte der musikalischen Gattungen von Horologion und Tropologion, Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz* 1971 (Berlin, 1972) 7–86 (without references to: КАРАБИНОВЪ, *Постная Триодь...*, 207); the article by Heinrich Husmann is mentioned by Svetlana Kuyumdzhieva, whose conclusions, however, totally contradict the results achieved by Husmann and thus mislead readers. Although Svetlana Kuyumdzhieva mentioned one of my articles dedicated to the structure and the content of the newly discovered hymnographic Sinaitic sources (P. H. КРИВКО, *Синайские унциальные гимнографические сборники и их значение для славянской традиции*, in: W. MOSKOWICH, S. NIKOLOVA, M. TAUBE, V. ŽELJAZKOVA [eds.], *The Holy Land and the Manuscript Legacy of Slavs* (Sofia—Jerusalem, 2008) (Jews and Slavs, 20) 317–339), she stated that no information about the structure and the content of this manuscript was available to her (“<з>а съжеление няма информация за подребата на репертоара в него”; КУЮМДЖИЕВА, *Химнографска книга...*, 44).

(19) STEFANOVIĆ, *The Development...*, 211.

(20) Ibid.

the kernel of the Menaia".²¹ Egon Wellesz' assumption was confirmed by Jakov Kulić²² and later on by Alexandra Nikiforova,²³ who proved the "kernel of feasts" ("эортологическое ядро" according to Nikiforova) of the earliest office Menaia to have been shaped by the calendar of the Constantinopolitan Synaxaria, which clearly indicates the Menaion's place of origin.²⁴ Unfortunately, none of the earliest Constantinopolitan Menaia of the 9th c. have been preserved or uncovered to date, therefore the most archaic Byzantine office Menaia available for scholars are the provincial sources.

I.4. The Genres Included in the Earliest Menaia and the Younger Tropologion

A comparison of the younger Tropologion with the Menaion proves the most important hymnographic genres (that is, kanon and stiche-

(21) E. WELLESZ, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962; reprint, special ed. for Sandpiper Books Ltd.: 1998) 135.

(22) J. KULIĆ, *Ricercha sulle commemorazioni giornaliere bizantine nei minei*, Tesi di dottorato (Roma: Pontificium Institutum Orientale, 1992).

(23) "Исследование месяцесловов боле чем ста служебных Миней IX–XII вв. показало, что они имели единое ядро — общевизантйский пространнй календарь, близкий календарю КС и отличавшийся существенным образом от месяцеслова древнейшего Тропология, включавшего в себя немногие праздники преимущественно палестинского ареала <...> се греческие Миней IX–XII вв. имели: 1) общевизантйское эортологическое ядро, близкое месяцеслову КС, 2) локальную эортологическую специфику (византино-палестинскую, южно-итальянскую и т.д.), 3) особую для каждого комплекта программу" (А. Ю. Никифорова, *Проблема происхождения служебной Миней: структура, состав, месяцеслов греческих Миней IX–XII вв. из монастыря св. Екатерины на Синае*, Автореферат диссертации ... кандидата филологических наук (Москва, 2005) 10, 13, <http://librarius.narod.ru/autor/nikiforova.pdf>).

(24) Cf.: N. PATTERSON-SHEVCHENKO, Canon and Calendar: The role of a ninth century hymnographer in shaping the celebration of the saints, in: L. BRUBAKER (ed.), *Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive? Papers from the thirtieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March 1996* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998) (Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies 5) 101–114; the book was reviewed by: Д. Е. Афиногенов, [Review], in: *Христианский Восток* 3/9 (2002) 488–497; these articles have been cited by Alexandra Nikiforova to confirm her own observations on the Constantinopolitan origin of the kernel of the Menaion calendar (Никифорова, *Проблема...*, 10).

ron) to have been adopted by the archaic Byzantine Menaion from the Tropologion. Makarismoï as a genre of Palestinian origin²⁵ were also included in the earliest Constantinopolitan Menaia.²⁶

In comparison with the Tropologion, the early Menaia of the 9th–11th cc. contain several innovative genres of Constantinopolitan origin represented neither by Georgian, Syriac, and Greek Tropologia nor by other hymnographic books, scrolls, miscellanies, and fragments which were discovered on Mt. Sinai:²⁷ festal kathisma, kontakion, festal exaposteilaria, and *troparion* (kathisma εις Θεος Κύριος, τροπάριον τῆς ἐορτῆς, ἀπολυτίκιον).

1.4.a. Festal Kathismata

Alexandra Nikiforova argues that “<г>лавное изменение в жанровом составе Минеи в сравнении с Тропологием — это появление на каждый день особых праздничных седальнов. Общие седальны были известны и раньше, из приложений к Тропологию. <...> Это общие седальны «воскресные» (греч. ἀναστάσιμα), «богородичные» (греч. θεοτοκία), «святым мученикам» (греч. μαρτυρικά)” etc.²⁸ The festal kathismata discussed by Nikiforova are preserved in all of the Menaia and therefore cannot be considered to be a classifying criterion for this liturgical book. At the same time, they testify positively to the non-Palestinian origin of the Byzantine Menaion time and again, and thus provide witness to an innovative hymnographic tradition in comparison to the Tropologion and the typologically comparable manuscripts of Palestinian origin.

(25) For the history of this genre and numerous references see: А. М. ПЕНТКОВСКИЙ, М. ИОВЧЕВА, Праздничные и воскресные блаженны в византийском и славянском богослужении VIII–XIII вв., *Palaeobulgarica / Старобългаристика* 25.3 (2001) 31–60.

(26) НИКИФОРОВА, К истории...; ЕАДЕМ, Рождение Минеи..., 113–114. See also below.

(27) This observation is based on the following sources which I have consulted *de visu*: *Sin.gr. NE MG* nn° 4 (9th–10th cc.); 5 (8th–9th cc.); 15 (9th–10th cc.); 20 (9th–10th cc.); 24 (9th–10th cc.); 37 (9th–10th cc.); 56 (9th c.); 80 (9th c.); and 84 (9th–10th cc.).

(28) НИКИФОРОВА, Рождение Минеи..., 114.

***I.4.b. Troparion (kathisma, katabasia) εἰς Θεὸς Κύριος
and τροπάριον ἀπολυτικίον***

Two other innovative genres observed in Menaia but missing in the Tropologion are the troparion (= *kathisma, katabasia*) εἰς Θεὸς Κύριος and the troparion apolytikion (τροπάριον ἀπολυτικίον).²⁹ The terms *troparion* εἰς Θεὸς Κύριος, *kathisma* εἰς Θεὸς Κύριος, and *katabasia* εἰς Θεὸς Κύριος are not observed in the available Menaia younger than the 12th c. According to the Sinaitic Kanonarium of the 10th–11th cc. (*Sin. gr.* 150), the τροπάριον εἰς Θεὸς Κύριος and the τροπάριον εἰς τὴν ἀπόλυσιν (troparion apolytikion) often represent the same chant with different liturgical positions, cf.: “εἰς τὴν ἀπόλυσιν ἦχος β΄. τροπάριον· Ὁ πάσης δημιουργὸς τῆς κτίσεως. Τὸ αὐτὸ εἰς τὸ, Θεὸς Κύριος καὶ εἰσοδικὸν εἰς τὴν λειτουργίαν... εἰς τὴν ἀπόλυσιν [τοῦ ἔσπερινου] τροπάριον ἦχος α΄. Ἡ γέννησίς σου, Θεοτόκε. Τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ εἰς τὸ, Θεὸς Κύριος καὶ ἀπόλυσιν [τοῦ ὄρθρου καὶ εἰσοδικὸν εἰς τὴν λειτουργίαν]”³⁰ etc.

The τροπάριον εἰς Θεὸς Κύριος is attested twice in *Sin. gr.* 607³¹ *sub diem* Forty Martyrs of Sebastia and on the Annunciation of the Theotokos (*Sin. gr.* 607, ff. 32v, 92v). The troparia have been written out completely. The same chant for the Annunciation of the Theotokos appears in the Menaion preserved in the Russian National Library (St. Petersburg), cod. *Petrop. gr.* 553 (*РНБ, Греч.* 553), 11th c., f. 14r.; in this manuscript, however, the chant is not called τροπάριον but rather κάθισμα εἰς Θεὸς Κύριος. And finally, one of the Menaia preserved in the Sevastjanov collection of the Russian State Library (Moscow) (*РГБ, Сев.* 480), 12th c., contains καταβάσια εἰς Θεὸς Κύριος chanted on the Nativity of the Theotokos (*sub diem* 8th of September). In modern liturgical usage the same chant is called *troparion apolytikion* and it is dedicated to the same feast.³²

(29) Никифорова, *Проблема...*, 16.

(30) А. Дмитриевский, *Описание литургических рукописей, хранящихся в библиотеках Православного Востока*, т. 1: Типικά, ч. 1: Памятники патриарших уставов и ктиторские монастырские Типиконы (Киев, 1895; Nachdruck: Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung) 194.

(31) Никифорова, *Рождение Минеи...*, 111.

(32) The use of the liturgical terms *troparion, kathisma,* and *katabasia* εἰς Θεὸς Κύριος in codd. *Sin. gr.* 607, *РНБ, Греч.* 553, and *РГБ, Сев.* 480 has been described by Alexandra Nikiforova: “Постепенно в Минеи формировались новые жанры. Еще не окончательно определившийся в терминологи-

The variety in the liturgical terms *κάθισμα*, *τροπάριον* and *καταβάσια εἰς Θεὸς Κύριος* is observed in cod. *Reg. gr. 54* of the 12th c. (for content of this manuscript see below): *τροπάρι(ο)ν εἰς τ(ὸ) Θ(εὸ)ς Κ(ύριος)ς* ff. 1, 28v; *κάθ(ισμα) εἰς τὸ Θεὸς Κ(ύριος)ς* ff. 3v, 15v), *ἀπολυτίκιον* · *ἔτοιμάζου Βη(θλεέμ) f. 7v*, and *troparion* (f. 42v).

1.4.c. Kontakion and Exaposteilarion

The typologically most significant innovative hymnographic genres of Constantinopolitan origin attested by Menaia are the *kontakion* and *exaposteilarion*.

José Grosdidier de Matons was the first to argue that **the kontakion** had originally been intended for the cathedral rite and was unknown at the monastic office:³³ “Au VIe siècle donc, le kontakion a atteint son plein développement, et il est encore complètement étranger à l’orthros monastique. Son cadre est celui de la vigile cathédrale”.³⁴ In researching the liturgical history of the *kontakion*, Grosdidier de Matons examined only its stylistic and poetic features and neglected the liturgical evidence itself,³⁵ which brought him to the following conclusions: “C’est sans doute au VIII^e siècle que l’annexion du kontakion par l’orthros s’est opérée,³⁶ peut-être parce qu’à cette époque la vigile a perdu sa forme traditionnelle et que le kontakion n’y a plus trouvé place. <...> Cette assimilation a certainement favorisé l’usage de faire du kontakion un mésodion du canon, comme le canon avait été d’abord

ческом отношении «тропарь» (греч. ἀπολυτίκιον) в большинстве Минеи IX–XII вв. именовался «седален на “Бог Господь”» (греч. *κάθισμα εἰς Θεὸς Κύριος*): напр., 4-го гласа «Днесь спасения нашего главизна» (РНБ. Греч.553. XI в. Лл.14. 25 марта. Благовещение). Это же песнопение в Sinait. Gr. 607 (IX–X вв.) передано как «тропарь на “Бог Господь”» (греч. *τροπάριον εἰς Θεὸς Κύριος* Лл. 92 об.). В РГБ.Сев.480 (XII в.) тропарь на Рождество Богородицы (8 сентября) назван «катавасия на “Бог Господь”» (греч. *καταβάσια εἰς Θεὸς Κύριος*)” (ibid.). See also: НИКИФОРОВА, Рождение Минеи..., 111.

(33) J. GROSDIDIER DE MATONS, *Kontakion et Canon. Piété populaire et liturgie officielle à Byzance*, *Augustinianum* 20 (1980) 191–203 (a short survey); for more details see: IDEM, *Liturgie et hymnographie: kontakion et canon*, *DOP* 32 (1980–1981) 31–43, esp. 42.

(34) GROSDIDIER DE MATONS, *Liturgie...*, 36.

(35) Ibid., 40.

(36) Cf.: “A quel moment le kontakion a-t-il commencé à servir de μεσώδιον? Nous ne pouvons le dire, même approximativement” (Ibid., 105).

une série de *mésôdia* des cantiques scripturaires”.³⁷ A more precise analysis of liturgical data leads to the conclusion that “it is no longer possible to maintain that the hymns of Romanos and the other early melodies were replaced by kanons in the seventh or eighth century. On the contrary, kanons had no place at all within the Constantinopolitan cathedral worship but were a prominent feature of the Palestinian monastic rite imported by St. Theodore the Studite <...>.”³⁸ It was only through the Studite monks’ rapid assimilation of cathedral forms that the kontakia attained its present place within Sabbaitic orthros.”³⁹ Thus, the “development in Byzantine hymnography from Romanos to John, from the kontakion to the canon, is therefore not in the least linear. First of all, the kontakion did not drop out of use, when the canon emerged, for they belonged to different services — the canon to the monastic service of orthros, the kontakion to the *asmatike akolouthia* of the cathedral office <...>. The passage from the kontakion to the canon is therefore, certainly, an aspect of growing monasticization of the Byzantine liturgy, but this was a quite gradual process. It is very likely that, as cathedral office and monastic office grew <...> they jostled with one another for time, both services were squeezed, and in that pro-

(37) GROSSEIDIER DE MATONS, *Liturgie...*, 42.

(38) This is by all means a mistake possibly caused by an uncritical reproduction of Fr. Robert Taft’s concept of “Studite synthesis”. The hymnographic kanon as a genre of Palestinian origin was imported into Constantinople much earlier, which is testified by hymnographic kanons attributed to Patriarch Herman (630–650 and 653–658 — † before 754), who lived before St. Theodore the Studite († 826); see: Ν. ΤΟΜΑΔΑΚΗ, *Η βυζαντινή ὑμνογραφία καὶ ποίησις* (Θεσσαλονίκη, 1993) 160. For further information on Herman’s hymnographic legacy see: А. Ю. НИКИФОРОВА, Неизвестное гимнографическое наследие Константинопольского патриарха Германа, *Вестник Православного Свято-Тихоновского гуманитарного университета* 4/26 (2011) 29–43 (<http://pstgu.ru/scientific/periodicals/bulletin/III/archives/>); the issue is also covered in the forthcoming monograph: ЕАДЕМ, *Из истории служебной Минеи (на материале гимнографических памятников VIII–XII вв. из собрания монастыря святой Екатерины на Синае)* (Москва).

(39) А. LINGAS, The Liturgical Place of the Kontakion in Constantinople, in: С. АКЕНТИЕВ (ed.), *Liturgy, Architecture, and Art in [the] Byzantine World: Papers of the XVIII International Byzantine Congress (Moscow, 8–15 August 1991) and Other Essays Dedicated to the Memory of Fr. John Meyendorff* (St Petersburg: Byzantinorossica, 1995) (Byzantinorossica, 1) 56 (<http://byzantinorossica.org.ru/opensjvu.html?sources+byz1+p50-57.djvu>); cf.: А. LOUTH, Christian Hymnography From Romanos the Melodist to John Damascene, *The Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 2/57 (2005) 197.

cess fewer and fewer of the *ikoi* of the *kontakion* were performed, until finally, the *kontakion*, reduced to 'kontakion' and *ikos*, was finally slipped into the canon, in the place it occupies today. Secondly, as well as coming from different liturgical contexts <...> the *kontakion* and the canon had different geographical provenance: the canon originating in Jerusalem and the Holy Land, while the *kontakion*, whatever its Syriac roots was a feature of the religious life of Constantinople, and emanated from there. *Kontakion* and canon are therefore part of the complex story of the different influences exercised by Jerusalem and Constantinople in the development of the Byzantine liturgical office. And finally, the passage from *kontakion* to canon is more than a change in genre in liturgical poetry; it represents a shift from what I would call poetry as proclamation to poetry as meditation, from poetry used in the service of the proclamation of the gospel, to poetry as a way of meditating on the truths of the faith, and that again is another facet of the shift, already noticed, from lay orientation to monastic inspiration in the Byzantine liturgical office".⁴⁰ If the attribution of numerous *kontakia* to the Studite hymnographers is correct,⁴¹ then the *kontakion* was introduced into the monastic Matins in Constantinople not later than in the 8th c. As to the monastic rite in Palestine, Stephano Parenti maintains that in the most archaic liturgical books of Jerusalemite origin, a hymnographic *kanon* is always represented without any insertions ("в най-архаичните йерусалимски книги канонът винаги се дава цял, без прекъсвания").⁴² It is not only the earliest Horologion, *Sin. gr. 864* (9th c.), that testifies to the absence of the *kontakion* in the monastic rite in Palestine and Sinai until the second half of the 9th and probably the beginning of the 10th cc., but also the *Tropologia Sin. gr. NE MG 5* (8th–9th cc.) and *Sin. gr. NE MG 56* (9th c.) as well as the archaic fragments of codices and scrolls *Sin. gr. NE MG 4* (9th–10th cc.); 15 (9th–10th cc.); 20 (9th–10th cc.); 24 (9th–10th cc.); 37 (9th–10th cc.);

(40) LOUTH, *Christian Hymnography*... 199–200.

(41) G. WOLFRAM, *Der Beitrag des Theodoros Studites zur byzantinischen Hymnographie*, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 53 (2003) 117–125.

(42) С. ПАРЕНТИ, Върху историята на ексапостилария, in: М. ЙОВЧЕВА (ed.), *ПЪВНИЕ МАЛО ГЕВЪРГИЮ. Сборник в чест на 65-годишната на проф. д-рн Георги Попов* (София: Издателски център "Боян Пенев", 2010) 290; with references to: LINGAS, *The Liturgical Place*..., 50–57, and Sr Maxime (Leila) АЖЖОВ, avec la collaboration de J. PARAMELLE (éd.), *Livre d'Heures du Sinai (Sinaiticus graecus 864). Introduction, texte critique, traduction, note et index* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2004) (Sources Chrétiennes, 486).

80 (9th c.); 84 (9th–10th cc.). No liturgical position for the kontakion is attested by such archaic sources as the Oldest Iadgari and the Armenian Lectionary.⁴³

Despite the opinion of Jean-Baptiste Pitra, who assumed that the tradition of kontakion poetry existed in Palestine, too,⁴⁴ Grosdidier de Matons came to the opposite conclusion, considering the attribution of a few kontakia to the Jerusalemite patriarch Sophronios (633/634–639) to be unreliable.⁴⁵ “L’école sabaïte, en ce qui concerne le kontakion, n’existe pas”.⁴⁶ The attribution of the Dormition kontakion Τὴν ἐν πρεσβείαις ἀκοίμητον θεοτόκον,⁴⁷ the acrostic of which contains the name *Kosmas* (Τοῦ ταπεινοῦ [sic!] Κοσμά ὕμνος), to Kosmas of Mayouma⁴⁸ was denied by Constantinos Trypanis⁴⁹ and José Grosdidier de Matons.⁵⁰

The earliest witnesses of the liturgical use of the kontakion in Palestine are Syriac-Melkite manuscripts of Sinaitic provenance. The Tropologion *Sin. syr. 261* contains one kontakion “der Totenmesse” in

(43) LEEB, *Die Gesänge...*; MET'REVELI, Č'ANKIEVA, XEVURIANI, *u3velesi iadgari...*; MÉTRÉVELI, TSCHANKIEVA, KHEVSOURIANI, *Le plus ancien tropologion...*; SCHNEIDER, *Lobpreis...*; RENOUX, *Les hymnes...*; IDEM, *L'Hymnaire...*; IDEM, *Le codex arménien Jérusalem 121. I: Introduction. Aux origines de la liturgie hiérololymitaine. Lumières nouvelles* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969) (PO 35/1, n° 163); IDEM, *Le codex arménien Jérusalem 121* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1971) (PO 36/2, n° 168).

(44) I. B. PITRA, *Analecta Sacra spicilegio Solesmensi parata*, I (Parisii—Tusculi—Venetiis, 1876) XXXV–XLVI.

(45) Cf. the opposite opinion, though unproven by facts: G. BERTONIERE, *Four Liturgical Canons of Elias II of Jerusalem*, in: H.-J. FEULNER, E. VELKOVSKA, R. TAFT (eds.), *Crossroad of Cultures. Studies in Liturgy and Patristics in Honor of Gabriele Winkler* (Rome, 2000) (OCA, 260) 95, f. 18 (the author did not pay attention to the observations made by J. Grosdidier de Matons).

(46) J. GROSDIDIER DE MATONS, *Romanos le Mélode et les origines de la poésie religieuse à Byzance* (Paris: Éditions Beauchesne, 1977) 63.

(47) The critical edition: C. A. TRYPANIS, *Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica* (Wien: In Kommission bei Hermann Böhlhaus Nachf., 1968) (Wiener byzantinische Studien 5) 117–125.

(48) PITRA, *Analecta...*, 527; C. EMEREAU, *Hymnographi byzantini* [III], *Échos d'Orient* 22 (1923) 20–22.

(49) TRYPANIS, *Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica*, 115–116.

(50) “Cette hypothèse, rejetée par le plus récent éditeur, C. A. Trypanis, est en effet très peu probable” (GROSDIDIER DE MATONS, *Romanos le Mélode...*, 57–58).

the supplemental part of the codex (“als Ergänzung”),⁵¹ while the archaic structure of Syriac-Melkite Matins (*orthros*) has no liturgical position for the kontakion at all.⁵² The kontakion designated as *syntomon* is attested by the “revised” (“revidierten”) manuscripts *Sin. syr. 27*, *Sin. syr. 261*, and *Sin. syr. 4*.⁵³ I shall try to prove below that the reduced liturgical use of kontakia or even their total absence from the liturgical rite is typical for some of the archaic Byzantine and Church Slavonic Menaia and Triodia,⁵⁴ which is caused by the peripheral origin of the sources less influenced by the Constantinopolitan hymnographic traditions than the central or the younger ones.

(51) H. HUSMANN, *Eine alte orientalische christliche Liturgie: altsyrisch-melkitisch*, OCP XLII/1 (1976) 162.

(52) As in Greek Palestinian hymnography, kanon odes in the Syriac-Melkite tradition were originally chanted without any additional hymnographic interpolations. It is noteworthy that the innovative manuscript *Sin. Syr. 746* (“Die Handschrift Sinai Syr. 746 ist keine Handschrift, die durch ihr Alter imponiert”, because it is dated to AD 1511, 1522, or 1528) attests to the special liturgical position for kathisma after the sixth ode only once: “Auf den über 800 Seiten läßt die Handschrift aber nur einmal erkennen, daß hier *ōdēn* zu ergänzen ist: auf f. 37v schreibt sie innerhalb des Kanons zwischen Ode 6 und Ode 7: *eita to m(a)r(tyrikon) ōdē z’*, «nun das Martyrikon, (dann) die 7. Ode»” (HUSMANN, *Eine alte orientalische christliche Liturgie...*, 166–167).

(53) HUSMANN, *Eine alte orientalische christliche Liturgie...*, 167, esp. 170–171.

(54) This feature has often been noticed and treated as an archaic one: ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ-ΚΕΡΑΜΕΩΣ, Σχεδιασμα... 360; Т. СУБОТИН-ГОЛУБОВИЋ, Упоредно проучавање структуре српских и византијских минеја старијег периода, in: П. ИВИЋ (ed.), *Проучавање средњовековних јужнословенских рукописа: Сборник радова са III Међународне Хиландарске конференције одржане од 28. до 30. марта 1989* (Београд: Српска академија наука и уметности, одељење језика и књижевности, 1995) 444; М. А. МОМИНА, Einführung, in: М. А. МОМИНА, N. TRUNTE (eds.), *Triodion und Pentekostarion nach slavischen Handschriften des 11.–14. Jahrhunderts I: Vorfastenzeit* (Paderborn—München—Wien—Zürich: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2004) (Abhandlungen der Nordrhein-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 110; Patristica Slavica, 11) *220, *248–*249; З. РАНКОВИЋ, Структура Братковога Минеја. Кратак преглед, *Археографски прилози* 26–27 (2004–2005) 116 (http://www.nb.rs/view_file.php?file_id=1583); Р. СТАНКОВА, Срђбски и български празнични Минеи от XIII век (Съпоставка на състав и структурата), *Recueil des travaux de l’Institut d’études byzantines* 46 (2009) 401 (<http://doiserbia.nb.rs/img/doi/0584-9888/2009/0584-98880946395S.pdf>).

Stephano Parenti argues that the festal exaposteilarion chanted at fixed feasts is the invention of Studite hymnographers of the 9th c., while the exaposteilarion for Great Lent and Sundays were known earlier in Palestine.⁵⁵ Below we will examine the correlation between the genres of Constantinopolitan origin, the kontakion and exaposteilarion, and the makarismoï originating in Palestine, as attested by the Menaia and partially by the Triodia of the 9th–12th cc.

I.5. Arrangement of Chants in Menaia and in the younger Tropologion

Besides the calendar containing feasts for each day of the year, the main typological distinction between the Byzantine Tropologion of the younger type and the earliest Menaia is the arrangement of chants. As opposed to early Menaia, chants in the younger Tropologion as well as archaic hymnographic books and fragments are placed according to their liturgical position:⁵⁶ stichera, kanon, and, as the final part of Matins, the stichera εἰς τοὺς αἴβους, whereas the early Menaia until the 11th–12th cc. are structured by genre, so that the lesser genres precede the kanon regardless of the liturgical positions of the chants (typologically significant deviations from the main trend are described below).

II. HISTORICAL AND TYPOLOGICAL CLASSIFICATION OF MENAIA

On the basis of genre structure and content, Byzantine office Menaia of the 9th–14th cc. can be divided into four major groups: 1) archaic peripheral, 2) archaic central, 3) early innovative, and 4) neo-Sabbaitic. The terms “peripheral” and “central” are related to the origin of the hymnographic tradition as attested by a certain manuscript and not to the provenance of the manuscript itself. Therefore different Italo-Greek manuscripts can be classified as either peripheral or central depending on the extent to which they are influenced by the Constantinopolitan, that is the central, liturgical traditions.

(55) ПАРЕНТИ, Върху историята...

(56) *Sin. gr. NE MG n°n° 5* (8th–9th cc.); *Sin. gr. NE MG 56* (9th c.); *Sin. gr. NE MG 4* (9th–10th cc.); 15 (9th–10th cc.); 20 (9th–10th cc.); 24 (9th–10th cc.); 37 (9th–10th cc.); 80 (9th c.); and 84 (9th–10th cc.).

II.1. Archaic Peripheral Group: End of the Ninth – Eleventh Centuries.

II.1.a. *The Sources*

The three earliest Byzantine office Menaia known are written in an uncial script and share the same structural features. Two of them are dated to the end of the 9th – beginning of the 10th cc. and were copied on Sinai or in Palestine by the same hand. The identity of both hands has been verified by Alexandra Nikiforova.⁵⁷ The manuscripts are preserved on Mt. Sinai:

1. *Sin. gr. 607*, office Menaion for March–April, 9th–10th cc.

2. *Sin. gr. NE MG 28*, fragment of the office Menaion for May, 9th–10th cc.

In the catalogue, *Sin. gr. NE MG 28* has been erroneously defined as a Tropologion.⁵⁸ In order to avoid further misunderstanding, I reproduce below the complete content description of *Sin. gr. NE MG 28* according to my earlier publications,⁵⁹ and the calendars of both Menaia have recently been described by Alexandra Nikiforova,⁶⁰ who comprehensively listed the incipita of *Sin. gr. 607* as well.⁶¹ The sign * indicates published chants, the sign ** indicates incipita which have been reported by Enrica Follieri but whose complete texts remain unpublished.⁶²

(57) НИКИФОРОВА, Рождение..., 104–105.

(58) ΝΙΚΟΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, Τὰ νέα εὐρήματα..., 146; КЮМДЖИЕВА, Химнографска книга..., 44–46.

(59) КРИВКО, Синайско-славянские гимнографические параллели... 97–100; ИДЕМ, Синайские унциальные гимнографические сборники..., 329–331.

(60) НИКИФОРОВА, Рождение..., 105–110.

(61) ЕАДЕМ, *Из истории Минеи в Византии: Гимнографические памятники VIII–XII вв. из собрания монастыря св. Екатерины на Синае* (unpublished monograph).

(62) H. FOLLIERI, *Initia hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae*, I–V (1/2) (Città del Vaticano: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1960–1966) (Studi e testi, 211–215bis); cf.: E. FOLLIERI, *The "Initia Hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae"* — Bibliographical Supplement, in: E. WELLESZ, M. VELIMIROVIČ (eds.), *Studies in Eastern Chant II* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971) 35–50.

f. 1r

Μηνὶ μαῖῳ α΄ τοῦ ἁγίου προφήτου Ἱερεμίου.

κάθ(ισμα) ἦχ(ος) πλ(ἅγιος) δ΄ πρ(οσόμοιον) ἀνέστης ἐκ
νεκρῶν*

Προσέθηκέν σοι ὁ Υἱὸς ὁ Θεός.

Στιχ(ηρὰ) ἦχ(ος) πλ(ἅγιος) δ΄, πρ(οσόμοιον) Κύριε, εἰ καὶ
κριτηρίῳ παρέστης.*

Κύριε, Σὺ πρὸ τοῦ πλασθῆναι...*

Κύριε, εἰ καὶ ἐν βορβόρῳ ἐβλήθη...*

f. 1v

Κύριε, Σοῦ ταῖς λαμπρωτάταις ἀκτίσι...*

Κύριε, εἰ καὶ θρηναῖς ἐλάλει...**

Τοῦ στίχου, ὄμ(οιον) καὶ αὐ(τῶ)?).

Κύριε, τὴν τοῦ Παρακλήτου Σου χάριν.**

Ὁ κανὼν, ᾠδὴ α΄ ἦχ(ος) πλ(ἅγιος) δ΄.

[Hirmos of the first ode] Ὑγρὰν διοδεύσας...*

[Incipit of the first troparion] Πρὸ τοῦ σὲ πλασθῆναι...*.⁶³

f. 3v

Μην(ὶ) μαῖῳ β΄, μνήμη τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου,
ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀλεξανδρείας.

f. 4r

κάθ(ισμα) ἦχ(ος) πλ(ἅγιος) γ΄, πρ(οσόμοιον) τὴν ὠραιότητα τῆς
παρθ(ενίας) σου*

Τὴν τῶν αἰρέσεων πλάνην...*

Στιχ(ηρὰ) ἦχ(ος) πλ(ἅγιος) α΄, πρ(οσόμοιον) χαίροις,
ἀσκητικῶν ἀληθ(ῶς)*.

Χαίροις, τῶν ἀρετῶν ὁ κανὼν...*

Χαίροις, πατριαρχῶν ἢ κρηπίς...*

f. 4v

Χαίροις, ἀρχιερέων τιμῆ...
Εἰς τὸν στίχον, ἦχ(ος) γ΄.

Τὸ μέγα κλέος τῶν ἱερέων...*

Ὁ κανὼν φέρων ἀκροστιχ(ίδα) τήνδε·

Ἀθανάσιος ἔγχος ὀρθοδοξίας ἔφω

(63) FOLLIERI, *Initia...*, III, 370. There is no acrostic in the kanon so the author's name remains unknown, and the only possible attribution is provided by the manuscript described: in the left margin near the first troparion there is a short notice indicating Theophanes Graptos — Θεοφ(άνους).

f. 5r

Στεφ(άνου) Σαβαΐτ(ου).

ὠδὴ α΄, ἦχ(ος) πλ(άγιος) δ΄.

[Hirmos of the first ode] Ἀρματηλάτην Φαραῶ ἐβύθισε.*

[Incipit of the first troparion] Ἀθανασίῳ προσκομίζων
ἔπαινων...*⁶⁴

f. 8r

Μη(νὶ) μαῖῳ γ΄ τῶν ἀγίων μαρτύρων Τιμοθέου καὶ Μαύρας
κάθ(ισμα), ἦχ(ος) α΄, πρ(οσόμοιον) χορὸς ἀγγελικὸς*.

Τιμήσαντες Θε(εὸν) ἀπημαύρωσαν πλάνην...*

Στιχ(ηρὰ) ἦχ(ος) δ΄, πρ(οσόμοιον) ὡς γενναῖον ἐν
μ(ά)ρ(τυσι)*.

Τοὺς γενναίους ἐν μάρτυσιν...*

Τοὺς στερεῶς ἐναθλήσαντας...

Τὰς στρεβλώσεις τοῦ σώματος...*

f. 8v

Φωτοβόλοις λαμπρότησιν τὸν ἐχθρόν...*

Ὁ κανὼν φέρων ἀκροστιχ(ίδα) τήνδ(ε).

Τιμοθέου Μαύρας τε τοὺς πόνους σέβω. Ἰωσήφ.*

ὠδὴ α΄, ἦχ(ος) πλ(άγιος) β΄.

[Hirmos of the first ode:] Ὡς ἐν ἠπέιρῳ.

[Incipit of the first troparion:] Τῶν ἱερέων ἀθλοφόρων...*

3. *D gr 350*, Office Menaion for December, January, and February, 10th c., is preserved in the Ivan Dujčev Research Centre.⁶⁵ “The Canon for each feast is preceded by one kathisma (for greatest feasts: two kathismata) plus three (or more) stichera”⁶⁶ with no other genres. This manuscript transmits the second-earliest Byzantine office Menaion. It is a palimpsest, with the Menaion preserved as the earliest layer and

(64) According to *Menaion Romanum* (Μηναια τοῦ ὅλου ἐνιαυτοῦ [Ἐν Ῥώμῃ, 1896], t. 3, 279) the author of the kanon is Theophanes Graptos, although *Sin. gr. NE MG 28* attests another name: Στεφ(άνου) τοῦ Σαββαΐτου?; both authors belong to the Palestinian hymnographic tradition (Theophanes spent the majority of his life in Palestine): H.-G. BECK, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich* (München: Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1959) (Byzantinisches Handbuch im Rahmen des Handbuchs der Altertumswissenschaft, XII 2/1) 165, 265, 310, 507–508, etc.

(65) ΓΕΤΟΥ, *A Catalogue...*, 482–489.

(66) *Ibid.*, 482.

written in a “sloping uncial style” (*majuscola ogivale diritta*)⁶⁷ dated to the 10th c.; its provenance is undefined.

4–15. A complete set of office Menaia of Italian provenance comprising the volumes for almost the whole fixed ecclesiastical year is dated to the end of the 10th – beginning of the 11th cc.⁶⁸ The manuscripts are preserved at the St. Catherine Monastery on Mt. Sinai and the Russian National Library (St. Petersburg); the parts of the set held in Russia have been identified by Alexandra Nikiforova:⁶⁹ *Sin. gr.* 579; *Sin. gr.* 563; *Sin. gr.* 570; *Sin. gr.* 578 + *PHB* (Russian National Library, St. Petersburg), *Греч.* 89; *Sin. gr.* 595; *Sin. gr.* 610; *Sin. gr.* 613; *Sin. gr.* 614; *Sin. gr.* 624; *Sin. gr.* 631; and *PHB*, *Греч.* 351.

The manuscripts share the same typological features as those mentioned above. The offices consist of kathismata, stichera, and kanons. The remarkable feature of this set is the regular use of makarismoι, which are attested by *Sin. gr.* 607, also (*sub diem* Annunciation, f. 94). The application of makarismoι in *Sin. gr.* 607 and in the set from the 10th–11th cc. has been described by Alexandra Nikiforova: the makarismoι are attested in *Sin. gr.* 579 (8th of September, Nativity of the Theotokos; 14th of September, Exaltation of the Holy Cross; 26th of September, commemoration of St. John the Theologos); *PHB*, *Греч.* 89 + *Sin. gr.* 578 (6th of December, commemoration of St. Nikolas;⁷⁰ 24th–25th of December, Christmas Forefeast and Christmas Feast; 27th of December, commemoration of St. Stephanos; 30th of December, Christmas Afterfeast); *Sin. gr.* 595 (1st of January, Circumcision of Jesus Christ and commemoration of St. Basil the Great; 6th of January, Epiphany; 7th and 9th of January, Epiphany Afterfeast; 17th of January, St. Anthony; 25th of January, St. Gregorios the Theologos; 27th of October, St. John Chrysostom); *Sin. gr.* 614 (23rd of April, St. Georgios;

(67) ГЕТОВ, *A Catalogue...*, 490.

(68) The hands of the Sinai manuscripts have been identified and the set has been dated by: HARLFINGER, *Specimina...*, 26–28.

(69) НИКИФОРОВА, *Проблема...*, (passim).

(70) В. В. ВАСИЛИК, *О неизвестной службе святителя Николая*, in: *Правило веры и образ кротости: Образ святителя Николая, архиепископа Мирликийского, в византийской и славянской агиографии, гимнографии и иконографии* (Москва: ПСТБИ, 2004) 285–336.

26th of April, St. Basil); and *Sin. gr.* 631 (15th of August, Dormition of the Theotokos).⁷¹

Among numerous office Menaia dated to the 11th c. — beginning of the 12th c. there are at least three manuscripts which are typologically close to those listed above:

16. *Vat. gr.* 2, office Menaion for September–December, 11th c. (mutilated at both its beginning and ending), copied in Campania.⁷² The structure and the content of this Menaion is exactly the same as that of *Sin. gr. NE MG 28* and *D gr 350*: the offices consist of stichera, kathismata, and kanons.

17. *Vat. gr.* 2008, office Menaion for January–April, AD 1101–1102. The codex was copied in Italy.⁷³ It contains a part of a Kontakarion which was attached to the Menaion as a structurally independent part and was copied by another hand: “Le cas de [Vat. gr. 2008 — R. K.] est particulier. C’est un exemplaire de Ménées de janvier à avril, dans lequel sont été reliés (f. 172–176) cinq feuillets provenant d’un kontakarion du XI^e siècle, dont la perte est fort regrettable. Il en subsiste 29 pièces allant du 27 décembre au 24 février, dont le 1^{er} hymne de l’Épiphanie et celui de l’Hypapantè, de Romanos, qui sont les seuls complets. Le texte proche de celui de CV et la présence du saint sicilien Jean Thériste (24 février), inconnu des autres kontakaria, rendent vraisemblable l’origine italienne de ce recueil”.⁷⁴ The scribe or editor of *Vat. gr.* 2008 seems to have been undecided on the appropriate position for the kontakion; as a result, he attached the supplemental Kontakarion from the independent source to the main codex.⁷⁵

(71) А. Ю. НИКИФОРОВА, Праздничные блаженны из греческих Миней IX–XII веков библиотеки монастыря великомученицы Екатерины на Синае, *Богословский сборник* 10 (2002) 155–171.

(72) R. DEVRESSE, *Les manuscrits grecs de l’Italie méridionale (histoire, classement, paléographie)* (Città del Vaticano: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1955) (Studi e testi 183) 33.

(73) DEVRESSE, *Les manuscrits grecs...*, 11, 38–39.

(74) GROSDIDIER DE MATONS, *Romanos le Mélode...*, 69–70, n. 17.

(75) A text without any genre indication is attested once in *Vat. gr.* 2008, and its musical and metrical structure is obscure: Δυὰς φωτοειδῆς σήμερον ἀπαστρέψασα φαειρότερον τοῦ ἡλίου πάσαν τὴν κτίσιν φωτίζει. Τιμόθεος ὁ ἔνδοξος· τῶν ἀποστόλων σύνθρονος· ὁ θεῖος Ἀναστάσιος· τῶν μοναστῶν ἡ τερπνότης· καὶ τῶν μαρτύρων τὸ κλέος (f. 20v). The text is not reported by Follieri.

18. *Crypt. gr. Δ α XXIII*, office Menaion for July–August, 11th c. The manuscript originally did not contain kontakia, the abridged texts of which have been written in the upper margins by a different hand: ff. 151r, 154v, 164r, 180r, etc.

19, 20, 21. The set of three manuscripts preserved at the Great Laura on Mt. Athos: Λάυρα Μεγίστη Γ 14, Γ 16, and Β 21. They are the earliest Menaia available in the Athonite collections, and all of them are dated to the 11th c. The structure and content of these manuscripts have been described by Tatjana Subotin-Golubović.⁷⁶ To judge by her description, these Menaia belong to the same typological group as the above-listed sources. The unique feature of this group of Menaia is that the offices for different feasts celebrated on the same day are completely separated from each other, so that “combined” offices of this kind begin with the lesser chants (stichera and kathismata) dedicated to one feast or saint followed by the kanon for the same feast, after which follow the lesser hymns for the next feast preceding the kanon for this next feast, etc. According to the order more frequently observed in the above-listed Menaia, the “combined” offices containing more than one commemoration begin with the lesser genres regardless of their dedication, followed by the kanons. Tatjana Subotin-Golubović reports on only two kontakia in these manuscripts, both preserved in *B21 sub diem* 1st and 8th of November.⁷⁷

II.1.b. A Centrally Influenced Archaic Peripheral Source with Innovative Features

22. *Sab. gr. 71*, an office Menaion for August dated to the 11th c., contains kathismata, stichera, and kanons which are not combined. This structure perfectly fits that of cod. *Vat. gr. 2* (11th c.) described above, however, two offices represented by *Sab. gr. 71* are structurally exceptional. In the offices for the Transfiguration and the Dormition of the Theotokos, the appropriate kontakia consisting of one prooimion and one oikos are included. Moreover, the same offices contain the pericopes from the Old Testament, which is the earliest example of this kind of text in the Byzantine office Menaia. Cod. *Sab. gr. 71* testifies to the innovative features in the offices for the liturgically most significant feasts of the month.

(76) Т. СУБОТИН-ГОЛУБОВИЋ, Одвојене службе светима у грчким минејима XI века, *Археογραφски прилози* 9 (1987) 317–320.

(77) *Ibid.*, 318.

II.1.c. Analysis

Except for the complete calendar, which covers all days of the fixed ecclesiastical year, and also with the exception of the function of the Menaion, which is intended for the celebration of the fixed feasts (while the Triodion and Octoechos contain the chants for the yearly movable and the weekly liturgical cycles sequentially), the significant structural innovations of the archaic peripheral Menaia in comparison to the younger Tropologion are the arrangement of chants by genre regardless of liturgical position and the use of daily kathismata, as Nikiforova noted. The lesser genres (kathismata, stichera, and, occasionally, makarismoi and kontakia, the application of which is described below) precede the kanon, and the exact number of chants depends on the significance of the feast or the hymnographic programme of a specific manuscript.

The absence of the festal troparion or troparion apolytikion from the office Menaia is a regular trend which archaic and peripheral sources follow. Instead of these genres, such an archaic peripheral manuscript as *Sin. gr. 607* attests the τροπάριον εἰς Θεὸς Κύριος chanted on the feasts of the Forty Martyrs of Sebastia and the Annunciation of the Theotokos (*Sin. gr. 607*, ff. 32v, 92v). The troparia have been written out completely in this manuscript.

If multiple kanons are to be chanted on the same day, their texts are not combined, and they follow each other.

Makarismoi are widely spread throughout the group of archaic peripheral Menaia. However, the peripheral character of this group is defined by the absence or the reduced use of two genres of Constantinopolitan origin: kontakion and festal exaposteilaria.

The peripheral hymnographic sources from the Byzantine liturgical sphere follow the trend toward a reduction in the use of the kontakion following Palestinian liturgical practices before the second half of the 9th c. and Italian traditions before the second half of the 11th c. (for an evaluation of the Italo-Greek and Slavonic data, see below).

The kontakion is absolutely absent from *D gr 350*, *Vat. gr. 2*, *Crypt. Δ α XXIII*, and *Λαύρα Μεγίστη Γ 14* and *Λαύρα Μεγίστη Γ 16*, while the cod. *Λαύρα Μεγίστη Β 21* attests kontakia only for two dates, 1st and 8th of November. The absence of kontakia in *Sin. gr. NE MG 28* can, however, be explained by the fact that this codex has been preserved only in fragments. Cod. *Sin. gr. 607*, a part of the same set to which *Sin. gr. NE MG 28* belongs, was written by the same hand and contains two kontakia: one on the Forty Martyrs of Sebastia Πᾶσαν στρογατιὰν

τοῦ κόσμου (f. 33r) and one on the Annunciation of the Theotokos Τῆ ὑπερμάχῳ στρατηγῶ (f. 92v). Both kontakia are abridged to one prooimion, and even the term κοντάκιον is attested in this manuscript only once, in the right margin near the kontakion for the Forty Martyrs of Sebastia (f. 33r). No genre identification of the monostrophic chant Τῆ ὑπερμάχῳ Στρατηγῶ in *Sin. gr. 607* (f. 92v) is observed, in spite of the fact that this text is the well-known second prooimion of the *Acathistos Hymnos*.⁷⁸

The use of kontakia in the above-listed Sinaitic manuscripts (*Sin. gr. 579*; *Sin. gr. 563*; *Sin. gr. 570*; *Sin. gr. 578 + PHB, Γρεχ. 89*; *Sin. gr. 595*; *Sin. gr. 610*; *Sin. gr. 613*; *Sin. gr. 614*; *Sin. gr. 624*; *Sin. gr. 631*; and *PHB, Γρεχ. 351*) has not been properly described; however, Alexandra Niki-forova, who examined the whole set of these Menaia, kindly informed me that the kontakia are rarely observed (“почти не встречаются”) in the above-listed sources. The only manuscript of this collection I consulted *de visu* is *Sin. gr. 631*. It contains one abridged monostrophic kontakion consisting of the first prooimion of the well-known hymn for the Dormition of the Theotokos: Τὴν ἐν πρεσβείαις ἀκοίμητον θεοτόκον (f. 46r).⁷⁹ This is comparable to the archaic Triodion *Vat. gr. 771* (11th c.) of Italian provenance⁸⁰ which contains one alphabetical kontakion chanted at the offices chanted on Good Friday (f. 182v; prooimion and oikoi with the incipita beginning with the letters α, ε, ι, ν, ρ, and φ having been preserved); on f. 174v, *sub diem* Good Friday, one kontakion is

(78) ΤΡΥΠΑΝΙΣ, *Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica*, 29.

(79) *Ibid.*, 117.

(80) On the archaic typological characteristics of the Triodion *Vat. gr. 771* and its Italian (Campanian) provenance see: КАРАБИНОВЪ, *Постная Триодъ...*, V, 107, 206, 207, 208, 211 et pass. (it was a mistake to assert that “въ ватиканской триоди № 771 нѣтъ еще ни одного кондака”, p. 211; see below); G. BERTONIERE, *The Sundays of Lent in the Triodion: the Sundays without a Commemoration* (Roma, 1997) (OCA, 253) 88, 95 et pass.; MOMINA, *Einführung...*, passim; DEVRESSE, *Les manuscrits grecs...*, 31–33 (“Faute d’une dénomination plus exacte, j’appellerais «campaniens» un certain nombre de manuscrits du milieu du X^e siècle à la fin du XI^e; ils portent des traits que nous avons reconnus dans la facture des vieux *Cryptenses* antérieurs à la fondation de Nil, dans le «tyrrhéniens» et dans les gréco-lombards cassiniens”, p. 32); cf.: “Il Vaticano gr. 771 ed il Crypt. Δ.β. XVII sono invece stati copiati ed utilizzati proprio nel monasterio criptense e rappresentano la prassi liturgica più antica ivi vogente” (S. PARENTI, *La celebrazione delle Ore del Venerdì Santo nell’Eucologio Γ. β. X di Grottaferrata [X–XI sec.]*, *Bolletino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata*, n. s., 44 [1990] 120).

indicated: καὶ εὐθ(ὺς) τὸ κονδ(άκιον) · ὄν· (the complete text is absent). On f. 185 another kontakion was added to the main text by a different hand: Κονδ(άκιον) τῆ ἀγία καὶ μεγάλη παρασκευῆ ἡχ(ος) πλ(άγιος) δ'· Τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς σταυρωθέντα... etc. On f. 251r (*sub diem* third Sunday after Easter), a short notice is written down by a different hand in the margin after the sixth ode of the kanon: ζῆτ(ει) τὸ κονδ(άκιον) εἰς τ(ὸ) τέλ(ος) τοῦ βιβλίου.

It would have been reasonable to assume that the absence or the reduced use of kontakia in the earliest Byzantine Menaia was caused by the existence of Kontakaria, because there should have been no reason to place kontakia in the Menaia when they were transmitted by another hymnographic book. However, the reduced use or the absence of kontakia in hymnographic sources of Palestinian or Sinaitic provenance before the 10th c. and in at least some of the Italo-Greek Menaia and Triodia in the 11th c. seems natural, because provincial sources are expected to better preserve archaic features than central manuscripts. The earliest evidence for the liturgical use of the kontakion in the Italo-Greek rite(s) are the hymnographic works by St. Nilus of Rossano (910–1004), to whom several kontakia are ascribed.⁸¹ So there are no grounds to claim that the kontakion was a part of the Italo-Greek monastic Matins before Nilus' time, and if it was, then it was only an abridged monostrophic chant intended for the most significant feasts.

The decisive argument for the “reduced” use of the kontakion in some branches of Byzantine tradition beyond Palestine in the 9th–11th cc. is testified by early Church Slavonic Menaia.

It is well known that Kontakaria existed only in Old Russian hymnography, whereas in the Old and Middle Bulgarian and Old Serbian traditions, Kontakaria were absent and kontakia were transmitted only in Menaia, Triodia, and Octoechoi.⁸² There are three East and South

(81) On St. Nilus of Rossano's hymnographic works see: S. GASSISI, *Innografi italo-greci: Poesie di San Nilo Iuniore e di Paolo Monaco, abbatì di Grottaferrata, Oriens Christianus* 5 (1905) 26–82; E. FOLLIERI, *Poesia e innografia nell'Italia bizantina*, M. SIMONETTI (ed.), *La cultura in Italia fra Tardo Antico e Alto Medioevo; atti del Convegno tenuto a Roma, C.N.R., dal 12 al 16 nov. 1979*, t. II (Roma: Herder, 1981) 513–522.

(82) М. А. МОМИНА, Проблема правки славянских богослужебных гимнографических книг на Руси в XI в., *ТОДРЛ* 45 (1991) 201; “Весьма показательно отсутствие этих книг в сербских списках XIII–XIV вв., в целом лучше сохраняющих древнейшую традицию, чем болгарские. Кондакарь (ненотированный), помещенный в дополнении к сербскому Прологу нач.

Slavonic Menaia which do not contain kontakia: 1) Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts (Российский Государственный архив древних актов, РГАДА, Moscow), the collection of the Synodal print shop (Синодальная типография), Тип. № 131, festal Menaion for the first half of the ecclesiastical year known as the Book of Iija (*Iljina Kniga*), 11th–12th cc., Old Russian provenance (the text version goes back to the early Old Bulgarian period of the end of the 9th – beginning of the 10th c.);⁸³ 2) Mt. Athos, cod. *Zografensis slavicus* 53 (*Zogr.* 53), office Menaion for September–November, Serbian provenance, first half of the 13th c.;⁸⁴ 3) National Library of Serbia (Народна библиотека Србије), Belgrade, cod. *Belgradensis slavicus* 647 (*Belgr.* 647) known as the Menaion of Bratko (*Bratkov Minej*), the earliest part of which (office Menaion for September–November) does not contain kontakia and is dated to 1234–1243, Old Serbian provenance.⁸⁵ These sources are archaic linguistically, typologically, or both. The Old Russian Book

XIV в. (ГИМ, Хлуд. 189, лл. 251–282), явно восходит к русскому списку, т. к. включает в себя песнопения Борису и Глебу и на перенесение мощей Николы. Рукопись НБКМ № 898 названа Ирмологием по ошибке, т. к. из описания следует, что это Октоих <...>. Болгарский Энинский Стихирарь второй половины XIV в. <...>, в сущности, представляет Праздничную Минею <...>. Особое место занимает достаточно экзотический и древний Парижский Стихирарь кон. XII – нач. XIII в. <...>, содержащий только стихиры на 1–14 сентября, написанные на полях греческого сборника сочинений Платона <...>. Нотированные <...> южнославянские рукописи почти отсутствуют. До XIV в. можно указать лишь отдельные песнопения” (Б. Н. Флоря, А. А. Турилов, С. А. Иванов, *Судьбы кирилло-мефодиевской традиции после Кирилла и Мефодия* (Санкт-Петербург: Алетейя, 2000) 128–129, прим. 2).

(83) The manuscript has been published: В. Б. Крысько (изд.), *Ильина книга. Рукопись РГАДА, Тип. 131. Лингвистическое издание, подготовка греческого текста, комментарии, словоуказатели* (Москва: Индрик, 2005); Е. М. Верещагин, *Ильина книга. Древнейший славянский богослужебный сборник. Факсимильное воспроизведение рукописи, билинейно-спатическое издание источника с филолого-богословским комментарием* (Москва: Индрик, 2006) (see the editions also for further references and information on linguistic and typological characteristics of the source).

(84) Б. Райков, С. Кожухаров, Х. Миклас, Х. Кодов, *Каталог на славянските ръкописи в библиотеката на Зографския манастир в Света Гора* (София: СІВАЛ, 1994) 53, № 53; А. А. Турилов, Л. В. Мошкова, *Славянские рукописи афонских обителей* (Фессалоники: SS. Cyril and Methodius Centre for Cultural Studies, 1999) 151, № 367.

(85) Љ. Штављанин-Ђорђевић, М. Гроздановић-Пајић, Л. Цернић, *Опис ћирилских рукописа Народне библиотеке Србије* (Народна библиотека

of Ilja does not contain kontakia at all, the Menaion of Bratko attests to their use only once, and *Zogr. slav. 53* includes five kontakia, three of which was certainly incorporated from a secondary source.⁸⁶ Because Kontakaria were unknown among the South Slavs, the absence of kontakia in at least South Slavonic Menaia cannot be justified on the basis that these hymns were transmitted in Kontakaria. This implies that the Middle Bulgarian and the Old Serbian Menaia and Triodia as well as the East Slavonic archaic Festal Menaion (*Zogr. slav. 53*, the Menaion of Bratko and the Book of Ilja) are structurally modelled on one of the Byzantine liturgical traditions with no kontakia in the monastic Matins. The earliest Greek Menaia and the Triodion of either Palestinian or early Italo-Greek origin as well as the linguistically archaic Book of Ilja also testify to the peripheral and archaic character of this tradition. (This proves that historical linguistic analysis of Slavonic manuscripts can be an important tool to study Byzantine tradition.)

The structural features of the peripheral archaic group are not strict rules but rather represent a stable trend. However, the deviations from the common trend are also noteworthy for either their archaic origin or peripheral provenance.

1) The placement of the stichera εἰς τοὺς αἴβους according to their liturgical position. The only exception to the rule of non-liturgical order of chants is witnessed by *Sin. gr. 607*, in which there are three examples of the stichera εἰς τοὺς αἴβους, arranged according to their liturgical position at Matins after the kanon.⁸⁷ This exception is by no means an innovation, but rather an archaic relict influenced by the Tropologion (*Sin. gr. NE MG 5*, 8th–9th cc., *Sin. gr. NE MG 56*, 9th c.) and archaic hymnographic books such as the “proto-Menaion” *Sin. gr. NE MG 4*, 9th–10th cc., which contains the additional offices (stichera and kanons) absent in the Tropologion.⁸⁸ In all these archaic books the

Србије. Опис јужнословенских ћирилских рукописа, т. II) (Београд: Народна библиотека Србије, 1986) 340–345 (№ 163).

(86) Т. СУБОТИН-ГОЛУБОВИЋ, Упоредно проучавање..., 444; Ранковић, Структура...; Р. Н. КРИВКО, Древнерусская версия кондака вмч. Димитрию и её южнославянские параллели, in: А. М. Молдован, Е. А. Мишина (ред.), *Лингвистическое источниковедение 2010–2011* (Москва: Древлехранилище, 2011) 301–304.

(87) НИКИФОРОВА, Рождение Минеи..., 111.

(88) On the structure and content of the Tropologion *Sin. gr. NE MG 5* and the “Proto-Menaion” *Sin. gr. NE MG 4* see: КРИВКО, Синайско-славянские гимнографические параллели..., 83–84, 87–89, 92–95; ИДЕМ, Византийские

chants are arranged according to their liturgical position and not by genre, unlike the early office Menaia of the 10th–11th cc. Other examples of the arrangement of the stichera εἰς τοὺς αἶνους after the kanon are attested in the younger Menaia dated not earlier than the 11th–12th cc., all of the chants in which are arranged according to their liturgical position (see below).

2) The “reverse” order of chants in Byzantine and Slavonic traditions. The lesser genres normally precede the kanon in the earliest Menaia. Three remarkable exceptions to this rule have been uncovered. The earliest example of the so-called “reverse” order of chants, according to which the kanon precedes the lesser genres, was revealed by Alexandra Nikiforova in *Sin. gr. 607*, ff. 196–198 (Prophet Michaias commemoration, *sub diem* 21st of April, whereas in all of the younger sources the feast is celebrated on the 14th of August).⁸⁹ Alexandra Nikiforova’s observation was published after another, younger, case of the “reverse” order of chants had been reported by the author of this article.⁹⁰ It was uncovered in *Vat. gr. 2*, f. 142r–142v, *sub diem* 24th of November, commemoration of St. Gregory, Bishop of Agrigento (which is located on the southwestern coast of Sicily). As one can see from the example below, the title of the office is immediately followed by the kanon, while the stichera are placed after the kanon:

Μηνὶ νοεμβρίῳ · κδ΄ κανὼν τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου
 Ἀγραγαντ(ίνων?)... / φέρων ἀκροστιχίδα · τὸν θαυματουργὸν
 Γρηγόριον θαυμάσω Ἰωσήφ · ἦχος πλάγιος δ΄.

источники славянских служебных миней, in: *Письменность, литература и фольклор славянских народов, XIV Международный съезд славистов (Охрид, 10–16 сентября 2008 г.), доклады российской делегации* (Москва: Индрик, 2008) 88–89; А. Ю. НИКИФОРОВА, “Синайская сокровищница”: структура последований греческого Тропология VIII–IX вв. и ранних Миней IX–XII вв., in: *Флорилегий: Чтения по позднеантичной и средневековой христианской литературе* (Москва: ИМЛИ, in press).

(89) ЕАДЕМ, Рождение..., 109: “Даты некоторых празднований [in *Sin. gr. 607* — R. K.] еще не установились окончательно. Служба прор. Михею помещена 21 апреля (вместо принятого позднее 14 августа)”.

(90) R. N. KRIVKO, Hymnographic Manuscripts from Mt. Sinai and their Place in the History of Byzantine Liturgical Poetry, a paper delivered at the international conference “Codex Sinaiticus. The Manuscript in Contemporary Informational Space” (St Petersburg, Russian National Library, November 11–12, 2009).

ᾠδὴ α΄

Τῶ συντριψαντι πολέμους. //

(f. 142v)

Ταῖς τοῦ Πνεύματος ἀκτίσι πυρσευόμενος...

The handwritten note made by a different hand in the right margin of the page near the incipit of the kanon indicates that the “reverse” order of chants was unusual in Byzantine Menaia: ζ(ή)τ(ει) τὸ κάθ(ισμα) / καὶ τὰ στιχ(ηρὰ) εἰς / τ(ὸ) τέ(λος) τ(οῦ) κανόνος (f. 142r). Nevertheless, it is testified by one more hymnographic manuscript, *Vat. gr. 771*, which is dated to the 11th c. as well and which contains the most archaic and peripheral type of Triodion.⁹¹ The “reverse” order of chants in *Vat. gr. 771* is observed in almost all the offices (*akolouthiai*), which implies that the exceptional cases of *Sin. gr. 607* and *Vat. gr. 2* are not occasional deviations or textual corruptions, but rather the evidence of a tradition to be defined on the basis of the paleographic data. While *Sin. gr. 607* was written in Palestine or on Sinai, both of the Vatican manuscripts, *Vat. gr. 2* and *Vat. gr. 771*, are of Campanian provenance,⁹² and thus the rare and exceptional “reverse” order of chants in the archaic office Menaia and Triodion testifies to peripheral branches of Byzantine tradition.

The peripheral origin of the “reverse” order of chants is important for the reconstruction of that part of the Byzantine liturgical legacy on which the earliest Old Slavonic hymnography was patterned. It has been established by Vatroslav Jagić and later on by Michail Fyodorovich Murianov, Natalia Alexandrovna Nečunaeva, and then by Evgeny Michailovich Vereščagin that the “reverse” order of chants is a characteristic of the linguistically and typologically archaic Old Church Slavonic Menaia and Triodia which had originated in the First Bulgarian Kingdom in the first half of the 10th c. and which are preserved in a

(91) КАРАБИНОВЪ, *Постная Триодь...*, V, 107, 206, 207, 208, 211 et passim; МОМИНА, *Einführung...*, passim; PARENTI, *La celebrazione...*, 120.

(92) On the provenance of *Vat. gr. 771*, see the remark by Robert Devreesse: “Liber accurate perscriptus. Inscriptiones, ornatus, litterae initiales coloribus fervidis rubro, caeruleo et flavo distincta ea ratione qua delectabantur Italo-Graeci” (IDEM, *Codices Vaticani graeci III: cod. 604–866...*, 287); on the provenance of *Vat. gr. 2* and *Vat. gr. 771* see for details: DEVREESE, *Les manuscrits grecs...*, 31–33.

few younger Old Russian and Middle Bulgarian manuscripts dated to the 11th–13th cc.⁹³

From the historical and cultural point of view, the most remarkable example of the “reverse” order of chants in Slavonic hymnography is the office for the first Russian saints, the holy martyrs Boris and Gleb († 1015). The hymnographic kanon for their veneration had originally been written in Greek by the Kievan Metropolitan John I (before 1039) or John II (1076/1077–1089) and then was translated into Church Slavonic in Kievan Rus', but it was not preserved in any Byzantine manuscript.⁹⁴ One of the earliest witnesses of the office was studied by Michail Murianov,⁹⁵ who succeeded in establishing some of the incipita of the original Greek text and who noticed that it contained the second ode, which had been eliminated before the earliest available witness of the Church Slavonic translation was copied.⁹⁶ The chants of this particular version of the office are arranged in the “reverse” order, as Michail Murianov reported.⁹⁷ In addition to the office for SS. Boris and Gleb, all the other offices in the same manuscript retain the regular structure according to which lesser genres precede the kanon. This order became

(93) ЈАГИЋ, *Менаеа...*, LXVII–LXVIII; Н. А. НЕЧУНАЕВА, *Минея как тип славяно-греческого средневекового текста* (Tallinn: TPÜ Kirjastus, 2000) (Tallinna pedagogikaülikooli humanitaarteaduste dissertatsioonid / Таллиннский педагогический университет, диссертации по гуманитарным наукам, 3) 55, 102–110; М. Ф. МУРЬЯНОВ, *Гимнография Киевской Руси* (Москва: Наука, 2003) 55–56; ВЕРЕЩАГИН, *Ильина книга...*

(94) М. Ф. МУРЬЯНОВ, Из наблюдений над структурой служебных Миней, in: В. П. ГРИГОРЬЕВ (отв. ред.), *Проблемы структурной лингвистики 1979* (Москва: Наука, 1981) 263–278. On the reconstruction and the sources of the Greek text of the office for the first Russian saints see: F. KELLER, Das Kontakion aus der ersten Služba für Boris und Gleb, in: *Schweizerische Beiträge zum VII. Internationalen Slavistenkongress in Warschau, August 1973* (Luzern—Frankfurt a. Main: C. J. Bucher, 1973) (Slavica Helvetica 7) 65–73; В. Б. КРЫСЬКО, О греческих источниках и реконструкции первоначального текста древнерусских стихир на Борисов день, in: Ф. Б. УСПЕНСКИЙ (сост.), *Miscellanea Slavica, Сборник статей к 70-летию Бориса Андреевича Успенского* (Москва: Индрик, 2008) 92–108.

(95) Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts (Российский Государственный архив древних актов, РГАДА / RGADA, Moscow), the Synodal press shop collection (Тип.), № 121, office Menaion for July, 11th–12th cc.; see: МУРЬЯНОВ, Из наблюдений..., 269–270.

(96) МУРЬЯНОВ, Из наблюдений..., 271.

(97) Ibid., 269–270.

the rule for the Old Russian Menaia not later than in the second half of the 11th c., when the Typikon of the patriarch Alexius the Studite had been translated and introduced in Kievan Rus',⁹⁸ therefore the version of the office on for SS. Boris and Gleb as attested by the earliest manuscript must go back to the earlier period: "В Минее № 121 на 24 июля стоят две службы — св. Христине и поставленная на второе место борисоглебская. Различие между ними в том, что в службе св. Христине канон стоит на обычном последнем месте, а в борисоглебской службе — на первом, перед стихирами и кондаком, как это принято только в Путятиной Минее, что считается одним из ее архаизмов, восходящим к X в. (Ягич 1886, с. LXVII–LXVIII). Это говорит в пользу древности старшей редакции борисоглебской службы, ее возможной принадлежности к эпохе Иоанна I".⁹⁹

It is undisputed that the commemoration of the first Russian saints was considered to be of the highest liturgical significance for Eastern Slavs. Consequently, the "reverse" order of chants in the office appears to be a classical example of one of Anton Baumstark's well-known liturgical laws stating that on the most solemn days, the most ancient and solemn rituals tend to be retained. This implies that the "reverse" order of chants, which in the Byzantine tradition is attested by the archaic sources of peripheral provenance, became a prestigious model for Old Church Slavonic hymnography at the earliest stages of its development and was retained by Old Russian translators of the office for SS. Boris and Gleb, which had been patterned according to the influential Old Bulgarian structural prototypes. The Old Bulgarian influence on the office for SS. Boris and Gleb is indicated by the fact that the kanon for this feast was composed according to the same *heirmoi* as the general kanon for Martyrs as attested by the General Menaion by St. Clement of Ochrid († 916).¹⁰⁰

(98) On the history of Patriarch Alexius the Studite's Typikon, and for its publication see: А. М. ПЕНТКОВСКИЙ, *Типикон патриарха Алексия Студита в Византии и на Руси* (Москва: Издательство Московской Патриархии, 2001).

(99) Мурьянов, *Из наблюдений...*, 271.

(100) Мурьянов, *Из наблюдений...*, 269: "Мы ограничимся констатацией тождества ирмосов древнейшего борисоглебского канона и канона мученикам в древнейшей Минее общей, входящей в состав южнорусского сборника XII–XIII вв. — Cod. slav. 37 Австрийской национальной библиотеки <...> При огромном числе возможных вариантов сочетаний это совпадение трудно признать случайным". The publication of the Old

The correlation of the “marked” features in the archaic peripheral Byzantine Menaia is described by two rules:

1) if the Menaion contains makarismoï (an archaic genre of Palestinian origin) and does not contain festal exaposteilaria (“innovative” in comparison to the Tropologion genre of Constantinopolitan origin), it testifies to the reduced use of the kontakion (also “innovative” in comparison to the Tropologion genre of Constantinopolitan origin), which is represented, if at all, in the abridged monostrophic form; however, the reduced usage of kontakia does not imply the presence of makarismoï;

2) if chants in a specific manuscript in at least one of the offices are arranged in the “reverse” order, the same manuscript bears witness to the reduced liturgical use of kontakia.

These rules cover Byzantine practice but not the typologically archaic Middle Bulgarian, Old Serbian, and East Slavonic material. The most remarkable exception to these rules is observed in the Old Russian translation of the office for SS. Boris and Gleb, which was originally written in Greek by the Kievan Metropolitan John (most probably John I, based on the liturgical parallels with the archaic sources) and which contains a kontakion, although the chants of this office are arranged in the “reverse” order. However, this exception is explained by Anton Baumstark’s law of retaining archaic features in the rituals at the liturgically most significant dates.

II.1.d. Exceptions: Younger Witnesses to the Archaic Tradition

23. *Reg. gr. 65*, office Menaion for May, 12th c. According to the microfilm, the manuscript currently comprises 63 folia of parchment and not 68, as reported by Stevenson.¹⁰¹ The manuscript is difficult to classify both typologically and historically. The offices consist of kathismata, stichera, and kanons (with no kontakia or any other chants), which correlates with the genre structure and content of the archaic

Bulgarian text of the general office for Martyrs according to the best of two preserved copies, cod. *Vind. slav.* 37 (13th c.), in: К. СТАНЧЕВ, Г. ПОПОВ, *Климент Охридски. Живот и творчество* (София: Университетско издателство “Климент Охридски”, 1988) 204–208. The new edition of the General Offices by Clement of Ochrid with German translation has been published recently but unfortunately remains unavailable to me: А. КАМФ, *Kliment von Ohrid (Klemens von Achrida) — Kanones für das Commune Sanctorum. Studie und Text, Materialien* (Berlin: LIT, 2010) (Münstersche Texte zur Slavistik, 5).

(101) STEVENSON, *Codices...*, 54.

peripheral group; however, the kanons placed under the same date can on occasion be combined, so that the troparia of the first ode of one kanon follow immediately after the troparia of the first ode of another kanon, even if the *heirmoi* of both the kanons are different. I am unaware of any attempt to suggest an alternative date for the manuscript or to establish its provenance. The Menaion *Reg. gr. 65* appears to be an intermediate link between the archaic type and the innovative type described below, in which the combination of kanons is normal. On the other hand, the occasional and probably erroneous incorporation of troparia of one kanon into the odes of another is witnessed by the early Church Slavonic Menaia,¹⁰² which makes it possible to assume the isolated examples of the combination of kanons in *Reg. gr. 65* to have been influenced by scribal error or textual corruption. A definite strain of innovations in *Reg. gr. 65* is manifested by the consistent omission of the second odes, none of which has been preserved in this manuscript.

24. *Reg. gr. 63*, office Menaion for November dated 1259/1260 AD. Despite Stevenson's observation that kathismata in this manuscript are placed after the third ode of the kanon and the kontakion is followed by the Synaxarion after the sixth ode,¹⁰³ the latter genre is testified only once in the abridged monostrophic form written in the margin (f. 76) whereas kathismata sometimes precede the kanon, as the stichera εἰς τοὺς αἴθουρας always do regardless of their liturgical position. Two indisputable innovative features of this Menaion are the combination of kanons and the absence of the second ode.

The manuscript was copied for the monastery's superior, Father Joseph, by the monk Barlaam of Galesion (located close to Ephes). Barlaam worked together with another scribe, named Athanasios, who is known for producing the manuscript *Par. gr. 857*.¹⁰⁴ The musical notation preserved in *Reg. gr. 63* is similar to that of the Triodion *Reg. gr. 59* dated to the 11th–12th c. and the provenance of which is assumed to be provincial, either from Palestine or Cyprus.¹⁰⁵

(102) Л. В. Мошкова, Два комбинированных канона на Успение Богородицы (принципы объяснения), *Palaeobulgarica / Старобългаристика* 24.1 (2000) 53–76.

(103) STEVENSON, *Codices...*, 53.

(104) *Codici bizantini di origine provinciale alla Biblioteca Vaticana, Catalogo della mostra* (Città del Vaticano: Salone Sistino, 1988) 5.

(105) *Ibid.*

25. Great Laura, Mt. Athos, *Laur. Δ 17*, office Menaion for July–August, dated according to the catalogue to the 13th c. Despite such a young date this Menaion contains kathismata, stichera, and kanons with no kontakia according to the archaic peripheral tradition. The kanons chanted on the same date are not combined, and second odes are numerous. Exceptionally, two offices for different feasts celebrated on the same day are totally separated (*sub diem* 16th of August, commemoration of St. Diomides and Translation of the Holy Ikon of the Lord not Made with Hands), as in the above-mentioned manuscripts from the Athonite collections, *Γ 14*, *Γ 16*, and *B 21*, 11th c. The single example of katabasia (καταβασία), a monostrophic chant whose liturgical function and position in the archaic tradition remains to be examined in the archaic tradition, is unique in this manuscript.

The significant archaic feature of *Laur. Δ 17* is the use of the makarismoi in the office for Transfiguration (*sub diem* 6th of August, no foliation in this section of the manuscript), their existence at this feast has not been reported by scholars: ἔμορφώθη δι' ἡμᾶς...; τὴν ἔσομένην μυστικῶς τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς σαρκὸς μεταμόρφωσιν...; ὁ ἐν τοῖς κόλποις τοῦ Πατρὸς...; τὴν μητέρα σου, Χριστέ (near the last makarismos there is a marginal note — the letter θ, indicating that this stanza is a makarismos dedicated to the Theotokos [Θεοτόκος], i. e. makarismos-theotokion). Because of the structure and the content of the manuscript *Laur. Δ 17*, its date as proposed by Lambros seems to be doubtful. Although I am by no means a paleographer, however, according to my impression from the handwriting of *Laur. Δ 17*, the manuscript could be dated to the first half or even the beginning of the 12th c., and even a date in the 11th c. seems plausible. The provenance of *Laur. Δ 17* might have been related to Asia Minor: the scribe considered it necessary to note in the lower margin at the beginning of the office for the Apostle Matthias (*sub diem* 9th of August) that the commemoration of St. Theodosios, the Father Superior of Orovon (a region of Ephesus), is celebrated on the same day. The archaic peripheral office Menaion for August *Sin. gr. 631* (10th–11th c.) described above contains the only available kanon, that is *textus unicus*, dedicated to this saint.¹⁰⁶ The intention of preserving this rare commemoration implies that *Laur. Δ 17* represents one of the local and probably peripheral traditions related

(106) On the hymnography for St. Theodosios of Orovon see: Ε. ΠΑΠΑΗΛΙΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ-ΦΩΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, *Ταμείον ἀνεκδότων βυζαντινῶν ἁσματικῶν κανόνων seu Analecta Hymnica Graeca e Codicibus eruta Orientis Christiani*, 1 (*Κανόνες Μηναίων*) (Αθήναι, 1996) 265–266 (n° 829).

to the region where St. Theodosios of Orovon flourished. The typologically close indication of a local but significant commemoration not represented by the main text of the manuscript and noted in the margin is testified by cod. *Sin. gr. 633* (office Menaion for August, 14th c.), in which the commemoration of the Prophet Aaron is prescribed by the marginal note on fol. 22r *sub diem* 8th of August.¹⁰⁷ Numerous Arabic marginalia preserved in *Sin. gr. 633* testify to the Sinaitic or Palestinian provenance of the manuscript.

II.2. The Archaic “Central” Group of the Eleventh – Twelfth Centuries.

II.2.a. *Classifying Features*

The shared features of both archaic groups are 1) the arrangement of chants by genre regardless of liturgical position, and 2) the separate placement of multiple kanons chanted on the same day, so that each kanon is placed one after another and neither individual troparia nor the complete odes of the kanons are combined or interwoven. The first distinctive characteristic of the so-called central group is a regular use of kontakion consisting of at least two or more stanzas or even represented in its entirety. The exclusive use of an abridged monostrophic kontakion is a characteristic of only the peripheral archaic group of Menaia. The second peculiarity of the central group are the festal exaposteilaria, which are not observed as regularly as kontakia but still represent Constantinopolitan impact. Unlike other chants, exaposteilaria stand only after the kanon according to their liturgical position. The third feature of the archaic central group is an occasional indication of the festal troparion, or apolytikion, which is not observed in the archaic peripheral Menaia.

Unlike the kontakion, neither the exaposteilarion nor the festal troparion are *necessarily* preserved in the manuscripts of the central group. The correlation between these genres is described by the following rules: if the manuscript contains festal exaposteilaria or festal troparia, it contains kontakia which are not abridged to one prooimion. With the exception of *Crypt. gr. Δ α XII* (see below) the reverse rule is also true: if a specific manuscript does not contain abridged kontakia, it contains either festal troparia indicated with an incipit or exaposteilaria. The interdependency among these genres testifies to the gradual

(107) The manuscript was consulted *de visu* at the St. Catherine Monastery.

emergence of the centrally influenced liturgical traditions of Constantinopolitan origin which became dominant in the 11th c. (again, with the exception of *Crypt. gr. Δ α XII*). The “reverse” order of chants is not attested by the central group. Some of the manuscripts of the central type contain festal makarismoi, which consequently turn out to be a not-uncommon phenomenon in the Byzantine Menaia of the 10th–11th cc. regardless of their peripheral or central background, though in the manuscripts younger than the 12th c. they are not observed (except in the case of *Δ 17*, due to questions about its date; see above).

II.2.b. The Sources

1. *Coisl. gr. 218*, office Menaion for August, 11th c. The offices contain kathismata, stichera, kontakia with oikoi, and kanons; the exaposteilarion is placed at the very end of the office after the kanon. A monostrophic chant designated katabasia (καταβασία) with undefined liturgical position is also represented (89r), as well as the set of makarismoi for the Dormition of the Theotokos (ff. 93v–94v). This set as attested by *Coisl. gr. 218* shares no common chants with the above-mentioned *Sin. gr. 631*; *textus unici* among the festal makarismoi in the Menaia particularly dedicated to the Dormition of the Theotokos testify to no continuous or stable textual tradition for this genre, the development of which was eventually broken *in statu nascendi*. The cod. *Coisl. gr. 218* is noteworthy for its enormously rich content: no less than three commemorations and offices have been placed at each date in this Menaion. This is probably the reason why the manuscript is the earliest available example of the Constantinopolitan feast of the Procession of the Precious Life-Giving Cross (*sub diem* 1st of August), whereas the second early Menaion containing this feast is dated to the 12th or 13th cc., as can be observed on the basis of dozens of Menaia for August which I have consulted *de visu*.¹⁰⁸

2. *Sin. gr. 632*, office Menaion for August, 11th or 12th cc., retains not only the same genre structure as *Coisl. gr. 218*, but also testifies to the same scribe’s or editor’s goal of compiling as many commemorations, offices, and chants as possible under the same date, so that the manuscripts *Coisl. gr. 218* and *Sin. gr. 632* can be designated as Menaia of a *thesaurus* type. As in *Coisl. gr. 218*, the offices in *Sin. gr. 632* consist of kathismata, stichera, kontakia with oikoi, and kanons; makarismoi are represented once before the kanon (ff. 36v–38r), exaposteilaria are

(108) Кривко, Византийские источники..., 82.

placed after the last kanon at the very end of the office (43r, 92r bis); katabasia, whatever its meaning in the early period, is attested once (81v).

3, 4. *Lesb. Leim. 11*, office Menaion for June, second half of the 11th c., and cod. *Hierosolymitanus Sabbaiticus 70*, office Menaion for June of the same date. *Hieros. Sab. 70* is closely related to *Lesb. Leim. 11* both paleographically and from the point of view of structure and content. The offices in both the manuscripts are structurally similar and consist of kathismata, kontakion and oikos, stichera, kanons (kontakion and oikos can be absent). Neither single monostrophic festal troparia nor exaposteilaria nor makarismoi are observed in *Lesb. Leim. 11*. Cod. *Hieros. Sab. 70* was “owned at some stage by the famous monastery of Christ the Akataleptos in Constantinople, as its colophon states: «βιβλίον τοῦ Σωτήρος τοῦ Ἀκαταλήπτου», though it is not clear whether it was produced there. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, who examined it and dated it to the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century, noted that it has the structure of the «ancient Menaia»”.¹⁰⁹ Though the colophone of *Hieros. Sab. 70* does not indicate clearly the provenance of the manuscript, it testifies to Constantinopolitan usage of the Menaion.

5. *Mess. gr. 140*, office Menaion for August, 12th c. The most remarkable distinctive feature of *Mess. gr. 140* is a monostrophic chant titled *troparion* (τροπάριον) always rendered as an incipit without any further identification of its liturgical position, which is thus assumed to be clear enough to the manuscript user. An incipit refers the user to another source which contains the complete text of a specific chant. Thus, for example, the incipit of an *heirmos* is always a reference to the *Heirmologion*. The book that contained the complete texts of troparia to be chanted at the end of Matins, was the *Synaxarion*, the paralitur-

(109) A. SPANOS, *Codex Lesbiacus Leimonos 11: Annotated Critical Edition of an Unpublished Byzantine Menaion for June* (Berlin—New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2010) (*Byzantinisches Archiv*, 23) 109. The entire manuscript *Lesb. Leim. 11* and its description by Apostolos Spanos are available on line on the official website of the Leimonos Monastery: http://84.205.233.134/library/index_en.php. The manuscript has been published completely and examined thoroughly: SPANOS, *Codex Lesbiacus Leimonos 11...*. For a description of cod. *Hieros. Sab. 70* and a comparison with cod. *Lesb. Leim. 11* see *ibid.*, 14, 109–112, 131–134.

gical book of Constantinopolitan origin.¹¹⁰ The indication of troparia with their incipita is observed in the Old Russian tradition, although there is no perfect correspondence between the incipits in the East Slavonic Menaia and Synaxaria (slav. *Prolog*).¹¹¹ And, finally, in *Mess. gr. 140* the term *photagogikon* (φωταγωγικόν), instead of *exaposteilarion*, designates the monostrophic chant following the kanon.

6. The text type witnessed by Old Russian office Menaia of the 11th–12th cc. composed according to Patriarch Alexius the Studite's Typikon on the basis of the earlier Old Bulgarian translations belongs to the archaic central group.¹¹² It is noteworthy that the Slavonic text structure is testified exactly by none of the available Byzantine sources.

(110) В. ЖЕЛЯЗКОВА, Тропарите в състава на Простия пролог, *Palaeobulgarica / Старобългаристика* 19.1 (1995) 78–90; Р. ПАВЛОВА, В. ЖЕЛЯЗКОВА (изд.), Станиславов (Лесновски) Пролог от 1330 година (Велико Търново: Фабер, 1999); В. Б. КРЫСЬКО (ред.), *Славяно-русский Пролог по древнейшим спискам* (Москва: Индрик, 2011).

(111) ЖЕЛЯЗКОВА, Тропарите...; КРЫСЬКО, *Славяно-русский Пролог...*

(112) See the description of structure: STEFANOVIĆ, *The Development...*; the editions of the manuscripts of the Alexius the Studite group and their signatures: JAGIĆ, *Menaia...*; *Gottesdienstmenäum für den Monat Dezember: auf der Grundlage der Handschrift Sin. 162 des Staatlichen Historischen Museums Moskau*, historisch-kritische Edition, nach den slavischen handschriften der Rus' des 12. und 13. Jh. Besorgt und kommentiert von D. CHRISTIANS et al., hrsg. von H. ROTHE, E. M. VEREŠČAGIN, Teil 1: 1. bis 8. Dezember; Teil 2: 9. bis 19. Dezember Teil 3: 20. bis 24. Dezember einschließlich der Sonntage vor Christi Geburt; Teil 4: 25. bis 31. Dezember einschließlich des Sonntags nach Christi Geburt, mit einem Nachtrag griechischer Vorlagen für Hymnen aus den Bänden 1–3, zusammengestellt von D. CHRISTIANS; Teil 5: *Facsimile der Handschrift Sin. 162 des Staatlichen Historischen Museums Moskau (GIM)*, mit einer paläographischen Beschreibung von E. V. ŠULGINA (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1996, 1997, 1999, 2000; Paderborn—München—Wien—Zürich: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006) (Abhandlungen der Nordrhein-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 98, 99, 105, 106, 114; *Patristica Slavica*, 2, 3, 6, 7, 14); *Gottesdienstmenäum für den Monat Februar: auf der Grundlage der Handschrift Sin. 164 des Staatlichen Historischen Museums Moskau (GIM)*, historisch-kritische Edition, besorgt und kommentiert von D. CHRISTIANS u. a., hrsg. von D. CHRISTIANS, H. ROTHE, Teil 1: 1. bis 9. Februar; Teil 2: 10. bis 19. Februar; Teil 3: 20. bis 29. Februar; Teil 4: *Facsimile der Handschrift Sin. 164 des Staatlichen Historischen Museums Moskau (GIM)*, mit einer kodikologischen und paläographischen Beschreibung von E. V. ŠULGINA, hrsg. von H. ROTHE (Paderborn u. a.: Schöningh, 2003, 2006, 2009, 2010) (Abhandlungen der Nordrhein-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 109, 113, 120, 122; *Patristica Slavica*, 10, 13, 17, 18).

The offices in Old Russian Menaia of the Alexius the Studite type consist of the “troparion of the feast” always indicated with an incipit as a reference to the Synaxarion-*Prolog*, kathismata, kontakion with oikos, stichera, and kanons not combined. It is of note that the use of the liturgical term “troparion of the feast” appears in Church Slavonic manuscripts approximately a century earlier than in the available Byzantine sources. Among the Byzantine Menaia listed above, the closest counterparts to the Old Russian Alexius the Studite Menaia are the codd. *Lesb. Leim. 11*, *Hieros. Sab. 70* (second half of the eleventh century) and *Mess. gr. 140* (12th c.): unlike the former, the Slavonic Menaia contain festal troparia, and as opposed to *Mess. gr. 140*, the Old Russian manuscripts normally contain neither exaposteilaria nor photagogika. The highest degree of typological uniformity represented by Old Russian Menaia is by no means the result of a historical development of Slavonic liturgical literature, but has been affected by the existence of a single Byzantine model of the particular branch of the tradition witnessed by East Slavonic hymnography. That source was obviously a lost or still undiscovered set of hymnographic books adopted from the Alexius the Studite monastery of Constantinople, on which the Old Russian Menaia were patterned in Kievan Rus’ in the second half of the 11th c.¹¹³

II.2.c. The Sources in which the Kontakion is Placed According to its Liturgical Position

Within the archaic central group, three manuscripts dated to the 11th c. are distinguished by the placement of the kontakion according to the liturgical position after the sixth ode of the kanon, while the other lesser chants, with the exception of the exaposteilaria (if they are represented at all) are set before the kanon. The earliest witness of such an arrangement of the kontakion is the Old Russian office Menaion for May known as Putjata’s Menaion (St. Sofia Cathedral in Novgorod, n° 202) dated to the 11th c.¹¹⁴ The text version of Putjata’s Menaion goes

(113) The liturgical tradition based on the Typikon of Patriarch Alexius the Studite has been preserved only in the Old Russian manuscripts. On this topic and for further references see: ПЕНТКОВСКИЙ, *Типикон...*

(114) The manuscript has been published three times; the *editio princeps* was prepared by Michail Fyodorovich Murianov: М. Ф. МУРЬЯНОВ (ИЗД.), ПУТЯТИНА МИНЕЯ НА МАЙ (1–9 МАЯ), *Palaeoslavica* 6 (1998) 114–208; ПУТЯТИНА МИНЕЯ НА МАЙ (10–17 МАЯ), *Palaeoslavica* 7 (1999) 136–217; ПУТЯТИНА МИНЕЯ НА МАЙ (18–31 МАЯ), *Palaeoslavica* 8 (2000) 123–221; see the two later editions,

back to an Old Bulgarian prototype of the middle of the 10th c. The Menaion is classified as an archaic peripheral source on the basis of the following criteria: 1) “reverse” order of genres observed throughout the manuscript; 2) reduced use of kontakion, which is attested four times in the abridged monostrophic form, and in two cases they are placed according to the liturgical position; and 3) content of the offices, which regularly consist of kanons, stichera, and kathismata (with the exception of six cases of monostrophic kontakia) with no exapostelaria or festal troparia.

7. *Crypt. gr. Δ α 12*, office Menaion for August dated to the 11th c. It contains the offices normally consisting of kathismata, stichera, kanon, kontakion and oikos placed after the sixth ode; if the kontakion is absent, the sixth ode is followed by kathisma (ff. 12r, 21r, 27v *et pass.*); exapostelaria are not observed except on f. 9r, on which one exapostelion is added by another hand in the upper margin. This codex contains the complete text of the kontakion for the Transfiguration, which is placed after the sixth ode of the kanon (ff. 42v–45r). The kontakion containing the acrostic εἰς τὴν μεταμόρφωσιν has been published by Constantinos Trypanis, who considered nine text witnesses excluding *Crypt. gr. Δ α 12*.¹¹⁵

The manuscript *Cr. gr. Δ α 12* is especially noteworthy for two liturgical positions of the kanon: one for Matins, which is trivial, and one for Vespers (ff. 23v, 33v *et pass.*: κανὼν ψαλλόμεν(ον) τῇ ἑσπ(ερινῇ), ff. 33v *etc.*), which offers unique evidence in the available Byzantine office Menaia and has remained unknown to scholars to date.¹¹⁶ This manuscript was copied in Grottaferrata by the well-known calligrapher hieromonk Sophronios, who worked at the end of the 11th — be-

supplied with scholarly articles with further references: Л. И. ЩЕГОЛЕВА, *Путьятина Минея (XI век) в круге текстов и истолкования, 1–10 мая* (Москва: Территория, 2001); В. А. БАРАНОВ, В. М. МАРКОВ (изд.), *Новгородская служебная минея на май (Путьятина минея), XI век: Текст. Исследования. Указатели* (Ижевск: Издательский дом “Удмуртский университет” 2003; on-line version: http://manuscripts.ru/mns/portal.main?p1=19&p_lid=2&p_sid=1). On the liturgical position of kontakia in Putjata’s Menaion see: М. ЙОВЧЕВА, *Предизвикателства на ранните славянски служебни минея, Palaeobulgariса / Старобългаристика* 26.4 (2002) 117.

(115) TRYPANIS, *Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica*, 107–113.

(116) Cf.: SPANOS, *Codex...*, 12–13.

ginning of the 12th c.,¹¹⁷ therefore the kanons at Vespers attested by *Crypt. Δ α XII* are witness to the local Italo-Greek rite. Among the office Menaia for August held by Grottaferrata, *Crypt. Δ α XII* is the only one which was intended for this monastery.¹¹⁸ This makes it possible to classify the Menaion *Crypt. Δ α XII* as the representative of the Italo-Greek typological subgroup of office Menaia which is modelled on the Constantinopolitan structural pattern and is characterized by such a specific local feature as the kanon for Vespers.

8. *Vat. gr. 1829*, office Menaion for September, 11th c. Paul Canart argued that the manuscript is of South-Italian provenance.¹¹⁹ The structure and genre content of *Vat. gr. 1829* is the same as in *Coisl. gr. 218* and *Sin. gr. 632*: kathismata, stichera, kontakion with oikoi,¹²⁰ kanons, and exaposteilaria always placed at the end of the offices after the kanons. Especially noteworthy in this manuscript are three kontakia. One of them is placed after the sixth ode of the kanon (ff. 25v–26) according to the liturgical position, and two others comprise the complete set of all proimnia and oikoi: the first one is the kontakion on the Nativity of the Theotokos (ff. 2r–3r) and the second one is dedicated to the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (ff. 42v–43r).¹²¹

9. *Bodl. Ms. Canon. Gr. 58*, second half of the 11th c., office Menaion for September,¹²² contains kathismata (from one to four), and stichera

(117) Sophronios copied three additional manuscripts, two of which are dated precisely; neither the manuscripts nor the copies were available to me: *Crypt. Δ α XI* (office Menaion for July), AD 1093/1094; *Crypt. Δ α V* (office Menaion for January), AD 1101/1102; *Crypt. Δ α I* (office Menaion for September), end of the 11th – beginning of the 12th cc. See for details: S. PARENTI, *Il Monastero di Grottaferrata nel medioevo (1004–1462): Segni e percorsi di una identità* (Roma: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2005) (OCA, 274) 415–417 (further references).

(118) ROCCHI, *Codices...*, 310; GROSDIDIER DE MATONS, *Romanos le Mélode...*, 69–70; PARENTI, *Il Monastero...*, 109, 415, 416.

(119) CANART, *Codices...*, 267.

(120) However, one abridged monostrophic kontakion has been preserved *sub diem* 9th of September (SS. Ioachim and Anna) on f. 12r: προσ(όμοιον) τὰ ἄνω ζητῶν. Εὐφραίνεται ἡ γῆ· ἡ Ἄννα τῆς στεριώσεως· λυθείσα δεσμῶν· καὶ τρέφει τὴν πανάχραντον· συγκαλοῦσα ἅπαντας· ἀνυμνήσαι τὸν δωρησάμενον· ἐκ τῆς νηδύος αὐτῆς τοῖς βροτοῖς· τὴν μόνην μητέρα· καὶ (ἀπ?)εἰράνδρον. No further information about this text is available.

(121) Both texts of the complete kontakia have been described: GROSDIDIER DE MATONS, *Romanos le Mélode...*, 69.

(122) STEFANOVIĆ, *Greek Daily Menaia...*, 251, 252–253.

with Coislin notation, *kanon* with *kontakion* and *oikos* after the sixth ode, *exaposteilaria* (“one-two, rarely three”¹²³) following the ninth ode; in this manuscript a set of eight *makarismoi* is attested (ff. 63v–64r) and the *kanons* are not combined.

II.3. Intermediate Conclusions

The peripheral and the central archaic groups of Byzantine office *Menaia* are distinguished by 1) the presence or the absence of the historically and typologically “marked” genres either of Constantinopolitan (*kontakion*, *exaposteilarion*) or Palestinian (*makarismoi*) origin, 2) the rules of arrangement of genres and the typologically significant exceptions from these rules, and 3) the rules of correspondence among the features mentioned under points 1) and 2). The genre content of the archaic peripheral group is close to that of the younger *Tropologion* of Palestinian origin, though substantially influenced by the Constantinopolitan hymnographic and calendar tradition, on the basis of which the office *Menaion* as a type of hymnographic book was shaped in the second half of the 9th c. The archaic feature of Palestinian origin peculiar to both of the early groups are the *makarismoi*, which are widely spread among the Byzantine manuscripts of the 9th–11th cc. The Constantinopolitan, i. e. the “central”, features in both groups are 1) the constant presence of *kathismata*, 2) the liturgical and hymnographic terminology not attested by the *Tropologion*, and 3) the arrangement of chants by genre but not by liturgical position, as opposed to the *Tropologion*. The peripheral archaic hymnographic usage is revealed by 1) the absence or the reduced use of *kontakia* and *exaposteilaria*, 2) the exceptional “reverse” order of chants, and 3) the liturgical position of the *stichera* εἰς τοὺς αἴβουϋς after the *kanon*, which is exceptional as well and was influenced by the liturgical order of the chants as attested by the *Tropologion*. The single *kontakia* occasionally observed in the *Menaia* of the peripheral group are represented as abridged monostrophic chants consisting of only one introductory stanza (*prooimion*), the genre identification of which can be absent.

The central group is first of all characterized by the presence of *kontakia*, which in none of the central manuscripts are comprised of one introducing stanza (*prooimion*) only, but are represented by at least two stanzas (*prooimion* and *oikos*) or are even preserved completely. In addition to the *kontakion*, the second, though not obligatory, typo-

(123) STEFANOVIĆ, *Greek Daily Menaia...*, 253.

logical feature of the central group are daily exaposteilaria. The correspondence between both of the genres of central origin is described by the following rule: if the Menaion contains exaposteilaria, it contains at least several kontakia, which are not abridged to one prooimion. The simultaneous emergence of these two genres stands as witness to the prevalence of the central Constantinopolitan tradition which became dominant in the area covered by the Byzantine rite at the end of the 11th c.

The third characteristic of the central group is the arrangement of chants by genre regardless of liturgical position so that the lesser genres always precede the kanon. Exceptional cases of the “reverse” order of chants are not attested in this group. The arrangement of chants by genre is a rule for all the hymns except the exaposteilaria, which always stand after the kanon in the final position of the office. The placement of the kontakion after the sixth ode of the kanon according to the liturgical position is exceptional for both the peripheral and central groups, although among the typologically provincial manuscripts it is testified by the Old Russian witness known as Putjata’s Menaion for May dated to the 11th c., which goes back to an undiscovered or lost Old Bulgarian source of the middle of the 10th c. In Greek sources, the liturgical position of kontakia is witnessed by three codices of the 11th c.: 1) *Crypt. Δ α 12*, an Italo-Greek Menaion copied in Grottaferrata and influenced by the local Italian liturgical tradition; 2) *Vat. gr. 1829*; and 3) *Bodl. Ms. Canon. Gr. 58*.

The indication of the so-called festal troparion (*apolytikion*, ἀπολυτικίον in modern liturgical usage) with the incipit testifies to the relationship with the Synaxarion, a paraliturgical book of Constantinopolitan origin. This is a stable characteristic of Old Russian Menaia compiled on the basis of the Old Bulgarian translation according to the liturgical rules of Patriarch Alexius the Studite’s Typikon. The same feature is observed in cod. *Mess. gr. 140*, which is dated to the younger period.

II.4. The Innovative Group: Eleventh – Fourteenth Centuries.

II.4.a. Classifying Features

Hundreds of Byzantine office Menaia are dated to the 11th–14th c. This period is characterized by gradually introduced structural innovations influenced by pragmatic intentions to arrange the chants according to their liturgical positions, which would make the actual use

of the book more convenient, and by the interaction with non-hymnographic liturgical and paraliturgical books such as the Synaxarion, Prophetologion, and Lectionary, which was obviously motivated by the same goal. In striving for “user comfort” the Menaion began to become a general liturgical book functionally similar to the Tropologion but intended for the fixed liturgical year and representing a different genre structure, calendar(s), and terminology. The Synaxarion was intended to be applied as private home reading, and the Lectionary as a sacred book has a special symbolic function in the liturgy, so they could not both disappear from the tradition, unlike the Kontakarion and Prophetologion, the content of which, though not completely, was finally integrated into Menaia.¹²⁴

The main typological difference of the innovative group in comparison to the two archaic groups is the trend to arrange the chants by liturgical position,¹²⁵ which was initially applied only to kontakia

(124) Cf.: “Основные тексты Минеи и Триодей [when the Jerusalemite, i. e., neo-Sabbaitic, Typikon was introduced — R. K.] <...> не претерпели существенных изменений, но <...> в этих книгах появились новые гимнографические сочинения и малая вечерня. Здесь же находились и ветхозаветные чтения, ранее входившие в состав Профитология, что привело к исчезновению этой архаичной богослужбной книги” (А. М. ПЕНТКОВСКИЙ, Иерусалимский Устав и его славянские переводы в XIV столетии, in: Л. ТАСЕВА (ред.), *Преводите през XIV столетие на Балканите, Доклади от международната конференция София, 26–28 юни 2003* (София: Издетелска къща “ГорексПрес”, 2004) 161).

(125) We should dispose of the obsolete concept, going back to Vatroslav Jagić, according to which the liturgical arrangement of chants in the Menaia features the so-called “Jerusalemite Menaia” or “Menaia of the Jerusalemite type” (see below, section II.5, The Neo-Sabbaitic Type); cf.: “традиционное деление миней на иерусалимские и студийские” (Н. А. НЕЧУНАЕВА, *Миняя...*, 31, further references). Vittorio Springfield Tomelleri convincingly argues that the concept of the Jerusalemite Menaia, which is based only on the liturgical order of chants, does not fit reality (“<т>акая классификация состава не соответствует сложной исторической действительности”), and, if it is incorrectly treated in isolation from the Byzantine background, only in exceptional cases does it help to classify a hymnographic source in the framework of Slavic tradition: V. S. TOMELLERI, О рукописной традиции восточнославянской декабрьской минеи, in: H. ROTHE, D. CHRISTIANS (Hrsg.), *Liturgische Hymnen nach byzantinischem Ritus bei den Slaven in ältester Zeit, Beiträge einer internationalen Tagung Bonn, 7.–10. Juni 2005* (Paderborn—München—Wien—Zürich: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2007) (Abhandlungen der Nordrhein-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 117; Patristica Slavica, 15) 116.

(and definitely for exaposteilaria, which always stand at the end of the office even in the archaic group) and later for kathismata, which became the classifying feature of the innovative type before the 12th c. In the 11th c. this group was simply the result of the pragmatically conditioned revision of the central typological group demonstrating its emergence in the Byzantine rite. The pragmatic “user comfort” idea as well as the gradual emergence and the final prevalence of the Constantinopolitan hymnographic and paraliturgical genres determined the historical and cultural sense of the changes in the structure and the content of the Byzantine Menaia since the 11th c. (or even probably the end of the 10th c.), before the “neo-Sabbaitic synthesis”. The main trend toward the neglect of archaic features was patterned on Constantinopolitan traditions; thus, it caused makarismoi to be eliminated from the Byzantine rite after the 11th c., although typologically archaic Middle Bulgarian and Old Serbian manuscripts preserve them until the beginning of the 14th c., and it also caused the kontakion to become an invariable structural part of Matins. While makarismoi had disappeared by the 12th c., the Synaxarion was first attested at exactly that time. However, the earliest example of the pericope from the Old Testament is witnessed by the manuscript of the 11th c. (see above, II.1.b., n° 22, *Sab. gr.* 71). The earliest manuscripts attesting to the compositional combinations from different kanons chanted on the same day are dated to the 11th c. After the 13th century the second ode is not observed in the manuscripts.

II.4.b. *The Sources*

1–5. Codd. *Crypt.* Δ α XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, and XVII, dated to the 11th c., are a set of the Menaia for seven months, from October to April, written in five volumes by the same hand in Carbone. The structure of the manuscripts was comprehensively described by Dimitrije Stefanović:¹²⁶ the offices contain the troparion εἰς Θεὸς Κύριος, stichera prosomoia and idiomela both arranged by mode (ἦχος), supplied with notation, and followed by the kanons. Two kanons chanted on the same day are often combined so that the troparia of each ode of one kanon are followed immediately by the troparia of the same ode of another kanon. This is the earliest example of the combination of

(126) D. STEFANOVIĆ, *The Daily Menaia from Carbone*, *Bolletino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata*, n. s., 21 (1967) 41–46; IDEM, *Greek Daily Menaia...*, 254–256.

different kanons. The kanons are combined only if they are composed in the same mode. Kathismata (from one to six) follow the third ode of the kanon, while kontakion and oikos (up to four oikoi can be represented) follow the sixth ode.

6. *Reg. gr. 58*, Pentekostarion and office Menaion for March with late Byzantine notation, end of the 11th–12th cc., probably of Italian provenance.¹²⁷ In the catalogue the manuscript is erroneously dated to the 11th c.,¹²⁸ and this date was uncritically reproduced by the editors of the series *Analecta hymnica graeca*.¹²⁹ The Menaion contains stichera and kanons with kathisma after the third or sixth ode. The Synaxarion is observed in this manuscript in numerous cases and stands after the sixth ode, too; if the date 11th–12th cc. is correct, this manuscript is one of the earliest available Menaia, in which the Synaxarion is attested. The earliest example of the use of the Synaxarion in the Menaion has been uncovered by Apostolos Spanos in cod. *Ath. Laur. Δ 45* (liturgical miscellany containing the office Menaion for March–August) dated to the 11th c.¹³⁰ Thus the 11th c. appears to be the period during which the Synaxarion was for the first time introduced into the Menaion. It is highly remarkable that this took place specifically in a liturgical miscellany (*Laur. Δ 45*), which contains not only a Menaion but also a Psalterion, Triodion, Pentekostarion, Oktoechos, Exaposteilaria, and Doxastica Eothina.¹³¹ The introduction of the Synaxarion in the liturgical books is influenced by the pragmatic intent to compile a miscellany which was convenient to use for the offices (akolouthiai) of different types.

(127) STEVENSON, *Codices...*, 51. The Synaxarion as a part of the manuscript is not mentioned in the catalogue. On the basis of its notation the codex has been dated to the 11th–12th cc.: D. TOULIATOS-BANKER, Check List of Byzantine Musical Manuscripts in the Vatican Library, *Manuscripta: A Journal for Manuscript Research* 31/1 (1987) 25 (in Touliatos-Banker's check-list the manuscript is erroneously designated as a "Triodion"). J. Leroy dated the manuscript to the 12th c.: J. LEROY, Les manuscrits grecs d'Italie, in: A. GRUYS (red.) *Codicologica*, 2: *Éléments pour une codicologie comparée* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978) 58: "ces deux manuscrits [*Reg. gr. 58* and *Reg. gr. 59* — R. K.] sont du même scribe; <...> leur écriture n'est pas caractéristique, mais il est probable qu'ils sont aussi italo-grecs" (this article was not taken into consideration by Touliatos-Banker).

(128) STEVENSON, *Codices...*, 51.

(129) AHG, t. VII, VII.

(130) SPANOS, *Codex Lesbicus Leimonos 11...*, 114.

(131) *Ibid.*

The kontakion is represented in *Reg. gr. 58* only once, which is probably a result of the fact that the manuscript has been preserved only in fragments: *sub diem* 6th of March, commemoration of the Forty-Two Holy Martyrs of Amorium († 845): Τὸς νεοφανεῖς ὀπλίτας τῆς ἀληθείας; oikos: Ἀγαρηνῶν τὸ ἄθεον σέβας (f. 48). There is a lacuna in the manuscript between the offices for the 6th and the 16th of March, and the last office in the manuscript breaks off after the second troparion of the fifth ode of the kanon for Annunciation, 25th of March (f. 58v). The third ode of this kanon is followed by the kathisma. The pericope from the Old Testament, which is unique in this manuscript, is included in this office (f. 58).

7. *Sab. gr. 208*, office Menaion for August, 12th c., contains stichera and kanons with kathismata after the third ode and a kontakion after the sixth ode, and kontakia are followed by the Synaxarion; if the kontakion is absent, the kathisma is placed after the sixth ode, while the exaposteilarion follows the ninth ode. If there is more than one kanon in the office of the same day, they are combined regardless of the mode, and the *heirmoi* of each successive kanon are preceded by the notice “εἰρμὸς ἄλλος”; this Menaion is the earliest one in which the kanons are combined in this way, which becomes a regular practice in the younger manuscripts.

8. *Vat. gr. 1547*, festal Menaion for the whole year, 12th c., contains the same genres arranged in almost the same order as in *Sab. gr. 208*. Unlike *Sab. gr. 208*, kathisma can occasionally be placed before the kanon, while the stichera εἰς τοὺς αἴνους always follow it.

9. *Reg. gr. 54* is a liturgical miscellany dated to the 12th c. which includes the office Menaion for December, January, and February and the Octoechos. Its structure was described briefly by Stevenson: “Notandum, inter alia, in hoc codice, ut in omnibus vetustis, nusquam duplex praeberi officium vespertinum, sive parvum et magnum, sed unum tantum, quod in edd. Venetis τῶ μεγάλῳ ἐσπερινῶ respondet <...> Sextam odam sequitur Κοντάκιον”.¹³² Stevenson dated the manuscript to the 10th c., which was accepted by the editors of *Analecta hymnica graeca*.¹³³ If this date were correct, cod. *Reg. gr. 54* should have been treated as one of the earliest witnesses to the textual history of the Byzantine Synaxarion. However, the structural features of the Menaion as

(132) STEVENSON, *Codices...*, 46.

(133) AHG, t. VI, vi.

attested by *Reg. gr. 54* do not appear in the 10th c. In this manuscript, the Synaxarion is placed after the sixth ode of the kanon in numerous cases, and kathismata are positioned after either the third or the sixth ode; the kontakion with oikos and the Synaxarion, however, always follow the sixth ode. If the kontakion is absent, the kathisma stands after the sixth ode. If more than one kanon is chanted on the same day, they are combined in the manner described above, the kanon is followed by exaposteilaria and stichera εἰς τοὺς αἴνους. The Menaion part of this source contains numerous pericopes from the Old Testament, Lectionary, and Praxapostolos to be read at Matins and at the liturgy; the pericopes are arranged by their liturgical position. *Cod. Reg. gr. 54* is remarkable for the fact, that it contains τροπάρια and καθίσματα εἰς Θεὸς Κύριος, as well as apolytikion and troparion; for the latter, there is no further identification of the liturgical position (for the examples and the folio numbers, see above).

The of 10th-century date proposed by Stevenson and reproduced in *Analecta hymnica graeca* might have refuted the historical typology of the Byzantine office Menaia that I have proposed in the present article. Fortunately, Diane Touliatos of St. Louis (Missouri) has dated *Reg. gr. 54* to the 11th–12th cc. on the basis of its notation.¹³⁴ However, even this date is not precise enough: the scholar was seemingly unaware of the earlier studies by Enrica Follieri, who convincingly dated the manuscript to the 12th c. according to its paleographic features.¹³⁵ The typological characteristics of the manuscript fit this date perfectly.

10. *Matr. gr. 4694*, office Menaion for June–August (12th–13th cc.) contains festal troparia either indicated as an incipit or represented in full. Kathismata stand after the third and kontakia after the sixth odes of the kanons; kanons are followed by stichera εἰς τοὺς αἴνους and exaposteilaria, and kanons chanted on the same day are not combined.

(134) TOULIATOS-BANKER, Check List..., 25; the Menaion has not been mentioned as a part of this manuscript's content: "Parakletike — Great Octoechos" (p. 25); for a musicological analysis of this codex see also: O. STRUNK, *Specimina Notationum antiquiorum* (Hauniae, 1966) (Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, VII) 176–178.

(135) E. FOLLIERI, La minuscula libraria dei secoli IX e X, in: J. GLÉNISSON, J. BOMPAIRE, J. IRIGOIN (ed.), *La Paléographie grecque et byzantine, Actes du Colloque International <...> à Paris du 21 au 25 octobre 1974* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1977) 140, f. 3.

11. *NBKM 22* (Narodna biblioteka sv. Kiril i Metodi / St. Cyril and Methodius National Library, Sofia, Bulgaria), office Menaion for August of the 12th–13th cc., has the same genre content as *Matr. gr. 4694* with some innovations: the kanons in this manuscript are combined regardless of the mode, the kontakion after the sixth ode is followed by the Synaxarion, and the biblical pericopes are attested.

12. *Reg. gr. 61*, office Menaion for March–May of the 12th–13th cc.,¹³⁶ has an unstable order and content of chants which probably results from scribal customs and different prototypes. In general, the manuscript contains kathismata, stichera, and kanons, which are never combined. The kontakion is absent in the first part of the manuscript, which comprises ff. 1r–39v. On the same folia (1r–39v), kathismata are placed before the kanons so that the structure and the content of the Menaion in the initial part of the manuscript looks more archaic. From f. 40r (new gathering) we have a second scribe,¹³⁷ who arranged the chants in a different way and placed kathismata after the third ode. The Synaxarion is regularly observed either after the third, sixth, or sometimes even after the ninth ode and the exaposteilarion. Between ff. 70v–71r the hands were changed again, but the structure of the offices was retained. The kontakion is represented in the manuscript only exceptionally in the part copied by the third scribe (ff. 98r, 124r, 127v).

13, 14. Office Menaia Codd. *Bodl. Lincoln College gr. 2* and *Bodl. Auct. E. 5. 2* (S.C.5778) are both dated to the 13th c. They contain stichera, troparion, kanon, kathismata placed after the third and kontakia with oikoi after the sixth odes; kanons are combined and followed by exaposteilaria.¹³⁸ Cod. *Bodl. Auct. E. 5. 2* (S.C.5778) contains a Synaxarion which was not mentioned by Dimitrije Stefanović.

15. *Par. gr. 245*, office Menaion for June–August dated to the 13th c., is similar to the previous Menaia; as in the cod. *Bodl. Auct. E. 5. 2*

(136) Stevenson dated the manuscript to the 12th c.: STEVENSON, *Codices...*, 52; according to Enrica Follieri the codex is younger (12th–13th cc.): E. FOLLIERI, *Santa Trifena di Cizico*, AB 89 (1971) 344; on the Synaxarion in this manuscript see: pp. 344–345, f. 5; p. 346, f. 4.

(137) The change of hands and gathering is probably the reason why the *akolouthia eis anomibgion*, which is not included in a Menaion, is placed after the office for the 31st of March. This office, which is normally copied in Euchologia, is followed by the *kanōn paraklētikos* (f. 38r). The scribe obviously intended to fill the blank folia of the gathering.

(138) STEFANOVIĆ, *Greek Daily Menaia...*, passim.

(S.C.5778), the Synaxarion is placed after the third or sixth odes of the kanon, while Gospel pericopes are set after the sixth ode; if the Synaxarion is set after the sixth ode, the pericope is observed after the exaposteilarion at the end of the office.

16, 17. *Sin. gr. 630*, office Menaion for June–August, 13th c., and *Vind. theol. gr. 33*, office Menaion also for June–August, 13th c. Both manuscripts are of the same format and were written in two columns by very similar hands. The genre content of these manuscripts is identical. Kanons in both sources are always combined and contain kathismata after third odes and kontakia after sixth odes. Sixth odes are followed by Synaxaria and then by pericopes of the Gospel and Praxapostolos to read at Matins; the kanons are followed by exaposteilaria, stichera εἰς τοὺς αἴνους, Apostol and Gospel to be read at the liturgy, stichera, and koinonikon. In addition to stichera, these manuscripts contain the festal troparion designated as ἀπολυτίκιον (f. 130). Among the sources available to me for the present study, this is the earliest example of the use of the liturgical term ἀπολυτίκιον as attested by Menaia.

18. *Vat. gr. 787* is an office Menaion for May–August dated to the 14th c.; it contains stichera and kanons always combined, kathismata placed after the third and kontakia with Synaxarion after the sixth odes. Kanons are followed by stichera εἰς τοὺς αἴνους, exaposteilaria, and the Gospel to be read at the liturgy.

19. *Barb. gr. 373*, festal Menaion for the second half of the liturgical year, the final part, comprising the offices for the dates after the 11th of June, has not been preserved; the Menaion is dated to the 13th c. and contains stichera, kanons always combined with kathismata after the third and kontakia after the sixth odes. Canons are followed by exaposteilaria and stichera εἰς τοὺς αἴνους.

20. *Ottob. gr. 392*, festal Menaion for September–December of the 13th c., was erroneously identified by Diane Touliatos as a Sticherarion.¹³⁹ The offices contain festal troparia titled ἀπολυτίκια or τροπάρια, stichera, kanons followed, after the sixth odes, by kontakia and oikoi, and biblical pericopes. The kanons are not combined. This Menaion would be classified as a merely “innovative” one if it did not contain theotokia at δόξα καὶ νῦν placed after the third ode before the kathisma, which is attested only in the neo-Sabbaitic Menaia described

(139) TOULIATOS, Check List..., 25.

below. I assume the codex *Ottob. gr. 392* to be a witness to neo-Sabbaitic structural influence on the earlier innovative group.

II.4.c. Preliminary Conclusions

Stable trends, although no specific rules, can be uncovered by analysis of the genre content and structure of the innovative Byzantine Menaia of the 11th–14th cc. Their features testify to the gradually increasing prevalence of the hymnographic traditions of Constantinopolitan origin. The main pragmatic trend of this period was to arrange the chants by their liturgical positions and thus to make the use of the Menaion more efficient. This became a strict rule by the 13th c. after the earlier genre content of Menaia had been enlarged by the Synaxarion and biblical pericopes. In addition to the exaposteilaria, which had always been positioned only at the end of the office after the kanon from the time they had been observed in the Menaia of the 11th c., the arrangement of chants by their liturgical position was applied to kontakia, which were occasionally placed after the sixth ode of kanons even in the archaic Old Russian source, Putjata's Menaion (11th c.). This is observed in two archaic Byzantine Menaia, too, in which the position of the kontakion after the sixth ode is the rule, while other genres are arranged regardless of their liturgical position (*Crypt. gr. Δ α 12* and *Bodl. Ms. Canon. Gr. 58*). One of those two manuscripts was copied in Grottaferrata and influenced by the local Italian liturgical tradition of chanting the kanon at Vespers, and the same Menaion is one of the few sources which contain complete texts of kontakia (*Crypt. gr. Δ α 12*). The second manuscript is noteworthy for the presence of makarismoï (*Bodl. Ms. Canon. Gr. 58*), which is the heritage of the archaic Palestinian tradition accepted in Constantinople.

No makarismoï are observed in manuscripts copied after the 11th c.; the manuscript *Great Laura Δ 17*, dated in the catalogue to the 13th c., remains a problematic chronological exception probably caused by an error in dating.

The oldest set of Menaia in which the chants were arranged by their liturgical positions is dated to the 11th c., and the manuscripts are of Campanian provenance (*Crypt. Δ α XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, and XVII*). This set is the earliest example of a combination of different kanons chanted on the same day.

The pericopes from the Old Testament are attested for the first time in *Sab. gr. 71*, dated to the 11th c. The earliest example of the Synaxarion in the office Menaion is dated to the 11th c. (*Laur Δ 45*) and to

the 11th–12th cc. (*Reg. gr. 58*), and the pericopes from the Gospels and Apostle are for the first time observed in the 12th c., according to the correct date of the manuscript *Reg. gr. 54* proposed by Enrica Follieri.

The innovative Menaion *par excellence* was structurally shaped between the 12th and the 13th cc. as testified by, for example, *Sin. gr. 630*, *Sab. gr. 208*, *Vat. gr. 1547*, *NBKM 22*, *Par. gr. 245*, *Sin. gr. 630*, and some younger manuscripts (e. g., *Vind. theol. gr. 33* of the 13th c. and *Vat. gr. 787* of the 14th c.), which contain stichera, combined kanons, kathismata, kontakia with oikoi, the Synaxarion, exaposteilaria, stichera εἰς τοὺς αἴθρους, and often biblical pericopes arranged by their liturgical position. Yet mediaeval “scribes and scholars” did not follow strictly the rules discovered by modern students of Byzantine office Menaia, therefore archaic traditions caused by peripheral provenance of the sources echo occasionally in the younger manuscripts *Reg. gr. 61*, and especially *Reg. gr. 63* and *Reg. gr. 65*, which are contemporary to the innovative group, but to a certain extent represent typologically earlier genre content.

II.5. The Neo-Sabbaitic Type

II.5.a. Classifying Features

The earliest traces of the neo-Sabbaitic Typikon are for the first time observed in liturgical sources of the 11th c.¹⁴⁰ The main and well-known typological characteristic of office Menaia structured on the basis of the neo-Sabbaitic Typikon is the division of stichera for Vespers on the most venerated feasts into those for the Great and the Little Vespers.¹⁴¹ The neo-Sabbaitic Menaia *par excellence* are the printed Menaia known as *Menaia Romana*.¹⁴² The chants in neo-Sabbaitic Menaia are arranged by liturgical position. In comparison to the earlier types, the neo-Sabbaitic Menaia contain the following previously unknown

(140) ПЕНТКОВСКИЙ, Иерусалимский устав..., 153–156 (references).

(141) С. КОЖУХАРОВ, *Миней*, in: П. ДИНЕКОВ (гл. ред.), *Кирило-Методиевска енциклопедия II* (София: Университетско издателство “Св. Климент Охридски”, 1995) 680.

(142) *Μηναῖα τοῦ ὄλου ἐνιαυτοῦ I–VI* (Ἐν Ῥώμῃ, 1888–1901); on this edition and its earlier Venetian sources see: С. КОРОЛЕВСКИЙ, *L'édition romaine des Ménées grecques 1888–1901 [I]*, *Bolletino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata* 3 (1949) 30–40, 153–162, 225–247; С. КОРОЛЕВСКИЙ, *L'édition romaine des Ménées grecques 1888–1901 [II]*, *Bolletino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata* 4 (1950) 15–16.

genres and liturgical positions: 1) theotokion and staurotheotokion (σταυροθεοτοκίον) as monostrophic chants independent from the kanon and positioned after the third ode of the kanon, together with kathisma; 2) staurotheotokion chanted after the kanon; 3) new liturgical position for the stichera εἰς τὴν λιτήν; 4) new liturgical positions for kathismata at the polyeleos and the 50th Psalm; 5) katabasia in its modern meaning; and 6) verse Synaxarion¹⁴³ preceding the usual prose one. All of these features including the division of stichera into those for the Great and the Little Vespers are variable in the manuscripts. A comprehensive description of the structurally unstable content attested by a specific manuscript of younger origin is not the goal of this article, which presents below several examples of such variety observed in neo-Sabbaitic Menaia.

II.5.b. Variety of Genre Content

1. *Sin. gr. 1627*, office Menaion for July–August, AD 1361. In the beginning of the manuscript the κανὼν παρακλητικὸς εἰς τὸν Παντοκράτορα (f. 1r) is placed out of calendrical order. The kathisma follows the third ode, while the stichera with no identified liturgical position stand after the kanon, so that this case is an additional, although occasional, example of the “reverse” order of chants. The regular Menaion offices consist of stichera, troparion, and kanons, in which the kontakion with oikos follow either the third or the sixth odes; the third ode of the kanon is followed by the stichera or theotokion εἰς τὸ δόξα and the staurotheotokion or theotokion εἰς τὸ καὶ νῦν, the kontakion and oikos follow the sixth ode of the kanon, while the exapostellarion stands at the end of it. The staurotheotokion follows the stichera εἰς τοὺς αἴνους, which are placed after the exapostellarion. The Great Vespers office (ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ ἔσπερινῷ, f. 25v) includes pericopes from the Old Testament and the stichera εἰς τὴν λιτήν (f. 27r).

2. *Vat. gr. 1515*, office Menaion for January–February, AD 1382. In addition to the genres attested by *Sin. gr. 1627*, this manuscript contains kathismata at the stichologia and at the polyeleon, which is chanted only at significant feasts according to the neo-Sabbaitic Typikon

(143) See the edition of the Middle Bulgarian version and further references: Г. ПЕТКОВ, М. СПАСОВА (изд.), *Търновската редакция на стишния пролог. Тексто̀ве, лексикален индекс*, т. 1: *Месе́ц септември*; т. 2: *Месе́ц октомври*; т. 3: *Месе́ц ноември* (Пловдив: Университетско издателство “Паисий Хилендарски”, 2008–2009).

(μετὰ δὲ τὸν πολυέλεον ἔτερον κάθ(ισμα), ff. 45v etc.). The verse and prose Synaxaria follow the sixth ode. The festal troparion is entitled ἀπολυτίκιον. The Menaion is intended for a monastery, as indicated by the liturgical regulation for Epiphany: μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ στ'· τὰ ἅγια θεοφάνεια τοῦ Κ(υρίου) καὶ Θ(εο)ῦ καὶ Σ(ωτῆ)ρος ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ· περὶ ὧραν... ἰ' τῆς ἡμέρας σημαίνει τὸ μέγα· καὶ συναγόμεθα ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· καὶ εὐλογοῦντος τοῦ ἱερέως ἀρχόμεθα τὸ λυχνικὸν κτλ. (f. 38v), and *sub diem* 30th of January: δοξολογία μεγάλη, δίδοται ... ἅγιον ἔλαιον τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς (f. 166v).

The division of stichera into two groups is absent from *Vat. gr. 1515* for the Great and the Little Vespers — this division is considered to be a main feature of neo-Sabbaitic Menaia. This does not imply that there was no such division in the liturgical practice of the monastery for which the manuscript was copied, because in principle any stichera could be chosen to be chanted at the given portion of the office.

3. *Vat. gr. 1510*, office Menaion for March–May, AD 1431. The manuscript contains the typical neo-Sabbaitic genre content with no division of stichera into those for the Great and the Little Vespers. In *Vat. gr. 1510* there are no staurotheotokia, at the liturgical positions of which regular stichera are represented. The Menaion is remarkable for the inclusion of very extensive Synaxarion fragments. The kathisma at the polyeleos is represented only *sub diem* 25th of March (Annunciation), which testifies that this Menaion is of the neo-Sabbaitic type. In *Vat. gr. 1510* the polyeleos is attested one more time, at the commemoration of St. George: εἰς τ(ὸν) ὄρθρον... στιχ(ο)λ(ογία) καὶ ὁ πολυέλεος (f. 179v).

4. *Vat. gr. 1559*, office Menaion for July, AD 1545. The manuscript was copied after the earliest printed Greek office Menaia had been published in Venice.¹⁴⁴ However its structure and content differ from the earliest printed Menaia which I have consulted on microfilm or

(144) E. LEGRAND, *Bibliographie hellénique, ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des grecs aux XVe et XVI siècles* III (Paris, 1903) 305, 311–312, n°n° 279, 285, and 286 (office Menaion for September, 1526; office Menaion for October, 1527; and office Menaion for November, 1527). Cf.: E. FOLLIERI, Su alcuni libri greci stampati a Venezia, in: E. FOLLIERI, *Byzantina et Italograeca: studi di filologia e paleografia*, a cura di A. LONGO, L. PERRIA, A. LUZZI (Roma, 1997) (Storia e Letteratura, Raccolta di studi e testi, 195) 67–110 (first published in: *Contributi alla storia del libro italiano, Miscellanea in onore di Lamberto Donati* [Firenze, 1969] 119–164); E. FOLLIERI, Il libro greco per i Greci nelle imprese editoriali romane e veneziane della prima metà del Cinquecento, in: FOLLIERI,

de visu.¹⁴⁵ While the division of offices into the Great and the Little Vespers is attested in this manuscript (μηνὶ τῶ αὐτῶ κδ' τῆς ἀγίας ὀσιομάρτυρος Παρασκευῆς ... καὶ τῆς ἀγίας μάρτυρος Χριστίνης· στιχηρὰ ἐν τῶ μικρῶ ἔσπερινῶ τῆς ἀγίας Παρασκευῆς ἤχος πλ. δ' κτλ., f. 177v), neither polyeleos nor katabasia are represented in this source. Besides the Great and the Little Vespers, *Vat. gr. 1559* contains only theotokia and staurotheotokia at δόξα καὶ νῦν after the third ode and verse Synaxarion as typological features of neo-Sabbaitic Menaia.

II.5.c. Linguistic Variety of the Term σταυροθεοτόκιον

Remarkable variation is testified not only by the genre content of the neo-Sabbaitic group but by one of the innovative liturgical terms by which this type is distinguished. Thus the manuscript *Vat. gr. 1515* is noteworthy for the variation in the use of the term *staurotheotokion*, which is regularly represented as a composite word σταυροθεοτόκιον: στρ^οο' (ff. 82v, 87r) or στ(αυρ)οθ(εοτοκίον) (f. 88v). However the linguistic features of this term are changed at the end of the manuscript, in which the form στρ^οω' (ff. 210v, 221r, 258r, 267v, 268r, 270r, etc.) is attested. The change in usage might have been explained by the phonetic confusion between the letters omikron (ο) and omega (ω); however, the following examples make it possible to consider the abbreviation στρ^οω' to have been influenced by the word combination “τὸ τῶ σταυρῶ θεοτοκίον” or “θεοτοκίον τῶ σταυρῶ”, which is observed in *Vat. gr. 1559*: στ(αυ)ρῶ θ(εοτο)κί(ον) (ff. 4v, 213v [there is an accent sign over the omega]), cf. στ(αυ)ρῶ θ (f. 19v), θ(εοτο)κί(ον) / στ(αυ)ρῶ (ff. 160v [left margin], 188 [upper margin], and 188v [left margin]). Old Serbian Church Slavonic Menaia of the neo-Sabbaitic type represent the variation of the term *staurotheotokion* influenced by their Greek

Byzantina... 249–271 (first published in: *Atti del II Convegno internazionale di Storia della Civiltà Veneziana II* [Firenze, 1977] 483–508).

(145) Several Festal Menaia (Anthologia) printed in Venice are now held by the “Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen”: *Anthologion tou olou eniantou plousiwtaton* (Ἐνετήσιν, παρὰ Αντωνίῳ Πινέλλῳ, 1621); *Anthologion tou olou eniantou plousiwtaton* (Ἐνετήσιν, τυποθὲν μὲν παρὰ Αντωνίῳ τῶ Πινέλλῳ, 1630); *Anthologion tou olou eniantou plousiwtaton* (Ἐνετήσιν ἐκδοθὲν μὲν παρ' Ἀνδρέου Ιουλιανοῦ τοῦ Τυπογράφου, 1662). A comparison of the early and modern printed sources leads to the conclusion that the structural standard of the neo-Sabbaitic Greek office Menaia was formed at the time of the first printed editions and had not changed by the beginning of the 20th c.

sources, for example *Chil. 141* (AD 1355–1365)¹⁴⁶: и ѿнн · ѿ · и дроуꙗ крꙑтоуꙗ · ѿ ·
 ꙗ · еѿа ѿ дроуꙗ f. 13; и ѿнн · ѿ · крꙑтоуꙗ f. 13v; · ѿ · крꙑтоуꙗ f. 42v, f. 45v; · ѿ · крꙑтоуꙗ : /
 f. 45v; ѿ крꙑтоуꙗ : f. 172v, 177v.

III. CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of Byzantine and Church Slavonic office Menaia dated mostly to the 9th–14th cc. and partially to the 15th–16th cc. made it possible to divide them into four major typological groups. Three of these groups are dated to the time of the emergence of the Studite Typikon or, more generally, Typikons of the Studite type, and their spread throughout the Byzantine Commonwealth. The office Menaion has been proven by Alexandra Nikiforova, to have originated in Constantinople on the basis of the Tropologion of the younger type and to have originally been influenced by the calendar of Constantinopolitan Synaxaria, the “heortological kernel” of which had formed that of office Menaia. Although the Menaion originated in Constantinople, its earliest witnesses are dated to the end of the 9th or the beginning of the 10th cc. and are of Palestinian or Sinaitic origin. Depending on the structural features based on either peripheral or central hymnographic traditions as attested by the earliest Menaia, the first two groups of sources have been defined accordingly as peripheral and central. Both groups are characterized by 1) the arrangement of chants by genre regardless of liturgical position, 2) shared genre content: (kathismata, stichera, kanons, and occasionally makarismoi), and 3) the practice that kanons chanted on the same day are not combined. While the

(146) See the description: Д. БОГДАНОВИЋ, *Каталог ћирилских рукописа манастира Хиландара* (Београд: Српска академија наука и уметности, Народна библиотека Србије, 1978) 92–93, n° 141; А. А. ТУРИЛОВ, Л. В. МОШКОВА, *Славянские рукописи афонских обителей*, под ред. А.-Э. Н. ТАХИАОСА (Фессалоники, SS Cyril and Methodius Centre for Cultural Studies, 1999); Р. СТАНКОВИЋ, *Водени знаци хиландарских српских рукописа XIV–XV века* (Београд: Народна библиотека Србије, 2007) (Опис јужнословенских ћирилских рукописа VII); see the short description of the manuscript in the check-list of microfilms held by the Hilandar Research Library — Resource Center for Medieval Slavic Studies at The Ohio State University (Columbus, OH): *Catalogue. Manuscripts on Microform of the Hilandar Research Library (The Ohio State University)*, I, Compiled and with an Introduction by Predrag МАТЕЈИЋ and Hannah THOMAS (Columbus, OH: The Resource Center for Medieval Slavic Studies, The Ohio State University in cooperation with the “Ivan Dujchev” Research Centre for Slavo-Byzantine Studies, 1992) 368.

kanon and stichera are witnessed already by the Tropologion, festal kathismata are an innovation that is not observed in the archaic hymnographic books of Palestinian origin and thereby are proven to be of Constantinopolitan origin. The presence of festal kathismata in all of the Menaia regardless of their typological features and provenance testifies once more to the Studite Constantinopolitan origin of this book. The influence of the Palestinian tradition on Studite practice is witnessed by makarismoι preserved in Menaia dated to the 10th–11th cc. regardless of the provenance of the manuscripts. The absence or the reduced liturgical use of the kontakion in the archaic peripheral group is explained by the fact that this genre of Constantinopolitan origin was unknown in the early liturgical tradition in Palestine and, probably, in Italy before the byzantinization of these areas. This archaic peripheral tradition is echoed in some Church Slavonic Menaia. The absence or the reduced liturgical use of the kontakion in the archaic peripheral group is explained by the fact that this genre of Constantinopolitan origin was unknown in the early liturgical tradition in Palestine and, probably, in Italy before the byzantinization of these areas. This archaic peripheral tradition is echoed in some Church Slavonic Menaia which go back to archaic Old Bulgarian origins.

The first, peripheral, archaic group includes the earliest office Menaia known so far and dated to the end of the 9th – beginning of the 10th cc., both written in uncial script: *Sin. gr. 607*, and *Sin. gr. NE MG 28*. Another Menaion of the peripheral archaic group was written in uncial script (*D. gr. 350*) in the 10th c. To the 10th–11th cc. is dated the set of provincial office Menaia of Sinaitic origin examined by Alexandra Nikiforova: *Sin. gr. 579*; *Sin. gr. 563*; *Sin. gr. 570*; *Sin. gr. 578 + PHB Γρευ. 89* (RNL, Gr. 89); *Sin. gr. 595*; *Sin. gr. 610*; *Sin. gr. 613*; *Sin. gr. 614*; *Sin. gr. 624*; *Sin. gr. 631*; and *PHB, Γρευ. 351* (RNL Gr. 351). The Italo-Greek Menaia *Vat. gr. 2* and *Vat. gr. 2008*, which are dated to the 11th c., belong to the same typological group, as well as the codices *Crypt. Δ α 23* and *Great Laura, Γ 14, Γ 16*, and *B 21*, which are of undefined provenance and are also dated to the 11th c. Two Church Slavonic Menaia of Old Russian provenance known as Putjata's Menaion (*RNB, Sof. 202*, 11th c.) and the Book of Ilja (*RGADA, Tip. 131*, 11th–12th cc.), which are both linguistically archaic and go back to Old Bulgarian prototypes of the 10th c., are distinguished by the same features. All of the archaic peripheral Menaia are characterized by 1) the absence of exaposteilaria, and 2) the absence or the reduced use of the kontakion, which is attested, if at all, only in the abridged monostrophic form. Both genres

originated in Constantinople, and the kontakion, moreover, was initially a part of the cathedral rite and was introduced into the monastic Matins by hymnographers of the Studite school not later than in the 8th c. Because of the absence of exaposteilaria and the reduced use of the kontakion, the genre system of the peripheral archaic group is close to that of the Palestinian Tropologion of the younger type as witnessed by *Sin. gr. NE MG 5* and *Sin. gr. NE MG 56*. The third, though rare, distinctive feature of the peripheral archaic group in comparison to the central one is the “reverse” order of chants, according to which the kanon precedes the lesser genres. This is attested by the archaic office Menaia *Sin. gr. 607* of Palestinian provenance and two codices of Italian provenance: office Menaion *Vat. gr. 2* and Triodion *Vat. gr. 771*, as well as by several typologically similar and linguistically archaic Church Slavonic sources. While the “reverse” order of chants in *Sin. gr. 607* and *Vat. gr. 2* is attested once in each manuscript and *Vat. gr. 771* testifies to this in the largest section of the book, the Church Slavonic Book of Ilja and Putjata’s Menaion both retain the “reverse” order of chants in every office.

Some of the archaic peripheral features can be observed in the younger manuscripts such as *Reg. gr. 65* (12th c.) of unknown provenance and *Reg. gr. 63* (1259/1260) copied in Asia Minor, neither of which contain kontakia.

The second, archaic, central group has been described on the basis of several manuscripts of paleographically undefined provenance dated to the 11th–12th cc.: *Coisl. gr. 218* (11th c.), *Crypt. Δ α XII* (11th c.), *Bodl. Ms. Canon. Gr. 58* (11th c.), *Vat. gr. 1829* (11th c.), *Lesb. Leim. 11* (second half of the 11th c.), *Hierosl. Sab. 70* (11th c.), *Sin. gr. 632* (11th or 12th cc.), and *Mess. gr. 140* (12th c.). The numerous Old Russian Menaia of the 11th–12th cc. containing the text version composed on the basis of Patriarch Alexius the Studite’s Typikon belong to this group, though its exact Byzantine structural counterpart remains to be revealed. The group is characterized by the use of kontakia, exaposteilaria, and festal troparia that are not identical to troparia εἰς Θεὸς Κύριος. None of these genres is included in the peripheral sources. Although the use of troparia and exaposteilaria is not witnessed by every source in this group, the correspondence between the three genres of Constantinopolitan origin can still be described by the following rules: 1) if the Menaion contains exaposteilaria or festal troparia, it contains kontakia that are not abridged to one stanza, and 2) if the Menaion con-

tains kontakia that are not abridged to one stanza, it preserves either exaposteilaria or festal troparia. The only exception to the second rule is represented by *Crypt. gr. Δ α 12*. The festal troparia attested by the central manuscripts are often indicated with an incipit which is proven to be a reference to the Synaxarion. No example of the “reverse” order of chants is witnessed by the manuscripts of this group.

There are notable exceptions to the rule of non-liturgical ordering of chants, all of which are testified by the provincial archaic sources.

The placement of the stichera εἰς τοὺς αἴψους after the kanon attested once by *Sin. gr. 607* is assumed to be influenced by the Tropologion. The position of abridged monostrophic kontakia in the Old Russian source Putjata’s Menaion (*RNB, Sof. 202*) after the sixth ode of the kanon is a witness to the early attempt to arrange some of the genres in the Menaion by their liturgical positions. Three Byzantine Menaia of the archaic but central group also contain kontakia placed after the sixth ode of the kanon: *Crypt. Δ α XII* (11th c.), *Vat. gr. 1829* (11th c.), and *Bodl. Ms. Canon. Gr. 58* (11th c.). The first two manuscripts of this subgroup are of Italian provenance and contain complete texts of kontakia, while the third source contains makarismoi, an archaic genre of Palestinian origin.

The liturgically restricted place of exaposteilaria after the kanon is the only possible position of this chant in office Menaia. Consequently, the arrangements of chants by genres regardless of their liturgical position was not a strict rule but rather a stable trend, and Menaia with the elements of liturgically influenced arrangement of genres always existed. This was caused either by the Tropologion or by pragmatic intentions aimed at “user comfort”: the scribes and editors obviously intended to help the user to properly apply in the office the genres that were innovative or uncommon in monastic Matins, at least in some of the branches of Byzantine liturgical rites at the end of the 9th–11th cc.

The different use of the kontakion in contemporary Italo-Greek manuscripts of the 11th c is noteworthy. While *Vat. gr. 2* as a peripheral archaic source does not contain any kontakia, codd. *Crypt. Δ α XII* and *Vat. gr. 1829* both preserve complete kontakia disposed according to their liturgical position. Codices *Crypt. Δ α XII* and *Vat. gr. 1829* are the important witnesses to the Italo-Greek hymnography, unlike *Vat. gr. 2*, which contains no traces of the Italo-Greek *repertorium* and therefore testifies to the earlier stage of Greek hymnography in Italy, before the local hymnographic tradition was established, and represents a merely peripheral hymnographic practice.

The coexistence of typologically archaic and innovative sources acting as witnesses to the historically caused “liturgical pluralism” (“литургический плюрализм”, a phrase coined by A. E. Musin) is attested by the Old Russian tradition. The archaic part of this tradition is represented by the typologically peripheral Book of Ilja (11th–12th c.) and Putjata’s Menaion (11th c.) on the one hand, and, on the other hand, by the central group of numerous sources from the 11th and 12th cc. compiled on the basis of Patriarch Alexius the Studite’s Typikon. Structurally, the peripheral and linguistically more archaic Book of Ilja and Putjata’s Menaion represent Old Bulgarian traditions which were characterized by deliberate estrangement from Constantinopolitan liturgical influence; however the linguistically innovative Menaia based on Patriarch Alexius the Studite’s Typikon testify to the byzantinization of the Slavic liturgical rite initiated already in Bulgaria before the First Bulgarian Kingdom was finally destroyed by Basil the Bulgaroktonos in 1018, and was supported by liturgical reform of the second half of the 11th c. in Kievan Rus’.

The third typological group is an innovative one comprising the sources dated to the 11th–14th cc.: the codd. *Crypt.* Δ α XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, and *Sab. gr.* 71; in the 11th–12th cc. the source *Reg. gr.* 58; in the 12th c. the sources *Sab. gr.* 208, *Vat. gr.* 1547, *Reg. gr.* 54; in the 12th–13th cc. the sources *Matr. gr.* 4694, NBKM 22, and *Reg. gr.* 61; in the 13th c. the sources *Bodl. Lincoln College gr.* 2, *Bodl. Auct. E.* 5. 2 (S.C.5778), *Par. gr.* 245, *Sin. gr.* 630, *Vind. theol. gr.* 33, *Barb. gr.* 373, and *Ottob. gr.* 392; and in the 14th c. *Vat. gr.* 787. This group is characterized by the liturgical ordering of all the chants, the combination of different kanons chanted on the same date, the elimination of the makarismoι as an archaic genre as well as the elimination of second odes, which are not observed in manuscripts younger than the 13th c., and the gradually introduced structural innovations influenced by the Synaxarion, Prophetologion, and Lectionary. The Synaxarion was for the first time attested in the office Menaion in the 11th and 11th–12th cc. (*Ath. Laur.* Δ 45 and *Reg. gr.* 58), pericopes from the Old Testament were included in *Sab. gr.* 71 (11th c.), and the Lectionary is attested for the first time by *Reg. gr.* 54 (12th c.).

The innovative group reproduced the system of hymnographic genres represented by the archaic central type and expanded by Synaxaria, Lectionaries, and Prophetologia. In this way, the innovative group became a witness to the further emergence of the central hymnographic traditions in the Byzantine rite. The innovative trend toward the ne-

glect of archaic features caused makarismoι to be totally eliminated from the office beginning in the 12th c., when the Synaxarion was for the first time attested in Menaia and the kontakion became an unvariable structural part of the office Menaion.

The early history of the office Menaion reflects the interaction of Palestinian and peripheral hymnographic and liturgical traditions with those from Constantinople. The final prevalence of the so-called innovative type is a result of the emergence and the predominance of the central features over the peripheral ones.

The fourth typological group of Menaia is the neo-Sabbaitic group, which arose when the Jerusalemite (neo-Sabbaitic) Typikon was introduced into the Byzantine Commonwealth. Its representatives *par excellence* are the early and modern printed office Menaia which are all structurally the same. The neo-Sabbaitic Menaia are characterized by: 1) theotokion and staurotheotokion (σταυροθεοτοκίον), monostrophic chants independent from the kanon and positioned after the third ode of the kanon together with the kathisma(ta); 2) staurotheotokion chanted after the kanon, exaposteilarion, and stichera εἰς τοὺς αἴνους; 3) liturgical position for the stichera εἰς τὴν λιτήν; 4) liturgical positions for kathismata at the polyeleos and the 50th Psalm; 5) katabasia in the modern meaning; and 6) verse Synaxarion preceding the prose one.

SUMMARY

The classification of about sixty Byzantine office Menaia of the 9th–14th cc. is based on the system of liturgical genres represented by Menaia during the Studite era and the time of the byzantinization of peripheral rites in Palestine and Italy, as well as in the period of the development of the neo-Sabbaitic synthesis, when the so-called Jerusalemite Typikon was introduced into the Byzantine rite. The typologically significant genres originally represented only by Palestinian or only by Constantinopolitan traditions (makarismoι, exaposteilaria, kontakion, and festal troparion) have been revealed. The additional classification criterion applied in the article is the order of chants. This made it possible to describe the development of office Menaia of the Studite era as an interaction between the central (Constantinopolitan) and peripheral hymnographic traditions and liturgical rites as attested by Palestinian, early Italo-Greek, and early Old Bulgarian sources (although the content of the latter sources is to a certain extent a subject for critical and historical reconstruction).

The earliest office Menaia of the 9th–12th cc. have been divided into two groups.

The peripheral and the central archaic groups testify to the interaction between the centre (Constantinople) and the periphery of the Byzantine Commonwealth. The younger Menaia (12–14th cc.) are characterized by the rise and final prevalence of the central traditions, on the foundation of which the so-called innovative type of Menaion was established.

The peripheral archaic group is characterized by the absence or reduced liturgical usage of kontakia and the absence of the daily exaposteilaria (both genres are of Constantinopolitan origin). The Menaion of this type regularly consists of kathismata, stichera, and kanons arranged regardless of their liturgical position. Normally the lesser genres precede the kanon, while in a few cases the kanon can be found at the beginning of the office. The central peripheral group has the same genre content expanded by kontakia with more than one stanza, exaposteilaria, and, occasionally, festal troparia which are represented as incipita referring a user to the Synaxarion, a book of Constantinopolitan origin. Makarismoï are observed in both archaic groups, they are not, however, attested in manuscripts younger than the 11th c. The innovative group was established on the basis of the central archaic group, which testifies to the gradually achieved predominance of the liturgical practices originating in Constantinople. This group is characterized by the liturgical ordering of all of the chants, the combination of different kanons chanted on the same date, the elimination of the makarismoï as an archaic genre as well as the elimination of second odes, which are not observed in the manuscripts younger than the 13th c., and, finally, by the gradually introduced structural innovations influenced by interactions with the Synaxarion, Prophetologion, and Lectionary. The innovative trend toward the neglect of archaic features caused makarismoï to be eliminated from the Menaia after the 11th c., when the Synaxarion was for the first time attested in Menaia and the kontakion became an unvariable structural part of the office Menaion.

Neo-Sabbaitic office Menaia are characterized by the changes in the liturgical rite caused by the Jerusalemite Typikon, which was gradually introduced into the Byzantine Commonwealth in the 11th–14th cc. Through the number of genres and their liturgical ordering, the practical use of the Menaion became more efficient. This made the Menaion a kind of general liturgical book easy to apply at Vespers, Matins, and at the liturgy. Therefore the neo-Sabbaitic Menaia became functionally similar to the younger Tropologion. The best representatives of the neo-Sabbaitic office Menaia are printed ones, while the manuscripts attest to a remarkable variety of genre content and terminology.

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REMARQUES SUR LES CANONS EN L'HONNEUR DES SAINTS PATRIARCHES TARAISE ET MÉTHODE DE CONSTANTINOPLÉ

En 1936–1938 Sophronios Eustratiadès a publié dans la revue *Νέα Σιών* une liste de canons écrits par le fameux hymnographe byzantin St. Théophane le Graptos d'après les manuscrits qu'il avait pu trouver. Dans cette publication il indique pour le 25 février un canon en l'honneur de St. Taraise, patriarche de Constantinople († 806), un contemporain aîné de Théophane. L'acrostiche de ce canon du 2^{ème} ton est Ἀρχιερχῆα θεοῖο Ταράσιον ἄσµασι μέλπω ; son hirmos est Δεῦτε λαοί. Le canon est attribué à Théophane dans trois manuscrits : *Laur.* I 37, I 74 et Θ 53.¹

Ce canon n'est pourtant pas inclus dans les ménées grecs imprimés, où pour le 25 février nous voyons à présent un autre canon, de la plume de Géorge, avec l'acrostiche Χαίρων γεραίρω Ταράσιον τὸν μέγαν.² Mais le canon mentionné par Eustratiades a déjà été édité en 1902 par A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus comme une œuvre d'Ignace le Diacre.³ Papadopoulos-Kerameus fondait cette identification sur le témoignage du *Typikon* du monastère constantinopolitain τῆς Εὐεργετιδος et sur un ancien manuscrit du ménée de février (la fin du 10^{ème} siècle, *Mosc. Synod.* 181, f. 121–126 où le canon est inscrit par le nom d'Ignace (Ἰγνατίου μοναχοῦ). Les chercheurs postérieurs indiquent Ignace comme l'auteur du canon en l'honneur de Taraise en citant l'article de

(1) Voir Σ. ΕΥΣΤΡΑΤΙΑΔΗΣ, Θεοφάνης ὁ Γραπτός, *Νέα Σιών* 34 (1936) 475, n° 61.

(2) Voir *Μηναῖα τοῦ ὄλου ἐνιαυτοῦ*. Τ. Γ', Ἰαννουαρίου καὶ Φεβρουαρίου (Ἐν Ρώμῃ, 1896) 665–670 ; le même dans les ménées imprimés à Venise en 1890 (vol. 6, p. 125–128).

(3) Α. ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ-ΚΕΡΑΜΕΥΣ, Ὁ ὑμνογράφος Ἰγνατίος, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια* 22 (1902) № 4 : 37–39, 6 : 38–70, 8 : 88–91.

Papadopoulos-Kerameus et ne mentionnent pas à cette occasion la publication d'Eustratiadès.⁴

Toutefois, dans les manuscrits nous voyons une double attribution pour ce canon, bien que la paternité d'Ignace est peut-être plus probable.

LE CANON ÉCRIT PAR IGNACE LE DIACRE DANS LES MÉNÉES SLAVONS

Il est intéressant que le canon publié par Papadopoulos-Kerameus soit inséré, sans le nom de l'auteur, sans l'acrostiche et avec quelques abrègements, dans les ménées slavons.⁵ Les hirmoi du canon sont identiques dans les ménées grecs et slavons. Les abrègements ont touché la 2^{ème} ode qui a été éliminée et un des tropaires de chaque ode : sans compter les *Théotokia*⁶ le canon en slaxon contient trois tropaires dans chaque ode et non pas quatre comme le texte grec.⁷ On peut comparer :

Texte grec

Texte slaxon

Ode 1

Ἀπαγωγῆς καὶ προνομῆς καὶ δου-
λείας με, τῆς ἁμαρτίας, λύτρωσαι
καὶ πρὸς μετάνοιαν ποδηγήσας,
οἰκτιρομον, τυχεῖν με τοῦ ἐλέους
σοῦ καταξίωσον.

Павелініа ѿ паκнїніа, ѿ ракоути грѣхобнїа
мѧ ѿзбави, ѿ кѣ покланїю нарѣвнї,
щїдлїе, нлводрѧ ма ікорѡ кѣ лнєвнї
твоїѧ.⁸

(4) H. G. BECK, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich* (München, 1959) 512 ; W. WOLSKA-CONUS, «De quibusdam Ignatius», *TM* 4 (1970) 335, n. 29 ; C. A. MANGO, S. EFTHYMIADIS, *The correspondence of Ignatius, the Deacon* (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1997) (Dumbarton Oaks Texts, 11) 16. Θ. ΞΥΔΗΣ, «Ο ὑμνογράφος Θεοφάνης ὁ Γραπτός, *Νέα Ἐστία* 59, τευχ. 685–686 (1956) 155–160 (sur Internet : <http://www.ekebi.gr/magazines/flipbook/showissue.asp?file=87584&code=1102>), cite la publication d'Eustratiadès mais ne s'étend pas sur les problèmes de l'attribution des canons.

(5) *Μηνία. Πνευματικὴ φεβρουάριῳ* (Κίεβκ, 1877 ; repr. : Москва, 1996) 16–17, p. 389–394.

(6) Les *Théotokia* sont identiques dans l'original et la traduction slavonne.

(7) Sauf la 7^{ème} ode contenant en grec trois tropaires.

(8) La traduction est inexacte. On doit traduire : *сподоби мѧ оудѣнїти мїлоготѡ твоеѧ*.

Ῥεῖθρον ζωῆς ἔχων, σοφέ, ἐν
καρδία σου τῇ Ἐκκλησία γέγονας
ὡς ποταμὸς Θεοῦ, πληρωθεὶς δι-
δαγμάτων, καὶ ταύτης καταρδευ-
εις, πάτερο τοὺς ἀύλακας.

Χρῖσμα τῇ σῇ πνεύματι θείῳ σεπτῇ
κορυφῇ ἐκκενωθέν, Ταράσιε, ἐπὶ
τὸν πάγονα δαψιλῶς καὶ τὴν φων
κατέβη τῆς στολῆς σου ὡς δρόσος
ἢ Ἀερμών.¹¹

Ἰδρωτί σω Πάντα παθῶν τὰ σκιρ-
τήματα ...

Ἐπρδῆ πῆζην ἡμῆλα, μδῆρε, εἰρῆρε
τβοῖ,⁹ цркве вѣла εἰῆ ἄκω ρεκῶ εἰῆ,¹⁰
наπόληνησε οὔνημη, ἢ εεῶ наποάла,¹⁰
ὄτε, ερῆρη.

Μάρετῖν τβοῖ βέρχῃ χεετνήῃ,
ἀχῶμῃ εἰπνεηνιμῃ πομάζελα,¹²
ταράσι, на ερῆρη εογάτην ἄκω ἀρῶνη,¹³
ενηῆρε на ὀμέты εηῆρε ρῆζῃ τβοῖλ,¹⁴ ἄκω ρεῶ
ἀερμώνεκα.

Ode 2

3 tropaires et Théotokion

Ode 3

Ἀπάσης στηριγμὸς καρδίας γέ-
γονας τῷ ἄρτω τῶν λόγων σου,
ιεράρχα· ἰλαρυνων δὲ ὡς ἔλαιον
κατευφραίνεις ὡς οἶνος τὰς καρ-
δίας ἡμῶν.

Θερμότητι φρενῶν καὶ ζήλω
πίστεως πατέρων γενόμενος
κορυφαῖος, τῶν αἰρέσεων τὴν
ἐνστασιν ὡς ὑπάρχουσαν πύλην
ᾧ Αἰδοῦ ἔθραυσας.

Βεῖεμῃ οὔτβερεῖνηῖ ερεῖαμῃ βέλα εἰῆ,
χεῖκομῃ ελοβέε τβοῖχῃ, εἰῆτελεν:¹⁵
οὔμιαλα πῆ ἄκω εἰέεμῃ, βεεῖληση
ἄκω εἰνόμῃ¹⁶ ερεῖαλ ἡλα.

Τεπλοτόη ρῆζῆμα ἢ βεενοεῖην βεῖρη, οὔερε
βέλα εἰῆ βερχόνηκεῖ, ἢ εἰρετεεκα
προτνελέηλα ἄκω εδμεα ἀδωεα βερεῖ
ρεζορῆε εἰῆ.

(9) On aurait du traduire : вѣ εἰρῆρε τβοῖεμῃ.

(10) Plus exactement : ὡροηάλα.

(11) Cf. Ps. 132, 2-3 (ici et plus bas l'Ancien Testament est cité d'après BGT).

(12) Plus exact serait μάρετῖν τβοῖεμδ βερεδ χεετνόμδ ἀχῶμῃ εἰπνεηνιμῃ ἡζεῖάηλα (cf. Cant. 1, 2).

(13) ἄκω ἀρῶνη est ajouté selon le sens de la citation, cf. la note 11.

(14) Plus exact serait : ἢ на ὀμέты εηῆρε ρῆζῃ τβοῖλ.

(15) Plus exact serait : ἡεῖρη.

(16) Plus exact serait : εἰῆ ... βηηό.

Ἐπάρας πρὸς Θεὸν ὁσίας
χειράς σου εἰρήνην τῇ ποιμνῇ
σου ἐμνηστεύσω διὸ καὶ πρὸς
ἀστασίαστον κληρουχίαν τὴν
ἄνω ἐσαββάτισας.

Воздѣвъ къ вѣдъ прѣпеныа рѣки твоѡ,
мнѣ стѡдъ твоимѡ испроси. Тѣмъ же ѡ къ
вѣшнемѡ¹⁷ наслѣдїю возшедѣ по чїлѣ
ѣи.

Ὁ βίος ἱερός, ὁ λόγος ἔνθεος ...

—

Ode 4

Ἰδρῶσιν εὐσεβαίας ἔσπρειρας
θεῖον λόγον τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ
θερίσας ἄσταχυν, Ταράσιε,
ὀρθοδοξίας ἐν γῆ τῶν πραέων
κατεσκήνωσας καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς
ἀγάλλη εὐφραινόμενος.

Потомъ¹⁸ благоутїа вѣдалъ ѣи
вѣтвеныи слово цѣкви, ѡ по жалѣ ѣи
класъ, тарасїе, православїа: на землї
кроткнхъ велика ѣи, ѡ съ нїми
радїшиа велика.

Ὅν εἶπεν Ἡσαΐας, ὅσιε, θεῖον
φόβον ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ σου συνέλα-
βες πνεύματι καὶ τέτοκας¹⁹ τῇ
Ἐκκλησίᾳ· δι' οὗ τῶν αἰρέσεων τὰ
ἔκγονα ἔδαφιούνται πέτρα²⁰ τῇ
τῆς πίστεως.

Гогоже рече исїа, преподобне, вѣтвеныи
стѣлѣ ко вѣвѣ²¹ прїа ѣи дѡхомъ, ѡ
рогнѣ ѣи цѣкви, нїмъ ѣрїи прозавѣнїа
развѣвїа ѡ камнѣ вѣрїи.

Τῇ χύσει τῶν δακρῶν, ὅσιε,
ἀπενίψω σου τὰς κηλίδας καὶ
πρὸς πηγὴν ἔφθασας, ἐν ἣ τῆς
ἀμβροσίας πόμα τρυφῆς αἰδίου
προχεόμενον τῶν ὀρεκτῶν σοι
ᾤφθη τὸ ἀκρότατον.

Нзлїнїемъ лѣзъ, прѣпне, ѡмїа ѣи
аквѣрны, ѡ ко нѣтѡчнїкѡ догтїа ѣи
ѣи, съ нїмъ же нѣвдождїенно²² пнѣво
слѡготи прїеносдїннѣа пролнѣемо, къ
желїнїемъ ты прїнспѣлѣ ѣи
крїннїемъ.²³

Ἀνάψας τὴν σαντοῦ προαίρε-
σιν...

—

(17) La traduction est incorrecte. On doit traduire : *нѣмлѣтїжнѡмѡ*.

(18) On peut aussi traduire : *пѡдвнги*.

(19) Cf. Isa 26, 18.

(20) Cf. Ps. 136, 9.

(21) *тѣвоїмѡ* est omis.

(22) La traduction est incorrecte. On doit traduire : *взїемїртїа*.

(23) Plus exact serait : *желїемнхъ оүзрѣа тї крїннїотѣ*.

Ode 5

Ῥώμη τῶν λόγων σου τὸ ἀσθενὲς
τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἤλεγξας καὶ τῶ
δεσμῶ συζεύξας τὴν ποιμνὴν τῆς
θείας ἀγάπης, ἐλπίδι καὶ πίστει
φυλάττεις ἀλώβητον.

Ἐὶλον σλοβίγῃ τβοήχῃ نیروць нечтвнйчѣ
ώεληχίλῃ εἶν, ἡ ἰούζομῃ βεζζίλῃ εἶν
бѣтвннѣ левѣ стάδο τβοῖ,²⁴ ἡ ηαδέβηε,
ἡ βέβροη ἰοχρηλίεши νεβεμήμο.

Ἀποσεισάμενος δι' ἐγκρατείας
τὴν τρυφὴν ἔθρεψας σοῦ τὴν ψυ-
χὴν, ὀψώνιον ἔχων συντόνους
προσευχάς, μελέτην τε θείαν,
ὑποῦσαν ταπεινώσιν.

Ἐὶτράεῃ βοζμειχλίεμῃ πύψδ, πητλάε
εἶν τβοῖ ηδшδ, χлѣбч ἡмѣл чнстѣл
μολήтѣм: ποδчннѣ жѣ бѣтвннѣ, ἡ
βοζнолчѣмι εμρηένнѣ.

Σαγήνη τῶν λάγων σου ...

—

Σὺ τὸν χιτῶνα, σοφέ, τῆς Ἐκκλη-
σίας πατρικῶς ὕφανα, ἐν ᾧ
Χριστοῦ σεπτὸν χαρακτήρα στη-
λώσας τῇ πίστει τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας
ἐτρανώσας δόγματα.

Тѣ мѣзδ, мдлри, црквннѣю ὀτчннѣ
нсткэлῃ εἶν, вч ннѣ жѣ χρѣтосч
чнстнмч ὀβρлзομч ὡηѣл вч тл
вѣрм рлчн,²⁵ ἡ прлвослчвнч ὀгчсннῃ
εἶн ὀгчсннῃ.

Ode 6

Τρεῖον καὶ θύτης γενόμενος
ἐπεσας σαντὸν τῷ Θεῷ διὰ πιστε-
ως καὶ συντηρεῖς ἀναίμακτον τῆς
λατρείας αὐτῷ τὴν τελειώσιν.

Жрѣтѣ ἡ злколннѣ²⁶ бмчѣ, повннδл
εἶн нбѣ бгд вѣбροη, ἡ ρεβηλῃши
βεζкрвкннῃ лδжѣм εἶг²⁷ ρεβηшеннѣ.

Ὁ καρπὸς εὐθνήσας τῶν ἔργων
σου ...

—

Νῦν εἰς ἄληκτον δόξαν ἄπάρας
ἐκ γῆς τὴν ὕλομανοῦσαν τοῖς πά-
θεσιν, ὅσιε, τῇ ἐμμελεῖ καθάρσει
σου τῆς πρεσβείας ψυχὴν μου θε-
ράπευσον.

Нннѣ вч нечтвннѣю сλκвδ прешлῃ ѿ
землн, вѣшчтвннннмн стлстѣлн
ὡεκβѣрншднел, прпποδбне, ηдшδ моῖ
прнлѣжннѣ молήтѣвоη τβοῖн²⁸
нцѣлн.

(24) τβοῖ est superflu.

(25) La traduction est incorrecte. On doit traduire : вч ннѣ жѣ χρѣтосч чнстнмч ὀβρлзч βοζλεήγῃ εἶн вѣβροη. Il s'agit de le rétablissement de la vénération des icônes en 787.

(26) La traduction est incorrecte. On doit traduire : жрѣтѣ.

(27) Plus exact serait : εἶмδ.

(28) La traduction est incorrecte. On doit traduire : ὡδρεβεθεβншдн стлстѣлнн, прѣпне, ηдшδ моῖ ελγοпрлчтнмч ὡчнцннннмч τβοῖλ молήтѣм.

Αποξέσας τὸν ὄγκον τοῦ γραμ-
ματος τῆ τῶν νοημάτων βαθεία
λεπτότητι τῆ Ἐκκλησία γέγονας
ὀξυγράφος, Ταράσιε, κάλαμος.²⁹

Ἐπιτογάλη εἶη μελετωδὸ πικρήνια³⁰
ρίζμα γλῶκκιμα ἡστονχίεμα, ὑψέκι
βίμα εἶη ἰκοροπήμα, ταράσι, τρώγα.

Ode 7

Σοφίας κρατῆρ ἀνεδείχθης ἀρε-
ταῖς πληρούμενος, καὶ συγκαλέ-
σας τῷ κηρύγματι τῆς ὑψηλῆς πο-
λιτείας σου ἡδυνας τὴν ποιμνὴν,
θεόφρον, καὶ σὺν αὐτῇ, πάτερ,
ἔκρατες· Εὐλογητὸς εἶ ὁ Θεὸς ὁ
τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν.

Μονὰς τῶν ἐκεῖ καὶ τὰς λήξεις ἐν
τιμῇ προέφθασας, καὶ συναγάλλη
τῷ Κυρίῳ σου καὶ συνευφραίνη
καὶ γένηθας· ὅθεν σε τιμῶντες,
παμμάκαρ, ἐν παρορησία κραυγά-
ζομεν· Εὐλογητὸς εἶ ὁ Θεὸς ὁ τῶν
πατέρων ἡμῶν.

Ἄνδρεία φρενῶν ἐζωσμένος τὴν
ὀσφύν, Ταράσιε, καὶ διὰ βίου στο-
λισάμενος τὴν ἀμπεχόνην τῆς πί-
στεως ἐν τῇ εὐωχίᾳ τῇ ἄνω τοῦ
βασιλέως εισέδραμες, Εὐλογητὸς
εἶ ἔκβοῶν Θεὸς ὁ τῶν πατέρων.

Πρεμδῶροτι γάλα ἀβήλα εἶη,
δορομῆτελιμη ἡπόλινη, ἡ ἰσβάλα
προποβῆλῆμα βικόκαγω κητῆ τβοιγῶ,
κασλαρήμα εἶη ἰτάλο, ἐγομῶρι, ἡ ἰα
νήμα, ὅτι, βζμβάσι: ἐλογλοβίμα εἶη,
εἶη ὄτρεψ ἡσσηχῶ.

Ὀβήτελι τάμωσνῆα, ἡ κασλαρῆνῆα
χετῆλα³¹ πρεβάρημα εἶη, ἡ
ράδῆσνῆα ἰα ἐγομῶ τβοῖμα,
ἡ βειεῆσνῆα ὄβγω.³² τῆμαε τῶ
τῶσι, πρεβλαρῆνῆ,³³ ἰο μερζνοβίμα
βζμβάσι: ἐλογλοβίμα εἶη, εἶη ὄτρεψ
ἡσσηχῶ.

Μδκῆτβομα ρίζμα πρεπόλῆμα ἐκ
ψέλα, ταράσι, ἡ κητῆμα ὠρῆμα
ββοδῶσιμα ἐκ βῆρδ,³⁴ ἡ ταρπέδ
βῆσνῆαγω ὑρῶ βορῆμα εἶη, ποῶ:
ἐλογλοβίμα εἶη, εἶη ὄτρεψ ἡσσηχῶ.

Ode 8

Σὺ ὡς νεφέλη προϊνή, καὶ ὡς
στάζουσα σταγῶν,³⁵ καὶ δρόσος

Ты ἴκω ὄβλακῶ ὄπρηνῆ, ἡ ἴκω
κῆλα κῆπῆμα, ἡ ροῶ ἀβήλα εἶη,

(29) Cf. Ps 44, 2.

(30) Plus exact serait πῆσιμη ; cf. 2 Cor 3, 6.

(31) La traduction est incorrecte. On doit traduire : ἐκ πόσιτι ὄρῆμα.

(32) Plus exact serait : ῥάδῆσνῆα ἐγδ τβοιμδ ἡ βειεῆσνῆα ὄβγω. À noter que le verbe avec le sens synonymique (γηθέω = [συν]εὐφραίνομαι) est remplacé par la conjonction ὄβγω 'donc'.

(33) Plus exact serait : βειεῆσνῆ.

(34) Plus exact serait : κητῆ ὠρῆμα ἐκ ὠρῆμα βῆμα.

(35) Cf. Ps 71, 6.

ὥφθης· εὐποΐας γὰρ πλοῦτον,
ἐγκυμονήσας ἐν γῆ, πεινώντων
καρδίας ἐλίπανας, καὶ φαίδραν
ἀνήψας, Χριστῷ ψυχῆς λαμπάδα.

Ἱεραρχίας τὴν στολὴν, τῷ τῶν
ἔργων σου φωτὶ, λαμπρύνας
ὥφθης, σωφροσύνης κλειδοῦχος,
τῆς ἐγκρατείας τρυφή, τῆς ὄντως
προσευχῆς διδάσκαλος, καὶ τῆς
μετανοίας, ὁδηγὸς καὶ νόμος
βίου.

Μεταμελείας ὁ καιρὸς, μετανοί-
ας τὸν καρπὸν προβάλλεται, καὶ
συκῆς τῆς ἀκάρπου τὴν ἐκτομὴν⁴¹
ἀπειλεῖ· ψυχὴ μου, τὴν ἀρὰν πτο-
ήθητι, θρέψον δὲ Χριστὸν, ἀρετῶν
τῇ εὐκαρπία.

Благоутробнѣи³⁶ богаѣтѣво собѣлѣ ѣсѣ на
земли: лѣтѣмъхъ ерѣцѣ ѡмѣстнѣ ѣсѣ,
нъ свѣтлѣ вѣгѣлѣ ѣсѣ, мѣдѣ,³⁷ рѣшѣвѣнѣ
свѣцѣδ.

Сѣтѣмѣтѣва ѡрѣжѣнѣ мѣлѣ тѣоуѣ
свѣтѣмѣ просѣщѣсѣ, нъ³⁸ ѣвѣлѣ ѣсѣ
цѣломѣрѣѣ κ λ ѣ ѣ,³⁹ воздѣрѣжѣнѣ
пѣшѣ,⁴⁰ истиннѣ молѣтѣмѣ ѡчѣнѣтѣ нъ
поκλѣнѣ пѣтѣ, нъ законѣ жѣнѣтѣ.

Поκλѣнѣ вѣмѣ нъ⁴² ѡвѣрѣнѣнѣ плѣтѣ
прѣнѣсѣ,⁴³ нъ смокѣвнѣнѣ нѣполѣнѣ
посѣчѣнѣлѣ прѣщѣнѣлѣ,⁴⁴ рѣшѣ молѣ,
κλѣтѣмѣ ѡчѣнѣсѣ: напѣтѣѣ жѣ χρѣτѣ
поκѣрѣтѣлѣнѣ блѣгоплѣтѣмѣ.

Ode 9

Ἐναπεμάρανας πάτερ, μεθοδείας
καὶ βέλη, πυρὶ τῆς ἐγκρατείας
τοῦ ἐχθροῦ, καὶ τῆς ἀγνείας τῷ
ἄνθρακι, τῆς σαρκὸς τὴν ὑλώδη
μανίαν πυρπολήσας ἀληθῶς,
τῆς ἐκεῖ φωταυγίας, Ταράσιε
ἠξίωσαι.

Ὁυκѣдѣлѣ ѣсѣ, ѡтѣ, коκѣрѣтѣлѣ нъ стѣрѣлѣ
вѣрѣлѣ ѡгнѣмѣ воздѣрѣжѣнѣ, нъ чѣсѣтѣтѣ
ѡчѣлѣмѣ, плѣтѣ вѣшнѣмѣ гнѣѣѣ⁴⁵ поплѣлѣ
ѣсѣ истиннѣ, ѡнагѣ свѣтѣзоуѣрѣнѣ, тѣрѣсѣ,
спѣдѣвѣсѣ.

(36) **ко** (γὰρ) est omis.

(37) La traduction est incorrecte. On doit traduire : χρῆτῆδ.

(38) **нъ** doit être omis.

(39) La traduction est incorrecte. On doit traduire : χληνῆτι.

(40) La traduction est incorrecte. On doit traduire : κλῆροσ. Les mots τρυ-
φή et τροφή sont confondus souvent dans les traductions slavonnes.

(41) Cf. Matth 21, 19; Mark 11, 12–14, 20.

(42) **нъ** doit être omis.

(43) Plus exact serait : прѣнѣсѣтѣ.

(44) Plus exact serait : посѣчѣнѣмѣ грѣшѣтѣ.

(45) Plus exact serait : вѣздѣнѣ.

Λειποτακτήσας οὐδόλως ...

Πατριαρχῶν ἐν χορεία, ἀυλιζόμενος μέλπει, τὸ ἄσμα τῶν ἀγγέλων σὺν αὐτοῖς· Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ὁ Πατὴρ ὁ γεννήτωρ, Υἱὸς ὁ γεννηθεὶς καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα, προῖον ἀμερίστως· Τριάς ἀγία, δόξα σοι.

Ὡς εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸν ἄνω, μετὰ Παύλου βοῶμεν, παμμάκαρ, τοῦ Θεοῦ σαββατισμὸν, τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ τὸ ἄσειστον, βασιλεῦσι τὸ νίκος, ἡμῖν δὲ δωρηθῆναι ἰλασμὸν, τοῖς τιμῶσί σε πόθῳ, Ταράσιε, ἐξαίτησαι.

—

СѢ ПАТРІАΡШЕИКИМИ ЛІКІИ ВОДВОРАЛІА,
ПОІШН ПРѢНЬ АГГЛІКѢДН СѢ НІМН: СѢ, СѢ,
СѢ ὩЦѢ РОДІТЕЛѢ, Н⁴⁶ СѢ РОЖДЕНІА, Н
АХѢ НѢХОРАЛІИ НЕРАЗРѢЛНУ: ТРЦЕ СѢЛ,
СЛВА ТРЦѢ.

НѢКУ ВШЕДШ ВѢ ВШНЛА СѢ ПАНЛОМѢ,
ВОПІЕМѢ: ПРІЕЛЖЕНІИ, БЖІЕ БЛАЖЕНІТВО,⁴⁷
ЦРКВИ ОУТВѢРЖЕНІЕ, ВѢНІТВО⁴⁸ ПОКРѢД,
НЛМѢ ЖЕ ДАРОВАТИ УЧНІШІИ, УТѢШІМѢ
ТѢ ЛНВОВІИ, ТРАГІИ, ПОМОЛІА.

On voit que la traduction n'est pas faite par un grand connaisseur du grec, mais c'est une traduction justement du canon écrit par Ignace. Il est bien possible que cette traduction slavonne avait été faite d'après ce même manuscrit où Eustratiadès a trouvé le texte grec du canon, à moins qu'elle ne remonte à l'original avec d'autres variantes.

Il est aussi à noter que trois stichères sur « Seigneur, je crie vers Toi » dans le ménée slavon sont identiques aux stichères du 2^{ème} ton édités par Papadopoulos-Kerameus,⁴⁹ alors que parmi quatre stichères du ménée grec il n'y a qu'une seule qui se trouve dans cette édition, Τὸν ἀληθῆ ἱεράρχην..., du 1^{er} ton.⁵⁰

(46) ἡ doit être omis.

(47) La traduction est incorrecte. On doit traduire : *свѣдѣнствѣ*. Cf. Hebr 4, 9.

(48) On doit traduire : *цркви*, mais ce n'est pas une faute du traducteur, c'est une conséquence du changement des textes liturgiques après la révolution du février de 1917 : presque toutes les mentions des empereurs (ou des tsars) dans les Ménées slavons édités en Russie ont été écartées.

(49) Les stichères Δεῦτε, οἱ τῶν θείων ἐρασταί..., Πίστιν, ὡς τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀριστεύς... et Ὅλον ἐπεσπάσω τοῦ Χριστοῦ... ; voir ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ-ΚΕΡΑΜΕΥΣ, Ὁ ὕμνογράφος Ἰγνάτιος..., 69–70 ; cf. ΜΗΝΙΑ. ΜΕΣΑΙΩΝ ΦΕΝΟΥΡΙΑ..., 388.

(50) *Μηναῖα...*, τ. Γ', 665 ; cf. ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ-ΚΕΡΑΜΕΥΣ, Ὁ ὕμνογράφος Ἰγνάτιος..., 69.

**LE CANON EN L'HONNEUR DE ST. MÉTHODE
COMME UN REMANIEMENT ANONYME DU CANON ÉCRIT PAR IGNACE**

Eustratiadès a indiqué que le canon en l'honneur de St. Taraise est identique au canon en l'honneur de St. patriarche Méthode du 14 juin, sans préciser pourtant à quelle plume appartient ce dernier. En effet, dans le ménée grec du juin nous voyons un canon anonyme dont l'hirmos est Δεῦτε λαοί et l'acrostiche est Ἀρχιερεῖα θεοῦ Μεθόδιον ἄσμμασι μέλπω.⁵¹

Mais en réalité l'acrostiche de ce canon est ΑΡΧ ΘΟΙΟ ΑΡΑΣΙΝ ΑΣΜΑΣΙ ΜΕΛΠ. Si nous comparons les deux canons, nous verrons que le hymnographe anonyme avait fait un léger remaniement tout simplement et n'avait point mis les tropaires en concordance avec le nouveau acrostiche où l'on voit encore le reste du nom de Taraise.⁵² En effet, les divergences entre les canons sont assez petites (je les marque en caractères gras) :

**Canon en l'honneur
de St. Taraise**

**Canon en l'honneur
de St. Méthode**

Ode 1

Ἀπαγωγῆς καὶ προνομῆς καὶ δου-
λειάς με, τῆς ἁμαρτίας, λύτρωσαι
καὶ πρὸς μετάνοιαν ποδηγήσας,
οἰκτίρμον, **τυχεῖν με τοῦ ἐλέους**
σοῦ καταξίωσον.

Ἀφ' ἀρπαγῆς, καὶ προνομῆς
καὶ δουλειάς με, τῆς ἁμαρτίας
λύτρωσαι, καὶ πρὸς μετάνοιαν,
ποδηγήσας Οἰκτίρμον, **προνόμει-**
σον ἀξίως ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ σου.

(51) *Μηναῖα τοῦ ὄλου ἐνιαυτοῦ*. Τ. Ε', *Μαΐου καὶ Ἰουνίου* (Ἐν Ῥώμῃ, 1899) 288–294. Dans les ménées slaves sous le 14 juin il y a un autre canon en l'honneur de St. Méthode, anonyme lui aussi, avec l'hirmos « Πορζήνβый ἐγγύπτα » (Ὁ πατάξας Αἴγυπτον), dont le début est « Вѣ порѣтѣхъ, приподоки, поравоцила тѣло твоѣ ». Voir *Линія. Лѣтцацз љнїй* (Кієвъ, 1877; repr. : Москва, 1996) дї-й дѣнь, p. 177–186. Il y a encore un canon en l'honneur de St. Méthode, écrit par St. Photius, patriarche de Constantinople (AHG, vol. 10, 50–62) ; ce troisième canon et sa traduction slave ont été étudiés par M. F. Murianov : М. Ф. Мурьянов, Канон патриарху Мефодию как сочинение патриарха Фотия и его старославянский перевод, dans : *Идем, История книжной культуры России. Очерки*, ч. 2 (Санкт-Петербург, 2008) 469–499.

(52) Ce fait a été noté dans : Ch. HANNICK (hrsg.), *Das byzantinische Eigengut der neuzeitlichen slavischen Menäen und seine griechischen Originale* (Paderborn, 2006) (Abhandlungen der Nordrhein-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 112; Patristica Slavica, 12) Teil II, 516–517, Anm. 49. Je remercie Roman Krivko qui a attiré mon attention sur cette édition.

Ῥεῖθρον ζωῆς ἔχων, σοφέ, ἐν καρδίᾳ σου τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ γέγονας ὡς ποταμὸς Θεοῦ, πληρωθεὶς διδαγμάτων, καὶ ταύτης καταρδεύεις, πάτερ τοὺς αὐλακάς.

Χρῖσμα τῇ σῇ πνεύματι θείῳ σεπτῇ κορυφῇ ἐκκενωθέν, Ταράσιε, ἐπὶ τὸν πώγωνα δαψιλῶς καὶ τὴν ὦαν κατέβη τῆς στολῆς σου ὡς δρόσος ἡ Ἀερμών.

Ἰδρῶτι σῶ Πάντα παθῶν ...

Ἀπάσης στηριγμὸς καρδίας ...

Θερμότητι φρενῶν καὶ ζήλω πίστεως πατέρων γενόμενος κορυφαῖος, τῶν αἰρέσεων τὴν ἔνστασιν ὡς ὑπάρχουσαν πύλην Ἰαίδου ἔθραυσας.

Ἐπάρας πρὸς Θεὸν ...

Ὁ βίος ἱερός, ὁ λόγος ἔνθεος, ἡ πρᾶξις τὸ θεῖον δεξιουμένη· ἀναβάσεις ἐν καρδίᾳ σου ἀληθοῦς θεωρίας ἐθησαύρισας.

Ἰδῶσιν εὐσεβαίας ἔσπειρας θεῖον λόγον τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ θερίσας ἄσταχυν, Ταράσιε, ὀρθοδοξίας ἐν γῇ τῶν πραέων κατεσκήνωσας καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀγάλλη εὐφραυνόμενος.

Ὅν εἶπεν Ἡσαΐας, ὅσιε, θεῖον φόβον ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ σου συνέλαβες πνεύματι καὶ τέτοκας τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ· δι' οὗ τῶν αἰρέσεων τὰ ἔκγονα ἐδαφιοῦνται πέτρα τῆ τῆς πίστεως.

Ῥεῖθρον ζωῆς, ἔχων σοφὴ τὴν καρδίαν σου, τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ γέγονας, ὡς ποταμὸς Θεοῦ, πληρωθεὶς διδαγμάτων, καὶ ταύτης καταρδεύσας πάτερ τὸ πρόσωπον.

Χαλιναγωγῶν, σὺ τῶν παθῶν τὰ σκιρτήματα, τῆς ἐγκρατείας ἔρωτι μετεστοιχείωσας, τῆς σαρκὸς τὸ ὑλῶδες, πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀπαθείας πάτερ ἀκρώρειαν.

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Ode 3

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Θερμότητι φρενῶν καὶ ζήλω πίστεως, Πατέρων σὺ γέγονας κορυφαῖος, τῶν Ἑβραίων τε τὴν ἔνστασιν, ὡς ὑπάρχουσαν Ἰαίδου πύλην ἔθραυσας.

—

Ὁ βίος ἱερός ὁ λόγος ἔνθεος, ἡ πρᾶξις τῷ λόγῳ δεδοξασμένη, ἀναβάσεις ἐν καρδίᾳ σου, ἀληθοῦς θεωρίας ἐθησαύρισε.

Ode 4

Ἰδρῶσι, τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἔσπειρας, ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῆς μετανοίας, καὶ θερίσας ἄσταχυν Μεθόδιε, τῆς ἀπαθείας ἐν γῇ, τῶν πραέων κατεσκήνωσας, καὶ σὺν τοῖς Ἀσωμάτοις ἐορτάζεις ἀεὶ.

Ὁρθόσις, προσευχαῖς συνέλαβες, θεῖον φόβον ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ σου, καὶ τέτοκας Πνεύματι τῇ ποιμνῇ σου, δογμάτων ὄρους, δι' ὧν τὰς αἰρέσεις ἀποφράττουσα, εἰς γῆν ὀρθοδοξίας ἐμπλατύνεται.

Τῇ χύσει τῶν δακρύων, ὅσιε ... —

Ἀνάψας τὴν σαυτοῦ προαίρεσιν ... Identique.

Ode 5

Ῥώμη τῶν λόγων σου τὸ ἀσθενὲς τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἤλεγξας καὶ τῷ δεσμῷ συζεύξας τὴν ποίμνην τῆς θείας ἀγάπης ἐλπίδι καὶ πίστει φυλάττεις **ἀλώβητον**.

Ἀποσεισάμενος **δι'** ἐγκρατείας τὴν τρυφήν ἔθρεψας σοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν, ὀψώνιον ἔχων συντόνους προσευχάς, μελέτην τε θείαν ὑψοῦσαν ταπεινώσιν.

Σαγήνη τῶν λάγων σου ... —

Σὺ τὸν χιτῶν, σοφέ, τῆς Ἐκκλησίας **πατρικῶς** ὕφανα, ἐν ᾧ Χριστοῦ σεπτὸν χαρακτῆρα στηλώσας τῇ πίστει τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας ἐτράνωσας δόγματα.

Ῥάβδω τῇ τῆς πίστεως, τὰ τῶν αἰρέσεων σοβεῖς θήρατρα, καὶ τῷ δεσμῷ συζεύξας τὴν ποίμνην, τῆς θείας ἀγάπης, ἐλπίδι καὶ πίστει φυλάττεις **ἀκλόνητον**.

Ἀποσεισάμενος **τῇ** ἐγκρατεία τὴν τρυφήν ἔθρεψας, σοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν ὀψώνιον ἔχων, συντόνους προσευχάς, μελέτην τε θείαν, ὑψοῦσαν ταπεινώσιν.

Σὺ τὸν χιτῶνα Σοφέ, τῆς Ἐκκλησίας **πρακτικῶς** ὕφανα, ἐν ᾧ Χριστοῦ σεπτὸν χαρακτῆρα, στηλώσας τῇ πίστει τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας ἐτράνωσας δόγματα.

Ode 6

Ἰερεῖον καὶ θύτης γενόμενος **ἔπεις** σαυτὸν τῷ Θεῷ διὰ πίστεως καὶ συντηρεῖς **ἀναίμακτον** τῆς λατρείας αὐτῷ τὴν τελείωσιν.

Ὁ καρπὸς εὐθνήσας ... —

Νῦν εἰς **ἄληκτον** δόξαν ἀπάρας ἐκ γῆς τὴν ὑλομανοῦσαν τοῖς πάθεσιν, ὅσιε, τῇ ἐμμελεῖ καθάρσει σου τῆς πρεσβείας ψυχὴν μου θεράπευσον.

Ἀποξέσας τὸν ὄγκον τοῦ γράμματος τῇ τῶν νοημάτων **βαθεία λεπτότητι** τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ γέγονας ὀξυγράφος, **Ταράσιε,** κάλαμος.

Ἰερεῖον καὶ θύτης γενόμενος, ἔσπεις σαυτὸν τῷ Θεῷ διὰ πίστεως, καὶ συντηρεῖς ἐν **ἅπασιν,** τῆς λατρείας αὐτῷ τὴν τελείωσιν.

Νῦν εἰς **ἄῦλον** δόξαν ἀπάρας ἐκ γῆς, τὴν ὑλομανοῦσαν τοῖς πάθεσιν ὅσιε, τῇ ἐμμελεῖ καθάρσει σου, τῆς πρεσβείας ψυχὴν μου θεράπευσον.

Ἀποξέσας τὸν ὄγκον τοῦ γράμματος, τῇ τῶν νοημάτων **σου θεία λαμπρότητι,** τῆς Ἐκκλησίας γέγονας, ὀξυγράφος **Μεθόδιε** κάλαμος.

Ode 7

Σοφίας κρατήρ ἀνεδείχθης ἀρεταῖς πληρούμενος, καὶ συγκαλέσας τῷ κηρύγματι τῆς ὑψηλῆς πολιτείας σου ἡδυνας τὴν ποιμνην, θεόφρον, καὶ σὺν αὐτῇ, πάτερ, ἔκρατες· Εὐλόγητος εἶ ὁ Θεὸς ὁ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν.

Μονὰς τῶν ἐκεῖ καὶ τὰς λήξεις ἐν τιμῇ προέφθασας, καὶ συναγάλλη τῷ Κυρίῳ σου καὶ συνευφραίνη καὶ γέγηθας· ὅθεν σε τιμῶντες, παμμακάρο, ἐν παρρησίᾳ κραυγάζομεν· Εὐλόγητος εἶ ὁ Θεὸς ὁ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν.

Ἀνδρεία φρενῶν ἐζωσμένος τὴν ὀσφύν, Ταράσιε, καὶ διὰ βίου στολισάμενος τὴν ἀμπεχόνην τῆς πίστεως ἐν τῇ εὐωχίᾳ τῆ ἄνω τοῦ βασιλέως εἰσέδραμες, Εὐλόγητος εἶ ἔκβοῶν Θεὸς ὁ τῶν πατέρων.

Σοφίας κρατήρ, ἀνεδείχθης ἀρεταῖς σοφῆ πληρούμενος, καὶ συγκαλέσας τῷ κηρύγματι, τῆς ὑψηλῆς πολιτείας σου, ἰθυνας τὴν ποιμνην θεόφρον, καὶ σὺν αὐτῇ πάτερ ἔκραζες· Εὐλόγητος εἶ ὁ Θεός, ὁ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν.

Μονὰς τὰς ἐκεῖ, καὶ τὰς λήξεις ἐν τιμῇ πάτερ προέφθασας, καὶ συναγάλλη τῷ Κυρίῳ σου, καὶ συνευφραίνη καὶ γέγηθας· ὅθεν σε τιμῶμεν παμμακάρο, τῷ δοξάζοντι κράζοντες· Εὐλόγητος εἶ ὁ Θεός, ὁ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν.

Ἀνδρεία φρενῶν ἐζωσμένος τὴν ὀσφύν πάτερ Μεθόδιε, καὶ διὰ βίου στολισάμενος, τὴν ἀμπεχόνην τῆς πίστεως, ἐν τῇ εὐωχίᾳ τῆς ἄνω, βασιλείας εἰσέδραμες· Εὐλόγητος εἶ ἔκβοῶν, ὁ τῶν πατέρων Θεός.

Ode 8

Σὺ ὡς νεφέλη προΐνῃ, καὶ ὡς στάζουσα σταγῶν, καὶ δρόσος ὠφθης· εὐποιίας γὰρ πλοῦτον, ἐγκυμονήσας ἐν γῆ, πεινῶντων καρδίας ἐλίπανας, καὶ φαιδρὰν ἀνήψας, Χριστῷ ψυχῆς λαμπάδα.

Τεραρχίας τὴν στολήν, τῷ τῶν ἔργων σου φωτὶ, λαμπρύνας ὠφθης, σωφροσύνης κλειδοῦχος, τῆς ἐγκρατείας τρυφή, τῆς ὄντως προσευχῆς διδάσκαλος, καὶ τῆς μετανοίας, ὁδηγὸς καὶ νόμος βίου.

Μεταμελείας ὁ καιρὸς, μετανοίας τὸν καρπὸν προβάλλεται, καὶ συκῆς τῆς ἀκάρπου, τὴν ἐκτομὴν

Σὺ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὡς κατάκαρπος, Σοφέ, δειχθεὶς ἐλαία, εὐποιίας ἐλαίῳ, καὶ ἐγκρατείας τρυφῇ, πεινήτων καρδίας ἐλίπανας, καὶ φαιδρὰν ἀνήψας, τῇ σῇ ψυχῇ λαμπάδα.

Τεραρχίας τὴν στολήν, τῷ τῶν ἔργων σου φωτὶ λαμπρύνας ὠφθης, σωφροσύνης κλειδοῦχος, τῆς ἐγκρατείας τρυφή, τῆς ὄντως προσευχῆς διδάσκαλος, καὶ τῆς μετανοίας ὁδὸς καὶ νόμος βίου.

Μεταμελείας ὁ καιρὸς, μετανοίας τὸν καρπὸν προβάλλεται σοι, καὶ συκῆς τῆς ἀκάρπου, τὴν ἐκτομὴν

ἀπειλεῖ ψυχὴ μου, τὴν ἀρὰν πτο-
ήθητι, θρέψον δὲ Χριστὸν, ἀρετῶν
τῆ εὐκαρπία.

ἀπειλεῖ, ψυχὴ μου τὴν ἀρὰν
πτοήθητι, θρέψον δὲ Χριστὸν
ἀρετῶν τῆ εὐκαρπία.

Ode 9

Ἐναπεμάρανας πάτερ, μεθοδεῖας
καὶ βέλη, πυρὶ τῆς ἐγκρατείας
τοῦ ἐχθροῦ, καὶ τῆς ἀγνείας τῶ
ἄνθρακι, τῆς σαρκὸς τὴν ὑλώδη,
μανίαν πυρπολήσας ἀληθῶς,
τῆς ἐκεῖ φωταυγίας, **Ταράσιε**
ἠξίωσαι.

Ἐναπεμάρανας πάτερ, μεθοδεῖας
καὶ βέλη, πυρὶ τῆς ἐγκρατείας
τοῦ ἐχθροῦ, καὶ τῆς ἀγνείας τῶ
ἄνθρακι, τῆς σαρκὸς τὴν ὑλώδη,
μανίαν πυρπολήσας ἀληθῶς,
τῆς ἐκεῖ φωταυγίας, **Μεθόδιε**
ἠξίωσαι.

Λειποτακτῆσας οὐδόλως, **ἀσθε-**
νείας ναρκώσει, τοῖς θείοις
ἐνετρύφας δαψιλῶς· **οὐ γὰρ** τὸ
γῆρας προέκρινας, τὴν καθέδρα-
ραν προβλέπων, ὡς ἔφη Δανιήλ
τοῦ παλαιοῦ, ἀλλ' ὑπερείδες πά-
τερ, ἐν κόποις τὴν ἀσθένειαν.

Λειποτακτῆσας οὐδόλως, **ἀσθε-**
νεία σαρκὸς σου, τοῖς θείοις
ἐνετρύφας δαψιλῶς, **οὐδὲ** τὸ
γῆρας προέκρινας, τὴν καθέδρα-
ραν προβλέπων, ὡς ἔφη Δανιήλ
τοῦ παλαιοῦ, ἀλλ' ὑπερείδες πάτερ,
ἐν κόποις τὴν ἀσθένειαν.

Πατριαρχῶν ἐν χορεία ...

Identique.

Ὡς εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸν ἄνω ...

—

Nous voyons que l'hymnographe anonyme a éliminé quelques tropaires et n'a changé que quelques mots dans les autres ; il n'y a qu'un seul tropaire, le 3^{ème} de la 1^{ère} ode, qui a été entièrement remplacé. On peut donc conclure que ce canon en l'honneur de St. Méthode n'est pas une œuvre originale. N'était-ce pas une raison pour créer un autre canon dont la traduction se trouve maintenant dans les ménées slaves et dont l'original grec est à retrouver ?

SUMMARY

The Slavonic Menaion contains on 25 February a translation of the kanon to St Tarasius Patriarch of Constantinople. Its original is not preserved in the printed Greek Menaia and was published by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus in 1902. An anonymous reworking of this kanon is the kanon to St Methodius Patriarch of Constantinople in the printed Greek Menaia on 14 June. The textual differences between both kanons are very insignificant.

КУЛТ И ХИМНОГРАФИЯ: СЛУЖБИ ЗА БЪЛГАРСКИ СВЕТЦИ В ПИСМЕНАТА ТРАДИЦИЯ ОТ XIII–XIV В.

През Средновековието при въвеждането на култ към един светец за прославата му първоначално са се създавали кондак и тропар, които са се вписвали в месецословите на новозаветните библейски книги (апостол и евангелие), на съответната дата, когато се чества паметта му. По-късно тези кратки химнографски форми са се включвали и в месецословите на някои литургични книги (напр. псалтири с последования и др.).¹ Вероятно и в най-ранните минеи краткото отбелязване на една памет е именно с тропар и кондак.² Както е известно тропарът е в основата на писменото обезпечаване на един култ и е централен елемент в службата за съответния светец, около който впоследствие се разраства като цялостен текст сложната химнографска композиция служба

(1) Например в псалтирите с последования от XIII–XIV в. наред с паметите за общохристиянските светци се поместват тропари и кондаци за местни български светци — св. Кирил, св. Иван Рилски и св. Петка Търновска, а месецословите на апостолите и евангелията също се разширяват с тропари за български светци — вж. Кл. Иванова, Месецослов, в: *Кирило-Методиевска енциклопедия*, т. 2 (София, 1995) 630–632.

(2) Напр. в сръбския миней от XIV в. от сбирката на църквата от село Църколез, близо до манастира Дечани (ръкопис № 7), има памети за целия календарен цикъл, но службите не са за всеки ден от годината, а само за големите празници — за останалите дни са поместени само тропар и кондак за съответния светец. Хилендарският ръкопис № 355 също представлява подобен необичаен тип миней, с пълн месецослов за цялата година, но без нито една пълна служба, а с тропар и кондак за всеки един светец. В този ръкопис от XVI в. са запазени тропари и кондаци за св. Иван Рилски и за пренасяне на мощите на св. Иларион Мъгленски — вж. Т. Суботин-Голубовић, Необичан тип минеја у рукописној збирци манастира Хиландара, в: *Међународни научни скуп Осам векова Хиландара. Историја, духовни живот, књижевност, уметност и архитектура* (Београд, 2000) 367.

Кондакът пък е предходник на канона като химнографска песенна форма.

Кондакът и тропарът са и най-ранните химнографски форми в развитието на християнския катедрален ритуал.

Кондакът се свързва с творчеството на Роман Сладкопевец във византийската литургична поезия. Първоначално той е бил дълъг химн, с изразено библийска тематика и е представлявал полистрофична жанрова форма (с неизменна първа строфа и икоси с общ рефрен, който осъществява връзката между строфите). Най-често кондаците са се изграждали с акростих (от началните думи на икосите). След появата на канона като химнографски жанр кондакът е сведен до две строфи (кукулион/кондак и икос), които се поместват след шестата песен на канона.³ По съдържание кондакът и икосът в рамките на службата изразяват похвала за светеца или разясняват същността на празника. След кондака, който се изпълнява, вече в икоса се чете похвалата, най-често изградена с хайретична анафора. В славянската химнография кондаците съдържат обръщения към светеца за помощ и избавление от беди и болести.⁴

Тропарите, от своя страна, са основна градивна част на всяка една от песните в канона. Те са еднострофична жанрова форма, съставена от няколко стиха. Тяхната функция преди появата на канона са изпълнявали кондаците. В химнографията тропарите функционират в зависимост от съдържанието си. В рамките на канона изразяват в стегнат вид съдържанието на празника, всяка от песните съдържа еднакъв брой тропари, обединени формално, смислово и мелодически от тропара, наречен ирмос. Последният тропар в песента задължително е богородичен. В някои канони в края на песните се поместват и мъченични, троични и кръстобогородични тропари. Извън рамките на канона тропарите изпълняват различни функции и се поместват на определено място в службата — отпустителният тропар е на границата между утринната и вечернята; осемте възкресни тропара (по един за всеки глас) са част от неделното богослужение; някои тропари принадлежат към изменяемата част на богослужението — степенни, блажени,

(3) Ст. Кожухаров, Кондак, в: *Кирило-Методиевска енциклопедия*, т. 2 (София, 1995) 385–386.

(4) Г. Трифунович, *Азбучник српских средњовековних књижевних појмова* (Београд, 1974) 120–121.

заупокойни, покаяни.⁵ Тропарите, които се поместват в богослужебните сборници (часослов, пролог, паримейник, месецослов и др.), а не в строго химнографските книги (триод, миней и октоих), всъщност представляват отпустителни тропари, предназначени конкретно за чествания празник или светец.

За честване на определен култ при формирането на агиологическия комплекс от текстове се е създавала служба, която е стожерът на църковния ритуал и основният богослужебен жанр.

Службата⁶ е в основата на литургичния комплекс от литературни произведения за отбелязване на всеки един църковен празник или памет на светец. Другите текстове за прослава на определен светец (житие и слово) се включват на съответното място в струк-

(5) М. ЙОВЧЕВА, Тропар, в: *Кирило-Методиевска енциклопедия*, т. 4 (София, 2003) 189–191.

(6) *Химнографската композиция служба* е задължителен компонент от необходимите за литургична прослава на светеца канонизиращи текстове. По своята структура тя е поетична творба с мозаичен характер, като съставът ѝ се формира постепенно в процеса на литургичната практика. Поради това значението на термина *служба* се раздвоява между богослужебното действие (последование) в определения ден от годината или цикъла от ритуалните действия, който започва от вечерта на предходния ден до Светата литургия — от една страна; и от друга — химнографския текст, записан по определен ред, с типикарски упътвания, които подпомагат литературният текст да се реализира при изпълнението на службата — срв. А. НАУМОВ, *Служба као жанр*, *Научни састанак слависта у Вукове дане* 16/2 (1987) 5–18. Като средновековен книжовен жанр, службата е динамичен по структурата си текст, а не статично авторско произведение. Затова структурата ѝ се определя като мозаична, с относително обособени отделни части — вж. Ст. КОЖУХАРОВ, *Търновската книжовна школа и развитието на химничната поезия в старобългарската литература*, в: *Търновска книжовна школа*, т. 1 (София, 1974) 277–309. Поетичните текстови цялости се комбинират в богослужението според литургичната потребност. Важно е тези особености на жанровата структура на службата да се имат предвид при литературния анализ на подобни текстове, за да се отчетат постоянните елементи и да се отграничи приносът на автора при съставянето на службата. Тя е неотменна част от пълния богослужебен комплекс от текстове, изпълнявани в деня за прослава на определения светец, след като паметта му вече е включена в календара. Вж. още М. МУРЪЯНОВ, *Гимнография Киевской Руси* (Москва, 2003) 24–34.

турата й.⁷ Службата се оказва и основният източник на библейска символика за изобразяване на определен светец.

Самият акт на **канонизация** на конкретна личност за светец е свързан с официално признаване от Църквата и мотивите за този акт са най-често доказателства за чудеса на гроба на канонизирания (напр. мироточие и изцеление на болни). След вписването на известната личност в списъка на честваните светци (а това става по правило от най-висша църковна институция — папата или патриарха), показател за светостта е и дълголетното почитане на съответното лице от страна на християните, не само заради чудотворството му, но и за деянията му приживе. Канонизацията на един светец дава право да му се изографиса икона, да се освети църква и да се кръщават деца на негово име. След като паметта е вписана на определената дата за честване (обикновено датата на смъртта), се появява и необходимост да се създадат съответните текстове за прослава, които съставят агиологическия комплекс за литургическо обезпечаване на култа.

Известни са множество случаи, когато канонизацията става съвсем скоро след смъртта на личността, но много често **култът** се създава и разпространява сред народа, преди да е официално признат от Църквата. В старобългарска среда са битували редица култове (като например локалните монашески култове, начело с отшелникът Иван Рилски и неговите последователи Йоаким Осоговски, Гавриил Лесновски и Прохор Пшински), които се утвърждават от местното духовенство в периода на византийското владичество в България (XI–XII в.), а официално тези светци са признати най-вероятно едва през XIII в., когато българската църква придобива автокефалност.

За въвеждането на култа в църковното пространство първото и основно произведение е службата. Тя възпява и възхвалява вече признатия и канонизиран светец. Житието е необходимо за да мотивира официалността на култа, но без служба канонизацията не може да се осъществи. Самото съставяне на служба, както и вписването в месецослова са прояви на акта на канонизация. В литургическия контекст службата съществува съвместно с жи-

(7) Срв. К. Станчев, *Литургическая поэзия в древнеславянском литературном пространстве (история вопроса и некоторые проблемы изучения)*, в: *XIII Международный съезд славистов, Любляна 2003. Тематический блок "Древнеславянская литургическая поэзия". Доклады* (Roma—Sofia, 2003) 17.

тие и празнично/похвално слово, като в култовото пространство те образуват единен функционално-тематичен комплекс. Това средно място на химнографията в култово-литературния агиологически комплекс е в основата на настоящото изследване.

В славянската традиция много рано месецословите започват да се допъхват с имената на първите славянски светци. Почти всички ранни южнославянски месецослови към евангелия и апостоли отбелязват паметта на Константин-Кирил (14 февруари) и Методий (6 април), а в Асеманиевото евангелие (глаголически ръкопис от втората половина на X или началото на XI в.) е отбелязан и Климент, епископ Велички (27 юли).⁸

При славяните **първите собствени култове** са към първоучителите **Кирил и Методий**. Те възникват спонтанно и се установяват чрез създадените специално за тази цел цикли от произведения за прослава (агиологическия комплекс от текстове — служба, житие, похвално слово).

В епохата преди X в. канонизацията на християнските светци не е била свързана с църковно-правни процедури, а е била израз на общоцърковно съзнание. Поради това и култовете към първите славянски светци са имали нерегламентиран, спонтанен характер. След края на X в. папската институция е създавала специална процедура за официална канонизация, а в православната традиция сведения за съборна канонизация има едва от XIV в.⁹ Затова въпросът за канонизацията на славянските първоучители все още не е изяснен в научната литература.

Пространното житие на св. Кирил-Философ съобщава, че на гроба му ставали много чудеса и жителите на Рим го почитали. Ранните свидетелства за култа към св. Кирил показват почитането му като “блажен” (т.е. регионален светец в католическата традиция). Ранните стенописни изображения показват, че е бил почитан скоро след смъртта му. Предполага се, че първият славянски светец е канонизиран около 899–900 г. от папа Йоан IX.

Данните за канонизацията на св. Методий са доста по-оскъдни, с оглед на гоненията, сполетели учениците му (а и между тях не е имало епископ, който да може формално да извърши канонизацията). Най-вероятно той е канонизиран в България преди

(8) ИВАНОВА, Месецослов, 631.

(9) Ст. КОЖУХАРОВ, Канонизация, в: *Кирило-Методиевска енциклопедия*, т. 2 (София, 1995) 219.

916 г. (когато умира Климент Охридски, предполагаемият автор на неговото житие).

Освен в посоченото вече глаголическо Асеманиево евангелие, паметите на славянските първоучители са поместени в месецословите на кирилските богослужбни книги, също от типа евангелие кратък апракос, датирани от XI в. — Остромировото евангелие, Савината книга и Архангелското евангелие.

Текстовете за прослава на първите славянски светци се откриват в най-ранни преписи на химнографската книга миней и така службата се легитимира като първото и основно произведение за въвеждане на собствените славянски култове в църковния ритуал.¹⁰

Най-ранният препис на *Службата за св. Кирил-Философ* е открит в руски нотирани миней за месец февруари, датиран от XII в. (ГИМ, Синод. № 164), а в южнославянски преписи — в Добрияновия и Драгановия миней от XIII в., южнославянските преписи от XIV в. са в ръкописи от сбирката на Хлудов в ГИМ с №№ 152, 164 и 166.

Службата за св. Методий е запазена в същите два български празнични миней, с произход от Зографския манастир на Атон и в служебен миней от XIII–XIV в. (ГИМ, Хлуд. № 156).

За двамата първосветци са известни по два канона в различни преписи на службите, дело на учениците им Климент Охридски и Константин Преславски.¹¹ Каноните са написани за Кирил на четвърти глас и съответния плагален осми глас, а за Методий за втори глас и съответния плагален шести глас, което е свидетелство, че те са създадени едновременно от двамата старобългарски книжовници и че са се допълвали взаимно при многогласно изпълнение.

Тук е важно да се отбележи и *общият канон за св. Кирил и св. Методий* с анонимен старобългарски фразов акростих, запазен в най-ранен препис също от XII в. (служебен миней за април в

(10) Проложните жития за светите Кирил и Методий са запазени предимно в руски преписи на Простия пролог от XIV в. натаък и рядко се откриват в рамките на службата в химнографската книга миней. Двата проложни текста известни като Успение Кирилово и Успение Методиево савъзникнали през XIII в., когато обновената българска Църква утвърждава пантеона на своите светци и чрез приемственост с култовете от Първото българско царство — срв. Кл. Иванова, Успение Методиево, *Palaeobulgarica* 23.4 (1999) 7–24.

(11) Срв. Г. Попов, *Служби за Кирил и Методий*, в: *Кирило-Методиевска енциклопедия*, т. 3 (София, 2003) 652–666.

Синодалната сбирка, в ГИМ № 165), който е свидетелство за общата прослава на двамата светци. Следователно има достатъчно аргументи въз основа на химнографските текстове, за да твърдим, че тържественото отбелязване на култовете към славянските първоучители води началото си от ранния старобългарски период (IX–X в.).

Първият български канонизиран светец, включен скоро след смъртта си (916 г.) в църковния календар, е един от най-продуктивните и талантиви ученици на славянските първоучители, основоположникът на Охридската книжовна школа и първи български епископ — **св. Климент Охридски**.¹² Най-ранният запазен текст за неговата прослава съвсем закономерно е служба. *Славянската служба за охридския книжовник*, запазена в единствен препис (в сръбски служебен миней от 1435 г., НБКМ № 122),¹³ ясно илюстрира компилативния характер на песнопенията за местните светци, които пряко са заимствани от химнографските произведения за византийски светци.¹⁴

Архиепископ Теофилакт Охридски (1055–1126 г.) полага основите за гръкоезична прослава на българския светец и променя датата за честването му (от 27 юли — заедно със св. Пантелеймон, на 25 ноември — заедно със св. Климент Римски). Той е и автор на *пространно житие и служба за Климент*. Ранно проложно житие за светеца не е запазено, но следи от подобен текст се откриват в *Теофилактовото житие за Климент Охридски*.

Развитието на култа към св. Климент Охридски придобива актуалност и през XIII в. във връзка с полагането на мощите му в специална ракла в църквата на манастира “Св. Пантелеймон”. Гръцкият химнографски цикъл за него се обогатява с каноните, написани от тогавашния охридски архиепископ Димитър Хома-

(12) Със сигурност Климент Охридски е кодификаторът на култа към св. Кирил Философ в старобългарската литература. Негово дело е и Похвалното слово за Кирил — вж. Климент Охридски, *Събрани съчинения*, т. 1 (София, 1970) 415, и Л. Грашева, Похвално слово за Кирил, в: *Кирило-Методиевска енциклопедия*, т. 3 (София, 2003) 232.

(13) Вж. най-новото издание — Б. Мирчева, Службата за св. Климент Охридски в празничен миней № 122 от Народната библиотека “Св. Кирил и Методий”, *Palaeobulgarica* 24.2 (2000) 70–82, с по-старата литература.

(14) М. Йовчева, Служби за Климент Охридски; Служби за Наум Охридски, в: *Кирило-Методиевска енциклопедия*, т. 3 (София, 2003) 671–676; 676–680.

тиан (1216–1235 г.). Твърде вероятно е предположението той да е създал осмогласен цикъл от канони за прослава на патрона и основателя на Охридската архиепископия, защото подобна традиция във византийската химнография е била установена при прославата на силно откроен местен култ за богослужението в отделен конкретен манастир. Подобен осмогласен цикъл на гръцки език е съставил през XII в. Георги Скилица за най-популярния български отшелник — св. Иван Рилски.¹⁵

Молебен канон за св. Климент Охридски е написал и архиепископ Константин Кавасила (1255–1260 г.). През XIV в. химнографският цикъл се преструктурира от архиепископ Григорий, според литургичните изисквания на новия Йерусалимски типик. В началото на XV в. култът към Климент Охридски отново придобива популярност, когато турците завземат Охрид и мощите на светеца са били пренесени. Запазени са два охридски ръкописа от XIV и XV в. със службата от Хоматиан с канон за първи глас, но за двете дати за честване (в служебния миней за юли от XIV в. № 89 е лятната дата, а в по-късния празничен миней от 1498 г. № 66 е зимната дата).

За другия охридски светец, още един от светите седмочисленници — **св. Наум Охридски**, също са известни гръцки химнографски произведения за прослава.¹⁶ Датата за паметта му 23 декември е засвидетелствана в късно славянско житие. Култът към този светец все още не е достатъчно проучен, но със сигурност е свързан с традицията да се прославят местни светци, дейтели на Охридската църква. Центърът за богослужебното му честване се отнася към манастира на Охридското езеро, основан от светеца и по-късно наречен на негово име. Същите гръцки автори, охридски архиепископи през XI–XIII в., са предполагаемите му химнографи. Константин Кавасила със сигурност е автор на *житие* и *два канона* (с общ акростих) за св. Наум. Засега остава отворен въпросът за по-ранни старобългарски текстове, залегнали в основата им. Като цяло тези произведения прославят апостолската мисия на двамата славянски първоучители и учениците им. Някои от тях са познати и в славянски превод. Разликата при канонизацията

(15) Вж. Ив. ДОБРЕВ, Каноните за св. Иван Рилски от Георги Скилица, *Palaeobulgarica* 26.3 (2002) 3–12, и Ив. ДОБРЕВ, под научната редакция на М. БАЙРАМОВА, *Свети Иван Рилски* (Linz, 2007) 59–139.

(16) ЙОВЧЕВА, Служби за Наум Охридски, 676–680.

на двамата локални охридски светци е, че Климент е канонизиран като архийерей (преподобен, светител), а Наум само като преподабен.

Другите двама светци, провъзгласени по времето на Първото българско царство, също са канонизирани като преподабни, но те са от специфичния тип — замонашил се владетел. Този тип святост е специфичен и рядък в старобългарския културен контекст и доста по-развит в сръбската средновековна култура от по-късен период.¹⁷ Владетелските култове в България не предизвикват особено богата книжовна продукция, най-вероятно те заглъхват в периода на византийското владичество (1018–1186 г.), а след това през XIII в. не се актуализират поради липсата на запазени мощи, които в този период биха могли да фокусират вниманието на книжовниците.

Датата за честване на първия канонизиран православен български владетел — **св. княз Борис**, не се е установила през Средновековието. Данни за смъртта на княза на 2 май 907 г. са запазени в приписката на Тудор, черноризец Докс, към преписа му на *Четири слова против арианите* от Атанасий Александрийски.¹⁸ В ръкописите след XIII в. нататък, под датата 2 май се прославят светци Борис и Глеб,¹⁹ а днес на тази дата се чества св. княз Борис.

От *Българския апокрифен летопис* от XI в. е известно, че Борис е градил църкви по българските земи и по-конкретно по р. Брегалница, където е починал. Крепостта Брегалница²⁰ е била център на

(17) Срв. Р. Станкова, *Сръбската книжнина през XIII в. (контекст и текст)* (София, 2007) 81–190.

(18) В. Н. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *Кой е бил Тудор Черноризец Доксов?*, *Български преглед* 3 (1897) 1–20.

(19) Иначе датата за честване на светците Борис и Глеб е 24 юни, 2 май е дата за пренасяне на мощите им — вж. Р. ПАВЛОВА, *Восточно славянские святые в южно-славянской письменности XIII–XIV вв.* = R. PAVLOVA, *Ostslavische Heilige in südslavischen Kanontexten der Slavica Orthodoxa im 13–14 Jahrhundert*, Herausgegeben von Svetlana MENDEL (Halle (Saale), 2008) 32, 34–36, 40–47, 56.

(20) С крепостта Брегалница е свързан и още един локален западнобългарски култ към **15-те тивериуполски мъченици**, чиито мощи са пренесени от княз Борис от Струмица в Брегалница и в тяхна чест там е изградена църква. Единствено свидетелство за този култ е *службата*, която е запазила акростих с името на автора Климент Охридски — вж. И. ВЕЛЕВ, Химнографските состави за светите петнаесет Тивериуполски свештеномаченици. Уште една новооткривена химнографска творба на

административно-военна област източно от Кутмичевица, епархията на Климентовата епископия. Заради активната дейност на княз Борис в западнобългарските предели, твърде вероятно е да се предположи, че култът към него е възникнал именно в рамките на Охридската архиепископия.²¹ При възникването на локалните култове от особено значение е връзката между светеца и мястото, където се е подвизавал.

Писмени свидетелства за агиографска прослава на свети княз Борис са запазени в различни по тип писмени паметници от XI в. — гръцкото житие за св. Климент Охридски от Теофилакт, цитирания вече Български апокрифен летопис и старобългарския разказ *Чудото с българина*.

Липсата на агиографски текст за канонизиран светец не е показател, че не се е развил култът му. От тази гледна точка интерес представлява замонашването на княз Борис — феноменът монах-владетел при замонашването на княз Борис е първи на южнославянска почва.²² Неговата абдикация и замонашване са премерен държавнически акт с идеологическа насоченост. Те по същество представляват далновиден ход на владетеля,

св. Климент Охридски, *Археографски прилози* 24 (2002) 111–141. Паметта за пренасяне на мощите на тези светци е засвидетелствана в месецослова на Асеманиевото евангелие за 29 август.

(21) Срв. В. Гюзелев, *Княз Борис I* (София, 1969); Б. Алексова, *Епископијата на Брегалница* (Прилеп, 1989); Д. Чешмеджиев, *Бележки върху култа на петнадесетте тивериуполски мъченици в средновековна България*, в: *ПОЛУХРОНИА. Сборник в чест на проф. Иван Божилов* (София, 2002) 251–263.

(22) В Хрониката на Георги Амартол е засвидетелствано замонашването на двама византийски владетели от началото на X в. (около 40 години преди царуването на Борис). Това са царете Ставракий, син на Никифор, царувал година и два месеца, замонашил се поради болест и цар Михаил, зет на Ставракий, царувал година и девет месеца, замонашил се поради “благост на характера” — вж. С. де Вок (ed.), *Georgii monachi Chronicon*, vol. II (Lipsiae, 1904) 776, ред 12–24, и В. М. Истрин, *Хроника Георгия Амартола в древнем славяно-русском переводе*. Т. I. Текст (Петроград, 1920) 488. Трудно е да се определи еднозначно мотивацията за замонашването на тези двама византийски царе. Според съвременната историческа наука Ставракий е бил тежко ранен след битката на Никифор с българите (811 г.), бил е провъзгласен за император и после свален, т.е. замонашил се е. Неговият пряк наследник на престола цар Михаил I (812–813 г.) също е напуснал властта принудително, изпратен в манастир след изгубено сражение с хан Крум.

гарантиращ стабилизирането на християнството в държавата. Важно е още, че оттеглянето на княза в манастих е основен мотив за канонизацията му. Доброволността при абдикацията впоследствие се превръща в един от основните елементи за идеализацията му като светец.²³ Във вероятния агиографски текст за княз Борис е възможно абдикацията му да е била обвързана с християнската теологическа трактовка на манастихния живот, но в *Пространното житие за св. Климент*, охридският архиепископ Теофилакт посочва като мотивация за оттеглянето на княза от престола “тежка болест”.²⁴ По принцип замонашването на владетел през Средновековието е било принудителен акт — поради болест, загубена битка или други подобни причини. Случаят с българския княз Борис е различен. Може да се предположи, че той внезапно, но доброволно, е изоставил престола и се е замонашил. Не са изяснени мотивите за този негов акт, но едва ли княз Борис е абдикирал поради болест, защото е издържал в манастих 18 години. Твърде вероятно е политическа мотивация да е водила българския княз при това негово необичайно решение. Теофилакт вероятно е описал този момент от живота на княз Борис под влияние и аналогия с византийските владетели.

Освен това, в канонизиращите текстове е задължително описанието на чудесата, свързани с мироточие (като доказателство за святост и откровение) — в съчинението на Теофилакт Охридски агиографският елемент с чудодейните мощи на свети Борис не е пропуснат.²⁵

Има сведения, че в края на живота си и цар Петър, подобно на княз Борис, доброволно се е замонашил.²⁶ И двамата са били

(23) Р. Трифонова, Към хипотезата за съществуване на житиен текст за свети княз Борис, в: *Преславска книжовна школа*, т. 3 (София, 1998) 49–53, и Станкова, *Сръбската книжнина през XIII в.*, 81–91.

(24) Срв. митрополит СИМЕОН, *Писмата на Теофилакт Охридски, архиепископ български* (София, 1931) 261.

(25) Срв. Н. Драгова, Фрагменти от старобългарското житие на свети княз Борис в балканските средновековни творби, в: *Литературознание и фолклористика. Сборник в чест на 70-годишнината на акад. Петър Динеков* (София, 1983) 93–100.

(26) В наслова на службата за цар Петър от Драгановия миней е написано: *пай стго вца ншяго Петра инокаго вгвшаго црѣ българомъ, а също и в Белградския фрагмент — издаден от Й. Иванов, *Български старини из**

канонизирани за светци именно поради преподобничеството си.²⁷ След като за канонизирания цар Петър е запазена служба, не е невероятно предположението и за канонизирания княз Борис да е написан химнографски текст за прослава.²⁸

Песнопенията за паметта на **св. цар Петър** са запазени в споменатия вече Драганов миней от XIII в.²⁹ Засвидетелствана е и памет с тропар от службата за св. цар Петър в Лесновския пролог от 1330 г. и в Румянцевския пролог (РГБ, ф. 256, Рум. муз. № 319) от края на XIII в. и началото на XIV в., както и месецословни упоменавания за датата 30 януари в евангелия от XIII в.³⁰

Както стана ясно от прегледа, направен дотук, някои от собствените български култове от епохата на Първата българска държава се доразвиват и обогатяват по време на византийското владичество в България, продължило почти два века. Византийските книжовници от XI–XII в. съхраняват създадената вече книжовна традиция за прослава на местни светци, но и кодифицират нови култове в духа на установената вече православна по тип християнска ориентация. Това става чрез произведенията на охридския архиепископ Теофилакт (писани в периода 1085–1107 г.) за св. Климент и на градоначалника на Средец Георги Скилица (1143–1180 г.) за първия български монах-отшелник св. Иван Рилски.

Македония (София, 1931 = фототипно издание 1970) 387 и 392: *придѣте вси верни Петра мниѣ да възхвалимъ бывша ѿ ба црѣкъ българьска*. Срв. Р. ПАВЛОВА, Петър Черноризец старобългарски писател от X век, *Кирило-методиевски студии* 9 (1994) 20.

(27) Вж. Н. ГЕОРГИЕВА, Към въпроса за почитанието на княз Борис I като светец, *Кирило-Методиевски студии* 8 (1991) 178–179.

(28) Стефан Кожухаров (Ст. КОЖУХАРОВ, Към въпроса за обема на понятието “старобългарска поезия”, *Литературна мисъл* 7 (1976) 41) прави предположение, че е вероятно да е съществувала служба и за св. княз Борис, която е неизвестна в старата ни литература. Не бива да се изключва възможността е да е съществувал агиологически комплекс от текстове за първите канонизирани български християнски владетели.

(29) Изд. от Й. Иванов (ИВАНОВ, *Български старини из Македония*, 383–390) по този ръкопис и по препис в сръбски миней от Народната библиотека в Белград, изгорял по време на Втората световна война (Рс. 434), датиран от XIII–XIV в. В двата преписа са поместени различни компоненти от една и съща служба за датата 30 януари — вж. Кожухаров, *Търновската книжовна школа...*, 288, бел. 28, и *идем*, *Проблеми на старобългарската поезия* (София, 2004) 75–79.

(30) Вж. ПАВЛОВА, Петър Черноризец...

Този континуитет допринася за съхраняването на вече оформилата се идея за принадлежност към религиозната византийско-славянска общност. Приобщаването към византийската култура през този период не води до асимилация, а напротив, благоприятства създадите се вече тенденции към народностно самоопределение. Предполага се, че именно в този период по българските земи се създава и укрепва монашеската и манастирската традиция. Най-силно е влиянието на Охридската архиепископия, където се съхраняват старите книжовни паметници.³¹ Гръцките охридски архиепископи мотивират властта си като наследници на автокефалната българска архиепископия.³²

Възникването на славянски **култ към св. Ахил Лариски**³³ се свързва с времето на цар Самуил (991–1014 г.). Смята се, че в българска среда култът е възникнал след като българският цар е пренесъл мощите на светеца в столицата си Преспа (скоро след завземането на град Лариса 980/996 г.).³⁴ Предполага се, че този акт е провокирал създаването на служба, съдържаща старобългарски

(31) СТАНКОВА, *Сръбската книжнина през XIII в.*, 54–57.

(32) И. СНЕГАРОВ, *Неизвестен досега препис от разказа "Чудо с българина"*, *Известия на Института за българска история* 3–4 (1951) 295–296; П. КОЛЕДАРОВ, *Климент Охридски "първи епископ" на български език*, в: *Константин-Кирил Философ. Юбилеен сборник послучай 1100 годишнината от смъртта му* (София, 1969) 141–168; Х. ПОЛЕНАКОВИЧ, *Творците на словенската писменост* (Скопје, 1985) и др.

(33) Ахил Лариски е бил епископ на Тесалия и участник в Първия вселенски събор. Бил е светец, почитан в Тесалия. Макар, че паметта му не е вписана в синаксара на Типика на Великата църква в Константинопол, негово кратко житие е включено в Менология на император Василий II — вж. архиеп. СЕРГИЙ [СПАСКИЙ], *Полный месяцеслов Востока*. Т. II. *Святой Восток*, часть первая (Владимир, 1901 = репринт Москва, 1997) 143–144. Постепенно почитането на светеца се разпространява първо в Самуиловата държава, а после на територията на цялата Охридска архиепископия — Кл. ИВАНОВА, *Неизвестна сръбска служба за св. Ахил Лариски (Преспански)*, *Старобългарска литература* 31 (1999) 26. През 1283 г. сръбският крал Драгутин издига храм в чест на св. Ахил в църквата при р. Моравица, която става известна под името Арилие. Канонизиран като църковен архийерей — защитник на православието, вече в началото на XV в. в Сърбия е почитан като мъченик, загинал за вярата, убит от еретици.

(34) С. ПИРИВАТРИЧ, *Самуиловата държава. Обем и характер* (София, 2000) 194.

канон и преводни стихирни. Препис на тази служба с канон за осми глас е регистриран в българския празничен миней от Синай, манастира “Св. Екатерина” № 25 от XIV в.³⁵ Другите преписи с преводния канон от Йосиф Химнограф за шести глас, сръбски и български, също са датирани едва от XIII–XIV в.³⁶ Тъй като през XIII в. се изгражда химнографският корпус за локалните южнославянски светци, службата за покровителя на Самуиловата държава заема своето място (за датата 15 май) сред сходни текстове и в първия Добриянов миней (ОГНБ, Григ. 1/4). Разпространението и на двата канонизиращи текста подсказва, че службата за преспанския светец е адаптирана предимно от гръцки източници.

* * *

В рамките на културно-историческия контекст, в който се създава книжовната продукция след XIII в. нататък, е необходимо да се изтъкне стремежът към народностно самоопределение и политическа независимост на Втората българска държава. Традицията за пренасяне на мощи на светци през този период несъмнено има политическа цел.³⁷ Полагането на светителски мощи в църква или манастир не само заздравява устоите на църковната институция и придава авторитет на мястото, където се съхраняват, но е и вид протекция, според средновековните представи. И така, новата българска столица Търново става не само център на държавната и църковната власт, но и основно книжовно средище за Българската държава.³⁸ Оригиналната търновска книжнина се основава предимно на култовете към светците, чиито

(35) Кл. Иванова, Служба на св. Ахил Лариски (Преспански) от Синайския празничен миней № 25, *Palaeobulgarica* 15.4 (1991) 11–22.

(36) Срв. Т. Суботин-Голубовић, Култ светог Ахилија Лариског, *Зборник радова Византолошког института* 26 (1987) 21–33; еадем, Нова служба св. Ахилију Лариском, *Зборник радова Византолошког института* 27–28 (1989) 149–175; еадем, Словенски преписи службе св. Ахилију и њихови узори, в: *Свети Ахилије у Ариљу. Историја, уметност* (Београд, 1996) 29–34.

(37) Вж. още Е. Бакалова, Реликвии у истоков култы святых, в: А. М. Лидов (ред.), *Восточнохристианские реликвии* (Москва, 2003) 19–37.

(38) Ив. Божилов, България през XIII в., в: *Българската литература и книжнина през XIII в.* (София, 1987).

реликви са съсредоточени там,³⁹ но в запазените богослужбени книги от XIII в. са поместени агиографски и химнографски текстове както за ранните български светци (от времето на Златния век на цар Симеон, свързани с култовете към първоучителите Кирил и Методий), така и за по-новите български светци от X–XI в. (Климент Охридски, Иван Рилски, цар Петър, западнобългарските анахорети и др.) и за най-новите “търновски” култове. Тези книги са израз на приемствеността между книжовната продукция на Първото и Второто българско царство.⁴⁰ В България по времето на Симеоновото царство книжовен център е столицата Преслав. По аналогия и приемственост на културните процеси и за Второто българско царство престолният град Търново се превръща в основен книжовен център.

През XIII в. се създава агиологически комплекс от текстове (предимно проложни жития и служби) за така наречения **търновски кръг от светци** — св. Петка Епиватска (Търновска), св. Иван Рилски, св. Иларион Мъгленски, между тях са още и св. Михаил Войн, и първият търновски патриарх Йоаким. Проложните жития за тях влизат в състава на новопреведения през XIV в. Стишен пролог като цялостен комплект.

Първите сведения за честване на **локални светци** са регистрирани в ръкописите най-рано от XIII в. Паметите за собствено българските светци от времето на Първото и на Второто българско царство се поместват съвместно в месецословите на новозаветните библейски богослужбени книги.⁴¹

(39) Небива да се пренебрегва ролята на Света гора и на българския манастир Зограф за консервиране на старобългарската книжнина от XIII в. Особено важен е манастирът като място, където се пази търновската книжовна традиция. И до днес там се съхранява един от най-значимите среднобългарски писмени паметници — Драгановия (Зографския) минаей от края на XIII в. с оригиналния търновски химнографски цикъл, вж. Ст. Кожухаров, *Българската литература през XIII век, в: Българската литература и книжнина през XIII в.* (София, 1987) 25–37, и Г. Попов, *Състояние и перспективи на проучванията върху ръкописното наследство на Зографския манастир, в: Slovo: Towards a Digital Library of South Slavic Manuscripts. (Proceeding of the International conference, 22–26 February 2008, Sofia, Bulgaria)* (Sofia, 2008) 127–134.

(40) Кожухаров, *Българската литература през XIII век*, 25–30.

(41) Срв. V. Mošín, *Slavenska redakcija prologa Konstantina Mokisijskog u svijetlosti vizantijsko-slavenskih odnosa XII–XIII vijeka, Zbornik historijskog instituta* 2 (1959) 56–59; Д. Стефановић, *Прилог проучавању месецослова*

В Банишкото четириевангелие (НБКМ № 847) наред с паметите за св. Кирил Философ, св. архиепископ Методий и св. Климент Охридски, са отбелязани и св. Петка Търновска, св. Иван Рилски, св. Иларион Мъгленски.

В избран апостол от XIII в. (НБКМ № 882) има памети за св. Константин-Кирил Философ, св. Методий, св. Климент Охридски и за св. Петка. В друг български апостол от XIII в. (НБКМ № 883) освен паметите за светите Кирил и Методий, е отбелязана и св. Петка.

В Хилендарско четириевангелие с апостол (Хил. № 52), от края на XIII в., освен св. Кирил Философ са включени и памети за св. мъченица Петка и св. Иван Рилски.

В Струмишкия избран апостол от XIII в. (в Прага, сигн. IX E 25) са отбелязани само св. Петка Епиватска и св. Иван Рилски.

Известни са две Дечански евангелия от XIII в. в сборката на Гилфердинг в РНБ — в Дечанското евангелие от 1284 г. (Гильф. 1) са отбелязани памети за местни български и сръбски светци — св. Иван Рилски и св. Петка Търновска, за св. Кирил Философ и за намиране мощите на св. Климент Римски, както и за сръбските първосветци Сава и Симеон,⁴² а българското “Дечанско” четириевангелие от втората половина на XIII в. (Гильф. 4) съдържа памети само за българския пустинник св. Иван Рилски, за първия сръбски архиепископ св. Сава, за първоучителя на славяните св. Кирил Философ и за намиране мощите на св. Климент Римски.

Служби за светците Кирил и Методий, св. цар Петър, служба със синаксарно житие за св. Иван Рилски и служби за така наречените “нови търновски” светци Михаил Войн и Петка Търновска са събрани във вече многократно споменатия Драганов миней, намерен в българския манастир на Атон — Зограф.⁴³

В Добрияновия миней от втората половина на XIII в. (ОГНБ, Григ. I/5) има служби за св. Филотея Темнишка и за св. Иван Рилски.⁴⁴ Петербургският миней от края на XIII или началото на

XIII и XIV в., *Южнословенски филолог* 45 (1989) 140, 146–147, и Станкова, *Сръбската книжнина през XIII в.*, 74 и др.

(42) Срв. Mošin, *Slavenska redakcija prologa...*, 58–59.

(43) По-голямата част от Драгановия миней (219 л.) се съхранява в Зограф (със сигнатура I d 8), фрагменти от този ръкопис — 3 л. има в Москва (РГБ, Григ. № 42, М. 1725) и 2 л. в Санкт-Петербург (РНБ, Успен. Q. п. I. 40).

(44) Вж. Кожухаров, *Българската литература през XIII век*, 25–37.

XIV в. (РНБ, Ф. п. I. 72) пази служби за светците Иван Рилски, Михаил Войн⁴⁵ и Петка Търновска.⁴⁶

В сръбския празничен миней от средата на XIII в. (САНУ № 361) е поместен най-ранният сръбски препис на службата за св. Петка Търновска и служба за св. Ахил Лариски, а в един тропар от канона за Сиропусна събота в Загребския триод (ХАЗУ, IV d 107) са споменати имената на първите общославянски светци Кирил и Методий.⁴⁷

Култът към **св. Параскева Епиватска (Петка Търновска)** възниква и се развива в Търново, но след турското нашествие на Балканите придобива общобалкански характер. По тип святост тази светица се равнява с прославата на най-почитаните местни южнославянски светци. За периода от XIII до края на XV в. в южнославянската книжнина са известни редица агиографски и химнографски текстове за нея. Заради специфичната си функция на светица-покровителка на славяните по време на турското нашествие⁴⁸ култът ѝ води до създаване на “богат химнографски цикъл”⁴⁹ и през следващите векове, който се разраства в български, сръбски и молдовски редакции на текстовете за прославата ѝ чак до късното Средновековие.

Най-ранната служба за св. Петка Търновска е запазена в два български преписа от разглеждания период — в Драгановия празничен миней от XIII в. и в Петербургския празничен миней (РНБ, Ф. п. I. 72) от началото на XIV в.⁵⁰ Все още не е установено

(45) Изд. от Кл. Иванова, *Неизвестни служби на Иван Рилски и Михаил Войн, Известия на Института за български език* 22 (1973) 213–224.

(46) Вж. Р. Трифонова, *Сръбски препис на най-ранната служба за св. Петка Търновска*, в: *Търновска книжовна школа*, т. 7 (Велико Търново, 2002) 181–198.

(47) Вж. Г. Попов, *Триодни произведения на Константин Преславски, Кирило-Методиевски студии* 2 (1985) 58; *ИДЕМ*, *Триод*, в: *Кирило-Методиевска енциклопедия*, т. 4 (София, 2003) 176.

(48) Вж. И. Билярски, *Покровители на царството. Св. цар Петър и св. Параскева-Петка* (София, 2004).

(49) Според определението на Кожухаров, *Проблеми на старобългарската поезия*, 109.

(50) Още един препис на тази служба успях да идентифицирам в миней за месеците септември/декември, датиран от края на XIV в. (от манастира “Св. Троица” в Плевля № 52), по четири от снимките, направени от Л. Василев през 1963 г., които се пазят в Археографския отдел

каква част от тази служба е преведена от гръцки език и каква добавена от преводача. Не е открит и ранен гръцки текст със служба за св. Параскева Епиватска. Затова приемам мнението на Ст. Кожухаров,⁵¹ че тази старобългарска служба (оригинална или компилативна творба) принадлежи към т.н. “търновски химнографски цикъл от XIII век”.

Нова “видинска” служба за св. Петка неотдавна беше открита в сръбски препис от края на XIV в. в миней за месеците септември/декември Дечани-Църколез № 6, където в рамките на службата е поместено и проложно житие.⁵²

Култът към **св. Иван Рилски** възниква в Средец вероятно през X–XI в., но придобива официалност едва през XII в. с канонизиращите текстове, написани от византийския книжовник Георги Скилица. Известни са множество повествователни и химнографски творби, посветени на рилския пустинник.⁵³ След пренасянето на мощите му от Средец в Търново в края на XII в. народната почит към него се засилва. От химнографските текстове за св. Иван Рилски през разглеждания период са функционални основно каноните, написани от Георги Скилица през XII в. и идентифицирани от Иван Добрев.⁵⁴ Със сигурност това са каноните за първи, втори и шести глас. Засага не може да се каже дали е един авторът на целия цикъл от канони по осмогласието, посветени на св. Иван Рилски (в цикъла се включват каноните от Скилица), но до края на XV в. този цикъл вече е бил формиран.⁵⁵ Каноните не са помествани

на Народната библиотека на Сърбия, в Белград — вж. Р. Станкова, Служби за света Петка в български и сръбски ръкописи от XIII до XV век, *Археографски прилози* 28 (2006) 105–122.

(51) Кожухаров, *Българската литература през XIII век*, 30–32, 97–106.

(52) Вж. Р. Станкова, *Видинска служба за св. Петка Търновска*, в: *Християнска азиология и народни вярвания. Сборник в чест на ст.н.с. Елена Коцева* (София, 2008) 105–122.

(53) Вж. най-общо Б. Ст. Ангелов, *Старобългарско книжовно наследство* (София, 1983) 186–199; П. Динеков, *Иван Рилски*, в: *Кирило-Методиевска енциклопедия*, т. 2 (София, 1995) 25–33; Кожухаров, *Проблеми на старобългарската поезия*, 60–74, 227–256; Е. Томова, *Болгарский святой Иоанн Рильский (культ и агиография)*, в: *Slovo: Towards a Digital Library of South Slavic Manuscripts...*, 135–165 и цитираната там библиография.

(54) Добрев, *Каноните за св. Иван Рилски от Георги Скилица*, 3–12.

(55) Запазен е в ръкопис от Рилския манастир със сигнатура I/26.

като единна цялост в ръкописите до XV в., а се откриват в отделни по-ранни преписи на службата.

Основната дата за честване на преподобния български светец Иван Рилски е 19 октомври — датата на пренасянето на мощите му от цар Иван Асен I в Търново. Алтернативната дата 18 август се предполага, че е датата на смъртта му (946 г.), когато се чества *Успение*. Под тази дата е поместена службата за светеца във Втория Добриянов миней от XIII в.⁵⁶ В нея канонът за втори глас от Скилица е комбиниран с този за светците Флор и Лавър, чествани на същата дата, като във всяка песен е вмъкнат първи тропар за св. Иван Рилски.⁵⁷ Тази служба Стефан Кожухаров нарича “интересна компилация”, а също и “най-ранна съкратена редакция”. Цялостен български препис на службата с канона за втори глас е запазен в служебен миней за месец август от средата на XIV в. (в Парижката национална библиотека, Slav. № 23).⁵⁸ В текста на службата все още не се споменава за пренасяне на мощите на рилския отшелник в Търново и затова се приема, че тя е съставена в Средец през XII в.

Ранната (вероятно търновска) *служба за пренасяне на мощите на св. Иван Рилски* от Драгановия миней е с канона за шести глас на Георги Скилица,⁵⁹ а в по-късния препис на службата за 19 октомври от Петербургския миней, датиран от началото на XIV в. (РНБ, Ф. п. I. 72) е поместена редакция на същата служба, но с канон за осми

(56) Кожухаров, Към въпроса за обема на понятието “старобългарска поезия”, 35–54; Идем, Служба за успението на Иван Рилски (новооткрита най-ранна редакция от XIII в.), в: *Изследвания върху историята и диалектите на българския език* (София, 1979) 217–234; Кожухаров, *Проблеми на старобългарската поезия*, 60–74; М. Йовчева, Българската редакция на служебния Миней през XIII в., *Старобългарска литература* 37–38 (2007) 3–18 и еадем, Календарът на миней Григ. 1/5 от ОГНБ (Втори Добриянов миней), в: *Християнска агиология и народни вярвания. Сборник в чест на ст.н.с. Елена Коцева* (София, 2008) 83–104.

(57) Кожухаров, Служба за успението на Иван Рилски..., и Идем, *Проблеми на старобългарската поезия*, 64, 66–68, 70–74.

(58) К. Станчев, *Неизвестные и малоизвестные болгарские рукописи в Париже, Palaeobulgarica* 5.3 (1981) 92–93.

(59) Изд. от Иванов, *Български старини из Македония*, 359–367, вж. още Б. Ст. Ангелов, Старобългарски текстове. Из славянските ръкописи на БАН, в: *Известия на Архивния институт при БАН*, кн. 1 (София, 1957) 274–283.

глас за чудесата на мощите на светеца в унгарския град Острогом, неизвестна до сега в друг препис.⁶⁰

Службата за Успение от Скопския миней от 1451 г. (днес в ЦИАИ № 489)⁶¹ с канон за първи глас (също от Скилица) вече представя новата йерусалимска богослужебна практика, наложила се през XIV в., но съдържа данни за почитание на светеца в Средец и Рила по време на Първото българско царство.

Култовете към **западнобългарските аскети** се създават по еднакъв или сходен модел, зададен от първия български отшелник — св. Иван Рилски, и от раннохристиянските отшелници. Те се основават предимно на устни предания и легенди и поради конкретните културно-исторически обстоятелства (византийско владичество и възобновяване на Българската църква и Държава) не са особено отразени в богослужебната книжнина. И тримата пустинници първоначално са обитавали планини, а по-късно имената им се свързват с основаването на манастири по местата, където са се подвизавали. Освен това те са и чудотворци-лечители. Затова култовете им са локални и типологически сходни.

Прохор Пшински, живял през XI в., е вторият по хронология западнобългарски отшелник (след св. Иван Рилски). Скоро след смъртта му, в народните предания към него се добавят култовете към другите анахорети. Вече през XIII в. в Орбелския триод (РНБ, Ф. п. I. 102), в един тропар, заедно със славянските първоучители св. Кирил и св. Методий, са прославени св. Иван Рилски, св. Прохор Пшински и св. Йоаким Осоговски. В житието за св. Йоаким Осоговски допълнително са внесени данни и за четиримата анахорети като цялостна група и вече е присъединен св. Гавриил Лесновски.⁶²

Службата за преподобния св. Прохор Пшински е била запазена в най-ранен препис в празничен миней от първата половина на XIV в. (НББ, Рс. 293), унищожен през 1942 г. и в един препис от XVI-

(60) Изд. от ИВАНОВА, *Неизвестни служби...*, 213–224.

(61) Изд. от ИВАНОВ, *Български старини из Македония*, 345–358.

(62) Ето пасажът по Белградския препис на Сърбляк (НББ, Рс. 21, изгорял) от XVI–XVII в., според ИВАНОВ, *Български старини из Македония*, 407: *Гѣ сицѣвѣи оуѣво гавише се. новоподражателѣе. и таковаго житѣа ревнителѣе. ююднѣи и истиннѣи новопрѣщеннѣе оци наши и поустинножителѣе. нѣнѣи ѣлцѣи и земляннѣи агѣлѣи. друзѣи хѣи, Їwannъ и Прохоръ коупно съ Гавриилѣ съ ними же приѣннѣи ѡцѣ нашъ Їванѣ. ѣтѣна ѣетворица бѣоизбранное съдрѣство.*

XVII в., в т.нар. Пшински поменик (в НББ, Рс. 348),⁶³ който е изгорял през 1941 г. при бомбардировките. По-късният препис е завършвал до пета песен на канона, затова не се знае дали след шестата песен е било поместено синаксарното житие за светеца. Със сигурност този ръкопис е създаден в самия манастир на името на св. Прохор. В текста на службата⁶⁴ се споменават мощите на светеца, които имат силата да изцеляват (чрез мироточие).

За св. **Йоаким Осоговски (Сарандапорски)** е известна *служба* (адаптация на Службата за св. Евтимий Велики, с канон от Климент Охридски), запазена в три преписа от XIII–XIV в.⁶⁵ През XV в. се създава рилска компилативна редакция на службата, повлияна от тази за св. Иван Рилски (запазена в рилски ръкопис П/15 от XVI в.).⁶⁶ Известни са два преписа на службата от XV в. (ГИМ, Хлуд. № 169 и Германски сборник, ЦИАИ № 47⁶⁷), за които предстои да се изясни към коя традиция се отнасят. Датата за честване на паметта му (16 август) е отбелязана в месецословите на библейските и богослужебните книги от XIII–XIV в. само с тропар,⁶⁸ а през XV–XVI в. псалтирите с последования с тропар и кондак.⁶⁹

(63) Описан от Л. Стојановиќ, *Каталог народне библиотеке у Београду*, IV: *Рукописи и старе штампане књиге* (Београд, 1903) Бр. 530 (348).

(64) Изд. от С. Новаковиќ, *Пшињски поменик, Споменик Српске краљевске академије XXIX* (1895) 1–20.

(65) Изд. от Т. Суботин-Голубовиќ, *Две службе св. Јоакиму Осоговском, Археографски прилози 14* (1992) 105–134, по преписите от НБКМ № 113 и Дечани № 32. Още един препис от XIV в. е запазен в ръкопис от Хлудовата сбирка в ГИМ, № 166 — вж. С. Николова, М. Йовчева, Т. Попова, Л. Тасева, *Българското средновековно културно наследство в сбирката на Алексей Хлудов в Държавния исторически музей в Москва. Каталог* (София, 1999) 49–50.

(66) Б. Райков, Хр. Кодов, Б. Христова, *Славянски ръкописи в Рилския манастир*, т. 1 (София, 1986) 55–57; изд. от М. Јакимовска-Тошиќ, *Свети Јоаким Осоговски* (Скопје, 1997) 149–158.

(67) Сборникът в ЦИАИ № 47 (т.нар. Германски сборник) е съставен от две части: първата (на лл. 1–66) — за св. Иван Рилски от XVII в., а втората (на лл. 67–144) — за св. Йоаким Осоговски от XV в.

(68) През XIII в. паметта му е присъединена към тази на св. Прохор Пшински (в общ тропар в Орбелския триод), а в Румянцевския пролог св. Йоаким Осоговски е отбелязан с тропар за 16 август (на л. 162). От началото на XIV в. е и най-ранното му упоменаване в месецослов на пракапостол с евангелие от НБКМ № 508 (на л. 139).

(69) В следните ръкописи от XV в. — София, БАН № 3 и ЦИАИ № 8; от XVI в. — Скопие, НУБ, М–19; София, НБКМ № 7; Белград, НБС № 37.

Четвъртият от западнобългарските отшелници е **св. Гаврил Лесновски**. Неговата памет е на 15 януари. Подвизавал се е през XI в. в планината Лесново, близо до Злетово. *Службата* за този светец днес не е запазена в ранни преписи, но е била отбелязана в два ръкописа от XIV в. от Старата сбирка на Народната библиотека в Белград (Оливеров миней от 1342 г., НББ, Рс. 62, изчезнал на гарата в Ниш през 1915 г. и миней за месеците декември/февруари, НББ, Рс. 15).⁷⁰

Локалните култове обогатяват оригиналната книжовната продукция на южните славяни. Едновременно с това те следват и приспособяват модела на общохристиянските светителски култове, като го съобразяват със спецификата на местните духовни и религиозни потребности. Необходимостта от въвеждането на местни светци в църковния календар е продиктувана, на първо място, от широката им популярност сред народа (поради богоугодния им начин на живот, жертвите, страданията и чудесата, с които са се прославили приживе или след смъртта си); и на второ място, тя е и израз на вярата, че самите светци и храмовете, посветени на тях, са гаранция за защита от беди и грехове. По време на византийското владичество анахоретските култове са израз и на славянското самосъзнание по тези земи (“между Косово и Рила”).⁷¹

Светителският тип монах-отшелник, се явява рефлекс на светогорския тип усамотяване и оттегляне от общежителния живот, което води началото си от пустиножителя Петър Атонски (VIII в.). Този тип монаси се отдават на аскеза, пост и молитва, като се отказват от всички земни блага. В последствие легендите и преданията ги свързват най-често с местните владетели, които се прекланят пред подвизите им, а на местата където са се подвизавали се издигат манастири, като израз на авторитета и на светеца, и на владетеля. От своя страна, манастирите пък съхраняват и развиват съответния локален култ, като заздравяват връзката между култа и народа. Вярващите почитат гробовете и мощите на светците, като се прекланят пред тяхните чудотворства. Намирането на мощите и пренасянето им създава нови условия за укрепване на култовете.

(70) Стојановиќ, *Каталог народне библиотеке у Београду...*, 58–59, 62–63.

(71) П. Сланкаменац, *Легенде о јужнословенским анахоретима, Гласник Скопског научног друштва* 1 (1925) 215–233; Л. Павловиќ, *Култови лица код Срба и Македонаца* (Смедерево, 1965) 26–33.

Писмените свидетелства за тези култове са доказателство за прославата на светците в рамките на църковния ритуал. Така светостта се проявява чрез връзката между култа, църковния празник и канонизиращите текстове. Службите за западнобългарските анахорети са твърде сходни. Забелязва се контактност и интерференция между текстовете. Една и съща строфа се употребява за прославата на един или друг светец, като се заменя само името. В голяма степен в тях са заети песнопения от служби за други светци.

Съкращения

- ГИМ — Государственный исторический музей, Москва
 НББ — Народна библиотека у Београду
 НБКМ — Народна библиотека “Св. Кирил и св. Методий”,
 София
 НБС — Народна библиотека Србије, Београд
 НУБ — Народна и университетска библиотека, Скопије
 ОГНБ — Одесская государственная научная библиотека,
 Одесса
 РГБ — Российская государственная библиотека, Москва
 РНБ — Российская национальная библиотека, Санкт-
 Петербург
 САНУ — Архив Српске академије наука и уметности, Београд
 София, БАН — Архив на Българската академия на науките,
 София
 ХАЗУ — Archiv Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti,
 Zagreb
 ЦИАИ — Църковен историко-археологически институт,
 София

SUMMARY

Radoslava Stankova

CULT AND HYMNOGRAPHY: OFFICES FOR BULGARIAN SAINTS IN THE LITERARY TRADITION OF THE 13TH–14TH C.

The article presents data concerning the liturgical commemorations of the first Bulgarian saints, preserved in written records from the 13th to the 14th c. Among the sources reviewed are the calendars attached to the New Testament books, commemorations of the saints with a tropar-

ion and a kontakion in the calendars of some liturgical books, and the original or translated services preserved in the Menaia. The original Old Bulgarian hymnographic works dedicated to St. Cyril and St. Methodius, the compiled Bulgarian service to St. Kliment of Ochrid are reviewed. A hypothesis is put forward that, along with the present service to tsar Peter, there was another one dedicated to prince Boris, which is now lost. The cult of St. Achilles of Larissa in Bulgarian ambience and the possible existence of an Old Bulgarian canon to him are also discussed. Moreover, discussed are the local cults of the time of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom and those of the West Bulgarian hermits and the so called "circle of saints from Tărnovo."

THE LITANIES FOR THE KING IN THE COPTIC LITURGY

INTRODUCTION

The Egyptian church had always prayed for the king, even before the christianisation of the Roman Empire, as is attested in a papyrus dated from the third century from the Oxyrhynchus collection.¹ In Coptic martyrdoms, we find only the mention of Constantine,² while in monastic literature, many kings are mentioned, such as Valentinian the father of the two foreign disciples of Saint Macarius: Maximus and Dometius,³ and Cyrus the brother of Theodosius.⁴

As for the “orthodox king,” only Zeno the father of Hilaria is remembered.⁵

(1) K. TREU, *Liturgische Traditionen in Ägypten* (zu P. Oxy 2782), in: P. NAGEL (ed), *Studia Coptica* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1974) 43–66.

(2) He appears in many martyrdom among them, the martyrdom of Macarius of Antioch cf. H. HYVERNAT, *Les actes des Martyrs de l'Égypte* (Paris, 1886) 40–77 and especially 69–77. The martyrdom of Claudius of Antioch, G. GODRON, *Textes Coptes relatifs à Saint Claude d'Antioche* (Turnout, 1970) (PO, 35.4.166) 494 [72] 495 [73]; H. MUNIER, *Les Actes du martyre de saint Isidore*, *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 14 (1918) 97–190, especially 182–188.

(3) E. AMÉLINEAU, *Histoire des monastères de Basse-Egypte* (Paris, 1894) (*Annales du Musée Guimet*, 25) 262–313; H. MUNIER, *Une Relation copte sahidique de la vie des saints Maxime et Domèce*, *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 13 (1917) 93–140.

(4) E. A. W. BUDGE, *Coptic Martyrdoms in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (Oxford, 1914) 126–136.

(5) J. DRESCHER, *Three Coptic Legends: Hilaria, Archellites, the Seven Sleepers* (Cairo, 1947) 1–13 (text), 69–82 (translation). For these two saints cf. A. VOJ-TENKO, *Parents de l'empereur de Byzance dans les déserts d'Égypte: Les vies d'apa Cyrus (Cyr) et d'Hilarie la bienheureuse*, in: A. BOUD'HORS et C. LOUIS (eds.), *Études coptes X, Douzième Journée d'études (Lyon 19–21 Mai 2005)* (Paris, 2008) (*Cahiers de la Bibliothèque Copte*, 16) 309–318.

After the Arab conquest, however, many kings converted to Islam and there has been no Christian king in Egypt since the seventh century. And yet, the Coptic church has continued praying for kings.

The Coptic liturgical texts contain several litanies for the king that are used in different services of the church. In addition, there is a rite for enthroning the king of Ethiopia.

This reflects a form of submission to authority, as Saint Peter ordered in his epistle: "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake: whether it be to the king, as supreme;"⁶ "Honour the king."⁷ The same was also directed by the Apostle Paul: "For kings, and [for] all that are in authority; that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty."⁸

G. Cuming, while studying the Anaphora of Mark, concludes:

"Prayer for the Emperor is mentioned already by Athenagoras and Tertullian. Outside Egypt it is confined in the liturgies to the Great Synapte and the Anaphora. There is not such prayer in Coptic Mark, Eg. Boh Bas and Greg"⁹

In this paper, we will examine the litanies¹⁰ for the king which are recurrent in the Coptic liturgical books¹¹ in order to follow their evolution, we will also include the prayer for enthroning the kings of Ethiopia.

THE EUCHOLOGION OF THE WHITE MONASTERY

I. One of the earliest witnesses in the Coptic Liturgical texts books is the Euchologion of the White Monastery, written in the tenth century,¹²

(6) I Peter 2:3.

(7) I Peter 2:7.

(8) I Tim 2:2.

(9) G. CUMING, *The Liturgy of St Mark Edited from the Manuscripts with a Commentary* (Roma, 1990) (OCA, 234) 91–92.

(10) Only few scholars studied these prayer cf. J. FENWICK, The significance of similarities in the anaphoral Intercession sequence in Coptic Anaphora of Saint Basil and other Ancient Liturgies, *SP* 18/2 (1989) 355–362.

(11) For these books cf. H. MALAK, *Les Livres Liturgiques de l'Eglise Copte, Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, III (Vatican, 1964) (Studi e Testi, 233) 1–35. U. ZANETTI, *Bohairic Liturgical Manuscripts*, *OCP* 60 (1995) 65–94.

(12) E. LANNE, *Le Grand Euchologe du Monastère Blanc* (Paris, 1958) (PO, 28/2) 273 (9).

mentioned a litany for the Kings from an unknown anaphora of a Syrian type.¹³

ΑΡΙ]ΜΕΕΥΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΠΧΟ[ΕΙ]C ΗΗΕΡΩΟΥ Η	Remember, <i>also</i> O Lord, the kings
Π]ΚΑΖ ΜΗ ΠΕCΤΡΑΤΩ{ [Ε]ΤΩΝ ΤΗΡC	of the land and all the <i>army</i> ,
ΤΗΔΥ ΝΟΥΝΟΥC ΗΡΕCΗΗΗΦΕ ΟΥCΥΗΗ	give to them a <i>sober spirit</i> and a
ΛΥCΙC ΕCΧΗΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΟΥΗΗΤΗΔ ΕΖΟ[Υ]Η	perfect <i>conscience</i> , mercy upon
ΕΗΖΗΚΕ ΗΠΕΚΛΑΟC ΕΗΗΧΙΖC[the poor of Your <i>people</i> and
ΗΗ† ΤΩΗ ΗΖΗΤC	without trouble and rebellion against Him.

Commentary

It is hard to date this litany, however, it seems that it was during a time of famine, poverty and political instability. There is no mention about the king whether he is “God-Loving”; that is, Christian or “Orthodox,” which implies that this litany was composed when the king was not Christian. Hence it could be dated either before Constantine or after the Arab conquest.

II. And again in a litany from another unknown Anaphora:¹⁴

ΑΡΙ]ΜΕΕΥΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΗΠΡΟ ΝΕΥCΕΒΗC	Remember, O Lord, the <i>pious</i>
ΜΗ	king
ΗΕΤ[Ο]ΗΡΡΟ ΟΝ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΖΗ ΤΠΙCΤΙC	and those who reign now in the
ΜΠΕΗ	<i>faith</i> of our
ΧΟΕΙC ΙC ΠΕΧC	Lord Jesus <i>Christ</i>
ΑΡΙ]ΜΕΕΥΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΗΗΕCΗΗΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ	Remember O Lord the all the
ΜΠΙC	<i>faithful</i> ¹⁵
ΤΟC] ΗΟΡΘΟΛΟΖΟC ΕΤΖΗ ΠΠΑΛΑΤΙ	<i>Orthodox</i> brethren in the <i>palace</i>
ΟΗ ΔΥΩ ΗΠΕ]CΤΡΑΤΟΠΕΗΤΟΗ ΤΗΡC	and the whole <i>army</i>

Commentary

The king here is qualified as “Pious.” The mention of “Orthodox brethren in the palace and the Army” is an indication of a peaceful

(13) LANNE, *Le Grand Euchologe...*, fol. 121, p. 332[68]–333[69]

(14) *Ibid.*, fol. 134, p. 338[74]–339[75].

(15) As there is lacuna, Lanne filled “in faith” ΗΠΙCΤΙC my translation is based on parallel texts however both texts are possible.

Christian environment, hence it can be dated between the fifth to the sixth centuries, as the schism in christendom started after the Council of Chalcedon (451AD), and the seventh century was full of wars first between Heraclius and Phocas and then between the Byzantine and Persian empires and finally between the Byzantine and Arabs.

III. Again in the Anaphora attributed to Matthew:¹⁶

ΑΡΙΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΤΕΚΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΕΤΟΥ	Remember O Lord, the holy <i>peace</i>
ΔΑΒ ΤΑΙ ΝΤΑΚΤΑΔΣ ΝΑΗ ΕΚΧΩ ΗΜΟΣ	which You granted us by saying
ΧΕ †ΚΩ ΝΗΤΗ ΝΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΤΑΕΙΡΗ	<i>Peace</i> I leave with you. My <i>peace</i> ,
ΝΗ ΩΤΩ ΤΩΙ ΤΕ †† ΗΜΟΣ ΝΗΤΗ †ΡΗ	which is mine, I give to you. The
	<i>peace</i>
ΝΗ ΔΕ ΟΗ ΝΤΕΚΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗ ΝΑΠΟΣΤΟ	also of the Holy <i>Catholic Apostolic</i>
	<i>Church</i>
ΛΙΚΗ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΤΑΧΡΟΣ	establish it
ΧΙΝ ΧΩΨ ΜΠΚΑΖ ΩΑ ΧΩΨ ΝΓΡ ΝΕ	from one end of the earth to the
	other.
ΡΩΟΥ ΜΠΚΑΖ ΝΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΞΗ ΠΕΚΛΑΟΣ	Let the kings of the earth make
	<i>peace</i> with Your
ΝΧΡΙΣΤΑΝΟΣ ΝΣΕΤΗΤΩΨ ΕΖΡΑΙ	<i>Christian people</i> in order that they
ΕΣΩΗ	(the kings) do
ΝΔΙ ΝΠΩΡΧ ΜΠΚΑΖ ΜΗ ΝΗΝΤΡΕΨ	not decide upon us the schism of
	the earth and
ΩΗΩΕ ΕΙΣΔΩΛΟΝ ΕΤΧΑΖΗ-----	impure <i>Idolatry</i>
ΑΡΙΠΗΕΕΥΕ ΔΕ ΟΗ ΝΠΧΟΕΙΣ	Remember also O Lord the
ΞΗΝΕΡΡΩΟΥ *	<i>Orthodox kings*</i> of
ΜΠΚΑΖ ΝΟΡΘΟΔΟΖΟΣ ΝΔΙ ΝΤΑΚΚΑ	the land, those that You have
	<i>established</i> ¹⁷
ΘΙΣΤΑ ΗΝΟΥ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΣΗ ΠΚΑΖ ΖΗ ΟΥ	over the land in <i>piety</i> .
ΝΗΤΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ ΗΖΟΥΟ ΔΕ ΝΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ	And moreover the <i>pious</i> (kings)
ΝΓ	
† ΝΑΥ ΝΟΥΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ ΝΗ ΟΥΝΗΤ	grant them <i>justice</i> and might in
	order that
ΧΩΩΡΕ ΝΓΤΡΕ ΖΕΘΗΟΣ ΝΗ ΖΥΠΟΤΑΣ	all <i>nations surrender</i> to them

(16) L'ANNE, *Le Grand Euchologe...*, fol. 144–145, p. 358[94]–361[97].

(17) Lit. "Make them to sit".

CE NAY EYHTON HZHTE ENANOYCI. OYΩ2	in goodness of heart. Set upon them
EPPOY HOYME MH OYΔIKAIOCYHH MH OYΠICTIC MH OYMHNTPEYQZOTE ΨA	righteousness, <i>justice</i> , <i>faith</i> , and fear.
XE EZPAI ENHYZHTE ETBE TEKKAΘOAI KH EKKAHCIA TAAC NAY ETPEYZAPEZ	Speak in their hearts for the <i>Catholic</i>
EYEPHNNH EZOYH EPON AYΩ EZOYH E	Church. Give them to preserve <i>Peace</i> towards us and towards all Your
PEKΛAOC THPI XEKAC ENHAEIPE HIOY	<i>People</i> in order that we spend a quiet and
AZE EYCEPAZTE AYΩ EYQZOPK	calm life in all <i>piety</i>
HNHTEYCEBHC HNH ZI HHTCEHHOC HHH	and all <i>holiness</i>

Commentary

This litany may be dated to the **fourth or sixth** century as it is apparent from the mention of *Orthodox king*. It seems at that time the kings started to interfere in the theological debates hence we find “in order that they (the kings) do not decide upon us the schism of the earth and impure *Idolatry*”. The text was also written during the time when there were wars “in order that all *nations surrender* to them.” The mention of “*Idolatry*” insinuates the presence of idolatry, and hence could indicate that the text was composed before the end of idolatry (sixth century?)

The actual Euchologion

We will start by mentioning the texts where the kings occur in several litanies¹⁸ in the Coptic Euchologion as they are repeated in other services Coptic Church.¹⁹

(18) J. FENWICK, *The Anaphoras of St Basil and St James* (Rome, 1992) (OCA, 240).

(19) See below.

Euchologion

We will refer to the best critical edition of this book²⁰ prepared by Abd al-Masih Salib and printed by Claudius Labib.²¹

1. In the long litany for the Peace of the Church we read:

ΘΑΙ ΕΤΩΠΙ ΟΥΧΕΝ ΑΥΡΗΧΟ `ΝΤΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΗ ΩΑ ΑΥΡΗΧΟ	This (church) which is from one end of the <i>world</i> to the other,
ΝΙΛΑΟΣ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΕΝ ΝΙΟΖΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΣΜΟΥ ΕΡΩΟΥ †ΖΙΡΗΝΗ †ΕΒΟΛΣΕΝ ΝΙΦΗΟΥΙ ΜΗΙΣ ΕΣΡΗΙ ΕΝΕΝΗΖΗΤ ΤΗΡΟΥ	All <i>peoples</i> and all flocks bless. The heavenly <i>peace</i> send down into all our hearts, even the
ΑΛΛΑ ΝΕΝ †ΚΕΖΙΡΗΝΗ `ΝΤΕ ΠΑΒΙΟΣ ΦΑΙ ΔΡΙΧΑΡΙΖΕΣΘΕ ΜΗΟΣ ΝΑΝ ΝΖΗΟΤ	<i>peace</i> of this <i>life</i> graciously grant to us
ΠΟΥΡΟ ΝΙΜΕΤΗΑΤΟΙ ΝΙΑΡΧΩΝ ΝΙΣΟΒΗ ΝΙΝΗΩ ΝΕΝΘΕΩΕΥ ΝΕΝΧΙΝΗΩΨΙ ΕΣΟΥΗ ΝΕΝ ΝΕΝΧΙΜΩΨΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΣΕΛΣΩΛΟΥ ²² ΣΕΗ ΖΙΡΗΝΗ ΝΙΒΕΝ	The king, the armies, the <i>rulers</i> , the councillors, the multitudes, our neighbours, our coming in and our going out, comfort them with all <i>peace</i>
ΠΟΥΡΟ `ΝΤΕ †ΖΙΡΗΝΗ ΝΟΙ ΝΑΝ `ΝΤΕΚΖΙΡΗΝΗ ΖΩΒ ΓΑΡ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΑΚΤΗΙΤΟΥ ΝΑΝ	O King of <i>peace</i> grant us Your <i>peace</i> , for You have given us all things. ²³

Commentary

This text was composed when Christian was present throughout the World. It provides us with an outline of the administration of that time where the army is ranked before the rulers and the counsellors.

(20) U. ZANETTI, *Esquisse d'une typologie des Euchologes Coptes Bohaïriques*, *Mus* 100 (1987) 407–418.

(21) Abd al-Masih SALIB, *ΠΙΧΩΝ ΝΤΕ ΠΙΕΥΧΟΛΟΓΙΟΝ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ ΕΤΕ ΦΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΙΧΩΝ ΝΤΕ †ΩΟΗ† ΝΑΝΑΦΟΡΑ ΝΤΕ ΠΑΓΙΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΟΣ ΝΕΝ ΠΑΓΙΟΣ ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΣ ΝΕΝ ΠΑΓΙΟΣ ΚΥΡΙΛΛΟΣ ΝΕΝ ΖΑΗΚΕΕΥΧΗ ΕΥΟΥΑΒ* [*The book of the Holy Euchologion which is the book of the three anaphorae of St. Basil, St. Gregory and St. Cyril and other holy prayers*] (Cairo, 1902) (Hereafter *Euch* 1902)

(22) For the meaning of this word cf. Y. N. YOUSSEF, "Two notes on the Coptic Theotokias," *Scr* 5 (2009) 405.

(23) *Euch* 1902, p. 277–2–279, and also in the Anaphora of Cyril, *Euch*, p. 580–5–582.

There is a litany in the Anaphora of Saint Gregory²⁴ for the king:

ΑΡΙΦΗΕΥΙ ΠΟΙΟΙΣ ΝΗΗΕΤΑΥΕΡΟΥΡΟ ΞΕΝ ΤΗΕΤΕΥΣΕΒΗΟ ΝΕΗ ΝΗΕΤΟΙ ΝΟΥΡΟ	Remember O Lord, those who have reigned in <i>piety</i> and those who are kings ²⁵
ΠΡΟΣΕΥΞΑΟΘΕ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΦΙΛΟΧΡΙΣΤΩΝ ΗΗΩΝ ΒΑΟΙΑΕΩΝ ΚΕ	<i>Deacon: Pray for our Christ-loving kings</i> <i>People: Lord have mercy</i>
ΑΡΙΦΗΕΥΙ ΠΟΙΟΙΣ `ΗΗΕΝΟΗΗΟΥ `ΗΠΙΟΤΟΟ ΟΥΟΡ `ΗΟΡΘΟΟΛΟΟΖΟΟ ΕΤΞΕΝ ΠΙΠΑΛΑΤΙΟΝ ΝΕΗ ΠΙΟΤΡΑΤΕΥΜΑ ΤΗΡΑ	Remember O Lord, our brethren the <i>orthodox believers</i> who are in the <i>palace</i> and all who are in the <i>military</i>
ΠΡΟΕΥΞΑΟΘΕ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΕΗ ΤΩ ΠΑΛΑΤΙΩ ΔΔΕΛΦΩΝ ΠΙΟΤΩΝ ΚΕ ΟΡΘΟΟΛΟΟΖΩΝ ΚΕ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΟΤΡΑΤΟΠΕΤΩΝΞ ΚΕ	<i>Deacon: Pray for the faithful and orthodox brethren in the palace and for all the troops</i> <i>People: Lord have mercy</i>

Commentary

This prayer is identical to the one mentioned in the Euchologion of the White Monastery, text II.

2. Long litany of peace in the Anaphora of Saint Cyril:²⁶

ΠΙΟΥΡΟ `ΗΤΕ ΠΕΗΚΑΟΙ ΠΕΚΒΩΚ ΤΩΒΟ ΟΗΑ `ΗΤΕ ΠΙΧΡΙΟΤΟΟ ΠΕΗΗΟΥ† ΤΗΤΕΗ `ΗΟΑΗΗΑΙ ΝΕΗ ΟΑΗΗΕΤΩΕΗΖΗΤ `ΗΠΕΗΘΟ `ΗΗΕΟΟΟΟΑ ΕΤΑΗΑΟΙ `ΗΤΕΟΕΡΗΑΔΑΟΙΗ `ΗΠΟΥΟΗΤ ΕΟΟΥΗ ΕΡΟΗ ΕΠΙΑΟΑΘΟΗ `ΗΟΗΟΥ ΗΒΕΗ `ΗΤΕΟΧΑ ΝΕΗΗΟΒΙ ΝΑΗ ΕΒΟΑ ΚΕ	The king of our land, Your servant <i>Deacon: Pray that Christ our God may grant us mercy and compassion before the ruling authorities and soften their hearts towards us for that which is good at all times and forgive us our sins.</i> <i>People: Lord have mercy</i>
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(24) For this Anaphora cf. E. HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Die koptische Gregorianaphora. Syrische und Griechische Einflüsse auf eine Ägyptische Liturgie* (Berlin, 1957); IDEM, Some remarks on the History of, and Present State of Investigation into, the Coptic Liturgy, *BSAC* 19 (1968) 89–113; J. HENNER, *Fragmenta Liturgica Coptica* (Tübingen, 2000) (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum, 5) 36–56.

(25) *Euch* 1902, p. 507–5–509.

(26) For the Greek text cf. CUMING, *The Liturgy of St Mark...*, 28–29.

<p>ΑΡΕΣ ΕΡΟΙ ΒΕΝ ΟΥΖΙΡΗΝΗ ΝΕΝ ΟΥΝΕΘΗΝΗ ΝΕΝ ΟΥΝΕΤΧΩΡΙ</p>	<p>Keep him in <i>peace</i>, righteousness and strength.</p>
<p>ΜΑΡΟΥΣΝΕΧΩΟΥ ΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΉΧΕ ΝΙΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΣ ΝΙΕΘΗΟΣ ΝΙΕΘΟΥΩΩ ΉΝΗΒΩΤΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΘΗΕΤΕ ΘΩΗ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΉΕΥΘΕΝΙΑ</p>	<p>May all the <i>barbarians</i>, the <i>nations</i> that desire wars against all our <i>abundance</i> be subdued unto him.</p>
<p>ΣΑΧΙ ΕΣΡΗΙ ΕΠΕΙΖΗΤ ΕΘΕ ΤΖΙΡΗΝΗ ΉΝΤΕ ΤΕΚΟΥ Ή ΉΝΑΥΑΤΣ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ ΉΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗ Ή ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΙΚΗ ΉΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ</p>	<p>Speak to his heart concerning the <i>peace</i> of Your one only <i>catholic</i> and <i>apostolic church</i></p>
<p>ΝΗΙΣ ΝΑΙ ΕΝΕΥΙ ΠΙΡΗΝΗΚΟΝ ΕΣΟΥΗ ΕΡΟΗ ΝΕΝ ΕΣΟΥΗ ΕΠΕΚΡΑΗ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ</p>	<p>Grant him to think <i>peaceably</i> toward us and towards Your holy name</p>
<p>ΖΗΝΑ ΔΗΟΝ ΖΩΗ ΕΗΩΝΣ ΒΕΝ ΟΥΒΙΟΣ ΕΙΖΟΥΡΩΟΥ ΟΥΟΖ ΕΙΩΡΩΪ ΉΣΕΧΕΝΤΕΝ ΕΗΩΠ ΒΕΝ ΗΕΤΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ ΗΙΒΕΝ ΝΕΝ ΗΕΤΣΕΝΗΟΣ ΗΙΒΕΝ ΕΣΟΥΗ ΕΡΟΚ</p>	<p><i>In order that</i> we too live a quiet and peaceful <i>life</i>, and may be found dwelling in all <i>piety</i> and <i>holiness</i> in You.</p>
<p>ΚΕ</p>	<p><i>People: Lord have mercy</i>²⁷</p>

Commentary

This text resembles the rite of royal crowning in the Ancient Constantinopolitan Euchologion.²⁸

Constantinopolitan Euchologion	Coptic Euchologion
<p>ὑπότοξον αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ βάρβαρα ἔθνη, ἐνσπειρον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ τὸν φόβον σου, καὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους συμπάθειαν διατήρησον αὐτὸν ἐντῇ ἀμωμῆτῳ πίστει, ἀνάδειξον αὐτὸν ἀκριβῆ φύλακα τῶν τῆς ἀγίας σου καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας δογμάτων</p>	<p>ΜΑΡΟΥΣΝΕΧΩΟΥ ΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΉΧΕ ΝΙΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΣ ΝΙΕΘΗΟΣ ΝΙΕΘΟΥΩΩ ΉΝΗΒΩΤΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΘΗΕΤΕ ΘΩΗ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΉΕΥΘΕΝΙΑ ΣΑΧΙ ΕΣΡΗΙ ΕΠΕΙΖΗΤ ΕΘΕ ΤΖΙΡΗΝΗ ΉΝΤΕ ΤΕΚΟΥ Ή ΉΝΑΥΑΤΣ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ ΉΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗ Ή ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΙΚΗ ΉΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΝΗΙΣ ΝΑΙ ΕΝΕΥΙ ΠΙΡΗΝΗΚΟΝ ΕΣΟΥΗ ΕΡΟΗ ΝΕΝ ΕΣΟΥΗ ΕΠΕΚΡΑΗ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ</p>

(27) *Euch* 1902, p. 595–5–597.

(28) M. ARRANZ, *Couronnement royal et autres promotions de cour — les sacrements de l’institution de l’ancien Euchologue Constantinopolitain, OCP* 56 (1990) 83–133, especially p. 92–93.

<p>Make all the barbarian nations be subdued to him, put in his heart the fear, and the compassion towards the subjects. Preserve him in the immaculate faith, show him to be as a guardian to the precise teaching of the holy Catholic Church</p>	<p>May all the <i>barbarians</i>, the <i>nations</i> that desire wars against all our <i>abundance</i> be subdued unto him Speak to his heart concerning the <i>peace</i> of Your one and only <i>catholic and apostolic Church</i> Grant him to think <i>peaceably</i> toward us and towards Your holy name</p>
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This prayer is different from the intercession of the Byzantine Anaphora of Mark²⁹ where there is no mention of the Barbarians and the nations.

It is hard to say which litany took from the other. However, it is important to mention that the earliest manuscripts of the liturgy of Saint Cyril and Saint Mark are Greek fragments on papyrus. These fragments are preserved in the University of Strasbourg (not including this litany). These fragments probably date from the fourth century. The British Museum possesses small Greek fragments written in the sixth or seventh century containing part of the liturgy of Saint Mark, while the Constantinopolitan Euchologion is later.

For obvious reasons the Coptic rite of enthroning the kings is absent from Coptic manuscripts,³⁰ however, the similarities with the Byzantine rite of Enthroning the king, show that this rite was not only compiled for use at the enthroning of Haile Selassie, but may have historical roots. The fact that the Litany for the king comes to the conclusion of the rite — as the crowning of the service — has similarities in the Coptic Church; for example, the Funerary service for the congregation at the conclusion of the Palm Sunday service is the Litany for the Reposed. The same could be said for the Unction of the Sick where the Litany for the sick comes as a conclusion.

The Rituals

These services include:

There is no special litany for the kings, however, the different rites use the litanies — mentioned above in the Euchologion. We will give an overview of the use of these litanies in the different services:

(29) CUMING, *The liturgy of St Mark...*, 7, 13, 113–114, 116–117.

(30) ZANETTI, *Bohairic Liturgical Manuscripts...*, 83, note 67.

- a– **Baptism**³¹ and Christian Initiation: The litany for the king is prayed during the liturgy of the baptism.³²
- b– **Marriage:** the litany for the **king is not recited**, however, the great litany for the peace of the Church which mentions the king occurs.³³
- c– **Unction of the sick:**³⁴ Apart from its use at home for a sick person, this service is performed publicly once a year on the last Friday of Lent; two days before Palm Sunday, using the tunes of Sundays during Lent. The order for the Unction of the Sick consists of an introduction and seven prayers or sections consisting of a litany, readings from the epistle, the gospel, and prayer, and a conclusion. There are some similarities between the Coptic and Greek rite of the Unction of the Sick, however, the Coptic rite is shorter than the Greek one. In the fourth prayer, the priest shall say the *litany for the king*.³⁵
- d– **Burial services:** Only the long litany of peace is said.
- e– **The office of the Genuflection:** the litany for the king is said during the second prayer.³⁶
- f– **The procession of the Cross:** there are two feasts for the Cross: The first commemorates the discovery of the Cross by Queen Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great, in the fourth century. The second date commemorates the recovery of the Holy Cross from the Persians by the Roman emperor Heraclius in the seventh century. Although these two feasts are Byzantine par excellence, the Coptic Church has a special rite for these days. The tune of Palm Sunday is used for these feasts as well as the procession. There is a hymn praising King Constantine who or-

(31) For the rite of Baptism cf. O. H. E. BURMESTER, *Baptismal Rite of the Coptic Church*, BSAC 11 (1945) 27–86.

(32) Philotheus al-Maḡari, Barnaba al-Baramusi and Claudius Girgis, *Kitāb al-Ma'mūdiyyah al-Muḡasah* [the book of the holy Baptism] (Cairo, 1921) 57.

(33) Cf. Text 1.

(34) For the history of this rite cf. B. POSCHMANN, *Penance and the anointing of the Sick*, tr. F. Courtney, *The Herder History of Dogma* (London, 1963); R. M. WOOLLEY, *Coptic Offices* (London, 1930) s.v.

(35) Cf. Text 3.

(36) O. H. E. BURMESTER, *The Office of Genuflection on Whitsunday*, *Mus* 47 (1934) 205–257.

dered the closing down of the idol temples and the reopening of the churches of the Christians. It seems that the cult of Constantine was imported from the Byzantine church.³⁷

ΕΤΑΥΕΝ ΝΙΣΣΑΙ ἠΖΙΡΗΝΙΚΟΝ ἠΤΕ
ΚΩΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ ΕΞΟΥΗ ΕΡΑΚΟ†
ΞΕ ΜΑΦΘΑΜ ἠΦΡΟ ἠΠΗΕΡΦΗΟΥΙ
ΛΟΥΩΝ ἠΦΡΟ ἠΤΕ †ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ

When the *peaceful* edits of
Constantine reached Alexan-
dria (saying) close the gate of
the temples and open the gates
of the *Church*...³⁸

- g– The ordo of the Holy Week: There is a special prayer for the Christ-loving leaders. It seems that this prayer was written after the Arabic conquest, when some governors had pity upon Christians:³⁹

ΤΩΒΡΖ ΕΧΕΝ ΜΗΦΙΛΟΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ
ἠΑΡΧΩΝ ΕΤΑΥΖΟΝΖΕΝ ἠΑΝ
ΕΕΡΠΟΥΜΕΥΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΝΟΥΡΑΝ ἠΤΕ
ΠῚΣ ΣΝΟΥ ΕΡΩΟΥ ἠΤΕϋ†ΧΑΡΙΣ
ΝΩΟΥ ἠΕΝΘΟ ἠΜΠΕΖΟΥΣΙΑ
ΕΤΑΜΑΖΙ ΠῚῚ

Pray for the *Christ loving leaders*,
who ordered us to remember
them *by* their names so that the
Lord bless them and give them
grace in front of the mighty
authorities etc.

Commentary

The political context of this litany shows that this prayer is for the “Christ loving leaders” who are serving “mighty authorities” that means non-Christian. The authority is rendered in Arabic “Sultan.” This implies a late Medieval context, perhaps during the Mamluke era (1257–1516).

- h– In addition to the special services such as the blessing of the waters for the Epiphany, Maundy Thursday and feast of Saints Peter and Paul.

(37) G. VIAUD, La Procession des deux Fêtes de la Croix et du Dimanche des Rameaux dans l’Eglise Copte, *BSAC* 19 (1967–1968) 211–226. L. VILLECOURT, «Les Observances liturgiques et la discipline du jeûne dans l’église copte, *Mus* 38 (1925) 261–320.

(38) Atallah Arsenius Al-MUHARRAQI, كتاب دلال اسبوع الالام الشتمل على تر [The book of the guide to the Passion Week including the ordo of the passion Week from the Saturday of Lazarus to the day of Šam al-Nasīm] (Cairo, 1970) 123.

(39) A. SIDARUS, La Pâque sainte ou la Semaine Sainte selon la liturgie copte, *Proche Orient Chrétien* 17 (1967) 3–43.

The litany for the king is said before the consecration of the water in the Epiphany,⁴⁰ Maundy Thursday,⁴¹ as well as foot-washing service on the feast of Peter and Paul.⁴²

The Pontificals

These books are mainly to be said by the Bishops of the patriarchs, they include

- a- ordination of Bishops, priests, deacons, sub-deacons, readers. Nothing is mentioned relating to the king.
- b- The consecration of the liturgical instruments- nothing is mentioned relating to the king.
- c- consecration of the Church, and a new altar during this rite the Bishop shall say the Litany of Peace and also we find this *Lexis*.

ϕαι πε πιη ετα πιπ̄νᾱ εθοϋαρ
 κοτϕ ερω οϋοζ ανον̄ ἰτηεντωρ̄
 σεη οϋμεθ̄μηη ρ̄νᾱ ἰτεϕερ̄ηηοτ
 ἠπ̄κρο ἰτε νενοϋρωοϋ̄ ηηη
 ηηηοτ̄ ηηη π̄μᾱ ἠημοηη τηρϕ ἰτε
 †ηρηηηη ηηη ηηη πεϕηηωτ̄ ἠηηαι

This is the house which the Holy Spirit built, and we pray in truth that he may grant victory to our kings and fathers and all pasturage of peace, and his great mercy.⁴³

(40) O. H. E. BURMESTER, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church: Detailed Description of her Liturgical Services and Rites* (Cairo, 1967) (Textes et documents) 252.

(41) BURMESTER, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church...*, 257–258.

(42) O. H. E. BURMESTER, Two Services of the Coptic Church Attributed to Peter, Bishop of Bhenasa, *Mus* 45 (1932) 235–254, especially p. 239. IDEM, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church...*, 261. Burmester in the first article did not mention the litanies, while in the second publication he mentioned the “Seven Small prayers.” We refer to the edition of Atalla Arsenius AL-MUHARAQI, ΠΙΧΩΗ ἰτε †ΛΑΚΑΗΗ ΗΗ ΠΙΧΗΟΓΩΨΤ ΦΗΕΤΕΡΑΜΑΖ ΕΧΕΗ †ΛΑΚΑΗΗ ἰτε π̄ωαι ἠπ̄χιηωης ηηη π̄ε̄ ἠηηωτ̄ ηηη ηηηοτ̄ ἠ̄ ἠποστολοζ ηηη †ΠΑΗΤΗΚΟΤΗ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΤΑΪϕ ἠηηηηοτ̄ ἰτε †ΕΚΚΛΗϑΙΑ ἠρηηηηηη ἠορ̄θολοζοζ [*The book of the (water) font which contains the (prayer for the) font of the feast Epiphany, the great Thursday and the feast of the Apostles and the Pentecost according to the rite of our fathers of the Coptic Orthodox Church*] (Cairo, 1971) 163.

(43) G. HORNER, *The Service for the Consecration of a Church and Altar According to the Coptic Rite. Edited with Translations from a Coptic and Arabic Manuscript of A.D. 1307* (London, 1902) 321 (text), 3 (translation); BURMESTER, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church...*, 236–237.

d– consecration of the Myron we find that the archdeacon exhorts the congregation saying:⁴⁴

ΥΠΕΡ ΤΟΥ
ΕΥΣΕΒΗСТАΤΟΥ
ΚΕ ΘΕΟΣΕΠΤΟΥ ΚΕ
ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΟΥ ΗΜΩΝ
ΒΑΣΙΛΙΟΣ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ
ΤΟΥ ΠΑΛΑΤΙΟΥ ΚΕ ΤΟΥ
ΣΤΡΑΕΤΟΥ ΚΕ ΤΗΣ
ΟΥΡΑΝΩΘΕ ΝΙΚΩΣ ΚΕ
ΒΟΗΟΗΘΙΑΣ ΔΥΤΩΝ
ΔΕΟΜΕΘΑCΟΥ ΚΕ
ΕΛΕΗΣΟΝ

من اجل القاع بالعبادة
المتوج من الله الملك
المستقيم و كل بلاطه
واجناده و لجميع اعوانه
نسالك

For our most pious
and God fearing
Orthodox our kings,
and all who are in
the palace and the
soldiers⁴⁵ and the
heavenly victory⁴⁶
and their helpers⁴⁷ let
us beseech the Lord,
to have mercy⁴⁸

CONSECRATION OF THE HOLY KALLIELION: Let the Archbishop say the petitions which are for the sick, those who are travelling, for the fruits of the earth, for those who have fallen asleep, the sacrifices, the kings...⁴⁹

Horlogion

In the troparia of the Midnight Prayer we read:

Ω ΤΗCΗCΟΥΤ ἠΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC
ΠΙCΟΒΤ ἠΑΤΟΥΩΧΠ ΔΡΙΩΡΩ ἠΘΟ
ἠΠCΟΒΗ ἠΝΗΕΤΕΤ ἠΟΥΒΗΝ ΟΥΟZ
ΠΗΚΑZ ἠΖΗΤ ἠΤΕ ΠΕΡΩΚ
ΔΡΙΤΑCΘΟC ΕΟΥΡΑΩ ΔΡΙΕΡCΟΒΤ
ΕΤΕΝΠΟΛΙC ΟΥΟZ ΔΡΙΗΩΙ ΕΧΕΗ
ΝΕΝΟΥΡΩΟΥ ΟΥΟZ ΔΡΙΠΡΕCΒΕΥΗ
ΕΧΕΗ ΤΖΙΡΗΗ ἠΠΙΚΟCΗC
ΧΕ ἠΘΟ ΓΑΡ ΠΕΤΕΗΖΕΛΠΙC Ω
ΗΑCΗΟΥΤ

O Virgin God-Bearer, the
unbroken wall, bring thou to
naught the counsels of those who
oppose us, and turn the affliction
of your servant to joy, be a wall to
our city and fight for our kings
and intercede for the peace of the
world, for you are our hope,
O God-Bearer.⁵⁰

(44) BURMESTER, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church...*, 228.

(45) Arabic: "his soldiers."

(46) Not in the Arabic.

(47) Arabic adds "all his helper."

(48) Not in the Arabic version.

(49) BURMESTER, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church...*, 231.

(50) O. H. E. BURMESTER, *The Horologion of the Egyptian Church* (Cairo, 1973) (*Studia Orientalia Christiana Aegyptiaca*) 124 (text), 226 (translation).

Commentary

As Father Ugo Zanetti observed, the prayers of the hours are the direct descendants of those original Canonical hours which came into being with the foundation of the coenobitic or communal form of Egyptian Monasticism. There are some relations with the old Jerusalem rite.⁵¹ This troparion has a counterpart in the Greek office of the Midnight.⁵²

The historical context for the Greek office may be during the war between the emperor Heraclius and the Persians. When the Emperor with the Patriarch Sergios prayed to the Virgin Mary, the patriarch made a procession of the icon of the Virgin around the walls of the City while the king was fighting against the Persian occupation of the Jerusalem, Syria, Egypt; "Be a wall to our *city* and fight for our kings and *intercede* for the *peace* of the *world*."⁵³

The Psalmodia

There is no prayer for the king; only Constantine and Helena are commemorated in the *memento sanctorum*.⁵⁴

In addition to the liturgical texts there is also a fast called:

The Fast of Heraclius⁵⁵

This seven-day fast is attributed to Emperor Heraclius (575–642), who rescued the holy cross from the Persians in 629 and restored it to Golgotha. It is incorrectly linked with the Coptic Church, and taken to account for the first seven of the fifty-five days forming the Coptic Great Lent. The misconception arises from the following historical event.

When the triumphant emperor reached Tiberias on his way back from Persia, he was lobbied by the Jewish population who succeeded through lavish gifts in acquiring his written pledge of security. This did to forestall any possible acts of retribution on the part of the Christian population of the Holy Land. However, on his arrival at

(51) U. ZANETTI, *Horologion Copte et vèpres byzantines*, *Mus* 102 (1989) 237–254.

(52) BURMESTER, *The Horologion...*, 226, note 5.

(53) *Ibid.*

(54) For this text cf. Youhanna Nessim YOUSSEF, "Notes on the Magma" (*memento sanctorum*) and the Athanasius prayer in the Coptic Psalmodia, *JCS* 7 (2005) 111–124

(55) Archbishop BASILIOS, "Fasting", in: *CE*, vol. 4, 1093a–1097a.

Jerusalem, the Christians pointed out to the emperor concrete evidence of the devastation caused by the Jews during the years of the Persian occupation and urged him to punish them. Heraclius was at first reluctant to depart from the promise of security he had just granted, but the Byzantine patriarch of Jerusalem and his bishops argued that a promise made under fraud would not be binding. Furthermore, to allay his misgivings, they offered to institute a week's fast in recompense for his breach of promise and to write to other Churches to this effect. Eventually, Heraclius gave orders for the massacre of the Jewish population in Jerusalem. The story occurs in both versions of the chronicles of Sa'id ibn Batriq (887–940), the Melchite patriarch in Egypt,⁵⁶ the Egyptian⁵⁷ and the Antiochene.⁵⁸ The Antiochene version states that edicts were published and the Copts *till now* observe this fast while the Syrians and the Byzantines have not observed it since the death of Heraclius.

CONCLUSION

This article shows once more the importance of the study of the Coptic liturgical texts as reflecting an early stage of history. It demonstrates the conservative attitude of the Coptic Church of keeping the tradition as for the fast of Heraclius which was left even by the Melchites before the ninth century, while the Copts continue this fast up to the present day. The historical-religious political context in the time of composition are reflected in these texts.

The liturgical prayers for the Kings in the Coptic tradition may be dated from the time of idolatry to the time of the Sultans (Authorities) and hence we have about one thousand years of composition.

SUMMARY

This article overviews the Coptic liturgical texts relating to the kings. While after the Arab invasion there is no Christian King in Egypt, the Coptic Church still prays for the King. We follow the evolution of these prayers. In one instance we find a parallel text in the Byzantine tradition.

(56) For this author cf. M. BREDDY, *Études sur Sa'id ibn Batriq et ses sources* (Leuven, 1983) (CSCO, 450) 1–12.

(57) M. BREDDY, *Das Annalenwerk des Eutychios von Alexandrien* (CSCO, 471–472) (Leuven, 1985) 128–129 (text).

(58) L. CHEIKHO, *Eutychii Patriarchae Alexandrini Annales*, vol. 2 (Paris—Beirut, 1962) (CSCO, 51) 5–7 (text).

К ИСТОРИИ «УСТАВНЫХ ЧТЕНИЙ»: ДРЕВНЕСЛАВЯНСКИЙ ПАРЕНЕСИС ЕФРЕМА СИРИНА¹

Сочинения Ефрема Сирина († 373 г.) были известны славянам по греческим сборникам с его именем, в которые входили также произведения других авторов, приписываемые Ефрему. У славян уже в X в. получило распространение собрание Слов, называвшееся по-гречески «Паренесис», хотя греческие книги с тождественным составом не сохранились. О раннем славянском переводе свидетельствуют глаголические листки с отрывками из Паренесиса.² Смысл греческого названия пространно толковался уже при самом его упоминании. Вот как открывается самый ранний из сохранившихся списков Паренесиса — Погодинский:

(1) Работа выполнена в рамках научного проекта «Лингвотекстологические и корпусные исследования грамматической семантики древнерусского текста», 2.1.3/2987 (аналитическая ведомственная целевая программа «Развитие научного потенциала высшей школы» Федерального агентства по образованию РФ).

Источники и сокращения:

ЕфрСир 1269–1289 — Паренесис Ефрема Сирина, РНБ, Пог. 71а. 328 л.
ЕфрСир посл. тр. XIII — Паренесис Ефрема Сирина, РГАДА, Тип. 38. 143 л.

ЕфрСир ок. сер. XIV — Паренесис Ефрема Сирина, РГБ, Тр. 7. 246 л.

ЕфрСир 1377 — Паренесис Ефрема Сирина, БАН 31.7.2. 258 л.

ЕфрСир XIV₂ — Паренесис Ефрема Сирина, РМ 3/2. Л. 331–354.

Сводный каталог 1984 — Сводный каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг, хранящихся в СССР. XI–XIII вв. (Москва, 1984).

Сводный каталог 2002 — Сводный каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг XIV в., вып. 1. (Москва, 2002).

Уст к. XII — Устав студийский церковный и монастырский, ГИМ, Син. 330, в: А. М. Пентковский, *Типикон патриарха Алексия Студита в Византии и на Руси (Москва, 2001)* 233–420.

(2) См.: И. Срезневский, *Сведения и заметки о малоизвестных и неизвестных памятниках*, вып. I (Санкт-Петербург, 1867) 36; *Сводный каталог 1984*, 67–68.

¹ КНИГЪ ГТО ФОРЪМЪ
² ГЛЕМЪНА ГРЕЧАСКЪМА НАЗЪКО-
³ МА ПАРЕНЕСИСЪ . СКАЗАКТА ЖЕ СА
⁴ ПАРЕНЕСИ ПРИТЧА . ОУТЪШЪНАК
⁵ МОЛЪНАЕ . ПОЧЪНАК НАКАЗАНА-
⁶ НА ПОТЪКЪНА . РАЗЛИЧНО Ш СМО-
⁷ МА КФРЪМЪ . И Ш БЛУДНИЦЮ
⁸ ДКОЮ . И Ш СЪКЪМА КАСИЛЪ СЛО^Ѡ
⁹ ПЕРКОЕ ...
 ЕфрСир 1269–1289, 1а.³

Сходное начало имеют южнославянские списки — болгарский и сербские. Древнерусский Погодинский Паренесис 1269–1289 гг. и среднеболгарский Лесновский Паренесис 1353 г. изданы как параллельные тексты Г. Бойковским и Р. Айтцетмюллером.⁴ В разночтениях издания используются древнерусский Фроловский список XIV в. (РНБ, Ф. п. I 45) и два древнесербских списка XIV в. (из библиотек Софии и Загреба — рукопись № 298 и III b 12 соответственно).

В более позднем древнерусском списке из Троицкого рукописного собрания в толковании названия остается лишь нумерологически значимая триада лексем, меняется и их состав, а книге более ясно, чем в первой записи, усваивается название по имени автора учительного сборника — «Ефрем»:

¹ КН-
² НГИ
³ ГЛЕМЪНА КФРЪМЪ .
⁴ СКАЗАКТА ЖЕ СА ГРАЧА-
⁵ СКЪМА НАЗЪКОМА ПА-
⁶ РЕНЕСИСЪ . КЪЖЕ КСТА ПО-
⁷ СЛУШАНИКЪ Ш ОУТЪШЕНИ-

(3) О датировке см.: СРЕЗНЕВСКИЙ, *Сведения и заметки...*, 37–39; *Сводный каталог* 2002, 644; Л. В. Мошкова, А. А. Турилов, «Плоды ливанского кедра» (Москва, 2003) 48–51; О. Ф. Жолобов, *Летосчислительные обозначения и датировка рукописей, Древняя Русь. Вопросы медиевистики* 3 (21) (2005) 31–32.

(4) G. BOJKOVSKY, R. AITZETMÜLLER, *Paraenesis. Die altbulgarische Übersetzung von Werken Ephraims des Syrers*, Bd. I–IV (Freiburg i. Br., 1984–1988).

⁸ КЪ І ОУМЛЕНІЕ ГИ ВЛГКІ Ѡ-
⁹ ЧЕ .

ЕфрСир ок. сер. XIV, 4в (в рукописи киноварь).⁵

Об уже устоявшемся наименовании книг «Ефрем» свидетельствует запись писца в Академическом списке:

¹¹ В ЛѢТѢ . ꙗко ѠПЕ НАПИ-
¹² САНІ ВЪИША КНИГИ
¹³ СНА . ВОДХНОВЕНІ-
¹⁴ Я . РЕКОМЪНА КФРѢ-
¹⁵ МЪ . ПО ЖИТІЮ ПРЕЖЕ ВЪИ-
¹⁶ ВШНХЪ СТХЪ ѠЦА . ПО РЕ-
¹⁷ ЧЕНИЕМЪ . И МДРѢТІЮ .
¹⁸ И ѠКРОВЕНІЕМЪ СТХЪ
¹⁹ КНИГЪ ПИСАНІИ

ЕфрСир 1377, 259а (см. ниже запись целиком).

Другие полные древнерусские списки книги — Академический и Фроловский — приведенного заголовка не имеют. В Типографском списке (ЕфрСир XIII₂) утрачены начало и конец, открывается он на середине Слова 34, а обрывается на конце Слова 94.⁶

Раннее появление славянского перевода «Ефрема», а затем широкое его распространение и популярность находят естественное объяснение в том, что творения преподобного Ефрема довольно рано стали устойчивым элементом литургической практики.⁷

(5) О датировке см.: Предварительный список славяно-русских рукописей XI–XIV вв., хранящихся в СССР, в: *Археографический ежегодник за 1965 год* (Москва, 1966) 225.

(6) В *Сводный каталог* 1984, 360, рукопись датирована концом XIII — началом XIV в., однако в ней отразилась гораздо более ранняя орфографическая система (см.: О. Ф. Жолобов, Динамика глагольных форм в корпусе древнерусских учительных сборников, *Ученые записки Казанского государственного университета* 151, кн. 6: Серия «Гуманитарные науки» (2009) 82). Предстоит решить, обусловлено ли это техникой копирования или сознательными архаизирующими установками переписчиков. По наблюдениям А. А. Турилова и Э. С. Смирновой, о которых они нам любезно сообщили, ничто не мешает датировать рукопись второй половиной XIII в. (предпочтительнее 1270–1280 гг.). А. А. Турилов отметил также в первом почерке палеографические признаки первой половины или середины XIII в.

(7) Мы признательны Марии Йовчевой за консультацию по уставной регламентации.

«...Уже к началу IX в. можно констатировать факт существования в древней иерусалимской богослужебной практике... строя чтений, состоявшего из следующих элементов: а) последовательного чтения текста Священного Писания Нового Завета, начиная с Деяний Апостольских, б) последовательного чтения толкований Златоуста на евангелия Матфея и Иоанна и книгу Деяний, а также в) нравоучительных творений св. Ефрема Сирина, г) эпизодические чтения отдельных слов из этих же толкований, а также д) самостоятельных слов, главным образом, древних великих отцов — Василия Великого, Григория Богослова, Григория Нисского, Иоанна Златоустого, соответственно воспоминаниям дня, е) чтения житий и повествований о святых применительно к воспоминаниям дня, ж) Патерика и, наконец, — в качестве восполнения, з) живого непосредственного поучения игумена»⁸ (старая орфография нами не воспроизводится). Как мы видим, чтениям из «Ефрема» здесь отводилось отдельное место. Все указанные элементы под влиянием богослужебной практики первенствующей Церкви в дальнейшем будут представлены в константинопольских уставах, хотя и в другом соотношении. Специальное значение придавалось по традиции чтениям Ефремовых Слов и в позднейшем Великом Синаксаре, возникшем на Афоне. На Четыредесятницу здесь полагались «по будням творения св. Ефрема, но не на утрене и на часах, как по Алексеевскому Уставу, а только на часах и при том всех, даже на 1-ом. На 6 часе это чтение полагается сверх паремии, причем “народ садится” уже при пении прокимна паремии...».⁹

Греческий Студийско-Алексиевский устав дошел до нашего времени только в славяно-русском переводе, выполненном, вероятно, в Древней Руси еще до кончины основателя монастырской жизни Феодосия Печерского († 1074).¹⁰ Монастырское богослужение с этого времени оказывало постоянное и сильное влияние на богослужение соборно-приходское, которое в духовном существовании Древней Руси не отделялось от монастырских установлений, а лишь приспособлялось к другому жизненному укладу.

(8) В. П. Виноградов, *Уставные чтения. (Проповедь книги). Историко-гомилетическое исследование*. Вып. 1-й: *Уставная регламентация чтений в Греческой Церкви* (Сергиев Посад, 1914) 223.

(9) Там же, 292.

(10) См.: Пентковский, *Типикон патриарха Алексия Студита...*, 226–227.

Безусловно, в этом отношении древнерусская церковь хранила единство всего жизненного пространства Древней Руси.¹¹ Очень показательны записи писцов в Погодинском (ЕфрСир 1269–1289) и Академическом (ЕфрСир 1377) списках (записи воспроизводятся по фотокопиям, предоставленным в рукописных отделах РНБ и БАН):

Погодинский список	Академический список
<p>328б</p> <p>⁸ Б лѣто семоѣ . тѣсащѣ на- ⁹ писашася книгѣ сѣна при ¹⁰ црѣтѣкѣ бл҃гоуѣрнаго црѣа ¹¹ колодимѣра . сѣна каснако- ¹² ка . оунука романока . б҃голю- ¹³ бикому тивуну не҃го петрови ¹⁴ да аще приключитася ко- ¹⁵ му сѣна книгѣ прочита- ¹⁶ ти . то перкоѣ помани стро- ¹⁷ ителеа ихѣ . написа же сѣна ¹⁸ книгѣ на сп҃наѣ скоѣи дши ¹⁹ и чадомѣ скоимѣ . лаврѣк- ²⁰ нтѣнѣи . каркарѣкѣ . да и азѣ ²¹ грѣшнѣи хуудѣи . неѣѣ ²² ѿкерѣѣ сквернаѣ скоѣи оу- ²³ ста похвалю избраника ²⁴ б҃на . списавшаго книгѣи си ²⁵ за ѿпущѣнѣѣ не҃го . даи не- ²⁶ му г҃и бѣ здравѣѣ . и телеси ²⁷ не҃го . ѿ деснѣю тебе бл҃дко ²⁸ стоѣти . совкуплену . сѣ ²⁹ праженицею скоѣю и сѣ ³⁰ чады . и судѣ малѣтѣѣ оу- ³¹ спрнати ѿ тебе бѣ сѣ стѣи-</p>	<p>259а</p> <p>¹⁰ Глоѣ ѿтѣ писателя списѣ ¹¹ Б лѣтѣ . ѣѣ ѿпе напи- ¹² санѣ вѣша книги ¹³ сѣна . бо дх҃новенѣи- ¹⁴ нѣ . рекомѣна кѣрѣкѣ- ¹⁵ мѣ . по жиѣю преже вѣи- ¹⁶ вшихѣ стѣхѣ ѿца . по ре- ¹⁷ чениѣмѣ . и мадрѣтѣю . ¹⁸ и ѿкорокенаѣмѣ стѣхѣ ¹⁹ книгѣ писаниѣ . а пи- ²⁰ санѣ вѣша книги ²¹ стѣму архирѣкѣю ѿцю ни- ²² колѣ . на колото . вѣ бо- ²³ хранимѣмѣ градѣ переѣ- ²⁴ славлѣи . а при велѣнѣмѣ ²⁵ и бл҃городнѣмѣ князи дми- ²⁶ трѣи ивановичи всеѣи руси ²⁷ и при братѣ не҃го при князи ²⁸ колодимѣрѣ андрѣкѣи . и ²⁹ при архирѣкѣи алекѣи</p>
<p>328в</p> <p>¹ ми тѣоими причти ихѣ</p>	<p>259б</p> <p>¹ митрополитѣ всеѣи руси . ² а ста-->наѣмѣ раба б҃на ³ бо молца дмитрина и҃гуме- ⁴ на ѿбщежителѣ . ѣже ѿ ⁵ хѣтѣ с братѣкѣю а рукою</p>

(11) С первых шагов христианства на Руси «древнерусского человека» влекло в церковь и монастырь «эмоциональное воздействие искусства, это было его инстинктивной реакцией на более высокую культуру, чем та, в которой он родился и вырос» (М. Ф. Мурьянов, *Гимнография Киевской Руси* (Москва, 2003) 375).

Погодинский список	Академический список
<p>2 нѣкоу жнѣмъ прѣдъ то- 3 боу стати . помани ихъ 4 гѣи ко црѣтѣмъ свѣмъ съ- 5 паси дша ихъ .. — 6 Гемокъ тѣлѣщѣ оу коне- 7 чномъ родѣ вѣи мужъ к та 8 лѣта юму же нздѣно вѣи 9 оу стѣомъ крѣпнѣи петрѣ 10 сѣи вѣше оу та вѣремена 11 тивунѣ оу князѣ коло- 12 димѣрѣ . и вѣи оу него снѣ 13 именема лаврѣнтинѣ . е- 14 гоже оуда оучити стѣмъ 15 книгамъ . на казѣкаш[е] 16 алѣгласкѣми заповѣдам[и] 17 на всѣа часѣи . самъ же сѣи[-] 18 стрѣишетѣ снѣ книги [сѣ] 19 многома тѣпанѣмъ . на 20 всѣа дни мнѣуа мастера 21 о тако вѣихъ бо рѣи прѣркѣ 22 вѣжнѣи малѣтѣмъ до сир[о]- 23 тѣа яко ти помнѣокани 24 вудутѣ на судѣ . страшиѣ- 25 ма . и пакѣи пакѣлѣ рѣи к се- 26 лунѣномъ . вѣгослобѣ- 27 ни сѣтѣ иже исполнѣю- 28 тѣ писанѣа стѣхъ кни- 29 гѣ . ти бо нѣ оутѣиѣни вуд- 30 дутѣ прѣдъ ѡцѣма мон- 31 ма . иже кѣтѣ на нѣхъ . по- 32 чикаѣа на серафимѣхъ 33 о тако вѣихъ бо рѣи . прѣркѣ</p>	<p>6 маломощнаго а много- 7 грѣшнаго ꙗже недостѣннаго 8 члѣка раба бѣа дѣака 9 алекѣника : се же азъ грѣ- 10 шнѣи . неразѣумнѣи ра- 11 вѣ бѣи дѣака алекѣника 12 нарѣцаѣмъ владѣичѣ- 13 ка ѡкушѣхъса напи- 14 сати снѣ книги хѣудѣ 15 имѣна разѣума . не ꙗко 16 ѣа оума добра к покѣа- 17 нѣю . аки древо к пѣсѣтѣ- 18 ни вѣтѣромъ колѣбѣ- 19 мо† 20 в се же лѣи ѡполчишѣса 21 ꙗко пленѣнѣици <такъ> ꙗти на 22 русѣскѣю землѣю . на нѣкѣ- 23 городѣ на нижнѣи . за оу- 24 множенѣк грѣхѣмъ на- 25 шихъ . князѣ же вели- 26 кѣи дмитриѣ конѣанти- 27 нѣичѣ нѣкгородѣскѣи 28 посла вѣстѣа ко князю 29 к великому дмитрию 30 ꙗко вѣи зѣтѣю свѣмъ 31 на москѣу . и князѣ<-></p>
<p>328г 1 дѣдѣ . прѣвѣдникѣа яко 2 фюникѣа прѣцѣлѣте . да ѡце 3 кто не похѣалитѣ стрѣите- 4 ла снѣ книгамъ . имене- 5 ма петрѣа . вудѣи юму ѡнафо-</p>	<p>259в 1 2 3 4 5 6 гѣи помѣзи равоу бѣю 7 владѣичѣкѣа написѣ- 8 вѣшѣмоу книги снѣ 9 стѣму великому ни- 10 колѣ . а замѣшлѣни- 11 ма ѡгоумѣнѣма .</p>

Погодинский список	Академический список
<p>6 ма . ѡкоже монѣи рѣ^ѣ но по- 7 хкаликъ ѡго . первоѣ тоже 8 чти сина книгѣ . написа 9 же ѡму сина книгѣ <u>худоу</u> 10 <u>и недостоинѣи . и много-</u> 11 <u>грѣшнѣи . и черес[-] силу</u> 12 <u>беззаконнѣи . худолѣ не-</u> 13 <u>кѣ . пакѣи написа пакелѣ</u> 14 к Тимофѣю будѣте тѣрци 15 слову и оучители многа 16 лѣта князю колодимѣру 17 и княгини колзѣ . и стро- 18 ителю книгамъ сина</p>	<p>12 дмитрикма . <---></p>

Если заказчиком — “строителем” Погодинского списка был княжеский тиун Петр, а переписчиком “мастер Иев”, то Академический список переписан дьяконом “Алексейкой-Владычкой” по заказу игумена Дмитрия († 1392), основавшего около 1370 г. монастырь “Николы на болоте”, а впоследствии ставшего известным основателем вологодского Спасо-Прилуцкого монастыря.¹² Если запись в книге, заказанной мирянином, проникнута эсхатологическими настроениями, а создание рукописи включается в контекст святоотеческих цитат и специально обосновывается, то вторая запись в этом отношении очень лаконична. Если в первой записи упоминается семья заказчика, но ничего не сказано о внешних исторических обстоятельствах, то во второй, напротив, сообщается о нашествии “иноплеменников”, которое закономерно уравнивается с наказанием за “умноженъ грехов”, поскольку сама история трактуется как богочеловеческий процесс.¹³ В то же время самоуничтожительно-покаянные формулы, которыми окружают свои имена переписчики в обеих рукописях, очень близки и включают

(12) См.: Г. И. Вздорнов, *Искусство книги в Древней Руси. Рукописная книга Северо-Восточной Руси XII – начала XV веков* (Москва, 1980) 116.

(13) В первом случае говорить об “иноплеменниках” было бы затруднительно, поскольку светская власть вынужденно сохраняла по отношению к ним лояльность (так, в 1287 г. волынский князь Владимир Василькович, тиуном которого был “строитель” Петр, участвовал в татарском походе на Краков — безусловно, не по своей воле (см. Мошкова, Турилов, «Плоды ливанского кедра», 51).

лексические совпадения (срв. подчеркнутые фрагменты в приведенных выше записях).

Наиболее ранний из сохранившихся список Студийско-Алексиевского устава датируется к. XII в. (см. УСт к. XII). В соответствии с уставом на утрне 28 января полагалось согласно воспоминанию дня чтение Жития св. Ефрема: *ѠЦЬ ГѢНУАРЬ · РЕКОМЪНІ| прогннца* УСт к. XII, 121 об.; ...*кѡ · кѣ · памѡ^ѣ прп^ѣкнаго оца наше^ѣ · ефр^ѣкма* ... на оутрѣни чѣ^ѣтѡѡ житіѡ кѣ^ѣ 139 об. Вероятно, именно потребностями богослужебных правил обусловлено включение в состав древнеславянского Паренесиса текста Жития св. Ефрема, но полная его версия обнаруживается только в древнерусских списках Паренесиса — Троицком (ЕфрСир ок. сер. XIV) и Академическом (ЕфрСир 1377). В остальных списках (по изданию Бойковского и Айтцетмюллера) Паренесис включает только агиографический отрывок, которым и открываются рукописи. Отрывок Жития содержит две яркие сюжетные линии. Сначала рассказывается о прибытии Ефрема в Едессу и о беседе Ефрема с двумя блудницами, а затем повествуется о встрече Ефрема Сирина и Василия Великого в Кесарии Каппадокийской (см. приведенное выше заглавие книги в Погодинском списке). В Погодинском списке на листе перед самим текстом находится иконное изображение свв. Ефрема Сирина и Василия Великого, словно бы являясь иллюстрацией текста, благодаря чему начало книги получает особое звучание. В то же время рассказ о встрече отцов Церкви прознаменует богослужебное соединение Творений Ефрема Сирина и Василия Великого в Великий пост.¹⁴

Вводный агиографический текст является отрывком Жития св. Ефрема, составленным Симеоном Метафрастом, как указано в издании Бойковского и Айтцетмюллера. В Лесновском Паренесисе этот житийный фрагмент имеет небольшое продолжение: он

(14) Об истории литургии Василия Великого и литургии Преждеосвященных Даров см.: М. С. ЖЕЛТОВ, Римский папа — автор византийской литургии? К вопросу об авторстве литургии Преждеосвященных Даров, в: *Византия и Запад (950-летие схизмы христианской Церкви, 800-летие захвата Константинополя крестоносцами): Тезисы докладов XVII Всероссийской научной сессии византинистов* (Москва, 2004) 61–63; S. PARENTI, La “vittoria” nella Chiesa di Constantinopoli della Liturgia di Crisostomo sulla Liturgia di Basilio, в: R. F. TAFT, G. WINKLER (eds.), *Comparative Liturgy Fifty Years after Anton Bumstark: Acts of the International Congress* (Rome, 2001) (OCA, 265) 907–928.

чуть больше, чем в остальных списках, упоминаемых в издании. В Троицком списке данный фрагмент оказался заключенным вместе с приводившимся заголовком книги внутри полной версии Жития. Пользуясь какой-то иной рукописью, писец «окаймил» начальный протографический текст недостающими начальной и заключительной частями Жития. Иное место Житие заняло в Академическом списке. Оно целиком помещено в конец рукописи (см. ЕфрСир 1377, 235в1–239г11) вместе со средней его частью, которая вслед за антиграфом уже была записана в начале рукописи. Судя по начальным словам, приведенным Бойковским, Житие св. Ефрема также помещено в конце другого древнерусского списка — Фроловского, однако в Предисловии издания оно названо «Paraenese». ¹⁵ Повторяющийся в Академическом списке фрагмент содержит массу разночтений и, несомненно, связан с разными антиграфическими источниками; ср.:

Академический список, 1в–2г	Академический список, 238а–239в
<p>1в ... 12 Бѣ ктерѣ на вѣстоцѣ. мѹ- 13 жа ѿменема ѿфрѣмѣ. 14 сѹснѣа родома сѣи. снѣ 15 чѣвкѣа бл҃гоуѣтѣа. бѣ ѿ- 16 грѣкѣаѣса ѿ кѣакиѣа кѣ- 17 ши. вѣхотѣ же видѣ- 18 ти кѣдѣсѣскѣи градѣ. ѿ 19 молашесѣ бѹ гла. гѣи 20 исѣе хѣе сподоѣи ма видѣ- 21 ти градѣ тѣ. ѿ вѣходѣ- 22 шю ми ко нѣ. сподоѣи 23 ма такоѣо чѣвкѣа срѣ- 24 сти. ѿже полезно кнѣ- 25 глами стѣжетѣа со 26 мною. пришедѣшю 27 же кѣмѹ на мѣсто. ѿ вѣ- 28 ходѣшю вѣ врата гра- 29 дѣа. срѣте и жена. ѿ-</p>	<p>238а 1 Вѣхотѣ же препо- 2 доѣши ѿца наша ѿфрѣмѣ . 3 видѣти градѣ кѣдѣсѣскѣи. 4 ѿ молашесѣ бѹ гла гѣи исѣе 5 хѣе сподоѣи ма видѣти 6 градо-тѣ . ѿ вѣлоѣшю 7 ми ко нѣ такоѣо чѣвкѣа 8 срѣсти . ѿже стѣзати- 9 са начнетѣ ѿ кнѣга- 10 хѣ со мною . ѿ дошедѣшю 11 томѹ до мѣста . ѿ вѣло- 12 зѣшю кѣмѹ вѣ врата . срѣ- 13 те ѿ жена ѿже бѣ вѣлоѣ-</p>

(15) G. Bojkovsky, Vorwort, в: Bojkovsky, AITZETMÜLLER, *Paraenesis...*, XVI.

Академический список, 1в–2г	Академический список, 238а–239в
<p>30 же бѣ блудница. ѿ ви- 1г 1 дѣвѣ ю раба бнѣ. ста пе- 2 чалуѣ. и глаѣ въ совѣ. гѣи 3 презрѣлаѣ кси молена- 4 ке моѣ раба твоѣго. ка- 5 ко бо имата си книжа- 6 нѣми словесаѣ стѣза- 7 тисѣ со мною. стѣнаше 8 же блудница зраци 9 ко. гла же к ней стѣнѣ 10 кфрѣмѣ. рѣци ми же- 11 но что стѣиши. ѿ зриши 12 мене. Ѡвѣщавши же 13 блудница рече к нему. 14 зрю тебе ѣко азѣ жена 15 Ѡ мужа взѣта вѣхѣ. 16 тѣ же мене не зри но 17 земаѣ зри. Ѡ неѣже 18 взѣтаѣ кси. си слѣша- 19 въ стѣнѣ кфрѣмѣ почю- 20 днесѣ. ѿ прослави бѣ. 21 давша кѣ толнку пре- 22 мудроста. да Ѡвѣща 23 кму си. ѿ разумѣ ѣко 24 не презрѣ гѣѣ моленаѣ 25 ко. ѿ вшедѣ въ градѣ 26 ѡвѣта тѣ. по случѣю 27 же ѡвѣтели ко. жи- 28 вѣше другаѣ блудни- 29 ца. ѿ створшю кму дни 30 многи въ градѣ томѣ. 2а 1 понужена вѣѣ Ѡ непри- 2 ѣзни блудница . ѣже 3 живѣше в сѣвѣдѣх до- 4 му к<--> ѣко да вѣрѣвѣ-</p>	<p>14 ница . ѿ видѣвѣ ю ра- 15 въ бнѣ ста печалуѣ ѿ глаѣ 16 въ совѣ . гѣи презрѣлаѣ к- 17 си молениѣ раба твоѣ- 18 го . како имата стѣза- 19 тисѣ со мною си . кни- 20 жѣми словесаѣ . стѣо- 21 ѣше же ѿ блудница зра- 22 ци ко . рече же к ней 23 стѣнѣ кфрѣмѣ . рѣци ми 24 жено что стѣиши ѿ зри- 25 ши на ма . Ѡвѣщавѣ- 26 ши жена блудница глаѣ 27 к нему зрю тебе ѣко а- 28 зѣ жена ксѣма Ѡ мужа 29 взѣта вѣхѣ . тѣ же ме- 30 не не зри . но к земаю зри 31 Ѡ неѣже взѣтаѣ кси . 238б 1 Си же слѣшавѣ стѣнѣ к- 2 фрѣмѣ почюднесѣ ѿ про- 3 слави бѣ . давшаго кѣ 4 толнку премдрѣта . ѿ ѣ- 5 ко Ѡвѣща кму си . ѿ ра- 6 зумѣ ѣко не презрѣ гѣѣ 7 молениѣ ко . ѿ вшедѣ 8 въ градѣ ѡвѣта тѣ . по 9 случѣю же оу ѡвѣтели 10 ко . живѣше другаѣ 11 блудница . ѿ створшю 12 кму многи дни въ гра- 13 дѣ томѣ понужена вѣѣ 14 Ѡ неприѣзни блудни- 15 ца . ѣже живѣше в сѣ- 16 вѣдѣх кму . ѣко да 17 вѣрѣши ѡскорѣта и . 18 Ѡвѣрѣши двѣрца ѣже</p>

Академический список, 1в–2г	Академический список, 238а–239в
<p>5 ши и ѡскорѡита и Ѡке- 6 рѣши дѡерца . ѡже ѡ- 7 мѣнаше межю стѣною 8 кго . призрѣ и видѣ стѣ- 9 го стоѡща и караща ѡ- 10 дацю . і гла к нему блго- 11 слови ѡче . ѡ възрѣвъ на 12 дѡерца видѣ ю пр<->зр<->- 13 щю . і гла ки въ блгѣвита 14 тѣ . она же Ѡвѣщавши. 15 гла к нему что кста недо- 16 статокъ ѡди твоюѡ . Ѡ- 17 вѣщавъ же гла к неі . три 18 камени і мало вернина. 19 да тѣи дѡерца заградѣ- 20 тѣѣ . Ѡнюдуже призира- 21 юши . она же Ѡвѣщавъ- 22 ши " гла к нему . понеже 23 перкоѡ проглаха възпрѣ- 24 ти ми . азъ леши хошю 25 с тобою . а тѣи възсокси- 26 ма словома Ѡмеще- 27 шисѣ мене . Ѡвѣщавъ 28 же рабъ бгѣ гла к неи . а- 29 ще хошеши леши со мно- 30 ю . дондеже глаю ти . при-</p> <p>2б</p>	<p>19 ѡмаше межю стѣною 20 кго призрѣ ѡ видѣ стоѡ- 21 ща стѣго . і караща ѣдѣ- 22 щю . и рече к нему блгѣви 23 гѣи . і възрѣвъ на дѡерца . 24 ѡ видѣ ю презрѡщю . ѡ 25 гла ки гѣѣ да блгѣвита тѣ . 26 она же Ѡвѣщавши гла 27 к нему . что кста недо- 28 статокъ ѣдѣци твоюѡ 29 Ѡвѣщавъ же рече . триѣ 30 камени і мало вернина 31 да дѡерца тѣи заградѣ-</p> <p>238в</p> <p>1 тѣѣѣ . Ѡнюдуже призи- 2 раюши она же Ѡвѣща- 3 вши рече кму понеже 4 перкоѡ проглаха ѡ въз- 5 спрѣти ми . азъ леши 6 хошю с тобою . а тѣи въз- 7 соксима словома Ѡмеще- 8 шисѣ мене . Ѡвѣща- 9 въ же рабъ бгѣ рече к не- 10 і . аще хошеши леши 11 со мною . то идеже ре- 12 ку ти приди і лажекѣ 13 вкупѣ . Ѡвѣщавши же 14 блудница рече кму . 15 нарци мѣсто ѡ приду . 16 Ѡвѣщавъ же стѣи к- 17 фрѣма гла ки . аще хо- 18 шеши леши со мною на 19 ѡномѣ мѣстѣ не може- 20 ши леши со мною . но 21 посредѣ града . она же 22 Ѡвѣщавши рече кму 23 то не стѣидши ли ѣѣ</p>
<p>1 ди . і лажекѣ вкупѣ . Ѡ- 2 вѣщавъ же блудница . 3 гла к нему . нарци мѣ- 4 сто ѡ приду . Ѡвѣщавъ 5 же стѣи к фрѣма гла к- 6 и . аще хошеши леши со 7 мною . на ѡномѣ мѣстѣ 8 не можеши леши . токмо 9 посредѣ града . она же Ѡ- 10 вѣщавши гла кму . то</p>	

Академический список, 1в–2г	Академический список, 238а–239в
<p>11 не стѣднкѣ ли са члѣкѣ. 12 ѿкѣщав же стѣнїи ѿфрѣ- 13 мѣ рече . аще члѣкѣ стѣ- 14 дѣкѣса . то колы паче стѣ- 15 дѣтиса подовакѣта . ку- 16 пно же ѿ боѣтиса . скѣ- 17 душаго таинѣ члѣча . 18 ѿко то кста хотѣа суди- 19 ти всему миру . и ѿкѣ- 20 тѣ дати комуждо по дѣ- 21 ломѣ нго : си слѣшавѣ- 22 ши блудница оумни- 23 са ѿ словесѣхѣ нго . і ше- 24 дѣши припаде к нога- 25 ма нго . плачущи ѿ глѣ- 26 щю . рабе бнїи настави ма 27 на путѣ спѣнна . ѿко да 28 избѣду ѿ многѣхѣ злѣ- 29 хѣ монхѣ дѣяни стѣ- 30 и же ѿфрѣмѣ много</p>	<p>24 члѣкѣ . ѿкѣщавѣ же 25 стѣнїи ѿфрѣмѣ рече . а- 26 ще члѣкѣ стѣднкѣса 27 колми паче стѣдѣти- 28 са подовакѣта бл . ку- 29 пно же ѿ боѣтиса скѣ- 30 душаго таинѣ члѣча . 31 ѿко то кста хотѣа суди-</p>
<p>2в 1 наказавѣ ю ѿ стѣхѣ писа- 2 нїи . оутвердивѣ ю к по- 3 каѣнїи . і вѣдѣста ю к мо- 4 настѣрѣ . и спсе дшю к- 5 ѣ ѿ сквернѣнѣхѣ безѣ- 6 кони кѣ . и ѿшедѣ изѣ 7 града того . приде вѣ ке- 8 сарїю кападокиїскѣю . 9 и пришедѣ вѣ црква . ѿ- 10 врѣте стѣлнаго касна- 11 ѣ . глѣща к людемѣ . и 12 начатѣ стѣнїи ѿфрѣмѣ 13 великимѣ глѣма слави- 14 ти нго . глѣхѣ кѣтери 15 ѿ народа . кто се кста 16 странѣнѣн . ѿже хвалѣ-</p>	<p>238г 1 ти всему миру ѿ ѿдати 2 комуждо по дѣломѣ . си 3 слѣшавѣше блудница 4 оумниѣса ѿ словесѣхѣ 5 нго . и пришедши припа- 6 де к ногама нго . плачу- 7 щи ѿ глѣши рабе бнїи наста- 8 ки ма на путѣ спѣнна . 9 ѿко да избѣду ѿ злѣхѣ 10 дѣлѣ моїхѣ . стѣнїи же 11 ѿфрѣмѣ много наказа- 12 вѣ ю ѿ стѣхѣ писаниї . и 13 оутвердивѣ ю к покаѣ- 14 нїи . и вѣдѣста ю к ма- 15 настѣрѣ . и спсе дшю к- 16 ѣ ѿ сквернѣнѣхѣ прегрѣ- 17 шениї кѣ . и ѿшедѣ же ѿ 18 града того . приде пакѣ 19 к кесарїю кападокиїскѣ- 20 ю . и пришедѣ вѣ црква 21 ѿврѣте стѣго каснаѣа оу- 22 чаща люди . и начатѣ 23 стѣнїи ѿфрѣмѣ великѣ- 24 ма глѣма славити нго . 25 глѣхѣ же кѣтери ѿ наро- 26 да кто се кста страна- 27 нѣнїи ѿже хвалѣта кѣпа 28 нашего . ѿипаче же ла-</p>

Академический список, 1в–2г	Академический список, 238а–239в
<p>17 тѣ кпѣпа . найпаче ла- 18 скактѣса кѣму . да 19 дастѣ кѣму что . ѿ сконѣ- 20 чаннѣи вѣсѣднѣмѣ . гла 21 стѣши касианѣ . призо- 22 вѣте ми члѣкѣ . ѿже пре- 23 вѣи хвала ма . ѿ прише- 24 дѣшю кѣму . гла кѣму . чѣ- 25 то тако превѣкаше ко- 26 пнѣи и хвала ма . ѿ мо- 27 лѣу тѣора . ѿвѣщав же 28 стѣши кѣфрѣмѣ рече . се- 29 го ради превѣкашѣ ко- 30 пнѣи и хвала тѣ . ѿко</p>	<p>29 скактѣса к ѣму . да 30 дастѣ кѣму нѣчто . ѿ 31 по скончаннѣи же вѣсѣ- 239а 1 днѣмѣ . гла стѣши ва- 2 силнѣи . призовѣте ми 3 члѣкѣ ѿже превѣи хва- 4 ла ма . ѿ пришедѣшю 5 же кѣму рече кѣму что та- 6 ко превѣкашѣи копанѣ 7 хвала ма ѿ молѣу тѣо- 8 ра . ѿвѣщавѣ стѣши кѣ- 9 фрѣмѣ рече . сего ради 10 вѣшѣи копанѣи хвала . 11 ѿко видѣшѣи голубѣ сѣ- 12 дашѣ ти на деснѣмѣ 13 рама ѿ кѣ оухо тѣоу глаю- 14 шѣ . ѿ тако людемѣ 15 глаше . ѿ ѿполнѣи вѣи 16 дѣха стѣго касианѣи позна 17 ѿ і рече кѣму тѣи ли кѣи 18 кѣфрѣмѣ суринѣ .</p>
<p>2г 1 видѣшѣи голубѣ сѣдашѣ 2 на деснѣмѣ ти рама ѿ . ѿ 3 вѣ оухо тѣоу глаюшѣ . ѿ та- 4 ко людемѣ глаше . ѿ ѿпо- 5 лнѣвѣса дѣха стѣго стѣши 6 касианѣи . позна ѿ . ѿ рече тѣи 7 кѣи кѣфрѣмѣ суринѣ .:</p>	

Кроме того, в Академическом списке, в отличие от других списков, Житие имеет заголовок с указанием на воспоминание дня, что подчеркивает отнесенность текста к соответствующему уставному чтению; см.:

- 1 **ѿЦА ГѢНЕА-**
2 **РА . ВѢ . КѢ . ДНѢ .**
3 **ЖИТАЕ ПРПѢВНАГО ѿЦА НА-**
4 **ШЕѢ КѢФРѢМА СУРИНА ГѢИ ВЛГѢК .**

ЕфрСир 1377, 235в

(в рукописи заглавие открывается рисуночным инициалом).

Переписчик Академического списка помещает сразу после Жития св. Ефрема Слово Василия Великого, которого нет в других списках, — по естественной ассоциативной связи с текстом предшествующего Жития:

¹² ГЛОС ГТТО ОЦА

¹³ НАШЕГО КАСИЛНА КППА

¹⁴ К'КСАР'КА КАПОДОК'КІСКИНА

¹⁵ КАЦ'КАМА КЕСТА Л'КПО ВЗИ-

¹⁶ ТИ ЧЕРЦЕМЪ . <так> Г'Н КЛГ'КИ Ш'ЧЕ .

ЕфрСир 1377, 239г.

В то же время это расширение состава сборника было функциональным, так как чтения из Василия Великого входили в состав уставных, наряду с творениями Ефрема Сирина.

Поскольку Житие св. Ефрема в полном объеме представлено только в древнерусских списках, можно предположить, что оно было добавлено в Паренесис вслед за принятием Студийско-Алексиевского устава, в котором устанавливается чтение Жития на утрени 28 января. В Паренесис оно было включено, потому что и сама эта книга являлась сборником уставных чтений (см. ниже).

В Житии св. Ефрема его произведения о Страшном суде и Втором пришествии увязываются с утверждением правил богослужбно-уставного порядка:

Троицкий список, 1г–2а	Академический список, 235г
<p>²⁵ КАННИНА · ИСПОВ'К-</p> <p>²⁶ ДАВЪ СТРАХЪ СУДАНЪИ-</p> <p>²⁷ И КЪЖЕ СЪ СЛАКОЮ ·Б'К</p> <p>²⁸ ПРИШЕСТВНИК Ц'РА КС'К-</p> <p>2а</p> <p>¹ ХЪ КЛ'КЪИ ІС'А Х'А ИСТИ-</p> <p>² НАНАГО КА НАШЕГО ·</p> <p>³ ИЖЕ ШДАСТЪ КОМУ-</p> <p>⁴ ЖДО ПО Д'КЛОМЪ ЕГО ·</p> <p>⁵ К СИМЪ ЖЕ БЖ'Т'КВАНЪИ-</p> <p>⁶ ХЪ ОУСТАВЪ ПРАВИЛО</p> <p>⁷ ПИСМЕНЫМЪ ПОЛОЖИ-</p> <p>⁸ КЪ · ИНА ЖЕ ПАКЪИ И'К-</p>	<p>¹⁹ НИНА · ИСПОВ'КДАВЪ .</p> <p>²⁰ СТРАХЪ · СУДНАГО ДНЕ ·</p> <p>²¹ И КЪЖЕ СЪ СЛАКОЮ ВТОРО-</p> <p>²² К ПРИШЕСТВНИК Ц'РА</p> <p>²³ КС'КХЪ · КЛ'КЪИ ІС'Ъ Х'А И-</p> <p>²⁴ СТИНАНАГО КА НАШЕГО ·</p> <p>²⁵ ИЖЕ ШДАСТЪ КОМУЖДО</p> <p>²⁶ ПО Д'КЛОМЪ ЕГО · К СИ-</p> <p>²⁷ М ЖЕ БЖ'Т'КВАНЪИХЪ ОУ-</p> <p>²⁸ СТАВЪ ПРАВИЛО ПИСМЕ-</p> <p>²⁹ НЪИ ПОЛОЖИ · ИНА ЖЕ</p>

В Студийско-Алексиевском уставе указывается, что Ефремово Слово о Втором пришествии читалось «в неделю мясопустную», т. е. в воскресенье накануне сырной седмицы (см. подчеркнутую часть текста):

Въ не^а · ма^а · поу^а · на з^аоу^а · на въ г^а · тр^а · | въскр^а · наставкаша^а
 · гла^а · и с^а в^ац^анн^а · | и покта^а · ка^а · б^а · и ѿп^акв^аше ка^а · юдин^а · |
 покта^а · упа^а · въскр^а · насто^аща^а · гла^а · | и ч^атета^а · сло^а · ста^а
ефр^ама · о в^атор^акн^а приша^аткн^а · юмоу^аже нача^а · Отъ|реченн^а кже
при ст^ама кр^ащенн^а · | по в^атор^акн^а же · ка^а · покта^а · упа^а · ма^а ·
 поу^а · | гла^а · з^а · Югда пр^акстоли на соудн^а · | и ч^атоу^а · ѿ то^а
слова · по се^а · степен^а · | и еоу^а · покта^а же · ка^а · б^а · въскр^ак^асн^анн^а
 · | и о в^атор^акн^а приша^аткн^а · гла^а · з^а · УСт к. XII, 4.

В уставе приводятся и начальные слова чтения, так что оно увязывается со вполне определенным произведением Ефрема. Это уставное чтение отсутствует в Паренесисе, изданном Бойковским и Айтцетмюллером, но обнаруживается в древнерусских списках Паренесиса — Троицком и Академическом. Таким образом, состав древнерусских списков, несомненно, корректировался в соответствии с правилами уставных чтений (согласно замечанию Бойковского это чтение включает также славяно-сербская рукопись конца XIV в. из Софийской национальной библиотеки).¹⁶ В заглавии Слова нет упоминания о Втором пришествии, и его уставной характер определяется по начальным словам текста. Академический список замечателен тем, что здесь в заголовке Слова содержится прямая ссылка на уставное чтение; см.:

Троицкий список	Академический список
238а	246в
¹⁹ ма дминд ^а · Тогоже	¹⁰ ТОГО ^а ѿФР ^а МА
²⁰ ѿФр ^а ма о пок ^а нн ^а	¹¹ слово ѿ пок ^а нн ^а · и ѿ спа-
²¹ ѿ сп ^а нн ^а дшн ^а · Сло ^а · р ^а	¹² сена ^а дшн ^а · в не ^а лю ма-
²² Отъреченн ^а · кже пр ^а -	¹³ соп ^а с ^а тн ^а ю г ^а и вл ^а кн ^а ѿче ·:
²³ ч ^а т ^а ма кр ^а щенн ^а тво-	¹⁴ Отъреченн ^а · кже въ
²⁴ рн ^а ма мало оу ^а во	¹⁵ ст ^а ма кр ^а щ ^а нн ^а тво ^а рн ^а м ^а ·
	¹⁶ мало оу ^а во ѿв ^а клетса

Эсхатологические мотивы занимали в творчестве Ефрема Сирина важное место. Они привлекали читателей и слушателей Ефрема. Неслучайно в состав Паренесиса вошло несколько Слова, в заглавии которых упоминается Второе пришествие. См.:

(16) Войковский, Vorwort, XVI.

Погодинский список	Троицкий список
281г ⁴ Тогоже ѿ терпѣннѣ . и ѿ ⁵ кончинѣ и ѿ второмѣ ⁶ пришествиѣ хѣвѣ и ѿ по- ⁷ вчѣннѣ вжѣтванзихѣ ⁸ книгѣ . и поучѣ юста ве- ⁹ змолваствѣе . и ѿ по- ¹⁰ азѣ слово . ѿе ¹¹ свѣтло житиѣ праведнѣ ¹² нзихѣ како же скати- ¹³ тасѣ нетерпѣннѣмѣ	190г ⁶ ма аминѣ: тогожѣ ю- ⁷ фрѣма . ѿ терпѣннѣ ⁸ и ѿ кончинѣ . ѿ ѿ второ- ⁹ ма пришествиѣ хѣвѣ . и ¹⁰ ѿ поученнѣ вжѣтвѣ- ¹¹ нзихѣ книгѣ . что ю- ¹² стѣ безмолвакѣю полд- ¹³ за . слово . ѿи ¹⁴ свѣтло житиѣ пра- ¹⁵ веднзихѣ . како ¹⁶ же свѣтитсѣ нете-

В Троицком и Академическом списках есть еще одно Слово о Втором пришествии, которое отсутствует в издании Бойковского и Айтцетмюллера (судя по приведенным в Предисловии начальным словам, оно входит также в состав древнерусского Фроловского Паренесиса).¹⁷ См.:

Троицкий список	Академический список
213г ²⁶ вѣ вѣки аминѣ . тогожѣ ²⁷ юфрѣма . ѿ второмѣ при- ²⁸ шесткии хѣвѣ . слово . рѣ 214а ¹ възлюбленнѣ братѣ . ² оуклоннѣсѣ вѣи заа- ³ го пути . оуслѣши-	209в ¹⁴ глаголю гтто ефрѣмѣ ¹⁵ суринѣ ѿ второмѣ прише- ¹⁶ сткии хѣвѣ . слово . рѣ .: ¹⁷ възлюбленнѣ братѣ ¹⁸ ю . оуклоннѣшѣ ¹⁹ сѣ вѣи зааго пути

Паренесис Ефрема Сирина являлся важной богослужебной книгой, чтения из которой регламентировались уставными правилами. Так, в Студийско-Алексиевском уставе содержатся следующие указания об уставных чтениях Четыредесятницы:

вѣ понѣдѣ . ѿ . нѣдѣ . по . прѣжѣ || карнѣзшаго днѣ оутѣшеннѣ .
 вѣста|юта поздѣкѣ . начинающю семомоу| чмѣ ноши . и вѣкаѣтѣ пѣ
 ннѣ три каѣ . | просто . чѣтѣтѣ же сѣ стѣи ефрѣмѣ | до вѣторника

(17) Бойковский, Vorwort, XVI.

цкѣтѣнаѣ УСт к. XII, 8 об.-9; ѿ прочаѣ же днѣ · на злоуѣнахъ · и
на члѣхъ · члѣтѣ · ꙗкоже речено кста · | стѣи ефрѣмъ 10.

Древнерусский Погодинский список Паренесиса Ефрема Сирина принадлежит к той же разновидности редакции, что и южнославянские списки, использованные в издании Бойковского и Айтцетмюллера, а также некоторые неучтенные в нем южнославянские списки.¹⁸ К этой же древней редакции, как показало сравнение, относится и славяно-сербская рукопись 60-х годов XIV в., включающая часть Паренесиса (Слова 51 и 52; Слова 55–57; Слово 60; Слова II(1)–12 в нумерации издания) и хранящаяся в Рыльском монастыре (ЕфрСир XIV₂).¹⁹ Остальные древнерусские списки имеют свою отличную нумерацию. Она носит более дробный характер, так что дополнительную разбивку Слов можно считать отражением их специального четъего использования. Как показано было выше, дополнительные по сравнению с изданием тексты в древнерусских списках ориентированы именно на уставную регламентацию. Расхождения в нумерации начинаются с 50-го Слова. В Академическом списке и вовсе представлена нумерация не имеющая полных соответствий в других списках, она ведет начало уже со второго Слова. Однако иногда писец сбивается на нумерацию других списков. По-видимому, это свидетельствует о том, что переписчик использовал в своей работе несколько антиграфов. Тем не менее его нумерация в целом следует за нумерацией других древнерусских списков, отличаясь от них одной дополнительной единицей. Общность в разночтениях данных древнерусских рукописей свидетельствует о том, что, помимо изменения в нумерации, предпринимались попытки и правки самого текста, хотя о появлении новой редакции перевода говорить не приходится. Срв. примеры расхождений в нумерации:

(18) См.: Ch. Voss, *Die Paränesis Ephraims des Syreris in südslavischen Handschriften des 14.–16. Jahrhunderts. Zur Lexik der altbulgarischen Erstübersetzung und ihrer Überlieferung* (Freiburg i. Br., 1997) 25.

(19) Благодарим за предоставленную возможность познакомиться с цифровой копией рукописи держателей монастырской библиотеки и сотрудников цифрового архива «Болгарская рукописная книга» факультета славянской филологии Софийского университета.

В издании Слово 50а, с. 50	В разночтениях издания указано, что только древнерусский Фроловский список имеет деление этого Слова с отдельной нумерацией.
ЕфрСир 1269–1289	<p>168б</p> <p>³ ПОНЕЖЕ ОУКО</p> <p>⁴ МИРА ѠКЕРГЛѦ СѦ ЕСИ ЛЮБИ-</p> <p>⁵ МИЧЕ ТО ПОЧТО ПОКОЯ ИЩЕ-</p> <p>⁶ ШИ МИРАСКАГО ВѦ СКЕРВЕ-</p>
ЕфрСир XIII ₂	<p>62г</p> <p>¹⁸ ТОГО ЖЕ КФРЕМА. Ѡ ПО</p> <p>¹⁹ КАДНИИ. СЛОВО. НА.</p> <p>²⁰ ПОНЕЖЕ ОУКО МИРА ѠКАРА-</p> <p>²¹ ГЛѦСА КСИ ЛЮБИМИЧЕ.</p> <p>²² ТО ЧТО К ТОМУ ПОКОЯ И-</p>
ЕфрСир ок. сер. XIV	<p>101б</p> <p>¹³ ТОГО^ⲕ КФРѦМА Ѡ ПОКАНАН-</p> <p>¹⁴ И. СЛОВО. НА. Г^ⲒИ БЛГ^ⲒКИ Ш^ⲒЧ^Ⲓ.</p> <p>¹⁵ ПОНЕЖЕ ОУКО МИРА ѠКЕРѦ</p> <p>¹⁶ ГЛѦСА КСИ ЛЮБИМИЧЕ.</p> <p>¹⁷ ЧТО К ТОМУ ИЩЕШИ ПО</p>
ЕфрСир 1377	<p>112г</p> <p>¹ ТОГО^ⲕ ІЄФРѦ^ⲕ О ПО-</p> <p>² КАНАНАІ . СЛО^ⲕ . НК .</p> <p>³ ПОНЕЖЕ ОУКО МИРА ѠКЕРѦ-</p> <p>⁴ ГЛѦСА КСИ ЛЮБИМИЧЕ</p> <p>⁵ ПОЧТО К ТОМУ ПОКОЯ И-</p>
В издании Слово 50b, с. 76	
ЕфрСир 1269–1289	<p>174в</p> <p>³ ...ВЪНЕМЛИ СЕ-</p> <p>⁴ БЕ КДА КОГДА ВЪНЪНИИ-</p> <p>⁵ К СЕБЕ ПРѦДАСИ . НАУАЛО</p>
ЕфрСир XIII ₂	<p>67г</p> <p>¹⁷ ТОГО ЖЕ ІЄФРѦМА Ѡ ПО-</p> <p>¹⁸ КАДНИИ. СЛОВО. НК.</p> <p>¹⁹ ВЪНЕМ^ⲕИ ОУКО СЕБѦ. КДА КЪ-</p>

	<p>20 ГДА ВЪ ОУНЪИНАИ ꙗ҃ ПРѢДА-</p> <p>21 СИ СЕБЕ НАЧА ОУНЪИНАЮ.</p>
ЕфрСир ок. сер. XIV	<p>105б</p> <p>18 ТОГОЖЕ КФРѢМА О ПО</p> <p>19 КАНАНАИ· СЛОВО·: НѢ·:</p> <p>20 ВНЕМАИ ОУКО СОВѢ</p> <p>21 КДА КОГДА ВЪ ОУНЪИ-</p> <p>22 НАК ПРѢДАСИ СОВЕ·</p>
ЕфрСир 1377	<p>117а</p> <p>22 ТОГО^ⲕ КФРѢ^ⲕ О ПО-</p> <p>23 КАНАНАИ . СЛОВО . НГ</p> <p>24 ВЪНЕМАИ ОУКО СОВѢ . КДА</p> <p>25 ВЪ ОУНЪИНИК ПРѢДАСИ</p> <p>26 СОВЕ . НАЧАЛО ОУНЪИНА-</p>
В издании Слово 50с, с. 98	
ЕфрСир 1269–1289	<p>180а</p> <p>1 ...БЕЗ ЛИЦА</p> <p>2 НИЩА КСТА ВЪ ЗЕРЦАЛО . А ПО-</p> <p>3 НЕ ПРИЕМАЕТЪ МОЖЕТА И ОУ-</p>
ЕфрСир XIII ₂	<p>72б</p> <p>14 ТОГО ЖЕ КФРЕМА Ѡ ПО-</p> <p>15 КАДНИИ· СЛОВ°· НГ·</p> <p>16 БЕЗ ЛИЦА НИЩЕ КСТА</p> <p>17 ЗДРЦАЛО ПОНЕЖЕ ПР-</p> <p>18 ИМЕТА МОЖЕТА И</p>
ЕфрСир ок. сер. XIV	<p>107г</p> <p>17 ТОГО^ⲕ КФРѢМА СЛОВО</p> <p>18 О ПОКАНАНАИ·: НГ ·:</p> <p>19 БЕЗЪ ЛИЦА НИЩЕ КСТА</p> <p>20 ЗЕРЦАЛО· А ПОНЕЖЕ</p> <p>21 ПРИИМЕТА МОЖЕТА</p>
ЕфрСир 1377	<p>121а</p> <p>11 ТОГО ЖЕ КФРѢ^ⲕ</p> <p>12 СЛОВО^ⲕ Ѡ ПОКАНАНАИ . НД·</p> <p>13 БЕЗ ЛИЦА НИЩЕ КСТА ЗЕРЦА-</p> <p>14 ЛО . А ПОНЕЖЕ ПРИИМЕТА</p> <p>15 МОЖЕТА И ВЪЗДАТИ . И А-</p>

В издании Слово 50d, с. 126	
ЕфрСир 1269–1289	<p>189a ⁹ ...при- ¹⁰ иѡдѣте купѡ дѣимѡ ¹¹ доидеже торжестѡ ¹² стонѡтѡ исполни ѡ</p>
ЕфрСир XIII ₂	<p>78a ²¹ слово· нѡд· ²² Придѣте ѡбимницѡ ²³ мои· придѣте ѡци ²⁴ и братиѡ моиѡ· стѡ</p>
ЕфрСир ок. сер. XIV	<p>112б ¹⁸ тогоже ефрѣма слово· нѡд· ¹⁹ Придѣте ѡбими- ²⁰ ци мои· придѣте ²¹ оци и братиѡ мо-</p>
ЕфрСир 1377	<p>126a ⁹ ТОГОѢ ІЕФРѢМА ¹⁰ СЛОВО . НЕ . ¹¹ Придѣте ѡбимници мои. ¹² придѣте ѡци ї братиѡ. ¹³ стадо ѡзбраноѡ ефрѡ .</p>
В издании Слово 51, с. 134	
ЕфрСир 1269–1289	<p>191a ¹⁷ Похвала ѡбѡщеживу- ¹⁸ щни . браѡи . ѡ того слово ¹⁹ ефрѣма еурѡна . слово . на ²⁰ Раи оубо исполненѡ 191б ¹ кѡстѡ плода и весе- ² лѡна и разлѡченѡ</p>
ЕфрСир XIII ₂	<p>79в ¹ слово стѡго ефрѣма· ² ѡже жити вкупѡ ³ Раи исполненѡ кѡстѡ пло-</p>

	<p>⁴ ДА КЕСЕЛА• И РАЗЛИЧАНЪ ⁵ ЦВ'КЪТЪ КЪ МНОЖАСТЪКО ЧА-</p>
ЕфрСир ок. сер. XIV	<p>113б ²⁶ АМИНА•: ТОГО^ⲕ КФР'КМА ²⁷ ПОХВАЛА ОБЩЕЖИВУ- ²⁸ ШИМЪ•: ²⁹ РАИ ИСПОЛНАНЪ КЕСТА ³⁰ ПЛОДА КЕСЕЛА• И РАЗЛИ- ³¹ ЧЕНЪ ЦВ'КЪТОВА• МНО-</p>
ЕфрСир 1377	<p>127б ² ПОХВА^ⲕ ОБЩЕЖИ- ³ ВУЩИХЪ ТОГО^ⲕ СЛОВА КФР'КМО^ⲕ. ⁴ СУРИНА. СЛОВО. ИЪ^ⲓ •: ⁵ РАИ`ИСПОЛНАНЪ КЕСТА ПЛО- ⁶ ДА КЕСЕЛА . И РАЗЛИЧНИ- ⁷ ХЪ ЦВ'КЪТОВА. МНОЖА-</p>
В издании Слово 52, с. 136	
ЕфрСир 1269–1289	<p>191г ¹ Ѡ ЖИТНИСКЪИХЪ БЕ- ² ЩЕХЪ I ПЕЧАЛЕХЪ . СЛО^ⲕ .ИВ. ³ ИКО И СОВУЗЪ И РА- ⁴ ЗДР'КЩ'КНИКЕ ѠРА- ⁵ ЛЕ . ТАКО И МИРА-</p>
ЕфрСир XIII ₂	<p>79г ¹⁶ Ѡ ЖИТНИСКЪИХЪ ПЕ- ¹⁷ ЧАЛАХЪ• И Ѡ ВЕЩАХЪ• СЛ^ⲕКО ¹⁸ ИКО СЪКОВУЗЪ И РАЗР'КШЕ- ¹⁹ НИКЕ ѠРАЛОУ• ТАКО И ²⁰ МИРАСКАНА ПЕЧА-</p>
ЕфрСир ок. сер. XIV	<p>113г ² КЪТОМА•: О ЖИТНИСКЪИ^ⲕ ³ ПЕЧАЛЕХЪ И О ВЕЩЕХЪ•: ⁴ ИКО СООУЗЪ РАЗР'КШЕНА- ⁵ КЕ ОРАУ• ТАКО И МИРА- ⁶ СКАНА ПЕЧАЛА МНИХУ•</p>

ЕфрСир 1377	<p>127в ¹⁵ О ЖИТНІСРЪІѠ ¹⁶ ПЕЧАЛЕѠ . Ї Ѡ ВЕЩЕѠ . СЛОѠ . НЗ̄ . ¹⁷ ІѠко СВКУЗѠ Ѡ РАЗДРѠШЕНИ- ¹⁸ КѠ ѠРАУ . ТАКО И МИРАСКА- ¹⁹ НА ПЕЧАЛА МНИХУ . ІАКО ВРЕ-</p>
В издании Слово 53, с. 138	
ЕфрСир 1269–1289	<p>192а ³ О ВЗІОЧЕМУДРИИ . И Ѡ ⁴ ДѠЛАѠ ЗАВИСТАНѠ ЦРКНѠ ⁵ И Ѡ ПРѠХОЖѠНИИ Ѡ ⁶ МѠСТА НА МѠ . СЛОѠ . НГ. ⁷ ІѠко ДРѠКО ВЗІОКО ⁸ ОУТО И КРАСНО ВЕС ПЛО- ⁹ ДА ЖЕ ТАКО И МНИХѠ</p>
ЕфрСир XIII ₂	<p>80а ⁷ Ѡ ВЗІОЧЕМУДРИИ . И Ѡ ДѠ- ⁸ ЛѠ ЗАВИСТНѠ . И О ПРѠХОЖЕ- ⁹ НИИ Ѡ МѠСТА НА МѠСТО . СЛОѠ . НЗ̄ . ¹⁰ ІѠко ДРѠКО ВЗІОКОЕ И КРАСА- ¹¹ НО ВЕС ПЛОДА ЖЕ . ТАКО И МА- ¹² НИХѠ ВЕЛИЧАВѠ И ГЪРДА</p>
ЕфрСир ок. сер. XIV	<p>113г ¹⁹ О ВЗІОКОМУДРИИ . И О ²⁰ ДѠЛАѠ ЗАВИСТАНѠ . И Ѡ ²¹ ПРѠХОЖЕНИИ Ѡ МѠСТА ²² НА МѠСТО . СЛОѠ . НЗ̄ . ²³ ІѠко ДРѠКО ВЗІОКО И ²⁴ КРАСНО ВЕС ПЛОДА . ²⁵ ТАКО И МНИХѠ ВЕЛИ-</p>
ЕфрСир 1377	<p>127г ² О ВЪІГОКОМУДРІИ . ³ И Ѡ ДѠЛАѠ ЗАВИСТНѠ . Ї Ѡ ПРѠ- ⁴ ХОѠНАІ Ѡ МѠСТА НА МѠ- ⁵ СТО . СЛОѠ . НН . ⁶ ІѠко ДРѠКО ВЗІОКО ОУТО Ї КРА-</p>

	⁷ СНО БЕС ПЛОДА ЖЕ · ТАКО И́ МНИ- ⁸ ЧЪ КЕЛИЧАКЪ И́ ГЪРДЪ · И́
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Как справедливо отмечал Н. К. Никольский: «В истории Церковного Устава и назначенных им чтений следует искать разгадку и основного направления древнерусской духовной литературы, и последовательности в ее развитии, и частных интересов ее, и стилистических вкусов ее писателей, живших до половины XVII века включительно».²⁰ Значение уставных чтений и среди них чтение творений Ефрема Сирина трудно переоценить. По существу, они определяли духовную атмосферу в Древней Руси. В начальный период христианского просвещения именно проповедь, звучащая при чтении отцов Церкви, играла ведущую роль. Четыре тексты были одними и теми же как при богослужении, так и при келейном или домашнем чтении. Уже самые ранние древнерусские оригинальные сочинения, написанные во второй половине XI в., обнаруживают знакомство с Паренесисом Ефрема Сирина. Для древнерусских писателей он стал источником словесных образов и композиционных приемов, которые они не просто использовали, но и перерабатывали — в соответствии с духом творческого заимствования, свойственного уже самым ранним образцам славянской литературы.²¹ Уставные чтения составляют гомилетический аспект литургической практики и в этом своем качестве требуют самого пристального изучения.

SUMMARY

Oleg F. Zholobov

TOWARDS THE HISTORY OF TYPICON REGULATIONS: OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC VERSION OF THE *PARENESIS* BY EPHREM THE SYRIAN

The Old Russian manuscript tradition of the so called *Parenesis* by St. Ephrem the Syrian which goes back to the early Old Bulgarian version has been examined. The textual analysis uncovered that the variant readings in the Old East Slavonic manuscripts are influenced by the Typicon of Patriarch Alexios the Studite introduced in Kievan Rus at the second half of the 11th c.

(20) Цит. по: Виноградов, *Уставные чтения...*, V.

(21) См.: О. Ф. Жолобов, Корпус древнерусских списков Паренесиса Ефрема Сирина. I: РГАДА, Тип. 38, *Russian Linguistics* 31.1 (2007) 31–33.

**YEZIDI RELIGIOUS ORAL POETIC
LITERATURE: STATUS,
FORMAL CHARACTERISTICS,
AND GENRE ANALYSIS**

**WITH SOME EXAMPLES
OF YEZIDI RELIGIOUS TEXTS**

INTRODUCTION

The present work surveys the religious textual heritage of the Yezidis, adherents of the monotheistic, non-proselytizing pre-Islamic Kurdish religion. In this investigation, we explore the publication of Yezidi religious texts and their status, formal characteristics, and language, as well as the different categories of Yezidi poetic literature. At the end of the paper the Yezidi Declaration of the Faith (*Şehdetiya Dîn*) and another example of a religious poetic text, *Beyta Heyî Malê*, both with English translations, are given as illustrations of Yezidi religious poetic literature.

This investigation is based on more than thirty sources, including publications in Kurdish and in Arabic, and on unpublished audio and video archives, including some transcribed materials gathered during my field research among Yezidis in Armenia and Iraqi Kurdistan and interviews conducted in Germany. This study is the first scientific presentation of these results.

The world population of Yezidis is approximately 700,000, that is, about 2.3% of the Kurdish population. They live mainly in Iraqi Kurdistan, in the mountainous region of Shingal and Sheykhani and in the area known as Bashiqa and Behzan. They also live in Turkey and in Syria, but the overwhelming majority of this population has moved to Europe, especially to Germany. Yezidis live in several post-Soviet states, mostly in Armenia and Georgia. As a result of the very large emigration from Armenia and Georgia during the post-Soviet period, primarily because of economic hardship, they were forced to move to Russia and Ukraine.

The only centre of the religion and its ceremonial rituals is called Lalish, which is the sacred valley located in the Sheykhani region of Iraqi Kurdistan. In the Yezidi religion, alongside the mostly Kurdish religion of Ahl-e Haqq, one can observe ancient cults, the roots of which are embedded deeply in past millennia. The basis of Yezidism is a combination of the most ancient Indo-Iranian concepts, similar to Indo-Aryan traditions. In the process of investigating Yezidism, it is necessary to pay attention to the presence of several genetically various strata.

Yezidis believe in the existence of a Supreme Power and Truth in the Universe, which is God. The Yezidi myth of Creation begins with a description of the emptiness and the absence of order in the Universe, which was then brought forth by God. Prior to the Time of Creation of the World, God created a Pearl, not in material form, but created from the pure Light of God, and He alone dwelt within it. Then the Pearl exploded, forming the light and the variegated world we know. Before the creation of this world, God created seven angels, whose appointed Leader was Tawusî Melek. After that, the world was left to the care of these seven angels who, in the religious hymns, are called *Heft Surr* (Seven Mysteries).

In Yezidism, an esoteric or non-material world was created first and later the differentiation of various phenomena took place. After the manifestation of these phenomena, they came down to earth. The Creation in Yezidi cosmogony ends with the myth of the creation of the first man, who in Yezidism is also called Adam. The end of Creation is closely connected with the leaving (moving away) of the Creator from the Universe's affairs, His creation of mankind, and the transition from mythological time to historical time.¹

Yezidis always had a great fear of writing down their religious texts and hence avoided the practice. Yezidis, like other insulated religious communities based on oral traditions, arguably preserved their beliefs better than those that were based on written traditions.

Some accounts of the existence of a Yezidi Scripture are mentioned in the notes of travelers to the region. Beginning in the 1880s, copies of two Yezidi sacred texts, which were written in Arabic, began to appear. After that, in 1911 the Carmelite Father Anastase Marie published his discovery of the so-called original Kurdish versions of the Sacred Books

(1) Kh. OMARKHALI, Names of God and Forms of Address to God in Yezidism. With the Religious Hymn of the Lord, *Manuscripta Orientalia. International Journal for Oriental Manuscript Research* 15.2 (2009) 13–24.

of the Yezidis, which were written in an unknown alphabet. A few years later, M. Bittner² published a translation of these texts into German. Since the 19th century, when two supposed Yezidi sacred books, *Jilvê* and *Meshefa Resh*, were published, there has been great scholarly interest in Yezidi religious texts. Now practically all academics dealing with Yezidology agree that these two books could not be ancient authentic Yezidi books both because of the southern dialect of Kurdish in these texts and also because of their content.

Yezidism is an oral tradition and its religious truth is transmitted orally, at various levels. Yezidi sacred hymns were memorised by the representatives of Yezidi priesthood, usually knowledgeable people, as well as by a special group of performers in Iraq — *Qewals* (Arab. *qawwāl*), who were trained in recitation, religious music, and a few of them in exegesis. The sacred knowledge, including the sacred hymns, was thus traditionally memorised and handed down orally.

1. PUBLICATION, STATUS, AND FORMAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE YEZIDI RELIGIOUS ORAL LITERATURE

1.1. Publication of the Yezidi Oral Religious Texts

Because of their fear of writing down religious texts, Yezidis always avoided doing so. Even if Yezidis from Armenia wrote religious hymns down (or allowed me to do so during my field research), they did so only using red or black ink but never using blue ink, which is believed to be a prohibited colour. Some Yezidis believe that if a person looks at a sacred text, he may become blind. These statements are related to the fact that Yezidis attribute a special, mysterious nature to religious texts in written form.

From the late 1970s and over the last decades, many religious texts were gathered among Yezidis from Armenia and were published by the brothers Ordikhane Jelil and Jelile Jelil; in Iraq such texts were published mostly by Khalil Jindy Rashow, Bedelê Feqîr Hejî, and Khidir Pîr Silêman. The biggest collections of Yezidi religious texts have been published in the following books: Zargotina Kurda 1978 M.,³ Zargot-

(2) M. BITTNER, Die heiligen Bücher der Jeziden oder Taufelsanbeter (Kurdisch und Arabisch), *Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Phil.-Hist. Klasse* 55 (1913).

(3) Yezidi religious texts, in: O. CELÎL, C. CELÎL (eds.), *Zargotina kurda* (Moskva, 1978) 5–53.

ina Kurda 1978 Y.,⁴ Silêman, Jindî 1979⁵ (reprinted in Roman script in 1995),⁶ Ayîn û Qirarê Dînê Êzdîtiyê 2001,⁷ B. F. Hejî 2002,⁸ Rashow I–II. 2004,⁹ Kreyenbroek, Rashow 2005,¹⁰ and Laliş A. 1993–2011.¹¹

Some separate poetic and prose texts have been published in such sources as Êzdaname 1999,¹² Êzidiyatî. Wane bo qutabîyêt êzidya ji pola 1–6 qunaxa seretayî 1996¹³ and 2004,¹⁴ Êzidiyatî. Wane bo qutabiyên êzdiyan. Navincî 2005,¹⁵ Êzidiyatî. Wane bo qutabiyên êzdiyan. Amadeyî 2005,¹⁶ Roj 1996–2002,¹⁷ Wana ola Ezidîyan 2001,¹⁸ Aloian 2008,¹⁹

(4) Yezidi religious texts, in: O. CELÎL, C. CELÎL (eds.), *Zargotina kurda* (Yerevan, 1978) 302–464.

(5) X. SILÊMAN, X. CINDÎ, *Êzidiyatî: li ber roşnaya hindêk têkştêd ayîne Êzidiyan* [Yezidism: in the Light of some Religious Texts of the Yezidis] (Baghdad, 1979); X. SILÊMAN, *Gundiyaî* [Village Lore] (Baghdad, 1985).

(6) SILÊMAN, CINDÎ, *Êzidiyatî...*, in Roman script: Mehmûd Îdo (1995).

(7) Religious texts recited by Sheikh Khelifa, son of Sheikh ‘Elî, in: *Ayîn û Qirarê Dînê Êzdîtiyê* (Tilbîs, 2001). Prepared by K. Anqosi.

(8) B. F. HECÎ, *Bawerî û mîtolojiya êzdiyan* [Belief and Mythology of Yezidis] (Dihok, 2002).

(9) Kh. J. RASHOW, *Pern ji edebê dînê êzdiyan* [A Part of the Yezidi Religious Literature], vol. I–II (Duhok, 2004).

(10) Ph. G. KREYENBROEK, and Kh. J. RASHOW, *God and Sheikh Adi are Perfect* (Wiesbaden, 2005).

(11) Xidir Pîr SILÊMAN, Îdo Babe ŞÊX, Zêdo BA‘EDRÎ, and others (eds.), *Lalish*. N 1–31 (Hewlêr, Dihok, 1993–2011).

(12) *Êzdaname I*. Weşanên Laliş 2 (Bielefeld, 1999).

(13) *Êzidiyatî. Wane bo qutabîyêt êzidya ji pola 1–6 qunaxa seretayî*. Danana Xidir Pîr Silêman. Çapa yekê (Dihok, 1996).

(14) Xidir Pîr SILÊMAN, *Êzidiyatî. Wane bo qutabiyên êzdiyan. Seretayî*. N 1–6 (Baghdad, 2004).

(15) Rêsan Hesen CINDÎ, Xêrî Liyas ELÎ, and others, *Êzidiyatî. Wane bo qutabiyên êzdiyan. Navincî*. N 1–6 (Hewlêr, 2005).

(16) Şemo Qasim KELO, Xêrî Liyas ELÎ, Rêsan Hesen CINDÎ, and others, *Êzidiyatî. Wane bo qutabiyên êzdiyan. Amadeyî*. N 5–6 (Hewlêr, 2005).

(17) Memo OTHMAN, Khelil JINDÎ, Amer CHELÎK, and others, *Roj. A cultural periodical journal concerning Ezidian affairs*. N 1–10 (Hannover, 1996–2002).

(18) Zeynal YUSUN, *Wana ola Ezidîyan* (Giessen, 2001).

(19) Z. B. ALOIAN, *Religious and Philosophical ideas of Shaikh ‘Adi b. Musafir. The history of the Yezidi Kurds in the Eleventh–Twelfth Centuries* (Sweden, 2008).

Omarkhali (in collaboration with Khanki) 2009,²⁰ Bedirkhan 1933,²¹ Jalile 2002,²² Hadank 1938,²³ Hewan 1942,²⁴ Kh. Jindy 1998,²⁵ Makas 1900,²⁶ Yegiazarov 1891,²⁷ and in some other sources.

Translations of the nineteen Yezidi religious texts are given in the second chapter of Kreyenbroek 1995.²⁸ His next book, co-authored with Rashow, was funded by DFG (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft) and published in 2005. It covers about fifty religious texts, both poetry and prose, translated into English; some of the translations were reprinted from previous editions. The biggest published collections of Yezidi religious texts to date are the two volumes by Rashow 2004, noted above, in the Kurdish alphabet using Arabic-Persian script.

There was a period around 2004 when some Yezidis began to publish religious hymns on Yezidi websites. This prompted a negative reaction from a conservative Yezidi group, which argued that the texts were sacred and that to show them to everyone was insulting and a desecration of the sacred texts. One of the arguments was that there was usually no named source for the texts.

(20) Kh. OMARKHALI, in collaboration with K. KHANKI, *Métodeke Analîza Qewlên Êzdiyan. Li ser mesela Qewlê Omer Xala û Hesin Çinêrî* [A method of the Analysis of Yezidi religious hymns. On the example of the religious hymn of Omer Khala and Hesin Chinêri] (Istanbul, 2009). Religious hymns: 107–167.

(21) Celadet BEDIRXAN, Nivêjên êzdiyan, in: *Hawar* (Damask, 1933).

(22) Jalile JALIL, Kurdsкая версия суфийской легенды об Ибрахим Ад-хаме, *St. Petersburg Journal of Oriental Studies* 10 (2002) 271–291.

(23) Karl HADANK, *Untersuchungen zum Westkurdischen: Bōti und Êzādî* (Berlin, 1938).

(24) *Hewan. Periodical magazine*. N 49 (Şam, 1942).

(25) Jindy KHALIL, *Naḥw ma'rifa ḥaqīqa ad-diyāna al-yazīdiyya* [An approach to the essence of Yezidian religion] (Uppsala, 1998).

(26) Hugo MAKAS, Gebete der Jeziden, in: *Kurdische Texte und Studien* (Neudruck 1979 der Ausgaben St-Petersburg/Leningrad 1897–1926 und Heidelberg 1900). 2 Bände in 1 Band. Printed in the Netherlands. (1. Eine Probe des Dialektes von Diarbekir. 2. Ein Gedicht aou Gāwar. 3. Gebete der Jeziden.), 28–54.

(27) С. А. ЕГИАЗАРОВ, Краткий этнографическо-юридический очерк езидов Эриванской губернии [A short ethnographic-juridical sketch of Yezidis of Yerevan province], in: *Записки Кавказского отдела Императорского Русского географического общества* 13/2 (Tiflis, 1891) 171–234.

(28) Ph. G. KREYENBROEK, *Yezidism — Its Background, Observances and Textual Tradition* (Lewiston, 1995).

At present, Yezidis possess at least two known Yezidi sacred books (*Jilvê* and *Meshefa Resh* in Kurdish), the authenticity of which is doubtful, eight manuscripts (*Mishûrs* written in Arabic in the 12th–13th centuries), and, according to my account, more than three hundred oral religious texts. Including the different variants, the total number of Yezidi oral texts which I managed to find in the published sources recorded during my field research is about nine hundred texts. There are surely more, but this is the number of texts that I managed to gather and which are now available; for sure that there are other religious texts waiting to be found, collected, and investigated.

One can hardly imagine Yezidi liturgies and other kinds of religious ceremonies without religious hymns. Yezidi religious hymns, however, reflect not only their religious ideas, but also their world-view and their perception of world events. The central subjects of the religious texts are cosmogonical storylines, the early history of the community, divine miracles, the lives of Holy Men in Yezidism, and other subjects.

1.2. Status, Formal Characteristics, and the Language of the Yezidi Religious Oral Literature

1.2.1. Terms for genres

The use of different terms for the various categories of the Yezidi religious texts is strict and important because of the functions of these texts: they are recited on many different occasions in different ways. Sometimes the terms can be interchanged, for instance, *Qewl* (religious hymn) and *Beyt* (poem), but this happens rarely.

Yezidi religious literature is composed of poetic and prosaic texts. The poetic literature includes such genres as *Qewl* (religious hymn); *Beyt* (poem); *Du'a* (prayer); *Diroz(g)e* (a kind of prayer); *Şehdetiya Dîn* (the Declaration of the Faith); *Terqîn* (prayer after a sacrifice); *Pişt Perde* ('under the veil', a separate genre); *Qesîde* (*Qasida*); *Sema'* (Arab. *samâ'* 'listening'); *Lavij*; *Xerîbo*; *Xizêmok*; *Payîzok*; and *Robarîn*. The prose literature includes such genres as *Mishabet* with quotations from religious poetic texts; *Çîrok* and *Çîvanok* (legends and myths); and *Dastan* and *M'ena / Pirs* (interpretations of religious hymns).

However, no strict formal criteria are known to explain the distinctions between different groups of texts. Sometimes the same text can belong to different genres of the religious texts among Yezidis from Iraq or from Armenia. Moreover, one can find different names of *Qewls* and *Beyts* among Yezidis in these two areas.

1.2.2. Status of the Religious Literature in Yezidi Society

There are different notions regarding each genre of the Yezidi religious texts relating both to their origin and to their value. Moreover, there are different means of transmission for each kind of text. The status of the texts also differs; there is a special hierarchy in the position of the Yezidi religious texts. The category to which a poem belongs implies both its function and its status.

The famous Yezidi reciter of religious hymns in Iraqi Kurdistan, Feqîr Hejî,²⁹ characterised Yezidi religious knowledge in this way:

<i>Kurdish Original</i>	<i>English Translation</i>
<i>Feqîr Hecî: 'Ulmê me — 'ulmê mehfûsê ye, yê ezmana.</i>	<i>Feqîr Hejî: Our [religious] knowledge is the knowledge kept in one's memory, it is heavenly.</i>
<i>Padişa dibêje: Fexro, ez diçime ezmana, Dê bo we dişînim Qewl û xerqene Dê sunetxane pê dibit bawerî û îmane.</i>	<i>The Lord [i.e., God] says: Oh, Fekhir³⁰ I am going to the Heavens, I will send for you Qewls [religious hymns] and the Kherqe [hair-shirt] The Tradition [i.e., Yezidis] will believe in it.</i>
<i>Ulm û Xerqe ligel hatin ji ezmana. Sura Sunetê wextê hatî, pê dibêjit:</i>	
<i>Melkê Fexredîn... (Melkê Fexir — Tawûsî Melek e.)</i>	<i>The knowledge and Kherqe came from the heavens together. When the Sur [Mystery] of the Tradition came, it is said:</i>
<i>Melek Fexredîn xoş delîl e Rawest bû li qendîla Ji berî Adem û çendî bedîle Ewî hêvênê da Noh û Adem û Bi-rahîm Xelîle.</i>	<i>Melkê Fekhredîn... [Melkê Fekhir is Tawûsî Melek] Melek Fekhredîn is a good leader He stood in the Source of Light³¹</i>

(29) From the interview with Feqîr Hecî, which I conducted on 14.04.2008 in Beedrê, Iraqi Kurdistan.

(30) Fexro is in the Vocative (Oh, Fekhir); it means Angel Fekhredîn.

(31) *Qendîl* is sometimes translated literally as 'lamp'. The meaning of this word in the religious context is "the source of the Light", as in the explanation of this term by the Yezidi Pîr Rizayê Kakê: "Qendîl is a place, where the rennet of the first Yezidi man was kept, it was in the Pearl, the innermost place, from which the Light originated, which was the first primary source of the Light (*Nûr / Nûra Xwedê* 'The Light of God') from which everything was created."

Before Adam and some periods
 He gave the rennet to [the prophet]
 Noah, Adam, and Ibrahim Khelil.

According to Saint Ignatius Brianchaninov,³² the church songs, which were composed by the Church Fathers, contain the full course of the dogmatic and moral theology. The same could be said about Yezidi religious hymns — they present rich material for the understanding of the basic core of the Yezidi religion.

1.2.3. Structure

One can see the special structure of the Yezidi religious poetic texts, but it is not as strict as in Arabic, Persian, or Kurdish literature, which is why it is not easy to describe. However, some special features can be named.

Practically all *Qewls*, *Beyts*, *Qesîdes*, and some *Du'as* (prayers) consist of a number of stanzas, called *sebeq* or, in some regions, *sebeqe*, which usually have three lines. Each line in a stanza is called *mal*. Some religious texts have the usual three lines, but some might have two, four, five, or seven, and sometimes even nine or twelve lines in a stanza.

The first and last stanzas in the texts usually differ from the structure of the rest of the text. The majority of the religious hymns finish with the ending phrase “*Em kê m in, Xwedê yî temam e*” (We are imperfect, God is perfect) or with the less-used phrase “*Ez kê m in, Tu yî temam*” (I am imperfect, You are perfect).

1.2.4. Metre and Rhyme

In Yezidi religious poetic literature, the metre is variable even within the same piece, and rhyme may or may not be used. Let us examine these elements individually.

1.2.4.1. Metre

Yezidis use the word *wazin* for metre.³³ The Yezidi poetic compositions do not have the strict metre that is used in Arabo-Persian or

(32) Saint Ignatius Brianchaninov (1807–1867) is a saint in the Russian Orthodox Church. In 1831 he took monastic vows and received the monastic name of Ignatius.

(33) In Kurdish *wezin* ‘metre’, from Arabic *wazin*.

Kurdish literature.³⁴ They also use meters not known to us from Arabic, Persian, or Kurdish classical literature. Nevertheless, Yezidis say that their religious texts have metre. Indeed, in some stanzas one can see the special metre, but it is not strict and does not appear throughout the entire text. In the *arûz* and *qafî* of Arabo-Persian and Kurdish literature, written — not oral — texts were used, so one could follow strict rules; this is not the case for Yezidi oral religious literature.

1.2.4.2. Rhyme

Yezidis use the word *qāfi* for rhyme.³⁵ Normally, the lines of the stanza have end-rhyme, i.e., the last accented syllables rhyme:

<i>Ji ewil beyza li berê</i>	At first there is white
<i>Zeriyê bê eħmerê</i>	Yellow without red
<i>Bêje min kî ji berê?</i> ³⁶	Tell me, which is first?

End-rhyme, however, is not necessarily typical for all stanzas of all texts. Some *Berane Qewls* (*Argali Qewls*, see below), for example, do not use it. Usually the lines of a stanza have end-rhyme, even if it is against the grammatical rules of the Kurdish language.

In a great many Yezidi religious texts, the vowels of the last accented syllables rhyme, but the consonants do not. There can sometimes be rhymes formed by such consonants as *ş / j*; *l / r*; *d / z*, etc., which is not possible according to the strict rules of rhyming.

Some of the lines rhyme with each other and could be perceived as *beyt*:

<i>Day mirîd e, dot dê ye</i>	The mother is a <i>mirîd</i> (pupil),
<i>Bêjine min, kî ji berê kê ye?</i> ³⁷	the daughter is the mother
	Tell me, who is before whom?

Or in the following stanza:

<i>Mêr di rûniştîne bi heq rêya Şîxadî</i>	The Holy Men sit and ask Sheikh
<i>jêk dîkin pîrse:</i>	Adî:

(34) On the literary analysis of the Yezidi religious hymns, see OMARKHALI, *Mêtodeke Analîza Qewlên Êzdiyan*.

(35) In Kurdish *qafî* 'rhyme', from Arabic *qāfiyē* 'rhyme'.

(36) From *Qewlê Bê Elîf* (The Hymn of A and B), *sebeq* 12, in: RASHOW, *Pern ji edebê dînê êzdiyan*, vol. I, 236.

(37) From *Qewlê Bê Elîf* (The Hymn of A and B), *sebeq* 11, in: RASHOW, *Pern ji edebê dînê êzdiyan*, vol. I, 236.

“Omer Xale bab e û Hesin Çinêrî pis e”³⁸ Is Omer Khale the father and is Hesin Chineri the son?

Some four-line stanzas have two *beyts* that rhyme with each other, so they could be described as *masnavî*. For example:

Êzdanê me bi rehmanî	Our God, with His mercy
Hisn û cemal ji me ra anî	Brought for us beauty and loveliness
Destûr da qelemê qudrêtê	He gave a command to the Pen of
Em avêtin nav Sura mubetê. ³⁹	Power
	We were thrown into the Mystery of
	Love.

Some three-line stanzas rhyme only in two lines, for instance, in the first and the last lines, but not in the second one:

Êzdanê me sefîne çêkir	Our God made a ship
Însan heywan teyr û tû	Men, animals, and birds
Cot bi cot li sefîne siyar kir. ⁴⁰	In pairs He placed in the ship.

In some stanzas (marked with numbers), the rhyme scheme can be as follows:

N	Stanza	Type of rhyme
5	Malê Baba maleke bi dewlet e	A
	Jê diçon keramete	A
	Pîrê Omer Xale kirne merebiyêt xelîfete	A
3	Omer Xale û Hesin Çinêrî	A
	Mêrêt xudan kemal in	B
	Bo feqîra avakir mezel û malin	B
18	Şîxadî ji Şamê dihatê	A
	Li mergehê diêwirî dikir xebate	A
	Li qubehê, li cîmehê, şandî alîmehê ⁴¹	B

(38) From *Qewlê Omer Xala û Hesin Çinêrî* (The Hymn of Omar Khala and Hesin Chineri), *sebeq* 27 in: OMARKHALI, *Mêtodeke Analîza Qewlên Êzdiyan*, 133.

(39) From *Qewlê Afirîna Dinyayê* (The Hymn of the Creation of the World) in: SILÊMAN, CINDÎ, *Êzdiyatî...*, 41. This *Qewl* was first published by Qenatê Kurdo in 1973 in the magazine *Korê Zanyarî Kurd*.

(40) From *Qewlê Afirîna Dinyayê* (The Hymn of the Creation of the World) in: SILÊMAN, CINDÎ, *Êzdiyatî...*, 41.

(41) From *Qewlê Omer Xala û Hesin Çinêrî*, in: OMARKHALI, *Mêtodeke Analîza Qewlên Êzdiyan*, 72.

4	<i>Ewin mêrêt xudan çav in</i>	A
	<i>Şîxadî lê di kirin silave</i>	B
	<i>Got xoş Malet Baba maleke bi dewlet in</i>	A

As the Yezidi religious literature is still oral, the patterns of rhyme do not follow strict rules. Obviously, music plays a very important role in the rhyme of Yezidi literature.

1.2.5. Refrain

Practically all Yezidi religious poems are published without a refrain. However, I would not omit recording and publishing refrains in all parts of the religious texts, because a refrain is extremely important for an oral poetic text. A refrain is not used after each stanza and it shows the division of the text, which is why it is significant to show it in published versions. Moreover, division of the text by a refrain sometimes signals the changing of its melody (*kubrî*) as it is recited. In the majority of publications, however, the refrains are simply omitted and ignored.

For instance, the complex text of the long prayer *Dirozga Şêşims*, which is recited among Armenian Yezidis and is a combination of different texts, has three different refrains, recited after each stanza. In the variant I recorded in Armenia, the refrains are as follows:

1. From the 2nd to 19th stanzas:

<i>Şemsê êzdiyano, Melkê Mêrano!</i>	Oh Shems of Yezidis, oh the King of the [Holy] Men!
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2. From the 21st to 43rd stanzas the refrain changes and a different one is used:

<i>'Ezîzê min, navê te Mîr e</i>	My dear one, your name is Prince,
<i>Şêxşimsê min, navê te Mîr e!</i>	My Sheikh Shems, your name is Prince!

3. From the 50th to 85th stanzas yet another refrain used:

<i>Xatira Mêra û Meleka kî!</i>	For the sake of Holy Men and An- gels!
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Refrains are usually repeated after each stanza, except the opening and closing stanzas. The changing of a refrain might indicate different things, for example, it could show the changing of the religious texts or changing of the melodies (*kubrî*).

There are interesting differences in the performance of Yezidi religious and non-religious poetry. Non-religious songs usually have a

responsorial character, a procedure whereby each verse is repeated a few times by the first singer and then resumed by the second one, the last verse being sung as a refrain. This is impossible in Yezidi religious poetry, where each verse follows a strict order, one after another.

In some poetic texts, however, the last line of the stanza is repeated as the first line of the next stanza. In my view, this procedure has the special function of “fixing” the text, providing the text with a firm structure and an unchangeable order. The function of such “fixing” seems obviously to facilitate memorization and for later reproduction of the text orally.

1.2.6. Length and Number of Texts

1.2.6.1. *Qewl*

Qewls and *Beyts* are much longer than other kinds of poems. The usual length of a *Qewl* varies from approximately 25 to 45 stanzas. There is a reference to the *Qewlê Qiyametê* (The Hymn of the End of Time), which has 160 stanzas (478 lines). The text, which I have not seen and which is still unpublished, is given with two *Khezels* of the Kurdish poet Feqiyê Teyran⁴² in the manuscript of the famous novel *Mem and Zîn*.⁴³ Another *Qewl*, *Qewlê Seremergê* (The Hymn of the Moment of Death), in a variant published by Pîr Khidir Silêman recorded by Koçek Silêman on 14.02.1980, contains about 137 stanzas.⁴⁴ The *Qewlê Mezin* (The Great Hymn), with 117 stanzas, is also among the longest in this genre.⁴⁵

(42) Feqiyê Teyran (1590–1660) is considered as one of the great classical Kurdish poets and writers. The writer, whose real name was Mir Mihemed, was born in a village in the Hakkari region of the Ottoman Empire. In his youth, he went to the Jizre Botan region to study under the supervision of the well-known Kurdish poet Malaye Jaziri.

(43) The religious hymn was written by Ehmed Mîrazî on 08.07.1935. The manuscript is stored under the number ROS-717 in the Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts, see K. ANQOSÎ (prep.), “*Qewlê Qiyametê*” *ya Êzdiyan (bi zimanê k’urdî)* (Tbilisi, 2010) 18.

(44) *Laliş* N 5 (1995) 37–56.

(45) RASHOW, *Pern ji edebê dînê êzdiyan*, vol. I, 333–349. This text was sent to Rashow by Kheri Liyas Purto in 1994.

1.2.6.2. *Beyt*

There are no *Beyts* that are as long as the longest *Qewls*. The length of *Beyts* differs, but in general they are about the same length as *Qewls*, that is, from 25 to 45 stanzas in a text.

1.2.6.3. *Du'a*

Du'as, prayers, are usually much shorter and they are often not divided into stanzas. These are prayers that are more understandable to the members of the community; they are not usually intended to be recited by those who conduct the religious services.

1.2.6.4. *Diroz(ge)*

The genre of *Diroze* has a special textual form. Stanzas can range from three to twelve lines, which may or may not rhyme. This is a rather long text and, in my view, the most informative historical one, because the names of the most prominent figures in the history of the Yezidi community are mentioned in it.

1.2.6.5. *Qesîde*

Qesîdes traditionally are also not very long, roughly the length of prayers.

The number of *Qewls* is approximately four times greater than the number of *Beyts*. There are more *Du'as* (prayers) than *Beyts*, but fewer than *Qewls*. The number of *Qesîdes* is approximately the same as the number of *Beyts*.

1.2.7. Performance and Music

In the Yezidi religious texts, one should pay attention to the narration of the text and to whom it is addressed.

The repetition of some words or sentences in the oral Yezidi religious texts is very important. It gives the listener a special feeling of the power of the word and consequently such repetitions reinforce the power of the text.

For instance, in the majority of the stanzas of *Dirozga Şêşims*, the first line is repeated twice and after the second repetition the next line is introduced. Sometimes in other religious texts the first line of a stanza repeats the last line of the previous stanza. This could be explained by the oral nature of the text, which brings us back to the way in which these oral texts are transmitted. The repetition of the last line at the beginning of the next stanza helps to fix the order of the whole text.

One of the remarkable things I noticed during the performance of Yezidi religious hymns is that, on a few occasions, when one reciter, for example, suddenly began to cough, the other *Qewlbêj* (reciter of religious hymns), who had been silent, quickly continued reciting the hymn; thus, the performance of the *Qewl* was not disturbed at all.⁴⁶

Half of the religious texts are performed with special music, accompanied by sacred instruments, namely, the tambourine (*def*) and flute (*şibab*). During the performance of the religious texts these instruments play a very important role.

The majority of Yezidi poetic compositions have their own distinctive melody, which is called *kubrî*. *Kubrî* have no separate names; it is said that there is a *kubrî* of this *Qewl*, or *kubrî* of that *Beyt*, and so forth. It is interesting to note that, during my field research and talk to different religious specialists, I noticed that the majority of the *Berane Qewls* are recited without any *kubrî*, that is, they have no special melody.

Yezidi religious literature has a significant corollary: the sung/recited religious poetry of Yezidis still remains alive. As such, it plays, or rather until recently has played, a social, cultural, and spiritual role.

1.2.8. The Language of Yezidis and their Religious Texts

1.2.8.1. The Language of Yezidis

All Yezidis speak the northern dialect of the Kurdish language, that is, Kurmanji. Some Yezidis in Turkey, Syria, and Iraq, who live (or used to live) in the distant villages, know only the Kurmanji dialect. Yezidis living in Bashik and Bahzan villages all speak Arabic fluently, and some know Kurdish. It is the only region where not all Yezidis know Kurdish. However, the majority of Yezidis know at least two languages, namely Kurdish and the language of the country they live in. Yezidis from Armenia know three languages: Kurdish, Armenian, and Russian; those in Georgia know Kurdish, Georgian, and Russian. In Iraq, Yezidis usually know the Kurdish Kurmanji dialect and some know Sorani. The majority of Yezidis there know Arabic.

1.2.8.2. The Language of Yezidi Religious Texts

Practically all Yezidi oral religious texts are composed in the archaic Kurmanji dialect of the Kurdish language. Nevertheless, some texts, mostly *Qesîdes* and few *Du'as*, are composed in Arabic with some

(46) Compare with the performance of the Avestan texts during religious services.

Kurdish insertions. One *Qesîde*, namely *Qesîde Be'rî*, is composed in Kurmanji with some inserted Turkish expressions and sentences. With some exceptions, all *Qewls* or *Beyts* are composed in the Kurmanji dialect. The language of the religious texts differs from that of spoken Kurdish and from the language of the non-religious literature.

Religious hymns are composed in poetic forms, while the legends are prose narrations. The meanings of the religious hymns are more implicit and allusive, whereas the legends are explicit. The language of the religious hymns, in comparison with the legends, is much more complicated and full of rich terminology, while the legends are narrated in a more straightforward common oral form. Hymns are recited only by men and with the distinctive melody called *kubrî*.

<i>Category</i>	<i>Qewl</i> — a religious hymn	<i>Me'na</i> — a legend
<i>Style of narrative</i>	Poetry	Prose
<i>Meaning</i>	Allusive; implicit	Direct; explicit
<i>Terminology</i>	More terms are used	Fewer terms are used
<i>Language</i>	Ancient and complex terms are used	Spoken language
<i>Variants</i>	Not many variants; the form is very important	Many variants; the content is very important
<i>Reciters</i>	Only by men, often <i>Qewl-bêj</i> (reciters) and <i>Feqirs</i> , ⁴⁷ in Armenia, priests	By both men and women
<i>Melody</i>	Recited with its own distinctive melody called <i>kubrî</i>	Prosaic narratives

To what extent an ordinary Yezidi understands a religious text depends on the genre of the text and the way it is performed by the reciter.

In the religious hymns there are often grammatical “mistakes” that are made deliberately because of the rhyme and metre of the hymn. Below I will give some examples of “incorrect” Kurmanji, which are often related to word order, in the religious hymn of Omar Khala and Hesin Chinêrî:

(47) Especially *Feqirs* from Shingal (i.e., Sinjar).

<i>Number of Stanza</i>	<i>Incorrect lines according to the grammatical rules:</i>	<i>The correct text should be:</i>
3	Bo feqîra avakir mezel û malin.	Bo feqîra mezel û mal avakirin.
4	Şixadî lê dikirin silave.	Şixadî silav lê dikirin.
12	Min vexwar ji wê qedehê.	Min ji wê qedehê vexwar.
20	Mêra meyzekir pê ve.	Mêra(n) pê ve meyzekir. ⁴⁸

The typical characteristic of the language of the myths, as well as of the religious hymns, is the past tense and using the verb *bûn* ('to be') usually in the past tense.

A characteristic of the language of the religious hymns is their vocabulary, the group of words that could be considered "archaic" by modern Kurmanji-speaking people. There is a special value in the large number of place-names and the names of the historical figures appearing in the religious hymns.

1.2.9. Interpretation of Religious Hymns

For an ordinary Yezidi, the most difficult genre of the religious literature to understand is the *Qewl*. One of the fundamental characteristics of the *Qewl* is its language, which can be perceived as a special system of code, giving a listener (and, in contemporary times, a reader as well) complete information about Yezidi beliefs and dogma, but only if it is correctly understood, while the majority of its words allow different levels of understanding. This is how Yezidis preserved the whole rich tradition in a short and efficient manner: as abbreviations or codes that transmit deeper information.

Yezidi religious hymns are rich with special terminology that should be perceived as a separate subject in Yezidology. Some variants of the storylines (legends) could be given in *Qewls* in just one word or in a sentence. A researcher should thus have not only perfect knowledge of the old Kurdish language, Arabic, and classical Persian, but must also be very familiar with the whole Yezidi religious literature as well as with their traditions. For example, in the Yezidi religious texts, some epithets are used not only for a single Holy Man, but could be used for

(48) OMARKHALI, *Métodeke Analîza Qewlên Êzdiyan*, 86.

several different Holy Men, which can result in a misinterpretation of the text.

In spite of the century-long isolation of the different Yezidi communities and their religious texts in general are very similar. In the variants of the religious texts of the Transcaucasian Yezidis, some truncations appeared which were caused by the course of time and a greater distance from an understanding of their full meaning. The main reason for this was language, or, more accurately, differences among sub-dialects. This is why the main grammatical endings typical for southern Kurmanji were removed and changed into the northern Kurmanji sub-dialect. Some words were changed to be more understandable for Yezidis in Armenia. As a whole, though, these changes are relatively minor.

The question of the language as a marker of the age of the text is a point at issue. Kreyenbroek and Rashow think that because of the mainly oral character of the Yezidi tradition, the language cannot be used as a yardstick by which to determine the age of a composition. They also believe that contents cannot automatically be accepted as clues to a poem's date of origin, since additions or changes may have been made during the period of transmission.⁴⁹ Bedelê Feqîr Hecî, however, disagrees, and believes that the language and the specific usage of the terms and symbols can clarify the date of origin and, moreover, the authenticity of the composition.⁵⁰ I believe that the language of the Yezidi religious hymns could be used as a special tool for determining the history of the composition of religious hymns and probably for the development of their ideas: which historical reason caused the appearance of particular elements in the Yezidi religious texts.

The main point is that no stanza could be changed in the strict ordering of the text, no lines could be removed, and so no word could be removed or changed to another one. This is what helped Yezidis to preserve their religious texts. A simple example is the prayer *Terqîn*, which is mostly in the Arabic language and is still recited among Yezidis in the Caucasus, who do not know Arabic at all.

(49) KREYENBROEK, RASHOW, *God and Sheikh Adi are Perfect*, 50.

(50) B. F. HECÎ, Çawetiya naskirina têkstên rast û duristên diyaneta Êzdiyan, in: *Şêx Fexrê Adiyân. Filosof û xasê ola Êzdiyatîyê* (Oldenburg, 2009) 124–153.

2. DIFFERENT CATEGORIES OF YEZIDI POETIC LITERATURE

Until the end of the 20th century, travellers, specialists in Kurdish studies, and other Orientalists concentrated almost exclusively on Yezidi folklore⁵¹ and on their written sacred texts, considering them as the only objects of interest. In the late 1970s it was the Yezidis themselves who started to pay attention to the collecting and publishing of their religious oral poetic texts.

2.1. *Qewl*

2.1.1. General Characteristics

The most specific to the oral Yezidi heritage is the genre of religious hymns called *Qewl*, which likely had a dual function: religious and social.

Authorship of Qewls. The names of some of the authors of the Yezidi religious oral texts remained in the texts. According Yezidi tradition, authors of the hymns include Sheikh Fekhrê Adiyân, Pir Reshê Heyran, Derwêsh Qatan, Babekrê Omera, Hesedê el-Tewrî, Dawidî bin Derman, Sheikh Obekir, Dewrêsh Hebîb, Kochek Jem, Derwêsh Qotik, Sheikh Havind, Derwêsh Tajdin, Abu Bekrê Jeziri, Pir Khidir, Gavanê Zerza, Lawikê Pir, Ereb begî, and some others,⁵² the majority of whom lived in the 12th–13th centuries. There is no *Qewl* known that was composed by Sheikh 'Adî himself.

Formal characteristics. The *Qewls* are sometimes laid out as a dialogue between, for instance, the Earth and Heaven, between the Months, and so forth. All *Qewls* are divided into stanzas, the lines of which can range from three to seven or to nine lines. The majority of *Qewls* have end-rhyme in the lines of the stanza, but not all of them have this feature. Half of the religious hymns have their own distinctive melody (*kubrî*) and half do not.

Number. There is no known fixed number of *Qewls* and even very knowledgeable Yezidi cannot tell for certain how many *Qewls* exist. Yezidis believe that there were about 12,000 *Qewls* during Sheikh Fekhir's period (12th century), but after that their number decreased.

(51) F. C. ALLISON, *The Yezidi Oral Tradition in Iraqi Kurdistan* (London, 2001).

(52) OMARKHALI, *Métodeke Analîza Qewlên Êzdiyan*, 22.

After field research and collecting all possible published and unpublished religious hymns, I found more than 130 *Qewls* that now exist in the Yezidi literature. Among them approximately eleven or twelve *Qewls* were composed at a later date and are not authentic Yezidi texts (see below).

Status. Although we know that there were real historical figures who are considered to be the authors of a number of the Yezidi religious hymns, there are different views on the origin of *Qewls*, all of which narrate the divine origin, and which are called collectively by the Yezidis ‘the knowledge of God’ (*ulmê Xwedê*) or, as a symbol of esoteric knowledge, ‘the ocean’ (*behr*) or ‘the heavy ocean’ (*behrê giran*). The other genres of religious poetry and prose are respected, but they are not considered as divine.

The majority of Yezidis believe that *Qewls* are concerned with religious themes, whereas *Beyts* typically deal with social, moral, and life questions, which is partly correct.

Below I give one part of my interview with a Yezidi reciter⁵³ of religious hymns from Iraqi Kurdistan about the status of the religious hymns in Yezidi society.

Kurdish Original

English Translation

Xanna Omerxalî: Dibêjin ku Qewl “gotinên” Xwedê ne, ew ji Xwedê hatin. Rast e?

Khanna Omarkhali: It is said that *Qewls* are the “words” of God, they came from God. Is that true?

Merwanê Xelîl: Erê, erê. Mesele, noho misilmanan dibêjin Quran gotinên Xudê ne. Em dibêjin, “gotinên *Xasa*”. Ewana çi gotin, Xudê his kir. *Keremata* wan hebû,

Merwanê Khelîl: Yes. For example, now Muslims say that the Quran is the words of God. We say [about Yezidi religious texts], “sayings of *Holy Men*”. What they said God

batina wan hebû, ewana zanî çi baş e, çi ne baş e. Ewan jî, ji gorê wê, ew fikra dane ber miletî.

wanted. They had *the mysterious divine power (Keremat)*, they possessed the concealed knowledge, and they knew what is good and what is not good. They were the ones who gave these ideas to the people.

(53) From the interview with Merwanê Khelîl, which I conducted on 02.03.2008, Nienhagen, Germany.

Sebeqe me Qewlê ji Hindav da çûme Banî dibêjît:

*Gelî bira, hûn guh bidêrin
‘Ilmê Xudê hemû nesîhet û xêr in
Xet û berata Siltan Êzî zêr in.*

Belê, eferim bo wî kesî ê wextê
Lê guhder ket bi xo hindekî hilg-
irit û bi xo hindekî veşêrit.

Gotinêd Xasa hemû ji rastiye ne, ji
başiyê ne. Ev jî tiştê Xudê hijê kiri-
ye. Em divêt li van gotinan biçin.

There is a stanza from the *Qewlê Ji Hindav da çûme Banî* (The Hymn of From above⁵⁴ I went to roof), which says:

Oh Brothers, listen
The knowledge of God is all ad-
vice and good things
The lines and *Berats* of Siltan Êzîd
are golden.

Yes, well done to the person who
during listening will take [i.e.,
learn] something for himself and
will hide [i.e., remember] some-
thing for himself.

The sayings of Holy Men are all
from the Truth, from good. This is
also what God liked [wanted]. We
should follow these words.

Performance. There is a general view among Western scholars that *Qewls* are recited only by a special group of *Qewals*, sometimes with the accompaniment of the sacred Yezidi instruments, *def* (tambourine) and *şibab* (flute). In fact, *Qewls* are recited not only by *Qewals*, but also by knowledgeable representatives of the priestly castes of Yezidis, that is, Pîrs and Sheikhs, as well as sometimes by erudite laymen.

The solemn performance of *Qewls* gives a listener the feeling of the sanctity and connection with the higher sacred world.

Qewls are recited with music in Lalish during all big festivals, such as the Feast of the Assembly (*‘Eyda Cimayê*), the Feast of ‘Erefat, and the Forty Days of Summer (*Çilê Havînê*), and so forth. They are also recited in the Caucasus, and now in the Diaspora, during general gatherings, but mostly during religious feasts and funeral ceremonies. *Qewals* recite religious hymns during the bringing of the image of Tawûsî Melek to the Yezidi villages, i.e., during the *Tawûs Gêran* ceremony. During the annual festivals known as *Tiwafs*, *Qewls* are often recited, and they are recited during funerals on the grave of a deceased Yezidi.

(54) *Ji hinav de* has two meanings; the first is ‘from above’ (*gor de* or *ji serî ve*), and the second is ‘from inside’ (*ji hundir de*) or ‘from people’ (*ji nava meriv de*).

Classification and Predominant themes of this genre. Some groups of *Qewls* can be classified, although this is a loose system of classification and it is not one commonly used by the Yezidis. However, this kind of categorisation can be made on the basis of the religious literature. An examination of the meaning of the *Qewls* suggests that they can be divided into some general groups, such as the *Qewls* telling about the Creation; *Qewls* telling about the life of a Holy Man; *Qewls* with Advice, etc.

2.1.2. *Berane Qewl*

Is there any particular order in the religious texts? What will be the order of the future Yezidi canon? These are surely some of the first questions that will arise during the canonisation of Yezidi texts after they have been collected and probably the standard variant from each text chosen.

The most important group among the *Qewls* are called *Berane Qewl* (Kurd. *Argali Qewl*). Although even knowledgeable Yezidis could not name all of these *Qewls* very easily, the general interpretation was the same: *Berane Qewls* are higher in status than other *Qewls* and they contain the most important information about Yezidi religion and philosophy.

A Yezidi reciter of religious hymns is not allowed to study a *Berane Qewl* if he does not already know a number of other *Qewls*, if he is not good in his interpretation of *Qewls*, and if he does not possess expert knowledge of Yezidi religious texts. If he possesses some basic information, he goes to a Yezidi religious preceptor and asks to study a *Berane Qewl*, which is permitted only after an examination. If he is accepted by his preceptor as a knowledgeable Yezidi, the teacher allows him to learn a *Berane Qewl*. He studies it by heart, but first without any explanation. Only after a certain time he is allowed to study its interpretation and its implicit knowledge.

The portion of my interview with a Yezidi from Iraqi Kurdistan, given below, perfectly demonstrates the meaning and status of the highest religious hymns — *Berane Qewls*.

Kurdish Original

English Translation

Xanna Omerxalî: Berane Qewl
çi ne û kîjan in?

Khanna Omarkhali: What are *Berane Qewls*
and which ones are they?

Merwanê Xelîl: Hindek Qewl
wêd heyên, gelek me'niyêd

Merwanê Khelîl: There are some *Qewls*,
which have a very deep [huge] mean-

kûr diden. Bi rastî heta niho, gelek ji me negihîştine vê me'niyê... ew sebeqe têne gotin em nizanîn me'niyêd wan çi ne. Wekî *Qewlê Qere Firqan*, wekî *Qewlê Gay û Masî*, ew êkî ji wan *Qewla ye, Berane Qewl* e. Wekî *Qewlê 'Erd û 'Esman*, ew êkî ji wan *Qewla ye, ew jî Berane Qewl* e.

Xanna Omerxalî: Mirov çawa fehm bike, ku ew *Berane Qewl* e? Ew ji ku hatiye?

Merwanê Xelîl: Ew digotin. Te dît, însanek 'ulmdar wextê, mesele, em diçûn 'ulm ji ba hostayê xo dipirsî, ewan dê gotibana: "Hindek *Qewl* wêd heyn, *Berane Qewl* in." Me digot: "Çawa *Berane Qewl* in?" Digo: "Ev *Qewl*ne, mesele, *Qewlê Qere Firqan*, û heta tu çend *Qewlî* nepirsî, tu nikarî vî *Qewlî* bipirsî.

Xanna Omerxalî: Çima?

Merwanê Xelîl: Çengû ew *Qewl* gelekî bi me'ne ye. Heke te çend *Qewl* pirsî, tu di *Qewla* da zane bî, hinekî dê zanebûna te hebit di *Qewla* da, wextê piştî çend *Qewlî* te pirsî, belkî ji me'niyêd wan fehm bikey. Û ew *Qewla* me'niyêd wan çi ne, ji bo çi hatine gotin."

Xanna Omerxalî: Ji destpêkê da tu tenê *Qewlan* hîn dibî û şirovekirina wan hîn nabî, ne wisa?

ing. To say the truth, until now a lot of us [i.e., reciters of Yezidi religious texts, or experts in Yezidi religious knowledge] did not understand this meaning... there are recited some stanzas and we don't understand their meanings. Like *Qewlê Qere Firqan* (The Hymn of the Black Book), like *Qewlê Gay û Masî* (The Hymn of the Bull and the Fish), it is one of those *Qewls*, it is *Berane Qewl*. Like *Qewlê 'Erd û 'Ezman* (The Hymn of Earth and Sky), it is one of those *Qewls* that is also *Berane Qewl*.

Khanna Omarkhali: How can one understand that it is a *Berane Qewl*? Where has it come from?

Merwanê Xelîl: It was said so. You know, a knowledgeable [in religious questions] person, for instance, when we used to go to our [spiritual] preceptors, they used to say: "There are some *Qewls*, they are [called] *Berane Qewls*." We used to ask: "How is it *Berane Qewl*?" They answered: "These *Qewls*, like *Qewlê Qere Firqan* (The Hymn of the Black Book), and until you ask [i.e., study] some *Qewls*, you cannot ask for [study] this *Qewl*.

Khanna Omarkhali: Why?

Merwanê Xelîl: Because that *Qewl* is very meaningful. If you asked [i.e., learned] some *Qewls* and you are knowledgeable in *Qewls*, if you have some knowledge on *Qewls*, then if some *Qewls* are asked from you, then maybe you understand something from their meanings. As well as [you will understand] what are the meanings of those *Qewls*, with which [purpose] they were said.

Khanna Omarkhali: At first, you study the *Qewls* and you do not study their interpretation, don't you?

Merwanê Xelîl: Na. Dest-pêkê da mirov hîn nabit şirovekirina Qewla. Gelek sebeqe wêd heyn, mirov nizanit ew sebeqe ser çi têtê gotin yan me'niyêd wan çi ne. Heta mirov nebite Qewl-bêjekî baş, baş Qewla fehm neket, û gelek Qewla nizanit, mirov mikarit şirovekirina wan bike. Çengo gelek sebeqe wêd heyn, mesele, wekî me *Qewlê Berane Qewl*, gelek sebeqe wêd têtê da ne, meniyêd wan kûr in. Mirov jê fehm nekit. Mesele, me *Qewlê Gay û Masî*. *Qewlê Gay û Masî* di bîr û baweriya êzîdiya da... hincî ga ye — ax e, hincî masî jîk — av e. Ew Qewl têtê gotin, 52 sebeqe ye û gelek tişt di wî Qewlî da ye, ez bi xo heta niho jê fehm nakim. Yan, mesele, *Qewlê Afirandina Kinyatê*, *Qewlê Zebûnî Meksûr*, tiştê gelekî bi me'na wêd têtê de ye. Ser xelîqetê diaxivit, ser afirandina kinyatê diaxivit.

Xanna Omerxalî: *Berane Qewl* çend heb in?

Merwanê Xelîl: Ez nikarim bêjime te ew çend heb in. Yenî, nizanîm bi rastî ... Gelek Qewl hebûn, mesele gelek dirêj bû, û me'niyêd wî kûr bûn. Yenî gotinek hebû, gelek me'nî jê diçûn. Digotîne wan, *Berane Qewl* in. *Qewlê Lawîkê Pîra* 77 sebeqe ye û sebeqêd wî ne wekî sebeqêd *Qewlê* di ne. Mesele, gelek *Qewlê* me wêd heyn, sebeqe sê rêz in.

Merwanê Khelîl: That's true. At first, a person doesn't study the interpretation of the *Qewls*. There are a lot of stanzas; a person doesn't know when these stanzas are used and what their meanings are. Until a person becomes a good reciter of the religious hymns [i.e., *Qewlbêj*], until he understands *Qewls* well, and until he knows a lot of *Qewls*, a person cannot interpret them. Because there are a lot of stanzas, for instance, the [stanzas] of a *Berane Qewl*, it consists a lot of stanzas with very deep meanings. A person does not understand them. For example, *Qewlê Gay û Masî* (The Hymn of the Bull and the Fish). *Qewlê Gay û Masî* according to the belief of Yezidis, the Bull should be understood as earth, the Fish as water. This *Qewl* includes 52 stanzas and there are many things in this *Qewl* that I personally even now do not understand. Or, for example, *Qewlê Afirandina Kinyatê* (The Hymn of the Creation of the Universe), *Qewlê Zebûnî Meksûr* (The Hymn of the Weak Broken One). There is something very meaningful in it. It tells about Creation, about the Creation of the Universe.

Khanna Omarkhali: How many *Berane Qewls* exist?

Merwanê Khelîl: I cannot tell you how many of them there are. I just do not know... There were a lot of *Qewls*, for example, they were very long and the meaning of them was very deep. That is, there was a word; it had a lot of meanings. They were named *Berane Qewl*. *Qewlê Lawîkê Pîra*(no) includes 77 stanzas and its stanzas are not like [the stanzas] of another *Qewl*. For example, we have a lot of *Qewls*, the stanzas of which contain three lines. For example, *Qewlê Silavêd*

Mesele, *Qewlê Silavêd Melkê Kerîm*, the stanza of it consists of three lines. For instance, the first stanza tells:

Silavêd Melkê Kerîm
Ez im aşiqê Surra berîm
Bi mal û serî ew Surr dipirsîm.

Eva sebeqe ye, bû sê rêz. It is a stanza, it became three lines. The end of all of three lines should be similar. The Dawiya wan her sêka gereke. That is, it becomes a metre, the metre and wek êk bit. Yenî dibite wezin, the rhyme. But *Qewlê Lawikê Pîra* is not wezin û qafî. Bes *Qewlê Lawikê Pîra* ne yî wisa ye. *Qewlê Lawikê Pîra* neqşê wî hûr e. so. The structure⁵⁵ of *Qewlê Lawikê Pîra* is more complicated.⁵⁶ For example, it says: Mesele, dibêjit:

Hey Lawikê Pîrano
Heya meka denga me bê
Te me'nî heyne ceng bi nîşan.

Hey Lawikê Pîrano
Yarî hene heyra dîkin
Denga dibên te pêwanî rikêba
Destê wan yî li celewa
Çavê wan mi'eleq li stêrra li hewa dimînî.

Ewa nabite wezin, nabite sê rêz. It doesn't become a metre, doesn't Hindek sebeqe wa tê da ne, dibine become three lines. There are some heft rêz. Dawiya wan jîk ne şert e stanzas in it, they reach seven lines. And their ends should not necessarily be similar. Ew *Qewlêd* wisa dibêjine ewne Berane *Qewl* in. Those are *Qewls* which are called *Berane Qewl*.

Qewlê Sera Mergê, Berane Qewl bû, û *Qewlê Sera Mergê* was *Berane Qewl*, felsefeka gelekî kûr di tê da ye. Ev and there is a very deep philosophy in it. Such important *Qewls* were *Qewlêd* hosa êd muhîm, digotîne called *Berane Qewl*. wan *Berane Qewl*.

Ez di wî baweriyê da me, bes çî I believe that which *Qewls* talk *Qewlî* ser tiştê wisa axivîba, mesele, about, for example, the Creation or about philosophy, were called ser xelîqetê axivîba, yan ser felsefê

(55) He used the word *neqş*, which means 'embroidery', 'needle work'.

(56) The word *hûr* is used in the text, which means 'small', 'tiny'.

axivîba, digotinê *Berane Qewl*. Bes *Qewlê Şîreta* nedigotîne *Berane Qewl*. *Berane Qewl*. But the *Qewls* of perception were not called *Berane Qewl*.

Xanna Omerxalî: Yenî *Berane Qewl Qewl* in ku felsefeya dînê êzdiyatiyê ya herî girîng tê de ye? *Khanna Omarkhali*: That means that *Berane Qewls* are religious hymns (*Qewls*) which contain the most important philosophical information of the Yezidi religion?

Merwanê Xelîl: A, dibêjîne wan *Berane Qewl*. *Merwanê Khelîl*: Yes, they are, which are called *Berane Qewl*.

The length is not the most important criterion for naming the religious hymn *Berane Qewl*. The main criterion is its content and the knowledge of the Yezidi people, who either consider this *Qewl* as *Berane Qewl* (Kurd. *Argali Qewl*) or do not. None of the *Qewls* of Advice (*Qewlên Nesîhetê / Şîretêd Dinyayî*) are considered as *Berane Qewls*.

Below I name some *Berane Qewls* that are considered so by all knowledgeable Yezidis:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <i>Qewlê Afirîna Dinyayê (IKinyatê)</i> | — The Hymn of the Creation of the World (or Universe) |
| <i>Qewlê 'Erd û 'Ezman</i> | — The Hymn of Earth and Sky |
| <i>Qewlê Gay û Masî</i> | — The Hymn of the Bull and the Fish |
| <i>Qewlê Mezin</i> | — The Great Hymn |
| <i>Qewlê Qere Firqan</i> | — The Hymn of the Black Book |
| <i>Qewlê Şêşîms</i> | — The Hymn of Sheikh Shems |
| <i>Qewlê Şêxê Hesenî Siltan e</i> | — The Hymn of Sheikh Hesen is the Sultan |
| <i>Qewlê Zebûnî Meksûr</i> | — The Hymn of the Weak Broken One |

There is a reference to *Berane Qewls* in Kreyenbroek and Rashow (2005), who write: "... those *Qewls* which form part of a *sema'* (the *Qewlêd beran* or '*Qewls* as strong as a ram'), are higher in status than others."⁵⁷ However, as we have seen, it is not only the *Qewls* which form part of a *Sema'* that are considered to be *Berane Qewls*.

There are different groups among *Qewls* which can be classified, for instance, *Qewlên Civatê* — Social *Qewls* or *Qewlên Nesîhetê (Şîretêd Dinyayî)* — *Qewls* of Advice.

(57) KREYENBROEK, RASHOW, *God and Sheikh Adi are Perfect*, 23.

<i>Kurdish Original</i>	<i>English Translation</i>
<i>Xanna Omerxalî</i> : Ji kerema xwe, tu dikarî ji min ra bêjî, <i>Qewlên Nesîhetê</i> kîjan in?	<i>Khanna Omarkhali</i> : Can you tell me, please, which are <i>Qewls</i> of Advice?
<i>Merwanê Xelil</i> : Mesele, <i>Qewlê Miştaqê Sê bor</i> , ew şîretên dinyayî ne tê de. Mesele, ser çî diaxivît? Ser hevaliyê diaxivît, ser însanê xêrxwaz diaxivît, ser qîmetê cînariyê diaxivît, ser edeb û heyatê diaxivît. Ewa <i>Qewlên Nesîhetê</i> , digotin, <i>şîretên dinyayî</i> .	<i>Merwanê Khelil</i> : For example, in the <i>Qewlê Miştaqê Sê bor</i> , there is the world's advice. For instance, what do they talk about? They talk about friendship, about a good-hearted person, about the value of the neighbourhood; it talks about good manners and life. They are <i>Qewls</i> of Advice; they are called the World's Advice (<i>şîretên dinyayî</i>).

There is another group of *Qewls* dedicated to Sheikh Adî and his mysterious divine power (*Keramet*). They are, for example:

- Qewlê Şêxadî û Mêra* — The Hymn of Sheikh Adî and Men
Qewlê Şêxadî — The Hymn of Sheikh Adî
Qewlê Bi Şêxadî xalis im — The Hymn I am pure with Sheikh Adî

Thus, there are various groups of Yezidi *Qewls*, and among the most important religious hymns are *Berane Qewls*; there are also Social *Qewls* (*Qewlên Civatê*) and *Qewls* of Advice (*Qewlên Nesîhetê*).

2.1.3. Newly Composed *Qewls*

Recently some new Yezidi religious hymns have appeared and were published in different sources. Here I discuss the problem of the newly composed religious texts that deserve to be named and listed.

As Bedelê Fakir Heçî writes in his article, presented during the conference dedicated to Sheikh Fekhrê Adiya, recognizing that the book of Kh. J. Rashow, *Pern ji edebê dînê êzîdîyan*, is one of the best books with the published Yezidi religious texts nowadays, there are some mistaken and not authentic Yezidi texts that were included in it.⁵⁸

Some of these texts were provided and published earlier by Ahmad Mela Khelil (Ehmed mela Xelîl), who also used the names Ebu Dasin and B. Ş. Dilkovan in his publications. He sent some religious texts to Kh. J. Rashow on 19.5.2001 and 10.6.2001. These texts were the *Qewls* and one *Qesîde*, which his father, the Muslim Imam Mela Khelîl, heard

(58) HEÇÎ, Çawetîya naskirina têkstên rast..., 124–153.

and learned by heart from a Yezidi religious leader named Babê Çawîş (also called Pîr Çerût) in 1928–1929. Such facts are unknown in the Yezidi tradition.

Mela Khelîl was known as a good poet and he also wrote the book *Pêngavek li gel Êzidîyan*, which was removed from bookstores and destroyed by followers of the regime of that time. His eight *Qewls* and one *Qesîde* are as follows:

<i>Qewlê Mersûma</i> ⁵⁹ <i>Barî</i> ⁶⁰	— The Hymn of the Decree of the Creator
<i>Qewlê Şêxê Sirrê</i>	— The Hymn of Sheikh of the Mystery
<i>Qewlê Birhîm pêxember</i>	— The Hymn of the prophet Ibrahim
<i>Qewlê Nuh pêxember</i>	— The Hymn of the prophet Noah
<i>Qewlê Melik Salim</i>	— The Hymn of the Angel Salim
<i>Qewlê Mûsa pêxember û Xidirê zînde</i>	— The Hymn of the prophet Moses and living Khidir
<i>Qewlê Pîr Hemedê boz</i>	— The Hymn of Pîr Hemed the grey ⁶¹
<i>Qewlê Mîr Mihemedê Kurdî</i>	— The Hymn of Mîr Mihe-med the Kurd
<i>Qesîda Şêx Cêncer.</i>	— The Hymn of Sheikh Jenjer.

These texts are unknown to Yezidis in Armenia and Georgia, and, moreover, they are not known even to the pupils of Pîr Cherût, one of whom was well-known Feqîr Hecî. Feqîr Hecî's son, Bedelê Feqîr Hecî, not only has doubts about their authenticity, but is quite sure that they are not authentic.

Kh. J. Rashow published the above-mentioned texts in his book, where he wrote: “Bi rastî navê van Qewil û Qesîda hatibû ji bîrkirin, heke hoşê hêja Mişextî jiber nekirbane, bêguman ne nav û ne têkist niha liber destê me dibûn” (Actually, the names of these *Qewls* and

(59) Arabic *marsûm*, meaning ‘decree’, ‘edict’, ‘ukase’.

(60) In Farsi one of the rare meanings of *bârî* is ‘Creator’, ‘God’.

(61) Usually *boz* means the color of a horse.

Qesîdes became a thing of the past, and if the respectful Mishekhti didn't learn them by heart, no name and no text would now be in our possession, this is certain).⁶² A few pages later, Kh. J. Rashow writes⁶³ that the author of this *Qewl* is Pîr Reshê Heyran (Pîr Reşê Heyran), because his name appears in the last stanza, but he expresses doubts about this attribution. He thinks that Pîr Çerutê Baba Çawîş, who lived in the 20th century, was the author of several texts, especially those texts which are considered as texts of Pîr Reshê Heyran, who lived in 12th century. Bedelê Feqîr Hecî disagrees with Kh. J. Rashow, because Pîr Reshê Heyran was one of the prolific authors of Yezidi religious texts.

In 1994, Bedel Feqîr Hecî went to visit Mela Khelîl, when he returned from Iran to Iraq, and during their talk, Mela Khelîl did not mention even once the texts he studied from Pîr Cherût. It seems very possible that the above-named texts are not real Yezidi *Qewls* or a *Qesîde*.

To the *Qewls* and the *Qesîde* of questionable authenticity published by Rashow in 2004, I can add other *Qewls* that were published in journals:

<i>Qewlê Afrîna Dinyayê</i> variant 1 ⁶⁴	— The Hymn of the Creation of the World
<i>Qewlê Zerdeşt</i>	— The Hymn of Zoroaster
<i>Qewlê Pîrê Siba</i> ⁶⁵	— The Hymn of Pîr of Morning
<i>Paş duwa</i>	— The After Prayer
<i>Qewlê Newrozê</i>	— The Hymn of Newroz (New Year)

How can one recognise whether a religious hymn is authentic or newly composed?

Xanna Omerxalî: Mirov çawa dikare fehm bike *Qewl* enzeli ye yan emeli ye?

Khanna Omarkhali: How could a person understand if the *Qewl* is an authentic or a made [i.e., recently composed] one?

Merwanê Xelîl: Ez bêjime te. Vê dawiyê çend *Qewl* diyar bûn. Hindek

Merwanê Khelîl: I'll tell you. Recently a number of *Qewls* appeared. Some

(62) RASHOW, *Pern ji edebê dînê êzdiyan*, vol. I, 595.

(63) *Ibid.*, 598.

(64) By Prof. Qenatê Kurdo.

(65) Website www.lalish.de.

Qewl vê teliyê derkeftin. Min bi xo îmana bi wan Qewla nîne!
Ev tishte... hema mirov wextê berê xo didete Qewlî, wextê mirov Qewlî dixûnit, mirov zanit, yan ew Qewl yê enzelî ye, yan ew Qewl hatiye çêkirin.

Xanna Omerxalî: Mirov çawa bizane?

Merwanê Xelîl: Ji gotina, ji zimanî, ji kevinîyê, ji gelek tişta! Mirov dizanit: ew Qewlê emelî ye, yan ew Qewlê enzelî ye.

Qewls not long ago appeared. I personally do not believe those *Qewls*! These things... when a person looks at this *Qewl*, when a person reads the *Qewl*, the person knows if this *Qewl* is real or if this *Qewl* was made.

Khanna Omarkhali: How can a person understand that?

Merwanê Khelîl: From the words [i.e., terminology/vocabulary], from the language, from the antiquity, from a lot of things! The person knows if this *Qewl* is the made one or this *Qewl* is the real one.

In spite of the fact that there are different groups of *Qewls*, the most important of which is the group called *Berane Qewl*, the genre of *Qewl* in general occupies the highest position within Yezidi religious literature. There is at present no method that could help to determine the authenticity of a text.

2.2. Beyt

Status. Yezidis strictly divide compositions into the categories of *Qewls* or *Beyts*. Only in some cases are these distinctions changed. While the *Qewls* in general are considered as holy poems and occupy a special higher status in Yezidi literature, the *Beyts* are respected by all Yezidis, although they are not considered of divine origin. Below I will reproduce a part of the conversation I had with a reciter of religious hymns about the difference between *Qewls* and *Beyts*.

Kurdish Original

Xanna Omerxalî: Ez dizanim, ku *Qewlê Baza* carina bi navê *Beyta Baza* yan *Pîr Şerefê* tê nasîn. Em çawa bizanibin, ew *Qewl* e yan *Beyt* e?

Merwanê Xelîl: Tu dizanî, ew bi xo *Qewl* e. *Qewlê Pîr Şerefê Mêra*, *Qewl* e. Bes, te dît, wextê me bi deng digotin, gelek carî me digotine: “Bi

English Translation

Khanna Omarkhali: I know that *Qewlê Baza* sometimes is known under the name *Beyta Baza* or *Pîr Sheref*. How should we know if it is *Qewl* or *Beyt*?

Merwanê Khelîl: You know, it is the *Qewl*. *Qewlê Pîr Şerefê Mêra* is a *Qewl*. But, you see, when we used to perform them with the melody,

Beyta bêjî, bi kubrî bêjî." Me digote kubriya "beyt". Bes heke tu bêyî rastiya wê, *Beyt* û kubrî cuda ye, *Beyt Beyt* e. Meselen, me wêd heyên, *Beyta Sibê*, *Beyta Cindî*, ... eva *Beyt* in. Me wa hey *Betya Bilbilî*, *Beyta Nesîheta*, me wa hey *Beyta Dinê*. Bes *Qewlê Pîr Şeref Qewl* e, ne *Beyt* e. Bes wextê bi beng tête gotin, dê gotibana: "Beyt bêjin", yenî bi deng bêjin.

Xanna Omerxalî: *Beyt* zêde derheqa çi da ne?

Merwanê Xelîl: Ez karim bêjime te, *Beyt* jîk wekî *Qewla* ne. Çengû *Beyta Nesîhetê*, ew jîk 'eyn wekî çawa tu *Qewlekî* di dîwanê bêjî, şîreta xelkê bikey, *Beyta Nesîhetê* jîk ew şîret û nesîhet wa tê da ne. *Beyta Dinê* jîk her wisa ye.

Bes ferqa wê ya dibêjin eva *Qewl* e, eva *Beyt* e, ez di wê baweriyê da me, *Beyt* gelek ji wan nabine wezin û qafî. Wezin û qafîya wan ne şert e êlla êk bit. *Qewl* êlla hemû bite wezin û qafî.

Number. *Beyts* are fewer in number than *Qewls*. I collected approximately thirty-five *Beyts*.

Authorship. While we know about the authorship of a number of *Qewls*, we do not know specifically about the authorship of *Beyts*. There are some *Beyts* that were accepted from Kurdish literature, such as *Beyta Nesîhetê* (The *Beyt* of Advice), which is believed to be based on the poem of the Kurdish poet Ehmed Melê Batê.⁶⁶

very often we used to say: "Perform it with *Beyt*, with *kubrî*." We used to name *kubrî* 'beyt' [i.e., as synonyms]. But if you come to the truth, *Beyt* and *kubrî* are different things: *Beyt* is *Beyt*. For instance, we have *Beyta Sibê*, *Beyta Cindî*, ... they are *Beyts*. We have *Betya Bilbilî*, *Beyta Nesîheta*, we have *Beyta Dinê*. But *Qewlê Pîr Şeref* is a *Qewl*, it is not a *Beyt*. But when they are performed with the melody, it would be said: "Perform a *Beyt*", that is, perform it with the melody.

Khanna Omarkhali: What are *Beyts* about, in more detail?

Merwanê Xelîl: I can tell you that *Beyts* are also like *Qewls*. Because *Beyta Nesîhetê*, it is also similar as if you perform a *Qewl* in the gathering, will give advice to people. In the *Beyta Nesîhetê* there is also advice. *Beyta Dinê* is the same as well.

But the difference between when people say that it is *Qewl* or *Beyt*, to my point of view, the majority of *Beyts* don't have the metre and rhyme. Their metre and rhyme — it is not necessary to be similar. *Qewl* has the metre and rhyme.

(66) KREYENBROEK, RASHOW, *God and Sheikh Adi are Perfect*, 51.

Formal characteristics. *Beyts* as well as *Qewls* are also divided into stanzas, and many of them have special metre and rhyme.

Functions. The function of the *Beyt* differs according to its classification. *Beyts* are performed every day in the morning and evening during the *Tawus Gêran* ceremony. For example, the *Beyt* of the Commoner (*Beyta Cindî*) is recited before morning, during the *Tawûs Gêran* procession, during 'Eyd-'Erefat in Lalish, while the last one is obligatory.

After the *Beyt* of the Commoner (*Beyta Cindî*) comes the time of the *Beyt* of Sheikh Shems (*Beyta Şêşims*). It is recited after sunrise. Yezidis in Iraq recite it at approximately 10 o'clock. During the evening, just before sunset, the *Beyt* of Evening (*Beyta Êvarê*) is performed. The majority of *Beyts*, however, are performed during the usual Yezidi gatherings.

Performance. While half of the *Qewls* are performed with melodies and half without, all *Beyts* are performed with melodies (*kubrî*), which usually differ from each other.

Classification. There are no *Berane Beyts* in the category of *Beyts*, so there is no absolutely clear hierarchy within this classification. However, we can classify *Beyts* as those that are used more often in religious practice and those that are used less often. For example, there is a group of *Beyts* that are sung every day. For instance, *Beyta Cindî* (*Beyt* of the Commoner) and *Beyta Êvarê / Hêvarî* (*Beyt* of the Evening) are performed every morning and every evening.

Predominant theme of this genre. The *Beyts'* themes differ from that of the majority of *Qewls*; they are mostly dedicated to the life stories of Holy Men in Yezidism, and different mythological motives are also described.

2.3. Prayers

2.3.1. Du'a

Status. *Du'as* are prayers, which occupy a special status in Yezidi literature. They contain important symbols and religious knowledge connected with the Holy Men, God, and daily situations.

Number. I managed to gather more than fifty published and unpublished prayers (not including different variants).

Authorship. We do not possess any information about the authorship of the prayers.

Formal characteristics. The prayers are mostly private and as a rule they are not performed in public. A Yezidi usually prays privately, or the prayers are recited by one person during a gathering.

Performance. The prayers do not have melodies, i.e., they are performed without *kubrî*. Nevertheless, I heard a few performances of the prayers with special tones, which could not be called a *kubrî*, but they were undoubtedly performed with a special slow tone, sometimes with a prolonging of the end of a last line.

Classification. The prayers could be classified according to their content and the occasion to which they are dedicated. We find the following groups of prayers:

- prayers connected with Yezidi symbols and religion
- prayers dedicated to God and Holy Beings
- prayers of Yezidi castes
- prayers for specific occasions
- *rites de passage* prayers
- prayers connected with health problems
- daily prayers
- prayers connected with the Moon, Stars, and nature.

Let us examine some of the prayers in these groups.

2.3.1.1. Prayers dedicated to God and Holy Beings

<i>Du'a bona Xwedê</i>	Prayer for God
<i>Du'aya Tawûsî Melek</i>	Prayer of Tawûsî Melek
<i>Du'aya Temametiya Şîxadî</i>	Prayer of the Perfection of Sheikh 'Adî
<i>Du'a Xudanê Malê</i>	Prayer of Khudanê Malê
<i>Methê Xwedê</i>	The Praising of God

2.3.1.2. Prayers connected with Yezidi symbols and religion

<i>Du'a Tokê</i>	Prayer of <i>Tok</i> ⁶⁷
<i>Du'a Xerqe</i>	Prayer of <i>Xerqe</i>
<i>Du'a Îmanê</i>	Prayer of Belief
<i>Du'a Êzdiyatiyê</i>	Prayer of Yezidism

(67) That is, *Toka Êzîd* — the Yezidi white undershirt, as a symbol of belonging to Yezidis.

2.3.1.3. *Prayers of Yezidi Castes*

<i>Du'a Pîraniyê</i> ⁶⁸	Prayer of Pîrs
<i>Du'a Şêxîtiyê</i>	Prayer of Sheikhs
<i>Du'a Mirîdiyê</i>	Prayer of Mirîds

2.3.1.4. *Prayers for Specific Occasions*

<i>Du'aya Oxirê</i>	Prayer of Fortunate Going
<i>Duwa Razanê</i>	Prayer of Sleep
<i>Du'a Sebrê</i>	Prayer of Patience
<i>Du'aya Sifrê</i>	Prayer of the Meal
<i>Du'a Tifaqê</i>	Prayer of Unity
<i>Duayê Xêrê</i>	Prayer of Favour (alms)
<i>Du'a Ziyaretbûnê</i>	Prayer of Pilgrimage

2.3.1.5. *Rites de passage Prayers*

<i>Dua me'r birînê</i> ⁶⁹	Prayer of the act of marriage
<i>Du'aya Biskê</i>	Prayer of the Lock ⁷⁰
<i>Du'ayê Dewrêşê 'Erd</i> ⁷¹	Prayer of the Dewrêsh of the Earth
<i>Du'aya li ser giyanê mirî</i>	Prayer on the soul of a deceased person

2.3.1.6. *Prayers connected with health problems*

<i>Du'aya Dûpişkê (û mar)</i>	Prayer (against the poison) of the scorpion and the snake ⁷²
<i>Du'aya Êşa Mekanî jinê</i>	Prayer (against) the pain of the woman's uterus

(68) In Yezidism there are collective names for all the representatives of the Pîr caste, *Pîranî*; for the Sheikh caste, *Şêxanî*; for Mirîds, *Mirîdî*; and for all Yezidis, *Êzdîxana*. See Kh. OMARKHALI, On the Structure of the Yezidi Clan and Tribal System and its Terminology among the Yezidis of the Caucasus, *Journal of Kurdish Studies* 6 (2008) 104–119.

(69) There can be another name for this prayer, namely *Diroze Zewacê* (The prayer of Marriage).

(70) *Bisk birîn* is an initiation ceremony, during which the Sheikh, called Sheikh of the Lock (*Şêxê Biskê*), is invited to the house and conducts this ceremony by cutting a small lock of hair from a boy who has never had his hair cut before.

(71) This prayer is also called *Du'a Tesmîlî 'Erdê*.

(72) This prayer is used when a person is bitten by a snake or a scorpion.

<i>Du'aya Nezerê</i>	Prayer (against) the evil eye
<i>Du'aya Serêşê</i>	Prayer (against) a headache

2.3.1.7. Daily Prayers

<i>Du'aya Pişt girêdanê</i>	Prayer of the fasten the back (i.e., fastening the belt)
<i>Du'aya Fecrê</i>	Prayer of the Dawn
<i>Du'ya Sibeykê</i>	Prayer of Morning
<i>Du'aya Nîvoro</i>	Prayer of Noon
<i>Du'aya Hêvarî</i>	Prayer of Evening

2.3.1.8. Prayers connected with the Moon and Stars and nature

<i>Du'aya Heyvê</i>	Prayer of the Moon
<i>Du'a Kêma Heyvê</i>	Prayer of the Moon waning
<i>Du'aya Stêra Demilqapî</i>	Prayer of the Morning Star

2.3.2. Dirozge

Status. *Dirozge* (lit., Request of alms) is one of the most important Yezidi prayers. In Kurdistan, Yezidis call this prayer *Diroze*, in Armenia, it is often called *Dirozge*. *Diroze* occupies a rather high status among the religious genres. While this genre is often connected with the prayers and it is used in the expression '*Du'a — Dirozge*', I prefer to perceive it as a separate genre or at least as a separate sub-category of the group of Yezidi prayers.

Number. Only one *Diroze* is known in the Yezidi literature, with two different variants, namely, among Yezidis in Armenia and among those in Iraq. I managed to gather eight published and unpublished variants of *Diroze*.

Authorship. The authorship of *Diroze* is not known.

Formal characteristics. *Diroze* is divided into stanzas, but in contrast to the *Qewls* and *Beyts*, its stanzas are not strict and sometimes are very long. The manner of reciting this prayer recalls the code system, which tells about Yezidism, full of special symbols and terms in a very brief and compressed style.

Functions. *Diroze* is recited during big Yezidi festivals. In contrast to the prayers, *Diroze* is usually performed in public, although it can be recited in private as well.

Performance. *Diroze* is performed with a special melody. The variant of *Dirozge* that is recited among Yezidis in Armenia is much longer than the Iraqi variant, and it is more complicated for interpretation, also because there are some loanwords and names that have been distorted and changed over time. *Dirozge* is recited during the ceremony of *Tawûs Gêran*, when *Qewals* used to bring *Tawûs* (*Senjeq*) to the Yezidi villages, and one can also recite *Diroze* during the *Berê Şîbakê* rite and during a religious feast.

Predominant theme of this genre. I perceive *Dirozge* as one of the most important prayers because it is the only prayer in which one can find a large number of the names of Yezidi Holy Men, Angels, Protectors, Pîrs, Sheikhs, Dervishes, and others. Moreover, the text includes the names of many things and places that are sacred to Yezidis. It is a kind of recital of the history of the Yezidis and an encyclopaedia of the historical figures in Yezidism.

2.3.3. *Terqîn*

Status. This genre of religious text belongs to the prayers and is considered as one of the types of *Du`as*. The *Du`as* are regarded as very sacred texts and, unlike other prayers, it is not allowed for women to recite them, or to recite the *Terqîn*. Only men are allowed to study and recite them.

Yezidis from Armenia and Georgia call this prayer *Terqîn*, while Yezidis from Iraq, Turkey, and Syria sometimes call it *Telqîn*. The name of this prayer comes from the Arabic word *talqîn* (تلقين), that is, 'instructions'.

A person who does not know the Arabic language (e.g., Yezidis from the Caucasus), can hardly understand the meaning of this prayer, so that is why *Terqîn* achieved a higher status among Yezidis from Transcaucasia. They did not understand the meaning of the prayer as a whole, and so attributed a transcendental meaning to its words, a meaning not available to ordinary people.

Number. One *Terqîn* prayer exists in the Yezidi literature, but there are different local variants, with the variants from Armenia and Iraq showing the greatest difference.

Authorship. The authorship of this text is not known.

Formal characteristics. *Terqîn* is composed in the Kurmanji dialect of the Kurdish language, with a great number of words and long expressions in Arabic.

Functions. This prayer is recited during funeral ceremonies as well as during the sacrifice of an animal during the big religious festivals. *Terqîn* is recited during funeral ceremonies, because it tells about the life hereafter.

Performance. It is recited by a Yezidi from the priesthood caste and it is absolutely forbidden for women to recite it.

Terqîn is performed without melody (*kubrî*).

2.3.4. Declaration of the Faith (*Şehdetiya Dîn*)

Status. The Declaration of the Faith in Yezidism belongs to the genre of prayers. It is one of the most important and often recited prayers. The Declaration of the Faith gives the most important knowledge of the religion, presented mostly in a very short way in order to preserve it.

The variant of the Declaration of the Faith of Yezidis in Armenia and Georgia differs from the variant in Iraq. It has an extra beginning, which tells about two hangmen who will come to a person at the moment of death: "*Ser mira sekinîn du celat*" (Two hangmen stay overhead of me). According to Yezidi tradition, the two hangmen are Sijadîn and Nasirdîn, who come to a person during his/her death: one of them, Sijadîn, is a messenger of death, and Nasirdîn is a hangman, who takes the soul away. They will ask the soul to recite the Declaration of his/her Faith:

<i>Go: „Miskîno, Tacdîno, beniyo,</i>	[One of them] said: "Oh Miskîn, oh Tajdîn, oh human being,
<i>De te were, Şe`detiya dînê xwe bîne,</i>	Recite the Declaration of your Faith,
<i>Ezê serê te hilînim".</i>	I shall carry away your head".

This means that the angel asks the human being to recite their declaration of the faith before he takes their soul. This passage, which precedes the Declaration of the Faith itself, is not found in the version of the Declaration in Iraq. Only after the angel's address does the person begin to recite the Declaration of the Faith, which begins with the words of the unity of God: "I answered: The Declaration of my faith is one God". The Declaration of the Faith mentions the names of many Holy Men, including Sheikh 'Adî, Sheikh Hesên, Melek Ferkhedîn, Êzîd, Sherfedîn, Nasridîn, and others.

Number. There is only one Declaration of the Faith in Yezidism, although some local variants are known. The two primary variants are those from Armenia and Georgia and the variant known among the Iraqi Yezidis. During my field research, I gathered more than twenty variants of the Declaration of the Faith among Yezidis in Iraq, Turkey, Syria, Armenia, and Georgia.

Authorship. The author of Declaration of the Faith is unknown.

Performance. This is the religious text that should be known by all Yezidi men, women, and children. It is performed every evening before bed without a melody (*kubrî*). It is recited every day because it contains the most important information about Yezidi beliefs. Some claim that it should be recited twice a day: in the morning and before sleeping. But all Yezidis, from Armenia as well as from Iraq, agree that it should be recited every night before sleeping. In some regions in Armenia it is even called *Şehdetiya ber/ser be'lgî* (The Declaration [of the Faith] before/at the pillow). This is probably due to the first line of this prayer, which among Yezidis in Armenia begins with the following words: "Serê min be'lgî" (My head is on the pillow).

There are different groups of prayers in the *Du'a* genre of religious literature. They are connected with Yezidi symbols and religion, dedicated to God and Divine Beings, and representatives of different Yezidi castes. They are recited during most daily occasions, in the case of health problems, at rituals and *rites de passage*, at the changing of nature, and for the moon and the stars. The *Dirozge*, *Terqîn*, and the Declaration of the Faith (*Şehdetiya Dîn*, see the text below) occupy special positions among the prayers.

2.4. *Pişt Perde*

Status. The *Pişt Perde* (lit., Under the Veil) is another genre of the Yezidi religious poetic texts. This category is not widely known and has not been mentioned in the literature. This genre, unlike the *Qewls*, is not of a very high status. They are sometimes considered as *Beyts*, although this is a separate and unrelated genre. Nevertheless, their status is near to the status of *Beyts*.

Number. The number of *Pişt Perdes* is not fixed, but it is believed that now there are about seven of them, although previously there were more than twenty.

Formal characteristics. *Pişt Perdes* are also divided into stanzas.

This genre is not known to Yezidis from the Caucasus. However, in general they are well known and widespread among Yezidis all over the world. For instance, during my interview with a Yezidi Pîr from the village of Berroj (Dûzkend) in Armenia,⁷³ he told me that he heard how this practice was well known among Yezidis in the Ottoman Empire.

Xanna Omerxalî: Pişt Perde kengê tên gotin? *Khanna Omarkhali*: When are *Pişt Perdes* recited?

Merwanê Xelîl: Civata da gelek carî me bi deng di-gotin. *Merwane Khelil*: We used to recite them with the melodies in the community [i.e., during the gatherings, in public].

Gelek sebeqê wî êd heyn û gelekî xoş in. There are many stanzas [of the *Pişt Perde*] and they are very nice.

Functions. They are usually recited in public and during big gatherings.

Performance. They all are performed with special melodies (*kubrî*); each *Pişt Perde* has its own *kubrî*.

Although *Pişt Perdes* are recited during gatherings, they are also used after reciting a *Qewl*.⁷⁴ Yezidis in Armenia and Georgia also recite a small *Terqîn* (different from the *Terqîn* described above) after reciting a *Qewl*, which has the function of a kind of confirmation of the religious hymn.⁷⁵

Predominant theme of this genre. *Pişt Perdes* belong to the special genre of the dialogue between two or more knowledgeable Yezidi figures, or Holy Men.

When I recited the *Beyt of Heyî Malê* recorded from a Yezidi in the Caucasus to a Yezidi reciter of religious texts from Iraq, he told me:

Kurdish Original

English Translation

Eva me digote *Pişt Perde!* Eva *Pişt Perde* ne! Ev ne *Beyt e. Pişt Perde* wekî *Xizêmok e, Lavijok e*.⁷⁶ We called it *Pişt Perde!* These are *Pişt Perde!* This is not the *Beyt*. *Pişt Perde* is like *Khizemok, Lavijok*.

(73) From the interview with Pîr Tosinê Qero (born in 1929), conducted on 16.10.2007, Berroj (Dûzkend), Armenia.

(74) Merwanê Xelîl, conducted on 22.07.2009, Nienburg, Germany.

(75) From the interview with Pîr Qanatê Kakê, conducted on 02.08.2008, Moscow, Russia.

(76) Merwanê Xelîl, Nienburg, 22.07.2009.

After that he recited with the *kubrî* the same *Pişt Perde* with some differences, but generally similar to the text I had given. After he finished, he added:

Evne Pişt Perde bûn, digotinê. Eva me'ne bûn, pirsyar bûn. Pirsyar wextê Xasa di havêtine ser hev û du. Mesele, tu di dîne êzdiyatîyê da jî zana bûyî, ez, mesele, di diyaneta êzdiyatîyê da bi xo zana dîm, dê min pirsyar havêtibana ser te, te ciwaba min daba. Tê dihavêtiba ser min, dê min ciwaba te daba.

These were called *Pişt Perde* [i.e., Under the Veil]. These were “meanings”, “questions”. When the Holy Men used to put questions to each other. For instance, you were knowledgeable in the Yezidi religion, and I, for example, considered myself a knowledgeable person in the Yezidi religion, so I would ask you some questions and you would answer me. You would ask me questions and I would answer you.⁷⁷

2.5. *Qesîde*

Status. There are some *Qesîdes*, which are obviously of recent composition and not the old Yezidi texts. There is one *Qesîde*, namely the *Qesîde* of Sherfedîn, in which one can find the name of Kurdistan:

Ciwabê bidene Kurdistanê
Bila qayim ken îmanê
*Şerfedîn mîr e wê li dîwanê.*⁷⁸

Give the news to Kurdistan
Let them strengthen the belief
Sherfedîn is the Prince of the
Assembly.

Number. I gathered about thirty-six *Qesîdes* during my research. There are about fifteen *Qesîdes* of Pîrs, sixteen *Qesîdes* of Sheikhs, and several general *Qesîdes*, which mostly form the *Sema'* collections (see below).

Formal characteristics. Some *Qesîdes*, but not all, are composed in Arabic, and others are in the Kurmanji dialect of Kurdish. The rhyme structure of the Kurdish *Qesîdes* does not correspond to that of the Arabic *Qesîdes*. It is believed that *Qesîdes* were composed by the followers of Sheikh 'Adî at a later time.⁷⁹

Functions. The majority of *Qesîdes* are part of the *Sema'* collections.

(77) It is like a dialogic poem.

(78) From the interview with B. Cuma Îdo, which I conducted on 21.04.2008, Bashîk and Bahzan, Iraqi Kurdistan.

(79) KREYENBROEK, RASHOW, *God and Sheikh Adi are Perfect*, 51.

Performance. All *Qesîdes* are recited with music and special melodies. Their status is not as high as the *Qewls* and *Beys*.

Classification. Some *Qesîdes* are known to be of Sheikh Adî's authorship.

Some *Qesîdes* dedicated to Pîrs are known, as follows:

<i>Qesîda Alûbekir</i>	— <i>Qesîde</i> of Alûbekir
<i>Qesîda Pîrê Cerwa</i>	— <i>Qesîde</i> of Pîr Jerwa
<i>Qesîda Êk Siwar</i>	— <i>Qesîde</i> of One Horseman
<i>Qesîda Hecî 'Elî</i>	— <i>Qesîde</i> of Heji 'Elî
<i>Qesîda Hacyalî</i>	— <i>Qesîde</i> of Hajiyalî
<i>Qesîda Hesin Meman</i>	— <i>Qesîde</i> of Hesin Meman
<i>Qesîda Hesnaleka</i>	— <i>Qesîde</i> of Hesnaleka
<i>Qesîda Îsibiya</i>	— <i>Qesîde</i> of Îsibiya
<i>Qesîda Mehmed Reşan</i>	— <i>Qesîde</i> of Mehmed Reshan
<i>Qesîda Mehmedî Reben</i>	— <i>Qesîde</i> of Mehmedî Reben ⁸⁰
<i>Qesîda Memê Şivan</i>	— <i>Qesîde</i> of Memê Shivan
<i>Qesîda Pîrî Kemal</i>	— <i>Qesîde</i> of Pîr Kemal
<i>Qesîda Pîr Mehemed — Pîr Afat — Xetî Pisî</i>	— <i>Qesîde</i> of Pîr Mehemed, Pîr Afat, Khetî Pisî
<i>Qesîda Qedibilban</i>	— <i>Qesîde</i> of Qedi bi-'l-Ban
<i>Qesîda Sinî Behrî</i>	— <i>Qesîde</i> of Sinî Behrî, and some others.

There is a group of *Qesîdes* dedicated to the Sheikhs, as follows:

<i>Qesîda Adiya Şêxê Mine</i>	— <i>Qesîde</i> of Adî my Sheikh
<i>Qesîda Amadîn</i>	— <i>Qesîde</i> of Amadîn
<i>Qesîda Nasirdîn</i>	— <i>Qesîde</i> of Nasirdîn
<i>Qesîda Sicadîn</i>	— <i>Qesîde</i> of Sijadîn
<i>Qesîda Şerfedîn</i>	— <i>Qesîde</i> of Sherfedîn
<i>Qesîda Şêşims û Melik Fexredîn</i>	— <i>Qesîde</i> of Sheikh Shems and Melek Fekhredîn
<i>Qesîda Şêşimsê Tewrêzî</i>	— <i>Qesîde</i> of Sheikh Shems from Tabriz
<i>Qesîda Şêx 'Adî</i>	— <i>Qesîde</i> of Sheikh 'Adî
<i>Qesîda Şêx Alê Şemsa</i>	— <i>Qesîde</i> of Sheikh Alê Shemsa
<i>Qesîda Şêx Babik</i>	— <i>Qesîde</i> of Sheikh Babik
<i>Qesîda Şêx 'Ebdil Qadir</i>	— <i>Qesîde</i> of Sheikh 'Ebd al-Qadir

(80) Kurdish *reben* 'poor', 'miserable'.

<i>Qesîda Şêx Mend</i>	– <i>Qesîde</i> of Sheikh Mend
<i>Qesîda Şêx Sin</i>	– <i>Qesîde</i> of Sheikh Sin (Hesen)
<i>Qesîda Şêxûbekir</i>	– <i>Qesîde</i> of Sheikhûbekir
<i>Qesîda Xatûna Fexra</i>	– <i>Qesîde</i> of Khatûna Fekhra, and some others.

The *Qesîde* of Sheikh Jenjer (*Qesîda Şêx Cencer*) is probably not an authentic Yezidi *Qesîde*.⁸¹

There is another group of *Qesîdes* that are not dedicated to a Pîr or a Sheikh. This group includes:

<i>Qesîda Çopan</i>	– <i>Qesîde</i> of the Shepherd ⁸²
<i>Qesîda Nadîmî</i>	– <i>Qesîde</i> of my Friend
<i>Qesîda Subhân e ji te Melkê Ekber</i>	– <i>Qesîde</i> of the Praising is to you, the Great King
<i>Qesîda Tawûsî Melek</i>	– <i>Qesîde</i> of Tawûsî Melek
<i>Qesîda Kes ne tê</i>	– <i>Qesîde</i> of Nobody comes

2.6. *Sema'*

Status. The primary meaning of *Sema'* (Arab. *samā'* 'listening') in Yezidism, is a genre of religious literature, the singing of holy poems with music, which may or may not include a solemn procession of religious dignitaries.

When I talked about this procession with *Qewals* in Bashik and Bahzan villages, near Mosul, I used the word *reqs* (dance). I was stopped by a *Qewal* and corrected. They said that *Sema'* could not be called a dance at all. The meaning of this procession was explained as “Melayêka sucude bo Xudê diken” (Angels bow to God).⁸³

Sema' is described by Yezidis as a religious ceremony (*merasima dînî*).⁸⁴ *Sema'* are known only among Yezidis in Iraq and they are not known in the Caucasus. However, Pîr Tosinê Qero from Armenia men-

(81) See above on texts that are not authentic. This *Qesîde* was published in RASHOW, *Pern ji edebê dînê êzdiyan*, vol. II, 757.

(82) I translated this word as it is in Farsi, meaning 'shepherd' or 'herdsman', while in Kurdish the word 'shepherd' is translated with the word *şivan*. For the *Qesîda Çopan* see: RASHOW, *Pern ji edebê dînê êzdiyan*, vol. II, 758–759. This *Qesîde* is in Arabic and in the dialect of Bashiq and Bahzan.

(83) From the interview with *Qewal Simaîl*, conducted on 21.04.2008, Bashik and Bahzan, Iraq.

(84) From the interview with B. Cuma Îdo, 21.04.2008, Iraq.

tioned the term *Sema'* in the meaning of religious dance with the performance of the *Qewlê Şerfedîn*.⁸⁵

Number. There are seven *Sema'*s in Yezidism. Their number is significant, because it could help to understand the essence of the *Sema'* performance, that is, its connection with astrology and the seven planets, their movement, the direction of movement, the Time of Creation, and the Creation of Seven Archangels. The *Qewls* in each *Sema'* are not recited in their entirety, just the first seven stanzas.

Formal characteristics. The typical feature of the *Sema'* is that it combines texts of different genres, usually *Qewls* and *Qesîdes*.

Functions. *Sema'*s are recited during the big religious festivals in Lalish. One *Sema'* is performed exclusively at graves and is called *Sema' Miriya* (*Sema'* of the deceased people). In Iraq only women are present at the graves; men do not go to the graves after the funeral. The *Sema'* noted above is performed by a Yezidi man in the presence of Yezidi women after the funeral.

If somebody from the Adanî clan (one of three clans of Sheikhs, which is also called Sheikh Hesen's clan) dies, people ask a knowledgeable person to perform the *Semaya Şerfedîn û Şêx Hesen* (*Semaya* of Sherfedîn and Sheikh Hesen). If a person from the Shemsanî clan dies, then the *Semaya Şêx Şems* (*Semaya* of Sheikh Shems) is performed.⁸⁶

Performance. Each of the seven *Sema'* is performed with special music and melody. Each *Sema'* has its own melody, according to its text.

Classification. Each of the seven known *Sema'* is a combination of different religious texts (*Qewls* and *Qesîdes*). Each *Sema'* has its own particular combination.

When I asked Yezidis in Iraq about the *Sema'* and the names of the different religious texts that appear in a specific *Sema'*, they would usually name the texts by the first line or by the opening words of the text. This is also a typical feature of the oral tradition, when the texts are not written and there are sometimes no fixed names of the texts. People learn the text or recognise it by its first line or two, which are all different.

Let us describe the seven *Sema'* texts individually:

(85) From the interview with Pîr Tosinê Qero.

(86) From the interview with B. Cuma Îdo, 21.04.2008, Iraq.

2.6.1. *Semaya Bilind*. This *Sema'* includes the following texts:

<i>Qesîda Kamā qalamtu bi-'l-'il(m)</i>	— <i>Qesîde</i> As I wrote with the knowledge
<i>Çendî govende</i>	— How many dances (<i>govends</i>)
<i>Qesîda Şafā waqtî</i>	— <i>Qesîde</i> Good time
<i>Hālî al-ra'm</i>	— Without tenderness
<i>Cana</i>	— The soul

2.6.2. *Semaya Maka Êz(îd)*. This *Sema'* is also called *Sema' Makê*. The following texts are used:

<i>Qewlê Makê</i>	— <i>Qewl</i> of the Mother (i.e., the Mother of Êzîd)
<i>Hey Cana</i>	— Oh Soul

2.6.3. *Semaya Merkeba (Miriya)*. This *Sema'* is also called *Sema' Miriya* (*Sema'* of the deceased people); it includes the following texts:

<i>Merkeba Qewiye</i>	— Strong ship
<i>Zênare</i>	— Help
<i>Qesîda Şafā waqtî</i>	— <i>Qesîda</i> Good time
<i>Qesîda Çopan</i>	— <i>Qesîde</i> of the Shepherd

2.6.4. *Semaya Qanûnî*. This *Sema'* is also called *Sema' Şêx Adî*, which includes the following texts:

<i>Qesîda Lawikê Pîra</i>	— <i>Qesîde</i> Lawikê Pîra
<i>Qesîda Şafā waqtî</i>	— <i>Qesîde</i> Good time
<i>Qesîda 'Ana wa'dî</i>	— <i>Qesîde</i> About this time
<i>Ismatu</i> ⁸⁷ <i>ğamā'at al-ħadır</i>	— I listened to the present gathering
<i>Cana</i>	— The soul
<i>Qewlê Maka Êz</i>	— <i>Qewl</i> of the Mother of Êzîd
<i>Şîxadî û ...</i>	— Sheikh Adî and ...

2.6.5. *Semaya Şerfedîn û Şêx Hesên*

In the *Semaya Şêxê Hesên*, three *Qewls* make up one text. They are: *Qewlê Şêxê Hesên*, *Qewlê Babekrê Omera*, and *Qewlê Pîrê Libina* (or *Qewlê Kofiya*).⁸⁸ From each of these three *Qewls* only the seven first stanzas are recited and then the text changes to next *Qewl*. All three *Qewls* are recited with their own melodies (*kubrî*).

(87) Arabic *sama'tu* 'I listened'.

(88) This *Qewl* is also called *Qewlê Dilê minî bi kovan e*, because this line is mentioned there.

<i>Qesîda Kamā qalamtu bi-’l-’il(m)</i>	— <i>Qesîde</i> As I wrote with the knowledge
<i>Hayā mû lelem</i> ⁸⁹	— <i>Hayā mû lelem</i>
<i>Çendî govende</i>	— How many dances (<i>govends</i>)
<i>Hey Adiyê Şêxê mino!</i>	— Oh Adî, oh my Sheikh!
<i>Şêx Şimso navê te mîr e</i>	— Oh Sheikh Shems, your name is Prince
<i>Qesîda Şerfedîn</i> ⁹⁰	— <i>Qesîde</i> of Sherfedîn
<i>Ya la, ya lale</i>	— Oh God, oh God
<i>Hay lêm ha leyl</i>	— <i>Hay lêm ha leyl</i>

2.6.6. Semaya Şêx Şems. This *Sema`* includes the texts:

<i>Zimzim al-Adî</i>	— (The sacred spring) Zimzim of (Sheikh) Adî
<i>Hâlî al-ra`m</i>	— Without tenderness
<i>Qesîda Şafâ waqtî</i>	— <i>Qesîda</i> Good time
<i>Şadaytu bi-’l-zînâra</i>	— I sang with the (asking for) help
<i>Ismatu ğamâ`at al-ħađîr</i>	— I listened to the present gathering
<i>Birime behiştâ `enzelî</i>	— I was taken to the ancient paradise

2.6.7. Semaya Zerza(yî). This *Sema`* includes the texts:

<i>Qesîda `Ana wa`dî</i> ⁹¹	— <i>Qesîde</i> About this time
<i>Subhân e ji te Melik Kerîm</i> ⁹²	— The praising is for you, the Merciful Angel

(89) This is the first line of the *Qesîde Çopan* (*Qesîde* of the Shepherd): “*Hayā mû lelem, hāzā mû çopan ra`î li ğenem...*” See RASHOW, *Pern ji edebê dînê êzdiyan*, vol. II, 758. There is another *Qesîde Çopan*, which begins with the words: “*Wer-in, werin, eve ne çopanê şivanê pezî ye...*” See RASHOW, *Pern ji edebê dînê êzdiyan*, vol. II, 759. The first one is in the Arabic language in the dialect spoken in the Bashik and Bahzan region, the second one is in the Kurdish Kurmanji dialect.

(90) For the *Qesîda Şerfedîn* see: HECÎ, *Bawerî û mîtolojiya êzdiyan*, 161–162, RASHOW, *Pern ji edebê dînê êzdiyan*, vol. II, 2004: 674–675. This *Qesîde* was reprinted from the article by Bedelê Feqîr HECÎ, *Laliş* 6 (1996) 54–85, and translated into English in: KREYENBROEK, RASHOW, *God and Sheikh Adi are Perfect*, 221–222.

(91) Sometimes it is called *Qesîda `Ana wa`ht*.

(92) For the *Qesîde Subhân e ji te Melik Ekber*, see RASHOW, *Pern ji edebê dînê êzdiyan*, vol. II, 754–756. This *Qeside* was written down by Rashow from the cassette tape recorded by Sheikh Derman on 9.4.1998.

<i>Çendî govende</i>	– How many dances
<i>Qesîda Çopan</i>	– <i>Qesîde</i> of the Shepherd
<i>Cana</i>	– The soul

Every knowledgeable Yezidi knows which *Sema'* includes which kinds of religious texts and in which order they should be performed, and how many stanzas from each text should be recited.

Here I would like to quote the words of B. Cuma Îdo from Bashik and Bahzan, Iraqi Kurdistan, with whom I conducted an interview on 21.04.2008. After the performance of a few *Sema'* without the accompaniment of the sacred instruments, but with the special melody, he told me:

Dengê min ne yêt xosh e. Bi Xudê, heke mûsîk hebe û Qewala bi dengê xoş, eve ecêb e, ecêb e! Xudê, sîmfoniyek jî ne wekû ew e!	My voice is not good. By God, if there is music and <i>Qewals</i> with a nice voice, it is absolutely amaz- ing! Oh God, even a symphony cannot be compared with it!
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After these words, I could not (and even did not try to) stop him from performing different *Sema'* with melodies.

CONCLUSION

The basis of Yezidi belief is kept in the literature which is represented by different genres of religious poetry and prose, and which was transmitted orally from one generation to another. These categories of poetry and prose have their own names and cannot be compared with the literature in known written traditions.

In this study I described the specific structure and characteristics of Yezidi religious poetic literature. There is also a group of poetic songs in the Yezidi literature which, although it is traditionally religious, does include not only the religious knowledge but also love stories. They are typical not only for Yezidi literature, but they are known in Kurdish non-Yezidi literature as well. Among them are the so-called *Lavij(ok)*, *Xizêmok*, *Robarîn*, and *Payîzok*. There is also a rather large group of religious prose narratives represented by such genres as *Mishabet* (sermon), *Çîrok*, and *Çîvanok*, i.e., legends and myths, and *Dastan* and *M`ena* (or *Pirs*), interpretations of religious hymns.⁹³

(93) On the Yezidi legends as interpretations of the Yezidi religious hymns, see Kh. OMARKHALI, "The status and role of the Yezidi legends and myths. To the question of comparative analysis of Yezidism, Yârisân (Ahl-e

It is already possible to speak with confidence that Yezidism is going through a new stage of its development, namely the probable transition to a written tradition. The process of writing down these religious texts has already begun; how this process will be reflected in the Yezidi literature with its oral nature, melodies, and special performance remains a question.

**Excursus:
SOME EXAMPLES OF YEZIDI RELIGIOUS TEXTS**

**The Declaration of the Faith
(*Şhdetiya Dîn*)**

The Declaration of the Faith in Yezidism belongs to the genre of prayers. It is one of the most important prayers, which should be recited by every Yezidi, man or woman, every day. The text below is a variant⁹⁴ of the Declaration of the Faith that is recited among the majority of Transcaucasian Yezidis.

ŞEHDETIYA DÎN

Serê min be'lgî,

Be'lgîyê min şivakê,

THE DECLARATION OF THE FAITH

My head is on the pillow,

My pillow is on the window,⁹⁵

Haqq) and Zoroastrianism: a common substratum?" *Folia Orientalia* 45–46 (2009–2010) 197–219.

(94) This variant of the Declaration of the Faith was recited by Pîr Rizayê Kakê from the Omarkhali clan of Pîrs, who was born in Armenia, and I wrote it down in 03.2007 in St. Petersburg, Russia.

(95) *Şivak* is pronounced "v" among some Yezidis from Armenia and in Iraq pronounced "b" (*şibak*). It is interesting that one can find a very similar stanza (*sebeq*) in the *Qewlê Seremergê* (Hymn of the Moment of Death), *sebeq* 8, where it is said:

Min zor farîqe kiribûn ji makê

Û ezna didem şibakê

Bi rû da çome zikakê

Ez daname ber bedenê makê

I was removed far from my mother,

And invited (to go) to the opening.

Head first I went into the narrow passage.

I was laid on my mother's body.

(Original text: Silêman 1985: (Translation: Kreyenbroek 1995: 310)

113).

One can also find the term *Berê şivakê* / *Berê şibakê*, which means sacred thing in Lalish, attributed to Sheikh 'Adî.

<i>Sêrî çûme zikakê,</i>	First [I] went [through] the narrow street
<i>Bidî xatirê Êzîd makê,</i>	Give [to me] for the sake of Êzîd's mother.
<i>Serê min qulbe,</i>	My head is in the direction of prayer,
<i>Berê min rohilat.</i>	My eyes are [fixed] on the east. ⁹⁶
<i>Ser mira sekînî(n) du celat,</i>	Two hangmen ⁹⁷ stay overhead of me,
<i>Go: „Miskîno, Tacdîno, benîyo,</i>	[One of them] said: “Oh Miskîn, ⁹⁸ oh Tadjîn, ⁹⁹ oh human being,
<i>De te were, Şe'detiya dînê xwe bîne,</i>	Recite the Declaration of your Faith,
<i>Ezê serê te hilînim”.</i>	I shall carry away your head”. ¹⁰⁰
<i>Go: “Şe'detiya dînê min yek ella,</i>	[I] answered: “The Declaration of my Faith is one God,
<i>Şêxisin hebûb ella,</i>	Shêkhisin [is] the friend of God,
<i>Mergaê, Meqlûbê selaê.</i>	I greet [the holy place] Mergeh, ¹⁰¹ [the holy mountain] Meqlûb, ¹⁰²
<i>Ciyê Şerq, Şam lê diçe taê¹⁰³ sucûdayê,</i>	From the East [and] West [i.e., Damascus] He is bowed

(96) Yezidis bury their people with their face towards the east in the grave. The legs should be towards the east, so the face will also be in this direction.

(97) According to Yezidi belief, the two hangmen are Sijadîn and Nasirdîn. They come to the person during death: one of them, Sijadîn, is the messenger of death, and Nasirdîn is the hangman, who takes the soul away.

(98) The word *miskîn* is translated as ‘a miserable and poor person’ and here could be also translated as an adjective.

(99) The meaning could be understood in two ways, namely the name of a derwish, Miskîn Tadjîn, who lived in the time of Sheikh ‘Adî; he was put in prison for some misdeed and after that he came back to Lalish. *Tacdîn* could also be translated as he ‘who has the religion as his crown’.

(100) It means that the angel asks the human being to recite his/her Declaration of the Faith before he takes away their soul.

(101) *Mergeh* refers to the place where the main religious center, Lalish, is located.

(102) *Meqlûb* is a mountain located in Iraqi Kurdistan, near the Lalish valley.

(103) Here probably *tobe* ‘vow’ is meant.

<i>Sicûda me diçe bal Şîxadî,</i>	We bow to Sheikh ‘Adî,
<i>Şîxadî reda yê,</i>	Sheikh ‘Adî is satisfied [with our inclinations].
<i>Şêşims melkê Mêra yê,</i>	Sheikh Shems is at the head of [the assembly of] Holy Men,
<i>Şîxadî ser kursî westayê,</i>	Sheikh ‘Adî sits at the Throne,
<i>Şe‘detiyaa dînê xwe heq navê Êzîd dayê.</i>	Gave the Declaration of your Faith in the name of Êzîd.
<i>Şîxadî nûr e,</i>	Sheikh ‘Adî is the Light,
<i>Melek Ferxedîn xefûr e,</i>	Angel Ferkhedîn is forgiving. ¹⁰⁴
<i>Şe‘detiya dînê xwe heq navê Êzîd qebûl e.</i>	The Declaration of the Faith is accepted in the name of Êzîd.
<i>Sinî me, sinî nevî me,</i>	I am a Yezidi, ¹⁰⁵ a grandchild of a Yezidi.
<i>Silavkêşê Kaniya Sipî me,</i>	I greet [the spring] of Kaniya Spî. ¹⁰⁶
<i>Mirîdê Şîxadî me.</i>	I am a Mirîd ¹⁰⁷ of Sheikh ‘Adî,
<i>Qelemma Melek Şîxisin nivîsîme,</i>	I was written by the pen of Angel Shîkhisin, ¹⁰⁸
<i>‘Erhemdille, Şêx, Pîr, hoste, merebî,</i>	I am grateful to God, Sheikh, Pîr, Master, Preceptor,
<i>Yar birê axretê</i>	Beloved brother of hereafter,
<i>Her pênc tirêqê xwe razî me.</i>	I am satisfied with all my five <i>tirêq</i> . ¹⁰⁹

(104) Usually the description *xefûr* ‘forgiving’ is used for God.

(105) In the Yezidi religious texts, very often the term *sunî* is used, which means ‘a Yezidi’, and *Sunetxane* ‘Yezidis’.

(106) *Kaniya Spî* is the holy spring in Lalish where all Yezidis should be baptised.

(107) *Mirîd* here means a pupil, a follower of Sheikh ‘Adî.

(108) It is said that there is a book of Sheikh Hesên called *Jilvê*. Yezidis believe that Sheikh Hesên was concealed in a cave for six years until the book was revealed to him. But it is also said that the Angel Şêxisin was the first ‘who had the pen and writing’. He is called *Xudanê Qelemê* ‘The Master of the Pen’.

(109) According to Yezidi religious custom, there are five *tirêq*, i.e., people mostly from the priesthood castes who help a Yezidi in their everyday observances and in their spiritual development. These five people are: *sheikh*, *pîr*, *hosta*, *merhebî*, and brother of hereafter.

<i>Celatê ruhê min Nasirdîn,</i>	Hangman of my soul is Nasirdîn.
<i>Atqata min Siltan Êzîd,</i>	My belief is Sultan Êzîd,
<i>Dînê min Şerfedîn,</i>	My religion is Sherfedîn, ¹¹⁰
<i>Rehme li ruhê hostaê min,</i>	[Let there be] mercy [of God] on the soul of my Master ¹¹¹
<i>Êzdîd yek ella,</i>	Êzdîd is the only God,
<i>Şîxadî hebûb ella”.</i>	Sheikh ‘Adî is beloved of God”.

Pîşt Perde

The *Beyt* of Heyî Malê (*Beyta Heyî Malê*)

The religious text given below¹¹² belongs to the *Pîşt Perde* genre. It was written down from a Yezidi in the Caucasus and labeled as the *beyt* Oh Home (*Beyta Heyî Malê*). The name of the genre of *Pîşt Perde* among Yezidis in the Caucasus is unknown.

At the beginning of the *beyt* is the praising of a home: “Heyî mala min, heyî mala min, mala bavê min” (Oh my Home, oh my Home, my Father’s Home). This religious text tells about the origin of this home and about the beginning of the world. It is said that this home is connected with the Time of Creation, where God, the bird Enqer, the Pearl, and the Ocean are mentioned.

The term *Mala Bava* (Father’s Home) has deep meanings in the Yezidi tradition. First, there is a name for the Yezidi Pîr’s sacred family hearth (*odjakh*), namely *Omarkhali*, which is called *Mala Bava*. Yezidis from Iraq recite *Heyî Mala min* (Oh my Home) when they talk about Lalish, which was the home for many of the Holy Men in Yezidism.

Moreover, one can find a very interesting stanza in this text, the third stanza, where the name of one sacred manuscript of a Pîr’s home, *Mishûra Resh-Belek*, is mentioned. Probably the term is much deeper and applies not only to the sacred manuscript. I saw the sacred manuscript *Mishûra Resh-Belek* in the home of a Pîr’s family in Armenia in 2007. As the owner told me, it was written on the skin of a gazelle.

(110) The religion is called *Sherfedîn* by Yezidis of Armenia and Georgia.

(111) That is, the religious preceptor, who gave the knowledge to a person, recites the text. Usually after each religious text this expression is given.

(112) *Ayîn û Qirarê Dînê Êzdîtiyê*, 97–99.

When I was allowed to open it and see, I found that it was on the skin of an animal and it was a large folio with four leaves.

The name of *Resh-Belek* also appears in the Iraqi version of this text, recited for me by Merwanê Khelîl:

<i>Bira derê Reşbeleka veket, Bi xêra navê Xudê û Şêx Adî Bila bêjite ew kî bû Meftûl kire qewata girîvanî.</i>	Open the doors of <i>Resh-Belek</i> , In the name of God and Sheikh Adî Let him tell who it was Who made the lock the power of <i>girîvan</i> .
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It is believed among Yezidis in Iraqi Kurdistan that *Resh-Belek* is a Sacred Book, although none of the people I interviewed knew specifically what kind of book it was.

Beyta Heyî Malê

Qewl in Kurdish

- 1 *Heyî Mala min, heyî Mala min,
Mala Bavê min,
Teyîrekî Enqerî nave,*

Ser piştê 366 cot silave.

- 2 *Şêxekî bînin şêx be,
Pîrekî bînin pîr be,
Talibî zane, ji Mala Baba be,
70 govek bavê xa da ulma be.*

- 3 *Bira xêra Xudê ra
Derê Reşbelekê veke,
Belgê belgevêzê bixûne.*

The *Beyt* of Oh Home

Translation into English

- Oh my Home, oh my Home, my
Father's Home,
There is a bird Enqer¹¹³ in it,

There are 366¹¹⁴ pairs of greetings
on its back.

- Bring a Sheikh, [who] would be
the [real] Sheikh
Bring a Pîr, [who] would be the
[real] Pîr,
The known follower, [who] would
be from the Father's Home,
[Who] would be known in his line-
age in the 70th generations.

- Let him in the name of God
Open the doors of [the book] *Resh-
Belek*,
Read the leaf of plantain leaves.

(113) The comments to this text say that the bird Enqer (*Teyrê Enqer*) is Tawusî Melek himself.

(114) Numerology among Yezidis is a very interesting subject, because the symbolic numbers in Yezidism (7, 12, 72, 366, etc.) are closely connected with astrology.

- 4 *Bira mi ra bêje:*
B'era Emenê çend keşkûl avê nav e,
Orta 'erd-'ezman da çend gav e. Let him tell me:
 How many *keshkuls*¹¹⁵ of water has
 the Ocean of Emen
 How many steps are between the
 earth and the heaven.
- 5 *Heyî Malê, heyî Malê, heyî Mala*
Babanê, heyî lê,
heyî malê, heyî malê...
Serê Dura elîf û bî ne,
Serê lala elîf û bî ne. Oh Home, oh Home, oh the Fa-
 ther's Home,
 Oh Home, oh Home...
 On the Pearls¹¹⁶ are A and B,¹¹⁷
 On the rubies¹¹⁸ are A and B.
- 6 *Teyrê Enqer Durre 'erşê 'ezmîne,*
Du melek lê xulîqîne,
Yek bû nûra 'ezmîne,
B'erê giran dimeyîne. The Bird Enqer is the Pearl of the
 vault of heaven
 Two angels are created from it,
 One became the Light of the Earth,
 [Who] makes the great Ocean co-
 agulate [coalesce].
- 7 *Yek çira çar qulba ye,*
Sitûna çar dîna ye,
Çerxa felekê dorê dizivirîne, ba ye. [Another] one is a luminary of four
 directions [of the world],
 Pillar of four religions,
 [He] turns the wheel of Fortune,
 [he] is [like] the wind.¹¹⁹
- 8 *Heyî Malê, heyî Malê...*
Serê Dura elîf û ba ne,
Serê lala elîf û ba ne.
Extiyarê rûniştine,
Koçekê ser darê piya ber dawastane, Oh Home, oh Home...
 On the Pearls are A and B,
 On the rubies are A and B.
 Old people are sitting,
*Kocheks*¹²⁰ stand on the trees.¹²¹

(115) *Keshkûl* is a symbolic begging bag of a derwish, which one can find in the Yezidi religious literature.

(116) It should be in the singular, but here it is used with the short ending -a of the plural ending -an of the Oblique case.

(117) Probably this means that, in the beginning of the Creation of the world, the beginning of everything (A and B, the first letters of the alphabet) were on the Pearl, from which the world was created.

(118) Here *ruby* probably is a general name for the jewels, and it could be just a literary replacement of the word *pearl*.

(119) It is written that he is a wind.

(120) Supernatural ability to foretell the future is attributed to *Kocheks*.

(121) It is a special rite, when *Kocheks* before the New Year, which is in April, bring wood from the forest on their backs and they stack it in the yards of Lalish.

<p><i>Fexrê gulî nûr e li 'ezman e.</i></p> <p>9 <i>Heyî Mala min, heyî Mala min,</i> <i>Serê Dura elîf û bî ne,</i> <i>Serê lala elîf û bî ne.</i> <i>Extiyarê rûniştine,</i> <i>Koçekê ser darê piya ber dawas-</i> <i>tane,</i> <i>Roj me derket ji 'erşê girane,</i> <i>Bû çira boyî her çar qulbane,</i> <i>Sitûn boyî her çar dînane.</i></p>	<p>Fekhr of Gulî¹²² is a Light in the Heaven.</p> <p>Oh my Home, oh my Home, On the Pearls are A and B, On the rubies are A and B. Old people are sitting, Kocheks stand on the trees. Our sun came out from the heavy Throne, Became the Luminary of all four sides/directions, A Pillar for all four religions.</p>
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In conclusion, I would like to quote Simon Jargy, who wrote in his article on the sung poetry in the oral tradition of the Gulf Region and the Arabian Peninsula, and which also perfectly reflects the function of the Yezidi oral tradition: "The popular genius is so strongly rooted in the souls of these peoples that the musicopoetical traditions have progressively assumed another function: one of keeping their spirit alive through the link to an old and permanent tradition to avoid losing all the roots threatened by the turmoil of modern technology."¹²³

SUMMARY

The paper is devoted to the investigation of the religious textual heritage of the Yezidis, adherents of the monotheistic, non-proselytizing pre-Islamic Kurdish religion. Yezidis always had a great fear of writing down their religious texts and hence avoided the practice. The basis of Yezidi dogmas is kept mainly in the oral tradition, literature which is represented by different kinds of religious poetry and prose and which has its own set of categories that cannot easily be compared with the genres in known written traditions.

In this investigation, the publication of Yezidi religious texts and their status, formal characteristics, and language, as well as different categories of Yezidi poetic literature are explored. At the end of the study, the Yezidi Declaration of the Faith (*Şehdetiya Dîn*) and another example of a religious poetic text, *Beyta Heyî Malê*, are given with English translation as illustrations of the Yezidi religious poetic literature.

(122) The Angel of the Sun (*Melekê Rojê*) and the Angel of the Moon (*Melekê Hîvê*) are Shems and Fekhr.

(123) Simon JARGY, Sung Poetry in the Oral Tradition of the Gulf Region and the Arabian Peninsula, *Oral Tradition* 4/1–2 (1989) 187.

THE SYSTEM OF DIVINE SERVICE QUOTATIONS IN THE LIFE OF STEPHEN OF PERM

Epiphanius the Wise, the Russian fifteenth-century hagiographer, is well-known as an unexcelled stylist. A monk of the Holy Trinity — St. Sergius Lavra, and one of the most learned and multi-talented people of his time, he was the author of at least two saints' *Lives* — Sergius of Radonezh and Stephen of Perm. Moreover, the authorship of *A Word on the Life and Repose of Demetrius Ivanovich, Tsar of Russia* is most often ascribed to this same hagiographer. The unique style of his works has elicited and continues to elicit the interest of researchers. The analysis of the particularities of his work, in the opinion of L. A. Dmitriev, is “the critical, central problem in the study of the Russian hagiography linked with the second wave of South Slav influence.”¹

One of the most interesting particularities of Epiphanius' style was his broad use of various quotations, reminiscences and allusions in hagiographical prose. The *Life of Stephen of Perm (LSP)*, to which our work is dedicated, is one of the most extended Slavonic lives written in the special, flowery style characteristic of the epoch of the second wave of South Slav influence. An important function in the creation of this style is carried out by quotation; it plays a style-forming role in the *Life of Stephen of Perm*.

In this text the author most often resorts to two literary sources: the Bible and the texts of the Divine services. The Gospel, and especially the epistles of the apostles, are, after the Psalter, quoted most often in the *Life of Stephen of Perm*. In 1995 G. M. Prokhorov published a text of the *Life* in which he did work on singling out the quotations from the Psalms and other parts of the Bible in Epiphanius' composition.² Evidently, in resorting to such frequent quotation from the apostolic

(1) Л. А. ДМИТРИЕВ, Нерешенные вопросы происхождения и истории экспрессивно-эмоционального стиля XV в., *ТОДРЛ* 20 (1964) 72–89.

(2) Г. М. ПРОХОРОВ (изд.), *Святитель Стефан Пермский: к 600-летию со дня преставления* (Санкт-Петербург, 1995).

epistles, Epiphanius the Wise was underlining the likeness between Stephen and the apostles. This supposition is supported by the fact that the work contains several altered fragments from the *Life of Cyril and Methodius*, which implies that Epiphanius was making parallels between the apostles, the equal-to-the-apostles enlighteners of the Slavs and Stephen of Perm. The skilful and at times hardly noticeable interweaving of the text of the Gospel with the *Life*, together with the fragment from the *Life of Cyril and Methodius*, which was well-known to the medieval reader, forces the recipient involuntarily to see in the image of Stephen a new Russian apostle, equal to the ancient preachers.

The quotations from the Divine service texts, in which the *Life of Stephen* also abounds, have never received sufficient illumination in the research literature. Moreover, the frequency of their use in the Epiphanius' composition tells about a definite writer's intention on the part of the author.

In the text of the *Life* under review we can distinguish several cycles of quotations, each of them bound up with this or that theme. Thus the first of them is constituted by the already-mentioned quotations from the apostolic epistles and *Lives* of the Equal-to-the-Apostles. These quotations, in our opinion, have already been sufficiently studied. The second cycle is constituted by quotations from the heirmoses of the canons, which are brought together into an elegant system and represent one of the levels of the complex structure of the text of the *Life*. The source of the third cycle is the *Triodion* — a collection of Divine services for the Great Lent, Holy Week and Pascha.

Thus the chapter entitled "Prayer for the Church" is a mixture of various kinds of Divine service hymns — the heirmoses — which are constituent elements of the hymnographic canon. In the *Life of Stephen* the heirmoses of the canons are quoted — that is, those hymns which were well-known to the medieval reader from the Divine services (in contrast with the canon, it was supposed that the akathist would be read in the cell). Epiphanius often reworks the texts of the heirmoses, adapting them to his style, but the general character of the hymnographical work, its lexicon and symbolism, remain unchanged. The beginning of the chapter in question in Epiphanius looks as follows (the fragments similar to the heirmoses have been underlined and indicated with corresponding numbers):

«[...] Иже словом в начатцѣ утвержи небеса, разумом(1) и небесного круга врьхъ створь(2), Иже над водами небо утвержи, второе же утвержи ни на чьмже землю повелѣнием Си и

распространив неодолимую земную тяготу, юже на тверди ея основавый над водами многамы, яко и на водах повѣсив ю неодолимо (3); сѣдѣтельная сущи и сѣдѣющая вся Божия сила и мудрость (4), иже утверждая и громы и зижай дѹхи, Утвержение сый твердое, и недвижимое Речение, и Утвержение на Тя надѣющимся (5), и Ты еси Утвержение притѣкающим Ти, Господи. И понеже, яко неплоды, роди от язык церкви язычную, неплодѹщую церковь (6) Свою утверди, Христе, юже стяжа силою Креста Твоего [...], юже стяжа честною Си кровию (5), юже утверди, Господи, на камени твердѣмъ, на камени недвижимѣм, на камени вѣры на камени заповѣдей Твоих (3), на камени исповѣдания Твоего, на камени церковнѣмъ».

“[...] Who hast in the beginning established the heavens by Thine understanding (1), and built the vault of heavens (2)..., Who hast established the heavens upon the waters, and again hast established the earth upon nothing by Thine ordinance and hast spread out the ungovernable weight of the earth, founding it firmly upon many waters, as Thou hast hung it ungovernably upon the waters (3); O Wisdom and Power of God, the Creator and Sustainer of all (4), Who hast established the thunders and the winds, being the firm Establishment and Immovable Word, and the firm Foundation of all that hope in Thee (5), and Thou art the Foundation of all that flee to Thee, O Lord. And do Thou establish, O Christ, the infertile Church of the Gentiles (6), which Thou hast acquired by the power of Thy Cross [...], which Thou hast acquired by Thine honourable blood (5), which do Thou establish, O Lord, on the firm rock, on the immovable rock, on the rock of faith, on the rock of Thy commandments (1,3), on the rock of Thy confession, on the rock of the Church.”³

Here we have a mixture of several heirmoses:

- (1) «Утвержий въ началѣ небеса словомъ, и землю основавъ надъ водами многамы, утверди мя на пенне славословия Твоего, Господи» (“Having established the heavens in the beginning by Thine understanding, and founded the earth upon the waters, establish me, O Christ, on the rock of Thy commandments, for there is none holy as Thou, O only Lover of man”).⁴

(3) Прохоров, *Святитель Стефан Пермский...*, 236.

(4) *Ирмолог 14 в.* (РГБ, собр. Тр.-Серг. Лавры, ф. 304/1, № 19) 138 об. (Ο στερεώσας κατ’ ἀρχάς, τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἐν συνέσει, καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ ὑδάτων ἐδράσας, ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ με Χριστέ, τῶν ἐντολῶν σου στήριξον· ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι πλὴν σου, ἅγιος μόνε Φιλάνθρωπε).

- (2) «Небесному крѣгу верхотворче Господи, Церкви Зижителю, Ты ме ѱтверди в любви Своей, желаньемъ си Край, вѣрнымъ ѱтверженье, едине Человеколюбче» (“O Lord, Builder of the vault of heaven, and Founder of the Church, do Thou establish me in Thy love, O summit of desires, O establishment of the faithful, O only Lover of man”).⁵
- (3) «ѱтвержий на ничесомъже землю повелениемъ Твоимъ Си, и распространи неодожимую тяготу, на недвижимемъ, Христе, камени заповедий Ти, Церковь Твою ѱтверди, единый Блаже и Человеколюбче» (“By Thine ordinance has Thou set up the earth on nothing, and hung it while its weight ungovernably drags it down, do Thou establish Thy Church, O Christ, on the rock of Thy commandments, O only Good One and Lover of man”);⁶
- (4) «Бодѣтельная и содержащая вся Божія сило и мудрость, непреклонну, недвижиму Церковь сиу ѱтверди, Христе, единъ бо еси Святъ, и на святыхъ почиваяй» (“O Wisdom and Power of God, the Creator and Sustainer of all, establish the Church, O Christ, unbending and immovable, for Thou only art holy, Who restest in the saints”).⁷
- (5) «ѱтверженье на Тя надеющимся, ѱтвержи, Господи, Церковь Свою, юже стяжа честною Си кровью» (“O firm Foundation of all that hope in Thee, do Thou establish, O Lord, the Church, which Thou hast acquired by Thine honourable blood”).⁸
- (6) «Процвела естъ пѱстыня, яко кринъ, Господи, язычна неплодѱщая Церковь, пришествиемъ Ти, в нейже ѱтвердися мое сердце» (“Like a lily, O Lord, has the infertile Church of the

(5) *Ирмалог 14 в., 137.* (Ὀυρανίας ἀψίδος, ὀροφουργὲ Κύριε, καὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας δομητορ, σύ με στερέωσον, ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ τῇ σῆ, τῶν ἐφετῶν ἢ ἀκρότης, τῶν πιστῶν τὸ στήριγμα, μόνε φιλόανθρωπε).

(6) *Ibid., 91.* (Ὁ πῆξας ἐπ’ οὐδενός, τὴν γῆν τῇ προστάξει σου, καὶ μετεωρίας ἀσχετῶς βροίθουσαν, ἐπὶ τὴν ἀσάλευτον Χριστέ, πέτραν τῶν ἐντολῶν σου, τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν σου στερέωσον, μόνε ἀγαθὲ καὶ φιλόανθρωπε).

(7) *Ibid., 5.* (Ἡ δημιουργικὴ, καὶ συνεκτικὴ τῶν ἀπάντων, Θεοῦ σοφία καὶ δύναμις, ἀκλινη ἀκράδαντον, τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν στήριξον Χριστέ· μόνος γὰρ εἶ ἅγιος, ὁ ἐν ἀγίοις ἀναπαυόμενος).

(8) *Ibid., 53.* (Τὸ στερέωμα, τῶν ἐπὶ σοὶ πεποιθότων, στερέωσον Κύριε τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν, ἣν ἐκτίσω, τῷ τιμίῳ σου αἵματι).

Gentiles flowered, by Thy coming, and my heart is established on her").⁹

In several sentences Epiphanius the Wise has inserted fragments of six different heirmoses, interweaving them amongst themselves and putting in his own words. On the one hand, this is reminiscent of quotations from the Psalter, fragments of which are often found in Epiphanius interwoven and changed in accordance with his own style. V. A. Moshin explained this particularity of quoting from the Psalter in Epiphanius and the Serbian hagiographers by the fact that the authors knew the Psalter by heart and not only wrote, but also thought in its images and expressions. This, from V. A. Moshin's point of view, allowed the medieval hagiographers to quote from the Psalter involuntarily, without noticing it themselves. Moreover, the investigations of F. Wigzel have demonstrated that Epiphanius quoted Biblical texts in the form in which they are used in Divine services, which means that he is quoting them from memory, without going directly to the source.¹⁰ It appears, by contrast, that when he is quoting the heirmoses and other Divine service texts, Epiphanius the Wise is deliberately looking up the source, or, at any rate, guessing the fragments that are appropriate in the given case with exceptional intuitiveness. The choice of quotations in the fragment quoted above strikes one with their appropriateness: first, the hagiographer chooses for "Prayer for the Church", not just any liturgical texts, but precisely the genre of the heirmos in its capacity as literary source; secondly, he resorts to strictly defined heirmoses. As is well-known, there are nine odes in all in the canon, each of which has an heirmos at the front. In creating the chapter in the *Life of Stephen of Perm* that we are studying, Epiphanius resorts to heirmoses of the third ode. In the general structure of the church service the heirmoses of the canons carry out the functions of idiosyncratic logical ties between a concrete church feast and Biblical history. In the heirmos, as a rule, there is mention of this or that critical event in Holy Scripture, while the corresponding ode of the canon is dedicated to the event being celebrated and usually has something in common with the heirmos preceding it, and so also with Biblical histo-

(9) *Ирмολог* 14 в., 28. ("Ἐξήνθησεν ἡ ἔρημος, ὡσεὶ κρίνον Κύριε, ἢ τῶν ἔθνῶν στεριεύουσα, Ἐκκλησία τῆ παρουσία σου, ἐν ἣ ἐστερεώθη ἡ καρδιά μου').

(10) Ф. ВИГЗЕЛ, Цитаты из книг Священного Писания в сочинениях Епифания Премудрого, *ТОДРЛ* 26 (1971) 232–243.

ry. Thus the first heirmos is always dedicated to Israel passing through the Red sea, the second — to the wandering through the desert and the penitential song of Moses, while the third, to which Epiphanius resorts in the quoted fragment, has several meanings. First, the prayer of Anna, the mother of the Prophet Samuel, is remembered. Secondly, it speaks about love and asks for this heavenly gift: «**ВЪ ЛЮБВИ ТВОЕЙ УТВЕРДИ МЕНЕ**» (“Establish me in Thy love”). Thirdly, the content of this heirmos is often linked with the act of creation: «**УТВЕРЖДЕЙ ВЪ НАЧАЛѢ НЕБЕСА СЛОВОМЪ...**» (“Having established the heavens at the beginning by Thine understanding...”). Fourthly, it usually includes a petition for the establishment of the heart on «**КАМЕНИ ЗАПОВЕДЕЙ ТВОИХЪ**» (“the rock of Thy commandments”). And finally, fifthly, it praises God for bringing the Gentile tribes into the Church and asks for the establishment of the Church. All five meanings (perhaps the ancient heirmoses included various other meanings, but in the given case we limit ourselves to the five most obvious) are closely linked amongst themselves: the prayer of Anna was for the establishment that is necessary for every man, which serves as the foundation for the establishment of the whole Church. But the Church is established, not by men, but by the God Who created all things, so the petition for the Church is bound up with a reference to the creation of the world. The critical word and the critical petition of practically all the heirmoses of the third ode is “establishment”. But this word becomes critical also in the “Prayer for the Church” of Epiphanius. Moreover, the author is constantly quoting only separate fragments of heirmoses, most often their initial phrases, as if not speaking openly about the petition itself, but only hinting at it. The medieval reader, who knew the service well, must willingly or unwillingly caught the parallel places in the texts of Epiphanius, and, remembering the heirmoses by heart, was forced as it were to say openly what the hagiographer did not say openly, that is, the petition for establishment which Epiphanius usually left out. Thus, for example, when reading in Epiphanius «**УТВЕРЖЕНИЕ НА ТЯ НАДЕЮЩИМСЯ**» (“The Establishment of those who hope on Thee”), a person who knew the service must involuntarily have remembered the following phrase of this heirmos: «**УТВЕРДИ, ГОСПОДИ, ЦЕРКОВЬ**» (“establish, O Lord, the Church”). In the course of the quite large fragment of text the hagiographer holds the reader in suspense and only at the end, twice in row, himself pronounces the word «**УТВЕРДИ**» (“establish”): «**ЦЕРКОВЬ СВОЮ УТВЕРДИ, ХРИСТЕ, ЮЖЕ СТЯЖА СИЛОЮ КРЕСТА ТВОЕГО [...], ЮЖЕ СТЯЖА ЧЕСТНУЮ СЯ КРОВИЮ, ЮЖЕ УТВЕРДИ [...]**»

“Establish, O Christ, Thy Church, which Thou hast acquired by the power of Thy Cross (...), which Thou hast acquired by Thine honourable blood, which establish (...)”.¹¹

We have analysed only the beginning of the “Prayer for the Church”, but Epiphanius has interwoven quotations from the heirmoses of the third ode throughout this chapter, insistently repeating the word “establishment”. In this chapter it becomes central.

In an analogous way, the whole text of the *Life of Stephen of Perm* is filled with quotations from the services of the Church. In the “Three Laments” which conclude the work, such fragments are found a little more than in the narrative itself, where, as a rule, Epiphanius resorts to reminiscences or liturgical texts. Within the bounds of this investigation the greatest interest is presented by the latter, which are linked with the author’s prayerful mood. In the previous section, which was dedicated to the role of amplification in Epiphanius’ hagiography, we examined two examples of Divine service quotations in the *Life of Stephen*. One of them, as we have seen, was taken by the author from the verses on the Sunday of the Expulsion of Adam. This Sunday precedes the beginning of the Great Fast in the Orthodox service cycle and enters into the so-called Triodion cycle, that is, into the cycle of services before the Great Fast, Pascha and the seven weeks after Pascha. In the *Life of Stephen of Perm* the majority of hymnographical quotations are bound up precisely with the Triodion cycle. Let us compare several fragments of the *Life* with the Divine service texts (similar points are underlined). In describing the conversation of Stephen of Perm with the wizard Pam, Epiphanius puts into the mouth of his hero the following words:

«То бо есть Богъ боговъ Господь господемъ, Царь царемъ, Бгоже держава непремѣнна и слава непостижима, иже живеть в свѣтѣ неизреченнѣ, непреступнѣ и неприкосновеннѣ, Бмуже предстоятъ съ страхом и с трепетом небесная воинства, бесплотныхъ чинове; и тмы тмам архангелъ предстоятъ предъ Нимъ, и тысяща тысящами ангелъ служат Бму, иже беспрестани славят, и вопиюще глаголюще [...]» (“For He is the God of gods, the Lord of lords, the King of kings. His sovereignty will not pass away and his glory is unattainable, He lives in ineffable light that is unapproachable and inviolable. Before Him stand with fear and trembling the heavenly hosts, the ranks of the bodiless ones; and multitudes of archangels stand before Him, and thousands upon thousands of

(11) Прохоров, *Святитель Стефан Пермский...*, 236.

angels serve Him, ceaselessly glorifying Him and crying out and saying [...]).¹²

This fragment is reminiscent of the central hymn from the liturgy of Great Saturday:

«Да молчитъ всяка плоть чловѣча и да стонтъ съ страхомъ и трепетомъ, и ничтоже земнаго въ себѣ да помышляетъ: Царь во царюющимъ, и Господь господствующимъ, происходитъ заклати-ся и датися въ снѣдь вѣрнымъ. Предътекутъ же Сему лица аггелъстини со всемъ начала и властьюми, мнооочитая Херувимъ и шестокрилатая Герафимъ, лица закрывающе и вопиюще песнь [...]» (“Let all mortal flesh keep silence and stand with fear and trembling, and let it take no thought for any earthly thing: for the King of kings and Lord of lords draws near to be sacrificed and given as food for the faithful. Before Him go the choirs of angels and all the principalities and powers, the many-eyes cherubim and the six-winged seraphim, which cover their faces as they cry out this hymn [...]).¹³

Let us continue Epiphanius’ interrupted quotation, so as to reveal one more source: after the cited fragment the hagiographer passes smoothly over to a quotation from another liturgical text, that is, to the hymn that follows in the Divine service after what we have quoted and which is one of the main hymns in any Liturgy, insofar as it immediately touches upon the celebration of the Eucharist. Epiphanius writes: «[...] и вопиюще, глаголюще: **Святъ, Святъ, Святъ Господь Саваоф! Полно небо и земля славы Его!**» (“...and crying out and saying: Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Sabaoth! Heaven and earth are full of His glory!”). Let us compare this with the liturgical hymn: «**Святъ, святъ святъ Господь Саваофъ, исполнь небо и землю славы Твоея** [...]» (“Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Sabaoth, heaven and earth are full of Thy glory [...]).¹⁴

(12) Прохоров, *Святитель Стефан Пермский...*, 132–134.

(13) *Служебник XV в.* (РГБ, собр. Тр.-Серг. Лавры, ф. 304/1, № 216), 50. (Σιγησάτω πᾶσα σὰρξ βροτεία, καὶ στήτω μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου, καὶ μηδὲν γῆινον ἐν ἑαυτῇ λογιζέσθω· ὁ γὰρ Βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευόντων, καὶ Κύριος τῶν κυριευόντων, προσέρχεται σφαγιασθῆναι, καὶ δοθῆναι εἰς βρωσιν τοῖς πιστοῖς· προηγοῦνται δὲ τούτου, οἱ χοροὶ τῶν Ἀγγέλων, μετὰ πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἔξουσίας, τὰ πολυόμματα Χερουβίμ, καὶ τὰ ἑξαπτέρυγα Σεραφίμ, τὰς ὄψεις καλύπτοντα, καὶ βοῶντα τὸν ὕμνον·).

(14) *Богослужебный сборник XVI в.* (РНБ, Кирилло-Белозерское собр., № 652/909) 250. (Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος, Κύριος Σαβαώθ, πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς δόξης σου).

In a relatively small fragment of his work Epiphanius interweaves two different excerpts from the Divine service texts, uniting them with each other and mixing them with the author's words. Both quotations are taken from hymns that compose the core of the liturgy. Moreover, an allusion arises to one of the most important services in the year — the liturgy for the Great Saturday. It is well known that the service of the Great Saturday precedes the paschal night and symbolically represents the Descent of Christ into Hades and the Resurrection. The medieval reader must have felt the feelings of the hero, who into one short phrase has introduced excerpts from the main texts of the central Orthodox Divine service, and the condition of the author, who could not express his feelings in any other way.

Let us bring in several fragments from the *Life of Stephen* that are bound up with the Triodion cycle. Thus Stephen, while exhorting the inhabitants of Perm, cites a quotation from *Deuteronomy* that is at the same time a verse from anheirmos from the Great Lent. Let us compare these texts: the everyday, the Biblical and the Divine service. Epiphanius writes: «Монсий во Втором законѣ глаголя: **Вонми, небо, и възглаголю, услыши, землѣ, глаголы устъ моихъ [...]**» [ЖСП 1995: 200]. “Moses says in *Deuteronomy*: Attend, O heaven, and I will speak, hear, O earth, the words of my mouth” [...] (LSP 1995: 200). In *Deuteronomy* it says: «**Вонми, небо, и възглаголю, услыши, землѣ, глаголы устъ моихъ**» [Втор. 32:1]. “Attend, O heaven, and I will speak, hear, O earth, the words of my mouth” (*Deuteronomy* 32:1). In the heirmos of the second ode of the canon which is heard only during the Great Lent, and is left out on other days of the year, there are these words: «**Вонми, небо, и възглаголю, и воспую Христа [...]**» [Ирмолог XIV в.: Л. 4, об.]. “Attend, O heaven, and I will speak, and I shall sing of Christ [...]” (*Heirmologion* XIV c.: f. 4v).¹⁵

If the general quantity of quotations taken from the Triodion cycle in the *Life* were not so great, we could suppose that in the given case there was only a reference to Holy Scripture before us. But the medieval reader, being well acquainted with the Divine services, could not, having once caught the feelings of the author, fail to draw parallels between the *Life of Stephen* and the hymnography of the Great Fast and Pascha. Moreover, the author, as a rule, sets out the Divine service fragments in

(15) *Ирмолог 14 в.* (РГБ, собр. Тр.-Серг. Лавры, ф. 304/1, № 19) л. 4 об. (Πρόσεχε, οὐρανὲ καὶ λαλήσω, καὶ ἀνυμνήσω Χριστόν).

the text next to each other, which helps in the creation of a sufficiently sharp image of the Divine services of the Great Lent and Pascha.

The excerpts from the festal services of Pascha and the seven weeks after Pascha are more often used by the author in the chapter «**О призвании и о вѣровавшихъ многихъ языкъ**» (“On the Calling and on the Believing of many Nations”). The first half of this chapter consists of various praises of God, Who blessed the enlightenment of the people of Perm. All the praises represent verses from the Psalms, which Prokhorov noticed in his publication of the text of the *Life* [LSP 1995]. However, what we have is not simply a quotation from the Psalter, but a selection of those psalm verses that are used in the festal liturgies. The majority of the quotations made by Epiphanius are taken from the Paschal service. A smaller number, the minority are from the service of the Ascension (a feast that is also a part of the Triodion cycle). One quotation refers to the already cited service for the Great Saturday, the second one — to the Nativity of Christ, which is not linked at all with the Triodion, but enters harmoniously into the general festal context of the given chapter of the *Life*. Moreover, we also find here one quotation from a weekday antiphon which, like the Nativity verse, in its meaning and style does not contradict the general mood created by the author in this fragment of the text. The whole chapter is penetrated with paschal feeling, so that the very event of the conversion of the people of Perm to Orthodoxy is represented as forefiguring their future resurrection, which became possible because Christ is risen. This mutual interconnection between the Gospel and the time of Epiphanius is often emphasized by the author of the *Life* with the aid of his use of hymnographical texts in the context of a literary source. We saw such a link in the chapter «**Молитва за Церковь**» (“Prayer for the Church”), where the hagiographer uses heirmoses that serve as original ties in the genre of the canon linking the church service with Biblical history. But in the chapter on the calling of the peoples such stylistic ties drawing the attention of the reader to the Gospel events became quotation from the festal services.

As in the case of the use of heirmoses, Epiphanius in the present chapter resorts to quotations and maintains a strict regularity: he chooses those psalms which are heard at the very beginning of the liturgy and in are called “festal antiphons” in the service. The antiphons are chanted as a rule alternately by two kliroses, so that each verse is heard twice. This naturally helps their memorization and the ability of readers of Epiphanius’ *Life* to catch these parallels. Thus Epipha-

nus writes: «И пророкъ Давыд рече: Хвалите Господа вси языци, вси языци воспещете рꙋками [...]» (“And the Prophet David says: Praise Christ the Lord, all ye nations, clap your hands, all ye nations [...]”).¹⁶ Let us compare this with one verse from an antiphon for the Ascension: «Вси языци воспещете рꙋками, воскликнете Богу гласом радванія» (“All ye nations, clap your hands, cry out to God with a voice of rejoicing”).¹⁷

A line lower, the hagiographer cites these words: «Үслышите, вси языци, внꙋшите, вси живꙋщии по вселенѣй, земнии же сынове человекѣстни, вкꙋпѣ богатъ и ꙋбогъ» (“Hear, all ye nations, and give heed, all ye that live in the world, those born of earth and the sons of men, rich and poor men together”).¹⁸ Again we have nothing else than the verses from the antiphon for the Ascension, only in the given case Epiphanius joins together two verses which in the Divine service are separated from each other by one short prayer: «Үслышите сия вси языци, внꙋшите, вси живꙋщии по вселенѣй земнии же сынове человекѣстни, вкꙋпѣ богатъ и ꙋбогъ» (“Hear this all ye nations, give heed, all yet that live in the world [here a short hymn of the Ascension, that is, the troparion, is inserted — *S. Sh.*], both ye that are born of earth and the sons of men, rich and poor men together”).¹⁹ Further on Epiphanius writes: «Воспойте Господевн вся земля, воскликни Богу вся земля, вся земля да поклонит Ти ся и да поет Тебѣ, да поет же имени Твоемꙋ, Вышний» (“Sing to the Lord, all the earth, shout to God, all the earth, let all the earth worship Thee, and let it chant unto Thee, let it chant unto Thy name, O Most High”).²⁰ In the given case Epiphanius again quotes two verses in a row which in the antiphon are separated by the paschal troparion and by two other verses. Thus in the Divine service we read the following: «Воскликните Господевн вся земля [...] Вся земля да поклонится Тебѣ и поет Тебѣ, да поет же имени Твоемꙋ, Вышний» (“Cry out to the Lord, all the earth [here two verses also taken from the Psalter, and the troparion of Pascha, are

(16) Прохоров, *Святитель Стефан Пермский...*, 170.

(17) *Триодъ цветная 16 в.* (РГБ, собр. Тр.-Серг. Лавры, ф. 304/1, № 399) 248 об. (Πάντα τὰ ἔθνη κροτήσατε χειρᾶς ἀλαλάξατε τῷ Θεῷ ἐν φωνῇ ἀγαλλιάσεως).

(18) Прохоров, *Святитель Стефан Пермский...*, 170.

(19) *Триодъ цветная 16 в.*, 249 (Ἀκούσατε ταῦτα πάντα τὰ ἔθνη).

(20) Прохоров, *Святитель Стефан Пермский...*, 172.

inserted — S. Sh.]. Let the whole earth worship Thee and chant unto Thee, let it chant unto thy name, O Most High”).²¹

This comparison of the chapter of the *Life* under investigation with various festal antiphons could be continued, because practically half the chapter consists of various antiphonal verses.

Moreover, we find interspersed in the given fragment of the *Life* several hymnographical texts that are also taken from the beginning of the liturgy, but not included in the antiphons. Here Epiphanius turns to the prokeimena — short chants consisting, as a rule, of one or two verses from the Psalter and performed before the reading of the apostolic epistle at the liturgy. The order of performance of the prokeimena presupposes their repetition three times during the Divine service and an especially extended and flowery chant. Again, this is a case when Epiphanius quotes the most memorable and recognizable liturgical texts. Thus the hagiographer writes: «**ВЪСКРЕСНИ, БОЖЕ, СЪДИ ЗЕМЛИ, ЯКО ТЫ НАСЛѢДИШИ ВО ВСѢХЪ ЯЗЫЦѢХЪ**» (“Arise, O God, judge the earth, for Thou shalt have an inheritance among all the nations”).²² This is a word-for-word quotation of the prokeimenon from the liturgy for Great Saturday: «**ВЪСКРЕСНИ, БОЖЕ, СЪДИ ЗЕМЛИ, ЯКО ТЫ НАСЛѢДИШИ ВЪ ВСѢХЪ ЯЗЫЦѢХЪ**» (“Arise, O God, judge the earth, for Thou shalt have an inheritance among all the nations”).²³ Another time, the hagiographer resorts to the prokeimenon for the Ascension. In the *Life*, several lines before the quotation of the paschal prokeimenon, we read: «**ВЪЗНЕСИСЯ НА НЕБЕСА, БОЖЕ, И ПО ВСЕЙ ЗЕМЛИ СЛАВА ТВОА**» (“Ascend into the heavens, O God, and Thy glory is over all the earth”).²⁴ Once again we have here a word-for-word quotation of the Ascension prokeimenon: «**ВОЗНЕСЕСЯ НА НЕБЕСА, БОЖЕ, ПО ВСЕЙ ЗЕМЛИ СЛАВА ТВОЯ**» (“Thou hast ascended into the heavens, O God, and Thy glory is over all the earth”).²⁵ Later in the text of the chapter under analysis we meet several more excerpts from the paschal service and, perhaps, by virtue of an exception, one reminiscence from the Nativ-

(21) *Триодъ цветная 16 в.*, 105 (Αλαλάξατε τῷ Κυρίῳ πᾶσα ἡ γῆ. Πᾶσα ἡ γῆ προσκυνησάτωσάν σοι καὶ ψαλάτωσάν σοι, ψαλάτωσαν δὴ τῷ ὀνόματι σου Ὑψιστε).

(22) Прохоров, *Святитель Стефан Пермский...*, 172.

(23) *Триодъ цветная 16 в.*, 99, об. (Ἀνάστα, ὁ Θεός, κρῖνον τὴν γῆν, ὅτι σὺ κατακληρονομήσεις ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι).

(24) Прохоров, *Святитель Стефан Пермский...*, 172.

(25) *Триодъ цветная 16 в.*, 249 (Ὑψώθητι ἐπὶ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, ὁ Θεός).

ity service. In other chapters of the *Life* we can discover quotations from the services of the Great Fast which also form part of the Triodion cycle.

Also related to the same cycle is a series of quotations from the Vespers and Compline, to which Epiphanius resorted in the text of the *Life of Stephen of Perm*. Thus the hagiographer more than once uses a phrase from the Vespers of the Great Fast with hardly any changes: «**Вам бо дана бысть благодать молитися за ны**» (“To you [bishops] was given the grace to pray for us”);²⁶ «**Тебѣ бо дана бысть благодать молитися за ны**» (“To thee [Stephen] was given the grace to pray for us”).²⁷ In Vespers this is addressed to John the Baptists and sounds as follows (the similar phrase is underlined): «**Крестителю Христовъ, всехъ насъ помяни, да избавимся отъ беззаконий нашихъ, тебѣ бо дадеся благодать молитися за ны**» (“O Baptist of Christ, remember us all, that we may be delivered from our iniquities, for thou hast been given grace to pray for us”).²⁸ Here Epiphanius, first of all, underlines the link between the exploit of Stephen and the mission of John the Baptist, and secondly, once more directs the reader to the Triodion cycle. To it can also be referred the excerpts from Great Compline which are often found in the *Life*. For example: «[...] **рци к ним: Разумейте, языцы, и покоряйтесь!**» [ЖСП 1996: 76] (“[...] Say to them: Understand, ye nations, and submit yourselves!” (LSP 1996: 76)). In Great Compline this verse from the Psalter begins one of the triumphant places in the service and presupposes repeated chanting of a phrase used by Epiphanius: «**Съ нами Богъ, разумейте, языцы и покоряйтесь, яко с нами Богъ**» (“God is with us, understand, ye nations, and submit yourselves, for God is with us”).²⁹

Great Compline is served on the eve of the great feasts of the Lord such as the Nativity and Theophany, and also every day in the first week of the Great Lent. As is known, in this week it is precisely Compline that becomes the distinctive centre of the Divine service insofar as it contains the canon by Andrew of Crete. This canon was a fa-

(26) Прохоров, *Святитель Стефан Пермский...*, 74.

(27) *Ibid.*, 242.

(28) *Псалтирь с возследованием 15 в.* (РГБ, собр. Тр.-Серг. Лавры, ф. 304. I.—№ 312) 229. (Βαπτιστὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, πάντων ἡμῶν μνήσθητι, ἵνα ὀυσθῶμεν τῶν ἀνομιῶν ἡμῶν· σοὶ γὰρ ἐδόθη χάρις προεσβεῦειν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν).

(29) *Ibid.*, 230 (Μεθ’ ἡμῶν ὁ Θεός, γνῶτε ἔθνη καὶ ἠτῶσθε. Ὅτι μεθ’ ἡμῶν ὁ Θεός).

avourite hymnographic work in Medieval Rus'. Its reading drew into the church great numbers of people, and so it itself, together with the Compline that contained it, was well known to a wide circle of listeners. The phrases taken from Compline must inevitably have been perceived by the medieval reader of the *Life* as allusions to the first week of the Great Lent, that is, once more, to the Triodion cycle. This perception was strengthened still more by the abundance of quotations from other services in the Triodion used by Epiphanius. Therefore, in quoting from Great Compline, Epiphanius undoubtedly counted on definite associations that could have been elicited among readers of the *Life of Stephen*.

But what was it about the Triodion cycle that attracted Epiphanius? In the *Life* we meet at least two discussions touching on this period in the yearly cycle of Divine services. First, the hagiographer pays special attention to the month of March, which, from his point of view, was symbolically linked with the beginning of the enlightenment of the people of Perm. When relating how the first church built in Perm was consecrated by Stephen in the name of the Annunciation of the All-Holy Mother of God (a feast that takes place during either the Great Lent or Bright Week), Epiphanius takes time out from his narrative to think about the significance of this choice and the time of the celebration of the feast of the Annunciation. He links the baptism of the people of Perm with the month of March and, at the same time, with the events of the coming of Christ and His resurrection. All these events, as Epiphanius says, are preceded and initiated by the Annunciation:

«Марта же месеца паки израильтяномъ Пасху праздновати по вся лѣта ўдержася бывати. Марта же месеца и Благовещенне высть Святая Богородица, еже архангел Гаврил благовѣсти ей, егда Бын Божий за наше спасение с небеси сниде и вселися въ пречистую ўтробу Всесвятая Владычица наша Богородица и Приснодевыя Мариа и без сѣмени плоть от нея възсприм. Марта же месеца и распятые Христос волею претерпѣ и смерть за ны пострада, и воскресение боголѣпно нам праздновати ўстави. Марта же месеца паки чаем воскресенья мертвым и втораго Пришествия Христова [...]. Да якоже Благовещенне начальный есть праздникъ празникомъ, и спасенью нашему начаток и вѣчнѣй тайнѣ явленье, такоже и церкви пермския — начаток спасенью Пермския земли и вѣрѣ Христовѣ явленье» ("Again it was decreed that the Israelites should celebrate Pascha in the month of March in every year. And the Annunciation of the Holy Mother of God, which the Archangel Gabriel announced to her and when

the Son of God came down from the heavens for our salvation and took up His abode in the all-pure womb of our All-Holy Lady and Mother of God and Ever-Virgin Mary, and without see took flesh from her, was in the month of March. And the crucifixion of Christ, when He voluntarily suffered death for us, together with the resurrection are decreed to be celebrated by us in the month of March. And again we wait for the resurrection of the dead and the second Coming of Christ in the month of March [...] And just as the Annunciation is the feast that begins the feasts, and the beginning of our salvation and the revelation of the mystery that is from eternity, so the Church in Perm was the beginning of the salvation of the land of Perm and the revelation of the faith of Christ’').³⁰

The second of Epiphanius’ discussions in his chronicle deals with the time of the death of Stephen. It is also linked with the Triodion cycle: the holy hierarch died in April in the second week after Pascha. If we take into account the fact that in Rus’ the reading of the *Lives* of the saints during the Divine services or in the cell was usually bound up with the celebration of the memory of the saint, then all the Great Lent and Paschal motifs introduced into the text by Epiphanius must have been perceived with great vividness by the medieval readers: the memory of the holy hierarch Stephen always comes in the first weeks after Pascha. During this time they must have had vivid memories of the Great Lent and the feast of the Resurrection of Christ.

In introducing fragments from the Divine service into the *Life*, Epiphanius was evidently also taking into account the musical aspect of hymnography. We have already spoken about Epiphanius’ possible musical talent: on the Sticherarion rewritten by his hand from the collection in the Holy Trinity—St. Sergius lavra chant notations have been discovered whose authorship has hypothetically been ascribed to Epiphanius the Wise. The researcher S. V. Frolov has made several remarks with regard to the musical character of this chant which are also not without interest for a characterization of the hagiographer’s writing style. Having changed the more ancient chant when rewriting the Sticherarion, the scribe — in all probability, Epiphanius — introduced certain innovations into the composition of the verse. “The chanter,” writes Frolov, “seems to have used every opportunity to realization this arrangement, which would have responded to the main demands of the verse-prayer. First of all, there is the syntactical parallelism [...] But here we can also talk about rhythm [...], and the equal number

(30) Прохоров, *Святитель Стефан Пермский...*, 92–94.

of syllables, that is, syllablism [...]”.³¹ The researcher notes a series of devices used by the chanter: the division of the composition into three parts, the attention to this arrangement, which in part compensates for the absence of anaphorical repeats, the smoothing out of lines in accordance with the same number of syllables, which, according to V. V. Kolesov, corresponds to the number of syllables in the Old Slavonic epic verse. This points to the author’s increased attention to “[...] the putting in order of the musical-textual line and verse nature of this work”.³² It is also worth noting on what words the chanter placed *fity* (Russian plural of *fita*), that is, where there was the most extended chanting of a single syllable, indicated in Old Slavonic singing by the letter θ (*fita*). The author of the given work places *fity* over the words «Богъ», «Власть», «Ѣмѹ [Богѹ]» and «повѣдати» (“God”, “power”, “to Him [God]” and “to tell”), supposing thereby to hold the attention of his listeners on these moments in the verse. The most important fragments of the text have been marked out. Frolov, when discussing the placing of *fity*, speaks in the given instance of a kind of musical amplification.³³

The phenomenon of syncretism in Old Russian art allows us to speak of parallel artistic principles in the literature and musical culture of the Middle Ages, and with the help of these parallels allows us to bring out the definite hidden meanings of various literary methods. Thus the appearance of the term “amplification” to signify both literary and musical particularities of the works of Ancient Rus’ is not accidental. In the system of chanting amplifications are encountered in the form of *fity*, and this corresponds to a certain degree to the stringing out of epithets, metaphors or synonymous combinations in the hagiography of the era of the second South Slav influence. In characterizing the phenomenon with that degree of approximation that is possible within the bounds of the present investigation, we shall point out that *fity* in the ancient art of chanting indicated a definite, quite drawn-out melody that corresponded to the minimum number of syllables in the text — most often, one syllable. That is, a drawn-out chant with *fity* was pulled out of the text, and the melody existed for some time in separation from the words. At the moment of *fity* chanting, the content

(31) С. В. Фролов, Новые аспекты изучения Стихираря 1380 г. Собр. Троице-Сергиевой лавры, № 22, ТОДРА 50 (1997) 200–201.

(32) Ibid., 201.

(33) Ibid., 203.

of the hymnographical work retired into the background, while the ornateness of the Divine service melody occupied centre stage. This elicited a certain dying down of the listener. But this is the same dying down, contemplation and meditation that we discussed in relation to the “rejoices” in the akathistos and the “interweaving of words”. The separation of the melody from the text is not emptiness of meaning, but the drawing out of the hidden meaning of sub-text, it is time for immersion in the Jesus Prayer. Not accidentally did the flourishing of ornate Divine service chanting on Athos coincided with the time of the spreading of the teaching of hesychasm on the Holy Mountain, together with the creativity of Serbian scribes who consistently reflected the teaching on “mental activity” in their compositions. Chanting is closely linked with prayer, although it includes no teaching on it. In a similar way the hagiography of Epiphanius, in contrast with the whole of the literature on the lives of the saints contemporary with him, contains no teaching on unceasing prayer and deification, but at the level of style reflects the condition of the praying soul and the contemplative mood of the author. In this Epiphanius is close to the melodists of his time, who composed ornate chants for long services. When discussing the significance of chanting in the Divine services and the aid it gives to prayer, the Old Russian chanters referred to the sermons of John Chrysostom, which could clarify certain general principles of the world-view of medieval man: “The Lord joined melody with prophecy in order that everyone, being attracted by the smooth flow of the verses, should proclaim the sacred chants with perfect ardour. Nothing so excites the spirit and gives it wings, nothing so drags it away from the earth and bodily ties, nothing so fills it with love for wisdom and indifference to worldly affairs as harmonious, sacred chanting put together according to the laws of rhythm”.³⁴ Love for wisdom and indifference to worldly affairs, the renunciation of the earth and bodily ties — that is what the ancient hymnographers strove for, and that is the means for the attainment of attentive prayer. It is evident that Epiphanius, too, had this aim in mind when he submitted certain fragments of the *Life* to rhythm, binding together synonymous enumerations with assonances, alliterations, homeoteleuta, paronymous words, and anaphorisms. His works are distinguished by this calm sonority and lyricism,

(34) В. М. МЕТАЛЛОВ, *Очерк истории православного церковного пения в России* (Москва, 1896) 35.

which is not characteristic even of his closest follower, Pachomius the Logothete.

And so the hymnographical quotations and reminiscences that we often encounter in Epiphanius' hagiography give a certain musicality to the whole work. Our attention is also drawn by the fact that, as a rule, the author observes a definite regularity in his choice of hymnographical sources. If any chant from the Divine services consists of two indivisibly linked parts — text and melody, — then each of them, heard or read individually, is linked by the recipient with its second part by association. Thus the text of this or that chant, which has been heard many times by the medieval man in church, is always linked in the man's perception with a definite melody. And, when we penetrated into Epiphanius' *Lives*, the hymnographical quotations elicit musical associations in his readers. The quotations from the heirmoses bring to mind those melodies to which the heirmoses are chanted. A chapter of the *Life*, constructed out of antiphon verses, is subconsciously linked by the reader with the triumphant antiphon chant. When quoting heirmoses, the author of the *Life* as a rule puts two heirmoses relating to one tone or chant next to each other. The medieval reader, catching one of the quotations, begins mentally to chant a definite melody, and, on coming to the second quotation, continues the same chant. But then the combination of quotations leads to a definite combination of chants, and a musical sub-text appears behind the text of the *Life*. In this way Epiphanius creates an original musical mosaic in his work. Let us cite once more the fragment from the chapter "Prayer for the Church" from the *Life of Stephen*, indicating in brackets the tones to which the heirmoses used by Epiphanius were chanted:

«[...] Иже словом в начатцѣ ѱтвержий небеса, разумом(8) и небесного круга връхъ створь(8), Иже над водами небо ѱтвержий, второе же ѱтвержий ни на чем же землю повелѣнием Си и распространив неодољимую земную тяготу, юже на тверди ея основавый над водами многамы, яко и на водах повѣсив ю неодољимо(5); съдѣтельная сущи и съдръжаща вся(1) Божия сила и мудрость, иже ѱтверждая и громы и зижай дѹхи, ѱтвержение сый твердое, и недвижимое Речение, и ѱтверженье на Тя надѣющимся(3), и Ты еси ѱтверженье притѣкающим Ти, Господи. И понеже, яко неплоды, роди от язык церкви язычную, неплодящую церковь(2) Свою ѱтверди, Христе, юже стяжа силою Креста Твоего [...], юже стяжа честною Си кровию(8), юже ѱтверди, Господи, на камени твердѣмъ, на камени недвижимѣм, на камени вѣры на камени заповѣдей Твоих(8), на камени ис-

повѣданія Твоего, на камени церковнѣм [...]» [ЖСП 1995: 236].
 “[...] Who hast in the beginning established the heavens by Thine understanding (8) and built the vault of heavens (8)..., Who has established the heaven upon the waters, and hast again established the earth upon nothing by Thy command and hast hung it while its weight ungovernably drags it down, founding it firmly upon many waters, as Thou hast hung it ungovernably upon the waters (5); O Power and Wisdom of God, the Creator and Sustainer of all (1), Who hast established the thunders and the winds, being the firm Establishment and Immovable Word, and the firm Foundation of all that hope in Thee (3), and Thou art the Foundation of all that flee to Thee, O Lord. And do Thou establish, O Christ, the infertile Church of the Gentiles (2), which Thou hast acquired by the power of Thy Cross [...], which Thou hast acquired by Thine honourable blood (8), which do Thou establish, O Lord, on the firm rock, on the immovable rock, on the rock of faith, on the rock of Thy commandments (8), on the rock of Thy confession, on the rock of the Church” (LSP 1995: 236).

Epiphanius uses heirmoses of tones 1, 2, 3, 5 and 8. Most often we have the eighth tone, whose melodic contour evidently, from the point of view of the author, most answered to the feeling conveyed in this chapter. But, as is well known, the fifth and first tones were closely linked with each other in the system of medieval Russian chanting, and they developed one and the same musical theme. And only the second tone appears in this fragment once, as the culmination: probably it was called to emphasize the thought that the Coming of Christ had brought the unbelieving Gentiles into the true Church. It is precisely about them that the *Life* “sings” in the second tone. But then again there comes the eighth tone, as if to assure us that the Church of the Gentiles who received Christianity has entered harmoniously into the bosom of the true Church, just as the second tone interweaves harmoniously with the eighth tone in the text.

An original melodic shape is also inherent in the chapter reviewed earlier by us on the bringing of many peoples to the faith: the chapter begins with antiphonal verses, and then two festal prokeimena are put in one after the other. At the melodic level they sounded different from the antiphons, and in this way they can serve as something like a musical completion of the antiphonal melodies in the subtext of this chapter.

The akathistos compositions which Epiphanius includes into his works must have elicited in the memory of his medieval readers vari-

ous antiphonal chants. It is natural that this perception of this work should have slowed down its reading still more, but it was precisely this slowing down that was valuable for the hesychast author. As has already been said, akathistos compositions and amplifications of various kinds are related to medieval *fity* chanting, which slows down the chanting of the hymn and immerses the listener into the contemplative-meditative condition characteristic of the doer of “unceasing prayer”. Slowing down is important in itself for the man of prayer; in its relative abstraction from the text, the subtext of this stopping of the narrative is important. But the stopping is attained through the inclusion into the melody of the *fity*, and into the literary work — of lyrical ecstasy, the stringing together of quotations or synonyms.

The paradox between “hesychia” and grandiloquence, which we note in the literary work of the hesychasts, also finds its incarnation in the similarity between *fity* chanting and hagiographical amplification: one and the same aim is attained in the music of the Divine services through the absence of words and the chanting of *fity*, while in literature it is attained through the compression of metaphors, epithets or quotations. In his works Epiphanius the Wise reflects more consistently the striving of the Old Russian word to merge with the melody. He attains this with the aid of the introduction into the text of assonances, alliterations, anaphorisms, homeoteleuta and words deriving from a single root, with the aid of turning hagiographical time into Divine service time, and also through the skilful choice of hymnographical quotations and the scattering within the *Life* of akathistos structures which help to produce a special slow rhythm in the narrative. Prayer and silence, being the fundamental components of the practice of “mental work”, are for Epiphanius original style-forming factors: they represent both the conditions of his work, and its aim.

And so the link with the paschal cycle of Divine services in the *Life of Stephen of Perm* is conveyed by Epiphanius on the level of stylistics with the help of the introduction of quotations and reminiscences, and also with the help of the creation of a musical subtext in the work. In a similar way Epiphanius conveys the link between the conversion of the people of Perm to Biblical history when he introduces fragments of heirmoses into the *Life*. The centre of the writer’s attention in both cases is prayer, to which he calls the reader, interweaving prayer texts into the *Life* and creating a correspondence between his work and the yearly cycle of Divine services and its critical moment — the feast of

Pascha. In the *Life of Sergius of Radonezh* by Epiphanius cell prayer is often mentioned, but in the *Life of Stephen* — church prayer. But both works, judging from their volume and unhurried narrative rhythm, are aimed at cell reading. Being created in the quiet cell of the hesychast, they require a corresponding atmosphere for reading: secluded, free from vanities and cares and, most important, prayerful. On the level of content Epiphanius does not introduce into the *Life* any teaching on the necessity of “unceasing prayer” or constant standing before God, but on the level of stylistics the hagiographer so skilfully conveys the condition of the praying soul that it touches the reader and stirs him, against his will, to seclusion and prayer. In Epiphanius’ hagiography a quiet intonation bound up with a prayerful striving for heaven is the stylistic dominant, while the creation of a prayerful atmosphere within the work, that “hesychia” of which the great ascetics of antiquity spoke, is the main stylistic task of the hagiographer. All the artistic means used by the author are necessary for him insofar as they correspond to this task and his ideas about the Beauty from on high and deification.

In the article author explores system of divine service quotations in the *Life of Stephen of Perm*, written by Epiphanius the Wise. The author argues that the quotations from religious texts are arranged in the *Life* of a coherent system associated with one year prayer circle, particularly the Triodion cycle. Exploring of this system allows us to see new meanings in the *Life*, and have another look at the chronology of described events in the *Life*.

SUMMARY

The author argues that the quotations from liturgical texts in the *Life of Stephen of Perm* are arranged as a coherent system associated with the yearly liturgical circle, and especially its Triodion part. This fact is interesting not only for better understanding of the text but also for establishing of the chronology of some episodes.

**Rossica, Varangica,
Orientalia
&
Occidentalia**

СЛАВ. **ЄТЄРЪ**: К ВОПРОСУ О ГРУППИРОВКЕ ДРЕВНЕСЛАВЯНСКИХ ПАМЯТНИКОВ¹

Местоимение **єтєръ** ‘некий, некто’ принадлежит кирилло-мефодиевскому лексикону и составляет одну из его ярких лингвистических особенностей.² Оно многократно употребляется в указанном значении в Евангелии и Апостоле, а также в Синайском требнике и Клоцевом сборнике.³ В некоторых списках Апостола **єтєръ** фиксируется не только в значении ‘некий’, но и в значении ‘другой, иной’ — в соответствии с греч. ἄλλος в 1 Кор. 1.16 в Охридском и Македонском апостоле (в Слепченском, Христинопольском, Шишатовацком **иньн**) и в соответствии с греч. δεύτερος в 2 Кор. 1.15 в сербском Шишатовацком апостоле 1324 г. (в Слепченском и Христинопольском **вѣторын**).⁴ Однако появление **єтєръ** в значении ‘другой’ (о нём пойдет речь ниже) в этих контекстах нужно признать инновацией сербского и македонских списков, поскольку оно не получает подтверждения со стороны древнейшей рукописной традиции.

В древнейших списках Евангелия местоимение **єтєръ** употребляется по-разному: в Ассеманиевом и Зографском евангелиях оно сохраняется очень хорошо, в Остромировом евангелии и второй части Архангельского евангелия, списанной с преславского полного апракоса, обычно заменяется на **нѣкын**, а в Мариинском

(1) Статья написана в рамках работы по гранту Президента Российской Федерации для государственной поддержки ведущей научной школы Российской Федерации НШ-3402.2010.6.

(2) V. JAGIĆ, *Entstehungsgeschichte der kirchenslavischen Sprache* (Berlin, 1913) 343.

(3) *Словарь старославянского языка. Репринтное издание*. Т. I–IV (Санкт-Петербург, 2006) = *Slovník jazyka staroslověnského*. I–IV (Praha, 1958–1997) [далее — ССЯ] Т. I, 584; А. С. ЛЬВОВ, *Очерки по лексике памятников старославянской письменности* (Москва, 1966) 91–92.

(4) ССЯ, т. I, 584.

евангелии и Саввиной книге — на **ѡдинъ**.⁵ Несомненно, замена **ѡтеръ** на **нѣкыи** отражает восточноболгарский узус: об этом, помимо Остромирова и второй части Архангельского евангелия, свидетельствует последовательное употребление местоимения **нѣкыи** в Супрасльской рукописи.⁶ Что же касается замены **ѡтеръ** на **ѡдинъ**, характерной для Мариинского евангелия, переписанного, по всей вероятности, в северной Македонии,⁷ и восточноболгарской Саввиной книги (где изредка фиксируется также замена **ѡтеръ** на **нѣкыи**), то А. С. Львов предположил, что она имеет общий моравский источник.⁸ Однако это предположение не выглядит убедительным: для Саввиной книги, в отличие от Мариинского евангелия, моравизмы не характерны. А. Вайан считал, что в Мариинском евангелии и Саввиной книге отразилось развитие у числительного **ѡдинъ** значения ‘какой-то, кто-то’ и превращение его в неопределенный артикль, имевшее место в македонских и болгарских говорах под романским влиянием.⁹

В Номоканоне, перевод которого приписывают Мефодию, **ѡтеръ** в значении ‘некий’ — как правило, в качестве эквивалента греч. *τις*, изредка без соответствия в оригинале — встречается не менее 30 раз¹⁰ (о трех сомнительных случаях см. ниже).

В славянской гимнографии **ѡтеръ** — редкое слово. Это местоимение зафиксировано один раз в Ильиной книге, содержащей песнопения на избранные праздники, в каноне евангелисту Матфею (16 ноября) в соответствии с греч. *τις*, причем в ноябрьской служебной минее 1097 г. и минеях XII–XIII вв. оно заменено на **нѣкакъ** / **нѣкакыи**.¹¹ В минее на ноябрь 1097 г. и ми-

(5) A. Vaillant, *Jeterŭ et jedinŭ*, *Die Welt der Slaven* 7.4 (1962) 342–345, см. 342–343; Львов, *Очерки по лексике памятников...*, 91, 95.

(6) Vaillant, *Jeterŭ et jedinŭ*, 343; Львов, *Очерки по лексике памятников...*, 92, 95.

(7) А. Младенович, Прилог објашњењу неких особина језика Маријинског четворојеванђеља, *Археографски прилози* 25 (2003) 11–32.

(8) Львов, *Очерки по лексике памятников...*, 97–98.

(9) Vaillant, *Jeterŭ et jedinŭ*, 344.

(10) J. Vašina, *Nomokanonŭ*, в: *Magnae Moraviae fontes historici*, IV (Brno, 1971) 260.9, 263.4, 266.9, 270.7, 273.4, 278.16, 285.15, 288.24, 289.21, 290.17, 292.28, 293.4, 295.28, 296.6, 299.8, 301.18, 313.7, 315.20, 317.2, 320.10 и 20, 329.12, 332.15, 333.22, 338.2, 347.15, 352.21, 355.2, 359.17.

(11) В. Б. Крысько (изд.), *Ильина книга. Рукопись РГАДА, Тип. 131* (Москва, 2005) 252–253.

неях XII–XIII вв. представлен текст годового комплекта миней, содержащих службы на каждый день; входящие в годовой комплект песнопения подверглись редакции в Древней Руси в XI в.¹² Неизвестно, была ли замена **етеръ** на **нѣкакъ** / **нѣкакын** произведена в ходе этой редакции или на каком-то предшествующем этапе редактирования канона евангелисту Матфею. В любом случае в древнерусских повседневных минеях на весь год местоимение **етеръ**, по-видимому, вообще отсутствует: оно не отмечено в минее на август¹³ и в минеях на сентябрь, октябрь, ноябрь,¹⁴ декабрь.¹⁵ В Путятиной минее — повседневной минее на май, составленной на южнославянской почве, — **етеръ** также отсутствует.¹⁶

Дважды **етеръ** употребляется в каноне сыропустной недели Феодора Студита в составе постной Триоди. Канон опубликован М. Ф. Мурьяновым по Триоди Моисея Киянина, содержащей архаичную редакцию текста (РГАДА, ф. 381, № 137, к. XII – нач. XIII в.), с разночтениями по Триоди ГИМ, Син. № 319, XII в.¹⁷ и М. А. Моминой также по Триоди Моисея Киянина с разночтениями по шести спискам.¹⁸ Местоимение **етеръ** в соответствии с греч. *τις* встречается здесь в песнях II.3 и VII.7; в рукописях Афонского

(12) М. А. Момина, Проблема правки славянских богослужебных гимнографических книг на Руси в XI в., *ТОДРЛ* 45 (1992) 200–219.

(13) Р. Н. Кривко, Язык и текст древнейших славянских служебных миней за август, в: Н. Rotne, D. Christians (Hrsg.), *Liturgische Hymnen nach byzantinischem Ritus bei den Slaven in ältester Zeit: Beiträge einer internationalen Tagung, Bonn, 7.–10. Juni 2005 (München—Wien—Zürich, 2007)* 236–270, см. 250.

(14) Сведения по электронному указателю, составленному В. А. Барановым к изданию И. В. Ягича (поиск возможен на сайте www.manuscripts.ru).

(15) D. Christians (bearb.), *Wörterbuch zum Gottesdienstmenäum für den Monat Dezember slavisch-griechisch-deutsch nach ostslavischen Handschriften des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts mit einem Glossar griechisch-slavisch* (Wiesbaden, 2001).

(16) См. словоуказатель в В. А. Баранов, В. М. Марков (изд.), *Новгородская служебная минея на май (Путятина минея). XI в. (Ижевск, 2003)*.

(17) М. Ф. Мурьянов, *Гимнография Киевской Руси* (Москва, 2003) 345–361.

(18) М. А. Момина, N. Trunte (Hrsg.), *Triodion und Pentekostarion nach slavischen Handschriften des 11.–14. Jahrhunderts. Teil I: Vorfastenzeit. Mit einer Einführung zur Geschichte des slavischen Triodions von M. A. Momina* (Paderborn—München—Wien—Zürich, 2004) (*Patristica Slavica*, 11) 394–528.

типа оба раза, а в рукописях Орбельского типа во втором случае оно заменяется на **нѣкыи**.

Таким образом, употребление местоимения **ѣтеръ** в гимнографии, возникновение которой связано с деятельностью учеников Кирилла и Мефодия, в целом сходно с его употреблением в Евангелии и Апостоле: оно фиксируется в наиболее древних версиях, хорошо сохраняющих первоначальное состояние текстов, и исключительно в значении ‘некий’.

Очевидно, как черту, указывающую на древность происхождения, следует рассматривать использование местоимения **ѣтеръ** в значении ‘некий’ и в других произведениях, имеющих архаичные морфологические особенности, прежде всего старые типы аориста и глагольное окончание **–тѣ** в двойственном числе 3 лица. Некоторые из них обнаруживают лексическую близость к кирилло-мефодиевским памятникам. К числу таких произведений можно отнести ряд Слов в составе болгарского Германова сборника 1358/59 г. Например, в Чуде св. Феклы¹⁹ **ѣтеръ** встречается трижды (27а 10, 27б 11, 30а 5), как и другой лексический архаизм — **бални** ‘врач’ (27об 3, 29а 4 и 29); здесь фиксируется форма несигматического аориста (3 л. мн.ч.) **изнемогж** 27об 7, а двойственное число 3 л. при подлежащем женского рода имеет окончание **–тѣѣ** (**рѣстѣѣ** 28б 1), характерное для памятников восточноболгарского происхождения — Супрасльской рукописи, Саввиной книги, Остромирова евангелия.²⁰ В Мучении св. Димитрия²¹ **ѣтеръ** встречается многократно: 58а 3 и 10, 59а 17, 61а 11, 61б 3, 62а 19, 62б 15, 63а 19; однажды употребляется характерный для древнейших списков Евангелия глагол **проплати** 58б13 и сигматический нетематический аорист 3 л. мн. ч. **привѣса** 67б 13. В Мучении ап. Филиппа²² фиксируется **ѣтеръ** 78б bis, 80а 9 и **оврѣтж** 79а 13. Много архаизмов сохранилось в Чуде св. Николая о трех воеводах:²³ **възмогъ** 99а 20, **изидж** 96б 7 и 9, **принидж** 97а 16, **ѡвѣса** 98б19, **вѣмь** 100а 5;²⁴ в

(19) Е. Мирчева, *Германов сборник от 1358/1359 г.: Изследване и издание на текста* (София, 2006) 307–313.

(20) А. Вайан, *Руководство по старославянскому языку* (Москва, 1952) 249–250.

(21) Мирчева, *Германов сборник от 1358/1359 гг. ...*, 365–381.

(22) Там же: 405–418.

(23) Там же: 445–458.

(24) См.: Там же: 127–128.

этом памятнике **ѣтеръ** встречается трижды (96б 10, 97а 16, 101б 20). Местоимение **ѣтеръ** в значении 'некий' фиксируется и в других архаичных текстах Германова сборника (36б 9, 37а 3, 64а 17, 65а 5, 66а 7, 93б 16, 119б 2 и 17, 129б 18 и др.).

Еще одним примером может служить Слово на Рождество в составе сборника XIII Слов Григория Богослова по списку XI в.,²⁵ близкое по словоупотреблению кирилло-мефодиевским переводам; другой перевод того же греческого текста, с яркими преславскими языковыми особенностями, помещен в том же сборнике под названием Слова на Пасху.²⁶ В Слове на Рождество пять раз употреблено местоимение **ѣтеръ** (152г, 153а, 154б, 154в, 155а), в Слове на Пасху ему соответствует **нѣкын** (329в, 330а), **никынже** (331б), **кын** (331г), а в последнем контексте местоимение вообще отсутствует. Помимо Слова на Рождество местоимение **ѣтеръ** в сборнике XIII Слов Григория Богослова встречается на л. 261 г и несколько раз в Слове об «избиении градом» (305б, 306б, 306г, 309б, 314 г).

Некоторые памятники, использующие местоимение **ѣтеръ** в значении 'некий', отличаются в отношении лексикона от кирилло-мефодиевских текстов, однако сохраняют архаичные морфологические особенности, присущие кирилло-мефодиевским памятникам. Среди них — Житие Симеона Юродивого, в котором употребляются архаичные типы аориста и дв.ч. 3.л. на **-тѣ**.²⁷

Устранение местоимения **ѣтеръ**, наблюдающееся уже в древнейших восточноболгарских списках Евангелия, было продолжено симеоновскими редакторами: в преславских редакциях библейских книг **ѣтеръ** последовательно заменялось на **нѣкын**.²⁸

(25) А. Будилович, *XIII слов Григория Богослова в древнеславянском переводе по рукописи имп. Публичной библиотеки XI века* (Санкт-Петербург, 1875) (Изд. Отделения русского языка и словесности АН)

(26) Л. В. Долгушина, *Славянский перевод «XIII Слов Григория Богослова»: Особенности переводческой техники и словарного состава*. Автореферат дис. ... канд. филол. наук (Новосибирск, 2004).

(27) Й. Райнхарт, *Старобългарският превод на Житието на Симеон Юродиви: текстология и лексика, Кирило-Методиевски студии 18* (2009) 309–322, см. 315, 318.

(28) Т. Славова, *Преславска редакция на Кирило-Методиевия старобългарски евангелски превод, Кирило-Методиевски студии 6* (1989) 15–128, см. 47–52; Т. В. Пентковская, *К истории исправления богослужбных книг в Древней Руси в XIV веке: Чудовская редакция Нового Завета* (Москва, 2009) 36.

В некоторых произведениях авторов и переводчиков симоновского круга местоимение **ѣтеръ** вообще отсутствует. Его нет в Изборнике 1073 г., Беседе презвитера Козьмы, Хронике Иоанна Малалы — во всех этих текстах используются только синонимы **нѣкыи**, **нѣкъто** и др. Такая же картина наблюдается в Изборнике 1076 г., составленном, возможно, не в симоновскую эпоху, а в более поздний период. Местоимение **ѣтеръ** употреблялось в одном из источников Изборника 1076 г. — Вопросах Афанасия и Анастасия, перевод которого относят ко времени учеников Кирилла и Мефодия, но в Изборнике 1076 г. на месте **ѣтеръ** первоисточника читается **нѣкыи**, **нѣкотерыи** или **ѣдинъ**.²⁹ Судя по словарным материалам, приведенным у В. В. Виноградова,³⁰ **ѣтеръ** отсутствует в Житии Саввы Освященного. В Шестодневе Иоанна Экзарха **ѣтеръ** встречается дважды,³¹ в Богословии — более 20 раз.³² А. Вайан полагал, что болгарские книжники воспринимали **ѣтеръ** как грецизм, смешивая его с греческим местоимением ἕτερος 'другой', и удаляли его из текстов, как и многие другие грецизмы.³³

Однако несмотря на отсутствие местоимения **ѣтеръ** у ряда авторов и переводчиков (прежде всего, принадлежащих к симоновскому кругу), в болгарских памятниках X в. это слово продолжает употребляться, иногда весьма активно. В Огласительных поучениях Кирилла Иерусалимского **ѣтеръ** в соответствии с греч. τίς встречается более 30-ти раз.³⁴ Памятник имеет немало арха-

(29) М. С. Мушинская, Источниковедческие и текстологические сведения о текстах Изборника 1076 года, в: М. С. Мушинская, Е. А. Мишина, В. С. Голышенко (изд.), *Изборник 1076 года*, т. I (Москва, 2009) 73.

(30) В. В. Виноградов, Орфография и язык Жития Саввы Освященного по рукописи XIII в., в: *Памятники древнерусской письменности* (Москва, 1968) 137–198, см. 165–194.

(31) R. AITZETMÜLLER, *Das Hexaemeron des Exarchen Johannes*, Bd. VII (Graz, 1975) 456.

(32) L. SADNIK (Hrsg.), *Des hl. Johannes von Damaskus ἕτερος ἀκριβῆς τῆς ὀρθοδοξου πίστεως in der Übersetzung des Exarchen Johannes*. Bd. 4. *Index und Rückläufiges Wörterverzeichnis zusammengestellt von R. Aitzetmüller* (Freiburg i. Br., 1983) (Monumenta linguae slavicae dialecti veteris. Fontes et dissertationes, XIV) 248.

(33) VAILLANT, *Jeterŭ et jedinŭ*, 344.

(34) E. WEIHER, S. O. ŠMIDT, A. I. ŠKURKO (Hrsg.), *Die grossen Lesemenäen des Metropoliten Makarij. Uspenskij spisok. 12.–15. März* (Freiburg i. Br., 1998) 429б 31, 429в 7, 430в 31, 431г 20, 434б 38, 438г 35, 440в 23, 442б 25 и 27, 442г

ичных особенностей, сближающих его с текстами к. IX – нач. X в. (в том числе восточноболгарскими), хотя старые формы аориста или двойственного числа на **-тѣ** в нем не отмечены.³⁵ В Хронике Георгия Синкелла **ѣтеръ** в значении ‘некий’ засвидетельствовано свыше 50-ти раз, в то время как его синоним **нѣкын** отмечен один раз, а **нѣкъто** вообще не фиксируется.³⁶ Лексика памятника (**сокачии, чъванъчии, невонъ, капь** ‘статуя, идол’, **гаригъ**) указывает на его восточноболгарское происхождение;³⁷ особых морфологических архаизмов в тексте не отмечено, аорист представлен только сигматическими формами.³⁸

Перевод Синтагмы XIV титулов, сохранившийся в Ефремовской кормчей XII в., возник не ранее 912 г.³⁹ в Болгарии; точнее локализовать перевод не удастся. В памятнике выделяются две части, отличающиеся переводом одних и тех же греческих слов, в том числе церковных терминов.⁴⁰ Вместе с тем, как справедливо замечает Я. Н. Щапов, между двумя частями наблюдается существенное сходство в передаче греческих слов и форм, так что можно предполагать, что перевод обеих частей совершался одним крупным переводчиком. Примечательных морфологических архаизмов

41, 444в 25, 449г 19, 450а 14, 450б 6, 451а 28, 455а 29, 456в 26, 462а 32, 463в 21, 465а 15, 466а 26, 467г 21, 470а 26 и 29, 470г 7, 471а 9, 473б 30, 478б 15, 482в 33, 493а 30, 500в 4, 502в 26, 504а 17, 506б 26, 508а 24, 508б 7, 513б 1, 513г 18, 518в 40]; в последнем контексте **ѣтеръ** является эквивалентом греч. τис ἄλλος.

(35) А. VAILLANT, *La traduction vieux-slave des Catéchèses de Cyrille de Jérusalem, Byzantinoslavica* IV/2 (1932) 253–302, см. 298–300.

(36) А.-М. ТОТОМАНОВА, *Славянската версия на Хрониката на Георги Синкел* (София, 2008) 251, 308.

(37) Х. ТРЕНДАФИЛОВ, *Наблюдения върху славянския превод на Хрониката на Георги Синкел, Palaebulgarica / Старобългаристика* 14.4 (1990) 100–110, см. 108–109.

(38) ТОТОМАНОВА, *Славянската версия на Хрониката...*, 636.

(39) Я. Н. ЩАПОВ, *Византийское и южнославянское правовое наследие на Руси в XI–XIII вв.* (Москва, 1978) 67, 98.

(40) К. А. МАКСИМОВИЧ, *Древнерусская Ефремовская кормчая XII в.: локализация перевода в связи с историей текста*, в: *Лингвистическое источниковедение и история русского языка. <2004–2005>* (Москва, 2006) 102–113, см. 110–111; ЩАПОВ, *Византийское и южнославянское правовое наследие...*, 86–88. Ср., в добавление к примерам Я. Н. Щапова и К. А. Максимовича, разный перевод одного и того же греческого текста на дл. 31б и 73б в: В. Н. БЕНЕШЕВИЧ, *Древне-славянская кормчая XIV титулов без толкований*, т. 1 (Санкт-Петербург, 1906) 112.9–113.6 и 212.8–31.

в тексте не отмечено. В то же время он решительно отличается по словоупотреблению от сimeoновских текстов. Чтобы убедиться в этом, достаточно сравнить перевод одного и того же греческого текста (Слово Василия Великого о Святом Духе) во второй части Ефремовской кормчей и Изборнике 1073 г.: в Ефремовской кормчей везде представлены лексемы, характерные для памятников кирилло-мефодиевской традиции, для Изборника 1073 г. — лексемы, характерные для преславских текстов: **сѣхранити** 525.5,⁴¹ 526.21 — **навѣдѣти** И73 219а, 219г, **крѣпость** 525.10, 526.6 — **сила** И73 219а, 219в, **оупѣвающии** 525.23 — **надѣжштисѧ** И73 219б, **ради** 527.7 — **дѣла** И73 220а, **ран** 527.10 — **порода** И73 220а, **всѧкъ** 528.10 — **всь** И73 220б, **пантѧкости** 528.10 и 15 — **пѧтьдесѧтъница** И73 220б, 220в и т. п. Местоимение **ѣтеръ** в Ефремовской кормчей встречается только в первой части, всего 4 раза в соответствии с **τις**,⁴² в остальном используется **нѣкыи**. Все четыре случая приходятся на тексты, отсутствующие в Номоканоне Мефодия по Устюжской кормчей. Таким образом, в Ефремовской кормчей представлена архаичная в лексическом отношении болгарская переводческая традиция X в., причем одни из принадлежащих к ней переводчиков не используют местоимение **ѣтеръ**, а другие используют, хотя и редко.

В Житии Феодора Студита по списку Выголексинского сборника XII в. **ѣтеръ** 'некий' фиксируется 12 раз, но тоже неравномерно: все контексты приходятся на последнюю часть текста, занимающую чуть более трети от общего объема.⁴³ Время перевода Жития неизвестно, в языке памятника южнославянизмы соседствуют с редкими русизмами.

В Житии св. Параскевы с чудесами в составе Германова сборника 1358/59 г.⁴⁴ **ѣтеръ** в значении 'некий' употребляется вполне последовательно (51б14, 52а13, 53а12 и 15, 54а4 и 7, 54б9); **нѣкыи** и **ѣдинъ** отсутствуют. Св. Параскева жила в XI в. и была канонизирована в XII в.; перевод ее жития связывают с перенесением ее мощей в Тырново и датируют временем ок. 1230 г.⁴⁵ Очевидно, язык Жития выдержан в архаизирующем ключе: в памятнике употреб-

(41) Адрес указывается по Бенешевич, *Древне-славянская кормчая...*

(42) Там же, 92.26, 102.14 и 19, 106. 18.

(43) В. Ф. Дубровина, Р. В. Бахтурина, В. С. Голышенко (изд.), *Выголексинский сборник* (Москва, 1977) 527.

(44) Мирчева, *Германов сборник от 1358/1359 г. ..., 350–363.*

(45) Там же, 100–101.

ляется послелог **ради**, имеется форма причастия **искъщнии** 5162, однажды встречается асигматический аорист 3 л. мн., причем ошибочно скоординированный с подлежащим в двойственном числе: **два дѣни прѣвидѣ** 53а 12. Здесь же фиксируются и инновации: **прикоснѣвъ ржкж** 53б 4, не говоря уже о двойственном числе глаголов на **-та** 54а. Видимо, местоимение **ѣтеръ** в этом тексте нужно рассматривать как средство архаизации.

В то же время в афонских редакциях Евангелия и Апостола, возникших в XIII–XIV вв., местоимение **ѣтеръ** последовательно устранялось, лишь sporadически сохраняясь в соответствии с **тс** там, где оно читалось в древних редакциях.⁴⁶

Даже этот беглый обзор материала показывает, что отношение древнеболгарских книжников к местоимению **ѣтеръ** 'некий' было разным: одни (многие авторы симеоновского круга, переводчик 2-й части Кормчей Ефремовской редакции и др.) его не употребляли, некоторые употребляли систематически (Огласительные поучения Кирилла Иерусалимского, Хроника Георгия Синкелла), другие — sporadически (переводчик 1-й части Кормчей Ефремовской редакции, Иоанн экзарх). Среди памятников, использующих местоимение **ѣтеръ**, есть тексты с архаичными морфологическими особенностями (Житие Симеона Юродивого, многие Слова Германова сборника), но есть и тексты, их не имеющие (Хроника Георгия Синкелла, Житие Феодора Студита). В круг памятников, в лексикон которых входит это местоимение, попадают тексты, совсем непохожие друг на друга в лингвистическом отношении. Данные Жития Параскевы свидетельствуют о том, что местоимение **ѣтеръ** 'некий', по крайней мере в книжном языке, не вышло из употребления и после X в.; возможно, в XIII–XIV вв. оно уже использовалось в целях архаизации.

Насколько можно судить по современным словарям и изданиям, употребление местоимения **ѣтеръ** в значении 'иной, другой' было гораздо более узким. Прежде всего, оно не прослеживается в канонических старославянских текстах. В качестве соответствия греч. ἕτερος местоимение **ѣтеръ** впервые отмечено в Номоканоне

(46) ПЕНТКОВСКАЯ, *К истории исправления богослужебных книг...*, 36–37; И. ХРИСТОВА-ШОМОВА, *Службеният Апостол в славянската ръкописна традиция*. Т. I. *Изследване на библейския текст* (София, 2004) 456.

по списку Устюжской кормчей,⁴⁷ однако соответствие производит впечатление формального и случайного. Вот как выглядит контекст, в котором оно зафиксировано: **аще которын еп(и)с(ко)пъ ли поп(ъ) принесеть на жьртвоу етеро что на олтарь, ли мьдъ, ли млеко, ли в вина мѣсто олъ, ли етероу тварь, ли птицеѣ, ли животню етеро что, ли сочиво ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ προσενέγκῃ ἕτερά τινα ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, ἢ μέλι, ἢ γάλα, ἢ ἀντὶ οἴνου σίκερα** (в одном из списков добавлено ἢ) **ἐπιτηδευτά, ἢ ὄρνεις, ἢ σῶά τινα, ἢ ὄσπρια.**⁴⁸ В этом пассаже местоимение **етерь** употреблено трижды. Во втором случае (**етероу тварь**) местоимение не имеет греческого соответствия; вполне вероятно, что оно означает здесь ‘какой-то’. В первом и третьем случае оно входит в сочетание **етеро что**, при этом в третьем случае для него также нет прямого греческого соответствия. Можно предположить, что сочетание **етеро что** имело не только значение ‘что-то другое’,⁴⁹ но и ‘какой-то’, в среднем роде — ‘что-то’, ср. в Германовом сборнике (упомянутое выше Мучение св. Димитрия, 63а17–20): **хотѧ же ити въ лирикѣ (так!), въсхотѣ ѿ мощен сѣга етеро что прижити, хотѧ и тѣ въ има сѣга црковь създати**, где **етеро что** означает ‘что-нибудь’. Для третьего случая именно значение ‘какой-то’ кажется наиболее вероятным. Возможно, и в первом случае сочетание **етеро что** означает ‘что-то, нечто’. Приходится согласиться с составителями пражского Старославянского словаря, которые поместили этот контекст под значением ‘какой-то’ в рубрике «сочетания с другими местоимениями».⁵⁰

Ненадежным — по той же самой причине — выглядит и контекст из Синайского патерика по списку XI в.⁵¹ Здесь также фигурирует сочетание **етерь нѣкто** 70 об. 9, но неясно, означало ли местоимение **етерь** в составе этого сочетания ‘другой’; возможно, все сочетание целиком имело значение ‘некто, один’: **Ѹтеръ нѣкто ѿ старьць овьща житья. повѣдаша (так!) намъ о томъ же авва**

(47) В сочетаниях **етерь инъ** ἕτερος τις или ἄλλος τις в Клоцевом сборнике П. Пенкова, *Речник-индекс на Синайския ехологий* (София, 2008) 115, **инѣми етеры** ἐτέρων πολλῶν в Апостоле (ССЯ, т. I, 584) соответствием ἕτερος является **инъ**, а не **етерь**.

(48) Vašica, *Nomokanonъ*, 351.

(49) Оно засвидетельствовано в Повести временных лет: *Словарь русского языка XI–XVII вв.* (далее — СРЯ) (Москва, 1978) Т. V, 64.

(50) ССЯ, т. I, 584.

(51) В. С. Гольщенко, В. Ф. Дубровина (изд.), *Синайский патерик* (Москва, 1967).

нонѣ (в греческом тексте нет прямого соответствия). В Синайском патерике одиночное **ѣтеръ** дважды фиксируется в значении 'некий': 6 об.13 (τις), 163.4 (без греческого соответствия), а также по одному разу при греч. ἑταῖρος 79 об.1 и ἀββᾶς 79 об. 5: **Дзъ и ѣтеръ (ὁ ἑταῖρος) софронни. в александрии соуца. идоховѣ одною. къ ѿеодосинѣ цркви... гла же ми ѣтеръ (ὁ ἀββᾶς) софронни.** Поскольку перевод в этом месте (начало л. 79 об.) не следует точно имеющемуся греческому тексту, можно усомниться в том, что местоимение **ѣтеръ** соответствует греч. ἑταῖρος 'товарищ, друг' (как оно не является соответствием греч. ἀββᾶς) и предположить, что в 79 об.1 оно имеет значение 'некто, один'. Однако его появление пятью строками ниже трудно объяснить таким образом. Возможно, что **ѣтеръ** здесь все-таки передает ἑταῖρος, т. е. является грецизмом, который затем повторяется уже без соответствия оригиналу.

В Паренесисе Ефрема Сирина **ѣтеръ** фиксируется 14 раз,⁵² обычно местоимение имеет значение 'некий' и соответствует греч. τις. Как и в некоторых упомянутых выше памятниках, оно употребляется здесь неравномерно: в первых 38-ми Словах и в Словах 77–82. В двух случаях **ѣтеръ** выступает в соответствии с греч. ἕτερος: **ктерѹ братѹ единому си живѹщю и сѣдѹщю въ кѣльи ἕτερω δὲ ἀδελφῶ** 20.23 и **ни вси а҃нгли, начала, власти, ни тварь ктера οὐτε κτίσις ἕτερα** 79.119.⁵³ Первый контекст остается не вполне ясным (см. колебания в списках: **дроу҃гомѹ же братѹ сѣдещѹ; единому братоу нѣкоемоу; нѣкоемоу братоу единому**⁵⁴), тем не менее представляется, что чтение **ктерѹ** исконно и является непосредственным соответствием греч. ἕτερω. Второй случай не оставляет сомнений в том, что переводчик считал возможным передавать греч. ἕτερος местоимением **ѣтеръ**. Паренесис, рукописная традиция которого прослеживается с XI в., был переведен едва ли позже середины X в.: отрывок из

(52) G. VOJKOVSKY, R. AITZETMÜLLER (Hrsg.), *Paraenesis. Die altbulgarische Übersetzung von Werken Ephraims des Syrers*. Bd. V (Freiburg i. Br., 1990) (Monumenta linguae slavicae dialecti veteris. Fontes et dissertationes, XXVIII (XX, 5)) 578.

(53) Вслед за изданием в адресе указывается номер Слова и — после точки — строка.

(54) C. VOß, Die Handschrift Nr. 137(69) der Nationalbibliothek Bukarest: eine bisher kaum bemerkte Neuübersetzung der Paränesis Ephraims des Syrers, *Palaebulgarica / Старобългаристика* 19.2 (1995) 27–44, см. 34, 37.

этого перевода вошел в составленную в X в. компиляцию, лежащую в основе Изборника 1076 г.⁵⁵

Несомненные случаи употребления **ѣтеръ** в соответствии с греч. ἕτερος ‘другой, иной’ обнаруживаются в Римском патерике — болгарском переводе X в., в котором сохраняется немало морфологических архаизмов, в том числе старые формы аориста, но в то же время присутствует немало лексических преславизмов.⁵⁶ Здесь **ѣтеръ** чаще употребляется в соответствии с греч. τις (по Погодинскому списку XVI в., использованному в издании:⁵⁷ 3v18, 18r11, 18v28, 26r22, 30v21, 36v27, 108r17), однако имеются 4 случая употребления в соответствии с ἕτερος. В трех из них **ѣтеръ** также входит в сочетания с другими местоимениями: **ѣтеръ нѣкто** 75r3, **ѣтери же мнози** 7v9, **чтѡ ѣтера даетъ разѡмѣти. аще ѡ га съвршени соүще. праведно послоүшни. множицею могѡтъ быти ті ѣтеρον** δίδοται νοεῖν, εἰ μὴ ὅτι οἱ παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ τέλειοι ὄντες δικαίως ὑπακουσθῆναι πολλάκις δύνανται 13v7. В последнем случае возникает сомнение, понимал ли переводчик конструкцию τί ἕτερον... εἰ μὴ ὅτι ‘что другое, нежели что’; возможно, текст здесь испорчен: после **аще** пропущено **не** или **не тако**. Четвертый контекст содержит одиночное местоимение: **вѣскран же столпа жилище вѣ ѣтеро** 49v25. Хотя славянский текст во всех четырех контекстах не дает уверенности в том, что переводчик придавал местоимению **ѣтеръ** значение ‘другой’, тем не менее четырехкратное употребление этого слова в качестве эквивалента греч. ἕτερος доказывает, что он считал такое соответствие допустимым.

Передача греч. ἕτερος славянским **ѣтеръ** — не единственная черта, объединяющая Паренесис Ефрема Сирина и Римский патерик. Из частотных слов, характерных для этих двух текстов, можно назвать **непыцевати** ‘думать, полагать’, **всьма**, **година**, из более

(55) F. J. THOMSON, The Old Bulgarian Translation of the Homilies of Ephraem Syrus, *Palaeobulgarica / Старобългаристика* 9.4 (1985) 124–130, см. 130.

(56) J. REINHART, Wie viele Übersetzer hatte das aktkirchenslawische Römische Paterikon?, in: P. REHDER, I. SMIRNOV (Hrsg.), *Text — Sprache — Grammatik: Slavisches Schrifttum der Vormoderne. Festschrift für Eckhard Weiher* (München—Berlin, 2009) 169–183, см. 171, 176.

(57) К. Дидди, *Патерик Римский: Диалоги Григория Великого в древнеславянском переводе* (Москва, 2001).

редких слов — **искрънии** 66r5,⁵⁸ 87v16, 89r14, 92r10 и 12, **индоушъныйн** в двух значениях: ‘единодушный’ и ‘имеющий охоту, желание, готовность к чему-л., *πρόθυμος*’, **индоушник** ‘готовность, желание’ 27v18, 42r30 и мн. др., **тимѣник** 109v20, **издѣцень** ‘превосходный’ 12r10, 29r11 (**издѣцство** в Паренесисе), **окрочити** ‘окружить, охватить’ 29v12 / **окрачати** 61r6, **клепати** ‘знаменовывать, обозначать’ 91v18, **порѣковати** ‘порицать’ 37r6, **оупады** ‘обрыв, *κημνός*’ 68v1, **огавик** **творити** ‘досаждать’ 26v8 и 21, **соульшини** ‘лучший’ 26r29, **соуле** ‘лучше’ — вариант к 35r13 (**соулати** *φυσιομαί* в Паренесисе). Указывают ли эти совпадения на общность происхождения двух переводов, покажут дальнейшие исследования.

Употребление местоимения **ѣтеръ** не только в значении ‘некий’, но и в значении ‘другой’ характерно также для двух групп сравнительно поздних переводных текстов: к одной из них принадлежит Хроника Георгия Амартола, Повесть о Варлааме и Иоасафе и Христианская Топография Козьмы Индикоплова, ко второй — Толковое Евангелие Феофилакта Болгарского и Толкования Никиты Иракийского на 16 слов Григория Богослова.

Входящие в первую группу памятники объединяет систематическое сходство в словоупотреблении и способах перевода одних и тех же греческих слов; эта группа, по-видимому, связана с архаичной македонской книжной традицией.⁵⁹ Древнейшим текстом этой группы, очевидно, следует признать Хронику Георгия Амартола, где сохранилось наибольшее количество архаизмов,

(58) Приводятся адреса для Римского патерика по Дидди, *Патерик Римский...*; данные по Паренесису см. в словоуказателе Войковскы, АITZET-MÜLLER, *Paraenesis...*, Bd. V.

(59) А. А. Пичхадзе, Литературно-языковые и переводческие традиции в словоупотреблении церковнославянских памятников и русских летописей XI–XIII вв., *Русский язык в научном освещении* 2.4 (2002) 147–170; ЕАДЕМ, О происхождении славянского перевода Хроники Георгия Амартола, в: *Лингвистическое источниковедение и история русского языка. 2001* (Москва, 2002) 232–249, см. 246–247; ЕАДЕМ, К группировке древнейших переводов с греческого, содержащих восточнославянские элементы в лексике, *ТОДРЛ* 59 (2008) 18–35, см. 19–31; ЕАДЕМ, Южно-славянские традиции в древнерусской письменности (лексика и грамматика), в: *Письменность, литература и фольклор славянских народов. XIV Международный съезд славистов. Охрид, 2008 г. Доклады российской делегации* (Москва, 2008) 152–172, см. 159–167.

включая несигматический аорист.⁶⁰ Греческий оригинал Хроники возник не ранее 963 г., славянский перевод выполнен не позже второй половины XI в.⁶¹ Повесть о Варлааме и Иоасафе и Христианская Топография Козьмы Индикоплова, видимо, были переведены приблизительно в то же время, причем описание ризы первосвященника в Христианской Топографии представляет собой сокращенный пересказ соответствующего пассажа из славянского перевода Хроники.⁶² Местоимение **ѣтеръ** в обоих значениях очень частотно в Хронике Георгия Амартола;⁶³ иллюстративный материал можно найти в *Словаре древнерусского языка*,⁶⁴ где два примера, в которых **ѣтеръ** переводит *ἕτερος*, по ошибке помещены под значением 'некий'. Основа **ѣтеро-** используется в Хронике при передаче греческих сложных слов с основой *ἕτερο-*.⁶⁵ Примечательно, что в Хронике **ѣтеръ** встречается в соответствии не только с *ἕτερος*, но и с *ἄλλος* 'другой', а в сложных словах **ѣтеро-** передает греч. *ἄλλο-*,⁶⁶ — свидетельство того, что в языке переводчика **ѣтеръ** реально имело значение 'другой', а не просто использовалось в качестве книжного грецизма. В Повести о Варлааме и Иоасафе **ѣтеръ** чаще употребляется в соответствии с *ἕτερος* (8 раз), чем в соответствии с *τις* (6 раз).⁶⁷ В Христианской Топографии **ѣтеръ** фиксируется четырежды: один раз оно передает греч. *τις* (76.11⁶⁸), дважды — греч. *ἕτερος* (14об. 34, 19об. 20), а в последнем контексте — греч. *ἐκάτερος* (15об. 8): здесь либо переводчик смешал

(60) Пичхадзе, Южнославянские традиции в древнерусской письменности..., 160.

(61) Пичхадзе, Литературно-языковые и переводческие традиции..., 148.

(62) В. С. Гольщенко, В. Ф. Дубровина (изд.), *Книга нарицаема Козьма Индикоплов* (Москва, 1997) 329.

(63) VAILLANT, *Jeterŭ et jedinŭ*, 344.

(64) *Словарь древнерусского языка (XI–XIV вв.)* (Москва, 1990) (далее — СДЯ) Т. 3, 223–224.

(65) VAILLANT, *Jeterŭ et jedinŭ*, 344; СДЯ, т. 3, 223.

(66) VAILLANT, *Jeterŭ et jedinŭ*, 344.

(67) И. Н. Лебедева, *Словоуказатель к тексту «Повести о Варлааме и Иоасафе», памятнику древнерусской переводной литературы XI–XII вв.* (Ленинград, 1988) 54, 201.

(68) Адреса по рукописи, опубликованной в Гольщенко, Дубровина, *Книга нарицаема Козьма Индикоплов...*

ἐκάτερος с ἕτερος, либо ошибка (пропуск слога) уже содержалась в греческом источнике, с которого делался перевод.

Сходство древнейших славянских переводов Толкового Евангелия Феофилакта Болгарского и Толкований Никиты Ираклийского на 16 Слов Григория Богослова было отмечено давно.⁶⁹ Феофилакт Болгарский и Никита Ираклийский писали в конце XI — самом начале XII в. Славянские переводы Толкового Евангелия и Толкований на 16 Слов Григория Богослова были выполнены не позже начала XII в.: цитата из толкования на Мф. V 22 (**рака бо речеться соуръскы опльванъ**) имеется уже в Мстиславовом евангелии 1117 г., а перевод Толкований на 16 Слов был известен Клименту Смолятичу и Кириллу Туровскому.⁷⁰ Текстология Толкового Евангелия и Толкований Никиты Ираклийского не разработана, и язык этих памятников не описан. В Толкованиях Никиты Ираклийского **етерьъ** засвидетельствовано в значении 'некий' и неоднократно в значении 'другой' в сочетании **кдинъ... етеръ** 'один... другой'; основа **етеро-** здесь также соответствует первой части греческих сложных слов, начинающихся основой ἕτερο-.⁷¹ В Толковом Евангелии **етерьъ** встречается в соответствии с греч. ἕτερος, в контекстах, где это местоимение отнесено к неопределенному референту и означает 'кто-то другой, какой-то другой': Мф. VIII 21, XV 30, XVI 14,⁷² Лк. XI 16. Именно в этом неопределенном значении 'кто-то другой, какой-то другой' употребляется **етерьъ** и в Чудовском Новом Завете XIV в., текстологически зависимом от Толкового Евангелия. Здесь **етерьъ** появляется исключительно в соответствии с ἕτερος.⁷³

Между двумя группами — Хроникой Георгия Амартола, Повестью о Варлааме и Иоасафе и Христианской Топографией с одной стороны и Толковым Евангелием и Толкованиями Никиты Ирак-

(69) М. Б. Бабицкая, Источники Изборника XIII века (Cod. St. Petersburg, ГРВ, Q.п.I.18), *Byzantinoslavica* 56 (1995) 631–635, см. 632; см. еще Пичхадзе, К группировке древнейших переводов с греческого..., 26.

(70) Н. В. Поньрко, Был ли Климент Смолятич создателем первого славянского перевода Толкований Никиты Ираклийского на 16 Слов Григория Богослова, *ТОДРЛ* 59 (2008) 133–143.

(71) СДЯ, т. 3, 223.

(72) ПЕНТКОВСКАЯ, *К истории исправления богослужебных книг...*, 31, 34.

(73) Там же, 30–37.

лийского с другой — существует отдаленное языковое сходство,⁷⁴ хотя тексты второй группы не разделяют ярких особенностей первой группы, сближающих их с древнейшими славянскими гимнографическими текстами.⁷⁵ Переводы обеих групп замечательны тем, что южнославянизмы соседствуют в них с лексическими русизмами; такая же особенность присуща и Чудовскому Новому Завету. Возможно, возникновение всех этих текстов так или иначе связано с Древней Русью, хотя участие южнославянских книжников в их создании не вызывает сомнений.

За пределами круга указанных памятников местоимение **ѣтеръ** фиксируется редко. В южнославянском переводе Житии Василия Нового по списку 1368/69 г. **ѣтеръ** дважды употребляется в значении 'некий'⁷⁶ и трижды в соответствии с греч. ἕτερος в значении 'другой, следующий (при перечислении)' при описании перехода от одного мытарства к другому в аду.⁷⁷ В языке памятника не наблюдается ни ярких архаизмов, ни ярких инноваций, поэтому его датируют временем от X до XIII в., причем поздняя дата считается более вероятной.⁷⁸

Несколько раз **ѣтеръ** в качестве эквивалента греч. ἕτερος фиксируется в Слове Епифания Кипрского о погребении Христовом и схождении в ад в составе Германова сборника 1358/59 г. (193а 15, 195а 9), хотя по большей части **ѣтеръ** переводит в этом Слове греч. τις (190а 16, 191а 4, 191б 3 и 13, 192а 14, 195б 4 и 9). Один раз **ѣтеръ** соответствует также греч. ἄλλος (188а 14), но в предыдущей строке в оригинале употреблено ἕτερος; оно переведено как **инъ**, но, вероятно, повлияло на выбор эквивалента **ѣтеръ** для следующего за ним ἄλλος. Перевод Слова Епифания Кипрского считается весьма древним: в нем встречается несигматический аорист **нападѣ** 174а 11; однако еще более древний перевод этого греческого тек-

(74) Пичхадзе, К группировке древнейших переводов с греческого..., 19–26.

(75) ЕАДЕМ, Южнославянские традиции в древнерусской письменности..., 159–167.

(76) I. G. EVANGELOU, The Bulgarian Translation of the Vita of St. Basil the New According to Manuscript 20 N in the Monastery of Sinai, *Scripta & e-Scripta* 7 (2009) 181–251, см. 191, 214.

(77) Ibid., 196, 197, 199.

(78) С. Г. Вилинский, *Житие Василия Нового в русской литературе*. Ч. I. Исследование (Одесса, 1913) (Записки имп. Новороссийского университета историко-филологического факультета, VI) 100–103.

ста сохранился в Клоцевом сборнике, Супрасльской рукописи и других памятниках⁷⁹ — в этом переводе *ἕτερος* никогда не переводится как **ѣтеръ**, ему соответствуют местоимения **дрѹгынѣ**, **инѣ**, **овѣ**. Любопытно, что в Слове Григория Богослова на Воскресение в составе Германова сборника отмечено **ѣтеръ** в контексте, где в Сборнике XIII Слов Григория Богослова по списку XI в. и Гомилии Михановича, восходящих к тому же источнику, читается **инни**.⁸⁰ Это слово следует в Германовом сборнике сразу вслед за Словом Епифания Кипрского. Возможно, употребление местоимения **ѣтеръ** в значении 'другой' в Слове Епифания Кипрского спровоцировало составителя Германова сборника на эту замену (если только она не произошла на какой-то предшествующей стадии).

Гораздо шире распространено местоимение **ѣтеръ** в обоих значениях в сербских памятниках XIII–XIV вв.,⁸¹ в сербских и хорватских источниках оно очень частотно и в древнюю эпоху.

Напротив, в древнерусских памятниках **ѣтеръ** появляется редко. В восточнославянской письменности оно выступает в роли церковнославянизма. Из летописей его использует — в обоих значениях — только Повесть временных лет, причем в сугубо книжных контекстах, а также Суздальская летопись. В древнерусских переводных текстах оно тоже фиксируется лишь спорадически: единичные примеры обнаруживаются в Истории Иудейской войны Иосифа Флавия и Пчеле (только в соответствии с греч. *ἕτερος*).

Семантическое развитие 'какой-то' > 'другой' у местоимения **ѣтеръ** могло произойти на славянской почве, ср. в.-луж. *wot(e)ry*, н.-луж. *wótery* 'другой, некий',⁸² а также родственное славянскому слову алб. диал. *jëtërrë, játërrë*, 'другой'. Употребление **ѣтеръ** в значении 'другой' в книжных текстах, возможно, было поддержано со стороны греч. *ἕτερος* — в случае с Чудовским Новым Заветом это очевидно. Если распространение местоимения **ѣтеръ** в значении 'некий' в древних болгарских памятниках весьма прихотливо, то его использование в значении 'другой' ограничено сравнительно

(79) Мирчева, *Германов сборник от 1358/1359 г. ...*, 173–176.

(80) Там же, 182.

(81) Пентковская, *К истории исправления богослужебных книг...*, 37; Христова-Шомова, *Служебният Апостол...*, 456.

(82) *Этимологический словарь славянских языков: Праславянский лексический фонд*, вып. 8 (Москва, 1981) 187.

узким кругом памятников, в котором выделяется несколько групп текстов, близких друг другу по языковым особенностям. Важно отметить, что многие из этих текстов, несмотря на позднее время создания, сохраняют разнообразные лексические и морфологические архаизмы.

SUMMARY

Anna A. Pichkhadze

SLAV. **ѢТѢРЬ**: TOWARDS A LINGUISTIC CLASSIFICATION OF OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC WRITTEN SOURCES

The paper examines the usage of the pronoun *eterъ* in Old Church Slavonic texts of Bulgarian provenience. The picture which emerges from the analysis is complex. Slav. *eterъ* had two meanings: 1) “some, someone”, and 2) “other, another”. In the first meaning it is characteristic of the Cyrillo-Methodian writings and of rather numerous texts which preserve archaic morphological and lexical characteristics, but also it is used in the texts which contain innovations and are devoid of conservative linguistic features. On the other hand, *eterъ* absents from most Symeonic texts, and from some texts which do not belong to Symeonic authors and translators either. *Eterъ* with the meaning of “other, another” is not as widely attested as in the sense of “some, someone”; it occurs in a range of texts, most of which are closely allied to each other and exhibit some mutual linguistic peculiarities, including very archaic ones.

ARCHIPRÊTRE A. M. DERJAVIN ET SON ÉTUDE DU MÉNOLOGE DE ST. DIMITRI MÉTROPOLITE DE ROSTOV¹

St Dimitri, métropolite de Rostov a écrit son Ménologe (Минеи Четии) vers la fin du XVIIe siècle. Il n'a pas été créé de travaux similaires dans l'histoire ultérieure de la littérature russe orthodoxe. Le Ménologe est devenu pour longtemps la lecture favorite du peuple russe. A. M. Derjavin a consacré presque 40 ans de sa vie à l'étude de ce grand ouvrage.

Alexandre M. Derjavin est né le 2 décembre (le 19 novembre) 1871 dans la famille d'un prêtre. Après ses études au séminaire de Iaroslavl Alexandre a été nommé surveillant de l'école de théologie (духовное училище) d'Uglitch, où il a travaillé jusqu'au 1897. L'activité religieuse et éducative du jeune prêtre a été aperçue. Nous supposons qu'en 1905–1908 il a été élu membre de la Société impériale palestinienne.

En 1909, on célébrait à Rostov le bicentenaire de la mort de Saint Dimitri de Rostov. L'organisateur de cet anniversaire était le métropolite de Rostov et de Yaroslavl Tikhon, futur patriarche. C'est apparemment à ce moment-là qu'Alexandre Mikhaïlovitch et le métropolite Tikhon ont fait leur connaissance. A cette époque le Père Alexandre a décidé d'entrer dans l'Académie théologique de Kiev. C'est ici qu'il a commencé à étudier les œuvres littéraires de St. Dimitri de Rostov, d'autant plus que la ville de Kiev était liée à la période la plus féconde de la vie de l'écrivain. Après la fin de ses études Derjavin est resté à l'Académie pour une année supplémentaire comme étudiant subventionné. Cette année-là, il a écrit son premier ouvrage scientifique sur Dimitri de Rostov. Cette thèse a ensuite formé la base du travail de toute sa vie.

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En 1915–1917 la famille Derjavine s'est déplacée à Moscou, où Derjavine a beaucoup travaillé dans des dépôts de manuscrits. En 1917 il a terminé la première version de son étude et l'a envoyée à l'Académie théologique de Kiev. Mais à cause des désordres dus à la révolution, la thèse a été égarée par la poste. Toutefois, Alexandre n'a pas perdu son courage. Il a commencé presque aussitôt à reconstituer le texte d'après ses brouillons et sa mémoire. La nécessité de partir à zéro était un très bon prétexte de l'élargir et de l'approfondir. Alexandre Michailovich n'était pas pressé dans son travail, d'autant plus que les circonstances de sa vie ont repoussé l'achèvement de son étude à beaucoup plus tard.

Après la révolution le Père Alexandre servait dans l'église de la Sainte Trinité à Kapelki jusqu'à sa fermeture et destruction. La famille vivait près de l'église dans une petite maison sans étages. C'est là qu'Alexandre a été arrêté, en 1931, probablement en raison de sa relation proche avec le Patriarche Tikhon.

Le Père Alexandre a passé deux mois dans la prison Boutyrskaya. Après la condamnation (art. 58, point 10 — activité antisoviétique), il a été exilé à Oustioug, puis incarcéré dans des camps de concentration de la république Komi, à Syktyvkar, et ensuite dans le village de Haut-Votch (toutes ces localités se situaient à l'extrême nord de la Russie européenne), où il travaillait dans les camps de bûcherons. Après sa libération il a reçu la permission de choisir un lieu de résidence (à l'exception de Moscou et de Leningrad) avec son épouse. Alexandre Michailovich a choisi Rostov, une ville liée à son destin et à son étude de la vie et de l'œuvre de St Dimitri.

En février 1939, le dossier a été réexaminé et le casier judiciaire a été retiré. Les Derjavine se sont installés dans la même maison à Moscou. C'était pour Alexandre Mikhaïlovitch le temps le plus fructueux. Il n'a pas renoncé à ses recherches scientifiques, y compris à celles sur le Ménologe de Dimitri de Rostov. Maintenant il pouvait travailler dans les dépôts de manuscrits de Moscou et présenter ses résultats à la communauté scientifique de Moscou. Il a fait une présentation au département de la Russie ancienne de l'Institut de la littérature mondiale qui à ce moment-là était dirigé par N. K. Gudzij.

Mais ce n'est qu'en 1954 qu'Alexandre a mis le point dans son étude et l'a présentée au jugement spirituel et scientifique. La même année à la Laure de la Trinité-Saint-Serge, il a soutenu sa thèse — « Le Ménologe de St Dimitri, métropolite de Rostov en tant que manuscrit de l'histoire ecclésiastique et littéraire ». C'était la deuxième thèse théologique qui a été soutenue durant la période soviétique.

L'archiprêtre Alexandre Derjavin est mort à l'âge de 92 ans. Il a été enterré au vieux cimetière de Moscou Pyatnitskoe près de l'église de l'Intercession (Pokrov) de la Vierge, où il a servi jusqu'à ses derniers jours.

La monographie de l'archiprêtre Alexandre Derjavin est pour le moment le seul ouvrage scientifique qui étudie d'une façon aussi profonde et exhaustive le Ménologe de St Dimitri. Il se compose de deux parties et de trois volumes d'annexes (chacun d'eux comprenant l'étude des vies des saints pour une période de quatre mois). La première partie de l'étude contient un bref aperçu des genres hagiographiques créés en Grèce du I^{er} au X^e siècle. En outre, l'auteur examine l'hagiographie russe de la période pré-mongole et l'hagiographie du nord-est de la Russie aux XIV–XVI siècles. Il analyse d'une manière plus détaillée la situation en l'Ukraine et Biélorussie. « Les grandes œuvres de St. Dimitri ont été un outil important et nécessaire dans la lutte acharnée que le peuple orthodoxe ukrainien menait au XVII^{ème} siècle contre le gouvernement polonais catholique en défendant sa foi et sa nationalité, » a écrit Derjavin dans son étude. Dans le deuxième chapitre de la première partie P. Alexandre parle d'une façon détaillée de la vie de St. Dimitri, des difficultés rencontrées lors de l'écriture et de l'impression de son ouvrage. Il raconte cette histoire où fusionnent les intérêts politiques, religieux et artistiques.

Dans le deuxième livre de son ouvrage Derjavin se concentre sur l'étude du Ménologe et tâche de suivre St. Dimitri pour révéler le travail minutieux et approfondi qu'il avait effectué. Comme l'a justement noté dans ses mémoires le métropolite de Volokolamsk Pitirim (Né-tchaev), Derjavin « a refait l'énorme travail qui avait été fait avant lui par St. Dimitri ».

Tout d'abord, il montre l'approche critique adoptée par le Saint pour compiler le calendrier. La préparation minutieuse du calendrier lui a permis de découvrir des erreurs dans les calendriers slaves. Il passe ensuite directement à la question concernant les sources du Ménologe.

Les sources principales du travail d'Alexandre étaient les manuscrits de St. Dimitri, son Ménologe, des extraits de manuscrits reliés, des notes et les vies des saints qui n'ont pas toujours été incluses dans le texte final ; ces sources étaient rédigées en grec, latin, langues slaves orientales et polonais. Dimitri de Rostov s'adressait à la plupart des ouvrages non pas pour les copier, mais simplement pour en rendre une version complétée et vérifiée. « Au début du premier et du deuxiè-

me livres trimestriels du Ménologe », écrivait Derjavin dans son étude, « St. Dimitri place une longue liste d'enseignants, écrivains, historiens et narrateurs qui ont composé ces livres. Au début de la plupart des vies des saints et parfois dans leur texte il a placé des indications sur la provenance de la vie toute entière ou seulement d'un épisode de celle-ci. Cela a incité I. A. Chliapkin à constater dans son livre « St Dimitri de Rostov et son temps » (1891) que toutes les sources avaient été indiquées par Dimitri lui-même. Derjavin a montré que cette conclusion est hâtive et erronée.

St. Dimitri lui-même se réfère à Siméon Métaphraste comme à la source de nombreuses vies des saints. Mais Derjavin a conclu que St. Dimitri connaissait mal la langue grecque. Normalement, c'est la fameuse édition des Bollandistes *Acta Sanctorum* ou la collection de Laurentius Surius qui se cachent sous de nombreuses références au Métaphraste ou sous les citations "от рукописцев греческих" (c.à.d., « d'après les manuscrits grecs »). D'ailleurs, les sources des bollandistes et de Surius étaient effectivement des manuscrits grecs.

Les annexes à l'ouvrage du Père Alexandre, composées de trois grands volumes, sont précieuses. Elles comprennent tout le cycle annuel. Ce sont trois volumes de textes tapés sur une machine à écrire qui représentent un examen détaillé des vies des saints pour chaque jour de l'année. A notre avis, ce sont les vies des quatre premiers mois (septembre-décembre) qui sont examinées de la façon la plus exhaustive. L'étude contient de nombreuses citations tirées non seulement de l'ouvrage de St. Dimitri, mais aussi des sources évoquées par le prélat. D'abord, c'est le Grand Ménologe du métropolitain Macaire (plus loin — GMM). Beaucoup de citations sont présentées en lecture parallèle, souvent provenant de trois sources différentes à la fois. On peut citer par exemple l'analyse de la Vie de St. Spyridon de Trimythonte (le 12 décembre), où des extraits sont tirés du Métaphraste, du Ménologe de Macaire et du Ménologe de St. Dimitri. Toutefois, dans la bibliographie de l'ouvrage il n'y a parfois pas d'indication claire concernant l'année et le lieu de publication de la source. Il semble que quelques uns de ces livres provenaient de la bibliothèque personnelle du chercheur, dont une grande partie a été remise à la bibliothèque de l'Académie théologique de Moscou après l'achèvement de l'ouvrage. Mais, malheureusement, sa collection n'a pas été marquée et il n'est pas possible de retrouver les livres d'A. M. Derjavin.

Derjavin avait souvent réussi à déchiffrer les indications de sources données d'une manière évasive. Voici quelques exemples: « Des

manuscrits grecs » (le 27 janvier, la Vie de Sainte Eusébie-Xénia ; le 31 janvier, Cyr et Jean ; le 7 février, Luc d'Hellas ; le 20 février, Léon, évêque de Catania), « De plusieurs auteurs » (le 3 septembre, Jean le Jeûneur ; 28 Janvier, Ephrem le Syrien ; le 9 août, Matthieu l'apôtre), « D'un martyrologe ancien » (le 29 juillet, Séraphin ; le 13 décembre, Lucie la Vierge). Derjavin étudiait pourquoi Dimitri changeait les noms des personnages, leurs âges, souvent le lieu d'action. Ainsi, dans la Vie du saint Théodore Stratélates, dont la source principale est la recension métaphrastique de Surius, certains écarts du Métaphraste sont justifiés par la Vie qui se trouve dans la collection *Anfologion* (« Anthologie », un livre liturgique imprimé en 1619 à Kiev). Par exemple, la version latine du Métaphraste dit que le nombre de personnes qui priaient Christ avec St. Théodore était « octoginta », tandis que chez St. Dimitri, comme dans l'*Anfologion*, ce chiffre est 72 ; dans Métaphraste le pauvre porte « manum » (la main) d'Artémis, et dans l'*Anfologion* et St. Dimitri, la tête. Derjavin a divisé toutes les vies écrites par Dimitri en trois groupes en fonction du nombre et de la nature des sources utilisées.

Derjavin montre l'attitude critique du St. Dimitri envers les sources. Par exemple, Derjavin écrivait concernant certaines vies dans les *Acta Sanctorum*: « Parfois il y a des remarques portant sur son évaluation d'une vie. Ainsi, en annotant, dans le deuxième volume du mois de janvier, la Vie d'Athanase de Péloponnèse, le prélat ajoute ci-dessous: "Beaucoup de paroles, mais peu d'actes (дела мало)". En réécrivant toute une série de noms tirés du troisième volume de février, le saint marque en face de chaque nom : "il n'y a rien à écrire ..." ». D'après les manuscrits de Dimitri, Derjavin a examiné et extrait les Vies qui étaient présentes dans la liste, mais n'étaient pas inscrites dans le Ménologe. L'édition des preuves conformes à plusieurs sources témoigne du travail créatif et critique de Dimitri. A. M. Derjavin a étudié de nombreux exemples des altérations qu'il avait apportées, mais nous ne donnons ici qu'un seul, la Vie de Saint Sabas (le 6 décembre). « Ses sources étaient, écrit Père Alexandre, la Vie du Saint écrite par Cyril [de Scythopolis — *NdlR*] et celles empruntées au GMM et à la recension métaphrastique de Surius. L'influence de l'une ou de l'autre source se fait souvent sentir. Ainsi, la patrie du Saint est "le village de Mutalaska" (весь Муталаска), de même que chez Surius (in vico Mutalasca, hoc est enim ei nomen), au lieu de 'la ville de Mutanska' (Мутанска града) dans le GMM; le frère de la mère de St Sabas s'appelle "Hermias" (chez Surius "cui nomen erat Hermias"), au lieu de Jérémie dans

le GMM; le village d'un autre oncle de St. Sabas s'appelle Skanda ("in quodam vico nomine Scandoa" chez Surius), au lieu de Skaida dans le GMM. La rencontre de St. Sabas avec ses parents en Alexandrie, elle aussi, est décrite d'après Surius. Dans le GMM manquent les paroles du saint à ses parents (ici il y a une lacune dans le texte slavon), mais le nombre des pièces de monnaie d'or proposées par les parents à Sabas est indiqué d'après le GMM : quarante (четырнадцать) au lieu de "viginti aureos" chez Surius. Le temps de la mort de St. Euthymius est indiqué d'après le GMM : "quand Anastase était patriarche à Jérusalem" tandis que chez Surius le nom du patriarche ne figure pas. En correspondance avec le GMM, St. Dimitri appelle les barbares que St. Sabas avait rencontré dans le désert "Sarrasins", tandis que Surius les appelle "Arageni", mais les figues qu'ils ont apportées portent le nom latin de "dactyle" ».

La liste des sources de la recherche d'A. M. Derjavin contient des titres de livres dans lesquels Dimitri a puisé le matériel pour ses Vies. Il n'y a que 25 points, mais elle comprend: Laurentius Surius, *Vies des Saints de l'Est et l'Ouest* — en latin, 2^{me} éd. 1573–1578, en 7 volumes; *Acta Sanctorum* en 18 volumes pour les mois Janvier — Mai; *Vitae Patrum* de Rosweyde, en latin, 2^{ème} édition; Migne, *Patrologie*, série grecque, tomes 114, 115 et 116 ; série latine, tomes 21, 73 et 74 ; Ruinart, *Actes des martyrs en version originale et choisie*; Baronius, *Annales ecclesiastici* en 12 volumes ; *Martyrologium Romanum*, éd. 1589 ; historiens de l'Église grecque : Eusèbe Pamphile, Socrate Scholastique, Sozomène, Théodoret de Cyr, Evagre, Théodore le Lecteur — tous en version russe ; Géorge Cédreñe, *Les lois de l'Église et de la société civile*, traduction de 1794, Nicéphore Calliste, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, en latin, Peter Skarga, *Żywoty świętych* [*Vies des Saints*, en polonais] ; livres de prières: calendriers, ménologes, *Anfologion*, Triodion etc.

Actuellement, grâce à l'Union des écrivains de la Russie, on a commencé à publier l'ouvrage d'Alexandre Michailovich Derjavin. Le premier volume est paru en 2006, et en 2008 le second.

RÉSUMÉ

Dans cet article il s'agit de l'archiprêtre Derjavin qui a réalisé l'étude du Ménologe de St. Dimitri, métropolitain de Rostov. En examinant les oeuvres de cet écrivain de la fin du XVII^e siècle le chercheur s'arrête essentiellement sur le problème des sources liées aux Vies des Saints faisant partie du Ménologe.

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AN ORIGINAL THIRTEENTH CENTURY CHARTER FROM MONK BRETTON PRIORY (YORKSHIRE) IN THE ARCHIVE OF ST. PETERSBURG INSTITUTE OF HISTORY (RAS)*

The generations of scholars have made great efforts to find and publish medieval documents written in scriptoriums of the English monasteries and now preserved in different archives of Great Britain. The Russian archives are represented only by separate documents and, hence, it is a great success to discover a new one.¹ This study deals with a charter acquired by N. P. Lichatchev (1862–1936), a famous Russian historian and collector of ancient deeds.²

The document itself has a form of the right quadrangular piece of parchment (size 157x123 mm) with *plica* (a folded edge of a document) bearing slits for a seal's cord (so called charter "sur double queue"). It becomes common for a royal chancery since the middle of the twelfth century being accepted by less powerful lords. It was the seller himself who had sealed the charter: "*ego Willelmus... scripto sigillum meum apposui*" (Appendix I). The seal, meanwhile, is lost. As we shall see, he hardly took a prominent position and had not own chancery.

(*) The publication is maintained with the program "Organization and financial support to the young scholars of Russian Academy of Sciences on the field of fundamental studies".

(1) View for example the list of documents preserved in the Department of manuscripts of the Russian National Library (РНБ). F. 922. and a collection N 18 "England and Scotland. Deeds and letters" in the Archive of the Institute of History (Saint-Petersburg, RAS).

(2) Col. 18. "England and Scotland. Deeds and letters". Folder 381. N 1a. Now the ruins of Priory is situated in the county South Yorkshire, Borough of Barnsly. Previous it lied in a Western Riding (wapentake Staincross, parish of Royston) County Yorkshire en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Metropolitan_Borough_of_Barnsley; www.genuki.org.uk/big/eng/YKS/WRY/Royston

So, the charter was written by either one of the monks or Stephen, the witness, called a clerk (clericus).³ The charter attests the purchase of landholdings and possessions (*terras et possessiones*) with pertinences situated in Carlton village and around it. The seller, William received from the brethren of Monk Bretton five silver shillings under the condition that neither he nor his heirs should claim their right or bring an action from this time onwards: “*non <...> aliquid jus vel clamum debemus ponere vel poterimus interrogare*”.

Monk Bretton priory was subordinated to neighboring Pontefract and to immense cluniacensis monastery La Charité sur Loire as evidenced by Adam’s charter.⁴ Only around 1280–1290 Monk Bretton priory could gain freedom. As electronic data of British archives demonstrate, the early documents from Monk Bretton priory are rare and dispersed.⁵ Sometimes it is possible to make clear the circumstances caused their appearance but the precise date remains unknown. As one example, a final concord between Adam, son of William, and the brethren of Monk Bretton should be mentioned written as a list of witnesses attests around the second third of the thirteenth century.⁶ Some documents from Monk Bretton are preserved at the Sheffield Municipal Archive but when they were compiled remains unclear. The earliest deeds from that archive can be dated from 1249–1252.⁷ There is else one document dated if original at the latest from 1280–1290 and preserved among deeds of Duke Lancaster’s family.⁸

(3) D. POSTLES, *Country Clerici and the Composition of English Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Charters*, in: K. HEIDECCKER (ed.), *Charters and the Use of the Written Word in Medieval Society* (Turnhout, 2000) 29.

(4) W. FARRER (ed.), *Early Yorkshire Charters*, vol. III (Edinburgh, 1916) № 1669.

(5) www.nationalarchives.gov.uk.

(6) Greater Manchester County Record Office E7 13/4/1. A short content of the deed can be found here www.nationalarchives.gov.uk. I express my gratitude to Mr. Lees, custodian at the Manchester Record Office, for a photocopy of the document concerned.

(7) www.nationalarchives.gov.uk. Wharnccliffe Muniments/Deeds 1–687 (1250–1920).

(8) <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/catalogue/displaycataloguede tails.asp?CATLN=6&CATID=7210339&j=1>

Together with separate charters two cartularies written in Monk Bretton Priory and their abstracts are available.⁹ The earliest manuscript dated from 1336–1340 is preserved now in the British library (*Lansdowne 405*).¹⁰ Although it contains some letters and diplomas of such papas as Urban III (1185–1187), Clement III (1187–1191) or Innocent III (1198–1216), and private deeds of the twelfth–thirteenth centuries all of them are without doubts later copies. The full version of the cartulary can be dated from 1529–1538 and it is kept in the British library (*Ms. 50755*) too. So, none of the cartularies concerned illustrates the evolution of handwriting at the scriptorium of Monk Bretton Priory when the book script all around Western Europe underwent the transformation and the cursive (chancery script) was proliferating through the royal chancery to become accepted among less powerful lords.

Thus, our charter deserves close attention for two main reasons. From the one hand, we deal in all probability with an original. Taking into account that the evolution and typology of chancery script in Europe (sometimes called “the gothic cursive script”) and particularly in England is still a debated question any new document contributes to its reconstruction.¹¹ From the other hand, it shows some circumstances of everyday economic and social life of the priory and countryside, giving information straight from the tin.¹²

In the absence of precise dates, written into the text of a document, historians have option to a variety of internal and external indicators to determinate approximate or circa dates. As professor Michael Gervers

(9) None of them is published. There is only a book of extracts prepared by J. W. Walker. J. W. WALKER (ed.), *Abstracts of the Cartularies of the Priory of Monk Bretton* (Leeds, 1924) (Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Society, 66).

(10) J. S. PURVIS, New light on the chartularies of Monkbretton Priory, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 37 (1948/1951) 67; G. Davis has argued this dating and suggests the XIII c. G. R. C. DAVIS, Two Cartularies from the West Riding, *The British Museum Quarterly* 24, N ¾ (1961) 69, n. 1.

(11) M. H. SMITH, Les “gotiques documentaires”: un carrefour dans l’histoire le l’écriture latine, *Archiv für Diplomatik: Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wapenkunde* 50 (2004) 417–420.

(12) FARRER, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, vol. III, № 1669. The Priory was founded as a new monastery of Cluny congregation around 1153–1156 by the descendant of Anglo-Saxon thegns who had survived the Conquest to become the tenants of Norman family of Lacy.

supposes the list of witnesses is more instructive than the formulary but it is he who has written very intriguing and informative paper about the formulary of Essex charters. He cites some examples when the later copies preserved the formulary of original deeds making confusion.¹³ But the list of witnesses may be misleading too. Instability of the medieval family names or their absence at all is well known. There are cases when witnesses from older sources have been appended to later lists, and there are lists containing names that have exact counterparts in preceding or succeeding generations as our charter demonstrates. Handwriting has also its limitations but it is of importance to establish whether we deal with original, copy or forgery. That's why the paleographical analyses undertaking in due manner cannot be disregarded.

Handwriting looks like a chancery calligraphic script. As separate words evidence, the script itself has a resemblance with book one (Appendix I). Each stem is written out in the same manner: bold, strong calligraphic lines resembling to the book letters. As it might be, some elements show plain that our charter was written at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The most visible is the double forms of the capital letters **r**, **d** decorative as they are which can not be found in documents of the twelfth century. The cursive elements although not expressed hardens our assumptions. Such elements are most evident on the example of the uncial **d**. One can notice the slight trace which connects the bottom element of the letter **d** with its vertical stem. It is so called air trace of feather. A scribe ended bottom element of the letter and without tearing the pen led the feather from right to left to finish the letter with a bold and as a rule inclined vertical stem (Appendix II).

Nevertheless, our charter has more common with handwriting tradition of the eleventh–twelfth centuries, too. One can note a slight split on the top of the vertical stems of letters **b**, **l**, **h**. It was a characteristic feature of Anglo-Norman scribes due to the fact that they had changed the manner of pen-holding and angle of the writing surface (Appendix I, word *Alex* in line 3). During the thirteenth century the split was transforming or disappeared at all.¹⁴ The vertical stems of the letters **m** and **n** are finished with curve (Appendix II). It was typical

(13) M. GERVERS, *The Dating of Medieval English Private Charters of the twelfth and thirteenth century*. www.utoronto.ca/deeds/pubs/doc2/page1a.htm

(14) В. И. МАЖУГА, *Почерк в латинском письме конца VIII середины XIII в.* Диссертация ... кандидата исторических наук (Ленинград, 1979) 171; A. DEROLEZ, *The Paleography of Gothic Manuscript Books. From the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2003) 136.

for the twelfth century but the practise had died out during the following century.¹⁵ Signs of contraction which can be traced through the thirteenth century usually look like the bold and long lines above the contracted fragment but this is not our case.¹⁶

The typical for the twelfth and the beginning of the following century was a long stemmed *s* crossing the basic line, the stem of the letter having curves up and down. The form is common both for royal and private charters. As time went by the short and more inaccurate form of the letter standing on the basic line had come into being. One can trace both forms in the charter (compare, for example, the first letter *s* in a word *presentes* and the last one in a word *concessi* where *s* stands on the basic line) but the first is prevailed. Together with the long *s* the “round” *s* in the final position appears to substitute the long *s* from the 1230th onwards.¹⁷ Round *s* is only an exception in our charter. Moreover, its form is rather difficult to draw as if the scribe practised not rapid but calligraphic style of writing. To conclude, if our charter can be correctly dated from the thirteenth century it was composed somewhere around the first third of the century but hardly later. The list of witnesses hardens our assumptions.

The charters of Pontefract priory and other documents written in Yorkshire give information about some of them but neither William, the seller, nor his father Alexander are mentioned there.¹⁸ As the name of Alexander Bec called Alexander from Carlton (de Carletona) attests, he was born here or possessed patrimonial estates. Alexander, William and his predecessors (*antecessores mei*) seem to have been connected with Monk Bretton Priory holding some parcels of land from the monks in Carlton village (*habuerunt et tenerunt de predictis monachis*).

The first witness, Robert de Stapilton (Stapilton), is often met in contemporary sources but there were two Roberts dwelling in the West Riding: grandfather (dead to 1202) and grandson. It is supposedly grandson who witnessed our charter for he bears a title “*dominus*”:

(15) МАЖУГА, *Почерк в латинском письме...*, 159.

(16) See charters of 1220, 1236 accordingly: www.dur.ac.uk/medieval.documents/documents.htm. The last fragment is borrowed from a charter 1200–1218. Published in: FARRER, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, vol. III, Plate XXVII, № 350.

(17) www.dur.ac.uk/medieval.documents/documents.htm; L. C. НЕКТОР, *The Handwriting of English documents* (London, 1958) 53.

(18) R. HOLMES (ed.), *The Chartulary of St. John of Pontefract*, vol. II (Leeds, 1902) (Yorkshire Archaeological Society. Record Series, XXX).

“teste domino Roberto de Stapiltona”. On the contrary, his grandfather nowhere named as *“dominus”* in the charters he witnessed.¹⁹ Robert de Stapilton along with Hugo Butler, a steward of the Lacys family, attested the charter of Agnes, daughter of Roger Ledistone.²⁰ It is more likely that same Robert is named as a witness of another charter, in behalf of Idonea, widow of Michael de Doncaster, dated around 1240–1246.²¹ Finally, Robert, the prior of Nostell in Yorkshire, leased the dung of 240 sheep to Robert de Stapilton.²² One Robert de Stapelton acts as a member of jury in a lawsuit in 1235–1236. If it is our Robert, he took a prominent position being named personally and heading the list: *“juratores dicunt, scilicet Robertus de Stapeltona et alii”*.²³

The Stapiltons are obvious originated from Stapilton village near Pontefract and possessed it as their patrimonial estate. In other words, they belonged to well-to-do and not unimportant local nobility whose interests were not restricted to an area around Monk Bretton Priory but extended through the whole county.²⁴ The sources show the Stapiltons granting estates to some religious houses of Yorkshire to mention only Pontefract Priory, Monk Bretton Priory or Kirkstal Abbey near Leeds.²⁵

The next witness, Roger de Notton, seems to have been a son of Gilbert de Notton mentioned in some charters. He, for example, grants a common pasture to the brethren of Monk Bretton in pure and perpetual alms about 1190–1210. He gives some possessions to one Adam who was a servant of prior William in the place named Carlton. The charter can be dated from 1185–1211.²⁶ There is no sufficient evidence

(19) HOLMES, *The Chartulary of St. John of Pontefract*, vol. II, № 283 (1216), 285 (1216), 289 (1248) etc. Cp. № 238 (1180), 241 (1180), 390 (1200). It should be pointed out that the title *“dominus”* does not appear until 1216.

(20) HOLMES, *The Chartulary of St. John of Pontefract*, vol. II, № 285.

(21) W. PALEY BAILDON, “Notes on the early Saville pedigree and the Butlers of Skelbrook and Kirk Sandal”, Section III, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 29 (1929) 74.

(22) FARRER, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, vol. III, № 1540, note 6.

(23) F. W. MAITLAND (ed.), *Bracton’s Note Book*, vol. III (Cambridge, 1887) № 1169

(24) W. BROWN (ed.), *Cartularium Prioratus de Gysburne*, 2 vols. (Durham etc., 1889) (The Publications of Surtee Society, 86), vol. 1, 52 n. 1.

(25) *An historical account of Kirkstal-Abbey near Leeds in Yorkshire* (Leeds, 1773) 7.

(26) FARRER, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, vol. III, № 1716, 1717.

for activity of Roger de Notton himself but he might be a grantor who had one undated charter made in behalf of Pontefract Priory.²⁷ Roger de Notton as Yorkshire antiquarian R. Holmes supposed was born around 1190 and died c. 1241. Evidently, Roger was able to draw up it only being adult. Hence, the charter from our archive hardly was written earlier than 1210 or so. Although the next witness, Radulf de Rupe, appears more often as witness or grantor, it is possible that the deed infringed Notton's interests for his estates (Nettone village in the Domesday Book) bordered directly with seller's ones.²⁸ It is for that reason that he had attested the charter right after Robert de Stapelton.

Radulf de Rupe as well as Robert de Stapelton is often mentioned in charters issued for the benefit of Monk Bretton Priory. He, therefore, belonged to the local knightly class and viewed the priory as a spiritual center of vicinity. Radulf, for example, witnessed Roger de Montebegon's charter that confirmed the priory's rights on a wood in Lincolnshire. Roger de Montebegon died soon after 1227.²⁹ Radulf de Rupe along with Roger de Notton appears as a witness of Galfried de Nevill and his wife Mable's charter issued for Monk Bretton Priory. Aforesaid Galfried (Geoffrey) de Nevill and Mable took part in a lawsuit dated from 1232 against Climence of Lungvillers, Mable's sister.³⁰ Radulf witnesses the grant of Alberthwait manor made by John de Newmarket (de Novomersato) in 1239 in behalf of the same religious house.³¹ One Radulf de Rupe took part as attorney in a suit of darrein presentment prosecuted before the royal judges in 1217 in Yorkshire.³² In other words, his activity falls on 1210–1230s.

Last three witnesses have left only some traces in Yorkshire charters. William de Roreston attests one of John Malherbe and his wife Matilda's charter which can be dated from 1172–1181.³³ He appears once again as

(27) HOLMES, *The Chartulary of St. John of Pontefract*, vol. II, 441–442, № 346.

(28) Carlton was a part of the manor Bretton which had a common border with manor Notton. HOLMES, *The Chartulary of St. John of Pontefract*, vol. II, 399.

(29) FARRER, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, vol. III, 318.

(30) W. BROWN (ed.) *Yorkshire inquisitions of the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I*, vol. 1 (Leeds, 1892) 279.

(31) W. DUGDALE, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (London, 1817–1830), vol. 5, № 4.

(32) MAITLAND, *Bracton's Note Book*, vol. III, № 1339.

(33) FARRER, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, vol. III, № 1679.

a witness of one Adam's charter compiled around 1183–1185. Finally, a man named William de Roreston attests the Roger de Notton's undated charter mentioned above and published among other charters of Pontefract priory.³⁴ With caution William of our charter can be identified with aforesaid William for all charters were issued in behalf of Monk Bretton Priory. Hence, we have received evidence that our charter is rather early one for William could not have been born later than 1150th and, so, he was too old in 1220s to date our charter later.

We did not manage to find Jordan de Roreston and Stephan, the clerk, in documents available to us. Stephen was certainly a local parish priest.³⁵ The only thing that can be stated surely is that Jordan de Roreston was not a relative of William. It is the neighboring estates that had given the same nickname to them. What Roreston concerns it was a village in the West Riding of Yorkshire entered into the Domesday Book as Rorestone, Rorestune and now a parish and township Royston in the borough of Barnsley.³⁶

The evidence leads us to conclusion that witnesses of our charter had known each other and were closely connected with Monk Bretton Priory. All of them were active during at least the first third of the thirteenth century. The death of Roger de Notton around 1241 gives the ultimate date for the charter but it would be more accurately to date it around 1220s taking into account the handwriting evidence and age of William de Roreston as well.

The formulary of the charter being standard enough and resembling to other private deeds issued about that time is not, nevertheless, out of interest. The deed as a whole can be surely attributed to the so-called feoffment charters. Standardized till the end of the twelfth century in regard to their external form the protocol developed. The invocation might be instructive for such phrases as "*noverit universitas audientium*" or "*omnibus inspecturis tam presentibus quam futuris*" appear at the end of twelfth or at the beginning of the thirteenth centuries. In our case, nevertheless, the invocation is standard: "*sciunt presentes et futuri*" (all presents and futures should know) and was characteristic not

(34) HOLMES, *The Chartulary of St. John of Pontefract*, vol. II, 441–442, № 346.

(35) J. MOORMAN, *Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1946) 57–58.

(36) Hamilton Thompson Reviewed work(s): The Romanesque Architecture of the Order of Cluny by Joan Evans, *English Historical Review* 55/217 (1940) 110–112. Also W. Dugdale.

only for the twelfth–thirteenth centuries but for pre-Norman England too.³⁷ F. Stenton had pointed out another formula regular since the second quarter of the thirteenth century: “*scripto sigillum meum apposui*”.³⁸ Meanwhile, it is well known that already since the end of the twelfth century free peasantry of northern England sealed their charters not saying about the lords. So, the formula itself gives but a little.

Nevertheless, some elements are evident. It was well rooted practice for the twelfth century to ask a permission of relatives to alienate the property. The permission of heirs fell out of use during the thirteenth century as grantors themselves guaranteed the irrevocability of their deeds.³⁹ In our case the grantor acts alone. At the same time, the scribes and grantors of the thirteenth century practiced the detailed description of the property transferred but it is not our case. It is said only that landholdings and possessions lay in Carlton and nearby: “*in villa Carlentona et in territorio ejusdem ville*”. In other words, the charter should be dated from the thirteenth century but nearly to the beginning.

The language of our charter also deserves attention. It was usual for the English documents to apply special words such as *sursumreddere* or *sursumredditio* to denote the act of giving the property back to own lord. They appear in the English documents around 1254 or so.⁴⁰ Meanwhile, the scribe was hesitating and wrote them in the ordinary manner i. e. with a gap: *sursum reddo* and *sursum redditio* although the gap is hard to see. If not, we get an interesting example of rather early forms *sursumreddo* and *sursumredditio* in the English documents.

The second curious question is a probative force of the charter itself. The verbs in passive forms designated that a charter was made

(37) В. И. МАЖУГА, Грамоты цистерцианских аббатств Бургундии и Франш-Конте (1203–1290), in: *Рукописные источники по истории Западной Европы в архиве ЛОИИ СССР. Археографический сборник* (Ленинград, 1982) 37–82. About formulas see p. 60–71.

(38) F. STENTON (ed.), *Transcripts of charters relating to the Gilbertine houses of Sixle, Ormsby, Catley, Bullington, and Alvingham* (Horncastle, 1922) (Lincoln Record Society, 18) XXVIII. <http://www.archive.org/stream/gilbertinetrans00sixhuoft#page/n21/mode/2up>. On F. Stenton’s method: M. GERVERS, *The Dating of Medieval English Private Charters of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (www.utoronto.cadeedspubsdoc2page1a.htm).

(39) STENTON, *Transcripts of charters...*, XVIII–XIX.

(40) R. LATHAM, *Revised of Medieval Latin Word-List from British Sources* (London, 1965) 388, 470; J. H. BAXTER, Ch. JOHNSON, *Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources* (London, 1950) 345, 418

post factum: “*concessi, quietumclamavi, sursumreddidi*”. In other words, the documents were aimed only to commemorate the previous act which was regarded as valid without it. The formal and symbolical procedures played still an important role.⁴¹ In our case the formula of abrogation and guarantee is common one although since the twelfth century (in charters of Pontefract Priory since the thirteenth century onwards) a special term *warrantizare* takes a prominent position as a sign that the donor will assure stability of the deed against the whole world otherwise pay a fine.⁴²

After dating the charter a question about its purposes should be answered. As it often happened in the Middle Ages a previous lawsuit and desires of the participants to avoid conflicts in future could be such a reason. The word *quietumclmare* being too common do not gives us any guidelines. The document has imprinted the ordinary procedure of selling landed property (*terras et possessiones*) with all pertinent things (*cum pertinentiis*) showing some aspects of the economic and social relations between lay landholders and the monastery, yet, rather standard.⁴³ It remains unclear who was an initiators of the deed and, hence, why the total sum of payment (five silver shillings) was so moderate if not say too insignificant; a cow, pare of sheep or small cottage cost that sum.⁴⁴ Under Henry III (1216–1272) the quarter of wheat cost twenty shillings.⁴⁵ Some clerks forged charters for one mark of silver (13 and ½ shillings or solids) and this sum was not thought considerable.⁴⁶ The most obvious reason might be that William’s estates were small enough. For example, one Adam was bestowed by William and the brethren of Monk Bretton with land in Carlton as his fee and inheritance (in feudo et hereditate) for four solids and eight denarii as his

(41) STENTON, *Transcripts of Charters...*, XVII; A. DUMAS, *Études sur le classement des formes des actes, Moyen Age* 43 (1933) 33.

(42) P. R. HYAMS, Warranty and Good Lordship in Twelfth Century England, *Law and History Review* 5.2 (1987) 437–503.

(43) It seems that terms *terra* and *possessio* are synonyms. In any case we deal with a standard phrase: FARRER, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, vol. III, № 1469, 1493, 1499. Moreover the word *possessio* might denote land itself. J. F. NIEMEYER, *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus* (Leiden, 1976) 817.

(44) Prices are cited according: www.fordham.edu/halsall/pgc.asp?page=source/medievalprices.html.

(45) Ф. И. МИХАЛЕВСКИЙ, *Очерки истории денег и денежного обращения*. Т. 1. *Деньги в феодальном хозяйстве* (Ленинград, 1948) 197.

(46) POSTLES, *Country Clerici...*, 35.

services, he possessing only some acres of land and a small cottage.⁴⁷ It could be the case of our William. In the thirteenth century the territory of a village could be split among some (from five to eight and more) landholders.⁴⁸ We should remember that the cluniacensis monks never used the converses and acted as typical feudal seniors. They granted estates for one life or with hereditary rights.

The document illustrates the structure of the manorial estates where Carlton village played not insignificant role. It appears twice in charters drafted by the founder's descendants: granddaughter Sara (daughter of Adam's elder heiress Amabel) and daughter Mathilda, only the full half of the village referring to as an inheritance each of them: "*pertinent ad portionem meam ex hereditario... filie quam legitimo mihi desponsavi conjugio.*"⁴⁹ Carlton seems to have been divided between sisters. Although there is not a charter issued by Amabel herself, the grant of a half village made by her is mentioned in Sara's confirmation charter. One can suppose that Adam divided Carlton between daughters when he was alive and then granted it to the priory. Nevertheless, the division had taken place and that's why Adam's descendants must confirm monks' rights on property concerned. The equal division of estates between sisters was in accordance with *statum decretum*.⁵⁰

Although there were four villages with the same name in Yorkshire there are little doubts that we deal with Carlton in Steincross wapentake north from Monk Bretton.⁵¹ Along with Carlton one Roreston

(47) FARRER, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, vol. III, № 1819: ... dedi concessi et...confirmavi Ade famulo nostro filio Willelmi de Snithale et heredibus suis terram illam in Karleton que fuit Roberti filii Laising cum omnibus pertinentiis suis... HOLMES, *The Chartulary of St. John of Pontefract*, vol. II, 331, № 246 (1244). Pro hac vindicione (unam dimidiam acram terre — A. K.) ... dedit septem solidos sterlingorum per manibus....

(48) М. А. БАРГ, *Исследования по истории английского феодализма XI–XIII вв.* (Москва, 1962) Chapter 2.

(49) DUGDALE, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. 5, № 6, 9; FARRER, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, vol. III, № 1678, 1679, 1680.

(50) F. M. STENTON, *The First Century of English Feudalism 1066–1166* (Oxford, 1932) 37–41 and Appendix. H. DE BRACON, *De legibus et consuetudinibus Angliae*, ed. by G. E. Woodbine, transl. with rev. and notes S. E. Thorne (Cambridge, Mass., 1968–1977) Vol. 2, 218; vol. 3, 211–212.

(51) Carlton now lies in South Yorkshire, borough of Barnsley, it is important industrial center. There are here two churches and chapel. http://www.werelate.org/wiki/Place:Carlton,_South_Yorkshire,_England

appears systematically in the charters issued in behalf of Monk Bretton priory. In all probability it is a modern township Royston, situated not far from Monk Bretton and Notton. In other words, all settlements mentioned above formed the compact territory around Monk Bretton priory, a spiritual and economic center of the region.

To speak in general, Monk Bretton priory possessed estates from Wakefield to Rotherham and was situated near the important town Barnsley where the main roads of Northern England crossed to link castles of Sheffield, Doncaster and Cheshire. The tolls for a free passage through monastery's estates brought considerable incomes to medieval religious houses.⁵² The monks had some advantages of making charters for merchants and consumers, the cult of St. Mary Magdalena played important role too in the everyday life of the neighborhood.⁵³ Although the monks of Monk Bretton had deep interest in establishing a market and fair, in reality it was the monk of Pontefract who had received a royal charter around 1249 granting the market each Wednesday and fair at Michaelmas in Barnsley.⁵⁴ It would be no surprised if a struggle for the charter had taken place and Monk Bretton depending on Pontefract had lost. But the changes had come soon.

During the thirteenth century the priory was growing and had become richer. Finally, the monks proved strong enough to suit with Pontefract priory and obtain independence on it between 1280 and 1290. The growth of the priory is likely to have influenced the toponymic. Originally Monk Bretton priory was called the priory of St. Maria Magdalena of Lund (modern Landwood 1.5 miles from Bretton) where the church was constructed and consecrated in name of Maria Magdalena. But some charters of the thirteenth century and ours among them attest the strong association between Maria Magdalena and Bretton that can be result of step by step spreading the popularity and power of the priory and the cult of Maria Magdalena over the neighboring areas. This practice was still in use at the seventeenth century.⁵⁵

(52) MOORMAN, *Church Life in England...*, 295.

(53) There were other churches consecrated in honour of her in England although her cult was not popular till the end of the XIII c. I. MAISCH, *Between Contempt and Veneration. Mary Magdalene through the Centuries* (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1998) 46–47.

(54) H. C. MAXWELL LYTE (ed.), *Calendar of charters rolls preserved in Public Record Office. Henry III, 1226–1257*, vol. I (London, 1903) 339.

(55) DUGDALE, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. 5, 136: De prima fundatione monasterii beatae Marie Magdaleneae de Lunda vulgo Munkbretton.

Our investigation has brought us to conclusion that the charter in the archive of St. Petersburg Institute of History is the original. For more detailed analysis all charters of Monk Bretton Priory should be investigated but one thing is clear. The more new individual charter scripts will be taken into consideration the easier it will be for scholars to make a typology of the English document handwriting as a whole.⁵⁶ The charter shows the obvious trend towards the chancery cursive script but resemblance with book hand is still visible. The process is at the beginning.

The charter reflects among others an episode of economic life of the monastery. Although the fate of the purchased estates is unknown it was practice common for the thirteenth century to accumulate estates in own hands and expand the domain. The document attests once more that Carlton often mentioned in other charters played if not central but important role in the structure of the priory estates. After the market and fair were established they had influenced not only the handwriting practice as some later original charters evidence but also the prosperity of the monastery itself. At the end of the thirteenth century Monk Bretton priory had become powerful to tear off the Cluny congregation and join the Benedictian order.

SUMMARY

The charter (157x123 mm) which the present paper deals with ascertains the purchase of some parcels of land with all appurtenances in a village Carlton (Yorkshire). As the analysis of paleography and diplomacy attests the charter is original. The manner of writing would be denoted as the gothic calligraphic chancery script with tendencies to cursive. It helps us to date the charter from the 1220s to the 1230s. The list of witnesses hardens our conjunctions. All they belong to the local gentry or low noble class, with their estates bordering each other. Some of them or their relatives show the great activity as witnesses, attorneys or grantors in the life of countryside about the 1220s to the 1240s. The charter attests the role Carlton village mentioned many times in Monk Bretton charters played in manorial structure of the Priory. As time went on the Priory had become powerful enough to tear off his connection with its mother Cluniac order to join the Benedictine one.

(56) The good example here is the book of W. HEINEMEYER, *Studien zur Geschichte der gotischen Urkundenschrift* (Köln, 1982) based on the German sources.

Appendix I

Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Willms filius Alexandri Deco de Darleton concessi et quietum reddidi et sursum reddidi de me
 et heredibus meis et posteris. Deco et ecclesie sancte marie magdalene de Darleton et monachis ibidem de presentibus omnibus
 terris et possessionibus cum pertinentiis quas Alexander pater meus et successores mei habuerunt et tenebant de predictis monachis in
 villa de Darleton et in terris ad eandem villam p[er] quosdam solum argentum et p[er] predictam monachum de Darleton in quodam modo
 p[er] quosdam solum et p[er] possessiones cum pertinentiis aliis in utriusque tenentibus
 ponere ut potius intelligatur. Et ut hec concessio et quietum reddere de me et heredibus meis firma
 sit et stabili predictis monachis impetuit. Hanc presentem scripturam sigillis meorum apposui. Anno regni. Domini Rob[erti] de Sa
 pulchri. Regis de Honorum, Rad[ulphi] de Burgo. Stephani filii de Darleton, Jodani de Darleton et aliorum.

The deed of purchase of landholdings and possessions at Carlton in behalf of the St. Mary Magdalene's Priory (Yorkshire) 1220–1241? (The western section of the Archive of Saint-Petersburg Institute of History (RAS). Collection 18 “England and Scotland. Deeds and letters”, 381 № 1a).









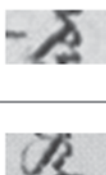


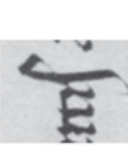
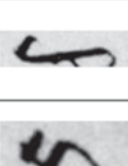
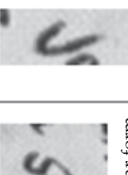


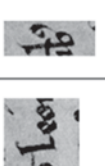
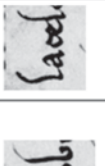




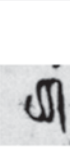
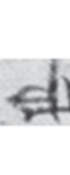

Text:

(1) Sciant p(r)esentes et futuri q(uo)d ego Will(elmu)s fili(us) Alexandri Bec de Carleton(a) co(n)cessi et q(ui)etu(m) clamavi et sursu(m) reddidi de me (2) et heredibus meis in p(e)rpe(tuu(m)). Deo et eccl(esi)e s(anc)tae marie magdalene de Bretton(a) et monachis ibide(m) d(e)o servientib(us) omnes (3) t(er)ras et possessiones cu(m) p(er)inentiis q(ua)s Alex(ander) pat(er) me(us) et antecessores mei habuer(un)t et tener(un)t de p(re)d(i)c(t)is monachis in (4) villa de Carleton et in t(er)ritorio ei(us) dem ville p(ro) q(ui)nq(ue) solidis argenti q(uo)s p(re)d(i)c(t)i monachi dederunt m(hi) ita t(a)n(tum) q(uo)d de cet(er)o n(on) ego (5) prefatus Will(elmu)s n(on) alqu(i)s her(ed)um meor(um) in p(re)d(i)c(t)as t(er)ras vel possessiones cu(m) p(er)inentiis aliq(uo)d jus vel clamu(m) debemus (6) ponere vel pot(er)imus int(er)rogare Et ut heo (sic) co(n)cessio et q(ui)etum clamat(i)o et sursum redditio de me et her(ed)ib(us) meis firma (7) sit et stabil(is) p(re)d(i)c(t)is monachis inp(er)petuu(m) huic p(re)sent(i) sc(ri)pto sigillu(m) meo apposui. Hiis testib(us). D(omi)no Rob(erto) de Sta(8) pilton(a). Rog(ero) de Notton(a). Rad(ulfo) de Rupe. Will(elmo) de Roreston(a), Steph(an)o cl(er)ico de Carleton(a). Jordan(o) de Roreston(a) et aliis

Russian Translation:

Пусть знают все ныне живущие и те, кто будет потом, что я, Вильгельм, сын Александра Бека из Карлтона, уступил, отказался от всех прав и вернул за меня и моих наследников на вечные времена Богу и церкви св. Марии Магдалины Бреттонской и монахам, служащим там господу, все земли и владения со всем к ним относящимся, каковыми Александр, отец мой, и предшественники мои владели и держали от выше названных монахов в вилле Карлтон и в окрестностях той же виллы, за пять солидов серебра, каковые названные выше монахи дали мне на том условии, что впредь, ни я, упомянутый Вильгельм, ни кто-либо из моих наследников в отношении указанных земель и владений со всем к ним относящимся не должны выдвигать право или предъявлять претензию и не сможем <их> истребовать. И чтобы эта уступка, отказ от прав и возвращение имущества за меня и моих наследников была прочной и стабильной, для названных монахов на вечные времена я настоящим приложил печать мою к сему письму. Свидетельствовали: господин Роберт Стапильтон, Роджер де Ноттон, Радульф де Рупе, Вильгельм де Рорестон, Стефан, клирик из Карлтона, Иорданн де Рорестон и другие.

Appendix II

Form of letters	The charter in behalf of Monk Breton Priority (The archive of the Saint-Petersburg Institute of History RAS)	Farrer W. York (ed.), <i>Early Yorkshire Charters</i> (1916) Vol. III. Plate XXV. 1201–1218	Farrer W. York (ed.), <i>Early Yorkshire Charters</i> (1916) Vol. III. Plate XIX. Early XIII c.	L. Hector, <i>The Handwriting of English documents</i> (London, 1958). Письмо епископа Удерецкого, 1222–1244	Grant of Billingham vicarage (1234–1244) www.dur.ac.uk/medieval.documents/documents.htm
m, n					
d					
The final s					
l, b					
Capital letters					

NARRATION ON THE VARANGIAN MARTYRS IN THE *PRIMARY CHRONICLE* AND IN THE *SYNAXARION* (PROLOGUE)*

A narration on the Kievan Varangian martyrs known in two versions, the chronicle and the Synaxarion (Prologue), has been attracting the attention of researchers for a long time, since it tells about the first Russian saints.

This short but very interesting narration, although, has not been studied enough. Furthermore, it contains information not only on the Christian deeds of the Varangian martyrs but important data on religious practices and customary law of pre-Christian Russia as well. Before we ask and try to solve historical questions, however, it is necessary to clear up as much as possible some source issues, which are inevitable because there are two versions of the narration. Here are both of them:

*Летописная повесть
о варягах-мучениках*
*Chronicle narration on the Varangian
martyrs (further — L)*

*Проложное житие
варягов-мучеников*
*Synaxarion Life of the Varangian
martyrs (further — P)*

М(ѣся)ца [т]ого же (июля. —
П. Л.) въ 12 д(е)нь прѣблаженоу
моученику, варѣга и с(ы)на его
[И]вана [оу]биеную въ Кыевъ.

In the [s]ame month (of July —
P.L.) on the 12 day, [the celebrat-
ion] of the most blessed martyrs,
the Varangian and his son [I]van
murdered in Kyev.

(*) I would like to thank everybody who took part in the discussion of the text, especially: A. A. Gippius, V. A. Kuchkin, S. M. Mikheev, P. S. Stefanovich, A. Yu. Vinogradov, A. M. Vvedensky, M. K. Yurasov; also I thank for their help in searching for publications of difficult access: Stephan Lehr (Münster, Ger-

Иде Володимеръ на Явѣги, и побѣди [и] Явѣги, и взѣ землю их.

Volodimer went to the Jatvingians and conquered the Jatvingians and took their land.

И иде Киеву, и творѣше потребу кумиромъ с людьми своими.

And he went to Kiev and offered a sacrifice to idols together with his men.

И рѣша старци и боляре: «м[е]чем жребии¹ на штрока и дѣвицю; на него же падеть, того зарѣжемъ б(о)гомъ».

And the elders and Boyars said: “let’s throw lots¹ on a youth and a maiden; on whom it falls, they will be slaughtered for the gods”.

Бѣше Варѣгъ единъ, и бѣ дворъ его, идеже есть церкви святая Богородица, юже сдѣла Володимеръ.

There was one Varangian, his household was at the place of the church of the Holy Mother of God created by Volodimer.

Владимиръ великы ꙗще поганъ сы, побѣди Ятвѣгы.

Vladimir the Great, still pagan, conquered the Jatvingians.

И пришедь в Кыевъ, и творѣше жртвоу идоломъ съ бояры о побѣди.

And he came to Kyev and offered a sacrifice to idols together with Boyars for his victory.

Рѣша стар[ц]и: «мечамъ жраби на с(ы)ны и на дщери нашѣ, да изрѣжемъ б(о)гомъ нашимъ».

The elders said: “let’s throw lots among our sons and daughters, and make a slaughter for our gods”.

И бѣше нѣкто ч(е)л(овѣ)къ Б(о)жи и именемъ,² Варѣгъ родомъ,

There was a man of God by name,² Varangian by kin.

many), S. M. Mikheev, A. G. Plakhonin (Kiev), and for consultations: D. D. Iolshin, D. V. Kashtanov, K. A. Mikhailov, A. A. Turilov, F. B. Uspensky. Also I am grateful to A. G. Plakhonin for the excursion to ancient Kiev (November 2009). Research for this article was supported in part by the Special and Extension Programs of Central European University (“CEU”). The opinions expressed herein are the author’s own and do not necessarily express the views of CEU. The *Primary Chronicle* means here the *Tale of Bygone Years* and hypothetical earlier compilations.

(1) In the *Laurentian chronicle* (further — Lavr.) the words “let’s throw lots” are repeated (Полное собрание русских летописей [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles], further — ПСРЛ (Москва, 1997), vol. 1. 81–80, notes).

(2) In the younger copies the name of the older Varangian, Feodor, is included here.

Бѣ жа /sic!/ Варѡгъ то пришелъ из Грекъ, [и] держаше [в тайнѣ — НПЛ, Ип.] вѣру х(р)ес(т)ьянскую; и бѣ оу него сынъ красенъ лицемъ³ и д(у)шею, на сего паде жребии по зависти дьяволи.

The Varangian came from the Greeks [and] kept [in secret — NPL, Nupathian chronicle, further — Ip.] his Christian faith; and he had a son handsome in face³ and soul, and the lot fell on him because of the envy of the devil.

Не терпашеть бо дьяволъ, власть имы надо всѣми, и се башеть ему аки тернъ въ с(е)р(д)ци; [и] тыщашеся потребити ѡканьнии, и наоусти люд(и).

Because the devil could not stand it, possessing authority over everybody, and so he was as a thorn in his heart; [and] the damned one tried to destroy (the Varangian. — P. L.) and stirred up people (against him. — P. L.).

[И] рѣша пришедше послании к нему, яко «паде жребии на с(ы)нъ твои, изволиша бо и б(о)зи собѣ, да створимъ потребу б(о)гомъ».

[And] those who were sent to him said that “the lot has fallen on your son, the gods want him for themselves, let’s make a sacrifice to the gods”.

И реч(е) Варѡгъ: «не суть бо б(о)зи, на /sic!/ древо; дн(е)сь есть, а оутро изгнееть; не ядѡть бо, ни пият, ни молвѡт, но

пришел бѣ ись Ц(е)са)раграда [с] с(ы)номъ своимъ Иваномъ, сѡдѡше въ Кыѡвѣ, дрѣжа вѣроу кръстьянскую.

He came from Ts(esa)regrad [with] his son Ivan, he settled in Kyev and kept his Christian faith.

И сего не трѣпѣше дьяволъ, власть бо имѣяше надъ всѡми, а се юмоу бѣше яко оражие в с(е)рдци, не могы ему що створити, наоучи на нь луди.

The devil could not stand it, possessing authority over everybody, and so it was as a weapon in his heart; as he could not do anything to him; he taught people to do so.

И рѣша при(ше)дѣше к нему послани: «паде жрѣби на с(ы)нъ твои, възлублиша бо б(о)зи наши, да его створимъ трѣбубою /sic!/ б(о)гомъ нашимъ».

And those who were sent to him said: “the lot has fallen on your son, our gods have chosen him, let’s make a sacrifice to our gods”.

Ѡнь же реч(е): «не суть б(о)зи, на дрѣво истесано безд(у)шно, и по малѣ сгниеть, не ядѡть бо, ни пиять, ни мльвить; Бо(г) бо

(3) In the Troitsky copy of the *Novgorod First Chronicle*, younger recension (further — NPL ml.): тѣлом — in body (ПСРЛ, vol. 3 (Москва, 2000) 529).

суть дѣлани руками в деревѣ [секирою и ножемъ — НПЛ, Ип.]; а Б(ог)ъ есть единъ, емуже служатъ Гръци и кланяются, иже створилъ н(е)бо и землю [и] звѣзды, и луну и с(о)лнце и ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)ка, [и] далъ есть ему жити на земли; а си б(о)зи что сдѣлаша; сами дѣлани суть. Не дамъ с(ы)на своего бѣсомъ».

And the Varangian said: “they are not gods, but wood; today they exist, while tomorrow they will rot; they do not eat, do not drink, do not speak, but they are made by hands from wood [with an axe and a knife — NPL, Ip.]; while God is one and the Greeks serve him and worship him who created the heavens and the earth [and] stars and the Moon and the Sun and man, and he made him to live on the earth; while these gods — what have they done, they themselves were made. I shall not give my son to demons”.

Вни же, шедше, повѣдаше людемъ; **в**ни же, вземше оружье, поидоша на нь и розъяша дворъ **в**коло его.

They went and told people; and they took weapons and went against him and demolished his household by him.

Внь же стояше на сѣнехъ съ с(ы)номъ своимъ, рѣша ему: «вдаи с(ы)на своего, да вдамы б(о)гомъ [его]».

He stood on the porch with his son and they told him: “give your son and we will give [him] to the gods”.

Кди[н]ъ есть на небесехъ, **к**моуже слоужать Гр(е)ци, въ имя Г(оспод)а И(су)са Х(рист)а крещ(е)на есвъ, ты бо створи небо и землю, а ваши бози что створиша, **н**а сами вами сдѣлани суть, не дамъ бѣсомъ с(ы)на своего».

But he said: “they are not gods, but wood carved without soul, and soon will rot, they do not eat, do not drink, do not speak; there is one God in the heavens, whom the Greeks serve, we are baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, who created the heavens and the earth; while your gods — what have they created, they themselves were made by you. I shall not give my son to demons”.

И ти шедше, повѣдаша людемъ, и въземше оружие, и придоша на нь.

They went and told people; and they took weapons and went against him.

И рашь: «даи с(ы)на твоего на трѣбца б(о)гомъ».

And they said: “give your son for a sacrifice to the gods”.

Ѡнъ же реч(е): «аще суть б(о)зи, то единого собе послють б(о)га, да имуть сынъ мой; а вы чему претребуете [имъ — НПЛ, Ип.]?».

And he said: "if they are gods, let them send one of their gods and take my son; why do you interfere [(with) them — NPL, Ip.]?".

И [к]ликнуша, и посѣкоша сѣни под нима, и тако побиша я, и не свѣсть никтоже, гдѣ положиша я.

And they cried out and cut the porch under them and so beat them, and nobody knows where they put them.

Бѡху бо тогда ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)ци невѣголови и погани; дѣволь рад(о)вашеся сему, не вѣдыи, яко близъ погибель хотѡше быти ему. Тако бо [преже — НПЛ, пре — Ип., пред — Х] тцашесѡ погубити родъ х(р)е-с(тѣ)я[н]скии, но прогонимъ бѡше х(ресто)мъ ч(е)стн(ы)мъ и в онѣх странахъ; zde же мнѡшес(я) шканьнии, яко «сдѣ ми есть жилище: сде бо не суть ап(о)с(то)ли оучили, ни пр(о)р(о)ци прорекли», не и вѣдыи пр(о)р(о)ка гл(аголю)ща: «и нарекъ не люди моя люди моя»; ѡ ап(осто)лѣх бо реч(е): «во всю землю изидоша вѣщанья их и в конецъ вселенья г(лаго)ли ихъ». Аще и тѣлом ап(о)с(то)ли не суть не были, но оученья ихъ

Онъ же реч(е): «аще суть б(о)зи, то да придетъ ед(и)нъ Ѡ нихъ, да поиметь и с(ы)нъ мо[и], а вы чему нудите мѡ?»

And he said: "if they are gods, let one of them come and take my son; why are you forcing me?"

И кликнуша кѡя[н]и си, подѣсѡкоша с нимъ сѡни, тоу сѡчена быста.

And those Kievan people cried out, and cut the porch holding him, and they were slain,

Исповѣдающе ся кръстьяна, приѡста вѣчную жизнь за с(вя)тую вѣроу моучена.⁴

professing the Christian faith, coming into eternal life, being martyred for the holy faith.⁴

(4) А. А. Пичхадзе, В. А. Ромодановская, Е. К. Ромодановская, *Жития княгини Ольги, Варяжских мучеников и князя Владимира в составе Синайского палимпсеста* (РНБ, Q.п.1.63), in: *Русская агиография. Исследования. Публикации. Полемика* (Санкт-Петербург, 2005) 302–303.

аки трубы гласѣть по вселенѣи
 въ ц(е)ркв(а)хъ, имъже оученьемъ
 побѣждаемъ противнаго врага,
 попирающе подъ нози, якоже
 попраста и си отѣника, приемше
 вѣннѣцѣ /sic!/ н(е)б(е)сныи съ
 с(вя)т(ы)ми м(у)ч(е)н(и)ки и
 пр(а)в(е)дн(и)ки.⁵

Because people then were ignorant and pagan; the devil was pleased because of this, and he did not know that he was near the destruction which was coming to him. So [earlier — NPL, Ip., Khlebnikovskaya chronicle, further — Khl.] he tried to destroy the Christian people, but he was sent away by the holy cross in other countries; here the damned one thought: “here is a habitation for me: the apostles did not teach here, neither did the prophets prophesy,” and he did not know the words of the prophet, “and he *called* them my people which were not my people”, he said about the apostles: “Their voice goes out into all the earth, their words to the ends of the world”. Even if the apostles were not [here] in their bodies, but their doctrines sound as trumpets in churches through all the universe, with their doctrine we conquer the hated enemy, trampling him underfoot, as those father and son trampled him, taking on the celestial crown together with the holy martyrs and righteous men.⁵

The text cited is based on the Lavr. version of the PVL, in spite of what seemed to be convincing reasons for using the NPL ml., where

(5) ПСРЛ, vol. 1, 82–83.

the text of a chronicle preceding the PVL is kept. In this case, however, the issue is not so clear: in the version of L in the NPL ml., there are evidently late readings, among which we could mention the change of the pronoun, “they,” concerning the Kievan people in the Commission copy to онѣ народѣ — “those peoples” (in the Academic and Tolstovsky copies this first change is not made, but the second “they” is replaced with народѣ люди многѣ — “the people and numerous men”) and the adjustment that the Kievan people who came to the killing of the Varangians cried with a “great voice” (велиимъ гласомъ).⁶ These additions either have no substantial factual information or demonstrate the hand of a late scribe; and the fact that all of them are absent in P leads us to the conclusion that they were not present in the initial variant of L. On the other hand, a number of readings, common for the NPL ml. and Ip: в тайнѣ — “in secret”, секирою и ножемъ — “with an axe and a knife”, преже — “earlier”), are absent in the Lavr. and P. Such a fact can be explained in different ways: the version of the NPL ml.-Ip. may keep protographic readings abridged in the Lavr, and in such a form it can be reflected in the later P.; the oldest version was reflected in P., then, it influenced the Lavr., and in a transformed variant was reflected in the prototype of NPL ml. and Ip.; the oldest version is presented in NPL ml.-Ip., and in P. and Lavr. it was independently (but in the same way!) abridged, and so on. This issue deserves a special analysis but, anyway, we may not *a priori* declare the version of NPL ml as being the priority for L.⁷ So, both versions are cited on the basis

(6) ПСРЛ, vol. 3, 130–131.

(7) Compare with: А. М. ВВЕДЕНСКИЙ, Житие варягов-мучеников (функционирование легенды в летописи и в Прологе), *Древняя Русь: Вопросы медиевистики* 4 (38) (2009) 64. This point is connected with the discussion of the status of the text of the *Primary Chronicle* in the NPL ml., and with the issue of its possible contamination with the Ip. See, for instance: А. А. ШАХМАТОВ, *Обозрение русских летописных сводов XIV–XVI вв.* (Москва — Ленинград, 1938) 80 (reasoning for the idea of the antecedence of common readings in the NPL ml. and Ip.); С. А. БУГОСЛАВСКИЙ, *Повесть временных лет*, in: ИДЕМ, *Текстология Древней Руси* 1 (Москва, 2006) 14 (66) (polemics with Shakhmatov, reasoning for the idea of the reflection of the prototype of the Ip. and Khl. in the NPL ml.); А. ТИМБЕРЛАКЕ, *Redactions of the Primary Chronicle*, *Русский язык в научном освещении* 1 (2001) 214–215, endnote; А. А. ГИППИУС, *О критике текста и новом переводе-реконструкции «Повести временных лет»*, *Russian Linguistics* 26 (2002) 72–74, 120, endnote (new arguments for the correctness of the Shakhmatov’s theory); introduction by D. Ostrowsky in: D. Ostrowsky (ed.), *The Povest’ vremennykh let: An Interlinear Collation and Paradosis*

of the texts of the oldest copies: L is based on the Lavr., P is based on the ‘Sinaitic Palimpsest’, 13th cent. (further — SinP).⁸

The comparison of the two narrations clearly shows, first of all, that they are connected in a textological sense: many phrases are repeated word for word, there are no serious factual differences. Such a textual connection can be explained, naturally, in three ways:

- a) the narration in the chronicle (further: L) is the initial one, and the life in the Synaxarion is its later reworking;
- b) the life in the Synaxarion (further: P) is the initial one, and the narration in the chronicle is its later reworking;
- c) both texts independently are derived from a common prototype.

All these points of view have been already shaped in the historiography; for instance, by S. A. Bugoslavsky and B. M. Kloss and recently also by A. M. Vvedensky (a), A. A. Shakhmatov (b), and A. N. Nasonov (c).⁹ These and other researchers, however, have not made a complete and detailed comparison of the texts, but have confined themselves to separate notes. Since the problem is rather complicated, and with an “impressionistic” and subjective approach arguments can be found

(Cambridge, MA, 2003) (Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature. Texts, 10, 1) XL (support of Bugoslavsky’s hypothesis). In P the absence of “surplus” readings of the NPL ml. and the Ip., in my view, testifies to the necessity of a new and thorough analysis of the problem.

(8) P. was kept in numerous copies and it demands a special textual research. We don’t set such a goal here. A. M. Vvedensky cites P. in a late Russian copy (16th cent.) asserting without arguments that “in most cases [it] reflects an earlier state of the version of the Synaxarion (Prologue) tradition” (ВВЕДЕНСКИЙ, *Житие варягов-мучеников...* 64). As it will be demonstrated later, this opinion is erroneous, and the “earliest state of the Synaxarion (Prologue) tradition” is reflected precisely in SinP.

(9) С. БУГОСЛАВСКИЙ, *Отчёт о занятиях в библиотеках Москвы, С.-Петербург и с. Поречья (гр. Уваровых) (Август–Октябрь 1912 г.)*, in: *Университетские известия* 53 (1913) 10; В. М. К[ЛОСС], *Житие Фёдора Варяга и его сына*, in: *Письменные памятники истории Древней Руси. Летописи. Повести. Хождения. Поучения. Жития. Послания. Аннотированный каталог-справочник* (Санкт-Петербург, 2003); ВВЕДЕНСКИЙ, *Житие варягов-мучеников...*; А. А. ШАХМАТОВ, *Разыскания о древнейших русских летописных сводах* (Санкт-Петербург, 1908) 26–27, 469–470 (Though Shakhmatov conceded the possibility of the secondary influence of L. on the prototype of P., in particular in connection with the absence (as he thought) of the name of the older Varangian in P.); А. Н. НАСОНОВ, *История русского летописания XI — начала XVIII вв. Очерки и исследования* (Москва, 1969) 23–26.

for any of these points of view, the question has remained open until now.

Let us skip over insignificant variant readings of the orthography and style, and try to analyze consistently the variant readings that can be revealing in a textual sense.

In P there is none of the vast theological reasoning which looks like an insert in L (in P at this place there is just a note that the Varangians professed Christianity). This is supported by the fact that the information about the death of the Varangians and receiving a celestial crown by them is broken (there is no such break in P) with the phrase “so he tried to destroy” (about the devil) [такo бo [преже] тщашеся погубити], repeating a similar phrase a bit earlier in the text. That is why it is more correct to say that it is a later addition to L, and in P there is an earlier variant of the text. As for names and the date, B. M. Kloss supposed that such “additional details — the date of July 12 and the name of John — either could have been taken from church notes or they are guesswork.”¹⁰ As for the idea about “church notes,” it contradicts directly the main conception by B. M. Kloss on the secondary character of P in comparison to L, because such “church notes” were to be an ancient source independent from the chronicle. If the “guesswork” about the name of the younger Varangian and especially about the date necessary for their church veneration can be accepted in principle, the situation is different concerning the presence in the copy of P in SinP of a characteristic of the older Varangian: “a man of God by name”. This reading of the oldest copy, first of all, proves the suppositions of those researchers who saw the name of the father Varangian in the phrase, “a man of God” (A. A. Shakhmatov, A. V. Markov, Stanisław Rożniecki). Second of all, it is a certain riddle for researchers. On the basis of the mentioning in some copies of the Life of Prince Vladimir (in its Synaxarion/Prologue version, further: LV) that the Kievan people were baptized at the place where later they built a church for “the holy martyr Tur” (*Turova*) — in other copies “a church of Peter” (*Petrova*) or a church “of the holy martyrs Boris and Gleb” or just a church, without its dedication, A. A. Shakhmatov supposed that the church was dedicated to the Varangians martyrs and “was called *Turova* in the memory of the older Varangian” (later it was also called *Turova bozhnica* — “Tur’s Chapel”). The most important argument for A. A. Shakhmatov (it is often ignored by his critics) was

(10) К[лосс], Житие Фёдора Варяга и его сына, 214.

the following fragment of LV: “And from that time on, they called sacred the place where there is now a church of the holy martyrs Turova, and he was the first intercessor for our salvation. And Vladimir looked toward heaven and prayed for the Christians...” [И штоли нарече сѧ мѣсто с(вя)тоѧ, идеже и нынѣ ц(е)ркви ксть с(вя)тою м(у)ч(е)нику тоурова, и тѣи быс(ть) прѣвыи ходатаи нашему сп(а)сению. Владимиръ же назрѣвъ на н(е)бо, помоли сѧ за кр(е)стьяны...].¹¹ In the later versions of LV the phrase was “corrected” and Vladimir becomes that “intercessor.”¹² But in early copies, as it was fairly noted by A. A. Shakhmatov, if we keep the literal sense, “by that intercessor we should understand Tur” but not Vladimir, because the latter one is opposed to “the first intercessor for our salvation” with the help of the particle “же” after his name. According to the point of view of A. A. Shakhmatov, Tur was the Scandinavian name Tury (Puri). A. A. Shakhmatov said that it was because the older Varangian was known by his non-Christian name that the sources kept silent about him.¹³ Later researchers, using the supposition of A.A. Shakhmatov about the connection between the name of the older Varangian and “Tur’s chapel” offered their variants of the name of the first Russian Christian martyr. A scholar from Khar’kov, A. V. Markov, based upon the fact that in late copies of the 16–17th cent. of the Life of the Varangians the older one was called Feodor,¹⁴ made a supposition that his real name was Tudor and the church was called not “Turova” but “Tudorova,” and all forms of the name in copies were corrupted.¹⁵ Another attempt at solving the problem was offered by S. Roźniecki who considered the name of the older Varangian to be *Utor (*Уторъ), which

(11) Пичхадзе, Ромодановская, Ромодановская, Жития княгини Ольги, варяжских мучеников..., 305–306.

(12) See one of the early examples, the copy of the year of 1501: Department of manuscripts, National Library of Russia (further — MD NLR). Sof. 1345. F203v. Attempts by some authors to declare Prince Vladimir “the first intercessor” are absolutely groundless from the point of view of grammar. See, for instance: А. Ю. Карпов, *Владимир Святой* (Москва, 1997) 386, endnote.

(13) А. А. Шахматов, Как назывался первый русский святой мученик?, *Известия Императорской Академии наук* 6/9 (1907) 261–264.

(14) See: Н. И. Милютенко, *Святой равноапостольный князь Владимир и крещение Руси. Древнейшие письменные источники* (Санкт-Петербург, 2008) 145.

(15) А. В. Марков, Как звали первых святых мучеников на Руси, *Сборник Харьковского историко-филологического общества* 18 (1909) 437.

could have corresponded to the well-testified Scandinavian name Óttarr. So, the “Turova Church” initially was “Utorova” and the transformation of its name into “Turova” was a result of “natural popular etymology.”¹⁶

The main defect of all these versions was the fact that they didn't take into account the reading of the oldest copy of the life of the Varangians martyrs in SinP — “a man of God by name” which provides the idea of a loan translation of a foreign name.¹⁷ It is not unique, as A. A. Turilov supposes,¹⁸ and, at the same time, it is not presented “in almost all copies of the Prologue of the 2nd version including this text,” as N. I. Miliutenko considers.¹⁹ In many more or less early (15th — the first half of the 16th cent.) Russian copies of the Synaxarion (Prologue) with the Life of the Varangians the word именем (“by name”) is absent.²⁰ It is, however, in one of the oldest of them — in the parchment Spaso-Prilutsky Prologue of the end of the 14th — the first half of the 15th cent. (further: SPP).²¹ “There was somebody a man

(16) Ст. Рожнецкий, Как назывался первый русский святой мученик?, *Известия Отделения русского языка и словесности имп. Академии наук*. 1914 г. 19/4 (1915) 95–97.

(17) See: А. А. Турилов, «Человек божий именем» (Об имени старшего варяга-мученика), in: *Восточная Европа в древности и Средневековье. Язычество, христианство, церковь. Чтения памяти чл.-корр. АН СССР В. Т. Пащуто*. Москва. 20–22 февраля 1995 г. Тезисы докладов (Москва, 1995) 83–84. The researcher supposed that such a name could have been the Greek name “Theandros” (Θεάνδρος), i.e. literally “God's man”, which was transformed into ‘Feodor’ in later copies. For many reasons, this idea can't be accepted (first of all, because it ignores the conclusion by A.A. Shakhmatov about the connection between the name of the older Varangian and the name of the church for the ‘holy martyr’).

(18) Турилов, «Человек божий именем»..., 84.

(19) Милиутенко, *Святой равноапостольный князь Владимир...*, 146.

(20) See, for instance: Department of manuscripts, State Historical Museum (further — MD SHM). Usp. 3. F185, MD NLR. Pog. 602. F322v, Pog. 603. F424, Pog. 615. F316r, Pog. 620. F172, Pog. 624. F316, Soph. 1345. F199, Soph. 1352. F171v, Sol. 705/813. F281.

(21) See about it: Д. И. Абрамович, О Спасо-Прилуцком Прологе С.-Петербургской духовной Академии, in: *Новый сборник статей по славяноведению, составленный и изданный учениками В. И. Ламанского при участии их учеников по случаю 60-летия его учёно-литературной деятельности* (Санкт-Петербург, 1905) 282, 288; Л. П. Жуковская, Древнерусский Спасо-Прилуцкий Пролог II редакции, *Записки Отдела рукописей* 53 (2008) 552.

of God by name a Varangian” [Баше нѣкто ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)къ Б(о)жи и именемъ варѡгъ].²² Thereby, a possible (though unlikely) supposition of an individual mistake of one of the copies should be rejected²³ (otherwise we have to admit that in the two oldest copies independently the mistaken word *именем* (“by name”) appeared). On the other hand, in the copy of St. Petersburg Theological Academy there is no word *родом* (“by kin”) — although in most of the other Russian copies the word *именем* (“by name”) was absent. Such a situation can be explained, in my point of view, only through the supposition that later scribes didn’t understand the phrase “a man of God” as a name and tried to interpret the text making it more “logical.” In the process of correction the complete phrase “a man of God by name, a Varangian by kin” became either “a man of God by name Varangian (this variant was a marginal one because “Varangian” was not good enough as a name, especially for a Christian martyr), or “a man of God, a Varangian by kin” (it became the main variant). Another explanation of these readings seems hardly possible.

On the other hand, even if we accept a guess by N. I. Miliutenko that “initially in the text there was only the Christian name of the son and there was a gap left for the name of the father which was not filled”²⁴ (the assumption which is not unquestionable), it obviously testifies to the primacy of the reading with such a gap (let’s compare to a possible analog in the entry of the “The Tale of Bygone Years” about the foundation of the Kiev-Pechersky Monastery: “a certain man with lay name from the city of Liubech” [нѣкыи ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)къ именемъ мирьскымъ ѿ града Любча²⁵]).

A. V. Nazarenko put forward a hypothesis designed to disprove this very element of A. A. Shakhmatov’s conception. In his opinion, the oldest reading should not be the church “of the holy martyr Tur” (*Turova*) but the church “of Peter” (*Petrova*). The historian used four

(22) MD NLR. St. Petersburg Theol. Ac. A-I/264. Vol. II. F186. Compare to: Турилов, «Человек божий именем»..., 83.

(23) Lives of Vladimir, Ol’ga and the Varangian martyrs from SinP were copied by a South Slavic scribe from a Russian prototype — there are no doubts among Russian and Bulgarian researchers (see: Пичхадзе, Ромодановская, Ромодановская, Жития княгини Ольги, варяжских мучеников..., 292; Р. Павлова, *Восточнославянские святые в южнославянской письменности XIII–XIV вв.* (Halle (Saale), 2008) 36–37, 284–285.

(24) Милютенко, *Святой равноапостольный князь Владимир*..., 146.

(25) ПСРЛ, vol. 1, 156.

counterarguments to oppose the theory of A. A. Shakhmatov: 1) a grammatical error in the phrase of LV between “for the holy martyrs” (святую мученику — dualis) and “that one was an intercessor” (тъ бысть ходатаи — singularis); 2) it is unlikely that the “*Turova Chapel*” was dedicated for the Varangian martyrs (churches for them have been unknown in Russia, Bishop Simon in his letter didn’t mention the names of the Varangians, as they were unknown); 3) “the phrase ‘a church of holy martyrs’ [църкы святую мученику] for Old Russian readers” was associated with the church of Saints Boris and Gleb only; 4) in all the oldest copies there is the reading “a church... *Petrova*.”²⁶ But all of these arguments can be rejected. There is no “grammatical error” in the phrase mentioned: we should understand the text in such a way that the church dedicated to the holy martyrs was called “*Turova*,” evidently, in memory of the Varangian who was “the first intercessor for our salvation.” There is no need for a dual or plural form because “that one was” corresponds to “Tur,” not to “the holy martyrs”. Such a dual name (dedication?) of the church, really, is a riddle, and A. V. Nazarenko is, naturally, right when he declares that in LV the church could not have been named according to the pagan names of the saints. But the “*Turova Chapel*” was, obviously, not its official dedication but the name of the church “in common parlance,” as Metropolitan Macarius (Bulgakov) wrote as far back as in the 1880s.²⁷ Adolf Stender-Petersen wrote about the “contamination” of the “official name” (“a church for the holy martyrs”) and a “popular one” (“the church of Tur”).²⁸ How did that popular name appear, and was the *Turova Chapel* really connected with the Varangians martyrs — these are separate questions. It

(26) А. В. НАЗАРЕНКО, *Древняя Русь на международных путях. Междисциплинарные очерки культурных, торговых, политических связей IX–XII веков* (Москва, 2001) 382–384; ИДЕМ, Был ли крещён киевский князь Ярополк Святославич, или Кое-что об «исторической реальности», *ВВ* 65 (90) (2006) 72. See also: КАРПОВ, *Владимир Святый*, 386, notes.

(27) Митр. Макарий (Булгаков), *История Русской Церкви*. Т. 2. *История Русской Церкви в период совершенной зависимости ее от Константинопольского патриарха (988–1240)* (Москва, 21995) 38. For various versions on the localization of the *Turova Chapel* (more or less arbitrary) see: П. П. Толочко, *Древний Киев* (Киев, 1983) 84; М. А. САГАЙДАК, *Давньокіївський Поділ. Проблеми топографії, стратиграфії, хронології* (Київ, 1991) 26; В. Г. РОУТСКО, *Les martyrs varègues de Kiev* (1983), *AB* 101 (1983) 379–383; О. Толочко, *Замітки з історичної топографії домонгольського Києва*, *Київська старовина* 5 (2000) 159.

(28) Ad. STENDER-PETERSEN, *Varangica* (Aarhus, 1953) 143.

is significant for us that in the historical memory such a connection did exist, and “the first intercessor for our salvation” was called Tur or had a similar name.

N. I. Miliutenko has doubts that the phrase, “the first intercessor for our salvation,” was said about the older Varangian because “the first known Christian was St Olga.”²⁹ From our point of view, this is right, but in the old times they could have thought differently. This can be seen in the earlier-mentioned Letter by Simon, Bishop of Vladimir, to Monk Polycarp preserved in the Kiev-Pechersky Paterikon. Simon said about Leontius, Bishop of Rostov, who died as a martyr, that he was “the third citizen of heaven from the Russian world, with those two Varangians crowned by Christ for whom they were murdered” [“третий гражанин небесный бысть Рускаго мира, со онѣма варягома вѣнчався от Христа, егоже ради убѣен бысть”].³⁰ Bishop Simon certainly knew that Olga died before the martyr’s death of the holy Varangians, but the first “citizens of heaven” for him were those two men. What the reason was, and the time or the nature of their veneration (“intercessors for salvation,” perhaps, were not just Christians or even saints but martyrs only), is a separate question. It is significant for us that there is direct evidence that it was these Varangian martyrs who were considered in Old Rus’ to be the first intercessors/citizens of the heavenly world. One more testimony of the same kind is found in the narration about the death of the Varangians in the Chronicle of Pereyaslavl Suzdalsky (further: LPS), where it is clearly said that they were “the first in Rus’ who took the celestial crowns” [прѣвии въ Руси вѣнца приаша н(е)б(е)сныя].³¹ This entry is a later reworking of L and it is difficult to establish its date; researchers date the first part of LPS (where the article is) variously: from the 13th to the first half of the 14th cent.³² Anyway, we have evidence of the stable character of the concept that the Varangians were the first dwellers of Rus’ who were glorified with celestial crowns.

(29) Милютенко, *Святой равноапостольный князь Владимир...*, 264.

(30) Л. А. Ольшевская, С. Н. Травников (изд.), *Древнерусские патерики* (Москва, 1999) 21.

(31) ПСРЛ, vol. 41, 23.

(32) See: А. А. Шахматов, «Повесть временных лет» и её источники, *ТОДРЛ* 4 (1940) 18; А. С. Орлов, О Галицко-Волынском летописании, *ТОДРЛ* 5 (1947) 32; Я. Н. Щапов, *Княжеские уставы и церковь в Древней Руси. XI–XIV вв.* (Москва, 1972) 110–114.

The fact that for an “Old Russian reader” holy martyrs in dual were, first of all, St. Boris and Gleb is obviously true; as A. V. Nazarenko writes correctly, it could be even proved with observations of copies of LV where corresponding readings really did appear: the church for the holy martyrs Boris and Gleb and even the church for the holy martyrs Boris and Gleb *Turova*. But those readings (especially the last one) are the strongest arguments which prove the ancient origin of the variant “the church... *Turova*,” according to the principle *lectio difficilior* (correction of *Turova* into “Boris and Gleb” by a certain “Old Russian reader” seems rather understandable, but the opposite correction is hardly possible³³). As for Bishop Simon, he either didn’t know the name of the older Varangian (and it was not known in the Russian tradition as a whole; neither in P nor in L was the name stated), or didn’t consider it possible to mention a name which was not Christian and had a doubtful origin. For the same reasons as “the church for... Boris and Gleb”, the variant “the church *Petrova*” is worse than “the church *Turova*” (the latter is *lectio difficilior*), even regardless of the chronological relation of copies. But also the argument about the reading, “the church *Petrova*” as being “in all the oldest copies” doesn’t correspond to reality: the reading “the church... *Turova*” is present in the oldest copy, i.e. in the same SinP of the 13th cent. where the Life of the Varangians with the evidently better reading “a man of God by name” is kept. The same

(33) Compare with the supposition of N. I. Miliutenko, who does not take this into account, about the dedication of the “Turova Chapel” to Sts. Boris and Gleb (МИЛЮТЕНКО, *Святой равноапостольный князь Владимир...*, 146, 262). Another hypothesis of the researcher (it repeats the hypothesis of P. P. Tolochko; see: П. П. Толочко, *Исторична топографія стародавнього Києва* (Київ, 1972) 163) about the origin of the name of the “Turova Chapel” being the town of Turov is also found in the written tradition: “Turove” [Тоуровѣ], “in Turov” [в Торуве] and even “Petrova in Turov” [Петрова в Туровѣ] (Н. СЕРЕБРЯНСКИЙ, *Древнерусские княжеские жития. Обзор редакций и тексты* (Москва, 1915) 15 of the 2nd pagination, variants). The problem is, however, in the fact that all of those are *lectiones faciliores* which contradict the oldest tradition reflected in SinP. And to interpret the form, “the church of the holy martyrs *Turova*,” [церковь с(вя)тою м(у)ч(е)никоу тоурова] as a church of holy martyrs in the town of Turov is impossible due to the grammar: from the stem “Turov” [Тоуровѣ] one couldn’t produce a possessive adjective of the feminine gender “*turova*” [тоурова] (see: А. ВАЙАН, *Руководство по старославянскому языку*. Пер. с франц. В. В. Бородич (Москва, 42007) 158–161; В. И. БОРКОВСКИЙ, П. С. КУЗНЕЦОВ, *Историческая грамматика русского языка* (Москва, 32006) 225–227). See also convincing remarks by А. Р. Tolochko: Толочко, *Замітки...*, 158, 162–163, endnote.

reading is in SPP where, as it was mentioned above, there is the correct reading “by name” in the life of the Varangians: “where there is now a church of two holy martyrs *Turova*, and that one was the first intercessor for our salvation” [идеже нынѣ ц(е)рковь с(вя)тую муч(е)н(и)ка Турова, и тѣ бы(сть) первыи ходатаи нашему сп(а)с(е)нию].³⁴ The oldest copy where there is the reading “the church... *Petrova*”³⁵ is dated to the middle of the 14th cent. The secondary character of the reading *Petrova* is obvious also because it is present in some copies in the variant “for two holy martyrs *Petrova*”³⁶ — and it is a clear misinterpretation of the initial *Turova* (at first, the obscure word *Turova* was changed to the consonant and understandable *Petrova* and then they threw out the unsuitable dual number; the opposite sequence is impossible). So, the actions of later scribes become more clear: they, obviously, felt discomfort with those two martyrs whom they wanted to call Boris and Gleb (or even transform them into one person — into Peter or even into Theodore Tyron³⁷), and felt discomfort with a church which had an obscure name, with the “intercessor for our salvation” whom should be Vladimir but the initial text contradicted it... So they found various solutions.

It is difficult to say for sure which Scandinavian name the older Varangian martyr had. All three existing hypotheses, mentioned earlier, have significant defects. The worst of them is the interpretation by A. V. Markov, which was criticized convincingly in the work by S. Roźniecki. In fact, the name “Tudor,” first of all, is not Scandinavian and usually it is considered to be a variant of the Christian name “Theodor/Fedor”,³⁸ second of all, in the variant of the Synaxarion

(34) MD NLR. St. Petersburg Theol. Ac. A-I/264. Vol. II. F195v.

(35) MD NLR. Ф.п.1.47. LV was published on that copy in: Д. С. ЛИХАЧЕВ, Л. А. ДМИТРИЕВ, А. А. АЛЕКСЕЕВ, Н. В. ПОНЬРКО (ред.), *Библиотека литературы Древней Руси*, vol. 2 [11–12th cent.] (Санкт-Петербург, 1999) 402, 404 (here is the reading which is of interest for us).

(36) So in MD NLR. Pog. 602. F329 (a copy of the end of the 15th — the beginning of the 16th cent.), see also: СЕРЕБРЯНСКИЙ, *Древнерусские княжеские жития...*, 15, the 2nd pagination.

(37) See the reading “Tyrona” [Турона] instead of “Turova” [Турова] in MD NLR. Pog. 624. F322v.

(38) See: Н. М. ТУПИКОВ, *Словарь древнерусских личных собственных имён* (Москва, 2004) 404; J. KORPELA, *Beiträge zur Bevölkerungsgeschichte und Prosopographie der Kiever Rus' bis zum Tode von Vladimir Monomah* (Juväskylä, 1995) (*Studia Historica Juväskyläensia*, 54) 218.

(Prologue) the phrase “the Tudorova Chapel” is not known; third of all, it is difficult to explain the change of such a hypothetical variant to the “Turova Chapel”: the name “Tudor” was known in Rus’ but what “Tur” means is not clear even to modern specialists. The name “Óttarr,” which S. Roźniecki traced the name of the ‘Turova Chapel’ to, evidently, is connected from an etymological point of view to the word “ótti” (fear, horror) and, at least, has no relation to any gods; so, this interpretation doesn’t explain one of the most significant aspects of the problem. This problem was solved with the hypothesis by A. A. Shakhmatov, but the name “Þýri” from which the researcher produced the Old Russian variant “Tury” provides serious difficulties. The Old Scandinavian name “Þyri” existed but it was a female one³⁹ (though in runes the name “Þyri” was mentioned as a male one⁴⁰ but in another transcription “Þórir” — see below). At one point Vilhelm Tomsen deduced “Tury” from the form of the Accusative of the name “Þýrir;” however, that name in sources was not recorded. The name “Þýriðr” was rather popular, but it was also female.⁴¹ The name “Þóri,”⁴² offered by Ad. Stender-Petersen seems to have been also unknown in the Old Norse list of names. Meanwhile, in an earlier work S. Roźniecki supposed that the name of the “Turova Chapel” could have been connected to another Scandinavian name “Þórr” (Tor)⁴³ (the researcher renounced that supposition later, it seems in vain, for the sake of the variant “Utorova Chapel”⁴⁴). The possibility of transformation of an initial “Torova Chapel” into “Turova” on the basis of Old Russian produces almost no doubts (see, for instance, the name “Turbern” [Туръбернъ] in the agreement of Prince Igor with Byzantium in PVL which was produced from the Old Norse “Torbiörn/Thorbjörn”⁴⁵), the more so be-

(39) E. H. LIND (ed.), *Norsk-Isländska dopnamn ock fingerade namn från medeltiden*, h. 8 (Uppsala, 1914) 1229 (further: LIND).

(40) L. PETERSON, *Nordiskt runnamnslexikon* (http://www.sofi.se/servlet/GetDoc?meta_id=1472, last access: 21.06.10) 210.

(41) LIND, *Norsk-Isländska dopnamn...*, 1226–1229.

(42) STENDER-PETERSEN, *Varangica...*, 142, 144.

(43) S. ROŻNIECKI, Perun und Thor. Ein Beitrag zur Quellenkritik der russischen Mythologie, *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 23 (1901) 475.

(44) РОЖНЕЦКИЙ, Как назывался..., 98, note.

(45) ПСРЛ, vol. 1, 47. See other examples: KORPELA, *Beiträge...* 218.

cause the variant “Torova” is present in copies of LV.⁴⁶ But there are no reasons, following S. Rożniecki, to see in the “Turova/Torova Chapel” the initial heathen temple of the Scandinavian god Thor.⁴⁷ First of all, in the Old Norse there was the personal name “Þórr” homonymic to the god’s name and meant “to be Thor”, i.e. “to be as Thor”.⁴⁸ Secondly, the formant “Þor-” was rather productive in the creating of names. Among them we could mention, for instance, the name “Þórir” from which some researchers deduce the name of the legendary founder of the town of Turov in PVL: Tury.⁴⁹ It is noteworthy, that “Þórir” is deduced by most contemporary researchers from the compound *Þunra-wihaR which meant “a priest of Thor.”⁵⁰ Both variants are adequate basis for euphemistic reconsideration. There were reasons for such a phenomenon. As opposed to Wotan (Odin) who could have been directly identified with Christ in Anglo-Saxon England, we have no such information on Thor. Yet there is some data allowing us to suppose traces of syncretism of his cult and Christian symbolism (epithets like “thunderer” about the Christian God in charters of Anglo-Saxon kings or images of Christ’s Crucifixion and an attempt by Thor to catch the World Snake depicted simultaneously on the Gosforth Cross from Cumbria).⁵¹ Even more, as Rudolf Simek notes, in late pagan times, the veneration of Thor only strengthened: obviously, as an opposition to the Christian cult. What is more important, the same phenomenon was typical also for *naming*: “die Flüt von Personennamen auf T[hor] mag ähnliche Gründe haben”. That “flow” was characteristic for the epoch of the Vikings; earlier, in runic inscriptions such names were not reg-

(46) СЕРЕБРЯНСКИЙ, *Древнерусские княжеские жития...*, 15, the 2nd pagination, variants.

(47) See: ROŻNIECKI, *Perun und Thor...*, 475–477.

(48) B. STRUMIŃSKI, *Linguistic Interrelations in Early Rus’. Northmen, Finns, and East Slavs (Ninth to Eleventh Centuries)*. (Roma—Edmonton—Toronto, 1996) 184.

(49) See: LIND, 1206–1207 (Þórr), 1180–1182 (Þórir); PETERSON, *Nordiskt runnamnslexikon*, 213 (Þórr?) 210 (Þórir, Þúrir). On the opinion of F. Androshchuk, the name of the “Turova Chapel” originated from a certain Tury whose Scandinavian name was Þórir; but the researcher didn’t identify that Tury with the older Varangian (Ф. Андрощук, *Скандинавские древности в социальной топографии древнего Киева*, *Ruthenica* 3 (2004) 19).

(50) PETERSON, *Nordiskt runnamnslexikon*, 210.

(51) W. A. CHANEY, *Paganism to Christianity in Anglo-Saxon England*, *The Harvard Theological Review* 53 (1960) 202–205.

istered.⁵² In one Anglo-Saxon baptismal creed (the end of the 8th cent.) a baptized person was offered to reject three pagan gods: Thor, Wotan (Odin) and Saxnot, and to believe in God, the almighty Father, Christ, the Son of God, and the Holy Spirit. It is rather obvious, that the Christian Holy Trinity and the pagan “tritheism” have a kind of parallelism, and Thor is mentioned first. Ruth Mazo Karras has reasons to consider that “[t]he direct replacement of the three pagan gods renounced as devils in the baptismal creed by the Christian Trinity would have encouraged the Saxons to see the two sets of deities as similar in nature, if not in efficaciousness”.⁵³ Without any doubts, in the situation of the strong confrontation of Christianity and paganism both in Scandinavia and in Rus’, the name of a baptized Varangian could have been reinterpreted.

In other words, if the older Varangian was named “Tor” (“Thor’s priest”) or his name was consonant to Thor, he could have been described in a euphemistic way as “a man of God by name;” and on the other hand, in a Christian text, that name could have been concealed.

As for the name of the younger Varangian and the date, they could have been late inserts which appeared in the Synaxarion (Prologue). The date, necessary for church veneration, in a suspicious way, fell within July as did other ancient commemorations in the Russian Synaxarion: those of St Olga and St Vladimir. In favour of the supposition of the late insert of the name “John,” a logical speculation may be used: it is difficult to imagine that in a late text the name of the first Russian martyr was thrown out. But the absence in P of the name of the older Varangian does not support this: why if inventing the name of the young man did they not invent also the name of the main personage? The fact that the father and the son had correspondingly pagan and Christian names shouldn’t produce any confusion: such a situation was common during the transitional time from the domination of paganism to Christianity. In the 11th cent., leaders of pagan revolts in Hungary, for instance, who gave themselves to demons (*demoniis*), according to the terminology of the source, — also a father and a son — had the names

(52) R. SIMEK, *Lexikon der germanischen Mythologie* (Stuttgart, 32006) (Kröners Taschenausgabe, 368) 421.

(53) R. M. KARRAS, Pagan Survivals and Syncretism in the Conversion of Saxony, *The Catholic Historical Review* 72 (1986) 568.

of Vatha and Ianus⁵⁴, similar to our case (Ianus was a Hungarian variant of John). But the Varangians who died in Kiev in 983 became Christian martyrs and, naturally, problems appeared with the pagan name of the older one (probably, they didn't know his Christian name received in baptism). So, the presence of the name of the younger Varangian in P can't serve as a criterion of the primary or secondary origin of P *per se* (as opposed to the reading, "a man of God by name").

There is no doubt that the supposition of the Scandinavian origin of the name of the older Varangian — Thor/Thorir — is just a hypothesis which could be the best explanation of the facts, in my point of view, but other variants are not completely excluded; though the complicated situation with the name indicates once more that we have a rather early detail: we can imagine that a later editor of the text on the Varangian martyrs excluded an obscure "man of God by name," but we can hardly imagine the opposite.

The surname "Great" and a specification on the adherence of Prince Vladimir to paganism in P seem to be late inserts: in early monuments where Vladimir Svyatoslavich is mentioned or even glorified ("Memory and Praise to Vladimir", "Sermon on Law and Grace", Primary Chronicle) such an epithet was not attributed to him. According to a sound supposition by Andrzej Poppe, "the adjective 'great' appeared before the names of princes who had died, in phrases equivalent to the phrases with the word μέγας used for Byzantine emperors who had died," particularly in chronicles in the case when such an emperor was to be distinguished from his namesake who lived later or possessed a lower status. The earliest mention of this kind for Vladimir Svyatoslavich is known in the article of Ip., about the accession of Yury Dolgorukiy to the throne in Kiev in 1149.⁵⁵ In the case of Vladimir Svyatoslavich, however, the panegyric epithet "great" ornamented the name of the baptizer of Russia when he was compared to the Roman Emperor Constantine the Great. Such an example can be found as early as the "Sermon on Law and Grace" by Kievan Metropolitan Hilarion (though

(54) A. DOMANOVSKY (praef. est, textum rec., ann. instruxit), *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV* (Budapestini, 1937) (Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum, 1) (further — SRH) 338. In the Life of Gerhard-Gellert (so called *Legenda maior*) the name of the father was Bacha. SRH, vol. 2 (Budapestini, 1938) 501.

(55) ПСРЛ, vol. 2, 383–384.

Vladimir was not called “great” in that text).⁵⁶ Speaking formally, it was possible to use that epithet for the future baptizer of Rus’ even in the 11th cent.: as early as the year of 1030, in *The Tale of Bygone Years* a Polish ruler “Boleslav the Great” was mentioned.⁵⁷ A. Poppe⁵⁸ supposes that the word μέγας was also an epithet for the name of a prince; it can be read on a prince’s seal found in the village of Belgorodka by Kiev in 1947: Μεσσισθλάβος μέγας ἄρχων Ῥωσίας.⁵⁹ V. L. Yanin considers that Mstislav mentioned in the text was Mstislav, a grandson of Igor Yaroslavich who lived in the beginning of the 12th cent., but the researcher doesn’t exclude other variants: Mstislav Izyaslavich (a son of the Kievan Prince Izyaslav Yaroslavich, died in 1069) and Mstislav Svyatopolchich (a son of Kievan Prince Syatopolk Izyaslavich, died in 1097). His attribution is based on the identification of the saint on the seal with St Andrew, while other Mstislavs of the pre-Mongol time had other saintly patrons.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, the supposition that a prince could call himself “great” during his lifetime seems strange, the more so because of the possibility for interpreting the phrase another way: to connect the epithet μέγας to ‘archon;’ in this case, we end up with “great prince,” which is well-known in Russian sources since the times of treaties between Rus’ and Byzantium. Such an interpretation is offered in the publication.⁶¹ A. Poppe proceeds from the assumption that Mstislav, as a prince-pariah, could “use such an epithet to compensate his status, therewith he was a great grandson of Yaroslav the Wise and at the moment he was the oldest among the Russian princes who possessed the name of Mstislav.”⁶² Such an explanation seems rather far-fetched, especially since the research in Byzantine sigillography shows that on seals, including emperors’ ones, not always saintly patrons of

(56) A. POPPE, *Words that serve the Authority. On the Title of “Grand Prince” in Kievan Rus’*, *Acta Poloniae Historica* 60 (1989) 172–175.

(57) ПСРЛ, vol. 1, 149. See: POPPE, *Words...*, 173.

(58) Poppe, *Words...* 179.

(59) В. Л. ЯНИН, *Актовые печати Древней Руси X–XV вв.*, vol. 1: *Печати X — начала XIII в.* (Москва, 1970) 20, 172.

(60) ЯНИН, *Актовые печати...*, 23.

(61) *Ibid.*, 20.

(62) POPPE, *Words...*, 179.

the same name were depicted.⁶³ In that case, the seal from Belgorodka could be reasonably attributed to the Kievan Prince Mstislav Vladimirovich (1125–1132). In any case, we can't flatly reject the possibility of usage of the epithet "great" with the name of a prince in the second half of the 11th — the beginning of the 12th cent.

Yet, it is more difficult to imagine an exclusion of this epithet by late editors, though, in general, it is possible (for instance, because a chronicler could consider it inappropriate to attribute such an epithet to Vladimir just after a cycle of stories about his "misbehaviours" of the pagan period: fratricide, polygamy, organization of human sacrifices, idolatry). However, taking into account the two facts mentioned above — the appearance of the first mention of "great Vladimir" at a significantly later time and a larger possibility of a later interpolation of the honourable epithet in comparison to its exclusion from chronicles — I consider that the interpretation of the epithet "great" in P as a later insert would be a more rational and parsimonious explanation.

The same thing we may say about the paganism of Vladimir: the phrase seems a later specification necessary for readers and listeners of the Life who knew well Vladimir as the baptizer of Russia and didn't associate his name with his pagan "misbehaviours." Nevertheless, these evaluations may be characterized only as the most likely and, *in principle*, we cannot exclude the opposite situation (that those details were missed in L). Of a bit more significance is a variant reading between the forms: "interfere in someone else's affairs", "bustle in vain" [претребуете] in L and "force somebody", "compel somebody" [нудите] in P. The first form is obviously more archaic and should be taken as the initial one (but we can't exclude that the change of the verbs in P could have been done later, at a stage of copying).⁶⁴

V. V. Kolesov attaches certain importance to variant readings in the description of the closest circles of Vladimir — those who made the decision together with the prince about the selection of victims for the sacrifice, casting lots: "...in the text of the chronicle we meet the word 'Boyars,' whereas in the Prologue, in the same fragment they kept

(63) See: В. П. Степаненко, *Образы святых на печатях представителей византийской элиты XI–XII вв. (закономерности и случайности)*, in: *Россия — Крым — Балканы: Диалог культур* (Екатеринбург, 2004).

(64) See: Гиппиус, *О критике текста...*, 94.

what is usual for such cases, ‘elders.’”⁶⁵ But in reality, both Boyars and elders were mentioned in both texts. In P, Vladimir “makes sacrifice” together with the Boyars, and the “elders” suggest that he cast lots. In L, at first, “his people” (those of the prince) are mentioned and then the “elders and Boyars” give advice. In spite of the recently widespread point of view that the Old Russian term “elders” [старцы] was just literary fiction and didn’t mark any specific social category,⁶⁶ there are reasons to suppose that there could have been an elite group named with a term based on age (it may not exactly be “elders”).⁶⁷ In this case, it is not easy to establish which reading was the primary one. This fragment in P can be interpreted in two ways: either the elders and Boyars mean one and the same people, or they were two alternative categories in the closest circles of Vladimir, who were able to make the most important social decisions together with the prince, or the elders, as A. N. Nasonov supposed, was a special elite group different from the Boyars which was in charge of pagan cult and sacrifices.⁶⁸ In L, everything seems easier and more clear: at first, they talk about people of the prince as a whole, then they call them “Boyars and elders”. The last combination was found three times in the Primary Chronicle (once in the variant “Boyars and elders of the city” [бояре и старцы градские]) and particularly in the narrations on the religious politics of Vladimir Svyatoslavich.⁶⁹ It is quite possible that the initial variant of the narration on the Varangian martyrs in L in that part was stylized according to the chronicle formula, and in the first phrase, to escape tautology, they mention “his people”. But logically another variant is also possible (though it seems less likely): distortion of the chronicle formula in P.

(65) В. В. Колесов, «Сказание о Варяге и сыне его Иоанне», *Русская речь* 5 (1981) 104.

(66) See: А. С. Львов, *Лексика «Повести временных лет»* (Москва, 1975) 186; В. П. Буданова, А. А. Горский, И. Е. Ермолова, *Великое переселение народов. Этнополитические и социальные аспекты* (Санкт-Петербург, 2011) 160–161; А. А. Горский, О «племенной знати» и «племенах» у славян, in: *Florilegium. К 60-летию Б. Н. Флори* (Москва, 2000) 61–69.

(67) See: Насонов, *История русского летописания...*, 25; П. В. Лукин, «Старцы» или «старшие»? О терминологии славянской «племенной знати», *Славяноведение* 2 (2010) 25–27.

(68) Насонов, *История русского летописания...*, 24–25.

(69) ПСРЛ, vol. 3, 148–149; ПСРЛ, vol. 1, 106–108.

At first glance, an unremarkable variant reading about the victory of Vladimir over the Yatvingians looks a bit different: L says that the Russian prince “took their land” (i.e. conquered the land of the Baltic tribe of the Yatvingians). Was the land of the Yatvingians really conquered? It seems unlikely based upon the fact that in 1038 Yaroslav the Wise led a campaign against the Yatvingians again;⁷⁰ anyway, it is clear that even if it had been a conquest, it was not stable.⁷¹ On the other hand, the information that Vladimir “took the Yatvingians” is kept in the “Memory and Praise for the Russian Prince Volodimir,”⁷² exactly in its third part which is called “the ancient Life” of Vladimir, following the definition by A.I. Sobolevsky. In any case, the reliability of the information of the primary chronicles about the conquest of the land of the Yatvingians is under question, and it gives a chance to see those words as a later insert, and according to a formal criterion (*brevior lectio potior*) — the shortest one — it might be considered a better reading than that in L.⁷³

In contrast, S. M. Mikheev considers the information on the campaign against the Yatvingians in the Synaxarion (Prologue), “the main proof of the priority of the chronicle version of the narration about the death of the Varangians”, because the presence of the mention about the campaign against Yatvingians in P is, according to him, “an obvious trace of the former context from which the narration was artificially taken.”⁷⁴ But the meaning of this argument is not clear to me. S. M. Mikheev, evidently, supposes that the mention of the campaign against the Yatvingians can be present in the chronicle text only. First of all, even if it was so, the hypothetical initial text on the Varangian martyrs (let’s call it α -text) could have been based on a certain, earlier text of a chronicle (for instance: on the hypothetic *Drevneishii svod*

(70) See: ПСРЛ, vol. 1, 153.

(71) See: В. Т. ПАШУТО, *Образование Литовского государства* (Москва, 1959) 11.

(72) С. А. БУГОСЛАВСКИЙ, К литературной истории «Памяти и похвалы» князю Владимиру, *Известия Отделения русского языка и словесности Академии наук* 29 (1925) 150.

(73) See about this principle of textual criticism, for instance: В. М. МЕТЗГЕР, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (New York, 31992) 207–210; with regard to Old Rus’ see: Ostrowski, Introduction, XLIII, XLVII–XLVIII, LIX.

(74) С. М. МИХЕЕВ, *Кто писал «Повесть временных лет»?* (Москва, 2011) 161, note.

[“The oldest compilation”]⁷⁵ or on some other early notes). However, it is not provable. On the second hand, mentions of the “chronicle” type about military campaigns were not absolutely alien to hagiography. Even if we speak about early hagiographical monuments concerning St. Vladimir, we find such a note in the *Pamiat’ i Pokhvala Vladimiru* [“Memory and Praise for Vladimir”], precisely in its fragments which A. A. Shakhmatov called the “ancient Life” of the baptizer of Russia: “Where he walked, he won: he beat the Radimichi and put tribute on them, beat the Vyatichi and put tribute on both of them, and took the Yatvingians, and beat the silver Bulgarians, and went to the Khazars, won and put tribute on them” [Идѣже идяше, одолѣваше: Радимицѣ побѣди и дань на нихъ положи, Вятичи побѣди и дань на нихъ положи на обоих, и Ятвѣягы взя, и сребрѣныя Болгары побѣди, и на Козары шедѣ, побѣди а и дань на нихъ положи].⁷⁶ As it was said earlier, here the Yatvingians are also mentioned. Even more, it is possible that an insert in the chronicles which is absent in P, “Volodimer went to the Yatvingians and beat the Yatvingians and took their land,” [иде Володимерѣ на Ятвѣяги, и победи Ятвѣяги, и взя землю их] was based precisely on the text present in the “*Pamiat’ i Pokhvala Vladimiru*”. In 1038 Yaroslav the Wise went to the Yatvingians again and it meant that their “land” was not conquered by Vladimir. Perhaps, the word “land” appeared in the text as a result of the editorial work of the chronicler who had a kind of “ancient Life” of Vladimir and α -text at hand. He couldn’t write “Volodimer went to the Yatvingians and beat the Yatvingians and took the Yatvingians” because of the stylistic awkwardness, so, he added their “land.” Anyway, the “*Pamiat’ i Pokhvala Vladimiru*” is an example of an ancient hagiographical text containing notes of a chronicle type, including a specific fragment about the campaign of Vladimir against the Yatvingians.

An explanation which betrays the hand of a late scribe is a specification in L that the Varangian confessed Christianity in secret. We know nothing about a persecution of Christians in pagan Rus’. There are no notes on it in church texts written soon after the baptism — within several decades. Christian apologists keep silent about it: Metropolitan Hilarion of Kiev blamed paganism and considered human sacrifices to be the fault of pagans but not the persecution of Christians. There are

(75) See: ШАХМАТОВ, *Разыскания...*, 145–146.

(76) С. А. БУГОСЛАВСКИЙ, *К литературной истории «Памяти и похвалы»...*, 150–151.

no known Russian martyrs who suffered from pagans: even the Varangians, as we saw, died not because of their faith, but because the lot fell on the younger one and they refused to obey the collective will of the Kievan people (the same fate would have awaited pagans in such a situation). So, even Christian sources which could depict pagan evil deeds say nothing about it. On the contrary, such an early and reliable source as the treaty between Igor and Byzantium shows clearly that Christians lived in Russia openly and had no need to confess their faith “in secret”. According to the chronicles, Svyatoslav was a pagan, but was tolerant of Christians. It is doubtful that something changed under his son Vladimir Svyatoslavich, who was a grandson of the Christian Princess Olga.

A phrase of L that the younger Varangian was “handsome in body and soul” is a hagiographical *topos*⁷⁷ and could be a late insert. We may even make a suggestion as to how it appeared. When including the narration of the Varangian martyrs into the chronicle (or in the process of its earliest reworking), a chronicler had difficulties with the name of the older Varangian. At that point, evidently, he eliminated the name of his son and put a hagiographical commonplace about his handsome body and soul instead. The same we can say about the envy of the devil. In a variant reading of the same fragment about the place where the Varangian came from: “from the Greeks” (L) or “from Tsesaryagrad” (P) — it is better to give priority to the second reading as being more exact and specific. It corresponds to historical reality, as well: the Varangian regiment of the Byzantine emperors was quartered in Constantinople.⁷⁸

On the other hand, it is rather probable that the words of P that the Varangians were baptized in the name of Jesus Christ are a late insert because they break a clear text and create a certain obscurity in the issue of who was the creator of heaven and earth.

(77) See, for instance, similar characteristics of holy young men in the ancient Lives of St Andrew the Holy Fool, Demetrius of Thessaloniki, Barlaam and Joasaph, translated from Greek.

(78) See: В. Г. ВАСИЛЬЕВСКИЙ, Варяго-русская и варяго-английская дружина в Константинополе, in: ИДЕМ, *Труды*, vol. 1 (Санкт-Петербург, 1908) 181–211. В. G. Poutsko for some obscure reason considers the words of the Varangian that he had accepted Christianity “from the Greeks” a late interpolation (В. G. Poutsko, *Les martyrs varègues...*, 367) though they are read both in L and P.

Concerning L, A. A. Shakhmatov noted that there is textual agreement with other articles of the *Primary Chronicle*. He marked two examples: in the answer of the older Varangian to the Kievan people that their gods are “wood” (in denunciation of paganism by “German” missionaries in the narration on the choice of faith by Vladimir) and in the final passage of L about schemes of the devil (with complaints of the devil after the baptism of Rus’). In both cases, A. A. Shakhmatov considered the narration on the Varangians martyrs to be the initial one.⁷⁹ The second fragment, however, is absent from P. According to the opinion of A. A. Shakhmatov, as it has been already said, precisely the variant P of the narration on the Varangian martyrs was initial in comparison to L; nevertheless, he was sure that “reflections after the baptism were composed under the influence of the reflections in the narration on the first martyrs”. But in such a case how can we explain differences between L and P as well as the agreement in another chronicle text precisely with L in the first fragment and the absence of the whole passage from the second fragment in the initial, from A. A. Shakhmatov’s point of view, text? From which source did the author of the chronicle take those details if they were absent in P? To answer these questions we should return to the comparison of the texts.

The connection between these texts seems to not be what was described by A. A. Shakhmatov. Proving the initial character of L in comparison to the “sermon of the Germans” (“Then the Germans came, saying... ‘our faith is the light, we worship God who created the heaven and earth, stars, moon and everything that has breath, and your gods are wood’” [Потомъ же придоша Нѣмци, глаголюще ... «вѣра бо наша свѣтъ есть, кланѣмся и Б(ог)у, еже створилъ н(е)бо и землю, звѣзды, м(ѣся)ць и всѣко д(ы)х(а)нъе, а б(о)зи ваши древо суть]⁸⁰), he referred to the fact that in that speech an attack on Russian pagan gods was senseless, whereas “blame was the very essence” of the words of the older Varangian.⁸¹ But this argument is not absolutely convincing; because both the narration on the choice of faith is legendary, and attacks of “Latins” on pagan idols are reliable to the same degree as declarations of Moslems in the chronicle about the importance of “carnal lust” for Islam, for instance. Besides, broadened lists of God’s

(79) ШАХМАТОВ, *Разыскания...*, 145–147.

(80) ПСРЛ, vol. 1, 85.

(81) ШАХМАТОВ, *Разыскания...*, 146–147.

creations in L and in the “sermon of the Germans” have obvious common features with those places in the Slavic translation of the Chronicle by George Hamartolos (Georgios Monachos) and its continuation (further: GHSlav.) where it tells about veneration of creation instead of the Creator by various pagans; for instance: “By their thought and will, people put the honour and glory of god onto *the sky and earth and on the sun and the moon and stars*... People worshiped impious things: they gave names of gods to some who were still alive and others who were dead” [Сходѡщемъ паче домышлениѡмъ и замышлениѡмъ своимъ ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)ци ч(е)сть и славою б(о)жию възложиша на н(е)бо и на с(о)лнце и на луноу и на звѣзды... Служителници же неч(е)ствью ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)кы: овѣхъ ꙗще живомъ соущемъ, друугыя же и по см(е)рти и б(о)гы нарекоша].⁸² Or: “...because at first the names of gods were given by Egyptians and Phoenicians, from them the Greeks learned to worship *the sun and the moon and stars and heaven and earth* (Italic mine) and other elements as worshiping gods” [...оубо первѣк б(о)гы нарекоша ꙗгоуптѡне и Финикѡне, ѿ нихъ ꙗлині преша с(о)лнцю и луонть и звѣзды и [н](е)боу и земли и прочимъ стоухимъ ꙗко б(о)гомъ слоужити].⁸³ From these texts it is clear that just in L the lists from GHSlav. were cited in the most exact form. It solidly proves that L couldn’t have been composed earlier than GHSlav. influenced the Primary Chronicle. According to A. A. Gippius, “Khronograf po velikomu izlozheniyu” [“the Compendium according to the great narrative”] (further — KhVI), where GHSlav. was used it became a source for the chronicle of the 1070-s (“Nikon’s Compilation”).⁸⁴ In P, meanwhile, only hevaen and earth were mentioned — that was an obvious adoption from the Credo. It would be more than artificial to suppose that the author of P purposefully and with uncertain aim omitted all adoptions from GHSlav. On the contrary, another explanation seems easier and more natural. The chronicler had a variant of a narration on the Varangian martyrs similar to the one in P and a fragment of

(82) В. М. Истрин, *Книги временныя и образныя Георгия Мниха. Хроника Георгия Амартола в древнем славянорусском переводе. Текст, исследование и словарь*, vol. 1 (текст) (Петроград, 1920) 60–61.

(83) Истрин, *Книги временныя и образныя...*, vol. 1, 71.

(84) А. А. Гиппиус, *Два начала Начальной летописи: к истории композиции Повести временных лет*, in: *Вереница литер. К 60-летию В. М. Живова* (Москва, 2006) 82.

GHSlav. (perhaps, in KhVI) as sources and combined them to create a corresponding place in L.⁸⁵

As for the “sermon of the Germans,” it was textually connected to L (but not to P) and it differs from GHSlav. more than L. This could be explained in different ways: the “sermon” may have been inspired by L; the “sermon” was initial and L was based upon it, but also borrowed from GHSlav.; finally, both fragments could have been authored by the same chronicler (which appears to be the most simple and plausible scenario). In any case, L is here obviously of secondary character in relation to P and has it as a source in addition to GHSlav. From P the main structure of the text could have been taken, from GHSlav. — the broad list of God’s creations.

As for the groanings of the devil after the baptism of Russia, (“And the devil groaning said: Woe unto me, because from this place I am sent away; I thought to have had there a dwelling because there was no teaching of the Apostles, they didn’t know God and I was joyful about their worshipping because they worshipped me and now I am beaten by ignoramuses — neither by apostles nor martyrs. I have no more authority in these lands” [А дьяволъ стѣна, глаголаше: “Оувы мнѣ, яко wszуда /sic!/ прогоним есмь; сде бо мнѣхъ жилище имѣти, яко сде не суть оученья ап(о)с(то)льска, ни суть вѣдуще Б(о)га, но веселѣхъся ѿ службѣ ихъ, еже служаху мнѣ, и се оуже побѣжень ксмь ѿ невѣглас, а не ѿ ап(о)с(то)лъ, ни ѿ м(у)ч(е)н(и)къ. Не имам оуже царствовати въ странах сихъ”]),⁸⁶ A. A. Shakhmatov in this case also supposes the initial character of L on the basis of “the comment

(85) See also: Д. С. ЛИХАЧЕВ, *Комментарии*, in: *Повесть временных лет* (Санкт-Петербург, 21996) 452. Olexiy Tolochko claimed recently that the Life of the Varangian Martyrs could have been based on another source translated from the Greek; according to him the Vita of the First Chersonesus Martyrs served as “a template” for it. However the scholar failed to establish any clear textual parallels between the two texts (apart from widespread topoi of Christian literature). Only few expressions typical for the hagiographical texts (like “gods”, “idols”, or “without soul”) are used in both Vita and P while L does not have any matches with the Vita at all. While the possibility of borrowing from the Vita to P is unlikely, it is not absolutely impossible. However, taking into account the absence of any traces of Vita in L, one has to conclude that they could be inserted only in the α -text when it already existed. See: O. TOLOCHKO, ‘Varangian Christianity’ in Tenth-century Rus’, in: I. GARIPZANOV, O. TOLOCHKO (eds.), *Early Christianity on the Way from the Varangians to the Greeks* (Kiev, 2011) 62–63 (Ruthenica. Supplementum, 4).

(86) ПСРЛ, vol. 1, 118.

which was rather unexpected” about the “groanings of the devil” in “these lands.”⁸⁷ But the supposition of the researcher is disproved in a sense by the words of the devil: “I am beaten by ignoramuses — neither by apostles **nor martyrs**” [се оуже побѣжень есмь от невѣдас, а не от апостоль, **ни от мученикъ**] (emphasis mine). It is absolutely impossible to imagine that a scribe who used the narration on the Varangian martyrs and had it before his eyes suddenly forgot that there were martyrs in Rus’. It is obvious, that there was another sequence, and the joy of the devil in L was constructed on the basis of his groanings in the narration about the baptism of Rus’. And this is one more rather serious argument, first of all, in favour of the supposition that all the “devil’s episode” in L was really an insert into an earlier text, as A. N. Nasonov considered. Second of all, it supports the fact that L as a whole was not the initial text in relation to P. And in this context, by the way, also the destiny of the data about the Varangian martyrs becomes clear. The only source of the information about them was, evidently, a short initial narration (α -text) which came into Kievan chronicles at a certain period of their development (a bit further we try to build a supposition as to how it could happen). Before it there was, perhaps, almost no information on the Varangian martyrs, and later the main source of information was a chronicle: it is an obvious reason for the absence of specific data on them (particularly, the absence of their names) in the “Poslanie” [Letter] by Bishop Simon. There was also another tradition reflected in the Synaxarion (Prologue) and may be in oral legends connected to the “Turova Chapel” which preserved the ancient elements of the α -text.

The testimony of L (not present in P), that the Kievan people in the process of the reprisal against the Varangians “demolished his household” [розъяша дворъ], may be interpreted in two ways: either it was a technical means for removing an obstacle, or it was an element of such a punishment as *potok i razgrablenie* [“banishment and plunder”] widely used in Old Rus’ and in later times⁸⁸ — plunder or destruction of the property of a criminal who was opposed to the collective

(87) ШАХМАТОВ, *Разыскания...*, 146–147.

(88) See: D. H. KAISER, *The Growth of the Law in Medieval Russia* (Princeton, 1980) 65–68; П. В. ЛУКИН, «Поточи Мьстиславъ Полотський князь». Об одной из форм наказания в Древней Руси, *Древняя Русь: Вопросы медиевистики* 1 (27) (2007) 20–35; ИДЕМ, Древнерусский поток и разграбление в свете германских параллелей, in: *Одиссей: человек в истории 2008* (Москва, 2008) 196–210.

will and became an outlaw. The first interpretation seems more likely because in the source it is said directly that they demolished not the household as it was, but the household “by him” [около его], but we can’t exclude for sure that the very sense of the action by the Kievan people was not understood by the scribes or it was befogged purposefully: naturally, they couldn’t recognize the Varangians as criminals but from the narrations on them it was clear, meanwhile, that the Kievan pagans considered them to be just that, criminals. In any case, it is a rather reliable detail not included into P. Another variant reading is the evidence in L that the Varangians stood on the porch which was not in P; according to A. N. Nasonov, it was, perhaps, also a reliable detail preserved in L,⁸⁹ because in P it is not quite clear what Kievan people cut the porch for.

Among the details present in L and absent in P, one of the most informative was *the mentioning of the place of the household of the Varangians in Kiev* (on the spot where later the Church of the Tithes was built). Was it a later insert into L or, on the contrary, was it in the initial text and omitted in L? To answer this question we should turn to another story of the Primary Chronicle about a human sacrifice organized by Vladimir: the narration on the setting of idols in Kiev: “And Vladimir began to rule in Kiev alone and he set idols on a hill outside of his palace... [and] they made sacrifices to them and called them gods [and] brought their sons and daughters and sacrificed them to demons [and] defiled the earth with their sacrifices. And the land of Russia and that hill were defiled with blood, but gracious is God, not wanting the death of sinners, and on that hill there is now a church for St Basil, as we will say later, and now let’s return to the previous events” [И нача княжити Володимерь въ Киевѣ единъ, и постави кумиры на холму внѣ двора теремнаго ... [и] жрѣху имъ, наричюще я б(ог)ы, [и] привожаху сыны своя и дъщери, и жрѣху бѣсомъ, [и] wskвернаху землю теребами своими. И wskвернисѧ кровьюми землѧ Руска и холмо-тъ, но пр(е)бл(а)гии Б(ог)ъ не хотѧ см(е)рти грѣшникомъ, на томъ холмѣ нынѣ ц(е)рки стоить с(вя)т(о)го Василья естъ, якоже послѣди скажемъ, мы же на преднее възратимсѧ].⁹⁰ The same text (with insignificant orthographic variants) is read also in NPL ml.⁹¹ and, consequently, it was read in the hypothetical “*Nachal’ny svod*” [“Initial

(89) Насонов, История русского летописания..., 24.

(90) ПСРЛ, vol. 1, 79.

(91) ПСРЛ, vol. 3, 128.

compilation”] of the 1090-s. Meanwhile, there is an obvious unsuccessful secondary correction in it; A.A. Shakhmatov rightfully noted this; he considered the fragment an insert into the “*Nachal’ny svod*”: in his opinion, it was clear first of all from the words “as we will say later,” and second of all, from the distortion of the sense because of the gap made as a result of the insert (the subject “God” in the Slavic text was left without a predicate).⁹² A. A. Shakhmatov thought that the source of the insert was the non-preserved initial variant of the “Korsun’ [Chersonesus] Legend”, but the mentioning in the chronicle of the fact that after the baptizing of the Kievan people, Vladimir “set a church for St Basil on the hill where the idol of Perun and others stood, where the prince and people made sacrifices” [постави ц(е)рк(о)вь с(вят)аго Василья на холмѣ, идеже стояше кумирь Перунъ и прочии, идеже творѡху потреби князь и людье]⁹³ makes another supposition possible. This entails the inclusion into the “*Nachal’ny svod*” of the mentioning of sacrifices precisely at the place of the future church of St Basil *ex post* — on the basis of data existing in an even earlier chronicle (*Drevneyshii svod* according to the terms of A. A. Shakhmatov). S. Rożniecki defined the small fragment about the construction of the church of St Basil as an insert and he saw the words “that hill” [холмо-тъ]⁹⁴ as “das verbindende Glied” between the main text and the “interpolation.” We may accept this opinion with some reservations. The information about the pagan pantheon of Vladimir has a parallel in the narration of GHSlav. about the defection of Jews to paganism: “look... they worshipped creation instead of the creator... once they worshipped Belphegor, sometimes, Ba’al and Tammuz and Astarte of Sidon and Moloch and Chemosh, sometimes the sun and the moon and stars which were created by God to shine for people, not for worshipping, and to mute animals, that is to say cattle, as the Egyptians... and gods of silver and gold as in Judea. So, explaining and prohibiting it, God said to the prophets: “...that is why they perished because they angered God and defiled that holy land” [вижь (sic!⁹⁵) ...поклонишасѧ въ творьца мѣста

(92) ШАХМАТОВ, *Разыскания...*, 139–140.

(93) ПСРЛ, vol. 1, 118.

(94) ROŻNIECKI, *Perun und Thor...*, 506. See also: В. Ё. МАНСИКА, *Религия восточных славян* (Москва, 2005) 77 (in the Mansikka’s opinion, the source of that topographical link in the *Nachal’ny svod* was a local oral legend).

(95) Instead [иже] ([каковы же]), see: В. А. МАТВЕЕНКО, Л. И. ЩЕГОЛЕВА, *Временник Георгия Монаха (Хроника Георгия Амартола). Русский текст, комментарий, указатели* (Москва, 2000) 440.

твари... когда же Вельфегороу поклонившеся, иногда же Валоу и Фамоуза и Сидонию Истартиню и Молъхома и Хамоса, и иногда съльницюилоунѣизвъздамъ, ꙗже б(ог)ъ на си мни ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)к(о)мъ створи, а не на покланѣникъ, и несловесныхъ животинъ, рекше скотинамъ, ꙗко ꙗгоуптиане ... и боги сребреныи и златыи, ꙗко въ Июдѣи. Се же проивлаи и претаѣ имъ, б(ог)ъ гл(агола)ше пр(о)р(о)комъ: "...сего рад(и) оубо поистинѣ потребишас(я), ꙗко б(ог)а прогнѣваша и с(вя)тоую оноу землю оскверниша".⁹⁶ It is clear that in both texts phrases about the defiling of the land seem to be logical conclusions of the corresponding episodes, and the specification in the chronicle that "that hill" was also defiled with sacrifices looks artificial ("that hill" was, naturally, a part of the Russian land) and it could be necessary to include a topographical note about the church of St Basil. Most likely, we have not one insert but two of them (the second one: the words "on a hill out of his palace" [на холму внѣ двора теремнаго]), and they are rather late (probably, they belonged to the author of the *Nachal'ny svod* because they were present in the text where we can trace the influence of GHSlav., and, as it was mentioned before, the first chronicle with such influence was, most likely, the chronicle of the 1070s).⁹⁷ Thus we should emphasize the fact that

(96) Истрин, *Книги временныя и образныя...*, vol. 1, 295. See also: МАНСИКА, *Религия...*, 78. In the Greek original: οἱ γὰρ ... προσεκύνουν ἀντὶ τοῦ κτίστου τὴν κτίσιν ... ποτὲ δὲ τῷ Βεελφεγῶρ προσκυνήσαντες, ἄλλοτε δὲ τὸν Βαάλ καὶ τὸν Θαμοῦζ καὶ τὴν Σιδωνίαν Ἀστάρτην καὶ τὸν Μολχώμ καὶ τὸν Χαμῶς, καὶ ποτὲ μὲν τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας, ἃ ὁ θεὸς εἰς φαῦσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐποίησε καὶ οὐκ εἰς προσκύνησιν, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ ἄλογα ζῶα, ὡς παρ' Αἰγυπτίους... καὶ θεοὺς ἀργυροῦς καὶ χρυσοῦς, ὡς ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ. τάυτη τοι προδήλωσ ἀπειλῶν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς ἔλεγε διὰ τοῦ προφήτου· «...διὸ τοίνυν εἰκότως ἐξωλοθρεύθησαν ὡς τὸν θεὸν παροργίζοντες καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν γῆν ἐκείνην καταμαΐνοντες...» (C. DE BOOR (ed.), *Georgii Monachi Chronicon*, vol. 2 (Lipsiae, 1904) 429) compare to the Russian translation: МАТВЕЕНКО, ШЕГОЛЕВА, *Временник Георгия Монаха...*, 235.

(97) Compare to the point of view of H. Lowmiański who connected with the work of the author of the chronicle of the 1070s ("Nikon") the main content of the information about the "pagan reform" Г. ЛОВМЯНСКИЙ, *Религия славян и еѣ укладок* (Санкт-Петербург, 2003) 92–93). A fragment about sacrifices in the article under the year of 980 is close to a similar mentioning of "kumirotvorenje" ["making of idols"] of Serug in the "Speech of Philosopher" (ПСРЛ, vol. 1, 91). We can hardly establish what the dependence between those two fragments was (whether they belonged to one scribe who used GHSlav., or a later one rewrote something from the text of his predecessor). See also: МАНСИКА, *Религия...*, 77–78). A. A. Gippius considers that the main part of the

in both narrations of the Primary Chronicle about human sacrifices in pagan Kiev there are topographical notes; in the second case this note almost undoubtedly belonged not to the initial text but to a later insert; and in the first case there is a text (P) where such a note is absent. Both of them, the first note (about the Church of Tithes), as well as the second one (about the church of St Basil) were perhaps included *ex post* and by a scribe who possessed a text which covered the construction of churches at the time of Vladimir. To that author, who had a special interest in topography, we should, obviously, attribute a specification of L that the burial place of the Varangians martyrs is not known.

The reliability of this topographical insert is under serious doubts. M. K. Karger has shown that at the place of the Church of Tithes before its construction there was a pagan necropolis which covered, in his opinion, all the territory of the future “town of Vladimir.”⁹⁸ The Varangians could hardly have lived in the middle of a cemetery. Although, there was once an idea that the house of the Varangians was a building excavated near the apse of the Church of Tithes by D. V. Mileev in 1908: remnants of a frame of a house in a deep hollow in soil excavated in loess subsoil (according to new data, the size of the frame was 5 x 5.8 m). The first researcher of the chamber saw it as remnants of a civic building,⁹⁹ and on these grounds a guess appeared in the literature that it was the household of the Varangian martyrs mentioned in the chronicles; this idea was even fixed in guidebooks.¹⁰⁰ Recently that attribution was supported by P. P. Tolochko¹⁰¹ with a reservation that anyway it was a building of civic character.¹⁰²

“Speech of the Philosopher” about the history of Salvation (obviously, including an episode with “*kumirotvorenie*”) appeared in the compilation of the 1070s. (А. А. Гиппиус, Крещение Руси в Повести временных лет: К стратификации текста, *Древняя Русь: Вопросы медиевистики* 3 (33) (2008) 22.

(98) М. К. КАРГЕР, *Древний Киев. Очерки по истории материальной культуры древнерусского города*, vol. 1 (Москва—Ленинград, 1958) 134. See also: МИЛЮТЕНКО, *Святой равноапостольный князь Владимир...*, 145, 174.

(99) There is a direct declaration of it in the field diary of D. V. Mileev, see: АНДРОШУК, *Скандинавские древности...*, 18.

(100) See: К. В. ШЕРОЦКИЙ, *Киев. Путеводитель* (Киев, 1917) 92.

(101) ТОЛОЧКО, *Древний Киев*, 38–39.

(102) ТОЛОЧКО, *Исторична топографія...*, 59; ИДЕМ, Массовая застройка Киева X–XIII вв., in: *Древнерусские города* (Москва, 1981) 70–71. See also: С. Р. КИЛИЕВИЧ, *Детинец Киева IX — первой половины XIII веков. По материалам археологических исследований* (Киев, 1982) 49.

In reality, there is no certainty even of the fact that there are remnants of a building. M. K. Karger interpreted it not as a “civic building” but as a burial in a frame under a mound (№ 109 according to his numbering) — one of the richest burials of the Kievan necropolis.¹⁰³ Nowadays, the opinion of M. K. Karger is shared by many specialists on the archaeology of Kiev.¹⁰⁴ The latest excavations on the place of the Church of the Tithes didn’t give a final solution. Research in the year of 2009 leave the possibility of interpreting the object both as a cellar of a living house and as a burial chamber whose contents were almost completely removed. However, bones of two horses found there in 2009 and other results of the excavations indicate that it was used rather as a burial chamber than as a living house.¹⁰⁵

The existence of the household of the Varangian on the territory of the future town of Vladimir is hardly realistic also for another reason. As the latest archaeological research shows, in the second half of the 10th cent., in the future “town of Vladimir,” there are no traces of constructions at all. Only at the end of the century, on the Starokievskaya Mountain, at the place of the pagan necropolis, an upper town ap-

(103) КАРГЕР, *Древний Киев...*, vol. 1, 173–175.

(104) See: В. Н. ЗОЦЕНКО, Скандинавские древности и топография Киева «дружинного периода», *Ruthenica* 2 (2003) 40; К. А. МИХАЙЛОВ, Киевский языческий некрополь и церковь Богородицы Десятинная, *Российская археология* 1 (2004) 37–38, 42; АНДРОЩУК, *Скандинавские древности...*, 19; А. КОМАР, К дискуссии о происхождении и ранних фазах истории Киева, *Ruthenica* 4 (2005) 131; В. КОЗЮБА, Дослідження садиби Десятинної церкви у Києві в 1908–1914 рр. за матеріалами щоденників Д. В. Милєєва, *Ruthenica* 4 (2005) 190. Compare a rather passionate attempt at refutation by P. P. Tolochko, supporting the “house of the Varangian” theory: П. П. ТОЛОЧКО, Историческая топография раннего Киева: реальная и вымышленная, *Ruthenica* 8 (2009) 167–173 which adds very little to the discussion since no new data is analysed. If a discussion might be possible on the issue of the object excavated by D. V. Mileev, the identification of it with the “house of the Varangian” should be clearly classified as a case of “oico- or topomania” (paraphrasing A. V. Soloviev who called a persistent desire of historians to declare historical persons with the same names to be one and the same person “monoprosopomania”).

(105) Г. Ю. ИВАКИН, О. М. ИОАННИСЯН, Д. Д. ЁЛШИН, Архитектурно-археологические исследования Десятинной церкви в Киеве в 2008–2009 годах, in: *Архитектура Византии и Древней Руси IX–XII веков. Материалы международного семинара 17–21 ноября 2009 года* (Санкт-Петербург, 2010) (Труды Государственного Эрмитажа, 53) 384–386.

peared with the Church of the Tithes in the center of it.¹⁰⁶ The so-called princes' palaces of the epoch before Vladimir, according to the newest archaeological and architectural research, should be dated to later and sometimes to much later times. As the authors of a recent publication on the topic note: "The analysis of the data on the building technique of the constructions under review doesn't allow us to find any evidence of a monumental building before the epoch of Vladimir... The contemporary state of sources allows considering the complex of constructions of Vladimir Svyatoslavich (the Church of the Tithes and civic buildings) as the first stone monumental constructions of Old Rus'."¹⁰⁷

Thus, the chronicle's topographical note on the household of the Varangians happens to be not only a late detail but, perhaps, a detail factually errant.¹⁰⁸ The mismatch of the topographical note of L with the archaeological data makes its absence in P a solid argument for the earlier origin of this text.

So, the narrations on the Kievan Varangian martyrs in the Primary Chronicle and in the Synaxarion (Prologue) are close in a textual sense

(106) М. САНАУДАК, *Medieval Kiev from the Perspective of an Archaeological Study of the Podol District*, *Ruthenica* 4 (2005) 157.

(107) Д. Д. ЁЛШИН, О «монументальной архитектуре» древнего Киева в X в., in: *Диалог культур и народов Средневековой Европы* (Санкт-Петербург, 2010) 163; see also: ИДЕМ, *Комплекс монументальных сооружений конца X века на Старокиевской горе: археологический, историко-архитектурный и градостроительный аспекты. Автореф. дисс. ... к.и.н.* (Санкт-Петербург, 2008) 19. A romantic conception of the monumental construction in pre-Christian Kiev has a solid tradition (see, for instance: I. О. ИВАНЦОВ, *Стародавній Київ* (Київ, 2003) — it is a publication of the work written in 1940–41) 76–77; Толочко, *Исторична топографія...*, 55–57; ИДЕМ, *Древний Киев...*, 34–36; КИЛИЕВИЧ, *Детинец Киева*, 36–42; Толочко, *Историческая топография раннего Киева...*, 159–162), but it is based, mainly, on late and unreliable information of the Primary Chronicle under the year of 945, not on archaeological data (see: П. В. ЛУКИН, *Ранняя топография Киева и начальное летописание*, in: *Восточная Европа в древности и Средневековье. Автор и его источник: восприятие, отношение, интерпретация. XXI Чтения памяти чл.-корр. АН СССР В. Т. Пашуто* (Москва, 2009) 181–187). It is noteworthy that S. R. Kilievich, a supporter of the idea of constructions on the Starokievskaya Mountain before the epoch of Vladimir, admitted the impossibility "of determining exactly the time of construction and the character of those buildings".

(108) V. V. Kolesov supposed that the information on the location of the household of the Varangian was a late insert in L, but he didn't prove his point of view (КОЛЕСОВ, «Сказание о Варяге и сыне его Иоанне»..., 104).

but cannot be drawn one from the other. They go back to a common source (the α -text) which wasn't preserved till our times, but was reflected in both texts, slightly better in the version of the Synaxarion. The presence of the narration on the Varangian martyrs in NPL ml. testifies that in the form of L it was read as early as in the "*Nachalny svod*" and, consequently, its prototype couldn't have been composed later than the 1090-s. A. A. Shakhmatov considered that it was the author of the "*Drevneishii svod*" (composed, on his point of view, under Yaroslav the Wise) who included the narration into the chronicles.¹⁰⁹ He proved it with the idea that in *Drevneishii svod* there were "traces of usage" of that narration, namely in the speech of German missionaries and in the groanings of the devil after the baptism of Russia. But earlier we already made a conclusion that these evaluations by A. A. Shakhmatov were not absolutely indisputable. S. M. Mikheev found in the theological insert in L "traits" of the *Nachalny svod* established by him, and he dated the main text to the *Svod Nikona* ["Nikon's Compilation"] (1070s).¹¹⁰ Even if one lays aside the Mikheev's theory about "traits," such an attribution seems quite probable. The same thing can be seen in the interest of the author of the "*Nachalny svod*" in the topography of sacrifices in Kiev, which was noted earlier. In this case, the α -text is to be dated back to a time not later than the 1070s.

There are no unequivocal reasons for connecting its composing certainly with the Church of the Tithes, as was offered by A. N. Nasonov: the main evidence for this, in his opinion, was a phrase about the location of the household of the Varangians, but, as it has been shown earlier, it was obviously absent in the initial variant of the text. On the other hand, the hagiographic character of the narration leads one to consider it being some church source. Most likely the α -text about the Varangian martyrs was a short record of a Synaxarion type about the locally venerated saints — the first Russian martyrs. Later, in the second half of the 12th cent., this and some other Eastern Slavonic records were included into the Russian Synaxarion — Prologue composed on the basis of the translated Synaxarion, at which point the text of the record was changed.

In this context, the supposition of M. D. Prisyolkov seems probable that the initial narration on the Varangian martyrs, as well as the one

(109) ШАХМАТОВ, *Разыскания...*, 145–146.

(110) МИХЕЕВ, *Кто писал...*, 108–109; see also: МИЛЮТЕНКО, *Святой равноапостольный князь Владимир...*, 174.

on St Olga, appeared in the frames of preparations for an “anticipated canonization”:¹¹¹ the young Russian Church was in need of its own pantheon of saints. There is no doubt that the α -text existed before the composition of the Prologue and was not written specially for it: the Prologue of the 2nd (expanded) edition where P is read was, most likely, created by Russian scribes at the end of the 12th cent., on the basis of a Slavic translation of the Byzantine Synaxarion made in the beginning of the same century, and in the Byzantine text there were, naturally, no Russian records. In the process of composition of the Prologue, they added texts “extracted... from translated and original Slavic works” to the lives of the Synaxarion.¹¹²

As for the inclusion of an α -text into the chronicles, there can be two suppositions: either it appeared at first in the *Nachal'ny svod* where it was reworked and added with some unreliable details, or it was inserted in the *Svod Nikona* and later the author of the *Nachal'ny svod* worked with that chronicle version. It is possible from a logical point of view, that the α -text was created by the author of the *Svod Nikona* and from the very beginning was a part of the chronicle text, but it seems unlikely: first of all, as it was said before, because of the hagiographic character of the text, and on the other hand, in such a case we had to suppose the usage of the *Svod Nikona* in Russian articles of the Prologue of the 2nd variant.

Such a conclusion would come into contradiction with one phrase present in the theological insert in L: “At those times people were ignorant and pagan” [Бяху бо тогда челоуѣци невѣголови и погани]. The combination “ignorant and pagan” in relation to Russian pagans is found once more in the narration of the *Primary Chronicle* about Oleg, where they explain why he has been called “the Prophet” [вещий]: “And they have called Oleg the Prophet because they were people pagan and ignorant” [И прозваша Олга вѣщии, бяху бо людѣ погани

(111) М. Д. ПРИСЕЛКОВ, *Очерки по церковно-политической истории Киевской Руси X–XII вв.* (Санкт-Петербург, 2003) 44.

(112) Л. В. ПРОКОПЕНКО, *Лингвотекстологическое исследование Пролога за сентябрьское полугодие по спискам XII — начала XV в. Автореферат дисс. ... к.ф.н.* (Москва, 2009) 6, 12–20. O. V. Loseva is of a similar opinion: the Synaxarion was translated at the end of the 11th — the beginning of the 12th cent., and the expanded version (she also considers it the initial one in comparison to the short one) was composed in the 1160-s. (O. V. ЛОСЕВА, *Жития русских святых в составе древнерусских Прологов XII — первой трети XV вв.* (Москва, 2009) 23–52, 80–128, 253).

и невѣгласи].¹¹³ It is hardly just a coincidence; most likely, it is a certain stylistic pattern. A. A. Shakhmatov considered the phrase about “Oleg the Prophet” to belong to the earliest core of the *Primary Chronicle* — to the so-called *Drevneishii svod* which he dated back to the epoch of Yaroslav the Wise.¹¹⁴ Thereby, as it seems, the similar characteristic of pagan citizens of Kiev in L could be a part of the oldest chronicle. But in fact, the situation may have another and better explanation. Even if we don’t take into account the possibility that a late chronicle compiler could occasionally use a phrase from a source which seemed nice to him, we should pay attention to the fact that the phrase condemning ignorant and pagan people who called their prince “the Prophet” is in striking contradiction to the narration about Oleg in general — because the text is his obvious praise.¹¹⁵ It is clear that in an oral source glorifying the first Russian princes there couldn’t be such a depreciative feature. That is why it is not impossible that the phrase “ignorant and pagan people” in both cases was a product of creativity of a later editor of chronicles, most likely of the author of the *Nachal’ny svod*. As A. A. Gippius notes, for him such “juxtaposition of the pagan past of Rus’ and its modern state of the flourishing Christian land” was typical.¹¹⁶ Such a micro-insert with a negative characteristic in the process of later reworking of an earlier chronicle text was not unique in Russian chronicles. It is sufficient to remember a well-known insert to the Moscow chronicle of the end of the 15th cent. about citizens of Novgorod who banished a prince: “...that was the habit of cursed serf betrayers” [...таковъ бо бѣ обычаи оканных смердов измѣнниковъ].¹¹⁷ As for the narration about the sacrifice which became the reason for the suffering of the Varangian martyrs, contradicting the main tendency of

(113) ПСРЛ, vol. 1, 32; in NPL: “people were pagan and ignorant [бяху люди погани и невѣгласи] (ПСРЛ, vol. 3, 109.

(114) ШАХМАТОВ, *Разыскания...*, 543.

(115) See about it: Н. К. НИКОЛЬСКИЙ, *Повесть временных лет как источник для истории начального периода русской письменности и культуры. К вопросу о древнейшем русском летописании*, вып. 1 (Ленинград, 1930) (Сборник по русскому языку и словесности, 2.1) 84–85.

(116) ГИППИУС, *Крещение Руси...*, 22. A. A. Gippius also supposes that the narration on the Varangian martyrs appeared just in the “*Nachal’ny svod*” (Ibid., 22–23).

(117) ПСРЛ, vol. 25, 82. See about it: Я. С. ЛУРЬЕ, *Общерусские летописи XIV–XV вв.* (Ленинград, 1976) 164, 167.

the most ancient chronicle core, it was also included in the chronicle from another source — that is from the α -text.

At the same time, many obviously ancient and trustworthy features of the initial short narration provide a supposition that it could have appeared earlier, including the period just after the events. The early origin of the α -text can be indirectly testified with the usage of the form “отѣника” in L inside a later insert. That *dualis tantum* meant “father and son”; and that word-formative grammar model, “evidently, reflected a rather ancient state of the language.” In the preserved texts it is present with two *hapax legomena*: “отѣника” and “матерѣници/материци” (mother and daughter in one of the translated monuments of canonic law).¹¹⁸ It is clear that if the archaic word is present in a later insert, the initial text was to be even more archaic.

If the supposition is correct about a Scandinavian name being present (or implied) instead of “the man of God,” it also can be evidence of the very early origin of the core of the narration on the Varangians because, in that case, its author had to possess knowledge of Old Norse or, at least, to know what Old Norse names meant.

However, there are no absolute criteria for the exact dating and assessment of reliability of the ancient core of the narration. Here also it is necessary to analyse the historical aspect of the narration on the Varangian martyrs, which is put under question in historiography from time to time.¹¹⁹ Textual arguments for the reliability of the core of the narration have been already shown. But as for its historical essence, the main problems which should be analyzed are the following: the credibility of the stories about human sacrifices in pagan Rus’ and about the collective reprisal against persons who refused to take part in such sacrifices.

Human sacrifices. Once, S. Roźniecki evaluated rather skeptically the trustworthiness of the information of the *Primary Chronicle* about human sacrifices under Vladimir Svyatoslavich. Admitting “den historischen Kern” which was about how “ein eifriger varägischer Christ mit seinem Sohne der Märtyrertod gefunden haben mag,” the researcher declared positively that “die vermeintlichen Menschenopfer Vladimir’s treten überhaupt beide Male (by the second time he meant a mention

(118) В. Б. КРЫСЬКО, *Отѣника и материци*, *Славяноведение* 1 (2002) 46.

(119) See, for instance, a recent publication: J. KORPELA, *Prince, Saint and Apostle. Prince Vladimir Sejatoslavič of Kiev, his Posthumous Life and the Religious Legitimation of the Russian Great Power* (Wiesbaden, 2001) (Veröffentlichungen des Osteuropa-Institutes München. Reihe: Geschichte, 67) 81.

of the sacrifice in the story about the pagan pantheon of Vladimir — P. L.) unter so verdächtigen Umständen auf, dass wir am besten thun, sie völlig aus der russischen Mythologie zu streichen".¹²⁰ The argument for that was the supposed adoption of a description of sacrifices under Vladimir from the "Speech of the Philosopher" that led S. Roźniecki to the conclusion of the "fabrication" of Russian mythology and sacrifices, particularly, on the basis of "spärlichen Vorrathes an biblisch-populären Kenntnissen."¹²¹ V. J. Mansikka was of the same opinion; he wrote openly that sources of information on human sacrifices in pagan Rus' were to be searched for "in the literary tradition," i.e. in the same "Speech of the Philosopher" which, in its turn, could be traced back to "a certain translated popular work interpreting Biblical history"¹²² (where bloody sacrifices were a classical characteristic of pagans). Skeptical opinions deserve serious analysis in light of the fact that recently in the scholarly circles there is growing skepticism in relation to such classical traditions of human sacrifices as those of the ancient Greeks,¹²³ for instance, or more close to the Slavs — those of the Old Germans and Scandinavians. As for the last one, where we know a lot of written reports on human sacrifices, a famous German specialist in cult archaeology, Michael Müller-Wille writes unequivocally that neither in Birka, Uppsala and Leire in Zealand, nor in Visby on Gotland did they find archaeological evidence of them.¹²⁴

It is even more important in the context of works of archaeologists-Slavists in whose works we may often come across references to evidence of human sacrifices among Slavs with a poorer source base than that of German and Scandinavian research. In the recently republished book by archaeologists I. P. Rusanova and B. A. Timoshchuk that theme takes a whole chapter;¹²⁵ however, under closer examination we find out that one can interpret the presence of human bones at the places of

(120) ROŻNIECKI, *Perun und Thor...*, 507–508.

(121) *Ibid.*, 505.

(122) МАНСИККА, *Религия...*, 77–79.

(123) See: G. WEILER, *Human Sacrifice in Greek Culture*, in: K. FINSTERBUSCH, A. LANGE, K. F. DIETHARD RÖMHELD (eds.), *Human Sacrifice in the Jewish and Christian Tradition* (Leiden—Boston, 2007) 36.

(124) M. MÜLLER-WILLE, *Opferkulte der Germanen und Slawen* (Stuttgart, 1999) 74–76.

(125) И. П. РУСАНОВА, Б. А. ТИМОЩУК, *Языческие святилища древних славян* (Москва, 2007) 125–139.

supposed earthen temples in another way: first of all, as the result of military conflicts. Wojciech Szymański, for instance, observes obvious parallels between the richest findings of the kind at the site of Zvenigorod in the Western Ukraine and the remnants of the Tartar invasion on the territory of Kiev.¹²⁶

The method and the technique of description of these or those phenomena, however, have no direct relation to the problem of their real existence. As a result, considerations by S. Roźniecki were later convincingly disproved. In his book on Slavic paganism, H. Lowmiański notes that the conclusion by S. Roźniecki “seems hasty” because human sacrifices “were known among Germans, Baltic peoples, in the Polabian Region.”¹²⁷ But the most solid arguments were present in recent works by the Polish archaeologist and historian Leszek Paweł Słupecki. He collected mentions of human sacrifices among the Slavs in various and independent sources and comes to the conclusion that “les sacrifices humains sont chez les Slaves vraiment bien attestés” and not only in narrative monuments. We can read about human sacrifices for Svarożić in the tribe of Veleti in such a trustworthy source as the letter of the German missionary, Bruno of Querfurt, to the king of Germany and later Emperor Heinrich II (1008).¹²⁸ Bruno denounced the Lutici pagans who worshipped “the devil Svarożić” (Zuarasiz diabolus), and exclaimed: “qua fronte coeunt sacra lancea (“the holy lance” or “the lance of St Mauricius” was an insignia of the kings of Germany — *P. L.*) et qui pascuntur humano sanguine diabolica vexilla? Non credis peccatum, o rex, quando christianum caput, quod nefas est dictum, inmolatur sub demonum vexillo?”¹²⁹ It would be strange if Bruno, convincing the German emperor of the necessity of confronting the Lutici pagans, for credibility used arguments based not on reality

(126) W. SZYMAŃSKI, [Rec. ad.]: I. P. Rusanova, B. A. Timoščuk, *Jazyčeskie sviatilišča drevnih slavian*, Moskva 1993, 144 ss., 73 ryc., *Archeologia Polski* 42 (1997) 291–292.

(127) ЛОВМЯНСКИЙ, *Религия славян...*, 131, also 149–150.

(128) L. P. SŁUPECKI, *Au déclin des dieux slaves*, in : *Clovis. Histoire et mémoire. Le baptême de Clovis, son echo à travers l'histoire*, vol. II (Paris, 1997) 309–310. See also: IDEM, *Slavonic pagan sanctuaries* (Warsaw, 1994) 60. On the dating of the letter see: H. G. VOIGT, *Brun von Querfurt. Mönch, Eremit, Erzbischof der Heiden und Märtyrer* (Stuttgart, 1907) 122–123.

(129) H. KARWASIŃSKA (rec., praef. notisque instr.), *Epistola Brunonis ad Henricum regem* (Warszawa, 1973) (Monumenta Poloniae Historica. Series Nova (Pomniki dziejowe Polski. Seria II), 4, 3) 101–102.

but on literary fictions, etiological models or something of the kind. This is because Heinrich II had to take absolutely practical political decisions!

Not less significant is another observation by L. P. Ślupecki: the method of selection of a victim by throwing lots also finds its parallels. Similar episodes are fixed in Scandinavian sagas (Gautreks saga, Hervarar and Heidreks saga) and, what is even more important, in the tradition of the Western Slavs, particularly, among the Veleti, according to Thietmar of Merseburg (VI. 25 (18): "...hostia placabilis diis offerri a ministris debeat, per sortes et per equum... diligenter inquiritur. Hominum et pecudum sanguine ineffabilis horum furor mitigatur."¹³⁰ Facts noted by the Polish researcher serve as serious arguments for the sake of the reality of human sacrifices in archaic Slavic societies and in the Eastern Slavic community in particular; as I know, they have not been disproved until this day.

There does not exist such solid evidence for the Eastern Slavs or Old Rus', but there is important evidence in the *Sermon of Law and Grace* by the Kievan Metropolitan Ilarion which was noted by E. V. Anichkov:¹³¹ "...we do not cut one another for demons any more, but Christ for us is cut and separated into pieces as a sacrifice for God" [...оуже не закалаемъ бѣсомъ дрѣгъ дрѣга, нѣ Х(ристо)с за ны закалаемъ бываеъ и дробимъ въ жертвѣ Б(о)ж].¹³² Because the *Sermon* was a homily addressed to listeners among whom were, without any doubts, contemporaries of the baptizing of Rus',¹³³ and it was, obviously, used in the church service,¹³⁴ it can hardly be assumed that such mention of human sacrifices was just a rhetoric cliché.

(130) R. HOLTZMANN (hrsg.), Thietmari Merseburgensis episcopi *chronicon* (Berlin, 1935) (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum. Nova Series, 9) 304. See about it: ŚLUPECKI, *Au déclin...*, 310, footnote.

(131) E. В. АНИЧКОВ, *Язычество и древняя Русь* (Москва, 2003) (Записки Историко-филологического факультета Имп. С.-Петербургского университета, 117) 238.

(132) К. К. АКЕНТЬЕВ, «Слово о законе и благодати» Илариона Киевского. Древнейшая версия по списку ГИМ Син. 591, *Byzantinorossica* 3 (2005) 137.

(133) The "Sermon" was composed between 1037 and 1050 (see: А. М. МОЛДОВАН, Комментари. Слово о законе и благодати митрополита Илариона, in: *Библиотека литературы Древней Руси*, vol. I, XI–XII cent. (Санкт-Петербург, 1997) 480).

(134) АКЕНТЬЕВ, «Слово о законе и благодати»..., 122, notes.

Collective reprisal. Historical credibility of collective reprisal against the Varangians also provides no particular doubts. The existence of such a punishment was testified to both in Old Rus' and among the barbarous peoples of Eastern and Central Europe (Slavs, Germans, Balts).¹³⁵ L. P. Ślupecki considers that the reprisal against the Varangians (he cites the narration in the *Tale of Bygone Years* only) when "tous les deux ont été incendié dans leur maison pendant une attaque de toute la communauté païenne" was a typical Scandinavian habit which is called *brenn[a] inni* in Old Norse sources¹³⁶ (Andreas Heusler, though, notes that *brenna inni* — murdering through burning a house — was more often mentioned in sagas about rather late times: the 12–13th cent.¹³⁷).

In reality, we know that both P and L talk only about the murdering of the Varangians by the Kievan people but there is nothing said about fire. However, the *form* of the reprisal is of minor importance; it is significant that it could have been considered as legal by the Kievan people (the Varangians openly contradicted the public will of the collective and even more — in an exclusively serious, sacral issue), and in this sense it could be compared to community reprisals known among other peoples of "barbarous Europe," including the Scandinavians, approximately at the same time.

But Old Russian data on "banishment and plunder," though numerous, is dated to the period after the baptism, all except the reprisal against the Varangian martyrs. In this context, we should pay special attention to a parallel to that narration, which is found in the *Saga of Olaf Tryggvason* in *Heimskringla (The Circle of the World)* by Snorri Sturluson. It describes, in particular, how the future Norwegian king Olaf, who at that moment was just a boy, killed a certain man named Klerkon at the trade spot in Novgorod (Holmgard). Olaf was in slavery to that man in "Eistland" (in the Baltic lands) and that man had killed his father-in-law, Thorolf. It happened in this manner: "once Olaf Trygvason was at the market place. There were a lot of people. There he recognized Klerkon who had killed his tutor Thorolf Louse-Beard. Olaf had a small axe in his hand and he struck Klerkon on the

(135) See in a more detailed way: Лукин, «Поточи Мъстиславъ Полотъскіи князѣ»...

(136) ŚLUPECKI, *Au déclin...*, 310.

(137) A. HEUSLER, *Zum isländischen Fehdewesen in der Sturlunzenzeit* (Berlin, 1912) 39.

head so that it cut his brains; immediately he ran home and told Sigurd [about it], his relative, and Sigurd brought Olaf to the chambers of the princess and told her the news. Her name was Allogia. Sigurd asked her to help the boy. She answered looking at the boy: it is not possible to kill such a handsome boy. She ordered to call for people in full armament". Then, the saga continues: "In Holmgard, there was such a high inviolability of peace (*fríðhelgi*), that there were laws to kill anyone who killed a man without a sentence. All the people (*allr lýðr*) rushed, according to their habit and law (*eptir sið þeira ok lögum*), and ran for the boy to find out where he was hiding".¹³⁸ Olaf was saved due to *vira* which was paid by the princess.¹³⁹ This fragment was cited in the works of many historians of Old Russian legislation (V. O. Kliuchevsky, A. A. Zimin, N. N. Grinev, I. Ya. Froyanov, M. B. Sverdlov, S. B. Chebanenko), but it provides some skepticism among specialists in Scandinavian history. Erma Gordon emphasized the similarity of some elements of the *Saga of Olaf Tryggvason* to the *Saga of Magnus the Good* which also mentions a stay of the future Norwegian king in Rus', though rather later (about 1037), but the researcher came to the conclusion that in the *Saga of Olaf* there was a "mixture" of those two stories, and details of the narration about Magnus were extrapolated on Olaf.¹⁴⁰

(138) Т. Н. ДЖАКСОН, *Исландские королевские саги о Восточной Европе (с древнейших времён до 1000 г.). Тексты, перевод, комментарий* (Москва, 1993) 160. Ólafur Tryggvason var staddr einn dag á torgi; var þar fjölmenni mikit; þar kenndi hann Klerkón, er drepit hafði fóstra hans, Þórólf lúsarskegg. Ólafur hafði líttla øxi í hendi ok setti í höfuð Klerkóni, svá at stóð í heila niðri, tók þegar á hlaup heim til herbergis ok sagði Sigurði, frænda sínum, en Sigurður kom Óláfi þegar í herbergi drótningar, ok segir henni tíðendi; hon hét Allógía; það Sigurður hana hjálpa sveininum. Hon svaraði ok leit á sveininn, segir, at eigi má drepa svá fríðan svein, það kalla menn til sín með alvæpni. Í Hólmgarði var svá mikil fríðhelgi, at þat váru lög at drepa skyldi hvern, er mann drap óðæmðan; þeystisk allr lýðr eptir sið þeira ok lögum ok leitaði eptir sveininum hvar hann var kominn (F. JÓNSSON (udg.), *Heimskringla. Nóregs konunga sögur af Snorri Sturluson*, [B.] 1 (København, 1893) 265–266).

(139) I. Ya. Froyanov concludes from this point that the princess "payed *vira* not having any advantages in the face of law" (И. Я. ФРОЯНОВ, *Киевская Русь. Очерки социально-политической истории* (Ленинград, 1980) 29–30), perhaps, forgetting that she paid *vira* not for herself but she bought freedom for a "handsome boy" whom she liked.

(140) E. GORDON, *Die Olafssaga Tryggvassonar des Odd Snorrason*. Inaug.-Dissert. zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde genehmigt von der Philosophischen Fakultät der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin (Berlin, 1938) 72–73.

T. N. Jackson, although she admits the reality of a stay of Olaf in Rus' (on the basis of its mention in a *visa* from the poem on Olaf composed as early as in 996, i.e. in his lifetime), but evaluates rather skeptically the credibility of the dramatic story at the Novgorod market place.¹⁴¹ The question is how reliable the events of the year of 980, according to the inner chronology of the saga, might be reflected in *Heimskringla* which was finished in 1230. Besides, the version of *Heimskringla* is not the initial one; it was preceded by a number of other historical writings and sagas in Latin and the Old Norse language, both preserved and unpreserved.¹⁴² As E. Gordon notes, "Snorris Hauptquelle für die Jugendgeschichte Olafs war Oddr (i.e. the *Saga of Olaf Tryggvason* composed by monk Oddr about 1190 — it was written in Latin but preserved only in Old Norse translation — P. L.), aber diese Arbeit wurde kritisch angesehen und mit Skaldentropfen und mündlichen Ueberlieferungen verglichen".¹⁴³ In the saga by monk Odd, there is no such episode, but it is present in a short form in the *Ágrip af Noregs Konunga Sogum* ["Review of sagas of Norwegian kings"] (about 1190) where, after the story about the revenge of Olaf, they say: "And there was a great inviolability of man and a great payment for the killing of a man, and he ran to the princess under her protection..."¹⁴⁴ Although there is no direct description of actions of Novgorod citizens, it is clear that it was the princess who was able to protect an avenger from them. Because the "Review" and the saga by monk Odd, probably, had common sources (for instance an unpreserved Latin history of Norwegian

(141) Т. Н. ДЖАКСОН, *Четыре норвежских конунга на Руси. Из истории русско-норвежских политических отношений последней трети X — первой половины XI в.* (Москва, 2000) 20, 32–35 (T. N. Jackson also admits to the interconnection between the sagas of Olav and Magnus, but she tries to solve the problem in an opposite way to the opinion of E. Gordon: according to her, the second one is not a source for the first one, but on the contrary, the saga of Magnus was based in the material borrowed from the saga of Olav Tryggvason the saga on Magnus).

(142) See: GORDON, *Die Olafssaga Tryggvassonar des Odd Snorrason...*, 19–20; ДЖАКСОН, *Четыре норвежских конунга на Руси...*, 15–17.

(143) GORDON, *Die Olafssaga Tryggvassonar des Odd Snorrason...*, 21.

(144) En þar var mannhelgr mikil ok miklar viðlögur við manns aftak, ok fekk hann þat til ráðs at hann hljóp á hald dróttningarinnar... (M. J. DRISCOLL (ed. and transl.), *Ágrip af Noregskonungasögum. A Twelfth Century Synoptic History of the Kings of Norway* (London, 2008) (Viking Society for Northern Research Text Series, 10) 28.

kings by Sæmundr the Learned of the beginning of the 12th cent.) this data may have come from them. Snorri Sturluson knew and used the *Ágrip*, including chapters with the biography of Olaf.¹⁴⁵ So, differences in the versions by Odd and Snorri shouldn't be automatically resolved in favour of the priority of the first one.

Recently, some confirmations reliability of the core of that plot connected to the name of Klerkon whom young Olaf belonged to as a slave were found. That Klerkon was mentioned not only in *Heimskringla* but also in the earlier saga of Olaf by monk Odd; according to the sagas, he was an Aistian, i.e. a Balt. Recently they found that he could have been a real person and the name Klerkon fits Baltic etymology, as it was shown by the Lithuanian linguist Simas Karaliūnas. He offers to see in the name Klerkon a reflection of the Baltic anthroponym *Klerkūnas (built on the combination of the root meaning "that one who growls, cries" and a patronymic suffix).¹⁴⁶ This valuable observation, allowing one to find an obviously real detail, forces us to return to the problem of the credibility of the "Russian data" in the *Saga of Olaf Trygvason*. The concept of *fridhelgi* ("inviolability of the peace") was, evidently, an element of Old Scandinavian law; so, "im Prinzip ist jeder freie Mann nach norwegischem Recht *fridheilagr*¹⁴⁷ (i.e. inviolable), but the existence in Novgorod, at later times, of "habits and laws" providing a collective reprisal against a criminal is also without any doubt.¹⁴⁸ Overall, information of the Old Scandinavian source about collective "legal" reprisals in pagan Novgorod proves indirectly the reliability of the similar testimony in the narration of the Varangian martyrs.

(145) GORDON, *Die Olafssaga Trygvassonar des Odd Snorrason...*, 20–21.

(146) S. KARALIŪNAS, Information on the Aistians in Olaf's saga Trygvassonar and its Importance for the History of the East Baltic Region, in: *Samtíðarsögur. The Contemporary Sagas*, vol. II (Akureyri, 1994) 454.

(147) G. ÅQVIST, *Frieden und Eidschwur. Studien zum mittelalterlichen germanischen Recht* (Stockholm, 1968) (Rättshistoriskt bibliotek, 14) 247.

(148) See, for instance: П. В. ЛУКИН, Разрушение домов в средневековом Новгороде как правовая традиция, in: *Новгородика-2008. Вечевая республика в истории России. Материалы международной научно-практической конференции* (Великий Новгород, 2009) 153–161.

SUMMARY

The article deals with a comparison of texts of the two eldest tales on the first Russian saints — the two Varangian martyrs who were murdered in Kiev under the prince Vladimir Sviatoslavich when he was a pagan. These tales were included in the *Primary Chronicle* and in the Old Russian synaxarion ('prologue'). Historical, textual and linguistic criteria as well as the study of the manuscripts are used to assess the relationship between these texts. The main conclusion is that the both versions are based on one source (' α -text') which was written down before the end of the 11th century and most likely shortly after the Baptism of Rus'. The α -text contains unique and rather trustworthy data on such debatable phenomena of Old Russian religious and law history as pagan sacrifices and outlawry.

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EIN BRIEF PAPST JOHANNES' XXII. AN DEN KOREANISCHEN KÖNIG*

In den von Aloysius Tautu im Rahmen der Quellen zum Codex Iuris Canonici Orientalis herausgegebenen *acta* Johannes' XXII. findet sich ein Konvolut von vier Briefen zur Amtseinführung eines neuen Erzbischofs von Khanbaliq, d.i. Beijing, die an den Großkhan der Mongolen, andere mongolische Herrscher, das mongolische Volk und an eine Person namens *Socus* gerichtet sind. Letzterer wird als *rex Corum* bezeichnet, was bereits im neunzehnten Jahrhundert auf die Halbinsel Korea bezogen wurde.¹ Dieser Brief, der schon 1949 von Jean Richard in einer Notiz bemerkt wurde, soll im folgenden zunächst in seinem lateinischen Wortlaut und in deutscher Übersetzung vorgestellt werden, um ihn dann in den Kontext der römisch-katholischen und nestorianischen Mission in Ostasien um die Wende vom 13. zum 14. Jahrhundert einzuordnen.²

(*) Eine frühere Fassung dieses Beitrags wurde am 21. September 2010 auf dem 31. Deutschen Orientalistentag in Marburg vorgetragen. Das Thema wurde gewählt im Hinblick auf die Ehrung eines Gelehrten, dem es in meisterhafter Weise gelungen ist, in der mediävistischen Forschung Ost und West zu verbinden. Für Rat bei der Übersetzung des lateinischen Textes ist der Autor Herrn Prof. P. Dr. Rainer Berndt SJ, Frankfurt am Main, zu Dank verpflichtet.

(1) Vgl. A. L. TAUTU (Hg.), *Acta Ioannis XXII. (1317–1334)* (Rom: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1952) (Fontes, ser. 3, vol. 7, tom. 2) 255–258 (Nr. 138), bes. 258 m. Anm. 1.

(2) Der lateinische Text folgt dem Druck von C. BARONIUS u.a. (Hg.), *Annales Ecclesiastici* 24: 1313–1333 (Bar-le-Duc u.a.: Consociatio Sancti Pauli, 1880), 524; vgl. auch TAUTU, *Acta...*, 258 und G. MOLLAT, *Jean XXII (1316–1334). Lettres communes* 13 (Paris: De Boccard, 1933) (Lettres communes des Papes d'Avignon), 191 (Nr. 63874). Vgl. dazu J. RICHARD, Un texte latin du XIV^e siècle concernant la Corée, in: *Actes du XXI^e Congrès International des Orientalistes* (Paris: Société Asiatique de Paris, 1949) 349–350.

Magnifico viro Soco de Chigista³ regi Corum Deum diligere et timere. Deo vivo et vero Regi regum et dominantium Domino gratum praestas obsequium cum Christianos sive antiquos sive novos in fide Christi commorantes in regno tuo benigna humanitate prosequeris et favoris mansuetudine tractas illos; quod quidam laetanter audivimus te fecisse. Unde cum hoc nomini tuo bonam famam adiciat et honorem tu levans tuae mentis oculos ad divinae omnipotentiam maiestatis circa id benigne continues in posterum quod hucusque laudabiliter effecisti: nam ab hoc in gloria firmabitur tuum solium dicti regni et si credideris in Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum et fueris baptizatus legemque Christianam sine qua nullus salvatur susceperis et impleveris salvus eris.

An den hochwohlgeborenen⁴ Mann Socus von Chigista, König der Koreaner,⁵ Gottesliebe und Gottesfurcht. Dem lebendigen und wahren Gott, König der Könige und der Herrschenden Herr, leistest du erwünschten Gehorsam, indem du dich den alten oder neuen Christen, die in deinem Reich im Glauben Christi ausharren, mit gütiger Menschlichkeit zuwendest und jene nach Gewohnheit der Gunst behandelst; was du, wie wir mit Freude hörten, wirklich tatest. In dieser Hinsicht wird deinem Namen guter Ruf und Ehre hinzugefügt, wenn du die Augen deines Geistes zur Allmacht der göttlichen Majestät erhebst und mit dem, was du bis jetzt lobenswerterweise getan hast, auch in Zukunft gütig fortfährst: Denn dadurch wird deine Königswürde über besagtes Land in Ehre befestigt werden, und wenn du an unseren Herrn Jesus Christus glaubst, getauft wirst und das christliche Gesetz, ohne das niemand zur Erlösung kommt, auf dich nimmst und erfüllst, wirst du erlöst werden.

Nach der Notiz im Druck des Briefes bei Baronius, wo das Schreiben nicht vollständig wiedergegeben wird, fordert der Papst den König außerdem auf, sich den Verkündern des Evangeliums zu unterwerfen und den neuen Erzbischof von Khanbaliq wohlwollend aufzunehmen. Aus der Datumsangabe *Avinione kal. Octobris anno XVIII*

(3) Geändert aus *Secede Chigista* nach TAUTU, *Acta...*, 258. Das Original befindet sich in *Reg. Aven.* 46, f. 138 und *Reg. Vat.* 106, f. 2^v. Vgl. auch J. MULLOON, *The Avignon Papacy and the Frontiers of Christendom: The Evidence of Vatican Register 62*, *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 17 (1979) 125–195, hier: 173–179.

(4) *magnificus* nach J. F. NIERMEYER u.a., *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus M–Z* (Darmstadt: WBG, 2002), s.v. „Freier vornehmer Herkunft“.

(5) Nach TAUTU, *Acta...*, 258, Anm. 1.

geht hervor, daß der Brief am 1. Oktober 1333 geschrieben wurde, d.h. etwas mehr als ein Jahr vor dem Tod Papst Johannes' XXII. am 4. Dezember 1334.⁶ Johannes war um 1244 als Jacques Duèse in Cahors im Südwesten Frankreichs geboren und 1300 nach dem Studium der Rechte in Montpellier und Orléans zum Bischof von Fréjus ernannt worden. Seit 1310 Bischof von Avignon, wurde er am 5. September 1316 zum Papst gekrönt; er residierte zeitlebens in Avignon. Sein Pontifikat war geprägt durch die Auseinandersetzung mit Ludwig dem Bayern, die oft vergessen läßt, daß es sich bei ihm um einen juristisch versierten Mann mit lebhaftem Interesse an der Mission im asiatischen Raum handelte.⁷

Hauptzweck der vorliegenden Briefsammlung ist die Amtseinführung eines Nachfolgers des 1328 verstorbenen Erzbischofs von Khanbaliq, Johannes von Montecorvino.⁸ Genannt wird ein Mann mit Namen Nikolaus, der aufgrund anderer Quellen als Franziskaner identifiziert werden kann und am 8. September 1333 von Johannes XXII. designiert worden war. Es ist anzunehmen, daß den begleitenden Schreiben des Papstes eine Gesandtschaft aus Khanbaliq vorausgegangen war, die um einen neuen Bischof ersuchen sollte. Nikolaus scheint erst nach dem 23. September 1334 abgereist zu sein und hatte 1336 das Khanat Tschagatai in Zentralasien erreicht. Da im Jahre 1338 eine weitere Gesandtschaft aus Khanbaliq eintraf, um einen neuen Bischof zu erbitten, ist es fraglich, ob Nikolaus dort eingetroffen ist; möglicherweise fiel

(6) Das gleiche gilt für die anderen drei Briefe; vgl. MOLLAT, *Jean XXII...*, 191; TAUTU, *Acta...*, 255.

(7) Zur Person Johannes' XXII. vgl. J. FAVIER, *Les Papes d'Avignon* (o.O.: Fayard, 2006) 121–126. 504; J. GROHE, [Johannes] XXII., in: *LMA* 5, 544–546; M. HANST, Johannes XXII., in: *BBKL* 3, 228–233 (ebd. 232–233 Lit. bis 1992); J. HEFT, *John XXII and Papal Teaching Authority* (Lewiston u.a.: Mellen, 1986) (Texts and Studies in Religion, 27) 1–17; C.A. LÜCKERATH, Johannes XXII., in: *TRE* 17, 109–112 (112 Lit. bis 1988); L. VONES, Johannes XXII., in: *LThK*³ 5, 950–951. Zu seinem Pontifikat vgl. K. A. FINK, Von Johann XXII. zu Clemens VI., in: H. JEDIN (Hg.), *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte 3: Die mittelalterliche Kirche 2* (Freiburg u.a.: Herder, 1968) 384–402; K. HAUSBERGER, Die Päpste in Avignon, in: M. GRESCHAT (Hg.), *Das Papsttum 1: Von den Anfängen bis zu den Päpsten in Avignon* (Stuttgart u.a.: Kohlhammer, 1985) (Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte, 11) 258–274.

(8) Zu Johannes von Montecorvino vgl. die klassische Monographie von A. VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Jean de Monte Corvino, O.F.M., premier évêque de Khanbaliq (1247–1328)* (Lille: Société Saint-Augustin, 1924).

er der Pest zum Opfer, die in den Jahren 1338 bis 1339 in Zentralasien wütete.⁹

Die wichtigste und interessanteste Person ist allerdings der Adressat des Briefes, „Socus“. Bei ihm muß es sich um den koreanischen König Chung-suk handeln, der von 1313–1330 und 1332–1339 regierte und sich längere Zeit in Khanbaliq aufhielt.¹⁰ Am 30. Juli 1294 geboren, war Chung-suk seinem Vater Chung-seon, der selbst nur von 1298–1299 und 1308–1313 regierte, im Alter von 18 Jahren auf den Thron gefolgt, doch scheint Chung-seon die koreanische Politik bis zu seinem eigenen Tode im Jahr 1325 bestimmt zu haben.¹¹ Auf sein Ersuchen hin hielt Chung-suk sich 1321–1325, wenn auch anscheinend widerwillig, in Khanbaliq auf und kehrte erst nach dem Tode seines Vaters in die koreanische Hauptstadt Kaegyeong (das heutige Kaeseong in Nordkorea) zurück. Im selben Jahr heiratete er eine mongolische Prinzessin, die in der Folgezeit einen nicht unbeträchtlichen Einfluß an seinem Hof ausübte.¹² Zwischen 1330 und 1332 legte er die Regierung zugunsten seines Sohnes Chung-hye nieder, der zu dieser Zeit erst 5 Jahre alt war. Für diese Zeit werden ihm auch eine Reihe von Ausschweifungen zur Last gelegt, deren Historizität sich nicht eindeutig erweisen läßt.¹³ Im Jahre 1339 starb Chung-suk im Alter von 44 Jahren. Seine weltan-

(9) Vgl. MULDOON, *The Avignon Papacy...*, 173–177; J. RICHARD, *La Papauté et les Missions d'Orient au Moyen Âge (XIII^e-XV^e siècles)* (Rom: École Française, 1998) (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 33) 152–154.

(10) RICHARD, *Un texte latin...*, 349. Für einen ersten Überblick vgl. L. HAMBIS, *Notes sur l'histoire de Corée à l'époque mongole, Toung Pao* 45 (1957) 151–218, hier: 194–204; C. N. WEEMS (Hg.), *Hulbert's History of Korea* 1 (New York: Hillary House Publ., 1962) 232–235. Der Zusatz *de Chigista* bezieht sich vielleicht auf seine Abkunft von Dschingis Khan, die ein wichtiges Element in der Herrschaftsbegründung späterer türkischer Herrscher war. Diesen Hinweis verdanke ich Frau Dr. Yukiyo Kasai, Berlin.

(11) Vgl. H.-K. MIN, *Koryo Politics under Mongol Control: Dynastic Continuity During the Period of Royal Absence*, *International Journal of Korean History* 1 (2000) 17–35, hier: 21–35.

(12) Chung-suk war bereits in den Jahren 1316–1319 verheiratet gewesen, hatte zu dieser Zeit jedoch keinerlei politische Bedeutung besessen; vgl. HAMBIS, *Notes sur l'histoire...*, 196. Zu seiner zweiten Frau vgl. ebd., 197–200 und MIN, *Koryo Politics...*, 27–29.

(13) Homer Hulbert (WEEMS, *Hulbert's History...*, 234) spricht von „a series of events that almost baffles description“; Louis Hambis (*Notes sur l'histoire...*, 195 Anm. 1) nennt dagegen nur eine einzige Quelle, derzufolge Chung-suks Sohn Chung-hye ein „debauché“ gewesen sei.

schaulichen Neigungen lassen sich aus den Quellen nicht eindeutig erkennen, er scheint aber eine gewisse Präferenz für den Konfuzianismus gehabt zu haben.¹⁴

Welche Verbindung hatte Chung-suk zu Johannes von Montecorvino und warum heißt es, er habe die Christen in seinem Reich beschützt? Die Antwort auf diese Frage ist im Stammbaum des Königs zu suchen. Sein Vater Chung-seon war der Sohn einer Tochter Khublai Khans, die ihrerseits von einer Frau namens Asujin abstammte.¹⁵ Dieser Name bedeutet „Alanin“, „Frau alanischer Herkunft“, und da die Alanen, ein Volk kaukasischer Provenienz, aus dem sich die Leibwache der Yüan-Kaiser rekrutierte, seit dem 10. Jahrhundert Christen waren, ist anzunehmen, daß Chung-suk über die Verwandten seiner Großmutter Kontakt zu den christlichen Kreisen der Hauptstadt hatte.¹⁶ Die Alanen in Khanbaliq hatten sich trotz ihrer ursprünglich byzantinischen Ausrichtung der von Johannes von Montecorvino begründeten katholischen Gemeinde zugewandt, woraus sich die in dem Brief des Papstes vorausgesetzte Verbindung Chung-suks zu den Katholiken erklärt.

Unklar bleibt allerdings, ob es unter den in Khanbaliq lebenden Koreanern oder in Korea selbst so viele Christen gab, daß Chung-suk zu Recht als ihr Beschützer hätte bezeichnet werden können. Aus der Form der Bezeichnungen „Socus“ und „Cori“ ergibt sich zunächst, daß sie von Personen übermittelt wurden, die wirklich mit Koreanern Kontakt hatten. Die chinesische Aussprache des Namens „Chung-suk“ lautet *Zhong-su*, was eine Transkription zu „Socus“ verbietet; der Landesname *Goryeo* lautet in seiner chinesischen Form *Gao-li*, von Marco Polo (Kap. 80) mit *Cauly* wiedergegeben, wohingegen *Cori* die koreanische Fassung abbildet.¹⁷ Dazu kommt, daß unter der ersten Regent-

(14) Vgl. WEEMS, *Hulbert's History...*, 233.

(15) Vgl. A. TOEPEL, Christians in Korea at the End of the 13th Century, in: D. W. WINKLER, L. TANG (Hg.), *Hidden Treasures and Intercultural Encounters* (Wien u.a.: LIT-Verlag, 2009) (Orientalia—Patristica—Oecumenica, 1) 279–289, hier: 285–286 und die dort genannte Literatur, besonders HAMBIS, *Notes sur l'histoire...*, 180.

(16) Zu den Alanen und ihrer Rolle am mongolischen Hof vgl. W. BARTHOLO, V. MINORSKY, Alān, in: H. A. R. GIBB u.a. (Hg.), *The Encyclopedia of Islam. New Edition*, 1 (Leiden u.a.: Brill, 1960) 354; A. C. MOULE, The Minor Friars in China, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1917) 1–36, hier: 20–26.

(17) Da Marco Polo seinen Reisebericht bereits 1299 niederschrieb, stellt der Brief Johannes' XXII. nicht, wie RICHARD, *Un texte latin...*, 349 schreibt, die

schaft von Chung-suks Vater Chung-seon (1298–1299) in Korea ein nestorianischer Mongole mit Namen Giwargis als Chef einer mongolischen Behörde installiert wurde, der sich in seiner kurzen Amtszeit mit Sozialreformen befaßte¹⁸. Chung-seon selbst war in Khanbaliq in neokonfuzianischen Zirkeln tätig, deren ethische Auffassung sich in vielen Punkten mit der christlichen gedeckt haben würde.¹⁹ All dies weist im Verbund mit der teilweise alanischen Abstammung Chung-seons darauf hin, daß Christen in Korea zumindest eine Zeit lang einflußreiche Positionen innehatten.

Daß sein Sohn Chung-suk sich wenigstens zu Beginn seiner Regierung in einer ähnlichen Umgebung befand oder sogar zu Lebzeiten seines Vaters ein bloßes Ausführungsorgan der Politik Chung-seons war, kann begründet vermutet werden.²⁰ Der Brief Johannes' XXII. ist ein weiteres Indiz für die Verflochtenheit des koreanischen Herrscherhauses in die alanisch geprägte katholische Gemeinde von Khanbaliq. Im Hinblick auf den Wortlaut des Briefes ist in dieser Hinsicht nicht auszuschließen, daß auch eine Anzahl von Koreanern den christlichen Glauben, wahrscheinlich in seiner katholischen Gestalt, annahmen. Für eine weitere Verbreitung des Christentums in Korea selbst gibt es dagegen keine Anzeichen; das Christentum scheint in Korea um die Wende des 13. zum 14. Jahrhundert eine höfische und gelehrte Angelegenheit geblieben zu sein. Trotzdem sollte seine Bedeutung in jener Zeit nicht unterschätzt werden: Der hier vorgestellte Brief eines Avignonener Papstes an das Oberhaupt eines am anderen Ende der Welt gelegenen Landes ist das Dokument einer ersten Verständigung und

erste Erwähnung Koreas in einem abendländischen Dokument dar. Der Brief kann aber als ein erster Beleg für einen tatsächlichen Kontakt zwischen Koreanern und Westeuropäern aufgefaßt werden, was vielleicht bedeutender ist, als die Erwähnung des chinesischen Landesnamens bei Marco Polo.

(18) Zu dieser Person vgl. H. FRANKE, Zu einigen christlichen Personennamen in Texten der Yuanzeit, *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 148 (1998) 315–322, hier: 321; TOEPEL, Christians in Korea..., 284–285.

(19) Vgl. TOEPEL, Christians in Korea..., 286 m. Anm. 33; zu den Hintergründen der neokonfuzianischen Ethik vgl. W. OMMERBORN, Philosophische Grundlagen menschenrechtsrelevanten Denkens im *Menzius*, *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 156 (2006) 413–448, bes. 415, 427, Anm. 39, 429, Anm. 53 zur naturrechtlichen Denkweise der Neokonfuzianer und ihrer Bedeutung für die Frage der Menschenwürde.

(20) Vgl. dazu MIN, Koryo Politics..., 26–27.

vielleicht Auseinandersetzung zwischen der christlichen Tradition des Abendlandes und dem konfuzianisch geprägten Denken Ostasiens.

SUMMARY

Among the correspondence of Pope John XXII there is a letter to a person called *Socus, rex Corum*. Written in 1333 upon the occasion of investment of a new archbishop in Khanbaliq/Beijing, this document is in all likelihood addressed to the Korean king Chung-suk (*reg.* 1313–1330, 1332–1339). Although not being a Christian himself, this monarch had ties to Christianity through maternal descent from an Alan princess, who would have been a Byzantine Christian, and through the ties his father Chung-seon (*reg.* 1298–1299, 1308–1313) had to Nestorian Mongol magistrates. Living mostly in Beijing, Chung-suk seems to have been involved in the same scholarly circles as his father, where he presumably came into contact with Confucian scholars as well as Nestorian, Orthodox and Roman-Catholic Christians. Pope John's letter to this ruler is another piece in the emerging mosaic of East-Western relationships that took place around the turn of the fourteenth century.

LA DOCTRINE DU HIÉROMOINE ANTOINE BOULATOVITCH SUR LES IDÉES ET SA THÉORIE DE LA CONNAISSANCE¹

En étudiant les vues du hiéromoine Antoine Boulatovitch, le dirigeant des onomatodoxes Athonites du début du XX^e siècle,² les chercheurs jusqu'à présent n'ont pratiquement pas fait attention à un aspect intéressant, notamment à sa doctrine sur les idées dans le cadre de la discussion des possibilités de la connaissance de Dieu et du monde.

La question des idées s'est posée depuis que la querelle onomatodoxe avait abordé un problème important, celui de définir si les noms, les notions qu'ils expriment et les vérités divines sont créés ou incréés, aussi bien que le problème de la connaissance. Chez le P. Antoine nous

(1) Les abréviations employées dans cet article :

Ар. — Иеросхимонах Антоний (Булатович), *Апология веры во Имя Божие и во Имя Иисус* [*L'apologie de la foi en le Nom de Dieu et en le Nom du Jésus*] (Москва, 1913).

MP — ИДЕМ, *Моя мысль во Христе. О Деятельности (Энергии) Божества* [*Ma pensée en Christ. Sur l'Activité (l'Énergie) de la Divinité*] (Петроград, 1914).

ЈF — ИДЕМ, *Оправдание веры в Непобедимое, Непостижимое, Божественное Имя Господа нашего Иисуса Христа* [*La justification de la foi en le Nom Invincible, Incompréhensible, Divin de notre Seigneur le Christ Jésus*] (Петроград, 1917).

Req. — ИДЕМ, *Прошение в Правительствующий Синод* [*La requête au Synode*] (Санкт-Петербург, 1913).

(2) Pour quelques détails sur le père Antoine et la discussion entre les onomatodoxes (*имяславцы*, les glorificateurs du Nom) et les onomatoclastes (*имяборцы*, les ennemis du Nom : les onomatodoxes appelaient ainsi leurs adversaires) et la bibliographie là-dessus, voir mon article : Un palamite russe du début du XX^{ème} siècle : le hiéromoine Antoine Boulatovitch et sa doctrine sur l'énergie divine, *Scr 6* (2010) 392–409. En détail j'ai examiné la philosophie religieuse du P. Antoine dans la thèse non-publiée : *Философско-антропологические воззрения А. К. Булатовича в контексте византийской культуры. Диссертация на соискание ученой степени кандидата философских наук* (Санкт-Петербург, 2011); l'exposé de la thèse on peut voir ici : <http://www.spbu.ru/files/upload/disser/phylos/2011/avtoref-Senina.pdf> (en russe).

pouvons trouver des raisonnements assez amples sur le processus de la connaissance en général et sur les idées en particulier.

En se basant sur la doctrine ascétique des trois genres de pensées — de la nature, des démons et de Dieu, — Boulatovitch a conclu qu'il existe des idées « que Dieu Lui-même inspire à l'homme », et ces pensées sont la source de notre connaissance de Dieu. Ce ne sont pas simplement des idées « humaines », mais ce sont « ces rayons de la vérité grâce auxquels Dieu illumine nos cœurs et nos esprits par les semences verbales de Son Énergie verbale³ cachées dans les paroles de Dieu et dans les noms de Dieu » (*Req.*, 59; cf. *MP*, 198–199).

Le Dieu lui-même s'est appelé Vérité (John 14, 6), mais « nous connaissons dans le monde », écrit Bulatovitch, « beaucoup de choses qui s'appellent des vérités mais ne peuvent pas être nommées Dieu », par exemple les différentes vérités scientifiques et en général les jugements corrects sur la nature et le monde, mais qui pourtant ne sont point divins :

« Nous savons que le Seigneur, après être descendu sur terre, n'a appris aux hommes aucune vérité scientifique créée, mais a laissé les hommes les trouver par leur esprit en examinant et en étudiant la nature des choses, parce que cette recherche et cette découverte des vérités créées sont à la mesure des forces de l'œil de l'esprit humain » (*MP*, 185–186).

Autrement dit, il s'agit d'une connaissance « naturelle » qui ne peut être ni bonne ni coupable et résulte de l'activité naturelle de l'esprit. Elle n'est pas révélée par Dieu et les vérités qui sont acquises par cette connaissance ne peuvent pas être nommées Dieu. Toutes ces vérités, si

(3) Chez Boulatovitch : « словесной Энергии »; il entend par cela non pas littéralement l'énergie verbale dans le sens commun, mais l'énergie de Dieu qui se manifeste aux hommes par le Verbe de Dieu, par la révélation divine. Il appelle cette énergie « Глагол » (« la Parole ») en s'appuyant sur Hebr. 1, 1–3 : *Dieu, en ces jours qui sont les derniers, nous a parlé par le Fils, qu'il a établi héritier de toutes choses, par qui aussi il a fait les siècles. Resplendissement de sa gloire, effigie de sa substance, ce Fils qui soutient l'univers par sa parole puissante* (la traduction slavonne : *НОСЛЪ ЖЕ ВЛАДЪСКИАА СЪГОДОМЪ СЪМЪ СКОУА*), *ayant accompli la purification des péchés, s'est assis à la droite de la Majesté dans les hauteurs*, — « ne comprenant pas le mot "Parole" dans le sens d'un mot articulé, mais l'entendant dans le sens de l'Action verbale mystérieuse du Verbe ... qui définit, c'est-à-dire dit toutes les expressions de la volonté du Père », « non pas dans le sens d'un mot articulé humain, mais dans le sens spirituel et mental » (*MP*, 8, 20 ; cf. 11).

elles représentent correctement l'ordre du monde créé par Dieu, sont « des vérités créées ». La Vérité identifiée par Dieu avec lui-même, par contre, est « la Vérité sur la Vérité Tri-hypostatique », la révélation de Dieu sur lui-même ; « la Vérité est la Révélation des Propriétés Divines par l'Activité verbale du Verbe, <...> une représentation des propriétés de Dieu dans les Paroles du Verbe incarné Seigneur le Christ Jésus ». Ainsi « le Verbe de Dieu est le Créateur de toute vérité créée et le Principe, mais non pas le Créateur de toute connaissance de Dieu » (*MP*, 186).

« Mais », demande le P. Antoine ensuite, « toute vérité au fond n'est-elle pas une certaine idée ? Pourquoi, en ce cas, l'idée de Dieu et du divin est-elle Dieu, et une idée vraie des autres choses ne l'est pas ? » (*MP*, 196). Et il répond : parce que les vérités scientifiques et toutes les vérités semblables ne portent pas l'énergie divine tandis que les vérités révélées par Dieu, c'est-à-dire les noms de Dieu, les commandements de Dieu etc., la portent, ils sont « les semences vivantes des vertus » donnant fruit pour la vie éternelle dans l'homme qui les accueille avec foi (*MP*, 196).⁴

Ensuite le P. Antoine se pose la question : qu'est-ce qu'une idée ? Si Dieu est omniscient et toutes les choses lui étaient connues avant leur création, les idées existaient-elles éternellement ? C'est-à-dire, Boulatovitch pose la question de la coexistence éternelle des idées avec Dieu. Il y répond ainsi : « Dieu n'a pas besoin de langage articulé ni de nombreuses idées pour sa pensée et son discours. De même que la pensée du Père est simple, de même que le Verbe Hypostatique est simple, la Parole⁵ de ce Verbe l'est également ». Le Dieu Verbe profère « dans un seul acte de discours toutes les qualités du Père et toutes les volontés du Père » (il s'agit évidemment de l'action de l'énergie divine et non pas de l'acte créé), « c'est pourquoi l'omniscience de Dieu n'a pas besoin d'idées, et les idées ne sont pas éternelles, parce que Dieu pense et

(4) Sur ce sujet, en rapport avec la doctrine du P. Antoine sur la divinisation comme but de la vie chrétienne, voir mon article : Т. А. СЕНИНА (монахиня Кассия), Тема обожения в русском богословии: вклад иеросхимонаха Антония (Булатовича), dans : А. Н. КРУГЛОВ, отв. ред., *Национальное своеобразие в философии. Материалы межвузовской конференции, Москва, 8–9 декабря 2009 г.* (Москва, 2009) 117–124.

(5) Par le mot « la Parole » («Глагол» en russe) le P. Antoine appelle l'activité du Dieu Verbe ; voir en détail mon article : Т. SENINA, *The Status of Divine Revelation in the Works of Hieromonk Anthony Bulatovich*, *Scottish Journal of Theology* 64/4 (2011) 377–389.

parle sans l'aide des idées » (MP, 197). D'après Boulatovitch, les idées sont apparues en même temps que la création :

« Quand la Sagesse Hypostatique de Dieu <...> a créé tout ce qui existe, elle a créé aussi l'idée de tout ce qui existe. Quand le Verbe a créé la créature pensante et parlante, pour cette créature il a créé le mode de pensée par le langage articulé qui consistait en la contemplation des idées de tout ce qui existe par l'œil de l'esprit » ; ces idées créées ont constitué la langue humaine et ont servi « à révéler la Vérité de Dieu à la créature douée de la parole » (MP, 197).

En effet, les pères de l'église orthodoxe niaient la coexistence éternelle des idées séparées de Dieu avec Dieu lui-même. En rejetant la coexistence avec Dieu de paradigmes égales à Lui en force, S. Grégoire Palamas enseignait qu'il y a des prédestinations, préconnaissances et volontés divines qui existent en Dieu avant la création, d'après lesquelles la création est créée plus tard (*Triades*, III.2.26⁶), mais qui appartiennent au domaine incréé des énergies divines et ne rompent point la simplicité divine, parce que Dieu connaît tout ce qui existe d'une autre façon que les hommes et n'a besoin pour cela d'aucun processus de connaissance, car il connaissait toutes les choses avant leur existence aussi bien qu'après (voir *Cent cinquante chapitres*, 123⁷). Il s'agit ici de la doctrine sur les *logoi* que développaient SS. Denys l'Aréopagite et Maxime le Confesseur : les *logoi* divins que l'on peut contempler dans la création ne sont pas des « modèles » dans le sens des idées platoniciennes, mais la force divine elle-même qui se réalise dans la création.⁸ Les *logoi* sont similaires aux volontés de Dieu et incréés, ils sont les « proto-images » et le « sens des choses existantes » qui existent en Dieu avant

(6) Voir : J. MEYENDORFF (éd.), Grégoire Palamas. *Défense des saints hésychastes*. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes (Louvain, 1973) (Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense. Études et documents, 31) 656.

(7) Le texte grec voir : R. E. SINKIEWICZ (ed., transl. and study), Saint Gregory Palamas. *The One Hundred and Fifty Chapters* (Toronto, 1988) 224 et 226, l. 4-7.

(8) Voir : P. SHERWOOD, *The Earlier Ambigua of S. Maximus the Confessor and his Refutation of Origenism* (Roma, 1955) (Studia Anselmiana, XXXVI) 166-180, en particulier 175-177. Sur la doctrine de S. Maxime sur les *logoi* voir aussi : J.-Cl. LARCHET, *La théologie des énergies divines. Des origines à saint Jean Damascène* (Paris, 2010) 392-395. Larchet note que certains savants rapprochent à tort ces *logoi* et les idées platoniciennes.

la création⁹ et comme tels sont créés. Après s'être purifié des passions l'homme peut contempler ces *logoi* et concevoir Dieu par leur moyen.¹⁰

Quant aux idées créées avec toutes les créatures dont parle le P. Antoine, une doctrine semblable se trouve chez S. Grégoire Palamas qui écrit sur « les universaux en tant que tels qui existent dans les choses particulières mais ne sont distingués que par l'esprit et par la raison et sont présentés comme antérieurs à ces choses, bien qu'ils n'existent pas du tout séparément de ces choses, bien qu'ils n'existent pas du tout séparément de ces choses (περὶ τῶν καθόλου ὡς καθόλου, ἅπερ ἐν τοῖς μερικοῖς εἰσι, νῶ καὶ λόγῳ μόνῳ τούτων διαιρούμενα καὶ πρὸ τῶν πολλῶν νοούμενα, τὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἄνευ μηδαμῶς ὄντα)» (*Cent cinquante chapitres*, 81¹¹). La doctrine sur les universaux dans la philosophie byzantine s'est formée sous l'influence de l'école philosophique d'Ammônios d'Alexandrie, fondateur de la tradition néoplatonicienne des commentaires d'Aristôte, et notamment sous l'influence du philosophe David l'Invincible (Anhaght) qui était probablement chrétien et dont les œuvres avaient une grande autorité à Byzance.¹² Selon cette doctrine, « the universal-ideal substances not only have a reality independent of the knowing subject, but they also have an existence truer than of sensible beings »; « the universal is the truly "first" substance (even if called the "second"), above the particular substance in the ontological order; and this primacy would not occur if the intelligible were purely a conceptual reality ».¹³ Cependant,

(9) SINKIEWICZ, Saint Gregory Palamas. *The One Hundred and Fifty Chapters*, § 87 (p. 184–187, texte/transl.).

(10) Voir : И. МЕЙЕНДОРФ, *Жизнь и труды святителя Григория Паламы. Введение в изучение*, пер. Г. Н. Начинкина под ред. И. П. Медведева и В. М. Лурье (Санкт-Петербург, 1997) (*Subsidia byzantinorossica*, 2) 166–171.

(11) SINKIEWICZ, Saint Gregory Palamas. *The One Hundred and Fifty Chapters*, 176, l. 11–14.

(12) Voir : L. BENAKIS, The problem of general Concepts in Neoplatonism and Byzantine Thought, dans : D. J. O'MEARA (ed.), *Neoplatonism and Christian Thought* (Norfolk, 1982) 75–86; Д. С. БИРЮКОВ, Николай Мефонский. Полемика с латинянами и с Сотирихом, учение о Пятидесятнице и опровержение Прокла в контексте учения об иерархии причин и проблемы универсалий, dans : Г. И. БЕНЕВИЧ (сост., ред.), Д. С. БИРЮКОВ (ред.), *Антология восточно-христианской богословской мысли. Ортодоксия и гетеродоксия*. Т. 2 (Москва—Санкт-Петербург, 2009) (*Smaragdus Philocalias; Византийская философия*, 5) 364–367.

(13) BENAKIS, The problem of general Concepts..., 81–82.

les commentateurs alexandrins estimaient que le monde des formes n'existait pas en dehors de l'ordre naturel du monde, mais que les formes existaient dans les choses isolées et concrètes ou plutôt que les choses isolées expriment les formes qui se manifestent en elles. Cette conception se distingue de la doctrine platonicienne sur les idées, et L. Benakis l'a nommé « conceptual realism ». D'après Ammônios et son école, « notre capacité de penser aux choses isolées en termes du général ne peut être expliquée que par l'admission de l'existence réelle de ce général ».¹⁴

Il est évident qu'en ce qui concerne les idées, le P. Antoine s'en tient au « réalisme conceptuel » propre à la philosophie byzantine. En effet, d'après Boulatovitch, l'existence des idées est une condition du processus de la pensée :

« Ainsi que l'œil ne pourrait voir s'il n'y avait pas d'objets et de rayons reflétant leurs figures, de même l'Ange ni l'homme ne pourraient penser s'il n'y avait pas ce qui existe et des idées reflétant tout ce qui existe » (*MP*, 198).

Par la même analogie, ainsi que la cécité de l'homme n'influe pas sur l'existence des objets et des rayons qui s'en reflètent, de même la cécité de l'esprit « ne peut pas abolir l'existence des rayons intellectuels dans les idées qui reflètent tout ce qui existe, même si l'homme jusqu'à présent n'a pas connu un grand nombre de ces idées et ne les a pas nommées (*MP*, 198). Ainsi, le P. Antoine reconnaît la primauté des idées par rapport à la pensée :

« Ce n'est donc pas la pensée humaine qui a créé le monde des idées, mais l'élément des idées qui donne de la nourriture et de la matière à la pensée humaine. Et ce n'est pas l'homme qui a inventé la langue et les mots articulés, mais l'existence des idées contemplées par l'esprit qui a donné vie à l'expression de ces idées par des sons articulés. <...> L'existence des mêmes idées chez les peuples les plus lointains prouve l'existence des idées indépendamment de l'homme. La négation de l'existence des idées hors de la pensée humaine et l'affirmation que les idées existent dans la pensée humaine seulement et non pas hors d'elle, équivalent à la négation de l'existence des rayons venant de tous les objets visibles et à l'affirmation

(14) С. В. МЕСЯЦ, К вопросу о «частных сущностях» у Аммония Александрийского. По поводу статьи В. М. Лурье «Богословский синтез VII века: св. Максим Исповедник и его эпоха», *Богословский вестник* 5–6 (2005–2006) 679.

que ces rayons n'existent soi-disant que dans l'acte de la vision de l'œil humain » (*MP*, 199).

Après la création de tout ce qui existe et des idées de ce qui existe, ainsi que des êtres doués de raison et capables de percevoir ces idées, la Vérité divine « a rayonné et brillé par les innombrables rayons dans les innombrables idées et notions créées en révélant la connaissance et la contemplation de la Vérité éternelle et des Paroles du Verbe à la créature pensante et douée de parole » (*MP*, 200). En révélant ses vérités à l'esprit humain Dieu emploie les idées créées : il « s'incarne, pour ainsi dire, dans les idées et les paroles par Son Activité verbale » ; de même le diable emploie les idées pour inspirer aux hommes des mauvaises pensées ; mais il existe un domaine d'idées « exempt dans une certaine mesure » des influences particulières de Dieu ou du diable, ce sont, par exemple, toutes les vérités scientifiques (*MP*, 198–199).

Cette doctrine sur l'« incarnation » de Dieu dans les paroles est très consonante à la doctrine de S. Maxime le Confesseur sur la révélation de Dieu aux hommes : comme le Dieu Verbe est venu chez les hommes qui ne pouvaient pas être en contact avec les choses divines « par l'esprit nu », pour s'exprimer devant eux « il s'est fait chair dans laquelle s'unissent beaucoup de narrations, de paraboles et de sentences abstruses » ; de cette façon « le Verbe s'est fait chair par chacune des sentences écrites » (*Chapitres sur la théologie et l'économie de l'incarnation*, II.60).

D'après Boulatovitch, une vérité divine exprimée par un mot n'est pas uniquement « un produit de l'activité de la pensée humaine » n'ayant pas d'existence réelle hors de l'esprit humain, car « outre les esprits humains il existe la Pensée Divine, éternellement vivante et efficace, et cette Pensée toujours vivante et efficace est la lumière intellectuelle aux rayons de laquelle seulement toute Vérité Divine peut être vue. Cette Pensée Divine brille toujours dans les Paroles et les Noms donnés par Dieu » (*JF*, 187) et peut être perçue par « l'œil spirituel » : quand le Christ « ouvrit [aux apôtres] l'esprit à l'intelligence des Écritures » (Lk 24 : 45), il leur a donné précisément la capacité de voir la Vérité divine qui s'y trouvait. Ce don de compréhension peut être donné et enlevé selon la conduite de l'homme, mais « la Lumière intellectuelle des Paroles et des Noms de Dieu demeure parmi nous invariable, impérissable, immuable et toujours vivante » (*JF*, 191).

C'est en cela que consiste la différence entre la connaissance du monde créé et la connaissance de Dieu :

« L'homme arrive aux connaissances de tout ce qui existe dans le monde par la voie de la connaissance expérimentale et de l'examen mental des choses connues, et par la voie de conclusions logiques <...>. Mais il ne peut pas arriver à la vraie connaissance de l'Incompréhensible, Inconnaissable et Invisible Dieu par la réflexion sur tout ce qu'il connaît de façon expérimentale dans le monde. Il n'existe pas dans le monde de prémisses expérimentalement connues qui amèneraient avec nécessité logique l'esprit humain à la connaissance véritable et péremptoire du Dieu Véritable. Les hommes comprennent différemment même la vérité qui semble pourtant péremptoire que Dieu est le Créateur de l'univers et le Maître-de-tout, et certains la nient », et l'homme ne peut trouver « la connaissance des qualités véritables de Dieu » que « dans les Paroles de la Révélation Divine » (JF, 188).

On peut comparer cela avec la doctrine de S. Grégoire Palamas qui marque lui aussi la limite nette entre la connaissance scientifique des choses terrestres et la connaissance révélée par Dieu sur Lui-même : la première « se compose de perceptions partielles » et « se forme dans les sens et l'imagination grâce à l'esprit », mais « cette connaissance ne peut pas être nommée spirituelle », c'est une connaissance « naturelle, parce qu'elle ne peut pas contenir ce qu'appartient au Saint-Esprit » (*Cent cinquante chapitres*, 20). Bien qu'on puisse connaître Dieu à travers ses œuvres, puisque le monde est une espèce de miroir reflétant le Créateur, cette connaissance est néanmoins incomplète et imparfaite. La véritable connaissance de Dieu dont parle le P. Antoine dans la citation ci-dessus ne peut être reçue que par la révélation de Dieu lui-même, par la contemplation menant vers la théologie véritable.¹⁵ Ainsi, de nouveau, Boulatovitch se montre ici partisan des palamites.

Dans la gnoséologie du P. Antoine la connaissance est étroitement liée à la nomination : « Tout ce que nous pouvons *connaître*, nous pouvons le *nommer* et exprimer nos pensées par les mots » (JF, 82, cf. 186), — et de même, en connaissant Dieu par ses actions nous le nommons par ses qualités. Bien que dans les langues différentes il y ait des mots qui sonnent et s'écrivent différemment, la dénotation reste la même, et *précisément cette dénotation — une qualité ou l'une énergie de Dieu — est, selon le P. Antoine, un nom de Dieu au sens propre* :

(15) Pour des détails là-dessus voir : A. ANTONOPOULOS, CH. TEREZIS, Aspects on the Relation between Facts and Knowledge According to Gregory Palamas, BZ 101 (2008) 2–20.

« Les lettres et les sons sont les signes conventionnels, différents dans les langues différentes, mais la vérité exprimée par ces lettres et ces sons dans toutes les langues et par toutes les expressions est toujours la même, et cette vérité est d'origine Divine, elle est toujours en Dieu, et Dieu est toujours en elle. Voilà ce que nous nommons "nom" en distinguant le nom, la graphie du nom et le son du nom. Le Nom de Dieu est la vérité unique et, comme le Soleil dans de miroirs innombrables, Il se reflète dans les paroles par lesquelles les hommes nomment Dieu, et non seulement se reflète, mais aussi éclaire et réchauffe les cœurs de ceux confessant le Nom du Seigneur. Dans ce sens le Nom de Dieu et le Nom de Jésus est la vraie Vie venant de Dieu et de la Lumière, et l'Activité de la Divinité ou bien, comme nous le disons, Dieu Lui-même » (*Req.*, 5).

« Dieu est partout et connaît tout, Il voit toujours toute graphie de Son Nom, entend tout appel de Son Nom, et c'est pourquoi Il réside toujours par Son Énergie dans Ses Noms » (*MP*, 173; cf. 184).

Ainsi, certains noms ou notions deviennent Noms de Dieu et se remplissent de l'énergie divine depuis le moment où l'homme les rapporte à Dieu.

« Les onomatoclastes », écrit le P. Antoine, « pour réfuter plus facilement la Divinité et la Puissance Divine des Noms de Dieu, nient l'essence mystique des Noms de Dieu. En se basant sur le fait que la Vérité sur Dieu est exprimée symboliquement par telle ou telle idée créée et que cette idée est exprimée symboliquement par les sons de la voix humaine, <...> ils ne veulent voir dans tout Nom de Dieu qu'un symbole, un son et une idée ; et la Vérité exprimée par ce symbole, ils ne veulent pas la considérer comme l'essence du Nom de Dieu mais la considèrent comme existant indépendamment du Nom » (*MP*, 181–182).¹⁶

Mais, selon Boulatovitch, c'est impossible : depuis le moment où nous avons rapporté un certain nom à Dieu, pendant la prière et toute conversation ou écriture sur Dieu, ce nom se remplit inévitablement d'un contenu intérieur tout-à-fait différent de celui d'un mot ordinaire, — il « se remplit du contenu intérieur de la Révélation Divine », c'est-à-dire de l'énergie divine, il devient « vérité de la Vérité Trihypostatique », et précisément ce contenu intérieur, « contenu intel-

(16) En effet, un pareil nominalisme était propre à la plupart des onomatoclastes, voir en détail : Д. Лескин, *Спор об имени Божиим. Философия имени в России в контексте афонских событий 1910-х гг.* (Санкт-Петербург, 2004) (Византийская библиотека) 91–137.

lectuel constitue son essence exprimée par une idée nommée » (MP, 182–183). Cette essence du nom est « l'énergie vivante et efficace de Dieu » (JF, 168). Il est à noter que pour le P. Antoine « le contenu *intellectuel* » ou la dénotation du nom de Dieu ne signifie évidemment pas une pensée créée mais une action de l'énergie divine. C'est ce que dans les écrits ascétiques on appelle « contemplation *intellectuelle* » de Dieu qui est l'action du Saint-Esprit et se distingue de tout mode terrestre de connaissance. Ce contenu ou « essence » des noms de Dieu en fait « des paroles de Dieu éternelles, efficaces, vivantes, impérissables et immuables, <...> la Vérité Divine » (JF, 36–37).

La doctrine du P. Antoine sur le monde des idées comme milieu nourrissant pour la pensée humaine ressemble un raisonnement de S. Jean de Kronstadt :

« Nous pouvons penser parce qu'il y a la Pensée infinie, comme nous respirons parce qu'il y a l'infini des airs. Voilà pourquoi les idées lucides sur un sujet s'appellent inspiration. Notre pensée s'écoule constamment à condition précisément de l'existence de l'Esprit infini et pensant. Voilà pourquoi les Apôtres disent : 'Ce n'est pas que de nous-mêmes nous soyons capables de penser quoi que ce soit comme venant de nous ; non, notre capacité vient de Dieu' [2 Co 3 : 5]. Voilà pourquoi le Sauveur dit aussi : 'ne cherchez pas avec inquiétude comment parler ou que dire : ce que vous aurez à dire vous sera donné sur le moment' [Mat 10 : 19]. Tu vois que les pensées et même la parole (l'inspiration) vient chez nous du dehors. Cependant c'est dans l'état de grâce et en cas de besoin ».¹⁷

Cette doctrine inspirait apparemment Boulatovitch quand il écrivait que les noms divins sont révélés par Dieu et que l'homme n'*invente* pas les idées de tout ce qui existe mais les *connait*.

Dans sa doctrine sur les noms de Dieu le P. Antoine attache beaucoup d'importance à la citation suivante de S. Grégoire de Nysse : « Les Saintes Écritures ont pu nommer Dieu par des milliers d'autres noms signifiant la hauteur et la beauté ; c'est pourquoi nous savons que quand on prononce un [de ces] nom, on prononce par cela silencieusement toute la liste de noms » (*Sur les béatitudes*, 4¹⁸). En interprétant ces paroles le P. Antoine écrit :

(17) Св. ИОАНН [СЕРГИЕВ] КРОНШТАДТСКИЙ, *Моя жизнь во Христе*, т. I (Минск, 1991) 7.

(18) Le texte grec : PG 44, col. 1241BC.

« S. Grégoire <...> exprime la même pensée que nous avons exprimée, que chaque nom de Dieu est ce Rayon de la Vérité dans lequel se voit tout le Soleil. Tout nom par lequel les hommes nomment Dieu est un mot transitoire et il tombe dans le vide¹⁹ quand il n'est pas rapporté à Dieu ; mais cette idée ordinaire employée, d'après la Révélation Divine, pour nommer Dieu cesse d'être une idée indépendante et devient une Vérité sur Dieu, avec laquelle se réunissent silencieusement toutes les autres Vérités révélées par Dieu, " toute la liste de noms " ; de cette façon tout ce que l'homme peut penser sur Dieu est l'ensemble de Ses Noms » (JF, 29–30).

On doit entendre par le nom de Dieu dans sa partie intérieure « la Vérité sur Dieu révélée par Dieu et qui représente un accord intellectuel — *la plénitude des Vérités dans lesquelles Dieu s'est révélé* » (JF, 185).

De cette façon l'homme, d'un côté, en parlant et en pensant sur Dieu, en le priant et en exprimant Son révélation et Ses noms par sa langue, emploie des idées, notions et sonorités créées qu'il emploie aussi en parlant des choses terrestres ; mais de l'autre côté, « bien que les Noms de Dieu soient formés par les mots et les idées créés, dans ces Noms brillent toujours, même s'ils ne sont pas toujours contemplés par nous, les Rayons de l'Activité verbale de la Divinité qui remplissent ces idées créées d'Esprit et de Vie, de Vérité et de Grâce, et de Bienveillance de la Divinité », c'est pourquoi cette vérité divine peut être nommée Dieu (MP, 201).

Ainsi, d'après le P. Antoine, les « pensées » non-crées de Dieu (ou « logoi » dans la terminologie des Pères byzantins) sont révélées par Dieu à l'homme par l'intermédiaire des idées créées qui ont pris naissance à la création du monde et existent dans les choses (c'est-à-dire des concepts généraux, des universaux), et que l'homme peut connaître et exprimer par sa langue. Dans ces conditions le même mot peut désigner des objets et des phénomènes du monde créé — et alors il

(19) C'est une allusion au 3^e *Discours Théologique* de S. Syméon le Nouveau Théologien : « ... les paroles des hommes sont transitoires et tombent dans le vide, tandis que la Parole de Dieu est vivante, substantielle et efficace, vrai Dieu, de même Dieu, la Vérité, transcende la pensée et la parole humaine » (J. DARROUZÈS (éd.), *Syméon le Nouveau Théologien. Traités théologiques et éthiques*, t. I (Paris, 1966) (Sources Chrétiennes, 122) 168 (texte, l. 187–190)/169 (trad.). Boulatovitch citait souvent ce passage en utilisant l'édition de Dionysios Zagoraios ; il refuse d'utiliser la traduction russe des œuvres de S. Syméon comme incorrecte, voir en détail : Т. А. СЕНИНА (монахиня Кассия), Св. Симеон Новый Богослов в творениях иеросхимонаха Антония (Булатовича), *Волшебная гора XV* (2009) 37–57.

reste une notion ordinaire et « humaine », — mais peut désigner aussi une qualité/énergie de Dieu, et dans ce cas il devient un nom de Dieu et se remplit de Sa grâce.

SUMMARY

One of the most interesting parts of the theory of divine names proposed by the Athonite imiaslavtsy (onomatodoxes) is their theory of knowledge and doctrine of ideas, which were developed by Anthony Bulatovich. Bulatovich denied any pre-existence of the ideas but believed that they were created together with the creatures to make the created world knowledgeable and to allow to the rational creatures expressing of divine truths and, in particular, divine names. Thus, Bulatovich followed the Byzantine conceptual realism, which was the mainstream ontological view of the Fathers and, especially, Maximus the Confessor and Gregory Palamas.

**A NEW APPROACH TO THE ETYMOLOGY
OF THE OLD NORSE NAME OF KIEV —
KØNUGARÐR
(the thesis of Elsa Melin on the Name
given to Kiev in the Icelandic Sagas,
with an Excursus on *Kind* in Place-Names)***

One of the most interesting and intriguing linguistic problems of the early Middle Ages in Rus' (Russia) is the problem of how the Varangians and Eastern Slavs communicated. How great were the competences of all sides of this interrelationship? Was there some oral usage in which those languages mixed, and what role was played by the translation from one language to another in those intercultural contacts?

As is known, there is not much evidence of this language interaction at our disposal. A most important place in the list of such evidence is taken by toponyms, and, to be more exact, how the Scandinavians named various geographical places of the East Europe. Among the most famous of these geographical names were the Varangian names of three cities situated along the Way from the Varangians to the Greeks («путь из варяг в греки»): *Hólmgarðr* = Novgorod (Новгород), *Kønugarðr* = Kiev (Киев), and *Miklagarðr* = Constantinople (Константинополь). No doubt the element *-garðr* was the first to attract attention of the scholars, for it united all the three toponyms and the Old Norse name of Rus' — *Garðar* or *Garðaríki*. Thus, the Norse-Slavonic linguistic interaction here was manifested in the most obvious way since the Slavonic *grad*, *gorod* (*градъ*, *городъ*) and Old Norse *garðr*, *garðar* are close to each other in etymology and phonetics yet differ semantically. In Scandinavian languages *garðr* was known to designate 'farmstead, estate, enclosure, yard'. Only in the place-names cited

(*) Abbreviation: CCRC — *Полное собрание русских летописей* [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles]. Т. 1–43 (Санкт-Петербург — Москва — Ленинград, 1841–2004).

above did this element *garðr* acquired the “urban” coloring, which is intrinsic to the corresponding Slavonic words.¹

While there is some agreement among the scholars concerning the element *garðr*, no less important for the problem of the Varangian-Slavonic language contacts is the meaning of the first elements of our place-names *Hólm-*, *Mikla-* and *Kønu-* (*Kænu-*, *Kiænu-*, *Kænu-*). The origin of Constantinople’s name *Miklagarðr* seems obvious since the first element is simply an adjective *mikill* meaning ‘big, great’. The meaning of the whole name is then ‘Great city’. Discussion arises only on the base of various cultural-linguistic associations connected with this designation. With respect to Norse-Russian connections, here the fact should be mentioned that these Northern peoples did not use the autochthonous Greek name of the capital of the empire, but constructed their own names. Both those names, *Miklagarðr* and *Tsar’grad* (*Царьград*), undoubtedly were meant to stress the special state of Constantinople among other towns of the world. It is significant that in the Scandinavian tradition, the first element could be, apparently, just omitted: in the early prose texts, the Byzantine capital was designated as *Garðr*,² though the two-element name *Miklagarðr* remained more popular in sagas.

The situation is much more complicated with the toponym *Hólmgarðr* which is used for Novgorod in the Old-Norse texts. While for *Miklagarðr* only one, and a rather reliable, etymology exists, the first element of the place name *Hólmgarðr* has at least two etymologi-

(1) For detail, see: В. Томсен, Начало русского государства, in: А. Ф. Литвина, Ф. Б. Успенский (сост.), *Из истории русской культуры*. Т. II. Кн. 1. *Киевская и Московская Русь* (Москва, 2002) 189; V. THOMSEN, *Samlede Afhandlinger* 1. (København, 1919) 332; Е. А. РЫДЗЕВСКАЯ, О названии Руси *Garðaríki*, in: ЕАДЕМ, *Древняя Русь и Скандинавия (IX–XIV вв.)* (Москва, 1978) 143–150; Е. А. МЕЛЬНИКОВА, Восточноевропейские топонимы с корнем *-garð* в древнескандинавской письменности, *Скандинавский сборник* 22 (1977) 199–210; Т. Н. ДЖАКСОН, *Austr í Görðit: Древнерусские топонимы в древнескандинавских источниках* (Москва, 2001) 49–59; also cf.: F. B. USPENSKIJ, *Asgard, Midgard und Utgard in Kontext der altskandinavischen Toponymie zur Bezeichnung osteuropäischer Orte. Eine Etüde zur euhemeristischen Interpretation einiger mythologischen Objekte bei Snorri Sturluson*, in: *Das Wort* (Berlin, 2000) 225–242; Ф. Б. УСПЕНСКИЙ, *Скандинавы — Варяги — Русь: Историко-филологические очерки* (Москва, 2002) 371–389.

(2) See: USPENSKIJ, *Asgard, Midgard...*; УСПЕНСКИЙ, *Скандинавы...*, 290–291 with references.

cal versions.³ The element *hólmr-*, on the one hand, is close to the Slavonic *хълмъ* ‘hill’ and, on the other hand, some scholars see in this element the properly Scandinavian word *hólmr* ‘island’. Thus, for the Old Norse name of Novgorod stands either a toponymic concept of the town on the island, or some phonetic assimilation to the autochthonous name. The latter may have arisen because the Slavonic toponym *Holm* (*Хълмъ*) is mentioned in the chronicles as the designation of one of the Novgorod districts.⁴

Though it seems a paradox, from linguistic and historical viewpoints both explanations of the Old Norse *Hólmgarðr* appear to be acceptable. The matter is complicated by the fact that even if the Slavonic toponym *Holm-gorod* (*Хълмъ-город*) had been the original stem of the Old Norse place-name very early, its similarity to the Scandinavian lexeme *hólmr* ‘island’ would inevitably have been involved in the choice of the name, a process called “paronymic attraction.” Moreover, the topographic peculiarities that Varangians coming to Novgorod faced would have justified the name based on its meaning in their language as well.

Anyway, the town on the bank of the Volkhov river since a rather early time has been called by the Slavonic name *Novgorod* (*Новгород*), while in the Old Norse sources it preserves its name *Hólmgarðr*. Thus, two Scandinavian toponyms with the *-garðr* element give us visual examples of a cultural-linguistic model, in which there is no phonetic similarity between the initial elements of the local and foreign names of a town, though, nevertheless, they exist alongside with each other for several centuries. Indeed, *Miklagarðr*, *Tsar’grad* (*Царьград*) and *Constantinople*, *Hólmgarðr* and *Novgorod* (*Новгород*) are names partially similar in the word-forming principles, though having nothing in common from the viewpoint of the phonetics of their initial components.

Especially unclear are the semantics and origin of the Scandinavian name of “the mother of the towns of the Rus”, *Konugarðr* = Kiev. By its phonetic image and inner structure, this Scandinavian word may be

(3) For a survey of the history of the problem, see: ДЖАКСОН, *Austr í Görðum...*, 83–90.

(4) Previously, V. L. Yanin and M. H. Aleshkovsky advanced a hypothesis that *Holm-gorod* (*Хълмъ-город*, i.e. ‘Hill-town’) had been the original, most ancient name of one of the settlements that later formed Novgorod (see: В. Л. ЯНИН, М. Х. АЛЕШКОВСКИЙ, Происхождение Новгорода (К постановке проблемы), *История СССР* 2 (1971) 41).

connected with the Old-Russian *Kiev* (Кыѣвъ), but the connection is not close at all; therefore, at first sight both the hypotheses of the similar origins of these names and those considering them as independent seem equally possible.

For example, V. Thomsen once proposed a connection of the first element in the word *Kønugarðr* with the Old Norse *kæna* (*kóna*), meaning a certain kind of boat. *Kønugarðr* (*Kænugarðr*), thus, appeared to mean for the Scandinavians a sort of 'town of boats'.⁵ However, the scholar used this etymological supposition with a question mark, considering it neither evident nor doubtless. Indeed, in the existing Old Norse texts the word *kæna* occurs but very rarely. As a matter of fact, just two cases of its usage are known, one of them being rather ambiguous. The word *kæna* figures in one of *pula* (versified list of poetical synonyms) of the Younger Edda where various terms signifying different vessels⁶ are given without indications of any characteristics of each of them. Thus, if we had had no second case of the usage of this word we would have called *kæna* an exotic poetical term.

As for the second case, it is very difficult for interpretation as it is. I mean the nickname of some noble Norwegian who lived rather late, in the second half of the 12th century. In the sagas and poems by Þór-björn Skakkaskáld he appears as *Frírek Kæna*,⁷ however, the meaning of his nickname is interpreted differently by scholars. It is either connected with the boat,⁸ or with the adjective *koenn* 'skilful, clever'.⁹ A significant argument in favor of one of the interpretations of the nickname, and also of the estimation of the occurrence of the word *kæna* in the Old Norse in general, is the evidence of modern Icelandic,

(5) See: ТОМСЕН, Начало русского государства, 189; cf.: B. HESSELMAN, Kritiska småbidrag till fornisländsk ordhistoria, Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift 32.3 (1925) 105–111. This hypothesis is criticized, in particular, in the paper: G. SCHRAMM, Die normannischen Namen für Kiev und Novgorod, *Russia Mediaevalis* 5.1 (1984) 79; B. STRUMIŃSKI, *Linguistic Interrelations in Early Rus': Northmenn, Finns and East Slavs (Ninth to Eleventh Centuries)* (Roma—Toronto, 1996) (Collana di Filologia e Letterature Slave, 2) 121–132.

(6) See: Finnur JÓNSSON, *Den norsk-islandske Skjaldedigtning*. B (Rettet tekst), Bd. I (København, 1973) 668.

(7) See, for example: *Ibid.*, 516.

(8) See, for example: J. FRITZNER, *Ordbog over det gamle norske Sprog*, Bd. 2 (Oslo, 1954) 386; cf.: HESSELMAN, *Kritiska småbidrag...*, 108.

(9) See: E. H. LIND, *Norsk-Islandska Personbinamn från Medeltiden. Samlade och utgivna med Förklaringar* (Uppsala, 1920–1921) 232.

where the word *kæna* in the meaning of ‘small boat, canoe’ is reliably observed.¹⁰

It follows from the foregoing that V. Thomsen’s hypothesis does not imply any direct etymological connection between the Slavonic name *Kiev* (*Кыѣвъ*) and the Scandinavian *Kønugarðr* (*Kænugarðr*).

In the alternative etymology, the name *Kønugarðr* was related to *Kijanov gorod* (*Киянов город*) which occurs once in the bylinas.¹¹ It was assumed that this form developed from a certain toponym **Kyjan(ov)-gorod* (**Кыян(ов)ъ-городъ*) that, however, was not found in any source. In my opinion, the absence of this toponym in the texts is quite understandable. Indeed, the scholars (J. Mikkola, and later S. Rožniecki and V. Brim) assumed that the initial element *Kijan-* / **Kyjan-* (*Киянъ-* / *Кыянъ-*) “is the genitive case plural of Kijanin, Kyjanin, i.e.

(10) It is possible that some trace of these ‘boat’ semantics of the Old Norse name of Kiev can be found in the later Old Russian eponymic legend, where the chronicler had to refute the rumour about Kii, the founder of the city, being a boatman: “Some ignorant persons have claimed that Kii was a ferryman, for near Kiev there was at that time a ferry from the other side of the river, in consequence of which people used to say, “To Kii’s ferry.” Now, if Kii had been a mere ferryman, he would never have gone to Constantinople. He was then the chief of his kin, and it is related what great honour he received from the emperor when he went to visit him. On his homeward journey, he arrived at the Danube. The place pleased him, and he built a small town, wishing to dwell there with his kinfolk. But those who lived nearby would not grant him this privilege. Yet even now the dwellers by the Danube call this town Kievetz. When Kii returned to Kiev, his native city, he ended his life there; and his brothers Shchek and Khoriv, as well as their sister Lybed, died there also” (CCCR, vol. I, col. 9–10; vol. II, col. 7–8). No doubt, the evidence from Constantine Porphyrogenitus repeatedly mentioned by scholars, which attests to Kiev as the place where one-tree boats were brought to, made by the Slavs for the Rus’ (i.e. Scandinavians) (Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio* (Washington, 1967) Ch. 9).

(11) See: J. J. MIKKOLA, Om några ortnamn i Garðaríke, *ANF* 19 (1907) 270–280; С. РОЖНЕЦКИЙ, Из истории Киева и Днепра в былевом эпосе, *Известия Отделения русского языка и словесности Российской академии наук* 16.1 (1911) 28–63; S. ROŽNIECKI, *Varaegiske minder i den russiske heltedigtning* (København, 1914) 283–284; SCHRAMM, *Die normannischen Namen...*, 77–78; H. TRUNTE, Kyj — ein altrussischer Städtegründer?, *Die Welt der Slawen* 12 (1988) 13; cf. also: THOMSEN, *Samlede Afhandlinger*, 314; J. DE VRIES, *Altnordisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Leiden, 1977) 342. Of the recent papers, see: ДЖАК-СОН, *Austr í Görðum...*, 64–68 with references. In addition, see: STRUMIŃSKI, *Linguistic Interrelations in Early Rus’...*, 121–132, where the author disagrees with this viewpoint.

inhabitants of Kiev.”¹² According to S. Rožniecki, the toponym should be interpreted as ‘the town of inhabitants of Kiev’ («город киян»).¹³ It seems that this model of city naming including the genitive plural of the name of the city inhabitants plus a suffix meaning “town or “city” (*градъ, городъ*) has no ground in the East Slavonic material. Neither in the Old-Russian texts nor in modern Russian could we find toponyms formed by this model. The reconstruction of a non-existent Slavonic place name **Kyjān(ov)-gorod* (**Кыян(ов)ъ-городъ*) seems less convincing. As S. Rožniecki pointed out, the rare expression from bylinas was rather connected not with the city on the bank of the Dnepr, but with the popular etymology, the mythic or poetic theme of *Okijan gorod* («Окиян-город», lit. ‘Ocean city’).

Thus, the hypothesis implying that the Scandinavian *Kønugarðr* from the very beginning had been derived from the phonetically similar Slavonic place-name seems less valid than the one implying the proper Scandinavian origin of this word. It should be taken in consideration, however, that these two hypotheses do not exclude each other. During the centuries of rather close Scandinavian-Russian contacts, a place-name that had been originally understood by the Varangians as ‘town of boats’, later could be interpreted as ‘town of kijans (the inhabitants of Kiev)’. The original etymology of the word could have got mixed up rather early with the popular etymology; certainly, this popular etymology eclipsing the original meaning of the place-name would not be less interesting or informative for a historian of language and culture. Moreover, often the latest connotations acquired by a word during its existence are so expressive that the problems of the “right” etymology become not so important and often unsolvable in principle.

Nevertheless, the original Scandinavian name of Kiev is not so mysterious that ascertaining its etymology with a reasonable degree of certainty is hopeless. It is true that neither the Scandinavian nor the Slavonic language material gives us a clear and unquestionable explanation of *Kønugarðr*. In other words, while we have a single, all-satisfying etymology of the place-name *Miklagarðr*, and two equally valid ones for the Scandinavian name of Novgorod (*Hólmgarðr*), for

(12) See: В. А. БРИМ, Путь из варяг в греки, in: А. Ф. ЛИТВИНА, Ф. Б. УСПЕНСКИЙ (сост.), *Из истории русской культуры*. Т. II. Кн. 1. Киевская и Московская Русь (Москва, 2002) 252.

(13) See: РОЖНЕЦКИЙ, *Из истории Киева и Днепра...*, 50.

Kønugarðr, strictly speaking, there is no etymological explanation that could be fully exhaustive and convincing even for its supporters. But it may be possible to find some criteria which should be satisfied by any reconstruction of the genesis of the Scandinavian *Kønugarðr*. In particular, when we advance this or that new solution of the problem based on linguistic grounds, the value of the hypothesis increases if we are able to adduce some independent historical or historical-cultural arguments in its favor.

In this respect, a quite recent paper by the Swedish researcher Elsa Melin is very interesting.¹⁴ Melin in her study of the etymology of *Kønugarðr*, gives a new solution of the problem of the search for correspondences to the element *kønu-* in the Scandinavian linguistic material quite different from those by V. Thomsen, J. Mikkola, E. A. Rydzevskaya, and other researchers. Melin refers the element *kønu-* to the Old Norse noun of feminine gender *kinn*, originating in turn from the Indo-European stem **genw-* / *genu-*. (As the author notes, the Old Norse word etymologically corresponds to the Greek *γένυς*, Latin *gena* ‘cheek, cheekbone’, Gothic *kinnus* ‘cheek’, cf. also Old Indian *hānu-*, Avestian *zānu-* ‘cheekbone’, Old Irish *gin* ‘mouth’, Lithuanian *žánda-s* ‘cheek, cheekbone’, and Tocharian *śanwem* (Dualis) ‘cheekbone’.) Of several concurrent spelling forms of the Old Norse place-name (*Kenugarðr*, *Kænuugarðr*, *Kiænuugarðr*, *Kænuugarðr*, *Kiænuugarðr*, *Kønugarðr*) Melin choose *Kønugarðr* as the most appropriate to the phonetic image of the word in question in the epoch when the growing town acquired its Scandinavian name. Further, she explains how this phonetic image was formed.

Her reconstruction of the alternative way that resulted in *-i-* instead of *-ø-* in the survived noun *kinn* in one of the elements of this place-name is rather complicated.¹⁵ Let us try, without going into de-

(14) See: E. MELIN, *Kønugarðr*, the Name given to Kiev in the Icelandic Sagas, with an Excursus on *Kind* in Place-Names, *ANF* 120 (2005) 55–68.

(15) The existence of two variants of the stem (*kinn-* and *ken-*) for the word ‘cheek, chin’ is not surprising: as Prof. O. A. Smirnitskaya has observed (in an oral communication), the parts of the human body recognized as cosmogonic objects in the Old Germanic languages made a special group and could be varied in many ways. In particular, there were variations in the post-vocal consonants which at the following stages of language development could determine this or that vocalism of the stem. The many-step character of Melin’s reconstruction was much conditioned by the fact that she had to justify two stages of not quite usual evolutionary changes that had occurred, in

tail in her analysis of the phonetic transformations, to consider what consequences may be derived from the very idea of identity of the elements *kønu-* (from **ken-*) and *kinn*.

The word *kinn* in the Old Norse sources may have the meaning 'cheek' and the meaning 'a slope of the mountain' or 'a hill'. This to the highest degree corresponds to the universal linguistic tendency to transfer names of parts of the body and face to elements of landscape.¹⁶ These metaphorical names are, so to say, readily "toponymized," that is, fixed to a certain locus and turned into its stable name. In Melin's paper Scandinavian material is referred to in which the place-names treat such anatomical elements in different ways. The next step of the researcher was a conclusion, quite right in my opinion, that the Scandinavian place-name containing the element *kinn-* is a *cálque* or, in any case, translation, of a certain Slavonic toponym.

As for Melin's opinion of the question as to which local place-name is reflected in the Old Norse *Kønu-garðr*, here, I believe, the researcher rejects a direct and easily proved solution and takes the way which is much more complicated and dubious. She assumes that the Scandinavian *kinn* 'the slope of a hill, cheek' contained in *Kønu-garðr* is the *cálque* of the place-name *Kiev* (Кыѣвъ) which in its turn was derived from the Slavonic **kij* 'hill' reconstructed by the author¹⁷ (sic! must be **kyjъ* or **kūj*).

First, the reconstruction of the meaning of Slavonic **kij* (i. e. **kyjъ* or **kūj*) is at least dubious. Apparently, the researcher's interpretation follows from the thesis of S. Rospond, who supposed that the Slavonic name of the town derived from the stem **kūj* and believed it was connected with the Polish dialectal *kujawa* 'sand hill'.¹⁸ Here too both the

her opinion, with the Indo European stem **genw- / genu-* on the Scandinavian background. First, she had to explain in what way, alongside with *kinn*, the stem **ken* appeared. In addition, the subsequent labial mutation (umlaut) of this hypothetic stem **ken* also deserved further comment (the stem **ken* led to the element *kønu-* we are interested in). It should be noted that the linguistic concept by Melin requires accepting a number of theoretically probable but by far not doubtless assumptions and reconstructions. For detail, see: MELIN, *Kønu-garðr*, the Name given to Kiev..., 58–59.

(16) See: O. RYGH, *Norske Gaardnavne 2* (Kristiania, 1898) 60; cf.: E. EKWALL, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (Oxford, 1960) 105.

(17) See: MELIN, *Kønu-garðr*, the Name given to Kiev..., 62.

(18) See: С. РОСПОНД, Значение древнерусской ономастики для истории (К этимологии топонима Киев), *Вопросы языкознания* 1 (1968)

origin of the original stem and its semantics remain unclear. For example V. V. Ivanov and V. N. Toporov assume **kūjb* to be a derivative of **kov-* with the main meaning ‘club, hammer, rod, warder’.¹⁹ This interpretation of the Slavonic **kūjb* comes close to the traditional etymology of this word including the meaning ‘stick, rod, wooden hammer’ and is supported by a vast Baltic-Slavonic material.²⁰

Second, and in my opinion more important: in connecting the Scandinavian *kinn* with rather dubious Slavonic ‘hill’ (**kij*, i. e. **kyjb* or **kūj*) Melin ignores a very expressive detail of the landscape of the Old Russian town and the famous topographic legend about how Kiev had been founded.

I would like to call attention to the fact that one of the high places of ancient Kiev usually called “mountains” was long ago named *Shchekovica / Shchekavica* (*Щековица / Щекавица*, from the Russian *shcheka* (*щека*) which means ‘cheek’). Most probably, this place-name was formed according to the same universal model of using anthropomorphic elements as did some Scandinavian geographic names. Generally speaking, the Russian words *shcheka*, *shchjeki* (*щека*, *щеки*) ‘cheek, cheeks’ traditionally have an additional meaning, which is now preserved in some dialects — ‘steep, rocky bank of the river’.²¹ It is quite possible that this meaning was reflected in another old Russian place-name, the name of the town *Shchekarev* in Volyn’.²²

As for the *Shchekovica* in Kiev, it resembled one of the most important town centers during the Middle Ages. We have a story from the Hypatian Chronicle under 1182 where the monks of Kievo-Pecherskiy monastery unanimously decide to elect the priest of the church situated on *Shchekovica* their Father-Superior.²³ No doubt, much more interesting for my etymological investigation is the famous “early”

103–110; ИДЕМ, *Miscellanea onomastica Rossica. I. Летопись Нестора как ономастический источник. II. Еще раз о Киеве*, in: *Восточнославянская ономастика: Материалы и исследования* (Москва, 1979) 5–47.

(19) See: В. В. ИВАНОВ, В. Н. ТОРОПОВ, *Мифологические географические названия как источник для реконструкции этногенеза и древнейшей истории славян*, in: *Вопросы этногенеза и этнической истории славян и восточных романцев: Методология и историография* (Москва, 1976) 120.

(20) See: М. ФАСМЕР, *Этимологический словарь русского языка в четырех томах*, т. II (Москва, 1996) 230, 231.

(21) See, for example: *Ibid.*, т. IV, 499.

(22) See: CCRC, vol. II, col. 737, 888.

(23) See: *Ibid.*, col. 627.

communication from the Tale of Bygone Years about the pre-Christian history of Kiev, in particular the death and burial of the Prince Oleg the Prophet. According to the Chronicle he was buried on the “mountain” *Shchekovica*: “They bore him away and buried him upon the hill which is called *Shchekovica*. His tomb stands there to this day, and it is called the Tomb of Oleg.”²⁴ As it is well known, in the Novgorodian First Chronicle another version concerning the place of Oleg’s tomb is contained. According to that source, he was buried not in Kiev but in Ladoga.²⁵ From the Chronicler’s comments it is clear that for the epoch of both sources the time of Prince Oleg was the time of legends. However, it is possible that the location of his tomb was connected with the places that were associated with the zones and centers of the Varangian settlements in Rus’. In other words, *Shchekovica* as well suits the burial of the great Varangian as the traditionally “scandinavized” Ladoga (*Aldeigjuborg* in Old Norse sources).

Thus, the existence of the ancient place-name *Shchekovica* cannot but be connected with Melin’s etymology of the Old Norse name of the town. Moreover, the presence of the appropriate Slavonic name drastically increases the likelihood that this very interpretation of the element *kønu-* is the correct one rather than the alternatives. The identity of the two stems *shchek-* and *kønu-* alongside with the semantic transparency of the Slavonic element allows a more reliable judgment on the proper Scandinavian element.

Naturally, in this connection we must recollect the legend about Kiev’s foundation contained in the Chronicle: “There were three brothers, Kii, Shchek, and Khoriv, and their sister was named Lybed’.”²⁶ Kii lived

(24) “...и погребоша и на горѣ иже глѣтса Щековица естъ же его до сего дни словоъ могила Улгова” (CCRC, vol. II, col. 29 s. a. 912).

(25) See: CCRC, vol. III, 109.

(26) In connection with the place-name *Shchekovica*, there is a very interesting etymological interpretation of the toponym *Lybed’* (*Лыбедь*) that refers it to the Slavonic **lǫb-* (cf. the Russian *lybon’* (*лыбонь*) ‘the upper part of the head of an animal’) reflected in the name of a part of the head (**lǫbь*, *lob* [*лоб*] etc.) and rising ground in a landscape (a hill, cf. the Russian *vzlǫbok* (*взлѣбок*) etc.) (ИВАНОВ, ГОРОПОВ, Мифологические географические названия..., 123; cf.: ФАСМЕР, *Этимологический словарь русского языка...*, т. II, 538–539, 507). Similar anthropological correlations in the Slavonic names of the Kiev landscape are very challenging, however, and they require some additional support, at least, such as would be provided by the existence of some other toponymic pairs or complexes using at once several names of the parts of the face, in the Slavonic material.

upon the hill where the Borich trail now is, and Shchek dwelt upon the hill now named Shchekovica, while on the third resided Khoriv, after whom this hill is named Khorevitza. They built a town and named it Kiev after their oldest brother. Around the town lay a wood and a great pine forest in which they used to catch wild beasts. These men were wise and prudent; they were called Polianians, and there are Polianians descended from them living in Kiev to this day."²⁷

Needless to say, the names of the legendary relatives are, as is usually the case in eponymic legends, derivatives of the place-names. However, another detail of the narration is more significant for us: originally all the three settlements are considered as almost equal, but the Chronicle perspective is such that in the foundation of the town the dominant settlement becomes that one which is connected with Kii's name. In other words, of the three "mountains" the main one becomes that single one for which the Chronicler has no other name than the proper name of its inhabitant, while Shchekovica and Khorivica turn into the elements of the city landscape, parts of a certain whole.

However, the Chronicler's view may not have been universal. In the epoch in question Kiev was "a small town" or, to be more exact, a number of settlements connected with each other but rather scattered about. The relative importance of these settlements may have changed over time or the Varangian view may simply have diverged from that of the Chronicler. At some stage Shchekovica could have been recognized as the town-forming and "name-giving" locus. We can only guess at the reasons why this may have happened. It cannot be excluded that Shchekovica was specially connected with places of Varangians living within the future Kiev; perhaps, they stayed there, for some reason, while sailing the Dnepr.

At any rate, from the viewpoint of etymology, the explanation allowing a connection of the Old Norse name of Kiev with the Old Sla-

(27) "И быша три братия: единому имя Кии, второму же имя Щекъ, третьему же имя Хоривъ, а сестра их Лыбедь. И съдьяше Кьи на горѣ, идѣже нынѣ увоз Боричевъ, и бѣ с родомъ своимъ; а братъ его Щекъ на друзии горѣ, отъ него же прозвася Щековица; а третии Хоривъ, от него же прозвася Хоривица. И сотвориша градокъ, во имя брата своего старѣишаго и наркоша имя Кыевъ. И бяше около ихъ лѣсъ и боръ велик, и бяху ловища звѣрие. И беша мужи мудри и смысленъ, нарѣчахуся Поляне, и до сего дне от них же суть кыянъ; бяху же поганъ, жруще озером и кладязем и роцениемъ, якоже прочии погани" (CCRC, vol. III, col. 105; cf.: CCRC, vol. I, col. 9; vol. II, col. 7).

vonian name of one of its districts seems very attractive. For the history of the Slavonic-Varangian relations, that would be first of all a striking example of the possibility of an adequate translation from one language to another in the early epoch. The translation appears to be the more successful, as it uses the semantic potential of the stems *щек-* and *kønu-* in both languages, being not a morpheme calque, but a translation of the meaning.

Moreover, it may be assumed that a certain sense gap between the place-names *Kønugarðr* and *Shchekovica* (Щековица) reflects certain changes in the reality and/or the recognition of those changes. Indeed, as it has been already mentioned, toponyms with *-garðr* in the Old Norse nomenclature of Eastern Europe directly correspond to the names of towns and cities, while, apparently, there is no such correspondence to the status of the settlement in the structure of the Slavonic name *Shchekovica* (Щековица). In other words, the thing signified was changing and thus the signifier, at least in the other language, was also changing: the Slavonic toponym was associated with a part of the landscape and the settlement found there, while the Scandinavian name was associated with the town growing in the place of the settlement.

Thus, paraphrasing the legend, one may assert that the future capital of Rus' was recognized as the town of *Kii* by the Slavs and as the town of *Shchek* by the Varangians. The sense of the word *Kønugarðr* having a different nature from the Slavonic name *Kiev* (Кыѣвъ) and being directly connected with another toponym, in my opinion, is the most logical development of the hypothesis by Elsa Melin. The idea advanced in her paper allows us to avoid the fruitless task of seeking a logical basis for the phonetic similarity of the toponyms *Kiev* (Кыѣвъ) and *Kønugarðr*, a similarity which in any case is not very close. The supposition about the connection between the Scandinavian word *Kønugarðr* and the Slavonic *Shchekovica* (Щековица) requires a minimum of reconstructive efforts to validate the etymological guess. Although later during the existence of the toponym *Kønugarðr* it could become close to the fixed and widely known place-name *Kiev* (Кыѣвъ) in different ways, nevertheless, this most likely occurred at the next stage of Slavonic-Varangian interrelations. This very process of "paronymic attraction" especially over the long and stable life of a toponym often conceals its primary origin, to the great discontent of etymologists.

SUMMARY

One of the aspects of Slavic and Varangians language communication in Old Rus is the Vatangian toponym for *Kiev* — *Kønugarðr*. While in Scandinavian languages *garðr* was known to designate ‘farmstead, estate, enclosure, yard’, the origin and meaning of the first part of this place-name remains unclear. Following recent paper by the Swedish researcher Elsa Melin who in turn refers the element *kønu-* to the Old Norse noun *kinn*, originating from the Indo-European stem **genw- / genu-* ‘mouth; cheek; cheekbone’, the author argues that the element *kinn* in case of *Kønugarðr* is to be related not to ‘a cheek’ but ‘a slope of the mountain’ or ‘a hill’. This corresponds to the universal linguistic tendency to transfer names of parts of the body and face to elements of landscape. For Melin’s opinion, Scandinavian place-name containing the element *kinn-* is a *cálque* or, in any case, translation, of a certain Slavonic toponym, the author argues that *kønu-* (<*kinn-*) goes back not to **Kij-*, as Melin assumes, but to **Shchekovica / Shchekavica* (Щековица / Щекавица, from the Russian *shcheka* [щѣка] ‘cheek’), the name of one of the high places of ancient Kiev. The Russian words *shcheka*, *shchjeki* (щѣка, щѣки) ‘cheek, cheeks’ traditionally have an additional meaning, which is now preserved in some dialects — ‘steep, rocky bank of the river’. Thus, the existence of the ancient place-name *Shchekovica* cannot but be connected with Melin’s etymology of the Old Norse name of the town. The identity of the two stems *shchek-* and *kønu-* alongside with the semantic transparency of the Slavonic element allows a more reliable judgment on the proper Scandinavian element. While Slavic place-name *Kiev* is related to *Kij*, one of four legendary persons who founded the town, the Scandinavian toponym for the very same place corresponds with *Kij*’s brother *Schek*. Thus, paraphrasing the legend, one may assert that the future capital of Rus’ was recognized as the town of *Kii* by the Slavs and as the town of *Shchek* by the Varangians. For the history of the Slavonic-Varangian relations, that would be first of all a striking example of the possibility of an adequate translation from one language to another in the early epoch. The translation appears to be the more successful, as it uses the semantic potential of the stems *щѣк-* and *kønu-* in both languages, being not a morpheme *cálque*, but a translation of the meaning.

Bibliography

NOTES ON THE DESCRIPTION
OF THE OFFICE MENAIA IN THE “CATALOGUE
OF GREEK MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE
MANUSCRIPTS IN THE COLLECTIONS
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA”

N. KAVRUS-HOFFMANN, *Catalogue of Greek Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Collections of the United States of America*. Part I: Culumbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, *Manuscripta* 49 (2005) 165–245; Part II: The New York Public Library, *Manuscripta* 50 (2006) 21–76; Part III: Miscellaneous Small Collections of New York City, *Manuscripta* 51.1 (2007) 61–130; Part IV.1: The Morgan Library and Museum, *Manuscripta* 52.1 (2008) 65–174; Part IV.2, *Manuscripta* 52.2 (2008) 207–324; Part V.1: Harvard University, The Houghton Library, *Manuscripta* 54.1 (2010) 64–139; Part V.2, *Manuscripta* 54.2 (2010) 207–274.

The catalogue by Nadezhda Kavrus-Hoffmann “aims at describing with modern criteria all the known Greek manuscripts in the United States.”¹ The goal of these notes is not to review the catalogue nor to analyze this work which is published in one of the world leading journals dedicated to the manuscripts studies, and which has already deserved to be held in high esteem by the prominent scholars: “Достаточно сказать, что описание отличается полным охватом особенностей манускриптов и является четким и детальным.”² Cataldi Palau informs that “<a> two-lines description of the codex is followed by a detailed description of the Contents; transcriptions from the manuscripts, incipit, explicit, lacunae, are written as they appear in the codex, with the exception of capital letters, following today’s tendency in favour of a greater respect of the text as it appears in the manuscript.

(1) A. CATALDI PALAU, [Review], in: E. DOBRYNINA (ed.), *Chrysograph*, vol. 3: *Medieval book centres: local traditions and inter-regional connections* (Moscow: Scarnus, 2009) 538.

(2) Б. Л. ФОНКИЧ, [Review], in: E. DOBRYNINA (ed.), *Chrysograph*, vol. 3, 540.

<...> The Bibliography, which follows and ends the description of each manuscript, is rich and detailed. The A.<uthor> does not limit herself to the basic information, but discusses every relevant book she mentions, pointing out the main points of interest."³

The present notes are dedicated to the principals of the description of office Menaia. As is known, numerous catalogues of Byzantine manuscripts usually provide readers with standard, though by all means helpful, paleographical information, and sometimes even with remarks concerning deviations from the modern liturgical usage as represented by Roman or Venetian editions, but report nothing or almost nothing about a structure and content of the manuscripts.⁴ The tradition of the superficial description of Byzantine office Menaia ceased in the paradigmatic and fundamental catalogues by Herbert Hunger, Christian Hannick, Otto Kresten,⁵ and Salvatore Lilla.⁶ Their standart description of the content of the office Menaion includes *a*) indication of a month(s), the feasts which are included in the book, *b*) comprehensive description of the calendar, *c*) incipita of the hymnographic kanons with proper references to their publications including indication of volumes and pages (the necessity of which seems obvious). Moreover, in the most recent catalogue by Dorothey Getov the structure of the office Menaion has also been described⁷ (towards the structure of office Menaia see Roman Krivko's article in the present volume). Unfortunately, none of these criteria has been taken into consideration in the "Catalogue of Greek Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Collections of the United States of America" (hereafter: the Catalogue) nor the most important and up-to-date indices and editions has been used to identify the contents of the office Menaia.⁸ The only hymno-

(3) CATALDI PALAU, [Review], 538.

(4) For references at the catalogues see my article published in this volume.

(5) H. HUNGER, O. KRESTEN, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Teil 3/1: *Codices theologici 1–100* (Wien, 1976) (Museion N.F. 4, Bd. 1, T. 3,1).

(6) S. LILLA, *Codices Vaticanici graeci. Codices 2162–2254* (Vatican, 1985); IDEM, *Codices Vaticanici graeci. Codices 2644–2663* (Vatican, 1996).

(7) D. GETOV, *A Catalogue of Greek Liturgical Manuscripts in the „Ivan Dujčev Centre for Slavo-Byzantine Studies“* (Roma, 2007) (OCA, 279).

(8) Most relevant references chronologically ordered: H. FOLLIERI, *Initia hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae*, vol. I–V (1/2) (Città del Vaticano, 1960–1966) (Studi e testi, 211–215bis); E. FOLLIERI, *The "Initia Hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae" — Bi-*

graphic publications, which have been considered in the Catalogue, are *Roman Menaia* (hereafter: MR I–VI)⁹ and on-line resource "analogion.gr" containing Greek liturgical books of modern rite published in htm- and pdf-format.

The present notes are based on the first four parts of the Catalogue which I could overview, because the most recent issues of the journal "Manuscripta" which appeared in 2010 (54.1, pp. 64–151, and 54.2, pp. 207–274) and in 2011 (55.1, pp. 1–108) are unavailable to me.

Only five miscellanies containing offices for the fixed feasts of the ecclesiastical year have been described in the observed parts of the Catalogue. Such an insignificant number of hymnographic books is typical for non historical collections of private origin, by which Greek manuscript heritage is represented in the public libraries of the USA. The highest level of the precious paleographical analysis of the sources which was done by Nadezhda Kavrus-Hoffmann makes it hardly possible for readers to realize the reason of out-of-date way of contents description of hymnographic miscellanies. However, the information provided by the Catalogue may help to gain some additional knowledge regarding the contents of the sources.

1. New York University, Fales Library and Special Collections, possesses two disbound hymnographic fragments.

1.1 "Box 1, no. 114. *Menaion* (?), fragment, s.xiii^{ex}. <...> **contents** <...> Fols. 1r–v: *Menaion* (?), fragment. Inc. mut. (fol. 1r): //Μῆν Ἀυγούστος (sic) κθ'. Τοῦ τιμίου ἐνδόξου προφήτου Προδρομοῦ καὶ Βάπτιστος (sic) Ἰωάννου. Στιχ(η)ρ(όν) ΔΑ'. Ἦχ(ος) πλ(ἄγιος) Β'. Γενεθλήον (sic) τελουμένων ... ; Expl. mut. (fol. 1v): ... ἐπὶ πίνακος" (III, 96–97¹⁰).

biographical Supplement, in: E. Wellesz, M. Velimirovič (ed.), *Studies in Eastern Chant*, vol. II (1971) 35–50; AHG; E. ΠΑΠΑΝΔΙΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ-ΦΩΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, *Ταμείον ἀνεκδότων βυζαντινῶν ἀσματικῶν κανόνων seu Analecta Hymnica Graeca e Codicibus eruta Orientis Christiani*, 1: *Κανόνες Μηναίων* (Αθήναι, 1996); P. PLANK, C. LUTZKA, *Das byzantinische Eigengut der neuzeitlichen slavischen Menäen und seine griechischen Originale*, I–III Teilbände, hrsg. von Ch. HANNICK (Paderborn–München–Wien–Zürich: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006) (Abhandlungen der Nordrheinwestfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Bd. 112; *Patristica Slavica*, hrsg. von H. ROTHE, 12. Bd).

(9) *Μηναῖα τοῦ ὄλου ἐνιαυτοῦ*, t. I–VI (Ἐν Ῥώμῃ, 1888–1901).

(10) Hereafter "Roman" and "Arabic" numbers indicate the part of the Catalogue and the pages accordingly.

In this case the question mark is unnecessary. In the 13th c. a sticheron dedicated to a feast of the fixed ecclesiastical year could be placed either in the Menaion or in the Sticherarion.¹¹ Since musical notation is absent from the manuscript, and Sticheraria without musical notation did never exist, the fragment MS no. 114 is a part of a festal Menaion or a daily Menaion for August. No information about the publication of the sticheron dedicated to the Beheading of John the Baptist (August 29) Γενεθλίων τελουμένων τοῦ ἀναιδεστάτου Ἡρώδου has been provided in the Catalogue, although it was published several times according to the well known Index by Enrica Follieri.¹² (Hereafter all the incipita observed in Follieri's Index are not mentioned in the footnotes.)

1.2. "Box 1, no. 115. *Menaion* (?), fragment s.xiii (?) <...> **contents** <...> Fols. 1r–v: *Menaion* (?), fragment. Inc. mut. (fol. 1r): //σωθῆναι τοὺς ὑμνοῦντ(ας) ὑμ(ᾶς). Ἡ ἀνακομιδὴ τοῦ τιμίου λειψάνου τοῦ ἁγίου πρωτομάρτυρ(ος) καὶ ἀρχιδιακόνου Στεφάνου ... ; Expl. mut. (fol. 1v): ... καὶ ζωοποιῶ στ(αυ)ροῦ//" (III, 98–99).

The fragment is a part of a Menaion for August or a festal Menaion (see the arguments above), the question mark is unnecessary. The month is defined according to the feast mentioned in the Catalogue, that is the Translation of relics of protomartyr Stephanos (Ἡ ἀνακομιδὴ τοῦ τιμίου λειψάνου τοῦ ἁγίου πρωτομάρτυρ(ος) καὶ ἀρχιδιακόνου Στεφάνου) celebrated on the 2nd of August. The explicit καὶ ζωοποιῶ στ(αυ)ροῦ may be related to the Procession of the Most Reverant Wood of the Life-Giving Cross celebrated on the 1st of August, which makes it possible to doubt that the archival indication of "recto" and "verso" sides of the folio is correct, cf.: "Only thirteen lines of the text remain" (III, 98).

1.3. "[S.n.]. *Menaion*, beginning missing <...> s. xv^{2/4} <...> **contents** <...> Fols. 1r–414v: *Menaion*. No title <...> . Inc. mut. (fol. 1r): //ὁ (sic) τοῦ ἡλίου πρόδρομος ... ; Expl. mut. (fol. 414v): ... πολλῶν σοῦ θαυμάτων//" (III, 104). The manuscript begins with the office Menaion for January and probably contains the complete Menaion for this

(11) On "repertorium" of liturgical books in Byzantium and the most relevant editions and studies see the overview: Ch. HANNICK, Die byzantinischen liturgischen Handschriften, in: A. VON EUW, P. SCHREINER (Hrsg.), *Kaiserin Theophanu. Begegnung des Ostens und Westens um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends. Gedenkschrift des Kölner Schnütgen-Museums zum 1000. Todesjahr der Kaiserin*, Bd. 2 (Köln: Schnütgen-Museum, 1991) 33–40.

(12) FOLLIERI, *Initia...*, I, 246.

month, or the festal Menaion for the whole or the first part of the ecclesiastical year. This is testified by the following evidences: the codex consisted originally of fifty-five quires, and the first one has been lost (III, 104). In the beginning of the second quire the end of the office for the 1st of January has been preserved (see below), which implies that the lost quire contained the beginning of the office for this day.

The incipit of the sticheron the text of which contains the words ὁ τοῦ ἡλίου πρόδρομος is easy to establish either with a help of Google or the on-line resource <analogion.gr>, which contains liturgical books published in htm-format, so that the on-line search is technically possible by using one of the Greek Unicode fonts. The incipit of this sticheron is ἡ φωνὴ τοῦ Λόγου (MR III 17), in the modern rite the hymn is chanted as the katabasia on the 1st of January after the sixth ode of the kanon. The chant is the part of prefestal hymnography dedicated to the Theophany (6th of January).

The pictures of the folia 2v–3r of the manuscript has been published in the Catalogue. The fol. 2v contains the sticheron with the incipit ἐξηχύθη ἡ χάρις ἐν χεῖλεσί σου, ὅσπερ πάτερ, καὶ γέγονας (MR II 143; III 9, 12, 23). This is a so-called "general sticheron" dedicated to any saint bishop regardless of his name and personality. As in the *Roman Menaion* (MR III 9, 12, 23), the hymn is placed in the described manuscript at the commemoration of St. Basil the Great celebrated on the 1st of January. According to the marginal liturgical notes observed on the picture, the folio 2v contains stichera "εἰς δόξα καὶ νῦν," which follow those "εἰς τοὺς αἴνους." Both types of stichera are normally placed in the younger Menaia at the end of the office according to their liturgical position. The date of the 1st of January is testified once again by the heading of the next office: Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ β', προεόρτια τῶν φωτῶν καὶ τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σιλβέστρου (fol. 3r). The celebration of the Holy Lights (τῶν φωτῶν), or the Theophany, is prescribed on the 6th of January, and the commemoration of St. Silvester is celebrated on the 2nd of January. The fol. 3r contains usual festal and prefestal stichera for the Theophany: Προεόρτια ἄσματα εὐσεβῶς (MR III 25), Ὁ Χριστὸς ἀναδείκνυται (MR III 25). This implies that the Menaion contains in the beginning (fol. 1r–3v) offices for the 1st (the commemoration of St. Basil the Great and the Prefest of the Theophany) and the 2nd of January (the commemoration of St. Silvester and the Prefest of the Theophany), so the lost first quire must have contained the beginning of the office for the 1st of January. To my opinion, this should have been reported in the catalogue.

The attribution of the text containing the words “πολλῶν σου θαυμάτων” indicated as the page explicit is hardly possible. For example, these words are observed in the kontakion dedicated to St. Euthimios the Great, the commemoration of which is celebrated on the 20th of January (modern rite):

Ἐν τῇ σεπτῇ γεννήσει σου χαρὰν ἡ κτίσις εὐρατο, καὶ ἐν τῇ θείᾳ μνήμῃ σου, ὅσιε, τὴν εὐθυμίαν ἔλαβε τῶν πολλῶν σου θαυμάτων· ἐξ ὧν παράσχου πλουσίως ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν, καὶ ἀποκάθαρον ἀμαρτημάτων κηλίδας, ὅπως ψάλλωμεν, Ἀλληλοῦια (<http://analogion.gr/glt/texts/Jan/20.uni.htm>).

However, Google makes it possible to reveal few more texts containing the topos πολλῶν σου (sic!) θαυμάτων or πολλῶν σου θαυμάτων which finally provides user with no information regarding exact contents of the final part of the manuscript.

In the Catalogue the *Roman Menaion* is reported to contain the publication of the texts included in the manuscript: “*Menaia tou holou eni-autou*, 6 vols. (Rome, 1888–1901)” (III, 104). The first and the second volumes of this edition cover the first three months of the ecclesiastical year (September–December), and the manuscript begins with the celebration of the 1st of January. If the bibliographic reference was correct, it would imply that the medieval manuscript covers the whole fixed calendar year according to the modern month count from January to December, which is very hard to believe. Moreover, the existence of the exact manuscript, which is assumed to be the source of the Roman Menaion, seems unbelievable, as this edition is based not on the manuscripts but on the previously published Venetian Menaia.¹³ I assume that no attribution of the texts included in the manuscript has been in fact performed by the author of the Catalogue.

2. *Union Theological Seminary Burke Library.*

“MS 41 *Menaion*, fragments <...> s.xiii^{ex}-s.xivⁱⁿ <...> **contents** <...> Fols. 1r–26v: *Menaion*, fragments. No title. Inc. mut. (fol. 1r): // ... (? , mold damage) ἀπόστολε, καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ἅπαντα ... ; Expl. mut. (fol. 26v): ... μάρτυς Χ(ριστο)ῦ τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ. Lacunae: between fol. 1v and fol. 2r: Expl. mut. (fol. 1v): ... τύπον τῆς ἀγί(α)ς λόγχ(η)ς//; Inc.

(13) On the Roman edition see: C. KOROLEVSKIJ, L'édition romaine des Ménées grecques 1888–1901 [I], *Bolletino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata* 3 (1949) 30–40, 153–162, 225–247; [II] *Bolletino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata* 4 (1950) 15–16.

mut. (fol. 2r): //ἔλαβεν εἰς τὰ ἴδια ὁ Θεόλογος ... ; between fols. 2v and 3r: Expl. mut. (fol. 2v): ... εὐφροσύνη δὲ σὲ ὑπεδέξατο//; Inc. mut. (fol. 3r): //ὁ Βαπτιστῆς καὶ Πρόδρομος ..." etc. (III 108). The fragments consist of "several incomplete quires" (III 109) written by one anonymous scribe (III 110). The description does not report a month nor provides a reader with precise information regarding the publication of the texts included in the manuscript. The description is followed by the same imprecise reference at the "Menaia tou holou eniautou, 6 vols. (Rome, 1888–1901)" (III, 109).

The fragments contain parts of the office Menaia for at least June and July. The offices for these months have been included in the 6th volume of the Roman Menaion, so this is not correct to consider all the six volumes of this edition to be the printed counterparts of the codex. The manuscript contains the commemorations of St. Onuphrios (12th of June) ("Inc. mut. (fol. 7r): //σάρκα. Ὀνούφριε μάκαρ ...") and Elias the Prophet (20th of July) ("Inc. mut. (fol. 9r): //μη<ν> τῶ αὐτ(ῶ) κ'. Τοῦ ἁγίου προφήτου Ἡλίου..."). This makes me doubt that the following abbreviation has been deciphered correctly, considering possible damage of fragments (cf.: "Some folios are darkened by exposure; some edges are torn; top margins are damaged by purple mold" (III, 109)): "Inc. mut. (fol. 17r): //τῶ(v) αὐτῶ(v) Λ'. τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων". The commemoration of the 30 apostles (why thirty?!) does not exist in the ecclesiastical calendar, thereby I would suggest to read the letters as follows: "[Μηνί] τῶ αὐτῶ λ', τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων". The only thirtieth day of a month on which the commemoration of more than one apostle is celebrated, is the 30th of June, when the Synaxis of the Holy Twelve Apostles is prescribed. However, the way I propose to read the heading makes me doubt if the archival foliation is correct: the commemoration of Elias the Prophet on 20th of July is attested on the fol. 9r, while the office on the 30th of June is placed on the fol. 17r. The foliation made by employees of the library must be reconsidered unless my reading ("μη<ν> τῶ αὐτῶ λ', τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων") is proven to be wrong.

3. The Morgan Library and Museum.

"MS M.35020. *Anastasimatarion* and Anthology, with late Byzantine notation <...> s.xvi^{ex}–s.xvii^{1/4}. <...> **contents** <...> Fols. 1r–v: blank. 1. fols. 2r–102v: *Anastasimatarion* in eight modes. Title (fol. 2r): Ἀρχ(ή) σὺν Θ(ε)ῶ ἁγίω (sic) τῶν ἀναστασίμων καθὸς (sic) ψάλλονται ἐν τῇ βασιλευούσ(η) τῶν πόλεων κατοίχων (sic; scil. κατ'ἤχων or

κατ'ἤχον)" etc. "2. fols. 104r–204v: Anthology of troparia, antiphona, stichera, and hirmoi for the great feasts such as Christmas and Good Friday; ascribed to John of Damascus. Title (fol. 104r): Τροπάρι(α) ψαλλόμενα τῆ παραμονῆ τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ γεν(έσεως) Ποίημα Ἰω(άννου) τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ. Inc. (fol. 104r): Βηθλεέμ, ἔτοιμάζου, εὐτρεπιζέσθω ... ; Expl. (fol. 204v): ... τῶ δε κόσμῳ δωρούμενος ζωὴν αἰώνιον καὶ τὸ μέγα ἔλεος" (IV, 85).

The author reports that "<t>exts can be found at <http://analogion.net/glt>" (IV, 86, f. 21) while in the previous cases the reference at the *Roman Menaion* has been provided. The website "<http://analogion.net/glt>" contains dozens of full text versions of Greek liturgical books, so reader should carefully examine the resource by himself in order to identify the text he needs. It could have been mentioned in the Catalogue that "Τροπάρι(α) ψαλλόμενα τῆ παραμονῆ τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ γεν(έσεως)... . Ποίημα Ἰω(άννου) τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ. Inc. (fol. 104r): Βηθλεέμ, ἔτοιμάζου, εὐτρεπιζέσθω" etc. have been published in the *Roman Menaion* (MR II 633) and reported by Enrica Follieri. However, in the edition the στιχηρὰ ιδιόμελα (not τροπάρια!) are ascribed to Sophronios the Patriarch of Jerusalem, thereby the attribution of the chants should have been critically discussed in the Catalogue.

These notes are by no means intended to doubt the final assessment of the Catalogue done by one of the recent reviewers: "Nadezhda Kavrus-Hoffmann has analyzed these manuscripts with ability and precision, providing researchers with an extremely useful scientific tool, set out with great typographic clarity and accuracy."¹⁴

(14) CATALDI PALAU, [Review], 539.

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LA BYZANCE TIRÉE DE LA CLANDESTINITÉ

Сергей А. ИВАНОВ, *В поисках Константинополя. Путеводитель по византийскому Стамбулу и окрестностям* (Москва: Вокруг света, 2011) 752 с., ч/б иллюстрации, карты, схемы. ISBN 978-5-98652-382-8

Serge A. IVANOV, *En quête de Constantinople. Guide de l'Istanbul byzantin et de ses environs* (Moscou : Vokrug sveta, 2011) 752 p., illustrations en noir et blanc, cartes, schémas.

C'est un livre que beaucoup d'admirateurs de l'« Œil de l'univers » brûlaient de voir, et voici la réalisation de ce désir. Réalisation vraiment magnifique ! On lit ce guide comme un roman passionnant et, après avoir tourné la dernière de ses 752 pages, on regrette qu'elles aient touché trop vite à leur fin.

Devant nous le guide uniquement de la Constantinople byzantine : aucune information sur les hôtels, restaurants, magasins etc., rien sur les monuments turcs et même sur les églises grecques contemporaines, — tout cela n'est mentionné que dans le cas où quelques ruines byzantines se trouvent en-dessous ou s'y trouvaient autrefois. C'est un guide pour ceux qui s'intéressent au passé byzantin d'Istanbul et qui veulent savoir tout et voir tout ce qui y reste de la Byzance.

L'œuvre de S. A. Ivanov répond parfaitement à ce but : des cartes détaillées et des indications claires permettront d'atteindre tous les monuments byzantins qui restent dans la Ville et ses environs (au Bosphore, sur toutes les côtes et les îles de la Propontide, dans la Thrace jusqu'à Visé), et les schémas des monuments les plus importants (tels que Sainte Sophie ou Saint-Sauveur-in-Chora) aideront à voir tout ce que l'on peut trouver des restes byzantins, y compris beaucoup de choses qui ne sont pas habituellement indiquées ni mentionnées dans les guides standard. L'auteur a visité lui-même, et souvent bien de fois, presque tous les endroits évoqués dans son guide, il a étudié une grande quantité de matériaux sur Constantinople, ses monuments et la vie de ses habitants, et « En quête de Constantinople » représente le résultat d'un travail soigneux de 10 ans — un résultat fort impressionnant. J'ai visité la Ville moi-même plusieurs fois déjà et j'étais sûre que j'avais

vu presque tout ce qu'il y avait à voir, mais après avoir lu ce guide j'ai réalisé qu'il y reste encore une grande quantité de choses !

« J'aime les histoires "savoureuses" », dit l'auteur, « et je vous les raconterai telles qu'elles sont parvenues dans les sources » (p. 7). Ces nombreux faits historiques, croyances populaires, légendes et ragots tirés des chroniques, vies de saints, lettres, homélies, épigrammes etc, racontés ou cités en rapport avec tel ou tel monument, telle ou telle place historique rendent ce guide très vif et extraordinairement intéressant. Par exemple, dans la description du Forum de Constantin nous trouvons l'histoire de la mort du célèbre hérétique Arius qui a expiré dans les toilettes publiques de ce même forum (pp. 256–257) ; dans le récit sur l'église de Myrélaion on peut apprendre comment S. André a démasqué un voleur (pp. 273–275) ; en rapport avec les inhumations dans le monastère de Chora (Kariye Camii) l'auteur nous cite quelques épitaphes et épigrammes écrits par « Manuel Philes, le poète principal de cette époque » (pp. 505–506, 509–510). Serge Ivanov connaît parfaitement le matériel, et la Ville de Constantin avec ses habitants, dépeinte par sa plume, se présente devant nous non comme morte depuis longtemps et mal compréhensible, mais comme tout à fait vivante et proche de l'homme contemporain dans beaucoup d'aspects. En grimpant les ruines byzantines, plus ou moins mal conservées, en admirant les mosaïques et les églises ou leurs restes, « tu comprends que la Byzance n'est pas disparue — elle est passée dans la clandestinité » (p. 10).

Le guide comporte une Préface (pp. 5–16) et seize chapitres : « En face des aveugles » — une courte histoire de la Ville (pp. 17–25) ; « Sainte Sophie » (pp. 26–84) ; « Le Grand palais » (pp. 85–138) ; « L'Acropole » (pp. 139–181) ; « Le Musée Archéologique » (pp. 182–210) ; « Le sud-est » — le Palais d'Antioche, S. Euthemie, l'Hippodrome, SS. Serge et Bacchus, la Mésé, le Forum de Constantin, les Artopoleia, le Myrélaion etc (pp. 211–280) ; « Le nord-est » — la citerne Basilique, les Chalcostrateia, le Néorion, les factoreries italiennes, Kilise Camii, Kalenderhane, S. Polieucte et d'autres (pp. 281–326) ; « Le nord-ouest » — le monastère de Lips, la quatrième colline avec les SS. Apôtres, l'aqueduc de Valens, le Pantocrator, Eski Imaret Camii, S. Théodosie, les murs le long de la Corne d'Or, le Phanar et quelques églises (pp. 327–379) ; « Le sud-ouest » — le Stoudios, les quartiers Psamthion, Gastia et d'autres, le Forum d'Arcadius (pp. 380–418) ; « Les Blachernes » (pp. 419–470) ; « Kariye Camii » (pp. 471–511) ; « Les murs de Théodose » (pp. 512–555) ; « Le Bosphore, Galata et les Îles de Princes » (pp. 556–597) ;

« L'ouest » — les aqueducs de Thrace, les murs d'Anastase, Vizé, Heracleia de Thrace, Sylimbrie, Hébdomon etc (pp. 598–639) ; « L'est » — Chalcédoine, Nicomédie, Bryas et les autres banlieues asiatiques (pp. 640–677) ; « Le sud » — S. Abercius, SS. Archanges, le Grand-Champ, le Médikion et d'autres grands monastères, Nicée, Panormos, Cyzique etc (pp. 678). Chaque partie est munie d'une bibliographie avec la littérature scientifique.

Les nombreux déchiffrements des inscriptions byzantines conservées sur les murs, mosaïques, obélisques etc., contenus dans cette édition, représentent un intérêt particulier.

On trouvera dans le guide beaucoup d'illustrations en noir et blanc : photographies de monuments, de mosaïques et de monnaies, reproductions de miniatures byzantines.

Après la Conclusion (pp. 729–733) le lecteur trouvera quelques informations utiles : les horaires d'ouverture des Musées, un petit glossaire de termes spéciaux, la liste des empereurs byzantins, les tables généalogiques et un index des noms propres.

À regret, le livre n'est pas privé de quelques défauts, d'ailleurs presque inévitables dans les œuvres aussi grandes. Certains de ces défauts sont liés à l'utilisation non critique des traductions russes des sources byzantines. Ainsi, une erreur fâcheuse se trouve sur la première page de la Préface même du guide : en racontant l'histoire du meurtre de l'empereur Léon V l'Arménien, Ivanov cite (p. 5) la traduction russe du Continuateur de Théophane fait par Ya. N. Lubarskiy où la première ligne de l'hirmos du 2^{ème} canon de la Nativité du Christ est traduite tout à fait incorrectement. En effet, τὸ παντάνακτος ἐξεφάλισαν πόθῳ du Continuateur¹ est traduit par Lubarskiy comme « Отрешили страстью Всевышнего » (« [Ils] ont révoqué par la passion du Très Haut »), ce qui est absolument absurde. Le Continuateur cite bien sûr la première ligne de l'hirmos de la 7^{ème} ode du canon iambique écrit par S. Jean Damascène :

Τῷ παντάνακτος ἐξεφάλισαν πόθῳ
Ἄπλητα θυμαίνοντος, ἡγκιστρωμένοι,
Παῖδες, τυράννου δύσθεον γλωσσαλίαν...

C'est-à-dire (je souligne les mots cités chez le Continuateur) :

(1) Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, dans : I. BEKKER (ed.), *Theophanes Continuatus, Ioannes Cameniata, Symeon Magister, Georgius Monachus* (Bonn, 1838) (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae) 39.2.

« Saisis d’amour pour le Roi de tout, les adolescents ont méprisé le bavardage impie du tyran terriblement furieux... »²

La traduction slavonne de ce même texte :

Всѣцрѣа љубовью оуловлѣннїи оутроци, оукорѣша вгзчїслнннх ѣрѣцѣах мѣчїтѣла
слобѣжнїи ѣзыковѣрїї...

Ainsi, dans la traduction russe des premières lignes de cet himnos il faudrait citer « Всецаря любовью уловленные » (« Saisis d’amour pour le Roi de tout », ce qui correspond à la première ligne de la traduction slavonne) ou bien, plus exactement, « За Всецаря любовь презрели » (« Pour l’amour du Roi de tout [ils] ont méprisé »). Bien sûr dans les traductions slavonnes de l’hymnographie byzantine il y a un certain nombre d’erreurs et de passages obscurs, mais ce n’est pas le cas des originaux, et c’est assez étrange qu’une traduction aussi absurde n’ait engendré jusqu’à présent aucune question. Il est tout à fait regrettable que cette erreur faite dans la première édition de la traduction russe se soit déplacée dans la deuxième, et que nous la voyions maintenant dans cet admirable guide.

Dans le guide il y a également quelques inexactitudes historiques. Par exemple, Serge Ivanov écrit qu’en 816–817, S. Théodore le Stoudite était emprisonné dans le monastère Saints Serge et Bacchus (p. 245), mais ce n’est pas correct : le leader des iconophiles a passé ce temps en exil assez loin de Constantinople,³ et c’est son élève Naucraces le Stoudite qui était prisonnier dans ce monastère.⁴ L’année 829 comme date du choix de fiancée pour l’empereur Théophile, dans lequel la poétesse Cassia a participé (p. 327), semble un peu étrange. L’avènement de Théophile au trône a eu lieu en octobre 829, et si le choix de

(2) La traduction française de ce texte faite par le P. Denis Guillaume (« Epris d’amour divin pour le Roi de l’univers, les Jeunes Gens ont méprisé le bavardage impie d’un tyran à l’insatiable orgueil ») et parue en 1980 (dans le *Ménée du décembre*, édition de la « Diaconie apostolique ») je trouve inexacte.

(3) Voir Th. PRATSCH, *Theodoros Studites (759–826) — zwischen Dogma und Pragma. Der Abt des Studiosklosters in Konstantinopel im Spannungsfeld von Patriarch, Kaiser und eigenem Anspruch* (Frankfurt am Main—Berlin—Bern—New York—Paris—Wien, 1998) (Berliner byzantinistische Studien, 4) 247–256.

(4) Théodore l’écrit dans une lettre à Naucraces, d’où nous connaissons que Naucraces était emprisonné et avait eu une discussion avec Jean le Grammaire sur les icônes, voir G. FATOUROS (ed.), *Theodori Studitae Epistulae* (Berlin—New York, 1992) (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, Series Berolinensis, 31) Ep. 380 (la fin de 817 ou le début de 818).

fiancée se fut passé vraiment après la mort de Michel II et non pas en 821 quand Théophile est devenu co-empereur, on aurait du indiquer la date de 830.⁵

On peut aussi noter quelques défauts dans la mise en pages du livre. Par exemple, sur les pages 86–87 les numéros des monuments sont indiqués dans la liste mais manquent sur la carte. Sur les pages 216–220 les titres de colonne sont confondus : « Евфимия » au lieu de « Ипподром. Карцеры ». Mais dans son ensemble, la mise en pages est de bonne qualité.

À mon avis, le plus grand défaut de ce guide est sa table des matières : elle ne contient que les titres des chapitres, mais les titres des subdivisions manquent, ce qui rend assez difficile l'orientation dans le livre. Je pense aussi qu'il faudrait munir le guide d'un index des monuments qui y sont mentionnés.

Peut-être certains lecteurs trouveront quelque peu inconvenable le ton de l'auteur qui semble parfois trop familier par rapport aux byzantins, y compris les empereurs et les patriarches. Néanmoins, je trouve que ce procédé est justifié : c'est un moyen d'approcher ces gens, qui semblent être si éloignés de nous, et de montrer qu'en réalité les byzantins ressemblent à nos contemporains plus que nous ne le pensions.

Je suis sûre que les admirateurs de la Byzance remercieront maintes et maintes fois Serge Ivanov pour son œuvre merveilleuse.

(5) Cette date est soutenue par W. T. TREADGOLD (*The Bride-Shows of the Byzantine Emperors*, *Byzantion* 49 (1979) 395–413; *idem*, *The Historicity of Imperial Bride-Shows*, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 54 (2004) 39–52), mais, vérification faite, ses arguments sont peu concluants, et la date de 821 semble plus probable (voir R.-J. LILIE, C. LUDWIG, Th. PRATSCH, I. ROCHOW (Hrsg.), *Prosopographie der Mittelbyzantinischen Zeit. Erste Abteilung (641–867)* (Berlin, 1998) # 7286, p. 344 et 347 n. 1, # 8167, p. 629 et 632 n. 1 ; Т. А. СЕНИНА (монахиня Кассия), *Диалог Феофила и Кассии: литературная выдумка или реальность?*, *Scr* 2 (2006) 240–272, surtout 249–263).

Hans ARNESON, Emanuel FIANO, Christine LUCKRITZ MARQUIS, Kyle Richard SMITH (eds.), *The History of the Great Deeds of Bishop Paul of Qentōs and Priest John of Edessa* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2010) (Texts from Christian Late Antiquity Series, vol. 29) x, 87 p. ISSN 1935-6846, no ISBN.

This small book, the result of a graduate seminar led by Lucas Van Rompay in 2006, presents a hitherto little known work of West Syrian hagiography — a work that is both very specific and very important. It is, moreover, a work with an unlucky scholarly history: it was prepared for publication by its discoverer, François Nau, in about 1907 but, for unknown reasons, it was never published and Nau's work has been lost. The present booklet, dedicated to Nau's memory, contains a critical edition of the Syriac text, an English translation with commentary, and a study by Kyle Smith published as the Introduction (almost identical to his previous paper in *Hugoye*, 2009). The *terminus ante quem* of the text is defined by the date of the earliest manuscript, A.D. 568/569. A portion of the text is known in the unique Greek manuscript published by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus in 1898 (*BHG* 1476).

The *History* of Bishop Paul and Priest John is a hagiographical novel whose main character is Paul, a secret bishop who left his native town in Italia almost immediately after his consecration and spent the rest of his life as a wanderer in Syria, Palestine, Sinai, and the Arabian Peninsula. Priest John became his friend and companion.

In his study, Kyle Smith follows Sebastian Brock's view (2003) that the original language of the piece is Syriac. Thus, following both Brock and Nau, he accepts that Paul's place of origin and the name of his see should be read as a town in Italia named *Qntōws* and not a town in Attalia named "Pontos," as the Greek version states. In Syriac, there are also some manuscripts which read "Pontos" (*p* and *q* being very similar in Syriac writing), whereas "Attalia" and "Italia" are completely indistinguishable in Syriac writing. There is, at any rate, certainly no manuscript that provides a clear and realistic geography of Paul's native place. Thus, "*Qntōws* in Italia" is no more than the most plausible supposition. What is certain, though, is the geography of Paul's and John's travels. This is especially interesting because, according to the legend, they both became apostles of the Christian faith in Naḡrān in Arabia.

Smith elaborates on the comparison, proposed by Jurgen Tubach in 1993 and Theresia Hainthaler in 2007, between this legend and a Christian legend on the conversion of Naḡrān preserved by Muslim sources going back to Ibn Ishāq, the eighth-century biographer of

Muhammad (this legend is about a pair of missionaries in Nağrān named *Fymywn* and Ṣalīh). I have revisited this matter elsewhere [B. Lourié, Friday Veneration in Sixth- and Seventh-Century Christianity and Christian Legends about the Conversion of Nağrān, in: B. Lourié, C. A. Segovia (eds.), *The Coming of the Comforter: When, Where, and to Whom? Studies on the Rise of Islam and Various Other Topics in Memory of John Wansbrough* (Piscataway, NJ, 2011) (*Orientalia Judaica Christiana*, 3)]. I came to the conclusion that all the motives and episodes of the *Fymywn* legend have their prototypes in the Syriac text. The ordering of the episodes is also the same but with a unique exception: in the Syriac text, the meeting of Paul and John with the dendrite (an anchorite who lived on the branches of a tree; this kind of asceticism emerged in Syria at the same epoch as stylitism, in the fifth century) takes place not on their way to Nağrān but after their Arabian mission. Thus, despite the difference in proper names, one has to conclude that, in both cases, we are dealing with the same legend. The dendrite is an object of specific attention in Smith's study.

Unlike Tubach, Smith does not overstress the similarities between the present Syriac legend and the Syriac legend about Alexis, Man of God. He notices, however, not only certain intertextual connexions, but also the fact that the plot of the legend is developed (anachronistically, even if Paul and John are purely legendary figures) under the bishop of Edessa Rabbula (411–435), which makes Paul and John contemporaries of the Man of God. The legend of the Man of God is certainly important for the hagiographical substrate of the legend of Paul and John, but the latter is not a derivative of the former.

The publication of the legend of Paul and John opens the way for the realisation of another project following François Nau's scholarship. In his 1908 article "Hagiographie syriaque," where he described for the first time the legend of Paul and John, Nau also described another unpublished legend about the secret bishop John and the personified Friday. The two legends have several important common features, including the unusual reference to the veneration of Friday among the Christians. In my paper mentioned above ("Friday Veneration...") I have traced the mutual relationship between these two legends, on the one hand, and between both of them and early Christianity in Nağrān, on the other. Thus, we now await a critical edition and a study of the legend about Bishop John and the personified Friday. The present study of the legend of Paul and John has prepared the way for this next step.

Михаил А. БАБКИН, *Священство и Царство. Россия, начало XX века — 1918 год. Исследования и материалы* (Москва: Индрик, 2011) [Michail A. BABKIN, *Priesthood and Kingdom (Russia, early 20th century — 1918). Researches and materials* (Moscow: Indrik, 2011)] 919 p. + 43 ill. English annotation (p. 8) and English contents (p. 9–11). ISBN 978-5-91674-077-6.

In this voluminous work, Michail Babkin summarises and develops his two preceding books: the scholarly monograph *The Clergymen of the Russian Orthodox Church and the Overthrowing of the Monarchy (early 20th century — end of 1917)* (2007) and the collection of previously unpublished or little known documents *The Russian Clergymen and the Overthrowing of the Monarchy in 1917 (Materials and Archival Documents Concerning the History of the Russian Orthodox Church)* (2006; 2nd ed. 2008). Since the first of these publications, in 2006, Babkin has received particular attention from a broad segment of Russian society for his “deconstruction” of the widely acknowledged myth of the alleged monarchism of the Russian clergy. This myth was cultivated throughout the Soviet epoch by two sides, the Soviet anti-religious authorities together with the anti-Soviet emigrants (especially by those who joined the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad). However, not only the documents of 1917 and 1918 but even the pre-Revolutionary sources are not particularly favourable to this myth; Babkin reinforces his previous emphasis on the tacit, but unwavering, opposition of high Church officials to the monarchy in the pre-Revolutionary period.

About 95% of Babkin's new work is a historical study and about 5% is a theological essay, although these historical and theological components are never mingled. As a historian, Babkin concludes that Church officials at almost all levels used the opportunity of the February Revolution to take revenge on their main competitor, the Russian Tsar and the monarchy as a whole. Such an attitude was shared not only by the so-called “red priests” but also by the Russian Local Council of 1917–1918 and by Patriarch Tikhon. As a theologian, Babkin takes at face value the Russian State Church's official teachings about the sacral nature of the power of the Emperor (Tsar), which appeared in Muscovite Russia and throughout the St Petersburg Empire from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. Therefore, he considers the whole catastrophe of the Russian Church after 1917 as a natural result of the apostasy from this faith committed by the Local Council and the hierarchy headed by Patriarch Tikhon.

Gilbert DAGRON, Vincent DÉROCHE, *Juifs et chrétiens en Orient byzantin* (Paris : Association des amis du Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, 2010) (Bilans de recherche, 5) 524 p. ISBN 978-2-916716-21-3.

Volume 11 of the series *Travaux et Mémoires*, which appeared in 1991, is now known to everyone interested in Jewish-Christian relations in Byzantium. The main section of the volume was dedicated to studies by Gilbert Dagron and Vincent Déroche of Byzantine sources of the sixth through ninth centuries, including a critical edition of the Greek original of the *Doctrina Jacobi nuper baptizati* (lacunae in the original have been filled in by using a translation of the Slavonic version of this text). These studies have already formed a kind of encyclopaedia of the Jews in early Byzantium. In the present volume, they are reprinted and supplemented with later works by the same scholars: V. Déroche, *L'Apologie contre les juifs de Léontios de Néapolis* (1993); G. Dagron, *Jésus prêtre du Judaïsme: le demi-succès d'une légende* (1996); and V. Déroche, *Polémique antijudaïque et émergence de l'Islam (VII^e–VIII^e siècles)* (1999). The republication is provided with authors' prefaces which include an up-to-date survey of the field.

B. L.

Maria DI SALVO, Giovanna MORACCI, Giovanna SIEDINA (a cura di), *Nel mondo degli Slavi. Incontri e dialoghi tra culture. Studi in onore di Giovanna Brogi Bercoff* (Firenze: Firenze University Press, 2008) (Biblioteca di Studi slavistici, 8/1-2). Vol. 1, p. I–VIII, 1–326; Vol. 2, p. I–VIII, 327–655. ISBN 978-88-8453-868-0 (online); 978-88-8453-867-3 (print).

The two-part volume contains several articles dealing with the matters relevant to the theology and the Church history:

M. G. Bartolini, Sull'attribuzione di un verso Greco al "*predrevnyj Zoroastr*" nel dialogo di H. S. Skovoroda *Kol'co, ili družeskij razgovor o duševnom mire* (p. 13–21),

T. Chynczewska-Hennel, Le relazioni dei nunzi apostolici sulla Polonia nell'eta moderna. Introduzione alla problematica (p. 85–93),

C. G. De Michelis, *I Protocolli dei savi di Sion* e la Polonia (p. 131–136),

M. A. Федотова [M. A. Fedotova], О конклюдии святому Димитрию Ростовскому ["On the *conclusio* to St Dimitry of Rostov," in Russian] (p. 153–162),

M. Garzaniti, La riscoperta di Massimo il Greco e la ricezione dell'Umanesimo italiano in Russia (p. 173–183),

A. Naumow, Współczesna hymnografka między tradycją a wyzwaniami świata [“A Contemporary Hymnographer between the Traditions and Challenges of the World,” in Polish; about the contemporary Orthodox hymnographer nun Kassia (Senina) who writes Church services in Church Slavonic] (p. 391–403),

М. Плюханова [M. Pljuchanova], В поисках исторического источника (Служба Покрову) [“In Search of the Historical Source (of the Service to Pokrov),” in Russian] (p. 437–447),

N. Pylypiuk, Praise in Skovoroda's Garden (p. 469–479),

O. Tolochko, St. Ambrose of Milan in the Kiev Chronicle of the Twelfth Century (p. 623–625),

В. М. ЖИВОВ [V. M. Živov], «Незаконное» спасение и религиозное дисциплинирование в истории русской духовности [“The ‘Unlawful’ Salvation and the Religious Disciplinary Actions in the History of the Russian Spirituality,” in Russian; about the censorship of the Kievan Cave Laura's *Paterikon* in the middle of the eighteenth century] (p. 637–645).

B. L.

Liudmila Khrouchkova. *Les monuments chrétiens de la côte orientale de la Mer Noire. Abkhazie. IV^e–XIV siècles (Paris : Brepols publishers, 2006) (Bibliothèque de l'antiquité tardive) P. 340, Pl. 120, Pl. col. XVI.*

Liudmila Georgievna Khrouchkova, professeur à l'Université d'Etat à Moscou, Faculté d'Histoire, est une des spécialistes les plus réputés dans le domaine d'archéologie chrétienne, aussi bien qu'en art chrétien oriental. A partir des années 1970, abstraction faite du conflit armé entre les Abkhazes et les Géorgiens en 1992–1993, elle a dirigé des fouilles systématiques concernant les monuments d'époque paléochrétienne en Abkhazie, particulièrement ceux situés dans le district de la ville actuelle Sukhum (l'antique Sébastopolis, Akua en abkhaze, Ckhumi chez les écrivains géorgiens médiévaux). Liudmila Khrouchkova est l'auteur de plus de 150 publications consacrées aux monuments de l'Abkhazie et d'une partie de la Crimée ; ce sont tout d'abord des ouvrages de synthèse « Скульптура раннесредневековой Абхазии: V–X века » (Tbilisi 1980), « Лыхны: средневековый дворцовый комп-

лекс в Абхазии » (Moscou 1980), « Цандрипш: материалы по раннехристианскому строительству в Абхазии » (Sukhum 1985), « Раннехристианские памятники Восточного Причерноморья (IV–VII века) » (Moscou 2002) et, finalement, le livre qui est le sujet du présent compte-rendu. Le livre en question est un travail de synthèse qui présente, pour la première fois dans une langue occidentale, une étude des monuments de l'Abkhazie datant des périodes paléochrétienne et byzantine.

Aux pieds du Caucase, aux limites orientales des Empires romain et byzantin, il reste beaucoup de monuments mal connus, qui néanmoins survivent encore et illustrent l'histoire de ce pays. Les auteurs grecs, à partir de l'époque d'Homère, nommaient Colchide le territoire de la côte orientale du Pont-Euxin. Située aux confins du monde gréco-romain, l'Abkhazie peuplée par des Abasges et des Apsiles occupait la partie nord de la Colchide et était une zone de contact entre les différentes traditions culturelles venues de l'Est, du monde iranien et caucasien, mais aussi de l'Ouest, du monde méditerranéen byzantin. Selon Procope de Césarée les tribus des Abasges s'étaient installées en Apsilie, dont le territoire se divisait en deux parties : l'Apsilie littorale qui s'étendait jusqu'au fleuve Psou au Nord et l'Apsilie montagnaise qui se trouvait en amont du fleuve Kodor.

L'ouvrage écrit par Khrouchkova est composé de 8 chapitres, d'une introduction et d'une conclusion ; le texte est accompagné d'illustrations dont le nombre est considérable. Les monuments sont groupés chronologiquement par site ou par zone géographique et par principe historique ; cela concerne aussi bien les ensembles architecturaux bien connus que ceux qui ont été découverts lors de fouilles récentes. La période paléochrétienne occupe plus de la moitié du texte : quatre des chapitres (chapitres 2–5) y sont consacrés. Dans le chapitre 2 il est question de l'architecture, de la sculpture et de mosaïques découvertes à Pityous (l'actuelle Picunda ou Bičvinta) que l'on identifie le plus souvent avec la ville antique Sotèrioupolis. Constantin Porphyrogénète (913–959) mentionne Sotèrioupolis dans le *De Administrando Imperio* ; cette ville figure aussi dans les documents du patriarcat constantinopolitain, mais sa situation géographique réelle est depuis longtemps une question à discuter. À présent on peut dire que le sceau du protospathaire Nicolas, stratège de Sotèrioupolis et d'Anacopia (l'actuel Novyj Afon), confirme la localisation de la première ville à Picunda (P. 94). Le chapitre 3 est consacré aux monuments de Candripš, et avant tout à l'église dite « pour les Abasges », construite par l'empereur Justinien I (527–565) ;

il s'agit aussi des basiliques fouillées aux alentours de Candripš — à Gagra et à Kħašupsa. Les monuments de l'Apsilie littorale sont le sujet du chapitre 4, dans lequel il s'agit de trois édifices destinés au culte : du complexe de l'église octogonale de Sébastopolis, appelée Dioscuria chez les auteurs grecs (l'actuelle Sukhum), des basiliques à nef unique de la ville Gyenos, tout près de la ville actuelle d'Očamčira et de la grande église à coupole de Dranda. Les ensembles religieux ainsi que le complexe de la forteresse de Cibila dans l'Apsilie montagneuse, la forteresse de Šapky qui se trouve à 7 km à l'Ouest de la forteresse de Cibila, et l'église dans un village dont le nom abkhase actuel est Mramba sont décrits dans le chapitre 5. Les chapitres 6 et 7 contiennent l'analyse des monuments du Haut Moyen Âge qui commence par l'époque du Royaume Abkhaze, — les années 80 du VIII^e siècle jusqu'aux années 80 du X^e, siècle — (chapitre 6) et se termine avec les complexes des XIII–XIV siècles de Pityous et d'Anacopia, première capitale du Royaume Abkhaze. Le complexe monastique avec une grande église à coupole et le palais de Lykhny (à 5 km à l'Ouest de la ville de Gudauta), résidence des souverains de l'Abkhazie médiévale, des princes Čačba Šerwašidze, sont décrits dans le chapitre 7.

L'analyse de l'architecture laïque et ecclésiastique et du décor architectural est précédée par le chapitre N 1 concernant certaines questions relatives à la propagation du christianisme en Colchide. L'auteur de la monographie cite des documents mal connus mais assez curieux qui permettent de lier les matériaux archéologiques avec l'histoire de la conversion au christianisme des tribus peuplant les côtes orientales de la mer Noire, et avec l'histoire de la culture en général. Ces données concernent le célèbre évêque de Colchide Stratophilus de Pityous qui représentait le Caucase au premier Concile de Nicee en 325 et a signé tous les documents du Concile ; les sept soldats et frères martyrs dont le chef était St. Orentius, qui étaient condamnés à l'exil et envoyés à Pityous sous Dioclétien et Maximien (286–310) et plus tard brûlés à Trébizonde ; l'époque des invasions arabes qui a apporté un martyr local — la mise à mort des Abasges chrétiens capturés par les Arabes en 740.

D'après les sources archéologiques, Pityous et Sébastopolis avaient des sièges épiscopaux qui ont existé à partir du VII^e jusqu'au XIII^e siècle. Quant à Anacopia, bien que la ville ait gardé son rôle décisif comme forteresse-clé durant l'époque médiévale, elle était vraisemblablement en dépendance ecclésiastique de Pityous et serait devenue un archevêché autocéphale seulement en 1200. Anacopia est restée célèbre

grâce aux légendes attachées à la mort de l'apôtre Simon et à l'image miraculeuse de la Vierge qui aurait sauvé la forteresse en 737, alors que les troupes arabes l'assiégeaient.

Vers le XIV^e siècle la métropole a été transférée sur la côte méridionale de la mer Noire à Trébizonde. Pourtant, dans les Notices patriarcales entre 1344 et 1401, on rencontre le métropolitain indépendant de Sotérioupolis-Pityous. Lorsque les Turcs se sont installés sur le littoral oriental de la mer Noire, le catholicos de l'Abkhazie a abandonné Pityous pour se retirer à Gélati, emportant avec lui les archives, les livres et les icônes de l'église.

On a trouvé pendant les fouilles une grande quantité de reliefs en pierre (chapitre 8). Ceux en marbre relèvent de la fabrication des ateliers de Proconnèse, qui fournissaient Constantinople et d'autres centres importants de l'Empire. Ce marbre a été utilisé pour fabriquer des chapiteaux de tous les types principaux, — composites, impostes, ioniques, — aussi que de petits chapiteaux qui pourraient avoir appartenu à des chancelles. Le même matériau servait à tailler des tables liturgiques, des dalles de chancel, des ambons et des colonnes dont quelques-unes ont été gravées d'inscriptions grecques de caractère votif. Les objets en marbre proconnésien sont assez rares en Abkhazie, on en trouve principalement dans la partie septentrionale du littoral, entre la ville de Soçi et le village de Dranda ; mais ce n'est que dans l'église de l'apôtre Simon à Anacopia, ainsi que dans une des églises de l'époque justinienne dans les environs du village Loo à une distance de 25 km au Nord de la ville Soçi, que les marbres sont conservés *in situ*.

Deux aspects importants de l'ouvrage écrit par Khrouchkova méritent d'être mis en lumière : premièrement, c'est une encyclopédie sur l'architecture et la sculpture des époques paléochrétienne et byzantine (IV–XIV^e siècles) du littoral du Pont-Euxin ; deuxièmement, c'est une analyse détaillée des monuments d'Abkhazie qui a pour but de donner une idée de la place que cet art de l'Orient chrétien occupait dans le monde byzantin. Khrouchkova donne un résumé de deux types de constructions qui sont caractéristiques pour l'Abkhazie médiévale : les églises à coupole de type en « croix inscrite » et les basiliques à nef unique. Contrairement aux églises à coupole de Constantinople, où les briques-plinthes servaient de matériau essentiel de construction, les églises d'Abkhazie, sauf l'église de Dranda bâtie en brique, étaient construites en pierre avec des couches de plinthes. Les églises à coupole en « croix inscrite » se concentrent au Nord d'Abkhazie sur le territoire ecclésiastique des deux éparchies du patriarcat constantino-

politain — de Pityous et de Sébastopolis. Leurs façades ne comportent aucun décor. La plupart de ces églises datent du X^e siècle, l'église de Mokva a été bâtie par le roi Léon III (957–967) et celle de Bédia a été fondée en 999 par le roi Bagrat III. Les églises à nef unique se trouvent en Abkhazie littorale, de même qu'en Abkhazie montagneuse et étaient construites pour la plupart après le XI^e siècle. Une série homogène de sculpture locale, y compris le décor architectural et des reliefs de scènes tirées de l'Évangile ou de motifs zoomorphes, se rapporte à la même date. Le programme iconographique est en quelque mesure insolite, les analogies directes manquent, par exemple dans le cas des dalles de chancel de Cebel'da. Il y a beaucoup de choses énigmatiques dans l'interprétation de pareils monuments ; ils suscitent actuellement bien de discussions et de désaccords sur leur datation et sur les sujets des scènes représentés. Il se peut que ces sujets soient nés sous l'influence de cycles épiques et du folklore, et peuvent avoir une autre interprétation, différente de celle qui a été proposé par Khrouchkova. La discussion de ces problèmes, comme il est souvent le cas lorsqu'on débat d'un grand ouvrage, est toujours ouverte. Après la publication des livres de Luidmila Khrouchkova et surtout après l'apparition de sa dernière monographie (2006) écrite pour les lecteurs en Europe Occidentale, la découverte d'une nouvelle, troisième province d'art byzantin, a eu lieu. La première est la Cappadoce avec les fresques de ses églises rupestres, la seconde place appartient aux icônes melkites des arabes chrétiens orthodoxes ; l'architecture et la sculpture de l'Abkhazie de l'époque médiévale est encore un département de l'art chrétien oriental presque inconnu.

La côte orientale de la mer Noire est une des régions où les matériaux archéologiques, par contraste avec les sources écrites, révèlent un tableau éclatant sur la propagation du christianisme. Selon l'expression imagée de l'historien byzantiniste français Charles Diehl, dans ce cas nous nous trouvons devant une situation où les monuments révélés par les archéologues illuminent ce que « l'histoire ne nous daigne pas l'honneur d'avoir connaissance... ou elle n'a pas eu l'occasion de le faire ».

Vera Zalesskaja

Pierre MARAVAL, *Actes et passions des martyrs chrétiens des premiers siècles. Introduction, traduction et notes* (Paris: Cerf, 2010) (Sagesses chrétiennes) 392 p. ISBN 978-2-204-09233-3.

The book belongs to the established genre of translations from Greek and Latin, with commentary, of the so-called *Passions historiques* of the earliest Christian martyrs, that is, those who were martyred before AD 313. Since the time of Hippolyte Delehaye's fundamental work, these narratives have been opposed to the legendary accounts Delehaye called *Passions épiques*. The historical value of the latter is limited to the epoch of their composition, whereas the *Passions historiques* are historical sources that reveal the underlying accuracy of the facts they describe. The present book is primarily addressed to a large audience although it can also be of use to specialists. It contains, in its short introductions and notes accompanying each source, up-to-date bibliographical surveys. Moreover, Maraval tries to enlarge the standard set of sources by including some later martyrdoms that contain an ancient core which can be considered as "historical" despite the legendary context of the preserved recensions. Thus, he reprints his own translation of the *Martyrdom of Athenogenes*, first published in his monograph dedicated to the earliest recension of this source (1990). The book also includes the *Martyrs of Palestine* by Eusebius.

B. L.

NEW ROMANIAN PUBLICATIONS ON THE CHURCH HISTORY OF CENTRAL EUROPE AND BYZANTIUM

The Romanian Academy has recently published two important edited volumes dedicated to the mediaeval history of Central Europe and Byzantium. Both of them contain articles which deal directly with Church history.

1. Christian GASTGEBER, Ioan-Aurel POP, Oliver Jens SCHMITT, Alexandru SIMON (eds.), *Worlds in Change: Church Union and Crusading in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Cluj-Napoca: Romanian Academy. Center for Transylvanian Studies; IDC Press, 2009) (*Transylvanian Review*, vol. XVIII, supplement No. 2, 2009; *Mélanges d'Histoire Générale, Nouvelle Série*, IV/1) 444 p. ISSN 2067-1016, no ISBN.

The following articles are directly related to Church history:

Marie-Hélène Blanchet, Georges-Gennadios Scholarios et les Turcs. Une vision nuancée des conquérants (p. 101–116). The author traces the evolution in Scholarios' thinking that brought him to a relatively favourable attitude toward the Turks.

Michel Balivet, Un Fou en Christ au Concile de Florence : quelques remarques sur les ΜΟΝΟΧΙΤΩΝΕΣ chrétiens et musulmans au XV^e siècle (p. 203–209). An episode relating to the Georgian bishop at the Council of Florence, who became a fool-in-Christ for three months, is considered within the frame of Byzantine and Ottoman sources on the impoverished dervishes in both Byzantium and Georgia.

Iulian Mihai Damian, L'osservanza francescana e la battaglia di Belgrado (p. 211–237). The author examines the sources (both published and unpublished) representing Franciscan attitudes toward the political and ecclesiastical realities in the epoch of the Battle of Belgrad (1456), when Giovanni da Capestano, O.F.M., proclaimed a crusade against the Turks.

Johannes Preiser Kapeller, "Konfessionswechsel" als Drohung. Beobachtungen zum Aufstieg des Kyprianos zum Metropoliten von Kiev und Litauen (1375) im Kontext der Politik des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel und Kontaktzonen zur Westkirche im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert (p. 253–277). The author presents the role of Metropolitan Cyprian (Russian Kiprian) as it was seen from the See of Constantinople.

Christian Gastgeber, *Ein Bericht zur Eroberung Konstantinopels und Trapezunts. Das Schreiben des Patriarchen Sophronios I. Syropulos von Konstantinopel von August 1464 auf dem Weg nach Buda* (p. 317–338). A new edition with a detailed study, with photographs, of the manuscript.

Dan Ioan Mureșan, *Croisade, Union des Églises et humanisme dans le royaume de Hongrie pendant la première moitié du règne de Matthias Corvin* (p. 339–365). The study focuses on the Greek Rite Church in Hungary in the 1460s and on the activity of its bishop, Makarios of Halić.

2. Ana DUMITRAN, Loránd MÁDLY, Alexandru SIMON (eds.), *Extincta est lucerna orbis: John Hunyadi and his Time. In Memoriam Zsigmond Jakó* (Cluj-Napoca: Romanian Academy. Center for Transylvanian Studies; IDC Press, 2009) (Mélanges d'Histoire Générale, Nouvelle Série, I/2) 563 p. + XXII p. (34 colour plates). ISBN 978-973-7784-38-4.

This huge volume covers almost every aspect of the life and activity of John Hunyadi (*ca* 1407–1456), a brilliant general, the voivode of Transylvania, the Regent-Governor of the Kingdom of Hungary (1446–1453), and, ultimately, a Roman Catholic saint. One section (II. Church and Symbols) is dedicated exclusively to matters relevant to Church history. It contains the following papers:

Mária Makó Lupescu, *Miles Christi — patronus observantiae*. Johannes Hunyadi und die observanten Bestrebungen des Dominikanerordens in Ungarn (p. 99–114);

Dan Ioan Mureșan, *Notes critiques sur l'histoire de l'Église de Moldoalachie au XV^e siècle* (p. 115–142);

Iulian Mihai Damian, *The Greek Rite Transylvanian Church in the 1450s: Archbishop John of Caffa and the Crusade in East-Central Europe* (p. 143–153);

József Marton, *Die Religiosität des Johannes Hunyadi* (p. 157–161);

Ștefan Damian, *Ipotesi sulla scomparsa del corpo di Giovanni da Capestano (1386–1456) da Ilok* (p. 163–168);

Péter Szabó, *Heilige Haltungen und ritterliche Merkmale im Kultus des Johannes Hunyadi* (p. 169–174).

Also of interest in the same respect:

Florin-Dumitru Soporan, *Ethnic Attitudes in the Kingdom of Hungary and the Defense of Christendom in the Mid 1400's* (p. 275–292);

Ioan-Vasile Leb, *A Byzantine Humanist between Catholicism and Islamism: Georgius Ghemistos Plethon (ca. 1360–1452)* (p. 313–322);

Iulian Mihai Damian, *Giovanni da Capestano, i valacchi e la battaglia di Belgrado: Fonti e ideologia della crociata dei minori* (p. 447–462);

Dan Ioan Mureșan, *Le Royaume de Hongrie et la prise de Constantinople. Croisade et union ecclésiastique en 1453* (p. 465–490).

The two articles by Dan Ioan Mureșan are of special interest for the history of Eastern Christianity. The paper “Notes critiques...” is a detailed analysis of the historiographical errors and hidden agendas resulting in the creation, in 1949, of the myth that the autocephaly of the Church of Romania dated back to the fifteenth century; Mureșan places it in the context of the 1948 Moscow inter-Orthodox conference, which was convened to disprove the status of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The paper “Le Royaume de Hongrie...” is interesting for its review of the ecclesiastical affairs in the Uniate Orthodox Church (that is, the Church that was subordinated to the patriarch of Constantinople) in what he calls “Hongrovalachia.” Furthermore, Mureșan demonstrates that, in the early 1450s, the Hungarians, led by John Hunyadi, were considered by the Greeks and even by some Turks as the “blond people” who, with their messianic king, would overtake the kingdom of the Ottomans. It was only much later, in the sixteenth century, that this “blond people” would be identified with the Russians.

B. L.

SYRO-ARABICA IN SIMVOL

Символ. Журнал христианской культуры, основанный Славянской библиотекой в Париже. Париж-Москва. [Symbol. The Journal of Christian Culture Established by the Bibliothèque slave in Paris. In Russian, no summaries of articles, with the Table des matières in French.]

№ 55 (2009): Духовная культура сирийцев / Culture religieuse des syriens, 401 p.

№ 58 (2010): Syriaca & Arabica, 417 p.

The periodical *Simvol* ("Symbol") was created in the good (or not-so-good) old days — in 1979 — by French Jesuits for the Russian *intelligentsia*. Recently, Nikolai Seleznyov, a Russian *syriacisant*, began playing a major role in the journal's editorial policy, and the first fruits of his intervention are the two volumes under consideration here; other results will appear in future publications. It is still quite a novelty to see an edited volume covering the mediaeval culture of the Syrians as a publication addressing a large Russian-speaking intellectual audience. Although the Russian public is always eager to read any high-quality work dealing with the Christian East, the problem is that only a few editors are able to meet this demand. This is why the Jesuit journal already renown for its publications on modern pre-Revolutionary Russian culture has now become the leading Russian periodical in the field of the Christian East, at least in its Syro-Arabic segment.

These two volumes include three kinds of publications: publications of texts; scholarly studies; and articles that are notable because they are written in Russian, although not of particular interest to the specialist. Among the last category are several Russian translations of previously published Syriac and Arabic texts. The first two kinds of publication are of interest to the scholarly community.

Russian-speaking scholars and an interested non-specialist audience now have a periodical dedicated to Syro-Arabic Christianity. The publication is, no doubt, stimulating to the young scholars who are still finishing or have just finished their Ph.D. theses (in Russia or, as often occurs, abroad). Moreover, one can predict a substantial influence of this periodical on university undergraduates and, therefore, on the future of Syro-Arabic studies in Russia.

Publications of texts:

Anton Pritula, Compositions liturgiques syro-orientales (*onyata*) et les homélies de Narsai : Six hymnes du recueil liturgique *Warda* (N^o 55, p. 152–257, with a Russian translation and commentary). One note to the commentary, p. 161–162: the comparison of the sinners with the “wanton horses” is a common biblical mode of speech (Jer 5:8) showing no specific affinity between the hymn in question and Narsai (although such an affinity is demonstrated by Pritula in other cases);

Michail Tolstoluzhenko, *Le Livre de Trésors* de Jacques bar Šakko : une compilation théologique de l'époque de la renaissance syriacque (*ibid.*, p. 357–374; the Syriac text of the seventh chapter is published, p. 372–373, together with a Russian translation, p. 374; this short chapter is dedicated to the unity of the Trinity);

Nikolai Seleznyov, Un clerc syro-occidental d'Arfād et le métropolitain de Jérusalem, de l'Église de l'Orient. *Le livre de l'unanimité de la foi* et sa recension en garšūnī (N^o 58, p. 34–97; publication in Syriac script, provided with a Russian translation. An important specimen of the Syriac mediaeval ecumenism proclaiming all three main Christian confessions to be unanimous in the faith);

Michail Tolstoluzhenko, Jacques bar Šakko sur la Providence divine (*ibid.*, p. 156–175, cf. above; another and larger part of the same work is published, together with a Russian translation);

Anton Pritula, Une hymne syro-orientale sur l'Enfance du Christ et ses parallèles prosaïques, syriaques et arabes (*ibid.*, p. 229–267; another publication from the *Warda*, cf. above);

Grigory Kessel, Un fragment du *Livre d'admonitions* — ouvrage perdu — par Abrāhām bar Dāšandād dans la *Lettre sur la priorité de l'abstinence* d'Élie de Nisibe (*ibid.*, p. 271–296; the fragment is recovered through a revision of the manuscript witness);

Dmitry Morozov, Une mission libanaise à la cour d'Anne I^{re} de Russie (*ibid.*, p. 403–410; a publication, provided with a Russian translation, of two Arabic letters sent in 1732 from St Petersburg to Maronite addressees — one of whom was, with some degree of probability, Joseph Assemani — dealing with diplomatic affairs at the Russian Imperial Court).

Other scholarly publications. To name only a few: Nikolai Seleznyov, Le nom de Nestorius de Constantinople comme symbole et la question de la vénération dans la tradition chrétienne syro-orientale (N^o 55, p. 257–286); Kirill Dmitriev, L'École poétique d'al-Ḥīra et les orig-

ines de la poésie arabe sur le vin: *Qāfiyyah* de ʿAdī ibn Zayd al-ʿIbādī (№ 58, p. 319–339; deals with the very important but much neglected topics of Christianity among some pre-Islamic Arab poets); and Yury Arzhanov, Sentences syriaques de Menandre et leurs relations avec les gnomologies grecques et arabes (*ibid.*, p. 340–362).

B. L.