

# *Cyrillomethodianum*

VI

Thessalonique

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Α.Τ.-Δ.Μ. Ταχιάος

ASSOCIATION HELLENIQUE D'ETUDES SLAVES

*Cyrillomethodianum*

RECHERCHES SUR L'HISTOIRE DES RELATIONS HELLENO-SLAVES

*Comité de Rédaction*

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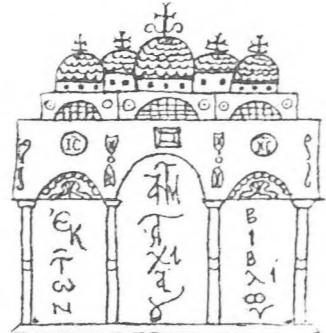
Prof. A.-E. TACHIAOS

COMMUNICATIONS PRÉSENTÉES AU  
SYMPOSIUM INTERNATIONAL

LITTÉRATURE MOYENNE GRECQUE  
ET  
LITTÉRATURES SLAVES

CORRELATIONS DANS LES RECUEILS MANUSCRITS

21 - 24 MAI 1979



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**CHRYSOSTOMICA PALAEOSLAVICA.  
A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE SOURCES  
OF THE CHRYSORRHOAS (ZLATOSTRUY) COLLECTION**

*Francis J. Thomson*

The existence of a collection of some 136 Chrysostomian homilies called the *Zlatostruy* and translated, as its preface states, in Bulgaria during the reign of Symeon (893 - 927) was well known in Russia and the Balkans in the 17th century.<sup>1</sup> It was only in 1843 that the existence of a 12th century codex with a collection of homilies became known<sup>2</sup> and although it only had 80 entries and no preface it too is known as a *Zlatostruy* since most of its entries are to be found in the longer collection.<sup>3</sup> The first scholar to examine the relation between the two collections in any detail concluded that the shorter is a later development of the longer.<sup>4</sup> However, in 1878 the first – and as yet sole – major comparative study of the two led to the conclusion that since each collection is in places closer to the original Greek than the other, they are independent translations of two different Greek florilegia.<sup>5</sup>

Even though no further detailed study has been undertaken both theories have been maintained.<sup>6</sup> Recently the contents of a 13th century Serb codex<sup>7</sup> which contains 61 entries taken from both collections were examined and it was concluded that this collection refutes the idea of two translations and that both collections have interpolations so that only those homilies in both collections and the Serb codex can be safely ascribed to Symeon's prototype.<sup>8</sup> Since the information supplied by the preface to the longer collection has been the source of much controversy an attempt will be made here first to analyse the Greek sources and then to see whether conclusions drawn from this analysis support the information given in the preface.

Codices

- a) longer collection
  - 1. *Bychkov folia*: 4 folia, 11th century Russian, containing part of entry 132.<sup>9</sup>
  - 2. *Finnish fragment no. 42*: 4 folia, 13th century Russian, containing ending of entry 2, beginning of 4 and part of 46.<sup>10</sup>
  - 3. *Hilandar codex 382*: 14th century Serbian florilegium with various entries besides the Chrysorrhoas.<sup>11</sup>

4. *LAS 33.2.12*: 284 folia (278-284 from a different codex), 15th century Russian, apparently copied from a defective codex with missing folia as the beginnings of entries 3, 4 and 21 are omitted and the rest run into the preceding entries.<sup>12</sup>
5. *Moscow Theological Academy codex 43*: 672 folia, Russian, copied in 1474 but clearly from a much earlier codex.<sup>13</sup>
6. *Monastery of the Miracle at Chonai codex 214*: 228 folia, 15th - 16th century Russian containing only entries 1-45, while a passage in 24 has been omitted. Many scribal alterations make its readings unreliable.<sup>14</sup>
7. *Macarian menologium (VMC)*: 16th century Russian, of which there are three copies, viz. the original Sophia copy placed in St. Sophia's Cathedral, Novgorod, in 1541; the Dormition copy placed in the Church of the Dormition, Moscow, in 1552, and the Imperial copy presented to Ivan IV, to which final additions were made in 1552 - 1554. The longer collection was not part of the original collection and is found solely in the Dormition copy, appended to the February volume.<sup>15</sup>
8. *Moscow Theological Academy codex 44*: 563 folia, 16th century Russian, a copy of the 1474 codex.<sup>16</sup>
9. *Pogodin codex 1008*: 16th century, as yet undescribed.<sup>17</sup>
10. *Solovki codex 182*: 618 folia, 16th century Russian.<sup>18</sup>
11. *Tolstoy codex I.47*: 661 folia, 16th century Russian.<sup>19</sup>
12. *Uvarov codex 295*: 509 folia, 16th century Russian.<sup>20</sup>
13. *Vilnius codex 238*: 283 folia, 16 century Russian, containing only entries 1-45 and copied apparently from a defective codex as the beginning of 24 follows 2 and part of 33 is in 38.<sup>21</sup>
14. *Zhitomir Diocesan Archives codex I.123*: 369 folia, 16th century Russian, containing only entries 1-45.<sup>22</sup>
15. *Solovki codex 183*: 1325 folia, 16th - 17th century Russian.<sup>23</sup>
16. *Vilnius codex 239*: 274 folia, 17th century Russian, a copy of Vilnius codex 238 with only entries 1-45.<sup>24</sup>
17. *Yegorov codex 227*: copied in 1650, as yet undescribed.<sup>25</sup>
18. *St. Euthymius monastery of the Transfiguration codex 6*: 1107 folia, mid 17th century Russian.<sup>25a</sup>
- b) shorter collection
  1. *Public Library codex F.p.I.46 (SPL)*: 198 folia (1 being a later addition), 12th century Russian. The codex is defective and the folio order muddled.<sup>26</sup> The codex can be divided into two parts: the *Chrysorrhoas* is on ff. 1-66R, while ff. 66R-197V contain a combined panegyric-on-menologium-homiliary. The codex is extremely defective in many ways:

- a) because of lost folia many entries are missing wholly or partly;<sup>27</sup>
  - b) a homily has been interpolated on ff. 136R-138R;<sup>28</sup>
  - c) the final entry, viz. 81, has been omitted;
  - d) the entry order is defective, 64 coming between 48 and 49;<sup>29</sup>
  - e) there are Russian interpolations in 63;
  - f) the entire codex teems with elementary scribal errors.<sup>30</sup>
  2. *Finnish fragment no. 41*: 2 folia, 13th century Russian, containing part of entry 43, end of 76 and beginning of 77. It alone has preserved the original title of 76, corrupt in other codices.<sup>31</sup>
  3. *Finnish fragment no. 44*: 2 folia, 13th century Russian, containing part of entry 48.<sup>32</sup>
  4. *Hilandar folio*: 1 folio removed from a 13th century Serbian codex in the Hilandar collection with part of entry 14.<sup>33</sup>
  5. *Academy codex (A)*: 281 folia, Russian, copied in 1406, with the following peculiarities:
    - a) entries 1-4 and beginning of 5 are missing because of lost folia;
    - b) between entries 37 and 38 there are six interpolations;<sup>34</sup>
    - c) there are twelve appended homilies, all found as appendices in other codices.<sup>35</sup>
  6. *Pogodin codex 948*: 15th - 16th century, as yet undescribed.<sup>36</sup>
  7. *Tolstoy codex I.31(T)*: 269 folia, 15th - 16th century Russian. Because of lost folia only entries 48-81 survive, to which are appended 17 homilies all found as appendices in other MSS.<sup>37</sup>
  - 8 - 10. *Macarian menologium (VMC)*: 16th century Russian. It is found in all three copies for 13th November and is followed by 38 appendices most of which are found in other codices.<sup>38</sup>
  11. *Tver Museum codex 257/484*: 17th century Russian.<sup>39</sup>
- In addition to these MSS the surviving folia of a florilegium must be mentioned as the sole traced Bulgarian witness to the *Chrysorrhoas*:
12. *Šafarík codex iv*: 32 folia, beginning and end missing, 15th century Bulgarian. The entries of this florilegium were numbered and all that survive are the end of 19, all of 20-23 and the beginning of 24. The titles of entries 23 and 24 are followed by a second superfluous number, viz. 68 and 69, which coincides with the fact that they are entries 68 and 69 in the shorter collection from which they were obviously taken.<sup>40</sup>
  - c) later redactions
    1. *Hilandar codex 386(H)*: 286 folia, end missing, late 13th century Serbian,

- containing 61 entries, of which twelve, viz. 2, 14-16, 18, 21-22, 56-60, are found only in the longer collection, fourteen, viz. 6, 8, 10, 13, 20, 24, 26, 32, 37, 42, 44, 52, 54-55 only in the shorter, thirty-two, viz. 1, 3-5, 7, 9, 11-12, 17, 19, 25, 27-29, 33-36, 38-41, 43, 45-51, 53, 61 in both and three, viz. 23, 30-31, as appendices in some codices of the shorter. Whereas the entries only found in the longer collection are in no discernible order, those found in the shorter reveal an order in which the first half of the collection has, broadly speaking, been placed after the second.<sup>41</sup>
2. *Trinity Sergius codex 145* (TS): 219 folia, 15th century Russian. The forty entries<sup>42</sup> can be divided into two main parts:
    - a) 1-19 are found among the appendices to the shorter collection in other codices;<sup>43</sup>
    - b) entries 20-38 follow the order of the shorter collection, viz. 3, 6, 8, 13-14, 17, 19, 27, 32, 35, 39-42, 52, 55, 57-59.<sup>44</sup>
- Of the final two unnumbered entries the first is entirely unrelated to the *Chrysorrhoas* and is a chance interpolation,<sup>45</sup> while the second is another of the appendices to the shorter collection and a gloss after entry 17 on f.109R states that it was accidentally omitted there and added at the end of the codex.<sup>46</sup>
3. *St. Euthymius monastery of the Transfiguration codex 7* (E): 237 folia, beginning and some folia between ff. 134 and 135 missing, 15th century Russian. The forty-three entries can be divided into two parts separated by entry 16:
    - a) 1-15 are mostly taken from the first redaction of the *Smaragdus*,<sup>47</sup> then follows George of Alexandria's *Vita S. Joannis Chrysostomi*;<sup>48</sup>
    - b) 17-43, all but five of which, viz. 17, 34, 37, 39 and 41, are found in one or more collections of the *Chrysorrhoas*, although the selection seems to have been an entirely random one.<sup>49</sup>

This list of codices is by no means exhaustive since the existence of further codices has been recorded but for lack of factual data it remains impossible to state which collection they contain.<sup>50</sup> Moreover, caution is essential as the title of *Zlatostruj* has been used for other works.<sup>51</sup>

In addition to codices containing entire collections or considerable selections, many codices contain a few entries taken from the *Chrysorrhoas*, e.g. the 12th - 13th century Russian Trinity Sergius codex 12 has six,<sup>52</sup> and to list these here is impossible.<sup>53</sup> However, one fact requires mentioning – the homiliary for Septuagesima to Trinity Sunday preserved in the 13th-14 century Serb Mihanović florilegium (M)<sup>54</sup> contains eleven.<sup>55</sup> Clearly a scholarly edition will have to use

such early texts in its apparatus criticus.

#### Order of Entries

Before examining the sources of the individual entries one minor question must be dealt with: the order of entries 33-39 in the longer collection. Most codices<sup>57</sup> have:

33. *In epistolam ad Ephesios homilia ii*
34. *In epistolam primam ad Timotheum homilia xiv*
35. *In epistolam secundam ad Timotheum homilia vii*
36. *In epistolam ad Ephesios homilia iii*
37. *In epistolam ad Ephesios homilia iv*
38. *In epistolam primam ad Timotheum homilia viii*
39. *In epistolam secundam ad Timotheum homilia viii*

However, a few codices<sup>58</sup> have:

33. *In epistolam ad Ephesios homilia ii*
34. *In epistolam ad Ephesios homilia iii*
35. *In epistolam ad Ephesios homilia iv*
36. *In epistolam primam ad Timotheum homilia vi*
37. *In epistolam primam ad Timotheum homilia xiv*
38. *In epistolam secundam ad Timotheum homilia vii*
39. *In epistolam secundam ad Timotheum homilia viii*

As will appear from an analysis of the order, the selection of entries was guided both by theme and the order of the originals. Since thematically the second order above is superior to the first, e.g. Ephesians ii and iii on Holy Communion and one Timothy xiv and two Timothy vii dealing, inter alia, with widows, and the correspondence of the order of the second group to that of the originals is obvious, there can be no doubt that the latter is the correct order.<sup>59</sup>

#### Sources of Individual Entries

##### A. Longer Collection

None of the collections has a title.<sup>60</sup> The longer begins with a list of contents giving the chapter headings for subsections in the first 45 entries and then only the titles of the remaining homilies. There are several codices which contain only the first 45 entries<sup>61</sup> and the question arises as to whether this list thus indicates that the collection was divided at this point. Moreover, in some places the list indicates from where the entries have been taken, whereas the entries themselves do not indicate this; e.g. entry 31 is indicated as being from Corinthians, 33 from Ephesians and they are indeed from *In epistolam secundam ad Corinthios homilia xxii* and *In epistolam ad Ephesios homilia ii*. Clearly such information was

unavailable to a later scribe and thus the list is not merely a component part of the collection but directly links the longer collection with the person(s) who selected the passages.<sup>62</sup> This is also true of the following entry, the preface, with its account of the compilation of the *Chrysorrhoas*. This will be examined after an analysis of the sources of the individual entries.

It would be impossible to note here all the minor divergencies from the Greek originals – moreover, no text-critical edition of Chrysostom's works exists, so that minor variants are merely from the printed Greek text, not necessarily from the original – thus only major variants are noted. All the entries in the shorter collection vary to a greater or lesser extent from those in the longer and again only major divergencies are noted. No attempt has been made to list all later redactions in other florilegia although major ones in the *Smaragdus* are noted.

1. **Добр и търпѣнїа плоди и добреи плодъ<sup>63</sup>**

*Severian of Gabala, Quonodo animam acceperit Adamus*

SI; BHG 420q; CPG 4195; original ed. Savile, Ioannis v, 648-653 S ed. 1) VMC 1184-1190; 2) Malinin, Slov 1-20

The ascription to Chrysostom is well attested in Greek MSS. In the form closer to S it is also found in the 14th century Russian *Catena Aurea*,<sup>64</sup> ff. 49r-53v. For another translation of this homily see below appendix 23.

2. **Велика зима на поавицанија**

*Homilia in dimissionem Chananaeae*

S63; H5; E14; CPG 4529; original ed. PG Iii, 449-460

Excerpt L ed. Arkhangel'sky, Tvoreniya iv, 225-227; S ed. VMC 1478-1488.

There are major omissions in the translation. S has been considerably revised. H is closer to S. In the 12th century SPL codex of S there are two Russian interpolations.<sup>65</sup> A revised and interpolated excerpt from S is found as c. 43 in the first redaction of the *Smaragdus* and this is the form in E as well as in c. 31 of the printed *Chrysostomus*.

3. **Прѣдъ вуерашнимъ днемъ мы и диаволъ**

(*sive : въ диаволъ*)

*De diabolo tentatore homilia iii*

BHG 939s; CPG 4332; original ed. PG xlix, 263-276, viz. 263-266

Unedited.

Only the beginning has been translated. A different translation of this same beginning is found as L 122.

4. **Съ да и мы и именъ сѧ вѣшанія**

*In iustum et beatum Job sermo iii*

S 26; BHG 939f; CPG 4564; original ed. PG Ivi, 570-576

Excerpt L ed. Sreznevsky, Svedeniya xIi, 37; S ed. VMC 1284-1295

The original is only slightly abridged. A different translation is found as the 29th entry in the *Margarita*, ed. VMC September 14-24, 1167-1179

5. **Врѣма <ти> есть омытица (S : покачатисѧ) чже Admonitiones spirituales**

S 38; H2 and 54; CPG 4670; original ed. PG Ixii, 741-744

S ed. VMC 1357-1360.

In S the text is considerably abridged and revised. In H it is found in both forms, entry 2 as in L and 54 as in S.

6. **Свѣтѣлъ намъ градъ, свѣтѣлъ**

*De sancto hieromartyre Phoca, et contra haereticos*

BHG 1537; CPG 4364; original ed. PG I, 699-706, viz. 699

Unedited.

Only the beginning has been translated.<sup>66</sup>

7. **Видѣсте <ли> божиј мѡшь ?**

*De Lazaro concio vi*

H57; BHG 1700z; CPG 4329; original ed. PG xIviii, 1027-1044

Unedited.

8. **Паки шкаканіи <и> всѣхъ человѣкъ**

*Adversus Judaeos oratio iv*

CPG 4327; original ed. PG xIviii, 871-882

A different translation is found as the 8th entry in the *Margarita*, ed. VMC September 14-24, 866-880.

9. **Остатъки <sive : ѿстатькъ ; sive : ѿстанки>**

*въерашиѧ трапезы*

*Homilia ii in ea quae supersunt ex Psalmo L, et de poenitentia*

H58; CPG 4545; original ed. PG Iv, 575-588.

Unedited.

A different translation is found in some codices, e.g. 15th century Serb florilegium RAS no. 303, ff. 1r-12r. It too remains unedited.

10. **Въсѣтса тѣло (sive : сѣмѧ) душевное,**  
**въстанетъ тѣло**

*In epistolam primam ad Corinthios homilia xIi*

S53; CPG 4428; original ed. PG Ixi, 355-362, viz. 360-362

S ed. VMC 1434-1437

Only the ethicon has been translated.

11. **L** : ПРИНЕСИ ДЪНЬ СЪ <сive : днесь>  
ПАУЕ И ПРЕЖДЪНИХЪ  
**S** : ПРИНЕСИ ДЪНЬ СИИ ПРЕЖЕ  
ДРѢВЛЪНИХЪ ДЪНИИ  
**E** : ПРИДИТЕ ДНЕСЬ ПАУЕ ПЕРВЫХЪ ДНЕИ  
*De patientia et quod mortui non amare lugendi sint*  
S 52; H 47; TS 34; E 38; BHG 2103x; CPG 4620: original ed. PG Ix, 723-730.  
S ed. VMC 1422-1434.
- H is closer to S and in the same form is in the 12th-13th Russian Dormition florilegium, ff. 270r-278r.<sup>67</sup> It served as the basis for c. 58 in the second redaction of the *Smaragdus*. The relation of the form in the 1469 Serb florilegium of Vladislav Grammaticus, ff. 432r-436v,<sup>68</sup> to this translation is uncertain.
12. СЕ ВѢДШЕ, НЕ ПРОСТО СЕ ИЗБИРАИМЪ  
*In Acta Apostolorum homilia xxxiv*  
S 42; H 46; TS 33; CPG 4426; original ed. PG Ix, 245-252, viz. 250-252  
L ed. Arkhangel'sky Tvoreniya iv, 120-133; S ed. 1) Sreznevsky, Pamyatniki (ed. 1863) 195-196; 2) VMC 1371-1375. Only the ethicon has been translated. H is closer to S. A revised and abridged form is c. 62 in the first redaction of the *Smaragdus* and as c. 22 in the second. This form is found in many florilegia, e.g. 14th century Russian Paisius florilegium, ff. 122v-124v.<sup>69</sup>
13. НЪ ПОНЕЖЕ ПО <СЕН> БЛАГОДАТИ  
*In epistolam ad Romanos homilia vii*  
S 10; CPG 4427; original ed. PG Ix, 441-454, viz. 447-454  
S ed. 1) VMC 1221-1227; 2) Malinin, Slov 107-124  
Only the ethicon has been translated. In the 12th century SPL codex of S on ff. 16v-18v the ending is missing either because there are missing folia or because the scribe was copying a defective codex.
14. ТѢМЬ ЖЕ ТѢХЪ ШСТАВИВШЕ ПАТРИАРХА  
*In epistolam ad Romanos homilia viii*  
S 60; H 3; CPG 4427; original ed. PG Ix, 453-468, viz. 462-468  
S ed. VMC 1460-1464  
Only the ethicon has been translated. The form in H is closer to S.
15. ХВАЛЮ ВЪЗДАИМЪ УБО НЫИНЪ  
*In epistolam ad Romanos homilia xviii*  
S 51; CPG 4427; original ed. PG Ix, 571-584, viz. 579-584

- S ed. VMC 1417-1422  
Only the ethicon has been translated.
16. АД НЕ НЕВЪРОДЕТЬ УБО НИКТОЖЕ  
*In epistolam primam ad Corinthios homilia xvii*  
CPG 4428; original ed. PG Ixi, 139-146, viz. 141-146  
Unedited.  
Only the ethicon has been translated.
17. ИДКОЖЕ БО И ГРѢШНЫИ АЩЕ <и> ОМИРАЮТЪ  
The translator has not noted that this is part of the title, the real incepit is the second sentence:  
ТѢМЬ ЖЕ НАДЪ ОМЪРЪШНИМИ НЕ ПЛАУЕМЪСА  
*In epistolam ad Philippenses homilia iii*  
S 59; TS 38; CPG 4432; original ed. PG Ixii, 197-206, viz. 203-206.  
S ed. VMC 1457-1459.  
Only the ethicon has been translated. TS is closer to S.
18. МНОГАЖДЫ ЖЕ НЕУМСТАДГО АѢЛА ЖИТИЯ  
*In epistolam ad Hebraeos homilia iii*  
S 54; CPG 4440; original ed. PG Ixiii, 27-38, viz. 33-38.  
S ed. VMC 1437-1440.  
Only the ethicon has been translated.
19. СЕ СЛЫШАШЕ, МОЛЮ ВЫI, ПОСЛОДШАИМЪ<sup>70</sup>  
*In epistolam ad Hebraeos homilia x*  
S 55; TS 35; CPG 4440; original ed. PG Ixiii, 83-90, viz. 87-90  
S ed. VMC 1440-1443  
Only the ethicon has been translated. TS is closer to S.
20. ПОДОБАЕТЬ <О>БО ВСАКОМЪ <ЧЕЛОВѢКЪ> ХРИСТИАНЪ  
*In sanctum Paulum apostolum*  
BHG 1462 S; CPG 5067: excerpt original ed. Petit, Oeuvres iii, 427-430  
Excerpt L ed. Arkhangel'sky, Tvoreniya iv, 159-161.  
This served as the source for a later compilation in several MSS, e.g. the Paisius florilegium, ff. 118v-119r, which in turn is found as the ending of a late redaction of a homily ascribed to Cyril of Turov.<sup>71</sup>
21. СЪГРѢШАЮЩА РА ПРЕДЪ ВСѢМИ ОБЛИУДИ  
*In epistolam primam ad Timotheum homilia xv*  
CPG 4436; original ed. PG Ixii, 579-586, viz. 582-586  
Unedited.  
Only the ethicon has been translated. On the further use of this homily

cf. S7.

22. Или ѳа ма, Сотоно, пакость (sive : съблазнъ)  
еси

*In Matthaeum homilia Iiv*

CPG 4424; original ed. PG Iviii, 531-540, viz. 536-540

Unedited.

Only the ethicon has been translated.

23. Блаженъи Павелъ, апостолъ всѣхъ наꙑкъ

*John Ieiunator, Sermo de poenitentia, et continentia, et virginitate*

S 36; H I; E 35; CPG 7555; original ed. PG Ixxxviii, 1937-1977, viz. 1937-1956.

S ed. VMC 1335-1346

This is only the first half of the homily but the second is found as L 46. In S the two halves follow consecutively as 36-37 which is clearly the original order. The forms in H and E are closer to S.

24. Болѣзнико слово, тако же и <въ> послѣднєе

*Oratio de pseudopropheticis, et falsis doctoribus, et impiis haereticis, et designis consummationis saeculi huius.*

S 12; H 43; TS 18; CPG 4583; original ed. PG Iix, 533-568.

L ed. VMC 1809-1846; S ed. VMC 1230-1232.

S only has the beginning of the homily with a commonplace desinit appended. In the 12th century SPL codex of S only the ending of this entry is preserved on f. 19r, either because of missing folia or because a defective codex was being copied.<sup>72</sup> TS is closer to L, H has S. The form in L is found revised and abridged as c. 71 in the first redaction of the *Smaragdus*, while an excerpt from L in a revised form is found as c. 130 in the second redaction. On the further use of this homily cf. S4.

Cosmas of Bulgaria in his *Oratio contra Bogomilos* refers to the full translation 14 times but in only 4 are there passages close to the actual text of the translation.<sup>73</sup>

25. Аще ѿ злобѣ иждевемъ и добродѣтель

(Chudov 214:

*In epistolam ad Romanos homilia xii*

CPG 4427; original ed. PG IX, 493-508, viz. 503-508.

Unedited.

Only the ethicon has been translated.

26. Чесо ѿ нѣ сътвори Богъ ?

*In epistolam ad Romanos homilia XIV*

CPG 4427; original ed. PG IX, 523-540, viz. 534-540

Excerpts L ed. Malinin, Slov 37-38, 41.

Only the ethicon has been translated. On the use of this homily in S, cf. S 4 and 62.

27. Нѣ можемъ ѿбо послѣшати ереси

*In epistolam primam ad Corinthios homilia viii*

S 9; CPG 4428; original ed. PG Ixi, 67-76, viz. 72-76

S ed. 1) VMC 1218-1221; 2) Malinin, Slov 98-107

Only the ethicon has been translated.

28. То <по>имаши ли то, егоже неси прѣвалъ.

*In epistolam primam ad Corinthios homilia x*

CPG 4428; original ed. PG Ixi, 81-88, viz. 84-88.

Unedited.

Only the ethicon has been translated.

29. Се ѿбо <и><мы> вѣдѣши, вѣзлѣбленіи, попечи-  
емъса

*In epistolam primam ad Corinthios homilia xxiv*

S 20; H 35; CPG 4428; original ed. PG Ixi, 197-206, viz. 203-206

S ed. VMC 1258-1263

Only the ethicon has been translated. The form in H is closer to S.

30. Да нѣ вѣлияющи сѧ ѿбо ѿ стояніи

*In epistolam primam ad Corinthios homilia xxvii*

CPG 4428; original ed. PG Ixi, 187-198, viz. 194-198

Unedited.

Only the ethicon has been translated. On the use of this homily in S, cf. S 62.

31. Се <же> глаголю, да нѣ послѣшаемъ тѹи

*In epistolam secundam ad Corinthios homilia xxvii*

S 13; TS 23; CPG 4429; original ed. PG Ixi, 547-554, viz. 551-554

S ed. VMC 1233-1235

Only the ethicon has been translated.

32. Смотри же и вина штъ гноища

*In epistolam ad Titum homilia iii*

S 56; H 48; CPG 4438; original ed. PG Ixii, 675-682, viz. 680-682

- S ed. VMC 1443-1446  
Only the ethicon has been translated.
33. **Пакы і велікаго прораччыніа показаніе**  
*In epistolam ad Ephesios homilia ii*  
CPG 4431; original ed. PG Ixii, 17-22, viz. 18-22  
Unedited.  
The beginning has been omitted.
34. **Видиши ли, колику <sive : како> ти сътвори-  
<въ> ?**  
*In epistolam ad Ephesios homilia iii*  
CPG 4431; orginal ed. PG Ixii, 23-30, viz. 25-30  
Unedited.  
The beginning has been omitted. In most codices it is entry 36.<sup>74</sup>
35. **Аще <бо> бы и въ огнь въпасти**  
*In epistolam ad Ephesios homilia iv*  
CPG 4431; original ed. PG Ixii, 31-38, viz. 33-38  
Unedited.  
The beginning has been omitted. In most codices it is entry 37.<sup>74</sup>
36. **Вса(ка) ѿбо наша молитва благодарствіе**  
*In epistolam primam ad Timotheum homilia vi*  
S 28; H 25; CPG 4436; original ed. PG Ixii, 529-534, viz. 531-534  
S ed. VMC 1297-1301.  
Only the ethicon has been translated. In most codices it is entry 38.<sup>74</sup> The form in H is closer to S.
37. **Иже <бо> створи(ть), рече, единомъ**  
*In epistolam primam ad Timotheum homilia xiv*  
S 58; H 50; TS 37; CPG 4436; original ed. PG Ixii, 571-580, viz. 574-580  
S ed. VMC 1450-1456.  
Only the ethicon has been translated. In most codices it is entry 34.<sup>74</sup> The forms in H and TS are closer to S.
38. **Иже бо гаритъса на человѣкы**  
*In epistolam secundam ad Timotheum homilia vii*  
S 61; H 4; CPG 4437; original ed. PG Ixii, 635-642, viz. 637-640, 641-642  
S ed. VMC 1465-1471.  
Two passages have been omitted. In most codices it is entry 35.<sup>74</sup> The form in H is closer to S.
39. **Никто же <бо> да не блажнитса о злобахъ**  
*In epistolam secundam ad Timotheum homilia viii*  
CPG 4437; original ed. PG Ixii, 641-650, viz. 646-650  
Unedited.  
Only the ethicon has been translated.
40. **То дѣи <sive : дѣеши> ли Богъ немощна**  
*In Acta Apostolorum homilia xxii*  
S 57; H 49; TS 36; CPG 4426; original ed. PG IX, 177-184, viz. 182-184.  
S ed. VMC 1446-1450  
Only the ethicon has been translated. The forms in H and TS are closer to S.
41. **Кде суть ѿбо <sive : Где <о>бо суть> жены, таже всѧко ношь**  
*In Acta Apostolorum homilia xxvi*  
CPG 4426; original ed. PG IX, 197-204, viz. 202-204  
Excerpt L ed. Arkhangel'sky, Tvoreniya iv, 137-142.  
Only the ethicon has been translated. On the further use of this homily cf. S 14.
42. **Нъ да поманемъ и тѹ ношть**  
*In Acta Apostolorum homilia xxxvi*  
S 15; CPG 4426; original ed. PG IX, 257-262, viz. 261-262.  
S ed. VMC 1241-1244.  
Only the ethicon has been translated.
43. **Всака душа власте<ле>мъ прѣвлааджимъ**  
*In epistolam ad Romanos homilia xxiii*  
CPG 4427; original ed. PG IX, 613-622  
Unedited.  
The first sentence is in fact the Biblical text. The actual homily incepit is:  
**Много слово творить въсѧки сѧ**  
The account of the murder of Prince Andrew Bogolyubsky in 1175 found in the Russian chronicles refers to his homily, cf. PSRL i, 370; ii, 592-593 and PG IX, 616.
44. **Да не <с>тожимъ ѿбо о вѣдахъ**  
*In epistolam secundam ad Timotheum homilia i*  
S 27; TS 27; CPG 4437; original ed. PG Ixii, 599-606, viz. 604-606  
S ed. VMC 1295-1297.  
Only the ethicon has been translated. TS is closer to S.

45. Се́мь <сive : Сицемъ> е быти подова лѣпо ду-  
мтєлъо <sive : Сицемъ подова(етъ) лѣпо быти  
дұителъо>

*In epistolam secundam ad Timotheum homilia ii*

S 23; CPG 4437; original ed. PG Ixii, 605-614, viz. 609-614

Excerpt L ed. Malinin, Issledovaniye 139; S ed. VMC 1271-1277

Only the ethicon has been translated.

46. ОУбоим(ъи) сѧ, братие, могѹшаго дѹшѹ

*John Ieiunator, Sermo de poenitentia, et continentia, et virginitate.*

S 37; CPG 7555; original ed. PG Ixxxviii, 1937-1977, viz. 1956-1973

S ed. VMC 1346-1356.

This is the continuation of the homily, the first half being found as L 23.

47. Подобно есть намъ, братие, всегда

<sive : присно>

S 72. Original untraced.

S ed. 1) VMC 1523-1533; 2) Tunitsky, Slovo 215-226; 3) Angelov, Kliment i, 639-644.

The form as in S is found in many florilegia. One 15th century Russian florilegium, St. Michael's monastery with the Golden Dome codex 490, not only has that form, ff. 56r-63v, but also, ff. 125r-129r, an abridgment of S ascribed to "Clement." This cannot be the original form since the title has retained the words: и о сѹдѣ, whereas the passage on Doomsday has been omitted. Many scholars<sup>75</sup> have ascribed the homily to Clement of Ochrida but this is unwarranted by the evidence.

- a) linguistic evidence proves little since the *Chrysorrhoas* is contemporary to Clement;
- b) the juxtaposition of passages from this homily with those from Clementine homilies<sup>76</sup> merely reveals thematic similarities;
- c) it is stylistically dissimilar to Clementine homilies being not merely longer but also lacking in thematic unity and even coherence in exposition. It is but a loose concatenation of thoughts on three themes, viz. the Trinity, creation, Doomsday.

Various sources for parts have been suggested: thus the statements on the doctrine on the Trinity have been compared with c. viii of John of Damascus' *De fide orthodoxa*<sup>77</sup>; those on Doomsday with Ephraem Syrus' *Sermo de communi resurrectione, de paenitentia et de caritate, et in secundum*

*adventum D. n. Jesu Christi*<sup>80</sup> but the same applies,<sup>81</sup> as it also does to a comparison of its account of the fall of Satan with that in the *Palaea historica*.<sup>82</sup> The ascription of the abridgment to Clement reflects merely an attempt by the abridger to add authority to his work and the whole is probably a compilation from various Greek homilies by some "ineptissimus Graeculus" as de Montfaucon would have called him.<sup>83</sup>

48. Зрѣо вашѧ лѹбвę ненасыщеныи

*In Genesim homilia xiii*

H 60; CPG 4409; original ed. PG Iiii, 105-110

Unedited.

49. Божъ премѣдростію своєю все добро створи

*Severian of Gabala, In filium prodigum, ac de poenitentia, et in lignum scientiae boni et mali, et in latronem*

S 66; CPG 4200; original ed. PG Iix, 627-636, viz. 632-636

S ed. VMC 1499-1503.

Only the ethicon has been translated.

50. Ато бл҃ю Ѹбо поста, яко штєцъ цѣломудриѧ

*Sermo vi in Genesim*

S 67; H 53; CPG 4410; original ed. PG Iiv, 604-607

S ed. VMC 1503-1506

The "Scythians and barbarians" of the original (ed. PG 606) have become "ѹгры и Овѣрнї" (ed. VMC 1504).

Another translation of this homily is found as the second of the appendices to the *Margarita* in some MSS, e.g. 16th century Synodal codex no. 87, ff. 238r-240r.

51. Много молихъ вуєра вашъ лѹбовъ

*Sermo vii in Genesim*

H 14; BHG 434b; CPG 4410; original ed. PG Iiv, 607-616

Unedited.

Another translation is found as the third of the appendices to the *Margarita* in some MSS, e.g. 16th century Synodal codex no. 87, ff. 240r-247r.

52. Всѧ Ѹбо, възлюбленїи, яже въ врѣмена архи-  
иєрѣи

*Christopher of Alexandria, Homilia cui vita humana sit similis*

BHG 1322q; original ed. PG c, 1216-1232

Unedited.

In a revised form it is found as c. 68 in the first redaction of the *Smaragdus*.

This redaction was taken over into the *Chrysostomus* as prescribed reading for Monday in the 4th (Orth. 5th) week in Lent and in some codices, e.g. 17th century Synodal codex no. 220, ff. 131v-139r, there is a later expanded version of it. A different revised form of it is found as c. 143 in the second redaction of the *Smaragdus*. All of these redactions are ascribed to John Chrysostom, but a different translation correctly ascribed to Christopher is found in the 15th century florilegium, Trinity Sergius codex no. 748, ff. 186r-223r.

## 53. СօТЬ НԵЦԻН ՄԵՐ ԾՓԱԽՆ ՃՃ

*Theodore Daphnophates, Ecloga xxvi, De virtute et vitio*

Original ed. PG Ixiii, 753-764

Unedited.

54. ՄՈԼԻՇ ԾԲՈ ԿՅԻՆՑ, ԵՈՐՎԵՏԻՎԻ ՀՔԻՍՏՈԼԻՒՑԿԻ,  
ԵՈՐՄՅ

Original untraced.

Unedited.

## 55. ՀՈՏԱԻ ԿԵԼՈՎԵԿՈԼԻՒՑԵՑ ԵՈՐՀ ԿԱՌԱԴԱՒ

*Theodore Daphnophates, Ecloga i, De dilectione*

Original ed. PG Ixiii, 567-580

Unedited.

56. ԻՋԵ Մ ԱԽՈՏԾԻՆԻ ԸԼՈՎՈ, ԵՑԼԻՈԲԵՆԻ, ՆԵ  
idem, Ecloga xxiii, De eleemosyna et hospitalitate

Original ed. PG Ixiii, 715-732.

Excerpt L ed. Malinin, Issledovaniye 205-207.

## 57. ՊՐԵՋԴԵ ԾԲՈ ՌԼԱԳՈԼԱԽՈՎ Մ ՕՍՏԱՎԼԱԽՈՎԻՆ

*idem, Ecloga vi, De doctrina et correptione*

Original ed. PG Ixiii, 605-616

Excerpt L ed. Arkhangel'sky, Tvoreniya IV, 157-159

The notion that it influenced Cyril of Turov's *Homilia in dominicam iv (Orth. v) post Pascha*<sup>84</sup> is unproven, the resemblance is due merely to thematic similarity.

## 58. ՄԽՈՅԻ ՄԵՐ ԿԱԾ ԿԵԼՈՎԵԿԻ Խ ՊԼՇՏԻ

*idem, Ecloga xxv, De futuro iudicio*

Original ed. PG Ixiii, 744-754

Unedited.

## 59. ԿՈՐ ԾԲՈ ԻՆՈՐ ԿԱ ԾՐԵՋ ԻՉՎԵՍՏԻ

*idem, Ecloga xxix, De mansuetudine et malorum patientia et injuriarum memoria*

Original ed. PG Ixiii, 777-788

Unedited.

## 60. ՕՎՈԴԵԲԻՇԱԂ ՆԵՑԻ ՄԵՐԼԵՍԵՄ ՄԵՐՏՎԵՂՆ

*idem, Ecloga viii, De anima*

Original ed. PG Ixiii, 621-624

Unedited.

## 61. ՄԱԼՈ Խ ՆԱՄ ՃՆԵԸ ՊՐԻՇԵԴՄԻՆ

*idem, Ecloga ix, De non contemnenda ecclesia Dei et sanctis mysteriis*

Original ed. PG Ixiii, 623-632

Excerpt L ed. Malinin, Issledovaniye 207-209

## 62. ԵՐԴԱ ԵՑ ԵՈԼԵՑՆ ՎՊԱԵՇԻ, ԿԵԼՈՎԵԿ

*idem, Ecloga xiii, De adversa valetudine et medicis*

Original ed. PG Ixiii, 651-656

Unedited.

## 63. ՀՈՏԱ Ի ԵՑՆԵԸ ՎԱԳՈԸ ԿԵԼՈՎԵԿԱ ԳՐԴՈՏԻՒ

*idem, Ecloga xvi, De superbia et inani gloria*

Original ed. PG Ixiii, 671-678

Unedited.

64. ԵՐԴԱ ԳՐԵԽՆ ԸՎՅԿԾՊԼԵՆ ԵԾԵՏ Ը ԾՄԵՐԵՆՈՄԾԱ-  
ԹԻ

*idem, Ecloga vii, De humilitate animi*

Original ed. PG Ixiii, 615-622

Unedited.

## 65. ՍՏՈ ՐԱԴԻ ՄԵՐ ԼԻՀՈՒՄԾՎԱ ԵՈՐԱԵՐ

*idem, Ecloga xv, De avaritia*

Original ed. PG Ixiii, 665-672

Unedited.

## 66. ՄԽՈՅԻ ՌԼԱԳՈԼԻՒՑ, ՍՏՈ ՐԱԴԻ ՆԵ ԻՎԱԽ

*idem, Ecloga x, De providentia*

Original ed. PG Ixiii, 631-638

Unedited.

## 67. ԻՋԵ ԿՈԼԻ ԺԵՆԻՏԻԸ ՀՈՏԱՇԵՐ, ՃՃ

*idem, Ecloga xiv, De mulieribus et pulchritudine*

Original ed. PG Ixiii, 657-666

Excerpt L ed. Lavrovsky, Pamyatniki 28

68. Пакът Иродия бъснитса, пакът мътилса  
*In decollationem praecursoris et baptistae Joannis, et in Herodiadem*  
 BHG 859; CPG 4570; original ed. PG Iix, 485-490

L ed. Sukhomlinov, Pseudonimakh 453-457 (with some omissions); 2) Yeliseyev, Den 3) Aitzetmüller, Mihanović 262v-265v 4) Hahn, Predigten 222-283.

A later translation is found in MSS from the 17th century.<sup>85</sup> Two excerpts of the original are found in R 59 of *Anastasius Sinaita's Interrogationes et reponstiones de diversis capitibus* and hence in Slav translation in the 1073 florilegium, ff. 169r-171v and 171v-174r.<sup>86</sup> It was these excerpts, and not the original, which inspired many misogynistic compilations found in the *Smaragdus* and elsewhere.

69. Никто же штъ васъ, възлъобленіи, таже о дѣши  
*Theodore Daphnopates, Ecloga xxviii, De iuramento*

Original ed. PG Ixiii, 771-778  
 Unedited.

70. Аще кто штъ дрѹга ближнаго штъ Ѹжикъ  
*idem, Ecloga xviii, De odio et inimicitia*

Original ed. PG Ixiii, 681-686  
 Unedited.

71. Кошете ли послышати, да скажю вамъ  
*idem, Ecloga xii, De ingluvie et ebrietate*

Original ed. PG Ixiii, 645-652  
 Unedited.

72. Възлъобленіи, всѣхъ испытаніе будетъ съ ис-  
 таѣніемъ

*In epistolam ad Romanos homilia xxxi*  
 S 44; H 19; TS 4; E 21; CPG 4427; original ed. PG Ix, 667-676, viz. 672-676  
 L ed. VMC 1650-1654; S ed. VMC 1383-1387

Only the ethicon has been translated. On the further use of this homily cf. L 75.

73. Вси ѿбо вѣдатъ, тако науатокъ всемъ добро  
*De precatione oratio ii*

TS 19; E 32; CPG 4516; original ed. PG I, 775-786  
 L ed. VMC 1846-1854

The original has been slightly abridged in translation. In a revised form the beginning is found in the printed synaxarium for 29 September.<sup>87</sup> There is a

later redaction of the translation found in some MSS, e.g. the 14th century *Catena Aurea*, ff. 60v-61v,<sup>88</sup> and one of the gnomes in the final entry of the 12th-13th Dormition florilegium is taken from this.<sup>90</sup>

74. Послышаніе (sive : Послышаниъ), братиꙗ, ко-  
 ликъ мѣкъ имамъ

S 76; H 12

S ed. VMC 1543-1547.

This is a conflation, the first part of which has not been traced but the second, from the words: *По уто сѹдиши братъ твѧемъ* is a series of short passages taken from the second half of

*In epistolam primam ad Corinthios homilia xi*

Original ed. PG Ixi, 87-96, viz. 90-95.

The form in H is closer to S.

75. Не мало намъ стаꙗніе в предлѣжащимъ

H 18; TS 3; E 30

L ed. VMC 1642-1650

This is a conflation in four parts:

1. The beginning is from

*In epistolam primam ad Corinthios homilia ix*

Original ed. PG Ixi, 75-82, viz. 75-77

2. From the words: *Иакоже во азъ мнъю въѣ мира...*  
 is from

*In epistolam ad Romanos homilia xxxi*

Original ed. PG Ix, 667-676, viz. 674

3. From the words: *Всѣхъ всегда подѹимсѧ и рѣкъ ог-  
 ныю то...*  
 has not been traced.

4. From the words: *Възлъобленіи, мніма есть, тако е-  
 аи на мѣка...*  
 consists of three excerpts, partly paraphrased, from

*In Matthaeum homilia xxiii*

Original ed. PG Ivii, 307-320, viz. 317, 317-318, 318-319

In the 12th SPL codex of S on ff. 136r-138r is found a passage without a beginning because of lost folia between ff. 121 and 136 which is also taken from *In Matthaeum homilia xxiii*. A comparison of the two passages<sup>91</sup> reveals that this passage in the SPL codex is closer to the original Greek than L and this is the crucial element in the theory, accepted by many scholars, that L

and S are different translations since this is the only case where a codex of S has more of the Greek than L. However, this entry in the SPL codex is not found in any other codex of S and thus cannot be considered to be an integral part of S but is an interpolation which thus cannot be used as evidence for any conclusion about the relation between S and L.

76. Δρόζη η βρατιέ, ιήσε χοψετъ въ царствиє божиє  
*De salute animae*  
S 64<sup>92</sup>; BHG 2103n, CPG 4622; original ed. PG Ix, 735-738  
S ed. VMC 1489-1496.

The translation varies considerably from the printed Greek: the beginning is rendered in an expanded paraphrase, there are several lengthy interpolations as well as some omissions. It is found in several early florilegia, e.g. 14th century Chudov codex no. 21, f. 57v.

77. Възлобленіи, оставльше съетнаѧ дѣла  
*De salute animae*  
S 70; H 9; E 24 and 36; original ed. PG Ix, 735-738  
S ed. VMC 1514-1520.

This second translation of the homily is much closer to the printed Greek than the first although there are some omissions. It too is found in some early florilegia, e.g. 12th - 13th century Trinity Sergius codex no. 12, ff. 19r-23v. Several other versions of this Greek homily are found in early MSS but since they have not been studied their relations to entries 76 and 77 remain uncertain:

1. that found in the 13th century Bulgarian Jagić *Chrysostomus*, ff. 121v-128v;<sup>93</sup>

2. another version found in the same codex on ff. 232r-240v;<sup>94</sup>

3. that found in the 16th century Serb Gomirje homiliary on 36r-39r<sup>95</sup>

A different version of the homily is found in Greek ascribed to Ephraem Syrus as the *Oratio in vanam vitam, et de paenitentia* (CPG 4031), ed. Assemani, Patris iii, 308-314. As such a different translation of it is also found in some MSS, e.g. 16th century florilegium ANL Codex slav. no. 149, ff. 145v-151v.<sup>96</sup>

78. Нодитъ наадо глаголое рывитви  
*Homilia in illud propheticum: 'Verumtamen frustra conturbatur omnis homo vivens', et de eleemosyna*  
S 45; H 61; E 33; CPG 4543; original ed. PG Iv, 559-564, viz. 559-561  
L ed. Arkhangel'sky, Tvoreniya iv, 142-152; S ed. VMC 1387-1391

Only the first half of the homily has been translated.

It is also found in some early florilegia, eg. 12th-13th Trinity Sergius codex no. 12, ff. 11r-13v, which has an abridged version. It served as the source for c. 44 in the first redaction of the *Smaragdus* and influenced the composition of c. 35 in the second.

An apparently different translation of the homily is found in the 1469 Serbian florilegium of Vladislav Grammaticus, ff. 476r-478v<sup>97</sup> and yet another in the florilegium published at Ostrog in 1607.<sup>98</sup>

- 78A. Блаженъ мѫжъ, иже не иде въ съветъ  
S 6; TS 21; original untraced.

S ed. 1) VMC 1204-1210; 2) Malinin, Slov 61-77

In some codices this entry is unnumbered,<sup>99</sup> in others the number 78 is repeated.<sup>100</sup> It is always found between 78 and 79 and there is thus no reason to consider it an interpolation. Several of the entries in L are in two parts, the second with a subtitle, so that this was perhaps originally the second part of 78, in which case the latter is a conflation.

79. Богъ премѣдростію своею (всю) тварь сътвори  
S 43; original untraced.<sup>101</sup>

S ed. VMC 1375-1383

It is also found in several other codices, e.g. the 15th century *Pentateuch* Rumyantsev codex no. 27, ff. 406r-409r.<sup>102</sup>

In the second redaction of the *Smaragdus* cc. 68 and 70 are composed of passages taken in part literally, in part in paraphrase, from this homily.

80. Послушаніо (S : ОУслышимъ) Павла глаголюща  
S 75

S ed. VMC 1540-1543

This is a conflation in three parts:

1. The beginning is from:

*In epistolam secundam ad Corinthios homilia x*

Original ed. PG Ixi, 465-474, viz. 470-473

2. From the words: Мы́и бо, аще и грѣхы есмыи обѣик-  
ли . . . has not been traced.

3. From the words: Всё бо бытие наше . . . is an excerpt from:  
*De precatione oratio ii*

Original ed. PG I, 779-786, viz. 775-780

This homily is entry 73 (q.v.) but the excerpt is in a different translation to that. This third part in this translation is entry 14 in the 1076 florilegium, ff. 230r-231r.<sup>103</sup>

81. Потшина, възлобленіи, юбѣжати вѣчныя мѣкы  
S 47; H 17; TS 2; E 26.

L ed. VMC 1632-1642; S ed. 1393-1402

This homily is found in the Mihanović homiliary, ff. 28r-29v and 33v-38r, where the text is badly mutilated,<sup>104</sup> but is fully preserved in the Gomirje homiliary, ff. 52r-53v, 58r-65v.<sup>105</sup>

In both codices it is divided into two by the interpolation of Anastasius Sinaita's *Oratio in psalmum sextum*. Moreover, both MSS have one extremely interesting peculiarity: the text is divided into five sections each with a *začalo*:

1. to the words:... страшныи мѣсти за то пріимемъ.
2. to the words:... вѣди (всемъ) намъ полѹити.
3. to the words:... вѣдѹшихъ благъ прѹчастници вѣдемъ.
4. to the words:... человѣколюбивъ господа нашего Иисуса Христа.

5. Възлобленіи, кое слово можетъ сповѣдати ...  
to the end.

The sources of sections 1, 4 and 5 have not been traced<sup>106</sup> but:

2 coincides with the ending of *In epistolam secundam ad Corinthios homilia ix*; original ed. PG Ixi, 459-466, viz. 465-466;

3 coincides with the ending of *In epistolam secundam ad Corinthios homilia x*, original ed. PG Ixi, 465-474, viz. 470-473.

The coincidence of *začala* and excerpts cannot be accidental and shows that the compiler of the original Chrysorrhoas marked the various passages he had chosen for his conflations. These were omitted at some early stage but preserved in the Mihanovic and Gomirje homiliaries whose texts thus have a particular interest.

The forms in H, TS and E are closer to L.

82. Тр҃авници иждѣтъ многыи и разлиучыи цвѣты  
*De eleemosyna*

S 68; H 7; E 18; BHG 939u; CPG 4618; original ed. PG Ix, 707-712

S ed. VMC 1506-1510.

The first half of the homily closely follows the Greek, the second half abridges it, while the ending (PG 710-712) is omitted. It is found in several early florilegia, e.g. 12th-13th century Trinity Sergius codex no. 12, ff. 14r-19r; Mihanović homiliary, ff. 43r-46r, where the text is mutilated,<sup>107</sup> but in the Gomirje homiliary, ff. 72v-76r, it is fully preserved.

83. Братіе, Павлова сладкаго юеніа послышашоше  
S 49; original untraced.

Excerpt L ed. Arkhangelsky, Tvoreniya iv, 211-214; S ed. VMC 1409-1413

It served as the source for cc. 122 and 123 in the second redaction of the *Smaragdus*. The idea that it influenced Theodosius the Greek's Epistle to Izyaslav on Fasting and Sunday Observance<sup>108</sup> is unproven, there is merely thematic similarity.

84. Въ лжѣ вѣнѹщисѧ велика зла

*In Acta Apostolorum homilia xii*

S 59; CPG 4426; original ed. PG Ix, 99-106, viz. 103-106  
S ed. VMC 1414-1416.

Only the ethicon has been translated.

85. Братіе, таготѣ греѣховнѣ штрастьше

S 40; H 45; TS 31; original untraced.

S ed. 1) Sreznevsky, Svedeniya xxiv, 36-42; 2) VMC 1364-1368

This homily is found in many early florilegia, e.g. 14th century SPL codex F.p.I.45, ff. 13r-14v, and *Chrysostomi*, e.g. 14th century Uvarov codex no. 589, ff. 305v-306v.

In the *Russian Primary Chronicle* under the year 1068 is a revised version, partly paraphrased, with some omissions which in places obscure the meaning.<sup>109</sup> In two codices, the 15th century panegyric, Rumyantsev codex no. 435, ff. 340r-344r<sup>110</sup> and 16th century *Smaragdus*, Undol'sky codex no. 543, ff. 350r-356v<sup>111</sup> this chronicle version with interpolations (not from the *Chrysorrhoas*) forms the first part of a homily ascribed to Theodosius of the Caves Monastery.<sup>112</sup> Many scholars have accepted this ascription in which case the form in the chronicle would perforce be a borrowing from the "Theodosian" version. However, the latter is a typical post-Kievan conflation: the second part on prayer is based on R1 of Anastasius Sinaita's *Interrogationes et responsiones de diversis capitibus* and the final part on inebriety on Gregory's *Vita Basillii Junioris*. The ascription of the whole to Theodosius is simply explained by the fact that it is in the Chronicle just prior to the account of the Caves Monastery and Theodosius' life under the year 1074.<sup>113</sup>

86. Да не можѣте мнѣти къ намъ се тѣло бесѣдѣмо  
*In Acta Apostolorum homilia xiv*

S 41; TS 32; CPG 4426; original ed. PG Ix, 307-314, viz. 312-314  
S ed. VMC 1368-1371.

Only the ethicon has been translated.

- It is found in other early florilegia, e.g. 14th century *Catena Aurea*, ff. 47r-49r.<sup>114</sup>
87. Но о любовъріи и о тѣшіи славѣ  
*In Acta Apostolorum homilia xxviii*  
 S 6; CPG 4426; original ed. PG IX, 209-214, viz. 212-214  
 S ed. 1) VMC 1210-1212; 2) Malinin, Slov 78-82  
 Only the ethicon has been translated.
88. Ведаша мы речша : ОУ него <же> дурежени  
*In Acta Apostolorum homilia xl*  
 S 30; H 40, CPG 4426; original ed. PG IX, 313-320, viz. 317-319  
 S ed. VMC 1305-1309  
 Most of the ethicon has been translated but the ending, though appropriate to the subject, differs from the printed Greek text. On the further use of this Greek homily cf. S 14. The form in H is closer to S.
89. Ареѣвле Спасъ нашъ по свѧтаго Еваггелии  
*Homilia in illud: 'Si enim dimiseritis hominibus peccata eorum'*  
 S 29; H 39; CPG 5019; original unedited, cf. PG Ixiv, 1401  
 S ed. VMC 1301-1305  
 It quotes the *Physiologus*' description of an asp, but the idea that this is a refection of Bogomil influences<sup>115</sup> is clearly groundless.
90. Не толма бо человѣци на благодѣаніе  
*Homilia contra irascentes*  
 S 8; H 51; TS 22; original unedited, cf. CCG iii, 12  
 S ed. 1) VMC 1214-1218; 2) Malinin, Slov 87-97  
 The forms in H and T are closer to S
91. Тако <бо> подобаетъ быти мѣжъ дѣховнѣ  
*In Acta Apostolorum homilia iv*  
 S 11; CPG 4426; original ed. PG IX, 41-50, viz. 46-50  
 S ed. VMC 1228-1230  
 Only the ethicon has been translated.
92. Братіе, слышасте Еваггелиста Глаголюща  
*In filium viduae*  
 E 22; original unedited, cf. PG Ixiv, 1328; CCG i, 186  
 Unedited.
93. И бѣсть належашъ народъ на иссѣа  
*Homilia in stagnum Genesaret, et in S. Petrum apostolum*  
 BHG 1488; CPG 4704: original ed. PG Ixiv, 47-52, viz. 48-52

- Unedited.
- The beginning has been omitted. A complete but different translation is found as the first appendix to S in the Macarian menologium, cf. appendix 1
94. Пакыѣ благодасть божіѧ събра мы  
*Oratio in Abraham, Isaac et Jacob*  
 S 31; H 41; BHG 2354m; CPG 4992; original unedited  
 S ed. VMC 1309-1311  
 The form in H is closer to S.
95. Егда Ѹбо Бога ради любими есмы  
*Homilia, quod non sit accendum ad theatra, quodque in plane adulteros reddere soleat spectatores, sitque dissensionum ac litium causa, et de Abrahamo*  
 BHG 2355; CPG 4563; original ed. PG Ivi, 541-554, viz. 547-554  
 Unedited.  
 The ending only with some omissions and interpolations with regard to the printed Greek text has been translated.
96. Великыи <же> вѣши великыи тѣбѣдѣотъ  
*In iustum et beatum Job sermo ii*  
 H 56; BHG 939e; CPG 4564; original ed. PG Ivi, 567-570  
 Unedited.  
 A different translation is found as entry 28 in the *Margarita*<sup>116</sup>
97. Аще хощете, предложимъ вамъ о тѣпѣни  
*Theodore Daphnopates, Ecloga xxii, De patientia et longanimitate*  
 Original ed. PG Ixiii, 701-716  
 Unedited.
98. Богоносивыи Игнатіи повелѣваestъ  
*Antiochus, Pandectae c. cxxiv*  
 S 25; H 28; CPG 7843; original ed. PG Ixxxix, 1421-1849, viz. 1820-1824  
 S ed. 1) VMC 1282-1284; 2) Izergin, Materialy 8-15  
 The translation is not the same as in the full Slav translation of the *Pandectae*.<sup>117</sup>
99. Человѣколюбецъ Богъ, ѿщедрята ради нашъ  
*Eusebius of Alexandria, Sermo v, De eo qui gratiam communicare possit non habenti, et de presbyteris*  
 S 24; H 38; BHG 635 i-j; CPG 5514; original ed. 1) PG Ixi, 783-786; 2) PG Ixxxvi, 341-349  
 S ed. VMC 1277-1282  
 The ascription to Chrysostom is well attested in Greek codices.

100. **Не можъмъ ѿбо спати, възлъгованіи**  
S 74; H 11  
S ed. VMC 1536-1540

This conflation is made up of four parts:

1. The beginning is the ending of:

*In epistolam primam ad Corinthios homilia xiiii*

Original ed. PG Ixi, 361-368, viz. 366-368

2. From the words: **Створи си храминъ церквє...** is an excerpt from:

*In epistolam primam ad Corinthios homilia xliii*

Original ed. PG Ixi, 367-374, viz. 368-369

3. From the words: **Покажъмъ дрѹгъ дрѹга и...** is an excerpt from:

*In epistolam primam ad Corinthios homilia xliiv*

Original ed. PG Ixi, 375-382, viz. 377-378

4. From the words: **Къжъдо бо насъ въ свого участъ...** is an excerpt from:

*In epistolam ad Romanos homilia v*

Original ed. PG Ix, 421-432, viz. 430

101. **Иже желєетъ <С : възделаетъ> Христо видати**  
*In Acta Apostolorum homilia ii*  
S 2; CPG 4426; original ed. PG Ix, 25-34, viz. 30-34  
S ed. 1) VMC 1190-1192; 2) Malinin, Slov, 20-24  
Only the ethicon with omissions has been translated.

102. **Такоже бо и съ Христомъ гадаште**  
*In Acta Apostolorum homilia i*  
S 3; TS 20; CPG 4426; original ed. PG Ix, 13-26, viz. 22-26  
S ed. 1) VMC 1192-1196; 2) Malinin, Slov 25-35  
Only the ethicon with omissions has been translated.

103. **Уто ѿбо вѣдѣтъ се страшнѣе сихъ вѣши**  
*In Epistolam primam ad Corinthios homilia xxxvi*  
S 19; H 34; TS 26; CPG 4428; original ed. PG Ixi, 305-316, viz. 312-316  
Excerpt L ed. Arkhangel'sky, Tvoreniya iv, 167-171;  
S ed. VMC 1257-1258.  
Only the ethicon with omissions has been translated. It served as one of the sources for c. 51 in the first redaction of the *Smaragdus*, found in a revised form as c. 45 in the second, and for c. 86 in the second.

104. **Ш великъ дивъ ! Каковъ ти дивъ !**

*In Acta Apostolorum homilia xxiv*

S 16; CPG 4426; original ed. PG Ix, 183-193, viz. 187-192

S ed. VMC 1244-1248

Only the ethicon with omissions has been translated.

105. **Блѣдѣте обидливіи и(же) о въскресеніи**

*In Acta Apostolorum homilia xxix*

S 18; H 33; CPG 4426; original ed. PG Ix, 215-220, viz. 217-220

Excerpt L ed. Arkhangel'sky, Tvoreniya iv, 163-167; S ed. VMC 1252-1256.  
Only the ethicon with omissions has been translated. It served as the source for c. 100 of the second redaction of the *Smaragdus*.

106. **Понеже ѿбо Сынъ Божіи въ кръвѣ**

*In epistolam primam ad Corinthios homilia xxvii*

S 21; H 36; CPG 4428; original ed. PG Ixi, 223-232, viz. 229-232

S ed. VMC 1263-1264

Only the ethicon, much abridged, has been translated. On the further use of this Greek homily cf. S. 73.

107. **Какви <С : Такви> ѿбо штходыи намъ**

*In Acta Apostolorum homilia xviii*

S 17; TS 25; CPG 4426; original ed. PG Ix, 141-150, viz. 146-150

S ed. VMC 1248-1252

Only the ethicon has been translated.

108. **Егда исъ уистѣ бѣстїи исходитъ молба**

*Sermo in psalmum xi*

H 16; TS 1; CPG 2083; original ed. Liébart, Homélies 94-126

L ed. VMC 1623-1632.

109. **Вса <С : Всака> ѿбо заповедь господна уиста**  
*Homilia, quod filii debeat parentes honorare*

S 32; H 27; TS 28; original unedited, cf. PG Ixiv, 1393

Excerpt L ed. Lavrovsky, Pamyatniki 30-31; S ed. VMC 1311-1314

110. **Молю вѣ и понѣждаю много**

*Theodore Daphnopates, Ecloga xxvii, De liberorum educatione*

Original ed. PG Ixiii, 763-772

L ed. Lavrovsky, Pamyatniki 9-12 (with some omissions)

It served as the source for c. 55 in the first redaction of the *Smaragdus*, found in a revised form as c. 53 in the second.

A different translation of the homily is found in the 1698 Moscow edition of the *Margarita*.

111. Братіє, Павл(ов)а сладкаго словеса и  
Е 29; original untraced.  
Unedited.
112. Оұнъініе и пеуаль положилъ есть  
*Theodore Daphnopates, Ecloga xix, De tristitia et moerore*  
Original ed. PG Ixiii, 685-690  
Unedited.
113. Съ многою радостию ратан съиплетъ  
*In illud: 'Si qua in Christo, nova creatura: vetera transierunt; ecce nova facta sunt omnia'.*  
Н 59; CPG 4701; original ed. PG Ixiv 25-34.  
Unedited.  
This is the first half of the homily, the second half is found as L 123.
114. Блаженый глаголетъ Константина  
*Theodore Daphnopates, Ecloga xxi, De imperio, potestate et gloria*  
Original ed. PG Ixiii, 695-702  
Unedited.
115. Оұжастивъ и некрѣпкъ дѹшъ  
*Theodore Daphnopates, Ecloga xxxii, De magnanimitate et fortitudine*  
Original ed. PG Ixiii, 811-818  
Unedited.
116. По ѹадб. ѿбо, братіє, бесѣдѧ  
*Theodore Daphnopates, Ecloga xxx, Oratio de laudibus S. Pauli apostoli*  
BHG 1464; original ed. PG Ixiii, 787-802, viz. 789-799  
Excerpt L ed. Buslayev, Khristomatiya 712-713.  
As opposed to the rest of Daphnopates' *Eclogae* only part of this has been translated. It is interesting to note that the "barbarian war" has been altered by some later scribe to the ѹатъ половецъкаа.
117. Велико добро молитва  
*Theodore Daphnopates, Ecloga ii, De oratione*  
Original ed. PG Ixiii, 579-590  
Unedited.
118. Добро ѿбо, братіє, ӡѣло пользно  
*Theodore Daphnopates, Ecloga xxxvii, De silentio et secretis*  
Original ed. PG Ixiii, 847-848  
Unedited.

119. Егда видиши богатѣюша  
*Theodore Daphnopates, Ecloga xi, De divitiis et paupertate*  
Original ed. PG Ixiii, 637-646  
Unedited.
120. Ходилъ ли кто штъ васъ  
*Theodore Daphnopates, Ecloga xxiv, De peccato et confessione*  
Original ed. PG Ixiii, 731-744  
Unedited.
121. Мнози штъ үеловѣкъ, егда разбогатѣютъ  
*Theodore Daphnopates, Ecloga v, De prosperitate et de adversitate*  
Original ed. PG Ixiii, 601-606  
Unedited.
122. Прѣдъ вуерашнимъ дѣнемъ мы і ш диаволѣ  
*De diabolo tentatore homilia iii*  
BHG 939 S; CPG 4332; original ed. PG xIix, 263-276, viz. 263-266  
Unedited.  
This is a second translation of the same beginning of this homily, the first being found as L 3.
123. Вниманте се, вѣзлѣблении, и пауе приклоните  
*In illud: 'Si qua in Christo, nova creatura: vetera transierunt; ecce nova facta sunt omnia'*  
CPG 4701; original ed. PG Ixiv, 25-34.  
Unedited.  
This is the second half of the homily, the first being found as L 113.
124. Подобно (и) днъсъ и въ прежни то сѣботъ  
*Homilia xv de statuis ad populum Antiochenum habita*  
CPG 4330; original ed. PG xIix, 153-162  
Unedited.  
This homily is in the same translation as in the complete Slav translation of the *Homiliae xxi de statuis*, e.g. 1597 Trinity Sergius codex no. 151, ff. 159v-167v.<sup>118</sup> That these homilies were translated at a very early period is well known<sup>119</sup> and it is theoretically possible that a prior translation was thus included in the collection at the time of compilation. However, it is more probable that this homily, not found in any other version of the *Chrysorrhoas*, is a later interpolation, since otherwise it is inexplicable why only one such prior translation should be included.

125. **Нє можемъ ѿбо сеbe въврѣши**  
Unedited and untraced.

126: **Многа ѿбо тroeбуетъ наѹитисѧ**  
*Theodore Daphnopates, Ecloga xxxi, De morte*  
Original ed. PG Ixiii, 801-812  
Unedited.

127. **Никакоже отпадаетъ владыческаго обѣщанія**  
Unedited and untraced.

128. **Иакоже бо и на мори разбояници**  
*In Genesim homilia xxxi*  
CPG 4409; original ed. PG Iiii, 282-292  
Unedited.

129. **Велико благо, възлюбленіи, божественыхъ писаний**  
*In Genesim homilia xxxv*  
CPG 4409; original ed. PG Iiii, 321-332  
Unedited.

130. **Нѣгнанъ бытъ <иже> поклонію ѿнитель**  
*Auctor incertus, Translatio reliquiarum S. Joannis Chrysostomi*  
BHG 877g; original unedited.  
Unedited.  
Whether or not this entry had a title is uncertain since in some codices it has none,<sup>120</sup> while those with a title have differing ones.<sup>121</sup>

131. **По истинѣ явиша намъ благодать**  
*Homilia in incarnationem D. n. Jesu Christi et quod singulis climatis angelis praesint*  
H 22; TS 7; BHG 1910 K; CPG 4204; original ed. PG Iix, 687-700  
L ed. VMC 1685-1710

132. **Вѣдѣ яко добелѣшиемъ и о земныхъ**  
*Liber quod seipsum laedit, neno laedere possit, et in tres pueros*  
H 12; TS 6; BHG 488d; CPG 4400; original ed. PG Iii, 459-480  
L ed. 1) VMC 1661-1684; 2) I'linsky, Zlatostruy 5-15 (the Bychkov folia).

133. **Егда все строение <в>сего мира**  
*Oratio in illud: 'Sufficit tibi gratia mea, virtus enim mea in infirmitate perficitur'*  
TS 8; CPG 4576; original ed. PG Iix, 507-516

- L ed. VMC 1710-1726.

134. **Лъка же рече, тако ти повѣдаша**  
*In Matthaeum homilia xxxvii*  
 CPG 4424; original ed. PG Ivii, 413-420  
 Unedited.

135. **Помѧнѹхъ Бога и възвеселѹхса**  
*In illud: 'Memor fui Dei, et delectatus sum'*  
 CPG 4636; original ed. PG Ixi, 689-698  
 Excerpt L ed. Buslayev, Legenda 43-45.

136. **Такоже пълъти никоемъ сърещемъ**  
*Sermo iii in Genesim*  
 H 15; CPG 4410; original ed. PG Iiv, 590-593  
 Unedited.

(137). **Щъ аво то ѡемла създаа (S : створи) Бсгъ адама**  
 (S 81); H 29; original untraced.  
 S ed. VMC 1569-1579.

It is the final entry in both L and S but in neither is it numbered unless, as in some codices of S, it is followed by appendices. It consists of 40 excerpts, some longer, some shorter, taken from various sources which have not as yet been traced but not taken from the entries in the *Chrysorrhoas* itself. The entire entry is found in several other early florilegia, e.g. 14th century Chudov codex no. 21, ff. 40r-47v, but in addition various selections of the excerpts in it are found, e.g. the 13th century Scaliger patericon, ff. 183r-187r, has fourteen, viz. nos. 1-4, 11, 18, 20-24, 27-28 and 30.<sup>122</sup>

**B. Shorter Collection**

1. Cf. L 1	2. Cf. L 101	3. Cf. L 102
4. <b>Ye co (sive : Уто) бо не створи Богъ</b>		
H 26		

S ed. 1) VMC 1196-1204; 2) Malinin, Slov 36-61

This is a conflation of two passages taken from entries in the longer collection and revised and abridged:

  1. To the words:... и аггельскыя пълъти бесчисленыя is the beginning of L 26, viz. *In epistolam ad Romanos homilia xiv*.
  2. The rest from: **Иєгда поклонатъса Генѹ** is the ending of L 24 viz. *Oratio de pseudopropheticis*.

Since the two parts are joined neither thematically nor even grammatically the question arises as to whether the conflation was deliberate or the result of a faulty codex copied.

5.<sup>123</sup> Cf. L 78a

6.<sup>123</sup> Cf. L 87

7.<sup>123</sup> Съг҃рѣша ѡшаѧ прѣдъ въсѣми швѣтици  
H 52

S ed. 1) VMC 1212-1213; 2) Malinin, Slov 82-87

This too is a conflation of two passages taken from entries in the longer collection and revised and abridged:

1. To the words:... тѣмъ же рече быти послѣкомъ  
is the beginning of L 21, viz. *In epistolam primam ad Timotheum homilia xv.*

2. The rest from: ζълѣ стражѧющиихъ доплѣвше... is the ending of L 30, viz. *In epistolam primam ad Corinthios homilia xxiii*

As in the case of S 4 the two parts are joined neither thematically nor grammatically, which poses the same problem.

8.<sup>123</sup> Cf. L 90

9.<sup>123</sup> Cf. L 27

10.<sup>123</sup> Cf. L 13

11.<sup>123</sup> Cf. L 91

12. Cf. L 24

13. Cf. L 31

14. Къде суть ѿбо жены, ѧже въсѣ ношь  
H 32; TS 24; (E 31)

S ed. VMC 1236-1241

This is a conflation of three passages:

1. To the words:... тѣмъ прѣпрожадаѧтъ тѣдомъ is the first half of L 41, viz. *In Acta Apostolorum homilia xxvi*, in an abridged and revised form. The second half of the same entry in a similar form is the third passage in this entry.

2. To the words:... и се вѣдетъ еже есть гоѣтъ Богъ is the ending of *In Acta Apostolorum homilia xiv*. It is true that a passage from this homily forms L 88 but here the passage in question is not the same, viz. in L 88: PG xiv, 317-319, here ibid. 319-320. The part which overlaps in the two shows that the translations are different.<sup>124</sup>

3. The ending from the words: И ѧкраси обеташвѣтѹ ѿг҃рѣхъ и  
ѧши..., cf. above.

Although grammatically joined the middle section does not coincide in theme so that again the question arises whether or not the conflation is deliberate. A revised form of the homily is c. 45 in the first redaction of the *Smaragdus* (this is the form found as E 31) and a much revised and interpolated form of this is c. 31 in the second redaction.

15. Cf. L 42      16. Cf. L 104      17. Cf. L 107      18. Cf. L 105  
19. Cf. L 103      20. Cf. L 29      21. Cf. L 106

22. Сиѣ и мы пօдражаниъ, нѣ не  
*In Acta Apostolorum homilia iii*

H 37; CPG 4426; original ed. PG Ix, 33-42, viz. 38-42

S ed. VMC 1264-1271

Only the ethicon has been translated. There are some divergencies from the printed Greek text.

23. Cf. L 45      24. Cf. L 99      25. Cf. L 98      26. Cf. L 4  
27. Cf. L 44      28. Cf. L 36      29. Cf. L 89      30. Cf. L 88  
31. Cf. L 94      32. Cf. L 109

33. Веселъ есть намъ (sive: Веселинѣ намъ есть)  
днесъ торгъ  
*Homilia v de poenitentia*

H 42; E 28; BHG 941c; CPG 4333; original ed. PG xl ix, 305-314  
S ed. VMC 1314-1323.

The text is slightly abridged in translation. It is found in various early florilegia including the Mihanović homiliary, ff. 38r-43r, where the text is badly mutilated,<sup>125</sup> but it is fully preserved in the Gomirje homiliary, ff. 65r-72v.

34. Нынѣ слышасте пѣснописца Давида  
*In Davidem regem et Paulum apostolum, de poenitentia: et in varia dicta psalmistae, quae ad Christi finem pertinent, et quod non debemus desperare de salute nostra.*

H 44; E 19; BHG 2102w; CPG 4541; original ed. PG Iv, 527-532  
S ed. VMC 1323-1327.

It is also found in some early florilegia, e.g. 12th-13th century Trinity Sergius codex no. 12, ff. 185r-188v. There is a later translation in the 17th century florilegium Rumyantsev Museum codex no. 376, f. 188v.<sup>126</sup>

35. Просно ѿбо божіе человѣколюбиче проповѣдати  
*Oratio in parabolam de filio prodigo*

H 24; TS 29; E 42; CPG 4577; original ed. PG li x, 515-522  
S ed. VMC 1327-1335

There are a few omissions in the translation. It is also found in some early florilegia, e.g. the *Jagić Chrysostomus*, ff. 103r-111v,<sup>127</sup> the 14th century florilegium Trinity Sergius codex no. 39, ff. 1r-7v.

36. Cf. 23      37. Cf. L 46      38. Cf. L 5

39. Братије, <нынѣ> приспѣ врѣма добраго  
(sive: Времѧ приспѣ, братије, добраго)  
H 55; TS 30; original untraced.

S ed. VMC 1361-1363

While the homily is obviously not Chrysostomian, speculation that it is a Slav compilation<sup>128</sup> is equally obviously idle. It is found in some early florilegia, e.g. 14th century SPL codex F.p.I.45, ff. 14v-15v.

40. Cf. L 85

41. Cf. L 86

42. Cf. L 12

43. Cf. L 79

44. Cf. L 72

45. Cf. L 78

46. днесь, възлобленіи, дщевномъ врачеви

*De ieiunio sermo v*

E 23; CPG 4619; original ed. PG IX, 717-720

S ed. VMC 1391-1392

The original has been much abridged and there are a few interpolations.<sup>129</sup>  
A revised form is found as c. 31 in the first redaction of the *Smaragdus* and this served as one of the sources for cc. 6 and 117 in the second redaction.  
On the further use of this Greek homily cf. S 71.

47. Cf. L 81

48. видесте ли въ шнѣ неделю бърание

*Homilia ii de poenitentia*

E 27; CPG 4333; original ed. PG xlix, 283-292

S ed. VMC 1402-1409

There are some omissions and alterations with regard to the printed Greek text. It is also found in several early florilegia, e.g. the Mihanović homiliary ff. 50v, 25r-28r, where the text is badly mutilated,<sup>130</sup> but it is fully preserved in the Gomirje homiliary ff. 46r-52r.

49. Cf. L 83

50. Cf. L 84

51. Cf. L 15

52. Cf. L 11

53. Cf. L 10

54. Cf. L 18

55. Cf. L 19

56. Cf. L 32

57. Cf. L 40

58. Cf. L 37

59. Cf. L 17

60. Cf. L 14

61. Cf. L 38

62. да не величашисѧ о стоянии

S ed. VMC 1471-1478

This is a conflation of two passages taken from entries in the longer collection and revised and abridged:

1. To the words:...никоље не поуикајотъ тражашеса  
is the beginning of L 30, viz. *In epistolam primam ad Corinthios homilia xxiii.*

2. The rest from: Нъ помыслимъ о дни ономъ страшнѣмъ  
is the ending of S 26, viz. *In epistolam ad Romanos homilia xiv*  
As in the case of S 14 the passages are linked grammatically but not thematically leaving the same open question.

63. Cf. L 2

64. Cf. L 76

65. Мнозин, не слышавъше, глаголјотъ : Блажени  
*In Johannem homilia Ixxxvii*

H 6; CPG 4425; original ed. PG lix, 473-478, viz. 476-477.  
S ed VMC 1496-1499.

Only a part of the ethicon with omissions and alterations has been translated.  
It is found in some other early florilegia, e.g. the Mihanović homiliary, ff. 150v-152r.<sup>131</sup>

66. Cf. L 49

67. Cf. L 50

68. Cf. L 82

69. Добро јестъ постъ, добро и њтеније  
*Homilia de ieiunio et eleemosyna*

H 8; E 20; CPG 4502; original ed. PG xlviii, 1059-1062  
S ed. VMC 1510-1514.

70. Cf. L 77

71. днесь, възлобленіи, врачеви дщевномъ  
поклонимсѧ

H 10

S ed. VMC 1520-1523.

This is a conflation of themes taken from various of the *De ieiunio sermones vii* (CPG 4619):

1. To the words:... мѫдъ благѹ примиши предъ Богомъ  
is a translation of much of *De ieiunio sermo v* in a similar Greek redaction to that found as S 46, but here in a different translation closer to the printed Greek text.<sup>132</sup>

Original ed. PG IX, 717-720, viz. 717-719.

2. To the words:... ємохъ живъ на небо is as such untraced but there are resemblances to ideas expressed in *De ieiunio sermo ii*  
Original ed. PG IX, 713-714, cf. 713.

3. Тѣмъ Иліа на колесници... to the end expands themes found in *De ieiunio sermo iv*, although not in direct translation.  
Original ed. PG Ix, 715-718, cf. 717.

72. Cf. L 47

73. Понеже Ѹбо Сынъ Божий въ кръвѣ място скотица  
*In epistolam primam ad Corinthios homilia xxvii*  
CPG 4428; original ed. PG Ixi, 223-232, viz. 229-232  
S ed. VMC 1533-1536

Only the ethicon has been translated. This is also found as L 106 and S 21, but here the translation is a different one with fewer omissions, while a short ending, beginning with the words: **Послѹшаніи Павла глаголюща** въ епистоли... has been added.<sup>133</sup>

74. Cf. L 100

75. Cf. L 80

76. Cf. L 74

77. Оѹнитъ ны великыи Павълъ апостолъ, рѣкы :  
Рѣвнѹните

S ed. VMC 1547-1551

This is a conflation consisting of two parts:

1. To the words:... **ни вънѣ, ни вънѣтъ** is a series of excerpts taken from *In Epistolam primam ad Corinthios homilia xxxii*  
Original ed. PG Ixi, 263-276, viz. 270-275
2. The rest from the words: **Ад аще кто благодать иматъ...** is a passage with some omissions from the homily  
*In epistolam primam ad Corinthios homilia i*  
Original ed. PG Ixi, 11-16, viz. 14-15.

Only the 13th century Finnish fragment no 41, f. 2v has preserved the original title: **Слово о покореніи и...**, the others have:  
Слово о погреbеніи и...

78. Не можемъ ни о комъ же николи же

*In epistolam secundam ad Corinthios homilia iv*

CPG 4429; original ed. PG Ixi, 417-428, viz. 425-428

S ed. VMC 1551-1553

Only the ethicon has been translated.

79. Потребно есть въ се **{false : все}** времѧ

*Homilia de negatione Petri, et de cruce, et quo pacto Joseph fuerit figura Christi*

H 20; TS 5; BHG 1488g; CPG 4594; original ed. PG Iix, 613-620, viz. 613-617.  
S ed. VMC 1553-1559 and 1655-1661.  
The first 3 of the 4 cc. have been translated.

80. По възнесении господни **{еже}** на небеса  
H 13; E 43

Ed. S 1) Sreznevsky, Svedeniya Ixxvii, 546-553; 2) VMC 1559-1569  
This is a conflation in two parts:

1. To the words:... **ζαπλадити грѣси наложе милостиини** is a complete translation except for one short passage of *Eusebius of Alexandria, Sermo xx, In secundum adventum D. n. Jesu Christi, et de eleemosyna*

BHG 635y; CPG 5529; original ed. PG Ixi, 775-778

The attribution to Chrysostom is frequently found in Greek MSS.

2. The rest from the words:... **Того ради глаголеть божия книги...** is a translation of *Chrysostom's De eleemosyna, et in dividetem ac Lazarum*.<sup>134</sup>

BHG 635zb, CPG 4705; original ed. PG Ixiv, 433-444

The beginning has many omissions and interpolations with regard to the printed Greek text and a brief, commonplace ending has been added. The idea that this homily is Bulgarian<sup>135</sup> or Russian<sup>136</sup> is untenable. It is found in many early florilegia, e.g. 12th-13th century Trinity Sergius codex no. 12, ff. 1r-5v, the Mihanović homiliary, ff. 21v-24v, 49r-50r, where the text is badly mutilated,<sup>137</sup> the full text being preserved in the Gomirje homiliary, ff. 39v-46r, the Jagić *Chrysostomus*, ff. 111v-121v, etc. It was later used as one of the sources for Slav erotapocritic literature.<sup>138</sup>

81. Cf. L 137.

#### C. Appendices

Some codices of the shorter collection have appendices, the greatest number being 38 in the Macarian menologium, T has 17 and A has 12. Some of these are also found in codices of later collections, viz. in H, TS and E, as well as in various early florilegia such as the Mihanović homiliary.

- 1.<sup>139</sup> **Тогда ѿитель хваленъ, егда ѿєникъ**  
*Homilia in stagnum Genesaret, et in S. Petrum apostolum*

VMC 82; TS 14; T 51; M 57; BHG 1488; CPG 4704; original ed. PG Ixiv, 47-52;

- VMC ed. 1579-1588; M ed. Aitzetmüller, Mihanović 205v-208v.  
 It is true that L 93 is a translation of the bulk of this homily but here the translation is different and complete although there are considerable variations from the printed Greek text, including a different ending. The text in M would appear to preserve an earlier redaction and has a varying incepit:  
**Нєгда ѿнитель доброславънъ, тогда ѿенникъ**
2. **Прино ѿбо поминати Бога добро**  
*Sermo i de poenitentia: ubi omnia hominum vitia memorantur et notantur*  
 VMC 83; T 50; CPG 4615; original ed. PG Ix, 681-700  
 VMC ed. 1588-1623
  3. VMC 84; H 16; TS 1  
 This is L 108
  4. VMC 85; H 17, TS 2; M 10; G 10  
 This is L 81 and S 47
  5. VMC 86; H 18; TS 3; E 30  
 This is L 75
  6. VMC 87; H 19; TS 4; E 21  
 This is L 72 and S 44; here the form is that of L
  7. VMC 88; H 20; TS 5  
 This is S 79
  8. VMC 89; H 21; TS 6  
 This is L 132
  9. VMC 90; H 22; TS 7  
 This is L 131
  10. VMC 91; TS 8  
 This is L 133
  11. **Многа и разлиуна суть святыхъ книгъ**  
*Homilia in caecum a Christo sanatum, et in Zacchaeum, deque iudicio atque eleemosyna*  
 VMC 92; TS 9; E 40; BHG 2475e; CPG 4592; original ed. PG Iix, 599-610.  
 VMC ed. 1726-1743
  12. **Горлица постынелюбнаѧ, егда въ уашахъ**  
*Homilia de turture, seu de ecclesia*  
 VMC 93; TS 12; original ed. PG Iv, 599-602  
 VMC ed. 1743-1750

13. **Телесныи долгъ весело възвращаемъ**  
 VMC 94; TS 13; original untraced  
 VMC ed. 1750-1759
14. **Зора въ стадѣ вѣрныхъ приутены**  
*Oratio catechetica in dictum evangelii: 'Simile est regnum caelorum homini patrifamilias, qui exiit primo mane conducere operarios in vineam suam', et quae sequuntur.*  
 VMC 95; CPG 4587; original ed. PG Iix, 577-586  
 VMC ed. 1759-1771  
 This is the fourth of the appendices found in many codices of the *Margarita*, e.g. 16th century Synodal codex no. 87, ff. 247-255r. The ending of the homily has been omitted. It is the 1st appendix in printed editions of the *Margarita*. It is not one of the original appendices to S, cf. appendix 23.
15. **Дѣвьствена (false : Дѣвьственаѧ) нива, егда отъ хитра**  
*Homilia in illud: 'Exiit qui seminat seminare semen suum'*  
 VMC 96; TS 10; CPG 4660; original ed. PG Ixi, 771-776  
 VMC ed. 1771-1776
16. **ОУслышимъ, лихомци, къ намъ бо слово**  
*In Matthaeum homilia Ixi*  
 VMC 97; TS 15; CPG 4424; original ed. PG Iviii, 587-596, viz. 593-596  
 VMC ed. 1776-1779  
 Only the ethicon has been translated.
17. **Да аще ѿбо и се прилежало быт**  
*In Matthaeum homilia Ixvii*  
 VMC 98; TS 16; CPG 4424; original ed. PG Iviii, 639-648, viz. 643-648  
 VMC ed. 1779-1785  
 Only the ethicon has been translated. It ends with a doxology to which without a title is appended a short passage beginning: *Помѣнемъ, братие, лоба глаголюща : аще благаѧ...*  
 VMC ed. 1785-1787. Since this is not numbered it is uncertain if it is an interpolation or intended as a continuation of appendix 17.
18. **Ниуто же тако неключимо и тѹжде**  
 VMC 99; TS 17  
 VMC ed. 1787-1792  
 This is a conflation of two parts:

1. To the words:... **п р ъ дъ в с ъ м и н є б е с н Ѣ м ъ в о и н Ѣ с т-**  
**в о м ъ** consists of two passages taken from *In epistolam ad Philippenses homilia xiii*. On the further use of this Greek homily cf. appendix 27. CPG 4432; original ed. PG Ixiii, 275-282, viz. 275-278 and 280-281
2. The rest from the words: **В ъ п р о с ъ : А а н ъ с т ъ л и . . .**  
 has not been traced and indeed, as in the case of app. 17, it is uncertain whether it is an interpolation.
19. **В с е г д а ѿ б л а ж е н ы и а по с т о л ь , б о ж е с т в е н ы и**  
*Severian of Gabala, Homilia de paenitentia et compunctione*  
 VMC 100; CPG 4186; original ed. PGxlii, 323-336  
 VMC ed. 1792-1809  
 It is the fifth of the appendices in many codices of the *Margarita*, e.g. 16th century Synodal codex no. 87, ff. 255r et seq, and is the 8th appendix in the printed editions. The ascription to Chrysostom is well attested in Greek MSS. It is not one of the original appendices to S, cf. appendix 23.
20. VMC 101; TS 18  
 This is L 24
21. VMC 102; TS 19; E 32  
 This is L 73
22. **С л а д о с т ь н ь ѿ б о ц в ъ т н и к ь**  
*Homilia de capto Eutropio, et de divitiarum vanitate*  
 VMC 103; CPG 4528; original ed. PG Iii, 395-414  
 VMČ ed. 1132-1161 and variants to this 1854-1865  
 This is found as an appendix in some codices of the *Margarita*, e.g. 17th century Solovki codex no. 186, f. 577 et seq. In the printed editions it is the 10th appendix. It is not one of the original appendices to S, cf. appendix 23.
23. **Д о б р и т є р п ъ н і а т є р д ь і и д о б р ъ и ш і и**  
*Severian of Gabala, Quomodo animam acceperit Adamus*  
 VMC 104, CPG 4195, original ed. Savile, Ioannis v, 648-653  
 VMC ed. 1865-1873.  
 This translation is not that found as L1 but is that found as the first appendix in many codices of the *Margarita*, e.g. 16th century Synodal codex no. 87, ff. 233r-238r. This appendix in the VMC is not found in any other of the *Chrysorrhoas* codices and the title begins here: **С л о в о и ж е отъ к н и г ь**  
**г л а г о л е м ь и х з М а р г а р и т е** so that it is clearly an interpolation among the appendices, which also applies to the other *Margarita* appendices

- also found solely among the *Chrysorrhoas* appendices in the VMC, viz. 14, 19 and 22.<sup>140</sup>
24. **В о и м ь а С в ъ я т ь и Т р о и ц ь , н а у ч а т о к ь**  
*Evangelium Nicodemi*  
 VMC 105; TS 40; BHG 779t-w; original ed. Tischendorf, Evangelia 210-332 (Greek), 333-432 (Latin).  
 VMC ed. 1874-1905<sup>141</sup>  
 This is the longer version translated from Latin in the 10th-11th century perhaps in Dalmatia.<sup>142</sup>
  25. **П р ъ в а г о ѿ л о в ъ к а Б о г ъ с ъ т в о р и**  
 VMC 106; TS 11; M 16; G 16; original untraced.  
 VMC ed. 1905-1920.  
 In the Mihanović homiliary, ff. 51v-59r, the text is badly mutilated,<sup>143</sup> but the complete text is preserved in the Gomirje homiliary, ff. 81r-91v. It is ascribed to John Chrysostom.
  26. **П о д о б н о п о с т н ы и н а у ч а т о к ь ц ъ л о м ъ д р е н а г о**  
*Anastasius Sinaita, Oratio in psalmum sextum*  
 VMC 107; H 23; T 36; M 11; G 11; CPG 7751; original ed. PG Ixxxix, 1077-1116 and 1116-1144 (differing redactions)  
 VMC ed. 1920-1934  
 In the Mihanović homiliary, ff. 29v-33r, the text is badly mutilated,<sup>144</sup> but the complete text is preserved in the Gomirje homiliary, ff. 53v-58r. The homily is found in many early florilegia, e.g. 12th-13th century Trinity Sergius codex no. 12, ff. 195r-202v, where the text is defective as some 3 folia are missing between ff. 200 and 201 and the end of the codex after f. 202 has been lost. The full text is in the 14th century Trinity Sergius codex no. 39, ff. 214v-227r. The relation of the Slav to the variant Greek redactions has not been studied, moreover, Mihanović and Gomirje may have an abridged version.
  27. **Б р а т ь а , м н о з и < б о > х о т ь а т ь , т а ж е м н о г а ш и**  
 (This is in fact the Biblical text, the real incepit is:  
 Н и у т о ж е т а к о б е з ъ ѿ ѿ н и )  
 VMC 108; A 3; T 38  
 VMC ed. 1934-1943.  
 This is a conflation in two parts:  
 1. To the words:... **Г о с п о д а н а ш е г о л и с ъ с а Х р и с т а** is the

- first half of *In epistolam ad Philippenses homilia xiii*  
CPG 4432; original ed. PG Ixii, 275-282, viz. 275-278  
This was used in appendix 18 but the translations are different.
2. The rest from the words: **Мъ 1 же саможотио подобно...**  
has not been traced.
28. **Богоиста смерти и джасатоста**  
VMC 109; A 4; T 39  
VMC ed. 1943-1945  
This is a conflation in two parts:  
1. To the words: ... **къ царствъ потшица** is made up of two passages from *Cyril of Alexandria, Homilia xiv, De exitu animae et secundo adventu*, but not in the same translation as that of the whole homily.<sup>145</sup>  
BHG 2103z; CPG 5258; original ed. PG Ixxvii, 1072-1098, viz. 1072-1073  
2. This is followed by a passage which has a subtitle: **Подъение** and incepit: **Брате, ние съ же паке утете прежде** which is untraced. The same question arises as in the case of appendices 17 and 18: is it an interpolation or intended as a continuation?
29. **Велици страннолюбиви вѣнцы**  
VMC 110; A 8; T 46; original untraced.  
VMC ed. 1945-1947.  
It is ascribed here to Cyril of Alexandria
30. **Се Ѹчитися, добро есть дѣнь и ношъ**  
*Ephraem Syrus, Sermo de paenitentia, et de iudicio, et in secundum adventum D. n. Jesu Christi*  
VMC 111; T 42; G 3; CPG 4043; original ed. Assemani, Patris iii, 371-375  
VMC ed. 1947-1959  
It is also found in some other early florilegia, e.g. the so-called Jagić *Chrysostomus*, ff. 136v-149r.
31. **Пріядте вси, брати, послышаните мене (sive: Ѹслышите ми)**  
*idem, Sermo de iudicio et resurrectione*  
VMC 112; T 43; G 6; CPG 4014; original ed. Assemani, Patris iii, 148-150  
VMC ed. 1959-1961  
It is sometimes found interpolated into the *Paraenesis* collection of Ephraem's homilies, e.g. 15th century Tolstoy codex I. 284 ff. 243v-245r, between the final two entries.

32. **Братиа, слышиши блаженства въ псалтыри**  
VMC 113; A 12; T 44; G 4  
VMC ed. 1961-1965  
The 63rd entry in the *Paraenesis* collection of Ephraem's homilies is a contamination of two of his homilies:  
1. *Quomodo convertatur quis retrorsum, et quod ludicris rebus abstinentum sit Christiano*  
CPG 4045; original ed. Assemani, Patris iii, 381-385, viz. 381  
2. *De his, qui dicunt resurrectionem mortuorum non esse*  
CPG 4011; original ed. ibid: 127-134, viz. 131-134.  
In the earliest surviving fragment of the collection, the 11th century Bulgarian Macedonian Fragment no. 2,<sup>146</sup> part of the homily is indicated as a pericope for Sexagesima and this appendix is this pericope, which is also found as c. 36 in the first redaction of the *Smaragdus*,  
In an abridged form it is c. 85 in the second redaction.
33. **По Ѹтренни въ святото недѣлѧ**  
*pseudo-Eusebius of Alexandria, Sermo xvi, De die dominico*  
VMC 114; A 7; T 45; BHG 635c; CPG 5525; original ed. PG 86, i, 413-421  
VMC ed. 1965-1971
34. **Въ недиинъ (ъбо) што дѣни и изъшедъ**  
*idem, Sermo iv, Quod qui infirmatur Deo gratias agere debeat, et in Job*  
VMC 115; A 9; T 47; M 15; BHG 635h; CPG 5513; original ed. PG 86,i, 332-341  
VMC ed. 1972-1977  
The text in the Mihanović homiliary, ff. 46v-48v, 51r, is badly mutilated,<sup>147</sup> but the Gomirje homiliary, ff. 76v-81r, preserves the full text. It is c. 11 in the first redaction of the *Smaragdus* and c. 128 in the second.
35. **Егда хошеть кто исповѣвати**  
VMC 116; A 10; T 48; original untraced.  
VMC ed. 1977-1981  
It is anonymous.
36. **Аще не вѣсте, брати (мое), како (въ) стражи и бѣадъ**  
*Symeon of Mesopotamia, Sermo, quod semper mente versare debemus diem exitus de vita*  
VMC 117; A 5; T 40; original ed. Mai, Patrum 8, iii, 1-3  
VMC ed. 1981-1983

It is found as the fifth appendix to the abridged redaction of the *Patericon systematicum*, e.g. 14th century Mihanović codex, ff. 112r-114r,<sup>148</sup> but whether these appendices were translated at the same time as the patericon, viz. in Bulgaria in the 9th-10th centuries, is uncertain. It is also in various later florilegia.<sup>149</sup> A later redaction is c. 96 in the second redaction of the *Smaragdus*.

**37. НЕ НЕРАЗУМЕВАНТЕ, БРАТИЕ, КАКО СТРАХЪ И ТРЕПЕТЬ**  
*Patericon alphabeticum*, c. *Theophilus iv*

VMC 118; A 6; T 41; CPG 2618; original ed. PG Ixv, 200-201  
 VMC ed. 1983-1984

This is found as the sixth appendix to the abridged redaction of the *Patericon systematicum*, e.g. 14th century Mihanović codex, ff. 114r-115v.

**38. БРАТИА МОЯ ПРИСЛАА, ХОЩЬ ВАМЪ ПОВѢСТВОВАТИ**  
*Conversio S. Taisiae*

VMC 119; H 31; A 11; T 49; BHG 1696; original ed. Nau, *Histoire* 87-113.  
 VMC ed. 1984-1987

It is also found in the 1360 Bulgarian Vidin florilegium, ff. 106v-111r.<sup>150</sup>  
 In addition there are two other entries not found in VMC but found in other codices as appendices.

**39. ЖИТИЕ ЧЕЛОВѢКА ХДО И МАЛОВРЕМЕННО**  
*Proclus of Constantinople, Homilia xxv, Homilia consolatoria ad aegrotum*

H 30; A 1; T 35; CPG 5834; original ed. PG xxxi, 1713-1722  
 Unedited.

The ascription to Basil of Caesarea is well attested in Greek MSS.

**40. ПЛОТНЫИМА ЪБО ОУИМА ЃОГА ВИДѢТИ**

*Cyril of Jerusalem, Catechesis ix*  
 A 2; T 37; CPG 3585; original ed. PG xxxiii, 637-657  
 Unedited.

Its relation to the form found in the full translation of the *Catecheses*, e.g. 12th-13th century Synodal codex no. 478, ff. 75v-85v, has not been established, nor why it is ascribed to Basil of Caesarea.

An analysis of these appendices reveals that:

- a. eight are taken from the longer collection: 3, 5-6, 8-10, 20-21;
- b. one is taken from the shorter collection: 7;
- c. one could be from either longer or shorter: 4;
- d. four are by Chrysostom but are interpolations from the *Margarita* only found in VMC: 14; 19; 22-23;

- e. fifteen are neither by, nor attributed to Chrysostom and must thus be considered not to have belonged to the original corpus of the *Chrysorrhoas*: 24, 26, 28-40;
- f. eleven are by, or ascribed to Chrysostom and are not obvious interpolations from elsewhere: 1-2, 11-13, 15-18, 25, 27.

These eleven homilies are of special interest since two are similar in their treatment of their Greek originals to the other entries in the *Chrysorrhoas*, not to mention their order, viz. 16 and 17: *In Matthaeum homiliae Ixi and Ixviii*; moreover 18 is similar in theme to 17 and logically belongs here. The question whether some of these may not belong to the original corpus of the *Chrysorrhoas* can only be solved by careful linguistic analysis.

### CONCLUSIONS

1. The translation in the shorter collection is not a different one to that in the longer but reveals subsequent editing of those entries the two have in common. Whereas the longer keeps close to the Greek originals, the shorter reveals a consistent tendency to abridge the text, both by omission and paraphrase, as well as a tendency to substitute synonyms for individual words.<sup>151</sup> That the shorter collection is not an independent translation is borne out not merely by the fact that the two collections frequently agree in common variants from the printed Greek texts<sup>152</sup> but that where the two diverge the shorter consistently departs from the Greek. The sole case of an entry in the shorter collection where the text is closer to the Greek than that in the longer – which is the crucial argument in favour of two independent translations – is not pertinent since the text in question, viz. the entry on ff. 136r-138r of the 12th century SPL codex, is an interpolation into the shorter collection found only in that codex.<sup>153</sup>
2. None of the extant collections reproduces entirely the original corpus of the *Chrysorrhoas*:
  - a) the longer collection has at least one interpolation - entry 124, which raises the question whether other entries found solely in this collection are also interpolations, for instance the *Eclogae* of Theodore Daphnopates.<sup>154</sup> Only a detailed linguistic analysis will solve this question;
  - b) the shorter collection has not only entries and conflations of entries taken from the longer, but also entries not found there but whose treatment of the Greek originals is identical to that of the longer collection, so that there is no reason for assuming that they belong to a different period;

- c) some of the appendices found in codices of the shorter collection may have belonged to the original corpus.<sup>155</sup>
3. The longer collection shows clear signs of the thematic grouping of entries, e.g. L 34-35, 37-38, 47-51, 76-77, 79-83, 86-87, 94-95, 98-99, 103-105, 109-110, 134-135. A second aspect of the grouping is that in several instances the entries are found in the order corresponding to that in Greek codices, e.g. L 13-15, 18-19, 25-31, 33-39, 40-42, 44-45, 50-51, 128-129. In this respect the grouping of those entries in the shorter collection which are also in the longer is sometimes not merely better thematically but also closer to the Greek order, e.g. S 20-21 on Holy Communion (in L 29 and 106) are *In epistolam primam ad Corinthios homiliae xxiv and xxvii*, while 36-37 on repentance (in L 23 and 46) are the two parts of John Ieiunator's *Sermo de poenitentia, et continentia, et virginitate*. The shorter collection also groups thematically entries solely in it together with those also in the longer, e.g. 22 (not in L) and 23 (L 45) on priests and teachers; 33 (L-), 34 (L-), 35 (L-), 36 (L 23), 37 (L 46), 38 (L 5) on repentance; 47 (L 81), 48 (L-), 49 (L 83) on penitence.
- There are also several instances where the order coincides: L 18-19 and S 54-55; L 49-50 and S 66-67; L 83-84 and S 49-50; L 85-86 and S 40-41; L 101-102 and S 2-3.
- The conclusion must be that none of the collections reproduces the original order but that both in certain places reflect it more closely. Moreover, the compiler's method emerges: he had access to a more or less complete collection of Chrysostom's works which he read in their Greek order marking the passages he wished to select – traces of this marking have probably survived in L 81 as found in the Mihanović homiliary.<sup>156</sup> To what extent the original corpus was then arranged thematically remains conjectural but where the Greek and thematic order coincided there was no reason for him to alter it.
4. The Slav *Chrysorrhoeas* is not a translation of an existing Greek collection but is an independent selection from Chrysostom's works. An *argumentum e silentio* –no Greek collection even faintly resembling the Slav has been traced– would by itself be hazardous but the preface to the longer collection unequivocally states what was done and its statement coincides with the above conclusions:

... Сүммишъ... иžбера(въ его) всѧ словеса иžъ всѣхъ книгъ его, въ сѧ единыи сложи книгы, наже и прозва Златострѣна. Аще бо много по сему имени Златострѣаго прозваша, то и мы несмы сѧ, ибо, никакоже съблазнили книгы Златострѣна нарекше, елма же и дѣла Святаго чyенія акы златыми стрѣами человѣческими сладкими рѣчами, спасъніемъ поклоніемъ шъ всакого грѣха ш(т)мы вада, къ Богѹ приводитъ.<sup>157</sup>

“... Symeon . . . (having) selected all (his) homilies from all his books, collected them into this one book<sup>158</sup> which he called the Golden Streams. Even if somebody else is called by this name of the Golden Stream, we have not, I think, erred in calling the book the Golden Streams, in as much as the teaching of the Holy Spirit as by golden streams by man's sweet words, washing away all sin by saving repentance, leads to God.”

There is no reason to challenge this statement that Symeon himself selected the entries: the eulogy of him in the 1073 florilegium states that “like an industrious bee” he collected the thoughts of St. Basil from all the flowers of his reading.<sup>159</sup> Educated in Constantinople, his learning was internationally celebrated,<sup>160</sup> while the wide choice of entries from the vast range of Chrysostom's works is further proof of the excellent library at his disposal.<sup>161</sup>

However, the preface neither states that he translated the passages chosen, nor gives any reason for so believing. Indeed the lack of consistent thematic grouping would indicate the contrary: Symeon marked the passages for translation in the Greek codices but, not having copied them out, he could not have so ordered them. The translator(s) made an attempt to do so but the material was too bulky and varied to permit them to do so absolutely consistently.

Moreover, the fact that no extant collection contains the entire corpus may well mean that in view of its enormous size no complete copies were made of the original translation and that from the very beginning only selections were made. Thus while both the longer and the shorter collections go back to the original corpus, the shorter does not depend directly upon the longer but has a different selection made directly from the original corpus –as the frequently better order reveals. A comparison of the common entries

in the two collections reveals consistent editing of the texts in the shorter which is thus a less trustworthy witness of the original corpus but nevertheless fully deserves the title of *Chrysorrhoeas*.

The meaning of this title and the reasons for choosing it are made quite clear from the preface, which at the same time shews that the title is a calque: the statement that the compiler does not consider it wrong to call it by this title even if ΙΗΟΓΟ has been thus called has usually been interpreted to mean that some other book was also known by this title,<sup>162</sup> even though some eighty years ago it was pointed out that the elementary rules of grammar show it was a person, not a thing, known by this name. And indeed, just as John of Constantinople is known as *Chrysostom*, so John of Damascus is known as *Chrysorrhoeas*<sup>163</sup> and it is thus only fitting that the collection be known by the name which its celebrated and learned compiler chose for it.

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1. A catalogue of works extant in Slavonic translation was drawn up in Moscow in c. 1665/6 and the compiler, probably Sylvester Medvedev, adopted a special siglum – phi – to designate the 136 homilies, cf. the edition of the catalogue by Undol'sky, *Sylvestr xxx* for the list of abbreviations and 35-42 for the homilies. The colophon of a 17th century Moldavian manuscript, ed. Yatsimirsky, *Istorii civ*, clearly refers to it, cf. also Angelov, *Pokhvala* 254-255.

2. Used by Vostokov, *Yevangeliye* app. 8-9, 11, 24, his discourse on Slavonic grammar. He did not describe it in detail, which led to confusion. Thus Šafářík, *Rastsvet* 54, thought it had the 136 homilies.

3. Cf. Palauzov, *Vek* 84, 108-109.

4. Sreznevsky, *Svedeniya* xxii, 23-27.

5. Malinin, *Issledovaniye* 117-164.

6. For example, Sobolevsky in Malinin, *Slov i*, supported Sreznevsky's view, but Golubitsky, *Istoriya I*, i, 898-899, supported Malinin's, although with the difference that he considered the longer was the earlier translation, Malinin the shorter. Il'insky's theory, *Zlatostruy* 40-41, that the 11th century Bychkov folia reflect a stage prior to either the longer or shorter collection and the original is thus neither of these is untenable as they merely contain part of entry 132 of the longer.

7. Hilandar collection no. 386.

8. Ivanova, *Redaktsiya*. 91-96, 104-105.

9. SPL Q. p. I. 74: Granstrem, *Opisaniye* 17, the folia are edited by Il'insky, *Zlatostruy* 5-15.

10. LAS 4.9.41 and 4.9.41a: Sreznevsky, *Svedeniya* xii, 15-16; OROBIAN ii, 157-158, 173; Pokrovskaya, *Rukopisi* 62.

11. Unfortunately undescribed in detail cf. Breuer, *Rukopisy* 20-21: Lavrov, *Teksty* i-xiii, Bogdanović, *Katalog* i, 150-151. At Hilandar are 257 folia, a further six are now LAS f. 22 (Dmitriyevsky) 41, cf. Pokrovskaya, *Rukopisi* 162-163; a further six LAS 13.7.1, cf. OROBIAN ii, 158 and Pokrovskaya, *Rukopisi* 162-163; a further two now LSL f. 87 (Grigorovich) 19/M 1702, cf. Jagić, *Opisi* v, 66-68 and Viktorov, *Sobraniye* 13-14. The dating is disputed and varies from the late 13th to late 14th century.

12. OROBIAN ii, 167-172. On ff. 265r-284v there are two appendices, viz. Chrysostom's *Homilia i in titulum Psalmi quinquagesimi, et de poenitentia Davidis, et de ea quae fuit Uriac* (CPG 4544), which does not belong to the *Chrysorrhoeas*, and entry 80 of the shorter collection.

13. LSL f. 173 no. 43: Kavelin, *Svedeniye* ii, 67-68; Malinin, *Issledovaniye* 7, 26-29, 40-57.

14. SHM Chudov 214: Malinin, *Issledovaniye* 7, 14-26, 30-40; Petrov, *Knigokhranilische* 163.

15. SHM Synodal 991, ff. 890r-1340v: Iosif, *Oglavleniye* i, 507-532.

16. LSL f. 173 no. 44: Kavelin, *Svedeniye* ii, 54-67.

17. SPL f. 588 no. 1008: Malinin, *Issledovaniye* 14, 29; Lamansky, *Otchet* 63.

18. SPL f. 717 no. 182 (259): Porfiryev, *Opisaniye* i, 267-289.

19. SPL F. 218: Kalaydovich, *Opisaniye* 24; Malinin, *Issledovaniye* 4, 7, 29; Sreznevsky's dating, *Svedeniya* xxi, 3, to the 15th century is erroneous.

20. SHM Uvarov 295 (188) (formerly Tsarsky 176): Stroyev, *Rukopisi* 109-122; Malinin, *Issledovaniye* 5-7; Kavelin, *Opisaniye*, 126-136.

21. ASLITH 238 (210): Dobryansky, *Opisaniye* 335-341. On ff. 278v-283v a patericon tale about Macarius has been appended.

22. Lamansky, *Otchet* 63. Its present location is uncertain although some MSS from its original collection (Monastery of the Nativity of Our Lady, Novy Zagorov, no. 27) are now in the Korolenko Library, Kharkov.

23. SPL f. 717 no. 183 (260): Porfiryev, *Opisaniye*, 289.

24. ASLITH 239 (211): Dobryansky, *Opisaniye* 341.

25. LSL f. 98 no. 227: Dinekov, *Khristomatija* 90.

25a. Present location of the codex is unknown; on it: Shlyapkin, *Opisaniye* 13-25., whose description is, however, not of the actual entries but of the list of contents; he also edits the preface.

26. The correct order is: 1-18, ff. missing, 19-21, 32-56, 189-195, ff. missing, 130-135, I f. missing, 22-29, 122-129, 114-121. ff. missing, 136-145, ff. missing, 146-188, ff. missing, 30-31, 57-64, ff. missing, 65-113, 198, 196-197, end missing. On the codex: Sreznevsky, *Zvedeniya* xxii, 6-27: Malinin, *Issledovaniye* passim.

27. Viz. end 10, 11, beginning 12: end 32, beginning 33; middle 35; end 45, 46 and 47; end 49, beginning 50; end 70, 71, beginning 72; end 78, 79, beginning 80.

28. See under L 75.

29. That the order in this codex is defective is proven not merely because it is unique but also from the codex itself: 58 and 69 are correctly so numbered but are separated by only nine entries.

30. Of the type СТРАСТИ for СТАТИ, ГРѢСИ for ГРЕСИ.
31. LAS 4.9.40: OROBIAN ii, 157; Pokrovskaya, Rukopisi 63-64.
32. LAS 4.9.42: OROBIAN ii, 180-481; Pokrovskaya, Rukopisi 63.
33. LAS 13.7.19: OROBIAN ii, 481; Pokrovskaya, Rukopisi 62-63. From which codex it was removed is uncertain as Hilandar 386 has no apparent gap for this entry on ff. 177r-180v.
34. Viz. L 3, 6, 7, 8 and 9 and one anonymous homily on ff. 92v-101v unconnected with the *Chrysorhoas*. As yet untraced in Greek it has the incept: Бѣше нѣкто богатъ, но аще и варѧтє...
35. LAS 33.16.15: OROBIAN ii, 158-167.
36. SPL f. 588 no. 948: Ivanova, Redaktsiya 93 no. 19.
37. SPL F I. 241: Kalaydovich, Opisaniye 14-18; Malinin, Issledovaniye 63-74.
38. Sophia copy: SPL f. 573 no. 1319, ff. 303r-497v: Abramovich, Opisaniye ii, 53.
- Dormition copy: SHM Synodal 988, ff. 434r-591r: Iosif, Oglavleniye i, 171-179.
- Imperial copy: SHM Synodal 176, ff. 584r-784r: Gorsky, Miney 60-67.
39. Speransky, Opisaniye ii, 47 (unfortunately unavailable to the author).
40. PNM IX.C.9: Yatsimirsky, Opisaniye i, 791-794; Vašica, Soupis 53-55.
41. Viz, using the shorter collection numbers: 36, 60-61, 63, 65, 68-71, 74, 76, 80, 47, 44, 79, appendix, 35, 28, 4, 32, 25, 81, appendix, appendix, 14, 18-22, 24, 29-31, 33, 12, 34, 40, 42, 52, 56-58, 8, 7, 67, 38-39, 45.
- On the codex: Breuer, Rukopisi 20; Bogdanović, Katalogi, 152; Ivanova, Redaktsiya passim.
42. It is clearly the second of two volumes as they are numbered 53 to 90, the discrepancy being due to the fact that entries 1, 39 and 40 are not numbered and the numbering jumps from 68 to 70.
43. The order of some of these coincides, viz.
- |    | VMC | 84 | 85 | 86 | 87 | 88 | 89 | 90 |
|----|-----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| TS | 1   | 2  | 3  | 4  | 5  | 6  | 7  |    |
| H  | 16  | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 |    |
44. Ivanova, Redaktsiya 96, saw a similar coincidence of order between H and TS among some of these but this is purely accidental since both are following the order of the shorter collection and do not have the same selection, viz.
- |   | TS | 31 | 32 | 33 | 34 | 35 | -  | 36 | 37 |
|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| H | 45 | -  | 46 | 47 | -  | 48 | 49 | 50 |    |
| S | 40 | 41 | 42 | 52 | 55 | 56 | 57 | 58 |    |
45. George of Nicomedia's *Oratio viii* (BHG 1139). The translation is not the same as in the Mihanović homiliary, ff. 105v-116r.
46. LSL f. 304 no. 145 (1658): Ilary, Opisaniye i, 113-116.
47. To use the numbering in Yakovlev, Istorii, entries 2-8, 10-14 are *Smaragdus* 7-9, 14-15, 20, 16, 35, 37-38, 41, 43. Entries 1, 9 and 15 remain untraced.
48. BHG 873; CPG 7979, found in many Slav MSS.
49. See below under individual entries. The present location of the codex is unknown; on it: Shlyapkin, Opisaniye 25-30; Arkhangel'sky, Tvoreniya iv, 77-80.
50. For instance: 17th century codex SHM Sokolov no. 33, cf. Sokolov, Materialy i, 210; 17th-18th century codex CSA f. 1338 no. 11 (78), cf. Pushkarev, Obzor 332.

51. Thus the second part of the 16th century Russian florilegium SHM Synodal codex 682 is called a *Zlatostroi*, cf. Gorsky, Opisaniye 2, iii, 736, while in the 16th-17th century Russian florilegium LSL f. 256 no. 361; f. 189, Gennadius' *Centuria* is called a *Zlatostroj*, cf. Vostokov, Opisaniye 519.
52. Entries I, 3-5, 33 and 37 are S80; L78; L82; L77; S34 and VMC app. 26. LSL f. 304 I no. 12: Sreznevsky, Svedeniya iii, 196-204; Ilary, Opisaniye i, 19-22; Tikhonirov, Katalog (xxx) 93-98, 125-137.
53. Some give rise to interesting questions. Thus the 13th-14th century Bulgarian florilegium, misleadingly known as the *Jagic Chrysostomus*, has three, viz. 10-L68. 15-S35 and 16-S80. In E entries 42-43 are S35 and S80: is the identical order of S35 and 80 purely coincidental? On the Bulgarian codex SPL Q.p.I.56: Jagić, Bericht passim.
54. AYASA III.c.19; 265 folia; however, the beginning is missing as are several ff. between ff. 20 and 21, while ff. 21-82 are badly mutilated. The missing text is supplied by G. The codex has been edited in facsimile; Aitzetmüller, Mihanović. On it there is a vast literature including Moshin, Rukopisi i, 95-100; Ivanova-Mircheva, Khomiliarat passim; Rösel, Inhalt passim; Ivanova, Tsikl passim.
- |  |                      |
|--|----------------------|
| 55. HMC R-71, 279 folia: Moshin, Muzeju 82-87; Ivanova, Tsikl 221-231. |                      |
| 56. M-, G1: E41  | M12, G12: L81 contd. |
| M-, G2: S35  | M13, G13: S33        |
| M8, G8: S80  | M14, G14: L82        |
| M9, G9: S48  | M16, G16: app. 25    |
| M10, G10: L81  | M39, G42: S65        |
| M11, G11: app. 26  | M46, G49: E29        |
- It is noteworthy that E contains all but three of these, viz. the two appendices and S65. In addition to these M7-G7 may be a redaction of L77.
- Other codices have a selection of entries from this homiliary and hence some of the above entries, e.g. the 14th century Serb codex SHM Khludov 55 includes M8-10, 13-16 and 46.
57. E.g. Moscow Theological Academy 43-44; VMC; Solovki 182-183; Uvarov 295; Vilnius 238-239.
58. E.g. Hilandar 382, LAS 33.2.12; Chudov 214.
59. Malinin, Issledovaniye 38-39, merely followed the majority of the MSS and in this has been followed by subsequent scholars.
60. The title of the first entry in H is:
- И҃зборъ и҃збранија Ішанномъ Златоустыимъ показате  
поѹчајетъ ш тваггельскыиъ оѹказанијъ.
- This is clearly a conflation of two things: the second half is part of the title of this entry as in the shorter collection as entry 36: Слово Ѹказата поѹчајетъ ш тваггельскыиъ сватыиъ Ѹказанијъ.
- Ivanova, Redaktsiya 94, wonders whether the first four words of H are thus the title of the collection. However, they coincide with the first four words of the title of the entry with which both the longer and the shorter collections end and thus this surmise is hardly acceptable.
61. See the list of codices above.
62. The best description of the list of contents is in Iosif, Oglavleniye i, 507-511. The codices of the shorter collection do not have a common list of contents; that in the VMC includes all its appendices and was thus compiled especially for the Macarian menologium.

63. It should be noted with regard to the individual entries that the incepits are “normalized” for recognition purposes, linguistic variants are irrelevant for this.
64. LSL f. 304 (Trinity Sergius) I, no. 11.
65. Cf. Sreznevsky, Svedeniya xxii, 26.
66. Granstrem, Ioann 187, on the basis of the fragment of six folia in the Dmitriyevsky collection considered a complete translation of this homily was made but failed to notice that these folia are from Hilandar codex 382 with the longer collection.
67. SHM Synodal 1063/4. Ed. Kotkov, Sbornik 440-452.
68. AYASA III.a.47: Moshin, Rukopisi i, 64.
69. SPL f. 351 (Dormition Monastery of St. Cyril of Belozero) no. 4/1081.
70. Some codices omit one or both of the words of the parenthesis.
71. Cf. ed. Peretts, Issledovaniya ix, 85-90. Granstrem, Zlatoust 347 (no. 1) muddles information about the various redactions and lists a non-existing incepit.
72. Because he did not notice this, Malinin, Issledovaniya 84-86, arrived at complicated but erroneous conclusions about S4, 12 and 14, viz. the desinit of S12 belongs to the middle section of S14 and the rest to S4.
73. Cf. Begunov, Kozma 227-229.
74. See on this above.
75. Tunitsky, Slovo passim; Svane, Kliment passim; Angelov, Kliment i, 620 etc. The “Clementine” version is ed. 1) Tunitsky, Slovo 226-232; Angelov, Kliment i, 656-659.
76. Cf. Tunitsky, Slovo 203-205.
77. Cf. juxtaposition in Tunitsky, Slovo 208 and Svane, Kliment 45-46.
78. PG xciv, 808-809.
79. Bodiansky, Bogosloviye 49-54.
80. Cf. juxtaposition in Tunitsky, Slovo 209-210 and Svane, Kliment 52-55.
81. Cf. Greek original ed. Assemani, Patris ii, 218-220 and Slav translation ed. VMC December 25-31, 2210-2215.
82. Cf. juxtaposition in Svane, Kliment 49-50 and Greek original ed. Vassiliev, Anecdota i, 189 and Slav translation ed. Popov, Kniga 2.
83. That he was inept is revealed by his faulty knowledge of the Bible: animals, fish, birds and reptiles were not created on the third day (cf. ed. Angelov, Kliment i, 640) but on the fifth (cf. Genesis i, 20-23) while: **Блажени кротъци, яко ти сънове божии нареѫтса** is a conflation of two beatitudes, cf. Matthew v, 5 and 9.
84. Thus Arkhangel'sky, Tvoreniya iv, 157.
85. E.g. 1646 Serb florilegium PNM ix. H. 16, ff. 235r-240v. It also is edited by Hahn, Predigten 222-283.
86. Edited many times, including Sreznevsky, Pamyatniki 138-140 and 140-141; Karlov, Izbornik 337-342 and 342-347.
87. Ed. Ponomarev, Pamyatniki iii, 98-99.
88. Ed. ibid, 51-53.
90. Viz. Градъ бес (тѣни и щадъ плененъ будеъ) ... ed. Kotkov, Sbornik 491.
91. Cf. juxtaposition in Malinin, Issledovaniye 148-149.
92. In the 12th century SPL codex it is incorrectly placed between entries 48 and 49, see above.

93. Jagić, Bericht 9. On this MS cf. footnote 53.
94. Ibid. II.
95. Moshin, Muzeju 83. The text in the Mihanović homiliary is badly mutilated and only a remnant survives on f. 21r-v, ed. Aitzetmüller, Mihanović 21r-v.
96. Birkfellner, Handschriften 219. There may be a Croat Glagolitic revision of this, cf. the 16th century Gršković florilegium, ff. 29v-34r, Stefanić, Rukopisi ii, 46.
97. Moshin, Rukopisi i, 64-65.
98. Karataev, Opisaniye i, 310.
99. E.g. Moscow Theological Academy 43-44; Macarian menologium.
100. E.g. Uvarov 295.
101. Because of thematic similiarity to L47, which he ascribed to Clement of Ochrida, Tunitsky, Slovo 214-215, wondered if this too is by Clement. However, L47 is not by Clement.
102. LSL f. 256 no. 27.
103. Frequently edited, the best being Kotkov, Izbornik 609-611.
104. Cf. facsimile ed. Aitzetmüller, Mihanović 28r-29v, 33v-38r.
105. Moshin's description, Muzeju 83, is misleading as he has not correctly divided this homily from the Anastasian.
106. It does not contain borrowings from Ephraem Syrus' *Sermo de iudicio et resurrectione* (CPG 4014) as Ivanova, Tsikl 224, suggests.
107. Cf. facsimile ed. Aitzetmüller, Mihanović (43r-46r).
108. Thus Arkhangel'sky, Tvoreniya iv, 214.
109. PSRL i, 167-170 ii, 156-159. In later chronicles the text has been further revised, e.g. the Nicon Chronicle, PSRL ix, 94-95.
110. LSL f. 256 no. 435.
111. LSL f. 310 no. 543.
112. Frequently edited, e.g. Levytsky, Propovidnyky 83-86.
113. Bel'chenko's theory, Feodosy 206-213, that both versions go back to a now lost Theodosian original is unproven. Thematic similarity with other works ascribed to Theodosius is hardly “proof” of his authorship, as Petrov, Istochniki 79-84 and Podlinnost' 783-785, alleges. The influences on the *Smaragdus*, *Domostroy* and other works cannot be dealt with here.
114. Ed. Smirnov, Materialy 202-205.
115. Thus Malinin, Issledovaniye 218-219.
116. Ed. VMC September 14-24, 1161-1167.
117. Ed. VMC December 24, 1864-2183, cf. 2155-2157.
118. LSL f. 304 no. 151: Ilary, Opisaniye i, 126.
119. Gorsky, Opisaniye 2, ii, 111-119.
120. E.g. Moscow Theological Academy 43; Pogodin 1008; Solovki 182.
121. Cf. Uvarov 295: Kavelin, Opisaniye i, 135 and Moscow Theological Academy 44: Kavelin, Svedeniye ii, 66.
122. Leiden University Library, MS Scaliger 74: Veder, Paterikon i, 119-120. Individual excerpts are also found, e.g. no. 38 is in an expanded form in the *Catena Aurea*, f. 60r-v, and in the 1076 florilegium, f. 235r, in an abridged form – it is apophthegm John Colobos 3 from the *Apophthegmata patrum*, ed. PG Ixv, 205, but in a different translation to the Slav translation of the *Patericon systematicum*, cf. ed. van Wijk, Translation 142-143.

123. Because of his erroneous conclusions about L24, cf. footnote 72, Malinin's numbering of S5-S11 is faulty – the correct order is followed here.
124. Cf. juxtaposition in Malinin, Issledovaniye 196-198.
125. Cf. facsimile ed. Aitzetmüller, Mihanović 38r-43r.
126. Sobolevsky, Literatura 299, who muddles title and incepit.
127. Jagić, Bericht 9.
128. E.g. Gorsky, Opisaniye 2, iii, 86; Ivanova, Redaktsiya 104.
129. Ivanova, Redaktsiya 97, mistakenly considers this entry to be a different translation of S71.
130. Cf. facsimile ed. Aitzetmüller, Mihanović 50v, 25r-28r.
131. Ed. ibid. 150v-152r.
132. Ivanova wrongly considers them to be the same, cf. footnote 129.
133. Sreznevsky, Svedeniya xxii, 25-26, wrongly considered it a repetition of S21.
134. Not his *De eleemosyna* (CPG 4618) as Yatsimirsky, Opisaniye i, 793, wrongly considered.
135. Thus Yeremin, in Lebedev-Polyansky, Istorya i, 349.
136. Thus Tschizewskij, Geschichte 125.
137. Cf. facsimile ed. Aitzetmüller, Mihanović 21v-24v, 49r-50r.
138. Cf. Arkhangel'sky, Tvoreniya i-ii, 132n.5.
139. The order of the appendices in the VMC is here followed merely because it has the greatest number. There is through numbering of the *Chrysorrhoas* entries and the appendices in the codex. Unfortunately the numbering of A is not given in the description of that codex and so its appendices are simply numbered 1-12 for convenience. Entries interpolated by chance into individual codices have already been mentioned and are not included in this list of appendices.
140. A third translation of this homily was made in the 13th-14th century together with Severian's *In mundi creationem orationes vi* (as in many Greek codices interpolated between the 5th and 6th homilies), e.g. 15th century Synodal codex 367, ff. 85v-96v.
141. Since it is an interpolation there is no need to list all the editions here.
142. It is also in the Mihanović homiliary, ed. Aitzetmüller, Mihanović 116r-125r, but that is the 10th-11th century Bulgarian translation of the Greek and thus there is no link between VMC and M.
143. Cf. facsimile ed. Aitzetmüller, Mihanović 51v-59r.
144. Cf. ibid. 29v-33r.
145. Cf. ed. Franko, Apokrify iv, 202-213.
146. LAS 24.4.15.
147. Cf. facsimile ed. Aitzetmüller, Mihanović 46v-48v, 51r.
148. ANL codex slav. 152 (137): Birkfellner, Handschriften 262.
149. Edited from 1422 SPL codex QI.312 by Sobolevsky, Poslaniye 9-11.
150. Ghent University Library codex 408. It has been edited from there several times, including Scharpé, Zborník 130-133.
151. Cf. list of such synonyms in Malinin, Issledovaniye 117-126.
152. Cf. list of such variants in Malinin, Issledovaniye 188-192.
153. Cf. details under L75. It is at least theoretically possible that this codex alone preserves an entry of the original corpus; even so it is no evidence for a different translation in the shorter collection.

154. This Ivanova, Redaktsiya 95, also wondered. Daphnopates was a contemporary of Symeon of Bulgaria, to whom he addressed 3 epistles on behalf of the Emperor, cf. Darrouzès, Recueil 114-117, which a priori would make it unlikely for his works to be included in a contemporary selection of Chrysostom's works. However, early MS tradition, e.g. 10th century Codex Mosquensis graecus 174, ascribes the *Eclogae* to a Theodore Magister and only in the 14th century, e.g. Codex Vindobonensis theologicus graecus 88, is Daphnopates specified, so that their authorship is uncertain and they could antedate Symeon's reign.

155. See above.

156. See above L81.

157. The preface has been edited many times from various codices, including Moscow Theological Academy 43: Sreznevsky, Svedeniya xxi, 2-3 and Kavelin, Svedeniye ii, 67; Chudov 214: Malinin, Issledovaniye 30-31 and Sobolevsky, Materialy 28-29; Solovki 182: Porfir'ev, Opisaniye i, 268; Uvarov 295; Stroyev, Rukopisi 109-110 and Kavelin, Opisaniye i, 126-127, Vilnius 238: Dobryansky, Opisaniye 335-336.

Sobolevsky, Materialy 29-30, noted its metric structure and similarity to the eulogy of Symeon in the 1073 florilegium, concluding that they were both by the same person. Dimitrov, Predislovieto 23-24, agreed and – following a frequently advanced theory of the eulogy – considered the author to be John the Exarch. However, the structure, a 12 syllable line with a caesura after the 7th or 5th, is common to other Slav contemporaries, e.g. Constantine of Preslav in his *Abecedary Prayer*, so there can be no certainty as to the author. It is clearly modelled on similar dedications in contemporary Byzantine literature, e.g. that to the Emperor in the *Menologium Basili*, ed. PG cxviii, 19-22.

158. The plural can also have a singular meaning, cf. L'vov, Ocherki 157-158.

159. Ed. Karpov, Izbornik 4 and 526.

160. Its praise by Patriarch Nicholas I Mysticus in his epistle to Symeon might be considered flattery, cf. epistle xxiii, ed. PG cxi, 149-157, cf. 153, but that by the jaundiced Graecophobe, Liutprand of Cremona, cannot, cf. his *Antapodosis iii*, 29, ed. PL cxxxvi, 787-898, cf. 847.

161. The eulogy in the 1073 florilegium calls him a "New Ptolemy" (a reference to the founder of the Alexandrian library) because of his collection of books, ed. Karpov, Izbornik 4 and 527.

162. Some, like Malinin, Issledovaniye 214-215, considered it a Slav work, others, like Georgiev, Raztvetat 277, a Byzantine work.

163. E.g. Theophanes, *Chronographia* ed. PG cviii, 108; the interpolated redaction (B) of George Hamartolus' *Chronicon breve* ed. PG cx, 941. The original redaction (A) does not have this passage (neither does the Slav translation done from A). This was pointed out recently by Dimitrov, Predislovieto 26-27. The epithet is probably more than just a pious reference to his works being also a pun, in that his native city of Damascus stood on the river Chrysorrhoas, the present Barada, cf. RECA iii, 2519-2520, as well as a play on the name of his most famous work: *Fons cognitionis*.

## ABBREVIATIONS

A	Academy codex of the shorter collection
ANL	Austrian National Library
ASLITH	Academy of Sciences of Lithuania
AYASA	Archives of the Yugoslav Academy of Science and Art
BHG	Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca and Auctarium, Ed. F. Halkin, Brussels 1957-1969 (Subsidia hagiographica vols. 8A and 47)
CCG	Codices chrysostomici graeci, 3 vols. Ed. M. Aubineau and R. Carter. Paris 1968-1970 (documents, études et répertoires de l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes, vols. 13-15)
CHIOI	Chteniya v Imperatorskom Obshchestve istorii i drevnostey rossiyskikh pri Moskovskom Universitete
CPG	M. Geerard, Clavis Patrum Graecorum, vols. 2-3, Turnhout 1974-1979
CSA	Central State Archive of Early Acts, Moscow
E	St. Euthymius monastery codex with a later redaction
EIL	Ezik i literatura, Sofia
G	Gomirje homiliary
H	Hilandar codex 386 with a later redaction
HMC	History Museum of Croatia
IIOL	Izdaniye Imperatorskogo Obshchestva lyubiteley drevney pis'mennosti, St. Petersburg
IORY	Izvestiya otdeleniya russkogo yazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoy Akademii nauk
L	Longer collection
LAS	Library of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR
LSL	Lenin State Library
M	Mihanović homiliary
OROBIAN	Opisanije rukopisnogo otdeleniya biblioteki Imperatorskoy Akademii nauk. 6 vols. in 9, St. Petersburg (Leningrad) 1910-1979
PDP	Pamyatniki drevney pis'mennosti i iskusstva, St. Petersburg
PG	J. Migne (Ed.) Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeca et orientalis. 167 vols. in 171, Paris 1857-1866
PL	idem, Series latina. 221 vols. Paris 1844-1865
PNM	Prague National Museum
PSRL	Polnoye sobraniye russkikh letopisej. St. Petersburg 1846 ff.
RAS	Rumanian Academy of Sciences
RECA	Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Ed. G. Wissowa et al. 62 vols. and supplement 16 vols., Stuttgart 1894-1976
S	Shorter collection
SAKRR	State Archives of the Kalinin Region (formerly Tver Museum)
SHM	State History Museum, Moscow
SORY	Sbornik otdeleniya russkogo yazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoy Akademii nauk

## SPL

T

## TODRL

TS

## VMC

State Public Library

Tolstoy codex of the shorter collection

Trudy otdela drevnerusskoy literatury, Leningrad

Trinity Sergius codex 145 with a later redaction

Velikiye Minei Chetii, sobrannyye vserossiyskim metropolitom Makarijem. 24 parts, St. Petersburg 1868 - Moscow 1915. (N.B. All references are to vypusk 8: Noyabr dni 13-15, St. Petersburg 1899, unless otherwise specified)

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## CHRYSTOMICA PALAEOSLAVICA. ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

## Codices

- a) longer collection
- 3. *Hilandar codex 382*: 273 folia, beginning, ending and many intermediate folia missing.<sup>1</sup> The codex consists of three parts: a) (ff. 1-92R) a miscellany; b) (ff. 92R-198V) a copy of a considerable portion of the 1073 florilegium; c) (f. 199R to end) entries taken from the longer *Chrysorrhaos*. This last part may be divided into two sections:
  - i. the introduction (ff. 199R-217R) has four homilies about Job, viz. *De diabolo tentatore homilia iii* and *In iustum et beatum Job sermones ii-iv*. The first three of these are found in the longer *Chrysorrhaos*<sup>2</sup> but the fourth is not and was thus taken from elsewhere to complete the introduction;
  - ii. the main section has in correct order and with the original *Chrysorrhaos* numbering entries 5-6, 8, 10, 13-16, 18-19, 25-28, 33-35, together with glosses referring to entries 7, 9, 11-12, 20-24, 29-32 to be found in another codex.<sup>3</sup>
- This codex contains the correct order of entries 34-35 and has some clearly early readings.<sup>4</sup>
- 8. *Moscow Theological Academy codex 44*: it divides the entries into two sections, each prefaced by the relevant part of the list of contents, viz. 1-57 and 58-136.
- 9. *Pogodin codex 1008*: Russian with 924 folia mostly of the 16th century but

- some of the 18th to replace lost folia. This led to the repetition of some entries as well as muddled order; as yet undescribed in detail.<sup>5</sup>
18. *Dormition codex 14*: xvii + 667 folia, 15th century Russian.<sup>6</sup>
  19. *Dormition codex 15*: IV + 565 folia, 15th century Russian.<sup>7</sup>
  20. *Zamoyski Fee-Tail Library codex 91*: 582 folia, Russian, second half of the 15th century, containing only entries 1-45.<sup>8</sup>
  21. *St. Anthony's Trinity Monastery on the Siya codex 196*: 355 folia, 15th-16th century Russian, containing only entries 1-57.<sup>9</sup>
  22. *History Museum codex 3657*: 15th-16th century Russian, as yet undescribed.<sup>10</sup>
  23. *Rumyantsev Museum codex 8190*: 16th century Russian, as yet undescribed.<sup>11</sup>
  24. *Rogozhsky Cemetery codex 191*: 16th century Russian, as yet undescribed.<sup>12</sup>
  25. *Rogozhsky Cemetery codex 356*: 15th century Russian, as yet undescribed.<sup>13</sup>
  26. *Yegorov codex 240*: 16th century Russian, as yet undescribed.<sup>14</sup>
  27. *Public Library codex Q.I. 1443*: 16th century Russian, as yet undescribed.<sup>15</sup>
  28. *Rogozhsky Cemetery codex 681*: Russian, copied in 1603; as yet undescribed.<sup>16</sup>
  29. *Barsov codex 345*: early 17th century Russian, as yet undescribed.<sup>17</sup>
  30. *Rumyantsev Museum codex 9116*: 17th century Russian, as yet undescribed.<sup>18</sup>
  31. *St. Euthymius' Transfiguration Monastery at Suzdal codex 6*: 1107 folia, mid 17th century Russian. Entries 34-38 are in the inverted order 37, 38, 34, 35, 36.<sup>19</sup>
  32. *Brotherhood of St. Alexander of the Neva in Vladimir codex 32*: 1066 folia, 17th century Russian.<sup>20</sup>
  33. *Rogozhsky Cemetery codices 185 and 449*: 17th-18th century Russian. They contain the first and second halves of the collection respectively; as yet undescribed.<sup>21</sup>
  34. *Barsov codex 335*: 18th century Russian, as yet undescribed.<sup>22</sup>
  35. *Pogodin codex 1009*: 245 folia mostly of the late 18th century but a few are of the 16th century, Russian; as yet undescribed in detail.<sup>23</sup>
- b) shorter collection
6. *Pogodin codex 948*: 350 folia, beginning and end missing. The *Chrysorrhoas* is on ff. 1R-159R, while the rest of the codex contains a panegyric.<sup>24</sup>
  11. *Tver Museum codex 257/484*: this does not contain the *Chrysorrhoas*.<sup>25</sup>
  13. *History Museum codex 3455*: 15th century Russian; defective with only some entries; as yet undescribed.<sup>26</sup>

## Sources of individual entries

- a) longer collection
- 3. All of this, not merely the beginning, has been translated. In the Hilandar codex 382 the beginning has been omitted.<sup>27</sup>
- 8. Unedited.
- 24. Original ed. PG Iix, 553-568.
- 25. In the Chudov codex 214 the incepit is: Διψε βο δοεροτογ ιχδενεμ, α γλο εκεσεμ्ब
- 47. That the abridgment of S ascribed to Clement cannot be the original form of this homily is further shown by the fact that the ending peculiar to the abridgment is in fact the ending of the Slavonic translation of John Chrysostom's *Homilia v de poenitentia*, which is entry 33 in the shorter *Chrysorrhoas*.<sup>28</sup>
- 78A. S5  
Although the original remains untraced the images of life as a journey or a hostelry are to be found in the *Homilia extra ecclesiam deprehensus Eutropius abreptus fuit, de paradiso seu horto, et de scripturis; atque in illud: "Adstitit regina a dextris tuis"*, ed. PG II, 395-414, cf. 401.
- 80. The passage from *De precatio oratio ii* is in fact PG I, 779-780.
- 104. Original ed. PG IX, 183-192.
- 122. The entire homily, not merely the beginning, has been translated, as is also the case in L3.
- 132. The title of the homily should read: *Liber quod qui seipsum non laedit, nemō laedere possit, et in tres pueros*, (L ed. 3) Mincheya, Otkāsletsi 57-73 (the Bychkov folia) and 203-236 (the entire homily from Hilandar codex 386).
- b) shorter collection
- 14. In fact the middle section of this homily is joined thematically to the rest by the idea of a house as a church and a home for the poor, so there is no reason to doubt the conflation being deliberate.
- 62. The two passages are linked by the theme of the love of money and thus also form a deliberate conflation.
- 79. The first 2 of the 3 cc. have been translated.
- c) appendices
- 18. Original ed. PG Ixii, 275-282.
- 27. The second part is a translation of the ending of *In epistolam ad Romanos homilia xiii*, CPG 4427; original ed. PG IX, 507-524, viz. 520-524.

## NOTES

1. It has now been described in detail by Ivanova, Prepis passim.
2. Viz. entries 3,96 and 4. Ivanova, Prepis 70, claims that neither the first nor the third of these four homilies is in the *Chrysorhoas*. In the former case this error is due to the fact that in this codex the beginning of *De diabolo tentatore homilia iii* has been omitted thus giving a different incepit: **ПРОКАЗЛНВЫИ ДИАБОЛЬ ИСПОВѢДАЮ**. Why she considers the third, viz. *In iustum et beatum Job sermo iii*, is not in the *Chrysorhoas* is unclear.
3. **ИЩИ ВЪ АРОЧГОМЪ ЧЛАТООУСТЬЦИ.** The details of entries found in the list of contents of the *Chrysorhoas* and the titles and incepits in the actual corpus vary, and it is interesting to note that in the references to entries 29-31 as well as in the case of entries 26 and 33 given in full, the titles in this codex combine both sets of data. In the reference to entry 23 the incepit given is not the incepit of the homily but the passage by which it is identified in the list of contents: **ТѢМЪЖЕ БДѢТИ И МОЛНТИ**.
4. E.g. the title of entry 13, cf. that in Chudov 214. How many entries the codex originally contained is uncertain since the end is missing.
5. Ivanova, Râkopisi 464-465.
6. SHM Dormition 14/1079: Istomin, Opisaniye 100-101.
7. SHM Dormition 15/1080: Istomin, Opisaniye 101.
8. Polish National Library, Warsaw, Biblioteka Ordynacji Zamoyskiej MS 91: Shchapov, Knigi i, 37-40.
9. LAS f. I. D 206 / Viktorov, Opisi 100-101. That it only contains 57 entries would appear to reflect the tradition of MS no. 8.
10. SHM Museum 3657. The following indications of as yet undescribed codices have been supplied by M. Fomina of Moscow, to whom the credit is due.
11. LSL f. 178 no. 8190.
12. LSL f. 247 no. 191.
13. LSL f. 247 no. 356.
14. LSL f. 98 no. 240.
15. SPL Q.I. 1443.
16. LSL f. 247 no. 681.
17. SHM Barsov 345.
18. LSL f.178 no. 9116.
19. Shlyapkin, Opisaniye 13-25; Nedeshhev, Opisaniye i, 38-50; Viktorov, Opisi 313. Shlyapkin does not describe the entries, as Nedeshhev does, but reproduces the list of contents and edits Symeon's preface. The present location of the codex is uncertain – Bel'chikov, Spravochnik 26, gives its location as the Vladimir-Suzdal Museum of History, Art and Architecture at Vladimir, but, ibid. 22, indicates that it is not there (!).
20. Nedeshhev, Opisaniye i, 50. According to Bel'chikov, Spravochnik 22, it is in the Vladimir-Suzdal Museum of History, but cf. note 19.
21. LSL f. 247 nos. 185 and 449.
22. SHM Barsov 335.
23. Ivanova, Râkopisi 465.
24. Ivanova, Râkopisi 457.
25. Cf. note 10.

26. SHM Museum 3455.
27. Cf. note 2.
28. Cf. the juxtaposition in Ivanova, Nablyudeniya 105-106.

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## БИБЛЕЙСКЕ ЦИТАТЫ В УСПЕНСКОМ СБОРНИКЕ XII - XIII вв.

*Emilie Bláhová*

В первой части данной статьи автор покажет на материале некоторых статей Успенского сборника XII-XIII вв.<sup>1</sup>, к чему может служить и к каким результатам может привести анализ библейских цитат в небиблейских текстах, во второй части проводится подробный анализ отрывков из книги Иова в том же сборнике. Успенский сборник особенно пригоден для всякого рода языкового, филологического и текстологического анализа, так как он в большой степени сохраняет первоначальный вид текста (в сходных с Супрасльской рукописью гомилиях он, в некоторых случаях, сохраняет даже более архаичный вариант чем Супр)<sup>2</sup>, в отличие, например, от сербских рукописей, в которых, как правило, влияние среды, в которой переписывалась рукопись, проявляется не только в области фонетики, но также в области лексики и синтаксиса.

Исследование библейских цитат в небиблейских текстах имеет, прежде всего, значение для исследования самого текста, т.е. для определения школы, в которой он возник, так как в них или проявляется типичная для данной школы лексика, или, поскольку переводчик приводит цитату в том виде, в котором она встречается в переводе библии, то и сам этот факт, свидетельствующий об особом подходе переводчика (или группы переводчиков) к цитатам, способствует определению взаимоотношений отдельных текстов. Исследование библейских цитат в небиблейских текстах имеет, конечно, значение и для исследования перевода библии. Показательнее всего в этом отношении евангельские цитаты, так как сравнительный материал здесь довольно богат. Я приведу, в качестве иллюстрации, только два примера из 11 главы Евангелия св. Иоанна, которые несколько раз повторяются как в Усп. сб., так и в Супрасльской рукописи<sup>3</sup>. Цитаты касаются воскресения Лазаря. На эту тему в Усп. сб. помещены два слова (№ 33 – слово Евсевия Александрийского възлюбленни, добро есть речи, представляющее особую компиляцию трех слов указанного автора, и № 34, Андрея Критского лаζоръ пришъдъши съвѣкоѹпи съборъ (греч. Λάζαρος τόν παρόντα συγκεκρότησε σύλλογον)<sup>4</sup>, в Супр слова № 26 и 27

(Иоанна Златоуста́ дънесь отъ мрътвѣнѣхъ въстахъ ла́заръ и та́ко се мати чадолюбива). Хотя обе гомилии Усп. сб. принадлежат Преславской школе, они показывают определенные разницы: в слове Евсевия Александрийского встречается поустити в значении “послать” и послелог ради, в слове Андрея Критского послелог дѣльма, выражения камъкъ, съ лѣпоты, дательный притяжательный си и др. Также цитату И 11, 43 Лáзаре, бе́уро є́хъ они воспроизводят по-разному. В слове Андрея Критского мы читаем (как и во всех евангельских кодексах) ла́заре гра́ди вънъ (232a 23сл.), в слове Евсевия Александрийского ла́заре лѣчи вънъ (220a 15). В слове № 27 Супр встречается один раз ла́заре гра́ди вънъ и три раза ла́заре иди вънъ (первый вариант засвидетельствован в Зогр Мар Ас, второй в Сав.). В Супр № 26 находится три раза ла́заре гра́ди вънъ и три раза ла́заре илѣчи вънъ. илѣчи, как и лѣчи в гомилии Евсевия Александрийского – слова, характерные для Преславской школы. В евангелях употребление глаголов с корнем лѣч- ограничено определенным кругом сочетаний (вълѣсти въ корабль, въ жтробѣ, илѣсти ис корабля), в Супр область их употребления расширяется (напр. в Супр. 308, 3 в цитате Мт 8, 8 и Л 7, 6 имеется нѣсмъ достоинъ да ми подѣ кровъ вълѣчиши – во всех евангелиях находится вънидеши). Предшествующие стихи, И 11, 41-42, в гомилии Андрея Критского приводятся по тексту Евангелия, в № 26 Супрасльской рукописи вводится преславская лексика (в Супр № 27 и в гомилии Евсевия Александрийского эти стихи не встречаются): Пáтер, εὐχαριστῶ σοι ὅτι ἥκουοάς μου. ἐγώ δέ ἥδει ὅτι πάντοτε μου ἀκούεις· ἀλλὰ διά τὸν ὄχλον τὸν περιεστῶτα εἰπον, ἵνα πιστεύσωσιν ὅτι αύ με ἀπέστειλας.

Усп. сб. 231a 5сл.: οὐέ χβαλ̄ τεβ̄ въздаю та́ко оуслыша ма. азъ въздахъ та́ко въсегда мене послоушаше. на народа ради стоящаго окръсть рекожъ. да въроу имоутъ та́ко тъи ма посыла

Супр № 26 (309, 12сл.): благодаржти та́ко слыша мене азъ ... въдѣ та́ко присно мене слышаниеши ... на окръсть сто аго сего дѣльма народа рѣхъ да разоумѣнѣтъ та́ко тъи ма поустити

В Супр № 27 (316, 29) встречается также отъче благодарж та (в евангелиях глаголы благодарити, -ьствити, -ьствовати совсем не засвидетельствованы).

До прочтения И. Добревым Зографского палимпсеста<sup>5</sup> можно было предполагать, что преславские варианты библейских цитат были переведены *ad hoc*, но так как в Зографском палимпсесте находятся такие типичные

преславские выражения, как старѣнина жъръуцъ (ἀρχιερεὺς), повѣсатъ (Мт 18, 6 – в Зогр Мар обѣсатъ), погроуждатъ (в том же стихе – в Зогр Мар потопатъ – глагол погрѣхти совсем не встречается в Евангелиях, а только в Евхологие, Супр., Апостоле, Паремейнике и др.), то нельзя не считаться с тем, что существовал какой-то не дошедший до нас преславский перевод Евангелия, остатки, или хотя бы следы которого мы можем наблюдать в преславских небиблейских текстах. Приведенные примеры показывают, что отдельные переводчики относятся к воспроизведению библейских цитат по-разному. Некоторые, как напр. переводчик Супр № 26, используют оба вида цитат, и “официальный” и “преславский”, с целью стилистического обогащения.

Гораздо сложнее дело обстоит с цитатами из Апостола и Ветхого завета. Языком Апостола, прежде всего его лексикой, занималась в последнее время З. Гауптова<sup>6</sup>. На основе анализа древнейших рукописей Апостола она пришла к выводу, что самым архаичным является Апостол Слепченский, хотя и в нем находится ряд новообразований. Цитаты из Апостола, встречающиеся в Успенском сборнике, не могут, к сожалению, способствовать решению этого вопроса, как и решению вопроса о первоначальном виде старославянского Апостола. Они, большей частью, почти полностью отличаются от всех дошедших до нас рукописей Апостола. Ср. напр. Римл. 11, 33: Ω βάθος πλούτου καὶ σοφίας καὶ γνώσεως Θεού· ως ἀνεξερεύητα τὰ κρίματα ἀτοῦ καὶ ἀνεξιχνίαστοι αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ.

Усп. сб. № 9 (89в 10сл.): ωλε глѹбинна бѹгатъства и прѣмоудрости и разоумна бѹниа. та́ко неиспытаны соудъбъи его и неислѣдованы пѣтие его

Апостол Слепченский (и Шишатовацкий): о глѹбинна бѹгатъства и прѣмѣдрости и разоумна бѹниа. єко неиздѣскани сѫди его и неислѣдовани пѣтие его

Апостол Христинопольский: ш глѹбинѣ бѹгатъство и мѣдрости

Поскольку цитаты в Усп. сб. совпадают с Апостолом Слепченским (и самым близким ему Апостолом Шишатовацким), то не в его архаизмах, а наоборот, в неологизмах, напр. 1 Кор 1, 18: Ο λόγος γάρ ο τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῖς μὲν ἀπολλυμένοις μωρία ἐστίν.

Усп. сб. 206в 14сл.: слово кръстъно та погрѣвающими оубо оубодъство есть

Апостол Слепченский (и Шишатовацкий): илгъ и блажимъ ародъство есть

Апостол Христинопольский (и Охридский): бѹниство

(Все словообразования с основой жрод- встречаются только в Супр у более поздних памятниках).

Интересны случаи, хотя и единичные, когда в двух довольно отличающихся друг от друга текстах встречается одна и та же цитата почти в одинаковом виде. В таком случае можно предполагать, как и у евангельских текстов, существование какого-нибудь не дошедшего до нас перевода Апостола. Пример:

Гал 6, 14 ἐμοὶ δὲ μὴ γένοιτο κακχάσθαι εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Κυρίου πήμων Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

Усп. сб. №9, слово на Явление честного креста, греч. оригинал не известен (896 20сл.): мнѣ же боуди хвалити сѧ тъчию кръстъмъ хвъмъ Усп. сб. № 31, также на Явление честного креста, греч. текст не издан (207а 4сл.): мнѣ же не боуди сѧ хвалити раꙗвѣ кръстъмъ хсовъмъ Апостол Христинопольский (и Охридский, Македонский, Шишатовацкий): мынѣ же да не боудеть хвалити сѧ, тъко о крѣтѣ ги нашего іс ѿ

(Нужно подчеркнуть, что оба приведенных слова Усп. сб. резко отличаются друг от друга по своей лексике. Хотя оба они употребляют послелог *ради*, то в № 9 находится *иєдиноуадзіи*, *идолосложении*, *шлє*, в № 31 наоборот *иноуадзіи*, *капищеслоужъникъ*, междометие *ш* род. пад.).

Что касается книг Ветхого завета, то вопрос о их древнейшем славянском переводе, за исключением Псалтыри, не только не решен, но не сделана даже самая необходимая предварительная работа, главным образом потому, что не изданы тексты. Сейчас в Брно готовятся к изданию три древнейших рукописи паримейника: Паримейник Григоровича, болгарская рукопись XII-XIIIвв., часть которого издана Брандтом<sup>7</sup>, Захарийский паримейник русской редакции XIIIв.<sup>8</sup> и Лобковский паримейник XIVв., болгарской редакции<sup>9</sup>. Подготовкой текста к изданию руководит В. Киас, который занимается также языковым анализом текста и определением относительной хронологии дошедших до нас текстов. На основе сопоставления данных рукописей он пришел к заключению, что паримейник Григоровича лучше всех сохраняет первоначальный вид старославянского паримейника, хотя он и содержит много новообразований и искажений<sup>10</sup>. Одной из ветхозаветных книг, которую можно довольно хорошо исследовать, является книга Иова, так как ее текст в указанных паримейниках можно сравнить еще с двумя печатными изданиями рукописей хотя и поздних, но сохранивших ряд интересных архаизмов. Я имею в виду текст по II му Новлянскому бревиарию, изданый Й. Вайсом<sup>11</sup>, и, главным образом, текст по хорватской глаголической рукописи Вита из Омишля, XIV в., изданый Ф. Пехушкой<sup>12</sup>. Очень важным звеном, связывающим все указанные рукописи книги Иова, являются

отрывки из книги Иова, помещенные в Усп. сб. Часть книги Иова, имеющая в Усп. сб. форму как бы двух частей жития, содержит те же главы и стихи, что и древнейшие паримейники, т.е. первая часть – всю 1ую главу (Усп. сб. 84а 26 - 85б 6), вторая часть – гл. 2, 1-10; гл. 38, 1-23; гл. 42, 1-5 и 12-17 (Усп. сб. 85б 7 - 86г 3; заключение, Усп. сб. 86г 4-23, не соответствует библейскому тексту). Текст не был переведен заново, но списывался с существующего уже перевода паримейника. Рукопись Усп. сб. возникла в конце XII или в начале XIIIв., т.е. в то же время, что и рукопись паримейника Григоровича, при чем рукопись Усп. сб. гораздо тщательнее сохраняет вид своего протографа чем паримейник Григоровича. Сравнение древнейших паримейников с Усп. сб. показывает, что Усп. сб. в большинстве случаев совпадает с текстом паримейника Григоровича в отличие от двух остальных – Захарийского и Лобковского. Значит, Усп. сб. и парем. Григоровича восходят к общему протографу.

Усп. сб. сохраняет некоторые архаизмы, имеющиеся только в Григ:

*Иов 1, 14 ἐχόμεναι αὐτῷ*

Григ *иадѣ ихъ*

Усп. сб. (84г 14) в искаженном виде *и ъдахоу*

Зах (и рукп Вита) *ближъ ихъ*

(этим выражением занимается В. Киас в своем анализе паримейника Григоровича в сб. *Palaeoslovenica*)<sup>13</sup>.

*Иов 38, 17 ἔπτηξαν*

Григ *ијдасѧ сѧ*

Усп. сб. (86б 14) *ијдасоша сѧ*

Зах *оѹжасоша сѧ*

*Иов 1, 16 κατέκαμαεν*

Григ *и съжеже*

Усп. сб. (84г 25) *ијдъже*

Зах *пожъже*

рукп Вита *съжъже*

*Иов 1, 5 μῆποτε*

Григ *єда коли*

Усп. сб. (84б 29) *єда коли*

Зах (и рукп Вита) *єда како*

*Иов 1, 16* Григ (и рукп Вита) *пастъра*

Усп. сб. (84г 24) *пастъра*

Зах *пастоѹхъ*

Синтаксические архаизмы, общие паримейнику Григоровича и Усп. сб.:

глагол жъдати с родительным падежом:

*Иов 2, 9* Усп. сб. 85в 21сл. (и Григ) жидоӯ ̱еши мала врѣмене  
Зах (и ркп Вита) жидоӯ ̱еши мало врѣма

родительный притяжательный:

*Иов 2, 9* Усп. сб. 85в 10сл. (и Григ и ркп Вита) ̄шю̄ ̱его

Зах ̄шоӯ ̱емоӯ

возвратное местоимение:

*Иов 1, 11* Усп. сб. 84в 30 (и Григ) ̄оӯкоӯ ̱свою̄

Зах (и ркп Вита) ̄оӯкоӯ ̱твою̄

предложная конструкция:

*Иов 1, 21* ̄ξηλθоӯ ̄к кοιλίας

Усп. сб. 85а 23 (и Григ) иζидоκъ ѿ υρέβα μήρε μο̄е на

Зах (и ркп Вита) ... ишрѣба

Другие совпадения Усп. сб. с паримейником Григоровича:

*Иов 1, 3* ̄πὶ τῆς γῆς

Усп. сб. 84б 13 (и Григ и ркп Вита) на ̄земли

Зах по ̄земли

*Иов 1, 4* πρός ἀλλήλων

Усп. сб. 84б 16сл. (и Григ) ̄дрѣгъ къ дроӯгоӯ

Зах (и ркп Вита) къ сеbe

καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν

Усп. сб. 84б 18 (и Григ) на въсакъ ̄нь

Зах (и ркп Вита) на вса ̄нь(и)

(сочетание на въсакъ ̄нь встречается часто в псалтыри и также в

Анонимной гомилии сборника Клоца; в евангелиях имеется по въса  
дьни)

*Иов 1, 5* αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ πότου

Усп. сб. 84б 22 ̄дни ̄е пира

Григ ̄дни ̄е пир

Зах ̄дни ̄е пиръни

ркп Вита ̄дни пировнє

προσέφερεν περὶ αὐτῶν θυσίαν ... περὶ τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτῶν

Усп. сб. 84б 27сл. приноса о никъ жърътвоӯ ... ш дашакъ

Григ приношае ш никъ ... ш дашакъ

Зах приношае .. ̄заня .. ̄зан аша

ркп Вита приносе о никъ ... ̄зан аша

ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ

Усп. сб. 84б 30 (и Григ и ркп Вита) въ помъщлении

Зах (и Нов II!) въ срѣдижъ

*Иов 1, 6* παραστῆναι

Усп. сб. 84в 3 (и Григ и ркп Вита) прѣдъстонати

Зах прѣдъстонати

(но на параллельном месте Нов 2, 1 в Усп. сб. и Зах имеется прѣдъстонати  
в Григ и ркп Вита прѣдъстонти)

*Иов 2, 9* προοδεχομένη τὸν ἥλιον

Усп. сб. 85г 4сл. (и Григ и ркп Вита) жидоӯши сѣнца

Зах ̄а ̄юши

*Иов 38, 3* σὺ δέ μοι ἀποκρίθητι

Усп. сб. 85г 30сл. (и Григ) τὰι же ми ̄вѣшан  
(в Григ ошибочно ... ̄вѣшаши)

Зах и таи мнѣ ̄вѣшан

*Иов 38, 6* οἱ κρίκοι (вар. στύλοι) ἀπτῆς πεπήγασι

Усп. сб. 86а 5сл. кроӯзи ̱еи въдроӯзиша са

Григ крѣси ̄дрожжиш са

Зах столпи ̱ега ̄удроӯжиша са

*Иов 38, 10* περιθείς κλεῖθρα καὶ πύλας

Усп. сб. 86а 20 сл. обложъ и ̄затворъ ̱е вратъ

Григ ̄бложъ е ̄затворъ е вратъ

Зах ̄бложъ ̄затворъ и вратъ

(В случае отсутствия другого греческого варианта это место может свидетельствовать об общем протографе Григ и Усп. сб., так как в обоих встречается та же ошибка).

*Иов 38, 18* ἀνάγγειλον δή μοι πόση τίς ἔστι

Усп. сб. 86б 17 (и Григ) възвѣсти ми колика ли къто ̱есть

Зах (ошибочно) колика локътъ ̱есть

В некоторых случаях Усп. сб. сохраняет еще более древний вариант чем паримейник Григоровича:

*Иов 2, 9* Усп. сб. 85г 9 (и ркп Вита) ̄төръ ̄лъ, Григ (и Зах) ̱единъ

*Иов 1, 12* πάντα ὄσα ἔστιν αὐτῷ

Усп. сб. 84г 1сл. (и ркп Вита) въсе ̱елико ̱его ̱есть

Григ (и Зах) въсѣ ̱елико сътъ ̱его

*Иов 2, 4* ὄσα ὑπάρχει ἀνθρώπῳ

Усп. сб. 85в 2сл. въса ̱елико имать ̄лвкъ

ркп Вита все ̱елико имать ̄лкъ

Григ (и Зах) все ̱елико ̱есть ̄лвкоӯ

В приведенных примерах, в которых, по всей вероятности, Усп. сб. сохраняет первоначальный вариант в отличие от Григ и Зах, бросается в глаза сход-

ство Усп. сб. с рукописью Вита из Омишля. Таких совпадений обеих рукописей больше:

*Иов 1, 12 δίδωμι ἐν τῇ χειρὶ σου*

Усп. сб. 84г 2сл. (и ркп Вита) **даю въ рѹкоѹ твоѹ**

Григ **тєбꙗ дамъ**

Зах **въ рѹкоѹ твоѹ въдаю**

*Иов 2, 3 προσέσχες οὐν τῷ θεράποντί μου Ἰωβ*

Усп. сб. 85б 20сл. **вънатъ ли на раба моѹго**

ркп Вита **помислиль ли еси оѹбо на раба моѹго**

Григ (и Зах) **вънатъ ли рабъ моѹмъ**

(сочетание **вънати на кого** в данной цитате кажется первоначальным, так как оно встречается чаще в паримейнике, ср. Бытия 4, 5 Григ (и Зах) **на канна и на даѹи не внатъ**)

*Иов 2, 7 ἔπαισεν τὸν Ἰωβ ἔλκει*

Усп. сб. 85в 12сл. (и ркп Вита) **поражи ишва гноимъ**

Григ (и Зах) **оѹдари ...**

*Иов 2, 10 ὥσπερ*

Усп. сб. 85г 12 **по чьто ѧко**

ркп Вита **что ѧко**

Григ **сє ѧко**

Зах **въскоѹю ѧко**

Следовательно, текст книги Иова в Усп. сб. поможет при оценке вариантов в рукописи Вита и покажет, видимо, что в рукописи Вита находится еще больше архаичных явлений, чем предполагалось до сих пор.

Встречаются также отдельные интересные сходства Усп. сб. с Пой Новлянской рукописью; одно — типичный архаизм:

*Иов 1, 11 ἄψαι πάντων*

Усп. сб. 84в 30 **косни въса**

Нов II **косни вса**

ркп Вита **косни въ все**

Григ (и Зах) **косни сѧ въсѣхъ**

(ср. напр. в евангелиях: Мт 8, 3 Зогр Мар Ас Остр **коснѧ и, Сав коснѧ сѧ ѩмъ**; однако Иов 2, 5 Усп. сб. 85в 6 (и Григ) **косни сѧ костьхъ**, Зах (и ркп Вита) **въ кости**)

Относительная хронология второго варианта спорна:

*Иов 1, 20 διέρρηξαν τὰ ἴματα αὐτοῦ*

Усп. сб. 85а 18сл. **раӡдъра риӡы своѧ**

Нов II **раӡдරѣ соѹкнѹю своѹ**

Григ **растрѣга**

Зах **растѣрѣва**

ркп Вита **растрѣза**

(В. Ягич<sup>14</sup> считает **растрѣзати** более древним, но в евангельских апракосах встречаются оба синонима и в паримейнике в другом месте имеется следующее взаимоотношение обоих вариантов: 4 Царств 2, 12 Григ **раӡдара** **и въ двѣ раӡдара** (нин), Зах **растѣрѣза** ... **растѣрѣзанин**; значит, в паримейнике употребление этих двух синонимов могло отличаться от их употребления в евангелиях.)

Усп. сб., конечно, не во всех случаях сохраняет первоначальный, архаичный вариант, ср. напр.:

*Иов 1, 8 οὐκ ἔστι κατ' αὐτόν ... ἀνθρωπος*

Григ **прѣамъи емѣ**

Усп. сб. 84в 13сл. (и Зах) **подобъна ѩмоѹ**

ркп Вита **такого**

(Иов 2, 3 Григ (и Зах) **прѣамъи**, Усп. сб. (и ркп Вита) **подобъна**)

*Иов 1, 19 τῆς οἰκίας*

Григ **хлѣбинъи**

Усп. сб. 85а 13сл. (и Зах и ркп Вита) **храминъи**

(но в Иов 1, 13 в Григ имеется также **храмина**)

(Этими двумя выражениями занимался уже В. Киас в указанной статье, но без учета Усп. сб.)

Совпадений Усп. сб. с Захарийским паримейником гораздо меньше чем с Григ и они не представляют большого интереса. Это, большей частью, младшие варианты (как показано в выше приведенных примерах) или совпадения в таких случаях, когда в Григ находится описание писца или другое искажение. Более архаичные варианты представляют исключение:

*Иов 38, 17 φόβῳ*

Усп. сб. 86б 11 (и Зах) **стражъи**

Григ **съ стражомъ**

*Иов 1, 19 πνεῦμα μέγα ἐπῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς ἑρήμου*

Усп. сб. 85а 11 (и Зах) **дахъ велни наанде ѿ поустынѧ**

Григ **снide**

(ркп Вита пропускает глагол)

*Иов 2, 10 οὐχ ὑποίσομεν*

Усп. сб. 85г 16сл. (и Зах) **не потърьпимъ**

Григ (и ркп Вита) **не трѣпимъ**

*Иов 38, 12 ἐωσφόρος οὐκ εἶδεν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τάξιν*  
Усп. сб. 86а 28 (и Зах) *дънъница же вѣсть чинъ свои*

Григ ... *свѣстъ*

*Иов 1, 12 ἀλλά αὐτοῦ μή ἄψη*

Усп. сб. 84г 3 (и Зах и ркп Вита) *самомъ не косни сѧ*

Григ *самого не косни сѧ*

На основе Усп. сб. можно дополнить отсутствующие или искаженные места в Григ. Например, в Иов 1, 3 Григ пропускает *ὅντις θήλεαι νόμαδες*, в Усп. сб. (84б 10) имеется *осълицъ стадънъи хъ*, в Зах ослать *пасомъи хъ*. Для протографа Григ можно скорее предполагать вариант Усп. сб., так как и в другом месте (Иов 1, 14) на месте греч. *αἱ θήλεαι ὅντις* в Усп. сб. и в Григ встречается *осълица*, в Зах *ослатъ*. В Иов 1, 5 на месте греч. *ἀνιστάμενος τὸ πρῶτον* в Григ ошибка *вѣставъ* в *нихъ*, в Усп. сб. (84б 24) *вѣстата оутро*, в Зах и в ркп Вита *за оутра*; с точки зрения графики (число и облик букв) для протографа Григ можно скорее предполагать вариант *оутро*.

На этом, конечно, анализ отрывка из книги Иова в Усп. сб. не кончается. В нем находится ряд интересных вариантов, которые требуют обсуждения на основе более широкого сравнительного материала (один пример, Иов 2, 3, приведен выше). В некоторых случаях вариант Усп. сб. ближе греческому оригиналу, чем варианты других рукописей:

*Иов 38, 8 ... ὅτε ἔμαιμασσεν ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός αὐτῆς ἐκπορευομένη*

Усп. сб. 86а 14 *егда вѣзмѹшася сѧ...*

Григ (и Зах) *егда рождающе [зах рождашъ] сѧ*

*Иов 38, 1 διὰ λαίλαπος καὶ νεφῶν*

Усп. сб. 85г 24 *съвѣтъ боурю и облакъ*

Григ (и Зах) ... *облакъ*

*Иов 38, 16 ἐπὶ πηγῆν φαλάσσης*

Усп. сб. 86б 7сл. *на истокъ моръскъи*

Григ (и Зах) *на истоуникъ моръскъиа*

В других случаях, наоборот, вариант Усп. сб. весьма свободен:

*Иов 2, 3 ἀπό παντός κακοῦ*

Усп. сб. 85б 27сл. *ѡ вѣсаноха չълъи вѣши*

Григ (и Зах и ркп Вита) *ѡ вѣсѣкого չла*

*Иов 1, 12 παρά τοῦ κυρίου*

Усп. сб. 84г 5 *ѡ лица божица*

Зах *ѡ лица г҃на*

Григ (и ркп Вита) *ѡ г҃да*

*Иов 2, 9 χρονοῦ δέ πολλοῦ προβεβηκότος*

Усп. сб. 85в 18сл. *лѣтъ же много миноувъ*

Григ (и Зах и ркп Вита) *лѣтоу же многоу мимошедшъ*

*Иов 2, 9 προσδεχόμενος τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας μου*

Усп. сб. 85в 22сл. *уаа надежа спсенииа моиего*

Григ ... *надѣнаніи спсенииѣ моего*

Зах (и ркп Вита) *надѣнаніиа спсениио моиемоу*

*Иов 2, 9. οὓς εἰς τό κενόν ἐκοπίασα*

Усп. сб. 85в 28сл. *о нихъ азъ ... троудиխъ сѧ*

Григ (и Зах) *иже... троудиахъ сѧ*

ркп Вита *еже*

*Иов 38, 2 Τίς οὐτος ὁ κρύπτων με βουλήν*

Усп. сб. 85г 25 *къто съкрѣвании съвѣтъ*

Григ (и Зах) *кто съкрѣвани мене спѣватъ*

*Иов 38, 4 εἰ ἐπίστῃ σύνεσω*

Усп. сб. 86а 1сл. *аше имѣеши разоумъ*

Григ *аше разоумѣеши раздумъ*

Зах *аше ծմѣреши разоумъ*

*Иов 38, 17 ἄδου*

Усп. сб. 86б 13 *адовъни*

Григ (и Зах) *адови*

(прил. *адовънъ* встречается только в гомилии Епифания в сб. Клоца и в Супр № 40)

*Иов 38, 20 εἰ δέ καὶ ἐπίστασαι τρίβους αὐτῶν*

Усп. сб. 86б 22 *аше же ли извѣси стъзя ихъ*

Григ (и Зах) ... *вѣси*

*Иов 42, 12 ζεύγη βωῶν*

Усп. сб. 86в 20 *соупроугъ воловъ*

Григ *съпрожнѣихъ воловъ*

(в Зах нет)

*Иов 42, 15 καὶ οὐχ εὐρέθησαν κατά τὰς θυγατέρας Ἰωβ βελτίους αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ύπ' οὐρανόν· ἔδωκεν δέ αὐταῖς ὁ πατήρ κληρονομίαν*

Усп. сб. 86в 25сл. *и не обрѣтоу тѣчины доброты. дѣщерьмъ ишвовамъ на подънѣсъни. и дасть имъ оѹь наслѣдию*

Григ *не обрѣте сѧ по дѣщерьхъ нововѣхъ. добрѣишѧ ихъ. на подънѣсъни. дасть же имъ ѿѣшъ наслѣдствие*

Может быть, что решению таких отдельных случаев поможет сравнительный материал из всего Ветхого Завета, но к некоторым, как напр. Иов 2, 3, я не нашла во всем материале Старославянского словаря ЧСАН соответствующего сочетания.

В заключение нужно только повторить, что нет сомнения в том, что при исследовании старославянского перевода Ветхого Завета и, в частности, книги Иова, нельзя не учитывать отрывки из книги Иова в Успенском сборнике, так как они являются одним из древнейших списков этого текста и в многих случаях воспроизводят текст в его первоначальном виде.

Praha

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8. Цитируется по фотокопиям рукописи, хранящейся в Государственной публичной библиотеке им. М. Е. Салтыкова-Щедрина в Ленинграде (Q п I 13); сокращается Зах.

9. Рукопись хранится в Отделе рукописей Государственного исторического музея в Москве, собрание Хлудова № 187.

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**СПОСОБЫ ПЕРЕВОДА ГРЕЧЕСКИХ СЛОВООБРАЗОВАНИЙ С  
ОТРИЦАТЕЛЬНОЙ ПРИСТАВКОЙ *ά-* В СТАРОСЛАВЯНСКОЙ  
СУПРАСЛЬСКОЙ РУКОПИСИ**

*Л е ш е к М о ш и нъ с к и*

В старославянском языке не было приставки, словообразовательная функция которой соответствовала бы функции древнегреческой приставки *ά-*. Праиндоевропейская отрицательная приставка, сохранившаяся напр. в греческом *ά(ν)*-*, латинском in- = en-, германском in-*, реконструированная языковедами-этимологами как слоговое \**n*-, в праславянском языке не сохранилась. Некоторые лингвисты считают остатками ее морфему \*-jē- в двух свидетельствованных древними записями словах: \**nejesyty* ‘ненасыщенный’ (др.-ц.-сл. ‘пеликан’, др.-русск. название днепровского порога) и \**nejeverēt* ‘не верующий, маловер’, но едва ли они правы. Впрочем, если даже это и реликты праиндоевропейской приставки \**n*-, добавление новой отрицательной приставки *ne-* достаточно ясно доказывает не только непродуктивность, но и полную непонятность ее. Живую отрицательную функцию в праславянском словообразовании исполняет *ne-*, исконная частица соответствующая по функции др.-греч. *οὐ* и *μή*, приобретшая вторую, приставочную функцию. Время и пути этих изменений до сих пор неизвестны.

Иначе в древнегреческом. Приставка *ά(ν)*- стала широко употребительной, она соединялась с основами не только прилагательных, но и существительных и даже глаголов. Возле отрицательной (напр. *καθαρός* ‘чистый’ – *ἄκαθαρτος* ‘нечистый’) развились новая, так называемая привативная ее функция. Относительные имена прилагательные с приставкой *ά-* извещали, что определяемый предмет лишен того, что названо в основе прилагательного (напр. *ἄφωνος* ‘без голоса, лишен голоса’, *ἄτεκνος* ‘не имеющий детей’, *ἄδυτος* ‘лишен двери’). Кроме того приставка *ά-* образовала антонимы (напр. *τὸ σέβας* ‘боязнь, почтение Бога’ – *ἡ ἀσέβεια* ‘беззаконие’, *τὸ σθένος* ‘сила’ – *ἡ ἀσθένεια* ‘недуг, болезнь’, *λάλος* ‘разговорчивый’ – *ἄλαλος* ‘немой’).

Эти существенные различия между древнегреческой и праславянской словообразовательными системами представляли собой, без сомнения, некоторую трудность для старославянских переводчиков древнегреческой письменности. Большое количество греческих словообразований с приставкой

*ἀναφαιρέτος* переводится и как **небесъи**: **небесное богатство** 327, 9 и как **великъ: великъ грѣхъ** 136, 1 хотя по словарю значит ‘которого не возможно утратить’. Благодаря этому нет резкой границы между основными способами перевода, они проникают друг друга, вследствие чего немалое количество греческих слов переводится на два или три способа.

Греческому отрицательному *ά-* соответствует в основном старославянское **не-**, напр. *ἄγοος* – **неплодовитъ**, *ἀδιάκτος* – **ненаѹченъ**, *ἀνέσ-* *ά-* многократно заставляло их совершить выбор славянского эквивалента. Найти ответ на вопрос, какими языковыми средствами пользовались они чтобы точно передать смысл греческих формации, употребляли ли они только исконные славянские конструкции или кальвирировали чуждые словообразовательные образцы – задача современных исследователей. Решение вопроса требует однако полной статистической и семантической разработки всех примеров, что, в свою очередь, нуждается в словарике греческо-славянских эквивалентов всех старославянских переводов с греческого. К сожалению, такого словарника пока нет, но существуют словарники отдельных памятников и они могут стать исходной точкой частичных поисков.

В настоящем выступлении мне бы хотелось представить итоги моих исследований по способам перевода древнегреческих словообразований с приставкой *ά-* в одной большой старославянской рукописи, так называемой Супрасльской рукописи. Этот разнообразный по содержанию и лексике древнейший старославянский сборник особенно хорошо пригоден для таких изысканий.

Собирая материал я пользовался старославянско-греческим словарником Карла Мейера. Тщательно прочтя его греческую часть я получил довольно многочисленный состав греческих словообразований с *ά-*, а именно 256 имен прилагательных, 50 имен существительных и 21 глагол, всего 327 слов с отрицательной приставкой *ά-*. Даже самый поверхностный анализ указывает, что старославянский переводчик не следовал рабски греческой словообразовательной модели, но руководствовался теми же принципами перевода, которые приводят в изумление исследователей и свидетельствуют о необыкновенной одаренности славянских первоучителей. Трем выше указанным функциям греческой приставки *ά-* соответствуют три основных способа перевода, при чем выбор одного из них не механический, он зависит от функции слова в контексте, его сочетаемости с другими словами в предложении и всех семантических соотношений. Часто старославянский эквивалент является чисто контекстуальным, появляется слово, которое в другом контексте вместо данного греческого слова не употребляется, напр.

*περος* – **нѣмраѹи**, *ἀόратος* – **нѣвидимъ**, *ἄπιտος* – **нѣвѣръи** и т.д. Нередко место настоящих прилагательных занимают причастия, напр. *ἄγαμος* – **нѣпосагыш**. Возможны (правда, немногочисленные) отрицательные имена существительные (нпр. *ἡ ἀβλεψία* – **нѣвидѣниe**) и глаголы (нпр. *ἄγυμωμεῖν* – **нѣвѣдѣти**). Все примеры привожу в приложении. Их всего 120 (99 прилагательных, 14 существительных и 7 глаголов). Интересно, что в отрицательном предложении греческому глаголу с *ά-* соответствует положительная конструкция без **не-**: *οὐκ ἀγυεῖν* – **вѣдѣти**.

Привативное *ά-* передается в языке Супр. или аналитически: предлогом **бѣзъ** с формой родительного падежа, или синтетически: префиксально-суффиксальным словообразованием с **бѣз-**, напр. *ἄδολος* – **бѣз лъсти**, *ἄφοβος* – **бѣстраха**, *ἀψευδής* – **бѣз лъжа**, но *ἄνομος* – **бѣзаконъи**, *ἄξυλος* – **бѣздрѣвъи** и т.д. Среди имен прилагательных взаимоотношение аналитических и синтетических конструкций выражается числами 86 и 47. Это значит, что прилагательные с приставкой **бѣз-** в языке Супрасльской рукописи очень редки. Эта словообразовательная модель еще, по-видимому, в старославянском языке не укрепилась, еще она осталась в тени предложных выражений типа *ἄφωνος* – **бѣз гласа**. Этот факт может служить доказательством в пользу теории о позднем развитии словообразований с приставкой **бѣз-**. В скобках можно заметить, что в этом отношении мнения языковедов расходятся. Например в Православянском словаре Славского только 3 словообразования с *bez-*: \**bezdѣdъ*, \**bezdѣnъ*, \**bezdѣnъje*, в то время как у Трубачева их 165. Полный материал с Супр. приведенный мною в приложении свидетельствует в пользу точки зрения Славского.

В тех случаях, когда греческая приставка *ά-* образует антонимы, в языке Супр. встречаем чаще всего бесприставочные слова типа *ἄλαλος* – **нѣмъ**, *ἀμαθής* – **гражъ**, *ἄρρωστος* – **больнъ**, *ἡ ἀστία* – **гладъ** и т.д. Часто встречаем ряд синонимических слов, напр. *ἀδικεῖν* – **мѣстити**, **облѣнити**, **обидж сѣтворити**, **прѣобидѣти**, **пакость творити**, **пакость сѣтворити**, **врѣдити**, *ἀδικോσθαι* – **обидж притати**, **пакость притати** или *ἀδѣтейн* – **хѹпити**, **покондити**, **отъметати**, **отъмести**, **отъврѣшти**, **ослоѹшати** и т.п. В этой группе 25 прилагательных, 14 существительных и 7 глаголов.

76 греческих словообразований с *ά-* (57 прилагательных, 14 существительных и 5 глаголов) переводится в Супр. на 2, 3 и даже 4 способа, например *ἀγνώμων* – **бѣз оѹма**, **бѣзоѹмъль**, **нераѹмъи**, **жродъи** *ἄναιδρος* – **бѣз мѫжъства**, **бѣzmѫжъи**, **нemѫжъствъи**, **слабъ**.

Количественные отношения указывает следующая таблица:

		ЧАСТЬ РЕЧИ		
	Имя прилаг.	Имя существ.	Глагол	Всего
Способ перевода	без	анал. 53 сint. 22	— 8 2	53 32
	не-	99	14	7
	полож.	25	14	7
	антоним.	57	14	5
	Разнообр.			76
	Всего	256	50	21
				327

В этом кратком сообщении я мог представить только некоторые стороны этого интересного вопроса. Я, например, не занимался, по временным причинам, семантическим и стилистическим анализом материала. Открытым остался также вопрос расположения типов перевода в тексте. Может быть, хотя я не смог этого доказать, способ перевода связан с той или другой частью текста. Ведь Супрасльская рукопись, как и другие сборники, не однородна. Она состоит из нескольких частей, техника перевода которых разнообразна. Но, мне кажется, я доказал одно: старославянский переводчик Супрасльской рукописи (или очередных ее составных частей) не поддавался внушению словообразовательной греческой модели. Хорошо понимая текст переводил греческие формации с *ά-* разнообразно, а выбор старославянского эквивалента обусловливал требованием контекста. Однако не уберегся от нажима чуждых славянскому словообразованию приставочных привативных конструкций. Думаю, что распространению синтетических словообразований с *без-* способствовала греческая модель, хотя, без сомнения, этот общий вопрос требует более широких исследований.

## Приложение

Перечень греческих словообразований с отрицательной приставкой *ά-* и их старославянские эквиваленты в языке Супрасльской рукописи по словарику Карла Мейера: Karl H. Meyer, *Altkirchenslavisch-griechisches Wörterbuch des Codex Suprasiensis*, Glückstadt - Hamburg 1935, в котором приводятся все места их употребления.

## I. Слова переведенные только на один способ.

A. С предлогом *безъ*.

## Имена прилагательные:

ἀβλαβής	без vrěda
ἀβοήθητος	bes pomošti
ἀγέραστος	be čisti
ἀγήρατος	be starosti
ἀδεής	be straxa, bezú suměněníja
ἀδηλος	bez věsti
ἀδίστακτος	be sqmīněníja
ἀδολος	bez lísti
ἀξήμιος	bezú třštety
ἀθαλάμευτος	bezú črūtoga
ἀθόλωτος	bezú vůzmožtenija
ἀκακούργως	be zůloby
ἀκατάκριτος	bezú osqždenija
ἄκοπος	bes truda
ἀλατόμητος	bezú otuskěnija
ἀμέρψινος	bes pečali
ἀμετάβολος	bes prěměny
ἀμεταμέλητος	bes kajazni
ἀμετεώρητος	bezú gluma
ἀναντίρρητος	bes příře
ἀνάριθμος	bezú čisla
ἀνείκαστος	bez měry
ἀνέλεος	bez' milosti
ἀνεμπόδιοτος	bez blazny, be súblazna

ἀνεπηρέαστος	bes təgy
ἀνευλόγητος	bez blagoslovujenja
ἀνηλεής	bez milosti
ἀνίατος	bes cělīby
ἀνιγμος	bezü vlagy
ἀνώδυνος	bez bolězni
ἀνολιγώρως	bezü sútqženija
ἀνώητος	bezü uspěха
ἀνύμφευτος	bez nevěstštva
ἄοκνος	bez lěnosti
ἀόμματος	bezü očiju
ἀόριστος	bezü ustava
ἀπάτωρ	bezü otica
ἀπερίσπαστος	be súmqštenija
ἀπλανής	be súblazna
ἄπνους	bez duxa
ἄπονος	bez bolězni, bes truda
ἀπρόσωπος	bez lica
ἀπτωχεύτως	bezü ubožístva
ἀσύγγνωστος	bez milosti, bes prostyné
ἀσχημάτιστος	bezü obraza
ἄτεκνος	bes čedū
ἀτελής	bes konica
ἄϋπνος	be súna
ἀψειδής	bez milosti
ἄφοβος	be straxa
ἄφωνος	bez glasa
ἄχειρ	bezdróku
ἀψευδής	bez lüz̄e

*Б. С приставкой θε-*.

*Имена прилагательные:*

ἄθεος	bezbožinු
ἄθυρος	bezdūnු
ἀκήρατος	besümritinු

ἀκίνδυνος	bezbědinු
ἀλόγιστος	beslovesinු, beslovinු
ἀμύθητος	bezměrinු
ἀναιδέστατος	besraminු
ἀναιμάκτος	bezskrübínු, beskvrüninු
ἀνήλιος	beslininු
ἄνομος	bezakoninු, bezakonínikු
ἄξυλος	bezdrěvinු
ἀόργητος	bezgněvinු
ἀπειρόγαμος	besposagaja
ἀπενθής	besplačinු
ἀπολέμητος	bezüratijí
ἀπράγμων	bespečalinු
ἄσαρκος	besplütinු
ἀτίμητος	bescěnínු
ἄτιμος	bečistinු
ἀτιμωθεῖς	bečistinු
ἄυλος	bezveštinු, bezvěštinු, bezvěštinු, besplütinු
ἄψυχος	bezdušinු

*Имена существительные:*

ἀβροχία ἡ	bezdůždije
ἀθανασία ἡ	besumrítije
ἀθεία ἡ	bezbožistvo
ἀκαταστασία ἡ	besčinije
ἀνοδίας τῆς	bespotinු
ἀνόμημα τό	bezakonije
ἀνομία ἡ	bezakonije, bezakonenije
ἀταξίας τῆς	beštininු

*Глаголы:*

ἀνομεῖν	bezakonije sútvoriti, bezakoninovati
ἀτιμάζειν	bečistije sútvoriti, bečistvovati

## В. С приставкой οὐ-.

## Имена прилагательные:

ἀβασίλευτος	nečesarujemű
ἄγαμος	neposagúš-
ἀγενής	ne togo roda
ἄγευστος	nevúkušenů
ἀγεώργητος	nedělanů
ἀγνώριστος	neznajemů
ἄγνωστος	neznajemů
ἄγονος	neplodovitů
ἀγράμματος	nekůnižníků
ἀδαπάνητος μένειν	ne koničati sę
ἀδιάδοχος	neprémeneň
ἀδιάρετος	nerazdělimů, nerazdělajemů, nerazdělenů
ἀδιάλλακτος	nepréměněnů
ἀδιάνοικτος	neotvřistů, nevrěždenů
ἀδιάρρηκτος	nerazdíranů
ἀδιάφθορος	neistíleněnů
ἀδίδακτος	nenučenů
ἀδύνατος	nemoštěnů, nemogqšt-
ἀθέλητος	nesamovolnů
ἀθεράπευτος	neicělimů
ἀθεώρητος	nevidimů
ἄθλιος	nebogů
ἀκαμπής	neprěkloněnů
ἀκαπτήλευτος	neprodajemů
ἀκατάγνωστος	nerazorinů
ἀκατάληπτος	nevínětů
ἀκατανόητος	nerazuměnů
ἀκατάπαυστος	neprěstajqšt
ἀκατασκεύαστος	neustrojenů
ἀκενόδοξον τό	neprězoristvo
ἀκίνητος	nedvižimů, nepodvižnů, nepostopněnů
ἀκοίμητος	neusypajqšt-
ἀκόρεστος	nenasytěšt-, nesytů

ἀκούσιος	nevolinů, nevolejq
ἀκτήμων	ne brēgqšt- iměnija
ἀκύμαντος	nevlněšt-
ἀλαζών	nečistiv
ἀληκτος	neprěstajqšt-
ἀλυτος	nerazdrěšimů, nerazdrěšinů, nedvižimů
ἀμαράντινος	neuvqdajqšt-
ἀμάραντος	neuvqždqšt-
ἄμαχος	nekotoričnů
ἀμετάβλητος	neprěkloněnů
ἀμετάθετος	neprěkloněnů
ἀμετανόητος	nepostopněnů
ἀμήχανος	nemoštěnů
ἀμήχανόν ἐστιν	něstů lizě
ἀμοχδος	netežaněnů
ἀμώμητος	neporočněnů
ἄμωμος	neporočněnů
ἀναμφίβολος	nepodraživěnů
ἀνάξιος	nedostojněnů
τό ἀνάξιον	nedostojněstvo
ἀνείδεος	nevědoměnů, nevidiměnů
ἀνεκδιηγητος	neispovědaněnů, nesvědoměnů
ἀνένδεκτος	nemoštěnů
ἀνεξερεύνητος	neispytaněnů
ἀνεξιχνίαστος	neislěděšt-
ἀνεξομολόγητος	neispovědqšt-
ἀνεπίδεκτος	neprijemijqšt-
ἀνεπιυόητος	neizumějmeň
ἀνερμήνευτος	neprotlǔkovaneň
ἀνέσπερος	nemračenů, nemričqšt-
ἀνήκοος	neposlušlivěnů
ἀνήττητος	nepobědiměnů
ἀνήττητης	nepoběděněnů
ἀνίερος	nečistěnů
ἀνίκητος	nepoběděněnů
ἄνικτος	nepobědiměnů

ἀνόητος	nerazumičinǔ, nerazuminǔ, nevěřinǔ
ἀνόσιος	nepodobníkǔ, neprěpodobníkǔ
ἀνοσιώτατος	nepodobníkǔ
ἀνυπέρβατος	neprěchodníkǔ
ἀνυπέρβλητος	neprěidomǔ
ἀνώδυνος	nebolězninǔ
ἀόρατος	nevidomǔ, nevidimǔ
ἀπαραμύθητος	neutěšimǔ
ἀπειρόκακος	neiskusinǔ zůla, nezúlobivǔ
ἀπέραντος	nesúgonimǔ
ἀπερινόητος	nerazumějоšт-
ἀπερίτμητος	neobrězanǔ
ἀπίθανος	neprěpřívřivǔ
ἄπιστος	nevěřinǔ, nevidimǔ
ἀπροαιρέτως	nevolejо
ἀπρόσβλεπτος	nevidimǔ
ἀρραγής	nepobědimǔ, nerazorimǔ
ἄρρηκτος	nerazorimǔ, nesědajоšт-
ἀσάλευτος	nepožybínǔ
ἀσεβής	nečistinǔ, nečistivǔ
ἄσεμνος	nepravídlinǔ
ἄσημος	nenaročitǔ
ἀσθενής	nemoštinǔ
ἀσύνετος	nerazumičinǔ
ἄφρατος	neizdřečeňǔ
ἀφύλακτος	nebłudomǔ
ἀφύτευτος	nesaždenǔ
ἄχρεῖος	neklučimǔ, nepotrěbínǔ
ἄχρηστος	nepotřebínǔ
ἄχώρητος	nevůměstímǔ, nevůměštajemǔ, nerazlqčinǔ
ἄχώριστος	nerazlqčinǔ, nelqčenǔ
ἀψηλάφητος	neobiskanǔ

Имена существительные:

ἀβλεψία ḥ	neviděnije
ἀβουλία ḥ	nesuvětistvo, nesuvěštanije
ἀγνωσία ḥ	nerazumije
ἀδίκημα τό	nepravida
ἀθεμιτουργήσαντες	nepravidoštvoréniye
ἀκαρπίας τῆς	neplodinǔ
ἀλουσία ḥ	nemüvenije
ἀμηχανία ḥ	nedouměnije
ἀναισθησία ḥ	nečuvistvo
ἀορασία ḥ	neviděnije
ἀορασίᾳ	nevidimo
ἀπληστία ḥ	nesytostí, nesytistvo
ἀσέβημα τό	nečistij
ἀφωνία ḥ	neglagolaniye
ἀχαριστία ḥ	neupodařenije

Глаголы:

ἀγνοεῖν	nevěděti, nesuvěděti, nerazuměti, neznati, neviděti
οὐκ ἀγνοεῖν	věděti
ἀγνωμονεῖν	nevěděti
ἀδυνατεῖν	otůnemošti, nemošti, nevůzmošti
ἀναισθητεῖν	nečuti
ἀπειθεῖν	nepokoriti sę, nepokařati sę
ἀπορεῖν	nedoiměti, nedomyslitи sę, nedověděti, neiměti
ἀχαριστεῖν	neblažiti

*Г. Положительным антонимом.**Имена прилагательные:*

ἀγνός	čistū
ἀδιόρθωτος	vů pagubq
ἄξυμος	oprěsničiskū
ἀκέραυς	mladū
ἀκίβδηλος	čistū
ἀκράδαντος	krěpě
ἄκριτος	osqždenū
ἄλαλος	němū
ἀμαθής	grqbū
ἀμίαντος	čistū
ἀναιδειος καὶ ἄκαρος	sujetinū
ἀναριθμητος	měnogū
ἀναφαίρετος	nebesinū, velikū
ἀνελλεπής	vynq
ἀνοσιωργός	zúlodějí
ἀνώνητον εἰς	vútěste
ἄπορος	niště
ἀπρόϊτος	xudū
ἄρρωστος	bolš, bolňū
ἀσίγητος	prijemijošt- prisno pěsni
ἀσφαλής	tvřidět, izvěstět
ἀσφαλῶς	velimi, sū vísěkoj q tvřidostij q
τηρεῖσθαι ἀσφαλῶς	utvřiditi
ἀσχήμων	blqděnū
ἄσωτος	blqděnikū
ἀφθόνως	obilo
ἀφθορος	čistū

*Имена существительные:*

ἀηδία ή	drôčenije
ἀθυμία ή	otučajanije, pečalň, skribi, unynije
τῆς ἀθυμίας	pečalňu
ἀκηδία ή	unyňenije
ἀκολασία ή	bloždenije
ἀκτημοσύνη ή	ubožistvo
ἀνάγνωσμα τό	čítenije, učenije
ἀναίδεια ή	studě
ἀνωμαλία ή	lěnostě
ἀσιτία ή	gladě
ἀσταλαξία ή	mličanije
ἀστόχημα τό	pogrěšenije
ἀσυλία ή	utvřidenoje
ἀσφάλεια ή	utvřidění, tvřidostě, tvřidě
μετὰ ἀσφαλείας	xraněno
ἀσφάλειαν παρέχεσθαι	vůzbraňati našestvija
ἀφθονία ή	obilije

*Глаголы:*

ἀδικεῖν	misti, obléniti, obidq sútvoriti, přeobiděti, pakostě tvoriti, pakostě sútvoriti, vrěditi
ἀδικεῖσθαι	obidq prijeti, pakostě prijeti
ἀθετεῖν	xuliti, poxuliti, otümetati, otümeti, otüvrěsti, oslu- šati
ἀθυμεῖν	pečalovati, pečalňu byti
ἀμελεῖσθαι	razlěniti sę
ἀσφαλίζειν	xraniti, vůložiti, zatvoriti
ἀσφαλίζεσθαι	utvřiditi, utvřidati
ἀσχολεῖν	prazdinovati, prazdiněstvovati
ἀφανίζειν	iskaziti, pogubijati, prokudití
λεπτύνειν καὶ ἀφανίζειν	súvrugnötí

## II. Слова переведенные на два, три и четыре способа.

Имена прилагательные:

ἄβυσσος	(Б) bezdūna, bezdenije. (Г) rodīstvo.
ἀγενής	(Б) nemoščinū; (Г) slabū.
ἀγνώμων	(А) bez uma; (Б) bezumije, bezumili; (Б) nepoxvalešt-, nerazumičinū, nerazuminū, nesúmy-slínū, nevěglasū; (Г) qrodiňū.
ἀγύμναστος	(А) bezú iskušenija; (Б) nenasilajemū.
ἀδιάλειπτος	(А) bes prěstani; (Г) prisno, vynq.
ἀδιάφορος	(А) bez udržanija; (Б) neudrižanū.
ἀδικος	(А) bez uma; (Б) nepravídinū.
ὸ ἀδικος	(Б) nepravídnikū.
τό ἀδικον	(Б) nepravida.
ἀδντος	(Б) neprěchodinū, nezaxoděšt-, nemrúčemū.
τό ἀδντον	(Г) súkrovū
ἀθάνατος	(А) be súmrti; (Б) besúmrítinū; (Б) neumirajošt-.
ἀθέμιστος	(А) be zakona; (Б) bezakoninū.
ἀθῷος	(А) bez viny; (Б) bezvininū; (Б) nepovininū, nevininū.
ἀκάθαρτος	(Б) nečistū, nečistivū, nečisti; (Г) skvrinavū.
ἄκαρος	(А) bez uma; (Б) bezuminū, bezgodinē; (Б) ne vú godū.
ἄκακος	(А) be zúloby; (Б) bezúlobinū.
ἄκαρπος	(А) bes ploda; (Б) besplodinū.
ἀκαταγώνιστος	(Б) nepobědimū; (Г) dobī.
ἀκατάπληκτος	(А) bezú užasti; (Б) ni užasinū.
ἀκλινής	(Б) neprěkloninū; (Г) priležinū.
ἄκτιστος	(А) be sútvořenija; (Б) nesútvořenū.
ἄλογος	(Б) beslovesinū; (Б) neslovesinū.
ἄμεμπτος	(Б) neporočinū; (Г) čistū.
ἀμέριστος	(А) bezú razlóky; (Б) nedělenū.

ἄμοιρος	(B) nepričestníkū; (Г) prazdīnū.
ἀμόλυντος	(A) bes poroka; (B) neporečenū, neporočinū; (Г) čistū
ἀναιδής	(A) be studa; (Б) bestudinū; (Г) stydükū.
ὸ ἀναιδής	(Б) besramíkū, bestudicí.
ἀναισθητος	(Б) bezúčuvistvínū; (B) nečuvistvínū, nepočujqšt-.
ἀναισχυντος	(Б) bestudinū; (Г) stydükū.
ἀναιδρος	(A) bez možistva; (Б) bezmožinū; (B) nemožistvínū; (Г) slabū.
ἄναρχος	(A) bez načela; (Б) beznačelínū.
ἀνέκφραστος	(A) bezú isповědanija; (B) neizdrečeninū, nesúkazajemū.
ἀνελεήμων	(A) bez milosti; (B) nemilostivū.
ἀνεύθυνος	(Б) bezvininū; (B) nepovininū.
ἀνήκεστος	(B) nesútrípimū; (Г) velikū.
ἀνήμερος	(B) nekrotükū, neukroštenū; (Г) sverěpū.
ἄουκος	(A) bez domu; (Б) besxramníkū.
ἀπαθής	(A) be strasti; (Б) bestrastinū; (B) nemoženū.
ἀπαραίτητος	(B) neoslabimū; (Г) věčinū.
ἀπειθής	(B) vú nepokoré, nepokorinū; (Г) oslušilivū.
ἄπειρος	(B) neiskusinū, neobykūš-; (Г) mǔnogū, ubogū.
ἀπερίεργος	(A) bez lóky; (Б) bezmlivinū.
ἀπηνής	(Б) bezmilostivū; (Г) žestokū, lutū.
ἄπλαστος	(A) be skvrunny; (Г) čistū.
ἄπληστος	(A) be sytosti; (B) nenasýštenū, nesytū.
ἄπολης	(A) bez grada; (Б) bezgradníkū.
ἄσβεστος	(B) neugasajemū, neugasimū; (Г) mělū.
ἄσπιλος	(A) beskvruhy; (Г) čistū.
ἄσπορος	(A) be sémene; (B) nesétū.
ἄσωματος	(A) bes plüti; (Б) besplútinū.
ἄτακτος	(A) bes čina; (Б) besčininū, beštislínū; (B) ne po činu.
ἄτοπος	(B) nelépū; (Г) zulū.

ἀφανής	(A) bez věsti; (B) nevidimū; (Г) pogubijenū, tají.
ἀφθαρτος	(A) bezú istilénija; (B) neistiléninū, netiléninū, netiléjоšt-.
ἀφόρητος	(B) nesútripimū, nesútripěnū, nesútripětijí; (Г) těžkū.
ἀφρων	(A) bez uma; (B) bezumínū, bezumiň;
	(Г) bují, qrodinū.
ἀχάριστος	(Б) bezdaristvinū, bezakoninkū;
	(B) nepoxvalajqšt-; (Г) žestosřidivū.
ἀχραντος	(B) neporočinū; (Г) čistū, prěčistū.
ἄωρος	(Б) bezúvrémeninū; (Г) mladū

*Имена существительные:*

ἀγνοια ἡ	(Б) bezumije; (B) nevěděnije, nevesti
ἀγνωμοσύνη ἡ	(Б) nerazumije; (Г) qrodistvo.
ἀδεια ἡ	(A) be sōm'něnija; (B) bestrastije; (Г) prostranije.
ἀδικία ἡ	(Б) bespravidije; (B) nepravida.
τῆς ἀδικίας	(Б) bespravidinū.
ὁ κριτής τῆς ἀδικίας	(B) nepravidinū.
ἀκακία ἡ	(A) be zúlobi; (B) bezúlobije.
ἀναισχυντία ἡ	(Б) besramije; (Г) stydostī.
ἀνοια ἡ	(Б) bezumije; (B) nesúmyšlenije; (Г) blědī.
τῆς ἀνοίας	(Б) bezumínū.
ἀνοίᾳ κρατεῖσθαι	(Г) vúzběsiti se.
ἀπείθεια ἡ	(B) nepokorěnije; (Г) oslušanije.
ἀπιστία ἡ	(B) nevěřitvije, nevěřitvo, nevěrije; (Г) prělisti.
τῆς ἀπιστίας	(B) nedočajaninū, nevěřinū.
ἀρρωστία ἡ	(Б) nedogū; (Г) jéza.
ἀσέβεια ἡ	(Б) bezakonije; (B) nečistije.
τῆς ἀσέβείας	(Б) besčistivinū.
ἀσθένεια ἡ	(B) nedogu, nemošti; (Г) boli, bolězni, jéza.
τῆς ἀσθενείας	(Г) plútiskú.
ἀτιμία ἡ	(Б) bečistije; (B) nečistije, nečistí.
ἀφθαρσία ἡ	(Б) bestilénije; (B) neistilénije, netilénije.
τῆς ἀφθαρσίας	(Б) bestiléninū; (B) neporočinū.

*Глаголы:*

ἀναισχυντεῖν	(Б) besramije, sútvoriti, bezokovati;
ἀπιστεῖν	(B) nestyděti se; (Г) studū iměti.
ἀρρωστεῖν	(B) nevěřitvovati, nevěrovati, nejeti věry;
ἀσθενεῖν	(Г) oslušati.
ἀσθενῶν	(B) nedqžinū.
ἀτονεῖν	(B) otūnemošti; (Г) otüpasti (-dq).

*Гданьск*

## C O N C L U S I O N S - P R O P O S I T I O N S

Л. П. ЖУКОВСКАЯ

Сборники восточно-средиземноморского культурно-исторического ареала невозможно изучать без сотрудничества византологов и славистов.

Сборники – самый трудный для исследования источник. Но это источник весьма важный для изучения всех сторон славянской древней и средневековой культуры: прежде всего для литературоведения, языкоznания, истории.

Работа предстоит огромная и пойдет в разных направлениях. Это наметилось уже и на прошедших заседаниях: большинство докладов было посвящено изучению, с разных точек зрения, отдельных рукописей сборников.

### *Теоретические вопросы:*

1. Одновременно выявились и разные методы исследования сборников, что относится к проблемам общетеоретического характера.
2. Другим важным теоретическим вопросом является определение сборников устойчивого состава.

### *Практические задачи:*

1. Выявление и описание содержания греческих сборников, начиная с древнейших сохранившихся, и до XV в. включительно.
2. Выявление и описание сборников *славянских*, особенно XV-XVII в. т. к. древние в основных выявлены и большинство их описано с точки состава.
3. Составление картотеки статей, содержащихся в сборниках не имеющих родовых наименований; продолжить работу Яцимирского, которую он проделал и о сборниках находящихся в хранилищах Румынии.
4. Издание сборников. Наиболее желательно издание после предварительного текстологического изучения сборников как имеющих родовые названия, так и сборников устойчивого состава, не имеющих родовых названий, данных им археографами. Но мы приветствуем и издание отдельных рукописей.
5. Собирание библиографии и издание ее.

6. Ученые старшего поколения всемерно способствовать привлечению к этой работе молодых филологов.

Может быть, библиографическую работу сосредоточить при Греческой Ассоциации Славянских Исследований, а именно в *Кирилломефодианум*.

Выявление и исследование греческих византийских сборников также просить сосредоточить в Греции.

*Москва*

Д. БОГДАНОВИЋ

Зборници су веома важан извор за проучавање средњовековне словенске културе и њеног односа према византијској култури, посебно у збирци историје језика и књижевности. Они захтевају сложен интердисциплинарни и компартивни приступ уз ангажоване, поред слависта и византолога разних струка (кодиколога, палеографа, историчара језика и књижевности, патролога, историчара цркве и литургичара), још и специјалиста за западноевропску културу средњег века, са којом се византијскословенски свет налази у живом односу.

На симпозијум су дошли до изражавања проблеми методолошког и теоријчког карактера; као један од главних задатака поставља се разрада типологије зборника с обзиром на њихов садржај и структуру. Биће неопходно да се координираном акцијом истраживача и научних центара оствара низ практичних задатака као предуслов теоријчког рада: систематички опис рукописног наслеђа (Грчких зборника до 15ог века и словенских зборника – нарочито 14ог-15ог века); картотека садржаја у зборницима; издавање зборника – критично издање у читавој традицији зборника једног типа или само појединих рукописа; Треба подстићати све зајнтересоване научнике и националне центре да се што више система развијају рад на овом значајном пројекту. Један од позитивних облика међународне сарадње у овом послу треба и даље да буду научни симпозиуми чија се акта бити обавезно публикована.

Нарочита пажна мораће да поклони формирању младих филолога који би се посветили изучавању зборника.

Поздрављајући иницијативу Грчког славистичког удружења и посебно његовог преседника професора Др. А. Е. Тахиоса, учесници симпозијума се слажу да то удружење преузме улогу координатора свих активности у проучавању зборника на Међународном плану те да се у Солуну под руководством професора Тахиоса формира главни документациони центар овог пројекта.

*Београд*

#### D. NASTASE

Le thème qu'on nous propose pour cette séance de clôture envisage les recueils manuscrits sur lesquels ont porté nos débats «en tant que genre de la littérature grecque et slave du Moyen Age». Par définition, un genre littéraire groupe des œuvres unitaires: j'aimerais donc voir dans le choix de ce thème une invitation à avancer d'encore un pas sur la voie suivie par la communication que j'ai présentée devant vous<sup>1</sup>. En effet, j'y relevais justement le souci d'unité qui présida à l'organisation de zborniči appartenant à la catégorie de manuscrits qu'on considère comme la plus hétérogène, celle connue sous le nom bien caractéristique de miscellanées.

Comment pourrait-on donc établir, plus généralement, si des manuscrits qui nous apparaissaient jusqu'ici comme de simples assemblages de textes différents, sans rapport entre eux, ont, oui ou non, un caractère unitaire?

Un critère d'unité qui me semble acquis par ma communication est celui de la présence parmi ces textes de chronographies universels, surtout (mais ce n'est pas obligatoire) lorsqu'ils sont suivis par d'autres chroniques. Tant ces écrits historiques, que les recueils qui les contiennent, doivent en effet être considérés comme possibles d'exprimer une revendication souveraine impériale, ou se réclamant d'une succession impériale, revendication fondée sur une idéologie à caractère impérial dont les traits seront précisés par l'analyse des textes mêmes réunis par les recueils en question.

Cette analyse ne devra surtout pas considérer ces textes au pied de la lettre, mais elle s'attachera à tirer au clair les significations symboliques qui s'y cachent. Difficilement accessibles à l'esprit moderne, mais très familières à l'esprit médiéval<sup>2</sup>, ces significations seules peuvent nous offrir la clé de nos recueils.

Mais pour pouvoir arriver à comprendre vraiment ce langage oublié, il nous faut également savoir qu'il ne diffère pas, en principe, de celui dont use l'iconographie médiévale.

Il y a longtemps que, tout en établissant *l'origine littéraire de ce procédé*, Emile Mâle a démontré que l'art chrétien du Moyen Age occidental accorde souvent à ses figurations une valeur allégorique, relevant d'une intention démonstra-

tive précise, mais sur laquelle leur seul aspect visuel ne nous renseigne guère<sup>3</sup>. Ainsi – et ce n'est que l'exemple le plus connu – l'iconographie médiévale se sert systématiquement des scènes de l'Ancien Testament pour illustrer par leur intermédiaire des thèmes du Nouveau, qu'elles sont censées préfigurer. Aussi, en relevant le sens de préfiguration que revêtent ces représentations symboliques, Mâle remarque avec sagacité<sup>4</sup> : «au lieu de s'attacher à la lettre, les artistes, la plupart du temps, préfèrent s'attacher à l'esprit». Ces observations sont parfaitement applicables à l'iconographie qu'emploie tant l'art byzantin proprement dit, que celui des pays russes, sud-slaves et roumains.

Mais depuis, des analyses d'œuvres, voire d'ensembles d'art médiéval, ont même poussé plus loin que celles de Mâle, en dépassant le domaine religieux, pour s'engager dans celui politique. Ainsi, pour nous maintenir dans le zone byzantine et d'irradiation byzantine, du rouleau de Josué (Xe siècle)<sup>5</sup> et des mosaïques de Cefalù (XIe siècle)<sup>6</sup>, à des icônes monumentales russes du XVIe siècle<sup>7</sup>, en passant par la peinture murale de la Serbie<sup>8</sup> et des pays roumains<sup>9</sup>, l'iconographie religieuse est souvent mise au service de causes politiques, voire d'entreprises guerrières, parfois purement et simplement par l'assimilation tacite d'épisodes bibliques ou de personnages saints à des situations et des personnes contemporaines, bien terrestres. Je ne peux m'arrêter ici qu'à un seul exemple, en revanche remarquable: celui de l'analyse détaillée par laquelle Radivoje Ljubinković a démontré que le cycle vétéro-testamentaire de Joseph peint au XIIIe siècle dans le narthex de Sopočani traite en réalité des débuts de la dynastie serbe<sup>10</sup>. Or la pénétrante interprétation du regretté savant yougoslave se fonde, comme autrefois celles de Mâle, sur *l'étude comparée des textes et de l'iconographie*. En regardant les choses de notre point de vue, nous dirons qu'à son tour l'iconographie est en mesure de fournir une aide des plus importantes pour la compréhension du langage des textes et des recueils manuscrits médiévaux.

Nous croyons par conséquent pouvoir proposer une recherche complexe qui, tout en appliquant les autres critères établis plus haut, devra procéder à la fois à l'étude comparée des recueils manuscrits et des ensembles iconographiques, dont les significations symboliques et les éventuels éléments d'unité pourraient ainsi s'éclaircir et s'expliquer réciproquement. A n'en pas douter, les résultats d'une telle recherche apporteront des changements, peut-être essentiels, aux idées que nous nous faisons des domaines qu'elle concerne et, en tout premier lieu, des recueils manuscrits sur lesquels s'est concentré notre intérêt. C'est pourquoi l'on me permettra de considérer cette recherche comme indispensable.

Athènes

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1. D. Nastase, Unité et continuité dans le contenu des recueils manuscrits dits «miscellanées», *Cyrillomethodianum* V (1981), 22-48.
2. Cf. la remarque suivante de Régine Pernoud: «Aux temps «médiévaux», les méthodes d'explication des textes impliquaient la possibilité de commenter la Bible autrement qu'au seul sens littéral. On connaît, en particulier depuis les travaux du P. Henri de Lubac (*Exégèse médiévale*, Paris, Ed. Aubier, 1959-1962, quatre volumes in-4) la lecture «selon les quatre sens», qui habituait les esprits à plusieurs ordres de commentaires à propos d'un même texte: sens historique, mais aussi allégorique, moral, etc.», Régine Pernoud, *Pour en finir avec le Moyen Age*, Paris 1977, 100, n. 1.
3. Emile Mâle, *L'art religieux du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle en France*, t. I-II, Paris 1958.
4. *Ibid.*, II, 13.
5. Meyer Shapiro, The Place of the Joshua Roll in Byzantine History, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, Mars 1949, 161-226; A. Grabar, La précieuse croix de la Lavra Saint-Athanase au Mont Athos, *Cahiers archéologiques* 19 (1969), 113, 116.
6. Sorin Ulea, Mesajul lui Roger al II-lea în mozaicurile de la Cefalù, *Studii și cercetări de istoria artei, seria artă plastică* 22 (1975), 11-12.
7. A. Grabar, Les croisades de l'Europe orientale dans l'art, réédité dans son recueil d'études *L'art de la fin de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Age*, I, Paris 1968, 173-175.
8. Radivoje Ljubinković, Sur le symbolisme de l'Histoire de Joseph du narthex de Sopoćani, dans *L'art byzantin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Symposium de Sopoćani 1965, Belgrade 1967, 207-237 + 1 pl. et 6 fig.
9. A. Grabar, *op. cit.*, 169 sq.; Sorin Ulea, Originea și semnificația ideologică a picturii exterioare moldovenești, (I), *Studii și cercetări de istoria artei* 10 (1963), No 1, 57-99, ill.; (II), *Studii și cercetări de istoria artei, seria artă plastică* 19 (1972), No 1, 37-53, ill. (la première partie de ce travail existe aussi en version française: L'origine et la signification idéologique de la peinture extérieure moldave, *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* 2, 1963, No 1, 29-71, ill.); D. Nastase, *Ideea imperială în țările române. Geneza și evoluția ei în raport cu vechea artă românească (secolele XIV-XVI)*, Athènes, Fondation Européenne Dragan 9, 1972; *id.*, *L'héritage impérial byzantin dans l'art et l'histoire des pays roumains*, Milan 1976; Carmen Laura Dumitrescu, *Pictura murală din Țara Românească în veacul al XVI-lea* (avec un résumé anglais), Bucarest 1978, *passim*.
10. R. Ljubinkovic, *op. cit.* Cf. A. Grabar, Les cycles d'images byzantines tirées de l'histoire biblique et leur symbolisme princier, *Starinar*, n. s. 20 (1969), 133-137; et, tout dernièrement, Margaret Riddle, Illustrations of the "Triumph" of Joseph the Patriarch, *Byzantine Papers* (Proceedings of the First Australian Byzantine Studies Conference, Canberra 1978), Canberra 1981, 69-81.

