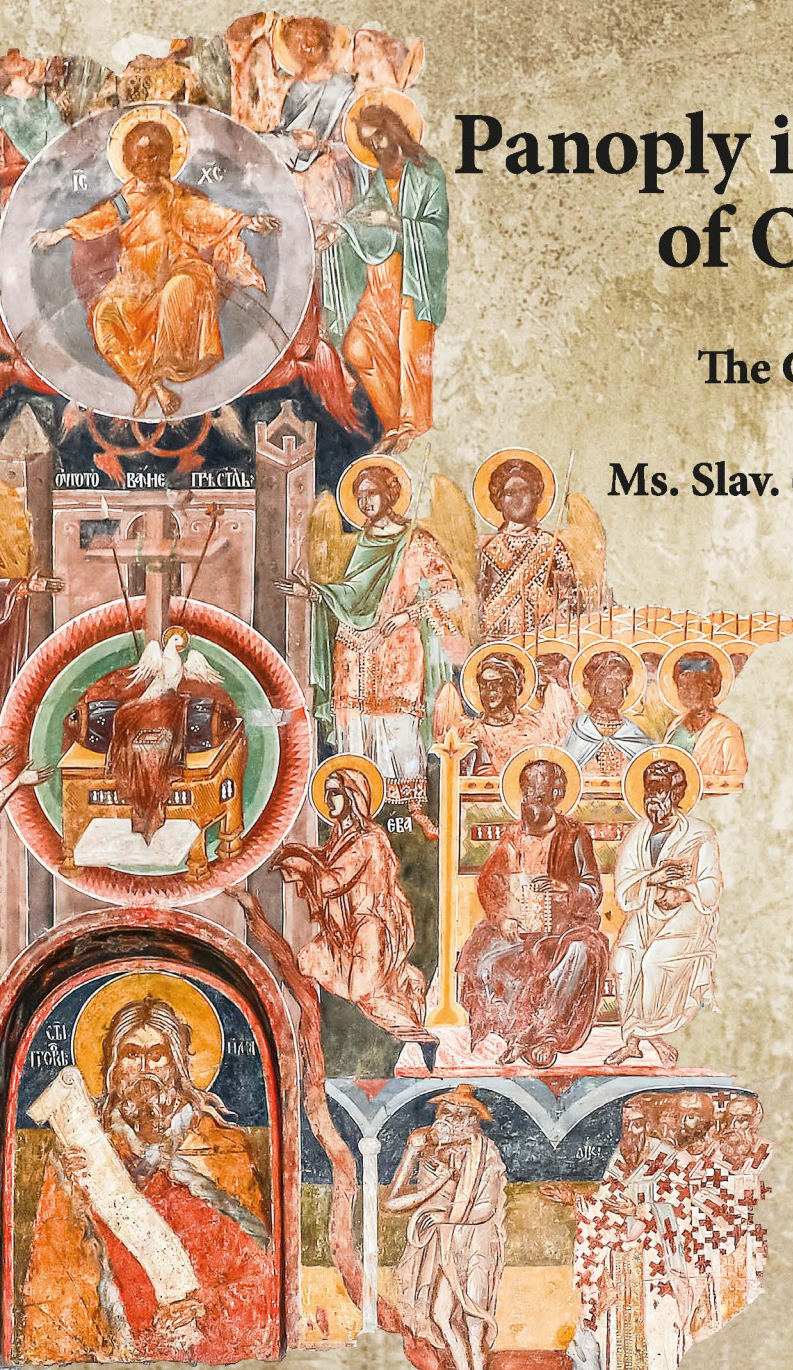Mariyana P. Tsibranska-Kostova
Ivan Alexandrov Biliarsky

Panoply in Defense of Orthodoxy

The Case of Moldavian
Manuscript BAR
Ms. Slav. 636, 16th Century

edited by
Georgi Minczew

— CERANEUM —

WYDAWNICTWO
UNIWERSYTETU
ŁÓDZKIEGO

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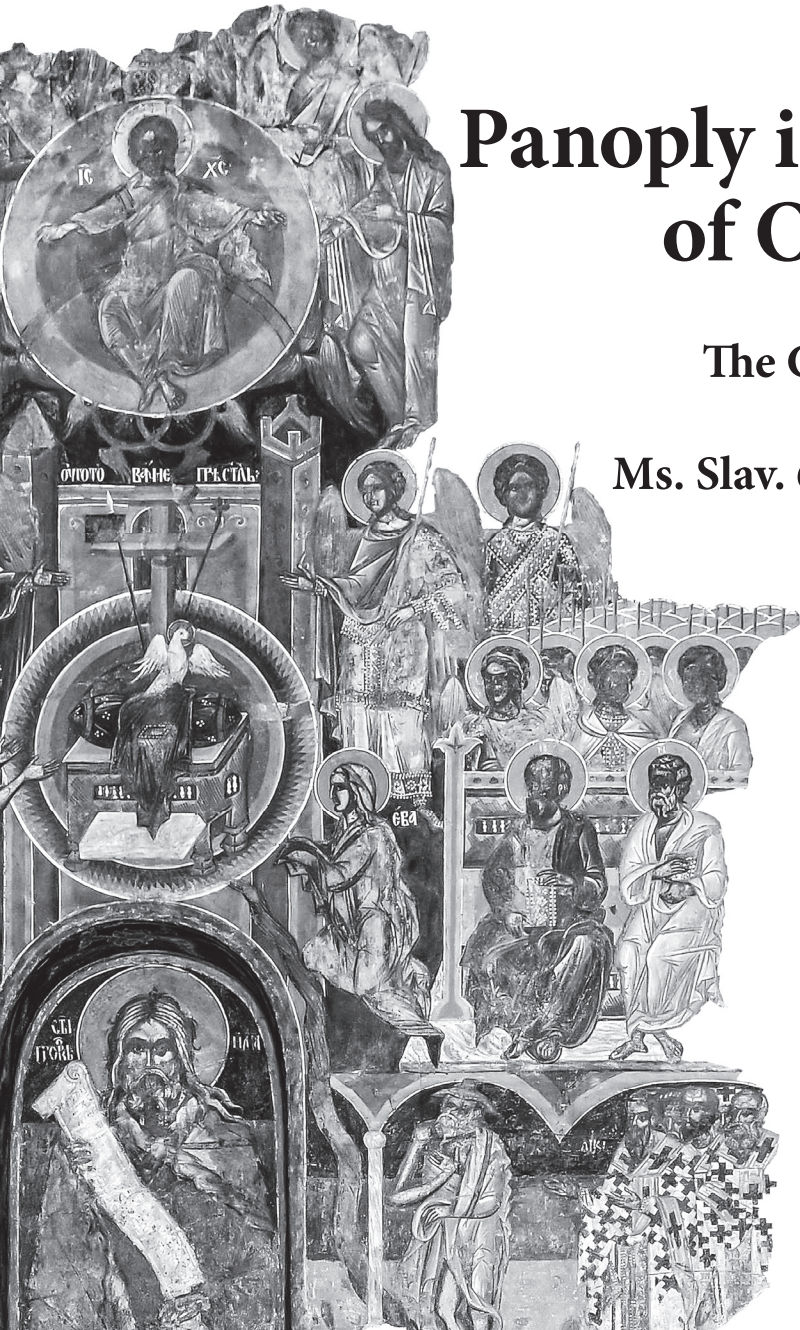
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Cover image: detail of the composition of the Last Judgment. Mid-16th century.
Mural paintings from the Prophet Elijah Church in Iliyantsi district, Sofia
Photograph by Ivan Al. Biliarsky

Take the helmet of salvation and the sword of the Spirit,
which is the word of God.

Ephesians 6:17

Contents

Introduction

$\mathcal{T}$his book is devoted to a Slavic 16th century manuscript kept in the Library of the Romanian Academy of Sciences under no. BAR Ms. slav. 636 (henceforth, BAR 636), as well as, partially, to its twin manuscript, the so-called *Bisericani Miscellany*, part of the Alexander Ivanovich Yatsimirsky collection, under no. 51, at the Russian National Library in Saint Petersburg[1]. The first of the two manuscripts has long attracted our scholarly interest, resulting in several publications on the codex itself and the contents of some of its texts. Until we started our work on the manuscript, it had practically never been subject to a true scholarly description, except for the relevant notes in the then unpublished third volume of *Catalogul manuscriselor slavo-române și slave din Biblioteca Academiei române* by P. P. Panaitescu, a far from sufficient presentation. In 2018, this third volume was published with the revision of Z. Mihail. This revision was limited to a more systematic and comprehensible presentation of the marginal notes and of some parts of the contents[2]. The very definition of the collection as *Pravilă și Cronica sârbo-moldovenească* shows miscomprehension of the nature, contents and purpose of the manuscript. Several years ago, we titled one of our articles about this collection *Contra varietatem pugna latissima*[3]; through this somewhat lofty Latin wording, we tried to indicate the purpose that the compilers had assigned to their collection. The *Rules* (or more precisely, the *Pseudo-Zonaras Nomocanon* and some other canonical collections) make up the main part of the collection, but the chronicles, and more generally the historical parts, are in fact integrally linked to

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[1] It is available in a photocopy version at the Library of the Romanian Academy; for greater ease of citation, we will henceforth refer to its pressmark in the library – BAR 685.

[2] P. P. Panaitescu, Z. Mihail, *Catalogul manuscriselor slavo-române și slave din Biblioteca Academiei române*, vol. III, partea I-a, № 636, București 2018, pp. 43–47.

[3] Iv. Biliarsky, M. Tsibranska-Kostova, *"Contra varietatem pugna latissima". Un recueil juridique moldave et son convoi (BAR Ms. sl. 636, XVIᵉ siècle)*, "Analele Putnei" XII. 2, 2016, pp. 105–146.

the legal code, although it is they that have aroused the greatest interest of scholars of the Romanian past and historiography in the Romanian lands. Nevertheless, these are not separate parts that can be presented as such when characterizing the collection. True, the legal and polemical-doctrinal sections occupy the larger part of the manuscript – we may also qualify it as the most significant and defining (although we need hardly classify parts by rank of importance). We feel, however, that the individual sections should not be separated or placed in mutual opposition, as they form an integral whole based on their purpose. The collection was not compiled as a legal code, or for use by some law-enforcing authority; it was not compiled as a polemical collection for use in theological discussions. Neither was it compiled as a historical collection meant to preserve and disseminate knowledge about the past; it was compiled as an integral armament in the fight against religious deviations, for the victory of Orthodoxy over those deviations and for the Salvation of people.

In view of the above, we may state that the present book has two main objectives:

– One, to present our studies of the miscellany's components taken separately, but also as functional parts of the whole; and to publish the separate texts together with our commentary and source research.

– The second main objective is to present an integral study of the collection and its function, whereby the separate parts are viewed as subordinated to a general conception and a general purpose. Our working hypothesis regarding that conception and purpose is that the manuscript was meant to serve as an armor in the fight against religious deviations, heresies, and other doctrinal differences from Orthodoxy; the whole and each of its parts were subordinated to that plan, and that is the only explanation and justification for the inclusion of this or that text in the collection.

These objectives determine the structure of the book. First, we offer an overall study of the manuscript in the first part (undivided into chapters) of this monograph. We already mentioned why this is necessary: this presentation welds together the separate parts, places the manuscript in its own historical context within the Principality of Moldavia around the middle of the 16th century, and fills in the gaps left even after the publication of the third volume of P. P. Panaitescu's catalogue of Slavic manuscripts in the Library of the Romanian Academy.

The next parts cover the separate components of the collection. The second part (also not divided into chapters) is devoted to the collection's legal texts. This mainly refers to the Pseudo-Zonaras Nomocanon, also known as the anti-heretical and penitential collection of *Slavia Orthodoxa*. Its text is not published here in its entirety, but the parts of it that are, and especially the contents, give an adequate

idea of the source. The third part encompasses some doctrinal anti-heretical texts – as conventional as this qualification may be. In any case, they are related to the refutation of confessional, ritual and mundane deviations perceived as heretical at that time. Included in this part are the following texts: *Encyclical Letter of the Three Patriarchs*, of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, concerning the non-canonical actions of the ecclesiastical authorities of Constantinople following the Councils of Ferrara–Florence, as well as the two versions of the *Tale about Peter the Stammerer*, devoted to the deviations of Western Christianity. These texts far from exhaust the doctrinal part of the miscellany, but the main component of this part, *A Useful Tale about the Latins*, was already published by our colleague Angel Nikolov in two of his studies on anti-Latin controversy, together with other texts from this doctrinal complex. The fourth part of the monograph encompasses the collection's historical texts: the *Lists of Patriarchs*, the *Tale of the Ecumenical Councils* and the so-called *Moldavian Chronicles*. Understandably, the last mentioned have aroused the greatest interest of Romanian historians, insofar as the chronicles are an early example of Romanian historiography and present events from the history of Romanians, but also of Bulgarians, Russians and Serbs, inscribing them in world history by integrating them into the history of the Empire. Our task has been to ascertain the place and function of these texts within the legal and controversial collection. The last, fifth, section of the book is devoted to the presence in the miscellany of two apocryphal texts, the *Testament of Abraham* and the *Tale about How the Lord Created the Brotherhood of the Cross*. Both these copies are published in full and for the first time in the present book. In addressing the question as to why these texts were included in the collection, we encountered several difficult problems. Foremost, there exists a firmly fixed understanding that these apocryphal and non-canonical texts are essentially heretical. In a sense, this view is supported by the fact that some of them, perhaps most, were included at the time in particular lists of prohibited books. We believe there is a certain miscomprehension here. We do not deny that some of the non-canonical texts have served as a basis for heretical views or have resulted from such views, but it should be pointed out that their classification as "non-canonical" or "deuterocanonical" does not imply necessarily "anti-canonical". Speaking about "deuterocanonical" works *stricto sensu*, we refer to writings of a biblical kind, similar to books from the Holy Scripture, from both the Old and New Testament, but which are not included in the canonical contents of Holy Scripture. Their being omitted should not surprise us. Different denominations include different books in the canon: on the one hand, there is the Judaic confession, on the other, there are the different Christian churches (Orthodox, Catholic, Coptic, Protestant denominations, etc.). The non-inclusion of books in the canon does indeed betray some suspicion of those books. Essentially, it means

the texts are not recognized as Divine Revelation, but it does not mean they are necessarily considered heretical. On the contrary, they are at times cited in canonical books of the Bible, in works of Church Fathers and in other fully canonical and official texts. It is in view of this that we should interpret and study the presence of the apocryphal works in the collection BAR 636.

The study of the collection's separate sections necessarily requires an interdisciplinary approach and a very wide perspective on Christian literature. We hope these studies will stimulate interest and open new horizons. The connection between these varied texts and their study as an integral whole has been a formidable challenge. After reading the whole book, the reader will judge how well we have met it.

We must say we were not alone in our efforts. When the authors are two, they cannot be alone, but we were also surrounded by friends. This book is the fruit of long collaboration with colleagues from Romania, especially from the "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History and the Institute for Southeast European Studies. We have worked together for long years on many projects invariably concerning state power, law, words and images. We feel that the results of this collaboration are evident and not limited to this book, although the latter does hold a special place in our joint efforts. We have created and maintained a united community that, we hope, will continue to be fruitful in the future. The community in question includes not only our colleagues and friends from Bulgaria and Romania, but also those from Poland – the University of Lodz and the Ceraneum Research Centre for the History and Culture of the Mediterranean Area and South-East Europe, with whom we have shared ideas and views, happy and sad moments. This book has been made possible in its present form thanks to this collaboration. Creative work and life are connected. We feel in our case the connection has proven particularly strong as our joint research work has created a community of scholars from these three countries, and certainly from others as well, a community that will continue into the future.

Part One

The Slavic Manuscript BAR Ms. Slav. 636 in the Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest

General Characteristics

Literature was central to Bulgarian-Romanian and Slavo-Romanian-Byzantine cultural relations during the Middle Ages insofar as it was an important factor determining the general cultural features of the Balkans and Southeastern Europe. The literary exchange, across the two shores of the Danube, between Bulgarian and Romanian medieval literature in Cyrillic script covered all genres of medieval literary culture: liturgical, apocryphal, homiletical, hagiographic, etc. Especially abundant was the culture of various kinds of miscellanies, which have survived in copies of precisely Moldavian or Wallachian origin. We may recall the discovery made by the Romanian Slavist Ion Iufu in the 1960s: when cataloguing Slavic manuscripts from the Dragomirna monastery in Moldavia, he formulated the concept regarding the Târnovo Reading Menaion in the ten-volume collection he designates as "Studion"[1]. A study of the copies made in Moldavia on the basis of medieval Bulgarian protographs demonstrates that the full collection of so-called Reading Menaions was one of the most important achievements in the work of the Târnovo men of letters: Dan Zamfirescu figuratively calls the collection "the massif central of the general cultural terrain"[2].

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[1] З. Юфу, *За десеттомната колекция Студион (из архива на румънския изследвач Йон Юфу). Проучвания по случай Втория конгрес по балканистика, София 1970*, "Studia Balkanica" 2, 1970, pp. 299–343.

[2] D. Zamfirescu, *O nouă viziune asupra istoriei culturii bulgare din secolele XIV–XVIII*, ed. R. Vânturilor, Bucureşti 2013, p. 229.

Our subject of description and analysis here is a collection of miscellaneous works preserved in the Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest. It was prepared in a monastic environment and contains medieval works in various genres, but of a predominantly legal and anti-heretical orientation. They all served one purpose: to preserve and reproduce the supporting theses of Orthodoxy in the dogmatic, canonic and historical aspect.

Following the traditional structural division of a collection into core and periphery, it may be expected that this type of literary monument implies the existence of a complex set of factors determining its composition: the choice of protographs by the compilers; a historical context influencing their combination; the role of the literary school or literary center as regards the dissemination of a specific type of production; the transcribers' preferences and individual interventions. That is why, in the presentation that follows, we will present the full contents of the collection under study and will try to outline the cultural-historical context of its application.

<center>* * *</center>

Manuscript BAR 636 is familiar to scholars; parts of it were published as early as a century ago, but so far it has not been the subject of comprehensive description except in the recently published third part of the Catalogue of the Slavic manuscripts of the Library of Romanian Academy by P. P. Panaitescu and Z. Mihail[3]. But even that work is not quite full and precise. This manuscript has provoked interest because it contains transcriptions of Moldavian chronicular works. It was recently discussed in a monograph by A. Nikolov dealing with one of the most interesting texts within the collection: *A Useful Tale about the Latins*[4].

Manuscript BAR 636 is a miscellany of 338 pages of sturdy and smooth paper bearing a watermark depicting a wild boar[5]. Paper watermarked with a filigreed boar was produced in Silesia and Austria; the paper used in this particular manuscript was made in Schweidnitz and was widely used in Moldavia at the end of the third and early fourth decade of the 16th century. It was later disseminated in

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[3] P. P. Panaitescu, Z. Mihail, *Catalogul manuscriselor slavo-române şi slave din Biblioteca Academiei Române*, vol. 3, partea I-A, Bucureşti 2018, pp. 43–47.

[4] А. Николов, *Повест полезна за латините. Паметник на средновековната славянска полемика срещу католицизма*, София 2011.

[5] A. Mareş, *Filigranele hîrtiei întrebuinţate în ţările române în secolul al XVI-lea, No. 351*, Bucureşti 1987, p. 65. In the same manuscript, A. Mares discovered paper with filigrees of the type No. 350–357.

Transylvania and Maramureş as well[6]. It is important to our discussion that such paper was not used for copying purposes in Moldavia from the years 1527 to 1543. In fact, the date of the manuscript could be specified not only by the watermark on the paper but also by the note on f. 303v, which indicates the year 1557. This date is not inconsistent with the data as to the filigree. We may conclude that the manuscript was completed on 9 August 1557, at the time of the Moldavian ruler Alexandru Lăpuşneanu (1552–1561 and 1564–1568) and the Metropolitan Bishop of Suceava Gregory II, and written by Hierodeacon Hilarion, a disciple of this metropolitan bishop, most probably in the Neamţ Monastery.

The size of the pages is 160/200 mm (4°), and of the text area, 100–110/160 mm, with 20 lines per page. The script is a legible, fine, large semi-uncial. The text is written in black ink, and in red for the headings, initial letters, the numbers of the rules and other signaling elements. The main body of the book was written by a single copyist; the text that runs from the Mount Athos typikon (f. 320r) almost to the end was written in another hand in a smaller semi-uncial font. We find the handwriting of a third copyist in the small textual segment on ff. 337v–338r. We may suppose the quill was changed several times (see ff. 24r, 180v, 220v, 272r and others). There is an obvious mixture of handwritings and times of writing in the marginal notes (ff. 207v, 220r, 303v).

The manuscript has no original foliation. The numeration of the sheets is stamped on them and separately marked with a pencil, the two numerations being different from the very beginning of the book: that written in pencil does not include the first sheet, which is glued to the inner side of the binding cover. In the present description, we will use the stamped numeration, although f. 1 is not part of the book sections. The gatherings (tetrads) are numbered according to the traditional Cyrillic system (the first one, at f. 2, has the number а҃). The tetrads contain eight sheets each. The last numbered tetrad is м҃и, which ends at f. 319v. There is no numeration after that.

The orthography of the main copyist complies with the norm known in scholarly literature as "Târnovo orthography", which was established in Târnovo in the pre-Euthymian age and by Patriarch Euthymius himself. It was disseminated in Bulgarian literature in the 13th–14th century, and after the fall of Bulgaria under Ottoman rule, it became a prestigious literary norm for manuscripts created in Wallachia and Moldavia. Its basic characteristic traits in BAR 636 are:

– The use of two signs for the nasals, with a complete absence of signs for the iotated nasals. For instance: хотаи дш҃ѫ оучистити f. 58r, да ѿлѫчѹат сѧ 76r, ѽ ѧзыкь, бѫд̃е f. 77r, плѧсати f. 93r; the consecutive writing of graphemes for the nasals of the reflexive particle сѧ and the oppositional conjunction нѫ.

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6 *Ibidem*, pp. XXIX, XXXVI.

– The rule of combining two nasals in contact position one after the other always in the sequence жѧ: дроугѫѧ поимꙋ̑ f. 62v, на пагоубѫ тѣлеснѫѧ f. 63r, таковѫѧ f. 93v, на пасхѫ великѫѧ f. 173v.

– Traces of non-systemic mixing of nasal signs together with their etymological use: тъчиѧ f. 26r, въ жѕы (from ѩѕа 'illness, suffering'), слоужжи f. 88r, съ неж f. 126r, ѿ прикиж f. 135, поцѧждѣти f. 136r, кролѣ великыѧ нѫждѫ f. 137v. In connection with the prevalently etymological use of nasal signs, we will note that there are very rare cases of substitution of the nasals by a reflex that is untypical for the manuscript, as for instance съꙗзь < съѫзъ 'chains; a transitive connection between people' on f. 139r.

– Two signs for the "ier" (ъ and ь) vowels, where overall the etymological distribution of the prefixes and prepositions is generally preserved, but they are interchangeable at the end of the word. Here are some examples from a single page, f. 137r: разоумомъ, съвръшени въꙁрастомь, да вѣꙁлѫ̑, потаить, речеть, творить, бѫдѫтъ, оудъ. A paerchik sign is also used for the omitted "er" or the latter is not marked at all.

– The "eri" (ы) sign is always written as ы and stands at its etymological place or is substituted by и: прѣбывае̑ f. 93v, присыненикъ f. 126r, съкрыеть f. 127r, иꙁыти f. 136v, рыбы, сыра f. 174r etc.

– The etymological use of the "yat" vowel; in many cases, it stands after the consonants л, н, ρ which indicates compliance with an archaic model: скѡтнѣго f. 64v, родителѣ f. 95v, разѧѣлѣжт f. 119r, мала лелѣ f. 125v, цр҃ѣ f. 137v, ближнѣго f. 147r, ѿганѣти f. 170v, въ ꙃемлѣ f. 264v, оуправлѣеть f. 265r, etc.

– With regard to the consonants, it is worth noting the successive reflex of the groups шт, жд without exception, and the presence of a sign for the affricate dz (ѕ) used more frequently. By these features, the manuscript of the basic text justifies the expectation that the Bulgarian literary tradition was applied in Moldavia after the fall of the Second Bulgarian Empire under Ottoman rule. However, the orthographical data are not a direct consequence of the nature of the used protographs but rather prove the long-known fact that the Târnovo orthographic norms were in use in the literary production of the Moldavian principality in the 16th century. It is noteworthy that the manuscript shows no signs of Serbian linguistic influence typical for the literary monuments originating in Walachia in that same period.

The binding is made of skin, and has wooden boards. It is in bad condition. There are remnants of book locks. The front and back cover have geometrical vegetal decoration on the skin. On the front cover, there is a stamped depiction of the Council of the Holy Apostles and the descent of the Holy Ghost above them.

Decoration: some of the initial letters are written calligraphically, and the basic marginal notes are placed within decorated borders. There is a particular decoration above the heading in several places:

– f. 1r – a later interlacing frame drawn in black and red ink. Above it, there is a cross, encircled by the inscription ІС ХС НИ КА.

– f. 2r – above the heading, there is a multi-colored interlacing design.

– f. 24r – interlacing design above the title and an interlaced initial А.

– f. 320r – a multi-colored interlacing decoration above the title, with, above it, a cross encircled by the sign ІС ХС НИ КА.

1. The contents of the manuscript

1. f. 2r – Nomocanon.

Пръ́дслѡ́вїе покаа́нїю правило ст҃ҳъ ѿц҃ъ съвѡ́рныхъ. въсей въселе́нъки.

Beginning – Подо́баетъ быти архїере́ю съмыслъну...

The first written text on f. 2r is entitled Пръ́дслѡ́вїе покаа́нїю правило ст҃ҳъ ѿц҃ъ съвѡ́рныхъ въсей въселе́нъки. This first rubric includes many short texts, such as a credo, norms for the fasts, and separate rules. There is an interesting text, in imperative form, which gives prescriptions as to how it befits a Christian to live; it is on f. 11v under the heading ѿ апл҃кыхъ оу́ставь како подѡ́бпеть жити хрⷮїа́нинѹ. It elaborates and expands the topic of God's Ten Commandments, and has a strong moralizing strain, as evident in the following excerpt: Законода́вцѹ Мѡѵсе́ѹ ре́кшоу иꙁл҃тѡ. сѐ да̀ пръ̀ лицемь вашнмь пѫ́ть жиꙁнн н пѫ́ть съмрьтн. н потомь нꙁберн̀ полеꙁное. да жи́вь бѫ́дешн. It includes an explanation of the mode of calculating the day of the Pascha in the following brief paschalia (ff. 16v–17r): Пасхалі́а ѡбръ́тена на пръ́стенн клеопа́трннъ. въⷩега̀ ѡснованїа полага́ахѫ̀ стлъпа кѡⷩстанти́на бл҃гочьстиваго. Съмотрѝ ѿо́врїн мц҃н кѡ́гда ⷷ дⷨі, н ѿ то́го дн҃е ѡктоврїева съчьтѝ рп҃в дн҃н. н тоу́ ѡбрⷶщешн непогръ́шено дн҃ь ст҃ыхъ па́схы :~

– f. 18r – скаꙁа́нїе кра́тцъ кни́ѕъ се́н. Content of the Nomocanon.

– f. 24r – Пра́вило ст҃ы апⷭль. н ст҃ҳь ꙃ҃ съвѡ́рѡвь . н н́ны ст҃ҳь ѿц҃ь. въсъ́мь ч҃лкѡ̀ на въсъ́кꙗ потръ́бꙗ ꙁаповъ́ⷣ разлн́чны :~

Beginning – Аꙁъ Пе́тⷬ н ⷭⷭ Па́влѡⷭ, апⷧлы хв҃и.

– f. 28r – о̀ кнꙗ́ѕъ . н о̀ тⷮъ (f. 28v) н́же пѡ̀ вла́стїꙗ н. н о̀ ра́бъ̀ повелъ́нїе ꙁаповъ́дн бж҃їн :⸗

– f. 35r – о̀ рѡ́днтелъ н о̀ ча́дъ̀ правило ⸵

– f. 40v – іѡа́нна мнн́ха, ча́да великаго васн́лїа. н́же нарече́нь бы̀ ча́до послоушанїа. о̀ нсповъ́данїн тайны гръхѡ̀ повче́нїе ѿц҃ъ дх҃овныⷯ.

– f. 54v – о̀ цр҃кви н о̀ ст҃ъмь прнчаще́нїн

– f. 56r – о̀ по́стѣ вели́кы̏ же и̏ ма́лыхь :⸱—

– f. 60r – ꙁапѡвѣ́ди ѡ̀ оу́бі́иствьны̏ грѣ́сѣ̀

– f. 66r – ст҃хь а̑п҃ль ꙁапѡ́вѣди, о̀ съꙅа́ни цр҃кѡ́внѣ́мь :⸱—

– f. 67v – пра́вило о̀ вѣ́роужщі́и въ га́ди и̏ ꙁвѣ́рѧ. и̏ ча́сѡвы и́мꙋщи̏. и̏ дн҃и, ѡ́вы ꙁли̏. ѡ́вы же дѡ́бри. и̏ о̀ и́ныхь непѡ́вны̏ ⸱⸪

– f. 68r – о̀ малакі́и

– f. 70v – ꙁапѡ́вѣди о̀ мрꙋ́цинахь ⸱⸪

– f. 103r – ѿ пра́виль събѡ́ра а̑нтїохі́искаго

– f. 119r – Паꙁꙑ́ се̏ ꙁа́повѣ̏ꙁ и́ны о̀ ꙁа́кѡнны̏ кни́гь. ѡ̀ сърѡ́дстви и̏ о̀ ꙁапрѣще́ный бра́цѣ̏. и̏ о̀ рꙁли́чны̏ степе́ни рѡ́да. и́хже пѡ́ба̏ блюсти ѿ ст҃го кр҃ще́нїа и̏ ѿ е́же по пла́ти крꙋ́ве. въкпѣ́ же и̏ о̀ бра́чны̏ рѡжꙖ́кѡ́ :⸱—

– f. 153r – а̀ се̏ пакы̏ о̀ инѡ́кѡ̏ и̏ і́е̑р̑е́и пррчаѧ же гла́вы смѣ́реномꙋ̏ ⸝рїи. повелѣ́нїа ст҃хь ѿц҃ь тн҃і. о̀ приключа́жщих сѧ въ инѡ́кѡ̏ і́е̑р̑е́и. и̏ и́же пѡ̏ ѡ̑вла́стїа сꙋщі́и . и̏ о̀ разли́чны̏ съгрѣше́нїи. поꙋ́чение дꙿш҃еполе́зно. трꙋ́боꙋжщі́имь пастирѣ̏ на кі́ждо грꙋ̏. и́ꙁлѡ́жены на о́чище́нїе. и̏ ꙁꙿра́вїю полꙋ́чение ⸱⸪

– f. 176r – степе́ни рѡ́ствѡ̏. и̏ ѡ̀ бра́цѣ̏ ꙁа́кѡнномь. и̏ о̀ е́же беꙁ ꙁа́кѡна поса́гажщимь. и̏ о̀ разли́чи сърѡ́ства е́же ѿ крꙋ́ве и̏ ѿ пла́ти. ѝде́же пѡ̏ба́еть бра́кь съ тво́рити. и̏ ѝде́же не пѡ̏ба́еть. и̏ ѝде́же дѡ́и ли́це кое̏ ли́бо приве́сти на бр҃а̏ и̏ ко̏е не привести. и̏ котѡ́раа въꙁбра́нѣ́еть ꙁа́кѡнъ, и̏ котѡ́рый не въꙁбра́нѣ́еть. и̏ котѡ́рый расꙋ́жждаеть :⸝⸱. As it follows the table of contents preceding the Nomocanon, this text should be the last in it. Here we will include the next two, which usually accompany it in the copies.

– f. 180r – о̀ пра́ꙁникѡ̏ и̏ пѡ́стѣ̏ и̏ кѡлѣ́нопрѣклѡне́ний въꙁбране́ний и́ли повелѣ́ный быва́ти.

– f. 181v – ѿ ꙁаповѣ́ꙁе́н ст҃хь а̑п҃ль :⸱~. Coming under this rubric are a few more small fragments of miscellaneous content: separate rules of Sabbaths or Fathers of the Church; excerpts from vitae of St. Nicholas and St. Pachomius; a reading from the Lapsaik, etc.

– f. 188r – и́ꙁложе́нїе о̀ правосла́внѣ вѣ́рѣ. и̏ о̀ ст҃ѣ̏и и̏ животвѡ́рꙗщꙋ̏ и̏ е́диносꙋ́щнѣ и̏ нераꙁꙿдѣ́лимѣ̏и тр҃ци.

– f. 194r – и́ꙁложе́нїе дрꙋ́гое ѿ і́оꙋстнні́а̑на и́ꙁлѡ́жено сꙋ̑дꙿрꙋ̏жꙿꙀ :⸱~ The text ends on f. 196r around the middle of the page, of which the second half is empty.

2. f. 196v – the beginning of a new text without a heading: a dogmatic definition related to the Holy Trinity.

Beginning – Цр҃ь вѣ́кѡ̑́ творе́цъ н҃бꙋ и̏ ꙁе́мли. морю же и̏ въсе́и въсе́ленѣи. The end of this text is on f. 206r, and the rest of the page is empty.

3. f. 206v – the first patriarchs of Jerusalem. There is no original title – the title was added in red ink at a later date and by the same hand that wrote the marginal notes. In the margin, there is an added note regarding the patriarch Narcissus; the

note is written on five lines in red ink, probably by the main copyist Hierodeacon Hilarion: ꙗ҆ бы́ти на́кис̑ .л҃ том̑ ѿ спи́те́/ныѧ сꙋ҃ти. бꙋ҃ бꙑ лѣтꙍ̑ ѕ҃ꙅ ти҅҅҅ :⸗ (=106).

4. f. 207r – Сказа́нїе ст҃хь въселе́нскꙑ̑ се́дмь събꙍ́рѣ. A tale of the seven ecumenical councils.

5. f. 220r – a chronicle note. The text is known and was published by Ioan Bogdan[7].

Beginning – в лѣтꙍ́ ⹀ѕц҃ѕа (6961=1453) бꙋ҃ а҆рхї҆еп҃кпь кѵ҃ ї҆ꙍсꙇ̑ ѿ нѣмѣ́скꙑ̑ монастирѣ..

6. f. 220v – Moldavian chronicle published by I. Bogdan[8].

Beginning/Title – хр҃тїанстїи цр҃їе а҃ съборъ.

7. f. 226r – Патрїа́рси ѿ а҃ събꙍ̑ въ кꙍ̑ста́тїа гра́. A tale and list of the archbishops of Constantinople and the ecumenical patriarchs from Mitrophanes (306–314) to Philotheus Kokkinos (1354–1355, 1364–1376). The text was not published by Ioan Bogdan and remains unpublished to date. We present it in its entirety, and with an accompanying study, in the section on the historical texts in the manuscript.

8. f. 228r – marginal note (see the respective place!).

9. f. 228v – encyclical epistle of the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem concerning the Council of Florence (April 1443). The text is written in black ink; the title and some of the initials are in red ink. In the outer corner of the page, below, on the left, there is a calculation of the year, written in the 19th or 20th century:

6951

5508

1443

This refers to the month of April 6951 since the creation of the world, which corresponds to April 1443 AD.

10. f. 232r – Повѣсть поле́знаа ѡ̑ лати́нꙍ̑ когда̀ ѿлꙋ́чишꙋ̑ ѿ грꙋ́кь. и҆ ѿ ст҃ꙑ̑ бж҃їа цр҃кве. и҆ како и҆зꙍ̑брѣ́тꙍшꙋ себѣ̀ е̑реси е̑же ѿпрѣ̑снꙍчнꙋ̑ слꙋ́жити. и҆ хꙋ́ла на ст҃го дх҃а ⸗. This is the *Useful Tale about the Latins* – a polemical anti-Latin work. As already pointed out, Angel Nikolov has made a comprehensive study on this text, together with a critical edition of the text; special attention is devoted to this particular copy[9].

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[7] I. Bogdan, *Cronice inedite atingǎntoare la istoria romînilor*, Bucureştǐ 1895, p. 96, translation on pp. 101–102. In Ioan Bogdan's publication, the text of this note (or notes) is added to the chronicle, which actually comes after it.

[8] I. Bogdan, *Cronice inedite*, pp. 91–101 (text and translation).

[9] А. Николов, *Повест полезна за латините. Паметник на средновековната славянска полемика срещу католицизма*, София 2011, see particularly pp. 79–85.

– f. 254v – ѿ фрⷶнѕѣ . и ѿ прѡ́чиⷯ латинꙋ́ ~.

– f. 260r – и́же въ ст҃хъ ѿц҃а на́шего ни́кѡна. An excerpt from Nikon of the Black Mountain against the Latins.

– f. 262v – и́на повⷵѣ никифѡра калиста. ѡ вѣрѣ хв҃ⷣ ~.

11. f. 263v – Сло́во ѡ нѣⷨчьскѡⷨ прⷹѣлⷤщени, ка́ко наоу́чи гꙃ҃гнивыи Пе́трꙋ е́реси —. "A sermon against the German error, or How Peter Mongos taught the heresy" – a polemical anti-Latin work.

12. f. 265r – Сло́во ѿц҃а на́шего ѳеѡⷣсїа пеще́скаго иг҃оу́мена. къ иꙁꙗсла́воу кнꙗ́ꙅⷯ (added in the margin: ѡ ла́тинѡ). The text is on a similar topic as the preceding one and is a Russified variant of the history of Peter Mongos.

13. f. 272r – ᾿О испралⷷе́ниⷩ мⷹ́ло въ кра́цѣ вѣрⷺѣ. и ѡ ниꙁложе́ниⷩ нечьсти́вы е́реⷮиⷩ . и кыⷩ ѿ е́реⷮиⷩ и ѿ кꙋ́доу ꙗ́ви сꙗ . съло́уⷱⷩ во сꙗ ѿ дн҃еⷩ нⷷѣкыⷩ събра́нїоу сⷷ́моу бы́ти и гла́ти ѡ сиⷩ ꙾ Added to this text are some erotapocritic fragments by St. Cyril of Alexandria.

14. f. 281v – Повⷷѣда́нїе въ кра́цⷷѣ . како и коего радⷩⷩ дⷷѣла ѿлꙋ́чнш҄ⷶ ѿ наⷨ ла́тине . и иꙁвро́ⷤжени бы́ша ѿ прⷹѣвⷷѣнца своегѡ́ и ѿ книⷢ помⷷ́ныⷩ . и́деже пиш҄ⷹ сꙗ право /f. 282r – missing sheets/. In the left margin below the text, there is an indication written on 6 lines in red ink: михаила сигге́ла іерⷧⷪмскаго и́ꙁложе́нїе православнои вѣрⷺѣ ꙾

15. f. 282r – ...пⷩиⷩци . ѡ̑ви же бг҃олю́бивїⷩ . ѡ̑ви нечьсти́вⷼⷩ . ѡ̑ви же хрⷮїа́не . ѡ̑ви оу́бо сꙋⷮ дро́уꙁⷩ . ѡ̑ви же бли́жнⷩⷩ . ѡ̑ви же неключими . ѡ̑ви же въсⷷѣчьскыⷩ ѿтоу́ⷤжени . ѡ̑ви же, а́ще и нⷷ́мѡщⷩⷩ ѻ́баче съпротⷩⷪвници ꙾ The beginning is missing, due to missing sheets from the manuscript. What follows are fragments from dogmatic anti-heretical works by St. Athanasius of Alexandria, St. Anastasius of Antioch, St. Cyril of Alexandria, St. Basil the Great, St. John Chrysostom, St. John Damascene, St. Gregory of Nyssa, St. Anastasius of Sinai. We present some of them with the titles.

– f. 282v – лⷷѣствичникⷩⷪво

– f. 282v – хрⷮїнⷩⷩ е́ . вⷺѣро́уаⷩ е́ди́нь бы́ти бж҃тво въ ра́внⷷѣ вла́сти ѿц҃а и сн҃а и ст҃го дх҃а . чⷹⷷрⷺѣ́ннаа сла́вⷶ е́ретⷩⷪгⷺ е́ ꙾

– f. 284v – ана́ста́сїа патрⷹі́арха . блⷤе́наго [бж҃їего?] гра́да велⷩⷪкыꙗ анⷣі́ѡхі́а, и кꙋ́рила але꙰а́нⷣрꙋскаго, и́ꙁлⷹже́нїе въ кра́тцⷺѣ ѡ вⷺѣрⷺѣ по въпрошⷷ́нїꙋ ꙾

– f. 287v – ст҃го васи́лⷺіа, ѿ сло́ва е́же на а́рⷹіа и е́вномⷺіа ꙾

– f. 287v – то́гоже ѿ посла́нїа е́же посла́ къ брат҄ꙋ своемоу, гⷹригѡ́рїоу е́п҃поу нⷩⷪссⷩⷪнскомоу . ѡ раꙁⷹ́ⷣѣлениⷩ сꙋⷩⷪⷵⷮства и съста́ва •

– f. 288r – ꙁлатооу́стово, ѿ бⷷⷵⷷ ст҃го дх҃а ꙾

– f. 289r – велⷩⷪкааго васи́лⷺіа ѡ ст҃ⷷѣмⷩ дс҃ⷷѣ.

The last rubric (ff. 302v–303r) concerns the continuity between the Old and New Testaments and seems to announce the Old Testament Apocrypha that follow.

16. f. 303v – marginal note.

17. f. 304r – ꙗвле́нїе ѡ̈ц҃оу на́шемоу авраа́мъ ѿ за́вѣтѣ архїстра́тигѡ̈ михаилѡ̈ :~ The Testament of Abraham.

18. f. 316r – оу́ка́зъ ка́ко съ҆тво́ри г҃ъ бра́тство кр꙼ꙋ́стное :~ This is a copy of part of *Tale of the Tree of the Cross* by Priest Jeremiah. F. 319v is empty.

The latter two texts represent the apocryphal line of the manuscript. Their presence in this collection is justified by asserting the idea of salvation of souls by God's judgement on people, which is related here to human justice on earth.

19. f. 320r – ѿ събра́нїа ре́кше ѿ ти́пика с҃тыж гꙑрꙑ̀ . праꙁ́нци о̀ ра́ботѣ :~ :~ :~ A collective rubric, in which the highlights are a monthly list of remembrances of saints from Mount Athos and anti-heretical fragments against the Armenians, which, according to the text, are drawn from the rules of ecumenical patriarch St. Nicephorus. The main reason for this mention is the fact that the text basically deals with the Orthodox fasts and feasts, and hence refutes the Armenian Artsivur fast.

20. f. 337r – о̀ мл꙼ъча́ни аввà григѡ́рїа синаита. Only the title is written on this page. The text itself begins on f. 337v and continues to f. 338r, being written in a different hand. Above it, in the margin, there is added: дѣанїа бг҃оꙋгѡ́наа, троупѣнїе.

Beginning – **Пр꙼ъвое оу́бо по́бае мл꙼ъча́лникꙋ . ꙗко̀ о̑снованїе има́ти.**

The following sheets are empty or filled with marginal notes of a later date.

2. Marginal notes and additions

1. On the back of the front cover, there is a note in Romanian, written on four lines and dating from the 19th or 20th century:

Pravila sfinților apostoli.

sec. XVI (și XVIII) –

(v. ff. 220, 228, 302v, 337 și 337v).

Under this note, there is another, written on three lines:

чете ла́ꙋꙁи

чеела че е́ши фири́че де ѡ̈мꙋ᷆

таре ꙋчꙋмь

Below, in a different hand, four lines in Romanian, in Cyrillic script:

+ Тѡть ѡ̈мꙋл де сꙋ꙼п тьрв

Сꙗре дака᷍ вине часꙋ᷆ мꙋꙗре

Тѡть ѡ̈мꙋ᷆ десꙋть

　　Тара́сїе де Ѳасо̑

The marginal note indicates the name of the copyist: Tarasius of Thassos. This information allows us to draw some conclusions regarding the manuscript. It obviously had a turbulent history and traveled through different ethnic environments, as confirmed by other marginal notes and by the use of three alphabets (Cyrillic, Latin and Greek) in the notes. Such traveling of books can be considered part of the processes that created the shared religious-cultural environment of Southeastern Europe.

2. f. 1r – two illegible notes on the side and below the decoration. Top left side: illegible and cut off. The legible part is: тио гр︮ѣшні.

Below, under the interlacing frame (on a single line):

чине нꙋ съ ва лѣса де тоате нꙋ ва пꙋте пречепе пе дꙋ︮ꙁе

3. f. 1v – a note on 13 lines, probably dating from the 19ᵗʰ century:

кꙋте славе аꙋ кꙋ︮т︮а Гедеꙣ лꙋ︮ варлⷶ

съ съ щїе то︮ анꙋме

← нⷠⷠны чино́ маръ

← ꙗ́ко добла мара

← ст︮ыꙗ оу︮добренїе

← въспрїими вифлема бж︮їи митрополїи

← по рождествѣ́ твое бг︮оневⷮѣ́то вл︮це

← поⷣ х︮с петра ꙗкова іѡана

← ꙗви сꙗ ко︮тантинꙋ цр︮ю

← прⷫⷫбне ѿче бг︮онеⷤ Ѳео̑сїе

← прⷫⷫбне ѿче иꙁꙑиде бежанїе и̑правеноⷣ

← ино́къ множⷮства наставника

← виⷣꙋ е́лисаветⷶ кь дв︮е марїе. .

← ши ѡ многогл︮аница кꙋ тоатⷮ славеле де бин︮

4. f. 5r – погꙑ́бль е̑ (beside the text: са́мь погоу́боуль е̑сть)

5. f. 10v – instruction written on four lines in red ink: е̑ наре́︮т сꙗ ча́ст︮го василїа (beside the text: і̑ѡа́ннь мн︮и оу́ченикь ст︮го василїа).

6. f. 26r – instruction on two lines, written in red ink: о̑ пра́ꙁницⷮѣ ст︮хъ а̑п︮лъ (beside the text – и̑ ст︮хь и̑ въсе̑хва́лны а̑п︮лъ пе́тра и̑ па́вла . си︮ пра́ꙁн︮икь съвръ́шати и̑ почи́тати).

7. f. 26v – a note on eight lines, written in red ink: не тъчі́а мирѣнⷬ . нⷯѣ и̑нⷭкⷬ въ пꙋстꙑ́нⷮѣ праꙁновати и̑ почи́тати ∶∼ (as far as to the text: въ си︮ оу́бо въсⷮѣ дн︮е въ нⷩ же пра́ꙁновати повелⷮѣхⷬ въсⷮѣко́моу хⷬр︮тїа́ниноу...).

8. f. 34r – addition/note on line 26, written in black ink. This seems to be an omission of the rule in the text:

Дїа́кⷬ въ оу́стн︮а о̑скврⷮѣ́нивыи сꙗ да и̑зврⷮѣ́же/т сꙗ . чтⷬⷬже е̑ ꙋ︮ⷣ срⷬⷶ́ныи гл︮еть, а̑ще положⷨи гл︮еть въ оу́стн︮а же́нскаго срⷶ́ма . и̑ бꙑ́ и̑стицⷶ́нїе . сⷱ тлⷮѣ́кꙋⷬ

въ оу́стнѣ̀ ѡ̀скврѣ́нивыи са . а̑зъ оу́бо не пишѫ . тꙗ̀ и вѣ́дыи ꙗ̑вѣ̀ . съдѣ́ѧвыи̂ то̏, и̑ прїе́млаи съ бм҃ъ и̑сповѣ́данїе . рассꙋждⷷй.

It is located in the margin next to the following rules: "дїа́кѡноу же а̑ще приключит са сїе..." and "І̑ере́и а̑ще блѫ́дить, да и̑зврꙋ́жет са. а̑ жена̀ е̑го̀ а̑ще хо́щꙇ̈ ѡ̑ста́вити е̑го̀ цѣло́мꙋ́дрїа ра́ди свое̑го..." It seems the text of the note should be between them.

9. f. 53r – о̀ мⷩꙵжⷷьлѡ́жⷭтвѣ̀ ⸺ (next to the text: Мⷩꙵжⷷелѡ́жⷭтво же на трⷯꙵ ча́сти и̑ вещи быва́е...).

10. f. 59v – an addition to an omission in the text: васи́лїе (next to: и̑ гл҃еть сꙇ̈ тⷮꙵьй вели́кыи ст҃ыи). This refers to St. Basil the Great, whose name is omitted.

11. f. 63r – an addition of 8 lines, written in black ink, except for the first letter, "а" in red: а̀ оу́бивыи видѣ́ль е̑ собѫ́ж. ка́ко и̑зво́ли си́це да ꙋ̑пасе́ть / се́бе :⸺ (next to the text about the murder: видѣхⷯꙵ же и̑ дроу́гое оу̑бі́иство быва́жꙗ̑ее...).

12. f. 69r – added three lines in red ink: е̑же е̑ па́че е̑ства (next to one of the subdivisions of о̀ мала́кїи. е̑ст же и̑ дроу́гыи грⷯꙵ содѡ́мⷭкы. е̑же съ же́нѫж лꙗ́жⷷати, и̑ въ а̑фе́дрѡнь блѫ́дити. е̑же е̑ вели́ко безакѡ́нїе).

13. f. 78r – indication on two lines in red: о̀ прѣхо́жⷷⷩꙵⷷнїи і̑ере́и ⸗ (it signals the text: і̑ере́и а̑ще прѣи́дꙇ̈ въ и̑нѫ ꙁе́млѧ и̑лѝ въ инⷩꙵ гра́, и̑лѝ вⷷ̏ тако́ва. да не ѡ̑ста́вать слоу́жити).

14. f. 85r – addition/clarification in red: въ ꙁ҃ дн҃ь (next to the text: а̑ще ли жена̀ ро́диⷮꙵ на ст҃ѫ па́схѫ, то̏ до се́ма́го дн҃е да оу́мы́ет са водѡ́ж).

15. f. 85v – indication in the upper margin in red: прїе́мшꙇ̈ прѣ́жⷷ млⷮꙵвѫ: ⸺ (placed under the text: а̑ще і̑ере́и крⷮꙵи́ть ко́го либо трети́цеж. да ѿлѫ́чит са ѿ і̑ере́иства).

16. f. 86r – added in black ink: и̑ ѡ̑пꙇ̈ⷮꙵ са (next to the text: і̑ере́и а̑ще неслоу́жить литоу́ргїѫ и̑лѝ дїа́кѡнⷮꙵь. нѫ̀ та́ко ѡ̑быꙗ́сть са и̑ ѡ̑блѣ́вает са).

17. f. 101r – clarification written in black on two lines: нѫ да́щꙇ̈ бг҃а ра́дї (written next to the text, that some monks, out of self-renunciation and heroism, have entirely given up drinking wine: та́ко прѣбыва́жꙿ подви́га ра́ди вели́каго и̑ до́браго, жела́жꙿще бг҃а ра́ди).

18. f. 101v – прⷣаена (next to the text: събра̀ въ кѡнстанти́ни гра́дѣ. ст҃аа и̑ правосла́внаа Ѳеѡ́ра цр҃ца).

19. f. 104v – two lines written in black ink: съ правослⷺ҇нылми (next to the text: да причⷶ́стит са съвⷬꙵшⷷе́нылми хр̅тїа́нылми...).

20. f. 119v – clarification on one line, written in black ink: ѡбщꙇⷩꙵ сватⷮꙵⷩꙵ (to: е̑же ѿ бра́чнаго рѡжⷣꙵ́ства ꙁна́жⷷщⷩꙵїи са. сирⷷ́чь соу́гоубы̑ сва́тⷮꙵвⷷь).

21. f. 121r – clarification on two lines, written in black ink: та́кожⷣꙵ и̑ вра̄ (next to the text: а̑ дѣ́дь къ вноу́коу вто́ромоу сѫть степени).

22. f. 126r – clarification (substitution of word) on two lines in black: съ
поса́ницеж е҆го̀ (next to the text: не мо́же таковыи о҆скврꙋ́нити са съ же́ноѫ
о҆ц҃а свое҆гѻ наре́наго. ни же съ паки́дож е҆го̀).

23. f. 137r – clarification on one line using another word, written in black ink:
посо́хѻ҃, м̑и (next to the text: да би҃х е҆го̀, м̑ тимь тѡіа́ѡ҃).

24. f. 140v – clarification on one line in black ink, about the baptism of the
newborn child that is in risk of dying: к҃рще́но е҆̑.

25. f. 142r – addition of one line in black ink: ѡ҃ста́вленї҆й (next to the text:
жена̀ а҆ще повели́ і҆е́рео̀ꙋ ѻ҆ литоꙋргі́и е҆го̀).

26. f. 150r – clarification/heading for the text (four lines) substituting another
word: вражаа҆ и́ли и́д꙽е꙼ кⸯ вражажщимь (next to the text: і҆е́реи чары д꙼꙼ли и́ли
ходⸯа кⸯ чарод꙽кемь. да и҆зврꙋ́жет са ѿ і҆е́реиства).

27. f. 176v – clarification on one line in black ink, regarding kinship by match-
making: ѡ҃браꙁна (next to the text: и́мат же по съвъкоꙋпле́нїоꙋ разли́чїа мнѡ҃га
нра́вна).

28. f. 179r – clarification in black ink: жены мое́ж (next to: жени ны́хми).

29. f. 202v – clarification regarding the Passion of Christ on two lines in black
ink: ѡ҃цтѻ҃ и жлꙋ́чїа напωи́ша.

30. f. 204v – note on one line in red ink, regarding the pentarchy: е҆̑ патрїа́рси.

31. f. 205r – the same and in the same sense: е҆́꙼ патрїа́рсы.

32. f. 206v – addition, about Patriarch Narcissus of Jerusalem, to the text about
the holders of this chair: н҃а҃ быти на́кис꙽ .л꙽ том҃ ѿ спи́тꙋныа ср꙽ти. в꙽к вѡ лꙋтѡ҃ р꙽с
ти꙽ :— (=106). The text about the patriarchs of Jerusalem is published in its en-
tirety further in this book.

33. f. 220r – a chronicle note written on 11 lines in black ink (initials in red), which
is a chronicle about the principality of Moldavia. Published by I. Bogdan in 1895 year[10].

Beginning – В лꙙтѻ҃ ҂ꙅц҃ѕ҃а в꙽ꙹ а҆рхі҆е́пкпь кꙋ́ і҆ѡсꙙ҃ ѿ н꙼ꙙмꙹꙹскꙑ монастирꙋ́

34. f. 220v – addition to the presentation of the Roman Christian emperors
and the councils, on 12 lines, in black ink, of which only the initial C is in red:

Скѡ҃нꙙ̑ са в꙽꙼кыи кѡ҃стантꙙ́нь сы̑ л꙽к ꙁ꙽е . и҆ ѡ҃ста́ви р꙽е҃ сꙙновѡ҃ свои҆̑ ц҃рⸯтво .
кꙋ́сте. и҆ кѡ҃ста́тꙙ́н. и҆ кѡ҃ста́тꙙ́ꙋ и́же ц҃рⸯтвꙋваша, л꙽к к҃д :—

35. f. 221r – in black ink, across from the writing about Justinian II and the
6th ecumenical council: втѡ́рицеж.

36. f. 221v – written on two lines in black ink: "Copronymus" is written in
Greek letters, probably by a Greek, in order to clarify the incomprehensible word
Gnoeimeniti ('dung-named, named-crap') in the text and to correct the number 24
with 23: κωπρωνη^μ / л҃г л꙽к꙽ (next to the text: кѡнста́тꙙ́нь гнѡ́и и́менитыи. к҃д л꙽к).

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[10] I. Bogdan, *Cronice inedite*, p. 96.

37. f. 222v – ѱ҃ м҃а. Written next to the text about John Tzimiskes, but it is a correction of the number.

Further below on the same page, written on three lines in black, across from Isaac Komnenos (і̇са́кїє н҃): кѡ́мнй в҃ л́ѣ̀ и̇а́ъ, г҃.

38. f. 223r – correction on one line, in red: василй҃ і̇ѡ҃ к҃ (written above: іѡа́ннь багрѻрѡ́ны́и ѕ҃ӏ л҃ѣ).

39. f. 224r – indication/heading on two lines at the beginning of the presenta-tion about Moldavia: ҙа стран̈ мѡ́да́скаѧ.

40. f. 226r – written in the margin across from the text about the 3rd and 4th ecumenical councils: Несторї҃а̑ мѻ҃ръскаго. ѿ а̇нтїохі̇а ꙋбо сꙋща. кѡ̈стантинова же гра́а ст҃ѡ. не бл҃гоꙍьстивна въѻꙗче на бывша ⸗.

41. f. 227r – two additions/corrections in the presentation about the ecumen-ical patriarchs:

written across from the place where Patriarch Ignatius is mentioned[11]: е҃ӏ л҃ѣ с҃нь михаила ц҃рѣ. и̇ вн̈ꙋ̈ никифѡ́ра ц҃рѣ (the underlined text of the number and years is a correction, written in red ink, of the indicated 11 years in the text proper).

written across from the place where Patriarch Stephan is mentioned[12]: с҃нь василїа ц҃рѣ.

42. f. 228r – a long marginal note[13], written in a different hand in black ink; only the invocation cross and the initial И are in red:

† ″Изволенїемь ѡ̈ц҃а и̇ съ поспѣшенїе̑ с҃на и̇ съвръшенїе̑ ст҃го д҃ха . ра́ченїе̑ бӝт̑внӹ̑. распа́ле же д̑хѡ̈внӹ̑. смѣренїе григорїе миропол̑ соꙋꙋа́скыи. жела́ж напаа́ти сѧ бӝт̑венаго Книгꙋ сїа̑ рекꙍмаа пра́вй и̇ приплодїти кь ст̑ѡ̑рицꙋ ре́нное, да́ровати ѿ прѣ̈ма́тиваго г҃а і̇ꙋ х҃а. тѣ̈мже потꙋ̈щате́нꙋ и̇зъꙍ̈брѣте. и̇ исписӓ и̇ оꙋ̈краси ей҃ по сё да́де ӓ по сьмрти своей҃ въ мла́бꙋ себе и̇ па́мѧ̈ рѡдїтеле свой҃ вь ц҃рк҃ѡ и̇дѣ е̑ хра́̈ възнѣнїа г҃а нашё і̇ꙋ̈ х҃а въ ꙍ̈бы́тѣли па́досотра́ровꙋ[14]. а̇ ктѡ̀ покꙋсй҃ сѧ въꙁꙗи

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[11] On St. Ignatius, ecumenical patriarch (847–858, 867–877), see: *Oxford Dictionary of Byzan-tium*, Oxford 1991, vol. II, col. 893–894; *Prosopographie der Mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*, Berlin–New York 2000, Bd. I/2, no. 2666, pp. 173–179; Вл. Станковић, *Цариградски патриајарси и цареви Македонске династије*, Београд 2003, p. 40 sq. et *passim*.

[12] On Stephan I, ecumenical patriarch (886–893), son of the basileus Basil I, see: Вл. Станковић, *Цариградски патриајарси и цареви Македонске династије*, pp. 230–236.

[13] The marginal note is published, together with the Romanian translation and cited literature in: *Însemnări de pe manuscrise și cărți vechi din țara Moldovei. Un corpus*, eds. I. Caproșu, E. Chia-buru, vol. I (1429–1750), Iași 2008, pp. 77–78.

[14] Sic! P. P. Panaitescu reads it as нандо сърарⷡовꙋ (P. P. Panaitescu, *Catalogul Ms. Slave*, vol. III, a type-written copy in the reading room for manuscripts of the Library of the Romanian Academy, p. 141). The word is translated as Pantocratorului. That is how it is printed in: *Însemnări de pe man-uscrise și cărți vechi din țara Moldovei*, vol. I, p. 78. It may be a mistaken form of "Pantocrator" or of

ꙗ или иꙁмѣнити и продати иде . а кто да бꙋде прокле ѿ га ба сътвошаго нбо и ꙁемлꙗ. и ѿ то прчт꙯і его мтре. и ѿ д҃ еѵлисти. и ти꙯ сты ѿцъ и҃ въ никеи. и ѿ наше смѣренїа да не бꙋде проще ами꙯ ꙷ / в лѿ ꙁо҃е (=7075=1567).

43. f. 243r – indication written in red: повѣсть⁓ (next to: ѡ́ блъгаре̂).

44. f. 246r – сара́кыни. The designation сара́цины is present in the text, and we may ask who made the correction and why. Was it a Greek? Because this is a Greek pronunciation.

45. f. 248r – note in black ink: placed in brackets and crossed out: ꙁ прѣбине (ръ).

46. f. 259r – a corrected number of the year of Constantine Monomachos and Patriarch Michael: the year written in the text: "в л҃тѡ ꙅфн҃в" (= 6552) is corrected to: хꙅг҃ (= 663). This is probably a correction of the last two digits of the year.

47. f. 265r – a note on two lines in red, next to the sermon of St. Theodosius of Pechora: о латинѡ̑.

48. f. 273v – note on four lines, written in black ink, referring to the uncreated nature of the Son: ѿ й҃ во сьвѡренⷪ, лꙋчьшее рожⷩ енноⷷ.

49. ff. 275v–276r – indication about the kings under which the councils took place (only the first council, under Constantine, is on f. 275v, the rest are on f. 276r):

а́ великы кѡⷩ статінь ⸱⸳
в҃ Ѳеѡⷭ їе великыꙵ
г҃ Ѳеѡⷭ їе ма́лыи
д҃ Маркїана бⷧ гаго
е́ іꙋстїнїꙗⷩ великыꙵ
ꙅ́ кѡⷩ стантіꙵ брадатыи
ꙁ́ кѡⷩ стантіꙵ и ирина мⷮ ти его̀

50. f. 277v – a picture of a hand pointing a finger and an indication, written on three lines in red ink: с꙯е на вътwꙷрѣ съвwрѣ.

51. f. 278r – indication written on two lines in red ink: на ꙗⷬ етїꙵⷷ с꙯е ꙷ.

52. f. 279r – note about the heretic Mament, written on nine lines in red ink: стъ ꙋбо іерⷧ имлѣнъ рѡ́дѡ̂ бы̑. дре́внїи е̂ретиꙵ сиⷬ ѣ прѣвыи мамѣтъ сьлож са пе́рси.

53. f. 279v – a note next to the writing about the heretic Paul, a line in red ink: и ве́щїꙵ.

54. f. 280r – a note written in red next to the text about St. Cyril of Alexandria: о т꙯ ѣⷤ е.

and shortly below, next to the writing about the Son and the Word: ѿ ꙁ꙯ е о хⷭ ѣ̀ ꙷ.

"Pantosotir". On this question, see E. Turdeanu, *Le Sbornik dit 'de Bisericani': Fausse identité d'un manuscrit remarquable*, "Revue des études slaves" 44. 1–4, 1965, pp. 37–40.

55. f. 283r – two notes written in red:

next to the writing about Arius: ѻ̀ томъ же а̑рїе презвутⷬе̏ сыи алеѯа́нрⷣьскыѧ цр҃кве.

in the lower margin, under the writing about Eunomius: въ̑ еѵно́мїе гаⷧѣннⷯ сыи, кизикꙋ е̑пⷵь. го́рша ѕѣлѡ ѿ а̑рїа, непо́бна ѿц҃ꙋ лаа́ше а сн҃а :⸝—.

56. f. 284r – written in red ink in the upper margin, concerning the birth of the Son from the Father: нерожⷣе́но   рожⷣе́но   исхо́дно.

57. f. 287r – note written in red on six lines, regarding the Holy Trinity: е̑ствⷪ̀ бѡ тр҃ца а̀ не лиⷰи, гл҃ѧⷮ. и̑ единосꙋⷳⷳьство.

58. f. 289r – in black ink, next to St. Basil's writing on the Holy Ghost: ἀθανάσιε. The note may have been written by a Greek; in the manuscript there are other such notes written in the two alphabets.

59. f. 289v – a note, next to the text about controversy with the Montanists, written on five lines in black ink: бъ҃ сьꙁ̏давь чл҃ка прⷭ҇ъ̀ въꙁеⷨ̏ ѿ ꙁемлѧ и ѡ̏бразꙋⷡ̀ свои по́чь е̑гѡ̀ ⸝—.

60. f. 292r – a note on two lines, written in black ink, next to the text about understanding God: и̑ сн҃ь не быⷡ̀ваⷮⷴ.

61. f. 294v – a hard-to-read note, written in red next to the text concerning Epiphanius of Cyprus: покры́вⷬ гнⷩ̈жⷬ бжⷮ҇въ и̑ пакы̀ не о̑пиеⷨ̏ напⷷ же сⷮⷴ.

62. f. 301r – indication on four lines, in red ink: до ѯ̑е҃ бѡ̑ кwнⷬ̈е́ⷷ бг҃осло́/бї̈оу.

63. f. 301v – note in red ink: гд҃ь прⷬⷪркь ⸝—.

64. f. 303v – a large marginal note-colophon, written by the copyist of the manuscript in a legible short hand in black ink, with only three initials in red. It is framed in a red border with modest ornamentation. Below, to the right, next to the number of the tetrad, which ends with – 36 (л҃ѕ) – a hand from the 19th or 20th century has calculated the year of the date in the note:

7065
<u>5508</u>
1557

The text of the marginal note[15]:

ʼИзволе́нїеⷨ̏ ѿц҃а̏ . и̑ съ поспѣше́нїеⷨ̏ сн҃а . и̑ съвръⷲ̏ше́нїеⷨ̏ ст҃го дх҃а . нача̑ⷮ сїа̀ кни́га на и́мѧ правила ст҃ы а̑плⷷ. и̑ съвръши̑ повелѣ́нїеⷨ̏ и̑ даа́нїеⷨ̏ прѣ̑wⷲ̑щеннⷽ миропо́лита соучⷶ́ска кꙋ́ григѡ́рїа . е́же и̑ нѣмⷷска̀ ꙁове̏ сѧ . и̑ даде и҃ въ монасты̀ⷷ иⷣе̏ храⷨ е̑ въꙁнⷩ̈е́нїе гⷶ̀ б҃а и̑ сп҃са на́шеⷢ і҃ⷮ хⷶ̏ . да бꙋⷣе емꙋⷶ̏ въ вⷷкы̀ вⷷка̀ па́мⷶ . а̀ ктѡ̀ разорѝ на́ша даа́нїа беꙁ наⷲ̏ бⷧⷶе́нїа, да бꙋⷣе прокла̑ ѿ сп҃са на́шего і҃ⷮ хⷶ̏, и̑ ѿ пⷬⷱта̑а е̑ мⷮ҃рь . и̑ ѿ в҆ сⷷⷯ ст҃ы̑ . и̑ исписа́ сѧ рⷤ̑кож е̑родїа́кона і̑е̑ларї́ѡна, ꙋ̑ченⷷка

то́гоже миро́полита . въ дни алеѯа́дра вое/во . в лѣто ҂зѯе (7065 CM = 1557 Р. Хр.) мца а ѕ (или е).

65. f. 327v – an indication written on two lines in black ink next to the text about how the impious Armenians fast: о арме́нѣхъ ⁚

66. f. 333v – note on the side of the sheet, written in a later hand, in black ink: Пи̅ аз мно́гогрѣны / иереи Иѡре́тъ – there follows something resembling a signature лѣ ҂зсѯе а ⁚ л ѿ па́схъ.

7265 Aug. 30

<u>5508</u>

1757

67. f. 338r – later note: или прѣдѣли дѣаниⷩ ради часⷩ.

Below, in the same hand, in Greek and Cyrillic letters – фило́феⷭ дꙗконⷭ.

On the side, a note dating from the 18th century, by the monk Iorest, written in mixed Latin and Cyrillic letters:

İORÉST – е́рмонаⷯ/ ҂зсѯе а̅ л ѿ па́схъ

Below, calculation of the year:

7265 Aug. 30

<u>5508</u>

1757

68. f. 338v – note written in Romanian, in Cyrillic script:

Пра́вла ачата́ ⷣе а сви́те мѣ́стиꙗ нꙗ́цꙋ ши фи́ни стрика́тъ ши де́легатъ ѡ а леⷢга́тъ е смере́ни Іѡн [лѣ ҂зскд] (7224 = 1716/7). The term "humble" is usually used by a metropolitan bishop in reference to himself, but we cannot say with certainty that the reference here is to a metropolitan.

69. f. 339r – several later notes in Romanian, in Cyrillic script:

† До́не милꙋещи не пе́рꙋ рꙋга ст҃лꙋи ма́ко ши а тꙋтꙋро́ сфи́цилⷪ тꙋ̆ (written on two lines).

а щі́нць съ фі́е къ а́трꙋ ꙋ а сѣ ча́сꙋри дрꙋв ꙗ минꙋ́те съ ҂сми́ѱк (calculation of the hours and minutes in the year) "In ştiinţă să fie că întru un an sânt ceasuri 1162?, iar minute sînt 249 720" (f. 339).

70. f. 339v – two writings, of a later date and in Romanian, in Cyrillic script: one of them is a list on 11 line, and under it is a one-line note.

71. The back of the back cover. There are several spoiled notes, which are illegible. In addition:

Чине нꙋ съ ва лѣса́ де то́ате, а причепе пе Дꙋмнезꙋꙋ, нꙋ́ поате то́ть ѡ́мꙋ̆

Чи́стите (written vertically)

Са́рѣ де ̆ атъ пе́тꙋꙋ ачѣꙗ десабате

⁎ ⁎ ⁎

The marginal notes enable us to confirm the archaeographic data with which the manuscript became known to scholars. BAR 636 was written for the Neamț monastery at the order of the metropolitan bishop of Suceava and all Moldavia Gregory II by his disciple Hierodeacon Hilarion in 1557, in the time of the Moldavian ruler Alexandru Lăpușneanu. The later marginal note, written in 1567 confirms this donation, a fact which supports the view as to a strong connection between Metropolitan Bishop Gregory II, the manuscript, and the place of its creation. It was no accident that the Metropolitan was titled not only bishop of Suceava but also of Neamț. It is known that the Neamț monastery, together with the Moldavian monasteries Bistrița, Dragomirna, Moldovița, Probota, etc., was one of the most active centers of copying, which produced the so-called Slavo-Romanian literature written in accordance with the Bulgarian orthographic norms of the Second Bulgarian Empire.

In studying the collection, we should first of all place it in its own historical and cultural context. This applies to the production of the copy in question, but also to the creation of the protograph that preceded it. We have sufficient data indicating that such collections were not exceptional in Moldavia, which certainly raises the question as to how texts with a certain content of ideas were created and combined – texts which preceded the events taking place around the middle of the 16th century. The specific situation in Moldavia in the 15th–16th century – its geographic proximity to Catholic countries like Poland, Lithuania, Hungary, its active contacts with the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the threat coming from the Ottoman power, were all factors impelling the need for "rallying the Orthodox forces" and "affirming Orthodoxy as the dominant ideology in Moldavia"[16].

The affirming of Orthodoxy and the fight against heresies and against other religions and other Christian confessions was a permanent policy of the Moldavian rulers. In the context of the present study, it is important to point out that as early as the 15th century, religious minorities were oppressed in the principality, although not on a large scale; hence, this policy was not very typical for the situation there. Such action was always related to aggravated relations with the Sultan. The subjects of oppression were primarily the Jewish traders, connected with the

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[16] П. Русев, А. Давидов, *Григорий Цамблак в Румъния и в старата румънска литература*, София 1966, pp. 13, 20. Regarding the situation in Moldavia and the relations between the different confessional communities, see: M. Crăciun, *Tolerance and Persecution. Political Authority and Religious Difference in Late Medieval Moldavia*, "Colloquia. Journal of Central European History" X–XI.1–2, 2003–2004, pp. 7–8.

Ottoman Empire, and especially the local Armenians[17]. Data on oppression and outrages against the Armenians and their clergy are extant for the time of Stephan the Great (1479), and later for the rule of Petru Rareş (1534), albeit not as cruel as in later times[18]. The "Latins", i.e., the Catholic minority in the principality, were not exempt from this policy. Information on persecution of Latins is extant from as early as the first half of the 15th century, and also from the time of Stephan the Great[19]. However, the crisis that is our topic of interest, and which might be relevant for the creation of the collection under study, arose around the middle of the 16th century. It seems to have been due to internal political conflict, which occasioned the campaign and ruin of Moldavia by the armies of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent in 1538. The campaign was provoked by the intrigues of a "foreigner" – the Albanian Mihul[20]. These moods found visual expression in the depictions of the "condemned" in the Last Judgement on the outer walls of Moldavian churches from the middle of the 16th century, and especially in Voroneţ, where we find depicted not only the Muslim oppressors, but various heretics and schismatics, notably including "Latins" and Armenians[21]. But the serious persecution of people of other faith began more than a decade later, and was connected with the conversion to Islam of the ruler of Moldavia Iliaş Rareş. He adopted the Muslim faith officially on 30 May 1551 in Constantinople, and subsequently abdicated and was appointed governor of the Silistra sandjak[22]. This was a shock to Moldavian society, and raised suspicions that the Sultan had decided to change the status of the principality and to put it under his direct rule. The clergy and the Orthodox Christians saw Iliaş's deed as treasonous, and described it in the harshest terms[23]. Religious fervor,

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[17] ŞT. ANDREESCU, *Presiune otomană şi reacţie ortodoxă în Moldova urmaşilor lui Petru vodă Rareş*, "Studii şi materiale de istorie medie" XXVII, 2009, pp. 27–29, 47 sq.; M. CRĂCIUN, *Tolerance and Persecution*, p. 10 sq.

[18] M. CRĂCIUN, *Tolerance and Persecution*, pp. 10–12, 13–14.

[19] *Ibidem*, pp. 10, 12–14.

[20] *Cronicile slavo-romîne din sec. XV–XVI, publicate de Ion Bogdan*, ed. P. P. PANAITESCU, (= *Cronicile medievale ale Romîniei*, vol. II), Bucureşti 1959, p. 84 (chronicle of Macarius); B. JOUDIOU, *La réaction orthodoxe face aux étrangers dans les principautés roumaines au XVIe siècle*, [in:] *Migrations et diasporas méditerranéenes (Xe–XVIe siècles)*, éds. M. BALARD et A. DUCELLIER, Paris 2002, pp. 248–249.

[21] S. ULEA, *Origines et signification idéologique de la peinture extérieure des églises moldaves*, "Revue roumaine d'histoire" 1, 1963, pp. 53–55; M. CRĂCIUN, *Tolerance and Persecution*, pp. 21–26.

[22] ŞT. ANDREESCU, *Presiune otomană şi reacţie ortodoxă*, p. 36 (see note 43); *Călători străini despre Ţările Române – Supliment I*, forign travelers about the Romanian principalities ŞT. ANDREESCU and others, Bucureşti 2011, p. 46.

[23] *Cronicile slavo-romîne din sec. XV–XVI*, ed. P. P. PANAITESCU, pp. 110–113; B. JOUDIOU, *La réaction orthodoxe face aux étrangers*, p. 250.

as well as political motives, led to persecutions of Jews and Armenians, who were more or less connected with the Ottoman Empire[24]. Fears that the foundations of society would be infringed upon, were combined with increased proselytism on the part of Catholics and especially Protestants from Transylvania, who pressured the population not only there, but in Moldavia as well[25]. They were also persecuted under the new ruler Stephan Rareş, which continued under Alexandru Lăpuşneanu as well, the time when the collection under study was created.

Events in Moldavia around the middle of the 16th century produced a new ideological image, which was appreciated in the principality, and which was noted by B. Joudiou: the image of the ruler who has restored the true faith in society[26]. No doubt, the Church, and foremost Bishop Macarius, provided the ideological basis and justification for persecution of the enemies of Orthodoxy who had nearly been victorious, and the power of the prince implemented this ideology. The mechanism of persecution, however, was of a legal kind, and was implemented by the state authorities; it is in this context that we should assess the creation of the miscellany under study, which combines theological polemics with legal norms, to which the greater part of the manuscript is devoted. In fact, the choice of a certain variant of the Nomocanon, which we will mention later, is not accidental, as this was generally the purpose of legal literature. It should also be noted, that this canonical text was widely disseminated both in the Wallachian and the Moldavian tradition. We have many copies of it, made in the principality from the second half of the 15th to the 17th century[27].

In studying BAR 636 and its historical context, we should have in mind the existence of a nearly identical manuscript, which is now preserved as a photocopy under the call mark BAR Ms. sl. 685 (further below, only BAR 685) in the Library of the Romanian Academy. The original is found in the Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences, in the collection of A. I. Yatsimirsky, № 51. A. I. Yatsimirsky described the manuscript[28], and the photocopy is described by P. Panaitescu in the

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[24] Şt. Andreescu, *Presiune otomană şi reacţie ortodoxă*, p. 44 sq.; M. Crăciun, *Tolerance and Persecution*, pp. 35–36.

[25] Şt. Andreescu, *Presiune otomană şi reacţie ortodoxă*, p. 45 sq.; B. Joudiou, *La réaction orthodoxe face aux étrangers*, p. 252.

[26] B. Joudiou, *La réaction orthodoxe face aux étrangers*, p. 250.

[27] М. Цибранска-Костова, *Покайната книжнина на българското Средновековие IX–XVIII век. Езиково-текстологични и културологични аспекти*, София 2011, pp. 540–542 (review of the manuscripts); D. Naydenova, *Anti-Armenian Polemics in a Slavic Canon Law Miscellany (Ms. Slav. No 461 from the Manuscript Collection of the Romanian Academy)*, "Etudes balkaniques" L/3, 2014, pp. 88–90 (note 18).

[28] А. И. Яцимирский, *Из славянских рукописей. Тексты и заметки*, Москва 1898, pp. 76–92; see also А. И. Яцимирский, *Из истории славянской проповеди в Молдавии*. "Памятники древней письменности и исскуства" 163, 1906; accessible www.knigafund.ru.

third volume of his inventory[29]. It had contained a now lost marginal note dating from 1512 and relating the work to the Moldavian ruler Bogdan III[30]:

+ Въ лѣт ҂ЗК, съ даанїе и повелѣнїе блгочьстиваго и хрстолюбиваго Iѡ Богдан воевод, господарь въсъ Земли Мѡлдавстѣ исписа сѧ съ книга рекомы Нѡмѡканѡн монастирю ѿ Бисерикани. Написа же съ комат въ монастир Нѣмецкомь идеже ест храм Пантѡкратор, мнѡгогрѣшнїй таха ерѡдїакѡн Никодимь егоуменствѫѱоу же тъгда їермонах Парѳенїе.

+ Дѡѯа си ѡ Ѳеос [in Greek].

The situation in Moldavia under Bogdan III, ruler of Moldavia from 1504 to 1517, was very tense at times, but there is no information regarding events like those we know to have happened under the successors of Petru Rareş – events that provoked intense persecution of other religious denominations. True, we have information about occasional tense relations with Poland, which might have provoked an anti-Catholic reaction. There was conflict with the Ottoman Empire as well (especially in connection with the events of 1512, events contemporaneous with the alleged time of the creation of the collection, and reflected in the chronicle contained in its "twin" copy dating from 1557). Nevertheless, we cannot take these events as grounds for the creation or copying of this manuscript, which is strikingly opposed to various heresies, schismatics, and religious minorities in general in the principality. This is a question of direct relevance to the study of the manuscript BAR 636 and hence cannot be neglected.

It is notable that the marginal note in the Yatsimirsky copy contained an interesting passage: исписа сѧ съ книга рекомы Нѡмѡканѡн монастирю ѿ Бисерикани. Написа же съ комат въ монастир Нѣмецкомоу идеже ест храм Пантѡкратор. This suggests a new dating of the establishment of the Bisericani monastery, and attributes the Neamţ monastery church to Christ Pantocrator, while the church is known to have been dedicated to the Ascension of Jesus. Moreover, the book is entitled with the Greek loanword коматъ, which literally means "piece": A. I. Yatsimirsky notes this with regard to several collections connected with Gabriel Uric[31]. We may dispute his opinion that this was typical for Serbian manuscripts, but we cannot

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[29] P. P. Panaitescu, Z. Mihail, *Catalogul manuscriselor slavo-române şi slave din Biblioteca Academiei Române*, vol. 3, partea I-A, Bucureşti 2018, pp. 114–118.

[30] The note was published by A. I. Yatsimirsky, together with a description of the manuscript (*Из славянских рукописей. Тексты и заметки*, Москва 1898, pp. 85–92), and more recently in: *Însemnari de pe manuscrise şi cărţi vechi din Ţara Moldovei. Un corpus*, eds. I. Caproşu, E. Chiaburu, vol. I (1429–1750), Iaşi 2008, p. 37, an. 1512 ‹7020›.

[31] А. И. Яцимирский, *Григорий Цамблак*, p. 304.

ignore his observation that this term may have signified a copy made of part of a larger collection. In any case, we believe the fact that the same rare word ("ko-mat") occurs in other Moldavian texts by Gabriel Uric, dating 1448–1450 proves that this was the continuation of an older compilation tradition and that the compilers were aware they were copying parts of other books.

An article by Emil Turdeanu, specially devoted to these questions[32] and published around fifty years ago, has considerably facilitated our study. In it, the author makes highly critical comments on the data regarding the very existence of the Bisericani monastery (and its predecessor, the "Monastery of Father Joseph") during the first decades of the 16th century[33]. In consideration of a series of manuscripts belonging to Bisericani monastery and moved to Russia in the early 20th century, he concludes they were written in the 1520s for the newly founded monastery, and assigns the time of its establishment to the rule of Stephan the Younger (Stefanitsa), son of Bogdan III and lord of Moldavia from 1517 to 1527[34]. The author explains the misunderstanding related to the mention of the church devoted to Christ Pantocrator in Neamţ[35], which sheds additional light on the dating of the marginal note in question. The same may be said for the use of the word "komat" there[36]. Thus, Turdeanu categorically denies the 1512 dating of the so-called Bisericani Miscellany (the one in the Yatsimirsky collection of the Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences), and places the date several decades later. He also connects it with the manuscript under discussion (i.e., BAR 636, whose content he knew only on the basis of Ioan Bogdan's publication), and with the ktetor Metropolitan Bishop Gregory II[37]. Our study basically confirms Emil Turdeanu's hypothesis of half a century ago.

Thus, it is not necessary to look for a similar situation in the principality in 1512 in order to explain the creation of the copy now preserved in the Yatsimirsky collection. The book was probably likewise written around the middle of the 16th century under the successors of Petru Rareş. On the other hand, we cannot overlook the fact that the existence of twin manuscripts raises the question as to their origin: are they exact copies of transported protographs, or was some additional compiling carried out in a certain historical and cultural context? For the time being, we are inclined to take as a working hypothesis the view that this type

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[32] E. Turdeanu, *Le Sbornik dit 'de Bisericani': Fausse identité d'un manuscrit remarquable*, pp. 29–45.

[33] *Ibidem*, pp. 30–37.

[34] *Ibidem*, p. 37.

[35] *Ibidem*, pp. 37–40.

[36] *Ibidem*, pp. 40–41.

[37] *Ibidem*, pp. 43–45.

of compilation, which follows a strong anti-heretical line, was a Moldavian phenomenon that is unknown to us in the prototype volume of text in the extant manuscripts of South Slavic literature before the Ottoman conquest. This conclusion refers to the general make-up of the collection and not to the origin of the separate translated works it contains, many of which originated in the Slavic South (specifically, in the Second Bulgarian Empire and its capital city Târnovo); some, in Mount Athos (cf. the Mount Athos typikon); and a few, in Russia.

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Thus, we believe we can examine separately the different thematic components of the manuscript and the texts constituting it, in order to place them in their own historical environment.

1. The legal part seems the most significant in terms of size and importance. It cannot be examined separately from the others. As mentioned in the description above, on f. 18r, under the heading сказа́нїе въ кра́тцѣ кни́зѣ се́н is placed the content of a certain type of nomocanonical editing which has a separate division into chapters, of which in all рн҃а (151) are listed. Some consecutive letters from the letter numeration of the chapters are missing, most probably due to an accidental oversight. This nomocanonical editing was so popular in the 14th–18th century, that it has justifiably been called "the epithymia nomocanon of Slavia Orthodoxa". In scholarly literature, it is also related to the terms: Pseudo-Zonaras penitential nomocanon, introduced by A. S. Pavlov (further below *PsZ*)[38], or Cotelier's nomocanon (named after the publisher Jean Baptiste Cotelier, who reproduced the Greek original with an assumed chronology between the 12th and 14th century; but there are important differences between the Slavic and Greek canon)[39]. This ecclesiastic-law content is the core of BAR 636. The texts that remain outside the numeration of *PsZ* should be included in it, but they are also present both in BAR 636, and in the Bulgarian ecclesiastic-juridical collections. Such are the question-answer texts of St. Cyril of Alexandria, St. Athanasius of Jerusalem, the sermons of St. Basil the Great, excerpts from The Ladder of Divine Ascent, from St. Epiphanius of Cyprus, the Lapsaik, etc. The text bloc in BAR 636 and BAR 692 contains the already mentioned ѿ житїа ст҃го николы, великаго Василїа, ст҃го Петра Алеѯандрїискаго

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[38] А. С. ПАВЛОВ, *Номоканон при Большом Требнике*, Москва 1897, pp. 40–43; М. ЦИБРАНСКА-КОСТОВА, *Славянският Псевдозонар*, "Palaeobulgarica" XXXII 4, 2008, pp. 25–52.

[39] J.-B. COTELERIUS, *Ecclesiae Graecae Monumenta*, vol. I, Paris 1677, pp. 68–158, a set of 547 successively numbered rules.

правила єı, стго Игнатїа, ѿ лаѵсаика, ѿ житїа стго пахомїа. Some of the listed textual micro-units, for instance, the excerpts from the Vita of St. Pachomius and the Lapsaik (a book of stories about the Eastern monks) are contained in the form of excerpts in Nikon's Pandects, where they are placed under separate chapters; that is why the source of their loan in the prototype Slavic collection requires separate study. At the same time, in the Moldavian manuscripts, the prayers стго Анастасїа млтвы раздрѣшати въсѣкѫ клѧтвѫ are missing, while in some identical Bulgarian collections they are placed immediately after these rubrics (CIAI 1160, ff. 201r–202r). In conclusion, we may safely claim that among the possible influences on the choice of components of the manuscript were the Bulgarian collections from the time of the Second Bulgarian Empire, transferred to Moldavia. This conclusion is confirmed by the following two rubrics: f. 188r: изложѥнїѥ ѻ православнѣ вѣрѣ. и ѻ стѣи и животворѧщѹ и ѥдиносѫщнѣ и нераздѣлимѣи трⷪци; f. 194r: изложѥнїѥ дроугоѥ ѿ ꙗстинїана изложено сѫдрⷪжⷤц. The text ends on f. 196r around the middle of the page, of which the second half is empty. These are two confessions of faith formulations, which are variants of the Credo and are placed in identical form and with identical titles in BAR 692 and BAR 726, as well as at the beginning of ff. 33v–34v in CIAI 1160[40]. The first can be identified as a compilation of St. Gregory the Theologian's interpretation of the Credo and Michael Syncellos's *Writing of the True Faith*, which also figures in the Simeon Collection of 1073. This is an original Credo by Gregory the Theologian (330–390), written in connection with the mystic baptism and included in one of his sermons on this topic. The identification with the *Izbornik* of 1073 and the work of Michael Syncellos has been established through textual comparison[41]. The second version of the Credo is the one indicated as the Presentation of Justinian the Autocrator. We know that the authoritative Credo is the so-called Nicene Creed, consisting of 12 articles. But there are many others known to scholars[42]. Some of them were written by private individuals; the motivation for their writing was to fight heresy. The rejection of the respective contemporaneous heresy is usually placed at the end of the formula and serves as an indication of the time it arose. While the first credo formula raises mostly linguistic-textological questions, inasmuch as the sources of the components of the compilation are clear, the so-called Credo of Justinian presents certain difficulties related to its identification. Judging by the title, it dates from the time of Emperor Justinian I (527–565), the time of the so-called "three chapter" controversy, in connection with which the emperor convened the Fifth Ecumenical Council

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[40] *Архивски номоканон*, p. 12.

[41] *Ibidem*.

[42] К. Куев, *Иван-Александровият сборник…*, p. 143.

in Constantinople in 553. The theological dispute echoed the struggle between the adherents and opponents of the Chalcedon Credo and of the Fourth Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon of 451. The credo postulates two indivisible and unmixed natures of Jesus Christ – Divine and Human. This dealt a blow to monophysitism, which asserted only the divine nature of Christ. Many dogmatists, however, considered the creed to be an expression of Nestorianism. Justinian's edict of 544, known as the *Edict of the Three Chapters*, intervenes in these controversies with the condemnation and anathema of Theodore of Mopsuestia, a teacher of Nestorius, as well as of the pro-Nestorian works of Theodoret of Cyrus and Ibas of Edessa, which the authors themselves renounced. Although at the time the imperial decree was published the persons in question were no longer living, the Edict and subsequent decisions of the Fifth Council were basically aimed against these heresies. This was the basic dogmatic content of the Fifth Council, which did not formulate any specific canons. Origen and Evagrius Ponticus were also condemned at the Council. The connection between Justinian and the Fifth Council is usually confirmed by the so-called Chronicle of the Ecumenical Councils, a text that accompanied many guidebooks, legal collections and miscellaneous collections in the Slavic manuscript tradition. According to the title of one of the versions of the Slavic guidebook, the text indicates: при оустианѣ велицѣмь цѣри бъıс .ѕ҃. и сборъ въ Цѣрѣ град ст҃ъıми ѡци…идеже са бѣ кака владь оукрꙑла изискавъше прокла́ша и правоую вѣроу оутвьрдиша[43]. In this perspective, the Justinian Credo, borrowed by the Bulgarian protographs for BAR 636, actually represents a confirmation of the canonical doctrine of the Holy Trinity and of Lord Jesus Christ as entirely God "in respect of divinity" and entirely Man "in respect of humanness" (the postulate of His two inseparable and unmixed natures as perfect God and perfect Man), as well as of the Holy Virgin as Mother of God. Of the specific heretical leaders, the Credo mentions Nestorius, condemned by the Council of Ephesus in 431; Eutychius, condemned as a Monophysite in 448; Apollinarius, condemned in the first rule of the Second Ecumenical Council of Constantinople of 381 as preaching a heresy similar to Arianism and for his uncanonical understanding of the Holy Ghost. Consequently, the basic confessional dogmas are aimed against the traditional

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[43] K. A. Maksimović, *Aufbau und Quellen des altrussischen Ustjuger Nomokanons*, [in:] *Forschungen zur Byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte*, Bd. 22.10, Frankfurt am Main 1998, p. 494; А. Милтенова, Р. Павлова, *Пандекти*, [in:] *Кирило-Методиевска енциклопедия*, т. III, София 2003, p. 64; К. А. Максимович, *Пандекты Никона Черногорца в древнерусском переводе XII века (юридические тексты)*, Москва 1998; W. J. Aerts, *Nikon of the Black Mountain, witness to the first crusade. Some remarks on his person, his use of language and his work, named Taktikon*, "Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta. East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean" I, 2006, eds. K. Ciggar, M. Metcalf, Leuven–Paris–Dudley, MA, pp. 125–145.

heresies – Arianism, Nestorianism, Monophysitism. This forms an anti-heretical framework for *PsZ*, as confirmed by the basic contents of the collection, which is essentially a Trinitarian Orthodox confessional formula. As for the fact that it is absent in the early copies of *PsZ,* such as GIM Hlud. 76 and RGB 3169, while in the Moldavian copies, it appears once again outside the numeration of the rules, there can be only one explanation. The Moldavian copes of *PsZ* reproduce the *Bulgarian Târnovo protograph*, of the type CIAI 1160. This manuscript is closest to the full ecclesiastical law collection and impelled the Moldavian manuscript tradition, in which BAR 636 holds a foremost position.

2. The polemical anti-heretical part of the manuscript may be placed in second place inasmuch as it serves as a theological-ideological justification for the very existence of the collection and for the policy that brought about its creation. This part presents in a very natural way, and prominently, the themes deriving from the Trinitarian and Christological controversies in the times of ecumenical councils, themes that had been later clarified and given new significance in the anti-iconoclastic controversy and the anti-Latin polemics particularly outstanding in the collection. Several texts in the manuscript are related to controversies with the Arians. These texts are included here in keeping with the tradition but also as a basis for the Trinitarian and Christological discussions that follow. We shall not dwell much on them in our commentary, but will devote greater attention to the anti-iconoclastic, anti-Armenian, and anti-Latin themes, whose presence in the texts impacts on the rest of the collection's contents.

The anti-Latin section of the polemical works seems to be the most significant one. We may add to it several texts that, in their location and grouping in the collection, form a unified set. From f. 232r to f. 272r there is a rich anti-heretical cycle, which consecutively includes the above-mentioned Useful Tale about the Latins; ѡ франꙃѣ и ѡ прѡ́чїй латина̀ – an excerpt from Chapter 51 of the Saint Sabbas Nomocanon (the Nomocanon of St. Sabbas of Serbia, or the South Slavic nomocanon with exegesis) under the same title; excerpts from the works of Nikon of the Black Mountain against the Latins; from works by Patriarch Callistus on the Orthodox faith, and two anti-Latin narratives entitled Сло́во ѡ̀ нѣмꙿчьскѡ̀ прѣлъ́щени. ка́ко наоу́чи гꙋ̑гнивыи пе́трꙋ и Сло́во ѡ̀ц҃а̀ на́шего ѳеѡ́сїа пещⷣе́скаго игꙋ̑мена. къ иꙁасла́вꙋ кна́ꙁ. The text version of the tale about Peter Mongos (an anti-Latin text of very early origin, published by A. Popov[44]) and other enlarged

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[44] А. Попов, *Историко-литературный обзор древнерусских полемических сочинений против латинян XI–XV вв.*, Москва 1875, pp. 5–27. Of the older studies, it is worth also mentioning К. Истомин, *Источник «Слово о немеческом прельщений, как научи их гугнивый Петр ереси»*, "Християнское чтение" 2, 1904, pp. 342–348. The author holds the view as to the Bulgarian origin

and amended editions continued to be disseminated during the 16th century as well (when the Moldavian manuscript under study was produced), for the purpose of anti-Uniate propaganda[45]. The nature of this first narrative text supports the view regarding a very early version with Bulgarian linguistic features, while the second was obviously further elaborated, on the basis of the first, within a Russian linguistic environment. The contents of f. 272r–f. 303r is a continuation of the anti-Latin cycle further above, but contains general anti-heretical texts, including fragments of dogmatic anti-heretical works by St. Athanasius of Alexandria, St. Anastasius of Antioch, St. Cyril of Alexandria, St. Basil the Great, St. John Chrysostom, St. John Damascene, St. Gregory of Nyssa, St. Anastasius of Sinai.

There are several more noteworthy text units following to the end of the collection. In consecutive order, the first of them is Encyclical Epistle of the Eastern Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem against the decisions of the Council of Florence and against the patriarch of Constantinople Mitrophanes, former Metropolitan of Cyzicus, whom John Palaiologos raised to the patriarchal throne as a supporter of the Union. Its Greek language original dates from April 1443 (f. 228v)[46]. The inclusion of the Encyclical Epistle in Slavic translation aimed, on the one hand, to support the consolidation of Orthodoxy as a basic ideological focus of the Moldavian collection; on the other hand, it is a reference for dating that sets the year 1443 as the terminus post quem for the creation of the prototype.

Although we cannot identify a separate anti-Protestant section of the miscellany, we believe that this aspect is related to the general attitude against Western Christianity. The manuscript was produced around the middle of the 16th century, and we cannot expect that, at that time and in that part of Europe, in an Orthodox environment, there could have already been any polemical anti-Protestant treatises,

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of the translation, which follows a Greek model disseminated in the 10th century in Bulgaria, at the time of Prince (Tsar) Simeon, with the spread of the encyclopedic trend of translating and compiling different Byzantine historical works and chronicles; see also А. С. Павлов, *Критические ответы по истории древнейшей греко-русской полемики против латинян*, Санкт Петербург 1878.

[45] А. Криза, *Петр Гугнивый и Папесса. Антилатинская церковнославянская полемическая литература в Центральной Европе*, "Studia Slavica Hungarica" 2.2, 2008, pp. 397–405. Concerning Peter Mongos, as emblematic for the anti-Latin current in Byzantine and Slavic literature, and the controversies concerning the historical identifications and the semantic codes of the image, see also И. В. Ведюшкина, *Петр Гугнивый и Петр Монг*, "Диалог со временем. Альманах интелектуальной истории" 2, 2004; A. Papadakis, *Peter Mongos*, [in:] *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. in chief Al. Kazdhan, vol. 1–3, New York–Oxford 1991, p. 1638.

[46] The Slavic text was published by A. I. Yatsimirsky, *Григорий Цамблак. Очерк его жизни, административной и книжной деятельности*, Санкт Петербург 1904, pp. 276–277. There is information on the Greek edition of the text in: L. Allatii, *De Ecclesiae Occidentalis atque Orientalis perpetua concensione libri tres*, cap. IV, 1648, pp. 939–947; accessible at www.books.google.bg.

original or translated. We should also have in mind that the main part of the contents of the collection was created nearly a century earlier. Thus, the criticisms against the West – especially those regarding everyday life – largely referred to the Protestants. As to the sphere of everyday life, we find many common "blameworthy" elements in what is written against the Latins. These include accusations of iconoclasm, criticism regarding the Credo, the rituals, and the various domestic differences, which the Orthodox are inclined to perceive as revolting and hateful to God. To this we should add the affiliation to Protestantism of the usurper John Jacob Heraclides, known as Despot, who held the Moldavian princely throne from 1561 to 1563[47]. His presence as a ruler of a traditionally Orthodox country was certainly a cause of great tension in society. During his rule, he evidently disregarded the Orthodox traditions (or was at least accused of this), and brought various hateful Lutherans to his court as counselors[48]. It was at the time of the Despot's rule that a certain number of German and Italian Protestants settled in Moldavia, working as artisans at the court; after the ruler fell from power, in the course of the unrest that followed, these Protestants were killed[49]. We should pay special attention to one of the features of Protestantism – iconoclasm – and how it was perceived in an Orthodox environment. Maria Crăciun notes that among the Eastern Slavs, the Protestants' prominent iconoclastic attitudes exercised strong influence in the contact zones between them and the Orthodox Church, which responded with polemical literature and through the policy of rulers belonging to that Church[50]. It may be said that it was precisely the rejection of the holy images, the deep-rooted iconoclasm of the Jews, the Judaizers and the Protestants that was the uniting element in the negative attitude of Moscow's political and ecclesiastic elite towards these groups. This attitude could not fail to influence other Orthodox countries as well, including Moldavia, where there were

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[47] M. Crăciun, *Tolerance and Persecution*, pp. 5–6. Maria Crăciun has devoted a whole monograph to the relations between Orthodox and Protestants in Moldavia; unfortunately, the book was not available to us (M. Crăciun, *Protestantism și Ortodoxie în Moldova secolului al XVI-lea*, Cluj 1996, 250 p.). On this matter, see also M. Miladinov, *Coluistis deos alienos*: *Authority of the Old Testament in the Early Protestant Polemics against the Veneration of Saints and Images*, [in:] *The Biblical Models of Power and Law / Les modèles bibliques du pouvoir et du droit*, eds. I. Biliarsky, R. G. Păun, (= *Rechtshistorische Reihe*, 336), Frankfurt am Main–Berlin–Bern–Bruxelles–New York–Oxford–Wien 2008, pp. 183–201.

[48] *Cronicile slavo-romîne din sec. XV–XVI*, ed. P. P. Panaitescu, pp. 132–133 (*Chronicle of Azarius*); B. Joudiou, *La réaction orthodoxe face aux étrangers*, p. 252.

[49] M. Crăciun, *Tolerance and Persecution*, pp. 5–6, 32.

[50] *Ibidem*, p. 16. The anti-iconoclastic themes with regard to the Protestants is one of the basic arguments for propaganda in support of Muscovy, especially after the intervention of Ivan IV the Terrible in Livonia in 1558 after local Protestants destroyed Orthodox icons. See M. Crăciun, *Tolerance and Persecution*, pp. 25–26, 29.

not many registered iconoclastic actions on the part of the Protestants, although we do have information about confiscation of church plates, metal covers of icons, and other valuable objects from Orthodox churches[51].

The anti-iconoclastic theme in the polemical section of the miscellany is represented by accusations of heresy leveled at political opponents and in theological controversy. This was evidently due to the great scar the iconoclasts had left on historical memory and doctrine. As for the situation in Moldavia in the middle of the 16th century, we should point out that in the chronicle of Bishop Macarius, we find such accusations aimed at Iliaş Rareş in connection with his conversion to Islam[52]. Of course, the ruling Despot could not avoid being accused of iconoclasm inasmuch as Protestants were particularly strict in their negative attitude to sacred depictions[53]. Such criticism was also leveled at John III the Brave (Ioan cel Veteaz, 1572–1574) in the chronicle of Azarius, who calls the ruler "a second Copronymus"[54]. As mentioned above, the collection under study is made up of texts that are mostly South Slavic in origin, but some of the texts have Eastern Slavic roots, even though the collection was produced in Moldavia. Hence, the anti-iconoclastic theme may have been provoked by the great theological disputes and clashes related to hesychasm and the anti-heretical councils of the 14th century[55]. Together with this, the anti-heretical policy of the Slavic South was followed up in Russia, where various sects, in some cases similar to the ones in the Balkans, developed distinctly iconoclastic ideas[56]. We already mentioned the influence of Protestants in contact zones. This is yet another argument in support of the inclusion of this theme in the miscellany – an argument referring to the political situation in the principality. We should also recall that the anti-iconoclastic theme is present in contacts with Muslims, especially as the Ottoman Empire was the suzerain of the Moldavian principality. There are sufficient data on destruction of holy images by the Ottoman army, specifically during the period in question[57].

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[51] M. Crăciun, *Tolerance and Persecution*, pp. 28–29.

[52] *Cronicile slavo-romîne din sec. XV–XVI*, ed. P. P. Panaitescu, p. 111; B. Joudiou, *La réaction orthodoxe face aux étrangers*, p. 250.

[53] *Cronicile slavo-romîne din sec. XV–XVI*, ed. P. P. Panaitescu, p. 132.

[54] *Ibidem*, p. 137; B. Joudiou, *La réaction orthodoxe face aux étrangers*, p. 253.

[55] M. Crăciun explicitly points out that Bishop Macarius, who certainly played an important role in the anti-heretical policy in the middle of the 16th century in Moldavia, acted as a hesychast – M. Crăciun, *Tolerance and Persecution*, p. 14.

[56] S. Michałski, *The Reformation and the Visual Arts. The Protestant Image Question in Western and Eastern Europe*, London–New York 1993, pp. 125–129; M. Crăciun, *Tolerance and Persecution*, pp. 16, 25–29.

[57] M. Crăciun, *Tolerance and Persecution*, p. 30.

The anti-Armenian controversy is present in the manuscript primarily in the Pseudo-Zonaras Nomocanon, in the Mount Athos Typikon and in connection with the Artsivur fast. This type of anti-heretical writings was recently discussed in an article by D. Naydenova, based on Romanian materials, although not with reference to the manuscript under discussion here[58]. Naydenova emphasizes the Tale of the Armenian Heresy, a work that is not present in our manuscript, but which is placed in the same context in the legal text of the Pseudo-Zonaras No-mocanon. The article examines the origin and dissemination of the work, as well as the canonical provisions that underlie the specific attitude towards Armenians in an Orthodox environment (the Empire and Russia). It should be noted that the members of this ethnic group are criticized, derided and depicted with disgust not only based on their religious deviations but also in terms of their domestic habits[59]. The copy of the anti-Armenian Tale discussed in the article was produced in the Wallachian principality, not in Moldavia, around the middle of the 17th century (1651–1652), the time of Metropolitan Bishop Stephan, in the Bistriţa monastery[60]. D. Naydenova calls attention to the fact that, according to Romanian scholars, the first copies of the Tale very probably appeared in Moldavia in the 16th century and, from there, reached Wallachia[61]. We have several data regarding persecution, or at least oppression, of Armenians in Moldavia as early as the 15th century. Such action and attempts at coercive conversion to Orthodoxy occurred in 1479–1480[62]. A Venetian chronicle reports that in the time of Petru Rareş, on 3 January 1534, members of the Armenian clergy were flogged and forced to eat meat during the fasting period[63]. The severest persecution, however, took place under the rule of Stephan Rareş (especially on 16 August 1551 and the following days); it was organized and conducted by the ruler himself and was continued by Alexandru Lăpuşneanu[64]. It began in a particularly brutal way and turned into prolonged persecution of the clergy and the faithful, destruction of churches, books and sacred objects or symbolic items such as the holy elements of the Eucharist,

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[58] D. Naydenova, *Anti-Armenian Polemics in a Slavic Canon Law Miscellany*, p. 82 sq.

[59] All this is well presented in the article by D. Naydenova, who also cites abundant literature on the topic.

[60] P. P. Panaitescu, *Catalogul manuscriselor slavo-române din Biblioteca Academiei Române*, vol. II, no. 461, Bucureşti 2003, pp. 284–289; D. Naydenova, *Anti-Armenian Polemics in a Slavic Canon Law Miscellany*, pp. 83–84.

[61] D. Naydenova, *Anti-Armenian Polemics in a Slavic Canon Law Miscellany*, p. 83, note 3.

[62] M. Crăciun, *Tolerance and Persecution*, pp. 10–11.

[63] Y. Dachkevych, E. Tryjarski, *La chronique de Venise*, "Rocznik Orientalistyczny" XLVI.1, 1989, p. 113; M. Crăciun, *Tolerance and Persecution*, p. 11.

[64] M. Crăciun, *Tolerance and Persecution*, pp. 11–12, 13–14, 30–31.

the holy myrrh, etc. Armenians were given the choice of converting to Orthodoxy or leaving the country. Later on, the intransigent ones were killed. The whole religious infrastructure of the Armenian-Gregorian Church in Moldavia suffered, and was in fact destroyed. In 1554 and 1558, Alexandru Lăpușneanu undertook similar action. This certainly indicates the atmosphere that existed in the country around the middle of the 16th century, and later, with regard to religious minorities. These events were in essence similar to the situation in almost all of Europe during that age. In any case, they confirm the characteristic intolerance of the historical context in which our manuscript was written and show the connection of its contents with contemporaneous events. It is hardly accidental that the manuscript BAR 636 ends with excerpts from the Mount Athos Typikon, which include an abridged menologion with typical commemorations of Mount Athos saints, as well as anti-heretical fragments against the Armenians and the Artsivur fast. The last text is on f. 337r–f. 338r: ὁ млъчани̇ ἀββά григѡ́рїа синаита.

3. The historical section of the collection was the first that drew attention to the manuscript and remains the most popular part, at least among Romanian historians. In his special study of the attitude towards religious minorities in Moldavia in the 16th century, the French historian Benoit Joudiou writes, "Nous croyons qu'il est nécessaire de réévaluer l'importance des chroniques moldaves du XVIe siècle en tenant compte de leurs fondements théologiques. Très longtemps considérées comme des chroniques princières par de simples imitateurs des chroniques byzantines, elles sont d'abord des témoignages de la vigueur d'un courant idéologique, qui s'affirma par réaction au sort subi par le pays, et au-delà par toute l'Orthodoxie"[65]. We believe that this text is a good reference point for understanding the inclusion of chronicles and of historical elements in the collection of Metropolitan Gregory II.

Several works in the manuscript can be classified as historical-polemic literature; but we must note that some of the marginal notes are also of this kind. They can be divided into two main categories:

(1) Texts presenting the histories of separate Orthodox Churches;

(2) Texts created in Moldavia and presenting the history of the principality.

The former are of an earlier date and are translations from Greek originals, while the latter are local works, prepared on a Byzantine basis. The translated lists and tales were probably inherited from an original – now lost – version of the miscellany, the writing of which we can date a little before, and around, the middle of the 15th century (in any case, after the Ferrara–Florence Council). For their part, the Moldavian chronicles are the latest texts in the manuscript: their tales reach the

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[65] B. Joudiou, *La réaction orthodoxe face aux étrangers*, p. 254.

year 1512. However, we believe they were they were probably added at a later date to the already existing contents of the collection.

The older ecclesiastic history texts are comprised of presentations of ecumenical councils and of lists of the patriarchs of Jerusalem and of Constantinople. In fact, the order of the works itself suggests the presence of a historical set in the collection. The first in order of importance and in its place within the manuscript, on f. 206v, concerns the patriarchs of Jerusalem: Ꙁⷣє ѿ прьвы́ патрїарх́ы с҃тго грⷣа ієрⷪ́лма ⸬. The text has no original title. The indicated heading was added in red ink above the text at a later date by the same hand that wrote some of the marginal notes. There follows the Tale of the Seven Ecumenical Councils, on f. 207r, and the Moldavian chronicle, published by I. Bogdan, on f. 220v sq. Placed on f. 226r under the heading Патрїа́рⷭи ѿ а҃ сьбѡ́ въ кѡⷩстⷶ́тⷨꙗⷸ грⷣа҆ are lists of Archbishops of Constantinople and the ecumenical patriarchs from Mitrophanes (306–314) to Philotheus Kokkinos (1354–1355, 1364–1376). The lists are brief and represent an enumeration of the names of holders of the respective chairs, or present the ecumenical councils as part of the clarification of their decisions and legislation. In both cases, however, these texts can, and should, be considered in the specific ecclesiastical context of the fight against various deviations from dogma and their declaration as heresies through the mechanisms of ecclesiastical law and authority. In this sense, this is no ordinary historical narrative, but rather a conscious ideological stance that coincides with the general orientation of the collection.

The Moldavian chronicles were published early on by Ioan Bogdan; they have been commented but they will be again an object of special attention in the present study. We believe that it is precisely within the historical context of the creation of the manuscript that we may inscribe the manuscript's historical marginal notes. These texts are different from the already indicated tales and lists related to the history of the Church, yet they have a similar ideological significance and fulfill the same function in the miscellany. The basic chronographic text, which Ioan Bogdan calls "Serbo-Moldavian Chronicle"[66], is placed on ff. 220v–225v. The presentation is brief and resembles the list of names of Byzantine emperors, together with the years of their rule, but there are additions in some places, most of which concern theological controversies and heresies (as well as other important religious events, such as the emergence of Islam and the preaching of the "false prophet" Mohammed). In the presentation, the convening of an ecumenical council is always pointed out, as well as the name of the ruler under whom it took place. Iconoclasm has merited special attention. Information on the baptism of Kievan

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[66] I. Bogdan, *Cronice inedite atingătoare la istoria romînilor*, pp. 80–102.

Rus and the creation of the Slavic script by St. Cyril has also found a place in the account. Under the specially indicated year 961, the author points out the start of construction of the Great Lavra by St. Athanasius of Athos. Comparatively more space is devoted to the conquest of Constantinople by the Latins, and special attention is given to the change of ecclesiastic leadership and the mention of the pope in liturgy. The winning back of Constantinople by Michael VIII Palaiologos has not been omitted, although, understandably, it is not put in opposition to the Latins. The list ends with Manuel II Palaiologos and continues with the Wallachian rulers; here two events from the history of Balkan Slavs are specially mentioned: the death of Tsar Uros and the fall of Târnovo to the Ottomans. The subsequent account traces the reigns of various sultans, ever paying special attention to events related to Wallachia, Moldavia and Hungary. The chronograph ends with Sultan Selim I and events in Moldavia under Bogdan III in 1512. On f. 220r, i.e., before the main text of the chronicle, we find four notes that are meant to be additions and refer only to the ecclesiastic history of the principality; they concern: the Archbishop Kyr Joseph of Neamț (1453), the saintly life and death of Metropolitan Bishop Theoctiste (1477) and the death of Metropolitan Kyr George (1511). There is a notable mention of the Neamț monastery and the special relation to it.

These chronicles do not display any definite anti-heretical line in the account, although the beginning of the text – devoted to events in the Empire – can be seen as emphatically anti-Latin and as containing strong anti-heretical (especially anti-iconoclastic) elements. This impression grows weaker as the author's attention turns to events in Moldavia. It should be stressed, however, that the chronicle certainly unites the history of the principality with the general history of Christianity, presenting the former as a continuation of the Byzantine history and of the traditions of the South Slavs. Here the religious stress is placed on opposition to the Ottomans and Islam, which evidently confirms our general observations regarding the historical context in which the manuscript was created/copied. It seems the several interventions of the Sultan in Moldavian affairs and Iliaş Rareş's conversion to Islam prompted the chronicler to include the above-mentioned emphasis in his work.

4. Apocrypha. The last rubric (ff. 302v–303r) is related to the continuity between the Old and New Testaments, and seems to announce the apocrypha that follow: f. 304r: ꙗвле́нїе ѿ цⷭ҇у на́шемꙋ авраа́мꙋ ѿ ѕа́вѣтѣ а҆рхⷯ і҆стра́тигѿ михаилѿ (*The Testament of Abraham*) and f. 316r: оу҆ка́зь ка́ко сътво́ри гⷭ҇ь бра́ство крꙋ́стное, a copy of one of the chapters of *Tale of the Tree of the Cross* by Presbyter Jeremiah. The first of these texts is a popular Old Testament apocryphal work, while the latter probably represents a Slavic compilation of texts of various origins. On the one

hand, they certainly testify to the continuity between the Old and New Testament, and on the other hand, they are in line with the general orientation of the manuscript in its legal section. The *Testament of Abraham* is strongly focused on God's Judgement and the Salvation, which is an eschatological projection of the judgement of the ruler and of the Church in defining religious deviations and eradicating heresies and alien religions, which is the main emphasis in the structure of the manuscript. The apocrypha have already been the topic of scholarly literature, and one of the co-authors of this study publishes them and comments on them in detail in one of the next chapters of this book.

<p style="text-align:center">∗   ∗   ∗</p>

In conclusion, we have a collection that is not only rich in content but has had a turbulent history. The preserved marginal notes confirm that the manuscript has passed through the hands of different individuals originating from different ethnic circles. A noteworthy fact is that several languages are used in it (Slavic, Romanian and Greek) and it is written in three scripts – Cyrillic, Latin (a very early use of the Latin alphabet, before it was introduced as the official script of the Romanian language) and Greek. This fact certainly confirms the importance of the manuscript as a testimony to the community and collaboration between Balkan peoples at the dawn of modern history. It is in the framework of this collaboration and the preservation of a shared Orthodox identity that we should evaluate the fact that the collection is devoted to the affirmation of Orthodoxy and the fight against various religious deviations such as heresies and alien religious systems. This explains the active participation of clergymen, in cooperation with the ruler, in the fight against the confessional minorities. The activity for providing a literary armor in defense of the Orthodox faith from heresies is part of this fight and opposition. The Moldavian lands were a sort of contact zone of literary influences coming from the south, the northwest and the northeast, which practically means that here, as well as more generally in Romanian medieval literature written in Cyrillic, the South Slavic and Russian influences crossed paths. The support of Moldavian rulers as ktetors of monasteries helped preserve the remarkable works of the medieval Bulgarian script and literature. The culture of collections typical for the Balkans in general in the 15th century, flourished here.

As to the exact dating of the prototype for this copy, we may set as the terminus post quem approximately the middle of the 15th century, in consideration of the dating of one of the most topical texts, the Encyclical Epistle of the Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem against the union between the Western and

Eastern Churches[67]. It is true that the last precisely dated events are from 1512, but it seems to us they were added later to one of the copies. The marginal note dating from 1557 is indicative only for that concrete copy. In our opinion, the great excitement connected with the destiny of Orthodoxy occurred in the first half, and around the middle, of the 15th century, the time of the Council of Florence. Events in the Balkans that echoed this council and its decisions gave additional impetus to the growing anti-Latin campaign and had a direct bearing on the Moldavian lands. Here we should add the stress caused by the fall of Constantinople in 1453. This would suggest that we should hypothetically date the creation of the prototype in the time of Stephan III the Great (1457–1504), who was known for his ktetor support and protection of Orthodoxy. In the middle of the 16th century, there was a cluster of critical events that required the defense of the faith. In her article, frequently cited here, Maria Crăciun proposes that we view the events taking place in Moldavia under the successors of Petru Rareş, and the persecution of confessional minorities, as a policy of "confessionalization of power" in the principality. The events are thus placed in a European context. We would not venture to deny this thesis entirely, but we should have in mind that the situation in the southeastern part of Europe was different from the raging conflict between the Reformation and the Catholic Counter-reformation. The confessionalization of the West during that age is understood in the framework of war and conclusion of peace between Catholics and Protestants. In Orthodox countries, for their part, state power was always understood and grounded on a confessional foundation, and the question of this kind of consolidation does not stand in the same way. In our opinion, similarities to Europe can be looked for only in the shaken unity resulting from the emergence and dissemination of various confessions. The threat coming from them and especially from the Ottoman Empire – the Islamic suzerain of Moldavia – provoked the strong response coming after the fall of Iliaş Rareş from power. Protection of the Orthodox faith remained a priority both for the rulers and for the monastic circles loyal to them. The collection BAR 636 discussed in this study was a product and instrument of this priority.

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[67] In fact, we may say that the latest texts in the collection, dating from 1557, are the Moldavian chronicles that lead up to the second decade of the 16th century, but we believe that they were most probably added to the collection, which had been shaped in the second half of the 15th century.

Part Two

The Law Section of the Manuscript
The Nomocanon of Slavia Orthodoxa
On the Two Sides of the Danube in the 16th Century
and Manuscript BAR Ms. Slav. 636

Collections of primarily legal content from the time of the Second Bulgarian Empire, and specifically those known to have been disseminated in the 14th century, have become a focus of research interest for Bulgarian medieval studies in recent years. It is still too early to make a categorical judgement as to their nature and origin, despite the indisputable value of some studies and the efforts of source experts to describe and publish some 14th century manuscripts[1]. Scholars have categorically proven that special collections of laws were part of the compilation tradition – which included patristic and monastic-ascetic works, collections of personal spiritual readings for the royal family, and encyclopaedic collections, left from the reign of John Alexander (1331–1371)[2], which has been amply documented with

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[1] А. А. Турилов, *К истории тырновского "царского" скриптория XIV в.*, "Старобългарска литература", кн. 33–34, 2005, *В чест на Кл. Иванова*, pp. 305–328; Е. Белякова, *О составе Хлудовского номоканона (к истории сборника "Зинар")*, "Старобългарска литература" 37–38, 2007, pp. 114–131; Д. Найденова, *Каноничноправни текстове в състава на славянски ръкописи, съхранявани в български книгохранилища (Предварителен списък)*, "Palaeobulgarica" XXXII.4, 2008, pp. 53–69; М. Цибранска-Костова, *Покайната книжнина на Българското средновековие IX–XVIII в. (езиково-текстологични и културологични аспекти)*, София 2011, pp. 259–410; А. Кемалова, *Един юридически сборник от XVI в. Речник–индекс*, Пловдив УИ 2016.

[2] И. Божилов, *Българското общество през 14 век. Структура и просопография*, София 2014; A. Alberti, *Ivan Alexandăr 1331–1371. Splendore e tramonto del secondo impero bulgaro*, Firenze 2010, pp. 143–176; Д. Найденова, *Южнославянская рукописная традиция Номоканона Котелерия (Славянский Псевдозонар)*, [in:] P. Ženuch, E. Belyakova, D. Naydenova and

regard to its written monuments. The collections were part of the general trend of spiritual revival and growth, known as the Second Golden Age of Bulgarian literature, of which the tsar himself was the inspirer and patron. His rule was privileged also in being the period with the greatest number of surviving written monuments, some of which, after the Ottoman invasion, penetrated into Wallachia and Moldavia, and from there reached Russia. The contents of the well-known collections of John Alexander, despite their varied composition and purposes, contain recurring texts, whose function was to regulate the purity of the Orthodox faith and to provide fundamental dogmatic support for the efforts to preserve the faith. Several trends stand out: the *encyclopaedic current*, consisting in the large number of question-answer texts in some of the collections (especially the Lavrentiy collection of 1348)[3]; the *monastic-ascetic current*, which was encouraged by the tsar's strong support for Bulgarian monkhood and its hesychast practices. Collections of canon law fall in the range of texts disseminated among monastic circles. The greatest attention until now has been devoted to various editions of the confessional *Credo* and the *Presentation of the Ecumenical Councils*, which are usually mandatory parts of Slavic guidebooks (*Kormchaya*) and nomocanons, but which were likewise included in other types of collections from that period (for instance, the Pop Philip collection of 1345, the Lavrentiy collection of 1348). They were not the only ones, however. Thanks to the popularization, by the cited studies, of the four extant canon law collections from the 14th century, now preserved in one Bulgarian and three Russian book depositories – CIAI 1160, GIM. Hlud. 76, RNB Q. II. 90, RGB Muz. sobr. 3169 (the spelling in all of them being Bulgarian with two signs of nasals), we know that these are the earliest textual examples, known to scholars, of the unvarying collection of canon law known to scholars under several (all of them unsatisfactory) titles: *Pseudo-Zonaras Nomocanon*, just *Pseudo-Zonaras*, or *Nomocanon of Cotelerius*[4]. Due to its great popularity, the prototype collection of law enjoyed the status of the "penitential nomocanon of Slavia Orthodoxa" (however, the specification *penitential* is questionable in view of the inclusion of civil

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others, *Užhorodský rukopisný Pseudozonar. Pravidlá mníšskeho a svetského života z prelomu 16–17 storočia*, "Monumenta byzantine-slavica et latina Slovaciae", vol. 5, ed. P. Ženuch, Bratislava 2018, pp. 92–120.

[3] К. Куев, *Иван-Александровият сборник от 1348 г.*, София 1981.

[4] Further below, we will designate the Greek prototype with the abbreviation *NC* (Nomocanon of Cotelerius), and the Slavic edition as *PsZ* (Pseudo-Zonaras Nomocanon), the name used in scholarly research. On these issues, see М. Цибранска-Костова, *Славянският Псевдозонар*, "Palaeobulgarica" XXXII. 4, 2008, pp. 25–52; Eadem, *Покайната книжнина на Българското средновековие…*, pp. 263–273; А. С. Павлов, *Номоканон при Большом Требнике*, Москва 1897, pp. 40–43.

law regulations as well[5]). All copies derive from a common protograph, which by its linguistic particularities can be defined without hesitation as Old Bulgarian. Regarding the collection of ecclesiastic law, the following conclusions are valid and may serve as a necessary reference point for the present study:

– It reproduces a Greek prototype that has not been precisely identified to date. Most probably, the source of the Slavic translation was a comprehensive Greek collection of ecclesiastic law with an unvarying textual core and a mobile periphery, a collection that shows typological similarity to the Nomocanon of Cotelerius, published as early as 1677[6], without being identical with it. The Greek original was published by the Provençal theologian Jean-Baptiste Cotelier, after whom it is named, and was commented on by Zachariä von Lingenthal, E. Herman, I. Croce, N. Matsi, and reissued by G. Pouli[7]. The common features consist in the following essential particularities: the prevalent presence of canonic (penitential, ecclesiastic) norms; a strong anti-heretical line; vivid traces of Roman-Byzantine civil law, and certain Barbarian elements borrowed from the traditional law and the so-called Leges of the Lombards and the Germanic nations; a strong domestic line of non-canonic rules or rules of doubtful authority. The respective penal practices mirror the same mixture of legal systems, and the manuscripts include the use both of penitential discipline (fasting, genuflection and other penitential practices) and of secular penalties such as death, mutilation, monetary fines.

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[5] *Архивски номоканон. Български ръкопис от XIV в.*, фототипно издание, подготвили А. Кръстев и Ц. Янакиева, Шумен 2007, pp. 5–6.

[6] J.-B. Cotelerius, *Ecclesiae Graecae Monumenta*, vol. 1, Paris 1677, pp. 68–158; H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris 1888, p. 22.

[7] Z. Lingenthal, *Die Handbücher des geistlichen Rechts aus den Zeiten der untergehenden Byzantinischen Reichen und der Türkischen herrschaft*, St. Petersbourg 1881, pp. 23–24; Isidorus Croce, *Textus selecti ex operibus commentatorum Byzantinorum iuris ecclesiastici*, cum introductione P. A. Herman, [in:] *Codificazione canonica orientale*, II.V, Vaticana 1939, pp. 34–35; N. Ματσης, *Περί τινῶν χωρίων τοῦ ὑπό τοῦ I. B. Cotelerius ἐκδοθέντος νομοκανόνος*, Αθηναϊ 1977; Γ. Πουλης, *Ὁ Νομοκάνων τοῦ Cotelerius*, Θεσσαλονίκη: Βιβλιοθήκη Βυζαντινοῦ καὶ μεταβυζαντινοῦ δικαίου 1, 1992. A number of studies on the Slavic penitence tradition discuss the Greek prototype of Cotelier; see V. Jagič, *Opisi i izvodi iz nekoliko južno-slovinskih rukopisa*, “Starine” VI, 1874, p. 62; С. Смирнов, *Древнерусский духовник. Исследование по истории церковного быта с приложением. Материалы для истории древнеррусскиой покаянной дисциплины*, Москва 1914 (reprint: Gregg International Publishers Limited, England 1970), pp. 189, 285, 289 et seq.; Н. С. Суворов, *К вопросу о западном влиянии на древне-русское право. По поводу книги проф. А. С. Павлова "Мнимые следы католического влияния в древнейших памятниках юго-славянского и русского церковного права"*, Москва 1892, Ярославль 1893, pp. 35, 82; П. Олтяну, *Роль старых славянских и среднеболгарских Номоканонов в развитии славяно-румынской юридической литературы*, “Palaeobulgarica” XV.3, 1991, pp. 18–35; R. Constantinescu, *Vechiul drept romanesc scris. Repertoriul izvoarelor 1340–1640*, Bucureşti 1984, p. 107.

– The linguistic traits of all early copies are identical and testify to the Bulgarian character of the translation. According to preliminary research, its creation may be placed within the chronological range from the first half of the 13th to the beginning of the 14th century. In any case, as early as the second quarter of the 14th century, it already displays linguistic and structural variability, more in the marginal texts than in the core of the prototype collection, which remains stable. Based on the inventories of Bulgarian manuscript collections, we may conclude that in the main manuscript depositories of Bulgaria, there are at present eight identified copies of the relatively complete text; separate text sections are contained in six other manuscripts; in five manuscripts, excerpts from the *PsZ* are combined with other editions of law and canon. There are numerous known copies in foreign, especially Russian, Serbian and Romanian, manuscript collections. At the same time, nothing definite is yet known about the location where this translation was made or the person or persons who made it; but provisional hypotheses have been formulated by scholars[8]. Some of the most valuable examples of the textual prototype are:

• CIAI 1160 is the earliest preserved collection of ecclesiastic law in contemporary Bulgarian manuscript depositories. It is the property of the Ecclesiastic-historical and Archival Institute of the Patriarchate of Bulgaria, in Sofia. It was the subject of a brief catalogue description, where it was entered as *Nomocanon from the end of the 14th century*[9]. In 2009, the manuscript was reproduced in phototype under the title *Archival Nomocanon* and with no change of date[10]. The main copyist has left a note on the last two lines in the text field on f. 192r: писавшаго сїє ги помѣни, въ цр̑твї своємъ. Суме̑, тꙗ їєрѡмна̑. Based on the filigree version Moshin-Tralich 1944 from the year 1352, the Romanian scholar R. Constantinescu dates CIAI 1160 to the period 1351–1360 and proposes the region of Vidin as its place of origin. In her dissertation on filigrees in 14th century manuscripts in Bulgaria, N. Atanasova dates CIAI 1160 to the 1370s–1380s[11]. This more precise dating is based on two watermarks dated exactly to the period 1363–1366, while the dating of one watermark depicting a ship remains uncertain. The opinions pre-

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[8] М. Цибранска-Костова, *Покайната книжнина на Българското средновековие…*, pp. 396–410.

[9] Б. Христова, Б. Д. Караджова, А. Икономова, *Български ръкописи от XI до XVIII в., запазени в България*, своден каталог, София 1982, pp. 55–56; R. Constantinescu, *Vechiul drept romanesc scris…*, pp. 37, 107; *Архивски номоканон. Български ръкопис от XIV в.*, фототипно издание, подготвили А. Кръстев и Ц. Янакиева, Шумен 2007.

[10] М. Цибранска-Костова, *Архивский номоканон. Болгарская рукопись XIV века*, фототипное издание, "Scripta and e-Scripta" 5, 2007, pp. 250–254.

[11] Н. Атанасова, *Филиграноложки проблеми на български ръкописи от XIV–XV в. (запазени в България)*, дисертация, София 1984, p. 73.

sented in the work make it possible to place the time of the creation of CIAI 1160 approximately between the 1360s and the 1380s.

• GIM Hlud. 76 from approximately 1330–1350 is a two-part code with a Bulgarian and Serbian section[12]. The first 90 sheet are written in two nasal vowels Tărnovo orthograph. Based on paleographic criteria, A. A. Turilov identifies one of the copyists of the Bulgarian part of the code as Pop Philip, who together with his teacher, was the main copyist of the famous Synodic copy of the Chronicle of Constantine Manasius in the collection of Pop Philip dating from 1344–1345, manuscript № 38 in the Synodic Collection of the State Historical Museum, Moscow. The author believes that GIM Hlud. 76 may also have originated from a scriptorium in the capital city of the Second Bulgarian Empire.

– The Lovech collection of Monk Pachomius (L), manuscript № 13.3.17 from the collection of A. I. Yatsimirsky in the Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Saint Petersburg, is a late-14th-century manuscript, the marginal note of which, however, reproduced earlier data about the creation of a prototype collection in a religious center connected with the Metropolitan Bishopric of Lovech, in the time of the pious despot John Alexander, his son Michael Asen, and the Archbishop Symeon, i.e., prior to 1331, when the despot was enthroned as tsar of Bulgaria[13]. This manuscript, which has not been studied at all, is accessible on microfilm Mf 266/79 in the Library of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. Most importantly, in some of its components, it is akin to the Pop Philip collection of 1345 and the Lavrentiy collection of 1348.

• Nomocanon NBKM 1117 – nomocanon from the second half of the 15th century, of southwestern Bulgarian origin[14]. This is one of the earliest and most important copies of the *PsZ*; it has not been published to date. By its linguistic and orthographic particularities and vocabulary, manuscript NBKM 1117 can be localized

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[12] С. Николова, С. М. Йовчева, Т. Попова, Л. Тасева, *Българското средновековно културно наследство в сбирката на Алексей Хлудов в Държавния исторически музей в Москва. Каталог*, София 1999, p. 82; Е. Белякова, *О составе Хлудовского номоканона (к истории сборника "Зинар")*, "Старобългарска литература" 37–38, 2007, pp. 114–131; А. А. Турилов, *К истории тырновского "царского" скриптория XIV в.*, "Старобългарска литература", кн. 33–34, 2005, pp. 305–328; И. Дуйчев, *Из старата българска книжнина*. II. *Книжовни и исторически паметници от Второто българско царство*, София 1940, pp. 129–130.

[13] К. Куев, *Съдбата на Ловчанския сборник, писан преди 1331 г.*, "Търновска книжовна школа" 1, 1974, pp. 79–88.

[14] М. Райкова, *Един югозападнобългарски номоканон от втората половина на XV в.*, "Македонски преглед" XX.1, 1997, pp. 69–92; М. Стоянов, Хр. Кодов, *Опис на славянските ръкописи в Софийската народна библиотека*, т. 3, София 1964, pp. 455–456; Б. Христова, Д. Караджова, А. Икономова, *Български ръкописи от XI до XVIII в., запазени в България*, своден каталог, София 1982, p. 81.

in Southwest Bulgaria, as confirmed by the marginal notes relating it to the region of Bitola. This is the only manuscript in Bulgaria that has an early system of numbering and division of the ecclesiastic law content into chapters, a system that differs from the most widespread type of numbering in written monuments of later ages.

What place does manuscript BAR 636 hold in the fruitful written tradition of this type of nomocanon? First, we should note that the presentation of the manuscript under the title *Rules and Serbo-Moldavian Chronicle*, as P. Panaitescu lists it, is justified by the fact that its law section occupies approximately half of the manuscript (ff. 23r–187r rules; *Statement of the Orthodox Faith* and *Legend of the Seven Ecumenical Councils*, ff. 207r–220r). To answer the question, we will touch on two of the most typical characteristics of the text structure of this copy: the presence of a numbering system and the anti-heretical line in it, which, as pointed out above, is supported by other texts included in this monastic collection.

1. Numbering system

The presence of *PsZ* in Romanian depositories allows generally identifying several different forms of its existence. First, there are early Slavic copies of *PsZ* from the 15th century, whose origin is South Slavic Bulgarian or Serbian, but also possibly Wallachian or Moldavian, and which do not have a page numbering system but are distinguished by other formal traits of textual and copying organization. Such a trait is the placement of the text in two columns. We meet with this in BAR 148 – one of the earliest, fully preserved and valuable copies of the *PsZ* from the other side of the Danube[15]. In arguing that the manuscript was copied in the Neamț monastery, the descriptor was not aware there was an integral and systematic ecclesiastical law section in it, but described separate text units on ff. 110r–158v. Thus, no mention is made of *PsZ* and a general reference is made to the Rules of the Holy Fathers, i.e., the whole copy acquires a title according to the first heading placed in the manuscript or according to the title of some of its component parts, for instance, *Canonaria of John the Faster*. Thus, the original heading of *PsZ* has different versions but is practically similar in all copies:
Съ б͠мъ поүинаємь правило ст͠ы ап͠лъ и ст͠ы пр͠ъпо͠бны и бг͠оносн͠ы ѿць нашихъ. ӡ͠. го сьвора. ѡ їереѡх и ѡ людехь мирск͠ы. ӡаповѣды всакїю (cited from CIAI 192, a copy of the Mileševo printed nomocanon, f. 3v from tetrad д͠); Правила ст͠ы ап͠лъ и ст͠ы. ӡ͠. съворъ пр͠пвны и бг͠оносныихь ѿць нашй. ѻ̀ є̀пископѣ ѝ ѻ̀ мнихохь ѝ ѻ̀

ἱερεέχ҄ и ò лю́дέ ми́рскы҄ ζαποβѣѣди въсѣ́кыѩ и по́уени (CIAI 1160, f. 34v); Ἀρχὴ σὺν θεῷ νομοκανόνος. Κανόνες τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ οἰκουμενικόν συνόδων περὶ ἀρχιερέων, ἱερέων, μοναχῶν μεγαλοσχήμων καὶ ἄλλων μοναχῶν, καὶ λαικῶν. Ἐγὼ ὁ πέτρος καὶ παῦλος διατάσσομεν τοῖς δούλοις ἐργάζεσθαι (Cotelerius 1677: 68). The two-column format of *PsZ* in BAR 148 suggests the copyist was following a South Slav prototype localized in western Bulgaria, because in this respect the copy is akin to manuscripts in Bulgarian depositories, such as CIAI 177 and CIAI 194, which also date from the 14th century, the former known to scholars as the Molitvoslov of the 15th century from the Pshina Monastery, and the latter, as Trebnik from the 15th century[16].

The second particular form of existence is related to the emergence of Slavic book printing in Cyrillic script, of which one of the most active locations was Wallachia. The first printed examples of *PsZ* also lacked a numbering system. It is to be noted they appear as early as the 16th century in the following centers of Slavic book-printing in Cyrillic and in the following chronological order: in Goražde, 1531; in Targovişte (Wallachian Muntenia), 1545; and from the printing workshop in the Serbian Mileševa monastery "Holy Ascension of Our Lord" from 1545 to 1546[17]. In these copies, *PsZ* does not figure separately but is included in the collection of printed prayer books or breviaries (*trebnik*). The text of the complete prototype is presented in a strongly abridged version that has mainly retained the line of rules for everyday basic ritual practices, ritual purity, purity of marriage, nutrition, etc., while many text units of lesser applicability to that period of history have been dropped, such as the anti-heretical line. On the basis of Slavic copies of *PsZ*, manuscripts and printed books in Romanian, but in Cyrillic script, were created on the other side of the Danube, whereby the editions of the *PsZ* figure among the beginnings of literature and culture in the Romanian language. We are referring to several emblematic examples:

a) The edition related to the activity of Deacon Coresi in Braşov, with an unspecified year of publication between 1570 and 1580. It is known under the title *Pravrila sfinţilor oteţi*[18].

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[16] Ив. Гошев, *Стари записки и надписи*, "Годишник на СУ. Богословски факултет" IV, 1927, pp. 346–347, 353–354.

[17] M. Cibranska, *Étude du texte et des particularités linguistiques du premier nomocanon cyrillique imprimé*, "Études Balkaniques" 3, 1994, pp. 95–101; М. Цибранска, *Към характеристиката на първите печатни кирилски номоканони*, "Македонски преглед" XVII.3, 1994, pp. 67–82; С. Бојанин, *Ст. Епитимијни номоканон Гопажденског молитвеника (1523) у свету штампане и рукописне књиге*, "Crkvene studije/Church Studies" 15, 2018, pp. 181–203.

[18] I. Bianu, *Texte de limbă din sec XVI. II. Pravila sfinţilor apostoli tipărită de diaconul Coresi in Braşov intre 1570–80. (Fragment)*, Bucureşti 1925; C. A. Spulber, *Cea mai veche pravilă românească,*

b) Rules of the rhetorician and scholastic Lucaci dating from 1581, from the Putna monastery, placed in manuscript BAR 692. The text of the rules, accompanied by a dictionary and phototype reproduction of the manuscript, was published in 1971[19]. The manuscript, whose contents are entirely related to ecclesiastical law, contains a copy of *PsZ*, and *PsZ* is certainly one of the sources of the Rules of Lucaci, written in bi-lingual format, with Slavic and Romanian texts following line by line. Among the rules, there are easily identifiable text segments from *PsZ* mostly concerning incest and degrees of kinship, from which one may derive interesting comparisons between the rich Slavic kinship terminology and the corresponding Romanian terms.

The question arises as to when and where the numbering system we find in BAR 636 originally appeared? It is easier to give a positive answer to the question as to why it appeared. The Slavic *PsZ* is a large edition of ecclesiastic law, but without clear thematic principles in the system and order of arrangement of the material, in contrast with many written monuments of Byzantine mediaeval legal literature, such as the nomocanons, the Synthagma of Matthew Blastares, the Eclogue, and the Procheiron. All of them follow a certain principle – whether it be thematic, alphabetical-thematic, etc. – in division of titles, chapters, paragraphs. The order of *PsZ* was certainly determined by the nature and structure of the Greek source. The content, structure, and typological characteristics of the example published by J. B. Cotelier, consisting of 547 rules, lack a system of arrangement. Cotelier made a clear but brief editor's commentary: he characterized the Greek editing as imperfect, disorderly, odd, illogical, and full of repetitions and inconsistencies[20]. Because of this, the prolonged presence of the prototype in a Slavic environment naturally led to the need for imposing some kind of system on the material, in order to facilitate comprehension of the various cases and, not least, to make the copyist's work easier. The archeographic dossier of *PsZ* warrants the assertion that page numbering is a later feature, and the earliest Slavic copies lacked it.

Text –Transcriere, Studiu, Cernăuți 1930; *Texte romaneşti din sec. al XVI. I. Catehismul lui Coresi. II. Pravila lui Coresi. III. Fragmentul Todorescu. IV. Glosele Bogdan. V. Prefeţe şi epiloguri*, ediţii critice de E. Buză, G. Chivu, M. Georgescu, I. Gheţie, Al. Roman Moraru, Fl. Zgraon, coordonator I. Gheţie, Bucureşti 1982, pp. 218–231; Fl. Dimitrescu, *Tetraevanghelul tipărit de Coresi Braşov, 1560–1561, comparat cu Evangheliarul lui Radu de la Măniceşti 1574*, Bucureşti 1963, p. 13.

[19] I. Rizescu, *Pravila Ritorului Lucaci 1581, text stability, studio introductive şi indice*, Bucureşti 1971.

[20] Contemporary scholars also support the view that the prototype collection is non-canonical. See I. Sorlin, *Strugles et géloudes: Histoire d'une croyance et d'une tradition*, "Travaux et mémoires" 11, 1991, pp. 411–436.

Against this backdrop, the numbering system in the Slavic *PsZ* acquires special importance. Based on the available source data, we may generalize that the earliest copies containing page-numbering date from the 14th century and are related to the Slavic South. Of the copies preserved in Bulgarian depositories, the 14th-century manuscript NBKM 1117 is remarkable for being the only one with a numeration system. In its linguistic-orthographical particularities and vocabulary, the manuscript is connected with Southwest Bulgaria, as confirmed by the marginal notes that mention settlements in the Bitola region during the Ottoman period. According to data presented by E. Belyakova, some South Slavic copies have as many as 149 or 151 chapters, and the Russian ones, as many as 200[21]. Particularly widespread is the numbering system in the Moldavian copies of *PsZ*, such as manuscript BAR 636, its twin manuscript BAR 685, as well as BAR 692 and BAR 726. They extend to as many as 151 chapters. Here we should say that both in the Moldavian copies and in NBKM 1117, the numbering does not repeat, and indeed has nothing in common with, that of the Cotelerius prototype, as it basically refers to the chapters and not to individual rules. In the Nomocanon of Cotelerius (*NC*) there are a total of 547 consecutively numbered rules. In NBKM 1117 there is no preserved table of contents. In the Moldavian manuscripts, however, one may check which text corresponds to which chapter by means of the so-called Съказъ (Съказанѥ) книѕѣ сеи въ кратцѣ глава̄ (cited from BAR 692, f. 9a). Here is what it comprises, according to the manuscript under study BAR 636:

Съказанїе въ кратцѣ книѕѣ сеи. г҃.

а҃. Днех и́же въ се́мицѫ́ е́же дѣ́лати д҃г. и̇ ѿ пра́зницѣхь влꙋ́нихь.

в҃. О пра́зницѣ ст҃хъ ап҃лъ. и̇ пр҃тꙋ́ и стх҃ъ въселе́нскы оу҆у́ителеи васи́лїа вели́каго.
и̇ грїгꙋ́рїа бг҃ослова. и̇ іꙍа́нна златооу́ста̄.

г҃. О па́мати ст҃хъ вели́комн҃икь.

д҃. О кнꙗѕꙍ̈ и̇ ѻ тѣ̈ и́же пӧ вла́стїѫ и̇. и̇ ѻ цр҃кви. и̇ ѻ е̇пкп҃ꙍ̈, и̇ ѻ е̇ре́ꙍ̈.

е҃. О постри́галⷳⷳих сѧ въ мꙍ́настыри.

ѕ҃. О е̇пкп҃ꙍ̈, и̇ ѻ и̇гоу́менѣхь. и̇ клири́кꙍ̈ тво́рⷶⷳⷳи непра́вды.

з҃. О і̇ере́ꙍ̈. и̇ дї́акꙍнѣхь.

и҃. О рꙍди́телѐ, и̇ уѧ́д̑ѣ́ прави́ло. и̇ дх҃ꙍ́вныхь рꙍди́телѐ. и̇ ѻ бра́цѣхь. и̇ ѻ коу́мꙍвⸯство.

ѳ҃. О ꙍ̈скврⸯне́нени ма́щехѫ. и́ли тⸯщꙗ̈. и́ли прⸯѣтⸯꙗ̈щꙗ̈ своꙗ̈.

і҃. О прⸯѣлюбодⸯѣ́ани ко́е̇ нарⷶⷶу́е̇ сѧ.

а҃і. О крⸯѣвомⸯѣше́нїи. сѫ̈ бꙍ̈ ѻ́смь.

в҃і О тако по́бⷳⷳꙗⷯ и̇спꙍвⸯѣ́дати сѧ поꙋ́у́енїе і̇ерⷳⷳꙍⷯмь. и̇ прꙍ́сты́ӹ ул҃кꙍ̈мь, и̇ же́намь.
и̇ ка́кꙍ по́бⷳⷳꙗⷯ прⷶⷶи́мати къ и̇спꙍвⸯѣ́ди.

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²¹ Е. Белякова, *О составе Хлудовского номоканона (к истории сборника "Зинар")*, "Старобългарска литература" 37–38, 2007, p. 115.

г҃і. Ѡ исповѣ́ди іѡа́нна мни́ха поѹч́енїе. ка́ко по҃бает приѹ́стити ко́го ли́бо.

д҃і. Ѡ срѣ́ и п҃к въсе́ѧ гꙷди́ны, и нѣл́ѣхъ раздрѣ́шны. ка́ко по́бает дръжа́ти хѡта́щꙗ́ сп҃ти сѧ. и ѡ нерад́ащїй ѡ свое́мь сп҃се́нїи. и ѡгла́шены. Же́ны же и мꙋ́жїе ѿлꙋ́чени ѿ цр҃кве покаа́нїа вели́каго ра́ди. да не приѹ́щаат сѧ никѡ́гда же. донде́же ꙁапѡвѣ́ди прѣда́нныѧ имь съврꙋ́шити. а́ще ли на съмрꙋ́ти бꙋ́де. тѡга́ а́ще тꙋ́кмо е хрⷭ҇тїа́нинь невъꙁбра́нно да приѹ́стит сѧ. кромѣ́ а́ще има́тъ волес́ть ѿ бѣ́са мꙋ́чима и ѿ нѣ скѡнⷱ҇ава́е сѧ. такѡ́вы бѡ въꙁбра́нꙗ́ет пра́вило. ꙗ́ко да ст҃ое приѹ́щенїе съблю́дет сѧ. сего ра́ди ѹ́стави сѧ си́це, бѣ́сноꙋема нⷷ҇и на съмрꙋ́ти приѹ́щати. Бꙋ́ди се вѣ́домо. а́ще кто ѿ полоꙋбѣ́рны на съмрꙋ́ти въсхꙋще́ себе въ хрⷭ҇тїа́нскꙋꙗ вѣ́рꙋ крⷭ҇ти́ти и дѡспꙋ́еши е́го крⷭ҇ти́ти, напра́сныꙗ ра́ди съмрꙋ́ти е́го. рꙋ́ци тꙋ́кмо мл҃твꙋ ꙁаклина́нїꙋ и вѣ́роꙋ́ж въ е́дˢ҇ного б҃а. а́ о́нь по тебѣ́ да гл҃ет и да проклꙋнⷷ҇ сѧ е́реси полоꙋвѣ́рскыꙗ. пото́ помажꙵи́ е́го мѵро́ вели́кы. и приѹ́сти е́го:~. The passage is noteworthy for its use of the term *half-faithful*, *half-faithful heresy*. According to A. Nikolov, the qualification "half-faithful" became synonymous with Latin heretics and gained currency in Slavic texts of the 14th century. But it may apply likewise to the Armenians, as witnessed in some sources, such as one of the editions of the question-answer work Razumnik-Ukaz[22].

е҃і. Ѡ мꙋꙁ́ло́жъствѣ. и ѡ ѹ́ктцꙋ́ ка́ко бы́ти е́моꙋ по́поꙋ или не бы́ти.

ѕ҃і. Ѡ цр҃кви. и ѡ ст҃ꙋ́мь приѹ́щенїи.

ꙁ҃і. Ѡ бл҃дницꙋ́ ѹ́й нарица́е сѧ бл҃дникъ. и ѡ прѣда́нїи, и ѡ грꙋ́хѡ́ ꙁа́повѣди.

и҃і. Ѡ пꙋстꙋ́ вели́кы, и ма́лы и ѡ расꙋжꙵени ѡц҃а дꙋхо́внаго.

ѳ҃і. Ѡ ѹ́бїиствꙋ́ вѡ́лны, и невѡ́лны.

к҃. Ѡ женꙋ́ ма́влистрꙋ́.

к҃а. Ѡ та́техь цр҃кѡ́вныхь.

к҃в. Ѡ въсхы́щаꙗ́щꙗ́й же́ны насилїемꙵ.

к҃г. Ѡ цр҃кꙋꙁꙷ ꙁиꙁда́нїꙋ, или понѡ́вленїꙋ.

к҃д. Ѡ вѣ́роꙋ́ꙗщихь въ га́ды и ꙁвѣ́рꙵ. и кꙵо́бы и вра́жꙋ и дⷩ҇ни и ѹ́асы дꙋ́бры и ꙁлꙋ́.

к҃е. Ѡ мала́кїи. и ѡ мꙋꙁжело́жъстви.

к҃ѕ. Ѡ трⷷ҇ибра́чныихь.

к҃ꙁ. Ѡ та́тꙋхь грꙋ́бныхь.

к҃и. Ѡ има́щїихь вра́ждꙋ се́бе и междоꙋ се́бе. и ѹ́мира́щꙗ́й.

к҃ѳ. Ѡ ѹ́сꙋ́пшїилⷷ҇мъ.

л҃. Ѡ мрꙋ́цинꙵа́. и ѹ́да́влени и крꙋ́ве.

л҃а. Ѡ а́ще въпа́де въ кла́даꙁꙷ что скврꙋ́но. или въ ви́но. или а́ще рꙋ́дит сѧ гꙷа́ въ пшꙵе́ници. или а́ще еꙋрꙋꙷ́й ѡскврꙋ́нитъ. или а́ще кто ꙗ́стъ. или любовь твѡ́ритъ съ пога́ными.

л҃в. Ѡ же́наꙗ́щїихꙵ сѧ на йновꙋ́рны.

л҃г. Ѡ житова́бꙋ́.

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[22] А. Николов, *Между Рим и Константинопол. Из антикатолическата литература в България и славянския православен свят (XI–XVII в.)*, София 2016, p. 125.

л҃д. Ѽ бра́цѣхъ.

л҃е. Ѽ і́ереи.

л҃ѕ. Ѽ прие́мшй ҂а́повѣ, и̇ нетвѡ́рѧщй.

л҃ѕ. Ѽ оу́кланѣ́ющй ѿ мл҃т̾вьі.

л҃и. Ѽ і́ереи бе҂ь а̇нтимиса слоу́жжщй. и̇ оу́мира́ющй ѻ̇трѡчищ҄ некр҃щеньі́. и̇
     принѡ́шенїи въ цр҃кѡ҃.

л҃ѳ. Жена а́ще ро́дитъ въ по҃ вели́кыи.

м҃. Ѽ оу́бива́ющй се́бе своеж во́леж и̇ оу́ме́ршихь та́ко.

м҃а. Ѽ нюсѧ́щй ко́жꙋ неуи́стааго скота́.

м҃в. Ѽ оу́бїинствѣхь и̇же въ ра́техь.

м҃г. Ѽ а́ще кр҃тит сѧ ѿ пюга́ньі.

м҃д. Ѽ прѣхѡ́жжⷣени і́ере́а.

м҃е. Ѽ пѧтыхь нⷣе́лѣхь раздрѣ́шеньі.

м҃ѕ. Ѽ ҂акала́ющй. и̇ хѡ́тѧщй приуѧ́стити.

м҃ѕ. Ѽ і́ереи.

м҃и. Ѽ же́нахъ.

м҃ѳ. Ѽ і́ереи а́ще ко́го кр҃тй, трети́цеж.

н҃. Ѽ а́ще оу́мреть ѻ̇троуⷱ нестрижено ѿ вла́сь е́го прѣ́выь.

н҃а. Ѽ ста́рьі крѣ́щаⷭⷭⷩⷯⷯ сѧ. і̇ ѡ е́реⷣ.

н҃в. Ѽ а́ще кто̀ хоу́литъ і́ере́а. и̇лй клѣ́неть, и̇лй кле́вещеть.

н҃г. Ѽ і́ереⷯ, и̇ дїа́кⷬⷩⷯⷯ.

н҃д. Ѽ гнѧ́шающих сѧ бра́ка. и̇ же́нащих сѧ. и̇ мѧ́сь ꙗ́дꙋщїи.

н҃е. Ѽ и̇же ра́бꙋ нⷣе́ꙋꙗего оу́ꙋй не повиновати сѧ г҃мъ. и̇лй кра́сти и̇ и̇лй съ ра́винⷣѣ
     нⷣе́ꙋꙗа ле́жати комꙋ̀.

н҃ѕ. Ѽ ѡ́таи.

н҃ѕ. Ѽ бѣ҂ꙗ́ющй ѿ цр҃кви е́же на се мо́лити сѧ.

н҃и. Ѽ прїима́ющй невъ҂а́коненое плꙊ́носⷮїе и̇лй да́ати бе҂ бл҃венїе.

н҃ѳ. Ѽ дѣ́вствꙋю́щй ѿ своеж женьі.

ѯ҃. Ѽ оу́ниуижа́ющй любѝ твѡ́рꙗщаⷢ.

ѯ҃а. Аще кто ѡ̇скврⷣѣ́нить женж бра́та своⷢ́ дх҃о́внаго.

ѯ҃в. Ѽ гнꙊ́шающй сѧ бл҃венїе тра́пе҂ⷩа.

ѯ҃г. Ѽ же́нахь.

ѯ҃д. Ѽ и́грахь, и̇ пла́санїихь.

ѯ҃е. Ѽ пꙋстрꙗ́ꙗⷮщⷯⷯ сѧ ѿ свой уⷶ́.

ѯ҃е. Ѽ рѡ́дителехь и̇ уⷶ́дѣхъ.

ѯ҃ѕ. Ѽ же́нахъ.

ѯ҃ѕ. Ѽ пꙋстⷣ́ꙗⷭⷯⷯ сѧ въ сꙊ́бⷣⷮⷯⷯ.

ѯ҃и. Ѽ раздрѣ́шенⷣѣ, и̇ срⷣ́ѣ и̇ пꙗ́тⷬ̂. и̇

ѯ҃ѳ. Ѽ и̇҂лѡ́жени ҂льі́ ꙗⷡ́ѣ же находити мни́хѡмⷬ на тра́пе҂ꙋ ми́рскьіхь.

ѻ҃. Ѽ твѡ́рꙗщй та́йны съ е́вреⷣⷯ.

ѻ҃а. Ѽ ꙗ́дꙋщихь съ е́рютикѡмⷬ.

ѻ҃в. Ѽ неприуꙗ́щаⷭⷩⷯ сѧ съ вⷣѣсⷣѣ́ми хⷬ̂ти.

ѻг. О блѫдѣщїй съ погаными женами.

ѻд. О блѫдници.

ѻе. О ѥпкпѣ, и поⷫ, и дїакѡнѣ.

ѻꙃ. О троебрачныихъ.

ѻꙁ. О запалѣщїй ненавистїе что либо.

ѻи. О съмрⷮти игоуменшвѣ.

ѻѳ. О цркѡвнѣй власти.

п҃. О ꙗⷦко побⷣаеть събѡⷬъ съставлѣти.

па. О ѿстѫпаⷧщїй ѿ православныѧ вѣры.

пв. О аще мни ѿврати сѧ иноуьскаⷢ житїа.

пг. О иже второе посаганїе творить.

пд. О малакїѧ.

пе. О иже съ ѳесⷨⷬь блѫдить.

пꙃ. О аще ктⷪ съгрѣшиⷯ съ кꙋмицеⷺ своѧ.

пꙁ. О аще два брата дхⷪвна ѡкрамѡлита.

пи. О паматозлⷤбеникⸯ, и клⷡветнⷨⷯ.

пѳ. О лъжесвѣⷣⷮеⷮ. ꙗⷤгатⷮ. прислꙋшнⷩⷩ. клатвопрѣстѫⷣпнⷯⷩ и прⷯꙋй таковое.

п꙲ⷵ (sic!). О аще ктⷪ прѣчѫⷭти сѧ по ꙗденїи.

ч҃. О запрѣщеⷩⷨ брацѣ. и о различныⷯ степенⷦй рѡⷣа. еⷤже по плⷮти и еⷤже по дхⷩⷪⷮ. и о брⷢⷮ ⷬⷶ ⷠ ѡ брачныⷯ рожакⷷ.

ча. Иꙗко не побⷣаеть въ вⷭ по памяти творити.

чв. О трⷪⷤебрачныⷤ. и аще іереи блⷡвить.

чг. О клⷩꙗщи сѧ разбⷷⷩⷷницⷣⷶ. и татⷣ и ѥретⷣ.

чд. О ꙗко не достоить истѫⷥати сѧ беꙁ нѫⷤжда о вѣрⷣⷷ. и о іереⷤ и ѥпкпⷩⷣ. и о сꙗⷣⷷ.

че. О свⷣⷣⷶⷮтелствⷣⷷ.

чꙃ. О запрⷣⷶⷩⷦⷶⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩ епкⷩⷪⷩ повⷣ. и свⷣⷣⷶⷮтелствⷣⷷ іереⷣⷰвⷣ.

чꙁ. О женахъ ѡтрави дⷣⷶⷩщихъ.

чи. О ꙗко не доⷣⷶⷩ кого сꙗⷣⷶ беꙁ испытанїа.

чѳ. О аще ктⷪ ѿврати хртїанина ѿ вѣрⷣⷷ.

р҃. О аще чⷧка оукрадеть ктⷪ.

ра. О клⷩꙗтⷣⷷвⷣ іереистⷣⷷⷶⷩ.

рв. О аще ктⷪ обрⷣⷶⷩⷩⷩ⹃ свⷣⷩꙗ женꙗ блⷣꙗ.

рг. О прибыткоу цⷬкⷪⷡⷩⷨⷶⷩⷷⷩⷩⷩⷷⷩ.

рд. О аще ктⷪ что оукрадⷣ⹃. и скоро ѡбрⷣⷶⷩⷩⷩ⹃.

ре. О аще имⷤ кого гробы раскⷪⷩⷣⷶⷩⷶⷶⷷꙋⷶвша.

рꙃ. О нꙗⷣⷶꙗщїй жены на ѡсквⷬⷶⷩⷩⷩⷷненїе.

рꙁ. О аще попадїа прⷣⷷⷶⷩⷩⷩ⹃ⷩⷷⷩⷷꙋбы сътворⷣⷶⷩ.

ри. О нꙗⷣⷶꙗщїй кого на ѡсквⷬⷶⷩⷩⷩⷷненїе.

рѳ. О минхы принⷪⷩⷣⷶⷩⷩ⹃ꙋшⷤ что въ мⷪⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩꙋⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩꙋⷩ ⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩ.

рі. О аще ктⷪ съкрⷩⷩⷩ⹃ разбоиника.

раі. О аще ктⷪ блѫдить съ скⷪⷩⷩ⹃ти.

рді. О ненавидⷣⷶꙗ чⷧкы. хⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩ и пꙗⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩꙗни.

We see that in the so-called **Съказъ** there are omissions, confusions and repetitions. Thus, the efforts to systematize the material through numbering and summaries were not fully successful. Let us look at the differences between the numbering in BAR 636 and NBKM 1117.

First, the number of chapters is not the same. As NBKM 1117 is not fully preserved, we do not know what its full contents were, but the layout of the material excludes the possibility they were identical with that of the Moldavian copies. Thus, NBKM 1117 contains a total of 57 sheets, upon which are numbered 43 chapters running from the first preserved one, к҃и (28), to the last, о҃в (72). The numbering in NBKM 1117 is placed next to, and outside, the text field. The second preserved number in the manuscript text is л҃ (30), i.e., there is an omission here; the number к҃ѕ (26) appears as far ahead as f. 44r, preceded by н҃ѕ (55) and followed by н҃ӡ, н҃и, while the text continues without interruption. It is reasonable to assume that the number к҃ѕ was a copyist's error. Apart from these anomalies, the other numberings follow the correct order; parts of the signs for 63, 64, and 68 are missing due to damage of the manuscript. NBKM 1117, from the 15th century, although not fully preserved, is a comparatively early manuscript and hence the attempt made in it to systematize the numbering of the Slavic *PsZ* is highly valuable, as it is missing from GIM Hlud. 76, CIAI 1160 and RGB Muz. sobr. 3169. This importance is all the more evident in view of the assumption of some researchers that the manuscript has retained two Glagolitic letters with the value of Cyrillic script: on f. 9r, the digit in number 34, a chapter numeration written outside the field of the text, is the Glagolitic "д", and on f. 11r, an unidentified Glagolitic letter is used to designate the digit in the number 36, and consequently it is assigned the value of ѕѣлѡ (6). The presence of Glagolitic letters in this written monument was first noted by M. Raykova[24]. Later, Y. Miltenov included the inscriptions in his study on the use of Glagolitic letters in Cyrillic manuscripts, drawing the important conclusion that, for now, manuscript NBKM 1117 is the latest in date of the South Slavic ones known to contain Glagolitic letters, i.e., it is an upper dating limit for Glagolitic inscriptions in a Cyrillic script environment[25]. In a previous publication, we qualified our statements with the provision that the second specific letter, which does not match a precise Glagolitic mode of tracing the letter, requires separate research[26]. If this is indeed a Glagolitic letter, by the morphology of its shaping, it resembles,

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[24] М. Райкова, *Един югозападнобългарски номоканон от втората половина на XV век.*, "Македонски преглед" XX.1, 1997, pp. 69–92.

[25] Я. Милтенов, *Кирилски ръкописи с глаголически вписвания*, "Wiener Slavistisches Jahbruch" 55, 2009, pp. 191–219; 2010, pp. 56, 83–98.

[26] М. Цибранска-Костова, *Покайната книжнина на Българското средновековие…*, pp. 293–297.

at best, the Glagolitic ижє, which has the value of 10 in both alphabets. But this makes no sense with regard to the number 36. It is not impossible, however, that underlying the two problematic shapings of the letter are in fact Greek short-hand letters: thus, the Greek δ, which has the numeral value of 4, is decorated in its shorthand version in a way that resembles the serifs in the Glagolitic д; and the Greek τ, with the numeral value of 6, strongly resembles the shaping of the letter on f. 11r. This would suggest the influence of the Greek script, which, considering the manuscript's age and territory of origin, is an equally possible explanation as that referring to Glagolitic remnants. In any case, we have grounds for recognizing in the numbering of NBKM 1117 an indication of the continuous dissemination of the nomocanon in a South Slavic literary environment.

The second difference between NBKM 1117 and BAR 636 is that the chapters contain different numbers of rules. For instance, in the Moldavian copies, chapter 41 contains only one rule – the prohibition for a person wearing the skin of a horse or donkey to enter a church; chapter 33 is about sorcery rituals using wheat, and is likewise covered by a single case; at the same time, the chapter numbered 13 contains the full edition of John the Faster, and represents a separate text; the very long chapter 8 concerns parents and children; chapter 30 is about prohibition on consumption of carrion or the flesh of drowned animals, etc. In NBKM 1117 there is likewise no regularity in the number of cases placed under a given numeral.

Third, we see differences in the correspondence of chapter number to text between NBKM 1117 and the Moldavian copies. Thus, the chapters numbered 34 and 36 in NBKM 1117 are respectively о малакїи and како пѡ̂бає памать мрьвꙑ̂ творити. But in the Moldavian copies, the section on malakia is numbered к̅ё, and the preceding rule, о вѣроүющи̂ вь гади и звѣри и ꙳асови имоущи̂, is respectively к̅д. Chapters 34 and 36 in BAR 636 are О врацѣхъ and О приє̇мши̂ ҙа̇повѣ̇, и нетвѡ́рꙋщи̂. From this, we may at least conclude there were either different numbering systems in use or that the initial system had changed in the later Moldavian copies due to the inclusion of additional matter which changed the consecutive order. The second assumption seems more likely. The reduction of the original contents of *PsZ* to 149–151 chapters in the Balkan tradition, a feature best preserved on the other side of the Danube, in the Wallachian-Moldavian principalities, was the result of later work on the text. There may have been a transitional system of numbering (as testified by NBKM 1117), but it was changed and unified. The causes of this numbering are basically related to the attempt to arrange, to put some order in the least systematic yet most popular nomocanon of Orthodox Slavic literature. A textual prototype for the Moldavian copies of *PsZ* is the Bulgarian (Tărnovo) protograph. In the 14th century, *PsZ* was disseminated within the body of many more surrounding texts, i.e., the canon low core was enlarged

with dogmatic, anti-heretical, liturgical and other texts, some of which were included in the numbering, so that the number of chapters was increased. It suffices to present in numbers the conclusion drawn from the comparison between two of the earliest Slavic copies of *PsZ,* CIAI 1160 and GIM Hlud.76. In the former, there are 71 sheets with various texts placed between the rules of the Council of Antioch on f. 88v and the excerpt from the *Law Books* [*Книги законныя*] on f. 159r. This means that CIAI 1160 complements the picture of literary production in the Bulgarian 14th century with a canon-law type of collection, and this would make of Bulgaria a generator of canon law literature that subsequently spread to the Wallachian-Moldavian principalities and to Russia.

2. The anti-heretical line in *PSZ*

The next very important feature of the Slavic *PsZ* is its anti-heretical orientation, evident in two main lines: against the dualist heresies, and against the Latins. Before going on to the concrete texts, we should note that the anti-heretical line is not explicitly indicated in the heading list. Thus, the titles of the separate chapters contain general designations, such as heretics, "pogani" (i.e., pagans), apostates from the true faith; regarding the non-Orthodox, the text mostly refers to the Jews (chapters 31: 70). In fact, however, one of the reasons why the ecclesiastic law section of BAR 636 is the largest in size, is the intention to fight heresies and to use the canonical heritage to defend the foundations of the Orthodox religion. There are several main anti-heretical emphases in BAR 636.

• "Paulicians" and other relevant terms for dualist heresies occur three times. Paulician stands out as the earliest in order of appearance heresy, as a direct successor and adherent of the Manichean heresy; it is treated of as neo-Manicheism, and this explains the stereotypical confusing and equating of Bogomilism, Manicheism, Messalianism and Paulicianism, throughout the Middle Ages[27]. The com-

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[27] Кр. Гечева, *Богомилството и неговото отражение в средновековна християнска Европа. Библиография*, София 2007, especially "Manichean heresy", pp. 93–100; "Paulician heresy", pp. 100–106; Petrus Siculus, *Historia Manichaeorum*, [in:] *PG*, t. 104, col. 1239–1304; *Sermo I, II adversus Manichaeos*, col. 1305–1346; Р. М. Бартикян, *Петр Сицилийски и его "История павликиан"*, "Византийский временник" 43.18, 1961, pp. 323–358; Photius, *Contra Manichaeos*, [in:] *PG*, t. 102, col. 15–264; N. S. Garsoian, *The Paulician Heresy. A Study of the Origin and Development of Paulicianism in Armenia and the Eastern Provinces of the Byzantine Empire*, Hague–Paris 1967; P. Lemerle, *L'Histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure d'après les sources grecques*, "Travaux et Mémoires" 5, 1973, pp. 1–144; J. Hamilton, B. Hamilton, *Christian Dualist Heresies in the Byzantine World c. 650–c. 1450*, Manchester, NY, 1998, especially "The Paulicians", pp. 5–25; G. Minczew, M. Skow-

mon ideological foundation of mediaeval dualist heresies was one reason for the interchangeability in name and in doctrine between Manicheism, Paulicianism, and Bogomilism. The Christian dualist doctrine of Paulicianism, due to its origins in Armenia, tended towards the Armenian heresy. These multiway relations make of it a universal "code" for dualism. Some source references in translated canon texts in the Slavic tradition make the name *Paulician* a hyperonym for any member of a dualist heresy. For instance, in the Russian Troitskiy collection of the 14th century, copied from a South Slavic original, the more widespread and neutral designation єретикъ is replaced by a more concrete term: игоуменъ да не въıгонить из монастъıра никогоꙗ̈, тъкмо иже боудеть павликеанинъ[28]. This is a fragment from three rules, titled with the name of Nicephorus the Confessor in some monuments, which regulate the justifiable reasons for a monk to leave his monastery. One reason is that the hegumen is a heretic or a Paulician. The topicality of the latter, specifying, term is evident in a variant of this rule found in the Berlin collection from the early 14th century: Архимандритъ да не изгонить из манастира никоегоже. нж тькмо иже бждеть павликианинь[29]. Consequently, these are topical designations of heretic, occurring in approximately contemporaneous monuments and under common sources of influence. Notably, such data on the position of Paulicianism among the dualist heresies are particularly concentrated in *PsZ*. This collection contains rules related to the Paulicians together with the Bogomils, the Armenians, and the Jacobites, as well as a cohering text against Paul of Samosata (260–272) and the Paulicians иже горши соуть всѣхъ єретигъ[30]. Thus, the term Paulician in *PsZ* is used three times.

1. The first example may be called emblematic and generalizing for the anti-heretical line in *PsZ*. This is the rubric ѿ пра́вилъ събѡ́ра ӓнтїиохїинскаго, numbered in NBKM 1117 as н҃ѕ (the correct number is 56, but in the manuscript, as we pointed out, the mistaken numbering is к҃ѕ), and in BAR 636 as о҃а (71). In general,

ronek, J.-M. Wolski, *Średniowieczne herezje dualistyczne na Bałkanach. Źródła słowiańskie*, "Series Ceranea" 1, 2015, Łódź; Д. Радева, *Павликяни и павликянство в българските земи. Архетип и повторения VII–XVII в.*, София 2015.

²⁸ J. Popovski, Fr. Thomson, W. Veder, *The Troickiy sbornik (cod. Moskva, GBL, F. 304, Troice-Sergieva lavra N 12)*, text in transcription, "Полата кънигописьнаꙗ" 21–22, 1988, p. 52.

²⁹ Х. Миклас, Л. Тасева, М. Йовчева, *Берлински сборник. Berlinski sbornik*, Кирило-Методиевски научен център, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Sofia–Wien 2006, p. 146. H. Miklas, V. Zagrebin, *Berlinski sbornik. Codices selecti*, vol. LXXIX, Graz 1988.

³⁰ M. Tsibranska-Kostova, M. Raykova, *Les Bogomiles et (devant la Loi). Les sources slaves de droit canonique à propos de l'hérésie aux XIV–XV ss.*, "Revue des études sud-est européennes" 49.1, 2011, pp. 15–33; М. Цибранска-Костова, *Покайната книжнина книжнина на Българското средновековие...*, pp. 259–380.

in the *NC,* there are 6 rules, numbers 435 to 441, related to the Council of Antioch of 341, but the one placed in *PsZ* has no match in the Greek text:

BAR 636, 103v: ѿа. Въсѣкого ꙗ́дꙻщаго. съ е́ретїкѡ̀ и́ли пиꙻщаго, и́ли дроу́жбы дѣꙻꙻꙻ и любвы и е́динéнїа. си́рѣчь съ армéнинѡ̀. и́ли съ їа́ковитѡ̀. и́ли съ моусоулмáнинѡ̀. и́ли съ павликїáнинѡ̀. и́ли иже сꙻ прѡ́ѵїи такѡ̀вїи, иже сꙻ патери́ни и́ богоми́ли, таковáго анáѳема:∼ (CIAI 1160, f. 88v; GIM Hlud. 76, f. 48v; NBKM 1170, f. 44r – съ павликенинѡ̀, f. 68v). This is a generalizing rule for the heresies in the focus of attention[31]. Although the copies show variability in some of the designations for heresies, the clear references to Paulicians are constant and the term remains practically unchanged in all copies of *PsZ*. Together with this, the rule has the following particularities:

– in BAR 636 it is not placed under the rubricator but is separately numbered. This shows its importance for the compilers of the collection. The preceding rule in rubric ѿ прáвиль съвѡ́ра а́нтїиохїинскаго refers only to the Jews. The copy in BAR 636 looks like this:

BAR 636, f. 103r – .ѕ̄.: въсѣкь пóпь иже съ е́врѣинѡ̀ тáины творꙻщаго. и брáта е́го нари́ѵꙻща, и́ли ꙗ́дꙻща съ ни́мь, инѡплеменникь сы́и Бꙻꙻ цркве и ѿ единоиꙻръ́ны́хъ истины́ хрⷮтїáнь. таковá анáѳема. In NBKM 1117, the two rules are placed respectively first and second in the mentioned rubric, which also contains rules on purity of eating and ritual, and a prohibition to associate with heretics. In early Bulgarian copies and in other Wallachian and Moldavian copies without numbering, among which BAR 148, the rule in question is placed second in a general cycle of anathemas against various forms of associating with Jews and heretics.

• The rule joins Paulicianism to Bogomilism, introducing two nominational facts for the Bogomil dualist heresy. These are the terms патери́ни and богоми́ли, which we will examine here. First of all, it is remarkable that Bogomilism is discussed only in the Greek prototype. For reasons stemming only from the choice of the anonymous compiler of *NC*, the two rules on this topic are placed in the section "Rules of the Council of Laodicea" (sic!). The rubric covers 17 canons in all. Under the misleading title Κανόνες τῷ ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ τῆς Φρυγίας συνελθόντων ἁγίων πατέρων, which corresponds to the original title of the council, the Cotelerius text contains practically not a single original canon from this council. Rules 460 and 461 in *NC* immediately attract attention:

№ 460: Καὶ ἐρώτησον αὐτὸν πρῶτον περὶ Βογομιλίας. καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ αὐτὸς λέγει.

№ 461: Ὁ εἰς αἵρεσιν πεσών, εἰς Βογομιλίων, οὐ συγχωρηθήσεται.

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[31] М. Цибранска-Костова, М. Райкова, *Богомилите в църковноюридическите текстове и паметници*, "Старобългарска литература" 39–40, 2008, pp. 197–219.

Related to it is the mention of the Bogomil heresy, as made clear by the canon numbered 459, which is in fact the beginning of the prayer "Ги бже нашь иже Петроу и блоудници…". Consequently, *NC* suggests that in the course of the sacrament of confession, the foremost question the spiritual father asks the repentent is about the Bogomil heresy, and the persons confessing that heresy are excluded from communication with Christians. The presence of this question in the sacrament of confession demonstrates that at the time *NC* was created, the heresy in question was a very real threat, and this again points to the 12th century, when the first anti-heretical council, held in 1111 in Constantinople to oppose the heresy of Basil the Physician, set the start of the official persecution of Bogomilism. This is valuable testimony to the presence of the heresy issue not in the anti-heretical works of the polemicizing authors or in synodal documents and imperial edicts, but in the daily intercourse between priest and parishioners. The heresy is not in the focus of the compiler's interest and he mentions it no more. At nomination level, no more is said about Bogomilism in the *PsZ* either, and the above-mentioned two terms, патерини and богомили, are used only in a few cases. But the Bogomil theme in *PsZ* undergoes nominational development in comparison with *NK*, as the term патарени, патерини is introduced. It was adopted in Italy and southern France in the 12th century, and in Bosnia in the early 13th, seemingly moving more easily from west to east[32]. Its presence in the ecclesiastical law texts is indicative of the mutual influence flowing between the dualist sects but also between the written texts opposing them in the Balkans in the 12th–14th century. In BAR 636 this is a traditional literary fact adopted from the Bulgarian prototype on which *PsZ* was based.

• It is not hard to establish that the "rule of the Council of Antioch" is actually a pseudo-attribution, since the local council of 341 in Antioch defined only 25 canons, among which there was not, and could not have been, such a rule. It should be emphasized that in the Greek edition of Cotelerius, none of the 6 canons excerpted from the Council of Antioch treats of the heretics. The only analogy could be drawn with the second rule of the local council, referring to the prohibition to consort with persons of penitent status who are barred from communion, and the measures to which these are subjected. Similar canonical references can be found also in the 33rd canon of the local council of Laodicea, 343, and in Apostolic rules 10, 45 and 46, all of which refer to prohibitions for praying together with

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[32] S. Runciman, *Le manichéisme médiéval*, Paris 1949, p. 168; J. Duvernoy, *Le Catharisme. II. L'histoire des cathares*, Toulouse 1979, p. 328; A. Solovjev, *Svedočanstva pravoslavnich izvora o bogomilstvu na Balkanu*, "Godišnjak Istoriskog društva Bosne i Hercegovine" 1.103, 1953, p. 98; S. Patri, *Le nom de Bogomilŭ*, "Slavia Occitania" 16, 2003, *Bogomiles, Patarins et Cathares*, pp. 17–23.

people excluded from communion and with heretics. This proves that the Slavic *PsZ* was enlarged in comparison with *NC*. The fact that the above-mentioned rule is found among the rules of the Antioch council in *PsZ* may have various reasons, for instance, it may be yet another instance of lexical association between Paulicians and Paul of Samosata, who was a patriarch of Antioch, or perhaps a result of the flexible non-canonical norm of the Greek prototype. Given that the *NC* refers to the Bogomils in the "Rules of the Council of Laodicea", all sorts of interpolations and interpretations could have appeared both in the Slavic and in the Greek environment. Hence, the so-called "rule of the Antioch council" most probably reflects the strong anti-heretical moods in the Balkans. It is more likely that the rule had a Greek prototype. We cannot completely exclude the hypothesis that it was inserted in the already existing body of the systematic edition of rules called *PsZ*. Proving this hypothesis would require a full textual study of the text component ѿ правиль съворнаа антиѡхиискаго, and the discovery of an eventual Greek prototype. *NC* cannot be of help in this respect, because this rule is missing from it. For now, the rule, and the edition in which it is contained, are not known to us from copies earlier than the 14th century. The rule clearly makes equal the ecclesiastic penalty imposed on the heretics with that imposed on those who consort with heretics, and in this sense plays a preventive role that restricts their influence. This is an additional proof of the rule's topical importance in the age when it was copied. The inclusion of concrete references to dualist heretics, and especially their designation with three of the most popular heretical terms – *Paulicians*, *Patarenes* and *Bogomils* – leaves no doubt that the epitimia suggests a common canonic practice, whereby the Paulician doctrine from *NC* could be extended by analogy to examples from Bogomilism. A common particularity of all copies of the rule is the presence of the designation *Bogomils* and its clear connection as a species term, together with *Patarins*, *Patarens*, under the common genus designation *Paulicians*. That is why the terms *Bogomils* and *Patarens* are glosses, introduced through the explanatory notation иже сѫтъ. The change is indicative of the way of designation and the analogies drawn between heretical movements that are proximate in their ideological foundation. As for the term богомили, its spelling remains generally correct, i.e., the copyists were familiar with the name and knew what they were designating by it. Only in some of the copies, such as RGB 3169, do we meet with the spelling *Bogomoli*, вгомоли, which was probably an error based on lexical association. Hence, an authoritative dictionary like *Dictionary of the Russian Language 11th–17th Century* [*Словарь русского языка XI–XVII вв.*] does not contain an article on "Bogomili" but only on "Bogomoli" (*DRL* 1: 62). The latter designation is typical for texts written outside the Balkan and South Slav environment, which until the end of the 14th century remained a field of intense confrontation between

Bogomilism and anti-Bogomil trends. A representative work of this period was the Vita of Theodosius of Tărnovo by Patriarch Callistus, extant only in a Slavic translation. Its author, along with the more frequent designation "Massalian heresy", uses on two occasions the phrase скврьннѫю и бѓомрьꙁкѫю богомилскѫю сирѣчь масалианскѫю ересь. The authenticity of the text is undisputable, as it refers to the activity of the anti-heretical councils held in Tărnovo in 1350–1360 against the Bogomils, the Adamites and the Judaizers[33].

• Finally, we should note that the rule follows the pattern of an anathema, one of the most frequent formulas in canon literature for imposing punishment on heretics. This is because the anathema was in principle the higherst ecclesiastic penalty[34]. The Greek term ἀνάθεμα was first used in the *Septuagint* (Deuteronomy 13: 15). As a term in ecclesiastical law, it is equal to a curse, whereby the sinner is not simply excluded from ritual communion (the so-called excommunication) but is "sent to Hell with the Devil"; there is no forgiveness for his sin, and after death, his body does not decompose in the usual way. The anathema is usually a public punishment imposed by a prelate, and was typically applied against socially significant crimes, such as apostasy and heresy. It is notable that the lexeme анатема, анаѳема was translated in early Slavic texts as проклѧтъ, отълꙗчьнъ, while in the reformed Mount Athos liturgical translations, according to I. Hristova, the word "was institutionalized"[35] and remained in the original Greek form. *PsZ* conforms to this tendency, and anathema is a very frequent form of ecclesiastic penalty referred to here. It use was considerably extended compared with the original canonical texts in which it occurs, and comprises not only anti-heretical measures but real everyday practices as well. In the canonic heritage, the anathema appears for the first time in the form of the so-called μέγας ἀφορισμός in the canons of the local council of Gangra of 340, where, out of 21 rules, the formula occurs in 14, mostly in connection with daily human sins.

Starting from the *PsZ* edition, which was the documented textual environment of dissemination, the rule in question entered the ecclesiastic law collections, some of which were created through compilation from numerous sources according to a preliminary conception of the writers or of those who ordered the work. An example of this is the collection of Cyril Belozersky, created at the

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[33] В. Н. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *Житие и жизнь преподобнаго отца нашего Теодосия*, „Сборник за народни умотворения, наука и книжнина" 2.20, 1904, pp. 4–41.

[34] *Dictionnaire encyclopédique du Moyen Âge*, sous la rédaction d'A. VAUCHEZ, vol. I, Paris 2001, p. 63.

[35] И. ХРИСТОВА-ШОМОВА, *Служебният Апостол в славянската ръкописна традиция*, София 2004, p. 401.

order of the hegumen and founder of the eponymous monastery in 1397[36]. In this collection, with no direct connection to the *PsZ* nomocanon, the same rule is given on f. 78.

2. Although the term *Bogomils* is not mentioned anymore in *PsZ*, hence, not in BAR 636 either, there is a strong anti-heretical line against the set of dualistic ideas and practical postulates. The line forms cycle without clear reference to any particular dualist heresy. These elements are present in several blocks of text containing regulations against known dualist heteropraxes, such as: the rejection of marriage, insubordination to the spiritual father, avoidance of the church, prohibition of fruit sacrifices, the desire to lead an angelic life in erroneous ways, etc. (CIAI 1160, ff. 80v–82r; NBKM 1117, ff. 31r–33r). Against this backdrop, there is a notable second nominational reference to the Paulicians. It refers again to the prohibition on communication with heretics and to the topic of desecration of foods and beverages as a result of such communication. Thus, it follows the everyday line of relations between the Orthodox and the heretic. Here again, the canon equates the form of penance with regard to Armenians and Paulicians, while the opposition to Jews is foremost, as the penance in relation to them is three times greater.

BAR 636, ff. 73r–74v, ҃ла. а́ще что̀ лю́бо ѡскврꙋ́ни е́вре́инь е́мь рѫко́ю свое́ю. или́ вино̀, или́ ма́сло, или́ и́но что̀ ѿ тако́вы. не до́ить хр҃тїа́нинꙋ въкꙋси́ти е́. нѫ прише́ иере́и да ѡсти́ть е́. и тогда́ по се́мь да въкꙋ́шает сѧ. и́же съ армени́но ꙗ́сть или́ съ па́влике́нино, или́ съ е́ре́тико какво́внь либо, и а́ще па́че и лю́бве има̀ кто̀ съ тако́вым. се́мꙋ повеле́ва́ѐ да ѡста́ви сѧ ѿ се́го, и да прихо́ди къ цр҃кви у́исть. и а́ще неве́де́нїе се́ сътво́рилъ е́, да ѡсти́ть е́го иере́и. а́ще ли же ве́ды и оу́слыши нака́занїе. пакы̀ да ѡсти́ть е́го иере́и да́въ е́мꙋ запове́ ма́лꙋ ѿ запре́щенїа. А́ще ли не послꙋ́шае нака́занїа. нѫ хо́ще съ ни́ми ꙗ́сти и пи́ти. тако́выи съ хр҃тїа́нино да не ꙗ́сть. ни въ цр҃ковь да прїе́млет сѧ. нѫ да ѿвра́щает сѧ ѿ не́го въсѣкыи хр҃тїа́нинь ꙗ́ко и́долослꙋжи́телꙋ. А́ще ли когда́ пакы̀ когда́ прїи́деть къ испове́ди. да ѿлꙋ́чит сѧ на покаа́нїе ҃г. ле́та. и́ въ два́ше ле́тꙋ да не прїа́ть бꙋ́де ѿ до́мꙋ е́го въ цр҃ковь. ни просфора ни и́но ка́ково же принѡше́нїе. а́ въ тре́тїе ле́то да прїе́млет сѧ просфора е́го въ цр҃кви. и́ тако да съвръ́ши и́ тре́тїе ле́то въ покаа́нїи. А́ще ли кто̀ прило́жит сѧ къ е́вре́ю и съ ни́ми е́диномꙋ́дръствꙋе́ въ ве́ре и́. съ́и а́ще когда̀ прїи́де пакы̀ на хр҃тїа́нство. да ѿлꙋ́чит сѧ на покаа́нїе ле́ ҃ѕ. тро́и ле́та въ ме́сто ѡгла́шены и пото́ да прїа́та бꙋ́де просфѡра е́го въ цр҃кви. и́ про́чее да сътво́ри въ покаа́нїи и́ въ де́сатое ле́то да прича́сти сѧ ст҃мꙋ причꙋ́щенїю.

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[36] *Энциклопедия русского игумена XIV–XV вв.*, сборник преподобного Кирилла Белозерского, Российская Национальная библиотека, Кирилло-Белозерское собрание N XII, отв. редактор Г. М. Прохоров, Санктпетербург 2003.

3. The third nominational reference to Paulicians occurs in a specific text unit: the rules 299–301 of *NC*, which in NBKM 1117 are arranged as chapter 50, with the heading ѿ ко́й дне́ꙗсти мѧ́со й сы́рь, ff. 20r–22v; in CIAI 1160 they have the heading ѡ̑ сы́рнѣи нѣ́ли, ff. 73r–74v, as well as L ff. 152б–154б; GIM Hlud.76, ff. 35r–37r. In BAR 636 the presentation begins from f. 78v in the chapter numbered as 45, without heading. However, on the following f. 79r, and within the same chapter, there appears the vermilion-colored rubricator ѿ сырнѣи нѣ́ла пра́вило. Consequently, this is a stable text unit in *PsZ*, which in the Slavic version presents rules that, compared with the initial Greek text, are considerably enlarged with new texts, evaluative epithets, and additional heretical designations: трꙋ́клатыѧ е́ретикы, хоꙋ́льныѧ блѧдосло́вца й вра́гы ст҃ѣи троици и разсѣ́кателѧ й꙯ꙭ҄а́нна антихристова прѣ́дителѧ й съна́слѣ́ника etc. Under the following expanded heading in some copies, Ст҃ѓо и въселенскаго втораго съвора variant in L и пакы ꙃри ѡпасно се. ст҃го и въселенскаго вътораго съвора ѡ сырнѣи недели. и ѿ проꙋ́й нѣлѣ сказа́нїе) the following text begins in the BAR 636 copy, containing some of the most interesting variants and additions from other copies. We mark the omissions in the Moldavian manuscripts with square brackets:

Пове́лѣваѐ въсѣ́комоꙋ х҃рꙋ́а́ниноꙋ. по ст҃ѣи па́сцѣ въса́ сѐмицꙋ ѿ нѣ́ла й пакы до нѣ́ла ѳ꙯ѡ́минꙋ, мирстїй ꙋ́лци да ꙗдꙋ̂ мѧ̏, а̏ мни́си сы́рь й ри́бы (in L added и ꙗица). [й пакы до срѣ́ .н̄. тницꙋ въса тꙋ̏ седморицꙋ]. й пакы̀ дроꙋ́гꙋꙗ сѐморицꙋ до въсѣ̂ ст҃хъ. по съшѐствию ст҃го дх҃а. тако́же ꙗсти, й пакы̀ ѿ рожⷣъства хв҃а до вг҃оꙗвле́нїꙗ (in L до ст҃ый просвѣ́щенїй; in CIAI 1160 кръщенїꙗ хв҃а) тако́же ꙗсти .в̄і҃. дни. й пакы нѣ́ла ꙗже прѣжⷤемѧсопꙋ́ꙿеныꙗ нѣ́ла. въ нꙋ́ же трꙋ́клѧти а́рмени по́стат сѧ скврꙋ́нныи сво́и по̏, трꙋꙿклѧ́томоꙋ а́рцивоꙋрioꙋ. й тогⷣа повелѣваⷧ въсѣ́мь х҃рꙋ́ꙗномъⷮ ꙗсти, тако́же въса тꙋ̏ седморицꙋ, а́ не по́стити ꙗко е́диномꙋ̏гⷡно съ е́ретикы. нꙋ̏ й срѣ̏ й пꙋ̏ ꙗсти мѧса. а ꙋрꙋ́нⷰи сирь й ри́бы, ꙗ́коже и въ ѡни дроꙋгыа сѐморица. а̂же рѣхꙋ̏ꙿ прѣ́же. а прꙋ̏клѧти хандзарíе (in L and GIM Hlud. 76 хандзіаре; in CIAI 1160 хандзизанíе) по̏ й жрꙋ́твы тв꙯о́рⷶть тогⷣа въ тꙋ̏ въса̀ сѐморицꙋ псоꙋ́ нѣ́коемоꙋ а́рцивоꙋ́рíю, йже сꙋ́ть армени. сего радⷨ не дꙋ́йть нⷶ́ тꙋ́га ни е́динⷠ дн҃ⷭ по́стити. кто́ ли не послоꙋ́ша̑ сій прѣ́данїй ст҃ыми, нꙋ̏ йнако наꙋ́не мꙋ́дрꙋствовати, а́на́ѳема:~ѡ̑ сы́рнѣи нѣ́ла пра́вило (in L, without segmentation and heading, continues и въса такоⷤе сырнꙋа нѣ́ла ꙗсти сыра и ꙗецъ повелѣ ст҃ыи съборъ). й въса̀ такоⷤе сырнꙋа нѣ́ла ꙗсти сырь повелѣ ст҃ыи събꙋ́ръ. а́ въ срⷡ́ же й пꙋ̏ тыа́ сѐмицꙋ не пꙋ́бꙋе пⷮѣти лꙋ́ргїа ниже прѣⷤесꙿ�best꙯е́нꙋа. нꙋ въ .ѳ̏. ꙋа̏ [дн҃ѐ] (in L въ врⷶ́мѧ девата̏ ꙋаса пꙋ́баеть пⷮѣти ꙋасовы съ вѣ́рна). нꙋ̏ въ .ѳ̏. ꙋа̏ по ѿпоꙋщени вѣ́рна. въхꙋⷣ́й на тра́пезꙋ̏ й ꙗмы сырь й ꙗица радⷨ е́рⷮетикь а́нтꙋꙗ́нïанскꙋ̏ (in L А́ндонïаскый as the beginning of a new paragraph) й са́велïанскꙋ̏ (added in the margin of CIAI 1160 as a corrected omission; in L and GIM Hlud. 76 in the basic text), и̏же съхра́нѣать въса̀ сиа сѐморицꙋ не ꙗсти ничꙋ́кꙿоже. тⷮѣꙿⷤꙗⷮ повелⷮѣ

стыи и въселенскыи съборь. ꙗко да въсѣкь православныи въса тꙗ семꙋрицꙋ не ꙗсти ничꙋсоже. ꙗмь же повелѣ, безь въсѣкого расжжѣнїа да ꙗсть, сырь и ꙗица и рыбы. еще же и паче проклинати трьклатїа еретикы. прьваго, арїа. и съ нимь нестꙋрїа, и савелїа. и ѳеꙍра, и ѳеꙝдꙋта, хꙋлныа владослꙋвца. и врагы стѣи трꙋци, и разсѣкателꙗ. и ꙍанна антихристова прꙋ̏тꙋ, и сънаслѣника. маркїꙋна же и ꙁꙋсилꙗ̀. и петрꙋсїа, си въсѣ проклинати. еще же .ꙅ҃ꙁ. ереси и въса наставникы и и ꙋчителꙗ. и ликопетра, и павла самосатеа (in L самꙋса), и македꙍнїа. и ентихїевы единомꙋдрьникы. въкꙋпѣ же и дїꙍскора. и севирїана (in L севрїани) и павла и ꙋченꙗ его павликїаны (in L павлике), иже гꙋршїи сꙋ паче въсѣ еретикь. ꙗкоже и арменꙗ. и дрꙋгы еретикы кꙋкꙋврикы. ꙍ си въсѣ стыи и прꙋбнїи и бгонꙋснїи ꙍци наши, събꙋры въселенскыа и великыа сътворивше въ кꙍстантїни (GIM Hlud. 76 константинѣ) градѣ велицѣмь, и въстꙋчнꙋй градѣ. въ никеи же и въ ефесѣ, и въ халкидꙍнѣ. въкꙋпѣ же и съ православными и бгомꙋдрьными цри на времена которагꙋж и цꙋ̏тва. потꙋмь же и дрꙋꙁїи събꙋꙋри стїи быважꙋщеи по лѣтѣ, въ полатꙋ цꙋркый въ константинѣ градѣ. и въ въстꙋчныꙗ цꙋрвахь великый. въ лаꙝдикїи же и въ сардїи и въ гангрѣ. и въ антиꙍхїи и въ кесарїи, и въ прꙋчїй великы цꙋркꙋ и градѣ. иже въсегда истꙗзаꙗще ꙍ православїи. и ꙍ исправлеи истинныꙗ вѣры, съписаша и прѣдаша намь прѣданїа стаа си, въꙁражаꙗще въсѣкꙋ ересь и проклинаꙗще наставникы ихь, въсѣ иже единомꙋдрьствꙋꙗ съ ними. и прогаꙝнꙋꙗше влькы пагꙋбныа и дꙟетлѣнныа, ꙍ слꙍвеснаго стада хꙋва. иже владословꙗще хꙋлнаа наꙋчиша. разсѣцаꙗще и разꙝꙗлꙗꙗще стꙋꙗ и беꙁначалнꙋꙗ и единосꙋчнꙋꙗ и животворꙗщꙋꙗ трꙋцꙋ. ꙍви же рѣша ꙍ нꙗ не исповѣдати истинно бцꙋ, прꙋтꙋꙗ влꙋцꙋ нашꙋ бцꙋ и прꙋно двꙋ марїꙋ. къ сим же и ина мнꙋга развращенїа и хꙋлныꙗ на истиннꙋꙗ и стꙋꙗ и православнꙋꙗ вѣрꙋ хꙋвꙋ. тѣмже и мꙋ, ꙗко истиннїи посоꙝбници и ꙋченици стꙋхь апꙋл, единомꙋдрьно съ сими стыми и бгонꙋсными ꙍци исповѣдаемь ꙗже прѣдаша намь стїи апꙋли, истинно. ꙗже потврьдиша и ꙋкрѣпиша стїи и бгонꙍснїи ꙍци наши и прѣдаша намь сице въ православнѣи и истиннѣи вѣрѣ прѣбывати. и не прикасати сꙗ нижѐ истꙗꙁовати ꙍ трьклатыи и бгомрьꙁꙋкы еретикꙍ. нꙋ ꙍбѣжати тѣ и странити сꙗ ꙍ нꙗ и проклинати и, ꙗко наслѣникы ꙍгню вѣкꙋномꙋ и съжителꙗ дїавꙝловы. плѣненыꙗ дїаволомь, и гꙋбителꙗ дꙟетлѣнныа.

Judging by the text in L, where the heading for Quadragesima Sunday is not a separate microunit, we see that the chosen canonical framework is that of the Second Ecumenical Council (First Constantinople) of 381. In its first and seventh rule, the Council condemns the contemporaneous 4th century heresies, including the Macedonians (pneumatomachi), the Sabellians, the Eunomians, the Marcellians, the Apollinarians, etc. These are Trinitarian and Christological heresies that emerged from the unorthodox interpretation of the Holy Ghost. The heresies were similar to Anianism, which had been condemned by the First Ecumenical Council

of Nicea in 325. But the contents following these rules does not directly match this framework, as the regulations are aimed against unorthodox views on fasting. This is indisputable in view of the well-defined polemics against the Armenians and their Artsivur fast (a preliminary fast in the pre-Paschal penitence cycle during the week of the Publican and the Pharisee, and before the Sunday of the Prodigal Sun, referred to in the text as нѐла еже прѣ масопⷪⁿнⷤа. None of the ecumenical councils has mentioned the Artsivur fast, but its arcane nature, explained in various ways, is well known from Byzantine sources[37]. In our text, the fast is mentioned in connection with the Orthodox dogma on fasting, as cited in the Lenten Triodion and the Typikon, without any references to the legendary narratives about Sergius and his dog. In order to differentiate themselves from the Armenians and other Oriental monophysite sects, such as the Jacobites, the Copts and the Nestorians, the Orthodox do not fast on Wednesday and Friday during the week of the Artsivur fast on pain of anathema (according to other interpretations, there is no fasting during the whole week, as indicated in the Slavic text: сего ради не дѡбить намⷶ нⷵ единь днⷠ поститиⷮ). The reason this fast is mentioned in the text on Quadragesima Sunday is the general permission to consume dairy products. Besides the Armenians, the text indicates the so-called Hadzizarians. Already in the first half of the 11th century, Metropolitan Bishop Demetrios of Cyzikos in Asia Minor, wrote against the Armenian sect of the Jacobites, the Hadzizars and the Melchites (a heresy that had a higher reverence for the cross and the death on the cross than for Christ Himself)[38], and excerpts from his work form chapter 41 of the St. Sabbas *Zakonopravilo*, next to the well-known chapter 42, about the Bogomils, called Babuns. This form of the texts is present in the initial translated text according to its earliest preserved copy in the Kormchaya of Ilovitsa from 1262[39]. Demetrios of Cyzikos compares these heresies to the Eutychian heresy, and one of his accusations against them is that they consume meat during Quadragesima week. Consequently, the micro-text about Quadragesima Sunday in the text fragment under study is a kind

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[37] A. Sʜᴀʀꜰ, *Byzantine Orthodoxy and the Preliminary Fast of the Armenians*, [in:] *BYZANTION. ΑΦΙΕΡΩΜΑ ΣΤΟΝ ΑΝΔΡΕΑ Ν. ΣΤΡΑΤΟ. ΤΟΜΟΣ II. ΘΕΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΛΟΓΙΑ*, ΑΘΙΝΑΙ 1986, pp. 649–670.

[38] *PG* 127, col. 879–885.

[39] Preserved now as a 398-sheet parchment code, copied by Dyak Bogdan in Ilovitsa, a center of the Bishopric of Zeta, at the order of Bishop Neophyte. The manuscript is kept in the Library of Zagreb and has been published as a phototype by M. Petrović in 1991. See М. Пᴇᴛʀᴏʙиъ, *Законоправило или Номоканон светога Саве. Иловички препис 1262 године*, фототипија, Горњи Милановац 1991, pp. 205б–206a; M. Tsɪʙʀᴀɴsᴋᴀ-Kᴏsᴛᴏʙᴀ, *Some Anti-heretic Fragments in the 14th Century Bulgarian Canon Law Miscellanies*, "Studies Ceranea. Journal of the Waldemar Ceran Research Center" 4, 2014, Łódź, pp. 261–276.

of focal point of the topic of violation of Orthodox fasting and the ways of differentiating oneself from heretics by means of various practices during the pre-Paschal cycle. As is well known, the 40-day fast proper begins after Quadragesima Sunday. The list of heretical leaders that follows demonstrates once again that the main targets of controversy are the Trinitarian and Monophysite heresies and the Quadragesimists who deviate from Orthodoxy in the way they celebrate Easter, some of whom are similar to the Juzaizers[40]. The Second Ecumenical Council did discuss these heresies. The list of heretical leaders included in the text (condemned mainly before and at the Fourth Ecumenical Council) begins traditionally, with Arius, Nestorius and famous Monophysites, but the list also distinguishes Paul of Samosata and Lycopeter. The historical reference of their names was both to Monophysite-type heresies and to dualistic ones, especially the most popular of the latter, Paulicianism. Lycopeter, for instance, was declared to be the teacher of the heretic Sergius, who, according to the traditional legendary explanation, had established the Artsivur fast; and was also the leader of the Phundagiagi Bogomils from the Theme of Opsikion in northeast Anatolia during the first half of the 11th century, according to the anti-heretical work of Monk Euthymius of Acmonia[41]. The dualist line is complemented, in terms of nomination, by the term коуврики, consistently spelled this way in the Moldavian copies; the work is undisputably related to the name of the Manichean leader Kuvrik Mani[42]. We may assume the text is in tune with the Byzantine 12th century, when accusations of dualism were added to those concerning the Trinitarian dogma: for instance, the Armenians were defined as Manicheans or Paulicians, because Paulicianism flourished particularly amidst the Armenian diaspora in Byzantium. Moreover, Byzantine literature from the time of the Crusades contains examples of Armenians being put in the same category with Latins, in addition to the traditional accusations of Monophysitism and Dualism against them. That is why they are metaphorically called "the third column of the Latins". There were common features between the two denominations in certain practices the Orthodox Church was fighting, such as the use of unleavened bread and pure wine, unmixed with

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[40] *Правилата на Св. православна църква с тълкуванията им*, под редакцията и превода на свещеник д-р Ст. Цанков, протодякон И. Стефанов, П. Цанев, София 1912, pp. 424–425.

[41] G. Ficker, *Die Phundagiagiten. Ein Beitrag zur Ketzergeschichte des byzantinischen Mittelalters*, Leipzig 1908, pp. 165, 211–219; M. Angold. *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni 1081–1261*, Cambridge 1995, p. 467; J. Gouillard, *L'hérésie dans l'Empire byzantin jusqu'au XII s.*, "Traveaux et mémoires" 1, 1965, pp. 299–324; A. Sharf, *Byzantine Orthodoxy and the Preliminary fast" of the Armenians*, pp. 669–670.

[42] А. Тотоманова, *За една парономазия в Бориловия синодик*, [in:] Словеса прѣкюдднаɪа, т. 15: *Юбилеен сборник в чест на проф. И. Буюклиев*, София 2012, pp. 36–42.

water, for the Eucharist. Anti-Armenian propaganda became particularly intense after the Norman conquest of Salonika in 1185[43].

The Slavic tradition also presents examples of customary anti-heretical accusations against Armenians and Bogomils, for instance, in the Vita of St. Hilarion of Moglena by Patriarch Euthymius. Following the traditional formula of rejection проклинати же вьсѧ еретикы, here we read the names of арїа гла и евномїа, савелїа же и македшнїа, аполинарїа и оригена, ѳеѡра мопс&сетїнскагѡ и несторїа &ченика егѡ. дїоскора и севира, и евтихїа и пⷣбныѧ имъ. и еще же и манента и павла самосатеанина. On the other hand, the Bulgarian collection in Berlin condemns the Armenians, as well as the Latins – трькаⷣ арьмени скврни пнеⷮ глим їрцивⸯ&риевь[44]. The forms of anathematization of heretics was probably influenced by certain Manichean and Paulician formulas of rejection of heresy[45]. The tradition of such texts grew stronger in times of real persecution, as in the 12th century, with the appearance of Euthymius Zigabenus's *Panoplia Dogmatica*, the most important anti-heretical document, "which set the theological tone in Byzantium"[46], and the list of anathemas against the heretics was changed three times, in 1157, 1166 and 1170, during the reign of Manuel II Komnenos[47]. Thus, the anti-Armenian and anti-dualist line was traditional for the age in which the archetype text of *PsZ* appeared and was copied.

Finally, it is worth remarking that, starting from the earliest known 14th-century copies of the *PsZ*, the same number of heresies, subject to anathema, is invariably indicated in the anti-heretical text in question – ᾱ̄ε (65) ερεсеи, while in the corresponding text of rule 301 of the *NC*, their number is τὰς ᾱ̄β′ (62). The variation between 65 and 62 once again shows that the Slavic translation prototype is based on a source other than *NC*, but certainly with a similar or close manuscript filiation. Indisputably, of all dualist heresies mentioned in *PsZ*, the presence of Paulicianism and the related Armenian heresy is most outstanding; they prevail as examples of non-Orthodox penitential fasting practices, and compete in frequen-

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[43] M. Angold, *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni*, p. 510.

[44] For Euthymius' works see the digitized version on www.Cyrillomethodiana; Х. Миклас, Л. Тасева, М. Йовчева, *Берлински сборник...*, p. 56.

[45] We know that the basic source against Messalianism and Paulicianism is the so-called Talotsi form, the prototype of which dates from the 11th–12th century, and which equates the Bogomils with these two heretical doctrines as well as with the Euchitians, the Enthusiasts, the Marcionites, etc. – G. Ficker, *Die Phundagiagiten. Ein Beitrag zur Ketzergeschichte des byzantinischen Mittelalters…*, pp. 172–175; J. Gouillard, *L'hérésie dans l'Empire byzantin jusqu'au XIIs…*, p. 308.

[46] P. Magdalino. *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos 1143–1180*, Cambridge 1993, p. 367.

[47] C. Gallagher, *Church Law and Church Order in Rome and Byzantium. A Comparative Study*, "Byzantine and Ottoman monographs" 8, 2002, p. 176.

cy only with the traditional anti-Judaic emphasis and with the second significant anti-heretical line in *PsZ* , that related to the Catholic Latins.

• Starting from the earliest copies of the Slavic *PsZ* and up to its Moldavian copies, the manuscripts invariably contain the following passage, which is published here in its main text according to BAR 636 and with separate variants from some of the comparative sources (NBKM 1117, 42r–43r; CIAI 1160, 87r–88r; L, 155r–162r; GIM Hlud. 76, 47r–48r).

BAR 636, chapter 68, 101r–103r: Повѣдаем же и ѕлꙋꙗ вѣрꙋ и лꙋкавꙋꙗ. иже безквасное дрꙋꙗжще (CIAI 1160 и слꙋжжще) мрⷮво. сирꙋ ꙗкоже фрꙗѕи (the same in L and GIM Hlud. 76) и ини прочїи такѡвꙋи иⷯже неистина е̑ жрⷮтва и бескрꙋвнаа. и нꙋ истинно (in L and GIM Hlud. 76 нꙋистинно) въѡбраженїе и̑ е́же испⷪвѣдꙋꙗ, нꙗ мⷬтва въѡбражꙗ сⷩа бжїа. въсꙋкое безквасное, и̑ безꙋлное мⷬⷮтво е̑. ꙗкоже ѡни твѡрꙗ. и ино же владⷪословїе, (CIAI 1160 владⷪословꙗ) ѕлꙋишꙋе. е́же глⷮꙗть хꙋлꙗще. ꙗко стыи дⷯъ ѿ ѡⷰа и̑ ѿ сⷩа исхѡди. и̑ раболꙋпно стⷢо дⷯа глⷮꙗще и̑ проповѣдꙗще. и̑ инаа мнꙋга бгомрꙋзска ꙗкоже има. иже не въсхꙋтꙋша покѡрити сꙗ стⷨⷪꙋ съвꙋѡⷬꙋ, и̑ оу́ченїю стыⷯ ѡⷰъ (end in L)[48], иⷯже послꙋди събрⷶ въ кⷩстантїни граⷣꙋ стⷶа и̑ православнаа и̑ (in the margin of BAR 636 правꙋнаа) ѳеѡⷬа црⷰа, съ сⷩѡⷨ си православныⷯ̑ црⷰе михаилѡ̑. и̑ съ тꙋми великыми ѡⷰⷩⷯⷯ̑, по ѡⷠразоу великый и̑ прꙋвый съвⷢꙋⷬ въсеⷧꙋскый, пакы сътвѡⷬше и̑ съставлꙗше, православнꙗꙗ вꙋрꙗ оу́твⷬꙋдиша и̑ прꙋдаша. ѿгнꙋвше и̑ прⷪклꙗвше въсꙗ̑ свемꙗрꙋныꙗ е̑ретикы, и̑ пꙋсты и̑ и̑ испⷪвꙋданїе. мы̑ же послⷷствоꙋꙗще прꙋданїоꙋ стⷯꙋ ѡⷰъ и̑ оу́ченїоꙋ и̑. испⷪвꙋдоꙋ̑ стꙗꙗ и̑ живоначꙗⷧнꙗꙗ, и̑ е̑диносꙗщнꙗꙗ трⷪцꙗ. равнославно ѡⷰа и̑ сⷩа и̑ стⷢо дⷯа. ѡⷰа безначꙗⷧна. и̑ сⷩа събезначꙗⷧна. и̑ дⷯа стⷢо равносꙗщна. ѡⷰа нерѡжⷣꙋнна. и̑ сⷩа рожⷣꙋнна. и̑ стⷢо дⷯа исхѡдꙗщаго ѿ ѡⷰа. и̑ на сⷩꙋ прꙋбывꙗꙗща. е̑дина сила. и̑ е̑дино съчетꙗнїе, и̑ е̑дино поклⷩꙋнїе. стыꙗ̑ трⷪцꙗ. и̑ тако глⷮꙗти намь. ꙗко ѿ ѡⷰа исхѡдꙗща дⷯа стⷢо, и̑ на сⷩꙋ прꙋбывꙗꙗща. а е́же сице немꙗⷣрꙋствоꙋꙗщїй, нꙗ̑ инако по своемꙋ соꙋемꙗⷬꙋномꙋ разоꙋ́мꙋ глⷮꙗщїй. такѡвꙋий, а̑наѳема, а̑наѳема, а̑наѳема (in L added at the end Иже неповиноꙋет сꙗ написаныⷯ ни послꙋшаеть прꙋданиишⷨь си̑ написанный ѿ стый а̑плъ. и̑ бгоносный и̑ прⷣпⷪбный ѡⷰь. нꙗ инако наꙋⷨꙋнꙋ ходити и жити кромꙋ си̑ написанный правⷣ. анаѳема .г҃. (which in BAR 636 refers to the next chapter, 69, containing rules for monks).

In the description of CIAI 1160, this textual insertion formally falls within the group of compiled texts under the heading ѡ сырнꙋꙗ нⷣꙋли, which comprises a great variety of excerpts, including epitimian rules[49], but in L, it is not separated

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[48] Here, the text is intentionally cut short and continued with epitimian rules: "Ѥреи на ловь исхⷪдꙗи или псы хранꙗ...". After the body of monastic rules, the text continues on f. 161v.

[49] *Архивски номоканон*, p. 13.

in an independent microunit. The rules interrupt the unified textual structure of the blocks of what we may call "non-epitimian" texts. The situation in L warrants the assumption that the doctrinal regulations made up an integral whole and were segmented later on. Coming in support of this assumption is the fact that the fragment is not separated under a special heading. It is framed within readings about the fasts in the Orthodox Church. It ends with a triple anathema and denounces the "hateful faith of the Fruzi, Frzi". We think this is a key term and will discuss it first of all.

Фрѫзи (or in later copies, фрѧзи, фроузи) is used in one more place in all the sources, in connection with the four main fasts – Lent, the Nativity fast, the Apostolic fast and the Holy Theotokos fast; the word is positioned in proximity to the above text, and again, without a special heading. Formally, in its position and theme, this fragment falls under the above rubric: **Сего во ради дръзнѫвше написахѡ̈. да не винѫ нѣцїи изъѡбрѣт’ше, ꙗко хотѧтъ постити сѧ. и своими наꙋчинан’ми своѫ посты и ѿставы наꙋнѣ творити которыꙗжѡ ꙗкѡ еретїци творѧ. не дрѫжѫще прѣданїа стый ӓплъ и стый бгоносны ѿцъ. иже егда достойтъ поститиꙗ, тога не постат сѧ. и егда лѣпо ю̈ не постити сѧ. тѡга постат сѧ. ѿ православнѫꙗ и истиннныꙗ вѣры далꙗ ѿстоꙗще. и скврѣннѫꙗ вѣрѫ своꙗ развращенѫ дрѫжѫще. и стѫꙗ трⷪ̈цꙗ ѿца и сна и стго дха, неꙋисто и неисправлѣно исповѣдѫꙗще. ꙗко фрѫзи и армени прокллтїи. и ини проуи таковïи, иже не прилѫтъ сѧ къ истиннномꙋ православïю. иже и великааго поста прѣвѫꙗ нѣлꙗ мꙗса ꙗдѫще. и егꙗ аще кто хощё. их же проклꙗша стïи съвори и ѿлѫуишꙗ, прѣпѡбный и бгоносны ѿць наши** (in L **и хви подражателꙗ**). The same text is written respectively in CIAI 1160, 86r; L, 163r–v; GIM Hlud. 76, 46r–46v.

In the early canonical definitions of the first ecumenical councils, the terms **фроуги, фроугъ̈ы, фриги, фризи** referred to καὶ Μοντανιστὰς τοὺς ἐνταῦθα λεγομένους Φρύγας, i.e., a sect from Phrygia, a region in Asia Minor, united around its leader Montanus and his followers, who preached the dissolution of marriage, rejection of the Eucharist, the practice of Satanist sacrifices, belief in the consoler, the Paraclete, whose name was adopted by their leader, etc. This heresy was condemned at the Second Ecumenical Council in the Council's seventh rule, and at the local council of Laodicea, circa 343, in its eighth rule[50]. Epiphanius of Cyprus (+403), in his *Panarion* (374–377), excerpts of which were included in the St. Sabbas Zakonopravilo, refers to the heretics mentioned in the Second Ecumenical Council as Montanists: **фриги ѿ мондана соутъ, фриги мон’даниты,**

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[50] *Правилата на Св. Православна църква*, pp. 418–419; *Правилата на Св. Православна църква с тълкуванията им*, под редакцията и превода на свещеник д-р Ст. Цанков, протодякон И. Стефанов, П. Цанев, София 1913, pp. 789–790.

катафригасте[51]. But in the same Slavic canonic source, the whole chapter 51 is devoted to ѡ франьзѣхь и ѡ прочих латинѣхъ (in the text, also франѯи иже герьмани нарицаеть се). Among the numerous accusations leveled at the Latins, they were said to consume meat in the first week of Lent: ни зьнаютъ что есть сырнаа нѣле; they fasted diversely during Lent, the length of the fast varying from 6 to 8 to 10 weeks among different Catholics. We see that the same accusations could be aimed at different heretics: (1) In the eighth rule of the Second Ecumenical Council, the Eunomians, Sabellians and фроугы[52] were called "sryadnitsi", because they ate meat on Wednesday (сряда), and fasted on Saturday; (2) According to Demetrios of Cyzikos, Jacobites, Hadzizarians and Melchites въ стыи великыи пѡ въ съботѹ и въ нѣлю млгако и сирь и гаица гадеть. ѡпрѣсньки слоужѐ. въ вино воды не въливаютъ[53]; (3) On the other hand, fasting on Saturday, holding religious services with unleavened bread [опрѣсноци], and the most serious of all – the doctrine that the Holy Ghost proceeds "and from the Son", i.e., the Filioque, were mandatory arguments in Byzantine anti-Latin controversy, and respectively, in its Slavic reception. In view of the contents of the text from the Slavic *PsZ*, in which the term appears, we have reasons to believe that Фрѫзи refers to the Latins; thus, we may relate the text itself to the anti-Latin theme, which could not have been placed within the canonic definitions of the Second Ecumenical Council but could have resulted from the nominational association between like-sounding names. In fact, L provides support for this hypothesis in a marginal note on f. 78v, where we read: їтали наричѫт сѧ фрѫзи. The use of the basic spelling in the manuscript warrants defining the note as a gloss contemporaneous with the writing of the manuscript.

When the Empire of Charlemagne – the Imperium Francorum – was recognized, the whole Western world was designated as the state of the Franks – in Greek: φράγκοι. Starting from 1204, the Latins and Crusaders were designated by that name. Nicon of the Black Mountain (1025–1100/1110) left an early testimony to this in his *Taktikon*, as the author personally witnessed the conquest of Antioch by the knights of the First Crusade. In chapter 38 of his work, he mentions τὸ ἔθνος τῶν φραγγῶν ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς Γερμανοὶ λεγόμενον[54]. According to him, they are connected with the heresies of the Macedonians, the Nestorians,

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[51] Cited from the Bucharest Kormchaya from the same filiation, manuscript № 285 of the Library of the Romanian Academy, f. 285v.

[52] *Ibidem*, f. 61r.

[53] *Ibidem*, f. 153v.

[54] W. J. Aerts, *Nikon of the Black Mountain, witness to the first crusade. Some remarks on his person, his use of language and his work, named Taktikon*, [in:] *Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta. East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean*, I, eds. K. Ciggar, M. Metcalf, Leuven–Paris–Dudley, MA, 2006, p. 424.

and especially the Arians. The name ф҃ѫ́ʒи appears in the Tărnovo inscription of Tsar John Asen, from 1230, in the Church of the Holy 40 Martyrs, while ф҃ѫгъı appears in the Brief Vita of Hilarion of Moglena[55]. In the Vita of St. Petka of Tărnovo by Patriarch Euthymius, the forms ф҃ѫгъı, ф҃ѫʒи, ф҃ѫжьскъıѫ are present. They are consistent with the described events from the time of Tsar John II Asen (1218–1241) and designate the Latins (Franks), the residents of the Latin Empire in the Balkans that was established after the Fourth Crusade and which existed from 1204 to 1262, The number of examples could be enlarged considerably, but it is already clear that the designation was typical for literature in the Second Bulgarian Empire and the Slavic South.

In the discussed insertion from *PsZ*, also denounced are the Latins' use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist (Azymes) and, especially, the *Filioque*. The text refers in this connection to the Council of Constantinople, 843, where the veneration of icons was definitively restored by the dowager empress Theodora (842–867), regent of her son Michael, and with the support of the logothete Theoktistos and other members of the regent council[56]. On March 11, 843, on the first Sunday of Lent, veneration of icons was publicly proclaimed, and the decisions of the Seventh Ecumenical Council (Second Nicean), 786–787, were revived. Its natural continuation was the council of 843, which set a very topical for its time definition of Orthodox doctrine, and hence became foundational for the anti-heretic theme, inasmuch as heresy is defined solely in terms of what it is contrary to, i.e., a heretic is anyone who is not Orthodox[57]. Thus, the seemingly incompatible headings of texts in early Bulgarian collections have an inner consistency and united orientation. Evidently, the Slavic text leans on a concrete Greek, probably compiled, prototype, upon which influences have accreted from Byzantine anti-Latin polemical works and ideas. The intense anti-Latin propaganda became a distinctive feature of Byzantine society in the 12ᵗʰ century. All scholars studying this period agree in the assessment that under the Komnenos dynasty, there was an unprecedented wave of Greek attacks against the errors of the Latins, which grew into a "religious hysteria and popular antipathy"[58]. The period from the 11ᵗʰ to the early 13ᵗʰ century pro-

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[55] В. Н. Златарски, *История на българската държава през Средните векове*, т. 3. *Второ българско царство. България при Асеневци (1187–1280)*, София 1994, pp. 593–594.

[56] К. Куев, *Вселенски събори*, [in:] *Кирило-Методиевска енциклопедия*, т. 1, София 1985, p. 467; Ив. Божилов, А. Тотоманова, И. Билярски, *Борилов Синодик. Издание и превод*, София 2010, pp. 10–14; Ив. Билярски, *Палеологовият синодик в славянски превод*, София 2013, pp. 7–11.

[57] J. Gouillard, *Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie. Édition et commentaire*, "Traveaux et mémoires" 2, 1967, p. 182.

[58] P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos*, p. 368; M. Gallagher, *Church Law and Church Order in Rome and Byzantium*, p. 173; T. Kolbaba, *Byzantine Perceptions of Latin Religious*

duced especially topical in Byzantine literature lists of errors of the Latins, and this became a widespread literary genre that influenced Slavic manuscripts (the Berlin collection, for instance, contains references to the so-called 30 errors of the Latins: а на латинѫ искладиваеть .л҃. вынь ꙁлыхь)[59]. In Balkan Slavic societies of the 13th century, the anti-Latin theme was officialized in, and through, the Zakonopravilo of St. Sabbas of Serbia. Hence, this anti-heretical line was also typical for the time of the emergence and copying of Bulgarian canon collections, and naturally flowed into the later Moldavian ones.

The presence of a divergent anti-heretical line in an epitimian/nomocanonical text within the structure of the Moldavian collection BAR 636 and its twin, BAR 685, also supports the basic thematic line of fighting all deviations from the pure Orthodox faith. Scholars have pointed out that the above-mentioned Greek prototype called Nomocanon of Cotelerius, whose indirect heir in the Slavic tradition is called Pseudozonar, Pseudo-Zonaras Nomocanon[60], is not the direct source of the Slavic translation but certainly belongs typologically to the same manuscript tradition in the Byzantine canon literature of the 12th–14th century. Consequently, the anti-heretical line has been adopted namely from the Byzantine prototypes. The close location and themes of all the discussed anti-heretical texts in *PsZ* suggest that this is a common unified anti-heretical cycle, which was segmented in various ways in the various copies. The nature of the texts resembles a secondary compilation drawn from different sources and created in Byzantium, and not some monolithic and homogenous corpus. Undoubtedly, however, taken together, the texts place an ideological emphasis on the relation *Armenians-dualists-Latins*. Although the Slavic anti-heretical cycle has a still unidentified Greek prototype, it is from the latter that the compilers borrowed the prevailing, traditional Byzantine viewpoint on Orthodoxy as the true faith of the Church, inherited from the Apostles and the Holy Fathers. That is why the Slavic collections under study point out repeatedly that all legal regulations are a sacred Patristic heritage. We can thus explain why the texts were given headings taken from the ecumenical councils, i.e., from that same Patristic heritage, that did not correspond to contemporaneous reality. On the other hand, the large presence of the topic of fasting clearly points to a monastic environment of dissemination, and most probably creation, of the Slavic translation. Consequently, the structural units described under the designations С҃то

„*Errors": Themes and Changes from 850 to 1350*, [in:] *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, eds. A. Laiou, R. Mottahedeh, Dumbarton Oaks–Washington 2001, pp. 117–143.

[59] Х. Миклас, Л. Тасева, М. Йовчева, *Берлински сборник*, p. 68.

[60] М. Цибранска-Костова, *Покайната книжнина на Българското средновековие…*, pp. 259–410.

и въселенскаго събора, ѡ сырнѣи нѐли and От правиль събора Антиохиискаго, and probably some individual anathemas, had formed a thematic unity in the Greek prototype itself. That prototype had influenced the Slavic tradition, providing it with so popular a collection of rules and anti-heretical texts, that it is justly called the "epitimian nomocanon of Slavia Orthodoxa". There is good reason to test the hypothesis that the source of the Slavic translation was not simply a nomocanon, but an integral Greek ecclesiastic law collection with an invariable anti-heretical core. This core ceased to be of current importance only in late South Slavic copies and printed breviaries (*trebniki*) of the 16ᵗʰ century. It is remarkable, however, that in the Wallachian and Moldavian lands, the anti-heretical theme from the same Slavic ecclesiastic law collection was not only preserved in the 15ᵗʰ–16ᵗʰ century, but was enriched with new texts. By way of summing up, let us recall once again the basic textual units aimed at heretics from the content of the nomocanon in BAR 636, some of which were given new designations not present in the early South Slavic copies from the 14ᵗʰ century.

- Chapter 43: Ст҃го и въселенскаго втораго събора, which contains only one rule, beginning with аще кто ѿ поганыѝ ѧзыкь прїидѐ кр҃тити сѧ въ православнѫѧ вѣрѫ (77v).

- Chapter 45, called in the contents: О патыхь нѐлѣхь раздрѣшены̀, contains the first text published here, including the fragment on Quadragesima Sunday: ѡ сырнѣи нѐлѧ правило.

- Chapter 67: ѡ постѣщих сѧ въ сѫботы.

- Chapter 68: О раздрѣшенѣ и срѐ и патѡ̑, which includes the second text published here. It is worth pointing out that the manuscript BAR 636 provides explicit information on the use of the term фрѫзи outside the *PsZ* nomocanon and the added and extremely varied anti-Latin cycle.

- Chapter 70 is entitled ѿ правилъ събвора антїохїискаго, and contains only one rule: anathema against an Orthodox priest who associates with Jews.

- Chapter 71 is entitled О ѩдѫщихь съ еретикѡмь and again contains only one rule – against the Bogomils.

The Moldavian manuscript BAR 636 proves that the numbering of chapters, and their designations, were directly dependent on the typological characteristics and thematic orientation of the translated ecclesiastic law collection. The anti-heretical theme is one of its essential features. In 16ᵗʰ-century Moldavia, this theme had a current political basis not only in the historical circumstances of the years immediately preceding the creation of BAR 636, but also in a general anti-heretical line that periodically flared up with renewed force in the Principality of Moldavia. Thus for instance, in August 1551, the Moldavian ruler Stephan Rareş (1551–1552), together with the Orthodox clergy, undertook persecution of

Armenians, Catholics, Protestants and Jews in order to strengthen the Orthodox faith that had been betrayed by his brother Iliaş Rareş, who earlier that year, in Istanbul, had committed the most terrible crime in rejecting Orthodoxy and converting to Islam[61]. Consequently, the appearance of the ecclesiastic law prototype, conventionally called *PsZ,* beyond the Danube, and specifically in Moldavian collections like BAR 636, had the same motivation that had brought about the Slavic translation itself: to defend Orthodoxy, at a hard time for its existence, by means of penitence, and the search for salvation through righteous Christian living. The prototype collection that was brought over from the Bulgarian lands, with its rich store of anti-heretical fragments, served as a basis for the compiling of a true Orthodox encyclopaedia against heresies, for which a Bulgarian 14th century source had served as a matrix, and in which those systemic and unified linguistic traits that testify to the Bulgarian character of the translation were preserved. In this way, a literary heritage, reproduced in the Principality of Moldavia, transported to the 16th century the anti-heretical traditions of Byzantium, of the Slavic South, and of the Second Bulgarian Empire.

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[61] *Călători străini despre Ţările Române – Supliment I*, foreign travelers about the Romanian principalities Şt. Andreescu and others, Bucureşti 2011, p. 46; Şt. Andreescu, *Presiune otomană şi reacţie ortodoxă în Moldova urmaşilor lui Petru vodă Rareş*, "Studii şi materiale de istorie medie" XXVII, 2009, pp. 25–60.

Part Three

The Manuscript Part Devoted to Doctrine
and Controversy

$\mathcal{A}$lthough not the largest in size within the manuscript, the part dealing with doctrine and controversy is extremely important with regard to the collection's purpose. We have already mentioned this part in our general presentation of the manuscript. Here we will only note some basic features and then go on to the separate texts that are of interest for our study. The part in question consists of a few separate works. Two of them are published here, in chapters of this section, together with detailed commentaries, and we will not linger on them in this brief preface. The first work in question is the *Encyclical Letter of the Three Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem*, occasioned by the activity of the ecumenical patriarch Mitrophanes in three metropolitan bishoprics in Anatolia. The second is the *Sermon on the German Temptation*, an anti-Latin work that appears in the collection in two different versions: Слóво ѿ нѣмѣчьскꙍ̈ прѣлъ́щени. кáко наоу́чи гꙁ́гнивыи пéтрь and Слóво ѿц͠а нáшего ѳеѡ̈́сїа пещéⷬскаго игꙋ́мена. къ иꙁꙗслáвꙋ кнꙗ́ӟ.

It should be noted that the works in the part devoted to controversy have already been in the focus of interest and study by other scholars. *Useful Tale about the Latins* was published several years ago, in a critical edition, by Angel Nikolov[1], who has since continued his research on the topic in a new book and other studies[2]. That is why we will not linger here on this text, but will only refer the reader to that author's published studies, which largely cover the topic for the time being.

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[1] А. Николов, *Повест полезна за латините. Паметник на средновековната славянска полемика срещу католицизма*, София 2011.

[2] Idem, *Между Рим и Константинопол. Из антикатолическата литература в България и славянския православен свят (XI–XVII в.)*, София 2016.

The collection contains some additional interesting anti-heretical works, but they have been sufficiently studied and we will not discuss them separately here. As pointed out, they are part of a large anti-Latin cycle situated at ff. 232r–272r. It includes "On the Franks and the other Latins", which is an excerpt from chapter 51 of the Zakonopravilo of St. Sabbas, excerpts from the work of Nicon of the Black Mountain, the work of Patriarch Callistus on the Orthodox faith, etc. This cycle is followed on ff. 272r–303r by various polemical anti-heretical texts presented as fragments of the writings of Fathers of the Church, such as St. Athanasius of Alexandria, St. Anastasius of Antioch, St. Cyril of Alexandria, St. Basil the Great, St. John Chrysostom, St. John Damascene, St. Gregory of Nyssa, St. Anastasius of Sinai. These are not doctrinal works specifically aimed against a concrete heresy, but concern various Trinitarian, Christological, and related, heresies, such as iconoclasm, from the earliest times of the Christian Church and later.

The importance of this part of the collection lies in its function as a weapon in the fight against deviations. While the ecclesiastic law part of the book provides a tool in this fight, the controversial and doctrinal part provides a doctrinal foundation. The ample variety of the texts seems to indicate the collection was meant for long future use in defense of the Orthodox faith. Of course, due to the relatively early date of its creation, its could not contain anti-Protestant controversy, as the Reform was yet to come, but by some of the texts, especially those related to iconoclasm, it remained of topical importance for decades. The presence of topics related to Trinitarian and Christological controversy from the time of the ecumenical councils, which later acquired a new signficance, may be accounted for by the political situation in the Principality of Moldavia. They were placed in the collection in keeping with the tradition, but also as a foundation for later theological debate. They provide a good basis for concrete studies, which are included as chapters in this section of the present book.

Chapter I

Encyclical Letter of the Three Patriarchs regarding the Consequences of the Florentine Union

The historical context of developments in Southeastern Europe, and more generally in the Levant, in which the document under discussion is inscribed, was determined by several important events. These can be defined as both political and ecclesiastic-religious. The *Encyclical Letter of the Three Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem* dates from April 1443 and is closely connected with some of the consequences of the Union concluded at the Council of Ferrara–Florence, 1437–1439. The Union had a wide resonance in the Orthodox world, where it was not accepted unequivocally. Rome was evidently asserting its position, although carefully and with the greatest restraint, so as not to offend its Eastern Orthodox partners. The Christian world seemed to feel a need for unity. The division was hateful in the eyes of God and undesired by the faithful as well. But it had taken place in the context of established and continuously growing differences. Thus, the reasons for desiring unity and rejecting it were equally varied. Sometimes the motives were purely religious, at other times, and often, they were purely political, but in most cases, they were a mix of the two. It was perfectly clear for Constantinople that it could not resist the advance of the Ottomans without Western financial and military support. This support – often contemplated in the form of a Crusade – was linked to Church unity as Rome understood it. In fact, this was one of the motives for the Union. This was also a reason why some Orthodox countries that were not under direct threat of Muslim conquest rejected it from the start. A good example of such a country was the Grand Duchy of Moscow. While some members of the pro-Union movement had a sincere theological conviction that the achievement of unity was good for the Church and worth striving for, the main driving force of the movement was the secular power

of Constantinople. Certainly looming large here is the great and tragic figure of Emperor John VIII Palaiologos. The main resistance against the Union came from within the Byzantine Empire, or what remained of it[1]. The force of this resistance testifies to the severity of the division within the Christian world and the strength of the established Orthodox identity. All this led to the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks on 29 May 1453. That date marked the end of the Empire that had existed for a thousand years. The event transformed the whole situation in the Eastern Mediterranean area and would influence the development of Europe for centuries to come.

As mentioned, far from all Orthodox churches accepted the *Decree of Union* (the so-called Ὅρος), published in Florence in early July 1439. The three Eastern patriarchates – Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem – were not among those who initially rejected it. They were represented at the Council by special plenipotentiaries who signed the decree. The Encyclical Letter we are discussing here expressed opposition to the consequences of the decisions of the Council and to the patriarch of Constantinople Mitrophanes II (1440–1443), a former metropolitan bishop of Cyzikos, whom John Palaiologos raised to the patriarchal throne because of Mitrophanes' support for the Union. The newly elected patriarch tried to impose the Union with Rome by appointing supporters of the conciliar decisions as heads of bishoprics, doing so in ways deemed un-canonic, whereby he eventually incurred the disaffection of the Greek clergy and the people[2]. The Encyclical Letter contains information about the described events and makes a clear assessment of the people involved in them.

This document had great importance, because the three Oriental patriarchs gathered in Jerusalem to make their decisions. Some of the copies of the letter characterize it as a ὅρος/definition, others, as a συνοδικὴ διάγνωσις καὶ ἀπόφασις/conciliar decision and judgement of the patriarchal council of Jerusalem of 1443. Its authenticity has been questioned by some scholars, and accepted by others based on argumentation on which the Slavic translation of the letter has an indirect bearing; hence, this argumentation will be taken into account in the analysis[3].

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[1] Resistance against the Union and the stages of Union are excellently traced in a special study by Marie-Hélène Blanchet. M.-H. Blanchet, *L'Église byzantine à la suite de l'Union de Florence (1439–1445). De la contestation à la scission*, "Byzantinische Forschungen" 29, 2007, pp. 79–123.

[2] Even at the signing of the Union, and of course after it, the representatives of the Eastern Church were far from unanimous, not even those who signed the document – see M.-H. Blanchet, *Les division de l'Église byzantine après le Concile de Florence (1439) d'après un passage des "Antirrhétiques" de Jean Eugénikos*, [in:] *Byzance et ses périphéries: Hommage à Alain Ducellier (mondes grec, balkanique et musulman)*, Paris 2004, p. 19–25.

[3] J. Gill, *The condemnation of the Council of Florence by the three oriental patriarchs in 1443*, [in:] *Personalities of the Council of Florence and Other Essays*, Oxford 1964, pp. 213–221;

What does the text tell us? Here is a summary of its content: the Eminent Metropolitan Bishop of Caesarea of Cappadocia and Exarch of the Oriental countries, Arsenius, visits the holy places in Jerusalem and the Holy Tomb of the Lord. There he meets with the three patriarchs, Philotheus of Alexandria, Dorotheus of Antioch, and Joachim of Jerusalem, and informs them of the "temptation" in Constantinople after the Council of Florence headed by Pope Eugenius and attended by John Palaiologos. He is referring to the three basic violations: the *Filioque*, the use of azyme, i.e., unleavened bread, and veneration of the Pope. There follows an expressive account of the outrages perpetrated by Patriarch Mitrophanes, who had seized the throne in a scurrilous manner with the aid of the Roman Pope and the "Latin-minded" Greek emperor. Special attention is paid to the fact that Patriarch Mitrophanes appointed four non-Orthodox supporters of the Union to the chairs of Amasia, New Caesarea, Tyana, and Mokissos. Metropolitan Bishop Arsenius turns to the three oriental patriarchs with the request that they convene a council and issue a conciliar letter declaring the uncanonical Uniate prelates illegitimate, and delegate to him the powers of exarch of all Anatolia, so that he may restore Orthodoxy and piety. At the end, it is said the synodial letter was signed personally by the three Oriental patriarchs in the month of April 6951 (i.e., 1443), sixth indiction. The original text of the letter in Greek was published by Leo Alatius in 1648[4], and underwent many more editions, of which the most notable are those by Georg Hofmann and by Ioannis and Alkividadis I. Sakkelion[5]. Based on G. Hofmann's edition, Alexander Zanemonets made a full translation from Greek into modern Russian[6].

M.-E. Blanchet, *Le patriarcat de Constantinople et le rejet de l'union de Florence par les patriarches orientaux en 1443. Réexamen du dossier documentaire*, [in:] *Le patriarcat œcuménique de Constantinople et Byzance hors frontières (1204–1586). Actes de la table ronde organisée dans le cadre du 22ᵉ Congrès international des études byzantines, Sofia 22–27.08.2011*, "Dossiers Byzantins" 15, 2014, Paris, pp. 309–326; А. Занемонец, *К вопросу об историчности и значении Иерусалимского собора 1443 г.*, "Byzantinoslavica" 67, 2009, pp. 331–336; А. Занемонец, *В чем значение Иерусалимского собора 1443 г.?*, "Византийский временник" 68, 2009, pp. 165–169. One of the most recent studies is М. Цибранска-Костова, *Славянското досие на един документ срещу Фераро-Флорентинската уния: Окръжното послание на източните патриарси от 1443 г.*, "Slavia" 2019 (in print), where the linguistic data on the Slavic translation are analyzed based on the publications of M.-H. Blanchet.

⁴ L. Allatii, *De Ecclesiae Occidentalis atque Orientalis perpetua concensione. Libri tres*, cap. IV, Cologne 1648, pp. 939–942.

⁵ Ι. καὶ Α. Ι. Σακκελιωνος, *Κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς Ἐθνικῆς βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, Αθῆναι 1892, pp. 24–28 [= Σακκελιων, *Κατάλογος*]; G. Hofmann (ed.), *Concilium Florentinuum. Documenta et scriptores*, "Orientalium documenta minora", ser. A, vol. 3.3, Roma 1953, #45, pp. 68–72 [= Hofmann, #45].

⁶ А. Занемонец, *К вопросу об историчности и значении Иерусалимского собора 1443 г.*, pp. 334–336; Idem, *В чем значение Иерусалимского собора 1443 г.?*, pp. 167–169.

Thus, the Greek original of the text has been published (although based only on certain copies, while M.-H. Blanchet is preparing its critical edition) and has not gone unnoticed by researchers. Its Slavic translation, by contrast, has attracted the attention – especially recently – almost solely of the two authors of the present study[7]. This article is a continuation of our research and aims mainly to present the basic characteristics of the text (the Greek original and the Slavic translation), to discuss the problem of its authenticity, to offer a brief historical and theological commentary, to present the persons mentioned in the text, and above all, to place the source in the context of the manuscript collection BAR 636. One of our chief tasks is, based on this edition and the Greek text, to analyze the specificities of the translation of the Letter and to comment on the time and place of its appearance. The latter question, together with the surmise as to who might have been the Letter's translator, was in the focus of attention of Alexander Ivanovich Yatsimirsky, its first researcher.

The authenticity of the Greek original of the text has been seriously questioned; meriting the greatest attention is the particular study by Joseph Gill, who completely rejects its authenticity and even declares the letter to be a fabrication made in the 17th century by Georgios Koressios of Chios in order to support the anti-Union cause, and first published in the edition of Leo Allatius[8]. The main weakness of J. Gill's argument, and decisive for its assessment, is that the author has not worked with the manuscript tradition and is not even familiar with the edition of A. Sakkelion, which might solve many of the issues Gill raises. We will not discuss his thesis here, but only point it out to complement the information, as it has been definitively refuted in a very well-argued way in a special article by Marie-Hélène Blanchet[9]. Of course, the thesis that the text was written in the 17th century is completely unfounded, inasmuch as we have copies from the 15th century and copies of its Slavic translation from the 16th century. Gill's other arguments have also been refuted by Blanchet: the erroneous presentation of the hierarchy of patriarchal chairs, Jerusalem being incorrectly placed before Antioch, the numer-

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[7] Ив. Билярски, М. Цибранска-Костова, *Славянски ръкопис BAR Ms. sl. 636, XVI в., от Библиотеката на Румънската академия в Букурещ*, "Археографски прилози" 37, 2015, pp. 107–155; I. Biliarsky, M. Tsibranska, *Contra varietatem pugna latissima. Un recueil juridique moldave et son convoi (BAR Ms. sl. 636, XVIᵉ siècle)*, "Analele Putnei" XII.2, 2016, pp. 105–146; М. Цибранска-Костова, *Славянското досие на един документ срещу Фераро-Флорентинската уния…*, in the press.

[8] J. Gill, *The condemnation of the Council of Florence by the three Oriental patriarchs in 1443*, p. 220. See also Georg Hofmann's mention of the doubtful nature of the council of the three patriarchs: Hofmann, #45, 68.

[9] M.-H. Blanchet, *Le patriarcat de Constantinople et le rejet de l'union de Florence*, pp. 311–312.

ation of the Council as eighth (ecumenical), the reference to the use of unleavened bread for the sacrament of the Eucharist, and the introduction of the *Filioque* in the Symbol of Faith, the disrespectful attitude towards the ecumenical patriarch and especially towards the basileus John VIII Palaiologos[10]. We will not devote much space to these issues here but would refer the reader to the above-mentioned article, which largely exhausts them.

As we pointed out, one of the basic weaknesses of the argumentation against the authenticity of the council and the decision made by the three patriarchs in 1443 is based on ignorance of the manuscript tradition and even of the editions. That is why we should focus on the differences between the two published texts, in order to compare them with the Slavic translation.

• The first difference is in the titles given in the two publications. In the manuscript from the National Library of Athens, it is: Συνοδικὴ διάγνωσις καὶ ἀπόφασις τῶν ἁγιωτάτων καὶ ὀρθοδόξων τῆς ἀνατολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας τριῶν πατριαρχῶν, Φιλοθέου Ἀλεξανδρείας, Δωροθέου Ἀντιοχείας καὶ Ἰωακεὶμ Ἱεροσολύμων περί τε τῆς ἐν Φλωρεντίᾳ γενομένης ὀγδόης συνόδου καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν λατινοφρόνων χειροτονηθέντων[11]. The title in G. Hofmann's publication is: Ὅρος τῶν ἁγίων πατριαρχῶν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ, Φιλοθέου Ἀλεξανδρείας, Ἰωακεὶμ Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ Δωροθέου Ἀντιοχείας, κατὰ τῆς ἐν Φλωρεντίᾳ συνόδου ... ἤτοι τῆς ὀγδόης καὶ μιαρᾶς[12]. M.-H. Blanchet has discussed in detail the difference between the titles, which leads to different perceptions and assessments of the text, and we can hardly add anything to what she has said[13]. The important thing is that her discussion refutes one of J. Gill's objections with regard to the authenticity of the document, i.e., the uncanonic order of the patriarchal thrones in Hofmann's edition, where Jerusalem is wrongly placed before Antioch. The problem of the more pretentious name of the act of 1443 is also resolved ("definition", Ὅρος), which claims to set the decision of the three Oriental prelates on a level of equality with the decisions of the council of Florence. We should mention here that the texts of the two editions describe the act in the same way, as a "synodial opinion" (συνδικὴν γνώμην)[14].

• The second difference lies in the use of modified words and names with a markedly pejorative character. As for the use of diminutives aiming to denigrate the institution, the two editions are quite similar. There are terms like μητροπολίδια and ἐπισκοπίδια ("little metropolitans" and "little bishops") applied to the prelates

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[10] *Ibidem*, pp. 312–316.

[11] ΣΑΚΚΕΛΙΩΝ, *Κατάλογος*, 24.

[12] G. Hofmann, #45, 69.

[13] M.-H. Blanchet, *Le patriarcat de Constantinople et le rejet de l'union de Florence*, pp. 316–317.

[14] ΣΑΚΚΕΛΙΩΝ, *Κατάλογος*, 26; Hofmann, #45, 71$_{4-5}$.

uncanonically appointed by Mitrophanes II[15]. In contrast, we do not find the aggressively pejorative turn of the names or designation of the patriarchal institution in the edition of the Athens copy. In Hofmann's edition, the name of Patriarch Mitrophanes II is twice changed into "Mitrophon", which would signify "matricide", while in the Athens copy, his name is unchanged[16]. Marie-Hélène Blanchet notes a change of the name of Pope Eugenius (from *Evgenios* to *Agenios*), which Hofmann has not included in his edition[17]. The last change is that from "patriarch" to "fatriarch" (meaning "head of clan")[18], which certainly is not a positive designation for the prelate of Constantinople. Thus, we see the diminutives appear in both copies, but in some cases the proper form of the names or of the patriarchal institution are preserved in the Athens copy, which makes it less aggressive. This provides arguments that an additional change and interpolation was made in the text.

• The last and probably most important difference between the two published texts is in the interpretation of the decisions of the Council of Ferrara–Florence regarding the addition of the *Filioque* in the Symbol of Faith and regarding the use of leavened bread. No doubt, the meaning of the decision has been changed here; we would refer the reader to the commentary in Marie-Hélène Blanchet's article[19].

We should add the many noticeable spelling and grammatical errors in the copy chosen by Georg Hofmann as a basis for his edition. All this allows us to conclude that changes were made in the text in order to enhance its anti – Latin nature and to uphold a certain ideological, and probably political, standpoint.

A comparison between the Greek original and the Slavic translation of the text would be most relevant for our discussion. Before going on to this, however, we should specify that we can only compare the two published versions of the Greek original. A full and precise comparison could be made after Marie-Hélène Blanchet's promised and expected critical edition of the text comes out. Here we will follow up some important points mentioned above, but only in the context of the publications of the Greek text. Before offering our observations on the matter, we will review past research on the manuscript tradition of the Slavic text.

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[15] ΣΑΚΚΕΛΙΩΝ, *Κατάλογος*, 26; Hofmann, #45, 70_{23-24}.

[16] ΣΑΚΚΕΛΙΩΝ, *Κατάλογος*, 25, 26; Hofmann, #45, 69_{26}, 70_{19-20}. It should be pointed out, however, that in the parallel text of the Letter, taken from the *Ecclesiastical History* by the Metropolitan Meletius of Athens, published in the 18th century, the name of the pro-Union patriarch is given as "Mitrophanes", which indicates a similar copy was used to the one published by G. Hofmann.

[17] M.-H. Blanchet, *Le patriarcat de Constantinople et le rejet de l'union de Florence*, p. 318 and note 43.

[18] ΣΑΚΚΕΛΙΩΝ, *Κατάλογος*, 26; Hofmann, #45, 70_{20}.

[19] M.-H. Blanchet, *Le patriarcat de Constantinople et le rejet de l'union de Florence*, pp. 313–315.

The Slavic translation cannot resolve a number of debated issues regarding the Greek tradition of the text, but may indirectly contribute to the discussions and illustrate the course of its reception in the non-Greek Orthodox world. Several points in the Slavic tradition of the translation may be taken into account in order to resolve both the specific linguistic-textological issues and the nature of the Greek source of the Slavic translation. The translation has several sources. In discussing the importance of the translation, we should start with Joseph Gill's accusation that the Encyclical Letter is a 17th-century fabrication[20]. This view has been seriously challenged already, and the existence of the Slavic translation, with copies from as early as the 16th century, definitely refutes it.

In 1904, the well-known Slavicist Alexander Ivanovich Yatsimirsky published a book on Gregory Tsamblak. There, in connection with the hypothesis that Tsamblak and Gavriil Uric, the well-known monk and writer from the Neamţ monastery, are one and the same person, and in clarifying the literary legacy of the latter, Yatsimirsky commented on the Encyclical Letter and published several fragments of its Slavic translation[21]. Here we will leave the name of Gregory Tsamblak aside, inasmuch as his modern biographies assert he died around 1419–1420, i.e., after he headed the delegation of representatives of Lithuania, Great Novgorod, and Moldavia at the Council of Constance[22]. As we know, this council, held as early as the beginning of the 15th century under the already looming threat of the Ottomans, attempted to settle the differences between the Eastern and Western Churches[23]. Yatsimirsky's opinion that Tsamblak lived as a monk in Neamţ until his death at the age of 86, around 1450, is based on mistaken data from Moldavian chronicles, which confuse the names of two different historical figures, both bearing the name Grego-

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[20] J. Gill, *The condemnation of the Council of Florence by the three oriental patriarchs in 1443*, [in]: *Personalities of the Council of Florence and other Essays*, Oxford 1964, pp. 213–221.

[21] А. И. Яцимирский, *Григорий Цамблак*, pp. 244–245, 274–278.

[22] М. Спасова, *Източници за речта на Григорий Цамблак пред църковния събор в Констанц*, [in:] А. Милтенова (ред.), *Сребърният век: Нови открития. Сборник доклади от международната конференция, 10–11 май, 2015 г.*, Българска академия на науките, София 2015, pp. 91–112.

[23] We should note that, due to unclear points in the biography of Tsamblak, there is debate as to whether he was present at the Council of Ferrara–Florence. A. Yatsimirsky gave a negative answer to this question (А. И. Яцимирский, *Григорий Цамблак*, pp. 260–262). In the Russian written tradition, where a whole "Florentine cycle" of texts related to this council appeared and was disseminated in a certain type of collection, there is added to the collections the Conciliar Letter of the Lithuanian bishops regarding the ordainment of Gregory Tsamblak as Metropolitan bishop of Kiev in 6924, 1415 (О. Л. Новикова, *Формирование и рукописная традиция „флорентинского цикла" во второй половины XV–первой половины XVII вв.*, "Очерки феодальной России" 14.44, 2010), that is to say, documents from different synods were unified.

ry. At an earlier time, Tsamblak had certainly lived for a while in Moldavia and in the Neamț monastery. While the year and place of death of Gregory Tsamblak have not been definitively established, we accept the prevalent opinion, which excludes his being the translator of the Encyclical Letter of the three Oriental patriarchs.

This is not equally true for the other figure involved in the translation, Gavriil Uric[24]. The outstanding calligrapher and translator made an important contribution to the development of Orthodox written culture in Moldavia, to the transmission of the Tărnovo traditions to the Moldavian land, to the reproduction of the works of Patriarch Euthymius and Gregory Tsamblak. He was a prominent copyist of works in the vita and panegyric genres, collections, Triodia, and homilies. Those of his manuscripts that are of undisputed date were written between 1413 and 1451[25]. Hence, with regard to the tradition of Slavic translations of the Letter, we cannot exclude Yatsimirsky's information, based on a copyist's note in a later collection from 1629. This note reproduces information drawn from the copy of the text under discussion in a lost manuscript by Gavriil Uric from the second half of the 15ᵗʰ century. The text of the note published by Yatsimirsky is the following: в лѣ͠ѡ ҂ѕц͠на гаврїилъ монахъ ѿ нѣгде сїе начрѫта въ сихъ медоточныхъ книгахъ[26]. Based on these data, Yatsimirsky concluded that when the Encyclical Letter appeared, "the humble copyist hastened to translate this letter into the Slavic language"[27]. He considers the

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[24] Кл. Иванова, *Незабелязан фрагмент от Словото за всички светии на патриарх Филотей, автограф на Гавриил Урик*, "Palaeobulgarica" 40.3, 2016, pp. 7–28; П. Бойчева, *Традициите на Търновската книжовна школа и делото на Гавриил Урик*, [in:] *Търновска книжовна школа*, т. 2, София 1980, pp. 177–182; Г. Михаила, *Рукописи Гавриила Урика и их литературное значение*, [in:] *Търновска книжовна школа*, t. 2, София 1980, pp. 81–88; А. Д. Паскаль, *Итоги и задачи изучения рукописей Гавриила Урика как ранних источников по истории славяно-молдавской книжности XV в.*, [in:] *Исследования по источниковедению СССР дооктябрьского периода*, Москва 1989, pp. 4–32; А. Д. Паскаль, *Новые данные о книжной деятельности Гавриила Урика Нямецкаго*, [in:] *Търновска книжовна школа*, т. 5, София 1994, pp. 409–413; Idem, *Новые данные о рукописной наслядии Гавриила Урика в славяно-молдавской книжности певрой половины XV века. Материалы международной научно-практической конференции Российской государственной библиотеки, 12–13.10.2016*, "Румянцевские чтения", ч. 2, Москва 2016, pp. 31–36.

[25] А. Д. Паскаль, *Новые данные о книжной деятельности Гавриила Урика Нямецкаго*, p. 411; А. Д. Паскаль, *Новые данные о рукописной наслядии Гавриила Урика*, pp. 31–36.

[26] А. И. Яцимирский, *Григорий Цамблак*, p. 245. The year should be calculated as 1443 = 6951 – 5508, assuming that in this edition, the first numeral letter is actually ѕ (6). Hence, in view of the dating of the Encyclical Letter to April, the coefficient for calculating the Byzantine numbering of years results in 5508. In the note, however, the month is not specifically given, as we see. An interesting contextual use is that of the verb начрѫта>начрьтати "write, copy"; Yatsimirsky, again based on the dating, presumes this means "translate".

[27] А. И. Яцимирский, *Григорий Цамблак*, p. 274.

expression ⲱ̑ ⲛⲕⲅⲇⲉ to be typical for Gavriil/Tsamblak. We find data about the late manuscript of 1629, containing this information, in a brief bibliography presented in another book by Yatsimirsky, where the work is described as a miscellany of sermons and vitae, found in northern Bessarabia and kept in the Dragomirna monastery before passing into the collection of Theophile Gepetsky[28]. A. Pascal points out that this is one of the later copies of an unextant translation by Uric, which included one more letter, the Letter of Matthias I Patriarch of Constantinople to the ruler of Moldova Alexandru the Good, from 21 July 1401, which contains information about the activity of Gregory Tsamblak in Moldavia[29]. Later on, in another, more recent, publication by the same author, the 16th century Euchologe, in which this other letter was included, is not mentioned among the dated and undated manuscripts of Uric[30].

Thus, the indicated information is the only one placed after a copy of the Encyclical Letter, and thereby connecting the name of Gavriil to his translation. However, we see it does not present sufficient proof he was the author of the translation. Yet this hypothesis cannot be entirely rejected either. By contrast, the environment in which the Encyclical Letter was disseminated, and in which its translation was probably made, can be identified with far greater certainty. That is because two other copies document its text reliably enough, although they are not provided with the same kind of copyist's note. After Yatsimirsky's comments[31], today we know considerably more about the two manuscripts. They have been the object of scholarly attention in their entirety or in separate parts for various research purposes[32]. They are the two manuscript twins, BAR 636 and BAR 685 from the Library of the Rumanian Academy. As we have already stated, the twin manuscripts are a Moldavian phenomenon: miscellanies with a markedly anti-heretical orientation meant to defend Orthodoxy and thereby serve the needs of the principality in a specific political situation[33]. The large-scale fight against religious

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[28] А. И. Яцимирский, *Из славянских рукописей. Тексты и заметки*, Москва 1898, pp. 69–70. The current location of this manuscript remains unknown for us, as well as its destiny.

[29] А. Д. Паскаль, *Итоги и задачи изучения рукописей Гавриила Урика как ранних источников по истории славяно-молдавской книжности XV века*, pp. 5, 10.

[30] Idem, *Новые данные о рукописной наслядии Гавриила Урика в славяно-молдавской книжности первой половины XV века*, pp. 31–36.

[31] А. И. Яцимирский, *Григорий Цамблак*, p. 275.

[32] И. Билярски, М. Цибранска-Костова, *Славянски ръкопис BAR Ms. sl. 636, XVI в., от Библиотеката на Румънската академия в Букурещ*, pp. 107–155; I. Biliarsky, M. Tsibranska, *Contra varietatem pugna latissima. Un recueil juridique moldave et son convoi (BAR Ms. sl. 636, XVIᵉ siècle)*, pp. 105–146.

[33] B. Joudiou, *La réaction orthodoxe face aux étrangers dans les principautés roumaines au XVIᵉ siècle*, [in:] *Migrations et diasporas méditerranéennes Xᵉ–XVIᵉ siècles*, eds. M. Balard et A. Ducellier, Paris 2002, pp. 248–249; M. Crăciun, *Tolerance and Persecution. Political Authority and Religious*

deviations demanded the compiling of texts against the traditional Trinitarian and Christological heresies, as well as anti-Iconoclast, anti-Catholic, anti-Armenian and anti-Jewish texts. The anti-Latin part of controversy works is the most important and forms a unified set, in which the Encyclical Letter is placed as being the most topical and closest to the time of the creation of the manuscripts. Hence, it serves as a reference point for the possible lower date limit of the compiling of these collections. The Encyclical Letter was disseminated together with emblematic anti-Catholic texts: *A Useful Tale about the Latins*; the well-known chapter 51 of the *Zakonopravilo* of St. Sabbas ѡ̀ фрѧ́нꙃѣ̀ . ѝ ѡ̀ пꙗѡ́чꙗ́ латꙇ́нꙗ̀; an excerpt from the text by Nikon of the Black Mountain against the Latins; *Sermon on the German Deception*, *How Peter the Stammerer Taught them Heresy*, the anti-Latin Сло́во ѡ̀ц҃а̀ на́шего ѳеѡ̀сꙇ́а пещⷷ́рскаго и҆гоу́мена. къ и҆ꙁѧсла́воу кнѧ́ꙁоу, etc. The question regarding the Encyclical Letter is, when was it included in the collections: at the time of the compilation of the prototype collection, or later, as a consistent addition to the corpus of anti-Latin texts. This implies the question as to whether these collections were compiled in the second half of the 15th century or the first half of the 16th. We may assert that the oldest works included in them, such as the *A Useful Tale about the Latins* and the *Sermon on the German Deception*, were borrowed directly from the South Slav, Bulgarian prototype from the time of the Second Bulgarian Empire. This coincides with the origin and particularities of other parts of the two collections, especially the so-called Pseudo-Zonaras Nomocanon, which occupies more than half the collection. The earliest known copies of this nomocanon are Bulgarian, from the 14th century[34]. In view of the fact that the third source of the Slavic translation of the Letter is a collection different in type from the two anti-heretical ones, it would be more logical to consider the hypothesis that the copies in BAR 636 and BAR 685 were included as part of the initial anti-Latin cycle at a later date, i.e., in the 16th century. This would imply that the Letter was situated in an environment consistent with its matter, among the anti-Latin works, but was not translated specially for the purposes of the collections.

The edition, already presented in previous publications of ours, and offered below in the present study, enables us to compare the Greek original with the translation. We have already traced the differences in the titles across different editions of the original. M.-H. Blanchet points attention to the more precise text included in the Manuscript Catalogue of the Athens National Library. The Slavic text

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Difference in Late Medieval Moldavia, "Colloquia. Journal of Central European History" 10–11.1–2, 2003–2004, pp. 5–58.

[34] М. Цибранска-Костова, *Покайната книжнина на Българското средновековие IX–XVIII в. (езиково-текстологични и културологични аспекти)*, София 2011, pp. 259–410.

has no title and begins with an appeal to the reader: Да вѣсте въсѝ православны хр҃тїа́ни • сїѐ насто́ѫщее писа́нїе ѧ́же ҳри́те. This beginning has a corresponding text in the Greek edition: Γινώσκετε ἀπάντες οἱ ὀρθόδοξοι χριστιανοί… G. Hofmann has published it in the critical tools attached to the basic text, because he reproduces it based on the marginal notes in the manuscript he has used, the Vaticanus Ottobonianus gr. 418 from the 15th century. The fact there is no title points to several interesting features. The terms in the Greek title have no direct match in the Slavic text, but at its end, the expression съвѣтъ съборьнъ, συνοδικὴν γνώμην performs a terminological function[35]. Thus, the text is given the status of a conciliar decree. Another interesting feature preserved in the Slavic translation, is that the patriarchal chairs are not named in the order of their canonic status and rank (Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem): Jerusalem is placed second after Alexandria[36]. This feature is found not in the title, as in Hofmann's Greek text, but inside the presentation where the names of the three patriarchs and their chairs are listed. This is the order in which they are given in the Greek original as well. These facts justify the assertion that the Slavic translation was based on an already edited Greek original complemented with marginal notes.

Secondly, G. Hofmann, J. Gill and then M.-H. Blanchet have discussed certain stylistic elements of the Greek text, which require deeper study in order to ascertain whether they correspond to the style of the patriarchate office. It should be noted immediately that, if not compared with the Greek text, similar words and expressions in the Slavic copies would be considered copyist errors and misunderstandings, whereas they actually reproduce the Greek source quite accurately. These words are:

• The use of the diminutive in a pejorative sense in the designation of ecclesiastic ranks[37]. In this way, they stress the inauthenticity, the un-canonic status of the four Uniate prelates appointed by Patriarch Mitrophanes. The Greek terms used are μητροπολίδια and ἐπισκοπίδια, corresponding in Slavic to мирⷮополидı́а and еп҃кпо́дїа / еп҃кпѡ́лидїа derived from the correct terms митрополитъ, епископъ. By contrast, when the chair of Metropolitan Bishop Arsenius is designated, it is called ст҃ѣ́йшїѫ митрополı́ѫ кесарı́ѫ кападокı́нскыѧ.

• Paronomasia in naming historical persons. The names are modified with words of a similar root but bearing a polemical and denunciatory pathos. First is

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[35] G. Hofmann, #45, p. 72.

[36] J. Gill, *The condemnation of the Council of Florence*, pp. 213–221; M.-H. Blanchet, *Le patriarcat de Constantinople et le rejet de l'union de Florence*, pp. 319–320.

[37] G. Hofmann, #45, p. 70; M.-H. Blanchet, *Le patriarcat de Constantinople et le rejet de l'union de Florence*, p. 317.

the name of Patriarch Mitrophanes, who becomes ми҃рофо́но҃, си́рѣ҃ ма́тероꙋ́бі́ица (from the Greek μητροφόνος). Similarly, attached to his name is the title ми҃рофѡ́нъ фатрїа́рхъ < φατριάρχης. It means a leader of a clan (from the Greek φρατρία), which deprives the ecclesiastic title of its ecclesiastic dignity and its reference to a uniter of the community. Of the personal names and titles, only the name of Pope Eugenius (1431–1447)[38], in whose time the Council of Ferrara-Florence was held, is not the target of punning, although in some Greeek copies of the Encyclical Letter, this name too is distorted pejoratively.

• Ecclesiastic terminology, which may be subdivided into several sub-groups of lexical data:

– First of all, there are epithets attached to the names of historical figures. Of great interest for researchers has been the qualification attached to John VIII Palaiologos, λατινοφρόνος, латиномѫꙃдрънъіи "Latinophrone; Latin supporter; adherent of the Latins". It is used twice, once with reference to the emperor – ц҃рь гръч҄ьскъі і҃ѡа́ннѡ палеѡ́логѡ҃ лати́н҄мѫꙃрьнъій, and again with reference to the un-cannonically appointed four Uniate metropolitan bishops – ми҃рофѡ́нъ фатрїа́рхъ, беꙁа́кѡннаа рѫкоположе́нїа повелѣ̀ латиномѫꙃдрънъій, н҄ѫ сѐ па́че и̇ къ ѡ҃бласти въсѐ въ́сточнъіꙗ сꙋꙑ́ны. The text often uses words derived from the second root of this composite noun съмѫꙃдрьникъ — своꙗ̀ е́реси съмѫꙃдр́ьникъі; съмѫꙃдровати – лати́нскаа въсѣ̀ и̇ мѫꙃрьствоꙋꙗщїй и̇ твѡ́рꙗщїй; неправомѫꙃдрьствовати — і̇а҃ да ѿже́не́ непра́вомѫꙃдрьствоꙋꙗщїй ѿ въса̀ ѡ́бласти своꙗ̀. There is a sustained tendency for the word φρονέω 'think, judge, meditate, take side, reason' to be translated with мѫꙃдрьствовати, мѫꙃдровати, which is the meaning both words have in classical Old Bulgarian monuments[39]. As early as Methodius's 9th-century translation of the first Slavic Nomocanon, the contextual use of the verb мѫꙃдрьствовати is related to the anti-heretical conciliar texts – for instance, Canon 1 and 4 of the Council of Ephesus, concerning the Nestorian heresy[40]. The lexemes from the same root are used as a universal device to emphasize the affiliation of various heretical doctrines precisely to the Latin heresy.

– Secondly, the Slavic text is precise with regard to titles found in the Greek source. Notable in this semantic area are the titles attributed to Metropolitan Bishop Arsenius, an enigmatic figure, insomuch as he is documented nowhere but in our text. He is titled as Metropolitan of Caesarea of Cappadocia, and also as пръвопрѣсто́лень (πρωτόθρονος) and е̇ꙃа́рхъ (ἔξαρχος) of all eastern countries

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[38] M.-H. Blanchet, *Le patriarcat de Constantinople et le rejet de l'union de Florence*, p. 318.

[39] *Старобългарски речник*, т. 1. *А–Н*, София 1999, pp. 890–891.

[40] J. Vašica, K. Haderka, *Nomokanon*, [in:] *Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici*, т. 4. *Textus Iuridici Suplementa*, Brno 1971, pp. 324–325.

(въсе́и въ̀сточнѣи стран҆ѣ) or of all Anatolia (въсе́и а҆натѡ́лїи); there is no synonymy in Hofmann's edition, where only "exarch of Anatolia" is given.

– Thirdly, the fact that the text is a translation is evidenced by the foreign terms it contains. We will discuss only two of them. In order of appearance, these are: за събра́ннжж ко́устоу҆дї́ж въ флѡри́нтїи, и҆же въ и҆та́лїи скврнна́го събѡ́ра. The first lexeme, ко́устодиа< κουστωδία<custodia, does not appear in Hofmann's edition, but is found in the alternative – and according to Blanchet, more precise – copy found in Sakkelion, from the late 15th– early 16th century. As for its meaning, the lexeme probably emphasizes the same meaning of "sentry, guard" that it has in Byzantine and Bulgarian literature of the earliest period[41], and refers here to the guarded, enclosed character of the Council of Florence. The second lexeme is used twice and is drawn from the following passages: с҆тыѧ вѣ́кыѧ цр҆кве кѡ́стантї́на гр҆а повелѣ́ да по҆ е҆го́вꙋ та́ха ѡ̂вла по̂лѐжжщїй пока́за; и҆ е҆пⷭ҇кпи по въсжⷣоу и҆ въ вⷭ҇ѣ҆· е҆ще же и҆ и҆гоу́мени въкоу́пѣ д҆хѡ́вникы та́ха (in Greek, the adverb τάχα means "quickly, at present, actually"; in the Russian translation by A. Zanemonets it is „*по сути дела*", „*равно*"). In translating it, Zanemonets has indicated the colloquial character of the expression[42].

– With regard to the dogmatic content and the general linguistic form of the Letter, it may be said that the Slavic version gives it the appearance of a truly official synodial document. The translation has hardly raised doubts as to authenticity, of the kind that the Greek original has provoked amidst contemporary scholars, because its finer points may escape the attention of a Slavic-language reader, leaving in mind only the general discourse of the letter, which lends it the prestige of its high purpose – the unification of Orthodoxy. Moreover, its authenticity is indicated by the personal signatures placed at the end of the text, as the document states. The traits of stylistic prestige are found not only in the basic terms relateed to the administrative organization of the Church, but also in the terms and combinations of terms that had a long tradition in Slavic anti-Catholic and anti-heretical writings, beginning with the very first translated works on these matters. Such terms are, for instance, е́ретикъ, опрѣснъкъ, папа; typical pejorative epithets applied to the Uniates and the Uniate chairs are скврьньнъ, нечистъ, иносла́вьнъ, злосла́вьнъ, невѣрьнъ. By contrast, the Orthodox Church of Constantinople is called мъногопрѣвсла́вьна, an epithet that displays a pleonastic accumulation in the first two elements of the composite word мъногъ и прѣ. It may be noted this epithet is not present in the texts published by Hofmann and A. Sakkelion, and probably reveals the attitude of the Slavic translator. The anonymous translator

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[41] *Старобългарски речник*, т. 1. *А–Н*, София 1999, p. 768.
[42] А. Занемонец, *В чем значение Иерусалимского собора 1443 г.?*, pp. 168–169.

made some few, but interesting, insertions of an interpretative nature, which have no basis in the two cited Greek editions. Thus, regarding the dogmatic accusations against the Uniates, the term Symbol of the Faith (in Greek ἐν τῷ τῆς πιστέως Συμβόλῳ) is replaced by the first words of the Greek designation ꙗ́же є̂ вѣ́рꙋѫ въ є̂ди́нⷪ҇ бⷢ҇а. To this day, the first word "I believe" (*Верую*) is used instead of Symbol of the Faith". This synonymous metonymic substitution does not change the meaning in any way, but, on the contrary, makes it more comprehensible to the Orthodox. In other cases in the Slavic text, the tranlator's choice is reveled only by one of the two comparative Greek editions. The clarification that John Palaiologos is basileus of the Byzantines, and not only basileus, appears in the Sakkeloni edition (but not in Hofmann); it is translated in Slavic thus: и̂ цⷬ҇ѐ грꙋъчѣ́скꙑ́ и̂ѡа́ннꙋ палеѡ́логⷹ҇, καὶ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ῥωμαίων Ἰωάννῃ τῷ Παλαιολόγῳ[43]. We already mentioned the beginning under which the Encyclical Letter was disseminated in Slavic copies. It is borrowed from a Greek interpolation, from which was also borrowed the specification that the three patriarch met in Syria, стⷯъ трїѐ патрїа́рхъⷲ҇ и̂ ́ въ си́рїи. This fact is mentioned only in the main text of the two Greek editions – Hofmann and Sakkeloni – but not in the heading of the document. With regard to the other common linguistic features, the Slavic translation follows a particular Greek text in detail. An example of this is the etymological figure in the expression неѫкополоⷤе́ны́, ѫкополо́ѫи, ὁ ἀχειροτόνητος κεχειροτόνηκε[44].

– Last but not least, it is worth mentioning certain data of historical-factological significance, regarding the authenticity of which, and their presence in other sources, future research has yet to comment. Along with the names of persons involved in the Council of Ferrara–Florence, along with the names of the direct participants in the creation of the Letter, the Slavic text presents the spelling of some less common chairs: въ а̂ма́сїѫ ꙗ́вѣ ꙗ́ко. но́вїѫ кесарїѫ же тїа́на и̂ мокꙋ́со́на. While the first chair presents no spelling issues, the latter is translated as a noun in the accusative case directly following the Greek source (Μωκησσόν, Mokissos, Mokis, in the Eparchy of Caesaraea). In this context, it is not surprising that Constantinople is twice translated as *Tsarigrad*, a popular name for the city among Slavs.

Based on the listed linguistic-textological features, it may be assumed that the source of the Slavic translation was a Greek copy intermediate between the editions of Hofmann and Sakkeloni. That copy had already contained the interpolations pointed out in the Hofmann edition, and especially the variant readings presented by the publisher in the critical apparatus to the marginal notes. As was clarified, these secondary editor's interventions in the initial Greek text occurred

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[43] Hofmann, #45, p. 70; ΣΑΚΚΕΛΙΩΝ, *Κατάλογος*, p. 25.
[44] Hofmann, #45, p. 70.

early on, since they already appear in the 15th century copy. However, the facts clearly raise doubts about Yatsimirsky's idea that the Encyclical Letter was translated precisely in 1443. We may assume that the year 1443, indicated in the copyist's note in the collection from 1629, was the result of contamination of different data and was due to a calculation made to ascertain в л҃тѡ́, ҕцꙗ҃ at the end of the letter. The dating is of essential importance in a synodial document. We must not forget that the users of the BAR Ms. sl. 636 manuscript have done precisely that – date it – in the marginal note of the copy.

There still remains to discuss whether the translator of the Encyclical Letter may have been Gavriil Uric himself. This hypothesis should not be rejected lightly, but is hard to prove. The translation may have been accredited to him, because his name was linked to the other letter, mentioned above – the Letter of Patriarch Matthias to the ruler of Moldavia Alexandru the Good – which was clearly meant for the Orthodox secular and clerical circles in Moldavia. The part that translation of documents or the compiling of controversy works[45] played in the activity of Gavriil Uric is a topic yet to be studied and not researched until now. For now, there seems to be no direct evidence linking his name to the compilation of any collection that may have served as a prototype for the Moldavian anti-heretical collections of the first half of the 15th century, a prototype testified to by the only two extant 16th-century copies through which the Encyclical Letter is studied. The inclusion in BAR 636 of a Moldavian chronicle, whose latest possible dating is 1512[46], and which describes events that took place in the Moldavian principality in the time of the ruler Bogdan III (1504–1517), and the enthronement of Sultan Selim I (1512–1520), confirms once again the hypothesis that the chronicle was more likely a contribution to the fierce defense of Orthodoxy undertaken by loyal monastic circles during the first and second quarter of the 16th century, a time of increased social-political tension in the principality. Thus, the Slavic translation of our text was attached to the already formed cycle of anti-Latin works. The place of its appearance was certainly the Principality of Moldavia, but it is logical that it would have been of much greater topical importance precisely in the second half of the 15th century. It was hardly difficult for the copyists of the two Moldavian collections to find protographs for it in the literary heritage of the Moldavian monasteries, especially in Neamț.

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[45] Another such collection of controversy is BAN, No. 13.3.20 in Saint-Petersburg, from the first half of the 15th century, mentioned by A. Pascal (А. Паскаль, *Новые данные о рукописной наслядии Гавриила Урика в славяно-молдавской книжности певрой половины XV века*, p. 34).

[46] BAR 636, ff. 220r–225v in the manuscript; edition in I. Bogdan, *Cronice inedite atingăntoare la istoria romînilor*, Bucureşti 1895, pp. 95–96.

The Encyclical Letter is important for the literary history of Southeast Europe not only as a testimony to a dramatic period preceding the fall of the Byzantine Empire. On the one hand, despite suspicions as to authenticity, relevant more for the Greek original of the text than for the Slavic translation, the Letter is exemplary for ecclesiastic documentary, epistolary and administrative literature, and it is interesting to study it in the context of the specific style of this type of writing as regards the translation of Greek prototypes into Slavic. On the other hand, it indirectly testifies to the Ferrara–Florentine Union, an important event for the whole Slavic Orthodox community, but which has understandably been left outside the main focus of the writers who continued to work in Balkan lands already subjected to the Sultan. In this context, some of the works did not reach the Slavic Balkans, but found fertile soil for dissemination in Moldavia. The Slavic translation has a very important unifying feature. In the perspective of the cultural heritage, it should be stressed that the two copies of the Letter appearing in Moldavian anti-heretical collections reproduce the linguistic-orthographical traditions of the Second Bulgarian Empire and its capital Tărnovo – the spelling that includes the two "ier" (ъ and ь) signs and the two nasals. They were a prestigious norm for all Cyrillic literature at that time in the Moldavian principality. The linguistic continuity is only the outward distinguishing trait of the continuity of ideas and of the construction of community and cultural areas. That is how continuity was ensured for the Slavo-Byzantine heritage, and how conditions were created for its transmission in a new epoch, which scholars continue to call, using N. Iorga's apt metaphor, "Byzantium after Byzantium".

Before giving the Slavic text of the Encyclical Letter, we will offer a brief prosopographic catalogue of the persons mentioned in it. This is important, at least because some of them are quite unknown from any other sources besides this text:

- Emperor John VIII Palaiologos (1392–1448, ruled 1425–1448)[47]. He was the next to last Byzantine basileus, the older son of Manuel II Palaiologos and Helena Dragaš. He became a sym-basileus in the early 15th century and autocrat in 1421. He officially assumed power after the death of Manuel II. He sought to establish closer relations with the West, supported the Union and personally took part in the Council of Ferrara–Florence. His efforts to oppose the Ottoman conquest were dashed with the fiasco of the Crusade campaign at the battle of Varna in 1444. It is precisely his deeds, and their consequences, that the Encyclical Letter discusses.

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[47] *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, #21481; J. Gill, *John VIII Palaeologus. A Character Study*, [in]: *Personalities of the Council of Florence and Other Essays*, Oxford 1964, pp. 104–124; *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. II, p. 1053; Ив. Ђурић, *Сумрак Византије: Време Јована VIII Палеолога, 1392–1448*, Београд 1984; Iv. Djurić, *Le crépuscule de Byzance*, Paris 1996.

- The Ecumenical Patriarch Mitrophanes II (4 May 1440–1 August 1443)[48]. As metropolitan of Cyzikos, he took part in, and supported, the Council of Ferrara–Florence. He was appointed ecumenical patriarch by Emperor John VIII Palaiologos, replacing Patriarch Joseph II, who had died in Florence. His actions as patriarch of Constantinople provoked discontent and caused the people to revolt. He died on 1 August 1443 in Constantinople. It is precisely the uncanonical appointments to four Anatolian chairs made by Mitrophanes that the three Oriental patriarchs oppose.

- Philotheus, Patriarch of Alexandria (1435–1459)[49]. He held the chair of Alexandria for a comparatively long time, but his name has gone down in history chiefly in connection with the Council of Ferrara-Florence. He did not personally attend the Council but was represented there, at first by Metropolitan Bishop Mark of Ephesus, and then, because of the latter's evidently hesitant position and ultimate withdrawal from the Union, by Metropolitan Bishop Anthony of Heraclea and Protosyncelle Gregory. Thus, Patriarch Philotheus practically endorsed the conciliar decree of Union. Additional testimonies to this are contained in the letter of thanks in connection with the Union addressed to him by Emperor John VIII Palaiologos as well as a letter from his representative, Protosyncelle Gregory. Moreover, Philotheus personally sent a letter to Pope Eugenius IV on 1 September 1440, in which he expressed the Alexandrian Church's agreement to the Council and the Union[50]. The situation evidently changed afterwards.

- Dorotheus II, Patriarch of Antioch (1436–1454)[51]. He held the chair of Antioch for nearly twenty years. Although he has come down in history chiefly as an opponent of the Union, he was represented at the Council of Florence by Metropolitan Bishop Isidorus of Kiev, and thus took part in affirming the Conciliar definition. His stance in the Letter is different.

- Joachim, Patriarch of Jerusalem (1431–unknown)[52]. He and the preceding two prelates were under the power of Islamic rulers, so to accept the Union may have been very problematic for them. However, he was likewise represented at the Council. The signature of his representative, Dositheus, Metropolitan Bishop of Monembasia, is placed under the Conciliar decree. He too held his chair for a relatively long time. We know that the patriarch of that chair in 1450 was Theophanes II, but we also know the chair was vacant for some time prior to that year.

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[48] *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, #18069.

[49] *Ibidem*, #29906.

[50] G. Hofmann, #33, pp. 39–40; #34, pp. 40–45; #38, pp. 51–53. Regarding these events, see M.-H. Blanchet, *Le patriarcat de Constantinople et le rejet de l'union de Florence*, pp. 319–320.

[51] *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, #5939.

[52] *Ibidem*, #8383.

• Pope Eugenius IV (1431–1447)[53]. Born Gabriele Condulmaro in Venice in the early 1340s, he became pope on 3 March 1431. His main effort aimed at unification with the Eastern Churches, the Orthodox as well as the Armenian and Coptic. Considerable success in this respect was achieved with the decree of union at the Council of Ferrara–Florence. However, since the Union had only a political basis, it subsequently failed due to internal resistance among the Byzantines and the fiasco of the Crusade at the battle of Varna in 1444. He died in Rome on 23 February 1447.

• Arsenius, Metropolitan Bishop of Caesarea of Cappadocia and Exarch of Anatolia[54]. He is not known to us from other sources. He evidently opposed the Union. He went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and initiated the council of the three Oriental patriarchs in Jerusalem. They authorized him to oppose the uncanonical appointments made by Patriarch Mitrophanes II and to represent Orthodoxy as Exarch of Anatolia. He is a main figure in the Letter.

• Pachomius, Metropolitan Bishop of Amasia (in the 1440s)[55]. As hieromonk, he was chosen to take part in the Council of Florence in 1437 and signed its decisions in 1439 as hegumen of the St. Paul Monastery. He succeeded Joasaph as bishop of Amasia in the early 1440s, soon after the enthronement of Mitrophanes II as Patriarch of Constantinople. Two letters to him by Theodore Agalianos are extant[56]. He was evidently a supporter of the Union and one of the four prelates whose uncanonical appointment to the Anatolian chairs provoked the intervention of the Oriental patriarchs.

• N. Metropolitan of Neocaesarea. Nothing is known about him, not even his name. He was prelate of Pontus Polemoniacus, appointed by Patriarch Mitrophanes II, and evidently a supporter of the Union with the Roman Church.

• N. Metropolitan of Tyana. An anonymous prelate of Cappadocia Secunda, appointed by the Patriarch of Constantinople as a supporter of the Union.

• N. Metropolitan Bishop of Mokissa. An anonymous prelate of Cappadocia Tertia. He was a supporter of the Union, enthroned by Patriarch Mitrophanes II.

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[53] J. Gill, *Eugenius IV*, Westminster, Md., 1961; *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. II, p. 744; M. Decaluwe, *A Successful Defeat. Eugene IV's Struggle with the Council of Basel for the Ultimate Authority in the Church, 1431–1449*, Bruxelles 2009.

[54] *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, #1402, as well as all the cited literature related to the Encyclical Letter of the Three Patriarchs.

[55] *Ibidem*, #22216 et #22221; K. Hajdú, *Pachmios, Mitropolit von Amaseia als Handschriftenschreiber: Seine Schrift und die Identität von PLP 22216 und PLP 22221*, "Byzantinische Zeitschrif" 94, 2001, pp. 564–579; M.-H. Blanchet, *Le patriarcat de Constantinople et le rejet de l'union de Florence*, p. 322.

[56] S. Pétridès, *Documents sur la rupture de l'union de Florence*, "Echo d'Orient" 14, 1911, pp. 204–207.

TEXT OF THE *ENCYCLICAL LETTER* ACCORDING TO BAR 636 WITH VARIANT READINGS FROM BAR 685

The two copies, BAR 636 and BAR 685, seem reliable with regard to the Slavic translation of the letter from Greek. In manuscript BAR 636, the text is placed after the text on f. 226r Патрїа́рси ѿ а҃ съвѡ́ въ кѡ̈стаⷮ҇їа гра̀, a list of the archbishops of Constantinople and the ecumenical patriarchs from Mitrophanes (306–314) to Philotheus Coccinos (1354–1355, 1364–1376)[57]. This text was published for the first time in the cited publication. The end of the text is followed by a series of anti-Latin works, beginning on f. 232r Повѣ́сть поле́знаа ѡ̀ латінӹ когда̀ ѿлꙋ́чишѫ ѿ грꙋ́кь. и̇ ѿ ст҃ӹ бж҃їа цр҃кве. и̇ како и̇зѡбрѣ́таша се́бѣ ꙗ́реси ꙗ́же ѡ̇прѣ́снꙑчнꙋ́а слꙋ́жити. и̇ хꙋ́ла на ст҃го дх҃а ⸖. Consequently, the Encyclical Letter is thematically and logically connected to its "textual convoy". In the twin manuscript, preserved in the Yatsimirsky collection, and which we are using in its photocopy version from the Library in Bucharest (BAR 685), the text is accompanied by a similar but slightly different convoy. The approximately twenty sheets preceding it are filled with historical works: lists of Jerusalem patriarchs, Moldavian chronicles, and on f. 215, several interesting chronicle notes in Slavic (in Cyrillic letters) and in Polish (in Latin letters), after which, on ff. 216r–220r, comes the text of the *Encyclical Letter*, followed by the *A Useful Tale about the Latins*. This connects the Letter both to the dogmatic and the historical part of the collection. The given variant readings in BAR 685 are few and are presented in order to highlight some spelling differences, since the text has some invariable traits.

/f. 228б/ Да вѣ́сте въсѝ правосла́вны хрⷭ҇тїа́ни· сїѐ настоѧ́щее писа́нїе ꙗ́же зри́те. прѣпи́са сѧ ѿ чтⷩ҇наго и̇ ст҃го писа́нїа, ст҃хъ трїѐ патрїа́рхъ х҃ и́ въ си́рїи· и̇ є̇ди́ны срѡ́кы приложе́нїа, и̇лѝ ѿа́тї᷍ не и̇ла᷍ въ се́бѣ. ни́ рѣ́чи. Поне́же прїи́де прѣѡ̇ще́нныи митрополить здѐ, ст҃ѣишїѫ митропѡ́лїѫ кеса́рїѫ кападокі́искыѧ· и̇́же и̇ прѣвопрѣсто́лень сӹ́, є̇ѯа́рхъ въсе́и въсточнѣ́и странѣ̀· въкꙋ́пѣ оу̇́бо поклони́ти сѧ въсечⷮ҇номꙋ г҃а на́шего и҃у х҃а гро́боу· и̇ и́же въ і̇е҃рлⷨ҇ѣ ви́дѣти сще́ннаа мѣ́ста· въ ни́хже прѣсла́вннаа съврꙋ́шиша сѧ х҃ва съмотре́нїа таи́нства· въкꙋ́пѣ же и̇ рѣ́щи съ на́ми ꙗ́же ѻ̇ правосла́вїи и̇ бл҃гоче́сти хрⷭ҇тїа́нскаго вели́каго таи́нства. и̇ и̇зꙗ́вити и̇́же въ цр҃игра́дѣ събла́зни въсѝ, за събра́ннѫ коустоудіѫ[58] въ флѡринті́и, и̇́же въ и̇та́лїи скꙋ́рннаго събꙋ́ра. и̇ лати́нскаго съ є̇ѵге́нїе᷍ па́пꙋ᷍

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[57] И. Билярски, М. Цибранска-Костова, *Славянски ръкопис BAR Ms. sl. 636, XVI в., от Библиотеката на Румънската академия в Букурещ*, pp. 115–117; I. Biliarsky, M. Tsibranska-Kostova, *Contra varietatem pugna latissima. Un recueil juridique moldave et son convoi (BAR Ms. sl. 636, XVIᵉ siècle)*, pp. 112–114.
[58] за събра́нноу᷍ коустодіѫ.

просла́вльшаго ꙗже нⷷпоⷣбно.[59] и приложе́нїе ꙗвѣ̈ е́же вѣ́ры на́шеж бжⷵтвнⷨ и непоро́чьнⷨ съложе́нїи, ꙗже е́ вѣ́рꙋж въ е́ди́нꙋ̈ ба́• пӧпи́савше и оӱвѣ́рившё[60], ꙗко и ѿ сна исхо́дй бжⷵвⷤ"ыи дхⷮъ• и ѿпрѣ́снꙋ̈ прости́вше на́ми жрⷷти сꙗ. и поⷧ нати сꙗ ра́дй па́пꙋж• е́ще же и и́на е́лика изъвⷱнꙋ пра́виⷧ беза́кꙋнїа сꙋⷤ и́, съни́де и оӱвꙋⷬди• и ка́ко ꙗⷤ е кꙋ̈зⷥикꙋ мгⷩирофо́нӧ, си́рⷱ мⷶ́тероꙋꙋбі́йца. разбо́инныⷱьскыⷭ[61] кꙋⷩста́тіⷩ граⷣ црⷦвⷷ пртⷧъ въсхы́ти, съ поспѣ́шенїеⷨ е́ретикъ и рⷵⷩныⷣ па́пӧ. и цⷬё грⷱⷹьскӹ і́ѡа́ннꙋ̈ палеѡ́логꙋ̈ латиⷩмꙋⷬвⷵнӹ• вѣ́рныⷯ прⷷтӓ, го́нӓ, мⷶ́чӓ, запрⷷща́ӓ• невѣ́рныⷯ же и злосла́вныⷯ призы́ваӓ, почи́таӓ• ꙗ̈ко сво́ꙗ е́реси съмⷶжⷷ́рникы• и излⷶиха па́че сꙗ присва́ꙗ̈, въ съпроти́вленїе и прⷷрⷷка́нїе православїоӱ и блⷢгоⷱⷵтіоӱ• ꙗⷤ ѿ сего́ ѡⷠбраза мирополидїа скврⷷⷩнаа и нечи́стаа е́пⷠкⷬпⷣїа• по въсꙗⷯⷣꙋⷹ на бжⷵтвныⷣ и стыⷦ прⷮⷧлы, сты́ꙗ вⷷ́ кыꙗ црⷦве кꙋⷩста́тіⷩна граⷣ повелⷷ да поⷣ е́гоⷢвꙋ̈ та́ха ѿблӓ[62] полⷷжⷤꙋщіⷪ пока́зӓ• ꙗ̈ко и́же рⷵⷩныⷣ въсеⷭ̈щеⷩнⷷиⷭ̈шꙋⷪ мирополⷪⷣ кꙋⷬ арⷵ́ⷩⷵенїе, стⷷⷦ̈йшꙗⷯ митропо́лїꙋж кесаⷬїꙋж кападокіⷥⷩскыⷦꙋꙗⷥ• прⷷвоⷬпⷮⷩта́никъ же и е́зⷤа́рхъ въсⷷи въсто́чнⷷй странⷷ̈• ꙗⷤко не тъчїꙗ къ и́нⷦ цⷬⷦвⷷꙿ мирⷪфⷪⷩнъ фаⷮⷬрїꙋⷬⷹхъ, беза́кꙋннаа ржⷩкоположе́нїа повелⷷ латиномꙋⷤⷬꙿⷩныⷣ, нⷤ сⷷ па́че и къ ѡⷤбласти въсⷷ въⷵ̈то́чныꙗ сⷬⷩаны• четⷷⷬⷹ̈иⷷ нержⷩкоположе́ныⷣ, ржⷩкоположиⷪ и мирополидїа, и е́пⷠкⷬпⷪⷣлидїа • въ а́мⷶсіꙗ̈ꙗⷦⷪ ꙗ̈вⷷꙗⷥ ꙗⷤко. но́вⷷⷤ кесаⷬꙋⷦꙗⷥ же и тⷷⷦаⷩа и мⷪкꙋⷵⷣⷩⷹⷪⷩ• латиⷩⷩскаа въсⷷꙗⷦ и мꙋⷬⷩⷵтвоꙋꙗ́ющіⷪ и твⷪⷩⷩⷹⷭⷣⷪⷧ• и́же не тъчїꙗ ѿ сꙋⷤⷣⷪⷹ своⷷ прⷷⷣⷷⷷмⷤⷤⷣⷪⷧⷣ растлⷷⷩⷩⷣⷪⷧ и па́гꙋбⷤⷤⷣ, нⷤ потⷪ́лицⷷ прⷪдⷪⷤⷩⷣⷩⷪⷧⷩⷹⷪⷩ и сⷣⷤⷩⷹⷩⷪⷩ хⷵⷣⷪⷧⷤⷪ стⷶ́да въⷵⷣⷷⷪ та́мо хⷵⷣⷪⷹ хⷵⷩⷪⷧⷪ• та́ко прⷷⷩⷩⷪⷧⷪⷩⷪⷧⷪ и растлⷷⷩⷣⷤⷣⷪⷧ• и мⷩⷩⷪⷧⷤⷷⷩⷪⷩⷣⷪⷧⷩⷣ црⷦⷹⷪⷩ съⷩⷷⷩⷣⷪⷧ хⷪⷩⷣⷪⷹ̈ⷪⷩⷪⷧⷪ хⷣⷤⷪⷩⷪⷧ• тⷪⷩ сего́ ра́дⷣⷪⷩⷪⷧ блⷢгⷪⷹⷵⷣⷪⷹⷪⷩⷪⷧ и вⷷ́рнⷷⷣⷤⷪⷩⷪⷧ и права́вⷣⷩⷣⷷⷪⷩⷪⷧ събⷪⷩⷪⷧ и ревни́телⷷ, сⷷ̈мⷤⷩ и́же рⷵⷩⷣⷩⷪⷧ мⷷⷩⷪⷧ въ ⷣⷤⷩⷪⷧ кесаⷬⷪⷩⷪⷧ капⷣⷪⷩⷣⷪⷧ•нⷣⷷⷪⷧ дꙋ́па зⷣⷪⷷⷪⷧ црⷦⷤⷪⷩⷪⷧ хⷣⷤⷩⷪⷧ иⷣⷤⷷⷩⷪⷧ и па́гⷣⷩⷪⷧ, иⷩⷷⷪⷩⷪⷧ къ прⷷ́вⷪⷩⷪⷧ и зⷣⷪⷷⷵⷪⷹⷤⷪⷩⷪⷩ. помⷣⷤⷩⷤⷷⷩⷪⷧ събⷪ́рнⷷ̈ възⷤⷣⷪⷩⷪⷧ сⷷⷩⷪⷧ ѿ нⷤⷩⷹⷤⷩⷪⷩ тⷤⷩⷷⷪⷩⷪⷧ правⷣⷤⷩⷷⷩⷪⷩ парⷣⷷⷩⷪⷧхⷤⷩⷪⷧ, иⷪⷩ въ сⷣⷷⷪⷩⷪⷩ• фⷣⷤⷷⷪⷩⷪⷧ аⷷⷩⷷⷩⷪⷧⷤⷩⷪⷧскⷩⷪⷧⷤⷪⷩⷪⷩ, иⷣⷤⷩⷪⷧⷣⷷⷩⷤⷪⷩⷪⷧⷤⷩⷩⷷⷩⷪⷩⷪⷧ іⷪⷩⷤⷩⷩⷪⷩⷪⷧⷤⷷⷩⷪⷩⷪ, и дⷣⷷⷩⷷⷩⷪⷩⷪⷧⷩⷣⷩⷹⷩⷪⷩ антиⷪⷹⷤⷩⷤⷩⷪⷩⷪⷧⷤⷪⷩⷪⷧ•

ꙗ̈ да ѿжⷷⷩⷩⷷⷩⷪⷩ неправⷪⷩⷪⷩⷤⷩⷩⷩⷣⷩⷪⷩ- а́щⷤⷩⷪⷩⷪⷧⷣⷪⷩ ѿ въсⷤⷩ ѿбласти своⷪⷩⷷⷩⷩⷪⷧ• ꙗⷤко прⷷⷩⷷⷩⷷⷩⷪⷩⷷⷩⷪⷩ сⷣⷤⷩⷪⷧ и правⷪⷷⷩⷤⷤⷩⷪⷩⷪⷩⷷⷩⷩ• тⷷ̈ꙗⷤ и мⷣⷤⷷⷩⷣⷪ повелⷷⷩⷷⷤⷩⷪⷩ събⷪ́рнⷷ̈ коꙋⷩⷪⷩ, въ и́мⷤⷩ е́диносⷣⷤⷩⷣⷩⷷⷩⷷⷩⷩ и живⷪⷷⷩⷩⷪⷷⷩⷷⷩⷩ и нераⷤⷷ́ⷩⷩⷤⷩⷩ стⷤⷩⷣⷩ трⷮⷷⷩⷪⷤ̈• и́же не за добⷬⷷ́ⷩⷷ́тⷷⷩⷪ ра́дⷣⷩ и блⷢгⷪⷹⷵтⷷⷩⷪⷧ ржⷩкⷪⷷⷩⷷⷩⷪ митрⷪⷷⷩⷷⷩⷹⷩ же и е́пⷩⷩ по въсꙗⷯⷣⷷⷩⷪ и въ вⷷ̈кⷷ̈• е́ще же и и́гⷣⷹⷩⷤⷷⷩ дхⷪ́ⷷⷤⷩⷷⷩⷣ та́ха• та́кⷤⷷⷤⷷ же и сⷤⷩⷩⷣⷷⷩⷣⷤⷩⷷⷩⷪⷩ и дїа́кⷷⷩⷩⷪ, и въⷵ́ⷷⷩⷩⷪ црⷦⷷⷪⷩⷩⷷⷩ просⷷⷷⷩⷩⷪ чⷷⷪⷩ• нⷤ скврⷤ́ⷩⷷⷩⷪ сⷤⷤⷷⷩⷩⷪⷩ и недⷪⷩⷷⷩⷷⷩⷪ• е́реⷷⷩⷪ и гонⷤⷷⷩⷣⷩ православїа въсхⷤ́ⷩⷷⷩⷷⷩⷪ врⷤ́ⷷⷩⷩ тъчⷷⷩⷷⷩⷪ• тⷤⷷⷩⷪⷷⷩⷪⷩ недⷪⷩⷤⷷⷩⷷⷩⷪ тъщеслⷷⷩⷩⷪ и е́реⷷⷩⷪ ѿбра́зⷷⷩⷪ, къ е́пⷩⷩⷪⷩⷣ и мⷷⷩⷷⷩⷪ̈• ꙗⷤ рⷤ́ⷩⷷⷩⷣ спⷣⷷⷩⷷⷩⷤⷩ дⷤⷷⷩⷩⷪ, ꙗⷤ да съ собⷪⷩ па́че растлⷤ̈ⷷ́ⷩ• и хⷪⷷⷤ и́стинаго ба́ на́шего правⷪⷷⷩⷷⷩⷩ стⷪⷷⷩⷪⷩⷪⷩ, никⷶ́ⷩⷪⷩⷷⷩⷪⷩ стⷤ́ⷩ́ха бⷤ́ⷩⷤ̈

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[59] ꙗ̈же нⷷⷷ поⷣбно.

[60] оӱвⷷ́ⷩⷣⷷ́ривⷭ̈ше сꙗ.

[61] разбо́ⷷⷩⷩⷷⷩⷪⷩⷹⷷⷩⷩ.

[62] ѿбласть,

пра́вы же и̇ блгочⷭ҇тїа стѧжа́вшїи плⷪ҇ⷮ· нⷤ прⷮзри́телѧ и̇ бестоу́ный сѫщїи
къ блгочⷭ҇тїоу въсѣ́комоу· сⷩ҇и повелѣ́ваеⷮ ѿ днⷯ҇е безⷣѣ́лный и̇ несщⷷ҇нный бы́ти,
въсѣ́кого сщⷷ҇ннодⷮ҇иствїа и̇ црⷦ҇овнⷶ, доне́лиже и̇стѧ́занїе бѫⷣⷷ҇ блгочⷭ҇тїоу ѡ̇́бще
и̇ въсѣле́нскы· та́ко же сїѫ̇ прїе́мше и̇ неповинѫ́вше, да сѫ́ безⷣѣ́лны и̇ несщⷷ҇нны·
прⷮрѣкⷨ҇ѫщїи же сѧ и̇ съпрⷪ҇тивлⷮ́ѫщⷯ҇ сѧ разбо́иничьскы беза́кѡнⷩ҇ѣ, да сⷯ҇ѫ и̇
прⷪ҇клѧ́ти и̇ ѿлѫ́чени· и̇ съпоспѣ́шьсⷡ҇ѫꙗ̇щⷯ҇їи и̇ съпома́гаⷨ҇ѫщїи въ такѡ́вый· полⷶ́гаⷷ҇ⷮ
же въсѣ́ко прⷪ҇повⷮ҇ⷣ́ника блгочⷭ҇тїю, и̇́же вы́шерⷺ҇еⷩ҇наго въсⷷ̇сⷮ҇ⷮкишаго мирⷪ҇по́лита,
и̇́же прⷮчⷮтⷶ́нⷶ е̇ѯⷶ́рⷯ҇а въсе́и а̇натѡ́лїи, пропⷩ҇овⷮ́дати по всѧ́доу блгочⷭ҇тїе· нестыⷣ́нⷣⷷ҇щⷶ
сѧ къ и̇́стинⷮ ли́ца црⷮ҇ⷦ и̇ли̇ патрїа́рⷯа, и̇́же непра́вомⷯ҇ѫⷬ҇ствѫꙗ̇щⷶⷮ҇ и̇ли̇ дⷮ́жⷯ҇шаго· ни
бога́та вла́стелина, и̇ли̇ прилоу́чьша сѧ члⷦ҇а· нⷯ҇ⷫ дрⷮзновеⷩ҇їемь вⷮ́ры и̇ правосла́вїе
сⷹ́дрⷮ́жⷹ, беⷥ̇ стра́ха и̇ беⷥ̇ сⷹмнⷮ́нїа· по за́повⷮди и̇́мⷮти то́мⷹ свобо́дⷹ, ѿ нⷩ҇инⷮ̇
блгочⷭ҇тїа ради̇· ѡ̇бли́чити, запрⷮ́тити, и̇ и̇спра́вити· и̇́же непра́вⷮ мⷯ҇ⷬ҇ствоу́ющⷶ҇ⷮ
въ всⷮ́кꙋ́ мⷮ́стⷮ въ нⷷ̇ⷩ҇ же а́ще възмⷪ҇жⷮ прїи́ти· ѿ сⷶ́мⷮ нⷶ́ прїе́мⷷ҇ⷹ ѡ̇бⷡ҇аⷧ҇
да́нныⷶ҇ ради̇ нⷶⷶ҇ блⷢ҇ти и̇ си́лⷹ стⷢ҇о дⷯ҇а· е̇́же побⷹ҇�ⷣⷮⷷ҇ сїе̇ съблю́сти, недаропрїѧⷩ҇ⷮ
же и̇ пра́вⷮ блгочⷭ҇тїе· е̇го́же рⷶ҇ⷶ̇ даⷣ̇ [63] сѧ е̇́моу написⷶⷮ҇ⷶ̇ нⷶ́ сⷹⷮⷮ҇ съвⷮⷬ҇нⷮ пⷪ҇́писанⷣ̇
на́шеⷤ҇ рⷹⷶ҇кⷪ҇ⷤ· мца а̇прⷨ҇ⷮ́, в лⷮ́ⷮ, ꙅцѯⷶ́ :⁓. In the outer corner of the page in the
manuscript, bottom left, there is a calculation of the year, made at a later date:
6951 – 5508 = 1443. There are no such calculations in BAR 685.

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[63] да́сть сѧ.

Chapter II

Two Sermons against the "German Delusion" in BAR Ms. Slav. 636

*I*t is known that the theological-dogmatic and confessional opposition between Eastern and Western Christianity grew into intense religious antagonism, which was not only reflected in medieval literature, but nourished the latter with ideas, images, and specific literary genres. Due to the particularities of the cultural-historical conditions in medieval Bulgaria, the extant written material related to this topic in Bulgarian manuscript depositories is not comprehensive. Still, this material is so important that it has impelled scholars to study the whole Slavic manuscript heritage. In the last few years, these efforts have led to the appearance of two indisputably valuable Bulgarian contributions, i.e., the books by Angel Nikolov:

1. *A Useful Tale about the Latins. A Monument of Medieval Slavic Controversy against Catholicism* (Sofia 2011) ["Повест полезна за латините. Паметник на средновековната славянска полемика срещу католицизма" (София 2011)];

2. *Between Rome and Constantinople. Anti-Catholic Literature in Bulgaria and the Slavic Orthodox World (XI–XVII c.)* (Sofia 2016) ["Между Рим и Константинопол. Из антикатолическата литература в България и славянския православен свят (XI–XVII в.)" (София 2016)].

The latter book is a successful attempt to collect in a single volume, and to reassess, part of the most important Slavic translations of representative Byzantine works against Catholicism, based on manuscript sources spanning from the 14th to the 18th century. It is notable that, in both of his books, the author has used data from BAR 636, inasmuch as both this manuscript and its twin, contain copies of an emblematic work of Orthodox controversy against Catholicism: Повѣсть поле́знаа ѡ̀ латинꙮ́ когдà ѿлѫ́чишꙗ̂ ѿ грꙋ́кь. и̑ ѿ с҃тꙑ̂ б҃жїа ц҃рквⷷ. и̑ како и̑ꙁѡ̀врѣ́тшаша

се́бѣ е҆реси е҆же ѻ҆прѣснѡчна̀ слоу́жити. и҆ хꙋ́ла на ст҃го Дх҃а ⸕. This is the so-called *A Useful Tale about the Latins* (ff. 232r–f. 254v). It is part of a well-structured and previously conceived cycle of anti-Latin works, which form the richest and largest section of the controversy section in the work. Belonging to it are also ѡ̑ фра́нзѣ . и҆ ѡ̑ про́чꙋй латина̀; и҆же въ ст҃хъ ѿц҃а на́шего ни́кѡна; и҆на повѣ́ ннкиꙗфора калнста. о҆ вѣрѣ хв҃ѣ́, etc. Included in this section are the two sermons we will focus on. The subject of analysis are two texts that have the structural framework both of a narrative discourse and precept, but are also written in a tone of refutation typical for controversy in general. Both texts have been thoroughly analyzed in Andrey Popov's work, which in many respects remains unsurpassed to date[1]. They are united around the emblematic figure of Peter the Stammerer. They have been disseminated under the following titles:

1. Сло́во ѡ̑ нѣмѣꙋьскѡ̑ прѣлꙋ́щени. ка́ко наоꙋ́чи гꙋ́гнивыи пе́тръ, е҆реси.

2. Сло́во ѿц҃а на́шего ѳео̑сі́а пеще́рскаго и҆гоу́мена. къ и҆зꙗсла́воу кнꙗзꙋ. о латинѡ҃.

Before going on to the concrete analysis of the texts, we should note that in most of the historical studies devoted to them, as well as in the cited books by A. Nikolov, these works have been examined from a historical perspective, and with respect to two levels of anti-Latin controversy: theology and propaganda[2]. Adhering to the generally accepted term "anti-Latin controversy"[3], we will look for a complementary, but important, dimension of the term, i.e., the semantics of expression, images and metaphors, the words that serve as markers of the concept of the other, the alien, the non-Orthodox. The abundant bibliography on Peter the Stammerer, to whom whole Internet sites are devoted, includes some valuable studies[4]. The latter examine medieval anti-Latin controversy through the linguistic-cultural conceptualization of otherness, other religion, "people of a different faith", and discuss the specific methods for studying "primitive storylines in texts"[5]. Here we will add two more reference points for our analysis:

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[1] А. Попов, *Историко-литературный обзор древнерусских полемических сочинений против латинян (XI–XV в.)*, Москва 1875.

[2] А. Николов, *Между Рим и Константинопол. Из антикатолическата литература в България и славянския православен свят (XI–XVII в.)*, София 2016, p. 8.

[3] Henceforth the terms "anti-Latin" and "anti-Catholic" will be used synonymously.

[4] А. Криза, *Петр Гугнивый и Папесса. Антилатинская церковнославянская полемическая литература в Центральной Европе*, "Studia Slavica Hungarica" 53.2, 2008, pp. 397–405; О. В. Зуева, *Лингвокоммуникативная характеристика последователей латинской веры в древнерусской церковной полемике*, "Веснік БДУ" 4.2, 2014, pp. 26–30.

[5] А. Криза, *Петр Гугнивый и Папесса*, p. 401; И. Н. Данилевский, *Повесть временных лет. Герменевтические основы источниковедения летописных текстов*, Москва 2004, pp. 271–272.

• The term "lexical marker" can be used as a specific kind of the more general "linguistic marker" and of the general idea of marker as a sign by which an object is designated and distinguished from another object[6]. Thus, even without being used frequently, a lexeme may have a connotation within a specific context and be marked through its connection with other words found in its textual environment. The word thus creates a semantic recognition code. In the narrow linguistic sense, the term "linguistic marker" is successfully applied as a feature of structural-typological studies in the field of phonology, morphology, and lexicology through a set of traits and by introducing oppositions between marked and unmarked elements of a given set.

• The second aspect of our observations will be the common grammatical and dictionary data, used to check whether it is possible to make a linguistic diagnosis of the chosen text in support of existing hypotheses as to where and when the first translations from the "Slavic dossier of the Great Schism" were made[7].

Here is a brief contemporary summary of the written history of the two texts. The first sermon (henceforth *S1*) has been documented based on the earliest South Slavic copies from the 14th century (in manuscript № 12 from the Holy Virgin Monastery in Montenegro, of Bulgarian origin, and manuscript № 11 from the National Library of Serbia in Belgrade, of Serbian origin)[8]. The most important conclusion, from a source studies perspective, is that the sermon belongs to an initial corpus of anti-Latin translated works, about which A. Nikolov says: "[...] it may be assumed that it was precisely in the second half of the 11th century and the first decades of the 12th that some of the earliest Slavic translations of a number of controversial texts against the Latin heresy were prepared – a large scale activity that may be linked to the actively functioning, at that time, western Bulgarian monastic literary centers in Sredets and the vicinity, although we cannot exclude the possibility the translations were made in Ochrid or even Mount Athos. In this way, the initial nucleus of a corpus of Slavic anti-Catholic texts was formed, which was gradually added to"[9]. We find grounds for this statement in the occurrence of similar storyline elements in the narrative about Peter the Stammerer in ancient Russian chronicles, chronographic works and historical compilations such as the *Chrono-*

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[6] M. Viel, N. S. Trubetzkoy et R. O. Jakobson, *À l'origine de la notion de «marque» en linguistique et de sa fortune depuis cinquante ans*, "Revue des études slaves" 55.2, 1983, pp. 375–382; www.persee.fr/doc/slave [retrieved 12.02.2017].

[7] А. Николов, *Между Рим и Константинопол*, p. 21.

[8] *Ibidem*, pp. 85–86; partial edition of the copy from the first manuscript, *ibidem*, p. 76; partial edition according to the second manuscript in А. Криза, *Петр Гугнивый и Папесса*, p. 400, available at www.digital.nbs.bg.ac.yu.

[9] А. Николов, *Между Рим и Константинопол*, pp. 19–21.

graph on the Great Presentation [*Хронограф по великому изложению*], compiled not later than the 1090s[10], the *Russian Prime Chronicle* [*Повесть временных лет*] (early 12th century, henceforth *PVL*), *Greek and Roman Chronograph of second redaction* [*Летописец елински и римски от втора редакция*[11]], *Complete Chronographic Paleia* [*Пълната хронографска Палея*[12]]. In *PVL* the mythical Peter the Stammerer, an apostate pope, is considered to be the founder of the Latin ("German") heresy, and is mentioned in the context of the events of the year 988 – the baptism of Vladimir in the true Christian faith, and the need for the ruler to differentiate himself from all heresy at the very start of his initiation[13]. A. Nikolov assumes that, through Byzantine clergymen, the story reached the Russian lands as part of a South Slavic collection of controversy texts[14].

The second sermon (henceforth *S2*), as its title suggests, was created in a Russian environment. It has three known text redactions, the first and most archaic of which is known from 14th century copies (the Paissius Collection from the Kirillo-Belozersky Monastery, late 14th–early 15th century)[15]. The latter, which is present in the Moldavian manuscripts under study, was composed from various sources, including *S1*. The very fact, however, that the title of the work connects the founder of the Kiev-Pechora monastery Theodosius Pechersky (†1074) to his spiritual disciple the Kievan prince Izyaslav Yaroslavich (1054, with interruptions until 1069), grandson of Prince Vladimir I, again situates the purpose of this anti-Latin work of controversy within a specific historical context contemporaneous with the Great Schism. The debates regarding its authenticity were resolved in favour of the authorship of Theodosius Pechersky[16]. The storyline related to Peter the Stammerer in this narrative is evidently a secondary insertion and was not written

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[10] О. В. Творогов, *Древнерусские хронографы*, Ленинград 1975.

[11] *Ibidem*, pp. 111–159, about Peter the Stammerer, pp. 144–145 in particular.

[12] О. В. Творогов, *Древнерусские хронографы*, p. 258; А. Попов, *Историко-литературный обзор*, p. 25.

[13] *Повесть временных лет*, подготовка текста, перевод и коментарии О. В. Творогов, [in:] *Библиотека литературы Древней Руси*, под ред. Д. С. Лихачова и др., т. 1 (XI–XII века), Санкт-Петербург 1997; www.lib.pushkinskijdom.ru [retrieved 01.02.2018].

[14] А. Николов, *Между Рим и Константинопол*, p. 77.

[15] А. Попов, *Историко-литературный обзор*, pp. 69–81.

[16] И. П. Еремин, *Литературное наследие Феодосия Печерского*, "Труды отделения древнерусской литературы" 5, 1947, pp. 151–163, edition of the archaic redaction on the pp. 170–173; published also in the selected *Works of Theodosius Pechersky. Поучения и молитвы Феодосия Печерского*, подготовка текста, перевод и комментарии Н. В. Понырко, [in:] *Библиотека литературы Древней Русы*, под ред. Д. С. Лихачова и др., т. 1 (XI–XII века), Санкт-Петербург 1997; www.lib.pushkinskijdom.ru [retrieved 22.03.2018].

by Theodosius Pechersky himself, as it is absent from the most archaic edition[17]. Here *S2* will be used mostly as an auxiliary source for the analysis, and when referring to the edition of the Moldavian collections in order to illustrate some point.

The two copies from the two Moldavian manuscripts used here are relatively late and have not been published until now. The two tales in them were disseminated together with *A Useful Tale about the Latins*; moreover, their presence in the Moldavian collections supports Nikolov's thesis that medieval writers quite rarely copied separate controversial texts; but more often, whole collections of such works[18]. This fact indicates two possibilities: the language of the sermons was preserved in its authentic character, but the realities referred to where transformed due to misunderstanding, additional interpretation, association and other factors familiar from the history of medieval literature. In any case, the later copies may yield information needed to "restore the dossier of the origin of the text"[19].

SEMANTIC CODES IN *S1*

1. The name Петръ Гѫгнивъıи

It is a semantic sub-type of the *nomina personalia* and, as a nickname, is based on a qualitative adjective designating a physical defect of voice and speech. The lexicographic interpretation places the adjective гѫгънивъ in a biblical context – Mark 7: 32, according to the Old Bulgarian Zographou gospel, the Codex Marianus, St. Sabba's Book, and points to Isaiah 35: 6 in Parimeyniks (Book of paroimiai), corresponding to the Greek word μογίλαλος, derived from μόγις and λαλέω, literally, "one who has difficulties in speaking"[20], as well as to biblical periphrases from the Codex Suprasliensis and the Euchologium Sinaiticum[21]. The corresponding Slavic words from the biblical context are invariably defined in the dictionaries as "stammering; one who has a speech defect". They correspond to

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[17] П. Еремин, *Литературное наследие Феодосия Печерского*, p. 141.

[18] А. Николов, *Между Рим и Константинопол*, p. 26.

[19] И. Н. Данилевский, *Повесть временных лет*, p. 271.

[20] *A Greek-English Lexicon*, compiled by H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, with a revised supplement, Oxford 1996, p. 1140.

[21] *Старобългарски речник*, т. 1, София 1999, p. 384; *Старославянский словарь (по рукописям X–XI веков)*, под редакцией Р. М. Цейтлин, Р. Вечерки, Э. Благовой, Москва 1994, p. 181; И. И. Срезневский, *Материалы для словаря древнерусского языка*, т. 1, Санкт-Петербург 1893, p. 608; *Словарь русского языка XI–XVII вв.*, т. 2, Москва 1989, p. 404; З. Рибарова, З. Хауптова, *Григоровичев паримейник*. II. *Лексика. Index verborum*, Скопје 2014, p. 132.

the basic meaning of one of the most popular sermons, Isaiah 35: 6, related to the salvation of man, the restoration of human integrity, the return to harmony, and the activation of the human senses, through true faith and divine grace ("Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped. […] And the tongue of the dumb [the stammerer] shall sing": ꙗсьнъ бѫдетъ ѩзъꙑкъ гѫгнивъꙑихъ). This is a recurring topos in medieval sources[22]. In various medieval Slavic texts, the semantic field of the trait "speech disorder" is formed likewise by the lexemes: гнѫсивъ, гѫгнꙗвъ, ꙃаꙗкливъ, лопотивъ, нѣмъ, нѣмоглаголати ("to speak unclearly, stammering"), нѣмотованиѥ (младеньчьско нѣмотование in Patriarch Euthymius, meaning unclear, disconnected, immature, uncultivated speech), etc.[23]. The etymon of the Slavic adjective гѫгнивъ is of very ancient Indo-European origin, and onomatopoeic in character; it has left traces in Sanskrit, Greek, Persian words with the meaning of "making unclear sounds like animals and birds; to speak inarticulately, to hum, to murmur"; in modern Slavic languages and dialects, the prevalent meaning is "to speak in a nasal voice, to snuffle", i.e., rhinolalia[24]. The adjective in the name of Peter the Stammerer acquires a specific personal meaning and a makes a metaphorical shift from a concrete speech disorder to the general semantic trait of unclear speech and then to a generalized reference to non-Christian, heretic, violator, profaner of the Word of God. The idea of Logos as a manifestation of God was preceded in Greek and Roman antiquity by the notion of the civilized person as one who has a personal way of expressing himself, and in opposition to him, the barbarian who cannot speak clearly and is incapable of the act of verbal communication (βάρβαρος "one who is not a Greek, does not speak Greek; alien, of a foreign land, foreigner; one who speaks unclearly, incomprehensibly")[25]. Verbal and linguistic incapacity is a form of alterity and separation from the community. This deficiency may be attributed both to the Hellenes and Pagans, who are metaphorically called "speechless" because they are not familiar with the Word of God, and to the heretics, who desecrate and distort

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[22] *Библия, сиреч книгите на Свещеното писание на Ветхия и Новия Завет*, София 1982, p. 850.

[23] Т. Илиева, *Субстантивное употребление имен прилагательных и других слов с адъективным значением в средневековом болгарском языке. Субстантивно употребляемые прилагательные – названия лиц*, "Linguistique Balkanique" 56.2–3, 2017, pp. 211–230; О. В. Зуева, *Лингвокоммуникатив ная характеристика последователей латинской веры*, pp. 26–27; F. Miklosich, *Lexicon Palaeoslovenico-Graeco-Latinum*, emendatum auctum, Neudruck der Ausgabe, Wien 1862–1865 (reprint 1977), p. 150; *Старобългарски речник*, т. 1, 1999, p. 1027; И. И. Срезневский, *Материалы для словаря*, т. 1, 1893, p. 608.

[24] *Български етимологичен речник*, т. 1, 1971, p. 298; *Этимологический словарь славянских языков. Праславянский лексический фонд*, под ред. О. Н. Трубачева, т. 7, 1980, pp. 81–82.

[25] *A Greek-English Lexicon*, p. 306.

the Word. That is why the name Пєтръ Гжгнивъıи proves an especially suitable emblem of the Orthodox attitude to the otherness of the Latins, who are declared to be heretics: in Greek, Πέτρος Μογγός, from μογγός – "a person with a hoarse voice, husky voice, unclear voice"[26]. The placement of this person in the title of *S1* together with a derivative from the onym нѣмци (нѣмьчьскоѥ прѣльщениѥ) and the unambiguous qualificative noun ересь related to his views, provides a framework for the storyline to be discussed. In the numerous studies on this key figure, two aspects stand out:

– Analysis of the semantic motivation underlying the name, which has led to the creation of a mythical character. Remaining valid in this respect is the assumption that in the Greek linguistic environment, where the legendary storyline probably emerged, the name of the supreme apostle Peter, called Magnus, was associated with the name Μογγός, so that even by his name, the founder of the heretical doctrine could be profaned, pejorated, and reduced to the exact opposite of his positive antipode. The false Peter is an anti-apostle. In the words of A. Popov, who presents a comprehensive review of preceding studies on this topic, and especially those of J. Hergenroeter and Baron Gustav A. Rosenkampff, "Peter the Stammerer is not a person but an abstract opposite of St. Apostle Peter"[27]. To oppose the authentic and the fake in a single name is a frequently employed rhetorical device[28].

– The second question concerns the historical foundation of the name. Among numerous attempts made to establish name analogies, the prevalent association made today is with the monophysite patriarch of the same name, Peter III Mongos (477–29 October 490), who exercised his office in Alexandria, and whose patron saint was the apostle Peter, as Alexandria was the city where the apostle's disciple St. Mark had suffered martyrdom. The biographical data about the moderate monophysite Peter III Mongos present him as involved in the dramatic struggle for Church unity in the 5th century, and show him as being in changeable relations with Rome and Constantinople; he was ultimately involved in the events related to the first great schism between Christian churches after the Fourth Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon in 451, known as the Acacian Schism of 484–519[29]. This allows us to look for a historical basis for the mythical character, who subsumes in

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[26] *Ibidem*, p. 1140.

[27] А. Попов, *Историко-литературный обзор*, p. 21; see also А. С. Павлов, *Критические опыты по истории древнейшей греко-русской полемики против латинян*, Санкт-Петербург 1878, p. 24; И. Ведюшкина, П. Гугнивый, П. Монг, *Диалог со временем*, "Альманах интеллектуальной истории" 12, 2004, pp. 309–312.

[28] О. В. Зуева, *Лингвокоммуникативная характеристика*, p. 27.

[29] E. Wipszycka, *Les élections épiscopales en Égypte aux VIe–VIIe siècles*, [in:] *Episcopal elections in Late Antiquity*, eds. J. Leemans et al., Berlin 2011, pp. 259–292.

himself the image of the apostate pope and heretic, and adapts flexibly to the narratives and polemical aims of the anti-Latin controversy related to the rift between Rome and Constantinople in the Great Schism of 1054[30].

It is noteworthy that two homonyms appear in Slavic literature, each present in a specific textual environment. Although the lexicographic sources do not present these two names as separate name combinations, we can generalize, based on the extant data, that Пєтръ Гѫгнивъꙑи, a monophysite patriarch, is mentioned in the *Chronicle of George Hamartolos* and also in the earliest preserved Slavic Kormchaya, that of Ephraim, dating from the late 11th–early 12th century and based on an Old Bulgarian protograph (in the work of Presbyter Timotheus against the heresies, chapter 11, against the monophysites, called "the headless", because they were left without their leader Peter the Stammerer[31]). From here, it passed into other kormchayas. His mythical namesake and "founder" of the Latin heresy appears in chronicles and chronographical works (*PVL*, *Greek and Roman Chronography from second redaction*, *Complete Chronographic Paleia*), and through them, in other types of books (the *Menaion of Macarius*, where the storyline is explicitly indicated as borrowed "from the Chronography"); in Bulgarian, Serbian and Russian controversial collections from the 14th century and later; in South Slavic Euchologia; in the *Order of Reception of the Latins into the Orthodox Faith*; in later diverse monuments (like the *Printed Book of Cyril* against the heresies and in defense of Orthodoxy, published in Moscow in 1644), where the story about Peter the Stammerer becomes part of another anti-Latin work, known as ѡ римскомъ отъпадении, and through it, is included in the Printed Kormchaya of 1653[32]; in later translated works of Slavic literature, stemming from the official doctrinal line of refutation, narrative-apocryphal in nature, and even possessing some features of a pamphlet. It logically follows that the chronographical textual environment proved suitable for associating two anthroponyms, because it was easiest to insert the story of Peter the Stammerer, the mythical first hierarch of the Latin heretics, precisely within a historical narrative. An additional circumstance is the fact that the non-extant Old Russian work *Хронограф по великому изложению* contains

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[30] И. Ведюшкина, *Петр Гугнивый и Петр Монг*, p. 312.

[31] В. Бенешевич, *Древнеславянская кормчая XIV титулов без толкований*, т. 1, Санкт-Петербург 1907 (reprint Leipzig 1976), p. 731; К. А. Максимович, *Византийская сингагма 14 титулов без толкований в древнеболгарском переводе. Славяно-греческий, греческо-славянский и обратный (славянский) словоуказатели*, т. 1–2, Frankfurt am Main 2010, p. 422; И. Ведюшкина, *Петр Гугнивый и Петр Монг*, pp. 310–311; *Словарь древнерусского языка*, т. 2, 1989, p. 404.

[32] А. Николов, *Между Рим и Константинопол*, p. 77; А. Попов, *Историко-литературный обзор*, pp. 19–20.

precisely the Old Bulgarian translation of *Chronicle of George Hamartolos*, dating from the 10ᵗʰ–11ᵗʰ century. We see that the sources containing the two homonyms are interwoven. That is why *S1* is defined in A. Popov's book as a "chronicle tale". For this purpose, it was probably starting from a Greek basis that strands of legendary plot were combined, containing elements drawn from biblical narrative, but re-semanticized, reinterpreted in the spirit of opposition to the Latins. Marks of chronicular discourse are evident in the attempts to place the events in a historical framework. In this respect, we should point out several reference points.

First, it is noticeable that the title of pope, attributed to the mythical character, is missing in *S1*, but is present in *S2* – и сътвѡ́рищѧ ѥго па́пѫ ри̑млѣне – and in later re-workings of the story. In 16ᵗʰ-century text variants written for the purpose of anti-Uniate propaganda, he is a "Roman pope and lecher"[33]. In *Complete Chronographic Paleia* and *PVL*, which are based on the same prototype text, the ecclesiastic institution is presented descriptively through the phrase въzприꙗти, въсхватити прѣстолъ римскꙑи, while in *S1* the writer restricts himself to the spatial topos, using the neutral verb приити въ Римъ and the associative marker for otherness, for violation of the existing order contained in the expression поставити свои zаконъ. In this case, свои a lexical marker not only of identity, but also of difference form the commonly held beliefs. The word zаконъ, for its part, points to a wide range of meanings, but in this case is mainly placed in opposition to the true law, that of God. The linguistic structures in the two texts differ. Those specific to *S1* place the text in the category of primitive text storylines, whose primary semantic code is narrative, the accumulation of actions and their results. The pseudo-historicity of the plot in *S1* is built not an actual historical event, but on the transformation of element of biblical stories and the above-mentioned rhetorical device of attaching a contrary content to the same familiar object or subject, for the purpose of pejoration, intentional depreciation, going as far as derogatory semantics. While in the chronicular text variants of the storyline, Peter the Stammerer appears after the Seventh Ecumenical Council (787), in *S1* the time of his appearance is unclear. But the text intentionally refers to the dawn of Christianity, before the religion was became officially established with the Edict of Milan in 313. Several symbolic legends are related one after the other, which in their plots resemble fairy tales. The following semantic nuclei emerge. Placed in opposition to ancient Christian events in pagan Rome – the persecution of Christians under the emperor Nero (37–68) and the martyrdom of St. Apostle Peter – is the anti-apostle; the nominal antipodes are complemented by Peter Simon, who will glorify God and will become the shepherd of Christ's flock (according to John 21: 15–19), and Si-

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[33] А. Криза, *Петр Гугнивый и Папесса*, p. 399.

mon Magus, the forefather of all heresies and of simony (according to Acts 8: 9–11, 18–20); the Antichrist rises against the Christian doctrine, but is vanquished: въ сжботж бѡ бъі побѣда х҃ва. спаде а́нтихри́стъ съ нб҃съ съ бѣсы свои́ми. The ideological implication is clear: the battle of Orthodoxy against Catholicism is so fundamental, that it is related to the origins of Christianity and involves the very existence of the faith; that is why the text uses legendary archaization. By contrast, the chronicular versions of the same story contain other ideological messages, related to a theological-doctrinal understanding of the deviations of the Latins, such as: the violation of pentarchy and the exclusion of Rome from communion with the other patriarchal thrones, those of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem; iconoclasm, including the non-veneration of the Cross; the purchase of positions in the Church, i.e., simony in its actual manifestation; the failure to confess the official Symbol of Faith. The inserted tale of Peter the Stammerer in *Paleia* and *PVL* is situated in the context of the history of the ecumenical councils and the Christianization of the ruler, the institutionalization of the faith. The legendary framework in *S1*, which precedes and motivates the appearance of the story about Peter the Stammerer, is based on the apocryphal "Acts of Peter" and "Acts of Apostles Peter and Paul", borrowing from them the following elements: the ascension of Simon Magus to heaven; his fall from heaven, equated with his moral fall; his dismemberment into four parts, i.e., his loss of identity and integrity; his death precisely on the Sabbath, by force of the prayers of the apostles Peter and Paul[34]. Similarly, the apocryphal *Vita of the Blessed Apostle Peter* contains a story about the persecution of the Christians under Nero and the crucifixion of Christ's apostle in the center of Rome[35]. The mention of the Seventh Ecumenical Council in *S1* defines the upper historical limit, the final temporal frame of the narrative. In this segment, there is a difference even between the most archaic South Slavic copies. In *Belgrade 11*, the word "council" is in the singular: на .з҃. съборѣ, and in *Pljevlja 12* and the Moldavian copies, it is in the plural: и̏ прѡкла́ша и̏ ст҃їи ѿц҃и на з҃. мы̏ съвѡ́рѣхь. In the former case, there is a direct connection to the familiar chronicular framework of the story of Peter the Stammerer, and for the latter, there is a possible interpretation that coincides with the mythologization of the early Christian storyline about the Apostle Peter and Simon Magus. Both versions, however, add a previously inexistent doctrinal rejection by a supreme ecclesiastic authority, which was missing here, unlike other heresies, and therefore had to be created.

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[34] А. Попов, *Историко-литературный обзор*, p. 20; К. Истомин, *Источник. Слова о немечеческом прелщении, как научи их гугнивый Петр ереси*, "Христианское чтение" 2, 1904, p. 346.

[35] *Стара българска литература*, т. 1. *Апокрифи*, съставителство и редакция Д. Петканова, София 1982, pp. 183–184.

Consequently, *S1* retains traces of a naive initial nucleus of text, which asserts the rejection of the Latins by means of semantic biblical archetypes and their transformation into legends and apocryphal micro-storylines. This could be taken as a textual proof of the antiquity and primary status of the legendary storyline. Together with this, it is notable that the only concrete accusation against the Latins in this introductory "chronicular" part of *S1* is the reference to their fasting on the Sabbath. But instead of the word "fast", which is missing even from the oldest South Slavic copies, both Moldavian manuscripts use the descriptive expression (incorrectly in BAR 636, and correctly in BAR 685 (нє) ꙗдать масà въ дн҃ь сꙋ́ботныи). Inasmuch as fasting is outwardly perceived as refraining from food, in a linguistic perspective we may assume there is a metonymic substitution here. But most probably, this is a later insertion in the storyline, since the earliest South Slavic copies do not contain it; there are no signs of it in the copies published by A. Popov[36]. It is possible that, because of its contiguity with *A Useful Tale about the Latins*, to which it was most often joined, *S1* may have been influenced by the accusation that Catholic monks did not observe the forty-day fast and ate meat on the Saturday[37]. Saturday was associated with the Sabbath fast of the Latins – an accusation placed foremost early on, in the first polemical anti-Latin works of 9th-century Byzantine literature; but paradoxically, in *S1* Saturday is only a sacred topos and a mythological reference point, from which the outward, physically recognizable deviations of the Latins begin – foremost, the shaving of beards. It was only later, for instance in the Printed Kormchaya, that the introduction of the Sabbath fast, in keeping with the Judaic model, was attributed to Peter the Stammerer[38]. Regarding the text under consideration, it seems important to focus on when things happened, since when the deviations date, and not on what these deviations consist in exactly. However, there must certainly have been some archetypal motif, because in the early South Slavic copies of the *Order of Reception of the Latins into the Orthodox Faith* the liturgical formula requires that the heretic renounce the Latin faith and the so-called сꙋботьство with the addition иже петръ гꙋгнивъıи въ римѣ оꙋставилъ єстъ[39]. There are many early examples where the events that transpired between Simon Magus and St. Peter on the Sabbath were linked to the Sabbath fast of the Latins, respectively, the tracing of the Latin heresy back to Simon Magus, the originator of all heresies[40]. It is logical to assume that the storyline about Peter

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[36] А. Попов, *Историко-литературный обзор*, p. 22; А. Николов, *Между Рим и Константинопол*, p. 76; А. Криза, *Петр Гугнивый и Папесса*, p. 400.

[37] А. Николов, *Между Рим и Константинопол*, p. 260.

[38] А. Попов, *Историко-литературный обзор*, p. 19.

[39] *Ibidem*, p. 27.

[40] *Ibidem*, pp. 24, 112; К. Истомин, *Источник. Слова о немеческом прелщении*, p. 346.

the Stammerer was joined to the legend immediately after the appearance of the mythical character, i.e., at a very early date. The comparison of the Latins to Jews and their "Judaizing" was one of the earliest "polemical hyperboles" in anti-Latin controversy[41]. It was progressively complemented with accusations of Arianism, Nestorianism, Armenianism, Paulicianism, and especially iconoclasm, based on assimilation due to the similarity of certain deviations; these were meant to reinforce the idea of otherness from the Orthodox. Such assimilations may be found in the lists of 86 deviations of the Latins, published by Jean-Baptiste Cotelier as early as 1686[42].

In contrast with *S1*, the historical framework in which the storyline about Peter the Stammerer is placed in *S2* resembles the chronicular narrative and was evidently influenced by it. There is an emphasis on the new, Christian, i.e., authentic, history of pagan Rome, a city that, ever since the time of Constantine the Great, was projected on the New Rome and New Jerusalem – Constantinople. The insertion was ideologically motivated by the idea, typical for Byzantine cosmopolitanism, that the capital of the Byzantine Empire was the center of the Christian universe[43]. In *S2*, a typical distinction is made between pagans, designated as ρимлѣне, and the residents of Constantinople, called ромеи. The spatial topos is not delineated by the name "Byzantion", even though the text specifies that Constantine the Great съж́да себѣ гра́ велїи, на оу́сты пѡ́нта. The new start of universal history is marked by symbolic designations for Constantinople. Consequently, at the nominative level, pagan and Christian life are put in mutual opposition, which recalls the basic opposition in *S1*, serving as a backdrop to the character of the apostate pope. *S2* is more complete in its, so to say, "prosopography". It presents additional, secondary, information. Apart from the familiar characteristic, that he was ρѣ́чїѫ гъ́гнивъ, it is indicated that Peter the Stammerer came from a Latin family ѿ оу́дне̂. The derivative homonym shows traces of a phonetic variant of names borrowed from Greek[44]. In *Letter of Prince Yaroslav Svetopolchich about the Latin Faith* by the Russian metropolitan bishop Nicephorus, who held the bishop's throne in Kiev from 1104 to 1121, it said that the Romans were conquered ѿ ѵандилъ, иже наричаютсіа нѣмцы[45]. In *A Brief Tale about the Latins*, in a Serbian version from the 13th–14th

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[41] *Послания митрополита Никифора*, отв. ред. В. В. Мильков, послание на латин, перевод Г. Г. Баранкова, комментарии В. В. Мильков, Москва 2000, p. 108.

[42] J.-B. Cotelerius, *Ecclesiae Graeca Monumenta*, t. 3. *Luteciae Parisiorum*, 1686, pp. 506–508.

[43] I. Biliarsky, *La ville, les héros et l'Univers*, [in:] *Forma formans. Studi in onore di Boris Uspenskij*, Napoli 2010, pp. 63–76.

[44] Cf. *Оуалентъ, Валентъ, Οὐάλης; Оуалентинианъ, Валентиниан, Οὐάλεντινιανός, Βαλεντῖνοι* – К. А. Максимович, *Византийская сингагма 14 титулов без толкований*, p. 29.

[45] *Поучения и молитвы Феодосия Печерского*, подготовка текста, перевод и комментарии

century, the terms ѡуандалъ and нѣмьць are identical in meaning[46]. ѿ оу́а́нѣ́ in *S2* is an exonym for some of the German tribes: Vandals, in Latin: Wandali, Vandili, in Greek: Βάνδαλοι, notorious for the devastation of Rome in 455 in the time of the emperor Valentinian III. The term was discussed in anti-Latin polemical literature as early as the 11th century[47]. It does not occur in the first and most archaic version of the Tale, whose author is Theodosius. Only a complete analysis of all cases when the term is used in the old texts would enable us to clarify whether in this particular case in *S2* there is a secondary semantic code referring to "Vandals, Barbarians". Also debatable is the question as to the etymology and meaning of the word *nyemtsi* in each separate context; the primary meaning is "designation of West Europeans; foreigners, whose language is incomprehensible"[48]. According to O. Zueva, in the original Russian and translated anti-Latin works, current in the Russian lands in the 11th–13th century, the word *nyemets* already had an invariably negative meaning of Vandal, barbarian[49]. There are numerous cases of the word being used to designate heretics in general, but this meaning has not been studied by types of texts[50]. To sum up, the hyperonyms are *Romans* (with an emphasis on paganism) and *nyemtsi*, *Latini*, *Latintsi*, *Franki*, *Franzi* (*Fruzi*) or *Germani*, *Normani*, as a general designation of Western heretics-Catholics; the hyponyms are: *Amalfiti*, *Benedtsi* (*Venetians*), *Itali*, *Catalani*, *Longobardi*, etc.[51]

Н. В. Понырко, [in:] *Библиотека литературы Древней Руси*, под ред. Д. С. Лихачова и др., т. 1 (XI–XII века), Санкт-Петербург 1997, p. 74; www.lib.pushkinskijdom.ru [retrieved 22.01.2017].

[46] А. Николов, *Между Рим и Кностантинопол*, p. 277.

[47] T. Kolbaba, *Byzantine Perceptions of Latin Religious "Errors": Themes and Changes from 850 to 1350*, [in:] *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, eds. A. Laiou and R. Mottahedeh, Washington 2001, p. 135.

[48] *Словарь русского языка*, т. 11, 1986, p. 178; И. И. Срезневский, *Материалы для словаря*, т. 2, 1902, p. 486.

[49] О. В. Зуева, *Лингвокоммуникативная характеристика*, p. 27.

[50] Д. Петканова, „*Латини*" *и* „*немци*" *в старобългарската литература и в българската народна песен*, "Български фолклор" 4.28–34, 1984; P. Angelov, *The Man of the West through the eyes of medieval Bulgarians*, "Bulgaria Mediaevalis" 2, 2011, pp. 409–416. П. Ангелов, *Чуждите народи в представите на средновековния българин*, София 2013, pp. 168–202; T. Kolbaba, *Byzantine Perceptions of Latin Religious "Errors"*, p. 135; A. Kazhdan, *Latins and Franks in Byzantium: Perception and reality from the eleventh to the twelfth century*, [in:] *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, pp. 83–100.

[51] These designations gained ground in Byzantine literature, and are spelled differently in Slavic. There are also common designations for West Europeans, in which the key word is "West", or designations that become comprehensible only when compared with the Greek text. For instance, ҃западнꙑе страны христиани внѣоудоу ионьскиꙗ лоукꙑ, τοῦ ἰωνίου κόλπου. The Work of Pseudo-Photius, begins thus ѡ франꙃѣхъ и ѡ прочихъ латинѣхъ. It is placed as chapter 51 of the South Slavonic kormchaya, with exegesis, based on its oldest copy, the Ilovitsa kormchaya, from 1262

However, the varying text versions of the storyline about Peter the Stammer-er employ a common arsenal of anti-heretical terminology. Prominent among these devices, we find: two-level and three-level combinations with a predicative nucleus and a nominal or nominal-attributive element: сѣти оучениѥ разно (*PVL*, *Paleia*); въвести въ ересь злжиж (*Paleia*); отъврьсти вѣрж христиаиьскжиж (*S1*, variant отъврьсти вѣрж православьнжиж и сватжиж *S2*); о(оу)правлιати латиньскжиж вѣрж (in *Pljevlja 12* with оу, as in the Moldavian copies, but in *Belgrade 11*, with о). We can agree with A. Popov that the variant оправлιати is more precise: "to declare just, correct, to justify"[52]; from the same root comes оправьда, "justification, grounds"[53]; also, блазнити са о вѣрѣ латинскои (*S1*), послѣдовати помраченнои и злосмраднои вѣрѣ латинстѣи (*S2*); примѣшати са къ, дрьжати обичаи ихъ, etc. It is worth noting that *S1* contains some features of spelling and grammar that, in the Moldavian copies, are a heritage from the pro-tograph. They coincide entirely with the oldest extant South Slavic copies: trac-es of extreme diligence in the infinitive погребсти instead of погрети; preserved dual number in the verbs помжлиста са, сътвориста; preserved genitive-accu-sative form for persons въ стго петра; instrumental case without preposition ѿстриженож брáдож. The names designating ethnic and religious affiliation, латине, римлιане и христиане are the same in *S1* and *S2*. The spelling, in *S1*, of the words христиане, христианы, латине, латиныне, латины indicate hesitation with respect to the Old Bulgarian norm for names in the nominative case, plural, which includes these words in the consonant *-t-* declension, with the suffix -ιане and requires forms for the singular ending in -инъ. Two verbs merit attention: съпьрѣти са "enter into argument, to clash, to quarrel" and especially the aorist разсѣде са, in *Belgrade 11*, расѣде се. K. Istomin has specially pointed it out as occurring in the chronicular version as well[54]. We believe the lexeme belongs to an archaic layer and resembles the hapax in the *Codex Suprasliensis*: the negative present active participle from the verb, not present in the collection, не сѣдаιаи

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year. (М. Петровић, *Законоправило или Номоканон светога Саве. Иловички препис 1262 г.*, Горњи Милановац 1991). It contains many homonyms. The terms reflect the Byzantine conception of the heterogeneity of Western Christians, who are not seen as a monolithic group. Some of the names of the tribes in the Roman Empire of that time, such as "Germans", "Vandals", "Allemans", became designations for Catholics. According to A. Kazhdan, the term "Latins", with its ethno-confessional content, was contemporaneous with the Great Schism, and finally became prevalent in the 12th century. A. Kazhdan, *Latins and Franks in Byzantium*, pp. 84–86. Consequently, the name in *S1* corresponds to the early designations for Western heretics.

[52] F. Miklosich, *Lexicon Palaeoslovenico-Graeco-Latinum*, pp. 510–511.

[53] А. Попов, *Историко-литературный обзор*, p. 23.

[54] К. Истомин, *Источник. Слова о немеческом прелщении*, p. 344.

сѧ < нє сѣдати сѧ "indestructible, steadfast, sturdy"[55], which in *S1* appears with the opposite meaning разсѣдати сѧ, разсѣсти сѧ "to fall into ruin, the break down into parts, to lose wholeness".

2. The false doctrine of Peter the Stammerer

This semantic code comprises physical and moral characteristics.

2.1. Microtext segments regarding outward appearance

The primitive storyline of the text, according to the reference points marked by A. Kriza, presents the false doctrine of the Latins through external features[56]. The outward appearance and apparel are key points in ethno-stereotypical representations of the stranger, the other[57]. The Roman pseudo-prelate enters the sacred ecclesiastic space thus:

• Въ браунѣ ризⷶ. и въ ꙋгатѣ клобоуцѣ и въ рѫкавицⷶ *S1*; въ поволꙋиты ризⷶ. и въ ꙋгатѣ клобоуцѣ. и въ рѫкавицѣ *S2*; въ пѫчинахъ (паꙋчинах) ризⷶ. и въ рогатѣхъ клопоуцѣхъ (клобоуцѣ). и въ рѫкавицѣхъ in *Pljevlja 12, Belgrade 11*; въ половꙗтыхъ ризахъ, въ ꙋгоꙗтѣ клобⷹцѣ, въ рꙋкавицехъ in the *Paleia*; въ поволоуатахъ ризахъ и въ рогатѣ клобⷹцѣ и въ роукавицахъ in the *Menaion of Macarius*; in Russian copies published by Popov, the variant spelling is also restored: паꙋчинахъ ризахъ[58]. Two nominal attribute syntagms are formed, in each of which, the attribute gives an evaluative description of the substantive. While ризⷶ, in the plural, is a hyperonym for clothing, the outwardly visible apparel of the pseudo-prelate, the variants of the epithets attached to the work indicate the text was elaborated in a different environment. The variant пѫчиньнъ is placed in the earliest known South Slavic manuscripts and seems to be the initial one. Брачьнъ is a possible variant, formed through phonetic analogy or association, only in the Moldavian copies. In some of the accusations figuring in the lists of errors of the Latin clergy, they are reproached for their religious apparel being too colorful and made of fine red tissue, чрьвлеными брауными тако нитьми текоуще (the 13ᵗʰ accusation

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[55] *Старобългарски речник*, т. 2, 2009, p. 896.

[56] А. Криза, *Петр Гугнивый и Папесса*, p. 401.

[57] О. В. Белова, *Этнокультурные стереотипы в славянской народной традиции*, Москва 2005, p. 10.

[58] А. Николов, *Между Рим и Константинопол*, p. 77; А. Попов, *Историко-литературный обзор*, pp. 25–27; А. Криза, *Петр Гугнивый и Папесса*, p. 400.

in ѡ фрѧнꙃѣхъ и ѡ прочихъ латинѣхъ[59] may possibly refer to silk; *Brief Tale about the Latins* and other texts also suggest the use of religious clothing resembling wedding apparel[60]. The adjective врачьнъ might refer precisely to the prelate's clothing based on the metaphor that the state of priesthood is a kind of marriage to the Church. We should note, however, that this point does not occur as a separate deviation in the most widespread polemical works. The gaudy, immodest apparel violated rule Sixth of the Seventh Ecumenical Council, which considers this practice to be a direct consequence of the pernicious influence of iconoclasm[61]. Prevalent in Russian copies is the variant поволочитъ, паволочитъ "veiling, covering, outer", with Russian particularities of pronunciation[62]. The lexeme паѫчина "spider's web; net" and its derived adjective are especially suitable to express the figurative sense of a pernicious influence by which the heretics entangle people in the web of their false doctrine. In his *Vita of St. Hilarion of Moglena*, the most pointed anti-heretical work by Patriarch Euthymius, the author shows the hero of the vita, St. Hilarion, as a fighter against heresies, who defeats heretics in controversy as effortlessly as if he were tearing apart a cobweb[63]: вьсѧ тѣ къꙃни и шеперанїа ꙗкоже паѫчиннаа тканїа ꙋдωбь раꙁдирааше. The connotation also refers to the impermanence, deceptiveness, untruthfulness of this element of the apparel, which, worn by a prelate, should normally express dignity, purity, sanctity. The lexical markers for clothing are a code for the inner content. To take another example from the works of Euthymius, the ancient desert fathers are said to be dressed въ милотѣ и въ коꙁїахь кожахь which, according to the Letter to Cyprian, is a sign of self-denial, rejection of material things, asceticism; the same characteristic is expressed when врѣтище, власенныѧ одежди are worn by Theophano in devotion to God, according to her Prayer Canon (*Paraklesis*); въ бѣлы ризы is where baptism and initiation to the pure Christian faith takes place, etc. The fact that Peter the Stammerer wears clothes made out of cobwebs refers to the falsity of his doctrine.

- Paralled to the above-mentioned negative semantic in *S1* is the expression въ рѡгатѣ клобоуцѣ. The lexeme клобоукъ, an ancient Turkic loanword in Slavic languages, meaning "hat, cap, head covering" acquires nuances of meaning de-

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[59] А. Попов, *Историко-литературный обзор*, p. 63.

[60] А. Николов, *Между Рим и Константинопол*, p. 277.

[61] *Правилата на светата Православна църква с тълкованията им*, под редакцията и превода на Ст. Цанков, Ив. Стефанов, П. Цанев, т. 2, София 1913, pp. 505–506.

[62] И. И. Срезневский, *Материалы для словаря*, т. 2, 1902, pp. 1001–1002; *Словарь русского языка*, т. 15, 1989, pp. 166–167.

[63] According to the digitized version of Patriarch Euthymius' works on www.Cyrillomethodiana.com.

pending on the surrounding text and the corresponding purpose of the lexeme: the meaning ranges from the ruler's tiara to the monk's *kalimavkion* to the mitre of a high ranking prelate or bishop (a symbol of his spiritual power called "the helmet of salvation"). The word appears in the *Izbornik* of Symeon and in John Exarch[64]. The trait ρογατъ, "horned, in the figurative sense – sharp", suggests an association, for one thing, with the Catholic prelate's mitre. This attribute is mentioned in *Controversy of Panagiot with Azymit*, a Greek 13ᵗʰ-century pamphlet, which was translated into Slavic early on[65]. But it can also be interpreted metaphorically in the negative sense, related to evil, the snake and devil, the Horned One[66]. There are known cases of semantic overlap of the terms ερετικъ and ρογатьць in their quality of vocatives. Such cases are found in many early 11ᵗʰ–12ᵗʰ century Russian epitimian collections based on South Slavic prototypes[67]. The zoomorphous trait would be associated with the bestial principle imputed to the Latins in other polemical works; for instance, they are accused of naming their children after animals, ʒвѣрина имъ имена наричютъ according to the *Letter of Metropolitan Nicephorus to the Russian prince Yaroslav*[68].

• *S1* emphasized two other external traits: Peter the Stammerer enters the church въ рꙗ́кавицꙋ̀ и ꙁ̈стри́женоꙋ брáдоꙋ. The first trait is not found in *First Letter of the Patriarch of Constantinople Michael Cerularius to the Patriarch of Antioch Peter III* from 1054, nor in the first lists of Latin errors, but it is present in accusation 13 against the Latins in chapter 51 of the South Slav kormchaya, with interpretations ꙁ франзꙋ́ехъ и ꙁ проѵихъ латинѣхъ. It claims that, in addition to rings, the Roman presbyters and bishops рꙁцѣ ꙁблаꙋꙗ̂ въ роукавицѣхъ. на правѣи же роукавице пишетъ сꙗ рꙋка іако иꙁʼ ꙁблака, на лѣвѣи же агньци бжꙗ̂и написаетъ сꙗ. The description matches the liturgical gloves worn by bishops and cardinals, upon which two often depicted symbols, are the Lamb of God and the right hand of God. Having in mind that the anonymous prototype of this text (wrongly appearing under the name of Patriarch Photius (810/820–896)), was created no later than the late 11ᵗʰ century, and that its Slavic translation in the Kormchaya dates from the beginning of the 13ᵗʰ century, the accusation, in *S1*, of wearing gloves is a sign of the early date of the carrier text, since this accusation is far from being

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[64] *Български етимологичен речник*, т. 2, 1972, p. 462; *Словарь русского языка*, т. 7, 1980, pp. 176–177.

[65] А. Попов, *Историко-литературный обзор*, p. 251; Т. Kolbaba, *Byzantine Perceptions of Latin Religious "Errors"*, p. 140.

[66] И. И. Срезневский, 3, 1903, p. 129.

[67] С. Смирнов, *Древнерусский духовник. Исследования по истории церковного быта*, Москва 1914 (reprint Gregg International Publishers, 1970), p. 31.

[68] О. В. Зуева, *Лингвокоммуникативная характеристика*, p. 28.

the most popular one. The second element – the shaving of beards – is a key element in all anti-Latin controversy. In *S1*, this is a micro-theme in several separate segmentations, which are practically repeated without any change since the oldest South Slavic copies, from the 14th-century ones to the 16th-century Moldavian. The topos острижена брада is repeated as a generalization а по въсѣ сѫбѡты стрищи брады повелѣ – i.e., it is practically connected to what is a dominant point in *S1*, the Sabbath, and not the Sabbath fast. It is observed by the Jews and Simon Magus (hence, linguistically, ноуденствовати and сѫвотьствовати in Slavic texts, mean the performance of pagan and heretical practices in general). Peter the Stammerer also commands постригати лѡна. The latter interpretation in *S1* is a kind of anathema and sign of separation from the community: if a person is killed in war а лѡно его не бѫдеть пострижено, he is not buried in earth and is treated as a violator of the law. The two expressions fully coincide in *Pljevlja 12*, *Belgrade 11* and the Moldavian copies. The question arises as to what *S1* means by the lexeme лѡно[69] ("lap, knees; bosom, stomach, bowels"; "bosom, interior, lap, womb, pocket, male genitalia"; "bosom, lap, lower back, nucleus, testicles"; "breast, thigh, hip, sexual organs"; secondary metaphorical meaning, "a thing surrounding something else; sphere, surface, place"). We will consider two possible explanations. It is not to be excluded that the expression is meant to build a negative stereotype by means of linguistic structures:

• Interpreting its style as that of what he rightfully calls a "grotesque story", Nikolov assumes that the Latins shave their "laps"; a more precise translation is "loins, genitalia"[70]. If we accept this absurd accusation, we could explain the hesitation and contradictory interpretations in some copies: in the *Paleia брадꙋ постригъ, а лона не постриже* compared with *брадꙋ постригъ и лоно постригъ* in the Menaions[71]; in the *Printed Kormchaya*, the storyline intensifies to the point where, according to the Latin deception, брадоу, оусы and лоно of everyone, men and women alike, are shaved. Remarkably, *S2* places these two elements as errors 2 and 3 of the Latins: в҃, вина и҃. повелѣ по въсѣ сѫбѡты брады своѧ стрищи, па̑ же и лѡна. г҃. вина ихь, аще кто на рати оубиень бѫдеть. а лоно нестрижено бѫдеть емоу… For now, we cannot indicate any direct source of this fragment. The accusation in *S1* is a rare one, and has itself become a source of texts going back to its early version, including *S2*. It may be a case of complete disparagement, which

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[69] *Старобългарски речник*, т. 1, 1999, p. 807; *Словарь древнерусского языка*, т. 4, 1991, pp. 427–428; *Словарь русского языка*, т. 8, 1981, p. 381; И. И. Срезневский, 2, 1902, p. 46; М. Фасмер, *Этимологический словарь русского языка*, т. 1–4, Москва 1987, p. 517.

[70] А. Николов, *Между Рим и Константинопол*, p. 144; А. Попов, *Историко-литературный обзор*, pp. 22–23.

[71] А. Попов, *Историко-литературный обзор*, pp. 25–26.

would be typical for derivative genres. This effect is achieved by a comic opposition and devaluation of the human head, i.e., the topmost part of the body, associated with thinking and intellect, as opposed to the lower part, linked to lowly passions. Such means of representing the stranger, the other, are also familiar from folklore[72]. According to this interpretation, постригати лона is a nominal-predicative combination with a name in the plural of the accusative case. Such disparaging, profane accusations are known from other sources as well. Popov points out the rare accusation that the Latins пьють свои сець (variant сѣуь), disseminated in some variants of the Byzantine τὰ αἰτιάματα, the same in *S2*[73]. This meaning of лоно seems most acceptable within the context.

• It is possible, however, that the designation is parabolic, relying – as in the case of the clothing – on a double meaning. In late anti-Latin stories, such as *Tale about how Rome Fell away from the Orthodox Faith* (known from 15th–16th century copies, but which has left traces in the views of Bulgarian Paulicians), the Pope, for love of a common girl who requires of him that he cut his golden hair and shave his mustaches and beard, is prepared to deprive himself of these and thus lose his sacred dignity. The accursed (according to the text) Peter the Stammerer finds a way to justify such acts on the grounds of a "new law and books" in which shaving is motivated by the need to avoid spilling the Eucharist on the beard and mustaches[74]. In the 16th-century copy of the Tale, manuscript no. 1161 of the Ecclesiastic-Historical and Archival Institute of the Bulgarian Patriarchate, it is pointed out that, hearkening to a voice from heaven, the pope personally set an example by cutting his hair (wбричи̑ власи). This is certainly a late form of the plot, which has some fairy tale features and displays folk tale imagery[75], but it is precisely in these features, despite the difference in length and chronology, that it is similar to *S1*. There is an early example of the accusation related to shaving and cutting the hair on one's head contained in the above-mentioned Letter of Nicephorus, Metropolitan of Kiev, to Prince Vladimir Monomachus (1113–1125). There, added to the instructive element of the work, is a list of errors of the Latins: Третаıа же, постригати бороды свои и головы бритвою. Еже ес̑ wбреу̑но и w мѷсеова закона и w ев̑аг̑льскаго[76]. A linguistic question arises: is it possible that постригати лона is an unvarying word combination with the metaphorical meaning of the bare spot, the surface of the head, the round shape, the sphere of the haircut, so that лона

[72] О. В. Белова, *Этнокультурные стереотипы в славянской народной традиции*, pp. 55–56.

[73] А. Попов, *Историко-литературный обзор*, p. 71; J.-B. Cotelerius, *Ecclesiae Graeca Monumenta*, p. 506, the Latins wash with urine and drink it.

[74] А. Николов, *Между Рим и Кностантинопол*, pp. 285–286.

[75] *Ibidem*, p. 184.

[76] *Послания митрополита Никифора*, p. 97.

would be the genitive case of a thing, or part of the whole? In a canonical sense, the Greek κουρᾶ, Latin tonsure, is customary for men entering monkhood or the ecclesiastic hierarchy; it is a common feature of the Christian tradition, a symbolic bodily sacrifice in the name of God, an initiation similar to that of the sacrament of baptism. The round shape of the spot of cut hair also symbolizes Christ's crown of thorns, according to Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem (560–638); the custom was a near antecedent of the Canons of the Council in Trullo, of which rule 21. and 33. regulate tonsuring of clergymen. Later on, the tonsure became a recognizable mark of the Catholic clergy. In the anti-Latin texts collected by A. Popov, frequent mention is made of the shaving of the beard and also of the tonsure[77]. Those same texts contain the words постригъ, къıка, плѣшь, власъ ѿстрижениѥ ѥстъ коустъ вѣнецъ терновъ ѡбразъ спасителевъ; γέρηρα, чьсть "honor, dignity" of clergymen[78]. There are known early metaphorizations of the clerical haircut, for instance въꙁложити порты черничьскъıꙗ, in 11ᵗʰ-century texts[79], or associative mechanisms for the creation of Slavic terms based on commonly used words. In the Kormchaya of Ilovitsa, dating from 1262, the Greek κουρᾶ is translated with the rare lexeme гоумьньце, a diminutive of гоумьно – Ἐλων "threshing floor, threshed land; a place where threshing is done with oxen" because of the resemblance to the oval shaven area of the head[80]. The verb постригати metonymically designates "entry into holy orders" by one of its distinguishable traits, the cutting of the hair. As all the preceding accusations in *S1* are related in some way to the Catholic clergy, or at least confuses practices of the clergy and of lay persons, it is possible that this practice too refers to clergymen. The shaving of the beard by clergymen, practiced among the Latins is one of the most frequent reasons for controversy, because the Orthodox considers this to be a loss of God-likeness[81]. Refusal of burial is the accusation that is hardest to explain. Possibly, in *S1* this is a contamination with another accusation: the participation of Catholic priests in

[77] A. Попов, *Историко-литературный обзор древнерусских полемических сочинений*, pp. 23, 48, 83, 102 and especially the *Controversy of Panagiota with Azymita*, pp. 273–274.

[78] Idem, *Историко-литературный обзор древнерусских полемических сочинений*, p. 204.

[79] Б. Успенский, *Антоний Печерский и начальная история русского монашества (рясофор в Древней Руси)*, "Slověne. International Journal of Slavic Studies" 1, 2016, p. 92.

[80] М. Цибранска-Костова, *Стари деминутиви с терминологично значение: (бележки върху лексемата ʒ́Нмьньце)*, "Филологически студии на Великотърновския университет" 35, 2016, *Сборник в чест на 70-та годишнина на проф. Иван Харалампиев*, pp. 67–80; вж. още гумнивый – γυμνἒς, И. И. Срезневский, 1, 1893, p. 610; *A Greek-English Lexicon*, pp. 362–363, γυμνϋς 'naked, bald, uncovered, scalped'; В. Макарова, *Облик русского священника: к истории длинных волос*, "Журнал «Теория моды. Одежда. Тело. Культура»" 4, 2007; http://www.deacon. ru [retrieved 24.03.2017]).

[81] А. Криза, *Петр Гугнивый и Папесса*, p. 401.

wars and battles, their being soiled with blood and manslaughter (in the *Letter of Michael Cerularius*, this is the fifth accusation; in *Brief Tale about the Latin Heresies*, version A, this is the fourth accusation, which is contaminated with shaving of the beard)[82]. The Western clergy take part in military action in fulfilling the vassal duty of the Roman Church, which became a feudal institution starting from the 8th century[83]. This did not prevent priests from maintaining their religious rank, and respectively, their haircut as an outward mark of belonging to the clergy. In many anti-Latin texts, the author's indignation is provoked by the right of Catholic priests to perform the liturgy even though they take part in wars. The loss of the tonsure is equal to the loss of ecclesiastical status, and the person becomes a criminal, even though he should be excommunicated for the first, and much more justified, reason. Rule 7 of the Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon explicitly forbids clerics to take part in military action, and anathemizes violators[84]. *S1* makes a parody of this deviation: Peter the Stammerer anathemizes for the opposite action. However, the question of hairstyle among the Latins is confusing. Nicetas Stifit, a contemporary and associate of Michael Cerularius, condemns the Latins for letting their hair grow, like the Hellenes did, and smearing themselves with вонꙗми in order to attract attention[85]. One possible explanation for why the tonsure is not mentioned is that the symbolical general Christian aspect of the liturgical attribute, which is not considered a serious deviation, although remaining a very recognizable feature. It seems this point is more impressive for modern scholars than it was for the medieval controversialists. Thus, remaining unresolved to this day is the question why the miniature in the Bulgarian Dobreysho Gospel, from the first half of the 13th century, manuscript no. 17 in the National Library Saints Cyril and Methodius, depicts the priest Dobreysho as a beardless clergyman with a bare round spot on the head (according to some, this is a tonsure; others believe it is a head kerchief), and whether the iconographic model has some connection with its historical time and to Western influences[86]. The answers to these questions require an analysis of all facts related to words for religious haircut in the Slavic liturgical terminology. What we offer here are simply some thoughts the topic.

A variant of the passage in question in *S2* is the typically Russian form с корꙋв́гожъ врáдъ постри́гъ instead of the more frequent вритвою. As mentioned,

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[82] А. Николов, *Между Рим и Константинопол*, pp. 202–203.

[83] *Послания митрополита Никифора*, p. 121.

[84] *Правилата на светата Православна църква с тълкованията им*, т. 1, 1912, p. 539.

[85] А. Попов, *Историко-литературный обзор*, p. 133.

[86] Е. Мусакова, *Изследователят читател на Добрейшовото евангелие*, "Littera et Lingua" 11, 2014, p. 3; www.slav.uni.sofia.bg [retrieved 13.03.2017].

this interpretation of the storyline about Peter the Stammerer was not the work of Theodosius Pechersky himself, but reveals an inclusion of domestic terms (кръчагъ, кръчага "a narrow-necked vessel for beer; an earthen vessel, pot; a cup, a tile; in this case, probably an earthen shard used for cutting"; the lexeme has an unclear etymology of Ancient Slavic or Old Turkic origin and occurs in all Slavic languages)[87]. In *S2*, in *Paleia*, in the *Menaion of Macarius*, added to the above mentioned outward traits attributed to Peter the Stammerer is the invariable wearing of rings, which is a practice of Catholic bishops according to accusation 26 in the *First Latter of Michael Cerularius* and the 27th accusation in the lists of Latin errors in Version A in Nikolov's edition[88].

2.2. Micro-textual segments for moral characterization

Along with outward traits, *S1* presents certain basic themes related to morality. Early on, A. Popov found that in many texts, the dogmatic accusations cede the first place to mundane ones, and to accusations that assume "a childishly naive form"[89], while A. Nikolov formulates the logical assumption that the initial anti-Latin corpus included texts meant for ordinary clerics and laymen[90]. This view is based not only on the supposed chronology of the anti-Latin prototype, which was of the time of Byzantine domination, but may also be supported by the linguistic form:

• и въсѐ нечи́сто и скврѣ́нно ꙗ́сти is the first concrete accusation; it has not changed since the oldest copies of *S1* and is repeated in *S2* и повелѣ̀ и́мь слабо жи́ти. ꙗ́сти и пи́ти скврѣ́но и нечи́сто. In *PVL*, such a passage is entirely missing; in *Paleia*, *Menaion of Macarius*, and in *S2* there is the added remark that Peter the Stammerer ordered his men to eat in the same dish with dogs; in the *Printed Kormchaya* eating all sorts of foul things and eating in the same dish with dogs is retained, but is not attributed to the pseudo-prelate. Evidently, the story has developed, but the first, and neutral, version is the one in *S1*. Скврьньнъ and нечистъ are words sufficiently expressive of things unclean, foul, revolting, vile[91]. They may refer to various unclean practices of ritual and eating. The consumption of animal products in the first week of Lent was an accusation dating from the time of Patri-

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[87] *Старобългарски речник*, т. 1, 1999, p. 759; F. Miklosich, *Lexicon Palaeoslovenico-Graeco-Latinum*, p. 318; *Български етимологичен речник*, т. 3, 1986, pp. 222–223

[88] А. Николов, *Между Рим и Константинопол*, pp. 204, 206.

[89] А. Попов, *Историко-литературный обзор*, p. 16.

[90] А. Николов, *Между Рим и Константинопол*, p. 20.

[91] *Старобългарски речник*, т. 2, 2009, p. 685.

arch Photius, the 860s; it also occurs in the treatise of Leo of Ochrid, 1053[92]. But the true pathos of these accusations of food impurity is displayed in a specific genre of lists of Latin errors that was spread in Byzantine literature in the 11th century. This genre was established by Michael Cerularius, Patriarch of Constantinople, in his *First Letter to Peter III, Patriarch of Antioch*, of 1054, accusations 4 and 20[93]. One of the most impressive examples in monuments translated into Slavic is the above-mentioned chapter 51 of the South Slavic Kormchaya with interpretations, according to its translation in the Ilovitsa Kormchaya of 1262[94]. Here, a complicated set of views is presented, based on an Old Testament prototype in Leviticus 11, regarding impure animals, as well as Leviticus 3: 17, Leviticus 7: 21–27, involving motivations related to ritual purity in general, and ontological, axiological, ritual-religious, and general hygiene considerations. The inclusion of more and more animals among those consumed by the Latins is evidently a kind of escalation of the general dislike of the Byzantine world for Western Christianity. This is certainly a mundane, not dogmatic, reference in the texts enumerating animals. We must not forget, however, that underlying this is a legal issue that separated the Latins from the Orthodox, as it is contrary to the canonic tradition. The prohibition on the consumption of мрьцина, "meat from dead animals, carrion", Greek θνεσιμαῖον, ѕвѣроꙗдина, "carcasses of animals, killed by predatory beasts", Greek θηριάλωτον, are regulated by rule 63 of the Apostles and rule 67 of the Ecumenical Council of Trullo, 691–692. The second rule of the local council of Gangra adds the prohibition on оудавлюнина "an animal choked by another animal", Greek πνικτός[95]. In the late 12th century, the great canonist Theodore Balsamon added a very valuable remark to his exegesis of rule 63 of the Apostles: he believed that the Latins violate the rule in using animals as food[96]. The second half of the 13th century and the early 14th century were a particularly active period of anti-Latin controversy in the Balkans, when the reverberation of the direct political and religious clash with the Latins, who had been present for more than 50 year in the Balkans, was still strong. Hence, it is understandable that the biblical models were flexibly adapted to the new objectives of denunciation. The Byzantine controversialists built the image of the Catholics as people who eat choked animals, carrion, pork lard and various vile food, including wild horses, donkeys, bears, beavers, and especially frogs and turtles; they drink blood and share their food with dogs, eating in the same vessel

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[92] А. Попов, *Историко-литературный обзор*, pp. 9–15; А. Николов, *Между Рим и Константинопол*, p. 7.

[93] А. Николов, *Между Рим и Константинопол*, pp. 204, 206.

[94] *Ibidem*, pp. 142, 206.

[95] *Правилата на светата Православна църква с тълкованията им*, т. 1, 1912, pp. 177–178.

[96] *Ibidem*, p. 177.

with them, and in Theodosius Pechersky, also with кошками in the archaic version, and with котьками in the reworked, later edition in *S2*[97]. In *S1*, however, the topos "impure foods" is only marked, and not supported with details, which points to an early origin of the prototype.

• The next too moral accusations are mutually dependent. The first, according to *S1* is the practice of the Latins, again imposed by their leader, и повелѣ попо́въ, з҃. жень води́ти, и попщве бы́ти, with a variation in the oldest South Slavic copies only in the syntagm з҃. же́нь имѣти. In *S2* this is present as the first of 28 numbered "guilts" of the Latins: а҃. вина и́хъ. попщве и́хъ до з҃ мь же слоу́жжть бл҃ж твщ́ряще съ нало́жницами. ничто́ же грѣха въмѣнѣꙗще. ре́кше си́це, ꙗко ѿвощїе е҃ и кщ́лико кто́ трѣбоуе҃, ѿнъ да ꙗ́стъ. The same accusations are repeated tautologically in the 26th and 27th guilts: к҃s, вина и́хъ. попщве и́хъ, не женят ся законож же́нож. нꙗ съ рабинѣ́ми живꙗ҃. и слоу́жꙗ невъзбра́нно. к҃з, вина и́хъ. ѥпискщ́пи и́хъ нало́жница дрꙋ́жꙗ҃, и на вщ́нꙗ (sic!) хщ́дꙗ҃. The moral purity of Catholic priests is discussed as a third deviation as early as the *Circular Letter of Patriarch Photius* from 867, and sharp remarks are not spared with regard to the celibacy and un-canonic concubinage of Catholic priests, which are compared with the deeds of Manent[98]. Celibacy, a practice contrary to Orthodoxy, was introduced at the early Christian synod in Elvira (Granada) in 306. It is discussed in the 23rd accusation in the *First Letter of Patriarch Michael Cerularius* and the 23rd accusation in the *Lists of Latin errors* (Николов/Nikolov 2016, pp. 204, 206)[99]. In the subsequent tradition, celibacy is denigrated to the point where it is presented as its contrary: the right to have seven wives and to remain a priest. In some sources, it is said that Catholic priests have no wives of their own but fornicate with other men's wives, i.e., the accusation is both against celibacy and that it is not really observed. This is the case in *A Useful Tale about the Latins*[100]. In *PVL* it is stressed that the doctrine of the Latins is not united on this point, that it is разⷣно, i.e., unstable, unreliable, because some clergymen have only one wife, and others have seven. The echo from the subsequent interpretation in texts like *S1* is evident here. The second aspect is related to the right of Catholic priests and bishops to possess an unlimited number of concubines without this being considered a sin. The lexeme нало́жьница is one of the rare cases of a copyist's mistake in interpretation in the two Moldavian copies. In

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[97] А. Николов, К. Станев, *Обредовые уклонения и дурные привычки латинских еретиков в византийско-славянской полемической литературе Средневековья*, "Studies Ceranea" 4, 2014, pp. 125–140; А. Николов, *Между Рим и Константинопол*, pp. 147–158.

[98] А. Попов, *Историко-литературный обзор*, pp. 9–10; *Послания митрополита Никифора*, p. 118.

[99] А. Николов, *Между Рим и Константинопол*, pp. 204, 206.

[100] *Ibidem*, p. 260.

legendary narrative, the syntagm in which the word participates is etymologizes thus: а҃ въ ло́жницѹ̀ не въло́жи грѣ́ха; въ наложницахъ не положи грѣ́ха in *Pljevlja 12* and *Belgrade 11*. The word appears not only in *S1* and *S2*, but also in *Chronicle of George Hamartolos*, in *TBY*, where it is a precise insertion from the *Chronicle*, in the *Paleia*, the *Menaion of Macarius*, and the *Printed Kormchaya*. R. Stankov discusses lexemes designating an illegitimate wife, and points out the variations in the prefixes to the common root morpheme: ꙁаложьница, наложьница, подьложьница, as well as женимаꙗ, посадьница, поводьница, all of these corresponding to the Greek παλλακή[101]. The author is justifiably skeptical about the opinion of some Russian scholars that наложьница is a Russianism: he argues that it occurs in the Sermon of Theodosius Pechersky. To Stankov's proof, we will add the conclusion drawn thus far, that *S2* is dependent on *S1*. Moreover, the lexeme is used both in the part originally written by the Russian hegumen, and in the insertions appearing in the contaminated later edition. They belong to the South Slavic prototypes. The fact that all the sources used here refer to the illegitimate concubinage of Latin priests with concubines, make of this lexeme a reading in the archetype of *S1*.

• The last "contribution" of Peter the Stammerer to the seduction of the Latins according to *S1* is и́грьцемь повелѣ̀ и҆гра́ти въ цр҃квѹ̀ и҆хь. This is absent from the passage about Peter the Stammerer in *S2*, but is indicated as the fourth guilt д҃. ви́на и҆хь, и́грьци и҆гра́ѫть въ цр҃квѹ̀ и҆хь. The information is repeated in *Paleia*, the *Menaion of Macarius*, while the *Printed Kormchaya* even specifies the musical instruments they play in churches: *organs*, *tympani*, and *musiki*[102]. The *Tale of the Impious Popes*, a late, 17th-century pamphlet against the Uniates, ascribes this practice to one of the popes: Виталиань папа. тъ оустави свирити въ ѡрганъı, въ цр҃кви[103]. But such an accusation is missing from the lists of errors. The etymological figure in the wording again suggests a derived presence in the text.

At the end of our analysis, we present three groups of conclusions regarding *S1*:

• *S1* is an early example of derived apocryphal-legendary literature against Catholicism. For now, we support the idea that it is a translated work, which makes it possible that it appeared in Slavic literature as early as the end of the 11th and beginning of the 12th century. The apocryphal stories and the storyline about Peter the Stammerer were probably united in one book in the Greek original. A. Pavlov and K. Istomin, the first great researchers of *S1*, wrote that it was a compilation of very old Christian tales. In *S1*, the common motifs from apocrypha and from the

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[101] Р. Станков, *Из наблюдений над лексикой древнеболгарского перевода Хроники Георгия Амартола: Мнимые русизмы (2)*, "Преславска книжовна школа" 16, 2015, pp. 83–102.

[102] А. Попов, *Историко-литературный обзор*, p. 19.

[103] А. Николов, *Между Рим и Константинопол*, p. 291.

chronicles of George Hamatolos and John Malalas are used to present the Latin heresy as primeval to Christian history and as contrary to Orthodoxy as is the idea of the Antichrist. Although the mechanisms by which this negative cultural stereotype is constructed rely on "patching storylines together", they require a certain historical context and attitude in order for the mundane-legendary narrative to emerge. Сло́во ѡ҆ нѣмⷱкꙋьск� ѡ҆ прѣлъ́щени. ка́ко наоу́чи гꙗ́гнивыи пе́трⷪъ ̓е̓реси is not only of an old origin, but in a specific way, the presentation profanes the Latin errors in approximately the same order as in the first translated prototypes from the "Slavic dossier of the Great Schism" – however, not anonymously, but in attributing the errors personally to Peter the Stammerer. The character's outward features and morals follow the "Cerularius" paradigm regarding the clean-shaven face, the consumption of foul foods, the military activity of the clergymen; there is no clear accusation regarding the Sabbath fast and regarding fasting in general, and no dogmatic accusations at all. But the text is controversial through references to the first beginnings of the Christian legend and its symbolic images. The language is simple; a contrast is established with persons and with mundane and ritual practices; the author uses elements of chronicular narrative (a pseudo-historical framework) as well as of a fairy tale and of a pamphlet. At linguistic level, there are two cases of an etymological figure; some lexemes imply a simultaneously direct and metaphorical meaning, a combination between outer, visible, and of inner, invisible. This is typical for text symbolism in allegories and the moral lessons of fables, fairy tales and legends. Although brief, the text presents some basic traits of ethno-cultural stereotype: a moral evaluation, associations, hyperbole[104]. I. N. Danilevsky points out that primitive storylines have what he calls a "multi-layered semantics" through which they support the basic concepts[105]. If we maintain this was a translated work, the logical question arises as to the Greek source from which this so-called *Sermon* was translated, a Sermon whose title is justified only by its final instructive element – that the Latins believe not in St. Peter, but in Peter the Stammerer. In what environment was the work disseminated? The questions also arise as to whether we have before us the whole text in its initial form – in view of the ramifications of the "chronicular introduction" in the variants of *S1* and *S2*; to what degree the earliest South Slavic copies document this initial text, and to what degree they have modified the archetype text nearly two centuries after its supposed translation. As a working hypothesis, we assume that the relation between the chronograph version and *S1* is the reverse of what K. Istomin points out: it was

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[104] О. В. Белова, *Этнокультурные стереотипы*, p. 9.

[105] И. Н. Данилевский, *Повесть временных лет. Герменевтические основы источниковедения летописных текстов*, pp. 271–272.

not the chronographs that influenced *S1*, but, on the contrary, *S1* reproduces an autonomous narrative filiation of the storyline about Peter the Stammerer, part of which was united with the chronograph presentation, in which there were conditions for homonymy of names; precisely because it was amalgamated into the chronograph, this part was able to survive in later sources. Hence, its first scholars were right in asserting that the storyline about Peter the Stammerer was edited a number of times. The version under discussion of *Sermon about the German Delusion* is one of the earliest known textual examples of the sermon. Of course, categorical conclusions may be drawn only after building a fuller archeographic dossier of the text in the Slavic tradition and making comparisons with possible prototypes in Greek.

• Along with this, an even partial comparison with Russian chronicular and epistolary literature from the 11th–12th century proves that *S1* was known in Russia during that period and was used in the argumentation of Russian controversialists. Even though this influence is not perceptible in the original work of Theodosius Pechersky, the re-workings based on the initial variant of his *Letter to Prince Izyaslav* could have appeared as early as the 12th century (for instance, in connection with his canonization 1133 and the re-anthologizing of his works), just as we find in that century the influence of controversial works translated from the Slavic South in the works of Nicephorus, Metropolitan of Kiev and other Russian high-ranking clergymen.

The dissemination of the *S2* variant in Moldavian monuments implies the existence of a compilation that drew from at least three evident sources: the original *Letter of Theodosius Pechersky*, the *Sermon about the German Delusion*, and one of the editions of lists of Latin errors containing 34 errors, out of which, however, the text presents and lists only 28 errors. The linguistic particularities of *S1*, when compared with the variants of *S2*, indicate that the South Slavic copies were closer to the archetype text and did not contain the additions or linguistic changes present in *S2*. Hence, the opinion that *Sermon about the German Delusion* may have been of independent Russian origin[106] is not supported by us in the present study; in this, we are share the assumptions of K. Istomin, A. Kriza and A. Nikolov regarding a probable South Slavic translation from Greek.

• The third conclusion concerns the value of the two copies in Moldavian collections of the 16th century. In our opinion, one of the most important conclusions is that the basic and oldest works of their anti-Latin corpus were borrowed

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[106] А. Турилов, *Межславянские культурные связи эпохи Средневековья и источниковедение истории и культуры славян. Этюды и характеристики*, Москва 2012, p. 249; И. Ведюшкина, *Петр Гугнивый и Петр Монг.*, pp. 309–312.

directly from the South Slavic, Bulgarian prototype dating from the time of the Second Bulgarian Empire. Among these works are *A Useful Tale about the Latins* and *Sermon about the German Delusion*. This would coincide with the origin and particularities of the other parts of these collections, especially the so-called *Pseudo-Zonaras Nomocanon*, which takes up more than half their contents. Even the segmentation in the title of *S1* recalls that in the oldest South Slavic copies (compare, in the Moldavian copies and *Belgrade 11*, the placing of the word єресн under the basic text of the title: a photograph from *Belgrade 11* at www.digital.nbs.bg.ac. yu). In the Moldavian copies, *S2* begins immediately after *S1*. In *Belgrade 11* and *Pljevlja 12*, there is no *S2*, and after *S1* there follows, without a heading, a presentation of the key moments in the earthly life of Christ, where the beginning of the Gospel of St. Luke is repeated word for word (Luke 3: 1–2), presenting the events from the time of Emperor Tiberius in Rome and Pontius Pilate in Judaea. This insertion is again paralleled in the chronicles of Hamartolos and Malalas[107]. How *S2* came to be placed in the Moldavian manuscripts under study is a matter for separate analysis. The variants from *S1* testify to their more precise understanding in BAR Ms. sl. 685. The precision of the variants in this copy is supported by other micro-textual units in the compilation. E. Turdeanu's opinion that BAR 685 is older than BAR 636, and hence should be dated to before 1557, is confirmed, apart from their possible common original from which they were copied[108].

In addition to their other valuable aspects, the two Moldavian manuscripts are an important proof of the vitality of the "Bulgarian dossier of the Great Schism", which has not survived in Bulgarian manuscript collections.

PUBLICATION OF THE TEXTS BASED ON THE BASIC COPY BAR 636 AND WITH VARIANTS BASED ON BAR 685 (= BRAN № 13.3.23)

Слово ѿ нѣмѣѹьскѡ̑ прѣльщени. ка́ко наѹ́чи гⷤгнивыи пе́тръ, ꙗ́реси

Є҆гда̀ прѣльⷭⷣⷮ бы̏ ѿ ꙗ́ресн[109]. симѡ́на влъхва въ рїⷨѣ. и҆ въ́ровашѫ въсѝ рⷨꙗⷧꙗⷩⷩⷩе въ́ нь при нерѡ́нѣ цⷬⷭⷪ. и҆ съпрѣ́ сѧ симѡ́нь съ пе́трⷹ и҆ паⷡлⷹ. и҆ възно́шаше сѧ на нⷣбо симⷪ́ влъхⷹ́. и҆ въсѝ людїе҆ ди́влѣхѫ сѧ е́моѹ. Пе́тръ же и҆ Па́вель помⷧꙗста сѧ бⷪⷢ. Симѡ́нь бⷪ тогда̀ но́шаше сѧ пⷪ̀ нⷭбⷭⷣемь. Пе́тръ же и҆

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[107] К. Истомин, *Источник. Слова о немеческом прельщении*, p. 345.

[108] E. Turdeanu, *Le Sbornik dit 'de Bisericani': Fausse identité d'un manuscrit remarquable*, "Revue des études slaves" 44. 1–4, 1965, pp. 37–40.

[109] Missing: ѿ ꙗ́ресн.

Па́вель сътво́риста зна́менїе крⷮное. и на высотѣ̀ разсѣ́де сѧ Си́мѡнь влъ́хвь на, д҃. уа́сти, и спа́де съ высо́ты и съкроу́ши сѧ и погы́бе съ шоу́мѡⷨ въ дн҃ь сꙋ́ботныи. Того ра́ди лати́ныне¹¹⁰ ꙗ҆́дать мѧса̀ въ дн҃ь сꙋ́ботныи¹¹¹. Въ сꙋ́ботꙋ бѡ бы̀ побѣ́да х҃ва. спа́де а҆нтихри́стъ съ нб҃съ съ бѣ́сы свои́ми¹¹². мл҃твѡж же Пе́троⷹ и Па́вла¹¹³. разгнѣ́ва сѧ Нерѡ́нъ цр҃ъ на Пе́тра, и повелѣ̀ распѧти е҆го̀. и бы̀ тогда̀ гоне́нїе на хрⷭ҇тїа́ны. и разбѣ́гошѧ хрⷭ҇тїа́ны¹¹⁴. е҆гда̀ же гоне́нїе прѣ́ста. пото́мь прїй́де Пе́трь гꙋ̑гни́выи въ ри́мь, и ѿврь́же вѣ́рꙋ хрⷭ҇тїа́нскꙋ́ю. и поста́ви свои̑ за́кѡнь мнѡ́гы е҆́реси. и въни́де въ цр҃кѡ̑ въ бра́унѣ ри́зꙋ̑. и въ рꙋгатѣ̀ клобоуцѣ́ и въ рꙋ́кавицꙋ̑ и ѡстри́женѡж бра́дою. постри́гати лона повелѣ̀¹¹⁵. и въсѐ неуи́сто и скврь́нно ꙗⷭ҇ти. и повелѣ̀ попо́вѡⷨ, з҃. же́нь води́ти, и попⷡ҇ве бы́ти. а҆ въ ло́жницꙋ̑ не въло́жи грѣха̀¹¹⁶. р҆е, ѿво́щїе ѐ, то. та́ко и съ нало́жницами спа́ти. а҆ по въсѐ сꙋ́бѡты стри́щи бра́ды. а҆́ще ли кто̀ на ра́ти оу҆бїе́нь бꙋ́деть. а҆ ло́но е҆го̀ не бꙋ́деть постри́жено. повелѣ̀ не погре́бсти е҆го̀ въ зе́млю, си́це ре́уе. сі́и сꙋ́ть прѣстꙋ́пници за́кѡноу. и и҆грь́цемь повелѣ̀ и҆гра́ти въ цр҃квꙋ̑ и҆́хь. и прѡкла́шѧ и҆ ст҃и ѡ҃ци на з҃. мы̀ съвѡ́рꙋ҆хь:~ Вѣ́домо же бꙋ́ди, въ гꙋ́гни́ваго Пе́тра вѣ́роуⷮ лати́ни, а҆ не въ ст҃го Пе́тра. а҆́ще ли кто̀ оу҆пра́влѣть лати́скꙋꙗ вѣ́рꙋ. да бꙋ́деть про́клꙗ̑. да сѧ не бла́знꙗ̑ хрⷭ҇тїа́не ѡ҆ вѣ́рѣ¹¹⁷ лати́нскои :~

Сло́во¹¹⁸ ѿца¹¹⁹ на́шего ѳеѡⷭ҇їа пещⷬ҇скаго и҆гоу́мена. Къ и҆зꙗсла́воу кн҃ѕꙋ. ѡ лати́нѡⷯ

А҆зъ ѳеѡⷭ҇їе хоу́дыи мнⷯ҇. ра́бь ст҃ы́ꙗ тр҃цꙗ̑. ѡ҃ца и҆ сн҃а и҆ ст҃го дх҃а. въ уи́стѣмь житі́и. и҆ въ правосла́внѣи вѣ́рѣ рожⷣе́нь. и҆ въспи́тань въ до́бромь за́кѡнѣ, и҆ правосла́внѣмь. ѡ҃цеⷨ҇ и҆ мтр҃їꙗ хрⷭ҇тїа́нинѡⷨ. ѡ҆́ни же наказа́ста мѧ се́моу оу҆тномоу и҆ правовѣ́рномоу за́коноу жи́ти. а҆ не послѣ́довати помра́ченои, и҆ злосⷨ҇ра́нои вѣ́рѣ

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¹¹⁰ лати́ны.

¹¹¹ не ꙗ҆́дать мѧса̀ въ дн҃ь сꙋ́ботныи.

¹¹² съ свои́ми бѣ́сы.

¹¹³ мл҃твы ра́дї Петра и Павла.

¹¹⁴ хрⷭ҇тїа́нѣ.

¹¹⁵ повелѣ̀ постры́гати ло́на.

¹¹⁶ The passage is written in the same way and the copyists have reproduced the word наложьница incorrectly, either due to a pun on words with the same root in: ло́жницахъ въ́ложити or due to an accidental omission of the prefix на. The prefix is written above the line in the second use of the work наложьница in BAR 636. In earlier copies, from the 14ᵗʰ century – *Pljevlja 12* and *Belgrade 11*, the passage is this: а въ наложницꙋ̑ не положи грѣ́ха (А. Николов, *Между Рим и Константинопол*, p. 76).

¹¹⁷ разврашⷨ҇е́ннои added.

¹¹⁸ Сказа́нїе.

¹¹⁹ Added прⷣо҇бнаго.

ла́тїнстѣи. ни примѣ́шати са къ ни́мь, ни ѿбы́чаа и́ не дрьжа́ти. нижѐ комка́нїа
и́ приуща́ти са. ни въсѣ́кого оу҆че́нїа и́ не послоу́шати. и҆ ѿ въсѣ́кыи нра́въ и́
блюсти са. ни свои̑ дъще́рь въда́ти на бра́кы, ни посага́ти са съ сн҃ѡвы и́. нижѐ
своа̀ сн҃ы къ дъшере́мь и́ не сьнима́ти са. ни въ є҆ди́номь дѣ́лѣ не имѣ́ти, ни
є҆ди́ного прищбще́нїа съ ни́ми. ни брати́ти са, ни коу́мити. ни поклони́ти са є҆моу̑,
нижѐ цѣло́вати е҆го́. и҆ въ є҆ди́номь съсъ́дѣ ни га́сти, ни пи́ти съ ни́ми. па́че же ни
є҆ди́ного ѿ бра́шень и́ не прїѡ́мати ѿ ни́. нъ ѻ́баче и́ є́ще же а́ще нѣ́котѡ́рыи ѿ рѡ́да
того̀, и҆ ѿ вѣ́ры и́ прїи́дѐ къ на́шеи хра́минѣ страниуьскы̑ ѿбра́зомь. про́са оу̑ на̑
нѣ́которѫ́ ми́лтыня, и҆ли́ хлѣ́ба. нам же по́бает, ниуто́же възбра́нити ѿ ни́. нъ
поми́ловати, и҆ да́ти и́мь ѿ избытко́въ на́ши пи́ти и́ га́сти. нъ не въ съжъ́дѣ на́ши,
нъ въ съсъ́дѣ и́. а́ще ли не бѫ́деть оу̑ ни́ ни є҆ди́ного съсъ́да. то̀ и́ въ на́ши
съсъ́дѣ да́ти и́мь потрѣ́бнаа. послѣ́ди же млт҃вѫ сьтво́рити на̀ ни́ми, и́ ѻ́стити
и́хь. та́же га́сти и́ пи́ти ѿ съсъ̑ тѣ́. поне́же не пра́во вѣ́роу҃, нижѐ уи́сто живѫ́ть.
поне́же се́и оу́бо прѣ́лъсти бы́вши га̑влен'нѣ въ ни̑. Є҆гда̀ вели́кыи цр҃ь кѡнстанти́нь
пришѐ и҆з ри́ма. и҆ създа̀ себѣ̀ гра̑ вели́и, на оу҆́сты пѡ́нта. е҆́же гл҃ет са но́выи і҆е҆ро́лмъ,
и҆ но́выи ри́мь. и҆ нарѐ и́ цр҃ь гра́дѡ̑, и҆ приведѐ люди́ и́збра́нныа и́ нарѡ́уитыа и́зъ
ри́ма, ѕово́мыи рѡ́меи. та́же принесѐ въсѣ̀ зна́менїа і҆е҆ро́лмъскаа. и҆ ѻ҆бетша̀ ри́мь. и҆
ми́нѫвшоу же мно́го врѣ́мене. прїи́де нѣ́кто ѿ оу҆га́не̑[120], лати́нскаго рѡ́да и҆менемъ
пе́трь. и҆ тъ̀ бѣ̀ рѣ́куѧ́ ѧ҆ѕы́ни. и҆ сьтвѡ́риша е҆го̀ па́пож ри́млѣне. ѻ҆нь же прѣ́лъсти
и́. и҆ повелѣ̀ и́мь сла́бо жи́ти. га́сти и́ пи́ти скврь́но и́ неуи́сто. и҆ ѿврь́же вѣ́рѫ
правосла́внѫ и҆ ст҃ѫ. и҆ поста́ви свои̑ за́кѡ съ мно́гож е҆ресїѫ̀. и҆ въни́де въ цр҃ковь
въ пово́лоуиты риза̀. и҆ въ рѡга́тѣ клобоу́цѣ. и҆ въ рѫка́вицѣ̀, с кору́бгож бра́дѫ
постри́гь. и҆ повелѣ̀ и́ и́ни мнѡ́гы прѣ́лъсти твори́ти и̑. па́че же и҆ съ фы̀ въ
є҆ди́номь съсъ́дѣ га́сти и́ ниуесо́же свѣ́нити са. и҆ и́ны̀ мнѡ́зѣ ви́нь е҆рети́уьскы,
ла̀. и҆же не написахѡ́мь тѣ́хь въсѣ̀ зде́. нъ ѿ уа́сти ма́ло въспомѣ́нѫ. а҃. ви́на и́хъ.
попѡ́ве и́хь до з҃ ми же слоу́жѫть блѫ̀ тво́ряще съ налѡ́жницами. ниуто́ же грѣ́ха
въмѣ́нѣꙗще. ре́кше си́це, га̑ко ѿвоу́щїе є́ и҆ кѡ́лико кто трѣ́буе̑, ѻ҆нъ да га́стъ. в҃,
ви́на и̑. повелѣ̀ по въсѣ̀ сѫ́бѡты бра́ды своа̀ стри́щи, па̀ же и́ лѡ́на. г҃. ви́на и́хь,
а́ще кто на ра́ти оу҆бие́нь бѫ́деть. а҆ лоно нестрижено бѫ́деть е҆моу̀[121]. не погриба́ти
е҆го̀ въ зе́мли га̑ко законопрѣстѫ́пникъ е̑. д҃. ви́на и́хь, и҆гра́ци и҆гра́ѭть въ цр҃ква̀
и́хь. е҃. ви́на и́хь. свѣща́ѫ фы̀, и҆ крѡ́пѧть и́хь во́дож свеще́ннѡ̀. и҆ слоу́жбѫ тво́рѧть
съ ни́ми въ цр҃ква̀ свои̑. ѕ҃. ви́на, въ̑ сѫ̀ пѡ́стѧт са. а҆ беза́конїе твора́ть̀. з҃. ви́на и́хь,
ѳео́вровой нѣ́ли мѧ̀ и҆ сы́рь га̑дать. и҃. ви́на и́хь, беза́коно же́нѧт са, і҆е҆ре́а ѿвра́щаа
са. ѳ҃. ви́на и́хь, крь́щаѭт са въ є҆ди́номь погрѫже́ни. и҆ въмѣ́сто мv́ра, сы́плать
въ оу҆ста̀ со́ль. и҆ та́ко пома́зоуѧ̀ крⷳ҃аемаго. и҆ крⷳ҃аемомоу и́мене ст҃го не нариуа́ть,
нъ га̑коже хѡ́тѧть рѡди́телꙗ е҆го̀. та́ко нарица́ѧ и҆ въ то̀ и҆мꙗ крⷭ҃ть е҆го̀. і҃. ви́на

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[120] ѿ оу҆га́нель.

[121] а҆ лоно непострижено и́мꙗ.

и̑, опрѣснⷦ҇ъ слоу́жать. а҃і, вина и҃, тѧ́жчаиша и́ го́рчаиша, гл҃ть ст҃го дх҃а исхо́дѧща ѿ ѿц҃а и ѿ сн҃а[122], нѫ ра́вна ѿцоу и сноу. в҃і, вина и́хъ, и̑кѡни не цѣлоуⷮ, ни мѡ́щеи ст҃хъ. а кр҃тъ написавше на зе́мли и лежа́ще цѣлоуⷮ е̑го, и въста́въше попираⷮ е̑го нѡга́ми свои́ми. г҃і, вина ихъ, мр҃тваго въ грѡ́бѣ полагаⷮ нѡ́гама къ за́падоу и рѫ́цѣ по́ не́мь пола́гаⷮ, а не на пръ́сеⷯ. д҃і, вина и҃, женѧт сѧ два бра́та за двѣ̀ се́стрѣници. е҃і, вина и́, ꙗ̑дѫт съ ѳⷶы и с кѡ́тками изꙋ є̑ди́ного съсѫ́да. ѕ҃і, вина ихь пиⷶть свои се́ць и о́чи себѣ̀, мыⷶⷮ.
з҃і, вина ихъ дивїⷶ кѡ́на ꙗ̑да́, и҃і. вина ихъ, желвы ꙗ̑да́. ѳ҃і, вина ихъ, ѡ̑слы ꙗ̑да́. к҃. вина ихъ, оу̑давле́нинⷶ ꙗ̑дать. к҃а, вина ихъ. мр҃̈цинⷶ ꙗ̑дать. к҃в, вина ихъ, медвѣ́дѣ ꙗ̑дать. к҃г, вина ихъ. бꙗ̑вро́вь о́пашь ꙗ̑дѫ. к҃д, ꙋрⷶ́ници и въ вели́кыи пⷪⷵ вина ихъ иⷩⷳци и лꙑꙗ ꙗ̑дⷶ̀. к҃е вина ихъ. съгрѣше́нїю не ѿ б҃а проще́нїа про́сѧⷮ. нѫ праща́ⷮ попѡⷡⷷ ихъ на да́роу. к҃г, вина ихъ. попѡⷡⷷ ихъ, не женѧт сѧ зако́нѡⷨ же́нѡⷨ. нѫ съ раби́нѣ́ми живⷮⷶ. и слоу́жⷶ невъзбра́нно. к҃з, вина ихъ. е̑пискѡ́пи ихъ налѡ́жница дрⷤⷷⷶ̀, и на вѡ́нⷤ (sic!) хѡ́дⷮⷶ. к҃и, вина ихъ. же́ны и рⷤⷶⷶ́ще дѣ́ти, мыⷶт сѧ въ съсѫ́дѣхь и потѡ́мь ꙗ̑дѫт и пиⷶть иⷥ ни. того ради да є̑ вѣ́домо въсѣ́комоу хр҃тїани́ноу. ꙗ̑ко се непрⷷ́дано бꙑ̀ ѿ ст҃го пе́тра ниже оу̑ста́влено ꙗ̑коже ѡ́ви гл҃ть. нѫ прѣлⷳ́щени бꙑ́вше ѿ тⷪⷢ́о пе́тра гⷤⷩ́иваго и̑же бꙑ̀ и́мь па́пѡⷤ въ дн҃и тї́а. поне́же и́ ина мнѡ́гаа дѣ́ла сⷤⷮ оу̑ ни, непра́ваа и развраще́наа и погꙑ́бѣлнаа. є̑ще же и съвⷬꙋ́шенаго по́ста не и́мⷶ, нѫ ꙗ̑дѫт ꙗ̑и́ца и млѣ́ко. е̑гоже ни жидⷡⷪⷷ не тво́рⷤⷮ, е̑же тво́рⷤⷮ ѡ̑ни. и мнѡ́го въ саве́лⷭ̈скⷤⷶ є̑ресⷶ въстⷤ́пⷶⷶⷶ. мнⷷ же рече ѿц҃ъ. чⷶ́до. блю́ди сѧ кривовѣ́рны въсѣ́хь дѣⷧ҇. зане же на́ша зе́млⷷ и̑сплъни́ла сⷶ є̑ злⷪⷣⷷ то́а вѣ́ры, и лю́дии хо́тⷶ кто сп҃ти дш҃ⷤ свѡ́ⷤ въ правовѣ́рнои вѣ́рⷷ жи́ва. нⷷ бꙑ̀ и̑нѡ́ⷤ вѣ́ры по̀ нб҃се́мь, лоу́чше на́шеⷤ. поне́же на́ша вѣ́ра ꙋтⷩⷶ и чи́ста и ст҃а. прѣ́дана бм҃ъ и ст҃ми ѿц҃ы. нⷤ вѣ́рѡⷤ живⷤ́щи. и́мемь грⷷ́хѡⷡⷷ и̑збꙑ́ти, и мⷤкы вⷷ́чныⷶ. и коне́чнои жи́зни причⷶ́стникѡⷨ̈ бꙑ́ти, и безꙋ кѡнцⷶ̀ съ ст҃ми радова́ти сⷶ. а въ и̑нои вѣ́рⷷ живⷤ́щомоу или въ лати́нскои, или въ сраци́нскои. тѡ̀ не видѣ́ти жи́зни вѣ́чныⷶ, ниже ꙋⷶ́сти съ ст҃ми. не пⷪⷣбⷶⷷ же никѡ́моу хвⷶ́лити и̑нѡ́ⷤ вѣ́ры. а̑ще лⷷ кто хвⷶ́литъ и̑нѡ́ⷤ вѣ́ры, тѡ̀ свⷤ́ хоу́литъ вⷷ́рⷤ. а̑ще лⷷ хвⷶ́лить и̑ свⷤ̀ и̑ и̑нⷤ̀ вѣ́ры. тѡ̀ ꙗ̑ко двѡевⷷ́рникь нари́чет сⷶ, и близⷷ є̑реси є̑̀. ты́ же ꙋⷶ́до тⷶⷦⷪⷡⷷ́и дѣⷧ҇ блю́ди сⷶ. не присвⷶ́ваи сⷶ къ нѝмь, нⷤ̀ бⷷ́гⷶⷶ ѿ нѝ. а свⷤ̀ вⷷ́рⷤ непрⷷсⷶ́нно хвⷶⷧ҇. и подвигⷶи сⷶ въ не́и дѡ́брыми дⷷ́ли. пⷪ́стоⷨ и млⷶ́твⷪⷤ, и смⷷре́нїё. мⷶⷧ҇ты́нⷤⷤ, ми́лоуи въсѣ́кого не тⷦ́мо своеⷤ́ вⷷ́ры, нⷤ̀ и чю́ждеⷤ. а̑ще ви́диши ⷶлⷶ́чна или нⷶ́гⷶ или зи́мⷩⷶ или бⷷ́дⷪⷤ ѡ̑дрⷤжи́мⷶ или жидⷡⷪⷷ́ннь, или срⷶ́цⷶ́ннь. или латⷪ́ни́ннь или кто ѿ и̑нⷶ̀ пога́ны, въсѣ́кого ми́лоуи. и ѿ бⷷ́ды є̑го̀ и̑збⷶ́ви а̑ще мо́жеши и мⷣⷩ̈зы ѿ б҃а себⷷ̀ прїи́меши понеже сⷶ́мь б҃ъ нин̑ⷷ̈ бди́ть пѡ́гⷶныⷶ. пога́ным же и невⷷ́рныⷤ̈ въсⷷ́мь вⷷцⷷ̀ попече́нїе ѿ б҃а. а въ бⷤдⷤ́щемь тоу́жди бⷤдⷤ̀ дѡ́брыⷶ дⷷⷦ̈́ли. а мꙑ̀ живⷤ́ще въ пра́вⷪи

вѣрѣ, жи́ви є҆смы. и҆ бл҃гъ храни́ми. и҆ въ бꙋ́щемь вѣ́цѣ сп҃саеми гд҃мъ на́шимъ і҆ꙋ́ хбмь. и҆ ре́че ми ѿц҃ъ, а҆ще ти сѧ прилꙋ́чить оу҆мрѣ́ти ст҃ыхъ вѣры ра́дй, то̀ оу҆мри̂ съ дръꙁнове́нїемь б҃а ра́дꙗ̀ ꙁа вѣрꙋ хв҃ꙋ. ст҃ии б҃ꙋ ре́че по вѣ́рѣ оу҆мрѣ́ша, да живꙋ́ть по х҃ѣ. ты̂ же ча́до а҆ще оу҆ꙁри́ши кривовѣ́рныѧ прⷶ дѣ́ꙗща съ вѣ́рными, и҆ лъстїꙋ хѡ́тѧще ѿврѣ́сти ѿ правовѣ̀вѣрныꙗ вѣ́ры. ты̂ же помоги̂ правовѣ́рномꙋ на кривовѣ́рныꙗ. то̀ ꙗ҆ко о҆бꙋꙗ и҆ꙁба́виши ѿ оу҆́стъ лъ́вовь. а҆ще ли не помо́жеши, то̀ ꙗ҆ко х҃ꙋ порꙋ́гаеши сѧ. сотѡ́на б҃ꙋ ℮᷍ нау҆чи́ль криво́и вѣ́рѣ. а҆ще ли̂ ре́чет ти съпе́рникь, тыꙗ̂ повръꙁи́ а҆ сеи вѣ́роги, ты̂ же ча́до ръцѝ. ты̀ кривовѣ́рне, мни́ши ли б҃а двꙋвѣ́рна. не слы́шиши ли о᷍каа́не и҆ раꙁвраще́не ꙁло́ꙗ вѣро́ꙋ, писа́нїе ка́ко гл҃еⷮ. е҆ди́нь б҃ъ е҆ди́на вѣ́ра. е҆ди́но крⷭ҇ще́нїе. ре́че б҃ꙋ г҃ь. тако лѣ́по ℮᷍ на́мь и҆спл̾ни́ти въсꙗ́кꙋ пра́вꙋ въ лю́дехь на ꙁемлѝ. да въсѐ и҆спл̾ни́вь въꙁн҃е сѧ. оу҆чени́кы посла̀ на проповѣ́да́нїе. ты̂ же проповѣ́да́нїе а҆пⷭ҇лъскомꙋ. и҆ по оу҆ста́вѣ ст҃хъ ѿц҃ъ ко́лико дръжа́вь ст҃ꙗ вѣ́рꙋ и҆ правосла́внꙗꙗ. и҆ съврати́л сѧ ℮᷍си на ꙁловѣ́рїе. по нау҆че́нїю сотони́ноу. не слы́ша ли па́вла а҆пⷭ҇ла гл҃аꙋ̂ꙗ. а҆ще а҆гг҃лъ прише́ съ нб҃сꙵ и҆ бл҃говѣсти́ть ва́мь, не ꙗ҆коже̂ мы̂ бл҃говѣсти́хѡмь. да бꙋ́деть про́клꙗть. вы̂ же проповѣ́да́нїе а҆пⷭ҇лъское и҆ ст҃хъ ѿц҃ъ и҆справле́нїе повръ́гъсте. и҆ прийа́сте непра́ведное оу҆че́нїе, и҆ вѣ́рꙋ раꙁвраще́ннꙗꙗ. и҆спл̾нена̀ мнѡ́гыꙗ погы́бѣли. того ра̂ꙵ ѿврꙋ́жени ℮᷍сте ѿ на̂. на́м꙲ же подо́баеть не послѣ́довати раꙁвраще́нныимь, и҆ ꙁловѣ́рныимь и҆ послꙋ́шателемь бж҃т̾вныимь проповѣ́да́телемь, и҆же пропⷪвѣ́даша и҆ нау҆чи́ша въселе́нꙗꙗ въсꙗ̀. ч҆е́сти и҆ сла́вити ѿц҃а и҆ сн҃а и҆ ст҃го д҃ха. въсе́гда и҆ нинѣ̀ и҆ прⷭ҇но и҆ въ вѣ́кы вѣкѡ᷍, а҆ми́нь.

Part Four

Historical Texts

1. Introduction

Along with its other parts, the manuscript under study, BAR 636, contains several historical texts. They differ from one another considerably, but were all selected to serve the purpose and fulfill the tasks of the collection. Law and history are connected along many lines. By definition, law is conservative and looks to the past. Legal custom and customary law are based on a long tradition of respect for certain rules, which turns those rules into a value, a good, and legitimates them as obligatory. Legal interpretation, as linked to law enforcement, is always historical, because the creation of a norm usually precedes its application. Normativity involves the creation, stabilization and preservation of relations and ties in society; hence, it is more or less turned to the past. One way in which law and history are connected is that normativity often seeks in the past the foundations of its legitimacy, seeks them in tradition, and hence turns to historical knowledge of the past. In some legal systems, proof, justification and sanctioning of norms passes through genealogical study. Such is Islamic law, for instance, where proof of the veracity of the hadith that present the deeds and words of the Prophet Muhammad, besides those in the Revelation, is based on a historical account that retraces the path of memory of the event since the beginnings of Islam and up to the moment of the law's application.

The manuscript that is the object of the present study contains two types of historical texts. One type presents events from the general history of the Christian Church: these are the lists of patriarchs of the sees of Jerusalem and Constantinople and the Tale about the Ecumenical Councils. The other type represents an attempt to actualize and localize the common Christian heritage: this is a chronicle,

in which the events of world (in fact, "Roman") history are placed in relation to the nations of Southeastern Europe (the Bulgarians) or Eastern Europe (the Russians and Ruthenians), to the conquest of the Balkans by the Ottomans, and especially to the Principality of Moldavia. This concretization of Christian history with a focus on Eastern and Southeastern Europe aims to provide better comprehension and legitimacy of the main purpose of the collection: the fight against religious deviations.

It should be pointed out at once that the main schema of this group of historical works is not original but was borrowed from Byzantine legal collections. There we find chronographic works (the Chronography of St. Patriarch Nicephorus the Confessor) and the Lists of patriarchs, attributed to him also, which encompass the five traditional patriarchal chairs (Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem), as well as *Tale of the Ecumenical Councils*. Years ago, Yaroslav N. Shtapov devoted a series of particular studies on the historical elements of the Kormchaya, viewed in the context of the original Byzantine collections[1]. They are interesting and relevant for our study, but deal mostly with the textological sources than with their role and function within the entire body of the legal collection. Let us examine the texts separately.

1.1. The *Tale of the Ecumenical Councils* is an essential element of the canonical collections, and hence is certainly interesting for us. The reason for its importance is clear enough: the ecumenical councils, as well as some specific local councils, are a main source of ecclesiastic legislation[2]. In this sense, knowledge of the history of the councils enables us to understand the rules, to interpret them in their own historical context, and to apply them precisely in accordance with the intention of the council fathers. This is also suggested by an interesting observation. As is known, Christianity does not consider law to be the will of God, but sees it as a human creation that belongs to the Kingdom of Caesar[3]. In this respect, Christianity is radically different from Judaism and Islam. For Christians, law is the work of people – in this case, of the bishops at the councils – and not of the Holy Ghost (as are, for instance, the doctrinal decisions of the councils concerning the dogma). Hence, law carries all the deficiencies of human nature: it is transient (i.e., historical, linked to a concrete age, and not eternal), imperfect, changeable and subject to interpretation in its application. That is why the history of the establishment of

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[1] Я. Н. Щапов, *Византийские хронографические сочинения в древнеславянской Кормчей Ефремовской редакции*, "Летописи и хроники. Сборник статей", ред. М. Н. Тихомиров, Москва 1976, pp. 230–263; Idem, *Византийское и южнославянское правовое наследие на Руси в XI–XIII вв.*, Москва 1978, pp. 64–68.

[2] Н. Милашъ, *Православно църковно право*, София 1904, pp. 48, 91–99, 99–108.

[3] H. Hattenhauer, *Europäische Rechtsgeschichte*, 4. Auflage, Heidelberg 2004, pp. 135–140.

norms acquires enormous importance for its interpretation and application. Such is the function of historical accounts about the ecumenical councils, and it is in this context that we should consider their inclusion in the predominantly legal and controversial collection BAR 636 and its twin, the *Bisericani Miscellany* (Yatsimirsky № 51 = BAR Ms. slav. 685), which are the object of the present study. To these arguments concerning the legal part of the collections, we may add such as relate to its controversial anti-heretical part. The ecumenical councils are the highest organ of the Church; they are viewed by Orthodox ecclesiology as the visible head of the Church in our visible world, in contrast with the True Head of the Church, Jesus Christ our Lord. The council was convened when necessary by the emperor, and practically all these occasions were related to internal theological problems among the Christians. The condemnation of some doctrine by the council defines it as a heresy, and it is rejected by the faithful and in some cases persecuted by the state. Thus, the councils acquire great importance in the fight against religious deviations, and the tale about them fits organically in controversial anti-heretical collections like the one in question, as it serves as an argument supporting the rest of the contents of the manuscript.

In his edition, based on the contents of the Kormchaya, Y. N. Shtapov published a text about the councils that completely differs from the one in our manuscripts[4]. The text in the Symeon (Svetoslav) Collection is considerably closer to, but not identical with, the one we are studying[5]. In seeking to identify it, we should look to the Greek original version, which is considerably better researched, but without claiming this is a new translation. A special chapter in this section will be devoted to these problems.

1.2. Although *Tale of the Ecumenical Councils* is, in its variants, one of the most typical historical works included in the legal collections, the other elements of the historical part, the *Patriarchal Lists* and the *Chronography* can also be counted in the traditionally included elements of these collections. They are usually mutually connected. In Byzantine legal collections, we find copies of the *Brief Chronography* of St. Patriarch Nicephorus the Confessor, which passed into the Slavic translations[6]. This work is a rather concise presentation of world history since the creation of the world and up to the first rulers of the Macedonian and Comnenian dynasty. In fact, it

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[4] Я. Н. Щапов, *Византийские хронографические сочинения в древнеславянской Кормчей Ефремовской редакции*, pp. 246–250, 263.

[5] *Симеонов сборник (по Светославовия препис от 1073 г.)*, т. 1. *Изследвания и текст*, София 1991, pp. 241–249 (ff. 23b–27b).

[6] Я. Н. Щапов, *Византийские хронографические сочинения в древнеславянской Кормчей Ефремовской редакции*, pp. 231–241.

is largely a list of names of biblical patriarchs, of Kings of the Chosen People, of Eastern (Persian and Babylonian) and Hellenistic kings and Roman emperors, together with the number of years each of them ruled[7]. Only for a few of them (Alexander, Octavian Augustus, Constantine, Justinian, Heraclius, etc.) are there added remarks about events that took place under their rule. Scholars believe that the lists of patriarchs included in the historical part of the Byzantine legal collections are actually a continuation, and part, of the chronography. That is how they were published by Carl de Boor[8], being placed immediately after the list of the Judaic high priests. In the Slavic translated collections, we find only a list of the ecumenical patriarchs, not including those of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem.

In this respect, we notice some significant differences between the historical part of the collection under study and the respective parts in the above-mentioned collections. The chronographic work is different: instead of the *Brief Chronography* of Patriarch Nicephorus, we have the so-called Moldavian chronicle. It is certainly an expansion and continuation of the further but one going much further up to the actual situation in the European southeast in the 16th century. Of course, the temporal scope is different and extends to a much later age, the early Modern times. The starting point of the chronology is also different: not the creation of Adam but the First Ecumenical Council and the Christianization of the Empire. As for the Lists of Patriarchs, we should note there is such for the patriarchate of Jerusalem, while the list of patriarchs of Constantinople again begins with the First Ecumenical Council (and not with the time of the apostles, as in the original version) and extends to as late as the second half of the 14th century, hundreds of years after the time of the last patriarchs in the Greek lists and the lists in the Slavic translations.

Indisputably, our manuscript displays a much more distinct ambition to update the historical presentation and relate it to the concrete situation in southeastern Europe during the Byzantine and post-Byzantine age. This updating may also be thematic: the connection of the work with the legal and controversial fight against heresies.

2. The location of the historical texts within the manuscript

The location of the historical texts merits special attention in our study in terms of the tasks it sets itself. But first, it should be noted that they may be viewed as independent texts, mutually connected in their contents, which present various aspects of the history of the Church and of Christianity. It is also striking that two

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[7] C. DE BOOR, *Nicephori archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani opuscula historica*, pp. 81–101; V. БЕНЕШЕВИЧ, *Древнеславянская Кормчая*, pp. 210–230.

[8] C. DE BOOR, *Nicephori archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani opuscula historica*, pp. 112 sq.

of the texts are lists of the patriarchs of Jerusalem and of the ecumenical patriarchs of Constantinople, lists which are certainly of a similar genre but are not parts of one and the same presentation, at least not in the framework of this manuscript.

The so-called "Moldavian (or Serbo-Moldavian) chronicle" is particular. It is of a different genre, was compiled in a different (i.e. Moldavian) environment, and presents the history and dissemination of Christianity on a much more local scale (at least the second part of it), although far beyond the boundaries of the principality. There is an opinion that this text, which concludes its account with the year AD 1512, and is thus the latest work in the collection, was probably added to the collection when the latter was compiled in the 16th century[9].

2.1. In the framework of the manuscript BAR 636, the historical texts form a unified whole, as testified by their positioning in a block within the collection. They are gathered in one place and occupy the ff. 206–227, as follows:

– f. 206v – a list of the first patriarchs of the Holy City of Jerusalem. The text is published in chapter 1 of the present section of our book.

– f. 207r – Сказа́нїе ст҃хь въселе́нскы̏ се́дмь съвѡ́р‍ѣ̈. Tale of the seven Ecumenical Councils, mentioned above. It is an inseparable part of the canon law collections. The Tale is published in a separate chapter in the present section of our book.

– f. 220r – chronicle note, which is well-known and was published by Ioan Bogdan[10]. Beginning – въ л҃тѡ́ ѕ҃цѯа҃ (6961=1453) в҃ѣ а҆рх̏їе́пⷦпь к҃у̏ ї҆ѡси̏ ѿ н҃ѣме́скⷶ́ мона́стиⷬѣ. We offer a new publication of the text in chapter 3 of the present section.

– f. 220v – Moldavian chronicle, published by I. Bogdan[11]. Beginning/Title – хр҃тїанстїи ц҃рїе а҃ съворъ. We offer a new publication of the text in chapter 3 of the present section.

– f. 226r – Патрїа́рси ѿ а҃ съвѡ́ⷮ въ к҃ѡⷩстⷶ́тї҆а гра̏. A tale and list of the bishops of Constantinople and the ecumenical patriarchs, from Mitrophanes (306–314) to Philotheus Kokkinos (1354–1355, 1364–1376). The text has not been published by Bogdan, and, to date, has been published only by us in some preliminary publications on the manuscript BAR 636. We offer it in full in chapter 1 of the present section.

Of course, the definition of "historical work" is quite broad and could be applied to other texts as well in the collection, which, however, holds the risk of thin-

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[9] Ив. Билярски, М. Цибранска, *Славянски ръкопис 636 (BAR, Ms. sl. 636) от Библиотеката на Румънската академия в Букурещ*, pp. 149–150; I. Biliarsky, M. Tsibranska, *Contra varietatem pugna latissima*, pp. 144–145.

[10] I. Bogdan, *Cronice inedite*, p. 96, translation on pages. 101–102. In Bogdan's publication of the text, this note (or notes) was added to the chronicle that actually follows it.

[11] *Ibidem*, pp. 91–101 (text and translation).

ning out their meaning and function. Certainly, the enumerated works are well chosen in terms of their importance for the purposeful structure of the manuscript as armor against religious deviations. This is confirmed by the fact that we find the same selected works in our collection's twin manuscript, kept in the Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

2.2. In the *Bisericani Collection* (manuscript № 51 of the Yatsimirsky collection), kept in the Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Saint Petersburg, the same historical part figures likewise as a bloc of texts. Here we will present its contents in brief. We should stress we have worked with a photocopy of the manuscript kept in the Library of the Romanian Academy of Sciences in Bucharest, under number BAR Ms. slav. 685:

– ff. 192r–205r – Сказа́нїе ст҃хъ въсел́ен'скы́ се́дмь съвѡ́рѣ. Tale of the Seven Ecumenical Councils. We mentioned it above in connection with its regular presence in canonical collections.

– ff. 205v–206r – The first patriarchs of Jerusalem. The title here is that of the original work. I believe that the two marginal notes in the list depend on each other or on a common prototype. Even the note concerning the dating from the Passion of Christ to Patriarch Narcissus (AD 106) is present as a marginal note in the left margin. The text was published for the first time in our articles describing manuscript BAR 636[12]. We present it here in chapter 1 of the present section of the book; the copy of the variant kept in the Yatsimirsky Collection in Saint Petersburg has been used for the presentation of variants.

– ff. 206v–209r – Патрїа́рси ѿ пръ́ваго съвѡ́ра въ кѡн'стантинѣ гра́дѣ. Tale and list of the archbishops of Constantinople and the ecumenical patriarchs, from Mitrophanes (306–314) to Philotheus Kokkinos (1354–1355, 1364–1376). It was not published by Ioan Bogdan. We published the text in our articles describing BAR 636[13]. Here we offer its publication in chapter 1 of the present section; the Yatsimirsky copy has been used as a source of variants.

– ff. 209v–215r – Moldavian chronicle published by I. Bogdan[14]. Beginning/ Title – хр҃тїан'стїи цр҃їе а҃ съворъ. Here we publish it in the chapter 3 of this part of our monography.

[12] Ив. Билярски, М. Цибранска, *Славянски ръкопис 636 (BAR, Ms. sl. 636) от Библиотеката на Румънската академия в Букурещ*, p. 113; I. Biliarsky, M. Tsibranska, *Contra varietatem pugna latissima*, pp. 109–110.

[13] Ив. Билярски, М. Цибранска, *Славянски ръкопис 636 (BAR, Ms. sl. 636) от Библиотеката на Румънската академия в Букурещ*, pp. 113–114; I. Biliarsky, M. Tsibranska, *Contra varietatem pugna latissima*, pp. 110–112.

[14] I. Bogdan, *Cronice inedite*, pp. 91–101 (text and translation).

– f. 215 r – a Chronographic note, written later by another copyist. Beginning – **Сїа ца́рствїа а҆гаре́скаа**. This text is not present in BAR 636. It is published further in this book.

The texts are the same but their order has been changed. The text of Tale of the Seven Ecumenical Councils and the List of Patriarchs of Jerusalem has been reversed: here the Tale precedes the List, while in BAR 636, it come after it. In BAR 636, the list seems added. The List of Ecumenical Patriarchs follows immediately after the Jerusalem list. The Moldavian Chronicle is placed last. It is worth mentioning that we find a discrepancy between the texts only with regard to the last two added chronographic notes; we should have in mind that both were added in the twin manuscripts and evidently were not part of the original collection. They were written in another hand and at another time, although in the same epoch.

2.3. A comparison of the content of the historical works in the twin manuscripts reveals some interesting particularities which lead us to certain conclusions. First of all, let us examine the order of presentation! In BAR 636, the order is the following: (1) List of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem; (2) Tale of the Seven Ecumenical Councils; (3) Chronographical note (added); (4) Moldavian Chronicle; (5) List of the Ecumenical Patriarchs of Constantinople. The order of their arrangement in the twin manuscript from the Yatsimirsky collection (BAR Ms. slav. 685) is the following: (1) Tale of the Seven Ecumenical Councils; (2) List of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem; (3) List of the Ecumenical Patriarchs of Constantinople; (4) Moldavian Chronicle; (5) Chronographical note (added).

Undoubtedly, the order of the texts in the Yatsimirsky collection is more logical. There the presentations of general Christian history come first and are followed by texts concerning the local tradition of Eastern and Southeastern Europe. The order in the copy from BAR 636 is somewhat chaotic: the Moldavian chronicle is inserted before the list of ecumenical patriarchs, whereas in terms of chronological order, it should come after the list of patriarchs of Constantinople. The two chronographic notes raise no particular problems, as they are a later addition, and not an integral part of the historical account. They are interesting as texts, but not with regard to their placement in the manuscript.

Should we try to explain this difference in the order? We believe there is no need to. The order in the Bucharest manuscript does not seem to be the result of an intentional change. We can only guess at the reason for it was. One possibility is that the copies were made from different prototypes – thus, it would not be the case that one manuscript is derived from the other or that both come from a common source or a common original. This explanation does not seem very probable to us, inasmuch as the two collections are evidently related. Another possibility

is there was an error or oversight, but we cannot find a reasonable explanation for this either. What is certain in any case is that the content is common and had a common purpose and function that we should identify.

3. The purpose, meaning and function of the inclusion of the historical works in the collections

We have already stated a certain view on this matter. Although our collection is not purely canonical, and its content is focused precisely on the fight against heresies, the presence of the historical texts in it is justified by the historical context of the ecumenical, and other, rules and also of the anti-heretical works. That is how we should explain the presence of all historical presentations in the collection, especially as these are united in a single section of the manuscript.

Of course, we should begin our study from the source: the Byzantine legal collections. As stated above, the historical section is present in those collections, and it is present as an integral part of each collection. This is not the place for a comprehensive study of the Greek manuscript tradition, and such is not our task, but we may use the available tool – the Repertorium of legal Greek manuscripts – to make a brief review. The Repertorium shows that the historical parts of collections usually form blocs, like in our manuscript, which indicates that they were viewed in their own separate context and as texts containing a common message. It would be interesting to trace the situation in the Slavic copies, and this could form the topic of a separate study.

The ecumenical councils (perhaps with the sole exception of the Council in Trullo) were convened to decide important controversies that were shaking the Church. The condemnation of a doctrine that had provoked these controversies made that doctrine heretical and generated new controversial literature, or confirmed the literature already existing before the condemnation. Thus, the history of the dispute, the history of the convening of the council and its course, the history of the establishment of the rules, of the doctrinal debate, and of the theological, and later disciplinary, condemnation of the heresy, became an essential part of the anti-heretical rules or of the doctrinal and disciplinary decisions. Without this part, they are difficult to understand. In any case, the historical account creates a context for the works that are basic to the content and function of the collection. The armor of the fight against heresies needs to be situated in its own temporal environment.

The fight against heresies has two aspects. On the one hand, it is a historical phenomenon: it takes place in a specific historical age; the religious deviation

emerges in a concrete social, historical and spiritual environment and corresponds to the concrete searches of people in that age that have led to the erroneous – according to the Church – conclusion. On the other hand, however, the Church and the Orthodox people respond so sharply not only because the heresy is damaging to their concrete historical interests, impedes the solution of concrete social, and often political, problems, or does harm in some concrete way. The heresy is an erroneous understanding of some essential feature of the faith or of its institutions, an error that is an obstacle on the road to Salvation. History is essentially the road of Mankind that spans from the Fall to the Last Judgement. This is no longer a concrete social or political problem but an inmost concern of Mankind. That is why the fight against religious deviations can be understood only in an ecumenical eschatological perspective. The fight against heresies is a fight not only against heretics but also against the primordial Enemy of humans. Although it is waged in our world, using the current means of a historically specific society, this fight is the precursor of the great eschatological battle against evil at Armageddon. The latter is an image and an argument borrowed from the future to justify the fight against heresy in the present.

Thus, the ruler, or leader, of the battle is often presented as a dragon-slayer, and the saintly dragon-slayers are equated with power. The theme regarding the Muscovite kingdom has been studied in detail by Maria Plyukhanova on the basis of the Vita of Saints Peter and Pheuronia of Murom[15]. The battle with the dragon is not a specific one but is a cosmic battle against the embodiment of evil, against the Enemy of humankind. It is the deep foundation of the fight not only against unbelievers but above all, against heresies. The eschatological background of the battle against evil only emphasizes the importance of that battle's concrete historical dimensions. The tales provide that historical context. If the eschatological evil can be depicted as a dragon/serpent, and the victor as a dragon-slayer, then the concrete encounters with deviations that obstruct Salvation should also have concrete historical images. Such are the councils, such are the ecclesiastic leaders, and such are the rulers as political leaders – Orthodox rulers of course.

That is the purpose of the collection's historical section: in addition to the eschatological battle, there is a battle in history. It is waged by means of the word, which is the sword of the Spirit (Ephesians 6: 17), by means of law and tribunal, using all sorts of weapons, because there is much at stake. That is what the historical works in the manuscript collection mean to tell us.

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[15] М. Плюханова, *Сюжеты и символы Московского царства*, Санкт-Петербург 1995, pp. 217–221.

Chapter I

Lists of Patriarchs

1. The Lists of Patriarchs in the context of the historical part of the legal collection

*I*n the manuscript under study BAR 636, we find two lists of patriarchs: one of the patriarchs of Jerusalem and one of the ecumenical patriarchs. The same two lists, constructed similarly but placed differently, we find in the *Bisericani Miscellany*, the twin manuscript in the collection of A. I. Yatsimirsky.

Lists of patriarchs were invariably included in the canonical-legal collections of the Byzantine tradition, a feature that, through reception from the Empire, passed into the law of Slavic Orthodoxe countries and the principalities of Walachia and Moldavia. The presence of this text in Slavic canonical collections should be the topic of a special study. Unfortunately, we do not have any detailed and general analytical description of those manuscripts that might help us comment on the matter. We may note that the text is present in the basic canonical copies.

Regarding the Greek originals, we have a repertorium of the manuscript tradition of Byzantine canonical law[1] that enables us to make some observations and generalizations. According to the repertorium, the lists of patriarchs are present in twelve manuscript collections of ecclesiastic and canonical law; most of these manuscripts present lists for all five old patriarchal sees: Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem[2]. There are only a few exceptions: the see of Constantinople alone is present in manuscripts № 347, 354, 522 and 526 (accord-

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[1] A. Schminck, D. Getov, *Repertorium der Handschriften des byzantinischen Rechts*, Teil II. *Die Handschriften des kirchlichen Rechts*, vol. I, Frankfurt am Main 2010; vol. II, Frankfurt am Main 2017.

[2] We are referring to numbers 344, 351, 397, 347, 354, 473, 477, 479, 481, 521, 522, 526 in the repertorium.

ing to the classification of the repertorium), and in № 522, Constantinople and Rome (only the first Roman bishops, up to Pope Felix II). Nowhere do we find only two sees separated from the other (except the sole case of Rome staying alone), and there is no special attitude towards Jerusalem. It is also worth noting that in the Greek copies, the lists of patriarchs form an integral bloc of sees (in many cases, all five patriarchates). This certainly shows the lists to be part of a unified text. In the Slavic translations, this observation is not possible as there are no other sees besides Constantinople. In our manuscript BAR 636 and its twin, the see of Jerusalem is also present, whose list comes in first place but is separated from that of the ecumenical patriarchs by the text of the *Tale of the Ecumenical Councils* and the *Moldavian Chronicle*. In the *Bisericani Collection* (Yatsimirsky № 51/BAR 685) the patriarchs of Constantinople follow immediately after those of Jerusalem. We do not believe we should draw any special conclusion only on the basis of the separation in BAR 636, which might be due to all sorts of reasons, including technical ones. The important thing is that in both cases the lists are included in the unified set of the historical part of the collections, which the compiler viewed as an integral whole.

The Greek originals of the lists have been published several times; understandably, the prevalent interest in these editions is directed towards the ecumenical patriarchs. The first edition, that of Johannes Leunclavius, was subsequently reissued in vol. CXIX of *Patrologia graeca*. This edition encompasses only a list, with brief historical notes, of the ecumenical patriarchs, from the first one and up to Patriarch Joseph I Galesiotes (1266–1275), followed by a presentation of the officials of the Patriarchate[3]. We also find lists of patriarchs in the foreword to the first volume of the works of St. Athanasius of Alexandria in *Patrologia graeca*, vol. XXV[4]. We have three lists: two of the patriarchs of Alexandria (in Greek and Latin) and one, in Latin, of the Roman popes. The publisher indicates on which copies he has based the publication: ex codice Colbertino 3558, saeculi XVI. The next edition was made by Carl de Boor in the framework of his publication of the historical works of Patriarch Nicephorus[5]. This text (a brief chronicle and lists of the emperors and patriarchs) was republished, with some significant differences, in parallel with the Slavic translation by Vladimir Benešević in his study and

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[3] Iohannis Leunclavii, *Iuris Graeco-Romani tam canonici quam civilis. Tomi duo*, Francofurti MDXCVI, vol. I, pp. 296–304 (reprint Farnborough 1971); *Patrologia graeca*, vol. 119, Parisiis 1881, col. 909–926.

[4] *Patrologia graeca*, vol. XXV, *S. P. N. Athanasii archiepiscopi Alexandrini. Opera omnia quae existant vel quae eius nomine circumferunt*, pp. CLCCCIV–CLXXXV.

[5] C. de Boor, *Nicephori archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani opuscula historica*, Leipzig 1880 (reprint New York 1975), pp. 112–133.

publication of some texts from the Kormchaya[6]. The Russian author followed de Boor's edition and quoted it, but the copy he chose does not always coincide with the Slavic translation with regard both to the list and to the missing, or present, very brief notes about the pontificates of some patriarchs. In 1884, F. Fischer published an extensive study on the list of patriarchs of Constantinople[7]. He made a wide and detailed review of the sources; indisputably, his work is an important stage in the study of the see of Constantinople, but the theme of his work is very different from ours. Here I will only mention that the author devotes special attention to the first eight patriarchs, from Mitrophanes, through Alexander, Paul, Eusebius, Macedonius, Eudoxius, Dimophil and up to Evagrius[8], who are also the first ones in the list in manuscript BAR 636. Vladimir N. Beneševič includes lists of patriarchs in two of his editions. The first of these is the edition of the rank lists from the Treatise of Philotheus[9]. His other publication was already mentioned above. In it, he also published the Slavic translation based on two manuscripts: the Troitsky (Troits. 207) and the Pliginsky copies (Collection of Titov in ГПБ F. II 250/РНБ, Б 11.250)[10].

The lists of patriarchs are considered to be the work of Patriarch Nicephorus, being closely connected with his historical writings[11]. They encompass all five of the traditional patriarchal sees (Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem) and are present in nearly all Greek copies of the Chronography of Patriarch Nicephorus. The shortest, and oldest, lists of ecumenical patriarchs usually go as far as Patriarch Ignatius, i.e., around half a century after the death of Patriarch Nicephorus, while the list of the four sees do not extend beyond the middle of the 7th century. Y. N. Shtapov explicitly notes that the Slavic copies of the Kormchaya contain lists only of the ecumenical patriarchs; the other lists are not included[12].

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[6] В. Н. Бенешевич, *Древнеславянская Кормчая XIV титулов без толкований*, т. II, ред. Я. Н. Щапов, София 1987, pp. 210–239 (патриаршеския списък pp. 231–236).

[7] F. Fischer, *De patriarcharum Constantinopolitanorum catalogis et de chronologia octo primorum patriarcharum*, "Commentationes philologiae Ienenses" III, Leipzig 1884, pp. 263–333.

[8] Ibidem, pp. 297–333.

[9] V. Beneševič, *Die byzantinischen Ranglisten nach dem Kletorologion Philothei (De cer. l. II c. 52) und nach dem Jerusalemer. Handschriften zusammengestellt und revidiert*, "Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher" 5, 1926–1927, Athen–Berlin, pp. 97–167 (lists of Patriarchs, pp. 98–102).

[10] В. Н. Бенешевич, *Древнеслаянская Кормчая*, II, pp. 231–236.

[11] Я. Н. Щапов, *Византийские хронографические сочинения в древнеславянской Кормчей Ефремовской редакции*, [in:] *Летописи и хроники. Сборник статей*, ред. М. Н. Тихомиров, Москва 1976, pp. 241–242.

[12] Я. Н. Щапов, *Византийские хронографические сочинения в древнеславянской Кормчей Ефремовской редакции*, p. 242.

2. List of the patriarchs of the Holy City of Jerusalem

In manuscript BAR Ms. slav. 636, we find a list of the first thirty-six patriarchs of Jerusalem that starts from the first who held the see, Saint James, "brother of the Lord", and goes as far as Cyril I. The text has no original title, and the title present in the manuscript was added later by the copyist, in red ink above the text. The same hand wrote some of the notes and additions to the text. We believe that the notes warrant the search for a mutual dependence between the two copies or their dependence on a common prototype.

We already mentioned that the Slavic copies of the Kormchaya contain no lists of the Jerusalem patriarchs. This gives us reason to search elsewhere for the source of their presence in the text. There was probably a direct loan from some Greek original or a continuation of a different Slavic tradition. When comparing the list published below with the Greek original from de Boor's edition[13], the first difference to strike our attention is that, unlike the Greek text, BAR 636 does not give the number of years of the pontificates of the Jerusalem patriarchs. Of course, we may also enquire what was the point of including this list in the collection. We do not believe there are no obvious data indicating the inclusion of the Jerusalem list was connected in any way with the general message of the manuscript. The presence of the list of patriarchs of the Church of the Holy Land and the sees in the city of the Incarnation and the Passion was probably meant to give greater weight to the historical context of the texts – legal and controversial – of the Moldavian collection in the 16th century.

Here we present the whole text, with variants based on the twin copy from the Yatsimirsky collection[14].

BAR 636, f. 206v; Yatsimirsky № 51 = BAR 685, ff. 295v–206r:

Ꙁⷣє ѿ прьвьꙑ патрїарχы єⷤтго граⷣ їерⷭ҇лма ⁓

Прьвьıй ꙗⷦ брⷶⷮ гнⷭь • сꙇ́меѡⷩ клеѡповь • їоⷶустъ • ꙁакхеи • тѡ́вїа • венїа́минъ • сенека́сь • їоⷶустъ • ле́вїи • ефриⷭъ • їѡсиⷪь • їꙋⷣа • ѿ а́гⷪ[15] плѣне́нїа їерⷭ҇лмоу до ᲀ҇сле́ньго разо́ренїа . и їоⷶудеискаго изгна́нїа, лⷠ҇ • гⷩ҇ . а иⷤже ѿ аꙁⷠꙑ, а́гⷪ бⷭꙑ . маⷦко • васꙇ́анъ • поⷶу҇плїе •мадⷤⷩ • їоⷶулꙇ́анъ • гⷶ҇їе • сⷶуⷶд • гⷶ҇їе дроⷶугьıи • и инь їоⷶулꙇ́ан • капи́тѡнь • дѡлиχꙇ́ань • оⷶу҇́лъ • наркисъ • дꙇ́а • германꙇ́а • гѡⷬдꙇ́е • алеѯⷶ́ндⷬъ • марꙁавань • ꙇⷶ҇мꙋнꙇ́е • ꙁавда́нь • ѥрмѡⷩ макарꙇ́е • ѿ χⷡ҇а оⷶу҇бо пришеⷭ҇твꙇ́а лⷮⷽⷶ даⷤже[16]

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[13] C. ᴅᴇ Bᴏᴏʀ, *Nicephori archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani opuscula historica*, pp. 123–126.

[14] In the copy from the collection of А. И. Яцимирский No 51 (= BAR Ms. slav. 685) this text occupies ff. 205v–206r.

[15] Яцимирский 51: прьваго.

[16] Яцимирский 51: omm.

до ѡ҆брѣте́нїа чⷮнаго кр҃та. т҃кⷢ + По мака́ри прѣⷣ маѯимѡна́съ · и҆ кѵ́рїлъ + ѿ
а́ѵгоуста цр҃ѣ ѿнели же родиса̀ гь҃ ᵙᵘˢ и҃ⷡ х҃с по плъ̾ти даже до кѡнстанти́на цр҃ѣ л҃е
бы́ⷯ цр҃їе · поⷣбнѣ же и҆ ѿ я́ꙗ҆кѡва л҃е патрїа́рⷢ въ і҆е҃рлⷨ҇.

In the margin, there is a note, on five lines in red ink, related to the Patri-
arch Narcissus and probably written by the copyist Hierodeacon Hilarion: ꙗ҆ⷢ бы́ти
на́кис҆ .л҃ томⷤ ѿ спⷤите́/ныꙗ срⷮ҃и. бⷦ҃ бⷹ лѣтⷯ҃ р҃ⷢ ти́ⷨ :— (=106).

It should be noted that there are some significant differences in the lists: in the
Slavic text, there are omissions and a displacement, and the lists ends at different
patriarchs (time). We already noted the absence of the years of the pontificates
– except for Patriarch Narcissus, whose name is added in the margin (in both cop-
ies), followed by the number 30 and the indication that 106 years have passed
since the Passion of Christ. Second in the list is Simon, son of Clopas, who is
designated in the Greek text as Συμεών ὁ Κλεώπα[17]. We will not linger on some
changes of names, which nevertheless remain recognizable when the ending of the
nominative case is removed, albeit incorrectly. Missing from the list are John, Mat-
thew, and Philip (№ 7–9), who should stand between Benjamin and Seneca; Elijah
(№ 25), between Julian and Capiton; the places of Valentus (№ 29) and Dulichian
(№ 30) are moved, and Maxim and Antonin, who precede the latter two (№ 27–28)
and come after Capiton, are missing; also missing is the second Narcissus (if he is
not the one designated in the marginal note); Maxim has become Maximonas, and
after Cyril (St. Cyril of Alexandria), the remaining ones up to Sophronius (St. So-
phronius of Jerusalem) are not present in the Slavic list in BAR 636. Let us list the
missing names: 1) St. John I (the second decade of the 2nd century AD); 2) St. Mat-
thew I († 120, ?113–120); 3) St. Philip (120–124); 4) Elijah; 5) Maxim; 6) Antonin.
The first three are canonized saints and the latter three are little known. Though
the matter could be researched additionally, we see no particular reason why these
names should have fallen off the list. It could be due to an error in copying/transla-
tion, or to omissions in the Greek original. The only remaining objective of further
research would be to identify the Greek original of the list.

There are likewise differences in the explanatory notes attached to the list.
In the Slavic text, there is an indication where the list of the first patriarchs of
Jerusalem ends – those who lived in the time of the apostles and who were of the
Chosen People (from James, brother of the Lord, to Judas). It is also indicated that
fifty years had passed from the first capture of Jerusalem to its last destruction,
and that the next bishops were "from the pagans", i.e., were not Jews. Additional
information is given towards the end of the list: the number of years from the In-
carnation to the discovery of the Holy Cross and from Augustus to Constantine,

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[17] C. de Boor, *Nicephori archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani opuscula historica*, p. 123$_{24}$.

and that the number of patriarchs since the time of James is 35. This information is missing in the Greek texts published by de Boor, where it is noted which patriarchs were under the rule of pagan emperors, and which, under Christian emperors. The last in our list is St. Cyril of Jerusalem[18], while in the Greek list, the last is St. Sophronius of Jerusalem[19]. The question is, why were these two chosen to be last. We are tempted to look for some meaning in this choice, while admitting the meaning is hard to prove and holds the risk of over-interpretation of the text. The name of St. Sophronius of Jerusalem is linked to the time of the Islamic conquest of the Holy Land and of Jerusalem. This occurred precisely in the time of his pontificate, when the relations between conquerors and conquered were established – especially the relation between the caliph Omar and the Church and its prelate St. Sophronius. We suppose that the crucial importance of this time determined Patriarch Nicephorus, or some other author of the Byzantine original of the list, to end the enumeration there. For his part, St. Cyril of Jerusalem was one of the most respected theologians and Fathers of the Church. He is known foremost for his fight against the arch-heretic Arius and the Arian heresy. We are tempted to see that as the reason for his last place on the list of the two Moldavian copies (BAR 636 and Yatsimirsky 51/BAR 685). This choice would be in harmony with the general anti-heretical purpose of the collection. This is merely a hypothesis, but a probable one.

3. List of the ecumenical patriarchs

On f. 226r of BAR 636, there is a text entitled: Патрїа́рси ѿ а҃ съвѡ̑ въ кѡ̂стѧ́тї҆а гра̀. This is a list of prelates who held the see of Constantinople, starting with the time of the First Ecumenical Council and Mitrophanes, and ending with the time of Patriarch Philotheus Kokkinos (1354–1355, 1364–1376) – an emblematic anti-Barlaamite, who defended Orthodoxy in the 14th century controversies. The title of the text is written in red ink, as are the separate contents, which subdivide the text (of the list of patriarchs of Constantinople) and function as rubric headings. Some of the first letters of the names, and the dots that separate them, are also written in red. This particular text has been published only in our descriptions of the manuscript BAR 636, and we present it here in full:

BAR 636, f. 226r; Yatsimirsky № 51= BAR 685, ff. 206v–209r

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[18] *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. I, pp. 571–572.
[19] *Ibidem*, vol. III, pp. 1928–1929.

Патрїа́рси ѿ а҃[20] съб҃ѡ въ ко҃стѧ́тїа гра̀. Сщ҃е́нныи митрѡ́фань, патрїа́ршьствова̀. и҆ пото́мь а҆леѯа́нр҄ъ, л҃Е҃ к҃Г. па́вель, Г҃ л҃Е҃. ѡ҆каа́ныи е҆ѵсе́вїе, в҃I л҃Е҃. македѡ́нїе дх҃оборець[21]. веѕсла́вныи е҆ѵдоѯї҅е. и҆ пото́мь димофиль ѕлы́и, в҃I л҃Е҃. е҆ва́грїе та́кож҄е, а҃ л҃Е҃. съвѡр҄ъ в҃. грїгѡ́рїе в҃гослѡ́вь, в҃I л҃Е҃. некта́рїе, ѕ҃ л҃Е҃. веѕлатын і҆ѡ҃ ѕ҃ л҃Е҃. а҆рса́кїе ѕла҃, в҃ л҃Е҃. а҆ттѵ́къ, к҃ л҃Е҃. снсї́нїе, а҃ л҃Е҃. маѯі́мїань, в҃ л҃Е҃. Несторїа мро̆ъскаго. ѿ а҆нтїохї́а ꙋбо сꙋ́ща. ко҃стантинова же гра҃ стѡ҃. не б҃лгочьстивна въ҆ржче на бывша ⸗[22] съвѡ́ръ Г҃. Проклъ, в҃I л҃Е҃. флавїа́нъ, в҃ л҃Е҃. съвѡ́ръ Д҃. а҆натѡлїе, и҃ л҃Е҃. генадїе, г҃I л҃Е҃. ѕлы́н а҆какїе, ѕ҃I л҃Е҃. флавнта та́коже, м҃цъ Г҃. е҆ѵфі́мїе ѕ҃ л҃Е҃ македѡ́нїе, г҃ л҃Е҃. тнмѡ́ѳїе веѕчь́стныи, ѕ҃ л҃Е҃. і҆ѡ҃, а҃ л҃Е҃. епнфа́нїе, ѕ҃ л҃Е҃. а҆нѳн҃ м҃цъ ї҃. минна̀, ѕ҃I л҃Е҃. съвѡ́ръ Е҃. е҆ѵтнхїе, г҃I л҃Е҃. і҆ѡ҃, в҃I л҃Е҃. е҆ѵтнхїе пакы́, Д҃ л҃Е҃. по́стнн і҆ѡ҃, г҃I л҃Е҃. кѵрїакь, а҃I л҃Е҃. ѳѡма̀, г҃ л҃Е҃. се́ргїе, к҃ѕ л҃Е҃. пѵ́ръ, г҃ л҃Е҃. пе́тръ, в҃I л҃Е҃. ѳѡма̀, в҃ л҃Е҃. ѕло́чь́стныи і҆ѡа́нъ, ѕ҃ л҃Е҃. кѡ҃стантинь, в҃ л҃Е҃. ѳеѡ́ръ, г҃ л҃Е҃. съвѡ́ръ, ѕ҃. геѡ́гїе, в҃ л҃Е҃. ѳеѡ́ръ пакы́, г҃ л҃Е҃. па́велъ, ѕ҃ л҃Е҃. ка́лнннкъ, в҃ л҃Е҃. кѵ҃, ѕ҃ л҃Е҃. і҆ѡ҃, г҃ л҃Е҃. монофелнтннь. бж҃тъвныи ге́рма, в҃I л҃Е҃. ѕлы́н а҆наста́сїе, к҃ л҃Е҃. кѡ҃стантинь, в҃I л҃Е҃. нннкѵ́та, е҃ л҃Е҃. па́вель, е҃ л҃Е҃. съвѡ́ръ, ѕ҃. тара́сїе, к҃а л҃Е҃. нннкнфѡ́рь, ѳ҃ л҃Е҃. ѡ҆каа́ныи ѳеѡ́ть, ѕ҃ л҃Е҃. антѡ́нїе, г҃I л҃Е҃. і҆ѡ҃, ѕ҃ л҃Е҃. меѳѡ́дїе, Д҃ л҃Е҃. ѵгнатїе[23], а҃I л҃Е҃. фѡ́тїе, ѕ҃ л҃Е҃. ѵгнатїе, а҃I л҃Е҃. фѡ́тїе пакы҄, ѕ҃ л҃Е҃. сте́фань[24], г҃I л҃Е҃. антѡ́нїе, Д҃ л҃Е҃. нннкѡлае, а҃I л҃Е҃. е҆ноѳі́лїе, г҃ л҃Е҃. ннкѡ́лае пакы҄, г҃I л҃Е҃. а҆масінскын сте́фань, ѕ҃ л҃Е҃. трнфѡ́нь , Д҃ л҃Е҃. ѳеѡфнла́кть цр҃евь сн҃ъ, к҃Г л҃Е҃. пѡлнѐвктъ, д҃I л҃Е҃. васн́лїе, г҃ л҃Е҃. а҆нтѡ́нїе стоꙋ́дінскын, ѕ҃ л҃Е҃. ннкѡ́лае, в҃I л҃Е҃. снсї́нїе, е҃ л҃Е҃. се́ргїе, к҃ л҃Е҃. е҆ѵста́ѳїе, ѕ҃ л҃Е҃. а҆леѯ́їе, н҃I л҃Е҃. мнхан́лъ, в҃I л҃Е҃. кѡнстантін҃ъ, Д҃ л҃Е҃. і҆ѡ҃ ѯ́їфнлннь, а҃I л҃Е҃. кѡ́сма, ѕ҃ л҃Е҃. е҆ѵстра́тїе, г҃ л҃Е҃. ннкѡ́лае, к҃ѕ л҃Е҃. і҆ѡ҃, к҃Г л҃Е҃. лѐѡнь, и҃ л҃Е҃. мнхаи́лъ, в҃ л҃Е҃. кѡ́ѕма, м҃цъ ї҃. ннкѡ́лае моꙋ́ѕало, к҃ѕ л҃Е҃. ѳеѡ́ть, в҃ л҃Е҃. кѡ҃стантін҃, в҃ л҃Е҃. лоꙋ́ка, в҃I л҃Е҃. мнхаи҃, ѳ҃ л҃Е҃. хъ́рнтѡ́н, а҃ л҃Е҃. ѳеѡ́сїе, г҃ л҃Е҃. васи́лїе, в҃ л҃Е҃. ннкнта, г҃ л҃Е҃. лешѡ҃, м҃цъ ѕ҃. дѡснѳе́н, а҃ л҃Е҃. геѡ́гїе, ѕ҃ л҃Е҃. і҆ѡ҃, а҃I л҃Е҃. прн н҃е же пре́клѡ́нн цр҃нгра́ла́тннѡ̀ главꙋ. мнхан́лъ, Д҃ л҃Е҃. ѳеѡ́ръ, ѕ҃ л҃Е҃. маѯі́мъ, м҃цъ Г҃. маноꙋ́лъ, м҃цъ Д҃. ге́рманъ велн́кын, в҃ л҃Е҃. меѳѡ́дїе, м҃цъ Г҃. маноꙋ́лъ, в҃ л҃Е҃. а҆рсе́нїе, е҃ л҃Е҃. ннкнфѡ́рь, а҃ л҃Е҃. а҆рсе́нїе пакы̆, в҃ л҃Е҃. ге́рманъ, а҃

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[20] Yatsimirsky 51: про҄ъваго.

[21] Above the name of Patriarch Macedonius, the year is written rather illegibly. According to historical data, he inherited the patriarchal throne from Eusebius of Nicomedia and was patriarch for around ten years during his second pontificate (351–360). Yatsimirsky № 51: ѕ҃ л҃Е҃.

[22] The text, starting from Nestorius and up to this note, is written in the right margin of the manuscript page. In the *Bisericani Miscellany* (Yatsimirsky № 51/BAR 685), it is written in the presentation itself, at its place in the list.

[23] Yatsimirsky № 51: сн҃ъ михаила цр҃ѣ . и҆ вн҃ѣкъ нннкѵ́фѡ́ра цр҃ѣ д҃I л҃Е҃. The number д҃I was corrected above the row as е҃I. In manuscript BAR 636, this text is written in the upper margin of the page as an addition to the text, probably due to omission.

[24] Yatsimirsky № 51: е҃н҃ъ василїа цр҃ѣ. In manuscript BAR 636 this text is written in the upper margin of the page as an addition to the text.

л҃Є. і҆ѡ҆сі́фь и҆сповѣ́дникъ, н҃ л҃Є. і҆ѡ҃ вѣковь латннофрѡ́нь, н҃ л҃Є. і҆ѡ҆сі́фь пакы̀ а҃цъ д҃. гри́горі́е кѵ́прі́е, ѕ҃ л҃Є. а҆ѳа́насі́е до́блын (sic!)[25], д҃ л҃Є. і҆ѡ҃ крѡ́ткын, ѳ҃ л҃Є. а҆ѳа́насі́е пакы̀ н҃ л҃Є. ннфѡ́нъ з҃Є́лнын, д҃ л҃Є. і҆ѡ҃, г҃ л҃Є. гера́снмь, г҃ л҃Є. і҆са́і́а же и҆ і҆ѡа́ннъ, ѿ нѐго же мнѡ́го ма́тежь ц҃рквн по́дꙗтъ. а҆кнндннеу и҆ варламеу побо́рннкъ. и҆сндѡ́рь, г҃ л҃Є. калнсть до́брын, д҃ л҃Є. фнлѡ́ѳен, а҃ца, ѕ҃. втѡ́ро пакы̀ калі́стъ. пакы̀ же и҆ фнлѡ́ѳен втѡ́ро:~

The list of the patriarchs of Constantinople is considerably longer than that of the Jerusalem prelates, and is significantly different. The patriarchs (with few exceptions) are presented with the number of years of their pontificates; they are arranged according to the ecumenical councils, and there are a greater number of historical and theological notes about them. The last name on the list is certainly emblematic as well, but is from a much later date than the last on the Jerusalem list.

We already pointed out that the Slavic translations usually contain only the list of the ecumenical patriarchs, while that of the Jerusalem patriarchs figures in our manuscripts only as an exception. The prelates of Constantinople figure more often in the Greek original of the lists: others might be absent, but they are always included in the collections. We believe the reason for this is clear; it is related not only to the importance of the see in the capital city but also to the focus on the Empire and events there, especially those involving law (jurisprudence and administration of justice).

In this respect, it would be interesting to compare our list with those in other Slavic collections (as far as these are accessible to us) and with the Greek ones published by Carl de Boor. As for the Slavic ones, we may use the publications of V. N. Benešević and Y. N. Shtapov as a basis for comparison. The most important difference between the lists is their range. The Byzantine ones, as well as those Slavic ones that were published by the two Russian authors, begin the list of Constantinople prelates with St. Andrew the First-called, while our list begins with Mitrophanes I; it is explicitly stated that the time of the First Ecumenical Council is taken as the starting point of the list. This is probably related to the tradition according to which the emperor Constantine awarded the bishop of Byzantium with the honorary dignity of patriarch. In this respect, our manuscript BAR 636 and its twin continue this tradition and differ significantly from the starting date and first name both in the Greek original and in the published Slavic translations.

The ending of the list is even more interesting. While the Greek lists conclude with Patriarch Nicholas I Mystikos (901–907, 912–925), and the Slavic ones, with Patriarch Euthymius I Syncellus (907–912) – in the late 9th and early 10th century – those in our manuscripts conclude with Patriarch Philotheus Kok-

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[25] It is the same in the *Bisericani* manuscript (Yatsimirsky № 51).

kinos (1354–1355, 1364–1376), who was deeply involved in the Palamite controversies in the 14th century. In both cases, the chosen dates were not arbitrary. In the late 9th and early 10th century, there were intense disputes in Constantinople, which it took decades to resolve. That was undoubtedly an important moment in the history of the Church, closely related to the development of its canon. The same may be said about the Hesychast disputes of the 14th century, which certainly drew a dividing line within Orthodoxy and also between the Eastern and the Roman Churches. Of course, we are tempted to relate this choice in the lists to the general anti-heretical orientation of the collection.

As for the list itself, we may say the differences are due either to a confusion regarding the repeated pontificates of certain patriarchs, or to errors and confusion in the list itself, or (more rarely) to damnatio memoriae of the respective prelates of Constantinople. Let us point out some cases! There is the repeated dismissal and restoration of Patriarch Paul I the Confessor and Patriarch Macedonius, the latter being evidently related to controversies regarding the heresy that bears his name. There are hesitations about the positions, in the list, of Patriarch Nestorius and Patriarch Maximian, which is related to controversies with the Nestorians and the course of the Third Ecumenical Council. In connection with the Council of Chalcedon, we observe hesitations regarding the name of Patriarch Anatolius (in some other Slavic copies, he is named "Antoniy") and his place on the list before or after the council. Similar is the situation around the Fifth Ecumenical Council and the order in which the patriarchs Menas, Eutychius, and John are listed. In the Greek list, there are no more names after Patriarch Sergius, and this is certainly related to the controversies with the Monothelites. And finally, the name of Patriarch Antony (821–837), who should come after Patriarch Theodote, is missing in the Greek original published by Carl de Boor; this might be due to his affiliation to the iconoclasts.

In general, we believe the deviations in the list do not carry any significant information relevant to our task of explaining the presence of historical texts in the legal-controversial collection. Here we should make the important clarification that the irrelevant differences are those in the parallel lists, while the differences between the beginning and, especially, the ending of the lists (which extend as late as the 14th century in the twin manuscripts under study) are very important for our topic. They certainly confirm the overall emphasis of the collection as a literary armor against religious deviations.

Chapter II

Tale about the Ecumenical Councils

1. The history of the ecumenical councils in the context of the historical part of the legal collection

*T*he council, especially the ecumenical council, is held to be the highest institution of the Church in the visible world, inasmuch as, viewed as a divine-human institution, its head in the celestial world is the Lord Jesus Christ. In the early Church, bishops, presbyters, and deacons, together with laypersons, held regional meetings to resolve important questions and disputes; under Emperor Constantine the Great, the First Ecumenical Council was convened to oppose the doctrine of Arius. This forum had the additional effect of emphasizing the universal character of the Church, corresponding to that of the Empire[1]. The emergence of the idea of the council is related to the idea of it's the anthropic character, and respectively, its infallibility on doctrinal issues, and also its Christian universalism, which was impaired by the division that concluded in the 11th century[2]. The canonical issues resolved at the council were not in the category of Divine and infallible decisions, but certainly had great importance for both ecclesiastic and secular law. The early councils were summoned and presided over by the Emperor, who was the central figure there, and their decisions were promulgated by an imperial constitution, which made them an inseparable part of the integral normative system. Thus, the council combines all aspects of Christian universalism and defines an important part of the political and legal ideas of the age.

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[1] W. Beinert, *Council*, [in:] *Encyclopaedia of Christian Theology*, vol. I, Abingdon 2005.

[2] On the history of councils and the idea of council, see: H. J. Sieben, *Die Konzilsidee der Alten Kirche*, Paderborn 1979; H. J. Sieben, *Traktate une Theorien zum Konzil*, Paderborn 1983; W. Brandmüller (ed.), *Konziliensgeschichte*, Paderborn 1980, sq.

That is how things stand in the manuscript under study. The *Tale of the Seven Ecumenical Councils* represents a kind of focal point for the legal, doctrinal-polemic, anti-heretical, and historical-chronological part of the collection. The ecumenical history of Christianity cannot be described without an account of the controversies, opposition, events, participants, content and results of the ecumenical councils. As mentioned, the conciliar principle of the Holy Universal Orthodox Church is one of the most important principles of its existence and organization. At the same time, in legal and ideological terms, the *Tale* is the most essential element of the historical part of the legal collections. Inasmuch as the rules of the ecumenical councils are central to ecclesiastic and, in a certain sense, secular legislation, the account of their course and objectives furnishes a basis for the structure of the collection. To this, we should add the importance of these councils for the fight against heresies: thus, the importance of the text for our legal and anti-heretical collection becomes evident.

2. The *Tale of the Ecumenical Councils* in the Byzantine tradition

As the text in question is an essential element of the legal collections, it has not passed unnoticed by juridical historiography. This refers most of all to the Byzantine Greek-language tradition, from which the Slavic tradition originated. It is quite natural that the Church councils have provoked the interest of researchers since the dawn of Byzantine studies, but we may say the publication and investigation of the synoptic reviews grew in the second half of the 20th century. Already in 1974, Father Joseph A. Munitiz remarked that "a critical edition of the full *synopsis de synodis* is clearly a *desideratum* for the study of the Byzantine catechetics and theology", although Father Frantisek Dvornik had already declared his intention of filling in this gap[3]. The task has been made difficult by the existence of textual variations in the different copies; nevertheless, a considerable amount of literature has accumulated. Here we may point out again the previously mentioned series of studies by H. J. Sieben[4], and also those by J. A. Munitiz[5]. Several years ago, a critical edition of one of the variants of the history of councils in the Greek-language Byzantine tradition was published[6].

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[3] J. A. Munitiz, *Synoptic Greek Accounts of the Seventh Council*, "Revue des études byzantines" 32, 1974, p. 147.

[4] See here note 2.

[5] Father J. A. Munitiz devoted a series of studies to this topic, of which the main ones are cited frequently here.

[6] L. M. Hoffmann und W. Brandes, *Eine unbekannte Konzilssynopse aus dem Ende des 9. Jahrhunderts. Editiert, übersetzt und kommentiert*, [in:] *Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte*, Bd. 30, Frankfurt am Main 2013, 360 p.

The topic is very extensive and is additionally complicated by the lack of a unified, stable text tradition.

The history of councils is an essential element of legal collections, but one that permits some freedom of presentation, which may be shorter or longer depending on the aims of the compiler. We have some very brief accounts of councils, limited to their enumeration and the indication of the number of years separating two successive councils[7]. We also have some more extensive presentations, which give an account of the course, participants, activities and results of the respective council[8]. There are also some much longer accounts of each of the councils, such as the text published by L. M. Hoffmann and W. Brandes[9]. The copy under study, which we publish further below, belongs to the second of these three groups, so that is the group on which we will focus our attention. Research is made difficult by the considerable variety within the group, in terms of copies and versions. The first group of accounts consists of works that give quite short presentations, but they too may be interesting because of their different ways of dating the councils and measuring the intervals of time between them, ways that are present in our copy as well. The third group seems to have the least number of common features with our text. Notable about it is that the detailed presentation is combined with a lack of dating elements, such as the year from

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[7] V. N. Benešević published the Greek and Slavic texts together (Б. Н. Бенешевич, *Древнеславянская Кормчая XIV титулов без толкований*, София 1987, pp. 237–239).

[8] Here we may point out the classical edition by Christophe Justel/Christophorus Justellus (*Nomocanon Photii patriarchae Constantinopolitani. Cum commentariis Theodori Balsamonis patriarchæ Antiocheni. Christophorus Justellus ex bibliotheca Palatina nunc primum græce edidit. Accessere ejusdem Photii, Nili metropolitæ Rhodi, & anonymi tractatus de synodis oecumenicis ex bibliotheca Sedanensi ab eodem Justello nunc primum græce editi*, Parisiis 1615), which was later reprinted multiple times (the first reprint being made in the 17th century by Justell's son Henri Justellus and Guillaume Voellus in: *Bibliotheca iuris canonici veteris*, II, Parisiis 1661). We should mention the popular edition in G. Rhalles, M. Potles, vol. I, pp. 370–374 (Γ. Α. Ῥαλλη, Μ. Ποτλη, *Σύνταγμα τῶν Θείων καὶ Ἱερῶν κανόνων τῶν τε ἁγίων καὶ πανευφήμων Ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν Ἱερῶν Οἰκουμενικῶν καὶ Τοπικῶν Συνόδων, καὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος Ἁγίων Πατέρων*, Τόμος πρῶτος, Ἀθηνήσιν 1852). In the framework of his study of Greek manuscripts in Brussels that were not used by C. Justell, J. A. Munitiz published a text (*The Manuscript of Justell's "Anonymi tractatus de Synodis"*, "Byzantion" XLVII, 1977, pp. 253–257). The text in the third volume of the edition of the Miscellany (Izbornik) of Svetoslav (the Symeon Collection) is close and represents another version of this one, published by G. Rhalles – M. Potles, *Симеонов сборник (по Светославовия препис от 1073 г.)*, т. 3. *Гръцки извори*, София 2015, pp. 216–232. In any case, it is worth noting that many of these copies present an early variant of the text, in which the ecumenical councils are six in number, not seven.

[9] L. M. Hoffmann, W. Brandes, *Eine unbekannte Konzilssynopse aus dem Ende des 9. Jahrhunderts*, pp. 52–203.

the Creation of the World, the years of the preceding ecumenical council or the dating of the reign of the Emperor who convened the council. All this makes it less interesting for us, especially as this group, to the best of our knowledge, has no examples in the Slavic linguistic environment.

3. The *Tale of the Ecumenical Councils* and its study in the Slavic literary tradition

The history of the *Tale of the Ecumenical Councils* has been less studied in its Slavic tradition. Apart from the various Russian printed editions of the Kormchaya, we have several publications related mainly to the study of its contents or the study of the chronology and the individual manuscripts. In order to trace the sources of the copy and the chronographies it contains, Ioan Bogdan has built a supposed prototype of the so-called Moldavian-Serbian chronicle in which he includes the tales of the ecumenical councils, which he takes from the printed edition of the Kormchaya (Moscow 1787, ff. 1–6). The text he published is practically identical with the copy we are studying. The text of the Kormchaya printed in the early 20th century is quite similar, but with some differences; it claims to repeat the Moscow edition of 1650. We have a text published by V. N. Beneševič in his study and publication of the text of the Kormchaya in the second volume of the edition, which came out more than half a century after the author's decease[10]. The same text was in the focus of interest of Y. N. Shtapov, who published it together with a study that touches upon some important problems related to the presence of historical works in legal collections[11]. We should note that the text in Beneševič and Yaroslav Shtapov is different from the one we publish below: it is rather short and gives only the chronological frame (in some cases, the years of the councils, and mainly the intervals of time between them), and thus has basically very little in common with our text. With reference to the three above-mentioned groups of Greek manuscripts, those of the Ephraim Kormchaya (in the publications of Beneševič and Shtapov) are among the briefest in the first group. The longest presentations from the third group are missing, while ours belongs to the second group, as do the texts in Christophe Justel's edition.

In her latest study of the Kormchaya, M. Korogodina indicates the presence of the *Tale of the Ecumenical Councils* in the legal collections[12]. The author points out

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[10] Б. Н. Бенешевич, *Древнеславянская Кормчая XIV титулов без толкованийй*, pp. 237–239.

[11] Я. Н. Щапов, *Византийские хронографические сочинения в древнеславянской Кормчей Ефремовской редакции*, [in:] *Летописи и хроники*, Москва 1976, pp. 246–250, 263.

[12] М. В. Корогодина, *Кормчие книги XIV–первой половины XVII века*, т. II. *Описание редакций*, Москва–Санкт-Петербург 2017, pp. 15, 494.

that the *Tale*'s text is found in the Serbian and first Russian variants, in the Great Reading Menaia, and in other collections, as well as in the printed Kormchaya, in a revised version. The Tale is a popular text disseminated in the Slavic legal literature. Orthodox Slavs became familiar with the history of the Seven Ecumenical Councils early on, with the first translation from Greek at the time of the First Bulgarian Empire. Variants of the history of the councils were disseminated in such emblematic and varied in genre monuments of early Slavic literary culture as the Miscellany of Symeon/Svetoslav dating from 1073[13]. Only six ecumenical councils are presented there, but that was a different variant, belonging after all to the group of comparatively more detailed accounts of councils, such as that published below. This is an important indication of the interest the text provoked, although the texts accompanying it are not of the legal category. Of course, special attention in the present study should be devoted to the Ephraim Kormchaya, which is an extant literary testimony to the Preslav translation of the Syntagma in 14 titles based on the Photius edition, without exegesis. We already mentioned the chronographic texts presented there, which are related to the short indications of intervals between councils. Hence, the earliest Slavic Kormchaya collections contain different versions of the *Tale* in terms of their size, comprehensiveness and age. The Ustyug Kormchaya dating from the late 13th–14th century, which has preserved one of the two known copies of Methodius's translation of John Scholasticus's Nomocanon, in 50 titles, contains, at the very beginning of the manuscript, two different text versions, with chronologies, of the ecumenical councils (ff. 2r–6v)[14]. They are surrounded by two different variants of the Symbol of the Faith based on the definitions of the First Ecumenical Council in Nicea, 325, and the Second Ecumenical Council of Constantinople, 381. The parts of the presentation are different in range. The first redaction ends with the explicit indication that there are six ecumenical councils, while the second includes the Seventh Ecumenical Council (Second Nicene, 786–787). The two texts differ by a number of grammatical and lexical archaisms from the Cyril-Methodius and Preslav norm of the literary language. The precise Greek prototypes of these Slavic translations are yet to be discovered.

The presentation in BAR 636 is of the full version of the *Tale*, similar to the second version of the Ustyug Kormchaya, as it not only indicates the number of years between councils but also gives a full account of the history, participants and basic anti-heretical definitions against deviations from the Christian faith.

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[13] *Симеонов сборник (по Светославовия препис от 1073 г.)*, т. 1, София 1991, pp. 241–249.

[14] K. Maksimovič, *Aufbau und Quellen des altrussischen Ustjuger Nomokanons*, "Forschungen zur Byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte" 22.10, 1998, pp. 477–508.

In this respect, the text is entirely different from that published by Shtapov and Beneševič[15]. Despite the changes in language and the elimination of certain archaisms, such as папежь, сънъмъ and their replacement with папа, съборъ, our text is interesting with respect to the translation from the Greek source. Here are some of the most important changes: the use of the word рѣснота "truth" and the morpho-syntactic archaism не бъютоу – the negative infinitive – instead of не бъютн: а породъ ꙗювьствьнъ. не бъютоу ѿ Бɑ соуща in the description of the Fifth Ecumenical Council of Constantinople, 553 AD, which opposed the errors of three main groups of heretics, the Eutychians, the Nestorians, and the Origenists. This use was announced for the first time by I. I. Sreznevsky[16] in the indicated work, which contains publications of important parts of the Ustyug Kormchaya, and was later reproduced by P. Lavrov[17]. This archaism received the attention it merits only in T. Slavova's[18] overview of the known cases of the presence of the бъютоу form in various monuments. Slavova even proposes a possible Greek parallel of the article in the Ustyug Kormchaya, whose authorship is still a matter of debate – though the prevalent view is that the basic text was written by Patriarch Germanus I (715–730). She finds a similarity in the article on the councils in the Miscellany of 1073. Its Greek prototype, which is very probably similar to the yet unknown Greek original from which the translation in the Miscellany was made, may serve as a reference point. The author's conclusion is quite convincing: не бъютоу translates the infinitive form in the construction Accusativus cum infinitivo μήτε γεγεσῆσθαι... αἰσθητὸν παράδεισον.

Thus, to conclude, we should say the study of the Slavic translation of the *Tale of the Ecumenical Councils* is yet to be made. Another task for the future is a comprehensive overview of the manuscript tradition and the presence of the *Tale* in legal collections. Below, we will try to review some elements of the work, on the basis of which groups of texts might be defined, thereby prompting ideas about the affiliation of the copies of the BAR 636 manuscript and the *Bisericani Collection* to some of these groups.

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[15] Я. Н. Щапов, *Византийския хронографическия сочинения в древнеславянской Кормчей…*, pp. 246–250, 263; Idem, *Византийское и южнославянское правовое наследие на Руси в XI–XIII вв.*, Москва 1978, pp. 64–68.

[16] И. И. Срезневский, *Обозрение древних русских списков Кормчей книги*, Санкт-Петербург 1897, pp. 113–135.

[17] П. А. Лавров, *Материалы по истории возникновения древнейшей славянской письменности*, Ленинград 1930, pp. XLVII–L.

[18] Т. Славова, *Необичайни инфинитивни форми в старобългарски преводи*, "Palaeobulgarica" XXX.2, 2006, pp. 52–61.

4. Certain particularities of the text and questions as to its category and origin

Here, we will limit ourselves to presenting the existing differences in the computation of dates of the councils, and to some observations on the account of the Seventh Ecumenical Council.

4.1. The different ways of dating in the various copies

An important distinguishing feature of the historical account of the councils published below is their dating and the indicated numbers of years that separate them. This information, which is not always present in the published Greek texts, has not escaped the notice of scholars[19]. The different copies employ different means of dating: the year since the Creation of the World (according to the Alexandrian system of chronology, and for the Seventh Ecumenical Council, according to the Byzantine chronology), the year since the birth of Christ (in most copies, it is written as "since the Ascension"), the time between two consecutive councils, the consecutive year of the emperor's reign. In this respect, our variant of the text is particularly ample, because it contains all the indicated modes of dating. After investigating the tradition, we could also use the number of Church Fathers participating in the council, which is why we give this information as well here.

The First Ecumenical Council (First Nicene, 325 AD) in our *Tale* is correctly dated as having taken place 318 years after the Ascension of Jesus Christ, in the year 5818 since the Creation of the World[20], in the tenth year of the reign of Constantine; 318 Church Fathers took part in it (BAR 636, f. 207r). Here it is worth noting the dating after Christ, which is calculated not as "after the Nativity of Jesus Christ" (i.e., after the Incarnation), but as after the Ascension. That is the mode of dating in some of the Greek copies and in some of the published Slavic texts; in the Kormchaya of Patriarch Joseph, the year is given as 318 since the Incarnation. In Ioan Bogdan's edition, the given year is the tenth of the reign of Constantine, and in the Kormchaya, the twelfth[21]. In

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[19] J. A. Munitiz, *Synoptic Byzantine Chronologies of the Councils*, "Revue des études byzantines" 36, 1978, pp. 193–218.

[20] The years since the Creation of the World from the First to the Sixth Ecumenical Councils are given according to the Alexandrian era, while the Seventh Council is dated according to the Byzantine era.

[21] The date is the same in Bogdan's edition (I. Bogdan, *Ein Beitrag zur bulgarischen und serbischen Geschichtsschreibung*, p. 511), and in the Kormchaya of 1650, but there it is with reference to the Incarnation (*Кормчая, напечатана съ оригинала патриарха Иосифа*, ff. 5r–v).

Beneševič's and Shtapov's edition of the brief account, the year since the Ascension is the same[22]. The year since the Creation of the World is the same as in the two editions of the Slavic text (the Kormchaya and Bogdan's), as well as with the manuscript numbers 1, 5 and 14 Joseph Munitiz's table[23].

The Second Ecumenical Council (Constantinople, 381 AD) is dated according to the Alexandrian chronology as 5874 (which is the correct date for this chronology) and as 52 years since the first council, in the second year of the reign of Theodosius the Great; 150 Church Fathers took part in it (BAR 636, f. 208r). The same numbers are present in Bogdan's edition, but in the edition of the Kormchaya of 1650, the interval is given correctly as 56 years, while the other numbers are the same[24]. The number of years between the two councils in the Beneševič and Shtapov edition is 60[25]. If we subtract the year of the First Council indicated in the manuscript from that of the Second, we would obtain the correct number, 56 years (5874 – 5818 = 56), but the copyists have written a different one. The year 5874 according to the Alexandrian era coincides with № 1, 5 and 14 in the table of J. Munitiz. The same author particularly directs his attention to deviations in the time intervals between the two councils, and explains the existing four-year difference as resulting from the influence of Patriarch Nicephorus's *Brief Chronography* regarding the year of the reign of Theodosius I in which the council took place: he states it was the second, while other chronologists indicate the sixth year[26]. It should be said, however, that the distance in time of 52 years between the Second and Third Ecumenical Council became particularly popular and is present in all manuscripts in the groups from № 9–15, which is the great majority of 11th–12th-century manuscripts.

The Third Ecumenical Council (Ephesus, 431 AD) in our text is dated to the year 5915 since the Creation of the World (according to the Alexandrian era, while the correct year is 5923), 41 years after the Second Ecumenical Council, in the 13th year of the reign of Theodosius II; 200 Church Fathers took part in it (BAR 636, f. 209v). The numbers cited in Bogdan's edition and in the Kormchaya of 1650 are the same[27]. The years between the Second and Third Ecumenical Council in the edition

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[22] Б. Н. Бенешевич, *Древнеславянская Кормчая XIV титулов без толкований*, p. 238; Я. Н. Щапов, *Византийския хронографическия сочинения в древнеславянской Кормчей…*, p. 263.

[23] J. A. Munitiz, *Synoptic Byzantine Chronologies of the Councils*, p. 197.

[24] I. Bogdan, *Ein Beitrag zur bulgarischen und serbischen Geschichtsschreibung*, p. 512; *Кормчая, напечатана съ оригинала патриарха Иосифа*, f. 6v.

[25] Б. Н. Бенешевич, *Древнеславянская Кормчая XIV титулов без толкований*, p. 238; Я. Н. Щапов, *Византийския хронографическия сочинения в древнеславянской Кормчей…*, p. 263.

[26] J. A. Munitiz, *Synoptic Byzantine Chronologies of the Councils*, pp. 196–197.

[27] I. Bogdan, *Ein Beitrag zur bulgarischen und serbischen Geschichtsschreibung*, p. 513; *Кормчая, напечатана съ оригинала патриарха Иосифа*, f. 7v.

of Beneševič and Shtapov are 50[28]. The correct calculation of the years between the two councils is 50, but it is rarely present in the texts. The number present in our text occurs in Greek manuscripts № 5 and 11–15 (Munitiz's table), and an explanation is offered for this difference[29]. The given year since the Creation of the World coincides with the dating in several manuscripts from groups № 5 and № 14.

The Fourth Ecumenical Council (Chalcedon, 451 AD) is dated in our manuscript to the year 5945 after the Creation of the World (the correct date according to the Alexandrian era), 30 years after the Third Ecumenical Council, in the second year of the reign of Emperor Marcian; 630 Church Fathers took part in it (BAR 636, f. 210v). The texts in the Bogdan edition and in the Kormchaya of 1650 give the same numbers[30]. The interval between the two councils in the Beneševič and Shtapov edition is ten years[31]. In our manuscript, the indicated interval between the Third and Fourth Council (30 years), is ten years longer than the true one. The correct number of years between the two councils is 20, but it is not indicated in any of the Greek copies, among which the number 30 is clearly prevalent[32]. The explanation of this may be a possible error that was later reproduced, including in the Slavic translations[33]. The year since the Creation of the World indicated in the manuscript is 6945 and coincides with the dates in the copy groups № 1 and 5.

The Fifth Ecumenical Council (Second Constantinople, 553 AD) is dated in our manuscript to the year 6047 since the Creation of the World (Alexandrian era, the correct date), during the 26th year of the reign of Emperor Justinian I, or 150 years after the Council of Chalcedon; 165 Church Fathers were present at it (BAR 636, f. 214r). In the Kormchaya of 1650 and in Bogdan's edition, the interval between the Fourth and Fifth Council is 102 years, which is the correct number, while the rest of the numbers are the same as in our manuscript[34]. The interval indicated in the Beneševič and Shtapov edition is 100 years[35]. It is remarkable that

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[28] Б. Н. Бенешевич, *Древнеславянская Кормчая XIV титулов без толкований*, p. 238; Я. Н. Щапов, *Византийския хронографическия сочинения в древнеславянской Кормчей…*, p. 263. I believe there is a typing error in Beneševič's edition: the "N" has been replaced by "Н".

[29] J. A. Munitiz, *Synoptic Byzantine Chronologies of the Councils*, pp. 197–199.

[30] I. Bogdan, *Ein Beitrag zur bulgarischen und serbischen Geschichtsschreibung*, pp. 513–514; *Кормчая, напечатана съ оригинала патриарха Иосифа*, ff. 8v–9r.

[31] Б. Н. Бенешевич, *Древнеславянская Кормчая XIV титулов без толкований*, p. 238; Я. Н. Щапов, *Византийския хронографическия сочинения в древнеславянской Кормчей…*, p. 263.

[32] See the table in J. A. Munitiz, *Synoptic Byzantine Chronologies of the Councils*, p. 197.

[33] *Ibidem*, pp. 199–200, 215.

[34] I. Bogdan, *Ein Beitrag zur bulgarischen und serbischen Geschichtsschreibung*, p. 514; *Кормчая, напечатана съ оригинала патриарха Иосифа*, f. 11r.

[35] Б. Н. Бенешевич, *Древнеславянская Кормчая XIV титулов без толкований*, p. 238; Я. Н. Щапов, *Византийския хронографическия сочинения в древнеславянской Кормчей…*, p. 263.

most Greek manuscripts indicate an interval of 102 years between the Second Constantinople and the Chalcedon Councils and only group № 13 gives the number of years as 150, which Joseph Munitiz attributes to an error in the reading of B as N[36]. The year 6047 based on the Alexandrian chronology is present only in the Greek manuscript group № 5.

The Sixth Ecumenical Council (Third Constantinople, 680–681 AD) is indicated in our manuscript as having taken place in the year 6076 after the Creation of the World (the correct date is 6176), with the participation of 170 Church Fathers, 129 years after the preceding council, in the 30th year of the reign of Emperor Constantine Pogonatus, father of Justinian II and grandson of Emperor Heraclius (BAR 636, f. 215v). The fact that the emperor's grandfather is indicated may be due to his importance in Byzantine history, but the mention of Justinian II should have some other explanation, especially in view of his controversial reign, divided in two by a period of usurpation. It seems to us this question should be discussed in a more comprehensive commentary, in view of the fact that it was under his reign that the Quinisextus Council, or Council of Trullo (692 AD) was held. In Bogdan's edition and in the Kormchaya of 1650, the numbers are the same[37]. The number of years between the two councils is given as 130 in the briefest accounts[38]. The interval of 129 years between the two councils is present in Greek manuscripts from groups № 5, 7 and 10–13 Joseph Munitiz's table). It is near to the correct number, 127 years, and may be accounted for by computation based on the Alexandrian chronology[39]. The year 6076 after the Creation of the World does not occur in any copy, but in group № 5, we find 6176 (near to the correct year, 6174): the difference may be due to a continuation of the initial mistake.

The Seventh Ecumenical Council (Second Nicene, 787 AD) is presented with the following numbers in our manuscript: the year 6296 (which is the correct date according to the Byzantine chronology), 120 after the preceding Sixth Council, under Emperor Constantine VI and his mother Irene, in the eighth year of his reign, and with the participation of 167 Church Fathers (BAR 636, f. 217r). In the edition of Ioan Bogdan, the calculations are exactly the same, and in the Kormchaya of 1650, the year is 6306 after the Creation of the World, while the other numbers are the same[40]. The number of years between the Sixth

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[36] J. A. Munitiz, *Synoptic Byzantine Chronologies of the Councils*, p. 200.

[37] I. Bogdan, *Ein Beitrag zur bulgarischen und serbischen Geschichtsschreibung*, p. 516; *Кормчая, напечатана съ оригинала патриарха Иосифа*, f. 12v.

[38] Б. Н. Бенешевич, *Древнеславянская Кормчая XIV титулов без толкований*, p. 238; Я. Н. Щапов, *Византийския хронографическия сочинения в древнеславянской Кормчей…*, p. 263.

[39] J. A. Munitiz, *Synoptic Byzantine Chronologies of the Councils*, pp. 197, 201–202.

[40] I. Bogdan, *Ein Beitrag zur bulgarischen und serbischen Geschichtsschreibung*, p. 517; *Кормчая, напечатана съ оригинала патриарха Иосифа*, f. 14r.

and Seventh Councils in Beneševič and Shtapov is 122, but in their editions the anti-iconoclastic council is dated to the year 6296 after the Creation of the World and through indiction 11, and the year of the death of Constantine VI is given – 6305 after the Creation of the World and 805 AD. The last two dates are missing in our text, and in similar ones to ours[41]. The correct number of the interval is 107, but this number does not occur in any copy (the closest is in № 16 of Joseph Munitiz's table – 109 years). There is an evident prevalence of the 120-year interval, the exception being only in № 6 (118/168), 8 and 12 (122 years), and 16 (109 years). The mistaken number can be explained by the passage from the Alexandrian chronology (up to the Sixth Council) to the Byzantine one (for the Seventh Council)[42]. The year is presented according to the Byzantine chronology since the Creation of the World, not the Alexandrian, and we find it in manuscripts № 1, 5II, 5III, 8 (Munitiz's table). It should also be noted that № 7 gives the year 6305[43].

4.2. Some particularities in the account of the Seventh Ecumenical Council

Most of the published variations and versions in the group of Greek texts we are considering are in fact related only to the presentation of the Sixth Ecumenical Council, which shows the early origin of the text. Of course, the number of councils changed up to the second half of the 8th century. It was at a comparatively late date that the Orthodox tradition set their number at seven – this number was made definitive only with the flourishing of canonic commentaries in the 12th century[44]. Some manuscripts contain a tale about the inexistent Eighth Ecumenical Council, dealing with the holy icons and convened during the reign of Emperor Michael III and his mother, Empress Theodora[45]. There are data concerning an eighth ecumenical council held in 879–880 AD (recognized as such by the Roman Catholic Church, but not by the Orthodox Church) in, for instance, the manuscript Monac. gr. 256 f. 52[46]. In some cases, certain local councils (which are important in a canonical-legal perspective) and certain heretical councils are also

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[41] Б. Н. Бенешевич, *Древнеславянская Кормчая XIV титулов без толкований*, p. 239; Я. Н. Щапов, *Византийския хронографическия сочинения в древнеславянской Кормчей…*, p. 263.

[42] J. A. Munitiz, *Synoptic Byzantine Chronologies of the Councils*, p. 202.

[43] *Ibidem*, p. 203.

[44] J. A. Munitiz, *Synoptic Greek Account of the Seventh Council*, p. 149 and notes 10 and 11.

[45] L. M. Hoffmann, W. Brandes, *Eine unbekannte Konzilsynopse aus dem Ende des 9. Jahrhunderts*, pp. 204–223.

[46] J. A. Munitiz, *Synoptic Greek Accounts of the Seventh Council*, p. 152, note 29.

included[47]. Because of this, and because of the good work Joseph Munitiz has done in researching and publishing texts about the Seventh Ecumenical Council, we should devote the necessary attention to it. Here is the place to note there is a serious difference in the given numbers of participating Church Fathers in the copies we are studying (BAR 636 and the *Bisericani Miscellany*), which, in agreement with the text of the Kormchaya of 1650 and the text published by Ioan Bogdan, give the number 167, while the Greek copies, with some variations, are grouped around the number 350, later corrected to 367[48]. The number in the mentioned Slavic translations was probably influenced by this latter correction, together with a copying error that was later multiplied.

A thorough overview of the account of the Seventh Ecumenical Council and the separate presented texts indicates that the so-called "second text" of the publication[49] is the one most similar to our text; the ending, however, is more similar to the so-called "first text" (§6)[50]. Overall, it may be said that the alternative texts display greater differences. There is no full overlap. Our text is considerably longer, although not identical with any of those published by Father Joseph Munitiz.

4.3. Notes on the origin and manuscript category of the text

Our observations on the different ways in which the councils are dated, and on the general structuring of the text, may suggest some ideas as to its origin and the manuscript category to which it belongs. Of course, this refers to a group of Greek texts, in as much as the Slavic translation is obviously strongly dependent on the original. The identification can be made only after a very detailed investigation, which is not among our immediate tasks.

What can we say in this respect at a first reading?

As to the very different numbers of years ascribed to the intervals between councils, the coincidences may probably be used to group the texts within separate traditions. As for the Byzantine texts, we have the research results of Joseph Munitiz, which provide us with a starting point. Unfortunately, the Slavic tradition has been much less researched, and all we basically have is Y. N. Shtapov's article, which, however, refers to a very different group of texts. Still, it shows that in the

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[47] L. M. Hoffmann, W. Brandes, *Eine unbekannte Konzilsynopse aus dem Ende des 9. Jahrhunderts*, pp. 52–57 (Antioch, Ancyra, Neocesaria), 68–74 (Gangra, Antioch, Laodikeia, Serdica), pp. 78–80 (Carthago), pp. 94–102 (Ephesenum Latrocinium AD 449).

[48] J. A. Munitiz, *Synoptic Greek Accounts of the Seventh Council*, pp. 170–171.

[49] *Ibidem*, p. 179.

[50] *Ibidem*, p. $178_{9–13}$.

Greek manuscripts, there is full overlap of the intervals indicated in our copies (BAR 636 and the *Bisericani Miscellany*) only with the one indicated as № 13 in J. Munitiz's table[51]. This is a manuscript from Vienna (Vindob. th. gr. 264, f. 162v), to which we have no access; but according to the information that the account of the councils there is only one page long, we may infer it is a different, shorter variant of the text[52]. We observe a certain coinciding of the years in our copies with those indicated in the chronology of George Hamartolos; only the number of the fourth interval there is closer to the truth (excluding the error in the numbers "B" and "N")[53], but this can hardly be very helpful for our search for the right category of texts. The intervals are different in the copy of the *Miscellany* from 1073. At this stage of research, we cannot define the group category of the text based on the length of the intervals.

If we compare the dating from the Creation of the World (based on the Alexandrian and Byzantine computations, which are combined in the Greek copies), we should say that closest to our case is are groups numbered in the table as № 5II and – with one additional difference – № 1[54]. Unfortunately, at this stage we cannot draw any conclusion from this observation, in Ioan Bogdan's texts, the years coincide, and in the Kormchaya of 1650, there is a difference only in the case of the Seventh Ecumenical Council.

5. Conclusion

We hope our observations on the manuscript tradition have contributed some knowledge to the study of the presentations of the seven ecumenical councils in Slavic legal collections. Unfortunately, we cannot draw more concrete conclusions at this stage; these would require a much more detailed textological study of the manuscript tradition. Of course, we do not believe any specific Slavic contribution within this tradition, as it is dependent on a Greek original (or more than one). This is certainly a case where a work in the Byzantine Orthodox tradition was disseminated and received within the nations of the Byzantine community.

After the study and publication of the text, we believe we can confirm the conclusion drawn from our investigations of the other historical works included in the manuscript BAR 636 and the *Bisericani Miscellany*. The conclusion is that the sep-

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[51] J. A. Munitiz, *Synoptic Byzantine Chronologies of the Councils*, p. 197.

[52] *Ibidem*, p. 216.

[53] Я. Н Щапов, *Византийския хронографическия сочинения в древнеславянской Кормчей*…, p. 247.

[54] J. A. Munitiz, *Synoptic Byzantine Chronologies of the Councils*, pp. 203, 212, 214.

arate texts were not included for their own sake but served the overall purpose of the collection, which is the fight against religious deviations. This fight was waged by doctrinal-polemical and legal means, and the task of the historical works was to provide an instrumental context for the copyists and those who had ordered the collections. Of course, the ultimate goal of this fight coincides with the basic value of Christian culture. The controversy was aimed at consolidating society around the Church and giving greater stability to the state, but in fact, its major purpose was eschatological and related to the Salvation of souls in the beyond, which, however, is to be prepared in this world and within the sphere of history familiar to us.

6. Edition of the text

The text of the *Tale of the Ecumenical Councils* is published here according to the copy of the Slavic manuscript in BAR 636. The few variations given here are based on the copy from the *Bisericani Miscellany*, which we have used in the photocopy version BAR 685.

BAR 636, ff. 207r–220r

207r

СКАЗ́АНЇЄ С(ВѦ)Т(Ы)ХЬ Н В́ЬС́ЄЛЄН-
скы́ се́дмь съвѡ́р̀ѣ· съвѡ́ а҃ ~
Ѿ възн̂е́нїа х҃а до пр́ѣваго съвѡ́ра,
л̂ѣ т̂н҃і. а҃ ѿ нача́ла мироу.
в л̂т́ѡ ҂єѿн҃і· в̂ы́ ст̂ын вѣ-
се́ленскын пр́ъвын съвѡ́ръ
въ нн҃кєн. прн велн́ц́ѣмь ц҃рн
кѡнстантı́нѣ· въ де́сатоє
л̂ѣ́то ц҃ртва е́г̀о· н́же ц҃рт̂во-
ва л̂ѣ, л̂н҃ · в̂ѣ́хꙕ же ст̂н҃н ѿ̂ц̂н
съш̂е́шєн сѧ чн́слѡ̂, т̂н҃і· ст̂а-
р́ѣншнны же в̂ѣ́хꙕ съвѡ́р8.
сн́лвєстръ па́па рн́мскын· а̂лє-
ꙃа́нд̂ръ кѡнстантı́нѣ града,
прн мн́трѡ́фан̂ѣ патрı́а́рс́ѣ·
а̂лєꙃа́ндръ папа̀ а̂лєꙃа́ндръскы·
е̂ѵста́ѳı́є патрı́а́рхъ а̂нтı́ѡ-
хı́нскын· мака́рı́є ı̂е̂р̂лмскын.

съни́дшѧ же сѧ на а҃рїа соуе-
мѫ҆дрънаго. презву́тера бы́в҄-

207v

шаго а҆ле̑ѯа́нд̑ръскыѧ цр҃кве.
хоу́лѧца сн҃а бж҃їа г҃а на́шего
і҃у х҃а и҆́стиннаго б҃а. тва́рь то-
го̀ гл҃ааше нечьстивын, и҆ не
є҆дносѫ́цна ѿц҃оу. т҆̅ѣ же
се́го ꙗ҆ко врага и҆́стинѣ. коу́-
пно и҆ съ є҆дномы́слъннкы
є҆го̀. ст҃ын съ́н събѡ́рь про-
клѧ̑ и҆ ѿврь́же. и҆ є҆усе́вїа ни-
комид́їнскаго. и҆ маке́дѡнїа.
и҆ є҆уномѡ́їа. а҆̑ще бѡ и҆ слѡве́-
сы разлѫчаахѫ сѧ, нѫ̑ подо́бно
а҆́рїеви ѿ и҆̑стины ѿпа́дшѧ.
правовѣрнѫѧ же вѣрѫ оу́тврь-
дивше ст҃ін ѿц҃и, є҆дносѫ́цн҆́
сн҃а ѿц҃оу проповѣ́давше. тво́рца
въсѣ́чьскымь, а҆̑ не тварь. и҆
б҃а и҆́стиннаго и҆ влⷣкѫ и҆ г҃а. по
прⷪ҇ро̑коу гл҃ѧцомоу. и҆с чр҃ѣва
прѣ́ж̑е де́нницѫ роди́х тѧ.
к҃г (in the margin below)

208r

ꙗ҆кожѐ и҆зло́женїе вѣ́ры и҆́мⷶ.
сн҃рⷨ̑. вѣроуѧ въ є҆ди́ного б҃а.
е҆̑же въ д́ъхновенїемь ст҃го д҃ха
провъзгла́сишѧ. оу́ста́ви же
с҆̅ъ́и ст҃ын и҆ въселе́нскын събѡ́҇.
и҆ ст҃ѫѧ па́схѫ пра́зновати и҆́а.
ꙗ҆кожѐ нн҃ѣ по ѡ҆бы́чаю дрь́ж̑и.
нѣ́цїи бѡ ѿ прѣ́ж̑нїи, въ д҃і
ма́ртїа мⷭ̑ца пра́зноваахѫ па́хѫ:~
ѿ прь́ваго събѡ́ра до вто́раго, л҆҃ѣ н҃в̃~
Вто́рын же ст҃ын и҆ въселе́нскын (в҃ in the margin)
събѡ́ръ б҃ы̑ въ кѡнстанти́нѣ

градѣ · въ лѣ́тѡ ҂ешо҃д. въ
цр҃тво ѳео́сїа велика́аго. въ
лѣ́тѡ вто́рое цр҃тва е҆го̀. и҆́же
цр҃тбова̀ лѣ́тъ, з҃і · бѣ́хж же
ст҃и ѿц҃и съше́шен са чи́слѡм҄, (ри҃ in the margin)
ста́рѣишнны же бѣ́хж того̀
събѡ́ра, дама́сь па́па ри́мскы҄
некта́рїе патрїа́рхъ кѡ́статі́нꙗ́ гра̀
                  к҃д (in the margin below)

208v

ку́риль патрїа́рхъ і҆е҆р҃лмскын.
тнмѡ́ѳен патрїа́рхъ а҆ле-
дро́скын. меле́тїн патрїа́рх̾
а҆нтїѡ́хїнскын. гⷬнгѡ́рїе ни-
сїнскын. и҆ гⷬнгѡ́рїе бⷢ҇осло́вь,
права пр̾ꙿе́стѡ́ кѡнстанти́нѣ
града. и҆́же въ вто́рѣмь събѡ́-
рѣ ст҃ѣ ра́спрн бы́вшн. свое́ж
во́леж пр̾ѣ събѡ́рѡ́̏ ѿр̾е̏ са пр̾ѣ-
стола[55]. и҆ сътво́рнвь ѡ̾ оста́-
влени пр̾тⷧа сло́во. и҆ о̾ прн-
ше́ствн т̾ѣ ст҃хъ ѿц҃ъ. и҆ про́-
чѣ̏ пр̾ѣ въсѣ́мь събѡ́ромь, о̾-
ти́де въ наⷩзїа́зомь. съни-
дшꙗ же са сїⷩ, ри҃ ст҃ин ѿц҃н
на македѡ́нїꙗ дх҃обѡ́рца. и҆́же
разбо́ннчьскын пр̾тⷧь въсхы́-
тнвшаго кѡнстанти́нѣ града.
хоу̀лꙗщаго дх҃ъ ст҃ын. гл҃аше
бѡ того̀ тварь бы́тн, а̾ не б҃а.

209r

и҆ не то́гоже сꙋ́щьства е҆го́же
ѿц҃ъ и҆ сн҃ъ, и҆ тоу́ждаго ѿ бж҃тва.
сꙋ́̏ бѡ македѡ́нїе е҆́ще жи́вь
сы̑н по́бно а̾рїевн хоу́лѣше.

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[55] BAR 685: съ ѣстола.

се́го оу́во ꙗ́ко враⷢ҇а правосла́вноⷩ
вѣ́рѣ, съ саве́лїемь лнвїнскӹ.
н̇ съ а̇пѡ̈на́рїемь лаѡ̈днкїнскӹⷨ҇.
н̇ е̇дн́номысльннкы н̈҇, проꙸкла́-
ша н̇ о̇сꙗ́дншѧ стⷡн ӧцⷩ. ꙗ́ко
съда́вшна, плⷮъ гⷶа на́шего їѵ хⷶа
глⷿомоу н̇ неоу́мна. не того́же
тꙋ́кмо. нꙗ въ трⷣн҇е́вноⷩ мрⷮъ-
твостн тꙋ́лесе гн҇ⷷ, съ тꙋ́лѡ̈ⷨ
н̇ вжⷵтвоу̇ зⷠмрꙋ́тн глⷶаахⷬъ.
плⷮъ гⷶа на́шего[56] выⷮн н̇звꙋ́стн-
шѧ. дшⷶа н̇мꙗⷰша, на́шнмь дшⷶа
е̇дннⷮосꙋ́шнꙗ. н̈ вⷶа н̈стнннаго,
н̇ гⷶа жнвотво́рꙗꙍꙋ꙰аго, прⷵтⷢго
дхⷶа оу̇ꙗⷷснншѧ. е̇днносꙋ́шна

209v

ѡ̈цⷹу н̇ сноⷥу, того̇ выⷮн пропѡ̈-
вꙋⷷⷷша. н̇ того́же вжⷵтвⷶа н̇ сн́-
лы. ꙗ́же стⷡое н̈зло́женⷩн вꙋ́ры
прꙋдрӧжнⷮь. е̇же тꙗ̈ ꙗ̈снꙋⷷ
стⷢго дхⷶа влⷮтїꙗ̈ н̈згла́сншѧ :~
ѿ вто́раго же съвѡ̈ра до тре́тїаго (лⷡ҇ⷷ in the margin)
Тре́тїн же стⷮⷩн н̇ въсле́нскыⷩ (мⷶⷶа in the margin)
съвѡⷬъ вӹ въ е̇фе́сꙋ ∙ в лⷮѡ̈, (гⷢ in the margin)
ꙁце́і. въ црⷮⷮтво ѳеѡ̈сїа ма́лаа-
го. въ лꙋ́тѡ трннⷶа҇де́сꙗⷮое
црⷮⷮвⷶа е̇го̇. н̇же црⷮⷮⷠтвова̇ лⷮꙋ҇,
мⷠ҇. н̇ дв̈а мⷶ҇ца. съшеⷷⷷшеⷩн сꙗ
стⷡⷷⷷⷩн ѡ̈цⷩ, вꙋⷷхⷬж же чн́слѡ̈ⷨ, ꙃⷮ.
ста́ⷷрꙋⷷншнны же вꙋⷷхⷬж съвѡ̈-
роу̇. кꙋ́рїлъ папⷶа а̇лезаⷩⷹдрꙷъскӹ.
пра́ваꙷн прⷵтⷢлъ келестⷮн҇на папӹ
рн́мскаго. н̇ оу̇вꙋ́налїе патрⷣⷷӓрⷷ
їе̇рⷷⷷлⷷⷷмⷷⷷⷷⷮⷷⷷⷷⷷскыⷩ. н̇ мелⷩнѡ́нь е̇пⷡ҇пъ
е̇фе́скыⷩ. сꙗⷩⷷн҇де же сꙗ сⷷⷷⷩⷩ
съвѡⷬⷷ на ѿⷷⷮⷮꙍ̈рїа ꙁло̂чьстн̂вⷶа҇,

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[56] BAR 685: глⷶаахⷬж. стⷮⷩн же ѡ̈цⷩ съ дⷷⷷⷷⷷⷷⷷшⷩж н̇ оу̇мⷩж плⷮꙋⷮь гⷶа на́шего.

210r

ѐпнскѡ́па кѡ̈станті́нѣ гра́да.
оу̓ чл҃ка вѣ́роуѧщаго. х҃а раздѣ́-
лѣꙁщаго н̓ прѣсѣцаѧщаго.
про́ста бѡ того̀ чл҃ка бы́тн гл҃а-
ше, а̓ не б҃а въпло́щьша сѧ. двӓ
сн҃а о̓ є̓ди́нѣмь х҃ѣ вѣ̈тѣ гл҃а
н̓ двӓ сꙋ́става. н̓ є̓ди́ного оу̓́бо
бы́тн, н̓же ѿ ѡ҃ц҃а рожде́ннаго
сло́ва. дроу́гаго же, н̓же ѿ мари́ѧ
рож҆дъшаго сѧ чл҃ка. по лю́бвн
же съвъкоу́пльша сѧ сло́воу.
н̓ тѣ̓ꙁои́меннтомоу сн҃а и́мена.
тѣмь нн бц҃ꙋ, н̓ꙁ х҃ороднцꙋ
прчт҃ꙋꙁ дв҃ꙁ мари́ꙁ. ро́жд҆ьшꙁꙁ
того̀ г҃а на́шего н̓ б҃а і҃ꙋ х҃а и́ме-
нова́аш. того́ радѝ н̓ сꙋ̈н ст҃ын
събѡ́ръ. прѣбыва́ꙁща того̀
въ такѡ́вѣмь хоу́ленн н̓звръ́-
гоша. ꙗ̓ко жн́дѡвскаа съмы́-
слꙁщоу. въ чл҃ка вѣ́рꙋꙁщаго

210v

нестѡ́ри́ꙗ. н̓ рѣ́снотꙁ и̓стннꙋ̈
бц҃ꙋ, прчт҃ꙋꙁ дв҃ꙁ пока́зашꙁ.
н̓ ѿ нѐꙁ бесѣ́мене (!) въпло́щьшꙋ̈
сѧ г҃а на́шего і̓҃ꙋ х҃а. сн҃а б҃жіа
н̓ б҃а пропѡвѣ́дашꙁ. нестѡ́-
ри́є же н̓згна́нь бӹ въ ѡ̓а́сн́нь꙼~
ѿ г҃а-го же събѡ́ра до д҃´-го, л҃к̈ л҃´~
Ѵетвръты́н же ст҃ын н̓ въселѐн꙼- (д҃´ in the margin)
скын събѡ́рь бӹ въ халкн́дѡ̈н̈.
в лѣ́тѡ, ємле. прн цр҃н ма́ркіа́н.
въ второ́е лѣ́то цр҃тва є̓го̀.
н̓же н̓ цр҃твова̀ лѣ̈ е҃і, н̓ мц҃ъ ѕ҃´.
бѣ́хꙁ же съше́шен сѧ ст҃н́н ѡ҃ц҃н
чн́слѡ̈, х҃л꙽ . ста́рѣншнны же
бѣ́хꙁ събѡ́роу лѐѡ́тіє папа рн̈-
скы. н̓ а̓натѡ́лїе патрїа́рхъ кѡ̈-

стантı́нѣ грⷣа. и̇ оу̇ве́налїе
патрїа́рхъ і̇е҆рⷧⷨ҇скыи. и̇ мⷶ҇-
ѯı́мль патрїа́рхъ а̇нтиѡ҆хı́н-
скыи. а̇наста́сı́е митропо́лⷩ҇

211r

со̇лоу́нскыи. сте́фань е҆фе́кⷩ҇.
съвра́ша же сѧ на дı̈ѡ́скора
бы́вшаго патрїа́рха а̇леѯанⷣ҇ъ-
скаго. и̇ на е҆́ѵтнхı̈а а̇рхı̈ма-
ндрⷩта кѡнстантı́нѣ грⷣа.
сı̈а̇ бⷪ҇ сⷲ҇а на́шего и̇́ бⷶ҇ ı̈ⷌ҇ хⷶ҇ въ̀-
члⷱⷱ҇е́нı̈е ѿмⷺ҇та́аста до конца̀.
ѿнⷣ҇ того прнвнⷣѣ́нı̈емь плⷮ҇
поⷩ҇е́ша ба́снослⷡⷡ҇ѣста, глⷶ҇ща.
iа́ко нⷯ҇ плⷮ҇ гⷩⷩ҇ѣ е҆дннсꙋ́щна
на́мⷣ. нⷯ҇ ѿ двⷮꙋ̈ оу̇́бо е҆̑ствоу
съ е̇дı́ненı̈ю бы́ти. е̇дı́номⷭ
же съврⷯꙋ́шнтн сѧ по съⷷ̈дннⷷ-
нı́н. и̇ къ бжⷮⷮ҇воу стⷬⷮ҇н прнла́-
гаахꙋ҇. то́го раⷣн оу̇́бо сı̈а̇ въ
таⷡⷡ҇вⷮ҇ѣн прⷯⷮ҇лⷶ҇стн прⷯ҇бы́ва-
аша. сⷬ҇ стⷩ҇н сⷬⷡ҇ворь и̇зврⷯ҇-
же и̇ про́клⷮҮ. и̇згла́снвша
съврⷯꙋ́шена бⷶ҇ и̇ съврⷯꙋ́шена
члⷦⷦ҇а того, въ двⷮꙋ̈ е҆̑ствоу не-

211v

смⷯ҇ѣсно и̇ нераздⷣⷷ́лно гⷶ҇ на́шего
ı̈ⷌ҇ хⷶ҇. двⷮⷶ҇ же рⷷ́кшн е҆̑ствⷯⷷ҇.
сло́воу разлı́чнаа, не сло́воу ра-
здⷣⷷ́ленı̈а. iа̇кожѐ оу̇́бо дшⷶ҇ и̇
тⷯ҇ѣло. разлı́чна оу̇́бо е҆̑ста
е҆̑ствⷮⷪ҇ съⷷ̇дннⷷ́наа лı́цемь.
е̇дı́но сı́це съдⷯ҇ѣ́ловаꙗ̇ща.
прнѡбⷷщаꙗ̇ща сѧ вⷷ́щемь. дшⷩ҇
бⷪ҇ прнⷷ́млаꙗⷩ҇ тⷯ҇ѣ́сныа стⷬⷮ҇н
и̇ iа́же ѿ нⷩ҇ вⷪлⷯⷷ҇знн. и̇ тⷯ҇ѣлес-
сн стра́жꙗꙋꙋ и̇ троу́жꙗꙋꙋꙋ

са печа́лмн и̑ попече́нїемь съ
дш҃е́ѫ. тако и̑ о̑ х҃ѣ̀. дв'ѣ̀ оу҃бо
е̑ств'ѣ. чл҃къ же и̑ б҃ъ сло́во.
е̑ди́но же ли́це по съвъкоу̑пле-
нїю. нѫ̑ ре́кшѫ разд'ѣле́нїа
вѡ́рнтеле. дш҃а о̑пи́сана. сн̑-
р'ѣ̀ о̑дръжи́мь е̑ въ т'ѣлесн,
и̑ ст҃рти прїе́мле и̑ бол'ѣзнн
пр'ѣтръп'ѣва́. да а̑ще та́ко

212r

съвъкоу́пн сѧ сло́во, блю́дн сѧ
и̑ ты̏ такѡ̏вꙑ̏мь повн́нѫтн сѧ.
и̑ тво́рнтн то́го ст҃рна и̑ ѡ̑пн̑-
сана. снр'ѣ̀, ѡ̑дръжи́ма. а҆ще
оу҃бо е̑ствомь ст҃рно е̑ сло́во.
и̑лн̑ и̑ въ м'ѣст'ѣ прне́мле ѡ̑пн̑-
санїе. е̑ѫ̑ какова̀ въ не́мь то́го
радн̑. нѫ̑ не съвъкоу́пленїа ра̑̏
къ ѡ̑пн́саноу̑ и̑ ст҃рноу̑ т'ѣ́лесн,
бѫ́деть и̑ ты̏ ст҃ре́нь и̑ ѡ̑пн́сань.
а҆ще нн постра́да нн ѡ̑пнса́нїн
ѡ̑пн́сань бꙑ̏. а҆ще е̑стꙋ̑ не-
пр'ѣло́жень е̑ и̑ нео̑пн́сань и̑
бестꙗ҃ре́нь. то̑ а̑ще въ т'ѣл'ѣ
бѫ́де ц'ѣ́ло и̑мꙗ̑ свое̑ бестꙗ̑рт̑їе.
и̑ съвръ́шено непр'ѣло́женїа
сло́во. и̑ н'ѣ̑ дн́вно. поне́же нн
чл҃чьскаа дш҃а нн про́сто нн тꙋ̑
радн̑ е̑же въ т'ѣлесн е̑ство стра́-
жде́. нѫ̑ по е̑ствоу̑ стра́ждеть

212v

и̑ свꙗ҃не т'ѣ́лесн и̑лн̑ тако́же и̑
вн́днма бѫ́де и̑ оу̑мре́ть. и̑ и̑же
по сн̑ стра́ждеть е̑лнкоже т'ѣ́-
ло. нѫ̑ такѡ̏вꙑ̏ оу҃бо не постра́-
жеть. поне́же сѫ́щьствомь
сїꙗ̑ и̑мать, ѿ б҃а прне́мшн. стра́-

ждѐ же стрⷮнїа си́лы и҆́маши
къ поле́зномоу. съ ни́ми же
и҆ ѿхо́ди и҆схо́дащи и҆с тѣ́ле-
се. и҆ оу҆ка́заѐ сꙋ́щꙋ въ а҆́дѣ
дш҃ꙋ и҆ и҆́же на ни́ сꙋ́зы. и҆́хже
ра́ди и҆ та́мо бы̑ гн҃е пришⷭ҇е́ствїе.
ꙗ҆коже рⷱ҇е а҆пⷧ҇ъ пе́тръ. пропо-
вѣ́давшаго сꙋ́щиⷨ въ те́мни-
цⷶ ѡ҆сла́бленїе. къ се́моуже и҆
бѣ́си мꙋ́чити сѧ хо́тѧще.
а҆́ще и҆ тѣ́лесь не и҆́маⷮ. стра́же-
т же ѻ҆́баче дш҃а, а҆́ще и҆ стрⷮн е҆́
непри҆а́тна. и҆ ѻ҆́писа́ет сѧ, не
сло́воⷨ бы́тїа. ѻ҆́писает же сѧ

213r
гл҃ⷷ вто́рое, въ ѡ҆пи́санѣ тѣ́лесн
и҆́маши прѣбыва́нїе. ꙗ҆коже́
се̏ оу҆бо не добро́твꙋ́рать понꙋ́-
жа́щи. прⷩ҇ча та́ко бы́ти ꙗ҆ко̏
прѣвоѡ҆бра́зное. к то́моу бꙋ̑
оу҆́же не бⷩ҇ была прⷩ҇ча. при́тча
оу҆бо е҆̑ оу҆ка́занїе, оу҆вѣ́рѣ́ꙗ е҆́же
по ча́сти. чьсти ра́ди пⷪ҇бнаго.
мы̋ оу҆́бо чл҃ка, не за́неже прѣ́жѐ
бы́ти, и҆лѝ коу́пно бы́ти, нꙋ̑ на
ска́занїе при̑а́хо́ⷨ и҆́нꙋ прⷩ҇ча.
е҆́же такѡ́вымь сꙋ́щьствⷪ҇ сло-
воу съе҆́динити сѧ е҆́же ѿ на̑ тѣ́-
лесн. и҆ нника́коже когда̀ кромѣ́
того̀ ви́днмоу бы́ти. а҆́ще и҆ цѣ́ло
и҆́маⷮ по съвъкоу́пленїн разли́чїе.
ꙗ҆кожѐ и҆ ѡ҆́бщїн чл҃къ. въ ѡ҆бо́е́
бꙋ̑ ꙗ҆влѣ́ꙗ̋т сѧ сво́иства. нⷠ҇ꙋ
нн ѿ вндѣ́нїа бесъмрⷮна, ви́дн-
ма и҆ съмрⷮна бы̑ на́ша дш҃а.

213v

тако́же и҆ бг҃ъ сло́во ви́ди и҆ли҆ съ-
мр҃тенъ. а҆ще и҆ въ ви́дни́мѣмь и҆
мр҃тьвнѣмь тѣ́лесн. на́ши́ же
дш҃а̀ и҆ сло́воу бы́вшема. цѣ́ла
бо̀ и҆́мать безъ оу҆бы́тка. р̂еное
о҆бш҃ю своа̀ со́бства. га́коже́ бы̀
коеж҃о. о҆́бщи́н бо̀ чл҃къ ѿ дш҃а̀
и҆ тѣ́лесн. сп҃сь же ѿ бжт҃ва̀ съ-
ста́влъ са. что̀ бо̀ не доста́еть
дш҃и ѿлꙋ́ченъ и҆́маши о҆со́бенъ
жив҃о. е҆́же бы́ти сꙋ́щьствоу
беспл҃тноу и҆ самодви́жноу.
что̀ же тѣ́лоу к бы́тїю тѣ́лꙋ.
е҆го́же ради҆ и҆ конча́вааще съ-
бꙋ́рь ре́чемь. тѣ́лесн бы́ти на
трое̏ растоа́нноу. е̂ тѣ́ло е̂ стъ-
вно, о҆рга́нскъ съе̂ж҃. си́лож жи-
во́ть и҆́ми. ти̋ же не га́кожѐ по̂-
ба́е̏, ны̏ж га́коже непо̂́бно прие́мле̏,
при́чꙗ. и҆ ѕло̂дѣ́нствоуꙗ̏ о҆ въпро́-

214r

шени́и̂꙽ ѿ д҃́-го же събꙋ́ра до е̂́-го. (л҃в̂. in the margin)
па́тыи же събꙋ́рь бы̀ въ кꙍнста- (р҃н. in the margin)
ти́нѣ градѣ • в лт҃ꙍ ꙅм҃ѕ • при (е̂́ in the margin)
цр҃и і҆оу҆стини́а́нѣ дре́вными́ь.
въ лѣ́т к҃ѕ цр҃тва е҆го̀. и҆же цр҃тво́-
ва̀ лѣ́, л҃н. и҆ м҃цъ ѕ҃́ • бѣ́хꙋ же
съш̋ешен са ст҃ни ѡ҃ц҃н, р҃ѕ̂е.
старѣ́ншнны же бѣ́хꙋ събꙋ́р̂.
вигилїе папа̀ ри́мскыи. е҆у҆ти-
хі́е патрїа́рхъ кꙍнстанти́нѣ гра̂.
а҆пꙍллина́рїе а҆леѯа́нѣ͂ꙋ͂скы. дꙋ́-
менъ а҆нтиꙍ͂хі́нскыи. е҆у҆ти-
хі́е і҆е͂ꙗ́лмьскыи. дами́а́нъ соѕꙍ-
поли́тскыи • съ̏ ст҃ын събꙋ́рь,
съврꙋ́ши оу҆́бо и҆́же въ халкидꙍ́-
нѣ събꙋ́ра. и҆ правовѣ́рна и҆ сп҃на̀а

повелѣ́нїа е҆го̀ въсѣ̀ съвръ́ше-
но оу҆тврꙋ́дн. и҆ въꙁра́стьшꙗ
е҆́ресъ прокла̀ и҆ ѿвръ́же. та́ко-
ждеже прокла̀ пръвоѻ҆́браꙁн҄о

214v

оу҆́во ѻ҆ригена беꙁоу́мнаго. и҆ въ-
сѣ̀ нечьстивaа е҆го̀ пи́санїа.
е҆ва́грїа же и҆ дидима. дре́вле
бы́вшаа. и҆ꙁло́женїꙗ ѿ нею̀ гла́-
вы. ре́кше съпи́санїе. ꙗ҆ко оу҆че́-
ннка ѻ҆ригено́у и҆ е҆дномы́сла-
ща. и҆ съ е҆лли́нскыми сме́ше-
на повелѣ́нїн. и҆бѡ си́мь тѣ́ле-
семь и҆́мже нн҄ѣ ѻ҆бло́жени е҆см҄ь,
беꙁоу́мнѣ ре́кша не въскрꙋ́снꙗ-
ти. и҆ е҆́ще же къ се́моу вла́дѣхꙋ
гл҃ще. ꙗ҆ко дш҃а, пръвѣ́ншаа
сꙋ́ть тѣ́лесе. и҆ пре́жде тѣ́лесь
рѡ́дншꙗ̀. и҆ ѿ е҆лли́нскы̄ начи-
наꙗще повелѣ́нїн, прѣхо́же-
нїе дш҃амь ѿ тѣ́ла въ тѣ́ло оу҆ча́-
хꙋ. коне́ц же бы́ти вѣ́чнѣн
мꙋ́цѣ гла̄ахꙋ. и҆ бѣсѡ̄ пакы̀
въ пръвїн са́нь оу҆строити сꙗ гла̄-
хꙋ. и҆ х҃а̀ п҄о́бна н҄а́ бы́ги и҆ ни-

215r

что́же раꙁли́чно и҆́мѣти ѿ н҄а́ хꙋ́-
лѣахꙋ тръꙋ҆̄каа́нїн. ра́н же ѻ҆-
клеветаахꙋ, ꙗ҆ко н҄т҄ѣ сътво́р҄е̄
ѿ б҃а. ни бы́ти е҆моу. и҆ е҆́ще же
к то́моу гла̄ахꙋ. ꙗ҆ко не въплꙋ́-
ти съꙁда́нь бы́сть а҆да́мь. и҆
и҄́на дроу́гаа тъма́мн хоу́лнаа
и҆спи́савше ѻ҆бли́чени бы́ша.
и҆ мнѡ́гы ѿ цр҃кве гоу́бꙗще. ꙗ҆́же
съпи́санїа не ꙗ҆́вѣ и҆ ꙗ҆́сно прои҆ꙗ-
влѣахꙋ сꙗ. нꙋ ѿ нѣ́кы̀ въ таи́нѣ

дръжи́ма бѣ́хꙗ. нижѐ до ко-
нца̀ ѡ҆бли́ченн бы́ша на четврꙋ̀-
тꙋ̑ събѡ́рѣ. а҆́ще и҆ нѣ́ціи ѿ стх҃ъ
ѡ҆ц҃ъ сїа̀ ѿмѣ́таахꙋ. нѣ́ѡ прѣ̀-
же́ того̀ съвѡ́ра бѣ́хꙗ бы́ли трїѐ
е҆рети́ки прѡ́клати́н. е҆гда́же
въ мнѡ́гіи лю́ди такѡ́ваа нача́-
ша сꙗ оу҆че́нїа. тогда̀ сꙋ̏н събра̀
сꙗ ст҃ы́н събѡ́рь пꙗ́тын. си́хже

215v

и҆ е҆диномы́слъникы н҃҃҆. и҆ хоу́лна
н҃҆ съпи́санїа прѡкла́ша. и҆ е҆́ще
же и҆ мемѱоу́ести́нскаго ѳеѡ́ра
прѡ́клаша. и҆ нестѡ́рїа оу҆че́нн-
ка е҆го̀, и҆ съ хоу́линими е҆гѡ̀ съ-
пи́санїн. ꙗ҆́ко скврꙋ́нныꙗ плѣ́-
вы и҆зврꙋ́гоша꙼ ѿ е҃́ же събѡ́-
ра до ѕ҃́-го. л҃҃к̑, р҃к̑ѳ . е҃ ~
Ше́стын же ст҃ы́н и въселе́нскын
събѡ́ръ. бы́ въ кѡ̑стантѝнѣ гра-
дѣ • в лѣ́тѡ, ѕ҃́о҃ѕ прин цр҃и кѡ̑-
стантѝнѣ врада́тѣ ѡ҆ц҃н і҆оу́сти-
нїа́нѡвѣ. вноу́цѣ же и҆ра́клїевѣ.
въ лѣ́то трина́десатое цр҃ства
е҆го̀. и҆́же цр҃ствова̀ л҃к̑, ꙁ҃і ~
Бѣ́хꙗ же съше́дше сꙗ ст҃н ѡ҆ц҃н.
чи́слѡ̑, р҃о҃́ • ста́рѣншнны же
бѣ́хꙗ събѡ́роу. а҆гаѳѡ̑ папа̀ рі̑-
мскын. геѡ́ргїе патрїа́рхь кѡ̑-
стантѝнѣ града. ѳеѡ́фанъ
к҃д҃ (on the lower margin)

216r

а҆нтиѡхі́нскын. н пе́тръ мн҃н̑
ѿ а҆леѯа́ндрїа. поне́же вдо́вство
ваше тогда̀ прѣ́стѡль алеѯа́-
н꙼ᲅ̑ъскыꙗ цр҃кве • събра́ша
же сꙗ на ѡ҆бно́внешꙗ сꙗ е҆́ресъ

въ ст҃ѣн съвⷼѡрнѣн н аплⷮѣн
цр҃квы. гла҃ же на фа́ранскаго
е́пкⷭпа. н̀ на ѡ̀нѡ́рїа ри́мскаго.
н̀ ку́ра але∅а́ндръскаго. на се́ргⷢ҇ї
н̀ пи́ра. па́вла н̀ пе́тра. ꙑвⷨшаⷶ
е́пкⷭпы кѡнстанти́нѣ града.
н̀ е́ще же н̀ на ѡ̀вновнⷡшаⷶ
е́́ресъ, прѣ́жⷣе напи́санны е́ре-
тнкъ на се́мь ст҃ѣмь съвѡ́рѣ.
сѐ на ма́карїа а̀нтнѡхі́нскаго
пръвосѣда́лннка. н̀ на сте́фа-
на оу҆че́ннка е́го̀. н̀ на повѡ́рны.
сн҃ вⷪ прⷮѣжⷣеⷬе́нїн е́ретн́цн.
∅еѡ́ⷬ҇ръ н̀ ѡ̀нѡ́рїе. пи́ⷬ҇р же н̀ се́ргⷢ҇їе.
ку́ръ, па́вель н̀ пе́тръ. ма́карїе

216v

н̀ сте́фа҇ⷹ оу҆че́ннкъ е́го̀. дрⷮѣзнⷤ-
ша ре́щн е́дннⷤ вѡ́лⷶ. н̀ е́днно
дѣ́нство нмⷮѣтн гⷭꙋ на́шемоу
н҃ⷭ х҃оⷭу҆̀, н̀ по въплъ́щенн. съⷶзъ
правовⷮѣрїа разⷣрⷮѣшнтн въ-
схⷪⷮѣвшⷶ. сего радⷩ҇н ст҃ꙑн
въселе́нскꙑн съвѡ́ръ. прⷮѣжⷣѐ-
пнса́нныⷶ е́ретнкꙑ ꙗ́ко бг҃о-
вѡ́рцⷶ про́клⷮⷶ. н̀ въсѐ хоу҆лнаⷶ
н҆́ повеⷧⷮѣнїа. н̀ въсⷮѣхь тⷮⷫѣ по́-
вномⷤдръствоу҆шⷨн҆, нлⷩ҇н
мⷤдръствоватн хѡ́тⷶшⷩ҇н. н̀
вѐзь покаа́нїа прⷮѣвꙑ́ваⷶшⷩ҇н.
съ тⷮѣмн же н̀ полнхрѡ́нїа[57] мла-
доо́умнаго ста́рцⷶ. н́же мрⷮⷮⷹтвїⷶ
въста́внтн велерⷮⷮⷹчꙋⷶшꙋⷶвъ та́-
кѡвⷮⷮⷹѣн е́реⷭсн, тн́шнны же по-
лоучнвшⷶ. н̀ въне́гⷣа не въ∅ⷮⷮⷹ́-
гнⷤтн н̀ е́ще вѡⷧшаго хоу҆ле-
нїа. такѡ̀вⷤⷶ е́ресъ ѡ̀влн́чнвⷮ-

217r

ше прѡ́клаша. правовѣ́рнаа по-
велѣ́нїа, ꙗ́снѣе сы́н сты́н съвѡ́
и́згласнеь. двѣ̀ во́лн. си́рѣчь,
хотѣ́нїн. и двѣ̀ е̂ствѣ и дѣ́н-
ствѣ, и́звѣ́стнша и́мѣ́тн по
въплъ́щенїн гоӯ на́шемоу і̇ѵ̄ х̄ꙋ.
и въ разд́ѣ́ленн ли́ца не бꙋ́дн тѡ̏.
нꙋ̏ поне́же ннеди́номоу е̂ствꙋ̄
хвоӯ. без во́ла р́кше, бєзь хо-
тѣ́нїа и недѣ́нстьвноу бы́тн.
нꙋ̏бѡ такѡ́ваа ѿ е̂ства ѿе́мла-
ще сꙋ́ѡбства:~ ѿ ꙅ́-го же съвѡ́-
ра до ꙁ́-го лѣ́ть, р̄к . ꙅ́.
Се́Ⰿы же сты́н и въселе́нскын
съвѡ́рь. бы̄ въ ннке́н вто́рое.
в лѣтѡ̀ ꙅ̄сꙅ́ • въ цр̄тво кѡ̄-
стантína и і̇рі́ны мт̄рн е̂го̀.
въ лѣ́то о́смое цр̄тва е̂го̀.
и́же цр̄твова̀ л́ѣ, к̄в • Сь̄ оу̏во
сты́н съвѡ́рь ннке́нскын гр҄ꙋ,

217v

и́мѣ̈ше послоу́шалнще. р̄к҃ꙅ,
стх̄ь ѿц҄ъ бѣ̀ оу́кра́шень. чн-
ноначꙗ́лнкы же и́мѣ̈ше с҃щє́-
ннаго то́го ѡплъ́ченїа. а́ндрї-
а́на папы́ рі́мскаго. и́же въ се́-
бе мѣ́сто посла̀ пе́тра бл̄гого-
вѣ́ннаго[58] презвꙋ́тера сты́а р҄і̇-
скыа цр̄кве. и дроу́гаго пе́тра
презвꙋ́ра. (!) и́гоу́мена и́же въ рі́-
мѣ чт̄наго мо́настнрѣ ст̄го
са́вы. и е́ще же і̇ѡа́нна и ѳѡⰿꙗ̈
ѿва мнн́ха и презвꙋ́тера. пра-
вленїе и́мꙗ̈ща въ́стѡчны҄ а́пⰾ҄ъ-

скы̏ прⷮⷩлъ. и́ е̋ще же кⷮъ тѣ́мь
тара́сїе патрїа́рхь кѡнстанти́-
нѣ града. и́ пѡли́тїань папа̀
а́лезандрьскыи • събра́ша
же сѧ, на ѿмѣ́таѧщⷯ стⷯъ и́
чтⷮны ́икѡнь поклⷶн̇ѣнїе. тⷤ
бѡ ѡкаа́ннїи, х҃а̀ и́стиннаго

218r
б҃а на́шего до конца̀ хоу́лити дрⷣ̋-
знѫша дѣ́лесⷩ въсѣ́ко досажде́-
нїе и́ хоу́ленїе промышлѣ́аще.
и̋дола поклⷶн̇ѣ́емжⷶ и́кѡнж
е́го̀, дрⷣъзновленно и́ безбѡ́жно
нарицⷶаще. е́го́же радⷣѝ и́дѡⷢ-
скаа лⷣ̀ность ѿго́нит сѧ. и́ въсⷶ́-
цⷣѣⷩⷨⷩ безчⷣⷩⷶ́стⷣⷩ̇ⷩ ѡблⷶга́аще,
[59]посрⷣѣⷣ̋ торⷤжⷩица влⷶ́чⷶаще и́
попи́раⷶⷨⷩща. съжⷩ̇га́аще и̇[60]
о́плю́ваⷶⷨⷩще. видⷣѣⷩⷩⷣⷩⷩ̋є жⷶ́ло-
стⷩⷩⷩ хрⷮⷣⷩⷮⷩⷩ̋аⷩⷩⷨⷩ твⷩⷩⷨⷩⷮⷩⷩⷩⷩⷣⷩⷩ̋ще. та́ко-
ваⷶжде и́ нⷩⷩⷣⷩ и̋ны̋ сⷣ̀щⷣⷩⷩⷩⷣⷩⷩⷩ̋ны и́кѡнⷣⷩ̋
твⷩⷩ̋ⷨⷩⷩⷣⷩⷩⷩⷨⷩⷩⷩⷨⷩⷩ̋ще. и́ сїⷶ̋ почи́таⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩ̋аⷨⷩⷩ
хⷮⷮⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩ̋нⷣⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩ мⷩⷣⷩ̀чⷶще и́ гⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩ̀нⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩ̋аⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩще
и́ съмрⷮⷩⷣⷩⷩⷩ прⷩⷩⷣ̋ѣⷣ̋а́аще. не въ́дⷶ-
ще ꙗ́ко сⷩⷩ̋ радⷣⷩ̀ на х҃а паче и́ стⷣⷩⷩⷩ̋ы̋а
е́го̀ бра́нь твⷩⷩⷨⷩⷩ̀ⷩⷩ̋ще тⷤ съста́-
влⷣⷣ̋ѣⷣ̋ахⷣⷩⷩ. ꙗ̋вⷣ̋ѣ бѡ е̋. ꙗко чⷣⷩⷩ̀сть
ѡⷮ̋бразѡвⷣⷩⷩⷩ̋ь, чⷣⷩ̀сть въⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩ̋ѡбра́жаемⷣⷩⷩ̋

218v
бы́ваⷣ̋ⷮⷩ ꙗ̋кожⷩⷩ̀е и́ съпрѡ́тивⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩно.
чтѡ́же радⷣⷩ̀ тѡ́го. и́ се́бе оу́бо
вⷣⷩ́ⷩⷩⷨⷩⷩⷩⷩ̋чⷩⷩ̋номоу въⷣ̋дⷶ́ⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩ̋ша прѡ́клⷶ-
тїю. стⷣⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩ̋а же и́кѡнжⷣⷩ хⷣⷩⷨⷩ̀,
сⷣⷩⷩ̋ⷮⷩⷩⷣⷩⷩⷩ̋ⷩ̀кⷩⷩⷩⷩ ѡⷣ̋бразъ. по а́плⷣ̋ⷩⷩⷩ̋скомⷩⷩⷣ̋

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[59] The text between note 59 and note 60 is not present in BAR 685: ѡблⷶга́аще и́ о́плю́ваⷩⷩⷩⷩⷩⷨⷩⷩ̋ще.

[60] The text between note 59 and note 60 is not present in BAR 685.

съвы́ше й ѿчⷷскомоу прѣда́-
нїю, на чⷭ҇ть въѡбража́емж.
покла́нѣти сѧ й почи́тати, въ-
сѣмь сждꙋⷮ оутврьⷣ҇днша й за-
печа́тлѣша. тако бⷹ҇ чтⷩ҇номꙋ
крⷭ҇тоу покла́нѣꙗще сѧ, на нⷨ҇е-
же животвѡ́рнвое распрⷪ҇ⷭⷮⷬⷮ҇то бы̑
тѣ́ло. й ѡчищенїе ми́ровн
крⷪ҇вⷡ҇ нсто́чн. й е҆ще же й ѡбра̑-
зоу крⷭ҇та. и́мже бѣсн ѿгѡ́нн-
мн быва́ѫ й стра́стн нсцѣⷧ҇лѣⷮ
сѧ. того ра́дн нже е҆ди́ноѫ на
прьвоѡⷠ҇бразнѣмь сътвѡ́ршж-
а сѧ блⷢ҇тн й си́лы. да́же й до тⷷⷯ
ѡ҆бразѡвⷷⷬ҇ь съꙗⷡ҇ⷵны̑ дѣ́йствꙋⷮ

219r

съпронсходнтн. й е҆ще же й са́-
мѫа хⷡ҇ѣ н́кѡнѫ, ре́кше ѡбразь.
не въ такѡвы̑ ѡпнса́нїемь чⷭ҇ть
й покла́нѣнїе. нж на то́го са́мо-
го нⷯ҇ ра́дн чⷧ҇колюбно въчⷧ҇лⷱ҇ьшⷶ.
й за ны̀ оу҆ме́рша сїѧ възнѡⷵⷷⷮ.
та́кожⷷ й цⷬ҇квамь стыⷯ҇ й грѡ̑-
бⷹ҇ⷱ҇ й мѡⷲ҇щемь вⷷрно покла́нѣ-
ем сѧ. тⷷⷯ просла́вльшаго [61] велн́-
ча́ѫще гⷭ҇а. не тъчі́а же хⷡ҇ѣ н́кѡ-
нѣ ре́кше [62] ѡбразоу. нж й прчⷭ҇тыа
влⷣчⷰ҇ѫ на́ша бцⷳ҇ѫ. й въсⷷⷯ҇ стыⷯ҇
сщ҃е́нным̾ въѡбра́женїемь.
по ра́венствоу прьвоѡбра́зномⷹ҇
велн́чьствїю й чⷭ҇тн. почн́тати
й покла́нѣтн оу҆тврьⷣ҇днша.
нбⷹ҇ тⷷⷯ ра́дн въ е҆диннотво́рное
нⷷкое й събѡ́рное прнвѡ́дннн

бы́ваемь ви́дѣнїемь. т҃к радѝ
спо́бни са и҆́же къ кра́евн жела-

219v

емы́ па́че е҆́ства съче́тати са.
н҃бо ꙗвле́наго ради разли́чїа н почь-
сти. поклан҄ѣ́нїа ст҃мь ѡ҆́бразѡ҃
н̑ съло́гѡ҃ и҆́же ѿ н҃а бж҃т҃вныа
вѣ́ры. къ неразд҄ѣ́лномоу н̑ е҆дн-
носꙋ́щномоу. н̑ е҆дноѡ҆бра́зно-
моу н̑ е҆днотво́рномоу бж҃т҃вꙋ
възвꙋ́дими бы́ваемь. ст҃ще́но-
л҄ѣ́пно же н̑ неразд҄ѣ́лно. ꙗ́ко
не въ ви́днмы́ прѣбы́ва҄е. нꙋ̑.
ви́днмымь радѝ къ вы́шнимь
ви́дѣнїемь възвꙋ́димь оу́мь
н̑ ѡ҆пл҄ѣ́чаемь. н̑ тако е҆́же къ
бꙋ́ прнбли́женїа насла́жꙋ̑ше҄
ѡ҆сꙋ́ща́ем са бл҃гтꙋ́ е҆го́. ꙗ́коже
ни̑ н̑ съ҆ ст҃ын н̑ въселе́нскын съ-
бꙋ́рь добрꙋ́ѣ е҆́ прѣда́ль. н̑ по
с҃и бж҃їа цр҃кви, коу́пно съ т҄ѣ́мн
н̑кѡновꙋ́рци. н̑ хрт҃їанскыа
клеве́тникы прѡ́кл҄ьнше ѿвра́-

220r

ща́ат са н̑́. ника́коже хоу́жꙋ̑е.
н̑кѡновꙋ́рець, ненави́дꙗще.
н̑́нже бꙋ́ правовѣ́рїа побꙋ́рни-
кы ѡ҆кле́ветаꙋ̑. поне́же троу́-
довь н̑хь пл҄ꙋ́ды. расы́патн
потꙋ́щава́ат са. с҃и оу́бо
прокли́наать ꙗ́ко н̑́стни҄ѣ
вра́гы:~

Chapter III

Moldavian Chronicles

1. The chronicle in the framework of the manuscript

$\mathscr{P}$robably the most original text in the historical section of the manuscript BAR 636 and in its twin manuscript in the collection of A. I. Yatsimirsky № 51 (the *Bisericani Miscellany* in Saint Petersburg), is the so-called Moldavian Chronicles, published by Ioan Bogdan (the text in BAR 636)[1] and by A. I. Yatsimirsky (the text in the *Bisericani Miscellany*)[2]. This source plays a distinct and important role for the formation of our knowledge about the medieval Romanian space, especially about the development of its historiography and its understanding of the past. Therefore, the text has been, and still is, studied by modern and contemporary historians not only in Romania but also more generally in Europe. We will not attempt to present the available bibliography, and the investigation of the work as a historical source does not fall within the range of our tasks. Our aim here is to ascertain the place of this text in the collection and in the twin manuscript and to draw conclusions about its importance for the reception of law in the Principality of Moldavia and the other Orthodox countries during the Middle Ages and the post-Byzantine era. This aim, regarding the study of the source, is relatively limited, which implies that further, more comprehensive research will be devoted to the chronicle, research that should unquestionably be made jointly with Romanian scholars.

The text of the chronicle is an integral part of the historical section of the collection (BAR 636). It is part of that section not only in theme but also in its location

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[1] The author entitles it *Serbo-Moldavian chronicle from Neamț (325–1512 г.)*: I. Bogdan, *Cronice inedite atingăntoare la istoria romînilor*, Bucureştĭ 1895, pp. 81–102. The text was republished later on by P. P. Panaitescu (P. P. Panaitescu, *Cronicile slavo-romîne*, pp. 189–193).

[2] А. И. Яцимирский, *Из славянских рукописей. Тексты и заметки*, Москва 1898, pp. 81–84.

within the manuscript. It is placed after the list of the patriarchs of Jerusalem and the Tale of the Seven Ecumenical Councils and before the list of ecumenical patriarchs. At the same time, the Chronicle is distinct within its section by its title, by the division of its text into rubrics, the beginnings of which are marked with colored ink. At the beginning of the presentation, the text is divided according to the ecumenical councils; later, according to the reigns of emperors and then the reigns of other rulers. The change of places of the patriarch lists, which are situated before and after the other two historical texts, makes it somewhat difficult to draw firm conclusions based on the accompanying texts; but we believe we have reason to see a connection between the historical texts themselves. The important thing is that we have a unified set of historical texts that certainly serves the purposes of the legal collection and of its doctrinal-polemical part.

The chronicle itself is a typical Byzantine brief chronicle of world history, i.e. the history of Salvation. Here we should note that both twin manuscripts display a tendency to update the historical presentation. This is done by adapting and connecting the history of Eastern Christianity to that of the Principality of Moldavia, and through later additions to the manuscripts (f. 220r in BAR 636 and f. 215r in Yatsimirsky № 51=BAR 685).

I believe we have every reason to assert that the connection between history and law is what determines the inclusion of the chronicle in a legal collection. This is not some particularity of the manuscripts under study (BAR 636 and its twin), but a Byzantine tradition. Historical works were regularly, almost obligatorily, included in Byzantine legal collections. In our case, we will discuss the chronicles. Although other works are present as well[3], the one most typically included in legal collections is the *Brief Chronicle* of Patriarch Nicephorus[4]. These problems have never been in the focus of scholarly interest on medieval law, but have not passed unnoticed. Yaroslav Shtapov devoted special attention to the presence of the chronicle of Patriarch Nicephorus in the Slavic Kormchayas[5]. The author's main purpose

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[3] A. Schminck, D. Getov, *Repertorium der Handschriften des byzantinischen Rechts*, Teil II/I, #339.40 (Световна хроника), #384.6 (Монемвасийска хроника); Teil II/II, #430.70 et 448.53 (two very short world chronicles), #521.114 (one of the short Byzantine chronicles published by P. Schreiner – P. Schreiner, *Die Byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, Bd. I, Wien 1975, #14, pp. 128 sq. Of course, this enumeration does not claim to be exhaustive.

[4] The brief chronograph of Patriarch Nicephorus was known in translation at the dawn of Slavic literature. We have every reason to believe it was translated at Preslav, as it is included in the Simeon Miscellany – *Симеонов сборник (по Светославовия препис от 1073 г.)*, т. I, pp. 721–725 (ff. 264a–266b).

[5] Я. Н. Щапов, *Византийские хронографические сочинения в древнеславянской Кормчей Ефремовской редакции*, p. 231 sq.

was to clarify its textology and sources, not its functions within the collection. Still, his study presents a good panorama of the historical sections of the collections and shows that these works had a specific importance for the overall perception of the norms. In any case, he made it clear they were an integral part of the whole, and that their purpose was to present the temporal and historical context of the legal norms and to ground the significance of these norms by presenting the course of their establishment.

As mentioned, the Chronicle of Patriarch Nicephorus has a stable place both in the Greek originals and in the Slavic translations of the legal collections. There may be various explanations for this fact, but we believe we should consider the popularity of the work in its own time, an age marked on the one hand by the triumph of Orthodoxy – unquestionably important for Byzantine culture, and on the other, by the intense legislation and development of juridical culture in the Empire. Nor should we overlook the popularity of the work and of its author, or its quality of a brief presentation of world history since the Creation of the World, with a clear Christian emphasis. Obviously, this is the chronicle that is replaced in manuscript BAR 636 and its twin by the Moldavian Chronicle, or what the publisher calls the "Serbo-Moldavian" chronicle.

What is the reason for this replacement, and where did this text come from?

The answer seems obvious, but not so simple when we go into details. Of course, the inclusion of a text that substitutes for, or rather further expands on, the Chronograph of Patriarch Nicephorus should be due to the wish to update the context of the normative part of the collection and the controversial works. This is demonstrated by the "Moldavian" character (not very emphatic, but distinct) of the chronicle and also by the notes added separately to the two twin manuscripts (f. 220r in BAR 636 and f. 215r in Yatsimirsky № 51=BAR 685). It is more difficult to explain what necessitated this updating. It is always well to situate important messages within an up-to-date context. But this would apply to all the legal collections containing the work of Patriarch Nicephorus that do not attempt to substitute it by an account more closely linked to the historical environment of law enforcement or of the respective manuscript's creation. This question can be answered after in-depth research. Here we will point out the very difficult moment Moldavia was undergoing, involving the conversion of the ruler Iliaş Rareş to Islam and the severe crisis under the heirs of Petru Rareş, when the state felt isolated and threatened by its more powerful neighbors. We believe that is where we should seek an explanation of the updating of the collection's historical part, but after thorough study.

We will limit our judgement concerning the origin of the text only to a general reference to its compiled character. We should have in mind that this is

a work from the dawn of medieval Moldavian and Wallachian historiography: that it should be entirely original in origin is unthinkable, and no one has claimed such a thing. The text is of the nature of a short Byzantine chronicle, as are many Serbian chronicles. The origin of the information it contains should be sought among the Byzantines and the South Slavs. Such is the prevailing opinion in modern and contemporary historiography. Before touching on this matter, we will present the contents of the chronicle. In his extensive study from nearly half a century ago, G. Mihăilă discusses the traditional presence of the *Brief Chronicle* of Patriarch Nicephorus in the Romanian principalities and in early Romanian historiography, proposing the thesis that the two chronographic texts from BAR 636 and from the *Bisericani Miscellany* (Yatsimirsky № 51=BAR 685) are in fact a revised edition of Patriarch Nicephorus' work[6]. This is a remarkable observation, because until then, most scholarly interest had been focused chiefly on the last part of the work, which presents the history of the Balkan nations, of the Ottoman conquest, and most of all on the story of the Moldavian principality. We will linger on this further below.

2. Content of the chronicle

Although it is a compiled work, and composed of two clearly separate parts, the Moldavian Chronicle is well structured, subdivided and carries a clear message. The text has a title, written in red ink, indicating that the work presents the Christian emperors starting from the time of the First Ecumenical Council: this distinguishes it from the classical form of the *Chronograph* of Patriarch Nicephorus, which begins with the Creation of the World. The difference is significant, but we should have in mind that the work of the ecumenical patriarch and iconodule Nicephorus has reached us with the respective additions and changes, which create great variety among the copies. In any case, we can safely assert that both chronicular works (our chronicle and the *Brief Chronograph* of Patriarch Nicephorus, if we consider them to be different) have an identical purpose within the framework of legal collections: they present world Christian history. In one case, however, the history is presented in the context of world history according to the biblical view of the Creation, the Fall, the forefathers, the patriarchs, the history of the Chosen People of Israel, the successive Bab-

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⁶ G. Mihăilă, *Istoriografia românească veche (sec. al XV-lea – începutul sec. al XVII-lea) în raport cu istoriografia bizantină și slavă*, [in:] idem, *Contribuții la istoria culturii și literaturii române vechi*, București 1972, pp. 108–109.

ylonian, Persian, and Hellenic kingdoms, and down to Rome, the time of the Incarnation, the Sacrifice and the road to Salvation. Such is the classical form of Patriarch Nicephorus' work. By contrast, our chronicle begins with Emperor Constantine and the First Ecumenical Council, which is the Christian history of Rome. We should specially point out that, in chronological terms, the beginning of the Moldavian Chronicle coincides with the beginning of the list of prelates of Constantinople in our manuscript. It may be said that, at least at the start, our text follows the pace of the councils, which organize the divisions of the text, marked by red ink. It seems to us this is a characteristic feature of the whole historical part of the collection: its organization is a function of the holding of councils and the account of these councils. We see this everywhere. Inasmuch as the councils were convened to resolve some theological or disciplinary problem of the Church, it seems to us this approach results from the general organization of the manuscript as a legal and controversial weapon in the fight against heresies.

In the framework of the presentation, organized on the basis of the councils, we also find indications of other historical events. Thus, regarding the period between the Fifth and Sixth Ecumenical Councils, the appearance of the "Saracen false prophet Mohammed" is noted (f. 221r). Of course, the triumph of Orthodoxy in the 9th century is specially pointed out, and after it, the historical events of special importance for Eastern Christianity but concerning the Slavic countries. The baptism of the Bulgarians is presented in the context of the restoration of veneration for icons and the creation of the Slavic script by St. Cyril, all of which is situated under the reign of Emperor Michael III (f. 222r the beginning). For its part, the baptism of the Russians is situated in the time of Emperor Basil I (f. 222r). Regarding the reign of Emperor Nicephorus Phokas, it is noted that the edifice of the Great Lavra of Mount Athos by St. Athanasius the Athonite (f. 222r) began then. After John Tzimiskes comes another section, and it is noted that, from the time of Adam until then, 6,484 years have passed (f. 222v). The new chronology begins with Basil II Porphyrogene, the Bulgaroktonos, without any special account, and continues with a presentation of the list of emperors with indications of the years of their reigns. The next section begins after the reign of Manuel I Comnenus: the time from Adam to Manuel being 6,689 years (f. 223r). The conquest of Constantinople by the Crusaders has been given special attention as a certainly tragic event, and the emphasis is on the establishment of the mention of the Pope's name there, which is a sign of temporary victory of religious deviations linked to Rome (f. 223r the end). The winning back of Constantinople is noted, but the emphasis and new division is situated at Andronicus III Palaiologos, who

"deposed Barlaam", and from Adam to him, there are 6,860 years (f. 223v). Here again we have an emphasis on the fight against heresies. The account of the Empire ends with Manuel II Palaiologos. These are the kings since the Creation of the World – by these words, a clear end is put to the first part of the chronicle (f. 224r the beginning). There is a significant difference here from the classical version of the presentation in the *Chronograph* of Patriarch Nicephorus, which usually ends at a considerably earlier time, notwithstanding the quite great variations in copies.

There follows a presentation of the history of the Moldavian Principality, combined with that of the Ottoman conquest, featured in quite a negative light. First is the account of the arrival of Dragoş from Maramureş, who was hunting aurochs, and the beginnings of the principality (f. 224r). Immediately after comes the conquest of Gallipoli by the Ottomans and the ensuing disaster (f. 224r), the death of Momchil at Peritheorion, the conquest of Tarnovgrad, the death of King Uroš, and then of Bayezid I after the battle of Ankara, the march and death of Musa, and the death of Balša of Zeta (f. 224v). On the same page, we find information on the reign of Alexander the Good of Moldavia, which serves as a context of the presentation. The account up to the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans follows the stages of their conquest of the Balkans. After Mehmed II, the narrative begins to resemble that of the Byzantine emperors, being divided according to the names of the separate rulers: Bayezid II and Selim I (ff. 225r–v). The mention of the "pious Bogdan Voevoda" is linked to an apocalyptic depiction of the situation in the principality, presented in the context of the battle against the infidels and the ensuing pestilence and disaster in Moldavia (f. 225v). There is a direct reference – full of eschatological horror – to the advent of the Antichrist. The chronicle ends with an interesting chronological note, saying that, from the reign of Mehmed Bey until that of Bayezid, 29 years had passed; and from the reign of the latter to that of Selim, 31 years (f. 225v). We cannot help noticing that in the chronology of Muslim rulers, the calculation "since the Creation of Adam" is not used, but only the years between the rulers themselves. This, we believe, should be seen as a mark of their exclusion from the context of world history of Salvation, and their isolation in a separate context of their own.

As for the construction of the work, we can agree with previous scholars that it is easy to distinguish two separate parts in it: a history of Christianity in general and of the councils related to the Empire, and a history of the Ottoman conquest and of the 14th–16th century. The two parts differ (at least partially) in style and are of different origins. We thus come to the question of the sources that the Moldavian compiler has used.

3. Sources and origin of the chronicle's text. Its purpose within the collection

Scholars agree that the text has the character of a compilation. The first publisher, Ioan Bogdan, wrote that this was a revised version of South Slavic chronographs (Bulgarian and Serbian), and referred to one of them in his publication[7].

A. I. Yatsimirsky made a particularly important contribution to research on the chronicle's origin. He devoted special attention to it in his collected studies on texts and manuscripts on which he had worked[8]. He traced the loans in detail and even published the text with a parallel presentation of the sources from which the data were borrowed. We do not believe the topic has been exhausted; it should be continued on the basis of the much greater amount of data we have at our disposal at present, approximately a hundred years after the publication of A. I. Yatsimirsky. Clarifying the mechanism of the borrowing of data should be pursued together with their examination within their own context, which may allow us to draw conclusions regarding the function of the source within the manuscript we are using.

In his publication of the Moldavian part of the chronicle, P. P. Panaitescu makes a superficial review of studies on the text, and separates and abandons the "Byzantine" part, not considering it an integral component of the work[9]. This approach is perfectly unfounded both methodologically – as regards the textological study of the source, and in terms of the context. It leads to incorrect conclusions, but basically Panaitescu draws no conclusions at all. According to Emil Turdeanu, the work has only a small and weak original part; an abridged version of a Serbian chronicle is used for some themes (regarding the medieval Empire and the South Slavs), and still other topics (the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans and the Moldavian history) are based on general information and local sources[10].

It should be noted that most – in fact almost all – authors are mainly interested in the second, "Balkan-Moldavian" part of the chronicle, and not in the beginning, which they consider to be of a standard kind and entirely unoriginal. For us, however, the beginning is important inasmuch as our main interest is focused on the presence of a historical text in a legal and polemical collection. George Mihăilă was the first to clearly formulate the thesis that the Moldavian Chronicle is a var-

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[7] I. Bogdan, *Cronice inedite atingăntoare la istoria romînilor*, pp. 81–82. For the published text, see I. Bogdan, *Ein Beitrag zur bulgarischen und serbischen Geschichtsschreibung*, "Archiv für slavische Philologie" XIII.IV, 1891, 502 sq.

[8] А. И. Яцимирский, *Из славянских рукописей*, pp. 76–84.

[9] P. Panaitescu, *Cronicile slavo-romîne*, pp. 188–189.

[10] E. Turdeanu, *L'activité littéraire en Moldavie de 1504 à 1552*, [in:] E. Turdeanu, *Etudes de la littérature roumaine et d'écrits slaves et grecs des principautés roumaines*, Leiden 1985, pp. 161–208.

iant and additional development of the *Brief Chronograph* of Patriarch Nicephorus[11]. Particularly useful is his review of the manuscript tradition of the work in the Romanian environment. The author's conclusion is defined by his interest in early Moldavian historiography, and that is why he notes the particular connection between the *Brief Chronograph* of Patriarch Nicephorus and the *Chronograph* of George Hamartolos. In most copies, they go together. In connection with our study, it is worth mentioning that George Mihăilă makes no mention of the legal accompanying parts in some of the copies, or of the traditional presence of the *Chronograph* of Patriarch Nicephorus the Confessor in legal collections.

In a relevant study, Dumitru Năstase touches on miscellany collections, and particularly on the presence of chronicles in them[12]. His study is conducted entirely within the framework of his thesis regarding the legacy and continuity of the imperial idea in the principalities (especially in Moldavia), which is argued through various elements of historical narratives of the 15th–16th century. Here we may of course include the presence of rulers of the two kingdoms of the Chosen People[13] – Israel and Judaea, but above all, of the Roman Christian emperors. Our chronicle has not been overlooked by Năstase. It is mentioned with particular attention to the Christian rulers, especially Constantine the Great[14]. Of course, this is interpreted in the framework of the general thesis that the Moldavian rulers continued the ecumenical imperial tradition. What is important for our discussion is that D. Năstase confirms Mihăilă's thesis that our text is a compilation made up of an abridged version of the *Brief Chronograph* of Patriarch Nicephorus, a Serbian chronicle, and parts of early Moldavian chronicles. We believe a deeper textological study of the source, which has yet to be made, will give a more precise, if not complete, answer regarding its origin. Here we will only make some clarifications, following the consecutive order of the three main subdivisions of the text: the Roman-Byzantine, with which it begins, the part borrowed from Serbian chronicles, and the "Moldavian" part.

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[11] G. Mihăilă, *Istoriografia româneasca veche (sec. al XV-lea – începutul sec. al XVII-lea în raport cu istoriografia bizantina si slava*, [in:] Idem, *Contributii la istoria culturii si literaturii române vechi*, Bucureşti 1972 (the article was first published in "Romanoslavica" 15, 1967), pp. 108–109, an overview of the full presence of the *Brief Chronograph* of Patriarch Nicephorus in the Romanian environment – *ibidem*, pp. 106–109.

[12] D. Năstase, *Unité et continuité dans le contenu de recueils manuscrits dits "miscellanées"*, "Cyrillomethodianum" 5, 1981, pp. 22–48.

[13] Regarding the connection of the historical narrative to the biblical tradition, and the construction of the thesis regarding the "New Israel", see Ив. Билярски, *От мифа к истории или от степи к Израилю*, "Зборник радова Византолошког института" XLII, 2005, pp. 7–22; I. Biliarsky, *The Tale of the Prophet Isaiah*, p. 65 sq.

[14] D. Năstase, *Unité et continuité dans le contenu de recueils manuscrits dits "miscellanées"*, pp. 23–24, 27–30.

First, we may assert that the first part of the chronicle under study is based on an additionally elaborated version of the *Brief Chronograph* of Patriarch Nicephorus. In referring to this work, however, we should have in mind that, within its Byzantine environment, the Chronograph is likewise not unified in its contents and has reached us with multiple continuations. Its intense dissemination, and even its presence in legal collections, implies it was continued up to the age when the collection was compiled, or at least a time close to that. The copy in *Parisinus suppl. graec.* 67 contains the names of rulers from Basil I and up to the 15th century[15]. The copy in *Monacensis graec.* 510 contains a particular list of emperors from Constantine to John V Palaiologos, thus coming close to our case[16]. In fact, the most significant deviation from the original work of Nicephorus is precisely the different starting point of the presentation and its different endpoint. We are inclined to think that both dates were not chosen accidentally but are relevant to the chronicle's function within the collection and its emphasis on the controversy with heresies and the legal treatment of heresies. A future comparative study of our texts with the Greek ones and with other Slavic texts could lead us to more concrete conclusions, but this is beyond the scope of the present study.

Second, the text that follows after the account of Manuel II Palaiologos either was borrowed from specific Byzantine and South Slavic chronicles or drew data from the Moldavian tradition. In the 19th century, Ioan Bogdan published the Serbian text that most probably served as a basis for the historical narrative we are discussing. We mentioned this earlier. For his part, A. I. Yatsimirsky published the two sources in parallel. There is no doubt about the origin of the chronicle, but as to its function within the collection, it is worth clarifying some points. We should first of all point out that the presentation does not give priority to any of the Balkan nations. The chronicle from which the text was probably borrowed is Serbian, but this does not indicate any Serbian influence on our text. The choice should probably be ascribed to the far more fruitful Serbian literature in the late Middle Ages and the wider dissemination of its tradition due to the growing influence of Serbia in the 13th and 14th century. In this respect, it is well to compare the texts, because not all the information in the Serbian chronicle has been included in the Moldavian. Thus, the Serbian chronicle begins with the death of Tsar Stephan Dušan[17], which is not the case in our chronicle. The latter begins with the conquest of Gallipoli and the entry of the Ottomans in Europe. If we must seek an explanation for this lack (though we are not convinced we necessarily must), it might be due to a certain

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[15] C. DE BOOR, *Nicephori archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani opuscula historica*, pp. 226–230.

[16] *Ibidem*, pp. 231–234.

[17] I. BOGDAN, *Ein Beitrag…*, p. 520.

disregard for Serbian data and an emphatic interest in data related to the Ottoman conquest. The next information is about the death of Momchil at Peritheorion, an event that is also related to the Ottomans. The death of Tsar Uroš is mentioned, but after that, many very important events in Balkan history are missing, mainly related to Serbia, such as the battle at Maritsa (Chernomen, Ormenio), the battle of Pločnik, and the battle of Kosovo, with the deaths of Murad I and of Prince Lazar Hrebeljanović. All these events are certainly important and mainly connected with Serbia. The next information, which is present in both texts, is about the fall of Tărnovgrad[18]. Then there is the rout at Ankara and the death of Bayezid I, the death of Musa, several victories of Janos Hunyadi, the death of Murad, the conquest of Constantinople by Mehmed II, etc. All this is presented, while important historical events are omitted, such as the battle at Varna and the death of King Vladislav III Jagiello Warnenczyk, the death of Tsarine Mara Branković, the conquest of Serbia by the Ottomans, the death of King Matthias Corvinus, etc.[19] The impression is that Serbian history was not a priority for the compiler, even though he based the compilation on a Serbian chronicle. This was essentially an attempt to present a general history of the Balkans without emphasizing any particular country. We are tempted to say that the "Bulgarian" information is not as neglected as the "Serbian" is, so that we might seek some Bulgarian legacy in Moldavia, an idea that has long been discussed; but this might be misleading. It seems to us the aim was rather to build a more concise presentation, which is why some parts of the chronicle were omitted, and these are the ones related to Serbian history because it takes up much more space in the original South Slavic text. In this respect, however, we should also have in mind the linguistic observations of Ioan Bogdan, who is inclined to see traits of Tărnovo spelling[20].

Third, we cannot help noticing there is a certain emphasis on Moldavia. This is not because there is much "Moldavian" data, but because a disproportionate amount of attention is devoted to a country that was not central, but from which the manuscript originated. With regard to the message and environment presented in the chronicle, the events from Moldavian history are especially important for our study. These are:

1) the narrative about the establishment of the Principality by Dragoş, who was hunting and chasing an aurochs in the mountains (f. 224r);

2) the mention of the reign of Alexander the Good (f. 224v);

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[18] *Ibidem*, p. 521; А. И. Яцимирский, *Из славянских рукописей*, p. 82.

[19] I. Bogdan, *Ein Beitrag…*, pp. 521–525; А. И. Яцимирский, *Из славянских рукописей*, pp. 82–83.

[20] I. Bogdan, *Ein Beitrag…*, p. 490.

3) the conquest of Chilia and Asprocastron by the Ottomans (f. 225r at the end);

4) the ending of the text, and the conclusion of the chronicle narrative, at the time of Bogdan III (f. 225v).

Like most researchers, we are convinced the emphasis on Moldavia is obvious, in view of the special attention devoted to a not particularly important participant in this region's international relations in the Late Middle Ages.

Still, the two most important elements in the Moldavian emphasis of the chronicle are the legendary foundation of the Principality by Dragoș and the fact that the text ends with events related to Moldavia. At the same time, it should be noted that many important events in the history of the country are not presented. For example, the name of Stephan the Great is not mentioned in connection with the conquest of Chilia and Asprocastron by the Ottomans, although it is present in the chronicles from which the information about the conquest was borrowed[21]. This was certainly an important loss that stressed people at that time because of the strategic and symbolic importance of the two cities. In this connection, we may ask whether the name of Stephan the Great, the most remarkable Moldavian ruler, was not purposely omitted rather than simply overlooked. We can only surmise it, but if true, the fact would suggest some ideological dimensions of the text. We will also mention some other Wallachian and Moldavian "lacks" of parts that are present in the Serbian text believed to be the prototype source of the chronicle we are discussing: the Battle of Rovine (King Marko and Constantine Dragaš were killed there) and later the death of Mircea the Elder[22]; the battles waged by Janos Hunyadi against the Ottomans in Wallachia[23]; the victory of Stephan the Great over the Ottomans and the subsequent loss to Sultan Mehmed II[24]. These omissions show a certain disregard (that is hard to account for) with respect to the time of Stephan the Great and to some essential events – heroic or not particularly heroic – in the relations with the Ottoman Empire, with Poland, etc. An explanation to this problem should be found.

In any case, it may be asserted that the chronicle in our legal and polemical twin collections is a compiled work based on Byzantine and South Slavic prototypes and seemingly created in Moldavia. For the time being, we will refrain from taking sides in the debate as to whether one of the twin manuscripts influenced the other or both had a common source – although the latter seems more probable.

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[21] I. Bogdan, *Ein Beitrag …*, p. 525; А. И. Яцимирский, *Из славянских рукописей*, p. 83.

[22] I. Bogdan, *Ein Beitrag…*, p. 521.

[23] *Ibidem*, p. 522.

[24] *Ibidem*, p. 524.

In any case, this work is of the "brief chronicle" type, and it presents the general history of Christianity with an emphasis on Southeastern Europe, where Moldavia is located.

4. Functions and purpose of the *Chronicle* within the manuscript

The *Chronicle* is an integral part of our legal and polemical collection and has a specific purpose – the same as that of the *Chronograph* of Patriarch Nicephorus in the Greek legal collections and their Slavic translations. It aims to present the historical context of the fight against heresies and of the establishment and implementation of norms. It also attempts to inscribe the history of Moldavia in world Christian history. That is why the presentation – at least in the beginning – is centered on the ecumenical councils, which define the parts and structure of the text. This is quite natural, considering that the collection is anti-heretical: so were the ecumenical councils inasmuch as they were convened to fight against religious deviations.

Thus, we have a work that continued a tradition and was built through substitution and revision in the text on which it was based. This substitution was not made in order to change the purpose of the work. On the contrary, it meant to affirm that purpose by bringing it up to date. Still, it is worth noting that here we encounter a phenomenon which, in our opinion, appears for the first time, and in a very significant way, in the twin manuscripts. We are referring to the attempt to change and update the historical environment presented in the legal collection. It would be interesting to know when, where and why this practice appeared in an Eastern Christian environment. The *Chronicle* is much more closely related to the situation in the Principality than is the Byzantine text of Patriarch Nicephorus. It continues its account up to the beginning of the 16th century and includes data on Moldavia. In this way, the historical context of the norms or of the controversial works becomes even clearer, and the relation to the situation of the country, even stronger. This contributed to the crafting of a verbal full armor for the fight against the current heresies of that time, a fight that is presented here with its norms but also with its past.

5. Publication of the text

The text is known in two copies: in the collection BAR 636 and in its twin, the *Bisericani Miscellany* (Yatsimirsky № 51 = BAR Ms. slav. 685). The work has a title written in red ink; likewise in red ink are the beginnings and endings of the councils, which structure the presentation. For the later period of history, red ink

is used to designate the emperors or other rulers (Christian or non-Christian) as well as certain separate events. The text is published diplomatically based on the copy BAR 636 with variations based on Yatsimirsky № 51.

In the manuscript BAR 636, f. 220r (lower half of the page) there are several chronicle notes written later in a different hand. These notes were published by I. Bogdan[25] as a supplement to the chronicle, even though they precede it in the manuscript. There is also a note in the text of the *Bisericani Miscellany*, which was added after the main text (f. 125r) and is included in our publication below.

THE CHRISTIAN KINGS SINCE THE FIRST ECUMENICAL COUNCIL AND AFTER

(the published text is based on the copy in BAR Ms. slav. 636, ff. 220v–225v, the variations refer to BAR Ms. slav. 685, ff. 209v–215r)

f. 220r[26]

Въ лѣто, ҂ѕц҃.ѕ҃.а҃. бѣ а́рхїе́пкпъ кѵ҃ ї ѡ҃сй҃ ѿ н꙼ѣме́
ска монастирѣ. при блгоу꙼стивѣ воево́дѣ алеѯа́ндраї
И пото꙼ въ дни алеѯа́ндрела сна илїа́ша воево́ді҃ • блви
прѣѡ҃сще́нныи миѳопѡлй, кѵ҃ ѳеѡ꙼тистъ ста́ры •
ѿ а́рхїепкпа сръбскаго, кѵ҃ никѡ́дима :~
Въ лѣто ҂ѕц҃пе, прѣста́ви прѣѡ҃сще́нныи миѳопѡлй
кѵ҃ ѳеѡ꙼тисть ста́рыи : ~
Въ лѣто, ҂ѕѻ҃ч, прѣста́ви прѣѡ҃сще́ныи миѳопѡлй
кѵ҃ геѡ҃ргїе ста́рыи • И ѿ прѣста́вленїа прѣѡ҃сще́
нна ѳеѡ҃тиста миѳопо́лита, до геѡ҃ргїа миѳо
полита. сꙛ҃ лѣ́, а҃ • :~

f. 220v – a text written in the right margin. The text appears in the same way in BAR Ms. slav. 685

Скѡ҃нча̑ са бѣ́-
кын кѡ̑ста-
нтíнъ сы҃

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[25] I. Bogdan, *Cronice inedite atingăntoare la istoria romînilor*, p. 96, translation on pp. 101–102. In Bogdan's publication, the text of this note (or notes) is added to the chronicle, which in fact comes after it.

[26] The text, which is on f. 220r, is not present in the copy of Yatsimirsky № 51 (BAR 685).

л҃ѣ, ѕ҃е ·
и̏ ѿставн тр҃е
сн҃овⷲ҇ свои́
цр҃тво · кⷲ҇сте ·
и̏ кⷲ҇статі́нь ·
и̏ кⷲ҇статі҃ꙋ ·
и̏же цр҃тв-
ваша, л҃ѣ.
    к҃д :~

f. 220v

хр҃тїан҇стїн цр҃їе ⸱л в҃⸱ ~ а҃ съборъ ²⁷
Великын кѡнстанті́нь · кⷲ҇- (в лявото поле: л҃ѣ л҃в ')
стантіе, л҃ѣ к҃д ' ²⁸. цр҃тьовà ,
їоꙋлїа́нь прѣстѫпннкъ²⁹, л҃ѣ
в҃. и̏о́вїàнь, ѕ҃' мⷰ҇ь. оꙋ҅але́н҇-
тїа́нь велнкын, л҃ѣ аі҃ · оꙋ҅а-
лⸯъ,ⷢ҇ г҃і ' · гратїа́нⸯь,ⷢ҇ ѕ҃ · оꙋ҅алентí-
а́нⸯь, е҃і ' · ѳеѡ̀сїе велнкын, ѕ҃і
л҃ѣ. прн нé҃мⸯ же б҃ы, в҃ ' съборъ· р҃н҃.
ст҃хⷯъ ѿц҃ъ³⁰ · а̏ркáдїе сн҃ъ е̏гò.⁖
к҃в ' л҃ѣ · ѳеѡ̀сїе мáлын.ⷧ҇ⷢ҇ м҃в '
л҃ѣ. сн҃ъ а̏ркáдїевь · прн не́мⸯь
б҃ы · г҃ ', съборъ· е҃ . ст҃хⷯъ ѿц҃ъ³¹.
маркáнъ³², ѕ҃ а҃і ' л҃ѣ. и̏ мⷰ҇ъ, е҃ '.
Прн не́мⸯже б҃ы. д҃ ', съборъ · х҃л '.
ст҃хⷯъ ѿц҃ъ³³ · л҃ьвь велнкын,ⷢ҇ⷢ҇ шакélïе·
н҃і, л҃ѣⷮь. л҃ьвь мáлын вн҃ꙋ
е̏гò, л҃' л҃ѣ· зн́ⷩ҇wнⸯь ѿц҃ъ
е̏гò.ⷡ҇ⷢ҇ л҃ѣ, ѕ҃і ' · а̏настáсїе дíкⷲ҇ .
к҃з ' · їоꙋ҅стíнⸯь ѳрадⷦ҇ь. ѕ҃ ', л҃ѣ.

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²⁷ BAR Ms. slav. 685, added above: т҃ни ст҃ы ѿц҃' :~.
²⁸ BAR Ms. slav. 685: съ братїа҃.
²⁹ BAR Ms. slav. 685: прѣстѫпникъ is absent.
³⁰ BAR Ms. slav. 685: ст҃хъ ѿц҃ъ lacking.
³¹ BAR Ms. slav. 685: ст҃хъ ѿц҃ъ lacking.
³² Mistaken and added by the same hand. BAR Ms. slav. 685: Маркїанъ.
³³ BAR Ms. slav. 685: ст҃хъ ѿц҃ъ lacking.

f. 221r

і ́ꙋстінїа́нь вели́кыи. л҃в. л҃ѳ́.
При не́мже бы̑. є҃́, съвъѡ́ръ ·³⁴ р҃ꙅе́.
ст҃хъ ѿц҃ъ · і ́ꙋсти́нь ма́лыи
дроу́гыи.ᵒ л҃в, г҃і · тїверіе̑,ᵒ л҃в є҃́.
маврн́кїе. к҃, л҃в · фѡ́ка каппа́-
дꙟкъ. л҃в, и҃́ · и ́раклїе. л҃в, л҃́.
кѡ̑станті́нь . а҃́, л҃в · и ́ра́клѡна
съ ма́тєрїꙗ си ко́упно марті́нѡꙟ,
м̑ц҃ъ, д҃́ · кѡ́нста . к҃ꙅ́. При се҃́
ꙗвн сꙗ̀ срацн́нскыи лъ́жепро-
ро́къ мѡа́мехть · кꙟнстанті̑ ′³⁵,
сн҃ъ кѡнсті́нь. ꙁ҃і́, л҃в. При се҃́
бы̑. ꙅ҃́, съвъѡ́ръ·³⁶ р҃ѻ́. ст҃хъ ѿц҃ъ·
і ́ꙋстінїа́нь сн҃ъ е ́гѡ̀. л҃в. і҃́.
леѡ́нтїе.ᵍ л҃в, ꙁ҃́. а ́ѱі́марь, ꙁ҃́;
пакы і ́ꙋсти́нїа́нь крьноносы̑ (in the right margin: втѡ́рнцеꙟ)³⁷.
съ тнве́рїемь. ꙅ҃́. л҃в · фі́лли-
пикь варда́нїе. в҃̑, л҃в · а ́ртє́-
мїе же, и ̀ анаста́сїе.ᵈ л҃в, в҃̑ · ѳе-
ѡ́сїе а ́драмнті̑. в҃̑ л҃в · лъ́вь

f. 221v

ко́нонь и ́кꙟновъѡ́рєць, к҃д́ л҃в.
При се́мь рн́млъне ѿстꙋ́пнша
ѿ грꙋ́кь. и ̀ оу́дрꙋжа́ша рі́мь
о̑ се́бъ да́же досе́лъ · кѡнста̑-
ті́нь гнѡ́и и ́меннтын³⁸. л҃д́, л҃в .
лъ́вь хаꙁа́рь сн҃ъ е ́гѡ̀. є҃́, л҃в · кѡ̑-
стантı́нь съ правосла́вноꙟ мт҃рє́-
ꙟ си і ́ри́ноꙟ.ᵈ л҃в, к҃и́. При сн҃ бы̑
ꙁ҃́, съвъѡ́ръ · т҃ꙅꙁ́. ст҃хь ѿц҃ъ ·³⁹ на и̑-

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³⁴ BAR Ms. slav. 685: р҃ꙅе́. ст҃хъ ѿц҃ъ written in the outside margin.

³⁵ BAR Ms. slav. 685: кꙟнстантї̑нъ.

³⁶ BAR Ms. slav. 685: р҃ѻ́. ст҃хъ ѿц҃ъ· written in the outside margin.

³⁷ BAR Ms. slav. 685: also written in the outside margin.

³⁸ BAR Ms. slav. 685: кꙟпрѡ́нилъ instead гнѡ́и и ́меннтын. In BAR Ms. slav. 636 likewise, there is written in the margin кꙟпрѡнı̑ л҃г, л҃в.

³⁹ BAR Ms. slav. 685: · т҃ꙅꙁ. ст҃хь ѿц҃ъ · written in the outside margin.

кѡнобѡ́рцъ[40] · ннкі́фѡрь . и҃ . л҃ѣ.
и҃ мⷰ҇ъ, ѳ҃ · ставра́кїе. л҃ѣ, а҃.
и҃ мⷰ҇ъ, в҃ⷨ · мнхаи́лъ рагавен
блгочьсти́выи.[а҃] л҃ѣ, в҃ⷨ · лъ́вь
а҃рмъ́нннь. з҃, л҃ѣ. и҃ мⷰ҇ъ, е҃ · мн-
хаи́лъ травлн, а҃моррѐн. и҃, л҃ѣ.
и҃ мⷰ҇ъ, ѳ҃ · ѳеѡ́фнлъ сн҃ъ е҃го̀.
в҃і, лъ́ть · По́тнсь мнхаи́лъ сн҃ъ
ѳеѡ́фнловь съ мт҃рїѫ сн ѳео̀-
рѡж. к҃е, л҃ѣ. и҃ съ васи́лїемь ма-
ке́дwномь. а҃, л҃ѣ. и҃ мⷰ҇ъ, д҃.

f. 222r

Прн сн҃ ѡ҇бно́вн сѧ правосла́вїе
и҃ і҃кѡ́ны ст҃ыѧ въста́внша̀ въ
цр҃квн пакы̀. и҃ блъга́ре хⷬ҇тїа́-
ны сътвѡ́рнша̀. и҃ слѡвеса̀
слѡвѣ́скаа съста́внша̀ ст҃ыи҃
кѵ́рнлѡ҇ · в лътѡ̀, ѕ҃ т҃ѕ[41] · Васи́-
лїе маке́дѡ҇. ѳ҃і, лъ́ть. Прн се́ⷨ
роу́сн крⷭ҇тнша̀ и҃ бы́ша хⷬ҇тїане-
не · лъ́вь прѣмѫ́рынь. к҃е, л҃ѣ.
и҃ мⷰ҇ъ, и҃ · а҃лезⷤа́ндръ бⷬ҇а е҃го̀.
а҃, лъ́ть. и҃ мⷰ҇ъ[42] · кѡнстан҃-
ти́нь сн҃ъ лъ́вwвь. н҃, л҃ѣ · рѡ́ма҃
сн҃ъ е҃го̀. г҃, л҃ѣ҃ · рѡ́ма҃. к҃, л҃ѣ.
Порфі́рѡгенⷩ҇ кѡнстанти́нь. е҃і,
л҃ѣ · но́вн рѡ́манъ. а҃, л҃ѣ · нн-
кі́фѡрь фѡка̀. ѕ҃, л҃ѣ. и҃ мⷰ҇ъ, ѕ҃.
Прн се́мь лавра нача̀ⷮ ꙁда́тн сѧ (in the right margin: ꙁⷬ҇н҃).
въ ст҃ѣн гwрѣ̀, ст҃ынмь а҃ѳана́-
сїемь а҃фѡ́нскымь; въ воевѡ́-
скомь са́ноу е҃ще сѫ́щн е҃моу

f. 222v

В лѣто̀, ҂ѕ̄ ѵ̾л҃ѳ · і҆ѡа́ннъ цими- (in the left margin: ѱ̄ м҃а)[43].
схїн. ѕ̄, лѣ́тъ. и҆ м҃цъ, ѕ̄.
Бы́ваѫ оу҆́бо ѿ а҆да́ма до цими-
схїа. л̾к̑, ҂ѕ̄ ѵ҃пд · васи́лїе по-
рфі́рѡ́генъ, бл҃гароѡу̾би́нцъ,
н҃, л̾к̑ · кѡнстанти́нь бра́ е҆го̀.
в҃, л̾к̑. и҆ м҃цъ, а҃і · рѡ́мань дрѹ́гы̑и
а̑ргі́рѡ́поуль. е҃, л̾к̑. и҆ м҃цъ, е҃.
Михаи́лъ пафлагѡнь. з҃, л̾к̑ ~
Калафати́нь. м҃цъ, д҃. и҆, е҃ дн҃и ~
Кѡнстанти́нь мѡ́номах. в҃і, л̾к̑ ~
Ѳеѡ́ра́ багрѡ̀рѡ́днаа. а҃, л̾к̑. и҆ м҃цъ
ѕ҃· михаи́лъ ста́рець. а҃, л̾к̑.
і̑сакїе, н҃· · кѡнстанти́нь доука (in the left margin: кѡ́мни҃ | в҃ л̾к̑. м҃цъ, г҃.[44]).
з҃, л̾к̑. и҆ м҃цъ, ѕ̄· е҆ѵдо́кїѫ
жена̀ е҆го̀, съ сн҃ѡви свои́ми. м҃цъ,
з҃. и҆ мало дн҃їн· рѡ́мань дїѡ́ге-
нннь. л̾к̑, д҃ · михаи́лъ сн҃ъ кѡ̄-
станти́ноу доукн. ѕ̄, л̾к̑ · нн-
кн́фѡ̑ воні҃а, г҃, л̾к̑ · а҆ле́ѯі́е кѡ́-

f. 223r

мнннь. л̃ѕ̄, ҂ѕ л̾к̑ · і҆ѡа́ннь багрѡ̀- (in the upper margin: васи́ли̑ і҆ѡ́, л̑к.[45])
рѡ́ны́нь. ѕ̄і, л̾к̑· маноуи́ль сн҃ъ
е҆го̀ багрѡ̀рѡ́ны́нь. л̃н, л̾к̑· бы́-
ваѫ̑ оу҆́бо ѿ а҆да́ма до се́го цр҃ства.
҂ѕ̄ х̑п̾ѳ, л̾к̑ · а҆ле́ѯі́е сн҃ь маноуи-
левь багрѡ̀рѡ́ны́нь. г҃, л̾к̑ · а҆нрѡ́-
нннь кѡ́мнннь. в҃̑, л̾к̑ · і̑сакїе
а̑ггель.҃ꙁ̑ ѕ̄, л̾к̑ · а҆ле́ѯі́е а̑ггель вра̑
е҆го̀.҃ꙁ̑ кѕ̄, л̾к̑ · а҆ле́ѯі́е а҆ѳ́н҃о̑ м҃цъ, (in the right margin: ѕ̄ ~)[46].
моурцоу́флъ. м҃цъ, д҃. ѿ не́го
же лати́н́ѡ̑ поко́рн сѧ цр҃н гра́.

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[43] This, written in the margin, is lacking in BAR Ms. slav. 685.

[44] This is on the line in BAR Ms. slav. 685.

[45] The same in BAR Ms. slav. 685 – written in the margin.

[46] In BAR Ms. slav. 685 this is on the line, not in the margin.

203

и̂ неꙋстро́енїю бы́шꙋ въ гра́дѣ,
въста́ша ѿ въсѧ́дꙋ на гра́дъ.
и̂ прїа́ша фрѧꙁи гра́ · в лѣ́тѡ,
ѕ҃ ѱі́ · и̂ побѣ́же а̂ле́ꙁїе мꙋгрꙋц́-
фло · а̂ фрѧꙁи гра́ дрꙋжа́ша
лѣ́тѫ нема́ла · и̂ въꙁдꙋ́хнѫша
грѣ́ци ви̂дѣ́вше въꙁмѧ́щенїе
въ гра́дѣ · и̂ поми́наахѫ папѫ̀
ри̂мскаго · въ прѣ́вый помѣ́нни г҃и ·

f. 223v

Ѳеѡ̂́рь вели́кыи ласка̊.ѕ̄ л҃҃в, н҃і́.
Ватаць і̂ѡа̂́ннь ꙁа́ его̀.л҃г л҃в, л҃в.
Ѳеѡ̂́рь ма́лыи ласка́, сн҃ъ его̀.г҃ л҃ ,
л҃в · сі҃и́ же въкꙋ́пѣ съ фрѧ́ги.
Мнхаи́лъ палеѡло́гь. и̂же латн-
нн и̂ꙁгна ѿ ц҃рⷩ гра́да. к҃д ́, л҃в.
В лѣ́тѡ, ѕ҃ѱн҃ѕ[47]. и̂ даа́тн да́нь
грѣ́комь ѡбѣ́щашѫ̂ · а̂ндрѡ́-
ннкь сн҃ъ мнхаи́ла палеѡло́га,
по съмⷬтⷩ ѡ҃ц҃а̑ свое́го̀, ц҃рⷮво-
ва́ прн патрі́арⷭѣ і̂ѡⷭнфѣ. к҃ ,
л҃в · мнхаи́лъ а̂ꙁнми́. и̂ сн҃ъ
е̂го̀ палеѡло́гь. н҃і ́, л҃в · а̂нрѡ̂́-
ннкь сн҃ъ е̂го̀ палеѡло́гь. л҃ ́, л҃в.
и̂же ва́рлама ннꙁло́жн и̂[48] слⷡвѣ́-
сн н дѣ́лы · Въкꙋ́пѣ ѿ а̂да́ма
до ꙁдѣ́. ѕ҃ѿ҂ꙁ, л҃в · катакꙋꙁн҃
і̂ѡ̂. маѳе́н въ ма́лѣ. палеѡлⷪ̂́
і̂ѡ̂ съ матери́ѫ и̂ сн҃ѡ а̂нⷬѡ̂́ннкѡ̂ ~
Катакꙋ́ꙁннь и̂ по̂́клн́тень (in the lower margin: к҃є ́).

f. 224r

въкꙋ́пѣ и̂ калѡ̂і̂ѡа́ннь, сн҃ъ
а̂нⷬѡ̂́ннка палеѡло́га. л҃ ́, л҃в.
Манꙋи́ль по се́мь сн҃ъ калѡ̂і̂ѡа́-

_____

[47] In BAR Ms. slav. 685: **В лѣ́тѡ, ѕ҃ѱн҃ѕ** is written in the outside margin, not on the line.
[48] BAR Ms. slav. 685: и̂ lacking.

нна пал́еѡлѡ́га. л҃е́ , л҃ꙗ :∼

Ѿ създа́нїа же мира ᵃ⁰ лѣ́та си цр҃їе.

В лѣ́тѡ, ҂ѕ҃ѿ҃ѕ҃ⷥ · ѿто́лѣ проиꙁво- (in the right margin: ꙁр҃ꙋ)

ленїемь бж҃їемь. нача́ мѡ́л-

давскаа ꙁе́мли · прїид́е драѓꙋ-

ше воево́да. ѿ оу́гръскон ꙁе-

мли ѿ марамоу́ръша ꙁа тоу́рⷪ̋

на лю́вь · ѿ того́же лѣ́та.

Въ лѣ́тѡ, ҂ѕ҃ѿ҃ѕ҃ⷥ · тоу́рци прѣид́ѡ- (in the right margin: ꙁр҃ꙋ)

ша калипѡ́лие[49]. и̇ прѣ́имнша

бр҃ѡ. и̇ прїа́ша ми́нѡ́гыꙗ стра́-

ны къ ꙁа́падꙋⷭ̋ · и̇ ѿ то́лѣ съ-

мꙗщ́енїе сътво́ри сꙗ, и̇ неоу́-

строе́нїе велие́ и̇ пагоуба по́ мѣ-

стꙋⷭ̋ хрⷮ҇їанскый · бы́ша же

и̇ трꙗ́сн велиц́и по ꙁе́млѣхь.

та́ же двꙋ́ⷩнмь мнмошⷷ҇е́шⷨй (in the lower margin: к҃ѕ́)

f. 224v

лѣ́тꙋⷲ, ѿнеⷧ҇ѝнже тоу́рци калн-

пѡ́ле прѣид́ѡшꙗ[50]· в лѣ́тꙋⷲ,

҂ѕ҃ѿ҃ѕ҃ⷥ·ѳ. Погыбе́ мѡл́чило пе-

рⷤ́ҁтѡрскын · ѡ҆́смь десꙗто́мⷹ

же текꙗ́щоу съ връхоу́ ѡ҆́сми

стⷮѡтннь къ ше́стынмь ты́-

сꙗщамь лⷮ҇. оу́мрⷮ҇ѣ цр҃ъ ꙸⷹⷣѡ ∼

В лѣ́тꙋⷲ, ҂ѕ҃ц҃а. прїа́ша тоу́рци

тръновь · Въ лѣ́тꙋⷲ, ҂ѕ҃ц҃аі. по-

гыбе́ бꙗꙗꙁи́ть амира ѿ де́мн-

ра по́ ангоу́ромь. їꙋ҃, к҃д. дн҃.

В лѣ́тꙋⷲ, ҂ѕ҃ц҃ка. моусіа хо́дн на

ново́ връ́до. а послѣⷣ и̇споу́стⷩ҃

е̂дно̀ лѣ́то, рꙗ́сыпа блъ́гары.

и̇ ѿ того́же лѣ́та ꙁакла́нь бы̋

на и̇́строу · и̇ алеѯа́ндⷬ̋ъ воево́да

---

[49] Instead of ѿ того́же лѣ́та. Въ лѣ́тꙋⷲ, ҂ѕ҃ѿ҃ѕ҃ⷥ · тоу́рци прѣид́шꙗ калипѡ́лие. In BAR Ms. slav. 685: Въ то́жде лѣ́то, тоу́рци прѣид́шꙗ калипѡ́лию.

[50] BAR Ms. slav. 685: ѿнеⷧ҇и́нже тоу́рци калипѡ́ле прѣид́шꙗ lacking.

мѡлⷣавскаго, ста на гⷡ҇о. и гⷡ҇о-
ва, лⷮѣ лв҃. и мⷰ҇ъ, н҃. в лⷮѡ, ѕ҃ц
к҃ѻ. оу́мрⷮѣ балша ѕе́тскын.
и цр҃ъ соу́латань ре́комын
крⷮⷩчїа.

f. 225r
в лⷮѡ, ѕ҃цл҃н. тоу́рцн прїа́шⷮ со́лⷡ ·
в лⷮѡ, ѕ҃цн҃. оу́бн а҃нкоуль ме́зⷩ
бега на власⷮѣ ~ в лⷮѡ, ѕ҃цн҃а.
ходн ба́ша⁵¹ пⷪ҇ блⷦ҇ грⷣа. и съзⷩ-
да жрⷯ҇нⷪⷡнь · и въ тⷪ҇ лѣ́то
разⷩн а҃нкоуль ба́шоу на влаⷩко́н
ѕемлн, на а́лѡвⷩнцⷣѣ. в лⷮѡ,
ѕ҃цн҃ѳ. оу́мрⷮѣ моурать, ф҃ д҃ ·
в лⷮѡ, ѕ҃цѯ҃. цр҃ъ ме́мⷷ бегь црⷮⷮⷡⷡо
прїе́мь, съгра́дн но́вын грⷣа
вы́ше црⷩ҇ гра́да. в лⷮѡ, ѕ҃цѯ҃а.
прїа́ть цр҃ъ ме́мⷷ бегь црⷩ҇ грⷣа.
мⷰ҇а́ ма, к҃ѻ. въ дⷩⷩ҇ь, втⷪ҇ⷬ :~
в лⷮѡ, ѕ҃цп҃ѳ. оу́мрⷮѣ цр҃ъ ме́-
мⷷ бегь. прⷣѣко мо́рⷣѣ прⷣѣшⷣѣ съ
воиⷩскⷮⷡ҇, ма, г҃. оу̀ чⷷ, в҃і чⷣа дⷩⷩѣ ·
Я бⷶꙗ́ѕнть сн҃ъ е́го прїи́мн црⷮ҇тⷡⷪ,
мⷰ҇а́ то́гоже, ѳ҃і. в е҃ж · и че́ма
бра́та сн прогна̀ · съⷩ҇ црⷮ҇ прїи́мн
келⷣѣж и бⷮѣ грⷣа, г҃ го лⷮѣⷮⷶ црⷮⷮⷡⷡⷶ е́го.

f. 225v
в лⷮѡ, ѕ҃к҃. мⷰ҇а́, а҃ і҃⁵² · ѻста́влъ
бⷶꙗ́ѕнть црⷮ҇тⷡⷪ своѐ бⷢ҇о́мⷣⷬⷬ҇-
комоу свое́моу сы́ноу сенⷣлⷣⷶ̀мⷶⷩ.
Н въ тⷪ҇ лⷮѣ́то · прн блⷢ҇очⷷⷷⷮ҇стⷡⷡⷶ
їѿ богда́на воево́дⷣѣ . бⷮⷮⷡⷡⷡⷡⷡ мⷪ҇
и съмрⷮⷭ҇тоно́сⷨ҇е велⷣ҇е. и ѿⷡⷡⷡъ сⷷ̀
нестрое́нⷨ҇е въ ѕе́млн мѡлⷣа́в-

⁵¹ BAR Ms. slav. 685: сⷮѣ ⷯ҇ ~.
⁵² BAR Ms. slav. 685: г҃ .

скоє. ѽвѡ̏ ѿ б҃жїа попоуще́нїа
съмр҃тъ̀[53] · ѽвѡ̏ же гл҃а · и҃но же ча́-
стаа съби́ранїа въ вни́скѣ. ꙗ́ко
мнѡ́гъі гл҃а́ти си́цевыꙗ ѕл҃и
ве́ще[54], радѝ наста́ти ѕлѡ́чьстиваго
ца́рѣ. ꙗ́коже пише́ сꙗ ѡ̀ а́нтих҃рнс̑ѣ :~
Ѿ цр҃т҃ва ме́ме́ бега. до цр҃т҃ва ваи-
ѕита, с҃ж к҃ѳ́ л̑ѣ · и̇ ѿ цр҃т҃ва ба-
ꙗ́ѕита. до цр҃т҃ва сенли́ма, с҃ж
л҃а́ л̑ѣ :~

In BAR Ms. slav. 685 on page f. 215r (the page where the Moldavian Chronicle ends) we find the following note, written in a different hand and later (the note is not present in BAR Ms. slav. 636):

Сїꙗ ца́р҃т҃вїа а́гар҃е́скаа · ꙗ́же пре́нача́лтв/вах҆у ѿ нелиже раздр҃у́шише и̇ раꙁорише / въстоу́ное ц҃р҃тво гре́цкое и̇ пои́бла́ше / въсею пале́тинею, и̇ і́еросали́мѡ̏ · потѡ̏ же / по попу́щенїа б҃жїа въꙁеше и̇ сами велика / К̑о́тан'тинополь · полу́нѡщны же и̇ полу́де/нїе · и̇ ꙁапа́нїе страни многые · рекꙋ же / Македо́нїꙗ Се́рвїꙗ Босні́ꙗ х̑у́н'гарїꙗ.

Part Five

Apocrypha in the Manuscript BAR Ms. Slav. 636

Chapter I

General Remarks on the Apocrypha Contained in the Collection

$\mathscr{T}$he manuscript BAR 636 contains, among other works, two apocryphal texts, following one immediately after the other, and placed after the other sections of the miscellany. They will be considered separately here, but before that, we should raise the basic question of our study: What is the reason for their inclusion in the collection? What purpose and function do they serve in it? These questions are certainly closely connected with the basic task of the present book: to present the contents of the controversial, and mainly legal, miscellany as a particular kind of armament in the fight against heresies. Before approaching the question, however, we should note that the two deuterocanonical texts are not present in the twin copy of our manuscript, now preserved in Saint Petersburg, in the collection of A. I. Yatsimirsky, and classified under № 51. This fact is certainly significant and deserves special attention. In examining the contents of the manuscript in its photocopy version in the Library of the Romanian Academy (BAR 685), the only one accessible to us, we see that at the end, a part of the manuscript is missing, so we cannot be certain as to its full contents. The two apocryphal texts should have been there, at the end. We can only surmise whether they were included in the original contents of the collection, and surmise is not a good basis for conclusions. We can only work with what we have at hand, and should refrain from inference based on the situation in BAR 685.

As mentioned, the contents of manuscript BAR 636 is very specific and in a certain sense, unique. The purpose of the miscellany – to serve as a verbal weapon against religious deviation – is fulfilled by works that greatly vary in character. Thus, the presence of apocryphal texts adds a specificity that needs to be explained, because their dissemination together with the surrounding set of texts is untypical.

Still, it should be noted that the joint presence of the legal and deuterocanonical texts in the same collection is not exceptional. We have enough examples in this respect, such as the *Berlin Miscellany* form the late 13th–14th century, as well as miscellanies from the Vienna Library containing copies of some relevant apocrypha, which we will discuss later on. It should be noted that this does not diminish the unique quality of our collection, inasmuch as the legal texts in it are various. The rules we find in the above-mentioned collections are mainly of a derivative and mundane kind, and were typically disseminated in monastic circles. They prescribe (and mostly prohibit) actions related to productive activity, prohibit various foods, real or imaginary deeds or wishes of a sexual nature, and other such. In this context, the presence of texts belonging to the category of so-called "popular readings" is understandable. Of course, we should not disregard this presence, inasmuch as it too justifies certain rules of conduct. Still, we should take into account that the norms in our manuscript are related to the fight against heresies and – although there are included prohibitions from the sphere of everyday life related to religious deviation – these are closer to doctrine and theological interpretations.

As we will see later on in our discussion, the two deuterocanonical texts in the miscellany are closely connected with religion. One of them touches on the problem of Salvation in connection with judgement, the assessment of a person's righteous deeds and sins during his lifetime, and also *post mortem*. The other text shows the path to Salvation by distinguishing the tasks and actions pertaining to Caesar's kingdom from those related to the Kingdom of God. In both cases, the reference is to an assessment, a choice, and ultimately, to the Salvation of souls. We would like to propose the following as a working hypothesis for the discussion in the present section: the apocrypha become part of the literary armor in the fight against religious deviations precisely by indicating the road to Salvation and the means that may convince people to take that road and not the road to perdition.

Chapter II

The *Testament of Abraham* and its Presence in the BAR Ms. Slav. 636

1. The apocryphal tale, research, its nature, origin, and versions

*T*he *Testament of Abraham* is an Old Testament apocryphal tale about the last days and the death of the patriarch Abraham. This is a text based on biblical themes that is not included in the canonical books of Holy Scripture either as a separate book or as part of one of the other books. This does not necessarily mean it is a heretical work, or that it is in theological contradiction with the Bible and its messages. Nevertheless, such texts are always looked upon with suspicion and are often placed on the indexes of prohibited books. What is the explanation for its presence in our collection? A preliminary working hypothesis could be that it presents the idea of judgement – Divine and human – on the living and the dead; this idea may serve as an ideological basis for understanding and justifying the whole contents of the collection.

1.1. Publications and studies on the *Testament of Abraham*

The *Testament of Abraham* already attracted the attention of researchers of apocryphal literature in the 19th century. The first scholarly publication of the original Greek text appeared in 1892, and was the work of M. R. James[1]; although rather dated, his study continues to be used by scholars. The edition by

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[1] M. R. James, *The Testament of Abraham: The Greek Text Now First Edited with an Introduction and Notes* (= Texts & Studies. Contributions to the Biblical and Patristic Literature, ed. J. A. Robinson, B.D., vol. II.2), Cambridge 1892, IX+166 p.

M. E. Stone[2] offers what is practically a new translation, but reprints the Greek text established by M. R. James. A second edition was published by Francis Schmidt in 1986[3]. This author introduced new copies of the original, including one from the Ambrosiana Library of Milan; this copy, on which the manuscript tradition of the brief version of the tale is based, is very important for our study. As for commentaries on the text, in addition to the mentioned works, some of the most important ones are the translation with commentary by M. Delcor[4], that of E. P. Sanders in the two-volumes on *Old Testament Pseudoepigrapha* edited by J. H. Charlesworth[5], the special collection edited by G. Nickelsburg and devoted precisely to the *Testament of Abraham*[6], as well as the latest book by Dale Allison, from 2003[7].

1.2. The *Testament of Abraham* – versions and translations in Eastern Christianity

1.2.1. The work has arrived to us in two versions, a long and a short one. M. R. James established this fact and his division has been followed unswervingly by the scholars after him. The long version is represented by 28 manuscripts written between the 11th and the 18th century, three of which have not been sufficiently investigated (one, from Berlin, was lost during World War II; one is from Cluj and one is from Chios)[8]. The two manuscripts from the collection of the Sinai monastery contain copies whose version scholars cannot determine. The short version of the *Testament* is more interesting for us; it exists in nine copies in various manuscripts from the period 11th–16th century[9]. F. Schmidt divides the copies of the

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[2] M. E. Stone (transl.), *The Testament of Abraham: The Greek Recensions*, "Texts and Translations" 2, Pseudoepigrapha Series 2, Society of Biblical Literature, Missoula, Montana, 1972, VIII+89 p.

[3] F. Schmidt, *Le Testament grec d'Abraham. Introduction, édition critique des deux récensions grecques, traduction*, Tübingen 1986, X+199 p.

[4] M. Delcor, *Le Testament d'Abraham: Introduction, traduction du texte grec et commentaire de la récension grecque longue, suivi de la traduction des Testaments d'Abraham, d'Isaac et de Jacob d'après les versions orientales*, [in:] *Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudoepigrapha*, Leiden 1973.

[5] E. P. Sanders, [in:] J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament pseudoepigrapha*, vol. I. *Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments*, Peabody, MA, 1983, pp. 871–902.

[6] G. W. E. Nickelsburg Jr (ed.), *Studies on the Testament of Abraham* (=*Society of Biblical Literature, Septuagint and Cognate Studies*, ed. H. M. Orlinsky, no. 6), Missoula, Montana, 1976, X+340 p.

[7] D. C. Allison Jr, *Testament of Abraham*, Berlin–New York 2003, XVI+527 p.

[8] F. Schmidt, *Le Testament grec d'Abraham*, pp. 2–3, 17–26; D. C. Allison, *Testament of Abraham*, pp. 4–6.

[9] F. Schmidt, *Le Testament grec d'Abraham*, pp. 1–2, 6–10; D. C. Allison, *Testament of Abraham*, pp. 6–7.

short version of the Greek text into two groups: an older one, mainly represented by copy E in the Bibliotheca Ambrosiana (Ambr. gr. 405 /G. 63 sup./, 11th century, not used by M. R. James) and the newer and more Christianized group of three copies, whose chief representative is copy B (in the National Library of France in Paris /Suppl. gr. 162/, 14th century)[10]. Especially interesting for us is the group around copy E, which is similar to the oldest Slavic version of the work.

1.2.2. The relationship between the long and short version of the Greek text of the *Testament* is quite complicated as to contents and language, which is why there is no unanimity between scholars about their dating and classification. Probably closest to the truth is D. Allison's opinion that one version did not originate from the other, but the two developed separately from a common source[11]. Importantly, the two versions contain an identical or similar ideological-theological message.

1.3. The origin of the text

We believe it important to trace the views as to the localization of the origin of the text and its dating, as well as to the language in which the original was written. In this respect, we will lean on the achievements of previous scholars. The *Testament* is a deuterocanonical text that not only deals with Old Testament characters and stories but was also created in a Judaic environment. Although it has reached us after a Christian reworking and after being copied by Christians, the text retains its Judaic nature. The first editor of the text, and its pioneering investigator, M. R. James, already presented eight arguments in support of its origin in the Jewish diaspora of Egypt[12]. Although some of James's arguments have been put in doubt or are considered unproven, the conclusion that the text originated among Egyptian Jews has been almost unanimously accepted by later authors, like E. P. Sanders, N. Turner, L. Rosso Ubigli, D. C. Allison[13]. This localization is certainly also relevant for the dating of the original: it must have followed the flourishing of the Jewish community in Alexandria. Still, the *Testament* was hardly created much later than the early 2nd century AD, when, as a consequence of rioting among

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[10] F. SCHMIDT, *Le Testament grec d'Abraham*, pp. 10–15.

[11] D. C. ALLISON JR, *Testament of Abraham*, pp. 12–27 (see p. 15).

[12] M. R. JAMES, *The Testament of Abraham*, p. 76 and preceding pages.

[13] E. P. SANDERS, [in:] J. H. CHARLESWORTH (ed.), *Old Testament pseudoepigrapha*, I, p. 875; N. TURNER, *The Testament of Abraham: A Study of the Original Language, Place of Origine, Authorship and Relevance*, doctoral thesis, London 1953, pp. 177–185; L. ROSSO UBIGLI, "*Testamento di Abramo*", *Apocrifi dell'Antico Testamento*, "Biblica Testi e Studi" 4, 2000, eds. P. SACCHI et alii, p. 41; D. C. ALLISON JR, *Testament of Abraham*, pp. 32–33. Allison (*loc. cit.*, p. 32, note 66) even cites Liliana Rosso Ubigli that this opinion is accepted almost unaminously by the scholars.

the Jews of Alexandria in AD 115–117, the community was ruined and could no longer be an environment for literary production. Ultimately, Sanders dated the text to approximately 100 AD, and Allison, to the beginning of the Christian era[14].

There is also no unanimity as to the language in which the original text of the *Testament* was written. Early scholars believed that the original of the text (or of the two texts – long and short) was in Hebrew or some Semitic language[15]. M. Delcor, and E. P. Sanders after him, were the first to support the view that the original was in Greek: this is certain as regards the long version; as for the short one, three are no obvious proofs for any language[16]. I believe Greek is now the prevalent opinion, which follows logically from the localization of the creation of the *Testament* in Egypt, among the Hellenistic Jewish diaspora and from the dating of the work.

1.4. Translations of the *Testament of Abraham* in Eastern Christianity

1.4.1. Coptic, Arabic and Ethiopian translations

The *Testament of Abraham* was widely disseminated among Eastern Christian circles. There are various extant translations, one of which is the topic of our study. The oldest translation of the *Testament* is in Coptic, which is quite understandable in view of the Egyptian origin of the work. The Coptic translation served as the foundation for a tradition that included the Arabic and Ethiopian translations of the same work[17]. There are several extant manuscripts of the Coptic translation, of which the most ancient is a fragmentary 4th century papyrus in Sahidic, preserved in the collection of the Institut *für* Altertumskunde of Cologne University[18].

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[14] E. P. Sanders, [in:] J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), *Old Testament pseudoepigrapha*, I, pp. 874–875; D. C. Allison Jr, *Testament of Abraham*, pp. 34–40.

[15] A brief review of the opinions can be found in: J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), *Old Testament pseudoepigrapha*, I, p. 873–874.

[16] M. Delcor, *Le Testament d'Abraham*, p. 34; E. P. Sanders, [in:] J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), *Old Testament pseudoepigrapha*, I, pp. 873–874.

[17] K. M. Heide, *The Coptic, Arabic, and Ethiopic Versions of the "Testament of Abraham" and the Emergence of the "Testaments of Isaak and Jacob"*, [in:] *'Non-canonical' Religious Texts in Early Judaism and Early Christianity*, eds. J. H. Charlesworth, L. M. McDonald, London–New Delhi–New York–Sydney 2012, pp. 61–72.

[18] M. Philonenko, *Une nouvelle version copte du Testament de Job*, "Semitica" 18, 1968, p. 61; C. Römer, H. J. Thissen, *P. Köln Inv. nr. 3221: Das Testament des Hiob in koptischer Sprache. Ein Vorbericht*, "Studies on the Testament of Job", eds. M. A. Knibb, P. W. van der Horst (= Society for New Testament Studies, Monograph Series, vol. 66), Cambridge 1989, pp. 33–34; G. Schenke (Herausg.), *Der koptische kölner Papyruskodex 3221*, Teil I. *Das Testament de Iob*, "Papyrologica Colonensia" XXXIII, 2009.

There is a 10th century Bohairic text in the Vatican Library (962 г.; Vat. Copt. 61, ff. 148v–163v), published at the beginning of the 20th century by I. Guidi, which is not significantly different from the cited fragmentary copy in Cologne[19]. An Arabic translation of the *Testament* was made from the Coptic text. It almost literally follows the Bohairic text published by I. Guidi, which thus becomes a secondary source of dissemination of the work in the Middle East[20]. This continuity indicates an uninterrupted tradition of the *Testament* in Eastern Christianity starting from the 4th century. There are five extant Arabic copies of the *Testament*; the Arabic translation was published in a critical edition practically for the first time only a few years ago[21]. The are two Ethiopian versions of the *Testament of Abraham*[22], of which, until recently, it was believed that one was Christian, and the other, Falasha. The latter thesis was refuted by Martin Heide, who argued that both versions are Christian works written in the classical Ethiopian language Geʽez. Both are translations from the Arabic text of the work, whereby this source, and especially its Coptic original, gained particular importance.

1.4.2. Slavic and Romanian translations

The first systematic attempt to review the Slavic manuscript copies of the *Testament* was made by A. I. Yatsimirsky in 1921[23]. This was followed decades later by Emil Turdeanu[24], and still later by A. Miltenova[25]. More recent publishers of the source or of its commented translations have paid sufficient attention to its Slavic version, in following the classification of Emil Turdeanu, who proposes dividing the copies in four groups: Sl 1, comprises the oldest copies and includes the

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[19] I. Guidi, *Il testo copto del "Testamento di Abramo"*, rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, "Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche" 5.9, 1900, pp. 157–180.

[20] K. M. Heide, *The Coptic, Arabic, and Ethiopic Versions of the "Testament of Abraham"*, p. 62.

[21] M. Heide, *Das Testament Abrahams. Edition und Übersetzung der arabischen und äthiopischen Versionen*, Wiesbaden 2012, pp. 8–11, 63–92, 133–148.

[22] K. M. Heide, *The Coptic, Arabic, and Ethiopic Versions of the "Testament of Abraham"*, pp. 63–64; M. Heide, *Das Testament Abrahams. Edition und Übersetzung der arabischen und äthiopischen Versionen*, pp. 32–34.

[23] А. И. Яцимирский, *Библиографический обзор апокрифов в южнославянской и русской письменности. (Списки памятников)*, вып. 1. *Апокрифы ветхозаветные*, Отделени русскаго языка и словесности Российской Академии наук, Москва 1921, pp. 95–99.

[24] E. Turdeanu, *Apocryphes slaves et roumains de l'Ancien Testament* (= Studia in Veteris Testamenti pseudoepigrapha, vol. XX, eds. A. Denis, M. de Jonge), Leiden 1981, pp. 201–238, 440.

[25] A. Miltenova, *The Apocryphal Series about Abraham*, [in:] *Studia Caroliensia: Papers in Linguistics and Folklore in Honor of Charles E. Gribble*, eds. R. A. Rothstein, E. Scatton, Ch. E. Townsend, Bloomington, Indiana, 2006, pp. 189–208.

Bulgarian, Serbian, Ruthenian and Russian versions of the text[26]; Sl 2, comprises three Croatian Glagolitic manuscripts, of which only the one in the Bodleian Library and in Oxford are complete, while the others are fragmentary[27]. The next two groups Turdeanu relates to the *Paleia* and its Slavic translation, as they are part of a cycle of several apocryphal texts connected with Patriarch Abraham, starting with the *Revelation of Abraham* and ending with the *Testament*, i.e., the death of the Patriarch[28]. Derived from them are respectively two groups of copies of a Rumanian translation of the work. Group Sl 3 is a very abridged text, extant in four copies: L (a manuscript from the St. Paul Monastery in Mount Athos, published by P. A. Lavrov), Belgr. (a 14th century manuscript from Belgrade, destroyed in 1940 during the bombing of the capital of Yugoslavia), B1 (an 18th century Serbian manuscript, also destroyed during the bombing) and Z (a manuscript from Dubrovnik, 1520)[29]. Sl 4 comprises two Slavic manuscripts: N (the Tikves collection, published by N. Nachov) and H (a Moldavian manuscript from the end of the 16th century, published by B. Petriceicu-Hașdeu)[30].

A. Miltenova has studied the manuscript tradition of the work in question in her study on the whole Abrahamic cycle in Slavic literatures[31]. Based on her textological analysis of the work (analysis that does not cover the three Croatian Glagolitic copies) – Sl 2, she proposes their division into three groups (versions I–III), which are in many respects similar to Sl 1, Sl 3 and Sl 4. She rejects Turdeanu's idea that the work in question be examined in the context of the *Paleia* as concerns versions Sl 3–Sl 4 (versions II–III), and sees the whole Abrahamic cycle as a certain number of independent works.

In the present study, we will be interested primarily in the first group of Slavic texts, which, however, is not unified. It is the oldest not only in terms of the extant copies (13th century – the text from the Sevastyanov collection) but also in terms of the time when the Slavic text was given the form in which it has reached us. It should also be said that the copy BAR 636 belongs precisely to this version.

The Romanian texts are of interest to our study not only because they are for the most part related to the Slavic tradition, but also because of the origin of our Moldavian manuscript. Two groups of Romanian texts are translated from Slavic and one – the only translated variant of the long version of the *Testament* – is a translation from Greek into Romanian. The first scholar to work with the Romanian text of

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[26] E. Turdeanu, *Apocryphes slaves et roumains de l'Ancien Testament*, pp. 210–211, 212–217.

[27] *Ibidem*, pp. 211, 217–220.

[28] *Ibidem*, p. 221.

[29] *Ibidem*, pp. 221–228.

[30] *Ibidem*, pp. 229–232.

[31] A. Miltenova, *The Apocryphal Series about Abraham*, p. 189–208.

the *Testament* was Bogdan Petriceicu-Haşdeu, who in the 1870s published a Romanian copy of the *Codex Sturdzanus* in parallel with the Slavic text of the manuscript, preserved in the State Archives in Bucharest[32]. Emil Turdeanu has made a great contribution to the study of the source in a Romanian environment; of the three groups in which he classifies the copies, two are translations from Slavic: R (the text of *Codex Sturdzanus*), corresponding to group Sl 3, and a second group of two copies (Nᵒ 2158, made in Wallachia in the 18ᵗʰ century modeled on the Transylvanian or Moldavian types, and Nᵒ 5299, made in Transylvania in the early 19ᵗʰ century), which belong to the tradition of Sl 4[33]. The third group of Romanian copies, which is the largest in number (26 manuscripts), is a translation from Greek, made in the first half of the 18ᵗʰ century, of the long version of the *Testament*[34]. To Nicolae Roddy, we owe a new, comprehensive study of the Romanian tradition, with a publication of the long version of the text accompanied by a translation into English[35].

1.5. The texts accompanying the *Testament of Abraham* in the various copies

The Greek text of the work is basic and we should start with it. Accompanying hagiography can be found in eight of the nine copies of the short version studied by Francis Schmidt. In second place are homiletic works, present in six of the manuscripts; other apocrypha are to be found in two copies (A and G, both from the 16ᵗʰ century)[36]. Of the extant 23 copies of the long version of the *Testament*, manuscripts containing homiletic and hagiographic texts are also decidedly a majority, and there are also several (at least six) collections that contain other apocrypha[37]. In fact, Francis Schmidt offers a very clear table of these Old Testament and New Testament deuterocanonical texts, as well as hagiographic works, which accompany the *Testament of Abraham* in the Greek copies[38]. For our present discussion, we should mention that the *Testament* was not copied in the same convoy as in the Bucharest manuscript (BAR Ms. slav. 636).

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[32] B. Petriceicu-Haşdeu, *Cărţile poporane ale Românilor în secolul XVI în legatura cu literatura cea nescrisa*, II, Bucureşti 1879, pp. 189–194; *Codex Sturdzanus. Studiu filologic, studiu lingvistic, ediţie de text şi indice de cuvinte de Gheorghe Chivu*, Bucureşti 1993.

[33] E. Turdeanu, *Apocryphes slaves et roumains de l'Ancien Testament*, pp. 228–229, 232–233.

[34] *Ibidem*, pp. 233–237. The text was published for the first time – in the original and with an English translation – by Moses Gaster, *"Apocalypse of Abraham". From the Romanian text, discovered and translated*, "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology" IX, part I, 1887, pp. 195–226.

[35] N. Roddy, *The Romanian Version of the "Testament of Abraham". Text, Translation, and Cultural Context*, Atlanta 2001.

[36] F. Schmidt, *Le Testament grec d'Abraham*, pp. 6–10.

[37] *Ibidem*, pp. 17–26.

[38] *Ibidem*, pp. 30–32.

The Eastern (Coptic, Arabic and Ethiopian) translations of the *Testament* show no significant tendency to deviate from the set of accompanying texts known to us from the Greek copies. Inasmuch as we are interested in this accompanying set of texts in connection with the study of the copy in it BAR 636, it may be said that the Oriental translations form a separate group of highly reworked, in the course of translation, texts, which are accompanied by other apocryphal and narrative works that have nothing in common with the polemic and legal content of the manuscript we are studying.

As for the Slavic tradition, A. Miltenova, in a series of studies, and especially in an article published about ten years ago, has considerably enriched the list of manuscripts containing the *Testament* (designated by her as *Version I*) in comparison with the list proposed by E. Turdeanu[39]. Here, we should note that we now have a very useful instrument for such studies: the site *Repertorium of Old Bulgarian Literature and Letters*[40], which provides quick access to a very wide information base. Thus, the work under study is classified as "A cycle of tales about Abraham. A tale of the death of Abraham", and twelve manuscripts are presented, which were or are kept in the depositories in Mount Athos, Bulgaria, Austria, Montenegro, Romania, Russia, and Serbia[41]. This list is not exhaustive or final. The manuscript that includes the copy we are studying (BAR 636) is not presented on the site, nor are some other copies. Nevertheless, the site is very informative and is an indispensable tool for scientific research.

The oldest copy of the *Testament of Abraham* is part of the so-called Sevastyanov collection, 13th–14th century, now kept in the Russian State Library in Moscow, No. 27. It was published in its entirety by T. Laleva[42]; the text of the *Testament* was published in the 19th century by N. S. Tikhonravov and G. Polívka[43]. In this manuscript, the text is placed amidst various hagiographic works and sermons[44]. The work has a similar accompanying set of texts in the other copies

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[39] A. Miltenova, *The Apocryphal Series about Abraham*, pp. 200 sq.

[40] http://repertorium.obdurodon.org/ [retrieved 6.07.2018].

[41] http://repertorium.obdurodon.org/runSearch-checkbox.php?country=all&settlement=all&repository=all&author=all&bgTexts=Цикъл разкази за Авраам. Разказ за смъртта на Авраам&enTexts=all&ruTexts=all&lg=bg

[42] Т. Лалева, *Севастияновият сборник в българската ръкописна традиция*, София 2004.

[43] Н. С. Тихонравов, *Апокрифическия сказания*, [in:] *Сборник отделения руссако языка и словесности Императорской Академии наук*, т. LVIII, No. 4, pp. 1–14; G. Polívka, *Die apokryphische Erzählung vom Tode Abrahams*, [in:] *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, Bd. XVIII, 1896, pp. 112–125. T. Laleva has published the entire text of the *Testament*, written on ff. 1r–6r. The missing beginning of the work is taken from the Panagyurishte miscellany (NBKM, 433) – Т. Лалева, *Севастияновият сборник*, pp. 21–30.

[44] Т. Лалева, *Севастияновият сборник*, pp. 9–19.

as well[45]. A. Miltenova has devoted a series of studies to the so-called "miscellany collections" created in an Eastern Slavic environment, and to their probable South Slavic origin – we refer the reader to her works[46].

A particular group of copies of the *Testament* are interesting by their similarity to BAR 636. One of them is kept in the collection of the National Library of Austria, Vienna, № 149, ff. 117v–130r. This is a collection of ecclesiastical sermons (many of them by John Chrysostom) and apocrypha from the 16th century[47]. Similar to it is the so-called Panagyurishte apocryphal collection from the 16th century, № 433 in the collection of Sts. Cyril and Methodius Library (NBKM), Sofia. There, the text of the *Testament* is on ff. 105v–116v[48]. The Adjar miscellany of apocryphal texts from the late 17th or early 18th century (there is a note on f. 87r, written in 1715 in the village of Adjar) is part of the collection of Sts. Cyril and Methodius Library, № 326. The text we are studying is on ff. 23v–31r, and the copy generally has Serbian-New Bulgarian spelling features[49]. Here we must include the Danilov miscellany mentioned previously (Belgrade, Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church, № 100). On the site *Repertorium of Old Bulgarian Literature and Letters*, these copies are united in a separate table, which presents in an orderly fashion the textual correspondences for the texts accompanying the *Testament*[50]. What is important for our study is that our observations regarding the accompanying set of texts are confirmed by those data.

The Romanian texts of the *Testament* are a translation from Slavic (the short version of the text) or from Greek (the long version). It should be noted that the long version has not been translated into any other language than Romanian.

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[45] Л. СтојановиЋ, *Каталог Народне библиотеке у Београду*, IV: *Рукиписи и старе штампае књиге*, У Београду 1903, no. 468 (104), pp. 294–305 (see: p. 298), no. 470 (738), pp. 306–309 (see: p. 308); А. Милтенова, *Ръкописната сбирка на Свищовското читалище*, "Старобългарска литература" 8, 1980, pp. 94–102.

[46] А. Милтенова, *Из историята на българо-руските и българо-украинските литературни връзки през XVI–XVII в. (сборници със смесено съдържание)*, [in:] *Сборник доклади от международния славистичен конгрес в Киев, 6–14 септември, 1983 г.*, "Славянска филология" 18, 1983, pp. 51–58; А. Милтенова, *Апокрифи и апокрифни цикли с вероятен български произ-ход в руските чети-сборници от XVI–XVII в.*, [in:] *Slavia Orthodoxa, Език и култура. Сборник в чест на проф. дфн Румяна Павлова*, София 2003, pp. 244–260.

[47] G. Birkfellner, *Glagolitische und kyrillische Handschriften in Österreich*, Wien 1975, No. II/80 (ÖNB – Cod. Slav. 149), pp. 214–220.

[48] Б. Цонев, *Опис на ръкописите и старопечатните книги на Народната библиотека в София*, т. I, София 1910, no. 433, pp. 442–449 (expecially p. 446).

[49] Idem, *Опис на ръкописите и старопечатните книги на Народната библиотека в София*, т. I, no. 326, pp. 315–320.

[50] http://repertorium.obdurodon.org/plectogram-dev-checkbox.php?lg=bg&x=6&y=9&mss%5B%5D=AM149NBW&mss%5B%5D=AM326NBKM&mss%5B%5D=AM433NBKM&mss%5B%5D=AM100MCB (retrieved 6.07.2018).

Following the first scholars in this field – Moses Gaster and Nicolae Cartojan, who worked in the late 19th and early 20th century[51] – Emil Turdeanu has reviewed the Romanian tradition of the *Testament*[52]. As mentioned earlier, the short version of the *Testament* has reached us in three copies, one of which in the so-called *Codex Sturdzanus*, from the 16th century. It consists of hagiographic, apocryphal and apocalyptical works[53]. The convoy of texts joined to the other two copies does not particularly differ from that in *Codex Sturdzanus*. These are collections of apocryphal, apocalyptical and legendary works, the prototype of which Turdeanu believes to be from late medieval Macedonia[54].

Without claiming to give the full statistics on the accompanying genres to which the work under study was joined, we may say these were narrative texts in the hagiographic, instructive, apocryphal, apocalyptical, and often legendary, genres, a category some authors define as "popular readings". This characteristic of the genres was an unvarying feature of the accompanying set of texts in the South Slavic, Rumanian, and Eastern Slavic environment. In a certain sense, this feature was a heritage from the accompanying set, the work was copied and disseminated in its Greek original and in its translations into Coptic, Arabic and Ethiopian. This is defined by the function and meaning of the text for society: we may generally say the text aims to be instructive and to enhance the biblical knowledge and culture of the Eastern Christian nations (Orthodox and of other).

In this sense, it should be stressed that the accompanying works in the copy from BAR 636 is different, which is important for our present investigation. The strong and emphatic legal and polemic character of the miscellany raises the question addressed by this chapter: what is the function of the deuterocanonical text in this convoy? We will devote the necessary attention to this question further below.

2. The *Testament of Abraham* joined to the set of accompanying texts in the manuscript BAR 636

One of the chief tasks of the present study is to explain the presence of this apocryphal text amidst the prevalently legal and anti-heretical manuscript BAR 636. One other element should be mentioned, which might be important

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[51] M. Gaster, *Apocalypse of Abraham. From the Romanian text, discovered and translated*, pp. 195–226; N. Cartojan, *Cărţile populare in literature romaneasca*, т. I, pp. 114–115.

[52] E. Turdeanu, *Apocryphes slaves et roumains de l'Ancien Testament*, pp. 201–238.

[53] See the edition of the collection: *"Codex Sturdzanus". Studiu filologic, studiu lingvistic, ediţie de text şi indice de cuvinte de Gheorghe Chivu*, Bucureşti 1993.

[54] E. Turdeanu, *Apocryphes slaves et roumains de l'Ancien Testament*, p. 233.

for our discussion. It is known that the manuscript BAR 636 has a twin[55], written in the same epoch, and which is now preserved under № 51 in the collection of A. I. Yatsimirsky in the Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Saint Petersburg. The twin is accessible in a photocopy version classified as BAR Ms. slav. 685 at the Library of the Rumanian Academy in Bucharest. This twin manuscript, at least in its present state, does not contain a copy of the *Testament of Abraham*. Yet we cannot be sure it never did, as the end of the manuscript – where the text in question should have been – is missing. Not being sure, we need not speculate on the matter. Of course, we know the two manuscripts are twins, and that they fulfilled a similar social function as an anti-heretical weapon. In the already published description of the collection BAR 636, we suggested that it was composed as a verbal armament against religious deviations, and each of its parts has a particular purpose in this respect[56]. The other apocryphal works included there must have had the same purpose. We must clarify what it was.

Even a brief glance at the content of the collection will convince us that it contains nothing to justify the presence of the *Testament* in the manuscript BAR 636 except the motif regarding the judgement of souls after death. This is the only thing related to law. The idea of meting out justice for righteous deeds or sins after death is typically Christian, although it exists in other religions as well. It certainly derives from the words of the Savior that His Kingdom is not of this world, from all of Christian eschatology, and from many other biblical texts. This repayment for deeds should be based on an assessment and judgement of those deeds, which more or less relates to the idea of a court of justice.

Judgement, and especially the Last Judgement in the end of days, figures largely in Christian eschatology, theology, art, and literature. In our case, the connection with human justice is visible but not implicit. Christianity never confuses the sphere of law, which is a system of norms regulating relations between people, with the Will of God. Law, like the state, always remains within the Kingdom of Caesar, not the Kingdom of God[57]. This, however, does not rule out the influence of religion on law: the latter is not an expression of God's Will but is influenced by the principles of the faith and by moral norms based on religion. Judgement itself is an

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[55] E. Turdeanu, *Le Sbornik dit 'de Bisericani': Identité d'un manuscrit remarquable*, "Revue des études slaves" 44.1–4, 1965, pp. 29–45.

[56] Ив. Билярски, М. Цибранска-Костова, *Славянски ръкопис 636 (BAR Ms. sl. 636, XVI в.) от Библиотеката на Румънската академия в Букурещ*, "Археографски прилози" 37, 2015, pp. 107–155; Iv. Biliarsky, M. Tsibranska-Kostova, *"Contra varietatem pugna latissima". Un recueil juridique moldave et son convoi (BAR Ms. sl. 636, XVIᵉ siècle)*, "Analele Putnei" XII.2, 2016, pp. 105–146.

[57] H. Hattenhauer, *Europäische Rechtsgeschichte*, 4. Auflage, Heidelberg 2004, pp. 135–140.

act of wisdom, and any wisdom participates in, and even carries a microscopic bit of the Divine Wisdom – that of the Lord Jesus Christ[58]. Thus, we believe that the comparison between Divine and human justice, especially with respect to deeds related to faith, might be the rationale of the inclusion of the apocryphal text in this anti-heretical and predominantly legal miscellany.

2.1. Three tales about judgement and repayment in the world beyond

Let us consider repayment, judgement and the tribunal in the *Testament of Abraham*, by considering not only the short version but the long one as well, which we only have in the Greek original and in a Romanian translation. We will dwell on three elements of the text: first, justice after death – the two gates (and the two ways, when there are such in the text) to the beyond, leading either to salvation or to perdition; second, the judgement of the souls of the dead and repayment for sins and good deeds; third, Abraham's judgement on various sins. It should be noted that in the long and short version of the *Testament,* these stories are placed in different ways, and in some points the story itself differs. That is why we should consider the stories separately. But first, we will say a few words about the order in which they appear.

As we saw in our text, and generally in the short version, the first in order is the story concerning the two gates and the two roads – to salvation and to perdition. Chapters 8 and 9 are devoted to it. Following after it is the story about the place of judgement and the judge who passes judgement according to the registered sins and righteous deeds – Chapters 10 and 11. Finally comes the story about the tour and review of the world, when Abraham sees particular sins being committed and condemns them mercilessly – Chapter 12. The order in other copies of the short version is similar[59]. It is different, however, in the long version: first comes the tour of the world by Abraham and Archangel Michael and the pitiless judgement of Abraham (Chapter 10); second is the story about the repayment after death and the two roads and two doors leading to salvation or perdition (Chapter 11); third in the long version is the story about the place of judgement and the judging of souls, as well as relevant explanations (Chapters 12–14)[60]. Regarding Abraham's repentance for his merciless punishment of sinners, Dale Allison sees a clear logical consistency in the chapters and events presented in the long version: (1) first Abraham shows lack of mercy, after which God dismisses him, (2) then he sees the repay-

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[58] Iv. Biliarsky, *Le droit et le sacré ou La mesure de la justice*, [in:] *La rencontre des droits en Méditerranée. L'acculturation en question*, éds. X. Perrot, J. Péricard, Limoges 2014, pp. 109–116.

[59] F. Schmidt, *Le Testament grec d'Abraham*, pp. 64–77, 89–93.

[60] *Ibidem*, pp. 124–143.

ment and judgement, where God is guided by charity and empathy, and (3) finally, as a logical conclusion, Abraham repents and saves those whom he has punished[61]. Assuming that the difference between the two arrangements is due to a different understanding of the story and its message, we could find some logical meaning in both of them if we care to look for one. The only point we believe invariably necessary is that the stories about the two doors and the repayment after death come before the judgement of souls. We believe that logical consistency requires showing repayment after death first, and then how that happens specifically. In fact, this is the case in both versions: the tale about the two gates comes before the one concerning the judgement. In our short version, they are placed in first and second position respectively, and in the long one, they are in second and third position respectively. The unmerciful judgement meted out by Abraham should not be relevant for the story about repayment after death, because the former comes during the lifetime of the sinners, and the punishments there are physical (fire falling from heaven, the earth swallowing them up, wild beasts tearing them to pieces), albeit presented as happening through divine intervention. This story has some relation to the others but it is not a relation of consecutive order of fate before and after death; instead it is that of comparison of human justice with God's judgement and mercy. This comparison could be made before or after the story about the judgement of souls.

Below, we propose an interpretation of the three stories, discussed in their consecutive order in our text.

2.1.1. Repayment after death. The two doors leading to salvation or perdition

The part of the *Testament of Abraham* that presents the idea of repayment for sins and good deeds after death is directly influenced by the Gospel text, specifically, the Gospel according to Matthew (7: 13–14): "13. Enter through the narrow gate. For wide is the gate and broad is the road that leads to destruction, and many enter through it. 14. But small is the gate and narrow the road that leads to life, and only a few find it". The connection between the two texts seems obvious and does not require commentary. Yet it should be noted, that similar images are found in the Old Testament as well[62]. It may be said in general, that in this chapter of *Testament* Christian ideas predominate; the added Christian element is very powerful, and little is left of the ideas of the original Judaic text and its messages. Of course, this is important, as we are studying the presence

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[61] D. C. Allison Jr, *Testament of Abraham*, pp. 296–297.

[62] G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *Eschatology in the "Testament of Abraham". A Study on the Judgement Scene in the Two Recensions*, pp. 27–29.

and use of the story in a Christian environment – the Principality of Moldavia in the 16th century.

The story begins with Abraham being placed by Archangel Michael on a cloud, as God has ordered, and the trip to the river Ocean. Here the texts of the long and short versions differ. In our manuscript, the cloud carries Abraham and the Archangel to the river Ocean (Chapter 8: 3). Across the river, the patriarch sees the two gates leading to salvation and destruction (Chapter 8: 4). This is certainly a loan from classical Hellenistic culture, but having in mind the probable Alexandrian origin of the work and its later Christian revision, this should not surprise us. "Ocean" is the name of the divinity (in fact, a "titan") of the river that encircles the world – he is the son of Uranus and Gaea (Heaven and Earth) and father of the nymphs, as we learn from many ancient authors, including Homer (*Iliad* XIV, 201) and Virgil (*Georgics* IV, 382)[63]. It is important for us that this is the boundary of the world and gives a view to the beyond. In the long version, there is no mention of the river. There it is said that Abraham was carried eastward to the first gate of Heaven, where (probably behind it) he sees two roads – one wide and the other, narrow[64]. East is a sacred direction in all biblical tradition, both for Christians and Jews, and the Paradise is certainly located eastward, which is also the direction in which people pray[65]. The presence of the heavenly gateway also indicates a vision towards the beyond. It should be said that in our short version, the two gates are mentioned, but not the two roads. The theme of the road also contains the same message as that of the gate. It refers to some liminal phenomenon through which one reaches a destination – in this case, salvation or destruction. If we compare the texts of the short and long version of *Testament* with the Gospel text (Matthew 7: 13–14), we will see that in the Gospel, the road is only mentioned and the stress is put on the gates. The road to life and the road to perdition through sin is familiar to the Old Testament tradition (see Jeremiah 21: 8), but we are not sure too much importance should be attached to this addition[66]. The "road" is somehow a natural

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[63] *Everyman's Classical Dictionary (800BC–AD337)*, London–New York 1969, p. 367; *Мифы народов мира*, т. II, Москва 1982, p. 249.

[64] F. Schmidt, *Le Testament grec d'Abraham*, pp. 128–129.

[65] A. L. Frothingham, *Ancient Orientation Unveiled*, IV, "American Journal of Archaeology" 21.4 (Oct.–Dec.), 1917, p. 422; B. L. Gordon, *Sacred Directions, Orientation, and the Top of the Map*, "History of Religions" 10.3 (Feb.), 1971, pp. 212–213; А. В. Подосинов, *Ex Oriente lux! Ориентация по странам света в архаических культурах Евразии*, Москва 1999, pp. 195–197, 287 sq.

[66] The road, the path to Salvation is indeed a widely discussed theme in the Judaic eschatology, both in the Bible and in other Judaic literature; we find it in a great variety of cultural environments. See D. C. Allison, *Testament of Abraham*, pp. 242–244.

means of attaining Salvation. The idea of the wide and narrow gate (and of the wide and narrow road, if such is mentioned) points to a measure, i.e., a judgement. Above all, it should be mentioned that the gate is a place of judgement in Judaic culture, among others[67]. We believe this is at least partially related to the idea of threshold implicit in the gate, the liminal nature of the place. On the other hand, the gates are defined as "narrow" and "wide", as are the roads in the short version of the text. In fact, they are so defined in the Gospel text as well. The conversation between Abraham and the Archangel is interesting: the patriarch expresses his fear that he is too big to pass through the narrow gate (Chapter 9: 2–4). This means that he sees the gate as a measure of a person's righteousness, and the tribunal as a judicial institution makes this measurement[68].

In front of the gates is a man sitting on a gilded throne and he laughs or weeps as he watches people entering one gate or the other. This is the Ancestor Adam. He is presented as an important figure, but we do not see him judging, even though the description leaves the impression that he is[69]. He rather notes, by laughter, or by weeping and pulling his hairs, whether they are going to one place or the other. Unfortunately, the sinners are much more numerous than the righteous. Chapter 9 (short version) of the *Testament* draws a depressing picture of the separation of souls, and how they are driven by angels through the wide gate of destruction. One of God's messengers leads seven myriad souls to the gate of destruction and holds one soul in his hand, and the Archangel and Abraham decide to check whether all of these are unrighteous. This is a mark of mercy and an attempt to save; but they find no righteous soul in the lot and only the one in the angel's hand has an equal share of good and evil deeds.

2.1.2. Judgement after death. The place of judgement, testimonies and the judge/judges

The story of the two gates (and, in the long version, the two roads) leading to salvation or destruction presents the repayment for deeds; but this repayment should be based on an assessment. In the previous story, the only element of assessment is the breadth of the gate and/or road leading to salvation. The size is

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[67] See Deuteronomy 21: 19; Amos 5: 15, etc.

[68] Iv. Biliarsky, *Le droit et le sacré ou La mesure de la justice*, pp. 115–116.

[69] I believe this impression is not accidental and has been purposely created in the *Testament*. Dale Allison views Adam – sitting before the two gates – as a double of the judge Abel, who sits behind the gate and judges souls (Chapters 10 and 11; Chapter 12 in the long version): D. C. Allison Jr, *Testament of Abraham*, p. 256.

certainly presented as a measure. This measure is not only physical, since the Archangel tells Abraham he will pass through the gate despite the large size of his body (Chapter 9: 2–4). The judgement of souls after death is presented in Chapters 10 and 11 of the work (respectively: 12–13 in the long version).

With regard to the description of the tribunal, the differences between the short and long version are numerous and important. At the same time, we should note that there are many later interpolations in the text, most of which are in the long version. We are interested in the text in manuscript BAR 636, but first we would like to briefly present what is written in the long version[70], where the place of judgement is described in much greater detail. It is said the Archangel and Abraham (the form "we" is used) enter through the wide gate, through which angels drive myriads of sinful souls, and see the judge sitting on a crystal throne that shines like fire. The judge himself is bright as the Sun, just like the Son of God. In front of him, on a golden table shining like crystal, lies an enormous book, and on either side of him are two angels with rulers, ink and pens; a shining angel sits in front of the table with a weighing scale in hand, while a fiery angel sitting to the left holds a tube that emits fire to test the sinful souls. The judge listens – the angel on the right side notes the good deeds, the one on the left, the sins (Chapter 13: 9 of the long version) – and judges depending on the records in the large book. The souls are weighed on the scale and tested by fire. In the next Chapter 13 (long version), the angels are identified[71]. The angel with the scale is Archangel Dokiel, the just weighter (Chapter 13: 10 of the long version), and the one with the fire is Archangel Puriel, who works the fire and tests souls with it (Chapter 13: 11–13 of the long version)[72]. The text is very complicated and contradictory; it leaves doubt as to why the judgement is being conducted after the souls have already passed through the wide gate, and why they are weighed or tested by fire after the judge is informed of the record of their sins and righteous deeds. The weighing of souls after death is obviously an Egyptian influence and a later addition to the text[73]. It should also be noted that the Judaic and Egyptian traditions are so intertwined in the history of the Chosen People, that we may find common elements

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[70] See the text in F. Schmidt, *Le Testament grec d'Abraham*, pp. 132–135.

[71] *Ibidem*, pp. 138–139.

[72] Regarding the two archangels and their names, see G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *Eschatology in the "Testament of Abraham". A Study on the Judgement Scene in the Two Recensions*, p. 36–39; D. C. Allison Jr, *Testament of Abraham*, pp. 288–292.

[73] See S. G. F. Brandon, *The Weighing of the Soul*, [in:] *Myths and Symbols. Studies in Honor of Mircea Eliade*, eds. J. M. Kitagawa, Ch. H. Long, Chicago–London 1969, pp. 91–110; G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *Eschatology in the "Testament of Abraham". A Study on the Judgement Scene in the Two Recensions*, pp. 31–34, 39; D. C. Allison Jr, *Testament of Abraham*, pp. 257–258, 264–273.

in many cases. This is especially true for the Alexandrian Jews, among whom the text was probably created. All this makes the work quite complex, especially as it has also been found to contain elements of Platonism[74]. In fact, it is said at the very beginning that the angel grabs a soul in one hand, and later we see that the judgement proper is passed on this soul, which is separate from the others. Its sins prove to be equal in weight to its righteous deeds, and thus it is placed "in the middle", i.e., neither sent to perdition nor put among the righteous. This middle place is not clarified in the short version, but a Chapter (Chapter 14) of the long version is devoted to it[75]. It turns out that in order for that soul to be saved, a little must be added to the righteous deeds, and inasmuch as the soul can no longer do that itself, the prayers of the righteous Abraham must weigh down in order for the soul to be saved. It seems to us that the message aims foremost to provide a theological justification and argumentation in support of prayer for the dead. Insofar as interceding for the dead is problematic in the Jewish religion[76], this chapter seems to present a Christian interpretation and intervention in the work. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the idea of the superiority of Divine mercy to just punishment arose in an Old Testament environment and was developed in the New Testament [77].

Such is the description in the long version of *Testament* but many of these elements are absent in the short one. The participants in the tribunal are not the same there, and the story itself is different. There is no description of the place of judgement, and the story goes straight on to the judgement of the soul that was separated from the others and that Abraham sees in the hand of the angel. It is said at the start that its sins and righteous deeds are equal, but later on it turns out they are not quite so (Chapter 9: 5–9 and 10, short version)[78]. Of the angels, we see only the one holding the separate soul in hand and placing it before the judge (here, Chapter 9: 5–8); the other angels are missing, as is the weighing, and nothing is said about the fire. The soul begs for mercy, but is accused of having murdered her daughter and having fornicated with her son-in-law (here, Chapter 10: 4–5).

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[74] G. H. Macurdy, *Platonic Orphism in the "Testament of Abraham"*, "Journal of Biblical Literature" 61, 1942, pp. 213–226.

[75] F. Schmidt, *Le Testament grec d'Abraham*, pp. 140–143.

[76] R. Le Déaut, *Aspects de l'intercession dans le Judaïsme*, "Journal for the Study of Judaism" 1, 1970, pp. 35–57.

[77] D. C. Allison Jr, *Testament of Abraham*, p. 303; R. Bauckham, *The Conflict of Justice and Mercy: Attitude to the Damned in the Apocalyptic*, [in:] R. Bauckham, *The Fate of the Dead. Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* [=*Supplements to Novum Testamentum*, vol. XCIII], Leiden–Boston–Köln 1998, pp. 136 sq.

[78] On the Greek text, see F. Schmidt, *Le Testament grec d'Abraham*, pp. 67–73.

The soul denies the charge and the judge orders that the keeper of the records be summoned. Three angels bring two books, and are accompanied by an enormous man with three crowns on his head, each bigger than the other. These are the testimonies. He holds a golden pen (a stalk used for writing) in his hand. The judge gives the order, the man opens one of the books (the record of sins) and reads that the accusation of murder and adultery is true (Chapter 10: 6–14, short version). The soul says it had forgotten about its sins in the world. But the sins have been recorded and the soul is directed by the angels to hell (Chapter 10: 15–16, here)[79]. The message is that there is a judgement after death and a judge in full glory assesses the deeds; the tribunal is righteous: the deeds are not forgotten, they are recorded in the books of the angels or by the enormous man.

The message is about a just judgement in the beyond, but it is also a message about a just human judgement insofar as people can, or at least strive to, copy Divine judgement. Hence, it is interesting to see who the judge and other participants in the trial are. They are indicated in the next chapter. Archangel Michael identifies them in answer to Abraham's questions. Because the description is different in the two versions of the work, the explanations of the Archangel also display significant differences. We already mentioned the difference in names (archangels Dokiel and Puriel), but in the long version we find the idea of a three-stage trial that is missing in the short version. In fact, the ultimate and only just tribunal – that of God – is presented differently.

In the long version, an extensive and multiple trial is presented, which ends with Divine justice[80]. This trial unites judgement after death with the Last Judgement at the end of days. Looking at the participants in the judgement, Archangel Michael identifies the judge as Adam's son Abel (Chapter 13: 2 in the long version), the first martyr, who died at the hand of his brother Cain (Genesis 4). It is his duty to judge the righteous and the sinners until the Second Coming (Chapter 13: 3 of the long version). Judgement of humans after death by other humans is not unknown in the Judaic and Christian tradition, although specifically Abel appears as judge only in this text[81]. Particularly interesting for our study are the words of the Lord regarding the judging of people only by other people[82]. These words of the Lord in the long version

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[79] There is a similar moment in the Coptic text of the Revelation of St. Paul: the soul's protest against the accusation – G. MacRae, *The Judgement Scene in a Coptic Apocalypse of Paul*, [in:] G. W. E. Nickelsburg Jr (ed.), *Studies on the "Testament of Abraham"* (= *Society of Biblical Literature. Septuagint and Cognate Studies*, ed. H. M. Orlinsky, no. 6), Missoula, Montana, 1976, pp. 285–287.

[80] F. Schmidt, *Le Testament grec d'Abraham*, pp. 136–139; G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *Eschatology in the "Testament of Abraham". A Study on the Judgement Scene in the Two Recensions*, pp. 29–40.

[81] D. C. Allison Jr, *Testament of Abraham*, pp. 268–269, 280–284.

[82] *Ibidem*, pp. 81–82.

of *Testament* do not correspond to any precise statement in the Judeo-Christian tradition, as we saw, judgement after death of people is present in it. The closest match in the Bible is the text from the Gospel of John, "and has given Him authority to execute judgement also, because He is the Son of Man"[83]. This means that only a son of man may judge; but it does not seem obligatory or the only possible means. Salvation is linked to repayment, hence to evaluation, and repayment is linked to passing judgement. Insofar as Salvation is a result of our deeds, but is in the hands of God, judgement by God seems ultimately necessary. This seems to contradict what is said in the long version, but the contradiction appears only formal to us: in fact, God repays for sins and righteous deeds but does it in the final account, and not immediately, after each righteous deed or sin. There are many examples of this both in the Old and New Testament. A man (in this case Abel) executes the judgement in *Testament* as well: we see this in both versions, although presented differently. In the long version, we see a three-stage trial in which the first two stages are carried out by people: first, immediately after death, is Abel's judgement; second, in the eschatological perspective, is the judgement of the Twelve Tribes of Israel; and third, the judgement of God Himself. Thus, we have three tribunals, all of them just and all regulated and requiring not one or two, but three witnesses[84] (Chapter 13: 8 of the long version). We will linger on Abel when we consider the short version of BAR 636. The judgement of the Twelve Tribes of Israel will take place at the Second Coming (Chapter 13: 6 of the long version)[85]. The very mention of the "Second Coming" is a sure argument in support of the Christian character of the text. In the Judaic Old Testament environment, such an expression would be unacceptable. This determines the mention of the Twelve Tribes of Israel as well. The term basically refers to the Chosen People, but in our case we should take it to mean the Church as the New Israel. In the number twelve, we might look for a reference to the twelve apostles, but this seems to us less likely. What kind of tribunal is this? Human or Divine? According to Christian ecclesiology, the Church is a divinohuman organism and unites God with people and angels, unites the visible with the invisible world. In this sense, the judgement could also be viewed as divinohuman, a transition between the judgement of man (Abel) and that of God at the end. But this statement holds some risk of excessive interpretation of the text, and we believe that the judgement of the Twelve Tribes of Israel is closer to judgement by men. God's judgement comes only at the end and is final.

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[83] John 5: 27.

[84] The three witnesses are mentioned in a similar description of the place of judgement in the Coptic Apocalypse of St. Paul: MacRae, *The Judgement Scene in a Coptic Apocalypse of Paul*, p. 287.

[85] G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *Eschatology in the "Testament of Abraham". A Study on the Judgement Scene in the Two Recensions*, p. 40; D. C. Allison Jr, *Testament of Abraham*, p. 285.

Thus, in the long version, we see a three-level judgement that is a passage from human to Divine justice. We believe the short version has a similar message, though put in another way. Abel is present as judge in both versions, and the explanation of this fact is not a difficult one: he is a son of man, of Adam, the first man, and he is a martyr, the first human to be killed, by his brother at that[86]. In the long version, Abel's function of judge is limited to the Second Coming, when he is replaced by the Twelve Tribes of Israel and by God, while in our version, his judgement is limited by that which is written by Enoch. In both cases he is limited by Divine justice, as we will see further below. The important thing for us is that the first judgement after death is exercised by a man, a righteous martyr, but this judgement is not final.

Especially interesting in the short version is the figure of Enoch, who is absent from the long version – in a latter reworking of the story, he is replaced by angels (who record, weigh or put to the test). This probably indicates that at least this element of the brief version is closer to the Judaic original of the work, especially as Enoch is highly venerated in the Judaic environment, and in the Book of Jubilees, called *Leptogenesis* or the Lesser Genesis (4: 23; 10: 17), he is presented as recording the accusations and the judgement, the righteous deeds and the sins of people[87]. In our text, Enoch is presented as wearing the three crowns of testimony; he does not forget what people have done, and without his testimonies the judge cannot pass sentence. Nevertheless, Abraham has doubts that Enoch is able to record all righteous deeds and sins and to announce them. Can he attend to every soul? Archangel Michael's answer is among the most significant statements in the story: if the judgement does not match the recorded deeds, it will not be accepted, because this is God Who pronounces the sentences, not Enoch. Enoch only writes them down (Chapter 11: 6–7, short version). God has placed

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[86] Regarding Aber as a judge after death in *Testament* – see G. W. E. NICKELSBURG, *Eschatology in the "Testament of Abraham". A Study on the Judgement Scene in the Two Recensions*, pp. 34–36; D. C. ALLISON JR, *Testament of Abraham*, pp. 268–269, 280–285. Various explanations of his presence in this capacity in the text are proposed: son of Man may be translated/understood as "son of Adam"; in Egyptian mythology, Osiris judges the souls, and Osiris was also a martyr, killed by his brother, so perhaps it is based on the similarity (this is well argued by F. Schmidt – see G. W. E. NICKELSBURG, *Eschatology in the "Testament of Abraham". A Study on the Judgement Scene in the Two Recensions*, p. 34); being a martyr, Abel is also a saint, and it is said that "do you not know that the Lord's people will judge the world? And if you are to judge the world, are you not competent to judge trivial cases?" (1 Corinthians 6: 2); some Jewish sects revered Adam, Seth and Melchizedek, and Abel is the prototype of Seth, who was born to Eve as a substitute for his killed brother (Genesis 4: 25, the very name Seth means "substitute"). There may be more explanations, and the answer might lie in their combination.

[87] D. C. ALLISON JR, *Testament of Abraham*, pp. 259–260, 278–279.

him there to record, but when He displays mercy, the sins are erased and the person is saved; when not, he goes to be punished (Chapter 11: 9–11, here). Thus, we see that in the brief version as well, the final judgement is God's, not man's, and the message of the text is similar to that in the long recension. The idea that there is a difference between God's justice and man's justice lies at the core of the apocryphal message; and God's justice certainly has priority. This is confirmed in a specific way in the following story.

2.1.3. The tour of the world and the punishments demanded by Abraham for the crimes he sees

In the brief version of the *Testament* the last story about the judging of people is the one relating Abraham's tour of the world and the punishments he metes out, or wishes, for the sins he sees. In the long version, the whole world lies visible before him, and F. Schmidt not accidentally compares this with the picture of the world on Achilles' shield[88]. Sitting on a cloud (or on a celestial chariot in the long version of the text) together with Archangel Michael, Abraham witnesses three crimes, and prays God that the perpetrators be punished. In our short version, the order of events is as follows: (1) Abraham sees a man fornicating with a married woman and wishes that fire may fall from Heaven and consume him; so it happens (Chapter 12: 2–4); (2) Abraham sees people bearing false witness and wishes that the earth should open and swallow them, which immediately happens (Chapter 12: 6–8); (3) Abraham sees people going into the desert to kill and wishes that the beasts of the desert should come and tear them to pieces, which immediately happens (Chapter 12: 9–11).

It should be noted that the story is told differently in the two versions. The consecutive order of the crimes is different and so are the punishments[89]. In the long version, the order is the following: (1) first he sees the thieves and murderers in the desert, who are punished by being torn apart by beasts; (2) second come the fornicators, who are swallowed up by the earth; (3) finally comes the theft, punished by a fire from Heaven. It may be said these crimes, which violate both the law and God's will, have prototypes in the Bible, as do the punishments. Calumny, adultery, theft and murder are referred to in biblical Law and in the Ten Commandments, as well as – for that matter – in all religious and legal systems

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[88] F. Schmidt, *Le monde à l'image du bouclier d'Achile. Sur la naissance et l'incorruptibilité du monde dans le 'Testament d'Abraham'*, "Revue d'histoire des religions" 185, 1974, pp. 122–126.

[89] F. Schmidt, *Le Testament grec d'Abraham*, pp. 74–77 (brief version, chapter 12), pp. 124–129 (long version, chapter 10); D. C. Allison Jr, *Testament of Abraham*, p. 220.

of the past, and to some extent, of the present[90]. We can find the model of the punishments as well in the Bible[91].

The first punishment is for the adulterers, who are consumed by fire sent down from Heaven. In the long version, this is the punishment meted out to the thieves. It matches many cases in the Bible. For instance, some of the rebels around Korah, of the Tribe of Levi, and the Reubenites Dathan and Abiram (Numbers 16: 35) are consumed by fire, while their leaders were previously swallowed up by the earth. Thus we have two kinds of punishments in the Bible that are also referred to in the *Testament of Abraham*. On two occasions, the consumption by fire befalls the commanders of fifty together with their fifty men, sent by the impious king Ahaziah, who worships false gods, to Elijah on the mountain (2 Kings 1: 9–12). That is also the punishment that befalls Sodom and Gomorrah for the lawlessness of their inhabitants (Genesis 19: 24). A similar, though not identical, punishment befalls Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, who offered profane fire before the Lord (Leviticus 10: 1–2); in this case, the fire does not come from Heaven. Though not by way of punishment, there is consuming fire in 1 Kings 18: 38; 1 Chronicles 21: 26; Job 1: 16; Psalms 96/97: 3, 2; Maccabees 2: 10.

The second punishment is for the calumniators, who are swallowed up by the earth. In the long version of the work, this is the punishment for adulterers. It is evidently a reference to the history of the revolt of Korah the Levite and Dathan and Abiram of the Tribe of Reuben (Numbers 16 and especially 16: 31–33; see also Deuteronomy 11: 6 and many other places in the Bible that refer to this case).

The third punishment is for the murderers in the desert (these are probably robbers, which comes closer to the long version), who are torn apart by wild beasts. In the long version as well, this is the punishment for the thieves and murderers. This punishment resembles that in 2 Kings: the prophet Elisha is passing by Bethel and youths from that city come to mock him, but bears come out of the wood and maul forty-two of the youths (2 Kings 2: 23–25).

We should point out a significant aspect of the story about Abraham's tour of the world and the punishments he desires for the sins he sees: this is not a judgement after death and for the salvation of souls, but a punishment for crimes committed during the earthly life of the sinners. These sins, of course, are revolting in the eyes of God, but they are not purely religious crimes. We may ask whether the punishments are of a Divine or human kind, but first we must ask whether the question

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[90] Regarding murder – Exodus 20: 13, Deuteronomy 5: 17; regarding theft – Genesis 20: 15, Deuteronomy 5: 19; regarding adultery – Exodus 20: 14, Deuteronomy 5: 18; regarding calumny – mainly Leviticus 19: 16, and Psalms 30/31: 13–14; 49/50: 20; 100/101: 5, Jeremiah 6: 28, 9: 4 etc.

[91] D. C. Allison Jr, *Testament of Abraham*, pp. 223–229.

is at all relevant in the context. The *Testament of Abraham* is a deuterocanonical work, and we cannot expect it to have no relation to religion. It develops a biblical storyline or rather a storyline related to the biblical history of the Chosen People. It involves holy patriarchs like Abraham, Isaac, and also Sarah, as well as Archangel Michael and God Himself. Though different views have been stated about the genre and message of the work, it is in any case relevant to religion. This is true for the crimes, which are sins, and for the punishments of those crimes. Obviously, the punishments are desired and even chosen by Abraham, which means this is a human judgement. At the same time, the nature of the punishments is such as to require Divine intervention. A mere man could not cause the earth to open and swallow up the criminals, or send wild beasts at once to tear apart the criminals, much less send fire from Heaven to consume them. God does all this, directly or through the Archangel[92]. The punishments are borrowed from the Bible and so they are Divine: they cannot be carried out by a man, but are meted out by a man in the framework of human, not Divine, justice.

This is confirmed by the fact that God is displeased by the excessive pitilessness of Abraham and orders the Archangel Michael to bring him back to earth, lest he destroy the Creation (Chapter 12: 12–13)[93]. The exact words are that Abraham shows no mercy, because he is not the creator of the world, and people should be given the chance to repent in order to avoid the final destruction. God has made the world for the sake of Salvation, not destruction. This viewpoint is interesting and suggests a Christian element in the text. In this case, we may again look for similarities in the Bible, but this time in the New Testament. In the long version of the apocryphal work, there is a significant element that is missing in the short version: God tells the Archangel to bring Abraham back to earth lest he destroy the Creation entirely when he sees the sins of people, because he has no sins and so has no mercy for sinners[94]. But God does have mercy, because He is the Creator and He seeks the sinner's repentance, not death. It is usually said all men are sinners and only God is without sin, but in this case, the deuterocanonical text excludes the man Abraham. This is rather an Old Testament perspective and has a foundation in Genesis (17: 1). On the other hand, however, confidence in one's own righteousness is a sin in people rather than a good quality, as the parable of the publican and the Pharisee illustrates (Luke 18: 9–14). But in fact, the Only Sinless One has the greatest mercy

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[92] Abraham's use of the words "Lord, Sir" may be an addressing to the Lord or to Archangel Michael, but clearly it is Michael who executes the judgement, although at the order of God: D. C. Allison Jr, *Testament of Abraham*, p. 225.

[93] Concerning the Greek original, see: F. Schmidt, *Le Testament grec d'Abraham*, pp. 76–77.

[94] F. Schmidt, *Le Testament grec d'Abraham*, pp. 128–129 (X, 13).

for sinners. We believe that the way in which the long text differs from the short one could be explained only through the fundamental difference between Divine and human justice, and this must be the message of the text.

A man may be pitiless, but God is not. Even the patriarchs, the apostles and the least sinful ones may show a lack of compassion, but not God. An emblematic text in this respect is Luke (9: 52–56), where it is said that the apostles Jacob and John – like the prophet Elijah – proposed to the Lord that He send a fire from heaven and destroy the Samaritan village that rejected Him. But the Lord answers that He has come to save and not to destroy human souls. This text is certainly relevant for the story in *Testament*. The Savior rejects the excessively cruel punishment for sinners that we find in the Old Testament and that we mentioned with regard to the punishments required by Abraham for those who violate the will of God. In a sense, this is a response to, and a clarification about, the prophets' fierceness, which is in contrast with the Lord's clemency[95]. In the Gospel story, He not only does not fulfill the proposal of the apostles, but He reproaches them for it.

The similarity with the *Testament* is not accidental, for it seems that the pitiless, cruel punishments imposed by the prophets Moses, Elijah and Elisha upon those who violate God's will troubled the hearts and theological thought of Jews and Christians alike. Similar messages can be found in other texts as well. Thus, in the *Actes Philippi martyris*[96] – a 4th century text – it is said that when he went with the other apostles to preach in Lydia and Asia, they reached the city of Ophiorym (otherwise known as Hierapolis of Asia), where people worshiped the snake-god. The local pagans and their high priests attacked the apostles, and St. Philip proposes to the other apostles that they pray for the heavenly fire to be sent down to consume the pagans, but then rejects his own idea. The local people continued to torment them, threatening to draw out their blood and give it to the snake. Despite the attempts of Bartholomew and John to dissuade him, Philip calls upon the earth to open up and swallow the pagans. When this happens, the sinners beg from abyss for forgiveness, but St. Philip does not relent. Then God's voice is heard and Jesus Christ appears, reproaches the apostle for his merciless inflexibility and punishes him with exclusion from Paradise for forty days; only after that term will Archangel Michael allow him to enter again. Christ pulls out the pagans, together with the proconsul and the snake, from the pit with the help of a cross-ladder, and they repent for their deeds.

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[95] Dale C. Allison has devoted a special article to these questions (*Rejecting Violent Judgement: Luke 9: 52–56 and Its Relatives*, "Journal of Biblical Literature" 121.3, 2002, pp. 459–478).

[96] See the English translation of the text: J. K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament. A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation*, Oxford 1993, pp. 516–518.

The story is impressive by its contents and by the similarity of the message. The pious apostle shows himself pitiless towards the revoltingly cruel pagans, but the Lord has mercy on them and they repent, while Philip is punished for his hard-heartedness. The story in *Actes Philippi martyris* is closely connected with similar themes in the Old Testament books Numbers and 2 Kings, as the textological analysis of the two texts shows[97]. For us, the more important thing is that the text aims at the same message in one case and demarcation from lack of mercy in the other. There is no doubt who is the righteous one: the Christians are victims of tormentors but God is merciful. The comparison is similar and the reproach addressed to the righteous judge is similar. This again shows that Divine justice is the model that should be followed, but to do so is hard, nearly impossible, even for the most righteous Christians.

We find another similarity to an identical message in the Homilies of Pseudo-Clement (XVI, 20)[98]. The text states that the opening of the earth never happened, no fire was sent from Heaven to consume people, there was no flood in the time of Noah, and beasts did not come out of the forest to maul people: for God does not make repayment at once but in the final account. He demands repentance, not the destruction of the sinner. We see the text literally repeating the situation in *Testament of Abraham,* as confirmed by the textological analysis of the work[99]. The comparison between the three similar apocryphal works (*Testament, Pseudoclementine Homilies* and *Acts of St. Philip*) with the Gospel text shows their message is the same, although in the New Testament there is mention only of fire from Heaven, while in the three works there is a reference to Old Testament stories. In fact, Dale Allison has demonstrated the purely verbal similarity between the texts, even though the wild beasts do not occur in the *Acts of St. Philip*, while the flood is mentioned only in *Pseudo-Clement*[100]. It seems obvious to us that the Gospel text rejects the merciless attitude of the Old Testament prophets towards sinners and the unrighteous, and the three apocrypha are either Christian, though non-canonical (*Homilies of Pseudo-Clement* and *Acts of St. Philip*) or at least marked by Christian editing. This is not the place to discuss the difference between the messages of the Old and New Testament, but we agree with Dale Allison that a revision of the merciless attitude towards violators of the law appears already in the Old Testament: Wisdom 11: 22–27; 12: 2; Ezekiel 18: 23, 32; Psalms 144/145: 8, etc.[101]

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[97] D. C. ALLISON JR, *Rejecting Violent Judgement: Luke 9: 52–56 and Its Relatives*, pp. 461–462.

[98] B. REHM, *Die Pseudoklementinen*. I: *Homilien*, Berlin–Leipzig 1953, pp. 227 (Chapter XVI, 20_3).

[99] D. C. ALLISON JR, *Rejecting Violent Judgement: Luke 9: 52–56 and Its Relatives*, pp. 462–463.

[100] *Ibidem*, pp. 463–466.

[101] *Ibidem*, pp. 471–478.

The important thing here is that the very legalistically focused Judaic culture, and even more so the Christian culture, draw an important distinction, but not opposition, between Divine and human justice. Justice in the human perspective can be cruel at times even when meted out by a righteous man, but in God's repayment, mercy always comes first. In the final account, all receive their due, but each person is given the possibility to repent and free himself from sin.

2.2. Divine and human justice in a legal anti-heretical collection

We believe that the message of that part of the apocryphal story that relates Abraham's tour of the world is central to understanding the *Testament* and explains why this work was included in a legal anti-heretical collection, and to understanding the whole message of the work. The opposition between justice and mercy vs. unmerciful judgement is very impressive in many places in the Old Testament, which is why these terms should be reconsidered[102]. The *Testament of Abraham* does that in Chapter 14 of the long version[103]. After the prayer and the salvation of a soul left "in the middle" (Chapter 14: 5–9 of the long version), Abraham recalls his lack of mercy and repents, praying forgiveness for his errors from God, and salvation and eternal life for the sinners whom he has so cruelly punished (Chapter 14: 10–15 of the long version). In fact, we believe that the combined conclusions from the three stories about repayment and judgement indicate the true triumph of Divine mercy and justice.

To sum up our observations on the story of Abraham's tour, on which he is accompanied and guided by Archangel Michael, we should say that the story displays the difference between Divine and human justice, between the idea of punishment for the guilty and repentance and correction of the guilty. In fact, the deeds Abraham sees in the world are certainly sinful, but they are crimes according to secular law as well, and he metes out punishment as a judge. In this respect, there is a great difference compared with the previous stories about repayment after death. Here the text is about punishment for crimes, while there, it is about the separation of the righteous from the sinners. Although borrowed from biblical texts, the punishments here are destruction in the world and departure from the world, not perdition in the beyond. In fact, the story about Abraham's judgement on the criminals in the world is a story about the difference between what justice should aim at (mercy and salvation) and what our limited human nature requires (the punishment of the violator).

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[102] R. Bauckham, *The Conflict of Justice and Mercy*, pp. 132–148.
[103] F. Schmidt, *Le Testament grec d'Abraham*, pp. 140–143.

3. Addendum. Publication of the text (according to BAR Ms. slav. 636)

3.1. The text of the apocryphal story

/f. 304r/ ꙗвле́нїе ѿц҃ꙋ на́шемꙋ авраа́м̄ ѡ̀ ꙁа́вѣтѣ а́рхїстра́тигѡ михаи́лѡ ⁘/

[I[104]] (1[105]) Вне́гда скꙑ́нча́шⷶ҇ дн҃їе авраа́/мꙋ пре́ста́вити сѧ • гла̄ г҃ь къ / а́рхїстра́тиг̄ꙋ михаи́лꙋ • р҃е (2) михаи́ль, се̏ а́зъ г҃и • р҃е г҃ь иди̏ / къ авраа́мꙋ • и̏ гла́и къ не́мꙋ. / иꙁꙑ́деши ѿ жиꙁни се́ѫ • (3) дн҃їе / бѡ твои̏ скꙑнча́шасѧ • да ꙋ̾срⷪ҇и / си дш҃ꙋ, да́же и̏ꙁ мира се́го не и̏ꙁꙑ́/деши •

[II] (1) и̏ и̏де михаи́ль къ авраа́/мꙋ • и̏ прїи́де къ не́мꙋ и̏ цѣло/ва́вь е́го михаи́ль • (2) авраа́м же / не вѣ́дꙑше кто̏ е̏ • (3) и̏ ре́че къ не́/мꙋ, ѿкꙋ́дꙋ е́си чл҃че, и̏дꙑ пꙋ́/темь . (4) ѿвѣ́щⷶ михаи́лъ, пꙋ́/тникь е́смⸯ • и̏ рече авраа́мь • / (5) и̏ди въ до́мь мо́и и̏ почи́еши ꙋ̏/ на́сь • (6) и̏ ꙁаꙋ́тра и̏деши ꙗ̏може / хо́щеши • (7) въпро́си же а́рхаг҃гль /f. 304v/ михаи́лъ и̏ р҃е • повѣ́ж ми ка́ко / ти е̏ и̏мѧ • (8) ѿвѣ́щⷶ авраа́мь р҃е ./ рѡди́телїе ми нере́кꙋша авра̄ⷶ / г҃ь же ре́че къ мнѣ̏ • и̏ꙁꙑди̏ ѿ ꙁе́/мⷧа твое́ѫ, и̏ ѿ рѡ́да твое́гѡ •/ и̏ и̏ди̏ въ ꙁе́мⷧа ѫ́же ти пока́жꙋ •/ (9) послꙋ́шахⷤже г҃а, и̏ и̏дѡ въ ꙁе́мⷧа / ѫ́же дⷶ̏ ми г҃ь • и̏ прѣтво́ри ми / г҃ь и̏мѧ гла̄ • кто́мꙋ да не наре́/тсѧ и̏мѧ твое̏ авра́мь • нꙋ̏ авра̄ⷶ́ / (10) р҃еже михаи́ль, и̏ди̏ съ мно́ѫ до / нѣ́коего мѣ́ста •

[III] (1) и̏дꙑста же съ / двѣ́ма ра́бичищема • (2) и̏ ѡбрѣ́/тꙑста дꙋ̏бь вели́кь ꙁѣлѡ̏ на / пꙋ́ти • и̏мꙑ́ща вѣ́твїа, ꙉ҃ • (3) и̏/ слꙑ́шахꙋ гла̄ ѿ вѣ́твїи гла́щь / къ ни́ма • ст҃ъ • въꙁвѣ́сти рѣ́/чи къ не́мꙋ же е́си посла́нь • (4) слꙑ́/ша авраа́мь гла̄ ꙋ̏крѣпи сѧ и̏ ѿ/крꙑ̏ таи́нꙋ въ ср҃ци свое́мь • и̏ р҃е /f. 305r/ что хо́щⷮ се̏ бꙑ́ти • (5) и̏ ѡбрати́шⷶ / пакꙑ̏ въ до̏ сво̏и • и̏ р҃е авраа́мь • / ꙁакѡ́лите г҃ кра́ви, да ꙗ̏мꙑ •/ и̏ пїе́мь • ра́до бѡ дн҃е бꙑ̏ • (6) ꙁакла̏/вша же ѡ̏трѡ́ци, и̏ ва́рити нача́/ша • въꙁва́вже авраа́мь и̏саа́ка / сн҃а свое́гѡ р҃е • сн҃ꙋ мо́и лю́би/мꙑи и̏саа́че • въ́стани̏ и̏ въꙁлѣ́и / во́дꙋ на рꙋ̏цѣ̏ мо́и, да ѡ̏мꙑ́емь / нꙋ̏сѣ го́стеви се́мꙋ, вита́вшо/мꙋ къ на́мь • (7) раꙁꙋ́мѣж си̏ ꙗ̏ко / послⷣѣ́не ми е̏ ꙁмꙑ́ти нꙋ̏сѣ / чл҃кꙋ се́мꙋ вита́вшомꙋ мнѣ̏ • (8) и̏ слꙑ́шавь и̏саа́кⸯ ѡ̏ц҃а свое́гѡ гла́/ша сїа • пла́ча сѧ принесе и̏ въꙁлиꙗ̏ / во́дꙑ • (9) и̏ р҃е, ѡ̏че • что сїа е̏, ꙗ̏ко / ре́клъ е́си се̏ послⷣѣнее ми е̏ ꙁмꙑ̏/ти чл҃кꙋ нꙋ̏сѣ вита́вшомꙋ оу̏ на̏ • / (10) и̏ видⷰѣвь авраа́м̄ и̏саа́ка пла́чаща • / пла́кати сѧ нача̄́ съ ни́мь ꙁѣлѡ̏ • /f. 305v/ видⷰѣвже михаи́ль пла́чаща сѧ / и̏хь • и̏ нача̄́ пла́кати съ ни́ми • (11) па́дшⷶ слѣ́ꙁꙑ михаи́ла и̏ бꙑ́/ша ка́менїе •

[IV] (1) ꙋ̏слꙑша́вши же / са́рра пла́чь и̏̀ • въпро́си и̏̀ ре́че, что / пла́чите • (2) р҃е авраа́мь, ничто́же / е̏ • о̏тиди̏ и̏ дѣ́лаи и̏ готови̏ ꙗ̏/стїе го́стеви • (3) и̏ ѡ̏ти́де са́рра

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[104] We use Roman numerals in square brackets to indicate chapters according to the Francis Schmidt edition.

[105] We use Arabic numerals in round brackets to indicate the subdivisions of chapters according to the Francis Schmidt edition, insofar as this is possible because the two texts coincide.

гó/товаꙗщи вѣ́рѣ • (4) пришéшȣ / же слⷩ҇цȣ на ꙁа́паⷣ • въꙁы́де ми/ха́илъ на нⷠ҇сⷶ и̏
поклони́сѧ / прѣⷣ бмⷢ҇ъ • (5) слⷩ҇цȣ бⷹ ꙁахо́дѧ/щȣ • покла́нѣатⷭ҇ѧ въси̏ а́нⷢ҇ге/ли бж҃їи
• тѣ́же ê прⷪ҇́вꙑи и́же / поклáнѣетⷭ҇ѧ прⷷⷤе́ въсѣ́хъ • / (6) и̏ раꙁы́дшꙋ̏ въси̏
а́нⷢ҇гли бж҃їи / на мѣ́ста своⷶ̏ (7–8 omm.), (9) и рⷷ҇ миха́илъ / къ бꙋ̏ • пȣ́стил мѧ е҆си
къ авра́/амȣ рабȣ твоемȣ • повѣ́да/ти е́мȣ ѿлꙋ́ченїе дш҃и иⷭ҇ тѣ́лⷶ /f. 306г/ е́гѡ • (10)
а́ꙁ же не см҃ѣ ѡ̏бли́чити сло́/ва, дрꙋ́гъ бⷹ ти ê • и пра́вдивъ / чл҃къ • стра́нныѧ
прие́мла • (11) нꙋⷤ мл҃а тѧ гꙊ, да́жъ па́мꙗ съ/мр҃тнꙗ къ авраа́мꙋ • да са́мъ /
раꙁꙋ́мѣê а̏ нè слы́шить • (12) вели́/ка бⷹ рѣ́чъ рещи́ къ нéмȣ, ꙗко / ѿити ê ѿ вѣка
о́нⷢⷢ҇о • (13) па́че / гꙀ, ми́лꙋеши дш҃а пра́веднꙑⷯ • / (14) и рече гⷭ҇ъ къ миха́илꙋ, иди̏
къ не́/мꙋ • (15) и а́же ви́диши ꙗ҆дꙗ́ща, ꙗ́ждⷮ / съ ни́мь • и̏дⷷже спи́ть, спꙘ и ты́ /
съ ни́мь • (16) а́же нало́жꙃꙋ на срⷣ҇це / іса́акȣ, па́мꙗть съмр҃тнꙗ • /

[V] (1) и̏ тогда̀ миха́илъ прїиде къ авра́/мꙋ • и̏ о̏брѣте и̏ ꙋ҆го́товавшꙋ / вѣ́рѣ,
и ꙗ́дше и̏ ве́лиша̏ • (2) и̏ рⷷ҇ а́/враа́мь къ іса́акꙋ сн҃ꙋ своемоу • / въстани̏, и постели
ѡ́дⷬ҇ госте/ви да почи́еть • и̏ въже́гъ свѣщꙋ̏ / f. 306v/ постави на свѣ́щницѣ •
(3) и̏ сътво́/ри іса́акь та́ко • и̏ ле́гⷲⷮⷮ⷟⷟ⷚ⷟⷟ста спа́/ти • (4–5–6 omm.)

[VI] (1) въ ꙁ҃́мꙑи же чⷶ҃ но́щи, въ/спре́нꙋ҆ іса́акъ • и̏ прїиде къ а́/враа́мꙋ,
и рⷷ҇ • ѿврⷹ́ꙁи ми две́/ри да сѧ наꙁрⷪ̀ ста́рости твоéи • / да же те́бе не въꙁмꙋ́ ѿ
ме́не • (2) въ/ста́в же авраа́мь, ѿврⷹ́ꙃⷷ и̏ въ/лѣꙁъ въ кла́ть, ѡ̏бѣси сѧ ѡ̏вꙑ̏ⷳ /
ѡ̏ца́ своегѡ • пла́ча и̏ ло́бизⷶⷶ • / (3) и̏ въсплака авраа́мь • видⷷ҃въ / же миха́илъ
и́ пла́чаща сѧ • и̏ на/чⷶ́ пла́кати съ ни́ми • (4) слы́ша/вши же са́рра плачь и́ ·
прїиде / къ ни́мь • и̏ въпро́си и́ ре́кши • / (5) гꙀ авраа́ме, что вꙑ̏ бⷹ̏ да та́ко /
пла́чете въсе́ но́щь • е́да ктò ти / вⷷ҃ прине́се о̏ лю́тⷷ брáтⷷ тво/е́ꙗ ꙗко ꙁⷨр҃ⷷ, или̏
что е́мꙋ бⷹ̏ • / (6) ѿвѣща́вже миха́илъ • рⷷ҇• нꙀ сá рⷪ҇ро, / f. 307г/ не бⷹ̏ вⷷ҃ ни е́дина
о̏ лю́тⷷ • слы/ша́вши же са́рра, ѿлꙋ́ченїе въⷭ҇ⷷ / чл҃къ • и̏ сла́внꙋ҆ⷷи бы́вши рѣ́чи
/ е́гѡ, (7) рⷷ҇ къ авраа́мꙋ • ка́ко пла́/чеши привита́вшимь го́стю къ / нáмь, (8) или̏
ка́ко прослⷤ҃ꙁи съвта́/щомꙋ сѧ свѣтꙋ̏ нáшемꙋ въ до́/мꙋ нáшемь • въ дн҃ешнїи дн҃ь
ра́/до е́стъ • (9) рⷷ҇ авраа́мь, ка́ко ты̏ / вѣ́си чл҃ка сегѡ бж҃їа сꙋ́ща • (10) рⷷ҇ са́рⷪ҇, /
мн҃ѣ⷟ ми сѧ, ꙗко ê е́динъ ѿ трⷣ҇ех / ѡ̏нⷷ҃ мꙋ́жь ꙗ́дшꙘ пⷪⷣ дꙋ́бⷹ ма́/вⷬ҇їискꙑⷳ • е́гда
ты̏ ꙁакла́ те́лець, / (11) и̏ ꙗ́дохⷳⷳ съ ни́ми въ до́мꙋ нáшⷷ • / (12) и̏ рⷷ҇ авраа́мь,
въ и̏стиннꙋ̏ е́си / раꙁꙋ́мѣла • (13) а́ꙁъ бⷹ е́гда̀ нꙋ́ꙁⷷ / е́гѡ ꙁⷨны́валь, раꙁꙋ́мѣⷯ въ
срⷣ҇ци / ꙗко тѣ́же нꙋ́ꙁⷷ и̏ тогда̀ ꙁⷨны́ва̏ / пⷪⷣ дꙋ́бⷹ ма́мьврїискꙑⷳ • и̏ е́гда̀ / хꙋ́тⷷхꙋ̏
иꙁбави́ти лю́та ѿ содо́м • / f. 307v/ повѣ́даша ми та́инꙋ •

[VII] (1) рⷷ҇ авраа́ / къ миха́илꙋ • (2) ꙗ́ви ми сѧ ктò ты̏ / е́си • ре́че миха́илъ •
а́ꙁъ е́смъ / миха́илъ а҆рха́нⷢ҇глъ • рⷷ҇ авраа́мⷮ • / ска́жи ми чьсо ра́ди прише́ль е́си • /
(3) рⷷ҇ миха́илъ, сн҃ъ тво́и іса́акъ да / ска́жет ти • (4) и̏ рⷷ҇ авраа́мъ, сн҃ъ / мо́и рⷹ́ци
ми • что е́си въ съ́нⷷ / ви́дѣль • (5) рⷷ҇ іса́акъ, ви́дⷷ҃ въ съ́/нⷷ, ꙗко слн҃це и̏ лꙋⷩ҃цъ
бѣ́ше нⷶ́ / гла́вⷷ мо́еи • (6) и̏ се мꙋ́жь вели́кⷭ • / ꙁѣ́лⷪ҇ съ нⷠ҇съ въꙁꙗ́тсѧ, ꙗко / свⷷ҃
нарица́ꙗ сѧ ѡ̏ц҃ъ свѣтꙋ̏ • (7) / и̏ съне́ть слⷩ҇це съ гла́вꙑ моеꙗ̀ • / а̏ лꙋ́нꙋ о̏ста́ви
ꙋ ме́не • (8) пла́ка̏ / же а́ꙁъ гл҃а • не ѿи́ми сла́ви гла́вꙑ / мое́ꙗ • и̏ свѣ́та до́мꙋ

моего̀, и́ / сла́вы моея̀ • (9) въсплⷶкажⷷ елнце / и звѣ́ꙁы глаще • не ѿими свѣ́та / си́лы на́шея • (10) ѿвѣ́ща свѣ́тлыи /f. 308г/ мꙁ҇ рⷷ́ къ мнѣ̀ • не плачи, ꙗко ѿ/а҃ ́свѣ́та домⷹ твоего̀ • ѿ ни́ꙁо/сти на высотⷹ • (11) и́ ѿ съна на про/странство • и́ ѿ тⸯмы въ свѣ́тъ • / (12) и́ рⷷ́ къ нⷷмⷹ • мо́ла та ги, въ/ꙁми лⷹча съ ни́мь • (13) и́ рⷷ́че ми, нꙗ • /въ сⷮ҃ чⷶ лⷹча съвтⷶ҇́ са донде́же / скꙑнча́аⷮ са, в҃і чⷶ д҃не • да въ/сⷮ҃ лⷹча въꙁмⷷ́ своꙗ ꙁа́ра • (14–15) ꙗко̀ / мѡѵ́сⷥ глааше • мⷹжь свⷮ҇ⷷ / ви́дѣх, и́ сⷧ҃нце ѿц҃а моего̀ въсхо́/даща на̀ н҃бо • (16) и́ ѿвⷷⷷ̀ща михаи҃́ / рⷷ́, въ и́стиннⷹ та́ко ѐ • сⷧ҃нце / і҆са́че твои ѿц҃ъ ѐ • и́ въꙁмⷷ́ са / на н҃бса • (17) и́ тⷷⷷ́ло его̀ ѡста́нⷷ на̀/ ꙁемли, донде́же скꙑнча́етⸯса, и҃, лⷮⷷ҇ •/тогда̀ въскⷬ҃нⷷть въсⷷ҇́каа плⷮⷷ҇ • / (18) и́ ни́нⸯⷷ авраа́мⷷ ꙋⷭⷮ҇роѝ си до́мь • /и́ съвⷬ҇ши строⷷ́нїе своⷷ̀ • (19) и́ рⷷ́че / авраа́мⸯ къ михаилⷹ • мо́лати҃ /f. 308v/ ги мои҆ • а҃ще иꙁꙑ́дꙋ и́с тⷷ҇́ла • нⷶ / съ тⷷ́ломь хоⷮ҇ⷷ́ въꙁꙑти, да б҃и/ видⷷ́ль въсⷷ҇́ дⷶ҇ла гⷩ҇а • ꙗже съ/творⷷ҇ль еⷭ҇106 на н҃бси и́ на̀ ꙁемⷧ҇и • / прⷷ́жⷷ прⷷⷷ҇ставлⷷнїа моⷷго̀ • (20) и́ / ѿвⷷⷷ̀щавь михаи́ль и́ рⷷ́че • недо́/ит ми сътво́рити сⷷго ѡ сⷷⷷ́бⷷ, / нⷶ да и́дⷹ и повⷷⷷ҇́мь ѿц҃ⷹ моⷷ́/мⷹ ѡ сⷷⷷ́мь • да а҃ще ми повⷷⷷ҇́ли / тогда̀ ска́жⷹ ти въсⷶ҇̀ •

[VIII] (1) и́ въꙁꙑ́/дⷷ михаи́лⸯ на н҃бса • и́ стⷶ прⷷⷷ҇ / ѿц҃ⷷмь, и́ гⷧ҇а ѡ авраа́мⷷ • / (2) и́ рⷷⷷ̀/ г҃ь къ михаи́лⷹ • и́ди и́ поимѝ / авраа́ма съ тⷷ́ломь • и́ скажѝ / ⷷⷷ҇мⷹ въсⷶ̀ ⷷⷷ҇жⷷб ти рⷷⷷ҇́ть, дрⷹгь / б҃ѡ ми ѐ • (3) и́ прїи́де михаи́лⸯ, / и́ поⷶ҇ авраа́ма съ тⷷ́ломь на / ѡблацⷷ҇́ • и́ нⷷⷷ́се его̀ на рⷷ҇́кⷹ / нарица́жⷹжⷶ са ѡкіа́нь • (4) и́ въ/ꙁⷬ҇ⷷвь авраа́мь видⷷ̀ дв҃ои врата̀ • /f. 309r/ ⷷⷷ҇ди́на ма́ла, а҃ дрⷹга вели́ка • / (5) и́ посⷷⷷ҇́дⷷ ѡбоⷷ҇́хъ врⷶ҇ • сⷷⷷ҇ди́/шⷷ мⷹжь на прⷷ҇́стѡⷧ҇ⷷ сла́вы / велⷶ҇і́ⷶ • и́ нарѡ҇ мнѡⷢ҇ⷷ а҃гⷧ҇ⷧ҇ ѡкрⷹ/сть е́го • (6) сⷷⷷ҇жⷷ мⷹжь пла́чаше / и́ смⷷⷷ́аше • ѡдⷷⷷ҇́лꙋваꙗ же плачь / смⷷⷷ҇́хⷹ • (7) и́ рⷷⷷ̀ авраа́мь къ миха/и́лⷹ • кто сⷥⷥ҇ ѐ ги сⷷⷷ҇́даи на / прⷷ҇́стѡⷧ҇ⷷ • ⷷⷷ҇мⷹже съ / велико́ⷹ / сла́во̀ⷹ и́ нарѡ҇ мнѡⷢⷢ҇ⷷ а҃гⷧ҇ⷧ҇ прⷷ҇/стѡⷶ҇ ⷷⷷ҇мⷹ • пла́чет же са и́ смⷷⷷ҇́ⷷ, плⷶ҇ / же вⷶ҇шⷷн ѐ смⷷ҇ха сⷷⷷ҇мо/рицⷷⷷ҇ • (8) и́ рⷷⷷ̀ михаи́ль къ авраа́моу • /не ꙁна́еши ли е́го; (9) и́ рⷷⷷ̀ авраа́мь, / не ꙁна́ꙁ ги • (10) ви́диши ли ѡбⷶ҇ / врата̀ • и́ вⷷⷷ҇́лїа и҃107 ма́лаа; (11) сⷶ҇ въвѡ́/дⷶ҇щїа въ живⷷⷷ҇́ и́ въ съмрⷹ́ть • /тⷷⷷ҇́снаа сⷶ҇ вⷷⷷ҇дⷹщїа въ живⷷⷷ҇́• / а҃ широ́каа врата̀ въ па́гⷹбⷹ • / (12) сⷷⷷ҇же мⷹжь сⷷⷷ҇́даи, а҃да́мъ ѐ /f. 309v/ прⷷⷷ҇́выи ч҃лкъ • (13) ⷷⷷ҇го̀ же б҃ъ при/вⷷⷷ҇́дⷷ на мⷷⷷ҇́сто сⷷⷷ҇́ • видⷷⷷ҇́ти въ/са̀ д҃ша и́схѡⷣ҇щⷶⷶ҇ и́с тⷷⷷ҇́ла • / ѿ то́го б҃ѡ сⷶ҇ⷮ въсⷷⷷ҇́ • (14=15) да ⷷⷷ҇гда̀ / видⷷⷷ҇́ши е́го смⷷⷷ҇́юща са • раꙁоⷹ/мⷷⷷ҇́и ꙗко д҃ша ви́дить вⷷⷷ҇́дѡ/мꙑа въ живⷷⷷ҇́ть • (15=14) а҃ще ли ви́ди/ши .. ..108 ⷷⷷ҇го̀ пла́чаща са • раꙁⷹ/мⷷⷷ҇́и ꙗко д҃ша ви́дить вⷷⷷ҇́дѡ/мꙑа въ па́гⷹбⷹ • (16) да то́го ради / ꙋⷣⷷⷷ҇́лꙋваⷷⷷ҇ плачь смⷷⷷ҇́хⷹ • раꙁоⷹ/мⷷⷷ҇́и ꙗко вⷶ҇шⷹжа ча́сть ѿ ми/ра ви́дить гра́дꙋща въ па́гⷹ/бⷹ • да того радѝ ꙋⷣⷷⷷ҇́лꙋваⷷⷮ / смⷷⷷ҇́хови сⷷⷷ҇мо́рицⷷⷷ҇ •

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106 Added later in smaller characters and above the row (above the end of "творил" and above "на"), perhaps by another copyist.

107 Omitted and added later above the row by the copyist.

108 Two erased letters, perhaps "же".

[IX] (1) р҃е авраа́́ / къ михаилꙋ • да не мѡ́гѫт ли / проіти сквоѕѣ тѣснаа / врата; / ни мо́гѫ же въніти въ живо́́ • / р҃е михаи́лъ • е́и не мо́гѫ • (2) въ/ сплака же авраа́́ г҃ла, ꙋвы мн҃ѣ /f. 310r/ что сътвора̀ • (3) а́зъ бѡ̀ е́смь та́/жекь тѣ́ломь, да не и́мамь мо́/щи вълѣ́сти тꙋ̀ въ тѣ́сною вра/та̀ • не мѡ́гѫ вълѣ́сти въ нѣ̀, ра́/ѕвѣ дѣ́ти • (4) и р҃е къ немꙋ̀ михаи́ • /ты̀ е́динь вълѣ́ѕеши въ нѧ̀ • /и пꙋ́́бныа тебѣ́ •́ а мнѡ́ѕи ѿ / ми́ра сквоѕѣ широкаа врата / и́дѫтъ въ па́гꙋбѫ • (5) стѡ́жꙋщꙋ же / авраа́мꙋ въ тꙋ̀ ч҃а • се а҃гг҃лъ по́/гна д҃шꙋ ꙃ҃ тѣ́мь • е́дина же / д҃ша но́саше въ рѫкꙋ̀ свое́ю̀ • / и въгна въсѧ̀ д҃ша въ врата ве/джꙋ́щїа въ па́гꙋбѫ • (6) р҃е авраа́мь / да въсѝ ли и́дѫтъ въ па́гꙋбѫ; (7) р҃е михаи́ль къ авраа́мꙋ • и́дѣ́́ / по́ищемь въ д҃шахь сѝ • / и а́ще / ѡ́брѣщꙋ́́ д҃шꙋ досто́инѫ, въ/ве́демь ѭ въ живо́́ • (8, 9 omm.) и ш҃е́ше / по́искасте, и не ѡ́брѣ́тꙋсте до́о /f. 310v/ и́ны живота е́динож же. ра́/ѕвѣ́ѫ̀ же но́шааше а҃гг҃лъ въ рѫ́кꙋ / ѡ́брѣ́те бѡ̀ грѣ́хы е́ѫ съчѐтены / съ пра́веными • (10) р҃е авраа́мь , д҃ша / сїꙗ̀ е́же го́нить а҃гг҃лъ • тꙋ̀ ли е́ / и́зимаꙗ, и́ли и́нь • (11) ѿвѣща́в̾ / же михаи́лъ, р҃е • съмрꙋ́ть ве́де́ • а̀ на сѫ́дное мѣ́сто, да сѫ́дить / и́мь сѫдїи̏ •

[X] (1) р҃е́ авраа́мь къ ми/хаилꙋ. хо́щѫ да би̏ ма̀ дове́ль / до сѫ́днаго мѣ́ста, виждꙋ̀ / ка́ко сѫдїꙗ сѫ́ди̏ • (2) тогда̀ миха/и́ль поꙗ́ть авраа́ма и ве́дей / въ мѣ́сто иде́ же бѣ́ше ра́и • (3) и / е́гда дои́дꙋста мѣ́ста иде́ же / бѣ̏ сѫдїи • (4) слы́ша д҃ша въпїꙗ́/щꙋ въ мѫ́ка̀ • кри́чаща и г҃лꙙ • / поми́лꙋи ма̀ г҃и • (5) и р҃е́ сѫдїи ка́/ко тꙙ̀ хо́щꙋ помиловати, ̓а / ты̀ дъще́ра своꙗ̀ нѣ̏ си помилова́ /f. 311r/ ла . нѫ въста̀ пла̏ч чрѣ́ва свое́го, / и погꙋ́би ꙗ̀ • (6) ѿвѣща̀ и р҃е́ , не бы̏ / разбо́и ѿ ме́не, нѫ ѡблъга́ла / ма̀ е́ • (7) сѫдїи же р҃е́ прине́сти / па́мꙙ̀ написа́нїа • (8) и се херꙋви́мь / но́са кни́гы дв꙳ꙵ • бѣ́ше съ ни̏ / мⷧꙗжь вели́кь ѕѣ́лѡ •и́мѣꙗ на́/ главѣ в҃нца, г҃ • (9) е́динь в҃нець / вы́ше бѣ́ше дрꙋ́гаго • сѐ же мⷧꙗ/жа възва́ша на послꙋ́шьство • / (10) и дръжа́ше мⷧꙗжь сꙑ́и въ рѫцѣ̏ / трꙋ́сть ѕлатꙙ̀ • и р҃е́ сѫдїи, кои̏/ждо ѡбличи грѣ́хы д҃ша се́ꙗ • (11) и / разгнꙙ́вь мⷧꙗжь е́дины кни́гы, / ѿно́симы херꙋві́момь • и по/и́ска́вь грⷷѣ̏ д҃ша тоꙗ̀ • (12) ѿвѣща́́ / авраа́мь, р҃е́́ • ѡ̀ д҃ше ѻка́ннаа • / ка́ко г҃леши, ꙗ́ко небы̏ разбо́и ѿ / ме́не • (13) не се́ли ты̀ д҃ше по ꙋмрѣ́/тїи мѫжа свое́го́ сътвори́ла, /f. 311v, the last folio of the quire л҃ꙃ / прѣлю́бы съ мѫжѐ дъщере своеꙗ̀ • / (14) и дрꙋ́гыа грѣ́хы е́ꙗ ѡблича́ꙗ/ще е́и, а́же бѣ́ше сътвори́ла въ / кои̏жо ч҃а́ • (15) и слы́шавши д҃ша сѝ • въз꙳ꙵпи́вши, го́ре мн҃ѣ • забы̏ / въсѧ̀ грѣ́хы • сїй̏ же и́ не забы́/ша • (16) и възꙗ́ша же ѭ̀ слꙋ́гы ѡ/гньныа, и мꙋ́чахѫ ѭ̀ •

[XI] (1) рече авра́/амь къ михаилꙋ • г҃и, кто сꙑ̏ е́ / сѫдїи, кто же ѿвѣща́вали / сѫдїи бѡ̀ не сѫди̏, ра́ѕвѣ ѿвѣ́/щавали • (2) р҃е михаи́ль, ви́диш и̏ / ты̀ сѫдїѫ̀; съ́ е́стъ а́вель, мⷧꙗ/чивыи сꙙ прꙋ́вѣе • (3) съ́ же ѿвѣщ҄/вали, е́нꙋ ѻ҃цъ тво́и • съ́ е́ ꙋ/чи́тель н҃бныи, и кни́гочїи пра́/веныи • (4) пꙋ́сти же г҃ь е́го само́ , / да пи́ше беза́кꙑнїа • и пра́вды / ко́мꙋжо • (5) и р҃е́ авраа́мь, мо́жꙗ̀ / ли е́нꙋ носити ча́сть д҃шь, и́ли /f. 312r, first sheet of the tetrad л҃и́ / ѿвѣща́вати въ̾с꙳ꙵ д҃ша́ • (6) р҃е́ ми/

хаи́лъ, а́ще кри́во ѿвѣща́влѣ, / не да́дѧ́ емꙋ̏ · нижѐ ѡ̀ себѣ̀ е́нꙋ̈ / ѿвѣща́вае̏ · (7) нꙗ̏ гъ̀ ѿвѣща́ваꙗ · / а́ще е̏ написовати, ено́хови е̏ / порꙗ́чено · (8) и̏змоли бѡ сѧ ꙋ̏ га̀ / е́нꙋ̈ гла̀ · не хо́щꙋ ѿвѣща́вати / дшӓ, да не нико́мꙋ же тѧ́жькꙑ · бꙋ́дꙋ · (9) ре̏ / ҄гъ̀ къ енꙋ̈хови, во́лѧ / ти да́ . да напи́саеши грѣ́хꙑ / чл҃ча въ кни́гꙑ, (10) а́ще бꙋ́деть дшӓ / мл҃тива · ѡ̀брѣсти и́маши грѣ́/хꙑ ꙗ̏ поглажены, и въни́деть / въ живо́ть · (11) а́ще ли дшӓ не бꙋ́/дѐ мл҃тива · ѡ̀брꙋ́щеши грѣ́хꙑ / ꙗ̏ напи́саны, и въве́дꙋ̀ ꙗ̏ въ / мꙋ́кꙋ ·

[XII] (1) и по видѣ́нїю мѣ́ста, / сꙋдїꙗ несе ѡ̀блакь въ тврꙋ́дь · / (2) и̇ възрꙋ́евь авраа́мь до́ль на́ ze/млꙗ · видѣ̀ чл҃ка прѣлюбы дѣ́ꙗ̈щ /f. 312v/ съ же́ноꙗ̈ мꙋ́жатицеꙗ̈ · (3) и ре̏́/ авраа́мь къ михаи́лꙋ · види/ши ли безꙋ́кꙋнꙗ́е сего; да сꙋни̇/де̏ ѡ̀гнь съ нб҃се да поꙗ̈сть е́го · / (4) въ тꙋ̏ ча̏́ съни́де ѡ̀гнь съ нб҃се, и поꙗ̈сть (5) и̏ · ре́че гъ̀ къ михаилꙋ, / ꙗко же ре́тъ авраа́мь, послꙋ̏ша / е́го · дрꙋгъ бѡ ми е̏ · (6) и пакꙑ̀ / съ́мотривь авраа́мь · видѣ̀ на́ / zeмли и̏ны ѡ̀клевета́щꙋꙗ̈ · / (7) и ре̏́ авраа́мь · да сѧ про́садеть / zeмлѧ съ ни́ми, и да пожрꙋ̏́ ꙗ̏ / живꙑ · (8) и ꙗ̈ко же ре́че авраа́мь / пожрꙋ̏ и̏хь zeмлѧ · (9) пакꙑ̀ съ́/мотривь авраа́мь · видѣ̀ нѣ̀/кꙑꙗ и̏дꙋщⷶ въ пꙋстꙑ́нѣ ꙋ̀/биватꙑ · (10) и ре́че авраа́мь къ ми/хаи́лꙋ · видиши ли безꙋ́кꙋнꙗ̈е̏ / си́; повелꙑ да прїидꙋ̏ звꙋ́єрїе / ѿ пꙋстꙑ́нѣ, да погꙋ́бꙑть / ꙗ̏ · (11) /f. 313r/ въ тꙋ̏ ча̏́ прїи́дꙋша звꙋ́єрїе ѿ поу/стꙑ́на и сънӱдꙑша и̏хь · (12) гла̀ гъ̀ / къ михаи́лꙋ · ѡ̀брати́ пакꙑ а̀/враа́ма на́ zeмлꙗ · и не да́и емоу / о̀бходити всꙋ̏є zeмлѧ а̀же съ/тво́рꙑ, не милꙋ̈еть бѡ нико́го же · / не бѡ и̏хь е̏ сътво́риль · (13) а̀ неглꙑ́ / ѡ̀братѧ́т сѧ ѿ свои́ грꙋ́єхꙑ̏, и по/каꙗ̈т сѧ и̏ спⷭ҇а́ сѧ · (14) въ тꙋ̏ ча̏́ ѡ̀/брати михаиль авраа́ма · (15) е̏гда̀ / же ꙋ̈мрꙋ̏ са́рра, (16) погре́бе ꙗ̏ авра/а́мь ·

[XIII] (1) е̏гда̀ же съкра́тишꙋ̏ дн҃їе / авраа́мꙋ · донде́ же не смꙋ́кеть / пристꙋ́пити къ не́мꙋ, ꙗ̈ко жѐ / дшӓ емꙋ̏ възꙗ́ти · (2) дрꙋгъ бѡ ми / е̏, нꙗ̏ ше̏ꙋ̈краси̏ съмꙋ́рть кра́со/тоꙗ̈ мно́гоꙗ̈ · и пꙋсти къ авраа́/мꙋ, да ꙗ̏ видꙑ̏ свои́ма о́чꙑ́ма · / (3) ꙋ̈краси же михаиль съмꙋ́рть̏, и/ пꙋсти ꙗ̏ къ авраа́мꙋ · (4) видꙋ̏въ же̏ /f. 313v/ авраӓ съмꙋ́рꙋ̏ пристꙋ́пившꙋꙗ̈ / къ не́мꙋ, ꙋ̈боа̀ сѧ sꙋ̏лꙑ̈ · (5) и ре̏́ / авраа́мь къ съмꙋ́рꙋ́ти · а̇лꙑ̈ тꙋ̈ / скажи ми кто̏ тꙑ̏ еси, и ѿти/дꙑ̏ ѿ ме́не · (6) ѿнели же бѡ тꙋ̏ / видꙋ̏ пришꙋ̈шꙋ къ мꙋ̈нꙋ̏ · / смꙋ́ти сѧ дшӓ моꙗ̏ въ мꙋ̈нꙋ̏ · / (7) да нꙋ̈смъ тебꙑ́ до́ӥнь, тꙑ̏ бо / дх҃ъ велꙑ́кь · а̇z же пꙋ̏ и крꙋ́вь · / сего ради не мо́гꙋ трꙋ̈пꙋ́ти / твоеꙗ̈ сла́вы · (8) виждꙋ̏ бѡ лꙋ́єпотꙋ̏ / твоꙗ̈, ꙗ̈ко нꙋ̈ ѿ мира се́го · (9) и / ре́че съмꙋ́рꙋ̏ къ авраа́мꙋ · гла̀ ти / въ въсе́и твꙗ́ри ꙗ̈же бъ̀ створи́ / е̏, не ѡ̀брꙋ̈тꙋ сѧ по́бень тебꙑ̏ / · (10) поиска́ бѡ въ а̇г҃глꙋ̏є̈ и въ вла́стꙋ̏є̈, / и въ прꙋ̈стꙋ̏лꙑ̏є̈ и въ чл҃цꙑ̏є̈ · и въ / госпꙋ̈ствꙑ̏й · и въ въсꙋ̏є̈ живꙋ̈щꙑй / по zeмли, и въ во́дꙋ̏ · и не ѡ̀брꙋ̏/те сѧ по́бень тебꙑ̏ · (11) и ре̏́ авраа́мь /f. 314r/ къ съмꙋ́рꙋ́ти, слꙋга́ чи́сто · ви/ждꙋ̏ бѡ лꙋ́єпотꙋ̏ твоꙗ̈, ꙗ̈ко нꙋ̈ ѿ / ми́ра се́го · (12) и ре́че съмꙋ́рꙋ̏, мни/ши ли ꙗ̈ко лꙋ́єпота сїꙗ̏ моꙗ̏ / е̏ ; / и́лꙑ мо́гꙋ та́ко лꙋ́єпа бꙑ́ти въсꙋ́є/комꙋ чл҃кꙋ · (13) и ре̏́ къ не́и авраӓ́ · / да чꙗ̈ е̏ лꙋ́єпота сꙑ̏ · (14) и ре̏́ съмꙋ́рꙋ̏́ / къ авраа́мꙋ · нꙋ̈ никто́ же иz/гнꙑлꙋ́єꙑ ме́не ·

реⷱ‌ ѹбо а҆враа́мь, / покажи ми сѧ кто ты́ е҆си · (15) реⷱ‌ / съмрⷮ‌, а҆́зъ е҆смъ го́рькое / и҆́мѧ · а҆́зъ е҆́смъ пла́чь · а҆́зъ е҆смъ па́гоу/ба въсе́мѹ · (16) ре́че къ не́и а҆враа́мь, / кто ты́ е҆си · реⷱ‌ съмрⷮ‌ · а҆́зъ е҆смь / съмрⷮ‌. разлѫча́ѫщи дш҃ѫ ѿ тѣ́/лесю · (17) реⷱ‌ къ не́и а҆враа́мь · ты́ ли / е҆си съмрⷮ‌; мо́жеши ли ты́ въсѣ́/ сътвори́ти; да и҆мь и҆зы́дѫть / дш҃ѫ и҆з тѣ́лесе · (18) и҆ ре́ съмрⷮ‌ть къ / а҆враа́мѹ · мни́ши ли мо́ѧ сѫ́жѫ /f. 314v/ лѣ́пота сїѧ и҆ тако сѧ въсѣ̀ га҃/влѣ̀ · (19) нⷤ‌ а҆́ще ѹбо кто̀ / е҆ пра́ве/день · прїе́мшемⷹ‌ въсѧ̀ пра́вⷣ‌ѫ / творⷽ‌ вѣ́нець, и҆ полага́ⷤ‌ на̀ / главѣ́ мое́и · и҆ и҆дⷤ‌ къ нем́ѹ, / съ покоре́нїе́мь и҆ пра́вдоѫ · (20) а҆́ще / кто̀ е҆ грѣ́шникъ · прїи́дⷤ‌ къ / не́мѹ мнⷪ‌гомь гнѣ́емь · а҆ грѣ́/хы е҆мѹ творⷮ‌ь вѣ́нець · и҆ по/лага́ⷤ‌ на́ главѣ̀ мое́и · и҆ съ вели́/кⷩ‌ю стра́хⷯ‌ю съмѧ́щаⷤ‌ е҆го дѣ́лⷪ‌ · /

[XIV] (1) и҆ реⷱ‌ къ не́и а҆враа́мь · покажи мⷩ‌ / гни́лость твоѧ̀ · (2) и҆ ѿкры́ е҆мⷹ‌ / гни́лость своⷤ‌ · (3) и҆мѣ́ше бⷹ‌ гла́/ви, ꙗже и҆мѣ́хѫ ли́ца ѕмі́ина · / сего ра́ди мнⷪ‌ꙁи а҆спи́дами ѹ҆/мира́ⷮ‌ь · (4) дрꙋгыꙗ же гла́вы, / ꙗже и҆мⷳ‌ѣхѫ кѹ́пїа · сего / ра́ди мнⷪ‌ꙁи ѿ кѹ́пїа погꙑба́ⷤ‌ · ѿ́ви / же и҆мⷳ‌ѣхѫ ѡ҆гнь · (5) въ тⷤ‌ѣже дн҃ь ѹ / /f. 315r/ мрⷳ‌ѣшаⷬ‌ ꙁ҃ сн҃ⷬ‌ а҆враа́мⷩ‌, ѿ стра́ха / съмрⷮ‌ти · помо́лив же сѧ а҆враа́́/ къ бꙋ҃, / и҆ въскрⷭ‌ѣси въсѧ̀ · (6) а҆враа́́ / же ꙗко и҆ въ сꙑ́нѣ прⷣ‌ѣⷣ‌ дш҃ѫ своѧ̀ · и҆ прїи́дшаⷩ‌ / си́лы гн҃а, бл҃ваⷳ‌ще / дрⷹ‌га бⷳ‌ · и҆ несⷳ‌ша дш҃ѫ е҆го̀ / на по́кои · сла́вѣⷳ‌ще вꙑ́шнⷯ‌го / бⷳ‌ · (7) погре́бе же і҆саа́къ ѿц҃а свое҆го̀ / а҆враа́ма, близь свое҆ѧ мт҃реⷬ‌ · / сла́вⷳ‌ще вꙑ́шнⷯ‌го бⷳ‌ · е҆мⷹ‌ же / сла́ва въ вѣ́кꙑ вѣ́кⷯ‌, а҆ми́нь :~ /

Є҆гда̀ ѹбо слѹ́жите въсѧ̀ съ па́/мѧтїѫ га҃ і҆с҃а тво́рите · и҆ мⷪ‌/ли́те ба҃ да / тⷳ‌ѣ ва́мь бѫ́дⷨ‌ наста́/вникь · въ ни́х же а҆́ще дѣ́лаете · / и҆деже бⷹ‌ х҃с приꙁꙑва́ⷨ‌ / и҆ х҃с прⷣ‌ѣ/бꙑ́вает · въсⷳ‌ѣ ст҃а сѫ̀ · въсⷳ‌ѣ бл҃вⷳ‌е/наа · тⷳ‌ѹ х҃с въсел҄҆ѣ́квает сѧ · та́/мо х҃с почива́еть · бл҃же́ни и҆же / къ не́мⷹ‌ смⷬ‌ѣⷳ‌ѫ сѧ · и҆ того же́ /f. 315v/ ла́ⷫ‌ / и҆ ꙗ҆́стъ, и҆ того̀ лю́би · тако̀/вꙑи сподо́бит сѧ въпи́ти · кто̀ / мⷷ‌ разлѫчи́ть ѿ / любве х҃ви · / ско́рⷬ‌бли и҆ли тѣ́снота; и҆бⷹ‌ / сла́дость х҃ва, и҆ бж҃твнаа е҆ / любовь · / въсⷯ‌емь въкѹ́пⷳ‌ про/ти́вит сѧ па́мѧтїа х҃воⷤ‌ · ꙗ҆ко / жⷤ‌ и҆ ст҃и мⷷ‌ници прⷳ‌ѣꙁрⷳ‌ѣшⷳ‌ / съ/мⷬ‌ть ꙁа любовь х҃вѹ, да того̀ / е҆ди́ного приѡ҆брⷳ‌ѣщѫⷮ‌ · ꙗ҆ко / жⷤ‌ а҆п҃лъ па́вель / проповⷳ‌ѣдⷹ‌ⷷ‌ / гл҃щи · и҆же не лю́би га҃ і҆с҃а, а҆на́/ѳема · марана́ѳа · сⷷ‌ ѹбо / марана́ѳа / е҆вреⷳ‌искꙑи е҆́стъ, / видⷳ‌ѣ га҃ · и҆ а҆́бїе ꙗ҆ви сѧ е҆мⷹ‌ / г҃ь гл҃а · ꙁане любиши мѧ па́вле, / вижⷣ‌ь где е҆смъ · ѿ ра́дости же / гл҃еть па́вель марана́ѳа, видⷳ‌ѣ / га҃ · сⷷ‌ прїи́де г҃ь вижⷣ‌ь гдⷷ‌ е҆́сть :~

3.2. Notes and comparisons related to the text

The title. The title is identical with that in group E in Francis Schmidt, but is textually different from that of group B, F, G. The exception is the prayer "Lord, have mercy!" at the end, which is probably due to the purpose of the copy. The title in the Panagyurishte collection is different. In the Adjar miscellany (NBKM 326,

f. 23v) the title is: слово праведнаго авраама е҃га прїиде е́мꙋ архг҃гль **Михаиль** вь домь е́го. ѿ б҃лви.

Chapter I. There are small differences in the text. The words "Michael! Here I am, o Lord." are missing. It seems variants B, F, G of the short version show more differences from our text. In the Panagyurishte collection (Pan.), in I: 1, it is said that the Lord turned to the archangels Gabriel and Michael. The differences with respect to the Adjar miscellany are insignificant.

Chapter II. There are more differences in this chapter. In BAR 636, there is no mention of Abraham sitting by his oxen (in B, F, G the oxen are not mentioned). In the Greek texts, there is no mention that the conversation begins with the kiss of the Archangel. The conversation itself is different in BAR 636: there is no mention of the invitation to sit with him, but he directly sends the Archangel to his home, where he will be received. After that there is missing the entire part that comes before Archangel Michael asks what Abraham's name is; the change of the name from Abram to Abraham is also presented differently (without direct speech of the Lord), and the part before the departure for Abraham's home is missing in our text: it directly passes to the invitation to go somewhere. The two versions of the Greek text differ, but are much closer to each other than to the Slavic text. In Pan. II: 1 there is a description of where Abraham is sitting, and in II: 6 it is said he started out in the morning to avoid attack by wild beasts at night. In Pan. II: 9, there is an explanation of what the name means, and the part before they leave for Abraham's home is present, as it is in the Greek text.

Chapter III. In the text of this chapter, there are many differences between the Slavic translation, particularly our copy in BAR 636, and the Greek original. In the text published here, there is no mention of the distance of two stadia from the oak (the tree called "tamarisk" in the Greek text) to the city. In Pan. III: 2, the oak is called "of Ambreman", and it is said it is as lovely as a birch tree. The rest of the story is similar to the Greek texts, but in the Slavic version there is no mention of the legend about washing the guest's feet. The Archangel's tears in Pan. III: 11 are like marble, and in BAR 636, they are "like stones". In the Greek text – stones.

Chapter IV. In the Greek text, Sarah's tent (home) is mentioned. In the Slavic, it is not. In the Greek text of copy E, Archangel Michael asks and receives permission to speak to God, but in BAR 636, this part is missing. The two Greek texts are almost identical, but in B, F, G, when making his request, Archangel Michael prays God to send the message about Abraham's death to Isaac at the beginning, and does not mention God's decision at the end of the chapter. The text is similar to Pan.

Chapter V. The Greek texts of E and of B, F, G are longer. In the Slavic text from BAR 636, there is missing the whole conversation between Abraham and Isaac after the room is prepared for the guest (V: 3–6), when the son begs the father

to let him sleep there. In the Sevastyanov Miscellany (Sev.), this part (V: 3–6) is present, as it is in the Greek text.

Chapter VI. There are no significant differences between the two Greek texts and the Slavic one from BAR 636. In the Greek texts, it is said that Isaac woke up and went to the door of his father's room, and in Sev. (VI: 1) he goes to the door where Abraham and the Archangel have slept. In BAR Ms. slav. 636 – it is only said that he went to Abraham.

Chapter VII. In VII: 2, in answer to Abraham's question in BAR Ms. slav. 636, Archangel Michael adds the title "Archangel" to his name, unlike in the Greek text. In VII: 7, when the large man from Isaac's dream takes the sun off his head, in the Greek text he leaves the sunbeams, and in the Slavic (BAR 636, Pan. and Sev.), the Moon. In VII: 14 of the Greek text, the man speaking to Isaac is called the "bright man" (φωτεινὸς ἄνθρωπος), in the Slavic texts (BAR 636, Sev.), he is called "Moses". In VII: 17 – 6,000 years (Greek text E), 7,000 (Greek text B, F, G) and 8,000 (BAR Ms. slav. 636, Sev.).

Chapter VIII. There is a small difference in VIII: 2 – in the Slavic text (BAR 636, and Sev.), there is no mention of the world being shown and of Abraham's questions, but only the request that Michael would tell him everything. The river in Sev. is called "Okrian" and not "Ocean" (VIII: 3). In BAR 636 (VIII: 7) Abraham does not ask the Archangel why this man is sitting between the two doors (as in the Greek E), but who that man is. In Sev., the question is only as to who the man is, but unlike BAR 636, there is no mention of his sitting between two doors. In the Greek text (B, F, G) VIII: 8, it is not Abraham who asks the Archangel who this man sitting between the two doors is, but the reverse: the Archangel asks Abraham whether he knows who he is. The text of VIII: 14–15 – in both Greek texts, there is mention of weeping first and of laughter second; in the Slavic versions (BAR 636 and Sev.), it is the reverse.

Chapter IX. At the end of IX: 3 of the Greek text and in Sev., there is a precise statement as to the age when a child may pass through the narrow door – 10-year-old (E), 15 years (B, F, G), and 10 years (Sev.); in the Slavic from BAR 636 – it is only said "a child". In the Slavic texts (BAR 636 and Sev.) of IX: 5, there is mention of an angel who leads seven myriad souls to the gate of destruction; in the Greek (E), they are six myriad, and in the others (B, F, G), only "myriads". From the second part of IX: 8 to IX: 10 inclusive, the Greek text (E) is different, and IX: 9 is missing in BAR 636. The Sev. text strictly follows the Greek E. The other Greek variant (B, F, G) is also shorter: IX: 9 is missing, but the placing of souls with equal sins and good deeds in the middle is there. We may wonder whether leaving the phrase "in the middle" might not be an allusion to Purgatory, and whether the omission of this detail in BAR 636 is not due to an anti-Latin attitude.

Chapter X. In the two Greek texts (X: 2) there is a reference to moving on a cloud, but not in the Slavic ones. In BAR 636, Michael takes Abraham to "Heaven", and in Sev., "to where the judge is meting out justice" (X: 2 end). In the Greek texts, the man with three crowns answers, denouncing the crimes of the infanticide woman, and in the Slavic versions, it is Abraham who answers.

Chapter XI. Variant E of the Greek text and the Slavic ones coincide. There are differences between BAR 636 and Sev. Variant B, F, G of the Greek text is shortened at the end of the chapter.

Chapter XII. In the Greek version (E and B, F, G), every time Abraham witnesses unlawful deeds on earth, the cloud takes him there to see the deed (VIII: 6, VIII: 9). In the Greek (E and B, F, G) VIII: 13, the Lord says He has mercy on people, because He has created them, something implied but not said in the Slavic text. The Greek ones are more similar to each other, and there are deviations in the Slavic one, though small ones. For their part, the Slavic BAR 636 and Sev. are quite similar to each other.

Chapter XIII. In the text of E – XIII: 1, it is indicated that the words of the Lord to the Archangel follow; in the Slavic texts, it is not. The words that the beauty of death is not of this world (XIII: 8) are missing in the Greek B, F, G, and the Slavic ones are identical here. In XIII: 10, there is a difference in the enumeration of the angelic orders and of living creatures (as in the Greek E, while in B, F, G this enumeration is completely missing) between the two Slavic versions and the Greek one. The Slavic is shorter (the two are quite identical after the enumeration in XIII: 10. In the Greek B, F, G, the conversation is shorter (XIII: 16).

Chapter XIV. In XIV: 2 of the Greek text E, it is said that death has two heads, while in B, F, G and in the Slavic version, no number is given. In version B, F, G of the Greek text, it is said that death has "three" dragon faces, and in E and in the Slavic texts, there is no specific number indicated. In XIV: 4 in the Greek texts, some of the heads are like swords (*rhomphaia*), and in the Slavic (both Slavic texts are mutually identical), the are like spears. In XIV: 6 of the Slavic texts, there is no mention of God sending Archangel Michael to take the soul of Abraham to the tribunal. The Greek text in B, F, G is slightly embellished.

Chapter III

Ukaz [Tale] *How God Created the Brotherhood of the Cross*

1. The deuterocanonical text – its origin and place in the manuscript

*O*ne of the most remarkable inclusions to the contents of BAR 636 is the following apocryphal text in the copy: ꙋка́зь ка́ко съвори́ гь вра̑ство кр꙯ꙋ́стное (ff. 316r–319r). There are no traces of this apocryphal text, or of the *Testament of Abraham*, in the twin copy from the collection of A. I. Yatsimirsky (BAR 685), again for the same reasons: the end of the manuscript, where the text should be, has been lost. At first glance, its presence in our manuscript is puzzling. But its inclusion is certainly not accidental; it was meant to serve some ideological-moral objective of the compiler, since it is placed in the last part of the collection, immediately after the other apocryphal tale, the *Testament of Abraham*, and before the final text unit, entitled *Typikon of the Holy Mount Athos*. That is why the main purpose of this discussion will be to present a hypothesis as to the function this text performs in the general composition of the collection.

The cinnabar-colored heading contains two identifying expressions: ꙋказь and кръстноѥ вратьство. The former lexeme provides the heading that defines the genre of the text: an instructive and explanatory narrative meant to present and prove a certain truth[1]. The designation *указ* occurs in the titles of other apocrypha, for instance, the question-and-answer text known as *Razumnik* or *Ukaz*. The word combination кръстноѥ вратьство, for its part, clearly points to the prototype of the whole text from which the tale is borrowed. In the Slavic manuscript tradition, the

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[1] Срв. ꙋказь 'поука, наставление, доказателство', *Старобългарски речник*, т. 2, София 2009, pp. 1049–1050.

apocryphal cycle *Tale of the Cross Tree* was widely disseminated; the Index of Prohibited Books ascribed it to Presbyter Jeremiah, a writer of the 10th century[2]. There are currently more than 60 known Slavic copies of the whole collection, of Bulgarian, Russian, Ruthenian or Serbian origin; the various copies of the collection have various titles. Several stories are organized around the poly-functional Christian symbols of the cross and the tree; these stories establish a direct thematic connection between the Old and New Testaments, placing the events of the earthly life of Jesus at the center of the narrative. We may consider it proven that the Old Bulgarian compilation was based on a cycle of stories, about the tree of the cross, attributed to St. Gregory the Theologian and known in three editions, of which the third dates precisely from the 10th century, when the initial translation was made. Subsequently, this edition was used by Presbyter Jeremiah and, edited, was included in the so-called pre-anthologized miscellanies, which became popular in Bulgarian literature in the 13th–14th century[3]; they contained many earlier translated non-canonical texts in various genres, strongly influenced by Old and New Testament apocryphal motifs, and containing elements of mythology and folklore. They came to express the folklorish-religious line and were especially popular with the lower rank clergy. It is not accidental that the earliest copies of the *Tale of the Cross Tree* are to be found precisely in the representative manuscript anthologies of non-canonical, apocryphal and entertaining readings, such as the collection of Presbyter Dragol (manuscript № 632 of the National Library of Serbia, Belgrade, third quarter of the 13th century)[4]

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[2] *Стара българска литература*, т. 1. *Апокрифи*, съставителство и редакция Д. Петканова, София 1982, pp. 274–288; Ем. Георгиев, *Литература на изострени борби в средновековна България*, София 1965, pp. 202–225; Д. Петканова, *Повест за кръстното дърво*, [in:] *Старобългарска литература. Енциклопедичен речник*, София 1992, pp. 334–335; Д. Петканова, *Апокрифна литература и фолклор: Апокрифната художествена проза и фолклорът*, София 1978, pp. 126–137; Н. С. Тихонравов, *Слово о древе крестном*, [in:] *Памятники отреченной русской литературы*, т. 1. *Общественная польза*, Санкт-Петербург 1863, pp. 305–313; М. И. Соколов, *Компиляция апокрифов болгарского попа Йеремия*, [in:] *Материалы и заметки по старинной славянской литературе*, т. 1, Москва 1888, pp. 73–211; А. Милтенова, *Презвитер Йеремия*, [in:] *История на българската средновековна литература*, София 2009, pp. 285–287.

[3] А. Милтенова, *Цикъл разкази за Кръстното дърво, приписван на Григорий Богослов*, http://scripta-bulgarica.eu [retrieved 05.05.2018]. Regarding the same, see A. Miltenova, *South Slavonic Apocryphal Collections*, Sofia 2018, pp. 261–269.

[4] Also known as the Serbian parchment codex from the collection of P. S. Srechkovich in the Serbian National Library in Belgrade. About this work, see А. Милтенова, *Драголов сборник*, [in:] *Старобългарска литература. Енциклопедичен речник*, ред. Д. Петканова, София 1992, pp. 131–132. The whole documentation on the copy in this collection was published by M. I. Sokolov in the cited publication. On ff. 154v–177v, in the original of the collection, is placed the text "How Prov swore brotherhood with Christ". Thus, we have the published text from the collection; the collection itself disappeared during World War II – М. И. Соколов, *Компиляция апокрифов болгарского попа Йеремия*, pp. 97–101.

and the Berlin collection from the early 14th century (manuscript № 48 from the Vuk Karadžić collection in the Berlin State Library)[5]; a copy of the Tale in the Khludov 14th-century copy[6]; lasting interest in these works continued even into the 19th century, when, for instance, the copy in the Samokov collection was made (manuscript № 1322 in the Saints Cyril and Methodius National Library, Sofia). There was also an early Glagolitic copy of the compilation, related to the Croatian tradition of the work[7]. Contrary to some outdated opinions that a pro-Bogomilist tendency may be found in the story, today the prevalent view is that, in joining together separate consecutive stories about the Tree of the Cross, the Holy Trinity, and Jesus Christ (the title under which some of the copies of the collection were disseminated), Presbyter Jeremiah did not serve the doctrine of Bogomilist dualism – on the contrary, he tried to rehabilitate the Cross, rejected by the Bogomils, and to clean non-canonical literature of the Bogomil influences with which it had been imbued[8].

The question as to why and in what text form the *Tale of the Tree of the Cross* was present in the Slavic tradition forms a vast topic, as the separate stories could easily have been removed from the Tale and existed as independent works. That is what happened to the copy in the manuscript under consideration, BAR Ms. slav. 636. Leading to this conclusion is the fact that, out of the whole set of apocryphal tales, only one story is included in our manuscript. It is the story whose main characters are King Semekli, his son Probus/Prov, and Jesus Christ[9]. In some copies, this text is present under the title *A Tale about How the Lord Created the Brotherhood of the Cross* [**Слово како сътвори Господь братьство кр̃стное**][10]. However, within the complete set of apocrypha, this episode does not have a separate title and is present between two other tales: before it, the tale about the events in Cana of Galilee, in which Jesus is a plowman; and after it, a brief version of the popular story about St. Luke the Evangelist, the miracle of the mandylion and King Abgar's

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[5] Х. Миклас, Л. Тасева, М. Йовчева, *Берлински сборник*, Sofia–Wien 2006, pp. 231–278.

[6] А. Попов, *Первое прибавление к описанию и каталог книг церковной печати библ. Хлудова*, Москва 1875, pp. 31–44. M. I. Sokolov used the published copy of this manuscript to collect the variants and comparisons with the Collection of Presbyter Dragol.

[7] М. И. Соколов, *Компиляция апокрифов болгарского попа Йеремия*, p. 77.

[8] П. Димитров, *Презвитер Йеремия*, София 1990, дисертация; Д. Димитрова-Маринова, *Повест за кръстното дърво на презвитер Йеремия в системата на старобългарската апокрифна литература и фолклора*, [in:] *Медиевистични изследвания в памет на Пейо Димитров*, Шумен 1996, pp. 37–43.

[9] The full translation of the *Tale* into modern Bulgarian in: *Стара българска литература*, т. 1. *Апокрифи*, is placed on pages 282–284.

[10] According to data in the site *Repertorium of Old Bulgarian Literature*, http:// repertorium. obdurodon.org, in which three copies are used, made between the 15th and 17th century.

letter to Jesus Christ. The episodes are linked together by an explanatory sentence at the beginning, stating that after the rule of Augustus (the Roman emperor Octavian Augustus 27 BC–14 AD), who is mentioned in the preceding narratives in *Tale of the Tree of the Cross,* a certain King Selevkin came to power; the name figures in a large share of the copies, but becomes Сємєклїи in BAR Ms. slav. 636. We will devote special attention to him.

2. King Semekli

Before clarifying the messages contained in the deuterocanonical narrative, we should devote attention to King Semekli himself. His name is certainly rather untypical and raises questions, but it is not unknown in medieval Slavic literature. First of all, we should point out that it varies in different copies of the work. In all three copies presented in *Repertorium of Old Bulgarian Literature and Letters*, this king is called Seleucius (Seleukios/Selevkios, Селевкие, Селевкиа), and not Semekli[11]. We shall not attempt to find a logical reason for the change of name in our manuscript BAR Ms. slav. 636, but we should try to answer the question as to whether this was simply a phonetic change (the two names are similar in pronunciation), or one made for some other reason. Of course, the former explanation is very obvious and the first to come to mind. A name like "Seleucius" may have a historical basis, while "Semekli" hardly does. It is difficult to decide, partially because of the occurrence of a similar, or maybe identical, name in other works of the old literature.

Here, we should mention one of the kings mentioned in *The Tale of the Prophet Isaiah, How He Was Raised to the Seventh Heaven by an Angel*[12]. He is the king Selevkia Simeklit, who descends from the mountain Vitosha, accepts his rank of tsar in Romania, and founds several cities during his long, 37-year reign[13]. It seems obvious to us, that the name "Simeklit" resembles the name "Semekli" in the text. The combining of the two should indicate there was no simple transformation of "Seleucius" into "Semekli", but that these are two separate names. Such a conclu-

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[11] http://repertorium.obdurodon.org/runSearch-checkbox.php?country=all&settlement=all&repository=all&author=all&bgTexts=Цикъл разкази за кръстното дърво от презвитер Йеремия. Разказ как Господ сътвори братство с Пров&enTexts=all&ruTexts=all&lg=bg (retrieved 11.07.2018)

[12] This text is also known under the title invented by Y. Ivanov and containing an interpretation: *Bulgarian Apocryphal Chronicle from the 11ᵗʰ century* ("Български апокрифен летопис от XI век").

[13] Iv. Biliarsky, *The Tale of the Prophet Isaiah. The Destiny and Meanings of an Apocryphal Text*, Leiden–Boston 2013, pp. 18–19.

sion, however, seems too categorical. By way of hypothesis, we may suppose that the phonetic transformation, once made, took on a life of its own and was later jointed to the original name. This is not very essential to our study, but has some significance insofar as it connects King Semekli to Selevkia Simeklit in *The Tale of the Prophet Isaiah*.

The name Selevk/Seleucius is connected with Semekli not only along this line, but primarily by its occurrence in other copies, mentioned above. Here we should add that we find a king of this name in some historical works of the Ottoman period: *Slavo-Bulgarian History* by Paisius of Chilendari[14], *The Zographou Bulgarian History*[15] and *Brief History of the Bulgarian Slavic People* by Hieromonk Spyridon[16]. It is in this sense that we should try to clarify its message as related to the message of the whole text. Ivan Biliarsky has devoted several pages to this name in his book *The Tale of the Prophet Isaiah*, to which we refer the reader in connection with the present study[17]. Here we will mention only the conclusions we have reached.

First of all, we should say that King Semekli should not be considered apart from the king Seleucius who figures in the other works. It is also important that the latter appears everywhere as a positive character. In *The Tale of the Prophet Isaiah*, a ruler bearing that name is a builder of cities, and his reign is long and blessed. In the three 18ᵗʰ-century histories of Bulgaria, he is glorious and victorious. King Semekli is a positive character in our tale too, even though at the beginning he falls into trouble, which he tries to resolve in an earthly way. His being blinded – temporarily, as we are told – is not a punishment from God but is part of the Lord's plan of Salvation. In fact, Semekli, his son Prov, and the whole family are instrumental to that plan and to the spread of the faith.

Of course, we cannot avoid relating a name like Seleucius, and its derivatives, to the Seleucid dynasty and to the situation in the Near East in the time of the Diadochi after the conquests of Alexander the Great. The Syrian dynasty, which spread its power over the whole Near East and Middle Asia, is present in the Bible as well, in the Old Testament Books of the Maccabees. This refers to Seleucus IV Philopator, the Hellenistic king of Syria and son of King Antioch III the Great. The problem is that this pagan ruler is not a positive character in the Bible, which is inconsistent with the character in our deuterocanonical text and in the

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[14] *История словеноболгарская, собрана и нареждена Паисием йеромонахом в лето 1762*, изд. Й. Иванов, София 1914, pp. 31, 59.

[15] Й. Иванов, *Български старини из Македония*, София 1931 (reprint 1970), p. 636.

[16] Спиридон йеросхимонах, *История во кратце о болгарском народе словенском, 1792*, София 1992, p. 127.

[17] Iv. Biliarsky, *The Tale of the Prophet Isaiah*, pp. 226–232.

other works mentioned above. We have no doubt that a character of that name is derived from the biblical text, but why has the evaluation of him changed? An attempt has already been made to answer this question, and we refer to it here: in the Books of the Maccabees, Seleucus is not a positive character, but is not a very negative one either; his evil deeds are mostly the fault of his pagan environment and the Jewish renegades at his court. The story of the intervention of the Hellenistic king serves not so much to bring damage to the Temple and the Chosen People, as to display the power of the God of Israel over the Gentiles[18]. For that matter, a similar result is obtained through the image of King Semekli in the deuterocanonical text.

3. Particularities of the apocryphal text in the copy from manuscript BAR Ms. slav. 636

3.1. Omissions

Many details bearing ideological-symbolic meanings in the beginning of the story are seen to be missing from the Moldavian copy when it is compared with the Berlin collection (henceforth BCl)[19]. The plot in the apocryphal fragment opens with what befalls King Semekli. He is a pious man, prepared to accept Christ in his heart and even burning to see Him personally; but he falls victim to a bird. In BCl he goes to church regularly and once, in the ninth hour of the service (around three o'clock in the afternoon, a symbol of the Saviour's sacrifice on the Cross and hence of Salvation), upon entering the narthex, the ruler falls asleep. The details set the macro-frame of the tale, in which the main motif is the salvation of the king. The temple symbolizes faith and humility, since, for Christianity, the human soul is a temple, in which the grace of the Holy Ghost enters. Hence, we may say what befalls the king is the necessary suffering that will lead to the true understanding of the faith; symbolically, this happens in the temple. The place and time are missing or changed in BAR Ms. slav. 636. The action develops generally in the royal palace and there are no references to the hours of religious service, nor any indicated location in time or in the sacred space of the temple.

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[18] *Ibidem*, pp. 230–232.

[19] For the sake of comparison, we use the variants in the apocryphal fragment under study given in the text of the Berlin compilation: Х. Миклас, Л. Тасева, М. Йовчева, *Берлински сборник*, pp. 257–266. Because some sheets are missing from the original manuscript, the editors have restored the text according to a twin copy in a Serbian 16th century manuscript, collection of Hilferding № 42 in the Russian National Library in Saint-Petersburg.

3.2. Changes

Some facts in the plot have been changed and, in a sense, simplified. The plot begins with the appearance of the wondrous, marvelous bird. In BCl it lets fall проходъ свои, i.e., its feces, and in BAR Ms. slav. 636, its waving wings throw up dust that falls into the eyes of the king. The bird is a multiple symbol, an element situated along the vertical axis of rise and fall. In this case, instead of symbolizing the urge of the soul, it is mostly negatively charged with the connotation of evil, disease, impurity; its wings create chaos, and the bird itself suggests transience, corruptibility. Deriving from it is the blindness of the ruler, a dangerous disability not only for him but also for the whole kingdom, especially if the news of it were to reach the high dignitaries and the people. That is why the king calls his son Prov and orders him to seek a material treasure in the form of taxes, gold and silver, so that he may survive by it if he were deposed from the throne. At the end of the story, this treasure will rightfully be turned into a spiritual one. At the start of the story in BCl, there is no mention of King Seleucius's family; in BAR Ms. slav. 636, at the very start, the narrative strand pushes to the fore additional ailing characters in need of the miraculous power of salvation: the king's wife is suffering from leprosy and is гѹбава, while his daughter in law is insane (имѣащи бѣсъ въ себѣ). The only one who can fulfill the king's mission and find a solution to the situation is his son Prov, a character who, like the prince in fairy tales, can do heroic deeds and bring about a happy denouement. Prov is charged with the task of collecting taxes so that the amassed treasure will fill the royal coffers and provide prosperity for the ailing king and his relatives in case the information about his blindness were to become known to all. The folk-tale symbolism continues with clearly defined oppositions within which Prov's mission must be pursued: he must seek in the so-called "uncultivated space", the lower earth, according to BAR Ms. slav. 636, and, in BCl, the neutral по въсеи земли.

3.3. Variants

Prov's meeting with Jesus Christ, who appears as an ordinary man, occurs in all editions of the narrative, but also has variants. In BCl Christ appears as a twelve-year-old adolescent; in BAR Ms. slav. 636 he appears as a slave called Emmanuel, from the upper earth; this detail is missing from BCl, and from the copies of Presbyter Dragol and Khludov. The symbolic character in our copy has a clearly stressed trait, revealed in Prov's dialogue with Christ: the Lord appears as man of letters who is occupied with literary work: какова е работа твоа· гъ рече· книжевенъ есмъ. In the early Slavic editions, this is not stated explicitly,

as the dialogue between the two characters uses allegory and binary textual semantics to indicate "speaking in different tongues"; in BCl, it is clearly explained that, while Prov understands the expression "upper earth" literally, God uses it to refer to the heavens: the path that Prov asks the Lord to show him is not that of tax collecting but the "path of the Father", a return to the foundations of the faith, etc. The deep symbolism of Prov's encounter with the Lord in our copy refers to books and writing as the essence of Divine wisdom. That is why Prov trusts his guide, and feels joy and reverence for His knowledge, while the motif of leadership, of the hero who guides through the labyrinth of knowledge and faith, can be found in many legendary tales. One of the hypostases of God in His human appearance is presented in a compelling and accessible way in this story; it provides the basic motif of the salvation of the individual and of all humankind.

3.4. New Testament themes and quotes

Apart from some formal resemblances of the apocryphal plot to fairy tale storylines, all copies of this part of the cycle *Tale of the Cross Tree* invariably contain quotations from the Gospels. These quotations provide an ideological motivation for plot development and a deep symbolical meaning for Prov's fraternizing with the Lord. In BAR Ms. slav. 636 the quotations are organically interwoven in the narrative, as evident from the following:

– The collecting of taxes is motivated through the Gospel rule and the legal norm for order and justice: "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's; and to God the things that are God's": in BAR Ms. slav. 636 да́ваите бж҃і́а бв҃и. ʾа̀ кесаревА кеса́рȣ (Matthew 22: 21; Mark 12: 17).

– Convinced in the power and justice of his guide, Prov wants to fraternize with Him, as he loves him like a brother. That is why Jesus responds with the quotation from the New Testament: та́ко ѝ въ̧злю́биши мен́е ꙗ́ко са́м сѧ (variant "Love thy neighbor as thyself", Matthew 19: 19). It is worth noting the polysemantic characteristic of the word "рабъ", which has several meanings: "child" – Prov is the son of King Seleucius, but is symbolically joined to God; "neighbor, a spiritual brother" – Jesus in relation to Prov and Prov in relation to Jesus.

– A third important motif is that of Divine love and agape. Around this motif is organized the storyline element that justifies the title of the apocryphal tale as a tale about the establishment of a brotherhood of the Cross. In the story itself, this spiritual, symbolical association is not called "of the Cross", but is organized around the spiritual closeness of man to God, and of people between themselves as united by faith and love of Christ. Another noteworthy fact is the

writing on paper, an element that is missing from the copy in BCl: гⷭь въꙁе́мь χа́ртїꙁ и ꙁаписа́ рꙁ̋кож свое́ж бра́тьство. и ре́че нелꙋ̋жными ꙗ̋сти, прокла́ть да е́сть тꙋ̋и чⷧкъ сътво́ривыи бра́тство и невꙸкровавыи е́го бо́ле е́стъ ѿ бра́та рожⷣенаго. Thus, again, through the power of writing and the word, spiritual kinship is asserted in the name of Christ above the call of biological kinship with relatives.

– We should point out another Evangelical correspondence: the similarity to the miraculous catch of fish from the Lake of Gennesaret, as related in Luke 5: 1–11. At first glance, there seems to be no direct connection, but we can find some common element. There is the miraculous attainment of a purely earthly goal, which proves beyond the power of men but is achieved by the Lord. In the evangelical text, this is the catch of fish, which the future apostles themselves did not believe possible, having tried all night to catch fish, but to no avail. In the story, such a goal is the collection of taxes. The Lord achieves the tasks in both cases, even though both goals belong to the sphere of that which is Caesar's. And again, in both cases the earthly goal is only a way of opening the way to the heavenly one: the fishermen are to become fishers of souls, the king's blindness is to be healed so that more people may thereby take the road to Salvation. We can also find present in the narrative the underlying idea of the Gospel text: in the words of the Lord, we should lay up for ourselves treasures not upon earth, where they are perishable and transient, but in heaven, where they are eternal and bring salvation (Matthew 6: 19–21).

– The fourth motif, partially linked to the last one, is related to the cleansing of sin by means of water – a symbol of baptism and initiation into the faith. This is an initial ritual element for the creation of a community and the sharing of unified ritual practices and doctrine. In various religions, water serves as a borderline and thus as a connection between the sacred and the profane. This is true, and particularly clear, in the faith both of the Old Testament and the New. G. Gerov has devoted a special and very interesting article to this topic in the context of Orthodox art[20]. The author examines various aspects of the issue: dangerous water, beneficial water, water as knowledge. All these are based on biblical paradigms and are directly related to liturgical practice. We should consider some of these themes in connection with our deuterocanonical text. First is the sacrament of baptism, one of the most important sacraments of the Orthodox Church[21]. It obviously involves water, and not only that which serves for purification, but above all water related to a liminal ritual that reproduces

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[20] Г. Геров, *Водата – граница*, "Проблеми на изкуството" 1, 2002, pp. 31–40.

[21] *Ibidem*, pp. 31–33.

the Passion of Christ and the Resurrection as connected with the change taking place in the neophyte. The newly baptized enters the Church and becomes a new person, just as Jesus Christ became the New Adam. In the *Tale*, we should point out that water also functions as a remedy for illness[22], a motif that can also be found in many places in the Gospels. The most important instances are: the story of Jesus Christ and the Samaritan woman at Jacob's well in Sychar (John 4: 5 ff), the healing of the blind man (John 9), and the healing of the lame man at Bethesda (John 5). The theme can be traced in many other Gospel stories, but it is especially important in our tale in connection with the trouble that befell the king. In Orthodoxy, water fulfills the function of separating sin from justice (the river of fire in depictions of the Last Judgement), separating the sacred from the profane, and leading people into holiness, where there is grace and health. We believe this is clearly reflected in our story, and is confirmed by the depiction of water, and of biblical themes related to water, at or nearby the entrance of the Temple[23]. In the context of the deuterocanonical text about the blind king and his son Prov, we must have in mind that this polemical and law-related manuscript, intended to fight against religious deviations, had the task not so much to punish heretics as to lead them along the right path and bring them to Salvation. That is how we should interpret the function of water as a borderline and a threshold to Truth and Life. In this sense, we can find elements here of the same message as in the *Testament of Abraham,* which also presents justice not as a means of repression but as opening the way to repentance and salvation.

– The symbol of the fish is skillfully interwoven in the story; it is especially appropriate in relation to those not yet baptized who have yet to accept the faith, symbolized by Christ, the Son of God and Savior of the world. The fish as a symbol of insight and spiritual healing can already be found in the Old Testament, and here throughout the collection BAR Ms. slav. 636, we find a clear line of organic unity between the Old and New Testaments as a basis for the faith; this line is present in the legal, the historical-dogmatic and the apocryphal parts. D. Dimitrova-Marinova has analyzed the profound symbolism of the fish, including in folklore, and correctly points out the Old Testament quotation from the Book of Tobit 8: 2–3, in which the inner organs of the fish – heart and liver – have apotropaic power to cast out demons[24]. We should note that the burning of incense upon

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[22] *Ibidem*, pp. 33–35.

[23] *Ibidem*, pp. 31–32, 39.

[24] Д. Димитрова-Маринова, *Повест за кръстното дърво на презвитер Йеремия*, р. 40; *Библия сиреч Книгите на Свещеното писание на Ветхия и Новия Завет*, издава Св. синод на

the organs of a fish in order to cast out demons, as described in the original Old Testament passage, is present in early Slavic copies[25], but not in BAR Ms. slav. 636. The two sources we are comparing differ in the way they introduce and explain the presence of the fish theme. In BCl there is a special episode about entry into the river, where Jesus catches a fish and, holding it in his left hand, and crossing himself with the right hand, shows the importance and power of this early Christian symbol. In the collection of Presbyter Dragol, the agapeic brotherhood between Prov and the Lord is achieved by entry into a river; this is clearly marked by a special exclamation marked by a shade of folklore stylistics: Ѿле, видное чюдо, ꙗко Провь брⷮа бгⷶа нарече се[26]. In this episode, Jesus is, in a sense, a fisher, which has a rich symbolic connotation. In the Moldavian copy, however, the entry into water is meant to purify Prov and baptize him in a spiritual sense: гⷭь рече въниⷣдемь въ водꙋ, и ѡмыꙗмь нашꙗ скврьны· тогда дивишⷶ агⷢли, егда рече гⷭь къ чⷧкꙋ ѡ брате. гⷭь въниде въ водꙋ· и ꙋхвати рыбꙋ. The parts of the fish are described in detail (with lexical variants) in both variants; the purpose is to affirm the idea of salvation by means of the innermost invisible essence of things. Prov accepts the fish in his hands, just as he accepts Christ into his heart: прⷪвь поꙗть рыбꙋ и раз ꙋмѣ въ срⷣци своемь. He is able to understand this allegory because he achieves it at the end of the path he has walked with Jesus, who appears as a brother and grants him insight. It is noteworthy that the entry into water in BAR Ms. slav. 636 occurs in the presence of angels who marvel at the miracle of spiritual transformation taking place before their eyes, while there are no angels present at the scene in the copy from BCl even though the idea is conveyed allegorically and with edifying intent there.

3.5. Onym details

The onymous data from BAR Ms. slav. 636 provide reference points for analysis. We have already pointed out the phonetic changes in the name of king Seleucius-Semekli. It should be noted that none of the earlier copies quoted above contains the variation in the name Seleucius, Selevk, and the name never turns into Semekli. But we should not forget the occurrence of the name in other texts, such as the *Tale of the Prophet Isaiah*, where it appears as Selevkia Simeklit[27]. The two copies compared here differ in the comprehensiveness and coherence of the

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Българската православна църква, София 1982, p. 565.

[25] М. И. Соколов, *Компиляция апокрифов болгарского попа Йеремия*, p. 100.

[26] *Ibidem*, p. 99.

[27] Iv. Biliarsky, *The Tale of the Prophet Isaiah*, pp. 18–19.

names designated in them. For instance, in BCl and the other early copies, Prov meets Jesus in the land of Jericho, a detail that is missing in BAR Ms. slav. 636, but, as mentioned, the name Emmanuel is typical only for the Moldavian copy, and not for the earlier 14th century one. These name variants can easily be explained as based on analogies and allusions spontaneously and naturally occurring in the course of copying the text.

A much more significant onymous detail is the changed name of the river in which Prov receives his spiritual baptism and accepts the fish as a symbolic remedy to the ailments of his close ones. In BCl the river is called Voyasta[28]; in the Presbyter Dragol copy, it is Varsap; in the Khludov copy, Vast [Въласть], and in the Croatian, it is even Daemas[29]. The variation points to the conclusion that the name of the river is a mobile onymous detail; but nevertheless, in the early variants, some phonetic analogy may be supposed to exist, and a natural variance occurring in the course of copying. In BAR Ms. slav. 636 the river is named Tisza (Theiß, Tisa, the name of an actual river that flows through Romania, Hungary and Serbia and is a tributary of the Danube). While the geographical topos in BCl remains neutral as to where this legendary river is actually located, in BAR Ms. slav. 636 there is a specifying phrase "in our land": пои́дѣмь въ ҕе́млѣ на́шѫ· прїи́дѡшѫ и ста́шѫ при во́дѣ тиса. This warrants the assumption that the manuscript reflects a textual editing of the apocryphal story that reveals an indisputable updating of the copies based on the geographical area of dissemination of the work. Before a full analysis is made of the copies of this part of the text in *Tale of the Tree of the Cross*, we cannot claim with certainty where and when this geographical detail was added; yet it is not to be excluded it relates to Tisza's being a well-known river in Central Europe, and especially rich in fish[30], a fact that may have determined the insertion of the name regardless of the copyist's location.

3.6. The final episode

The final episode of the narrative also presents differences across the copies. In broad outline, it comes down to the whole family being saved through the healing power of the different parts of the fish – a model of the salvation of all mankind – but it also refers to the rejection of the material treasure, which can only seem-

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[28] Х. Миклас, Л. Тасева, М. Йовчева, *Берлински сборник*, p. 260.

[29] The data are quoted from the variants in М. И. Соколов, *Компиляция болгарского попа Йеремия*, p. 99.

[30] Cf. the folk saying that "Tisza" consists of one-third fish and two-thirds water.

ingly help them in this situation. The idea that the spiritual is more potent than the material is clearly asserted. In the variant from BAR Ms. slav. 636, Prov gives Emmanuel everything he has gained and takes only the fish for himself. The text emphasizes the elements of penitence: informed of what has happened to his wife, King Semekli rips his shirt, bursts into tears and looks at the picture of Christ. In both variants God remains invisible to the human eye, but the Moldavian manuscript stresses that He can be known through the word, through penitence and prayer.

3.7. Linguistic features

Last, we should note that the copy from BAR Ms. slav. 636 contains a number of proofs of indisputable linguistic trends that correspond to the folklorish-legendary element, developed to an even greater degree than in the earlier editions:

– Firstly, simplification of the expressions and compliance with grammatical forms according to the natural development of the spoken Bulgarian language. This tendency appears in the elimination of the independent dative and the dative with infinitive, which are practically absent from the Moldavian collection. In fact, the collection uses mostly declined verb forms and more rarely the participle; of the more archaic constructions, it mainly retains the infinitive. They are all used to describe the consecutive verb actions. For example: лю́бѣше ре́чи ѿ хѣ̀ і҆сѣ̀ слы́шати и҆ ѡ҆брѣ́сти хо́тѣше ви́дѣти; пти́ца възлетѣ́кьша ꙋ̑дривъ кри́лѣ, the archaic participle ꙋ̑ди́влъ сѧ etc., while in BCl there are many examples of archaic constructions: авгоустоу же оумершю, дн҃ь бысть вънити емоу etc. At the same time, the copy in BAR 636 preserves some grammatical archaisms: the double number in cases like ѥстѣ, очи рыбовѣ; the dative for possession очи отцꙋ своѥмꙋ, etc. Although the early copies of the apocryphal tale reveal the text was disseminated in the western parts of the country, and the collection of Presbyter Dragol already uses un orthography without signs of nasals, BAR Ms. slav. 636 obeys the general orthographical features of the entire collection and consistently observes the yus orthography. Only in the word гꙋбава < гѫбава is the large nasal substituted with an ꙋ.

– Lexical variants at the level of the separate lexeme or expression, that reveal a popular-colloquial trend: брѣꙁаше, таковиꙃи речи, скровище, скровное, спѣшно; the same single type adjectives and participles, with an identical suffixation and clarification of the *ier* in the suffix жалостенъ, плачевенъ, книжевенъ ꙁатворенъ. We present some examples of expressive lexical variation that distinguish the lexical fund of the copy:

Berlin collection[31]	BAR Ms. slav. 636
Уде бга видѣти f. 258	жⷣдааше видѣти х҃а велико
Птицⷃь нѣкои прѣлаетающⷃь пꙋсти проходь свои и налꙋꙗи сꙗ f. 258	птица възлетѣвша ꙁⷣдривъ крилѣ свои· и прⷶ̑ въниде въ очию ег҃о̀ и ѿслѣпѣ.
Parts of a fish: врьхъ (head), жлъчь (gall), оутрова (internal organs) f. 262	о҃чи рибѣ – heal blindness мѣхырь (bladder, from the Old Slavic word мѣхъ; designating the gall bladder in the liver)[32] – heals leprosy жлъчь (a designation either of the gall or of the secretion of the liver, which is yellow-green in color) – chases away unclean spirits
Seleucius's daughter in law, Prov's wife, is mentioned only at the end of the story: she goes mad when the moon is full. Prov's son is mentioned only here, as sharing her illness.	The wife of Semekli and mother of Prov is гꙋбава < гꙋбава, i.e., sick of leprosy[33], проказа. Nothing is mentioned about her son Prov.
Истекши ꙁѣници f. 258	Ѿслѣпѣ
ѿ вышныихъ странь f. 259	ѿ го́рнꙗ́ стра́нꙗ, where an opposition is established to the folkloric topos въ ꙁе́млꙗ до́лнꙗ̑

4. Place and function of the apocryphal tale in the context of the manuscript BAR Ms. slav. 636

And so, the text variant of the apocryphal tale about how God created a brotherhood with Prov, as part of the *Tale of the Tree of the Cross*, affirms some basic ideas, which fit into the compiler's general conception of the Moldavian collection. This conception is not directly related to the anti-heretical line, but in asserting the Christian values of proselytism – brotherly love, immaculate faith, communion with one's neighbor, the striving for moral purity, and belief in the salvation of the soul – it achieves organic unity with the dogmatic, historical and legal texts in the collection. It is worth recalling that one of the reasons for the popularity of the whole cycle about the Tree of the Cross during the First Bulgarian Empire was the intention to eradicate pagan mores by resemanticizing folklorish imagery and ritual, and giving them a new Christian tone. Pagans and heretics remain the

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[31] The indicated page is from the edition of H. Miklas, L. Taseva and M. Yovcheva.

[32] БЕР, 3, 1986, pp. 774.

[33] The lexeme *гъбав* is still used in certain dialects, meaning "ailing from the disease guba, leprosy" – РБЕ, http:// ibl.bas.bg [accessed 08.05.2018]. As mentioned, in the variant with ꙋ instead ж the lexeme is a rare case of spelling without signs of nasals in the collection.

chief targets of doctrinal-theological propaganda, and their denunciation by various means is a value model for the continuation of the true faith, regardless of the epoch and location. In our case, we have an extremely interesting combination of different texts – polemical, legal, apocryphal, and historical – in a single collection aimed to fight against religious deviations. This is the context in which we should present the functions of this text within the whole: it is not a true polemical text, but it shows how religious discord can be avoided. The means to do so is the word of God and the practice of the faith through prayer and repentance. Extremely important is the emphasis on the Evangelical separation of the Divine from the earthly. This produces a message that, although perhaps not identical with that of the *Testament of Abraham,* in any case leads in the same direction.

The second motive for the inclusion of the apocryphal tale in the collection might have been the idea that faith can be known through the world and through the Christian written heritage, because the latter is universal panoply against all deviations from Orthodoxy. This heritage is the true spiritual treasure underlying the Orthodoxy and Orthopraxis of the monastic communities in times of trial.

Thirdly, there is no doubt that the narrative texts of a no canonical and apocryphal kind have survived precisely in a monastic environment and amidst the low-ranking clergy, which had a need for messages of faith presented in an entertaining and allegorical form. Many of the short texts in BAR Ms. slav. 636 – *About the Old Testament Tabernacle*, *About Cleopatra's ring* – are entertaining readings that have the function of a paschalia and generalize the connection between the Old and New Testament (Law) through key images and symbols. These readings were important in the minds and social practices of Orthodox Christians. The fact that a specific part of the *Tale of the Tree of the Cross* was included in this rich collection reminds us once again that we should look upon BAR Ms. slav. 636 as a true monastic encyclopedia. The manuscript offers an indirect proof that Moldavian literature was a recipient of works from the Old Bulgarian and Slavic literature of various kinds, which enhances its value for modern research. The tradition of apocryphal readings in the Moldavian lands began in the preceding, 14th century, and some of the most important monasteries, above all Neamţ, have preserved the traces of the compiling efforts of outstanding writers in this field. The latest research has shown that Gavriil Uric was a compiler of apocryphal readings as well, and used them in compiling some of his own collections[34]. BAR Ms. slav. 636 continued the development of this line in the 16th century.

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[34] А. Паскал, *Новые данные о рукописной наслядии Гавриила Урика в славяно-молдавской книжности певрой половины XV века*, [in:] *Румянцевские чтения*, ч. 2. *Материалы международной научно-практической конференции Российской государственной библиотеки, 12–13.10.2016*, Москва 2016, pp. 31–36.

5. Publication of the text based on BAR Ms. slav. 636

/f. 316r/ ૪ка́зъ ка́ко съвѡ́ри гь бра́ство / крꙋ́стное~ Въ таа̀ врѣ́мена бѣ́ше цр҃ъ
ѝменꙀ̈ / семе́клїи. любѣ́ше рѣ́чи ѿ х҃ѣ і̇с҃ѣ / слы́шати ѝ о̇брѣ́сти хотѣ́/ше ви́дѣти
х҃а. жꙗ́ждааше ви́/дѣти х҃а велико· семе́клїи / цр҃ъ въ є̇ди́нъ дн҃ъ, въꙀлꙗ́гъ на / ѡ̇́дръ
свои· ви́дѣ пти́цꙋ вели/кꙋ ѝ чю̈нꙋ, посрѣ̀ пола́тꙋ лѣ́та/жꙋщи· ѝ въꙁди́ви сꙗ о̇ не́и·
пти/ца въꙁлѣ́тѣвша ૪дрꙋвъ кри́лѣ / свои̇· ѝ прꙗ̀ въни́де въ о̇́чїю є̇го̀· ѝ ѡ̇слѣпѣ·
/ женА́ є̇го̀ бѣ́ше / гꙋ́бава· сн҃ъ є̇го̀ прѡвь· ймꙗ́/ше женꙋ̀ ймꙗ́щи бѣ́съ въ себѣ̀·
/ ꙗ́ко же ѡ̇слѣпѣ́ семе́клїи цр҃ь· / приꙁва̀ сн҃а свое́го прѡва· ѝ ре́че / є̇мꙋ̀· съни́ди
въ ꙁе́млꙗ дѡ́лнꙗ᷈· / ѝ не по́ймꙗ̀ никого̀ ѿ гра̀ се́го· /f. 316v/ да не проповѣ́сть о̇
мн҃ѣ· ѝ / събери̇ да́нь по люде́ⸯ, да пꙋста́/вимь въ скрꙋ́вище· ѝ послꙗ̀ / ѿ не́го
въживе́мь· понѣ́же / ૪ꙁна́ꙗть въси̇ лю́дїе· а̇́ꙁъ ѿ / слѣ́потꙋ порꙗ́жень е̇́смъ· /
бꙋ́деть ѝнъ цр҃ъ, ѝ по́йметь / цр҃ство на́ше· скро́вное тво́е / бꙋ́деть на́мь напослꙗ́·
сн҃ъ / є̇го̀ прѡвь не пꙗж съ собѡ̀ ни/ко́го· ѿти́де велико жа́ло/стень· ѝ пꙗ́ть та́мо
ѝныꙗ слоу́/гы себѣ̀· съби́раꙗть да́нь съ / крамоло́ж велико́ж· ма́ло да/вахꙋ, ꙵа̇
о̇́нъ брѣ́жаше· да не оу̇́/ꙁна́еть нѣ́кто ѝ ѝнь прѣймꙗ̈· / ймꙗ́ше бꙋ ср҃це пла́чевно
ꙗ́ко / ѝнь никто̀· ви́дѣ гь велик꙰ / жа́лость срⷰца є̇го̀· сътво́ри / гь ꙗ́ко ѝ ра́бъ·
прѣи́де къ прѡвꙋ᷃, /f. 317r/ ѝ ре́· прѣимѝ ме́не ѝ бꙋ́дꙋ с то/бѡ̀· прѡвь ре́· къ х҃ꙋ·
ѿ ко́ж / ꙁе́млꙗ е̇си· гь ре́че ѿ го́рнꙗ / страж є̇́смъ· прѡвь ре́че· / каково́ ѝмꙗ тебѣ̀
нари́чешь· гь ре́ е̇́мманꙋиль е̇ ꙵмꙗ мое́· / прѡвь ре́че· ка́кова е̇ ра́бота / твоꙗ̀· гь
ре́че· кни́жевень е̇́смъ· / ꙗ́коже слы́ша прѡвь о̇ кни́ꙁѣ· / въꙁра́дова сꙗ ѝ ре́че, бꙋ́дѝ
съ / мнѡ̀ж· гь въпро́си прѡва, ѝ / ре́че є̇мꙋ̀· каково̀ дѣ́ло дѣ́ла/еши ꙁде́· о̇нь ре́че·
е̇ди́нь ра́бъ / е̇́смъ семе́клїꙗ цр҃ꙗ· посла́ль / мꙗ є̇́стъ да́нь събра́ти нарѡ̀ / мн҃ѣ не
да́еть· повелꙗ́но ми е̇́ / бꙋ́рꙁо прине́сти· не вѣ́мь что̀ / сътво́рꙗ; е̇́мманꙋиль ре́че /
а̇́ꙁъ събе́рꙋ спꙗ́шно· гь ре́че / прѡвꙋ· стани̇ надале́че· при /f. 317v/ ш҃е е̇́мманꙋ᷈и҃л въ
гра̀· въꙁи/ма́аше гл҃а· да́ваите бж҃їꙗ бв҃и· / ꙵа̇ кесарева кесарꙋ᷃· нарѡ̀ слы́ш / такѡвиꙁи
рѣ́чи· приношахꙋ / мнѡ́жьство ꙁла́та ѝ сре́бра· / прѡвь же ви́дѣвь диви́аше сꙗ·
/ ѝ ре́че ѿ кꙋ́дꙋ се́ мнѣ́ прѣи́де· / а̇́ꙁ же въ мнѡ́ꙁꙋ᷈ мѣ́стꙋ᷈ ни/что̀ же не събра̀
ꙵ· съ ꙵ же въ е̇ди́/номь мѣ́стꙗ въсе́ мнѣ̀ да́сть· / ко́лико хо́щꙋ· прѡвь ре́че къ /
гꙋ҃· е̇́мманꙋиле ка́ко сътво́/рꙗ любо́вь с тобѡ̀ж· гь ре́че ка́/ковꙋж любо́вь хо́щеши
бꙋ́дꙗ᷈ / тебꙗ̀, ꙗ́ко бра́та ре́че гь сътво́/рꙗ· та́ко ѝ въꙁлю́биши ме́не· / ꙗ́ко са́мъ сꙗ·
прѡвь ре́че сътво́/ри̇· гь въꙁе́мь ха́ртїж ѝ ꙁаписа̀ / рꙗ́кож свое́ж бра́тьство· ѝ ре́че /
нелꙗ́жными ૪сти, проклꙗ́ть /f. 318r/ да є̇́сть тꙋ᷈и чл҃къ сътво́ривыи / бра́тство ѝ
невѣ́ровавыи є̇го̀· / бо́ле е̇́стъ ѿ бра́та роже́наго· / прѡвь ре́че мнѡ́го на́мь ꙁла́та· ѝ
сре́бра· по́йдꙗмь въ ꙁе́млꙗ / на́шж· прїйдшꙗ ѝ стꙗ́шꙋ / при во́дѣ тиса· гь ре́че
къ прѡ/вꙋ· ѡ̇ бра́те прѡве· прѡвь ре́че / се а̇́ꙁъ· гь ре́че въни́демь въ / во́дж, ѝ
ѡ̇мы́а̇мь на́шꙋ сквꙗ́/ны· тогда̀ диви́шꙗ а̇́гг҃ли, / е̇́гда ре́че гь къ чл҃къꙋ ꙵо̇ бра́те· /
гь въни́де въ во́дж· ѝ ૪хва́ти / ры́бж· ѝ ре́че, ꙵо̇ прѡве· прѡвь / ре́че, се а̇́ꙁъ· ре́че,
вѣ́си ли что̀ / е̇̑ ры́ба сїа· ре́че не вѣ́мы бра́те· / гь ре́че, о̇́чи се́и ры́бѣ ꙁа слѣ́/потꙋ

е́стѣ. мѣ́хырь е́ж е́стъ / за прока́зы. ꙗ жлъ́чь е́ж е́стъ / занѐ нечи́стаго дѹ́ха. прѡ́вь /f. 318v/ поа́ть ры́бѫ и разѹ́мѣ въ срⷣци / свое́мь. поне́же ѿцⷮъ е́гѻ слѣ́/пь е́стъ. и ма́ти е́гѻ прока́/жена е́стъ. женⷶ е́гѻ иⷨѣ́/щи нечи́стыⷩ дѹ́хъ. прѣда́/сть е́мманшилѹ въсѣ̏ съ/бра́нїа своа̀. въꙁе́мь ры́бѫ / и прѣ́иде къ рѡ́дителемь свои̏. / Семе́клїи бѣ́ше затво́рень. / да не ѹꙁна́еть никтѻ̀ ѻ̀ слѣ́/потѣ е́гѻ. прѡ́вь сⷩъ е́гѻ / пришѐ̀ и раствори ѻ̀чи ры́бовⷮѣ / въ во́дѣ. и пома́за ѻ̀чи ѡ̀цⷹ / свое́мѹ и прозра́ть. съ мѣ́/хыремь пома́за ꙗⷮрь своѫ̀ и / исцѣ́лѣ. съ жлъ́чїѫ пома́за / женѫ̀ своѫ̀ и исцѣ́лѣ. видѣ́въ / бѡ семе́клїи црⷭъ и ѹ̀диви́лъ са̀. / и ре́че, сⷩѹ прѡ́ве ѿ кѫ́дѹ сѐ̏ / въꙁа́ль е́си · ѻ̀нь и̏спове́да /f. 319r/ е́мѹ въса̀ и̏стинѫ. Семе́/клїи ре́че, прѣ́иде́мь сⷩѹ. / тⷮъ е́стъ і̇сⷭ хⷭс, е́гѻ же а́ꙁъ / надѣ́ж са видѣ́ти. въста́вь / съ рыда́нїемь поиде. и видѣ / гⷶ семе́клⷷи и̏здале́че. и бⷼⷭ̏ / гⷮь неви́димь. Семе́клїи / расторъꙁа́вь ри́ꙁы своѧ̀ гла́/ше. сла́ва тебѣ̀ влⷣко не ѻ̀/ста́вѝ ме́не въ погы́бѣли. въ/ꙁы́раѫщи мⷧли́твы рѫко/писа́нїа е́гѻ. пла́чѫщи са̀ / гла́ᵃше. съчи́таѫщи рѣ́чи / е́гѻ сла́влѣ̀ше. сла́ва тебѣ̀ / влⷣко ꙗ̏ко и̏ꙁво́лиль е́си съчи́/тати са̀ съ ра́бѡмь свои́мь / прѡ́вомь. тебѣ̀ / сла́ва въ вѣ́/кы, / а́минⷮь̏ :~

Instead of a Conclusion

*A*s we announced at the beginning of our study, this monograph book is devoted to a Slavic 16th-century manuscript compiled in the Principality of Moldavia (BAR 636). It would be more precise to say this manuscript prompted our study of a cultural phenomenon, related to religion, law and literature, which was characteristic for the two Danubian principalities remaining outside the Sultan's direct rule. During the late Middle Ages, a specific synthesis of the literary heritage of the South Slavs was accomplished in that region. We are referring to compiled collections of works drawn from various sources, among which the Bulgarian literary tradition of Tarnovo played a leading role – a claim that is hard to dispute. We argue that, in its present state, the compilation in BAR 636 was purposely made to serve certain needs of the monastic scriptorium and, in a wider sense, the social demands of the Principality in the middle of the 16th century. The works of Moldavian literature, of which our manuscript is an example, demonstrate that the miscellanies produced in the first half of the 16th century included anthological works in the category of monastic encyclopedias, which present an unusually varied combination of texts in different genres and on different topics. The content of the manuscripts followed a basic ideological trend in the Principality throughout the whole 16th century: the political consolidation and assertion of state power through the fight against religious deviations. This was an enduring feature of the Moldavian rulers' policy. Some of the miscellanies, like the one under study, were ordered and written by identifiable persons. A specific trait of these collections is their continuity with older models, the reproduction of texts that testify to missing or poorly documented filiation links. The miscellanies display the syncretism of medieval culture and the use of the written text as an axiological regulator of social processes, of the mentality and life of the individual. This explains the active participation of clergymen and monks in the compilation of such works. The Moldavian lands were a kind of contact zone of literary influences coming from the south, northwest, and northeast, which essentially means an area were

South Slavic, Russian, and according to some researchers, Ukrainian, influences intercrossed[1]. The donations made by Moldavian rulers to the leading monasteries Neamț, Putna, Bistrița, etc., helped preserve remarkable works of South Slavic writing and literature, and stimulated the emergence of a local type of miscellany that continued the traditional culture of compilation typical for the Balkans in the 14th and 15th century. The theoretical study of the terminology and the textual and structural markers serving as a basis for classification of miscellanies in the Balkans, are not a topic of the present study. The most recent views on these questions are presented in the quoted book by A. Miltenova[2].

This "culture of miscellanies" has two aspects: the separate components and the whole they make up. Thus, our research objective in working on the manuscript BAR 636 and its twin, the *Bisericani Miscellany* was to present the separate parts, the components that form the collection, as well as the message of the integral whole. The structure of this book is subordinated to these objectives. In the separate sections, we present groups of texts within the collection: legal, doctrinal-polemical, historical and apocryphal works. The chapters within the sections are devoted to separate texts – published in their entirety and analyzed here. These texts were not a Moldavian creation. Only one of them might seem such, and only partially at that: the so-called Moldavian Chronicle. The others are translations or compilations inherited from South Slavic and/or Eastern Slavic traditions. They have a history, and importance, as independent works, and hence have not been overlooked in our monograph. The reader is already familiar with them. What is particularly interesting for us is their functional unity as parts subordinated to the collection's basic aim: the fight against heresies and religious deviations. In light of this aim, the separate works acquire additional weight, because the fight against heresy was a fight for religious purity and, hence, for the salvation of souls, a goal that acquires cosmic importance and extends not only to the age or to the boundaries of the Carpathian Principality, but, in an eschatological perspective, to the End of time and the world.

The two main thematic sections of the miscellany are the legal and dogmatic-polemical. They are also the largest in size and their texts are grouped together within the manuscript, as are in fact those of the other thematic components. These specific elements of the content – the legal and doctrinal-controversial – define its purpose and the chief verbal weapons used to achieve its goals. The manuscript has traditionally been defined as a legal collection; because of that, and on the basis of

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[1] D. J. Deletant, *Slavonic Letters in Moldavia, Walachia and Transylvania from the 10th to the 17th cc.*, "Slavonic and East European Review" 58.1, 1980, pp. 1–21.

[2] A. Miltenova, *South Slavonic Apocryphal Collections*, Sofia 2018, pp. 23, 131–146.

our research interest, we have first examined the functions and purpose of the legal texts in the manuscript. There are several such texts, of which the most important is the *Pseudo-Zonaras Nomocanon*, regarding which research in the last twenty years has proven the Bulgarian origin of its translation, made in the time of the Second Bulgarian Empire, at the end of the 13th and beginning of the 14th century.

The doctrinal-polemical part of the manuscript collection is a no less important element of the whole inasmuch as it defines the purpose of the collection. Law is an instrument in the fight against various deviations in the daily conduct of people in society. However, in our case, the area of application of the law is defined by the doctrinal-polemical texts. Thus, the verbal weapon forged by the manuscript was aimed against heresy as understood at that time. Since the most numerous and largest in size texts are anti-Latin, the deviations of the Catholics are the collection's main target of controversy. For us today, this would be a fight against religious deviations and the related incompatible modes of conduct, but at the time, these were interpreted as heresies. As mentioned multiple times, the main controversial work in the collection is *A Useful Tale about the Latins*, which was recently published and is therefore not included among out texts. Here we present in full the *Encyclical Letter of the Three Eastern Patriarchs* of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, as well as two anti-Latin texts with a rich tradition of dissemination in the South and Eastern Slavic lands. We believe that no particular problems arise as to the functions of the polemical texts in the collection. On the one hand, these texts determine its general anti-heretical orientation, and on the other hand, each separate text has a concrete purpose. The message of the tale of the three patriarchs concerns the rejection of the Council for Union with the Roman Church and of some specific administrative actions of the prelates supporting the Union. Here it is important to note the demonstration of unity by the three patriarchs of the Orthodox East, which could be very motivating for those who hesitate. In the case of the work on Peter the Stammerer, the text contains a system of semantic codes that present Western Christianity in a negative light; the emblem of negation is an antipode of St. Apostle Peter: the Stammerer is impaired in the inmost ability of a Christian – the Word and the speech, related to it. The anti-Latin controversy is certainly most prominently present in the collection, but it is not the only polemical topic. The collection addresses other religious deviations as well, though allotting them less space. These include the iconoclasts (age-old foes of Orthodoxy), the Armenians, and some other heresies, especially such as were current in Moldavia at the time.

The presence of historical texts in the collection is also not hard to explain. On the one hand, they were traditionally present in certain legal collections – especially the *Brief Chronography* of Patriarch Nicephorus the Confessor; on the other

hand, these accounts of the past provided a historical context for the norms, and, in our case, also for the fight against religious deviations. Of course, we should distinguish between the separate historical texts. In our manuscript, there are three types of them: a chronicle, the lists of patriarchs, and the *Tale of the Ecumenical Councils*. Certainly, all three serve as a historical context for the legal norms, but in different ways. In the case of the *Tale of the Councils*, this function is obvious, because the legal part of the collection is primarily canonical. The councils of the Church, especially the ecumenical ones, are among the most important institutions that create new canons and confirm traditional ones. They also have doctrine-defining and disciplinary functions, which almost covers all the tasks assigned to a collection like this one. In this sense, *Tale of the Councils* certainly helps us situate within a concrete historical setting the anti-heretical goals of the manuscript and the fight against deviations, waged with words and law. The functions of the lists of patriarchs are similar. It is worth noting that, while in the Greek manuscripts, we find lists relevant to all the old traditional patriarchates, linked to the idea of Pentarchy, the Slavic copies usually contain only a list of the ecumenical patriarchs of Constantinople. Our manuscript is an exception in this respect, as it has a list of the patriarchs of Jerusalem as well. We pointed out that the councils not only establish norms but also condemn heretical doctrines and their upholders. In this sense, the account of the councils certainly presents this clash of ideas as well.

The theme is presented even more amply in the chronicle of the legal collection. This particular work situates in a broader context our knowledge about the internal ecclesiastic struggles related to canon; this context not only goes beyond the boundaries of a single epoch or a single country, but also transcends the accompanying texts dealing with ecclesiastical-doctrinal disputes. The compiler's choice to include this specific chronicle is interesting for us. As a rule, the text placed in such collections is the *Brief Chronography* by Patriarch Nicephorus, to which a continuation is often added, and which is generally adapted to later ages. This was usually done in a Byzantine environment, while the Slavic copies adhered more strictly to the original. In our case, however, there is an important difference, inasmuch as the "addition" here is quite large. Still, this is not a new chronicle, as many have been tempted to think, but a serious addition to the *Brief Chronography* by Patriarch Nicephorus. After the conclusion of the original text, which was completed in the 9th century, it contains additions borrowed from Serbian chronicles, and finally, a "Moldavian" section as well. We have already discussed this in detail, and point it out again here in connection with the inclusion of historical works in the collection. The idea was to situate the canons and controversial texts in their own historical settings. We observe a double tendency: on the one hand, historical texts are clearly oriented to universalizing the context and linking it to the general

history of Christianity; on the other hand, there is local emphasis, which in our case encompasses the Balkan and Eastern Slavs, and especially Moldavia. This is a noteworthy particularity of our manuscript, and research on this feature should continue.

The apocryphal part of the collection is the least typical, but sufficiently comprehensible in view of the other texts. We already pointed out that apocryphal works are not necessarily heretical. In our case, they are obviously not. But it is relevant to explain the presence of each of them in the collection. The *Testament of Abraham* introduces several themes related to the purpose of the collection: such a theme is the reward for good and bad deeds, which comprises administration of justice in this world as well as retribution after death; both are inseparable from an assessment of deeds and the passing of judgement based on the deeds. Thus, the apocryphal work contains a clear message concerning law and law enforcement, justice and clemency. Although indicating a certain discrepancy between God's judgement, based on charity and mercy, and human judgement, based on a less merciful understanding of justice, the message of the deuterocanonical text nevertheless displays a search for unity based on Divine mercy and for the salvation of all souls, even those of sinners. The *Tale about How God Created the Brotherhood of the Cross* has a different but similar message. However, this text is not genuinely polemical, but rather asserts the Christian values of charity and empathy, thereby showing the road to Salvation, which is inseparably linked to the Word.

Thus, we believe our manifold study has shown the truly great significance of the manuscript that is the subject of our monograph book. Until now, it has been viewed as a primarily legal collection containing some interesting additional texts, such as *A Useful Tale about the Latins* and the Nomocanon. In a sense, this is true; along with its other interesting works, the manuscript is a rich and well-selected collection. But our objective – and perhaps our "merit" – was not only to study and publish these texts, but to reveal and demonstrate the integral message of the manuscript as genuine verbal Panoply, a genuine spiritual sword in the fight against heresy for the Salvation of human souls.

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The monograph is dedicated to the Slavic manuscript BAR Ms. Slav. 636 from the Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest, compiled in the Principality of Moldavia in 1557 during the reign of the Moldavian ruler Alexandru Lăpușneanu (1552–1561; 1564–1568) and under the Suceava Metropolitan Gregory II, written by the hand of Hierodeacon Hilarion, in all probability in the Neamț Monastery. The manuscript is an occasion for the study of a cultural phenomenon related to faith, law and literature, characteristic of the two Romanian principalities, where during the Late Middle Ages a special synthesis of the literary heritage bequeathed by the South Slavs. The manuscript is a collection with mixed content of anthological sort, type of monastic encyclopaedia, with an unusually rich combination of texts of different genres and themes: legal, dogmatic, polemical, chronicle, apocryphal, and others. The aim of the authors is to study and publish the individual texts from the collection, revealing the overall message of the manuscript as a real verbal armament, a real spiritual sword in the fight against heresies for the salvation of human souls.

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…and the Lord saw the great sorrow in Prov's heart, and pretended to be a servant. He came to Prov, saying: Take me and I will be with you. Prov asked him: What land do you come from? The Lord said: I am from the upper earth. Prov said: What is your name? The Lord answered: My name is Emmanuel. Prov said: What is your job? The Lord said: I deal with books. Hearing about books, Prov was very happy and said: Be with me…

Fragments from *Tale how God created the brotherhood of the Cross* (BAR 636, ff. 316r–319r)

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