SHORT ABSTRACT

'An Eleventh-Century Liturgical Homiliary:
the Evergetis *Katechetikon*.'

Barbara Crostini,
Wolfson College,

D. Phil. thesis Hilary, 1998

The *Katechetikon*, a liturgical homiliary composed by Paul (†1054) *higoumenos* and founder, in 1048-49, of the monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis near Constantinople, is an unpublished collection of monastic catecheses dating to the middle of the eleventh century.

The collection is divided in two tomes. The first part is extant in two manuscripts, *Marcianus graecus* App. II. 40 and *Atheniensis graecus* 215, probably dating around the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century. The second part is extant in codex Athos, *Esphigmenou* 45, dated by its colophon to 1108 and used at the monastery of Christ Philanthropos in Constantinople. Single catecheses are also preserved in the fragments of Athos, *Vatopedi* 1216, and among the catecheses of Theodore Studite in *Atheniensis graecus* 295, *Serdicensis graecus* Dujcev 222 and in *Sinaiticus graecus* 482. Codex Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. *Cromwell* 22, signed by the hieromonachos Mark and dated 1315, bears the only explicit attribution of the catecheses to Paul of Evergetis. In it, the catecheses are adapted for a feminine audience.

The *Katechetikon* provides liturgical readings for the morning office for each day of the year and functions according to the movable cycle of the liturgical year dependent on Easter, just as a Gospel Lectionary. Texts are selected from the following authors: Theodore Studite, Maximos Confessor,

Pseudo-Makarios, Dorotheos of Gaza, Ephrem, Mark the Monk and Pseudo-Mark (Marcian), Neilos/Evagrios, John of Karpathos, Diadochos of Photike. The sources are edited with varying degrees of alteration. The *Apophthegmata Patrum* and passages from John Klimakos' *Ladder* are also quoted. In addition, the sources of forty-two texts remain unidentified.

The purpose of the catecheses is to exhort the monks to virtue and assist them through difficulties in their monastic experience, thereby revealing the monastic ideals of the Evergetis founder.

LONG ABSTRACT

This thesis is the first study entirely dedicated to an unpublished collection of monastic readings, the *Katechetikon*, attributed to Paul (†1054), *higoumenos* and founder, in 1048-49, of the monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis near Constantinople. Its aim is to establish the importance of this work for the understanding of the early phases of the history of the Evergetis monastery and, more generally, for our knowledge of Byzantine spirituality in the second half of the eleventh and the first half of the twelfth centuries. This thesis argues that a critical edition of the collection is a *desideratum* in the field of Byzantine monastic and textual history.

Ch. I investigates the manuscript tradition of the collection. A detailed study of the manuscripts was necessary in order to verify their dating and provenance. The manuscripts have preserved 360 out of the original number of 368 short sermons. Eight are not extant due to material lacunae in the codices.

The original copy for use at the Evergetis monastery has not survived. The first tome of the homiliary is preserved in two manuscripts, *Marcianus graecus* App. II. 40 and *Atheniensis graecus* 215, probably dating around the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century. The second tome is extant in codex Athos, *Esphigmenou* 45, dated by its colophon to 1108 and used at the monastery of Christ Philanthropos in Constantinople. Single catecheses are also preserved in the eleventh-century fragments of Athos, *Vatopedi* 1216.

The number of extant copies is exceptional for a monastic homiliary, since the use of this type of collection was usually restricted to a specific monastery and did not normally spread beyond it. The manuscripts of the

Evergetis *Katechetikon*, on the contrary, attest a very wide circulation of the text, beyond the few preserved exemplars.

Another phenomenon is evidenced by a study of the indirect transmission. Paul's catecheses are sometimes mixed in some collections of sermons by Theodore Studite, such as manuscripts *Atheniensis graecus* 295 and *Serdicensis graecus* Dujcev 222. In these manuscripts, the provenance of the texts from the Evergetis homiliary is not specified. These occurrences may only partly be explained by a confusion in the attribution of the catecheses. In joining Paul's compositions to Theodore's, these manuscripts witness to an equal recognition of the work of the two abbots.

Only codex Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. *Cromwell* 22, signed by the hieromonachos Mark and dated 1315, bears an explicit attribution of the catecheses to Paul of Evergetis. For this reason, it is important to verify the quality of the collection and the reliability of the attribution. A detailed description of the contents of this manuscript is here given for the first time. The conclusion is reached that the manuscript is closely dependent on a good tradition of the texts.

Cromwell 22 attests the popularity of the Evergetis homiliary into the fourteenth century, when historical information about the foundation dries up. Again, Paul's texts are found side by side with Theodore Studite's. Moreover, in it the catecheses are selected and adapted for a feminine audience, perhaps the nunnery of Trichinarea on Mount Saint Auxentios, bringing to our attention the suitablility of the catecheses for both monks and nuns and their continued popularity.

The liturgical lemmas in the manuscripts attest a consistent liturgical order for the catecheses. It was therefore necessary to explain such a precise liturgical arrangement in relation to the number of texts in the collection, a task undertaken in Ch. II.

The *Katechetikon* provides liturgical readings for the morning office for each day of the year and functions according to the movable cycle of the liturgical year dependent on Easter, just as a Gospel Lectionary. The homiliary begins on the Sunday of Antipascha, the first after Easter, and ends on the Saturday of Lazarus, covering all three phases of the liturgical calendar: the Pentekostarion, the Octoechos and the Triodion. Two fixed feasts are added: the Annunciation (25 March) and the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul (29 June). The Easter homily by Pseudo-Chrysostom is also contained in two of the codices.

The discovery of the *Katechetikon* makes sense of the Evergetis *Hypotyposis*' instructions for a daily catechesis. However, the Evergetis *Synaxarion* would appear to have been updated more radically than the *Hypotyposis* in the extant recension, since it does not explicitly indicate the practice of a daily catechesis. An attentive reading of the catecheses furnishes information about liturgical practices that were probably introduced by the founder as innovations upon Studite traditions and which were continued at the Evergetis into the twelfth century. A comparison of the liturgical instructions with those found in the Evergetis *Hypotyposis* and *Synaxarion* shows that an early stratum of composition of these documents was preserved by the later, twelfth-century redactor.

The liturgical sensitivity of the compiler in arranging the texts for reading according to the appropriate liturgical season is emphasized. There is a close correspondence between both language and performance of the monastic rite and the rhetorical structure of the catechetical address. Thus, the yearly cycle of preaching proposed in the Evergetis liturgical homiliary appears both rigorously structured and carefully planned. It is likely that these features accounted for its popularity with other monastic establishments, since no other Byzantine collection of catecheses possessed this advantage.

In identifying the Evergetis *Katechetikon* as a liturgical homiliary, Ch. II lays bare an essential feature of the catechetical collection. The definition of the genre of the collection enables a comparison with other extant homiliaries in both East and West; the Evergetis *Katechetikon* is by far the largest in size.

Having established the collection's wide popularity with respect to the manuscript tradition and its liturgical function in the first two chapters, the last two chapters proceed to a preliminary survey of the contents of the *Katechetikon*.

Ch. III is concerned with an analysis of the sources of the homiliary. The other spiritual anthology attributed to Paul of Evergetis, the *Synagoge*, contains sources which are complementary to the homiliary. A textual comparison in the case of an overlapping passage has demonstrated that both anthologies used the same textual tradition. These considerations, therefore, do not contradict, but rather reinforce, the attribution of both florilegia to Paul.

The authors used in the homiliary are enumerated in turn and a detailed break-down of the borrowings is given in the form of tables at the end of each resumé. The authors included are: Theodore Studite, Maximos Confessor, Pseudo-Makarios, Dorotheos of Gaza, Ephrem, Mark the Monk and Pseudo-Mark (Marcian), Neilos/Evagrios, John of Karpathos, Diadochos of Photike. The overwhelming majority of texts have been borrowed from Theodore Studite. The other sources are here enumerated in decreasing order of prevalence.

It has been noted that Paul may have used the copy of Theodore Studite's *Magna Catechesis* which was preserved at St. John Stoudios, since the manuscript trasmission of this collection is known to have been very limited. Where critical editions were available, the study of the manuscript

tradition of other source texts has confirmed the close connexion between Paul and manuscript production at Stoudios.

On the basis of sample comparisons between the texts of the homiliary and their sources, the type of editorial work performed on each by the compiler has been analysed. While the degree of intervention varies from text to text, the overall conclusion may be reached that the compiler is always careful in choosing exactly what he considers suitable material for his compilation, according to both practical and spiritual criteria. For example, anachronistic passages, such as references to the dispute on images in Theodore Studite's *Small Catecheses*, are cut out. In this way, the text is updated and rendered atemporal, so that its use could continue through the years. Besides the editorial work of eliminating and changing passages, there are also a number of additions and explanatory notes which provide a sense of the tone and vocabulary used by the compiler himself.

The sources chosen are not among the sermons of the rhetorically skilled Fathers whose homilies are usually encountered in homiliaries. The authors chosen by the compiler belong exclusively to an ascetico-monastic tradition, establishing a set canon of monastic authors. Complex theological passages are eliminated or simplified. Thus the level of the collection results fairly homogeneous, a simple and direct style of address being preferred to more elevated language and syntax. As such, the *Katechetikon* should also offer precious material for the lexicography of the middle-Byzantine period.

Ch. IV considers the forty-two texts which remain unidentified. This group has been divided thematically into three sub-groups: exegetical and doctrinal catecheses; exhortations; catecheses on topics of monastic life.

The subject-matter of the first group, providing a commentary on select Gospel passages for the Sundays of the Pentekostarion, has provided the largest scope for searching possible sources among the extant patristic

commentaries and homilies on the same passages. The exegetical method used in these catecheses can be defined, in the light of these studies, as Alexandrian. However, the probable Origenist sources for Paul's interpretations seem lost. The taste for numerology displayed in these sermons fits in with the Origenist background and is attuned to medieval taste. Similarly, the doctrinal catecheses, though expressing orthodox beliefs in sometimes striking turns of phrase, do not appear to have been borrowed *verbatim* from any known source.

The second group offers a number of *exempla* for imitation, models of virtue that the monks can hold up as guides for their experience of faith within their monastic choice. These are taken from the characters of the Bible as well as from saints; further, metaphors built on human activities and on natural phenomena are harnessed to the purpose of exhortation, revealing both the literary conventions behind the images and the contemporary realities from which they draw inspiration.

The third group revolves around a description of the virtues specifically necessary for community life. Above all, the imitation of Christ, intended primarily as the participation in His suffering and humiliation, as well as a sharing of His obedient gentleness, is often preached. Detachment from worldly cares is also recalled to the monks through their giving up of material property and even of that curiosity which ties them to the news from the nearby capital, Constantinople. The relationship with the superiors must be governed by humility and obedience; towards each other, the monks must show mercifulness rather than harsh judgement and act with reciprocal love. The hardships of cenobitic life are considered essential in the first phase of spiritual progress. The life of the solitary is reserved for more advanced stages.

These forty-two unidentified catecheses may be taken as representative of the range of themes addressed in the *Katechetikon* and can

thereby offer a starting-point for the comparison of the sermons in this homiliary with contemporary preaching. It is proposed to make these in the first instance the basis of a critical edition of the Evergetis *Katechetikon*. For example, the choice of metaphors and the exegetical method may be compared and contrasted with the contents of the catecheses by Symeon the New Theologian. Nevertheless, only a full survey of the texts of the *Katechetikon* and, in particular, a complete appraisal of the modifications of the compiler to his sources will bring to light the precise scope of the collection.

In describing the structure and contents of the Evergetis *Katechetikon*, this thesis underlines at every stage the contribution of Paul's collection to our understanding of eleventh-century spirituality. It is shown that the homiliary is an aid to reconstructing the structure and the monastic ideal of the Evergetis monastery at the time of its foundation.

This study can therefore help to clarify the involvement of the Evergetis in the eleventh-century movements of monastic renewal. Paul's foundation was initially small, in order to preserve its status as an independent monastery. Nonetheless, the liturgical homiliary shows that the foundation was highly organized from the beginning, displaying a number of innovative liturgical features that have remained characteristic of its influence.

A particular style of piety underlies some of these liturgical choices. For example, the emergence of more sophisticated rituals for Holy Week attested by the Evergetis *Synaxarion* has its roots already in the writings of the founder. The medieval devotion to the *Ecce Homo* is unmistakably expressed in the catecheses.

Both the rigorous organization and the expression of such new piety in the sermons and in the liturgical functions of the Evergetis probably

contributed to the popularity of its *typikon* in the twelfth-century. The sponsorship of the Comnenian ruling family is likely to have facilitated the influence of the Evergetis upon later monastic foundations.

While Paul could hardly have foreseen such developments, it was he who had provided the two instruments which were essential in formalizing and propounding the expression of such a devotion to the humanity of the suffering Christ. On the one hand, the *Synagoge* became an extremely popular manual of monastic spirituality. On the other, the liturgical homiliary was used daily in the Evergetine sister foundations for the instruction of the monks. In this way, Paul continued to exert his spiritual influence beyond the limits of his foundation, having provided, by his liturgical homiliary, an essential instrument of monastic rule.

An Eleventh-Century Liturgical Homiliary: the Evergetis *Katechetikon*.

Submitted for the degree of D. Phil. at the University of Oxford,
Hilary Term 1998

BODLEIAN LIBRARY OXFORD
DEPOSITED
THESIS
16 IX 98

Barbara Crostini

Wolfson College

To my Brasenose tutors,
living and deceased

Proximus enim cogitationi est,
qui quid inquirere debeat,
prudenter agnoscit, nec a scientia
longe est qui coepit intellegere,
quid ignoret.
(Cassian, *Conlationes* X, 9: PL 49, 831)

Whoever knows what he must investigate
is close to achieving knowledge;
whoever has a clear notion of that
of which he is ignorant,
is not far from knowledge.
(transl. M. Sheridan)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

When, in the Library of Campion Hall, the Master spoke to me of the unedited treasures of Byzantine literature, he found a student of Classics who was tiring of pagan culture and who therefore responded positively to his invitation. Little did he know, then, that he would have to correct long papers and faltering translations for many years to come. At the end of this task, I am first and foremost grateful to him for initiating me to the world of Greek Christianity and for sustaining me patiently through the ordeals of this thesis.

In introducing me to the Evergetis Project, Dr. Joseph Munitiz channelled my enthusiasm into a topic. Dr. Margaret Mullett added her enthusiasm to this initial disposition and masterfully co-ordinated the research of a group of scholars who contributed to an inter-disciplinary exploration of the history of the Constantinopolitan monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis. Through her invitations, I profited from the advice of many expert Byzantinists, among whom I would like to mention particularly Fr. Robert Taft and Dr. Mary Cunningham. It was exhilarating (if still slightly dangerous) to jet-set to the Queen's University, Belfast, for one of the periodical meetings and colloquia. I am particularly grateful to the Evergetis Project for ordering all the necessary microfilms for this thesis and accepting two of my articles for publication in the recent volumes of collected essays published on this subject.

The essential sponsorship for this doctorate was provided by the Rhodes Trust, who elected me to a European Scholarship in 1992, without which my return to Oxford would not have been possible. I would like to express my thanks to the Warden of Rhodes House, Dr. Anthony Kenny, who unfailingly accomodated the idiosyncracies of my graduate career and granted all my requests. A special thanks is also due to the staff of Rhodes

House, who had the task of handling the practicalities of such requests and always did so with admirable efficiency.

In 1993, I was awarded a scholarship from the Oxford-Paris exchange Programme. Through it, I could explore at leisure the extensive resources of the Institut de Recherches et d'Histoire des Textes, where I consulted the work of the Benedictine Julien Leroy, who had sadly died some years previously. His papers, deposited at the I.R.H.T., were kindly made available to me by Madame Gilbert Astruc, after permission from the Director and from Mgr. Paul Canart. The excellent environment of the Centre enabled me to approach immediately the core of my thesis: particular thanks are due to Prof. Bernard Flusin, Prof. Michel Kaplan, Dr. Paul Géhin and Dr. Jean-Hubert Sautel, who guided me in those initial phases and made me feel at home in the French academic world.

Wolfson College expressed appreciation for my work in Byzantine Studies by conferring a Graduate Award in 1994 and electing me to a non-stipendiary Junior Fellowship in 1995. I am extremely grateful to the Fellows for their recognition and support, in particular, for book grants and contributions to my travels.

Additional travel grants enabled me to study the manuscripts in their respective libraries. Particular thanks are due to the Hector and Elizabeth Catling Bursary for the British School at Athens and to the Gladys-Krieble Delmas Foundation for travel to Venice. A summer Fellowship at the Dujcev Centre at Sofia acquainted me with that collection; I am grateful to the Director of the Centre, Dr. Axinia Djurova and to the researches there for organizing my stay.

This thesis benefited from a semester period at Dumbarton Oaks, where I held a Junior Fellowship in Spring 1997. I am enormously grateful to the Senior Fellows for offering such an opportunity, without which I doubt the thesis would be complete today. I would like to acknowledge

with gratitude the helpful discussions I had there with Dr. Alice-Mary Talbot, Dr. Charles Barber and Ms. Beate Zielke.

I also wish to express special thanks to Prof. Cyril Mango, for bearing with my enquiries on monasteries and saints; to Dr. Sebastian Brock, for offering guidance through ascetic literature and for his interest in the progress of my thesis; to Mr. Nigel Wilson and Dr. Martin Kauffmann, for teaching me many things about manuscripts.

The debt of gratitude to my parents is inexhaustible. In their absence, I was lovingly looked after by Barry and Hildegart Nicholas, whose care and friendship will remain part of the best memories of these Oxford years. Anthony withstood trials and separations for the thesis' sake in the tender years of our marriage. His patient endurance and vigorous intervention whenever needed are a sign that at least one of us heeded Paul's exhortations.

CONTENTS

SHORT ABSTRACT i

LONG ABSTRACT iii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS xiii

CONTENTS xvi

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS xxii

FOREWORD xxvi

INTRODUCTION

i) Evergetis in its eleventh-century context. 1

ii) Evergetis beyond the eleventh century. 6

iii) The founder's words. 9

iv) The evidence of K. 11

CH. I: THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION OF THE EVERGETIS *KATECHETIKON*

Introduction. 17

PART I : DIRECT WITNESSES TO K

I. i) Codex *Marcianus graecus* App. II. 40. 19

I. ii) Codex *Athos Esphigmenos* 45. 32

I. iii) Codex *Atheniensis graecus* 215. 39

I. iv) Codex *Athos Vatopedi* 1216. 45

PART II: THE INDIRECT TRANSMISSION

II. i) Codex *Atheniensis graecus* 295. 47

II. ii) Codex Centre Dujcev, *Serdicensis graecus* 222. 52

II. iii) Other testimonies. 57

PART III: CODEX BODLEIAN LIBRARY, *CROMWELL* 22

III. i) Description of the codex. 58

III. ii) The audience of *Cromwell*. 68

III. iii) Value of *Cromwell* for K. 77

CONCLUSION. 79

A note on punctuation. 81

CH. II: THE *KATECHETIKON* AS A LITURGICAL HOMILIARY

Introduction. 83

PART I: LITURGICAL ARRANGEMENT

I. i) The Liturgical Calendar. 85

I. ii) Adaptations to the liturgical seasons. 92

I. iii) K texts and the Lectionary. 99

PART II: LITURGICAL PERFORMANCE

II. i) When was K read? 115

II. ii) Daily frequency. 116

II. iii) Readings at the Office. 119

II. iv) Adaptations to liturgical practice. 121

PART III: LITURGICAL FORM AND LITURGICAL LANGUAGE

III. i) Length. 125

III. ii) Rhetorical structure. 127

III. iii) Linguistic level. 133

III. iv) Liturgical expressions. 137

CONCLUSION. 140

CH. III: THE *KATECHETIKON* AS A FLORILEGIUM

Introduction. 141

PART I: CHOICE OF SOURCES

I. i) The *Katechetikon* as a florilegium. 144

I. ii) Choice of sources in K and S. 148

I. iii) S and K in context: sources of monastic spirituality. 165

PART II: ANALYSIS OF SOURCES

II. i) Method of presentation. 171

II. ii) Theodore Studite. 171

II. iii) Maximos Confessor. 189

II. iv) Pseudo-Makarios. 192

II. v) Dorotheos of Gaza. 195

II. vi) Ephrem. 199

II. vii) Mark the Monk and Pseudo-Mark (Marcian). 202

II. viii) Neilos/Evagrios. 206

II. ix) John of Karpathos. 208

II. x) Diadochos of Photike. 210

PART III: MODIFICATIONS TO SOURCE TEXTS

III. i) Degrees of Originality. 213

III. ii) Structural rearrangements. 215

III. iii) Stylistic changes. 215

III. iv) Linguistic changes. 218

III. v) Additions and glosses. 221

III. vi) Omissions. 224

III. vii) Relevance of the modifications. 229

CONCLUSION. 231

CH. IV: UNIDENTIFIED TEXTS IN THE *KATECHETIKON*

Introduction. 236

Methodology on Sources. 238

PART I: EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL TEXTS

I. i) Attitude to Biblical exegesis. 240

I. ii) Threefold exegesis in the episode of the Samaritan woman. 245

I. iii) Another eleventh-century source for the exegesis of Jn. 4, 5-42. 252

I. iv) Number Symbolism. 255

I. v) An exegesis of Galatians 3, 13. 260

I. vi) Doctrinal background. 267

PART II: EXHORTATIONS.

II. i) Hortatory function. 273

II. ii) A Biblical type for obedience: the Fall. 273

II. iii) Old Testament models. 278

II. iv) New Testament *exempla* and saints. 284

II. v) Similes for imitation: *mimesis* of human activities. 290

II. vi) Similes for imitation: *mimesis* of nature. 302

PART III: ADVICE ON MONASTIC LIFE

III. i) The virtues of privation. 312

III. ii) Life in common. 320

CONCLUSION. 330

CONCLUSION 334

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Primary Sources. 340

Secondary Literature. 349

APPENDICES

I. Table of Contents of K. 1

II. Contents of MS. *Cromwell* 22 37

III. Examples of unidentified catecheses:

- K8: On the Sunday of the Myrrophores.

Greek text. 46

English translation. 50

- K9: On the Monday of the Myrrophores.

Greek text. 53

English translation. 55

- K51: For the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul.

Greek text. 57

English translation. 60

IV. Examples of comparisons with sources.

- A key to the textual comparisons. 62

- Theodore Studite, *Magna Catachesis* (MC I, 14).

K66. 64

K67. 67

- Neilos/Evagrios (*De oratione*).

K342. 70

V. The Catechesis of St. Auxentios. 74

VI. Plates of K manuscripts.

I: M, fol. 21r.

II: M, fol. 43r.

III: M, fol. 103r.

IV: M, fol. 86r.

V: A, fol. 1r (upper half).

VI: A, fol. 1r (lower half).

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A	Codex *Atheniensis graecus* 215
AB	*Analecta Bollandiana.*
AOC	Archives de l'Orient chrétien (Paris).
AU	E. AUVRAY, ed. (cf. below: PC).
BHG	F. HALKIN, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, 3 vols., Subsidia Hagiographica 8a (3rd edn., Brussels, 1957).
BHG Auct.	F. HALKIN, *Auctarium Bibliothecae Hagiographicae Graecae*, Subsidia Hagiographica 47 (Brussels, 1969).
CBM	I. HUTTER, *Oxford, Bodleian Library* I-III, in O. DEMUS, ed., *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturhandschriften*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart, 1977-80).
CCG	M. AUBINEAU, *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci*, I: *Codices Britanniae et Hiberniae* (Paris, 1968).
CCSG	Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca (Turnhout - Leuven).
CGS	Corpus Graecorum Scriptorum (Berlin).
CL	*Sancti Theodori Studitae sermones Magnae Catecheseos*, ed. P. COZZA-LUZI, in A. MAI, ed., *Patrum Nova Bibliotheca*, 10 vols. (Rome, 1888, 1905), IX (part 2) – X.
CPG	M. GEERARD, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, 5 vols. (Turnhout, 1974-83).
Cr	Codex *Cromwell* 22
CS	Cistercian Studies (Collegeville; Kalamazoo).
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (Louvain).
D	Codex Dujcev, *Serdicensis graecus* 222
DE ALDAMA	J. A. DE ALDAMA, *Repertorium Pseudochrysostomicum* (Paris, 1965).
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers.*
DOS	Dumbarton Oaks Studies (Washington, D.C.).

DTC	*Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique,* Paris.
DS	*Dictionnaire de Spiritualité,* Paris.
EO	*Échos d'Orient.*
JANIN, III	R. JANIN, *La Géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin,* 3 vols.: III. *Les églises et les monastères de l'empire byzantin* (Paris, 1969).
JÖB	*Jahrbuch des Österreichischen Byzantinistik.*
K	Evergetis *Katechetikon.*
Lampe	G. W. H. LAMPE, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1961).
LS	H. G. LIDDEL & R. SCOTT, *A Greek-English Lexicon,* revised H. S. JONES, 9th ed. with new supplement (Oxford, 1996).
M	Codex *Marcianus graecus App.* II. 40
MC	Theodore Studite, *Magna Catechesis* (unless another edition is specified, this abbreviation refers to the unpublished transcription by J. LEROY of Book I of the collection)
MD	R. SINKEWITZ, ed., *Theoleptos of Philadelpheia: The Monastic Discourses* (Toronto, 1992).
N	Codex *Atheniensis graecus* 295
NTG	E. NESTLE & K. ALAND, eds., *Novum Testamentum Graecae* (Stuttgart 1979, 1988).
OC[A]	Orientalia Christiana [Analecta] (Rome).
OCP	*Orientalia Christiana Periodica.*
ODB	*The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium,* ed. A. P. KAZHDAN, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1991).
Philokalia	Φιλοκαλία τῶν ἱερῶν νεπτικῶν, 5 vols. (Athens, 1957-63).
PC	*Sancti patris nostri et confessoris Theodori, Studitis praepositi, Parva Catechesis,* ed. E. AUVRAY (Paris, 1891).

PG	*Patrologia cursus completus, series graeca*, ed. J. P. MIGNE, 116 vols. (Paris, 1857-66).
PK	A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Τοῦ ὁσίου Θεοδώρου τοῦ Στουδίτου μεγάλη κατήχησις* (St. Petersburg, 1904).
PL	*Patrologia cursus completus, series latina*, ed. J. P. MIGNE, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844-65).
PLP	E. TRAPP, R. WALTHER & H.-V. BEYER, eds., *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, 8 fasc. (Vienna, 1976-1986).
RAM	*Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique.*
REB	*Revue des Études Byzantines.*
ROC	*Revue de l'Orient Chrétien.*
RSBN	*Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici.*
S	PAUL OF EVERGETIS, *Εὐεργετινὸς ἤτοι Συναγωγὴ τῶν θεοφθόγγων ῥημάτων καὶ διδασκαλίων τῶν θεοφόρων καὶ ἁγίων πατέρων*, Makarios of Corinth & Nikodemos Hagiorites eds. (Venice, 1783; 7th repr. in 4 vols., Athens, 1983).
SC	Sources chrétiennes (Paris).
Théologie de la vie monastique	*Théologie de la vie monastique: Études sur la Tradition patristique*, Théologie 49 (Ligugé, 1961).
Theotokos Evergetis	M. MULLETT & A. KIRBY, eds., *The Theotokos Evergetis and eleventh-century monasticism*, Papers of the third Belfast Byzantine International Colloquium, 1-4 May, 1992, Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations, 6.1 (Belfast, 1994).

TLG	L. BERKOWITZ & K. A. SQUITIER, *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae. Canon of Greek Authors and Works* (New York-Oxford, 1986, 2nd. ed.) [References to quotations obtained by this electronic search are given in an abbreviated form according to the conventions of TLG].
TM	*Travaux et Mémoires*.
TS	Theodore Studite.
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen (Leipzig/Berlin).
V	Codex *Athos Vatopedi* 1216
Work and Worship	M. MULLETT & A. KIRKBY, eds., *Work and Worship at the Theotokos Evergetis*, Papers of the fourth Belfast Byzantine International Colloquium, 14-17 September, 1995, Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations, 6.2 (Belfast, 1997).

FOREWORD

The following study is based on a full transcription of the text of the three-hundred and sixty short catecheses extant from the *Katechetikon* of Paul of Evergetis. These transcriptions are computerized and therefore searchable in a straightforward word-processing fashion. However, the majority of these texts are diplomatic transcriptions of the catecheses from the complementary manuscripts, *Marcianus graecus* App. II 40 and Athos *Esphigmenou* 45. A critical edition has been prepared for selected texts only. Approximately one third of the entire collection has been translated into English.

I was extremely fortunate in being able to consult the work of the late Julien Leroy, OSB, at a very early stage of my doctorate. Leroy's study, forthcoming in the series Studi e Testi with the title *Introduction à l'édition des Grandes Catéchèses de Théodore Studite*, was for me an unexpected grace and a challenge. I am entirely indebted to him for the identification of the sources of the Evergetis homiliary. Such ground-work paved the way for my tackling such a vast body of material, enabling further comparison of the *Katechetikon* texts to their sources. Nevertheless, his interest in the subject required of me a different approach. I hope to have done justice to his arguments and, where I have differed with his stance, I owe this luxury precisely to his excellent and pioneering analysis of the collection.

INTRODUCTION.

i) Evergetis in its eleventh-century context.

The eleventh century is a rich and complex time in the history of Byzantium, poised between the reigns of two important rulers, that of Basil II (960-1025) and Alexius I Comnenos (1081-1118).[1] Recent scholarly attempts at characterizing this period have emphasized the instability in home affairs and the economic volatility, which, however, seem not to have corresponded to a real crisis in prosperity.[2]

The eleventh century was also marked by cultural ferment and doctrinal debates.[3] The institution of the Law school at Constantinople during the reign of Constantine IX Monomachos (1042-55) is one famous manifestation of the activity of intellectuals in the capital.[4] The first overt schism with the Latin Church in 1054 and numerous trials for heresy, increasing towards the end of the century, are two signs of unrest in the religious sphere.[5]

If the great personality of the century, Michael Psellos (1018-81?), has focussed scholarly attention in virtue of his vast literary production in different genres (historical, literary/rhetorical, philosophical, legislative

---

[1]M. ANGOLD, *The Byzantine Empire, 1025-1204: a Political History* (2nd edn., New York, 1997), begins the first part of his book, covering the years 1025 to 1118, with a chapter on 'Basil and his legacy' and concludes it with a chapter on 'Alexius I Comnenos and the West': pp. 15-170. Angold provides an up-to-date overview of recent scholarship on this period at pp. 15-23.

[2]P. LEMERLE, 'Byzance au tournant de son destin (1025-1118)', in *Cinq Études sur le XI^e siècle byzantin* (Paris, 1977), pp. 251-312.

[3]ANGOLD, *The Byzantine Empire*, pp. 99-114, describes the intellectual currents in the period.

[4]W. WOLSKA-CONUS, 'Les écoles de Psellos et de Xiphilin sous Constantin IX Monomaque', *TM* 6 (1976), 223-43 and 'L'école de droit et l'enseignement du droit à Byzance au XIe siècle: Xiphilin et Psellos', *TM* 7 (1979), 1-103.

[5]R. BROWNING, 'Enlightenment and Repression in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *Past and Present* 69 (1975), 3-23; key texts presented by J. GOUILLARD, 'Quatre procès de mystiques à Byzance (vers 960-1143). Inspiration et autorité', *REB* 36 (1978), 5-81, which also deals indirectly with the theological innovations of Symeon the New Theologian through Theodore of Blachernae and Constantine Chrysomallos, at pp. 24, 29-30, 43. On the Bogomil heresy in particular, cf. M. LOOS, 'Certains aspects du Bogomilisme byzantin des 11^e et 12^e siècles', *Byzantinoslavica* 28 (1967) 39-53 and more recently A. RIGO, 'Il processo del Bogomilo Basilio (1099 ca.): una riconsiderazione', *OCP* 58 (1992), 185-211.

and religious), nevertheless his personality cannot be taken to be wholly representative of his time. As already pointed out by Joan Hussey, there is the necessity of

> making use of the writings of ecclesiastics, or monks or scholars [not just histories and legal works], such as Symeon the New Theologian, or his pupil the Studite monk Nicetas, [...], or John Mauropos

in order to portray the eleventh century in its completeness.[6] Even so, Psellos commanded a great deal of Hussey's attention in her fundamental study of the period.[7]

While Hussey did attempt to discover in the eleventh century the same climate of asceticism that had prevailed in the latter part of the previous century, which had seen the organization and expansion of the first Athonite foundations on that holy mountain,[8] her appreciation of the eleventh-century humanists continued to be expressed in terms of their representing that ever-same hellenizing tendency characteristic of Byzantine literature.[9] Even Symeon the New Theologian, within this view, was imbued with the same hellenism in virtue of his elegant style.[10]

After Hussey, the peculiar rôle of the monastic world during the eleventh century has been increasingly highlighted. The importance of the new monastic foundations as sources for the spirituality of the eleventh century is now widely accepted.[11] From the archeological evidence, Cyril Mango observed traces of exceptional monastic expansion:

---

[6]J. M. HUSSEY, *Ascetics and Humanists in Eleventh-Century Byzantium* (London, 1960), p. 3.

[7]J. M. HUSSEY, *Church and Learning in the Byzantine Empire 867-1185* (London, 1937): Ch. IV at pp. 73-88 is dedicated to Psellos, but he also occupies an essential place in the previous two chapters, pp. 37-72.

[8]HUSSEY, *Ascetics and Humanists*, p. 13; R. MORRIS, 'The Byzantine Aristocracy and the monasteries', in M. ANGOLD, ed., *The Byzantine Aristocracy XI-XIII Centuries* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 112-29, at p. 113: "the heyday of holy mountains and charismatic monastic founders".

[9]HUSSEY, *Ascetics and Humanists*, pp. 20-21: she concluded that "it was impossible to escape what has been called the 'perennial hellenism' [...] by ascetic and humanist alike".

[10]HUSSEY, *Ascetics and Humanists*, p. 20: "Symeon's writings belie his repudiation of secular learning. Whatever he might say, he wrote clearly, directly, simply, and his was not the prose or the poetry of an uneducated man. He was often a grand stylist."

[11]G. PODSKALSKY, 'Religion and Religious Life in Eleventh-Century Byzantium', in S. VRYONIS & H. BIRNBAUM, eds., *Byzantine Studies. Essays on the Slavic World and the Eleventh Century* (New Rochelle, New York, 1992), pp. 153-73, at p. 156.

> les monuments du XI^e siècle témoignent d'un gros investissement de capitaux dans la construction des monastères et de l'application de nouvelles idées architecturales puisées dans le Caucase.[12]

In the same volume of *Travaux et Mémoires* dedicated to the eleventh century, Darrouzès summarized the evidence on monastic foundations in that period, underlining the characteristics given to each monastery by the personality of the founder, whose authority determined the institutional status enjoyed by the monastery.[13]

Research on monastic foundations has naturally concentrated on the institutional aspects set out in the *typika*.[14] From the tenth century onwards, the issuing of a foundation charter frequently accompanied the creation of new monastic establishments.[15] While detailing the daily activities prescribed for the monks in each foundation, these documents do not seem to have been composed according to a set pattern.[16] A pivotal question in recent scholarship on this subject has become that of the relationship between monks and laymen, focussed around the institution of *charistike* or patronage of a monastery.[17]

In his book on private monastic foundations, John Thomas examines the similarities and differences between the rôle of *charistikarios* and that of

---

[12]C. MANGO, 'Les monuments de l'architecture du XI^e siècle et leur signification historique et sociale', *TM* 6 (1976), 351-65, at p. 365.

[13]J. DARROUZÈS, 'Le mouvement des fondations monastiques au XI^e siècle', *TM* 6 (1976), 159-76, esp. pp. 174-75. The Evergetis monastery is listed on p. 163.

[14]The most recent list of known *typika* and their editions is by A.-A. THIERMEYER, 'Das Typikon-Ktetorikon und sein literaristorischer Kontext', *OCP* 58 (1984), 478-86, at pp. 487-505. The Evergetis *Hypotyposis*, mentioned at p. 490, is dated to 1065 on the basis of the attribution of its redaction to the second founder, Timothy. For the English-speaking world, the publication of the translations of the *typika* by the Dumbarton Oaks Typika Project is a long-awaited event.

[15]E. HERMAN, 'Ricerche sulle istituzioni monastiche bizantine. Typika ktetorika, caristicari e monasteri "liberi"', *OCP* 6 (1940), 293-375, at pp. 372-75 concentrates on the changes during the tenth and eleventh centuries, raising the question of whether the interaction between monasteries and the socio-economic conditions in which they came into being can be described in terms of feudalism.

[16]This is the conclusion of the study by C. GALATARIOTOU, 'Byzantine Ktetorika Typika: a Comparative Study', *REB* 45 (1987), 77-139, at pp. 80, 136.

[17]The recent book by R. MORRIS, *Monks and Laymen in Byzantium 843-1118* (Cambridge, 1995), argues for a closer relation between the two social groups and a considerable fluidity in the passage from one status to another.

the traditional lay person initiating a private foundation.[18] The two figures had much in common. They shared the same essential relationship with respect to ownership and transaction rights of monastic property, and enjoyed the same rights to burial within the monastic walls and to posthumous commemoration for the patron and his family. Yet while the former lay patrons normally initiated their own foundation, *charistikarioi* were only supposed to intervene for the restoration of a ruined establishment.[19] Indeed, patronage was often advocated by the monasteries themselves, when in need of financial help and protection.[20]

Thomas singles out the lucrative aspect of the new exploitation of monastic establishments as the cause for ecclesiastical opposition to *charistike* and the abuses it encourages.[21] The most effective expression of such opposition came in the remonstrations of John the Oxite, patriarch of Antioch, towards the end of the century.[22] Given the absence of hereditary rights of *charistikarioi* over their foundations (unlike the laymen in private foundations), the practice of *charistike* dissolved rapidly under the attacks of its opponents. The *charistikarioi* did not, however, cease their rôle completely, but often transformed themselves into acceptable alternative patrons by the name of ephors.[23]

Thomas argues that the impulse to new monastic foundations in the eleventh century came about as a reaction to the abuses of *charistike*. A reference in John of Antioch's speech to "these recently founded and easily enumerated cenobitic monasteries" which escaped the institution of

---

[18]J. P. THOMAS, *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire*, DOS 24 (1987), pp. 175-91.
[19]THOMAS, *Private Religious Foundations*, p. 189.
[20]THOMAS, *Private Religious Foundations*, pp. 187, 190-91.
[21]THOMAS, *Private Religious Foundations*, p. 189.
[22]Text ed. by P. GAUTIER, 'Réquisitoire du patriarche Jean d'Antioche contre le charisticariat', *REB* 33 (1975), 77-132; further documents on this question ed. by J. DARROUZÈS, 'Dossier sur le charisticariat', in P. WIRTH, ed., *Polychronion: Festschrift Franz Dölger* (Heidelberg, 1966), pp. 150-65, at 157-61.
[23]THOMAS, *Private Religious Foundations*, pp. 212 and 218; GALATARIOTOU, 'Byzantine Ktetorika Typika', pp. 113-16.

charistike has been interpreted as alluding to the Evergetis monastery as one "of these new independent institutions".[24]

The Evergetis *Hypotyposis* describes the new foundation as consisting of a small group of monks gathered around the figure of the founder, Paul, who set out from Constantinople in 1048-49 to establish a religious community on his family's suburban estate.[25] The description recalls the provisions for independence granted to small communities by the Novel of Basil II promulgated in 996. According to the Novel, groups of eight to ten men who led the religious life around a country church should not be designated as a 'monastery', and were thus exempt from any obligation to the local bishop, who therefore had no right to seize their property either for his own use or to pass it on to a lay potentate.[26]

In his conclusion, Thomas presents the independent monasteries, such as the Evergetis, as the precursors of the reform of *charistike*, which became widely accepted at the level of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the governing aristocracy by the time of the Comneni:

> by the end of the eleventh century, private benefactors, reacting to the abuses of the *charistike*, began to search for an alternative form of institutional organization that would be more conducive to the religious purposes of their foundations. [...] As in the medieval West, a slowly developing monastic reform based on new forms of organisation actually preceded the more broadly based ecclesiastical reform of the late eleventh century and anticipated the needs of these new consciencious benefactors.[27]

It is therefore legitimate to say that the new foundations contributed to the transformations of *charistike* by the end of the century.[28]

---

[24]THOMAS, *Private Religious Foundations*, p. 220; M. ANGOLD, *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081-1261* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 278.

[25]P. GAUTIER, 'Le Typikon de la Théotokos Évergétis', *REB* 40 (1982), 5-101, at pp. 15-17, ll. 22-49. The words describing the estate in the *Hypotyposis* are προάστειον (l. 22) and ἀγρίδιον (l. 31).

[26]C. MANGO, *Byzantium, the Empire of New Rome* (London, 1980), pp. 116-17; P. CHARANIS, 'The Monastic Properties and the State in the Byzantine Empire', *DOP* 4 (1948), 53-118, at p. 77.

[27]THOMAS, *Private Religious Foundations*, p. 214. My emphasis.

[28]For a recent evaluation of a comparable impetus of reform in the West, and in particular, the contribution of the spirituality of Peter Damian to the reform of pope Gregory VII in the last decades of the century, cf. G. FORNASARI, *Medioevo riformato del secolo XI. Pier Damiani e Gregorio VII*, Nuovo Medioevo 42 (Napoli, 1996).

It is likely that, after a period of subsistence at the margins of the monastic world, competing with long-established private foundations both for prestige and wealth, the acceptance of the new institutions in the second half of the eleventh century led to their expansion. This trend is reflected in the intervention of the "second founder" of the Evergetis monastery, Timothy, who claims to have radically altered the original appearance of the foundation.[29]

ii) Evergetis beyond the eleventh century.

If the beginnings of the Evergetis foundation offer an opportunity to enter the debate about monastic activity at a fundamental juncture in Byzantine history,[30] the importance of the foundation may be primarily appreciated by its influence upon twelfth-century monastic establishments. Such influence may be observed in the form of textual borrowings from the Evergetis *Hypotyposis* for the composition of other charters, such as the *typikon* of Kecharitomene (ca. 1110-16), the *typikon* of St. John Phoberou (1112), the *typikon* of the Kosmosoteira (1152), the *typikon* of St. Mamas (1158) and that of the monastery of the Altars of Elijah (1161-62). Although the extent of the textual borrowings vary from case to case, the formation of an Evergetine "family" around this charter has become clear to a number of scholars working independently on these documents.[31]

It is clearly important to find reasons for this influence. One reason may lie in the organization of the monastery, that made its statutes

---

[29]GAUTIER, 'Évergétis', p. 17, ll. 49-58.
[30]M. MULLETT, 'Introduction: the monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis', in *Theotokos Evergetis*, pp. 1-16, at p. 5: "dating from the eleventh century, [Evergetis] would seem to have far-reaching implications for our understanding of Byzantine monasticism".
[31]J. P. THOMAS, 'Documentary Evidence from the Byzantine Monastic Typika for the History of the Evergetine Reform Movement', in *Theotokos Evergetis*, pp. 246-73; R. JORDAN, 'The Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis, its Children and Grandchildren', in *Theotokos Evergetis*, pp. 215-45. Dmitrievskij had already noticed the similarity between Evergetis and Kosmosoteira in a work mentioned (with a summary) by G. BERTONIÈRE, *The Historical Development of the Easter Vigil and Related Services in the Greek Church*, OCA 193 (1972), at pp. 168-69 (*Khilandarskij Sinaksar*, p. 473, n. 1).

intrinsically appealing for imitation. Another could be found in a contingent impulse to the diffusion of the Evergetis charter in the twelfth century.

A study of the unique extant manuscript of the Evergetis *typikon*, codex Athens, *Ethnike Bibliotheke, Atheniensis graecus* 788,[32] revealed that its copying can be dated on paleographical and art-historical grounds around the first quarter of the twelfth century (1120-30?).[33] The manuscript is an elegant parchment illuminated copy of the documents, containing both the liturgical *typikon* or *Synaxarion* (at fols. 1-179v)[34] and the administrative *typikon* or *Hypotyposis* (at fols. 180r-220).

The text in this codex contains an addition, written in the scribe's hand, which mentions a contemporary benefactor as

> ὁ πανσέβαστος σεβαστὸς καὶ μέγα δούξ, ὁ μοναχὸς κῦρις Ἀντώνιος,[35]

a person identified by Gautier as John Doukas.[36] The reference to the monk Antonios as John Doukas may be found in a similar commemorative context in the *typikon* of the Kecharitomene:

> Τελείσθωσαν τὰ μνημόσυνα τοῦ περιποθήτου αὐταδέλφου τῆς βασιλείας μου, τοῦ πανσεβάστου σεβαστοῦ κυροῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δούκα, τοῦ διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἀγγελικοῦ

---

[32]I. & A. SAKKELION, *Κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς Ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος* (Athens, 1892), pp. 141-42; A.-A. THIERMEYER, 'Der Codex Atheniensis graecus 788, sein literarhistorische Context und das Theotokos-Evergetis-Kloster zu Konstantinopel', unpublished Tesina della Licenza, Pontificio Istituto Orientale (Rome, 1990), pp. 1-6. Thiermeyer studied from a microfilm, as he declared at p. 2, n. 4.

[33]The codex was dated to the twelfth century by its catalogue and by a number of scholars: A. EHRHARD, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche*, 3 vols., TU 50-52 (1937, 1938, 1943), I, p. 318; H. G. BECK, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (2nd edn., Munich, 1977), p. 590. The tentative suggestion by O. Kresten of an early fourteenth-century dating (as reported by GAUTIER, 'Évergétis', at p. 13) is not confirmed by a first-hand observation of the codex. I was able to study the codex at the National Library of Athens thanks to the Victor and Elizabeth Catling Travel Bursary in December 1994. The results of this study are forthcoming in *Scriptorium*.

[34]The *Synaxarion* for Lent starts at fol. 122r.

[35]GAUTIER, 'Évergétis', p. 17, ll. 1346-47.

[36]GAUTIER, 'Évergétis', pp. 10-11, p. 92 at n. 73; cf. D. POLEMIS, *The Doukai. A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography* (London, 1968), no. 25, pp. 66-70, at p. 69 and n. 18.

μεγάλου σχήματος μετονομασθέντος κυροῦ Ἀντωνίου, καθ' ἣν ἂν ἡμέραν ἐκδημήσῃ...[37]

This commemoration was instigated by John's sister, Irene Doukaina, wife of Alexios I and founder of the Kecharitomene monastery, to which she retired after the death of her husband in 1118.[38] The uncertainty about the precise date for the commemoration indicates that John was still alive at the time of the redaction of the *typikon*, thought to date around 1110.[39]

The very similar formulations of the two documents suggest a temporal closeness, so that a *terminus post quem* of about 1110 may be established.[40] Further, given Gautier's impression that the passage in the Evergetis *Hypotyposis* also mentions John as if he was still living,[41] the *terminus ante quem* may be established by the mention of John as dead in the commemorative offerings prescribed by the *typikon* of the Pantokrator, dated 1136.[42]

The rich ornament and high quality of the Athens manuscript argue for the sponsorship of a patron behind its production. Considering the special mention of John Doukas in the redaction of the document, it may be suggested that his patronage marked imperial approval upon the Evergetis foundation. It is not unlikely that such patronage played a part in determining the enormous influence of the Evergetis charter on twelfth-century foundations. The family relationship between John Doukas and the

---

[37]P. GAUTIER, 'Le Typikon de la Théotokos Kécharitôménè', *REB* 43 (1985), 5-165, p. 125, ll. 1866-69 and n. 42.
[38]POLEMIS, *The Doukai*, no. 26, p. 71.
[39]The relevant passage is included in the first part, dated by Gautier according to the mention of the patriarch Nikolas Grammatikos as still living (†1111): GAUTIER, 'Théotokos Kécharitôménè', p. 13.
[40]We may suggest that the omission of John's name from the Evergetis *Hypotyposis* may be accounted for by the possibility that he actually became a monk at that monastery. His retreat to monastic life happened sometime after his last campaign against the Arabs in 1097: POLEMIS, *The Doukai*, p. 69.
[41]GAUTIER, 'Évergétis', p. 11, p. 92 at n. 75: it certainly does not mention him explicitly as dead, speaking of him in the third person from the voice of a first-person plural.
[42]P. GAUTIER, 'Le Typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator', *REB* 32 (1974), 1-145, p. 43, l. 234: τοῦ ἑτέρου θείου αὐτῆς τοῦ μεγάλου δουκός.

pious Irene offers an attractive explanation for the link between the Evergetis and the new imperial foundations.[43]

From these observations, it is clear not only that the extant codex of the Evergetis *typika* is a twelfth-century product, but also that the text it carries is a revised recension of the original documents. Awareness of the different layers within the Evergetis *typika* has raised the important question of discerning the chronology of its composition. In particular, one may ask how much of the initial character of the foundation has been preserved in the recension that has come down to us, after Timothy's expansion and John Doukas' patronage.

iii) The founder's words.

To regain an authentic picture of the early stages of the Evergetis foundation, going beyond the somewhat disparaging picture painted by the "second founder" of the poor achievements of his predecessor, could be achieved only by interrogating the founder himself. Paul's words could provide a foil against which the later recension of the Evergetis *typika* could be assessed.

Paul's writings consist of a four-volume ascetic anthology, known as the *Evergetinos* or *Synagoge* (henceforth: S), and of a liturgical poem. While the attribution of the latter is traditional, but disputed,[44] the ascetic collection has been transmitted univocally under Paul's authorship.[45] A list of over eighty manuscripts of the collection attests its great popularity and

---

[43]This view was expressed by ANGOLD, *Church and Society*, at p. 276, and shows, according to his analysis, "how the Comneni harnessed a monastic revival" to further their own ends.

[44]For the hymn to the Virgin at compline, cf. E. FOLLIERI, *Initia hymnorum Ecclesiae graecae*, Studi e Testi 211-215* (Città del Vaticano, 1960-66), V, p. 297; C. ÉMEREAU, 'Hymnographi byzantini quorum nomina in litteras digessit notulisque adornavit', *EO* 24 (1925), 164-79, at p. 168. For the bibliography on the controversial attribution, see J. PARGOIRE, 'Constantinople: le couvent de l' Évergétis', *EO* 9 (1906), 366-73; 10 (1907), 155-67, 249-63, at p. 261. The text is printed in the *Ὡρολόγιον τὸ μέγα* (Rome, 1876), at p. 123.

[45]A. SOLIGNAC, 'Paul Évergétinos', *DS* 12 (1984), cols. 562-64, at 563.

diffusion, especially in the fourteenth century.[46] It has been argued that such diffusion contributed to the influence of the monastery.[47] The popularity of S is also witnessed by the inscriptions on the saints' scrolls in the frescoes at the Enkleistra of Neophytos the Recluse on Cypros, painted in the saint's life-time.[48]

Despite an abundance of fairly recent publications,[49] the length of the collection and its character as a florilegium has discouraged or dispersed attempts at gleaning a unitary thought behind it.[50] The reason lies partly in the absence of a critical edition of the text, which would identify its sources in detail and single out the passages attributable to the compiler.[51] It is precisely through such detailed identification, and building on the background of a life-long study of Byzantine spiritual writings, that Hausherr wrote what remains to date the most comprehensive attempt at an outline of the spirituality of S.[52]

New hope of achieving a plainly stated theory of the beginning of the foundation was raised in a seminal article by Julien Leroy, who announced

---

[46]I have been revising the list published by M. RICHARD, 'Florilèges spirituels grecs', *DS* 5 (1964), cols. 475-512, at 503, with the help of the computerized index of manuscripts published in Toronto: R. E. SINKEWITZ, *Manuscript Listings for the Authors of the Patristic and Byzantine Periods*, Greek Index Project Series 4 (Toronto, 1992). Experience has shown that the lists obtained from the Index must be used with caution and verified by direct consultation of the codices to avoid misleading references.

[47]ANGOLD, *Church and Society*, at p. 270.

[48]C. MANGO & E. J. W. HAWKINS, 'The Hermitage of St. Neophytos', *DOP* 20 (1966), 121-206, at p. 170 and n. 145 for St. Ephrem the Syrian; p. 171 and n. 150 for St. Theodore the Sanctified; p. 171 and n. 151 for St. Pachomios. Thomas defined the Enkleistra as "a kind of 'low church' member of the Evergetine tradition of foundation documents": THOMAS, 'Documentary Evidence', at pp. 267-68.

[49]F. HALKIN, 'Les cinq éditions du florilège de Paul Évergétinos', *AB* 89 (1970), 264. The most recent reprint of the *editio princeps* by Makarios of Korinth and Nikodemos Hagiorites was published in Athens in 1983.

[50]See the studies by E. M. COLLINS, 'The *Synagoge* of Paul of Evergetis: a Patristic Manual for Middle Byzantine Monasticism', *Studia Patristica* 23 (1989), 8-12 and 'A Neglected Manual of Spiritual Life: the *Synagoge* of Paul Evergetinos', *Sobornost* 12 (1990), 47-51.

[51]I understand that the translation project for the *Synagoge* will attempt such an identification, although the Englishing will be carried out on the printed text with *ad hoc* consultation of the manuscripts. A recent study of Paul's editorial work in S is that by M. B. CUNNINGHAM, 'Creative Selection? Paul of Evergetis' Use of Mark the Monk in the *Synagoge*', in *Work and Worship*, pp. 134-42. Cunningham has adopted the parallel-text comparisons that I used for the study of Paul's editorial work in K (see Appendix IV), stressing that her study is very much "work in progress" (at p. 141).

[52]I. HAUSHERR, 'Paul Evergétinos a-t-il connu Syméon le Nouveau Théologien?', *OCP* 23 (1957), 58-79, esp. pp. 63-67.

his discovery of a collection of catecheses attributed to Paul of Evergetis.[53] Despite Leroy's warnings, already contained in that first presentation, of the derivative nature of the collection, the study of the text seemed to be a worthwhile enterprise, in view of possibly regaining the founder's own words.

In investigating the collection in this thesis, attention has been paid particularly to the following question: in what way can the *Katechetikon* (henceforth: K) help us to reconstruct the initial picture of the Evergetis foundation? Or, in different words, can the material of K assist in the discernment of layers of composition in the *typika*?

iv) The evidence of K.

K brings fresh evidence to the Evergetis dossier and to the history of the foundation in various ways. These different areas are explored in turn in the course of this thesis.

The study of K leads to other valuable manuscript witnesses to the Evergetine *corpus* of codices. It has not been possible to link these manuscripts firmly with the activity of the Evergetis scriptorium around 1060-80, when most of the extant signed codices were produced.[54] Nevertheless, the codices of K are found to date from the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century, thus representing a tradition close to the

---

[53]J. LEROY, 'Un nouveau témoin de la Grande Catéchèse de S. Théodore Studite', *REB* 15 (1957), 73-88; the announced edition never saw the light, as reported by SOLIGNAC, 'Paul Évergétinos', col. 564; a similar regret is expressed by COLLINS, 'A Neglected Manual', p. 47.

[54]A very early attempt at this kind of study is to be found in my article, 'Towards a Study of the Scriptorium of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis: Preliminary Remarks', in *Theotokos Evergetis*, pp. 176-97, based on the seminal study by J. IRIGOIN, 'Paléographie et codicologie: la production d'un scriptorium de Constantinople peu après le milieu du XI^{e} siècle', in P. COCKSHAW, M.-C. GARAND & P. JODOGNE, *Miscellanea codicologica F. Masai dicata* MCMLXXIX, Les Publications de Scriptorium 8, 2 vols. (Gand, 1979), I, pp. 175-83. It would seem that at least one extant copy of S can be attributed to the scriptorium, MS. Venice, *Marcianus gr.* App. II. 68. This codex was clearly written in two hands, *pace* the affirmation in the catalogue, "ab uno eodemque librario summa diligentia exaratus": E. MIONI, *Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum codices graeci manuscripti*, 7 vols. (Rome, 1967-87), I. i, p. 191. In the absence of a subscription, the identification on codicological grounds can only remain hypothetical.

date of composition, *ante* 1054, and not incompatible with the attribution to Paul. The only manuscript note attesting such an attribution is shown to come from a reliable Constantinopolitan tradition, albeit in a later codex.

The number of manuscripts attests a diffusion of the collection which has implications for the evaluation of the impact of the founder's compilation on monasteries beyond his own, not unlike the success of S in importance, though restricted in quantity. Other traces of the connexions between Evergetis and other foundations gleaned through the manuscripts are given due consideration.

The systematic ordering of the collection reveals a precise liturgical function. In its sensitivity to the liturgical ordering, K reflects a concern of the times, in a period which saw the formation of the Menologion by the work of Symeon Metaphrastes[55] and of the verse calendars of Christophoros Mytileneos.[56]

K brings to our attention the practice of daily reading of the catechesis mentioned by the *Hypotyposis* and offers the relevant texts for its fulfilment. Since the liturgical reading of the catecheses was performed specifically by the *higoumenos*, K does provide the *ipsissima verba* of the abbot for such occasions. In reconstructing K, a part of the liturgical reading of the original Evergetine community is brought to light.

Such liturgical consciousness is well attuned to the interest in liturgical practice demonstrated in the Evergetis liturgical *typikon* (*Synaxarion*) and reflects similar innovations.[57] The evidence of K provides

---

[55]The dates of Symeon Metaphrastes have been long debated, but now scholars seem to agree that he should be dated around the year 1000. Cf. S. G. MERCATI, 'Versi di Niceforo Uranos in morte di Simeone Metafraste', *AB* 68 (1950), 126-34, establishing Metaphrastes' dates.

[56]E. FOLLIERI, *I calendari in metro innografico di Cristoforo Mitileneo*, Subsidia Hagiographica 63, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1980).

[57]The importance of the liturgy preserved by this document, developing Studite practices with elements from the liturgy of St. Sabbas (Palestinian rite), has been studied for some time: cf. BERTONIÈRE, *Historical Development*, pp. 142, 164, 225-27, 298. The most recent study is the thesis by J. KLENTOS, 'Byzantine Liturgy in Twelfth-century Constantinople: An Analysis of the *Synaxarion* of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis (codex Athens Ethnike Bibliotheke 788)', unpublished Ph. D. (University of Notre Dame, 1995). The edition

a further point of reference for the dating of the *Synaxarion*, elucidating the relation between the liturgical and the administrative *typika*, both contained in the Athens manuscript, in which they were written by the same hand.[58] It would appear that the *Synaxarion* has undergone a more radical revision than the *Hypotyposis* in the extant twelfth-century redaction.

The unraveling of the structure of K according to the order of the Byzantine liturgical year begins to clarify the compiler's aims in assembling his texts. Consonance between the liturgical season and the content of the address was one of the aims pursued. Paul's use of sources in K deploys well-known techniques in preparing a homiliary. Grégoire warns the unwary editor that

> Les prologues des homélies sont souvent transférés d'une homélie à une autre ou même supprimés; cet astucieux camouflage donne parfois l'illusion trompeuse de découvrir des textes inédits. Ces modifications avaient une justification «kérygmatique»: on s'autorisait à modifier une tradition textuelle en vue de l'adapter à des nouvelles exigences.[59]

These "nouvelles exigences" may be purely practical, such as the time-constraints imposed on the length of the catechesis during the liturgical service,[60] or the form used to address the audience;[61] but they may also reflect deeper concerns with liturgical practice or theological inclination.

When the sources of the homiliary are considered, K's nature as a florilegium is discussed. Unlike a miscellaneous manuscript, a florilegium assembles different texts within the aims of a coherent collection. The contribution of florilegia to the theological debates of the earlier period has

---

of the text is still that by A. DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rukopisej, charanjastichcja v bibliotekach pravoslavnago vostoka*, 2 vols. (Kiev, 1895), I, pp. 256-614.

[58]*Contra* GAUTIER, 'Évergétis', pp. 12-13. This is a case in which the same hand has employed two different styles of writing, each suited to the contents of the text it is copying: a small abbreviated shorthand for the liturgical instructions, a legible hieratic calligraphic minuscule for the texts that would be read out aloud. Both styles are found in the *Synaxarion*, e.g. at fol. 144r.

[59]R. GRÉGOIRE, 'Homéliaires', *DS* 7. 1 (1969), cols. 597-617: 'Homéliaires byzantins', cols. 607-12, at 609.

[60]M. SACHOT, *Les Homélies grecques sur la Transfiguration: tradition manuscrite* (Paris, 1987), p. 25.

[61]For example, the changes of all masculine to feminine forms in the adaptation of K for a community of nuns in MS. *Cromwell* 22.

been ascertained.[62] An example of a similar contribution in the later Byzantine period may be found in the doctrinal collection of the *Parisinus gr.* 1115.[63]

Although two collections may cover similar topics of spirituality, their distinct character becomes apparent even at a superficial comparison. For example, the monastic character of S is evidenced by a comparison with the more general, lay spirituality proposed by the Patmian florilegium, in spite of the overlapping themes.[64]

When compared with S, the structure of K reveals that the two collections were conceived as complementary. Any conclusion drawn from listing the sources of S alone must be modified in view of the sources adduced by K. Henceforth, it will no longer be possible to analyse one without the other. The popularity of such florilegia in the eleventh and twelfth centuries is a sign of their importance as instruments in the critical transmission of tradition.[65]

The compiler's criteria for discrimination, and consequently his aims, are detectable not only through the selection chosen, but also in his handling of sources. Parallel-text analyses demonstrate the compiler's alteration to his source, often resulting in a very new composition. The value of these modifications in contributing to our understanding of a text and its author are emphasized, for a different literary genre, in an article by Alexander Kazhdan:

> Different versions of the *Vita* of the same saint are often studied from a textological viewpoint: we attempt to establish the archetype and understand who cribbed from whom. But would it not be more profitable to analyse alterations introduced by the copyist or imitator,

---

[62]See, for example, S. P. BROCK, 'A Monothelete Florilegium in Syriac', in *Studies in Syriac Christianity*, Variorum Reprints (London, 1992), XIV.

[63]Cf. A. ALEXAKIS, *Codex Parisinus graecus 1115 and its Archetype*, DOS 34 (1996).

[64]Cf. É. SARGOLOGOS, ed., *Un traité de vie spirituelle et morale du XI^e siècle: le florilège sacro-profane du manuscrit 6 de Patmos* (Thessaloniki, 1990).

[65]See for example the thematic florilegium on the Eucharist by John the Oxite, which is the subject of a current Oxford thesis. A great deal of work is still necessary to make these medieval florilegia available in adequate editions.

> to grasp the system of these alterations, and to fathom the social and cultural roots of this system?[66]

This methodology applies to the study of K, so that the painstaking process of gathering the data concerning the modifications of the compiler to his source may ultimately provide an understanding of contemporary attitudes to the topics addressed in these medieval compilations.

To appreciate the appeal to the authority of the Fathers, despite our modern taste for original, personal expression of ideas, compilations such as S and K demand from us a mental transposition into the medieval world where florilegia were clearly used to propound ideas, even to spread reform.[67]

Even the hope of hearing the direct words of the founder and compiler Paul in a number of texts whose sources remain as yet unidentified must undergo some revision. In the context of a majority of borrowed texts, "originality" cannot be attributed with certainty. While preserving distinct echoes of distant, perhaps lost, sources, the value of these unidentified catecheses as witnesses to a particular medieval spirituality is not diminished. Without privileging these unidentified catecheses for their especial originality, they may nevertheless constitute the core of a first edition of K.

Although the initially exciting prospect of gaining easy access to Paul's own words in the sermons of K has been qualified by this study of the collection, its importance has been emphasized anew. To show that the collection is capable of offering a valuable contribution to historical research in the field of Byzantine monasticism has been the primary aim of this study. Indeed, these seemingly impervious texts can be fruitfully

---

[66]A. KAZHDAN, 'Innovation in Byzantium', in A. R. LITTLEWOOD, ed., *Originality in Byzantine Literature: a Collection of Essays*, Oxbow Monograph 50 (Oxford, 1995), pp. 1-14, at 10.

[67]FORNASARI, *Medioevo riformato*, at p. 54, notes how patristic florilegia should be considered as sources for the formation of the spirituality of Peter Damian, and at n. 7 relates Ryan's affirmation (in 1956) that "the history of medieval patristic florilegia remains relatively poorly known".

examined to obtain some answers to our questions about the beginnings of the Evergetis and its rôle in the eleventh century.

CHAPTER I

THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION OF THE EVERGETIS *KATECHETIKON*

Introduction.

K has been trasmitted by few, yet early, manuscript witnesses.[1] The most important are the complementary codices, *Marcianus graecus App.* II. 40[2] and *Athos Esphigmenou* 45.[3] These codices may be dated on paleographical grounds to the twelfth century. Together, they hand down to us the greatest part of the corpus of Paul's catecheses.

Overlapping with the *Marcianus* is the slightly earlier codex, *Atheniensis graecus* 215,[4] precious for its confirmation of the liturgical sequence established by the *Marcianus* and for its more accurate punctuation. K texts are also witnessed in two eleventh-century folios of the miscellanea, *Athos Vatopedi* 1216 (K268 & K271), folios dropped out from an initially complete manuscript.[5] The codicological and palaeographical description of these four manuscripts will be given in Part I of this chapter.

Part II includes the description of a second group of manuscript witnesses, featuring the sporadic inclusion of K texts in manuscripts of Theodore Studite's catecheses. *Atheniensis graecus* 295[6] has been signalled by Leroy as containing two such texts (K309 at fol. 5r and K311 at fol. 9r), without any distinguishing characteristics between the authors apart from the absence of a title for Paul's texts. Similarly, the absence of a title has led to the identification of at least one more K text in a manuscript of Theodore's

---

[1] LEROY, 'Un nouveau témoin', at p. 76.
[2] MIONI, *Bibliothecae Divi Marci*, I. i, pp. 131-39.
[3] S. LAMBROS, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mt. Athos*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1895, 1900), II, p. 176 (= Athos 2058).
[4] SAKKELION, *Κατάλογος*, p. 41.
[5] S. EUSTRATIADES & A. VATOPEDINOS, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Monastery of Vatopedi on Mount Athos*, Harvard Theological Studies 11 (Cambridge, Mass., 1924), p. 204.
[6] SAKKELION, *Κατάλογος*, p. 51.

catecheses at the Dujcev Centre in Sofia, codex Dujcev, *Serdicensis graecus* 222, dated to the year 1291 (K329 at fol. 137r).[7] Leroy further signalled the text of K195 in a fourteenth-century manuscript, *Sinaiticus graecus* 482, beginning at fol. 242.[8]

Finally, a liturgical compilation combining the texts of the *higoumenoi* Theodore Studite and Paul of Evergetis in regular alternation will be the focus of Part III. Oxford, Bodleian Library, *Cromwell* 22 was copied by the hieromonk Mark in 1315.[9] It was probably Mark himself who altered many turns of phrase into the feminine gender for the benefit of an unspecified convent. Working simultaneously from two codices, one containing the works of Theodore, the other of Paul, Mark added precise lemmas of attribution for each catechesis. In this manuscript is also found the only note attributing K to Paul, identified as the "founder and *higoumenos* of the monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis".[10]

For a complete table of contents of K, see Appendix I.

---

[7] A. DJUROVA & E. VELKOVSKA, 'Manuscritos griegos datados de la colección del Centro de Investigaciones Eslavo-Bizantinas 'Ivan Dujcev' (siglos XII-XIV)', in *Simposio sobre el tiempo* (Madrid, 1990), pp. 111-38, at 114-15; A. DJUROVA & E. VELKOVSKA, 'Manuscrits grecs datés provenant de la collection du Centre de Recherches Slavo-Byzantines 'Ivan Dujcev' (XII-XIV^{e} siècles)', in *Ex Oriente Lux, mélanges au prof. Jean Blankoff*, 2 vols. (Brusselles, 1991), II, pp. 95-110, at 101.

[8] The manuscript is described as containing 'Selections from the Sayings of the Fathers' in M. KAMIL, *Catalogue of All Manuscripts in the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai* (Wiesbaden, 1970), p. 81, which superseded the reference in V. GARDTHAUSEN, *Catalogus codicum graecorum Sinaiticorum* (Oxford, 1886), p. 117. I regret not to have been able to consult this codex.

[9] H. COXE, *Quarto Catalogues*. I: *Greek Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1969), cols. 450-51.

[10] On p. 48, col. b: Greek text given below.

PART I

DIRECT WITNESSES TO K

I. i) Codex *Marcianus graecus* App. II. 40.

SYMBOL: M

DATE: Part I (fols. 1r-37v): 13th cent. ex.

Part II (fols. 38r-342v): 12th cent., first half

STRUCTURE:[11] Parchment codex, measuring approximately 280 x 195 mm., containing 343 folios preceded by two paper and two parchment flyleaves; the flyleaves were foliated 2-5, while the rest of the leaves has two foliations, both written on the upper right corner of the recto of each folio: an older one, which is not extant on every folio, and which presumably continued from the flyleaves, but numbered fol. 1 as '7'; a more recent foliation, whose writing is larger, numbering 1-343 (the latter is followed in the edition). No watermark is visible on flyleaves i-ii; flyleaves iii-iv and fol. 343 are constituted by different sized pieces of parchment sewn together, bearing fragments of liturgical texts, in a late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century script;[12] fols. 1-37 (= part I) are ruled for 28 lines, in Leroy type 30D1, system 1; fols. 38-342 (= part II) are ruled for 27/28 lines, in Leroy type 32C1, system 1.[13] In part I, prickings are only visible in the lower margin, as small triangular shapes; in part II, prickings were executed by a very sharp and penetrating point, and are visible in both the lateral and the lower margins, in the form of small horizontal slits. The codex is composed of 44 quires, structured as follows: I-III^{8} (fols. 1-8; 9-16; 17-24); IV^{8+1} (fols. 25-33: 33 is a

---

[11]I was able to examine this codex in the Biblioteca Marciana thanks to a bursary from the Gladys Krieble Delmas Foundation for travel to Venice in March 1996.

[12]The fragments are identified in MIONI, *Bibliothecae Divi Marci*, I. i, pp. 138-39.

[13]But in J.-H. SAUTEL, *Répertoire de réglures dans les manuscrits grecs sur parchemin* (Turnhout, 1995), *s.v. Marcianus graecus* App. II. 40, the Leroy type reported (according to Leroy's own notes) is 30C1 for both parts of the manuscript. The difference concerns the extension of the horizontal ruling of the text. While Leroy observed the lines starting from the left margin of the page, I noted them contained within the vertical bounding lines of the text itself.

single folio attached to a parchment stub visible between fols. 24 and 25; the stub is constituted of two strips sewn together, the lower part bearing traces of writing in a small-nucleus early script, the upper part of darker material; together, they fall short of the height of the folios); V^{4} (fols. 34-37); | | $VI\text{-}IX^{8}$ (fols. 38-45; 46-53, imperfect:[14] 47 & 52 single folios; 54-61; 62-69, imperfect: 63 & 68 single folios); X^{8-1} (fols. 70-76: 70, 71 & 76 single folios, no textual loss); XI^{8} (77-84, imperfect: 78 & 83 single folios); XII^{8-1} (fols. 85-91: 88 single folio, no textual loss); $XIII\text{-}XXI^{8}$ (fols. 92-99; 100-107, imperfect: 103 & 104 single folios; 108-115, imperfect: 110 & 113 single folios; 116-123; 124-131; 132-139; 140-147; 148-155, loose outer bifolium; 156-163); $XXII^{4-1}$ (fols. 164-166: 165 single folio, textual lacuna after 164v); $XXIII\text{-}XXV^{8}$ (fols. 167-174; 175-182; 183-190); $XXVI^{12}$ (fol. 191-202); $XXVII^{8}$ (fol. 203-210, imperfect: 204 & 209 single folios); $XXVIII^{8-1}$ (fols. 211-218: 212 single folio); $XXIX\text{-}XXXIV^{8}$ (fols. 218-225; 226-233; 234-241, imperfect: 235 & 240 single folios; 242-249; 250-257, imperfect: 252 & 256 single folios; 258-265); $XXXV^{6}$ (fols. 266-271: 267 & 270 single folios); $XXXVI\text{-}XLI^{8}$ (fols. 272-279; 280-287; 288-295, imperfect: 297 & 302 single folios; 296-303; 304-311; 312-319); $XLII^{4}$ (320-323: textual lacuna after fol. 321v); $XLIII^{8+1}$ (fols. 324-332: 330 single folio); $XLIV^{10+1}$ (fols. 333-343: 2 parchment stubs visible before 324, the first connected to a strip of the back pastedown, the second to fol. 343, a composite flyleaf; 334 & 341 also single folios). Throughout the codex runs a series of later signatures, progressing from α΄ to μδ΄, placed on the lower left corner of the last verso of each quire, beginning at fol. 8v and ending at fol. 342v, the last being very faded; the Greek letters are surmounted by an undulating curve ending in a

---

[14]By an imperfect quire I mean a quire which is not formed of perfect bifolia, but has re-used single leaves in its structure. The phenomenon is described by J. GILISSEN, *Prolégomènes à la codicologie. Recherches sur la construction des cahiers et la mise en page des manuscrits médiévaux*, Les publications de Scriptorium 7 (Gand, 1977), p. 22: "A l'intérieur du même cahier, il n'est pas rare de rencontrer des feuillets simples voisinant avec des diplômes ou bi-feuillets, ils laissent apparaître le talon grâce auquel ils s'insèrent et bien souvent ce fait ne perturbe en aucune façon le bon ordre du texte. [...] En fin d'oeuvre, ou par économie, le scribe s'est souvent permis de récupérer des restes de parchemin...". These quires are signalled, being of interest to the composition of the codex, and also being more vulnerable to material losses generating textual lacunas.

small loop. Scribal signatures appear in part I on the verso of the last folio of quires I-III, on the lower right corner, and on the recto of the first folio of quires II and III, on the lower left corner, the letters being surmounted by a horizontal line. In part II, the first scribal signature is a minuscule β΄, written on the lower left corner of fol. 46r, very close to the lower margin, the letter being surmounted by a very small pi. The other extant original signatures are: ϵ΄ at fol. 70r, στ΄ at fol. 77r, η΄ at fol. 92r, θ΄ at fol. 100r, ιϵ΄ at fol. 148r, κα΄ at fol. 191r, λ΄ at fol. 266r; in some cases, I hesitate to designate the front signature as scribal, as they appear written in a much rougher style: ϊ΄ at fol. 108r, ια΄ at fol. 116r, ιστ΄ at fol. 156r, ιθ΄ at fol. 175r, κ΄ at fol. 183r, κβ΄ at fol. 203r. On most other quires, the recto of the first folio bears some traces of the original scribal signature, cut off in the trimming of the folios, perhaps when part II was bound together with part I. Fols. 38-40 show signs of damage by insects, since they constituted the beginning of the volume in an earlier binding in which the text had already lost its first quire.

BINDING: Wooden boards, probably datable to the volume's fifteenth-century rebinding, with thick, square-cut edges, the wood left bare for the most part, with the exception of a modern tawny leather cover, extending over the spine and across one third of the boards, simply decorated by intersecting lines in an x-shape. Two metal stubs fixed on the lateral edge of the front board now serve modern leather clasps, two-pronged, fixed to the back board by four small nails in square formation, on cut-out insets in the wood, which are perhaps original. The endbands are covered in discoloured red cloth. On the inner face of the front board are pencilled library shelfmarks, and written in black ink several attempts at penflourished initials, and a note of possession (see Provenance).

DECORATION: There are several decorated bands in the first part of the codex, all outlined in red ink:

- fol. 1r: 23 x 122 mm., surmounted by an intertwined cross;
- fol. 7v: 15 x 125 mm., rectangular frame with knotted interlace;
- fol. 15v: long, thin interlace, with two knots at the centre, and two at each extremity;
- fol. 19v: 8 x 123 mm., orientalizing openwork row of palmettes;
- fol. 21r: 7 x 122 mm., openwork vegetable rinceau, very delicate and elegant;[15]
- fol. 24r: 8 x 125 mm., open, undulated vegetable rinceau, with red "boules";
- fol. 25v: knotted band divider;
- fol. 32v: divider in the form of barbed wire, much rougher in execution;
- fol. 36v: 25 x 120 mm., accurately drawn frame for four different stylized palmettes separated by stylized heart-shaped rinceau, with a paper-cut effect of the drawing "in negativo".

The first part also contains some exceptional zoomorphic initial alphas, at fols. 1r (53 x 21 mm.), 2r (40 x 21 mm.), 11v (40 x 30 mm.), 19v (48 x 30 mm.), 21r (42 x 22 mm.)[see Pl. I], 29r (48 x 23 mm.), 31r (40 x 25 mm.), and a very finely drawn epsilon in the shape of a peacock at fol. 36v (25 x 25 mm.).

These initials may be compared in design to the zoomorphic initials of codex *Sinaiticus graecus* 339.[16] Through its colophon, it is known that the Sinai codex was produced at the Pantokrator monastery at Constantinople, around the mid-twelfth century. A parallel can be drawn between the *Marcianus*'s alpha at fol. 1r with the alpha at fol. 86v in the *Sinaiticus*;[17] the bird construction on the alpha of fol. 19v may be compared with that of the alpha at fol. 137r of the Sinai codex,[18] while its position and the type of bird can be

---

[15]See Pl. I in the Appendix.
[16]K. WEITZMANN & G. GALAVARIS, *The Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai: the Illuminated Greek Manuscripts* (Princeton, 1991), p. 140; J. C. ANDERSON, 'The Illustration of Cod. *Sinai gr.* 339', *The Art Bulletin* 61 (1979), 167-85.
[17]WEITZMANN & GALAVARIS, fig. 499 (mistakenly designated as delta).
[18]WEITZMANN & GALAVARIS, fig. 524.

compared to that used in the delta at fol. 286v;[19] the fox biting the heron's neck at fol. 21r presents the same iconographical combination of animals as the lambda at fol. 164v;[20] the two birds juxtaposed at fol. 29r are similar to those of another alpha, at fol. 113r;[21] the rabbit of the initial at fol. 31r is comparable to another rabbit, captured within a gamma at fol. 123r.[22] Finally, the peacock is an instance of single-animal letters, delineating the lines of the initial simply by the outline of their body, and can be compared in conception to the fox posing as a lunate sigma at fol. 219r,[23] and in kind to the rougher peacock forming an epsilon at fol. 74r.[24] These animal groups, unlike some groups in the *Sinaiticus graecus* 339, do not recall scenes from the Constantinopolitan circus, or spectacles at the Hippodrome.[25]

The resemblance to the manuscript now on Mount Sinai throws into relief the elegance of these zoomorphic initials, which lack the kind of primitive, grotesque allure of some Southern Italian animal designs.[26] However, a striking parallel with a Southern Italian example of an elegant bird forming the left leg of an alpha initial may be found in *Vaticanus gr.* 1673, fol. 21r.[27] A similar configuration may be found in *Athen. gr.* 133, fol. 330r, which, however, is of uncertain origin.[28] Moreover, initials such as the alpha at fol. 21r, present what Daneu Lattanzi described as "animazione direzionale": the initial is set at an angle with a heavy element trailing to the

---

[19]WEITZMANN & GALAVARIS, fig. 552.
[20]WEITZMANN & GALAVARIS, fig. 532.
[21]WEITZMANN & GALAVARIS, fig. 512.
[22]WEITZMANN & GALAVARIS, fig. 517.
[23]WEITZMANN & GALAVARIS, fig. 538.
[24]WEITZMANN & GALAVARIS, fig. 496.
[25]C. FRANC-SGOURDÉOU, 'Les initiales historiées dans les manuscrits byzantins aux XI^{e}-XII^{e} s.', *Byzantinoslavica* 28 (1967), 336-54, at p. 345.
[26]Compare, for example, the illustration of zoomorphic initials in A. DANEU LATTANZI, *I manoscritti ed incunaboli miniati della Sicilia* (Palermo, 1977), tav. XXI.
[27]J. LEROY, 'Caratteristiche codicologiche dei codici greci di Calabria', in *Calabria Bizantina. Tradizione di pietà e tradizione scrittoria nella Calabria greca medievale* (Reggio Calabria, 1983), pp. 59-67, figs. 1-12, at fig. 5. The dating (11th or 12th cent.) is discussed in C. GIANNELLI, *Codices Vaticani graeci 1485-1683* (Città del Vaticano, 1950), pp. 435-36.
[28]G. PRATO, 'Manoscritti greci in Grecia', in G. CAVALLO, G. DE GREGORIO & M. MANIACI, eds., *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio*, Atti del Seminario di Erice, 18-25 settembre 1988 (Spoleto, 1991), pp. 3-24, tavv. 1-24d, at tav. 24c; at p. 23 and n. 93 Prato notes the use of this ornamental motif beyond Southern Italy.

left (the fox's tail) and a shorter, lighter element on the right (the body of the bird being somewhat lifted up), so as to create a movement towards the written text. Moreover, the initial is set within the lines of the text, rather than in the margin. In this way, the design of the initial acts as a kind of pointer to the *incipit*, an aid to the reader. In addition, the letters belonging to the *incipit* word are of decreasing size, as exemplified by the delta-epsilon-phi in the *incipit* word on fol. 21r.[29]

A third comparison may be suggested with the zoomorphic initials appearing in the manuscripts written by Theodore Hagiopetrites, dating to the end of the thirteenth century. In particular, attention may be drawn to the bird alpha in Göttingen, *Theol. gr.* 28, a. 1289/90, fol. 55r.[30] An impression of epsilon precisely drawn with a compass, similar to that at fol. 36v, may be found in Copenhagen, MS. *gr.* 1322, a. 1277/8, fols. 242v and 284r.[31] However, the complex combinations of chased and chasing animals, such as those in *Meteora* 545, a. 1296/7, fol. 13r,[32] and the lavish colours, making Hagiopetrites's initials 'illuminated', and justifying Nelson's claim that "birds are a feature of deluxe illumination",[33] are hardly appropriate to M.

Other alphas appear in a different, penflourished style, eg. at fols. 4v (50 x 25 mm.), 13r, 15v, 22v, 24r, 25v. None of these are similar to the examples singled out by Leroy as characteristically Southern Italian.[34]

Alongside most initials marking a text-beginning are drawn free-standing knots, disposed either above the letter, or on the margin opposite. The interlaced knots assume different configurations, and are sometimes

---

[29]A. DANEU LATTANZI, 'Animazione e direzionalità delle iniziali italo-bizantine', in *XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress. Akten II/4*, *JÖB* 32 (1982), 203-12, at pp. 205-06, figs. 2 & 6. It would be interesting to compare the ornamented alphas of two manuscripts of Theodore Studite that belonged to the Monastery of San Salvatore, and are now held in the University Library at Messina.

[30]R. NELSON, *Theodore Hagiopetrites*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften - Philos./Hist. Klasse 217 (Vienna, 1991), pl. 53.

[31]NELSON, *Theodore Hagiopetrites*, pl. 3.

[32]NELSON, *Theodore Hagiopetrites*, colour pl. II.

[33]NELSON, *Theodore Hagiopetrites*, pp. 47-48.

[34]J. LEROY, 'Le *Parisinus gr. 1477* et la détermination de l'origine des manuscrits italo-grecs d'après la forme des initiales', *Scriptorium* 32 (1978), 191-212, pl. 13-14.

round (fols. 7v, 18v), sometimes elongated (fol. 13r, 38 mm. long, and fol. 14r) or tall (fol. 6r, 50 x 25 mm.), sometimes shaped like a rosette (fol. 29r) or like the letter gamma (fol. 11v). Parallels for such free-standing knots revive the hypothesis of Southern Italian origin: cf. the Calabrian tenth-century codex *Regin. gr.* 75, fol. 50v[35] and a manuscript of Chrysostom's Liturgy, written by Giovanni di Soleto and dated to the year 1353.[36]

By contrast, the second part of the codex is very plain, rubricated in carmine, usually in the upper margin, and with simple enlarged initials marking the beginning of each catechesis. However, some of the liturgical lemmas appear to have been added in a dark black ink, for example, that in the lower margin of fol. 38r, being also the work of a less steady hand. The corrector's hand could perhaps coincide with the hand that wrote the note on the upper board of the manuscript's binding.

WRITING: - Scribe A (fols. 1r-32v, l. 22): archaizing, calligraphic minuscule of large module, occasionally uncertain or rugged in its *ductus*, and often exhuberant, as on the occasion of tall gammas (fol. 23v) and taus; consistent use of a large number of majuscule letters and of apices. Characteristic ligature of enlarged theta and epsilon "ad ombelico" at fols. 21v, 26v, a conspicuous number of enlarged thetas, "ad ombelico", at fol. 27v. The upsilon assumes an angular, pointed shape at fol. 15r. The effect of an enlarged kappa, whose curved obliques embrace the following letters, is best seen at fol. 19v, where a series of three consecutive καιρὸς are arranged at the start of three consecutive lines. Some ligatures and inclusions:

---

[35]LEROY, 'Caratteristiche codicologiche', fig. 2.

[36]O. MAZZOTTA, *Monaci e libri greci nel Salento medievale*, Scriptorium 2 (Lecce, 1989), p. 66, tav. VI: *Borg. gr.* 7, fol. 12v. The knot is diamond-shaped; the style of the initials and of the illuminations is very different from the *Marcianus*. For the Southern Italian tradition of manuscripts of the catecheses of Theodore, cf. S. LUCÀ, 'I Normanni e la 'Rinascita' del sec. XII', *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 60 (1993), 1-91, at p. 62 (codd. *Sinait. gr.* 401, a. 1086, *Messan. gr.* 83, a. 1104/5, *Messan. gr.* 17, a. 1107, from Rossano; *Matrit.* 4605, a. 1124/5, *Scorial.* X.II.16, *Laud. gr.* 89 and *Scorial.* X.III.11, 12th cent., witness the diffusion of the text into Calabria and Sicily).

υψ 

ων 

των 

(fols. 21r, 31v)

μων 

(fol. 32v)

τω 

(fol. 16v)

τὸ 

τος 

(fol. 30r)

θε 

(fol. 12r)

βασ 

(fol. 26v)

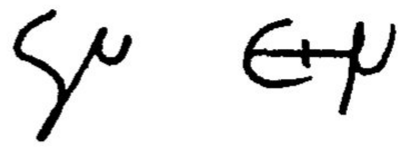
καὶ 

(fols. 24v; 25r; 14r)

ου 

(fol. 30r)

ε (fol. 31r)

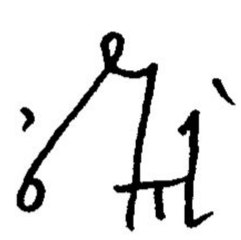
εν 

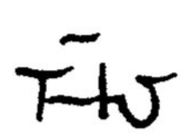
μεν 

(fol. 28r)

επι 

(fol. 31v)

(fol. 11r) 

τῆς 

(fol. 17r)

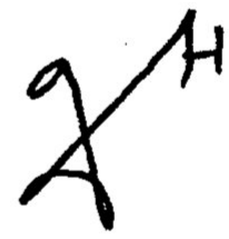
τὸν 

(fol. 24r)

εξ 

(fol. 14v)

εφ 

σχη 

(fol. 32v, last line)

φησὶ 

απ 

(fol. 22v)

The black ink of the corrector has written over the fading fol. 1r. The ink colour is of a greyish-brown for text, dull-brown red for titles and initials.

- Scribe B (fols. 32v, l. 23-37v): medium to large format calligraphic minuscule, inclined to the right; the writing instrument produces a thick line, creating an untidy effect through darker areas in overlapping strokes and large dots for punctuation. Iota subscripts are employed. Καὶ is never

abbreviated. The morphology of the letters does not greatly differ from scribe A, but more letters are packed into each line.

Scribes A and B are probably late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century scribes, attempting to imitate earlier models of calligraphic minuscule. Scribe A may be compared to that of *Athos Dionysiou* 101, and to the scribe of Oxford, *Christ Church gr.* 24,[37] while scribe B finds a suitable parallel in the scribe of *Athos Laura* 446.[38]

- Scribe C (fols. 38r-342v): calligraphic minuscule, in two main formats; i) a very small format, with letter nuclei as small as 1 mm., and few enlarged contrasting letters (κ, τ, λ, ο, σ, ρ, φ) up to 6 mm. in width, may be particularly observed at fols. 38-47r;[39] 69r-70r; 136r-v; 147v-148r; 150r-152v; 157v-211r; ii) a format with an emphasis on middle-sized, round nuclei, measuring 3-4 mm., especially on fols. 47v-48r (last lines), 92r, 98r, 101r (upper lines), 106r, 108r, 212v-213r, 217v-218r, 264r, 299v-300r; a few pages display a large-format script, with nuclei of 3-5 mm., e.g. at fols. 50v, 68v, 70v, reaching a maximum of 8 mm. nuclei at fol. 103r.[40] A particular use of the effect of long acute accents, accompanying a more cursive ductus with frequent end-of-line compendia, is found at fols. 86r, l. 5 and following, 267v, ll. 12-27.[41] A brief sketch of the paleographical characteristics may be given in the following table:[42]

ρι  ερ 

[37]G. PRATO, 'Scritture librarie arcaizzanti della prima età dei Paleologi e loro modelli', *Scrittura e Civiltà* 3 (1979), 151-93, pl. 10a and pl. 15.
[38]PRATO, 'Scritture arcaizzanti', pl. 11b.
[39]See Pl. II in the Appendix (fol. 43r).
[40]See Pl. III in the Appendix (fol. 103r); cf. also B. CROSTINI, 'Towards a Study of the Scriptorium of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis: Preliminary Remarks', in *Theotokos Evergetis*, pp. 176-97, pl. 10 (fol. 191r) and pl. 11 (fol. 193r).
[41]See Pl. IV in the Appendix (fol. 86r). The characteristics of this scribe closely recall the description of an idiosyncratic twelfth-century hand, as set out by N. G. WILSON, 'A Mysterious Byzantine Scriptorium: Ioannikios and his Colleagues', *Scrittura e Civiltà* 7 (1983), 161-76, 13 plates, at pp. 168-69 and pl. XIII (codex Florence, *Laurentianus gr.* 87. 4, fol. 194).
[42]Cf. CROSTINI, 'Towards a study', at p. 193.



The scribe writes small iotas adscript, on the lower right corner of the vowel. Characteristic of the twelfth century is also the abbreviation for eta as a small 's' within a word (πῆσ).

The excesses of Scribe C seem to be better explained by his being trained as a chancery scribe[43] rather than by postulating a later date for the codex, as suggested by Leroy.

---

[43]This phenomenon, and the consequent earlier dating of a number of codices, is outlined by N. G. WILSON, especially in his article 'Scholarly Hands of the Middle Byzantine Period', in *La Paléographie grecque et byzantine* (Paris, 1977), pp. 221-39. I was also fortunate enough to be able to discuss the dating of this codex with Mr. Wilson, to whom much of this commentary is indebted. I would also like to acknowledge the advice I received from Dr. John Lowden concerning the study of zoomorphic initials.

CONTENTS:

PART I:

(fols. 1r-34v): Theodore Studite, *Parva Catechesis*, ed. E. AUVRAY, *Theodori Studitis praepositi Parva Catechesis* (Paris, 1891): PC 50-62, 66-70, 7, 71-73.

(fols. 36v-37v): Ps.-Chrysostom, *Sermo catecheticus in Pascha*, CPG 4605, PG 59, 721-724; PG 99, 709-712 (cf. E: fols. 210r-202v; N: fols. 134r-137v; Cr: pp. 21-22a):[44]

Tit.: Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶν ἰω(άννου) ἀρχ(ι)επισκόπου κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ χρυσοστόμου, λόγος εἰς τὴν λαμπρὰν κυριακὴν, τῆς ἁγίας κ(αὶ) ἐνδόξου Χ(ριστο)ῦ τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ ἡμῶν ἀναστά(σεως)·

Inc.: Εἴ τις εὐσεβὴς καὶ φιλόθεος ἀπολαβέτω ταύτης τῆς καλῆς πανηγύρεως·

Des.: Χ(ριστὸ)ς γὰρ ἐγερθεὶς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀπαρχῆ κεκοιμημένων ἐγένετο· αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα κτλ.

PART II:

(fols. 38r-341v): *Katechetikon*, from the Sunday of Antipascha (Sunday after Easter) to Saturday of the Twenty-seventh week,[45] for a total of 233 days, with the following lacunas:

- At fol. 164v, des. mut. ὀρέγειν τοῖς κάμνουσιν· (K83: Thursday of Sixth week); fol. 165r, inc. mut.: -σει λαίλαψ δαιμονικὸς· (K88: Tuesday of Seventh week). These two incomplete catecheses, as well as the entirely missing ones from Friday of Sixth to Monday of Seventh week, are supplied by codex *Atheniensis graecus 215*, from fol. 139r, l. 7, inc. ἀποπίπτω δε τοῦ

---

[44]N. FRANCO, 'Il "ΛΟΓΟΣ ΚΑΤΗΧΗΤΙΚΟΣ" della Domenica di Pasqua, attribuito a S. Giovanni Crisostomo', *Roma e l'Oriente* 1 (1910-11), 368-73; DE ALDAMA, no. 89, pp. 34-35; *CCG*, 217.

[45]MIONI, *Bibliotheca Divi Marci*, I. i, pp. 133-38, gives the transcription of the liturgical lemmas and incipits, but attributes the collection to Theodore Studite.

προσήκοντος· to fol. 144v, l. 2, inc. οὐκ εἰδότες ὁπότε πνεῦσει... (K83-88). The lacuna is signalled in a note in a later hand, probably identical to the hand that wrote the later signatures, on the lower margin of fol. 165r: ἐδῶ λύπ(ει) λόγ(ος). From the quire structure, it can be deduced that the lacuna amounts to five folios;

- The loss of an entire quaternion between fol. 303v and fol. 304r preceded the later signatures of the codex, that give the uninterrupted sequence λθ´-μ´. The lacuna was not noticed, since the marginal note, marking the previous and the following material losses, is absent. However, the text for Wednesday of the Twenty-second week (K195), begun at fol. 302v, reaches at fol. 303v its des. mut.: πνεῦμα γενέσθαι· ὥς φη(σι); the text beginning at fol. 304r with the inc. mut.: οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς φλεβότομα... belongs to the catechesis for Friday of the following week (K203). The ordinal numbers written beside the beginning of each text confirm the loss of seven catecheses and part of an eighth, with ρϛε´ (195) at fol. 302v and σδ´ (204) at fol. 304v.

Although no parallel witness exists to fill out this lacuna, Leroy argued that two texts may be supplied from codex *Cromwell* 22, at p. 185, col. a and p. 186, col. b. In fact, the Cr texts, attributed to Paul and appointed for reading respectively on Wednesday and Friday of the Twenty-third week, are based on the first half of Theodore Studite's *Magna Catechesis* I. 51, while the remaining fragment of K203 is composed on the basis of the last part of the Studite catechesis. Considering the slight shifts in the calendar sequence effected by the liturgical lemmas of Cr, Leroy conjecturally placed these texts on Tuesday and Wednesday of the Twenty-third week of the daily sequence (K201 and K202) (see below).

- After fol. 321v, ending on a complete doxology for the catechesis for Monday of the Twenty-fifth week (K213), at fol. 322r, inc. mut.: ἐλπιζόμενον ᾖ, εἰ μὴ παρὰ Θεοῦ..., a text for Thursday of the same week (K216). The texts for Tuesday and Wednesday have perished in the loss

of the two internal bifolia of quire XLII. Again, a later hand wrote the note on the lower margin of fol. 322r: ἐδῶ λύπει λόγ(ος).

- The text for Sunday of the Twenty-seventh week (K233) is missing from the end of the codex, while the Saturday catechesis ends exactly on fol. 342v (K232).

PROVENANCE: The two parts that make up the present codex probably had quite distinct origins, the first being later than the second part. The decoration of the first part has led to the supposition of a Southern Italian provenance. It is hard to conjecture a provenance for the second part of the manuscript containing Paul's text.

Around the fifteenth century, the two parts were already bound together and held at the monastery of St. Antony the Great τῶν σαβατιανῶν, on the island of Crete, as the note on the front board states:

Ἐγὼ κοσμᾶς μοναχ(ός)· τοῦ πή[κ]λη[ν σήνολος γράφω]
τοῦτο τὸ βυβλίον ἔστιν· τ(ῆς) ἱερᾶς μονῆς τ[οῦ]
μεγάλ(ου) ἀντωνίου τ(ῶν) σαβατϊανῶν
Πίοιμα κ(υ)ρ(ίο)ϋ Θεωδώρου τοῦ στουδίτου
Τέλος ἀμήν

The words in square brackets were still visible when Mingarelli first described this codex in 1784;[46] at present, they can only be seen with the aid of a UV lamp. The note has been misinterpreted as furnishing the name of the scribe.[47] The monastery of St. Antony τῶν σαβατιανῶν, situated at Herakleion, was founded in the thirteenth century and destroyed by the Turks in 1647.[48]

---

[46]G. L. MINGARELLI, *Graeci codices manu scripti apud Nanios Patricios Venetos asservati* (Bologna, 1784), pp. 67-87, at 67.
[47]M. VOGEL & V. GARDTHAUSEN, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Leipzig, 1909), p. 235.
[48]*Μεγάλη Ἑλληνικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία*, t. XXI, p. 406, col. a (by E. MAOTSOS).

The codex was transported to Venice, where it was *olim Nanianus* LXI. Other shelfmarks written on the front board are: LXX.7 and the present Class. II. cod. XL, in ink; LXXXV/2 and 1342 (its present "collocazione") in pencil.

I. ii) Codex *Athos Esphigmenos* 45.

SYMBOL: E

DATE: 1107/08

STRUCTURE:[49] Parchment codex, composed of one parchment front flyleaf and 248 folios, measuring 272 x 185 mm.; foliated in large Arabic numerals at the centre of the upper margin of each recto, and also paginated in smaller Arabic numerals on the outer corner of the upper margin of each recto and verso (I shall refer to the folio numbers); ruled according to Leroy type 30C1 (= Lake type I. 27), system 1, for 27 lines of text per page. The codex is formed by 32 quires, as shown by the quire signatures, written in the internal corner of the lower margin on the recto of the first folio of each quire, ending at λβ΄ at fol. 241r. The first extant scribal signature may be seen at fol. 41r, στ΄, while a perhaps later signature γ΄ is just visible on the upper margin of fol. 17r, written towards the inner corner. From the extant signatures that can be read from the microfilm, a division of quires may be reconstructed:[50] I-V^{8} (fols. 1-8; 9-16; 17-24; 25-31; 32-40), VI-VIII^{8} (fols. 41-48; 49-56; 57-64); IX^{6} (fols. 65-70); X^{8} (fols. 71-78), XI-XVIII^{8} (fols. 79-86; 87-94; 95-102; 103-110; 111-118; 119-126; 127-134; 135-142), XIX^{6} (fols. 143-148), XX-XXV^{8} (fols. 149-156; 157-164; 165-172; 173-180; 181-188; 189-196), XXVI^{4} (fols. 197-200) | | XXVII-XXXII^{8} (fols. 201-208; 209-216; 217-224; 225-232; 233-240; 241-248).

---

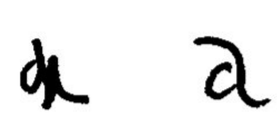
[49]I have gathered as much information about the structure of the codex as I could from the study of the microfilm. The description of the ruling follows Leroy's data, which will be published as *Introduction à l'édition des Grandes Catéchèses de Théodore Studite*, Studi e Testi (Città del Vaticano). The catalogue does not furnish any codicological data.

[50]Since the signatures are scribal, the structure resulting from their observation is probably correct. I regret the impossibility of verifying the data personally.

DECORATION: Absent.

WRITING: A relaxed, somewhat untidy, flowing minuscule, whose movement is effected by the liberal prolongation of curves in alphas, lambdas, deltas and chis.[51] The module of the letters is large, yet nuclei of sigmas and omicrons often stand out as especially enlarged. Frequent use of abbreviations at line endings. Καὶ usually abbreviated as a large 'S'.

The following diagram is based on the published folios:[52]

α 

αρ 

αφ 

β 

δ 

δι 

ι .. 

γαρ 

γω 

ες 

ου 

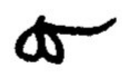
ορ 

ρι 

ρο 

ψ 

τα 

εσ 

ελφ 

---

[51]Cf. CROSTINI, 'Towards a study', pl. 12-14 , especially pl. 13 (fol. 67r), for such an effect.
[52]Cf. CROSTINI, 'Towards a study', at pp. 193-94.

Similar characteristics can be found on fol. 203, especially the open rho and theta, and ligatures such as :

τεθ  με

δι  τω 

ζ  αγγ 

σω  πραξ 

CONTENTS:

(front flyleaf, r-v) Gospel text written in two columns, Jn. 12, 21-35:

Inc. mut.: ἰδεῖν· ἔρχεται ὁ Φίλιππος

Des. mut.: φῶς μεθ᾽ ὑμῖν [ἐστί]· περιπατεῖτε [...

The readings of this text are similar to NTG variants in codd. D, W, Ψ 0252 *f* 1.13 𝔐 (vg) sy(p).h; some of the variants are not collated in NTG.

(fols. 1r-200v) *Katechetikon*, comprising catecheses from Monday of the Twenty-eighth week (K234) to the Saturday of Lazarus (K367), with the addition of a catechesis for the Annunciation (K368) modelled on Theodore Studite's PC64. K368 is introduced by the title: κατήχησις ῥηθεῖσα ἐν τῇ ἡμέρα τοῦ εὐαγγελισμοῦ· περὶ τῆς ἐνσάρκου οἰκονομί(ας) τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· καὶ ὅτι δεῖ ταύτην πν(ευ)μ(ατι)κ(ῶς) πλέον ἢ σωματικῶς ἑορτάζειν· Inc.: ὁ εὐαγγελισμὸ(ς) πάρεστι·, and ends with a doxology on the last line of fol. 200v.

There is no catechesis on the Monday of Tyrophagos; the scribe omits the conclusion of K332 and the title and beginning of K333, for which a later annotator marks the *incipit* at fol. 147v, l. 24, with a cross, and a note in the

margin; although this catechesis is not numbered in the manuscript, the next text takes account of it as if it had been numbered, and continues the sequence with K334.

(fols. 201r-202v): Ps.-Chrysostom, *Sermo catecheticus in Pascha*, CPG 4605, PG 59, 721-724; PG 99, 709-712 (cf. M: fols. 36v-37v; N: fols. 134r-137r; Cr: pp. 21-22a); the homily begins with a brief introduction, different from the one attributed to Theodore Studite, perhaps the work of Paul:[53]

Tit.: Κατήχησις τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Χρ(υσωστόμου) προφονουμέ(νη) ἐν τῇ ἁγ(ία) καὶ μεγάλη κυριακῇ·

Introduction, fol. 201r, ll. 5-9: Πατέρες τέκνα μου καὶ ἀδελφοί μου· δεῦτε σήμερον κοινὴν εὐχαριστίαν τῷ παναγάθω καὶ ὑπεραγάθω Θ(ε)ῷ ἡμῶν ἀποδώσομεν τῷ ἀναστάντι ἐκ νεκρῶν· καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου ἐλευθερώσαντι·

Inc.: εἴ τις τοίνυν εὐσεβὴς καὶ φιλόθεος·

Des.: ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἐγένετο· αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα κτλ.

(fols. 202v-244v, l. 3) *Life* of the Holy Paisios, written by John Kolobos:[54]

Tit.: Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν παϊσίου: τοῦ μεγάλου· συγγραφεὶς παρὰ τοῦ ὁσίου ἰωάννου μοναχοῦ τοῦ κολοβοῦ· εὐ(λ)ό(γησον) π(άτ)ερ·

Inc.: Ὥσπερ τὰ τερπνὰ τοῦ βίου καίπερ ὄντα τρεπτὰ καὶ λυόμενα· οἶδε τοὺς θελπομένους

Des.: ἐμοῦ δὲ τῇ μετριότητι ἐκ τῶν πολλ(ῶν) ὀλίγα ταῦτα εἴρηται· εἰς δόξαν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος· νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν.

---

[53]FRANCO, 'ΛΟΓΟΣ ΚΑΤΗΧΗΤΙΚΟΣ', edits Theodore's prologue at pp. 370-71.

[54]BHG[3] 1403; I. POMJALOVSKIJ, ed., *Zitie prepodobnago Paisija velikago...* (St. Petersburg, 1900), pp. 1-61; cf. BECK, *Kirche*, p. 800; EHRHARD, *Überlieferung*, I, 3, p. 933.

A partial collation has shown that the transmission of the text in this codex is similar to that of codex *Paris. gr.* 1093 (14th cent.).

(fols. 244v, l. 4-248v) Apophthegmata:

Tit.: Διήγημα ψυχωφελὲς πάνυ·

Inc.: Μοναχός τις ὀνόματι Ἀββακοὺμ ἐξηγήσατό μοι ἐν Ταμιάθῃ τῆς Αἰγύπτου· ὅτι πλέοντός μου, εὗρον ἐν χίῳ διεφθαρμένην βίβλον

Des. mut.: καὶ ἔκρυψα ἐν ἑτέρῳ τόπῳ ἐπιχορηγῶν ἑκάστης ἡμέρ(ας) τῷ ἀθλίῳ ἄρχοντι ἀπὸ τῶν κουρευ-

PROVENANCE: The colophon at fol. 202r reads:

Συνελέγη ἡ παροῦσα αὕτη βίβλος· ἐκ τῶν θεοπνεύστων διδασκαλιῶν τῶν ἁγίων π(α)τ(έ)ρων ἡμῶν· θεοδώρου τοῦ στουδίτου· ἐφραὶμ· δωροθέου· μακαρίου· νείλου· καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν· καὶ προετέθη εἰς τὸ καθεκάστην ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας· μετὰ τὴν πρώτην ὥραν ἀναγινώσκεσθαι, παρὰ τοῦ τῆς μονῆς προεστῶτος· ἢ τοῦ ἐκκλησιάρχου· ἢ ὃν οὗτος προκρίνει· εἰς κατήχησιν καὶ ὠφέλειαν πάσης τῆς ἀδελφότητος· ἐν ἔτει τῷ ϛχιε΄ (=6615) ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας κυροῦ ἀλεξίου τοῦ κομνηνοῦ· καὶ πατριάρχου τοῦ κυροῦ νικολάου· καὶ ἡγουμενεί(ας) τοῦ μοναχοῦ κῦρ σωφρονίου μον(ῆς) τοῦ φιλανθρώπου.

The patriarch referred to is Nikolaos III Kyrdiniates Grammatikos, and his dates (1084-1111) delimit a time within the years of Alexios' rule (1081-1118). The names of the Philanthropos and of its *higoumenos* Sophronios in this colophon are considered the earliest mention pertaining to this monastery.[55]

---

[55]R. JANIN, 'Les Monastères du Christ Philanthrope à Constantinople', *REB* 4 (1946), 135-62, at p. 137 and n. 12.

On the outer margin by the colophon, and continuing on the upper margin of fol. 202v, is a note in a later hand, identified by Lambros as that of Neilos Pentapoleos in 1873. The note, transcribed in the catalogue, seeks to identify the Philanthropos through the documents published by Miklosich.[56]

In spite of the detailed colophon, Leroy was reluctant to accept its dating of the manuscript to the year 1107/08. Since the colophon falls between two texts by the same hand, rather than at the end of the codex, Leroy argued that it was therefore likely to have been copied along with the text. Thus the dating would reflect the year of the model, rather than that of the codex.[57] Moreover, Leroy pointed out that the paleographical data suggest a later date, towards the end of the twelfth century.

However, the placing of the colophon at the end of a codex is not a hard and fast rule. For example, in codex *Marcianus gr.* 101, the scribe Gregorios writes his colophon at fol. 211v, at the end of John Chrysostom's Homily n. 12 on the Epistle to the Colossians. The same scribe resumes the copying of Chrysostom's Homilies at fol. 212r. The authenticity of Gregorios' colophon has not been doubted.[58] In the case of E, the additional information concerning K texts, their sources, the liturgical instructions accompanying them, necessary at the end of the first text, may have prompted the extension of that note into a full colophon. Moreover, since the last leaves of the manuscript are missing, we cannot tell whether an additional colophon was also written at the end of the codex.

Leroy's paleographical reservations do not appear conclusive. The scribe displays a variety of forms not unsuited to more modern scribes of the

---

[56]F. MIKLOSICH & J. MULLER, eds., *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi*, 6 vols. (Vienna, 1860-90), II, 324-25, 443-44. Curiously, Pentapoleos offers as an alternative interpretation that E was copied at Esphigmenou, through a convoluted argument, namely that the dedication of the monastery to the *Analepsis* had 'Philanthropos' as a second appellative. This opinion may be disregarded as a *Cicero pro domo sua* attempt at an attribution.

[57]LEROY, *Introduction*, ch. 8.

[58]T. GASPARRINI LEPORACE & E. MIONI, *Cento codici bessarionei. Catalogo di mostra* (Venice, 1968), pl. 20. This is a product of the Evergetis scriptorium.

beginning of the twelfth century. On the other hand, the fluidity of his ductus cannot come from a later imitative hand. It is interesting to note that the scribe adopts both iota adscript and rare iota subscript, appearing to show a transitional phase in the passage from one form to the other.[59]

The omission of the beginning of K333 at fol. 147v does not necessarily reflect a lacuna in the model, which Leroy thought more likely to have happened a century later. The omission could also be explained as a scribal error, due to the incorrect turning of the pages in the model. The scribe could have turned two pages at once, overlooking the folio containing the end of K332 and the new title of K333, and have continued his copying without noticing the incoherence.[60]

Lastly, the text of the *Life* of the Holy Paisios might shed some light on the question of dating, but only after a fuller collation has unravelled its own textual history.[61] It is interesting to note that the Life of this saint occcurs twice in conjunction with Evergetine material.[62]

---

[59]I am grateful to Nigel Wilson for a discussion of the question of dating this codex, during which the observation on the writing of iotas emerged. Iota subscript has been found in earlier codices.

[60]The effect is that of combining two Studite texts, PC54 with PC56, in a manner not uncommon in K.

[61]*Athos Laura* 284 (= Γ 44), 10th cent., fols. 175v-201v, should certainly be included: S. EUSTRATIADES, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Laura on Mt. Athos*, Harvard Theological Studies 12 (Cambridge, Mass., 1925), pp. 38-39. Another codex mentioned is *Chalke* 82, fols. 1r-31r: I. BOYENS, 'Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum Bibliothecae Monasterii Deiparae in Chalce insula', *AB* 20 (1901), 47-70, at p. 66. F. HALKIN, 'Manuscrits grecs des Fonds «Hist.» et «Phil.» à Vienne et du Fonds «Holkham» à Oxford', *AB* 79 (1961), 399-411, at p. 404, refers to MS. *Holkham gr.* 31, fols. 301-311, as containing this text. In reality, the text in the Bodleian manuscript is a reworked extract of chapters XLVII-XLVIII, XXXV-XL, LVIII-LXIII of the *Life*, inc.: ποτὲ τοῦ ὁσίου Παϊσίου νηστεύοντος (15th cent.: S. DE RICCI, *A Handlist of Manuscripts in the Library of the Earl of Leicester at Holkham Hall* (Oxford, 1932), p. 5, no. 55; R. BARBOUR, 'Summary Description of the Greek Manuscripts from the Library at Holkham Hall', *Bodleian Library Records* 6 (1960), 591-613, at p. 598). The same extract may be found in MS. *Barocc.* 213, fols. 241r-247v (dated to the beginning of the 16th cent. by COXE, *Greek Manuscripts*, col. 327). Since Barbour declared *Barocci* a copy of *Holkham*, but the dates attributed to these manuscripts point to an inverse succession, their relationship and order of precedence has not as yet been understood.

[62]Another text of Paisios's *Life* is found in Sofia, ms. Centre Dujcev, *Serdicensis graecus* 179, fols. 286-314v (des. mut.). The Sofia codex is datable to the second half of the fourteenth century (latest watermark datable to 1342), and contains *Gerontikon* texts, and three extracts from Paul of Evergetis' *Synagoge*: Book I: at fols. 358-414v, ch. 23 (with more sources than the printed text); fols. 415-419v, ch. 8 and fols. 420-424v, ch. 9 (extracts of Gregorios Dialogos only).

In conclusion, we may prefer to accept the dating of the colophon as applying to the manuscript itself.

The location at the Philanthropos monastery suggested by the colophon, whether belonging to this or another copy, certainly tells us that the practice of reading K daily had been introduced there by the beginning of the twelfth century. This information about a close link in the liturgical practices of Evergetis and Philanthropos strengthens the hypothesis that the *typikon* of the latter, unfortunately not extant, was drawn up on the model of the Evergetis text, like that of its joint foundation, the Theotokos Kecharitomene.[63] Therefore, J. P. Thomas' suggestion that the Philanthropos *typikon* constituted the intermediary between the Evergetis and the later *typika* borrowing from the Evergetis text gains force.[64]

I. iii) Codex *Atheniensis graecus* 215.

SYMBOL: A

DATE: 12th cent., first half

STRUCTURE:[65] The parchment of this codex is thick and cream-coloured, the leaves measuring *circa* 270 x 190 mm., the present format trimmed with respect to the original size. It contains 187 folios, numbered by a late hand 1-187, and two flyleaves, one at the front and one at the back of the codex, with traces of a similar watermark, perhaps the tip of a leaf. Fols. 1-8 are ruled in two columns for 24 lines of text per page, spaced at 9-10 mm., each column measuring 65 mm. in width, with an intercolumnar distance of 14 mm.: Leroy type 21C2b, system 1. From fol. 9 to the end, the text is disposed full-page, the

---

[63]Cf. JANIN, 'Christ Philanthrope', at pp. 140-41.
[64]THOMAS, 'Documentary Evidence', at pp. 262-64.
[65]I was able to examine this codex at the National Library of Athens thanks to the Victor and Elizabeth Catling Travel Bursary at the British School at Athens in December 1994.

written surface measuring approximately 189 x 140 mm. The leaves are ruled according to Leroy type 20C1, system 1, for a number of lines varying between 24 and 27, with an interlineum of 9 mm. Prickings, in the form of tiny slits, are visible on the outer margin, especially towards the last part of the codex. Twenty-four quaternions make up the codex, subdivided as following: I^{8} (fols. 1-8); II^{8-2} (fols. 9-14: the outer bifolium is lost, with a lacuna of one folio between fols. 8 and 9 and one between fols. 14 and 15); III^{8} (fols. 15-22); IV^{8} (fols. 23-30, imperfect: fol. 25 and fol. 28 single folios); V-XIV^{8} (fols. 31-38; 39-46; 47-54; 55-62; 63-70; 71-78; 79-86; 87-94; 95-102; 103-110); XV^{8-3} (fols. 111-115: lacuna between fols. 112 and 113, caused by the loss of the central bifolium, and of a leaf adjacent to it, perhaps also originally single, leaving fol. 113 as a single folio); XVI-$XXIV^{8}$ (fols. 116-123; 124-131; 132-139; 140-147; 148-155; 156-163; 164-171; 172-179; 180-187). The original quire signatures are rarely extant, often fragmentary. They were probably placed at the bottom internal margin of the recto of the first (extant at fol. 180r: κδ΄) and of the verso of the last folio of each quire (extant at fol. 86v: ια΄; fol. 94v: ιβ΄, fragment; fol. 102v: ιγ΄, covered in darker ink; fol. 110v: ιδ΄; fol. 171v: κβ΄, fragment; fol. 187v: κδ΄). A recent series of parallel signatures was hastily scribbled along the bottom margin in black ink, on the recto of the first folio of each quire, from α΄ to κδ΄.

BINDING: Modern.

DECORATION: In red ink, very simple chain dividers before the first text at fol. 1r and before the liturgical lemma at fol. 92r. Some elegant initials in dark red with leaves and protruding ornaments, alphas e.g. at fols. 6v, 123v, 131v, 148v, 156r, 157v, 164v, 172r; taus with volutes e.g. at fols. 94r, 116v, 169v; pis with simple decorative dots, e.g. fol. 87r. Other initials plain.

WRITING: Calligraphic minuscule derived from the *Perlschrift*, but with very large nuclei (2-4 mm.) and a marked contrast in *ductus* between thick and thin traits, which Leroy attributed to a pen slit horizontally to allow such a distribution of ink. In spite of the variety of uncial forms introduced in the script, kappa is often minuscule, displaying a characteristic hook, as in the conjunction καὶ, when not abbreviated to a small sigma. Almost indistinguishable from the kappa is the frequent minuscule eta. A long, hooked iota often towers above regular, contained letters in a line. Related to it is the cross-shaped psi, also tall and hooked.

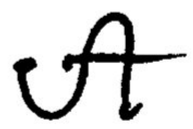
The following ligatures may be noted:

γε



(fol. 176r)

υψ



(fol. 6r, 123r, 135v)

ει



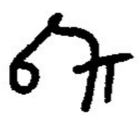
(fol. 152r)

το



(fol. 120r)

επ



πο



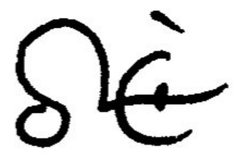
(fol. 91r)

υκ



(fol. 74r)

δὲ



(fol. 96v)

In the first line of text we find taus superimposed on 8-shaped omegas, and surmounted by a conspicuous circumflex accent (eg. fols. 155v & 181v). Finally, the sinuous, elegant curves of phis, deltas and chis, and the occasional uncial kappas and open upsilons confer a gentle movement to the page.[66]

CONTENTS: *Katechetikon*, comprising 123 (ρκγ΄) catecheses, from the Sunday of Antipascha to the Tuesday of the Twelfth week. However, K5, K8, K63 and K65 are fragmentary:

[66]Cf. CROSTINI, 'Towards a study', pl. 15 (fol. 81r) and pl. 16 (fol. 84r).

- K5 is interrupted at fol. 8v on the words: καὶ ἵνα δὴ πρὸς τοῦτο, until the broken beginning at fol. 9r: ⁻τες μὲν τὸ σῶμα,. The lacuna amounts to one folio, and is supplied by M, at fols. 42r, l. 23 - 42v, last line.
- at fol. 14v, the text of K8 is interrupted at the words: ὡς φίλαι τοῦ παρ᾽ αὐτῶν μισουμε⁻, until the words: ἐξομολογούμενοί τε καὶ εὐχαριστοῦντες αὐτῷ, which begin fol. 15r. The lacuna amounts to one folio, and is supplied by M, at fols. 46v, l. 23 - 47v, l. 10.[67]
- K63 is interrupted at fol. 112v upon the words κατασκεύαζε καὶ περιποιοῦ⁻; K65 begins at the words ⁻σαύτης, ὡς αἵματα κενῶσαι· at fol. 113r. K64 is lost. The lacuna is supplied by M at fols. 138v, l. 26 - 141r, l. 26.

On the other hand, A allows us to complete a lacuna in M for K84-K88, as detailed in the description of M.

The manuscript is also incomplete, and reaches its des. mut. at fol. 187v with the words πρὸς τὸ(ν) Θ(εὸ)ν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρα τῆς κρίσεως· αὐτοῦ of K123. The rest of the text is supplied by M.

Note that on fols. 85r and 163r, the peculiar disposition of the text in verse form has not been caused by any material necessity in the codex (K47 & K104). Note also the interesting inter-linear correction, probably in a later hand with darker ink, of μοναχοῦ into χριστιανοῦ, at fol. 28v, recalling the similar transformation in the titles of Paul's *Synagoge*.[68]

PROVENANCE: The original provenance of the *Atheniensis* is likely to be Constantinopolitan, despite its run-of-the-mill appearance, recalling the

---

[67]Texts and translations of K8 and K9 are printed in Appendix III.
[68]A first element in grouping the large number of manuscripts of Paul's *Synagoge* would seem to be distinguishing between a *"monachos"* and a *"christianos"* recension of the titles.

production of a modest monastic scriptorium, such as that active at the Evergetis.[69]

The manuscript does not contain a colophon, and the only scribal note, found at fol. 140r, in red ink on the top margin, is a prayer:

καλλιγράφον ἔλιπας μεμνῆσθ(αι) π(άτ)ερ

Other writings in the margins are mostly the scribe's own corrections to the lacunas accidentally left in his text (eg. fols. 77v, 80r, 115v).

Several marks of ownership are visible on fol. 1r.[70] What is probably the name of a Venetian has been written twice across the upper margin, the second time unfortunately written over by the present shelfmark. The first note is preceded by a cross, and reads: "De m(e) Zorzi Pa{nta?}gi".[71] Given the uncertainty about the spelling of the surname, it has been impossible to find out more about this owner. A monogram, perhaps contemporary to the name, is placed at the centre of the lower margin, composed by the letters APX.

Three notes in Greek on the top margin probably all referred to the contents of the manuscript: the earliest one is probably that written in the middle, and overwritten by a zig-zag line, making it hardly legible:

καθ.. κον....πολίτου;

below it, aligned with col. a, is a very large theta, but unfortunately much of its continuation has faded beyond repair:

Θεο...ν τοῦ καλο...υ;

finally, the more recent note just below the left side of the upper margin

ὁμιλίαι ἐκκλησιαστικαὶ

reflects uncertainty in the attribution of these catecheses.

The latter note may be connected to the shelfmark 'Αριθ. 6 to the right of the upper margin. The number 83 is also written to the right of

---

[69]IRIGOIN, 'Paléographie et codicologie', pp. 175-83.
[70]See pl. V-VI in the Appendix (upper and lower halves of fol. 1r).
[71]I am grateful to Dr. Agamemnon Tselikas for his help in deciphering the writing.

ὁμιλίαι ἐκκλησιαστικαί. The writing at the top right margin is clearly modern, referring to the present shelfmark and number of leaves: Ἀρ. 215 φυλ. 187. It is matched on the lower margin by a round stamp of the National Library at Athens, featuring in the centre the head of Athena, and a paper rectangle glued beside it, with the printed words: ΧΕΙΡΟΓΡΑΦΑ 215. Finally, a number at the left of the monogram, "n 14" may represent the shelfmark in the library of the Italian owner, although the ink appears darker than that of the ex-libris.

On the bottom left corner of fol. 1r, an example of later restoration with the help of cuttings from another parchment codex is clearly visible. Similar triangular patches of parchment occur also at fols. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, and a loose fragment is inserted between fols. 6 and 7. The fragments are written in an archaising calligraphic minuscule (cf. γὰρ with uncial gamma) and contain liturgical texts (tone of the psalmody is indicated at fol. 1r). Some faint writing in the background may indicate that the cuttings came from a manuscript that had already been reused as a palimpsest (cf. fragment at fol. 10v). Although the writing on the fragments may be dated to the late thirteenth or the first half of the fourteenth century, the period at which such restoration was made remains unknown.

Further traces of later, perhaps sixteenth-century, readership of the manuscript are three drawings of "pointing hands": at fol. 4r, outer margin, opposite the words μὴ ὀργίλους εἶναι; at fol. 72r, outer margin; at fol. 82v, lower outer corner, with abbreviation of ὠραίω, pointing to K46. These hands were affected by later trimmings of the folios. The abbreviation Σὴ may be found on the outer margin at fol. 108r.

Some marks in very bright orange-red ink (two reference crosses, seemingly without correspondence, and one line above the word ἀντίλογοι) can be seen at fol. 28 r-v.

I. iv) Codex *Athos Vatopedi* 1216.

SYMBOL: V

DATE: Late 11th cent.?

STRUCTURE: The manuscript is a late miscellaneous collection of 11th-14th cent. folios. The first two parchment folios which concern us appear to be frayed at the edges. Their poor state of preservation has prevented the gathering of any codicological data which escaped Leroy. The text is written on 26 lines per page, perhaps ruled in Leroy type 22C1.

WRITING: Calligraphic minuscule of calm ductus and extreme clarity, upright, the letters having almost a staccato effect; uncial thetas and epsilons somewhat enlarged, zeta is a 3-shape, but is also found in an angular minuscule version; other uncials: deltas, lambdas, pis, taus. Simple enlarged initials, perhaps in red ink.

CONTENTS:

(fol. 1r, ll. 1-6) K267, last lines:

inc. mut. [ρου· μὴ περιφθειρόμεναι·;

(fol. 1r, l. 7-1v) K268:

des. mut. ἡδονὴν ἀναδοῦ-;

(fol. 2r-v) K271:

des. mut.: τοῦτο χλιαρ(ῶς);

The manuscript gives the numbers of the catecheses on the top margin, in uncial letters flanked by four dots on either side; the liturgical lemma is written within the text for the first, and on the upper margin for the second catechesis. Both the date appointed for the reading and the number of the text correspond to the sequence found in E.

A note, perhaps scribal, is found on the upper margin at fol. 2r: †ϵ̅ ὁ θϵὸς ἡμῶν ὁ μέγας τῇ βουλ(ῇ) καὶ θαυμάστος τ(ῆς) ἐργ-·. A later note may be read at the bottom of fol. 1v: δύο μεγάλαις ἁμαρτίαις εἶναι ὁπου κολάζουν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· ὁ θυμὸς καὶ ἡ ἐπηθϋμήα· αὔταις αἱ δύο ἐὰν ταῖς ἔχει ὁ ἄνθρωπος, εἰς κακ(ὸν) κολάζετ(αι)· ἐὰν ταῖς χρᾶτ(.)οις καλὸν σώνεται(?)·. Furthermore, a word is written by a later, and perhaps different, hand on the inner margin of fol. 2v, by the sixth line: μητρωφα(ν)ιας.

PART II

THE INDIRECT TRANSMISSION

II. i) Codex *Atheniensis graecus* 295.

SYMBOL: N

DATE: 12th cent., second half

STRUCTURE: Parchment of good quality but varying thickness, measuring approximately 200 x 145 mm. The codex contains 141 folios, recently foliated in Arabic numerals 1-141. The text is written on 17 lines per page, spaced at 8 mm., disposed on a ruled framework of Leroy type C 12D1n. Where visible, prickings appear in the shape of very small slits. The codex is composed of 18 quires, with the addition of two bifolia at the end, which appear to come from another manuscript. The sequence of quires may be described thus: I^{8-2} (fols. 1-6: loss of internal bifolium with textual lacuna), II^{8} (7-14, imperfect: fols. 8 & 13 single folios), III^{8} (fols. 15-22, imperfect: fols. 16 & 21 single folios), IV^{8} (fols. 23-30, imperfect: fols. 24 & 29 single folios), V^{8} (fols. 31-38, imperfect: fols. 33 & 36 single folios), VI^{8} (fols. 39-46, imperfect: fols. 41 & 44 single folios), VII^{8} (fols. 47-54, imperfect: fols. 48 & 53 single folios), $VIII^{8}$ (fols. 55-62, imperfect: fols. 57 & 60 single folios), IX^{8} (fols. 63-70, imperfect: fols. 64 & 69 single folios), X^{8} (fols. 71-78, imperfect: fols. 72 & 77 single folios), XI^{8-1} (fols. 79-85: fols. 79, 81 & 84 single folios), XII^{8} (fols. 86-93, imperfect: fols. 87 & 92 single folios), $XIII^{8}$ (fols. 94-101, imperfect: fols. 96 & 99 single folios), XIV^{8} (fols. 102-109, imperfect: fols. 103 & 108 single folios), $XV\text{-}XVII^{8}$ (fols. 110-117; 118-125; 126-133), $XVIII^{6-2}$ (fols. 134-137: fols. 134 & 136 single folios), XIX^{4} (fols. 134-141). Most of the original signatures, written in the ink of the text in the bottom internal corner of the verso of the last folio of each quire, are extant. The only exceptions are: β΄, ια΄ (last folio cut out), ιη΄ (last quire). Signature ζ΄ is fragmentary and ιδ΄ is very faint. A small cross at the

centre of the top margin of fol. 39r appears to mark the beginning of that quire (στ΄).

Fol. 1r is damaged by contact with the facing leather, that has given it a frame of red tint, and similarly fol. 141v. Fol. 137 is a thin and damaged sheet, and its verso also suffered from contact with another surface that gave it a brown frame: this was presumably the original binding, similar in dimensions, but not identical in outline with the present one. Fol. 137 was thus originally the last folio of the codex. The conservation of the rest of the manuscript is good, with the exception of the spine of the leather binding, that has partly uncovered the underlying cloth.

BINDING: Byzantine binding, composed of two wooden boards, each 10 mm. thick, slightly wormed. On the inside of the boards, five small horizontal perforations are visible, with five strings of the main sewings passed through them. Externally, the boards were covered in a beige cloth, covered in turn in tawny leather, whose wide margins are folded over and glued to the inside of the boards.

The leather covers are decorated by stamps, in an equal pattern for the upper and lower boards: a geometric frame formed by three concentric rectangles is punctuated symmetrically with two designs of simple-petalled flowers, with the addition of three central stamps with a bird design (a stork?) inscribed in an undulating oval frame, occuring also here and there in the outer rectangles. The back board has substituted the bird stamps of the outer margin with a fragile 'fleur de lys' design. One of these was torn, then carefully sown back onto the leather cover.

The headbands are characteristically round and high, finely stitched in pale yellow and orange thread. The gatherings are sewn onto the headbands via a plain, rougher string, wound through eighteen times, and again twice on each side of the headband. Some of the sewing is becoming loose. Two

metal points on the edge of the front board are extant. The reddish leather straps, now folded inside on the back cover, would have been fastened to them.

The spine is also decorated with stamps creating a criss-crossing geometry framing simple flower designs. Below the present shelfmark on the spine are the tattered remains of an earlier one, with the number 601. Scribbled across this more ancient shelfmark are the words: κατηχήσεις ο τοῦ στουδίτου. Another word is written in black ink across the upper edge of the pages, perhaps reading: KAT[ϵ]XHΣ^{H}. This word was visible as the book was stored horizontally on shelves.

DECORATION: At fol. 1r, a band of Sassanian palmettes is drawn "in negativo" in red ink, with additional decoration at the corners of the rectangle. A thick red straight line is then adopted as separation between texts. At the bottom of fol. 58r, an interlace "in negativo" flanked by a simple cross on each side marks the end of the text and of that page. The initials are elaborately ornamented by the use of flowers and leaf motifs, and are approximately 55 mm. high.

WRITING: Calligraphic minuscule, depending on the effect of a few enlarged letters, such as kappa, raised taus and gammas, uncial lambdas, large omicron-upsilon ligatures, lunate sigmas and wide thetas (up to 7 mm. on fol. 135v, over an average nucleus size of 2-2, 5 mm.).[72] The scribe also creates *bouleteé* effects in some letters such as lambda, chi, psi and both minuscule and uncial kappa. The pen is also held on the raised full-stops, creating wide and visible marks. Liturgical lemmas are written in *Alexandrinische Auszeichnungsmajuskel*, while titles are written in a small Constantinopolitan uncial script.

---

[72]Cf. CROSTINI, 'Towards a study', pl. 17 (fols. 139v-140r).

Although there appears to be one scribe alone (fols. 1-137), there is a puzzling change of ink at fol. 135r, continuing through to fol. 137r. The verso of the same fol. 135 has an unusually large script. This layout may be explained as an attempt to spread out a short text to match the beginning of the next folio. In fact, the first line and one third of the second are rubbed out from fol. 136r, where the writing resumes its customary size. The few letters that can be discerned from the correction at fol. 136r do not, however, appear to reproduce those immediately preceding.

Fols. 138-141 appear to come from another manuscript. The inks are darker: both the red for the date and initial, and the brown for the text. The Alexandrine distinctive is abandoned for a plainer uncial. The initial alpha is barely decorated at all, and only 27 mm. high. There are only 14 lines per page in addition to the line for the liturgical lemma on fol. 138, and 15-17 lines in the following folios. The minuscule appears to have more archaic traits, and is not equally accurate and consistent on the four pages.

CONTENTS:

Theodore Studite, *Parva Catechesis*, ed. Auvray, in the following sequence: (fols. 1-4v) PC47, (fols. 5r-9r) K309, (fols. 9r-12v) K311, (fols. 12v-18r) PC48, (fols. 18v-23r) PC49, (fols. 23r-26r) PC50, (fols. 26r-32r) PC51, (fols. 32r-36v) PC52, (fols. 36v-39v) PC53, (fols. 39v-45v) PC54, (fols. 45v-50v) PC55, (fols. 50v-54r) PC56, (fols. 54r-58r) PC57, (fol. 58v-62r) PC58, (fols. 62v-66r) PC59, (fols. 66r-69v) PC60, (fols. 69v-73r) PC61, (fols. 73v-76v) PC62, (fols. 76v-81r) PC64, (fols. 81r-84r) PC65, (fols. 84r-87v) PC68, (fols. 87v-92r) PC66, (fols. 92r-95v) PC67, (fols. 95v-100r) PC69, (fols. 100r-103v) PC77, (fols. 103v-107r) PC79, (fols. 107r-110r) PC76, (fols. 110r-114v) PC70, (fols. 114v-119v) PC71, (fols. 119v-124v) PC88, (fols. 124v-129v) PC72, (fols. 129v-134r) PC73; (fols. 134r-137r) Ps.-Chrysostom, *Sermo catecheticus in Pascha*, CPG 4605, PG 59, 721-724; PG 99, 709-712, inc. Εἴ τις εὐσεβὴς καὶ φιλόθεος (cf. M: fols. 36v-

37v; E: fols. 201r-202v; Cr: pp. 21-22a); (fol. 137v) Blank; (fols. 138r-141v) PC35 (des. mut.: ὅτι προσεκεκλήμεθα ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίας, εἰς τοιοῦτον ἀξίω-). A text for the Sunday of the Blind Man (κυριακῇ τοῦ ἀσώτου) had already been included at the beginning of this manuscript, fols. 12v-18r, as PC48. The liturgical reduplication is another sign that the last text did not belong in the original composition of the codex.

Between PC47 and PC48, the two texts from K are inserted: K309 (fols. 5r-9r) and K311 (fols. 9r-12v), respectively on the Wednesday and Friday "τοῦ τελώνου καὶ τοῦ φαρισαίου". K309 is an adaptation of the tenth *Doctrina* of Dorotheos, while K311 takes as source a text of the *Magna Catechesis* of Theodore Studite.[73] At fols. 5v and 6r, marginal notes, Ση(μεῖον) and ὁρ(άω), attract attention to the K texts. The latter displays a characteristic rho enclosed within the omicron, a feature noted in other Evergetis manuscripts.[74]

PROVENANCE: Leroy suggested Mt. Athos for the original provenance of the codex, deducing it from the selection and arrangement of catecheses by Theodore Studite. There is a note of possession at fol 137r:

> τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο εἶναι τοῦ εὐτελοὺς ἐπισκόπου τῆς δρϊνουπ(όλεως), Νικοδήμου,

identified by Leroy with an eighteenth-century bishop in Epirus (1732).[75] The previous shelfmark of the codex was 601, while three blue stamps of the National Library at Athens may be found at fols. 1r, 3r and 7r.

---

[73]Cf. Ch. III, II, i and v.
[74]Especially in the *typikon* codex, *Atheniensis gr.* 788.
[75]LEROY, *Introduction*, ch. 8, at n. 7, gives a reference to Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ ἐθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία V (Athens, 1964), col. 227.

II. ii) Codex Centre Dujcev, *Serdicensis graecus* 222.

SYMBOL: D

DATE: 1291

STRUCTURE: Codex of oriental paper of medium thickness, quite solid, measuring approximately 255 x 170 mm., with a written surface of 170 x 115 mm. It contains 172 folios, numbered in blue pencil 1-172. The page is written for 21 lines of text, spaced at 8-9 mm., and a line of prickings for the horizontal justifications is sometimes extant on the outer margin. The text is written full page, with vertical justifications displaying double lines, 6 mm. apart; occasionally, an extra horizontal line is found in the lower margin.

The extant portion of the codex presents 26 quaternions, with the following exceptions: [ϵ΄] fol. 1 is loosely attached to fols. 2-7; [ζ΄] Ternion: fols. 16-21; [η΄] Quinion: fols. 22-31; [θ΄] Ternion: fols. 32-37; [ι΄] Quinion: fols. 38-46; [κστ΄] Ternion + pastedown: fols. 167-172 + pastedown. Very few quire signatures are extant, on the left corner of the bottom margin of the recto of the first folio of quires ια΄, ιβ΄, ιγ΄, ιϵ΄ and ιθ΄, respectively on fols. 47r, 55r, 63r, 79r and 111r. The extant quire signatures allow us to reconstruct the original size of the manuscript, that is now lacking its four initial gatherings.

This material reckoning may be supported by looking at the manuscript's content. The numbers written beside the incipit of the catecheses themselves begin at fol. 24v with number 30 (λ΄). Since only thirteen texts plus the first incomplete one precede this number, sixteen more catecheses, initially part of the collection, are now lost. Presumably, each catechesis occupied on average two folios, like the extant ones. We are therefore missing a total of 32 folios, that is exactly four quaternions. The codex is wormed throughout, impairing the reading especially at the beginning and end.

BINDING: Wooden boards, cloth inside cover and outer cover of unadorned leather. The binding is loose.

DECORATION: Simple decoration in bright red ink between titles.

WRITING: One scribe, employing a calligraphic minuscule related to the *Perlschrift*, but with considerable variation in magnitude between letters ("alternanza di moduli") and a widespread use of uncial forms. Characteristic letters "ad ombelico" are: θ, ψ, ει; upsilon with a base; inclusions: οι, ον. The scribe uses few abbreviations, although some pages with more rapid *ductus* may be found.

CONTENTS: Anthology of Studite catecheses,[76] with at least one text from K, in the following sequence:

- fol. 1 : inc. mut.: last 14 lines of extant catechesis, beginning at ἄλλου ἔργου βαρύτητα... des. οὕτος στήσεται ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ αὐτοῦ, ὡς ζῶν ἐν τῇ νεκρώσει τῶν θελημάτων αὐτοῦ· καὶ παροῦσ(αν) τιμὴν ἀπειπάμενος + doxology; - fol. 1r: λέγει ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς διὰ τοῦ προφήτου· λάβετε πνεῦμα δυνάμεως·; - fol. 2v: MC I. 62; - fol. 4: PC105; - fol. 6: PC106; - fol. 8: στῶμει ἀεὶ καὶ ἐμπαράσκευοι ὦμεν·; - fol. 9: PC78; - fol. 11v: PC79; - fol. 13v: PC80, des. mut.; - fol. 15: PC81; - fol. 17: ἐὰν τὸ θυμικὸν τῆς ψυχῆς·; - fol. 19: ἡλίκον ἀγῶνα ἔχειν· (cf. PC 85); - fol. 20v: PC89; - fol. 22v: PC90; - fol. 24v: Νυνεχῶς ἔχωμεν καὶ; - fol. 27: PC94 ; - fol. 28: PC95 ; - fol. 29v: PC98; - fol. 31v: ὅτι μὲν πολλάκις; fol. 33: CL IX, logos 26, pp. 73-75 ; - fol. 35 [no title]: ὡς τέκνα ὑπακῶς, ἐν πάσῃ εὐσεβείᾳ; - fol. 37: ἃ μέλλω διαλεχθῆναι;

---

[76]I am offering a detailed list of contents for this manuscript, since a published description of it is lacking. Where I have not been able to identify the text according to the published works of Theodore Studite, I have transcribed the incipits. This material was submitted to the Journal of the Dujcev Centre, in gratitude for a one-month Junior Fellowship in summer 1994 that enabled me to study this and other manuscripts in their collection.

- fol. 39: PC110; - fol. 41: PC111; - fol. 43v: PC112; - fol. 45v: PC113; - fol. 47v: PC114; - fol. 49: PC115; - fol. 51: περὶ ὑπομονῆς τῶν; - fol. 53: PC118; - fol. 55v: PC119; - fol. 58: PC121; - fol. 60: PC123; - fol. 62: CL X, logos 87, pp. 43-46; - fol. 64v: PC125; - fol. 67: ἐγγίζων ἐγγίζει ἡ τελευτέα; - fol. 69: PC128; - fol. 71v: PC129; - fol. 73v: PC130; - fol. 75v: PC131; - fol. 78: PC133; - fol. 80: PC134; - fol. 82v: λέγει ὁ ἀπόστολος· ὁ λόγος ὑμῶν; - fol. 84: PC108; - fol. 86: περί τινος ὑποθέσεως; - fol. 88v: εἰς τὴν ἀγρυπνίαν - in upper margin: PC122; - fol. 91: PC11; - fol. 93: σεπτεμβρίῳ α΄ - in upper margin: PC24; - fol. 95v: PC25; - fol. 97: PC26; - fol. 99v: PC27; - fol. 101v: PC32; - fol. 108v: PC34; - fol. 105v: instead of title: κυριακῇ τῆς ἀποκρέω: PC49; - fol. 107v: τῇ δ΄ τῆς τυροφάγου- in upper margin: PC28; - fol. 110: τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς τυροφάγου - with title: PC52; - fol. 112: κυριακῇ τῆς τυροφάγου, with title: PC53; - fol. 113v: instead of title : τῇ δ΄ τῆς πρώτης ἑβδ.· τῶν νηστειῶν: PC54; - fol. 116: instead of title: τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς πρώτης ἑβδ.: PC55; - fol. 118v: τῇ κυριακῇ τῆς πρώτης ἑβδ. τῶν νηστειῶν, with title: PC56; - fol. 120: τῇ δ΄ τῆς β΄ ἑβδ., with title: PC57; - fol. 122: τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς β΄ ἑβδ., with title: PC58; - fol. 123v: instead of title: κυριακῇ β΄ τῶν νηστειῶν: PC59; - fol. 125: instead of title: τῇ τετράδᾳ τῆς τρίτης ἑβδ.: PC60; - fol. 126v: instead of title: τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς τρίτης ἑβδ.· ἤδη γὰρ ἡ νηστεία; - fol. 127v: εἰς τὸν εὐαγγελισμὸν τῆς ἁγίας Θεοτόκου καὶ δεσποίνης ἡμῶν, with title: PC64; - fol. 129v: instead of title: τῇ δ΄ τῆς μέσης ἑβδ.: PC66; - fol. 131v: τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς μέσης ἑβδ.: PC67; - fol. 133v: κυριακῇ τῆς μέσης ἑβδ., with title: PC68; - fol. 135v: instead of title: τῇ τετράδα τῆς πέμπτης ἑβδ.: MC. I. 33; - fol. 137: instead of title: τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς πέμπτης ἑβδ.: <u>inc. τὸ ἄλογον πάθος = K329</u>; - fol. 138v: instead of title: κυριακῇ τῆς πέμπτης ἑβδ.· ἐξοῦ Χριστὸς ἐπεδήμησεν; - fol. 141: instead of title: τῇ δ΄ τῆς ἕκτης ἑβδ.: PC69; - fol. 142: instead of title: τῇ παρασκευῇ

τῆς ἕκτης ἑβδ.: PC44; - fol. 144: instead of title: τῇ κυριακῇ τῶν βαίων: PC71; - fol. 146: τῇ ἁγίᾳ κυριακῇ μεγάλῃ ἑβδ., with title: PC72; - fol. 148v-150v: instead of title: εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ μεγάλην ἑβδ.: PC73; - fol. 151: Lacuna in the text: inc. mut.: πλήρωμα τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι: des. at fol. 152v: ὑγιῶς ἁπτώμεθα, πᾶσι τοῖς μελέσιν ὑγιῶς κεχρημένοι· ὡς ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου ἀγώμενοι· καὶ τοῦ λόγου θεραπευταὶ ὑπάρχοντες· κληρονόμοι...; - fol. 152v: εἰς τὴν ἀνάληψιν τοῦ Κυρίου, with title: PC8; - fol. 154v: πρὸ(ς) τῆς πεντηκοστῆς: with title: PC9; - fol. 157: εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους πάντας - with title: PC10; - fol. 159v: εἰς τὸ θέρος, with title: PC16; - fol. 161v: instead of title: εἰς τὸ θέρος: PC17; - fol. 163v: εἰς τὸ θέρος, with title: PC18; - fol. 166: title almost illegible: μ΄ τῶν ἁγίων: PC19; - fol. 167v: εἰς μεταμόρφωσιν τοῦ Κυρίου, with title: PC20; - fol. 170v: εἰς τὴν ἐπιμονὴν τῆς κοιμήσεως τῆς...θεοτόκου, with title: PC23.

PROVENANCE: The annotation C.UB. in red pencil on back pastedown has been thought to refer to the monastery of St. John Prodromos. The number 317 is written in blue pencil on the front pastedown and on fol. 1r, presumably representing the shelfmark of this manuscript in a previous collection. The word, χολευγιάρις, written in black ink on fol. 172v, may refer to a later owner.

Codex *Serdicensis graecus* 222 presents a phenomenon identified by Leroy in the manuscript *Atheniensis graecus* 295, where texts of K are 'confused', without any distinguishing mark, within an anthology of Studite catecheses. *Prima facie*, therefore, the texts appear under the authorship of Theodore Studite.

Nevertheless, the texts in question are clearly not Theodore's, since they display a text compiled from another source altogether. In the Athens

manuscript, the text of K309 is an adaptation of the tenth *Doctrina* of Dorotheos, while in the Sofia manuscript, the text of K329 (fols. 137r-138v) is an adaptation from a passage of Mark's *Praecepta salutaria* (PG 65, 1041 A13-1044 A11).

However, the source for the second catechesis included by the *Atheniensis graecus* 295 (K311) is Theodore himself. Similarly, it may be that other texts in D, whose *incipits* are identical for Theodore's and Paul's catecheses, will turn out to be K texts, in which Paul took as his source Theodore's catecheses. The texts lacking a title in D, marked by an asterisk in the list below, are primary candidates for such identification.

Common incipits obtain in the following cases:[77]

- fol. 2v: MC I. 62 = K239; - fol. 11v: PC79 = K39; - fol. 22v: PC90 = K45; - fol. 27: PC94 = K53; - fol. 28: PC95 = K54; - fol. 95v: PC25 = K232; - fol. 99v: PC27 = K265; * fol. 105v: PC49 = K327; - fol. 107v: PC28 = K18; - fol. 110: PC52 = K326; - fol. 112: PC53 = K334; * fol. 113v: PC54 = K332; * fol. 116: PC55 = K331; - fol. 118v: PC56 = K333; * fol. 123v: PC59 = K340; * fol. 125: PC60 = K344; - fol. 127v: PC64 = K368; * fol. 129v: PC66 = K362; - fol. 131v: PC67 = K363; - fol. 133v: PC68 = K365; * fol. 135v: MC I. 33 = K147; - fol. 152v: PC8 = K13; * fol. 161v: PC17 = K95; - fol. 166: PC19 = K361; - fol. 170v: PC23 = K17.

Where Paul borrows the entire catechesis, his text may be barely distinguishable from that of his source, and we may not be able to come to a conclusion about its precise provenance. On the other hand, where Paul's text substantially modifies his source, the provenance may be immediately evident.[78] A particular case is that at fol. 125r. PC60 begins, in Auvray's edition, with the words: ἁγίου τοῦ πατρὸς. An additional phrase has been inserted before the incipit of the Sofia manuscript: ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἡμέρᾳ

---

[77]See Ch. III, II, i for a complete list of overlapping incipits and the extent of K borrowings from PC texts.

[78]At the time of my visit to Sofia, my textual work on K was not advanced enough to carry out these comparisons in the required detail. The microfilm has only recently been acquired by the Evergetis Project at The Queen's University, Belfast.

ἡ ζωή ἡμῶν, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, which is very similar to the incipit of K344: ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἡμέρᾳ, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, ἡ ζωή ἡμῶν,. It would be useful in this case to possess a better critical edition of Theodore's text, since such minor modifications may well reflect simply a different textual transmission of the source text.

It is worth noting that the day appointed for the reading of K329 is the Wednesday of the first week of Lent in the sequence known from codex *Athos Esphigmenos* 45, whereas in the *Serdicensis gr*. 222 this text is prescribed for the Friday of the fifth week of Lent.

II. iii) Other testimonies.

In his unpublished papers, Leroy had signalled the fourteenth-century codex *Sinaiticus gr*. 482 (abbrev.: Sin) as containing, at fol. 242, a fragment of K195. A microfilm of this manuscript was not available for study, but the text of the Sinai manuscript might fill the lacuna at this point in M.

Leroy also pointed to a fragment of K found in the Life of Cyril of Philea. The parallel between K22 and the saint's biography will be set out in Ch. IV, I, iii.

PART III.

CODEX BODLEIAN LIBRARY, *CROMWELL* 22

III. i) Description of the codex.

SYMBOL: Cr

DATE: 1315

STRUCTURE: Parchment of good quality, medium thickness (with a few thinner leaves, e.g. pp. 189-190, 355-356), uniform light cream colour, well levigated, measuring approximately 320 x 235 mm., containing 462 pages and 8 paper flyleaves, paginated (i-viii), 1-367, 368a-c, 369-462, (463-470), in Arabic numerals, written in pale brown ink, probably by a sixteenth-century hand, except for pp. i-viii and 368a-c, written in pencil at the Bodleian Library. Flyleaves vii-viii and 463-464 are watermarked with the design *Chapeau*, similar to Briquet 3444 (a. 1550): a cardinal's hat suspended above the letter 'M' and surmounted by a cross. The text is disposed on two columns of 30 lines, measuring 210 x 160 mm. each, the page ruled according to Leroy type 22E2, system 1. The lines of the ruling (especially the horizontal ones) are very faint, and no prickings are extant. The front pastedown used to be conjoint with flyleaf i, but their joining has been cut through, with the result that the spine of the book is now detached from the binding; flyleaves ii-iv are glued together under i. The codex is composed of 32 quires, structured as follows: I^{2+1} (pp. 1-6: sewing visible between pp. 2 & 3; the single folio, pp. 5-6, is sewn onto the bifolium), II^{2} (pp. 7-10) | | III^{6-1} (pp. 11-20: pp. 11-12 are a single folio sewn with its stub in front of the bifolia pp. 13-20; one folio missing between p. 20 and p. 21) | | IV^{1+2} (pp. 21-26: pp. 21-22 are a single folio, sewn with a rough thread, visible at p. 21, to the bifolium), V-XI^{8} (pp. 27-42; 43-58; 59-74; 75-90; 91-106; 107-122; 123-138), XII^{8} (pp. 139-154, imperfect: pp. 141-142 and 151-152 are single folios), XIII-XXV^{8} (pp. 155-170;

171-186; 187-202; 203-218; 219-234; 235-250; 251-266; 267-282; 283-298; 299-314; 315-330; 331-346; 347-362), XXVI^{8} (pp. 363-376: only a stub of the fourth folio, pp. 368b-c, remains, which was written only on ll. 1-7 col. a; the remaining, blank portion of this folio has been neatly cut out), XXVII-XXX^{8} (pp. 377-392; 393-408; 409-424; 425-440), XXXI^{1+4} (pp. 441-450: pp. 441-442 are a single folio, stitched onto two bifolia), XXXII^{6} (pp. 451-462). The extant quire signatures appear scribal, although placed differently in different quires: at p. 26, the signature α΄ is found at the end of the gathering, in the lower left corner; at p. 27, signature β΄ is placed in the lower right margin of the first folio of the quire only; the next signature, γ΄, is found at the centre of the lower margin both at p. 43 and at p. 58, accompanied by a small cross on the centre upper margin of the first folio of the quire; signature δ΄, at p. 59, is similarly at the centre of the lower margin, but the back signature is missing in this quire; there are traces of quire signatures in the centre of the lower margin of pp. 91 and 106; at p. 107, signature ζ΄ is still visible, though trimmed, in the lower left corner; no other traces are visible after this, but the gatherings are regularly marked by a small cross at the centre of the upper margin of the first recto of each gathering (pp. 139, 155, 171, 187, 203, 219, 235, 251, 266, 283, 299, 315, 331, 247, 363, 377, 393, 409, 425, 441). It is possible that the signatures were completely trimmed, but it is equally likely that the scribe used the crosses in place of numbering his quires.[79] That the first signature only occurs at p. 26 suggests that the original first quaternion was formed by pp. 1-10 (Pinax 1) + pp. 21-26, and that pp. 11-20 (Pinax 2) were inserted later, damaging the structure of the first quire. Unfortunately, no traces of a signature are extant on p. 1 to convalidate this hypothesis.

The present condition of the manuscript is good, but there are signs of previous damage by humidity and insects at the beginning and end of the

[79]The crosses are reminiscent of the crosses in Studite codices, which, however, cannot ultimately be considered a sure sign of provenance. This identification was used by C. GIANNELLI, 'Un nuovo codice di provenienza studita (Vat. gr. 2564)', in *Scripta Minora di C. Giannelli*, Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici 10 (Rome, 1963), pp. 225-38.

codex. One may note traces of red cloth glued to the parchment surface in the lateral margin, originally serving as page markers, later deliberately trimmed along the edge of the page (e.g. at pp. 143, 293).

BINDING: It is possible to retrace at least four stages in the binding of the book:[80] a very early one (perhaps the original binding) has left faint marks of leather colour on the first page of the manuscript, different in size from later bindings; there are traces of a sixteenth-century binding, that has left marks of tanning on the watermarked paper flyleaves: the front leaf (vii-viii) was probably used as a pastedown; Western (Oxford) nineteenth-century brown leather cover over pasteboards and contemporary flyleaves of paper without watermarks (iii-vi, 465-468) were reused in the twentieth-century rebinding, when the codex was rebacked and a final set of flyleaves, conjoint to the pastedowns, was added (i-ii; 469-470); the spine, of tawny leather, has seven decorative horizontal grooves and the gold lettering at the bottom: MS. *CROMWELL* 22; the endbands are woven in a thick red cotton thread.

DECORATION: Headpieces of "paper-cut" effect rectangles with leafy patterns and ornamental palmettes at the four corners at pp. 21, 61 and 369,[81] or with a geometrical pattern at p. 451.[82] The beginning of the catecheses is marked by a large square with arabesques, measuring 58 x 70 mm., surmounted by a cross, at p. 22.[83] Each catechesis is separated from the next by a simple ornamental divider; star-shaped ornaments may be found as *teloi*, e.g. at pp. 186 and 419. The initials, mostly alphas, with the exception of one epsilon on p. 51 and one mu on p. 294, are simply but inventively decorated,

---

[80]I wish to thank Dr. Bruce Barker-Benfield who kindly studied the structure of the binding with me.
[81]*CBM*, III, Abb. 522, ms. no. 142, pp. 215-17; E. GAMILLSCHEG & D. HARLFINGER, *Repertorium der Griechischen Kopisten 800-1600*, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1981-89), I (C), no. 266 (plate of p. 21).
[82]*CBM* III, Abb. 521.
[83]*CBM* III, Abb. 520.

mostly with a volute shape at the stem, similar to that found in fifteenth-century manuscripts. An unusual A is to be found on p. 444, measuring approximately 55 mm., whose outline has been drawn but never filled in. All decoration, initials and titles, plus the entire text of the Pinaxes, are written in red, in two different hues: a very faded, brick-red hue on pp. 1-10 and 21-60; a bright carmine on pp. 11-20 and from p. 61 to the end.

WRITING: Signed by one scribe, the hieromonk Mark[84] (see also Provenance), writing a conservative calligraphic minuscule, in imitation of the *Perlschrift*, of elegant ductus and small nucleus (1-2 mm.). There are two shades in the ink of the text: pp. 21-38 are written in a dark grey ink, while a light brown colour is adopted from p. 39 onwards, applied with a differently cut pen that produces a thicker line. The difference in ink, however, does not correspond to a different hand, as shown by the identical morphology of the letters, and by the fact that the change in the red ink colour does not exactly overlap with the change in the colour of the ink of the text. Thus, the brown ink is rubricated both in pale red and in bright carmine. Iota subscript is not indicated; standard abbreviations for *nomina sacra* and compendia at line endings are employed; circumflex accents are occasionally written in union with the preceding vowel, especially on upsilons; titles in Alexandrine uncial, the upsilon traced as a convergence of two straight obliques (similar to a y). Despite the abundance of uncial forms, among which can be found α, γ, δ, ε, η, θ, κ, λ, ν, π, σ, τ, ω (but a modern majuscule beta can be seen at p. 239, col. b, last line), the general aspect of the page remains well ordered, the

---

[84]VOGEL-GARDTHAUSEN, *Schreiber*, p. 292; GAMILLSCHEG-HARLFINGER, *Repertorium*, I (A), no. 266, p. 145; I (B), p. 113; *PLP*, no. 17046 (cf. also nos. 17045 & 17047). An image of the script (p. 37) may also be found in A. TURYN, *Dated Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Great Britain*, DOS 17 (1980), pl. 53, with a description at p. 78. A *caveat* against the confusion of this Mark with a contemporary homonym working at the monastery of Esphigmenou is expressed by E. LAMBERTZ, 'Die Handschriftenproduktion in den Athosklöstern', in G. CAVALLO, G. DE GREGORIO & M. MANIACI, eds., *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio*, Atti del Seminario di Erice, 18-25 settembre 1988 (Spoleto, 1991), pp. 25-78, Taf. I-XIX, at p. 55, n. 116 (cf. Taf. XI).

most notable exception being the enlargements of the ligature omicron-upsilon (e.g. p. 105); thetas and epsilons occasionally display an "ombelico"; the flat, elongated omegas generate rhythmical patterns, e.g. at p. 123, col. b. The following ligatures may be illustrated:

ϵρ 

ϵως 

αἰῶ 

ὑψη 

ἔτι 

ὅτι 

φρο 

CONTENTS:[85]

1. (pp. 1-10) Table of contents, including a list of 134 titles of Catecheses by Theodore Studite, in the following order: PC 1-35, 37, 36, 38-64, 65+66 (one heading), 67-134, followed by the title of the *Testament* of Theodore, and the title of Ps.-Chrysostom, *Sermo catecheticus in Pascha*, tit.:
Τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ ὁμολογητοῦ Θεοδώρου ἡγουμένου τῶν Στουδίου κατηχήσεις πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοὺς μαθητὰς· Εἰς τὸ ἅγιον Πάσχα·

The contents outlined in the first Pinax correspond to the contents of this manuscript only as far as the Studite catecheses from pp. 22b-48b, but excluding the Ps.-Chrysostom homily, which, although it is placed at the beginning of the codex, is mentioned only as the last item of the Pinax. However, PC1-10 are numbered in the margins of the manuscript with numbers corresponding with the first, rather than with the second, pinax. The

[85]None of the literature on this ms. gives an accurate description of the contents. A detailed list is included as Appendix II.

extant numbers are: γ΄, at p. 26b; ε΄, at p. 31b; στ΄, at p. 33b; ζ΄, at p. 36a; η΄, at p. 38a; θ΄, at p. 40b; ι΄, at p. 45b. The numbering stops after this text. It will be noted that this numbering does not take the Easter homily into account, and thus corresponds exactly to the numbering of Pinax 1.

To explain the mis-match between Pinax 1 and the contents of the manuscript, one may envisage that the titles of Pinax 1 were copied at an earlier stage of the volume's planning. Subsequently, the scribe/compiler decided to include K texts in the homiliary.[86] He continued to select texts from the same model for Theodore which may therefore be reconstructed in its original form through the titles of Pinax 1. The presence of Pinax 1, therefore, strengthens the hypothesis that the scribe of Cr was at the same time its original compiler.

2. (pp. 11-20) Table of contents for Cr:

Tit.: Πίναξ σὺν θεῷ ἁγίῳ, τῆς παρούσης πυκτίδος· τάδε ἐστιν ἐν τῇ βιβλίῳ ταύτῃ·

Inc.: τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ κυριακῇ τοῦ Πάσχα μετὰ τὸν ἀσπασμόν·

Des. mut.: μηνὶ μαίῳ κγ΄· εἰς τὴν [...

3. (pp. 21a-22a) Ps.-Chrysostom, *Sermo catecheticus in Pascha*, CPG 4605, PG 59, 721-724; PG 99, 709-712 (cf. M: fols. 36v-37v; E: fols. 201r-202v; N: 134r-137v):

Tit.: τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπ(ου) Κωνστ(αν)τινουπόλεως τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου· λόγος εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Πάσχα· οὗ ἡ ἀρχῆ·

Inc.: Εἴ τις εὐσεβὴς καὶ φιλόθεος,

[86]Note that the ink colour changes within the first group of Studite catechesis (at p. 38), and does not therefore contribute to elucidating the phases of the manuscript's composition.

Des.: νεκρῶν, ἀπαρχῆ τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἐγένετο· αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα κτλ.

4. (pp. 22b-45b) Theodore Studite, *Parva Catechesis*, ed. AUVRAY: PC 1-9, appointed to be read on the Sundays from the Week after Easter until Pentecost, with the addition of the Feast of Mesopentekostes. The catecheses were all adapted for a feminine audience, as the initial appellatives, 'Mothers and Sisters', entail:

Tit.: τοῦ ὁσίου π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶν καὶ ὁμολογητοῦ Θεοδώρου, ἡγουμένου τῶν Στουδίου, κατηχήσεις πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ μαθητάς.

Tit. 1): εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πάσχα. περὶ τοῦ ἐναγωνίως διανύ(ειν) τὸν ὅλον ἡμῶν βίον.

Inc.: Ἀδελφαὶ καὶ μητέρες, ἐπειδὴ ἠξιώθημεν χάριτι Χριστοῦ

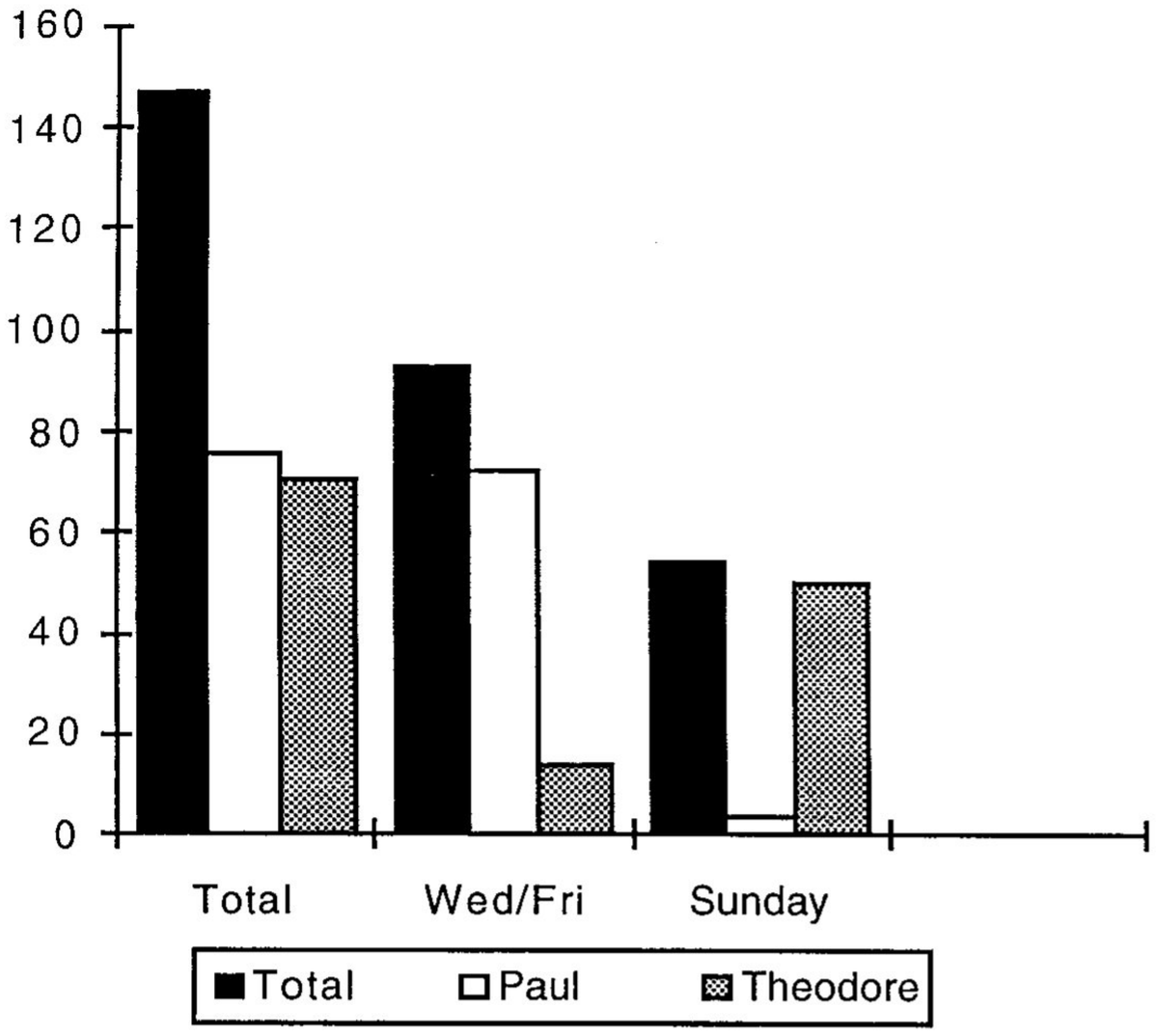
5. (pp. 45b-368b, col. a) Catecheses by Theodore Studite for Sundays; K texts for Wednesdays and Fridays, as specified in a note at p. 48b:

> Δεῖ γινώσκειν ὑμᾶς ὅτι αἱ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τῆς ἑβδομάδος κατηχήσεων τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν παύλου εἰσὶν καθηγουμένου τῆς σεβασμίας μονῆς τῆς εὐεργέτιδος·

This attribution is reinforced by a note in the lower margin:

> τοῦ ἁγίου παύλου·

Exceptions to this pattern may be found at pp. 273a-274b; 279b-281b; 287a-289b; 294b-297a: although read on Sundays, these texts also belong to K. Conversely, Studite texts may be found in mid-week from p. 317a to p. 386b, col. a. The relative proportion of texts of the two authors chosen by the compiler of Cr may be shown in the following graph:



Cr appears to offer two texts filling a lacuna in M. Since the surviving portion of K203 is built around the last part of Theodore Studite, MC I, 51, and two texts in Cr, appointed for reading on the Wednesday and Friday of the week in which the lacuna occurs, follow the earlier portions of MC I, 51, one may plausibly conjecture that these texts offer us a version of K201 and K202, albeit in a feminine version. Further, one may reconstruct the missing part of K203, in the light of the point at which K202 leaves off its source.[87]

The texts are structured around five ἠχοδρομίαι. Each ἠχοδρομία fulfills a complete cycle of ἦχοι or tones, beginning with alpha (on Sunday of week 2, 10, 18, 26 and 34), and ending on the fourth plagal tone (on Sunday of week 9, 17, 25, 33). Each ἠχοδρομία comprises twenty-four catecheses (three catecheses per week, for the eight weeks corresponding to the eight

[87]K201 and K202 are found respectively at p. 185a and p. 186b. Leroy had assigned to the *Cromwell* texts the numbers 200 and 201, postulating the loss of one more text between the Cr catecheses and the extant portion of K203, and stating that K203 used a 'fourth part' of the Studite MC. Leroy's numbering appears unjustified, since there is not a sufficient gap between the end of the second *Cromwell* text and the extant K203 to justify the postulation of an entire catechesis composed on the same source. Rather, in attempting to reconstruct the original daily sequence, it is easier to accept the day appointed for the reading of the first *Cromwell* text, Wednesday of the Twenty-third week, and simply push back the second *Cromwell* text from Friday to Thursday. The extant portion of K203 appears to have been assigned to the Friday of the Twenty-third week. In this way we obtain the continuous sequence K201-203.

tones), except for the first ἠχοδρομία, which starts on the fourth plagal tone for Sunday of First Week, and thus contains three more texts, for a total of twenty-seven. The fifth and last ἠχοδρομία ends on Sunday of the Tyrophagy (pp. 315b-317a), and the catecheses for the subsequent Sundays in Lent do not indicate a tone in the liturgical lemma.

Alongside the tones, each Sunday bears an indication of the Gospel lessons, in a cycle of eleven sections, starting with alpha on Sunday of weeks 1, 12, 23, 34, and ending on section eta on Sunday of the Tyrophagy. The liturgical lemma on Sunday of Thirty-fourth week notes that the beginning of the Gospel reading cycle has rejoined the beginning of the ἠχοδρομία, by stating: ἰδοὺ ἶσα.

The sequence of three catecheses per week ends on Friday of Holy Week, that is, Good Friday. At p. 368b, the remaining stub of folio bears the *telos*:

> Τέλος τῶν μικρῶν κατηχήσεων τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Θεοδώρου τοῦ Στουδίτου.

6. (pp. 269-450) Theodore Studite, a selection of twenty-eight texts from the *Parva Catechesis*, ed. AUVRAY, for fixed feasts; one unpublished text at pp. 418a - 419b, for the Feast of St. Auxentios on 14 February.[88] The usual Feast of the Fathers of Sinai and Raithou celebrated on the fourteenth of January is substituted by the Feasts of the Holy Mothers (τῶν ἁγίων ἀμμάδων), more appropriate to a community of nuns (pp. 404b - 407a).

7. (pp. 451a-461b) Theodore Studite, *Testament*, PG99, 1813-1824 (BHG 1759):

Tit.: Διαθήκη τοῦ ὁσίου καὶ θεοφόρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Θεοδώρου, ἡγουμένου τῶν Στουδίου·

---

[88]*Nov. Auct.* BHG 203c, where the text is attributed, with a query, to Theodore Studite. Text transcribed in Appendix V.

Inc.: Ἀκούων τοῦ θείου Δαυὶδ λέγοντος, ἡτοιμάσθην καὶ οὐκ ἐταράχθην

Des.: τὴν παρακαταθήκην φυλάξατε· ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ κτλ.

8. (p. 462a) *Iambi in sermones S. Theodori Studitae,* pr. I. HARDT, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Bavaricae*, 4 vols. (Munich, 1804-12), II, p. 425, from codex CCXVII, fol. 119v (11th cent.), with slightly different readings:[89]

Tit.: Στίχοι.

Τὸν νοῦν ἀληθῶς χωρήσας πάσης ὕλης,
πηγὴν ἔδειξας ὀρθοδόξων δογμάτων
βλύζουσαν ὄντως τῇ ῥοῇ τῶν φθεγμάτων,
τοὺς χρυσολαμπεῖς καὶ θεοφθόγγους λόγους,
ἐξ ἧς ποτίζων εὐσεβῶν τὰς καρδίας
σοφῶς ὁδηγεῖς πρὸς τρίβους θείας, π(άτ)ερ.

PROVENANCE: At p. 450, the colophon reveals the name of the scribe (in cryptography)[90] and the date of the manuscript[91]:

ξθ΄ϡπλχ ϊεϡλξλνθ΄/υλχ (= Μάρκου ἱερομονά/χου) / τέλος πληρῶ, καὶ θ(εὸ)ς χά/ριν νέμει /ἔτους ϛωκγ΄ (= 6823)ἰν(δικτιῶνος) ιγ΄.

The specification of the indiction is useful in pinpointing the date to 1315, more precisely between the months of January and August of that

---

[89]Ch. BAUR, *Initia Patrum Graecorum*, Studi e Testi 180-181 (Città del Vaticano, 1955), II, 559: the incipit is slightly different: τὸν νῦν ἀληθῶς χωρίσας πάσης ὕλης; another reference to a similar incipit (Iambi: τὸν νοῦν ἀληθῶς χωρίσας πάσης ὕλης) is given as printed in the periodical *Ὁ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικὸς φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος* 15 (1884), p. 28, but I have not been able to check this reference.
[90]Cf. C. E. RUELLE, 'La cryptographie grecque. Simples notes, suivies d'un tableau général des alphabets secrets', in *Mélanges offerts à M. Émile Picot* , 2 vols. (Paris, 1913), I, pp. 289-306.
[91]An image of the colophon may be found in TURYN, *Dated Manuscripts ... of Great Britain*, pl. 111a.

year.[92] The high quality of confection of the codex strongly suggests an origin from or near Constantinople.

A poem, written on p. 463 perpendicularly to the sense of writing of the codex, mentions the Bishop Jeremiah, of the town of Grevena in Southern Macedonia, and the *hieromonachos* Sophronios, *higoumenos* of a cloister dedicated to the Theotokos at Grevena, who probably lived in the fifteenth century, before Grevena was raised to the status of 'metropolis'.[93] Its full transcription is given by Hutter.[94] An ancient shelfmark is written in brown ink at the top of p. viii, the number '103', subsequently enclosed in a rectangle drawn in ink, and a large letter 'H' to its right.

Oliver Cromwell, Lord-proctor and Chancellor of the University of Oxford, gave the codex as a gift to the Bodleian Library in 1654.[95] The shelfmark '*Cromwel.* 226' is written on the top margin of p. 1, but the 6 has been subsequently barred, in the same ink that enclosed both this and the previous shelfmark in a rectangle.

III. ii) <u>The audience of *Cromwell*</u>.

Leroy tried to identify the community of women for whom the Cr compilation had been assembled. He suggested the convent of the Trichinarea, situated about one mile away from the original monastic

---

[92]It is therefore incorrect to date the codex 1314/15, since such ambiguity, to which Byzantine dates are normally susceptible due to their year beginning in September, is clarified by the indiction. For the calculations of the Byzantine year, see V. GRUMEL, *Traité d'Études byzantines*. I. *La chronologie*, Bibliothèque byzantine (Paris, 1958).

[93]Cf. the article by R. JANIN, 'Grévéna', in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* 22 (Paris, 1988), cols. 183-84.

[94]*CBM*, III, p. 216, col. a. The punctuation is not exactly as in the note, and an accent is misplaced: read βαπτιστοῦ rather than βαπτίστου. The transcription of one line written upside-down on the lower margin by the same hand is omitted, which however does not add any historical information. It reads: οἱ ἀπανταχοῦ εὑρισκόμενοι χριστηανοι πανιερότατοι μέτρον εὐλαβέστατον ἱερεῖς καὶ ἱεροδ(ι)άκονοι καὶ ἄπαξ ἁπλὸς. In addition, two short prayers written in an unsteady hand can be signalled, at p. viii and on the uppert part of p. 463.

[95]F. MADAN & H. H. E. CRASTER, *Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1905-22), II (1), no. 282, p. 12.

foundation on Mount St. Auxentios (modern Kayisdag), a hill twelve km. South-East of Chalcedon.[96] Leroy's identification was made on the basis of the mention of St. Auxentios upon his feast day, 14 February, in the following terms (p. 416, col. a):

τοῦ ἡμετέρου ἁγίου καὶ πατρὸς τῆς ἐρήμου ταύτης οἰκήτορος καὶ καθηγητοῦ, περὶ δὲ ἑορτῆς ὁμιλῆσαι.

The historical evidence for the survival of the cloister of the Trichinarea from the fourth into the fourteenth century is extremely scant. The mention of the metochion τῶν τριχιναρῶν in a convention between the Pisans and Isaac II Angelos in February 1192 was interpreted by Janin as concerning the establishment of a community of men as a dependant house. The information provided by Janin would seem too vague to inspire confidence in Leroy's attribution. Janin conjectured the disappearance of the monastery of the Trichinarea by the first half of the fourteenth century, when the territory was occupied by the Turks.[97]

However, the effects of the Muslim encroachment on Christian lands were perhaps not as instantaneously lethal as Janin would have us believe. The financial situation of individual monastic foundations need not have reflected to the same extent the dramatic decline in numbers and in power documented in the institutional church by its hierarchy.[98] Although most cities in Asia Minor were occupied by the Turks by the first half of the fourteenth century, a 'social continuity' dependent on cultural and religious traditions has come to be recognized.[99] In Cr, a note in Arabic below the

---

[96]The location of the mountain, formerly known under the name of Skopa or Skopos, has been discussed in the seminal article on the subject by J. PARGOIRE, 'Mont Saint-Auxence', *ROC* 8 (1903), 15-31, 240-79, 426-58, 550-76, especially at pp. 266-79.

[97]JANIN, III, pp. 43-46. For the early history of the convent, cf. PARGOIRE, 'Mont Saint-Auxence', at pp. 426-33.

[98]S. VRYONIS, JR., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1971), esp. pp. 288-348, bases his analysis on the patriarchal *acta* and *notitia episcopatum* from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century.

[99]R. SINKEWITZ, 'Church and Society in Asia Minor in the Late Thirteenth Century: the Case of Theoleptos of Philadelpheia', in M. GERVERS & R. J. BIKHAZI, eds., *Conversion and Continuity: Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries* (Toronto, 1990), pp. 355-64, at pp. 355-56, makes the point that such continuity, by its nature, is very difficult to document.

prayer at p. iv records the content of the manuscript for owners who could not read Greek: 'Al-qadish Thaudur / Baturish dair al-Ashtudit', which means, St. Theodore, Abbot of the monastery of Stoudios.[100]

It is therefore not too unlikely to postulate such an existence of the convent of the Trichinarea at the beginning of the fourteenth century so flourishing that it could afford to commission a manuscript of Cr's quality and dimensions. In addition, the doubt which Janin cast over the sex of the community of the twelfth-century metochion τῶν τριχιναρῶν puzzled a recent scholar of St. Auxentios.[101] Her research has suggested that the medieval convent of Trichinareai, still inhabited by nuns, was indeed flourishing, being responsible for one of the versions of the *Life* of St. Auxentios.[102]

Leroy's attribution, therefore, takes on a new interest. Should the convent of the Trichinareai, the nuns founded by St. Auxentios, be identified as its destination, the Cr compilation would help us throw considerable light on the medieval *ethos* of that foundation. In particular, the process of reshaping the convent's 'Auxentine' image from a radical type of Christian choice, close to the founder's lifestyle at the margins of orthodoxy, to a main-stream form of cenobitic monasticism reserved for women from the upper classes,[103] would come to be defined in terms of the choice of suitable spiritual readings within the Studite tradition. This normalizing trend perceived by Auzépy in the re-writing of Auxentios's *Life* is appropriately mirrored in the traditional character of Cr's catecheses.

---

[100]I wish to thank Dr. Penelope Johnston who deciphered the note for me.
[101]M.-F. AUZÉPY, 'Les *Vies d'Auxence* et le monachisme «auxentien»', *REB* 53 (1995), 205-35, p. 234 at n. 114.
[102]AUZÉPY, '*Vies d'Auxence* ', at p. 212. The attribution is based on a detailed analysis of the internal evidence of the Life (BHG202, in twelfth-century codex *Sinaiticus graecus* 515, fols. 163r-203v), by comparison with the other versions, especially with the early metaphrastic Life (PG 114, 1377-1436). The date suggested for the new version is in the eleventh century.
[103]AUZÉPY, '*Vies d'Auxence*', at p. 234.

A different interpretation of the passage contained in the catechesis for St. Auxentios may also be proposed. The passage might be taken as conveying information about the compiler of Cr and his situation in relation to the saint, rather than that of his female congregation. In fact, the catechesis designates its author (and reader) as an outsider, since it states that, given that the moral and ascetic instructions had already been received by the nuns from their direct superiors (in the feminine), the present address could concentrate on the praise of the saint on his feast day.[104] The external authorial voice is in contrast with that of the remaining catecheses of the compilation, whose aim is to provide the abbess with spiritual readings for her community.[105]

The precise meaning of the phrase in question suits this second hypothesis at least equally well. The word οἰκήτορος means 'inhabitant', and could be appropriately understood as refering to a male co-inhabitant of the monastery of St. Auxentios. Moreover, the noun ἐρήμου could literally designate the place of Auxentios' retreat, the solitary, deserted landscape of his mountain. The word could only be intended more metaphorically when applied to the Trichinarea, which was situated by a river, in the valley twelve km. South of the mountain itself.[106]

---

[104]ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁρῶ πάσας ὑμὰς χάριτι Χ(ριστο)ῦ· μὴ δεομένας τῆς ἑτέρων νουθεσίας· ἢ διδασκαλίας· διὰ τὰς ἤδη ἀρχομένας παρὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἀρχόντων καλῶς ῥυθμίζεσθαι καὶ διδάσκεσθαι· τὰς δὲ ἄρχουσας, παρὰ τῶν προαρξάντων αὐτῶν ἄκρως ἐκπαιδευθῆναι· κἀκεῖνας δὲ παρὰ τῶν ἄνωθεν, τοῦτο μὲν ἀποφυγεῖν ἔκρινα δέον...: the speaker is thus the 'other', coming from outside the circle of spiritual directors among the nuns, who were normally in charge of the community.

[105]The traditional reader of catecheses was the *higoumenos*, as declared by the colophon in E (see also Ch. II). Although there is no explicit instruction in Cr, the female voice which carries the exhortation is identifiable through the feminine rendering of first-person addresses. Cf. the beginning of K168: εὔχομαι ἡ ἀναξία· παρακαλῶ ἡ ταπεινῆ. The compilation thus gives credit to the opinion that, within their own *conventus*, "women were considered capable of directing their own spiritual and communal life": D. DE ABRAHAMSE, 'Women's Monasticism in the Middle Byzantine Period: Problems and Prospects', *Byzantinische Forschungen* 9 (1985), 35-58, p. 58.

[106]P. JOANNOU, *Démonologie populaire-démonologie critique au onzième siècle* (Wiesbaden, 1971), p. 157, reproduces a map of the monastic foundations from R. JANIN, 'La banlieu asiatique de Constantinople', *EO* 21 (1922), 335-86; 22 (1923), 50-58, 182-98, 281-98, at p. 57.

The word καθηγητοῦ, on the other hand, casts Auxentios in his role as spiritual adviser, which he was both to the other hermits who had gathered around him, and to the nuns, who would climb the hill twice a week to receive from him spiritual guidance.[107] A particular concern for women links fourth-century Auxentios with the famous preacher to nuns of the beginning of the fourteenth century, Theoleptos of Philadelpheia, who had an association with that holy mountain, before he devoted himself to the direction of Irene Choumnaina's convent.[108] It would be possible, therefore, to envisage Mark in the same environment that encouraged and prepared monks for the special mission of preaching to women.

---

[107] For example, cf. the *Life of St. Auxentius* attributed to Psellos, edited by JOANNOU, *Démonologie*, pp. 64-132, ch. 34, at pp. 125-31. The days of catecheses were then Wednesdays and Sundays.

[108] Around 1280. Cf. the excellent study by A. RIGO, 'Nota sulla dottrina ascetico-spirituale di Teolepto Metropolita di Filadelfia (1250/51-1322)', *RSBN* 24 (1987), 165-200, at pp. 173-74.

The evidence of a manuscript copied on Mount St. Auxentios may be adduced in support of the hypothesis of Mark's location on that holy mountain around the end of the thirteenth century. Codex *Mosquensis Mus. Hist.* 456[109] was signed in October 1297 by Athanasios, who described himself as the Archimandrite μονῆς τῆς θείας καὶ βασιλεικοτάτης ὄρους τῇ κλῆσει ἁγίου αὐξεντίου.[110] This codex provides a witness to organized monastic life on the site of the monastery of St. Auxentios in the medieval period.[111] Moreover, the contents of the manuscript include a Studite *Hypotyposis*, thus bringing further evidence regarding the diffusion of the Studite model of monastic life through Studite texts on Mount St. Auxentios in that period.[112]

Of course, a particular interest in St. Auxentios may have been shared between the compiler and his audience, so that attributing the relevant phrase to one does not exclude the other party's Auxentine connection.[113] Yet one may ask whether we are justified in attributing such importance to the text for the Feast of St. Auxentios, or whether it would be sufficient to explain away its presence with a devotion to the saint that could pertain to almost any

---

[109] VLADIMIR, *Sistematiceskoe opisanie rukopisej Moskovskoj Sinodal'noj (Patriarsej) Biblioteki.* I: *Rukopisi greceskija* (Moskow, 1894), pp. 392-93 (cod. no. 272).

[110] AMFILOCHIJ, *Paleograficeskoe opisanie greceskich rukopisei*, 4 vols. (Moscow, 1879-80), III, pp. 38-41, pl. 13 & 14, at p. 41.

[111] JANIN, III, pp. 42-43 and n. 5.

[112] At fols. 140v-145r: VLADIMIR, *Rukopisi greceskija*, at p. 39. It is intriguing to notice that fols. 162-217 of this manuscript are described as containing the following text: Μάρκω ἁμαρτωλῶ ἱερομονάχω· σύνταγμα πονηθὲν, ἀπὸ τὰ ἀπορούμενα τοῦ τυπικοῦ. This might of course be a simple case of homonymy, but it begs for further enquiry into the writing and contents of the Moscow manuscript.

[113] Indeed, Mount St. Auxentios was among the few holy mountains where women were allowed to settle beside men's monasteries: A.-M. TALBOT, 'A Comparison of the Monastic Experience of Byzantine Men and Women', *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 30.1 (1985) 1-20, at p. 3.

geographical location.[114] Indeed, the praise of the saint is cast in such generic terms, that it could apply to any holy man.

Textually, Leroy's argument hangs on the importance he attributed to the turn of phrase using the pronominal adjective ἡμετέρου in place of the more standardized πατρὸς ἡμῶν. But a stronger case for the relevance of the phrase could be made if it could be shown that the catechesis had been deliberately modified for insertion in this manuscript by the addition of the passage in question. On the contrary, if that passage already belonged to the textual tradition, the case would seem much weaker.

Halkin signals a catechesis under the name of St. Auxentios (BHG 203c) that presents the same incipit as the one in Cr:

καλὸν μὲν οὖν καὶ δίκαιον...

in cod. *Hierosol. S. Sab.* 336,[115] dated to 1585 (fols. 245-246). If the Jerusalem codex does not contain the passage in question, one may conclude that the passage was added specifically for Cr's audience; if, on the contrary, the Jerusalem codex does include the same passage, given that its date is later than that of Cr, one may either conclude that the passage was contained in the tradition, or that the model for the Jerusalem codex was Cr.[116] In the latter

---

[114]St. Auxentios was a well-known and widely venerated saint. For example, his portrait may be found in the mosaics of Hosios Lukas in Phokis, Greece; of Daphni; and of Nea Mone on Chios: cf. the church plans with lists of saints in O. DEMUS & E. DIEZ, *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece: Hosios Lucas and Daphni* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), at pp. 119, 121 and 123 respectively.

[115]A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη ἤτοι κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ ἁγιοτάτου ἀποστολικοῦ τε καὶ καθολικοῦ ὀρθοδόξου πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου τῶν Ἱηροσολύμου καὶ πάσης Παλαιστίνης ἀποκειμένων ἑλληνικῶν κοδίκων*, 4 vols. (Saint Petersburg, 1891-1915) II, pp. 460-61: 275 paper folios, measuring 216 x 155 mm., with a written surface in one column of 156 x 86 mm. The codex is dated, and signed by the scribe Souliman son of the teacher Attala, son of Souliman. The manuscript contains Theodore Studite's *Small Catecheses*, divided in two parts, similar to the arrangement in *Cromwell*, but with different beginnings according to the Catalogue; it also contains ascetic discourses by Basil of Caesarea and John Klimakos. It would be relevant to know whether the Jerusalem manuscript was also copied for a female audience.

[116]I regret not to have been able to carry out the comparison, which would necessitate a trip to Jerusalem, since this codex was not included in K. W. CLARK, *Checklist of Manuscripts in the Libraries of the Greek and Armenian Patriarchates in Jerusalem Microfilmed for the Library of Congress, 1949-1950* (Washington, D. C., 1953), pp. 9-13.

case, the testimony of the Jerusalem codex would be inconclusive. It would thus be invaluable to find earlier witnesses to this text.

Independently of its exact provenance, Cr's compilation is undoubtedly a witness to the good level of literacy of the convent to which it was destined.[117] It may be compared in conception to the βιβλίον γυναικεῖον compiled by abba Isaiah for the nun Theodora Angelina at the beginning of the thirteenth century.[118] Yet while the subject-matter of the *Meterikon* was constrained by its feminine nature, and therefore the writings of holy women and their lives were singled out as appropriate spiritual reading for the nun,[119] Cr's collection of catecheses, in contrast, makes no conventionally "feminine" choices.

There are no obvious topics deeemed unsuitable for a female audience. On the contrary, even a catechesis about masturbation (K177) is included in the *higoumene*'s preaching, virtually unchanged from its male counterpart. No virtue is considered beyond the nuns's reach, and the exhortation to bear sufferings γεννναίως καὶ ἀνδρείως is repeated as often to nuns as it had been to monks. Thus Cr provides startling evidence of the implementation of a fundamental belief in the equal capability of men and women in following the requirements of a monastic Christian vocation, as expressed in the canonical legislation:

> quae pro regimine monachorum sancitae sunt, etiam pro monastriis ... vigere normas, ni aliter provideatur.[120]

Cr's unique witness to the intersection between the worlds of male and female monasticism deserves a much more detailed study than is possible

---

[117] At p. 361a, the nuns are qualified as 'γνησιώτατα'. For an evaluation of literacy in convents, cf. A.-M. TALBOT, 'Bluestocking Nuns: Intellectual Life in the Convents of Late Byzantium', in *Okeanos: Essays Presented to Ihor Shevchenko* (Harvard, 1984), pp. 604-18.

[118] I. HAUSHERR, 'Le Métérikon de l'abbé Isaïe', *OCP* 12 (1940), 286-301.

[119] J. GOUILLARD, 'Une compilation spirituelle du XIII^e siècle: «Le livre II de l'abbé Isaïe»', *EO* 38 (1939), 72-90, at pp. 74-75.

[120] P. DE MEESTER, *De monachico statu juxta disciplinam byzantinam* (Città del Vaticano, 1942), Tit. IV, Appendix 'De monialibus', Art. 1, p. 57, quoted by DE ABRAHAMSE, 'Women's Monasticism', at p. 44.

here. There is evidence that omissions or additions may be meaningful variations by Mark, equivalent to Paul's careful adaptations of sources in K. For example, in including PC95 as K54,[121] Mark omitted an episode narrating the arrival of 'laymen' visiting the monastery. This omission may not depend on the textual tradition Cr was relying on, but rather reflect the new reality, in which nuns were not allowed to receive such visits at their convent. Such variants should be assessed on their historical, rather than textual, value.

[121]Cr, pp. 48b-50b.

III. iii) Value of *Cromwell* for K.

The testimony of the Cr scribe is the only evidence for the attribution of K to Paul. In addition to the note of attribution transcribed above, the scribe offers further identification of the authorship of each catechesis in the form of lemmas, written in red ink, either in the margin or above the ornamental divider which precedes the title of the catechesis to which they refer. Although such lemmas are not always present, where they do occur, they unfailingly match the evidence of M, A and E concerning K texts as distinct from texts by Theodore.[122]

Theodore Studite's PC texts included under Theodore's authorship in Cr are not duplicated by Paul's reworkings of the same, except in one case.[123] That such a distinction could be made by the scribe demonstrates his direct acquaintance with the texts and his precise knowledge of their authorship. Furthermore, the selection of K operated by the scribe does not follow mechanically the liturgical order of K texts, by extracting the catecheses appointed for reading on Wednesdays and Fridays only. Rather, the compiler re-arranges K texts to suit his compilation, transposing them and sometimes even inverting their order.[124] Nevertheless, a comparison with the liturgical lemmas of K shows that the transposed catecheses are usually altered by only one or at most two weeks from the catecheses' original K designations.[125]

Thus, one may envisage the work of the scribe Mark being carried out from two distinct codices, one containing Theodore's catecheses (from which the first Pinax was copied), the other containing Paul's texts, in a sequence not unlike that presented by the extant codices. In the light of Hutter's observation of a close resemblance between Mark's script and that of the

---

[122]See Appendix II, where a column is dedicated to these scribal attributions.
[123]PC25 is duplicated by Paul's version, K232. However, the first appears in the sanctoral, for 16 September at p. 375b, while the second is included for the Twenty-eighth week in the moveable cycle, p. 222a.
[124]As the sequences K158-159-157; K61-59; K187-186 show. See Appendix II.
[125]Variants in the liturgical lemmas are specified in the Tables of Contents of K (Appendix I).

Evergetine scribe Gregorios,[126] it is even possible to suggest that Mark's model could have been an Evergetine copy of K, now lost.[127]

For these reasons, Cr is a reliable witness for the attribution of K to Paul of Evergetis. While excluding the gender alterations from an apparatus of K, therefore, the later readings of Cr should be given full consideration in an edition of K.

---

[126]*CBM*, III, p. 216 (MS. *Auct*. T. 2. 2). Given the contents of the work, a direct imitation of the script of the model appears as the most likely explanation for the resemblance. This phenomenon is more specific than, and quite separate from, the general current of 'liturgical' or 'archaising' imitative scripts, which pursue an ideal of hieratic and legible calligraphy, drawing inspiration from the earlier canons of minuscule. The *Cromwell* phenomenon is taken as representative of a different general trend by NELSON, *Theodore Hagiopetrites*, p. 35 and n. 43.

[127]A variant at K271 shows an agreement between Cr and V against E, a pointer that the model of Cr was probably an early copy of K .

CONCLUSION

The direct witnesses to K, mss. M, A, E, together with the fragment V, attest to the popularity of the collection of catecheses at the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth centuries. The textual trasmission of catecheses is usually very constant, so that it is difficult to discern families of manuscripts on the basis of very few alternative readings, especially when variants are often omissions which could depend purely on scribal errors in copying from an identical model. Moreover, even if we have a number of K manuscripts, it is unusual that more than two witnesses overlap for any one text, while the majority of catecheses remains in one manuscript only (M or E).

Even so, a few differences between M and A would appear to show that they did not use a common model. When they interlock with Cr, we encounter both agreements of M A against Cr and agreements of A Cr against M; I have not encountered instances of M Cr against A.[128] Cr also displays a number of idiosyncratic omissions and a few readings that do not agree with either M, A or E.[129]

It would therefore seem justified to postulate the circulation of further copies of K, now lost, together with the original copy at the Evergetis. The manuscript tradition attests that the practice of reading K was operational in monasteries outside the Evergetis.

It is reasonable to suppose that such diffusion proceded hand in hand with the influence of the Evergetis upon those twelfth-century foundations

---

[128]For example, at K70, l. 26: κατὰ χρείαν om. Cr A; at K77, l. 25: ὡρομένης A Cr] φαινομένης M; at K72, l. 11: ἐννοίας καὶ om. M A.

[129]For example, at K77, ll. 26-28: ὅλος κόσμος, M κόσμος ὅλος παρελεύσεται, A παρελεύσεται- κόσμος, om. Cr. At K271, Cr adds several members to a list, which are not found in E or V: Ὅταν ἀποτάξηται ὁ ἄνθρωπος πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, γονεῦσι, [οἰκίαις, πλούτῳ, ἀνδρί, ἀδελφοῖς, συγγενέσι Cr] γνωρίμοις, κτήμασιν, ἀγροῖς, χρήμασι, καὶ ἁπλῶς πάσῃ τρυφῇ βιωτικῇ καὶ τερπνότητι, τότε ἐσταυρώθη αὐτῷ ὁ κόσμος·...

which adopted its rule. The connexion between K and the monastery of the Philanthropos declared in ms. E strengthens the type of bond presumed between the two foundations in the absence of a *typikon* extant for that monastery.

In the absence of explicit colophons, it is hard to guess the provenance of the other copies of K, as is sadly the case with most Byzantine codices. It is therefore impossible to indicate the extent of the geographical circulation of K beyond Constantinople and its immediate vicinity.[130]

The association of K with a text of the *Life* of St. Paisios recalls the fact that the only extant image of that saint was found painted in the twelfth century on the walls of the *enkleistra* of Neophytos the Recluse, that is, in the same paintings that used the text of the *Synagoge*.[131] A study of this text might therefore clarify the type of monasticism symbolized by this saint, common to the readers of K and the beholders in Neophytos' cave.

The phenomenon observed in the indirect transmission of associating texts from K with Theodore's popular catecheses may not be simply attributable to a confusion of authorship, not only because the texts selected were often the reworking of different sources, but also because Cr attests to a singular capacity of discernment of the different catecheses even by the beginning of the fourteenth century. The instances analyzed for this phenomenon were both in earlier manuscripts.

It is tempting, therefore, to see in the rapprochement of Paul to Theodore an acknowledgement of parity of status. In other words, the eleventh-century compiler had attained a consideration in the monastic circles of medieval Constantinople comparable to that enjoyed by his famous predecessor and model. Such appreciation is clearly beyond the expectations

---

[130]Leroy suggested that A may have been copied in Greece; there is the suggestion that E may have originated on Athos. These hypotheses are impossible to verify. M and Cr probably originate from the Constantinopolitan area.

[131]MANGO & HAWKINS, 'The Hermitage of St. Neophytos', at p. 156 and p. 206, fig. 40.

raised by the scant memory of the founder preserved in the documents extant from the Evergetis.

A note on punctuation.

Punctuation in K manuscripts comprises the high point, the comma and the question mark. Initially, I followed the policy of preserving the punctuation of the manuscripts in order to study the original punctuation.[132] Thus full stops and capital initials are inserted only at the division of paragraphs, in place of a high point and continuous text. Other editorial interpretations have been made clear in the translation.

This procedure evidenced the oral function of the punctuation. Since the texts contained in these manuscripts were destined for oral delivery, it appears that the punctuation was inserted not only to signal the syntactical structure, but also to suggest pauses for the reader that facilitate the comprehension of the text proclaimed to his listeners.[133] For example, A displays very frequent use of the high point, which guides the rhythm of the public reading.

The high point is preferred to the comma in dividing different elements in a list, for example, in the frequent enumerations of virtues and vices. Comma and high point are not therefore distinguished by the length of the pause they indicate, in the same way as we understand these symbols now. Since the manuscripts are unanimous in adopting this kind of punctuation, it has been preserved in the transcriptions for this thesis.

The use of the question mark appears to conform to the observations made on the use of this punctuation in minuscule manuscripts of classical texts, namely, that the sign does not usually appear for questions containing a

---

[132]The apparatus also records variants in the punctuation, although these will be only very selectively included in a final edition.

[133]M. B. PARKES, *Pause and Effect: Punctuation in the West* (Cambridge, 1992), at p. 77: in public worship, "the punctus not only indicated the rhetorical structure of the prayer, but also indicates to the celebrant where he should pause".

question-word, such as an interrogative particle or pronoun, while it should normally appear for sentences whose structure does not overtly imply a question.[134] More difficult is the case of ';' at the end of a sentence which is not a question, a use which could either indicate a misunderstanding on the part of the scribe,[135] or witness a different use of that symbol besides the indication of question.[136] The transcriptions presented in this thesis reflect the manuscripts' use and omissions, while the translation clarifies the interpretation of questions. It has been noted that A uses the semicolon more frequently than M.

---

[134]C. B. RANDOLPH, 'The sign of interrogation in minuscule manuscripts', *Classical Philology* 5 (1910), 309-19, at pp. 310, 315.

[135]A similar misunderstanding explains the omission of ';' in questions without question-words: cf. RANDOLPH, 'The sign of interrogation', p. 314.

[136]RANDOLPH, 'The sign of interrogation', pp. 316-18, gives the example of ms. *Paris. gr.* 2934 (Demosthenes), in which "The semicolon [...] does not have interrogative value; it is simply an accidental combination of point and comma". In Latin mss., the *punctus versus* (;) indicates the end of a *sententia* containing a statement: PARKES, *Pause and Effect*, at p. 36.

CHAPTER II

THE *KATECHETIKON* AS A LITURGICAL HOMILIARY

Introduction.

K presents itself, at all levels, as a liturgical text. From the microcosm of the language and message of the individual catecheses, to the macrocosmic structure of the compilation according to the movable cycle of the liturgical year, all aspects remind us that these texts served a liturgical purpose. This chapter will analyse how the liturgical function of K shaped the form and content of each catechesis.

Part I will set out the liturgical arrangement, outlined by the lemmas in the margins of the manuscript. Within this larger framework, the significance of the changing seasons of the liturgical year will begin to delineate itself; examples will be presented as evidence of Paul's sensitivity to the liturgical placing of the catecheses. Further, the close relationship between K and the liturgical aspect of the celebration of a feast will be shown both thematically and textually. Examples will focus on the period comprising the Sundays after Easter up to Pentecost, which offer the most interesting texts for this purpose.

Part II will establish the reading of K texts within the Liturgy of the Hours on the basis of the evidence from the colophons and the normative texts of the Evergetis monastery. The problem of the relation between K and the liturgical instructions of the Evergetis *typikon* (contained in both the Hypotyposis and the *Synaxarion*) will be discussed.

Part III will proceed to detail how such liturgical timing set formal constraints on the texts, in particular concerning their structure, length and language.

From this analysis, Paul's intention to produce a liturgically ordered compilation which went hand in hand with the establishment of his foundation

will become clear. The explicit liturgical function of the catechetical readings define K as a liturgical homiliary.

PART I

LITURGICAL ARRANGEMENT

I. i) The liturgical calendar.

The liturgical lemmas in the manuscript tradition of K provide exact days for the reading of each catechesis according to the movable cycle of the liturgical year. The manuscripts also attribute a serial number to each text. The coincidence between serial number and liturgical lemma in the manuscripts are a proof that the texts were intended to be ordered in the way we find and present them.

The movable cycle of the liturgical year is determined by the date of Easter. From that Feast, the cycle is set in motion, rolling out its sequence of weeks, numbered or named according to the liturgical books used in performing their appropriate rites. Hence, the period from Easter up to the Sunday of All Saints (the Sunday after Pentecost) is covered by the Pentekostarion.[1] The weeks thereafter are numbered progressively, liturgically following the cycle of the Ochtoechos (eight tones), until the beginning of the season of Lent, when the Triodion is used for the services.[2]

Similarly, the arrangement of K can be broken down into three segments. The first corresponds to the period of the Pentekostarion, but begins only on the second Sunday of that cycle, called Sunday of Antipascha or New Sunday or Sunday of Thomas;[3] thus the first Sunday after Easter Sunday is numbered K1 in Paul's collection. The sequence up to the Sunday of All Saints, which is the Sunday after Pentecost, comprises K1-K50. K18 is thus the text read for Mesopentekostes, the Wednesday marking the mid-point of the Pentecost season, although the liturgical lemmas identify it merely as τῇ δ΄ τοῦ

---

[1] E. GALBIATI, 'Il periodo del Pentecostario nel rito bizantino (da Pasqua all'Ottava di Pentecoste)', *Unitas* 3 (1959), 1-8.
[2] A. STOELEN, *L'Année liturgique byzantine*, *Irénikon* 4. 10 (1928), p. 13.
[3] A. FYRILLAS, 'À propos du premier dimanche après Pâques dans l'Église Orthodoxe', in *La dimanche*, Lex orandi 39 (1965), pp. 139-47.

παραλύτου·, after the name of the preceding Sunday. K33 is instead identified as τῇ ἁγίᾳ ϵ΄ τῆς ἀναληψίμου·, that is, Ascension Thursday.

The second segment, in which the weeks are counted progressively in the numerical sequence, begins after Sunday of All Saints. We must, however, note that the manuscript lemmas call the week after All Saints "Second week", although the cycle of tones begins again with the first tone that week. This is the first sign of the parallelism between K and the Lectionary, since the readings of the Gospel of St. Matthew began on the Monday after Pentecost. Hence, the week after All Saints was the second week in the cycle of Gospel readings. Moreover, whereas for the period of the Pentekostarion the weeks were counted from Sunday to Saturday, the new cycle of weeks in the Octoechos is counted from Monday to Sunday.[4]

The number of weeks between Pentecost and the Sunday of the Pharisee and the Publican, which is the first Sunday of preparation before Lent, and is therefore placed at a fixed interval from the variable date of Easter, would obviously itself vary according to the relative dates between Easter of one year and of the next. Since the earliest day for Pentecost was 10 May, and the latest day possible for the Sunday of the Pharisee was 14 February,[5] reckoning the interval between these two extremes provided the maximum number of weeks that the cycle of readings should be prepared to cover. That interval consisted of a maximum of 279 days between the two dates. The minimum interval, on the other hand, is reckoned at 32 weeks.[6]

K therefore begins the period of the Ochtoechos on Monday of the Second week with K52 (omitting K51, explained below) and goes up to Sunday of Thirty-seventh week, falling at K303. Thirty-eighth week offers only two additional texts, for Monday and Tuesday (K304-305). To these 254 texts must be added seven days of Pentecost week and five days between the stated

---

[4]STOELEN, *L'Année liturgique*, pp. 13-14.
[5]STOELEN, *L'Année liturgique*, pp. 15 & 17.
[6]STOELEN, *L'Année liturgique*, p. 27.

Tuesday and the Sunday of the Pharisee, yielding a total of 266 days that cover the interval of the Octoechos. It is likely that the remaining gap of thirteen days between this figure and that of the maximum liturgical interval coincided with the celebration of Christmas and the twelve following days. Since the Christmas festivities depended on the cycle of fixed feasts, their celebration is nowhere reflected in K.

It is clear, therefore, that K sets out to provide the number of texts necessary to fill the maximum interval of time between the Pentekostarion and the Triodion. While with Gospel readings, however, the cycle needed to be lengthened according to necessity, by repeating some of the lessons from previous Sundays,[7] the K cycle could be shortened according to the year. The catecheses between Monday of the Thirty-third week (K269) and K305 should therefore be considered as a spare reserve; how much of it was used or left unread depended upon the year.

The third part of the movable cycle may be further subdivided in two periods: the first comprises the cycle of Sundays leading up to Lent, beginning sometime between mid-January and mid-February; the second, the Fast proper.

Four named Sundays (Pharisee, Prodigal, Apokreos, Tyrophagos) introduce Lent, corresponding, with their relative week-days, to K306-327. This section in K appears to resume the counting of weeks from Sunday to Saturday, judging by the naming of the days following a specific Sunday.

The weeks of Lent, also counted from Monday to Sunday, are six, spanning K328 to K367. The sixth week ends on the Saturday of Lazarus.[8] No texts are offered for Holy Week, including Palm Sunday, nor for Easter Week. A reworking of the pseudo-Chrysostomic Easter catechesis is offered for Easter day, but it is outside the numbering of K texts (see below).

---

[7]STOELEN, *L'Année liturgique*, pp. 28-29.
[8]The normal reckoning of the forty days appeared to be from Monday of the First Week to Friday of the Sixth week, including Saturdays and Sundays: STOELEN, *L'Année liturgique*, p. 21.

The omission of a catechesis for the Monday after Tyrophagos Sunday is confirmed as part of the original structure of K by the absence of a gap in the manuscripts' numbering of the texts. Special instructions for this Monday were noted by Klentos in his study of the Evergetis *Synaxarion*. To allow strict fasting to mark the opening of Lent, communion was neither celebrated nor distributed on that day.[9] The ritual processions of Palm Sunday may equally have impinged on the time usually set aside for the catechesis.[10] The absence of catecheses on the twelve days of Christmas and during Easter Week is probably explained by the *Hypotyposis*'s injunction that the Minor Hours should be celebrated privately at those times.[11]

In addition, K offers two readings for fixed feasts, singling out for celebration the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul, on 29 June (K51), and the Feast of the Annunciation to the Virgin Mary, on the 25 March (K368). Each is placed in the proximity of the date on which it should fall, by virtue of its fixed date, within the movable cycle; K51 inserted at the beginning of the Fast of the Apostles, after the end of the Pentekostarion, and K368 following the Lent cycle. Clearly, the feast texts replaced whatever catechesis happened to fall on the date of either celebration from year to year.

Since the Byzantine calendar is thought to have taken shape in the eighth century, the order of K cannot be an important source for the history of its development.[12] Nonetheless, K is representative of the eleventh-century

---

[9]KLENTOS, 'Byzantine Liturgy', pp. 231-32, 251, esp. p. 232: "Since on the first day of Lent the monks of Evergetis observed a complete abstention from food, they did not consume even the consecrated bread and wine at Presanctified".
[10]KLENTOS, 'Byzantine Liturgy', p. 252.
[11]GAUTIER, 'Évergétis', pp. 22-23, ll. 140-45 (after a vigil, 12 days after Christmas, Easter Week, 9 days after the Feast of the Dormition); the inclusion of Prime as the last member of the *Hypotyposis*'s list makes it sound as if it had been added to the other two as an afterthought: Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῆς τρίτης καὶ ἕκτης ὥρας καὶ πρώτης ... (p. 23, ll. 145-46).
[12]S. SALAVILLE, 'La formation du calendrier liturgique byzantin d'après les recherches critiques de Mgr. Ehrhard', *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 50 (1936), 312-23, at pp. 321-22; cf. also P.-M.

monastic liturgical tradition, and witnesses to the extent to which the instructions laid out in the tenth-century *Typikon* of the Great Church were implemented.[13]

The manuscript lemmas reflect the unfolding of the calendar through their designations. However, Wednesday of Mesopentekostes is not singled out by that name, as noted above.[14] In the fourteenth-century manuscript of K, Sunday of the first week of Lent is simply indicated as κυριακὴ τῆς α΄ ἑβδ.[15] Unfortunately, an accident in the textual transmission (see Ch. I) has caused the omission of this liturgical lemma in E, by joining the beginning of K333 with the preceding text.[16] As such, the manuscript tradition of catecheses warns us against taking the institution of the Feast of Orthodoxy in 843, or its mention around that time, as a firm yardstick for dating earlier texts. This is particularly true in the case of monastic catecheses, where neither the name nor the themes of that feast appear.[17]

As in the *Typikon* of the Great Church, there is no trace in K of a period of fasting associated with Christmas, either in the nomenclature or in the themes of the catecheses around that time of the year. The explanation for this absence in K could be that Christmas was a fixed feast; yet the catecheses do provide encouragement for a period of fasting before the feast of the apostles Peter and Paul. Thus it is possible that K witnesses against the practice of pre-Christmas fasting at the time of its composition, although such observance is attested in the *Synaxarion*.[18]

GY, 'La question du système des lectures de la liturgie byzantine', in *Miscellanea liturgica ... G. Lercaro*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1967), II, pp. 251-61.

[13]J. MATEOS, *Le Typicon de la Grande Église*, 2 vols., OCA 165-166 (1962-63), esp. II: *Le Cycle des fêtes mobiles*.

[14]Cf. A: fol. 31v.

[15]Cr: p. 323 b.

[16]E: fol. 147v, signalled by a marginal note in a later hand.

[17]Shevchenko makes this assumption in establishing a *terminus ante quem* for Theodore Studite: I. SHEVCHENKO, 'Kosinitza 27, a Temporarily Lost Studite Manuscript Found Again', in K. TREU, ed., *Studia codicologica*, TU 124 (1977), pp. 433-42, at p. 433, n. 3.

[18]KLENTOS, 'Byzantine Liturgy', pp. 248-49: "The precise origins of the pre-Christmas fast are lost to history. Since it does not appear in the tenth-century *Typikon of the Great Church*, we can only assume that it came to Evergetis from Palestine sometime in the eleventh century".

It should be stressed that the cycle of K readings does not begin in September, which is the beginning of the Byzantine liturgical year.[19] A survey of the collection of homilies presented by Ehrhard in his first volume will show that only those books providing readings for fixed feasts, such as saints' days, take 1 September as their beginning. Ehrhard points out that variations in the extent of the calendars probably depended on their adaptation to local usage.[20] In the second volume, Ehrhard's survey of the *Homiliaren* presents these collections as invariably beginning in Lent, and at most including the period of the Pentekostarion.[21] A different pattern is shown in Western compilations, which seem to commence around the period of Advent,[22] though no two collections are ever identical.[23]

The beginning of K at Antipascha is, as far as I can see from comparisons with published material, unparalleled. Yet such a beginning makes good liturgical sense, partly, as we have seen, in view of the dependance of the cycle on the movable date of Easter; partly also because of the liturgical significance of the Easter season, spring being the "first" season according to the solar calendar, and therefore marking a beginning to the year.[24]

---

[19]Ch. MARTIN, 'Aux sources de l'hagiographie et de l'homilétique byzantines', *Byzantion* 12 (1937), 347-62, at p. 353.
[20]EHRHARD, *Überlieferung*, I, pp. 28-29; MARTIN, 'Aux sources', p. 351 and n. 3.
[21]EHRHARD, *Überlieferung*, II, pp. 242-89; an example of a more extended collection is that of 14th-cent. MS. Lincoln College 1, described at pp. 282-84.
[22]Cf. R. ÉTAIX, 'L'Homiliaire cartusien', *Sacris Erudiri* 13 (1962), 67-112, at pp. 68, 81, 100; at pp. 111-12, Étaix points out how the shaping of a new liturgical collection accompanied the formation of Carthusian spirituality. Cf. also H. BARRÉ, 'Un Homéliaire bénéventain du XI^{e} siècle (Vat. lat. 4222)', Studi e Testi 236 (Città del Vaticano, 1964), pp. 89-119, at p. 99. At p. 93, Barré gives an idea of the dimensions of the compilation: "il est le plus volumineaux des Homéliaires bénéventains, il est aussi le mieux garni, avec les 145 pièces que l'on peu encore dénombrer". In comparison, K is enormous, being nearly two and a half times the size of the Beneventan homiliary.
[23]R. GRÉGOIRE, *Les Homéliaires du Moyen Âge* (Rome, 1966), p. 6: "On ne possède pas deux homéliaires totalement identiques".
[24]As K1 states at the outset: ἡ σήμερον ἁγία κυριακὴ νέα λέγεται, διὰ τὸ ἀρχὴν ὥσπερ τοῦ χρόνου ἐν ταύτῃ γνωρίζεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ μανθάνομεν παρὰ τῆς θείας γραφῆς, παραχθῆναι τὴν κτίσιν ἅπασαν παρὰ τοῦ πάντων δημιουργοῦ καὶ θεοῦ,. ... . See below for fuller commentary: Ch. IV, II, vi.

According to some manuscripts of Theodore Studite's PC, the first catechesis was read on Easter day.[25] By contrast, the catechesis appointed for Easter day[26] in K is placed at the end of the Lenten period, rather than at the beginning of the new cycle, in the only reliable manuscript witness. Indeed, the Athonite manuscript of the second part of K alone provides some evidence for the incorporation of the pseudo-Chrysostomic reading within the initial structure of K. Although the text is not numbered, it is inserted at the end of the cycle of catecheses, after K368, as the culmination and conclusion of the Lenten sequence.[27]

Other manuscripts of K that attempt to supply catechetical readings for the lacuna around Easter time do so at the beginning. They make the cycle of catecheses start with the pseudo-Chrysostomic homily on Easter. Their witness is of limited value for a reconstruction of K for that period: in M, the introductory sermons belong to an entirely separate part of the codex from K.[28] Cr radically restructures the period from Easter to Pentecost around Theodore Studite's catecheses alone.[29]

In spite of the liberty later compilers of such liturgical books might have taken in rearranging the sequence, as well as the choice, of texts, the coherence of the liturgical lemmas in the manuscript transmission of K, including the erratic Cromwell, confirms that the sequence of texts as we have it respects the order of the initial compilation. Thus K fulfils the requirements of an homiliary, defined as a collection which

> en correspondance avec le sacramentaire, [...] ordonnée suivant le cycle de l'année liturgique, [...] l'englobe en son entier.[30]

---

[25]E. AUVRAY, ed., *Sancti patris nostri et confessoris Theodori, Studitis praepositi, Parva Catechesis* (Paris, 1891), p. 472.
[26]PS.-CHRYSOSTOM, *Sermo catecheticus in Pascha*, CPG 4605, PG 59, 721-724; PG 99, 709-712.
[27]E: fols. 201r-202r.
[28]M: fols. 36v-37v.
[29]Cr: pp. 22b-45b.
[30] GRÉGOIRE, 'Homéliaires', at col. 598.

I. ii) Adaptations to the liturgical seasons.

The sensitivity of the author of K towards the liturgical moods marking the year, as well as to their intersection with the calendar seasons, can be shown by his concern to capture the appropriate mode both in his composition and in his selection of texts for K. For example, the penitential mood of Lent is reflected in the concentration on the themes of prayer and fasting in the texts assigned to that period. Natural as it might seem, such arrangement had not yet been implemented in the fixed manner in which it was proposed in K.

Paul's sensitivity to liturgical adaptation may be exemplified by comparing K3 with K365. Both catecheses share the same theme, that of the coming of spring, and have a similar focus on the "fruits of the spirit" through the common quotation of Gal. 5, 22. But while K365 is a transposition of PC68, K3 is a variation upon it.

The dominant tone of K3 is one of full rejoicing; the rejoicing of K365 is only seen through suffering. Using a Christian paradox, K365 praises winter as providing the necessary "death" or barrenness, without which the flowering of spring would not take place. By contrast, the victory of spring is the untainted benefit of K3, in which the work of cultivation has already begun, and the paradisiacal vision is at hand.

The contrast of moods is explained by the placing of these catecheses in two adjoining, but radically different, liturgical times. While K365 is read right at the end of Lent, on Thursday of Sixth week, when the hardships of the Fast need to be balanced by a constant reminder of their ultimate purpose, K3 is set in the mood of rejoicing proper to the Easter season. Indeed, K3 is composed as a mirror-image to K365, recalling as it does its incipit and its biblical quotation. It was probably intentionally placed at a date not temporally distant from its twin-composition, in order to mark the transition of the liturgical time.

The insertion of K51 for the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul may be partly explained by the treatment of its subject-matter. The importance of this feast in the Byzantine Church was marked by a period of preparation. The length of the fast of the Apostles varied from a few days to a few weeks.[31] K51 emphasizes the importance of the feast by pointing out its parallelism with Easter:

> ...ἀποσωζούσης δέ, καὶ τύπον Πάσχα.
> Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ κατὰ τὰς θεοπαραδότους τῶν πατέρων παραδόσεις· νηστείαν ἀσκοῦμεν μετὰ τὴν Πεντηκοστήν· καὶ ἔδει τὴν ταύτης λύσιν ἐν ἑορτῇ γίνεσθαι· πάσχα τύπον ἀποσωζούσῃ·[32]

Moreover, it seeks to justify the practice of fasting by linking its significance to the saints celebrated, again by the mediation of the Easter parallel:

> Τὸ δὲ Πάσχα, ὡς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις μέμνημαι εἰρηκώς, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστίν, ἢ διάβασις ἑρμηνευόμενον· οἱ τοίνυν θειότατοι οὗτοι καὶ <u>κορυφαιότατοι ἀπόστολοι διὰ θανάτου διαβάντες πρὸς τὸν αὐτῶν Κύριον καὶ διδάσκαλον</u>, ἔργῳ τὸ πάσχα πεποίηνται· καὶ οὐ τύπῳ, ἀλλ' ἀληθείᾳ· καὶ νῦν εἰσὶ χαίροντες καὶ ἑορτάζοντες τὴν ὄντως εὐφροσύνην καὶ ἑορτὴν ἀδιάλειπτον· ἑορτάζομεν δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς πάσχα ἐπιτελοῦντες, <u>τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς νηστείας δηλονότι καὶ τῆς κακουχίας διάβασιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄνεσίν τε καὶ ἀνακωχὴν καὶ τὴν τῶν βρωμάτων ὑπαλλαγήν</u>.[33]

The text of this catechesis may be considered only incidentally relevant to the saints it purports to celebrate. Rather, its focus is clearly on the liturgical context surrounding the feast day, characterized by the culmination of another period of fasting, similar to the discipline of Lent released by Easter. Arguably, the very motive for the insertion of this fixed feast in a cycle exclusively

---

[31]Precisely from a minimum of eight days to a maximum of six weeks: STOELEN, *L'Année liturgique*, p. 10; KLENTOS, 'Byzantine Liturgy', p. 248.

[32]Transl. K51: [a feast] that preserves the model of Easter. For since according to the respected tradition of the fathers we practice fasting after Pentecost, it is also fitting that its end should happen in a feast which preserves the model of Easter.

[33]Transl. K51: But Easter, as I remember to have mentioned elsewhere [at K5], is to be interpreted as nothing other than as a passage. Thus these most divine and supreme apostles, by passing through death to their Lord and teacher, accomplished in deed their Easter, and not as in an image, but truthfully, and they are now rejoicing and celebrating the true joy and the unending feast. But we too celebrate and accomplish our Easter, I mean, the transition from fasting and mortification to relaxation and rest and the variety of foods.

concerned with the movable part of the liturgical year is to be sought in this interest for the liturgical association reflected in the monks' daily practices.

Although the collection of catecheses by Theodore Studite is usually thought of as providing liturgical readings for his monastery,[34] such an aim cannot be proved to have been the author's. The corpus of *Small Catecheses*, thought to have been composed towards the end of the saint's life, probably between the years 821 and 826,[35] was only gathered together and ordered up into a manuscript edition comprising 134 catecheses sometime after his death.

While PC1-73 were furnished in all manuscripts with liturgical lemmas indicating the day for their reading, PC74 and following, marked off by an ornate divider, did not usually have a lemma.[36] Even where they do appear, these lemmas in PC are not always consistent between the manuscripts.[37] The uncertainty caused by the absence of lemmas was probably a weakness in a text for liturgical reading. By using PC1-95 as a basis for his selection, Paul avoided the traditional division of PC according to the presence or absence of liturgical lemmas.

It could be plausibly argued that Paul's extensive borrowing of Theodore's texts aimed at establishing a fixed and coherent calendar for the monastic catecheses inherited from the Studite abbot. That the initial arrangement of the latter's sermons was not successful from a liturgical standpoint is further evidenced by incoherences between the lemmas and the content. For example, PC23 was appointed to be read εἰς τὴν κοίμησιν τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου, or again, μηνὶ αὐγούστῳ ιε΄, yet its subject-

---

[34]Theodore's is the only collection cited by GRÉGOIRE, 'Homéliaires', at col. 607.
[35]Ch. VAN DE VOORST, 'La Petite Catéchèse de S. Théodore Studite', *AB* 33 (1914), 31-51.
[36]J. LEROY, 'Les Petites Catéchèses de S. Théodore Studite', *Le Muséon* 71 (1958), 329-58, at p. 347.
[37]The different dates appointed for the reading of each catechesis are given in AUVRAY's apparatus, pp. 472-634.

matter does not even mention the feast of the Dormition of the Virgin.[38] Paul set out to remedy the misfit by transposing PC23 to the week of the Paralytic (K17), during the Easter cycle - hence from August to around April/May. Such were the advantages of consciously editing a catechetical cycle.

Paul's aim in the compilation of K was that of responding to the liturgical context within which each catechesis was inserted. In other words, his choice of a text was determined by the liturgical season; moreover, he was careful to insert the necessary changes in wording when transferring a source text from one day to another in the liturgical year.

The possibilities of subtler editing were fully exploited by Paul. He readily changed the wording of the source text, where that made explicit reference to a liturgical time or indeed natural season that contrasted with its intended relocation within K. For example, PC19 was read after the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul, on the 29th of June, in the Studite corpus.[39] Paul modifies its opening passage in order to transpose the reading to the Sunday of the Fifth week of Lent:

K361[40]	PC19
τῇ Κυριακῇ τῆς ϵ΄ ἑβδ.	μετὰ τὴν τεσσαρακοστὴν τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων·
Τέκνα μου καὶ πατέρες μου· παρατρέχων παρατρέχει ὁ χρόνος ἡμῶν· καίγε παρελήλυθεν **ἡ νηστεία**· ὁμοῦ μὲν στενοχωρήσασα ἡμᾶς, διὰ τὸν κόπον καὶ τὴν πεῖναν καὶ δίψαν· καὶ τὴν ἀγρυπνίαν· ὁμοῦ δὲ παρακαλέσασα, διὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα·	Ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πατέρες, παρατρέχων παρατρέχει ὁ χρόνος ἡμῶν· καίγε παρελήλυθε τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων **ἡ τεσσαρακοστή**, ὁμοῦ μὲν στενοχωρήσασα ἡμᾶς διὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ καύσωνος δίψαν· ὁμοῦ δὲ παρακαλέσασα τὴν ἐλπίδα·

[38]In such a case, the lemma may perhaps be best understood as commemorating the time when Theodore was thought to have composed/delivered the catechesis. That the content can be entirely divorced from the liturgical occasion is itself a sign of the different functions expected of the reading of the text.
[39]AUVRAY, p. 502: in one manuscript, it was actually read on this Feast-day.
[40]E: fols. 190r-191r.

τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα προξενοῦσιν ἡμῖν τὴν ἀθανασίαν· καὶ ἡ ἐντεῦθεν ἐγγινομένη πικρότης τῷ στόματι παρέξει τὴν γλυκύτητα τοῦ παραδείσου·[41]	ἡ γὰρ τοιαύτη δίψα προξενεῖ ἡμῖν πότον ἀθανασίας· καὶ ἡ ἐκ τῆς δίψης ἐγγινομένη πικρότης τῷ στόματι παρέξει τὴν γλυκύτητα τοῦ παραδείσου·

The wording "the 40 days of the Holy Apostles" (τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων ἡ τεσσαρακοστή) is transformed in "the Fast" (ἡ νηστεία), i.e. Lent. Moreover, the discomforts of Lenten abstinence, toil, hunger and vigils (τὸν κόπον καὶ τὴν πεῖναν καὶ δίψαν· καὶ τὴν ἀγρυπνίαν) are added to that of thirst, while the cause of thirst in Theodore, the heat (τὴν ἐκ τοῦ καύσωνος δίψαν), is removed by Paul, in view of the different climatic conditions between spring and summer. As a consequence of the plurality of afflictions introduced in K, the verb προξενέω has been turned into the plural, and the resulting bitterness in the mouth (ἐντεῦθεν rather than ἐκ τῆς δίψης) has a rather more metaphorical ring, recalling the Apocalyptic passage about the eating of the scroll: "Take it and eat: it will be bitter to your stomach, but sweet as honey in your mouth".[42]

The liturgical criterion was operative in the broader sense of providing a criterion of choice for texts to be included or excluded from K. Since K follows the cycle of movable feasts (the temporal), rather than that of fixed feasts (the sanctoral), catecheses specifically linked to one of the fixed feasts, such as PC20 for the Transfiguration, were avoided in Paul's selection. Similarly, references to saints and fixed-date holy days were excised in the borrowing. For example, PC26 mentions the Feast of the Elevation of the Cross in the opening passage, cut out from K265.[43]

---

[41]Transl. K361: My children and my fathers, our time passes and passes, and the [period of] fast has gone by, which has weakened us through toil and hunger and thirst, but equally encouraged us through hope. For these things will gain for us immortality, and the bitterness that ensues from them in the mouth will procure the sweetness of Paradise.

[42]Apoc. 10, 9-10.

[43]E: fols. 41r-43v, inc. ὁ παρὼν καιρὸς τοῦ σπόρου. AUVRAY, PC27, p. 99, l. 1.

Where more than one text was available for a fixed feast, other criteria of selection will come into play. For example, of the two Studite catecheses for the Feast of the Annunciation (one of the two fixed feasts added to K), PC65, centring around the theme of virginity, is omitted, while PC64, dealing with the subject of Christ's incarnate presence in the Eucharist, is adopted as model. Not only can Paul's aversion to over-emphasizing the theme of virginity be traced elsewhere,[44] but more importantly the prohibition of the Eucharistic celebration during Lent was lifted for March 25th.[45] Hence the choice of text reflects and explains liturgical practice.

An overall look at the liturgical distribution of PC texts in K yields the following graph, in which the asterisks by the numbers indicate identical liturgical designations for both PC and K, while the dots signal a common liturgical period, but a different day:

---

[44]See below, Ch. III, III, vi.
[45]KLENTOS, 'Byzantine Liturgy', p. 251.

Katechetikon:		Part I (ms. M)
PC 2	=	K 5
PC 3	=	K 6
PC 6	=	K 13
PC 8*	=	K 33*
PC 11	=	K 15
PC 17	=	K 16
PC 23	=	K 17
PC 25	=	K 232
PC 28	=	K 18 & K 19
PC 29	=	K 20
PC 30	=	K 25
PC 35	=	K 26
PC 36	=	K 28
PC 43	=	K 31
PC 44	=	K 32
PC 46	=	K 35
PC 48	=	K 38
PC 79	=	K 39
PC 80	=	K 40
PC 81	=	K 41
PC 82	=	K 42
PC 89	=	K 44
PC 90	=	K 45
PC 91	=	K 46 & K 47
PC 92	=	K 48 & 49
PC 93	=	K 52
PC 94	=	K 53
PC 95	=	K 54 & K 55

Katechetikon:		Part II (ms. E)
PC 14	=	K 360
PC 19	=	K 361
PC 26 + 27	=	K 265
PC 49•	=	K 327•
PC 50*	=	K 320*
PC 52•	=	K 326•
PC 53•	=	K 334•
PC 54•	=	K 332•
PC 55*	=	K 331*
PC 56*	=	K 333*
PC 57•	=	K 338•
PC 58•	=	K 339•
PC 59*	=	K 340
PC 60•	=	K 344•
PC 61*	=	K 345*
PC 64*	=	K 368*
PC 66•	=	K 362•
PC 67•	=	K 363•
PC 68•	=	K 365•
PC 70•	=	K 366•
PC 71*	=	K 367*
PC 76	=	K 346
PC 77	=	K 364

The central portion of texts belongs to a Lenten selection, which preserves its original liturgical destination more than the other texts. The Lenten texts are less reworked than those in the first part of K. Their selection,

not always following Auvray's order, is perhaps one of the earlier witnesses to a series of Studite readings for Lent that became very popular on Mt. Athos in the fourteenth century.[46] On the other hand, some of the earlier catecheses are transposed to E (PC14, 19, 26, 27). PC8 is displaced in the sequence in order for it to coincide with its liturgical destination, Ascension Thursday.

In observing the relative distance and careful liturgical placing of each catechesis, it becomes evident that their distribution followed a precise plan. Such a plan was devised in order to concentrate the use of Theodore's PC around Lent and Eastertide, in a liturgical continuum not at first sight obvious from the written appearance, that presents the texts in a linear sequence, rather than in the cyclical pattern of the liturgical year.

The exception to this structure again provides a proof of the importance of the liturgical timing affecting Paul's choice: PC25 is unusually located in isolation from other PC texts at K232, since its biblical imagery of the harvest of grapes required an autumnal setting.

I. iii) <u>K texts and the Lectionary</u>.

The Rule of S. Benedict may be quoted as prescribing patristic readings for the night offices:

> Codices autem legantur in vigiliis divinae auctoritatis tam veteris Testamenti quam novi, sed *et expositiones earum* quae a nominatis et orthodoxis catholicis Patribus factae sunt.[47]

---

[46]From Leroy's unpublished papers: "[...] une sorte de lectionnaire quadragésimal. On retrouve cette même eclogé quadragesimale, absolument semblable ou avec quelques variantes, dans les mss. *Athos Iviron* 374, *Ambrosianus* E101 Sup., *Patmiacus* 112, *Patmiacus* 693, *Patmiacus* 696, *Taurin.* B.IV. 39. Nous retrouvons encore cette eclogé de carême en version géorgienne. [...] St. George l'Hagiorite, higoumène d'Iviron (†1065) traduisit du grec en géorgien "Theodori Studitae librum catecheseon, in maioribus ieiunis legendum": P. PEETERS, 'Histoires monastiques géorgiennes', *AB* 36-37 (1917-19), 5-317, ch. 44, ll. 7-8, at p. 111. Cette déscription ne peut désigner que le type d'eclogé connu par les mss. mentionnés ci-dessus". Thus the Lenten series may be considered more appropriately a cycle of <u>readings</u> from Theodore Studite.

[47]Regula 9: quoted in GRÉGOIRE, 'Homéliaires', col. 601; cf. B. M. KIENZLE, 'The Typology of the Medieval Sermon', in J. HAMESSE & X. HERMAND, eds., *De l'Homélie au sermon. Histoire de la prédication médiévale* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1993), pp. 83-101, at p. 90.

In Benedict's view, the patristic readings ought to provide a learned and theologically sound commentary on the Sacred Scriptures that preceded them.

Since the cycle of K was arranged in a manner comparable to the Lectionary, it is natural to ask whether it was meant to provide a similar exegetical accompaniment to the Scriptural readings of Orthros or of the Liturgy for the day. Indeed, the Byzantine system of *Bahnlesung*, unaltered from year to year, would have easily fitted such an arrangement.

On the contrary, it is immediately evident that the exegetical type of commentary envisaged in Benedict's rule is far from the aim of K. Week-day readings clearly do not take on this function. Rather, they are more broadly adapted to the liturgical time, as shown in the previous section.

An exception to this independent trend is offered by the Sunday catecheses of the Pentekostarion (K1, 8, 15, 22, 36 and 50).[48] The reason for the exception is that the liturgical theme for those Sundays after Easter has taken precedence over the continuous reading of the Gospel Lectionary. Hence, the Gospel reading at the Liturgy has been adapted to fit the required liturgical theme. The synaxary instructions for the Sunday of the Paralytic attempt an explanation of the choices for this sequence of Sundays:

> Τὸν μὲν Θωμᾶν, καὶ τὰς Μυροφόρους, εἰς πίστωσιν τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀναστάσεως ἑορτάζομεν· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ μέχρι τῆς Ἀναλήψεως, διότι αὐτὰ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς παρ' Ἑβραίοις Πεντηκοστῆς διαφόρως ἐνήργησε· καὶ ὅτι τούτων ὁ Ἰωάννης σχεδὸν οὕτως ἐμνημόνευσε.[49]

Although this explanation breaks down on the following Sunday, since the episode of the Samaritan woman at the well had been narrated in chapter 4 of John's Gospel, while the "Paralytic" was at chapter 5,[50] what the synaxary

---

[48]For these texts, considered to be the more "original" compositions by Paul, see Ch. IV.

[49]Sp. ZERBOU, ed., *Pentekostarion Charmosynon* (Athens/Venice, s.d.; repr. Athens, 1959), pp. 81-82.

[50]Precisely, Jn. 5, 1-15. The choice of "Paralytic" as a title for this Sunday is in a sense paradoxical, since the sick man by the pool in John's Gospel is not explicitly designated as such.

instructions do reveal is that the sequence for these Sundays is highly artificial, wrought around a theological shaping of the Liturgy and its readings, in sharp contrast to the natural flow of the Byzantine *Bahnlesung*.

In other words, by picking on the theme for these Sundays, Paul is not primarily responding to the Gospel and providing a commentary for it. Rather, he is attuning the catecheses to the liturgical theme, thus providing further evidence for the liturgically-based organization of K.

Two examples prove that, even for those Sundays in the Pentekostarion in which the Gospel reading is analysed in the catechesis, both the basis and the aim of the K text are liturgical rather than scriptural. Such liturgical bias may have differentiated the Sunday catechesis from a possible homily at the Liturgy.[51]

K1 provides the best example for the comprehensive treatment of the multi-layered liturgical significance of the first Sunday after Easter. Its text can be divided in a two-fold manner: the first part explains the meaning of this Sunday as "New Sunday" and as the Sunday of the Octave of Easter; the second part focusses on Thomas, whose Gospel passage is chosen for this Sunday because it prolongs the resurrection theme of Easter, giving one other title to the day, that of "Sunday of Thomas".[52]

The synaxary instructions in the *Pentekostarion* delineate the first part very closely:

> ...ἡ τοῦ Κυρίου Ἀνάστασις, ... οὐ μόνον κατ᾽ ἔτος αὐτὴν ἑορτάζομεν καὶ ἐγκαινίζομεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀεὶ καὶ ἐπὶ μεθ᾽ ἡμέρας ὀκτώ. Πρῶτος τοίνυν ταύτης ἐγκαινισμός, ἡ παροῦσα

His condition is inferred from his lying on a stretcher (κραββάτον). In fact, the sermons designated as "on the Paralytic" in CPG ("Paralyticus", vol. V, p. 154) are all commentaries on the Gospels of Matthew (ch. 9, 1-8), Mark (ch. 2, 1-2) and Luke (ch. 5, 17-26), where the sick men are explicitly described in the Greek as "paralytic"; most of these sermons are unedited.

[51]The question, whether the catechesis might have duplicated the content of the Sunday sermon, if there was one, cannot be answered. There is, however, the possibility that the Sunday sermon was not currently in use in the Middle Ages: cf. J. MATEOS, *La Célébration de la Parole dans la liturgie byzantine*, OCA 191 (1971), at p. 147: "L'homélie qui, à cause des circonstances historiques, a été omise pendant des siècles, sauf dans des cas exceptionels, est prononcée souvent aujourd'hui à la fin de la Liturgie, ...".

[52]Cf. FYRILLAS, 'À propos du premier dimanche': perhaps the layering of meanings corresponded to chronologically successive phases in the evolution of the calendar.

κυριακή, ἥτις λεγοιτ' ἂν κυρίως, καὶ ὀγδόη, καὶ πρώτη· ὀγδόη μέν, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ Πάσχα· πρώτη δέ, ὡς ἀρχὴ τῶν ἄλλων. Καὶ ὀγδόη πάλιν, ὅτι εἰς εἰκόνα τάττεται τῆς ἀπεράντου ἐκείνης ἡμέρας, τῆς ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰώνι, ἥτις καὶ πρώτη καὶ μία ἔσται πάντως, μὴ νυκτὶ διακοπτομένη.[53]

Each of these elements is found in turn in K1. Although Paul does not use the term *enkainia*, the first sentence sets out the theme of newness and beginning:

ἡ σήμερον ἁγία κυριακὴ νέα λέγεται, διὰ τὸ ἀρχὴν ὥσπερ τοῦ χρόνου ἐν ταύτῃ γνωρίζεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ μανθάνομεν παρὰ τῆς θείας γραφῆς, παραχθῆναι τὴν κτίσιν ἅπασαν παρὰ τοῦ πάντων δημιουργοῦ καὶ θεοῦ, τὸν οὐρανόν φημι καὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, σὺν αὐτῷ δὴ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ·

The reading from the Book of Genesis began during the Easter Vigil (Gen. 1, 1-3) and continued at Vespers of the following weeks. Thus the week culminating at Antipascha could be seen as the symbolic re-enactment of the first days of creation:[54]

> le mot καινή rappelle la nouvelle vie des baptisés et la nouvelle créature (καινὴ κτίσις), inaugurée par le Christ dans sa mort et sa résurrection, thèmes sur lesquels insistaient les homélies et les catéchèses délivrées pendant les huit jours qui suivent la Résurrection.[55]

In the continuation, the other two required themes, καὶ ὀγδόη, καὶ πρώτη, unfold:

λέγεται οὖν νέα, καθὼς εἴπομεν, ὡς ἀρχή τις οὖσα τοῦ ἐπίοντος ἐνιαυτοῦ καὶ πρώτη τῶν ἐξῆς τοῦ χρόνου κυριακῶν καὶ πρώτη τῶν τῆς ἑβδομάδος ἡμερῶν· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὀγδόη ἀπὸ τῆς θείας καὶ μεγάλης κυριακῆς.
Πρώτη γοῦν λεγομένη κυρίως παρὰ πάντων ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις, ὕστερον μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀνάστασιν, κυριακὴ ὠνομάσθη παρ' ἡμῶν τῶν

---

[53]ZERBOU, *Pentekostarion*, p. 30; French transl. by FYRILLAS, 'À propos du premier dimanche', pp. 142-43: "... la Résurrection de Notre Seigneur, que nous fêtons et renouvelons non pas une fois par an, mais tout les huit jours et continuellement. La première commemoration de cet événement est le présent dimanche, que l'on pourrait appeler à un titre spécial à la fois huitième et premier. Huitième, parce qu'il est le huitième jour à partir de Pâques; et premier, parce qu'il est le commencement des autres. En plus, on peut l'appeler huitième en tant que image de ce Jour éternel du siècle à venir, qui sera premier et un, non interrompu par la nuit."
[54]Cf. A. KNIAZEFF, 'La lecture de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament dans le rite byzantin', in J. CASSIEN & B. BOTTE, eds., *La Prière des heures*, Lex Orandi 35 (1963), pp. 201-51, at 220-21.
[55]FYRILLAS, 'À propos du premier dimanche', p. 140.

χριστιανῶν, τουτέστιν <u>ἡ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμέρα</u>, καθ' ἣν ἀναστὰς ἐκ νεκρῶν ὤφθη τοῖς αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς· [...]

It surprised Leroy that this Sunday could be called the beginning of the year, since, as we have seen, the beginning of the Liturgical year was fixed on 1 September. There was no liturgical oversight on the part of the compiler: not only did the liturgical year of K begin at Antipascha, but moreover the whole year was thought to begin at this time. Its celebration as the beginning of the year goes back to Jewish commentators:

> Le mois des azymes, qui est le septième, est le premier par le nombre, l'ordre et la dignité selon le cycle solaire. C'est pourquoi il est le premier dans les saints Livres. Il se trouve en effet que l'equinoxe du printemps est la figure et l'image du commencement où le monde fut crée.[56]

The etymology for the word "Sunday" plays on its derivation from the word "Lord" in Greek, echoed in the English equivalent, "the Lord's Day".[57]

The meaning of the "eighth day" is first based on computation, Antipascha being the eighth day after Easter. The eschatological significance of this number is adumbrated in a separate paragraph, which applies the liturgical rythm to that of the monastic life:

Δεῖ τοίνυν καὶ ἡμᾶς <u>νεάζειν</u> ἀείποτε τῇ τῶν καλῶν ἐργασίᾳ, <u>ἀπ' αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς πρώτης ἡμέρας καθ' ἣν τὴν πνευματικὴν ταύτην ἀναγέννησιν</u>· τὴν ἐν τῷ μοναδικῷ φημι ἐπαγγέλματι ἀνεγεννήθημεν, <u>καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἑβδόμης, ἥτις ἐστὶ τὸ συμπέρασμα τῆς ὅλης ἡμῶν ζωῆς, ἵνα τῆς ὀγδόης ἐπιστάσεως, εἶτ' οὖν τῆς μεγάλης καὶ ἐπιφανοῦς ἡμέρας τῆς δευτέρας παρουσίας τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ</u>, ...

---

[56]Philo of Alexandria, *Spec. Leg.* II, 50, in the transl. by J. DANIÉLOU, *Bible et liturgie*, Lex orandi 11 (Paris, 1951), p. 389.

[57]Cf. T. J. TALLEY, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year* (New York, 1986), pp. 13-14: "The phrase, *kyriake hemera*, first occurs in Apocalypse 1, 10, and has commonly been identified with the Christian observance of the first day of the week, the day assigned to the sun in the planetary week, as the day of worship celebrating the resurrection of Christ. [...] the similar phrase in *Didache* 14, *kata kyriaken de kyriou*, refers to the weekly Christian assembly".

The theme of renewal is linked to that of conversion, pinpointed at the moment of monastic profession.[58] The intervening seven days symbolize the extent of the monastic life, recalling John Chrysostom's passage:

> ὁ μὲν γὰρ παρὼν βίος οὐδὲν ἕτερόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἢ ἑβδομὰς μία, ἀρχόμενος μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡμέρας, τελευτῶν δὲ εἰς τὴν ἑβδόμην....[59]

Finally, the significance of the eighth day as the second coming of Christ is made explicit. This understanding is found in the same Chrysostomic text:

> Τίς δέ ἐστιν ἡ ὀγδόη, ἀλλ' ἢ ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡ μεγάλη καὶ ἐπιφανής, ἡ ὡς κλίβανος καιομένη, ἡ καὶ τὰς ἄνω δυνάμεις τρέμειν παρασκευάζουσα [...], ἡ πῦρ δεικνύουσα προτρέχον τοῦ βασιλέως τότε ἐκείνου; Ὀγδόην δὲ αὐτὴν ἐκάλεσε, τὸ τῆς καταστάσεως ἐνηλλαγμένον ἐμφαίνων, καὶ τῆς μελλούσης ζωῆς τὴν ἀνανέωσιν.[60]

The homily by St. Gregory Nazianzen dedicated to the same Sunday also presents this theme.[61] Gregory contrasts the first Sunday, that is, Easter Sunday, with the eighth day after Easter:

> ... ὥσπερ ἡ πρώτη κτίσις τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ κυριακῆς λαμβάνει (δῆλον δέ· ἀπὸ γὰρ ταύτης ἑβδόμη τὸ Σάββατον γίνεται, κατάπαυσις οὖσα τῶν ἐργῶν), οὕτω καὶ ἡ δεύτερα πάλιν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἄρχηται, πρώτη οὖσα τῶν μετ' αὐτήν, καὶ ὀγδοὰς ἀπὸ τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς, ὑψηλῆς ὑψηλότερα, καὶ θαυμασίας θαυμασιώτερα. Πρὸς γὰρ τὴν ἄνω φέρει κατάστασιν· ἣν γὰρ ὁ θεῖος Σολομὼν αἰνίττεσθαί μοι δοκεῖ, διδόναι μερίδα τοῖς ἑπτά, τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ, νομοθετῶν· καί γε τοῖς ὀκτώ, τῷ μέλλοντι· ...[62]

---

[58]Like baptism, monastic profession was seen as a birth to the spiritual life: cf. A. VEILLEUX, *La Liturgie dans le cenobitisme pachômien au quatrième siècle*, Studia Anselmiana 57 (Rome, 1968), pp. 212-13, and his bibliography at nn. 60-63.

[59] *De compunctione* II, 4, PG 47, 415, ll. 50-53; French transl. in DANIÉLOU, *Bible et liturgie*, p. 372; cf. also J. DANIÉLOU, 'La typologie millenariste de la semaine dans le christianisme primitif', *Vigiliae Christianae* 2 (1948), 1-16.

[60]*De compunctione* II, 4, PG 47, 415, ll. 42-49; French transl. in DANIÉLOU, *Bible et liturgie*, p. 372; Chrysostom explains that there is no "eighth" day in the normal week, limiting its significance to the purely eschatological plane. Cf. Ch. IV, I, iv.

[61]GREGORY NAZIANZEN, *Homilia in Novam Dominicam*, PG 36, 607-622.

[62]PG 36, 612C8-613A1; cf. French transl. in FYRILLAS, 'À propos du premier dimanche', p. 145 and DANIÉLOU, *Bible et liturgie*, pp. 364-65.

Gregory's commentator, Maximos Confessor, felt it necessary to clarify and qualify Gregory's enthusiasm for the New Sunday, over and above Easter itself, and thus offered three explanations.[63]

The first is that Easter prefigures in its mystery what the New Sunday makes available for enjoyment to the elect;[64] the second is that Easter typifies the resurrection of our deliberate choice of virtue, while New Sunday represents the resurrection of our deliberate acquisition of knowledge;[65] the third explanation contrasts the type of resurrection at stake: while Easter focusses on the resurrection of the body, New Sunday is about the future divinization by grace.[66]

Gregory's sermon does not include any reference to Thomas. On the contrary, liturgical completeness requires K to turn to this subject, fulfilling the second part of the instructions laid out in the synaxary instructions.

Textual evidence may be offered from this and other catecheses about the dependence of Paul's language on liturgical (as well as homiletic) texts. In the episode of Thomas, the verb for "touching", ψηλαφάω, is not found in the Gospel, where the verbs βάλλω and φέρω are used instead, to designate Thomas' reaching out to Christ. As the Concordance shows, ψηλαφάω is only used once in the Gospels, at Lk. 24, 39, where Jesus invites all the disciples to touch Him, to witness his bodily resurrection.[67]

---

[63] *Ambiguorum Liber*, PG 91, 1388C-1389B. For a brief introduction to this work, cf. A. LOUTH, *Maximus the Confessor* (London-New York, 1996), pp. 81-82 (his translations do not include this passage). Extracts from Maximos in Paul's compilations do not include this particular work (see Ch. III, II, iii).

[64] Cf. PG 91, 1388D10-1389A6.

[65] PG 91, 1389A7-12: ...φασὶ τὴν μὲν πρώτην Κυριακὴν τύπον εἶναι τῆς κατὰ τὴν προαίρεσιν εἰς ἀρετὴν ἀναστάσεως, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν τῆς κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἕξεως εἰς γνῶσιν τελειότητος.

[66] PG 91, 1389B1-4: ...τὴν μὲν πρώτην Κυριακὴν τῆς μελλούσης φυσικῆς ἀναστάσεως καὶ ἀφθαρσίας εἶναι σύμβολον, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν τῆς κατὰ χάριν μελλούσης θεώσεως φέρειν εἰκόνα.

[67] C. H. BRUDER, *Concordantiae omnium vocum Novi Testamenti graeci* (4th edn., Leipzig, 1888; repr. Athens, 1993), p. 869.

However, this verb is frequently associated with Thomas in the writings of the Church Fathers.[68] In fact, the association is so close that in two instances the words of Lk. 24, 39 are attributed to Jesus in his speech to Thomas.[69] The same speech is poetically adapted in the canons for the day:

> Ἄψαι Θωμᾶ τῆς πλευρᾶς τῇ χειρί, λέγει Χριστός, καὶ τοὺς τύπους τῶν ἥλων δεῦρο ψηλάφησον, πίστει ἐρεύνησον, καὶ γίνου μοι πιστός, καὶ μὴ γίνου ἄπιστος. Ὁ δὲ Θωμᾶς τῷ δακτύλῳ ὡς ἥψατο τοῦ Δεσπότου, μέγα ἀνεβόησε· Σύ μου Θεὸς καὶ Κύριος, εὔσπλαγχνε, δόξα σοι.[70]

Thus Thomas' touching becomes a dominant theme of the second part of K1, cast in liturgical language.

A passage in John Chrysostom, expressing eagerness in terms of thirst for the living spring, brings together Thomas and the woman who suffered from haemorrhages: ὡς ἐδίψησε Θωμᾶς τὴν ζωοποιὸν τραυμάτων ψηλάφησιν....[71] As Chrysostom exhorts the catechumens to feel a similar thirst, so Paul spurs his monks to a similar eagerness in "touching Christ".

It is clear that K1 cannot be considered an exegetical text on the Gospel passage, but rather a commentary on the themes of the Sunday appointed for its reading. In its completeness, it goes beyond previous patristic sermons for the same occasion, since it fulfills all the requirements of the synaxary instructions. Moreover, K1 is in perfect harmony with the liturgical texts both for its language and for the emphasis it places on the interpretation of the Gospel passage.[72]

---

[68]26 matches in TLG for Θωμα[ψηλαφ[search.

[69]Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Eranistes* 155. 16 and 230. 40: ὃς ἀναστὰς ... προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν Θωμᾶν ἔφη· Δεῦρο, ψηλάφησον καὶ ἴδε, ὅτι.... Also used by Hippolytus, *De resurrectione ad Mammaeam Imperatricem* 7.6 (from TLG).

[70]ZERBOU, *Pentekostarion*, pp. 24-25, plagal ichos delta. Cp. the Canon by Romanos the Melod, *PENTHKOSTARION* (Rome, 1883), p. 52: Αὕτη ἡ χάρις Θώμᾳ ἐδόθη // τὸ αὐτὴν ψηλαφῆσαι, Χριστῷ δὲ βοῆσαι.

[71]John Chrysostom, *In catechumenos* PG60. 739. 34 (from TLG).

[72]Since the texts of the synaxary instructions in the *Pentekostarion* are not dated, it would be imprudent to speak of direct borrowing. However, the close similarity of the liturgical book with the text of K lends plausibility to an early date for the instructions related to this Sunday.

Another example of close textual interdependence between K texts and the liturgical canons is found at K22, the Sunday dedicated to the episode of Jesus' meeting with the Samaritan woman at the well. The Gospel reading for that Sunday is specified as Jn. 4, 5-42.

A comparison between K22 and the pseudo-Chrysostomic homily *In Samaritanam*[73] highlights the selectiveness of the catechesis with respect to its subject-matter. While both texts start with the beginning of the Gospel episode by commenting on the christological aspects of the evangelist's observation: *Jesus, tired of the road, sat by a well* (v. 6),[74] the homily's commentary follows the

---

[73]CPG 4581 (=7912): PG 59, 535-542; DE ALDAMA, no. 457; attr. to Leontius of Jerusalem by M. RICHARD, recension of MARX, *Procliana* (Münster, 1940), *Mélanges des Sciences Religeuses* 1 (1944), 188-89, at p. 189 (as in codd. *Vat. Pii II gr.* 23 and *Vat. Barb. gr.* 497); CCG, no. 118 (Oxford, *New College* cod. 82, 11th cent., fol. 101v). The conclusion to the homily, PG 59, col. 542, ll. 21-end, has been recognized as identical to PG 59, 182, ll. 30-end; it is not considered to belong to the original text, as it is not contained in all mss. This was already recognized by H. SAVILE, ed., Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου τῶν εὑρισκομένων τόμος (α΄-η΄), 8 vols. (Eton, 1612-13), VIII, col. 867; and more recently signalled by M. AUBINEAU, 'Une enquête dans les manuscrits chrysostomiens: opportunité, difficultés, premier bilan', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 63 (1968), 5-26, at p. 22. This homily was extensively used by Theoleptos of Philadelpheia in MD20.

[74]PG 59, 535 tries to solve the contradiction between what the prophet Isaiah says, Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ μέγας οὐ πεινάσει, οὐδὲ μὴ διψήσει, οὐδὲ μὴ κοπιάσει· *Οὐδὲ ἔστιν ἐξεύρεσις τῆς φρονήσεως αὐτοῦ* and the words of the Gospel, by pointing out that ἡ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ οἰκονομία διπλῆν τινα καὶ παράδοξον ἔχει συμπλοκήν, ἐκ θεότητος λέγω καὶ ἀνθρωπότητος, κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ εὐδοκίαν καὶ βούλησιν, διὰ τοῦτο ὁ μὲν προφήτης τῆς θεότητος τὴν δύναμιν ἐξαγγέλλει καὶ τὴν μεγαλειότητα· οἱ δὲ ἀπόστολοι καὶ εὐαγγελισταὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος οἰκονομίαν ἀληθῆ διαγορεύουσιν (PG 59, 535, ll. 39-46). Cf. also ORIGEN, *Johannescommentar*, ed. E. PREUSCHEN, Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte 10 (Leipzig, 1903), p. 526, ll. 11-21, esp. ll. 11-13: Ἐπεὶ σῶμα κατ᾽ ἀλήθειαν ἔσχεν συμπληρούμενον ἐξ ὧν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα σώματα, ἀναγκαίως ὑποκείται καὶ τὸ αὐτοῦ σῶμα τοῖς κοινοῖς πάθεσιν· the passage continues with a vivid description of the effects of physical fatigue on Christ (e.g. sweat). A homily attr. to Timotheus IV Alexandrinus (Timotheus III in PG) bears the liturgical rubric: ἀναγνωσθέντος τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην Εὐαγγελίου· Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς κεκοπιακὼς ἐκ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας, ἐκαθέζετο. Although there is no direct reference to the episode of the Samaritan in the published fragment, the text addresses the question of the two natures of Christ: while Christ expresses his divinity in miracles, he emphasizes the reality of his humanity δεικνὺς ἐναργῶς πάθεσιν ὑπουργῶν, but with the following qualification: ποίοις πάθεσιν; ὅσα δι᾽ ἀσθένειαν, οὐ δι᾽ ἁμαρτίαν τῇ σαρκὶ προσῳκείωται, πεινῆν λέγω, καὶ διψῆν, καὶ ὑπνοῦν καὶ κοποῦσθαι (PG 86, col. 268A7-10: CPG 7090, partly published in PG 86[1], 265-268; integral version survives only in Syriac in *Vat. syr.* 104, a. 564, at fol. 84v). Another homily on this verse of John's Gospel remains unpublished: CPG 5003, inc. only in PG 64, 1393; ms. *Mosq. Synod. gr.* 284 (=Vl. 215), fols. 235r-238v, 9th-10th cent., described in EHRHARD, *Überlieferung*, II, p. 9 as "Rede des Joh. Chrys. auf die Samariterin", read on the third Sunday after Easter τῆς Σαμαρείτιδος; also found in

unfolding of the text much more closely. Appropriately, it devotes much space to Jesus' speech about the living water, which, it claims, was a clever answer, chosen in order to gain the woman's trust (col. 538). It also devotes a section to the "dogmatic" questions of the woman to Jesus concerning the practices of the Jewish faith (col. 539).

The absence of these two aspects of the episode in K22 and also from its continuation, K23, is conspicuous.[75] In particular, the silence about the "living water", which is really the pivotal centre of the episode theologically speaking, is puzzling. The exegesis of K, impoverished by the omission of both spiritual dialogues, is reduced to two aspects: first, the overwhelming weight of significance thrust upon Jesus' prophetic telling of the woman's sinful past, which becomes the key to the Samaritan's conversion; secondly, both a "literal" and a "more spiritual" interpretation offered concerning her six husbands.

The manipulation of the story can be first glimpsed in the conflation of two phrases, distinct in the Gospel, which make up the same quotation in K22:

> εἶπεν αὐτῇ· δός μοι ὕδωρ πιεῖν· καὶ ἀπελθοῦσα, φώνησόν σου τὸν ἄνδρα.

The speech combines v. 7b with v. 16 of John, ch. 4, precisely omitting the speech on the "living water" (vv. 8-15). No variant in NTG gives ὕδωρ at v. 7b. It is therefore doubly convincing to indicate the Stichera Idiomela for the Solemn Vespers of the Sunday of the Samaritan as the source of K22, where both the same combination of verses and the same textual reading may be found:

> Ὁ συνάναρχος καὶ συναΐδιος Υἱός, καὶ Λόγος τοῦ Πατρός, ἐπὶ τὴν πηγὴν ἐπέστη, ἡ πηγὴ τῶν ἰαμάτων· καὶ γυνὴ ἐκ τῆς Σαμαρείας ἀντλῆσαι ὕδωρ παραγέγονεν ἣν ἰδὼν ἔφη ὁ Σωτήρ· <u>Δός μοι ὕδωρ πιεῖν, καὶ ἀπελθοῦσα φώνησόν σου τὸν ἄνδρα</u>. Ἡ δέ, ὡς ἀνθρώπῳ διαλεγομένη, καὶ οὐ Θεῷ,

---

ms. *Barocci* 212, fols. 292r-293v, post 1572: CCG I, no. 205, sect. 35, p. 195; cf. also EHRHARD, *Überlieferung*, II, p. 295.

[75]The passages omitted are precisely Jn. 4, 8-15 (the 'living water') and vv. 19-26 (the Samaritan's questions to Jesus on Jewish religious practice). A reference to this omission probably ought to be deduced from the phrase in K22: καὶ ἵνα τἄλλα καταλίπω διὰ τὴν μακρηγορίαν,.

λαθεῖν σπουδάζουσα ἔλεγεν· Οὐκ ἔχω ἄνδρα· καὶ ὁ Διδάσκαλος πρὸς αὐτήν· Ἀληθῶς εἶπας, Οὐκ ἔχω ἄνδρα, πέντε γὰρ ἔσχες, καὶ νῦν ὃ ἔχεις οὐκ ἔστι σου ἀνήρ. Ἡ δέ, ἐπὶ τῷ ῥήματι ἐκπλαγεῖσα, καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν δραμοῦσα, τοῖς ὄχλοις ἐπεβόα, λέγουσα· Δεῦτε ἴδετε Χριστόν, ὃς δωρεῖται τῷ κόσμῳ τὸ μέγα ἔλεος.[76]

In the liturgically condensed episode, Jesus' revelation becomes the turning-point of the Samaritan's conversion, as in K22:

τρανότερον αὐτῇ τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἐκκαλύπτει φήσας· ἀληθῶς εἶπας οὐκ ἔχω ἄνδρα· πέντε γὰρ ἔσχες· καὶ νῦν ὃν ἔχεις οὐκ ἔστι σου ἀνήρ· ὅπερ ἀκούσασα ἡ γυνή, αὐτίκα δὴ ἐπίστευσε· καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκήρυττεν.[77]

Some of the wondrous nature of this revelation is preserved in PG59, col. 541, where the recognition of Jesus by the Samaritan is compared to that of the disciples at Emmaus.

Although the actual type of exegesis deployed for this passage will be analysed in Ch. IV, one point may be made here. The exegesis followed by Paul is – by now unsurprisingly – sketched out among the synaxary instructions for the day:

Τινὲς μὲν οὖν πέντε ἄνδρας, τὴν Πενταβιβλον τοῦ Μωϋσέως εἶναι ἐνόμισαν, ἥν περ οἱ Σαμαρεῖται ἐδέχοντο· ἕκτον δέ, αὐτοὺς τοὺς λόγους τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οἳ οὐκ ἦσαν ἐκείνης ἔτι· οὔπω γὰρ ἡ χάρις ἐξεκέχυτο. Ἄλλοι δὲ, τοὺς δοθέντας πέντε νόμους παρὰ Θεοῦ· τὸν ἐν Παραδείσῳ, τὸν μετὰ τὴν ἐξορίαν, τὸν ἐπὶ Νῶε, τὸν ἐπὶ Ἀβραὰμ, καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Μωσέως· ἕκτον δὲ, τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον, ὃν ἀκμὴν οὐκ εἶχεν. Εἰσὶ δὲ, οἳ καὶ τὰς πέντε αἰσθήσεις λέγουσιν.[78]

---

[76]ZERBOU, *Pentekostarion*, p. 107.
[77]Transl. K22: Christ said to her something clearer that would unveil her situation and said: *"Truly you say you have no husband, since you had five, and the one you now have is not your husband"* (Jn. 4, 17b-18: the wording of this quotation also follows the *Pentekostarion* text, rather than NTG). Having heard this, the woman immediately believed and she announced (Him) to others (cf. Jn. 4, 28-30).
[78]ZERBOU, *Pentekostarion*, pp. 116-17.

These exegeses can be retraced to Origen.[79] But it is significant that K only follows the third available explanation, the only one where the significance of the sixth element is not made explicit.

Finally, even with such close dependence of the K text upon the liturgical commemoration of the Gospel episode, K selects only one focus around which to shape its preaching, leaving aside other aspects. One instance of the omission of a potentially interesting element for the catechesis is the lack of a comparison between the salvation of the Samaritan and the expulsion of Eve, which become mirror-episodes of one another, hinged on the temporal specification of the sixth hour. Just at the time when Eve, deceived by the snake, plucked her fruit and received her expulsion from Paradise, so Jesus chose the same hour of the day to catch and redeem the Samaritan sinner.[80] This element, however, had been incorporated in the pseudo-Chrysostomic homily.[81]

Another aspect of congruity between K and its liturgical context emerges with the catechesis for Pentecost, K43. In this case, the opening paragraph

---

[79]The five lawful husbands as an image of the Pentateuch are found in ORIGEN, *Johannescommentar*, ed. PREUSCHEN, p. 530, l. 16-p. 531, l. 10: τοῦτον δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα μὴ ἔχουσα πέντε ἔσχες, τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς μόνοις συνγκαταθεμένη τῆς γραφῆς. εἰ γὰρ πάσῃ τῇ παλαιᾷ συνεβίους, γνωρίζειν ἠδύνω τὸν προσδοκώμενον μετὰ νόμον καὶ προφήτας θεὸν λόγον. τὸ *Πέντε γὰρ ἄνδρας ἔσχες* ἀνακτέον ἐπὶ <u>τὰ πέντε Μωσέως βιβλία. μόνα γὰρ ταῦτα οἱ Σαμαρεῖται δέχονται</u>. τίς δὲ καὶ ὃν ἔχει παρὰ τοὺς πέντε ἄνδρας ἕκτος, ὅστις οὐδὲ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς τυγχάνει; λεκτέον τὸν περὶ τοῦ εἶναι προφήτην λόγον. ἤδη γὰρ συγκατετέθειτο τούτῳ, ἀναγκαζομένη ἐκ τῶν λεγομένων, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ κατ᾽ ἀληθῆ συγκατάθεσιν. διὸ ἁρμοδίως εἴρηται καὶ τὸ *Καὶ νῦν ὃν ἔχεις οὐκ ἔστι σου ἀνήρ*· οὐ γὰρ γνησίως αὐτῷ προσελήλυθας. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ τὰ αἰσθητὰ οἱ πέντε ἄνδρες αὐτῆς ἐλέγοντο εἶναι, μεθ᾽ ἃ συγκατέθετο οὐκ ἠκριβωμένως νοητῷ τινὶ λόγῳ ἐκ τῆς Ἰησοῦ παιδεύσεως, εὐθυβολώτατα εἴρηται· Καὶ ὃν νῦν δοκεῖς ἔχειν πνευματικὸν λόγον, οὐκ ἀνήρ σού ἐστιν. Cf. Ch. IV, I, ii.

[80]ZERBOU, *Pentekostarion*, p. 106, *Stichera Idiomela Ichos* alpha: Ἐπὶ τὴν πηγὴν ἐπέστη, ... ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ ὥρᾳ, τῆς Εὔας ζωγρῆσαι καρπόν· ἡ γὰρ Εὔα ἐν ταύτῃ ἐξελήλυθεν ἐκ τοῦ Παραδείσου, ἀπάτῃ τοῦ ὄφεως. Ἤγγικεν οὖν ἡ Σαμαρεῖτις ἀντλῆσαι ὕδωρ·....

[81]PG 59, 537, ll. 7-12: Ἔρχεται ἡ Σαμαρεῖτις ἀντλῆσαι ὕδωρ ὥραν ἕκτην, ... ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἡ Εὔα ὅταν ἐν τῷ Παραδείσῳ παρέβη τὴν ἐντολήν, ὥρα ἦν ὡσεὶ ἕκτη· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἡ Σαμαρεῖτις διασώθῃ ἐν τῇ πηγῇ τῇ αὐτῇ ὥρᾳ ἕκτῃ.

acknowledges that its subject-matter is limited by another liturgical reading, that of the homily of Gregory the Theologian on Pentecost:

> καὶ περὶ ταύτης μὲν εἰπεῖν, οὐκ ἔχομεν· προλαβόντες γὰρ οἱ ἅγιοι ἡμῶν πατέρες ἐδίδαξαν ὅσα ἔδει· καὶ πλέον πάντων, ὁ τῆς θεολογίας Γρηγόριος·[82]

This reading was prescribed at Orthros by the *Typikon* of the Great Church.[83]

A reading of Gregory's text clarifies why some themes were ruled out because of their inclusion in the liturgy for the day. Above all, Gregory's homily prevents the catechesis from being involved in exegetical numerology of the type encountered on the previous Sundays, since three sections of that homily are dedicated to such speculation concerning the significance of the fifty days between Easter and the feast celebrated at Pentecost.[84] An exegesis of the reading from the Acts of the Apostles was also included in Gregory's homily, and thus eliminated this possibility of commentary as well from the catechesis.[85]

K43 presents the theme of the Holy Spirit not in the theological manner of Gregory, but as applied to the experience of conversion typified by king David in the Psalms.

The association between the inspiration of the Psalms and this feast was expressed in Gregory of Nyssa's homily for the occasion:

> οὐκοῦν καὶ τὴν μεγάλην τῆς πεντεκοστῆς ἑορτὴν φαιδρυνέτω ἡμῖν ὁ προφήτης τῷ πλήκτρῳ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐν ταῖς χορδαῖς τῆς σοφίας τὸ μέλος ἀνακρουόμενος,[86]

and a short reference to the Psalm chosen by Paul for commentary is paraphrased in Gregory's sermon, among the biblical examples recalling the Spirit:

---

[82]Transl. K43: we do not have anything to say about it, since our holy fathers who have preceded us have taught what was necessary, and above all, Gregory the Theologian.
[83]MATEOS, *Le Typicon de la Grande Eglise*, II, p. 138.
[84]CPG 3010. 41, C. MORESCHINI & P. GALLAY, eds., *Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours 38-41*, SC 358 (1990), pp. 311-55, esp. §2-4, pp. 314-23.
[85]MORESCHINI & GALLAY, *Discours*, §15-17, pp. 348-53.
[86]CPG 3191, D. TESKE, ed., *Gregorii Nysseni Sermones, Pars III*, 'In Sanctam Pentecosten' (Leiden, 1996), pp. 287-92, at p. 287, ll. 5-8; Ps. 142, 10.

καὶ πνεύματι ἀγαθῷ καὶ ἡγεμονικῷ Δαβὶδ ὁδηγούμενός τε καὶ στεριζόμενος.[87]

K' s quotations from the Psalms link the theme of the Holy Spirit with that of conversion, picking up on one of the meanings of the Feast, which had originated from the Jewish practice of the remission of debts every fifty years. In the Alexandrian school, such practice was figuratively interpreted as that of remission (ἄφεσις) of sins.[88]

The penitential theme that takes precedence in K also recalls the special celebration of the office of the *Gonyklisia*, which took place at Vespers of Pentecost Sunday.[89] Galbiati emphasized the unique character of this service in the liturgical year.[90] Although no indication of this office is found in the tenth-century *Typikon* of the Great Church, some prayers appear already in a manuscript dated to the year 1027.[91] While Pentecost should still reflect the extended celebration of the Resurrection,[92] and the Vespers were meant to put an end to that Paschal period of rejoicing by going back to the kneeling posture abandoned during fifty days,[93] the emphasis on penance appears to have influenced the significance of the day itself. Thus, the conversion theme of K43 has the effect of framing Pentecost Sunday between two services having the same focus.

Occasionally, the catechesis for the following day may pick up the theme of the Sunday feast, echoing the practice of a sequel to the feast (*après-fête*) that

---

[87]French transl.: "c'est par un Esprit bon et apte à diriger que David est conduit et affermi.": pp. 344-45, ll. 8-9.
[88]DANIÉLOU, *Bible et liturgie*, pp. 429-48, at p. 437.
[89]M. ARRANZ, 'Les prières de la Gonyklisia ou de la Génuflexion du jour de la Pentecôte dans l'ancien Euchologe byzantin', *OCP* 48 (1982), 92-123.
[90]GALBIATI, 'Il periodo del Pentecostario', pp. 7-8.
[91]ARRANZ, 'Les prières de la Gonyklisia', pp. 93 and 97 at n. 5.
[92]DANIÉLOU, *Bible et liturgie*, pp. 443-44, recalls the emphasis placed by Basil and Augustine on the standing posture as being symbolic of the Resurrection-theme of the Feast.
[93]*ODB*, II, p. 1134.

was common for some major celebrations.[94] The Monday catechesis provides an occasion to expand a particular aspect of the theme, as at K23, where the Samaritan's faith is selected for further scrutiny.

A particularly interesting example of such division or continuation, from the liturgical point of view, is offered by K8 and K9. In spite of the inclusiveness expressed at the outset of K8, that

> ἐν τῇ παρούσῃ ἁγίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ, μνήμην ἐπιτελοῦμεν τῶν ἁγίων
> Ἰωσήφ τε τοῦ Ἀριμαθαίου καὶ Νικοδήμου· καὶ τῶν
> μυροφόρων γυναικῶν,[95]

K8 only manages to talk in detail about the women. Thus K9 is forced to resume with the comment:

> χθὲς περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωσήφ τε καὶ Νικοδήμου εἰπεῖν
> προθέμενοι, ἐκωλύθημεν ὑπὸ τῆς ὥρας· ἅμα καὶ τὸν κόρον
> τοῦ λόγου φεύγοντες· σήμερον δὲ εἰ βούλεσθε,
> προθήσομεν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ τούτους εἰς μίμησιν.[96]

The first order of presentation has not been respected. But since neither the Gospel for the Sunday of the Myrrhophores nor the liturgical canons mention Nikodemos, the postponement of the celebration of the two men may not have been as accidental as it first appears. The Monday liturgy afforded greater freedom with respect to subject treatment.

The examples selected have shown the close relation between the subject-matter of the catecheses and the wider liturgical context in which they were set, be it a special season or a particular commemoration. Thus, the relevance of K for the study of the liturgical year goes beyond being of merely structural interest, providing, as it does, insights into the understanding of

---

[94]STOELEN, *L'Année liturgique*, pp. 9-10: "La durée de l'*après-fête* varie d'après les cas [...] souvent le lendemain de la solennité est consacré à la commémoraison des personnages qui eurent un rôle prépondérant dans le mystère fêté".
[95]Transl. K8: on this holy day we celebrate the memory of the holy Joseph of Arimatheia and of Nikodemos, and of the Myrrophore women,...
[96]Transl. K9: yesterday, having proposed to speak about the holy Joseph and Nikodemos, I was prevented (from doing so) both by the time and to avoid the surfeit of speech. But today, if you wish, I will propose for you once more the example of these men.

particular feasts. The monastic catechesis fulfilled a rôle parallel to that of the *kontakion* (a homily in verse) in a cathedral service.[97]

[97]See the excellent article by J. GROSDIDIER DE MATONS, 'Liturgie et hymnographie: Kontakion et Canon', *DOP* 34 (1980), 31-43, a subject that would reward further study.

PART II

LITURGICAL PERFORMANCE

II. i) When was K read?

A precise indication of the liturgical moment at which the catecheses were read out is given in the colophon of codex E:

> Συνελέγη ἡ παροῦσα αὕτη βίβλος· ἐκ τῶν θεοπνεύστων διδασκαλιῶν τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἡμῶν· ... καὶ προετέθη εἰς τὸ καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας μετὰ τὴν πρώτην ὥραν ἀναγινώσκεσθαι, παρὰ τοῦ τῆς μονῆς προεστῶτος· ἢ τοῦ ἐκκλησιάρχου· ἢ ὃν οὗτος προκρίνει· εἰς κατήχησιν καὶ ὠφέλειαν πάσης τῆς ἀδελφότητος·[98]

From this note, we learn that the reading of K at the monastery of the Philanthropos at the beginning of the twelfth century was appointed to be done every day, after the First Hour, in the Church, and that the reader was preferably the abbot or the ecclesiarch, but that a substitute reader could also be appointed, presumably by the ecclesiarch.

By analogy to this note, comparable instructions found in the Evergetis *Hypotyposis* may plausibly be taken to refer to the reading of K, and thus provide more reliable testimony of the practice at Paul's own monastery. Among the instructions about the liturgical practice at the Evergetis, the *Hypotyposis* prescribes a reading at the end of the Office of the First Hour:

> τίθεσθαί τε αὐτίκα μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν πατερικῶν λόγων μικρὰν κατήχησιν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ προεστῶτος ἀναγινωσκομένην, καθὼς παρὰ τοῦ παμμάκαρος πατρὸς ἡμῶν παρελάβομεν, ἥν, εἰ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ συναξαρίου κωλύοιτο, οὐ χρὴ παραλιμπάνειν ποτέ.[99]

---

[98]Engl. transl.: "The present book was collected from the inspired teachings of our holy fathers [...] and has been set for reading in church every day after the First Hour, by the superior of the monastery, or by the ecclesiarch or by the person whom this one appoints, for the catechetical instruction and the benefit of all the brethren". LAMBROS, *Catalogue*, I, p. 176 (cf. Ch. I, I, ii).

[99]GAUTIER, 'Évergétis', pp. 20-21, ll. 96-99. Engl. transl.: "immediately after the prayer [of the First Hour] is placed the short catechesis from the words of the fathers, the one read by the superior, as we have inherited from our most blessed father, which ought never to be omitted, unless it is prevented by the *Synaxarion*".

Paul's compilation thus appears to fulfill two tasks at once: on the one hand, it provides patristic readings at the liturgy of the hours, in the fashion of a liturgical homiliary; on the other, it accomplishes the task of catechetical instruction to the monastic community, which was the special province of the *higoumenos*.

II. ii) Daily frequency.

Although read during the monastic recitation of the Hours, in the same fashion as the readings of a homiliary, the frequency specified for K texts is unusual. Despite their variety, it has been noted that no collection of patristic readings for the Office covers the totality of the liturgical year. Rather, the selections usually emphasize the more important liturgical times, such as Advent or Lent.[100]

On the contrary, the *Hypotyposis* emphasizes the frequency of the catechesis, in the following terms:

> τὴν [...] κατήχησιν [...], ἥν, εἰ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ συναξαρίου κωλύοιτο, οὐ χρὴ παραλιμπάνειν ποτέ.

As we have seen in the analysis of its liturgical structure, K provides a catechetical reading for each day of the year, strengthened by internal pointers in the texts, marking a continuum in the development of ideas between one catechesis and the next: "we shall begin today with the end of yesterday's catechesis", or the allusion to a topic, "of which we spoke yesterday".[101]

The only exceptions to the daily catechesis in K are the omission of texts for Monday after the Sunday of the Tyrophagy, and for the weeks from Palm Sunday to Saturday after Easter, but including a reading for Easter day. The twelve days with Christmas are also counted out of the liturgical time covered

---

[100] H. MAROT, 'La place des lectures bibliques et patristiques dans l'Office latin', in Lex Orandi 35 (1963), pp. 149-65, at 155-56, contrasts the emphasis of the patristic lectionary on special liturgical times to the Scriptural lectionary, covering the whole year. Ehrhard's examples of *Homeliaren* confirm this observation, as noted in Part I.

[101] For example, at K66 (M: fols. 141v-142v and A: fols. 113-114): τὸ τέλος τῆς χθεσινῆς κατηχήσεως, σήμερον ἀρχὴν ποιησώμεθα.

by K. Therefore, the Evergetis *Synaxarion*'s prescribed prohibitions may be expected to coincide with these indications. On the contrary, the *Synaxarion*'s instructions reported by Gautier outline a practice wholly different from that of the daily catechesis.

Mention of the word "catechesis" in the Evergetis *Synaxarion* occurs only in the period of Lent. Part of the explanation for this limitation is that the monks gathered

> for the Minor Hours only during the three Lenten periods: forty days before Christmas, forty days before Easter, and the period between All-Saints' Day and the feast of the Apostles.[102]

Thus, as there was no celebration of the office of the First Hour outside these periods, no catechetical address could take place.[103]

Moreover, the reading of catecheses is confined by the *Synaxarion* to the traditional Wednesdays, Fridays and Sundays within that period.[104] The thrice weekly reading of a "catechesis", such as that crystallized in Theodore Studite's "lectionnaire quadragésimal",[105] was already prescribed by the Studite *Hypotyposis*:

> χρὴ γινώσκειν ὅτι τετράδῃ καὶ παρασκευῇ καὶ κυριακῇ, τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἱσταμένων μετὰ πάσης εὐλαβείας, μετὰ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν τοῦ ὄρθρου ἀναγινώσκεται ἡ κατήχησις τοῦ θεοφόρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Θεοδώρου.[106]

The standing posture (ἀδελφῶν ἱσταμένων) is the same as that prescribed for the monks in the Evergetis *Synaxarion*. The posture may be interpreted as a mark of respect for Theodore, but it was also presumably a measure to ensure the monks' attentiveness. This is a further sign of the similarity between the practice described by the Studite *Hypotyposis* and that at the Evergetis.

---

[102] KLENTOS, 'Byzantine Liturgy', p. 164 .
[103] As specified above, K reflects more closely the periods of recitation of the Hours described by the *Hypotyposis*: GAUTIER, 'Évergétis', pp. 22-23, ll. 140-45 (after a vigil, twelve days after Christmas, Easter Week, nine days after the feast of the Dormition).
[104] Already in Pachomios' *coenobia*, Wednesdays and Fridays were the designated days of catechesis: VEILLEUX, *La liturgie*, p. 270.
[105] See above, at n. 46.
[106] PG 99, 1709c4-8; Engl. transl.: "one ought to know that on the Wednesday and Friday and Sunday, while the brethren are standing in all piety, after the *apolysis* of Orthros the catechesis of our godly father Theodore is read."

The passage in the Studite *Hypotyposis*, however, continues with a further prescription:

> Εἶτα λέγει καὶ τὰ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ ὁ ἡγούμενος νουθετῶν τοὺς ἀδελφούς·....[107]

Therefore, we ought to distinguish between a reading, such as that liturgically prescribed and found in a patristic homiliary, and an address on the part of the *higoumenos* to his community, which presumably took the form of a more familiar, *impromptu* speech.

According to Leroy,[108] Theodore's *Testament*, cast in the form of exhortations to a *higoumenos*, also presents a parallel set of catechetical sermons, the reading of which was prescribed three times a week, while the spontaneous address occurred every day:

> παραφυλάξεις πάντως τοῦ ποιεῖσθαι τρισάκις τὴν κατήχησιν τῇ ἑβδομάδι, καὶ καθ' ἑσπέραν ἢ διὰ σαυτοῦ, ἢ δι' ἄλλου τῶν τέκνων....[109]

The evening address was conceived as a more personal communication, adapted to the needs of the day.

It is clear that the catecheses in K cannot be equated simply with these vesperal addresses. Because of their extensive borrowings from Theodore's catecheses, reading Paul's texts in place of the spontaneous exhortation together with the Lent "catecheses" prescribed by the Evergetis *Synaxarion* would have resulted in awkward repetitions. Rather, evidence from manuscripts such as Cr indicates that K texts were considered readings, that could be fitted back into the thrice weekly pattern. The later use indicates that the collection was perceived as a homiliary, while its daily frequency was probably considered unusual.

---

[107] PG 99, 1709c8-9; Engl. transl.: "Then the *higoumenos* says some words of his own, in exhortation to the brothers..."
[108] LEROY, 'Les Petites Catéchèses', p. 354.
[109] PG 99, 1820, ch. 11; Engl. transl.: "at all events, you will maintain (the practice) of making the catechesis thrice a week, and each evening, either by yourself, or through one of the other brothers."

Moreover, the Evergetis *Hypotyposis* provides evidence of a διακλυσμός, or collation, which took place after the Liturgy in the narthex of the church. The *Hypotyposis*'s words, τὸν συνήθη διακλυσμός,[110] imply the frequency of the practice; moreover, the concession that the brethren may ἅπαντας συνηγμένους ἐνταυθοῖ καθῆσθαι after the reading implies once more that they have been listening to the address while standing up.[111]

Thus, the texts of K posit themselves half-way between the practice of reading and that of the daily address from the *higoumenos*.

II. iii) Readings at the Office.

Gautier, as was reasonable, looked to the Evergetis *Synaxarion* for mention of patristic readings for the Liturgy of Hours. On that basis, he glossed the *Hypotyposis* passage as follows:

> Le supérieur, ou en son absence l'économe ou l'ecclésiarque, faisait lecture des catéchèses de Théodore le Stoudite, après Prime, chaque dimanche, mercredi et vendredi, à partir du dimanche de la Tyrophagie (*Synaxaire*, p. 512$^{7-12}$); mais les autres jours, à partir du mercredi de la première semaine de Carême, on lisait s. Jean Climaque (deux folios) à Prime, et s. Ephrem à Tierce, Sexte et None (*ibidem*, p. 516^{32}-517^{2}).[112]

This information, culled from the simultaneous reading of two halves of one manuscript, the *Atheniensis graecus* 788, where the two texts are preserved, stands in contradiction with the texts of K.

K cannot be reconciled with the *Synaxarion* prescriptions for the Sunday of the Tyrophagy, stated in these terms:

> Ἡ α΄ ὥρα καὶ ἀνάγνωσις μετὰ τὸ τέλος αὐτῆς. Κατήχησις τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοδώρου τοῦ Στουδίτου. Καθ' ἑκάστην γὰρ κυριακὴν ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον, καὶ τετράδα ὁμοίως καὶ παρασκευήν, κατηχήσεις τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀναγινώσκομεν εἰς τὴν α΄ ὥραν· ταύτας δὲ ἄλλος οὐκ ἀναγινώσκει, εἰ μὴ ὁ προεστώς, ἢ ἀπόντος αὐτοῦ, ὁ οἰκόνομος, εἰ δὲ λείπουσι

---

[110]GAUTIER, 'Évergétis', pp. 32-33, ll. 337-39.
[111]Gautier's translation, "tous les moines rassemblés se tiennent là", does not bring out the motions precisely enough.
[112]GAUTIER, 'Évergétis', p. 20, n. 12.

καὶ ἀμφότεροι, ὁ ἐκκλησιάρχης, πλὴν ἱσταμένων πάντων.[113]

Although K proposes Theodore's PC49 for Sunday of the Tyrophagy,[114] it is not possible to follow the correspondence through to the other days specified by the *Synaxarion*. On Wednesday of the First week of Lent, for example, while the instruction for the superior's reading of the catechesis is reiterated in the *Synaxarion*, the corresponding text in K is taken from Mark the Monk.[115]

The specification of the same liturgical timing for the reading, of the particular reader and even of the length for the reading of Klimakos suggests an outright substitution for, and not just an addition to, the reading of K as specified by the colophon of E, and by the Evergetis *Hypotyposis*. Klimakos is not among Paul's sources. Yet the length prescribed for that reading, "approximately two folios of John Klimakos' *Ladder*",[116] is equivalent to the average length of a catechesis by Paul. The same time-slot could have been employed, at an earlier date, for the founder's reading, and successively replaced by the popular Klimakos.

It might seem puzzling that the monastery of the Evergetis should have abandoned the reading of the catecheses of its founder by the first quarter of the twelfth century (the dating of the Athens manuscript), especially when we consider that, as late at 1315, the scribe of *Cromwell* 22 took pains to adapt Paul's texts for a monastery of nuns, placing them side by side with Theodore's.

Nevertheless, the discrepancies between *Hypotyposis* and *Synaxarion* may be plausibly explained by envisaging a more conservative transmission of the original *Hypotyposis*, symbolic of the monastery's tradition, which was to be

---

[113]DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Opisanie*, I, p. 512, ll. 7-12. Engl. transl. by R. Jordan (unpublished): "The First Hour and after it the reading. A catechesis of the holy Theodore the Studite. For from today, each Sunday, and equally each Wednesday and Friday, his catecheses are read out at the First Hour. And no-one else reads these if not the superior, or, if he is absent, the *oikonomos*, but if both are absent, the ecclesiarch, but while all are standing."

[114]K327 = E: fols. 138-139v.

[115]K329 = E: fols. 141r-142r; D: fols. 135v-137r.

[116]DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Opisanie*, I, p. 517, ll. 1-2: εἰς τὴν α΄. ὥραν ἐκ τῆς Κλίμακος, ὡσεὶ φύλλα β΄·

guarded forever unchanged,[117] while the *Synaxarion*, which regulated day-to-day practice, underwent a more radical updating. Indeed, by the time it was copied in the *Atheniensis*, the *Hypotyposis* was itself a para-liturgical text, read at mealtimes in the refectory.[118]

II. iv) Adaptations to liturgical practice.

If discrepancies can, *a posteriori*, be outlined between K and the foundation documents of the Evergetis, the initial aim of the compiler, that of structuring a patristic lectionary for his particular foundation so that its content would not clash with the practices outlined in the normative documents of that monastery, must be presupposed. Fortunately, enough traces remain for this aim to be still evident. In the following example, previous sources were edited so as to eliminate discrepancies between the oral instructions and the actual monastic routine lived by the monks.

The Evergetis *Hypotyposis* reports the implementation of the practice of celebrating the First Hour without a break after Orthros:

> χρὴ τοίνυν μετὰ τὴν ὀρθινὴν δοξολογίαν συνημμένως ψάλλεσθαι ὑφ' ὑμῶν τὴν πρώτην ὥραν.[119]

The *Synaxarion* insists on this observance again and again, thereby hinting at its innovative character. In fact, the practice appears to be an innovation introduced by Paul in contrast to Studite practice.[120] The signs of this practice

---

[117]GAUTIER, 'Évergétis', p. 87, ll. 1271-73: ὑμῖν δὲ τὸ ἑξῆς μελήσει φυλάξαι ταυτὶ ἀπαράθραυστά τε καὶ ἀπαραποίητα ἄχρι παντός,... In fact, the *Hypotyposis* did, as we said above, undergo reworkings, although these were added to rather than substituted from the original text.

[118]GAUTIER, 'Évergétis', p. 91, ll. 1313-15: τὸ γοῦν γὰρ παρὸν τυπικὸν ἐντέλλομαι ὑμῖν ἀναγινώσκειν ἐπὶ ἑκάστου μηνὸς ἀρχῇ κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς τῶν ἑστιάσεων ὑμῶν εἴς τε ἀνάμνησιν τῶν ἐντεταλμένων ὑμῖν καὶ ὠφέλειαν τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν. EHRHARD, *Überlieferung*, I, p. 37 and n. 3, gives this example among the typika which "seine Texte als Lesungen vorschreiben". See also HERMAN, 'Ricerche', p. 299, pointing to the exclamation πατέρ εὐλόγησον included in the title as a sure sign of the text being publicly read.

[119]GAUTIER, 'Évergétis', p. 19, ll. 75-76; Engl. transl.: "Therefore it is necessary that the First Hour be chanted by you immediately after the doxology of Orthros."

[120]For Studite references in the normative documents, see PARGOIRE, 'Couvent de l' Évergétis', at pp. 157-58.

in the catecheses reveal that this innovation of celebrating the daily *cursus* of the monastery without a break between the Morning Office and the First Hour existed from the early stages of the monastery's foundation.

Paul reworked Theodore Studite's MC I, 14,[121] dividing it into four parts, now comprising K65 to K68. In that catechesis, Theodore described the Studite practice of taking a pause after the combined office of Mesonyktikon and Orthros, jointly designated as *kanon*,[122] then returning to church to celebrate the First Hour.[123] It was the latter that really marked the beginning of daily activity.

The division between K66 and K67 is devised in such a way as to reshape the description of this Studite practice in order to adapt it to the practice followed in Paul's monastery.[124] Paul exploited the division in his texts to suppress the notion of a pause, and adapted the movements described by Theodore to a situation where the First Hour was celebrated immediately after Orthros without a break. Thus the end of the *kanon*, comprising Mesonyktikon, Orthros, the First Hour and the catechesis, corresponds for Paul to the beginning of daily tasks.

Paul replaced Theodore's second call to church by repeating, at the beginning of K67, a phrase equivalent to the ἀπέλυσεν ὁ κανών [the *kanon* has ended] used at the end of K66: μετὰ τὸ ἀποπληρωθῆναι τῆς συνάξεως τοῦ ὄρθρου κανόνα [after the *kanon* of the *synaxis* of Orthros has been completed]. Such a convoluted expression may reflect the effort made by Paul to adapt Theodore's simple phrase.

Moreover, Paul reshaped the previous passage, in which Theodore exhorted the monks to proper conduct during the break. During the break

---

[121]CL IX, p. 46.
[122]Cf. J. LEROY, 'Le cursus canonique chez S. Théodore Studite', *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 68 (1954), 5-19, at pp. 14-15, and 'La vie quotidienne du moine studite', *Irénikon* 27 (1954), 21-50, p. 31.
[123]For the history of this office, cfr. J. FROGER, *Les Origines de Prime*, Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgicae 19 (Rome, 1952) and R. TAFT, '*Quaestiones Disputatae* in the History of the Liturgy of Hours: the Origins of Nocturns, Matins and Prime', *Worship* 58 (1984), 130-58.
[124]Texts and comparisons in Appendix IV.

between Mesonyktikon-Orthros and the First Hour, the Studite monks were encouraged to go to the μάθημα, perhaps a communal study-room, and, in order not to destroy the spiritual benefits of the office, take up study (ἐκμάθησιν). Alternatively, the break could be used to sleep a little longer on one's bed (πρὸς τὴν κοίτην αὐτοῦ), but only if one was really tired, since the situation was a favourite one for devils to come and attack the monk with carnal temptations. Theodore was particularly adverse to sleep, doubly motivated by a desire to preserve the monks' purity and to make sure they returned to church to attend the office.

Paul inserted into his source subtle modifications that adapt the exhortations to his different organization of the monastic *ordo*. Thus the μάθημα is replaced by a private room or cell (κέλλαν), where the monk could either read (ἀνάγνωσιν for ἐκμάθησιν), or sleep. The juxtaposition ὁ μὲν... ὁ δὲ... at K66, sect. 3, is picked up by ὅσοι μὲν... οἱ δὲ... at K67, sect. 1. The first, who go to their cells in both texts, read, or, as K67 puts it, "work the work of God (*opus Dei*)" (ἐργάζεσθε τὸ ἔργον τοῦ Θεοῦ). Their activity extends from a temporary to a day-long task, presumably consisting of contemplative activities such as reading and prayer. The second group, instead, are transformed from sleepers (K66) into workers (K67): these are the monks who work in the fields and accomplish other active tasks, designated by the Studite term διακονίαι, which Paul inserts at this point independently of Theodore. The exhortations confined by Theodore to the pause have become exhortations for day-long tasks through Paul's modifications.

By a principle of symmetry, therefore, we may affirm that, where Paul leaves his source unmodified, he finds no discrepancy between what his borrowed text expresses and the reality of his monastery. For example, Paul shares with Theodore an awareness of their sleepy audiences, "at that time of

the day in which, after the *kanon*, sleep wields its tyranny upon us".[125] The remark can be read as a confirmation that Paul also delivered his catecheses at an early morning hour, the time fixed by both the *Synaxarion* and the *Hypotyposis*, at the end of the Office of the First Hour, between the prayer (μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν) and the formal dismissal (ἀπόλυσις).[126]

This type of analysis, which must for the most part be carried out in careful parallel-text comparisons, will be useful for the task of distinguishing different layers in the composition and modification of the normative texts of the Evergetis monastery.

---

[125]Cf. MC I, 75 = K282: ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ ταύτῃ ἐν ᾗ ἀπὸ τοῦ κανόνος τυραννεῖ ἡμᾶς ὁ ὕπνος.
[126]GAUTIER, 'Évergétis', p. 21, l. 96.

PART III

LITURGICAL FORM AND LITURGICAL LANGUAGE

III. i) Length.

The Evergetis *Synaxarion* prescribed the length for patristic readings at the Liturgy of Hours. These seem to vary according to the Office in question, and also according to the author prescribed. A measure of four parts was required of the daily readings of Anastasius of Sinai's *Homilia in Sextum Psalmum*, which substituted the reading of Ephrem during Lent.[127] The readings of Ephrem, on the other hand, consisted of two or three φύλλα at Orthros, but of only one and a half at the other Hours.[128]

As we have seen, the reading from Klimakos after the First Hour lasted about two φύλλα. When we compare this indication with the average length of K texts, it is apparent that φύλλα ought not to be translated as folios, but rather as "pages". Thus a text normally occupies the recto and verso of one folio, usually overspilling onto the recto of the next folio for a few lines.

Since the reading of K took place, according to the *Hypotyposis* instructions, at the end of a very long office, comprising Orthros and the First Hour, and starting in the very early hours of the morning, the most immediate effect on its form was to make it a short address. This might indeed have been an added precaution against the monks' failure to pay attention, as was their having to stand.

Material shortness is thus the primary meaning of the adjective μικρὰ in the context of the *Hypotyposis*. Above all, the designation μικρὰν κατήχησιν

---

[127]DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Opisanie*, I, p. 513, ll. 22-25: εἰς τὰς ὥρας ... ἀναγινώσκομεν ... λόγον εἰς τὸ πανηγυρικὸν τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀναστασίου τοῦ Σιναΐτου εἰς τὸν στ΄ ψαλμόν, εἰς δόσεις δ΄. τὴν α΄. It is not clear how one should define these "portions" or parts in Anastasios' work; which version of the *Homilia in Sextum Psalmum* was read also remains unclear: CPG 7751, PG 89, 1077-1116 and 1116-1144 (= PG 55, 543-550).

[128]DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Opisanie*, I, p. 513, ll. 2-5: ..ἀναγινώσκειν ἀρχόμεθα τὸν ἅγιον Ἐφραὶμ ἔν τε τοῖς ὄρθροις καὶ εἰς τὰς ὥρας· εἰς μὲν τὸν ὄρθρον ἑκάστη ἀνάγνωσις, ὡσεὶ φύλλα β΄ ἢ καὶ γ΄· εἰς δὲ τὰς ὥρας, ἕν καὶ ἡμίσυ.

should not be understood as a reference to Theodore's PC since this title was attributed to his collection both erroneously and at a much later date.[129]

With very few exceptions, K texts are of uniform length, about one to two folios of a regular-sized (quarto) manuscript. The reading aloud of such a text would have taken approximately under ten minutes to complete.

Where the catechesis has threatened to overstep the average measure, for example at K8, comments are inserted about the need to reduce the flow of speech by leaving aside further comments (ἵνα τἄλλα καταλίπω). K9 begins with the remark that the previous discourse had been shortened by necessity, since ἐκωλύθημεν ὑπὸ τῆς ὥρας· ἅμα καὶ τὸν κόρον τοῦ λόγου φεύγοντες. K22 also voices a number of concerns about its length. A claim similar to K8 is made, that of having been selective about the material, in order not to go beyond the appropriate length (ἵνα τἄλλα καταλίπω διὰ τὴν μακρηγορίαν), but then, in the next paragraph, a special plea is inserted, that the discourse may be allowed to continue a little longer (Ἀλλ᾽ εἰ βούλεσθε, μικρὸν ἔτι τῷ λόγῳ ἐμφιλοχωρήσωμεν). In fact, like K8, K22 occupies fols. 69r-71r of the larger format ms. M, and fols. 37r-39r of the smaller A. In the last paragraph, K22 is brought to a halt:

> Ἵνα δὲ μὴ εἰς μῆκος τὸν λόγον ἐκτείνωμεν, εἰπόντες ὀλίγα τῶν εἰθισμένων, παυσόμεθα ταύτην καὶ ἡμεῖς.

K8 and K22 are exceptional both for their length and their subject-matter.

When adjusting his borrowings from other texts, Paul appears more skilled at cutting down his material and achieving the two-pages length.[130] Although Theodore's PC texts were already of approximately the right length, Paul's borrowing used 52 PC texts to form 56 catecheses. When he combined two texts to make one, the "cutting and pasting" recreated the two-pages unit

---

[129]LEROY, 'Les Petites Catéchèses', pp. 330-33.

[130]Such curtailing was normal practice in the composition of homiliaries: see the truncated version of the homilies on the Transfiguration indicated by SACHOT, *Les Homélies*, p. 25 (BHG Auct. 1986).

according to the criteria of his reworkings.[131] Conversely, texts of Theodore Studites' *Magna Catechesis* had to be divided into segments, often read out in successive days. As we have seen, for example, MC I, 14 was divided into four parts, now comprising K65 to K68, and read consecutively from Sunday of the Third to Wednesday of the Fourth week.

Although the divided texts were often read consecutively, the fragmentation aimed at creating self-standing, autonomous texts. That it succeeded in so doing is proved by some radical rearrangements in Cr, where consecutive parts of a speech are read in reverse order.[132]

III. ii) Rhetorical structure.

To be appropriately fitted into the liturgical pattern, the rhetorical structure of the catechetical address was fixed. Opening with a vocative, the main exhortation was cast between a formal beginning and a formulaic end.

The opening appellatives are designed to draw the congregation's attention to the speaker. The majority are simple vocatives: "Brothers and fathers", occasionally with the addition "children". Any combination of the three is possible. These appellatives hardly distinguish three sub-categories within the monastery in a rigid fashion: for example, one cannot infer the absence of a particular group, whenever that group is not mentioned in the opening invocation. Rather, they can more plausibly be taken as inclusive, the synecdoctic mention of a part standing for the whole of the community. Their purpose is to establish the particular relation of the *higoumenos*/ reader to his congregation.

This purpose of relating the reader to the assembly is furthered by the addition of the possessive enclytic pronoun μου, and by the varied insertion of endearing epithets. At K17 all three appellatives are used with μου: Πατέρες

---

[131] For example, K265 combines extracts of PC27, ll. 1-52, with the second part of PC26.
[132] E.g., K186 is found at p. 170 b, and K187 at p. 167b; the two texts followed the outline of a consecutive text attr. to Ps.-Makarios.

μου καὶ ἀδελφοί μου καὶ τέκνα μου·. More rarely, one group is singled out: Πατέρες μου τιμιώτατοι, at K263, plausibly reflects the particular bias of this text in addressing experienced monks, since the catechesis warns of the pitfalls even consummate ascetics may yet fall into at the end of their lives.

The adjectives, often in superlative form, stress the emotional ties of the *higoumenos* to his monks to complete the spiritual family relationship of the appellatives: Τέκνα μου ποθεινότατα, ἀδελφοί μου εὐλογημένοι·, at K268; different epithets, περιπόθητα (K172), πολυπόθητα (K177), ἠγαπημένα (K70), also express the loving relationship between *higoumenos* and monks. Some rarer adjectives stress the divine aspect of the monastic vocation: 'Αδελφοί μου θεοτίμητοι· (K347) and 'Αδελφοί μου θεοσύλλεκτοι· (K365). The restricted number of variants make the opening invocations reminiscent of liturgical formulas.

The introductory paragraphs often seek to maintain this contact with the congregation. One way of doing so is to involve the audience in the choice of topic to be addressed, in a rhetorically artificial manner, of course:

> χθὲς περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου 'Ιωσήφ τε καὶ Νικοδήμου εἰπεῖν προθέμενοι, ἐκωλύθημεν ὑπὸ τῆς ὥρας· ἅμα καὶ τὸν κόρον τοῦ λόγου φεύγοντες· <u>σήμερον δὲ εἰ βούλεσθε, προθήσομεν</u> ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ τούτους εἰς μίμησιν.[133]
>
> τὸ χθὲς ἡμῖν εἰρημένον καὶ σήμερον, <u>εἰ βούλεσθε, προθήσομεν</u> οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀργὸν ἴσως ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν ὠφέλιμον ἔσται, ... Τοιγαροῦν ἀκούσατε·[134]
>
> ἡ μεγάλη ἡμέρα ἐφέστηκε τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς· καὶ περὶ ταύτης μὲν εἰπεῖν, οὐκ ἔχομεν· ... <u>εἴπωμεν δὲ εἰ βούλεσθε, τὰ καθ' ἔθος</u>.[135]

---

[133]K9: transl. above, at n. 96.
[134]Transl. K28: what we were saying yesterday, if you want, we will carry on today, for it isn't something idle, perhaps, but on the contrary something very useful, ... Therefore listen.
[135]Transl. K43: the great day of Pentecost has arrived, and we do not have anything to say about it. ... But we shall speak, if you wish, about the customary topics.

χθές ἐδείξαμεν ὑμῖν τὴν βασιλικὴν ὁδὸν τῶν ἀρετῶ(ν), διὰ τῆς διδασκαλίας τῶν πατέρων· σήμερον εἰ βούλεσθε, δείξομεν ὑμῖν καὶ τὰ μίλια αὐτῆς·[136]

This small collection of examples highlights the formulaic nature of the introduction, which, in all these cases, serves the purpose of linking the text of one catechesis to the preceding one, while briefly outlining the forthcoming content by recourse to the rhetorical device of appealing to the monks' wishes as to what they were about to hear.

The introductory paragraph often enacts the transition between two parts of a source text, by "sewing together" the two halves, as, for example, between K18 and K19. In other cases, only the first paragraph of a source text is adopted in K, serving as a kind of prompt for what is often a very different address. At K5, the introductory paragraph of PC2 is only slightly reworked. K27 has little more than a two-line coincidence between its opening lines and PC36, while K28 has an original opening paragraph which leads into a more extensive borrowing from the same Studite catechesis as K27.

Contact with the audience is kept throughout the text, by various rhetorical devices. Exhortations are always cast in the first person plural, associating the speaker/reader with the hortatory prompting. Examples of this may be found in each catechesis. By contrast, the use of the first person singular is much rarer, and stands out when it occurs, for example, in the unusual K2.

Questions pervade the texts, soliciting quiet responses in the audience, led to the right answer by the continuation of the catechesis. For example, at K14

γινώσκετε δὲ ἀκριβῶς ὅτι τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ σωτήρια πόνῳ κτῶνται, καὶ μοχθῷ κατορθοῦνται, ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ τὰ

---

[136]Transl. K309: yesterday we shewed you the royal road of the virtues, through the teaching of the fathers. Today, if you wish, we will show you also its milestones, ...

χείριστα τρυφῇ καὶ ἀνέσει καὶ τῷ δοκεῖν εὐρυχωρίᾳ· ποῖα γοῦν ἡμῖν ἐκλεκτέον;[137]

The problem posed by this question is resolved in the instruction of the catechesis.

The anxious, suspended questioning at K16 aims more at arousing feelings than at eliciting answers:

Ἂν οὖν συμβῇ τινα τούτων οὕτως ἔχοντα τὸν βίον καταλιπεῖν, ποία αὐτῷ ἐλπὶς σωτηρίας; Ποία ἀπολογία; Ποία συγγνώμη; Καὶ τὸ δὴ χεῖρον ὅτι οὕτως ἔχοντες, οὐδὲ μετανοεῖν βούλονται, οὐδὲ μεταβάλλεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀντέχονται, καὶ ἐπεκδικοῦσι ταῦτα. Καὶ τί ἡμῖν παραμυθία; Καὶ τίς ἡμῖν παράκλησις, ἀδελφοί μου;[138]

A particular use of the rhetorical questioning may be observed at K8:

ἆρ᾽ οὖν μιμησώμεθα ταύτας καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀδελφοί; οὐ συνέλθωμεν αὐταῖς, οὐ συνδράμωμεν; <u>ἐπιμησάμεθα φησίν· ἀφήκαμεν γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς· τὰ ὄντα καὶ ἀκολουθοῦμεν αὐτῷ</u>. Κτήματα μὲν οὖν ἴσως καὶ χρήματα τὸ φαινόμενον, καταλελοίπαμεν· οὐκ οἶδα δὲ εἰ καὶ συγγένειαν καὶ φιλίαν καὶ εὐπάθειαν, ἵνα μὴ λέγω καὶ ἡδονήν· τί γάρ· τὸ πληροῦν ἐθέλειν τὰ θελήματα ἡμῶν καθ᾽ ἡμέραν, οὐχ ἡδονή ἐστιν; Τὸ ἀμελῶς καὶ ῥᾳθύμως καὶ ὑπνηλῶς διάγειν· οὐχ ἡδονή; Τὸ τοῖς ἡδέσι βρώμασι κεχημέναι καὶ πόμασιν, ὡς καὶ γογγύζειν ὅταν μὴ πάρεισιν, οὐχ ἡδονή; Πολλοῦ δέομεν ἐκείνας μιμήσασθαι ἀκριβῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρημάτων δοκοῦντες καταφρονῆσαι καὶ κτημάτων· ἐν ῥαφίδι καὶ βελόνῃ καὶ μαχαίρᾳ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις ἁλισκόμενοι, σαφῶς ἐλεγχόμεθα πάντων ὑπεύθυνοι.[139]

---

[137]Transl. K14: You know clearly that the best things and the salvific ones are earned in toil, and are achieved with struggling, and similarly the worse ones (are attained) with luxury and relaxation and apparent ease. Which ones then should we choose?

[138]Transl. K16: If then it happens that one of those who are behaving thus should die, what hope does he have of salvation? What defence? What forgiveness? What is worse is that, behaving in this way, they neither want to convert, nor to change, but rather oppose this, and justify these evils. And what encouragement (is this) for us? And what consolation (is there) for us, my brothers?

[139]Transl. K8: Will we not go with these women, run together with them? (Some of the monks) say: "We have already imitated them. For we too have left things behind and follow Him". But perhaps we have abandoned wordly goods and possessions in appearance. Yet I don't know if [we have] also [left] family, friendship, enjoyment of good things, not to mention pleasure. For the wish to fulfill one's will day by day, is this not pleasure? And conducting oneself carelessly, indolently and drowsily, is this not pleasure? And in the swallowing of nice foods and drinks, as in the murmuring when they are not available, is there not pleasure? We lack much to imitate these women accurately, but thinking to spurn possessions and goods, we are caught with regard to a needle and a pin and a knife and similar things, and we clearly show ourselves liable in everything.

In this passage, an imaginary answer is provided, which is meant to reflect the audience's musings during the catechetical address. Rhetorical questioning on the subject of the Myrrhophores introduces real questioning on the habits of the monks. The answer provided in the mind of the representative, but hypothetical, monk is in turn undermined by the *higoumenos*' analysis, and the examination of conscience is furthered by the imaginary dialogue.

K272 provides another charming instance of such hypothetical dialogues, employed as a rhetorical device to enter the audience's mind, and elicit a response:

> Κατανοοῦμεν ἀδελφοὶ πῶς οὐδὲν ποιοῦμεν διὰ τὸν θεόν· πῶς οὐχ εὑρίσκεται ἡ ἀποταγὴ ἡμῶν κατὰ σκοπὸν ὀρθὸν γινομένη· καὶ τί φησιν· ἴσως ἔσται μοι τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀναγκαῖον· οὐκ ὀνειδίσω αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν ἀπροσεξίαν αὐτοῦ, εἰ γὰρ προσεῖχε τῷ πράγματι, οὐκ ἂν ἀπώλεσεν αὐτό· εἶτα ὦ ἀντιλέγων σύ· ἀλλ᾽ ἔστι σοι ὅλως ἴδιον, ἄχρι καὶ τοῦ τυχόντος ἐν κοινοβίῳ τυγχάνοντι, ἀβάλα σοι· καὶ πῶς ἐρεῖς τῷ θεῷ ἰδοῦ ἀφήκαμεν πάντα καὶ ἠκολουθήσαμέν σοι, καὶ μή μοι εἴπ(ης) ὅτι καὶ τί χάριν τοῦ μικροῦ τούτου ἀπολογησόμεθα· ἐγὼ δὲ εἴπω σοι ὅτι εἰ μὴ χάριν τοῦ ψυχροῦ ποτηρίου οὗ δίδως ἐλπίζεις μισθούς, μηδὲ ἀπολογίας ἔλπιζε ὑπὲρ τῶν μικρῶν· εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖνο πιστεύομεν, καὶ τοῦτο γενέσθαι πιστεύομεν.[140]

Both dialogues revolve around the question of renunciation implied in the monastic vocation, evoking the everyday pettiness of such small talk, a true battlefield in the monks' struggle to live out the ideal of his state.

Exclamations, interrogations, hortatory subjunctives keep alive the dramatic tension between reader and audience, and, just as the acting out of a

---

[140]Transl. K272: Brothers, let us consider how we do nothing according to God and how our monastic renunciation is not found to be in accordance with the right aim. And what does he say: "Perhaps I will need this thing. Shall I not reproach him for his carelessness? Because if he had paid attention to the thing, he would not have lost it". Then, oh!, you will reply, is anything totally your own, from the moment you joined a monastic community? Woe to you! And how will you speak thus to God: "See, I have left everything and I have followed you". Do not say to me, "What? Will we have to be excused for such a small matter?" But I tell you that unless you may hope for a reward because of a glass of cold drink which you gave (cf. Mt. 10, 42; Mk. 9, 41), do not hope for excuses concerning small matters. If we believe in that, we also believe that this will be so.

liturgy is punctuated by vocatives, appeals, short responsorial dialogues, so the structure of the catechesis is modelled according to similar rhetorical modes.

The basic material out of which the text is woven, however, varies little from text to text. Recurrent are, in particular, lists, like litanies, of virtues and vices, of desirable *versus* forbidden ways of being.[141] The repetitiveness may be seen as a didactic tool, designed to produce a familiarity with the elements of morality, to impress their importance, and subliminally allow those same words to come back to mind outside the celebration. Yet repetition is also a stylistic feature of preaching, characteristic of monastic literature.

Wishes occur in the formulaic conclusion to the catechesis, linked to the hope of eternal life. A few examples typify a much larger phenomenon:

> οὗ τῆς μερίδος καὶ ἡμεῖς γενοίμεθα, τοῖς καλοῖς ἀεὶ ἐπεκτεινόμενοι· (K3)
>
> ἧς γένοιτο πάντας ἡμᾶς ἐπιτυχεῖν· (K21)
>
> ἐκείνους δέ, αἰωνίῳ φωτί· ... καὶ λαμπρότητι ἀνεκλαλήτῳ· καὶ βασιλείᾳ ἀκηράτῳ ἐπαναπαύσει, μεθ' ὧν γένοιτο καὶ ἡμᾶς εὑρεθῆναι· (K29).

These prayers for the salvation of the monks' souls conclude in the form of a doxology, which in turn transforms the entire address into a type of prayer, a liturgical act performed not just before men (like a secular speech), but also before God.

The conclusion of the catecheses with a doxology is the same in every case. The formula "unto the ages of ages, amen" often appears abbreviated in the manuscripts. The introductory invocation may undergo some variations. It is most often centred on the figure of Christ, but it sometimes expands to

---

[141] E.g. G. R. WOODWARD & H. MATTINGLY, eds., *St. John Damascene, Vita Barlaam and Joasaph* (London, 1937), ch. XI, pp. 146-48, expanding on Gal. 5, 16ff. as K3. Lists are also included in the Evergetis *Hypotyposis*. It would require a more extended study, such as has been carried out on some Western sources, to verify whether their ordering followed a regular pattern.

include the three persons of the Trinity. More rarely, it appeals to the prayers of the Theotokos, or the intercession of the holy fathers and saints, as at K12:

> ὧν ῥύσαιτο ἡμᾶς Κύριος, καὶ μετὰ τῶν καλῶς, καὶ ὡς αὐτῷ ἀρεστόν, βιωσάντων συντάξειε, πρεσβείαις τῆς ὑπεραγίας δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων. Ἀμήν.[142]

The manuscript tradition is uniform in transmitting the variants for such endings. Therefore, these invocations must be considered as an integral part of the text.[143]

The structure outlined above is substantially identical with that outlined for medieval Latin sermons by T. L. Amos.[144] The coincidence may be explained in terms of the similar levels of culture of the medieval audiences for whom these sermons were composed, but also in view of the identical liturgical functions fulfilled by such set texts in Latin, as in Greek, monasteries.

III. iii) Linguistic level.

The task of outlining the development of the Greek spoken language, masked in the written sources by the cleavage separating it from its literary, idealized counterpart, has been perceived as *incontestablement difficile* for the period between the eighth and the eleventh centuries in particular.[145] Nevertheless, the transformations that went on at that time are known and outlined in Robert Browning's book on the development of the language,

---

[142]Transl. K12: May the Lord save us from those and may he place us with those who have lived well and in a manner pleasing to Him, by the intercessions of our most holy Lady Theotokos, and of all the saints. Amen.

[143]Doubts were raised in the case of Augustine's sermons, as to whether the doxologies were added by the later manuscript tradition: A. OLIVAR, 'Quelques remarques historiques sur la prédication comme action liturgique dans l'Église ancienne', in *Mélanges liturgiques offerts au R.P. Dom Bernard Botte OSB* (Louvain, 1972) pp. 429-43, at 438-39.

[144]T. L. AMOS, 'Early Medieval Sermons and their Audience', in J. HAMESSE & X. HERMAND, eds., *De l'homélie au sermon. Histoire de la prédication médiévale* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1993), pp. 1-14, at 7.

[145]E. PATLAGEAN, 'Discours écrit, discours parlé, niveaux de culture à Byzance aux VIII^{e}-XI^{e} siècles', in *Structure sociale, famille et chrétienté à Byzance, IVe-Xe s.* , Variorum Reprints (London, 1981), VI, 264-78, at p. 266.

drawing from examples in hagiography and chronicles up to Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos.[146]

While K does not display outright signs of colloquial modernity, such as the use of the enclitic third person pronouns,[147] all the signs of the later Koine are present. For example, preference for the indefinite and interrogative pronouns in place of a relative pronoun (e.g. πρὸς ὅτι, K8) or of the the definite article as pronoun (e.g. K209);[148] the substitution of present for future tense;[149] a taste for periphrases (e.g. οἶμαι γὰρ ζητεῖν ὑμᾶς γνῶναι, K22); the weakening distinction between middle and passive forms, which had already taken place in the earlier period of development of the Koine;[150] the aorist subjunctive ἐπιμησάμεθα has dropped the beginning of the verb as if it was an augment (K8);[151] a phrase at K9 lacks a verb in a definite tense, and is constructed around a chain of participles:[152]

> μετὰ δὲ τὸ σταυρωθῆναι τοῦτον καὶ ἀποθανεῖν,
> ἀποθεμένους τε τὴν δειλίαν καὶ προσελθόντας τῷ Πιλάτῳ·
> καὶ τὸ σῶμα αἰτησαμένους· καὶ εὐλαβῶς ἐνταφιάσαντας
> αὐτὸ καθὼς ἀκούομεν ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ.

The transmission of K in relatively few, unadorned manuscripts witnesses to the collection's having circulated exclusively in monastic circles.[153] It is probably thanks to this restriction, and because of the limited success achieved by the compiler, that Paul's texts have remained free from that kind of posthumous alteration from which neither Theodore Studite nor Symeon the New Theologian escaped, for different reasons. While Symeon's texts were

---

[146] R. BROWNING, *Medieval and Modern Greek* (London, 1969), pp. 59-72.
[147] BROWNING, *Greek*, p. 63.
[148] BROWNING, *Greek*, p. 66.
[149] BROWNING, *Greek*, p. 69.
[150] BROWNING, *Greek*, p. 37.
[151] BROWNING, *Greek*, pp. 63 and 69.
[152] BROWNING, *Greek*, pp. 68-69.
[153] As with some hagiographies of local interest, circulation was never expected to be great: N. WILSON, 'Books and Readers in Byzantium', in *Byzantine Books and Bookmen* (Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D. C., 1975), pp. 1-15, at pp. 11-12.

edited because of their theologically controversial content,[154] Theodore's PC underwent a process of upgrading in the tradition's attempt to *verbessern* his linguistic presentation.[155] On the contrary, it was the restricted circulation of MC, extant in very few manuscripts, which preserved it from later elevation of language. Paul's incorporation of the great majority of Studite texts from MC is another sign of his espousing a similar level of linguistic register.

> "Monks were the only literate group in society which had not had a traditional classical education".[156] For this reason, it is often from their milieu that stem the best preserved examples of everyday speech.[157] K is free from "Atticising" tendencies, and the absence of learned quotations from or allusions to the classics is conspicuous. Whether Paul, given his Constantinopolitan and probably wealthy background, had a classical education or not remains unclear.

The type of rhetoric used was based on different principles from those of classical rhetoric adopted by Church Fathers such as John Chrysostom. The catechetical address follows the liturgical style, made of

> courtes phrases ... longues listes ... petits dialogues ... certains phrases de l'A. et du N. Testament particulièrement impressionantes grâce à la place où elles sont citées ... et c'est à peu près tout.[158]

The same relationship between celebrant and congregation is thus sustained throughout: as the celebrant exhorts to prayer during the Liturgy, so he exhorts to virtue during the catechesis.

Unlike the homilies of the Church Fathers, K offers alternative texts, whose simplified, plain style and language are meant to be understandable to its audience. Surely an important effort in the revision of earlier sources in K was that of updating their language, choosing more currently used synonyms,

---

[154] B. KRIVOCHÉINE, 'The Writings of Symeon the New Theologian', *OCP* 20 (1954), 298-328, at p. 309.
[155] G. FATOUROS, 'Zur Sprache des Theodoros Studites', in W. HÖRANDNER & E. TRAPP, eds., *Lexicographica Byzantina* (Vienna, 1991), pp. 123-28, at 125.
[156] BROWNING, *Greek*, p. 55.
[157] For example, John Moschos' *Pratum spirituale*.
[158] S. ANTONIADES, *Place de la Liturgie dans la tradition des lettres grecques* (Leiden, 1939), pp. 118-19.

re-moulding old-fashioned expressions into more modern ones. The linguistic comparison of the texts, therefore, has the potential of offering interesting data for the evolution of language.

Fatouros recognized, through his profound knowledge of Theodore's texts, that the great theologian did indeed choose to use "dieser eigenartigen, häufig vulgarisierenden Sprache".[159] The reasons for such a choice of register which Fatouros outlines for Theodore are largely applicable to Paul.

The close relation between Scripture and catechetical writing has been identified as a cause for the adoption of the Koine language. Partly, the frequent interweaving of biblical quotations within the catechetical text cannot but result in this overall linguistic colouring. More deeply, perhaps, the training of these monks, often brought up and nourished daily with Scripture in the form of readings and chants, could not help but be impregnated with its style, vocabulary, rhythm. Such timeless Koine of scriptural and monastic origin ought to be distinguished from the actual use of the Koine of eleventh-century Constantinople. For example, apparently colloquial phrases, such as the exclamation, μὴ γένοιτο· display a standardized use of the optative, with Gospel precedents.[160]

In this sense, the catechetical genre can be closely associated with the style of liturgical texts. Antoniades emphasized the tension, in the shaping of liturgical language, between the vast incorporation of Scripture, which tended to lower the stylistic level, and the effort of composing a universal and enduring text, understandable through the centuries. Thus, while not Atticising, the language of the Liturgy results "plus savant que celle du N.T." as well as having adopted "des fautes de grec pour rester dans le ton biblique".[161] In fact, the result of this combination is itself a technical

---

[159] FATOUROS, 'Zur Sprache', p. 128.
[160] BROWNING, *Greek*, p. 41.
[161] ANTONIADES, *Place de la Liturgie*, pp. 87-88.

stylization, another form of the cover of immutability which the Greek language is so good at deploying.

III. iv) Liturgical expressions.

One aspect of liturgical language which Antoniades saw particularly elucidated by the imperial ideology of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos' *De Cerimoniis* is that of the emphasis on the kingly attributes of God and Christ.[162] Although the principle of "Christian Hellenism" was to identify the Emperor with the divine power conferred upon him in virtue of his office,[163] the application of this principle naturally proceded in the inverse direction, that is, in the attribution of epithets and insignia characteristic of the Emperor to God. Thus the Emperor and his attributes become a source of metaphorical language that allowed the Fathers to speak about God. In particular, the Liturgy adopts this fashion of speaking on a large scale, appealing to God as Βασιλεῦ οὐράνιε, or πανάγαθε δέσποτα, and adding to the "glory and power" the possession of βασίλεια.[164]

Such imperial language and symbolism are strongly present in the catecheses for this eleventh-century monastery in the Constantinopolitan suburbs. Paul invokes Christ as Χριστὲ βασιλεῦ ἀγαθέ at K2. The metaphor of the circus games, where the athletes are crowned by the Emperor, becomes the type of the Christian contest for virtue. The athletes perform under the eyes of the Emperor, just as the faithful act during their lives under the watchfulness of God and his angels (K12).[165] The end of the games is equated with death, when the reward is received, in the same manner as when

> στεφάνοις ἡμᾶς τῆς νίκης ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν καὶ Κύριος δεξιώσεται (K11).

---

[162] ANTONIADES, *Place de la Liturgie*, pp. 192-203.
[163] For the early origins of such imperial language, christianized principally by Eusebius, cf. F. DVORNIK, *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy*, 2 vols. (Washington, D. C., 1966), II, pp. 611-58.
[164] *The Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, printed in ANTONIADES, *Place de la Liturgie*, pp. 6-44, e.g. at p. 6, l. 16; p. 16, l. 4; p. 13, l. 13; p. 7, l. 7.
[165] For an analysis of the athletic similes, cf. Ch. IV, II, v.

Thus the eschatological Emperor/God, in common with his earthly counterpart, fulfils another function also, prompting the question:

τί πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐρεῖ ὅταν ἔλθῃ κρίναι τὴν γῆν; (K28)

Like the ancient Zeus, he is the guarantor of justice, evenly handling the scales:

παρὰ τοῦ δικαίοις σταθμοῖς τὰ ἡμετέρα ταλαντεύοντος κριτοῦ καὶ βασιλέως (K12).

Another parallel is found at K28, where defiling our bodies is compared to defiling the image of the Emperor:

ὑμεῖς δὲ πεποιήκατέ μου τὰ μέλη πόρνης μέλη, τὸ σῶμα καταμολύναντες καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν εἰκόνα καταζοφώσαντες·

The examples from K28 come from a text partly based on Theodore's PC36, ll. 50-85, but a comparison reveals that the imperial language has been inserted by Paul. Other Studite texts furnish the majority of the imperial terminology, in particular, the use of the verb συμβασιλεύειν to indicate the condition of the blessed in heaven,[166] or the imperial road (βασιλικὴ ὁδὸς), that stands for the right path of the virtues.[167]

Nonetheless, the scope of the imperial imagery is wider in K. At K3, the imagery of the mystical marriage in enhanced by a reference to the imperial robe:

τὸν βασιλικὸν τῆς ἀθανασίας καὶ μακαριότητος χιτῶνα ἐπενδυσάμενος, καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ συνανακείμενος ἐν τῷ πνευματικῷ αὐτοῦ γάμῳ,

so that marriage to Christ becomes an imperial wedding-feast. Similarly, the heavenly banquet will be comparable to the king's table, where the relationship between the Emperor and his servant will be reversed, since God

ἀνακλινεῖ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ βασιλικῇ ἐκείνῃ καὶ ἀκηράτῳ τραπέζῃ, καὶ διακονήσει αὐτῷ,...(K24).

In these examples, we have seen how an essentially liturgical manner of addressing God and talking about his kingdom, which has, in its turn,

---

[166]E.g. K55, K238, K248.
[167]E.g. K58, K134, K166. Cf. the exegesis of Ps. 142, 10 at K. 43, where David's "level land" becomes the road to the virtues.

scriptural origins, influences the idiom of K. Since the basis of such a register was understood by virtue of its daily liturgical use, the catechetical address could embroider on a basic theme and widen it imaginatively. At the same time, the continuation of the kingship theme reiterated in the Liturgy makes the catecheses fit within the liturgical act.

Moreover, some combination of words and expressions have the distinctive ring of liturgical formulas, sounding like prayers or invocations. The passage at K9, piling up a series of qualities revealing God's mercy and goodness, does so in the context of a prayer expressed in the optative:

> δεώμεθα τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ· καὶ αὐτός, ὡς φιλάνθρωπος· ὡς ἐλεήμων· ὡς παντοδύναμος, ταχύ τε εἰσακούσοι· καὶ τὸ αὐτοῦ ἔλεος μεθ' ἡμῶν ποιήσοι· καὶ τὸν ἀνυπέρβλητον τοῦτον πόλεμον καὶ δυσβάστακτον ἀρεῖ ἐξ ἡμῶν·.

The lack of a Liturgical Concordance renders the task of identifying the exact placing of these parallels too laborious to be undertaken.[168] We may consider this task beyond our present scope, which was to establish that the function of the catechesis as a liturgical act shapes the language, rhetorical structure and choice of expressions of the address.

---

[168] ANTONIADES, *Place de la Liturgie*, p. 89 already laments this lack.

CONCLUSION

Structured for liturgical use, K provides the daily readings instituted by the founder for the Evergetis monastery, as indicated in an allusive, and until now enigmatic, phrase of the Evergetis *Hypotyposis*. Its sophisticated liturgical ordering, functioning in the same way as a Lectionary according to the moveable cycle of the liturgical year, shows that K was a purposefully structured collection of texts. A further indication of the attention of the compiler to the ordering of his material is evidenced by the observation that the catecheses were selected and/or composed in view of their pertinence *vis à vis* their liturgical placing.

At one level, the subject-matter was chosen to reflect the liturgical mood and to comment on the theme of a specific celebration, often affording an eleventh-century perspective on the evolution of the structure and significance of the liturgical calendar. At the formal level, the catechetical style was shaped by its liturgical function. The length of the text was tailored to the time of its delivery in the liturgical performance. The rhetorical structure of the address responded to the liturgical context and function and was conceived as the *higoumenos*' words to his community.

A close relationship between the catecheses and the texts of the liturgy exists in all aspects of the collection, from the structure to the language, from the formal presentation to the content. It is clear, therefore, that K is a liturgical homiliary, differing in this important aspect from comparable, but unstructured, collections of monastic catecheses, such as Theodore Studite's or Symeon the New Theologian's.

CHAPTER III

THE *KATECHETIKON* AS A FLORILEGIUM

Introduction.

In the previous chapter, K was examined from the viewpoint of its liturgical arrangement. It was presented as a liturgical homiliary, a feature considered unique among Byzantine catechetical collections. A corollary to this identity is that of its also being an anthology of earlier authors, gathered, juxtaposed and textually reworked according to the liturgical sequence, within an overall plan. These are features expected of a liturgical homiliary, as Grégoire's definition makes clear:

> l'homéliaire est un livre d'initiation spirituelle, une sorte d'*enchiridion asceticum* avant la lettre, mais il a cette enorme supériorité qu'il contient les textes au complet, ou à peu près, et que l'on prend le temps de les écouter et de les lire. [...] Les textes ... sont sélectionnés en fonction de cette fin spirituelle. Le compilateur, en général, n'est pas un simple copiste: il choisit et il ordonne à son gré les éléments dont il entend disposer. C'est pourquoi il y a tant d' homéliaires différents, même pour un seul monastère, comme, par exemple, au Mont-Cassin. Chacun a sa physionomie spirituelle propre, et cela n'est pas sans importance pour l'histoire des «écoles» de spiritualité. [...] quand on recherche à quelles sources tel auteur a pu puiser, les homéliaires sont à consulter en premier lieu, puisqu' ils ont été ses livres d'initiation à la doctrine des Pères.[1]

This aspect of the collection, that of its being a florilegium, will be analysed in the present chapter.

The first part of this chapter aims at setting the context of K as a florilegium. Within the immediate focus of the Evergetis foundation, K is compared with Paul's ascetic compilation, S, in order to assess whether the two works may have been carried out by the same compiler. Complementarity of the sources used and textual correspondences in overlapping passages favour the hypothesis of identical authorship. The differences observed in the arrangement and handling of sources highlight the different aims of the compilations, giving each a distinct purpose to fulfil when used by the same monastic community. Beyond the Evergetis,

---

[1]GRÉGOIRE, 'Homéliaires', cols. 599-600.

the broader context for K is outlined. The choice of sources reflects exactly a panorama of ascetico-monastic writings. This literature was the common heritage of medieval monasticism; nevertheless, K and S display some unusual traits in the collection and actualization of such material. In particular, the exclusion of the more rhetorical and sophisticated writers of sermons from this homiliary and the concentration on a humbler style of preaching define the specific character of K.

In the second part, the sources for each catechesis, mostly identified in the unpublished work by Leroy, are enumerated. Having checked and refined Leroy's references to each text of K, these results may serve as reliable guides for further work of comparison between K texts and their sources. By enumerating the sources according to the decreasing number of borrowings, an immediate impression of the relative importance of each source in the collection is conveyed. Preliminary observations on the textual transmission of the sources as reflected in K have been made where appropriate.

In the third part, an account of the compiler's modifications to his sources is given according to identifiable patterns of alteration, elimination and addition. The examples are drawn from a representative range of close parallel-text comparisons from each author. A sample of such comparisons may be found in the Appendix, together with a key to the typographical conventions adopted for the presentation of parallel texts.

Such an exploration of the sources of K can only furnish an initial sense of the spiritual direction provided by the florilegium. Assembling the elements which were deemed necessary components of preaching to the monastic community, the compilation reveals a reasoned and economical structure. Mastering the source material, the compiler relentlessly worked on it in order to produce the desired results. Simple in rhetorical style, as was fitting for these liturgical readings, the catecheses encompass Christian

philosophers and mystics, great theologians, lofty thinkers, yet simplify, explain, reduce their teaching to what could be useful for and understandable to the monks.

PART I

CHOICE OF SOURCES

I. i) The *Katechetikon* as a florilegium.

A *katechetikon* cannot but be in the nature of a florilegium of earlier, patristic sources, not only because the ordering presupposed is that of a liturgical homiliary constituted, by definition, of a choice of readings, but also because of the root meaning contained in the word "catechesis". In fact, the verb "*katechein*" contains in its etymology the meaning "retentir, faire echo", characterizing such oral instruction as dependent on tradition.[2]

Since in this double sense expectation for "original" preaching should have been forestalled, it is unsurprising that an explicit enumeration of the source texts included in K should only be forthcoming at K71. That point coincides with the first text borrowed from Maximos Confessor, after a selection of readings from Theodore Studite, interspersed with a number of texts from unidentified sources.

The declaration of sources, cast in a humility *topos* familiar from the self-denigrations of the abbot of Stoudios, is at once an assurance of orthodoxy and an appeal to the status of higher authorities, expressed as a list of inspired Fathers. In appearance a disclaimer of Paul's inventiveness, this enumeration informs us directly about Paul's exceptional knowledge of the spiritual literature available to him.

The flamboyant statement at K71 (in mss. M and A) may be compared to the dry list of sources in the Athos colophon:

---

[2]A. TURCK, 'Catéchein et catéchésis chez les premiers Pères', *Revue de Science Philosophique et Théologique* 47 (1963), 361-72, p. 361.

K71

<u>οὐκ ἐξ ἐμῶν ῥημάτων, μὴ γένοιτο· τίς γὰρ εἰμὶ ἐγὼ ὁ ἀκάθαρτος· ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τῶν πατερικῶν καὶ θεοδιδάκτων λογίων· καὶ ψυχοσωστικῶν παραγγελμάτων ὧν κατὰ καιροὺς ἑνὶ ἑκάστῳ τούτων τὸ πανάγιον ἐνέπνευσε πνεῦμα·</u> καί ποτε μέν, ἐκ τῶν κατηχήσεων τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν <u>Θεοδώρου λέγομεν τοῦ Στουδίτου</u>· ποτὲ δέ, ἐκ τῶν πανσόφων διδασκαλιῶν τοῦ παμμάκαρος καὶ σοφωτάτου <u>Μαξίμου</u>· ἄλλοτε δέ, ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ θεοφωτίστου πατρὸς <u>Δωροθέου</u>· ἐνίοτε, ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ θεοχαριτώτου <u>Ἐφραίμ</u>· καὶ ἄλλοτε, ἀπὸ τοῦ πανσόφου <u>Νείλου</u>· καὶ ἄλλοτε, ἄλλου·

Colophon of E:

Συνελέγη ἡ παροῦσα αὕτη βίβλος· ἐκ τῶν θεοπνεύστων διδασκαλιῶν τῶν ἁγίων π(α)τ(έ)ρων ἡμῶν·
<u>Θεοδώρου τοῦ Στουδίτου</u>·
<u>Ἐφραὶμ· Δωροθέου·</u>
<u>Μακαρίου</u>·
<u>Νείλου</u>·
καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν· ...

The absence of the mention of Maximos in the colophon may be explained by the fact that this author was not included among the sources for the second part of K. The absence of the mention of Makarios in K71 is less easy to explain, since that author features extensively in the first part of the collection.

In addition, the difference between the two lists raises questions as to how the colophon was composed. It is perhaps preferable to imagine that the colophon was written by a scribe conscious of the authors underlying the catecheses, rather than to suggest that it was copied directly from the passage at K71, in spite of the close similarity in the arrangement of the authors' names. On the second hypothesis, the differences between the two texts should be explained in terms of a different textual reading of K71 contained in the non-extant counterpart of the Athos volume. Since the hypothesis of an alternative textual tradition remains unsupported, direct scribal intervention in the composition of the colophon appears as the most likely alternative.

Neither list of sources is complete. Mention of John Carpathos is omitted, perhaps because of the small number of texts drawn from his treatise (K210-212). Similarly, a text by Diadochos of Photike (K341) was overlooked by both ancient and modern compilers of sources. The omission of Mark the Monk from both ancient lists remains puzzling, since his contribution was as substantial as that of Pseudo-Neilos. Clearly, completeness was not a necessary virtue: the function of both source declarations was to serve as a general pointer to, rather than as a practical index for, the contents of K. Each list offers an enumeration of Fathers as perceived in an eleventh- and twelfth-century monastic milieu.

Piecing together the information in these passages with Leroy's careful analysis, an overall picture of the structure of K may be reconstructed, as outlined in the following tables:

VOL. I

K 1 - 16 K 17 - 70	Unidentified THEODORE STUDITE + Unidentified (K21-24, 27, 29-30, 36-37, 43, 46-52)
K 71- 77	Maximos Confessor, *Sermo hortatorius*
K 78 - 121	THEODORE STUDITE
K 122 - 129 K 130 - 131	Maximos Confessor, *Liber asceticus* Pseudo-Makarios, *Op.* VII
K 132 - 153	THEODORE STUDITE
K 154 - 160	Maximos Confessor, *Liber asceticus*
K 161 - 180	THEODORE STUDITE
K 181 - 195	Pseudo-Makarios, *Op.* I-VII
K 196 - 203	Lacunas (K196-199) + THEODORE STUDITE
K 204 - 208 K 209 K 210 - 212 K 213 - 217 K 218 - 221	Pseudo-Makarios, *Op.* VI-VII Unidentified John Carpathos, *Ad monachos in India* Unidentified (K213, 217); lacunas (214-216) Ephrem Graecus, *De Virtute* & *In illud attende*
K 222 - 232 K 233	THEODORE STUDITE Lacuna

VOL. II

K 234 - 250	THEODORE STUDITE
K 251 - 263	Ephrem Graecus (various)
K 264 - 268	THEODORE STUDITE
K 269 - 281	Dorotheos of Gaza, *Doctrina*
K 282 - 297	THEODORE STUDITE
K 298 - 308	Dorotheos of Gaza, *Doctrina*
K 310 - 320	THEODORE STUDITE
K 321 - 325	Mark the Monk, *Ad Nicolaum*
K 326 - 327	THEODORE STUDITE
K 328 - 330	Mark the Monk, *Ad Nicolaum*
K 331 - 334	THEODORE STUDITE
K 335 - 337	Mark the Monk, *Ad Nicolaum* & Pseudo-Mark, *De jejunio*
K 338-340	THEODORE STUDITE
K 341 K 342 - 343	Diadochos of Photike, *Capita Centum* Evagrios, *De Oratione*
K 344 - 346	THEODORE STUDITE
K 347 -348 K 349 - 357 K 358 - 359	Evagrios, *De Oratione* Evagrios, *Ad Eulogium* Unidentified
K 360 - 368	THEODORE STUDITE

The work of Theodore Studite forms the backbone to K, leaving pockets for the liturgical insertion of other authors. Each of the other

authors is inserted and used up in turn, so that a simple pattern of alternating sources develops. The distribution of authors, however, does not show a watertight division between the two parts of K: Ephrem Graecus, for example, forms a kind of bridge, being inserted in the first part at K218 and continuing into the second up to K263.

What might appear to a modern editor to be a constant failure to acknowledge sources in detail, concealing the derivative character of K texts, was clearly not perceived as a shortcoming by the monks who put the collection into liturgical implementation. In contrast to the manuscripts of S, which have careful — if not always correct[3] — lemmas identifying each passage, the catecheses are presented as original.

This silence about the derivation of each text, broken only at K71, could be interpreted as having a didactic purpose. The readings, assigned to the *higoumenos* or, exceptionally, to his substitute, must be heard as if coming from himself. The authority of their contents, resting ultimately on the Fathers invoked at K71, has renewed efficacy in the texts' liturgical reading.

The *higoumenos*-compiler, anticipating the rôle of his successor, the *higoumenos*-reader, appropriated the texts by their selection and adaptation and attributed a new function to them, transforming them into a collection of liturgical readings. By so doing, those teachings were made relevant to each monastic community to which they were read.

I. ii) Choice of sources in K and S.

This overview of the sources allows a direct comparison with the sources emerging from studies of S. For Leroy, one of the strong arguments

---

[3]K. WARE, 'Prayer and the Sacraments in the *Synagoge'*, in *Theotokos Evergetis*, pp. 325-47, at 327, n. 6. In my study of the manuscript tradition of S, I have found the lemmas in both manuscripts and subsequent editions to vary.

in favour of the attribution of K to Paul was the complementarity in the use of sources between S and K. The variety of sources displayed in S is not duplicated in K, neither at the level of choice of authors nor at the level of choice of texts within an author. Because of this, the complementary nature of the two collections appeared to Leroy to derive from a common plan.

Such complementarity has the effect of widening the scholarly perspective on Paul's interests, which has so far depended exclusively on the picture offered by S. While certain gaps, such as the absence of quotations from Basil the Great or John Moschos, must be confirmed, others are filled. One authority on Byzantine spiritual literature conjectured that

> the *Synagoge* [...] contains only one explicit citation from Basil, and none at all from Theodore or Klimakos. Almost certainly, however, this does not indicate any disapproval or reservations on Paul's part towards these three crucial authorities.[4]

Indeed, the bishop's intuition of Studite influence behind the monasticism envisaged in S finds ample confirmation in Theodore's inclusion in K. The dearth of direct quotations from Basil in K may be considered a consequence of the extensive dependence on Theodore, since it has been noted that the latter did not reveal Basil's influence on his monastic ideal explicitly.[5]

From Theodore's texts come three of the four quotations of John Klimakos, the first, at K20, introduced by a laudatory formula:

> Λέγει δὲ καὶ <u>ὁ θεῖος πατὴρ Ἰωάννης</u> ἐν τῇ Κλίμακι, ὅτι προηγεῖσθαι ὀφείλει τῆς προσευχῆς ἡ εὐχαριστία.[6]

The introductory phrase expands Theodore's PC29, ll. 6-7:

> Λέγει δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ Κλίμακι, ...

Clarification of Theodore's elliptic reference to the *Ladder* could hardly have been necessary for a monastic community, given the widely attested

---

[4]WARE, 'Prayer and the Sacraments', pp. 327-28.
[5]J. LEROY, 'L'influence de saint Basile sur la réforme studite d'après les Catéchèses', *Irénikon* 52 (1979), 491-505, at p. 491.
[6]Cf. *Scala Paradisi*, Gradus XXVIII, PG 88, 1132A1-2: πρὸ πάντων ἐν τῷ τῆς ἡμετέρας δεήσεως χάρτῃ εὐχαριστίαν εἰλικρινῆ κατατάξωμεν.

popularity of Klimakos' work in the eleventh century.[7] Thus, a probable reason for the expansion at K20 was to indicate clearly the type of respect that Bishop Kallistos was rightly presuming. The other two references do not mention John by name.[8]

The fourth reference, by contrast, appears to have been inserted autonomously by the compiler after a section based on a passage by Pseudo-Makarios at K181.[9] It is combined with a reworked quotation from Gregory the Theologian's *Carmina moralia*.[10] The passage forms a bridge between the reworking of the Macarian source and the concluding parenetic paragraphs, providing further insights into the nature of humility:

> Ὅτι δὲ καὶ ὡς θυσίαν ὁ Θεὸς τὴν ταπείνωσιν ἀποδέχεται, μαρτυρεῖ ὁ ψαλμῳδὸς λέγων· *θυσία τῷ Θεῷ πνεῦμα συντετριμμένον*· καὶ ὁ θεολόγος δὲ Γρηγόριος ἐν τοῖς εἰσαγωγικοῖς αὐτοῦ στίχοις, οὕτω πῶς φησι· *ψυχὴ θύοιτο*[11] *μᾶλλον, ἢ εὐχῆς τρόπος· ὡσανεὶ διὰ ταπεινοφροσύνης καὶ συντριβῆς· οὐδὲν ἄλλο πλὴν ταύτης δύναται ῥαδίως σώζειν τὸν ἄνθρωπον*· καὶ περὶ τούτου, βεβαιωσάτω σε ὁ θεῖος τέκτων τῆς τῶν ἀρετῶν Κλίμακος

---

[7]HUSSEY, *Ascetics and Humanists*, p. 13 and n. 1, p. 14 and n. 1: Symeon the New Theologian read Klimakos as a layman (I. HAUSHERR, ed., *Nicetas Stethatos, La vie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien*, OC 12 (1928), ch. 6, pp. 12-13). Hussey draws attention to the significance of the eleventh-century illustrated copies of the work, catalogued by J. R. MARTIN, *The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus*, Studies in Manuscript Illumination 5 (Princeton, 1954). Another famous manuscript of the Ladder is associated with a high functionary of the Byzantine administration in Cappadocia: P. LEMERLE, 'Le Testament d'Eustathios Boïlas (Avril 1059)', in *Cinq études sur le XI^e siècle byzantin* (Paris, 1977), pp. 15-63, at 15-16, 39 (ms. *Coislin*. 263).

[8]At K89, the character Abbakuris is designated as ὁ μακάριος Ἀββακύρης ὁ ἐν τῇ Κλίμακι (from TS MC I, 17): cf. *Scala Paradisi*, Gradus IV, PG 88, 639C6-696A13; at K178, ...ὡς ἀληθῶς ἔχομεν καὶ ἄπαυστον μάχην, πρὸς κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκότους τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου· καὶ πολλὴ καὶ ἄπαυστος καθ' ἡμῶν ἡ πικρία αὐτῶν, ὡς γέγραπται ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς Κλίμακος· (from TS MC I, 49): cf. *Scala Paradisi, Epistula Iohannis ab. Rhaiteni ad Iohannem [Climaci]*, PG 88, 625A10.

[9]The source text covers half of the length of the catechesis and has been, in itself, modified: Pseudo-Makarios, *De Libertate mentis*, ch. 19, PG 34, 952B13-C1; C6-953A7.

[10]Gregory Nazianzen, carm. 30, PG 37, 910a, ll. 23-24: Ψυχὴ θύοιτο μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ πᾶν Θεῷ· / Ὧ τίς φυλάξει ταῦτα, καὶ σωθήσεται; (from TLG). This quotation is the only one I could identify from Gregory, although the popularity of this author and his widespread use as a source would lead one to expect further identifications; the degree to which this process requires long and subtle research is shown by J. NORET, 'Grégoire de Nazianze, l'auteur le plus cité, après la Bible, dans la littérature ecclésiastique byzantine', in J. MOSSAY, ed., *Symposium Nazianzenum*, Studien zur Geschichte des Altertums 2 (Paderborn, 1983), pp. 259-66.

[11]θύοι τῷ Θεῷ Cr This reading is closer to the original quotation.

λέγων· ὅτι εἴπερ μίαν εὑρίσκομεν ἁμαρτίαν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατενέγκασαν, εὔδηλον ὅτι καὶ μία πάλιν ἀρετὴ ἀνάγει πρὸς οὐρανόν· ποία δὲ κατήνεγκεν ἁμαρτία τόν τε διάβολον καὶ αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν πρωτόπλαστον, φανερόν· ὅτι ἡ κενοδοξία καὶ ἀμφότεροι γὰρ θεοὶ γενέσθαι φαντασθέντες, ἐξέπεσον· τοιγαροῦν ἡ ἐναντία ταύτης ἀρετὴ ἡ ταπείνωσις, εἰς οὐρανοὺς αὖθις ἀνήνεγκε· τίνα; τὴν ἡμετέραν φύσιν· πρῶτον διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ· ἔπειτα δέ, καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ μαθητάς.[12]

Thus the compiler combines his sources and multiplies authorities on the same subject. The thematic grouping recalls the criterion of collecting passages under one subject-heading in S.

John Wortley also lamented Paul's neglect of Basil, the Cappadocians, Pseudo-Dionysios, Evagrios Pontikos, John Klimakos, Dorotheos of Gaza and John Moschos, underestimating the value of his questioning in the remark:

> The list could go on of course, but to what point? We know what books Paul had to hand and which ones amongst those he preferred.[13]

Indeed, the mammoth size of S gives such an impression of completeness that one hardly wishes for a tome such as K to redouble the quantity of sources to analyse! Yet puzzlement at the absence of Evagrios and Dorotheos paves the way for especial satisfaction at their appearance in K.

In spite of the abundance of data when we put the two works side by side, the only information about the library used by Paul comes from the enumeration of the works from which he quotes. How these works were

---

[12]Transl. K181: And that God accepts humility as a sacrifice is proved by the psalm that says: *a contrite spirit is a sacrifice to God* (Ps. 50(51), 17a). And also Gregory the Theologian, in some of his explanatory verses, says approximately this: "May the soul be the sacrifice rather than one's way of praying, in so far as she has humility and contrition. Nothing other than this can save man." And on this subject, let the divine architect of the *Ladder* of the virtues confirm you, as he says: "If we discover one sin that brings down from heaven, it is clear that there is also one virtue that brings back up to heaven. But which sin brought down the devil and the first man himself? It is manifest that (it was) vainglory, and that since they both imagined to become gods, they fell. Therefore the virtue contrary to this, humility, brought back up to heaven. Whom (did it bring back)? Our own nature, first through Christ, and then, also his apostles." Cf. *Scala Paradisi*, Gradus XXV, PG 88, 996 & scholia, PG 88, 1008D-1009A2. I have not found a more accurate reference.

[13]J. WORTLEY, 'The Genre and Sources of the *Synagoge*', in *Theotokos Evergetis*, pp. 306-24, at 323.

disposed in the manuscripts, and more importantly, what other works were also available, remains obscure. Without this contextual knowledge, we can hope to understand little of Paul's criteria of selection, or method of work. In particular, whether "collecting" for a "filing cabinet" (a *synagoge*) or "selecting" for a "display-cabinet" (an *ekloge*),[14] the actual process of excerpting passages and re-arranging them in a different sequence remains unknown.[15] It is doubtful if memory could be the only tool in such large-scale compilations.[16]

It is clear from Wortley's useful analysis of the sources most widely employed in S, that the basic orientation is common to both compilations. Sayings from the Desert Fathers occupy the first position in Wortley's proportional reckoning, as well as in absolute terms (number of words taken from each source).

Such tales may be found enmeshed within the thread of a catechesis. General references are made to the extraordinary manner of life of the holy fathers (K17), or attention is drawn to a special virtue they embodied, such as patience (K14) or humility (K273):

> ὅτε γοῦν ἐθεώρησεν ὁ ἅγιος Ἀντώνιος πάσας τὰς παγίδας τοῦ διαβόλου ἡπλωμένας, καὶ στενάξας ἠρώτησε τὸν Θεόν· ὅτι τίς ἄρα παρέρχεται ταῦτας; οὐδὲν ἄλλο, ὁ Θεὸς αὐτῷ ἀπεκρίθη, εἰ μή, ὅτι ἡ ταπείνωσις παρέρχεται αὐτάς· καὶ προσέθετο καὶ τὸ θαυμαστὸν ἐκεῖνο· ὅτι καὶ οὐδὲ

---

[14]The terminology in inverted commas is that employed by WORTLEY, 'Genre and Sources', p. 309.

[15]Some work on the technical preparation of an anthology has been done for Photios' *Bibliotheca*: cf. T. HÄGG, *Photios als Vermittler antiker Literatur*, Studia Graeca Upsaliensia 8 (Uppsala, 1975), pp. 64-67. Marginal annotations sometimes found in manuscripts, such as the abbreviations ωρ or ση, may have marked passages of interest for the compilers of anthologies. As far as I am aware, no manuscript has been found with unequivocal signs of having been used for such purpose.

[16]The subject of memory has occasioned a recent lively debate on the method of composition of the *Bibliotheca* between N. G. Wilson and T. Hägg. Undoubtedly, even if the compiler made use of manuscripts for the single quotations, memory must have played a great part in the overall structuring of a compilation: cf. the recent study by M. CARRUTHERS, *The Book of Memory: a Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1990); the claims made about the fundamental importance of memory for the understanding of Western monastic culture could be applied to the Eastern world in the context of a similar monastic training.

ἅπτονται αὐτῆς· οὐ καλῶς ἄρα ἔλεγον ὑμῖν ἄνωθεν ὅτι ἐκνευρίζονται αἱ χεῖρες τοῦ Σατανᾶ, καὶ οὐ δύναται ἰσχύσαι κατὰ τῶν ταπεινῶν; ἐν ἀληθείᾳ, οὐδὲν ἰσχυρότερον ταύτης τῆς ἀρετῆς.[17]

Sayings are quoted explicitly to complement the exhortations made directly in the catechesis, as are the words of Makarios at K217:

[...] χρὴ ἡμᾶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς γενναιότερον ἀνθίστασθαι καὶ καρτερικώτερον· ὥσπερ καὶ τὸν ἅγιον Μακάριον ἀκούομεν πεποιηκότα.

Αὐτὸς γὰρ ἔφησε ποτέ, πρός τινας τῶν πατέρων παραβαλόντας πρὸς αὐτόν· καὶ περὶ τοῦ, εἰ δεῖ πείθεσθαι τοῖς λογισμοῖς, ἐπερωτήσαντας· ἔφησε γοῦν· ὅτι καθημένῳ μοι ἐν τῷ κελλίῳ, διώχλησαν οἱ λογισμοί· ἐπιθυμίαν ἐμβάλλοντες, τὴν ἐσωτέραν εἰσελθεῖν ἔρημον· καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖ ἱστορῆσαι· καὶ ἔμεινα τῷ λογισμῷ πολεμῶν· ἐπὶ ἔτεσι πέντε· μήποτε λέγων ἐκ δαιμόνων ἐστι τὸ ἐνθύμημα.[18]

Other sources reflect the same desert spirituality by incorporating episodes from the Fathers' lives. For example, the contrition of a solitary is held up as an example to the monks in a text borrowed from Ephrem (K263):

Καὶ ἀκούσατε πάλιν ἄλλου μοναχοῦ σπουδαίου ἔργον ἀξιοθαύμαστον, καὶ θαυμάσατε καὶ ζηλώσατε· οὗτος τοιγαροῦν οἴκημά τι βραχύτατον καὶ στενώτατον οἰκῶν, ὥσπερ μὴ ἀρκούμενος ἐν αὐτῷ εἰ μὴ καὶ περισσοτέραν ἔχοι κακοπάθειαν, τάφον τινὰ ἔνδον ἑαυτῷ κατεσκεύασε στενωτάτην αὐτοῦ ποιήσας τὴν εἴσοδον· ὅθεν ἑκάστοτε εἰσερχόμενος ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ μνήματι οὕτως ἦν θρηνῶν,

---

[17]Transl. K273: When then the holy Antony contemplated all the snares spread out by the devil, he groaned and asked God: "Who can avoid them?" God gave him no other answer but this: "Humility can avoid them", and he also added this marvel, that they cannot even touch it. Did I not say well just above, that the hands of Satan become enfeebled, and that he cannot have force over humble people? Truly, nothing is stronger than this virtue. Cf. Antony no. 7, transl. B. WARD, *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers* (2nd edn., London, 1981), p. 2. Included in S, Book I, ch. 45, sect. 1: L. REGNAULT, *Les Sentences des Pères du Désert, troisième recueil et tables* (Solesmes, 1976), no. 7, p. 202. A 'Makarios' is also quoted at K270, but I have not found the reference within the Sayings. For the problem of identification of each Makarios, cf. A. GUILLAUMONT, 'Le problème des deux Macaire dans les *Apophthegmata Patrum*', *Irénikon* 48 (1975), 41-59.

[18]Transl. K217: [...] we ought to stand firm against them in a manly and strong fashion, just as we hear the holy Makarios did. Makarios once said to the fathers who had visited him, and questioned him about whether one ought to obey one's thoughts; he said: "Thoughts assailed me as I was sitting in my cell, bringing a desire of departing into the inner desert, and investigate what is there. And I remained fighting against this thought for five years, not understanding whether the desire came from the demons." Makarios no. 2, cf. transl. WARD, *The Sayings*, p. 125; REGNAULT, *Les Sentences*, no. 455, p. 222: included in S, Book I, ch. 45, sect. 82.

καθάπερ υἱὸν ἢ θυγατέρα μονογενῆ ἀποβαλών καὶ μετὰ μέλους ποιούμενον τὸν θρῆνον· πρὸ γὰρ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ φοβερὸν βῆμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ θέμενος, ἔκλαιε νύκτα καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν, ὡς τοὺς παριόντας διὰ τῆς κέλλης, ἀκούειν τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ κλαυθμοῦ αὐτοῦ· ἀλλὰ καί ποτε αὐτὸς ἐγὼ προσχὼν τοῖς ἐκείνου βιβλίοις, καὶ ἰδὼν ἐν αὐτοῖς τινὰ τῶν γραμμάτων δι' ὧν τυχὸν ἢ Θεὸς ἢ Κύριος ἢ Ἰησοῦς ἢ Χριστὸς ἐνέγραπτο, ἐξηλειμμένα, ἠρώτησα αὐτὸν λέγων· ὅτι τίς ταῦτα ἀφανίζει; Ὁ δέ, οὐκ ἀποκρύψω, εἶπεν, ἀπὸ σοῦ· ἡ πόρνη μὲν καὶ ἐντυχοῦσα Χριστῷ, δάκρυσί τε τοὺς αὐτοῦ πόδας ἔβρεξε, καὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐξέμαξε ταῖς θριξί· ἐγὼ δὲ ἀναγιγνώσκων ὅπου δ' ἂν ἐντύχοιμι τῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ μου ὀνόματι, τοῖς δάκρυσι τοῦτο βρέχω τοῖς ἐμοῖς, ἵνα κἄμοι ἔλθοι παρ' αὐτοῦ ἁμαρτιῶν ἄφεσις, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν φησιν ἀπαλείφονται τὰ γράμματα· οὐ γὰρ δροσίζεταί μου ἡ καρδία, εἰ μὴ κλαύσω ἐνώπιον τοῦ Κυρίου μου.[19]

Evagrios' *On Prayer* adapted at K347 offers a number of vignettes exemplifying a monk's resistance to temptations during prayer. Such a collection of examples was clearly designed to provide entertainment during the oral delivery,[20] as well as instruction to imitation, as the conclusion exhorts.

The world of the Apophthegmata was thus very close to that of medieval monasticism, and the monks had ample opportunities to familiarize themselves with these stories, both in personal and in liturgical

---

[19]Transl. K263: And again hear about the amazing conduct of another earnest monk, and marvel and emulate (him). This one then, living in the narrowest and most confined dwelling place of dwelling places, not satisfied with this unless he obtained an even greater discomfort, built for himself a kind of tomb inside and made the narrowest possible entrance for it. Each time he entered in that tomb he wept so greatly, just as if he had lost his only son or daughter and was making the funeral dirge with songs. For he was holding in front of his eyes his sins and the terrible judgement seat of Christ, and cried day and night, so that those who went through the cell could hear the voice of his lamentation. But once I too, approaching to his books and having noticed in them that some of the letters in which 'God' or 'Lord', or 'Jesus' or 'Christ' happened to be written were worn out, asked and said to him: "Who has erased these?" And he said: "I will not hide this from you. The prostitute, as soon as she met Christ, washed his feet with tears and dried them with the hair of her head (Lk. 7, 36-50). But when I read, whenever I encounter the name of my God, I wet it with my tears, so that the remission of sins may come to me too from Him, and by this – he said – the letters are cancelled. For my heart is not watered, unless I cry in front of my Lord".

[20]For the place of story-telling in Christian rhetoric, see Av. CAMERON, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire: the Development of Christian Discourse* (Berkeley, 1994), pp. 89-119.

readings. So much so that, in his preaching, Theodore Studite could refer in passing to one anecdote in such a manner, as to rely on a widespread intimate knowledge of the episode on the part of his audience. The passage from MC I, 14 is carried over unmodified into K65:

> Καιρὸς ἀγρυπνίας, καιρὸς ἐγρηγόρσεως, καιρὸς βίας, καὶ τοσαύτης, ὡς αἵματα κενῶσαι· καθὼς ἔδειξεν ὁ τὸν πτύελον ἔναιμον ἀφεὶς τῇ γῇ, ὅσιός τις τῶν πατέρων· βία οὖν, καὶ βιαστῶν ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν. Βιάζεσθε ἀδελφοί μου, ἵνα ἅμα τῷ κρούματι πάντες ὁμοῦ εὐψύχως καὶ ἀγεληδὸν συνέρχησθε, ὡς ὑπὸ ἀγγέλου κληθέντες, ὁμιλῆσαι καὶ λατρεῦσαι Θεῷ, διὰ τῆς ὑμνωδίας·[21]

The monks were therefore acquainted with the episode of Achilles[22]:

> Παρέβαλέ τις τῶν γερόντων τῷ ἀββᾷ Ἀκιλᾷ καὶ θεωρεῖ αὐτὸν ῥίψαντα αἷμα ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ καὶ ῥώτησεν αὐτόν· Τί ἐστι τοῦτο, πάτερ; Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ γέρων ὅτι· Λόγος ἐστὶν ἀδελφοῦ λελυπηκότος με, καὶ ἠγωνισάμην τοῦ μὴ ἀναγγεῖλαι αὐτὸν καὶ ἐδεήθην τοῦ Θεοῦ ἵνα ἀρθῇ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ γέγονεν ὁ λόγος αἷμα ἐν τῷ στόματί μου, καὶ ἔπτυσα αὐτὸν καὶ ἀνεπάην καὶ τὴν λύπην ἐπελαθόμην.[23]

We can say with some certainty that Paul understood Theodore's reference, since this very passage of the *Apophtegmata Patrum* was included in S.[24]

Published detailed lists of the sources of S are not yet available for each author. For example, Ephrem is repeatedly referred to as 'Ephrem Syrus' in Wortley's article, though it is the spurious Ephrem Graecus, whose

---

[21]Transl. K65: It is time for vigil, time for awakening, time for violence, and that to such an extent, as to pour out blood; like that holy one of the fathers has shown, who sent forth to the earth his spittle full of blood. Thus the kingdom of heaven is violence and of those who use violence (Cf. Mt. 11, 12: ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν βιάζεται καὶ βιασταὶ ἁρπάζουσιν αὐτήν.). Use violence, my brothers, so that at the sound of the bell you may all enter together with one good spirit and in a large company, as if called by an angel, to speak with and to be of service to God, through the hymnody.

[22]Achilles 4: PG 65, 125; *Les Apophthègmes des Pères: collection systématique*, ed. P. GUY, SC 387 (1993), IV. 9, pp. 188-89.

[23]Transl. WARD, *The Sayings*, p. 29: "An old man who came to see Abba Achilles found him spitting blood out of his mouth. He asked him, 'What is the matter, Father?' The old man answered, 'The word of a brother grieved me, and I struggled not to tell him so I prayed God to rid me of this word. So it became like blood in my mouth and I have spat it out. Now I am in peace, having forgotten the matter'."

[24]At Book I, ch. 28, sect. 14: cf. REGNAULT, *Les Sentences*, no. 130, p. 206; this reference does not appear to be included in W. BOUSSET, *Apophthegmata: Studien zur Geschichte des ältesten Mönchtums* (Tübingen, 1923), pp. 174-75. Cf. J.-M. SAUGET, 'Paul Evergetinos et la Collection alphabético-anonyme des "Apophtegmata Patrum"', *OCP* 37 (1971), 223-35, at p. 227.

texts never had a Syriac counterpart, which is included in K. Relying on Wortley's statistical table, however, we can deduce that Ephrem played a much smaller role in K than in S, where he figures as the second most used source.[25]

Most of the other sources enumerated for S cannot be found in K. These are: Isaiah of Skete, Palladios, Gregory Dialogos, Isaak Syrus, Barsanouphios, Antiochos, the Life of Synkletike and other Lives from the Metaphrastic Menologion. The absence of hagiographical pieces from K is particularly notable, since liturgical homiliaries often included this genre.[26] This omission may be partly explained by the function of K, used for the temporal, rather than the sanctoral cycle of the liturgical year. Nevertheless, passages from hagiographies might still have been included within the catechetical address, in the same way as the stories from the Apophthegmata.

Each of the authors who furnish material for both S and K, namely, Mark the Monk, Maximos and Diadochos, occasion an overlap of texts for the two collections.

One of the two chapters of Diadochos forming K341, ch. 61, is also recorded in S, at Book 4, section 5.[27] The second group of readings from

---

[25]WORTLEY, 'Genre and Sources', p. 314. A detailed list of extracts from Barsanouphios and John was compiled by S. ZAMBYLLAS as an appendix of his unfinished D. Phil. thesis. For a list of extracts from the *Vita Syncleticae* in S, see A. PARKER , 'The *Vita Syncleticae* in the *Synagoge*: the Citations of Synkletike of Alexandria used by Paul of Evergetis', in *Work and Worship*, pp. 143-51, at 146-47.

[26]BHG, I, p. vi and n. 4: "tous ces documents homilétiques relèvent de l'hagiographie", quoted in GRÉGOIRE, 'Homéliaires', col. 609.

[27]É. DES PLACES, *Diadoque de Photicé: Oeuvres Spirituelles*, SC 5bis (1955), p. 76: "[Peterson] négligera entièrement les larges extraits de Paul Évergétinos *Synagoge*; à ce texte, parent de B [= *Monacensis gr.* 498], Peterson ne reconnaît qu'une mince valeur, et la collation que Dom Julien Leroy a bien voulu me communiquer pour le chap. 24 du Livre IV de l'Evergetinon, n'ajoute aucune leçon à celles que fournissent le mss. anciens." (cf. E. PETERSON, 'Zu griechischen Asketikern II. Zu Diadochus von Photike', *Byzantinische-Neugriechische Jahrbücher* 5 (1926-27), 414-18). B is described by Des Places at pp. 71-72. The identification of all the passages of Diadochos in S has been done by Janet Rutherford, The Queen's University, Belfast, and generously distributed to members of the Evergetis Project.

Maximos, from K154 to K160, contains passages from the *Liber asceticus*, parts of which were identified by Declerck in S:[28]

K156 = PG90, 928B1-929A3 = S III, 33, 3. 1-3 = PG90, 928B14-929A3

K157 = PG90, 929B4-932A10 = S IV, 8, 5. 1-5 = PG90, 929C2-15 +
S IV, 8, 5. 6-8 = PG90, 929D1-932A10.

The consecutive passages of the source presented in successive catecheses are split up across two different books in S, since the thematic ordering of S forced a greater alteration in the arrangement of the single excerpts. Declerck's list of quotations in Book IV of S continues with PG90, 932B3-8, while K omits this section, and picks up the reading at 932C (K158).

Leroy pointed to an overlap in the citations from Mark the Monk, which he studied in detail: both Book V, *Ad Nicolaum praecepta animae salutaria* and Book IX, *De jejunio*, are quoted in S and in K. Leroy's unpublished list of Mark's excerpts in S shows that Book V was used in different books of S. However, Leroy noticed that the quotations in S were often highly summarized, while a more complete text of the source was offered in K.[29] Leroy further showed that K and S had access to an identical source for Mark by comparing the readings of the only passage from Book IX found in S (at S I, ch. 45)[30] with K337 and their source, PG65, 1116B1-D4.

Turning to a text from Maximos and keeping in mind the imperfect state of the texts as printed (neither the text of Maximos nor S have been critically edited), I have attempted a similar tripartite comparison for K157,

---

[28]J. DECLERCK, 'Les citations de S. Maxime le Confesseur chez Paul de l'Évergétis', *Byzantion* 55 (1985) 91-117, at p. 102.

[29]I reproduce the list as given by Leroy:

PG 65, 1029C-1032C10	S IV, ch. 4
PG 65, 1033A11-1036A9 + 1036C4-1036C12	S I, ch. 32
PG 65, 1036D5-1037A	S I, ch. 18
PG 65, 1037D10-1040C14	S II, ch. 25
PG 65, 1041C9-1045B10	S II, ch. 35

CUNNINGHAM, 'Creative Selection?', at pp. 139-41, now gives a detailed overview of some of these adaptations.

[30]This reference is also mentioned by T. WARE, 'The Ascetic Writings of Mark the Hermit', unpublished D. Phil. thesis (Oxford, 1965), at p. 150; Dr. Ware adds that this passage is also found at S II, ch. 18. See below, at Ch. III, II, vii, for details of the use of Mark in K .

presented in the following parallel-texts table. The underlined sections denote passages discussed below. Square brackets enclose phrases omitted in K:

K157	S IV, ch. 8	PG90, 929b4-932a10
Ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πατέρες· [...] Μισήσωμεν οὖν τὴν πλησμονὴν καὶ τὴν πολυποσίαν· ποθήσωμεν δὲ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν, ἵνα τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν μαράνωμεν τῆς σαρκός· καὶ φίλοι ἐσόμεθα τῷ θεῷ· κτησώμεθα δὲ καὶ τὴν <u>καθαρὰν προσευχὴν</u> ἥτις <u>χωρίζει τὸν νοῦν ἡμῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς· καὶ τῷ θεῷ παρίστησιν αὐτόν</u>· εἰ δὲ βούλοισθε μαθεῖν πῶς τοῦτο γίνεται, <u>ἀκούσατε τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων τῶν ταύτην κατορθωσάντων· λέγουσι γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι</u>· ὅτι τὰ νοήματα· ἤγουν αἱ μελέται τοῦ λογισμοῦ, πραγμάτων εἰσὶ νοήματα· τὰ δὲ πράγματα, εἰσὶ μὲν καὶ αἰσθητά· εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ νοητά· ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν οὖν ὁ νοῦς διατρίβων, ἀνάγκην	Title: ὅτι <u>ἀδιαλείπτως προσεύχεσθαι</u> δεῖ, καὶ τί ἐστι τοῦτο, <u>καὶ πῶς κατορθούται</u>. <u>Ἡ συνεχὴς προσευχὴ</u> <u>χωρίζει τὸν νοῦν</u> [πάντων τῶν νοημάτων], <u>καὶ γυμνὸν αὐτὸν παρίστησι τῷ θεῷ·</u> [<u>Καὶ ἀπέκριθε ὁ γέρων</u>·] Τὰ γὰρ νοήματα, τῶν πραγμάτων εἰσὶ νοήματα· τῶν δὲ πραγμάτων, τὰ μὲν εἰσὶ αἰσθητά· τὰ δὲ νοητά· ἐν αὐτοῖς οὖν ὁ νοῦς διατρίβων, τὰ νοήματα αὐτῶν περιφέρειν·	<u>πῶς χωρίζει τὸν νοῦν πάντων τῶν νοημάτων</u>. [<u>Καὶ ἀπεκρίθη ὁ γέρων</u>·] Τὰ νοήματα, τῶν πραγμάτων εἰσὶ νοήματα· τῶν δὲ πραγμάτων, τὰ μὲν εἰσὶ αἰσθητά· τὰ δὲ νοητά· ἐν αὐτοῖς οὖν ὁ νοῦς διατρίβων, τὰ νοήματα αὐτῶν περιφέρειν·

ἔχει καὶ τὰ νοήματα αὐτῶν περιφέρειν· τουτέστι μελετᾶν καὶ λογίζεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν· ἡ τοίνυν χάρις τῆς προσευχῆς· ἐν ἑαυτῇ τὸν νοῦν μεθέλκουσα, κατ᾽ ὀλίγον· κατ᾽ ὀλίγον, χωρίζει ἀπὸ τὸν πραγμάτων· ὅταν οὖν ἐθίσῃ ὁ νοῦς μηδὲν ἄλλο φαντάζεσθαι· εἰ μὴ μόνον τὴν προσευχὴν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῆς, τῷ Θεῷ γυμνὸς παρίσταται καὶ συνομιλεῖ· ὡς ἤδη τὰ πράγματα πάντα τοῦ βίου παριδών· καὶ μηδεμίαν μελέτην ἔχων αὐτῶν, ἢ φροντίδα· καὶ γυμνὸς τῷ Θεῷ προσομιλῶν ὡς εἴρηται, θεοειδὴς γίνεται· τοιοῦτος δὲ γενόμενος, τὰ πρέποντα παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ αἰτεῖ· καὶ τῆς δεήσεως αὐτοῦ οὐ διαμαρτάνει ποτέ· διὰ τοῦτο οὖν ὁ ἀπόστολος ἀδιαλείπτως προσεύχεσθαι κελεύει, ἵνα τὸν νοῦν συνεχῶς τῷ Θεῷ συνάπτοντες, κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπορρήξωμεν τῆς τῶν ὑλῶν προσπαθείας·

ἡ δὲ χάρις τῆς προσευχῆς, τῷ Θεῷ συνάπτει τὸν νοῦν· τῷ δὲ Θεῷ συνάπτουσα, χωρίζει πάντων τῶν νοημάτων.

Τότε ὁ νοῦς γυμνὸς αὐτῷ προσομιλῶν, θεοειδὴς γίνεται.

Τοιοῦτος δὲ γινόμενος, τὰ πρέποντα παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ αἰτεῖ, καὶ τῆς δεήσεως αὐτοῦ οὐ διαμαρτάνει ποτέ. Διὰ τοῦτο οὖν ὁ ἀπόστολος ἀδιαλείπτως προσεύχεσθαι κελεύει, ἵνα τὸν νοῦν τῷ Θεῷ συνεχῶς συνάπτοντες, κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπορρήξωμεν τῆς τῶν ὑλικῶν προσπαθείας·

ἡ δὲ χάρις τῆς προσευχῆς, τῷ Θεῷ συνάπτει τὸν νοῦν· τῷ δὲ Θεῷ συνάπτουσα, χωρίζει πάντων τῶν νοημάτων.

Τότε ὁ νοῦς γυμνὸς αὐτῷ προσομιλῶν, θεοειδὴς γίνεται.

Τοιοῦτος δὲ γινόμενος, τὰ πρέποντα παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ αἰτεῖ, καὶ τῆς δεήσεως αὐτοῦ οὐ διαμαρτάνει ποτέ. Διὰ τοῦτο οὖν ὁ ἀπόστολος ἀδιαλείπτως κελεύει προσεύχεσθαι, ἵνα τὸν νοῦν τῷ Θεῷ συνεχῶς συνάπτοντες, κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπορρήξωμεν τῆς τῶν ὑλικῶν προσπαθείας·

καὶ πῶς ἐστι φησὶ δυνατὸν ἀδιαλείπτως τὸν νοῦν προσεύχεσθαι, καὶ γὰρ ψάλλοντες καὶ ἀναγινώσκοντες, καὶ συντυγχάνοντες καὶ διακονοῦντες, εἰς πολλὰ αὐτὸν περισπῶμεν νοήματά τε καὶ θεωρήματα· ουὐδὲν τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἡ θεία γραφὴ προστάσσει· ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ἀπόστολος, καὶ ἔψαλλε· καὶ ἐδίδασκε· καὶ ἀνεγίνωσκε· καὶ διηκόνει· καὶ ἔπασχε διωκόμενος, καὶ ἀδιαλείπτως προσήυχετο· ἀδιάλειπτος γάρ ἐστι προσευχή, τὸ τὸν νοῦν ἔχειν ἐν εὐλαβείᾳ πολλῇ καὶ πόθῳ προσκείμενον τῷ Θεῷ· καὶ τῆς ἐλπίδος αὐτοῦ ἀεὶ ἀποκρέμασθαι, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν θαρρεῖν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔργοις, καὶ τοῖς συμβαίνουσιν· οὕτω διακείμενος ὁ ἀπόστολος, ἔλεγε· τίς ἡμᾶς χωρίσει ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ Χριστοῦ; θλίψις, ἢ στενοχωρία, ἢ διωγμός, ἢ λιμός, ἢ γυμνότης, ἢ κίνδυνος, ἢ μάχαιρα· πέπεισμαι γὰρ ὅτι οὔτε θάνατος, οὔτε ζωή, οὔτε ἄγγελοι, οὔτε ἀρχαί, οὔτε δυνάμεις, οὔτε ἐξουσίαι, οὔτε ἐνεστῶτα, οὔτε μέλλοντα, οὔτε ὕψωμα, οὔτε βάθος, οὔτε τις κτίσις ἑτέρα,

[Καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς εἶπε·]
καὶ πῶς ὁ νοῦς δύναται ἀδιαλείπτως προσεύχεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ψάλλοντες καὶ ἀναγινώσκοντες καὶ συντυγχάνοντες καὶ διακονοῦντες, εἰς πολλὰ αὐτὸν περισπῶμεν νοήματά τε καὶ θεωρήματα·
[καὶ ἀπέκριθε ὁ γέρων·]
οὐδὲν τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἡ θεία γραφὴ προστάσσει· ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος, καὶ ἔψαλε *(sic)* καὶ ἀνεγίνωσκε, καὶ ἐδίδασκε καὶ διηκόνει καὶ ἔπασχε διωκόμενος καὶ ἀδιαλείπτως προσήυχετο.
Ἀδιάλειπτος γάρ ἐστι προσευχή, τὸ τὸν νοῦν ἔχειν ἐν εὐλαβείᾳ πολλῇ καὶ πόθῳ προσκείμενον τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ τῆς ἐλπίδος αὐτοῦ ἀεὶ ἀποκρέμασθαι· καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν θαρρεῖν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ τοῖς συμβαίνουσιν.
Οὕτω διακείμενος ὁ ἀπόστολος, ἔλεγε· Τίς ἡμᾶς χωρίσει ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ Χριστοῦ; θλίψις, ἢ στενοχωρία·

ἢ λιμός, ἢ μάχαιρα· καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα· πέπεισμαι γὰρ ὅτι οὔτε θάνατος, οὔτε ζωή, οὔτε ἄγγελοι, οὔτε ἀρχαί, οὔτε δυνάμεις, οὔτε ἐνεστῶτα, οὔτε μέλλοντα, οὔτε ὕψωμα, οὔτε βάθος, οὔτέ τις κτίσις ἑτέρα,

[Καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς εἶπε·]
καὶ πῶς ὁ νοῦς δύναται ἀδιαλείπτως προσεύχεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ψάλλοντες καὶ ἀναγινώσκοντες καὶ συντυγχάνοντες καὶ διακονοῦντες, εἰς πολλὰ αὐτὸν περισπῶμεν νοήματά τε καὶ θεωρήματα·
[καὶ ἀπέκριθε ὁ γέρων·]
οὐδὲν τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἡ θεία γραφὴ προστάσσει· ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος, καὶ ἔψαλλεν καὶ ἀνεγίνωσκε

καὶ διηκόνει
καὶ
ἀδιαλείπτως
προσήυχετο.
Ἀδιάλειπτος γάρ ἐστι προσευχή, τὸ τὸν νοῦν ἔχειν ἐν εὐλαβείᾳ πολλῇ καὶ πόθῳ προσκείμενον τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ τῆς ἐλπίδος αὐτοῦ ἀεὶ ἀποκρέμασθαι· καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν θαρρεῖν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ τοῖς συμβαίνουσιν.
Οὕτω διακείμενος ὁ ἀπόστολος, ἔλεγε· Τίς ἡμᾶς χωρίσει ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ Χριστοῦ; θλίψις, ἢ στενοχωρία·

[καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. Καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα·]
πέπεισμαι γὰρ ὅτι οὔτε θάνατος, οὔτε ζωή, οὔτε ἄγγελοι. [καὶ πάλιν· ἐν παντὶ θλιβόμεοι, καὶ οὐ στενοχωρούμενοι· ἀπορούμενοι, καὶ οὐκ ἐξαπορούμενοι·

δυνήσεται ἡμᾶς χωρίσαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ Θεοῦ· τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν· ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

δυνήσεται ἡμᾶς χωρήσαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ Θεοῦ· τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν.

διωκόμενοι, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ καταλιμπανόμενοι· καταβαλλόμενοι, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἀπολλύμενοι. Πάντοτε τὴν νέκρωσιν τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι περιφέροντες, ἵνα καὶ ἡ ζωὴ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ φανερωθῇ ἐν τῇ θνητῇ σαρκὶ ἡμῶν.]

In some ways, S is closer than K to the text of Maximos reproduced in PG, as may be expected of an anthology. Notably, S maintains the dialogue structure of the passage in its entirety, whereas the rubrics introducing the speaker (Καὶ ἀπέκριθε ὁ γέρων or Καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς εἶπε) are smoothed out in K by being made more generic and discursive (λέγουσι γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι· ὅτι). The text is transformed to be made suitable for oral delivery. The direct speech structure is slightly reworked, probably to ease comprehension for the listeners.

K adds two passages to Maximos' PG text. The first is an introductory passage, much more developed than the one in S.[31] The title of S, however, summarizes the aim of this chapter of sayings on continuous prayer in a manner not dissimilar from K:

> ὅτι *ἀδιαλείπτως προσεύχεσθαι* δεῖ, καὶ τί ἐστι τοῦτο, καὶ πῶς κατορθούται.

These concerns are echoed at K157 in the phrase:

> εἰ δὲ βούλησθε μαθεῖν <u>πῶς δὲ τοῦτο γίνεται</u>, ἀκούσατε τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων τῶν ταύτην <u>κατορθωσάντων</u>·

The phrase

> χωρίζει τὸν νοῦν πάντων τῶν νοημάτων

that K and S have in common in this introductory section comes from the text of Maximos. S introduces the synonym συνεχὴς for ἀδιάλειπτος as

---

[31]The passage is not, in this case, the introduction at the beginning of the catechesis, but rather a link passage between a previous quotation also from Maximos and the passage included in S. The two quotations formed a continuous passage in PG.

the adjective characterizing prayer (cf. 1 Thess. 5, 17). The synonym is not found in K.

The second passage added by K functions like an explicative gloss, detailing the movement of the soul away from concrete realities. In this passage, unparalleled in either S or PG, the praying soul is described as 'naked' while in conversation with God. This adjective had been omitted earlier in the K text (καὶ τῷ Θεῷ παρίστησιν αὐτόν·), where it was present in the parallel passage of S addded to PG (καὶ γυμνὸν αὐτὸν παρίστησι τῷ Θεῷ·). While the earlier omission may be no more than a scribal error, the insistence on this adjective in passages added to the source in both S and K may show their common origin.

Two further details emerge from the comparison of the three texts. In one case the word order coincides between K and S against PG: προσεύχεσθαι κελεύει in K and S as against κελεύει προσεύχεσθαι in PG. In the following sentence, agreement of K and S is only supported by the fourteenth-century witness of K, Cr: τῷ Θεῷ συνεχῶς in Cr, S and PG against συνεχῶς τῷ Θεῷ of the early mss. of K (M and A).

A perhaps more interesting agreement between K and S against PG is the addition of the words καὶ ἐδίδασκε and καὶ ἔπασχε διωκόμενος. All K manuscripts agree on the addition, although Cr typically alters the order of words. This coincidence is the only positive sign that K and S were using the same manuscript (or manuscript family) of Maximos, different from that used in PG. It is unlikely that this passage was Paul's reworking, since it occurs in the middle of a long, uninterrupted quotation from the source.

A look at how each text handles the biblical quotation from Romans, ch. 8, reveals a complex situation. For v. 35, a more complete list is found in K than in S, where ἢ διωγμός is omitted between στενοχωρία and λιμός, and ἢ γυμνότης, ἢ κίνδυνος are omitted before μάχαιρα.

Similarly, K's quotation of v. 38 appears more complete, with the inclusion of οὔτε ἐξουσίαι. However, this element is missing from manuscript M.

Neither the S or the K lists match the text established in *Novum Testamentum Graece*. The critical apparatus for this passage is very complex even in the early Gospel manuscripts.[32] Some of these textual discrepancies must surely be due to the peculiar character of quotations from Scripture, that run the risk of being written or transcribed from memory by the monastic author or scribe.[33] The formula καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς after the incipit of these well-known Pauline quotations, found in PG, indeed encouraged the scribes or readers to complete the quotation from memory. The following scriptural quotation, that of 2 Cor. 4, 10-11, is cited in full in PG, but omitted in both K and S.

Finally, we find in S and PG a phrase implying the omission of verses 36 and 37, since v. 38 is introduced as taking place καὶ μετ᾽ ὀλίγα. K omits this precision. Yet the difference between K and S on this point need not be so decisive, since the short phrase would have made little sense in oral delivery.

In conclusion, comparison between K and S is a useful tool to test the relation between the two works. No incompatibility of authorship between S and K has been evidenced, while a number of conceptual and linguistic similarities in passages not directly dependent on the source point towards a single compiler. Leroy's opinion that these florilegia used the same source text may only be conclusively confirmed by a more accurate study of the textual tradition of both S and its sources. It would be particularly useful to

---

[32]NTG, p. 424.

[33]But compare the statistical results for Latin manuscripts by B. BLUMENKRANTZ, 'Fidélité du scribe — les citations bibliques', in *Juifs et chrétiens: patristique et Moyen Âge*, Variorum Reprints (London, 1977), I, p. 326, maintaining that "les scribes, très souvent, copiaient avec plus d'attention les citations scripturaires que le reste du texte".

discover a specific manuscript excerpted by the compiler.[34] Yet even in this case, comparison should take into account the compiler's interest in adapting, rather than simply copying, the source text.

The differences between the works are explicable in terms of their different functions, one for oral delivery, the other more probably for private reading and meditation, or even for consultation in the manner of a reference work.[35] Therefore, even the reworked passages that could best witness to a common origin are not copied from S into K (or vice-versa), but received a different treatment in each. In particular, K is freer to adapt and to add to its sources, while S keeps modifications to a minimum. On the other hand, K preserves the sequence of the source text more accurately than S.

The small number of overlapping texts across the compilations is remarkable. To Leroy, the phenomenon clearly signified the conscious intervention of one mind, carefully selecting different sources so as to ultimately obtain complementary works. While some texts, such as

---

[34]A promising case of identification was explored in ms. *Monacensis gr.* 498 (B), which Des Places had indicated as a source for S concerning the texts of Diadochos of Photike (cf. footnote no. 27 above). Textual comparison of K341 with Des Places' apparatus revealed that B offered the closest similarities to the readings of K too (details of this comparison are given below, in the section on Diadochos). Two further factors made the manuscript a likely candidate: its early date (10th cent.: cf. HARDT, *Catalogus*, V, 180-200, at p. 181), and the fact that the folios were heavily annotated in the margins. Since the manuscript is a compilation of ascetic texts, I chose to compare a different author whose text could have been used by Paul. I therefore compared the text of Evagrios' *De Oratione* (K342-343, K347-348) to this manuscript. The microfilm of B was made available to me at the I.R.H.T., where Paul Géhin informed me that B carries an individual text, which represents the convergence of two families of manuscripts (see *Évagre le Pontique: Scholies à l'Ecclésiaste*, ed. P. GÉHIN, SC 397 (1993), p. 49 at n. 1 and p. 51 at n. 1, for the new editions in preparation). The result of the comparison yielded a list of agreements insufficient to arrive at a positive conclusion as to Paul's use of precisely this manuscript. Nevertheless, a distinctive cross could be seen after the word μὴν at chapter 79, where Paul's quotation begins. The cross was not used to mark the insertion of scholia or omitted text, nor did it replace the cross marking the beginning of that chapter, regularly appearing before the word Ναὶ. The Munich manuscript also contains the text of John Carpathos included in K, at fols. 161-173, used by Pontanus as a base text for his Latin translation of this work: M.-T. DIDIER, 'Jean de Carpathos. L'homme, l'oeuvre, la doctrine spirituelle', *EO* 31 (1932), 284-303, at p. 291, ms. no. 2bis and pp. 295-96. Of course, the compiler need not have resorted to the same manuscript for all his sources; but the coincidence of a number of authors used in both K and S constituted a further cause of interest for this codex.

[35]WORTLEY, 'Genre and Sources', p. 312: "It is an encyclopaedia; a monastic ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία"; WARE, 'Prayer and the Sacraments', p. 326: "The *Synagoge*, then, is a manual or encyclopaedia, not an anthology; and it is a manual pre-eminently for monks".

Theodore's catecheses, were ideally suited for inclusion in a homiliary, the placing of others may have depended on the degree of modification desired, or on other, less clearly definable criteria.

Some of the expectations raised by scholars as to the inspiration behind S are answered by the inclusion of those sources in K, particularly with respect to the influence of Studite monasticism on the spirituality of S. Envisaging the two works as counterparts of each other also sheds light on the process of monastic foundation started by Paul at the Evergetis. Far from being a purely spiritual and regrettably impractical figure, the first founder had provided the essential instruments for the running and perpetuation of the monastery: the liturgical homiliary heard in church was a foretaste of the spiritual teaching that could be deepened by dipping thematically into the rich florilegium.

I. iii) S and K in context: sources of monastic spirituality.

The question as to how unusual are the sources chosen for inclusion in S and K ought to be addressed.

A document dating to the end of the eleventh century furnishes an excellent list of books expected to be available in a monastic library, for the spiritual nourishment of the monks:

> [...] αἱ τῶν θεσπεσίων καὶ ἁγίων πατέρων ἡμῶν, Ἀθανασίου, Βασιλείου, τοῦ Νύσσης καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτούς, ἐκτεθεῖσαι ἀσκητικαὶ καὶ θεόπνευστοι βίβλοι, ῥυθμίζουσαι τήν τε συνδιαγωγὴν καὶ τὴν συνδιαίτησιν καὶ πᾶσαν ἁπλῶς τὴν τῶν μοναχῶν ζωήν τε καὶ πολιτείαν, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἡ πρώτης ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ συντεθεῖσα μεγίστη βίβλος τῶν ἁγίων γερόντων τῆς Σκήτεως, Θηβαΐδος τε καὶ Λιβύης, τὰς ἱερὰς πολιτείας καὶ ἀποφθέγματα τούτων κατὰ στοιχεῖον ἐμπεριέχουσα. Ἐπεὶ δέ, χάριτι Χριστοῦ, καὶ τῶν μαθηματικῶν καὶ φιλοσόφων τοῦ κόσμου πολλοί, τὴν *στενὴν καὶ τεθλιμμένην* ἑλόμενοι, μοναχοὶ καὶ ἅγιοι γεγόνασι, συνεγράψαντο καὶ οὗτοι βίβλους θεοπνεύστους οὐκ ὀλίγας, αἳ καὶ εἰσὶν οὕτως· ἡ τοῦ ὁσίου Παλλαδίου πρὸς Λαῦσον, ἡ τοῦ ὁσίου Ἰωάννου πρὸς τὸν μαθητὴν

> Σωφρόνιον ἤτοι ὁ Νέος Παράδεισος, ἡ τοῦ ὁσίου Κασιανοῦ, ἡ τοῦ ὁσίου Ἰσαάκ, ἡ τοῦ ὁσίου Ἡσαΐου, αἱ τοῦ Ἐφραΐμ, ἡ τοῦ ὁσίου Ἰωάννου τῆς κλίμακος, ἡ τοῦ ὁσίου Μάρκου, ἡ τοῦ ὁσίου Διαδόχου, ἡ τοῦ ὁσίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Καρπάθου, ἡ τοῦ ὁσίου Θαλασσίου, ἡ τοῦ ὁσίου Νείλου, ἡ τοῦ ὁσίου Μαξίμου, ἡ τοῦ ὁσίου Ἀντιόχου ἤτοι ὁ Πανδέκτης, καὶ αἱ βίβλοι τοῦ ἁγίου ὁσιομάρτυρος Θεοδώρου τοῦ Στουδίτου.[36]

The list overlaps to a significant degree with the sources chosen for K and S, fixing their context within a monastic tradition which was well established by the end of the eleventh century.[37]

As a homiliary, however, K is unique in assembling texts exclusively from this monastic "canon". The evidence for homiliaries given by Ehrhard on the basis of manuscript studies shows that these were formed by selections of homilies of John Chrysostom, Basil of Seleucia, Athanasios, Leontios of Constantinople, Gregory of Nyssa, Andrew of Crete.[38] By contrast, this homiletic tradition is conspicuously absent from K.[39]

Ephrem is the only author K has in common with the homiliaries catalogued by Ehrhard. Yet a closer look at the specific texts of Ephrem chosen in the homiliaries reveals no overlapping with the texts presented in K. While ready-made homilies were normally transposed into homiliaries (e.g. Ephrem CPG3935, 3946), K transformed prose treatises into coherent texts for oral delivery (see below for examples). Thus the compiler of K had

---

[36]GAUTIER, 'Réquisitoire du patriarche Jean', ch. 5, pp. 100-03 with French transl.
[37]GAUTIER, 'Réquisitoire du patriarche Jean', at p. 7, n. 9, suggests that the Evergetis library was the direct source of John's description. This view is accepted by THOMAS, *Private Religious Foundations*, at p. 220 and n. 19.
[38]See as a representative example the descriptions of the homiliary, codex *Blataion* 6 (7) from Thessaloniki: PH. EUSTRATIADES & PR. LEONTOPOLEOS, *Καταλόγος τῶν ἐν τῇ μονῇ Βλατέων (Τσαυς-μοναστηρι) ἀποκειμένων κωδικῶν* (Thessaloniki, 1918), pp. 16-19; EHRHARD, *Überlieferung*, II, pp. 242-48; GRÉGOIRE, 'Homéliaires', col. 609. This homiliary was considered among the earliest extant homiliaries, dated by Ehrhard to the ninth century. The script, however, in a clear, early *bouletée*, establishes the correct dating in the mid-tenth century: M.-L. AGATI, *La minuscola 'bouletée'*, Littera Antiqua 9, 2 vols. (Città del Vaticano, 1992), pp. 136-37, pl. 88 (fol. 365r, detail of script).
[39]The Byzantine homiletic tradition from the fourth to the tenth century has been recently sketched by Th. ANTONOPOULOU, *The Homilies of the Emperor Leo VI* (Leiden, 1996), at pp. 95-115.

a wider range of texts to draw from within one author and his choices were not determined by the previous homiletic production. It is perhaps because of this flexibility that the homiliary is able to include a number of texts from the "Eastern" spiritual tradition.[40]

It is difficult, however, not to detect in the selection of sources a precise choice of the rhetorical level at which these catecheses were to be addressed. The very existence of this low-level, simple delivery, taking its motions from the Socratic "philosophical" rhetoric reinterpreted in the Christian context of the missionary sermon, is hardly recognized for the Byzantine tradition. In his treatment of Christian rhetoric, G. A. Kennedy characterizes Byzantine rhetoric as "sophistic" rhetoric,[41] with representatives such as Gregory Nazianzen, John Chrysostom and, in the eleventh century, Psellos. Kennedy ignores figures such as Theodore Studite, whose preaching, widely popular in the Middle Ages, would alter this picture.

On the contrary, the presence of low-level oratory (*sermo rusticus*) is amply attested in the West. Its illustrious propounders, such as Bede, have contributed to making this style of preaching characteristic of the Middle Ages. It is generally recognized that the widely read work which contributed to reducing the role and influence of rhetoric, was the *Cura pastoralis*, or *Pastoral care*, of Gregory the Great (pope 590-604).[42]

> Ages.

What is not usually remembered is that Gregory's work had very likely undergone a translation into Greek.[43] The survival of a less sophistical or rhetorically self-conscious strand of preaching in the Byzantine tradition should therefore be considered as a counterpart to that in the West, just as

---

[40]Eastern influences on Byzantine spirituality, with particular reference to hagiography, are explored in the seminal work by P. PEETERS, *Le Tréfonds oriental de l'hagiographie byzantine* (Bruxelles, 1950).

[41]G. A. KENNEDY, *Classical Rhetoric and its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times* (Chapel Hill, 1980), pp. 16-17.

[42]KENNEDY, *Classical Rhetoric*, p. 179; see also ANTONOPOULOU, *The Homilies*, p. 113.

[43]R. LIZZI, 'La traduzione greca delle opere di Gregorio Magno: dalla *Regula Pastoralis* ai *Dialogi*', in *Gregorio Magno e il suo tempo*, Studia Ephemeridis "Augustinianum" 34 (Rome, 1991), pp. 41-57, at 44.

Byzantine homiliaries had Carolingian and later medieval counterparts.[44] It cannot be excluded that Gregory's book may have had an influence on Byzantine preaching.

Only recently, an analysis of the language of Theodore Studite has brought about an awareness of his use of colloquial or low style vocabulary and expressions. In trying to find a reason for this popular choice, Fatouros suggested that Theodore was making a theological statement in adopting spoken language for texts transmitted in written form, which he characterized as "eine gewisse Distanzierung von der Schultheologie", particularly significant in the recent climate of Iconoclasm.[45] Another reason suggested by Fatouros is that of an adaptation to the varying levels of literacy: the catecheses should aim at being comprehensible to an audience probably consisting of monks of varying levels of education. The Evergetis homiliary is one more testimony to simple Byzantine preaching in a monastic milieu.[46]

The sources of S reinforce K's allegiance to a simple monastic canon, by excluding a number of authors usual as sources for monastic florilegia. In fact, both its most illustrious ancestor, Pseudo-Anastasios of Sinai's *Questions and Answers*, and its immediate descendants, Nikon of the Black Mountain's *Pandects* and John the Oxite's *Eclogae asceticae*, included the teaching of the early Church Fathers such as, for example, Basil the Great,

---

[44]The influence of Western Carolingian homiliaries on Byzantine collections is proposed by ANTONOPOULOU, *The Homilies*, pp. 113-14. The structure of the article on Homiliaries Eastern and Western in *DS* has helped to bring out such parallels, as well as emphasize differences.

[45]FATOUROS, 'Zur Sprache', p. 128.

[46]A related genre of simple preaching is that of the spiritually beneficial tales, similar to those in Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*, which had displayed particular continuity in the Byzantine tradition and had a revival in the ninth and tenth centuries. Cf. J. WORTLEY, *Les récits édifiants de Paul, Évêque de Monembasie, et d'autres auteurs* (Paris, 1987), p. 7 and n. 17 for the contextualization of the genre; cf. also Wortley's transl., *The Spiritually Beneficial Tales of Paul of Monembasia*, CS 159 (1996), pp. 25-26. M. SPINELLI, 'Dagli *Apophtegmata Patrum* alla *Philocalia* greca', *Benedectina* 30 (1983), 195-202, records recent publications in this field.

Gregory Nazianzen and Cyril of Jerusalem, among their sources.[47] It is notable that the only Father quoted by S is Pope Gregory the Great (as Gregory Dialogos). The compiler of S chose excerpts of Gregory's Life of Benedict, side by side with a wealth of hagiographical material belonging to the Metaphrastian corpus.[48] Another eleventh-century florilegium noted for the similarity of its sources with S cannot be technically considered monastic because of its inclusion of profane literature.[49]

The distancing from the classical, theologically learned tradition of the Church Fathers observed in K and S may not, after all, reflect a state of affairs in which that tradition was unknown or altogether eliminated. As Hussey stated, "it was almost impossible for ascetics to cut themselves off from their Greek heritage".[50] Such knowledge is manifest in the citations from Gregory the Theologian, which we have encountered above. Moreover, it is likely that Ehrhard-type homiliaries were in use in the monastic offices, at times other than that reserved for the catechetical reading. There is a clear reference to a reading from Gregory in the catechesis for Pentecost.[51] Fixed feasts such as Christmas or the Transfiguration generated special homiliaries, gathering texts specifically for use on those occasions. The absence of texts for such feasts in K points to the use of such liturgical books.

Nevertheless, there is doubtless a sense in which K and S set out to define stricter boundaries for the monastic life by assembling ascetic texts

---

[47]RICHARD, 'Florilèges', cols. 501, 503-06.
[48]N. PATTERSON SHEVCHENKO, *Illustrated Manuscripts of the Metaphrastian Menologion* (Chicago, 1990), p. 4 and n. 26, suggests that Paul "may well have been relying on volumes of the Metaphrastes in his own private library".
[49]SARGOLOGOS, *Le florilège de Patmos*, p. 27.
[50]HUSSEY, *Ascetics and Humanists*, p. 11.
[51]K43: ἡ μεγάλη ἡμέρα ἐφέστηκε τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς· καὶ περὶ ταύτης μὲν εἰπεῖν, οὐκ ἔχομεν· προλαβόντες γὰρ οἱ ἅγιοι ἡμῶν πατέρες ἐδίδαξαν ὅσα ἔδει· καὶ πλέον πάντων, ὁ τῆς θεολογίας Γρηγόριος· εἴπωμεν δὲ εἰ βούλεσθε, τὰ καθ' ἔθος. Cf. Ch. II, I, iii.

that spoke in plain language about the requirements and difficulties of that choice of life. The echo of such a monastic "canon" in the writings of the outspoken critic of *charistikia*, John of Antioch, well reflects the wider context of the monastic movements in which K and S were received by the end of the eleventh century.

PART II

ANALYSIS OF SOURCES

II. i) Method of presentation.

In this section, each source will be enumerated in turn. The sources are ordered according to the decreasing number of texts included in K from each source. An introductory paragraph will provide some basic information about the source author.

A list of borrowings is given for each author, ordered by the sequence number of edition of the source text, rather than by the consecutive K number. The list is based on a revised version of Leroy's analysis of K,[52] without which the results presented here would have been much harder to attain. Nevertheless, these results may undergo further refinements, especially for those catecheses where the arrangement of the excerpts has been freer and less ordered.

The presentation in the order of the source text aims at giving an overview of the selections made of each source, and thus provide a reference work for all further research into the individual authors.

II. ii) Theodore Studite.

The omission of Studite texts from S is compensated by the extensive use of this source in K. Studite texts account for 220 of the total number of K texts. The great number of catecheses of Theodore Studite was certainly the reason for the manuscript catalogues' adoption of a heading under that name as a description of K.

Theodore Studite (759-826) was a great monastic reformer and combative iconophile during the second iconoclast crisis (813-826).[53] While

---

[52]Leroy's tables will be published in a forthcoming volume of Studi e Testi.

[53]For a lively account of Theodore's political activity, cf. P. KARLIN-HAYTER, 'A Byzantine Politician Monk: Saint Theodore Studite', *JÖB* 44 (1994), 217-32; for the monastic activity cf. J. LEROY, 'La réforme studite', in *Il monachesimo orientale*, OCA 153 (1958), pp. 181-214 and

his personal sanctity was recorded in three versions of the *Vita*,[54] his preaching is extant in a vast body of writings in different genres: catecheses and letters, treatises and iambic poetry.[55]

Clearly, the great popularity of the catecheses, especially in their "Small" collection, made the Studite texts an obvious choice for inclusion in a monastic liturgical homiliary.[56] Further, one may identify in the Studite tradition a source of inspiration for the Evergetis foundation, which embodied two of the most fundamental traits of the Studite spirit of reform: an emphasis on cenobitic life, stressing the virtue of obedience due to the abbot as the pivotal point of community life,[57] and a return to the sources of monastic spirituality, such as are embodied in the selection of K and S.[58] Thus, Theodore was undoubtedly a model for Paul in shaping his rôle as *higoumenos* and founder.

The kind of Studite influence to which Paul was subject in Constantinople was not only a theoretical one, limited to Theodore's writings, but overlapped with the living monastery itself. Despite the lamentable absence of a comprehensive history of Stoudios, there are clear signs of its flourishing in the eleventh century, for example, through records

---

'Saint Théodore Studite', in *Théologie de la vie monastique*, pp. 423-36; the latest comprehensive work (with an extensive bibliography) on Theodore Studite is R. CHOLIJ, 'The Ordering of Holiness: Life and Thought of Theodore the Stoudite', unpublished D. Phil. thesis (Oxford, 1996).

[54]BHG 1754-1755a-m.

[55]M.-H. CONGORDEAU, 'Théodore Studite', *DS* 15 (1990), cols. 401-14, at 403-05. See also CHOLIJ, 'The Ordering of Holiness', pp. 83-89, for an account of the state of publication of PC and MC.

[56]ANTONOPOULOU, *The Homilies*, p. 111, points out that the transmission of Theodore's catecheses under their author's name, and not dispersed in homiliaries, represents a unique phenomenon among Byzantine texts of monastic preaching.

[57]A *locus classicus* of the Studite commitment to cenobitism re-interprets the Pauline image of the church as Christ's body (1 Cor. 12: 12) in terms of the coenobium: cf. MC I, 5 = K34: LEROY, 'Saint Théodore', p. 434 and n. 77 (with French transl.). For Christian body symbolism as symbolic of a higher truth, cf. CAMERON, *Christianity*, pp. 68-69, with bibliography.

[58]Stoudios was an important centre for the transmission of the ascetic literature constituting Paul's sources. The major transition from uncial to minuscule script was enacted there (cf. C. MANGO, 'L'origine de la minuscule', in *La Paléographie grecque et byzantine*, Colloques Internationaux du Centre de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, 21-25 octobre 1974 (Paris, 1977), pp. 175-79, at 176; B. FLUSIN, 'Les débuts de l'humanisme byzantin', in J. GLENISSON, ed., *Le Livre au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1988), pp. 122-31, at 123-26).

of its manuscript production.[59] This activity of manuscript production was at the same time an editorial entreprise, which not only guaranteed the material availability of spiritual texts, but also their orthodoxy. The importance of the monastery had the power to grant spiritual legitimacy even to the use of controversial sources. For example, the note inserted as a prologue to the Studite recension of Dorotheos of Gaza defended Mark, Isaiah, Barsanouphios, Dorotheos and Hesychios from doubts of heresy.[60]

The inclusion of the *Magna Catechesis* in K, a text less widespread in the manuscript tradition than the *Parva Catechesis*, adds probability to the hypothesis of Paul's close contacts with the Studite foundation.[61] K provides the only other medieval witness to the first book of the *Magna Catechesis*, extant in one other manuscript, codex *Patmiacus gr.* 111.[62] Leroy's philological interest was particularly drawn to K's contribution in establishing a text for this book, which remains to this day only partially published.[63] The indirect transmission of Theodore in K should be taken into account for an updating of the older and notoriously inadequate editions of the Studite catecheses.[64]

---

[59]P. CANART, 'Cinq manuscrits transférés directement du monastère de Stoudios à celui de Grottaferrata?', in *Bisanzio e l'Italia, raccolta di studi in memoria di Agostino Pertusi* (Milano, 1982), pp. 19-28, enumerates the production of four tenth-century codices and the donation to the monastery of an illuminated copy of Gregory Nazianzen in 1018 at pp. 21-23; see p. 20, n. 3 for a long resumé of the literature about the monastery. The famous illuminated marginal psalter known as the Theodore Psalter (MS. British Library, Addit. 19. 352), traditionally attributed to Stoudios, was produced in 1066: cf. S. DER NERSESSIAN, *L'Illustration des Psautiers grecs du Moyen Âge*, II: *Londres Add. 19. 352* (Paris, 1970). Other evidence of the activity of the monastery at the end of the tenth century comes indirectly through the Life of Symeon the New Theologian, cf. T. SPIDLÍK, 'Syméon le Nouveau Théologien', *DS* 14 (1990), 1387-1401, at col. 1387.

[60]L. REGNAULT & J. DE PRÉVILLE, eds., *Dorothée de Gaza, Oeuvres spirituelles*, SC 92 (1963), pp. 106-09 (see below, under Dorotheos of Gaza: Ch. III, II, v). Another instance of Studite editorial activity is presented by F.-M. GUÉTET, 'Une récension studite des règles basiliennes', in *Mélanges bénédictines* (Saint-Wandrille, 1947), pp. 61-68, esp. pp. 64-67.

[61]ANGOLD, *Church and Society*, at p. 272, hangs the connexions between the Evergetis and St. John Stoudios on this evidence.

[62]LEROY, 'Un nouveau témoin', p. 75; at p. 82: "le manuscrit utilisé était par son texte très proche du *Patmiacus*".

[63]A detailed table of published and unpublished catecheses is given in CHOLIJ, 'The Ordering of Holiness', at p. 91. For the unpublished texts of Book I of MC, I have worked from Leroy's typewritten transcriptions, which were made available to me through the generosity of the I.R.H.T. in Paris, with the consent of Mgr. P. Canart.

[64]Some debate has been sparked off by the re-discovery of a manuscript from the Kosinitza monastery, which I have not been able to consult. SHEVCHENKO, 'Kosinitza 27', at p. 438,

To approach the study of Studite texts in K, three tables will be offered: a) a table of common incipits; b) a table of correspondences MC-K; c) a table of correspondences PC-K. The distribution of MC in K was analysed in detail by Leroy, although his conclusion, that the disrupted sequence reflects the state of the quires of an unbound manuscript used by the compiler of K, appears to me ingenious yet far-fetched, considering the freedom of re-arrangement and transposition the compiler has shown for all other sources.[65]

a) Tables of Common Incipits.

The number of incipits coinciding between K and TS is much smaller than the total number of borrowed texts, since the openings of catecheses are often modified or the texts inserted only after a different introductory paragraph. Conversely, a few identical incipits disguise texts whose continuation is not common, highlighted in bold in the reference table. Some incipits which are almost identical are also listed to avoid potential confusion. The table is ordered alphabetically by incipit, and is divided between PC and MC.

Incipit	**K**	**TS, PC**
ἀεὶ τῶν εὐεργεσίων	31	43
ἄλλο ἐστι τὸ	364	77

claims that "the readings of Kosinitza 27 may lead us to the text of the first posthumous edition of the *Small Catecheses*." However, J. LEROY, 'Regards critiques sur un manuscrit des *Petites Catéchèses* de Théodore Studite (ex-*Kosinitza* 27)', *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 9 (1979), 267-77, expressed doubts concerning the overwhelming importance of this codex in the stemma. The microfilm of this ms. is not at Dumbarton Oaks, as signalled in Shevchenko's article at p. 437, on the basis of J. L. SHARPE, 'A Checklist of Collections of Biblical and Related Manuscripts on Microfilm in the United States and Canada', *Scriptorium* 25 (1971), 97-109, at p. 108. The purchase of the codex by the National Library of Paris occasioned another descriptive article by Ch. ASTRUC, 'Le *Parisinus Suppl. gr.* 1386 (ex-*Kosinitza* 27)', *Scriptorium* 38 (1984), 272-87.
Further twelfth-century fragments of Theodore's catecheses can be noted in D. GETOV, *A Checklist of the Greek Manuscript Collection at the Ecclesiastical Historical and Archival Institute of the Patriarchate of Bulgaria* (Sofia, 1997), no. 583, p. 13.
[65]LEROY, 'Un nouveau témoin', p. 85. For a table of the distribution of PC in K, cf. Ch. II, I, ii.

βιωτικοὶ μὲν ἄνδρες	331	55
γῇ μὲν ἅπαξ	18	28
ἐγγίζει ἡ ἡμέρα	363	67
ἐν τῇ παρούσῃ	**8**	63
ἐπειδὴ πᾶσα ἀρχὴ	333	56
ἡ ἀναλήψιμος παρέστι	**13**	8
ἡ τεσσαρακοστὴ ἤδη	362	66
θέρους ὥρα καθὼς	95	17
καλὴ ἡ νηστεία	340	59
λαλεῖν ἡμᾶς δεῖ	360	14
νόμος καθολικός ἐστι	320	50
ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἡμῶν	334	53
ὁ εὐαγγελισμὸς πάρεστι	368	64
ὁ παρῶν καιρὸς	**265**	27
ὁ τῆς τεσσαρακοστῆς	332	54
οἱ ἐν σταδίῳ	26	35
ὅτι μὲν οὖν ὁ μοναχικὸς	53	94
ὅτι ὁ χειμὼν	365	68
	cf. **3**	
οὐδὲν ἐμπόδιον τῷ	52	93
οὐκ ἀκόπως ὑμῖν	45	90
οὔτε ἐγὼ ὀφείλω	35	46
πάλιν ἐπὶ τῶν	38	48
πανηγύρις ἐπιτελοῦνται κατὰ	17	23
παρατρέχω παρατρέχει ὁ	361	19
	14	
πᾶς ὁ ὀδεύων	54	95
πολλάκις μακαρίζων ὑμῶν	326	52
πολλοὺς ἡμῖν τρόπους	20	29
τὰς παρούσας ἡμέρας	327	49
τί εἴπω ἢ	232	25
τὸ ὀφειλόμενον ὑμῖν	40	80
τὸ ῥάθυμον ἡμῶν	39	79
χαίρω ἐφ᾽ ὑμῖν ὁ ... ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ	339	58
Ὡς καλὴ ἡ	346	76

Incipit	**K**	**MC**[66]
ἀεὶ ἀκούων καὶ ἐνωτιζόμενος	249	I. 68
ἀεὶ μὲν μαίνεται καὶ ὁρμᾷ	164	I. 39
αἰτεῖτε καὶ δέεσθε τοῦ θεοῦ	143	I. 31

[66]The incipits for MC were compiled in an inventory by J. Leroy, also to be be published as part as the forthcoming volume of Studi e Testi. I would here like to thank Dr. S. Voicu for having kindly given me access to the list, on the basis of which the comparison with K incipits was carried out.

ἀκοῇ ἀκούσατε καὶ συνιῶντες	234 [67]	I. 60
ἀκούομεν τοῦ θείου Δαυὶδ	239	I. 62
ἄλλος τις πόλεμος ἀκήρυκτος	120	I. 25
ἀνοίγω μου καὶ νῦν τὸ στόμα	100	I. 5
ἀνοίγω μου τὸ στόμα πάλιν	110	I. 9
ἅπαξ σιωπήσομαι, οἶδα τοῦτο	282	I. 75
ἅπερ διὰ τῆς γλώσσης	240	I. 63
ἄρχομαι πάλιν ὑμῖν παραπέμπεσθαι	104	I. 6
δέξασθε καὶ νῦν τὸν	200	I. 51
διὰ Σιὼν οὐ σιωπήσω	225	I. 56
διὰ τοῦτο εἰσήγαγεν ἡμᾶς	62	I. 2 [68]
διπλοὶ ἐσμὲν οἱ ἄνθρωποι	118	I. 24
δόξα τῷ θεῷ καὶ πάλιν ἐρῶ	284	I. 77 [69]
εἰ ἄνθρωποι καλούμενοι	292	I. 83
εἰ μὲν περὶ ἄλλου τινὸς	310	II. 1
εἰ ὁ σπείρων χαίρει	312	II. 2 [70]
ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ	267	I. 74
ἐν εὐθυμίᾳ ἠρξάμεν	161	I. 36
ἐν τίνι ἄλλῳ εἰμὶ ἐν μέσῳ	264	I. 72
ἐν τῷ ἀεννάως προστίθεσθαι	266	I. 73
ἐν τῷ προσακροᾶσθαι ὑμᾶς	152	I. 35
ἐξ ἀποστολικῆς προφωνήσεως	138	I. 29
ἐπισκοπῇ ἐπισκέπτομαι ὑμᾶς	83	I. 12
εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς τέκνα μου	172	I. 47
εὐλογῶ τὸν Θεὸν	318 [71]	II. 9
ἡ ἐμὴ χαρὰ καὶ προθυμία	288	I. 80
ἡ καρδία μου καιομένη ἐστι	223	III. 26 [72]
ἡ μὲν εὔσταχυς χώρα	115	I. 22
ἰδοὺ δίδωσιν ἡμῖν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ	109	I. 8 [73]
ἰδοὺ τὰ χείλη μου	69	I. 16
καὶ πάλιν ὑμῖν ἥκω	64	I. 13

---

[67]K234 begins on the first folio of cod. E; I have found the microfilm of fol. 1r hardly readable. I am therefore relying on Leroy's transcription of this incipit, which he read as ἀκοῇ ἀκούσατε καὶ συνίοντες.

[68]Leroy's transcription of this incipit for MC I. 2 is slightly different from K: διὰ τοῦτο ἐξήγαγεν ἡμᾶς.

[69]The incipit for MC I. 77 omits the article τῷ.

[70]PK, p. 10: εἰ ὁ σπορεὺς.

[71]K omits the words τοῦ πατρός μου from the incipit of MC and continues directly with καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν: PK, p. 56.

[72]The source for K223 is the continuation of MC I. 55: but material from that catechesis also formed the beginning to this Studite catechesis.

[73]Leroy transcribes ἡμῖν in his typewritten copy of MC I. 8, but gives ὑμῖν in the list of Theodore's incipits for Studi e Testi.

καλὸν ὑμῖν καὶ χρεωστικὸν	135	I. 28
καλὸς λαός ἐστε	287	I. 79
μὴ γίνεσθε νωθροὶ	230	I. 59
μὴ καταβαρησάτω ὑμᾶς	117	I. 23
ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἡμῶν Θεὸς ὁ διδοὺς	334	(=PC53)
ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἡμῶν Θεὸς ὁ ταχὺς		II. 61
ὁ γεωργὸς ὅταν ἴδῃ	16	
ὁ γεωργὸς ἐκεῖνα ἐπιζητεῖ		III. 39
οἱ ἐν σταδίῳ τρέχοντες ἅπαξ	26	(=PC35)
οἱ ἐν σταδίῳ τρέχοντες ἐπειδὴ		II. 120 [74]
οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις	291	I. 82
ὁ μὲν νόμος τῆς προστασίας	178	I. 49
ὄντως κατὰ τὴν ἱερὰν	319	II. 10
ὄντως ὅσον ὅσον	88	I. 17
ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ	98	I. 20
οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ἅπαξ ἢ δὶς	295	I. 86
οὐκ ὀκνηρόν μοί ἐστι	175	I. 48
οὔτε ἐγὼ ὡς νομίζω	147	I. 33
οὔτε τῇ δυνάμει	285	I. 78
ὀφειλέτης ὑμῶν εἰμι πάντοτε	222	I. 55
πάσης ἀποδοχῆς ἀξίαν	250	I. 70
τὰ ῥήματα τῆς ταπεινώσεώς μου	162	I. 37
τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ δύναμιν καὶ νῦν	150	I. 34
τὴν τῶν τιμίων ὑμῶν ψυχῶν	140	I. 30
τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα μου	133	I. 27
τὸ ὄφλημα ὃ χρεωστῶ	113	I. 21
χάριτι καὶ εὐδοκίᾳ	80	I. 11
χάριτι Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ	293	I. 84
ὡς γῆ πίων καὶ ἀγαθὴ	145	I. 32

b) Table of correspondences MC-K:

MC Book	Incipit	Desinit	Edition[75]	K
I 1	πρέπον ἡμῖν	ἐκπληρούντων τὰ [..] θελήματα	CL X, logos 102, pp. 110-12	61

[74] A variant to this incipit is given as τοῖς ἐν σταδίῳ.

[75] Correspondences between CL and PK are given by P. O'CONNELL, 'The *Letters* and *Catecheses* of Theodore Studites', *OCP* 38 (1972), 256-59, at p. 259. In the impossibility of referring to page numbers for the unpublished catecheses, and to line numbers for those catecheses published in CL, incipit and desinit of the borrowing from the source text are given. These do not always coincide with the incipit and desinit of the K text. Where a few words are omitted in the incipit, round brackets are inserted. Square brackets indicate a substantial omission from the source text: in this case, both the desinit and the incipit of the continuation are also given.

1 cont.	ἀπεταξάμεθα τῷ κόσμῳ·	doxology	CL X, logos 102, pp. 112-13	99
2	διὰ τοῦτο εἰσήγαγεν- περιπατεῖ· [..] οἱ τὴν ἐξουσίαν	αἰωνίως ἀγαλλιασόμεθα·	Unedited (second half om.)	62
3	[..] ὁ Θεὸς [..] κατὰ τὴν τοῦ προπάτορος	ταλαιπωρίαις, βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν ἀνταλλαξώμεθα·	Unedited	56
3 cont.	μάρτυρες ..., τὰ αἵματα αὐτῶν ἐκένωσαν·	ἄλλας ἀρετὰς μετερχώμεθα·	Unedited (with independent conclusion, om. end of MC text)	57
3 end	δίκαιος οἰκτείρει ψυχὰς	πολλοῦ ἡμῖν μισθοῦ	Unedited (cf. MC I, 5)	102
4	ἐπιδίδωμι καὶ νῦν τὸν	ἀταράχου ἀρετῆς·	Unedited	58
4 cont.	βλέπετε [...] τὰς λειτουργίας	πολλῶν σε καταστήσω	Unedited (beg. rephrased)	59
4 cont.	περίφοβοι ἐστὲ καὶ ἐπιμεληταὶ τῆς δοθείσης	πάντα δὲ τοὺς ἀκοιμήτους	Unedited (only section on candle lighting included; om. long last section on hospital)	60
cf. 5	——	——	Unedited (same simile of monastery as a body, but diff. words and scriptural quot.)	34
5 beg.	ἀνοίγω μου καὶ νῦν	λόγῳ διαγινόμενοι	Unedited	100
5 cont.	οἱ κεφαλῆς τόπον ἐπείχοντες,	ἀνακείμενον, πνευματικὸν ἔστι·	Unedited	101
5 cont.	ἀροτριῶντες, [..] ἵνα ὁ κόκκος	πάντα τὰ ἐπαγγελλόμενα·	Unedited (cf. MC I, 3)	102
5 end	ὁ λόγος· ἐν πυρὶ	τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν·	Unedited	103
6	ἄρχομαι πάλιν ὑμῖν	πέλαγος τοῦ τῇδε βίου	CL IX, logos 49, pp. 134-35	104
6 cont.	πλέουσι, [..] καὶ πνεύματα	τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς ἀδελφότητος	CL IX, logos 49, pp. 135-36 (a few ll. between K105-106 om.)	105
6 cont.	μὴ ζηλῶμεν τοὺς κακοὺς	πληρώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ·	CL IX, logos 49, pp. 136-37	106
6 end	ἀπαρχὴ ἡμῶν	αἰωνίων καὶ ἀθανάτων·	CL IX, logos 49, pp. 137-38 (des. om.)	107
7	στήκετε, ἀνδρίζεσθε- ἀτελευτήτου ζωῆς· [..] δέομαι οὖν	πολυυπνίᾳ· καὶ πολυφαγίᾳ·	CL X, logos 85, pp. 36-38 (beg., middle and end om.)	108
8	ἰδοὺ δίδωσιν ἡμῖν- καὶ μετεβιβάσθη· [..] προσαγάγωμεν	doxology	Unedited (only beg. and end incl.; with independent add.)	109

9	ἀνοίγω μου τὸ στόμα- ἐν ἀγάπῃ Θεοῦ· [..] μὴ κατε(λεή)σωμεν	χαρᾷ πολλῇ πρὸς τὸν Σωτήρα	Unedited	110
9 cont.	νικῶσι γὰρ οἱ δαίμονες	συνομοτρόπους· ἐν Χριστῷ κτλ.	Unedited (beg. rephrased)	111
10	ἀκούων τῆς μεγάλης φωνῆς τοῦ θείου	ἡ ψυχὴ, τρυφᾶ καὶ φωτίζεται	CL X, logos 106, pp. 128-30 (beg. om.)	70
10 cont.	ἐκ γὰρ τῆς πολυϋπνίας	ἐπὶ τῇ στενώσει ταύτῃ·	CL X, logos 106, pp. 130-31	78
10 end	μὴ ζητεῖτε ἐκ παντὸς	doxology	CL X, logos 106, pp. 131-32 (a few ll. om. between K78-79)	79
11	χάριτι καὶ εὐδοκίᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου	λόγον σοφίας καὶ εὐανδρίας·	Unedited	80
11 cont.	εὔζονοι γίνεσθε	χάσμα μέγα ἐστήρικται·	Unedited	81
11 cont.	μᾶλλον, ταλαιπωρήσωμεν· καὶ κοπιάσωμεν· ἀποστερούμενοι	διαμεριζόμενος καὶ συμπληρούμενος·	Unedited (long passage om. between K81-82; add. indep. concl.)	82
11 end	συγκαταβαίνετε ἀλλήλοις, ἐν μετριότητι·	καταξιῶν ὑμᾶς ἔτι καὶ ἔτι καὶ τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν	Unedited (passage om. between K82 and K84)	84
12	ἐπισκοπῇ ἐπισκέπτομαι ὑμᾶς	ὀρέγειν τοῖς κάμνουσιν·	Unedited (beg. only; add. long indep. passage)	83
12 cont.	ὁ δεινὸς ὄφις καὶ δράκων·	οἱ θεοφόροι πατέρες·	Unedited (om. passage between K83 and K85; short indep. concl.)	85
12 end	θυσίαν τῷ Θεῷ	τὰ ἀμήχανα κάλλη ἐκεῖνα κατοπτεύοντες,	Unedited (om. passage between K85-86; beg. and end rephrased)	86
13	καὶ πάλιν ὑμῖν ἥκω διὰ	ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις αὐτῶν·	Unedited (beg. only)	64
13 cont.	φέρετε γενναίως τὰ μοχθηρὰ καὶ ἐπώδυνα·	λοιπὸν ἕκαστος ὑπερβάλλειν	Unedited (middle and end)	63
14	δράμωμεν καὶ σπεύσωμεν εὐαρεστεῖν	λατρεῦσαι διὰ τῆς ὑμνωδίας·	CL IX, logos 17, pp. 46-47 (om. beg.)	65
14 cont.	ἀντιλαβεῖν [..] δωρεὰς θεοπαρόχους,	κατεπλήξαμεν αὐτοὺς διὰτοῦ κανόνος·	CL IX, logos 17, p. 47 (indep. beg.)	66
14 cont.	ἄλλος ἀλλαχοῦ· ἢ καὶ ὁμοθυμαδόν·	ζητοῦσιν αὐτὸν ἀεὶ πάρεστιν·	CL IX, logos 17, pp. 48-49 (a few ll. om. between K66-67; beg. paraphrased)	67

14 end	ἐπιμείνωμεν κρούοντες, ἵνα εἰσδέξηται ἡμᾶς	εὐφραινομένων ἡ κατοικία·	CL IX, logos 17, pp. 49-50 (beg. and end paraphrased)	68
16	ἰδοὺ τὰ χείλη μου οὐ μὴ κωλύσω·	γῆς πρὸς οὐρανὸν φέρουσαν, γενώμεθα·	CL X, logos 80, pp. 15-17	69
16 end.	τοῖς ὁδοιπόροις	ἵνα αἰώνια χαρῶμεν·	CL X, logos 80, pp. 17-19 (last section om.)	87
17	ὄντως ὅσον διεφύγομεν	στερούμενος, ἀγογγύστως·	CL X, logos 79, pp. 11-12	88
17 cont.	ὁ μακάριος Ἀββακύρης	ἀπὸ τοῦ πτώματος ἀνεκομίζετο πρὸς σωτηρίαν	CL X, logos 79, pp. 12-13 (indep. introd.)	89
17 end	Ἰούδας [..] οὐδὲν ἀπώνατο	ἐντελλομένοις ὑμῖν, [..] ἀγογγύστως,	CL X, logos 79, pp. 13-14 (om. end)	90
18	ἤθελον [..] μετὰ τοῦ λόγου	θεῷ καὶ τῇ συνοδίᾳ·	CL IX, logos 60, pp. 166-67	91
18 cont.	μὴ κατ᾽ ἐρίθειαν·	καθεύδοντες καὶ ἀναπαυόμενοι	CL IX, logos 60, pp. 167-68	92
18 cont.	δαίμονας ἤλασαν· ὅτι τυφλοὺς ὠμμάτωσαν·	ἀκριβῶς πολιτευώμεθα·	CL IX, logos 60, pp. 168-69 (inc. & des. paraphrased; few ll. om. between K92-93)	93
18 end	οὕτως ὁ θεὸς ἀποδέχεται	doxology	CL IX, logos 60, pp. 169-70 (few ll. om. between K93-94)	94
19	ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος	πεπυρωμένα σβέσαι·	CL IX, logos 45, pp. 125-26	96
19 end	πῶς ἐστὲ ἄρτι·	doxology	CL IX, logos 45, pp. 126-27	97
20	ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ ὁ ταλαίπωρος	προσιτοὶ καὶ ἡγιασμένοι	CL IX, logos 48, pp. 132-33	98
20 end	καὶ διωκέτω (..) μὴ τὸ ἴδιον·	doxology	CL IX, logos 48, pp. 133-34	112
21	τὸ ὄφλημα ὃ χρεωστῶ	ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τιθέναι·	CL IX, logos 47, pp. 129-31	113
21 end	ἐὰν γὰρ οὕτω πείση	doxology	CL IX, logos 47, p. 131	114
22	ἡ μὲν εὔσταχυς χώρα·	τῆς ἐμῆς ταπεινώσεως·	CL IX, logos 61, pp. 170-71	115
22 cont.	μὴ (..) ἐν τῇ δοκούσῃ ταύτῃ μακροημερεύσει	τῆς ἐξωνήσεως τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν	CL IX, logos 61, pp. 171-72 (beg. paraphrased; end om.)	116
23	μὴ καταβαρησάτω ὑμᾶς ὁ λόγος	ἀνάπαυσιν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν·	Unedited (first half only)	117
24	διπλοί ἐσμεν οἱ ἄνθρωποι·	εἰς λαμπρότητα	CL IX, logos 74, pp. 207-08 (des. paraphrased)	118
24 cont.	ῥήξατε (..) πάντα τὰ	ἕν θέλημα· ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν·	CL IX, logos 74, pp. 208-10	119

24 end	καὶ λοιπὸν ἐνδυναμοῦσθε	doxology	CL IX, logos 74, p. 210 (cf. MC I, 25)	132, part 2
25	ἄλλός τις πόλεμος	πρὸς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγάπην·	CL IX, logos 62, p. 173 (indep. concl.)	120
25 cont.	καίομαι καὶ περιέλκομαι-μᾶλλον δὲ τέκνα θεοῦ· [..] -ἀγωνίσασθε	βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν·	CL IX, logos 62, pp. 173-75 (long passage om.)	121
25 end	πόσα ἔτη παρῆλθον τῆς ἀσκήσεως	κατοικητηρίου αὐτοῦ·	CL IX, logos 62, pp. 175-76 (om. dox.; cf. MC I, 24)	132, part 1
27	τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα μου,	τὸ σχῆμα συμπτωμάτων	Unedited	133
27 end	συνέλθετε πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς-εὐδρομῶν· [..] ἐρηρεισμένον-ἐργαστήριον· ταῦτα πάντα	doxology	Unedited (one par. om. between K133-134 is inserted after the first par. pf K134; a large part of the second half of MC 27 is om.)	134
28	καλὸν ὑμῖν	τὰς πράξεις ὁρίζεται·	Unedited	135
28 cont.	ἀγαθὸν καὶ πολυέλεον	χερσὶν [..] τὰ πάθη·	Unedited	136
28 end	τίς οὐκ ἀθλήσας-Ἰακώβ· ἆρα ταῦτα-	δι' ὑμᾶς περισωθήσομαι·	Unedited (a few ll. om. and last par. paraphrased)	137
29	ἐξ ἀποστολικῆς	μάτην σπουδαζομένοις·	CL IX, logos 68, p. 189	138
29 end	ποῖα εἰσὶ τὰ αἴτια [..] ἡ χρηστομίμητος-ἔχετε δυνάμεως· [..] ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς μὲν ἅπαντες-	doxology	CL IX, logos 68, pp. 191, 192 (long passage om. between K138-139; long om. before end)	139
30	τὴν τῶν τιμίων	τὰς λιτὰς πρῶτον μέν,	Unedited (des. rephrased)	140
30 cont.	γνῶτε καὶ ἴδετε ποῦ ἐσμέν	ἀπεριμένον διασώσασθαι·	Unedited	141
30 end	βασιλέα ἔχομεν τὸν	doxology	Unedited	142
31	αἰτεῖτε καὶ δεέσθε τοῦ	εὐφροσύνη τῶν αἰωνίων ἀγαθῶν·	Unedited (few om.)	143
31 end	ἀνδρίζεσθε-τὸ προθυμεῖν· [..] νίψασθε τοιγαροῦν-	ἐλάσησε ταῦτα· ᾧ ἡ δόξα κτλ.	Unedited (one passage om.; much rephrasing)	144
32	ὡς γῇ πίων	φυλὰς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ·	CL X, logos 108, pp. 137-38	145
32 end	ἐκβιασόμεθα ἔτι . . . τὰ ὅσια- ἀναγινωσκομένων καὶ λεγομένων [..] ἐπιλαμφθείη-	ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη	CL X, logos 108, pp. 138-40 (beg. paraphrased; one passage om.; indep. concl.)	146

33	οὔτε ἐγὼ ὡς νομίζω, εἰς	καὶ σωτηρία ἀπέραντος·	Unedited	147
33 cont.	χαίρειν καὶ εὐφραίνεσθαι	ἐλεεινότατα ναυαγεῖ	Unedited (continuous text; indep. concl.)	148
33 end	τηρήσατε ... καὶ μὴ νομίσητε	εὔξασθε κἀμὲ συνθεῆναι ἐν Χριστῷ κτλ.	Unedited (continuous text)	149
34	τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ δύναμιν καὶ	ἐν πᾶσι κατευθυνομένη·	CL X, logos 89, pp. 51-52	150
34 end	ἀνολιγώρως στήκετε ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ	ἐπιζητουμένη ἥκῃ ἡμέρα·	CL X, logos 89, pp. 53-54 (last par. om.)	151
35	ἐν τῷ προσακροᾶσθαι	πρὸς τὸν θεῖον ἔρωτα·	Unedited	152
35 end	παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς· ἐπιβλέψατε	τὸ μέλλον βαδιούμεθα	Unedited (a few ll. om. between K152-153)	153
36	ἐν εὐθυμίᾳ ἠρξάμην- εἰς θάνατον· [..] σκοπῶμεν-βιαζόμενοι ἑαυτοὺς· [..] παύσατε-	[..] προκειμένους ἀγῶνας· ἐν αὐτῷ κτλ.	Unedited (complex choice of consecutive passages with much om. text)	161
37	τὰ ῥήματα- εὐαγγελίοις ἀδόμενον· [..] οὕτω μέγα-	Θεοῦ ἡμᾶς ἐργαζόμενος·	CL X, logos 95, pp. 78, 79-80 (passage om.)	162
37 end	μάθετε (..) ἀπ' ἐμοῦ,	doxology	CL X, logos 95, pp. 80-82	163
39	ἀεὶ μὲν μαίνεται-τῆς ἀσωτίας· [..]	μὴ ἡμῖν Κύριε μὴ ἡμῖν τοιαῦτα· ἀλλ' ἢ τῷ ὀνόματί σου δὸς δόξαν, ἐν τῷ ἐλεεῖν	CL IX, logos 52, pp. 143-45 (passage om.; indep. concl. with one borrowed phrase; end om.)	164
40	[..] καθ' ἑκάστην [..] αὔξεται ὁ χορὸς τῆς ἀδελφότητος	βίος ὑμῶν ἀκλυδώνιστος·	CL IX, logos 72, pp. 201-02	165
40 end	ἐν τῇ ποντοπόρῳ νηΐ,	doxology	CL IX, logos 72, pp. 202-03	166
41	ἐν τῷ ἀσθενεῖν με,	λατρευταὶ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ·	Unedited (inc. slightly rephrased; names om.; phrases adapted)	167
41 end	εὔχομαι ὡς ἀνάξιος·	βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν· ἐν αὐτῷ κτλ.	Unedited (a few ll. om. between K167-168)	168
42	δέομαι (..) ὡς πατὴρ	μέσῳ ὑμῶν ὡς διακονῶν·	CL IX, logos 16, pp. 43-44 (first par. om.)	169
42 end	ὑποτακτικὸν καὶ ἡμέτερον (..) πολίτευμα·	ἐν τούτοις ἀναστρέφεσθε·	CL IX, logos 16, pp. 44-45 (concl. rephrased)	170
43	μικρὸν δύναμαι λέγειν	βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν·	CL IX, logos 41, pp. 113-14 (inc. rephrased; second half om.)	171

47	εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς	ἀγάπη καὶ ὁμοζωία·	Unedited	172
47 cont.	μόνον, ἕτοιμοι ἐστέ·	ὑπὲρ πάντα ἄνθρωπον·	Unedited (long passage between K172-173 om.)	173
47 end	προσέχετε [..] τῇ ἀναγνώσει-σωτηρίαν ὑμῶν [..] καὶ ὁ θεὸς	doxology	Unedited (long passage om.)	174
48	οὐκ ὀκνηρόν μοι ἐστὶ	λιμένα τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς·	CL IX, logos 39, pp. 108-09	175
48 cont.	πικρὸν τοῖς ἀμελοῦσιν	ἐξαγόρευσις ἀληθινή·	CL IX, logos 39, pp. 109-10	176
48 end	μένει γὰρ καὶ (..) θάνατος·-εὐφραίνει πατέρα [..] ἰσχύετε-	doxology	CL IX, logos 39, pp. 110-12 (inc. paraphrased; long passage om.)	177
49	ὁ μὲν νόμος	κατασβεσθήσεται πάντως·	Unedited	178
49 cont.	δεῦτε (..) προπέσωμεν	ὑπὲρ νοῦν ἀγαθῶν·	Unedited (long passage om. between K179-180)	179
49 end	μικροῖς μὲν καὶ ἀναξίοις	ἐπηγγελμένων ἀγαθῶν	Unedited (list of monastic tasks adapted; end paraphrased)	180
51	δέξασθε καὶ νῦν τὸν	τῶν ἀποταχθέντων ἡμῖν·	Unedited (add. concl.)	201 (Cr)
51 cont.	ἥκετε ἐνταῦθα φυγάδες	πληρώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ·	Unedited	202 (Cr)
51 cont.	inc. mut.	ἰαθήσεται ὁ σφαλλόμενος,	Unedited (last part om.)	203 inc. mut.
55	ὀφειλέτης ὑμῶν εἰμὶ	κατὰ ψυχὴν καὶ σώμα·	Unedited	222
55 cont.	ἡ καρδία μου καιομένη	ἀνεπηρεάστους διατηρήσουσιν·	Unedited	223
55 end	γινώσκετε ὅτι (..) προσέρχονται ἡμῖν	πάσης εὐφροσύνης πνευματικῆς·	Unedited (des. rephrased)	224
56	διὰ Σιών, οὐ σιωπήσω·	ἀλλήλους εἰς κατάπτωσιν·	CL IX, logos 42, pp. 115-16 (add. concl.)	225
56 cont.	τὴν κοιλίαν μου ἀλγῶ	ἑμαυτὸν (..) καὶ ὑμᾶς σώσω·	CL IX, logos 42, pp. 116-17 (om. a short passage)	226
56 cont.	οὐ παύσομαι [..] ὑπομιμνήσκων	πονηροῦ καὶ ὑπόθεσιν·	CL IX, logos 42, pp. 117-18 (concl. add; rest of cat. om.)	227
57	ἔχετε τὰς τοῦ Κυρίου- ἐν ὁμοκαρδίᾳ· [..] ... ἀνδρίζου μοι ὁ νοσοκομῶν	ἐνεργοῦς ὑμῶν διακονίας·	Unedited (few ll. at inc. om.; very long passage om. between two quotations of source)	228
57 end	ὅτε προσκαλεῖσθε ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα	ἀνοίξει τοῦ στόματός	Unedited (passage om. between K228-229; last few ll. om.)	229

59	μὴ γίνεσθε νωθροὶ	ἔχειν, οὔτε κτῆμα	Unedited	230
59	Τέκνα μου ...	μισθὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν	Unedited	231
cont.	ἐργώδης ἐστὶν ὁ βίος	αἰώνιον·	(second half om.)	
60	ἀκοῇ ἀκούσατε καὶ	The reproduction of the folios is hardly legible, and I have been unable to pinpoint the end of this quotation	Unedited (Leroy's transcription is very long and incomplete; it is likely that a large part of the text was om.)	234
60	οἶδε Κύριος ὅση μοι	αὐτοῦ βασιλείας· ᾧ	Unedited	235
end	ἔφεσις ἐστὶ	πρέπει κτλ.	(few words om.)	
61	εἰ ποιμὴν ἄριστος	ἔξωθέν τε καὶ ἔνδοθεν·	Unedited (few ll. of inc. om.)[76]	236
61	συγκόψατε τὰς	τὴν παροῦσαν τιμὴν	Unedited[77]	237
cont.	διψυχίας·	ἀπειπάμενος·		
61	μὴ τοίνυν	doxology	Unedited	238
end	ἐπιθυμήσητε τῶν κλήρων		(few ll. om. between K237-238; inc. paraphrased)	
62	ἀκούομεν τοῦ θείου Δαυὶδ ὕμνον καὶ δοξολογίαν [..] φυλάττοισθέ μοι ἀδελφοὶ πνευματικώτατοι·-	doxology	CL IX, logos 15, pp. 41-43 (long passage om.)	239
63	ἅπερ διὰ τῆς γλώσσης	μέγας ἡμῶν διδάσκαλος Βασιλείος·	Unedited	240
63	τί γέγραπται ἐν τοῖς	κοσμικῶν	Unedited	241
cont.	θείοις εὐαγγελίοις,	ἀφρονηστάτων·	(few words om. between K240-241; add. inc. & des.)	
63	ἐν πᾶσι [..] τὸ	οὐρανοῖς	Unedited	242
cont.	ἀκριβὲς τῆς πολιτεῖας	πνευματοκινήτῳ ἤχῳ·	(inc. rephrased)	
63	μὴ περίλυποι-	μετὰ ... Ἰησοῦ	Unedited	243
end	καταπλουτοῦν ... τὰ αἰωνία· ...	Χριστοῦ εὐφροσύνης	(combined with passage from MC I, 64; last phrase from end of MC I, 63, paraphrased)	
64	ἀσινεῖς καὶ ἀπήμονας διατηρουμένους·- εἶναι μαθητής· [..] τίς οὖν διέθλεψε	υἱοποιοῦσα ὑμᾶς τῷ Θεῷ·	Unedited (inc. paraphrased; om. long passage)	244
64	μέγα τοίνυν καὶ	ἀπερινοήτων	Unedited	243
cont.	ὑπερκοσμί(ον)	αἰωνίων ἀγαθῶν·	(use of passage om. in K244 between one long and one short passage from MC I, 63)	

[76]Leroy's transcription is incomplete at the beginning. K236 does not allow a reconstruction of the missing words, because it omits the first lines of MC I, 61 from the quotation.
[77]K237 supplies one word which Leroy was unable to read from the ms. of MC I, 61.

64 end	εἰς δοκιμὴν τοῦ ἐνθέου	τελειώσει πάντας ὑμᾶς· ὅτι αὐτῷ κτλ.	Unedited (few words om. between K244-245)	245
65	ὀφειλέτης εἰμὶ τὸν	αἰώνια καὶ ὑπέρτιμα ἔπαθλα·	Unedited	246
65 end	μείνατε [„] ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ·- μᾶλλον καὶ μᾶλλον ... [..] ἦν τίς φησί τῶν γερόντων·	ὑποκοῆς ὑμῶν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν· ᾧ ἡ δόξα	Unedited (long passage om. between quotes; very complex abridged paraphrase of the middle section of the cat.)	247
67	δεῦτε δῶμεν δόξαν τῷ	ἐν ταῖς ταπεινώσεσιν· ἐν Χριστῷ κτλ.	Unedited (first part om.; two short passages om.)	248
68	ἀεὶ ἀκούων καὶ ἐνοτιζόμενος-κατὰ τοὺς ὄφεις· [..]	φύγωμεν τὸ παρρησιάζεσθαι·	CL IX, logos 58, pp. 160-62, 163 (long section om.; one phrase borrowed after om.; indep. concl.)	249
70	πάσης ἀποδοχῆς ἀξίαν-ὑπεραίρεσθε ἄλλος ἄλλου· [..] οἱ ἐμπίπτοντες ἐξαβουλίας-τὴν λύσιν· [..] εἰ γὰρ κἀγὼ βιασθεὶς λύσω,-	doxology	Unedited (extensive paraphrasing; two long passages om.)	250
72	ἐν τίνι ἄλλῳ εἰμὶ ἐν μέσῳ-αὐτῶν τὸ πολιτεύμα· [..] παρακαλεῖ ἡμᾶς πρὸς ἀδιάκριτον-	doxology	CL IX, logos 1, pp. 1-3, 3-4 (long passage with personal names om.)	264
73	ἐν τῷ ἀεννάως	δρόμον ἡμῶν ἐν Κυρίῳ·	Unedited (only last few ll. om.; unusually long K comprising all text with virtually no alterations	266
74	ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἁμαρτολοῦ	doxology	Unedited	267
75	ἅπαξ σιωπήσομαι	εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ Κυρίου σου	CL IX, logos 77, pp. 214-16 (last part om.)	282
76	τί ἄλλο ... καθὼς καὶ αἱ θεῖαι ὑποθῆκαι	ἔργου πονηροῦ ἀπεχόμενοι·	CL IX, logos 67, pp. 187-89 (concl. rephrased)	283
77	δόξα τῷ θεῷ (..) δόξα τῷ ἀφορίσαντι- ποθήσασι τὰ μέλλοντα· [..] διὸ ἁγνίσωμεν- παρρησίαν τῷ δαίμονι [..] πάντοτε ἀρχόμενοι-	doxology	CL IX, logos 38, pp. 106-07 = PK, Cat. 26: p. 179, l. 1-p. 182, l. 15; p. 183, ll. 6-10; end passage om. in PK ed. (inc. rephrased; one par., one long passage and a few short phrases om.; des. borrowed after indep. add.)	284

78	οὔτε δυνάμει τοῦ λόγου	ἀπολειψόμεθα τῆς μερίδος ἐκείνων·	Unedited	285
78 end	ἐκζητήσωμεν [..] τὸν θεὸν	στεφανωθῆναι ἡμᾶς, ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν·	Unedited (a few words om. between K285-286; add. concl.)	286
79	καλὸς λαὸς ἐστέ·-ἢ δύο συμβίωσις [..] ... ἐκζητεῖ ὁ θεός	τοῦ προσκυνήτου αὐτοῦ ὀνόματος·	CL IX, logos 12, pp. 34-35, 36 (short passage and second part om.)	287
80	ἡ ἐμὴ χαρὰ καὶ προθυμία·	ἀναπέπαυται τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον·	Unedited (last part om.)	288
81	ὁ θεῖος καὶ οἰκουμενικὸς	τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ μεγάλου·	Unedited	289
81 end	μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ κοινόβιον	αὐτὸς ἐξ εὐμαρίσει ἅπαντα·	Unedited (last ll. om.; concl. add.)	290
82	οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις·	doxology	CL IX, logos 64, pp. 178-80	291
83	εἰ ἄνθρωποι καλούμενοι-ὡς ἄνθρωπος; [..] οὐκ ἀπένιψεν	τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ ἐπάγγελμα·	CL X, logos 78, pp. 7-10 (short passage and last par. om.)	292
84	χάριτι Χριστοῦ τοῦ	doxology	Unedited (a few ll. om. and adapted)	293
85	ἡ δὲ ἐπιθυμία πολλή·	doxology	CL X, logos 83, pp. 27-30 (beg. om.)	294
86	οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ἅπαξ ἢ δὶς	τελεῖ καὶ ἀποπληροῖ·	CL IX, logos 25, pp. 70-72 (last part om.)	295
87	ἐνθυμούμενους πῶς παραλαμβάνονται-πνευματικά τε καὶ ψυχικά· [..] οὐκ ἔστιν ἐξεικάσαι τὸ μυριοκίνδυνον	πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ·	Unedited (inc. paraphrased; passage in-between quotations heavily paraphrased; add. concl.)	296
87 end	οἱ παρρησιαζόμενοι ... λογχεύονται	ὁδὸν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· ᾧ ἡ δόξα	Unedited (inc. paraphrased; one short phrase om.)	297
MC Book II			**PK ed.**	**K**
1	εἰ μὲν περὶ ἄλλου	τέλος οὐκ ἔχοντα.	Cat. 1: p. 1, l. 5-p. 2, l. 8; p. 2, l. 14-p.6, l. 16	310
1	ἐὰν θέλητε βασιλείας	doxology	Cat. 1: p. 6, l. 17-p. 7, l. 11; p. 7, l. 13-p. 8, l. 3, paraphrased; p. 8, l. 4-p.9, l. 10	311
2	εἰ ὁ σπείρων χαίρει	ἐν ὑμῖν τοῖς ἠγαπημένοις μου.	Cat. 2: p.10, l. 5-p.13, l. 21	312
2	παρακαλῶ ... [..] πληρώσατε τὰς καρδίας	τῆς ὁσίας ὑποταγῆς [..] κατάσχητε·	Cat. 2: p.13, l. 21-p.15, l. 16 + cont. MC II, 3 & 5	313

3	γινώσκετε τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην θλίψεως	ὑπακοὴν θωρακιζόμενοι	MCII, 2 + Cat. 3: p. 19, l. 21-p. 20, l. 8 + MCII, 5	313
4	κἂν γὰρ ξίφη τίς κατ' ἐμοῦ	doxology	Cat. 4: p. 21, ll. 5-10 paraphrased; p. 21, l. 10-p.25, l. 15	314
5	γενώμεθα υἱοὶ δυνάμεως	doxology	cont. from MC II, 2 + 3: Cat. 5: p. 31, l. 7-p. 32, l. 7	313
6	χρὴ ἡμᾶς [..] μὴ ἐξαπορεῖν	doxology	Cat. 6: p. 34, l. 10-p. 38, l. 16	315
7	ἡ διακονία μου αὕτη	τῶν αἰωνίων ἀγαθῶν	Cat. 7: p. 39, l. 12-p.43, l. 14	316
7	ἐγὼ τέως ἵνα τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ εἴπω	doxology	Cat. 7: p. 43, l. 14 (inc. paraphrased; add. introd.)-p. 45, l. 2; p. 45, ll. 5-14; p. 45, l. 21-p. 48, l. 5	317
9	εὐλογῶ τὸν Θεὸν [..] καθ' ἑκάστην	doxology	Cat. 9: p. 56, l. 6-p. 62, l. 11	318
10	ὄντως κατὰ τὴν ἱερὰν	doxology	Cat. 10: p. 63, l. 5-p. 67, l. 17; p. 68, l. 18-p. 69, l. 14	319

c) A table of correspondences PC-K:

PC	AU ed.	K
8	p. 25, l. 1 (inc. paraphrased)-p. 26, l. 23; p. 27, ll. 26-33; p. 27, l. 39-p. 28, l. 48 (ἀλλήλους)	33
14	p. 49, l. 1-p. 52, l. 40; p. 53, ll. 59-64 (dox.)	360
17	p. 61, l. 1-p. 62, l. 23; p. 62, ll. 25-31 (ἔσται)	95
19	p. 68, l. 1-p. 70, l. 37; p. 70, l. 47-p. 71, l. 57 (dox.)	361
23	p. 84, ll. 1-9; p. 85, l. 11-p. 86, l. 49	17
25	p. 91, l. 1-p. 93, l. 35; p. 94, ll. 57-69 (dox.)	232
26	PC27 + p. 96, l. 29-p. 98, l. 65 (ἐνεργούμενον), add. dox.	265 (part 2)
27	p. 99, l. 1-p. 101, l. 38; p. 101, ll. 43-52 (αἰώνι) + PC26	265 (part 1)
28	p. 102, l. 1-p. 104, l. 33; p. 104, ll. 38-43 (πατατρέχουσα), with many shorter om.	18
28	p. 104, l. 44-p. 105, l. 65 (dox.) with minor om.	19
29	p. 106, l. 1-p. 107, l. 17; p. 107, l. 27-p. 108, l. 38 (paraphrased); p. 108, ll. 38-45; p. 109, ll. 54-60 (συμβιβαζόμενα)	20
30	p. 110, l. 20-p. 111, l. 28; p. 112, ll. 47-52; p. 112, l. 59-p. 113, l. 63 (dox.)	25
35	p. 127, ll. 1-6; p. 128, l. 28-p. 129, l. 48; p. 130, ll. 62-65 (dox.)	26
36	p. 133, ll. 51-55; p. 133, l. 57-134, l. 67; p. 134, ll. 70-73, ll. 75-79; p. 134, l. 81-p. 135, l. 85 (dox.)	28
43	p. 155, l. 1-p. 156, l. 4; p. 156, l. 13-p. 158, l. 49; p. 158, l. 54-p. 159, l. 68 (rephrased-dox.)	31

46	p. 166, l. 1-p. 167, l. 13; p. 167, ll. 17-22; p. 168, ll. 39-44 (rephrased); p. 169, ll. 55-61 (ὕψους)	35
48	p. 174, l. 1-p. 175, l. 18; p. 175, l. 23-p. 176, l. 45; p. 177, l. 57-p. 178, l. 74 (dox.)	38
49	p. 178, l. 1-p. 180, l. 34; p. 180, ll. 39-47; p. 181, ll. 53-58 (dox.)	327
50	p. 181, l. 1-p. 183, l. 35 (dox.)	320
52	p. 187, l. 1-p. 188, l. 15; p. 189, l. 22-p. 191, l. 61 (dox.)	326
53	p. 191, l. 1-p. 193, l. 38	334
54	p. 193, l. 1-p. 196, l. 59 (χερσὶ)	332
55	p. 197, l. 1-p. 291, l. 63 (dox.)	331
56	p. 202, l. 22-p. 203, l. 42 (dox.)	333
57	p. 203, l. 1-p. 206, l. 51 (dox.)	338
58	p. 206, l. 1-p. 209, l. 47 (dox.)	339
59	p. 209, l. 1-p. 212, l. 47	340
60	p. 212, l. 3-p. 214, l. 43	344
61	p. 216, l. 23-p. 217, l. 49 (dox.)	345
64	p. 224, l. 1-p. 227, l. 57 (dox.)	368
66	p. 230, l. 1-p. 233, l. 54 (dox.)	362
67	p. 233, l. 1-p. 236, l. 47 (dox.)	363
68	p. 236, l. 1-p. 239, l. 55 (dox.)	365
70	p. 243, l. 11-p. 244, l. 28; p. 244, ll. 32-33; p. 244, l. 39-p. 245, l. 57 (dox.)	366
71	p. 247, l. 27-p. 249, l. 65 (dox.)	367
76	p. 264, l. 1-p. 266, l. 36 (dox.)	346
77	p. 266, l. 1-p. 267, l. 24; p. 267, l. 28-p. 268, l. 42 (dox.)	364
79	p. 272, l. 1-p. 273, l. 13; p. 273, l. 24-p. 275, l. 53 (dox.)	39
80	p. 275, ll. 1-6; p. 276, l. 13-p. 278, l. 56 (paraphrased-dox.)	40
81	p. 278, l. 2-p. 279, l. 14; (add. passage) p. 279, l. 18-p. 280, l. 34; p. 290, l. 38-p. 281, l. 46; p. 281, ll. 49-54 (dox.)	41
82	p. 282, l. 13-p. 284, l. 54 (ψυχὴν), dox. paraphrased	42
89	p. 304, l. 3-p. 306, l. 40; p. 306, ll. 45-52 (dox.)	44
90	p. 307, l. 1-p. 309, l. 49 (dox.)	45
94	p. 320, l. 1-p. 321, l. 13; p. 321, ll. 17-24, l. 25 (much paraphrased); p. 321, l. 27-p. 322, l. 35; p. 322, ll. 39-52 (dox.)	53
95	p. 323, l. 1-p. 324, l. 29 (πολιτευόμενοι)	54
95	p. 324, l. 29-p. 326, l. 69; p. 327, l. 83-p. 328, l. 97 (dox.)	55

II. iii) Maximos the Confessor.

In spite of the importance of Maximos the Confessor (580-662) in the history of spirituality, few of his works have appeared in critical editions.[78] The edited works which have generated the greatest number of secondary scholarship on this author are of a particularly theological nature.[79]

Yet his writings were directed at "helping people (mainly monks, but not entirely [...]) to live a Christian life", rather than aimed consciously at "*constructing* a theological system".[80] The works selected for inclusion in K bear out the monastic character of Maximos. Maximos began his monastic life at the monastery of Chrysopolis on the Asiatic shore of Constantinople, where he also became abbot. He then moved (in 624-25) to the monastery of St. George at Cyzicus.[81] Juan Miguel Garrigues emphasizes how this monastic formation is at the root of Maximos' theology, accounting for the strong Evagrian and Macarian influences in his thought.[82]

The character and language of the *Liber asceticus* (CPG7692) have given rise to difficulties in dating it in relation to the other works of Maximos, with the suggestion of either a very early (ca. 626)[83] or a very late date (as Maximos' spiritual testament).[84] Part of the difficulty may reside in the uneven quality of the treatise. It appears to fall into two distinct sections: the first part (chapters 1-26), structured as a lively dialogue between master

---

[78]CPG 7688-7689 have now been published in CCG: cf. 'Maximos Confessor', *ODB* II, cols. 1323-24 .

[79]A summarized account of Maximos' spirituality is found in I.-H. DALMAIS, 'Maxime le Confesseur', *DS* 10 (1980), cols. 836-47, at 842-47 with bibliography. See also A. NICHOLS, *Byzantine Gospel: Maximos the Confessor in Modern Scholarship* (Edinburgh, 1993), for a summary of modern approaches to Maximos' theology.

[80]LOUTH, *Maximus*, p. 21; Louth's book is the most recent and accessible account of this Byzantine theologian and provides a selection of English translations of Maximos' work (pp. 81-198).

[81]BHG 1231-1236d; R. DEVREESSE, 'La Vie de S. Maxime le Confesseur et ses recensions', *AB* 46 (1928), 5-49, at pp. 15-16; a different account of Maximos' monastic career can be read in S. BROCK, 'An Early Syriac Life of Maximus the Confessor', *AB* 91 (1973), 299-346, at p. 315, with Engl. transl. of the text.

[82]J. M. GARRIGUES, *Maxime le Confesseur*, Théologie historique 38 (Paris, 1976), pp. 35-39.

[83]P. SHERWOOD, 'An Annotated Date-List of the Works of Maximos the Confessor', Studia Anselmiana 30 (Rome, 1952), no. 10 at p. 26 and p. 59.

[84]DALMAIS, 'Maxime le Confesseur', cols. 839, 843.

and disciple, offers a number of original theological ideas, expressed concisely and brilliantly; the second part (chapters 27-45) sees the disciple's intervention only twice (at ch. 27 and ch. 40), and comes across as a collation of Biblical quotations around the theme of compunction, expressed within the conventions of the ascetic genre.[85]

The use of the *Liber asceticus* in K clearly divides the work into two distinct blocks. The first part is adapted for K154-160, beginning with the Christological soteriology that so excited P. Dalmais, by the question: τίς οὖν ἐστιν ὁ σκοπὸς αὐτοῦ [Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ];.[86] However, the separation from the second section, destined for K122-129, is not made according to the formal structure as analysed by Sherwood. Rather, the break occurs between ch. 33 and ch. 34.

It should be said, however, that the theme of compunction unifying chapters 27-39, and that of hope and trust in God's mercy identified by Sherwood in chapters 40-45, are far from being clearly sustained throughout these chapters, so that K's division does not break the sense of the passage in any obvious way.

A small section of the *Liber Asceticus* was also included in S (see above), while the famous *Centuries on Charity* were included in S, but not in K.[87]

A portion of the *Sermo hortatorius epistulari forma* (CPG7699)[88] is transformed into seven catecheses (K71-77). Of this short work, only the second half is selected for adaptation. While the first half retains a more

---

[85]I.-H. DALMAIS, 'La doctrine ascétique de S. Maxime le Confesseur d'après le *Liber asceticus*', *Irénikon* 26 (1953), 17-39, at p. 17, expresses a special enthusiasm for the first part; the structural distinction was made in the introduction to the English transl. by P. SHERWOOD, *St. Maximus the Confessor: The Ascetic Life, The Four Centuries on Charity*, Ancient Christian Writers 21 (London, 1955), pp. 99-100.

[86]DALMAIS, 'La doctrine ascétique', p. 20: "Le terme choisi (σκοπὸς) est difficile à rendre; il évoque un dessin préordonné mais en mettant l'accent sur sa finalité: il porte à la fois l'acception d'objet et d'objectif."

[87]DECLERCK, 'Les citations de Maxime', pp. 101-10 (*De Char.*), 113 (*LA*).

[88]SHERWOOD, *Date-List*, p. 60, dates it "early 642", with a cross signifying "an item surely dated to within a few months".

intimate and philosophical tone,[89] the second part is unified by a vivid description of the tortures of the damned in Hell, and emphasizes the justice of God's judgement. K closely resembles the text printed in PG, while another adaptation of the same work has been found in a tenth-century codex.[90]

Liber Asceticus (PG90, 912-1080)	K
Ch. 10, 920A12-B10; Ch. 10, 920C1-Ch. 12, 921A6; Ch. 16, 924C7-8 (= Lk. 23, 34); Ch. 12, 921B4-6; Ch. 13, 921B10	154
Ch. 17, 925A6-13; Ch. 18, 925B3-D1; Ch. 19, 925D5-926A4; Ch. 20, 926A6-11	155
Ch. 21, 928B1-929A3	156
Ch. 23, 929A5-B1; Ch. 24, 929C3-15; Ch. 25, 929D1-932A8	157
Ch. 27, 932C1-933C8	158
Ch. 28, 933C9-Ch. 31, 936C1	159
Ch. 31, 936C2- Ch. 32, 937C11	160
Ch. 33, 937D1- Ch. 34, 940D2	122
Ch. 35, 940D3-941A2; Ch. 36, 941B5-Ch. 37, 941D8	123
Ch. 37, 941D9-945A1	124
Ch. 37, 945A1-Ch. 38, 948A3	125
Ch. 38, 948A3-Ch. 39, 948C13; Ch. 40, 948D5-949B2	126
Ch. 40, 949B3-Ch. 41, 952B9	127
Ch. 41, 952B9-Ch. 43, 953C5	128
Ch. 43, 953C5-Ch. 45, 956D3 (incl. doxology)	129
Sermo hortatorius (PG91, 363-392)	K

---

[89]The first part is clearly in the genre of a letter: SHERWOOD, *Date-List*, no. 69, p. 40: "To the eparch George on sailing for CP. [...] This letter is a long exhortation to constancy and fortitude by way of showing gratitude to the eparch. Above all Maximus and his confreres desire that George be given back to them in health". Cf. GARRIGUES, *Maxime le Confesseur*, p. 57.

[90]Ms. *Paris Coislin* 370, fols. 191-199: R. DEVREESSE, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs*, II: *Le Fonds Coislin* (Paris, 1945), pp. 354-56, at 355.

377D1-380B8	71
380B9-381C1	72
381C1-384B13	73
384B13-385B9	74
385B9-388A9	75
388A9-389A15	76
389B1-392A3 + 392B6-9[91]	77

II. iv) Pseudo-Makarios.

The presence among the sources of K of the controversial texts transmitted under the authorship of Makarios the Great, but now recognized as spurious, should not greatly surprise us. The popularity of the Macarian texts in the medieval period is attested by a number of compilations of works from this *corpus*, whose precise origins and contents remain, for the most part, unknown.[92] The influence of Pseudo-Makarios in eleventh-century Constantinople has been acknowledged in the writings of Symeon the New Theologian, not just in specific textual borrowings, but more generally in the observation that "le climat de la mystique de Syméon est profondément dans la ligne de Macaire".[93]

Rather than transpose any of the Macarian homilies into the homiliary, the compiler of K made use of short prose treatises that are usually considered to be late compilations from other Macarian collections of *Logoi*.[94] It is impossible to say, at the current state of research, whether the

---

[91]PG 91, 380B-392A = PG 28, 589A-597B.

[92]See, for example, the difficulties experienced by Ch. Astruc in describing the contents of the Macarian compilation in codex *Paris. gr.* 915: Ch. ASTRUC, 'Un recueil de textes ascétiques (de l'Abbé Isaïe, d'Isaac de Ninive et du Pseudo-Macaire): le *Parisinus graecus* 915', *RAM* 42 (1966), 181-91, at pp. 185, 190.

[93]V. DESPREZ, 'Macaire. III. Influence', *DS* 10 (1980), cols. 39-41, at 40.

[94]CPG 2413. 2, Op. II-VII; V. DESPREZ, 'Macaire. I. L'oeuvre, l'auteur et son milieu', *DS* 10 (1980), cols. 20-27, at 21; the florilegium goes under the symbol N: H. DÖRRIES, *Symeon von Mesopotamien. Die Überlieferung der messalianischen "Makarios" Schriften*, TU 55. 1 (1941), pp. 419-24, esp. p. 420.

selections of K derived from an already abridged recension of 'N', such as that contained in the codex *Paris. gr.* 915.[95] Research into the correspondences between the treatises and the spiritual homilies has shown both that the treatises contain independent material, and that, in some cases, the homilies may be said to be textually dependent on the treatises, rather than vice-versa.[96]

Although CPG announces a forthcoming edition of these treatises, being prepared at Göttingen, the work has not yet, to my knowledge, appeared. However, some notes on textual criticism have been published by K. Treu.[97] The author maintains that the text carried by the 14th-century[98] manuscript at Kiev (without shelfmark) is superior to that in PG. I have availed myself of the select list of variants published in his article in order to sketch out a preliminary appraisal of the text transmitted by K. The selection was limited by the number of references to variants overlapping with K texts. The readings of K were mostly consonant with the Kievan text, rather than with PG. Even where the text of K was modified, its underlying model was clearly a text of the Kievan type. For example, at K188, ὡς ἑαυτὸν κρίνας is closely related to the ἅτε κρίνας of the Kievan manuscript, but farther from the ὅτε κρίνων of PG; at K190, χαυνουμένως easily comes from the Kievan ἐκχαυνούμενον rather than ἐκκακούμενον of PG.[99]

The selection from the treatises presented in K completely omits Op. IV, *De patientia et discretione*, while drawing the majority of extracts from Op. VI, *De Charitate*. Clearly, the source text has been carefully used,

---

[95]The description offered by ASTRUC, 'Un recueil', p. 191, is insufficient to make a judgement. This 14th-century manuscript should be checked with the aim of establishing the process of selection in it.

[96]L. VILLECOURT, 'Les opuscules ascétiques et leur relation avec les homélies spirituelles', *Le Muséon* 35 (1922), 203-12, at pp. 205, 209; cf. n. 101 below.

[97]K. TREU, 'Zu einer Kiewer Handschrift der Opuscula des Makarios', TU 77 (1961), pp. 294-310.

[98]TREU, 'Kiewer Handschrift', p. 295, describes the script as "sorgfältig" and legible, and tentatively inclines to a date in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. From these indications, it would appear that the script is an imitative calligraphic minuscule, but no plates are published to illustrate Treu's description.

[99]TREU, 'Kiewer Handschrift', p. 301.

tailored in such a manner as to fit the purposes of the compilation. For example, K188 directs its teaching on love explicitly to abbots, while leaving aside Ch. 9-10 of Op. II for the following catechesis, which instructs simple monks on the topic of obedience. Thus the selection is perhaps more useful in defining the spirituality of K, than in enlightening us on the transmission of the Macarian florilegia.

	K
Op. II, *De Perfectione in spiritu* (PG34, 841C-852D)	
Ch. 2, 844A5-Ch. 4, 844C5; 844C9-845A2	185
Ch. 5, 845A4-C8	186
Ch. 6, 845C12-Ch. 7, 848A6	187
Ch. 8, 848A7-B5; Ch. 11, 848D6-849A2; 849A4-Ch. 12, 849C8	188
Ch. 9, 848B6-Ch. 10, 848D5	189
Op. III, *De Oratione* (PG34, 853-866B)	
Ch. 2, 853B9-Ch. 4, 856C5	190
Op. V, *De elevatione mentis* (PG 34, 889C-908B)	
Ch. 11, 897D4-900B6; Ch. 14, 901D1-904A10	191
Op. VI, *De Charitate* (PG34, 908C-936B)	
Ch. 1, 908C1-Ch. 3, 909C13	192
Ch. 4, 909D1-Ch. 5, 912C6	193
Ch. 15, 921A5-14; Ch. 17, 921D1-924A13; Ch. 18, 924B3-6	194[100]
Ch. 22, 925C5-D3; Ch. 23, 925D5-Ch. 24, 928B8	195
Ch. 28, 929C9-932B10	204
Ch. 29, 932B13-932D5; Ch. 30, 932D9-933A5	205
Ch. 31, 934B11-936A13[101]	206

[100]In Cr, the reading of this catechesis was specified for the day celebrating the three boys in the furnace (see Appendix II); although the source text contains a passage about this biblical narrative (Dan. 3, 18: at col. 924B6-D5), the story has been so radically paraphrased in K, that the "borrowed" text cannot be said to include this section.

[101]VILLECOURT, 'Les opuscules ascétiques', p. 205, notes the concordance of the conclusive passage of Op. VI (936A1-1) with Op. I, 848D8-849C8 (CPG 2413. 1). The reference to Op. I

Op. VII, *De Libertate mentis* (PG34, 936C-968A)	
Ch. 1, 936C1-937A2; Ch. 2, 937A5-B2; Ch. 4, 937C6-940A1	207
Ch. 3, 937B3-937B6; Ch. 5, 940A5-Ch. 7, 940D10	208
Ch. 14, 945D1-Ch. 16, 949A11	130
Ch. 17, 949A12-Ch. 18, 952B8	131
Ch. 19, 952B13-C1; 952C6-953A7	181
Ch. 20, 953A10-D7	182
Ch. 28, 960D8-Ch. 29, 965A5	183
Ch. 30, 964A6-Ch. 31, 964D4	184[102]

II. v) Dorotheos of Gaza.

The inclusion of a large section of the works of the sixth-century monastic writer and abbot, Dorotheos of Gaza, is particularly significant in the context of the Studite model for Evergetine monasticism.

Conceptually, there is a clear indication of Studite efforts to rehabilitate the memory of Dorotheos in a ninth-century apology, which defended him from the charge of Origenism by invoking as an authority Theodore's *Testament*.[103] Although the writings of Dorotheos were clearly orthodox, his Evagrian tendencies, leading him to favour intellectual over ascetic pursuits, were perhaps at the root of his having been confused with the Origenist controversy, and may explain the difficulties he experienced during his life-time, which led him to leave his first monastery.[104] The Studite revival of this author is significant, since Studite monasticism

---

had been given by Leroy; however, it is clear from the sequence of borrowings that the passage really comes from Op. VI. The description of the royal palace as a metaphor for the inner life, with which K206 begins, was deemed by Villecourt to be original to this treatise, while its use in the Macarian Homily no. 50 was due to an interpolation (VILLECOURT, 'Les opuscules ascétiques', pp. 209-10).

[102]The source specified covers about one third of the complete text of this catechesis. A long passage remains unidentified.

advocated a similar attitude *vis-à-vis* study and moderation in ascetic practices. A parallel attitude is clearly reflected at the Evergetis.

From a textual standpoint, the existence of a well-defined Studite recension of the works of Dorotheos allows direct comparison of Paul's text with that manuscript tradition.[105] A sample comparison of the text of K309 has shown, as might have been expected, that K's recension closely resembles the Studite transmission of the text of Dorotheos' *Doctrina* (CPG7352), as reflected in the earliest extant codex, ms. *Paris. gr.* 1089 (A), dated 990.[106] From this manuscript derive the recensions of codd. *Coislin* 123, *Cromwell* 14 and 25, *Laud. gr.* 84 and Vatican, *Palat. gr.* 69.[107]

However, the list of borrowings from K does not stop at the first fourteen texts which have a constant order in the manuscripts,[108] and are therefore free of questions of attribution. K269-270 contain a more

---

[103]REGNAULT & DE PRÉVILLE, *Dorothée de Gaza*, pp. 106-09.
[104]This is the argument made by P. CANIVET, 'Dorothée de Gaza est-il un disciple d'Évagre?', *Revue des Études Grecques* 78 (1965), 336-46, at p. 338.
[105]Cf. LEROY, 'La vie quotidienne', at p. 41 and n. 4; REGNAULT & DE PRÉVILLE, *Dorothée de Gaza*, pp. 91-92, 98-99.
[106]Two clear agreements of K with A (*contra* SC); two agreements of K with PG (*contra* SC); one disagreement K-A.
[107]I examined the mss. of this group now in the Bodleian Library: *Cromwell* 25, 11th cent., is particularly interesting; its contents are divided between Neilos and Dorotheos (COXE, *Greek Manuscripts*, cols. 453-54). It is written by two scribes, the first writing in a middle-sized *Perlschrift* with numerous 'modern' ligatures and flowing ductus, not unlike the writing of a Constantinopolitan monastic scriptorium. The second scribe writes a more conservative and stiff minuscule script (from fol. 185r). The change of hand had not been observed before. The quires are marked by a cross at the centre of the upper margin of the recto of the first folio of each gathering. But see *CBM*, III, no. 41, pp. 62-63, with Abb. 162, who opts for confection "in einem provinziellen Scriptorium" of the third quarter of the eleventh century on the basis of the quality of the ornament. There is a long scratched note below the end of the text at fol. 202r, parts of which are still visible: it would deserve examination with infra-red light. *Laud. gr.* 84 is also an ascetic miscellany, in which should be noted another text of the Life of the Holy Paisios, at fols. 195r-212v (COXE, *Greek Manuscripts*, cols. 568-71), to be added to the list of mss. of that text signalled in Ch. I at nn. 61-62. The text occurs in Hand B (fol. 194r, col. a, l. 23-fol. 230v, col. b), except for the perhaps later addition of folios in Hand C (fols. 211r, col. a-216v, col. a), which are responsible for the conclusion to the text of the Life. Hand A (fols. 1r-194r, col. a, l. 22) is a calligraphic minuscule of rapid ductus, with cursive elements and *Fettaugen*-type shapes (e.g. minuscule delta with a disproportionately enlarged bow). *Cromwell* 14 is a later codex displaying a single hand, perhaps from the beginning of the fourteenth century, with very unusual ornamental dividers of geometric designs, e.g. pp. 159, 178: cf. COXE, *Greek Manuscripts*, cols. 440-41 (dated s. XIII ex.) and *CBM*, III, no. 82, pp. 122-24 with Abb. 312-14. In this manuscript, the text of Abba Isaiah was said to be "representative of a lesser Greek collection (Ga) which has marked differences from the usual Greek corpus": D. J. CHITTY, 'Abba Isaiah', *Journal of Theological Studies* 22 (1971), 47-72, at pp. 47-48.
[108]CANIVET, 'Dorothée de Gaza', p. 339.

controversial piece, *Doctrina* XXI (CPG7354a). This text was not included in the SC edition, since it is strictly speaking not by Dorotheos, but rather a dialogue in which Dorotheos is presented asking questions which are answered by his spiritual father, John the Prophet.[109] *Doctrina* XXI was not normally included in Dorotheos' manuscripts, with the exception of a few codices of the eleventh to twelfth centuries: *Const. S. S.* 45, *Mosq.* 198 (11th cent.); *Mosq.* 199, *Sinait. gr.* 412, *Monac. gr.* 276, *Coislin.* 281 (12th cent.). Two of these manuscripts are also mentioned within the Studite recension, of which they form a secondary branch: *Sinait. gr.* 412[110] and *Mosq.* 199,[111] represented in the edition by their fourteenth-century apograph, *Coislin.* 284 (D).[112] *Mosq.* 198 witnesses a mixed tradition.[113] Paul's copy of Dorotheos was therefore probably a codex containing *Doctrina* XXI followed by I-XIV (if the order in which the texts are used in K corresponds to that of the manuscript used), a manuscript related to the extant copies of Dorotheos' work representing a secondary branch of the Studite tradition.

The treatment of Dorotheos' texts in K varies widely from *verbatim* borrowings to extensive paraphrasing. Normally, the subject-matter of each *Doctrina* is recognizable, as each instruction is separately dealt with in one or more corresponding catecheses. However, comparison with the manuscript tradition may be hampered by the changes introduced by the compiler. For example, K271 is in two places reminiscent of *Doctrina* I, but for the most part seems like an independent reworking. Although the source is barely recognizable, Dorotheos is explicitly mentioned in this catechesis.

---

[109]REGNAULT & DE PRÉVILLE, *Dorothée de Gaza*, pp. 31-32; cf. the table of correspondence with PG 88 at p. 571.
[110]GARDTHAUSEN, *Catalogus*, p. 99; KAMIL, *Catalogue*, no. 636, p. 87: neither catalogue gives enough detail concerning the codex.
[111]VLADIMIR, *Rukopisi greceskija*, pp. 232-33.
[112]REGNAULT & DE PRÉVILLE, *Dorothée de Gaza*, p. 99, at n. 1.
[113]REGNAULT & DE PRÉVILLE, *Dorothée de Gaza*, p. 100 and n. 1; VLADIMIR, *Rukopisi greceskija*, pp. 230-32.

SC 92 (1963), Regnault-Préville eds.	K
Cf. *Doctrina* I, Ch. 13, ll. 5-18, ll. 1-2, p. 166	271
Cf. *Doctrina* II, Ch. 28, pp. 186-206	274 (no exact quotation found)
Doctrina III, Ch. 41, l. 23-Ch. 45, l. 25, pp. 212-16	275 (paraphrased with many changes)
Doctrina IV, Ch. 49, ll. 3-9, ll. 16-21, pp. 224-26; Ch. 52, l. 1-Ch. 53, l. 2, pp. 230-34	276
Doctrina IV, Ch. 53, ll. 2-7, ll. 20-29; Ch. 54, ll. 1-27, pp. 234-36	277
Doctrina IV, Ch. 54, ll. 35-43; Ch. 55, ll. 1-6; Ch. 57, ll. 23-31; Ch. 58, ll. 7-20, pp. 238-46	278 (text often paraphrased)
Doctrina IV, Ch. 60, ll. 1-18, ll. 24-31, pp. 246-48	279
Doctrina V, Ch. 61, ll. 8-28, pp. 250-52	280 (paraphrasis with many changes; second part of K text unidentified)
Ch. 63, ll. 1-6, pp. 252-54	281 (long independent development on Biblical quotation)
Ch. 68, ll. 6-35, pp. 264-66	298 (first part of K not identified)
Ch. 71, ll. 6-21; Ch. 74, ll. 1-22; Ch. 75, ll. 1-26, pp. 272-80	299
Doctrina VI, Ch. 76, ll. 2-10; ll. 31-47; Ch. 77, ll. 1-31, pp. 280-84	300
Doctrina VII, Ch. 81, ll. 8-22; Ch. 82, ll. 13-20; l. 23-Ch. 84, l. 8, pp. 290-94	301 (with many additions)
Ch. 84, ll. 8-48; Ch. 86, ll. 1-12, pp. 294-300	302
Ch. 86, l. 13-Ch. 87, l. 13; Ch. 88, ll. 1-16; ll. 23-29, pp. 300-04	303

Doctrina VIII, Ch. 89, ll. 1-23; cf. Ch. 91, l. 16; Ch. 90, ll. 9-15; Ch. 91, l. 14, ll. 20-26; cf. Ch. 93, pp. 306-14	304 (text highly reworked)
Ch. 93, ll. 1-24; cf. Ch. 94, ll. 20-29; Ch. 94, l. 30-Ch. 95, l. 13, pp. 314-18	305 (partly reworked, partly *verbatim*)
Doctrina IX, Ch. 96, l. 1-Ch. 97, l. 30; Ch. 98, ll. 8-21, pp. 320-24	306
Ch. 101, ll. 1-22; Ch. 103, ll. 4-8; ll. 25-37; ll. 40-42, pp. 328-34	307
Doctrina X, Ch. 105, l. 29-Ch. 107, l. 2, pp. 340-44	308
Ch. 107, l. 2-Ch. 108, l. 7: pp. 345-6	309
Doctrina XXI (PG88, 1812D-1821B) 1816A11-B8; D3-5; D7-1817A3; A7-9; 1816B9-10; 14-C5	269
1817C2-9; 1820A2-3	270[114]

II. vi) Ephrem.

As stated above, the texts of Ephrem used in K come from the Greek version known as Ephrem Graecus, which seldom offers genuine translations of lost Syriac fourth-century originals, but more often spurious attributions disguising true authorship.[115]

The only text among these to offer a Syriac counterpart is, on the surface, that entitled *De Juliano asceta* or *De Juliano Saba* (CPG4027), a short prose treatise in Greek,[116] a series of hymns in honour of the saint in

---

[114]The borrowings from *Doctrina* XXI are clear and *verbatim*, but the greatest part of this catechesis remains unidentified.

[115]D. HEMMERDINGER-ILIADOU & J. KIRCHMEYER, 'Éphrem (Les Versions)', *DS* 4 (1958), cols. 800-22.

[116]J. S. ASSEMANI, ed., *Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἐφραὶμ τοῦ Σύρου τὰ εὑρισκόμενα πάντα*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1732-1746), III, cols. 254-60.

Syriac.[117] The authenticity of the Syriac is undisputed,[118] while the Greek version is inserted among the *dubia*, perhaps composed by a disciple of Julian (as the first person narrative indicates).[119] In fact, there are very few points of contact between these two texts. The only concrete information they share about the saint's life is his retreat into a cave, and then into a narrow sepulchre, facts which were also recorded elsewhere.[120] The motifs of special devotion to the saving power of the cross and extraordinary love for Christ, leading the believer to mourn His death, may be taken as thematic links between the poetic panegyrics and the anecdotal narrative, although these are hardly uncharacteristic topics in ascetic literature; moreover, Julian's own mourning is not emphasized in the hymns as much as his fasting, prayer and vigils.

K254 contains part of a metrical piece, the *De recta vivendi ratione* (CPG3941), described as a "florilège tardif".[121] K255-258 are based on a mysterious *De humilitate*, a work thought to hide a different authorship which remains, however, unidentified.[122] The placing of this work in a section of extracts from Ephrem in K indicates that the compiler received this work under Ephrem's authorship. However, the text in K appears very different from that printed in Assemani. The wording of the short stories selected for inclusion is altered to such an extent as to open the possibility of a direct borrowing from a different source containing the same stories;

---

[117]Th.-J. LAMY, *S. Ephrem Syri hymni et sermones*, 4 vols. (Malines, 1882-1902), III, cols. 837-936.

[118]A. VÖÖBUS, *Literary, Critical and Historical Studies in Ephrem the Syrian* (Stockholm, 1958), pp. 65-66; E. BECK, 'Éphrem le Syrien', *DS* 4 (1958), cols. 788-800, at 789.

[119]HEMMERDINGER-ILIADOU, 'Éphrem', col. 808.

[120]LAMY, Hymn XVII, v. 2, cols. 895-96; cf. THEODORET, *Religiosa Historia*, ch. II, PG 82, 1305-1323, at cols. 1308D11-1309A2; BHG 968.

[121]HEMMERDINGER-ILIADOU, 'Éphrem', col. 805.

[122]HEMMERDINGER-ILIADOU, 'Éphrem', col. 810. The article in *DS* suggests two bibliographical references to works by I. HAUSHERR: *Jean le Solitaire*, OCA 120 (1939), p. 13 emphasizes the dependence of the *De humilitate* on Syriac spirituality; *La Vie de Syméon*, pp. LI-LVI relates it to the compilations of the *synkellos* Stephen of Nikomedia, contained in ms. *Paris. gr.* 1162, 11th cent.

alternatively, the stories may have been narrated from memory by the compiler, without immediate comparison with the source text.

All the remaining works used in K are considered to be later compositions falsely attributed to Ephrem.[123] The text of K seems more heavily paraphrased with respect to the printed one than texts from other sources, but only a critical edition of the source would allow effective comparison.[124]

ASSEMANI[125]	K
De virtute, I, 202-216B Exhortation 1, 203D1-E8	218
Exhortation 3, 209C3-E4; 209A7-B8	219
De virtute in capita decem, I, 216B-229 Ch. 7, 221A1-C5	220
In illud, attende tibi ipsi, I, 230-254B Ch. 3, 232F1-233C7, 233F1-234B4; Ch. 5, 235D1-7	221
Ch. 6, 237D3-E3; Ch. 8, 244D2-E4; Ch. 10, 245A1-B5, 245D6-E1, cf. 246C2-5, 247D5-6	252
Consilium de vita spirituali, I, 258E-282C Ch. 5, 259F1-260A3; Ch. 11, 261A1-B3; Ch. 21, 262F3-263A6; Ch. 23, 263B4-Ch. 24, 263D1	253

[123]HEMMERDINGER-ILIADOU, 'Éphrem', col. 811: CPG 3907 = no. 1, *Ad eversionem superbiae;* CPG 3930-3931 = nos. 7-8, *De virtute;* CPG 3932 = no. 9, *In illud "Attende tibi";* CPG 3934 = no. 10, *Consilium de vita spirituali;* CPG 3936 = no. 11, *Quomodo quis in humilitatem sibi comparet;* col. 813: CPG 4000 = no. 32, *De abstinendo ab omni consuetidine perniciosa* + no. 42, *De continentia;* CPG 4009 = no. 36, *De recordatione mortis.*

[124]D. HEMMERDINGER-ILIADOU, 'Vers une nouvelle édition de l'Éphrem grec', in F. L. CROSS, ed., *Studia Patristica* III, TU 78 (1961), pp. 72-80.

[125]Since the works used in K are self-contained, independent pieces, their ordering in Assemani's edition has not been consistently respected in the table; rather, the ordering of catecheses has, on occasion, taken precedence over the order of the source text.

Cf. Ch. 24, 263D1; Ch. 34, 266E8-267D2	251
De recta vivendi ratione, I, 56C-72E	
Ch. 1, 56C10-12; Ch. 4, 57A1-Ch. 6, 57C2; Ch. 20, 59D1-4; Ch. 7, 57C3-6; Ch. 8, 57D1-Ch. 9, 57F1; Ch. 13, 58C5-D2; Ch. 16, 58F1-Ch. 17, 59A4; Ch. 23, 60A1-3; cf. Ch. 25, 60B2-26, 60C5	254
Quomodo quis in humilitatem sibi comparet; I, 299C-335D	
Cf. Ch. 9, 302E1-F5; Cf. Ch. 11, 303C1-D7	255
Ch. 21, 306C1-7; Ch. 28, 308A4-Ch. 29, 309A4	256
Ch. 96, 331C1-332A5; Ch. 97, 332C4-D5	257
Ch. 99, 333C3-D6	258 (long unidentified passage after quotation; exceptionally long catechesis)
Ad eversionem superbiae, I, 23B-28B	
25F6-26A7; 26E2-F1; 26F8-27A2; 27C8-D1; 27E4-7; 23B1-4	259 (+ unidentified passage)
De continentia, III, 67B-70C	
67F6-68D4	260 (long unidentified introd.)
68D4-69E5	261
69F5-70B6	262 (cf. below)
De recordatione mortis, III, 114A-119B	
114F6-115A2; cf. 116F4-6	262
De Sancto Juliano, III, 254-260	
254F6-255C3; 256E2-F7; 257E4-258A3	263

II. vii) Mark the Monk and Pseudo-Mark (Marcian).

It seemed simplest to keep under the heading of Mark the Monk the two treatises, Book V, *Ad Nicolaum praecepta animae salutaria* (CPG6094),

and Book IX, *De jejunio* (CPG[6099] and 3891), published under this author in PG65. The choice reflects, historically, how the compiler of K probably perceived this source, since the

> *De jejunio* is mentioned by Photius, which means that by the ninth century it had gained a place in the Greek manuscript tradition among Mark's works.[126]

Although the authorship of the latter treatise has been doubted for a long time, its recent edition, under the name of Marcian,[127] might have solved the issue, if it were not that the latter is no less of a mysterious figure than Mark.[128]

The identity of Mark seems to depend to a large extent on the internal evidence of the theological and doctrinal positions in his work,[129] which are in turn evaluated on internal criteria as to their authorship. Another difficulty is that Mark's theological position hinges on his relation to the Messalians,[130] which is itself a problematic area. As to Marcian, the identification, suggested by his first editor, Lebon, with a monk at Chalcis of the end of the fourth century has been replaced by that with a monk of Bethlehem, of the end of the fifth century.[131]

A summary of *Ad Nicolaum* is provided in the analysis of the work by Dr. Ware.[132] It has been noticed that Nikolaos' answer to the treatise is not

---

[126]WARE, 'The Ascetic Writings', p. 150; see also the Introduction by K. Ware to the French translation of Mark's works: C.-A. ZIRNHELD, *Marc le Moine, Traités spirituels et théologiques*, Spiritualité Orientale 41 (Abbaye de Bellefontaine, 1985), pp. IX-XLIII.

[127]J. LEBON, *Le moine Saint Marcien: Étude critique des sources, édition de ses écrits*, Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense 36 (Leuven, 1968), pp. 197-200 (as op. VII).

[128]A. VAN ROEY, 'Marcien', *DS* 10 (1980), cols. 310-11, at 310.

[129]This is the basis for a very convincing account identifying Mark as the *higoumenos* of a monastery near Tarsus in the first quarter of the sixth century: H. CHADWICK, 'The Identity and Date of Mark the Monk', in *Essays in Honour of Gervase Mathew*, *Eastern Churches Review* 4.2 (1972), 125-30, with an excellent summary of the *status quaestionis*.

[130]The relationship is clearly one of contrast with the extremes of the Messalian movement. The traces of Messalian language in Mark may not signify that he "does not wholly reject the Messalians' point of view", but rather that he is prepared to meet them on their own ground, in order to reject and modify the very foundation of their theology (K. T. WARE, 'The Sacrament of Baptism and the Ascetic Life in the Teaching of Mark the Monk', in E. A. LIVINGSTONE, ed., *Studia Patristica* X, TU 107.1 (1967), pp. 441-52, at 447). This article shows many aspects of the radically anti-Messalian position of Mark.

[131]J. KIRCHMEYER, 'Le moine Marcien (de Bethléem?)', F. L. CROSS, ed., *Studia Patristica* V, TU 80 (1959), pp. 341-59, at 342, 353-58; A. VAN ROEY, 'Remarques sur le moine Marcien', *Studia Patristica* XII, TU 115 (1971), pp. 160-77, at 168-69.

[132]WARE, 'The Ascetic Writings', pp. 106-08.

always included in the manuscripts.[133] It would seem that the compiler of both S and K worked from a copy of the treatise that did not contain the last part (PG65, 1052A-1053B). Mark's popularity in florilegia is particularly relevant in the context of K.[134]

Though the contents of Marcian's *De jejunio* have been styled "sober and conventional", moderation in ascetic practises was a *sine qua non* of cenobitic life.[135] The stress on moderation in food, intended both as moderation in eating and in fasting, reflects the significance of eating and its regulation in conventual life. The choice of the treatise is thus important in the understanding of the Evergetis' ascetic practices and communal life.

In looking at Marcian as a possible further source for K, much work remains to be done on the unpublished Greek texts.[136] Among these is a series of twenty homilies mentioned in the seventh-century compilation, the *Doctrina Patrum*.[137] The short treatise *Περὶ ἀσκητικοῦ βίου*, published by Kirchmeyer, proved unhelpful in yielding a further source for K.[138] Its style, however, was said not to be representative of the other material, which remains to be examined.[139]

Like Mark, Marcian was a popular author in monastic florilegia.[140]

---

[133]WARE, 'The Ascetic Writings', p. 106, gives a list of manuscripts.
[134]J. GRIBOMONT, 'Marc le Moine', *DS* 10 (1980), cols. 274-83, at 279.
[135]WARE, 'The Ascetic Writings', p. 147 and n. 1 for a list of previous occurrences of this type of exhortation in monastic writings; KIRCHMEYER, 'Le moine Marcien', pp. 347-48 on the attribution of the *De ieiunio* to Marcian, including an apophthegm from this work circulated in Marcian's name; cf. also LEBON, *Saint Marcien*, pp. 89-99.
[136]KIRCHMEYER, 'Le moine Marcien', pp. 348-53.
[137]F. DIEKAMP, ed., *Doctrina Patrum de Incarnatione Verbi*, 2nd edn. revised by B. PHANOURGAKIS & E. CHRYSOS (Münster, 1981), p. 242, l. 16; KIRCHMEYER, 'Le moine Marcien', pp. 358-59; cf. CPG 3900.
[138]CPG 3889c: J. KIRCHMEYER, 'Le *Περὶ ἀσκητικοῦ βίου* de l'abbé Marcien', *Le Muséon* 75 (1962), 357-65, ed. at pp. 361-65; see also KIRCHMEYER, 'Le moine Marcien', pp. 354-57; VAN ROEY, 'Remarques', p. 161.
[139]KIRCHMEYER, 'Le *Περὶ ἀσκητικοῦ βίου*', p. 360: "Les autres inédits grecs de Marcien sont, en général, mieux écrits". Cf. CPG 3898.
[140]KIRCHMEYER, 'Le moine Marcien', pp. 351-52: in the Florilegium of Nikon of the Black Mountain; the Syriac Marcian was included in the Florilegium Edessenum, although doubts have been expressed as to the correspondence between the Marcian of the Florilegium and that of the Opuscules edited by Lebon: VAN ROEY, 'Remarques', pp. 162-68, 176-77.

	K
Ad Nicolaum (PG65, 1027D-1034B) Ch. 1, 1029C3-6; Ch. 2, 1029C13-1032A1	321 (+ long addition)
Ch. 2, 1032A1-C10	322
Ch. 3, 1032C11-1033B4	323
Ch. 4, 1033B5-D14; Ch. 5, 1036C6-13; Ch. 4, 1033D14-1036A1	324
Ch. 5, 1036D5-1037A7; Ch. 7, 1037D11-1040B9	325
Ch. 7, 1040c14-1041a12	328 (+ long addition)
Ch. 8, 1041A13-Ch. 9, 1044A11	329
Ch. 9, 1044A12-1045A7; Ch. 10, 1045A8-B1	330
Ch. 10, 1045B2-Ch. 11, 1048C2	335
De jejunio, LEBON ed. Ch. 1, p. 197, l. 1-Ch. 2, p. 198, l. 27	336
Ch. 3, p. 198, l. 28-Ch. 4, p. 200, l. 22	337

II. viii) Neilos/Evagrios.

Dealing with a subject central to Christian and monastic life, *On Prayer* (CPG2452) expresses the mystical doctrine of Evagrios (*circa* 345-399).[141] Although the ontological views underlying Evagrios' position, together with their propounder, Origen, were condemned at the Fifth Ecumenical Council at Constantinople in 553,[142] the treatise *On Prayer*, transmitted under the name of Neilos, remained greatly influential for the Greek, as well as the Latin, monastic tradition.[143]

Since for Evagrios the essence of man consisted in his 'nous', the activity proper to this being was contemplation. Hence prayer as contemplation was the most fitting activity for man. Although tempered by careful selection and some significant omissions (detailed below in Part III), this text, chosen for inclusion in K, will furnish important indications of the place accorded to contemplation at the Evergetis foundation. Contemplation is a central topic in discriminating between styles of monasticism.[144]

Of the 153 chapters that compose the treatise, symbolic of the number of fish in the miraculous catch narrated in Jn. 21, 22,[145] Paul chooses a section of 51 sayings, from chapter 78 to 135, with the omission of chapters 84, 86, 119, 125-127 and 132.[146] From these sayings on prayer, Paul fashions four catecheses: K341, 342, 347 and 348. The first two were read on the

---

[141]A. & C. GUILLAUMONT, 'Évagre le Pontique', *DS* 4 (1960), cols. 1731-44, at 1737; brief biography and bibliography in the Engl. transl. of the Syriac text of the *De Oratione* by S. BROCK, *The Syriac Fathers on Prayer and the Spiritual Life*, CS 101 (1987), pp. 64-65, 74-75.
[142]A. GUILLAUMONT, 'Évagre et les anathématisme antiorigénistes de 553', in F. L. CROSS, ed., *Studia Patristica* III, TU 78 (1961), pp. 219-26.
[143]A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les 'Kephalaia Gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique et l'histoire de l'Origénisme chez les grecs et chez les syriens*, Patristica Sorboniensia 5 (Paris, 1962), pp. 40-43, 167-68.
[144]Cf. the introduction to the Engl. transl. by J. E. BAMBERGER, *Evagrius Ponticus: Praktikos and Chapters on Prayer*, CS 4 (1970), pp. 45-46.
[145]BAMBERGER, *Evagrius Ponticus*, pp. 53-54 at n. 10; cf. also the detailed notes on numerical interpretation in another Engl. transl. of this work: S. TUGWELL, *Evagrius Ponticus: Praktikos and On Prayer; Dionysios the Areopagite: Mystical Theology* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 27-28, notes on ll. 25-48.
[146]Cp. the choice of chapters in the *Pandects* of Antiochus: S. HAIDACHER, 'Nilus-Excerpte im *Pandektes* des Antiochus', *Revue Bénédictine* 22 (1905), 244-50, pp. 249-50.

Tuesday and the Wednesday of the Third Week of Lent, the second two on the Sunday of the Third and on the Monday of the Fourth Week of Lent. On the intervening days, the catecheses were taken from Theodore Studite's PC60, 61 and 76. Such a fragmentation of a continuous source text is unusual. On the other hand, it is significant that Evagrios replaced Theodore Studite on two of the canonical days of catechesis of the Third Week of Lent, the Wednesday and the Sunday. Evagrios' particular advice on prayer was imparted at a time when liturgical and personal requirements of prayer were increased by the discipline of Lent and the preparation for the Easter celebrations.

De Oratione (PG79, 1165-1200)[147]	K
Ch. 78, 1184C9-Ch. 83, 1185B5; Ch. 85, 1185B10-C1; Ch. 87, 1185C7-Ch. 90, 1188A7	342
Ch. 91, 1188A9-Ch. 100, 1189B7; Ch. 102, 1189C1-Ch. 104, 1189C12	343
Ch. 105, 1189C14-D2; Ch. 101, 1189B9-11; Ch. 106, 1189D4-Ch. 109, 1192B7; Ch. 111, 1192C1-Ch. 112, 1192C14; Ch. 110, 1192B9-11; Ch. 113, 1192D2-3	347
Ch. 114, 1192D6-Ch. 121, 1193B9, Ch. 123, 1193C2-3; Ch. 122, 1193B11-12; Ch. 128, 1193D6-Ch. 131, 1196A7; Ch. 133, 1196A13-Ch. 135, 1196C4	348

Following the extracts from the *De Oratione* is a section borrowed from the letter *Ad Eulogium*.[148] The attribution of this treatise to Evagrios has been doubted in the past.[149] The treatise is an amazing synthesis of monastic life: the compiler omitted the first chapter, the dedication to

---

[147]Engl. transl. by BAMBERGER, *Evagrius Ponticus*, pp. 52-80 (on the text of PG with some correction from ms. *Coislin* 109: see p. 50); TUGWELL, *Evagrius Ponticus*, pp. 25-47 (on a partial edition of the text prepared by the author: see p. 1); *Philokalia*, I, pp. 55-71; I. HAUSHERR, 'Les leçons d'un contemplative: Le *Traité de l'oraison* d'Évagre le Pontique', *RAM* 15 (1934), 34-93, 113-70 (French. transl. with notes).

[148]CPG 2447.

[149]J. MUYLDERMANS, *À travers la tradition manuscrite d'Évagre le Pontique. Essai sur les manuscrits grecs conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris*, Bibliothèque du Muséon 3 (Louvain, 1932), pp. 62-65, esp. p. 65: "nous avons le sentiment que le *Tractatus ad Eulogium*, du moins dans l'état où il nous est parvenu, ne peut être de la plume d'Évagre".

Eulogium, and selected the first half of the treatise in order to compile nine catecheses (K349-357). The boundaries of borrowing within each catechesis do not coincide with the chapter divisions in PG.

It has been pointed out that the text printed in PG is not the complete recension of the treatise.[150] The additions found in the catecheses are combined with extensive paraphrasing, and are therefore most likely to be due to the intervention of the compiler.

Ad Eulogium (PG79, 1093D-1140A)	K
Ch. 2, 1096B4-C4; C12-Ch. 3, 1097B10	349
Ch. 3, 1097B11-Ch. 4, 1100B9	350
Ch. 5, 1100C5-Ch. 6, 1101A10; 1101B2-D1	351
Ch. 7, 1101D12-1104A6; 1104A9-Ch. 9, 1105A7	352
Ch. 9, 1105A11-13; A15-Ch. 11, 1108B4	353
Ch. 11, 1108B4-Ch. 12, 1109A4	354
Ch. 12, 1109A4-Ch. 13, 1109D6	355
Ch. 13, 1109D6-Ch. 15, 1113A5	356
Ch. 15, 1113A6-Ch. 18, 1116C11	357

II. ix) John of Karpathos.

There is some consensus that John of Karpathos is the bishop of that island in the Dodecannese who took part in the Third Council of Constantinople in 680 and whose acts he signed with that name and toponym: Ἰωάννης ἐλέῳ Θεοῦ ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Καρπαθίων νήσου ὁρίσας ὑπέγραψα.[151] Apart from this identification, only a date *ante quem* in the ninth century can be fixed for his existence, determined by Photius' *Bibliotheca*, which included John among the authors mentioned at

---

[150]J. MUYLDERMANS, 'Evagriana de la Vaticane', *Le Muséon* 54 (1941), 1-15, at pp. 5-9, with the edition of a supplementary extract from ms. *Paris. gr.* 1188, 11th cent., fol. 108v (to be inserted at PG 79, 1105A). Such addition is not found in the text of K352-353.

ch. 201. The ninth century is also the date attributed to the earliest extant manuscripts.[152]

Paul's inclusion of this author in K also comes as a welcome counterbalance to S, where his absence was conspicuous by contrast to John's popularity among other compilers of Florilegia.[153] The text chosen for the three catecheses comes from the work referred to as the *Hortatory Chapters to the Monks in India*, or the First Century (CPG7855).[154]

In reality, this text is divided into two distinct parts: the first consists of a collection of 100 sayings (according to the numeration in PG); the second is a discourse entitled: Λόγος ἀσκητικὸς καὶ πάνυ παρηγορητικὸς πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδίας προτρέψαντας μοναχούς, τῶν ρ΄ κεφαλαίων τὸν ἀριθμὸν συναποπληρῶν. Some editors have understood the title as making the discourse into the hundredth chapter of the century; Didier suggested that the title indicates that this discourse "comble la mesure, [...] achève en surabondance" the gnomic chapters which precede it.[155] The English translation of the *Philokalia* marks this distinction by calling the discourse "A Supplement to the One Hundred Texts for the Monks in India".[156]

Didier noted the simple style of this small treatise in contrast to the philosophical tone and theologically profound sayings of the preceding

---

[151]M.-T. DIDIER, 'Jean de Carpathos. L'homme, l'œuvre, la doctrine spirituelle', *EO* 31 (1932), 284-303; 39 (1940-42), 290-311; at vol. 31, p. 289 and n. 1.

[152]DIDIER, 'Jean de Carpathos', pp. 291-93, gives a list of mss. in chronological order; D. STIERNON, 'Jean de Karpathos', *DS* 8 (1974), cols. 589-92 revised and expanded the list at col. 589, without indicating the dating of the added mss.

[153]Paul was noticed as an exception by DIDIER, 'Jean de Carpathos', p. 286 at n. 5; the possible reason for the omission is given as the small size of Paul's library. But John's works only comprise a few folios of a manuscript; and the sources of S are found side by side with John in ascetic miscellanies.

[154]PG 85, 1827-1860. The text is printed as an Appendix to this volume of PG, but is not found in all the editions of the work: cf. 'John of Karpathos', *ODB* II, col. 1065; it is also included in the *Philokalia* (Athens, 1957), I, pp. 297-301. I have not been able to consult the unpublished dissertation by D. OSSIEUR, *Textuitgave van de capita* παρακλητικά *en de capita* ἀσκετικά *van Johannes Carpathius, met inleiding en textkritische aantekeningen* (Gent, 1973).

[155]DIDIER, 'Jean de Carpathos', p. 296.

[156]G. E. H. PALMER, P. SHERRARD & K. WARE, *The Philokalia*, 4 vols. (London, 1979-95), I, pp. 322-26, at 322.

gnomic chapters. He thus concluded that the treatise may have been quite independent of the first century, though he did not question the authorship. The compiler's choice therefore fell, for this author, on a ready-made *"logos"* written in the low style suited to his catecheses.

The texts contrast the lay and the monastic condition, and exhort the monk not to set store by the apparently happy or even good life of the first, but to trust in the afflictions and temptations of the second, since these are the sign of God's love, in preparing him for eternal happiness.[157]

PG85, 1858-1860	K
1857, ll. 1-42; 1858, ll. 5-14	210
1858, l. 15-1859, l. 28	211
1859, l. 28-1860, l. 27	212

II. x) Diadochos of Photike.

One of the texts left unidentified by the work of Leroy was K341. In translating this catechesis, I was fortunate enough to find one phrase of it as a reference in Lampe, which immediately led me to its background source: the *Hundred Chapters* (CPG6106)[158] of Diadochos († 486).[159]

The importance of finding a new source beyond those mentioned raised hopes of reconducting other unidentified texts to the same author, but attempts to do so have so far yielded no positive result. Considerable rearrangement of the source text, as in K341, may make identification difficult.

---

[157]I have not been able to consult D. BALFOUR, *A Supplement to the Philokalia: The Second Century of St. John of Karpathos* (Brookline, Mass., 1989), which is a possible source for some of the unattributed catecheses of K.
[158]DES PLACES, *Diadoque*; cf. also the revision to the SC introduction, É. DES PLACES, 'La tradition manuscrite des *Cents Chapitres* de Diadoche de Photicé', *Revue des Études Grecques* 70 (1957), 376-86.
[159]É. DES PLACES, 'Diadoque de Photicé', *DS* 3 (1954), cols. 817-34, at 818.

Among the texts attributed to Diadochos is a short theological dialogue, published as a "catechesis".[160] Both attribution and definition were later challenged.[161] The manuscript tradition also attributes this text to Symeon the New Theologian.[162] Another proposal for authorship has been that of Symeon's biographer, Niketas Stethatos.

> En tout cas, il faudra changer ce titre de *catéchèse*, car se serait bien le seul example d'une catéchèse ainsi composée [i.e. in the form of *erotapokriseis*] et ce mot désigne un genre d'éloquence et d'enseignement monastique bien déterminé dans la literature théologique byzantine.[163]

If both form and content of this short treatise bar it from being among the possible sources of K, the debate on its nature is instructive for a definition of the catechetical genre. Some of the Pseudo-Macarian *Spiritual Homilies* are written in the genre of *erotapokriseis*, but it is not clear whether these were ever read out as sermons.[164] When the source in K presents a text with questions and answers, the compiler modifies it to obtain continuous discourse (see Part I. ii and below).

SC 5bis	K
Ch. 62, p. 121, ll. 22-23; Ch. 61, p. 119, l. 16- p. 120, l. 22; Ch. 62, p. 121, l. 23 -p. 123, l. 2	341

Since Diadochos's text has been published in a critical edition, textual comparison could verify its dependence on a particular manuscript tradition. It emerges that ms. 'B', which had been noticed to resemble the text of S, is also closely related to the text of K. Below is a list of agreements and

---

[160]É. DES PLACES, 'Une catéchèse inédite de Diadoque de Photicé', *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 40 (1952), 129-38; DES PLACES, 'Diadoque de Photicé', cols. 820-21.
[161]J. DARROUZÈS, 'Notes d'histoire des textes', *REB* 15 (1957), 169-75.
[162]DES PLACES, 'Une catéchèse inédite', p. 131; KRIVOCHÉINE, 'The Writings of Symeon', p. 301 at n. 2.
[163]DARROUZÈS, 'Notes', p. 174.
[164]E.g. Homily 7: transl. G. A. MALONEY, *Pseudo-Macarius: The Fifty Spiritual Homilies and the Great Letter* (New York, 1992), pp. 78-80.

disagreements obtained by the comparison of K341 with the edited source:[165]

<u>Agreements K = B</u>

2 συγχέειν BNc=SC

8 ἐκτυπῶσαι BNSa
9 τῆς μνήμης BNT=SC

15 αὐτῇ τῇ ψυχῇ B

16 συγκρατοῦσαν BNS

17 διδάσκει BNT
18 οὗ BNS=SC
33 αὐτῷ BTb=SC
38 ἀρρενοποιοῦμεν] ἀρρενοῦμεν BNSc =SC (closest form, preserving meaning)
39 δαίμονι] *non illo loco in* SC, *sed infra in* BN
40 πνευματικῶς BNS
41 ἐδίδαξε] ἐδίδαξεν B
43 ἀταράχως B=SC
43 μόνῃ Bc=SC
46 μᾶλλον BMa=SC
47 παρέσχετο] παρεσχῆσθαι B
51 μηδὲ B] οὐδ´ SC (codd)
52 εἰς BNST
55 δαιμόνων ταράξεως] δαιμόνων παρατάξεως BMa
55 ἐγκρατείας BNT=SC

<u>Disagreements K ≠ B</u>

17 συμμελετᾷ MNST=SC, K] συμμελετᾶν B
30 ὅτε] ὅταν B
34 πραότητος Mc : πραΰτητος SC
47 ἡ Εὔα ἐχρήσατο] ἡ Εὔα ἐχρήσατο τούτῳ Mc : ἐχρήσατο ἡ Εὔα SC
ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ma=ST : ἐπειδὴ ὁ μὲν BNST
55 τῆς τῶν] τῇ B
55 τὸ SC (codd) : τὸν B

[165]The other mss. are cited with the abbreviations used by the ed., and cited in DES PLACES, 'Diadoque de Photicé', cols. 818-19: N = *Crypt.* B. α. 19, a. 965 and its copy b = *Paris. gr.* 1053, end 10th cent.; S = Mantua, *Esten.* gr. α. U. 2. 12, 11th cent.; a = *Paris. gr.* 913, 10th cent.; M = Mosqu. *Synod. gr.* 184, a. 899 and its apograph c = *Coislin.* 123, 11th cent.; T = *Athen. B. N. gr.* 549, beg. of 11th cent.

PART III

MODIFICATIONS TO SOURCE TEXTS

III. i) Degrees of Originality.

In his article presenting K, Leroy had expressed a negative opinion on the degree of "originality" the compiler maintained towards his sources:

> en bon byzantin, [Paul] avait cru plus simple de plagier les écrits spirituels de quelques devanciers.[166]

In the unpublished table of contents for K, Leroy had pursued the evaluation of originality by signalling the degree of dependence on the source text on a scale of 1 to 3: the overwhelming majority of texts of K appeared categorized as '3', indicating a "slavish dependence" on the source text. Leroy's categories have proved to be, on further comparison with the work, too rigid and ultimately misleading.

Structural re-arrangements, though preserving *verbatim* quotations in discrete units, presuppose a work of "cutting and pasting" (to borrow from computer terminology), which deserves to be indicated more attentively than with the mark '3'. Stylistic changes are also often overlooked by Leroy's categorization, since the shifts in register they produce are too subtle to be recorded on that scale.

Texts designated as '2' often turned out to include a mere one-sentence quotation from the source, so that their weighting towards derivative texts had to be reassesed in a positive evaluation of the larger non-derivative portion on offer.[167] Modifications of language, such as the consistent rephrasing of Ephrem with respect to the version printed in Assemani, were also designated as '2'. These linguistic modifications may be at the level of nouns, verbs, particles or syntax, and range in significance from offering synonyms to changing part of the meaning. Thus, even small

---

[166]LEROY, 'Un nouveau témoin', p. 76.

[167]For example, K27 and K28 are both commentaries on the quotation from Gal. 4, 14, with an incipit similar to PC36, but only the second continues to use the Studite catechesis as source for the continuation of the text. See Ch. IV for an analysis.

modifications, such as, for example, that of the mention of a liturgical season as analysed at Ch. II, can change the whole context, adapting the text to a new situation.

Finally, Leroy had outlined some criteria for Paul's selection of texts from Theodore's MC, pointing out his omission of catecheses with a historical or contingently episodical content.[168] Yet these criteria were not superficially or mechanically applied, so that a text containing a historical reference might still figure in K, after that reference has been taken out. Moreover, further criteria of a theological nature must have been operative for the selection.

It became clear that the work of the compiler deserved more careful analysis. The broader criteria for his choice of sources were constantly refined by reworking each text into the shape, size and content required by the catechesis.

On the basis of a sample of comparisons carried out between K texts and their sources, the compiler's work of excerption is here explored. Attention will be devoted to representative types of changes and modifications. In his careful, attentive and subtle work, the compiler shows an active concern to produce texts that were both comprehensible and relevant to his eleventh-century audience. It is in this sense that we can speak of "originality", where the interest of this word resides not in creative genius, but in the ability of a text to convey a reality and a culture peculiar to itself.[169]

---

[168]LEROY, 'Un nouveau témoin', pp. 77-78.

[169]Theoretical issues concerning how criteria of "originality" can be applied to Byzantine literature are masterfully explored by KAZHDAN, 'Innovation in Byzantium'. Attention to the modifications that change a source text is required in order to perceive how it can be made into a new creation. See also in the same volume M. CUNNINGHAM, 'Innovation or Mimesis in Byzantine Sermons?', in A. R. LITTLEWOOD, ed., *Originality in Byzantine Literature: a Collection of Essays*, Oxbow Monograph 50 (Oxford, 1995), pp. 67-80, on the specific issue of the evolution of topics for preaching.

III. ii) Structural rearrangements.

In Ch. II, the liturgical constraints of time for the reading of the catecheses were considered to have given rise to their uniform length. The required length was obtained through the considerable freedom deployed in handling the quotations used from sources.

Even in the case of ready-made sermons, such as Theodore's, the compiler took the initiative of cutting the longer texts of MC into smaller segments, making two, three or four K texts out of one original catechesis. Even one PC could be split into two (PC28 forms K18-19). As in the case of the liturgical example given in Ch. II (from MC I, 14), the process opened the possibility of further editing of the contents.

A good example of the compiler's freedom with respect to the source sermon is represented by K265. This catechesis combines PC27, ll. 1-52 with PC26, ll. 29-65. Not only is the order of the catecheses inverted, but a selection of their content is made. The cut is done so that no additional passage has to be inserted to enact a transition between one and the other.

Smaller re-arrangements within a source text are also possible. It is not safe to assume that a passage has been omitted if it does not figure in the sequence expected from the source text. For example, one chapter of Evagrios' *On Prayer*, no. 101, is lifted out of the context where it occurred in the source, which is reproduced at K343, but kept in store and used later, at K347. In the Pseudo-Makarios, chapters left out from the sequence of the quotations are used again in a subsequent catechesis (cf. K188-189; K207-208 above).

III. iii) Stylistic changes.

The capacity to use prose treatises for oral addresses in the form of catecheses implied a flexibility obtained by stylistic changes to the source texts. Where a recipient was presupposed, as in the case of a letter, the

changes are limited to the use of the plural for a singular address. This is the case for the *Logos* of John of Karpathos.

While John of Karpathos' *Centuries* were left out from the choice of K, Evagrios' *On Prayer*, presenting a similar structure made of juxtaposed gnomic sayings, was tackled for inclusion. It was clearly a challenge to be able to form a continuous speech out of this type of work. In K348, the sayings are simply juxtaposed, at times linked by the explicative particle γάρ.

One way of dealing with the gnomic style of work was to delimit units of meaning, and string together those sayings concerning a specific topic. Thus, for example, the sayings on psalmody, chapters 82, 83, 85, 87, particularly suited to the liturgical activity of a monastic community, are found together at K342.[170] Inserted phrases are meant to produce an overall coherence. At K342, Paul opens the address with a one-sentence introduction, which brings the audience directly to the heart of the matter: prayer focusses the entire mind (*nous*) and makes one aloof from everyday cares, yet it needs to be accompanied by tears, the sign of continued consciousness of one's sins. The latter is the theme of the sayings, by which Paul begins his extended quotation: 78 and 79 are welded together by a participle (ἐπιγνόντες), and by postponing the main verb of 79 (πενθήσωμεν) to a later position in the phrase. A short sentence, "Then we will be truly praying", introduces the next pair of sayings, 80 and 81, continuous in their subject-matter, true prayer.

Chapters are re-arranged according to the stages required by the preaching of K. Thus, in order to obtain the traditional exhortation at the end of the catechesis, Ch. 110 is transposed from its normal position between Ch. 109 and Ch. 111 at K347. Longing to see the face of the Father in heaven is the escatological keynote that leads to the final doxology of K347.

---

[170]Full text of the comparison in Appendix IV.

The particular formulation of some chapters of *On Prayer* as *makarismoi* presents the special problem of fitting long sequences of exclamations into a continuous address. At K348, these sayings are introduced by being linked back to an earlier warning against vainglory (in Ch. 116). By making this warning explicit and considering "blessed" those who can avoid vainglory, the compiler transforms the *makarismoi* into exhortations.

Another genre that the compiler has to tackle is that of *erotapokriseis*. The use of the *Liber asceticus* by Maximos Confessor is an instance of the question and answers format. K overcomes the formal division of the work between dialogue and monologue, by passing over the dialogue structure in three ways: it ignores the disciple's questions, proceeding without solution of continuity to the text of the master's reply; it reworks the disciple's question into the master's speech (at K154); or, finally, it paraphrases the question into the catechetical address in the form of an indirect question, thus eliminating the persona of the disciple (as shown for K157 in Part I).

In these ways, the structure of Maximos' work was modified, so that K could benefit from the ready-made arrangements of biblical quotations according to themes contained in the *Liber asceticus*. Consonant with the scriptural character of preaching, this text was particularly appropriate to be made into a short sermon. Yet the series of quotations were themselves adapted, often lengthened by including a longer portion of the biblical text, or adding another scriptural passage (as at K159). In this case, the work's division into chapters is not taken into account: while one long chapter is sufficient to form the text of K158, K159 comprises three shorter chapters.

III. iv) Linguistic changes.

Not all the modifications of language follow an established logic. It is difficult, for example, to divine a rationale behind minute alterations at the level of prepositions and adverbs. Is the compiler attempting to mask his source or is he appropriating the language of his source text by apparently insignificant changes?

In examining the linguistic alterations to the text of Theodore, it emerged that τοίνυν was used in preference as a substitute for οὖν, τοιγαροῦν, and οὐκοῦν, but where τοίνυν is found in the source (PC28), it was substituted by the colloquial λοιπόν (at K18); ὁπηνίκα was changed variously into ἡνίκα and ὁπότε; ἐπεὶ δὲ in K17 was substituted for ἀλλ᾽ εἴπερ in PC23, while at K28 ἀλλ᾽ ὑμεῖς was substituted for ὑμεῖς δέ. At times, the verbal prefix is altered, added or omitted (e.g. ἐξωνησάμενοι for ὠνησάμενοι at K17 = PC23).[171]

Nevertheless, linguistic modifications do display a trend towards the simplification necessary for oral comprehension. Composite expressions are preferred to one-word adverbs, for example, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο for κἀντεῦθεν (K18 = PC28), or μεθ᾽ ὑπομονῆς for ὑπομονητικῶς (K54 = PC95). An adverb has been transformed into a verb, and the main verb made the dependant infinitive, in an attempt to clarify a phrase: σπουδαίως... πραγματευσώμεθα αὐτὴν at PC23 has become σπουδάζωμεν αὐτὴν ... πραγματεύεσθαι at K17. The expression παρθενίαν καὶ σωφροσύνην διασώζειν has been reduced to the verbs παρθενεύειν καὶ σωφρονεῖν at K54.

---

[171]These comparisons were done on the basis of Auvray's edition. Comparison with the Apparatus showed that K texts followed the readings of mss. of the X branch with both V and C^2-R^3 readings, locating Paul's model probably at X^2. X^2, however, must have contained a number of readings in common with Y^1 and its line of transmission, resulting in our K text also showing a number of surprising agreements with R^4, as well as with L and C^1. As far as one can tell from Auvray's critical edition, the modifications here considered are not occasioned by the manuscript tradition of Theodore's text.

Simplification for clarity's sake was clearly the purpose, to take a different source, of the structural modifications to John of Karpathos, at

K210:

Διὰ τί δὲ καὶ προτιμᾶσθε τὸν κοσμικὸν τὸν ἔχοντα γυναῖκα καὶ παίδας, καὶ φροντίδας ἄλλας βιωτικὰς ὑπὲρ τὸν μοναχόν; Διὰ τὸ ἱλαρεύσθαι, καὶ πολλοὺς εὖ ποιεῖν, καὶ ἀφθόνως τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην ἐργάζεσθαι·[172]	Μὴ θελήσῃς ποτὲ ὑπὲρ μοναχόν, κοσμικὸν μακαρίσαι, ἔχοντα γυναῖκα, καὶ παῖδας, καὶ ἱλαρευομένον, διὰ τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν πολλοὺς, καὶ ἀφθόνως τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην ἐργάζεσθαι·

By resolving the participle into an infinitive and re-ordering the passage, an easier oral comprehension is obtained. Similarly, the formation of a simple dialogue with the audience at K212 spells out the participial construction of the source:

ἀλλὰ λέγετε καὶ πῶς μᾶλλον ἡμεῖς πειραζόμεθα· οἱ δὲ κοσμικοὶ οὐχί,[173] [...].	ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὸς λέγεις, ὅτι ὀργίζομαι ὅταν βλέπω μηδὲν πειραζομένους τοὺς κοσμικούς, [...].

In the case of some linguistic alterations, the register of the language is changed. It is clear that K texts restrained the flow of Theodore's eloquence, by curtailing the number of adjectives piled up in a single passage. For Theodore's more idiosyncratic choices of vocabulary, often *hapax legomena*,[174] a synonym is often found. Thus lofty or technical vocabulary was simplified in favour of a more accessible level of speech. For example, the activity of ἀναταττικῇ θεωρίᾳ was paraphrased into the more accessible operation performed by ἄνω τὸν νοῦν τείναντες (K26 = PC35). Phrases such as these were probably thought unnecessarily sophisticated for the Evergetis audience. Other expressions might have been

---

[172]Transl. K210: But why do you prefer the wordly man who has wife and children and all other concerns for life to the monk? Is it because he is joyful, and does good for many, and plentifully gives alms, and is not tempted by the devils?

[173]Transl. K212: But you say: How much more are we tempted, while the men of the world are not.

[174]FATOUROS, 'Zur Sprache', pp. 127-28.

simply thought old-fashioned, so that the lofty adverb εὐσυνειδήσεως was broken down in its components μετὰ καλῆς συνειδήσεως at K55.

But such judgements on the use of language are difficult to make. Rarely do we have a document that pinpoints a term, as in the case of an eleventh-century note in manuscript *Vaticanus gr.* 1671, presenting a certain Viktor of Stoudios as μοναχὸς καὶ ἀποθηκάριος (at fol. 227v). Canart pointed out that Leroy maintained that the title ἀποθηκάριος was not used in Theodore's works, where the same function of store-room keeper was designated as ὁριάριος.[175] In K17, the term ἀποθηκάριος is inserted in a list of monastic functions which are apparently added to the Studite text of PC23. In the light of the manuscript evidence from Stoudios, this addition may be regarded as deriving from a contemporary knowledge of Studite activity, as witnessed by the manuscript note, rather than as an innovation upon Studite terminology evidenced in Theodore's writings.

Other instances of linguistic substitutions reflect changed idioms. For example, a biblical quotation could be introduced by Evagrios in an oral way, ἤκουσας τοῦ λέγοντος (*On Prayer*, ch. 100), expression changed in K343 to emphasize the written nature of Scripture (in an established idiom): ἠκούσαμεν ὅτι γέγραπται. A similar change is repeated at chapter 108 in K347, where the anecdotes about the monks of Tabennesis form part of an oral tradition in Evagrios' time and text (καθά φησιν). The same anecdotes belong in K to a written tradition that has handed down the monks' Lives. The alteration of an idiom shows up the changes in attitude that the passing of centuries has produced.

---

[175]CANART, 'Cinq manuscrits', p. 23 and n. 13; cf. the lexical study of this word by S. G. MERCATI, "Οριάριος = *horrearius*', *Aegyptus* 30 (1950), 8-13.

III. v) Additions and glosses.

Beyond the quiet alterations are the active interventions of the compiler within his text, passages added to the source, which could be considered "original".

In fact, most of these insertions closely depend on the text chosen for the compilation. The longest are introductory passages, that lead the way into the quotation by defining the subject-matter that is going to be dealt with succintly.[176] As a counterpart to the introduction one may often find a paragraph of exhortation at the end of the catechesis, leading to the formulaic conclusion. For example, at K342, the mention of the devil in Ch. 90 of Evagrios' *On Prayer* leads Paul to his formulaic conclusion, invoking God's help against the destroyer and summarizing the requirements for effective prayer.

At times, these passages are added as a frame to a source, as in the case of John of Karpathos, where the additions are found in the first (introduction: K210) and last texts (final exhortation: K212), thus offering internal pointers to the use of this text. But in the case of the *Liber asceticus* of Maximos, each catechesis (K71-77, from K73) has introductory lines and end paragraphs. Since the source is nothing more than a description of the tortures of Hell, the compiler's additions are necessary in order to give shape to the individual catechesis. By his intervention, the horrific descriptions are turned into exhortations about avoiding such a fate. Moreover, the purpose of using these texts to induce a reaction of fear in the audience is explicitly declared, while at the same time being balanced by an invocation of God's mercy upon the monks, that they might not be part of the damned. Thus, introductions and exhortations not only frame and shape the long list of biblical quotations on the subject of Hell, but also actualize this concern with respect to the audience.

---

[176]Exceptionally, K74 begins with the quotation from the source, then continues with an introductory paragraph, then resumes the quotation.

On occasion, additions are found within the quotation from the source text, usually repeating some favourite theme found elsewhere in K. For example, at K348, a reminder of the easy attitude of self-assurance one may mistakenly put on in the face of the devils' assaults is inserted between chapters 133 and 134 of the source text. The need for relentless watchfulness is also expressed at K11, whose source remains unidentified.

More significant are longer additions which, discovered by comparison to the source, offer greater assurance of authenticity than the unidentified texts. K25 has a long independent development in which Christ is invoked as "sweet Jesus", expressive of a new affective piety;[177] K46 offers an interesting vignette on the monks' reactions at the news brought by a visitor from Constantinople (see Ch. IV, III, ii); K218 adds a long section about moderation in eating, while K219 interprets the source's reference to "mysteries" as paving the way for an independent disquisition on the Eucharist; K280 contains a passage on *exagoreusis*. These fragments are clearly precious material for a study of the spirituality of K.

Many of the compiler's shorter insertions are in the form of characteristic rhetorical questions. These often introduce an explanation such as a short exegesis on a biblical quotation. At K348, the quotation of Psalm 17(18) found in the source is expanded in an exegetical manner, as a gloss on David's phrase, "You have girded me with strength":

> Τί δηλοῦντος τοῦ λόγου· ἐν τῷ εἰπεῖν καὶ περιέζωσάς με δύναμιν, ἢ δῆλον, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ φρονήσει ἢ δυνάμει ταῦτα πεποίηκα·[178]

---

[177]A canon in the *Horologion* invoking Ἰησοῦ γλυκύτατε Χριστὲ has not yet found a definitive attribution; the suggestion of John Mauropous by S. SALAVILLE, 'Un office grec du "Très doux Jésus" antérieur au "Jubilus" dit de saint Bernard', *RAM* 24 (1942), 246-59, at p. 249, has been recently rejected by F. D'AIUTO, *Tre canoni inediti di Giovanni Mauropode in onore di santi militari*, Supplemento al Bollettino dei Classici 13 (Rome, 1994), p. 25 and nn. 82-84.

[178]Transl. K348: What does this word mean, where he says *"And you have girded me with strength"*, other than it clearly means that it was not in my understanding or power that I have done these things?

This method of biblical explanation appears as a particular trait of the compiler, as witnessed by other unidentified catecheses (e.g. K22).

Some of the added phrases function themselves as glosses. An interesting example may be given from K342, which adds to a phrase of Evagrios' *On Prayer* ch. 85 the explanation: διαγινώσκειν τὸ ποικίλον καὶ πολυμερὲς καὶ πολυτρόπον τῆς Θεοῦ σοφίας. The expansion removes any scribal doubts as to K's reading of the ποικίλης σοφίας mentioned in the first part of ch. 85, coming down on one side of the debate between the reading ἀποικίλης suggested by Hausherr, for the ποικίλης of Migne and the *Philokalia*.[179]

Assembling the words which stray from the source might be fruitful in building a picture of the vocabulary or favourite expressions of the compiler. For example, the expansion at K348 of *On Prayer* ch. 122 with a gloss, which features the verb "προσκόλλομαι" to express the strong attachment of the soul to God, recalls the use of this verb in an unidentified catechesis (K8), enhancing the possibility that its text be directly from the compiler's pen. The verb is relatively rare, and stands for the affective closeness to Christ advocated by many K texts. Often, a little authorial comment is inserted, in the form of an exclamation: ταῦτα ἡμῖν ἐρεῖ [Θεός]· καὶ δικαίως or καὶ εἰκότως (K27, K28). The compiler's voice betrays the authority of a *higoumenos*.

---

[179]BROCK, *On Prayer*, p. 69, n. 42; HAUSHERR, *Leçons*, p. 119.

III. vi) Omissions.

It is not always possible to understand the reasons for omissions of passages from the sources, although some cases are obvious.

In many of Theodore's catecheses, passages with historical references or personal names are eliminated.[180] The restructuring of the sources of K265 followed this principle: a reference to the Emperor in PC27 is substituted by a generic edifying phrase; again, the mention of the spiritual father Peter, metropolitan of Nicaea, is omitted from PC26. Shorter references to contemporary events are also eliminated, as the allusion to iconoclast persecutions of PC14 (for K360), or even passing references to a present time relating only to the source text (ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ νῦν ἐν Νικομεδίᾳ from PC23 for K17).

K263 selects two portions of Ephrem's homily celebrating Saint Julian Sabas, using a small portion of the short Greek text, from the beginning and the mid-point of that narrative. The sections omitted concern details on the ascetic life of Julian, which specifically praise this saint. Only a representative anecdote from his life is retained, that could be used as a general example.

Similarly, contexts that are too personal are understandably omitted. For example, the personal beginning of *On Prayer*, ch. 117, "Let me repeat this saying of mine that I once expressed on some other occasion", is not found in K348.[181] More surprising is the excision of four chapters providing a sort of definition of a monk (*monachos*). Ch. 24 is selectively retained, by suppressing the first part, concerning a monk's separation from the community, but retaining the exhortation for a monk to be in harmony with the others. Chapters 125-127 are cut out altogether. While separateness was

---

[180]The catecheses eliminated because of their historical content are: PC5, 9, 12, 13, 21, 22, 31, 33, 37, 45, 51, 62, 63, 69, 74, 75, 83, 84, 86, 87, 88, 96, 97, 98, 99, 101.

[181]K's reading of the latter part of this chapter, about which there is some controversy, confirms the reading in PG: cf. HAUSHERR, *Leçons*, pp. 150-54.

not to be emphasized in a cenobitic environment, a reason for eliminating the other sayings may have been that they were not expressing anything about the monks' proper attitude towards their monastic state that had not already been dealt with in K. Warnings against a hypocritical wearing of the monastic habit, such as that of ch. 127, were often repeated.

That the compiler kept an overall scheme in mind is clear from the treatment of a Studite catechesis, PC35. K26 omits a short passage from this PC relating to the contrast between perishable prizes for wordly athletes and imperishable prizes for ascetes. This very passage had been used in K24, where the athletic parallel, in particular that of boxing, is further developed. Even a shorter simile, that of our life being "like a shadow and a dream", occurring in PC28, ll. 31-33, is mentioned in K14, but then omitted from K18 which takes PC28, ll. 1-41 as model. Thus, a tight narrative economy may be detected, surprising in a genre in which repetition of the same concepts is a prime didactic instrument.

Various reasons might be thought relevant to the omission of chapters 84 and 86, left out from the continuous sequence of chapters 82-90 of Evagrios' *On Prayer*. These are general statements about prayer:

> 84. Prayer is activity which is appropriate to the dignity of the spirit (*nous*); or better, it is appropriate for its nobler and adequate operation.
> 86. Knowledge! The great possession of man. It is a fellow-worker with prayer, acting to awaken the power of thought to contemplate the divine knowledge.[182]

Thematically, these sayings interrupt the logical sequence of sayings about psalmody which appeared tightened in K's continuous discourse. Stylistically, the heightened gnomic tone of these statements would have made them difficult for appropriate insertion in the catechesis. Finally, their elimination may also be due to a theological reluctance to passing on their

---

[182]BAMBERGER, *Evagrius Ponticus*, p. 69.

teaching, since the Evagrian view of man, and the importance attributed to his *nous*, are particularly apparent in them.

Theological reasons of a kind may lie behind the only substantial omission from John of Karpathos' *Exhortation to the Monks of India*. In this passage, Christ likens himself to a mother offering her breast in pity to her children's cry. The striking image is inserted as a continuation of a Gospel quotation, as shown in the parallel text below:

K120	PG85, 1857, l. 42-1858, l. 4.
ἤκουσαν γὰρ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις· ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν· ὅτι κλαύσετε καὶ θρηνήσετε ὑμεῖς οἱ πλησίον μου· ὁ δὲ κόσμος χαρήσεται· ὑμεῖς δὲ λυπηθήσεσθε·	ἤκουσαν γὰρ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις· ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν· ὅτι κλαύσετε καὶ θρηνήσετε ὑμεῖς οἱ πλησίον μου· ὁ δὲ κόσμος χαρήσεται· ὑμεῖς δὲ λυπηθήσεσθε· ἀλλ᾽ ἔτι μικρόν, καὶ ἐπισκέψομαι ὑμᾶς διὰ τοῦ Παρακλήτου, καὶ ἐκδιώξω τὴν ἀθυμίαν ὑμῶν, καὶ ἀνακτήσομαι ὑμᾶς λογισμοῖς οὐρανίου ζωῆς, καὶ ἀναπαύσεως, καὶ δάκρυσι γλυκεροῖς, ὧν ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἐστερήθητε πειραζόμενοι· καὶ ἐπιδώσω ὑμῖν τὸν μασθὸν τῆς χάριτός μου, καθὰ μήτηρ τῷ βρέφει τῷ κλαυθμυριζομένῳ, καὶ ἐνισχύσω ὑμᾶς τῇ ἄνωθεν δυνάμει τοὺς ἐξασθενήσαντας ἐν τῷ πολεμεῖσθαι· καὶ καταγλυκανῶ ὑμᾶς τοὺς πικρανθέντας, ὡς λέγει Ἱερεμίας ἐν τοῖς θρήνοις περὶ τῆς ἐν κρυπτῷ σου, Ἰηρουσαλήμ.

ἀλλ᾽ ὄψομαι ὑμᾶς διὰ τῆς κρυπτῆς ἐπισκέψεως,	ἀλλ᾽ ὄψομαι ὑμᾶς, <u>καὶ χαρήσεται ἡ καρδία ὑμῶν</u> διὰ τῆς κρυπτῆς ἐπισκέψεως, καὶ
καὶ ἡ θλίψις ὑμῶν εἰς χαρὰν μεταβληθήσεται·	ἡ θλίψις ὑμῶν εἰς χαρὰν μεταβληθήσεται·[183]

In Karpathos' text, the quotation from Jn. 16, 20, ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν· ὅτι κλαύσετε καὶ θρηνήσετε ὑμεῖς,ὁ δὲ κόσμος χαρήσεται· ὑμεῖς δὲ λυπηθήσεσθε· ἀλλ᾽ ἡ λύπη ὑμῶν εἰς χαρὰν γενήσεται, has been split into two, accomodating in between an extension, so to speak, of Jesus' speech, enriched by a further quotation from the prophet Jeremiah.[184] The quotation has also been adapted with variants not found in the Apparatus to NTG. Although it is possible that the passage in question was omitted by the manuscript of John of Karpathos used by K's compiler,[185] a disruption in the readings of the manuscripts of K as they pick up the text after the omitted passage lends weight to the theory of an intentional cut.[186]

---

[183]PALMER, SHERRARD & WARE, *The Philokalia*, I, p. 323: "For they have heard him say in the Gospels: 'Truly I tell you, that you who are near Me shall weep and lament, but the world shall rejoice. Yet after a little while I will visit you through the Paraclete and drive away your despondency; I will renew you with thoughts of heavenly life and peace and sweet tears, of all of which you were deprived for a short time while you were being tested. I will give you the breast of My grace, as a mother feeds its baby when it cries. [...] I will look upon you and your hearts will rejoice at my secret visitation; your affliction will be turned to joy, [...]".

[184]Cf. Je. 40 (33), 9: καὶ ἔσται εἰς εὐφροσύνην καὶ εἰς αἴνεσιν καὶ εἰς μαγαλειότητα παντὶ τῷ λαῷ τῆς γῆς, οἵτινες ἀκούσονται πάντα τὰ ἀγαθά, ἃ ἐγὼ ποιήσω, καὶ φοβηθήσονται καὶ πικρανθήσονται περὶ πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ περὶ πάσης τῆς εἰρήνης, ἧς ἐγὼ ποιήσω αὐτοῖς. The quotation is included in the text of the *Philokalia*.

[185]The question cannot be settled without an edition. I checked MS. *Barocci* 128, fols. 250v-254, available to me at the Bodleian Library, but found it only contains the gnomic sayings (in 117 chapters) with a large lacuna between ch. 5 and ch. 76: COXE, *Greek Manuscripts*, cols. 207-09, "forsan xi. exeuntis". The writing is a calligraphic minuscule with marked cursive tendencies (e.g. cursive nu), with rapid ductus generating a number of different ligatures; it could be safely dated to the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century. It would be particularly interesting to check the readings of *Monacensis gr.* 498.

[186]ὑμεῖς δὲ λυπηθήσεσθε· ἀλλ᾽ ὄψομαι ὑμᾶς Cr] καὶ ἡ καρδία ὑμῶν M. The disruption may, of course, itself reflect a disrupted ms. tradition of the source.

While other catecheses adopt imaginary speeches for God, it is clearly the content of this one which is found objectionable. At K212, another image of God's motherly tenderness from the natural world is retained:

> ὡς γὰρ οὐκ ἐπιλήσεται γυνὴ τοῦ ἐλεῆσαι τὰ ἔγγονα τῆς κοιλίας αὐτῆς, οὕτως οὐδὲ ἐγὼ ἐπιλήσομαί σου λέγει Κύριος· εἰ γὰρ τοῦ πετεινοῦ τὰ σπλάγχνα κέχυται ἐπὶ τοὺς νεοσσοὺς αὐτοῦ, καὶ καθ' ὥραν ἐπισκέπτεται αὐτούς, καὶ προσφωνεῖ αὐτοῖς, καὶ τροφὴν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν ἐπιδίδωσι, πολλῷ μᾶλλον· οἱ οἰκτιρμοί μου χέονται ἐπὶ τὰ κτίσματά μου· πολὺ μᾶλλον τὰ ἐμὰ σπλάγχνα ἐπὶ σὲ κέχυνται, καὶ ἐπισκέπτομαί σε λεληθότως, καὶ προσομιλῶ σοι κατὰ νοῦν, καὶ τροφὴν τῇ διανοίᾳ ἐνίημι κεχηνύῃ· ὡς μικρὰ χελιδόνι· τροφὴν γάρ σοι χωρηγῶ τοῦ φόβου τοῦ κρείττονος, καὶ τροφὴν πόθου ἐπουρανίου, καὶ τροφὴν στεναγμῶν παρηγορίας, καὶ τροφὴν κατανύξεως, καὶ τροφὴν μελωδίας, καὶ τροφὴν θείων μυστηρίων καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.[187]

Therefore, it is neither the concept, nor even the comparison of Christ's love to motherly love that is objected to. Rather, a type of religious sensitivity might have perceived the breast as inappropriate to Christ, especially within a text purporting to be a Gospel quotation.[188]

Omissions may therefore provide a sense of themes favoured or rejected. Preaching on virginity is, for example, eliminated on several occasions from Theodore's texts:[189] thus, of the two PC texts for the Feast of the Annunciation (one of the few fixed feasts added to K), PC65, centring around the theme of virginity, is omitted, while PC64, dealing with the subject of Christ's incarnate presence in the Eucharist, is adopted within the

---

[187]Transl. K212: *"For as a woman will not forget to take pity upon the offspring of her womb, so I will not forget you,"* (Is. 49, 15) says the Lord. For if the compassion of the bird is poured out for its fledgelings, and it visits them hour by hour, and it calls to them, and it gives food to their mouths, how much more my feelings of compassion are poured out on my creations. Much more my compassion has been poured out upon you, and I visit you imperceptibly, and I speak to you according to the mind, and introduce food in the understanding that is open, like little ones for a swallow. For I will minister to you the food of the fear of the more powerful (God), and the food of the desire of heaven, and the food of the groanings of consolation, and the food of contrition, and the food of divine chanting, and the food of the divine mysteries and the rest.

[188]John of Karpathos' image ultimately relies on Ps. 130, 2-3. Cf. the Gospel passage where Jesus likens himself to a hen protecting chicks: Mt. 23, 37.

[189]Cf. PC46, ll. 45-54, omitted from its adaptation in K35.

compilation. Similarly, the athletic contest for the preservation of virginity at PC35 is transformed into a contest for "ascetic love" at K26, and an exhortation in praise of virginity as a state superior to the married and closest to the angelic is omitted (ll. 6-27). At K271, in Dorotheos' text on the free gift of virginity παρθενία is changed into ἀγαμία. These choices may reflect a preference on the compiler's part, emphasizing virtues suitable for his contemporaries.

III. vii) Relevance of the modifications.

In his brilliant article on Dorotheos, Canivet points out that the very effort of translating the Fathers into modern languages, so that their teaching may speak to the modern reader, is misguided. Rather,

> ... pour que ces oeuvres soient encore capables de révéler la vie que leurs auteurs y ont enfermé en leur temps, il faudrait des hommes qui, partant de la même experience religieuse et psychologique, l'exprimeraient d'une manière originale dans la langue et à travers les notions de nos temps."[190]

The efforts of the compiler of K in selecting, adjusting, rephrasing the patristic sources for presentation to an eleventh-century audience may be seen as comparable attempts to actualize their teaching, to make it relevant to the workings of a medieval Byzantine community.

It is often believed that the gulf between the first Christian centuries and the Middle Ages is somewhat negligible by comparison to the transformations of the Modern era. But the compilation of K brings some awareness that, despite the common Christian viewpoint those two ages shared, by contrast to ours, nevertheless not all words, not all concepts, not all dispositions, were equally relevant, understandable, necessary.

The medieval compiler modernizes language, simplifies expressions for an oral delivery, alters style. The ancient texts are liberated from their historical setting and contingent constraints, to be made universal, to be

---

[190]CANIVET, 'Dorothée de Gaza', p. 346.

used liturgically for successive years without further alterations. The *exempla* suggested by the feats of the desert ascetes of fourth-century Egypt are actualized into the hardships of the contemporary monastic setting.

Because of the careful reworkings of each text included in K, it is clear that the material is designed to provide the approved and required spiritual teaching for the monks. In this sense, if the parallel-text comparisons help to single out the passages quoted from those composed by the compiler, nevertheless the quotations are themselves significant in providing an accurate picture of the workings and ideals of the Evergetis community. For example, the entertainment activities of theatre, dogs racing and horse races mentioned by Maximos Confessor and reproduced at K74 probably indicate that these were as dangerous a distraction to eighth as to eleventh-century audiences. Given the compiler's active intervention, complete control of the whole text was guaranteed.

CONCLUSION.

The sources that make up K in the manner of a florilegium have been analysed in this chapter. The use of sources is usually not made explicit within the text of the catechesis. In this way, the catechesis was constructed to be delivered as the very words of the abbot appointed to read it. Partial declarations of the existence of sources are found at K71 and in a colophon. These lists do not include all the authors. The name of Neilos is regularly used to indicate texts by Evagrios. When the sources are mentioned, they are presented as the true authorities for the spiritual teaching of K.

The choice of sources was found to be almost perfectly complementary to that of S. It is therefore necessary to consider both collections together in any assessment of Paul's editorial activity and his spiritual choices. The authors included in K belong to the ascetico-monastic heritage of the Byzantine church. As such, they offer a spirituality expressed in direct terms, free of the more elaborate rhetorical flourishes of Christian orators, such as John Chrysostom and Gregory Nazianzen. The avoidance of ready-made sermons in high style in favour of simple addresses has been recognized to be a deliberate choice of the type of preaching suited for a monastic audience.

At the beginning of his classic essay on Byzantine ascetic literature, Hausherr lamented the absence of a comprehensive history of Byzantine spirituality, a gap which has not been satisfactorily filled to this day.[191] The bold sketch which he draws in that article is therefore still useful for a first overall assessment of the place of K within the Byzantine tradition.

---

[191] I. HAUSHERR, 'Les grands courants de la spiritualité orientale', *OCP* 1 (1935), 114-38, p. 114 and n. 3. The work by T. SPIDLIK, *La Spiritualité de l'Orient chrétien*, 2 vols., I: *Manuel systématique*, OCA 206 (1978), II: *La Prière*, OCA 230 (1988), organizes the subject thematically, rather than historically, and encompasses many different traditions in its broad definition of "Oriental Christianity". Spidlik's approach is tributary, rather than innovative, with respect to the article by his predecessor and confrère, as the section entitled "Les courants de la spiritualité orientale" and its subdivisions clearly show: see vol. I, pp. 21-27.

The preponderance of texts borrowed from Theodore Studite firmly sets K within the cenobitic tradition ultimately retraceable to St. Basil, a monastic school in the spirit of the Desert Fathers, focussing on the practice of virtues in the context of the cenobium, emphasizing obedience and self-abnegation in particular.[192] The faithful rendering of the substance of Dorotheos of Gaza's *Instructions*, in spite of extensive paraphrasing of this source, is another element in this type of spirituality, which has been described as "anti-mystical".[193] Dorotheos marks a tradition which did not merge into the hesychastic phase of Greek monasticism, so that his inclusion in K is particularly significant.[194] More generally, an emphasis on the value of the Incarnation in the process of salvation and an attention to the sacramental life of the Church (baptism and eucharist especially) place K firmly within this non-mystical tradition.

Balancing the picture, however, is the use, restricted in number and select in nature, of the mystical writers belonging to the Evagrian tradition of Eastern spirituality: Evagrios' extant Greek texts, Pseudo-Makarios, Diadochos of Photike, Maximos the Confessor. These (with Origen and Gregory of Nyssa) are the authors singled out in a study of the inspiration behind the theology of Symeon the New Theologian.[195] Diadochos in particular was considered by Symeon as his "spiritual father".[196]

One may conclude, therefore, that the two currents were blended into one, with a considerable attenuation of the intellectualist streak present in the Origenist tradition, and an acceptance of the spirituality of feeling of the

---

[192]HAUSHERR, 'Les grands courants', pp. 129-32 characterizes this group as "Μαρτύριον τῆς ὑποταγῆς". Cf. Ch. IV, III, i.
[193]A. LOUTH, *The Origins of the Christian Mystical Tradition: from Plato to Denys* (Oxford, 1981), p. 98.
[194]Dorotheos is not included in Nikodemos' *Philokalia*: HAUSHERR, 'Les grands courants', p. 134 and n. 2. K's use of him in the twelfth century documents his place in Byzantine monastic spirituality between Symeon the New Theologian and the hesychastic movement.
[195]B. FRAIGNEAU-JULIEN, *Les Sens spirituels et la vision de Dieu selon Syméon le Nouveau Théologien*, Théologie Historique 67 (Paris, 1985), pp. 27-93.
[196]DES PLACES, 'Diadoque de Photicé', col. 821; HAUSHERR, *La Vie de Syméon*, ch. 4 at p. 6.

Macarian type. A reason for the balancing of the two traditions may be seen in the existence of two groups of monks within the foundation, one more constantly dedicated to prayer, the other to fulfilling the active duties in the running of the monastery.[197] But while the life of the monk did not revolve around a mystical experience of God, as the emphasis on work and the practise of virtues in the bulk of the collection drives home, nevertheless his relationship to God involved his emotions. This aspect of an affective relation to God is expressed through an empathy with Christ's suffering, whose imitation justifies the hardships of monastic life. In other words, in K the experience of God in monastic prayer echoes specifically medieval forms of devotion.[198]

The nature of K as a florilegium should therefore not mislead the reader into thinking that its content passively absorbs whatever is found in the source texts. Rather, the compiler has kept an active control of his finished product by making a number of changes in the text which affect the result at the levels both of content and of form. Linguistic changes should contribute data on the evolution of low-level Greek of the Middle Byzantine period, since the substitutions were made in an effort to increase the comprehensibility of the catechesis for a contemporary audience hearing (rather than reading) the text. However, omissions, substitutions and additions worked primarily at the level of meaning, so that, despite extensive quotations from the sources, the content of the catechesis is misrepresented unless such modifications are studied and understood.

The process of juxtaposing different sources and weaving a new discourse out of old material is not an unusual phenomenon, nor is it confined to religious writings. The comments made on a pagan *cento* of Leo

---

[197]The importance of this division is highlighted in a pointed alteration of the text of Theodore's MC I, 14: cf. Appendix IV.

[198]For example, affective piety towards the Eucharist is expressed in the eleventh-century commentary on the Liturgy, the Protheoria: see my article, 'Interpreting the Interpretors: the Principles and Aims of the *Protheoria*', *Ostkirchliche Studien* 42 (1993), 51-59, at p. 58.

the Philosopher, who composed epigrams by plucking verses from Homer,

sound equally appropriate for K (*mutatis mutandis*):

> such achievements were possible only on the basis of a most intimate familiarity with the text of Homer, a deep understanding and knowledge of the language, and an excellent memory. After all, we cannot believe that the writers of centos went, kalamos in hand, through the whole text of Homer searching for suitable lines – or that they even consulted computers! These patchwork poems are, rather, testimonies of an extra-ordinary performance of the memory and of an active control over the material, [...] of a *techne*.[199]

Paul's excerpting technique inspires the same kind of puzzled admiration. But if subtle variations could adapt an ancient source for a completely different composition, as in the case of the twelfth-century pastiche *Christus Patiens*, which combined verses from Greek tragedy to produce a Christian drama,[200] nevertheless much Byzantine literature was restricted by conventions of style and language.[201] On the contrary, K was not subject to the fashions of Atticism, but could free itself from that stiffness in order to respond in its preaching to the needs of a contemporary audience. Its stitching together of sources was much more than a literary game, it went beyond a convention; it was affirming a tradition, yet, by its combination and reworking of texts, it was also creating a new one.

To understand the content of K, therefore, it is not enough to have enumerated its component parts. On the one hand, completeness would require a more thorough study of S than has been possible here. The inclusion of extracts from the Greek translation of Gregorios Dialogos' *Life of St. Benedict* in S is, for example, one pointer to a broader spiritual tradition forming the background of Evergetine monasticism, than that defined through the Eastern focus of the sources identified in K. On the other hand, only the painstaking study of each modification will yield

---

[199]H. HUNGER, 'On the Imitation (ΜΙΜΗΣΙΣ) of Antiquity', *DOP* 23 (1969), 11-38, p. 34.
[200]HUNGER, 'Imitation', pp. 34-35.
[201]HUNGER, 'Imitation', pp. 30-31: "the strictly and stiffly preserved Attic model affected phonetics, morphology and stylistics."

precise clues as to how the currents of spirituality represented by the sources were reconciled into one handbook of monastic preaching.

CHAPTER IV

UNIDENTIFIED TEXTS IN THE *KATECHETIKON*

Introduction.

After both Leroy's and my own researches into the sources of K, a number of texts remain, whose source could not be precisely identified. These unidentified catecheses, to which we shall now turn our attention, are the following: K1-16, 21-24, 27, 29-30, 32, 36-37, 43, 46-52, 209, 213, 217, 268, 272-273, 358-359.

Included in this total of forty-two texts are a few catecheses whose beginning echoes Theodore Studite, but whose continuation could not be retraced to the Studite, or to any other known source. Leroy numbered these texts among the "2" category of borrowing. However, these texts can be considered as having special relevance with respect to the question of Paul's authorship, in that their partial adherence to a known source makes the unidentified development more likely to be the compiler's own work. This hypothesis is strengthened by the observation that there is no combination of different authors within one text from the known sources. Hence, these catecheses with an identified beginning and an unknown continuation may be considered of special interest.[1]

While the distribution of the unidentified catecheses spreads fairly widely across the liturgical year, nevertheless the period of the Pentekostarion shows a particular concentration. The unidentified texts of K for this liturgical time provide commentaries to the thematic Sundays after Easter, as expected of an homiliary.[2] Leroy had tried to prove that the recurrence of certain themes in this period was a sign of Paul's authorship,

---

[1]The catecheses in this category are: K3 (cf. PC68, ll. 1-2, l. 26), 5 (PC2, ll. 1-4), 6 (PC3, l. 1), 13 (PC6, ll. 2-3), 14 (PC19, l. 1), 15 (PC11, ll. 1-3), 16 (PC17, ll. 16-18), 27 (PC36, l. 1), 32 (cf. PC34, ll. 3-4), 46 (cf. PC91, ll. 1-4), 47 (cf. PC91, ll. 20-21), 48 (cf. PC92, ll. 8-10), 49 (PC92, ll. 12-14), 52 (PC93, ll. 1-3 and ll. 19-21).

[2]Cf. a Latin example in R. ÉTAIX, 'L'homéliaire de l'Épinal, B.M. 20 (3)', in *Homéliaires patristiques latins* (Paris, 1994), pp. 341-74, at 363-64.

by giving the example of the interpretation of Easter as passage, found both at K5 and at K51.[3] Yet it is clear that even identical phrasing, let alone similarity of ideas, may betray no more than a common source,[4] while the explicit cross-reference need be no more than the work of a careful compiler.[5]

It is possible that these unknown texts come from a lost *kyriakodromion*, as suggested by Richard for another case.[6] But if these catecheses preserve non-extant sources, their presence enhances the value of the collection for modern scholarship.

Sources may also simply be as yet unpublished.[7] Besides suffering from the general poor state of editions of Byzantine literature, sermons

---

[3]Text and translation of K51 in Appendix III.

[4]Πάσχα as "passage" was the standard etymology from the Hebrew, an alternative to the derivation of the feast from the Greek verb πάσχειν, referring to the "passion" of Christ. Examples of this tradition may be found in the anthology of passages by R. CANTALAMESSA, *La Pasqua nella Chiesa antica* (Torino, 1978): Origen, *De Pascha fr.* no. 38, pp. 62-64: Οἱ μὲν γὰρ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἀδελφῶν, τάχα δὲ οἱ πάντες, τὴν ὀνομασίαν λαμβάνουσιν τοῦ πάσχα παρὰ τὸ πάθος τοῦ σωτῆρος κεκλῆσθαι τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ πάσχα· πάσχα δὲ κυρίως καθ' Ἑβραίους οὐ καλεῖται ἡ ἑορτὴ ἡ προκειμένη, ἀλλὰ φας, [...] ὅπερ, εἰ ἑρμηνευθείη, ἔστιν διάβασις·; Gregory Nazianzen, *Oratio XLV in sanctum Pascha*, no. 70, p. 116: Τὸ Πάσχα τοῦτο, τὸ μέγα τε καὶ σεβάσμιον, Φάσχα τοῖς Ἑβραίοις προσαγορεύεται, κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνων φωνήν· δηλοῖ δὲ ἡ φωνὴ τὴν διάβασιν; cf. also Cyril of Alexandria, *Comment. in Lucam*, PG 72, 904B3-4: Φασὲκ ὁ τῆς ἑορτῆς ὠνομάζετο καιρός, δηλοῖ δὲ διάβασιν·. Theodoret of Cyrrhus attributes this etymology to Jewish translations into Greek, *Quaest. in Exod. cap. XII*, PG 80, 252A4-7: Τὸ δὲ Πάσχα μὲν Φίλων ἡρμήνευσε διαβατήρια· ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπος ὑπέρβασιν· ὁ δὲ Σύμμαχος ὑπερβάσεις· ὁ δὲ Θεοδοτίων φασέχ, αὐτὴν τὴν Ἑβραίων τεθεικὼς φωνήν. For the Latin tradition of the interpretation, and an appreciation of its significance, cf. C. MOHRMANN, 'Pascha, Passio, Transitus', *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 66 (1952), 37-52.

[5]At K51 reference is made to K5: "But Easter, as I remember to have mentioned elsewhere, is to be interpreted as nothing other than as a passage".

[6]Richard remarked on the attribution of the pseudo-Chrysostomic homily on the Samaritan, that is was a piece "detachée d'un κυριακοδρόμιον plus ou moins complet", but which is not extant as such: RICHARD, recension of *Procliana*, at p. 189.

[7]This is true of the Latin as well as Greek collections of homilies: T. L. AMOS, 'Preaching and the Sermon in the Carolingian World', in T. L. AMOS, E. A. GREEN & B. MAYNE KIENZLE, eds., *De Ore Domini: Preacher and Word in the Middle Ages* (Kalamazoo, 1989), pp. 41-60, at 47: "A large number of Carolingian sermons used for popular preaching have survived. Most of these, however, remain in manuscript form". Moreover, Greek sources may only be extant in Latin translations, since Greek authors were included in Latin homiliaries: for example, Pseudo-Chrysostom and Gregory Nazianzen in R. ÉTAIX, 'Le lectionnaire de l'office à Cluny', in *Homéliaires patristiques latins* (Paris, 1994), pp. 137-205, at 200; cf. the reference work by A. SIEGMUND, *Die Überlieferung der Griechischen*

reflect the lack of interest shown by editorial choices. Yet some scholars may still wish to give a positive answer to Richard's provocative question: "Mais cette pauvre littérature mérite-t-elle tant de frais?".[8] However, a renewed interest with regard to sermons and preaching has also invested the Byzantine world.[9] A study of K is justified for its contribution to our knowledge of Byzantine homiliaries.

Methodology on Sources.

The search for sources was continued on these unidentified texts, primarily with the electronic resources now available, such as TLG,[10] but also with the help of Concordances and subject-indices, such as that offered in CPG.[11] These tests of provenance did not yield a direct source for any of the forty-four unidentified catecheses. However, a number of parallels were found when the research was deepened.

In other words, the very meaning of "source" became modified and enlarged. It no longer meant the matching of texts with similar ones, but rather the retracing of an ancestry to those themes found again in the eleventh-century collection. As Aubineau noted in the case of Darrouzès' edition of the *Theological Treatises* by Symeon the New Theologian,

---

Christlichen Literatur in der Lateinische Kirche bis zum zwölften Jahrhundert (Munich, 1949).

[8]RICHARD, recension *Procliana*, p. 189 (see n. 5).

[9]Cf. the survey of literature on homiliaries by J. GRIBOMONT, 'Exploration dans les homéliaires d'Orient', *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa* 14 (1978), 229-41. Some recent editions of Byzantine homiletic literature include the work of M. AUBINEAU, *Les Homélies festales d'Hésychius de Jérusalem*, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1978, 1980); C. DATEMA, *Amphilochii Iconiensis opera: orationes, pluraque alia quae supersunt, nonnulla etiam spuria*, CCSG 3 (1978); C. DATEMA & P. ALLEN, *Leontii Presbyteri Constantinopolitani homiliae*, CCSG 17 (1987), with an English transl., *Leontius, Presbyter of Constantinople, Fourteen Homilies*, Byzantina Australiensia 9 (Brisbane, 1991); V. X. CHRISTOPHORIDIS, *Ισιδώρου Γλάβα, Ὁμιλίες*, 2 vols. (Thessaloniki, 1982, 1997). Forthcoming is an edition by Th. Antonopoulou of the Homilies of Leo the Wise, for CCSG. But catechetical works such as the *Magna Catechesis* of Theodore Studite, and the homiletic production of Philagatos of Cerami, are still only partially published.

[10]For the Byzantine expansion of this useful electronic tool, see T. S. BRUNNER, 'TLG Expansion: The Byzantine Era', in W. HÖRANDNER & E. TRAPP, eds., *Lexicographica Byzantina* (Vienna, 1991), pp. 53-59.

[11]Appreciation for this instrument is expressed in M. AUBINEAU, 'Un évènement scientifique: la "Clavis Patrum Graecorum"', *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa* 12 (1976), 210-30.

> Plus un texte est tardif, [...] plus il est difficile de commenter dans des notes tous les thèmes qu'il charrie, lesquels ont souvent une très longue histoire.[12]

The same can be said for the themes of this eleventh-century homiliary. As one sketches out the history of each, a web of connexions emerges which place the catechesis back into the context of a tradition. Some results of this type of research into the sub-group of unidentified texts in K are presented in this chapter.

The themes treated in the catecheses have suggested a three-fold division of their presentation: exegetical and doctrinal topics are dealt with in Part I; monastic exhortations through biblical paradigms and literary metaphors form Part II; and exhortations on particular aspects of monastic life constitute Part III. While suggesting echoes of distant sources in these compositions, it is the aim of this chapter at the same time to present the final products inserted in the homiliary by extensive quotations from the K texts on which the commentary is based.

---

[12]M. AUBINEAU, 'Syméon le Nouveau Théologien, *Traités Théologiques et Éthiques*: notes de lecture', in *Chrysostome, Sévérien, Proclus, Hésychius et alii: patristique et hagiographie grecques*, Variorum Reprints (London, 1988), XXIX, at p. 55.

PART I

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL TEXTS

I. i) Attitude to Biblical exegesis.

The concluding paragraphs of K15 present exegesis as a variation on the customary topics addressed by the catecheses, in a tone not devoid of apology, after a mere one-paragraph analysis of the Gospel for the day (Jn. 5, 5):

> Καὶ μήτοι ἐπαχθὴς ὑμῖν φαίνωμαι ἀδελφοί μου ταῦτα λέγων καὶ περὶ τοιαῦτα καταγινόμενος· καὶ τοῦτο κἀκεῖνο διεξετάζων καὶ διερευνώμενος· καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα, πάνυ ὠφέλιμα· διανιστῶντα τὴν διάνοιαν ἡμῶν· καὶ νεοποιοῦντα, ῥαθυμοῦσαν καὶ ἀποκναίουσαν τῷ μονοειδεῖ τοῦ λόγου καὶ προσκορεῖ· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐν ταῖς αἰσθηταῖς τραπέζαις· τὸ μὲν μονοειδὲς τῶν βρωμάτων καὶ ἁπλοῦν· καθ' ἡμέραν παρατιθέμενον, κόρον εἴωθεν ἐμποιεῖν καὶ ἀμβλύνει τὴν ὄρεξιν· ἡ δὲ πολυειδὴς καὶ ποικίλη παρασκευή, τήν τε ὄρεξιν παρακνίζει· καὶ λίχνως ἔχειν τὸν ἐσθίοντα περὶ τὰ βρώματα παρασκευάζει, τῇ ὑπαλλαγῇ καὶ μεταποιήσει.
>
> Καὶ ἡμεῖς οὖν· ἵνα μὴ προσκορεῖς ὑμᾶς ποιήσωμεν τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀεὶ διαλεγόμενοι, μεταβάλλομεν τὸν λόγον, καὶ πρὸς τὰ λιχνότερα· ἵνα διὰ τούτων κἀκείνων, ὑμᾶς διεγείρωμεν· καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀρετῶν μεταχείρισιν σπουδαιοτέρους ἀπεργασώμεθα· ὡς ἂν ὡς θεῷ φίλοι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ζωὴν ἀποπεράναντες, τῶν οὐρανίων ἐπιτύχωμεν ἀγαθῶν...[13].

This apparently parenthetic remark is very revealing of the compiler's attitude to Scripture. The exegetical exercise fulfills an important function

[13]Transl. K15: And let me not appear burdensome to you, my brothers, by saying these things and abiding by them, and examining and interpreting them one by one, for these things (are) great benefits in stimulating our discernment and in renewing it when it becomes careless and weary of the monotony of the discourse and is satiated. For even at the material tables, the monotony of the foods prepared plainly day after day is likely to engender satiety and blunt the desire, but diversified and elaborate preparation revives the appetite and prepares him who eats to be curious with respect to the foods by the change and diversity.

Thus also, in order not to bore you, speaking always about the same subjects, we change the discourse, and turn to more appetizing subjects, so as to arouse you through these and those, and to make you more eager in the practice of the virtues, so that by conducting this life to the end as friends of God, we may obtain the heavenly benefits....

in the mental world of the monk, by renewing his capacity for discernment. The variety advocated is not simply one of rhetorical import, but penetrates deeper into what constitutes a monk's spiritual nourishment. As with daily food, appetite is kept alive by interesting dishes.

It is striking to find the food metaphor applied in such a way to Scripture. Exegesis is like the preparation of interesting food; Scripture, like food, is the nourishment. We may contrast John Chrysostom's use of a similar metaphor, where the "table" of material and of spiritual foods (the "words of the prophets") are juxtapposed:

> Πολλὰ παρεκάλεσα χθὲς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀγάπην μεμνῆσθαι τῶν εἰρημένων, καὶ διπλῆν ἐν ἑσπέρᾳ παραθεῖναι τὴν τράπεζαν, τὴν τῶν βρωμάτων, καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων προστιθέντας ἑστίαισιν. Τί οὖν; ἐποιήσατε τοῦτο, καὶ παρεθήκατε διπλῆν τὴν τράπεζαν; Οἶδα ὅτι ἐποιήσατε, καὶ οὐκ ἐκείνης μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτης μετέσχετε. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ περὶ τὴν ἐλάττω σπουδάσαντες, τῆς βελτίονος ἐμέλλετε ἀμελεῖν. Καὶ γὰρ βελτίων ἐκείνης αὕτη. Τὴν μὲν γὰρ μαγείρων συνέθηκαν χεῖρες, ταύτην δὲ προφητῶν παρεσκεύασαν γλῶσσαι· καὶ ἡ μὲν τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἔχει βλαστήματα, ἡ δὲ τὸν καρπὸν τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος· καὶ ταύτης μὲν τῆς τραπέζης πρὸς φθορὰν ἐπείγεται τὰ σιτία, τὰ δὲ ἐκείνης πρὸς ἀφθαρσίαν· καὶ αὕτη μὲν τὴν παροῦσαν ἡμῶν συγκρατεῖ ζωήν, ἐκείνη δὲ πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν ἡμᾶς ὁδηγεῖ.[14]

Unlike Chrysostom's, Paul's simile works not by contrasting the spiritual with the material foods, but by considering the variety of foods good in itself.[15] This catechesis was read during a period of rejoicing, the Pentekostarion, when such a metaphor would not jar with ascetic practices of fasting.

---

[14]PG 54, 607, l. 57-608, l. 13.

[15]Cf. also Epiphanios' panegyric of the Virgin Mary, where she is described as offering rich foods when she gave birth to the bread of life: ἡ τὸ πῦρ καὶ <u>τὸν ἄρτον τῆς ζωῆς</u> θερμὸν τῷ κόσμῳ <u>πρὸς βρῶσιν ἐνέγκασα</u>· περὶ οὗ λέγει ὁ Σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου Χριστός· Λάβετε, φάγετε· τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κλώμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. <u>Πλουσία τῆς παρθενικῆς ἡ πανάρετος τράπεζα</u>, ὦ ἀγαπητοί, <u>παντοίων καλῶν βρωμάτων</u> πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ἐδωρήσατο ἡ ὁσία Παρθένος καὶ μήτηρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ...[EPIPHANIOS CONSTANTIENSIS, *Homiliae*, PG 43, 428-506, at col. 496A2-9].

But such positive value cannot be exclusively derived from variety, but must be more intrinsically connected with the value of Scripture. Thus the "appetizing foods" are, in the context, not just Paul's inventive words,[16] but more pointedly, the words of Scripture. The spiritual food of Scripture is like the heavenly manna:

> καὶ ἡμεῖς γὰρ καθ' ἡμέραν τὴν οὐρανίον τροφὴν ἐμπιπλησκόμενοι· τὸ μάννα φημὶ τῶν θείων γραφῶν· ἂν αὐτὴν ἀφέντες· τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἡδέα ζητήσωμεν· ἂν τὸν γλυκῦν Ἰησοῦν καταλιπόντες· καί τε τὸ ὁμιλεῖν αὐτῷ καθ' ἑκάστην, πρὸς τὰς ἡδονὰς καὶ τέρψεις τοῦ βίου δράμωμεν, οὐαὶ ἡμῖν ὅτι οὐκ ἔσται ὁλυτρούμενος ἡμᾶς, κολαζομένους αἰωνίως·[17].

Thus, the need for variety is not primarily a rhetorical necessity:

> ἀεὶ γὰρ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἡμῖν διηγητέον· ὅτι καὶ ἡ αἰτία τοῦ λέγειν, περὶ ἑνὸς καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ· δηλαδὴ τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν.[18]

Therefore, in a genre where repetition is intentional, because of its didactic value, exegesis is presented as a beneficial variation, a pleasant lengthening of the spiritual conversation with the Lord.

After the interpretation of the passage on the Blind Man (Jn. 9, 1-7) in K29, the text appears to offer a conclusion to the exegetical paragraphs, by marking them as exceptional in comparison to the "habitual topics". Its continuation, however, affords another glimpse into the nature of exegesis:

> Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τοῦ θαύματος, ὧδέ πη ἐχέτω· ἡμῖν δὲ ὁ λόγος ἐπὶ τὰ συνήθη ἐρχέσθω· ἀόμματοι καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐσμὲν καὶ τυφλοί, τόν τε νοῦν καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις· <u>δράμωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ παράγει ὁ Ἰησοῦς</u>· καὶ αὐτὸς ἰδὼν ἡμᾶς, σπλαγχνισθήσεται· καὶ ἀναβλέψαι ποιήσει· καὶ ποῦ φησὶν

---

[16]The metaphor is used in this sense by Theoleptos of Philadelpheia (cf. MD1, §25). At the outset of MD19, he calls his catechesis τὴν συνήθη τῆς διδασκαλίας βρῶσιν (p. 316, l. 5).

[17]Transl. K25: For we too are filled each day with a heavenly food, I mean, the manna of the Sacred Scriptures. If avoiding it, we look for the pleasant things in the world; if leaving behind the sweet Jesus and the daily conversation with Him, we run to the pleasures and satisfactions of life, woe to us, for there will be no mercy for us, being punished eternally. (This section is added by the compiler to his source, Theodore Studite).

[18]Transl. K30: For we always ought to discourse about the same things, since the aim of the discourse is also one and the same, namely, our salvation.

ὁ Ἰησοῦς παράγει, ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς· γέγραπται γάρ ἐρευνᾶτε τὰς γραφάς· ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ εὑρίσκεται ἡ ζωὴ ὑμῶν· δράμωμεν τοίνυν πρὸς αὐτόν· καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς ὀμματώσει τε καὶ φωτιεῖ· ἀπονιψώμεθα δὲ καὶ τὸν πηλὸν τῆς ἰλύος τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἐν τῇ τῶν δακρύων κολυμβήθρᾳ, καὶ ἀναβλέψωμεν· μετερχώμεθα τὰς θείας γραφὰς ἐπιστημόνως καὶ μὴ παρέργως.

Δι' αὐτῶν γὰρ μαθησόμεθα, πῶς δεῖ πιστεύειν καὶ τίς ἡ πίστις ἡμῶν·[19]....

By applying the Gospel passage to the situation of the monks, the catechesis presents the scriptural passage as the *locus* where the encounter with Jesus takes place. In other words, the sense of Scripture is Christ himself, as Origen thought.[20] Thus Jesus "passes by" in the Scriptures themselves, and by a process of mystical transposition the monk re-lives the experience of the Blind in his own spiritual life. A similar parellel with the Blind Man is envisaged in the liturgical hymn by Pseudo-Romanos:

τῆς ψυχῆς τὰ ὄμματα πεπηρωμένος,
σοί, Χριστέ, προσέρχομαι ὡς τυφλὸς ἐκ γενετῆς.[21]

The interest of this passage lies in the fact that it does not exhort by simply holding up a model for imitation, as in the multiform examples of *mimesis* to which we will return below. Rather, its concern is with the very methodology of how to open this dialogue with Jesus: where to find him; how to approach him; what to expect. If Scriptures are the *locus*, the monk's attitude is defined as ἐπιστημόνως καὶ μὴ παρέργως. Therefore,

---

[19]Transl. K 29: But so much for the miracle, about its unfolding. Now let this speech to you turn to the habitual topics. We too are without eyes and blind both with respect to the mind and to perceptions. Let us run to that place where Jesus is passing by, and he, having seen us, will take pity upon us, and will make us see. Where does it say in the divine Scriptures, *Jesus is passing by*? Surely it is written: *Examine the Scriptures, for in them your life is found* (Jn. 5, 39: second part paraphrased). Let us run then towards him, and he will furnish us with eyes and light. Let us also wash away the clay of the impurity of sins in the pool of tears, and we will be able to see. Let us attend to the divine Scriptures learnedly, and not cursorily. Through them we will learn how one ought to believe and what our faith is: ...

[20]H. DE LUBAC, *Exégèse médiévale*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1959), I, p. 593: "le sens de l'Ecriture, en effet, n'est pas une pensée quelconque, ce n'est pas une verité impersonelle: c'est *Lui*." Cf. M. BORRET, L. BRÉSARD & H. CROUZEL, eds., *Origène, Commentaire sur le Cantique des Cantiques*, SC 375-376 (1991), I, 5, 3, pp. 242-43 and n. 1: *quid aliud cubiculum Christi et promptuarium Verbi Dei credendum est [...] nisi ipse Christi arcanus et reconditus sensus?*.

[21]J. GROSDIDIER DE MATONS, ed., *Romanos le Mélode, Hymnes*, SC 114 (1965), pp. 138-39.

attentiveness to the minutiae of detail and interpretation is necessary in order to receive the benefits of enlightenment promised.

The primary rôle of Sacred Scripture in the life of the monks is thus that of contributing to their virtuous life. Salvation, both in the grand, eschatological sense, and in the peculiar daily accomplishments, is found in the attentive reading of the Bible. Paradoxically, the simpler monks, who are free from administrative responsibilities, are closer to this type of spiritual benefit:

> Καὶ μάλιστα οἱ τὰς διακονίας ἐγκεχειρισμένοι περισσοτέρως προσέχωμεν, τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοις εἴ τις ὄλισθος ἐπιγένηται, ῥαδία ἔσται καὶ ἡ ἀνάνευσις τῇ ἀναγνώσει διηνεκῶς προσειμένοις· ὑμῖν δὲ πανταχόθεν διελκομένοις καὶ ὀχλουμένοις πλείονος χρεία καὶ τῆς ἀσφαλείας.[22]

The power of the biblical text to redeem and reform conduct can be understood at various levels. Intellectually, the Bible offers an essential reflection on the Christian life. Such reflection is mediated by the exegesis of the Biblical text, which yields guidelines for conduct. Psychologically, the stress can be placed on the attentiveness required by the reading, which prevents distraction and thereby temptation. At a further level, the Biblical text was perceived as having an apotropaic function with respect to the realm of evil, as found in the Sayings of the Desert Fathers.[23] The instruction to recite constantly the words of the Psalms during manual work may be understood as providing both a psychological focus and a weapon against temptation, as well as fulfilling the ostensible purpose of occupying the mouth with holy words rather than gossip (cf. K67 = MC I, 14 in Appendix IV).

---

[22]Transl. K2: Especially let those (of us) who have some official function be extremely attentive. For as to the others, if ever some slip occurs, the reform is easy (for them) through constant attention to the reading. But for you who are pulled from all sides and are more distracted, there is greater need for security.

[23]D. BURTON-CHRISTIE, *The Word in the Desert, Scripture and the Quest for Holiness in Early Christian Monasticism* (New York-Oxford, 1993), pp. 108, 112.

I. ii) Threefold exegesis in the episode of the Samaritan woman.

K22, dealing with the particulars of the encounter of Jesus with the Samaritan woman at the well (Jn. 4, 5-42), is indicative of K's exegetical method. The exegesis unfolds in three movements: first, the explanation of a "literal meaning";[24] secondly, a spiritual interpretation, which goes beyond the apparent sense; and thirdly, the tropological interpretation, which actively calls into play the interlocutor, transposing the value of the understanding onto the ethical plane.

These bare bones of scriptural interpretation fix K within an exegetical tradition with patristic roots common to both East and West, whose impulse has been identified in the thought of Origen.[25] As defined by Erasmus, Origen's methodology proceded thus:

> Il commence par exposer l'histoire, limpidement et brièvement, chaque fois que le sujet l'exige; puis il excite l'auditeur à découvrir le sens plus profond de l'allégorie; et aussitôt après, il traite des aspects moraux.[26]

The exegesis of the Samaritan concentrates on her having six husbands. The topic is presented as one of special interest to the monks:

> Ἀλλ᾽ εἰ βούλεσθε, μικρὸν ἔτι τῷ λόγῳ ἐμφιλοχωρήσωμεν· οἶμαι γὰρ ζητεῖν ὑμᾶς γνῶναι τί ἐστι τοῦτο τὸ *πέντε ἄνδρας ἔσχες*·[27]

The literal sense is then explained:

> καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ προχείρου, σαφές ἐστι τὸ ῥῆμα· νόμος γάρ ἐστι παλαιός· τὰς γυναῖκας ὅσαι δὴ τῷ θανάτῳ τοὺς συνεύνους ἀποβάλλουσιν· ἄτεκνοι καταλιμπανόμεναι· ἄχρι

---

[24]This is certainly the sense of ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ προχείρου, as is clear from Lampe. Cf. for example the translation of the expression ἐκ προχείρου in Gregory of Nyssa's *Life of Moses*, II, 48, as indicated by M. A. BARDOLLE, 'La Vie de Moïse de Grégoire de Nysse ou le temps spirituel vécu à travers l'imaginaire d'un modèle historique', in *Le Temps chrétien de la fin du Moyen Âge III^e-XIII^e siècles*, Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, 1981 (Paris, 1984), pp. 255-61, at 257 and n. 11.
[25]DE LUBAC, I, p. 199; but see pp. 218-29, where Origen's influence on the West through Rufinus' translation is considered weightier than that on the East because of Justinian's suppression of Origenist writings.
[26]DE LUBAC, I, p. 201.
[27]Transl. K22: But if you want, we shall spin our discourse a little longer. For I think you are asking what this *"You have five husbands"* means.

τῶν πέντε συνέρχεσθαι ἀνδράσι· μετὰ δὲ τὸν πέμπτον εἴτε τέκοιεν εἴτε καὶ μή, παύεσθαι· εἰ δέ τις μετὰ τοὺς πέντε καὶ εἰς ἕκτον συνέλθοι, μὴ ἄνδρα αὐτὸν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ μοιχόν· ὡς παρὰ τὸν νόμον συνερχόμενον· ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ συνέβη τῇ γυναικί· κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὸ πρόχειρον ὡς ἔφαμεν, οὕτω τοῦτο νοητέον εὐκόλως.[28]

Although the convention outlined is clear enough — that a woman who has not borne children can re-marry up to five times following the deaths of each husband, but that at the sixth time her union shall be considered illicit — its basis in the Old Testament cannot be retraced. It is even unlikely that its origins lie in a mis-apprehended Levirate law from Deuteronomy, since that stressed the pre-eminence of the husband's decision over the woman's wishes. A short research into the Jewish concept of widowhood has not yielded promising results.[29]

This "historical" construct furnishes a legalistic context for the Samaritan's action. It also sets her against the backdrop of Old Testament Judaism: in this way, the explanation provides historical parameters in which to set the event of her encounter with Jesus. What matters therefore, more than the accuracy of the information provided, is its role as a factual, simple, detached explanation.

This striving for an objective picture may be contrasted with the more realistic, but implicitly moralizing comment on the passage offered by the other most significant Byzantine text, the pseudo-Chrysostomic homily *In Samaritanam*:

Ἡ γυνὴ πέντε ἄνδρας ἔσχεν, καὶ ἐτελεύτησαν· μετ' ἐκείνους δὲ ἐπόρνευσεν· ὅθεν οὐδεὶς αὐτῇ λοιπὸν ὡς γυναικὶ νομίμῃ προσεγγίζειν ἐβούλετο. Ἐκείνη δὲ μὴ φέρουσα χαλινῶσαι τῆς ἡδονῆς τὰ κύματα, λαθραίως εἶχε

---

[28]Transl. K22: And the expression is clear in the literal sense. For it is an Old Testament law that those women who have lost their husbands through death and are still childless, can marry again up to five times. But after the fifth husband, whether they have given birth or not, they have to stop. If after these five someone married a sixth, this would not be a husband but an adulterer, since married contrary to the law; now this is what had happened in the case of this woman. Thus, according to the literal meaning, as we have said, this episode should be easily understood in this way.

[29]'Widow' in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 16 (Jerusalem, 1971), cols. 487-96.

λοιπὸν τὸν πορνεύοντα μετ' αὐτῆς· καὶ οὐκ ἦν οὐδὲ πόρνη περιφανής, οὔτε νομίμη· εἶχεν δὲ ἄνδρα λαθραίως· ....[30]

According to this homily, since no-one agreed to marry the Samaritan legitimately, she was induced by passion to procure for herself a secret lover. Both interpretations are answering the same question, namely, why the sixth husband should have been worse than the first five. But while the catechesis chooses to account for it from a historical perspective, the homily is at the same time more practical and moralizing.

The second level of interpretation is described as μυστικώτερον. Leroy had already drawn attention to a probable Origenist source for this level of the interpretation. In fact, both the methodology of symbolic ascent and the concern with number symbolism can be traced back to Origen's writings, in passages which closely resemble the catechesis' exegesis:

τοὺς πέντε νομίμους ἄνδρας, τὰς πέντε φυσικὰς αἰσθήσεις εἴποι· τὴν ὅρασιν· τὴν ἀκοήν· τὴν γεῦσιν· τὴν ὄσφρησιν, καὶ τὴν ἁφήν· δι' ὧν πᾶν ἡμῖν τὸ παρατυχὸν γινώσκεται τί ἐστιν· τὸν δὲ ἕκτον καὶ παράνομον· τὴν ἀπιστίαν ᾗ ἐκεκράτητο ἡ γυνὴ ἐξ ἀγνοίας καὶ παρὰ φύσιν· ἔφη οὖν αὐτῇ ὁ Χριστός· ὅτι *ἀληθῶς εἶπας· πέντε γὰρ ἄνδρας ἔσχες*· ὡσανεὶ τὰς πέντε σου αἰσθήσεις, ὡς ἄνδρας ἔσχες ὑποτασσούσας σε καὶ περιαγούσας κατὰ τὸ αὐτῶν θέλημα· οἷον ὅτι ἀρκούντως ἐνεπλήσθης τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν· αἵτινες διὰ τῶν φυσικῶν πέντε αἰσθήσεων ἐπεισέρχονται· ἃς καὶ ἤδη ἀπεβάλλου, διὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ γήρως τοῦ σώματος νέκρωσιν· *ὃν δὲ νῦν ἔχεις*· ἤγουν τὴν ἀπιστίαν, *οὐκ ἔστι σου ἀνήρ*· τουτέστιν οὐ φυσικῶς σου κυριεύει, ἀλλ' ἐπεισάκτως·....[31]

---

[30]PG 59, 539, ll. 26-31.

[31]Transl. K22: the five lawful husbands (are) the five physical senses: sight, hearing, taste, smell, and touch, through which all that chances upon us is known for what it is; whilst the sixth unlawful (one is) the lack of faith by which the woman had been overpowered out of ignorance and contrary to nature. Then Christ said to her: "*You have spoken truly, for you had five husbands*", in the sense that you had five senses, which gave commands to you like husbands and led you according to their wishes, so that you were filled sufficiently with those desires, which enter naturally through the five physical senses, and which you shed because of the process of bodily decline from old age. But "*the man you have now* - that is to say, unbelief - *is not your husband*", that means, he does not lord over you naturally, but from outside (cf. Gen. 3, 16).

The passage in this catechesis may be understood almost as a gloss on

Origen's commentary:

> Οἶμαι πᾶσαν τὴν εἰσαγομένην ψυχὴν εἰς τὴν διὰ τῶν γραφῶν ἐν Χριστῷ θεοσέβειαν ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθητῶν καὶ σωματικῶν λεγομένων ἀρχομένην, τοὺς πέντε ἄνδρας καθ' ἑκάστην τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἀνδρός τινος γινομένου ἴσχειν· ἐπὰν δὲ μετὰ τὸ ὡμιληκέναι τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς ἀνακῦψαί τις θέλων καὶ προτραπεὶς ἐπὶ τὰ νοητὰ περιτύχῃ λόγῳ προφάσει ἀλληγορίας καὶ πνευματικῶν οὐκ ὑγιαίνοντι, οὗτος μετὰ τοὺς πέντε ἄνδρας ἑτέρῳ προσέρχεται, δούς, ἵν' οὕτως εἴπω, τὸ ἀποστάσιον τοῖς προτέροις πέντε καὶ κρίνων συνοικεῖν τῷ ἕκτῳ.[32]

Both passages refer the five husbands to the five senses, although K22 is more explicit in so doing. The association is partly suggested by the traditional symbolic meaning of number five,[33] which cannot therefore be taken in itself as a conclusive proof of the relation between the two passages.

Rather, the significance attributed to the sixth husband, that of "unbelief", may be understood as a simplified version of Origen's deceptive discourse which, using a pretext of allegory and spirituality, appears more attractive than the five previous options. For Origen, the sixth husband was the attractive Gnosis which, replacing the foundation of faith in the natural understanding of Scriptures, led the believer astray.[34] Because of its nature, the sixth could not just be an addition to the first five, but had to replace them, since it was, in a sense, opposed to them. This is the meaning of the "letters of divorce" sent to the previous five husbands.

Part of the complexity of these passages derives from the parallel images at work, each giving rise to a set of meanings. If, on one level, the

---

[32]C. BLANC, ed., *Origène: Commentaire sur Saint Jean* XIII, 51, SC 222 (1975), p. 58, l. 53-p. 60, l. 10, with French transl. Cf. also the introduction, p. 8.

[33]V. F. HOPPER, *Medieval Number Symbolism* (New York, 1938), p. 74, discusses the instances of number five in the Gospels: "The Lord blessed 5 loaves and fed 5,000. There are 5 extremities of the cross, 5 fingers, 5 senses". See below at section I, iv.

[34]The circumstantial polemic in this passage was against Heracleon's interpretation of the Gospel story: C. BLANC, 'Le Commentaire d' Héracléon sur Jean 4 et 8', *Augustinianum* 15 (1975), 81-124, at pp. 84-86. For the text of Heracleon, see: Y. JANSSENS, 'Héracléon: Commentaire sur l'Évangile selon saint Jean', *Le Muséon* 72 (1959), 1-151, 277-99, at pp. 111-12.

imagery of the five senses suggests the interpretation of sound *versus* heterodox doctrine ("from outside"), at the same time, the senses continue to signify sensual experience which leads back to the married relation. Thus, the catechesis has a little digression about the natural extinction of sexual passions with the passing of age, displaying the conviction that the natural order actually generates the right conduct, while the power to sin derives from the onslaught of a force external to the senses.

Moreover, the figure of the husband was interpreted as a symbol of the law. Earlier in his commentary (XIII, 43), Origen had reaffirmed this meaning by reference to the Epistle to the Romans, that

> ...τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ψυχῆς νόμον, ᾧ ἕκαστος ὑπέταξεν ἑαυτόν, τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν ἄνδρα.[35]

Hence the senses can be understood as "giving commands like husbands", while the sixth husband is, *qua* husband, a source of control. In view of this background, the concluding sentence, "he does not lord over you naturally, but from outside", conveys the added meaning of unpleasant domestic constraint. This lack of freedom is particularly at odds with the evangelic spirit, which has declared the end of the literal interpretation of Old Testament law.[36]

In conclusion, the catechesis' explanation may be considered as a kind of popular gloss on the text of Origen's interpretation of the Gospel passage, which tries to simplify the various symbolic meanings and adapt them for its audience, while at the same time not omitting the different layers of significance. As a result, this exposition is not easily intelligible without returning to the more complex Origenist text. It remains to an extent debatable whether the author of K22 made use of Origen's text directly, or

---

[35]BLANC, *Origène: Commentaire*, p. 54, ll. 1-3: cf. Rom. 7, 1-4.

[36]BLANC, *Origène: Commentaire*, p. 56, ch. 47, ll. 18-20: Ἀπέθανεν δὲ ὁ νόμος κατὰ τὸ γράμμα, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ ψυχὴ μοιχαλὶς γενομένη ἀνδρὶ ἑτέρῳ, τῷ νόμῳ τῷ κατὰ τὸ πνεῦμα·.

via the intermediary of another source, perhaps scholiae on the text of Origen.

The third level of interpretation offered by the catechesis on the Samaritan woman draws out the ethical implications of the Gospel account, making the episode relevant to the listeners:

> Ἵνα δὲ μὴ εἰς μῆκος τὸν λόγον ἐκτείνωμεν εἰπόντες ὀλίγα τῶν εἰθισμένων, παυσόμεθα· ταύτην καὶ ἡμεῖς μιμώμεθα τὴν γυναῖκα· καὶ πᾶσαν ἀπιστίαν καὶ διχόνοιαν, ἀπὸ τῶν καρδιῶν ἡμῶν ἀποβαλλώμεθα· πιστεύοντες ἀσφαλῶς ὅτι δύναται ὁ Θεὸς οὐ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ εὐσπλαγχνίαν σῶσαι ἡμᾶς· καὶ ἡ πίστις, ἐνάρξει ἡμᾶς ὑπομένειν πάντα διὰ τὸν Θεόν, τὰ λυπηρά· ἡ δὲ ὑπομονή, ἐλπίδα ἐν ἡμῖν κατεργάσεται βεβαίαν· *ἡ δὲ ἐλπίς, οὐ καταισχύνῃ*· ἀλλὰ πληροφορήσει σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς ἁγίοις ἐγκατατάξασα· ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν· ᾧ πρέπει πᾶσα δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν.[37]

The faith of the Samaritan is taken as the starting-point for the exhortations which, as is customary, conclude the catechesis. The woman's behaviour is held up as an example for the monks to imitate in their lives; in other words, her experience of Christ is not considered as limited to her particular circumstances, but rather, as paradigmatic of the attitude of any of the faithful.

It is interesting that, at this point, the moral drawn from the episode proceeds directly out of the core of the spiritual meaning attributed to the "husbands" – i.e. true faith *versus* unbelief. In the opening to a Sunday homily by Gregory the Great, the relation between interpretation and allegorization is clearly understood differently:

---

[37]Transl. K22: Lest we stretch the discourse too far, even though we have said few of the usual things, let us stop. Let us also imitate the woman, and let us cast off from our hearts all lack of faith and doubting, firmly believing that God is able to save us, not in virtue of our deeds, but through his compassion. And faith will be sufficient for us to endure all afflictions because of God. And endurance will produce a sure hope in us (cf. Rom. 5, 3-4). *And hope will not disappoint* (Rom. 5, 5), but will satisfy us fully, having included us among all the saints, in Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom is fitting all glory unto the ages of ages. Amen.

In the words of the holy Scripture, dearly beloved, we must first attend to the literal truth, and then seek to understand the spiritual allegory. The fruit of the allegory is easily plucked when it is rooted in truth through the literal meaning. But since the allegorical meaning builds up faith, and the literal meaning morals, I who am not speaking to you who believe by God's inspiration, think it appropriate to transpose this normal order. You who already have strong faith should first hear something briefly of the allegorical meaning, and I will keep for the end of my explanation the indispensable moral teaching derived from the literal meaning. Frequently it happens that what is heard last is best remembered. Therefore I will run through the allegorical meaning quickly so as to come more swiftly to the breadth of moral teaching.[38]

Although the result is in both cases that the moralization comes at the end, its basis rests on different grounds. The explanation may be that the moral that naturally stemmed from the literal aspect of the Samaritan's episode would have turned on the topic of married life. Since the teaching was chosen in view of the relevance of the theme to the particular audience, faith seemed a suitable topic for lay and religious alike, while marriage was obviously less of a concern for a monastic congregation.

Theologically, however, the emphasis placed on the literal or historical aspect of the biblical narrative divided two schools of thought, the Alexandrine from the Antiochene. The traditional apprehension of the distinction between these two schools, that between the "allegorical" and the "literal" sense, has been recently challenged as over-simplifying the issue.[39] Young emphasizes the common aim of both traditions, to grasp the truth of Scriptures, and their considerable overlap in stylistic choices and rhetorical style, such as the use of metaphor.[40] A further point of contact is found in the common use of exegetical methods in preaching; here the two schools are re-united by their common, parenetic intent.[41]

Nevertheless, the distinction has been perceived precisely in how the exhortation is extracted, in what way comparison between the Biblical

---

[38]D. HURST, transl., *Gregory the Great: Forty Gospel Homilies*, CS 123 (1990), no. 40, p. 371.
[39]F. YOUNG, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 161-85.
[40]YOUNG, *Biblical Exegesis*, p. 183.
[41]YOUNG, *Biblical Exegesis*, p. 264.

episode and the contemporary world of the preacher's audience is formulated. Thus the moral aspect of the interpretation can be either "tropological" or "typological".[42] It is claimed that the latter alone rests on a firm grasp of the historical relevance of the Biblical narrative, as in the homilies by Bede.[43] It is the first, more widespread approach that is found in the conclusion to the exegesis of the Samaritan at K22. K23 expands the figure of the Samaritan as a paradigm of faith, singling out the tropological exegesis of the episode for the entire length of the catechesis.

I. iii) Another eleventh-century source for the exegesis of Jn. 4, 5-42.

The same literal and symbolic interpretation of the Samaritan's husbands is found as the *ipsissima verba* of the saint in the Life of St. Cyril of Philea.[44] The interpretation is clearly designed to represent the orthodox view, since the context specifies that Cyril was trying to convert a priest called Manos back to the church. Manos had indulged in sexual sin, and his bias provided him with the wrong viewpoint on the Gospel passage, yielding the exegesis that "τὴν χεῖρα αὐτῆς ἐκάλεσε πέντε ἄνδρας· μετ' αὐτῆς γὰρ ἡμάρτενε".[45] This was clearly a passage susceptible to particular controversy, which goes some way to explain its inclusion in the liturgical homiliary.

A comparison of the two texts reveals that they are almost identical:

---

[42]Young reformulates the distinction as that between an "ikonic mimesis" (Antiochean) and a "symbolic mimesis" (Alexandrian). In the first, "the narrative provides a kind of 'mirror' which images the true understanding, rather than the words of the text providing a code to be cracked": YOUNG, *Biblical Exegesis*, p. 162.
[43]L. T. MARTIN, 'The Two Worlds in Bede's Homilies: the Biblical Event and the Listener's Experience', in T. L. AMOS, E. A. GREEN and B. MAYNE KIENZLE, eds., *De Ore Domini: Preacher and Word in the Middle Ages* (Kalamazoo, 1989), pp. 27-40, at 33-35.
[44]É. SARGOLOGOS, ed., *La Vie de Saint Cyrille le Philéote moine byzantin (†1110)*, Subsidia Hagiographica 39 (Brussels, 1964), ch. 37, §3, at p. 156, l. 30-p. 157, l. 13.
[45]SARGOLOGOS, *Saint Cyrille*, p. 156, ll. 8-9. "[Elle] appelait sa main cinq maris, car elle péchait avec elle.": ch. 37, §2, transl. p. 383, l. 1.

οἶμαι γὰρ ζητεῖν ὑμᾶς γνῶναι τί ἐστι τοῦτο τὸ *πέντε ἄνδρας ἔσχες*· καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ προχείρου, σαφές ἐστι τὸ ῥῆμα· νόμος γάρ ἐστι παλαιός· τὰς γυναῖκας ὅσαι δὴ τῷ θανάτῳ τοὺς συνεύνους *ἀποβάλλουσιν*· ἄτεκνοι καταλιμπανόμεναι· ἄχρι τῶν πέντε συνέρχεσθαι ἀνδράσι· μετὰ δὲ τὸν πέμπτον εἴτε τέκοιεν εἴτε καὶ μή, παύεσθαι· εἰ δέ τις μετὰ τοὺς πέντε καὶ εἰς *ἕκτον* συνέλθοι, μὴ ἄνδρα αὐτὸν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ μοιχόν· ὡς παρὰ τὸν νόμον συνερχόμενον· ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ συνέβη τῇ γυναικί· κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὸ πρόχειρον ὡς ἔφαμεν, οὕτω τοῦτο νοητέον εὐκόλως.

Εἰ δὲ καὶ μυστικώτερόν τις *ἐθέλοι* τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, τοὺς πέντε νομίμους ἄνδρας, τὰς πέντε φυσικὰς αἰσθήσεις *εἴποι*· τὴν ὅρασιν· τὴν ἀκοήν· τὴν γεῦσιν· τὴν ὄσφρησιν, καὶ τὴν ἁφήν· δι' ὧν πᾶν ἡμῖν τὸ παρατυχὸν γινώσκεται τί ἐστιν· τὸν δὲ ἕκτον καὶ παράνομον· τὴν ἀπιστίαν ἣ *ἐκεκράτητο* ἡ γυνὴ ἐξ ἀγνοίας καὶ παρὰ φύσιν· ἔφη οὖν αὐτῇ ὁ Χριστός· ὅτι *ἀληθῶς εἶπας· πένθε γὰρ ἄνδρας ἔσχες*· **ὡσανεὶ** τὰς πέντε σου αἰσθήσεις, ὡς ἄνδρας ἔσχες ὑποτασσούσας σε καὶ περιαγούσας κατὰ τὸ αὐτῶν θέλημα·

τὸ γὰρ *πέντε ἄνδρας ἔσχες καὶ νῦν ὃν ἔχεις οὐκ ἔστι σου ἀνήρ*·, σαφές ἐστι· νόμος γάρ ἐστι παλαιός· τὰς γυναῖκας ὅσαι δὴ τῷ θανάτῳ τοὺς συνεύνους *ἀποβαλοῦσιν*· ἄτεκνοι καταλιμπανόμεναι· ἄχρι τῶν πέντε συνέρχεσθαι ἀνδράσι· μετὰ δὲ τὸν πέμπτον εἴτε τέκοιεν εἴτε καὶ μή, παύεσθαι· εἰ δέ τις μετὰ τοὺς πέντε *ἕκτῳ* συνέλθοι, μὴ ἄνδρα αὐτὸν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ μοιχόν· ὡς παρὰ τὸν νόμον συνερχόμενον· ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ συνέβη τῇ γυναικί·

Εἰ δὲ καὶ μυστικώτερόν τις *θελήσει* τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, *ἐρεῖ* τοὺς πέντε νομίμους ἄνδρας, τὰς πέντε φυσικὰς αἰσθήσεις· τὴν ὅρασιν· τὴν ἀκοήν· τὴν γεῦσιν· τὴν ὄσφρησιν, καὶ τὴν ἁφήν· δι' ὧν πᾶν ἡμῖν τὸ παρατυχὸν γινώσκεται τί ἐστι· τὸν δὲ ἕκτον καὶ παράνομον· τὴν ἀπιστίαν ἣ *ἐκρατεῖτο* ἡ γυνὴ ἐξ ἀγνοίας καὶ παρὰ φύσιν· ἔφη οὖν αὐτῇ ὁ Χριστός· ὅτι *ἀληθῶς εἶπας· πένθε γὰρ ἄνδρας ἔσχες*· **ἤγουν** τὰς πέντε αἰσθήσεις, ὡς ἄνδρας ἔσχες ὑποτασσούσας σε καὶ περιαγούσας κατὰ τὸ αὐτῶν θέλημα·

οἷον ὅτι ἀρκούντως	οἷον ὅτι ἀρκούντως
ἐνεπλήσθης τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν·	ἐνεπλήσθης τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν·
αἵτινες διὰ τῶν φυσικῶν	αἵτινες διὰ τῶν φυσικῶν
πέντε αἰσθήσεων	πέντε αἰσθήσεων
ἐπεισέρχονται· ἃς καὶ ἤδη	ἐπεισέρχονται· ἃς ἤδη
ἀπεβάλου, διὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ	ἀπεβάλου, διὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ
γήρως τοῦ σώματος νέκρωσιν·	γήρως τοῦ σώματος νέκρωσιν·
ὃν δὲ νῦν ἔχεις· ἤγουν τὴν	*ὃν δὲ νῦν ἔχεις· ἤγουν τὴν*
ἀπιστίαν, οὐκ ἔστι σου ἀνήρ·	*ἀπιστίαν, οὐκ ἔστι σου ἀνήρ·*
τουτέστιν οὐ φυσικῶς σου	τουτέστιν οὐ φυσικῶς σου
κυριεύει, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεισάκτως·	κυριεύει, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεισάκτως· …
οὕτως οἶμαι τοῦτο καὶ κατὰ τὸ	
μυστικώτερον ἔχειν· εἰ δ᾽ οὖν,	
ἀλλ᾽ ὁ δυνάμενος καὶ εἰς ἄλλο	
τι χωρεῖν, χωρεῖτω.	

The expressions ἀπὸ … τοῦ προχείρου and κατὰ … τὸ πρόχειρον that frame the first paragraph are not present in the hagiographical narrative. Their absence makes the exegesis less technical and its phases less clear.

Since the interpretation was offered by the saint as a corrective, the last clause of K22 may well have been intentionally omitted:

> οὕτως οἶμαι τοῦτο καὶ κατὰ τὸ μυστικώτερον ἔχειν· εἰ δ᾽ οὖν, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ δυνάμενος καὶ εἰς ἄλλο τι χωρεῖν, χωρεῖτω.[46]

The openness towards other interpretations is inappropriate in the context of the Life. Ch. 37, §1 makes clear that there is only one way of interpreting Scripture, and that not everyone can be a teacher. Manos, wanting to be a teacher beyond his talent and capacities, had "given birth" to distorted interpretations. On the other hand, the catechesis' specification that "he who is able to" (ὁ δυνάμενος) can furnish alternative interpretations is further qualified by the episode in the Life, since, although Manos was a priest, his immoral conduct had impaired his understanding. Thus Manos' claim to priesthood was not by itself sufficient to qualify him as an interpreter of Holy Scripture and teacher (§4, p. 384). Although St. Cyril did not succeed

[46]Transl. K22: In this way I think that it also has this more spiritual meaning, but if anyone is capable of comprehending it in another way, let him do it.

in converting Manos back to true faith, his exegesis was perceived to be mainstream and orthodox, at least by the writer of the Life and his audience.

Since both omissions from the K text can be accounted for by internal reasons in the Life, there is a possibility that the author of Cyril's Life, Nicholas Kateskepenos, was drawing the speech directly from K. The likelihood is supported by the coincidence of the dates of Nicholas with the transmission of K (end of the eleventh-/beginning of the twelfth-century)[47] and by the extensive use of sayings from Paul of Evergetis' *Synagoge* in the Life.[48] Another possibility remains, that both K and Nicholas were drawing from a common source.

I. iv) Number Symbolism.

Part of the exegetical approach here examined depended on a taste for, as well as a competence in, number symbolism, which appears to continue in vogue from late antique into medieval culture.[49]

Examples of the symbolic value of the number five may be found in Origen. His associations are so similar to those used for the Samaritan's five husbands, as to appear standard. Thus the five loaves of Matthew 14, 15-21 are:

> πέντε μὲν ἴσως αἰνισσόμενοι ἄρτους εἶναι τοὺς αἰσθητοὺς τῶν γραφῶν λόγους καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἰσαρίθμους ταῖς πέντε αἰσθήσεσιν,....[50]

A more extensive explanation of the five senses may be found in Origen's fragment commenting Luke 12, 52:

---

[47]We do not know at what monasteries Nicholas spent the first part of his monastic carrier: SARGOLOGOS, *Saint Cyrille*, p. 13.

[48]The quotations have been identified by the editor in the apparatus. A cursory study of the text has not yielded any other clear instances of quotation from K; but more in-depth research ought to be carried out.

[49]Cf. J. DANIÉLOU, *Origène* (Paris, 1948), p. 187, who considers this manner of Scriptural interpretation as dependent on Philo, "et qui, malheuresement, aura une trop grande fortune au moyen âge".

[50]R. GIROD, ed., *Origène: Commentaire sur l'Évangile selon Matthieu*, SC 162 (1970), p. 270, ll. 9-11.

> δύο μὲν αἱ φιλοσοφώτεραι, ὄρασις, δι' ἧς ὁρῶντες κόσμον καὶ τὴν τάξιν αὐτοῦ θαυμάζομεν τὸν κτίστην, καὶ ἀκοή, δι' ἧς μαθητευόμεθα τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἔπειτα τὰς λοιπὰς τρεῖς· γεῦσιν, ὄσφρησιν, ἁφήν, τὰς ἀνδραποδώδεις καὶ οὐ πεφυκυίας πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν, αἱ δὲ τρεῖς ἐπὶ τὰς δύο ἀντιπράττουσιν μᾶλλον.[51]

The senses may thus be distinguished among themselves, but the physical may also be contrasted with the intellectual senses, a distinction adopted by authors such as Pseudo-Makarios.[52] In this connection, it would be helpful to understand the medieval Byzantine view of the physiology of the senses as related to their theory of knowledge.[53]

The popularity of number symbolism, considered by the Middle Ages an appropriate subject for sermons,[54] accounts for the existence of manuals arranged by number, wherein the significance of each figure could be looked up. These reference works are extant in Latin, but one does not find comparable manuals in Greek. However, it is not impossible to imagine the existence of a work of the type of Isidore of Seville's *Liber numerorum qui in Sanctis Scripturis occurrunt*, where we find the following interpretation available for number five:

> Sensus quoque corporis quinque, visus, auditus, odoratus, gustus et tactus; totidemque habitatorum mundi genera, id est, homines, quadrupedes, vel reptantes, natantes, sive volantes.[55]

---

[51]M. RAUER, ed., *Die Homilien zu Lukas in der Übersetzung des Hieronymus und die greichischen Reste der Homilien und des Lukas-Kommentars*, Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller 49 (Berlin, 1959), p. 314, no. 202, ll. 6-10.

[52]H. RAHNER, 'Le début d'une doctrine des cinq sens spirituels chez Origène', *RAM* 50 (1932), 113-45, esp. pp. 136-44 for Origen's influence on Evagrios, Diadochos of Photike and Ps.-Makarios.

[53]Gregory the Great took his views from Augustine: "à chaque sens se rattachent des perceptions qui lui sont propres, et qui ne peuvent se confondre; la cause de cette ordre harmonieux, [...] est l'existence d'une sorte de sens interne, qu'il identifie avec le cerveau; ce sens interne est supérieur aux senses externes, qu'il juge et qu'il dirige, et toutes les sensations extérieures lui sont en quelque sorte rapportées." C. DAGENS, *Saint Grégoire le Grand* (Paris, 1977), p. 216.

[54]HOPPER, *Medieval Number Symbolism*, p. 114: "The zest for numerical allegory is carried over to the medieval sermon, which often consists of little more than an extensive interpretation of a scriptural passage."

[55]PL 83, 179-200, col. 184, §27.

Stating that "all earlier connotations of 5 are neglected in favor of the 5 senses", Hopper provides a number of examples of this symbolism in Latin patristic literature.[56]

There are at least two similar interpretations of the Samaritan's husbands, attesting the continuing popularity of this symbolism in the Latin-speaking world. The first is in an eighth-century collection of homilies of uncertain provenance, whose text remains to this date unpublished.[57] The second is in Alcuin's Commentary on John,

> Est ergo alius intellectus, ut quinque viri intelligantur quinque corporis sensus; [... enumerates each ...] Et quia naturales sunt isti sensus, qui primam aetatem regunt, et Deo artefice nobis tributi sunt, recte dicuntur viri, id est mariti, tanquam legitimi, quoniam non eos error vitio proprio, sed Dei artificio natura contribuit. [...] Sed quoniam illa mulier errore tenebatur, quae significabat multitudinem seculi vanis superstitionibus subjugati, post tempora illa quinque carnalium sensum, quibus prima aetas, ut diximus, regitur, non eam verbum Dei acceperat in conjugium, sed complexu adulterino diabolus obtinebat.[58]

If a progression in the use of number symbolism has been retraced, with some continuity, in Latin literature — from Augustine to Alcuin,[59] and through the influence of Gregory the Great,[60] into medieval sermons and the production of new number manuals[61] — the tradition in Greek

---

[56]HOPPER, *Medieval Number Symbolism*, p. 86 and nn. 81-82: Lactantius, Clement, Methodius and Augustine.

[57]P. DAVID, 'Un recueil de conférences monastiques irlandaises du VIII[e] siècle. Notes sur le manuscrit 43 de la Bibliothèque du Chapitre de Cracovie', *Revue Bénédictine* 49 (1937), 62-89, at p. 81: "La vingt et unième conférence (fol. 74 verso-77 verso) commente le discours du Christ aux apôtres lorsqu'il les envoya en mission. Le commentateur expose par la même occasion le discours de Jésus à la Samaritaine. La Samaritaine est la Synagogue; ses cinq maris sont les cinq livres de Moïse; celui qu'elle a et qui n'est pas son époux, c'est le diable. Elle est aussi l'âme pécheresse; les cinq époux sont alors les cinq sens, et l'amant actuel est l'Aversier, le diable." Signalled by B. BLUMENKRANTZ, *Les Auteurs chrétiens latins du Moyen-Âge sur les juifs et le judaïsme*, Études Juives IV (Paris-Le Haye, 1963), at p. 140.

[58]ALCUIN, *Commentaria in S. Joannis Evangelium*, PL 100, 743-1008, at col. 795A-D. Cf. H. MEYER & R. SUNTRUP, *Lexikon der Mittelalterichen Zahlenbedeutungen* (Munich, 1987), col. 433.

[59]U. GROSSMANN, 'Studien zur Zahlensymbolik des Frühmittelalters', *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* 76. 1 (1954), 19-54, p. 32 (number five in Augustine's intepretations) and p. 53.

[60]G. CREMASCOLI, 'Le symbolisme des nombres dans les œuvres de Grégoire le Grand', in J. FONTAINE, R. GILLET & S. PELLISTRANDI, eds., *Grégoire le Grand*, Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, 1982 (Paris, 1986), pp. 445-54.

[61]New manuals were composed in the twelfth century: cf. H. LANGE, *Traités du XII[e] siècle sur la symbolique des nombres. Geoffrey d' Auxerre et Thibault de Langres*, Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Âge Grec et Latin 29 (Copenhagen, 1979).

literature, probably as rich and continuous, has not received detailed study. The importance of number symbolism is firmly set within the Neoplatonist tradition,[62] and considered characteristic of the Alexandrian school of exegesis.[63] Origen appears at the root of both Latin and Greek number exegesis, reflected once again in Paul's eleventh-century interest in number.

The interest shown in number symbolism in K is wider than that revealed in the Samaritan episode. Attention to detail requires an interpretation of number in commenting on another passage in the Gospel of John, the narrative of the healing of the Paralytic (Jn. 5, 1-15):

> ἀνάμνησιν δὲ ποιοῦμεθα καὶ τῆς ἰάσεως τοῦ πολυχρονίου παραλύτου σήμερον· καὶ δεῖ καὶ τοῦτον προτεθῆναι ἡμῖν εἰς ὠφέλειαν· εἴ τις οὖν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀσθενοῦσαν ἔχει τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ παραλελυμένην τοῖς πάθεσιν· ἔν τε ταῖς *πέντε στοαῖς τοῦ Σιλωάμ*· ἤτοι ταῖς τοῦ ὑγροῦ καὶ πηλώδους σώματος αἰσθήσεσιν ὑποκειμένην τε καὶ περικρατουμένην καὶ ἀνανεῦσαι μὴ ἰσχύουσαν· μηδὲ τῇ κολυμβήθρᾳ τῶν δακρύων τῆς μετανοίας προσελθεῖν, ἐκ πωρώσεως ἢ πηρώσεως τῶν ταύτης δυνάμεων διὰ πασῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ μεθηλικιώσεων· τοῦτο γὰρ οἶμαι <u>τοὺς τριάκοντα χρόνους</u> παρασημαίνειν, μὴ ἀπογνώτω· μηδὲ ἀποκάμοι συντρίβων αὐτοῦ τὴν καρδίαν καὶ δεόμενος τοῦ Χριστοῦ· ἵνα κἂν <u>ἐν τῷ ὀγδόῳ ἔτει</u> τῷ τῆς ἐκδημίας αὐτοῦ καιρῷ δηλαδή, τὴν ἴασιν αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀσθενείας ἀπόλυσιν εὑρηκέναι ἰσχύσῃ· διὰ τὴν καρδιακὴν μόνην συντριβήν, ἐπισκεπτόμενον αὐτόν· ἐσχηκὼς τὸν Χριστόν· *καρδίαν γάρ φησι συντετριμμένην καὶ τεταπεινωμένην, ὁ Θεὸς οὐκ ἐξουδενώσει*.[64]

---

[62]Dionysian writings showed an interest in the symbolic value of numbers, for metaphysical rather than exegetical purposes: HOPPER, *Medieval Number Symbolism*, p. 108.

[63]E. REISS, 'Number Symbolism and Medieval Literature', *Medievalia et Humanistica* 1 (1970), 161-74, at p. 161. The extent of Philo's influence on Alexandrian exegesis is critically discussed by DE LUBAC, I, pp. 204-05.

[64]Transl. K15: today we also remember the healing of the paralytic (who had been in this condition) for many years, and we must consider this also for our benefit. If someone then among us has a weak soul and one crippled by the passions, – *in the porticoes of Siloam* [the pool at Jn. 5, 2 is called Bethsaida or Bethesda (no other relevant variant in NTG); the name given here is found at Jn. 9, 7 & 11], that is, cooped up and imprisoned in the sense perceptions of a moist and muddy body, and finding no strength to free itself, nor to approach the pool of the tears of conversion because of the hardening or blinding of its faculties through all its ageing, for, I think, this is the meaning of *thirty years*, – let him not despair! May he not utterly flag, wasting away his heart, and imploring Christ, so that –

Thirty-eight is given as the age of the sick man in the Gospel, suggesting, in itself, no clear symbolic connotation. Nonetheless, an interpretation was called for by the mere existence of a number: thus, Augustine dedicates his exegesis to the number forty, indicating in it the perfection which the age of the ailing man was nearing.[65] The operation of separating number-components was not perceived as arbitrary. The exegesis was obtained by the meaning attributed to each.[66]

> In this case, thirty is the symbol of a full life, the coming to maturity.

Thirty was considered a complete number in Gnostic thought, and was the age of Christ's beginning his public life.[67] The number eight, on the other hand, implied the limit of life, as was stated at K1:

> to renew ourselves at all times by the practice of good works, from that <u>first day</u> when we were born again in that spiritual rebirth, I mean that of the monastic profession, until the <u>seventh day</u>, which is the limit of our whole life. (We should do this in order) that we may not be deprived of the <u>eighth stage</u>, that is, the great and splendid day of the second coming of our Lord Jesus Christ,.... (cf. Ch. II, I. iii).

In the Life of St. Andrew of Crete, the saint has remained dumb for seven years, but was given back the power of speech on the eighth; the significance of the number is explained by the hagiographer:

> τὸ δὲ φωνὴν αὐτὸν <u>ἐν τῷ ὀγδόῳ ἀφεῖναι χρόνῳ τὴν ὀγδόην καὶ πρώτην ἀνέσπερον ἡμέραν τῆς μελλούσης ἀπεράντου ζωῆς</u> δηλοῖ....[68]

---

though in *the eighth year*, viz. at the time of his death – he may have strength to find healing for his soul and freeing from this weakness, through the contrition of his heart alone, having Christ examining him. For Scripture says: *God will not spurn a humble and contrite heart* [Ps. 50(51), 17].

[65]M. R. WILLEMS, ed., *Sancti Aurelii Augustini: In Iohannis Evangelium Tractatus CXXIV*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 36 (Turnhout, 1954), Tractatus XVII, pp. 171-74. Cf. MEYER & SUNTRUP, *Lexikon*, col. 709.

[66]HOPPER, *Medieval Number Symbolism*, p. 82; the manual of Thibault of Langres is particularly concerned with number combinations.

[67]HOPPER, *Medieval Number Symbolism*, p. 58. Cf. MEYER & SUNTRUP, *Lexikon*, col. 693. The meaning of thirty is in turn obtained via other calculations.

[68]A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, ed., *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχυολογίας*, 5 vols. (repr. Brussels, 1963), V, pp. 169-79, at p. 171, ll. 7-9. I am grateful to the Dumbarton Oaks Hagiographical Project for supplying this reference. Another example of this number symbolism in hagiography is provided by G. PODSKALSKY, 'Ruhestand oder Vollendung? Zur Symbolik des achten Tages in der griechisch-byzantinischen Theologie', in G. PRINZING & D. SIMON, eds., *Fest und Alltag in Byzanz* (Munich, 1990), pp. 157-66, at 160. Podskalsky's study offers many other patristic parallels for this theme. HOPPER, *Medieval Number Symbolism*, p. 112 and n. 100, quotes an example of this interpretation in the Medieval West with Albertus Magnus: "... the day of Judgement will be 8. Or better, it is

The thirty-eighth year of the paralytic's life thus becomes a perfect time for his healing, metaphorically read in terms of redemption. The underlying notion is indeed closely comparable to Augustine's exegesis of the passage, although two different numbers (from which 38 is derived) are commented on.[69]

The comparison with K1 enables a link to be made between numerological and liturgical concerns, since the computation of days was, in that catechesis, instrumental to the interpretation of the feast of Antipascha, as we have seen in Ch. II. Hopper emphasizes how numerological awareness is reflected in both church architecture and liturgical paraphernalia. Number symbolism is reflected in the church calendar.[70] Moreover, liturgical formulae often proceed by set numbers.[71] Therefore, a heightened liturgical awareness appears to proceed hand in hand with a continuing concern for the symbolism of numbers.

I. v) <u>An exegesis of Galatians 3, 13</u>.

Two catecheses revolve around the quotation from Paul's Letter to the Galatians, Ch. 3, v. 13: "*Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, making himself a curse for our sake.*" The duplication of the material is intentional, as shown in the introductory paragraphs to both texts. K28 explicitly sets out the benefits of such repetition:

> τὸ χθὲς ἡμῖν εἰρημένον καὶ σήμερον, εἰ βούλεσθε, προθήσομεν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀργὸν ἴσως ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν ὠφέλιμον ἔσται, πρὸς φόβον καὶ συντριβὴν καρδίας τὸν ἀκροαστὴν συνωθοῦν· ἐπεὶ οὖν ἔστι καλὸν καὶ οὕτω καλόν, ῥητέον

---

called 8, because it is the consequence of this life which runs the circuit of 7 days (*Commentary on Psalm 6*, ed. BORGNET, XIV, 72)". Cf. also the references at Ch. II, I, iii.

[69]J.-F. BONNEFOY, 'La mystique des nombres', *RAM* 25 (1949), 533-50, at p. 533, points out that Augustine's sermon was included in the Breviary for liturgical reading, although, to a modern audience, his numerology might seem "forcée, faintaisiste, [...] tirée par les cheveux".

[70]HOPPER, *Medieval Number Symbolism*, pp. 115-16.

[71]For example, the number seven represents the seven-fold gifts of the Holy Spirit, but is also found "en bien d'autres passages du bréviaire, du cérémonial, du pontifical, du rituel": cf. BONNEFOY, 'La mystique', p. 540. This conscious integration of special numbers in the language of the church served a didactic, catechetical purpose.

αὐτὸ καὶ σήμερον κατὰ τὸν εἰπόντα δὶς τὰ καλά.
Τοιγαροῦν ἀκούσατε·[72]

The introduction to K27 foreshadows the contents of the next instruction on the text, summarizing its moralized account thus:

Τοιγαροῦν ἀγωνίζεσθαι ἡμᾶς προσήκει μὴ πάλιν ὑπὸ κατάραν ἐσόμεθα, τῶν θείων καὶ σωτηρίων ἐντολῶν ἀμελήσαντες· γέγραπται γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο· ὅτι ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὁ ποιῶν τὸ ἔργον Κυρίου ἀμελῶς, εὐλογία δὲ ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν δικαίου, τοῦ ὁλοψύχως δηλονότι καὶ ἐμπροθύμως τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐργαζομένου, κἀντεῦθεν δικαιομένου, καὶ τὴν προσωνυμίαν ταύτην, ἤγουν τὸ καλεῖσθαι δίκαιος λαμβάνοντος· τοῦτο δὲ βεβαιῶν καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν φαίνεται λέγων τοῖς μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ· δεῦτε οἱ εὐλογημένοι, τοῖς δὲ ἐξ εὐωνύμων· πορεύεσθε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ οἱ κατηραμένοι.[73]

Such is the moralization at the heart of the exegesis found in K28, a catechesis borrowed from Theodore Studite.[74] It is not, in fact, a theological enquiry into the reasons for which Jesus was "made a curse", in the words of Paul. Such reasons are stated at once as a given, in the legalistic/economic terms developed in the patristic tradition:[75] that Jesus became a curse for our sake, in order to redeem us (etymologically, to "buy us back") from the curse in which we had fallen through sin.[76] This renewable and ever-open condition of sin becomes the ground for the moral teaching of K28.

---

[72]Transl. K28: what we were saying yesterday, if you want, we will carry on today, for it isn't something idle, perhaps, but on the contrary something very useful, to impel the listener to fear and contrition of heart. Then, since it is good, and good to such an extent, it must be spoken of today also, according to the saying: good things twice. Therefore listen.

[73]Transl. K27: Therefore it is up to us to strive that we may not fall again under a curse, being careless of the divine and salvific commandments. For this also is written, that *all who do the work of God carelessly are accursed, but blessing is upon the just man*, that is, upon him who enacts the commandments of the Lord with all his soul and willingly, and from this is made just, and takes this name, i.e. to be called just. Certainly the Lord too appears to confirm this when he says to those on the right: *"Here are the blessed ones"*, and to those on the left: *"Go away from me, cursed ones"*.

[74]PC36: cf. Ch. III, part II. i.

[75]L. SABOURIN, *Rédemption sacrificielle: une enquête exégétique* (Montreal, 1961), pp. 15-43, 78-79.

[76]Jesus' action counterbalances Adam's fall explicitly in a homily by the bishop of Emesa, *In Passionem Christi*: Ὁ Ἀδὰμ τὴν κατάραν ἐδέξατο, Ἰησοῦς δὲ ὁ εὐλογημένος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων κατηραμένων, ὡς κατηραμένος ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου ἐκρεμάσθη: B. S. PSEUTONKAS, ed., *Αἱ περὶ σταυροῦ καὶ πάθους τοῦ Κυρίου ὁμιλίαι ἀνατολικῶν πατέρων καὶ συγγραφέων ἀπὸ τοῦ 2ου μέχρι τοῦ 4ου αἰώνος* (Thessaloniki, 1975), p. 191, ll. 141-43.

K27, an unidentified composition, contains an interesting attempt at non-moralizing exegesis. It questions the modality of this "curse", in the following words:

> Ἀλλ' ἐπεξεργασώμεθα, εἰ δοκεῖ, τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦ ἀποστόλου, ἵνα γνῶμεν ὅπως ἄρα γέγονεν ὁ Χριστὸς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρα, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς κατάρας ἐξηγοράσατο· ἐν παλαίῳ νόμῳ ἐγέγραπτο· *ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὁ κρεμάμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου*, καὶ εἰκότως· τοὺς γὰρ ἐπί τισι μεγίστοις ἐγκλήμασι κεκριμένους τῷ σταύρῳ παρεδίδοσαν, ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ νῦν γίνεται, τοὺς γὰρ ἄθεσμά τινα καὶ ἀνήκεστα πταίοντας τῷ τῆς ἀγχόνης ξύλῳ οἱ νόμοι παραδιδόασιν.[77]

As set out in this paragraph, the enquiry is directed to *the way in which* Jesus became a curse. This moment of the exegesis may be compared to the first historical approach to the Samaritan's text. The Old Testament law called into play in this context is cited in the second half of the thirteenth verse of Galatians:

> *κεκατεράμενος πᾶς κρεμάμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου,*

which in turn depends on a verse from Deuteronomy, with one omission:

> *κεκατεράμενος ὑπὸ θεοῦ πᾶς κρεμάμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου.*[78]

The omission in this exegesis transforms the players into purely worldly and historical beings. The emphasis on the legal procedure of punishment of the guilty is underlined by a reference to contemporary legal practice : ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ νῦν γίνεται.[79]

The paradox of Jesus' undergoing punishment despite his blamelessness finds an explanation in terms of anti-Jewish sentiment:

> Οἱ γοῦν Ἰουδαῖοι σφόδρα σφόδρα τῷ Χριστῷ ἐχθραίνοντές τε καὶ διαφθονοῦντες, οὐκ ἠρκέσθησαν ἁπλῶς αὐτὸν θανατῶσαι οἱῳδήποτε τυχόντι θανάτῳ ἀλλὰ

---

[77]Transl. K27: But let us investigate, if it is appropriate, the saying of the Apostle, that we may know just how Christ became a curse for our sake and redeemed us from the curse. It was written in Old Testament law: *cursed are all who are hanged from the gallows* (cf. Deut. 21, 23), and justly so. For they handed over to the cross those who were judged upon the greatest charges, as it happens even today, for the laws convict those who fall in something unlawful and fatal to the gallows of hanging.

[78]Deut. 21, 23.

[79]This sort of short phrase represents a characteristic insertion by the compiler.

τούτῳ δὴ τῷ ἐπονειδίστῳ καὶ ἐπαράτῳ, σπεύδοντες μὴ μόνον αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ποιῆσαι, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ μνήμην κακίστην αὐτῷ ἐπιθεῖναι καὶ ὀλεθρίαν· τοιγαροῦν καὶ τῷ κρατοῦντι ἐπιθέσθαι τοῦτον συκοφαντήσαντες ὡς τι μέγα κακὸν διαπραξάμενον σταυροῦσι, ...[80]

The anti-Jewish explanation regarding the events of the Crucifixion rings with unquestioned prejudice, accepted by medieval Byzantines. But in spite of the wicked intentions of the Jews, what mattered was Jesus' consent and willingness to the project of salvation passing through the Cross. The real innocence of Christ is contrasted with the cunning of the Jews and becomes the source of redemptive energy. On the contrary, the negative efforts of the Jews, who chose that kind of punishment in order to utterly annihilate the person of Jesus, are undone by the unveiling of their deceitfulness. The failure of such *damnatio memoriae* is self-evident from a Christian perspective.

Anti-Jewish feeling, often counteracting Judaizing tendencies within Christianity, found expression in connection with the Passion narratives.[81] Chrysostom's commentary on the Letter to the Galatians contains anti-Jewish controversy which, however, is not specifically connected to this verse.[82] A

---

[80]Transl. K27: Since the Jews absolutely hated and envied Christ, they were not satisfied simply with putting him to death in no matter what way of dying, but in the most shameful and cursed one, eager not only to do away with him from the living, but moreover to place upon him an evil and destructive fame. Thus arranging by false accusation to hand him over to the governor as if some great evil had been committed (by him), they crucified him, ...

[81] For example, in some apochryphal accounts, such as the Gospel of Peter: cf. J. K. ELLIOTT, *The Apochryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1993), p. 157. See also the illustration to the Messianic psalms in a recent interpretation by K. CORRIGAN, *Visual Polemics in the Ninth-Century Psalters* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 46-52. According to Corrigan, "the artists have taken great care to show the Jews as physically ugly, in order to demonstrate their wickedness" (p. 47). Yet at p. 169, n. 22, Corrigan remarks "I do not understand why the same facial type is used for the representation of Zaccheus in the tree...". One wonders whether the art historian is too eager to read into the features of a character a modern aesthetic judgement on ugliness. Blumenkranz's Biblical Index includes some Psalm verses, but makes no reference to Passion narratives in the Gospels: BLUMENKRANZ, *Les Auteurs chrétiens*, Appendix.

[82]S. ZINCONE, *Giovanni Crisostomo, Commento alla Lettera ai Galati: aspetti dottrinali storici letterari* (L'Aquila, 1980), pp. 98-103, presents the anti-judaizing features in Chrysostom; R. L. WILKEN, *John Chrysostom and the Jews* (Berkeley, 1983), p. 125, examines the polemic connected with the Crucifixion.

closer parallel to the train of thought expressed by the catechesis appears in Jerome's commentary on Galatians.[83]

Jerome's commentary provides the broader philosophical framework in which K27 can be inserted. On the one hand, the historical acceptance of the validity of capital punishment for convicts is set in the conflict between true and false guilt. Thus, punishment alone did not guarantee the guilt of the victim; his innocence was at stake independently of the punishment received.[84] Jerome, having quoted the text from Deuteronomy, concludes that, since God sees the truth behind actions, his curse could not really be upon Jesus, because of his innocence:

> non quicunque in ligno pependerit maledictus sit apud Deum, sed qui peccaverit, et propter scelus morti fuerit adjudicatus, sublatusque in crucem non ideo maledictus quia crucifixus est, sed quia in talem inciderit reatum ut meruerit crucifigi.[85]

On this argument is grafted the anti-Jewish polemic.

The controversy revolves around the omission of the mention of God in Deuteronomy, which is attributed either to a false reading, or to a vague rendering of the quotation by the Apostle. In other words, although "by God" was in the text, the Apostle considered its presence irrelevant to the proper sense of the phrase as referred to Jesus; the alternative explanation, presented as the most likely, was that the Jews subsequently falsified the reading of Deuteronomy, with the intent of slandering Jesus by conveying the impression that his crucifixion made him accursed by God:

> ... aut veteres Hebraeorum libros aliter habuisse, quam nunc habent : aut Apostolum (ut ante iam dixi) sensum Scripturam posuisse, non verba : aut quod magis est aestimandum, post passionem Christi, et in Hebreis et in nostris codicibus ab aliquo Dei nomen appositum, ut infamiam nobis inureret, qui in Christum maledictum a Deo credimus.[86]

---

[83]SABOURIN, *Rédemption sacrificielle*, p. 53.
[84]This difference interests Thomas Aquinas, who summarizes it as that between "malum culpae" and "malum poenae": SABOURIN, *Rédemption sacrificielle*, p. 76.
[85]JEROME, *Commentariorum in epistolas ad Galatas, libri tres*, PL 26, 307-438, col. 387C.
[86]JEROME, *ad Galatas*, 388C; Jerome substantiates this claim for an interpolation of the phrase "from God" in Deuteronomy by citing a number of other maledictions from the Old Testament, none of which includes such a phrase.

Jesus' *damnatio memoriae* was, in this commentary, understood as instigated by hatred for Christians, rather than hatred for Christ.

In both Jerome's commentary and the catechesis, the question of true *versus* falsely attributed guilt (in relation to the punishment of hanging from the cross) is addressed, with the effect of portraying the Jews as active players in cunning attempts at giving Jesus and his Christian followers as bad a reputation as possible, though in different ways.

Finally, Jerome's commentary on this verse concludes with the reversal of the misfortune of the Cross, necessary in counteracting the consequences of Adam's Tree:

> Ille pependit in ligno, ut peccatum quod commiseramus in ligno scientiae boni et mali, ligno deleret appensus. Crux eius amaras aquas vertit in dulcem saporem....[87]

A similar reversal focuses on the salvific power of the cross at the conclusion of K27:

> Νυνὶ δὲ ἑκόντα σταυρώσαντες ὅσον μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ νόμου διατάξεως ὑπὸ κατάραν ἐποίησαν καὶ γέγονε καὶ αὐτὸς κατάρα· καθ' ὁ ἑκὼν πέπονθε τὸ τοιοῦτον πάθος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ἐφ' ὅσον δὲ τὸ τῆς κατάρας ὄργανον τὸν σταυρὸν ὄργανον εὐλογίας ἀνέδειξε, φαίνεται ἡμᾶς ἐξαγοράσας ἐκ τῆς κατάρας.[88]

In the comparison between K's and Origen's treatment of the interpretation of the Samaritan's husbands, a relation between the two emerged, despite adaptations and simplifications. A similar case may be made for the catechesis on Galatians, since Jerome's commentary is considered dependant upon a lost commentary by Origen, though the relation between them is difficult to pinpoint in detail.[89] Thus, Origen's

---

[87]JEROME, *ad Galatas*, 389C.

[88]Transl. K27: But now (they are seen) to have crucified one who was willing, in so far as they put Him under a curse from the ordinances of the law and He became himself a curse; in so far as he willingly suffered such a passion for our sake; but to the extent that He revealed the instrument of the curse, the cross, as an instrument of blessing, it is clear that He redeemed us from that curse.

[89]M. A. SCHATKIN, 'The Influence of Origen upon St. Jerome's Commentary on Galatians', *Vigiliae Christianae* 24 (1970), 49-58, p. 54.

commentary, or a simplified version of it, may be present behind the catechesis' exposition of Galatians. This presence can be gleaned from Jerome's version which was itself an adaptation or shortened version of Origen's commentary. Unfortunately, even if the suggested comparison holds, the distortions entail the conclusion that only a pale reflection of Origen may have been recovered through the text of the catechesis.

The concluding focus of the catechesis remains on Christ and the Cross:

> Τί δὲ δοὺς ἡμᾶς ἠγόρασεν; Ἑαυτὸν μὲν πρῶτον ἀποθανῶν, εἶτα δὴ καὶ τὸ θεῖον αὐτοῦ αἷμα κενώσας. Κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὸ γράμμα τοῦ νόμου, κατάρα γέγονεν ὁ Χριστὸς ὡς τῶν κεκατηραμένων τὸν θάνατον ἀποθανῶν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν τῆς ἀναμαρτησίας δύναμιν μετέστρεφε τὴν κατάραν εἰς εὐλογίαν· ἁμαρτίαν γὰρ οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲ εὑρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ· μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν καὶ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἦρε τοῦ κόσμου καὶ νῦν· ἔνθα ὁ σταυρὸς ἐγχαράχθη, ἁγιάζει, εὐλογεῖ, φωτίζει, πάντα δίδωσι τὰ σωτηρία.[90]

Jesus' shedding His blood as a *pretium* for our ransom and His willing submission to death are emphasized by Ambrose.[91]

The importance of the cross as a source of salvation is presented as the climax of the reflection on the "curse" turned to good. This special emphasis on the cross might suggest the hypothesis that a lost source, on which K27 might depend, could be of iconoclast provenance.[92] However, a theology of the cross had already taken prominence with John Chrysostom's emphasis on its sanctifying and enlightening power.[93] Homilies are delivered on its

---

[90]Transl. K27: What did he give to redeem us? First himself, in death; then also, he emptied out his divine blood. According to the letter of the Law, Christ became a curse dying the death of those who were accursed, but thanks to the power of innocence he reversed the curse into a blessing, *for he committed no sin, nor was any guile found on his mouth* (1 Pet. 2, 22). More than this, he took away the sin of the world; even now, where the cross has been engraved, it makes holy, it blesses, it enlightens, it furnishes all that is salvific.

[91]SABOURIN, *Rédemption sacrificielle*, p. 51.

[92]J. MOORHEAD, 'Iconoclasm, the Cross and the Imperial Image', *Byzantion* 55 (1985), 165-79, at p. 176, argues for the positive importance of the Cross as a symbol of the iconoclast Emperors.

[93]P. STOCKMEIER, *Theologie und Kult des Kreuzes bei Johannes Chrysostomus* (Trier, 1966), pp. 42-43, 84-85.

Exaltation, as, for example, the pseudo-Chrysostomic text, *In venerabilem crucem sermo*,[94] and the litany in praise of the cross in a sermon by Ephrem Graecus.[95] The liturgical occasion of the adoration of the Cross produces other homilies which, whatever their real contents, advertise themselves by the name of *Oratio in exaltationem crucis*.[96] Therefore, enthusiasm for the cross cannot, in itself, be taken as the sign of an iconoclastic milieu.

I. vi) Doctrinal background.

The opening paragraph of K2 appears to hint strongly at a previous source, considering that the interest of K in Christological or doctrinal issues is very limited. Leroy had already noticed that the second catechesis presents itself as a continuation of the first, but this element is not necessarily a sign of continuous borrowing. K1-2 treat the episode of doubting Thomas both on the feast of Antipascha and on the following day.

The structure of the first paragraph is more complex in syntax than is usual in K texts. The main verb appears only after thirteen lines, in a strikingly long anaphora which must have made reading aloud difficult. Moreover, the first person singular (rather than plural) is unusually employed in this passage:

> ὁ πάντοτε ἐννοῶν πῶς Θεὸς ὢν ἄϋλος, ἄχρονος, ἀκατάληπτος, ἀόρατος, ἀχώρητος, ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ, *διὰ σπλάγχα ἐλέους* αὐτοῦ, κατηξίωσε τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ πανάμωμον μῆτραν[97] τῆς ἀειπαρθένου Θεοτόκου οἰκῆσαι, πατρικῇ εὐδοκίᾳ καὶ τῇ τοῦ θείου πνεύματος συνεργίᾳ, χωρηθῆναί τε ἐν αὐτῇ, εἶτα δὴ καὶ γεννηθῆναι μετὰ τοῦ ἐμοῦ φυράματος[98] τῆς σαρκός, καὶ ἄνθρωπος ὁραθῆναι τέλειος, καὶ ἀρχῇ καὶ χρόνῳ ὑποπεσεῖν, καὶ τοσοῦτον γενέσθαι καταληπτὸς ὡς καὶ χερσὶ κρατεῖσθαι, καὶ πάντα

---

[94]CPG 4525, PG 50, 815-820.
[95]PSEUTONKAS, *Περὶ σταυροῦ καὶ πάθους τοῦ Κυρίου ὁμιλίαι*, pp. 206-08 (from cod. Venice, *Marcianus gr.* App. II. 78, fols. 178-190v).
[96]For example, CPG 4927, K.-H. UTHEMANN, R. F. REGTUIT & J. M. TEVEL, eds., *Homiliae Pseudo-Chrysostomicae* I (Turnhout, 1994), no. XV, pp. 80-83.
[97]τῆς ἀειπαρθένου Θεοτόκου....πράξεων, εἴτε καλῶς] lacuna in M
[98]A rare word, which, however, has not led to a source.

τὰ τῆς ἐμῆς φύσεως ἐνεργῆσαι χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας, τὰ ἔσχατά τε παθεῖν ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἐπονείδιστα, καὶ σταυρωθῆναι καὶ ἀποθανεῖν, ὁ ταῦτα διηνεκῶς μελετῶν, ὁ τούτοις ἀεὶ ἐντρυφῶν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δοξάζων καὶ ἐκθαμβούμενος τὴν ὑπεράπειρον τῆς ἀγαθότητος αὐτοῦ εὐσπλαγχνίαν τε καὶ συγκατάβασιν, καὶ ἑαυτὸν ταπεινῶν, οὗτος πάντοτε ψηλαφᾷ τὸν Χριστὸν κατὰ τὸν θεῖον ἀπόστολον Θωμᾶν, καὶ οὐδέποτε τῆς ἐκείνου θέας καὶ γνώσεως χωρίζεται, καὶ μακάριος οὗτος ἐμοὶ τῆς μελέτης καὶ τῆς ἑτοιμασίας.[99]

Although this passage is very distinctive, there appears to be no known direct source.[100]

Nevertheless, the use of the Thomas episode as a proof of Christ's humanity was not uncommon. The first paragraph of K2 is strongly reminiscent of the christological use of the Thomas episode, explicitly dwelling on the wonder of Christ's bodiliness which is ultimately testified by Thomas' touching.[101]

We may compare the opening of K2 with a long passage confessing the double nature of Christ at K29. The words of this catechesis are recognizably modelled on the Creed, thus echoing familiar liturgical language:

> Δι' αὐτῶν γὰρ μαθησόμεθα, πῶς δεῖ πιστεύειν καὶ τίς ἡ πίστις ἡμῶν· ὅτι Πατὴρ καὶ Υἱὸς καὶ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα· τρία

---

[99]Transl. K2: he who constantly contemplates how God being incorporeal, atemporal, ungraspable, invisible, immovable, the Son and Word of God, *from the depth of his pity* (Lk. 1, 78) condescended to inhabit the holy and all-blessed womb of the Virgin Mary, by consent of the Father and collaboration of the Holy Spirit, and to be enclosed in her, and then to be born with my admixture of flesh, and to be seen as a perfect man; and to be subject to both beginning and time, and to become to such a point graspable that he could be even held by hands, and to act in all things according to my nature except for sin, and to suffer the most extreme and shameful things, to be crucified and to die; he who studies these things incessantly, he who always takes delight in them, and through this gives glory and wonders at the immense condescension and tolerance of his goodness, and humbles himself, this (man) really touches Christ, like the divine apostle Thomas, and is never at any time separated from the vision and the knowledge of Him, and this man is blessed, in my opinion, (because) of (his) meditation and readiness.

[100]TLG has not yielded any source; I searched Maximos Confessor through the Scriptural Concordance by A. RIOU, 'Index Scripturaire des œuvres de S. Maxime le Confesseur', in F. HEINZER & C. SCHÖNBORN, eds., *Maximus Confessor*, Actes du Symposium sur Maxime le Confesseur, Fribourg, 2-5 Septembre 1980 (Fribourg, 1982), pp. 405-21, without success; Diadochos of Photike has not yielded a source either.

[101]Thomas' touching emphasized Christ's bodiliness, and his exclamation to him as both 'Lord and God' pointed to the two natures: cf. John Chrysostom, *In illud: Simile est regnum caelorum patri familias* 59.584.33 and *Contra hereticos et in Sanctam Deiparam* 59.712.25 & 29 for the former; John Damascene, *Contra Nestorianos* 42.118 for the latter (from TLG).

πρόσωπα αὐθυπόστατα· ἀΐδια·[102] ἄναρχα· συνάναρχα· ἄκτιστα· μίαν ἔχοντα τὴν θεότητα· τὴν οὐσίαν· τὴν δύναμιν· τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν· καὶ ὅτι ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ· εὐδοκίᾳ τοῦ Πατρός· καὶ συνεργίᾳ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεῦματος· *διὰ σπλάγχνα ἐλέους* αὐτοῦ· μὴ κενώσας τὸν κόλπον τὸν πατρικόν, κατῆλθε καὶ ᾤκησε τὴν καθαρωτάτην μήτραν τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ὑπεράγνου καὶ ὑπεραμώμου δεσποίνης ἡμῶν τῆς Θεοτόκου.

Καὶ ἐτέχθη ἐξ αὐτῆς ἄνθρωπος τέλειος· μὴ ἀποβαλλόμενος τὸ εἶναι θεός, ἀλλὰ προσλαβὼν καὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον· καὶ γενόμενος εἷς ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων, Χριστός· ὅπέρ ἐστι θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος, ὡς αὐτὸς οἶδέ τε καὶ εὐδόκησεν· εἷς μέν, κατὰ τὴν ὑπόστασιν· διπλοῦς δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἐνεργείας καὶ τὰ θελήματα· μήτε συγχέας[103] τὰς φύσεις, μήτε διαιρήσας· ἀλλ᾽ ἀσυγχύτους φυλάξας· καὶ[104] ἀδιαιρέτους τε καὶ ἀτρέπτους· καὶ πεινῶν μὲν[105] καὶ διψῶν καὶ ποιῶν ἢ πάσχων πάντα τὰ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης οὐσίας φυσικά τε καὶ ἀδιάβλητα ἰδιώματα, ἔδειξεν ἑαυτὸν τέλειον ἄνθρωπον· νεκροὺς δὲ ἀνιστῶν· καὶ τυφλοὺς ὀμματῶν· καὶ δαίμονας ἐλαύνων· καὶ μεταμορφούμενος· καὶ ἀνιστάμενος, ἔδειξεν ἑαυτὸν καὶ τέλειον θεόν· καὶ ὅτι αὐτὸς οὗτος ὁ σαρκωθεὶς καὶ γεγονὼς καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς καὶ σταυρωθείς, μετὰ τὸ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστῆναι, ἀνελήφθη πάλιν εἰς οὐρανοὺς ὅθεν καὶ καθῆλθε· καὶ *ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θρόνου τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐν ὑψηλοῖς*[106], καθὼς ὁ θεῖος φησὶν ἀπόστολος· καὶ ὅτι ἐλεύσεται πάλιν *κρίναι ζῶντας*[107] *τὲ*[108] *καὶ νεκρούς*.[109]

---

[102] ἀΐδια, om. M

[103] συγχέας sic codd.

[104] καὶ erased in A

[105] μὲν om. A

[106] ὑψηλοῖς 33 vg^{mss}; Eus (NTG variants)] οὐρανοῖς NTG

[107] κρίναι ζῶντας NTG, ℵ A C^2 P 𝔐 (NTG variants)

[108] τὲ om. A

[109] Transl. K29: [Let us attend to the divine Scriptures learnedly, and not cursorily], because through them we will learn how one ought to believe and what our faith is. Namely, that the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit are three self-subsistent persons, without beginning, all simultaneously without beginning, uncreated, having one divinity, being, power, will and authority, and that the Son and the Word of the Father, with the good will of the Father, and the co-operation of the Holy Spirit, *through the compassion of his mercy* (cf. Lk. 1, 78), although he did not empty the fatherly bosom, came down and inhabited the most purified womb of the holy and most immaculate and supremely pure, our Lady the Theotokos. And He was born from her a perfect man, without casting off His divine being, but adding also the human, and becoming one from both, Christ, who is God and man, in a way thus He Himself understood, and approved; one, according to the hypostasis; but two, according to the activities and wills, neither mixing nor dividing the natures, but having kept them unmixed and undivided and unchangeable. And in being hungry and thirsty, and doing and suffering all the material and sinless characteristics of being human, He

Another formulaic expression of Orthodoxy is given on the occasion of the Feast of the Fathers of Nicaea at K36:

καὶ πάλιν ὑμῖν ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμέρας διαλεξόμεθα· σήμερον γὰρ ἠγωνίσαντο οἱ θεῖοι καὶ πανσέβαστοι πατέρες ἡμῶν, τὰ κατοικητήρια ὄντως τοῦ ἁγαθοῦ Πνεύματος· οἱ στύλοι τῆς πίστεως, ἐν τῇ κατὰ Νίκαιαν συνόδῳ αὐτῶν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μονογενοῦς Υἱοῦ καὶ Λόγου του Θεοῦ· τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμων λέγω[110] Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἐστεφανώθησαν.

Ἔλεγε γὰρ ὁ ἄθλιος Ἄρειος· ὅτι κτίσμά ἐστιν ὁ Υἱός, καὶ οὐχὶ κτίστης· καὶ χρόνῳ ὑποκείμενος, καὶ οὐκ ἄχρονος, οὐδὲ ἄναρχος· ταῦτα δέ, οὐχ ἁπλῶς ἔλεγεν ὁ μάταιος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐφιλονείκει καὶ διενίστατο, οὕτως καὶ οὐκ ἄλλως ἔχειν· τούτῳ δὲ ἑπόμενος καὶ ὁ τρισκατάρατος Νεστόριος, οὐ κατεδέχετο τὴν ἁγίαν Θεοτόκον ὀνομάζειν Θεοτόκον, ἀλλὰ Χριστοτόκον· ὢ τῆς ἀτοπίας· ὅτι φησίν, οὐ Θεόν, ἀλλ᾽ ἄνθρωπον τέτοκε ψιλόν· χάριτι θεωθέντα, καὶ οὐ φύσει ὄντα Θεόν.

Ἀλλὰ τούτους[111] οἱ θεῖοι ἡμῶν πατέρες συνελθόντες ἐν Νικαίᾳ ὡς εἴπομεν ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου, ἔπεισάν τε καὶ κατῄσχυναν καὶ ἀναθέματι ὑπέβαλον, ὡς ἀλλοτρίους τῆς ὀρθοδόξου ἡμῶν καὶ ἀμωμήτου πίστεως· ἄγξαντες αὐτοὺς πανταχόθεν τοῖς τοῦ παναγίου Πνεύματος λόγοις καὶ δόγμασιν· οἷς ἔν τε προφήταις ἐνέπνευσε καὶ τοῖς αὐτόπταις τοῦ Λόγου καὶ ὑπηρέταις τοῖς ἀποστόλοις· καὶ τὴν πίστιν ἡμῶν ἐκράτυναν, ἐκθέμενοι τὸ θεῖον ὄντως καὶ ἅγιον τοῦτο σύμβολον· ὃ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν πάντες οἱ χριστιανοὶ καὶ ὀρθόδοξοι ἐπὶ στόματος ἔχοντες, πᾶσιν ἀπίστοις βεβαιοῦμεν· ὡς Χριστοῦ ἐσμὲν λαὸς περιούσιος· αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύοντες καὶ αὐτῷ προσκυνοῦντες· καὶ τοῦτον μόνον, ἐν Πατρὶ καὶ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι Θεὸν ἔχομέν τε καὶ ὀνομάζομεν· ἄχρονον αὐτὸν εἰδότες, ὡς χρόνων ποιητήν· προάναρχον πάσης τῆς κτίσεως· ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀρρεύστως

---

showed Himself perfect man; but by resurrecting the dead, giving eyes to the blind, and casting off demons, and undergoing the Transfiguration and rising, He showed Himself also perfect God. And (we believe) that He is the One who became incarnate according to our nature and was crucified. After His Resurrection from the dead, He ascended again to the heavens whence He had come down, and *is seated at the right hand of the throne of majesty in the heights* (Heb. 8, 1b), according to the divine Apostle, and that He will come again *to judge the living and the dead* (1 Pet. 4, 5b).

[110] λέγω A] om. M

[111] τούτοις M

γεγεννημένον, οὐ πεποιημένον· σαρκωθέντα τε[112] ἐπ' ἐσχάτων, ἐκ τῆς ἀχράντου παρθένου καὶ θεοτόκου· καὶ γενόμενον καθ' ἡμᾶς δι' ἡμᾶς, τέλειον ἄνθρωπον χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας· καὶ σταυρωθέντα καὶ ταφέντα καὶ ἀναστάντα· καὶ σὺν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ προσλήμματι ἀναληφθέντα εἰς οὐρανούς· καὶ καθεζόμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Πατρός· καὶ πάλιν προσδοκώμενον ἐλθεῖν καὶ κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς· καὶ οὐαὶ τότε τοῖς αὐτῷ προσκεκρουκόσιν· ἢ δι' ἀπιστίας· ἢ διὰ δυσσεβείας, ἢ διὰ ἁμαρτίας ἀμετανοήτου· πόσα γὰρ κακὰ τούτους λήψονται, πάντες οἴδατε· κἂν ἡμεῖς μὴ λέγωμεν.[113]

The condemnation of Arius which actually took place at the Council of Nicaea in 325 is placed side by side with the proclamation of the Theotokos title for Mary, a consequence of the later Christological controversies settled by the council of Ephesus in 431. The juxtaposition shows little concern for historical accuracy.

Textually, the formulation of the Creed is a mixture of that of Nicaea with the text known from Constantinople, as shown in particular by the

---

[112] τε καὶ add. A

[113] Transl. K36: we will talk for you once more about the day, since today our divine and all-venerable fathers, the real dwelling-places of the good Spirit, the pillars of faith, fought in their synod at Nicaea on behalf of the only-begotten Son and Word of God, I mean, our Lord Jesus Christ, and they were crowned.

For the wretched Arios said that the Son is a creature, and is in no way creator, and that He is subject to time, and is neither timeless, nor without beginning. But the foolish man did not just simply state these things, but he also argued contentiously and sought to establish them as being in this way, and in no other. The thrice-cursed Nestorius also, following him, did not accept that the holy Theotokos be called "Theotokos", but "Christotokos". What absurdity! Because, they said, she had not given birth to a god, but merely to a man, who was divinized by grace, but who was not by nature God.

But our holy fathers who convened at Nicaea, as we said, under the great and most devout Emperor Constantine, prevailed over these and put them to shame and submitted them to anathema, as alien to our orthodox and undefiled faith, compelling them from all sides with the words and precepts of the all-holy Spirit, with which (the same Spirit) had inspired the prophets and the witnesses of the Word and ministers, the apostles. And they established our faith by formulating this truly divine and holy Creed, which each day all we Christians and orthodox have on our lips and affirm to all the unbelievers: that we are the *chosen people* (Ex. 19. 5) of Christ, serving Him alone and adoring Him, and we hold Him only God, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, and call Him such, knowing that He is timeless, because He is the maker of time; He is before the beginning of all creation; He was begotten from the Father without change, He was not made; He became incarnate in the last times from the undefiled Virgin and Theotokos; and He was begotten among us for our sake, a perfect man without sin; and He was crucified and was buried and He rose again; and with the addition of our human nature (i.e. the body) He ascended to the heavens; and He is seated at the right hand of the Father; and He promised to come again to judge the living and the dead. And woe then to those who offend Him, either through faithlessness, or through impiety, or through unrepentant sinfulness. For you all know how many evils they will receive, even if we do not mention them.

phrases describing Christ's life (σταυρωθέντα καὶ ταφέντα καὶ ἀναστάντα) and by the reading ἐκ δεξιῶν in place of ἐκ δεξιᾷ found in the Constantinopolitan text, and more precisely in the eleventh-century manuscript of the Acts of Constantinople, Venice, *Marcianus gr.* 555.[114]

Despite a background of Origenist influences in the exegetical texts found in K, the doctrinal statements on the lines of the Creed clearly affirm the orthodoxy of the compilation, concerned to propagate the church's official position on doctrinal matters as stated by the Councils.

[114]G. L. DOSSETTI, ed., *Il simbolo di Nicea e di Costantinopoli* (Roma, 1967), p. 248.

PART II

EXHORTATIONS

II. i) Hortatory function.

The primary function of the catecheses is, as already mentioned, hortatory; but moral exhortation can be offered in various ways. Tropological exegesis is used for such a function. Exhortation to *mimesis* of saints, of biblical characters and, above all, of Christ,[115] are ways of indicating concrete *exempla* of virtue, at once explaining what is needed and offering a path for its achievement. *Mimesis* also entails the use of images and metaphors as models both for comprehension and imitation.

Pointed exhortation towards one particular virtue or theme are complemented by more general exhortations, in the form of lists of virtues (or vices) whose enumeration acts as a kind of reminder of conduct. By surveying examples of hortatory technique in the unidentified catecheses we may appreciate the breadth of topics approached by the compiler.

II. ii) A Biblical type for obedience: the Fall.

The Book of Genesis offers an account of sin and redemption in the history of the Fall which is paradigmatic for Christians. Regaining the blessedness of Paradise is presented as one of the goals of monastic life. Paradise is envisaged as a state of being which is not to be acquired *ex novo*, but which is to be recuperated as a return or homecoming. K13 expresses this state as a kind of primeval beauty that can be regained:

> ἀναλάβωμεν τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἡμῶν ὡραιότητα· γενώμεθα ὅπερ ἦμεν.

A metaphor of place is used elsewhere, making the return to Paradise a journey back to the Heavenly Jerusalem:

---

[115]Cf. part III, i, for the imitation of Christ.

...ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν ἡ ἄνω Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἀφ' ἧς οἴμοι διὰ παρακοῆς ἐξεπέσαμεν. Ἀνέλθωμεν δέ, ἐὰν θέλωμεν. (K10)

Willing the return to the paradisiacal state implies knowing the cause of its loss; wishing to reverse this undoing entails feeling the disadvantages of such a loss. Adam's sin (ἀνομία) is defined in terms of a lack of counsel or will (ἀβουλία) in an adaptation from Theodore's MC I, 3:

ὁ Θεὸς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ προπάτορος ἀβουλίαν, ἐν φθορᾷ καὶ ὀδύνῃ ἔταξε τὴν φύσιν ἡμῶν· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐξώρισεν αὐτὸν τοῦ παραδείσου, ἔφη αὐτῷ· *ἐν ἱδρώτι τοῦ προσώπου σου, φαγῇ τὸν ἄρτον σου.* Τοίνυν πάντας τοὺς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γενομένους, ἀκόλουθόν ἐστι πολύθλιπτον διεξάγειν τὸν βίον, καὶ ὑφίστασθαι καὶ χειμῶνος κρύος, καὶ θέρους θάλπος· λιμῷ τε καταπτυχωθῆναι, καὶ μυρίαις ἄλλαις ὀδύναις καὶ θλίψεσι καταδαπανηθῆναι·[116]

The consequences of the loss of Paradise are outlined in this passage in terms which are particularly close to the reality of the monastery. While toil and hardships are the common lot of men after the Fall, monastic life is often described precisely in terms of such arduous experiences.

Against such a background, Adam's relationship with God becomes a type of the relationship between a monk and his *higoumenos*. The core of Adam's sin is understood in terms of disobedience:

Καὶ γὰρ καὶ τῷ πρωτοπλάστῳ δοὺς ὁ Θεὸς τὴν ἐντολὴν οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ παραβῆναι δέδωκε καὶ ἐξωσθῆναι τοῦ παραδείσου, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ δεῖξαι τὸ δοκίμον τῆς πρὸς Θεὸν ἀγάπης καὶ στεφανωθῆναι· καὶ δοξασθῆναι περισσότερον· ἕως ὅτου τοίνυν ἐφύλαττε τὴν ἐντολήν, ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἦν καὶ γαλήνῃ καὶ πάσῃ καταστάσει πνευματικῇ· ἐδόκει γὰρ κατὰ ὠφέλειαν λαβεῖν ταύτην· ἡνίκα δὲ τὴν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ἐδέξατο συμβουλήν, καὶ τοῦ ὀρθροῦ παρετράπη σκοποῦ, οὐ κατεῖχε τοῦ δοκεῖν λέγω ὅτι κατὰ ὠφέλειαν ἔλαβε τὴν ἐντολὴν καθὼς αὐτῷ ὁ ἐχθρὸς ὑπέθετο, αὐτίκα εὑρέθη ἐν ταραχῇ καὶ

---

[116]Transl. K56: God, because of the lack of counsel of our forefather, has ordered our nature in difficulty and pain. For when He expelled him from Paradise, He said to him: "*With the sweat of your brow you will eat your bread*" (Gen. 3, 19). Therefore it is fitting that all the descendants from him should lead a life full of afflictions, and bear both the cold of winter and the heat of summer, and wear themselves out in the mud, and be consumed in a thousand other pains and afflictions, ...

ἀκαταστασίᾳ· ἐντεῦθεν παντελῶς σκοτισθείς, ὥρμησε καὶ πρὸς τὴν παντελῆ ταύτης ἀθέτησιν.[117]

The value of commandments (or rules) is explained as consisting in their probing or testing a man's character. In particular, the reaction elicited by a commandment is able to highlight deeply and definitively what value is placed upon a particular relationship. Thus, man manifests his love of God by obedience to Him. Such an attitude rests on the presupposition that God gives commandments not because of tyranny, but because of his love of man, His desire for man's salvation. Man's trust in God's ultimate good purpose cannot but manifest itself in obedience.

On the contrary, disobedience is the sign of an unloving attitude. Such tests of the fundamental attitude of man towards his creator are useful for man's self-awareness. Therefore, the consequences of man's behaviour with respect to the commandments are made tangible in psychological signs: peace of mind indicates a state of harmony, mutual trust and obedience, while distress exposes man's refusal of God's wish for his own blessedness.

But since God is continuously loving, He comes in search of man even after his disobedience:

Σκοπήσωμεν γοῦν τίς αἴτιος· τῆς ἐπισυμβάσης αὐτῷ λύπης καὶ ταραχῆς· οὐκ ἐκεῖνος, εἰ γὰρ ἐκράτει καθὼς αὐτῷ ὁ Θεὸς ἐνετείλατο, τίς αὐτοῦ μακαριώτερος· ἔστω γοῦν, ἔπεσεν ὡς ἐφρόνησεν· διὰ τί δὲ ὅτε ἦλθεν ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ἠρώτησεν αὐτὸν *ποῦ εἶ*· οὐκ ἐμέμψατο ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἔβαλε μετάνοιαν· ἀλλ᾽ αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἐμέμφετο τῷ Θεῷ λέγων· ὅτι *ἡ γυνὴ ἣν ἔδωκας μοι*; Βλέπετε ὅτι ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἐσμὲν αἴτιοι τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀκαταστασίας καὶ ταραχῆς· καὶ

---

[117]Transl. K270: For even God, when He gave to the first-fashioned man the command, did not give it in order for it to be transgressed and for the man to be ousted from Paradise, but so that he might receive a test of his love for God and that he might be crowned, and glorified in abundance. Thus, as long as the man kept the command, he was in peace and calm and in a spiritual state, since he thought that he had received this to his advantage. But when he accepted the counsel of the enemy and diverted from the right aim, he no longer held this opinion, I mean, that he had received the command to his advantage, according to how the enemy had instructed him, [and] he immediately found himself in upset and confusion. From these he was completely darkened, and he rushed headlong to its complete rejection.

παρακούοντες καὶ μηδὲ ἑαυτοῖς διὰ τὴν παρακοὴν μεμφόμενοι.[118]

The mechanism of the relationship is here at a second phase. While God's interest in man's redemption is unflinching, man's self-condemnation is redoubled by his failure to acknowledge his condition. God's question, *Where are you*?, is strangely factual and simple. Man's answer is perverse, apportioning blame to the woman given him by God.

The reconstruction of the biblical episode in the catechesis suceeds, by its omission of part of the narrative, in emphasizing the absurdity of man's response and capturing the essence of his fault. The aim of the exegesis is hortatory, rather than simply didactic, as the transposition of the attitude to the audience in the last phrase makes clear.

Having drawn two main lessons from the Genesis narrative, namely, the positive value of obedience and the necessity to accept responsibility for one's actions, the preaching resumes as an exhortation towards these values, abruptly transposed into the particular monastic setting:

Τοιγαροῦν ὑπακούωμεν τοῖς προεστῶσιν ἐν ἅπασιν· εἰ δὲ ὡς ἄνθρωποι ἐξ ἀμελείας ἢ ἀπροσεξίας παρασφαλῶμεν, τρέχωμεν εὐθὺς πρὸς τὴν μέμψιν· καὶ ἑαυτοὺς αἰτίους ποιῶμεν ὥσπερ ἐστὶν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ· ἐὰν γὰρ οὕτω ποιῶμεν, ἑαυτούς τε ἀνακαλεσόμεθα· καὶ <u>εἰς τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ἐπανέλθωμεν</u>, διὰ τῆς καθάρσεως τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ τῶν ἁγίων· [...][119]

---

[118]Transl. K270: Let us see then who was responsible for the affliction and upset that came upon him. Was he not himself responsible? For had he obeyed what God had commanded him, who would have been more blessed than he? Let it be then, that he fell in accordance with what he determined. But why, when God came and asked him: *"Where are you?"* (Gen. 3, 9), did he not blame himself, and accept repentance, but rather blamed God Himself by saying: *"It was the woman whom you gave me"* (Gen. 3, 12)? You see that we are ourselves responsible for our own confusion and upset, both by disobeying and by not blaming ourselves for the trespass.

[119]Transl. K270: Therefore let us obey the superiors in everything, and if, as human beings, we fail out of carelessness or lack of attention, let us run to blame ourselves and let us make ourselves responsible, as we truly are. For if we do this, we will restore ourselves. And let us <u>return to our natural state</u>, through the purification by the holy commands of Christ. [...]. Cf. also the exhortation at K359, particularly concerning the moment of death: "If something wicked has happened to us, let us cleanse ourselves with repentance. Since we are about to be asked back the pure image before we were made naked, let us cure the ulcers of the soul, I mean, before dying. For this is the nakedness and the loss of the body."

Silently, the shift is made between God and the *higoumenos*, between God's commandments and the orders of the superiors. The transposition is subtly handled. The *higoumenos*, preaching these very words, avoids self-glorification or self-affirmation; he need not explain the purpose of his own commands, since the purpose of God's commands has been explained through the biblical narrative. And the tone is not stern, but compassionate.

There is no pretence about depicting man in the ideal state, the monk as the ideal man. The monastery is not Paradise.[120] Rather, human weakness is clearly acknowledged, and the exhortation is not to obedience, but to repentance for disobedience, to acknowledgement of sins for their forgiveness. The expression "run to blame ourselves" is a clear reference to the practice of *exagoreusis*.

The catechesis advertises the benefits of the monastic practice of *exagoreusis*. Adam's relation to God was a type of the monk-*higoumenos* relation, a real dynamic of trust and weakness which is transposed from the biblical account to the monastic setting.[121] Unlike Adam, the monks benefit from a knowledge of this dynamic, and have at their disposal a way out of it. Moreover, they are instructed in their pursuit of the paradisiacal state to regain that likeness to God's image, which is the essence of their nature:

> Τί δέ ἐστι τὸ *κατὰ φύσιν*· τὸ *κατ' εἰκόνα* δηλονότι γενέσθαι *τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν* καθὼς ἐπλάσθημεν· καὶ γὰρ οὕτως πλασθεὶς ὁ ἄνθρωπος, <u>φύσει ἀγαθὸς γέγονε· φύσει ἥμερος· φύσει πρᾶος· φύσει ἐλεήμων· φύσει ἔχων πάντα τὰ καλά</u>· καθὼς καὶ ὁ Θεὸς οὕτινος καθ' ὁμοίωσιν γεγόναμεν· ἀλλὰ <u>δεξάμενοι τὴν συμβουλὴν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ γεγόναμεν ἐκ προαιρέσεως ἰδίας, πονηροί·</u>

---

[120]This comparison was made in the medieval West by William of Malmesbury, who described Thorney monastery as "the image of Paradise": cf. G. CONSTABLE, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 138. Such comparisons accompany the concept of *vita angelica* at the monasteries, another concept which is alien to K's depiction of monastic life (see below).

[121]A similar parallel between the relationship of love and obedience between spiritual father and son and the relationship between God and man is found in the writings of Dorotheos, cf. L. REGNAULT, 'Théologie de la vie monastique selon Barsanuphe et Dorothée (VI^{e} siècle)', in *Théologie de la vie monastique*, pp. 315-22, at 320.

ὀργίλοι· θυμώδεις· ἀνελεήμονες· ἄσπλαγχοι· πάντα τὰ κακὰ ἐπικτησάμενοι.
Τοιγαροῦν ὅταν διὰ τῆς φυλακῆς τῶν θείων ἐντολῶν ἀποβαλλώμεθα τὰς ἐπισάκτους κακίας· ἃς ἡ κακὴ προαίρεσις ἐπεισήνεγκε, τότε ἐπανερχόμεθα εἰς τὸ ἀγαθὸν ὅπερ εἴχομεν ἐκ φύσεως πρὸ τοῦ παραβῆναι·...[122]

It is remarkable that the natural state of creation is translated in this passage into a typically monastic list of virtues; by contrast, the disquiet brought about by the choice of evil, and the darkness and confusion of understanding, are unpacked through a monastic list of vices, consisting of very concrete behaviour. Didactically, these passages define the snares in the monks' existence, and act as a guide to that process of self-blaming, which finds absolution through conversion and confession to the *higoumenos*.

The particularly monastic, inward-looking focus of K is apparent in this exegesis of the Genesis passage, where Adam's disobedience is presented as the type of that breakdown in the relationship of love that is the basis for man's salvation, a relationship enacted between monks and *higoumenos* within the monastic setting. K270 is an important text in understanding the rôle of the *higoumenos* in the community, expressed through typological exegesis.[123]

II. iii) Old Testament models.

Several Biblical characters are held up as models to the eyes of the monks, most often as examples for imitation, occasionally as warnings by

[122]Transl. K270: But what is this "natural state"? Clearly, it is to become *in the image and likeness of God* (Gen. 1, 27), as we were created. For man was created thus, to be by nature good, by nature gentle, by nature meek, by nature merciful, by nature to have all that is good, just as God, whose likeness we took. But when we accepted the counsel of the enemy we became by our choice evil, angry, aggressive, without mercy, insensitive, having received all that is evil. Therefore, whenever, by respecting the divine commandments, we reject the imported evils, which our evil choice introduced, then we return to that good which we had by nature before the transgression. ...

[123]Obedience to the abbot was a characteristic of Benedictine monasticism. The abbot was, in his function, the representative of Christ, while the monk was enacting through obedience his Christ-likeness: cf. the study by A. DE VOGÜÉ, *La Communauté et l'abbé dans la Règle de saint Benoît* (Paris, 1960), esp. pp. 266-75.

contrast. Such characters become emblematic of the concepts they represent, so that, rhetorically, the choice of the appropriate figure may often be no more than a selection from the fixed stock available. Thus, *exempla* are useful elements in the construction of a sermon.

The figure most often mentioned is that of David. As traditional author of the Psalms, a special type of imitation is proposed in his case, that of his words. The monks are encouraged, time and again, to place in their mouths David's words, to speak to the Lord with David's voice, that is, to pray with the words of the Psalms. For example, the attitude of patient endurance preached at K14 may be expressed with David:

> Σπεύσωμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς μετὰ τοῦ θαυμασίου Δαυὶδ ἀνειπεῖν *ὑπομένων ὑπέμεινα τὸν Κύριον*, καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτίκα πρόσχῃ ἡμῖν, καὶ τῆς δεήσεως ἡμῶν εἰσακούσεται, καὶ *ἐκ λάκκου ἡμᾶς ἀνάξει ταλαιπωρίας, καὶ ἀπὸ πηλοῦ τῆς τῶν παθῶν ἰλύος, καὶ στήσει ἐπὶ πέτραν τοὺς πόδας ἡμῶν* τὴν στερρότητα, λέγω τῆς πίστεως, *καὶ κατευθυνεῖ τὰ διαβήματα ἡμῶν*, καὶ τῆς ἴσης τοῖς ἁγίοις μεταδώσει μισθαποδωρίας.[124]

David's words suggest the right attitude when combined with other Gospel images at K21:

> ...μηδὲ ποιήσωμεν ἡμᾶς ἑαυτοὺς *οἰκητήρια λῃστῶν, ναοὺς ὄντας Θεοῦ*, ἀλλὰ καθαροὺς παραστήσωμεν τῷ Κυρίῳ, ὡς θαρρούντως λέγειν μετὰ τοῦ Δαυίδ· *ἑτοίμη ἡ καρδία μου*, καὶ ζῆν μακαρίαν ζωὴν καὶ πρὸ τῆς μελλούσης ζωῆς.[125]

At K37, there is an interplay between the words of the psalm and the images chosen to describe the battle against temptation:

> Ἀλλὰ διώκωμεν τοὺς ἐμπύρους λογισμούς· καὶ διακόπτωμεν τὴν ἀλμυρὰν θάλασσαν τῆς ἁμαρτίας· ὡς ἂν

---

[124]Transl. K14: Let us be eager to say with the wondrous David: *"I waited in patience for the Lord"* (Ps. 39(40), 1), and He himself will immediately bring succour to us, and will hear our supplication, and *will free us from the snare of misery, and from the miry clay of the passions, and will set our feet upon a rock*, I mean, the stronghold of faith, *and will lead our steps* (Ps. 39(40), 2), and will give us the same recompense as the saints.

[125]Transl. K21: ... let us not make of ourselves *a den of robbers* (σπηλαύοιν λῃστῶν: Mt. 21, 13 (=Jer. 7, 11); Mk. 11, 17; Lk. 19, 46), since we are *the temple of God* (2 Cor. 6, 16: ἡμεῖς γὰρ ναὸς Θεοῦ ἐσμὲν), but let us present ourselves to the Lord pure, and courageously say with David: *"My heart is ready"* (Ps. 56(57), 7), to live the blessed life even before the life to come.

καὶ ἡμεῖς μετὰ τοῦ Δαυὶδ εἴπωμεν· διήλθομεν διὰ πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος, καὶ ἐξήγαγες ἡμᾶς εἰς ἀναψυχήν·[126]

David's contrition is presented as a model for repentance, again using the words of the Psalms at K43:

οὐχ ὁρᾶτε τὸν θεοπάτορα Δαυὶδ πῶς ἁμαρτήσας καὶ ἐγκαταλειφθῆναι ὑπολαβών, ἀνακαλεῖται αὖθις αὐτὸ<ν>[127] διὰ τῆς μετανοίας, εὐχόμενος καὶ λέγων· καρδίαν καθαρὰν κτίσον ἐν ἐμοί ὁ θεός· καὶ πνεῦμα εὐθὲς ἐγκαίνισον ἐν τοῖς ἐγκάτοις μου· καί· μὴ ἀπορρίψῃς με ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου σου· καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα σου τὸ ἅγιον μὴ ἀνταναίλῃς ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ· ἀπόδος μοι τὴν ἀγαλλίασιν τοῦ σωτηρίου σου καὶ πνεύματι ἡγεμονικῷ στήριξόν με.[128]

In the same catechesis, a verse of the Psalms is moralized via the interpretation of a key word which is, in itself, not obscure. David's words are cited as an instance of prayer from a sinner who seeks reconciliation to God:

ὥσπερ καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ φησίν· τὸ πνεῦμα σου τὸ ἀγαθὸν ὁδηγήσαι με ἐν γῇ εὐθείᾳ· ὅτι ἄν τις λογίσαιτο εἶναι· τίς ἡ εὐθὴς αὕτη γῆ ἐφ᾽ ἣν ὁ προφήτης ὁδηγηθῆναι ζητεῖ; ἆρα γε τό, γῇ ἀνθ᾽ ὁδοῦ τέθεικεν εὐθείας· τῆς τῶν ἀρετῶν δηλονότι· ἢ γῆν εὐθείαν, τὴν τῶν πραέων φησιν.[129]

Presumably, the choice of words contested here is not that of David, but that of the Greek translator of the Septuagint, whose vocabulary can therefore be adjusted to the meaning required of the passage. The alternatives given narrow down the poetic vagueness of the Psalm to yield a sense applicable to the monastic vocation.

---

[126]Transl. K37: But let us persecute the burning temptations, and let us cut off the bitter sea of sin, so that we too may say with David: *we have passed through fire and water, you have led us out to a respite* (Ps. 65 (66), 12).

[127]αὐτὸ M, A

[128]Transl. K43: Do you not see how David, the ancestor of God, after he had sinned and had accepted to be left behind, called him again through repentance, praying and saying: *"A pure heart create for me, o God, renew a steadfast spirit within my depths and do not cast me away from your presence, and do not take your holy spirit away from me; assign to me the happiness of your salvation and set me aright with your guiding spirit."* (Ps. 50 (51), 12-14)

[129]Transl. K43: As he also spoke elsewhere: *let your good spirit lead me in a level land* (Ps. 142 (143), 10b). One may reflect what it is, this level land towards which the prophet seeks to be led. Surely he has put "land" in place of level "way", that is, that of the virtues; or by a level land, he means that of the meek.

David's life-story is repeated in bare outline at K52 (in this part, reworking PC93), showing that repentance is the special trait to imitate in David:

> περὶ δὲ τῶν ἔρωτι σαρκὸς δελεασθέντων καὶ αὖθις ἀνακληθέντων, τίς ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι ὅποσοί τε καὶ ἡλίκοι; αὐτίκα οὖν ὁ θεῖος Δαυὶδ μετὰ τὴν μοιχείαν καὶ τὸν φόνον τὸ τῆς προφητείας πάλιν εἰληφὼς φαίνεται χάρισμα διὰ τῆς μετανοίας καὶ τῆς ἁγιωσύνης μὴ ἐκπεσών·[130]

David is associated in this exhortation to repentance with another Old Testament figure, that of Manasses, who is mentioned together with his famous Ode which, like the Psalms, suggests to the monks the words in which to formulate their prayer:

> καὶ γὰρ ὁ Μανασσῆς πεντήκοντα δύο ἔτη εἰδωλολατρῶν καὶ τὸν Ἰσραηλιτικὸν λαὸν ἅπαντα μετ' αὐτοῦ προσκυνεῖν τοῖς εἰδώλοις ἀναπείσας, ἐπεὶ ὁλοψύχως ὕστερον μετενόησεν, οὐ μόνον σέσωται, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐχὴν ηὔξατο τῷ Θεῷ θαυμασίαν ἣν ἕως τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας ἅπας χριστιανὸς εἰς ἐξίλασμα προφέρει τῶν οἰκείων ἁμαρτημάτων.[131]

The various phases of Abraham's life are outlined in order to encourage the monks to bear trials and testing, at K49:

> ἀκούσατε τῆς γραφῆς λεγούσης· ὁ Θεὸς ἐπείραζε τὸν Ἀβραάμ· οὐκ εἶπεν ἐπείρασεν, ἀλλ' ἐπείραζε, τουτέστι χρόνους πολλοὺς καὶ ἐν πλείοσι καὶ διαφόροις πειρατηρίοις· τί γὰρ ὅταν ἤκουσεν ἔξελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου, καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου· μικρὸν εἶχε τὸν πειρασμόν· ὅταν δὲ ὁ ἀδελφιδοὺς αὐτοῦ Λῶτ διηνέχθη αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς

---

[130]Transl. K52: And concerning those who sinned in carnal love, yet were called back again, who could say how many and how great [these are]. For example, the divine David seems to have regained the gift of prophecy after adultery and murder, through repentance, and he did not fall short of sanctification (cf. 2 Sam. 11, 1-27).

[131]Transl. K52: For even Manasses, who had been an idol-worshipper for fifty-two years, and had persuaded all the people of Israel to bow with him to the idols, when he repented wholeheartedly, not only was he saved, but he even composed such an amazing prayer to God, that to this day every Christian offers it in reparation for his own sins (cf. 2 Chr. 33, 1-20).
The biblical account does not give the figure of 52 years, but rather the total of 55 years of reign; it does not include a text of the prayer, but says that it had been recorded elsewhere: cf. *Dictionnaire de la Bible* (1928), I, cols. 442-44.

κατοικήσεως τῆς κρείττονος γῆς, καὶ ὅτε τὴν αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα τὴν Σάρραν ὁ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀφείλετο βασιλεύς, μικρὸς ἦν ὁ πειρασμός; ὅταν δὲ τὸν Λὼτ καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ οἱ πολέμιοι αἰχμαλωτεύσαντες ἀπῆλθον; τί καὶ τί πολλὰ λέγω, ὅταν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ποθούμενον, εἰς θυσίαν ἐκελεύσθη ἀνενεγκεῖν, ποίας τοῦτο γνώμης καὶ στερρότητος ἦν; ἐπειράσθη καὶ Ἰὼβ καὶ Ἰακὼβ καὶ Ἰωσήφ· ... ἂν οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνοις καὶ στεφάνων καὶ δόξης καὶ βασιλείαις ἐπιτυχεῖν ὀρεγώμεθα, ὑπομένωμεν καὶ τοὺς πειρασμούς, δοκιμασθῶμεν, δείξωμεν πόσον ἡμῶν τὸ πρὸς τὸν Κύριον φίλτρον.[132]

In this passage, no special weight is given to any of Abraham's experiences; rather, it is their cumulative impact, their persistence, their frequency, which is emphasized, beginning with the grammatical point of the tense of the verb used in the narrative, an imperfect continuous rather than an aorist form. Abraham's attitude throughout his trials emerges as a fitting model for the monks' lives.[133]

A passage inserted at K25 into PC30 furnishes us with instances of exhortation by contrast. The contrary models are embodied by the Israelites' unwise behaviour during the exodus from Egypt and by Lot's wife. The concern for keeping the monks attentive to their vocation and detached from the world they had come from, yet formally renounced in their tonsuring, leads the preacher to stress the necessity of a substantial, rather than nominal, detachment from the past, the rescinding of family ties. The

---

[132]Transl. K49: You hear the Holy Scripture saying: *"God was testing Abraham"* (Gen. 22, 1). It does not say "tested", but *"was testing"*, meaning on many occasions, and with many different tribulations. Was it a small test, when he heard *"Go from your country and your kindred"*(Gen. 12, 1)? And when his nephew Lot was separated from him over the possession of a richer land (Gen. 13, 1-13); and when his wife Sarah was abducted by the king of the Egyptians (Gen. 12, 10-20); was this a small trial? And what about when the enemy captured and made off with Lot and those with him? But why do I mention many things, when he was commanded to offer in sacrifice his only son, and therefore his beloved one, of what great wisdom and firmness was he capable? And also Job and Jacob and Joseph were tested. [...] If then we too desire to obtain the same crowns and glory and kingship as they had, let us also bear the trials, let us be examined, let us show how great is our love for the Lord.

[133]Cf. J. LECLERCQ, 'Le monachisme du haut Moyen Âge', in *Théologie de la vie monastique*, pp. 437-45, at p. 438, for Abraham as symbol of exile and *peregrinatio*.

evil of turning back to the world is therefore stigmatized with biblical references:

> Ὁ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου γὰρ μελετῶν διηνεκῶς, καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ ἡδέων ὀρεγόμενος, οὗτος ἐστράφη εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω· εἰ καὶ μὴ σωματικῶς, ἀλλὰ νοερῶς· ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ Ἰσραηλίται ἐξερχόμενοι ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, οὐκ ἐν αὐτῇ ὑπέστρεψαν· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ κατὰ διάνοιαν ἐπεθύμησαν τῶν ἐν ἐκείνῃ κρεῶν, κατεστρώθησαν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ· καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐθεάσατο τὴν γῆν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας· ὅτι τὸ μάννα ὅπερ αὐτοῖς ὁ Θεὸς καθημέραν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἀπέστελλεν ἀθετήσαντες, τῶν μιαρῶν ἐκείνων κρεῶν τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐπεθύμουν. ... καὶ ἡ τοῦ Λὼτ δὲ γυνά, οὐ στήλη ἀπεπάγη ἁλὸς εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω στραφεῖσα ἐν τῷ ἀνέρχεσθαι μετὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὰς αὐτῆς εἰς τὸ ὄρος; Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὸ παράδειγμα, πρὸς ὃ παρομοιούμεθα οἱ ὀπίσω στρεφόμενοι ἀρκετὸν ἡγοῦμαι εἰς ἔντρεψιν καὶ αἰσχύνην· μὴ ὅτι γε προδοκᾶν καὶ κολάσεις· ποῖον δὲ τοῦτο; Τοὺς κύνας βλέπομεν πολλάκις ἐμοῦντας καὶ πάλιν ἀναλεγομένους τὰ ἐμεθέντα ἐκείνοις ἡμᾶς παρεικάζει ἡ θεία γραφὴ φασκοῦσα· *ἐοικέναι κυνὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἴδιον ἐμέτον στρεφομένῳ*·[134]

The use of Egypt as a metaphor for an attractive, but unholy, reality is widespread in monastic literature, where the journey from Egypt becomes the symbol of a passage from sin to virtue, as in a saying by Evagrius: "Pasch of the Lord: passing over from evil".[135] The comparison with Egypt is found in conjunction with a similar exhortation to detachment in Cassian, Conference Three:

> [...] we must hurry to rise above parents, homeland, the riches and pleasures of the world. Our hearts must leave them all, and we must never turn back in longing for what we have left behind. We must not

---

[134]Transl. K25: For he who cares continuously for the things of the world and desires their sweetness has turned backwards, if not in body, at least in mind. Similarly, the Israelites who came out of Egypt did not turn back to it, but since by intention they desired the meats of Egypt, they were laid low in the desert, and no one among them saw the promised land, because they desired those foul meats of Egypt, refusing the manna that God sent down from heaven for them day by day (Ex. 16). ... And also the wife of Lot, turning her head backwards as she was going up with her husband to the mountain, was she not fixed as a pillar of salt (Gen. 19, 26)? And I believe that this is a sufficient example to which we who turn back can be compared for disgrace and shame, not to speak also of the expectation of punishments. And what (is this example)? We see dogs vomiting and then gathering up again what they have vomited. The Sacred Scriptures compare us to them, when they say: (they) resemble *a dog who returns to his vomit* (*such is a fool who reverts to his folly*: Prov. 26, 11).

[135]Evagrios, *Ad monachos*, no. 40a, J. DRISCOLL, ed., *The 'Ad Monachos' of Evagrius Ponticus* (Rome, 1991), p. 52, with Engl. transl.

> be like those who were led out by Moses, who could not go physically back to Egypt but are said to have returned there in their hearts.[136]

The fate of Lot's wife, who was turned into a pillar of salt, is found in other monastic literature, for example in Neilos of Ankyra:

> Οὕτως καὶ ὁ ἠγαπηκὼς τὸν κύριον ἑαυτοῦ δοῦλος καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, καὶ τὰ παιδία, τὴν ἀληθῆ παραιτούμενος ἐλευθερίαν, διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὰ σωματικὰ συγγένειαν, δοῦλος αἰώνιος γίνεται, μετατρηθεὶς ὀπιτίῳ τὸ οὖς, ἵνα μὴ τῇ φυσικῇ τῆς ἀκοῆς ἀκούων ὀπῇ, δέξηταί ποτε λόγον ἐλευθερίας· ἀλλὰ δοῦλος μένει διηνεκῶς τὰ παρόντα ἠγαπηκώς. [...] Οὐδὲν οὖν ὄφελος τὸ ἀποτάξαι τοῖς πράγμασι μὴ ἐπιμένοντας κρίσει, ἀλλ᾽ ὑποσύρεσθαι πάλιν, καὶ ὑπενδοῦναι τῷ λογισμῷ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο συνεχῶς ἐπὶ τὰ καταλειφθέντα στρέφεσθαι, καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἐκεῖνα κηρύσσειν προσπάθειαν, ὡς ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ Λώτ· ὑποστραφεῖσα γάρ, ἕστηκεν ἕως νῦν, ὑπόδειγμα τοῖς ἀπειθοῦσι μεταβληθεῖσα εἰς στήλην ἁλός. Τοιοῦτον γὰρ ἡ συνήθεια, ἧς σύμβολον αὕτη, τοὺς ἀναχωρεῖν ἀμεταστρεπτὶ βουλομένους, πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἐπιστρέφουσα.[137]

These examples show once more the tight monastic focus of the preaching of K, exhorting to a life of repentance from sin, of patience, of endurance in trials and temptation.

II. iv) <u>New Testament *exempla* and saints</u>.

The division between Old and New Testament saints is made here for no reason other than convenience, since these groups were not perceived as divided, but as continuous, as expressed at K49:

> καὶ τί με δεῖ τοὺς πάντας ἐρευνᾶν; πάντες γὰρ <u>οἱ ἅγιοι ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν</u> πειρασθέντες ἐσώθησαν·[138]

Therefore the Old Testament figures were considered saints no less than their New Testament counterparts, and all other saints to the present.

---

[136]C. LUIBHEID, transl., *John Cassian, Conferences* (New York-Mahwah, 1985), pp. 87-88. Cassian quotes Acts 7, 39-40 as a source for the comparison.
[137]CPG 6046, *Liber de Monastica Exercitatione*, Ch. 53, PG 79, 784D4-10, 785A6-B1.
[138]Transl. K49: And why should I seek out each, when all the saints from the flood up to the present time, having been tested, were saved?

An example of this communality in time, space and gender may be given with the addition of Mary of Egypt to the examples of repentance given at K52 in David and Manasses:

> καὶ Μαρία δὲ ἡ Αἰγύπτια καὶ ἄλλοι σὺν αὐτῇ πλείονες τοσοῦτον ἐθεράπευσαν τὸν Θεὸν ὅσον πρώην παρώργιζον τὰ μυσαρὰ πράττοντες, ὡς καὶ προοράσεως ἀξιωθῆναι καὶ σημείων καὶ θαυμάτων μυρίων.[139]

The same catechesis continues with a list of further successful reconciliations, and concludes with the exhortation to imitate these saints in their attitude of repentance:

> καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις δὲ ἁμαρτήμασι, πολλοὶ τὸν Θεὸν παροργίσαντες, αὖθις φίλοι αὐτοῦ μέγιστοι γεγόνασιν, ὧν αὐτίκα εἰσιν οἱ δύο κορυφαῖοι τῶν ἀποστόλων, ὁ μὲν ἀρνητής, ὁ δὲ διώκτης Θεοῦ γενόμενοι· ἀλλ' ἰδὲ ἐφ' οἷον ἀνέβησαν ὕψος· καὶ Ματθαῖος δὲ οὐκ τελώνης ἦν; καὶ τί τελώνου χεῖρον; ἀλλὰ γέγονεν ὕστερον εὐαγγελιστής· καὶ ὁ ληστὴς δὲ ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ οὓς ἵνα μὴ μακρηγορῶμεν, ἐάσωμεν· [...] μιμώμεθα τὴν ὄντως μεμεριμνημένην τῶν προρρηθέντων ἁγίων μετάνοιαν καὶ μιμούμενοι χαίρωμεν καὶ συγχαίρωμεν ἀλλήλοις,...[140].

From the more famous protagonists of the Gospel story, Peter and Paul, to the unnamed thief who died with Jesus, the preaching of conversion is embodied in these sinners. Thus the models of sanctity are far from being those of ideal heroes demanding exacting standards of excellence; rather, the figures presented from the pages of the Bible are examples of sinful humanity.

---

[139]Transl. K52: Similarly, Mary of Egypt, and many others with her, served the Lord as much as they had provoked Him earlier by doing loathsome things, so as to be worthy of the gift of foresight, and also of many signs and wonders (cf. PC93, where Mary is described as leading an ἀγγελικὴν πολιτείαν after her sins).

[140]Transl. K52: And in other types of sins, many who have provoked God have again become his greatest friends. For example, the two chiefs of the apostles, one having been a denier, the other a persecutor of God, look what height of importance they reached. And even Matthew, was he not a publican? And what can be worse than a publican, yet later he became an evangelist. And the thief on the cross, and many others, whom I will not mention, not to prolong this discourse. [...] let us us imitate the true repentance which we have recalled of the past saints, and by imitating, let us rejoice and let us be glad with one another.

Nevertheless, a measure of comparison goes on between the achievements of the *exempla* and those of the monks. The apostle Thomas is given a second chance of touching and acknowledging the Christ. In their imitation of Thomas' longing to touch Jesus, the monks will not be given a second opportunity:

> ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἔτυχε τῆς ἐφέσεως, ἰδών τε καὶ ψηλαφήσας καὶ ἀνακηρύξας αὐτόν, ὅτι ἔτι καιρὸς ἦν· ἡμεῖς δέ, ἂν ἀνέτοιμοι εὑρεθῶμεν, καὶ οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατιόντι συναντήσωμεν, καιρὸν ἄλλον οὐχ᾽ ἕξομεν· ἵν᾽ οὖν μὴ τοῦτο γένηται, ἐντεῦθεν ἑαυτοὺς ἑτοιμάσωμεν καὶ ἐρχόμενον αὐτίκα θεασόμεθα, καὶ τῆς ὡραιοτάτης αὐτοῦ ἀδεῶς ἀπολαύσομεν θεωρίας καὶ γνώσεως, καθ᾽ ὅσον ἡμῖν δυνατόν, ὁπότε μηδέ τις ἡμῖν ἀμφιβολία περὶ αὐτοῦ ὥστε γνῶναι εἰ αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν.[141]

The comparison between the men of the coenobium and the Myrrhophores is done not without a touch of humour, as the two groups compete in a kind of contest of love:

> γελοῖον γὰρ ὄντως τοῦτο καὶ πάσης συγγνώμης ἀνάξιον· τὸ ἄνδρας ὄντας ἡμᾶς γυναικῶν ἥττους εὑρεθῆναι· καὶ ταῦτα τῷ παλαιῷ νόμῳ παιδαγωγούμενων, καὶ ταῖς τούτου παρατηρήσεσι· ναὶ ἀδελφοί μου ἀγαπητοί· σπουδάσωμεν εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐπ᾽ ἴσης ἐκείναις, ἀλλὰ τό γε δὴ δεύτερον, ἐξ ἡμισείας τὸν Χριστὸν ἀγαπῆσαι· ἐκείνων γάρ, πολὺς ὁ πόθος καὶ ἄφατος.[142]

Preaching on the Sunday of the Myrrhophores, and on the figures of Joseph of Arimatheia and Nikodemos associated with them, offers particularly fertile scope for an exhortation to imitation. The catecheses are untypical in

---

[141]Transl. K2: Yet Thomas obtained the chance to appeal, and saw, and touched, and proclaimed Him, because there was still time, while we will not have another opportunity, should we not directly meet with Him as He descends from heaven. Then, that this may not happen, let us keep ourselves ready henceforth, and then we shall see Him as soon as He comes, and we shall also freely share in the contemplation and knowledge of His beauty, according to our capacity, there being no doubt in us as to the recognition of whether He is our Lord.

[142]Transl. K8: For this is truly laughable and unworthy of all pardon, that though we are men we are found to be inferior to women, even to women instructed in the old law, and for the observations of it. Yes, my beloved brothers, let us be eager, if not to be equal to them, at least in second place to love Christ half as much as they did, for their affection was great and unspeakable.

placing the praise of the women before that of the men, and this preference is explained as a result of the preacher's having been carried away with the panegyric of the women. The subject of the two men has to be postponed until the next day (K9).[143]

This choice of sequence may be contrasted with Theoleptos of Philadelpheia's *Discourse* for the same Sunday, which concentrates on the imitation of Joseph of Arimatheia, despite his audience being constituted of nuns.[144] While attention was bestowed on the Myrrhophores as linked with Christ's Resurrection,[145] their being held up as models for imitation was less common, although it did become increasingly popular in the medieval period. A particularly striking and detailed use of them as a pattern for *mimesis* is found in a homily by the twelfth-century Southern Italian bishop, Philagatos of Cerami:

> Ταύτας τὰς θεοφόρους καὶ μακαρίας γυναῖκας ζηλώσωμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς· καὶ ὁ μὲν σπουδαῖος ἔστω περὶ τὸ πρακτικὸν τὴν Μαγδαληνὴν Μαρίαν μιμούμενος· καὶ καθὼς ἐκείνη δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς ἐφιλοχώρει τῷ μνήματι, πολυπραγμονοῦσα τοῦ Κυρίου τὴν ἔγερσιν, οὕτω διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου ζητείτω τὴν τοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ θανόντος λόγου ἀνάστασιν. Ὁ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἰακώβου Μαρίαν περὶ τὸν θεωρητικὸν ὑφαπλούτω τὸν νοῦν, καὶ αὐτὸς διὰ πάσης τῆς ζωῆς περὶ τὰς θείας ἐννοίας ἐνασχολούμενος, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀληθοῦς γνώσεως γεννῶν ἐν ἑαυτῷ λόγον, καὶ καρπούμενος τὴν πρὸς θεὸν κατὰ χάριν συγγένειαν. *Μήτηρ γὰρ καὶ ἀδελφοί μου*, φησὶ ὁ Σωτήρ, *οἱ ποιοῦντες τὸ θέλημά μου*. Εἰ δέ τις περὶ τὰς πρώτας ἡλικίας τοῦ σώματος ῥᾳθυμος ὤφθη περὶ τὴν τοῦ καλοῦ ζήτησιν, τῷ ὕπνῳ τῆς ῥᾳθυμίας ἐμπεδηθείς, μιμείσθω τὴν Σαλώμην· καὶ ἀνατείλαντος τοῦ ἡλίου, τουτέστιν, ἐπιλάμψαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ θείου φωτός,

[143]See Appendix III for the sequence of these two texts.
[144]MD18, pp. 308-15.
[145]Thus the pseudo-Chrysostomic homily that takes its name after this celebration, *In mulieres unguentiferas*, is really a panegyric about the Resurrection, which only mentions the women by quoting Mt. 28, 1 ("... Mary Magdalen and the other Mary came near to contemplate the tomb"): CPG 4673, PG 62, 753-756; DE ALDAMA, no. 471, perhaps attr. to Proclus. The visual representations of the Myrrhophores use the image as a key to Christ's Resurrection, cf. A. D. KARTSONIS, *Anastasis. The Making of an Image* (Princeton, 1986), p. 20; G. MILLET, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Évangile aux XIV^e^, XV^e^ et XVI^e^ siècles* (2nd edn., Paris, 1960), pp. 517-40.

ἀποτιναξάτω τὴν ῥᾳθυμίαν, καὶ μιγνύτω ἑαυτὸν τοῖς τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἤδη προμελετήσασι. Σαλώμη δὲ *εἰρηνικὴ* ἑρμηνεύεται, δηλοῖ δὲ τὴν ἀγαθὴν ψυχὴν τὴν νικήσασαν τὰ πάθη, καὶ εἰρηνεύουσαν κατὰ δύναμιν. Ταύτας δὲ μιμησάμενοι περὶ τῆς γνώσεως τοῦ λόγου, μετὰ πολλῆς προθυμίας ζητήσωμεν, ἀνατείλαντος τοῦ ἡλίου, φωτισθέντος δηλαδὴ τοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν ἡγεμονικοῦ, καὶ ὡς νυκτὸς διασκεδασθείσης τῆς ἀγνοίας τῶν λογισμῶν.[146]

Another text worth comparing with K8-9 is the moving homily on this subject by Gregory of Antioch.[147] This sermon deals first with Joseph's encounter with Pilate, and does not mention Nikodemos.[148] In the homily's description of this encounter can be found an echo of K9, where Jesus was presented as infusing supernatural and miraculous courage in the two men, to replace their former cowardice:

ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἰδὼν τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ἅπαντας φυγόντας τε καὶ ἐγκαταλιπόντας αὐτόν, τοῖς δειλοῖς τούτοις ἐνέθηκε θάρσος, ἐν λήθῃ γενέσθαι πάντων τῶν προδοκωμένων δεινῶν, καὶ τὰ τῆς ταφῆς αὐτοῦ ἐνεργῆσαι.[149]

Similarly, a miraculous intervention is envisaged by Gregory in Jesus' powers to infuse good conduct in Pilate:

Ταῦτα Ἰωσὴφ μὲν ἔλεγεν εὐσεβῶς· ὁ δὲ Πιλᾶτος ὑπήκουσεν εὐμενῶς· ἡ γὰρ θεία δύναμις τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ ζητουμένου νεκροῦ, ἐνέργει τοῖς πράττουσι θεοπρεπῶς, καὶ τὴν τοῦ Πιλάτου ψυχὴν πρὸς ὑπακοὴν κατεμάλαττε.[150]

---

[146]PG 132, 628B2-D1.

[147]Gregorius Antiochenus (†c.593), *In mulieres unguentiferas*, CPG 7384, PG 88, 1848-1866; DE ALDAMA, no. 116, attr. also to Gregory of Nyssa, Chrysostom and Ephrem; cf. M. AUBINEAU, 'Une homélie de Grégoire d'Antioche (570-593), retrouvée dans le *Vaticanus gr.* 1975', *Byzantium* 42 (1972), 595-97 and in *CCG* , I, p. 18. Aubineau adds invitingly: "Ce beau texte du VI[e] siècle mériterait de tenter un éditeur et un traducteur" (p. 597).

[148]Nikodemos is not remembered in the original title for the feast: Κυριακὴ τῶν ἁγίων μυροφόρων γυναικῶν καὶ Ἰωσὴφ τοῦ δικαίου (ZERBOU, *Pentekostarion*, pp. 44-60, at p. 44, col. b), nor is he included in the Odes for that day, probably because he was not mentioned in the Gospel reading prescribed by the Lectionary (Mk. 15, 40-16, 8). Nevertheless, Nikodemos is mentioned in the rubrics of the *Pentekostarion*, where both he and Joseph are considered ἀψευδεῖς τῆς ταφῆς μάρτυρες (ZERBOU, *Pentekostarion*, p. 55); cf. *Acts of Pilate* (ELLIOTT, *Apochryphal New Testament*, pp. 177-78, 180-81), where Nikodemos acts as mediator between the Jews and Joseph. This is therefore another instance in which liturgical piety, expanding beyond adherence to Scripture on the basis of an apochryphal background, is reflected in K.

[149]Transl. K9: For He (Jesus), having seen that all his disciples were fleeing and abandoning Him, infused courage into these cowards to make them forget all the expected evils and take charge of His own burial.

[150]PG 88, 1852A1-5.

However, Gregory's homily stresses fear and emotion in the women more than in the men, whereas in K the balance rests more favourably with the women, who are themselves courageous in their choices, rather than with the men, who need divine assistance.

In fact, the women of K8 are somewhat idealized, perhaps precisely because their gender distances them from an immediate comparison with the monks. While in Gregory's sermon Mary Magdalen stands for all, in her qualification as a sinful woman, in K8 the good reputation and wealthy background of the women is emphasized:

> Καὶ γὰρ καὶ Μαρία ἡ τοῦ Κλοπᾶ (*sic*)· καὶ ἡ Μαγδαληνή· καὶ ἡ Σαλώμη, ἱστοροῦνται τῶν εὐπόρων οὖσαι καὶ περιφανῶν·[151]

Contrast Chrysostom's concise definition of the women as πόρναι μυροφοροῦσαι.[152]

Gregory stresses the women's handling of Christ's sacred body. Since Mary Magdalen was able to overcome her sinfulness and could touch Christ, so can we hope to obtain the same mercy:

> ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς ὡς ἐλέησας τὴν πόρνην· μὴ διώξῃς ἡμᾶς, ἐὰν θαῤῥήσαντες τῇ σῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ, τολμήσωμεν χερσὶν ἁμαρτωλαῖς κρατῆσαί σου τὸ ἅγιον σώμα.[153]

The exhortation at K8 is made on the basis of the difference, rather than the similarity, between the women's great love of Christ and the monks' often purely superficial renunciation of the world. Nevertheless, the distance is not such as to forbid imitation, and ultimately Christ's body is touched in the reverential partaking of the Eucharist:

> Τοιγαροῦν μιμησώμεθα ταύτας ὅση δύναμις· μιμησόμεθα δέ, ἂν ἔξω κόσμου παντελῶς γενώμεθα δι' αὐτόν· καὶ

---

[151]Transl. K48: For even Mary the wife of Kleopas and Mary Magdalen, and Salome are said to be among the wealthy and far-famed.
I have not found a source for this information. The names of the women in this order are found in Ps.-Athanasios, *Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae*, PG 28, 393B6-7 (CPG 2249): Μαρία ἡ Ἰακώβου τοῦ μικροῦ, καὶ ἡ Μαγδαληνή, καὶ ἡ Σαλώμη; and in another combination at 404A13-15: παρὰ τῷ σταυρῷ ἡ μήτηρ, καὶ ἡ ἀδελφὴ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Μαρία, ἡ τοῦ Κλεοπᾶ, καὶ Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνή.
[152]*In Natalem Christi diem*, PG 56.387.29.
[153]PG 88, 1864D7-1865A2.

τηνικαῦτα ἴσως, καὶ ἀγαπήσομεν κατ' ἐκεῖνας· εἰ δ' οὖν, ἀλλὰ πολλῷ ἥττους ἐκείνων εὑρεσόμεθα· ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀπόγνωμεν· ἔχομεν γὰρ δι' οὗ ταύταις παρισωθῆναι δυνησόμεθα· ἐκεῖναι μὲν γὰρ ἀπελθοῦσαι μυρίσαι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου, οὐχ εὗρον· ὅτι ἀνέστη· ἡμεῖς δὲ ἂν βουλώμεθα, καὶ μυρίσομεν, καὶ φαγώμεθα· καθ' ἡμέραν γάρ, ἡμῶν προτέθυταί τε καὶ τέθαπται· καὶ εἰς βρῶσιν ἡμῖν πρόκειται.[154]

K's treatment of the Myrrophores as a subject of *mimesis* shows the transposition necessary from the Gospel narrative to its tropological use. Reflection on the lives of biblical characters affords an insight into the monks' true being, since their imitation cannot take place externally, but in spirit. Thus, to leave the world for the monastery may remain a purely formal gesture of discipleship, while the required imitation should happen at the level of attitude. Furthermore, the interpretation of the act of burial finds a natural transposition into the Liturgy, where Christ's Eucharistic body is broken and eaten.[155]

II. v) Similes for imitation: *mimesis* of human activities.

Exhortation is also provided through the use of similes. In the case of human activities, the degree of transposition between the monastic and the profane activity is fairly straightforward. In the case of natural similes, the comparison entails an imaginative leap which is eased by the literary tradition of the images employed.

It is rare to find a "new" image in ascetic writings, and the similes employed in K are no exception. Each is set in a tradition mostly traceable to Scripture, but in any case widely attested in patristic and later spiritual

---

[154]Transl. K8: Therefore let us imitate them, as much as we can. We will imitate them, if we become completely detached from the world because of Christ; and then perhaps, we will also love as they did. But if we find ourselves much worse than they, let us nevertheless not despair, for we have the One through whom to be saved along with these women. For these women who had gone to anoint the body of the Lord, did not find Him because He had risen. But we, if we want, will be able to anoint and eat Him, for day by day He is sacrificed on our behalf and is buried, and is offered to us as food.

[155]This kind of interpretation of the Liturgy by reference to the life of Christ was proposed by the Andidans: see my article, 'Principles and Aims of the Protheoria', at p. 53.

writings. Nevertheless, the compiler has a particular way of handling these images for the purpose of exhortation. Although he restrains rhetorical flourishes, his versions produce lively, if not new, compositions.

K12 centres around the image of the stadium, where athletes compete for victory or defeat; the simile develops in two phases, the first dealing with fairness in the choice of means, the second concerning the right attitude with which victory is accepted:

> ἡ παροῦσα ἡμῶν ζωὴ σταδίῳ ἔοικεν, ἐφ' ᾧ τινες, εἴτε τρέχοντες, εἴτε ἱππεύοντες, εἴτε τι ἄλλο τῶν ἀθλῶν ἀνύοντες, ἑαυτοῖς προσπορίζονται τὰ χρήσιμα καὶ συστατικὰ τῆς αὐτῶν ζωῆς· οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ δόξαν, καὶ εὐφημίαν, καὶ ἔπαινον, καὶ κλέον οὐ τὸ τυχὸν ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐκεῖσε παρόντων καὶ θεωμένων τὰ αὐτῶν ἄθλα τε καὶ παλαίσματα· ταῦτα δὲ οἱ καλῶς τρέχοντες, οἱ νικῶντες, οἱ ἐπιστημόνως ἱππεύοντες, οἱ τέχνῃ τινι καὶ δεξίᾳ μεταχειρίσει τοὺς ἄθλους ἀνύοντες· οἱ δὲ ἀφυῶς ἔχοντες καὶ ἀνεπιστημόνως, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡττημένοι, οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν τῶν πόνων ἐκείνων καὶ τῶν κόπων ἢ τῆς τέχνης ἀπώναντο, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ γέλωτα ὤφλησαν, ὡς οὐκ εὐφυῶς, ὡς οὐκ ἐνδεχομένως ἀγωνισάμενοι.
>
> Καὶ ἴδοι τις ἂν τοὺς μὲν νικῶντας λαμπροῖς τισιν ὑφάσμασι κατεστολισμένους, καὶ στεφάνους οὓς μὲν ἀναδεδεσμένους, οὓς δὲ καὶ ταῖν χεροῖν φέροντας, καὶ παρὰ πάντων εὐφημουμένους, τοὺς δ' ἡττωμένους κάτω νεύοντας, κατῃσχυμμένους, μηδὲ τὰ ὄψεις ἀπὸ γῆς δυναμένους ἐπάραι.[156]

The comparison of life to a stadium is widespread.[157] A number of sports are included in it. The means by which victory is achieved recall the

---

[156]Transl. K12: our present life is comparable to a stadium, in which some, either runners, or horsemen, or sportsmen in any other type of competition, gain for themselves the things necessary and sustaining for their life. And (they gain) not only these, but in addition glory, and fame, and praise, and no ordinary renown from all those who are present there and are watching their competitions and combats. Those who perform well (gain) these things, the victors, the expert riders, those who practise the sports with some skill and with the right preparation, and, on the other hand, those who are inept and unskilled, and are defeated because of it, not only do they not gain anything for their toils and exertions or skill, but they also incur laughter, since they did not compete worthily. And someone can see the winners dressed in brilliant woven robes and crowns, some which they have placed on their heads, and others which they carry in their hands, and being acclaimed in triumph by everyone, while the losers with heads bent, ashamed, unable to lift up their eyes from the ground.

[157]Some references from Lampe: Const. App. 7.33.3: ὁ τὸν παρόντα αἰῶνα σ. δικαιοσύνης ἐνστησάμενος; Gr. Nyss. *Pss. titt.* B 2 (M. 44.492B): σ. δὲ ὁ κοινὸς

exhortations to Timothy,[158] while the vivid picture of the beautifully robed victorious athletes sounds like a first-hand description. There is no pity for the loser. Then the comparison is established:

> Τούτοις ὁμοίως καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν· τρέχομεν γάρ, ἀγωνιζόμεθα, σπουδάζομεν, πάντα ποιοῦμεν τὰ τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων, καὶ δοκοῦμεν πάντες καλῶς τρέχειν, οὐκ ἴσμεν δὲ εἰ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ παραγενομένῳ ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἡμῶν, ἀρεστὰ τὰ ἀγωνίσματα δόξαιεν.
>
> Ὅσοις μὲν γάρ, μετὰ τοῦ καλῶς δραμεῖν τὸ ταπεινοφρονεῖν πρόσεστι, καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἑαυτοὺς λογίζεσθαι, καὶ τὸ κόπτειν ἀεὶ τὰ ἴδια θελήματα, καὶ τὸ ὑπακούειν, καὶ τὸ ἀνολιγώρως[159] διακονεῖν, καὶ τὸ μετ᾽ ἐπιστήμης μεταχειρίζεσθαι τὴν εὐχήν, τὴν ψαλμῳδίαν, τὴν ἀγρυπνίαν, τὸ πένθος, τὴν θλίψιν, τὴν στενοχορίαν, τούτοις ὄντως ἔσται καὶ τὸ τέλειον τῆς νίκης, καὶ οὗτοι φανωθήσονται, καὶ οὗτοι δοξασθήσονται παρὰ τοῦ δικαίοις σταθμοῖς τὰ ἡμετέρα ταλαντεύοντος κριτοῦ καὶ βασιλέως· ὅσοις δὲ κόπος μὲν προσεγένετο πολὺς νηστεῦσαι, ἁγνεῦσαι, προσεύξασθαι, πενθῆσαι, στενοχωρηθῆναι, πάντα παθεῖν καὶ ὑπομεῖναι, ἀνεπιστημόνως δὲ καὶ χωρὶς ταπεινοφροσύνης, σὺν ἀλαζονείᾳ δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ οἰήσει, καὶ ὑπερηφανίᾳ, καὶ τοῦ πλησίον ἐξουδενώσει καὶ καταβρίσει, καὶ ἀνθρωπαρεσκείᾳ, τούτοις μάταιος ὁ κόπος καὶ οὐκ ἐνέργητος, καὶ γυμνοὶ εὑρεθήσονται κατῃσχυμμένοι καὶ ἄδοξοι, ὡς μὴ ἀφυῶς τοὺς ἀγῶνας διατελέσαντες.[160]

τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίος ἐστιν; Chrys. *hom. 26 in Rom.* (9.715B); Isid. Pel. *epp.* 2.161 (M. 78.616A): εἰς τὸ σ. τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀναβῶμεν, τὰ περὶ ψυχῆς Ὀλύμπια ἀγωνισάμενοι.

[158]Cf. 2 Tim. 2, 5: *And in the case of an athlete, no one is crowned without competing according to the rules.*

[159]*Scala Paradisi*, PG 88, 600A1 (from Lampe).

[160]Transl. K12: We are similar to these (athletes). For we run, we compete, we exert ourselves, we do everything that the athletes do, and we all believe we are running well. But we do not know whether our strivings appear agreeable also to the Emperor who has come as a spectator of our race. For to some, besides having run well, humility is added, and a low opinion of themselves, and the constant renunciation of their own wills, and obedience, and careful service, and applying themselves with knowledge to prayer, psalmody, vigil, repentance (*penthos*), affliction, privation. These will really posses full victory, and these will be displayed, and these will be glorified by the judge and emperor who measures our actions on just scales. But for those who have much toil in fasting, being pure, praying, repenting, suffering privation, suffering and bearing all, but do so in unskilled fashion and without humility, rather with arrogance and self-conceit, and pride, and slander and outrage of the neighbour, and flattery, for these people the toil is vain and ineffectual, and they will be found naked, shamed and inglorious, because they did not complete their contests properly.

Humility is an unusual quality for a victor. Yet the comparison with the monks' existence and spiritual aims transposes the contest onto a spiritual plane. The Emperor watching the races at the Hippodrome becomes the image of a divine onlooker. The ascetic victory is sanctioned by heavenly spectators at K47:

> ὑμεῖς δὲ ὥσπέρ τινες νικηταὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων ὡς συγχαιρόντων τῇ νίκῃ δοξαζόμενοι, παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ αὐθωρὸν στεφανοῦμεθα, καὶ μηδεὶς περὶ τούτου ἀπειθείτω·[161]

A similar heavenly company of onlookers is envisaged by Ephrem:

> αὐτὸς γὰρ ἄνωθεν ὁρᾷ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἡμῶν καὶ ὁ τῶν ἀγγέλων χορός· ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ δαίμονες ἀφορῶντες ἵστανται· οἱ μὲν τοὺς στεφάνους προτεινόμενοι· οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἧτταν ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν αἰσχύνην ἀποβλέποντες· πολὺς καὶ ἀμφοτέροις ὁ ἀγὼν περὶ ἡμῶν· προσέχωμεν τοίνυν ὁπόση δύναμις· μήπως τοὺς μὲν ἰδίους λυπήσωμεν· εὐφράνωμεν δὲ οἴμοι τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους· ἀγωνιζώμεθα οὖν στερρῶς, ...[162]

The cheering from opposed factions for and against the struggling athlete, symbolizing the ascete, recalls the memorable opening to the *Life of Moses* by Gregory of Nyssa:

> At horse races the spectators intent on victory shout to their favorites in the contest, even though the horses are eager to run. From the stands they participate in the race with their eyes, thinking to incite the charioteer to keener effort, at the same time urging the horses on while leaning forward with their outstretched hands instead of with a whip. [...] I seem to be doing the same thing myself, most valued friend and brother. While you are competing admirably in the divine race along the course of virtue, lightfootedly leaping and straining constantly for

---

[161]Transl. K47: But you, like victors, being held in honour by the angels who, as it were, rejoice with us in the victory, will be immediately crowned by God.
K358 stresses in its exhortations the presence of the angels as constant witnesses to our actions, intertwining with this picture the athletic simile: "Let us not avoid poverty, for it makes the athlete free from distractions. [...] For nothing is hidden from God. Thus, when we sin, in vain do we try hiding it in front of men, when we shame the angels. For many angels surround us."

[162]Transl. K221: For [God] himself, together with the choir of angels, watches from above our effort, but the devils also stand watching; the first offering crowns, the second paying attention to our defeat and our shame. There is also a great struggle between them concerning us. Thus let us pay attention, as much as possible, lest we should bring sadness to those on our side, and, alas!, make the opponents rejoice. Let us then compete strongly ...

the prize of the heavenly calling (Phil. 3, 14), I exhort, urge and encourage you vigorously to increase your speed.[163]

K24 makes use of an athletic simile from the world of boxing:[164]

> Μιμησώμεθα τοὺς ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ πυκτεύοντας οἱ οὕτως ὁλοψύχως ἀγωνίζονται καὶ σπουδάζουσιν, ὡς μετὰ τὸ τελειῶσαι τὸν ἀγῶνα, συχνῶς ἀσθμαίνειν καὶ ὀλιγοψυχεῖν πολλάκις.
>
> Ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις μὲν μιᾶς ὥρας ὁ δρόμος καὶ ὁ κόπος, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ στέφανοι αὐτῶν φθαρτοί, καὶ τὰ γέρα καὶ τὰ ἔπαθλα ῥέοντά τε καὶ παρερχόμενα· ἡμῖν δὲ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου οἱ πόνοι καὶ οἱ ἀγῶνες καὶ ἡ σπουδὴ καὶ ὁ δρόμος, ὅτι καὶ τὰ ἔπαθλα αἰώνια, καὶ οἱ στέφανοι ἄφθαρτοι, καὶ ἡ δόξα ἀκήρατος, καὶ ἡ χαρὰ ἀΐδιος, καὶ ἡ εὐφροσύνη ἄληκτος.[165]

The effort required of the monks in their fight against the devils is similar to that of the boxers in intensity, but its duration is much longer. The prizes at stake are also comparatively of much greater worth.

Another popular image employed for comparison with the monastic life is that of sailors at sea. Daniélou noted that

> Les images maritimes ne sont pas familières à la Bible: Israel n'est pas un peuple de marins. Elles sont au contraire ordinaires aux Grecs, qui sillonnaient la Méditérranée.[166]

Stemming from the classical comparison of life as a sea-voyage, the image is christianized already in the Apophthegmata and widely employed by ascetic writers.[167] The image is popular in Theodore Studite,[168] and K texts

---

[163]A. J. MALHERBE & E. FERGUSON, transl., *Gregory of Nyssa: The Life of Moses* (New York, 1978), p. 29; see also nn. 2-4 at p. 149 for comparable passages. Greek text ed. J. DANIÉLOU, *La Vie de Moïse*, SC 1bis (1955), p. 1, ll. 1-8 and ll. 11-16.

[164]Other references in Lampe to boxing as spiritual combat: Chrys. *stat.* 1.10 (2.16C); *id. hom. 57. 4 in Mt* (7. 581B); Pall. *h. Laus.* 34 (p. 98,22; M. 34.1106C); Marc. E. *opusc.* 2.148 (M. 65. 953B).

[165]Transl. K24: Let us imitate the boxers in the stadium, who compete with such commitment and busy themselves, that, after the competition, they are totally out of breath and often faint. But for them the race and toil lasts but one hour, and because of this their crowns are perishable, and the gifts of honour and the prizes of the contests are temporary and pass away. But for us the toils and striving and effort and race are throughout life, because the prizes are also eternal and the crowns imperishable and the glory unending and the joy everlasting, and the happiness unbounded.

[166]J. DANIÉLOU, *Les Symboles chrétiens primitifs* (Paris, 1961), p. 68.

[167]Cf. Antony no. 21, which uses the boat imagery for a coded message from abba Antony to a monastery: "It happened one day that one of the brethren in the monastery of abba

use him as a blueprint while drawing on other unidentified compositions, such as that in K10. The opening paragraph sets up a model for the monks from the life of seamen:

> ὥσπερ οἱ ἐν θαλάσσῃ πλέοντες, ἐμμέριμνοί τινές εἰσι πάντοτε καὶ ἐμφρόντιδες, μή πού τις αὐτοῖς ἐπιστῇ λαίλαψ αἰφνίδιος, μὴ ἄγριος ἄνεμος, μή σπιλάς τις, μὴ κύματα μαινόμενά τε καὶ διεγειρόμενα, μὴ πειράται τινες ἢ λῃσταὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπεισφρήσωσι, καὶ οὐ μόνον τὰ τούτων ἀγώγιμα ἀφέλωνται, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ αὐτοὺς αἰχμαλώτους λαβόντες ἀπέλθωσιν ἢ ἀπολέσωσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο νήφουσιν, ἀγρυπνοῦσι, σπουδάζουσι, πάντα ποιοῦσιν ἄχρις ἂν τὰ οἴκοι καταλάβωσιν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς, καὶ μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς χρὴ προσέχειν καὶ ἐγρηγορέναι πάντοτε.[169]

The lengthy list of life-threatening forces conveys a sense of apposite urgency; the preventive measures themselves are also detailed in a language that finds immediate echoes in the monastery's ascetic practices. Here the sailors are worthy exempla for the monks to imitate. Homecoming is adumbrated as the desired goal.

In the second paragraph, comparison is replaced by contrast between spiritual and material goods:

> Ἐκείνοις μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἀγώγιμα ἢ χρυσός ἐστι πάντως ἢ ἄργυρος, ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἀπὸ γῆς, καὶ πρόσκαιρον ἐχόντων τὴν ὠφέλειαν, καὶ τὸ κέρδος καὶ κινδυνεύσασιν, οὐ τοσοῦτον τὸ βλάβος· ἔσται γὰρ αὐτοῖς πάλιν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολλυμένων εὑρεῖν ἕτερα, ἡμῖν δὲ περὶ ψυχῆς ὁ κίνδυνος, ἧς οὐδ' ὅλος ὁ κόσμος ἀντάξιος, καὶ τῶν ἀρρήτων ἐκείνων

Elias was tempted. Cast out of the monastery, he went over the mountain to abba Antony. The brother lived near to him for a while and then Antony sent him back to the monastery from which he had been expelled. When the brothers saw him, they cast him out yet again, and he went back to abba Antony saying, 'My father, they will not receive me'. Then the old man sent them a message saying, 'A boat was shipwrecked at sea and lost its cargo; with great difficulty it reached the shore; but you want to throw into the sea that which has found a safe harbour on the shore'. When the brothers understood that it was abba Antony who had sent them this monk, they received him at once." : transl. WARD, *The Sayings*, p. 6.

[168]Cf. for example MC I. 76 = K283; PC106.

[169]Transl. K10: just as the men who sail the sea are preoccupied all the time and worrying, lest some sudden tempest somewhere come upon them, lest a strong wind, or a squall, or enraged and swollen waves, or some pirates or buccaneers attack them, and not only steal away their cargo, but carry them off as captives or kill them, and in order to prevent these things, they practise abstinence, they keep vigil, they busy themselves, they do everything to the uttermost until they return to their homes, so also should we, and more especially is it necessary for us to be attentive and keep vigil always.

καὶ μακαρίων ἀγαθῶν, ἃ οὔτε ὀφθαλμὸς εἶδεν, οὔτε οὖς ἤκουσεν, οὔτε ἐπὶ καρδίαν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀνέβη· ἅπερ, ἐὰν ἀπολέσωμεν, ἕτερα εὑρεῖν οὐκ ἔχομεν· καὶ τοῦτο μυρίων ἄξιον θρήνων, μυρίων στεναγμῶν, ἀπείρων θλίψεων καὶ ὀδυνῶν· τί γὰρ δώσει ἄνθρωπος, φησίν, ἀντάλλαγμα τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ;[170]

It is not just that the monk's life is more in danger than if he were at sea, but what is at risk has a higher worth.

In the second part of this text, the voyage becomes central.[171] The journey is not simply life, nor even life in the monastery, but has a liturgical specification, which in turn becomes an eschatological one:

Ἀλλ' ὑμῖν γε μὴ γένοιτο, ἀδελφοί μου ἀγαπητοί, τοσοῦτον νυστάξαντας τοσούτων ἀγαθῶν ἐκπεσεῖν, ἄνθ' ὧν οὐκ ἔστιν εὑρεῖν ἕτερα· ἀλλὰ φυλακτέον, ὅση δύναμις, ἡμῖν τὰ ἀγώγιμα· ἐνεμπορευσάμεθα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς, τῆς ἁγίας φημὶ τεσσαρακοστῆς, τὰ εὐώδη τῶν ἀρετῶν μυρίσματα,[172] νηστείαν, ἀγρυπνίαν, προσευχήν, καθαρότητα, φιλεργίαν, ὅσα ἄλλα τῆς ὁσιότητος σπουδάσματα· διεσώσαμεν αὐτὰ μέχρι τέως τοῦ λιμένος τοῦ ἁγίου φημι πάσχα· πολλῆς ἡμῖν δεῖ τῆς σπουδῆς, πολλῆς τῆς ἐπιμελείας, ὥστε καὶ οἴκοι ταῦτα ἀπαγαγεῖν· τὰ οἴκοι δὲ ἡμῶν πάντως οὐδὲν ἄλλο τις νομίσοι, ἀλλ' ἢ τὴν πρὸς Θεὸν ἐκδημίαν.[173]

---

[170]Transl. K10: For them the cargo is either simply gold or silver, or some other materials from the earth, and which have their immediate utility; but if their profit is at risk, the harm is not so great, for it is possible for them to substitute the lost goods with other ones. But for us, the danger concerns our soul, for which not the whole world could be given in exchange, and those ineffable and blessed goods that *no eye has seen, no ear has heard, nor ever came into the heart of man* (1Cor. 2, 9 = Is. 64, 3). If we lose these, we will not find any others to substitute them with. This is worth thousands of dirges, thousands of groans, endless pains and afflictions. As Scripture says: *What will a man give in exchange for his soul* (Mt. 16, 26; Mk 8, 37)?

[171]For the background to sea-voyaging in Byzantine preaching, cf. R. FREISE, 'Zur Metaphorik der Seefahrt in den Gedichten Gregors von Nazianz', in J. MOSSAY, ed., *Symposium Nazianzenum*, Studien zur Geschichte des Altertums II (Paderborn, 1983), pp. 159-63.

[172]The idea of the odour of sanctity can be found in the *Apophthegmata Patrum* (PG 65.396C): παρέδωκε τὸ πνεῦμα [sc. Sisoes] ... καὶ ἐπλήθη ὅλος ὁ οἶκος εὐωδίας.

[173]Transl. K10: But let this not happen to you, my beloved brothers, to have fallen asleep to such an extent as to be stripped of such great goods, for which nothing can be found in return. On the contrary, our cargo must be protected as much as possible. We have acquired it and carried it on board from the Indies, I mean, from the Holy Lent, the sweet-smelling ointments of virtues: fasting, vigil, prayer, purifications, love of work, and as many other activities of holiness. We have guarded these until the port, I mean, Holy Easter. We need much eagerness, much skill, in order to bring home these goods. But let no one think our home is anything else than the departure from life towards God.

This catechesis was in fact read just after Easter, and the point of the eschatological warning is to discourage relaxation after the attainment of a goal.

The hope of homecoming, recalling the sailors' goal, is made real by the acquisition of monastic virtues, which form an allegorical ship:

> Ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἄνεμοι πολλοὶ ἡμῖν συναντήσουσιν, ὅτι πολλὰ κύματα καὶ ἄγρια, ὅτι πολλὴ ταραχθήσεται καὶ διεγερθήσεται θάλασσα καθ' ἡμῶν, ὅτι πολλοὶ πειραταὶ καὶ λῃσταὶ ἡμῖν ἐπιβουλεύσουσι παντί που δῆλον, πλὴν ἀλλ' ὅπερ εἶπον, ἐὰν θέλωμεν, ταῦτα πάντα τὰ ὀλέθρια διαφευξόμεθα· ἔχομεν ἱστία στερρὰ τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὴν ὑπακοήν, ἔχομεν κάλως ἰσχυροὺς τὴν ἀγάπην καὶ τὴν προσευχήν, ἔχομεν οἴακας κραταιοὺς τὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ τὴν φρόνησιν,[174] ἔχομεν καὶ κώπας, εἰ βουλοίμεθα, τὴν εὐπείθειαν, τὴν μακροθυμίαν, τὴν καρτερίαν, τὴν ὑπομονήν.
>
> Τούτοις τὸ πλοῖον ἡμῶν διακυβερνήσωμεν, τούτοις διαπορθμεύσωμεν· ἔχομεν καὶ τὰ ὅπλα τὰ δυνάμενα τοὺς πειρατὰς ἀποκρούσασθαι, τὸν σταυρόν, τὴν εὐχήν, τὴν ψαλμῳδίαν, τὴν ἀκτημοσύνην, τὴν νηστείαν, τὴν ἐγκράτειαν, τὴν ἀγρυπνίαν, τὴν σωφροσύνην, τὴν ἁγνείαν· ταῦτα προβαλλώμεθα, τούτοις θωρακισθῶμεν, καὶ οὐ μὴ ἰσχύσωσι καθ' ἡμῶν οἱ ἐπίβουλοι, ...[175]

The boat allegory is applied to the monastic world and its rules. The commercial vessel is armed, as in a middle-Byzantine miniature representing an improbably flimsy boat equipped with the devices for Greek fire.[176]

---

[174]Greek ships had a pair of rudders.

[175]Transl. K10: It is obvious to all that many winds will meet us face to face, many wild waves, many seas will be shaken and agitated under us, many pirates and buccaneers will plan raids against us; however, I said, if we want to, we will escape all these dangers. We have as strong sails faith and obedience, we have as strong ropes love and prayer, we have as powerful tillers courage and wisdom, we have as oars, should we wish, docility, generosity, strength and submission. With these things let us steer our course, with these things let us reach our goal. And we have powerful weapons to drive away pirates: the cross, prayer, psalmody, poverty, fasting, continence, vigilance, moderation, purity. Let us show these forth, let us make of them our cuirass, and the enemies will not overpower us, ...

[176]In ms. *Vat. gr.* 1613 (ca. 976-1025), p. 175: C. VILLAIN-GANDOSSI, 'L'iconographie des navires au Haut Moyen Âge', in H. DUBOIS, J.-C. HOCQUET & A. VAUCHEZ, eds., *Horizons marins, itinéraires spirituels (V^e^-XVIII^e^ s.)*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1987), II, pp. 78-96, at p. 88, n. 33 and fig. 8.

The sea imagery, adapted to the didactic aims of the catecheses, has been transformed from the simple evocation of the nautical world in the Apophthegma of Antony to a complex and powerful description intended to convey monastic instructions. The central point of the metaphor of sea-sailing is an exhortation to vigilance. The external enemies to the sea-voyage are not only the natural elements, but also the pirates, from which the sailor must defend himself, as the monk from devils.

The setting of the Stoudios and Evergetis monasteries in Constantinople is probably significant for the development of this imagery in the preaching of their respective abbots. Hélène Ahrweiler emphasizes the key position of Constantinople in creating "un empire universel et maritime" out of the dissolving Roman Empire.[177] But while the historian's portrait concentrates on the organization of a war fleet, the monastic image remains essentially an image of peace, featuring, as in the saying of Antony, a commercial vessel.

The didactic purpose of the catechesis, however, undermines the Saying's identification of the monastery with a place of security, the land attained after the shipwreck. In Theodore's PC106, a sailor embarked on a ship in which the journey remains perilous could be read as a metaphor for a monk joining a community. But K11 presents even the monastery as a treacherous port:

> Εἰδέναι δὲ δεῖ ὅτι πολλοὶ καὶ ἐν τῷ λιμένι ἐναυάγησαν, ὅπερ ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς πάθωμεν, προσέχωμεν, γρηγόρωμεν. Καὶ μᾶλλον μὲν τοῦτο χρὴ φοβεῖσθαι περισσοτέρως· οἱ γὰρ τὴν θάλατταν πλέοντες, ἂν ἐπ' ἀσφαλεῖ τῷ λιμένι τὸ σκάφος ὁρμήσωσιν, ἐστίν ὅτε καὶ ἀπρακτοῦσι, καὶ ὑπνώττουσι καὶ τῶν φροντίδων μικρὸν ἀπολύονται· ἡμεῖς δέ, ἂν μικρὸν ἠρεμήσωμεν πολλάκις, ἐν λιμένι δόξαντες εἶναι, εὐθὺς ἐναυαγήσαμεν· ἡ γὰρ μικρὰ ἐκείνη ἄνεσις, ἀρετῆς μὲν ὕφεσις εὑρίσκεται, κακίας δὲ αὔξεσις, ὥστε οὐδὲ τὸ σύνολον ἡμᾶς ἀπρακτεῖν συμφέρει· γρηγορόντων

---

[177]H. AHRWEILER, *Byzance et la mer* (Paris, 1966), p. 389.

μὲν γὰρ ἡμῶν καὶ ἐμμερίμνων ὄντως, οὐκ εὐκόλως οἱ ἐχθροὶ κατεξαναστήσονται·[178].

The contrast between the mariners' life and the monks' life suggests the desired moral lesson: it stresses vigilance at all times, since the monastery cannot be a 'secure port' in the same sense as that encountered in navigation.

Mercantile activity is used in another simile in K4. The pearl-dealer of Mt. 13, 45 is the Gospel paradigm for the merchant, but the merchant of K is not modeled on that ideal; rather, he is full of practical sense, representing in a sketchy vignette the dealings of the Constantinopolitan trader:

ἀλλὰ τό γε μετριώτερον, καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς γελοίους ἀποδείκνυσιν, ὅτι τοὺς πόνους οὓς ὠφείλομεν καταβαλέσθαι εἰς ἑτέρων πλειόνων ἀγαθῶν ἐπίκτησιν, τούτους καταναλίσκομεν εἰς τὸ τὰ ἤδη μὲν κτηθέντα, διὰ δὲ τῆς ῥαθυμίας ἀπολυθέντα, πάλιν ἐπανασώσασθαι· καὶ οὐ γέλωτος ἄξια ταῦτα, ἢ μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν θρηνῶν καὶ δακρύων πολλῶν.

Ναὶ ὄντως, ἀδελφοί, διὰ τοῦτο χρὴ ἡμᾶς πάντοτε ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ὥστε καὶ τὰ ἤδη καλῶς κτηθέντα κατέχειν, καὶ ἄλλα τούτοις προσεπικτᾶσθαι· ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ φρόνιμος ἔμπορος οὐχὶ ἃ χθὲς καὶ πρώην κόπῳ ἐνεμπορεύσατο, περιφρονεῖ καὶ ἀπόλλυσιν, εἶτα ἕτερα ζητεῖ· οὕτω γὰρ ποιῶν, συντόμως ἂν ἐκένου τὰ χρήματα, καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἄπορον καὶ πένητα ἀποκαθιστᾷ· ἀλλὰ τί; Φυλάττει μὲν τὰ ἤδη ἐμπορευθέντα, ἵνα καιροῦ καλοῦντος τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν κερδήσῃ ὠφέλειαν· προσεπικτᾶται δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις, καὶ ἄλλα· καὶ οὕτω τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θησαυρόν, οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐκκενοῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὔξειν ἐπὶ πλέον ποιεῖ· τοῦτον οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς μιμώμεθα, καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἐκτησάμεθα ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἁγίας τεσσαρακοστῆς, φυλάττωμεν ἀσφαλῶς, μὴ λάθῃ τι τούτων ὑποσυλήσας ὁ ἀντικείμενος ἡμῖν, καὶ ἄλλα δὲ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις

---

[178]Transl. K11: For it must be known that many (monks) were shipwrecked even at port, which thing, if we do not want to suffer too, let us be attentive and vigilant. And we ought to fear this above all else. For those men who sail the sea, if they anchor their vessel in a secure port, there is a moment when they are idle and sleep and release their minds a little from cares. But we, if we let go of ourselves a little, because we think we are in port, quickly are we shipwrecked. For even that little relaxation finds a diminishment of virtue and an increase in evil, so that it does not benefit us at all to be idle. For truly, when we are vigilant and have our wits about us, the enemies will not easily rise up against us.

ἐπικτᾶσθαι σπουδάζωμεν, ἵνα τὸν ψυχικὸν θησαυρὸν ἡμῶν[179] αὐξάνωμεν.[180]

The activity of gain and accumulation by the merchant is praised as sensible, an activity to be imitated, in the spiritual field, by the monks.

Generally, merchants had a bad press in patristic writings, mainly because of the damning picture of Apocalypse 18. Exceptions can nevertheless be found. For example, Theodoret makes "wise merchants" the addressees of his prologue to the *Interpretatio in Psalmos*, referring, I believe, both to real merchants (by his reference to the ἀγορᾶις at l. 8) and to metaphorical ones (the dealers profiting from spiritual benefits):

πρώτην ταύτην ἐβουλόμην ἑρμηνεῦσαι τὴν προφητείαν, καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ βυθῷ ὠφέλειαν προθεῖναι τοῖς φρονίμοις ἐμπόροις· ἵν' ἅδοντες ὁμοῦ καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν ᾀδομένων ὁρῶντες, διπλοῦν θερίζωνται κέρδος.[181]

The positive use of this social category brings to light the opinion of a certain section of the eleventh-century population on the subject.[182] A related topic is the comparison between the spiritual life and fairs (panegyreis), transposed from Theodore's text into K17.[183]

---

[179]ἡμῶν θησαυρὸν M

[180]Transl. K4: but what is below average, and among us shows (us) to be ridiculous, is that the labours that we ought to have invested for the acquisition of other greater goods, we must use up to rescue back again what we already possessed, but have lost because of our laziness. And these things are worthy, not of ridicule, but rather of mourning and tears. Yes, truly, my brothers, because of this it is necessary for us to strive constantly, so that we may hold onto what we have already once well acquired, and add other gains besides these. Because even a wise merchant does not despise and ruin what he has gained with the work of yesterday or of the recent past, and then looks for other things; for, if he did so, he would empty out his wealth and find himself in hardship and poverty. But what (does he do)? He looks after the things he has already bought so that, at the right time, he may gain from them profit, and he adds other gains besides these. In this way, not only does he not empty out his treasure, but he even increases it in abundance. Then let us also imitate him, and let us keep securely what we gained during the season of holy Lent, lest our enemy should secretly steal it away, and also let us be earnest in accumulating other things besides these, so as to increase our spiritual treasure.

[181]THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, *Τοῦ μακαρίου Θεοδωρήτου ἐπισκόπου Κυρίου ἑρμηνεία εἰς τοὺς ψαλμούς*, PG 80, 857-1998, at col. 860A10-14.

[182]The state of sources on this social category is lamented by A. LAIOU, 'The Greek Merchant of the Palaeologan Period: a Collective Portrait', *Akademia Athenon: Praktika* 57 (1982), 96-132, at p. 96, and the gap is only partly filled by the edition of P. SCHREINER, *Texte zur spätbyzantinischen Finanz- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte in Handschriften der Biblioteca Vaticana*, Studi e Testi 344 (Città del Vaticano, 1991).

[183]PC23. For a description of the celebrations and an assessment of the ambivalent attitude of the Church to fairs, where feasting the saint in worship went hand in hand with commercial activities and secular amusements, cf. S. VRYONIS, 'The *Panegyris* of the

The last *exemplum* that may be added to this list of models of virtue is that of the farmer.[184] K16 compares the farmer's dedication to his work with the spiritual labour of the monks, who should equally hope to gather ripe fruits in due course:

> ὁ γεωργός, ὅταν ἴδῃ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἄρουραν, καλὸν καὶ ὥριμον τὸν στάχυν γεωργήσας, χαρᾷ χαίρει ἀπλέτῳ ὅτι οὐκ εἰς μάτην αὐτῷ οἱ πόνοι κατεβλήθησαν· ὥσπερ πάλιν, ὅταν ὄψεται αὐτὴν ζιζάνια καὶ μὴ σῖτον ἐνέγκασαν, στυγνάζει, πενθεῖ, ὀδύρεται, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ζωὴν ἀπολέγεται, καὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτῷ τὸ ἀθυμεῖν ἐπιγίνεται, ὡς ἀπελπίζειν καὶ τὴν ζωήν, καὶ μηδὲ τῶν ὄντων φροντίζειν.
>
> Τούτῳ τοίνυν ὁμοίως καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν, σπείροντες γὰρ σπείρομεν καθ' ἑκάστην τὰ πνευματικὰ σπέρματα[185] ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν, καί, ὅση δύναμις, τὰς ἀκάνθας ἐκτέμνομεν, καὶ τὰ ζιζάνια ἐκκαθαίρομεν· καρπὸν δὲ οὐκέτι τὸν ἐνδεχόμενον συνελέξαμεν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀθυμοῦμεν· εἰσὶ γάρ εἰσί τινες ἐξ ὑμῶν οἳ ἔτι *τὸν παλαιὸν ἐνδέδυνται ἄνθρωπον*, καὶ ματαίους ἡμῶν τοὺς πόνους ἀποδεικνύουσιν.[186]

Byzantine Saint: a Study in the Nature of a Medieval Institution, its Origin and Fate', in S. HACKEL, ed., *The Byzantine Saint, Sobornost* 3 (1981), 196-226, esp. pp. 210-12. Cf. E. FOLLIERI, 'La vita somiglia a una *panegyris*: storia di una similitudine dall'antichità al medioevo', in A. ACCONCIA-LONGO, L. PERRIA & A. LUZZI, eds., *Byzantina et Italograeca, Studi di Filologia e Paleografia*, Raccolta di Studi e Testi 195 (Roma, 1997), pp. 487-95.

[184]For occurrences of the word "farmer" in the New Testament, cf. Jn. 15, 1: ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ γεωργός ἐστιν·; 2Tim. 2, 6.: *It is the farmer who does the work who ought to have the first share of the crops*; Ja. 5, 7: *The farmer waits for the precious crop from the earth, being patient with it until it receives the early and the late rains.* For "farmer" as a metaphor for a human father, cf. Clem. *paed.* 2.10 (p. 208.6; M. 8.497A): γ., ὁ ἔμψυχον σπείρων ἄρουραν (from Lampe). This catechesis echoes the parable of the sower in Mt. 13 (cfr. also Mk. 4, 1-9, 13-20; Lk. 8, 4-8; 11-15).

[185]Σπέρματα of Christian doctrine: Clem. *str.* 1.1 (p. 9.8; M. 8.700A); *ib.* 1.2 (p. 14,10; 709C); *ib.* 7.12 (p. 57.10; M. 9.512A); Or. *hom. 5.13 in Jer.* (p. 42.7; M. 13.313A) (from Lampe).

[186]Transl. K16: the farmer, whenever he looks at his field that he has cultivated with good and flourishing grain, rejoices with a full joy, because his labours have not been spent in vain. Just as, on the contrary, whenever he sees that the same field has brought forth weeds (cf. Mt. 13, 25: darnel) and not grain, he sobs, grieves and is in pain, neglects his own life, and reaches such a degree of discouragement, that he abandons even the hope of life, and does not care even for his possession. We too behave in the same way as the farmer, for as to the sowing, we sow day by day the spiritual seeds in your hearts, and, as much as we can, we cut out the thorns, and purify them from weeds. But we have not gathered the due fruit, so we too are discouraged because of this. For indeed there are some among you who are still *clothed in the old man* (Eph. 4, 22), and show that our labours are in vain.

This catechesis, dealing with the various activities of the monks within a monastery seen from the eyes of a concerned abbot, has a clear Studite flavour. One may even think that such unidentified catecheses could have preserved lost texts by Theodore.[187] The image of the farmer is in fact encountered again in K in texts of Studite provenance: K18, 95, 265.

II. vi) Similes for imitation: *mimesis* of nature.

The description of spring was a rhetorical set-piece in preaching, as Daniélou remarked:

> Il s'agit d'une description dont le canon était fixé par la rhetorique et sur laquelle chacun brode seulement quelques variations.[188]

Of the two texts analysed by Daniélou as offering patristic sources for the theme of spring as a metaphor in the understanding of the Easter season, Eusebius' sparse presentation appears to offer the closest parallel to K. On the contrary, Gregory Nazianzen's bucolic picture appears so elegant and elaborate, that it can only provide a contrast to Paul's monastic world.

Since Eusebius's text typifies this canon, it is worth quoting at length:

> Καὶ ὁ καιρὸς δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς εὔκαιρος, οὐκ ἐν μέσῃ χειμῶνος ὥρᾳ παρηγμένος· στυγνὸς γὰρ οὗτος· ἀλλ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἐν μέσῳ θέρει κατάλληλος ἦν, καθ᾽ ὃν ἡ τροπὴ φλεγμαίνουσα, τῶν κατ᾽ ἀγροὺς σχολαζόντων περιαιρεῖται τὸ κάλλος· πλεονεκτεῖ δὲ διὰ τὰ τῶν ὡρῶν, οὐκ ἐπαμφοτερίζοντα τῇ ἰσομοιρίᾳ· μετοπώρου γὰρ τροπῆς οὐκ ἐπιτερπὴς ἡ θέα, χηρευούσης μὲν τῆς χώρας, τῶν δ᾽ οἰκείων καρπῶν ὡς ἂν τέκνων ἀπεστερημένης. Ἔαρ δὴ λείπεται τὸ φαιδρόν, ὃ δὴ τοῦ παντὸς ἔτους κεφαλή τις οἷα σώματος ἡγεῖται, ἡλίου μὲν δὴ ἄρτι τὸ πρῶτον τμῆμα διιπνεύοντος, σελήνης δ᾽ ἐκ παραλλήλου πλησιφαεῖ τῷ φωτὶ τὸν τῆς νυκτὸς δρόμον εἰς λαμπρὰν μεθαρμοζομένης ἡμέραν. Τοῦτο λύει μὲν κτύπων χειμερίων φόβητρα, λύει δὲ μακρὰ διαστήματα, πλημμύρας ὑδάτων μεταβάλλει. Ἤδη δὲ νεαρᾶς ἐπιλαμπούσης αἰθρίας, γαλήνη μὲν τοῖς

---

[187] Although Theodore's *corpus* of writings is already very large, the hypothesis has been advanced that it may not represent his complete production: see CHOLIJ, 'The Ordering of Holiness', p. 88.

[188] DANIÉLOU, *Bible et liturgie*, pp. 393-94. Sources for the description of spring have been gathered most recently in H. MAGUIRE, *Art and Eloquence in Byzantium* (Princeton, 1994), pp. 42-52 and nn. 111-57.

> θαλαττεύουσι καθίστησι τὰ πελάγη, εὔδιον δὲ ἀέρα τοῖς κατὰ γῆν ὁδοιπόροις ἐνδίδωσι. Χῶραι δ' ἐν τούτῳ κατ' ἀγροὺς ἐγκύμονες σπερμάτων, καὶ καρπῶν σπαργῶντα φυτὰ τοῖς ἐκ θεοῦ δώροις ἀγαλλόμενα, γεωργοῖς πόνων τὰς ἀμοιβὰς ἐν εὐλογίας παρέχει.[189]

Eusebius first describes the spring as the natural season where Easter finds its setting, by contrast to the extremes of both winter and summer, and in preference to autumn, mentioned as the rival mid-season. He touches on the theme of spring being the "first" season according to the solar calendar, and therefore marking a beginning to the year.[190] He then outlines the two themes that mark the appreciation of this season: a) the theme of sea-voyaging; b) the theme of the land and its fruitfulness. These themes find their metaphorical development as images of spiritual renewal. Both are found in K.

The opening of K3 characterizes spring as the new flourishing of the natural world:

> ὁ χειμὼν ἤδη παρῆλθε καὶ τὸ ἔαρ ἐπέστη·[191] ἐπέστη δέ, οὐχ' ἁπλῶς ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν εὐωδίαν καὶ τέρψιν ἐπαγόμενον, καὶ τὰ μέν, ἤδη παριστῶν, τὴν βλάστην τε καὶ τὴν ἄνθην, τὰ δέ, ἐπαγγελλόμενον, τοὺς καρποὺς δηλαδή, καὶ τὴν τούτων ἀπόλαυσιν.[192]

The description of spring at K13 reunites both sea and land elements together with the sky:

---

[189]EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA: *Εὐσεβίου Καισαρείας εἰς τοῦ Πάσχα ἑορτῆς*, PG 24, 693-706, at col. 696C5-D11. French transl. (from 696C13) in DANIÉLOU, *Bible et liturgie*, p. 391.

[190]Cf. Ch. II, I. i.

[191]The opening words come from PC68, ὅτι ὁ χειμὼν παρῆλθε καὶ τὸ ἔαρ εἰσῆλθεν..., but the continuation of the text is not only different from the Studite model, but in contrast to it. PC68 is K365.

[192]Transl. K3: winter is already over, and spring is approaching; yet it is not here by itself, but it is in the process of bringing all sweet fragrances and delights, some of which are already present, such as the shoot and the blossom, others merely announced, such as the fruits and their enjoyment.

Τήν γε γῆν ἄρτι τις ἴδοι τὴν νεκρότητα[193] ὥσπερ καὶ τὴν χειμερινὴν κατήφειαν ἀποτιθεμένην,[194] καὶ πρὸς βλαστοφύϊαν κεκινημένην, ἀναθάλλουσάν τε ὡσανεὶ καὶ ἀναβιοῦσαν, ὡσαύτως καὶ τὰ φυτά, καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἠπιωτέροις τοῖς κύμασι τῇ γειτόνι προσπταίζουσαν χέρσῳ· καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας αἰθριώτερόν πως καὶ καθαρώτερον ἀπολάμποντας καὶ πάντα, ὡς εἰπεῖν, πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον καὶ ὡραιότερον ὁρῶμεν νῦν μεταβαλλόμενα.[195]

In the next passage, Eusebius turns the natural setting into a metaphor with Christian significance:

> κατὰ τοῦτον καὶ ὁ Σωτὴρ τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου τὸ τῆς οἰκείας ἑορτῆς ἐξετέλεσε μυστήριον, καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην ὁ μέγας φωστήρ, εὐσεβείας αὐγαῖς κατελάμπρυνε καὶ δὴ γενέθλιον κόσμου ὁ καιρὸς περιέχειν ἔοικε. Κατὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν καὶ τύπος ἐτελεῖτο, τὸ παλαιὸν Πάσχα, ὃ καὶ διαβατήριον εἴρηται· [...] Αὐτὸς καὶ ἥλιος δικαιοσύνης, ἔαρος δῆτα θείου καὶ σωτηρίου τροπῆς ἀπὸ χειρόνων ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττω τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον διαλαβούσης.
>
> Αἰγύπτων μὲν δαίμοσιν εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν θεήλατοι μάστιγες καταπέμπονται, λαοὶ δὲ πανταχοῦ γῆς οἰκοῦντες τὴν σφῶν ἐλευθερίαν τὴν ἐκ τῆς πολυπλανοῦς ἀθεότητος ἑορτάζουσι. Τῶν λαοπλανῶν δὲ πνευμάτων πεπαυμένων, καὶ χειμῶνος κακῶν, καινῶν καρπῶν εὐφορία διαφόροις χαρίσμασιν ἁγίου Πνεύματος τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ στεφανοῖ· καὶ ἁπλῶς πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον μεταβέβληται· χῶραι δὲ πᾶσαι, πρὸς τοῦ γεωργοῦ Λόγου τῆς κατὰ ψυχὴν γεωργίας τυχοῦσαι, τὰ ὡραῖα τῆς ἀρετῆς ἄνθη βεβλαστήκασιν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν τοῦ σκότους κακῶν ἠλευθερωμένοι, φωτὸς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ Θεοῦ γνώσεως κατηξιώθημεν.[196]

All the elements of K3 are contained in this passage. The image of the "sun of justice", which was, according to Daniélou, a favourite theme in

---

[193]Νεκρότης as state of death is not recorded in LS.

[194]Cp. Gr. Nyss. *hom. 10 in Cant.* (PG 44, 984C): τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ σκότους... βορέαν τε καὶ σκληρὸν ὀνομάζει ὁ λόγος, τὸν τῆς κατεφείας τοῦ χειμώνος ἐργάτην (from Lampe).

[195]Transl. K13: One may now see the earth, leaving behind mortality in the same way as the wintry gloom and moving to bloom, flourishing and, as it were, reviving. So also (one may see) the plants, and the sea striking with calmer waves against the land promontory. And the sky itself and the stars shining as if more brightly and purely, and now we see all, so to speak, changing into something better and more seasonal.

[196]PG 24, 687A1-C2; French transl. (partial) in DANIÉLOU, *Bible et liturgie*, p. 392.

Eusebius,[197] and was a synonym for Christ in liturgical vocabulary, appears in both descriptions. The advent of this moral sun brings forth the fruits of the Spirit, and coincides with the metaphorical spring of the virtues, tended by Christ, who labours in our souls as the farmers in the fields:

> Τί γοῦν ὁ λόγος μοι βούλεται; προτρέπει τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἡμᾶς πάντοτε μιμεῖσθαι, καὶ ὥσπερ ἔαρος ἐφισταμένου καὶ τοῦ ἡλίου θερμότερον ἐπιλάμποντος, ὁ χειμὼν μὲν διώκεται καὶ ἀφανίζεται, οὕτως ἀεὶ καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν, τοῦ τῶν ἀρετῶν ἔαρος παρεμβάλλοντος, ὁ τῆς ἁμαρτίας χειμὼν λυέσθω, ἀφανιζέσθω τῇ καθαρωτέρᾳ ἐλλάμψει <u>τοῦ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἡλίου Χριστοῦ</u>, ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν· καὶ <u>ὥσπερ τὸ ἔαρ</u>· πᾶσαν ἤδη βοτάνην καὶ πᾶν δένδρον παρέστησε[198], ἄνθη τε ἐν ταὐτῷ καὶ εὐωδίαν ἐκπέμποντα, καὶ ἐναθάλλοντα εἰς προσδοκίαν καρπῶν, οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὅσας ἔτι τῶν ἀρετῶν οὐ μετήλθομεν τελεώτερον, ἀλλὰ νεαρὰς ἔτι καὶ χλοερὰς περιφέρομεν, σπουδάσωμεν καὶ εἰς ἐξάνθησιν καὶ βλάστην προενεγκεῖν, ὥστέ ποτε καὶ καρποφορῆσαι, καὶ ἐπευφράναι <u>τὸν καλὸν ἡμῶν γεωργόν</u>, τὸν Χριστόν.[199]

Ignatius of Antioch already called those cared for by the bishop "the garden of Christ" (γεώργιον Χριστοῦ) as opposed to "the seeds of the devil" (ἐχθροῦ σπορὰ),[200] even though Christ is not often designated as γεωργός, since He assigned that function to his Father: ... ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ γεωργός ἐστιν (Jn. 15, 1).

The image of the harvest is expanded into a list of monastic virtues in K3:

---

[197]DANIÉLOU, *Bible et liturgie*, p. 392: "C'etait lui aussi, le soleil de justice, quand le printemps divin et le changement salutaire a fait passer la vie des hommes du mal au bien". For the Hellenistic background, cf. DVORNIK, *Political Philosophy*, II, pp. 620-21.

[198]παρέστησε A] παρίστησιν M

[199]Transl. K13: What then does the speech want of me? It encourages us to imitate in every way this season, and similarly, when the spring approaches and the sun shines more warmly, winter is put to flight and disappears, so always in us also, with the advent of the spring of the virtues, may the winter of sin be dissolved and be cancelled by the purer shining of Christ, *the sun of justice* (Mal. 4. 2 = 3. 20), in our hearts. And just as the spring has shown forth already all the grass and every tree, and at the same time flowers that give out sweet fragrances and that bloom in expectation of fruits, in the same way we too, those virtues which we have not yet practised to greater perfection, but bear still new and green, strive to make them put forth blossom and shoot, so that at some time our good husbandman, the Christ, may also gather fruit, and be satisfied. (For a Biblical depiction of spring, cp. Song of Songs 2, 11-13).

[200]*Epistulae spuriae* 6. 3. 2. 4.

Προσεκτέον δὲ μὴ τῆς συλλογῆς τῶν καρπῶν ἐπιστάσης, ὅπέρ ἐστιν ἡ τῶν ἔργων εἴσπραξις, εὑρεθῶμεν ἀντὶ καρπῶν ἡμέρων καὶ εὐχρήστων, ἀγρίους τινὰς καὶ ἀχρήστους ἐπαγόμενοι· καρποὶ μὲν γὰρ οἷς ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν ἐπευφραίνεται, εἰσὶν *οἱ καρποὶ τοῦ πνεύματος· ἀγάπη· χαρά· εἰρήνη· μακροθυμία· χρηστότης· σεμνότης· εὐλάβεια· ὑπακοή· ταπείνωσις· προσοχή· ἐγκράτεια·* σωφροσύνη· προσευχή· ἁγνεία· καθαρότης· ἁγιασμός· *οὗ χωρίς, οὐδεὶς ὄψεται τὸν Κύριον·* ἄγριοι δέ εἰσι καὶ ἄχρηστοι, οἱ τοῦ ἐναντίου πνεύματος· μνησικακία· ὑπερηφανία· λύπη· ἔρις· ἀντιλογία· γογγυσμός· κενοδοξία· οἴησις· ὑψηλοφροσύνη· καταλαλιά· κατάκρισις· λοιδορία· μῖσος· πορνεία· λαγνεία· ἀκαθαρσία· καὶ τὰ λοιπά.[201]

At the close of K3, the element of eschatological enlightenment hinted at by Eusebius is developed:

Ὁ γοῦν τοὺς καρποὺς τοῦ θείου πνεύματος ἐπαγόμενος, συναχθήσεται εἰς τὰς αἰωνίους ἀποθήκας, καὶ συνευφρανθήσεται τῷ δεσπότῃ αἰωνίως τοὺς πόνους τῶν καρπῶν αὐτοῦ δρεπόμενος, ὡς μακαρίως[202] καὶ καλῶς ἀγωνισάμενος, τὸν βασιλικὸν τῆς ἀθανασίας καὶ μακαριότητος χιτῶνα ἐπενδυσάμενος, καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ συνανακείμενος ἐν τῷ πνευματικῷ αὐτοῦ γάμῳ, καὶ συνδοξαζόμενος αὐτῷ, καὶ δοξάζων αὐτόν, ἐν ἀλήκτῳ τε εὐφροσύνῃ καὶ ἀϊδίῳ χαρᾷ καὶ λαμπρότητι ἀκηράτῳ ἀγαλλιώμενος, καὶ μηδέποτε κορεννύμενος·[203]

---

[201]Transl. K3: One must beware lest, at the time appointed for the gathering of the fruits, which is the reward of our actions, we find ourselves bringing wild and useless fruits instead of ripe ones that are good to eat (cf. Heb. 6, 7-8). For the fruits by which our Lord is satisfied are *the fruits of the Spirit: goodness, joy, peace, generosity, simplicity, dignity, piety, obedience, humility, attentiveness, self-control,* moderation, prayer, chastity, purity, holyness, *without which no one reveres the Lord* (Heb. 12. 14). But those contrary to the Spirit are the wild and useless fruits: spite, arrogance, sadness, strife, disputation, murmuring, vanity, conceit, pride, detraction, criticism, abuse, hatred, fornication, lewdness, impurity, and the rest.

[202]μακάριος M

[203]Transl. K3: He then, who carries the fruits of the Holy Spirit, will be led to the everlasting storehouses, and will rejoice together with the master forever plucking the fruits of his labours (lit.: the labours of his fruits), because he has run his race blissfully and well. He will wear the royal garment of immortality and blessedness, and lie by his king in the spiritual marriage to him, being glorified with him and glorifying him, and exulting in unceasing happiness and eternal joy and full light, and never satiated.

In this final passage, a number of different images are brought together to describe the blessedness of Paradise, from the "everlasting storehouses",[204] that continue the agricultural metaphor of the fruits, to the image of the marriage-feast,[205] characterized by joy and light.

Taking the traditional elements of the rhetorical characterization of spring, K3 adapts the image to its monastic purpose by emphasizing the degree of imitation required of the monks in welcoming the light of Christ and producing good fruits. In this way, the audience participates actively in the spectacle of spring. The natural phenomenon of spring is held up as something to imitate in a flourishing spiritual life, and, though Christ is presented as the "good husbandman", the nature of the fruits, whether good or wild, depends on individual practice, virtuous or otherwise.

A similar connivance of natural with human, seeing the natural cycles as representing man's rhythms, and requiring that man imitate nature, is found again at K13. This catechesis shows an awareness of the use of spring as an image for the Resurrection, as in the Easter Homilies of Cyril of Alexandria:

> Ἔδει καὶ τὴν ἀνθρώπου φύσιν χλοηροφορούσαις ταῖς ἀρούραις φιλονεικεῖν, καὶ τοῖς τῆς εὐσεβείας, ἵν' οὕτως εἴπω, βλαστήμασι περιανθιζομένην ὁρᾶσθαι. Φέρε γὰρ εἰς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων μετασκευάζοντες δύναμιν, καὶ μετατιθέντες εἰς τὸ χρήσιμον τοῦ νοήματος τὸν σκοπόν, ἴδωμεν ἀκριβῶς εἰ τοῦ πρέποντος ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος διαμαρτήσεται, μῆνα τῶν νέων ἀποκαλῶν τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἐπιδημίας τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐφ' ᾧ δὲ σύμπαντας ἑορτάζειν ἀκόλουθον. Οἴχεται μὲν γὰρ ἤδη πρὸς ἀπώλειαν ὁ δαίμων ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἀρχέκακος,

---

[204]Cf. Mt. 3, 12; Lk. 3, 17; CPG 2287, Athanasios, *Sermo pro iis qui saeculo renuntiarunt* 28, 1420.24-26: Μακάριος ἐστιν ἐκεῖνος ὁ σώσας τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ· συνάξουσιν αὐτὸν οἱ ἄγγελοι εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον ἀποθήκην, and Basil of Caesarea, *Enarratio in Prophetam Isaiam* 1. 20. 18, in a similar context of gathering spiritual fruits from a vine: Ὅταν μὲν οὖν καρποφορῇ ἡ ψυχὴ ἄξια τῶν αἰωνίων ἀποθηκῶν, παραμένει καὶ φυλάσσει....

[205]Sponsal imagery is inevitably associated with the eschatological connotations evoked by "the first fruits of the Spirit" that foreshadow death (2 Cor. 5, 3-5) and bring salvation (Rom. 8, 23); cf. A. C. RUSH, 'Death as Spiritual Marriage: Individual and Ecclesial Eschatology', *Vigiliae Christianae* 26 (1972), 81-101, at pp. 93, 101.

χειμῶνος δίκην ταῖς ἁπάντων ἐπισκήπτων ψυχαῖς, καὶ ὥσπερ τι πλῆθος ὑετοῦ τὰς ἀτόπους ἡμῖν καταστάζων ἐπιθυμίας. Ἡ δὲ τῶν ἀκαθάρτων πνευμάτων ἰσχὺς ἀπελήλαται, τὸ στυγνὸν τῆς ἁμαρτίας νέφος ἀπετινάχθη διὰ τῆς χάριτος. Ἠρινὸν δὲ ὥσπερ εἰς ἡμᾶς τέταται φῶς· εἶτα πρὸς τούτοις ἡ δοθεῖσα τοῦ Πνεύματος ἀπαρχή, καθάπερ τις ζέφυρος ἢ αὔρα λεπτὴ τὰς ἁπάντων ψυχὰς περιπνεῖ, καλύκων εἰς εὐωδίαν οὐχ ἡττωμένους τοὺς ἐν οἷς κατοικεῖν διαφόρως κατασκευάζουσα. *Χριστοῦ γὰρ εὐωδία ἐσμὲν τῷ θεῷ* καθάπερ Παῦλός φησι. Καὶ τὴν μὲν παλαιότητα τοῦ παρῳχηκότος βίου, οἷά τι φύλλον ἀποβεβλήκαμεν, εἰς ἑτέραν δὲ αὖθις ἀνανεούμεθα πολιτείαν ἀρτιθαλῆ καὶ νεόφυτον.[206]

While Cyril's text builds the analogies through adjectival qualifications (wintry, spring-like) and always stresses the aspect of qualified similitude (with expressions such as ἵν' οὕτως εἴπω, οἷά τι), in K parallels unfold directly and unquestioningly: earth sheds death like the gloom of winter (K13: Τήν γε γῆν ...τὴν νεκρότητα ὥσπερ καὶ τὴν χειμερινὴν κατήφειαν ἀποτιθεμένην), just as in K3 new virtues were described as "still new and green" (νεαρὰς ἔτι καὶ χλοερὰς) until we "make them put forth blossom and shoot" (εἰς ἐξάνθησιν καὶ βλάστην προενεγκεῖν). The natural phenomena observable in spring can be paralleled to what happens to men, because the two worlds, though distinct, are sustained by the same Creator-God.

> Ἀλλ' οὐδὲν, οἶμαι, πολὺ τὸ τούτοις αὐτὸν ἀγλαΐζεσθαι μόνοις, τὸ γὰρ δὴ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων ἀξιώτερον, ἐκεῖνό ἐστι. Συνανέβη γὰρ τοῖς φυτοῖς καὶ ἡ πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἡγεμονεύουσα φύσις, φημὶ δὲ τὸν ἄνθρωπον. Ἠρινὸς γὰρ ἡμῖν εἰσκομίζει καιρὸς τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν τὴν ἀνάστασιν, δι' ἧς οἱ πάντες ἀναμορφούμεθα εἰς καινότητα ζωῆς, τὴν ἐπείσακτον τοῦ θανάτου διαδράντες φθοράν. Ἦν γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὄντως ἀπίθανον, φυτῶν μὲν εἴδη καὶ γένη πρὸς τὴν ἀρχαίαν ὄψιν ἀνακομίζεσθαι, δυνάμει τοῦ πάντα ζωογονοῦντος Θεοῦ, κεῖσθαι δὲ ἄπνουν, οὐδεμιᾶς ἄνωθεν

---

[206]CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, *Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Κυρίλλου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀλεξανδρείας ὁμιλίαι ἑορταστικαί*, PG 77, 401-982, at cols. 429D6-432B5; French transl. of the beginning only in DANIÉLOU, *Bible et liturgie*, p. 394.

λαχόντος φροντίδος, δι' ὃν καὶ ἡ τῶν φυτῶν ἐξεύρηται γέννησις.[207]

The visual impact of the changes of spring is used by Cyril to remind us of the transformation of man, whose hope is to re-attain the paradisiacal state; thus, as trees put on their foliage and are re-instated in their spring condition, man can be redeemed from sin and death, and brought back to the primeval image.

Concern with the visual also dominates the comparison at K13:
τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὐ μόνον ἡ λογικὴ φύσις ἑορτάζει, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ ἡ ἄλογος καὶ ἡ ἄψυχος· καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἄλογα νῦν βλέπομεν τὸν τε παλαιὸν αὐτῶν κόσμον ἀποτιθέμενα καὶ νεοποιοῦμενα, καὶ πρὸς τεκνογονίαν διεγειρόμενα. [...] Τί γοῦν, τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων, ἡμεῖς οἱ λόγῳ τετιμημένοι, καὶ κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ διὰ τοῦτο γεγενημένοι, ἐπὶ τῆς παλαιότητος καὶ τῆς ἀμορφίας τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν παθῶν ἐσόμεθα μένοντες, καὶ οὐ μεταβαλλόμεθα, οὔτε μὴν μεταποιηθῶμεν, ἀλλ' ἀλογώτερον τῶν ἀλόγων τούτων διακεισόμεθα; Μηδαμῶς, ἀδελφοί· ἀλλὰ σπουδάσωμεν πλέον τούτων ἐπικοσμηθῆναι ὡς καὶ πλείονα σχόντες καὶ τὴν δύναμιν, καὶ τὴν βούλησιν.[208]

The change in emphasis from God's to man's activity in enacting redemption shifts the significance of the relation between man and nature as well. For Cyril, the grounds for the comparison lie in man's sharing with the natural world the status of creatures of God; therefore God is clearly concerned with the redemption of both. In K, however, a sort of competitiveness appears. Although Cyril provides the starting-point for the comparative discourse between man and nature, the aim of stirring his audience into action prevails in K over the salvific picture of a God who,

---

[207]CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, PG 77, 581B11-C8; French transl. in DANIÉLOU, *Bible et liturgie*, p. 394.

[208]Transl. K13: Not only rational nature, but also the irrational and soul-less, celebrates the resurrection from the dead of our Lord Jesus Christ. For now we see also the irrational creatures leaving behind their old adornment and renewing themselves, and turning towards generation. [...] What then, when these things are such, will we be, who have reason and because of this were created in the image of God? Will we remain in the old state and in the ugliness of our passions, and not change, not let ourselves be transformed, but behave more irrationally than these irrational creatures? Certainly not, brothers. But let us be eager to adorn ourselves better than these, since we have both more power and more will.

since he acts so admirably in nature, will act equally well in man. Rather, nature's flourishing in K13 and spring's blossoming in K3 must be actively imitated by the monks and become a symbol of their spiritual lives.

The moral aim of providing a picture for monastic spiritual development draws K3 and K13 closer to their Studite model, PC68, than to the patristic parallels to which the image of spring is indebted.[209]

A final image from the natural world deserves to be included; this is the charming evocation of the coast, turned into a moral image at K48:

> στήκωμεν στερρῶς, ἀπαντῶμεν ἀνδρείως, ἀντιβαίνωμεν γενναίως, τὰς παραθαλαττίους μιμώμεθα πέτρας, αἳ διηνεκῶς ὑπὸ τῶν κυμάτων δερόμεναι, οὐ μόνον <οὐ> μεταπίπτουσιν ἢ συντρίβονται, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ καθαραὶ γίνονται καὶ πανταχόθεν ὁμαλαί τε καὶ λεῖαι, τὰ δὲ κύματα εἰς ἀφρὸν διαλύουσι καὶ ὀπίσω πάλιν ἀπιέναι καὶ εἰς ἑαυτὰ συστέλλεσθαι βιάζουσιν· οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς ἂν ἐπιδήσωσιν ἡμῖν τὰ τῶν πειρασμῶν κύματα μὴ καταβρέξαντα μεταθήσουσί τε καὶ ἀφανίσωσιν ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ᾽ ἀποκρουσθήτωσαν τῇ στερρότητι τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν, καὶ εἰς ἀφρὸν διαλυθήσωσαν· ἡμεῖς δὲ λειωθῶμεν τε καὶ ἐξομαλισθῶμεν, καὶ ὁμαλῶς κυλιώμεθα πρὸς πᾶσαν τὴν ἀδελφότητα, ὥστε ἀδελφοί μου ἑτοιμαζώμεθα πάντοτε πρὸς τὴν τῶν πειρασμῶν ὑπομονήν·[210]

This comparison recalls the striking image of the octopus clinging to the rocks in the Evergetis *Hypotyposis*, but the immobility there is negative, symbolizing a withdrawal from active involvement in the practise of

---

[209]At Ch. II, I. ii, I explain that the different mood of K3 and K365 are due to their different places in the liturgical year.

[210]Transl. K48: [Let us also endure, o brothers, let us endure the trials, those from the devils and those from other men.] Let us stand firm, let us meet them valiantly, let us fight against them bravely. Let us imitate the rocks by the shore, that, although they are continually beaten by the waves, do not fall nor are they consumed, but rather become pure, smooth and level on all sides, while the waves dissolve into foam, and once more return, and attempt to draw themselves together. Similarly, we too, if the waves of the tests assail us, yet they break without changing us and do not destroy us, but rather are beaten off by the strength of our souls, and are dissolved into foam. As for us, let us be flattened and smoothed out, and let us roll along smoothly towards all brotherhood. In this way, my brothers, let us be always ready for the endurance of trials.

virtue.[211] The image of the sea sponge in Ephrem belongs to the same type of comparisons.[212]

---

[211]GAUTIER, 'Évergétis', pp. 50-51, ll. 648-58; another octopus is used as an image of abuse by Niketas of Ankyra, who criticizes the patriarch as being "an octopus clinging to rocks", instead of acting as a caring mother for his children: cf. J. DARROUZÈS, *Documents inédits d'ecclésiologie byzantine* (Paris, 1966), p. 200, ll. 23-24. The appearance of similar expressions in two eleventh-century documents probably reflects a wider use of this image as a figure of speech.

[212]In K261 = ASSEMANI, III, 68f.

PART III

ADVICE ON MONASTIC LIFE

III. i) The virtues of privation.

Monastic catecheses were not intended as *apologia* for monasticism, nor as propaganda for the monastic state. Rather than present a rosy picture of monastic life, they had to serve in moments of discouragement and doubt to strengthen the resolution of the individual monk and assure his persistence in the monastic choice. The harshness of the life, therefore, was openly acknowledged, so that the value of monastic "toil" should be made known and constantly remembered:

> οὐδὲ τὰ τῆς γῆς ἀγαθὰ χωρὶς κόπων κτῶνται· λοιπόν, διατί τὰ οὐρανία διὰ τὸν μόχθον ἐκκλίνομεν· ἐὰν βουλώμεθα τὴν ἀρετὴν χωρὶς κόπων ἐργάζεσθαι, λογιζώμεθα τὸν κόπον, ὅτι πρόσκαιρος· τὸν δὲ μισθόν, ὅτι αἰώνιος· καὶ ῥαδίως αὐτοὺς φέρομεν· πᾶν γὰρ τῷ κόπῳ προσκτώμενον, λίαν ὠφέλιμον, εἰ μὴ παρὰ τῆς οἰήσεως κλέπτεται.[213]

The comparison of the monk's life with the life of the angels is avoided in K, though this theme was used by Theodore Studite.[214] In particular, the asexual aspect emphasized by such a comparison is avoided and the ideal of virginity underplayed. Rather, angels are remembered in their function as co-witnesses with God to the activity of men, for example, as part of the audience at the athletic games mentioned above. They bear

---

[213]Transl. K358: None of the earthly goods are attained without toil. Then why is it that we shun heavenly things by reason of the labour involved? If we want to enact virtue without toil, let us consider that toil is contingent, but that the reward is eternal, and we will bear it more easily, for all that has been gained by toil is greatly beneficial, unless it is stolen away by conceit.

[214]The presence of the angelic-life motif in the catechesis of Auxentios therefore argues against its being originally a K text. Theodore's use of the angelic life as a model for the monks is discussed by Leroy in his contribution to *Théologie de la vie monastique*, pp. 429-30. A study on the concept *per se* is still lacking, in spite of its interest being perceived by several scholars: cf. L. JAMES, 'Monks, Monastic Art, the Sanctoral Cycle and the Middle Byzantine Church', in *Theotokos Evergetis*, pp. 162-75, at p. 172 and n. 30, echoing MORRIS, 'The Byzantine Aristocracy and the Monasteries', at pp. 112-19.

witness to men's promises to God, including the monastic profession, and will be present at the moment of judgement.[215]

The toils of life at the monastery draw the monk close to two types of sufferers: the martyrs and the suffering Christ.[216] Both appear in K14. The example of the martyrs incites to patience in enduring the difficulties encountered in monastic life, through willing obedience:

> ἀδελφοί μου, τὰ κατὰ Θεὸν λυπηρὰ ἐκλεξώμεθα, ἵνα τῷ καλῷ οἰκονόμῳ παρομοιωθῶμεν καὶ ταῖς φρονίμοις συνταγῶμεν παρθένοις. Ὑπομείνωμεν τοίνυν πᾶν ὁτιοῦν ἡμῖν ἐπερχόμενον θλιβερὸν διὰ τὸν Θεόν, *ἡ γὰρ ὑπομονὴ ἐλπίδα κατεργάζεται,*[217] κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον, *ἡ δὲ ἐλπὶς οὐ καταισχύνει*· δι' ὑπομονῆς ἔδραμον πάντες οἱ θεῖοι μάρτυρες *τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα τῆς πίστεως*· δι' ὑπομονῆς οἱ ἅγιοι πατέρες τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐτελείωσαν ἄσκησιν· καὶ ἡμεῖς λοιπὸν ὑπομονῇ χρησώμεθα πρὸς τὴν ὑπακοήν, πρὸς τὴν ταπεινοφροσύνην, πρὸς τὴν ἀοργασίαν, πρὸς τὴν ἐν ταῖς διακονίαις γυμνασίαν, πρὸς πᾶν ἄλλο τῶν ἀσκητικῶν ἀγωνισμάτων.[218]

Christ is explicitly considered the appropriate model for comparison in the continuation to the same text:

> Οἶδα τὸν τῆς κοπῆς τοῦ θελήματος πόνον ὅτι βαρύς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν γλυκείαν ζωὴν γινώσκω· ἐπίσταμαι σαφῶς ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄλλο συντέμνον τῷ ἀσκητῇ τὸν δρόμον τῆς ἀσκήσεως· ἐπιμελώμεθα οὖν τοῦ κόπτειν ἐν πᾶσι τὰ θελήματα ἡμῶν, καὶ συντόμως ἐπιλαβώμεθα τῆς μακαρίας ζωῆς. Βούλεσθε μαθεῖν τίνι ὁμοιοῦνται οἱ τὰ θελήματα ἑαυτῶν κόπτοντες, οἱ διακονούντες ἀόκνως καὶ εὐμαρῶς;

---

[215]Cf. K77, 329, 358, 360.

[216]For the monk as martyr in Studite texts, cf. LEROY, 'Saint Théodore Studite', p. 436 and n. 90: "le monachisme n'est martyre que dans sa forme cénobitique". See PC1, 26, 32, 33, 83 etc. For the Imitation of Christ, cf. É. LEDEUR, 'Imitation du Christ - II. Tradition Spirituelle', *DS* 7.2 (1971), cols. 1536-97, esp. 1562-87. Origen and Cyprian understand the imitation literally as martyrdom.

[217]...ἡ θλίψις ὑπομονὴν κατεργάζεται, ἡ δὲ ὑπομονὴ δοκιμήν, ἡ δὲ δοκιμὴ ἐλπίδα. NTG

[218]Transl. K14: My brothers, let us choose *the painful things according to God* (Cf. 2 Cor. 7, 10: ἡ γὰρ κατὰ Θεὸν λύπη μετάνοιαν...ἐργάζεται), so that we may be compared to the good steward (Lk. 16, 1-9) and be ranked with the wise virgins (Mt. 25, 1-13). Let us then bear patiently all the affliction that comes to us through God, for *acceptance breeds hope* (Rom. 5, 3-4), according to the Apostle, and *hope does not disappoint* (Rom. 5, 5). Through patience all the divine martyrs ran *the beautiful race of faith* (1 Tim. 6, 12). Through patience the holy fathers accomplished their *askesis*. And lastly ourselves, let us make use of patience towards obedience, humility, lack of anger, the exercise of the services, and towards all the other things in the ascetic combats.

Ἐκεῖνον αὐτὸν μιμοῦνται τὸν ἴδιον δεσπότην, καὶ αὐτῷ ἐξισοῦνται, εἰ ἐξ εὐθύτητος καὶ μὴ φιλενδείκτως διακονοῦσιν.

Ἐκεῖνος γὰρ εἶπεν· *οὐκ ἦλθον ποιῆσαι τὸ θέλημα τὸ ἐμόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πέμψαντός με πατρός*·[219] καὶ οὐ μόνον εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔδειξε κατὰ τὸν καίρον τοῦ πάθους εὐξάμενος· *πάτερ, εἰ δυνατόν, παρελθέτω τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, πλὴν οὐχ ὡς ἐγὼ θέλω, ἀλλ' ὡς σύ.*[220] Καὶ διακονῆσαι δὲ ἔδειξεν, ὅτε τοὺς πόδας ἔνιψε τῶν μαθητῶν.

> Βλέπετε ποῦ οἱ τὰ θελήματα ἑαυτῶν κόπτοντες ἀνάγονται· βλέπετε, οἱ διακονοῦντες, τίνα μιμεῖσθε, τίνι εἰκάζεσθε, τίνι συνδοξάζεσθε, τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τιθέντες, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ὑπὲρ πάντων τέθεικε ψυχήν.[221]

The submission of the will is a frequent refrain in K, succintly expressed in relation to martyrdom at K358:

> τὴν ὑπομονὴν ἀσκῶμεν· καὶ τοιαύτην αὐτὴν σπουδάσωμεν ἐπικτήσασθαι, οἵαν αὐτὴν οἱ μάρτυρες ἐκτήσαντο· ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀπαιτούμεθα <u>τὸ τῆς συνειδήσεως μαρτύριον</u>.[222]

The example of martyrdom is therefore not only an encouragement with respect to contingent difficulties, but also an aim for the monastic ideal in an eschatological sense:

---

[219]ὅτι καταβέβηκα ⌜ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ οὐχ ἵνα ⌜ποιῶ τὸ θέλημα τὸ ἐμὸν ἀλλὰ τὸ θέλμα τοῦ πέμψαντος με⊤. NTG; ⌜ποιήσω ℵ D L* W 1010 *pc* ⊤πατρὸς D 700. 892. 1010*. 1424 *al* it sy (s).c (NTG variants)

[220]πατέρ° μου, εἰ δυνατόν ἐστιν, παρελθάτω ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο· *πλὴν οὐχ ὡς ἐγὼ θέλω ἀλλ' ὡς σύ⊤. NTG °p)𝔓 L Δ*f*1 892 *pc* a vg ww ⊤ p) *hic add.* L 22, 43-44 *f*13 *pc* (ex. lect) (NTG variants)

[221]Transl. K14: I know that the toil of the renunciation of the will is heavy, but I also recognize the sweet life hereafter. I know clearly that nothing else can shorten for the ascete the race of *askesis*. Then let us apply ourselves to the renunciation of our wills in everything and let us shortly possess the blessed life. Do you want to know to what are compared those who renounce their wills, and those who serve without hesitation and willingly? They imitate their Lord and become like Him, if they serve out of straightforwardness and not in order to show off. For He said: *"I did not come to do my will, but the will of the Father who sent me"*(Jn. 6, 38; cfr. also Jn. 4, 34 and 5, 30). And He not only said, but also showed this at the time of His Passion, praying: *"Father, if it is possible, take away this chalice from me, except not what I want, but what you want"* (Mt. 26, 39; cf. also Mk. 14, 36; Lk. 22, 42; Jn. 18, 11). And He showed service, when He washed the disciples' feet (cf. Jn. 13, 3-14). See how those who renounce their will are lifted up. See those who serve, whom you imitate, to whom you are compared, together with whom you are glorified, laying down your lives for the brothers, as He laid down His life for all.

[222]Transl. K358: Let us practice obedience, and let us be eager to obtain it to such an extent as the martyrs possessed it, since we too are asking for the martyrdom of our consciousness.

> Ἀλλ᾽ ἡμεῖς γε ἀδελφοί μου ἠγαπημένοι, μείνωμεν ἐν οἷς ἐδιδάχθημεν· ἀποθώμεθα δὲ καὶ *τὰ ἔργα τοῦ σκότους*· ἅπερ εἰσὶ μοιχεία· πορνεία· καταλαλιά· ψιθυρισμός· φθόνος· φόνος· ἐριθεία· ψεῦδος· ἐπιορκία· καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα· ἃ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὴν αἰσχρότητα, οὐδὲ λέγειν βούλομαι· ἀναλαβώμεθά τε πάντα τὰ καλά, οἷς αὐτὸς ὁ καλὸς ἡμῶν δεσπότης καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος θεραπεύεται· ἀγάπήν φημι· πίστιν· ἐλπίδα· χρηστότητα· μακροθυμίαν· εἰρήνην· πραότητα· ἁγνείαν· καθαρότητα· σωφροσύνην· ἐγκράτειαν· ἀγρυπνίαν· προσευχήν· δάκρυα· στεναγμούς· νηστείαν· χαμευνίαν· κακοπάθειαν· ἐλεημοσύνην· ταπείνωσιν· ἐξαγόρευσιν· τὴν ἑαυτῶν μέμψιν· τὴν τοῦ θελήματος ἐκκοπὴν ὑπὲρ πάντα· δι᾽ οὗ τάχα, καὶ <u>μαρτύρων ἴσοι εὑρεθησόμεθα</u>·[223].

The theme of death as spiritual marriage forges another connexion between martyr and monk. Details of the bridal and clothing imagery are comparable to those found in accounts from Eastern sources, evoking a heavenly life appropriate for virgin martyrs:[224]

> He will indeed come in glory, riding on the chariot of the clouds, accompanied by the angels and the powers of heaven, and all that is appropriate for his wedding feast; he will shake from the dust the bodies of all those who are betrothed to him, wash them in the dew of heaven, anoint them with the oil of gladness, and <u>clothe them in the garment of righteousness</u>, which consists <u>of glorious light</u>; he will place on their fingers rings as the surety of his grace, while on their heads he will put a crown of splendour, that is to say, unfading glory. He will allow them to sit in his chariot –the glorious cloud– and will raise them up into the air, bringing them into <u>the heavenly bridal chamber that has been set up in the place not made by hands</u>, but built in Jerusalem, the free city on high.[225]

Similar elements are found in the martyr Febronia's answer to her judge:

> O judge, I have a <u>marriage chamber in heaven, not made with hands</u>, and a <u>wedding feast</u> that will never come to an end has been prepared for me. I have as my <u>dowry</u> the entire kingdom of heaven, and my

---

[223]Transl. K36: My beloved brothers, let us remain firm, instead, in what we have been taught. Let us *give up the works of darkness* (Rom. 13, 12), which are: adultery, fornication, murmuring, slandering, envy, murder, anger, falsity, perjury and all the rest, which I do not wish to mention, given their number and their shamefulness. But let us take up all that is good, by which our splendid and good Lord, who is lover of mankind, heals us. I mean: love, faith, hope, goodness, patience, peace, meekness, innocence, purity, wisdom, moderation, vigils, prayer, tears, groanings, fasting, sleeping on the ground, mortification, mercy, humility, confession, self-scorn, the restraining of our wills in everything. Through this, we will soon be found equal even to the martyrs.

[224]Cp. K3, quoted at n. 202.

[225]'The Martyrdom of Martha, Daughter of Posi ...', in S. P. BROCK & S. ASHBROOK HARVEY, *Women of the Syrian Orient* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1987), pp. 70-71.

> Bridegroom is immortal, incorruptible and unchangeable. I shall enjoy him in eternal life.[226]

The fact that in the use of this imagery in K the element of virginity is not stressed confirms Rush's observation that "it was not her virginity that made the consecrated virgin the *Sponsa Christi*; rather, her special espousal to Christ included the obligation of virginity."[227] Similarly,

> That men are the beloved, the spouses of Christ, follows from the baptismal theology of the Patristic Catecheses, according to which each baptized is espoused to the Lord in a union of love that lasts for life and is consummated in eternity.[228]

Although, as Rush points out, the "spousal spirituality" was often used to encourage celibacy in the choice of the single life, it would seem that a further purpose in the monastic context was that of assimilating the mode of death of the monks to that of the martyrs, in this way shaping monastic life around their example, and motivating it to a similar end.

A stark recommendation at K359 contrasts the choice between imitating Christ in suffering with imitating the devil in causing suffering:

> Καρτερῶμεν καὶ τὰς θλίψεις· ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ οἱ στέφανοι πλέκονται· μακάριοι ἐσόμεθα κακοπαθοῦντες, ὥσπερ τρισάθλιοι κακοποιοῦντες· πάσχοντες μὲν γάρ, Χριστοῦ κληρονόμοι εὑρεθησόμεθα· κακοποιοῦντες δέ, τὸν διάβολον μιμούμεθα.[229]

The experience of Christ's suffering and death is encapsulated in His emblem, the Cross. The Cross may symbolize physical privations, such as fasting, but also moral difficulties, such as the humiliations brought about by community life. These are described as beneficial, since the experience of obedience is essential for spiritual progress:

> [...] κατανοῶμεν πόσας ὁ Χριστὸς ὕβρεις ὑπήνεγκε, πόσους ὀνειδισμοὺς πόσας θλίψεις· πῶς ἑαυτὸν ὑποκάτω

---

[226]BROCK & ASHBROOK HARVEY, *Women*, p. 165.
[227]RUSH, 'Death as Spiritual Marriage', p. 86.
[228]RUSH, 'Death as Spiritual Marriage', p. 90.
[229]Transl. K359: Let us also endure afflictions, in which crowns are woven. We are as blessed when we suffer evil as we are wretched when we cause suffering. For when we are suffering, we are found to be heirs of Christ, but when we cause suffering, we imitate the devil.

πάντων ἔθετο νίψας τοὺς πόδας τῶν μαθητῶν· ἅπερ πάντα σημεῖα εἰσὶν ἐντελῆ τῆς ἄκρας ὑποταγῆς· καὶ τότε ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ὅστις ἐστὶ σύμβολον τῆς ἡσυχίας· καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἡσυχάζων ὑψηλότερος ὀφείλει εἶναι πάντων τῶν βιωτικῶν καὶ ἀνώτερος, καὶ νεκρὸς καὶ ἀμέτοχος τῶν ἐν βίῳ.[230]

What really matters for a genuine monastic life is not personal *askesis*, but the obedience which springs from humility, that special type of fruitful suffering whose first example is Christ:

Μὴ τοίνυν πλανώμεθα· ἄλλως γὰρ ἡ ὁδὸς αὕτη οὐχ' ὁδεύεται, εἰ μὴ ὡς εἴπομεν· τοιγαροῦν *τὰ παθήματα πρῶτον ὑπομείνωμεν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἵνα καὶ συνδοξασθῶμεν αὐτῷ* καθὼς λέγει ὁ ἀπόστολος· τὸ δὲ συνδοξασθῆναι ὁ ἀπόστολος οὐδὲν ἄλλο λέγει, εἰ μὴ τὸ συσταυρωθῆναι·[231] δόξα γὰρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ σταυρός· κοπιάσωμεν τὸν κόπον τὸν ἀληθινὸν ὅστις ἐκ τῆς ταπεινώσεως ἐπιγίνεται· ὅστις τὸ ὑπενεγκεῖν πᾶσαν θλίψιν ἐστίν· ὁ γὰρ ἰδίῳ θελήματι γινόμενος κόπος εἴτε νηστευόντων ἡμῶν· εἴτε ἄλλο τι ποιούτων, χωρὶς ἐντολῆς πατέρων, μάταιος οὗτος κόπος καὶ ἀνόνητος, καὶ μηδεμίαν ἡμῖν ὠφέλειαν ἐμποιῶν· ὁ δὲ τὴν ταπείνωσιν ἔχων συνεζευγμένην[232] κόπος, διὰ τάχα ποιεῖ τὸν ἔχοντα αὐτὸν φθάνειν ὡσαύτως καὶ ἡ ἐξουδένωσις· καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὕτη τόπον ἔχει κόπου.[233]

The humiliations received by Christ, which serve to emphasize His humanity, are detailed at K48:

φησὶν ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος· *εὐδοκῶ ἐν ἀσθενείαις, ἐν ὕβρεσιν· ἐν ἀνάγκαις, ἐν διωγμοῖς, ἐν στενοχωρίαις, ὑπὲρ*

---

[230]Transl. K268: [...] let us ponder how much arrogance Christ bore, how many insults and afflictions; how He placed himself below everyone, when he washed his disciples' feet; all these signs are full of the utmost obedience. Then He went up upon the cross, which is the symbol of *hesychia*, for the hesychast must be higher than all the living things and above them, and dead to and without a share in the things in life.

[231]*εἴπερ συμπάσχομεν ἵνα καὶ συνδοξασθῶμεν·* NTG

[232]συνεζεγμένην E

[233]Transl. K268: Then let us not be led astray. For this road cannot be travelled in a way different from the one we have said. Therefore, *let us first endure the sufferings of Christ, that we may also be glorified with him*, as the Apostle says (Rom. 8, 17). But what the Apostle means by 'being glorified together' is none other than 'being crucified with', since the glory of Christ is the Cross. Let us therefore labour with true toil, which is born out of humility, which is that of enduring all affliction. For the toil that is born out of private volition, whether we are fasting or are engaged in any other activity, but without the command of the fathers, is a vain and unprofitable kind of toil, and it produces no advantage in us. But the toil that holds humility in one yoke with itself, quickly makes the one who undertakes it similarly (humble) and so does being thought of no account; for this too has its place as toil. (For this idea in Cassian, see below at n. 266).

Χριστοῦ, ὅταν γὰρ ἀσθενῶ τότε δυνατός εἰμι· τί ταῦτα λέγων; ἢ πάντως ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτὸν μιμούμενοι, ἢ μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν, τὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡμῶν δεσπότην, φέρωμεν γενναίως τοὺς πειρασμοὺς καὶ γὰρ κακεῖνος ἐπειράσθη οὐχ' ἁπλῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις· καὶ λόγοις μέν, ὅταν προσέφερον αὐτῷ τὸν κῆνσον, καὶ ἠρώτων οὖν ἔξεστι δοῦναι τῷ Καισάρι, καὶ ὅταν πάλιν περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως χλευάζοντες ἔλεγον ὅτι *ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει τίνος τῶν ἑπτα ἔσται γυνή;* καὶ ὅταν ἐν ποίᾳ δυνάμει τὰ σημεῖα ποιεῖ ἠρώτων, καὶ ὅταν ἔλεγον αὐτῷ δαιμόνιον ἔχειν καὶ μαίνεσθαι καὶ *Σαμαρείτην* ἐκάλουν· ἔργοις δέ, ὅταν ἐβούλοντο κρημνίσαι αὐτόν, καὶ ὅταν λιθάσαι, καὶ ὅταν κρατήσαντες τὰ ἀνήκεστα ἐκεῖνα κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐπετηδεύσαντό τε καὶ διεπράξαντο, εἶτα δὴ καὶ ἐσταύρωσαν· ἔφερε δὲ πῶς ἂν εἴπω, γενναιότατά τε καὶ μακροθύμως ὑπογραμμὸν ἡμῖν ἑαυτὸν προτιθεμένος, καὶ φάσκων· *μάθετε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ·* ὃν δήπου καὶ ὁ μαθητὴς αὐτοῦ μιμούμενος ἀκριβῶς *εὐδοκεῖν* ἔλεγεν *ἐν ἀσθενείαις* καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς· καὶ οὐ μόνον ἔλεγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔπραττε· πλήρης γὰρ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ παθημάτων καὶ ἀνδραγαθημάτων πᾶσα ἡ ὑπ' οὐρανόν·[234].

Finally, K213 brings together the exhortation to imitate Christ's Passion in humility with another reason for submission to such suffering, namely, the expiation of sins:

σπουδάζωμεν τηρεῖν ἑαυτούς ἀκριβῶς[235]· μέγα κέρδος καὶ σωτηρίαν τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν, τὰς ὕβρεις καὶ τὰς ἀτιμίας, καὶ τὰς διὰ Κύριον ταπεινώσεις πιστεύοντες· καὶ φέρωμεν

---

[234]Transl. K48: the divine Apostle says: *"I am content with weaknesses, insults, hardships, persecutions and privations for the sake of Christ; for whenever I am weak, then I am strong"* (2 Cor. 12, 10). Why does he say these words, unless in order that we too, by imitating him, or rather, imitating his and our Lord, may valiantly bear the trials. For He too was put to the test, not simply, but both in words and in deeds: in words, when they presented to Him the *census*, and asked whether it is right to give it to Caesar (Mt. 22, 17; cf. Mk. 12, 14; Lk. 20, 20-26); and when again jesting about the Resurrection, they said: *"in the Resurrection, then, of which of the seven will she be the wife?"* (Mt. 22, 28; cf. Mk. 12, 18-27; Lk. 20, 27-40); and when they were asking, by what power does he perform these signs (cf. Jn. 9, 16), and when they said that He had a demon and was possessed, and they called Him *"Samaritan"* (Jn. 8, 48); in deeds, when they wanted to throw Him down a cliff (Lk. 4, 29) and when they wanted to stone Him (Jn. 8, 59), and plainly, when they did overpower Him, they prepared and enacted against Him those cruel deeds (cf. Mk. 14, 65), and then, they crucified Him (cf. Mk. 15, 24-25). But He endured, as I may say, most bravely and patiently, offering Himself as a model to us, and saying: *"Learn from me!"* (Mt. 11, 29). By imitating Him perfectly, his disciple said: *"I am content with afflictions"* and the following words (2 Cor. 12, 10). And not only did he say them, but he also acted them out, for everything beneath the heaven is full of His sufferings and His virtuous deeds.

[235]ἀκριβῶς om. Cr

ταῦτα[236] γενναίως, ἀλύπως τε καὶ ὁμαλῶς· καὶ προσπιπτόντων ἡμῖν λυπηρῶν, τοιαῦτα λογιζώμεθα ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν· ὅτι ἄξιοι ἐσμὲν μὴ ταῦτα μόνα, ἀλλὰ καὶ[237] πλείονα πάσχειν διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν· καὶ ὅτι μέγα ἡμῖν τοῦτο ὅτιπερ ὅλως παθεῖν τι καὶ ὑπομεῖναι διὰ τὸν Κύριον καταξιούμεθα.

Τάχα γὰρ ἕνεκα τῶν πολλῶν τούτων, <u>κἂν πρὸς βραχύ τι μιμηταὶ γενώμεθα</u>[238] τοῦ πάθους[239] τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Σωτηρὸς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡμῶν[240]· καὶ ὁσάκις ἐπιμνησθῶμεν[241] τῶν λελυπηκότων, ὡς αἰτίων μεγάλων ἡμῖν κερδῶν γενομένων[242], ὑπερευχώμεθα τούτοις τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἀπὸ ψυχῆς· καὶ τὸ παράπαν μὴ λογιζώμεθα κατά τινος τί πονηρόν,[243] ἀλλ᾽ εὐχαριστῶμεν· εἰδότες ὅτι καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν· θεὸς ὤν[244]· ἀδιήγητόν τε δόξαν καὶ μεγαλωσύνην ἐνδεδυμένος, εὐδόκησε τύπος ἡμῖν καὶ ὑπόδειγμα γενέσθαι ταπεινοφροσύνης[245]· ὑπερβαλλόντως μὲν ἑαυτὸν ταπεινώσας, καὶ *μορφὴν δούλου λαβών*· πτωχείας δὲ πολλῆς[246] καὶ αἰσχύνης, καὶ αὐτοῦ θανάτου καταφρονήσας· ὕβρεών τε πολλῶν καὶ αἰσχίστων δι᾽ ἡμᾶς ἀνασχόμενος· καθὼς περὶ αὐτοῦ γέγραπται· *ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθη· καὶ ὡς ἀμνὸς ἐναντίον τοῦ κείραντος*[247] *αὐτὸν ἄφωνος· οὕτως*[248] *οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ· ἐν τῇ*

---

[236]ταύτας M

[237]καὶ ἄλλα Cr

[238]Cf. Ps.-Makarios at K182: Ἀγαπήσωμεν οὖν τὸν ἡμᾶς ἀγαπήσαντα, ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἡμᾶς ἠγάπησεν· ἐκεῖνος ἀπέθανε δι᾽ ἡμᾶς, ἐτύφθη, ἐνεπτύσθη, ἐφραγελλώθη, ἐκολαφίσθη, ἐνεπαίχθη, ὄξος καὶ χολὴν ἐποτίσθη, ἥλοις προσηλώθη, ὠνειδίσθη, ὑβρίσθη· τί οὐ ἔπαθε δι᾽ ἡμᾶς; πάντα ἔστερξε, πάντα ὑπήνεγκεν, ἵνα πάντας ἑλκύσῃ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καὶ σώσῃ· ὑπομείνωμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς δι᾽ αὐτόν· <u>εἰ καὶ μὴ τὰ ὅμοια, ἀλλὰ κἂν μικρά τινα καὶ μερικά</u>·...
Transl. K182: Let us love, then, He who loves us, as He loved us. He died for us, was buried, was spat at, was whipped, was buffeted, was mocked, was given to drink vinegar and gall, was pierced with nails, was slandered and outraged. What did He not suffer for our sake? He loved all, He withstood all, that He may draw everyone to Himself (cf. Jn. 12, 32) and save everyone. <u>Let us also withstand for His sake, if not equal maltreatments, at least something small and partial</u>.

[239]τοῦ πάθους om. Cr

[240]Σωτηρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ Cr

[241]μνησθῶμεν Cr

[242]γενομένων ἀγαθῶν Cr

[243]καὶ τὸ παράπαν μὴ λογιζώμεθα κατά τινος τι πονηρόν M] ἀλλ᾽ ἀνοίπιστον τοῦτο καὶ λυπηρόν; Cr

[244] καὶ δεσπότης add. Cr

[245]ταπεινοφροσύνης γενέσθαι Cr

[246]πολλῆς om. Cr

[247]κήροντος Cr

[248]οὕτος Cr

ταπεινώσει αὐτοῦ, ἡ κρίσις αὐτοῦ ἤρθη· ταῦτα παθεῖν εἵλετο, διὰ τὴν ἡμῶν ὡς εἴρηται σωτηρίαν, τύπον ἡμῖν καὶ ὑπόδειγμα ἑαυτὸν παρεχόμενος. Ὡς ἂν καὶ ἡμεῖς διὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἁγίαν· ἄλλως τε δὲ[249] καὶ τῶν ἰδίων χάριν ἁμαρτημάτων, ὑπομένωμεν ἐμπροθύμως· ἂν τοίνυν ἡμᾶς τίς δικαίως ἢ ἀδίκως κακολογεῖν ἢ ζημιοῦν· ἢ λοιδορεῖν· ἢ μαστίζειν· ἢ καὶ μέχρι θανάτου ἐπηρεάζειν βούλοιτο, ὡς πρόβατον[250] ὦμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἀγόμενοι· καὶ ὡς κτήνη ἄλαλα κομιδῇ μὴ ἀντιφθεγγόμενοι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον εἰ μὲν δυνατὸν ἡμῖν,[251] εὐλογῶμεν καὶ παρακαλῶμεν· εἰ δ' οὖν· ἀλλὰ κἂν παντάπασι σιωπῶμεν, μετὰ πολλῆς καὶ γνησίας τῆς ταπεινώσεως.[252]

III. ii) Life in common.

The practical demands of life in common occasion advice on specific behaviour. For example, detachment from possessions should be shown when contentions arise about belongings, since monastic life requires that

---

[249]δὲ Cr om

[250]πρόβατα Cr

[251]ἡμῖν, καὶ Cr

[252]Transl. K213: let us be eager to watch over ourselves with exactitude, trusting that rebukes and dishonours and humiliations for the Lord's sake (are) a great gain and the salvation of our souls. And let us bear these courageously, in an untroubled and tranquil manner. When troubles befall us, let us meditate these things in our hearts: that we deserve to suffer not only these, but also greater evils because of our sins; and that it is great for us that we are worthy to suffer something and to bear it for the Lord's sake.

For, perhaps, because of these many things, we may become imitators of the Passion of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, even if in something small. And as often as we make memory of our sufferings, as becoming causes of great rewards for us, let us pray through these for the benefits of the soul, and let us not in the slightest think anything evil against anyone, but let us give thanks. For we know that our Lord, who is God, enrobed with endless glory and majesty, was pleased to become for us a model and an example of humility, having humbled Himself to the extreme, and *taking the form of a servant* (Phil. 2, 7), and despising much poverty and shame and even death itself, and bearing for our sake many insults and humiliations. As it is written concerning Him: *like a sheep that is led to slaughter, like a silent lamb in front of those who shear it, in the same way he did not open is mouth, his judgement was accepted in his humility* (Is. 53, 7b-8a = Acts. 8, 32b-33a). He chose to suffer these things, as Scripture says, *for the sake of our salvation* (cf. Phil. 1, 28), presenting Himself as a model and an example for us.

Equally, let us also submit ourselves willingly because of His holy commandment, but especially for the sake of our sins. Thus if someone, whether justly or unjustly, wishes to speak bad words about us, or punish or reproach us, or whip us or threaten us with abuse even unto death, let us also be like sheep that are led to slaughter, and just like dumb beasts who do not answer back. Even more, if we are capable, let us bless and exhort. But if we cannot, then let us be utterly silent, with much authentic humility.

possessions be held in common.[253] K272 deals extensively with this question:

> ἐὰν θέλωμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς νεκρωθῆναι τῷ κόσμῳ, κόψωμεν τὰς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιθυμίας· τὰς προσπαθείας αὐτοῦ καταλίπωμεν· αἱ γὰρ προσπάθειαι τοῦ κόσμου καθὼς εἶπον οἱ ἅγιοι πατέρες, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μικρῶν χαρακτηρίζονται· ὅταν γάρ τις διὰ βελόνην καὶ ὀπίτιον· καὶ ἁπλῶς ἄλλό τι τῶν εὐτελεστέρων μάχηται μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ· καὶ τοσοῦτον ὡς καὶ εἰς κραυγὰς ἐξιέναι καὶ ὕβρεις· καὶ ὀργὴν καὶ πικρίαν· καὶ πολλάκις καὶ εἰς μνησικακίαν· τίς ἂν τὸν τοιοῦτον λογίσατο ἐπὶ ἀφαιρέσει ἱματίου· ἢ νομίσματος· ἢ τινὸς ἑτέρου τῶν δοκούντων μειζόνων· μὴ καὶ ξίφος ἑλεῖν· καὶ πρὸς μάχην ὁρμῆσαι καὶ φόνον εἰ συμβῇ· ᾧ γάρ τις ἥττηται· τούτῳ φησὶ καὶ δεδούλωται· καὶ ὁ δουλούμενος ὡς εἶπον· ῥαφίδι καὶ σμικροτάτῳ τυχὸν κόμματι πανίου καὶ φόλι· οὐ πολλῷ μᾶλλον χρυσῷ δουλωθήσεται καὶ λίθοις· καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τερπνοῖς τοῦ βίου.
>
> Κατανοοῦμεν ἀδελφοὶ πῶς οὐδὲν ποιοῦμεν διὰ τὸν θεόν· πῶς οὐχ' εὑρίσκεται ἡ ἀποταγὴ ἡμῶν κατὰ σκοπὸν ὀρθὸν γινομένη· καὶ τί φησιν· ἴσως ἔσται μοι τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀναγκαῖον· οὐκ ὀνειδίσω αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν ἀπροσεξίαν αὐτοῦ, εἰ γὰρ προσεῖχε τῷ πράγματι, οὐκ ἂν ἀπώλεσεν αὐτό· εἶτα ᾧ ἀντιλέγων σύ· ἀλλ' ἔστι σοι ὅλως ἴδιον, ἄχρι καὶ τοῦ τυχόντος ἐν κοινοβίῳ τυγχάνοντι, ἀβάλα σοι· καὶ πῶς ἐρεῖς τῷ θεῷ ἰδοῦ ἀφήκαμεν πάντα καὶ ἠκολουθήσαμέν σοι, καὶ μή μοι εἴπῃς ὅτι καὶ τί χάριν τοῦ μικροῦ τούτου ἀπολογησόμεθα· ἐγὼ δὲ εἴπω σοι ὅτι εἰ μὴ χάριν τοῦ ψυχροῦ ποτηρίου οὗ δίδως ἐλπίζεις μισθούς, μηδὲ ἀπολογίας ἔλπιζε ὑπὲρ τῶν μικρῶν· εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖνο πιστεύομεν, καὶ τοῦτο γενέσθαι πιστεύομεν.
>
> Τί δὲ εἰ δὲ κοινὸν φῇς τὸ ἀπολεσθὲν καὶ οὐ σὸν ὡς ἔφης ἰδιαίτατον, τί ταράσσῃ· καὶ μαίνῃ καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ διαμάχῃ· πάντως γὰρ κοινὴ ἡ ζημία αὐτῷ τε καί σοι, καὶ ὅσον σοι ἐπιβάλλει, τοσοῦτον κἀκείνῳ· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἴδιον ἦν σοι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ταράττῃ, ἀλλ' οὐ τρέμεις παραλύων τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐντολήν· καὶ τὸν τῆς ἀγάπης σύνδεσμον διὰ πρᾶγμα

---

[253]Rules on poverty become stricter from the tenth century onwards, as reflected in monastic *typika*. Cf. E. HERMAN, 'Die Regelung der Armut in den byzantinischen Klöstern', *OCP* 7 (1941), 406-60, at pp. 421ff. The Evergetis *Hypotyposis* was no exception, stating that οἱ ἐπικτήσεις τινὰς ἐπικτώμενοι παρὰ τὸν κανόνα τοῦ μοναστηρίου ἄχρι καὶ ὀβολοῦ ἢ ὀπώρας, μὴ εἰδότος τοῦ προεστῶτος, τῷ ἐπιτιμίῳ ὑποπεσοῦνται· GAUTIER, 'Évergétis', ch. 22, pp. 64-65, ll. 899-901, p. 65; HERMAN, 'Armut', p. 427.

μηδαμινόν, μνησικακεῖς δὲ καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ διὰ τοῦτο· καὶ ποῦ σοι τίθεται τὸ καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα διδόναι ἐντεταλμένον· τῷ βουλομένῳ σου τὸ ἱμάτιον ἆραι, πῶς δὲ ἄν· ποτὲ παρεχώρησας τινὶ ἆραι σου τὸ ἱμάτιον· διὰ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐντολήν· ὁ ῥαφίδος μὴ παραχωρῶν μηδὲ ῥάματος· ταῦτα ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἐῶσι προκόπτειν· ταῦτα ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἐῶσι τῷ Θεῷ προσκολλᾶσθαι.

Ὢ τῆς συμφορᾶς ὅτι βελόνη με τοῦ Θεοῦ χωρίζει· καὶ ἄλλο τι τῶν εὐτελῶν· τίς ταῦτα λογιζόμενος· μὴ εἴπω τῶν εὖ φρονούντων· ἀλλὰ τῶν ποσῶς εἰδότων τί ἐστι τὸ φρονεῖν· οὐκ ἂν ἡμᾶς θρηνήσειε καὶ ἀναξίους κρίνοι καὶ τῆς ζωῆς· μὴ παρακαλῶ ἀδελφοί μου μὴ οὕτω· ἀλλὰ σπουδάζωμεν ἐν ἅπασι κόπτειν τὸ θέλημα ἡμῶν καὶ τὰς ὀρέξεις· καὶ ἰσχύσομεν ποτε τῶν χαμαιζήλων τούτων ὑπεραρθῆναι· δυνάμεθα γὰρ ἐὰν θέλωμεν δυνάμεθα κόπτειν ἡμῶν τὰ πονηρὰ θελήματα· δυνάμεθα ἑαυτοὺς χωρίσαι τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ τῷ Θεῷ προσάξαι.[254]

---

[254]Transl. K272: if we too want to be dead to the world (cf. Gal. 6, 14), let us eliminate our desires for it, let us leave behind its cravings. For, as the holy fathers said, the cravings of the world are characterized by small things. For example, whenever someone fights with his brother over a needle or an awl or just anything else of the cheapest things, and does so to such an extent as to reach the point of shouting and insults and rage and bitterness and often even to the point of resentfulness. Can one imagine what such a person is like over the loss of a cloak or a *nomisma* or of any other object among those considered of greater importance? Won't he take a sword and engage in battle and murder if necessary? It is said, he who is subject to something has been enslaved by it; and he who is enslaved, so to speak, to a needle and to the smallest piece of cloth and to a *follis*, will he not be all the more enslaved by gold and precious stones and all the other allures of life?

Brothers, let us consider that we do nothing according to God and that our monastic renunciation is not found to be in accordance with the right aim. And what does one say: "Perhaps I will need this thing. Shall I not reproach him for his carelessness? Because if he had paid attention to the thing, he would not have lost it". Then, oh!, you who reply, is anything totally your own, you who happened to join a monastic community? Woe to you! And how will you speak thus to God: "See, I have left everything and I have followed you". Do not say to me, "What? Will we have to be excused for such a small matter?" But I tell you that unless you may hope for a reward because of a glass of cold drink which you gave (cf. Mt. 10, 42; Mk. 9, 41), do not hope for excuses concerning small matters. If we believe in that, we also believe that this will be so.

But if you say that what has been lost is common, and is not personal to you, then why agitate and be enraged and fight with your brother? For the harm is really common to both you and him, and what is your lot, is his also. But even if it was your own, and because of this you agitate, do you not tremble at trespassing the commandment of God and the bond of love over a trivial matter, and do you criticize even your brother because of it? And how do you accept the order to *give the cloak as well to the one who desires to take your shirt* (Cf. Lk. 6, 29; Mt. 5, 40)? Have you once yielded to someone in order for him to take your garment according to the command of God, when you do not yield for a needle, nor for a thread? These things do not allow us to make progress. These things do not let us cling to God.

Oh what misfortune, that a needle, or any other petty object, may separate me from God! One who thinks these things, I do not say among the wise, but even among those who have some idea of what it is to reason, would he not lament over us and judge us unworthy even to live? Not thus, I exhort you, o my brothers, not thus! But let us be ready to curb our wills and desires in everything and let us struggle to be lifted up beyond these

The objects chosen as symbolic of trivial attachments are the standard choice in ascetic literature.[255] The dialogue form in which the point is made vividly portrays an exchange within a monastic community.

Another striking vignette is presented in an instruction against gossiping and the danger of distraction presented by idle talk on vain topics. The vignette affords at once a glimpse of the isolation of the monastery and of its nearness to the capital, Constantinople:[256]

> εἴ πού τις ἐν τῆς πόλεως παραγενόμενος φαίη τι τῶν ἐκεῖσε πραττομένων πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὥστε ἔχειν αὐτὸ πρόφασιν ἀργολογίας, καὶ περικυκλοῦντες τὸν ἐλθόντα, ἀναγκάζομεν εἰπεῖν τί λέλαιται, τί πέπρακται παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, παρὰ τοῦ πατριάρχου, παρὰ τῆς συγκλήτου, καὶ οὐ παυόμεθα ἐξετάζοντες, ἕως ἀκούσωμεν τε καὶ μάθωμεν· καὶ μαθόντες καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἔχομεν τε καὶ στρέφομεν ἀρκούμενοι τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἀπωλείᾳ, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ καὶ πᾶσιν ἐκφάνωμεν, καὶ πᾶσι διατρανώσομεν τὰ ἀκουσθέντα, καὶ πάντας ὥσπέρ τινι δελεάτι πρὸς τὴν ἐντεῦθεν βλάβην κατασύρομεν, μικροῦ καὶ δυσχεραίνομεν, καὶ οὐδὲ τὸ οὐαὶ τοῦ προφήτου λογιζόμεθα τε καὶ φρίττομεν· *οὐαὶ λέγοντος οἱ ποτίζοντες τὸν πλησίον ἀνατροπὴν θολεράν*, οὐδὲ τὸν τοῦ Κυρίου λόγον κατὰ νοῦν στρέφομεν λέγοντα πρὸς τοὺς φαρισαίους· *οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, γραμματεῖς καὶ φαρισαίοι ὑποκρίται, ὅτι οὔτε ὑμεῖς εἰσέρχεσθε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν, καὶ τοὺς βουλομένους εἰσελθεῖν κωλύετε*.[257]

---

vile things, since we are able to, if we wish, we are able to curb our evil wills, and we can separate ourselves from the world, and be led to God.

[255]Nil. *exerc.* 53, PG 79, 784D (from Lampe); particularly close is the phrasing of *Cassian, Conferences*, transl. LUIBHEID, Conference One, p. 41: "This is why we see many who, having given up the greatest wealth not only in gold and silver but also in splendid estates, nevertheless become very upset over a knife, a scraper, a needle or a pan." The phrase is also used at K8 (Cf. Ch. II, III. ii).

[256]For a summary of the conjectures concerning the location of the Evergetis monastery, see L. RODLEY, 'The Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis, Constantinople: Where it Was and What it Looked Like', in *Theotokos Evergetis*, pp. 17-29, at 18, 20 (map at p. 19).

[257]Transl. K46: If ever someone, coming from Constantinople, tells us something of what goes on there, this fact is an occasion for idle talk, and we encircle him who has come, and compel him to say what is said and done by the emperor, by the patriarch, by the Senate, and we do not stop questioning him closely, until we have heard and we have known; and having known, we do not keep to ourselves and turn aside satisfied with our own destruction, but unless we have made it manifest to all and articulated clearly what we have heard to everyone, and drag everyone to the harm that derives from this, as if to some bait, we are even a little displeased, and we do not think at all and tremble at the warning of the prophet, who says: *Alas to you who give your neighbour a foul drink* (Hab. 2, 15). Nor do we turn over in our mind what our Lord said to the Pharisees: *Woe to you, scribes and*

The quotations chosen to characterize the moral of the episode underpin the collaborative enterprise of salvation in a monastery, where the monks interact with one another and need to be spurred to do so positively rather than negatively. It is not only the monk's personal curiosity about the affairs in the capital that is stigmatized by this episode, but also the repercussions of one man's misplaced interest upon the whole community.

On the other hand, one monk's faults are not to be relished by his brothers, and reciprocal judgement is a bad habit which should be replaced by a merciful attitude. This exhortation is expressed pointedly at K11:

> Φεύγωμεν τὸ κατακρίνειν τὸν πλησίον, τὸ λοιδορεῖν, τὸ διασύρειν, τὸ ἐξουθενεῖν· μηδὲν ἀλλήλοις ὀφείλωμεν, εἰ μὴ τὸ ἀγαπᾶν ἀλλήλους.[258]

But the topic of judgement is fully dealt with at K209. Given the particular lucidity and coherence of this catechesis it deserves to be quoted in full:

> Ὅτ' ἄν τινα ἐξ ὑμῶν λογισμὸς εἰσέλθῃ κρίναι ἢ κατακρίναι τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ πλησίον γινόμενα, τηνικαῦτα εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐκεῖνος ἐπιστραφείς· πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἰδίων πράξεων διάγνωσιν γινέσθω· καὶ σκοπείτω μήποτε βαρυτέροις αὐτὸς ἐνεχόμενος κακοῖς, λάθῃ πικρῶς δικάζων τὰ τοῦ πλησίον κουφότερα πταίσματα· καὶ πάθῃ τὸ τοῦ φαρισαίου· ὅστις σοβαρῷ διανοίας ὄμματι τὰ τοῦ τελώνου πταίσματα βλέπων· καὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ παρορῶν ἁμαρτήματα, δικαστὴν ἔσχεν ὁ τάλας τὸν κατάκριτον· ἡ γὰρ ἔπαρσις, ὑπὸ τῆς ταπεινοφροσύνης καταδικάζεται.
>
> Ὥστε ὁ σοφρονῶν, μὴ κατακρινέτω τὸν ἀκόλαστον· ἀλλὰ φευγέτω τὴν πρᾶξιν, μὴ φεύγων τὸν πράξαντα· ὁ γὰρ εἰπὼν *μὴ πορνεύσῃς*, εἶπε καὶ ὅτι *μὴ κρίνετε ἵνα μὴ κριθῆτε*· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ πορνεύων τίς, κρίνῃ τὸν πορνεύοντα, σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ αὐτὸς κατακρίνεται· ὁμοίως γὰρ ἐκείνῳ καὶ οὗτος, ἐντολὴν παραβαίνει· φεύγοντες οὖν ἀδελφοί μου τὴν μίμησιν τῶν φαύλων, φεύγωμεν καὶ τὸ λέγειν κατ' αὐτῶν· ἵνα μὴ λάθωμεν ὁμοίους ἑαυτοὺς ποιοῦντες τῷ

Pharisees, hypocrites, since you will not enter into the kingdom, and you prevent those who wish from entering (Mt. 23, 13, paraphrase of NTG text: *οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, γραμματεῖς καὶ φαρισαῖοι ὑποκρίται, ὅτι κλείετε τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων· ὑμεῖς γὰρ οὐκ εἰσέρχεσθε οὐδὲ τοὺς εἰσερχομένους ἀφίετε εἰσελθεῖν*).

[258]Transl. K11: Let us refuse to judge our neighbour, to slander, to ridicule, to humiliate. Let us need nothing from one another, except reciprocal love.

κατακρινομένῳ· τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἄλλοθεν ἡμῖν ἐπιγίνεται, εἰ μὴ ἐξ ὑψηλοφροσύνης.

Ὁ γὰρ ἀληθινὴν ταπεινοφροσύνην ἀσκῶν, ἐξεταστὴς ἀεὶ τῶν ἰδίων γινόμενος, παρίσταται μετ' εὐλαβείας τῷ Θεῷ καὶ κριτῇ τὸ παρ' ἐκείνου ἔλεος ἐπισπώμενος· παραχωρεῖ αὐτῷ πρεπωδεστάτως κρίνειν τοὺς πάντας· ποιεῖται γὰρ συγκαθεσθῆναι τῷ κατὰ φύσιν κριτῇ, τῆς τῶν κρινομένων φύσεως ὑπάρχων· ὁ δὲ κακηγορῶν τόν, τί κακὸν εἰς αὐτὸν ἢ εἰπόντα ἢ πράξαντα, σὺν ἐκείνῳ εὑρίσκεται τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ ἡττηθείς· ἄνανδρός τις καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ἀφιλόσοφος τῷ λυπήσαντι δειχθείς· κακῶς γὰρ τὸ κακὸν ἠμύνατο· καὶ συγκακοποιήσας τῷ κακοποιήσαντι, τοῦ νόμου σὺν ἐκείνῳ γέγονε παραβάτης.

Μὴ ἀποδῶς γάρ φησι *κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ· ἢ λοιδορίαν ἀντὶ λοιδορίας*· ταῦτα εἰδότες ἀδελφοί μου, φεύγωμεν τὸ λοιδορεῖν· φεύγωμεν τὸ κατηγορεῖν· καὶ μὴ ἀνταποδίδωμεν τοῖς ἴσως ἡμῖν ἐπηρεάσασιν· ἵνα μὴ ὑπὸ ἐνοχὴν ἐσώμεθα τῆς παραβάσεως τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ Κυρίου τῶν, *μὴ κρίνετε καὶ οὐ μὴ κριθῆτε*, καὶ *ἄφετε καὶ ἀφεθήσεται ὑμῖν*· παρακελευσῶν καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος δέ, οὕτω πῶς ἡμᾶς παιδεύει· λέγων· *νίκα ἐν τῷ ἀγαθῷ τὸ κακόν*· καί, *μηδενὶ μηδὲν ὀφείλετε εἰ μὴ τὸ ἀγαπᾶν ἀλλήλους*· καί, *ἀλλήλων τὰ βάρη βαστάζετε· καὶ οὕτως ἀναπληροῦτε τὸν νόμον τοῦ Χριστοῦ.*

Τοιγαροῦν φέρωμεν πάντα γενναίως· ἀγαπῶμεν ἀλλήλους· φεύγωμεν τὴν ὑψηλοφροσύνην· ἑαυτοὺς ἐν παντὶ μεμφώμεθα· ταπεινοφρονῶμεν· συντριβώμεθα· αὐτοὶ ἑαυτῶν ἐτασταὶ γινώμεθα καὶ κριταί· καὶ οὐκ ἄν ποτε τοῦ καλοῦ ἐκπέσωμεν· ...[259]

---

[259]Transl. K209: whenever a temptation comes to judge one of your brethren or to condemn what was done by a neighbour, then let that man, having turned back upon himself, make an assessment of his own deeds, and let him watch lest, encumbered by greater evils, he fall into judging bitterly the neighbour's lighter faults (cf. Mt. 7, 1-5), and lest it happen to him what happened to the Pharisee, who, regarding the Publican's faults with the pompous eye of his judgement and overlooking his own sins, the wretched man had for his judge whom he had condemned (Lk. 18, 9-14). For pride is condemned by humility.

In the same way, let the continent man not condemn the licentious, but rather let him shun the deed, without avoiding the sinner. For he who said: *"Do not fornicate"* (cf. 1 Cor. 10, 8), also said: *"Do not judge, that you may not be judged"* (Mt. 7, 1). But if someone who does not fornicate judges a fornicator, he too will be judged together with him. For in the same way the first as the second has transgressed a commandment. My brothers, while we shun the imitation of evil men, let us also shun speaking against them, that we may not fall into making ourselves equal to the person we are judging. This cannot happen to us in any way other than by pride.

For the man who practices true humility, being always examiner of his own deeds, can stand before God the judge, asking pity from Him. He leaves him in charge of judging everyone most fittingly, for he is made to be seated with the judge of nature, although he belongs to the nature of those to be judged. But the man who abuses someone, either by

This catechesis presupposes faith in God's final judgement, and, in particular, in the justice of this eschatological judgement, which is often preached in K.[260] With this assumption, its guidelines can be so stark and precise, since the main goal is for the monk to prepare for that final judgement in purity and peace, rather than to establish an ephemeral human justice within his community.

The function of overseer is delegated exclusively to the *higoumenos*. Theodore Studite autobiographically portrayed his rôle as abbot, in which he saw himself as directly responsible for the moral state of his community. Even at the day of judgement, he would be required to give an account of the lives of each of his monks.[261] In the image developed at K16, the *higoumenos* is compared to a farmer, who rejoices at the good harvest he has sown and grieves when the harvest is a bad one.

The emphasis placed by K on obedience is therefore also tied with recognition of the authority of the *higoumenos*, in his function as a spiritual leader. In the unidentified texts, one passage stands out as particularly relevant to this topic, in K47:

> μετερχόμεθα ἡμεῖς ταπείνωσιν, ὑποταγήν, παρατιθέασιν ἐκεῖνοι ἀντιλογίαν ὑποβάλλοντες μὴ κατὰ θεὸν ἡμᾶς ἐπιτάττεσθαι παρὰ τῶν προεστώτων,[262] ἀλλ'

---

saying or by doing something against him, is found with him overcome by sin, a coward and in accordance with this an unwise man compared with one who mourns (his sins), for he has badly warded off evil, and, having committed wrong together with the wrongdoer, has become a trespasser of the law with him.

Scripture says: *do not return wrong for wrong, nor slander for slander* (1 Pet. 3, 9). Since you know these things, my brothers, avoid slander, avoid accusation, and do not give back the same to those who insult us, that we may not become liable of the trespass of the Lord's commands, such as: *do not judge, and you will not be judged* (Mt. 7, 1), and *forgive, and you shall be forgiven* (cf. Mt. 18, 35). And the Apostle teaches us in the same way, exhorting us and saying: *let evil be won over in goodness* (cf. Mt. 12, 31-32) and *you never are to be in debt to anyone, if not to love one another* (Rom. 12, 21) and *bear one another's burdens: in this way you will fulfill the law of Christ* (Gal. 6, 2).

Therefore let us bear everything valiantly, let us love one another, let us avoid pride, let us blame ourselves in everything, let us be humble, let us be contrite, let us become examiners and judges of ourselves, and we will never fall from the good...

[260]For example, at K2, 4, 12.

[261]PC95 = K55: καὶ ὡς λόγον ἀποδώσων ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως ὑπὲρ ἑνὸς ἑκάστου ὑμῶν.

[262]The use of the plural (or dual) may be a sign of the "double higoumenate" described in the Evergetis *Hypotyposis*, in which one recluse *higoumenos* is to perform a spiritual

ἐξουσιαστικῶς τε καὶ δεσποτικῶς, καὶ δεῖ ἀντιλέγειν, μὴ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπολέσωμεν· ἰδοὺ μία παγίς, ἓν σκάνδαλον· ἂν ἰσχύσωσι ταύτῃ καταβαλεῖν ἡμᾶς, ἀπίασι νενικηκότες, καὶ πάλιν ἑτοιμαζόμενοι πρὸς τὰ ἐπιχειρήματα ἡμῶν· ἂν δὲ μὴ ἰσχύσωσιν ἀλλ' ἀποκρουσθῶσι διὰ τῆς ἑαυτῶν μέμψεως, διὰ τῆς τοῦ θελήματος ἐκκοπῆς· ἄλλην εὐθὺς ἱστῶσι παγίδα· ποίαν δὲ ταύτην; ὑποβάλλουσί τισι τῶν ῥαθυμοτέρων ἀδελφῶν ἀκαίρως ἐπιπλήττειν ἡμᾶς, καὶ ὀνειδίζειν καὶ ἐξουθενεῖν, ἵνα τί γένηται; ἵνα πάντως ὀλιγωρήσαντες πρὸς θυμὸν κινηθῶμεν, καὶ οὕτω παγιδευθῶμεν· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ κἂν τούτῳ κρατήσωσιν, ἀλλ' ἡττηθῶσιν διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς ἡμῶν, ἄλλην πάλιν εὐθὺς ἐκεῖνοι παγίδα ἱστῶσι, τὴν τῆς κενοδοξίας, ὑποψιθυρίζοντες, μεγάλους ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς οἴεσθαι· ὁρᾷς γὰρ λέγουσιν οἷα κατώρθωσας, ὑπέμεινας τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ὀνειδίζοντας σε, καταλαλοῦντάς σε, ἐπιπλήσσοντάς σε· ὄντως μέγας εἶ, εἰς μέτρον ἔφθασας ὑψηλόν· *μακάριοι γάρ ἐστε ὅταν ὀνειδίσωσιν ὑμᾶς, καὶ διώξωσι*, καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς·[263].

The kinds of punishment and their motivation are not mentioned by the catecheses, but the monastery's *Hypotyposis* supplies detailed information on this topic.[264]

---

function, while another monk is to act out the *higoumenos'* administrative charges at the monastery. Cf. GAUTIER, 'Évergétis', ch. 13, pp. 46-47.

[263]Transl. K47: We pursue humility, submission: they set before us criticisms, suggesting that we are not ordered by our superiors in accordance with God, but authoritatively and tyrannically, and that it is necessary to contradict (them), lest we lose our freedom. See one snare, one trap. If they succeed in overthrowing us by it, they depart once they have prevailed, and again get ready for our endeavours; but if they do not succeed but are driven off by our own censure, the denial of laxer will, immediately they set up another snare. What is this? They suggest to one of the simpler brethren that they punish us unreasonably, reproach and humiliate us, but to what end? In order that, being disrespectful, we are moved to anger and so are caught in a snare. But if they do not prevail even in this, but are slighted by our submission, again they set up another snare, that of pride, whispering softly that we should consider ourselves great. For they say: "You see how much you have achieved, since you submitted to the brothers who reproach you, who rail at you, who punish you. You are truly great. You have reached the highest measure." *Blessed are you whenever they revile you and persecute you* (Mt. 5, 11), and the following verses.

[264]Various passages deal with punishment in the Evergetis *Hypotyposis*: there is a monk in charge of imposing them, the ἐπιστημόναρχος (l. 132); genuflexions are prescribed for oversleeping the office (l. 351); those who make noise at table or arrive late without a reason may not eat (ll. 360 ff.; ll. 420, 430-36); arguments over precedence at table are punished with expulsion (ll. 373 ff.); excommunication is reserved for a *higoumenos* who sleeps outside the monastery (ll. 590 ff.) or spends the monastery's money on his own family (ll. 830 ff.); theft, vain talk, eating in secret, keeping in touch with one's relatives are also all punishable, unless the monk has repented of his deed (ll. 845-1000).

The relation with the superior should not be one of fear, but one of trust and reciprocal knowledge. Thus confession is heard by him, and it is his function, also through the catecheses, to exhort the monks to openness and to encourage them to use the sacrament available to them.[265] Here is a passage describing the type of relationship that allows the *higoumenos* to account for his monks' deeds to God, since a monk's soul and experience should be constantly known to him:

> *Οἷς γὰρ μὴ πρόσεστι βουλὴ καὶ κυβέρνησις, πίπτουσιν ὥσπερ φύλλα*, φησιν. Πράξετε δὲ καλῶς ἐὰν ἐξαγορεύητε, ἐὰν ἀποκαλύπτητε πᾶν βούλημα τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν, πᾶν κίνημα, πᾶν διανόημα τῷ προεστῶτι ὑμῶν· κἀκεῖνος ὑμῖν τὰ εἰκότα ὑποτιθέμενος, οὐ μὴ ἐάσῃ ὑμᾶς ἔξω τοῦ καλοῦ ἐκπεσεῖν.
>
> Ὁ γὰρ μὴ βουλευόμενος, ἀλλ᾽ ἰδίῳ στοιχῶν θελήματι, οὐκ οἶδε ποῦ ὑπάγει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτου Ἡσαίου ταλανισθήσεται λέγοντος· *οὐαὶ οἱ βουλευόμενοι, οὐ διὰ Κυρίου, οἱ ἐν κρυφῇ καὶ ἐν σκότει ποιοῦντες τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν, οἱ συνετοὶ παρ᾽ ἑαυτούς*. Καὶ ὁ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔχων λαλοῦντα Παῦλος, οὐ ἑαυτῷ ἐστοίχησε κηρύσσειν τὸ κήρυγμα· φησὶ γάρ· *ἀνέβην εἰς Ἰερουσαλὴμ πρὸς τοὺς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἀποστόλους, καὶ ἀνεθέμην αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ κηρύσσω, μήπως εἰς κενὸν τρέχω ἢ ἔδραμον*. Βαβαί, ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἀπηξίωσε συμβουλεύσασθαι, καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ μὴ δεξιὰ ἢ ἀριστερὰ εἰδότες, οὐκ ὀφείλομεν πάντα ποιεῖν μετὰ γνώμης τῶν πνευματικῶν ἡμῶν πατέρων;[266]

These topics clearly belong to a tradition of spirituality combining elements of Desert monasticism, emphasizing the spiritual direction of an elder as a

---

[265]On the practice of confession in early monasticism, see H. DÖRRIES, 'The Place of Confession in Ancient Monasticism', in F. L. CROSS, ed., *Studia Patristica* V, TU 80 (1962), pp. 284-311.

[266]Transl. K12: *For those who do not have counsel and direction fall like leaves* (Ps. 11, 14), Scripture says. But you will do well if you confess, if you disclose all the counsels of your heart, all movements, all thought to your superior. And he, prescribing what is convenient for you, will not let you fall outside the good. For he who is not advised, but walks by his own will, does not know where he goes, but is deemed unhappy also by the prophet Isaiah, who says: *"Woe to those who take no counsel through the Lord, those who do their deeds in secrecy and darkness, those who are wise for themselves"* (Is. 5, 20-21, paraphrased). And Paul, having in himself the voice of Christ, did not rely on himself in proclaiming the kerygma. For he says: *"I went up to Jerusalem to the apostles before me, and referred to them the Gospel that I preach, lest in vain I run or have run"* (Gal. 2, 102: paraphrased). Behold! He did not disdain taking counsel together, and we who do not know right from left, are we not obliged to do everything with knowledge of our spiritual fathers (ie. with the fathers' knowing our actions)?

necessary aid to the ascetic life,[267] with Studite cenobitism, which linked this function particularly to the rôle of the abbot, not unlike the Benedictines in the West. In this way, the rôle of spiritual guide is well-defined within the boundaries of the community and closely associated with the sacramental function of absolution through confession.

One more quotation from K268 shall serve to affirm the value of community life that underlies all these texts:

> ἐὰν ἐνοχλήσωσιν ὑμᾶς λογισμοὶ ὥστε καταλιπεῖν τὸ κοινόβιον καὶ καθίσαι ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ, μὴ πεισθῆτε αὐτοῖς· ἀδύνατον γάρ τινα ἡσυχάσαι· πρὸ τοῦ πᾶσαν ὑπενεγκεῖν θλίψιν καὶ ἀτιμίαν ἐν τῷ κοινοβίῳ· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀποπειρῶνται τινες ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἰσχύουσι καθίσαι καὶ ἀδόκιμοι γίνονται, διότι τὴν ὑποταγὴν μὴ περαιώσαντες, τῇ ἡσυχίᾳ ἐπεπήδησαν[268·269]

A retired, eremitical way of life was therefore considered to be a stage beyond life in a monastery, one to be approached only with great caution and the appropriate training.[270]

---

[267]This is the topic of Cassian's Conference Two. Cp. Cassian's use of Paul as an example, *Cassian, Conferences*, transl. LUIBHEID, p. 75: "Christ Himself summoned Paul and spoke to him. He could have straightaway disclosed the road to perfection. He chooses instead to send him to Ananias and tells him to discover the way of truth from him: "Get up. Go into the city, and there you will be told what you must do". He sends him to an old man, thinking it better that he should be taught by him."

[268]ἐπεπήδησαν V] ἐπεδήθησαν E

[269]Transl. K268: if some thoughts trouble you, such as those about leaving the community and remaining in *hesychia*, do not obey them. For it is impossible for anyone to attain *hesychia*, before having borne all affliction and dishonour in the community. Yet when some make the attempt, nonetheless they do not remain and are made inglorious for this reason, that they rushed into *hesychia*, not being tried in obedience.

[270]Life in a coenobium was usually seen as the necessary preparation for eremitical life: cf. D. PAPACHRYSSANTHOU, 'La vie monastique dans les campagnes byzantines du VIII[e] au XI[e] siècle', *Byzantion* 43 (1973), 158-80, esp. p. 161 & nn. 2-3, referring to the subject treated by Paul in the *Synagoge*, Book I.

Conclusion

Research into the possible sources of the unidentified texts has not yielded any precise results; even striking phrases with rare words have not led to any identification, leading to the provisional conclusion that, even if they existed, the sources behind the unidentified texts are probably now lost. For example, the phrase in K358, γενώμεθα στολισταὶ τοῦ τὴν κτίσιν ἐνδυόντος·, recalls the Syriac development of the Pauline image of "putting on Christ".[271]

Further avenues of exploration remain open. For the Sundays of the Pentekostarion, it would be helpful to assemble complete dossiers of the homilies dedicated to particular feasts, including unedited texts.[272] An in-depth study of extant *Catenae* might offer further material for comparison with the exegetical texts.[273] The Greek text of Cassian could shed light on the hortatory catecheses.[274]

Nonetheless, this preliminary study of the unidentified catecheses has shown that these not only span the breadth of topics contemplated in K as a whole, but also offer material of particular interest for the characterization of the spirituality of K.

The exegetical catecheses have revealed a marked Origenist influence in the approach to the Biblical text, interested in the metaphorical meaning of the Gospel narrative in a manner reminiscent of Alexandrine exegesis, and including tropological interpretations of the sacred text, to lead to the

---

[271]Transl. K358: Let us become adornments of the One who puts on Creation. This imagery has been thoroughly studied by S. P. BROCK , 'Clothing Metaphors as a Means of Theological Expression in the Syriac Traditions', in *Studies in Syriac Christianity*, Variorum Reprints (London, 1992), XI.

[272]Such collections are important for the study of the evolution of the preachers' attitude to the set pericopes through the centuries and shed light on the evolution of the liturgy. Cf. this approach used for the Sundays of the Triodion by G. BERTONIÈRE, *The Sundays of Lent in the Triodion. The Sundays without a commemoration*, OCA 253 (1997).

[273]In particular, commentaries on Genesis and the Psalms. The index of *Catenae* in CPG is the first guide for this kind of exploration.

[274]Cassian was quoted by TS from a Greek epitome of his works: see LEROY, 'Saint Théodore Studite', p. 424 at n. 6.

necessary parenetic exhortation, which is the primary aim of the catechetical address. In this, K displays an attitude common to medieval preaching, as does its taste for number symbolism. The representative character of K's exegesis was shown in the appearance of the same exegetical passage on the Samaritan husbands on the lips of the famous eleventh-century saint, Cyril of Philea.

The type of recommendation to *mimesis* through the exegesis of the Gospel stories encountered in K may be contrasted with the idiosyncratic use of scriptural allusions characteristic of Symeon the New Theologian.[275] For example, the Myrrhophores at the tomb offer the opportunity for a very literal exhortation to imitation by Symeon:

> εἰ δὲ συναποθάνῃ τοῖς πειρασμοῖς, τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ παρρησιαζόμενος ζήτησον καὶ τίμησον περισσότερον μᾶλλον ἢ ὅτε ἐμψυχωμένῳ παρίστασο, καὶ μύροις ἀλείψας πολυτελῶς ἐνταφίασον. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ μὴ τριήμερος, ἀλλ' ἔσχατος μετὰ πάντων ἐξαναστήσεται.[276]

In Symeon's treatment, the Gospel characters have ceased to be individuals; the action, abstracted from its actors, is singled out for imitation. Christ is no longer the focus of attention, but the body of the spiritual father replaces the divine body in a parallel enactment of the burial.[277] It is clear that the premisses for such one to one substitutions are much less universal than those proposed in the mimetic exhortations of K.

A survey of the language and imagery of exhortation has introduced us to the literary world of K, wherein images familiar to Christian writers

---

[275]H. ALFEYEV, 'St. Symeon the New Theologian and Orthodox Tradition', unpublished D. Phil. thesis (Oxford, 1995), pp. 39-72, at p. 68: "Symeon does not regard Scripture as an object for interpretation; rather, he himself becomes the subject of the narrative: he comprehends the biblical story not from outside, as a commentator, but from the inside, as if he were one of its personages."

[276]*Syméon le Nouveau Théologien: Catéchèses*, 3 vols., ed. B. KRIVOCHÉINE & J. PARAMELLE, SC 96 (1963), 104 (1964), 113 (1965): SC 104, p. 342, ll. 150-55; *The Discourses*, transl. C. J. DE CATANZARO (New York, 1980), p. 235: If he [the spiritual father] dies, then boldly seek his body and pay him more honour than when you attended on him while he was alive, and so anoint it with perfumes and give it a costly burial [cf. Mk. 15, 43; 16, 1; Jn. 19, 40]. Though he will not rise again on the third day, yet he will rise on the last day with all men".

[277]ALFEYEV, 'St. Symeon', p. 69, refers to this passage as an example of Symeon's "very unusual mystical interpretations".

are re-interpreted and harnessed for the purpose of monastic parenesis. This vocabulary of metaphors is useful in approaching the comparison between K and other spiritual writers of the eleventh century, on the basis of the study of imagery found to characterize Symeon the New Theologian and Elias Ekdikos, pioneered in a study by A. Kazhdan.[278]

In the survey of some themes concerning monastic life, important traits of the ideal of monasticism in K have emerged. The Studite precedent of the ideal of the monk as martyr is embraced, taking the particular model of Christ's Passion as the primary focus for imitation. The imitation of Christ, placing particular emphasis on His humanity open to suffering and temptation, is not a widespread trait of Byzantine spirituality. Hausherr pointed out the precedents for this idea in Greek writers, with special reference to abba Isaiah and Maximos Confessor.[279] Both these authors are among the sources of S and K.

But devotion to Christ's Cross and Passion are also recognized as a special trait of medieval piety, which found liturgical expression in the services for Holy Week. The Office of the Adoration of the Cross on Holy Friday appears in its medieval Byzantine form at the Evergetis.[280] The affective devotion to Christ's Passion has been considered an innovation first attested in the Evergetis *Synaxarion*:

> [...] man bemerkt in der Passions-Ordnung des Evergetidos-Typikons das Auftaschen eines sentimentalen Gefühls auf konstantinopolitanischen Boden, nämlich mit der Klage der Gottesmutter am Kreuz. Das ist auf palästinensischem Boden früher nicht fühlbar.[281]

---

[278]A. KAZHDAN, 'Das System der Bilder und Metaphern in den Werken Symeons des "Neuen" Theologen', in *Unser ganzes Leben Christus unserm Gott überantworten* (Göttingen, 1982), pp. 221-39, in comparison with Elias Ekdikos at pp. 226, 238. See in particular Symeon's comparison of the merchant.

[279]I. HAUSHERR, 'L'imitation de Jésus-Christ dans la spiritualité byzantine', in *Études de Spiritualité Orientale*, OCA 183 (1969), pp. 217-45, at 223-37.

[280]A. RÜCKER, 'Die Adoratio Crucis am Karfreitag in den orientalischen Riten', in *Miscellanea liturgica in honorem L. Cuniberti Mohlberg*, 2 vols., Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgicae 22-23 (Rome, 1948-49), pp. 379-406, at p. 391; BERTONIÈRE, *Development of the Easter Vigil*, at p. 168.

[281]D. I. PALLAS, *Die Passion und Bestattung Christi in Byzanz, der Ritus - das Bild*, Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 2 (Munich, 1965), p. 32. The significance of the Lament of the Virgin is explored by MAGUIRE, *Art and Rhetoric*, pp. 96-101. Beside the homily of

It is likely that this kind of piety was not only lived in, but was also initiatied and fostered by monasteries such as the Evergetis:

> It is the monasteries, then, many of them private foundations and places of private piety for the nobles, that developed a rich pattern of new rites and [...] [the monks] commissioned icons to serve these new rites.[282]

The particular focus on the imitation of Christ in K attests the emphasis on this kind of piety from the beginning of the foundation.

While K informed the general character of the Evergetis foundation in consonance with some of the general traits evidenced in the Evergetis documents, the exhortations contained in the unidentified texts have not shown any *verbatim* quotations from the *Hypotyposis*. The spiritual rôle of the *higoumenos*, his special charge of the monks' confessions, the attitude to visitors to the monastery are all recognizable in the later documents, but their phrasing is not dependant on K. Hence, it is not possibile through these unidentified texts to attribute parts of the *Hypotyposis* unequivocally to Paul's authorship.[283]

George of Nikomedia paraphrased by Maguire, a poetic text of the Lament attributed to Symeon Metaphrastes was ed. (anonymously) in 'Un'ufficiatura perduta del Venerdì Santo', *Roma e l'Oriente* 5 (1912-13), 302-13, at pp. 307-13.

[282]H. BELTING, 'An Image and its Function in the Liturgy: the Man of Sorrows in Byzantium', *DOP* 34 (1980), 1-16, pp. 5-6.

[283]An attempt at distinguishing successive layers of composition has been made recently by R. JORDAN, 'The *Hypotyposis* of the Theotokos Evergetis and the making of a monastic typikon', unpublished Ph. D. thesis (Queen's University, Belfast, 1997), esp. pp. 123-24, 145-46. Besides conjectures on the logical order of composition, Jordan uses linguistic analysis for his purpose.

CONCLUSION

The question, whether K could contribute to define the early stages of life at the Evergetis monastery and provide some insight into the founder's attitude to monastic life, must, in the light of the study presented in this thesis, be answered positively.

The Evergetis *Katechetikon* is an exceptional collection of monastic readings, ordered as a liturgical homiliary, unequalled in size and conception when compared to similar compilations from both East and West. K is the instrument by which Paul provided the spiritual direction for the community he had gathered together on his parental estate. As Darrouzès remarked,

> Le prestige et le charisme du fondateur se manifestent spécialment dans la persone de Paul de l'Évergétis, de Lazare du Galésios, de kyr Philothéos (d. 1035), qui se sont tenus à l'écart de leurs disciples (comme stylite ou reclus). [...] ils insistèrent ... sur la fonction spirituelle de l'higoumène.[1]

Whilst S is an anthology of spiritual writings that could go beyond the monastery's walls and constitute pious reading for the layman, K is specifically destined for a monastic audience in the context of the celebration of the liturgy of hours.

Paul was hardly unaware that he was composing a liturgical instrument that would outlast him. His choice of eliminating references to contemporary events and specific individuals, while depriving us of a source of interesting information about the monastery, guaranteed the continued use of the readings beyond Paul's lifetime. In providing his foundation with an organized liturgical structure down to the particulars of a carefully tailored homiliary, Paul was preparing the future success of his foundation. On this basis, the Evergetis could undergo expansions and transformations, while preserving the core of the founder's design.

---

[1]DARROUZÈS, 'Fondations monastiques au XI^{e} siècle', at p. 174.

A comparison of the Evergetis *Hypotyposis* and *Synaxarion* with the information contained in K is surely the best way of discerning the layers of composition of these complex documents, as has been shown through select examples in this thesis. Both the practice of the daily reading of a catechesis and the celebration of the First Hour without a break after Orthros have been identified as belonging to the initial set-up of the monastery. On the other hand, the absence of *verbatim* correspondences between K and the *typikon* texts should caution, at this stage, against any sure attribution to Paul of passages in the *Hypotyposis*' redaction. Nevertheless, individual topics addressed in the *Hypotyposis*, such as the prohibition of personal possessions, or the encouragement of the practice of *exagoreusis*, find close echoes in K.

The expression of a medieval type of piety in K, for example, in the affective invocations to Christ and in the focus on Christ's Cross and Passion in a number of unidentified catecheses, reflects the important rôle of the Evergetis in introducing new monastic rituals for the celebration of Holy Week, as observed in studies of the *Synaxarion*. The discovery of the same emphasis in K attests to the early beginnings of this form of piety, which was preserved and perhaps further developed in the later life of the foundation.

In a fundamental summary of recent scholarship about monasticism, Giles Constable approaches the problem of monastic history in terms of its apparent changelessness. It is very difficult to write about what appears constant and self-same; it becomes even more difficult to speak of reform, in a context which emphasizes adherence to tradition. However, Constable remarks that

> A monastery has no life apart from the life of its monks [...]. Monasteries are thus a part of, and essentially related to, the surrounding society, and the impetus to change comes from outside as well as inside their walls. I am therefore tempted to reverse the customary view that the ideals and motives of monks have remained one while their outer circumstances have changed, and to suggest

> instead that their inner life has changed while the institutional structure has remained remarkably stable. Benedict or Bernard, and perhaps also Pachomius and Basil, would recognize without too much difficulty the framework of monastic life today, but they would have very little in common with the monks.[2]

The inevitable differences between monks of different generations that Constable refers to pertain to the socio-cultural sphere, but are reflected also in the religious sphere. These transformations become manifest in shifts in liturgical practice and variations in the spiritual vocabulary in vogue, in other words, through changes in piety.

Angold has suggested that it was the changing piety of the monasticism of the eleventh and twelfth centuries which inspired the church-like palace of the Comneni, a piety which

> concentrated on the humanity of Christ and on his humiliations for man's salvation [... and placed] an emphasis on the passion of Christ.[3]

As the imperial establishment espoused new forms of devotion, those institutions which had propounded that type of affective spirituality gained in ascendancy. Hence, the influential rôle played by the Evergetis upon twelfth-century foundations might be understood as resulting from a combination of structural advantages, in its having an organized liturgical apparatus that already encapsulated the new devotion and channelled its expression, with the contingent favour the monastery found through John Doukas at the imperial court.

Although Paul could not have predicted the success of his foundation so far beyond his immediate aim, the manuscript diffusion of both S and K attests the value of his teaching and the usefulness of his spiritual compilations. In particular, the reading of the liturgical homiliary was transferred to the sibling foundations, a highly unusual phenomenon within the context of this genre. The juxtaposition of Paul and Theodore

---

[2]G. CONSTABLE, 'The Study of Monastic History Today', in *Religious Life and Thought (Eleventh-Twelfth Centuries)*, Variorum Reprints (London, 1979), I, at p. 29.
[3]ANGOLD, *Church and Society*, p. 71.

Studite in some catechetical compilations is an indirect, but eloquent, sign of the high esteem enjoyed by the Evergetis founder among his posterity.

The doctrinal orthodoxy of K; its moderate ascetism; its compassionate exhortations; its firm adherence to the tradition of the Fathers, and especially to Desert spirituality; its careful handling of potentially controversial material, such as the writings of Mark the Monk or Pseudo-Makarios, or the biblical exegesis with an Origenist flavour; all these contributed to the diffusion and hence to the survival of this text. And while its reading can surely assist us in a necessary re-assessment of the comparison between Paul and Symeon the New Theologian, Paul's formula was ultimately more successful in propagating the "reform".

Thus, in spite of the presence in K of the unexpected Macarian source which was absent from S,[4] the conclusions of Hausherr's pioneering work can be provisionally maintained:

> le fondateur de Sainte-Marie Bienfaitrice leur [i.e. Symeon's writings] a enlevé ce qu'elles avaient d'exorbitant, et les a réduites exactement aux proportions de ce qu'il croyait admis par l'autorité romaine.[5]

If Paul and Symeon shared a common piety,[6] the moderation of the former was rewarded with a greater following than the extreme mysticism of the latter.[7]

---

[4]HAUSHERR, 'Syméon le Nouveau Théologien?', p. 5: "Il est remarquable qu'à travers 636 pages in-folio, pas une seule fois ne sont citées les *Homélies Spirituelles* du pseudo-Macaire, oeuvre pourtant essentiellement monacale. Evergétinos se tient en garde contre tout ce qui ressemblerait au messalianisme et exposerait à l'illusion. Pour s'en rendre compte, il faudrait évidemment tout lire." K included the prose treatises rather than the *Spiritual Homilies*.

[5]HAUSHERR, 'Syméon le Nouveau Théologien?', p. 79.

[6]Symeon's "warm devotional and personal intimate relation to Christ, 'our not-proud God and Lord'", that is, Christ in his humble and human state, is discussed in B. KRIVOCHÉINE, 'Ὁ ἀνυπερήφανος Θεός: St. Symeon the New Theologian and Early Christian Popular Piety', in K. ALAND & F. L. CROSS, eds., *Studia Patristica* II, TU 64 (1954), pp. 485-94, at 493.

[7]The topic of spiritual fatherhood, so central to Symeon's ideal of monasticism, found no particular mention in K beyond the idea of a spiritual guide as formulated by Cassian. Such a figure was institutionalized in the function of the *higoumenos* and principally performed in the practice of confession: cf. H. J. M. TURNER, *St. Symeon the New Theologian and Spiritual Fatherhood* (Leiden, 1990) and Ch. IV, II, ii and III, ii.

While it is common to say that Byzantine monasticism was not formally organized in monastic orders,[8] this apparent uniformity may have concealed allegiances and sub-groups.[9] For example, St. John Stoudios was clearly not a single, isolated foundation, but was related to a network of monasteries that allows us to speak of a Studite confederation.

Similarly, the diffusion of the Evergetis homiliary to other monasteries testifies to a common adherence to a style of monasticism through the teachings of the same catecheses, wherever they were incorporated in the liturgy and thereby in the spiritual training of the community. Not only, therefore, can the testimony of K furnish us with a measure of the founder's achievements and a sense of his spiritual world, but, by affirming the evidence of Evergetine influence, it can also capture the essence of the spirituality of those foundations which adopted its readings in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.

In describing the complex transformations within Western monasteries during the reform of the eleventh century, Constable defines the Cistercian reform in terms not dissimilar from those used to characterise contemporary Byzantine movements:

> This was not a sudden transformation, and its history can be traced in the use of various monastic slogans: *ecclesiae primitivae forma*, which was first used in the middle of the eleventh century to mean a common life of personal poverty [...]; *pauperes Christi*, which was commonly applied to the monks in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; and *nudus nudum Christum sequi*, naked to follow the naked Christ, which was taken from Jerome and expressed the ideals of twelfth-century reformers. The use of these terms corresponded to changes in the spirituality of the age, to a turning away from a purely ascetic ideal of Christian perfection, and to a new devotion to the humanity of Christ.

---

[8]This view, expressed *entres autres* by A. FAILLER, 'Le monachisme byzantin au XI^e^-XII^e^ siècles: Aspects sociaux et économiques', *Cahiers d'Histoire* 20 (1975), 279-302, at p. 279, has been recently restated in the Introduction to R. Morris' book, *Monks and Laymen*, p. 2.

[9]Contrasting medieval Eastern with Western monasticism is, in this respect, fallacious. There were no distinct orders in the West either. "The term Benedictine was not a word in use in the Middle Ages [...] 'regularis' [meant] 'according to the rule of Benedict' for most eleventh- and twelfth-century monks and nuns": CONSTABLE, *Twelfth Century*, p. xii.

> The ideal of imitating the apostles was replaced by the ideal of the imitation of Christ [...].[10]

Both the texts and the history of the Evergetis force us to look beyond the confines of Constantinopolitan Byzantium and to turn westwards: S with its extracts from the Life of Benedict by Gregory the Great; K with its Origenist exegesis and numerology, with its ideal of obedience to the abbot and of participation in the sacraments (baptism, confession and daily communion); some verses by a twelfth-century Evergetine monk, Mark, in praise of the skills in translating from Latin into Greek (and *vice-versa*) possessed by the abbot of the Apulian monastery of Casole, Nektarios;[11] an *ekphrasis* remembering the work of an Apulian painter in charge of decorating the Evergetis *phiale*;[12] and, finally and perhaps most significantly, that Evergetis passed under the jurisdiction of the powerful and ancient Benedictine monastery of Monte Cassino at the time of the Latin occupation after 1204.[13]

---

[10]CONSTABLE, 'Monastic History Today', p. 39.

[11]M. ACCONCIA-LONGO, & A. JACOB, 'Une anthologie salentine du XIV^{e} siècle: le Vaticanus gr. 1276', *RSBN* 17-19 (1980-1982), 149-228, no. 19.3 at p. 196; J. M. HOECK & R. J. LOENERTZ, *Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto, Abt von Casole. Beiträge zur Geschichte der ost-westlichen Beziehungen unter Innozenz III. und Friedrich II.*, Studia Patristica et Byzantina 11 (Ettal, 1965), p. 26. The text of the poem is also ed. by M. GIGANTE, *Poeti bizantini di Terra d'Otranto nel secolo XIII*, Byzantina et Neo-Hellenica Neapolitana (2nd edn., Naples, 1979), at p. 94.

[12]P. MAGDALINO & L. RODLEY, 'The Evergetis Fountain in the Early Thirteenth Century: an *Ekphrasis* of the Paintings in the Cupola', in *Work and Worship*, pp. 432-47, take up the earlier study by G. N. SOLA, 'Paolo d'Otranto, pittore (Sec. XII)', *Roma e l'Oriente* 13 (1917), 56-65, 132-46.

[13]G. LOUD, 'Montecassino and Byzantium in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', in *Theotokos Evergetis*, pp. 30-55.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Primary Sources.

ALCUIN: *Commentaria in S. Joannis Evangelium*, PL 100, 743-1008.

AMPHILOCHIOS OF ICONION: *Amphilochii Iconiensis opera: orationes, pluraque alia quae supersunt, nonnulla etiam spuria*, ed. C. DATEMA, CCSG 3 (1978).

APOPHTEGMATA PATRUM: F. NAU, 'Histoires des solitaires égyptiens', *ROC* 12 (1907), 43-69, 392-413; 13 (1908), 47-66, 266-97; 14 (1909), 357-79; 17 (1912), 204-211; 18 (1913), 137-146.

—: *Les Sentences des Pères du Désert, troisième recueil et tables*, transl. L. REGNAULT (Solesmes, 1976).

—: *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, transl. B. WARD (2nd edn., London, 1981).

—: *Les Apophthègmes des Pères: collection systématique*, ed. P. GUY, SC 387 (1993).

AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO: *Sancti Aurelii Augustini: In Iohannis Evangelium Tractatus CXXIV*, ed. M. R. WILLEMS, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 36 (Turnhout, 1954).

BASIL OF CAESAREA: *Basile de Césarée: Homélies sur l'Hexaéméron*, ed. S. GIET, SC 26bis (1968).

CATENAE: *Johannes-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche*, ed. J. REUSS, TU 89 (1966).

CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA: *Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Κυρίλλου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀλεξανδρείας ὁμιλίαι ἑορταστικαί*, PG 77, 401-982.

DIADOCHOS OF PHOTIKE: *Diadoque de Photicé: Oeuvres Spirituelles*, ed. É. DES PLACES, SC 5bis (1955).

DOCTRINA PATRUM: *Doctrina Patrum de Incarnatione Verbi*, ed. F. DIEKAMP; 2nd edn. revised by B. PHANOURGAKIS & E. CHRYSOS (Münster, 1981).

DOROTHEOS OF GAZA: *Discourses and Sayings*, transl. E. P. WHEELER (Kalamazoo, 1977).

—: *Dorothée de Gaza: Oeuvres Spirituelles*, ed. L. REGNAULT & J. DE PRÉVILLE, SC 92 (1963).

EPHREM THE SYRIAN: *Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἐφραὶμ τοῦ Σύρου τὰ εὑρισκόμενα πάντα*, ed. J. S. ASSEMANI, 3 vols. (Rome, 1732, 1743, 1746).

—: *S. Ephrem Syri hymni et sermones*, ed. Th.-J. LAMY, 4 vols. (Malines, 1882, 1886, 1889, 1902).

EPIPHANIOS CONSTANTIENSIS, *Homiliae*, PG 43, 428-506.

EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA: *Εὐσεβίου Καισαρείας εἰς τοῦ Πάσχα ἑορτῆς*, PG 24, 693-706.

EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS: A. GUILLAUMONT, 'Les six Centuries des "Kephalaia Gnostica" d'Évagre le Pontique', *Patrologia Orientalis* 28.1 (1958), 1-263.

—: I. HAUSHERR, 'Les leçons d'un contemplative: Le *Traité de l'oraison* d'Évagre le Pontique', *RAM* 15 (1934), 34-93, 113-70 (French. transl. with notes); repr. as a pamphlet, *Les Leçons d'un contemplative: Le Traité de l'oraison d'Évagre le Pontique* (Paris, 1960).

—: *Évagre le Pontique: Traité Pratique ou Le Moine*, ed. A. & C. GUILLAUMONT, SC 170-171 (1971).

—: *Evagrius Ponticus: Praktikos and Chapters on Prayer*, transl. J. E. BAMBERGER, CS 4 (1972).

—: *Evagrius Ponticus: Praktikos and On Prayer; Dionysios the Areopagite: Mystical Theology*, ed. S. TUGWELL (Oxford, 1987).

—:*The Syriac Fathers on Prayer and the Spiritual Life*, transl. S. P. BROCK, CS 101 (1987).

—: *Évagre le Pontique: Le Gnostique*, ed. A. & C. GUILLAUMONT, SC 356 (1989).

—: *The 'Ad Monachos' of Evagrius Ponticus*, ed. J. DRISCOLL (Rome, 1991).

—: *Évagre le Pontique: Scholies à l'Ecclésiaste*, ed. P. GÉHIN, SC 397 (1993).

FLORILEGIA: *Philokalia ton Hieron Neptikon*, 5 vols. (Athens, 1957-63).

—: *The Philokalia*, transl. G. E. H. PALMER, P. SHERRARD & K. WARE, 4 vols. (London, 1979-95).

—: *Un Traité de vie spirituelle et morale du XI^e siècle: le florilège sacro-profane du manuscrit 6 de Patmos*, ed. É. SARGOLOGOS (Thessaloniki, 1990).

GREGORY NAZIANZEN: *Homilia in Novam Dominicam*, PG 36, 607-622.

—: *Grégoire de Nazianze: Discours 38-41*, ed. C. MORESCHINI & P. GALLAY, SC 358 (1990).

GREGORY OF ANTIOCH: *In mulieres unguentiferas*, PG 88, 1848-66.

GREGORY OF NYSSA: *Two Rediscovered Works of Ancient Christian Literature: Gregory of Nyssa and Macarius*, ed. W. JAEGER (Leiden, 1954).

—: *Grégoire de Nysse: La Vie de Moïse*, ed. J. DANIÉLOU, SC 1bis (1955).

—: *The Life of Moses*, transl. A. J. MALHERBE & E. FERGUSON (New York, 1978).

—: 'In Sanctam Pentecosten', ed. D. TESKE, *Gregorii Nysseni Sermones, Pars III* (Leiden, 1996), pp. 287-92.

GREGORY THE GREAT, *Forty Gospel Homilies*, transl. D. HURST, CS 123 (1990).

—: *Grégoire le Grand: Dialogues*, ed. A. DE VOGÜÉ, SC 251 (1978), 260 (1979), 265 (1980).

—: *Grégoire le Grand: Règle pastorale*, ed. B. JUDIC, SC 381-382 (1992).

HERACLEON: Y. JANSSENS, 'Héracléon: Commentaire sur l'Évangile selon saint Jean', *Le Muséon* 72 (1959), 1-151, 277-99.

HESYCHIOS OF JERUSALEM: *Les Homélies festales d'Hésychius de Jérusalem*, ed. M. AUBINEAU, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1978, 1980).

ISIDORE OF SEVILLE: *Liber numerorum qui in Sanctis Scripturis occurrunt*, PL 83, 179-200.

ISIDOROS: *Ἰσιδώρου Γλαβᾶ, Ὁμιλίες*, ed. V. X. CHRISTOPHORIDIS, 2 vols. (Thessaloniki, 1982, 1997).

JEROME: *Commentariorum in epistolas ad Galatas, libri tres*, PL 26, 307-438.

—: *Die Homilien zu Lukas in der Übersetzung des Hieronymus und die griechischen Reste der Homilien und des Lukas-Kommentars*, ed. M. RAUER, Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller 49 (Berlin, 1959).

JOHN CASSIAN, *Conferences*, transl. C. LUIBHEID (New York–Mahwah, 1985).

JOHN CHRYSOSTOM: *Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου τῶν εὑρισκομένων τόμος (α΄-η΄)*, ed. H. SAVILE, 8 vols. (Eton, 1612-13).

—: *St. John Chrysostom: Baptismal Instructions*, ed. P. W. HARKINS (London, 1963).

—: *Homiliae Pseudo-Chrysostomicae* I, ed. K.-H. UTHEMANN, R. F. REGTUIT & J. M. TEVEL (Turnhout, 1994).

—: Pseudo-Chrysostom, *Oratio in exaltationem crucis*, PG 50, 815-820.

—: Pseudo-Chrysostom, *In Samaritanam*, PG59, 535-542.

—: Pseudo-Chrysostom, *Sermo catecheticus in Pascha*, PG 59, 721-724; PG 99, 709-712.

JOHN DAMASCENE: *St. John Damascene: Vita Barlaam and Joasaph*, ed. G. R. WOODWARD & H. MATTINGLY (London, 1937).

JOHN KLIMAKOS: *Scala Paradisi*, PG 88, 586-1164.

—: *San Giovanni Climaco, La Scala del Paradiso*, transl. D. B. IGNESTI, 2 vols. (2nd edn., Siena, 1987).

JOHN OF ANTIOCH: P. GAUTIER, 'Réquisitoire du patriarche Jean d'Antioche contre le charisticariat', *REB* 33 (1975), 77-132.

JOHN OF KARPATHOS: *Capita hortatoria ad monachos in India*, PG 85, 1827-1860.

LEONTIOS OF CONSTANTINOPLE: *Leontii Presbyteri Constantinopolitani homiliae*, ed. C. DATEMA, & P. ALLEN, CCSG 17 (1987).

—: *Leontius, Presbyter of Constantinople, Fourteen Homilies*, transl. C. DATEMA & P. ALLEN, Byzantina Australiensia 9 (Brisbane, 1991).

LITURGICA: *Ὡρολόγιον τὸ μέγα* (Rome, 1876).

—: *PENTHKOSTARION* (Rome, 1883).

—: *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rukopisej, charanjastichcja v bibliotekach pravoslavnago vostoka*, ed. A. DMITRIEVSKIJ, 2 vols. (Kiev, 1895).

—: ANON., 'Un'ufficiatura perduta del Venerdì Santo', *Roma e l'Oriente* 5 (1912-13), 302-13.

—: *The Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, ed. S. ANTONIADES, *Place de la Liturgie dans la tradition des lettres grecques* (Leiden, 1939), pp. 6-44.

—: *Pentekostarion Charmosynon*, ed. SP. ZERBOU (Athens–Venice, s.d.; repr. Athens, 1959).

—: *Il simbolo di Nicea e di Costantinopoli*, ed. G. L. DOSSETTI (Rome, 1967).

—: *Lectionnaire byzantin: I. Les Parémies; II. L'Apôtre* (Parma, 1994).

MAKARIOS: W. STROTHMANN, ed., I-II: *Die Syrische Überlieferung des Schriften des Makarios.*; III: *Schriften des Makarios/Symeon unter dem Namen des Ephrem* (Wiesbaden, 1981).

—: *Pseudo-Macarius: The Fifty Spiritual Homilies and the Great Letter*, transl. G. A. MALONEY (New York, 1992).

MARCIAN: *Le moine Saint Marcien: Étude critique des sources, édition de ses écrits*, ed. J. LEBON, Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense 36 (Leuven, 1968).

MARK THE MONK: *Marc le Moine: Traités spirituels et théologiques*, transl. C.-A. ZIRNHELD, Spiritualité Orientale 41 (Abbaye de Bellefontaine, 1985).

MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR, *Ambiguorum Liber*, PG 91, 1031-1418.

—: *St. Maximus the Confessor: The Ascetic Life, The Four Centuries on Charity*, transl. P. SHERWOOD, Ancient Christian Writers 21 (London, 1955).

NEW TESTAMENT: *Novum Testamentum Graece*, ed. E. NESTLE & K. ALAND (Stuttgart 1979, 1988).

—: *The Apochryphal New Testament*, ed. J. K. ELLIOTT (Oxford, 1993).

NIKETAS STETHATOS: *Nicétas Stéthatos, La Vie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien*, ed. I. HAUSHERR, OC 12 (1928).

—: *Nicétas Stéthatos: Opuscules et Letttres*, ed. J. DARROUZÈS, SC 81 (1961).

ORIGEN: *Origenes Werke*, ed. E. PREUSCHEN, E. KLOSTERMAN & P. KOETSCHAU, Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte, 12 vols. (Leipzig, 1899-1955).

—: *Origène: Commentaire sur l'Évangile selon Matthieu*, ed. R. GIROD, SC 162 (Paris, 1970).

—: *Origène: Commentaire sur Saint Jean XIII, 51*, ed. C. BLANC, SC 222 (1975).

—: *Origène: Commentaire sur le Cantique des Cantiques*, ed. M. BORRET, L. BRÉSARD & H. CROUZEL, SC 375-376 (1991).

PACHOMIOS: *Oeuvres de s. Pachôme et des ses disciples*, ed. & transl. L. T. LEFORT, CSCO 159 (1956); 160 (1956).

PAUL OF EVERGETIS, *Εὐεργετινὸς ἤτοι Συναγωγὴ τῶν θεοφθόγγων ῥήματων καὶ διδασκαλίων τῶν θεοφόρων*

καὶ ἁγίων πατέρων, ed. Makarios of Corinth & Nikodemos Hagiorites (Venice, 1783; 7th repr. in 4 vols., Athens, 1983).

PAUL OF MONEMBASIA: *Les Récits édifiants de Paul, Évêque de Monembasie, et d'autres auteurs*, ed. J. WORTLEY (Paris, 1987).

—: *The Spiritually Beneficial Tales of Paul of Monembasia and of Other Authors*, transl. J. WORTLEY, CS 159 (1996).

PHILAGATOS OF CERAMI: *Filagato da Cerami: Omelie per i vangeli domenicali e le feste di tutto l'anno*, ed. G. ROSSI TAIBBI (Palermo, 1969).

ROMANOS THE MELOD: *Romanos le Mélode: Hymnes*, ed. J. GROSDIDIER DE MATONS, SC 99 (1964), 110 (1965), 114 (1965), 128 (1967), 283 (1981).

SERMONES: S. LILLA, 'La fonte inedita di un'omelia greca sulla Pasqua', *Byzantion* 40 (1970), 67-74.

—: Αἱ περὶ σταυροῦ καὶ πάθους τοῦ Κυρίου ὁμιλίαι ἀνατολικῶν πατέρων καὶ συγγραφέων ἀπὸ τοῦ 2ου μέχρι τοῦ 4ου αἰῶνος, ed. B. S. PSEUTONKAS (Thessaloniki, 1975).

SYMEON THE NEW THEOLOGIAN: *Syméon le Nouveau Théologien: Catéchèses*, 3 vols., ed. B. KRIVOCHÉINE & J. PARAMELLE, SC 96 (1963), 104 (1964), 113 (1965).

—, *The Discourses*, transl. C. J. DE CATANZARO (New York, 1980).

THEODORE STUDITE: *Sancti patris nostri et confessoris Theodori, Studitis praepositi, Parva Catechesis*, ed. E. AUVRAY (Paris, 1891).

—: *Sancti Theodori Studitae sermones Magnae Catecheseos*, ed. P. COZZA-LUZI, in A. MAI, ed., *Patrum Nova Bibliotheca*, 10 vols. (Rome, 1888, 1905), IX (part 2) – X.

—: Τοῦ ὁσίου Θεοδώρου τοῦ Στουδίτου μεγάλη κατήχησις, ed. A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS (St. Petersburg, 1904).

—: *Théodore Studite: Petites catéchèses*, transl. A.-M. MOHR (Paris, 1993).

THEODORET OF CYRRHUS: *Τοῦ μακαρίου Θεοδωρήτου ἐπισκόπου Κυρίου ἑρμηνεία εἰς τοὺς ψαλμούς*, PG 80, 857-1998.

—: *Théodoret de Cyr: Histoire des Moines de Syrie*, ed. P. CANIVET & A. LEROY-MOLINGHEN, SC 234 (1977), 257 (1979).

—: *A history of the Monks of Syria, by Theodoret of Cyrrhus*, transl. R. M. PRICE (Kalamazoo, 1985).

THEOLEPTOS OF PHILADELPHEIA, *The Monastic Discourses*, ed. R. SINKEWITZ (Toronto, 1992).

TYPIKA & OTHER DOCUMENTS: MIKLOSICH, F., & I. MÜLLER, eds., *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana collecta*, 6 vols. (Vienna, 1860-90).

—: *De monachico statu juxta disciplinam byzantinam*, ed. P. DE MEESTER (Città del Vaticano, 1942).

—: J. DARROUZÈS, ed., *Documents inédits d'ecclésiologie byzantine* (Paris, 1966).

—: P. GAUTIER, 'L'obituaire du Typikon du Pantocrator', *REB* 27 (1969), 235-62.

—: P. GAUTIER, 'Le Typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator', *REB* 32 (1974), 1-145.

—: P. GAUTIER, 'Le Typikon de la Théotokos Évergétis', *REB* 40 (1982), 5-101.

—: P. GAUTIER, 'Le Typikon du Sébaste Grégoire Pakourianos', *REB* 42 (1984), 5-145.

—: P. GAUTIER, 'Le Typikon de la Théotokos Kécharitôménè', *REB* 43 (1985), 5-165.

VITAE: *Zitie prepodobnago Paisija velikago...* , ed. I. POMJALOVSKIJ (St. Petersburg, 1900).

—: *Jean le Solitaire*, ed. I. HAUSHERR, OCA 120 (1939).

—: Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχυολογίας, ed. A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, 5 vols. (repr. Brussels, 1963).

—: *La Vie de Saint Cyrille le Philéote, moine byzantin (†1110)*, ed. É. SARGOLOGOS, Subsidia Hagiographica 39 (Brussels, 1964).

—: *Démonologie populaire – démonologie critique aux onzième siècle*, ed. P. JOANNOU (Wiesbaden, 1971).

—: *The Life of St Andrew the Fool*, ed. L. RYDÉN, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 4: 1-2 (Uppsala, 1995).

Secondary Literature.

ACCONCIA-LONGO, M., & A. JACOB, 'Une anthologie salentine du XIVe siècle: le Vaticanus gr. 1276', *RSBN* 17-19 (1980-1982), 149-228.

AGATI, M.-L., *La minuscola 'bouletée'*, Littera Antiqua 9, 2 vols. (Città del Vaticano, 1992).

AHRWEILER, H., *Byzance et la mer* (Paris, 1966).

ALEXAKIS, A., *Codex Parisinus graecus 1115 and its Archetype*, DOS 34 (1996).

ALFEYEV, H., 'St. Symeon the New Theologian and Orthodox Tradition', unpublished D. Phil. thesis (Oxford, 1995).

ALPERS, K., 'Ein Handschriftenfund zum Kyrill-Glossar', in W. HÖRANDNER & E. TRAPP, eds., *Lexicographica Byzantina* (Vienna, 1991), pp. 11-52.

AMFILOCHIJ, *Paleograficeskoe opisanie greceskich rukopisei*, 4 vols. (Moscow, 1879-80).

AMOS, T. L., 'Preaching and the Sermon in the Carolingian World', in T. L. AMOS, E. A. GREEN & B. MAYNE KIENZLE, eds., *De Ore Domini: Preacher and Word in the Middle Ages* (Kalamazoo, 1989), pp. 41-60.

—, 'Early Medieval Sermons and their Audience', in J. HAMESSE & X. HERMAND, eds., *De L'Homélie au sermon. Histoire de la prédication médiévale* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1993), pp. 1-14.

ANASTASI, R., 'Sulla fortuna di Basilio nell'XI secolo bizantino', in *Basilio di Cesarea: la sua età, la sua opera e il basilianesimo in Sicilia*, 2 vols. (Messina, 1983), I, pp. 683-95.

ANDERSON, J. C., 'The Illustration of Cod. *Sinai gr.* 339', *The Art Bulletin* 61 (1979), 167-85.

ANGOLD, M., *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081-1261* (Cambridge, 1995).

—, *The Byzantine Empire, 1025-1204: a Political History* (2nd edn., New York, 1997).

ANTONIADES, S., *Place de la Liturgie dans la tradition des lettres grecques* (Leiden, 1939).

ANTONOPOULOU, Th., *The Homilies of the Emperor Leo VI* (Leiden, 1996).

ARRANZ, M., *Le Typicon du Saint-Sauveur à Messine. Codex Messanensis gr. 115, A. D. 1131*, OCA 185 (1969).

—, 'Les prières de la Gonyklisia ou de la Génuflexion du jour de la Pentecôte dans l'ancien Euchologe byzantin', *OCP* 48 (1982), 92-123.

—, 'Il culto liturgico di Sant'Agazio', in *Vivarium Scyllacense, Bollettino dell'Istituto di Studi su Cassiodoro e sul Medioevo in Calabria* 2 (1991), 87-96.

—, *I penitenziali bizantini* (Rome, 1993).

ASHBY, G. W., *Theodoret of Cyrrhus as Exegete of the Old Testament* (Grahamstown, 1972).

ASTRUC, Ch., 'Un recueil de textes ascétiques (de l'Abbé Isaïe, d'Isaac de Ninive et du Pseudo-Macaire): le *Parisinus graecus* 915', *RAM* 42 (1966), 181-91.

—, 'Le *Parisinus Suppl. gr.* 1386 (ex-*Kosinitza* 27)', *Scriptorium* 38 (1984), 272-87.

AUBINEAU, M., 'Textes de Marc l'Hermite, Diadoque de Photicé, Jean de Carpathos et Maxime le Confesseur, dans le cod. *Harleianus* 5688', *OCP* 30 (1964), 256-59.

—, 'Une enquête dans les manuscrits chrysostomiens: opportunité, difficultés, premier bilan', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 63 (1968), 5-26.

—, *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci*, I: *Codices Britanniae et Hiberniae* (Paris, 1968).

—, 'Une homélie de Grégoire d'Antioche (570-593), retrouvée dans le *Vaticanus gr.* 1975', *Byzantium* 42 (1972), 595-97.

—, 'Un événement scientifique: la "Clavis Patrum Graecorum"', *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa* 12 (1976), 210-30.

—, 'Divers textes inédits attribués à Basile de Césarée. Publication d'une homélie *in S. Pascha* (CPG 2938)', in *Basilio di Cesarea: la sua età, la sua opera e il basilianesimo in Sicilia*, 2 vols. (Messina, 1983), I, pp. 267-84.

—, *Chrysostome, Sévérien, Proclus, Hésychius et alii: patristique et hagiographie grecques*, Variorum Reprints (London, 1988).

AUZÉPY, M.-F., 'Les *Vies d'Auxence* et le monachisme «auxentien»', *REB* 53 (1995), 205-35.

BARBOUR, R., 'Summary Description of the Greek Manuscripts from the Library at Holkham Hall', *Bodleian Library Records* 6 (1960), 591-613.

BARDOLLE, M. A., 'La Vie de Moïse de Grégoire de Nysse ou le temps spirituel vécu à travers l'imaginaire d'un modèle historique', in *Le Temps chrétien de la fin du Moyen Âge, III^e-XIII^e siècles*, Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, 1981 (Paris, 1984), pp. 255-61.

BARDY, G., 'Tractare, tractatus', *Revue des Sciences Réligieuses* 33 (1946), 211-35.

BARRÉ, H., 'Un homéliaire bénéventain du XI^e siècle (Vat. lat. 4222)', Studi e Testi 236 (Città del Vaticano, 1964), pp. 89-119.

BAUR, Ch., *Initia Patrum Graecorum*, Studi e Testi 180-181 (Città del Vaticano, 1955).

BECK, E., 'Éphrem le Syrien', *DS* 4 (1958), cols. 788-800.

BECK, H. G., *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (2nd edn., Munich, 1977).

BELTING, H., 'An Image and its Function in the Liturgy: the Man of Sorrows in Byzantium', *DOP* 34 (1980), 1-16.

BERKOWITZ, L., & SQUITIER, K. A., *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae. Canon of Greek Authors and Works* (2nd. edn., New York-Oxford, 1986).

BERSCHIN, W., *Greek Letters and the Latin Middle Ages* (Washington, D.C., 1988).

BERTONIÈRE, G., *The Historical Development of the Easter Vigil and Related Services in the Greek Church*, OCA 193 (1972).

—, *The Sundays of Lent in the Triodion. The Sundays Without a Commemoration*, OCA 253 (1997).

BESSE, J.-M., *Les Moines d'Orient antérieurs au Concile de Chalcédoine (451)* (Poitiers, 1900).

BLANC, C., 'Le Commentaire d'Héracléon sur Jean 4 et 8', *Augustinianum* 15 (1975), 81-124.

BLUMENKRANZ, B., *Les Auteurs chrétiens latins du Moyen-Âge sur les juifs et le judaïsme*, Études Juives IV (Paris-Le Haye, 1963).

—, 'Fidélité du scribe — les citations bibliques', in *Juifs et chrétiens: patristique et Moyen Âge*, Variorum Reprints (London, 1977), I.

BONNEFOY, J.-F., 'La mystique des nombres', *RAM* 25 (1949), 533-50.

BOUSSET, W., *Apophthegmata: Studien zur Geschichte des ältesten Mönchtums* (Tübingen, 1923).

BOYENS, I., 'Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum Bibliothecae Monasterii Deiparae in Chalce insula', *AB* 20 (1901), 47-70.

BRIQUET, C. M., *Les Filigranes: dictionnaire historique des marques de papier*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1907); repr., ed. A. Stevenson (Amsterdam, 1968).

BROCK, S. P., 'An Early Syriac Life of Maximus the Confessor', *AB* 91 (1973), 299-346.

—, 'Clothing Metaphors as a Means of Theological Expression in the Syriac Traditions', in *Studies in Syriac Christianity*, Variorum Reprints (London, 1992), XI.

—, 'A Monothelete Florilegium in Syriac', in *Studies in Syriac Christianity*, Variorum Reprints (London, 1992), XIV.

—, 'From Annunciation to Pentecost: the Travels of a Technical Term', in *ΕΥΛΟΓΗΜΑ. Studies in Honor of Robert Taft S. J.*, ed. E. CARR, S. PARENTI, A.-A. THIERMEYER & E. VELKOVSKA, Studia Anselmiana 110 / Analecta liturgica 17 (Rome, 1993), pp. 71-89.

BROCK, S. P., & S. ASHBROOK HARVEY, *Women of the Syrian Orient* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1987).

BROWNING, R., *Medieval and Modern Greek* (London, 1969; 2nd ed., 1983).

—, 'Enlightenment and Repression in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *Past and Present* 69 (1975), 3-23.

BRUDER, C. H., *Concordantiae omnium vocum Novi Testamenti graeci* (4th edn., Leipzig, 1888; repr. Athens, 1993).

BRUNNER, T. S., 'TLG Expansion: The Byzantine Era', in W. HÖRANDNER & E. TRAPP, eds., *Lexicographica Byzantina* (Vienna, 1991), pp. 53-59.

BURTON-CHRISTIE, D., *The Word in the Desert: Scripture and the Quest for Holiness in Early Christian Monasticism* (New York-Oxford, 1993).

CAMERON, Av., *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire: the Development of Christian Discourse* (Berkeley, 1994).

CANART, P., 'Cinq manuscrits transférés directement du monastère de Stoudios à celui de Grottaferrata?', in *Bisanzio e l'Italia, raccolta di studi in memoria di Agostino Pertusi* (Milano, 1982), pp. 19-28.

CANIVET, P., 'Dorothée de Gaza est-il un disciple d'Évagre?', *Revue des Études Grecques* 78 (1965), 336-46.

—, *Le Monachisme syrien selon Théodoret de Cyr*, Théologie Historique 42 (Paris, 1977).

CANTALAMESSA, R., *La Pasqua nella Chiesa antica* (Torino, 1978).

Catalogue of the Additions to the manuscripts in the British Museum, in the years 1900-1905 (London, 1907).

CARRUTHERS, M., *The Book of Memory: a Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1990).

CHADWICK, H., 'The Identity and Date of Mark the Monk', in *Essays in Honour of Gervase Mathew, Eastern Churches Review* 4.2 (1972), 125-30.

CHARANIS, P., 'The Monastic Properties and the State in the Byzantine Empire', *DOP* 4 (1948), 53-118.

CHITTY, D. J., 'Abba Isaiah', *Journal of Theological Studies* 22 (1971), 47-72.

CHOLIJ, R., 'The Ordering of Holiness: Life and Thought of Theodore the Stoudite', unpublished D. Phil. thesis (Oxford, 1996).

CLARK, K. W., *Checklist of Manuscripts in the Libraries of the Greek and Armenian Patriarchates in Jerusalem Microfilmed for the Library of Congress, 1949-1950* (Washington, D.C., 1953).

COLLINS, E. M., 'The *Synagoge* of Paul of Evergetis: a Patristic Manual for Middle Byzantine Monasticism', *Studia Patristica* 23 (1989), 8-12.

—, 'A Neglected Manual of Spiritual Life: the *Synagoge* of Paul Evergetinos', *Sobornost* 12 (1990), 47-51.

CONGORDEAU, M.-H., 'Théodore Studite', *DS* 15 (1990), cols. 401-14.

CONSTABLE, G., *Medieval Monasticism: a Select Bibliography* (Toronto, 1976).

—, *Religious Life and Thought (Eleventh-Twelfth Centuries)*, Variorum Reprints (London, 1979).

—, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1996).

CORRIGAN, K., *Visual Polemics in the Ninth-Century Psalters* (Cambridge, 1992).

CORSINI, E., 'In margine a una traduzione dell' *In Ioannem* di Origene', in *Miscellanea di studi in onore di Alberto Picherle*, Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni 38 (Rome, 1967), pp. 146-69.

COXE, H., *Quarto Catalogues*. I: *Greek Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1969).

CRACCO RUGGINI, L., 'Grégoire le Grand et le monde byzantin', in J. FONTAINE, R. GILLET & S. PELLISTRANDI, eds., *Grégoire le Grand*, Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1982 (Paris, 1986), pp. 83-94.

CREMASCOLI, G., 'La Bibbia nella Regola Pastorale di San Gregorio Magno', *Vetera Christianorum* 6 (1969), 47-70.

—, 'Le symbolisme des nombres dans les oeuvres de Grégoire le Grand', in J. FONTAINE, R. GILLET & S. PELLISTRANDI, eds., *Grégoire le Grand*, Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, 1982 (Paris, 1986), pp. 445-54.

CROSTINI, B., 'Interpreting the Interpretors: the Principles and Aims of the *Protheoria*', *Ostkirchliche Studien* 42 (1993), 51-59.

—, 'Towards a Study of the Scriptorium of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis: Preliminary Remarks', in *Theotokos Evergetis* , pp. 176-97.

—, 'The Emperor Basil II's Cultural Life', in *Byzantion* 61 (1996), 55-80.

—, 'Originality and Dependence in the *Katechetikon* of Paul of Evergetis: Some Examples of Catecheses Adapted from Theodore of Stoudios', in *Work and Worship*, pp. 178-200.

—, 'A Description of Four Manuscripts at the Centre Ivan Dujcev', forthcoming in *Annuaire du Centre Ivan Dujcev*, 7 (Sofia, Bulgaria).

—, 'The *Katechetikon* of Paul of Evergetis (†1054) Compared to the Foundational Documents', forthcoming in *OCP*.

—, 'Structure and Dating of Codex *Atheniensis graecus* 788, Typikon of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis (Founded in 1049)', forthcoming in *Scriptorium*.

CROUZEL, H., 'Origène, précurseur du monachisme', in *Théologie de la vie monastique*, pp. 15-38.

CUMMINGS, D., *The Rudder* (Chicago, 1957; repr. 1983).

CUNNINGHAM, M., 'Innovation or Mimesis in Byzantine Sermons?', in A. R. LITTLEWOOD, ed., *Originality in Byzantine Literature: a Collection of Essays*, Oxbow Monograph 50 (Oxford, 1995), pp. 67-80.

—, 'Preaching and the Community' in R. MORRIS, ed., *Church and People in Byzantium* (Birmingham, 1986), pp. 29-47.

—, 'Creative Selection? Paul of Evergetis' Use of Mark the Monk in the *Synagoge*', in *Work and Worship*, pp. 134-42.

D'AIUTO, F., *Tre canoni inediti di Giovanni Mauropode in onore di santi militari*, Supplemento al Bollettino dei Classici 13 (Rome, 1994).

DAGENS, C., *Saint Grégoire le Grand* (Paris, 1977).

DALMAIS, I.-H., 'La doctrine ascétique de S. Maxime le Confesseur d'après le *Liber asceticus*', *Irénikon* 26 (1953), 17-39.

—, 'Maxime le Confesseur', *DS* 10 (1980), cols. 836-47.

—, 'Thèmes bibliques dans les anaphores eucharistiques de langue grecque', in C. MONDÉSERT, ed., *Le monde grec ancien et la Bible* (Paris, 1984), pp. 95-106.

—, 'Saint Maxime le Confesseur et la crise de l'Origénisme monastique', in *Théologie de la vie monastique*, pp. 411-21.

DANEU LATTANZI, A., *I manoscritti ed incunaboli miniati della Sicilia* (Palermo, 1977).

—, 'Animazione e direzionalità delle iniziali italo-bizantine', in *XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress. Akten II/4*, *JÖB* 32 (1982), 203-12.

DANIÉLOU, J., *Origène* (Paris, 1948).

—, 'La typologie millenariste de la semaine dans le christianisme primitif', *Vigiliae Christianae* 2 (1948), 1-16.

—, *Bible et liturgie*, Lex orandi 11 (Paris, 1951).

—, *Les Symboles chrétiens primitifs* (Paris, 1961).

—, 'La typologie biblique de Grégoire de Nysse', in *Miscellanea di studi in onore di Alberto Picherle*, Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni 38 (Rome, 1967), pp. 185-96.

DARROUZÈS, J., 'Notes d'histoire des textes', *REB* 15 (1957), 169-75.

—, 'Dossier sur le charisticariat', in P. WIRTH, ed., *Polychronion: Festschrift Franz Dölger* (Heidelberg, 1966), pp. 150-65.

—, *Recherches sur les ΟΦΦΙΚΙΑ de l'Église Byzantine*, AOC 11 (1970).

—, 'Le mouvement des fondations monastiques au XIe siècle', *TM* 6 (1976), 159-76.

DARROUZÈS, J., & FAILLER, A., *Tables générales des Échos d'Orient (1897-1942)*, AOC 15 (1986).

DAVID, P., 'Un recueil de conférences monastiques irlandaises du VIIIe siècle. Notes sur le manuscrit 43 de la Bibliothèque du Chapitre de Cracovie', *Revue Bénédictine* 49 (1937), 62-89.

DE ABRAHAMSE, D., 'Women's Monasticism in the Middle Byzantine Period: Problems and Prospects', *Byzantinische Forschungen* 9 (1985), 35-58.

DE ALDAMA, J. A., *Repertorium Pseudochrysostomicum* (Paris, 1965).

DECLERCK, J., 'Les citations de S. Maxime le Confesseur chez Paul de l'Évergétis', *Byzantion* 55 (1985), 91-117.

DELEHAYE, H., 'Stoudion-Stoudios', *AB* 52 (1934), 64.

DE LUBAC, H., *Exégèse médiévale*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1959).

DEMUS, O., & E. DIEZ, *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece: Hosios Lucas and Daphni* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931).

DE MEESTER, P., *Studi sui sacramenti amministrati secondo il rito bizantino* (Grottaferrata, 1947).

DER NERSESSIAN, S., *L'Illustration des psautiers grecs du Moyen Âge*, II: *Londres Add. 19.352* (Paris, 1970).

DES PLACES, É., 'Une catéchèse inédite de Diadoque de Photicé', *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 40 (1952), 129-38.

—, 'Diadoque de Photicé', *DS* 3 (1954), cols. 817-34.

—, 'La tradition manuscrite des *Cents Chapitres* de Diadoque de Photicé', *Revue des Études Grecques* 70 (1957), 376-86.

—, 'Maxime le Confesseur et Diadoque de Photicé', in F. HEINZER & C. SCHÖNBORN, eds., *Maximus Confessor*, Actes du Symposium sur Maxime le Confesseur, Fribourg, 2-5 Septembre 1980 (Fribourg, 1982), pp. 29-35.

DE RICCI, S., *A Handlist of Manuscripts in the Library of the Earl of Leicester at Holkham Hall* (Oxford, 1932).

V. DESPREZ, 'Macaire. I. L'œuvre, l'auteur et son milieu', *DS* 10 (1980), cols. 20-27.

—: 'Macaire. III. Influence', *DS* 10 (1980), cols. 39-41.

DE VOGÜÉ, A., *La Communauté et l'abbé dans la Règle de saint Benoît* (Paris, 1960).

DEVREESSE, R., 'La Vie de S. Maxime le Confesseur et ses recensions', *AB* 46 (1928), 5-49.

—, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs*, II: *Le Fonds Coislin* (Paris, 1945).

Dictionnaire de la Bible (Paris, 1928–).

DIDIER, M.-T., 'Jean de Carpathos. L'homme, l'œuvre, la doctrine spirituelle', *EO* 31 (1932), 284-303; 39 (1940-42), 290-311.

DÖRRIES, H., *Symeon von Mesopotamien. Die Überlieferung der messalianischen "Makarios" Schriften*, TU 55. 1 (1941).

—, 'The Place of Confession in Ancient Monasticism', in F. L. CROSS, ed., *Studia Patristica* V, TU 80 (1962), pp. 284-311.

DJUROVA, A., & E. VELKOVSKA, 'Manuscritos griegos datados de la colección del Centro de Investigaciones Eslavo-Bizantinas 'Ivan Dujcev' (siglos XII-XIV)', in *Simposio sobre el tiempo* (Madrid, 1990), pp. 111-38.

—, 'Manuscrits grecs datés provenant de la collection du Centre de Recherches Slavo-Byzantines 'Ivan Dujcev' (XII-XIVe siècles)', in *Ex Oriente Lux, mélanges au prof. Jean Blankoff*, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1991), II, pp. 95-110.

DORIVAL, G., 'Des Commentaires de l'Écriture aux chaînes', in C. MONDÉSERT, ed., *Le Monde grec ancien et la Bible* (Paris, 1984), pp. 361-86.

DOW, S., *Conventions in Editing* (Duke University, 1969).

DVORNIK, F., *Byzantium and the Roman Primacy*, transl. E. A. QUAIN (New York, 1966).

—, *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy*, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1966).

EHRHARD, A., *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche*, 3 vols., TU 50-52 (1937, 1938, 1943).

ELEOPULOS, N. X., *Ἡ Βιβλιοθήκη καὶ τὸ βιβλιογραφικὸν ἐργαστήριον τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Στουδίου* (Athens, 1967).

ÉMEREAU, C., 'Hymnographi byzantini quorum nomina in litteras digessit notulisque adornavit', *EO* 24 (1925), 164-79.

Encyclopaedia Judaica

ÉTAIX, R., 'L'Homiliaire cartusien', *Sacris Erudiri* 13 (1962), 67-112.

—, 'Le lectionnaire de l'office à Cluny', in *Lectionnaires manuscrits latins* (Paris, 1994), pp. 137-205.

—, 'L'homéliaire de l'Épinal, B.M. 20 (3)', in *Homéliaires patristiques latins* (Paris, 1994), pp. 341-74.

EUANGELATOU-NOTARA, F., *Σημειώματα Ἑλληνικῶν κωδίκων ὡς πηγὴ διὰ τὴν ἔρευναν τοῦ οἰκονομικοῦ καὶ κοινωνικοῦ βίου τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἀπὸ τοῦ 9ου αἰῶνος μέχρι τοῦ ἔτους 1204*, Βιβλιοθήκη Σοφίας Ν. Σαριπόλου 47 (Athens, 1982).

EUSTRATIADES, PH., & LEONTOPOLEOS, PR., *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν τῇ μονῇ Βλατέων (Τσαυς-μοναστηρι) ἀποκειμένων κωδικῶν* (Thessaloniki, 1918).

EUSTRATIADES, S., & VATOPEDINOS, A., *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Monastery of Vatopedi on Mount Athos*, Harvard Theological Studies 11 (Cambridge, Mass., 1924).

EUSTRATIADES, S., *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Laura on Mt. Athos*, Harvard Theological Studies 12 (Cambridge, Mass., 1925).

FAILLER, A., 'Le monachisme byzantin au XI^{e}-XII^{e} siècles: aspects sociaux et économiques', *Cahiers d'Histoire* 20 (1975), 279-302.

FATOUROS, G., 'Die Benediktiner von S. Maur auf der Suche nach exotischen Wörter bei Theodoros Studites', in E. TRAPP, ed., *Studien zur Byzantinischen Lexicographie*, Byzantina Vindoboniensia 18 (Vienna, 1988), pp. 71-148.

—, 'Zur Sprache des Theodoros Studites', in W. HÖRANDNER & E. TRAPP, eds., *Lexicographica Byzantina* (Vienna, 1991), pp. 123-28.

FLUSIN, B., 'Les débuts de l'humanisme byzantin', in J. GLENISSON, ed., *Le Livre au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1988), pp. 122-31.

FOLLIERI, E., *Initia hymnorum Ecclesiae graecae*, Studi e Testi 211-215* (Città del Vaticano, 1960-66).

—, *I calendari in metro innografico di Cristoforo Mitileneo*, 2 vols., Subsidia Hagiographica 63 (Brussels, 1980).

—, 'La vita somiglia a una *panegyris*: storia di una similitudine dall'antichità al medioevo', in A. ACCONCIA-LONGO, L. PERRIA & A. LUZZI, eds., *Byzantina et italograeca, Studi di filologia e paleografia*, Raccolta di Studi e Testi 195 (Città del Vaticano, 1997), pp. 487-95.

FONKICH, B. L., 'Scriptoria bizantini. Risultati e prospettive della ricerca', *RSBN* 17-19 (1980-82), 73-116.

FORNASARI, G., *Medioevo riformato del secolo XI. Pier Damiani e Gregorio VII*, Nuovo Medioevo 42 (Napoli, 1996).

FRAIGNEAU-JULIEN, B., *Les Sens spirituels et la vision de Dieu selon Syméon le Nouveau Théologien*, Théologie Historique 67 (Paris, 1985).

FRANCO , N., 'Il "ΛΟΓΟΣ ΚΑΤΗΧΗΤΙΚΟΣ" della Domenica di Pasqua, attribuito a S. Giovanni Crisostomo', *Roma e l'Oriente* 1 (1910-11), 368-73.

FRANC-SGOURDÉOU, C., 'Les initiales historiées dans les manuscrits byzantins aux XI^e-XII^e s.', *Byzantinoslavica* 28 (1967), 336-54.

FRANTZ, M. A., 'Byzantine Illuminated Ornament. A Study in Chronology', *The Art Bulletin* 16 (1934), 43-76.

FRAZEE, C., 'St. Theodore of Stoudios and Ninth-Century Monasticism in Constantinople', *Studia Monastica* 23 (1981), 27-58.

FREISE, R., 'Zur Metaphorik der Seefahrt in den Gedichten Gregors von Nazianz', in J. MOSSAY ed., *Symposium Nazianzenum*, Studien zur Geschichte des Altertums II (Paderborn, 1983), pp. 159-63.

FROGER, J., *Les Origines de Prime*, Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgicae 19 (Rome, 1952).

FYRILLAS, A., 'À propos du premier dimanche après Pâques dans l'Église Orthodoxe', in *La dimanche*, Lex orandi 39 (Paris, 1965), pp. 139-47.

GALATARIOTOU, C., 'Byzantine Ktetorika Typika: a Comparative Study', *REB* 45 (1987), 77-139.

—, *The Making of a Saint: the Life, Times and Sanctification of Neophytos the Recluse* (Cambridge, 1991).

GALBIATI, E., 'Il periodo del Pentecostario nel rito bizantino (da Pasqua all'Ottava di Pentecoste)', *Unitas* 3 (1959), 1-8.

GAMILLSCHEG, E., & D. HARLFINGER, *Repertorium der Griechischen Kopisten 800-1600*, I (A-C): *Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Grossbrittanniens* (Vienna, 1981); II (A-C): *Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Frankreichs* (Vienna, 1989).

GARDNER, A., *Theodore of Studium, his Life and Times* (London, 1905).

GARDTHAUSEN, V., *Catalogus codicum graecorum Sinaiticorum* (Oxford, 1886).

GARRIGUES, J. M., *Maxime le Confesseur*, Théologie historique 38 (Paris, 1976).

GASPARRINI-LEPORACE, T., & E. MIONI, *Cento codici bessarionei. Catalogo di mostra* (Venice, 1968).

GEANAKOPLOS, D. J., *Interaction of the Sibling Byzantine and Western Cultures in the Middle Ages and the Italian Renaissance (330-1600)* (New Haven, 1976).

GEERARD, M., *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, 5 vols. (Turnhout, 1974-83).

—, *Clavis Apochryphorum Novi Testamenti* (Turnhout, 1992).

GETOV, D., *A Checklist of the Greek Manuscript Collection at the Ecclesiastical Historical and Archival Institute of the Patriarchate of Bulgaria* (Sofia, 1997).

GIANNELLI, C., *Codices Vaticani graeci 1485-1683* (Vatican, 1950).

—, 'Un nuovo codice di provenienza studita (Vat. gr. 2564)', in *Scripta Minora di C. Giannelli*, Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici 10 (Rome, 1963), pp. 225-38.

GIGANTE, M., *Poeti bizantini di Terra d'Otranto nel secolo XIII,* Byzantina et Neo-Hellenica Neapolitana (2nd edn., Naples, 1979).

GILISSEN, J., *Prolégomènes à la codicologie. Recherches sur la construction des cahiers et la mise en page des manuscrits médiévaux,* Les publications de Scriptorium 7 (Gand, 1977).

GILLET, R., 'Spiritualité et place du moine dans l'Église selon saint Grégoire le Grand', in *Théologie de la vie monastique,* pp. 323-51.

GODDING, R., *Bibliografia di Gregorio Magno 1890-1989* (Rome, 1990).

GOUILLARD, J., 'Une compilation spirituelle du XIII^{e} siècle: «Le livre II de l'abbé Isaïe»', *EO* 38 (1939), 72-90.

—, 'Quatre procès de mystiques à Byzance (vers 960-1143). Inspiration et autorité', *REB* 36 (1978), 5-81.

GRÉGOIRE, R., 'Homéliares', *DS* 7. 1 (1969), cols. 597-617.

—, *Les Homéliaires du Moyen Âge* (Rome, 1966).

GRIBOMONT, J., 'Exploration dans les homéliaires d'Orient', *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa* 14 (1978), 229-41.

—, 'Marc le Moine', *DS* 10 (1980), cols. 274-83.

—, 'I generi letterari nel monachesimo primitivo', *Koinonia* 10 (1986), 7-28.

GROSDIDIER DE MATONS, J., 'Liturgie et hymnographie: Kontakion et Canon', *DOP* 34 (1980), 31-43.

GROSSMANN, U., 'Studien zur Zahlensymbolik des Frühmittelalters', *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* 76. 1 (1954), 19-54.

GRUMEL, V., *Traité d'Études byzantines.* I. *La chronologie,* Bibliothèque byzantine (Paris, 1958).

GUÉTET, F.-M., 'Une récension studite des règles basiliennes', in *Mélanges bénédictines* (Saint-Wandrille, 1947), pp. 61-68.

GUILLAUMONT, A., 'Évagre et les anathématisme antiorigénistes de 553', in F. L. CROSS, ed., *Studia Patristica* III, TU 78 (1961), pp. 219-26.

—, *Les 'Kephalaia Gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique et l'histoire de l'Origénisme chez les grecs et chez les syriens*, Patristica Sorboniensia 5 (Paris, 1962).

—, 'Le problème des deux Macaire dans les *Apophthegmata Patrum*', *Irénikon* 48 (1975), 41-59.

GUILLAUMONT, A. & C., 'Évagre le Pontique', *DS* 4 (1960), cols. 1731-44.

GY, P.-M., 'La question du système des lectures de la liturgie byzantine', in *Miscellanea liturgica ... G. Lercaro*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1967), II, pp. 251-61.

HACKEL, S., ed., *The Byzantine Saint*, *Sobornost* 3 (1981).

HÄGG, T., *Photios als Vermittler antiker Literatur*, Studia Graeca Upsaliensia 8 (Uppsala, 1975).

HAIDACHER, S., 'Nilus-Excerpte im *Pandektes* des Antiochus', *Revue Bénédictine* 22 (1905), 244-50.

HALKIN, F., 'Manuscrits grecs des Fonds «Hist.» et «Phil.» à Vienne et du Fonds «Holkham» à Oxford', *AB* 79 (1961), 399-411.

—, 'Les cinq éditions du florilège de Paul Évergétinos', *AB* 89 (1970), 264.

—, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, 3 vols., Subsidia Hagiographica 8a (3rd edn., Brussels, 1957).

—, *Auctarium Bibliothecae Hagiographicae Graecae*, Subsidia Hagiographica 47 (Brussels, 1969).

HAMESSE, J., ed., *Les problèmes posés par l'édition critique des textes anciens et médiévaux* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1992).

HAMESSE, J., & X. HERMAND, eds., *De l'homélie au sermon. Histoire de la prédication médiévale* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1993).

HANNICK, C., *Évêques, moines et empereurs (610-1054)*, in G. DAGRON, P. RICHÉ & A. VAUCHEZ, general eds., *Histoire du Christianisme des origines à nos jours*, IV (Paris, 1993).

HARDT, I., *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Bavaricae*, 5 vols. (Munich, 1804-12).

HATCH, E., & H. A. REDPATH, *A Concordance to the Septuagint*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1897; repr. Athens, 1993).

HAUSHERR, I., 'Saint Théodore Studite. L'homme et l'ascète', OC 6 (1926).

—, 'Les grands courants de la spiritualité orientale', *OCP* 1 (1935), 114-38.

—, 'Le "De Oratione" d'Évagre le Pontique en Syriac et en Arabe', *OCP* 5 (1939), 7-71.

—, 'Le Métérikon de l'abbé Isaïe', *OCP* 12 (1940), 286-301; repr. in *Études de Spiritualité Orientale*, OCA 183 (1969), pp. 105-20.

—, 'L'imitation de Jésus-Christ dans la spiritualité byzantine', in *Études de Spiritualité Orientale*, OCA 183 (1969), pp. 217-45.

—, 'Paul Evergétinos a-t-il connu Syméon le Nouveau Théologien?', *OCP* 23 (1957), 58-79; repr. in *Études de Spiritualité Orientale*, OCA 183 (1969), pp. 262-83.

—, 'La théologie du monachisme chez saint Jean Climaque', in *Théologie de la vie monastique*, pp. 385-410; repr. in *Études de Spiritualité Orientale*, OCA 183 (1969), pp. 361-86.

HEMMERDINGER-ILIADOU, D., & J. KIRCHMEYER, 'Éphrem (Les Versions)', *DS* 4 (1958), cols. 800-22.

—, 'Vers une nouvelle édition de l'Éphrem grec', in F. L. CROSS, ed., *Studia Patristica* III, TU 78 (1961), pp. 72-80.

HERMAN, E., 'Ricerche sulle istituzioni monastiche bizantine. Typika ktetorika, caristicari e monasteri "liberi"', *OCP* 6 (1940), 293-375.

—, 'Die Regelung der Armut in den byzantinischen Klöstern', *OCP* 7 (1941), 406-60.

HESTER, D., *Italo-Greek Monastic Spirituality: the Monastic Life and Spirituality of the Italo-Greeks in Byzantine Sicily and Southern Italy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century* (Rome, 1988).

HINZ, P., *Deus homo* (Berlin, 1973).

HOECK, J. M., & R. J. LOENERTZ, *Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto, Abt von Casole. Beiträge zur Geschichte der ost-westlichen Beziehungen unter Innozenz III. und Friedrich II.*, Studia Patristica et Byzantina 11 (Ettal, 1965).

HOPPER, V. F., *Medieval Number Symbolism* (New York, 1938).

HOWE, J. M., 'Greek influence on the Eleventh-century Western Revival of Hermitism', unpublished Ph. D. thesis (University of California, Los Angeles, 1979).

HUNGER, H., 'On the Imitation (ΜΙΜΗΣΙΣ) of Antiquity', *DOP* 23 (1969), 11-38.

HUNGER, H. & I. SHEVCHENKO, *Nikephoros Blemmydes Βασιλικὸς Ἀνδρίας und dessen Metaphrase von Georgios Galesiotes und Georgios Oinaiotes* (Vienna, 1986).

HUSSEY, J. M., *Church and Learning in the Byzantine Empire 867-1185* (London, 1937).

—, *Ascetics and Humanists in Eleventh-Century Byzantium* (London, 1960).

—, 'Byzantine Monasticism', in *Cambridge Medieval History* IV. 2 (2nd edn., Cambridge, 1966), pp. 161-84.

HUTTER, I., *Oxford, Bodleian Library* I-III, in O. DEMUS, ed., *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturhandschriften*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart, 1977-80).

IRIGOIN, J., 'Paléographie et codicologie: la production d'un scriptorium de Constantinople peu après le milieu du XIe siècle', in P. COCKSHAW, M.-C. GARAND & P. JODOGNE, *Miscellanea codicologica F. Masai dicata* MCMLXXIX, Les Publications de Scriptorium 8, 2 vols. (Gand, 1979), I, pp. 175-83.

JAMES, L., 'Monks, Monastic Art, the Sanctoral Cycle and the Middle Byzantine Church', in *Theotokos Evergetis*, pp. 162-75.

JANIN, R., 'La banlieu asiatique de Constantinople', *EO* 21 (1922), 335-86; 22 (1923), 50-58, 182-98, 281-98.

—, 'Les sanctuaires de Byzance sous la domination latine (1204-1261)', *EB* 2 (1944), 134-84.

—, 'Les monastères du Christ Philanthrope à Constantinople', *REB* 4 (1946), 135-62.

—, 'Le monachisme byzantin au Moyen Âge: Commende et Typika (X^e-XIV^e siècle)', *REB* 12 (1964), 5-44.

—, *La Géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, 3 vols., I: *Le Siège de Constantinople et le Patriarcat œcuménique*; II: *Les Églises et monastères des grands centres byzantins* (Paris, 1975); III: *Les Églises et les monastères de Constantinople* (Paris, 1969).

—, 'Grévéna', in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* 22 (Paris, 1988), cols. 183-84.

JORDAN, R., 'The Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis, its Children and Grandchildren', in *Theotokos Evergetis*, pp. 215-45.

—, 'The *Hypotyposis* of the Theotokos Evergetis and the Making of a Monastic Typikon', unpublished Ph. D. thesis (Queen's University, Belfast, 1997).

KAMIL, M., *Catalogue of All Manuscripts in the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai* (Wiesbaden, 1970).

KARAYANNOPULOS, I., 'Zu einem Lexikon der byzantinischen Terminologie', in W. HÖRANDNER & E. TRAPP, eds., *Lexicographica Byzantina* (Vienna, 1991), pp. 179-84.

KARLIN-HAYTER, P., 'A Byzantine Politician Monk: Saint Theodore Studite', *JÖB* 44 (1994), 217-32.

KARTSONIS, A. D., *Anastasis: the Making of an Image* (Princeton, 1986).

KAZHDAN, A., 'Das System der Bilder und Metaphern in den Werken Symeons des "Neuen" Theologen', in *Unser ganzes Leben Christus unserm Gott überantworten* (Göttingen, 1982), pp. 221-39.

—, 'Innovation in Byzantium', in A. R. LITTLEWOOD, ed., *Originality in Byzantine Literature: a Collection of Essays*, Oxbow Monograph 50 (Oxford, 1995), pp. 1-14.

KAZHDAN, A., & S. FRANKLIN, *Studies in Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1984).

KAZHDAN, A., & A. W. EPSTEIN, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkeley - Los Angeles - London, 1985).

KENNEDY, G. A., *Classical Rhetoric and its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times* (Chapel Hill, 1980).

KIENZLE, B. M., 'The Typology of the Medieval Sermon', in J. HAMESSE & X. HERMAND, eds., *De l'Homélie au sermon. Histoire de la prédication médiévale* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1993), pp. 83-101.

KIRCHMEYER, J., 'Le moine Marcien (de Bethléem?)', in F. L. CROSS, ed., *Studia Patristica* V, TU 80 (1959), pp. 341-59.

—, 'Le *Περὶ ἀσκητικοῦ βίου* de l'abbé Marcien', *Le Muséon* 75 (1962), 357-65.

KLENTOS, J., 'Byzantine Liturgy in Twelfth-Century Constantinople: an Analysis of the *Synaxarion* of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis (Codex Athens Ethnike Bibliotheke 788)', unpublished Ph. D. thesis (University of Notre Dame, 1995).

KNIAZEFF, A., 'La lecture de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament dans le rite byzantin', in J. CASSIEN & B. BOTTE, eds., *La Prière des heures*, Lex Orandi 35 (Paris, 1963), pp. 201-51.

KRIVOCHÉINE, B., 'The Writings of Symeon the New Theologian', *OCP* 20 (1954), 298-328.

—, 'Ὁ ἀνυπερήφανος Θεός: St. Symeon the New Theologian and Early Christian Popular Piety', in K. ALAND & F. L. CROSS, eds., *Studia Patristica* II, TU 64 (1954), 485-94.

—, *Dans la lumière du Christ* (Chevetogne, 1980).

KRUMBACHER, K., *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur* (Munich, 1890).

LAIOU, A., 'The Greek Merchant of the Palaeologan Period: a Collective Portrait', *Akademia Athenon: Praktika* 57 (1982), 96-132.

LAKE, K. & S., *Dated Greek Manuscripts to the Year 1200*, 10 vols. (Boston, 1934-39).

LAMBERTZ, E., 'Die Handschriftenproduktion in den Athosklöstern', in G. CAVALLO, G. DE GREGORIO & M. MANIACI, eds., *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio*, Atti del Seminario di Erice, 18-25 settembre 1988 (Spoleto, 1991), pp. 25-78, Taf. I-XIX.

LAMBROS, S., *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mt. Athos*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1895, 1900).

LANGE, H., *Traités du XII^e siècle sur la symbolique des nombres. Geoffrey d'Auxerre et Thibault de Langres*, Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Âge Grec et Latin 29 (Copenhagen, 1979).

LECLERCQ, J., 'Le sermon, acte liturgique', *La Maison Dieu* 8 (1946), 27-46.

—, 'Le monachisme du haut Moyen Âge', in *Théologie de la vie monastique*, pp. 437-45.

—, 'Le monachisme clunisien', in *Théologie de la vie monastique*, pp. 447-57.

LEDEUR, É., 'Imitation du Christ - II. Tradition Spirituelle', *DS* 7.2 (1971), cols. 1536-97.

LEFORT, L. T., *Le Vies coptes de Saint Pachôme et de ses premiers successeurs*, Bibliothèque du Muséon 16 (Louvain, 1943).

LEMERLE, P., 'Byzance au tournant de son destin (1025-1118)', in *Cinq Études sur le XI^e siècle byzantin* (Paris, 1977), pp. 251-312.

LEROY, J., 'Le cursus canonique chez S. Théodore Studite', *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 68 (1954), 5-19.

—, 'La vie quotidienne du moine studite', *Irénikon* 27 (1954), 21-50.

—, 'Un nouveau témoin de la Grande Catéchèse de S. Théodore Studite', *REB* 15 (1957), 73-88.

—, 'Les Petites Catéchèses de S. Théodore Studite', *Le Muséon* 71 (1958), 329-58.

—, 'La réforme studite', in *Il monachesimo orientale*, OCA 153 (1958), pp. 181-214.

—, 'Saint Théodore Studite', in *Théologie de la vie monastique*, pp. 423-36.

—, *Les types de réglure des manuscrits grecs* (Paris, 1976).

—, 'Quelques systèmes de réglure des manuscrits grecs', in K. TREU, ed., *Studia codicologica*, TU 124 (1977), pp. 291-312.

—, 'Le *Parisinus gr. 1477* et la détermination de l'origine des manuscrits italo-grecs d'après la forme des initiales', *Scriptorium* 32 (1978), 191-212.

—, 'Regards critiques sur un manuscrit des *Petites Catéchèses* de Théodore Studite (ex-*Kosinitza* 27)', *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 9 (1979), 267-77.

—, 'L'influence de saint Basile sur la réforme studite d'après les Catéchèses', *Irénikon* 52 (1979), 491-505.

—, 'Caratteristiche codicologiche dei codici greci di Calabria', in *Calabria bizantina. Tradizione di pietà e tradizione scrittoria nella Calabria greca medievale* (Reggio Calabria, 1983), pp. 59-67, figs. 1-12.

—, *Introduction à l'édition des Grandes Catéchèses de Théodore Studite*, forthcoming (posthumously) in Studi e Testi (Città del Vaticano).

LIZZI, R., 'La traduzione greca delle opere di Gregorio Magno: dalla *Regula Pastoralis* ai *Dialogi*', in *Gregorio Magno e il suo tempo*, Studia Ephemeridis "Augustinianum" 34 (Rome, 1991), pp. 41-57.

LOOS, M., 'Certains aspects du Bogomilisme byzantin des 11e et 12e siècles', *Byzantinoslavica* 28 (1967), 39-53.

LOUD, G., 'Montecassino and Byzantium in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', in *Theotokos Evergetis*, pp. 30-55.

LOUTH, A., *The Origins of the Christian Mystical Tradition: from Plato to Denys* (Oxford, 1981).

—, *Maximus the Confessor* (London-New York, 1996).

LÜDTKE, W., 'Eine Handschrift des Euergetis-Kloster?', *BZ* 21 (1912-13), 497.

LUCÀ, S., 'Rossano, il Patir e lo stile Rossanese', *RSBN* 22-23 (1985-86), 93-170.

—, 'I Normanni e la 'Rinascita' del sec. XII', *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 60 (1993), 1-91.

MAAS, P., *Textkritik* (2nd edn., Leipzig, 1950).

MADAN, F., & H. H. E. CRASTER, *Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1905-22).

MAGDALINO, P., & L. RODLEY, 'The Evergetis Fountain in the Early Thirteenth Century: an *Ekphrasis* of the Paintings in the Cupola', in *Work and Worship*, pp. 432-47.

MAGUIRE, H., *Art and Eloquence in Byzantium* (Princeton, 1994).

MANGO, C., 'Les monuments de l'architecture du XIe siècle et leur signification historique et sociale', *TM* 6 (1976), 351-65.

—, 'The availability of books in the Byzantine Empire, A. D. 750-850', in *Byzantine Books and Bookmen* (Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C., 1975), pp. 29-45.

—, 'L'origine de la minuscule', in *La Paléographie grecque et byzantine*, Colloques Internationaux du Centre de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, 21-25 octobre 1974 (Paris, 1977), pp. 175-79.

—, *Byzantium, the Empire of New Rome* (London, 1980).

MANGO, C., & E. J. W. HAWKINS, 'The Hermitage of St. Neophytos', *DOP* 20 (1966), 121-206.

MANSELLI, R., 'Gregorio Magno e la Bibbia', in *La Bibbia nell'Alto Medioevo*, Settimane di Studi del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo X (Spoleto, 1963), 67-101.

MARAVA-CHATZINICOLAOU, A., & C. TOUFEXI-PASCHOU, *Catalogue of the Illuminated Byzantine Manuscripts of the National Library of Greece.*, 2 vols. (Athens, 1978; 1985), I: *Manuscripts of New Testament Texts 10th-12th Century;* II: *Manuscripts of New Testament Texts 13th-15th Century.*

MAROT, H., 'La place des lectures bibliques et patristiques dans l'Office latin', in Lex Orandi 35 (Paris, 1963), pp. 149-65.

MARTIMORT, A. G., 'Catéchèse et Catéchisme', *La Maison-Dieu* 6 (1946), 37-38.

MARTIN, Ch., 'Aux sources de l'hagiographie et de l'homilétique byzantines', *Byzantion* 12 (1937), 347-62.

MARTIN, J. R., *The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus,* Studies in Manuscript Illumination 5 (Princeton, 1954).

MARTIN, L. T., 'The Two Worlds in Bede's Homilies: the Biblical Event and the Listener's Experience', in T. L. AMOS, E. A. GREEN and B. MAYNE KIENZLE, eds., *De Ore Domini: Preacher and Word in the Middle Ages* (Kalamazoo, 1989), pp. 27-40.

MANNING, E., 'L'*Admonitio S. Basilii ad filium spiritualem* et la Règle de S. Benoît', *RAM* 42 (1966), 475-79.

MASSI, P., 'Omelia, didascalia, kerygma, catechesi o "actio liturgica"?', *Rivista Liturgica* 57 (1970), 523-37.

MATEOS, J., *Le Typicon de la Grande Église,* 2 vols., I: *Le Cycle des douzes mois*, OCA 165 (1962); II: *Le Cycle des fêtes mobiles*, OCA 166 (1963).

—, *La Célébration de la Parole dans la liturgie byzantine*, OCA 191 (1971).

MATHEW, G., 'Abstract of a Lecture on the Character of the Theological Divergence between East and West', in *Essays in Honour of Gervase Mathew*, *Eastern Churches Review* 4.2 (1972), 116-18.

MATTHEWS, J. T., 'The Byzantine Use of the Title Pantocrator', *OCP* 44 (1978), 442-62.

MAZZOTTA, O., *Monaci e libri greci nel Salento medievale*, Scriptorium 2 (Lecce, 1989).

MCGINN, B., J. MEYENDORFF & J. LECLERQ, eds., *Christian Spirituality: Origins to the Twelfth Century* (London, 1989).

MCGUCKIN, J. A., 'Symeon the New Theologian (d. 1022) and Byzantine Monasticism', in A. BRYER & M. CUNNINGHAM, eds., *Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism*, (London, 1996), pp. 17-35.

Μεγάλη Ἑλληνικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία.

MERCATI, S. G., 'Un escerto greco della regola di S. Benedetto in un codice greco del Monte Athos', *Benedictina* 1 (1947), 191-96; repr. in *Collectanea Byzantina*, 2 vols. (Bari, 1970), I, pp. 507-12.

—, 'Versi di Niceforo Uranos in morte di Simeone Metafraste', *AB* 68 (1950), 126-34.

—, '"Ορειάριος = *horrearius*', *Aegyptus* 30 (1950), 8-13; repr. in *Collectanea Byzantina*, 2 vols. (Bari, 1970), II, pp. 188-94.

MEYER, H., & R. SUNTRUP, *Lexikon der Mittelalterichen Zahlenbedeutungen* (Munich, 1987).

MILLET, G., *Recherches sur l'Iconographie de l'Évangile aux XIV^e^, XV^e^ et XVI^e^ siècles* (2nd. edn., Paris, 1960).

MINGARELLI, G. L., *Graeci codices manu scripti apud Nanios Patricios Venetos asservati* (Bologna, 1784).

MINISCI, T., 'Riflessi studitani nel monachesimo italo-greco', in *Il monachesimo orientale*, OCA 153 (Rome, 1958), pp. 215-33.

MIONI, E., *Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum codices graeci manuscripti*, 7 vols. (Rome, 1967-87).

MOHRMANN, C., 'Pascha, Passio, Transitus', *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 66 (1952), 37-52.

MOORHEAD, J., 'Iconoclasm, the Cross and the Imperial Image', *Byzantion* 55 (1985), 165-79.

MORRIS, R., 'The Political Saint of the Eleventh Century', in S. HACKEL, ed., *The Byzantine Saint, Sobornost* 3 (1981), pp. 43-50.

—, 'The Byzantine Aristocracy and the Monasteries', in M. ANGOLD, ed., *The Byzantine Aristocracy IX-XIII Centuries* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 112-29.

—, *Monks and Laymen in Byzantium, 843-1118* (Cambridge, 1995).

MOSNA, C. S., *Storia della Domenica dalle origini fino agli inizi del V secolo*, Analecta Gregoriana (Rome, 1969).

MULLETT, M., & A. KIRBY, eds., *The Theotokos Evergetis and eleventh-century monasticism*, Papers of the third Belfast Byzantine International Colloquium, 1-4 May, 1992, Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations, 6.1 (Belfast, 1994).

—, eds., *Work and Worship at the Theotokos Evergetis*, Papers of the fourth Belfast Byzantine International Colloquium, 14-17 September, 1995, Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations, 6.2 (Belfast, 1997).

MUYLDERMANS, J., *À travers la tradition manuscrite d'Évagre le Pontique. Essai sur les manuscrits grecs conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris*, Bibliothèque du Muséon 3 (Louvain, 1932).

—, 'Evagriana de la Vaticane', *Le Muséon* 54 (1941), 1-15.

NELSON, R., *Theodore Hagiopetrites*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften - Philos./Hist. Klasse 217 (Vienna, 1991).

NICHOLS, A., *Byzantine Gospel: Maximos the Confessor in Modern Scholarship* (Edinburgh, 1993).

NORET, J., 'Grégoire de Nazianze, l'auteur le plus cité, après la Bible, dans la littérature ecclésiastique byzantine', in J. MOSSAY, ed., *Symposium Nazianzenum*, Studien zur Geschichte des Altertums 2 (Paderborn, 1983), pp. 259-66.

OBOLENSKY, D., *The Bogomils: a Study in Balkan Neo-Manichaeism* (Twickenham, 1972).

—, *Six Byzantine Portraits* (Oxford, 1988).

O'CONNELL, P., 'The *Letters* and *Catecheses* of St. Theodore Studites', *OCP* 38 (1972), 256-59.

OECONOMOS, L., *La Vie religieuse dans l'empire byzantin au temps des Comnènes et des Anges* (Paris, 1918).

OLIVAR, A., 'Quelques remarques historiques sur la prédication comme action liturgique dans l'Église ancienne', in *Mélanges liturgiques offerts au R.P. Dom Bernard Botte OSB* (Louvain, 1972), pp. 429-43.

OLIVIER, J.-M., *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits grecs de Marcel Richard* (Turnhout, 1995).

PALLAS, D. I., *Die Passion und Bestattung Christi in Byzanz, der Ritus - das Bild*, Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 2 (Munich, 1965).

PAPACHRYSSANTHOU, D., 'La vie monastique dans les campagnes byzantines du VIII^e^ au XI^e^ siècle', *Byzantion* 43 (1973), 158-80.

PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, A., *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη ἤτοι κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ ἁγιοτάτου ἀποστολικοῦ τε καὶ καθολικοῦ ὀρθοδόξου πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου τῶν Ἱεροσολύμου καὶ πάσης Παλαιστίνης ἀποκειμένων ἑλληνικῶν κοδίκων*, 4 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1891-1915).

PARGOIRE, J., 'Mont Saint-Auxence', *ROC* 8 (1903), 15-31, 240-79, 426-58, 550-76.

—, 'Constantinople: le couvent de l' Évergétis', *EO* 9 (1906), 366-73; 10 (1907), 155-67, 249-63.

PARKER , A., 'The *Vita Syncleticae* in the *Synagoge*: the Citations of Synkletike of Alexandria used by Paul of Evergetis', in *Work and Worship*, pp. 143-51.

PARKES, M. B., *Pause and Effect: Punctuation in the West* (Cambridge, 1992).

PASQUALI, G., *Storia della tradizione e della critica del testo* (2nd edn., Florence, 1952).

PATLAGEAN, E., 'Discours écrit, discours parlé, niveaux de culture à Byzance aux VIII^{e}-XI^{e} siècles', in *Structure sociale, famille et chrétienté à Byzance, IV^{e}-X^{e} s.*, Variorum Reprints (London, 1981), VI.

PATTERSON SHEVCHENKO, N., *Illustrated Manuscripts of the Metaphrastian Menologion* (Chicago, 1990).

PEETERS, P., 'Histoires monastiques géorgiennes', *AB* 36-37 (1917-19), 5-317.

—, *Le Tréfonds oriental de l'hagiographie byzantine* (Brussels, 1950).

PELEKANIDES, S. M., P. C. CHRISTOU et al., *The Treasures of Mount Athos*, 2 vols. (Athens, 1974-75).

PETERSON, E., 'Zu griechischen Asketikern II. Zu Diadochus von Photike', *Byzantinische-Neugriechische Jahrbücher* 5 (1926-27), 414-18.

PÉTRIDÈS, S., 'Les reliques de l'Évergétis', *EO* 11 (1908), 91-93.

PODSKALSKY, G., 'Ruhestand oder Vollendung? Zur Symbolik des achten Tages in der griechisch-byzantinischen Theologie', in G. PRINZING & D. SIMON, eds., *Fest und Alltag in Byzanz* (Munich, 1990), pp. 157-66.

—, 'Religion and Religious Life in Eleventh-Century Byzantium', in S. VRYONIS & H. BIRNBAUM, eds., *Byzantine Studies. Essays on the*

Slavic World and the Eleventh Century (New Rochelle, New York, 1992), pp. 153-73.

POLEMIS, D., *The Doukai. A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography* (London, 1968).

PRATO, G., 'Scritture librarie arcaizzanti della prima età dei Paleologi e loro modelli', *Scrittura e Civiltà* 3 (1979), 151-93; repr. in G. PRATO, *Studi di paleografia greca* (Spoleto, 1994), pp. 73-114.

—, 'Manoscritti greci in Grecia', in G. CAVALLO, G. DE GREGORIO & M. MANIACI, eds., *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio*, Atti del Seminario di Erice, 18-25 settembre 1988 (Spoleto, 1991), pp. 3-24, tavv. 1-24d; repr. in G. PRATO, *Studi di paleografia greca* (Spoleto, 1994), pp. 151-69.

RAHNER, H., 'Le début d'une doctrine des cinq sens spirituels chez Origène', *RAM* 50 (1932), 113-45.

RANDOLPH, C. B., 'The sign of interrogation in minuscule manuscripts', *Classical Philology* 5 (1910), 309-19.

REGNAULT, L., 'Théologie de la vie monastique selon Barsanuphe et Dorothée (VI^e siècle)', in *Théologie de la vie monastique*, pp. 315-22.

REISS, E., 'Number Symbolism and Medieval Literature', *Medievalia et Humanistica* 1 (1970), 161-74.

RICHARD, M., recension of MARX, *Procliana* (Münster, 1940), *Mélanges de Sciences Religieuses* 1 (1944), 188-89.

—, *Inventaire des manuscrits grecs du British Museum*, I: *Fonds Sloane, Additional, Egerton, Cottonian et Stowe*, I. R. H. T. 3 (Paris, 1963).

—, 'Florilèges spirituels grecs', *DS* 5 (1964), cols. 475-512.

RICHÉ, P., 'Instruments de travail et méthodes de l'exégète à l'époque carolingienne', in P. RICHÉ & G. LOBRICHON, eds., *Le Moyen Age et la Bible* (Paris, 1984), pp. 147-61.

RIGO, A., 'Nota sulla dottrina ascetico-spirituale di Teolepto Metropolita di Filadelfia (1250/51-1322)', *RSBN* 24 (1987), 165-200.

—, 'Il processo del Bogomilo Basilio (1099 ca.): una riconsiderazione', *OCP* 58 (1992), 185-211.

RIOU, A., 'Index Scripturaire des œuvres de S. Maxime le Confesseur', in F. HEINZER & C. SCHÖNBORN, eds., *Maximus Confessor*, Actes du Symposium sur Maxime le Confesseur, Fribourg, 2-5 Septembre 1980 (Fribourg, 1982), pp. 405-21.

RODLEY, L., 'The Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis, Constantinople: Where it Was and What it Looked Like', in *Theotokos Evergetis*, pp. 17-29.

ROSSI TAIBBI, G., *Sulla tradizione manoscritta dell'omiliario di Filagato da Cerami* (Palermo, 1965).

RÜCKER, A., 'Die Adoratio Crucis am Karfreitag in den orientalischen Riten', in *Miscellanea liturgica in honorem L. Cuniberti Mohlberg*, 2 vols., Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgicae 22-23 (Rome, 1948-49), pp. 379-406.

RUELLE, C. E., 'La cryptographie grecque. Simples notes, suivies d'un tableau général des alphabets secrets', in *Mélanges offerts à M. Émile Picot*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1913), I, pp. 289-306.

RUSH, A. C., 'Death as Spiritual Marriage: Individual and Ecclesial Eschatology', *Vigiliae Christianae* 26 (1972), 81-101.

SABOURIN, L., *Rédemption sacrificielle: une enquête exégétique* (Montreal, 1961).

SACHOT, M., *Les Homélies grecques sur la Transfiguration: tradition manuscrite* (Paris, 1987).

SAKKELION, I. & A., Κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς Ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος (Athens, 1892).

SALAVILLE, S., 'La formation du calendrier liturgique byzantin d'après les recherches critiques de Mgr. Ehrhard', *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 50 (1936), 312-23.

—, 'Un office grec du "Très doux Jésus" antérieur au "Jubilus" dit de saint Bernard', *RAM* 24 (1942), 246-59.

SAUGET, J.-M., 'Paul Evergetinos et la collection alphabético-anonyme des "Apophthegmata Patrum"', *OCP* 37 (1971), 223-35.

SAUTEL, J.-H., *Répertoire de réglures dans les manuscrits grecs sur parchemin* (Turnhout, 1995).

SCHATKIN, M. A., 'The Influence of Origen upon St. Jerome's Commentary on Galatians', *Vigiliae Christianae* 24 (1970), 49-58.

SHARPE, J. L., 'A Checklist of Collections of Biblical and Related Manuscripts on Microfilm in the United States and Canada', *Scriptorium* 25 (1971), 97-109.

SCHREINER, P., *Texte zur spätbyzantinischen Finanz- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte in Handschriften der Biblioteca Vaticana*, Studi e Testi 344 (Città del Vaticano, 1991).

SHERWOOD, P., *An Annotated Date-List of the Works of Maximos the Confessor*, Studia Anselmiana 30 (Rome, 1952).

SHEVCHENKO, I., 'Kosinitza 27, a Temporarily Lost Studite Manuscript Found Again', in K. TREU, ed., *Studia Codicologica*, TU 124 (1977), pp. 433-42.

SIEBEN, H. J., *Exegesis Patrum: saggio bibliografico sull'esegesi biblica dei Padri della Chiesa* (Rome, 1983).

SIEGMUND, A., *Die Überlieferung der Griechischen Christlichen Literatur in der Lateinische Kirche bis zum zwölften Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1949).

SIMONETTI, M., *Profilo storico dell'esegesi patristica*, Sussidi Patristici 1 (Istituto Patristico Augustinianum, Rome, 1981).

SINKEWITZ, R. E., 'Church and Society in Asia Minor in the Late Thirteenth Century: the Case of Theoleptos of Philadelpheia', in M. GERVERS & R. J. BIKHAZI, eds., *Conversion and Continuity: Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries* (Toronto, 1990), pp. 355-64.

—, *Manuscript Listings for the Authors of the Patristic and Byzantine Periods*, Greek Index Project Series 4 (Toronto, 1992).

SOLA, G. N., 'Paolo d'Otranto, pittore (sec. XII)', *Roma e l'Oriente* 13 (1917), 56-65, 132-46.

SOLIGNAC, A., 'Paulos Évergétinos', *DS* 12 (1984), cols. 562-64.

SPIDLÍK, T., *La Spiritualité de l'Orient chrétien*, 2 vols., I: *Manuel systématique*, OCA 206 (1978), II: *La Prière*, OCA 230 (1988).

—, 'Syméon le Nouveau Théologien', *DS* 14 (1990), 1387-1401.

SPINELLI, M., 'Dagli *Apophtegmata Patrum* alla *Philocalia* greca', *Benedectina* 30 (1983), 195-202.

STEIGER, T, 'Homilie', in G. UEDING, ed., *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik*, 3 vols. (Tübingen, 1992-96, in progress), III, 1510-21.

STIERNON, D., 'Jean de Karpathos', *DS* 7 (1974), cols. 589-92.

STOCKMEIER, P., *Theologie und Kult des Kreuzes bei Johannes Chrysostomus* (Trier, 1966).

STOELEN, A., *L'Année liturgique byzantine*, *Irénikon* 4. 10 (1928).

STRUNK, O., 'The Byzantine Office at Hagia Sophia', *DOP* 9-10 (1956), 177-202.

TAFT, R., '*Quaestiones Disputatae* in the History of the Liturgy of Hours: the Origins of Nocturns, Matins and Prime', *Worship* 58 (1984), 130-58.

—, *L'anno liturgico nelle Chiese Orientali*, unpublished typescript (Rome, 1993).

TALBOT, A.-M., 'Bluestocking Nuns: Intellectual Life in the Convents of Late Byzantium', in *Okeanos: Essays Presented to Ihor Shevchenko* (Harvard, 1984), pp. 604-18.

—, 'A Comparison of the Monastic Experience of Byzantine Men and Women', *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 30.1 (1985), 1-20.

TALLEY, T. J., *The Origins of the Liturgical Year* (New York, 1986).

Théologie de la vie monastique: Études sur la Tradition patristique, Théologie 49 (Ligugé, 1961).

THIERMEYER, A.-A., 'Der codex Athen. 788, sein literarhistorische Context und das Theotokos-Evergetis-Kloster zu Konstantinopel', unpublished Tesina della Licenza, Pontificio Istituto Orientale (Rome, 1990).

—, 'Das Typikon-Ktetorikon und sein literaristorischer Kontext', *OCP* 58 (1984), 478-86.

THOMAS, J. P., 'The Rise of the Independent and Self-governing Monasteries as Reflected in the Monastic Typika', *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 30 (1985), 21-30.

—, 'A Byzantine Ecclesiastical Reform Movement', *Medievalia et Humanistica* 12 (1984), 1-16.

—, *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire*, DOS 24 (1987).

—, 'Documentary Evidence from the Byzantine Monastic Typika for the History of the Evergetine Reform Movement', in *Theotokos Evergetis*, pp. 246-73.

TRAPP, E., R. WALTHER & H-V. BEYER, eds., *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, 8 fasc. (Vienna, 1976-86).

TRAPP, E., 'Stand und Perspektiven der mittelgriechischen Lexikographie' in *Studien zur byzantinischen Lexicographie*, Byzantina Vindoboniensia 18 (Vienna, 1988), pp. 11-46.

TREU, K., 'Zu einer Kiewer Handschrift der Opuscula des Makarios', TU 77 (1961), pp. 294-310.

—, 'Der Schreiber am Ziel. Zu den Versen "Ὥσπερ ξένοι χαίρουσιν... und ähnlichen', in K. TREU, ed., *Studia codicologica*, TU 124 (1977), pp. 473-92.

TURCK, A., 'Catéchein et catéchésis chez les premiers Pères', *Revue de Science Philosophique et Théologique* 47 (1963), 361-72.

TURNER, H. J. M., *St. Symeon the New Theologian and Spiritual Fatherhood* (Leiden, 1990).

TURYN, A., *Dated Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Great Britain*, DOS 17 (1980).

VAN DE VOORST, Ch., 'La Petite Catéchèse de S. Théodore Studite', *AB* 33 (1914), 31-51.

VAN ESBROECK, M., *Les plus anciens homéliaires géorgiens. Étude descriptive et historique* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1975).

VAN ROEY, A., 'Remarques sur le moine Marcien', in E. A. LIVINGSTONE, ed., *Studia Patristica* XII, TU 115 (1971), pp. 160-77.

—, 'Marcien', *DS* 10 (1980), cols. 310-11.

VEILLEUX, A., *La Liturgie dans le cénobitisme pachômien au quatrième siècle*, Studia Anselmiana 57 (Rome, 1968).

VELKOVSKA, E., 'Chronologie et contenu des manuscrits grecs de la collection du Centre d'Etudes Slavo-Byzantines "Ivan Dujcev"', in *Principes et méthodes du cataloguage des manuscrits grecs de la collection du Centre Dujcev, Actes de la Table Ronde*, Sofia, 1990 (Thessaloniki, 1992), pp. 47-56.

VILLAIN-GANDOSSI, C., 'L'iconographie des navires au Haut Moyen Âge', in H. DUBOIS, J.-C. HOCQUET & A. VAUCHEZ, eds., *Horizons marins, itinéraires spirituels (V^e-XVIII^e s.)*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1987), II, pp. 78-96.

VILLECOURT, L., 'Les opuscules ascétiques et leur relation avec les homélies spirituelles', *Le Muséon* 35 (1922), 203-12.

VLADIMIR, *Sistematiceskoe opisanie rukopisej Moskovskoj Sinodal'noj (Patrirsej) Biblioteki.* I: *Rukopisi greceskija* (Moskow, 1894).

VOGEL, M., & V. GARDTHAUSEN, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Leipzig, 1909).

VOICU, S. J., 'Rifacimenti pseudocrisostomici di omelie basiliane', *Augustinianum* 16 (1976), 499-504.

—, 'Basilio e Pseudocrisostomo: nuovi accostamenti', in *Basilio di Cesarea: la sua età, la sua opera e il basilianesimo in Sicilia*, 2 vols. (Messina, 1983), I, 659-67.

VOICU, S. J., & S. D'ALISERA, *I. MA. G. E. S. Index in Manuscriptorum Graecorum Edita Specimina* (Rome, 1981).

VOLK, O., *Die byzantinische Klosterbibliotheken von Konstantinopel, Thessalonike und Kleinasien* (Munich, 1954).

VÖÖBUS, A., *Literary, Critical and Historical Studies in Ephrem the Syrian* (Stockholm, 1958).

VRYONIS, S., Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley - Los Angeles - London, 1971).

—, 'The *Panegyris* of the Byzantine Saint: a Study in the Nature of a Medieval Institution, its Origin and Fate', in S. HACKEL, ed., *The Byzantine Saint, Sobornost* 3 (1981), pp. 196-226.

WARE, T. [=K.], 'The Ascetic Writings of Mark the Hermit', unpublished D. Phil. thesis (Oxford, 1965).

—, 'The Sacrament of Baptism and the Ascetic Life in the Teaching of Mark the Monk', in E. A. LIVINGSTONE, ed., *Studia Patristica* X, TU 107.1 (1967), pp. 441-52.

—, 'Prayer and the Sacraments in the *Synagoge*', in *Theotokos Evergetis*, pp. 325-47.

—, 'St. Athanasios the Athonite: Traditionalist or Innovator?', in A. BRYER & M. CUNNINGHAM, eds., *Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism* (London, 1996), pp. 3-16.

WEGMAN, H. A. J., *Christian Worship in East and West* (New York, 1985).

WEITZMANN, K., & G. GALAVARIS, *The Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai: the Illuminated Greek Manuscripts* (Princeton, 1991).

WILKEN, R. L., *John Chrysostom and the Jews* (Berkeley, 1983).

WILSON, N. G., 'Books and Readers in Byzantium', in *Byzantine Books and Bookmen* (Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C., 1975), pp. 1-15.

—, 'Scholarly Hands of the Middle Byzantine Period', in *La Paléographie grecque et byzantine*, Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, 21-25 octobre 1974 (Paris, 1977), pp. 221-39.

—, 'A Mysterious Byzantine Scriptorium: Ioannikios and his Colleagues', *Scrittura e Civiltà* 7 (1983), 161-76, 13 plates.

WOLSKA-CONUS, W., 'Les écoles des Psellos et de Xiphilin sous Constantin IX Monomaque', *TM* 6 (1976), 223-43.

—, 'L'école de droit et l'enseignement du droit à Byzance au XI^{e} siècle: Xiphilin et Psellos', *TM* 7 (1979), 1-103.

WORTLEY, J., 'The Genre and Sources of the *Synagoge*', in *Theotokos Evergetis*, pp. 306-24.

YOUNG, F., *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian culture* (Cambridge, 1997).

ZINCONE, S., *Giovanni Crisostomo, Commento alla Lettera ai Galati: aspetti dottrinali storici letterari* (L'Aquila, 1980).

Appendix I: Complete Contents of K

Vol. I:

K	M	A	Cr	Incipit	Liturgical Lemma	Source
Pentekostarion:						
1	38r-39r	1r-3r, col. a		ἡ σήμερον ἁγία κυριακὴ νέα λέγεται, διὰ τὸ ἀρχὴν ὥσπερ τοῦ χρόνου	S. Antipascha	Unidentified
2	39r-40v	3r, col. a-5r, col. a		ὁ πάντοτε ἐννοῶν πῶς θεὸς ὢν ἄϋλος,	M. Antipascha	Unidentified
3	40v-41v	5r, col. a-6v, col. a		ὁ χειμὼν ἤδη παρῆλθε καὶ τὸ ἔαρ ἐπέστη· ἐπέστη δέ,	T. Antipascha	Unidentified
4	41v-43r	6v, col. a-8r, col. b		ἐπειδὴ παρὰ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγαθότητος φυλαττόμενοι,	W. Antipascha	Unidentified
5	43r-44r	8r, col. b-9v		εἰ καὶ τὸ θεῖον πάσχα παρῆλθεν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐχὶ καὶ τὸ ἑορτάζειν	Th. Antipascha	Unidentified
6	44r-45r	9v-11r		χαρᾷ χαίρω ὁ ταπεινὸς ἐγώ· ὁρῶν	F. Antipascha	Unidentified
7	45r-46r	11r-12v		σπεύδετε ὅση δύναμις ὑμῖν, σπεύδετε	Sa. Antipascha	Unidentified
8	46v-48v	12v-15r		ἐν τῇ παρούσῃ ἁγίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ, μνήμην	S. Myrrhophores	Unidentified

9	48v-50r	15r-16v	χθὲς περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωσήφ τε καὶ Νικοδήμου εἰπεῖν προθέμενοι	M. Myrrhophores	Unidentified
10	50r-51v	16v-18r	ὥσπερ οἱ ἐν θαλάσσῃ πλέοντες, ἐμμέριμνοί τινες	T. Myrrhophores	Unidentified
11	51v-53r	18r-19v	ἂν ἀμελῶς διάγοντες, αἰχμάλωτοι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς	W. Myrrhophores	Unidentified
12	53r-55r	19v-22r	ἡ παροῦσα ἡμῶν ζωὴ σταδίῳ ἔοικεν,	Th. Myrrhophores	Unidentified
13	55r-56v	22r-23v	τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν	F. Myrrhophores	Unidentified
14	56v-58v	23v-25v	παρατρέχων παρατρέχει ὁ χρόνος ἡμῶν,	Sa. Myrrhophores	Unidentified
15	58v-60v	25v-27v	εἰρήνης ἡμέρα ἡ κυριακή· ἐν αὐτῇ γὰρ τὸν πολέμιον	S. Paralytic	Unidentified
16	60v-62v	27v-30r	ὁ γεωργός, ὅταν ἴδῃ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἄρουραν	M. Paralytic	Unidentified
17	62v-64r	30r-31v	πανηγύρεις ἐπιτελοῦνται κατὰ καιρὸν	Tu. Paralytic	PC23: AU, p. 84, ll. 1-9; p. 85, l. 11-p. 86, l. 49
18	64r-65r	31v-33r	γῇ μὲν ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ σπειρομένη, τὰς ἐτησίους	W. Paralytic	PC28: AU, p. 102, l. 1-p. 104, l. 33; p. 104, ll. 38-43
19	65r-66r	33r-34r	βλέπωμεν μὴ εἰκῇ καὶ μάτην τὰς ἡμέρας ἡμῶν	Th. Paralytic	PC28: AU, p. 104, l. 44-p. 105, l. 65
20	66r-68r	34r-36r	πολλοὺς ἡμῖν τρόπους δέδωκεν ὁ Θεὸς	F. Paralytic	PC29: AU, p. 106, l. 1-p. 107, l. 17; p. 107, l. 27-p. 108, l. 38 (paraphrased); p. 108, ll. 38-45; p. 109, ll. 54-60

21	68r- 69r	36r- 37r	αἱ ἡμέραι ἡμῶν παριππεύουσι, καὶ ὁ χρόνος πόθεν ὑμῖν σήμερον διαλεξόμεθα· πόθεν εἴπωμέν τι καὶ σήμερον ἀπὸ τῶν χθὲς εἰρημένων, ναὶ πάσῃ δυνάμει δυναμούμενοι κατὰ τὸ κράτος λέγει ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος· ὅτι *συνεργοῦντες,*	Sa. Paralytic	Unidentified
22	69r- 71r	37r- 39r		S. Samaritan	Unidentified
23	71r- 72v	39r- 41r		M. Samaritan	Unidentified
24	72v- 74r	41r- 42v		T. Samaritan	Unidentified
25	74r- 75v	42v- 44v		W. Samaritan	PC30: AU, p. 110, l. 20-p. 111, l. 28; p. 112, ll. 47-52; p. 112, l. 59-p. 113, l. 63
26	75v- 76v	44v- 45v	οἱ ἐν σταδίῳ τρέχοντες, ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τρέχουσι γέγραπται ἐν τῷ ἀποστόλῳ·	Th. Samaritan	PC35: AU, p. 127, ll. 1-6; p. 128, l. 28-p. 129, l. 48; p. 130, ll. 62-65
27	76v- 78v	45v- 47v		F. Samaritan	Unidentified
28	78v- 80r	47v- 49v	*Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασεν* τὸ χθὲς ἡμῖν εἰρημένον καὶ σήμερον, εἰ βούλεσθε	Sa. Samaritan	PC36: AU, p. 133, ll. 51-55; p. 133, l. 57-p. 134, l. 67; p. 134, ll. 70-73, ll. 75-79; p. 134, l. 81-p. 135, l. 85
29	80r- 82v	49v- 52r	καὶ σήμερον κυριακή, καὶ σήμερον ἑορτή·	S. Blind	Unidentified
30	82v- 85r	52r- 55r	ἦκομεν σήμερον τὰ χθὲς ὑποσχεθέντα πληρῶσαι·	M. Blind	Unidentified
31	85r- 87r	55r- 57r	ἀεὶ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπολάβοντες	T. Blind	PC43: AU, p. 155, l. 1-p. 156, l. 4; p. 156, l. 13-p. 158, l. 49; p. 158, l. 54-p. 159, l. 68
32	87r- 88r	57r- 59r	ἡ κατὰ θεὸν λύπη χαρᾶς ἐστὶ μᾶλλον ποιητικὴ	W. Blind	Unidentified

33	88r- 90r	59r- 60v	ἡ ἀνάληψις πάρεστι τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ·	Th. Blind	PC8: AU, p. 25, l. 1-p. 26, l. 23; p. 27, ll. 26-33; p. 27, l. 39-p. 28, l. 48
34	90r- 92v	60v- 64r	τὸ κοινόβιον, σώματι ἔοικεν·	F. Blind	cf. MC I, 5
35	92v- 94r	64r- 65v	οὔτε ἐγὼ ὀφείλω κόρον λαμβάνειν τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς	Sa. Blind	PC46: AU, p. 166, l. 1-p. 167, l. 13; p. 167, ll. 17-22; p. 168, ll. 39-44 (rephrased); p. 169, ll. 55-61
36	94r- 96r	65v- 67v	καὶ πάλιν ὑμῖν ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμέρας διαλεξόμεθα·	S. Nicaea	Unidentified
37	96r- 97v	67v- 69r	πταίομεν ἅπαντες καθ' ἑκάστην·	M. Nicaea	Unidentified
38	97v- 99v	69r- 71r	πάλιν ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν εἰμὶ λόγων· καὶ μάλιστα ἀκούων	T. Nicaea	PC48: AU, p. 174, l. 1-p. 175, l. 18; p. 175, l. 23-p. 176, l. 45; p. 177, l. 57-p. 178, l. 74
39	99v- 101r	71r- 72v	τὸ ῥάθυμον ὑμῶν διεγείρων ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος	W. Nicaea	PC79: AU, p. 272, l. 1-p. 273, l. 13; p. 273, l. 24-p. 275, l. 53
40	101r- 103r	72v- 74r	τὸ ὀφειλόμενον ἡμῖν σιτηρέσιον, καὶ σήμερον	Th. Nicaea	PC80: AU, p. 275, ll. 1-6; p. 276, l. 13-p. 278, l. 56
41	103r- 104v	74r- 75v	εἰ καὶ ἀνάγκην ἔχω καθ' ἡμέραν λαλεῖν ὑμῖν τὸ	F. Nicaea	PC81: AU, p. 278, l. 2-p. 279, l. 14; (add. passage) p. 279, l. 18-p. 280, l. 34; p. 290, l. 38-p. 281, l. 46; p. 281, ll. 49-54
42	104v- 106v	76r- 77v	ὥσπερ ὅτάν τις ἀρρωστία περιπέσοι σωματικῇ,	Sa. Nicaea	PC82: AU, p. 282, l. 13-p. 284, l. 54
43	106v- 107v	77v- 79r	ἡ μεγάλη ἡμέρα ἐφέστηκε τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς·	S. Pentecost	Unidentified
44	108r- 109v	79r- 81r	πάντων μὲν τῶν λοιπῶν πραγμάτων ὧν οἱ	M. Pentecost	PC89: AU, p. 304, l. 3-p. 306, l. 40; p. 306, ll. 45-52

45	109v-111r	81r-82v	οὐκ ἀκόπως ὑμῖν διαλέγομαι τὰ βραχέα ταῦτα	T. Pentecost	PC90: AU, p. 307, l. 1-p. 309, l. 49
46	111r-113r	82v-84v	πάντοτε μὲν ἀδολεσχεῖν, τουτέστιν ἐπιμένειν	W. Pentecost	Unidentified
47	113r-115r	84v-86v	ἀφέντες τὸ ἀδολεσχεῖν ἐπὶ ταῖς ματαίαις κενολογίας	Th. Pentecost	Unidentified
48	115r-116v	87r-88v	φησὶν ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος· *εὐδοκῶ ἐν ἀσθενείαις,*	F. Pentecost	Unidentified
49	117r-118r	88v-90r	ὅταν ἡμῖν ἐπέλθοι τίς πειρασμός,	Sa. Pentecost	Unidentified
50	118v-120v	90r-92r	μεγίστη ἡμῖν σήμερον ἡ πανήγυρις καὶ ἡ ἑορτή·	S. All Saints	Unidentified
Feast:					
51	120v-122v	92r-94r	καιρὸς καὶ νῦν ἑορτῆς· μνήμην μὲν ἐφιστώσης,	SS. Peter & Paul	Unidentified

Octoechos:

52	122v-123v	94r-95v		οὐδὲν ἐμπόδιον τῷ θέλοντι σωθῆναι πρὸς σωτηρίαν,	W2, M.	Unidentified
53	123v-125r	95v-97v		ὅτι μὲν οὖν ὁ μοναχικὸς βίος στενὸς καὶ τεθλιμμένος,	W2, Tu.	PC94: AU, p. 320, l. 1-p. 321, l. 13; p. 321, ll. 17-24, l. 25; p. 321, l. 27-p. 322, l. 35; p. 322, ll. 39-52
54	125v-127r	97v-99v	48b-50b	πᾶς ὁ ὁδεύων ὁδὸν μακράν τε καὶ τραχεῖαν· ἔχων	W2, W.	PC95: AU, p. 323, l. 1-p. 324, l. 29
55	127v-129r	99v-101v		ἐπειδὴ ζήλῳ ἐναγόμεθα πρὸς τὸ πράττειν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἃ βουλόμεθα,	W2, Th.	PC95: AU, p. 324, l. 29-p. 326, l. 69; p. 327, l. 83-p. 328, l. 97
56	129r-130v	101v-103r	50b - 52a	ὁ θεὸς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ προπάτορος ἀβουλίαν,	W2, F.	MC I, 3
57	130v-132r	103r-104v		οἱ ἅγιοι μάρτυρες ὡς γινώσκετε, τὰ αἵματα	W2, Sa.	MC I, 3 cont.
58	132r-133v	104v-106r		ἐπιδίδωμι καὶ νῦν τὸν ταπεινόν μου λόγον·	W2, S.	MC I, 4
59	133v-134v	106r-107v	55b-56b	βλέπετε πῶς περιπατεῖτε· πῶς τὰς λειτουργίας	W3, M. (F.: Cr)	MC I, 4 cont.
60	134v-135v	107v-108v		τὰ χθὲς ὑμῖν εἰρημένα, καὶ σήμερον εἴπω· βλέπετε πῶς περιπατεῖτε· πῶς τὰς ὀφειλομένας	W3, Tu.	MC I, 4 cont.
61	135v-136v	108v-110r	54a-55b	πρέπον ἡμῖν ἐστι καὶ ἀναγκαῖον καθ' ὅσον	W3, W.	MC I, 1: CL X, logos 102, pp. 110-12
62	136v-138r	110r-112r		διὰ τοῦτο εἰσήγαγεν ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὸν κόσμον·	W3, Th.	MC I, 2

63	138r-139v	112r-v des. mut.	φέρετε γενναίως τὰ μοχθηρὰ καὶ ἐπώδυνα·	W3, F.	MC I, 13 cont.
64	139v-140v	——	καὶ πάλιν ὑμῖν ἥκω διὰ τοῦ λόγου· καὶ ἀνοίγω	W3, Sa.	MC I, 13 beg.
65	140v-141v	113r inc. mut.	ὅσον καθαιρόμεθα, τοσοῦτον θεὸν εἰσδεχόμεθα·	W3, S.	MC I, 14: CL IX, logos 17, pp. 46-47
66	141v-142v	113r-114r	τὸ τέλος τῆς χθεσινῆς κατηχήσεως, σήμερον ἀρχὴν ποιησώμεθα· εἴπομεν οὖν ὅτι βιάζειν	W4, M.	MC I, 14 cont.: CL IX, logos 17, p. 47
67	142v-143v	114r-115v	μετὰ τὸ ἀποπληρωθῆναι τὸν τῆς συνάξεως τοῦ ὄρθρου κανόνα·	W4, Tu.	MC I, 14 cont.: CL IX, logos 17, pp. 48-49
68	143v-144v	115v-116v 59a - 60a	πάντες οἴδαμεν τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν θύραν	W4, W.	MC I, 14 cont.: CL IX, logos 17, pp. 49-50
69	144v-146r	116v-118r	ἰδοὺ τὰ χείλη μου οὐ μὴ κωλύσω·	W4, Th.	MC I, 16: CL X, logos 80, pp. 15-17
70	146r-147r	118r-119v 60a-61b	ἀκούων τῆς μεγάλης φωνῆς τοῦ θείου ἀποστόλου	W4, F.	MC I, 10: CL X, logos 106, pp. 128-30
71	147r-148v	119v-121r	χρέος ἡμῖν χρεωστῶν ὁ ἄθλιος ἀπλήρωτον· τὴν	W4, Sa.	Maximos Confessor, *Sermo hortatorius*, PG 91: 377D1-380B8
72	148v-150v	121r-123r 64b-66b	σκοπῶμεν ἀεὶ πῶς ἀκριβῶς περιπατῶμεν,	W4, S. (W5, W.: Cr)	Maximos Confessor, *Sermo hortatorius*, PG 91: 380B9-381C1
73	150v-152r	123v-125v 66b - 68b	σπουδάσωμεν ὅση δύναμις ἡμῖν, τῆς δεξιᾶς εὑρεθῆναι	W5, M. (W5, F.: Cr)	Maximos Confessor, *Sermo hortatorius*, PG 91: 381C1-384B13

74	152r- 154r	125v- 125v		οἱ μισήσαντες σοφίαν καὶ φόβον Κυρίου μὴ προελόμενοι,	W5, Tu.	Maximos Confessor, *Sermo hortatorius*, PG 91: 384B13-385B9
75	154r- 156r	127v- 129v		καλὸν καὶ σήμερον ἀπὸ τῶν χθὲς εἰρημένων τὸν λόγον τῆς κατηχήσεως ὑμῖν	W5, W.	Maximos Confessor, *Sermo hortatorius*, PG 91: 385B9-388A9
76	156r- 157v	129v- 131v	71b- 73b	καὶ σήμερον ἀπὸ τῶν θρήνων ἐκείνων τῶν φοβερῶν	W5,Th. (W6, W.: Cr)	Maximos Confessor, *Sermo hortatorius*, PG 91: 388A9-389A15
77	157v- 159r	131v- 133r	74a- 75b	γινώσκετε ὅτι ἕκαστος ἡμῶν, οἷς κατὰ τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦτον ἐπελεξάμεθα	W5, F. (W6, F.: Cr)	Maximos Confessor, *Sermo hortatorius*, PG 91: 389B1-392A3 + 392B6-9
78	159r- 160r	133r- 134r		γρηγορεῖτε· ἵνα μὴ δυσθυμήσητε· γρηγορεῖτε·	W5, Sa.	MC I, 10 cont.: CL X, logos 106, pp. 130-31
79	160r- 161r	134r- 135r		μὴ ζητεῖτε ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου τὸ ἐνταῦθα ἄνετον	W5, S.	MC I, 10 end: CL X, logos 106, pp. 131-32
80	161r- 162r	135r- 136v		χάριτι καὶ εὐδοκίᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου	W6, M.	MC I, 11
81	162r- 163v	136v- 137v		εὔζωνοι γίνεσθε καὶ εὐσταλεῖς·	W6, Tu.	MC I, 11 cont.
82	163v- 164v	137v- 138v		μὴ ζητήσωμεν ᾧδε τὴν καλὴν ζωὴν	W6, W.	MC I, 11 cont.
83	164v- 165r des. mut.	138v- 139v		ἐπισκοπῇ ἐπισκέπτομαι ὑμᾶς καὶ νῦν διὰ	W6, Th.	MC I, 12
84	——	139v- 140v		τέλειον ὄντες ἐν Θεῷ καὶ θεοδίδακτοι	W6, F.	MC I, 11 end
85	——	141r- 142r		ὁ δεινὸς ὄφις καὶ δράκων·	W6, Sa.	MC I, 12 cont.

86	——	142r- 143r		σπεύσατε ἑαυτοὺς θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ, προσενεγκεῖν	W6, S.	MC I, 12 cont.
87	——	143r- 144r		τοῖς ὁδοιπόροις ἀεὶ πάρεστιν ὁ κόπος·	W7, M.	MC I, 16 end: CL X, logos 80, pp. 17-19
88	165v inc. mut.	144r- 145r		ὄντως ὅσον διεφύγομεν τὰ τοῦ βίου	W7, Tu.	MC I, 17: CL X, logos 79, pp. 11-12
89	165v- 166v	145v- 146v	78a- 79b	χθὲς βουλόμενος ὑμῖν παραστῆσαι ὅτι πίστει	W7, W.	MC I, 17 cont.: CL X, logos 79, pp. 12-13
90	166v- 167v	146v- 147r		πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι τῷ τῆς πίστεως θώρακι	W7, Th.	MC I, 17 cont.: CL X, logos 79, pp. 13-14
91	167v- 168v	147v- 148v		ἤθελον μετὰ τοῦ λόγου παρέχειν,	W7, F.	MC I, 18: CL IX, logos 60, pp. 166-67
92	168v- 169v	148v- 149v	79b- 81a	ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ἐργαζέσθω τὸ ἀγαθόν,	W7, Sa. (F.: Cr)	MC I, 18 cont.: CL IX, logos 60, pp. 167-68
93	169v- 170v	149v- 150v		θαυμάζομεν ἀκούοντες τοὺς ἁγίους, ὅτι	W7, S.	MC I, 18 cont.: CL IX, logos 60, pp. 168-69
94	170v- 171v	150v- 151v		οὕτως ὁ θεὸς ἀποδέχεται καὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον βίον	W8, M.	MC I, 18 end: CL IX, logos 60, pp. 169-70
95	171v- 172v	151v- 152v		θέρους ὥρα καθὼς ὁρᾶτε· καὶ ἕκαστος τῶν γεωργῶν	W8, Tu.	PC17: AU, p. 61, l. 1-p. 62, l. 23; p. 62, ll. 25-31
96	172v- 173v	152v- 153v	84a- 85a	ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος διδάσκει· τῶν μὲν ὄπισθεν	W8, W.	MC I, 19: CL IX, logos 45, pp. 125-26
97	173v- 174v	153v- 154v		ἀναλογίσασθε πῶς ἐστὲ ἄρτι· ἐπισκέψασθε·	W8, Th.	MC I, 19 end: CL IX, logos 45, pp. 126-27
98	174v- 175v	154v- 156r		ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ ὁ ταλαίπωρος οὐκ ἀποκνήσω	W8, F.	MC I, 20: CL IX, logos 48, pp. 132-33
99	175v- 176v	156r- 157v	85a- 86b	ἀπεταξάμεθα τῷ κόσμῳ; λοιπὸν οὐδὲν	W8, Sa. (F.: Cr)	MC I, 1: CL X, logos 102, pp. 112-13

100	176v-177v	157v-158v		ἀνοίγω μου καὶ νῦν τὸ στόμα προσφέρων ὑμῖν	W8, S.	MC I, 5
101	178r-v	158v-159v		οἱ κεφαλῆς τόπον ἐπέχοντες,	W9, M.	MC I, 5 cont.
102	179r-v	159v-161r		γέγραπται· δίκαιος οἰκτείρει ψυχὰς	W9, Tu.	MC I, 3 end; MC I, 5 cont.
103	180r-v	161r-162r		σήμερον γὰρ πρὸς ὑμᾶς μου ὁ λόγος· ἐν πυρὶ	W9, W.	MC I, 5 end
104	180v-181v	162r-163r	88b-89b	ἄρχομαι πάλιν ὑμῖν παραπέμπεσθαι	W9, Th. (W.: Cr)	MC I, 6: CL IX, logos 49, pp. 134-35
105	181v-182v	163r-164v		τοῖς κατὰ θάλατταν πλέουσι, πολλὰ	W9, F.	MC I, 6 cont.: CL IX, logos 49, pp. 135-36
106	182v-183v	164v-165v		μὴ ζηλῶμεν τοὺς κακοὺς καὶ ῥαθύμους·	W9, Sa.	MC I, 6 cont.: CL IX, logos 49, pp. 136-37
107	184r-v	165v-167r	89a-90b	ἀπαρχὴ ἡμῶν τοῦ πνευματικοῦ	W9, S. (F.: Cr)	MC I, 6 cont.: CL IX, logos 49, pp. 137-38
108	185r-186r	167r-168r		παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς· στήκετε, ἀνδρίζεσθε	W10, M.	MC I, 7: CL X, logos 85, pp. 36-38
109	186r-187r	168r-169v		ἰδοὺ δίδωσιν ἡμῖν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀγαθότητα	W10, Tu.	MC I, 8
110	187r-188r	169v-171r	93b-95a	ἀνοίγω μου τὸ στόμα πάλιν· καὶ διανέμομαι	W10, W.	MC I, 9
111	188r-189r	171r-172r	95a-96b	χθὲς εἴπομεν ὅτι ἐν χαρᾷ πολλῇ ἀνέρχεται μετὰ τῶν	W10, Th. (F.: Cr)	MC I, 9 cont.
112	189v-190v	172r-173v		σπουδάζετε διηνεκῶς ἀλλήλους ὠφελεῖν·	W10, F.	MC I, 20 end: CL IX, logos 48, pp. 133-34
113	190v-191r	173v-174v		τὸ ὄφλημα ὃ χρεωστῶ ὑμῖν· καὶ νῦν ἀποτινύω·	W10, Sa.	MC I, 21: CL IX, logos 47, pp. 129-31

114	191r-192r	174v-175v		χαρά μοι πολλὴ τῷ ἀπεγνωσμένῳ	W10, S.	MC I, 21 end: CL IX, logos 47, p. 131
115	192r-193r	175v-177r	99a-100b	ἡ μὲν εὔσταχυς χώρα· τὸν γεωργὸν	W11, M. (W.: Cr)	MC I, 22: CL IX, logos 61, pp. 170-71
116	193r-194r	177r-178r		μὴ ἐν τῇ δοκούσῃ ταύτῃ μακροημερεύσει	W11, Tu.	MC I, 22 cont.: CL IX, logos 61, pp. 171-72
117	194r-v	178r-179r		μὴ καταβαρησάτω ὑμᾶς ὁ λόγος τῆς ἐμῆς	W11, W.	MC I, 23
118	194v-195v	179v-180v		διπλοί ἐσμεν οἱ ἄνθρωποι· ἀπό τε ψυχῆς	W11, Th.	MC I, 24: CL IX, logos 74, pp. 207-08
119	196r-v	180v-182r	101a-102a	ῥήξατε παρακαλῶ πάντα τὰ σαρκικὰ φρονήματα·	W11, F.	MC I, 24 cont.: CL IX, logos 74, pp. 208-10
120	196v-197v	182r-183r		ἄλλός τις πόλεμος ἀκήρυκτος ὁ καθ᾽ ὑμᾶς μοι	W11, Sa.	MC I, 25: CL IX, logos 62, p. 173
121	197v-108v	183r-184v		καίομαι καὶ περιέλκομαι ὃ ἀσθενὴς	W11, S.	MC I, 25 cont.: CL IX, logos 62, pp. 173-75
122	198v-200v	184v-186r		λέγει ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος· ὅτι ὅσοι πνεύματι θεοῦ	W12, M.	Maximos Confessor, *Liber Asceticus*, PG 90: Ch. 33, 937D1- Ch. 34, 940D2
123	200v-202r	186v-187v des. mut.		τὴν ἡμετέραν ταύτην ἀκαστασίαν καὶ ἀδιαφορίαν·	W12, Tu.	Maximos Confessor, *Liber Asceticus*, PG 90: Ch. 35, 940D3-941A2; Ch. 36, 941B5-Ch. 37, 941D8
124	202r-203r			χθὲς εἴπομεν ὑμῖν ὅσα διὰ τῶν συνδούλων ἐκ τοῦ Πνεύματος	W12, W.	Maximos Confessor, *Liber Asceticus*, PG 90: Ch. 37, 941D9-945A1
125	203r-204r		104b-106b	δεῦτε προσκυνήσωμεν καὶ προσπέσωμεν τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ θεῷ	W12, Th. (W.: Cr)	Maximos Confessor, *Liber Asceticus*, PG 90: Ch. 37, 945A1-Ch. 38, 948A3

126	204r- 205v		προσευχώμεθα τῷ θεῷ καθ' ἑκάστην εἰλικρινῶς· καὶ προσπίπτωμεν·	W12, F.	Maximos Confessor, *Liber Asceticus*, PG 90: Ch. 38, 948A3-Ch. 39, 948C13; Ch. 40, 948D5-949B2
127	205v- 207r		μετανοῶμεν καθ' ἑκάστην τῷ θεῷ· ἐφ' οἷς ὡς ἄνθρωποι σφαλλόμεθα·	W12, Sa.	Maximos Confessor, *Liber Asceticus*, PG 90: Ch. 40, 949B3-Ch. 41, 952B9
128	207r- 208v	106b- 108b	μὴ φθονῶμεν ἀλλήλοις· φθονώμεθα δὲ μᾶλλον·	W12, S. (F.: Cr)	Maximos Confessor, *Liber Asceticus*, PG 90: Ch. 41, 952B9-Ch. 43, 953C5
129	208v- 210r	111a- 113b	γέγραπται ἔλπισον ἐπὶ Κύριον· καὶ φύλαξον τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ·	W13, M. (W.: Cr)	Maximos Confessor, *Liber Asceticus*, PG 90: Ch. 43, 953C5-Ch. 45, 956D3
130	210r- 212r		ὥσπερ ὁ Κάναβις· εἰ μὴ κατὰ λεπτὸν συντριβῇ,	W13, Tu.	Ps.-Makarios, Op. VII, *De Libertate mentis*, PG 34: Ch. 14, 945D1-Ch. 16, 949A11
131	212r- 214r	113a- 116a	ἐάνπερ βουλώμεθα θλίψιν ἄπασαν καὶ τοὺς πειρασμοὺς	W13, W. (F.: Cr)	Ps.-Makarios, Op. VII, *De Libertate mentis*, PG 34: Ch. 17, 949A12-Ch. 18, 952B8
132	214r- 215r		ἀναμνημονεύσατε ἕκαστος πόσα ἔτη παρῆλθον	W13, Th.	MC I, 25 end & MC I, 24 end: CL IX, logos 74, p. 210 & logos 62, pp. 175-76
133	215r- 216r		τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα μου, πρόθυμον πρὸς ὑμᾶς·	W13, F.	MC I, 27
134	216r- 217r		συνέλθετε πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ δοκιμάσατε τὸ δοκίμιον	W13, Sa.	MC I, 27 cont.
135	217r- 218r		καλὸν ὑμῖν καὶ χρεωστικὸν ὡς ἐργάταις Κυρίου·	W13, S.	MC I, 28
136	218v- 219r		ἀγαθὸν καὶ πολυέλεον θεὸν ἔχοντες·	W14, M.	MC I, 28 cont.
137	219v- 220r	118b- 119b	τίς οὐκ ἀθλήσας στεφανοῦται·	W14, Tu. (W.: Cr)	MC I, 28 cont.

138	220r- 221v		ἐξ ἀποστολικῆς προσφονήσεως ἀπάρξομαι	W14, W.	MC I, 29: CL IX, logos 68, p. 189
139	221v- 222v		ἀναβαίνουσιν ἕως τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ καταβαῖνουσιν	W14, Th.	MC I, 29 end: CL IX, logos 68, pp. 191, 192
140	222v- 223v		τὴν τῶν τιμίων ὑμῶν ψυχῶν φροντίδα	W14, F.	MC I, 30
141	223v- 224v	119b- 120b	γνῶτε καὶ ἴδετε ποῦ ἐσμέν, καὶ ποῦ μετὰ μικρὸν	W14, Sa. (F.: Cr)	MC I, 30 cont.
142	224v- 225r		ἴστε πάντες ὅτι ἕνα βασιλέα ἔχομεν τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν	W14, S.	MC I, 30 cont.
143	225r- 226r		αἰτεῖτε καὶ δεέσθε τοῦ θεοῦ δίδοσθαί μοι λόγον	W15, M.	MC I, 31
144	226v- 227v		ἀνδρίζεσθε καὶ κραταιοῦσθε πάντες οἱ ἐλπίζοντες	W15, Tu.	MC I, 31 cont.
145	227v- 228v		ὡς γῆ πίων καὶ ἀγαθὴ δεχόμενοι τὸν τῆς	W15, W.	MC I, 32: CL X, logos 108, pp. 137-38
146	228v- 229v	124b- 126a	γινώσκοντες ὁποῖα ἡμῖν καὶ ἡλίκα	W15, Th. (W.: Cr)	MC I, 32 cont.: CL X, logos 108, pp. 138-40
147	229v- 230v		οὔτε ἐγὼ ὡς νομίζω, εἰς κενὸν κοπιῶ,	W15, F.	MC I, 33
148	231r- 232r	126a- 127b	χαίρειν καὶ εὐφραίνεσθαι ὀφείλομεν πάντοτε·	W15, Sa. (F.: Cr)	MC I, 33 cont.
149	232r- 233r	130b- 132a	τηρήσατε ἑαυτὰς ἀβλαβεῖς ἐν ἅπασι· καὶ μὴ νομίσητε	W15, S. (W16, W.: Cr)	MC I, 33 end
150	233r- 234r		τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ δύναμιν καὶ νῦν καταβαλλόμενος,	W16, M.	MC I, 34: CL X, logos 89, pp. 51-52

151	234v-235r		παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς ἀνολιγώρως στήκετε ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ	W16, Tu.	MC I, 34 cont.: CL X, logos 89, pp. 53-54
152	235v-236v		ἐν τῷ προσακροᾶσθαι ὑμᾶς τοῦ ταπεινοῦ μου λόγου	W16, W.	MC I, 35
153	236v-237v		παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς· ἐπιβλέψατε τὰς διακονίας ὑμῶν	W16, Th.	MC I, 35 end
154	237v-239v	132a-134b	εἰ θέλομεν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ	W16, F.	Maximos Confessor, *Liber Asceticus*, PG 90: Ch. 10, 920A12-B10; Ch. 10, 920C1-Ch. 12, 921A6; Ch. 16, 924C7-8 (= Lk. 23, 34); Ch. 12, 921B4-6; Ch. 13, 921B10
155	239v-241v		ἐὰν τὰ χθὲς ἡμῖν εἰρημένα κατέχωμεν ἀεὶ καὶ μελετῶμεν,	W16, Sa.	Maximos Confessor, *Liber Asceticus*, PG 90: Ch. 17, 925A6-13; Ch. 18, 925B3-D1; Ch. 19, 925D5-926A4; Ch. 20, 926A6-11
156	241v-243r		ὁ κτησάμενος τὴν ἀγάπην ἐκ παντὸς ὀφέλει	W16, S.	Maximos Confessor, *Liber Asceticus*, PG 90: Ch. 21, 928B1-929A3
157	243r-245r	146a-148b	ἡ ἐγκράτεια μαραίνει τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν· ἀπέχεσθαι γὰρ ποιεῖ πάντων	W17, M. (W18, W.: Cr)	Maximos Confessor, *Liber Asceticus*, PG 90: Ch. 23, 929A5-B1; Ch. 24, 929C3-15; Ch. 25, 929D1-932A8
158	245r-247v	138a-141a	καλὴ ἡ κατάνυξις καὶ πλείστα ἡμᾶς ὠφελοῦσα· καθαίρει	W17, Tu. (W.: Cr)	Maximos Confessor, *Liber Asceticus*, PG 90: Ch. 27, 932C1-933C8
159	247v-249v	141a-143b	προσέχωμεν τῇ τῶν θείων γραφῶν ἀναγνώσει διηνεκῶς·	W17, W. (F.: Cr)	Maximos Confessor, *Liber Asceticus*, PG 90: Ch. 28, 933C9-Ch. 31, 936C1
160	249v-251v		ποίαν ἀπολογίαν ἔξομεν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ τοιοῦτον	W17, Th.	Maximos Confessor, *Liber Asceticus*, PG 90: Ch. 31, 936C2- Ch. 32, 937C11

161	251v- 253r		ἐν εὐθυμίᾳ ἠρξάμην γίνεσθαι· ὁρῶν τὴν ἀγωγὴν καὶ διαβίωσιν	W17, F.	MC I, 36
162	253r- 254r		τὰ ῥήματα τῆς ταπεινόσεώς μου πρὸ ὑμᾶς, οὐ νομοθετικά·	W17, Sa.	MC I, 37: CL X, logos 95, pp. 78, 79-80
163	254r- 255v		μάθετε εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ, ὅτι πρᾶος	W17, S.	MC I, 37 end: CL X, logos 95, pp. 80-82
164	255v- 257r		ἀεὶ μὲν μαίνεται καὶ ὁρμᾷ ὁ ἐχθρὸς καθ᾽ ἡμῶν	W18, M.	MC I, 39: CL IX, logos 52, pp. 143-45
165	257r- 258r		βλέπω ὅτι καθ᾽ ἑκάστην αὔξεται ὁ χορὸς τῆς ἀδελφότητος	W18, Tu.	MC I, 40: CL IX, logos 72, pp. 201-02
166	258r- 259v		ἐν τῇ ποντοπόρῳ νηΐ, παρεστὶν μὲν καὶ κυβερνήτης·	W18, W.	MC I, 40 end: CL IX, logos 72, pp. 202-03
167	259v- 261r		ἐν τῷ ἀσθενεῖν με, οὐχ οἷος τέ εἰμι συμπαρεῖναι	W18, Th.	MC I, 41
168	261r- 262r	148b- 150a	εὔχομαι ὡς ἀνάξιος· παρακαλῶ ὡς ταπεινός·	W18, F.	MC I, 41 end
169	262v- 263v		δέομαι ὑμῶν ὡς πατὴρ ὡς ἀδελφὸς ὡς τέκνον	W18, Sa.	MC I, 42: CL IX, logos 16, pp. 43-44
170	263v- 265r		ἐμάθετε ἀπὸ τῶν χθὲς εἰρημένων· ὅτι τὸ ὑποτακτικὸν	W18, S.	MC I, 42 cont.: CL IX, logos 16, pp. 44-45
171	265r- 266r		εἰ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ γήρως ἠσθένησα, ἀλλὰ μικρὸν δύναμαι	W19, M.	MC I, 43: CL IX, logos 41, pp. 113-14

172	266r-267r	153a-154b	εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς ὁ κατὰ τὸ πολὺ αὐτοῦ ἔλεος	W19, Tu. (W.: Cr)	MC I, 47
173	267r-268v		παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς ὁ ἀνάξιος ὑμῶν πατήρ, ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ	W19, W.	MC I, 47 cont.
174	268v-269r		προσέχετε παρακαλῶ τῇ ἀναγνώσει τῶν θείων γραφῶν·	W19, Th.	MC I, 47 end
175	269r-270v		οὐκ ὀκνερόν μοι ἐστὶ τὸ λέγειν καὶ κατασφαλίζεσθαι	W19, F.	MC I, 48: CL IX, logos 39, pp. 108-09
176	270v-271v		ἆρα ἴστεον οἷον πικρὸν τοῖς ἀμελοῦσιν	W19, Sa.	MC I, 48 cont.: CL IX, logos 39, pp. 109-10
177	271v-272v	154b-156a	παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς, τοῦ μὴ παρρησιάζεσθαι μηδ' ὅλως·	W19, S. (F.: Cr)	MC I, 48 end: CL IX, logos 39, pp. 110-12
178	272v-273v		ὁ μὲν νόμος τῆς προστασίας	W20, M.	MC I, 49
179	273v-274v		ἀπαιτεῖ με δεῦτε προσκυνήσωμεν καὶ προπέσωμεν τῷ	W20, Tu.	MC I, 49 cont.
180	274v-276r		μικροῖς μὲν καὶ ἀναξίοις λόγοις κατασπείρομεν	W20, W.	MC I, 49 end
181	276r-278r	159b-161b	ὁ εἰς εὐχὴν μόνην ἀποβιασάμενος ἑαυτόν·	W20, Th. (W.: Cr)	Ps.-Makarios, Op. VII, *De Libertate mentis*, PG 34: Ch. 19, 952B13-C1; 952C6-953A7
182	278r-280v	162a-164a	οἱ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ τὸν θεὸν ἀγαπήσαντες· οὔτε διὰ τὴν	W20, F.	Ps.-Makarios, Op. VII, *De Libertate mentis*, PG 34: Ch. 20, 953A10-D7
183	280v-282v		ὥσπερ ἐκ διαφόρων ἀφορμῶν τε καὶ ἐπιτεδευμάτων	W20, Sa.	Ps.-Makarios, Op. VII, *De Libertate mentis*, PG 34: Ch. 28, 960D8-Ch. 29, 965A5
184	282v-285r		ἕως ἂν τοῖς πράγμασι τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ἐνεχώμεθα·	W20, S.	Ps.-Makarios, Op. VII, *De Libertate mentis*, PG 34: Ch. 30, 964A6-Ch. 31, 964D4

185	285r- 287r		γνόντες τὶ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ· πρὸς ὃ δήπου	W21, M.	Ps.-Makarios, Op. II, *De Perfectione in spiritu*, PG 34: Ch. 2, 844A5-Ch. 4, 844C5; 844C9-845A2
186	287r- 289r	170b- 173a	οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν φανερῶν ἁμαρτημάτων μόνον	W21, Tu. (F.: Cr)	Ps.-Makarios, Op. II, *De Perfectione in spiritu*, PG 34: Ch. 5, 845A4-C8
187	289r- 291r	167a- 170b	ὁ μέγας τῆς οἰκουμένης διδάσκαλος καὶ ἀπόστολος Παῦλος·	W21, W.	Ps.-Makarios, Op. II, *De Perfectione in spiritu*, PG 34: Ch. 6, 845C12-Ch. 7, 848A6
188	291r- 292v		λέγει τὸ ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον· ὅτι πᾶς ὅστις θέλει ὀπίσω	W21, Th.	Ps.-Makarios, Op. II, *De Perfectione in spiritu*, PG 34: Ch. 8, 848A7-B5; Ch. 11, 848D6-849A2; 849A4-Ch. 12, 849C8
189	292v- 294r		τὴν σήμερον περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν μετ' ἐμὲ	W21, F.	Ps.-Makarios, Op. II, *De Perfectione in spiritu*, PG 34: Ch. 9, 848B6-Ch. 10, 848D5
190	294r- 295v		ἐπιμελώμεθα τῆς εὐχῆς ἡμῶν πάντοτε· καὶ μὴ ἀμελοῦντες καταλιμπάνωμεν αὐτήν·	W21, Sa.	Ps.-Makarios, Op. III, *De Oratione*, PG 34: Ch. 2, 853B9-Ch. 4, 856C5
191	296r- 298r		προσδράμωμεν τῷ καλοῦντι Χριστῷ προθύμως, ἐκχέοντες ἐπ' αὐτὸν	W21, S.	Ps.-Makarios, Op. V, *De elevatione mentis*, PG 34: Ch. 11, 897D4-900B6; Ch. 14, 901D1-904A10
192	298r- 299v	176b- 178b	ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς φαινομένοις τούτοις ἀπεταξάμεθα τῷ ἔξω	W22, M. (W.: Cr)	Ps.-Makarios, Op. VI, *De Charitate*, PG 34: Ch. 1, 908C1-Ch. 3, 909C13
193	299v- 301r		τὸν θησαυρὸν ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγει· ἐν ὀστρακίνοις ἔχειν	W22, Tu.	Ps.-Makarios, Op. VI, *De Charitate*, PG 34: Ch. 4, 909D1-Ch. 5, 912C6

194	301r-302v		179a-181b	τὸ τοῦ γάμου ἔνδυμα· περὶ οὗ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν τοῖς	W22, W. (F.: Cr)	Ps.-Makarios, Op. VI, *De Charitate*, PG 34: Ch. 15, 921A5-14; Ch. 17, 921D1-924A13; Ch. 18, 924B3-6
195	302v-303v des. mut.	[Sin.: 242, frag.]		εἰ φιλαλήθως θέλομεν τὸν Θεὸν ἀγαπῆσαι· καὶ τῆς οὐρανίου	W22, Th.	Ps.-Makarios, Op. VI, *De Charitate*, PG 34: Ch. 22, 925C5-D3; Ch. 23, 925D5-Ch. 24, 928B8
196	—			Lacuna	[W22, F.]	?
197	—			Lacuna	[W22, Sa.]	?
198	—			Lacuna	[W22, S.]	?
199	—			Lacuna	[W23, M.]	?
200	—			Lacuna	[W23, Tu.]	?
201	—		185a-186a	δέξασθε καὶ νῦν τὸν ἐξουθενημένον μου λόγον·	W23, W.	MC I, 51
202	—		186b-187b	ἥκετε ἐνταῦθα φυγάδες ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ·	[W23, Th.] (F.: Cr)	MC I, 51 cont.
203	303r-304v inc. mut.			οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς φλεβότομα καὶ σιδήρια·	W23, F.	MC I, 51 cont.
204	304v-306r			ἐὰν ἐπιδειξώμεθα μὲν πολιτείας ἀκρίβειαν·	W23, Sa.	Ps.-Makarios, Op. VI, *De Charitate*, PG 34: Ch. 28, 929C9-932B10
205	306r-307v			ἐκ τῶν φαινομένων τούτων καὶ γνωριζομένων ἡμῖν	W23, S.	Ps.-Makarios, Op. VI, *De Charitate*, PG 34: Ch. 29, 932B13-932D5; Ch. 30, 932D9-933A5
206	308r-309v		191a-193a	ἀναλογίσασθέ μοι τὸν βασιλικὸν οἶκον· πῶς αὐλὰς	W24, M. (W.: Cr)	Ps.-Makarios, Op. VI, *De Charitate*, PG 34: Ch. 31, 934B11-936A13

207	309v-311r		ὅταν ἀκούοιτε ὅτιπερ κατελθὼν ὁ Χριστὸς εἰς ἅδου	W24, Tu.	Ps.-Makarios, Op. VII, *De Libertate mentis*, PG 34: Ch. 1, 936C1-937A2; Ch. 2, 937A5-B2; Ch. 4, 937C6-940A1
208	311r-313r		ὥσπερ ἡ ἐναντία δύναμις τουτέστιν ὁ διάβολος	W24, W.	Ps.-Makarios, Op. VII, *De Libertate mentis*, PG 34: Ch. 3, 937B3-937B6; Ch. 5, 940A5-Ch. 7, 940D10
209	313r-314v		ὅτ' ἄν τινα ἐξ ὑμῶν λογισμὸς εἰσέλθῃ κρίναι ἢ κατακρίναι τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ πλησίον	W24, Th.	Unidentified
210	314v-316r	193b-195b	βλέπετε μὴ πλανηθῆτε μακαρίζοντες τοὺς	W24, F.	John of Karpathos, PG 85, 1857, ll. 1-42; 1858, ll. 5-14
211	316r-318r		ἐπισπασώμεθα τὴν τῶν δοκούντων ἁμαρτωλῶν	W24, Sa.	John of Karpathos, PG 85, 1858, l. 15-1859, l. 28
212	318r-320r		βλέπετε μὴ τοῖς λογισμοῖς καὶ ταῖς καρδίαις	W24, S.	John of Karpathos, PG 85, 1859, l. 28-1860, l. 27
213	320r-321v	199a-201a	σπουδάζωμεν τηρεῖν ἑαυτούς ἀκριβῶς· μέγα κέρδος καὶ σωτηρίαν τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν,	W25, M. (W25, W.: Cr)	Unidentified
214	—		Lacuna	[W25, Tu.]	?
215	—		Lacuna	[W25, W.]	?
216	322r, ll. 1-12 inc. mut.		ἐλπιζόμενον ἦ, εἰ μὴ παρὰ θεοῦ μόνου· μετὰ πολλῆς	W25, Th.	?
217	322v-324r		μὴ πειθώμεθα τοῖς λογισμοῖς ἁπλῶς τοῖς ἰδίοις· μηδὲ τούτοις	W25, F.	Unidentified

218	324r-325v	201a-203b	ἐν τῷ βίῳ τοῦτῳ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμᾶς συγκαλέσαντος· ἐν ᾧ βιοῦμεν	W25, Sa. (F.: Cr)	Ephrem, *De virtute*, ASSEMANI I, Exhortation 1, 203D1-E8
219	326r-327v		πάσῃ φυλακῇ τὰς ἑαυτῶν τηρῶμεν καρδίας καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις,	W25, S.	Ephrem, *De virtute*, ASSEMANI I, Exhortation 3, 209C3-E4; 209A7-B8
220	327v-329v		ἀπεγώμεθα παντελῶς τοῦ μετὰ γυναικῶν ἔχειν γνωριμότητα·	W26, M.	Ephrem, *De virtute in capita decem*, ASSEMANI I, Ch. 7, 221A1-C5
221	329v-331r	206a-208a	ἐὰν ὁ πόλεμος τῆς σαρκὸς ἐπανίσταταί ἡμῖν, μὴ φοβώμεθα	W26, Tu. (W.: Cr)	Ephrem, *In illud, attende tibi ipsi*, ASSEMANI I, Ch. 3, 232F1-233C7, 233F1-234B4; Ch. 5, 235D1-7
222	331r-332r	208a-209b	ὀφειλέτης ὑμῶν εἰμὶ πάντοτε· ἀναγκαίως ὑμῖν	W26, W. (F.: Cr)	MC I, 55
223	332r-333r		ἡ καρδία μου καιομένη ἐστὶν ἐν ὑμῖν εἰ καὶ ἁμαρτωλός	W26, Th.	MC I, 55 cont.
224	333r-334v		γινώσκετε ὅτι προσέρχονται ἡμῖν καθ' ἑκάστην σχεδὸν	W26, F.	MC I, 55 end
225	334v-335r		διὰ Σιών, οὐ σιωπήσω· καὶ διὰ Ἰηρουσαλήμ, οὐ παρασιωπήσω·	W26, Sa.	MC I, 56: CL IX, logos 42, pp. 115-16
226	335v-336v		τὴν κοιλίαν μου ἀλγῶ καὶ τὰ αἰσθητήρια τῆς καρδίας	W26, S.	MC I, 56 cont.: CL IX, logos 42, pp. 116-17
227	336v-337v		οὐ παύσομαι καθ' ἡμέραν ὑμᾶς ὑπομιμνήσκων, ἕως ἂν	W27, M.	MC I, 56 cont.: CL IX, logos 42, pp. 117-18
228	337v-339r		ἔχετε τὰς τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ Θεοῦ ἐντολάς·	W27, Tu.	MC I, 57

229	339r-v		ὅτε προσκαλεῖσθε ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν, υἱοὶ ὑπακοῆς	W27, W.		MC I, 57 cont.
230	339v-340v		μὴ γίνεσθε νωθροὶ ταῖς ἀκοαῖς· καὶ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς	W27, Th.		MC I, 59
231	340v-341v		ἐργώδης ἐστὶν ὁ βίος τοῦ μοναχοῦ καὶ ἔμπονος·	W27, F.		MC I, 59 cont.
232	341v-342v	222a-223b	τί εἴπω ἢ τί λαλήσω καινότερον παρὰ τὰ ἐκ τῶν θείων εἰρημένα πατέρων,	W27, Sa.	PC25: AU, p. 91, l. 1-p. 93, l. 35; p. 94, ll. 57-69	
233	——		Lacuna	[W27, S.]		?

VOL. II:

K	E	Cr	Al.	Incipit	Day	Source
234	1r-2r			ἀκοῇ ἀκούσατε καὶ	W28, M.	MC I, 60
235	2r-3v			οἶδε Κύριος ὅση	W28, Tu.	MC I, 60 end
236	3v-4v			εἰ ποιμὴν ἄριστος οὐκ ἀμεριμνοίῃ καταλιμπάνων	W28, W.	MC I, 61
237	4v-5v			συγκόψατε τὰς διψυχίας· τὰς ὀλιγωρίας·	W28, Th.	MC I, 61 cont.
238	5v-6v	229b-231a		εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος· οὐδεὶς βαλὼν τὴν χεῖρα ἐπ᾽ ἄροτρον	W28, F. (W29, F.: Cr)	MC I, 61 end
239	6v-7v		D: 2v-4r	ἀκούομεν τοῦ θείου Δαυὶδ διαρρήδην βοῶντος	W28, Sa.	MC I, 62: CL IX, logos 15, pp. 41-43
240	7v-8v			ἅπερ διὰ τῆς γλώσσης εἴχομεν κατηχεῖν, ταῦτα	W28, S.	MC I, 63
241	8v-9v			ἐν ταῖς συνάξεσιν ἡμῶν μὴ κατοκνεῖτε· ἀλλὰ συντόμως	W29, M.	MC I, 63 cont.
242	9v-10r			σπουδάζετε δεικνύναι ἐν πᾶσι τὸ ἀκριβὲς	W29, Tu.	MC I, 63 cont.
243	10v-11r			μὴ περίλυποι γίνεσθε ἀπὸ τῆς προσβολῆς	W29, W.	MC I, 83 end + MC I, 64 cont.
244	11r-12v			ἐπειδὴ ὁρῶ ἡμᾶς ἀσινεῖς καὶ ἀπήμονας διατηρουμένους·	W29, Th.	MC I, 64
245	12v-13v	234a-235b		ἐάν τι συμβαίῃ ὑμῖν τῶν ἀδοκήτων εἰς δοκιμὴν	W29, F. (W30, W.: Cr)	MC I, 64 end
246	13v-14v			ὀφειλέτης εἰμὶ τὸν ταπεινὸν καὶ ἀχαρί μου	W29, Sa.	MC I, 65

247	14v-16r		μείνατε ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ καθὼς ἡμᾶς	W29, S.	MC I, 65 end
248	16r-17v		δεῦτε δῶμεν δόξαν τῷ καλέσαντι ἡμᾶς εἰς ὁδὸν	W30, M.	MC I, 67
249	17v-19r	237b-240b	ἀεὶ ἀκούων καὶ ἐνωτιζόμενος παρὰ τῆς θεοπνεύστου	W30, Tu. (W31, W.: Cr)	MC I, 68: CL IX, logos 58, pp. 160-62, 163
250	19r-21r		πάσης ἀποδοχῆς ἀξίαν ἡγοῦμαι, τὴν ἑκάστου ὑμῶν	W30, W.	MC I, 70
251	21r-22r		μηδὲν ὧν ἐπιχειροῦμεν	W30, Th.	Ephrem, *Consilium de vita spirituali*, ASSEMANI I, Cf. Ch. 24, 263D1; Ch. 34, 266E8-267D2
252	22r-23v		ἀγαπήσωμεν τὴν εὐλάβειαν· καὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτῆς	W30, F.	Ephrem, *In illud, attende tibi ipsi*, ASSEMANI I, Ch. 6, 237D3-E3; Ch. 8, 244D2-E4; Ch. 10, 245A1-B5, 245D6-E1, cf. 246C2-5, 247D5-6
253	23v-25v		ἐὰν ἀλλήλοις διαλεγώμεθα· μὴ γινώμεθα	W30, Sa.	Ephrem, *Consilium de vita spirituali*, ASSEMANI I, Ch. 5, 259F1-260A3; Ch. 11, 261A1-B3; Ch. 21, 262F3-263A6; Ch. 23, 263B4-Ch. 24, 263D1
254	25v-26v		ἐὰν γὰρ ὀρθοῦ βίου ὀρεγώμεθα, ταπεινοφροσύνης	W30, S.	Ephrem, *De recta vivendi ratione*, ASSEMANI I, Ch. 1, 56C10-12; Ch. 4, 57A1-Ch. 6, 57C2; Ch. 20, 59D1-4; Ch. 7, 57C3-6; Ch. 8, 57D1-Ch. 9, 57F1; Ch. 13, 58C5-D2; Ch. 16, 58F1-Ch. 17, 59A4; Ch. 23, 60A1-3; cf. Ch. 25, 60B2-26, 60C5
255	26v-28r		φεύγωμεν τὴν κενοδοξίαν· ἀγαπῶμεν δὲ τὴν ταπεινοφροσύνην·	W31, M.	Ephrem, *Quomodo quis in humilitatem sibi comparet*, ASSEMANI I, Cf. Ch. 9, 302E1-F5; Cf. Ch. 11, 303C1-D7

256	28r-29v		εἰ βουλόμεθα τὸ ἔργον ἡμῶν σὺν θεῷ ἀνῦσαι,	W31, Tu.	Ephrem, *Quomodo quis in humilitatem sibi comparet*, ASSEMANI I, Ch. 21, 306C1-7; Ch. 28, 308A4-Ch. 29, 309A4
257	29v-30v		ἐὰν λογισμοὶ ῥυπαροὶ διαταράξωσιν ἡμῶν τὴν	W31, W.	Ephrem, *Quomodo quis in humilitatem sibi comparet*, ASSEMANI I, Ch. 96, 331C1-332A5; Ch. 97, 332C4-D5
258	30v-32r		εἰ ἀξίως ἔχειν βουλόμεθα τὸν Κύριον	W31, Th.	Ephrem, *Quomodo quis in humilitatem sibi comparet*, ASSEMANI I, Ch. 99, 333C3-D6
259	32v-33v	240b-242b	ὅταν πάντα τὰ διατεταγμένα ἡμῖν	W31, F.	Ephrem, *Ad eversionem superbiae*, ASSEMANI I, 25F6-26A7; 26E2-F1; 26F8-27A2; 27C8-D1; 27E4-7; 23B1-4
260	33v-35r		ναοὶ εἰσὶ τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν τοῦ ἐνοικοῦντες	W31, Sa.	Ephrem, *De continentia*, ASSEMANI III, 67F6-68D4
261	35r-36v		ὥσπερ σπόγγος ὕδατι προσεγγίζων·	W31, S.	Ephrem, *De continentia*, ASSEMANI III, 68D4-69E5
262	36v-38r		τὸν θέλοντα τῆς σωτηρίας ἐπιτυχεῖν, πρέπει	W32, M.	Ephrem, *De continentia*, ASSEMANI III, 69F5-70B6 + *De recordatione mortis*, ASSEMANI III, 114F6-115A2; cf. 116F4-6
263	38r-39v		πολλοὶ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ βίου τῷ δοκεῖν ἀποταγήν,	W32, Tu.	Ephrem, *De Sancto Juliano*, ASSEMANI III, 254F6-255C3; 256E2-F7; 257E4-258A3
264	39v-41r	244b-247b	ἐν τίνι ἄλλῳ εἰμὶ ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν· ἀλλ᾽ ἢ ἐν τῷ διεγέρειν	W32, W.	MC I, 72: CL IX, logos 1, pp. 1-3, 3-4
265	41v-43v		ὁ παρὼν καιρὸς τοῦ σπόρου ἐστὶ τῶν ἐνύλων σπερμάτων·	W32, Th.	PC27: AU, p. 99, l. 1-p. 101, l. 38; p. 101, ll. 43-52 + PC26: AU, p. 96, l. 29-p. 98, l. 65
266	43v-46r		ἐν τῷ ἀεννάως προστίθεσθαι ὑμᾶς καὶ πληθύνεσθαι·	W32, F.	MC I, 73

267	46r-47v		V: 1r, ll. 1-6 inc. mut.	ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ τί ἄλλο ἔργον, ἢ τὸ ἐμὸν καταρτίζειν	W32, Sa.	MC I, 74
268	47v-49r		V: 1r-v	ἐὰν ἐνοχλήσωσιν ὑμᾶς λογισμοὶ ὥστε καταλιπεῖν τὸ κοινόβιον	W32, S.	Unidentified
269	49r-50v			εἰ βουλόμεθα τῇ λήθῃ καὶ τῇ αἰχμαλωσίᾳ τοῦ νοὸς	W33, M.	Dorotheos of Gaza, *Doctrina* XXI, PG 88: 1816A11-B8; D3-5; D7-1817A3; A7-9; 1816B9-10; 14-C5
270	50v-52r	247b-250a		εἰ θέλομεν εἶναι ὑποτακτικοὶ καὶ μοναχοί,	W33, Tu. (W32, F.: Cr)	Dorotheos of Gaza, *Doctrina* XXI, PG 88: 1817C2-9; 1820A2-3
271	52r-53v	253a-255a	V: 2r-v	λέγει ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος ἐμοὶ κόσμος ἐσταύρωται	W33, W.	Cf. Dorotheos of Gaza, SC 92 (1963), *Doctrina* I, Ch. 13, ll. 5-18, ll. 1-2, p. 166
272	53v-55r			ἐὰν θέλωμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς νεκρωθῆναι τῷ κόσμῳ, κόψωμεν τὰς πρὸς αὐτὸν	W33, Th.	Unidentified
273	55r-56v	255a-257b		εἰ θέλομεν ὅλως προκόψαι καὶ ἴχνος εὑρασθαι μοναδικῆς καταστάσεως,	W33, F.	Unidentified
274	56v-58v			οἱ ἅγιοι ἡμῶν πατέρες περὶ ταπεινώσεως ἡμᾶς διδάσκοντες·	W33, Sa.	Cf. Dorotheos of Gaza, SC 92 (1963), *Doctrina* II, Ch. 28, pp. 186-206
275	58v-60r			βουλόμενοι ὀρθῶς βιοτεύειν καὶ θεαρέστως, σπεύδωμεν	W33, S.	Dorotheos of Gaza, SC 92 (1963), *Doctrina* III, Ch. 41, l. 23-Ch. 45, l. 25, pp. 212-16

276	60r-61v		λέγει ἡ θεία γραφὴ ἀρχὴ σοφίας φόβος Κυρίου· τουτέστιν	W34, M.	Dorotheos of Gaza, SC 92 (1963), *Doctrina* IV, Ch. 49, ll. 3-9, ll. 16-21, pp. 224-26; Ch. 52, l. 1-Ch. 53, l. 2, pp. 230-34
277	62r-63r		οὐδὲν δεινότερον τῆς παρρησίας· οὐδὲν χαλεπότερον αὐτῆς·	W34, Tu.	Dorotheos of Gaza, SC 92 (1963), *Doctrina* IV, Ch. 53, ll. 2-7, ll. 20-29; Ch. 54, ll. 1-27, pp. 234-36
278	63r-65r	260b-263a	ἐὰν περὶ ἀδελφοῦ μέλλωμεν λέγειν τί τῷ ἀββᾷ καθὼς εἴπομεν	W34, W.	Dorotheos of Gaza, SC 92 (1963), *Doctrina* IV, Ch. 54, ll. 35-43; Ch. 55, ll. 1-6; Ch. 57, ll. 23-31; Ch. 58, ll. 7-20, pp. 238-46
279	65r-66r		εἴπομεν χθὲς ὅτι ἐὰν διακονῆτε καὶ ἴδητε ταραχὴν ἀνακύπτουσαν	W34, Th.	Dorotheos of Gaza, SC 92 (1963), *Doctrina* IV, Ch. 60, ll. 1-18, ll. 24-31, pp. 246-48
280	66r-68r	263a-265b	οὐδὲν ἀθλιώτερον· οὐδὲν ἐλεεινότερον τοῦ στοιχεῖν	W34, F.	Dorotheos of Gaza, SC 92 (1963), *Doctrina* V, Ch. 61, ll. 8-28, pp. 250-52
281	68r-69v	268b-271a	εἶπεν ὁ ἅγιος ἀββᾶς Ποιμήν· ὅτι τὸ θέλημα, τεῖχος	W34, Sa. (W35, W.: Cr)	Dorotheos of Gaza, SC 92 (1963), *Doctrina* V, Ch. 63, ll. 1-6, pp. 252-54
282	69v-71r	271a-273a	ἅπαξ σιωπήσομαι οἶδα τοῦτο, ὅταν κελεύῃ Θεός·	W34, S. (W35, F.: Cr)	MC I, 75: CL IX, logos 77, pp. 214-16
283	71r-72v		ἡ διαγωγὴ ἡμῶν τί ἄλλο ἐστί· καθὼς καὶ αἱ θεῖαι	W35, M.	MC I, 76: CL IX, logos 67, pp. 187-89
284	72v-74r		δόξα τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πάλιν ἐρῶ· δόξα τῷ ἀφορίσαντι	W35, Tu.	MC I, 77: CL IX, logos 38, pp. 106-07 = PK, Cat. 26, p. 179, l. 1-p. 182, l. 15; p. 183, ll. 6-10

285	74r- 75r		οὔτε δυνάμει τοῦ λόγου μου ἀσθενὴς γάρ μου· ῥάθυμος	W35, W.	MC I, 78
286	75r- 76v	273a- 274b	ἐκζητήσωμεν τὸν Θεὸν ἐπὶ πλέον, καὶ ζήσεται ἡ ψυχὴ ἡμῶν·	W35, Th. (S.: Cr)	MC I, 78 end
287	76v- 77v		καλὸς λαὸς ἐστέ· ἐάνπερ ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ στρατηγῶν	W35, F.	MC I, 79: CL IX, logos 12, pp. 34-35, 36
288	77v- 79r		ἡ ἐμὴ χαρὰ καὶ προθυμία· ὑμεῖς ἐστὲ ἐν Κυρίῳ· εὐδρομῶντες	W35, Sa.	MC I, 80
289	79r- 80v		ὁ θεῖος καὶ οἰκουμενικὸς ἀπόστολος ἐν ταῖς θειοτάτοις	W35, S.	MC I, 81
290	80v- 81v		μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ κοινόβιον μέγα καὶ ἀνυπέρβλητον·	W36, M.	MC I, 81 end
291	81v- 83v		οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις· τοῖς παισίν, οἱ διδάσκαλοι·	W36, Tu.	MC I, 82: CL IX, logos 64, pp. 178-80
292	83v- 85r	275a- 277a	εἰ ἄνθρωποι καλούμενοι ἐνταῦθα παρὰ βασιλέως πρὸς δόξαν	W36, W.	MC I, 83: CL X, logos 78, pp. 7-10
293	85r- 86v		χάριτι Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν· τοῦ ζωοποιοῦντος	W36, Th.	MC I, 84
294	86v- 88r	277b- 279b	ἐμὸς μὲν οὐ πρόσεστι λόγος ἀξίως ἐφικνούμενος, εἰς ὑπόμνησιν	W36, F.	MC I, 85: CL X, logos 83, pp. 27-30

295	88r- 90r		οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ἅπαξ ἢ δὶς ἢ πολλάκις κατηχεῖν ὑμᾶς ἀρκοῦμαι·	W36, Sa.	MC I, 86: CL IX, logos 25, pp. 70-72
296	90r- 91v	279b- 281b	ὥσπερ ἐν καιρῷ ἐπιδρομῆς ἐθνῶν φόβος τε ὑμᾶς	W36, S.	MC I, 87
297	91v- 93r		βούλεσθε δείξομεν σήμερον ὑμῖν τίνες εἰσὶν οἱ	W37, M.	MC I, 87 end
298	93r- 94v	281b- 284a	τὸ ἐν ὑποταγῇ εἶναι τινὰ καὶ μὴ τῷ	W37, Tu. (W.: Cr)	Dorotheos of Gaza, SC 92 (1963), *Doctrina* V, Ch. 68, ll. 6-35, pp. 264-66
299	94v- 96v	284b- 287a	φεύγωμεν τὸ κατακρίνειν τὸν πλησίον· φεύγωμεν	W37, W. (F.: Cr)	Dorotheos of Gaza, SC 92 (1963), *Doctrina* V, Ch. 71, ll. 6-21; Ch. 74, ll. 1-22; Ch. 75, ll. 1-26, pp. 272-80
300	96v- 98r	287a- 289b	εἰ μέλλειν ἡμῖν ὥστε φυγεῖν τὸ κατακρίνειν τὸν πλησίον,	W37, Th. (S.: Cr)	Dorotheos of Gaza, SC 92 (1963), *Doctrina* VI, Ch. 76, ll. 2-10; ll. 31-47; Ch. 77, ll. 1-31, pp. 280-84
301	98v- 100r		οὐκ ἔστο ἄλλη ὁδὸς σώζουσα ἡμᾶς εὐκόλως, ἀλλ᾽ ἢ τὸ	W37, F.	Dorotheos of Gaza, SC 92 (1963), *Doctrina* VII, Ch. 81, ll. 8-22; Ch. 82, ll. 13-20; l. 23-Ch. 84, l. 8, pp. 290-94
302	100r- 101v		πιστεύομεν ὅτι ἐὰν θέλη ὁ Θεὸς ἀναπαῦσαι	W37, Sa.	Dorotheos of Gaza, SC 92 (1963), *Doctrina* VII, Ch. 84, ll. 8-48; Ch. 86, ll. 1-12, pp. 294-300
303	101v- 103v	289b- 292a	οὐδεμία τις ἄλλη ἀρετὴ δύναται μετὰ ἀναπαύσεως	W37, S. (W38, W.: Cr)	Dorotheos of Gaza, SC 92 (1963), *Doctrina* VII, Ch. 86, l. 13-Ch. 87, l. 13; Ch. 88, ll. 1-16; ll. 23-29, pp. 300-04

304	103v-105r	292a-294b	οἱ πατέρες εἶπον ξένον ὅτι μοναχοῖς τὸ ὀργίζεσθαι	W38, M. (F.: Cr)	Dorotheos of Gaza, SC 92 (1963), *Doctrina* VIII, Ch. 89, ll. 1-23; cf. Ch. 91, l. 16; Ch. 90, ll. 9-15; Ch. 91, l. 14, ll. 20-26; cf. Ch. 93, pp. 306-14
305	105r-106v		σπουδάζωμεν μὴ ὀργίζεσθαι κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον· μὴ	W38, Tu.	Dorotheos of Gaza, SC 92 (1963), *Doctrina* VIII, Ch. 93, ll. 1-24; cf. Ch. 94, ll. 20-29; Ch. 94, l. 30-Ch. 95, l. 13, pp. 314-18
306	106v-108r	294b-297a	θέλομεν ὑμᾶς ὑπομνῆσαι καὶ περὶ τοῦ ψεύδους· ὁρῶμεν	W38, W. (S.: Cr)	Dorotheos of Gaza, SC 92 (1963), *Doctrina* IX, Ch. 96, l. 1-Ch. 97, l. 30; Ch. 98, ll. 8-21, pp. 320-24

Preparation for Lent:

307	108r-109v	297a-299a		χθὲς εἴπομεν ὑμῖν τρεῖς διαφορᾶς τοῦ ψεύδους·	Publican & Pharisee, M. (W39, W.: Cr)	Dorotheos of Gaza, SC 92 (1963), *Doctrina* IX, Ch. 101, ll. 1-22; Ch. 103, ll. 4-8; ll. 25-37; ll. 40-42, pp. 328-34
308	109v-111r	299a-301b		ἐὰν θέλωμεν κτήσασθαι ἀρετήν, οὐκ ὀφείλομεν ἀδιαφορεῖν	Publican & Pharisee, Tu. (W39, F.: Cr)	Dorotheos of Gaza, SC 92 (1963), *Doctrina* X, Ch. 105, l. 29-Ch. 107, l. 2, pp. 340-44
309	111r-112v		N: 5r-9r	χθὲς ἐδείξαμεν ὑμῖν τὴν βασιλικὴν ὁδὸν τῶν ἀρετῶν, διὰ τῆς διδασκαλίας	Publican & Pharisee, W.	Dorotheos of Gaza, SC 92 (1963), *Doctrina* X, Ch. 107, l. 2-Ch. 108, l. 7: pp. 345-6
310	112v-114v			εἰ μὲν περὶ ἄλλου τινὸς ἡμῖν τῶν σωματικῶν καὶ γηίνων	Publican & Pharisee, Th.	MC II, 1: PK, Cat. 1: p. 1, l. 5-p. 2, l. 8; p. 2, l. 14-p.6, l. 16
311	114v-116r		N: 9r-12v	ἐὰν θέλητε βασιλείας οὐρανῶν ἐπιτυχεῖν· ἐὰν θέλητε ζωῆς	Publican & Pharisee, F.	MC II, 1: PK, Cat. 1: p. 6, l. 17-p. 7, l. 11; p. 7, l. 13-p. 8, l. 3, paraphrased; p. 8, l. 4-p.9, l. 10
312	116r-117r			εἰ ὁ σπείρων χαίρει καταβαλλόμενος τὰ σπέρματα τῇ γῇ	Publican & Pharisee, Sa.	MC II, 2: PK, Cat. 2: p. 10, l. 5-p.13, l. 21
313	117r-118v			παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς· πληρώσατε τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν· παντὸς ἐπιτηδεύματος	Prodigal, S.	MC II, 2 + 3 + 5: PK, Cat. 2: p.13, l. 21-p.15, l. 16; Cat. 3: p. 19, l. 21-p. 20, l. 8; Cat. 5: p. 31, l. 7-p. 32, l. 7
314	118v-120r			δεινὴ μὲν καὶ ἡ τῶν πολεμίων ἔφοδος κατὰ τῶν πολεμούντων	Prodigal, M.	MC II, 4: PK, Cat. 4: p. 21, ll. 5-10 paraphrased; p. 21, l. 10-p.25, l. 15
315	120r-121v			χρὴ ἡμᾶς μὴ ἐξαπορεῖν ὡς ἐγκαταλελειμμένους ὑπὸ θεοῦ·	Prodigal, Tu.	MC II, 6: PK, Cat. 6: p. 34, l. 10-p. 38, l. 16

316	121v-123v	304a-306b	ἡ διακονία μου αὕτη ἐστίν, ἵνα ὑμᾶς τοὺς ἀεὶ	Prodigal, W.	MC II, 7: PK, Cat. 7: p. 39, l. 12-p.43, l. 14
317	123v-125r		καὶ σήμερον ἀπὸ τῶν χθὲς ὑμῖν εἰρημένων εἴπω πρὸς ὑμᾶς· βλέπω μὴ	Prodigal, Th.	MC II, 7: PK, Cat. 7: p. 43, l. 14-p. 45, l. 2; p. 45, ll. 5-14; p. 45, l. 21-p. 48, l. 5
318	125r-127v		εὐλογῶ τὸν θεὸν καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν· τὸν δυναμοῦντα καὶ κραταιοῦντα	Prodigal, F.	MC II, 9: PK, Cat. 9: p. 56, l. 6-p. 62, l. 11
319	127v-129r		ὄντως κατὰ τὴν ἱερὰν φωνὴν τοῦ θεολόγου καλεποῦ ὄντος τοῦ ἄρχεσθαι	Prodigal, Sa.	MC II, 10: PK, Cat. 10: p. 63, l. 5-p. 67, l. 17; p. 68, l. 18-p. 69, l. 14
320	129r-130r		νόμος καθολικός ἐστι κατὰ τὴν σήμερον ἡμέραν ἀποσιτίζεσθαι	Prodigal, S.	PC50: AU, p. 181, l. 1-p. 183, l. 35
321	130v-131v		ἀπωθώμεθα τὸν ὄκνον· τὴν ῥαθυμίαν ἀποτιναξώμεθα·	Tyrophagy, M.	Mark the Monk, *Ad Nicolaum*, PG 65, Ch. 1, 1029C3-6; Ch. 2, 1029C13-1032A1
322	131v-132v		ἀναλογιζόμεθα πάντοτε τὰς ἀπογενέσεως ἡμῶν πρὸς	Tyrophagy, Tu.	Mark the Monk, *Ad Nicolaum*, PG 65, Ch. 2, 1032A1-C10
323	132v-133v		ἔχοντες χάριτι Χριστοῦ φυσικὴν σύνεσιν·	Tyrophagy, W.	Mark the Monk, *Ad Nicolaum*, PG 65, Ch. 3, 1032C11-1033B4
324	133v-135r	311b-313b	τοιούτων ἡμῖν προκειμένων ἀγώνων καὶ ἄθλων	Tyrophagy, Th. (W.: Cr)	Mark the Monk, *Ad Nicolaum*, PG 65, Ch. 4, 1033B5-D14; Ch. 5, 1036C6-13; Ch. 4, 1033D14-1036A1
325	135r-136v	313b-315b	ἐπιμελώμεθα γνώσεως καὶ συνέσεως· εἰ βουλόμεθα	Tyrophagy, F.	Mark the Monk, *Ad Nicolaum*, PG 65, Ch. 5, 1036D5-1037A7; Ch. 7, 1037D11-1040B9

326	136v-138r		πολλάκις μακαρίζων ὑμῶν τὸν βίον· οὐ κολακείᾳ τοῦτο	Tyrophagy, Sa.	PC52: AU, p. 187, l. 1-p. 188, l. 15; p. 189, l. 22-p. 191, l. 61
327	138r-139v		τὰς παρούσας ἡμέρας οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἑορτὰς ὀνομάζουσι	Tyrophagy, S.	PC49: AU, p. 178, l. 1-p. 180, l. 34; p. 180, ll. 39-47; p. 181, ll. 53-58
Lent:					
328	139v-140v		λεπτύνωμεν τὴν σάρκα· καὶ πιάνωμεν τὴν ἀθάνατον ψυχὴν·	L1, Tu.	Mark the Monk, *Ad Nicolaum*, PG 65, Ch. 7, 1040c14-1041a12
329	141r-142r	D: 137r-138v	τὸ ἄλογον πάθος τῆς ὀργῆς, ἐν τῇ ὑπερηφανίᾳ στηρίζεται·	L1, W. (L5, F. = D)	Mark the Monk, *Ad Nicolaum*, PG 65, Ch. 8, 1041A13-Ch. 9, 1044A11
330	142v-144r		ἀληθῶς ἀνακτίζεται ἐξ οὗ Χριστὸς ἐπεδήμησεν	L1, Th.	Mark the Monk, *Ad Nicolaum*, PG 65, Ch. 9, 1044A12-1045A7; Ch. 10, 1045A8-B1
331	144r-146r		βιωτικοὶ μὲν ἄνδρες ὀπηνίκα οἰκίαν ἐγείρουσι	L1, F.	PC55: AU, p. 197, l. 1-p. 291, l. 63
332	146r-147v des. mut.		ὁ τῆς τεσσαρακοστῆ καιρός· πρὸς ὅλον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν συγκρινόμενος	L1, Sa.	PC54: AU, p. 193, l. 1-p. 196, l. 59
333	147v-148r inc. mut.		ὅτι ἐπὶ τὰς μονὰς τὰς ἀϊδίους·	L1, S.	PC56: AU, p. 202, l. 22-p. 203, l. 42
334	148v-149v		ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἡμῶν Θεὸς ὁ διδοὺς ἡμῖν τὸ ζῆν·	L2, M.	PC53: AU, p. 191, l. 1-p. 193, l. 38

335	149v-151v	ἐὰν διηνεκῶς ἐν τῷ νοὶ περιστρέφωμεν τὴν ἀνυπέρβλητον	L2, Tu.	Mark the Monk, *Ad Nicolaum*, PG 65, Ch. 10, 1045B2-Ch. 11, 1048C2
336	151v-153r	ἐνδεχόμενον ἐστὶν ἀσκεῖν ἡμᾶς ἐναρξαμένους, καὶ ἐπιτελεῖν	L2, W.	Mark the Monk (Marcian), *De jejunio*, Lebon ed., Ch. 1, p. 197, l. 1-Ch. 2, p. 198, l. 27
337	153r-154v	εἴπομεν χθὲς ὅτι ἐὰν τὴν αὐτῷ σάρκα δουλαγωγήσαντες	L2, Th.	Mark the Monk (Marcian), *De jejunio*, Lebon ed., Ch. 3, p. 198, l. 28-Ch. 4, p. 200, l. 22
338	155r-156v	ἐπειδὴ ἐνηστεύσωμεν· ἢ μᾶλλον νηστεύομεν	L2, F.	PC57: AU, p. 203, l. 1-p. 206, l. 51
339	156v-157v	χαίρω ἐφ' ὑμῖν ὁ ταπεινὸς ὅτι ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ πορεύεσθε·	L2, Sa.	PC58: AU, p. 206, l. 1-p. 209, l. 47
340	157v-159r	καλὴ ἡ νηστεία, ἐὰν ἔχῃ τὰ ἰδιώματα αὐτῆς· ἄτινα ἐστι τὸ εἰρηνικόν,	L2, S.	PC59: AU, p. 209, l. 1-p. 212, l. 47
341	159r-161r	κακὸν ὁ θυμός· καὶ πλέον τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν δυνάμενον συγχέειν	L3, M.	Diadochos of Photike, SC 5bis, Ch. 62, p. 121, ll. 22-23; Ch. 61, p. 119, l. 16- p. 120, l. 22; Ch. 62, p. 121, l. 23 -p. 123, l. 2
342	161r-162v	τῆς προσευχῆς ἐπιμελώμεθα, τὸν νοῦν ἡμῶν ὅλον ἑαυτοῖς περιφέροντες	L3, Tu.	Evagrios, *De Oratione*, PG 79, Ch. 78, 1184C9-Ch. 83, 1185B5; Ch. 85, 1185B10-C1; Ch. 87, 1185C7-Ch. 90, 1188A7
343	162v-164r	ἐὰν προσευχῆς ἐπιμελώμεθα· ἑτοιμαζώμεθα πρὸς ἐπαγωγὰς	L3, W.	Evagrios, *De Oratione*, PG 79, Ch. 91, 1188A9-Ch. 100, 1189B7; Ch. 102, 1189C1-Ch. 104, 1189C12

344	164r- 165v	ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἡμέρα ὡς ὁρᾶτε ἡ ζωὴ ἡμῶν ἀμείβεται· καὶ τῷ θανάτῳ	L3, Th.	PC60: AU, p. 212, l. 3-p. 214, l. 43
345	165v- 166r	ἡ νηστεία προέκοψε καὶ δεῖ ἡμᾶς ἔτι καὶ ἔτι προθύμωσις	L3, F.	PC61: AU, p. 216, l. 23-p. 217, l. 49
346	166v- 167v	ὡς καλὴ ἡ κατήχησις· ὡς ὠφέλιμος ἡ ὑπόμνησις·	L3, Sa.	PC76: AU, p. 264, l. 1-p. 266, l. 36
347	167v- 169r	νήφειν καὶ γρηγορεῖν τῆς προσευχῆς ἡμῶν ἐχόμενοι, σπουδάζωμεν ἀποκρούεσθαι·	L3, S.	Evagrios, *De Oratione*, PG 79, Ch. 105, 1189C14-D2; Ch. 101, 1189B9-11; Ch. 106, 1189D4-Ch. 109, 1192B7; Ch. 111, 1192C1-Ch. 112, 1192C14; Ch. 110, 1192B9-11; Ch. 113, 1192D2-3
348	169r- 170v	τὴν προσευχὴν ἡμῶν νηφόντως ἐπιτελοῦντες, μὴ ζητῶμεν μορφὰς ἢ σχήματά τινα	L4, M.	Evagrios, *De Oratione*, PG 79, Ch. 114, 1192D6-Ch. 121, 1193B9, Ch. 123, 1193C2-3; Ch. 122, 1193B11-12; Ch. 128, 1193D6-Ch. 131, 1196A7; Ch. 133, 1196A13-Ch. 135, 1196C4
349	170v- 172r	πρώτη τῶν ἐνθέων ἀγωνισμάτων ἐστὶν ἡ ξενιτεία· καὶ ὁ ταύτην	L4, Tu.	Neilos, *Ad Eulogium*, PG 79, Ch. 2, 1096B4-C4; C12-Ch. 3, 1097B10
350	172r- 174r	εἰ βουλόμεθα ἀρετὴν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ κτήσασθαι,	L4, W.	Neilos, *Ad Eulogium*, PG 79, Ch. 3, 1097B11-Ch. 4, 1100B9
351	174r- 175v	ὅταν ἴδωσιν ἡμᾶς οἱ δαίμονες ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ζέσει	L4, Th.	Neilos, *Ad Eulogium*, PG 79, Ch. 5, 1100C5-Ch. 6, 1101A10; 1101B2-D1

352	175v- 177r	ἡ κατὰ θεὸν λύπη· δάκρυσι τὴν καρδίαν παρακαλεῖ·	L4, F.	Neilos, *Ad Eulogium*, PG 79, Ch. 7, 1101D12-1104A6; 1104A9-Ch. 9, 1105A7
353	177r- 179r	ὅταν λογισμὸς ἡμῖν ἐπιστῇ τῇ καρδίᾳ πολέμιος	L4, Sa.	Neilos, *Ad Eulogium*, PG 79, Ch. 9, 1105A11-13; A15-Ch. 11, 1108B4
354	179r- 180v	ὅταν ἡ καρδία ἡμῶν ταῖς φροντίσιν τῶν ὑλῶν μὴ	L4, S.	Neilos, *Ad Eulogium*, PG 79, Ch. 11, 1108B4-Ch. 12, 1109A4
355	180v- 182r	μένωμεν ἐν ᾧ ἐκθηλήμεν τόπῳ, μεθ' ὑπομονῆς καὶ	L5, M.	Neilos, *Ad Eulogium*, PG 79, Ch. 12, 1109A4-Ch. 13, 1109D6
356	182v- 184r	ὅταν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἡμῶν σφοδρῶς μετανοῶμεν	L5, Tu.	Neilos, *Ad Eulogium*, PG 79, Ch. 13, 1109D6-Ch. 15, 1113A5
357	184r- 185v	ἀεὶ μὲν οἱ δαίμονες διὰ τῶν λογισμῶν τῇ ψυχῇ πολεμοῦσιν	L5, W.	Neilos, *Ad Eulogium*, PG 79, Ch. 15, 1113A6-Ch. 18, 1116C11
358	185v- 187v	ὁδὸς σύντομός τε καὶ ἀγαθὴ πέφυκε πρὸς ἀρετὴν φέρουσα,	L5, Th.	Unidentified
359	187v- 189r	ἐπιμελώμεθα τῆς ἀρετῆς· αὕτη γὰρ θεὸν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, διὰ τῆς φιλοσοφίας	L5, F.	Unidentified
360	189r- 190	λαλεῖν ἡμῖν δεῖ· ἀλλὰ μὴ σιωπᾶν ἐπὶ πολύ· ἡ γὰρ σιωπή, ὕπνον ἐμποιεῖ τῇ ψυχῇ·	L5, Sa.	PC14: AU, p. 49, l. 1-p. 52, l. 40; p. 53, ll. 59-64

361	190r- 191v	παρατρέχων παρατρέχει ὁ χρόνος ἡμῶν· καί γε παρελήλυθεν ἡ νηστεία·	L5, S.	PC19: AU, p. 68, l. 1-p. 70, l. 37; p. 70, l. 47-p. 71, l. 57
362	191v- 193r	ἡ τεσσαρακοστὴ ἤδη παριππεύει· καὶ χαίρει ἡ ψυχὴ διὰ τὴν ἐπιστασίαν	L6, M.	PC66: AU, p. 230, l. 1-p. 233, l. 54
363	193r- 194v	ἐγγίζει ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ Πάσχα· ἀλλὰ τὶ ὅτι ἐπειγόμεθα προφθάσαι τὸ Πάσχα	L6, Tu.	PC67: AU, p. 233, l. 1-p. 236, l. 47
364	194v- 195v	ἄλλο ἐστὶ τὸ κατὰ σάρκα σιτηρέσιον διδόμενον·	L6, W.	PC77: AU, p. 266, l. 1-p. 267, l. 24; p. 267, l. 28-p. 268, l. 42
365	195v- 197r	ὅτι ὁ χειμὼν παρῆλθεν ἤδη, καὶ τὸ ἔαρ εἰσῆλθεν, ὁρῶμεν τὴν κτίσιν ἀναθάλλουσαν·	L6, Th.	PC68: AU, p. 236, l. 1-p. 239, l. 55
366	197r- 198r	ἤδη ἡ τεσσαρακοστὴ παρῆλθε· καὶ καλὴν ἐπήγαγεν ὁ καιρὸς	L6, F. of the Palms	PC70: AU, p. 243, l. 11-p. 244, l. 28; p. 244, ll. 32-33; p. 244, l. 39-p. 245, l. 57
367	198r- 199r	πάσῃ φυλακῇ τηρήσωμεν τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχάς, μὴ διδόντες	Sa. of Lazaros	PC71: AU, p. 247, l. 27-p. 249, l. 65
Feast:				
368	199r- 200v	ὁ εὐαγγελισμὸς πάρεστι· καὶ τῶν δεσποτικῶν ἑορτῶν	Annunciation	PC64: AU, p. 224, l. 1-p. 227, l. 57

Appendix II: Contents of MS. Cromwell 22

P2	Pages	Text	Lit. lemma	Scribal Attribution	Incipit[1]
α´	21a-22a	**John Chrys.**	λόγος εἰς τὸ ἅγιον Πάσχα· τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ κυριακῇ· μετὰ τὸν ἀσπασμόν·		εἴ τις εὐσεβὴς καὶ φιλόθεος
β´	22b-24a	**PC1**	εἰς τὸ ἅγιον Πάσχα·		ἐπειδὴ ἠξιώθημεν χάριτι
γ´	24a-26b	**PC2**	κυριακῇ β´ τοῦ θωμᾶ·		τὸ πάσχα παρῆλθεν
δ´	26b-28b	**PC3**	κυριακῇ γ´ ἀπὸ τὸ πάσχα·		χαρᾶ χαίρουσαι αἱ ταπειναὶ
ε´	29a-31a	**PC4**	κυριακῇ δ´ μετὰ τὸ ἅγιον πάσχα·		καιρὸς ἡμᾶς καλεῖ
στ´	31a-33b	**PC5**	omitted		ἡ ἐπιμονὴ τῆς
ζ´	33b-36a	**PC6**	πρὸ τῆς μεσοπεντηκοστῆς		τῇ Χριστοῦ ἀναστάσει
η´	36a-38a	**PC7**	περὶ τῆς ἀναληψίμου		ἑορτῶν ἑορτὴ ἡμῖν
θ´	38a-40b	**PC8**	μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν		ἡ ἀναλήψιμος πάρεστι
ι´	40b-45b	**PC9**	πρὸ τῆς ἁγίας πεντηκοστῆς		ἐπὶ τῇ πεντηκοστῇ
ἠχοδρομία τῶν κατηχήσεων·					
ια´	45b-48b	**PC10**	κυριακῇ α´ ἦχος πλ.δ´ εὐαγγέλιον ἑωθινὸν α´· εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους πάντας·		ἑορτὴ μέν ἐστιν
ιβ´	48b-50b	**K 54**	τῇ δ´ τῆς β´ ἑβδ.	**P**	πᾶς ὁ ὁδεύων ὁδὸν μακρὰν
ιγ´	50b-52a	**K 56**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς β´ ἑβδ.		ὁ θεὸς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ προπάτορος
ιδ´	52a-54a	**PC11**	κυριακῇ β´ ἦχος α´εὐαγ. ἑωθ. β´·		εἰρήνης ἡμέρα ἡ κυριακὴ
ιε´	54a-55b	**K 61**	τῇ δ´ τῆς γ´ ἑβδ.	**P**	πρέπον ἡμῖν ἐστι καὶ ἀναγκαῖον· καθόσον δυνάμεθα
ιστ´	55b-56b	**K 59**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς γ´ ἑβδ.	**P**	βλέπετε πῶς περιπατεῖται·
ιζ´	56b-59a	**PC12**	κυριακὴ γ´· ἦχος β´εὐαγ. ἑωθ. γ´·	**TS**	αὐτῇ ἡ ἡμέρα
ιη´	59a-60a	**K 68**	τῇ δ´ τῆς δ´ ἑβδ.	**P**	πάντες ὅδαμεν τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν
ιθ´	60a-61b	**K 70**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς δ´ ἑβδ.	**P**	ἀκούων τοῦ θείου ἀποστόλου
κ´	61b-64b	**PC13**	κυριακὴ δ´· ἦχος γ´εὐαγ. ἑωθ. δ´·	**TS**	ἡ μὲν ἡμέρα ἀναστάσιμος·
κα´	64b-66b	**K 72**	τῇ δ´ τῆς ε´ ἑβδ.	**P**	σκοπῶμεν ἀεὶ, πῶς ἀκριβῶς
κβ´	66b-68b	**K 73**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς ε´ ἑβδ.	**P**	σπουδάσωμεν ὅση δύναμις ἡμῖν,

[1]A title accompanies all the catecheses by Theodore Studite, except where specified.

κγ΄	69a-71b	**PC43**	κυριακὴ ε΄· ἦχος δ΄εὐαγ. ἑωθ. ε΄·		ἀεὶ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν
κδ΄	71b-73b	**K 76**	τῇ δ΄ τῆς στ΄ ἑβδ.	**P**	καὶ σήμερον ἀπὸ τῶν θρήνων
κε΄	74a-75b	**K 77**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς στ΄ ἑβδ.		γινώσκετε ὅτι ἑκάστη ἡμῶν·
κστ΄	75b-78a	**PC46**	κυριακὴ στ΄· ἦχος πλ. α΄εὐαγ. ἑωθ. στ΄·		οὔτε ἐγὼ ὀφείλω
κζ΄	78a-79b	**K 89**	τῇ δ΄ τῆς ζ΄ ἑβδ.		χθὲς βουλόμενος ὑμῖν
κη΄	79b-81a	**K 92**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς ζ΄ ἑβδ.		μιὰ ἑκάστη ὑμῶν ἐργαζέσθω
κθ΄	81a-84a	**PC74**	κυριακὴ ζ΄· ἦχος πλ. β΄εὐαγ. ἑωθ. ζ΄·	**TS**	ἐμοὶ μὲν τὸ λέγειν
λ΄	84a-85a	**K 96**	τῇ δ΄ τῆς η΄ ἑβδ.	**P**	ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος διδάσκει·
λα΄	85a-86b	**K 99**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς η΄ ἑβδ.	**P**	ἀπεταξάμεθα τῷ κόσμῳ;
λβ΄	86b-88a	**PC85**	κυριακὴ η΄· ἦχος βαρὺς εὐαγ. ἑωθ. η΄·	**TS**	ἡλίκον ἀγῶνα ἔχειν
λγ΄	88b-89b	**K 104**	τῇ δ΄ τῆς θ΄ ἑβδ.	**P**	ἄρχομαι ὑμῖν πάλιν
λδ΄	89b-90b	**K 107**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς θ΄ ἑβδ.		ἀπαρχὴ ἡμῶν τοῦ πνευματικοῦ
λε΄	91a-93b	**PC88**	κυριακὴ θ΄· ἦχος πλ. δ΄εὐαγ. ἑωθ. θ΄·		τί οὕτω καλὸν
λστ΄	93b-95a	**K 110**	τῇ δ΄ τῆς ι΄ ἑβδ.		ἀνοίγω μου τὸ στόμα πάλιν·
λζ΄	95a-96b	**K 111**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς ι΄ ἑβδ.	**P**	χθὲς εἴπομεν ὅτι ἐν χαρᾷ
ἠχοδρομία δευτέρα τῶν κατηχήσεων·					
λη΄	96b-99a	**PC91**	κυριακὴ ι΄· ἦχος α΄ εὐαγ. ἑωθ. ι΄·	**TS**	ἀδολεσχοῦμεν ἔτι, τὶ καὶ
λθ΄	99a-100b	**K 115**	τῇ δ΄ τῆς ια΄ ἑβδ.		ἡ μὲν εὔσταχυς χώρα·
μ΄	101a-102a	**K 119**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς ια΄ ἑβδ.		ῥήξατε παρακαλῶ πάντα
μα΄	102a-104b	**PC94**	κυριακὴ ια΄· ἦχος β΄εὐαγ. ἑωθ. ια΄·	**TS**	ὅτι μὲν ὁ μοναχικὸς
μβ΄	104b-106b	**K 125**	τῇ δ΄ τῆς ιβ΄ ἑβδ.		δεῦτε προκυνήσωμεν καὶ προσπέσωμεν
μγ΄	106b-108b	**K 128**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς ιβ΄ ἑβδ.		μὴ φθονῶμεν ἀλλήλαις·
μδ΄	108b-111a	**PC98**	ἀρχὴ τοῦ β΄ δρόμου τῶν ἑωθινῶν· - κυριακὴ ιβ΄· ἦχος γ΄· εὐαγ. ἑωθ. α΄·		χαίρω ἐφ' ὑμῖν, ἡ ταπεινὴ
με΄	111a-113b	**K 129**	τῇ δ΄ τῆς ιγ΄ ἑβδ.	**P**	γέγραπται ἔλπισον ἐπὶ Κύριον,
μστ΄	113a-116a	**K 131**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς ιγ΄ ἑβδ.		ἐάνπερ βουλόμεθα θλίψιν ἅπασαν,
μζ΄	116a-118b	**PC101**	κυριακὴ ιγ΄· ἦχος δ΄· εὐαγ. ἑωθ. β΄·		ὀλίγον τὸ ἀκροαστήριον,

μη΄	118b-119b	**K 137**	τῇ δ΄ τῆς ιδ΄ ἑβδ.		
μθ΄	119b-120b	**K 141**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς ιδ΄ ἑβδ.		
ν΄	120b-124b	**PC22**	κυριακὴ ιδ΄· ἦχος πλ. α΄· εὐαγ. ἑωθ. γ΄.		
να΄	124b-126a	**K 146**	τῇ δ΄ τῆς ιε΄ ἑβδ.		
νβ΄	126a-127b	**K 148**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς ιε΄ ἑβδ.		
νγ΄	127b-130b	**PC29**	κυριακὴ ιε΄· ἦχος πλ. β΄· εὐαγ. ἑωθ. δ΄.		
νδ΄	130b-132a	**K 149**	τῇ δ΄ τῆς ιστ΄ ἑβδ.		
νε΄	132a-134b	**K 154**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς ιστ΄ ἑβδ.		
νστ΄	134b-138a	**PC107**	κυριακὴ ιστ΄· ἦχος βαρὺς εὐαγ. ἑωθ. ε΄.		
νζ΄	138a-141a	**K 158**	τῇ δ΄ τῆς ιζ΄ ἑβδ.		
νη΄	141a-143b	**K 159**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς ιζ΄ ἑβδ.		
νθ΄	143b-146a	**PC110**	κυριακὴ ιζ΄· ἦχος πλ δ΄· εὐαγ. ἑωθ. στ΄.		
ξ΄	146a-148b	**K 157**	τῇ δ΄ τῆς ιη΄ ἑβδ.		
ξα΄	148b-150a	**K 168**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς ιη΄ ἑβδ.		
ἠχοδρομία γ΄ τῶν κατηχήσεων·					
ξβ΄	150a-153a	**PC113**	κυριακὴ ιη΄· ἦχος α΄· εὐαγ. ἑωθ. ζ΄·		δύο εἰσὶ τὰ σώζοντα
ξγ΄	153a-154b	**K 172**	τῇ δ΄ τῆς ιθ΄ ἑβδ.		εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς ὁ κατὰ
ξδ΄	154b-156a	**K 177**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς ιθ΄ ἑβδ.		παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς, τοῦ μὴ παρρησιάζεσθαι
ξε΄	156a-159a	**PC117**	κυριακὴ ιθ΄· ἦχος β΄· εὐαγ. ἑωθ. η΄·		πάντοθεν ἐπιθυμῶ περιποιεῖσθαι
ξστ΄	159b-161b	**K 181**	τῇ δ΄ τῆς κ΄ ἑβδ.		ἡ εἰς εὐχὴν μόνην ἀποβιασαμένη
ξζ΄	162a-164b	**K 182**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς κ΄ ἑβδ.		αἱ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ τὸν θεὸν ἀγαπήσασαι·
ξη΄	164b-167b	**PC120**	κυριακὴ κ΄· ἦχος γ΄· εὐαγ. ἑωθ. θ΄·		ἑοίκασι αἱ ἡμέραι
ξθ΄	167b-170b	**K 187**	τῇ δ΄ τῆς κα΄ ἑβδ.		ὁ μέγας τῆς οἰκουμένης διδάσκαλος
ο΄	170b-173a	**K 186**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς κα΄ ἑβδ.		οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν φανερῶν ἁμαρτημάτων
οα΄	173a-176a	**PC123**	κυριακὴ κα΄· ἦχος δ΄· εὐαγ. ἑωθ. ι΄·		σύνηθες τοῖς ὁδοιποροῦσιν,

P	τίς οὐκ ἀθλήσας στεφανοῦται· γνῶτε καὶ ἴδετε ποῦ ἐσμὲν, μικρὸν ἀποδημήσαντες
	γινώσκουσαι ὁποία ἡμῖν χαίρειν καὶ εὐφραίνεσθαι ὀφείλομεν
	πολλοὺς ἡμῖν τρόπους
P	τηρήσατε ἑαυτὰς ἀβλαβεῖς ἐν ἅπασι· εἰ θέλομεν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου
	χθὲς ἐπειδὴ ἐλήλυθε
	καλὴ ἡ κατάνυξις καὶ πλείστα
	προσέχωμεν τῇ τῶν θείων γραφῶν
TS	χαίρειν μὲν ἐν Κυρίῳ
	ἡ ἐγκράτεια μαραίνει τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν·
	εὔχομαι ἡ ἀναξία·

οβ΄	176b-178b	**K 192**	τῇ δ΄ τῆς κβ΄ ἑβδ.		ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς φαινομένοις
ογ΄	179a-181b	**K 194**	λέγεται ἡ τοιαύτη κατήχησις, καὶ εἰς τὰς ιζ΄ τοῦ Δεκεμβρίου μηνὸς· εἰ[ς] τὴν μνήμην τῶν ἁγίων γ΄ παίδ(ων)· – τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς κβ΄ ἑβδ.		τὸ τοῦ γάμου ἔνδυμα·
οδ΄	181b-185a	**PC127**	κυριακὴ κβ΄· ἦχος πλ. α΄· εὐαγ. ἑωθ. ια΄·	**TS**	οὐκ ἄκαιρον τὸ λαλεῖν
οε΄	185a-186a	**K 201**	τῇ δ΄ τῆς κγ΄ ἑβδ.		δέξασθε καὶ νῦν τὸν ἐξουθενημένον
οστ΄	186b-187b	**K 202**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς κγ΄ ἑβδ.		ἥκετε ἐνταῦθα φυγάδες
οζ΄	187b-190b	**PC130**	ἀρχὴ τοῦ γ΄ δρόμου τῶν ἑωθινῶν· – κυριακὴ κγ΄· ἦχος πλ. β΄· εὐαγ. ἑωθ. α΄·		ἄλλων μὲν ἄλλοι
οη΄	191a-193a	**K 206**	τῇ δ΄ τῆς κδ΄ ἑβδ.		ἀναλογίσασθέ μοι τὸν βασιλικὸν οἶκον·
οθ΄	193b-195b	**K 210**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς κδ΄ ἑβδ.		βλέπετε μὴ πλανηθῆτε
π΄	195b-198b	**PC133**	κυριακὴ κδ΄· ἦχος βαρὺ· εὐαγ. ἑωθ. β΄·	**TS**	μακαρίζουσαι καὶ σιωπᾶν βούλομαι·
πα΄	199a-201a	**K 213**	τῇ δ΄ τῆς κε΄ ἑβδ.		σπουδάζωμεν τηρεῖν ἑαυτὰς·
πβ΄	201a-203b	**K 218**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς κε΄ ἑβδ.		ἐν τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ
πγ΄	204a-205b	**PC65**	κυριακὴ κε΄· ἦχος πλ. δ΄· εὐαγ. ἑωθ. γ΄·		μέγιστον ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς παρθενίας **(inc. at l. 3; not a source of K)**
πδ΄	206a-208a	**K 221**	τῇ δ΄ τῆς κστ΄ ἑβδ.		ἐὰν ὁ πόλεμος τῆς σαρκὸς
πε΄	208a-209b	**K 222**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς κστ΄ ἑβδ.		ὀφειλέτρια ὑμῶν εἰμὶ πάντοτε·
ἠχοδρομία τετάρτη τῶν κατηχήσεων·					
πστ΄	210a-211b	**PC77**	κυριακὴ κστ΄· ἦχος α΄· εὐαγ. ἑωθ. δ΄·		ἄλλο ἐστὶ τὸ κατὰ σάρκα
πζ΄	212a-214b	**PC39**	τῇ δ΄ τῆς κζ΄ ἑβδ.	**TS**	οὐδὲν μακαριώτερον τοῦ βίου ἡμῶν·
πη΄	214b-217b	**PC125**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς κζ΄ ἑβδ.	**TS**	δεδοῖκα τὸ κρίμα τοῦ τὸ τάλαντον **(no title)**
πθ΄	217b-219b	**PC81**	κυριακὴ κζ΄· ἦχος β΄· εὐαγ. ἑωθ. ε΄·	**TS**	ἐπιθυμία ὑμῖν διαλέγομαι
ϡ΄	219b-222a	**PC126**	τῇ δ΄ τῆς κη΄ ἑβδ.	**TS**	βραχὺ μὲν ἠσθένησα ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος· τί εἴπω ἢ τί λαλήσω καινότερον **(no title)**
ϡα΄	222a-223b	**PC25 [= K 232]**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς κη΄ ἑβδ.		

ϡβ΄	223b-226a	**PC44**	κυριακὴ κη΄· ἦχος γ΄· εὐαγ. ἑωθ. στ΄·		ἴσως ἐλύπησεν ὑμᾶς
ϡγ΄	226b-229b	**PC134**	τῇ δ΄ τῆς κθ΄ ἑβδ.	**TS**	τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος· οὐδεὶς
ϡδ΄	229b-231a	**K 238**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς κθ΄ ἑβδ.		
ϡε΄	231a-234a	**PC45**	κυριακὴ κθ΄· ἦχος δ΄· εὐαγ. ἑωθ. ζ΄·		μικρὸν ἀπεδήσαμεν ἀφ' ὑμῶν
ϡστ΄	234a-235b	**K 245**	τῇ δ΄ τῆς λ΄ ἑβδ.		ἐάν τι συμβῇ ὑμῖν τῶν ἀδοκήτων·
ϡζ΄	235b-237b	**PC83**	κυριακὴ λ΄· ἦχος πλ. α΄· εὐαγ. ἑωθ. η΄·		εὐχαριστεῖν ὀφείλομεν τῷ Κυρίῳ
ϡη΄	237b-240b	**K 249**	τῇ δ΄ τῆς λα΄ ἑβδ.		ἀεὶ ἀκούουσα καὶ ἑνωτιζομένη
ϡθ΄	240b-242b	**K 259**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς λα΄ ἑβδ.		ὅταν πάντα τὰ διατεταγμένα
ρ΄	242b-244b	**PC100**	κυριακὴ λα΄· ἦχος πλ. β΄· εὐαγ. ἑωθ. θ΄·	**TS**	ὧδε ὁ νοὺς ἀεὶ
ρα΄	244b-247b	**K 264**	τῇ δ΄ τῆς λβ΄ ἑβδ.		ἐν τίνι ἄλλῳ εἰμὶ ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν,
ρβ΄	247b-250a	**K 270**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς λβ΄ ἑβδ.		εἰ θέλομεν εἶναι ὑποτακτικαὶ
ργ΄	250b-252b	**PC104**	κυριακὴ λβ΄· ἦχος βαρὺς· εὐαγ. ἑωθ. ι΄·	**TS**	ἃ μὲν οὖν διηλέχθεν
ρδ΄	253a-255a	**K 271**	τῇ δ΄ τῆς λγ΄ ἑβδ.		λέγει ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος· ἐμοὶ κόσμος
ρε΄	255a-257b	**K 273**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς λγ΄ ἑβδ.		εἰ θέλομεν ὅλως προκόψαι·
ρστ΄	257b-260a	**PC112**	κυριακὴ λγ΄· ἦχος πλ. δ΄· εὐαγ. ἑωθ. ια΄·		στενή μου ἐστιν
ρζ΄	260b-263a	**K 278**	τῇ δ΄ τῆς λδ΄ ἑβδ.		ἐὰν περὶ ἀδελφῆς μέλλωμεν λέγειν
ρη΄	263a-265b	**K 280**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς λδ΄ ἑβδ.		οὐδὲν ἀθλιώτερον· οὐδὲν

ἠχοδρομία ε΄ τῶν κατηχήσεων·

ρθ΄	265b-268b	**PC118**	κυριακὴ λδ΄· ἦχος α΄· εὐαγ. ἑωθ. α΄· ἰδοὺ ἴσα·	**TS**	ἄλλοι μὲν ἄλλοις χαίρουσι
ρι΄	268b-271a	**K 281**	τῇ δ΄ τῆς λε΄ ἑβδ.		εἶπεν ὁ ἅγιος ἀββᾶς Ποῖμην·
ρια΄	271a-273a	**K 284**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς λε΄ ἑβδ.		δόξα τῷ Θεῷ· καὶ πάλιν ἐρῶ·
ριβ΄	273a-274b	**K 286**	κυριακὴ λε΄· ἦχος β΄· εὐαγ. ἑωθ. β΄·	**P**	ἐκζητήσωμεν τὸν Θεὸν ἐπὶ πλέον,
ριγ΄	275a-277a	**K 292**	τῇ δ΄ τῆς λστ΄ ἑβδ.		εἰ ἄνθρωποι καλούμενοι
ριδ΄	277b-279b	**K 294**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς λστ΄ ἑβδ.		ἐμὴ μὲν οὐ πρόσεστι λόγος
ριε΄	279b-281b	**K 296**	κυριακὴ λστ΄· ἦχος γ΄· εὐαγ. ἑωθ. γ΄·		ὥσπερ ἐν καιρῷ ἐπιδρομῆς

ρι-στ΄	281b-284a	**K 298**	τῇ δ΄ τῆς λζ΄ ἑβδ.	τῷ ἐν ὑποταγῇ εἶναί τινα·
ριζ΄	284b-287a	**K 299**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς λζ΄ ἑβδ.	φεύγωμεν ὅση δύναμις,
ριη΄	287a-289b	**K 300**	κυριακὴ λζ΄· ἦχος δ΄· εὐαγ. ἑωθ. δ΄·	εἰ μέλει ἡμῖν ὥστε φυγεῖν
ριθ΄	289b-292a	**K 303**	τῇ δ΄ τῆς λη΄ ἑβδ.	οὐδὲ μία τίς ἄλλη ἀρετὴ δύναται
ρκ΄	292a-294b	**K 304**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς λη΄ ἑβδ.	οἱ πατέρες εἶπον· ξένον ὅτι
ρκα΄	294b-297a	**K 306**	κυριακὴ λη΄· τοῦ τελώνου καὶ τοῦ φαρισαίου· ἦχος πλ. α΄· εὐαγ. ἑωθ. ε΄·	θέλομεν ὑμᾶς ὑπομνῆσαι
ρκβ΄	297a-299a	**K 307**	τῇ δ΄ τῆς λθ΄ ἑβδ.	χθὲς εἴπομεν ὑμῖν τρεῖς διαφορὰς
ρκγ΄	299a-301b	**K 308**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς λθ΄ ἑβδ.	ἐὰν θέλωμεν κτήσασθαι ἀρετὴν,
ρκδ΄	301b-304a	**PC49**	κυριακὴ λθ΄· πρὸ τῆς ἀποκρέω ἤγουν τοῦ ἀσώτου· ἦχος πλ. β΄· εὐαγ. ἑωθ. στ΄·	τὰς παροῦσας ἡμέρας οἱ πολλοὶ
ρκε΄	304a-306b	**K 316**	τῇ δ΄ τῆς μ΄ ἑβδ.	ἡ διακονία μου αὕτη ἐστίν·
ρκ-στ΄	306b-309b	**K 318**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς μ΄ ἑβδ.	εὐλογοῦσα τὸν Θεὸν καθ᾽ ἑκάστην
ρκζ΄	310a-311b	**PC50**	κυριακὴ τῆς ἀποκρέω· ἦχος βαρὺς· εὐαγ. ἑωθ. ζ΄·	νόμος καθολικός ἐστι·
ρκη΄	311b-313b	**K 324**	τῇ δ΄ τῆς τυροφάγου	τοιούτων ἡμῖν προκειμένων ἀγώνων
ρκθ΄	313b-315b	**K 325**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς τυροφάγου	ἐπιμελώμεθα γνώσεως καὶ συνέσεως,
ρλ΄	315b-317a	**PC53**	κυριακὴ τῆς τυροφάγου· ἦχος πλ. δ΄· εὐαγ. ἑωθ. η΄·	ὁ ἀγαθὸς Θεὸς ἡμῶν
ρλα΄	317a-320b	**PC54**	τῇ δ΄ τῆς α΄ ἑβδ.	ὁ τῆς τεσσαρακοστῆς καιρὸς·
ρλβ΄	320b-323b	**PC55**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς α΄ ἑβδ.	βιωτικοὶ μὲν ἄνδρες· ὁπηνίκα
ρλγ΄	323b-325b	**PC56**	τῇ κυριακὴ τῆς α΄ ἑβδ.	ἐπειδὴ πᾶσα ἀρχὴ
ρλδ΄	325b-328a	**PC57**	τῇ δ΄ τῆς β΄ ἑβδ.	ἐπειδὴ ἐνηστεύσαμεν τὴν πρώτην
ρλε΄	328a-330a	**PC58**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς β΄ ἑβδ.	χαίρω ἐφ᾽ ὑμῖν ἡ ταπεινὴ,
ρλ-στ΄	330a-332b	**PC59**	τῇ κυριακὴ τῆς β΄ ἑβδ.	καλὴ ἡ νηστεία,
ρλζ΄	332b-334b	**PC60**	τῇ δ΄ τῆς γ΄ ἑβδ.	ἁγίου πατρὸς παρόντος καὶ διδασκάλου,
ρλη΄	334b-336b	**PC61**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς γ΄ ἑβδ.	χθὲς ταραχή, καὶ σήμερον γαλήνη·
ρλθ΄	336b-340a	**PC63**	τῇ κυριακὴ τῆς γ΄ ἑβδ.	ἐν τῇ παρούσῃ κατήχησις

ρμ΄	340a-342b	**PC66**	τῇ δ΄ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς μέσης ἑβδ.	ἡ τεσσαρακοστῆ, ἤδε παριππεύει·
ρμα΄	342b-345a	**PC67**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς μέσης ἑβδ.	ἐγγίζει ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ Πάσχα
ρμβ΄	345a-348a	**PC35**	κυριακὴ τῆς δ΄ ἑβδ.	οἱ ἐν σταδίῳ τρέχοντες
ρμγ΄	348a-350b	**PC68**	τῇ δ΄ τῆς ε΄ ἑβδ.	ὅτι ὁ χειμὼν παρῆλθε
ρμδ΄	350b-353a	**MC II, 106**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς ε΄ ἑβδ.	δρόμος τίς ἐστιν ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς
ρμε΄	353a-355b	**MC II, 32**	τῇ κυριακὴ τῆς ε΄ ἑβδ.· ῥηθεῖσα πρὸ τῶν βαίων	(cf. PC122) ἡ τῆς χαρᾶς ἡμέρα ἐπὶ θύραις
ρμ-στ΄	355b-358a	**PC70**	τῇ δ΄ τῆς στ΄ ἑβδ.	ἴσως ἐλύπησεν ὑμᾶς ἡ προλαβοῦσα
ρμζ΄	358a-361a	**PC71**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τοῦ Λαζάρου·	εἴρηκεν ὁ Κύριος ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις· σίμω σίμων· χρεωστοῦμεν ἀεὶ προσφέρειν
ρμη΄	361a-362b	**MC I, 52**	κυριακὴ στ΄ τῶν βαίων·	ἡ παροῦσα ἡμέρα, ἁγία καὶ προσκυνητή·
ρμθ΄	362b-366a	**PC72**	τῇ δ΄ τῆς μεγάλης ἑβδ.	πάντοτε μὲν οὖν τὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν
ρν΄	366a-368b, col. a	**PC73**	τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς μεγάλης ἑβδ.	
	386c			Blank
ρνα΄	369a-372a	**PC24**	μηνὶ σεπτεμβρίῳ· πρώτη ἀρχὴ τῆς ἰνδίκτου·	ἀρχὴ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ εἰσελήλυθεν ἤδη·
ρνβ΄	372a-375b	**PC26**	τῷ αὐτῷ μηνὶ ιδ΄· εἰς τὴν ὕψωσιν τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ·	χαρᾷ χαίρωμεν ὁπηνίκα
ρνγ΄	375b-378b	**PC25**	τῷ αὐτῷ μηνὶ ιστ΄· εἰς τὰς τρύγας·	τί εἴπω ἢ τί λαλήσω
ρνδ΄	378b-381b	**PC27**	μηνὶ ὀκτωβρίῳ ιβ΄· εἰς τὸν σπόρον·	ὁ παρὼν καιρός, σπόρου
ρνε΄	381b-385a	**PC30**	μηνὶ νοεμβρίῳ στ΄· τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Παύλου τοῦ ὁμολογητοῦ·	πολλὴ καὶ ἄφατος
ρν-στ΄	385a-388b	**PC31**	μηνὶ νοεμβρίῳ ι΄· πρὸ τῆς κοιμήσεως τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοδώρου τοῦ Στουδίτου·	ἠσθένησα, καὶ πάλιν εὐχαῖς
ρνζ΄	388b-392a	**PC124**	κυριακὴ τῶν προπατόρων	ἱκανὸς χρόνος· παρελήλυθεν
ρνη΄	392a-394b	**PC32**	κυριακὴ πρὸ τῆς Χριστοῦ γεννήσεως	ἤδη τὰ θεοφάνια ἐγγίζουσι
ρνθ΄	395a-397a	**PC34**	μηνὶ ἰαννουαρίῳ α΄· εἰς τὴν μνήμην τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Βασιλείου·	ἰδοὺ μεταβαίνομεν ἀπὸ ἐνιαυτοῦ

ρξ΄	397b-401a	**PC37**	μηνὶ ἰαννουαρίῳ ζ΄· τῇ ἐπαύριον τῶν φώτων	ἐν τοῖς προλαβοῦσιν ἔτεσιν
ρξα΄	401a-404a	**PC36**	κυριακὴ μετὰ τὰ φώτα	αἱ ἑορταὶ ἤδη παρῆλθον
ρξβ΄	404b-407a	**PC40**	μηνὶ ἰαννουαρίῳ ιδ΄· μνήμην τῶν ἁγίων ἀμμάδων·	ὃν τρόπον πεινῶσαι
ρξγ΄	407a-410a	**PC38**	μηνὶ ἰαννουαρίῳ ιζ΄· ἐπὶ τοὺς βίους τῶν πατέρων·	διὰ τῆς ἀναγνώσεως ἀναθεωροῦσαι
ρξδ΄	410a-412b	**PC41**	μηνὶ ἰαννουαρίῳ κ΄· εἰς τοὺς βίους τῶν πατέρων·	ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἡμέραις
ρξε΄	412b-415a	**PC42**	μηνὶ ἰαννουαρίῳ κγ΄· εἰς τὴν μνήμην τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου·	τῶν ἀνθρώπων· οἱ μὲν
ρξ-στ΄	415a-417b	**Uned.**	μηνὶ φευρουαρίῳ ιδ΄· εἰς τὴν μνήμην τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Αὐξεντίου·	καλὸν μὲν ἦν καὶ δίκαιον
ρξζ΄	418a-419b	**PC61**	μηνὶ μαρτίῳ θ΄· εἰς μνήμην τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων τεσσαράκοντα·	ὡς καλὸν ἡμῖν ἐγένετο
ρξη΄	420a-422a	**PC63**	μηνὶ μαρτίῳ κε΄· εἰς τὸν εὐαγγελισμὸν τῆς ὑπεραγίας δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου·	ὁ εὐαγγελισμὸς πάρεστι
ρξθ΄	422b-424b	**PC33**	μηνὶ ἀπριλλίῳ ε΄· εἰς τὴν μνήμην τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Πλάτωνος·	χθὲς τὴν μνήμην
ρο΄	424b-427b	**PC21**	μηνὶ μαΐῳ κγ΄· εἰς τὴν μνήμην τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Μιχαὴλ μητροπολίτου Συνάδων·	πολλαὶ πανηγύρεις ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι
ροα΄	427b-430a	**PC14**	μηνὶ ἰουνίῳ η΄· εἰς τὴν μνήμην τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδόξου μεγαλομάρτυρος Θεοδώρου τοῦ Στρατηλάτου·	λαλεῖς ἡμᾶς δεῖ
ροβ΄	430a-433b	**PC15**	μηνὶ ἰουνίῳ κδ΄· εἰς τὴν μνήμην τοῦ τιμίου προφήτου προδρόμου καὶ βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου·	ἐπειδὴ ἑορτάσαμεν τὴν μνήμην
ρογ΄	433b-436a	**PC19**	μηνὶ ἰουνίῳ κθ΄· εἰς τὴν μνήμην τῶν ἁγίων ἐνδόξων καὶ πανευφήμων ἀποστόλων Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου·	παρατρέχων παρατρέχει ὁ χρόνος·
ροδ΄	436a-438b	**PC16**	μηνὶ ἰουλίῳ δ΄· εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ θέρους·	καιρὸς ὁ παρὼν
ροε΄	438b-441a	**PC17**	μηνὶ ἰουλίῳ στ΄· εἰς τὸ θέρος·	θέρους ὥρα καθὼς
ρο-στ΄	441b-444a	**PC18**	μηνὶ ἰουλίῳ ιγ΄· εἰς τὸ θέρος·	ἔλυσιν ποιεῖται τοῦ
ροζ΄	444b-448a	**PC20**	μηνὶ αὐγούστῳ στ΄· εἰς τὴν μεταμόρφωσιν τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτήρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ τοῦ φιλανθρώπου Χριστοῦ·	τὴν ἑορτὴν τῆς θείας
ροη΄	448a-450b	**PC23**	μηνὶ αὐγούστῳ ιε΄· εἰς τὴν κοίμησιν τῆς ὑπεραγίας δεποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας·	πανηγύρεις ἐπιτελοῦνται κατὰ
	450b			Subscription

451a- 461b	Theodore Studite, *Testament*
462a	Iambic poem
463	Later annotation of provenance.

K 8 η΄

M: fols. 45v-49r τῇ κυριακῇ τῶν μυροφόρων·

A: fols. 12v-15r (lacuna after fol. 14r)

Ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πατέρες,

Ἐν τῇ παρούσῃ ἁγίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ, μνήμην ἐπιτελοῦμεν τῶν ἁγίων[1] Ἰωσήφ τε τοῦ Ἀριμαθαίου[2] καὶ Νικοδήμου· καὶ τῶν μυροφόρων γυναικῶν, αἳ διὰ πάσης τῆς ἐν τῇ γῇ διατριβῆς τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ καὶ διηκόνησαν· ἐπιτελοῦμεν δέ, οὐχ ἁπλῶς· ἀλλὰ καὶ μακαρίζομεν τούτους καὶ δοξάζομεν[3] καὶ θαυμάζομεν· τοὺς μέν[4], ὡς ἀξίους ἑαυτοὺς τῆς προσψαύσεως τοῦ φρικτοῦ ἐκείνου καὶ θείου σώματος πεποιηκότας· τὰς δέ, ὡς διακονησάσας τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ προσμεινάσας· καὶ αὐτὸν ἀντὶ πάντων[5] προτιμησάσας.

Καὶ ἀληθῶς, ἄξιαι εἰσὶ θαύματος αἱ ἅγιαι αὗται καὶ ἐπαίνου· ὅτι ἄνθρωπον οὕτω πένητα καὶ πτωχὸν καὶ μηδὲ ποῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔχοντα κλῖναι ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ φησίν· *αἱ ἀλώπεκες φωλεοὺς ἔχουσι καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατασκηνώσεις· ὁ δὲ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἔχει ποῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν κλῖναι*[6], οὕτως ἠγάπησαν· ὑπὲρ γονεῖς· ὑπὲρ

---

[1]ἁγίων· M
[2]Ἀριμαθαίου· M
[3]δοξάζομεν· M
[4]μὲν, ... δὲ, dupl. acc. in codd.
[5]πάντων, M
[6]κλίναι M A] κλίνῃ NTG

συγγενεῖς·[7] ὑπὲρ φίλους· ὑπὲρ συνήθεις· καὶ πάντα καταλιποῦσαι· πλοῦτον· δόξαν· εὐγένειαν·[8] περιφάνειαν βίου· τρυφήν, αὐτῷ ἠκολούθησαν πενόμεναι· στενούμεναι· ξενούμεναι· διωκόμεναι σὺν αὐτῷ, καὶ[9] ἐξουθενούμεναι.

Καὶ γὰρ καὶ Μαρία ἡ τοῦ Κλοπᾶ· καὶ ἡ Μαγδαληνή· καὶ ἡ Σαλώμη, ἱστοροῦνται τῶν εὐπόρων οὖσαι καὶ περιφανῶν· τί γοῦν τὸ ταύτας πεῖσαν οὕτως αὐτῷ προσκολληθῆναι· ἢ πάντως, γνώμη εὐθής· καὶ τὸ θέλειν ἐξ ὅλης ψυχῆς, τῶν[10] πονηρῶν ἀποσχέσθαι· ἆρ᾽ οὖν μιμησώμεθα ταύτας καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀδελφοί; οὐ συνέλθωμεν αὐταῖς, οὐ συνδράμωμεν; ἐπιμησάμεθα φησίν· ἀφήκαμεν γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς· τὰ ὄντα[11] καὶ ἀκολουθοῦμεν αὐτῷ.

Κτήματα μὲν οὖν ἴσως καὶ χρήματα τὸ φαινόμενον, καταλελοίπαμεν· οὐκ οἶδα δὲ[12] εἰ καὶ συγγένειαν καὶ φιλίαν καὶ εὐπάθειαν, ἵνα μὴ λέγω καὶ ἡδονήν· τί γάρ· τὸ πληροῦν ἐθέλειν τὰ θελήματα ἡμῶν καθ᾽ ἡμέραν, οὐχ ἡδονή ἐστιν; Τὸ ἀμελῶς καὶ ῥᾳθύμως[13] καὶ ὑπνηλῶς διάγειν· οὐχ[14] ἡδονή; Τὸ τοῖς ἡδέσι βρώμασι κεχημέναι καὶ πόμασιν, ὡς καὶ γογγύζειν ὅταν μὴ πάρεισιν, οὐχ ἡδονή; Πολλοῦ δέομεν ἐκεῖνας μιμήσασθαι ἀκριβῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρημάτων δοκοῦντες καταφρονῆσαι καὶ κτημάτων· ἐν ῥαφίδι καὶ βελόνῃ καὶ μαχαίρᾳ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις ἁλισκόμενοι, σαφῶς ἐλεγχόμεθα πάντων ὑπεύθυνοι.

---

[7]ὑπὲρ συγγενεῖς om. A
[8]δόξαν εὐγένειαν· M
[9]αὐτῷ καὶ M
[10]ψυχῆς τῶν M
[11]ἡμεῖς τὰ ὄντα·
[12]δέ, M
[13]ῥᾳθύμως· A
[14]διάγειν οὐχ A

Σπουδάσωμεν οὖν σπουδάσωμεν μιμήσασθαι τούτων· τὴν πίστιν· τὴν ζέσιν· τὸν πόθον· τὴν ἀγάπην· τὴν ὅλῃ ψυχῇ καὶ ὅλῃ διανοίᾳ πάντων ἀποχήν τε καὶ προσπάθειαν· γελοῖον γὰρ ὄντως τοῦτο καὶ πάσης συγγνώμης ἀνάξιον[15]· τὸ ἄνδρας ὄντας ἡμᾶς γυναικῶν ἥττους εὑρεθῆναι· καὶ ταῦτα[16] τῷ παλαιῷ νόμῳ παιδαγωγούμενων, καὶ ταῖς τούτου παρατηρήσεσι· ναὶ ἀδελφοί μου ἀγαπητοί· σπουδάσωμεν[17] εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐπ᾽ ἴσης ἐκείναις, ἀλλὰ τό γε δὴ δεύτερον, ἐξ ἡμισείας[18] τὸν Χριστὸν ἀγαπῆσαι· ἐκείνων γάρ,[19] πολὺς ὁ πόθος καὶ ἄφατος.

Ἐγὼ γὰρ ἵνα τἄλλα καταλίπω· ὅταν ἐννοήσω[20] ὅτι καὶ θανόντος οὐκ ἤθελον ἀποκολληθῆναι τοῦ Χριστοῦ· ἀλλὰ καὶ μύρα[21] ὠνοῦντο, καὶ πρὸς τὸ μνῆμα ἔτρεχον· μὴ τοὺς φυλάσσοντας στρατιώτας πτοούμεναι· μὴ τὸν φθόνον καὶ τὴν μανίαν τῶν Ἰουδαίων λογιζόμεναι· μὴ ὡς φίλαι τοῦ παρ᾽ αὐτῶν μισουμένου[22] ἁλοῦσαι, πάθοιέν τι τῶν ἀνηκέστων· ὅταν ταῦτα λογίσωμαι, οὐκ ἔχω πρὸς ὅτι τὸν πόθον αὐτῶν εἰκάσαιμι.

Ὅμως, εἶχε γοῦν ταῦτα λόγον, ἂν ἐπεπληροφόρηντο ὅτι ἀναστήσεται· καὶ ὅτι ἀναστάς, τὸν πόθον αὐταῖς ἀξίως ἰσχύσει ἀφοσιώσασθαι· ὅταν δὲ οὐδὲ οὕτως· ὡς μαρτυροῦσι τὰ εὐαγγέλια, ποίων ἐπαίνων· ποίων ἐγκωμίων οὐκ ἄξιαι; Ἀλλ᾽ ἔλαθον ἐμαυτὸν εἰς ἐγκώμιον τῶν ἁγίων τούτων γυναικῶν; Τὸν λόγον μετακυλίσας· διδασκαλίαν προθέμενος.

Τοιγαροῦν μιμησώμεθα ταύτας ὅση δύναμις· μιμησόμεθα δέ, ἂν ἔξω κόσμου παντελῶς γενώμεθα δι᾽ αὐτόν· καὶ τηνικαῦτα

---

[15]ἀνάξιον ἀν supra scr. in A
[16]ταῦτα, M
[17]σπουδάσωμεν· M
[18]δεύτερον ἐξ ἡμισείας, M
[19]γὰρ πολὺς M
[20]ἐννοήσω, M
[21]μύ̲ρα ου supra scr. in A
[22]μισουμέ]νου inc. lac. in A, fol. 14v

ἴσως, καὶ ἀγαπήσομεν κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνας· εἰ δ᾽ οὖν, ἀλλὰ πολλῷ ἥττους ἐκείνων εὑρεσόμεθα· ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀπόγνωμεν· ἔχομεν γὰρ δι᾽ οὗ ταύταις παρισωθῆναι δυνησόμεθα· ἐκεῖναι μὲν[23] γὰρ ἀπελθοῦσαι μυρίσαι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου, οὐχ εὗρον· ὅτι ἀνέστη· ἡμεῖς δὲ ἂν βουλώμεθα, καὶ μυρίσομεν, καὶ φαγώμεθα· καθ᾽ ἡμέραν γάρ, ἡμῶν προτέθυταί τε καὶ τέθαπται· καὶ εἰς βρῶσιν ἡμῖν πρόκειται.

Μόνον, ἀξίους ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τοῦ μυρίσαι καὶ τοῦ φαγεῖν αὐτόν, ἐνδειξώμεθα· ἔσται δὲ τοῦτο πῶς, ἂν συντριβώμεθα· ἂν ταπεινώμεθα· ἂν ἀναξίους ἑαυτοὺς διαθέσει καρδίας τῆς ἐκείνου προσψαύσεως[24] ἡγώμεθα· καὶ διὰ ταῦτα κλαίωμεν· ὀδυνώμεθα· στενάζωμεν· πᾶσαν θλῖψιν ὑπομένωμεν· τὰ τοιαῦτα ὑπὲρ μύρων αὐτῷ λογίζονται πολύτιμον· ὑπὲρ τὴν σμύρνην καὶ τὴν ἀλόην· ἣν Ἰωσὴφ αὐτῷ ἐνετύλιξεν· ὑπὲρ χρυσίον καὶ λίβανον ἅπερ οἱ Μάγοι προσήνεγκαν.

Τούτοις καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἑαυτοὺς ἑτοιμάζοντες εἰς ὑποδοχὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπάντησιν· ἐξομολογούμενοί[25] τε καὶ εὐχαριστοῦντες αὐτῷ, σὺν τούτοις τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτῷ ταχθησόμεθά τε καὶ συνδοξασθησόμεθα· ὅτι αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ[26] προσκύνησις εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων[27]· ἀμήν.

---

[23]μὲν dupl. acc. in M
[24]προσψαύσεως· M
[25]ἀπάντησιν· [ἐξομολογούμενοι des. lac. in A
[26]ἡ om. A
[27]τῶν αἰώνων om. M

K 8

On the Sunday of the Unguent-bearers.

Brothers and Fathers,

1. on this holy day we celebrate the memory of the holy Joseph of Arimatheia and of Nikodemos, and of the women bearing unguents,[28] who followed and served our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ during all his time on earth. Yet we do not simply celebrate, but we also beatify them and glorify and marvel, both at these men, who made themselves worthy of touching that awesome and divine body,[29] and at these women, since they served Christ, and remained attached to Him, and preferred Him before all.

2. Truly, these holy women are worthy of marvel and of praise, because they loved a man who was so poor, miserable, and did not have anywhere to rest his head (as He Himself says in the Gospel: *"the foxes have a den, and the birds of the sky a nest, but the son of man has nowhere to lay his head"*[30]), more than parents, relatives, friends, acquaintances, so much that they left everything, riches, glory, noble birth, the glamour of life, comfort, and followed Him in poverty and restraints, being strangers, being persecuted with him and humiliated.

3. For even Mary the wife of Klopas,[31] and Mary Magdalen, and Salome[32] are said to be among the wealthy and far-famed. What then persuaded them to be so attached[33] to Him, unless (it was) really a righteous

---

[28]The Gospel reading for the Sunday dedicated to the Unguent-bearers (Myrrhophores) was Mk. 15, 40-16, 8. Te *Typikon* of Great Church began the reading at v. 43.
[29]Cf. Mk. 15, 45b-46.
[30]Mt. 8, 20; Lk. 9, 58.
[31]Cf. Jn. 19, 25.
[32]Mk. 15, 40 and 16, 1.
[33]Cf. Gr. Nyss. *Maced.* 23 (M. 45.1329B): πῶς γάρ τις προσκολληθήσεται τῷ Κυρίῳ, μὴ τοῦ πνεύματος τὴν συνάφειαν ἐνεργοῦντος;

judgement and the heartfelt will to avoid evil things? Then, will we also imitate them, brothers? Will we not go with them, run together with them?

4. (Some of the monks) say: "We have already imitated them. For we too have left things behind and follow Him". But perhaps we have abandoned wordly goods and possessions and appearances. Yet I don't know if (we have) also (abandoned) family, friendship, enjoyment of good things, not to mention pleasure. For the wish to fulfill one's will day by day, is this not pleasure? And conducting oneself carelessly, indolently and drowsily, is this not pleasure? And in the swallowing of nice foods and drinks, as in the murmuring when it is not permitted, is there not pleasure? We lack much to imitate these women accurately, but thinking to spurn possessions and goods, we are caught in a needle and a pin and a knife and similar things, and we clearly show ourselves inadequate in everything.

5. Let us be eager, therefore, let us be eager in imitating their faith, their ardour, their desire, their love, their abstinence from everything and their passionate attachment with all their soul and with all their understanding. For this is truly laughable and unworthy of any pardon, that though we are men we are found to be inferior to women, even to women instructed in the Old Law and in the observations of it. Yes, my beloved brothers, let us be eager, if not to be equal to them, at least in second place, to love Christ half as much as they did, for their affection was great and untellable.

6. For I — let me omit the rest — whenever I think that they did not want to detach themselves from Christ even after his death, but they bought myrrh and ran to the sepulchre, without fearing the soldiers who were guarding it, without considering the vengeance and folly of the Jews, without (fearing) that if caught as friends of Him who was hated by them, they might suffer something terrible; whenever I think of these things, I find no adequate comparison for their affection.

7. All the same, even these things would be reasonable, had they been fully assured that He would rise again, and that, having risen, He would have the power to hallow their affection worthily. But since it was not so, as the Gospels testify, what praises, what commendations would they not deserve? But have I forgotten myself in a panegyric of these holy women? I have turned the speech, offering an instruction.

8. Therefore let us imitate them as much as we can. We will imitate them if we become completely detached from the world because of Christ; and, at that time, perhaps we will also love as they did. But if we find ourselves much worse than they, let us nevertheless not despair, for we have the One through whom to be saved along with these women. For these women who had gone to anoint the body of the Lord did not find Him because He had risen.[34] But we, if we want, will be able to anoint and eat Him, for day by day he is sacrificed on our behalf and is buried, and is offered to us as food. Only let us show ourselves worthy to anoint and eat Him.

9. This can be so if we are contrite, if we humble ourselves, if we deem ourselves unworthy of His contact in disposition of heart and because of these things we cry, we are in pain, we groan, we bear all affliction. Such things are deemed by Him worthier than myrrh, balsam and aloe, that Joseph wrapped around him; above gold and frankincense, that the Magi had brought.[35]

10. Preparing ourselves by these things day by day to receive and meet Him, confessing and giving thanks to Him, we will be ranked by Him with all these saints and glorified together, because His is the glory and honour and adoration unto the ages of ages. Amen.

---

[34]Cf. Mk. 16, 5-6.
[35]Mt. 2, 11.

K 9 θ΄

M: fols. 47v-50v τῇ β΄ τῶν μυροφόρων·

A: fols. 15r-16r

Πατέρες μου καὶ τέκνα μου καὶ ἀδελφοί μου·

χθὲς περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωσήφ τε καὶ Νικοδήμου εἰπεῖν προθέμενοι, ἐκωλύθημεν ὑπὸ τῆς ὥρας· ἅμα καὶ τὸν κόρον τοῦ λόγου φεύγοντες[36]· σήμερον δὲ εἰ βούλεσθε, προθήσομεν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ τούτους εἰς μίμησιν.

Εὑρίσκομεν οὖν αὐτοὺς ἔτι ζῶντος τοῦ Χριστοῦ[37] καὶ παρρησίᾳ διδάσκοντος, μὴ τολμήσαντας ἑαυτοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ ὄντας ἀνακαλύψαι· ἀλλὰ δεδοικότας καὶ τρέμοντας, καὶ διὰ τὸν φόβον κεκρυμμένους· νυκτερινοὺς γὰρ αὐτοὺς παρίστησι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον· μετὰ δὲ τὸ σταυρωθῆναι τοῦτον καὶ ἀποθανεῖν, ἀποθεμένους τε τὴν δειλίαν καὶ προσελθόντας τῷ Πιλάτῳ· καὶ τὸ σῶμα αἰτησαμένους· καὶ εὐλαβῶς ἐνταφιάσαντας αὐτὸ καθὼς ἀκούομεν ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ[38].

Τί οὖν ἂν εἴποιμεν πρὸς ταῦτα· οὐκ ἔκπληκτά τε ἆρα καὶ θαυμαστά; Καὶ λίαν γε· ἀλλ' οὐδέ τινος ἄλλου φαίημεν ταῦτα, ἢ ἐκείνου τοῦ σταυρωθέντος· τοῦ καὶ πόρον ἐν ἀπόροις εὑρίσκοντος, καὶ τὰ ἐξαίσια καὶ φρικτὰ τερατουργοῦντος· ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἰδὼν τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ἅπαντας φυγόντας τε καὶ ἐγκαταλιπόντας[39] αὐτόν, τοῖς δειλοῖς τούτοις ἐνέθηκε θάρσος, ἐν λήθῃ γενέσθαι πάντων τῶν προδοκωμένων δεινῶν, καὶ τὰ τῆς ταφῆς αὐτοῦ ἐνεργῆσαι.

---

[36]φεύγοντος A
[37]Χριστοῦ· M
[38]εὐαγγελίῳ τι codd.
[39]ἐγκαταλιπ- τα supra scr. in A

Ταῦτ' οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐννοοῦντες· ὅταν τι πάθος ἡμᾶς ἐνοχλῇ τῶν ἀνηκέστων· καὶ σπουδάζωμεν μέν· οὐκ ἰσχύωμεν δὲ κατ' αὐτοῦ, μὴ δεδίαμεν· μηδὲ τρέμωμεν· ἀλλὰ προσερχώμεθα θαρρούντως· καὶ προσπίπτωμεν· καὶ προσκλαίωμεν· καὶ δεώμεθα τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ· καὶ αὐτός, ὡς φιλάνθρωπος· ὡς ἐλεήμων· ὡς παντοδύναμος, ταχύ τε εἰσακούσοι· καὶ τὸ αὐτοῦ ἔλεος μεθ' ἡμῶν ποιήσοι· καὶ τὸν ἀνυπέρβλητον τοῦτον πόλεμον καὶ δυσβάστακτον[40] ἀρεῖ ἐξ ἡμῶν· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν καὶ σταυρουμένῳ,[41] συσταυρωθῶμεν αὐτῷ·[42] καὶ νεκρουμένῳ,[43] συννεκρωθῶμεν· καὶ θαπτομένῳ,[44] συνταφῶμεν· καὶ ἀνισταμένῳ,[45] συναναστῶμεν· ἀνιόντι τε πρὸς οὐρανούς, συνανέλθωμεν· καὶ συνδοξασθῶμεν· καὶ συνευφρανθῶμεν[46] ὡς πιστοὶ αὐτοῦ φίλοι καὶ γνήσιοι.

Μόνον σπουδάζωμεν· μόνον προσέχωμεν ἑαυτοῖς· ἀσφαλιζόμενοι διά τε τῶν δεξιῶν, καὶ τῶν ἀριστερῶν· τούτοις μὲν[47] μὴ κλεπτόμενοι· ἐκείνοις δέ, μὴ συναπαγόμενοι· ἀλλ' ὡς καλοὶ καὶ φρόνιμοι κυβερνῆται, καλῶς καὶ φρονίμως ἰθύνοντες τὰ πηδάλια τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν· καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀκλύστους[48] ἐκείνους λιμένας καὶ γαληνοὺς τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείας ἐγκαθορμίζοντες· καὶ τῶν αἰωνίων ἐκείνων καὶ ἀφράστων ἐπαπολαύοντες ἀγαθῶν· χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· μεθ' οὗ τῷ Πατρὶ δόξα· σὺν τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι· νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.[49]

---

[40] δυσβάστακτον, M
[41] σταυρουμένῳ συσ- M
[42] αὐτῷ καὶ M
[43] νεκρουμένῳ συν- M
[44] θαπτομένῳ συνταφ- M
[45] ἀνισταμένῳ συναν- M
[46] συνεὐφρανθῶμεν A] συνευφρανθῶμεν· M
[47] μὲν, M, dupl. acc.
[48] ἀκλυδώνιστος LS
[49] τοὺς ... ἀμήν. om. M

K 9

On the Monday of the Week of the Unguent-bearers.

My fathers and my children and my brothers,

1. yesterday, having proposed to speak about the holy Joseph[50] and Nikodemos,[51] I was prevented both by the time and to avoid the surfeit of speech. But today, if you wish, I will propose for you once more the example of these men.

2. We find them, when Christ was still living and teaching openly, not daring to reveal themselves to be his disciples, but timorous and trembling and hiding themselves because of fear. For the Gospel presents them as coming at night.[52] But after the crucifixion and the burial, they set aside their fear and went to Pilate, and asked for the body, and buried it piously, as we hear in the Gospel.[53]

3. What then could we say about these things, are they not indeed striking and amazing? Indeed very much so. But we would say these things of no-one else than of that crucified One, One who finds a way even in difficulties and operates marvels extraordinary and awesome. For He, having seen that all his disciples were fleeing and abandoning Him, infused courage into these cowards to make them forget all the expected evils and take charge of His burial.

4. Then, thinking these things ourselves, whenever some feeling of desperation assails us, and we are eager to overpower it, but can not, let us

---

[50]Joseph is mentioned at: Mt. 27, 57. 59; Mk. 15, 43, 45; Lk. 23, 50; Jn. 19, 38

[51]Nikodemos is mentioned at: Jn. 3. 1-21; 7, 50; 19, 39.

[52]Nikodemos is referred to as the nocturnal disciple, because of his first coming to Jesus by night (Jn. 3, 2).

[53]Jn. 3, 1; 7, 50 (of Nikodemos); Jn. 19, 38-39 (of both): *After these things, Joseph of Arimathea, who was a disciple of Jesus, though a secret one because of his fear of the Jews, asked Pilate to let him take away the body of Jesus. Pilate gave him permission; so he came and removed his body. Nicodemus, who had at first come to Jesus by night, also came, bringing a mixture of myrrh and aloes, weighing about a hundred pounds.*

neither fear nor tremble, but let us proceed courageously and throw ourselves down (in supplication) and cry out and ask for the mercies of God. And may He, who loves mankind, is merciful and all-powerful, quickly hear us and effect His mercy upon us and lift away from us this overwhelming and grievious war. For in this way may we be crucified with the crucified One, and die together with His dying, and be buried with Him, and rise at His resurrection, and join His ascent to heaven, and be glorified together with Him, and rejoice together, as His faithful friends and children.

5. Only let us be eager, only let us watch over ourselves, making ourselves secure between those on the right and those on the left,[54] not being carried off by these, nor being guided by the others. But (let us be) like good and prudent steersmen, directing the rudders of the soul well and wisely, and setting anchor at those ports without tempests and with calm weather of the kingdom of heaven, and profiting by those eternal and untellable goods, by the grace and love of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, glory now and forever and to the ages of ages. Amen.

---

[54]Cf. Mk. 10, 37; 2 Cor. 6, 7.

K 51 να΄

M: fols. 120v-122v

A: fols. 92r-94r μηνὶ Ἰουνίῳ κθ΄ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ κορυφαίων τοῦ Χριστοῦ μαθητῶν Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου·

Ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πατέρες·

καιρὸς καὶ νῦν ἑορτῆς· μνήμην μὲν ἐφιστώσης, τῶν[55] κορυφαίων τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ μαθητῶν Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου· ἀποσωζούσης δέ, καὶ[56] τύπον Πάσχα.

Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ κατὰ τὰς θεοπαραδότους τῶν πατέρων παραδόσεις· νηστείαν ἀσκοῦμεν μετὰ τὴν[57] Πεντηκοστήν· καὶ ἔδει τὴν ταύτης λύσιν ἐν ἑορτῇ γίνεσθαι· πάσχα τύπον ἀποσωζούσῃ· καὶ τὴν τῶν ἁγίων τούτων μνήμην ἡ περίοδος τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ παρίστᾳ συνέρχεσθαι, καλῶς ταύτην καὶ ὡς τῷ θείῳ δοκοῦν Πνεύματι παρεδόθησαν[58] ἡμῖν ὥστε ἐν ταύτῃ ἀπονηστίζεσθαι.

Τὸ δὲ Πάσχα, ὡς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις μέμνημαι εἰρηκώς, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστίν, ἢ διάβασις ἑρμηνευόμενον· οἱ τοίνυν θειότατοι οὗτοι καὶ κορυφαιότατοι ἀπόστολοι διὰ θανάτου διαβάντες πρὸς τὸν αὐτῶν Κύριον καὶ διδάσκαλον, ἔργῳ τὸ πάσχα πεποίηνται· καὶ οὐ τύπῳ, ἀλλ᾽ ἀληθείᾳ· καὶ νῦν εἰσι χαίροντες καὶ ἑορτάζοντες τὴν ὄντως εὐφροσύνην καὶ ἑορτὴν ἀδιάλειπτον· ἑορτάζομεν δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς πάσχα ἐπιτελοῦντες, τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς νηστείας δηλονότι καὶ τῆς κακουχίας διάβασιν[59]

---

[55]ἐφιστώσης τῶν M
[56]δὲ καὶ M
[57]τὴν M] om. A
[58]παρεδόσαν θη erased in A
[59]διάβασιν, M

ἐπὶ τὴν ἄνεσίν τε καὶ ἀνακωχὴν[60] καὶ τὴν τῶν βρωμάτων ὑπαλλαγήν· ἐσθίομεν δὲ διὰ τοῦτο· καὶ τὸν ἀληθινὸν ἀμνόν, τὸν αἴροντα τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου, Χριστόν.

Καὶ χρὴ ὑμᾶς ἀδελφοί, μὴ ἁπλῶς τῇ μεταλήψει τούτου προσέρχεσθαι· ἀλλὰ καθαιρομένους πάσης ἰλύος· πάσης ἀδιαφορίας· πάσης ῥυπώδους καὶ θολερᾶς ἐνθυμήσεως· μὴ πονερᾶς ἐπιθυμίας λογισμοὺς περιφέροντας· μὴ παροξυσμοῦ τινος ἢ φθόνου· ἢ μίσους· ἢ καταλαλιᾶς· ἢ μέμψεως· ἢ διαβολῆς· ἢ λοιδορίας τοῦ πλησίον· μὴ ἀργολογίας μὴ αἰσχρολογίας· μὴ γελοιασμοῦ· μὴ εὐτραπελίας· μηδενὸς μηδ' ὅλως ἐπιθολοῦντος τὴν διάνοιαν ὑμῶν πράγματός τε καὶ ῥήματος, μετόχους[61]· ἀλλὰ καθαροὺς ὅλους· οὐρανόφρονας· ταπεινούς· συντετριμμένους· δεδακρυμένους.

Εἴ τι πολλάκις ὡς ἄνθρωποι κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον ἐμφέρομεν, ἀποθεμένους τελείως· καὶ μετ' ἐξομολογήσεως καθαρᾶς τῶν ἐπιπολαζόντων ἡμῖν πάντων τούτων καὶ ἀποχῆς, προσιέναι· προσιέναι δέ, μὴ δοκοῦντας καθαρεύειν· τίς γὰρ καυχήσεται ἁγνὴν ἔχειν τὴν καρδίαν· ἀλλ' ἀναξίους μὲν ἑαυτοὺς τῷ ὄντι λογίζεσθαι καὶ τῆς ἁπλῶς αὐτοῦ προψαύσεως, μὴ ὅτι γε[62] μεταλήψεώς τε καὶ βρώσεως· θαρροῦντας δὲ τῇ αὐτοῦ εὐσπλαγχνίᾳ καὶ ἀγαθότητι, εἰς ἐξίλασμα τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν καὶ τὸ[63] μὴ ἀλλοτριοῦσθαι τῆς αὐτοῦ οἰκειότητος· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ εὐαλώτους τῷ ἐχθρῷ γίνεσθαι.

Ναὶ ἀδελφοί μου· ταῦτα καὶ οὕτω λογιζόμενοί τε καὶ ἔχοντες, προσέρχεσθε· ὁρῶν μὲν γὰρ ὑμᾶς καθ' ἑκάστην ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀκορέστως ἐχομένους τοῦ καλοῦ τούτου, χαίρω καὶ

---

[60]ἀνακωχὴν· M
[61]ῥήματος μετόχους M
[62]γε om. A
[63]ἡμῶν· καὶ τὸ, M

εὐφραίνομαι· πληροφορούμενος[64] τῇ καθαρᾷ ὑμῶν συνειδήσει· πλὴν ἀλλὰ δέδοικα[65] μὴ κρίμα ἑαυτοῖς ἐσθίωμέν τε καὶ πίνωμεν, εἴ τι πολλάκις καὶ τὸ τυχὸν τῆς τούτου μετουσίας ἀνάξιον, ἐν ἑαυτοῖς περιφέρομεν· διὰ τοῦτο προσεκτέον ἀδελφοί μου· καὶ μετὰ πληροφορίας πολλῆς[66] καὶ καθαρότητας[67] προσεχώμεθα· ἵνα μὴ μόνον μὴ κατακρινώμεθα· ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν ἐλευθερώμεθα· καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ δόξης καὶ εὐφροσύνης συμμέτοχοι γενώμεθα· ὅτι αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων[68], ἀμήν.

---

[64]πληροφορούμενος, M
[65]δέδοικα, M
[66]πολλῆς A] om. M
[67]καθαρότητας, M
[68]τῶν αἰώνων om. M

K 51

On the 29th of June, of the holy and supreme disciples of Christ, Peter and Paul.

Brothers and fathers,

now too is the time of a feast, one that brings the memory of the supreme disciples of our Lord and God Jesus Christ and that preserves the model of Easter.

For, since according to the respected tradition of the Fathers we practice fasting after Pentecost, it is also fitting that its end should happen in a feast which preserves the model of Easter. And the cycle of the liturgical year presents on this day to join together the memory of these saints, since (the Fathers) handed it down to us fittingly and as it was seemly to the divine Spirit, so that we may stop fasting on this day.

But Easter, as I remember having mentioned elsewhere,[69] is to be interpreted as nothing other than a passage. Thus these most divine and supreme apostles, by passing through death to their Lord and teacher, accomplished in deed their Easter and not as in an abstract model, but in reality, and they are now rejoicing and celebrating the true joy and the unending feast. But we too celebrate and accomplish our Easter, I mean, the transition from fasting and mortification to relaxation and rest and the variety of foods. Because of this, we also eat the true Lamb, who takes away the sin of the world, the Christ.

Brothers, it is necessary to approach the partaking of this not simply, but having purified ourselves of all filth, of all discord, of all pollution and troubled thought, not carrying any temptation of evil desire, nor any sharpness, nor envy, nor hatred, nor murmuring, nor spite, nor censure, nor

---

[69]At K5.

slandering with respect to our neighbour, nor any vain or indecent speech, nor laughter, nor frivolous talk, and without being in the least partakers of deeds and words that becloud your minds; but completely pure, mindful of heavenly things, humble, contrite, tearful.

If, as men, we have often carried something against our neighbour, (it is necessary) to go forth, having put it definitely away, both with a pure confession of all these things that are prevalent in us and with abstinence; and to go forth not considering ourselves to be pure. For who can boast to have a pure heart? But (we must think) that we are considered truly unworthy even simply to touch Him, not to speak of partaking and of food, but at the same time being encouraged by His mercy and goodness to the atonement of our sins and not to estrange ourselves from His friendship, and through this become thoroughly impregnable by the devil.

Yes, my brothers; go forth to communion thinking and holding these thoughts in this way. For as I see you each day being insatiable for this goodness, I rejoice and am delighted, trusting in your pure conscience. Except that I also fear, lest we are eating and drinking judgement upon ourselves, if we often carry in ourselves something unworthy, even at the moment of participation in this. Because of this, I ought to exhort you, my brothers: let us apply ourselves with much confidence and purity, so that not only we may not be judged, but we may even be freed from our sins. And let us become co-partakers of His glory and happiness, because His is the glory unto the ages of ages. Amen.

APPENDIX IV: COMPARISONS WITH SOURCES

A key to the textual comparisons.

In order to effect parallel-text analyses, the text of K and that of its source have been ordered in parallel columns, leaving gaps or using smaller-sized fonts to keep the relevant passages side by side.

Different type-settings have been adopted so as to evidence different types of modifications. A system of symbols suitable for this purpose has been taken from a recent edition by H. Hunger and I. Shevchenko, where the text of Nicephoros Blemmydes' *Βασιλικὸς Ἀνδρίας* was compared to its metaphrasis by Georgios Galesiotes and Georgios Oinaiotes.[1] The range of variants has been adapted to K, as follows:

- underlined:	the word, or group of words, is in one text, but not in the other: eg. καὶ τῇ ἀναγνώσει προσκείσθω is in Paul's K66, but not in its source; ἐκεῖ is in the source, but not in the *Katechetikon* text; for added prepositions, e.g. περικρατῶν for κρατῶν.
- *italics*:	identical word or group of words transposed within the same sentence (authorial or scribal changes): eg. ὁμιλῆσαι καὶ λατρεῦσαι *Θεῷ* is the transposition in K66 of the source: ὁμιλῆσαι *Θεῷ* καὶ λατρεῦσαι.
- *underlined italics*:	changes in the grammatical form of a verb or a noun: e.g. *ἀνακλινόμενος* in the source has become *ἀνακλινέσθω* in Paul's K66. Also for slightly altered particles and prepositions: eg. *καθὼς* for *καθὰ*.
- **bold**:	highlights a key word: eg. **διακονία** is a Studite term used by Paul, not only in imitation of his source, but also in independent passages; **κάνον** is also a technical monastic word, whose meaning needs to be assessed from time to time according to the context, as well as to the source used.

[1] H. HUNGER & I. SHEVCHENKO, *Nikephoros Blemmydes Βασιλικὸς Ἀνδρίας und dessen Metaphrase von Georgios Galesiotes und Georgios Oinaiotes* (Vienna, 1986), p. 42.

- **underlined bold**:	for synonyms, or synonymous expressions: e.g. **περιφράχθω τῷ σημείῳ τοῦ σωτηροῦ** has paraphrased the verb **κατασφραγιζόμενος** of the source.
- s p a c e d :	to signal the substitution of a word, or group of words, with a change in meaning: eg. κ έ λ λ α ν has replaced μ ά θ η μ α between K66 and its source, designating different places.

In order to simplify the effectiveness of the comparison, only the base text from mss. M and E has been presented for K, although variants have been considered during the comparison.

Theodore Studite, *Magna Catechesis*:

K 66

'Αδελφοὶ καὶ πατέρες·
τὸ τέλος τῆς χθεσινῆς
κατηχήσεως, σήμερον ἀρχὴν
ποιησώμεθα· εἴπομεν οὖν
ὅτι βιάζειν ἡμᾶς ἑαυτοὺς
ἐνδέχεται ἐν παντὶ
πράγματι· ὅτι βιαστῶν ἐστι
ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν·
βιάζεται δέ τις, ὅταν ἄλλο
μὲν βούληται· ἄλλο δέ τι
ποιῇ διὰ τὸν Θεόν· οἷον
ἔστιν εἰπεῖν· κρούει τὸ
ξύλον τῆς ἀκολουθίας· καὶ
ἡμεῖς μὲν ἴσως θέλομεν, ἔτι
μικρὸν ὑπνῶσαι· ἀλλὰ διὰ
τὸν Θεὸν καταλείπομεν τὸ
κοιμηθῆναι· καὶ τρέχομεν
εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· καὶ τὰ
ἄλλα ὅσα θέλομεν μὲν
ἡμεῖς, διὰ δὲ τὸν Θεὸν
ταῦτα καταλιμπάνομεν,
πάντως βιαζόμεθα, ἐν τούτῳ
γάρ ἐστι καὶ θελήματος
ἐκκοπή.
Σπεύδωμεν οὖν ἅμα τῷ
κρούματι ἀπέρχεσθαι ἐν τῇ
συνάξει, ὥστε λατρεῦσαι
Θεῷ διὰ τῆς ὁμιλίας· καὶ
ἀντιλαβεῖν δωρεὰς
θεοπαρόχους, καὶ ζωούσας
τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν, εὔφωνοί
τε γινώμεθα, καὶ μιᾷ κραυγῇ
σαλπίζωμεν τὴν δοξολογίαν
Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ, πρός τε τὰ
καθίσματα ὁμοθυμαδὸν
ἅπαντες προσεκτικῶς

TS MC I, 14

ἀντιλαβεῖν δὲ οὐ ῥευστὰ καὶ
ἐπίκαιρα, δωρεὰς δὲ
θεοπαρόχους καὶ ζωοψύχους,
εὔφωνοί τε εὐθὺς γινόμενοι
καὶ μιᾷ κραυγῇ σαλπίζοντες
τὴν δοξολογίαν Κυρίου τοῦ
Θεοῦ, πρός τε τὰ καθίσματα
ἑνωτικοί,

ἔχομεν· πρός τε τὰς ἀναγνώσεις μὴ κοινώμεθα, τοὺς ψαλμοὺς δὲ καὶ τὰς ὠδάς, ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει *ψυχῆς ψάλλωμεν· ἵνα φωτιζώμεθα,* καὶ τὸν διάβολον *καταισχύνωμεν*.

Σὺν τούτοις δὲ καὶ *τὰς εὐχὰς νηφόντως ποιῶμεν·* ἵνα καθαροὶ τῷ καθαρῷ ὀπτανόμενοι, περισσοτέρως ἐλλαμπώμεθα, καὶ μὴ σκοτιζώμεθα.

Ἀπέλυσεν ὁ κανών, ἡσύχως ἐξίωμεν· καὶ ὁ μέν, *ἀπίτω* πρὸς τὴν κέλλαν· καὶ τῇ ἀναγνώσει προσκείσθω· μὴ ἀπόλλων τὸ συναχθὲν ἐκ τῆς ψαλμωδίας κέρδος, διὰ τῆς ἀργολογίας· ὁ δὲ ἀπίτω πρὸς τὴν κοίτην, εἴπερ θέλοι ἀναπαύσασθαι, ἀλλὰ **περιπεφράχθω τῷ σημείῳ τοῦ σωτηροῦ·** καὶ εὐσχημόνως *ἀνακλινέσθω·* ἐπιλέγων καὶ ψαλμόν, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀδολεσχῶν, ὥστε μὴ πειρασθῆναι παρὰ τοῦ πειράζοντος.

Φιλοῦσι γὰρ **μετὰ τὸν κανόνα** οἱ δαίμονες ταράττειν τὰς ψυχὰς *ἡμῶν*, ἐπειδήπερ κατεπλήξαμεν αὐτοὺς **διὰ τοῦ κανόνος·**

πρός τε τὰς ἀναγνώσεις **διυπνουτικοὶ** καὶ τοὺς ψαλμοὺς δὲ καὶ τὰς ὠδάς, ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει *ψυχικῇ περιφωτιζόμενοι*. Καὶ οὕτως ἐπικερδῶς *ψάλλωμεν καταισχύνοντες* τὸν διάβολον· τὸ δὲ ἐναντίον, πρόδηλον.

Σὺν δὲ τούτοις καὶ *τὸ ἐν νήφει ποιεῖσθαι τὴν εὐχήν,* ἵνα καθαροὶ τῷ καθαρῷ Θεῷ ὀπτανόμενοι, **φωτιζώμεθα μᾶλλον** καὶ μὴ σκοτιζώμεθα.

Ἀπέλυσεν ὁ κανών, ἡσύχως ἐξίωμεν· καὶ ὁ μὲν πρὸς τὸ μάθημα *ἀπίτω*, ἐκεῖ μὴ ἀπόλλων τὸ συναχθὲν ἐκ τῆς ψαλμωδίας κέρδος διὰ τῆς ἀργολογίας, ἐπισυνάπτων δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐκμάθησιν τῷ λοιπῷ κέρδει· ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὴν κοίτην αὐτοῦ, εἴπερ θέλοι ἀναπαύσασθαι, μόνον κἀκεῖ **κατασφραγιζόμενος** καὶ εὐσχημόνως *ἀνακλινόμενος,* ἐπιλέγων ψαλμόν, ἐν αὐτῷ ἀδολεσχῶν, ὥστε μὴ πειρασθῆναι παρὰ τοῦ πειράζοντος.

Φιλοῦσι γὰρ **μετὰ τὸν κανόνα** οἱ δαίμονες ταράττειν *ἡμῶν* τὰς ψυχάς, ἐπειδήπερ κατεπλήξαμεν αὐτοὺς **διὰ τοῦ κανόνος·**

καὶ οὕτως καθ' ἑκάστην προσεκτικῶς καὶ ἀνολιγώρως **τὸν κανόνα** ἡμῶν ἐπιτελοῦντες, τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ βοήθειαν εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ἐπισπασόμεθα· ὅτι αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.

καὶ θέλουσιν ἅπερ καλῶς συνήξαμεν κακῶς ἀπολέσαι· διὰ τοῦτο σκοτοῦσι τοὺς λογισμοὺς καὶ ἐξοιστροῦσι τὸ σῶμα ὂν ἤδη καὶ ἐκ τῆς ψαλμῳδίας ἄτονον καὶ συνδυάσεις πονηρὰς καὶ συγκαταθέσεις ἀποπλοῦσιν, ἔστιν ὅτε ἐκρόσεις.

Ἀποδεικτικὸς μᾶλλον ὁ ἐγκρατευόμενος καὶ προσασχολῶν ἔτι διὰ μελετῆς δι' ἑτέρου πράγματος, καὶ μὴ ταχὺ προσπίπτων τῇ στρωμνῇ αὐτοῦ ἄνευ κατεπείγοντος ὕπνου· τότε γὰρ καὶ ἀπείραστος διαμένει.

K 67	TS MC I, 14 cont.
’Αδελφοὶ καὶ πατέρες·	
μετὰ τὸ ἀποπληρωθῆναι τὸν τῆς συνάξεως τοῦ ὄρθρου κανόνα· ὅσοι μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτῶν κελλίοις ἐργάζεσθε τὸ ἔργον τοῦ θεοῦ, σπουδάζετε μὴ σινιάζεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ, ὡς χθὲς εἴπομεν· οἱ δὲ τὰς διακονίας μετερχόμενοι, τρέχετε ἐπὶ ταύτας·	Μετὰ ταῦτα, πρὸς τὴν πρώτην εὐθυκίνητοι καὶ ἀνεπίλειποι οἱ πάντες εὑρισκόμενοι· τίς γὰρ χρεία μισθὸν ἀπόλλειν καὶ κριματίζειν ἑαυτοῦ τὴν συνείδησιν; Μετὰ ταῦτα εὐχόμενοι τῷ Θεῷ κατευθυνθῆται ὑμῶν τὸ ἔργον τῶν χειρῶν καὶ ὁλοτελῆ τὴν ἡμέραν ἀγαθοεργῶς ἐκπληρωθῆναι, πρόσιτε τοῖς ἔργοις
ἄλλος ἀλλαχοῦ· ἢ καὶ ὁμοθυμαδόν· καθὼς μία ἑκάστη ἀπαντεῖ· κἀκεῖ δὲ μετὰ στιχολογίας ἤτω ὑμῶν ἡ ἐργασία· μετὰ τῆς εὐχῆς καὶ καλοεννοησίας γινέσθω ἤτε ἀροτρίασις, ἤτε ἀμπελουργία· ἤτε ὀψοποιΐα· εἴτε ἄλλό τι τῶν ἐνεργουμένων·	ἄλλος ἀλλαχοῦ ἢ καὶ ὁμοθυμαδόν, ὡς ὑποπίπτουσιν αἱ χρείαι ἀπαρτιζόμενοι· κακεῖ μετὰ τῆς στιχολογίας ἡ ἐργασία μετὰ τῆς εὐχῆς καὶ καλονοίας ἤτε ἀροτρίασις ἔστω, ἤτε ἀμπελουργία ἤτε ὀψοποιΐα ἤτε ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐνεργούμενων, τεταγμένως τὰς ὥρας κἀκείνας εὐσυνειδότως μετὰ τὴν στιχολογίαν.

ὁ λόγος ὑμῶν ὡς πολλάκις ἔφημεν ἐν τοῖς καθήκουσι πράγμασι γινέσθω καὶ μὴ ἐν ἀργολογίᾳ.	Ὁ λόγος ὑμῶν ὡς πολλάκις λέγωμεν ἐν τοῖς καθήκουσι πράγμασι εἰ σωματικὰ εἶεν, εἰ δὲ πνευματικὰ τοιαῦτα, ἢ περὶ τροπαρίου ἢ περὶ ἄλλου τινὸς κατορθώματος.
Ζηλοῦτε ἀλλήλων τὰ χαρίσματα· ἔχετε γὰρ ἕκαστος· ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἀπολιμπάνεσθε, ἐξ ἀλλήλων κτᾶσθε.	Ζηλοῦτε ἀλλήλων τὰ χαρίσματα· ἔχει γὰρ ἕκαστος, καὶ ἐν ᾧ ἀπολιμπάνεται εὑρίσκεται δι᾽ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ κτώμενος. Ἐκεῖθεν οὖν ὡς μέλισσα ἀγαθὴ φιλεργάτις ἔστι καὶ ἀνθολογητρία.
Πάντες φίλοι μου ἐστέ· πάντες τέκνα μου· καρδία· νοῦς· χαρά· εὐδοκία· ἀγαλλίασις· στέφανος· καύχημα· δύναμις· κἂν οὐκ εἰμὶ ἄξιος τοὺς λόγους τοῦτους διαγορεύειν, πάντας γοῦν ὑμᾶς θέλω σώζεσθε· πάντας ἀνδραγαθεῖν, εὐδοκιμεῖν, καθαίρεσθαι, ὑψοῦσθαι· καί γε ἐλπίδας ἔχω εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν καὶ Θεόν· δι᾽ ὃν πάντες συνεληλύθαμεν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον, ὅτι καὶ γίνεσθε καὶ γενήσεσθε εὐχαῖς τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἡμῶν.	Πάντες φίλοι μου ἐστέ· πάντες τέκνα μου· καρδία, νοῦς, χαρά, εὐδοκία, ἀγαλλίασις, στέφανος, καύχημα, δύναμις, σῶσμα, κἂν οὐκ εἰμὶ ἄξιος τοὺς λόγους τοῦτους διαγορεύειν, πάντας γοῦν ὑμᾶς θέλω σώζεσθαι· πάντας ἀνδραγαθεῖν, εὐδοκιμεῖν, κἂν ἀσωτός εἰμι, καθαίρεσθαι, ὑψοῦσθαι· καί γε ἐλπίδας ἔχω εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν καὶ Θεόν· δι᾽ ὃν πάντες συνεληλύθαμεν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον, ὅτι καὶ γίνεσθε καὶ γενήσεσθε εὐχαῖς τοῦ ἁγίου ἡμῶν πατρός.

Ἡ ῥαθυμία ἀπέστω, ἡ ὀκνηρία διωκέσθω· γενώμεθα θερμοὶ πρὸς Θεὸν καὶ φερέπονοι τὴν ἄσκησιν· καὶ μηδὲν ἡμᾶς ἀποτειχίσῃ τοῦ πόθου τοῦ Θεοῦ· μηδὲ νηστεία, μηδὲ ἀγρυπνία, μηδὲ κόπος μηδὲ ψύχος, μηδὲ θάλπος, μηδὲ θλῖψις, μηδὲ ὕβρις, μηδὲ σπάνις χρειῶν·	Ἡ ῥαθυμία ἀπέστω, ἡ ὀκνηρία διωκέσθω. Γενώμεθα δὲ θερμοὶ πρὸς Θεὸν καὶ φερέπονοι πρὸς τὴν ἄσκησιν· καὶ μηδὲν ἡμᾶς ἀποτειχίσῃ τοῦ πόθου τοῦ Θεοῦ· μηδὲ νηστεία, μηδὲ ἀγρυπνία, μηδὲ ψύχος μηδὲ κρυμός, μηδὲ θάλπος, μηδὲ ὕβρις, μηδὲ σπάνις χρειῶν·
ἀλλὰ πάντα δεύτερα ἡγούμενοι, πρῶτον σχῶμεν τὴν σωτηρίαν ἡμῶν· μιμνησκόμενοι πῶς ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν καὶ δεσπότης, δι' ἡμᾶς ἔπαθεν ἃ ἔπαθεν·	ἀλλὰ πάντα δεύτερα ἡγούμενοι, πρόκρειττον σχῶμεν τὴν σωτηρίαν ἡμῶν· μιμνησκόμενοι πῶς ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν καὶ δεσπότης, δι' ἡμᾶς τὰ προειρημένα ἔπαθεν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τὰ ἐπώδυνα.
ἀλλὰ ποταπὴ ἰσότης δούλου πρὸς δεσπότην· ὅμως ἀγαθὸς ὤν, δέχεται τὴν μικρὰν ἡμῶν πρόθεσιν· καὶ τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν αὐτὸν ἐγγὺς ἐστὶ κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον· καὶ τοῖς ζητοῦσιν αὐτὸν ἀ ε ἰ πάρεστιν· ὅτι αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.	Ποταπὴ ἰσότης δούλου πρὸς δεσπότην· ὅμως ἀγαθὸς ὤν, ὑπὲρ ἀγαθότητα δέχεται τὴν μικρὰν ἡμῶν πρόθεσιν· καὶ τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν αὐτὸν ἐγγὺς ἐστὶ κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον· καὶ τοῖς ζητοῦσιν αὐτὸν εὐ ρ ε τ ι κ ῶ ς πάρεστιν. (K 68 picks up directly)

Neilos/Evagrios:
K 342

De oratione, PG 79, 1184c-1188a
(readings in brackets from ms.
Monacensis gr. 498)

Πατέρες μου καὶ τέκνα·
τῆς προσευχῆς ἐπιμελώμεθα·
τὸν νοῦν ἡμῶν ὅλον ἑαυτοῖς
περιφέροντες καὶ τοῖς παρ'
ἡμῶν λεγομένοις ἐφιστῶντες,
καὶ μηδέν τι τῶν βιοτικῶν
συρφετῶν παρεισδύναι
συγχωροῦντες·
προσευχόμενοι δέ,
συντριβώμεθά τε καὶ
δακρύωμεν· εἰ δέ τις
λογισμὸς ἡμῖν ἐπαναμήσεται,
μὴ **χρείαν εἶναι** ἡμῖν
δακρύων ὑποτιθεὶς διὰ τὰς
ἁμαρτίας *ἡμῶν*· ὡς ἤδη
ταύτας ἐκκαθάρασι, τότε
σκοπῶμεν, ὅτι πολὺ τοῦ Θεοῦ
ἀφεστήκαμεν· καίτοι
ὀφείλοντες ἐν αὐτῷ διὰ
παντὸς *εἶναι*, καὶ τηνικαῦτα
ταπεινωθῶμεν καὶ
θερμοτέρον *δακρύσωμεν*
ἐπιγνόντες *ἡμῶν τὸ μέτρον*·
καὶ κατὰ τὸν μέγαν Ἡσαΐαν,
ἡδέως *πενθήσωμεν* ὡς
ἀκάθαρτοι *ὄντες*, καὶ
ἀκάθαρτα χείλη *ἔχοντες καὶ*
τολμῶντες ἐναντίον *Κυρίου*
Σαβαὼθ παρεστάναι· καὶ τότε
ἀληθῶς προσευξώμεθα.
Ἀληθῶς δὲ *προσευχόμενοι*,
πληροφορηθῶμεν ὅτι
ἄγγελοι ἐλεύσονται *πρὸς*
ἡμᾶς καὶ τοὺς λόγους τῶν
γινομένων φωτιοῦσιν

[οη΄]
Ὅταν δόξῃς μὴ **δεῖσθαι**
δακρύων *ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ σου*
δι' ἁμαρτίας, **σκόπει** πόσον
ἀφέστηκας Θεοῦ, *ὀφείλων*
εἶναι ἐν αὐτῷ διὰ παντός, καὶ
θερμότερον *δακρύσεις*.

[οθ΄] Ναὶ μὴν *ἐπιγινώσκων τὰ*
μέτρα σου, ἡδέως *πενθήσεις*,
ταλανίζων ἑαυτὸν κατὰ τὸν
Ἡσαΐαν, ὡς *ἀκάθαρτος ὤν*,
[καὶ ἀκάθαρτα χείλη *ἔχων*], καὶ
ἐν μέσῳ λαοῦ τοιούτου
ὑπάρχων, τοὐναντίον *τολμᾷς*
Κυρίῳ Σαβαὼθ
παρεστάναι. [π΄] Ἐὰν ἀληθῶς
προσεύχῃ, πολλὴν
πληροφορίαν εὑρήσεις, καὶ
ἄγγελοι *συν*ελεύσονταί *σοι*
[ὡς καὶ τὸ Δανιὴλ] καὶ τοὺς
λόγους τῶν

ἡμῖν· καὶ ὅτι **αὐτοὶ** προτρέπονται ἡμᾶς εἰς προσευχὴν καὶ συμπαρίστανται ἡμῖν, χαίροντες ἅμα καὶ *ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν* προσευχόμενοι· ἐὰν ἀμελήσωμεν καὶ δεξώμεθα λόγους ἐναντίους λίαν παροξύνομεν αὐτούς· ὅτιπερ αὐτοὶ μέν, *τοσοῦτον* ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν

ἀγωνίζονται· ἡμεῖς δέ, οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν *τὸν θεὸν* βουλόμεθα ἱκετεῦσαι, ἀλλὰ καταφρονοῦντες τῆς *ἑαυτῶν* λειτουργίας καὶ τῷ *Δεσπότῃ καὶ θεῷ* καταλιμπάνοντες, δαίμοσιν ἀκαθάρτοις ἐντυγχάνομεν.

Προσευχώμεθα τοίνυν ἐπιεικῶς καὶ ἀταράχως, καὶ *ψάλλωμεν* συνετῶς καὶ εὐρύθμως, καὶ *ἐσόμεθα* ὡς *νεοττοὶ* ἀετοῦ ἐν ὕψει αἰρόμ*ενοι*·
ἡ μὲν γὰρ ψαλμωδία, τὰ πάθη κατευνάζει· καὶ τὴν ἀκρασίαν τοῦ σώματος ἠρεμεῖν ἀπεργάζεται· ἡ δὲ προσευχὴ ἐνεργεῖν παρασκευάζει τὸν νοῦν,

γινομένων φωτοῦσι. [πα] Γίνωσκε, ὅτιπερ **οἱ ἅγιοι ἄγγελοι** προτρέπονται ἡμᾶς εἰς προσευχὴν καὶ συμπαρίστανται ἡμῖν χαίροντες ἅμα, καὶ προσευχόμενοι *ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν*· ἐὰν οὖν ἀμελήσωμεν, καὶ δεξώμεθα λογισμοὺς ἐναντίους· λίαν παροξύνομεν αὐτοὺς, ὅτιπερ [αὐτοὶ] ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀγωνίζονται *τοσοῦτον*, ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν βουλόμεθα ἱκετεῦσαι *τὸν θεὸν*· ἀλλὰ καταφρονοῦντες τῆς *αὐτῶν* λειτουργίας, καὶ τὸν τούτων [*Δεσπότην καὶ θεὸν*] καταλιμπάνοντες δαίμοσιν ἀκαθάρτοις συντυγχάνομεν.

[πβ] *Προσεύχου* ἐπιεικῶς, καὶ ἀταράχως, καὶ *ψάλλε* συνετῶς καὶ εὐρύθμως, καὶ *ἔσῃ* ὡς *νεοσσὸς* ἀετοῦ ἐν ὕψει *αἰρόμενος*.

[πγ] Ἡ μὲν ψαλμωδία τὰ πάθη κατευνάζει, καὶ τὴν ἀκρασίαν τοῦ σώματος ἠρεμεῖν ἀπεργάζεται. Ἡ δὲ προσευχὴ ἐνεργεῖν παρασκευάζει τὸν νοῦν τὴν ἰδίαν

τὴν ἰδίαν ἐνεργείαν· ἡ δὲ τοῦ νοῦ ἐνεργεία ἐστὶ τὸ ἀεὶ ἐννοεῖν καὶ διαγινώσκειν τὸ ποικίλον καὶ πολυμερὲς καὶ πολύτροπον τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ σοφίας καὶ προνοίας καὶ ἐνεργείας· εἰ δὲ οὔπω ἐλάβομεν χάρισμα προσευχῆς, ἢ ψαλμωδίας, ἐφερευνώμεν [καὶ] ληψόμεθα· καὶ

μὴ ἐκκακῶμεν, μηδὲ ἀθυμῶμεν, εἰ πολλάκις προσευξάμενοι οὐκ ἐλάβομεν· ληψόμεθα γὰρ ὕστερον

ἐκ παντός· φησὶ γὰρ εἰ καὶ Θεὸν οὐ φοβοῦμαι, καὶ ἄνθρωπον οὐκ ἐντρέπομαι, ἀλλά γε διὰ τὸ κόπους μοι παρέχειν τὴν χήραν, ποιήσω τὴν κρίσιν αὐτῆς· οὕτως οὖν καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ποιήσει τὴν ἐκδίκησιν τῶν βοώντων πρὸς αὐτὸν νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, ἐν τάχει.

Εὐθυμῶμεν οὖν προσκαρτεροῦντες εὐ τό νως τῇ προσευχῇ τῇ ἁγίᾳ, καὶ μὴ θέλωμεν ὡς ἡμῖν δοκεῖ, ἀλλ' ὡς Θεῷ ἀρέσκει γίνεσθαι τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐσόμεθα ἀτάραχοι

ἐνέργειαν. [πδ om.] [πε] ἡ μὲν ψαλμωδία τύπος τῆς ποικίλης σοφίας ἐστίν, ἡ δὲ προσευχῆ, προοίμιόν ἐστι τῆς ἀΰλου, καὶ ποικίλης γνώσεως. [πστ om.]

[πζ] Εἰ οὐδέπω ἔλαβες χάρισμα προσευχῆς ἢ ψαλμωδίας, ἐπέδρευσον, καὶ λήψῃ. [πη]
Ἔλεγε δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ παραβολὴν πρὸς τὸ δεῖν αὐτοὺς πάτοτε προσεύχεσθαι, καὶ μὴ ἐκκακειν· οὐκοῦν μὴ ἐκκακέι τέως, μηδὲ ἀθύμει ὡς μὴ λαβών· λήψῃ γὰρ ὕστερον· καὶ ἐπήγαγε τῇ παραβολῇ, τό [γὰρ εἰ] καὶ Θεὸν οὐ φοβοῦμαι, καὶ ἄνθρωπον οὐκ ἐντρέπομαι, ἀλλά γε διὰ τὸ κόπους παρέχειν μοι τὴν γυναῖκα, ποιήσω τὴν [κρίσιν] αὐτῆς· οὕτως οὖν καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ποιήσει τὴν ἐκδίκησιν τῶν βοώντων πρὸς αὐτὸν νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐν τάχει. Εὐθύμει τοιγαροῦν ἡμέρας ἐν τάχει.
Εὐθύμει τοιγαροῦν προσκαρτερῶν ἐμπόνως τῇ ἁγίᾳ προσευχῇ. [πθ] Μὴ θελήσῃς ὡς σοι δοκεῖ, ἀλλ' ὡς Θεῷ ἀρέσκει [γενέσθαι] τὰ κατά σε, καὶ ἔσῃ ἀτάραχος, καὶ εὐχάριστος ἐν προσευχῇ σου.

καὶ εὐχάριστοι ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ ἡμῶν. Φυλαττώμεθα τὸν τῆς πορνείας δαίμονα προσευχόμενοι· κἂν γὰρ μετὰ Θεοῦ δοκῶμεν εἶναι, καὶ μετ' εὐλαβείας καὶ πόθου αὐτῷ παριστάμεθα· ἀλλὰ λίαν ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνος ἀπατεὼν καὶ φθονερώτατος, καὶ ὀξύτερος βούλεται εἶναι τῆς κινήσεως καὶ νήψεως τοῦ νοὸς ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ἀποσπᾷν αὐτόν. Διὰ τοιοῦτο προσέχωμεν νηφόντως, μὴ τὰ ....

[F] Κἂν μετὰ Θεοῦ δοκῇς εἶναι, φυλάττου [τὸν] τῆς πορνείας δαίμονα. Λίαν γάρ ἐστιν ἀπατεών, καὶ φθονερώτατος, καὶ βούλεται ὀξύτερος εἶναι τῆς κινήσεως καὶ νήψεως τοῦ νοός σου, [ὡς] καὶ ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ἀποσπᾷν αὐτὸν παρεστῶτα αὐτῷ μετ' εὐλαβείας, καὶ φόβου.

Appendix V: The Catechesis of St Auxentios.

Transcription from *Cromwell* 22, pp. 415a-417b.

μηνὶ φευρουἀρίῳ, ιδ΄

εἰς τὴν μνήμην τοῦ ὁσίου π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶν Αὐξεντίου·

Ἀδελφαὶ καὶ μητέρες·

καλὸν μὲν ἦν καὶ δίκαιον, τὴν παροῦσαν κατήχησιν πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν ὁσιότητα ἡμᾶς ποιήσασθαι· τὴν ὑπόθεσιν καὶ τὴν ἀφορμὴν λαβοῦσαι ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων ἡμερῶν τῆς νηστείας· καὶ ταύτῃ τὰς ὑμετέρας ψυχὰς παραθεῖξαι καὶ διεγεῖραι πρὸς τὸ προκείμενον στάδιον τῶν ἀγώνων· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁρῶ πάσας ὑμὰς χάριτι Χ(ριστο)ῦ · μὴ δεομένας τῆς ἑτέρων νουθεσίας· ἢ διδασκαλίας· διὰ τὰς ἤδη ἀρχομένας παρὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἀρχόντων καλῶς ῥυθμίζεσθαι καὶ διδάσκεσθαι· τὰς δὲ ἄρχουσας, παρὰ τῶν προαρξάντων αὐτῶν ἄκρως ἐκπαιδευθῆναι· κἀκεῖνας δὲ παρὰ τῶν ἄνωθεν, τοῦτο μὲν ἀποφυγεῖν ἔκρινα δέον· ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡμέρα πανηγύρεως· καὶ πανηγύρεως, οὐκ ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν π(ατέ)ρων· <u>ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἡμετέρου ἁγίου καὶ π(α)τρ(ό)ς· καὶ τῆς ἐρήμου ταύτης, οἰκήτορος καὶ καθηγητοῦ·</u> περὶ δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς ὁμιλῆσαι· καὶ δεῖξαι οἵων κατηξίωσεν ἀγαθῶν ὁ φιλάν(θρωπ)ος Θ(εὸ)ς τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως τὸ ἀσθενές.

Ἐκ π(ατέ)ρων ἀρχαίων μεμάθηκα· ταῖς τῶν ἁγίων μνήμαις καὶ πανηγύρεσι· συναγάλλεσθαι τοῖς ἀν(θρώπ)οις καὶ συνευφραίνεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὰς τὰς οὐ(ρα)νίους δυνάμεις· καὶ πείθομαι τοῦτο· αἱ γὰρ τοῦ ὑπεναντίου δυνάμεις· ὁρῶσαι ἄν(θρωπ)ον ἀπολλύμενον· καὶ εἰς βάραθρον ἀπωλείας

καταγόμενον· ἐπαγάλλονται, εὔδηλον ὅτι καὶ τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ σκιρτῶσι καὶ ἐπευφραίνονται ψυχ(ὴν) σωζομένην κατανοοῦσαι· καὶ δι᾽ ἀρετῶν ἀναβάσεως, αὐτὰς συγχορεύουσαν.

Τί οὖν ὑψηλότερον ἢ μακαριώτερ(ον) τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης καὶ δόξης, ὅτ᾽ ἂν ὁ ἐνάρετος ἐν οὐρανοῖς μακαρίζηται· καὶ ἡ μνήμη αὐτοῦ, παρὰ τ(ῶν) τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ δυνάμεων ἐγκωμιάζηται· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ ἱεροψάλτης Δα(υί)δ· εἰδὼς τὸ τῶν δικαίων ἐγκώμιον· ἐγκώμιον εἶναι μέγα καὶ ὑψηλόν, ἐφθέγξατο· ἡ *αἴνεσις αὐτοῦ, μένει εἰς τ(ὸν) αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος*· καί, *εἰς μνημόσυνον αἰώνιον ἔσται δίκαιος· ἀπὸ ἀκοῆς πονηρᾶς οὐ φοβηθήσεται*· τί δέ ἐστι τὸ ἀπὸ ἀκοῆς πονηρᾶς; Τοῦτέστιν· οὐδὲν πρὸς τοὺς δικαίους, ὁ τῶν κολάσεων φόβος· κἂν ἀρθρέμβολα[1] εἴπῃς· κἂν τήγανα· κἂν λέβητας· κἂν δημεύσεις· κἂν ὑπερορίας· κἂν ἐπιβουλάς· κἂν ἄλλο τι οὖν τ(ῶν) δοκούντων εἶναι πονηρ(ῶν) ἐν τῷ βίῳ καὶ φοβερῶν, οὐ πτοήσει τὸν δίκαιον· διατί; Ὅτι ἑτοίμη ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ ἐλπίζειν ἐπὶ Κ(ύριο)ν· *ἐστήρικται ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ, οὐ μὴ φοβηθῇ.*

Μακαριστέον τοίνυν τοὺς φιλαρέτους· ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι βίῳ δοξάζοντ(αι) παρὰ τοῦ δοξαζομένου αὐτῶν Θ(εο)ῦ· καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι, *ὡς ὁ ἥλιος ἐκλάμψουσι*· μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἥλιον· ὡς οὐ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι σύγκρισίς τις τοῦ φωτὸς ἐκείνου· ἢ ὁμοίωσις, οὕτως οὐδὲ κατ᾽ ἀξίαν ἔπαινος τῶν ἀειμνήστων αὐτῶν ἔργω(ν)· τίνα δέ εἰσι τὰ ἔργα; Ἀγάπη· ταπεινοφροσύνη· πραότης· κακουχία· στενότης γαστρός· παρθενία· σιγὴ εὔλογος· μνήμη θανάτου· δάκρυα δίκαια· δι᾽ ὧν πτεροῦταί τις καὶ κουφίζεται τοῦ σωματικοῦ βάρους, ἐξ ἀν(θρώπ)ων· γενόμενος ἄγγελος.

---

[1]ἀρθρέβολα Cr

Πλὴν αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι ἀρεταί, αὐταὶ καθ' ἑαυτὰς εἰσὶ μονομερεῖς· οὐ περιεκτικαί· οὐδὲ συνεζευγμέναι καὶ ἡνωμέναι ταῖς ἀλλήλων ἐνεργείαις καὶ ἰδιότησιν· ἀλλὰ μεμερισμέναι καὶ οἵων ἀπωκισμέναι ἑκατέρων· ἡ δὲ κατὰ Θ(εὸ)ν ἀγάπη, πασῶν ἐστὶ περιεκτικὴ καὶ συνεκτική· οὐδένα γὰρ βδελύσσεται· οὐ μικρόν· οὐ μέγαν· οὐκ ἔνδοξον· οὐ πλούσιον· οὐ πένητα· ἀλλὰ πάντων περίψημα ἑαυτὸν ποιεῖ, ὁ τὴν κατὰ Θ(εὸ)ν κεκτημένος ἀγάπην· ὁ τοιοῦτος, ἐν δόλῳ οὐ πορευθήσεται· οὐχ' ὑποσκελίζει τὸν ἀδελφόν· οὐκ ἐπαίρεται κατά τινος· οἰκεῖα δὲ τὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἡγεῖται· εἴτε δυστυχήματα, εἴτε εὐτυχήματα· μακάριος οὖν ὁ ταύτην κεκτημένος, ὅτι ἐν τῷ Θ(ε)ῷ μένει· αὐτῷ πρέπει δόξα· κράτος· τιμή· καὶ προσκύνησις· νῦν καὶ ἀεί· καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀτελευτήτους αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

