

**A Study of the Metaphrastic Process:  
the case of the unpublished *Passio of St James the Persian* (BHG 773),  
*Passio of St Plato* (BHG 1551-1552), and *Vita of St Hilarion* (BHG 755)  
by Symeon Metaphrastes**

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
at the University of London (Royal Holloway)

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*In memory of Julian*

Candidate's declaration:

I confirm that this PhD thesis is entirely my own work. All sources and quotations have been acknowledged. The main works consulted are listed in the bibliography.

Candidate's signature:

## ABSTRACT

**A Study of the Metaphrastic Process:  
the case of the unpublished *Passio of St James the Persian* (BHG 773),  
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Hagiography was one of the most popular literary genres in Byzantium. *Vitae* of Saints and *Passiones* of Martyrs were produced *en masse* to meet the spiritual needs of the Christian communities. These texts, modelled on the ancient Greek tradition of *Bioi* and projecting the Christian ideals of sanctity, were developed through the centuries. The re-working of early hagiographical texts by Symeon Metaphrastes in the tenth century marks a turning point in the Byzantine hagiographical tradition as the Metaphrastic Menologion became the established corpus of hagiographical texts used in the liturgical life of the Orthodox Church, of the monastic communities in particular. The present thesis is a study of the process of the re-writing of earlier material by Symeon, on the basis of an annotated edition of the metaphrastic *Passio of St James the Persian*, the *Passio of Plato*, and the *Vita of St Hilarion*. The aim of the thesis is to explore further the methodology Symeon used in the re-working of these texts, by comparing them with the surviving premetaphrastic sources. The thesis is divided into two **Parts (I-II)**. **Part I** comprises an Introduction, and three chapters (**I-III**). The **Introduction** presents the aims and scope of the thesis, as well as the material used and the methodology employed, and briefly examines the Metaphrastic Menologion in the light of previous research, focusing on questions concerning its authorship and the manuscript tradition. **Chapter I** is devoted to a description of the manuscripts (Mss) used in the present edition, followed by a palaeographical examination of the texts, before the relations of the Mss is established. This section closes with a note on the conventions and *sigla* adopted in the edition. **Chapter II** contains an edition of the three aforementioned texts, accompanied by an *apparatus fontium* and *apparatus criticus*. **Chapter III** is a commentary elucidating the three texts. **Part II (Chapter IV)** examines the metaphrastic process on the basis of a detailed comparison of the three texts edited in the thesis with their extant premetaphrastic sources in terms of historical information, development of the plot, and a textual analysis including structure, syntax, vocabulary and style (**Sections A-C**). The **Conclusions** summarise the findings of the thesis in an attempt to give an assessment of the method and techniques used in the metaphrastic process. The thesis closes with full **bibliography** and **Plates** with

facsimiles of selected folios of Mss cited.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AASS</i>	<i>Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana</i> , vols. 1-67 (Brussels, 1902-70)
<i>AB</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> (Paris-Brussels, 1882-)
Bartelink, <i>Vie d'Antoine</i>	G.J.M. Bartelink, <i>Athanase d'Alexandrie, Vie d'Antoine</i> , SC 400 (Paris, 1994)
Bastiaensen & Smit, <i>Vita</i>	A.A.R. Bastiaensen & J. W. Smit eds., <i>Vita di Martino, Vita di Ilarione, In memoria di Paola</i> (Milan, 1975)
Berger and Billen, <i>Dictionnaire</i>	W. Buchwald, A. Hohlweg and O. Prinz, <i>Tusculum-Lexikon griechischer und lateinischer Autoren des Alterums und des Mittelalters</i> (Munich, 1982), French trans. By J.D. Berger and J. Billen, <i>Dictionnaire des auteurs grecs et latins de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Âge</i> (Paris, 1991)
<i>BF</i>	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i> (Amsterdam, 1966-)
<i>BHG</i>	F. Halkin ed., <i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca</i> , Subsidia Hagiographica, 8a, 2 vols. & Supplément (Brussels, 1957 <sup>3</sup> )
<i>BHG<sup>a</sup></i>	F. Halkin ed., <i>Auctarium Bibliothecae Hagiographicae Graecae</i> , Subsidia Hagiographica, 47 (Brussels, 1969)
<i>BHG<sup>na</sup></i>	F. Halkin ed., <i>Novum Auctarium Bibliothecae Hagiographicae Graecae</i> , Subsidia Hagiographica, 65 (Brussels, 1984)
<i>BHL</i>	Société des Bollandistes ed., <i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina</i> , 2 vols., Subsidia Hagiographica, 6, 12 (Brussels, 1898-1900)
<i>BHO</i>	Société des Bollandistes ed., <i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis</i> , Subsidia Hagiographica, 10 (Brussels, 1910)
Bidez, <i>Philostorgius</i>	J. Bidez ed., <i>Philostorgius Kirchengeschichte</i> , Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller, 21 (Leipzig, 1913)
Bronzini, 'La leggenda'	G.B. Bronzini, 'La leggenda di Santa Caterina di Alessandria. Passioni greche e latine', in <i>Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Memorie</i> , Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, serie VIII, vol. 9, 2 (Rome, 1960), pp. 257-416
<i>Butler's Lives of the Saints</i>	D.H. Farmer ed. (revised by S. Fawcett Thomas), <i>Butler's Lives of the Saints</i> (Tunbridge Wells-Collegeville, Minn., 1997)
<i>Byz</i>	<i>Byzantion</i> (Paris-Liège, 1924-29; Brussels, 1930-)
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i> (Leipzig-Munich, 1892-)
Cabrol & Leclercq, 'Gaza'	F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, 'Gaza', in <i>Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie</i> , vol. XVI (Paris, 1924), cols 695-720

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- CPh* *Classical Philology* (Chicago, 1906-)
- CPG* E.L. Leutsch & F.G. Schneidewin eds., *Corpus Paroimiographorum Graecorum*, 2 vols. (Göttingen, 1839, 1851); repr. Hildesheim, 1965<sup>2</sup>; Supplementum, eds. L. Cohn, O. Crusius, H. Jungblut (Breslau, 1887); repr. Hildesheim, 1961<sup>2</sup>)
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- DOP* *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (Cambridge, MA, 1941-)
- Ehrhard, *Überlieferung* A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand hagiographischer und homiletischer Literatur der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*, vol. II (Leipzig, 1939)
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- JÖB** *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* (Vienna, 1951-)
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- ODB** A. Kazhdan ed.-in-chief, *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols. (New York-Oxford, 1991)
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- Peyr, 'Zum Umarbeitung' E. Peyr, 'Zur Umarbeitung rhetorischer Texte durch Symeon Metaphrastes', *JÖB* 42 (1992), pp. 143-155
- PG** J.P. Migne ed., *Patrologiae cursus completus ...*, series Graeco-latina, 161 vols. In 166 (Paris, 1857-1891)
- PL** J.P. Migne ed., *Patrologiae cursus completus ...*, series Latina, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844-1855)
- Psellos, *Encomium* Michael Psellos, *Encomium in Symeonem Metaphrastem*, ed. E.A. Fisher, *Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae* (Teubner: Leipzig, 1994), pp. 267-288

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- RSDN* *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, n.s. (Rome 1964-)
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- SC Sources chrétiennes (Paris)
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- TLG* *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae. A Digital Library of Greek Literature*
- Tougaard, *De l'histoire* A. Tougaard, *De l'histoire profane dans les Actes grecs des Bollandistes* (Paris, 1874)
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**PART I**

**Three Unpublished Metaphrastic Texts**

## INTRODUCTION

### Symeon and the Metaphrastic Menologion

Hagiography enjoyed great popularity in Byzantium throughout the centuries. As a distinct literary genre, it not only met the spiritual needs of the Christian communities in the Empire, but also represented an important aspect of the intellectual life of the readers and audience. Building on the long tradition of the *Lives* of the philosophers in Classical and Late Antiquity, the *Lives* of Saints and *Passiones* of Martyrs of the new faith, based on the principle of *imitatio Christi*, became the models of a Christian way of life. Encomiastic in nature and style, the hagiographical texts were composed following the rhetorical rules established in Late Antiquity<sup>1</sup>. Apart from their intrinsic value as literary works, often these biographies are important historical sources, reflecting the values and principles of the Byzantine world, at the same time shedding light on many aspects of Byzantine life, society and economy<sup>2</sup>. For this reason, the study of Byzantine hagiography is a *sine qua non* for an in-depth understanding of Byzantine culture, the developments it experienced throughout its long existence, and the influence this tradition exercised in medieval society, and still exercises in the modern world.

The re-working of earlier hagiographical texts by Symeon Metaphrastes in the tenth century marked a turning point in the cultural history of Byzantium and its 'commonwealth', as his Menologion became the standard reading in the

<sup>1</sup> According to Aelius Theon, *Progymnasmata* (1st-2nd c. AD) and (Ps.-)Menander Rhetor (3rd c. AD) such *epideictic* orations comprised the following sections: prooimion, birth-place (πατρίς) the people (ἔθνος), family (γένος), deeds (πράξεις), fortune/fate (τύχη), accomplishments and deeds (ἐπιτηδεύματα, πράξεις), comparison (σύγκρισις) with *exempla* of the past, followed by an epilogue. See (Ps.-) Menander Rhetor, *Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν*, ed. L. Spengel, *Rhetores graeci*, vol. III (Leipzig, 1856), pp. 368-388; ed. and trans. by D.A. Russell and N.G. Wilson, *Menander Rhetor* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 76-95.

<sup>2</sup> See F. Halkin, 'L'hagiographie byzantine au service de l'histoire', in *Proceedings of the 13th congress of Byzantine Studies* (London, 1967), pp. 345-354; S. Hackel ed., *The Byzantine Saint, University of Birmingham. 14th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies* (London, 1981), esp. the article in the same volume by R. Browning, 'The "Low Level" Saint's Life in the Early Byzantine world', pp. 117-127; C. Mango, 'Il Santo', in *L'uomo bizantino*, ed. G. Cavallo (Bari, 1992), pp. 383-422; L. Rydén, 'Literariness in Byzantine Saints' Lives', in *Les Vies des Saints à Byzance. Genre Littéraire ou biographie historique? Actes du II<sup>e</sup> colloque internationale philologique, Paris, 6, 7, 8, juin 2002*, Dossier Byzantines, 4 (Paris, 2004), pp. 49-58. On Byzantine hagiography in 9th and 10th century, see S. Efthymiadis, 'The Byzantine Hagiographer and his Audience in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries', in *Metaphrasis: Redactions and Audiences in middle Byzantine Hagiography*, ed. C. Høgel (Oslo, 1996), pp. 59-80. On the 'antiquarianism' of Byzantine hagiographers see C. Rapp, 'Byzantine Hagiographers as Antiquarians. 7th to 10th centuries', in *Bosphorus. Essays in honour of C. Mango*, eds. C. Rapp, S. Efthymiadis and D. Tzougarakis (= BF 21) (Amsterdam, 1995), pp. 21-44.

Orthodox Church within the Empire and beyond its territory in the Slavic world. From an historical point of view this development reflects the characteristics of the cultural movement to which certain scholars refer as 'Macedonian Renaissance'. In this respect, the Metaphrastic Menologion represents a typical example of the 'encyclopaedic' compilations produced under the Macedonian dynasty under imperial patronage<sup>3</sup>, characterised by a study of ancient prototypes and the re-evaluation and re-interpretation of previous tradition, such as the works by the scholar Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (913-959) and the scholar Patriarch Photios (858-867 and 878-886), and the *Suda* lexicon<sup>4</sup>.

Very little is known about Symeon. Born of a noble family sometime during the reign of Leo VI (886-912)<sup>5</sup>, he lived in Constantinople during the reigns of Constantine VII, Romanus II (959-963) and Nicephorus II Phocas (963-969)<sup>6</sup>. Symeon followed a career in the imperial service. He held the office of *protoasekretis*, then he was granted the title of *magistros* and finally was appointed *logothetês tou dromou*<sup>7</sup>. Towards the end of his life Symeon probably became a monk. The dirge Nikephoros Ouranos wrote on Symeon's death suggests that he died sometime after 987<sup>8</sup>. Additional information on his work is given by Michael Psellos, who wrote an *akolouthia* and an *enkomion* in praise of Symeon<sup>9</sup>.

Symeon earned the epithet Μεταφραστής on account of his major undertaking, known as the *Metaphrastic Menologion*, a voluminous collection of hagiographical texts organised in accordance with the feasts included in the Orthodox ecclesiastical

<sup>3</sup> See P. Odorico, 'La cultura della συλλογή', *BZ* 83 (1990), 1-21.

<sup>4</sup> See P. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin* (Paris, 1971), esp. pp. 293-295.

<sup>5</sup> This date was considered too early by A. Kazhdan and N.P. Ševčenko, 'Symeon Metaphrastes', in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed.-in-chief A. Kazhdan, vol. 3 (New York-Oxford, 1991), pp. 1983-84, but C. Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes: Rewriting and Canonization* (Copenhagen, 2002), p. 70, pointed out that it is not impossible.

<sup>6</sup> For general information on Symeon's life, see J. Gouillard, 'Syméon Logothète et Magistros, surnommé le Métaphraste' in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, vol. 14/2 (Paris, 1941), cols. 2959-2972; W. Buchwald, A. Hohlweg and O. Prinz, *Tusculum-Lexikon griechischer und lateinischer Autoren des Alterums und des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1982), French trans. by J.D. Berger and J. Billen, *Dictionnaire des auteurs grecs et latins de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1991), p. 802; and Høgel, *Symeon*, esp. pp. 68-80.

<sup>7</sup> See Berger and Billen, *Dictionnaire*, p. 802; D.H. Farmer ed. (revised by S. Fawcett Thomas), *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, vol. November (Tunbridge Wells-Collegeville, Minn., 1997), p. 216. For Psellos' reference to Symeon as a logothete, see his Poem 23, 'Officium Metaphrastae', ed. L.G. Westerink, *Michael Psellus, Poemata* (Teubner: Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1992), pp. 277-285.44 and 70. For the offices of *protoasekretis*, *magistros* and *logothetês tou dromou*, see N. Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles* (Paris, 1972), pp. 310-12, and J. Darrouzès, *Recherche sur les offikia de l'église byzantine* (Paris, 1970), pp. 33, 359-362.

<sup>8</sup> Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 64.

<sup>9</sup> Michael Psellos, *Encomium in Symeonem Metaphrastem*, ed. E.A. Fisher, *Michaelis Pselli Orationes Hagiographicae* (Teubner: Leipzig, 1994), pp. 267-288.



calendar<sup>10</sup>. According to Psellos, this work was commissioned by an emperor, though his name is not given<sup>11</sup>. It still remains unclear whether it was Romanus II, Nicephorus II or Constantine VII.

Symeon undertook the ambitious task of rewriting/rephrasing (μεταφράζειν<sup>12</sup>) a great number of earlier Saints' *Lives*. It has been generally accepted that Symeon's ambitious task aimed at reworking these texts in order to standardize and 'purify' the language according to the literary taste of his own generation. Though the practice of changing the style and content of texts of ancient authors was quite common in Byzantium without being considered a falsification<sup>13</sup>, modern scholars criticised this attitude on account of its being detrimental to the premetaphrastic tradition of hagiographical texts. With regard to such strong criticisms, it was the eminent hagiographer Hyppolite Delehaye who above all stigmatized Symeon by calling him "funestissimus homo<sup>14</sup>", responsible for the loss of earlier hagiography<sup>15</sup>. Since these negative views were expressed, a biased attitude surrounded metaphrastic hagiographies, generally considered later pedantic remakes of earlier authentic texts, and, more importantly, the cause of the loss of precious sources. Nonetheless, if we look at Symeon's hagiographical corpus as a whole, it turns out that the majority of its

<sup>10</sup> On the "publication" of the Menologion, see Høgel, *Symeon*, pp. 127-134, who argues that the Menologion was published in two different recensions, the second one after the reign of Basil II (976-1025). On the two recensions of the metaphrastic Menologion, see also Ch. Høgel, 'Hagiography under the Macedonians: The two recensions of the metaphrastic Menologion', in *Byzantium in the year 1000*, ed. P. Magdalino (Leiden, 2003), pp. 216-232. On the production of metaphrastic Mss, see J. Leroy, 'Un copiste de ménologes métaphrastiques', *RSBN*, n.s. 27 ([1990] 1991), pp. 101-131; N.P. Ševčenko, 'Six Illustrated Editions of the Metaphrastian Menologion', *JÖB* 32/4 (1982), pp. 187-195; eadem, *Illustrated manuscripts of the Metaphrastian Menologion*, Studies in Medieval Manuscripts Illumination (Chicago, 1990). On the anonymous *ergastêrion* producing manuscripts of the Metaphrastic Menologion during the second half of the 11th century, see I. Hutter 'Le copiste du Métaphraste. On a center for manuscripts production in eleventh-century Constantinople', in *I manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito. Atti del V colloquio Internazionale di Paleografia Greca (Cremona, 4-10 ottobre 1998)*, ed. G. Prato (Florence, 2000), pp. 535-586.

<sup>11</sup> Psellos, *Encomium*, p. 285.330-334.

<sup>12</sup> On the term 'metaphrasis', see A. Pignani, 'Parafraasi o metafrasi (a proposito della Statua Regia di Niceforo Blemmida)?', *Atti dell'Accademia Pontaniana* 24 (1975), pp. 219-225; eadem, 'La parafrasi come forma d'uso strumentale', *JÖB* 32/3 (1982), pp. 21-32. On the practice of rewriting old Martyrdoms prior to Symeon's undertaking, see S. Efthymiadis, 'John of Sardis and the *Metaphrasis* of the *Passio* of St Nikephoros the Martyr (BHG 1334)', *RSBN* 28 (1991), pp. 24-33.

<sup>13</sup> On the re-employment of earlier material and on the concept of originality in Medieval hagiography (mostly Western), see the articles in *Ideologie e pratiche del reimpiego nell'alto medioevo. Atti del convegno. Spoleto, Centro Italiano di studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 16-21 aprile 1998*, Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 46 (Spoleto, 1999), by M. van Uyftanghe, 'Le remploi dans l'hagiographie: une «loi du genre» qui étouffe l'originalité?', pp. 359-411, and U. Eco, 'Riflessioni sulle tecniche di citazione nel Medioevo', pp. 461-484.

<sup>14</sup> H. Delehaye, 'Les Ménologes grecs', *AB* 16 (1897), p. 328: 'Qui donc est responsable de la disparition de tous ces textes, si ce ne c'est le logothète, dont l'oeuvre a éclipsé celles de ces prédecesseurs?'

<sup>15</sup> Delehaye, 'Les ménologes grecs', pp. 311-329; idem, 'Le ménologe de Métaphraste', *AB* 17 (1898), pp. 448-452; idem, *Synopsis metaphrastica* (Brussels, 1909), repr. in idem, *Synaxaires byzantins, ménologes typica* (Variorum: London, 1977), pp. 267-292.

sources still exist, even though in some cases, they remain unpublished or poorly edited<sup>16</sup>.

On the contrary, Symeon was highly praised by his own contemporaries, above all by the historian, courtier and polymath Psellos<sup>17</sup>. The great popularity of Symeon's hagiographical work in the decades that followed is particularly evident in the large number of extant manuscripts containing his Menologion, which 'became standard reading in monastic circles from the 11th c. onward'<sup>18</sup>.

The structure of the Metaphrastic Menologion is based on the Orthodox feast calendar. It comprises the *Lives* of Saints and the *Passions* of Martyrs celebrated by the Orthodox Church, starting from the beginning of the Byzantine year (1 September). Divided into ten volumes, the Menologion comprises no less than 148 hagiographical texts, as Albert Ehrhard first established<sup>19</sup>. None of these texts are original compositions by Symeon. Some represent early traditions, others are contemporary with Symeon, and only fourteen (or possibly eighteen) have been included with no alterations<sup>20</sup>.

It is not easy to determine the extent to which the collection which came to be known under the name of 'Metaphrastes' 'was the result of his hard labour alone'<sup>21</sup>. The number of the texts suggests that it would have been impossible for him to undertake this task alone. This is confirmed by Psellos in his *enkomion* on Symeon<sup>22</sup>:

... the work was prepared at once by not a small circle <of collaborators>, some of whom first took down the words in shorthand (ἐνσημαινομένων τὴν λέξιν) while others wrote out the text; then one after another, one doing what should be done first, the other what should be done second, upon which, those who checked the texts that were composed, should the scribes have slipped something, would correct the

<sup>16</sup> For a list of the premetaphrastic hagiographical works, see Høgel, *Symeon*, pp. 173-204.

<sup>17</sup> Michael Psellos, *Poemata* 23, 'Officium Metaphrastae', ed. Westerink, pp. 277-85; idem, *Encomium in Symeonem Metaphrastem*, pp. 267-288.

<sup>18</sup> Kazhdan and Ševčenko, 'Symeon Metaphrastes', p. 1983.

<sup>19</sup> A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand hagiographischer und homiletischer Literatur der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*, vol. II (Leipzig 1939), pp. 306-659; idem, 'Die Legendensammlung des Symeon Metaphrastes und ihr ursprünglicher Bestand. Eine paläographische Studie zur griechischen Hagiographie', in *Festschrift zum elfundertjährigen Jubiläum des deutschen Campo Santo in Rom* (Rome, 1897), pp. 46-82.

<sup>20</sup> C. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 92.

<sup>21</sup> C. Høgel, 'The Redaction of Symeon Metaphrastes: Literary aspects of the Metaphrastic martyria' in *Metaphrasis: Redactions and Audiences in Middle Byzantine Hagiography*, ed. C. Høgel (Oslo, 1996), p. 10.

<sup>22</sup> Psellos, *Encomium*, ed. Fisher, p. 285.333-341 (quoted by Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 93): καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ ἡ παρασκευὴ ἐξ ἐτοίμου κύκλος τε οὐ βραχὺς τῶν τε πρώτως ἐνσημαινομένων τὴν λέξιν καὶ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα τιθέντων· καὶ ἄλλος ἐπ' ἄλλω, ὁ μὲν τὰ πρώτα ποιῶν, ὁ δὲ τὰ δεύτερα· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ τὰ συγγεγραμμένα ἐξακριβοῦμενοι, ἵν', ὅ τι τοὺς ὑπογράφας λάθοι, πρὸς τὴν προκειμένην διορθώσωνται ἔννοιαν. οὐ γὰρ ἐνήν αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν συγγραμμάτων πολλακίς τὰ αὐτὰ ἀνακυκλεῖν τε καὶ ἐφορᾶν.

proposed meaning. For it was impossible to him to go through several times and supervise the same <material>, because of the large number of the texts<sup>23</sup>.

The aim of the Metaphrastic undertaking, as Psellos stressed, was to make the texts understandable and enjoyable for both the educated and the uneducated person<sup>24</sup>. Scholars often assert that what Symeon intended to do, was to raise the language of earlier hagiographies to a higher level of style<sup>25</sup>, though the exact meaning of this ‘high style’ is quite vague. In the absence of a clear definition of the various levels of style in Byzantine prose, the attribution to Symeon’s work of a ‘high’ or ‘middle’ style is highly subjective and possibly misleading. It is indicative, however, that Ihor Ševčenko, in his fundamental study on different levels of style in Byzantine prose, referring to Symeon argued that ‘In the light of Psellos’ words we should think twice before assigning the label “high style” to the Metaphrastic corpus. If we insist on continuing to do so we shall then have to establish yet another category, called super-high style<sup>26</sup>. It is also important to bear in mind that Byzantine language was characterized by the coexistence of various linguistic registers, often interconnected among them<sup>27</sup>.

The difficulty in assessing the criteria Symeon may have used in re-editing earlier texts, coupled by the possibility that he may have re-worked intermediate versions which have not survived, makes the analysis of the metaphrastic process even more complex. Another difficulty in studying Symeon’s re-working process is the shortage of reliable critical editions. Almost his whole hagiographical *corpus* was edited<sup>28</sup>, often on the basis of a single Ms., by J.B. Malou in 1864 and included in Migne’s *Patrologia Graeca*, vols. 114-116<sup>29</sup>. Since then, only a small number of Metaphrastic *Vitae* and

<sup>23</sup> My translation. For another translation of this passage, see Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 93.

<sup>24</sup> Psellos, *Encomium*, ed. Fisher, pp. 281-282.260-265: καὶ ἤρεσκεσέ γε κατὰ ταῦτόν ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς γένεσι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ῥυθμῷ καὶ τὸ κάλλει τῆς λέξεως τὸν ἐλλόγιμον ἀκροατὴν ἐφειλκύσατο καὶ ἔθελεν ἰκανῶς τοῖς τῶν χαρίτων θεάτροις, τῷ δέ γε σαφεῖ καὶ ποτίμῳ τὰς ἰδιωτικὰς ἀκοὰς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φωνῆς ἀνηερτήσατο· ἀμφοτέροις τε αὖ ὑπηγάγετο τῷ συντόμῳ καὶ πιθανῷ. In the same encomium (pp. 271-272.55-74) Psellos also stressed that Symeon, well versed in both philosophy and rhetoric, successfully combined both elements in his work (both passages are mentioned by Høgel, ‘The Redaction’, p. 11).

<sup>25</sup> For example, I. Ševčenko, ‘Levels of style in Byzantine Prose’, in *XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress. Akten I/1* (= *JÖB* 31) (Vienna, 1981), pp. 289-312 at pp. 301-303.

<sup>26</sup> Ševčenko, ‘Levels of style’, p. 302.

<sup>27</sup> On this subject, see G. Matino, *Lingua letteraria e pubblico nel tardo antico* (Naples, 1986), esp. pp. 12-16, and on hagiographical works, pp. 20-23; E. Trapp, ‘Learned and Vernacular Literature in Byzantium: Dichotomy or Symbiosis?’, *DOP* 47 (1993), pp. 115-129.

<sup>28</sup> Apart from the three texts edited below (pp. 84-182), only one of Symeon’s hagiographical works still remains unpublished, namely the *Vita of St Eleutherios* (*BHG* 571b), whose manuscript tradition is very complex and deserves a study on its own. Quite recently, the *Passio of St Sebastian* and its abridged version was edited by X. Laqueur, ‘La passion métaphrastique inédite de S. Sébastien, martyr à Rome (*BGH* 1691z) et son abrégé (*BHG* 1620). Présentation et édition des textes’, *AB* 123 (2005), pp. 241-288.

<sup>29</sup> On the compilation of *PG* by Migne, see R. Bloch, *God’s Plagiarist* (Chicago, 1994). On the collaboration of Jean-Baptiste Malou, see A. Hamman, ‘Les principaux collaborateurs des deux

*Passiones* have been re-edited on the basis of a collation of an adequate number of Mss<sup>30</sup>. For this reason, in the present thesis I have included an edition of three out of the four remaining unpublished metaphrastic texts<sup>31</sup>, i.e., the *Passio of St James the Persian* (BHG 773), the *Passio of St Plato* (BHG 1551-1552) and the *Vita of St Hilarion* (BHG 755); for the first and third of these texts reliable editions of earlier versions have been published.

So far very few studies have examined the possible criteria followed by the Metaphrastes (or by his ‘team’) in re-writing earlier hagiographies. H. Zilliagus was the first to examine lexical and stylistic aspects of the metaphrastic works, identifying certain characteristics of the metaphrastic style, such as a tendency to avoid borrowings from Latin<sup>32</sup>, a number of recurring ‘formulae’ and features that appear to be typical of Symeon, such as the typical *incipit* in the prologues (σκήπτρα or ἀρχὴν διέποντες<sup>33</sup> or διιθύνοντες, διέποντες, ἔχοντες, etc.<sup>34</sup>) pointing to a preference for a more ‘classical’ prose in terms of grammar, syntax, vocabulary and rhetorical devices<sup>35</sup>.

More recently, in his monograph *Symeon Metaphrastes. Rewriting and Canonization*, Christian Høgel extensively explored Symeon’s activity. His study comprises a critical survey of all previous studies concerning the Metaphrast, and an investigation concerning the background of Symeon’s activity, namely the hagiographical tradition and other Menologia preceding the metaphrastic undertaking. Høgel pointed out the extent to which the metaphrastic Menologion represents a crucial contribution to the process of the ‘canonization of hagiography’ for liturgical purposes.

The core of Høgel’s study consists of an exhaustive dossier discussing all the available information about Symeon’s life and works, followed by an analysis of the techniques utilised in the composition of his Menologion<sup>36</sup> and a section on its

Patrologies de Migne et le renouveau des études patristiques’, in *Actes du colloque de Saint-Flour, 7-8 juillet 1975*, eds. A. Mandouze and J. Foulheron (= *Théologie historique* 66) (Paris, 1985), pp. 184-191. See also A. Ward, ‘Jaques-Paul Migne (1800-1875): Tradition and Ecclesial Industry’, *Notitiae* 412-413 (Nov.- Dec. 2000), pp. 542-567.

<sup>30</sup> For a full list of the modern editions, see Høgel, *Symeon*, pp. 173-204.

<sup>31</sup> See above, n. 28.

<sup>32</sup> H. Zilliagus, ‘Das lateinische Lehnwort in der griechischen Hagiographie’, *BZ* 37 (1937), pp. 302-344.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. *Life of St Euphemia*, ed. F. Halkin *Euphémie de Chalcedoine* (Brussels, 1965), p. 145: σκήπτρα διέποντες.

<sup>34</sup> See H. Zilliagus, ‘Zur stilistischen Umarbeitungstechnik des Symeon Metaphrastes’, *BZ* 38 (1938), p. 334.

<sup>35</sup> H. Zilliagus, ‘Zur stilistischen’ pp. 333-350 (a list of the most typical *formulae* in pp. 335-336). Høgel, *Symeon*, p.139, gives also a summary of Zilliagus findings.

<sup>36</sup> According to Høgel, *Symeon*, pp. 91-110, the metaphrastic re-working of ‘old texts’ (for the meaning of the term ‘old texts’ see *ibid.*, p. 91, n. 13) could have been brought about using four kinds of

publication and circulation<sup>37</sup>. In a separate chapter Høgel discusses certain stylistic aspects of Symeon's prose<sup>38</sup>. His main argument is that the Metaphrast's aim was to establish the 'authority' of his texts<sup>39</sup>. In order to achieve this, Symeon needed to 'atticise' the prose of earlier hagiographies, though in some cases he chose to simplify the style when this seemed to be too 'bookish' or convoluted (for example in the case of the works by Niketas the Paphlagonian), so that the new version would be more understandable to the 'common audience'<sup>40</sup>. Høgel analyzed the metaphrastic prologues in particular, as in most cases these are brand new compositions, and hence the metaphrastic stylistic hallmarks are more likely to be traced therein. Høgel observed in the prologues: (a) certain recurring themes, for example the fact that the hagiographical reading can be both useful and enjoyable<sup>41</sup>; (b) a number of rhetorical *topoi* are employed, such as that of the *praeteritio*; (c) the use of metaphors and rhetorical questions; (d) the insertion of wordplays; and (e) a moderate use of the first person (unless this repeats earlier versions, in which case it is mostly retained)<sup>42</sup>.

Lately, Elisabeth Schiffer (née Peyr) studied different aspects of the metaphrastic process. In one of her earlier articles she pointed out that Symeon used rhythmical prose<sup>43</sup>. Concerning the metaphrastic process, Schiffer identified certain tendencies, namely that the Metaphrast: (a) re-wrote new prologues (pointed out also by Høgel); (b) summarized detailed descriptions appearing in the earlier texts; and (c) added some pieces of information. Schiffer examined further the metaphrastic method by analysing the relations between various redactions of the *Vita of St Alypius* (BHG 64, 65 and 66d) the *Passio of St Amphilochius* (BHG 72, 73, 73a, 74,75, 75a, 75b) and the *Passio of St Petrus of Alexandria* (BHG 1503), pointing out that the most typical features in Symeon's prose are: (a) a tendency to avoid direct speech; (b) the use of periphrastic expressions and the participle plus εἰμί; and (c) the presence of

procedures/techniques, that can be summarized as follows: (1) the text was incorporated unaltered in the Menologion, possibly changing the prologue and the epilogue; (2) oral rephrasing, taken down in shorthand and then copied, possibly adding some pieces of information; (3) new composition; (4) in a few cases, contamination of different stories.

<sup>37</sup> Høgel, *Symeon*, pp. 126-134.

<sup>38</sup> Høgel, *Symeon*, pp. 135-149.

<sup>39</sup> Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 138.

<sup>40</sup> Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 140, quoting E. Peyr, 'Zur Umarbeitung rhetorischer Texte durch Symeon Metaphrastes', *JÖB* 42 (1992), pp. 143-155.

<sup>41</sup> Høgel, *Symeon*, pp. 142-143.

<sup>42</sup> Høgel, *Symeon*, pp. 144-145.

<sup>43</sup> Peyr, 'Zum Umarbeitung', pp. 143-155.

introductory or explanatory phrases<sup>44</sup>. These observations generally confirm the findings of Zilliacus.

In a more recent article investigating metaphrastic *hypomnemata*<sup>45</sup>, Schiffer suggested that these seem to reflect a didactic attitude, providing historical and geographical information, referring mostly to texts of Biblical or historical content.

Finally, in her unpublished doctoral thesis<sup>46</sup>, Schiffer produced an edition of a group of Symeon's hagiographical texts, namely the *Passio of St Plato* (BHG 1551-1552), the *Passio of St Peter of Alexandria* (BHG 1503) and the *Passio of St Amphilochius* (BHG 72), followed by observations on the metaphrastic style, focusing on grammar, syntax and vocabulary. In Schiffer's thesis some of the observations made by Zilliacus are further confirmed (for example the aforementioned metaphrastic tendency to employ 'periphrastic constructions' with participles plus the verb εἰμί)<sup>47</sup>. Other metaphrastic characteristics highlighted by Schiffer concern the use of (a) periphrasis, (b) compound verbs, (c) atticisms, (d) adverbial accusative, and (e) genitive. The examples used by Schiffer derive, in most cases, from the three texts she edited. It should be noted that, in so far as my own edition of the *Passio of St Plato* (BHG 1551-1552) is concerned, produced independently from Schiffer's edition on the basis of different Mss<sup>48</sup>, I have followed a different method of textual analysis, by comparing it with the earlier texts, showing them side-by-side.

The present thesis is a contribution to the study of the metaphrastic process. It aims to investigate further the metaphrastic *corpus* and assess the methodology that Symeon used in the re-working of these texts, by comparing them with the surviving premetaphrastic sources. Despite expressed reservations on the success of such an endeavour<sup>49</sup>, it is still possible to trace certain features which are quite typical of Symeon's redactions, by analyzing them in the light of their premetaphrastic texts, always bearing in mind that we can never be certain which

<sup>44</sup> E. Schiffer, 'Metaphrastic Lives and Earlier *metaphraseis* of Saints Lives', in Høgel, *Metaphrasis*, pp. 22-41.

<sup>45</sup> E. Schiffer, '„Hypomnema“ als Bezeichnung hagiographischer Texte', in *Wiener Byzantinistik und Neograecistik*, eds. W. Hörandner, J. Koder and M.A. Stassinopoulou, Byzantina et Neograeca Vindobonensia, 24 (Vienna, 2004), pp. 397-407.

<sup>46</sup> E. Schiffer, *Untersuchungen zum Sprachniveau metaphrastischer Texte und ihrer Vorlagen* (University of Vienna, 1999).

<sup>47</sup> Schiffer, *Untersuchungen*, p. 100.

<sup>48</sup> Schiffer used the following Mss (*Untersuchungen*, pp. 47-61): *Atheniensis* B.N. 1051, *Parisini graeci* 579 and 693, and *Vaticani graeci* 805 and 806.

<sup>49</sup> Høgel, 'The Redaction', p. 12: 'results may turn out to be ill-founded'.

texts Symeon and his team had at their disposal, as Mss preserving different traditions may have been lost in the course of the centuries.

The thesis is divided into two **Parts (I-II)**. **Part I** comprises three chapters (**I-III**). **Chapter I** is devoted to a description of the Mss used in the present edition, followed by a palaeographical examination of the texts and the establishment of the relations of the Mss. This section closes with a note on the conventions and *sigla* adopted in the edition. **Chapter II** contains an edition of the three aforementioned texts, accompanied by an *apparatus fontium* and *apparatus criticus*. **Chapter III** is a commentary elucidating the three texts. **Part II** examines the metaphrastic process on the basis of a detailed comparison of the three edited texts with their extant premetaphrastic sources (**Chapter IV**), in terms of historical information, development of the plot, and a textual analysis including structure, syntax, vocabulary and style. The **Conclusion** summarises the findings of the thesis in an attempt to give an assessment of the method and techniques used in the metaphrastic process. The thesis closes with full **bibliography** and **Plates** with facsimiles of selected folios of Mss cited.

It should be noted that whenever the words ‘Symeon’, ‘Metaphrast’ and ‘metaphrastic’ are used in the present study, we refer not only to Symeon but also to the team of scribes/editors he was supervising.

## CHAPTER I

### Description of the manuscripts used in the edition

The three metaphrastic texts included in the present edition are contained in numerous extant Greek manuscripts<sup>50</sup>. Our edition of these texts is based on a small number of earlier witnesses —datable, on a palaeographical basis, between the eleventh and twelfth century<sup>51</sup>—, both because of the limited time we had at our disposal for the completion of the present thesis and because the transmission of metaphrastic texts, including the *Passio of St James the Persian* (BHG 773), the *Passio of St Plato* (BHG 1551-1552) and the *Life of St Hilarion* (BHG 755), is rather stable. The use of a relatively small number of manuscripts has been adopted by other editors of metaphrastic texts in the past, including F. Halkin in his edition of the *Passio of St Euphemia* (BHG 620) (9 Mss)<sup>51aa</sup> and H. Delehaye in his edition of the *Vita of St Daniel* (BHG 490) and the *Vita of St Alypius* (BHG 64) (8 and 4 Mss, respectively)<sup>51b</sup>, and more recently by E. Schiffer in her edition of the *Passio of St Plato* (BHG 1551-1552), the *Passio of St Amphilochius* (BHG 72), and the *Passio of St Peter of Alexandria* (BHG 1503) (5 Mss each)<sup>51c</sup>.

The *Passio of St James the Persian* and the *Passio of St Plato* correspond to the second of the two volumes of the Metaphrastic Menologion for November (15-30)<sup>52</sup>, whereas the *Vita of St Hilarion* features in the preceding volume for October. The edition of the two *Passiones* is based on five codices: *Athonenses*, *Laura* 86 206 (=L), and *Docheiariou* 4 (2678) (=D) and 2679 5 (=Δ), *Genovensis Urbanus* 36 (=U), and *Vindobonensis historicus graecus* 11 (=V). The edition of the *Vita* is based on three codices: *Parisinus graecus* 1486 (=P), *Vaticanus graecus* 2047 (=A) and *Vaticanus Reginensis* 56 (=R). A brief codicological and palaeographical description of these Mss

<sup>50</sup> For a preliminary list of extant Mss containing the three texts, see below, pp. 44 n. 72, 55 n. 77, 62 n. 81. A full list is under preparation.

<sup>51</sup> I would like to thank the Biblioteca Franzoniana, Genoa, the Österreichische Bibliothek, Vienna, the Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies, Thessalonica, the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, and the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome, for providing me with microfilms and photostat copies of these Mss. I am also very grateful to Mr Panayiotis Tofis for his kind help in confirming the dimensions, folio numbers and contents of the Athonite codices.

<sup>51a</sup> F. Halkin *Euphémie de Chalcédoine* (Brussels, 1965).

<sup>51b</sup> H. Delehaye *Les saintes stylites* (Brussels-Paris, 1923).

<sup>51c</sup> Schiffer, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 50-61, 62-76 and 77-93, respectively.

<sup>52</sup> For an extensive list of these Mss, including fragments, see Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, pp. 416-470.



is followed by a palaeographical examination of the text and a discussion on the possible relation of the Mss. In the absence of an examination and collation of all extant Mss containing these texts, the reconstruction of *stemmata codicum* at this stage is untenable.

**A** *Vaticanus graecus 2047* (olim *Basilianus* 86, ex Bibliotheca SS. Petri et Pauli de Gitala in Sicilia)<sup>53</sup> (examined from photostat copies)

11<sup>th</sup> c.; parchment; ff. 308; 290x210mm; 2 (29).

CONTENTS: **Symeon Metaphrastes**, Menologion for September (1-30) (including **Asterius bishop of Amasia**, *Laudatio in s. hieromartyrem Phocam*) and October (1-30).

1. (ff. 1-18) (Sept. 1), **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Vita S. Symeoni stylitae*, *BHG* 1686; *PG* 114, 336-392. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 173.

2. (ff. 18-24) (Sept. 2), **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio S. Mamae*, *BHG* 1018; eds. Th. Ioannou, *Μνημεῖα Ἀγιολογικά* (Venice, 1884), pp. 338-351; N. Klerides in *Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί* 15 (1952), 125a-137a. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 173.

3. (ff. 24-28v) (Sept. 3) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. Anthimii*, *BHG* 135; *AASS* April. III (1675), 60-63 3<sup>a</sup> ed. 50-53; *PG* 115, 172-184. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 173.

4. (ff. 28v-33) (Sept. 4) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. Babilae episcopi Antiochiae*, *BHG* 206; *PG* 114, 968-891. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 173.

5. (ff. 33v-37) (Sept. 6) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Miraculum in Chonis*, *BHG* 1284; ed. M. Bonnet, *AB* 8 (1889), 308-316. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 173.

6. (ff. 37-41v) (Sept. 7), **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio ss. martyrum Eudocii, Romoli, Zenoni et Macarii*, *BHG* 1604; *AASS* Sept. II (1748), 511-517; *PG* 115, 617-633; excerpts edited by A. Tougard, *De l'histoire profane dans les Actes grecs des Bollandistes* (Paris 1874), p. 2. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 174.

7. (ff. 41v-43) (Sept. 7) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. martyri Sozonti*, BHG and BHG<sup>na</sup> 1644; PG 115, 633-640. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 174.
8. (ff. 43-47v) (Sept. 8) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. martyri Severiani*, BHG 1627; PG 115, 640-652. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 174.
9. (ff. 47v-51v) (Sept. 10) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. martyrum Menodoraе, Metrodoraе et Nymphodoraе*, BHG 1273; PG 116, 368-416. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 174.
10. (ff. 51v-59v) (Sept.11) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Vita s. Theodoraе Alexandriaе*, BHG 1730; PG 115, 665-689. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 174.
11. (ff. 59v-61v ) (Sept. 12) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. martyris Autonomi*, BHG 198; AASS Sept. IV (1753), 16-19; PG 115, 692-697. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 175.
12. (ff. 62-67v ) (Sept. 13) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. martyris Corneliі*, BHG 371; PG 114, 1293-1312. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 175.
13. (ff. 67v-69v ) (Sept.15) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. martyris Nicetae*, BHG 1340; AASS Sept. V (1755), 40-43; 3<sup>a</sup> ed. ibid.; PG 115, 704-712; excerpts edited by Tougard, *De l'histoire*, pp. 70-72. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes*, p. 175.
14. (ff. 70-76) (Sept. 16) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. martyris Euphemiae*, BHG 620; PG 115, 713-732; ed. F. Halkin, *Euphémie de Chalcedoine* (Bruxelles, 1965), pp. 145-161. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 175.
15. (ff. 76-81v.) (Sept. 17) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. martyrum Sophiae et filiarum suarum Pistae, Elpidae et Agapae*, BHG 1638; PG 115, 497-513. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 175.
16. (ff. 81v-87) (Sept. 18) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. martyrum Trophimi, Dorymedonti et Sabatii*, BHG 1854; PG 115, 733-749. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 176.

<sup>53</sup> For a description of the codex, see P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Bibliothecae Vaticanae, ediderunt hagiographi Bollandiani et P. Franchi de' Cavalieri* (Brussels, 1899),

17. (ff. 87-100v) (Sept. 20) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. martyrum Eustathii, Theopistae et filiorum Agapii et Theopisti*, *BHG* 642; ed. G. Van Hoof in *AB* 3 (1884), 66-112. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 176.
18. (ff. 100v-103) (Sept. 22) **Asterius episcopus Amaseae**, *Laudatio in s. hieromartyrem Phocam*, *BHG* 1539-1540. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 176.
19. (ff.103-111) (Sept. 24) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. martyri Theclae*, *BHG* 1719; *PG* 115, 821-845. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 176.
20. (ff. 111v-116v) (Sept. 25) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Vita s. Euphrosynae Alexandriae*, *BHG* 626; *PG* 114, 305-321. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 176.
21. (ff. 117-124) (Sept. 26) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Commentarius in s. apostolum Johannem*, *BHG* 919-919b; *PG* 116, 684-705. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 177.
22. (ff. 124-129v ) (Sept. 27) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. martyri Callistrati*, *BHG* 291; *PG* 115, 881-900. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 177.
23. (ff. 130-136v) (Sept. 28) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Vita s. Charitoni confessoris*, *BHG* 301. *AASS* Sept. VII (1760), 612-621; 3<sup>a</sup> ed. 571-581; *PG* 115, 900-917. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 177.
24. (ff. 136v-143v) (Sept. 29) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Vita s. Cyriaci*, *BHG* 464; *PG* 115, 920-944; ed. K. Koikylides, *Αί παρά τόν Ἰορδάνην λαύραι Καλαμῶνος καί ἀγίου Γερασίμου* (Jerusalem, 1902), pp. 73-93. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 177.
25. (ff. 144-162) (Sept. 30) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Vita et passio s. martyri Gregorii Armeni*, *BHG* 713; *PG* 115, 944-996; P. de Lagarde, ‘Agathangelus und die Akten Gregors von Armenien’, *Abhandlungen der k. Gesellschaft der Wiss. zu Göttingen* 35.1 (1888), 90-118. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 178. On f. 162 the scribe added the following note after the text: τέλος τῆς μεταφράσεως τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου μηνός.

26. (ff. 162-164v) (Oct. 1) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. martyri Ananiae*, *BHG* 76; *PG* 114 1001-1009. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 178.
27. (ff. 164v-173v) (Oct. 2) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Vita et passio s. martyrum Cypriani et Justiniae*, *BHG* 456; *PG* 115, 848-881; ed. A. Blampignon, *De sancto Cypriano et de primaeva Carthaginensi ecclesia* (Paris, 1862), pp. 173-203. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 178.
28. (ff. 173v-179v) (Oct. 3) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. martyri Dionysii Areopagitae*, *BHG* and *BHG<sup>na</sup>* 555; *PG* 4, 589-608; *PG* 115, 1032-1049. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 178.
29. (ff. 179v-181) (Oct. 5) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. martyri Charitinae*, *BHG* 300; *AASS* Oct III (1770), 24-27; 3<sup>a</sup> ed. *ibid.* ; *PG* 115, 997-1005. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, pp. 178-179.
30. (ff.181-185v) (Oct. 6) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Commentarius in s. apostolum Thomam*, *BHG* 1835; *PG* 116, 559-566. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 179.
31. (ff. 185v-193v) (Oct. 7) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. martyrum Sergii et Bacchi*, *BHG* 1625; *AASS* Oct III (1770), 871-882; 3<sup>a</sup> ed. *ibid.*; *PG* 115, 1005-1032. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 179.
32. (ff. 193v-197 ) (Oct. 8), **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Vita s. Pelagiae Antiochiae*, *BHG* 1479; *PG* 116, 908-920; B. Flusin, in *Pélagie la Pénitente. Métamorphose d'une légende*, ed. P. Petitmangin, vol. II (Paris, 1981), pp. 28-41. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 179.
33. (ff. 197-201) (Oct. 10) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. martyrum Eulampii et Eulampiae*, *BHG* 617; *PG* 115, 1053-1065. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 179.
34. (ff. 201-205v) (Oct. 12) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. martyrum Tarachi, Probi et Andronici*, *BHG* 1575; *PG* 115, 1068-1080; ed. E. Bigot, *Palladii ... de vita S. Iohannis Chrysostomi dialogus* (Paris, 1680 and 1737), 291-309. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 180.
35. (ff. 205v-209) (Oct. 14), **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Vita et passio s. martyrum Nazarii*,

- Gervasii, Protasii et Celsii*, BHG 1324; PG 116, 896-908. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 180.
36. (ff. 209-214v) (Oct. 15) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Vita et passio s. martyris Luciani*, BHG and BHG<sup>na</sup> 997; PG 114, 397-416; ed. J. Bidez, *Philostorgius Kirchengeschichte*, Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller, 21 (Leipzig 1913), pp. 184-202. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 180.
37. (ff.214v-218) (Oct. 16) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Vita et passio s. martyris Longini centurionis*, BHG 989; PG 115, 32-44. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, pp. 180-181.
38. (ff. 218-221v) (Oct. 18) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Commentarius in s. apostolum Lucam*, BHG 991; PG 115, 1129-1140. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon s*, p. 181.
39. (ff. 227-243) (Oct. 19) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. martyris Vari*, BHG 1863; PG 115, 1141-1160. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 181.
40. (ff. 227-243) (Oct. 20) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. martyris Artemii*, BHG 172; PG 115, 1160-1212. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 181.
41. (ff. 243v-257v) (Oct. 21) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Vita s. Hilarionis*, BHG 755; edited below, pp. 129-182. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 181
42. (ff. 258-269v) (Oct. 22) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Vita et passio s. martyris Abercii*, BHG 4; AASS Oct. IX (1858), 493-514; 3<sup>a</sup> ed. *ibid.*; PG 115, 1212-1248; Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 182 (erroneously citing BHG 3).
43. (ff.269v-274v) (Oct. 23) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Commentarius in s. apostolum Iacobum*, BHG 764; AASS Maii I (1680), 735-738; PG 115, 200-217. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 182.
44. (ff. 274v-286v) (Oct. 24) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. martyris Arethae et sociorum*, BHG 167; PG 115, 1249-1289. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 182.
45. (ff. 286v-287v) (Oct. 25) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. martyrum et notariorum Marciani et Martyrii*, BHG 1029; AASS Oct. XI (1864), 575-577; 3<sup>a</sup> ed. *ibid.*; PG 115, 1289-1293. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 182.

46. (ff. 287v-292) (Oct. 26) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. martyris Demetrii myroblytae*, *BHG* 498; *AASS* Oct. IV (1780), 96-103; *PG* 116, 1185-1201. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 183.

47. (ff. 292-296v) (Oct. 29) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Vita et passio s. martyris Anastasiae Romae*; *BHG* 77; *PG* 115, 1293-1308; *AASS* Oct. XII (1867), 520-528. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 183.

48. (ff. 296-306) (Oct. 29) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Vita s. Abramii*, *BHG* 8; *PG* 115, 44-77. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 183.

49. (ff. 306-308v) (Oct. 30) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. martyrum Zenobii et Zenobiae sororis*, *BHG* 1885; *AASS* Oct. XIII (1883), 259-263; *PG* 115, 1309-1311. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 183.

**D** *Athonensis Docheiariou 4 (Lambros 2678)*<sup>54</sup> (examined from photostat copies)

11<sup>th</sup> c.; parchment; ff. 292 (293 torn); 332x246mm (235x170mm); 2 (32).

CONTENTS: **Symeon Metaphrastes**, Menologion for November (14-30) (including **Nicetas Paphlagon**, *Vita S. Gregorii episcopi Agrigentini* and **Gregory of Nyssa**, *Laudatio in s. Gregorium Thaumaturgum*).

1. (ff. 1-3v) (Nov. 14) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Commentarius in s. apostolum Philippum*, *BHG*1527; *AASS* Maii (1680), 733-735; 3<sup>a</sup> ed., XI-XIII; *PG* 115, 188-197. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 186.

2. (ff. 3v-20v) (Nov. 15) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio et Miraculum ss. Guriae, Samonae, Abibi*, *BHG* 736-738; *PG* 116, 128-161; ed. O. von Gebhardt and E. Dobschütz, *Die Akten der edessinischen Bekenner Gurjas, Samonas und Abibos*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, 37/2 (Berlin, 1911), pp. 103-199. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 186.

3. (ff. 20v-23v) (Nov. 16) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Commentarius in s. apostolum Matthaeum*, *BHG* 1226; *PG* 115, 813-820 Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 187.
  
4. (ff. 23v-30v) (Nov. 18) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. Platonis martyris Ankyrae*, *BHG* 1551-1552, edited below, pp. 110-127. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon s*, p. 187.
  
5. (ff. 31-38) (Nov. 20) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Vita s. Amphilochii episcopi Iconii*, *BHG* 72; *PG* 116, 956-969. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 187.
  
6. (ff. 38v-76v) (Nov. 23) **Nicetas Paphlagon**, *Vita s. Gregorii episcopi Agrigentini*, *BHG* and *BHG<sup>a</sup>* 708; *PG* 116, 189-269. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 188.
  
7. (ff. 76v-90v) (Nov. 24) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. Aecaterinae*, *BHG* and *BHG<sup>a</sup>* 32; *PG* 116, 276-301; excerpts edited by G.B. Bronzini, 'La leggenda di Santa Caterina di Alessandria. Passioni greche e latine', in *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Memorie*, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, serie VIII, vol. 9, 2 (Rome, 1960), pp. 257-416. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 188.
  
8. (ff. 90v-169) (Nov. 25) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Vita s. Clementis episcopi Romae*, *BHG* 345-347; *PG* 2, 469-604. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 188.
  
9. (ff. 169-180v) (Nov. 25) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. Petri Alexandrini*, *BHG* 1503; ed. Combefis, *Illustrium*, pp. 189-221. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 188.
  
10. (ff. 180v-191v) (Nov. 26) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. Mercurii*, *BHG* 1276; ed. H. Delehaye, *Les légendes grecques des saints militaires* (Paris, 1909), pp. 243-58. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 188.
  
11. (ff. 191v-204) (Nov. 26) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Vita s. Alypii*, *BHG* 64; ed. H. Delehaye, *Les saintes stylites*, *Subsidia Hagiographica*, 14 (Brussels, 1923), pp. 148-169. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 189.
  
12. (ff. 204-212v) (Nov. 27) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. Iacobi Persae*, *BHG* and *BHG<sup>a</sup>* 773, edited below, pp. 85-108. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 189.

<sup>54</sup> S.P. Lambros, *Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1900), I, p. 233.

13. (ff. 213-255v) (Nov. 28) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Vita s. Stephani iunioris*, *BHG* and *BHG<sup>a</sup>* 1667; ed. F. Iadevaia, *Simeone Metafraste, Vita di Santo Stefano Minore* (Messina, 2003). Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 189.

14. (ff. 255v-267v) (Nov. 30) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Commentarius in s. Andream apostolum*, *BHG* and *BHG<sup>a</sup>* 101; ed. A. du Saussay, *Andreas fratris Simonis Petri seu de gloria S. Andreae apostoli libri XII* (Paris, 1656), pp. 309-28. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 189.

15. (ff. 268ff; the last complete folio is 292) (Nov. 17) **Gregory of Nyssa**, *Laudatio in s. Gregorium Thaumaturgum*, mutilated text; *BHG* and *BHG<sup>a</sup>* 715, *CPG* 3184; *PG* 46, cols. 893-957; ed. G. Heil, *Gregorii Nysseni Sermones*, Pars II, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, X, 1 (Leiden-New York-Copenhagen-Cologne, 1990), pp. 1-57. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 187. The last part of the codex is damaged and only a small part of f. 293 survives.

Δ **Athonensis Docheiariou 5 (Lambros 2679)<sup>55</sup>** (examined from photostat copies) 12<sup>th</sup> c.; parchment; ff. XII + 397; 327x221mm (235x160mm); 2 (25).

CONTENTS: **Symeon Metaphrastes**, Menologion for the second part of November (14-25) (including **Nicetas Paphlagon**, *Vita S. Gregorii episcopi Agrigentini* and **Gregory of Nyssa**, *Laudatio in s. Gregorium Thaumaturgum*), **John Chrysostom**, *Laudatio in s. martyrem Romanum*, **Ignatius Diaconus**, *Vita s. Gregorii Decapolitae*, **Theodoretus of Cyrus**, *Commentarius in prophetam Abdiam*).

1. (ff. 1r-v) Table of contents

2. (ff. 2r-3v) Table of contents with incipits.

3. (f. 3v) Illustrations

4. (ff. 4-9v) (Nov. 14) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Commentarius in s. apostolum Philippum*, *BHG*1527 *AASS* Maii (1680), 733-735; 3<sup>a</sup> ed. XI-XIII; *PG* 115, 188-197. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 186



5. (ff. 9v-48v) (Nov. 17) **Gregory of Nyssa**, *Laudatio in s. Gregorium Thaumaturgum*; *BHG* and *BHG<sup>a</sup>* 715, *CPG* 3184; *PG* 46, cols. 893-957; *PG* 46, cols. 893-957; ed. Heil, *Gregorii Nysseni*. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 187.
  
6. (ff. 49-58) (Nov. 18) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. Platonis martyris Ankyrae*, *BHG* 1551- 1552; edited below, pp. 110-127. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 187.
  
7. (ff. 48v-67v) (Nov. 20) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Vita s. Amphilochii episcopi Iconii*, *BHG* 72; *PG* 116, 956-969. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 187.
  
8. (ff. 67v-116v) (Nov. 23) **Nicetas Paphlagon**, *Vita s. Gregorii episcopi Agrigentini*, *BHG* and *BHG<sup>a</sup>* 708, *PG* 116, 189-269. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon s*, p. 188.
  
9. (ff. 117-133) (Nov. 24) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. Aecaterinae*, *BHG* and *BHG<sup>a</sup>* 32; *PG* 116, 276-301; excerpts edited by Bronzini, 'La leggenda'. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 188.
  
10. (ff. 133v-204v) (Nov. 25), **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Vita s. Clementis episcopi Romae*, *BHG* 345-347; *PG* 2, 469-604. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 188.
  
11. (ff. 205-216) (Nov. 25) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. Petri Alexandrini*, *BHG* 1503; ed. Combefis, *Illustrium*, pp. 189-221. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 188.
  
12. (ff. 216-228) (Nov. 26) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. Mercurii*, *BHG* 1276; ed. Delehaye, *Les légendes grecques*. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 188.
  
13. (f. 228v-244) (Nov. 26) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Vita s. Alypii*, *BHG* 64; ed. Delehaye, *Les saintes stylites*. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 189.
  
14. (ff. 244-254) (Nov. 27) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio S. Iacobi Persae*, *BHG* and *BHG<sup>a</sup>* 773; edited below, pp. 85-108. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 189.

<sup>55</sup> Lambros, *Greek Manuscripts*, I, pp. 233-235.

15. (f. 254v-306) (Nov. 28) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Vita s. Stephani iunioris*, *BHG* and *BHG<sup>a</sup>* 1667; ed. Iadevaia, *Simeone*. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 189.
16. (f. 306v-320) (Nov. 30) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Commentarius in s. Andream apostolum*, *BHG* and *BHG<sup>a</sup>* 101; ed. Saussay, *Andreas*. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 189.
17. (ff. 321-328v) (Nov. 18) **John Chrysostom**, *Laudatio in s. martyrem Romanum*, *BHG* 1601; *PG* 50, 605-612.
18. (ff. 328v-333v) (Nov. 19) **Theodoretus Cyrensis**, *Commentarius in prophetam Abdiam*, *BHG* 1-1d; I. Sirmond, *B. Theodoreti ep. Cyri opera omnia*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1642), V, 791-796; I.L. Schulze, *B. Theodoreti ep. Cyri opera omnia*, 5 vols. (Halle, 1769-1774), II, 1449-1457.
19. (f. 333v-369) (Nov. 20) **Ignatius Diaconus**, *Vita s. Gregorii Decapolitae*, *BHG* 71, ed. F. Dvornik, *La vie de s. Gregoire le Décapolite et les Slaves macedoniens au IXe siècle* (Paris 1926); cf. S. Mercati, 'Per il testo della Vita di S. Gregorio Decapolita', *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 3 (1932), 295-297 (= idem, *Collectanea byzantina* [Bari, 1970], I, 454-456).
20. (ff. 369-389) (Nov. 22) **Anonymous**, *Vita et passio s. Caeciliae*, *BHG* 283c.
21. (ff. 390-397v) (Nov. 25) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Vita s. Clementis episcopi Romae*, text mutilated at the end; *BHG* 345-347; *PG* 2, 469-604. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 188.

**L** *Athonensis Laura B 86 (Eustratiades 206)*<sup>56</sup> (examined from photostat copies)

11<sup>th</sup> c.; parchment; ff. 295; 277x216mm (222x162mm); 2 (36).

CONTENTS: **Symeon Metaphrastes**, Menologion for complete month of November (1-27) (including **Ignatius Diaconus**, *Vita s. Gregorii Decapolitae*, **Nicetas Paphlagon**, *Vita S. Gregorii episcopi Agrigentini* and **Gregory of Nyssa**, *Laudatio in s. Gregorium Thaumaturgum*), and an unidentified mutilated text by an anonymous author at the end.

<sup>56</sup> For a description of the codex see Spyridon Laureotes and S. Eustratiades, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Laura on Mount Athos* (Cambridge, Mass., 1925), p. 23.

1. (ff. 1-4) (Nov. <1>; date illegible in cod.) **Symeon Metaphrastes, *Vita et passio ss. Cosmae et Damiani***, *BHG* 374; ed. G. Van Hoof in *AB* 1 (1882), 586-596. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 184.
  
2. (f. 4-14) (Nov. 2) **Symeon Metaphrastes, *Passio ss. Acindyni, Pegasii, Aphthonii, Elpidophori et Anempodisti***, *BHG* 23; *AASS* Nov. I, 491-505; *PG* 116, 9-36. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes*, p. 184.
  
3. (ff. 14-25) (Nov. 3) **Symeon Metaphrastes, *Passio ss. Aceptimae, Iosephi et Aeithalae***, *BHG* 20; *AASS* April. II (1675), II-VII; *PG* 116, 832-860; H. Delehaye, 'Les versions grecques des Actes des martyrs persans sous Sapor II', *Patrologia Orientalis* IV (Paris, 1905), pp. 546-557. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 184.
  
4. (ff. 25-31) (Nov. 4) **Symeon Metaphrastes, *Vita et passio ss. Galactionis et Epistemae***, *BHG* et *BHG*<sup>na</sup> 666; *PG* 116, 93-108; *AASS* Nov. III (1910), pp. 41-45. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, pp. 184-185.
  
5. (ff. 31-51v) (Nov. 5) **Symeon Metaphrastes, *Vita s. Ioannicii***, *BHG* 937; *PG* 116, 36-92. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 184.
  
6. (ff. 52-56) (<Nov. 6>) **Symeon Metaphrastes, *Vita s. Pauli Confessoris***, *BHG* 1473; *PG* 116, 884-896; ed. M. Gedeon in 'Εκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια 4 (1884), pp. 358-362, 376-380. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 185.
  
7. (ff. 56-60) (Nov. 7) **Symeon Metaphrastes, *Passio s. Hieronis et sociorum***, *BHG* 750; *AASS* Nov. III (1910), pp. 335-338; *PG* 116, 109-120. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 185.
  
8. (ff. 60-73) (Nov. 9) **Symeon Metaphrastes, *Vita s. Matronae***, *BHG* 1222; *AASS* Nov. III (1910) 813-822; *PG* 116, 920-953; Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 185.
  
9. (ff. 73-80) (Nov. 10) **Symeon Metaphrastes, *Vita s. Theoctistae Lesbiae***, *BHG* 1725-1726; *AASS* Nov. IV (1925), 224-233; Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 185.
  
10. (ff. 80-84) (Nov. 11) **Symeon Metaphrastes, *Vita s. Menae***, *BHG* 1250; ed. G. Van Hoof in *AB* 3 (1884), 288-270; R. Meidema, *De heilige Menas* (Rotterdam 1913), 94-103; N.

Phirippides in *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος* 40 (1941), 47-54. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, pp. 185-186.

11. (ff. 84-109) (Nov. 12) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Vita s. Joannis Eleemosinarii*, *BHG* 888; *PG* 114, 896-965. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 186.

12. (ff. 109v-175) (Nov. 13) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Vita s. Joannis Chrysostomi*, *BHG* 875; *PG* 114, 1045-1209. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 186.

13. (ff. 175-181v) (Nov. 15) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio et Miraculum ss. Guriae, Samonae, Abibi*, *BHG* 736-738; *PG* 116, 128-161; ed. O. von Gebhardt and E. Dobschütz, *Die Akten der edessinischen Bekenner Gurjas, Samonas und Abibos*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, 37/2 (Berlin, 1911), pp. 103-199. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 186.

14. (ff. 182) (Nov. 17) **Gregory of Nyssa**, *Laudatio in s. Gregorium Thaumaturgum*, *BHG* and *BHG<sup>a</sup>* 715, *CPG* 3184; *PG* 46, cols. 893-957; ed. Heil, *Gregorii Nysseni*. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 187.

15. (ff. 208-213v) (Nov. 18) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. Platonis martyris Ankyrae*, *BHG* 1551-1552; edited below, pp. 110-127. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 187.

16. (ff. 214-219v) (Nov. 23) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Vita s. Amphilocheii episcopi Iconii*, *BHG* 72; *PG* 116, 956-969. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 187.

17. (ff. 219v-250) (Nov. 24) **Nicetas Paphlagon**, *Vita s. Gregorii episcopi Agrigentini*, *BHG* and *BHG<sup>a</sup>* 708; *PG* 116, 189-269. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 188.

18. (ff. 251-261) (Nov. 25) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. Aecaterinae*, *BHG* and *BHG<sup>a</sup>* 32; *PG* 116, 276-301; excerpts edited by Bronzini, 'La leggenda'. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 188.

19. (ff. 261-268v) (Nov. 25) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. Petri Alexandrini*, *BHG* 1503; ed. Combefis, *Illustrium*, pp. 189-221. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 188.

20. (ff. 268v-276v) (Nov. 25) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. Mercurii*, *BHG* 1276; ed. Delehaye, *Les légendes grecques*. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 188.

21. (ff. 276v-286v) (Nov. 26) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Vita s. Alypii*, *BHG* 64; ed. Delehaye, *Les saintes stylites*. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 189.

22. (ff. 286v-294) (Nov. 27) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio S. Iacobi Persae*, *BHG* and *BHG<sup>a</sup>* 773, edited below, pp. 85-108. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 189.

23. (ff. 294v-295) Unidentified mutilated text by **Anonymous** author, Μετάφρασις νε... του δεσπότου Χ(ριστο)ῦ cod., Inc. ... γραφαῖς ὑπηρέτησα τῆσδε τῆς βίβλου τὴν δεξιάν τε σὺν τὸν, παρεσχόμην· ἀπὸ τὴν μέσην, ἄχρισ ... τοῦ τέλους ..., des. ... καταγράψαντα τὴ θείαν βίβλου ταύτην. Βαρλαάμ [---

**P** *Parisinus Graecus 1486*<sup>57</sup> (examined from photostat copies and *in situ*<sup>58</sup>)

11<sup>th</sup> c.; parchment; ff. 122; 375 x 270 mm; 2 (36).

CONTENTS: **Symeon Metaphrastes**, Menologion for October (6-31)

1. (ff. 1-4v) (Oct. 6) *Commentarius in s. apostolum Thomam*, *BHG* 1835; *PG* 116, 559-566. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 179.

2. (ff. 4v-12) (Oct. 7) *Passio s. martyrum Sergii et Bacchi*, *BHG* 1625; *AASS* Oct III (1770), 871-882; 3<sup>a</sup> ed. *ibid.*; *PG* 115, 1005-1032. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 179.

3. (ff. 12-15) (Oct. 8) *Vita s. Pelagiae Antiochiae*, *BHG* 1479; *PG* 116, 908-920; B. Flusin, in *Pélagie la Pénitente. Métamorphose d'une légende*, ed. P. Petitmangin, vol. II (Paris, 1981), pp. 28-41. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 179.

4. (ff. 15v-19v) (Oct. 12) *Passio s. martyrum Probi, Tarachi et Andronici*, *BHG* 1575; *PG* 115, 1068-1080. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 180.

<sup>57</sup> For a brief description of the codex see F. Halkin, *Manuscrits grecs de Paris. Inventaire hagiographique*, *Subsidia hagiographica*, 44 (Brussels, 1968), p. 180; H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vol. II: 1319-1557 (Paris, 1888).

<sup>58</sup> I would like to thank Professor Christian Förstel for his kind permission to check the original Ms in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

5. (ff. 19v-26v) (Oct. 13) *Passio s. martyrum Carpi et Papyli*, BHG 295; AASS April. II (1675), 968-973; 3<sup>a</sup> ed. 4\*-7\*; PG 155, 105-125. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 180.
6. (ff. 27-31) (Oct. 16) *Vita et passio s. martyris Longini centurionis*, BHG 989; PG 115, 32-44. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 180.
7. (ff. 31-35) (Oct. 18) *Commentarius in s. apostolum Lucam*, BHG 991; PG 115, 1129-1140. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 181.
8. (ff. 35-41) (Oct. 19<sup>59</sup>) *Passio s. martyris Andreae in Crisi*, BHG 112; AASS Oct. VIII (1853), 142-149; PG 115, 1109-1128. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 181.
9. (ff. 41-60v) (Oct. 20) *Passio s. martyris s. Artemii*, BHG 172; PG 115, 1160-1212. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 181.
10. (ff. 61-78) (Oct. 21) *Vita s. Hilarionis*, BHG 755; edited below, pp. 129-182. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon s*, p. 181.
11. (ff. 78-84) (Oct. 23) *Commentarius in s. apostolum Iacobum*, BHG 764; AASS Maii I (1680), 735-738; PG 115, 200-217. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 182.
12. (ff. 84-100) (Oct. 24) *Passio s. martyris Arethae et sociorum*, BHG 167; PG 115, 1249-1289. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 182.
13. (ff. 100-106) (Oct. 26<sup>60</sup>) *Passio s. martyris Demetrii myroblytae*, BHG 498; AASS Oct. IV (1780), 96-103; PG 116, 1185-1201. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 183.
14. (ff. 106-119v) (Oct. 29) *Vita s. Abramii*, BHG 8; PG 115, 44-77. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 183.
15. (ff. 120-122v) (Oct. 31) *Passio s. martyris s. Epimachi*, BHG 594; PG 115, 1320-1325; AASS Oct. XIII (1883). Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 183.

<sup>59</sup> In the catalogue the date is erroneously given as '20'.

**R**     ***Vaticanus Reginensis graecus 56***<sup>61</sup> (examined from photostat copies)

11<sup>th</sup> c.; parchment, ff. 216, 302x225mm; 2 (31-32)

CONTENTS: **Symeon Metaphrastes**, Menologion for October (2-29).

1. (ff. 1-11) (Oct. 2) ***Vita et passio s. martyrum Cypriani et Justiniae***, BHG 456; PG 115, 848-881; ed. Blampignon, *De sancto Cypriano et de primaeva Carthaginensi ecclesia*, (Paris 1852), pp. 173-203. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 178

2. (ff. 12-21) (Oct 3) ***Passio s. martyri Dionysii Areopagitae***, BHG and BHG<sup>na</sup> 555; PG 4, 589-608; PG 115, 1032-1049. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 178.

3. (ff. 21-24) (Oct. 4) ***Passio s. martyri Charitinae***, BHG 300; AASS Oct III (1770), 24-27; 3<sup>a</sup> ed. *ibid.* ; PG 115, 997-1005. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, pp. 178-179.

4. (ff. 24v-31) (Oct. 6) ***Commentarius in s. apostolum Thomam***, BHG 1835; PG 116, 559-566. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 179.

5. (ff. 31-44v) (Oct. 7) ***Passio s. martyrum Sergii et Bacchi***, BHG 1625; AASS Oct III (1770), 871-882; 3<sup>a</sup> ed. *ibid.*; PG 115, 1005-1032. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 179.

6. (ff. 44v-50v) (Oct. 8) ***Vita s. Pelagiae Antiochiae***, BHG 1479; PG 116, 908-920; B. Flusin, in *Pélagie la Pénitente. Métamorphose d'une légende*, ed. P. Petitmangin, vol. II (Paris, 1981), pp. 28-41. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 179.

7. (ff. 50v-57) (Oct. 10) ***Passio s. martyrum Eulampii et Eulampiae***, BHG 617; PG 115, 1053-1065. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p 179.

8. (ff. 57v-64v) (Oct. 12) ***Passio s. martyrum Tarachi, Probi et Andronici***, BHG 1575; PG 115, 1068-1080. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 180.

<sup>60</sup> This date is missing in the Ms and the headband is in black ink (unlike the rest ones); only the initial is red.

<sup>61</sup> For a description of the codex, see H.M. Stevenson, *Codices manuscripti graeci Reginae Svecorum et Pii Papae II. Bibliothecae Vaticanae* (Vatican City, 1888), pp. 47-48. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Catalogus*, pp. 235-237.

9. (ff. 64v-76) (Oct. 13) *Passio s. martyrum Carpi et Papyli*, *BHG* 295; *AASS* April. II (1675), 968-973; 3<sup>a</sup> ed. 4\*-7\*; *PG* 155, 105-125. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 180.
10. (ff. 76-82v) (Oct. 14) *Vita et passio s. martyrum Nazarii, Gervasii, Protasii et Celsii*, *BHG* 1324; *PG* 116, 896-908. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 180.
11. (ff. 82v-92) (Oct. 15) *Vita et passio s. martyris Luciani*, *BHG* and *BHG*<sup>na</sup> 997; *PG* 114, 397-416; ed. Bidez, *Philostorgius Kirchengeschichte*, pp. 184-202. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 180.
12. (ff. 92-99) (Oct. 16) *Vita et passio s. martyris Longini centurionis*, *BHG* 989; *PG* 115, 32-44. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 180.
- 13 (ff. 99-105) (Oct. 18) *Commentarius in s. apostolum Lucam*, *BHG* 991; *PG* 115, 1129-1140. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 181.
14. (ff. 105v-115) (Oct. 19) *Passio s. martyris Vari*, *BHG* 1863; *PG* 115, 1141-1160. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 181.
15. (ff. 115v-123v) (Oct. 20) *Passio s. martyris Andreae in Crisi*, *BHG* 112; *AASS* Oct. VIII (1853), 142-149; *PG* 115, 1109-1128. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 181.
16. (ff. 124-147) (Oct. 21) *Vita s. Hilarionis*, *BHG* 755; edited below, pp. 129-182. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 181.
17. (ff. 148-168) (Oct. 22) *Vita et passio s. martyris Abercii*, *BHG* 4; *AASS* Oct. IX (1858), 493-514; 3<sup>a</sup> ed. *ibid.*; *PG* 115, 1212-1248; Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 182 (erroneously citing *BHG* 3).
18. (ff. 168-177v) (Oct. 23) *Commentarius in s. apostolum Iacobum*, *BHG* 764; *AASS* Maii I (1680), 735-738; *PG* 115, 200-217. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 182.
19. (ff.178-200) (Oct. 24) *Passio s. martyris Arethae et sociorum*, *BHG* 167; *PG* 115, 1249-1289. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 182.
20. (ff. 200-202) (Oct. 25) *Passio s. martyrum et notariorum Marciani et Martyrii*, *BHG*



1029; *AASS* Oct. XI (1864), 575-577; *PG* 115, 1289-1293. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 182.

21. (ff. 202-210) (Oct. 26) *Passio s. martyris Demetrii myroblytae*, *BHG* 498; *AASS* Oct. IV (1780), 96-103; *PG* 116, 1185-1201. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 183.

22. (ff. 210-216) (Oct. 29) *Vita s. Abramii*, *BHG* 8; *PG* 115, 44-77. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 183.

**U** *Genovensis Urbanus 36*<sup>62</sup> (examined from photostat copies)

11<sup>th</sup> c.; parchment; ff. 237 (+ <I-II>, 83a, 109a, 138a, 169a, <III>); 305/315x252/260mm; 2 (32)

CONTENTS: **Symeon Metaphrastes'** illuminated Menologion for the second part of November (17-30) (including **Gregory of Nyssa**, *Laudatio in s. Gregorium Thaumaturgum* and **Nicetas Paphlagon**, *Vita S. Gregorii episcopi Agrigentini*).

1. (ff. 1-29v), (Nov. 17) **Gregory of Nyssa**, *Laudatio in s. Gregorium Thaumaturgum*; *BHG* and *BHG*<sup>a</sup> 715, *CPG* 3184; *PG* 46, 893-957; ed. Heil, *Gregorii Nysseni* (our codex in pp. XLIV, CXVIII, CXX). Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 187.

2. (ff. 29v-36v), (Nov. 18) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. Platonis martyris Ankyrae*, *BHG* 1551-1552, edited below, pp. 110-127. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 187.

3. ff. (36v-44) (Nov. 23) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Vita s. Amphilocheii episcopi Iconii*, *BHG* 72; *PG* 116, 956-969. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 187.

4. (ff. 44-83) (Nov. 24) **Nicetas Paphlagon**, *Vita s. Gregorii episcopi Agrigentini*, *BHG* and *BHG*<sup>a</sup> 708, *PG* 116, 189-269. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 188.

5. (ff. 83v-95v) (Nov. 25) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. Aecaterinae*, *BHG* and *BHG*<sup>a</sup> 32; *PG* 116, 276-301; excerpts edited by Bronzini, 'La leggenda'. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 188.

6. (ff. 96-147) (Nov. 26) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Epitome de gestis s. Petri Apostoli et Passio*, *BHG* and *BHG<sup>a</sup>* 345-347; *PG* 2, 469-604; ed. A.R.M. Dressel, *Clementinorum epitomae duae* (Leipzig, 1859).
  
7. (ff. 147-156) (Nov. 26) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. Petri Alexandrini*, *BHG* 1503; ed. Combefis, *Illustrium*, pp. 189-221. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 188.
  
8. (ff. 156-165) (Nov. 26) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. Mercurii*, *BHG* 1276; ed. Delehaye, *Les légendes grecques*. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 188.
  
9. (ff. 165v-176v) (Nov. 26) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Vita s. Alypii*, *BHG* 64; ed. Delehaye, *Les saintes stylites*. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 189.
  
10. (ff. 177-184v) (Nov. 27) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. Iacobi Persae*, *BHG* and *BHG<sup>a</sup>* 773, edited below, pp. 85-108. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 189.
  
11. (ff. 185-224v) (Nov. 28) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Vita s. Stephani iunioris*, *BHG* and *BHG<sup>a</sup>* 1967; ed. *BHG* and *BHG<sup>a</sup>* 1667; ed. Iadevaia, *Simeone*. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 189.
  
12. (ff. 225-236v) (Nov. 30) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Commentarius in S. Andream apostolum*, *BHG* and *BHG<sup>a</sup>* 101; ed. Saussay, *Andreas*. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 189.

Originally the codex was the fourth volume of an elaborate edition of the Metaphrastic Menologion, the tenth volume of which has also survived and is now part of the Greek manuscript collection of the Library of the Patriarchate of Alexandria, cod. 35<sup>63</sup>. Preserved in the Biblioteca Franzoniana, Genoa, this luxurious manuscript was owned at some stage by the “Ospedaletto degli Incurabili” (1746) and Filippo Sauli. Copied in two columns by a single anonymous, regular hand on white parchment of fine quality, the codex consists of thirty-two gatherings, mostly *quaternia*<sup>64</sup>. Only six of the miniatures of Saints and Martyrs preceding each *Life* are still preserved, while the

<sup>62</sup> For an analytical description of the codex, see A. Cataldi Palau, *Catalogo dei manoscritti greci della Biblioteca Franzoniana (Genova)*, Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, Bollettino dei classici. Supplemento, 17 (Rome, 1996), pp. 150-57.

<sup>63</sup> Ševčenko, ‘Six Illustrated Editions’, p. 188; cf. Cataldi Palau, *Catalogo*, p. 154.

<sup>64</sup> See Cataldi Palau, *Catalogo*, pp. 153-54.

majority have been removed. The remaining miniatures, accompanied by an inscription with the name of each Saint in red and gold, beautifully executed, are placed above a decorative *vignette* and an ornamental major initial introducing each *Life*<sup>65</sup>.

V *Vindobonensis historicus graecus* 11<sup>66</sup> (examined from microfilm)

ca. AD 1100; parchment; 335/340x250/260mm; ff. 194 (+ I-II); 2 (31)

CONTENTS: **Symeon Metaphrastes**, Menologion for the second part of November (15-30), **Anonymous**, *Miraculum SS. Guriae, Samonae et Abibi*, **John Chrysostom**, *Commentarius in s. apostolum Matthaem*, **Gregory of Nyssa**, *Laudatio in s. Gregorium Thaumaturgum*, **Nicetas Paphlagon**, *Vita s. Gregorii episcopi Agrigentini*.

1. (ff. 1-8r), (Nov. 15) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio et Miraculum ss. Guriae, Samonae, Abibi*, *BHG* 736-738; *PG* 116, 128-161; ed. O. von Gebhardt and E. Dobschütz, *Die Akten der edessinischen Bekenner Gurjas, Samonas und Abibos*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, 37/2 (Berlin, 1911), pp. 103-199. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 186.

2. (ff. 8-13v), (Nov. 16) **John Chrysostom**, *Commentarius in s. apostolum Matthaem*, *BHG* 1228c; *PG* 57, 13-24.

3. (ff. 13v-42v), (Nov. 17) **Gregory of Nyssa**, *Laudatio in s. Gregorium Thaumaturgum*; *BHG* and *BHG*<sup>a</sup> 715; *CPG* 3184; *PG* 46, cols. 893-957; ed. Heil, *Gregorii Nysseni*. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 187.

4. (ff. 42v-48v), (Nov. 18) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. Platonis martyris Ankyrae*, *BHG* 1551-1552, edited below, pp. 110-127. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 187.

<sup>65</sup> See Cataldi Palau, *Catalogo*, pp. 154-55.

<sup>66</sup> For a description of the manuscript see, H. Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, vol. 1: *Codices Historici, codices Philosophici et Philologici* (Vienna, 1961), pp. 15-16.

5. (ff. 49-70v) (Nov. 24) **Nicetas Paphlagon**, *Vita s. Gregorii episcopi Agrigentini*, *BHG* and *BHG<sup>a</sup>* 708; *PG* 116, 189-269. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 188.
  
6. (ff.70v-81v) (Nov. 25) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio s. Aecaterinae*, *BHG* and *BHG<sup>a</sup>* 32; *PG* 116, 276-301; excerpts edited by Bronzini, 'La leggenda'. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 188.
  
7. (ff. 81v-125v) (Nov. 26) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Epitome de gestis s. Petri Apostoli et Passio*, *BHG* and *BHG<sup>a</sup>* 345-347; *PG* 2, 469-604; ed. A.R.M. Dressel, *Clementinorum epitomae duae* (Leipzig, 1859).
  
8. (ff. 125v-137) (Nov. 26) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Vita s. Alypii*, *BHG* 64; ed. Delehaye, *Les saintes stylites*. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 189.
  
9. (ff. 137-144v) (Nov. 27) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Passio S. Iacobi Persae*, *BHG* and *BHG<sup>a</sup>* 773; edited below, pp. 85-108. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 189.
  
10. (ff. 144v-182v) (Nov. 28) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Vita s. Stephani iunioris*, *BHG* and *BHG<sup>a</sup>* 1667; ed. Iadevaia, *Simeone*. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 189.
  
11. (ff. 182v-192) (Nov. 30) **Symeon Metaphrastes**, *Commentarius in S. Andream apostolum*, *BHG* and *BHG<sup>a</sup>* 101; ed. Saussay, *Andreas*. Cf. Høgel, *Symeon*, p. 189.

The manuscript consists of 22 *quaternia* and 2 *ternia*<sup>67</sup>. It is decorated with rubricated titles and ornamental major initials introducing each *Life*, and minor initials introducing each paragraph. The codex was dated to ca. AD 1100<sup>68</sup>. This seems to be confirmed by a collation of the hand identified (with certain caution) by Ruth Barbour with that of Gerasimos μοναχός in *Oxford, Christ Church Ms. Gr. 70* (f. 200v), dated 10 March 1104<sup>69</sup>. Nothing is known about the original provenance of the Vienna codex, except that it was purchased in Constantinople by Augerius Gislain von Busbeck (1522-1592), Emperor Ferdinand I's (1531-1564) diplomatic ambassador in the Ottoman court, among a large number of Greek manuscripts of which more than 270 still exist today as part of the Greek manuscripts collection of the Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in

<sup>67</sup> See Hunger, *Katalog*, p. 16.

<sup>68</sup> See Hunger, *Katalog*, p. 15.

Vienna<sup>70</sup>. Busbeck's subscriptions appear on ff. 1, 191v, upper margin: 'Augerius de Busbecke comparauit Constantinopoli'. The old number of the manuscript (20) appears in a subscription on f. 1, right hand margin, copied by a 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup>-century hand: 'Augustissimae | Bibliothecae | Cesareae | Vindobonensis | Codex | manuscriptus | Historicus | Graecus | vigesimus'. The same number appears on a label on the bottom margin of the same folio: 'Cod. MS. Hist. Graec. | N. 20'. On the top right hand margin of f. 1 the inscription 'Mensis Novembris d<sup><ie></sup> 15' indicates the first day of the second volume of November.

A subscription on the bottom right-hand margin of f. 141v, added by another, unattractive hand which belongs to a later period, explains the method of calculating cycles of the moon: 'ὁ γ(ὰρ) κυ(κλος) τ(ῆς) (σελήνης) ἀρχ(ε)τ(αι) ἀπὼ τ(ὴν) πρό- |<sup>2</sup> τὴν του μηνος) Σεπτ(εμβ)ρ(ιου) (καὶ) ἀρχ(ε)τ(αι) χρόνους δεκα- |<sup>3</sup> πένται (καὶ) παλην γουναίτ(αι) πρότ(η) |<sup>4</sup> καὶ ἦπαὶ οὕτ(ως) πενταικαιδαικα |<sup>5</sup> εν στ †.† ιε ι μ, μχ (or unidentified abbreviation), ιε, αρχε (?) κα' (Plate **XXVI**)<sup>71</sup>.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. R. Barbour, *Greek Literary Hands, A.D. 400-1600* (Oxford, 1981), p. 7 with Plate 22.

<sup>70</sup> See Hunger, *Katalog*, p. 16.

<sup>71</sup> *Leg.* ὁ γὰρ κύκλος τῆς σελήνης ἀρχεται ἀπὸ τὴν πρώτην τοῦ μηνὸς Σεπτεμβρίου καὶ ἄρχεται χρόνους δεκαπέντε καὶ πάλιν γίνεται πρώτη καὶ εἶπε οὕτως πεντεκαίδεκα ἐν, etc.

## Palaeographical examination of the texts

### *Passio of St James the Persian (BHG 773)*

The *Passio of St James* is preserved in at least forty-nine Greek manuscripts dated between the 11<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century<sup>72</sup>. For our edition we have used five of the earliest codices: **D** (ff. 204-212<sup>v</sup>), **L** (ff. 286<sup>v</sup> -294), **U** (ff. 177-184<sup>v</sup>) and **V** (f. 137 -144<sup>v</sup>), datable to the 11<sup>th</sup> century, and **Δ** (ff. 244-254) of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. The text in all five Mss is preceded either by decorative headbands (in **Δ** and **U**) or vignettes (in **D**, **L** and **V**) (see Plates **I**, **II**, **III**, **IV**, **V**). **U** (f. 177) preserves the miniature of the martyr orant, flanked by the inscription ὁ ἄγιος Ἰακώβ(ος) | ὁ πέρσης in majuscule (see Plate **I**). The text in **Δ** is preceded by a miniature (f. 244, col. a) depicting the scene of a martyrdom of an unspecified saint. The fact that this saint is represented being cut into pieces by his two executioners, refers to the *passio* of St James (see Plate **IV**).<sup>72a</sup>

The title + Μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ Πέρσου appears in predominately *Alexandrine* (or *Coptic*) *selected majuscule* with some minuscule letterforms in **Δ**, **D** and **L**. In **U** the word ἁγίου in the title is followed by the abbreviated form of μ(ε)γ(αλο)μάρτυρος and in **V** by ἐνδόξου μ(ε)γ(αλο)μ(α)ρ(τυρος). In all Mss the inscription + Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τη', appears on the top margin again in the same type of script (see Plates **I**, **II**, **III**, **IV**, **V**). In **V** the title is followed by the invocation + Εὐλόγησον π(ά)τερ, which suggests that the text was read by an ἀναγνώστης to the congregation in the presence of a spiritual father. In **U** the invocation reads κυ(ριε) (instead of the conventional contracted form of the sacred name κ(υριε) εὐλόγησον).

<sup>72</sup> (Certain catalogues do not specify folio numbers per work) *Ambrosiani graeci* A180 sup. + C129 inf. ff. 322<sup>v</sup>-326 (xiii.s.); *Athenienses B.N.* 985, ff. 249<sup>v</sup>-254 (xv s.), 986, ff. 580-592 (xvi s.), 1051, ff. 192-200<sup>v</sup> (xii s.), 2362, ff. 145-151<sup>v</sup> (xi s.), 2470, ff. 351<sup>v</sup>-358<sup>v</sup> (xv s.), 2102, ff. 244<sup>v</sup>-251<sup>v</sup> (xii s.), 2100, ff. 49-56 (xiv s.), 2105, ff. 244<sup>v</sup>-251<sup>v</sup> (xiv s.), 2362, 145-151<sup>v</sup> (xi s.), 2470, ff. 351<sup>v</sup>-359 (xiv-xv s.), and 2522, ff. 226<sup>v</sup>-235<sup>v</sup> (xii s.); *Athonenses Laura* B 86 (206), ff. 286<sup>v</sup>-294 (xi s.), *Esphigmenou* 2090. 77 (xiv s.), *Vatopediou* 94, ff. 199ff. (xix s.), *Protaton* 2. 30 (xii s.), *Docheiariou* 4 (2678), ff. 204-212<sup>v</sup> (xi s.) and 5 (2679), ff. 244 -254 (xii s.), *Dionysiou*, 116 Γ (3650) (xvii s.) and 263 (3797). 37 (xvii s.), *Iveron* 16 d (4887), 767, 2 (xiii s.); *Panteleimonos* 49 (5555), ff. 106ff. (xiii s.) and 191 (5698), ff. 54ff. (xv s.); *Genovensius Urbanus* 36, ff. 177-184<sup>v</sup> (x-xi s.); *Haunienses Gr. KGL. SAML.* 167, ff. 179-187 (xi-xii) and 168, ff. 15<sup>v</sup>-167<sup>v</sup> (xii s.); *Meteora, Metamorphoseos* 370, ff. 190<sup>v</sup>ff. (xvi s.), *Barlaam* 16, ff. 396-403 (xvi s.); *Monacensis gr.* 179, ff. 151-157 (xi-xii s.); *Parisini graeci* 579, ff. 152-160<sup>v</sup> (xi s.), 693, ff. 166-173 (xi s.), 774, ff. 615<sup>v</sup>-626 (xiv s.), 1482, ff. 151-159<sup>v</sup> (xi s.), 1499, ff. 322-334<sup>v</sup> (AD 1055/6), 1513, ff. 208-217 (xii s.), 1525, ff. 450-457<sup>v</sup> (xii-xiii s.), 1530, ff. 151-159, 211-248 (xii-xiii s.), 1545, ff. 213<sup>v</sup>-223 (xiii s.), 1549, ff. 314<sup>v</sup>-320<sup>v</sup> (xii s.), 1554, ff. 193-204 (xiv s.), and 1611, ff. 2-17 (AD 1553); *Vaticani graeci* 805, ff. 194-202 (xi-xii s.), 806, ff. 189<sup>v</sup>-227 (xi s.), 1596, ff. 152-181<sup>v</sup> (x-xi s.), and 1801, ff. 146-100<sup>v</sup> (xi-xii s.); and *Vindobonensis hist. gr.* 11, ff. 137-144<sup>v</sup> (ca. AD 1100). Finally, versions of the *Passio* in vernacular Greek are preserved in *Athonenses Koutloumoussiou* 3 (173), ff. 110ff. (xvi s.) and *Iveron* 705 (4825). 2 (xviii s.).

<sup>72a</sup> On illustrated Mss of the Metaphrastic Menologion, see S. der Nersessian, der, 'The Illustrations of the Metaphrastian Menologium', in *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1955), pp. 222-31; N.P. Ševčenko, *Illustrated Manuscripts of the Metaphrastian Menologion*, *Studies in Medieval Manuscripts Illumination* (Chicago 1990); eadem, 'Six Illustrated Editions of the Metaphrastian Menologion', *JÖB* 32/4 (1982), pp. 187-195.

In all of the manuscripts the text is introduced by an elaborate major initial *alpha* extending to the left margin (**L** and **U**) or in the intercolumnar space (**Δ**, **D** and **V**). The most elaborate and imaginative initial is that in **Δ**, depicting the saint with a halo in profile taking a step, thus producing the shape of *alpha* (see Plate **IV**). Paragraph division is indicated by simple ornamental minor initials extending to the margin, which follow a strong punctuation mark and a blank space at the end of the previous paragraph, placed usually in the preceding line (see Plates **VI**, **VII**, **VIII**, **IX**). In **L** small-sized guiding letters appear next to the initials, which indicates that they were executed by the rubricator together with the rest of the ornamental elements once the text was copied (for **L** 287<sup>v</sup>, see Plate **IX**). Paragraph division though similar in all five Mss, it is not identical. Paragraph division in **Δ** and **V** is more frequent (at least two paragraphs per folio) than the other Mss. **L** and **U** contain approximately two paragraphs per folio, while **D** contains less than one per folio.

A similar punctuation system was employed by the copyists, consisting of lower point ( . ), comma ( , ), upper point ( · ) — though occasionally used interchangeably — as well as full stop ( : ~ ). The question mark ( ; ) was also used in certain cases, where interrogation is not always clear: e.g., line 121: **Δ** (f. 247), **D** (f. 208<sup>v</sup>), **L** (f. 288<sup>v</sup>), **U** (f. 179) and **V** (f. 139)<sup>73</sup>. Concerning marginal signs, single arrow-like quotation marks, known as *haplé*, were used in two instances: in **U** (ff. 178-178<sup>v</sup>) to mark the quotation of the letter of the Saint's mother and wife (lines 59-79), and in **V** (f. 144) to cite the Saint's prayer before his execution (400-418) (see Plates **VI** and **VII** respectively). **Δ**, **D** and **L**, do not use any marginal signs. The text closes in **D** with a single cross of invocation, in **L** with three crosses (symbolising the Holy Trinity), **U** with three full stops, and in **V** with an upper point (in **Δ** it is unclear due to the quality of the facsimiles).

The text in all five Mss was copied by single hands, regular and disciplined, in two columns, in mixed minuscule. Adequate marginal and intercolumnar space was left on the folio. Corrections appear throughout the text in all Mss. From the reproductions it is difficult to ascertain whether these corrections were introduced by the main scribe or by different hands.

Conventional ligatures, abbreviations, and occasionally superpositions of letters were employed in the copying of the text by the scribes. With very few exceptions, *nomina sacra* are written in their contracted forms. In very few cases scribes placed an acute

<sup>73</sup> For the use of the mark of interrogation in Greek minuscule Mss, see C.B. Randolph, 'The Sign of Interrogation in Greek Minuscule Manuscripts', *Classical Philology* V.3 (1910), pp. 309-19.

accent on oxytones followed by a punctuation sign e.g., ἀγάς. (78), Δ f. 246, D f. 205<sup>v</sup> and L f. 258<sup>v</sup>; (113) εὐθαρσής· U f. 179 and Δ f. 246<sup>v</sup>; συναρπαγείς. (109), Δ f. 246<sup>v</sup>, D f. 206 and L f. 287<sup>v</sup>. With some exceptions, the scribes accentuated personal pronouns, the indefinite pronouns τις and τι, and the particle τε: e.g., τὲ for τε (15): Δ f. 244<sup>v</sup>, D f. 204<sup>v</sup>, L f. 286, U f. 177, V f. 137<sup>v</sup>; τίς for τις (110): Δ f. 246<sup>v</sup>, D f. 206, L f. 288, U f. 179, V f. 139<sup>74</sup>. No scribe used *diastole* to distinguish ὅ,τι from ὅτι, and τό,τε from τότε.

The scribes use consistently, although not always correctly, all accents and breathings. The use of double accents on μέν, δὲ and ἐπεὶ to mark rhetorical emphasis or anthithesis suggests that these texts were also read aloud<sup>75</sup>. Following the medieval convention they occasionally joined words used adverbially: e.g.: Δ, L and U παραπολὺ for παρά πολὺ (165); Δ, D and L διατοῦτο for διὰ τοῦτο (413); U ἐπιτομότερον for ἐπὶ τὸ ὠμότερον (335); V διαταῦτα for διὰ ταῦτα (297); L and V ἐπαστραγάλω for ἐπ' ἀστραγάλω (342). Very rarely they employ a linking subscribed *hyphen* to indicate this joining (e.g., τοιγαροῦν, 148, in U). At the same time all five scribes separated words erroneously, especially L, which is not uncommon in Byzantine Mss.<sup>75a</sup>

The scribes also used *apostrophe* to mark the elision of a vowel. In separating syllables at the end of lines, they largely followed the rules. The *diaeresis* mark over *iota* and *ypsilon* appears in a single case (line 3 διῖθύνοντος Δ f. 244, D f. 204, L f. 286<sup>v</sup>, U f. 177, V f. 137). A double dot (*diplê stigmê*) was used to distinguish *iota* and *ypsilon* in ligatures, and on *iota* when used as initial (e.g. ἰσδιγέρδου (3) Δ f. 244, D f. 204, L f. 286<sup>v</sup>, U f. 177, V f. 137), which again is not uncommon in this period. Apart from a few cases, Δ, D L and U omit mute *iota*, whereas V adscribes it quite extensively: e.g., 12 πλούτω, 23, ἀδίκω, 176 τῷ ἡττωμένω.

<sup>74</sup> On modern editorial conventions with regard to Byzantine texts, see E. V. Maltese, 'Ortografia d'autore e regole dell'editore: gli autografi bizantini', *RSBN* 32 (1995), pp. 91-121. For Byzantine conventions in accentuation and punctuation, see C.M. Mazzucchi, 'Sul sistema di accentazione dei testi greci in età romana e bizantina', *Aegyptus* 59 (1979), pp. 145-167, esp. pp. 161ff.; J. Noret, 'Ponctuation et accentuation byzantines', *Byz* 65 (1995), pp. 69-88. For Byzantine conventions on accents in indefinite enclitics, see J. Noret 'Quand donc renderons-nous à quantité d'indéfinis, prétendent enclitiques, l'accent qui leur revient?', *Byz* 57 (1987), pp. 191-195, who concludes that they are often accentuated (a) for emphasis, (b) at the beginning of a sentence, (c) linked with a negation, and (d) to stress the pronoun. See also idem, 'L'accentuation de *te* en grec byzantin', *Byz* 68 (1998), pp. 516-518.

<sup>75</sup> For the use of double accents in Greek Mss, see K. Oikonomakos, 'Ἀγαθὸν τὸ διτονεῖν?', *Byz* 75 (2005), pp. 295-309.

<sup>75a</sup> See, for example, Ch. Dendrinos, *An annotated critical edition (editio princeps) of Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus' treatise On the Procession of the Holy Spirit* (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1996), p. LXXVIII, n. 409; E. Rossidou-Koutsou, *John Eugenikos' Antirrhetic of the Decree of the Council of Ferrara-Florence: an annotated critical edition* (Nicosia, 2006), pp. lxxxi-lxxxii.



The palaeographical examination of the five codices does not help us to determine their relationship one to another, and therefore we have to rely entirely on the textual evidence. The text contains a number of spelling mistakes, as well as omissions/additions and variant readings. These are listed below (some words appear in more than one category):

1. Errors due to confusion of sounds:

a. *Iotacisms* (affecting *ι, ει, η, οι, υ*):

**D:** παρόψη for παρόψει (79)

**L:** ἀληθείς for ἀληθής (425); ἀνάκει for ἀνάκη (201); γράφην for γράφειν (145); δειχθῆναι for δειχθῆναι (378); ἐκκαυθῆσαι for ἐκκαυθεῖσαι (52); ἐκφοβῆν for ἐκφοβεῖν (140); ἐλυποθύμει for ἐλιποθύμει (365); ἐξίλετο for ἐξείλετο (374); ἐπὶ for ἐπέι (55); εὐγενία for εὐγενεία (12); εὐγένιαν for εὐγένειαν (60); εὐσεβίας for εὐσεβεῖας (383); θελίματι for θελήματι (191); θεραπείαν for θεραπείαν (49); κιδόμενοι for κηδόμενοι (277); μὶ for μῆ (36); μι for μῆ (335); πάθη for πάθει (120); πῖσειν for πείσειν (8); πλήρις for πλήρης (83); συνιδῆσει for συνειδήσει (133); τις for τῆς (94)

**U:** βραχίας for βραχείας (415); εἰς for ἦς (ῆς **DL**) (283); παρήναι for παρεῖναι (223); σύγχυσην post corr. for σύγχυσιν (92); συνταράσσης for συνταράσσεις (318); φλέβαις for φλέβες (362)

**V:** ἐναργει for ἐναργῆ (88); ἐναργεῖ for ἐναργῆ (100); μέρει for μέρη (211, 236); ποιείτε for ποιείται (107)

**ΔD:** ἐπανηθι for ἐπάνιθι (68)

**ΔL:** τὸν for τῶν (105)

**DL:** ἔπιτα for ἔπειτα (309)

**UV:** πειρωθείσας for πηρωθείσας (287); φοβεῖ UV for φοβῆ (390)

**DLV:** ἐταιρίας for ἐταιρείας (169)

**ADLU:** κατάρτισον for κατάρτησον (267)

**ADLV:** δεδημιουργεῖσθαι for δεδημιουργῆσθαι (195); ἐλειποθύμει for ἐλιποθύμει (365); καινὰς (καινὰς L) for κενὰς (245); συνταράσσεις for συνταράσσης (318); φέρει for φέρη (320)

**ADLUV:** ἦδεν for εἶδεν (309); περιλειφθεῖσαν for περιληφθεῖσαν (399)

b. *Confusion of ε and αι:*

**D:** κενὴν for καινὴν (208)

**L:** δεμοικῆς for δαιμοικῆς (128); ἀνεσθήτους for ἀναισθήτους (246); οἶεσθαι for οἶεσθε (322)

**U:** αἰρέτω *ter* for ἐρρέτω (186); φλέβαις for φλέβες (362)

**V:** αἰπαγγελίαι for ἐπαγγελίαι (183); ἔσπερεν for ἔσπαιρεν (364); καινὴν for κενὴν (292); ποιείτε for ποιείται (107); χαμερριφῆ for χαμαιριφῆ (363)

**ΔDL:** δαὶ for δὲ (175)

**ADLV:** καινὰς for κενὰς (245)

c. *Confusion of ο and ω:*

**L:** ἡρεθίζοντω for ἡρεθίζοντο (335); ὄρον for ὄρων (233); τὸ for τῷ (120)  
**U:** ἀπωδυρομένη for ἀποδυρωμένη (53); ἐξομολογήσωμαι for ἐξομολογήσωμαι (319);  
μεταμελώμενον for μεταμελόμενον (75)  
**V:** θεραπευτικῶν for θεραπευτικὸν (219); θηριοδῶς for θηριωδῶς (237); Ναζωραῖος for Ναζωραῖος  
(121); παντοδαπῶς for παντοδαπὸς (παντοδαπός U) (137)  
**LV:** οὐκ ἀποθείται (οὐκαποθεῖται V) for οὐκ ἀπωθείται (75)  
**DDL:** Ναβουχοδονόσορ for Ναβουχοδονόσωρ (25)  
**ADV:** ὅλος for ὅλως (120)  
**UDL:** τὸ for τῷ (131)  
**DLUV:** ὄφιλον for ὄφελον (corr.: ὄφελον DLUV, ὄφιλον Δ) (36)  
**LUV:** ἀπώλεσαι for ἀπολέσαι (9)

#### d. Double for single consonants:

**D:** λίθον νέψειν for λίθον ἔψειν (U, λίθον ἔψειν ΔLV) (144)  
**L:** παλαμναίων for παλαμναίων (ΔLV, παλαιμναίων D) (235)  
**U:** ἐκκολήθη for ἐκολλήθη (41)  
**V:** ἐκκρεμάμμενος for ἐκκρεμάμενος (34); χαμερριφή for χαμαιριφή (363); ψάλλω for ψαλῶ (316)  
**DLU:** ψαλλῶ for ψαλῶ (Δ, ψάλλω V) (316)

#### e. single for double consonants:

**U:** ἐκκολήθη for ἐκολλήθη (41)  
**V:** ἐκολήθη for ἐκολλήθη (41)  
**LV:** περιτεύων for περιττεύων (283)  
**DUV:** ἀσυρίων (ἐξασυρίων VD) for ἀσσυρίων (10)

## 2. Errors in breathings:

### a. Faulty breathings:

**Δ:** οὐ for οὔ (3)  
**L:** αἰχμαλοσίαν for αἰχμαλοσίαν (39); ἐπιφερόμενον for ἐπιφερόμενον (DUV) (ἐπιφερομένων Δ)  
(105); ἡγάπα for ἡγάπα (27); ἦν for ἦν (25); ἦν for ἦν (103); ἡρεθίζοντω for ἡρεθίζοντο  
(335); ἦψατο for ἦψατο (353); ἰάκωβος for ἰάκωβος (82); ἰσδιγέρδου for ἰσδιγέρδου (3); ἴσον  
for ἴσον (ἴσον V) (183); ὄνομα for ὄνομα (256, 270); ὄντως for ὄντως (38); ὄξύτερα for  
ὄξύτερα (172); οὔτω for οὔτω (351); ὦν for ὦν (16)  
**U:** ἔν (ἐν L) for ἔν (146); ἡθῶν for ἡθῶν (30); ἦν for ἦν (65); ἦπερ for ἦπερ (390); ἦρε for ἦρε  
(387); οἶα for οἶα (193); ὀδύνην for ὀδύνην (352)  
**DL:** ἐλάκυση for ἐλάκυση (34); ἦν for ἦν (266); ἦς for ἦς (εἶς U) (283); ὀφείλεται for ὀφείλεται (200)  
**DU:** ἡλίθιοι for ἡλίθιοι (273); οἶου for οἶου (85)  
**LU:** ἐάλω bis for ἐάλω bis (38); ἦσαν for ἦσαν (5); οἶων for οἶων (428)  
**UV:** ἀρπαγησόμενον for ἀρπαγησόμενον (236); οἶου for οἶου (161)  
**DDL:** ἔψειν for ἔψειν (144); ἴστατο for ἴστατο (246); ἴστε for ἴστε (320); ὄργανα for ὄργανα  
(234); ἄδου for ἄδου (V, post corr. U) (405)

**ADU:** ἤρεθίζοντο for ἡρεθίζοντο (335)  
**DLV:** ἔψειν for ἔψειν U (νέψειν D) (144)  
**DLV:** ἑταιρίας for ἑταιρείας (169) ἦ (ἦ V) for ἦ (174)  
**DLU:** εἶλκε for εἶλκε (11); ἔλη for ἔλη (35); οὔσαν for οὔσαν (208)  
**DUV:** ἔσμός for ἔσμός (219)  
**ADLU** ἦπερ for ἦπερ (386)  
**LUV:** ἀβραὰμ for ἀβραὰμ (ἀβραὰμ L) (24)  
**DLUV:** ἦ for ἦ (275)

*b. Omission of breathing in crasis:*

**D:** τάλλα for τᾶλλα (392)  
**L:** τᾶλλα for τᾶλλα (392)  
**UV:** τᾶλλα for τᾶλλα (196)  
**DUV:** τᾶλλα for τᾶλλα (298)  
**DLUV:** τᾶλλα for τᾶλλα (337)

*c. Omission of breathings:*

**D:** ευῶδες τι for εὐῶδες τι (105)  
**U:** ἀλλὰ for ἀλλὰ (324); κὰν for κὰν (239)  
**LUV:** ρανῖς for ρανῖς (36)

*d. Omission of mark of elision:*

**DLUV:** γοῖν for γ' οῖν (γοῖν Δ) (66)

**3. Errors in accents:**

*a. Faulty accents:*

**D:** ἀναμιμήσκειν for ἀναμιμήσκειν (ἀνά μιμήσκειν U) (249); διανομάς for διανομάς (113); ταῦτας for ταύτας(410)  
**L:** ἔσπευ | δὲ for ἔσπευδε (ΔUV, ἔσπευδε D) (170); ἦρε for ἦρε (387); ἱακῶβος for ἱάκωβος (10); καῖνὰς for κενὰς (καινὰς ΔDV) (245); μάλλον for μάλλον (25); πλοῦτου for πλούτου (179); προλαβοῦσης for προλαβούσης (249); πτώματι for πτώματι (77); τοῦτῳ for τούτῳ (42)  
**U:** ἀναδείξαι for ἀναδείξει (257); δωρεᾶς for δωρεὰς (192); δυστυχοῦς for δυστυχοῦς (158); ἦπερ for ἦπερ (390); κατοικῶν for κατοικῶν (23); λυπηρὰ for λυπηρὰ (256); νεύρα for νεῦρα (262); ὄσον ante corr. for ὄσον (ὄσον al. man. in marg. D) (236); παντοδαπός for παντοδαπός (137); σπουδὴ for σπουδῆ (336); ψαλλῶ for ψαλῶ (ψάλλω ΔDLV) (268); ψυχῆ for ψυχῆ (331)  
**V:** ἴσον for ἴσον (ἴσον L) (183); παντοδαπῶς for παντοδαπός (137); ψάλλω for ψαλῶ (DLU ψαλλῶ) (316)  
**DL:** περιχαρῆς for περιχαρῆς (366)  
**LV:** εὐθαρσῆς for εὐθαρσῆς, (113)  
**UL:** σκιὰς for σκιᾶς (33); σκολιὰς for σκολιᾶς (22); σοφοὶ for σοφοῖ (45)  
**UV:** ἐν ἰσχύσαί τε for ἐνισχύσαι τε (255); γνοῦς for γνοῦς (109)

**ADL:** ἀγκάλων for ἀγκάλων (33)

**DLU** ψαλλῶ for ψαλῶ (ψάλλω V) (316)

**DUV:** προκρίναι for προκρίναι (162)

**LUV:** ὠδίνες for ὠδίνες (405)

**ADLUV:** ἄλωπεκὴν for ἄλωπεκὴν (153); ἥπερ for ἥπερ (ἥπερ V) (386); προκρίναι for προκρίναι (61)

#### b. *Omission of accents:*

**D:** ἔσπευδε for ἔσπευδε (ΔUV : ἔσπευ | δὲ L) (170)

**L:** προσερχομενῷ for προσερχομένῳ (77); τῷ for τῷ (20); (ὑπερ ἄνω L) for ὑπεράνω (190)

**U:** δε for δὲ (142); οὐδε for οὐδὲ (222); τῆς for τῆς (343).

**AD:** ἐπανηθι for ἐπάνηθι (post corr. L, ἐπάνηθι V) (68)

**ADL:** κᾶν for κᾶν (239).

#### 4. Joining of non-compound words:

**L:** διαταῦτα for διὰ ταῦτα (312) καταπίστιν for κατὰ πίστιν (καὶ πίστιν U) (54)

**D:** μονον οὐκεπὶ for : μόνον οὐκ ἐπὶ (μονονοῦ Δ) (32); παραβασιλεῖ for παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ (παρὰ βασιλεῖ ΔV) (14-15)

**U:** ἀλλεξάγαγε for ἀλλ' ἐξάγαγε (414); ἐπιτομότερον for ἐπὶ τὸ ὠμότερον (335)

**V:** διαταῦτα for διὰ ταῦτα (297); οὐκαποθεῖται for οὐκ ἀπωθεῖται (οὐκ ἀποθεῖται L) (75)

**DL:** καταταύτην for κατὰ ταύτην (4); διαταῦτα for διὰ ταῦτα (14); παρατί for παρὰ τί (126)

**DV:** οὐκαισισθήτως for οὐκ ἀναισθήτως (378-9); ἐξασυρίων for ἐξ ἄσσυρίων (ἐξ ἄσσυρίων U) (10)

**LU:** ἐξύπνου for ἐξ ὕπνου (82)

**LV:** ἐπαστραγάλω for ἐπ' ἀστραγάλω (342)

**ADL:** διατοῦτο for διὰ τοῦτο (413)

**DLU:** παραπολὺ for παρὰ πολὺ (165)

#### 5. Separation of compound words:

**D:** προ ἔγνω for προέγνω (44)

**L:** ἀλλὰ for ἀλλὰ (75); ἀπὸ βλέψας for ἀποβλέψας (327); ἀπὸ στρεφόμενον for ἀποστρεφόμενον (184); διὰ νομάς μετὰ κεκλημένους for διανομάς μετακεκλημένους (διανομάς μετακεκλημένους D) (113); διὰ σημαίνειν for διασημαίνειν (250); διὰ σπαράττοντες for διασπαράττοντές (339); εἰς ἔδου for εἰσέδου (347); ἐν ἀργῇ for ἐναργῇ (ἐναργεῖ V) (88); ἐν ἰσχύει for ἐνισχύει (276); ἐπὶ θαρρύνων for ἐπιθαρρύνων (317); ἐπὶ κοπτόμενος for ἐπικοπτόμενος (122); ἐπὶ τηδείων for ἐπιτηδείων (289); κατὰ πατήσαντες for καταπατήσαντες (314); κατὰ τέμνοντες for κατατέμνοντες (339); κατὰ τομὴν for κατατομὴν (234); κατὰ τὸ μῆς for κατατομῆς (κατὰ τομῆς U) (252); κατὰ τμηθησόμενον for κατατμηθησόμενον (237); μετὰ πεσοῦσης for μεταπεσοῦσης (20); παρὰ δίδωσι for παραδίδωσι (64); παρὰ κλήσεως for παρακλήσεως (329); παρὰ πλησίως for παραπλησίως (307); περὶ δέξιον for περιδέξιον (31); περὶ βεβλημένου for περιβεβλημένου (192); πρὸ λαβούσης for προλαβούσης (προλαβούσης L) (249); πρὸς κίνησιν for προσκίνησιν (198); ὑπὸ

κλέπτει for ὑποκλέπτειν (139)

**U:** ἀνά μιμνήσκειν for ἀναμιμνήσκειν (ἀναμιμνήσκειν D) (249); κατὰ τομῆς for κατατομῆς (κατὰ τὸ μῆς L) (252)

**DU:** κατὰ τομῆν for κατατομῆν (242); οὐδὲ μίαν for οὐδεμίαν (283)

**DV:** καταφύσιν for κατὰ φύσιν (345)

**LU:** ἀπὸ δεξιόμενος for ἀποδεξιόμενος (231); διὰ φορώτατος for διαφορώτατος (διὰ φορώτατος L) (13) κατὰ παλαίοντα for καταπαλαίοντα (262); κατὰ τιθεμένων for κατατιθεμένων (226); παρὰ πόλλυσθαι for παραπόλλυσθαι (141); τὸ σοῦτον for τοσοῦτον (299); ὑπὸ γράψασα for ὑπογράψασα (242); ὑπὸ σημαίνων for ὑποσημαίνων (115)

**UV:** 344 παραφύσιν for παρὰ φύσιν (344)

**ADLU:** οὐ ἀραράτ for οὐαραράτ (19)

**ADLUV:** μὴ δὲ for μηδὲ (μὴ δε L) (274); ὑπὲρ ἄνω (ὑπερ ἄνω L) for ὑπεράνω (190)

## 6. Omissions/additions:

### a. Words which do not appear in

**Δ:** καὶ (290); ἐπὶ (μονον οὐκεπὶ D, μονονοῦ Δ) (32); ὀργῆν (119); τῶ (204)

**D:** τὴν (4); τῶν (5); φιλίας (133); μου (175)

**L:** τε (318); εἶπεν (266); καὶ (397); ὄραν (239); τιὺ μὲν ἀπετάξω (70)

**U:** διὰ (30); ἐν (307); μὲν (195)

**V:** αὐτοῖς (198); γ' (381); δὴ (143); καθ' (140); καὶ (234); καὶ θάλατταν σπείρειν (145); ἐκ (148); ἐκεῖνος (207); ὄλος ἄτρομος, (112); οὐ τεμνόμενος (368)

**ΔD:** καὶ (429)

**ΔL:** καὶ<sup>3</sup> (294)

**ΔDL:** περὶ (25)

**ΔDV:** τῶ (παραβασιλεῖ D) (14-15)

**LUV:** ἐν (189)

**ADLU:** ἔφη (174)

### b. Words which appear only in

**Δ:** ἦ (318)

**L:** δὲ (13); μὲν (396); παραπάσιν. (165); τῆς (380); φάναι (91)

**V:** ὁ V (311); τῶν (5)

**UV:** ἀλλὰ (31)

**ADLV:** ταύτην (358)

## 7. *Lapsus calami:*

**U** (dittography): αἰσθόμενος (329)

## 8. Erroneous words:

**L:** θεασαμόνου for θεασαμένου (209)

**U:** δέη σώσειν for δέησιν (259); ἐλέγχθη for ἐλέχθη (108); λίθην for λίθον (144); φλέβαις for φλέβες (362)

**V:** μοικῆς for δαιμονικῆς (128); συγκατεσπώντο for συνκατεσπώντο (363)

**LU:** τὸ σοῦτον for τοσοῦτον (299)

**UV:** ἐν ἰσχύσαί τε for ἐνισχύσαι τε (255)

**ADL** ἐκολλήθη for ἐκολήθη (41); ἐν ἰσχύσαί τε for ἐνισχύσαι τε (255)

Finally, a collation of **Δ, D, L, U** and **V** shows the following textual variants (readings adopted in the present edition are given first):

## 9. Different readings:

**Δ** against **D:** ἐπιμελείας for ἐπιμ(ε)τ(α)μελείας (88)

**Δ** against **LUV:** ἐπιμελείας for μεταμελείας (88)

**Δ** against **DLUV:** τῶν ἐπικαλούμενων αὐτὸν καὶ φοβούμενων for τῶν φοβούμενων αὐτὸν (330-331)

**U** against **V:** ἀποστερήσαι for ἀποστήναι (171)

**U** against **ADL:** ἀποστερήσαι for ἀποστήσαι (171)

**U** against **ADLV:** κενὰς for καινὰς (καινὰς L) (245); ἀποστερήσαι for ἀποστήναι (**V**, ἀποστήσαι **ΔDL**) (171)

**V** against **U:** ἦπερ for ἡπερ (390)

**V** against **ADL:** κἂν for κάν (239)

**V** against **DLU**, against **Δ:** ὥσπερ for ὡς and ὡς δὲ (251)

**ΔU** against **DLV:** ἦ for ἡ (ἡ V) (174)

**ADL** against **UV:** γλώττη for γνώμη (125); ὑμᾶς for ἡμᾶς (198)

**DUV** against **Δ**, πτοήσωσι for ποιήσωσι (177)

**DUV** against **L:** πτοήσωσι for ποιήσουσι (177)

**LUV** against **Δ:** μόνον οὐκ ἐπὶ for μονουοὺ (32)

**LUV** against **D:** μόνον οὐκ ἐπὶ for μονον οὐκεπὶ (32)

**ADLU** against **V:** γ' οἶν (γοῖν U) for οἶν (381); καθ' ἑαυτοῦ for αὐτοῦ (140); κενὴν for καινὴν (292); λαθεῖν for μαθεῖν (103); θελήσει for μελήσει (356); ὁ τύραννος ἔφη for εἶπεν ὁ τύραννος (126); ἐπιπάττοντος for ἐπιτάττοντος (335); παρατραπίσαν (παρὰ τραπίσαν U) for παραπεισθείσαν (58); περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκκαυθεῖσαι for περὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν αὐτὴν ἐκκαυθεῖσαι (52)

**ADLV** against **U:** δέησιν for δέη σώσειν (259); ἔθνους for ἔθους (328); κατὰ πίστιν (καταπίστιν L) for καὶ πίστιν (54); παρέργω for πανέργω (166); στερινοτυπία (στερινοπία et sscr. τυ Δ) for στερινοκτυπία (90)

**ADUV** against **L:** αἰσθόμενος for αἰσθανόμενος (329)

**DLUV** against **D:** καινὴν for κενὴν (208)

**DLUV** against **Δ:** οὕτως (οὔτως L) for οὕτω (355); συνεξισουμένην for ἐξισουμένην (191)

**U** against **V**, against **ADL:** ἀποστερήσαι for ἀποστήναι for ἀποστήσαι (171)

## 10. Variant forms of the same words:

- Δ** against **DLUV**: μονονοῦ for μονον οὐκ (32); προστίθημαι for προστίθημι (299)
- Δ** against **V**, against **DLU**: ψαλῶ for ψάλλω and ψαλλῶ (316)
- D** against **DLUV**: διανοίαι for διανοία (241)
- U** against **ΔDLV**: σύ for σοι· (σοι ΔLV) (290); συνεφύροτο for συνεφύρετο (361); ἕμιν for ἕμῶν (200)
- U** against **V**, against **ΔDL** προτείνης for προτείνειν and προτείνεις (176).
- ΔD** against **LUV**: ἀγαθὴ ψυχὴ for ἀγαθὴ ψυχῆ (239-40)
- LU** against **V** against **ΔD**: ὄσω for ὄσον and ὄσω (355)
- UV** against **ΔLD**: πεσόντα for πεσόντας (45); τυφλωθέντα for τυφλωθέντας (45); σύ for σοι (201); συντείναντος for συντείνοντος (293)
- ΔDL** against **U**: ἥπερ for ἦπερ (390)
- ΔDL** against **V**: ἐκολλήθη for ἐκολήθη (41)
- ΔUV** against **D**: παλαμναίων for παλαιμναίων (235)
- ΔUV** against **DL**: κατηξίωσας for κατεξίωσας (269)
- DUV** against **Δ**: ἐπιφερόμενον for ἐπιφερομένων (ἐπιφερόμενον L) (105)
- DUV** against **Δ**, against **L**: πτοήσωσι for ποιήσωσι and ποιήσουσι (177)
- DUV** against **ΔL**: for τῶν τὸν (105)
- ΔDLU** against **V**: ἀπιστίας for ἀπιστίαν (359); ἐκκοπτόμενα for ἐκκοπτομένες (345); συμβουλεύειν for συμβουλεύοντες (277); ἔφη for εἶπεν (126)
- ΔDLV** against **U**: δένδρω for δένδρον U (412); ἔκαμνον for ἔκαμον (366); θεραπείαν for θεραπείας (θεραπίαν L) (49); κατέλιπες for κατέλιπας (65); κρίνόν μοι for κρίνον μου (κρίνον μοι L) (327); μέμφεσθαι for μέμφθεσθαι (193); μητέρα for μητέρα(ν) (80); συνήθεις for συνήθους (188); χάριτας for χάριτος (247); ψάλλω for ψαλλῶ (268)
- ΔDUV** against **L**: τῷ for τὸν (25)
- ΔLUV** against **D**: δένδρον for δένδρων (305)

## 11. Different spelling of foreign names:

- V** against **ΔDLU**: Οὐαραράτ for ἼΑραράτ (4 and 19)
- UV** against **ΔD**: Ἰβραάμ for Ἰβραάμ (L Ἰβράάμ) (24)
- LUV** against **ΔL**: Ἰσδιγέρδου for Ἰσδιγέρδου (3)
- ΔDLU** against **V**: Βαλατῶ for Γαλατῶ (11); δείκνυσι for δείκνυσιν (358); 121 Ναζωραῖος for Ναζωραῖος (121)

## 12. Addition of euphonic ν:

- ΔD** against **LUV**: πάσχουσι for πάσχουσιν (296)
- ΔDL** against **UV**: πέποιθε for πέποιθεν (332)
- ΔUV** against **DL**: εἶχε for εἶχεν (217)
- ΔDLV** against **U**: εἰσίν for εἰσί (411); ἔμελλεν for ἔμελλε (216)
- ΔDUV** against **L**: ἐξήν for ἐξή (199)

### 13. Use of enclitics:

**Δ** against **UVLD**: τε for τὲ (133)

**V** against **D**, against **ULΔ**: πρόεγνω τε for προ ἔγνω τε and προέγνω τὲ (44)

**ΔDU** against **LV**: που for ποῦ (56)

**ΔDV** against **L**, against **U**: κρίνον μοι for κρίνον μοι and κρίνον μου (327)

**ΔLV** against **U**, against **D**: εὐώδες τι for εὐώδες τί and εὐώδες τι (105)

**ΔDLU** against **V**: ἀλλά τινα for ἀλλὰ τινὰ (274-5); ὦδέ πως for ὦδε πῶς (59)

**ΔDLV** against **U**: παντός τε (post corr. ex παντός) L ) for παντός τὲ U (32); φιλοδωρότατός τις for φιλοδωρότατος τίς (31)

**ΔDUV** against **L**: τοιοῦτον ἐστὶν for τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν (349)

**ΔDLUV**: τὲ for τε (15); τίς for τις (110); τίς for τις (311)

### 14. Order of words:

**ΔDLU** against **V**: ὁ τύραννος ἔφη for εἶπεν ὁ τύραννος (126)

**ΔDUV** against **L**: ἀποκαλυφθῆναι δόξαν for δόξαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι (296) τοῦτο διάγγελμα for διάγγελμα τοῦτο L (47)

## Relationship between the manuscripts

The palaeographical examination and collation of the five extant Mss indicate that **Δ** represents the best tradition of the text. Though it is not free of errors, it contains by far the smallest number of spelling and other mistakes in comparison to the other four Mss. **Δ** is closely connected with **D** and **L** in terms of different readings and different forms of the same words. The text in **L** contains the larger number of errors, especially in breathings and iotacisms, as well as the separation of compound words. **U** and **V** are linked through an intermediary tradition, as they share a large number of errors. The fact, however, that all five codices contain independent omissions of words, shows that they are linked through intermediary witnesses<sup>76</sup>.

<sup>76</sup> A full edition of the text, based on all extant manuscripts is under preparation.



### ***Passio of St Plato (BHG 1551-1552)***

The *Passio of St Plato*, edited below (pp. 110-127), is preserved in at least thirty-one manuscripts dated between the 11<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>77</sup>. Of the earliest codices, we have examined **D** (ff. 23<sup>v</sup>-30<sup>v</sup>), **L** (ff. 208-213<sup>v</sup>), **U** (ff. 29<sup>v</sup>-36<sup>v</sup>) and **V** (ff. 42<sup>v</sup>-48<sup>v</sup>), datable to the 11<sup>th</sup> century, and **Δ** (ff. 49-57<sup>v</sup>) of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. In all manuscripts (apart from **U** which is *mutilus* in the *incipit*, see Plate **X**) the text is preceded either by decorative headbands (*epititla*) (in **Δ** and **L**) or simple vignettes (in **D** and **V**) (see Plates **XIV**, **XII**, **XIII**, and **XI** respectively). The section of the parchment leaf that originally contained the miniature depicting the saint and the title in **U** has been torn (f 29<sup>v</sup>). The same occurs in other cases throughout this codex (for example, f. 36<sup>v</sup>). The title + Μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Πλάτωνος, preceded by the inscription + Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ιη´, appears in *Alexandrine* (or *Coptic*) *selected majuscule*, in **Δ**, **D**, **L** and **V**. In **Δ** the *Epigraphical* *selected majuscule* was used for the inscription (see Plates **X**, **XI**, **XII**, **XIII**, **XIV**). In **L** and **V** the title is followed by the invocation + Εὐλ(όγησον) π(άτ)ερ, which indicates that the text was read by an ἀναγνώστης to the congregation in the presence of a spiritual father, most probably the ἡγούμενος of a monastery.

In all of the manuscripts the text is introduced by an elaborate major initial *omicron* extending to the left margin (**Δ**, **D** and **V**) or in the intercolumnar space (**L**); the most elaborate initial is the zoomorphic *omicron* in **Δ** consisting of a double headed serpent (see Plate **XIV**). Simple ornamental minor initials, extending to the margin, indicate paragraph division following a strong punctuation leaving a blank space at the end of the previous paragraph, usually in the preceding line (for example **V**, f. 47<sup>v</sup> and **Δ** f. 54, see Plates **XVIII** and **XIX** respectively). Only in **L** small-sized guiding letters are still visible next to the initials (f. 210, see Plate **XVI**). This indicates that initial letters were executed by the rubricator together with the other ornamental elements after the copying of the text.

<sup>77</sup> *Ambrosiani graeci*, A180 sup. + C 129 inf., ff. 250<sup>v</sup>-254 (xiii.s.); *Athenienses*, B.N. 985, ff. 157-161 (xv s.), 986, ff. 357-367 (xvi s.), 1051, ff. 33-40 (xii s.), 2362, ff. 23<sup>v</sup>-29 (xi s.), 2470, ff. 225<sup>v</sup>-230 (xv s.), 2522, ff. 62-69<sup>v</sup> (xii s.); *Athonenses Laura* B86 (206), ff. 208-214 (xi s.), *Esphigmenou* 2090. 77 (xiv s.), *Docheiariou* 4 (2678), ff. 23<sup>v</sup>30<sup>v</sup> (xi s.) and 5 (2679), ff. 49-57<sup>v</sup> (xii s.), and *Dionysiou* 116 Γ (3650) (xii s.); *Genovens Urbanus* 36, ff. 29<sup>v</sup>-36<sup>v</sup> (x-xi s.); *Haurienses Gr. KGL. SAML.* 167, ff. 27-34 (xi-xii) and 168, ff. 16-21<sup>v</sup> (xii sec.); *Meteora, Metamorphoseos* 370, ff. 30-37<sup>v</sup> (xvi s.) and *Barlaam* 16, ff. 275<sup>v</sup>-281 (xvi s.); *Monacensis gr.* 179 ff. 26<sup>v</sup>-32 (xi sec.); *Parisini graeci* 579, ff. 18-24 (inc. mutil.) (xi s.), 580, ff. 53<sup>v</sup>-65<sup>v</sup> (xi s.), 693, ff. 32-38 (xi s.), 1482, ff. 1-6<sup>v</sup> (xi s.), 1513, ff. 35-42<sup>v</sup> (xii s.), 1525, ff. 288<sup>v</sup>-295 (xii-xiii s.), 1530, ff. 22-26<sup>v</sup> (xii s.), 1545, ff. 72<sup>v</sup>-78 (xiii s.), and 1549, ff. 173<sup>v</sup>-179 (xii s.); *Romanus Vallicellianus gr.* 36 (C34), ff. 177-183<sup>v</sup> (xiv s.); *Vaticani graeci* 805, ff. 38<sup>v</sup>-46 (xi-xii s.), 806, ff. 47<sup>v</sup>-53<sup>v</sup> (xi s.), and 1596, ff. 42<sup>v</sup>-48 (x-xi s.); *Vaticanus Ottobonianus graecus* 427, ff. 216-222<sup>v</sup> (xi-xii s.); and *Vindobonensis hist. gr.* 11, ff. 42<sup>v</sup>-48<sup>v</sup> (ca. AD 1100).

The paragraph division, though similar, is not identical in all five Mss. **D** contains less than one paragraph per folio, **L** and **U** usually one paragraph per folio, while **Δ** and **V** use a richer system of paragraph division, with approximately two paragraphs per folio.

A similar punctuation system was used by the scribes. This consists of lower point ( . ), comma ( , ), upper point ( · ) — though these signs were occasionally used interchangeably — and full stop ( : ~ ). **D** occasionally used a colon ( : ) for a full stop (ff. 23<sup>v</sup> -24). The question mark ( ; ) was also employed in certain cases, where interrogation is not always clear (e. g., **Δ** f. 55: after ἀνασχοίμην (206); **V** f. 46: after γένοιτο (167); **V** f. 46, **U** f. 133<sup>v</sup>, **L**, f. 211: after ποσίην (165); and **V** f. 45<sup>v</sup>: after σώζειν (163)).<sup>78</sup> Regarding marginal signs, **D**, **L** and **U** use single arrow-like quotation marks, known as *haplê* to indicate Scriptural citations (**D** f. 24<sup>v</sup>, **L** f. 210, **U** f. 32; see Plates **XV**, **XVI**, **XVII**). **Δ** and **V**, however, do not use any marginal signs. The text in **Δ**, **D** and **L** closes with the cross of invocation, while **U** uses a full stop ( : ~ ).

In all five Mss the text was copied by single hands in two columns, leaving adequate marginal and intercolumnar space. The scribes employed mixed minuscule. All five hands are regular and disciplined. In all Mss there is evidence of corrections, though it is difficult to ascertain at this stage whether these were introduced by the same or different hands.

In copying the text all scribes employed conventional ligatures, abbreviations, and occasionally superpositions of letters. *Nomina sacra* usually appear in their contracted forms. In few cases scribes placed an acute accent on oxytones followed by a punctuation sign (e.g., ἀμοιβάς. (29): **Δ** f. 49<sup>v</sup>, **D** f. 24, **L** f. 208<sup>v</sup>, **U** f. 30, **V**, f. 43. In some cases the copyists did not treat τῖς / τῖς and the particle τε as enclitics, and therefore accentuate them (τίς, τί and τέ): e.g., θεία τίς in **Δ** and **D** for θεία τῖς (79), while τῖς (for example, 241) is treated as enclitic by all five copyists.<sup>79</sup> All scribes used double accents on μέν, δὲ and ἐπεὶ to mark rhetorical emphasis or antithesis.<sup>80</sup> Following the mediaeval convention they joined words used adverbially, e.g. **ΔL**: διαπαντὸς for διὰ παντὸς (93); **DL**: ἀναμέρος for ἀνὰ μέρος (277), ἑξαμφοτέρων for ἕξ ἀμφοτέρων (134), κατακαιρὸν for κατὰ καιρὸν (296); **DDL**: καταβραχὺ for κατὰ βραχὺν (139); and **DLV**: διατοῦτο for διὰ τοῦτο (109).

The mark of *diaeresis* over *iota* and *ypsilon* in all five Mss was used to distinguish a diphthong: e.g., θεϊκήν (163) (**Δ** f. 54, **D** f. 27<sup>v</sup>, **L** f. 211, **U** f. 33, **V** f. 46). A similar

<sup>78</sup> Cf. above, n. 73.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. above, n. 74.

double dot (*diplê stigmê*) was used by the scribes to distinguish *iota* and *ypsilon* in ligatures. Mute *iota* appears in **V** in adscript form extensively: e.g., f. 42<sup>v</sup>: τῆ (8); f. 42<sup>v</sup>: τῶ (9); f. 44: αὐτῶ (75). In the rest of the Mss *iota* adscript appears rarely: e.g., **D** f. 24<sup>v</sup>: ἀνέχη (47).

As in the case of the previous *Passio of St James*, the palaeographical examination of the five codices does not suffice to draw safe conclusions about their relationship one to another. Consequently, we have to resort to the textual evidence. Spelling mistakes, omissions, additions and variant readings occurring in the Mss are listed below (some words appearing in more than one category):

#### 1. Errors due to confusion of sounds:

##### a. *Iotacisms* (affecting *ι, ει, η, οι, υ*):

**Δ**: ὑμῖν for ἡμῖν (63); χρυσάμενον for χρυσάμενον (190)

**D**: μηχανισάμενος for μηχανησάμενος (84)

**L**: ἀληθῆ for ἀληθεί (65); δεικτύων for δικτύων (27); δειχθεις for δηχθείς (183); διαμήβοντες for διαμείβοντες (73); ἦδει for ἦδη (252); οἶ for εἶ (291); παιδῖαν for παιδείαν (14); παρατίθημι for παρατίθημι (302); ὑπερόπτειν for ὑπερόπτην (129)

**U**: μηχανισάμενος for μηχανησάμενος ante corr.? (84)

**DU**: πάλιν for πάλην ante corr. (120)

**LV**: πάλιν for πάλην (120)

**ΔDL**: ἦδει for ἦδη (279)

##### b. *Confusion of ε and αι*:

**L**: αίμοβόραι for αίμοβόρε (253); ἔλαιόν τινα for ἔλεόν τινα (148); ἐνέσεως for αινέσεως (151); ἐσχύνην for αἰσχύνην (41)

**V**: προσφαίρεσθαι for προσφέρεσθαι (269)

##### c. *Confusion of ο and ω*:

**D**: ἄρτων for ἄρτον (22); εἶχωντο for εἶχοντο (244)

**L**: δεινῶς for δεινός (91); θεραπεύον for θεραπεύων (149); μέλλον for μέλλων (89); ὀ for ὦ (34); τὸν for τῶν (27)

**U**: εὐοδία post corr. for εὐωδία (191)

**V**: ἀγνωμοσύνης for ἀγνωμοσύνης (206); ἐκείνω for ἐκείνο (16); ἐπαγωγῶν for ἐπαγωγὸν (125)

**DU**: τὸ for τῶ (36)

**LV**: βραχέως for βραχέος (289)

##### d. *Double for single consonants*:

<sup>80</sup> Cf. above, n. 74.

**D:** πλάττων for πλάτων (198)  
**L:** ἐβάλετο for ἐβάλλετο (240)  
**V:** δυσσεβεία for δυσσεβείας (5)

## 2. Errors in breathings.

### a. *Faulty breathings:*

**D:** ἀπαλωτέροις for ἀπαλωτέρους (209); εἶλκε for εἶλκε (11); ἐλεῖν for ἐλεῖν (129, 278); ἔφη for ἔφη (56); ἑώρα for ἑώρα (228); ἴδωμεν for ἴδωμεν (242); οἷς for οἷς (262); ὠδινε for ὠδινε (114)  
**L:** ἑαυτῶν for ἑαυτῶν (74); ἐπόμενοι for ἐπόμενοι (86); ἕτοιμος for ἕτοιμος (54); ἡλλοιοῦτο for ἡλλοιοῦτο (263); ἦτταν for ἦτταν (121); ἰστᾶν for ἰστᾶν (279); ἴστατο for ἴστατο (255); οἶα for οἶα (62); οἶδα for οἶδα (95); ὀλίγω for ὀλίγω (216); ὅτι for ὅτι (79); οὖς for οὖς (27)  
**U:** ἄμιλλα for ἄμιλλα (41); ἑαυτοῦ for ἑαυτου (127); οἶμοι for οἶμοι (244)  
**V:** ἀπαλωτέροις for ἀπαλωτέρους (42); ἡδίστης for ἡδίστης (271)  
**ΔL:** ἐλεῖν for ἐλεῖν (196)  
**DL:** ἐλεῖν for ἐλεῖν (34, 241); ἔλοιο for ἔλοιο (58)  
**DU:** αἰμῦλον for αἰμύλον (124); ἄμιλλαν for ἄμιλλαν (76)  
**DV:** ὠμῶς for ὠμῶς (74)

### b. *Omission of breathing in crasis:*

**Δ:** ταυτόν for ταῦτόν (200)

### c. *Omission of breathings:*

**D:** ουσίας for οὐσίας (13)  
**L:** κατ'αυτόν for κατ'αὐτόν (36)

## 1. Errors in accents.

### a. *Faulty accents:*

**Δ:** ἦτταν for ἦτταν (121, 168)  
**D:** ἀγριππίνος for ἀγριππίνος (183); αὐτομολήσαί τε for αὐτομολήσαί τε (223); δαψιλῆς for δαψιλῆς (27); δικαστῆς for δικαστῆς (276); διηθεῖς for διηθεῖς (199); ἐπειράτο for ἐπειράτο (240); ἡδονῆ for ἡδονῆ (126); κοινᾶ for κοινὰ (23); οἰκτεῖρων for οἰκτεῖρων (233); πολλῆ for πολλῆ (82); τούτων for τούτων (277); ὑποφήνας for ὑποφήνας (90)  
**L:** ἀγριππίνος for ἀγριππίνος (31); ἀνηρώτα for ἀνηρώτα (294); χλαμῦδα for χλαμῦδα (213)  
**ΔD:** προσβαλῶν for προσβαλῶν (280)  
**ΔU:** σιδηρᾶ for σιδηρὰ (136)  
**DL:** εὐρηκῶς for εὐρηκῶς (30); κολακεῖαι for κολακεῖαι (284); κωλύσαι for κωλύσαι (290); πληγῆ for πληγῆ (80)  
**DU:** αἰμῦλον for αἰμύλον (124)  
**DUV:** χείρας for χείρας (301)  
**DLUV:** σιδηρᾶς for σιδηρᾶς (214)  
**ΔDLUV:** ἀδελφιδῆν for ἀδελφιδῆν (127)

b. *Omission of accents:*

**L:** μη for μή (199)

**U:** μη for μή (295); ταυτα for ταῦτα (50)

3. *Joining of non-compound words:*

**D:** ἀντιτιμῆς ... ἀντιτρυφῆς for ἀντὶ τιμῆς ... ἀντὶ τρυφῆς (58-59); διατέλους for διὰ τέλους (224-225); οὐκαπογινώσκω for οὐκ ἀπογινώσκω (57); προσμόνην for πρὸς μόνην (130); ὑπεκείνου for ὑπ' ἐκείνου (27); ὑπομιᾶ for ὑπὸ μιᾶ (192)

**L:** ἔξαιῶνος for ἔξ αἰῶνος (231); ἐξύπνου for ἐξ ὕπνου (188); οὐκεσχάτης for οὐκ ἐσχάτης (206); οὐκέχων for οὐκ ἔχων (256); προσθείκην for πρὸς θεΐκην (163)

**U:** περιτήν for περὶ τήν (14)

**V:** οὐκαπηξίωσας for οὐκ ἀπηξίωσας (106)

**DL:** γοῦν for γ' οἶν (270); διαπαντός for διὰ παντός (93); ἐφυψηλοῦ for ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ (117)

**DL:** ἀναμέρος for ἀνὰ μέρος (277); διαβάθος for διὰ βάθος (105); ἐξαμφοτέρων for ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων (134); κατακαιρὸν for κατὰ καιρὸν (296); οὐκενεγκῶν for οὐκ ἐνεγκῶν (16)

**DDL:** γοῦν for γ' οἶν ΔLD (198); καταβραχὺν for κατὰ βραχὺν (139)

**DLV:** διατοῦτο for διὰ τοῦτο (109)

**DUV:** ἐξαγκύρας for ἐξ ἀγκύρας (110-11)

**DLUV:** καταμόνας for κατὰ μόνας (102); ὅτι for ὅ τι (256)

4. *Separation of compound words:*

**Δ:** ὅ τι for ὅτι (256)

**D:** δι' ὄ for διὸ (94); ὀκτῶ καίδεκα for ὀκτωκαίδεκα (293)

**U:** καθ' ὑπισχνεῖτο for καθυπισχνεῖτο (128)

**V:** καθύπισχνεῖτο for καθυπισχνεῖτο (128)

**LU:** μή δὲ μιᾶς for μηδεμιᾶς (288)

5. *Erroneous words:*

**U** against **DV:** ἐριώννυ post. corr. ex ἐριώνυ for ἐρρώνυ (78)

**DL** against **DV:** ἐρρώννυ for ἐρρώνυ (78)

6. *Omissions/additions:*

a. *Words which do not appear in*

**Δ:** γε (291); καὶ (24); ἐπὶ τούτοις (208); τῶν (233)

**L:** αὐτοῦ (228); δὲ τῆς (11); καὶ ἀεὶ (306); καὶ ἀνθηρὸς-ἑωράτο (80-81); λέγων (242); μυκτηρίζων (160); πολὺς-σύνεσιν (15); ταῖς (88); τοῖς (165); φοβεῖν (132); ὑβριστῆς (210)

**V:** ζήλω (19); καὶ (212); κατὰ (20)

**LV:** γὰρ (2); ὦ (295)

**UV:** αὐτῶν (283)

**ΔDL**: τὸν (200)

**ΔDLV**: καὶ προσέσχε μοι (248)

#### b. Words which appear only in

**DVL**: ὁ θεὸς Ἀπόλλων; **U**: ὁ θεὸς ὁ Ἀπόλλων (173-174)

Finally, a collation of **Δ**, **D**, **L**, **U** and **V** shows the following textual variants (readings adopted in the present edition are given first):

#### 7. Different readings:

**UV** against **ΔDL**: ἀναστάντι for διεγερθέντι (188)

**ΔDLU** against **V**: ἀπαιθρόπως for ἀπεινώως (74); διὰ ματαίαν for δι' ἁμαρτίαν (171); καὶ διῆτα τὸ τάχος, ἔργου μὲν for καὶ διῆ τοῦ ἔργου μὲν τὸ τάχος (243-244); ξέεσθαι for ξαίνεσθαι (259); τὸ τοῦ παύλου λαβῶν for κατὰ τοῦ παύλου λαβῶν (296-297)

**ΔDLV** against **U**: ἀναπλησθεὶς for ὑποπλησθεὶς (208)

**ΔDUV** against **L**: ἀσεβείας for εὐσεβείας (20); ὡμῶς for ὦ πῶς (74)

**ΔLUV** against **D**: ἐπιθυμία τῆς μεγάλης ἐκείνου ψυχῆς for ἐπιθυμία τοῦ ἀλῶναι τὴν μεγάλην ἐκείνου ψυχὴν (220-221)

**DLUV** against **Δ**: τιθεμένοις for προστιθεμένοις (93); οὐκ ἀπηξίωσας for οὐκ ἠδύοκησας (106)

#### 8. Variant forms of the same words:

**VL** against **ΔDU**: ἀπεφήνατο for ἀπεφαίνετο (136)

**DU** against **ΔLV**: αὐτοῦ for αὐτῷ (αὐτῷ post corr. [ex αὐτοῦ?] U) (75)

**UV** against **ΔDL**: ἐθέλης for ἐθελήσης (270)

**ΔDU** ἀποδέρεσθαι against ἀποδείρεσθαι **V** and against ἀποδαρῆναι **L** (242)

**ΔDU** against **LV**: προκαθημένω for προκαθημένου (35)

**ΔDV** against **LU**: σχήμασι for σχήματι (212)

**DUV** against **ΔL**: ἐκέλευσεν for ἐκέλευεν (187)

**ΔDLU** against **V**: ἀπολεύση for ἀπολυθήση (199); πεισθήση for πεισθείση (57); ποιουμένου for ποιούμενος (67); τοῖς for τὰ (93); ταύτας for ταῦτα (132)

**ΔDLV** against **U**: ἀπαγορεύον for ἀπαγορεύειν (107)

**ΔDUV** against **L**: δυνατός for δυνατόν (151); θύω for θύσω (151); μόνον for μόνη (144); ὀρμηθέντος for ὀρμηθέντα (156); πεισθήση for πεισθῆς (57); χρῆσθαι for χρήσασθαι (165)

**DLUV** against **Δ**: ἀπολεύση for ἀπολέλυσο (199)

#### 9. Addition of euphonic ν:

**Δ** against **DLUV**: φησὶν for φησὶ (284)

**ΔDLU** against **V**: ἔλεγε for ἔλεγεν (197)

**ΔDUV** against **L**: παθήμασι for παθήμασιν (104); φησὶ for φησὶν (202)

## 10. Use of enclitics:

**ΔDU** against **LV**: θεία τις for θεία τις (79)

**DUV** against **ΔL**: τε for τὲ (306); σοι for σοὶ (180)

**LUV** against **ΔD**: θεία τις for θεία τις (79)

**ΔDLV** against **U**: τε for τὲ (159)

**ΔDUV** against **L**: τε for τὲ (282)

**DLUV** against **Δ**: χωρὶς σοῦ for χωρὶς σου (111)

## 11. Order of words:

**Δ** against **U** against **DVL**: θεὸς ὁ Ἀπόλλων for ὁ θεὸς ὁ Ἀπόλλων for ὁ θεὸς Ἀπόλλων (173-174)

**U** against **ΔDLV**: ὕβριν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἐντεῦθεν for ὕβριν ἐντεῦθεν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν (47)

**ΔDUV** against **L**: ἐκείνης ἐπισκοπῆς τοῦ δεσπότη for ἐκείνης τοῦ δεσπότη ἐπισκοπῆς (237-238); οὐ δὴ καὶ ταχὺ γενομένου for οὐ δὴ γενομένου ταχὺ (215)

**ΔDLU** against **V**: λαμπρότερον ἀναπλάσας for ἀναπλάσας λαμπρότερον (104); αὐτῆς καὶ πάλιν εἶχετο for αὐτῆς εἶχετο καὶ πάλιν (261); ἀνάγκαις ἐλεῖν (**DL** ἐλεῖν) for ἐλεῖν ἀνάγκαις (241); ἤδη τῶν προοιμίων for τῶν προοιμίων ἤδη (38-39); ἤδη μέλλων for μέλλων ἤδη (89)

**DLUV** against **Δ**: δεσπότην καὶ δημιουργὸν ἀπαρνήσωμαι for δεσπότην ἀπαρνήσωμαι καὶ δημιουργὸν (176)

## Relationship between the manuscripts

The palaeographical and textual examination and collation of the *Passio of St Plato* in codices **Δ**, **D**, **L**, **U** and **V** indicates that they represent different traditions. For, though all five Mss share similarities they also share differences, in terms of spelling and other errors as well as variants. **Δ**, **D** and **L** share many similarities, as is the case between **U** and **V**. It should be pointed out that **V** stands on its own in many cases of variants. **Δ** represents the best tradition, for though it is not free of errors, it contains by far the smallest number of spelling and other mistakes in comparison to the other four Mss, while **L** contains the larger number of errors and missing words.

### *Vita of St Hilarion (BHG 755)*

The *Vita of St Hilarion*, edited below (pp. 129-182), is preserved in at least fifty-four manuscripts dated between the 11<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>81</sup>. We have collated three of the earliest codices: **A** (ff. 243<sup>v</sup> - 257<sup>v</sup>), **P** (ff. 61- 78<sup>v</sup>), **R** (ff. 124-148), all dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> century. In **P** and **R** the text is preceded either by decorative headbands (*epititla*), whereas in **A** the title is not preceded by any ornamental element.

In all three Mss the title + Βίος καὶ πολιτεία (πολιτεία **P**: πολ(ι)τ(εία) **R**: πολειτῆα **A**) τοῦ ὁσίου πατρ(ός)ς ἡμῶν Ἰλαρίωνος, accompanied by the inscription Μητὶ τῷ αὐτῷ (scil., Ὀκτωβρίῳ) κα', appears in a form of *Alexandrine selected majuscule* (in **R** the inscription appears in *Epigraphical selected majuscule*)<sup>81a</sup>. Only in **A** the title closes with the invocation εὐλόγη(σον) δέσποτα, which suggests that the text was read aloud to the congregation in the church or the monastery (see Plates **XX**, **XXI**, **XXII**).

In the three Mss the text was copied by single hands in two columns, with adequate marginal and intercolumniar space reserved on the page. The hand in **A** is more elegant than those in **P** and **R**; though the principle of *scriptio continua* has been largely observed, the text can be read without difficulty. The text is introduced by an elaborate major initial *epsilon* extending to the left margin (**A**, **P** and **R**). Paragraph division is indicated in **R** by letters of the same size as those in the text and in **P** by simple ornamental minor initials, in both case extending to the left margin following a strong

<sup>81</sup> *Ambrosiani graeci* A 180 sup. + C 129 inf. ff. 57-66<sup>v</sup> (xiii. s.); *Athenienses B.N.* 224, ff. 121<sup>v</sup>-127 (xiv s.), 980, ff. 192-216 (xvi s.), 993, ff. 144-164 (xiv s.), 994, ff. 110-125 (xiv s.), 1043, ff. 105-112<sup>v</sup>, 97-104 (in this order) (xi-xii s.), 2099, ff. 102-118 (xii s.), 2421, ff. 251<sup>v</sup>-279<sup>v</sup> (xiv s.), and 2541, ff. 188-196 (xiv s.); *Athonenses Laura* Δ 48 (424), ff. 187<sup>v</sup>-216 (xii s.), Θ 218 (1080), ff. 198-227 (AD 1337), I 126 (1210), ff. 193-222 (xvi s.), Λ 69 (1559), ff. 180-193 (xvii s.), and Λ 194 (1685), ff. 222-255 (AD 1666), *Karakallou* 7 (*Μονῆς Περγ.* 5) (1520) (xii s.), and *Dionysiou* 127 (3661) (AD 1611); *Scorialenses* 311, ff. 155<sup>v</sup>-181 (xii s.), and 322, ff. 209-239 (xi s.); *Berolinensis Phillippicus* 1621 [203], ff. 207<sup>v</sup>-237 (xii s.); *Cantabrigiensis Trinity College* B. 9. 2 [350], ff. 133<sup>v</sup>-157 (xii s.), and B. 9. 14 [353], ff. 101-121<sup>v</sup> (inc. mutil.) (xi s.); *Monacenses graeci* 20 [115], ff. F-Gv (xi s.), and 443 [166], ff. 236<sup>v</sup>-256 (xiv s.); *Londinenses, British Library, Additional* 36654 ff. 131-147 [336] (xiii s.), and *Harley* 5663 [308], ff. 144-167<sup>v</sup> (xi c.); *Oxonenses, Bibliotheca Novi Collegii* C.149 [467], ff. 248-275 (xi s.), *Bibliotheca Collegii Corporis Christi* 140 [474], ff. 32-52<sup>v</sup> (xii s.), *Bibliotheca Aedis Christi* I [475], ff. 136-158 (xii-xiii/xv s.) and 60 [476], ff. 60-63<sup>v</sup> (inc. mutil.) (xiv s.); *Parisini graeci* 568, ff. 536-539 (xiii s.?), 1480, ff. 144<sup>v</sup>-171 (xi s.), 1484, ff. 146<sup>v</sup>-168 (xi-xii s.), 1486, ff. 61-78 (xi s.), 1494, ff. 87<sup>v</sup>-103 (xii s.), 1495, ff. 153<sup>v</sup>-178<sup>v</sup> (xi s.), 1501A, ff. 132<sup>v</sup>-133<sup>v</sup> (xii s.), 1512, ff. 150-175<sup>v</sup> (xii s.), 1524, ff. 157-180 (xii s.), 1543, ff. 149-172 (xii s.), 1546, ff. 140-161<sup>v</sup> (xii s.), 1555, 165<sup>v</sup>-175 (xiv s.), and 1558, ff. 330-151 (xv s.); *Parisinus Coislinianus graecus* 145, ff. 158<sup>v</sup>-182<sup>v</sup> (xi s.); *Vaticani graeci* 798, ff. 175-201<sup>v</sup> (xiv s.), 799, ff. 149-172 (xi s.), 801, ff. 119<sup>v</sup>-136<sup>v</sup> (xii s.), 802, ff. 109-129<sup>v</sup> (xi-xii s.), 1190, ff. 1367<sup>v</sup>-1387<sup>v</sup> (xvi s.), 1679, ff. 194-223<sup>v</sup> (xii s.), 2042, ff. 107-124 (xii s.), and 2047, ff. 243<sup>v</sup>-257<sup>v</sup> (xi s.), *Vaticanus Ottobonianus graecus* 399, ff. 158<sup>v</sup>-184<sup>v</sup> (xii-xiii s.), *Vaticanus Reginensis graecus* 56, ff. 124-147<sup>v</sup> (xi s.); and *Vindobonenses historici graeci* 6 [65], ff. 191-220 (xii s.), 15 [68], ff. 147<sup>v</sup>-170 (xi s.), and 39 [73], ff. 312<sup>v</sup>-330 (AD 1399).

<sup>81a</sup> See J. Irigoin, 'L'onciale grecque du type copte', *JÖB* 26 (1959), 28-51, and H. Hunger, 'Auszeichnungenschriften im 10.-12. Jahrhundert', in *La Paléographie grecque et byzantine, Paris 21-25 Octobre 1974, Colloques Internationaux du CNRS*, 559 (Paris, 1977), pp. 201-20; idem, 'Epigraphische Auszeichnungsmajuskeln. Beitrag zu einem bisher kaum beachteten Kapitel der griechischen Paläographie', *JÖB* 26 (1977), 193-210; Idem, *Studien zur griechischen Paläographie* (Vienna, 1954), esp. pp. 22-32, repr. in idem, *Byzantinische Grundlagenforschung, Gesammelte Aufsätze* (London, 1973), art. I.



punctuation and a blank space at the end of the previous paragraph. Often the paragraph division in **P** and **R** is very similar, or even coincide, but, in general, **P** contains more paragraphs than **R**. The text in **A** is copied consecutively, with no paragraph division at all (see Plates **XX** and **XXV**).

The few corrections in **P** seem to have been introduced by the the same scribe. The same is the case with **A**. In **R**, however, extensive corrections were introduced, most probably by a second corrective hand, which either overwrote, superscribed or added letters and accents in a thinner ductus, while in a few cases he used a superscribed double dot (*diple stigme*) over letters which should be deleted (e.g., f. 126. col.b.2 ἔμελλεῖν· τὸν). **A** uses the same double dot as a sign for correction (e.g., f. 245, line 11 χιτόνα for χιτῶνα). The most striking omission appears in **R** (lines 979-990) due to *homoioteleuton* (μαίουμᾶν μοιῆν-μαίουμᾶν).

Conventional ligatures, abbreviations, and occasionally superpositions of letters were employed in the copying of the text by all scribes. **R** in particular made extensive use of abbreviations, especially in the endings of words. With very few exceptions, *nomina sacra* are written in their contracted forms. Of the three Mss, **R** is the only one that employed extensively mute *iota* which is palced always adscript (e.g., f. 124, line 13 αὐτῶ; f. 134<sup>v</sup> lines 41-42 τῶ ποιηρῶ and τῶ κελεύσματι, line 454 αὐτῶ; f. 145 line 791 τῶ, line 796 αὐτῶ and νόσω, line 802 ἀποδῶ), even in the abbreviated form of *omega* (f. 128, line 5 γυμν(ῶ)), though in some cases erroneously (οὔτωι).

The rules of syllabic separation are largely followed by all three scribes, who also use apostrophe to mark elision. An idiosyncrasy of **R** is that it separates the elided form of ἀλλὰ in the end of lines as follows: ἀλ' | λ (all such cases have been recorded in the *apparatus criticus*). Double dot (*diple stigme*) over *iota* and *ypsilon* is used very rarely by **R**.

The punctuation system used in the three Mss is similar in terms of signs: lower point ( . ), comma ( , ), upper point ( · ) — occasionally used interchangeably — as well as full stop ( : ~ ), as well as the question mark ( ; ). However, these signs in **A**, **P** and **R** do not always appear in the same place in the text, which reflect a different understanding of the text. The most striking examples, are recorded in the *apparatus*. No marginal signs appear in the Mss, the only exception being the *haplê* in **A**, f. 255<sup>v</sup>, marking a Scriptural citation. The text ends with a triple cross in **P**, possible symbolizing the Holy Trinity, a full stop ( : ~ ) in **A** and **R**, followed by a simple vignette in **R**.

As in the case of the previous *Passio of St James* and *Passio of St Plato*, there is not enough palaeographical evidence in order to draw safe conclusions about the relationship between

the three Mss containing the *Vita of St Hilarion*. Therefore, we have to rely purely on the textual evidence, concerning spelling errors, omissions, additions and variant readings in the Mss, which are listed below (some words fall under more than one categories):

## 1. Errors due to confusion of sounds:

### a. *Iotacisms* (affecting *ι, ει, η, οι, υ*):

- A:** αἰσθόμενῃ for αἰσθόμενοι (600); ἀμμώδι for ἀμμώδη (667); ἀνοιδρον for ἀνυδρον (659); ἀπληστείας for ἀπληστίας (577); ἀχθήει for ἀχθείη (920); γίτονος for γείτονος (838); γλυκίας for γλυκείας (471); διαφυγῆν for διαφυγεῖν (879); ἐδάφη for ἐδάφει (289); εἰσελθόντη for εἰσελθόντι (684); ἐξικοστὸν for ἐξηκοστὸν (587); ἐπῆ for ἐπὶ (513); ἐπιτηδῶς for ἐπιτηδείως (893, 908); ἐπιφανῖς for ἐπιφανῆς (950); ἦδι for ἦδη (827); ἦμισι for ἦμισυ (130); ἦνοιον for ἦνον (632); θεραπείαν for θεραπείαν (902); κινῆ for κοινῆ (452); κριπίδων for κρηπίδων (708); μανείας for μανίας (528); μεμετριμένος for μεμετρημένος (136); μησανθρωπίας for μισανθρωπίας (530); ὁμία for ὁμοία (795); ὄστης for ὄστις (513); παλαιστήνη for παλαιστίνη (237); παλαιστήνην for παλαιστίνην (425); παλαιστηνῶν for παλαιστινῶν (967); παρημένον for παρειμένον (918); παρόμιος for παρόμοιος (796); ποιεῖν for πιεῖν (666); πραττομένης for πραττομένοις (13); στρατιάς for στρατείας (881); τηνος for τινος (663); τι for τοι (576); τρέφη for τρέφει (841); τρυγῆσις for τρυγείσις (39); τυχήν for τυχεῖν (608); υἱοῦ for ἰοῦ (741); φροντῆς for φροντῖς (22)
- P:** ἀληθεῖ for ἀληθῆ (396); ἀνακυνούμενα for ἀνακινούμενα (668); ἀπήει for ἀπέει (481); αὐτῆς for αὐτοῖς (990); δαιτοιμῶσιν for δαιτυμόσιν (359); ἰβᾶ for ἡβᾶ (542); ἴδη for εἶδη (106); καμίλους for καμήλους (654); λάθη for λάθοι (602); λοιποῦν for λυποῦν (904); μιμήται for μιμείται (272); ναυτηλίας for ναυτιλίας (802); παλαιστίνι for παλαιστίνη (261); συντρίψη for συντρίψει (286); φιλιδόνων for φιληδόνων (369)
- R:** αἴσχηστα for αἴσχιστα (797); αἴτιμα for αἴτημα (188); ἀκολουθῆ for ἀκολουθεῖ (178); ἀληθεῖ for ἀληθῆ (396, 564); ἀμπελώνη for ἀμπελώνι (533, 537); ἀνάγκειν for ἀνάγκην (337); ἀναχωρήσιν post corr. for ἀναχωρήσειν (35); ἀνηγγέλει for ἀνηγγέλη (561); ἀπεινῆς for ἀπηνεῖς (533); ἀπελαύνη for ἀπελαύνει (268); ἀπλείστως for ἀπλήστως (147); ἀπληστείας for ἀπληστίας (578); ἀρησταινέτη for ἀρισταινέτη (200); ἀπήχετο for ἀπέχετο (102); ἀπωρεία for ἀπορία (161); ἀριανίζοντες for ἀρειανίζοντες (768); ἀρρωστείας for ἀρρωστίας (952); ἀφεικόμενοι for ἀφικόμενοι (771); ἀφηκομένου for ἀφικομένου (774); ἀφήξεως for ἀφίξεως (825); ἀφροδίτη for ἀφροδίτη (485); ἀφρόδητον for ἀφρόδιτον (716); ἀχθήσαν for ἀχθείσαν (460); βεία for βία (459); γαλινὸν for γαληνὸν (761); γλυκίας for γλυκείας (488); γλώττει for γλώττη (294) and (437); γνώρημος for γνώριμος (924); γνωρήσαι for γνωρίσαι (539); γόνιμα for γόνιμα (685); δαίμονη for δαίμονι (400, 404); δετοιμῶσιν for δαιτυμόσιν (359); δηματῶν for δειματῶν (107); δῆσθαι for δεῖσθαι (474); διανῆστατο for διανίστατο (190); διανῆστεισι for διανίστησι (294); διατρίβην for διατρίβειν (732); διδασκαλείας for διδασκαλίας (278); διέλειπε for διέλιπε (794); διλιᾶς for δειλιᾶς (963); διατρώγην for διατρώγειν (260); διστάζης for διστάζεις (962); διερρῦει for διερρῦη (119); ἐγνωρήσαμεν for

ἐγνωρίσαμεν (772); ἐδάφη for ἐδάφει (492); εἰσεφθάρει for εἰσεφθάρη (766); εἰώθη for εἰώθει (514); εἴρκεσεν for ἤρκεσεν (806); ἐκείσαι for ἐκείσε (91); ἐκλίπειν for ἐκλείπειν (960); ἐναργεῖς for ἐναργής (13); εἴρξατο for ἤρξατο (438); εἰσπραχθήσα for εἰσπραχθεῖσα (890); ἐλληνίδη for ἐλληνίδι (437); ἐλληνιστῆ for ἐλληνιστὶ (438); ἐνεφορίθησαν for ἐνεφορήθησαν (550); ἐνόχλη for ἠνώχλει (420); ἐπανεῖη for ἐπανήει (825); ἐπανείκει post corr. for ἐπανήκει (348); ἐπιθολώσει for ἐπιθολώση (85); ἐπισπείρει for ἐπισπείρη (84); ἐρεβίνθοις for ἐρεβίνθοις (582); ἐρεβίνθους for ἐρεβίνθους (571); ἔτειον for αἴτιον (705); ἔτι for ἔτη (686); εὐαγγέλεια for εὐαγγέλια (410); εὐμήκης for εὐμήκεις (670); εὐσεβεῖς for εὐσεβής (202); ἐπανεῖη for ἐπανήει (311); θῆς post corr. for θεῖς (572); θλήψεσιν for θλίψεσιν (628); ἰδίστης post corr. for ἠδίστης (512); ἰλαρίωνη for ἰλαρίωνι (386, 584); ἴων for οἶον (508); κατήχθει for κατήχθη (644); κατίσθιε post corr. for κατήσθιε (841); κριπίδων post corr. for κρηπίδων (776); κριπίδων for κρηπίδων (708); κτήσις for κτίσις (731); κρύπτυτο for κρύπτοιτο (815); λάθει for λάθοι (602); λειχίνων post corr. for λειχίνων (140); λίθνοι for λίθνοι (531); λοιπούντας for λυπούντας (334); λυδορεῖσθαι for λοιδορεῖσθαι (329); λυθεῖναι for λυθῆναι (186); μάστιγα for μάστιγα (261); μεγάλης for μεγάλοις (98); μέλει for μέλη (287); μέλη for μέλι (278); μῆραοῦ for μιραοῦ (451); μυσταγωγῆ for μυσταγωγῆι (503); ξήφος for ξίφος (171); οἴκεισιν for οἴκησιν (439); ὀμηλοῦντος for ὀμιλοῦντος (433); ὄνιδος for ὄνειδος (757); οὐγκύας post corr. for οὐγκίας (135, 146); πάθη for πάθει (586); παιδῆας for παιδείας (5); παλαιστήνην for παλαιστίνην (43, 59, 788, 792); παλαιστηνῶν for παλαιστινῶν (433); πάνοι for πάνυ (885); παρήγγηλε for παρήγγειλε (695); παρήθει for παρείθη (314); παρήνη for παρήνει (565); πενθή for πενθεῖ (731); πίνην for πίνειν (343); πλείωνη for πλείοι (505); πληγῆς for πληγῆς (248); πλίστον for πλείστον (415); προσείη for προσήει (478); πρόσησιν for πρόσεισιν (181); ῥαδείας for ῥαδίας (454); σκέπην for σκέπειν (119); στηρεύουσα for στειρεύουσα (181); συνήθει for συνήθη (895); συνέρρη for συνέρρει (823); συσησῶν for συσησῶν (860); σφάλλην for σφάλλιν (915); σφραγίδη for σφραγίδι (517); τελειωθεῖναι for τελειωθῆναι (517); τὸ φοιτὸν (τοφυτὸν P) for τὸ φυτὸν (29); τρίχινον for τρύχινον (946); τρυγῆσις for τρυγήσεις P (39); ὑγίεις for ὑγιῆς (316); ὑπομηδιάσας for ὑπομειδιάσας (331); φιλιδόνων for φιληδόνων (369); φίλιν for φίλην (592); φίνοικες post corr. (ex φύνηκες) for φοίνικες (670); φυγεῖν for φυγῆν (600); φυσίματι post corr. for φυσήματι (769); χειτών for χιτών (57); χειτῶνα for χιτῶνα (39, 119); ὤρημόν for ὠριμόν (38)

**AP:** δυσμυρίους for διςμυρίους (624); εἶων for οἶον (508); ἦκε for ἦκει (612); ἠκολούθει post corr. AP for ἠκολούθη (796); καίτοι for καί τι (290); προσφέρει post corr. P for προσφέρει A (301); φιλονεικεῖν for φιλονικεῖν (635)

**AR:** ἐπικληθέντες for ἐπικλιθέντες (493); ἔχει for ἔχη (893); κήρασθαί for κείρασθαί (472); παλαιστήνην for παλαιστίνην (232); παρημένοις for παρειμένοις (380); ὑπαλήφων (ὑπαληφων R) for ὑπαλείφων (480); χρήσματος for χρίσματος (951)

**PR:** λοιμὸς for λιμὸς (842); συμφυτητοῦ for συμφοιτητοῦ (943); τραχέως for τραχέος (664)

#### b. *Confusion of ε and αι:*

**A:** εὐχαιρῶς for εὐχερῶς (461); θάψαιται for θάψεται (709); ἰουδαῖος for ἰουδαῖος (829); καινός for

κενός (155); κατατρυφήσε for κατατρυφήσαι (547); παλεστίνης for παλαιστίνης (629);  
προέσθε for προέσθαι (525); προσπέζων for προσπαίζων (107); τέχνες for τέχναις (362); ὑπὸ  
λευκενούσης for ὑπολευκαινούσης (97)

**P:** αἰκείνου for ἐκείνου (196); γαζέων for γαζαίων (768); δεομαίνους for δεομένους (303); ἐκμένουσι  
for ἐκμαίνουσι (281); ἔλαιον for ἔλεον (185); μεσόγεων for μεσόγαιον (808)

**R:** ἀδικεῖται for ἀδικεῖτε (693); αἰσχάτοις for ἔσχάτοις (771); αἴσχατον for ἔσχατον (866);  
δειτοιμώσιν for δαιτυμόσιν (359); διέγραφέται for διέγραφέ τε (509); διηγηταῖον for  
διηγητέον (151); δυσχαιρένων for δυσχεραίνων (615); ἐδέσιμον for αἰδέσιμον (495); ἐκείσαι  
for ἐκείσε (32, 754, 832, 912); ἐλυμένοντο for ἐλυμαίνοντο (690); ἐπέσκηψαι for ἐπέσκηψε  
(712); ἐπίεζαι for ἐπίεζε (74, 824); ἐσθάνη for αἰσθάνη (577); ἐσθόμενοι for αἰσθόμενοι  
(600); εὐκτεότατον for εὐκταιότατον (194); κατέστρεψαι for κατέστρεψε (765); λαθρέαν for  
λαθραῖαν (600); μαι for με (388); μένεσθαι for μαίνεσθαι (371); νενικεῖσθαι for νενικῆσθαι  
(207); παίνησι for πένησι (46); πρὸς πέζωντές for προσπαίζοντές (166); χείραις for  
χεῖρες (206); παινήτων for πενήτων (332); παλεστίνη for παλαιστίνη (597); παλεστίνην for  
παλαιστίνην (718); προσάγεταί for προσάγετέ (598); σαι for σε (393); συμβουλες for  
συμβουλαῖς for (522); συνέβενε for συνέβαινε (590); υγιένουσαν for υγιαίνουσαν (405);  
χαλάσει for χαλάση (108); χαλαιπού for χαλεπού (838)

### *c. Confusion of o and ω:*

**A:** ἄλλων for ἄλλον (857); ἀνασχωμένω for ἀνασχομένω (181); ἀντόιος for ἀντώνιος (26);  
ἀντονίου for ἀντωνίου (20); ἀποθούμενος for ἀπωθούμενος (752); δαιτυμώσιν for δαιτυμόσιν  
(359); δεινώς for δεινός (88); ἐδέωντο for ἐδέοντο (626); ἐλευθεροπόλεως for ἐλευθεροπόλεως  
(181); ἔργων for ἔργον (395); ἐπίδωσις for ἐπίδοσις (236); εὐγενὸς for εὐγενῶς (937);  
ἰλαρίοι for ἰλαρίωι (348); κενοφωνίας for κενοφονίας (652); λέλεκτω for λέλεκτο (521);  
λιθοτομῶν for λιθοτομῶν (313); λοιδώρομένός for λοιδορούμενός (794); μάλλων for μάλλον  
(567); μεγαλοσύνη for μεγαλωσύνη (1006); ποιηρῶς for ποιηρὸς (279); οὔτος for οὕτως  
(310); οἰδῶπας for οἰδῶπας (147); ὀρούμενος for ὀρούμενος (105); παρίστατω for  
παρίστατο (402); τὸ for τῷ (874); τοῦτων for τοῦτον (9); ὑψηλόφρον for ὑψηλόφρων (822);  
φώνικῶς for φονικῶς (882); χιτόνα for χιτῶνα (119); ὀλίγου for ὀλίγου (561)

**P:** ἀποδιδῶντα for ἀποδιδόντα (295); ἀπόλλυτο for ἀπώλλυτο (371); ἠνώχλει for ἠνώχλει (420);  
εὐκόσμος for εὐκόσμως (671); καθαρῶτητα for καθαρότητα (122); μηχανώμενος or  
μηχανόμενος for μηχανόμενος (93); ὄλος for ὄλος (274); τὸν for τῶν (567); ὑποπιασμὸς for  
ὑπωπιασμὸς (136)

**R:** ἀγνωῆσαι for ἀγνωῆσαι (576); ἀθρῶων for ἀθρόων (258, 283, 293, 491); ἀμβλυοπῖαν post corr. for  
ἀμβλυωπῖαν (139); ἀνοδύρετο for ἀνωδύρετο (90, 382); ἀντιδώσεις for ἀντιδόσεις (552);  
ἀπάδων for ἀπάδων (157); ἀπέλαυ(ν) for ἀπέλαυον (454); ἀπέχων for ἀπέχον (51); ἀπόλλυτο  
for ἀπώλλυτο (731); βεβηκῶς for βεβηκός (11); δαίμωνος for δαίμονος (450, 451);  
δεδιώτες for δεδιότες (713); διαφεύγον for διαφεύγων (835); εἶδων for εἶδον (532); ἐκείνων  
post corr. (ex ἐκείνων) for ἐκείνων (563); ἐκῶντες for ἐκόντες (335); ἐνόχλη for ἠνώχλει  
(420); ἐνώσει for ἐνόσει (214); ἐστεφανόμενος post corr. (ex ἐστεφανωμένος) for  
ἐστεφανωμένος (515); ἠμιώχους for ἠμιόχους (326, 345); θερμώτητος for θερμότητος (497);

ἰσχυρώτατος for ἰσχυρότατος (256); ἴων for οἶον (508); κανώνα for κανόνα (478); κόμη for κώμη (372); λοιπών for λοιπόν (130); μέλλων for μέλλον (179); νότων for νότων (373); ὀδώντ(ας) post corr. for ὀδόντας (421); ὄκνει post corr. for ὄκνει (338); ὁμολόγουν for ὁμολόγουν (207); ὀρμάτο for ὀρμάτο (255); ὀρμόντων for ὀρμώντων (886); οὔτως for οὔτος (135); οὔτως for οὔτος (137); πάντωθεν for πάντοθεν (624); περιών for περιόν (590); πολλαχόθεν for πολλαχόθεν (65); πραιτορίων post corr. for πραιτωρίων (202); προσβαλώντας post corr. for προσβαλόντας (475); σοφότερόν for σοφώτερόν (974); συνεβούλευων for συνεβούλευον (54); σφάλλον post corr. for σφάλλων (326); σχεδών for σχεδόν (15); σωφίζονται for σοφίζονται (701); τοῦτο for τούτῳ (140); τριπλασίωνα for τριπλασίονα (555); ὦν post corr. (ex ὦν) for ὦν (531); ὤπως for ὅπως (94); ὠρίων for ὀρίων (491); ὤστις for ὄστις (513)

**AP:** εἴων for οἶον (508)

**AR:** ἀπηγόρευων for ἀπηγόρευον (206); ποικιλοτέραν for ποικιλωτέραν (88); χαλεπότερος for χαλεπώτερος (398)

**PR:** ἐλθών for ἐλθόν (757); ἔχων for ἔχον (688); καλόν for καλῶν (238); λέγων for λέγον (383); περιοπής for περιωπής (548); συναγαγών for συναγαγόν (850)

#### d. Double for single consonants:

**A:** ἐμβάλλοντος for ἐμβάλοντος (378); προσερρείσαντες for προσερείσαντες (493); περιβαλλόντες for περιβαλόντες (624)

**P:** ἀνηγγέλλη for ἀνηγγέλη (561); βασιανόν for βασιανόν (653); οὐκέλλαττον for οὐκ ἔλαττον (1)

**R:** ἐκκρεμμαμένη for ἐκκρεμαμένη (994); ἰτταλικόν for ἰταλικόν (342, 352); ἰτταλικοῦ for ἰταλικοῦ (326); ἰτταλικῶ for ἰταλικῶ (343); καταλαμβάνει for καταλαμβάνει (661); κρηπίδων for κρηπίδων (708)

#### e. Single for double consonants:

**A:** κατέρει for κατέρρει (872)

**P:** ἀπώλυντο for ἀπώλλυντο (731); ἀπορύψασθαι for ἀπορρύψασθαι (121); ἐξάλοιτο for ἐξάλλοιτο (985); προσαράξας for προσαρράξας (286); προσερείσας (πρὸς ἐρ[ρ]είσας R) for προσερρείσας (289); χειμάρω for χειμάρρω (696)

**R:** ἀπηλάττετο for ἀπηλλάττετο (480) συσησῶν for συσεισῶν (860)

**AP:** κουκούλιον for κουκούλλιον (946); συσεισῶν for συσεισῶν (860)

#### f. Confusion of εῦ and εἰ:

**A:** τοξέβοντες for τοξεύοντες (781)

## 2. Errors in breathings:

### a. Faulty breathings:

**A:** ἄκων for ἄκων (442); ἄν for ἄν (801, 986); αἴτιον for αἴτιον (705); ἀλίσκεται for ἀλίσκεται (805); ἄμαχον for ἄμαχον (262); ἀνατείνας for ἀνατείνας (870); ἄφιλον for ἄφιλον (138);

ἀψάμενος for ἀψάμενος (928); ἀψαμένου for ἀψαμένου (944); ἐκείνου for ἐκείνου (732); ἐλκόντων for ἐλκόντων (641); ἐλληνίδι for ἐλληνίδι (437); ἐλληνιστὶ for ἐλληνιστὶ (438); ἔνα for ἔνα (523); ἔξεισι for ἔξεισι (520); ἐξικοστὸν for ἐξικοστὸν (587); ἐορτῇ for ἐορτῇ (484); ἐστῶσι for ἐστῶσι (489); ἕτερον for ἕτερον (291); ἕτερος for ἕτερος (398); ἐτέρων for ἐτέρων (314); εὐρίσκει for εὐρίσκει (24, 754); ἔφημεν for ἔφημεν (123); ἦ for ἦ (527); ἦ<sup>1</sup> for ἦ (416); ἠγάπησεν for ἠγάπησεν (1005); ἦδετο for ἦδετο (419); ἦδη for ἦδη (134, 160, 199, 560); ἠδίκημαι for ἠδίκημαι (388); ἠδιστον for ἠδιστον (39); ἦν for ἦν (120, 973, 990); ἠνύετο for ἠνύετο (587); ἠκολούθει for ἠκολούθει (251); ἠλευθέρου for ἠλευθέρου (444); ἦν for ἦν (755); ἠνίκα for ἠνίκα (954); ἠξίου for ἠξίου (121, 196); ἠξίου post corr. for ἠξίου (546); ἠσπάζετο for ἠσπάζετο (466, 958); ἠψατο for ἠψατο (113); ἰδρῶτα for ἰδρῶτα (219); ἰκανῶς for ἰκανῶς (480); ἰλαρίωνι for ἰλαρίωνι (348, 584); ἰπποδρομίαν for ἰπποδρομίαν (320); ἰταλικὸν for ἰταλικὸν (352); ἰταλικός for ἰταλικός (334); οἶα for οἶα (592); οἶκαδε for οἶκαδε (405); οἶκημα for οἶκημα (459); ὀλίγην for ὀλίγην (620); ὀλίγην for ὀλίγην post corr. R (110); ὄνομα for ὄνομα (812); ὀνομάζειν for ὀνομάζειν (947); ὄξυ for ὄξυ (621); ὄξύτατα for ὄξύτατα (226); ὄρος for ὄρος (665); ὄρους for ὄρους (663); ὄσπριων (post corr. R) for ὄσπριων (142); ὄσμη for ὄσμη (836); ὄστράκου for ὄστράκου (343); οὐ for οὐ (895); οὖν for οὖν (122); οὔσα for οὔσα (836); οὔσαν for οὔσαν (632); ὄχλησιν for ὄχλησιν (834); ὀφόμενοι for ὀφόμενοι (981); προσάγαγετέ for προσάγαγετέ (598); ὠμαῖς for ὠμαῖς (127); ὠμοτάτους for ὠμοτάτους (533); φιλάνθρωπον for φιλάνθρωπον (266)

**P:** ἀγῶσι for ἀγῶσι (721); ἀλαζῶν for ἀλαζῶν (327); ἀθροίσαντας for ἀθροίσαντας (845); ἀλώπηξ for ἀλώπηξ (105); ἀπαλῶν for ἀπαλῶν (16); αὐτῇ for αὐτῇ (403); εἶκων for εἶκων (114); ἐλαίω for ἐλαίω (741); ἔμαυτοῦ for ἔμαυτοῦ (385); ἐνετρύφα for ἐνετρύφα (465); ἐξικοστὸν for ἐξικοστὸν (142, 587); ἐορτῇ for ἐορτῇ (484); ἐπὶ for ἐπὶ (488); ἐρημίαν for ἐρημίαν (892); ἐφῶ for ἐφ' ᾧ (679); ἦγεν for ἦγεν (20); ἦδη for ἦδη (238); ἦθους for ἦθους (11); ἦν for ἦν (post corr. R) (17); ἠνίοχος for ἠνίοχος (246); ἠνιόχους for ἠνιόχους (326, 345); ἰάσατο for ἰάσατο (608); ἰβά for ἰβά (542); ἰλαρίων for ἰλαρίων (54, 189); ἰλαρίωνος for ἰλαρίωνος (titulus); ἰατρὸς for ἰατρὸς (244); ἰλαρῶς for ἰλαρῶς (54); ἴσα for ἴσα (448); ὀδόντας for ὀδόντας (post corr. R) (372, 421); ὀδοῦσιν for ὀδοῦσιν (260); οἶονεῖ for οἶονεῖ (884); ὀλόκληρα for ὀλόκληρα (983); ὀμαλῶς for ὀμαλῶς (578); ὀνειδίζοντας for ὀνειδίζοντας (334); οἶα for οἶα (73); οἶονεῖ post corr. for οἶονεῖ (291); οὐ for οὐ (495); οὐδὲ for οὐδὲ (236, 508, 820-821); οὔπω for οὔπω (882); ὠμότητος for ὠμότητος (530); φράγγων for φράγγων (431); ὠμολόγουν for ὠμολόγουν (207)

**R:** αἰ for αἰ (945); αἰγύπτω for αἰγύπτω (237); αἴτιον for αἴτιον (340); ἄπαν for ἄπαν (491); ἀπάσης for ἀπάσης (491); ἀπάτην for ἀπάτην (88); ἀπάτης for ἀπάτης (502); ἄπερ for ἄπερ (767); ἀπλῶς for ἀπλῶς (17); ἄρα for ἄρα (52); αὐτῇ for αὐτῇ (415); ἐπειπῶν for ἐπειπῶν (293); ἐσπέραν for ἐσπέραν (124); ἦ for ἦ (521); ἦδη for ἦδη (960); ἦι for ἦ (437); ἠκολούθη for ἠκολούθη (796); ἦν for ἦν (152); ἦν for ἦν (891, 950); ἠξίου for ἠξίου (788); ἦσθοντο post corr. for ἦσθοντο (374); ἠσυχίας for ἠσυχίας (893); ἠσύχιος for ἠσύχιος (581); ἠσύχιον for ἠσύχιον (778); ἠσυχίωι for ἠσυχίωι (576); καθότι for καθότι (403); ἱερέα for ἱερέα (513); ἰλαρίων for ἰλαρίων (237, 244, 302, 399, 613, 658, 682, 698, 799, 815, 843, 949); ἰλαρίωνα for ἰλαρίωνα (214, 465, 486, 573, 662, 733, 778, 828, 833); ἰλαρίωνη for ἰλαρίωνη (348, 386, 584); ἰλαρίωνι for ἰλαρίωνι (57, 240, 283, 714, 792, 852); ἰλαρίωνος for ἰλαρίωνος (233, 489, 470,

530, 759, 782, 945); ἰλαρὸν for ἰλαρὸν (880); ἰλαρῶς for ἰλαρῶς (167); ἵππους for ἵππους (332); ἵππων for ἵππων (14, 98); ἰσχυρῶς for ἰσχυρῶς (69); ὀ for ὀ (214); οἰονεῖ for οἰονεῖ (941); ὄνομα for ὄνομα (785); ὀρμηὶ for ὀρμηὶ (505); ὀρμῆς for ὀρμῆς (886); οὐδένης for οὐδενης (317); οὔπω for οὔπω (738, 948); οὔτε for οὔτε (114); ὀφθαλμοῖς for ὀφθαλμοῖς (601); ὀχλούμενοι for ὀχλούμενοι (899); τοιγαροῦν for τοιγαροῦν (78, 358, 581, 728, 748, 910); ὦδε for ὦδε (677); ὠρύομενος for ὠρύομενος (105); φεῦγον for φεῦγων (751)

**AP:** αὔτη for αὔτη (203); ἐξήκοντα for ἐξήκοντα (144); ἠδέως for ἠδέως (195); ἠδυνθέντα for ἠδυνθέντα (136); ἦρα for ἦρα (360); ἰλαρίων for ἰλαρίων (910); ἰλαρίωνα for ἰλαρίωνα (195); ἰλαρίωνι ἰλαρίωνι (199); ἰλαρίωνος for ἰλαρίωνος (179, 540); ὀφθαλμοῖς for ὀφθαλμοῖς (187); ἰματίων for ἰματίων (585); ἴσα for ἴσα (598); ὄνομα for ὄνομα (201); ὀσίου for ὀσίου (313)

**AR:** ἄλατι for ἄλατι (131); ἀπάσης for ἀπάσης (15); ἄρα for ἄρα (56); ἐλεῖν (ἐλεῖμ A) for ἐλεῖν (87); ἔλλην for ἔλλην (250); ἐλληνικά for ἐλληνικά (768); ἐλληνισταῖς for ἐλληνισταῖς (330); ἐλληνιστῶν for ἐλληνιστῶν (229); ἐξῆς for ἐξῆς (828); ἐρπετῶν for ἐρπετῶν (740); ἔτοιμος for ἔτοιμος (171); ἐφθὰ for ἐφθὰ (136); ἦττον for ἦττον (196); ἰλαρίων for ἰλαρίων (892, 923); ἰλαρίωνα for ἰλαρίωνα (673); ἰλαρίωνι for ἰλαρίωνι (492); ἰλαρίωνος for ἰλαρίωνος (382); ὀρέξαι for ὀρέξαι (221); ὀρμηὶν for ὀρμηὶν (633); ὀσμῆς for ὀσμῆς (585); τοιγαροῦν (post corr. R) for τοιγαροῦν (953)

**PR:** ἄτε for ἄτε (782); ἐώκει for ἐώκει (371); ἰλαρίων for ἰλαρίων (43); ἰλαρίωνα for ἰλαρίωνα (3, 87, 266); ἠρέμα for ἠρέμα (692); ἠρεμαῖον for ἠρεμαῖον (961); οἰονεῖ (post corr. R) for οἰονεῖ (850); τοιγαροῦν for τοιγαροῦν (85)

**APR:** ἀλλομένη (ἀλλομένου A) for ἀλλομένη (106); ἀπαλὰ (post corr. R) for ἀπαλὰ (88); ἐξῆς for ἐξῆς (101, 128, 146, 150, 355, 668, 903); ἦρα for ἦρα (614); ἰλαρίων for ἰλαρίων (497); ἰλαρίωνα for ἰλαρίωνα (36); ἰλαρίωνος for ἰλαρίωνος (21); ὀδόντας for ὀδόντας (63); οὔπω (οὔπωι R) for οὔπω (125); ὀλίγω for ὀλίγω (816); οἰονεῖ (οἰνεῖ A) for οἰονεῖ (522)

#### b. *Omission of breathing in crasis:*

**P:** κακεῖνα for κακεῖνα (695); τουναντίον for τουναντίον (537)

**R:** τουναντίον for τουναντίον (537)

#### c. *Omission of breathings:*

**A:** αὐτοῦ for αὐτοῦ (338); ἀφορμὴν for ἀφορμὴν (571); εἰκότα for εἰκότα (403); οἶν for οἶν (164); ροπήν for ροπήν (18)

**P:** ἀμβλύνειν for ἀμβλύνειν (508); ἐγίνετο for ἐγίνετο (895); ἐμελέτα for ἐμελέτα (936); ἐξῆς for ἐξῆς (828); ἤδη for ἤδη (199); ἠνίκα for ἠνίκα (954); οὐκὰν for οὐκὰν (389); ρακίων for ρακίων (958)

**R:** αὐτωνίου for αὐτωνίου (673); αυτοῖς for αὐτοῖς (759); δ'οἶν for δ' οἶν (635); οστράκου for οστράκου (343); ράον for ράον (904)

#### d. *Omission/addition of mark of elision*

**A:** ἐξ' αὐτοῦ for ἐξ αὐτοῦ (443); τὰλλα for τ' ἄλλα (907); ἴν for ἴν' (956)

**P:** ἄλλ' ἔτι for ἄλλ' ἔτι (848); ἐξ' for ἐξ (190); ἐπειπῶν AP : ἐπεῖπ(ων) R (293); τουπίσω for τουπίσω (886)

**R:** ἀλ' | λ for ἀλλ' (788, 866); ἀλ' | λέκεινω for ἀλλ' ἐκείνω (537); ἀλ' | λῆτι for ἀλλ' ἔτι (848); ἀλ' | λῆδη for ἀλλ' ἦδη (455); ἀλλ ἦν vel ἀλλ' ἦν for ἀλλ' ἦν (109); γοῦν for γ' οῦν (368-369, 430, 616, 642, 690, 928); ἐφόμοια for ἐφ' ὁμοία (795); ἐφ ᾧ for ἐφ' ᾧ (922); κατέκεινεν for κατ' ἐκείνεν (483); μῆδέτι μῆδῶως for μηδεὶ μὴ δ' ὅως (701); οὐχ ὅπως for οὐχ' ὅπως (798); παρ' ὅμοιος for παρόμοιος (796); τ' ἄλλα for τᾶλλα (461)

**AP:** προῦπήντα (προῦπήντα P) for προῦπήντα (492)

### 3. Errors in accents.

#### a. *Faulty accents:*

**A:** ἀδελφοῦς for ἀδελφούς (645); ἀλαζών for ἀλαζών (327); ἀνοχή for ἀνοχή (766); ἀνατιναχθείσαν for ἀνατιναχθείσαν (855); ἀποβαλῶν for ἀποβαλῶν (593); ἀπολιπῶν for ἀπολιπῶν (977); ἀποτυχῶν for ἀποτυχῶν (715); ἀρετῆ for ἀρετῆ (495); ἀτεινῆ for ἀτεινῆ (632); ἀφικνεῖται for ἀφικνεῖται (660); ἀψευδοῦς for ἀψευδοῦς (222); βαρῦν for βαρῦν (375); βοῆ for βοῆ (91); δημοσίον for δημόσιον (336); διατριβῆ for διατριβῆ (51); διατρίβων for διατριβῶν (234); διηρυκῶς for διηρυκῶς (977); δυσμᾶς for δυσμᾶς (post. corr R) (216); δῶμεν for δῶμεν (407); γεγυῶς for γεγυῶς (144); γένεσθαι for γενέσθαι (782); γῆν for γῆν (292); γυναίκας for γυναίκας (103); γυνῆ for γυνῆ (180); ἐγκρατεία for ἐγκράτεια (619); ἐγνωκῶς for ἐγνωκῶς (616); ἐκείνον for ἐκείνον (563); ἐκείνου for ἐκείνου (635, 661); ἐκείνος for ἐκείνος (610); ἐκείνω for ἐκείνω (727); ἐκείνων for ἐκείνων (165); εἶπερ for εἶπερ (411); εἰπῶν for εἰπῶν (397, 894); ἐνεγκῶν for ἐνεγκῶν (427); ἐνιδῶν for ἐνιδῶν (426); ἐορτῆ for ἐορτῆ (484); ἐπερωτῶντων for ἐπερωτῶντων (594); ἐπιθείς for ἐπιθείς (267); ἐπιτυχῶν for ἐπιτυχῶν (873); εὔδηλα for εὔδηλα (437); εὐρών for εὐρών (499); ἐχρήτο for ἐχρήτο (131); ἡδονῆ for ἡδονῆ (684); ἦν for ἦν (973); ἦσθοντο for ἦσθοντο (374); ἦστινος for ἦστινος (143); θαύματος for θαύματος (316); θεῖς for θεῖς (572); θεραπεία for θεραπεία (230); καθαρὰ for καθαρὰ (503); καίτοιγε for καίτοιγε (885); κακῶς for κακῶς (272); καταμαθῶν (κατὰ μαθῶν R) for καταμαθῶν (28); καταπεσῶν for καταπεσῶν (101); λαβῶν for λαβῶν (883); λεγεῶν for λεγεῶν (279); μαθητῆς for μαθητῆς (827, 969); μαῖουμᾶν for μαῖουμᾶν (51); μάλλον for μάλλον (614); μετὰξυ for μεταξυ (883); μονῆ for μονῆ (662); οἶκαδε for οἶκαδε (246); οἶκησιν for οἶκησιν (439); οὔτος for οὔτος (135); οὔτως for οὔτως (413); παραβαλῶν for παραβαλῶν (521); παραλαβῶν for παραλαβῶν (800); παρεθείς for παρεθείς (248); πάσαν for πᾶσαν (412); πᾶσης for πάσης (840); πεισθείς for πεισθείς (310); πηγῆν for πηγῆν (616, 751); πικρᾶν for πικρᾶν (262); πῖοντα for πῖοντα (697); πληγείς for πληγείς (248); πλήθους for πλήθους (589); πλοῖου for πλοῖου (873); πλῦναι for πλῦναι (121); πολλοῦς for πολλοῦς (741); πολῦν for πολῦν (3); πράγμα for πράγμα (173); προειδῶς for προειδῶς (528); προλαβῶν for προλαβῶν (606); προσβαλῶν for προσβαλῶν (420); ρέυμα for ρέυμα (492); σῆ ἀρετῆ (post corr. R) for σῆ ἀρετῆ (336); συμπαραλαβῶν for συμπαραλαβῶν (643); τελευταία for τελευταία (949); τοίγαροῦν for τοιγαροῦν (728); τοιγαροῦν for τοιγαροῦν (78), (85), (358), (910); τηρικαῦτα for τηρικαῦτα (478); τοῦτου for τούτου (569); τοῦτων for τούτων (630); τοσοῦτο for τοσοῦτου (925); τοῦτω for τούτω (939); τρυγῆτου for τρυγητοῦ (477); τυχῶν for τυχῶν (311); ὑπήσθετο for ὑπήσθετο (381); χείρες for χείρες (206); χλωρᾶς for χλωρᾶς (570); χρήμα for χρήμα (190); ψυχῆ for ψυχῆ (930); ὠδίνας for ὠδίνας (184); ᾧν for ᾧν (431)



- P:** γαστήρ for γαστήρ (197); διαλεχθεῖς for διαλεχθεῖς (610); διδασκαλεία (διδασκαλείον A) for διδασκαλεία (9); εἶχε for εἶχε (412); εἶχον for εἶχον (740); ἐρών for ἐρών (360); ἰδρώτας post corr. for ἰδρώτας (959); ἰσχύν for ἰσχύν (620); κολυμβήθρα for κολυμβήθρα (679); μῆδενί for μῆδενί (704); μῆκέτι for μῆκέτι (695); μητράσι for μητράσι (190); μονή for μονή (520); νύξ for νύξ (159); οἶα for οἶα (984); οὐδεῖς for οὐδεῖς (756); πλευράς for πλευράς (692); πλύναι for πλύναι (121); ποίαν for ποίαν (578); προύπηντα for προύπηντα (492); τοῦτου for τούτου (515); σκινδουλά for σκινδουλά (521); σφραγίδι for σφραγίδι (517); τώσοῦτω for τοσοῦτω (605); τᾶλλα post corr. (ex τᾶλλα) for τᾶλλα (461); ταῦτα for ταῦτα (367); τελευταία for τελευταία (149); τελών for τελών (327); P τοιγάρουν for τοιγαροῦν (728); ὑγιῆς for ὑγιῆς (316); φιλῶν for φιλῶν (936); χαλεπή for χαλεπή (204); χρεῖα for χρεῖα (397)
- R:** ἀπίοντες for ἀπίοντες (826); βοτάνων for βοτανῶν (746); γλυκεία for γλυκεία (599); δείξαι for δείξαι (296); δῆ for δῆ (513); ἐκείνου for ἐκείνου (359); ἐκόντες for ἐκόντες (335); ἐπανελθῶν for ἐπανελθῶν (43); ἐφοῖτα for ἐφοῖτα (463); ἦσαν for ἦσαν (347); ἴσα for ἴσα (598); λογισμοῦς for λογισμοῦς (84); μεσικάν for μεσικάν (254); μῆδενί for μῆδενί (701); νεῶς post corr. for νεῶς (883); νήφον post corr. for νήφον (960); οὐκ for οὐκ (859); ὀτιοῦν for ὀτιοῦν (136); πείραν for πείραν (312); πλήθους for πλήθους (484); πολλοῖς for πολλοῖς (229); προσβολῆς for προσβολῆς (102); τοιοῦτω for τοιοῦτω (584); σῶμα for σῶμα (700); ταῦτας for ταῦτας (80); ταχεῖαν for ταχεῖαν (244); φάναι for φάναι (867); ὑπέδεικνον for ὑπέδεικνον (685); χεῖρας for χεῖρας (260, 802); χώραι for χώραι (598); ψυχή for ψυχή (744)
- AP:** ἰάσθαι for ἰᾶσθαι (244); ἐπειπῶν for ἐπειπῶν (293); εὐχῆ for (post corr.) εὐχῆ (806); λεγέωνι for λεγέωνι (378); οἶαν for οἶαν (876); ποίαν for ποίαν (578); ὠδίνας for ὠδίνας (198)
- AR:** ἀμπελῶν (post corr. R) for ἀμπελῶν (554); ἀφορμάς for ἀφορμάς (133); θεσμά (post corr. R) for θεσμά (337); θραύσις for θραύσις (870); τοῦτοις for τούτοις (524); χεῖρας for χεῖρας (165)
- PR:** ἀψευδῆ for ἀψευδῆ A (787); ἐφοῖτα (post corr. R) for ἐφοῖτα (9); κρήναι for κρήναι (665); λιθοτομῶν for λιθοτομῶν (313); μῆδενί for μῆδενί (937); μῆδενός (post corr. R) for μῆδενός (698); οἶαν for οἶαν (894); τεθνᾶναι (post corr. R) for τεθνᾶναι (786); ῥίνας for ῥίνας (259); χεῖρας for χεῖρας (399)
- APR:** ἐπιβεβαιῶν for ἐπιβεβαιῶν (579); νάμα for νάμα (221); ῥάγα for ῥάγα (534); τί for τί (355); τίς for τίς (369); φαραῶ for φαραῶ (881)

#### b. *Omission of accents:*

- A:** αὐτον for αὐτόν (271); δε for δέ (764); εἶη for εἶη (982); ἐπι for ἐπί (145); λειτουργων for λειτουργῶν (443); μεν for μέν (828); μη for μή (81); μεν for μέν (563); οἶαν for οἶαν (876); οὐδε for οὐδέ (236) and (583); προς for πρὸς (635); συν for σὺν (501); τινά for τινά (982); τω for τῷ (325)
- P:** ἀρκειν for ἀρκεῖν (299); αὐτικα for αὐτίκα (368); δε<sup>1</sup> for δέ (936); δεξασθαι for δέξασθαι (500); δερματινον for δερμάτινον (58); διδαχθεις for διδαχθεῖς (310); διωμολογει for διωμολόγει (434); εἶστινα for εἶς τινα (789); κατα for κατὰ (96-97); μεν for μέν (73); σαρκων for σαρκῶν (126); στεφανον for στέφανον (514); ὑγια for ὑγιᾶ (269); τοινυν for τοίνυν (18); τον for τὸν (87, 811)

**R:** γαρ for γάρ (79, 237, 321, 553); δε for δέ (551, 625); ἐτυγχανε for ἐτύγγανε (568); κὰν for κᾶν (post corr. P) (367); κὰν for κᾶν (416); μη for μῆ (5); συμβουλες τὲ for συμβουλαῖς τε (522); ὑπαληφῶν for ὑπαλείφῶν (480)

**AR:** δεσμα for δεσμά (282); οὐδε for οὐδὲ (562, 613); φειδῶλον for φειδῶλόν (523)

**APR:** τίς for τις (829)

## 5. Separation of compound words.

**A:** ἐμ ’ αὐτοῦ for ἐμαυτοῦ (385); ἕξ καὶ δέκατον for ἕξκαιδέκατον (112); κατὰ τρυφάν for κατατρυφάν (896); οἶκα δὲ for οἶκαδε (449); παρὰ χρῆμα for παραχρῆμα (426); προς παίζων for προσπαίζων (107); πεν τεκαὶ δέκατον for πεντεκαιδέκατον (180); τοῦ ναντίον for τούναντίον (537); προσἐνεχθεῖς for προσενεχθεῖς (577); πρὸς τιθεῖς for προστιθεῖς (721); τοί γὰρ οἶν for τοιγαροῦν (748); ὑπὸ λευκενούσης for ὑπολευκαινούσης (97)

**P:** μῆ δέπω for μηδέπω (232); κατὰ στραφήναι for καταστραφήναι (776); πέντε καὶ δέκατον for πεντεκαιδέκατον (180)

**R:** ἀλ ’ | λ for ἀλλ ’ (788); ἀπὸ λαμβάνοντες for ἀπολαμβάνοντες (671); ἀπὸ λιμπάνεσθαι for ἀπολιμπάνεσθαι (623); ἀπὸ πλεῦσε for ἀποπλεῦσαι (784); διὰ λεχθεῖς for διαλεχθεῖς (610); διὰ φερόντ(ως) for διαφερόντως (1004); ἐπὶ πεσόντα for ἐπιπεσόντα R (283); ἐπὶ τυχῶν for ἐπιτυχῶν (873); καθ ὄλου for καθόλου (148); κατὰ λαμβάνει for καταλαμβάνει (216); κατὰ τρυφήσαι for κατατρυφήσαι (547); μετὰ θέσθαι for μεταθέσσεσθαι (230); ὁ, μαλῶς for ὁμαλῶς for (578); πεντεκαὶ δέκατον for πεντεκαιδέκατον (180); πρ(ὸς) ἀχθείσης for προσαχθείσης (386); παρὰ χρῆμα for παραχρῆμα (805, 820); ὑπὸ βάλλεται for ὑποβάλλεται (847); ὑπὸ κρινομένοι for ὑποκρινομένοι (701); ὑπὲρ μεγέθη for ὑπερμεγέθη (457); ὑπὸ ζύγιον for ὑποζύγιον (618); ὑπὸ ζυγίω for ὑποζυγίω (625); ὑπὸ λαβόντες for ὑπολαβόντες (173); ὑπὸ χορήσαι for ὑποχωρήσαι (852); ὑπὸ χωρεῖν for ὑποχωρεῖν (53)

**PR:** μῆ δὲ for μηδὲ (865); μῆ δένα for μηδένα (533)

## 6. Joining of non-compound words.

**A:** ἀπογραμμῆς for ἀπὸ γραμμῆς (19); ἀποληστῶν for ἀπὸ ληστῶν (169); ἀποτῆς for ἀπὸ τῆς (181); ἀποχαράκων for ἀπὸ χαράκων (117-118); ἀραδείσει for ἄρα δείσει (171-172); διατοῦ for διὰ τοῦ (177); διαυτοῦ for δι ’ αὐτοῦ (791); ἐναρεταῖς for ἐν ἀρεταῖς (3); ἐξαρχῆς for ἐξ ἀρχῆς (62); ἐξεκείνου for ἐξ ἐκείνου (748); ἐπικεφαλῆ for ἐπὶ τῆ κεφαλῆ (290); ἐπιπαιδὶ for ἐπὶ παιδὶ (464); ἐπιπέντε for ἐπὶ πέντε (123); ἦδημεν for ἦδη μὲν (122); ἡδυπνέουσα for ἡδὺ πνέουσα (837); καταζῶων for κατὰ ζῶων (407-408); καταθείαν for κατὰ θείαν (6); καταμόνας for κατὰ μόνας (422, 575); κατασοφίας for κατὰ σοφίας (8); κυριεὺλόγει for κύριε εὐλόγει (494); μεταμικρόν for μετὰ μικρόν (538); μηέχων for μῆ ἔχων (801); οὐδεπλέον for οὐδὲ πλέον (820-821); οὐκ ἔτι for οὐκέτι (119); παραπολλῶν for παρὰ πολλῶν (554-555); παρατῶν for παρὰ τῶν (791); περιπαντὸς for περὶ παντὸς (154); πρὸς βαλούσης for προσβαλούσης (997); τανειομισμένα for τὰ νενομισμένα (988); ταπαρόντα for τὰ παρόντα (851); τῆσκαιότητος for τῆς σκαιότητος (527-528); τῆσκηνης for τῆς σκηνης (215); τουσκινδουλά for τοῦ σκινδουλά (521); ὑπαυτῶν for ὑπ ’ αὐτῶν (176); ὑπονηστείας for ὑπὸ νηστείας (286)

- P:** διατί for διὰ τί (693); διαπάντων for διὰ πάντων (487, 621); διαπάσης for διὰ πάσης (162); διαπασῶν for διὰ πασῶν (65); διατοῦτο for διὰ τοῦτο (935); διατριῶν for διὰ τριῶν (80); διῖκεσίας for δι' ἰκεσίας (734); εἴστινα for εἷς τινα (789); ἐξαιθρώπων for ἐξ ἀνθρώπων (711); ἐξεκείνου for ἐξ ἐκείνου (476); ἐξεπιτάγματος for ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος (927); ἐξόψεως for ἐξ ὄψεως (564); ἐπικεφαλῆ for ἐπὶ τῆ κεφαλῆ (115); ἐπιστ(αυ)ροῦ for ἐπὶ στ(αυ)ροῦ (177); ἐπιτριάκοντα for ἐπὶ τριάκοντα (199); ἐφικανὸν for ἐφ' ἱκανὸν (738); καθομοίωσιν for καθ' ὁμοίωσιν (90); καταλόγον for κατὰ λόγον (251-252); καταμικρὸν for κατὰ μικρὸν (507); καταμόνας for κατὰ μόνας (593); καταπρόσωπον for κατὰ πρόσωπον (868); καταρχὰς for κατ' ἀρχὰς (688); κατεκείνην for κατ' ἐκείνην (483); κατεπισκοπὴν for κατ' ἐπισκοπὴν (519-520); μεταχείρας for μετὰ χείρας (692); μετοδύνης for μετ' ὀδύνης (826); μὴ δὲν for μὴδὲν (693); οὐκὰν for οὐκ ἂν (389); παραπολὺ for παρὰ πολὺ (556); παρόλους for παρ' ὄλους (144); παραπόδας for παρὰ πόδας (176); προτῶν for πρὸ τῶν (162); προσγέλωτα for πρὸς γέλωτα (391); προσευχὰς for πρὸς εὐχὰς (190); προσεκείνον for πρὸς ἐκείνον (180, 825); οὐκακριβοῦν for οὐκ ἀκριβοῦν (24-25); οὐκαφήκεν for οὐκ ἀφήκεν (575); οὐκέδει for οὐκ ἔδει (924-925); οὐκέλλαττον for οὐκ ἔλλαττον (1); οὐκετύγχανε for οὐκ ἐτύγχανε (360); οὐκευπρεπὴ for οὐκ εὐπρεπὴ (339); οὐκήμειψε for οὐκ ἤμειψε (118); οὐκηνείχετο for οὐκ ἠνείχετο (788); ταβαρύτατα for τὰ βαρύτατα (779); ὑπαυτῆς for ὑπ' αὐτῆς (205); ὑποσυχνῶν for ὑπὸ συχνῶν (459)
- R:** ἀπὸ σείσασθαι post corr. for ἀποσείσασθαι (283); διατέλους for διὰ τέλους (975); διατί bis for διὰ τί bis (693); διῆς for δι' ἧς (879); ἐξεκείνου for ἐξ ἐκείνου (295); ἐξοῦ for ἐξ οὗ (1002); ἐναυτῆ for ἐν αὐτῆ (482, 894); ἐναυτῶ for ἐν αὐτῶ (916); ἐπαυτοῦς for ἐπ' αὐτοῦς (157); ἐπαυτῶ for ἐπ' αὐτῶ (904); ἐφῶ for ἐφ' ᾧ (467); καθεαυτὸν for καθ' ἑαυτὸν (305); καταγοῦν for κατὰ γ' οἶν (96-97); κατὰ μαθῶν for καταμαθῶν (καταμαθῶν A) (28); μεθηδονῆς for μεθ' ἡδονῆς (674); μεθῶν for μεθ' ᾧν (950); μεοῦν for μὲν οἶν (587); οὐκὰν for οὐκ ἂν (389); οὐκεπίθετο for οὐκ ἐπίθετο (762-763); παροῦδὲν for παρ' οὐδὲν (16); παρόλους for παρ' ὄλους (128); ὑπὸ κρινόμενος for ὑποκρινόμενος (107)
- AP:** ἀπομόνης for ἀπὸ μόνης (876); ἀποσυρίας for ἀπὸ συρίας (466); διαβαπτίσματος for διὰ βαπτίσματος (517); ἐπιδεκάτω for ἐπὶ δεκάτῳ (241); ἐπικλίνης for ἐπὶ κλίνης (247); ἐπιπλέον AP for ἐπὶ πλέον (173); ὑποδαιμόνων for ὑπὸ δαιμόνων (899)
- AR:** ἐναυτῆ (ἐναυτῆ R) for ἐν αὐτῆ (522); ἐνοργῆ for ἐν ὄργῃ (866)
- PR:** ἀπεκείνου for ἀπ' ἐκείνου (643); ἐπαυτῶ (ἐπαυτῶ R) for ἐπ' αὐτῶ (275); ἐφῶ for ἐφ' ᾧ (653) and (ἐφῶ P) (679); οὐκεῶν (ουκεῶν R) for οὐκ ἐῶν (34); οὐδόλως for οὐδ' ὄλως (63); παραπολὺ for παρὰ πολὺ (722); παρατοσοῦτον for παρὰ τοσοῦτον (256); προγὰρ for πρὸ γὰρ (233); προσπέτραν for πρὸς πέτραν (71-72); προτοῦ for πρὸ τοῦ (477); ὑπέκείνου R and ὑπεκείνου P for ὑπ' ἐκείνου (386-387)
- APR:** μὴ δὲν for μὴδὲν (697); παραψυχὴν for παρὰ ψυχὴν (629)

## 7. Omissions/additions:

### a. Words which do not appear in

- A:** ἀπάσης (491); αὐτῶ (438); γὰρ (371); δαιμόνων<sup>1</sup>-ῶσα (274-275); δὲ (849); ἐν (640); ἐπὶ (488); ἡ (439); καὶ (176, 194, 471); καὶ<sup>1</sup> (499); καὶ<sup>2</sup> (787); καὶ ὡς (816); με (397, 693); μετὰ-

ἀρμάτων (345); ὁ (73, 444, 738); ὄλως (274); οἶν (143); ὄρων (911); πάσα (413, 734); τε (1003); τὴν (301, 678); τῆς γνώμης (565); τὸ<sup>1</sup> (510); τὸν (709); τοῦτο-παίδων (211-212); ὡς (751)  
**P:** αὐτοὺς (843); δὲ (890); εἰ (167); ἕτεροι-προσῆεσαν (902-903); καὶ (270, 462, 626, 987); καὶ δεῖσθαι (474); ἰδίαις (679); καὶ-χερσὶ (264-265); καμόντι (677); μὲν (697); ὁμοῦ τε (344); οἶν (8); τε (166); ὡς (494)  
**R:** ἀλλὰ τί καθ' ἡμῶν εἶπον, (407); αὐτῶ (785); δὴ (921); διὰ τέλους (975); εἶτα-μηνύει (423-424); ἐκείνον (119); ἕτερος (398); ἔφη (335); ἡμᾶς (411); ἱκανῶς (480); καὶ<sup>1</sup> (457); καὶ-κατανύσσονται (174); καὶ τῆς μανίας (362); κτηνῶν-τῶν (409); ὁ (920); ὁ θεῖος (892); οἶν (338); πρὸς-τῆς (227); τῆ (437); τις (400); τὸν παῖδα (5); τῶν (951)  
**AP:** καὶ (41); τὸν (ex τὸ) τὸν (449); τοῦ (928)

#### b. *Words which appear only in*

**A:** ἄν (525); ἀπέιη (481); δὲ (100, 156, 595); εἰκοστοῦ (113); εἰς (190); καὶ (738, 842, 865); ὁ (349); τὴν (595); τῶ (683)  
**P:** ἄκων (814); αὐτοῦ (98); τῆ (493); τὸ (687)  
**R:** τῆς (454); τουτονεὶ (857)  
**AP:** αἰ (196); καὶ (662); ὁ (566); τὴν (755); τοὺς τε (344); τῶν (150)

#### 8. *Lapsus calami/dittography/homoioteleuton*

**A:** ἐσδυσφόρει for ἐδυσφόρει (592); τῆσκηνης for τῆς σκηνης (215)  
**P:** μετὰ ταῦ for μετὰ ταῦτα (46);  
**R:** post ῥάγα erasit μόνην (dittography) (534); μαΐουμᾶν μονήν-μαΐουμᾶν deest R (homoioteleuton) (979-990)

#### 9. *Erroneous words.*

**A:** ἀποδιδώκει for ἀπεδεδώκει (556); διάκονα for διάκονον (717); ἐβραχυτάτω for ἐβρυχᾶτο (91); εἶα for εἶτα (871); ἐλείμ for ἐλείν (87); ἦκουεν for ἦκουεν (682); μόνην for μόνη (806); νεᾶς for νεῶς (891); οἶνεὶ for οἶονεὶ (522); τεθάναι for τεθνήσκειν (786); τινὰν for τινὰ (164); υἱοῦ for ἰοῦ (741)  
**P:** ἄσχιστα for αἰσχιστα (797); ἐπιδαύροις for ἐπιδαυρίοις (837) ἐστῶ for ἐστῶσι (489); οἶ for οἶα (527); οἶκ for οὐκ (147); περγαμαίω for περγαμίω (714); υἱετὸς for ἕτερος (197)  
**R:** ἀδριάντες for ἀνδριάντες (531); ἀπίλαον post corr. for ἀπέλαον (228); ἐάλωι for ἐάλω (813); ἡμφίεστωι for ἡμφίεστο (958); κα'θ ὁμοίωσιν for καθ' ὁμοίωσιν (90); κατ' ἀπλήξη post corr. (ex κατὰ πλήξη) for καταπλήξη (107); οὔπωι for οὔπω (738, post corr. 882, and 948); οὔτωι for οὔτω (76, 224, 248, 251, 268, 281, 333, 452, 464, 470, 512, 927, 947); πάντοχεν for πάντοθεν (85); συντόμωις for συντόνωις (853); τοῦπίσωι for τοῦπίσω (886); ὑποπιέσμοις post corr. (ex ὑποπιασμοίς?) for ὑπωπιασμοίς (137); χλεῦειν for χλεῖν (329)  
**AP:** κατεσχήμενος for κατεχόμενος (393)  
**PR:** ἀποδεδώκει for ἀπεδεδώκει (556); αὐστηρότερον for αὐτηρότερον (576)

Finally, a collation of **A**, **R** and **P** shows the following textual variants (readings adopted in the present edition are given first):

### 9. Different readings:

**AP** against **R**: ἅμα γυναιξιν ἅμα for γυναιξιν ἅμα καὶ (863); ἀπολείβει for ἀπὸ δίδωσιν (220); ἀφίκετο for ἀφῆκεν (142); διέπριε for διέτριζε (372); διωμολόγει for καὶ ὁμολόγει (434); ἐκ for ἐν (733); ἐπανήει for ἐπανείη (246, 311); ἐπανιόντι for ὄντι (59); εὐτρεπές for εὐτρεπές (618); θαύματα for κατορθώματα (272); ἴδια for ἦδη (461); ἰσχύν (ἰχύν **P**) for ψυχῆν (620); λεπτοῖς for διπλοῖς (365); μακαρία for μακαρίτις (992); νέος for νήπιος *p. c.* (125); νῦν for τοίνυν (18); οὐδέ<sup>2</sup> (οὐδὲ **P**) for οὐδὲν (496); ὅπερ for ὡσπερ (42); παρείθη for παρήθει (314); περιύων (*post corr. A*) for περιών (819); πνεύματι for δαίμονη (442); προπολλοῦ for πολλοῦ (109); ὑποδέχεται for ἀποδέχεται (544); παρὰ πολλῶν (*παραπολλῶν A*) for διαπολλῶν (554-555); σεισμοῦ for θυμοῦ (891); ὑπ' αὐτοῦ for αὐτῶι (370); ὑποστήναι for ἀποστήναι (968)

**AR** against **P**: ἀλλ' ἦν (ἀλλ' ἦν or ἀλλ' ἦν **R**) for ἀλλ' ὅς (109); ἀπιέναι for ἐπιέναι (609); αὐτόθεν for αὐτόθι (935); βρούχιον for βρύχιον (753, 770); δείκνυται for γίνεται (316); διεγένετο for ἐγένετο (145); διακομίζει for κομίζει (979); διερεθίζων for πρὸς ἐρεθίζων (305); ἦ for ἡ (107); καιρίως for κυρίως (992); κὰν for καὶ (276); κατέρρει (*κατέρει A*) for καταίρει (872); λιτανεύων for λιπαρεύων (567); μειδιάματος for μειδιάσματος (288); μιροῦ for ποιηροῦ (423); νοσοῦν ἅπαν for σύμπαν (226); οὐχ' for οὐχ (16); ὀχλήσεις for ἐνοχλήσεις (913); προσιέμενος for προσευχόμενος (81); πάλιν for ἄλλοι (902); πάλιν for πάλαι (788); πίνοντα (*πίνοντα A*) for πίνοντα (697); προσιόντων for εισιόντων (615); προφήτην for δα(υ)ιδ (867); τ' ἄλλα (*τάλλα A*) for πολλὰ (907); σπόρον for λόγον (500); τοιαύτην for ταύτην (635); τοιούτου for τοιοῦδε (7); τοιῶνδε for τοιούτων (312); φέρουσα for ἔχουσα (184); ψυχῶν for ψυχρῶν (308); ὥστε for ὅς τε (655)

**PR** against **A**: ἄνασαν (*post corr. ex ἄνσαν et add. a sup. lin. R*) for ἄνσαν (763); ἃ περιέκειτο for ἔκειτο ἅπερ (282); ἀντέλεγεν for ἔλεγεν (578); ἀρρήκτοις (*post corr. P*) for ἀρρήτοις (265); γὰρ (*γαρ R*) for οἶν (321); δὲ for δὴ (554); δελεάματα for δελεάσματα (16); διακονούμενος for διανούμενος (569); εἰς for ὡς (534); εἰς μεγάλα for ὡς μεγάλου (46); ἐκάστοτε for ἐκάστω τε (330); ἐν for ἐκ (390); ἐν αὐτῶ (*ἐναυτῶ R*) for ἑαυτὸν (916); ἐνέσταξε for ἐνέταξε (999); ἐπιταράττον for ταραττον (34); ἐπιμονῆς for ὑπομονῆς (37); ἐπίμονον ἐπίπονον (67); ἐποιοῦντο for ἐπιούντο (154); εὐκοπώτερον for εὐκολώτερον (269); καταβαλεῖν for καταβαλῆν (*vel καταβολῆν*) (68); κῆπον τε for κῆπόν τινα (561); κῆπου (*post corr. R*) for κόπου (917); μηδέπω (*μῆ δέπω P*) for δῆπωτε (232); μιμείται (*μιμήται R*) for εἰ μὴ τὰ (272); οὐδὲ (*οὐδε P*) for οὐκ **A** (562); οὔτος for οὔτως (99); πάντα for ταῦτα (376); πάλιν for πάλαι (788); παριούσι for παρούσι (912); πόλιν for πάλιν (652, 789); προαρπάξει for ἀρπάξει (149); προθεσμία for προθυμία (116); προσάγετέ (*προσάγεταί R*) for προσάγαγετέ (598); προσιόντων for εισιόντων (833); στρατείας (*post corr. R*) for στρατιάς (881); συμπαρούσι for παρούσι (436); ταῦτα for αὐτὰ (385); ταῦτά τοι for ταῦτά τι (576); ταχὺ for τραχὺ (224); τό γε αὐτοῦ for αὐτοῦ τότε (τό τε?) (322); τοιγαροῦν (*τοιγαροῦν R*) for

γάρ οὖν (581); τὸν for τὴν (645); τραχὺν (τραχὺ R) for ταχὺν (18); τῶν νότων (τῶν νότων R) for τῶν ὤτων (373); φέρων for φόρων (960); φυγεῖν for τιμῆν (935); χρήμα for κτήμα (495); χ(ριστο)υ for θ(εο)υ (462)

**R against AP:** ἀγομένου for ἀναγομένου (18); δέ<sup>2</sup> for τέ (τε P) (133); δεδεμένους for πεπεδημένους (350); διαύτων for διανύων· αὐτὸν (304); ἐγένετο for διεγένετο (134); εἶδεν for ἦδεν (100); ἐκείνῳ for πρὸς ἐκείνον (180); ἐξελθεῖν for διεξελθεῖν (440); θαυμαστὸς for θαυμάσιος (613); ὅπως ποθὲν for ὅπως ποτέ (ὅπως ποτε P) (56); πάντων for τὰ τῶν (15); πλέον for μείον (664); πολὺ for ἐπιπολὺ (632); ποιηρὸν for ἰταμὸν (279); προϊοῦσι post corr. for παροῦσι (953); οὐπω for οὐτω (486); προσήγαγον for προσήγον (583); προσέσθαι for προσέσται (and προσεσ[...] P) (632); συγχωροῦσιν for ἐφιάσιν (636)

**A against PR:** ἐνεργούντος for ἐνοχλοῦν (452); οὐκ ἦψει for οὐκ ἦμειψε (οὐκήμειψε P) (118); οὖν for γ' οὖν P and γοῖν R (276); περίπου for περί του, (561); ὑπέπριετε (ὑπεπρίετε corr.) for ὑπέτριζε τε (62)

**P against AR:** ἀτίθασσον and for ἀντίθασσον (corr. ἀτίθασον) (262); πρὸς for παρ' (467); ὑποπνέων for ὑπομένων (428)

**A against P against R:** ἐνεποίει for ἐν ἐποίει and ἐποίει (229); ἐπεισπεσόντα for ἐπεισπεσόντι and ἐπὶ πεσόντα (283); παρελθόντος for περιελθόντος and περιελθόντες (194); τὸ νάμα for ποτέ νάματα and ποτέ ναύματα (220-221)

**A against P against R:** πολλοὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν for πρὸς αὐτὸν πολλοὶ τῶν and πρὸς αὐτὸν πολὺ τῶν (947)

**P against A against R:** ἄλλος τίς for ἄλλως τίς and ἄλλ' ὅστις (417)

**P against R against A:** ἐπιτρέπουσα for ἐπιτρέπουσα and πρέπουσα (761)

**R against P against A:** ἄλλου οὐδέ τινος for ἄλλου οὐδενὸς and ἄλλος οὐδενὸς (307); ἑαυτῷ for ἑαυτὸ and αὐτῷ (850); ἐν αὐτοῖς for ἑαυτοῖς and ἐν αὐταῖς (364); σῶφρονι for σωφρονουσίη and σωφρονούσι (295); ὑποδειχθῆναι (ex ὑπὸ δειχθῆναι) καὶ τὸν for ὑποδειχθῆναι τὸν and ἀποδειχθῆναι οἱ τὸν (699)

**R against A against P:** ἀπεπλείτο for ἐπλείτο (801); ἐνώι for ἵνα and ὅπου (700); τῶν τοῦ ἰησοῦ λόγων for ἰύγγων τοῦ ἰησοῦ and ἰύγγων (ex ἰύγων) τῆς ἰησοῦ (639-640)

## 10. Different form of the same word:

**A against PR:** αὐτὸ for αὐτῷ (969); γλώττης for γλώσσης (431); ὀφθαλμοῖς for ὀφθαλμοὺς post corr. (ex ὀφθαλμοῖς) R (155); τοιοῦτον for τοιοῦτω (τοιοῦτω R) (584); τὸν for τὸ (376); τοῦτο for τούτων (729)

**A against R against P:** (ἐστῶσι corr.) ἐστῶσι for ἐστῶτες post corr. and ἐστῶ (489); τὸ συνήθως for τὸν συνήθως and τῶν συνήθων P (690-691)

**P against A (R deest):** ὀλόκληρα for ὀλοκλήρον (983)

**P against R:** μόνης for μόνον (431); ἀπεκρίνατο for ἀπεκρίνετο (440); τραχὺν for τραχὺ (18)

**P against AR:** εὐλόγησον for (κυριεὐλόγει A) εὐλόγει (494); παριόντος for παριόντων (531); τὸ for τῷ (177)

**P against A against R:** πάνδημος ἐορτῆ (corr. ἐορτή) for πάνδημος ἐορτή A for πάνδημον ἐορτήν

**R against AP:** αὐτὸν for αὐτῶν (641); εἶδεν for ἦδεν (100); ἐτῶν for ἔτη (144); ἐπιτάγμασι for

ἐπιτάγματι (691); εὐθύς for εὐθέως (268); κρύπτειν for κρύπτει (876); μικρὸν for μικρῶν (308); μόνη for μόνης (316); ποτάμια for ποταμῶν (272); προσθήσομαι for προσθήσομεν (355); προσφέρει for (post corr. P) προσφέρου (301); ταύτην for ταύτη (369)

**R against P against A:** ἐκείνου for ἐκείνος and ἐκείνους (85); ἐμβαλόντος for ἐμβάλλοντος and ἐμβαλόντι (378)

**AP against R:** ἀναδοθείσα for ἀναδοθέντων (741); ἀντιγωνίζετο for ἀντιγωνίζετω post corr. (ex ἀντιγωνίζεται) (72); αὐτὸν for αὐτοῖς (771); αὐτὸ for αὐτῷ (678); αὐτῷ for αὐτῶν (493); αὐτῶν for αὐτῷ (220); ἀχιλλέας for ἀχιλλέως post corr. (274); γλῶτταν for γλῶσσαν (433); διασπᾶσαι for διασπᾶσθαι (282); διέτριψε for διέτριβε (1004); ἐκείνω for ἐκείνος (564); ἐλογίζοντο for ἐλογίζετο (16); ἐνετρύφα (ἐνετρύφα) for ἐνετρύφατο R (465); ἑορτῆ (ἑορτῆ P, ἑορτῆ A) for ἑορτήν (484); ἐπέιθετο for ἐπέιθετω (75); ἐπ' ἐκείνην (ἐπέκείνην P) for ἐπέκείνης (658); ἐκείνω (ἐκέινω A) for ἐκέينو (722); ἐπιβαίνουντι for ἐπιβαίνων (490); ἦκει for ἦκοι (426); ἡμᾶς for ἡμῖν (338); ἰλαρίων for ἰλαρίωνα (607); νύκταν for νύκτα (97); ἐφ' οἷς for ἐφ' οὗ post corr. (1004); κινδυνεύουσι for κινδυνεύουσι (968); λεγομένων for λεγομένωι (418); μέλλουσα for μέλλουσαν (609); μετέβη for μεταβαίνει (966); οἰκοδομίας for οἰκονομίας post corr. (510); ὄν for ὦν post corr. (531); οὐδέ<sup>2</sup> (οὐδέ P) for οὐδέν (496); πάνδημος for πάνδημον (484); ποιούμεν for ποιῶμεν (336); πρῶτος for πρῶτον (510); σημήνας for σημάνας (573); συλλαοῦντες for συλλαοῦντ(αις) (167); τῆ πάση for πᾶσι (969); τὴν for τοῦ (936); τοῖς for τοὺς (257); τὸν ἀγαθὸν for τῶν ἀγαθῶν (866); τοῦτο for τούτωι post corr. (968); χεῖρες for χεῖραις (945); τῷ χωρίω for τὸ χωρίον (753)

**AR against P:** ἀξιῶσαι for ἀξιῶσα (527); αὐτῆς for αὐτῆν (34); αὐτοῖς for αὐτῆς (990); αὐτοῖς for αὐτοῦς (222); αὐτὸν for αὐτῷ (715); ἐσπέραν (ἐσπέραν A) for ἐσπέρας (124); ἐγένετο for ἐγένετο (544); ἐκέينو for ἐκείνου (708); ἐκείνος for ἐκείνους (959); μειδιάματος for μειδιάματος (288); ὀφθαλμοῖς for ὀφθαλμοὺς (426); ῥαδίας (ῥαδείας R) for ῥαδίως (454); σχημάτων for σχήματα (106); ταῖς for τῆς (190); τινες for τινος (364); τὸ for τῷ (422); τὸν for τῶν (70, 320); τούτων for τούτου (243); τῶν for τὸ (254); ὑπομένοντος (post corr. R) for ὑπομένοντες (635); χρῆσθαι for χρήσασθαι (95)

**PR against A:** ἀλλομένη for ἀλλομένου (106); ἀπεληλαμένος for ἀπεληλαμένης (647); ἀπολαύειν for ἀπολαύων (34); αὐτῆς for αὐταῖς (496); αὐτὸν for αὐτῶν (819); αὐτῷ for αὐτῶν (584, 905); γυμνῶν for γυμνός (170); δεινός for δεινός (88); δελεάματα for δελεάσματα (16); διδασκαλεία (διδασκαλεία P) for διδασκαλείον (9); διανοεῖτο for διανοεῖτο (803); δένδροις for δένδρα (907); εἰδωλικός for εἰδωλικόν (909); ἐκείνω for ἐκείνων (676); ἐνοπτρίζεται for ἐνοπτρίζεσθαι (346); ἐπιτιμήσας for ἐπετιμήσας (399); ἐπιτίθησι for ἐπετίθησι (399); ἐρεβίνθοις (ἐρεβήνθοις R) for ἐρεβίνθους (582); εὐχῆς for εὐχῆν (606); κινοῦνται for κινοῦντα (769); κρύπτειν for κρύπτων (395); λέγοντες for λέγουσιν (631); μία for μίαν (397); νομίζων for νομίζειν (712); ὄμβρος (post corr. R) for ὄμβροις (738); παραγεγενῆσθαι for παραγίνεσθαι (831); παραπεφύκασι for παραπεφύκοτα (669); περιείχον for περιείχοντο (758); περὶ τοῦ (του P) for περίπου (561); πλήθος for πλήθους (623); πολὺς for πολλοῖς (91); ταύτας (post corr. R) for ταύτης (573); περιβαλόντες for περιβαλλόντες (624); πειθόντων (πειθόντων post corr. R) for πειθόντες (641); σημήνας for σημάνας (477); συνήκαν for συνήκεν (164); τελεσιουργεῖ for τελεσιουργεῖται (32); τὸ for τὸν (4); τὸ τῶν for τῶν τῶν (231); τοῦτο for τούτω (585); τοῦτον for τοῦτο (857); τούτου for τούτο (152); τῷ εἰδώλῳ for τῶν

εἰδώλων (324); ὠρίωνι for ὠρίων (273)

### 11. Different spelling of foreign names:

**AR against P:** for μαλέα for μαλαίαν (874)

**PA against R:** μαῖουμᾶν P : μαῖουμᾶ A : μαῖουμᾶ (979)

**AP against R:** βερβήλιμβον for βερβήλιμβρον (872); μιχαίας for μιχαῖος (559)

### 12. Addition of euphonic ν:

**AR against P:** δάκρυσι for δάκρυσιν (501); ἐντεῦθεν for ἐντεῦθε (722); ἡμέτερα ἐστίν AR : ἡμέτερά ἐστίν P (336); νοσοῦσιν for νοσοῦσι (216); ὑπῆρχε for ὑπῆρχεν (52)

**AP against R:** ἀπέβλειψε for ἀπέβλεψεν (803); δίδωσι for δίδωσιν (429); διέθηκε for διέθηκεν (242); ἐγνώρισε for ἐγνώρησεν (606); ἐθεράπευσε for ἐθεράπευσεν (462); ἦσθιε for ἦσθιεν (146); χερσὶ for χερσὶν (516)

**PR against A:** ἔβαλλεν for ἔβαλλε (96); ἐκόπασε for ἐκόπασεν (870); ἔλεγεν for ἔλεγε (595); ἐφύτευσε for ἐφύτευσεν (678); ἦσχαλλεν for ἦσχαλλε (591); καταφεύγουσι for καταφεύγουσιν (863)

**R against AP:** εἴκοσιν for εἴκοσι (144)

### 13. Use of enclitics:

**AP against R:** ἄγνοιάν τε for ἄγνοιαν τὲ (701); ἀποπλευσαί τινα for ἀπὸ πλεῦσε τίνα (784); βραχύ τι for βραχὺ τί (143); γυνή τις for γυνή τίς (200); δέ φημι for δὲ φημί (921); μὲν γὰρ for μὲν γὰρ (237); οὗτός γε for οὗτος γε (320); πέμπουσί τινας for πέμπουσι τινὰς (770); ῥήματά τινα for ῥήματα τινὰ (365-366); τε for τὲ (136); τε for τὲ (284); τε for τὲ (995)

**AR against P:** εἰστίνα for εἶς τινα (788-789); ἐπίεζε (ἐπίεζαι R) for ἐπίεζεν (824); ἐστιν for ἐστίν (330); εὐχὴν τινα for εὐχὴν τινὰ (293); θάψεται (θάψαιται A) for θάψαι τε (709); ὁμοῦ τε for ὁμοῦ τὲ (deest P) (344); πρᾶόν τι for πραόν τι (879); τε for τὲ (479); τὲ for τε (294); τε for τὲ (666)

**PR against A:** ἠγαλλέ τε (post corr. ex ἠγαλλέ τε R) for ἠγάλλετε (463); κῆπον τε (κῆπόν τε corr.) for κῆπόν τινα (561); ποτε for ποτὲ (481); ὅσοι τινὸς for ὅσοί τινος (749); τε for τὲ (426)

**R against AP:** παντοδαπὸς τὲ post corr. (ex παντοδαπὸς τὲ) for παντοδαπός τε (544); ὅλως for οὕτως (634); τὲ for τε (146); τε for τὲ (841)

**R against P against A:** εἶ γε for εἰ γε and εἶ γε A (896); τε for τὲ R (deest A); περί του, τῶν for περὶ τοῦ, τῶν and περίπου τῶν A (1003)

**P against AR:** χερσὶ τε for χερσὶ τε (162); τε for τὲ (195, 382, 540, 707, 809, 1006); (561)

**A against PR:** τε for τὲ (893, 998); τινος for τινὸς (467, 922)

**A against P against R:** χεῖράς τε for χείρας (ex χείρας) τὲ and χείρας τὲ (869)

**P against AR:** συμβουλαῖς τε for συμβουλαῖς (συμβουλεῖς R) τὲ (522)

**APR:** τίς for τις (829, 900)



#### 14. Order of words:

**AR** against **P**: ἔφη τέκνον for τέκνον ἔφη (36); νοσήματος θεραπεία (θεραπεία **A**) for θεραπεία νοσήματος (230); οἷς ὑμεῖς οὐδὲν ὄλως for οἷς οὐδὲν ὄλως ὑμεῖς (694); παρ' αὐτόν πάντες for πάντες παρ' αὐτόν (748-749); τὴν γνώμην κοινοῦται for κοινοῦται τὴν γνώμην (617-618); τὴν πικρὰν ἐκείνην for ἐκείνην τὴν πικρὰν (994); ὥσπερ ἔφημεν τῆς ἀσκίσεως (ἔφημεν **A**) for τῆς ἀσκίσεως ὥσπερ ἔφημεν (123)

**AP** against **R**: θεῖος μέντοι for μέντοι θεῖος (799); ὕδωρ δι' ἐκείνων μετακομίζειν for ὕδωρ μετακομίζειν δι' ἐκείνων (655-656)

**R** against **AP**: αὐτῶ ἢ καλῇ for ἢ καλῇ αὐτῶ (605); ἰδίαν τροφήν ἐκείνος for ἰδίαν ἐκείνος τροφήν (955-956); μέγα καταφεύγει ἰλαρίωνα for μέγαν ἰλαρίωνα καταφεύγει (209); ὅσα πρὸς ψυχῆς ὠφέλειαν φέρει for ὅσα φέρει πρὸς ψυχῆς ὠφέλειαν (763); πάλιν ὁ ἅγιος for ὁ ἅγιος πάλιν (807); τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ for τὴν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ δύναμιν (412); τοίνυν Ἰλαρίων τῆς ἐπιθυμίας for τοίνυν τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ὁ Ἰλαρίων (715-716); ταῦτα διασχούσα for διασχούσα ταῦτα (99)

**A** against **P** (deest **R**: homoteleuton): εὐωδίαν ὄλον for ὄλον εὐωδίαν (983); ὕμνους ἐπ' αὐτῶ τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἄσαντες for ὕμνους ἱεροὺς τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῶ τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἄσαντες (986)

**P** against **A** (deest **R**: homoteleuton) : χριστιανοῖς πάντα for πάντα χριστιανοῖς (988)

**PR** against **A**: ἤδη transp. post βασιλέως (414); ἔγνωσαν ποιῆσαι for ποιῆσαι ἔγνωσαν (715); ἔχων τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνον ἀφίξεως for τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνον ἀφίξεως ἔχων (825); ἠνύετο ἔτος for ἔτος ἠνύετο (940); ὄλαι διήλθον for διήλθον ὄλαι (633); πολλὴν ὄσπην for ὄσπην πολλήν (755)

**A** against **PR**: τιλὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν μετέχειν for τιλὶ μετέχειν τῶν ἀδελφῶν (563)

**P** against **AR**: ἑαυτὸν τιμώμενον for τιμώμενον ἑαυτὸν (924)

#### Relationship between the manuscripts

The palaeographical examination and collation of the three extant Mss show that, though **A**, **P** and **R** share both similarities and differences in terms of errors, different readings and different forms of the same words, **P** represents the best tradition of the text, as it contains fewer errors than the other two Mss. The text in **R** contains the larger number of errors, especially in breathings, iotacisms and confusion of sounds, as well as erroneous words and the separation of compound words. **A** contains extensive errors in accentuation. Since all three codices contain a considerable number of independent errors, readings and omissions it is evident that they are linked through intermediary transmissions.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>82</sup> A full edition of the text, based on all extant Mss is under preparation.

## Conventions adopted in the present edition

The present edition of the *Passio of St James the Persian* (BHG 773) and of the *Passio of St Plato* (BHG 1551-1552) is based on **Δ**, while the edition of the *Vita of St Hilarion* (BHG 755) is based on **P**. Occasionally, readings from other Mss have been preferred. The punctuation system and paragraph division in the Mss have been largely followed. Discrepancies in paragraph division in Mss is consistently recorded in the *apparatus criticus*, as is the use of the mark of interrogation by scribes. Occasionally, alternative punctuation in unclear passages are also recorded in the *apparatus*. Modern conventions in punctuation, accentuation and spelling have been adopted. The comma after *καί*, *καὶν*, *μέν* and *δέ* as well as double accents on these words for rhetorical emphasis have been omitted. An acute accent has replaced the grave on oxytones followed by punctuation signs. The accentuated personal pronouns, the indefinite pronoun *τις*, and *τι*, and the particle *τε* have been treated as enclitics. Paragraphs are introduced by numbers in **bold** characters included in square brackets (e.g., [1]). Scriptural and classical citations and proverbs appear in *italicised* characters. Parts of delivered speech are included in Greek quotation marks « »; delivered speech within delivered speech are included within double quotation marks “ ”. The medieval spelling of certain words in the Mss (e.g., *μη δέ*), including joined words used adverbially (e.g., *διατοῦτο*, *ἐπιπλέον*), has been abandoned, in preference for the classical form (e.g., *μηδὲ*, *διὰ τοῦτο*, *ἐπὶ πλέον*). These adaptations have been recorded in the *apparatus criticus*. The mute *iota* has been tacitly introduced, and the double dot (*diplē stigmē*) over *iota* and *ypsilon* used by the scribes with frequency, in order to distinguish these letters in ligatures, has been omitted.

The *apparatus* is divided into two sections:

- (a) *apparatus fontium* with references to sources and parallel passages;
- (b) *apparatus criticus* where all variant readings, emendations, corrections, additions, lacunae, erasures, deletions, marginal notes and signs appearing in the Mss have been recorded. We have adopted a positive *apparatus criticus* to give a clearer picture of all textual variants, errors and palaeographical phenomena.

## Sigla

A	Codex <i>Vaticanus graecus</i> 4027 (XI s.), ff. 243v-257v
D	Codex <i>Athonensis Docheiariou</i> 4 (Lambros 2678) (XI s.), ff. 23v-30v, 204-212v
Δ	Codex <i>Athonensis Docheiariou</i> 5 (Lambros 2679) (XII s.), ff. 49-58, 244-254
L	Codex <i>Athonensis Laura</i> B 86 (Eustratiades 206) (XI s.), ff. 208-213v, 286v-294
P	Codex <i>Parisinus graecus</i> 1486 (XI s.), ff. 61-78
R	Codex <i>Vaticanus Reginensis graecus</i> 56 (XI s.), ff. 124-147
U	Codex <i>Genovensis Urbanus</i> 36 (XI s.), ff. 29v-36v, 177-184v
V	Codex <i>Vindobonensis historicus graecus</i> 11 (ca. AD 1100), ff. 42v-48v, 137-144v

## Abbreviationes

acc.	accentus, -um	<i>ibid.</i>	ibidem	pp.	paginae
add.	addidit, -erunt	illeg.	illegibilis	post cor.	post correctionem
adn.	adnotatio	in marg.	in margine	ras.	rasura, -am
al.	alii, alibi	in marg. inf.	in margine	scil.	scilicet
al. man.	altera manus		inferiore	scr.	scripsit, -erunt
ante cor.	ante correctionem	in marg. sup.	in margine	sign.	signum
<i>appar.</i>	apparatus		superiore	spir.	spiritus, -um
ca.	circa	ind.	indicavit	spur.	spurius, -a
cap.	capitulum	inf.	infra	sq.	et sequens
capp.	capitula	ins.	inseruit		(pagina, linea,
cf.	confer	inv. ord.	inverso ordine		folium)
cnc.	cancellavit	lac.	lacuna	sqq.	sequentes, -ia
cod.	codex	lem.	lemma		(paginae,
codd.	codices	lin.	linea, -am		lineae, folia)
col.	columna	litt.	littera, -ae	sscr.	superscripsit, -tum
coll.	columnae	<i>loc. cit.</i>	loco citato	sup.	supra
del.	delevit	man. alt.	manus altera	suppl.	supplevit
dub.	dubium, -a	man. rec.	manus recentior	titul.	titulus
ed.	edidit, editio	man. post.	manus posterior	transp.	transposuit
edd.	ediderunt,	adn.	adnotatio	v	versum (folium)
eras.	erasit	om.	omissit, -erunt	vid.	vide
f.	folium	<i>op. cit.</i>	opere citato	viz.	videlicet
ff.	folia	p.	pagina		

## Signa typographica

	lineola directa in textu transcribendo finis codicis foliis simulque initium foliis insequentis significatur
( )	uncis lunatis in <i>appar.</i> littera vel litterae per contractionem aut suspensionem in codice omissae significantur
[ ]	uncis quadratis in <i>appar.</i> lacunae includuntur
< >	uncis angulatis suppleta ab editore includuntur

## Sigla Sacrae Scripturae

Act.	Actus Apostolorum	3 Mac.	III Machabeorum liber
Apoc.	Apocalypsis	Mal.	Malachias
1 Cor.	I ad Corinthios Epistula	Marc.	Evangelium secundum Marcum
2 Cor.	II ad Corinthios Epistula	Matth.	Evangelium secundum Matthaeum
Dan.	Daniel	Mich.	Michaias
Deut.	Deuteronomium	Num.	Numeri
Ec.	Ecclesiastes	Os.	Osee
Eccl.	Ecclesiasticus	1 Petr.	I Petri Epistula
Eph.	ad Ephesios Epistula	2 Petr.	II Petri Epistula
Exod.	Exodus	Phil.	ad Philippenses Epistula
Ez.	Ezechiel	Phlm.	ad Philemonem Epistula
Gal.	ad Galatas Epistula	Prov.	Proverbia
Gen.	Genesis	Ps.	Psalmorum liber
Hab.	Habacuc	1 Regn.	I Regnorum liber (I Samuel)
Heb.	ad Hebraeos Epistula.	2 Regn.	II Regnorum lib. (II Samuel)
Iac.	Iacobi Epistula	3 Regn.	III (I) Regnorum liber
Ier.	Ieremias	4 Regn.	IV (II) Regnorum liber
Iob		Rom.	ad Romanos Epistula
Ioh.	Evangelium secundum Iohannem	1 Thes.	I ad Thessalonicenses Epistula
1 Ioh.	I Iohannis Epistula	2 Thes.	II ad Thessalonicenses Epistula
2 Ioh.	II Iohannis Epistula	1 Tim.	I ad Timotheum Epistula
Is.	Isaias	2 Tim.	II ad Timotheum Epistula
Luc.	Evangelium secundum Lucam	Tit.	ad Titum Epistula
1 Mac.	I Machabeorum liber	Zach.	Zacharias
2 Mac.	II Machabeorum liber		

## CHAPTER II

**Editions of the *Passio of St James the Persian* (BHG 773), *Passio of St Plato* (BHG 1551-1552), and *Vita of St Hilarion* (BHG 755)  
by Symeon Metaphrastes**

*Passio of St James the Persian (BHG 773)*

Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ κζ΄  
**Μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδόξου μεγαλομάρτυρος**  
**Ἰακώβου τοῦ Πέρσου**  
 Εὐλόγησον πάτερ

[1] Ἀρκαδίου τὰ Ῥωμαίων διέποντος σκῆπτρα, ᾧ πατὴρ μὲν ἦν Θεοδόσιος ὁ ἐξ Ἰσπανίας, ἀδελφός δὲ Ὀνώριος, Ἰσδιγέρδου δὲ τότε τὴν τῶν Περσῶν ἀρχὴν διΐθύνοντος, οὗ παῖς Οὐαραράτ ὑπῆρχεν, ἐπεὶ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν τῶν Περσῶν 5 ἀρχήν, πολλοὶ τὰ Χριστιανῶν πρεσβεύοντες ἦσαν, οὐκ ἦν ἀνεκτὸν τοῦτο τῷ τῆς ἀσεβείας πατρί, καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄνωθεν πολεμίῳ· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τοῦ λόγου, πάντα λίθον ἐκίνει, σπουδάζων, ἥ πείσειν αὐτοὺς ἀποστήναι τῆς εὐσεβείας, ἥ μυρίαὶς κολάσεσιν ἀπολέσαι πανωλεθρίους. [2]

10 Ἐν τούτοις οὖν καὶ ὁ μέγας Ἰάκωβος ἦν, ὃς ἐξ Ἀσσυρίων μὲν εἶλκε τὸ γένος, ἐν πόλει δὲ Βαλατῷ λεγομένη τὰς οἰκήσεις εἶχε· πλούτῳ μὲν δαψιλέστατος, εὐγενεῖα δὲ τῶν ἄλλων διαφορώτατος, ἀρετῇ καὶ συνέσει τῶν πάντων ἐπισημότατος. Διὰ ταῦτα καὶ τῆς πρώτης ἀπέλαυε παρὰ τῷ 15 βασιλεῖ δόξης καὶ οἰκειότητος, πολλῶν τε ἡξιούτο καὶ μεγάλων τῶν δωρεῶν· Χριστιανὸς δὲ ὢν ἐκ νηπίου, ἅτε καὶ Χριστιανῶν πατέρων τυχῶν, εὐσεβεῖα μᾶλλον ἢ γάλακτι τιθηνούμενος, πρὸς τελειότητα τῆς πίστεως συνανήγετο. Διὸ δὴ καὶ τῆς Περσικῆς ἀρχῆς εἰς Οὐαραράτ, τὸν Ἰσδιγέρδου παῖδα

ΔDLUV

**Titulus** post κζ΄ scr. φύλλα η΄ UV, imago sancti Iacobi et inscriptio Ὁ ἅγιος Ἰάκωβος ὁ Πέρσης est in U : imago sancti est in Δ — καὶ ἐνδόξου μεγαλομάρτυρος et εὐλόγησον πάτερ add. V : καὶ μεγαλομάρτυρος et εὐλόγησον πάτερ addidit U — Μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου μ(ε)γαλομάρτυρος Ἰακώβου τοῦ Πέρσου κύ(ριε) εὐλό(γησον) U — 2 sign. post ὀνώριος, ὀνώριος D — 3 ἰσδιγέρδου ΔDUV : ἰσδιγέρδου L — οὗ DLUV : οὗ Δ — 4 οὐαραράτ V : ἀραράτ ΔDLU — ἐπεὶ bis acc. UDL — κατὰ ταύτην ΔUV : καταταύτην DL — τὴν deest D — 5 τὰ τῶν χριστιανῶν V : τὰ χριστιανῶν ΔDLU — ἦσαν ΔDV : ἦσαν LU — 6 τοῦτο ΔDUV : τοῦτῳ L — 8 πείσειν ΔDUV : πίσειν L — ἀποστήναι LV : ἀπὸ στήναι UDD — 9 ἀπολέσαι ΔD : ἀπώλεσαι LUV — 10 ante ἐν par. indicavit LD — ἰάκωβος ΔDUV : ἰακώβος L — ἐξ ἀσσυρίων ΔL : ἐξ ἀσυρίων U, ἐξασυρίων VD — 11 εἶλκε VD : εἶλκε DLU — βαλατῷ ΔDLU : γαλατῷ V — 12 εὐγενεῖα ΔDUV : εὐγενεία L — 13 διαφορώτατος ΔDV : διὰ φορώτατος U : διὰ φορώτατος L — ante καὶ scr. δὲ L — 14 διὰ ταῦτα ΔUV : διαταῦτα DL — 14-15 παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ UL : παρὰ βασιλεῖ VD : παραβασιλεῖ D — 15 τε corr.: τὲ ΔDLUV — 16 ante χριστιανὸς par. indicavit Δ — ὢν ΔDUV : ὢν L — 19 οὐαραράτ V : οὐ ἀραράτ ΔDLU

20 μεταπεσοῦσης, τὴν αὐτὴν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ οὗτος πρὸς τὸν  
 Ἰάκωβον εὐμένειαν διετήρει, διὰ τιμῆς αὐτὸν ἄγων καὶ  
 σεβαζόμενος. Ἦν οὖν ἐν μέσῳ γενεᾶς σκολιάς καὶ  
 διεστραμμένης ὁ δίκαιος κατοικῶν, καὶ βασιλεὶ ἀδίκῳ καὶ  
 πονηροτάτῳ συζῶν, ὡς περὶ Ἀβραὰμ ἐν Χανααίοις, καὶ οἱ περὶ  
 25 Ἀνανίαν τῷ περὶ Ναβουχοδονόσωρ ποτέ· οὐ μᾶλλον γὰρ ἦν  
 τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ οὗτος βασιλεύων Περσίδος, ἢ καὶ τῶν ἴσων  
 τρόπων καὶ τῆς λατρείας ἐχόμενος. [3] Ἠγάπα τοιγαροῦν ὁ  
 βασιλεὺς τὸν Ἰάκωβον, τὸν πολλῆς ἀγάπης ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄξιον,  
 διὰ τε τὸ περιφανὲς τῆς ἄνωθεν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εὐγενείας  
 30 ὡς περὶ εἴρηται, καὶ διὰ τὸ τῶν ἠθῶν κόσμιόν τε καὶ  
 περιδέξιον· καὶ φιλοδωρότατος τις ἦν, ταῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν  
 χάρισι, περὶ παντός τε αὐτὸν ποιούμενος, καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἐπὶ  
 τῶν ἀγκάλων περιφέρων, καὶ αὐτῆς φάναι τῆς ἐκείνου σκιᾶς  
 ἐκκρεμάμενος, ἵνα μόνον πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὄλον ἐλκύσῃ, καὶ αὐτῇ  
 35 πίστει καὶ δόγμασιν ἔλῃ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ὑπαγάγηται· ὁ δὲ  
 καὶ ὡς μὴ ὄφελον γίνεται, καὶ ἡ ῥαυὶς συνεχῶς φερομένη,  
 τὴν τῆς ἐκείνου πίστεως στερρὰν ἐκοίλανε πέτραν

ΔDLUV

24. Ἀβραὰμ ἐν Χανααίοις] cf. Gen. 12-13 — 24-25 οἱ περὶ Ἀνανίαν-  
 Ναβουχοδονόσωρ ποτέ] cf. Ierem. 35— 34 πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὄλον ἐλκύσῃ] cf. Ioh.  
 12:32

20 μεταπεσοῦσης ΔDUV : μετὰ πεσοῦσης L — τῷ ΔDUV : τῷ L — οὗτος  
 post corr. (ex οὗτως) D — 22 post σεβαζόμενος par. ind. LΔ — σκολιάς VΔΔ :  
 σκολιάς UL — 23 κατοικῶν ΔDV : κατοικῶν U : κατοικῶν post corr. (ex  
 κατοικῶν) L — 24 ἄβραὰμ UV : ἄβραὰμ ΔD : ἀβράαμ L — 25 τῷ ΔDUV :  
 τὸν L — περὶ UV : deest DLΔ — Ναβουχοδονόσωρ UV : Ναβουχοδονόσορ  
 ΔDL — μᾶλλον ΔDUV : μᾶλλον L — ἦν ΔDUV : ἦν L — 27 ante ἠγάπα par.  
 ind. DLΔ — ἠγάπα ΔDLV : ἠγάπα U — 30 εἴρηται post corr. (ex εἴρηται) D  
 — καὶ διὰ τὸ VΔDL : καὶ τὸ U — ἠθῶν ΔDLV : ἠθῶν U — 31 περιδέξιον  
 ΔDUV : περὶ δέξιον L — ἀλλὰ καὶ ΔDL : ἀλλὰ deest UV — φιλοδωρότατος  
 τις ΔDLV : φιλοδωρότατος τις U — 32 παντός τε ΔDV : παντός post corr.  
 (ex παντός) L : παντός τέ U — μόνον οὐκ ἐπὶ LUV : μόνον οὐκεπὶ D :  
 μόνονοῦ Δ : ἐπὶ deest Δ — 33 ἀγκάλων UV : ἀγκάλων ΔDL — σκιᾶς VΔΔ :  
 σκιᾶς UL — 34 ἐκκρεμάμενος UΔDL : ἐκκρεμάμενος V — ἐλκύσῃ ΔUV :  
 ἐλκύσῃ DL — αὐτῇ ΔLUV : αὐτῇ D — 35 ἔλῃ ΔV : ἔλῃ DLU — 36 μὴ ΔDUV  
 : μὴ L — ὄφελον corr. : ὄφελον DLUV : ὄφελον Δ — ἡ ῥαυὶς ΔD : ῥαυὶς UVL



καὶ ἔάλω, φεῦ, ὁ θαυμάσιος ἔάλω τὴν χαλεπὴν ὄντως  
αἰχμαλωσίαν καὶ εἰς ψυχὴν φέρουσιν· καὶ ἠρνήθη Χριστόν·  
40 καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ μερίδος καὶ σχέσεως ἀποστάς, ἀπάτη καὶ  
δαίμοσιν ἐκολλήθη τοῖς τὰ Περσίδος τότε διέπουσιν. [4]  
'Ἄλλὰ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτῳ σκυθρωπάσαντα πρόσωπα, τὸ κατηφές  
ἀποθέμενα, πληρώθητε εὐφροσύνης· οὐδὲ γὰρ παρορᾷ Κύριος  
τοὺς αὐτοῦ, οὓς δηλαδὴ προέγνω τε καὶ προώρισεν· ἀλλὰ  
45 καὶ πεσόντα ἀνίστησι καὶ τυφλωθέντα φωταγωγεῖ, ὅς σοφοὶ  
τυφλοῦς, ὅς ἀνορθοὶ κατερραγμένους. [5] Ἐπεὶ γὰρ τὸ  
πονηρὸν τοῦτο διάγγελμα, τὰς ἀκοὰς πάντων διήει, ὅτι  
Ἰάκωβος τὰ Χριστιανῶν ἐξομοσάμενος, περὶ πλείονος ἔθετο  
θεραπείαν θνητοῦ βασιλέως ἢ Θεοῦ, ἢ μήτηρ εὐθύς ἐκείνου  
50 καὶ ἡ κοινωνὸς τοῦ βίου, τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν μερίδος  
ὑπάρχουσαι, ἰσχυρῶς πληγεῖσαι τῷ ἀδοκίτῳ τῆς ἀκοῆς, ζήλω  
τε τῷ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκκαυθεῖσαι, καὶ ἡ  
μέν, υἱοῦ θάνατον, ἢ δέ, ἀνδρὸς ἀποδυρομένη — πῶς γὰρ  
ἂν αὐταῖς καὶ ἐκρίθη ζῶν, ὁ κατὰ πίστιν ἤδη διαφθαρεῖς; —,

ΔDLUV

45-46 ὅς, σοφοῖ - κατερραγμένους· Ps. 145 (146): 8-9.

38 ἔάλω bis ΔDV : ἔάλω bis LU — ὄντως ΔDUV : ὄντως L — 39 αἰχμαλωσίαν  
ΔDUV : αἰχμαλωσίαν L — 41 ἐκολλήθη ΔDL : ἐκολλήθη V : ἐκκολλήθη U — 42  
ante ἀλλὰ par. ind. VΔ — τούτῳ ΔDUV : τούτῳ L — 43 ante οὐδὲ par. ind. U  
— 44 πρόεγνω τε V : προ ἔγνω τε D : πρόεγνω τε ULΔ — 45 πεσόντα UV:  
πεσόντας ΔLD — τυφλωθέντα UV: τυφλωθέντας ΔDL — σοφοὶ ΔDV : σοφοὶ  
UL — 46 ἐπεὶ bis acc. UDL: par. ind. ante ἐπεὶ LV — 47 τοῦτο διάγγελμα  
ΔDUV : διάγγελμα τοῦτο L — 49 θεραπείαν ΔDV: θεραπείας U: θεραπείαν L  
— 52 περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκκαυθεῖσαι ΔDLU : περὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν αὐτὴν  
ἐκκαυθεῖσαι V — ἐκκαυθεῖσαι ΔDUV : ἐκκαυθήσαι L — 52-53 μέν ... δὲ bis  
acc. UVΔΔL — 53 ἀποδυρομένη corr.: ἀποδυρωμένη VLDΔ: ἀπωδυρομένη U  
— par. ind. ante πῶς U — 54 κατὰ πίστιν ΔDV : καὶ πίστιν U : καταπίστιν  
L

55 ἐπεὶ μὴ εἶχον αὐτῷ γλώσση τὰ δέοντα παραινεῖν, οὐδὲ γὰρ  
 ἦν εἴσω τῶν Βαβυλῶνος ὀρίων, ἀλλ' ἔξω που τῆς πόλεως  
 ἐτύγχανεν ὢν, γράμμασιν ὅσα καὶ γλώττη χρῆσάμεναι, τὴν  
 ἀγαθὴν Ἰακώβου ψυχὴν παραπεισθεῖσαν τοῦ δέοντος  
 ἀνορθοῦσιν. Εἶχε δὲ ὧδέ πως τὰ γεγραμμένα. [6] «Οὐκ ἔδει  
 60 σου τὴν εὐγένειαν τὸ ψεῦδος ἀλλάξασθαι τῆς ἀληθείας, οὐδὲ  
 φθαρτὸν βασιλέα προκρίναι τοῦ ἀθανάτου, δωρεαῖς  
 ἀπατηθέντα καὶ ταῖς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τιμαῖς, ἃ θάπτου μὲν  
 ἀπογίνεσθαι, τὴν δὲ βλάβην οὐχ ὁμοίως πρόσκαιρον ἔχει, ἀλλ'  
 αἰωνίαις τοὺς πεισθέντας παραδίδωσι τιμωρίαις. Εἰ μὴ  
 65 σπεύσας οἷν ἐπανέλθοις πρὸς ἣν κατέλιπες θεοσέβειαν,  
 ἡμᾶς γοῦν ἴσθι ἀποταττομένας σοι, καὶ τῆς κοινωνίας  
 χωριζομένας τῆς σῆς, ποία γὰρ μερὶς πιστῷ μετὰ ἀπίστου;  
 ἢ τίς κοινωνία φωτὶ πρὸς σκότος; Ἄλλ' ἐπάνηθι πρὸς τὴν  
 ἀλήθειαν, καὶ σχολάσας ἐπίγνωθι, ποῦ μὲν ἦσθα πρότερον  
 70 δόξης, ποῖ δὲ νῦν ἀτιμίας κατήλθες, καὶ τίμην ἀπετάξω,  
 τίμην δὲ σεαυτὸν κατηγγύησας; Μνήσθητι καὶ μητρὸς  
 σπλάγχμων, καὶ γυναικὸς ἀρρήκτων δεσμῶν, καὶ τῆς εἰς μίαν

#### ΔDLUV

**60** τὸ ψεῦδος-ἀληθείας] cf. Rom. 1:26 — **67-68** ποία-σκότος] cf. 2 Cor. 6:14-15 — **72-73** εἰς μίαν σαρκα] cf. Matth. 19:5-6 (ex Gen. 2: 24), Eph. 5:32, 1 Cor. 6:17, 7:10.

**55** ἐπεὶ bis acc. U — ἐπεὶ ΔDUV : ἐπὶ L — **56** που ΔDU : ποῦ LV — **57** par. ind. ante γράμμασιν U — **58** παραπεισθεῖσαν V : παρὰ τραπέισαν U : παρατραπέισαν ΔDL — **59** ὧδέ πως ΔDLU : ὧδε πῶς V — **59** ante οὐκ par. ind. Δ — **59-79** οὐκ ... εὐφραينوμένην sign in marg. U — **60** εὐγένειαν ΔDUV : εὐγένειαν L — **61** προκρίναι corr.: προκρίναι ΔDLUV — **63** οὐχ D : οὐχ' ΔLUV — **64** παραδίδωσι ΔDLV : παρὰ δίδωσι U — ante εἰ par. ind. V — **65** ἦν ΔDLV : ἦν U — κατέλιπες ΔDLV : κατέλιπας U — **66** γοῦν Δ : γοῦν DLUV — ἀποταττομένας ΔDLV : ἀποτατομένας et add. τ supra lin. U — **68** ἐπάνηθι U : ἐπάνηθι post corr. (ex ἐπάνηθι) L : ἐπάνηθι V : ἐπανηθι ΔD — **69-70** μὲν ... δὲ bis acc. U — **70** τιμὴ μὲν ἀπετάξω ΔDUV : deest L — **71** par. ind. ante μνήσθητι ΔDLU

σάρκα συνδέσεως, ὧν σὺ σεαυτὸν ἀπέρρηξας, καὶ πρὸ ἡμῶν  
τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ ὄν ἐξηγήσω τοῦτον Χριστὸν  
75 αὐτὸς σε οὐκ ἀπωθεῖται μεταμελόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ χεῖρας  
ἀπλοῖ τὰς διὰ σέ τρωθείσας, καὶ ἀγκάλας ἀνοίγει  
προσερχομένῳ, μὴ ἐπιμείνης καὶ ἔτι τῷ χαλεπῷ πτώματι·  
ἀλλ' ἀνάστηθι καὶ βλέψον, εἰς τὰς τῆς ἀληθείας αὐγὰς·  
μὴ παρόψει μήτε μητρὸς ἰκεσίαν, μήτε γυναικὸς δάκρυα·  
80 δεῖξον δὲ μάλλον τῶν προτέρων ἐπιλαβόμενος, οὐ μητέρα  
μόνην ἐπὶ υἱῷ· ἀλλὰ καὶ νύμφην εὐφραينوμένην». [7] Ταῦτα  
ἐπεὶ τὰ γράμματα Ἰάκωβος ἐθεάσατο, καθάπερ ἐξ ὕπνου  
τινὸς καὶ μέθης ἀνενεγκῶν, καὶ πλήρης ἐννοιῶν γενόμενος  
ἀνανοησάμενός τε οἶον ἀπώλεσε τῆς πίστεως θησαυρόν,  
85 καὶ οἴου φωτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀποστήσας σκοτεῖ περιέπεσε τῆς  
πλάνης βαθεῖ, πολὺς ἦν εἰς μετάνοιαν, καὶ πῦρ αὐτὸν  
κατανύξεως εἰσήει, καὶ δακρύων μάλα θερμῶν ἠφίει πηγὰς,  
ἐναργῆ σύμβολα τῆς τῶν ἤδη πραχθέντων μεταμελείας·  
στεναγμοὶ τε βαρεῖς ἐν πικρίᾳ ψυχῆς ἐκφερόμενοι, ὀλοφυρμοὶ

#### ΔDLUV

**74** ante ἀλλ' par. ind. V — **75** οὐκ ἀπωθεῖται UΔΔ : οὐκαποθεῖται V : οὐκ  
ἀποθεῖται L — μεταμελόμενον ΔDLV : μεταμελώμενον U — ἀλλὰ ΔDUV :  
ἀλλ' L — **77** προσερχομένῳ ΔDUV : προσερχομένῳ L — πτώματι ΔDUV :  
πτώματι L — **79** παρόψει ΔLUV : παρόψη D — **80** μητέρα ΔDLV : μ(ητέ)ρα(ν)  
U — **81** ante ταῦτα par. ind. ΔDLUV — **82** ἐπεὶ bis acc. U — ἰάκωβος ΔDUV  
: ἰάκωβος L — ἐξ ὕπνου ΔDV : ἐξύπνου LU — **83** πλήρης ΔDUV : πλήρις L  
— **85** οἴου VLΔ : οἴου DU — **88** ἐναργῆ ΔDL : ἐναργεῖ V : ἐν ἀργῇ U —  
ἐπιμελείας Δ : ἐπιμ(ε)π(α)μελείας D : μεταμελείας LUV

90 καὶ στερνοτυπίαὶ καὶ οἰμωγαί, *θρήνος καὶ μέλος* τὸ τῆς  
θείας γραφῆς *καὶ οὐαί* διηκούοντο. Τίς ἂν ἐκείνην τὴν  
τραγωδίαν, τίς τὴν σύγχυσιν τῆς ψυχῆς διαγράψοι  
λόγος; Ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐξηγόρευε τὰ ἡμαρτημένα, ἵν' ἄ  
ἀφεθῆ αὐτῷ ἢ τῆς καρδίας ἀσέβεια· ἑαυτοῦ κατήγορος  
95 ἦν ἐν πρωτολογία, ἵνα ἀναφανῆ δίκαιος· *πνεῦμα* καὶ  
*καρδίαν* προσῆγε *συντετριμμένην*, ἵν' ὑπὸ Κυρίου μὴ  
ἐξουδενωθῆ· ἐμιμείτο τῇ μεταμελείᾳ τὸν Μανασσή· ὁ  
Πέτρος ἦν αὐτῷ ὑπόδειγμα πρὸς μετάνοιαν· γραφῶν  
ἱερῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις μελέτη παράμονος ἔννοια τῶν ἐκείσε  
100 δικαστηρίων, ὧν οὕτως ἐναργῆ τὴν μνήμην εἰς τὴν  
αὐτοῦ καρδίαν ἐνέγραψεν, ὡς ἂν ἤδη παρῶν καὶ  
κρινόμενος καὶ τῶν βεβιωμένων τὰς εὐθύνας ὑπέχων.  
[8] Ἐπεὶ δὲ μὴ δυνατὸς ἦν οὕτως ἔχων λαθεῖν — πῶς γὰρ  
τῆς ἀρετῆς φύσιν ἐχούσης ἀνακηρύττειν τὸν μετιόντα  
105 ὡς εὐώδης τι τὸν ἐπιφερόμενον; — τῷ βασιλεῖ παρὰ τῶν  
ἐπίσης ἀσεβούντων καταμηνύεται· ὅς εὐθύς ὥσπερ βέλει  
τῷ λόγῳ πληγείς, μετάπεμπτον ποιεῖται τὸν ἅγιον· καὶ  
αὐτὸς παρῆν θάπτον, ἢ ἐλέχθη τὸ κελευσθῆν ὑπὸ τῶν  
πεμφθέντων συναρπαγείς. Γνοὺς δέ, οὗ χάριν ἢ πρόσκλησις ἦν,

ΔDLUV

**90** θρήνος καὶ μέλος ... καὶ οὐαί] Ez. 2:10 — **94-97** καρδίαν-ἐξουδενωθῆ] cf. Ps. 50 (51):19 — **97** μεταμελεία τὸν Μανασσή] cf. 1 Chr. 33:12 seq. — **98** ὁ Πέτρος-μετάνοιαν] cf. Matth. 26:75, Marc. 14:72, Luc. 22:62.

**90** στερνοτυπίαὶ DLV : στερνοπίαὶ et ssc. τυ Δ : στερνοκτυπίαὶ U — **91** θείας φάναι γραφῆς L : φάναι deest ΔDUV — ante τίς par. ind. Δ — **92** σύγχυσιν ΔDLV : σύγχυσην post corr. U — **94** τῆς ΔDUV : τις L — **93 seqq.** in marg. περιγραφή μετανοούντος γηισίως L — **97** μεταμελεία ΔDUV : μετασθέσει L — *μανασῆ* UVD — *μανασῆν* L : *μανασῆν* Δ — **100** οὕτως DLUV : οὕτως Δ — *ἐναργῆ* ΔLDU : *ἐναργεῖ* V — **103-106** γνομ(ικόν) in marg. L — **103** ἐπεὶ bis acc. DLV : ante ἐπεὶ par. ind. ΔL — ἦν ΔDUV : ἦν L — λαθεῖν UDLΔ : μαθεῖν V — **105** εὐώδης τι ΔLV : εὐώδες τί U : εὐώδης τι D — τὸν DUV : τῶν ΔL — ἐπιφερόμενον DUV : ἐπιφερόμενον L : ἐπιφερομένων Δ — **106** ante ὅς par. ind. Δ — **107** ποιεῖται ΔDLU : ποιεῖτε V — **108** ἐλέχθη ΔDLV : ἐλέγχθη U — **109** γνοὺς ΔDL : γνοὺς UV

110 οὐδὲν πέποιθεν ἀγεννές, οὐδὲ φόβος τις ἐπάταξεν αὐτοῦ  
τὴν καρδίαν, οὐδέ τι σύμβολον δειλίας εἰς τὴν ὄψιν εἶχεν  
ἐνσημανθέν· ἀλλ' ὅλος ἀπτόητος ἦν, ὅλος ἄτρομος, εὐθυμος,  
εὐθαρσής, καθάπερ εἰς ἀγαθῶν διανομᾶς μετακεκλημένος,  
τῷ θαλερῷ τῆς ὄψεως τὴν τῆς καρδίας εὐφροσύνην  
115 ὑποσημαίνων· οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως πράγματος κεκρυμμένου  
σύμβολον ἐναργές, ὡς καρδίας ὄψις καὶ ὀφθαλμὸς ψυχῆς  
εὐθυμούσης, ἢ καὶ ἄλλως παθαινομένης. [9] Ἐπεὶ οὖν  
οὕτως ἔχων παρέστη, ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν σφοδρὸν πόθον  
ἐκείνου εἰς ὄργην ἄκρατον μεταβεβλημένος, ἀφόρητος ἦν,  
120 ἀκάθεκτος, ὅλως τῷ πάθει νενικημένος. Εὐθύς οὖν  
«Ναζωραῖος εἶ» φησὶ, «καὶ οὐ μάγος;» τῷ σάλῳ τῆς καρδίας  
ἐπικοπτόμενος τὴν φωνήν, καὶ σύντομον ὥσπερ καὶ  
κομματικὴν ποιούμενος τὴν ἐρώτησιν, μέγα δὲ παρὰ  
Πέρσαις ὁ μάγος καὶ οὐ τὸ τυχὸν εἰς τιμὴν. Ὁ δὲ  
125 μάρτυς ἐλευθέρᾳ τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ ἀδεεῖ, «Χριστιανὸς» εἶπεν  
«ἐγώ». «Παρὰ τί δὲ» ὁ τύραννος ἔφη, «μάγος ὢν τὸ  
πρότερον, Χριστιανὸν σεαυτὸν καταγγέλλεις;» Καὶ ὅς «Πάσης  
μαγείας» εἶπεν «ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ καὶ δαιμονικῆς  
μαγγανείας καταργηθείσης, πόθεν ἐμὲ προσέχειν  
130 τούτοις ὑπολαμβάνεις;» [10] Ἐντεῦθεν ὁ βασιλεὺς,

ΔDLUV

**110** τις corr.: τίς ΔDLUV — **112** ἀπτόητος ἦν, ὅλος ἄτρομος, εὐθυμος  
ULDA : ὅλος ἄτρομος, deest V — **113** εὐθαρσής, ΔDU : εὐθαρσής LV —  
διανομᾶς μετακεκλημένος VLD: διὰ νομᾶς μετὰ κεκλημένος U : διανομᾶς  
μετακεκλημένος D — **115-117** γνω(μικόν) in marg. DL — ante οὐδὲν par. ind.  
Δ — **115** ὑποσημαίνων ΔDV : ὑπὸ σημαίνων LU — **117** ante ἐπεὶ par. ind.  
Δ — ἐπεὶ bis acc. U — **118** παρέστη scil. Iacobus — **119** ὄργην DLUV :  
deest Δ — **120** ὅλως UL: ὅλος VDA — ΔDUV τῷ πάθει : τὸ πάθη L —  
ante εὐθύς par. ind. Δ — **121** Ναζωραῖος ΔDLU : Ναζωραῖος V — **122**  
ἐπικοπτόμενος ΔDLV : ἐπὶ κοπτόμενος U — **124** ante Ὁ δὲ par. ind.  
ΔDLUV — **125** γλώττη ΔDL: γνώμη UV — **126** παρὰ τί ΔUV : παρατί LD  
— ὁ τύραννος ἔφη ΔDLU : εἶπεν ὁ τύραννος V — **128** δαιμονικῆς ΔDU :  
μοικῆς V : δεμονικῆς L

τούτο μὲν, τῷ τοῦ μάρτυρος εὐπαρρησιάστῳ  
 παροξυνόμενος, τούτο δέ, καὶ τῆς προτέρας πρὸς αὐτὸν  
 φιλίας ὑπομιμνησκόμος, ἐν συνειδήσει τε τῶν ἐκείνου  
 καλῶν ὄν, καὶ ἄλλως ἀμαθίαν σαφῆ λογιζόμενος, ἄνδρα  
 135 τοιοῦτον ζημιωθῆναι, καὶ μὴ τὸν χθὲς καὶ πρότερον  
 ὄλως αὐτῷ κατὰ γνώμην ζῶντα, νῦν παραρρύντα, σοφῆ  
 τῆ μεταχειρίσει πάλιν ἀναλαβεῖν, παντοδαπὸς ἦν καὶ  
 ποικίλος, τούτο μὲν πραότητι καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπαγγελίαις  
 ὑποκλέπτειν πειρώμενος, τούτο δέ καὶ ἀπειλαῖς  
 140 ἐκφοβεῖν. Ἄλλ' ὁ μάρτυς, ὥσπερ ἐπιταχύνων καθ' ἑαυτοῦ  
 τὰς κολάσεις, καὶ μὴ παραπόλλυσθαι τὸν χρόνον εἰς  
 κενὸν βουλόμενος, ἤδη δέ τὰς ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ βασάνους  
 διψῶν, «Μάτην» ἔφη «πονεῖς, αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα πράττειν  
 ἐθέλων, τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις ἀδόμενα· εἰς ἕδωρ  
 145 γράφειν, καὶ λίθον ἔψειν, καὶ θάλατταν σπεῖρειν, καὶ

#### ΔDLUV

**131** μὲν bis acc. U — τῷ VΔ: τὸ UDL — εὐπαρρησιάστῳ ΔDLUV : post corr.  
 (ex ἀπαρρησιάστῳ) L — **133** φιλίας deest D — συνειδήσει ΔDUV : συνιδῆσει  
 L — τε Δ : τὲ UVLD — **134** ἀμαθείαν L — **137** παντοδαπὸς ΔDL :  
 παντοδαπὸς U : παντοδαπῶς V — **138** μὲν bis acc. U — **139** ὑποκλέπτειν  
 ΔDLV : ὑπὸ κλέπτει U — δὲ bis acc. ΔU — **140** ἐκφοβεῖν ΔDUV :  
 ἐκφοβῆν L — ante ἀλλ' par. ind ΔV — καθ' ἑαυτοῦ ΔDLU : αὐτοῦ V: καθ'  
 deest V — **141** παραπόλλυσθαι VΔΔ: παρὰ πόλλυσθαι LU — **142** δὲ ΔDLV :  
 δε U — **143** δὴ ΔDL : δὴ post corr. (ex δῆ) U, deest V — **144** παροι(μίαι) in  
 marg. D — **145** γράφειν ΔDUV : γράφην L — λίθον ἔψειν corr.: λίθον  
 ἔψειν ΔLV : λίθην ἔψειν U : λίθον νέψειν D — καὶ θάλατταν σπεῖρειν  
 deest V

τειχίζειν αἰγιαλόν· ἔν γάρ τι τούτων πρότερον ἀνύσιμον οἴου  
 ποιήσιν, ἢ ἐμέ μεταπίσειν, τοῦ ἐκ μετανοίας μοι πάλιν  
 ἐπιγνωσθέντος καλοῦ. Τοιγαροῦν τέλεον τὴν μεταβολὴν  
 ἀπογνοῦς, χαρίζου τῷ θυμῷ· καὶ ὅτι μὴ πείθομαί σου τῷ  
 150 βουλήματι, κρεουργείσθω τὸ σῶμα». [11] Τοῦτο ἐκείνος ἀκούσας,  
 δεινότητος καὶ δόλων ἐμνήσθη τῶν οἰκείων, καὶ τὸ παράπαν  
 ἡμερος αὐτῷ φαίνεται, οὕτω μᾶλλον θηράσειν οἰόμενος. Τὴν  
 οἶν ἀλωπεκὴν ὑποδύς, ἠπαλύνθη τοὺς λόγους κατὰ τὸν θεῖον  
 φάναι ψαλμόν, ὑπὲρ ἔλαιον καταψῶν αὐτὸν ὡς ἡδιστα· καὶ  
 155 θεραπευτικῶς ὑπερχόμενος, «Φείσαι σαυτοῦ» λέγων «Ἰάκωβε, καὶ  
 τῆς ἐπαιθοῦσής σοι ταύτης ὥρας καὶ τῆς νεότητος οἴκτον  
 λαβών, μὴ θελήσης καὶ σεαυτὸν ἀπολέσαι κακῶς καὶ τῷ  
 γένει σου πικροῦ γενέσθαι βίου καὶ δυστυχοῦς ἀφορμῆ· ἀλλ’  
 ἐνθυμηθεῖς ποῦ ποτε φρενῶν εἶ, τῆς ἡδίστης ζωῆς καὶ τοῦ  
 160 καλοῦ τούτου φωτός, χαλεπὰς ὀδύνας καὶ θάνατον προτιμῶν,  
 καὶ οἴου τέλους ἔτυχον οἱ τὰ αὐτά σοι φρονήσαντες,  
 θέλησον προκρίναι τὰ φανερώς ἀγαθὰ, τῶν

ΔDLUV

153 ἠπαλύνθη τοὺς λόγους] cf. Ps. 54 (55): 22.

146 αἰγιαλόν post corr. (ex αἰγιαλόν) U — ἐν VΔΔ : ἔν U : ἔν L — τι add.  
 sup. lin. U — προτερόν L — 148 ἐκ ΔDLU : deest V — τοιγαροῦν VLDΔ:  
 τοιγαροῦν U — 150 ante τοῦτο par. ind. DL — 153 ἀλωπεκὴν corr.:  
 ἀλωπεκὴν ΔDLUV — 155 ante φείσαι par. ind. VD — 158 δυστυχοῦς VDLΔ  
 : δυστυχοῦς U — 161 οἴου ΔLD : οἴου UV — 162 προκρίναι ΔL : προκρίναι  
 DUV

ἀδήλως ἐλπίζομένων. Ἔσται δέ σοι καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν οὐ φαύλη  
 μερὶς εἰς εὐημερίαν, ἢ τε βασιλικὴ πάντως εὐμένεια καὶ  
 165 τιμὴ παρὰ πολὺ τῆς προτέρας μείζων· ὄρας γὰρ ὡς οὐκ ἐν  
 παρέργῳ καὶ νῦν τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν σε τετάχθαι ποιούμεθα, ὑπὸ  
 τῆς προλαβούσης νικώμενοι πρὸς σέ συνηθείας». Ἐπὶ τούτοις  
 πλοῦτον, τὸν μὲν, ἐδίδου, τὸν δὲ καὶ δώσειν ὑπισχνεῖτο, τῆς  
 τῶν συνηθῶν τε καὶ φίλων ἑταιρείας εἰς μνήμην ἦγε, καὶ  
 170 ἄλλοις τισὶ γοητεύμασιν ἔσπευδε τὴν ἀγίαν θέλξαι ψυχὴν,  
 καὶ τῆς πρὸς Χριστὸν ἀγάπης ἀποστερήσαι. [12] Ἄλλ' ἔ-  
 κείνος τὰ μαλακὰ ταυτὶ ῥήματα, βέλους παντὸς ὀξύτερα,  
 καὶ βασάνου πάσης πικρότερα λογισάμενος, «Τίς ἢ μακρὰ  
 αὕτη ἀδολεσχία» ἔφη «ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ πέτραν πνεῦμα  
 175 διήλθε τὸ οὖς μου; Τί δὲ καὶ βασάνων ἀπειλὰς καὶ ἀγαθῶν  
 ἐπαγγελίας προτείνης, τῷ μηδενὸς αὐτῶν ἠπτωμένῳ; Βάσανοι  
 μὲν γὰρ πῶς ἂν καὶ πτοήσωσι τὸν οὕτως ἔχοντα  
 παρασκευῆς, ὡς ζημίαν τὰς κουφοτέρας αὐτῶν καὶ ὀλίγας, ἢ  
 τὰς πολλὰς καὶ βαρέας εἰς φόβον τίθεσθαι; Πλούτου δὲ ὑποσχέσεις,  
 180 πῶς ἂν καὶ θέλξωσι τὸν τὴν πενίαν φίλην ἔχειν μᾶλλον καὶ

ΔDLUV

**163** ante ἔσται par. ind. ΔDV — **165** παρὰ πολὺ DV : παραπολὸν ΔLU —  
 ante παραπολὸν scr. παραπάσιν L — **166** παρέργῳ VLDΔ: πανέργῳ U — **167**  
 ante ἐπὶ par. ind. V — **168** μὲν ... δὲ bis acc. ULDD — **169** ἑταιρείας ΔU :  
 ἑταιρίας DLV — **170** ἔσπευδε ΔUV : ἐσπευδε D : ἔσπευ | δὲ L — **171** ante  
 ἄλλ' par. ind. ΔDLV — ἀποστερήσαι U : ἀποστήναι V : ἀποστήσαι ΔDL —  
**172** ὀξύτερα ΔDUV : ὀξύτερα L — **174** ἀδολεσχία ἔφη V : ἔφη deest ΔDLU  
 — ἢ ΔU : ἢ DL : ἢ V — **175** μου ΔLUV : deest D — δαί D : δαί ΔL : δέ  
 UV — **176** προτείνης U : προτείνειν V : προτείνεις ΔDL — **177** πτοήσωσι  
 DUUV : ποιήσωσι Δ : ποιήσουσι L — **179** πλούτου ΔDUV : πλούτου L



σύνοικον ἀγαπήσαντα, καὶ μητέρα νομίζοντα ταύτην τοῦ  
 ἀληθινοῦ πλούτου καὶ τῆς ἐκείθεν μακαριότητος; Πῶς δὲ καὶ  
 ἐπαγγελίαι δόξης ἐπάξονται, τὸν ἴσον αὐτὴν δήπου καὶ  
 αἰσχύνην ἀποστρεφόμενον διὰ τὴν ἐλπιζομένην ἡμῖν  
 185 ἀψευδῆ δόξαν, ἧς αὕτη πολεμία σαφῆς καὶ ἀντίθετος;  
 Ἐρρέτω πλοῦτος· ἐρρέτω δόξα· ἐρρέτω πάντα τὰ μὴ  
 μόνιμον καὶ διηνεκῆ τὴν ὑπαρξιν ἔχοντα. [13] Ἐπεὶ δέ μοι  
 καὶ συνήθεις καὶ φίλους εἰς μνήμην ἤγαγες, τίς ἐμοὶ  
 Χριστοῦ προτιμότερος, τοῦ *ωραίου* μὲν *κάλλει* *παρὰ τοὺς*  
 190 *υἱούς τῶν ἀνθρώπων*, δόξη δὲ ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς  
 καθημένου, δύναμιν δὲ συνεξισουμένην τῷ θελήματι  
 περιβεβλημένου, οὕτω δὲ μεγαλοπρεπῶς περὶ τὰς δωρεὰς  
 ἔχοντος, ὥς καὶ μέμφεσθαι τῷ μὴ μέγαρα καὶ οἷα ἐκείνον  
 ἄξιον παρέχειν αἰτουμένῳ; Ἥλιον δὲ καὶ σελήνην, καὶ  
 195 ἄστρα, καὶ πῦρ παρὰ Θεοῦ δεδημιουργῆσθαι πιστεύομεν,  
 καθάπερ δὴ καὶ τᾶλλα στοιχεῖα, καὶ τὴν αἰσθητὴν ἅπασαν  
 κτίσιν· Θεὸν δέ, ἧ τέκνον Θεοῦ λέγειν, τί τούτων καθ' ἡ  
 ἡμᾶς, ἧ φρονεῖν, ἧ τὴν προσήκουσαν Θεῷ προσκύνησιν αὐτοῖς

ΔDLUV

189-190 *ωραίου-ἀνθρώπων*] Ps. 44:3

183 ἐπαγγελίαι ΔDLU : αἰπαγγελίαι V — ἴσον ΔDU : ἴσον L : ἴσον V —  
 184 ἀποστρεφόμενον ΔDUV : ἀπὸ στρεφόμενον L — 185 σαφῆς (post corr.  
 ex σαφῆς) D — 186 ante ἐρρέτω par. ind Δ: ἐρρέτω ter VLDD : αἰρέτω ter U  
 — 187 ἐπεὶ bis acc. et par. indic. UL — 188 συνήθεις ΔDLV : συνήθους U  
 — 189 μὲν bis acc. U — μὲν ἐν ΔD : ἐν deest LUV — 190 ὑπεράνω corr.:  
 ὑπὲρ ἄνω ΔDUV : ὑπὲρ ἄνω L — 191 συνεξισουμένην DLUV : ἐξισουμένην  
 Δ — θελήματι ΔDUV : θελίματι L — 192 περιβεβλημένου VLDD : περὶ  
 βεβλημένου U — δωρεὰς ΔDLV : δωρεάς U — 193 μέμφεσθαι ΔDLV :  
 μέμφθεσθαι U — οἷα ΔDLV : οἷα U — 194 σελήνην ΔUV : σελίνην DL —  
 195 Θεοῦ μὲν ΔDLV : μὲν deest U — δεδημιουργῆσθαι U: δεδημιουργεῖσθαι  
 ΔDLV — 196 τᾶλλα corr.: τᾶλλα UV : τ' ἄλλα ΔDL — 198 ἡμᾶς ΔDL :  
 ἡμᾶς UV — 198-199 προσκύνησιν αὐτοῖς νέμειν ΔDU : πρὸς κύνησιν αὐτοῖς  
 νέμειν L : προσκύνησιν νέμειν V : αὐτοῖς deest V

νέμειν; Πολλοῦ δέω· κἄν μυρίους ἐξῆν θανάτους ἀποθανεῖν.  
 200 Νῦν δὲ εἷς μοι ὀφείλεται παρ' ὑμῖν, ὅπερ δὴ καὶ παρὰ τῆς  
 φύσεως ἀνάγκη πάσα παθεῖν. Οἷα δὴ καὶ σύ βασιλεῦ, μικρὸν  
 ὕστερον· εἴθε δὲ τὸν πρόσκαιρον τουτοῦ μόνον, καὶ μὴ σὺν  
 αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν εἰς αἰῶνας παρεκτεινόμενον, καθάπερ ἄρα  
 καὶ τῷ πρὸ σοῦ γέγονεν». [14] Ἀπίρηκε πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ  
 205 τύραννος· καὶ ἀπορῶν πειθοῦς, πρὸς τὴν βίαν ἐτράπετο.  
 Καί τινος αὐτῷ συμβουλευσαντος, οὗ εἰς τὴν καρδίαν  
 αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐλάλησεν ὁ τῆς κακίας σπορεύς, βάσανον  
 ἀποφαίνεται καινὴν τινα καὶ ἀπάνθρωπον, ἱκανὴν τε οὔσαν  
 καὶ τοῦ ἀκούσαντος ἢ καὶ θεασαμένου μόνον κατεργά-  
 210 σασθαι τὴν ψυχὴν, τῆς Ἰακώβου δὲ μόνης γενναιότητος  
 ἠττωμένην, τὴν τοῦ ὅλου σώματος εἰς μέλη τε καὶ μέρη  
 κατατομήν.[15] Τῆς οὖν ἀποφάσεως τοιαύτης ἐξενεχθείσης,  
 ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας μάρτυς εὐθύς, ὠθισμοῖς ἅμα καὶ  
 προπηλακισμοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς ἀγωνίας ἦγετο στάδιον. Καὶ αὐτὸς  
 215 μὲν ὡς εἶχε παρήν· ἀπὴν δὲ οὐδέν, ὃ τὸν καινὸν ἀγῶνα τούτου

#### ΔDLUV

**199** ἐξῆν ΔDUV : ἐξῆ L — **200** ὀφείλεται ΔUV : ὀφείλεται DL — ὑμῖν U :  
 ὑμῶν ΔDLV — **201** ἀνάγκη ΔDUV : ἀνάγκει L — σύ UV : σοι ΔDL — **204**  
 τῷ DLUV : deest Δ — ante ἀπίρηκε par. ind. ΔDL — **207** ἐκεῖνος ΔDLU :  
 deest V — **208** καινὴν ΔLUV : κεινή D — οὔσαν ΔV : οὔσαν DLU — **209**  
 θεασαμένου ΔDUV : θεασαμένου L — **211** μέρη ΔDLU : μέρει V — **212**  
 κατατομήν· post corr.. (ex κατατομήν) D

συμπληροῦν ἔμελλεν· αὐτός τε γάρ, ὁ καὶ προεδρεύειν τότε  
 λαχών, ὃς καὶ οἰκείως εἶχε τῷ Περσῶν βασιλεῖ, πρῶτος  
 ἐκείσε παρῆν, οἷ τε συνεδριάζειν αὐτῷ μέλλοντες, καὶ ὅσον  
 ἐκείνων θεραπευτικὸν πλῆθος, ἔσμός τε δημίων πολὺς· τῶν  
 220 μὲν ἐκπλήττειν μελλόντων ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς, τῶν δέ, τὰς  
 ἐκτομὰς ἐνεργεῖν· ἄλλο τε πλῆθος ἀριθμοῦ κρεῖττον κατὰ  
 θέαν τῶν πραχθησομένων συνηθροισμένοι. Οὐδὲ αὐτήν,  
 πάντως μὴ παρεῖναι ὑπῆν, τὴν τῶν ἀερίων πνευμάτων  
 πληθύν, τοῦτο μὲν, ἀνθρώπων αἵμασιν ἡδομένων, τοῦτο δέ,  
 225 καὶ τοῖς μάρτυσιν τῆς νίκης φθονούντων, καὶ πολλὴν ὄσιν  
 ὑπὲρ τούτου τὴν σπουδὴν κατατιθεμένων· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγαθῶν  
 ἀγγέλων ἐφισταμένων καὶ προθυμίας ἐμπιπλόντων ἀοράτως  
 τὸν μάρτυρα, ὡς πεπληρῶσθαι τὸ τοῦ Ἀποστόλου, τὸ καὶ  
 αὐτὸν *θέατρον γενέσθαι, καὶ ἀγγέλοις καὶ ἀνθρώποις*. Ἐπὶ  
 230 τούτοις ἄνωθεν καὶ ὁ μέγας ἀγωνοθέτης παρῆν, στεφανώσων  
 τὸν ἀθλητὴν, καὶ τῆς ὁμολογίας ἀποδεξόμενος. [16] Τοιούτου δὴ  
 μεγάλου τοῦ θεάτρου συγκροτηθέντος, ὁ θαυμαστός ἐκείνος  
 καὶ μεγαλόφρων ἀνὴρ, ἤδη τοὺς δημίους ὀρών πικρὸν

ΔDLUV

229 θέατρον - ἀνθρώποις] 1 Cor. 4:9-10.

**216** ἔμελλεν ΔDLV : ἔμελλε U — αὐτός τε ΔDV : αὐτὸς τε ante corr. U :  
 αὐτὸς τὲ L — **217** εἶχε ΔUV: εἶχεν DL — **219** θεραπευτικὸν ΔDLU :  
 θεραπευτικῶν V — ἔσμός post corr. (ex ἔσμος) L : ἔσμός Δ : ἔσμος DUV —  
 post πολὺς spatium vacuum (rasura?) ca. 5 litt. U — **220** μὲν ... δέ bis acc.  
 ΔDLUV — **222** ante οὐδὲ par. ind. Δ — οὐδὲ ΔDLV : οὐδε U — **223**  
 παρεῖναι ΔDLV : παρῆναι U — **224** μὲν... δέ bis acc. ΔDLU — **226**  
 κατατιθεμένων ΔDV : κατὰ τιθεμένων UL — ante ἀλλὰ par. ind. ΔDL — **228**  
 καὶ add. sup. lin. D — **229** ἀγγελοῖς| καὶ ἀνθρώποις post corr. (ex ἀν|θρώποις  
 et al. man. add. |γγελοῖς καὶ ἀν) L — **231** ἀποδεξόμενος VΔΔ: ἀπὸ δεξόμενος  
 LU — ante τοιούτου par. ind. LΔ — **233** ὀρών ΔDUV : ὀρόν L

βλέποντας, καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν κατατομὴν ὄργανα  
 235 παραθήγοντας, αὐτὸν δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν παλαμναίων ἐκείνων  
 χειρῶν ὅσον οὐπω ἀρπαγησόμενον, καὶ εἰς μέρη καὶ μέλη  
 θηριωδῶς κατατμηθησόμενον, τοιούτων ἐλπίδων καὶ φόβων  
 ἐπηρητημένων, καὶ τιμωρίας καινοφανοῦς τοιαύτης  
 ἐλπίζομένης, ἦν κἂν ἄλλον πάσχοντα ὄραν ἔμελλεν ἀγαθὴ  
 240 ψυχὴ καὶ φιλόανθρωπος ἰλιγγίασεν, εἰς ἔννοιαν λαβοῦσα τὸ  
 πάθος καὶ κατεκλάσθη τῇ διανοίᾳ, τὴν πικρὰν ἐκείνην  
 κατατομὴν ὑπογράψασα. Ἐκεῖνος, οὐδὲν οὐδ' ὅλως  
 σκυθρωπόν, οὐδὲ ταπεινόν, οὐδ' ἀνάξιον, ἢ εἶπεν, ἢ  
 πέπονθεν, ἢ τὸ παράπαν ἔδειξεν τῆς ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ  
 245 μαρτυρίας. Ἄλλ' ὥσπερ κενὰς φέρων σάρκας, καὶ  
 ἀναισθήτους κακῶν, ἐπὶ καινῇ τοιαύτῃ βασάνῳ ἴστατο χάριεν καὶ  
 ἡδὺ βλέπων, μικροῦ καὶ χάριτας τοῖς παραληψομένοις αὐτὸν  
 δημίους ὁμολογῶν· ὥστε καὶ πρὸς οἶκτον τινὰς τῶν γυφίμων  
 ἐλθόντας, φιλίας τε τῆς προλαβούσης ἀναμνήσκειν, καὶ τὴν πικρίαν  
 250 αὐτῷ τῆς τιμωρίας διασημαίνειν, καὶ οὕτως ὑφέικαι τῆς ἐυστάσεως  
 ἀξιοῖν, ὥσπερ δὲ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐκεῖνος τῶν τοιούτων καμπτόμενος ἦν·

#### ΔDLUV

**234** καὶ ΔDLU : deest V — κατατομὴν ΔDLV : κατὰ τομὴν U — ὄργανα UV ὄργανα ΔDL — **235** παλαμναίων ΔUV : παλαιμναίων D : παλαμναίων L — **236** ὅσον ΔLV : ὅσον ante corr. U — ὅσον al. man. in marg. D — ἀρπαγησόμενον ΔL : ἀρπαγησόμενον D : ἀρπαγησόμενον UV — μέρη ΔDLU : μέρει V — **237** θηριωδῶς ΔDLU : θηριοδῶς V — κατατμηθησόμενον ΔDLV : κατὰ τμηθησόμενον U — **239** κἂν V : κἂν U : κἂν ΔDL — ὄραν ΔDUV : deest L — **239-40** ἀγαθὴ ψυχὴ ΔD : ἀγαθὴ ψυχὴ LUV — **241** διανοίαι D : διανοία ΔLUV — **242** κατατομὴν ὑπογράψασα ΔV : κατὰ τομὴν ὑπὸ γράψασα U : κατατομὴν ὑπὸ γράψασα L : κατὰ τομὴν ὑπογράψασα D — **244** πέπον[... ]θεν V — **245** κενὰς U : καινὰς ΔDV : καινὰς L — **246** ἀναισθήτους ΔDUV : ἀνεσθήτους L — ἴστατο UV : ἴστατο ΔDL — **247** χάριτας VLΔΔ : χάριτος U — **249** προλαβούσης ΔDV : προλαβούσης L : πρὸ λαβούσης U — ἀναμνήσκειν ΔLV : ἀναμνήσκειν D : ἀναμνήσκειν U — **250** διασημαίνειν ΔDLV : διὰ σημαίνειν U — **251** ὥσπερ V : ὡς ΔLU : ὡς δὲ Δ

ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμέμφετο μάλλον τὸν ἔλεον καὶ ἀθλίους αὐτοὺς ἔκρινε  
 καὶ ἐκάλει. Τὰ τῆς κατατομῆς λοιπὸν ἐνηργεῖτο, πρότερον τοῦ  
 ἀγίου βραχύν τινα χρόνον, εἰς προσευχὴν αἰτησαμένου, καὶ  
 255 δεηθέντος Θεοῦ, ἐνισχύσαι τε αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸν προκείμενον  
 ἀγῶνα, καὶ κοινωνὸν τῶν διὰ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ τὰ λυπηρὰ  
 πεποιθότων ἀναδείξαι. Ἄλλὰ καὶ πολλῶν τῶν τῆς ἡμετέρας  
 πίστεως τῆς ἀποφάσεως ταύτης ἀκηκοότων, πολλὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ  
 τὴν δέησιν *ἐν ψυχῇ συντετριμμένη καὶ πνεύματι ταπεινώσεως*  
 260 ποιησαμένων πρὸς Κύριον. [17] Ἦν οὖν ἰδεῖν τότε φύσει  
 μαχόμενον λογισμὸν καὶ πόθον θεῖον, σαρκὸς ὀδύνας  
 καταπαλαίοντα. Πρῶτα μὲν οὖν ἐτέμνοντο δάκτυλοι, χειρῶν  
 καὶ ποδῶν ἐξαρθρούμενοι, ἐφ' οἷς οἶα τις ἄμπελος  
 κειρομένη ὁ ἀθλητῆς διακείμενος, ἀνθηρὸν εἶχε τὸ  
 265 πρόσωπον καὶ φαιδρὸν. Διὸ δὴ καὶ εὐχόμενος, « Ἐπίσκεψαι τήν

ΔDLUV

**260** ἐν ψυχῇ-ταπεινώσεως] Dan. (Th.) 3:39 — **269-270** ἐπίσκεψαι-δεξιὰ σου]  
 Ps. 79 (80):15-16.

**252** κατατομῆς ΔDV : κατὰ τομῆς U : κατὰ τὸ μῆς L — **255** ἐνισχύσαι  
 τε corr. : ἐν ἰσχύσαί τε UV : ἐν ἰσχύσαί τε ΔDL — **256** διὰ post corr. (ex  
 διά) L — ὄνομα ΔDUV : ὄνομα L — λυπηρὰ ΔDLV : λυπηρὰ U — **257**  
 ἀναδείξαι ΔDLV : ἀναδείξαι U — **259** δέησιν ΔDLV : δέη σῶσειν U —  
**262** καταπαλαίοντα ΔDV : κατὰ παλαίοντα LU — **262** ante πρῶτα par. ind.  
 DL — **264** ἀθλητῆς post corr. (ex ἀθλητῆς) L — **265** φαιδρὸν post corr. (ex  
 φαιδρὸν) D

ἄμπελον ταύτην» εἶπεν «ἦν ἐφύτευσεν ἡ δεξιὰ σου· καὶ τῷ  
 σῶ ἐλέει κατάρτησον, ἵνα τοῖς ἐκτμηθεῖσι τούτοις δακτύλοις  
 μου, ὡς ἐν ψαλτηρίῳ δεκαχόρδῳ σοι ψαλῶ Χριστέ  
 μονογενὲς τοῦ Θεοῦ παῖ. Εὐχαριστῶ σοι, ὅτι με κατηξιώσας  
 270 τῆς μακαρίας ταύτης σφαγῆς, διὰ τὸ σὸν ὄνομα τὸ  
 πανάγιον, τὸ ἐπικληθὲν ἐν ἐμοί». [18] Ἄλλὰ πάλιν οἱ τὰ  
 πάντα τολμηταὶ καὶ ἀναιδεῖς, ἢ μάλλον εἰπεῖν παχεῖς καὶ  
 ἠλίθιοι, ἀνθ' ὧν ἔμελλον ἐκπλήττεσθαι τὸν ἅγιον τῆς  
 ὑπομονῆς· καὶ μηδὲ ἀθεεὶ τοῦτο νομίζειν γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ  
 275 τινα εἶναι δύναμιν θειοτέραν, ἣ καὶ ἀφανῶς ἐνισχύει, καὶ  
 τὴν θαυμασίαν ταύτην ἐνίησιν αὐτῷ καρτερίαν. Οἱ δὲ καὶ  
 κηδόμενοι, καὶ συμβουλεύειν ὥσπερ νομίζοντες τὰ σωτήρια,  
 πρὸς μετάνοιαν τῶν δεδογμένων αὐτὸν καὶ ἄρησιν  
 ἐξεκαλοῦντο, ἰατροὺς λέγοντες εἶναι παρ' αὐτοῖς, οἱ τὴν  
 280 θεραπείαν τῶν ἤδη κακωθέντων μελῶν, καὶ ταχυτέραν  
 ἐλπίδος αὐτῷ παρέξουσιν. «Ἄλλως τε» δέ φησι «καὶ χρυσὸς σοι

ΔDLUV

268 ἐν ψαλτηρίῳ ψάλλω] Ps. 143 (144): 9.

266 εἶπεν ΔDUV : deest L — ἦν ΔUV : ἦν DL — 267 κατάρτησον V :  
 κατάρτισον ΔDLU — 268 ψαλῶ corr. : ψαλλῶ U : ψάλλω ΔDLV — 269  
 κατηξίωσας ΔUV : κατεξίωσας DL — 270 ὄνομα ΔDUV : ὄνομα L — 273  
 ἠλίθιοι ΔLV : ἠλίθιοι DU — 274 μηδὲ corr. : μὴ δὲ ΔDUV : μὴ δε L —  
 274-5 ἀλλὰ τινα ΔDLU : ἀλλὰ τινὰ V — 275 ἢ D : ἢ VULΔ — ἐνισχύει  
 ΔDLV : ἐν ἰσχύει U — 276 ante οἱ par. ind Δ — δὲ bis acc. DLV — 277  
 κηδόμενοι ΔDUV : κιδόμενοι L — συμβουλεύειν ΔDLU : συμβουλεύοντες V

πολὺς καὶ πλοῦτος τὸ ὑστέρημα τούτων ἀναπληρώσει, κἄν  
 χρήμασι περιττεύων ἦς, οὐδεμίαν αὐτῶν αἴσθησιν ἔξεις», ὡς  
 εἶχον αὐτοὶ κρίσεως, οἱ γῆ καὶ τοῖς γήινοισ προσηλωμένοι,  
 285 καὶ αὐτῷ τὰ λυσιτελή δῆθεν συμβουλεύοντες. «Τί δαί, οὐχί  
 καὶ παρὰ Πέρσαις πολλοὶ» ἔλεγον, «οἱ μὲν τὰς χεῖρας εἰσὶν  
 αὐτοῖς βραχίοσι καθάπαξ ἐκκεκομμένοι, οἱ δὲ καὶ πηρωθείσας  
 αὐτὰς νόσω, ἢ καὶ ἑτέρως ἔχοντες, οἷς ὀλίγη φροντίς ἢ  
 τοιαύτη πῆρωσις, εἰ μόνον μὴ ἐνδεῶς ἔχουσι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων,  
 290 οἷς δὲ καὶ πλουτεῖν ὑπάρχει, καθάπερ σύ, καὶ περιρρεῖσθαι  
 τοῖς χρήμασιν, ἐν λήθῃ ταῦτα καὶ περὶ οὐδενὸς νομίζονται;».

[19] Ἄλλὰ κενὴν ἔψαλλον οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῷ ἀθλητῇ προσδιαλε-  
 γόμενοι, ὅλην ἐκείνου τὴν διάνοιαν συντείναντος πρὸς Θεόν,  
 καὶ τοῖς ὀδυνηροῖς ὡσπερ ἐντρυφῶντος καὶ ἡδομένου. Ὅθεν καὶ  
 295 «Οὐκ ἄξια τὰ παθήματα» ἔλεγε «τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ, πρὸς τὴν  
 μέλλουσαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι δόξαν τοῖς ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ πάσχουσι»  
 καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καρτερίαν μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῇ καρτερίᾳ προστιθείς,

#### ΔDLUV

**283** περιττεύων ΔDU : περιτεύων LV — ἦς ΔV : ἦς DL : εἶς U —  
 οὐδεμίαν ΔLV: οὐδὲ μίαν DU — **284** post κρίσεως scr. ὑπὸ τιθέντες DL et  
 ὑποτιθέντες Δ — **286-7** μὲν ... δὲ bis acc. UVDLΔ — **287** ἐκκεκομμένοι  
 ΔUV: ἐκκεκομμένοι LD — **287** πηρωθείσας ΔDL : πειρωθείσας UV — **289**  
 ἐπιτηδείων ΔDLV : ἐπὶ τηδείων U — **290** καὶ DLUV : deest Δ — σύ U : σοί·  
 D : σοι ΔLV — **292** κενὴν ΔDLU : καινὴν V — **293** συντείναντος UV:  
 συντείνοντος DLΔ — **294** καὶ <sup>3</sup> DUV deest LD — **295** ἔλεγε scr. post καιροῦ  
 L — **296** ἀποκαλυφθῆναι δόξαν ΔDUV : δόξαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι L —  
 πάσχουσι ΔD : πάσχουσιν LUV — **297** διὰ ταῦτα ΔDLU : διαταῦτα V

καὶ θάρσος ἐπὶ θάρσει, «Καὶ τ' ἄλλα» ἔφη «τοῦ σώματος ὑμῖν  
 300 προτίθημι μέλη· τοσοῦτον ἀπέχω τοῦ λυσιτελεῖν δοκεῖν εἶναι  
 μοῦ Χριστοῦ θάνατον». [20] Τούτοις οἱ ὡμοὶ ἐκεῖνοι τοῖς  
 λόγοις πληγέντες, ἰταμώτεροι κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐχώρουν· καὶ  
 τὰς παλάμας εὐθὺς τῶν χειρῶν, ἔπειτα τοὺς τῶν ποδῶν  
 305 ταρσοὺς, εἶτα πῆχεις, εἶτα δὲ καὶ βραχίονας ἀνηλεῶς  
 κατέτεμνον, ὃ καὶ πρὸς δένδρον ἄψυχόν τις ποιῶν,  
 ἠλέησεν ἂν ἡμερός τε καὶ ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' οὐκ  
 ἐκεῖνοι· παραπλησίως γὰρ αὐτοὶ τε ἐν τῷ δρᾶν, καὶ ἐν τῷ  
 φέρειν ὁ μάρτυς, νόμους φύσεως ὑπερέβαινον· διὸ καὶ ἐφ'  
 310 ἐκάστῳ τῶν τεμνομένων μέλει, μέλος οἰκείου εἶδεν ὁ  
 ἀθλητής, τὸ εὐθυμεῖν ἐντεῦθεν τοῖς ὀρώσι πιστούμενος·  
 φησὶ γὰρ ὁμώνυμος μὲν αὐτῷ, θεάδελφος δέ, *Εὐθυμεῖ τις  
 ἐν ὑμῖν, ψαλλέτω*. [21] Καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ποτὲ μὲν ἐν τῇ  
 315 καμίνῳ ταύτῃ τῶν πειρασμῶν ἔλεγεν, « Ὡς οἱ τὴν  
 κάμινον πάλαι τῇ σῆι δυνάμει καταπατήσαντες, ὑμῶν  
 καὶ δοξάζω σε Κύριε· καὶ ἐν τῷ χορῷ τῶν ἁγίων σου

ΔDLUV

**311-312** Εὐθυμεῖ-ψαλλέτω] Iac. 5:13.

**298** τ' ἄλλα ΔL : τᾶλλα DUV — **299** προστίθημι Δ : προστίθημι DLUV  
 — τοσοῦτον ΔDV : τὸ σοῦτον LU — **301** ante τούτοις par. ind. LUV —  
 ἐκεῖνοι ΔDLV : ἐκεῖνοι U — **302** κατ' αὐτοῦ addidit in margine (altera  
 manus?) L — **303** ἔπειτα ΔUV : ἔπιτα LD — **305** δένδρον ΔLUV : δένδρων  
 D — post ποιῶν scr. ὠραῖον οὔτος ἰδεῖν ΔDLV — **307** παραπλησίως  
 ΔDUV : παρὰ πλησίως L — ἐν VLDΔ : ἐν deest U — **309** εἶδεν corr.: ἦδεν  
 ΔDLUV — **311** ὁμώνυμος ΔDLU : ὁ ὁμώνυμος V — μὲν bis acc. U — δὲ L  
 post corr. (ex δέ) — ante εὐθυμεῖ par. ind. Δ — τις corr.: τίς ΔDLUV —  
**312** διὰ ταῦτα ΔDUV : διαταῦτα L — μὲν bis acc. U — **314**  
 καταπατήσαντες ΔDLV : κατὰ πατήσαντες U



μαρτύρων, ψαλῶ τῷ ὀνόματί σου Ὑψιστε», ποτὲ δὲ καθάπερ ἐπιθαρρύνων ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἀνακτώμενος ὁ γενναῖος, «*Ἴνα τί περίλυπος εἶ, ψυχὴ μου, καὶ ἴνα τί συνταράσσεις με; Ἐλπίσον ἐπὶ τὸν Θεόν, ὅτι ἐξομολογήσομαι αὐτῷ· σωτήριον τοῦ*  
320 *προσώπου μου καὶ ὁ Θεός μου*». Καὶ νῦν μὲν ἐπιστρεφόμενος πρὸς τοὺς τέμνοντας, «Ἴστε τὸν ἄκμωνα» ἔλεγεν, «ὅπως φέρη τυπτόμενος· οὕτως κάμῃ οἴεσθε πρὸς τὰς παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπαγομένας μοι διωκείσθαι βασάνους, οὐδὲν αὐτῶν αἰσθανόμενον· ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀλλὰ τοῦτον δὴ μου τὸν παλαιὸν οἶκον  
325 *καταλύσατε, οὕτω γάρ μοι ἐγκαιμισθήσεται μείζων τε καὶ φαιδρότερος*». Νῦν δὲ πρὸς τὸν ὑπὲρ οὗ ταῦτα ἔπασχεν ἀποβλέψας, «*Κρίνον μοι*» ἀνέκραζεν «*ὁ Θεός· καὶ δίκασον τὴν δίκην μου ἐξ ἔθνους οὐχ ὀσίου*· ἴδε γὰρ οἶα πάσχω διὰ σὲ παρ' αὐτῶν». Εἶτα καθάπερ τινος αἰσθόμενος παρακλήσεως, παρὰ  
330 *τοῦ ταχὺ φθάνοντος εἰς βοήθειαν τῶν ἐπικαλούμενων αὐτὸν καὶ φοβούμενων, «Ἀγαλλιάσθω» ἔλεγεν «ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐπὶ τῷ Κυρίῳ, ὅτι ἐπ' αὐτῷ πέποιθε· καὶ ἐν τῇ σκιᾷ τῶν πτερόγων αὐτοῦ ἐλπιάω.*

#### ΔDLUV

**317-320** ἴνα τί-συνταράσσης με] Ps. 41 (42): 6, 12; 42,5 — **327-328** Κρίνον-ὀσίου] Ps. 42 (43):1 — **331** Ἀγαλλιάσθω-Κυρίῳ] Is. 61:10 — **332** ἐν τῇ σκιᾷ-ἐλπιάω] Ps. 56 (57):2

**316** ψαλῶ Δ : ψάλλω V : ψαλλῶ DLU — **317** ἐπιθαρρύνων ΔDLV : ἐπὶ θαρρύνων U — ante ἴνα par. indic. ΔU — ἴνα ΔDLU : deest V — **318** post εἶ ser. ἡ Δ — συνταράσσεις ΔDLV : συνταράσσης U — **319** αὐτῷ D — **320** ἐξομολογήσομαι ΔDLV: ἐξομολογήσωμαι U — μὲν bis acc. U — ἴστε UV: ἴστε ΔDL — φέρη U: φέρει ΔDLV — **322** οἴεσθε ΔDUV : οἴεσθαι L — **324** ante ὑμεῖς par. indic. Δ — ἀλλὰ ΔDLV : ἀλλά U — **326** ante νῦν par. indic. ΔU — **327** ἀποβλέψας ΔDLV: ἀπὸ βλέψας U — κρίνον μοι ΔDV : κρίνον μοι L : κρίνον μου U — **328** ἔθνους ΔDLV : ἔθους U — **329** ante εἶτα par. indic. Δ — post αἰσθόμενος ras. 10 litt. (dittoqr. deinde cnc.) U — αἰσθόμενος ΔDUV : αἰσθανόμενος L — παρακλήσεως ΔDLV: παρὰ κλήσεως U — **330-331** τῶν ἐπικαλούμενων αὐτὸν καὶ φοβούμενων Δ : τῶν φοβούμενων αὐτὸν DLUV — **330** αὐτὸν post corr. (ex αὐτόν) L — **331** ψυχὴ VDLΔ: ψυχὴ U — **332** πέποιθε ΔDL : πέποιθεν UV

[22] Ἄλλὰ τοῦ μάρτυρος οὕτω τὰς ἐπικαίρους εὐχὰς ἀποδιδόντος Θεῷ, καὶ ὡς ἀπειθές τι φάρμακον ταῖς τομαῖς  
 335 ἐπιπάττοντος, ἐκεῖνοι πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ ὠμότερον ἠρεθίζοντο, καὶ σπουδῇ ἔργου εἶχοντο τῇ τῶν φθασάντων τε μελῶν ἀφαιρέσει· μηροῦς ἔτι καὶ κνήμας, ἀγκῶνάς τε καὶ τᾶλλα τοῦ σώματος μέρη καὶ μόρια, ἄνθρωποι, φεῦ, ἀνθρώπου ἀνηλεῶς διασπαράττοντές τε καὶ κατατέμνοντες· ἐπὶ  
 340 δακτύλῳ γὰρ ὁ προσεχῆς ἐτέμνετο δάκτυλος· χεῖρ τε ἐπὶ καρπῷ· καὶ ποῦς ἐπὶ ταρσῷ· καὶ πῆχυς ἐπὶ βραχίονι· ἐπ' ἀστραγάλῳ τε σκέλος· καὶ ἐπὶ κνήμῃ μηρός· ἔξαρθρούμενα πάντα, τῇ τῆς μαχαίρας τομῇ, καὶ τοῖς ὡς ἔτυχεν ἔλκυσμοῖς· καὶ ταῖς πικραῖς ἀντισπάσεσι, τῇ παρὰ φύσιν τε  
 345 διαιρέσει, τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἐκκοπτόμενα σχέσεως. Ἄρ' οὐχὶ καὶ πρὸς τὴν μνήμην τῶν πεπραγμένων ἰλιγγιάσατε, καὶ πάθος εἰσέδου τὰς ὑμετέρας ψυχάς; [23] Ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνος καὶ πάσχων ἔφερε· καὶ οὐχ ἀπλῶς ἔφερεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἠγάλλετο· τοιοῦτον ἐστὶν ἔρως Θεοῦ, ψυχῆς εὐγενοῦς δραξάμενος  
 350 ὥστε καὶ φύσεως αὐτῆς δείκνυσθαι κρείττω, καὶ ἀλγηδόνων

#### ΔDLUV

**333** ante ἀλλὰ par. indic. ΔU — **335** ἐπιπάττοντος ΔDLU : ἐπιπάττοντος V — ἐκεῖνοι ΔDL : ἐκεῖνοι UV — ἐπὶ τὸ ὠμότερον ΔDLV : ἐπιτομότερον U — ἠρεθίζοντο V : ἠρεθίζοντο ΔDU : ἠρεθίζοντω L — **336** σπουδῇ ΔDLV : σπουδῇ U — τε ΔDUV : deest L — **337** τᾶλλα Δ : τᾶλλα DLUV — **339** διασπαράττοντές τε καὶ κατατέμνοντες ΔDLV : διὰ σπαράττοντες τε καὶ κατὰ τέμνοντες U — **342** ἐπ' ἀστραγάλῳ ΔDU : ἐπαστραγάλῳ LV — **343** τῆς ΔDLV : τῆς U — **344** παρὰ φύσιν ΔDL : παραφύσιν UV — **345** κατὰ φύσιν ΔLU : καταφύσιν VD — ἐκκοπτόμενα ΔDLU : ἐκκοπτομένες V — ante ἄρ' par. indic. DL — **347** εἰσέδου ΔDLV : εἰς ἔδου U — **348** οὐχ corr: οὐχ' ΔDLUV — **349** τοιοῦτον ἐστὶν ΔDUV : τοιοῦτού ἐστιν L — γνω(μικόν) in marg. L

οὕτω πικρῶν ὑπερορᾶν σώματος· ὅπου γὰρ καὶ μία πληγὴ  
 πολλάκις ἄρρητόν τινα καὶ ἀφόρητον ἐνέθηκε τὴν ὀδύνην,  
 καὶ μέσης αὐτῆς ἤψατο τῆς καρδίας, τὸ μὴ μίαν εἶναι  
 ταύτην ἀλλὰ μυρίας· καὶ συνεχῶς ἑτέραν ἐκδέχεσθαι τὴν  
 355 ἑτέραν, ὡς μὴ δριμύττειν οὕτως τὴν γινομένην, ὅσω τὴν  
 ἐλπίδα τῶν μελλουσῶν ἐκφοβεῖν, ἐν τῇ θελήσει τε κείσθαι  
 τοῦ πάσχοντος, τὴν τῶν λυπούντων ἀπαλλαγὴν. Ποίαν τὴν  
 ὑπομονὴν δείκνυσι; Τίνα τὴν καρτερίαν; Πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ  
 σχεδὸν ἐγγὺς ἀπιστίας τὸ πρᾶγμα τίθησιν; Εἰ μὴ Θεὸν  
 360 εἴποις τὴν πρόθεσιν ἐπαινέσαντα, διδόναι βοήθειαν ἐξ ἀγίου.  
 [24] Αἵματα μὲν αἵμασι συνεφύροντο· καὶ σάρκες ἐπὶ σαρκὶ  
 κατέπιπτον· ἴνες τε καὶ μύες, καὶ φλέβες, καὶ νεύρα, καὶ  
 ἀρτηρίαι συγκατεσπῶντο· αὐτὰ τε τὰ μέλη χαμαιριφῆ πρὸ  
 τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἔσπαιρεν· ἔτι τῆς ζωτικῆς ὑπόουσης δυνάμεως,  
 365 καὶ μὴ ἤδη τέλειον ἀπονεκρωθέντα. Ἐλιποθύμει τὸ θέατρον·  
 οἱ τέμνοντες ἔκαμνον· τὰ ἄνω, τὰ κάτω θαύματος ἐπληροῦτο·  
 καὶ ὁ πάσχων φαιδρὸς ἐφαίνετο καὶ περιχαρῆς, ὡς ἂν  
 εὐωχούμενος, οὐ τεμνόμενος, ἕως τῆς κατὰ τοὺς μηρούς  
 ἀνατομῆς ἤδη ἐνεργουμένης, δριμυτέρας τῆς ὀδύνης  
 370 αἰσθόμενος. Αὐτὴν δὲ ἐκείνην λέξω, τὴν μακαρίαν φωνήν,

#### ΔDLUV

**351** οὕτω ΔDUV : οὕτω L — post ὑπερορᾶν alt. man. eras. et scr. τῶν τοῦ L  
 — ante ὅπου par. indic. V — **352** ὀδύνην ΔDLV : ὀδύνην U — **353** ἤψατο  
 VLΔΔ : ἤψατο U — **355** μὴ ΔDUV : μὴ L — οὕτως DUUV : οὕτω Δ :  
 οὕτως L — ὅσω LU : ὅσον V : ὅσω ΔD — **356** θελήσει ΔDLU : μελήσει  
 V — **358** ὑπομονὴν U : ὑπομονὴν ταύτην ΔDLV — δείκνυσι — ΔDLU :  
 δείκνυσιν V — **359** ἀπιστίας ΔDLUV : ἀπιστίαν V — **361** ante αἵματα  
 par. indic. VΔ — συνεφύροντο U : συνεφύρετο ΔDLV — **362** φλέβες ΔDLV  
 : φλέβαις U — νεύρα ΔDLV : νεύρα U — **363** συγκατεσπῶντο V :  
 συγκατεσπῶντο ΔDLU — χαμαιριφῆ ΔDLU : χαμερριφῆ V — **364** ἔσπαιρεν  
 ΔDLU : ἔσπερεν V — **365** ἐλιποθύμει corr.: ἐλυποθύμει L : ἐλειποθύμει  
 ΔDUV — **366** ἔκαμνον ΔDLV : ἔκαμον U — περιχαρῆς, ΔUV : περιχαρῆς·  
 DL — **368** οὐ τεμνόμενος ΔDLU : deest V

«Χριστὲ βοήθει μοι» γεγωνότερον ἀνεφθέγξατο· εἶτα  
των δημίων ἐπιλαβομένων τοῦ λόγου, καὶ «Εἰ ἐβοήθει  
σοι πάντως ἂν σε, καὶ τῶν τῆς τιμωρίας ταύτης  
ἐξείλετο» εἰρηκότων, ὑποτυχῶν ὁ μάρτυς, « Ἀνόητοι»  
375 εἶπεν «οὐκ ἐξαιρεθῆναι τῶν βασάνων, ἀλλ' ὑπομεῖναι  
τὰς βασάνους μάλλον δι' ἐκείνον αἰτῶ, ἵνα καὶ τῶν  
δι' αὐτὰς στεφάνων ἄξιος γένωμαι· ἄλλως τε δὲ καὶ  
τοῦ δειχθῆναι ὅτι σάρκα περίκειμαι, καὶ οὐκ  
ἀναισθήτως ἔχω τῶν ἀλγεινῶν, ἀλλὰ φέρω ταύτας  
380 γενναίως στερρότερόν μου ψυχῆς τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν  
ἔρωτος ὀδύνης πάσης καθικνουμένου». [25] Ἐπεὶ γ' οὖν  
κατὰ μέλος οὕτως ὁ μάρτυς τεμνόμενος, ἄτμητον  
φάναι καὶ ἀπαθῆ τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας ἔφερε λογισμὸν,  
καὶ συνίστατο μάλλον ταῖς τῶν μελῶν διαιρέσεσι, καὶ  
385 συνηρμολογεῖτο ταῖς ἐξαρθρώσεσι· καὶ τέμνειν ἐδόκει  
τοὺς κρεουργοῦντας, ἥπερ αὐτὸς τέμνεσθαι καὶ κατὰ  
πάντων ἦρε τὰ νικητήρια, τοῦτο μὲν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ τοῦ  
Πνεύματος, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τῷ μεγαλοφυεῖ τοῦ φρονήματος.  
Τέλος ὡς ἑώρων οἱ ἀλιτήριοι ὅτι καὶ οὕτω κατακοπεῖς,  
390 φοβεῖ μάλλον, ἥπερ αὐτὸς φοβεῖται, καὶ οὐδὲ

ΔDLUV

**372** par. ind ante εἶτα Δ — **373** τῶν UV : deest ΔDL — **374** ἐξείλετο ΔDUV :  
ἐξίλετο L — par. ind ante ὑποτυχῶν ΔL — **375** οὐκ ἐξαιρεθῆναι ΔD :  
οὐκεξαιρεθῆναι LUV — **378** δειχθῆναι ΔDUV : δειχθῆναι L — **378-9** οὐκ  
ἀναισθήτως ΔLU: οὐκἀναισθήτως VD — **380** μου ψυχῆς ΔDUV : μου τῆς  
ψυχῆς L — **381** par. ind ante ἐπεὶ ΔL : ἐπεὶ bis acc. U — γ' οὖν ΔDL : γοῦν U :  
οὖν V — **383** εὐσεβείας ΔDUV : εὐσεβείας L — **386** ἥπερ V: ἥπερ ΔDLU —  
**387** ἦρε ΔDV: ἦρε U : ἦρε L — μὲν bis acc. ΔDL — **388** δὲ bis acc. ΔU — **390**  
φοβεῖ UV : φοβῆ LDD — ἥπερ V: ἥπερ U: ἥπερ ΔDL

μικρὸν ἐνδίδωσι τῆς ἐντάσεως, τοῖς ὅλοις ἀπειπόντες,  
 κελεύουσι τὴν τιμίαν αὐτοῦ κεφαλὴν ὡσπερ καὶ τᾶλλα  
 μέρη τοῦ σώματος ἀποτμηθῆναι μαχαίρα· οὐκ ἐκ τινὸς  
 συμπαθείας, ἀλλ' ἐκ πολλῆς αἰσχύνης τοῦτο  
 395 διορισάμενοι· ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἔτι φαίνοιτο ζῶν καὶ νικῶν,  
 μαρτύριον ἀκριβές, τῆς αὐτῶν μὲν ἀσθενείας, ἐκείνου  
 δὲ καὶ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ δυνάμεως. [26] Ἐπ' ὀλίγον μὲν  
 οὖν μετὰ τὴν ἀπόφασιν ἐφησυχάσας ὁ μάρτυς, καὶ  
 μόλις τὴν περιληφθεῖσαν αὐτῷ μόνην κινῶν κεφαλὴν,  
 400 ἔτι τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ μνήμης μὴ ἀφιστάμενος, «Θεὲ Πάτερ  
 παντοκράτορ» ἔφη, «καὶ Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ καὶ ἅγιον  
 Πνεῦμα· εὐχαριστῶ σοι ὅτι με τὰς ὑπὲρ σοῦ βασάνους  
 ἐνίσχυσας ὑπομεῖναι· ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τέλος διελθεῖν τὸν  
 ἀγῶνα τοῦτόν με καταξίωσον· θανάτου γάρ με  
 405 περιέσχον ὠδίνες, καὶ κίνδυνοι Ἰδοῦ εὐροσάν με.  
 Ἀφήρηταί μου Δέσποτα πάντα τὰ μέλη, καὶ τὸ σῶμα  
 τουτὶ μόνον, τῶν μελῶν χωρὶς ὑπολέλειπται· οὐκ εἰσὶ  
 μοι πόδες ἐν οἷς στάς τὴν εὐχὴν ἀποδώσω σοι·  
 ἐφθόνησάν μοι καὶ τῶν χειρῶν οἱ φονεῖς, ἵνα μὴ  
 410 ταύτας ἐνώπιόν σου ἄρω, τὴν σὴν βοήθειαν  
 ἐκκαλούμενος. Γόνατα καὶ βραχίονες ὡς ὄρας οὐκ εἰσίν, ἀλλ'  
 ἕοικα δένδρῳ, ρίζας τε καὶ κλάδους ἐλεεινῶς ἀποτετμημένῳ·

ΔDLUV

**391** ἐν στάσεως post corr. (ex στάσεως et add. sup. lin. ἐν) D : ἐν στάσεως  
 ΔLV : ἐντάσεως U — **392** τᾶλλα corr.: τᾶλλα ΔUV : τᾶλλα L : τᾶλλα D — **396**  
 μαρτύριον ἀκριβές ΔDUV : μαρτύριον μὲν ἀκριβές L — ante μαρτύριον par.  
 ind. Δ — **397** καὶ deest L — ante ἐπ' par. ind. Δ — **399** περιληφθεῖσαν corr.:  
 περιλειφθεῖσαν ΔDLUV — **400-418** θεὲ ... αἰώνας sign. in marg. V — **405**  
 ὠδίνες ΔD: ὠδίνες LUV — Ἰδοῦ V: Ἰδοῦ post corr. U: Ἰδοῦ ΔDL — **406**  
 ἀφήρηταί U : ἀφήρηται ΔDV : ἀφήρονται L — ante καὶ par. ind. U — **410**  
 ταύτας ΔLUV : ταύτας D — **411** εἰσίν ΔDLV : εἰσὶ U — **412** δένδρῳ  
 ΔDLV : δένδρον U

διὰ τοῦτο δέομαι τῆς σῆς χρηστότητος, Βασιλεῦ, μὴ  
 ἐγκαταλίπῃς τὸν δούλον σου ἀλλ' ἐξάγαγε τὴν ψυχὴν μου ἐκ  
 415 τῆς φυλακῆς ταύτης τῆς βραχείας τοῦ σώματος, καὶ τοῖς  
 ἀγίοις σου συγκατάταξον· οὕτω γὰρ ἔσται κάμοι ἅμα τοῖς  
 ὑπεραγωνισαμένοις σου τοῦ ὀνόματος δόξαν ἄληκτον ἀναπέμψαι  
 τῷ κράτει σου· νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας». [27] Καὶ τὸ «' Ἀμήν»  
 ἐπειπὼν, μαχαίρα τὴν ἀοίδιμον κεφαλὴν ἀποτέμνεται· καὶ  
 420 στεφάνῳ μὲν εὐθὺς αἰωνίῳ κατακοσμεῖται, Χριστῷ δὲ τῇ  
 πάντων κεφαλῇ συναρμολογεῖται, καὶ συγκληρονόμος αὐτῷ  
 τῆς ἀθανάτου ζωῆς καθίσταται, ἐκείνων ἄξιος τῶν ἀγαθῶν  
 γεγονώς, ἃ οὔτε ὀφθαλμὸς εἶδεν· οὔτε οὖς ἤκουσεν· οὔτε  
 ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου ἀνέβη· εἰ γὰρ ἀληθῆς ὁ τοῦ Παύλου  
 425 λόγος, ὡσπερ οὖν ἀληθῆς, τὸ τὸν ἴδιον μισθὸν ἕκαστον κατὰ  
 τὸν ἴδιον λήψεσθαι κόπον. Ὁ οὕτω μὲν κοπωθεὶς, τοιούτους  
 δὲ τοὺς ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ διανύσας ἄθλους, ἀκόλουθον ἐννοεῖν·  
 οἷων παρ' αὐτοῦ τῶν βραβείων ἀξιωθήσεται· ὅτι αὐτῷ  
 430 πρέπει πᾶσα τιμὴ, δόξα καὶ κράτος· νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ εἰς  
 τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν.

ΔDLUV

**420-421** Χριστῷ-κεφαλῇ] cf. Eph. 4:15-16 — **421** συγκληρονόμος] cf. Rom. 8:17 — **423-424** ἀ-ἀνέβη] 1 Cor. 2:9 — **425-426** τὸν ἴδιον μισθὸν-κόπον] 1 Cor. 3:8-9.

**413** διὰ τοῦτο UV : διατοῦτο ΔDL — **414** ἀλλ' ἐξάγαγε ΔDLV : ἀλλεξάγαγε U — **415** βραχείας ΔDLV : βραχίας U — par. ind ante καὶ UΔ — **419** ἐπειπὼν post corr. (ex ἐπειπὼν) D — **425** ἀληθῆς ΔDUV : ἀληθεῖς; L — **428** οἷων ΔDV : οἷων LU — **429** καὶ LUV : deest ΔD — δόξα καὶ κράτος U: δόξα κράτος· μεγαλοπρέπεια ΔDLV : post κράτος scr. μεγαλοσύνη τὲ καὶ μεγαλοπρέπεια ΔDL

*Passio of St Plato (BHG 1551-1552)*

## Μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Πλάτωνος

[1] Οὐ ξένα Γαλατῶν τὰ παρόντα, οὐδὲ ὁμολογητοῦ τῆς ἀληθείας  
ἀλλότρια· Γαλάται μὲν γὰρ ἔπραττον ἀνοήτως, ἃ σὺνηθες πράττειν  
αὐτοῖς, καὶ εἰδώλοισι θυσίαν προσήγον, ὑπέμενε δὲ καὶ ὁ μακαριώτατος  
Πλάτων, ὅσα καὶ κήρυκα εὐσεβείας διὰ Χριστὸν ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ  
5 ὑπομένειν ἔχρην· τῆς γὰρ περὶ τὰ εἰδῶλα δυσσεβείας ἐπικρατούσης,  
καὶ ὅσαι ἡμέραι πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον ἐπιδιδούσης, ἐν στενωῷ δὲ κομιδῇ τοῦ  
τῶν χριστιανῶν συνελαθέντος πληρώματος, οὗτος ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ  
θεράπων, ὁ μέγας φημὶ Πλάτων, τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν πίστει πλατυνόμενος  
τὴν διάνοιαν, τῷ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὑποδείγματι, τὸ στενὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας  
10 καὶ ἄτολμον, εὐρίνει τὲ ἱκανῶς καὶ παρρησίας ἐμπύπλησιν. [2] Ὅς ἐξ  
Ἀγκύρας μὲν εἶλκε τὸ γένος, πόλεως ἐπιφανεστάτης τῶν Γαλατῶν,  
τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς ἐνεγκαμένης τυχῶν, ἐπισήμους εἶχε παραπλησίως καὶ  
τοὺς γενιήτορας, οὐ κατὰ τὸ τῆς οὐσίας πολυτελὲς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
κατὰ τὸ θερμὸν περὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν. Πᾶσαν δὲ παιδείαν ἀθροίσας,  
15 πολὺς μὲν τὴν ἀρετὴν, πολὺς δὲ τὴν σύνεσιν, πολὺς δὲ καὶ τὸν

ΔDLUV

**Titulus** ΔDLV: mut. U — ante πλάτωνος scr. μη(ν) τῷ αὐτῷ, ιη´· τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέ(ρα)  
τοῦ ἁγίου ῥωμα(νοῦ) ζή(τ)ει εἰς τὸ τέλος· Δ : μη(ν) τῷ αὐτῷ, ιη´ DLV: mut.  
U — post πλάτωνος scr. εὐλόγησον) π(ά)τερ LV: deest ΔDU — 1 Οὐ-ἀληθεί] incipit  
mutilus U — 2 μὲν bis acc. U — γὰρ ΔDU: deest LV — 5 ante τῆς par. ind. ΔV —  
δυσσεβείας ΔDL : δυσσεβείας U : δυσσεβεία V — 6 κομιδῇ post corr. (ex κομιδῇ) U —  
10 ante ὅς par. ind. ΔV — 10-11 ὅς ἐξ DL: ὅς, ἐξ ΔUV — ἐξ ἀγκύρας ΔL:  
ἐξαγκύρας DUV — 11 εἶλκε ΔLUV: εἶλκε D — 12 ante τοιαύτης par. ind. U — δὲ  
τῆς ΔDUV : deest L — 13 οὐσίας ΔDLUV : οὐσίας D — 14 περὶ τὴν ΔDLV :  
περιτὴν U — εὐσέβειαν post corr. (ex εὐσβειαν et al. man. sscr. ε) U — ante πᾶσαν  
par. ind. Δ — παιδείαν ΔDUV : παιδίαν L — 15 πολὺς-σύνεσιν ΔDUV : deest L —  
post σύνεσιν scr. et eras. πολὺς δὲ τὴν σύνεσιν (dittogr.) D



ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ ζήλον ἐτέλει. Οὐκ ἐνεγκῶν δὲ κατ' ἐκείνο καιροῦ, τὰ  
 μὲν τῆς ἀπάτης ἀνθούντα ὄραν, τὴν δὲ ἀληθῆ πίστιν ἀπαιθοῦσαν οἶον  
 καὶ ὑπορέουσιν, ἀλλὰ ζημίαν ὡσπερ Χριστοῦ λογισάμενος τὴν  
 20 τοσοῦτων ψυχῶν ἀπώλειαν, καὶ τῷ ἐκείνου ζήλῳ πυρὸς σφοδρότερον  
 κινήσεις, διαίσταται κατὰ τῆς ἀσεβείας, καὶ ὁδηγὸς τοῖς  
 ἐσκοτισμένοις γίνεται· καὶ πολλοῖς μὲν αὐτῶν δαψιλῆς καθίσταται χεὶρ  
 εἰς εὐεργεσίαν, οὐ λόγῳ μόνον τρέφων ψυχάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄρτον παρέχων  
 τὸν ἐπιούσιον, καὶ κοινὰ προτιθεὶς τὰ ὄντα τοῖς δεομένοις, πολλοῖς δὲ  
 25 καὶ τυραννομένοις, εἰς ἐπικουρίαν παρίσταται. [3] Ἐντεῦθεν αὐτῷ καὶ  
 τὸ τοῦ φθόνου κακὸν ὑποτίθεται· οἷδὲ γὰρ εἶχε φέρειν ὁ ποιηρὸς τὰ  
 τελούμενα, ἀλλ' ὁρῶν ἑαυτὸν ὑφ' ἑνὸς οὕτω κραταιῶς πολεμούμενον, καὶ  
 οὓς ἔδοξεν ἔχειν εἴσω τῶν ἑαυτοῦ δικτύων ὑπ' ἐκείνου πάλιν  
 ὑφαιρουμένους, δι' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων πλέκει τῷ Πλάτῳ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν,  
 καὶ τοιαύτας αὐτῷ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀποδιδόναι παρασκευάζει τὰς ἀμοιβάς·  
 30 ἄνδρα γάρ τινα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ κακίας ὑπουργὸν δραστήριον εὐρηκῶς,  
 τὴν τῶν βικαρίων ἀρχὴν ἐν Γαλατίᾳ τότε πεπιστευμένον, Ἀγριππῖνος  
 αὐτῷ ὄνομα, πείθει πρὸς αὐτὸν τοὺς τῆς χώρας διαβαλεῖν τὸν ἅγιον.

ΔDLUV

22-23 ἄρτον ... τὸν ἐπιούσιον] Matth. 6:11, Luc. 11:3

**16** ante οὐκ par. ind. ΔL — οὐκ ἐνεγκῶν ΔUV: οὐκενεγκῶν DL — ἐκείνο ΔDLU: ἐκείνω V — **17** πίστιν ἀπαιθοῦσαν ΔD: πίστιν, ἀπαιθοῦσαν LUV — **19** ἀπώλειαν ΔDLV: ἀπόλειαν U — ζήλῳ ΔDLU: deest V — **20** κατὰ ΔDLU: deest V — ἀσεβείας ΔDUV: εὐσεβείας L — **21** μὲν bis acc. DU — δαψιλῆς ΔLUV: δαψιλῆς D — **22** ἄρτον ΔLUV: ἄρτων D — **23** ἐπιούσιον ΔLUV: ἐπιούσιν D — κοινὰ ΔLUV: κοινὰ D — **24** καὶ ΔLUV: deest Δ — ante ἐντεῦθεν par. ind. ΔL — **27** οὓς ΔDUV: οὓς L — τῶν ΔDUV: τὸν L — δικτύων ΔDUV: δεικτύων L — **27** ὑπ' ἐκείνου ΔLUV: ὑπεκείνου D — **30** ante ἄνδρα par. ind. ΔL — ἑαυτοῦ UV: αὐτοῦ ΔDL — ἄνδρα post corr. U — εὐρηκῶς ΔUV: εὐρηκῶς DL — **31** ἀγριππῖνος ΔDUV: ἀγριππῖνος L

35 "Ὅς ἐπίσης, βιάσασθαι τε ὠμότατος ἦν, καὶ θωπείαις κλέψαι, καὶ  
 δεινότητι λόγων ἐλείν, ἱκανώτατος. ὧ δὴ καὶ παρίσταται Πλάτων ὁ  
 τῆς ἀληθείας ἀγωνιστής, ἐφ' ἕψηλοῦ προκαθημένῳ τοῦ βήματος. Ὁ δὲ  
 τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐκ πολλοῦ διδαχθείς, καὶ μαθὼν οἷον τῷ μάρτυρι τὸ τῆς  
 γνώμης εὐσταθὲς τε καὶ φιλελεύθερον, σκέπτεται καθ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ μάλα  
 40 δεινῶς· ὥς εἰ ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς πρότερον καὶ ταῖς τιμωρίαις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἤδη  
 τῶν προοιμίῳ κατ' αὐτοῦ χρήσαιτο, τοιῶσαι μᾶλλον αὐτῷ τὴν  
 ἔνστασιν, καὶ θρέψει πλέον τὸ ἀταπείνωτον τοῦ φρονηήματος· αὐτὸς δὲ  
 ἀσθενῆς φανέεται, καὶ εἰς αἰσχύνην αὐτῷ ἢ ἄμιλλα καταλήξει. Ὅθεν  
 καὶ διανοεῖτο, τὴν πρώτην ἀπαλωτέροις αὐτὸν ῥήμασιν ὑπελθεῖν,  
 ὑπεκλίειν οὕτως αὐτοῦ τὸν τόνον τῆς εὐσεβείας βουλόμενος. [4] Καί,  
 45 «λέγε μοι» φησὶν «ὦ οὔτος, πῶς ἄρα πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡσυχίαν  
 ἀγούσης καὶ τὴν πατρώαν πρεσβευούσης θρησκείαν, αὐτὸς καθάπερ  
 ἀπεναντίας ἡμῖν ἐρχόμενος, θεοῖς μὲν τοὺς κοινούς ἠτίμωσας,  
 Ἐσταυρωμένῳ δὲ προσκυνεῖν ἀνέχη, ὕβριν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἐντεῦθεν  
 σεαυτῷ προσξενῶν.» Ἀλλὰ γνώριζε ἡμῖν ἤδη αὐτὸ τε τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ τὴν  
 50 πατρίδα, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις, τὴν κλήσιν». [4a] Πλάτων ὁ γενναῖος πρὸς  
 ταῦτα φησὶ, «Τὸ χριστιανὸς καὶ εἶναι καὶ ὀνομάζεσθαι, τοῦτο καὶ

ΔDLUV

**33** ante ὅς par. ind. Δ — ὅς ἐπίσης DLV : ὅς, ἐπίσης ΔUV — **34** ἐλείν ΔUV : ἐλείν  
 DL — ὦ ΔDUV : ὅ L — **35** προκαθημένῳ ΔDU : προκαθημένου LV — ante ὁ par.  
 ind. ΔUV — δὲ bis acc. ΔDLU — **36** δὲ τὰ ΔLUV : δὲ, τὰ D — κατ' αὐτὸν ΔDUV :  
 κατ' αὐτὸν L — οἷον τῷ μάρτυρι ΔL : οἷον τὸ μάρτυρι DU : οἷον τὸ ἀνδρεῖον  
 αὐτοῦ καὶ V — **37** φιλελεύθερον post corr. (ex φιλελεύθερον et al. man. add. sup. lin.  
 λε) U — **38** ante ὡς par. ind. Δ — **38-39** ἤδη τῶν προοιμίῳ ΔDLU : τῶν  
 προοιμίῳ ἤδη V — **40-41** δὲ ἀσθενῆς ΔLUV : δὲ, ἀσθενῆς D — **41** ἀσθενῆς post  
 corr. ex ἀσθενῆ et add. σ sup. lin.) D — αἰσχύνην ΔDUV : ἐσχύνην L — ἄμιλλα  
 ΔDLV : ἄμιλλα U — **42** ἀπαλωτέροις ΔDLU : ἀπαλωτέροις V — **43** ante καὶ par. ind.  
 ΔLU — **44** οἰκουμένης ΔLUV : οὐκουμένης D — **46** μὲν bis acc. U — **47** ὕβριν οὐ  
 τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἐντεῦθεν U : ὕβριν ἐντεῦθεν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ΔDLV — **49** ante  
 πλάτων par. ind. ΔLUV — πρὸς ταῦτα φησὶ ΔDUV : φησὶ πρὸς ταῦτα L — **50**  
 ταῦτα . ΔDLV : ταυτα U

πατρὶς ἐμοὶ καὶ σέβας καὶ ὄνομα. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸ παρὰ τῶν γονέων ἐπικληθέν μοι ζητεῖς, Πλάτων καλοῦμαι· πολίτης δὲ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως, καὶ δοῦλος ἐπὶ πάσι Χριστοῦ, δι' ὃν καὶ δεσμὰ καὶ μάλιστα καὶ θανάτους εἰ οἶόν τε πολλοὺς ὑπομένειν, ἔτοιμός εἰμι καὶ προθύμως

55 ἔχω». [4b] Καὶ ὁ βικάριος λόγοις αὐτὸν ὑπιέναι καὶ ἔτι βουλόμενος, «Ὁρῶν» ἔφη «πολλὴν ὄσσην ἐπιπρέπουσάν σου τῷ προσώπῳ τὴν σύνεσιν, οὐκ ἀπογινώσκω τὴν μεταμέλειαν· οἶμαι γὰρ ὅτι πεισθήσῃ μοι τὰ χρηστὰ συμβουλεύοντι, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔλοιο ἀτιμίαν ἀντὶ τιμῆς, καὶ ἀντὶ τρυφῆς καὶ δόξης αἰσχύνην, καὶ τὸ ἰδεῖν νεότητα οὕτω καλὴν χαλεπαῖς

60 βασάνοις ὑβριζομένην· οἶδας γὰρ οἶα τοῖς τὸν Ἐσταυρωμένον τιμῶντας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκέλευσεν ὑπομένειν». [4c] «Ἔγνω» εἶπεν ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δοῦλος, «ἀλλὰ καὶ οἶα μᾶλλον αἰ τοῦ ἐμοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Δεσπότης πάντων ἐντολαὶ βούλονται, αἱ δὴπου καὶ αὐτῶν ὑμῖν τῶν βασιλέων, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὧν ὡς θεοὺς ἐκείνοι τιμῶσι δαιμόνων, καὶ λίαν εἰσὶν ἰσχυρότεροι.

65 Ἄλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἐμοὶ λυσιτελοῦν, τῷ ἀληθεῖ Θεῷ μελήσει, αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς ἐμοῦ μήτε τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐπιστρεφομένου προστάξεων, μήτε τῆς ὑμετέρας συμβουλίας πάλιν οὐδένα ποιουμένου λόγον, ἔχου τῶν διατεταγμένων καὶ καθ' ἡμῶν ὀπλίζου στερρότεροι». [4d] Ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἔφη, καὶ ὁ βικάριος οὐδὲν ἀπὸ τῆς πειθοῦς τῶν λόγων ἑώρα

70 δυνάμενος δρᾶν, ἐπὶ τὴν βίαν ἐχώρει· καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκ τεσσάρων αὐτὸν

#### ΔDLUV

52 πόλεως DLUV: πόλεως εἰμι Δ — 53 εἰ οἶόν τε post corr. (ex οἶόν τε et add. εἰ in marg.) Δ — 54 ἔτοιμος ΔUV: ἔτοιμος LD — ante καὶ par. ind. ΔLU — 56 ἔφη ΔLUV ἔφη D — 57 οὐκ ἀπογινώσκω ΔLUV: οὐκαπογινώσκω D — πεισθήσῃ μοι ΔDU: πεισθείσῃ μοι V: πεισθῆς μοι L — 58 ἔλοιο ΔUV: ἔλοιο DL — 58-59 ἀτιμίαν ἀντὶ τιμῆς, καὶ ἀντὶ τρυφῆς καὶ δόξης αἰσχύνην, DLUV: ἀτιμίαν, ἀντὶ τιμῆς, καὶ ἀντὶ τρυφῆς καὶ δόξης, αἰσχύνην, Δ — ἀντὶ τιμῆς ... ἀντὶ τρυφῆς ΔLUV: ἀντιτιμῆς ... ἀντιτρυφῆς D — 61 ante ἔγνω par. ind. DLUV — 62 οἶα ΔDUV: οἶα L — 63 δὴπου καὶ ΔDUV: δὴ καὶ L — ὑμῖν DLUV: ἡμῖν Δ — 65 ἀληθεῖ ΔAU ἀληθινῶ V: ἀληθῆ L — 67 ποιουμένου ΔDLU: ποιούμενος V — 68 ἐπεὶ bis acc. UL — ante ἐπεὶ par. ind. ΔLUV — 70 (καὶ) add. in marg. Δ

κελεύει μετέωρον διαταθῆναι, μάλιστα τε ταῖς ἐκ βουεύρων ἰσχυρῶς  
 ξαίνεσθαι. Ἐκκαίδεκα δὲ ἦσαν οἱ τῇ μετεώρῳ ταύτῃ καὶ ὑπὲρ γῆν  
 κολάσει διακονούμενοι, ἀλλήλους τὲ διαμείβοντες, καὶ νεαρώτεραι οὕτω  
 τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἰσχὺν εἶναι παρασκευάζουσιν. Ὡμῶς οἷν καὶ ἀπανθρώπως  
 75 τυπτομένου τοῦ μάρτυρος, καὶ τοῦ σώματος αὐτῷ ταῖς πληγαῖς ἤδη  
 διαφθειρομένου, ἦν ἰδεῖν παράδοξον ἄμιλλαν, ψυχῆς ἐθελοκάκου καὶ  
 πρὸς τὸ βλάπτειν ἐπιτηδεύειας, καὶ γνώμης φιλαγάθου, καὶ πάντα παθεῖν  
 μᾶλλον, ἢ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐκστῆναι προθυμουμένης. Ἐρρώννυ δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ  
 80 θεία τις ἀντίληψις ἄνωθεν, καὶ τὰ ἰάματα τῶν σαρκῶν, ὅτι τάχος αὐτῷ  
 ἀνέτελλε· καὶ γὰρ εὐθὺς πᾶσα πληγὴ τεθεράπευτο, καὶ ἀνηρὸς πᾶσιν ὁ  
 μάρτυς καὶ φαιδρὸς ἑωράτο, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν καταπλαγέντα τὸν τύραννον,  
 καὶ πολλῇ αἰσχύνην συγκαλυψάμενον, τῇ φρουρᾷ τοῦτον κελεύσαι  
 παραπεμφθῆναι, τὸ μὴ πᾶσιν εἰς θέαν γενέσθαι τοῖς βουλουμένοις, οὕτω  
 μηχανησάμενος. [5] Ἐπεὶ οἷν καὶ ἡ φρουρὰ τοῦτον ἐλάμβανε, πάντες  
 85 οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας κατηχηθέντες μυστήριον,  
 ἐπόμενοι ἦσαν, συγκλεισθῆναι μᾶλλον, ἢ ἀποστῆναι αὐτοῦ  
 προθυμούμενοι, καὶ μάλιστα τῷ περὶ αὐτὸν θαύματι τελεώτερον αὐτοῖς

#### ΔDLUV

**73** διαμείβοντες ΔDUV : διαμήβοντες L — **74** ἑαυτῶν ΔDUV : ἑαυτῶν L — ante  
 ὡμῶς par. ind. ΔU — ὡμῶς Δ : post corr. (ex ὁμῶς?) U : ὡμῶς DV : ὦ πως L —  
 ἀπανθρώπως ΔLDU : ἀπεινώς V — **75** αὐτῷ ΔLV : post corr. (ex αὐτοῦ?) U : αὐτοῦ  
 D — **76** ἄμιλλαν ΔLV : ἄμιλλαν DU — **78** ἐρρώννυ DV : ἐρρώννυ ΔL : ἐριώννυ post.  
 corr. (ex ἐριώννυ) U — **79** θεία τις U : θεία τις ΔD : θεία τις LV — ὅτι ΔDUV : ὅτι  
 L — **80** ante καὶ par. ind. Δ — πληγὴ ΔUV : πληγὴ DL — **80-81** καὶ ἀνηρὸς-ἑωράτο  
 ΔDUV : deest L — **82** πολλῇ ΔLUV : πολλῇ D — **84** μηχανησάμενος ΔLV :  
 μηχανησάμενος post corr. (ex μηχανισάμενος?) U : μηχανισάμενος D — ante ἐπεὶ  
 par. ind. ΔDLUV — ἐπεὶ bis acc. L — οἷν ΔLUV : <ο>υν D — **86** ἐπόμενοι ΔDUV  
 ἐπόμενοι L

τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐνιδρυθείσης. [5a] Ὡς δὲ ταῖς τοῦ δεσμοτηρίου  
 πύλαις ἐπέστη, τῶν ποθούντων ἤδη μέλλων χωρίζεσθαι, τῇ χειρὶ πᾶσι  
 90 σιωπὴν ὑποφήνας, « Ἴσθες » ἔλεγεν « ἀδελφοί, καὶ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ  
 κοιωνοὶ βασιλείας, εἰ βούλεσθε, ὁ μὲν παρῶν καιρὸς ὡς ὁράτε, δεινός,  
 καὶ τὰ συνέχοντα τῶν δυσχερῶν ἀνυπέβλητα· ἀλλὰ τοῖς πόθῳ τῶν  
 αἰωνίων ἀμελοῦσι μὲν τῶν ἐνταῦθα, τοῖς ἄνω δὲ διὰ παντὸς τιθεμένοις,  
 τὰ λυπηρὰ ταυτὶ καὶ ἡδέα ἐπίσης καταπεφρόνηται. Διὸ πάντων μὲν  
 95 τῶν ἄλλων εἶναι κόρον, οἶδα μαθῶν, τῶν ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ δὲ καμάτων καὶ  
 πόνων, κόρος οὐδεὶς· εἰ γὰρ τὸ πατρίδος προκινδυνεύειν πρᾶγμα  
 σεμνόν, καὶ πολλὴν τὴν εὐκλειαν τῷ κατορθοῦντι περιποιούμενον, τὸ  
 Χριστοῦ τῆς πάντων ἀρχῆς προαποθήσκειν, πῶς οὐχὶ πολλῷ  
 σεμνότερόν τε καὶ τιμώτερον;». [5b] Τοιαῦτα πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰρηκῶς καὶ  
 100 τῷ Θεῷ διὰ τῆς εὐχῆς αὐτοὺς ἀναθέμενος, τῇ φρουρᾷ παραδίδοται. Εἰς  
 γόνυ τὲ κλιθεὶς, « Σῶτερ » ἔλεγε « τῶν ἀπάντων καὶ κτίστα τῶν σῶν  
 ποιημάτων, ὁ πλάσας καταμόνας τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν, συμβουλή δὲ  
 τῇ τοῦ ὄψεως, τὸ τῆς εἰκόνας λυμνηαμένους ἀρχέτυπον, τοῖς  
 ζῶποιοῖς σου παθήμασι λαμπρότερον ἀναπλάσας, ἔλθε βοηθὸς τῇ  
 105 φύσει ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμετέρα, ἣν φορέσαι διὰ βᾶθος φιλανθρωπίας

#### ΔDLUV

**88** ante ὡς par. ind. ΔDLU — ταῖς ΔDUV: deest L — **89** ἤδη μέλλων ΔDU : ἤδη  
 μέλλον L : μέλλων ἤδη V — **90** ὑποφήνας ΔLUV : ὑποφήνας D — ante ἄνδρες par.  
 ind. Δ — **91** δεινός ΔDUV : δεινός L — **91-92** ὁ μὲν παρῶν καιρὸς ὡς ὁράτε, δεινός, καὶ  
 τὰ συνέχοντα τῶν δυσχερῶν ἀνυπέβλητα· DLUV : ὁ μὲν παρῶν καιρὸς, ὡς ὁράτε  
 δεινός, καὶ τὰ συνέχοντα τῶν δυσχερῶν, ἀνυπέβλητα· Δ — **93** μὲν bis acc. U — τοῖς  
 ἄνω ΔDLU : τὰ ἄνω V — διὰ παντὸς DUV : διαπαντὸς ΔL — τιθεμένοις DLUV :  
 προστιθεμένοις Δ — **94** διὸ ΔLUV : δι' ὃ D — μὲν bis acc. U — **95** οἶδα ΔDUV :  
 οἶδα L — **96** ante εἰ par. ind. ΔV — πατρίδος post corr. Δ — πρᾶγμα τι Δ — **97** τὸ  
 ΔUV : τοῦ D : τὸ τοῦ L — **99** ante τοιαῦτα par. ind. ΔDLUV — εἰρηκῶς ΔLUV :  
 εἰρηκῶς D — **100** φρουρὰ L — **90** ante σ(ῶ)τερ par. ind. Δ — **101-111** σ(ῶ)τερ-ποιεῖν  
 sign. in marg. DLU : add. εὐχ(ῆ) in marg. Δ — **101** τῶν ἀπάντων deest ΔDL — **102**  
 κατὰ μόνας DLUV : κατὰ μόνας Δ — **104** παθήμασι ΔDUV : παθήμασιν L —  
 λαμπρότερον ἀναπλάσας ΔDLU : ἀναπλάσας λαμπρότερον V — **105** διὰ βᾶθος  
 ΔUV : διαβάθος DL

οὐκ ἀπηξίωσας· νεύρωσον θεία δυνάμει τὸ τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν  
 ἀσθενές, πρὸς πικρὰς οὕτω κολάσεις ἀντέχειν ἀπαγορεύον· οἶδας τὸν  
 ἐν ἡμῖν πυρσὸν τῆς προθέσεως, ἀλλὰ τῆς σῆς ἰσχύος ἀπογυμνούμενος,  
 ἀμαυρὸς ἔσται πάντως καὶ οὐδὲν μέγα ἐπιδεικνύμενος. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ  
 110 νικῶντες, τῷ σῷ κράτει τὴν νίκην ἐπιγραφόμεθα· σὸς γὰρ λόγος  
 Χριστέ, τὸ *χωρὶς* σοῦ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀσθένειαν, μὴ *δύνασθαι* τι *ποιεῖν*».  
 [5c] Οὕτω τὸν οἰκείον Δεσπότην εἰς ἐπικουρίαν ἐπικαλεσάμενος, καὶ  
 ὡς βοηθὸς αὐτῷ ἄμαχος ἔσται τοῖς κινήμασι τῆς ψυχῆς ὑπαισθόμενος,  
 ὥσπερ τις ἄριστος ὀλυμπιονίκης ὤδινε τὸν τοῦ ἀγῶνος καιρὸν, καὶ ὅτι  
 115 μήπω παρήν ἐδυσχέρανε, καὶ τὴν ἀναβολὴν ὡς ἦτταν ὑπελογίζετο. [6]  
 Ἡμέραι παρήλθον ἑπτὰ· καὶ μετὰ σοβαροῦ τοῦ φρονήματος ὁ δικαστὴς  
 ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ πάλιν τοῦ βήματος προκαθίσας, καὶ πᾶσαν μὲν ἰδέαν  
 κολαστηρίων εἰς ὄψιν τῷ ἀγίῳ παραγαγών, πᾶσαν δὲ θωπείαν καὶ  
 κολακείας εἶδος ἐνστερνισάμενος, πρὸς δευτέραν τὸν ἀθλητὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 120 δεσμοτηρίου πάλιν ἐξεκαλείτο, ἢ θωπείαις ὑποσυλήσειν, ἢ κολάσει  
 κάμψειν αὐτὸν οἰόμενος, καὶ οὕτω τὴν προτέραν ἦτταν ἀναμαχέσασθαι.  
 [7] Εὐθὺς οὖν ὁ γεννάδας ὑπολαμπούσης ἡμέρας, παρίσταται τῷ  
 δικάζοντι, οἶά τις ἑσφόρος ἀμβλύων αὐτῷ τὰς κόρας τῇ λαμπρότητι  
 τῆς ψυχῆς. Ὡς δὲ ῥήματα μὲν ἐκεῖνος προσῆγε πολὺ τὸ αἰμύλον  
 125 καὶ ἐπαγωγὸν ἔχοντα, ὁ μάρτυς δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ θωπείαν ὡς μαλακίαν

ΔDLUV

111 *χωρὶς-ποιεῖν*] cf. Ioh. 15:5

**106** οὐκ ἀπηξίωσας DLU: οὐκαπηξίωσας V: οὐκ ἠδὲόκησας Δ — **107**  
 ἀπαγορεύον ΔDLV : ἀπαγορεύειν U — **109** διὰ τοῦτο ΔU : διαποῦτο DLV — **111**  
 χωρὶς σοῦ DLUV : χωρὶς σου Δ — **112** ante οὕτω par. ind. ΔLU — **114** ὤδινε ΔLUV  
 : ὠδινε D — **116** ante ἡμέραι par. ind. ΔLUV — τοῦ ΔDLU : deest V — **117** ἐφ'  
 ὑψηλοῦ DUV : ἐφυψηλοῦ ΔL — **120** πάλιν Δ : post corr. (ex πάλιν) DU : πάλιν LV —  
**121** ἦτταν DUV : ἦτταν L : ἦτταν Δ — **122** ante εὐθὺς par. ind. ΔDLUV — **124** ante  
 ὡς par. ind. Δ — μὲν bis acc. U — αἰμύλον LΔ: αἰμύλον V : αἰμύλον UD — **125**  
 ἐπαγωγὸν UDLΔ : ἐπαγωγὸν V

ψυχῆς ἐμυκτήριζεν, ὁ Ἀγριππῖνος τὸ νεάζον αὐτοῦ τῆς ἡλικίας ἡδονῇ  
 θηράσαι νομίσας, ἀδελφιδὴν ἑαυτοῦ, κάλλει τὰς καθ' ἑαυτὴν παρθένους  
 νικῶσαι, πρὸς γάμον αὐτῷ διδοῖναι καθυπισχνεῖτο, εἰ μόνον θύσειε,  
 πράγμασι τοῦ κόσμου μικροῖς, τὸν κόσμον παντὸς ὑπερόπτην ἐλεῖν  
 130 οἰόμενος. [8] Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς μόνην τὴν ὑπόμνησιν εἶδε τὸν μάρτυρα  
 δυσχεράναντα, καὶ εἰς πλατὺν γέλωτα θέμενον τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν,  
 ἀπειλαῖς πάλιν φοβεῖν ἐπειράτο. Ὡς δὲ καὶ πρὸς ταύτας ὁ μάρτυς  
 ἀπτόητος ἦν, καὶ ὡς τρυφήσων μᾶλλον ἢ κολασθησόμενος διεφαίνετο,  
 παρῆν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τὸ ἄπορον τῷ δικάζοντι. Ἀπορία δὲ τὸ θυμούμενον  
 135 τῆς ψυχῆς ἐρεθίζουσα, τὴν ὄργην εἰς φανεράν ἐξῆγε μαίαν, καὶ  
 φρίκης μεστὴν ἐκείνος ἀπεφήματο βάσανον· σιδηρὰ γὰρ κλίνη κατὰ τὸ  
 μέσον ἐτίθετο, φλογὶ κάτωθεν ὑποκαιομένη, καὶ ὕλαι τρέφουσαι τὸ πῦρ  
 ὑπεβάλλοντο· ἄνωθεν δὲ ταύτης, ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀθλητῆς ἐπετίθετο. Ἡ  
 φλόξ μὲν οἶν κατὰ βραχὺ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ μάρτυρος διεβόσκετο· καθάπερ  
 140 δὲ μὴ ἀρκούσης πρὸς τὸν ἐκείνου θυμὸν τῆς κολάσεως, ἢ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ  
 μάρτυρος μᾶλλον ἀνίκητον γενναιότητα, καὶ λεπταῖς τριχῇ ῥάβδοις  
 ἐπέττατε τιμωρεῖσθαι, ὡς ἂν κάτωθεν μὲν, τῷ πυρὶ φλεγόμενος, ἄνωθεν  
 δὲ ταῖς ῥάβδοις ἐπιξαινόμενος, ἐν πολλῇ βίᾳ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπορρήξει.

#### ΔDLUV

**126** ἡδονῇ ΔLUV : ἡδονῇ D — **127** ἀδελφιδὴν corr.: ἀδελφιδὴν ΔLUV — ἑαυτοῦ  
 ΔDV : ἑαυτοῦ post corr. (ex αυτοῦ et add. ε sup. lin.) U : ἑαυτοῦ L — **128**  
 καθυπισχνεῖτο ΔDL : καθ' ὑπισχνεῖτο U : καθύπισχνεῖτο V — θύσειε post corr.  
 (ex θύσειεν et del. ν) U : θύσειεν VD : θύσειεν post corr. L — **129** τὸν DLUV : τοῦ Δ  
 — ὑπερόπτην ΔDUV : ὑπερόπτειν L — ἐλεῖν ΔLUV : ἐλεῖν D — **130** ante ἐπεὶ par.  
 ind. ΔDLUV — ἐπεὶ bis acc. DLU — πρὸς μόνην ΔLUV : προσμόνην D — **131**  
 δυσχεράναντα ΔDLU : δυσχεραίνοντα V — **132** φοβεῖν ΔDUV : deest L — ταύτας  
 ΔDLU : ταῦτα V — **134** ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ΔUV : ἐξαμφοτέρων DL — **136** ἀπεφήματο  
 VL : ἀπεφαίνετο ΔDU — ante σιδηρὰ par. ind. V — σιδηρὰ DLV : σιδηρὰ ΔU — **138**  
 ante ἢ par. ind. Δ — **139** κατὰ βραχὺ UV : καταβραχὺ ΔDL — **142** μὲν bis acc. U —  
**142-143** μὲν, τῷ DU : μὲν τῷ ΔLV — **143-144** ἐν-βασάνου scr. al. man. D

[9] Ταύτης τῆς βασάνου, καὶ ἡ θεὰ μόνη τοῖς παρόντας ἐφόβει, καὶ  
 145 χερσὶ τὰς ὄψεις ἐπικαλύπτοντες ἦσαν. Ὁ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μάρτυς, οὐχ  
 ὡς φλεγόμενος, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν λειμῶνι καὶ ῥόδοις μᾶλλον ἀναπαιόμενος,  
 παραδόξως ὠράτο. Τῶν παρεστώτων δὲ τις Σωφρόνιος ὄνομα, τὴν ἀξίαν  
 κομειταρήσιος, οὐκ ἔλεόν τινα τῷ μάρτυρι νέμων, ἀλλὰ τὸν δικάζοντα  
 150 θεραπεύων καὶ τὸν καιρόν, «Θύσον, ἄθλιε» πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη, «καὶ τὸ τοῦ  
 περιβλέπτου δικαστοῦ κέρδησον εὐμένες». Πρὸς ὃν ὁ μάρτυς, «Ἐγὼ τῷ  
 ἐμῷ Χριστῷ θύω θυσίαν αἰνέσεως», ἀπεκρίνατο· «ὅς καὶ δυνατός ἐστιν  
 ἐξελεῖσθαί με τῶν ὑμετέρων χειρῶν, καὶ τὰς ἐπινοίας ὑμῶν κατὰ τῆς  
 ὑμετέρας κεφαλῆς περιτρέψαι· ὃν οὐ δίκαιον καταλιπόντα, δαίμοσι  
 155 θυσίαν προσενεγκεῖν». [10] Τοῦ δὲ κομειταρησίου τὸν λόγον  
 ὑπολαβόντος, καὶ βλάσφημά τινα κατὰ τοῦ σωτήρος Χριστοῦ λέγειν  
 ὀρμηθέντος, εἰς ἄρησίν τε καὶ αἴθις προκαλουμένου τὸν μάρτυρα, «Τί  
 γάρ» ἔλεγεν «εἰς ὃν ἐλπίζεις Χριστὸν ὠφελήσει σε;» Τὴν ἀτοπίαν ὁ  
 μάρτυς τῆς βλασφημίας οὐκ ἐνεγκών, γεγωνότερα φωνῆ καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν  
 ἀσέβειαν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῷ δικαστῇ πικρότερον ἐπέμενεν ὀνειδίζων, καὶ  
 160 τοὺς ἐκείνων μυκτηρίζων θεούς, «Τί δαὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ τῇ πλάνῃ κάτοχοι»

ADLUV

**144** ante ταύτης par. ind. ΔLU — **144** μόνη ΔD : μόνον L — **145** οὐχ ΔDL : οὐχ' UV — **147** ὠράτο ΔLUV : ὠράτο D — ante τῶν par. ind. Δ — **148** ἔλεόν τινα ΔDUV : ἔλαιόν τινα L — **149** θεραπεύων ΔDUV : θεραπεύον L — **150** ante πρὸς par. ind. ΔL — **151** θύω ΔDUV : θύσω L — αἰνέσεως ΔDUV : ἐνέσεως L — δυνατός ΔDUV : δυνατόν L — **153** post κεφαλῆς spatium vacuum ca. 10 litt. V — post δίκαιον scr. Θε(ε)όν V — **155** ante τοῦ par. ind. ΔLU — **156** ὀρμηθέντος ΔDUV : ὀρμηθέντα L — **157** post σε sign. interrog. L — **159** τε ΔDLV : τὲ U — ἐπέμενε UV : ὑπέμενε ΔDL — **160** μυκτηρίζων ΔDUV : deest L — ante τί par. ind. Δ — δαὶ ΔLUV : δεὰ D



λέγων «ἀγνοεῖτε οἷα τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν ταυτὶ λατρευόμενα, καὶ ὅπως οὐδὲ ἀνθρωπίνην ἐνέργειαν ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἀλόγων εἴπω δύνανται σώζειν, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς θεϊκὴν ἀναχθῆναι μεγαλοπρέπειαν, ἀναίσθητα ὄντα καὶ κωφὰ καὶ τυφλά, καὶ μήτε ὄραν δυνάμενα  
165 μὴτ' ἀκούειν, μήτε χερσὶν ὅλως χρῆσθαι καὶ τοῖς ποσίν; Οἱ οὖν οὕτως ἔχοντες, εἰς τί ἂν ἐτέρους, καὶ πῶς ἄρα ὠφελῆσαι δυνατοὶ γένοιτο;» [11] Ὁ μέντοι καὶ κλήσει καὶ τρόποις ἄγριος ἡγεμών, τὴν τε ἦτταν οὐχ' ὑπομένων, καὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν τοῦ μάρτυρος οὐκ ἀνέλπιστον πάλιν ποιούμενος, «Θύσον» ἔλεγεν  
170 «ἄθλιε, καὶ τῶν παρόντων ἀπαλλάττου κακῶν. Εἰ δὲ καὶ σὺν ἡμῖν οὐ θύειν ἐθέλοις διὰ ματαίαν μόνην καὶ ἄλογον ἔνστασιν, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ σου ἴστωσαν οἱ θεοὶ σφόδρα κηδόμενος, ἐρῶ τι καὶ ἄλλο συμπαθὲς καὶ φιλάνθρωπον “θύω” μόνον εἶπέ, καὶ “μέγας θεὸς ὁ Ἀπόλλων” καὶ αὐτίκα σε τῆς κολάσεως ἀνήσω, καὶ φίλον εἰς  
175 τὰ μάλιστα θήσομαι». [12] Πρὸς ὃν ὁ μάρτυς δριμύτερον ὑποβλέψας, «Μὴ σοι γένοιτο» εἶπεν, «ἵνα τῷ τῶν σῶν δέει κολάσειν, ἐγὼ τὸν ἐμὸν Δεσπότην καὶ Δημιουργὸν ἀπαρήσωμαι, καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἐνταῦθα ποιούμενος πρόνοιαν, ἄσβεστον ἐκεῖ τῇ ψυχῇ πῦρ ἀνάψω. ἐμοὶ γὰρ ζωὴ, τὸ διὰ Χριστὸν μᾶλλον ἀποθαιεῖν ὥστε τοσοῦτον ἀπέχω τῆς πρὸς Χριστὸν ἐλπίδος

ΔDLUV

**163** πρὸς θεϊκὴν ΔDUV : προσθεϊκὴν L — **165** τοῖς ΔDUV : deest L — μὴτ' LUV : μὴτε ΔD — χρῆσθαι ΔDUV : χρήσασθαι L — post ποσίν sign. interrog. L — **167** ante ὁ par. ind. ΔDLUV — **168** ἦτταν DLUV : ἦτταν Δ — **169** ante θύσον par. ind. Δ — **171** διὰ ματαίαν UDLΔ : δι' ἁμαρτίαν V — **172** τί καὶ ἄλλο ΔDLU : καὶ ἄλλο τι V — **173-174** θεὸς ὁ Ἀπόλλων Δ : ὁ θεὸς ὁ Ἀπόλλων U : ὁ θεὸς Ἀπόλλων DV : ὁ θεὸς Ἀπόλλων L — **174** ἀνήσω post corr. (ex ἂν ἀνήσω et eras. ἂν) U — **175** ante πρὸς par. ind. ΔL — **176** δεσπότην καὶ δημιουργὸν ἀπαρήσωμαι DLUV : δεσπότην ἀπαρήσωμαι καὶ δημιουργὸν Δ

180 ἀποστήναι καὶ πίστεως, ὅσον οὐδὲ αὐτῷ σοι παύσομαι τὴν σωτηρίαν  
 ὑποδεικνύς, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐνάγων ὀπόση δύναμις, εἴ πως κἂν  
 ὀφέποτε τῆς ἀπάτης ἀνενεγκῶν, δυνηθῆς ἀναβλέψαι πρὸς τὸ φέγγος  
 τῆς ἀληθείας». [13] Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ἀγριππῖνος οὐ μετρίως δηχθεῖς, καὶ  
 πλέον, ὅτι πρὸς τῷ μὴ αὐτὸς ἐθελῆσαι πεισθῆναι, κάκεινον ἔσπευδεν  
 185 ἀρνηθῆναι τοὺς οἰκείους θεοὺς, ἐφίλει γὰρ τὸ σκότος ὁ τοῦ σκότους  
 υἱός, βαρυτέρας ἐπενεγκεῖν αὐτῷ διεσκοπεῖτο τὰς τιμωρίας. Καὶ τότε  
 μὲν τῆς κλίνης ἐκέλευσεν ἀναστήναι. Καὶ ὅς ἀίστατο. Ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ  
 καθάπερ ἐξ ὑπνου ἀναστάντι θαλερὸν τὸ σῶμα καὶ φαιδρὸν πάντοθεν  
 ἀποστίλβον, ὥσπερ κολυμβήθραις τισὶ καὶ θερμοῖς ὕδασι, καὶ μύροις  
 190 χρησάμενον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ πυρὸς ἄρτι καὶ τηλικαύτης ἀνεθὲν τιμωρίας·  
 εὐωδία γὰρ θαυμαστὴ τις καὶ ἀπόρητος αὐτοῦ ἐξεδίδοτο, πολλῶν  
 ἀπίστων ψυχᾶς ἐπαγομένη πρὸς θεοσέβειαν. Οἶ, καὶ καθάπερ ὑπὸ μιᾶ  
 γλώττη, «Μέγας ἀληθῶς ὁ τῶν χριστιανῶν Θεός», ἰσχυρῶς ὡς εἶχον  
 ἐβῶν, ὁ καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ δοῦλον ἀπαθῆ κακῶν ἐκ πυρὸς ἀστέκτου  
 195 διασωσάμενος. [14] Τῷ τυράννῳ μέντοι καὶ αἰθῆς, πολλὴ ἦν ὁ λόγος  
 τοῦ μεταπίσαι τὸν ἅγιον, καὶ οὐχ' ἦττον, ἢ μυρίους ἐλείν σπούδασμα·  
 διὸ καὶ πρὸς λόγους πάλιν αὐτῷ συνέβαλλε· καὶ «Εἰ μὴ θύειν» ἔλεγε

ΔDLUV

185-186 ὁ τοῦ σκότους υἱός] cf. 1 Thess. 5:5

**180** σοι DUV: σοὶ ΔL — παύσομαι post corr. (ex παύσομαι) D — **181** κἂν bis acc. ΔU — **182** ἀνενεγκῶν post corr. (ex ἀνενεγκῶν?) U — **183** ante πρὸς par. ind. ΔDLUV — ἀγριππῖνος ΔLUV: ἀγριππῖνος D — δηχθεῖς ΔDUV: δειχθεῖς L — post καὶ scr. ἀλλὰ V — **186** ante καὶ par. ind. L — **187** μὲν bis acc. U — ἐκέλευσεν DUV: ἐκέλευεν ΔL — **188** ἐξ ὑπνου ΔDUV: ἐξύπνου L — ἀναστάντι UV: διεγερθέντι DLΔ — **190** χρησάμενον DLUV: χρυσάμενον Δ — **191** εὐωδία ΔDLV: εὐοδία post corr. (ex εὐω et sscr. δία) U — θαυμαστὴ post corr. (ex θαυμαστῆ) D — **192** ὑπὸ μιᾶ ΔLUV: ὑπομιᾶ D — **195** ante τῷ par. ind. ΔLUV — **196** ἐλείν DUV: ἐλείν ΔL — **197** ante καὶ par. ind. Δ — ἔλεγε ΔDLU: ἔλεγεν V — καὶ-ἔλεγε in textu ΔLUV: in marg. D

«βούλει Πλάτων, ἀλλὰ βλασφήμησον γ' οὖν τὸν Ἐσταυρωμένον, καὶ  
 εὐθὺς πάσης τιμωρίας ἀπολελύση», μὴ δυνηθεῖς συνιδεῖν ὁ ἀνόητος, ὅτι  
 200 ταῦτόν ἐστιν ἢ καὶ χεῖρον τὸ βλασφημῆσαι τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ δαίμοσι  
 θυσίαν προσενεγκεῖν. [15] Ἄλλ' ὅρα μοι τὴν μετὰ φρονήματος ὑγιούς  
 τοῦ δικαίου ἀπόκρισιν καὶ γάρ, «ὦ καρδία διεστραμμένη» φησί, «τὸν  
 ἔμὸν Δεσπότην καὶ Βασιλέα, ὅς μοι καὶ πνοὴν ἅμα καὶ ζωὴν  
 ἐχαρίσατο, καὶ οὗ τῷ θείῳ βαπτίσματι τοῦ τῆς ἁμαρτίας πτώματος  
 205 ἠλευθέρωμαι, ἐκείνον ἂν ἐγὼ ποτε βλασφημῆσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν κακῶς  
 ἀνασχοίμην; Καὶ πῶς οὐκ ἐσχάτης ἀγνωμοσύνης τοῦτο καὶ ἀπονοίας;  
 Ἄπόστηθι ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἀπόστηθι ἐργάτα τῆς ἀνομίας». [16] Θυμοῦ πλείονος  
 ὁ δικάζων ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀναπλησθεῖς, «Ἐγὼ σοι φιλανθρώπως» ἔφη «καὶ  
 προσηῶς, ὅλα συνήθει τοῖς λόγους προσῆγον, καὶ ῥήμασιν ἀπαλωτέροις,  
 210 πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον ἐξεκαλούμην. Ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸς ὑβριστῆς εἶ καὶ θρασὺς  
 ἐκ πολλῆς ἀνοίας, ἐγὼ σε πράγμασι μᾶλλον σῶφρονα καὶ συνετὸν  
 ἀπεργάσομαι». Ταῦτα εἶπε· καὶ ὥσπερ ἔτι σχήματι καὶ λόγοις τὸ τῆς  
 ὀργῆς ἀκάθεκτον ἐνδεικνύμενος, περιρρήγνυσί τε αὐτῷ τὴν χλαμύδα, καὶ  
 κελεύει σφαίρας σιδηρᾶς πυρωθείσας ὑποβληθῆναι αὐτοῦ ταῖς  
 215 μασχάλαις· οὗ δὴ καὶ ταχὺ γενομένου, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον τὸ πῦρ τοῦ

ΔDLUV

207 ἐργάτα τῆς ἀνομίας] cf. 1 Mac. 3:6, Matth. 7:23

198 πλάτων ΔLUV: πλάττων D — γ' οὖν UV: γοῦν ΔLD — 199 ἀπολελύση DLU:  
 ἀπολέλυσο Δ : ἀπολυθήση V — μὴ ΔDUV: μὴ L — δυνηθεῖς ΔLUV: δυνηθείς D —  
 200 ταῦτόν DLUV: ταυτόν Δ — ταῦτόν ἐστιν ΔLUV: ταῦτόν ἐστὶν post corr. (ex  
 ταῦτόν ἐστὶν) D — ἢ ΔLUV: ἢ D — τὸν UV: deest ΔDL — 201 ante ἀλλ' par. ind.  
 ΔL — 202 φησί ΔDUV: φησὶν L — 206 post ἀνασχοίμην sign. interrog. ΔL — ante  
 καὶ par. ind. Δ — οὐκ ἐσχάτης ΔDUV: οὐκεσχάτης L — ἀγνωμοσύνης ΔDLU:  
 ἀγνωμοσύνης V — 207 ante θυμοῦ par. ind. ΔLV — 208 ἐπὶ τούτοις DLUV: deest Δ  
 — ἀναπλησθεῖς ΔDLV: ὑποπλησθεῖς U — 209 ἀπαλωτέροις ΔLUV: ἀπαλωτέροις D —  
 210 ante ἐπεὶ par. ind. Δ — ἐπεὶ bis acc. ΔDLU — ὑβριστῆς ΔDUV: deest L — 211  
 πολλῆς ΔDUV: πολλὸς L — 212 ante ταῦτα par. ind. LU — ἔτι καὶ σχήμασι ΔD: ἔτι  
 καὶ σχήματι LU: ἔτι σχήμασι V — 213 χλαμύδα ΔDUV: χλαμύδα L — 214 σιδηρᾶς  
 DLUV: σιδηρᾶς Δ — 215 ante οὗ par. ind. Δ — οὗ δὴ καὶ ταχὺ γενομένου ΔDUV:  
 οὗ δὴ γενομένου ταχὺ L

δικαίου καθίκετο, ὡς ἐν ὀλίγῳ γυμνὰς μὲν σαρκῶν τὰς πλευρὰς ἀποφῆναι, καπνὸν δὲ τῶν τε ρινῶν ἐκδίδουσαι καὶ τοῦ στόματος τῶν τιμίῳν αὐτοῦ σαρκῶν τὴν τῆξιν διασημαίνοντα. [17] Ἐκεῖνος μέντοι καὶ τοιαῦτα πάσχων, ἔτι τῶν βασάνων ἀνώτερος ἦν· οἱ δέ, πείραν αὐτοῦ  
220 σαφῆ τῆς καρτερίας λαβόντες, ὅμως ἐπιθυμία τῆς μεγάλης ἐκείνου ψυχῆς, οὕτω τὴν μεταβολὴν ἀπηγόρευον. Ἄλλὰ τις τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἐγγυτέρω τῷ μάρτυρι παραστάς, ταῖς μασχάλαις ἔτι τῶν σιδηρῶν ἐκείνων σφαιρῶν ἐπιβεβλημένω, αὐτομολῆσαί τε αὐτὸν παρήνει πρὸς  
225 τέλος ὑπομείναι τὴν τιμωρίαν». Ὑβρεσι τοίνυν ὁ μάρτυς τὴν ποιηρὰν ἐκείνην τοῦ λυμεῶνος συμβουλήν ἀμειψάμενος, τὸ ἐξῆς ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἦν κατὰ τὸν Προφήτην καὶ αὐτὸς οἶκ ἀκοίων· οὐδέ ἔχων ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ ἐλεγμούς, ἀλλ' εὐθὺ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὄλω τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ ἑώρα, καὶ τὴν ἐκείθεν παράκλησιν ἐξεδέχετο, «Ἴδε Κύριε» λέγων «καὶ μὴ ἀποστής ἀπ'»  
230 ἐμοῦ, ὅτι θλίψις ἐγγύς, ὅτι πῦρ καὶ σίδηρος τὴν ψυχὴν μου διεμερίσαντο. Ἄλλὰ σὺ εἶ Θεὸς μόνος ποιῶν ἐξ αἰῶνος θαυμάσια, καὶ σοῦ ἔστι τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀμήν». [18] Πολλῶν οὖν τὸ

ΔDLUV

**226-228** ὡς-ἐλεγμούς] Ps. 37 (38):15 — **229-230** μὴ-ἐγγύς] Ps. 21 (22):12 — **231** μόνος-θαυμάσια] Ps. 71 (72):18

**216** ὀλίγω ΔDUV : ὀλίγω L — μὲν bis acc. U — **218** διασημαίνοντα post corr. (ex δισημαίνοντα et add. a sup. lin.) U — ante ἐκεῖνος par. ind. ΔDLUV — **219** δὲ bis acc. ΔDLV — **220-221** ἐπιθυμία τῆς μεγάλης ἐκείνου ψυχῆς DLUV: ἐπιθυμία τοῦ ἀλώναι τὴν μεγάλην ἐκείνου ψυχὴν Δ — **223** αὐτομολῆσαί τε ΔLUV: αὐτομολῆσαί τε D — **224** ante καὶ par. ind. Δ — **224-225** διὰ τέλος ΔLUV: διατέλους D — **225** ante ὕβρεσι par. ind. V — **228** αὐτοῦ ΔDUV : deest L — τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ΔDUV: τὸν οὐρανὸν L — ἑώρα ΔLUV: ἑώρα D — **229-232** ἴδε-ἀμήν sign. in marg. UL — **229** ante ἴδε par. ind. Δ — **231** ἐξ αἰῶνος ΔDV: ἐξ' αἰῶνος U: ἐξαιῶνος L — **232** ante πολλῶν par. ind. ΔDLUV

«ἀμήν» τοῦτο καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα ὑπακουσάντων, ὁ τοὺς  
φοβουμένους αὐτὸν πατρικῶς οἰκτείρων Θεός, ἐπιβλέπει πρὸς  
235 ἐπικουρίαν εὐθὺς τοῦ Πλάτωνος. Καὶ ὁ τόπος ὃς οὕτω Βασιλικὴ  
καλεῖται, καθ' ὃν Ἀγριππίνῳ τὸ δικαστικὸν βῆμα συνεκεκρότητο,  
κλονεῖται, καὶ τῆς φρικτῆς ἐκείνης ἐπισκοπῆς τοῦ Δεσπότη, ὁ  
μηρυτῆς γίνεται· καὶ πᾶσιν ἐμβάλλει δέος, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ  
Ἀγριππίνῳ· ἀλλ' ἐπίσης ἔτι ἀσύνητος ἦν· οὐ μόνον γὰρ οὐδὲν εἰς  
240 νοῦν τῶν παρόντων ἐβάλλετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρυτέραις τὸν ἀθλητὴν  
ἀνάγκαις ἐλείν ἐπειράτο· καὶ εἴ τι τῶν σαρκῶν ὑπολιπὲς ἦν,  
ἀποδέρεσθαι τοῦτο τῶν ὀστέων ἐπέτρεπεν, « Ἰδωμεν » λέγων « εἰ  
ἄρα βοηθήσω αὐτῷ παρέσται, ὃν ἐπιβοᾶται Θεόν ». Καὶ δῆτα τὸ τάχος,  
ἔργου μὲν αἱ τῶν δημίων εἶχοντο χεῖρες, καὶ ἀνηλεῶς οἴμοι τὸ ἐκείνου  
245 δέρμα ταῖς μαχαιρίσι κατέτεμον· ὁ δέ, ὡς ψυχῆς ἀπεριτρέπτου καὶ  
γενναίου φρονήματος, καθάπερ ἠπίῳ τιλὶ φαρμάκῳ προσέκειτο τῇ εὐχῇ,  
καὶ εἰς ἐπήκοον τοῦ περιεστηκότος πλήθους, ὑπομένων « Ὑπέμεινα τὸν  
Κύριον καὶ προσέσχε μοι » ἔψαλλε, « καὶ εἰσήκουσε τῆς δεήσεώς μου », καὶ  
« ἔστησεν ἐπὶ πέτραν τοὺς πόδας μου, καὶ κατεύθυνε τὰ διαβήματά μου ».

ΔDLUV

**247-248** Ὑπέμεινα-δεήσεώς μου] Ps. 39(40):2 — **249** ἔστησεν-μου] Ps. 39(40):3

**233** τῶν DLUV : deest Δ — οἰκτείρων ΔLUV : οἰκτείρων D — **235** ante καὶ par. ind. Δ — **236 et 239** ἀγριππίνῳ post corr. (ex ἀγριππίνῳ) U — **236** συνεκεκρότητο ΔDU : συνεκροτεῖτο LV — **237-238** ἐκείνης ἐπισκοπῆς τοῦ δεσπότη ΔDUV : ἐκείνης τοῦ δεσπότη ἐπισκοπῆς L — **238** μηρυτῆς post corr. (ex μηρυτῆς) U — **239** ἐπίσης DLUV : ἐπίσης Δ — ante οὐ par. ind. Δ — οὐδὲν ΔDLU : deest V — **240** ἐβάλλετο ΔDUV : ἐβάλλετο L — **241** ἀνάγκαις ἐλείν ΔDLU : ἐλείν ἀνάγκαις V — ἐπειράτο DLUV : ἐπειράτο D — **242** ἀποδέρεσθαι ΔDU : ἀποδείρεσθαι V : ἀποδαρῆναι L — Ἰδωμεν ΔLUV : Ἰδωμεν D — λέγων ΔDUV : deest L — **243** ante καὶ par. ind. Δ — **243-244** καὶ δῆτα τὸ τάχος, ἔργου μὲν ΔDLU : καὶ δῆ τοῦ ἔργου μὲν τὸ τάχος V — **244** μὲν bis acc. U — εἶχοντο ΔV : post corr. (ex εἶχοντο) U : εἶχοντο L : εἶχωντο D — οἴμοι ΔDLV : οἴμοι U — **245** ante ὁ par. ind. U — δέ bis acc. ΔDLUV — ὡ ΔLUV : ὦ D — **247** περιεστηκότως ΔDUV : περιέστηκότως L — ante ὑπομένων par. ind. Δ — **248** καὶ προσέσχε μοι U : deest ΔDLV — ἔψαλλε DLUV : ὑπέψαλλε Δ — **247-249** ὑπομένων-μου sign in marg. Δ — **248-249** ἔψαλλε-μου sign in marg. D

250 Οὕτω ψάλλων, οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν μικρόψυχον οὐδὲ ἀγεινὲς πρὸς  
 τοσαύτην ὑπέστη τιμωρίας ὑπερβολήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λῶρον ἓνα τῶν οἰκείων  
 σαρκῶν ἐκκοπτόμενον ἤδη τῇ χειρὶ λαβῶν καὶ ἐκοπάσας, ἐπιρρίπτει τῷ  
 ἡγεμόνι, «Δέξαι τοῦτο» εἰπὼν «αἰμοβόρε κύον καὶ φάγε, ἀνθρωπέων  
 255 σαρκῶν ὀρεγόμενος». Ἐφ' οἷς ἐκάλυψε αἰσχύνῃ τὸ τοῦ δικαστοῦ  
 πρόσωπον, καὶ τῶν ἐν χειρὶ πάντων ἀφέμενος, ἴστατο τοῖς ὅλοις  
 διαπορῶν καὶ οὐκ ἔχων ὅ τι καὶ δράσειεν. Ἄλλ' ἐγγὺς παρῶν ὁ ἐκείνου  
 μὲν φιλῶν, τῷ δὲ ἀγίῳ ἐχθραίνων διάβολος, καὶ τρόπον ἕτερον  
 ὑπέμνησε τιμωρίας. [19] Ἐπὶ ξύλου τοίνυν ἀναρτηθῆναι κελεύεται, καὶ  
 εἴ τι ἐπίλοιπον τῶν σαρκῶν, τοῖς ὄνυξι ξέεσθαι, τοῦ κήρικος  
 260 ἐπιφωοῦντος, «Θῦσον ὦ Πλάτων, καὶ ἀπαλλάγηθι τῶν κολάσεων». Ἐπεὶ  
 δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ πάλιν εἶχετο καρτερίας ὁ ἀθλητῆς, καὶ δῆλος ἦν  
 οὐδὲ ψιλὸν οὖς παρέχων τῷ κήρικι, ἀγριάνας ἐπὶ πλέον ὁ Ἀγριππίνος,  
 καὶ αὐτὰς ἐδίδου τὰς παρειὰς τοῖς ὄνυξιν, ὥστε ἡλλοιοῦτο μὲν ἢ  
 ἐπιφάνεια τοῦ προσώπου, ἀνεκαλύπτετο δὲ τὸ δέρμα τῆς ὄψεως· καὶ  
 265 χωροῦντες οἱ ὄνυχες ἐνδοτέρω, νεῦρα μὲν καὶ ὀστᾶ καὶ φλέβας  
 ἀνώρυττον, ὑφέεσθαι δὲ οὐκ εἶχον τῆς παρρησίας τὸν θησαυρόν.

ΔDLUV

ξέεσθαι] cf. Philostratus, *Vitae sophistarum* 2.5.2

**250** ante οὕτω par. ind. ΔV — **252** ἐκκοπτόμενον ΔDUV: ἐκκοπτομένων L — ἤδη ΔDUV: ἤδει L — **253** ἡγεμόνι post corr. (ex ἡγεμόνι) U — αἰμοβόρε ΔDUV: αἰμοβόροι L — ἀνθρωπέων post corr. (ex ἀνθρωπέων et eras. ν ) U — **254** ante ἐφ' par. ind. ΔV — **255** ἴστατο ΔDUV: ἴστατο L — **256** οὐκ ἔχων ΔDUV: οὐκέχων L — ὅ τι Δ: ὅτι DLUV — ante ἀλλ' par. ind. L — **257** μὲν bis acc. U — δὲ ἀγίῳ ΔLDU: ἀγίῳ δὲ V — **258** ante ἐπὶ par. ind. ΔUV — **259** ξέεσθαι ΔDLU: ξαίνεσθαι V — **260** ἐπεὶ bis acc. ΔDLU — ante ἐπεὶ par. ind. ΔL — **261** δὲ bis acc. D — αὐτῆς καὶ πάλιν εἶχετο ΔLDU: αὐτῆς εἶχετο καὶ πάλιν V — **262** οὖς ΔLUV: οὖς D — **263** ἡλλοιοῦτο ΔDUV: ἡλλοιοῦτο L — **263** et **265** μὲν bis acc. U

[20] Ἐμφορηθεῖς οὖν τῆς ἀπανθρώπου θοίνης τῶν σαρκῶν ἐκείνης ὁ ἡγεμῶν, κατάγει τοῦ ξύλου τὸν ἅγιον, καὶ ἡμέρως, ὡς τῆς ἀπονοίας, καὶ προσηνῶς ἐπειράτο προσφέρεσθαι, ὧς προλαβῶν  
 270 τοσαύτας ἐπήγαγε τιμωρίας, «Μὴ γ' οὖν ἐθέλης» λέγων «ὡς καλὸν Πλάτων τῆς ἡδίστης ταύτης ζωῆς, θάνατον ἀνθελέσθαι πικρὸν, καὶ προσήκοντας ἅπαντας, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς πένθει ἀνηκέστῳ περιβαλεῖν; Φειδόμεθα γὰρ σου τῆς ἡλικίας, καὶ τὴν νεότητα κατοικτεῖρομεν». [21] Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ μάρτυς ὁ αὐτὸς ἦν καὶ ἔτι, ὥσπερ  
 275 τῶν κολάσεων οὕτω καὶ τῶν κολακειῶν ἀνωτέρω γενόμενος, σφοδρότατα καὶ πάλιν ὁ δικαστὴς ἐκινεῖτο καὶ πρὸς τὸ κολάζειν ἐτρέπετο· καὶ οὕτως ἔμενεν ἀνὰ μέρος ἐπάγων αὐτῷ βασάνους καὶ κολακείας, καὶ μιᾶ τούτων σπουδάζων ἐλείν τὸν ἀήτητον, τὰς μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος ἤδη τὸ τρόπαιον ἰστᾶν δυναμένας, τὰς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ ῥᾶον  
 280 χειρουμένας τὰς κολακείας. [22] Ἐπεὶ οὖν ταύταις προσβαλὼν οὐδὲν ἦνε, μετέωρος πάλιν ὁ ἀθλητὴς ἦν. Εἶτα τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος προδιαφθαρέντος αὐτῷ, μηρούς τε καὶ γόνατα καὶ κνήμας, καὶ ἄχρῃς ἀστραγάλων αὐτῶν διεξαίνετο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ αὐθις κρείπτων ἦν, αἱ

#### ΔDLUV

**267** ante ἐμφορηθεῖς par. ind. ΔLUV — **269** προσφέρεσθαι ΔLUD : προσφάιρεσθαι V — **270** ante μὴ par. ind. Δ — γ' οὖν DUV : γοῦν ΔL — ἐθέλης UV : ἐθελήσης ΔDL — **271** ἡδίστης ΔDLU : ἡδίστης V — **272** δὲ bis acc. UL — **274** ante ἐπεὶ par. ind. ΔDLU — ἐπεὶ bis acc. ΔL — δὲ bis acc. D — post μάρτυς scr. κ(αὶ) Δ — **276** δικαστὴς ΔLUV : δικαστῆς D — **276-280** post ἐκινεῖτο lacuna ca. 11 linn. U — **277** ἀνὰ μέρος ΔUV : ἀναμέρος DL — **275** γενόμενος ΔDU : γινόμενος LV — **277** ante καὶ par. ind. Δ — τούτων ΔLUV : τοῦτων D — **278** ἐλείν ΔLUV : ἐλείν D — τὸν post corr. (ex τὸ et add. ν sup. lin.) D — **278-279** μὲν ... δὲ bis acc. ΔDL — **279** ἤδη UV : ἤδει ΔDL — ἰστᾶν ΔDUV : ἰστᾶν L — **280** χειρουμένας post corr. (ex χειρομένας et add. ου sup. lin.) L — ante ἐπεὶ par. ind. ΔLUV — ἐπεὶ bis acc. ΔLUV — προσβαλὼν LUV : προσβαλῶν ΔD — **282** αὐτῷ post corr. D — τε ΔDUV : τὲ L — ἄχρῃς ΔDUV : ἄχρῃ L — **283** αὐτῶν ΔVD : deest UV **286** ante ἐπεὶ par. ind. UV — ἐπεὶ bis acc. ΔDLU — δὲ bis acc. D

285 κολακεῖται προσήγοιτο· καί, «μέχρι τίνος» φησὶν «οὐ πεισθήσῃ καὶ  
 θύσεις; Φιλοῦμεν γάρ σε, ἅτε ὁμώνυμον ὄντα τῷ σοφῷ Πλάτῳ, καὶ  
 τοιοῦτον ἔσεσθαι καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐλπίζομεν». Ἄλλὰ πάλιν ἐκείνου  
 ἀμετάθετον ὄντα, πάλιν εἶχε τὸ δεσμωτήριον. Καὶ τοῖς φύλαξιν οὕτω  
 κελευσθέν ἦν, μηδεμιᾶς αὐτὸν ἄλλης ἀξιῶσαι προνοίας, ὅτι μὴ μόνον  
 290 ἄρτου βραχέος καὶ ὕδατος, τοσοῦτον παρ' αὐτῷ δυναμένων, ὅσον  
 κωλύσαι τὸ μὴ θανεῖν· ἐλάνθανε δὲ πάντως αὐτόν, ὡς οὐκ ἔπ' ἄρτῳ  
 μόνῳ ζῶσιν οἱ γε κατὰ Θεὸν ζῶντες, ἀλλ' ἐν παντὶ ῥήματι κατὰ τὸ  
 ἱερὸν λόγιον, διὰ στόματος Θεοῦ ἐκπορευομένῳ. [23] Ἡμέραι παρήλθον  
 οὐ πλείους, ἢ ὀκτωκαίδεκα· καὶ τοῦτον τῆς φυλακῆς Ἀγριππίνος  
 ἐξαγαγών, εἰ μετεβάλετο ἀνηρώτα, καὶ τὰ βασιλέως θρησκεύειν  
 295 προείλετο. Ὡς τῆς ἀπονοίας, ὅτι μὴ τὰ προλαβόντα ἱκανὰ γνώμην  
 ἀνδρὸς πιστώσασθαι ἔωτο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ μάρτυς κατὰ καιρὸν τηρικαῦτα  
 τὸ τοῦ Παύλου λαβών, «Ἐμοὶ τὸ ζῆν Χριστὸς» ἔλεγε «καὶ τὸ δι' αὐτόν  
 ἀποθανεῖν κέρδος», μόλις ποτὲ τὴν τοῦ θανάτου ψῆφον ἐπήγειν ὁ  
 δικαστὴς, ξίφει τὴν σεβασμίαν αὐτοῦ κεφαλὴν ἀπομηθῆναι κελεύσας.

ΔDLUV

295-296 οὐκ-ἐκπορευομένῳ] Matth. 4:4.

**284** κολακεῖται ΔUV: κολακεῖται DL — προσήγοιτο post corr. (ex προσήγον το) U —  
 ante καὶ par. ind. Δ — φησὶν Δ : φησὶ DLUV — πεισθήσῃ ΔDLU: ἐπεισθήσει V  
 — **286** ἐλπίζομεν UV: ἐλπίζόμενον ΔDL — **288** μηδεμιᾶς ΔDV: μὴ δὲ μιᾶς LU  
 — **289** βραχέος ΔDU: βραχέως LV — **290** κωλύσαι ΔUV: κωλῦσαι DL — ante  
 ἐλάνθανε par. ind. Δ — **291** εἶ ΔDUV: οἱ L — γε DLUV: deest Δ — **292** ante  
 ἡμέραι par. ind. UVDLΔ — **293** ὀκτωκαίδεκα ΔLUV: ὀκτῶ καίδεκα D — **294**  
 ἀνηρώτα ΔDUV: ἀνηρώτα L — **295** μὴ ΔDLV: μη U — ὧ ΔDU: deest LV — **296**  
 ante ἐπεὶ par. ind. ΔU — ἐπεὶ bis acc. ΔDLU — ἐπεὶ δὲ ΔDLU: ἐπειδὴ δὲ V —  
 κατὰ καιρὸν ΔUV: κατακαιρὸν DL — **296-297** τὸ τοῦ παύλου λαβών ΔDLU: κατὰ  
 τοῦ παύλου λαβών V — **299** δικαστὴς Δ: δικαστῆς DLUV



300 [24] Ἦγετο τοίνυν τῆς ἀποφάσεως δοθείσης, χερσὶ δημίω τὴν ἐπὶ  
θάνατον. Ἦνίκα δὲ τὸν τεταγμένον κατέλαβε τόποι, «Εἰς χεῖρας σου  
τὴν ψυχὴν παρατίθημι» τῷ ἀγωνοθέτῃ Χριστῷ μεθ' ἡδονῆς  
προσφθεγξάμενος, τὴν μακαρίαν εὐθὺς ἀποτέμνεται κεφαλὴν,  
ὀκτωκαιδεκάτην τότε τοῦ Νοεμβρίου μηνὸς ἄγουτος. [25] Τινὲς δὲ τῶν  
305 δι' ἐκείνου πεπιστευκότων, τὸ τίμιον αὐτοῦ ἀνελόμενοι σῶμα, καὶ τοὺς  
προσῆκοντας ἐπ' αὐτῷ ὕμνους τε καὶ ψαλμοὺς ᾄσαντες, ἐν ἐπισήμῳ  
τόπῳ κατέθεντο· εἰς δόξαν Πατρὸς Υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, νῦν καὶ  
ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν.

ΔDLUV

**300-301** ἐμοὶ-κέρδος] Philip. 1:21

**300** ante ἦγετο par. ind. ΔL — ἀποφ[ά]σεως U — **301** θάνατ[ον] U — **301** χεῖρας  
ΔL: χεῖρας DUV — **302** παρατίθημι ΔDUV: παρατήθημι L — **304** ante τινὲς par. ind.  
DUV — **306** προσῆκοντας post corr. (ex προσῆκοντας) U — τε DUV: τὲ ΔL —  
καὶ ἀεὶ ΔDUV: deest L

*Vita of St Hilarion (BHG 755)*

Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὀσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰλαρίωνος

[1] Ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ πόλις ἐστίν, οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ πέντε καὶ  
 τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους ἀπέχουσα Γάζης. Αὕτη τὸ μέγα τῆς  
 ἐρήμου θαῦμα, τὸν πολὺν ἐν ἀρεταῖς ἤνεγκεν Ἰλαρίωνα, ἐκ  
 πατέρων μὲν οὐκ εὐσεβῶν γεγονότα, *ρόδον ἐξ ἀκανθῶν* τὸ τοῦ  
 5 λόγου, παιδείας δὲ μὴ ἀμοιρεῖν ὅμως τὸν παῖδα τὸν ἑαυτῶν  
 ἐγνωκότων, καὶ τούτου πάντως κατὰ θεῖαν πρόνοιαν γενομένου,  
 ἵνα τοιαύτη φύσις, ἀγαθοῦ τοιοῦτου πράγματος τῶν λόγων μὴ  
 διαμάρτοι. [2] Πέμπουσιν οὖν οἱ γονεῖς κατὰ σοφίας ἔρωτα  
 τούτου εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. Ὁ δὲ εἰς διδασκαλεῖα μὲν ἐφοῖτα μετὰ  
 10 τῶν παίδων, παῖς ἔτι καὶ αὐτὸς ὢν, τὸ δὲ τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῦ  
 γενναῖον, κόσμιόν τε καὶ βεβηκός· ἐδηλοῦτο μὲν, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἦθους,  
 ἐδηλοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων, ὥσπερ τις χαρακτήρ ἐναργῆς,  
 τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πραττομένοις ἐπιφαινόμενος· θέατρά τε γὰρ αὐτῷ  
 καὶ ἀγῶνες ἵππων καὶ δρόμοι, καὶ θηρῶν συμπλοκὴ καὶ πάλη, αἱ  
 15 νεότητος σχεδὸν ἀπάσης κεναὶ σχολαὶ καὶ ἀπάται, καὶ πάντων  
 ἀπαλῶν ψυχῶν δελεάματα, παρ' οὐδὲν ἐλογίζοντο· τοῦτο δέ, οὐχ'  
 ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ διὰ πολὺν τῆς ἀρετῆς πόθον, καὶ ἦν ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἶχε  
 πρὸς τὸν τραχὺν βίον ῥοπήν καὶ ἐπίνευσιν. [3] Οὕτω τοίνυν ἀγομένου,

APR

**Titulus ante** βίος scr. μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ· κα' APR — πολιτεία P : πολ(ι)τ(εία) R :  
 πολειτῆα A — Ἰλαρίωνος AR : Ἰλαρίωνος P — post Ἰλαρίωνος scr. εὐ(λόγ)η(σ)ον  
 δέσποτα A — 1 οὐκ ἔλαττον AR : οὐκέλλαττον P — 3 πολὺν PR : πολὺν A — ἐν  
 ἀρεταῖς PR : ἐναρεταῖς A — Ἰλαρίωνα A : Ἰλαρίωνα RP — 4 τὸ PR : τὸν A — 5  
 παιδείας AP : παιδείας R — μὴ AP : μὴ R — τὸν παῖδα AP : deest R — 6 καὶ  
 post corr. (ex καί) P — κατὰ θεῖαν PR : καταθείαν A — 7 φύσις, ἀγαθοῦ τοιοῦτου  
 πράγματος post corr. (ex τοιοῦτου πράγματος) A : φύσις ἀγαθοῦ, τοιοῦτου  
 πράγματος R : φύσις ἀγαθοῦ, τοιοῦδε πράγματος P — 8 ante πέμπουσιν par. ind.  
 PR — οὖν AR : deest P — γονεῖς PR : post corr. (ex γονεῖς) A — κατὰ σοφίας PR :  
 κατασοφίας A — 9 τούτου PR : τούτων A — δὲ bis acc. APR — διδασκαλεῖα R :  
 διδασκαλεῖα P : διδασκαλεῖον A — ἐφοῖτα A : ἐφοῖτα P : post corr. (ex ἐφοῖτα) R —  
 10 ὢν AP : post corr. (ex ὢν) R — 11 βεβηκός AP : βεβηκός R — ἦθους AR : ἦθους  
 P — 12 ἐναργῆς AP : ἐναργεῖς R — 13 πραττομένοις PR : πραττομένης A —  
 14 ἵππων AP : ἵππων R — 15 σχεδὸν AP : σχεδὸν R — ἀπάσης P : ἀπάσης RA  
 — 15-16 πάντων ἀπαλῶν ψυχῶν R : τὰ τῶν ἀπαλῶν ψυχῶν post corr. (ex ψυχῶν)  
 A : τὰ τῶν ἀπαλῶν ψυχῶν P — 16 δελεάματα PR : δελεάματα A — παρ' οὐδὲν  
 AP : παροῦδὲν R — ἐλογίζοντο AP : ἐλογίζετο R — δὲ bis acc. A — οὐχ' AR :  
 οὐχ P — 17 ἀπλῶς AP : ἀπλῶς R — πολὺν AP : post corr. (ex πολὺν) R — ἦν A :  
 post corr. (ex ἦν) R : ἦν P — 18 τραχὺν P : τραχὺν R ταχύν A — ῥοπήν PR : ροπήν  
 A — ante οὕτω par. ind. RP — τοίνυν A : τοίνυν P : νῦν R — ἀγομένου R :  
 ἀναγομένου AP

καὶ τοιαύτην ἀκρίβειαν ἀρετῆς εὐθὺς ἀπὸ γραμμῆς  
 20 ἐπιδεικνυμένου, ἐπεὶ τὸν Ἄντωνίου βίον λαμπρόν τε ἦγεν ἢ  
 φήμη καὶ μέγαν, ἔρωτι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὴν τοῦ Ἰλαρίωνος ψυχὴν  
 ἔθελγε, καὶ ὅπως Ἄντωνιον ἴδοι, φροντὶς αὐτῷ ὑπῆρχεν ἐπιμελής·  
 Ἄμέλει καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικνεῖται, καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου ἀρετὴν,  
 25 μείζονα παρὰ πολὺ τῆς φήμης εὐρίσκει· καίτοι γε ταύτης οὐκ  
 ἀκριβοῦν εἰωθυίας ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἀλλὰ πλείονα  
 προστιθέναι τῶν πραττομένων ἀεὶ καὶ παραδοξότερα. [4] Ὁ θεῖος  
 τοῖνυν Ἄντωνιος, τό τε τῆς γνώμης ἐλεύθερον, καὶ τὸ τῆς  
 ψυχῆς γειναῖον καὶ αὐτὸς καταμαθὼν τοῦ παιδός, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς  
 30 βλάστης ὁποῖον γένοιτο τὸ φυτὸν στοχασάμενος, ἢ μᾶλλον  
 ὀφθαλμοῖς τοῖς ἔνδον ὀξύτατα θεασάμενος, μετὰ δύο τῆς  
 παρουσίας ἡμέρας τῷ τῶν μοναχῶν καθαγιάζει τοῦτον καὶ  
 τελεσιουργεῖ σχήματι. [5] Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ συνεχὲς τῶν ἐκείσε  
 παραβαλλόντων ὄχλησιν Ἄντωνίῳ παρείχε, τὴν φιλουμένην  
 ἡσυχίαν ταραττον, καὶ καθαρῶς ἀπολαύειν αὐτῆς οὐκ ἔων, αὐτὸς  
 35 μὲν εἰς τὴν ἐνδοτέραν ἔρημον ἀναχωρήσειν ἐσκέφατο, τὸν  
 Ἰλαρίωνα δὲ καλέσας, «Ἐπίμεινον» ἔφη «τέκνον τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ  
 τοῖς πόνοις τῶν ἀρετῶν ἄχρι τέλους, καὶ τῆς ἐπιμονῆς ταύτης  
 καὶ καρτερίας, τὴν τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείαν ὡς ὄριμόν τε καὶ  
 ἥδιστον τρυγήσεις καρπῶν». [6] Ταῦτα εἰπὼν, τρύχινόν τε αὐτῷ χιτῶνα,

APR

19 ἀπὸ γραμμῆς PR : ἀπογραμμῆς A — 20 ἐπεὶ bis acc. P — ἀντωνίου PR :  
 ἀντουίου A — ἦγεν AR : ἦγεν P — 21 corr. : Ἰλαρίωνος APR — 22 post ὅπως scr.  
 τὸν P — φροντὶς PR : φροντῆς A — 24 μείζονα PR : post corr. (ex μείζονα) A —  
 εὐρίσκει PR : εὐρίσκει A — 24-25 οὐκ ἀκριβοῦν AR : οὐκακριβοῦν P — 26 ante ὁ  
 par. ind. R — ἀντωνίος PR : ἀντόιος A — 27 τό τε PR : τό, τε A — 28  
 καταμαθὼν P : καταμαθὼν A : κατὰ μαθὼν R — 29 τὸ φυτὸν A : τοφυτὸν P : τὸ  
 φοιτὸν R — 32 τελεσιουργεῖ PR : τελεσιουργεῖται A — ante ἐπεὶ par. ind. R —  
 ἐκείσε AP : ἐκεῖσαι R — 34 ἡσυχίαν AR : post corr. (ex ἡσύχειαν) P — ταραττον  
 PR : ἐπιταράττον A — ἀπολαύειν P : post corr. (ex ἀπολαύον) R : ἀπολαύων A —  
 αὐτῆς AR : αὐτὴν P — οὐκ ἔων A : οὐκεῶν P : ουκεῶν R — 35 ἀναχωρήσειν AP :  
 ἀναχωρήσειν post corr. (ex ἀναχωρήσειν) R — 36 corr. : Ἰλαρίωνα APR — ἔφη τέκνον  
 AR : τέκνον ἔφη P — 37 ἐπιμονῆς PR : ὑπομονῆς A — 38 ὡς ὄριμόν P : ὡσόριμόν  
 A : ὡς ὄρημόν R — 39 ἥδιστον PR : ἥδιστον A — τρυγήσεις P : τρυγήσης R :  
 τρυγείσης A : — ante ταῦτα par. ind. PR — χιτῶνα AP : χειτῶνα R

40 καί τι καὶ δερμάτινον ἐπιδοὺς περιβόλαιον, εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν  
 ἐπανελθεῖν πατρίδα, μετ' ἀδελφῶν τινῶν ἐπισκήπτει. Εἶτα  
 ἐκεῖνος μὲν ὅπερ αὐτῷ σκοπὸς ἦν ἐποίει, καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἐνδότερα  
 τῆς ἐρήμου ἐχώρει. [7] Ὁ Ἰλαρίων δὲ εἰς Παλαιστίνην ἐπανελθὼν,  
 τελευτήσαντας αὐτῷ τοὺς γονεῖς εὕρισκε, οὐσίαν ἐκεῖνῳ  
 45 καταλιπόντας οὐ τι μετρίαν· ἦν αὐτὸς οὐκ εὐπρεπῆ λογισαμένος  
 ἀσχολίαν ἀνδρὸς εἰς μεγάλα βλέψαντος, ταύτην μὲν πένησι  
 διανέμει, σπουδὴν δὲ ἰδίαν ποιεῖται, τοὺς οὐρανίους κτήσασθαι  
 θησαυρούς. Ἔτος τῆς ἡλικίας ἐν ᾧ ταῦτα ἐπράττετο,  
 πεντεκαίδεκατον τῷ δικαίῳ. Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τὴν ἐρημίαν ἐπόθει,  
 50 καί τι μικρὸν εἰσέρχεται σπήλαιον, δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίους  
 ἀπέχον τοῦ ἐμπορίου, ὅπερ οὕτω Μαΐουμάν ὀνομάζεται. Τὸ δὲ  
 ἄρα ληστῶν ὑπῆρχε διατριβή, καὶ συνήθης τούτοις καταγωγῆ. Οἱ  
 μὲν οὖν φίλοι, τοῦ σπηλαίου διὰ τοὺς ληστὰς ὑποχωρεῖν  
 συνεβούλευον, ἰλαρῶς δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς Ἰλαρίων, οἷς φοβερὸν εἶπεν  
 55 ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς θάνατος, τούτοις οὐδὲν χαλεπὸν ὁ τοῦ σώματος,  
 κὰν ὅπως ποθὲν συμβῆ καὶ ὄθεν ἐπέλθοι. [8] Ἦν δὲ ἄρα τῷ  
 Ἰλαρίωνι τρύχινος μὲν ὁ χιτῶν, στρωμνὴ δὲ ἡ γῆ καὶ τὸ  
 δερμάτινον ἐκεῖνο περιβόλαιον, ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς κείμενον, ἅπερ εἰς

#### APR

**41** μετ' R : μετὰ καὶ AP — **42** μὲν bis acc. P — ὅπερ αὐτῷ AP : ὡςπερ αὐτῷ R  
 — **43** ante ὁ par. ind. R — ὁ post corr. (ex ἰ<λαρίων>?) A — ἰλαρίων A : ἰλαρίων RP  
 — παλαιστίνην P : post corr. (ex πάλαιστινην) A : παλαιστήνην R — ἐπανελθὼν AP  
 : ἐπανελθὼν R — **46** εἰς μεγάλα PR : ὡς μεγάλου A — πένησι AP : παίνησι R —  
**49** πεντεκαίδεκατον PR : πεντε καιδέκατον A — μετὰ ταῦτα AR : μετὰ ταῦ  
 (lapsus calami) P — δὲ bis acc. A — **51** ἀπέχον AP : ἀπέχων R — μαΐουμάν PR :  
 μαΐουμάν A — δὲ bis acc. RA — **52** ἄρα AP : ἄρα R — ὑπῆρχε AR : ὑπῆρχεν P —  
 διατριβή PR : διατριβή A — **52** ante οἱ par. ind. PR — **53** ὑποχωρεῖν AP : ὑπό  
 χωρεῖν R — ληστὰς AP : post corr. (ex ληστὰς) R — **54** συνεβούλευον AP :  
 συνεβούλευον R — ante ἰλαρῶς par. ind. R — ἰλαρῶς AR : ἰλαρῶς P — ἰλαρίων AR :  
 ἰλαρίων P — **56** ὅπως ποθὲν R : ὅπως ποτέ A : ὅπως ποτε P — ante ἦν par. ind. R  
 — ἄρα P : ἄρα AR — **57** ἰλαρίωνι AP : ἰλαρίωνι R — χιτῶν AP : χειτῶν R — δὲ  
 bis acc. A — **58** δερμάτινον AR : δερματινον P

Παλαιστίνην ἐπαιόντι ὡς ἤδη φθάσαντες ἔφημεν, ὁ μέγας  
 60 Ἐντῶνιος αὐτῷ δίδωσι, τροφή δέ, πεντεκαίδεκα ἰσχάδες· ὁ δὲ τῆς  
 μεταλήψεως τούτων καιρός, ἡμέρας ἤδη κλινούσης. [9] Ταῦτα ὁ  
 τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ γένει πολέμιος ἐξαρχῆς ὀρών, ὑπεπρίετο τοὺς  
 ὀδόντας, καὶ οὐδ' ὅλως ἔκρινεν αὐτῷ φορητά. Ἄμέλει καὶ  
 65 πολλαχόθεν ἐπαγαγὼν τὰς ἐπιβουλάς, καὶ διὰ πασῶν ἠττηθεὶς,  
 οὐδὲ οὕτως ἀφίστατο, ἀναιδὲς γὰρ ἢ κακία καὶ πρὸς πάλιν τῆς  
 ἀρετῆς ἐπίμονοι, καὶ δυσκόλως ἂν ἀπόσχοιτο προσβολῆς ἐφιεμένη  
 καταβαλεῖν, διὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ φθόνου παράθηξιν. [10] Πάλιν οὖν  
 προσβάλλει, καὶ πάλιν ἐπιπηδᾷ, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἰσχυρῶς  
 70 μάχεται, πόλεμόν τε αὐτῷ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως, καὶ τῶν ἀτόπων  
 λογισμῶν ἐπιφέρει. Ὁ δέ, καὶ πάλιν αὐτὸν διεκρούετο, καὶ πρὸς  
 πέτραν ὑπομονῆς τοὺς πόδας ἐρείσας γενναίως ἀντηγωνίζετο·  
 ἔτυπτε μὲν γὰρ τὸ στήθος ὁ Ἰλαρίων, οἷα κακοὺς κηφήνας τοὺς  
 πονηροὺς ἐκείθεν λογισμοὺς φυγαδεύων, ἐπίεζε δὲ τὸ σῶμα  
 75 κρυμῶ, δίψει, τροφῆς ἐνδεία, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ταλαιπωρία· ἐπέιθετο  
 γὰρ οὕτω λέγοντι τῷ θεῷ Δαυίδ, « Ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦς  
 παρενοχλεῖν μοι, ἐνεδυόμην σάκκον· καὶ ἐταπείνουν ἐν νηστείᾳ τὴν

#### APR

59 παλαιστίνην AP : παλαιστήνην R — ἐπαιόντι AP : ὄντι R — 60 δίδωσι AP :  
 post corr. (ex δίδωσιν et erasit ὕ) R — τροφή AP : post corr. (ex τροφή) R — δὲ bis acc.  
 A — πεντεκαίδεκα PR : πεντε καίδεκα A — 61 ante ταῦτα par. ind. PR — 62  
 ἐξαρχῆς PR : ἐξ ἀρχῆς A — ὑπεπρίετε corr.: ὑπέπριετε A : ὑπέτριζέ τε PR —  
 63 ὀδόντας corr.: ὀδόντας APR — οὐδ' ὅλως A : οὐδόλως PR — 65 πολλαχόθεν AP :  
 πολλαχῶθεν R — διὰ πασῶν AR : διαπασῶν P — 66-67 ἀναιδὲς-ἐπίμονοι]  
 γνω(μικόν) in marg. R — 67 ἐπίμονοι PR : ἐπίπονοι A — 68 καταβαλεῖν PR :  
 καταβαλὴν vel καταβολὴν A — ante πάλιν par. ind. R — 69 ἰσχυρῶς AP : ἰσχυρῶς R  
 — 70 αὐτῷ τὸν R : post corr. (ex αὐτὸν τὸν) A : αὐτῷ τῶν P — 71 δὲ bis acc. AP  
 — 71-72 πρὸς πέτραν A : προσπέτραν PR — 72 ἐρείσας AP : post corr. (ex  
 ἐρρείσας?) R — ἀντηγωνίζετο AP : ἀντιγωνίζετω post corr. (ex ἀντιγωνίζεται) R  
 — 73 ante ἔτυπτε par. ind. R — μὲν γὰρ A : μὲν γαρ R : μεν γὰρ P — ὁ PR :  
 deest A — οἷα AR : οἷα P — 74 πονηροὺς AP : post corr. (ex πονηροῦς) R — ἐπίεζε  
 AP : ἐπέζαι R — σῶμα AP : post corr. (ex σώμα) R — 75 ἐπέιθετο AP : ἐπέιθετω  
 R — 76 οὕτω AP : οὕτω R — 76 παρενοχλεῖν P : post corr. A : παρενοχλήν R —  
 76-78 ἐγὼ-μου] sign. in marg. A

ψυχὴν μου». Τοιγαροῦν αὐτῷ καὶ εἰς κόλπον ἢ προσευχὴ  
 ἀπεστρέφετο· προσήχετο μὲν γάρ, καὶ τὸν Θεὸν ἐπεκαλεῖτο πρὸς  
 80 συμμαχίαν, βοτάνας ἀγρίας καὶ ταύτας διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν  
 προσιέμενος, ὅσω μὴ διάλυσιν τὸ σῶμα παθεῖν, ἔψαλλε δὲ  
 συνεχῶς, καὶ που γήδιον σκάπτων ἦν, σειράς τε διαπλέκων ἐκ  
 τῶν βαίων, ὅπως μὴ ἀργὴν καὶ ἄνετον ὁ ἐχθρὸς εὐρῶν τὴν  
 ψυχὴν, λογισμοὺς αὐτῇ πονηροὺς ἐπισπείρη, καὶ τὸ καθαρὸν  
 85 ἐκείνου ἐπιθολώση τῆς διανοίας. [11] Πάντοθεν τοιγαροῦν ὁ  
 ἐχθρὸς ἐξαπορηθεὶς, καὶ οἷς αὐτὸς φανερώς ἐποίει, καὶ οἷς  
 προσέβαλλεν ἐλεῖν ἀπαγορεύσας τὸν Ἰλαρίωνα, ἑτέραν ἔρχεται ὁ  
 δεινὸς τὴν ἀπάτην ποικιλωτέραν· παιδία τε γὰρ ἀπαλά καὶ  
 γυναῖκας καὶ λέοντας ὑπεκρίνετο· καὶ νῦν μὲν ἐφώνει νῦν δὲ  
 90 κωκυτὸν ἠφίει καὶ ἀνωδύρετο· ἄλλοτε δὲ καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν  
 λέοντος ἐβρυχάτο, καὶ βοῇ τὰ ἐκείσε κινεῖν ἐνομίζετο. Καὶ πολὺς  
 ἦν τοῖς φάσμασι καὶ τοῖς ψόφοις, ἐκδηματοῦν ὁ μάταιος τὸν  
 ἀσκητὴν μηχανώμενος, τὸν δὲ οὐκ ἐλάνθανε τίνας ταῦτα καὶ  
 διατί. Καὶ οὐχ' ὅπως ἐπεστρέφετο τῶν γινομένων οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 95 τὸ ὄπλον ἐγγὺς ἔχων ᾧ κατ' αὐτοῦ χρῆσθαι ἔμελλε, τὸν τύπον  
 φημί τοῦ θείου σταυροῦ, τούτῳ γενναίως αὐτὸν ἔβαλλεν. [12] κατὰ  
 γ' οὖν τὴν νύκταν ἐκείνην, σελήνης αὐτὴν ὑπολευκαινούσης, ἐδόκει

#### APR

**78** τοιγαροῦν P : τοιγαροῦν A : τοιγαροῦν R — προσευχὴ AP : post corr. (ex προσευχῆ) R — **79** μὲν γάρ AP : μὲν γὰρ R — **80** ταύτας AP : ταύτας R — διὰ τριῶν AR : διατριῶν P — **81** προσιέμενος AR : προσευχόμενος P — μὴ PR : μη A — **82** post που scr. καὶ P — **83** ἀργὴν AP : ἀργεῖν post corr. (ex ἀργεῖν) R — **84** λογισμοὺς AP : λογισμοὺς R — ἐπισπείρη AP : ἐπισπείρει R — **85** ἐκείνου R : ἐκείνος P : ἐκείνοις A — ἐπιθολώση AP : ἐπιθολώσει R — πάντοθεν AP : πάντοθεν R — ante πάντοθεν (πάντοχεν) par. ind. R — corr.: τοιγαροῦν RP : τοιγαροῦν A — **87** ἐλεῖν P : ἐλεῖν R : ἐλεῖμ A — τὸν AR : τον P — Ἰλαρίωνα A : Ἰλαρίωνα PR — **88** δεινὸς PR : δεινὸς A — ἀπάτην AP : ἀπάτην R — ποικιλωτέραν P : ποικιλωτέραν AR — ἀπαλά corr. : ἀπαλά AP: post corr. (ex ἀπαλά) R — **88** μὲν ... δὲ bis acc. AP — **90** ἠφίει AP : post corr. (ex ἠφίει) R — ἀνωδύρετο PR : ἀνωδύρετο A — δὲ bis acc. AP — καθ' ὁμοίωσιν A : κα' θ ὁμοίωσιν R : καθομοίωσιν P — **91** ἐβρυχάτο R : post corr. (ex ἐβρυχάτετο?) P : ἐβραχυτάτω A — βοῇ PR : βοῇ A — ἐκείσε AP : ἐκείσαι R — πολὺς PR : πολλοῖς A — **93** μηχανώμενος P : μηχανώμενος post corr. (ex μηχανευόμενος?) A : μηχανόμενος post corr. (ex μηχανώμενος) R — δὲ bis acc. AP — **94** διατί PR : δια τί A — ὅπως PR : ὅπως A — **95** χρῆσθαι AR : χρῆσασθαι P — ἔμελλε AP : post corr. (ex ἔμελλεν et erasit ἵ) R — **96** ἔβαλλεν PR : ἔβαλλε A — ante κατὰ (κατα) par. ind. R — **96-97** κατὰ γ' οὖν A : κατα γ' οὖν P : καταγοῦν R — **97** νύκταν AP : νύκτα R — ὑπολευκαινούσης AP : ὑπὸ λευκενούσης R

ἄρματα ἵππων ὄραν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς, μεγάλοις κατ' αὐτοῦ φερόμενα  
 ψόφοις, καὶ ὡς ἡ γῆ ταῦτα διασχοῦσα καταπίοι. Καὶ οὗτος μὲν, τὰ  
 100 Μωσέως αὐτίκα εἶδεν, Ἄσωμεν τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐνδόξως γὰρ δεδόξασται,  
 καὶ ὅσα ἐξῆς τῆς ὠδῆς, ὁ ἐχθρὸς δὲ καίτοι καταπεσῶν καὶ τὰ  
 ἔσχατα ἠττηθεὶς, οὐδὲ οὕτως ἀπείχετο προσβολῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔτι  
 γυναῖκας αὐτῷ καθεύδοντι θρυπτομένας, πρὸς ἡδονὴν ὑπεδείκνυ· καὶ  
 ποτὲ μὲν, βρωμάτων ὑπέφαινε ποικιλίας, ποτὲ δὲ προσευχομένῳ,  
 105 τοῦτο μὲν, λύκος ἦν ὠρυόμενος, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἀλώπηξ, ἄλλοτε  
 ἀλλαχοῦ ἀλλομένη· καὶ μυρία ὄψεων εἶδη καὶ σχημάτων  
 ὑποκρινόμενος, τὰ μὲν προσπαίζων, τὰ δὲ δειματῶν, ἴν' ἢ καταπλήξῃ  
 τοῦτον, ἢ καὶ πρὸς ἄνεσιν ὁμαλῶς χαλάσῃ, λύσας τὸ σύντονον. Ὁ  
 δὲ πολλοῦ ἔδει προσέχειν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἦν σκληροτέραις μάλλον  
 110 κακοπαθείαις ἑαυτὸν ἐκδιδοῦς· ἔξω γὰρ τοῦ σπηλαίου σκηπὴν ὀλίγην  
 πηξάμενος, πλάτος μὲν πόδας τέσσαρας, ὕψος δὲ πήχεις τρεῖς, ἐν  
 ταύτῃ, ἔξκαιδέκατον ἔτος ἄγων τῆς ἡλικίας, καθειργυσιεν ἑαυτὸν,  
 ἕως καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἤψατο, πρὸς ἡλίου τὲ φλόγα καὶ χειμῶνος  
 διαμαχόμενος ἀγριότητα, καὶ οὔτε τῷ παγετῷ εἴκων οὔτε τῷ  
 115 καύσῳ ἐνδιδοῦς, τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ δὲ ἅπαξ τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ κόμην  
 ἐκείρετο. Καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ προθεσμία ἢ τοῦ σεβασμίου Πάσχα ἐπιδημία,

APR

100 Ἄσωμεν-δεδόξασται] Exod. 15:1

**98** ἵππων AP : ἵππων R — μεγάλοις κατ' αὐτοῦ A : μεγάλης κατ' αὐτοῦ R :  
 αὐτοῦ μεγάλοις κατ' αὐτοῦ P — **99** ταῦτα διασχοῦσα R : διασχοῦσα ταῦτα P :  
 διασχοῦσα· ταῦτα A — οὗτος PR : οὕτως A — μὲν bis acc. AP — **100** εἶδεν R :  
 ἦδεν P : δὲ ἦδεν A — ἄσωμεν-ὠδῆς] sign in marg. A — **101** ἐξῆς corr. : ἐξῆς APR  
 — ὠδῆς AP : post corr. (ex ὠδῆς) R — καταπεσῶν P : post corr. (ex κατὰ πεσῶν) R :  
 καταπεσῶν A — **102** ἀπείχετο AP : ἀπήχετο R — προσβολῆς AP : προσβολῆς R —  
**103** γυναῖκας PR : γυναῖκας A — **104** μὲν bis acc. AP — δὲ bis acc. P — **105** μὲν...  
 δὲ bis acc. AP — ὠρυόμενος P : ὠρυόμενος R : ὀρυόμενος A — ἀλώπηξ AR :  
 ἀλώπηξ P — **106** ἀλλομένη corr. : ἀλλομένη PR : ἀλλομένου A — εἶδη AR : ἴδη  
 P — σχημάτων AR : σχήματα P — **107** ὑποκρινόμενος AP : ὑπὸ κρινόμενος R —  
 μὲν bis acc. APR — προσπαίζων P : προς παίζων A : προσπέζων R — δὲ bis acc.  
 AP — δειματῶν AP : δηματῶν R — ἢ AR : ἢ P — καταπλήξῃ AP : κατ' ἀπλήξῃ  
 post corr. (ex κατὰ πλήξῃ) R — **108** χαλάσῃ AP : χαλάσει R — τὸ post corr. (ex τό)  
 A — δὲ bis acc. AP — **109** πολλοῦ AP : προπολλοῦ R — ἔδει post corr. (ex ἔδη) A —  
 ἀλλ' ἦν A : ἀλλ' ἦν vel ἀλλ' ἦν R : ἀλλ' ὅς P — **110** ὀλίγην P : post corr. (ex ὀλίγην)  
 R : ὀλίγην A — **111** πήχεις AP : post corr. (ex πήχης?) R — **112** ἔξκαιδέκατον post  
 corr. (ex ἔκκαιδέκατον?) R : ἔξ καὶ δέκατον A : ἔκκαιδέκατον et ις' scr. in marg. P —  
**113** ἤψατο PR : ἦψατο A — καὶ χειμῶνος PR : καὶ εἰκοστοῦ χειμῶνος A — **114**  
 οὔτε<sup>1</sup> AP : post corr. (ex οὔτε) R — εἴκων AR : εἴκων P — οὔτε<sup>2</sup> AP : οὔτε R —  
**115** ἐνδιδοῦς AP : post corr. (ex ἐκδιδοῦς?) R — δὲ bis acc. A — ἅπαξ AP : post corr.  
 (ex ἅπαξ) R — ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ AR : ἐπικεφαλῇ P — **116** προθεσμία PR :  
 προθυμία A



καὶ ἡ λαμπρὰ ἡμέρα τῆς Ἀναστάσεως. Στρωμνὴ δέ, τῷ ἀπὸ  
 χαράκων ἐχρήτο πλέγματι· οὐκ ἤμειψε μέντοι τὸν τρύχινον  
 ἐκείνον χιτῶνα, ἕως ἐξετρίβη τῷ χρόνῳ, καὶ τὸ σύνολον διερρή.  
 120 Καὶ οὐκέτι οὐδὲ σκέπειν αὐτῷ τὸ σῶμα δυνατὸς ἦν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ  
 πλύναι πάλιν αὐτὸν οὐδὲ ἀπορρύψασθαι ὅλως ἡξίου, περιττὸν ἐν  
 τρυχίνῳ λέγων ἐπιζητεῖν καθαρότητα. [13] Ἦδη μὲν οὖν ἀρξάμενος  
 ὡσπερ ἔφημεν τῆς ἀσκήσεως, δέκα ἐπὶ πέντε μόναις, καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς  
 ἐσπέραν ἰσχάδας προσίετο. Τοῦ ἐχθροῦ δὲ αὐτῷ διὰ τῆς τοῦ  
 125 σώματος ἐπιθυμίας ἐπαναστάντος, ἕως ἔτι νέος ἦν, καὶ οὐπω  
 τῶν σαρκῶν ἐγκρατεία περιεγένετο, ὑφείλε τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν  
 ἰσχάδων, καὶ ὡμαῖς βοτάναις τὸ λοιπὸν ἀνεπλήρου, ἄχρι καὶ  
 εἰκοστοῦ τῆς ἡλικίας ἐνιαυτοῦ. Ἐξῆς δὲ παρ' ὅλους τέσσαρας  
 130 ξέστου τὸ ἡμισυ. Τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ μέχρι καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἐβδόμου, ἄρτῳ  
 ἐχρήτο ξηρῷ καὶ ἄλατι. Ἐξ ἐκείνου δὲ καὶ εἰς τριακοστὸν ἤδη  
 τῆς ζωῆς ἔτος, βοτάναις ἀγρίαις καὶ ῥίζαις καλάμων, τὰς τοῦ  
 ζῆν μόνον ἀφορμὰς ἐποιεῖτο. Ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου, πέμπτος δὲ αὐτῷ  
 ἐγένετο χρόνος, ὡς καὶ πέμπτου ἤδη καὶ τριακοστοῦ ἄπτεσθαι,  
 135 καὶ ἄρτος αὐτῷ κρίθινος ἦν ἡ τροφή, καὶ οὗτος ἕξ οὐγκίας  
 μεμετρημένος, ἐλαίῳ τε οὐδ' ὀτιοῦν ἠδυνθέντα ἐφθὰ λάχανα.

#### APR

117 δὲ bis acc. A — 117-118 ἀπὸ χαράκων PR : ἀποχαράκων A — 118 οὐκ ἤμειψε R : οὐκῆμειψε P : οὐκ ἤψει A — 119 ἐκείνον AP: deest R — χιτῶνα P : χιτόνα A: χειτῶνα R — διερρή AP : διερρύει R — οὐκέτι PR : οὐκ ἔτι A — σκέπειν AP : σκέπη R — 120 ἦν PR : ἦν A — 121 πλύναι AR : πλύναι P — ἀπορρύψασθαι AR : ἀπορύψασθαι P — ἡξίου PR : ἡξίου A — 122 καθαρότητα AP : καθαρότητα R — 122 ante ἤδη sign. in marg. et par. ind. R — ἤδη μὲν PR : ἤδημεν A — οὖν PR : οὖν A — ἀρξάμενος AP : post corr. (ex ἀρξάμενος) R — 123 ὡσπερ ἔφημεν τῆς ἀσκήσεως R : ὡσπερ ἔφημεν τῆς ἀσκήσεως A : τῆς ἀσκήσεως ὡσπερ ἔφημεν P — ἐπὶ πέντε PR : ἐπιπέντε A — μόναις· καὶ ταῦτα A : μόναις καὶ ταῦτα P : μόναις, καὶ ταῦτας R — 124 ἐσπέραν R : ἐσπέραν A : ἐσπέρας P — ante τοῦ par. ind. P — 125 νέος AP : νήπιος post corr. (ex νήπιος?) R — οὐπω corr. : οὐπω AP : οὐπω R — 126 σαρκῶν AP : σαρκων P — ὑφείλε AP : post corr. (ex ὑφείλε) R — 127 ὡμαῖς PR : ὡμαῖς A — 128 post ἡλικίας scr. ἐπέβη AP : deest R — ἐξῆς corr. : ἐξῆς APR — παρ' ὅλους AP : παρόλους R — 130 ἡμισυ PR : ἡμισυ A — λοιπὸν AP : λοιπὸν R — 131 ἐχρήτο PR : ἐχρήτο A — ἄλατι P : ἄλατι AR — 133 ἀφορμὰς P : ἀφορμὰς AR — ante ἀπὸ par. ind. R — δὲ<sup>2</sup> R : τέ A : τε P — 134 ἐγένετο R : διεγένετο AP — ἤδη PR : ἤδη A — 135 τροφή AP : post corr. (ex τροφή) R — οὗτος P : οὗτος A : οὕτως R — οὐγκίας AP : οὐγκίας post corr. (ex οὐγγίας) R — 136 μεμετρημένος· ἐλαίῳ post corr. R — μεμετρημένος PR : μεμετριμένος A — τε AP : τέ R — ὀτιοῦν AP : ὀτιοῦν R — ἠδυνθέντα R : ἠδυνθέντα AP — ἐφθὰ P : ἐφθὰ AR

[14] Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ πολλὸς ὑπωπιασμὸς τοῦ σώματος οὗτος, καὶ τὸ  
 τῆς διαίτης τραχὺ καὶ ἀτεχνῶς ἄφιλον, ἔβλαψέ τε αὐτῷ τοὺς  
 ὀφθαλμούς, καὶ ἀμβλυωπίαν ἐπήνεγκεν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ  
 140 λειχήνων ἐκακοῦτο τὴν σάρκα καὶ ποιήρως αὐτῷ εἶχε πάντα καὶ  
 ἀπηγόρευεν ἤδη, ἐλαίῳ τοῦ λοιποῦ ἐχρήτο καὶ ἠρτυμένα τοῦτο  
 λάχανα ἦσθιεν, ἕως καὶ εἰς ἑξηκοστὸν ἀφίκετο ἔτος· ὄσπριων μέντοι  
 καὶ ὀπώρας καὶ ἦστινος οὖν ἄλλης τροφῆς, οὐδὲ βραχὺ τι προσίετο.  
 [15] Ἐξήκοντα δὲ γεγωνῶς ἐτών, καὶ αὐτοῦ παρ' ὅλους εἴκοσιν  
 145 ἐνιαυτοὺς ἀπέσχετο ἄρτου, ἕως ἐπὶ τὰ ὀγδοήκοντα διεγένετο.  
 Ἐξῆς δὲ οὐγκίας τε ἄρτου ἦσθιεν πέντε, καὶ λάχανα σὺν ἀλεύρῳ.  
 Ἄλλα γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἀπλήστως ἔχων ὁ λόγος τὰ περὶ τῆς  
 ἐγκρατείας τοῦ ἥρωος τοῦδε καθόλου διαλαβεῖν, αὐτὰ δὲ δήπου  
 προαρπάζει τὰ τελευταῖα· ἤδη δὲ ἀνακλητέον ἡμῖν ἐχομένοις τῆς  
 150 τῶν πραγμάτων ἀκολουθίας, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς κατορθώματα  
 διηγητέον. [16] Ὀκτωκαιδέκατον ἄρτι γενόμενον ἔτος, καὶ τὴν  
 σκηνὴν ἣν αἱ μακαρίαι τούτου χεῖρες ἐπήξαντο κατοικοῦντα, λησταί  
 τινες ἐπιστάντες, ἐζήτουν μὲν αὐτὸν παρ' ὅλην τὴν νύκτα, καὶ  
 ὥστε τὸν ὄσιον συλλαβεῖν, περὶ παντὸς ἐποιούοντο. Ἄλλ' ἦν αὐτοῖς  
 155 κόπος τὸ πρᾶγμα κενός· καὶ ὑπ' ὀφθαλμοῖς τὸν ζητούμενον  
 ἔχοντες, οὐχ ἕρων, τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν οἰκεῖον ἔτι περιεῖναι θεράποντα

APR

**137** ante ἐπεὶ par. ind. PR — ἐπεὶ bis acc. P — ὑπωπιασμὸς A : ὑποπιασμὸς P ὑποπιέσμὸς post corr. (ex ὑποπιασμὸς?) R — οὗτος AP : οὕτως R — **138** ἄφιλον PR : ἄφιλον A — **139** ἀμβλυωπίαν AP : ἀμβλυοπίαν post corr. (ex ἀμβλυοπίαν et scr. u sup. lin.) R — **140** λειχήνων AP : λειχίνων post corr. (ex λειχίνων) R — **141** ἐχρήτο AP : post corr. (ex ἐχρεῖτο?) R — τούτω AP : τοῦτο R — **142** ἑξηκοστὸν AR : ἑξηκοστὸν P — ἀφίκετο AP : ἀφῆκεν R — ὄσπριων P : post corr. (ex ὄσπριων) R : ὄσπριων A — **143** ἦστινος P : post corr. (ex ἦστινος) R : ἦστινος A — οὖν PR : deest A — βραχὺ τι AP : βραχὺ τί R — **144** ante ἐξήκοντα par. ind. R — ἐξήκοντα R : ἐξήκοντα AP — γεγωνῶς PR : γεγωνῶς A — ἐτών R : ἔτη AP — παρ' ὅλους AR : παρόλους P — εἴκοσιν R : εἴκοσι AP — **145** ἐπὶ PR : ἐπι A — διεγένετο AR : ἐγένετο P — **146** ἐξῆς corr. : ἐξῆς APR — οὐγκίας AP : οὐγκίας post corr. (ex οὐγγίας) R — τε AP : τὲ R — ἦσθιεν AP : ἦσθιεν R — **147** οὐκ AR : οἶκ P — οἶδ' ὅπως PR : οἶδώπως A — ἀπλήστως AP : ἀπλείστως R — **148** καθόλου AP : καθ ὄλου R — **149** προαρπάζει PR : ἀρπάζει A — τελευταῖα A : post corr. (ex τελευταῖα) R : τελευταῖα P — ante ἤδη par. ind. R — **148** ἤδη AP : post corr. (ex ἤδη) R — **150** ἐξῆς corr. : ἐξῆς APR — ante τοῦ scr. τῶν AP : deest R — **151** διηγητέον AP : διηγηταῖον R — ante ὀκτωκαιδέκατον par. ind. PR — ὀκτω|καὶ δέκατον A : ὀκτω καὶ δέκατον P : ὀκτω, καὶ δέκατον A — **152** ἦν AP : ἦν R — τούτου PR : τοῦτο A — **154** περὶ παντὸς PR : περιπαντὸς A — ἐποιούοντο PR : ἐπιούοντο A — **155** κενός PR : καινός A — ὀφθαλμοῖς A : ὀφθαλμούς P : ὀφθαλμούς post corr. (ex ὀφθαλμοῖς) R — **156** οὐχ' APR — post θεοῦ scr. δὲ A : deest PR

βουλομένου, ὡς οὐδὲν ἀπάδον εἶναι καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τὸ τοῦ  
 θεηγόρου λέγεσθαι Ἑσαίου, *Ψηλαφήσουσιν ὡς τυφλοὶ τοίχων, καὶ*  
*ὡς οὐχ' ὑπαρχόντων ὀφθαλμῶν ψηλαφήσουσιν.* Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ νύξ  
 160 παρέλθοι καὶ ἡμέρα γένοιτο ἤδη, ὀρώσι μὲν τὸν ἅγιον, πλησίον  
 καὶ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς ὄντα, ἔκπληξις δὲ αὐτοὺς λαμβάνει καὶ ἀπορία,  
 ὅπως ἐν χερσὶ τε ὦν διὰ πάσης αὐτοῖς τῆς νυκτός, καὶ πρὸ τῶν  
 ὀφθαλμῶν κείμενος, πάνυ σφόδρα συλλαβεῖν βουλομένοις ἄληπτος  
 ἦν. Συνήκαν οὖν αὐτίκα θειοτέραν τινα δύναμιν εἶναι, τὴν τὰς  
 165 ἐκείνων σφάλλουσιν χεῖρας, καὶ ματαιοῦσαν αὐταῖς τὴν  
 ἐνέργειαν. Εἶτα οἷα προσπαίζοντές τε αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ φιλικὰ  
 συλλαλοῦντες, «Εἰ ἐπέθεντό σοι ἄρτι λησταί, τί ἂν αὐτὸς  
 ἔδρασας;» ἐπυνθάνοντο. Ὁ δέ, ἰλαρῶς πάνυ καὶ πράως, «Ἄλλὰ  
 γυμνῶ» ἔφη, «ποῖος ἀπὸ ληστῶν γένοιτο φόβος;» Ἐκείνων δὲ  
 170 πάλιν ὡς «Οὐδὲ γυμνῶν φείδεται τὸ ξίφος» εἰπόντων, ὁ μακάριος  
 ὑπολαβὼν, «Ὁ πρὸς τὸ θανεῖν ἕτοιμος» ἔφη, «οὐδὲ τὸ ξίφος ἄρα  
 δεῖσει ποτέ». [17] Τούτων οἱ λησταὶ ἀκούσαντες, καὶ θειοτέρας  
 ἐπὶ πλεον δυνάμεως εἶναι τὸ πρᾶγμα ὑπολαβόντες, θερμοὶ τὴν  
 μετάνοιαν εὐθὺς γίνονται, καὶ τὴν καρδίαν ἰσχυρῶς καταλύσσονται  
 175 εἶτα καὶ ἀνομολογοῦνται τὴν ἀνομίαν, καὶ πολὺ τὸ «Μνήσθητι  
 καὶ ἡμῶν» ὑπ' αὐτῶν προσαδόμενον· διὸ καὶ παρὰ πόδας πάλιν,

APR

**158-159** Ψηλαφήσουσιν-ψηλαφήσουσιν] Is. 59:10 — **175** μνήσθητι] cf. Luc. 23:42

**157** ἀπάδον AP : ἀπάδων R — ἐπ' αὐτοὺς AP : ἐπαὐτοὺς R — **158** τυφλοὶ R :  
 τυφλὸς AP — **158-159** ψηλαφήσουσιν-τοίχων] sign. in marg. A — **159** νύξ AR : νύξ  
 P — **160** ἤδη PR : ἤδη A — **161** ἀπορία AP : ἀπωρεία R — **162** χερσὶ τε P : χερσὶ  
 τε AR — διὰ πάσης AR : διαπάσης P — πρὸ τῶν AR : προτῶν P — **164** συνήκαν  
 PR : συνήκεν A — οὖν PR : οὖν A — τινα PR : τινὰ A — **165** ἐκείνων PR : ἐκεῖνων A  
 — χεῖρας P : χείρας A : post corr. (ex χείρας) R — **166** προσπαίζοντές AP : πρὸς  
 πέζωντές R — τε AR : deest P — **167** συλλαλοῦντες AP : συλλαλοῦντ(αις) R — εἰ  
 AR : deest P — λησταί AP : post corr. (ex λησταί) R — **168** δὲ bis acc. APR — ἰλαρῶς  
 A : post corr. (ex ἰλαρών) P : ἰλαρῶς R — **169** ἀπὸ ληστῶν PR : ἀποληστῶν A — **170**  
 γυμνῶν PR : γυμνὸς A — **171** ὑπολαβὼν post corr. (ex ὑπολαβῶν) A — ἕτοιμος P :  
 ἕτοιμος AR — ξίφος AP : ξήφος R — **171-172** ἄρα δεῖσει PR : ἀραδεῖσει A — **172**  
 ante τούτων par. ind. PR — **173** ἐπὶ πλεον R : ἐπιπλεον AP — πρᾶγμα PR : πράγμα  
 A — ὑπολαβόντες AP : ὑπὸ λαβόντες R — **174** καὶ-καταλύσσονται AP : deest R — **176**  
 καὶ PR : deest A — ὑπ' αὐτῶν PR : ὑπαυτῶν A — παρὰ πόδας AR : παραπόδας P

ὡσπερ τὸ ἐπὶ σταυρῷ πρότερον, διὰ τοῦ μαθητοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡ  
 συμπάθεια. [17] Ἄλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως· ἀκολουθεῖ δὲ καὶ ἕτερον  
 εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ ρηθήσεσθαι μέλλον, καὶ Ἰλαρίωνος φανεράν  
 180 ποιῆσαι τὴν ἐκείνῳ οἰκείωσιν· γυνὴ γάρ τις, πεντεκαιδέκατον ἤδη  
 στειρεύουσα χρόνον, πρόσσειν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐλευθεροπόλεως τῷ ἀγίῳ,  
 καίτοι γε μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν καὶ τὴν ἐρημίαν, γυναικὸς ἰδεῖν  
 ὄψιν οὐδ' ὄλως ἀνασχομένῳ· καὶ πολλή τις ἦν κοπτομένη καὶ  
 185 καὶ τούτοις ἐλκύσαι φιλονεικοῦσα τὸν ἔλεον, ὥστε τὴν στείρωσιν  
 αὐτῇ λυθῆναι καὶ τὰ τοῦ πάθους δεσμά. [18] Ὁ δὲ φιλανθρώποις  
 αὐτὴν ἰδὼν ὀφθαλμοῖς, «Ἐπάνηκέ» φησιν, «εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου, καὶ  
 δώη σοι Κύριος τὸ αἴτημα τῆς καρδίας σου». Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐπέιθετο,  
 καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα χαίρουσα ἐπανήρχετο· Ἰλαρίων δέ, ἀκολούθως  
 190 πρὸς εὐχὰς διανίστατο, καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἰσχυρῶς ἐδεῖτο πέρας αὐτῇ  
 τῆς ἐπιθυμίας δοῦναι, καὶ τῶν δακρύων στήσαι τὰς ἀφορμάς. Οὐ  
 πολλαὶ παρήλθον ἡμέραι, καὶ ἐγκύμων ἡ γαστήρ τῇ γυναικὶ  
 γίνεται, καὶ παῖδα ἕξ ἑαυτῆς ὄρα, τὸ γλυκὺ ταῖς μητράσι χρῆμα  
 καὶ εὐκταιότατον. [19] Ἐνιαυτοῦ δὲ μετὰ τὸν τόκον παρελθόντος, ἄγει  
 195 παρὰ τὸν Ἰλαρίωνα τὸν παῖδα ἢ μήτηρ. Ὁ δὲ ἠδέως τε ἐθεάσατο,

#### APR

**177** τὸ P : τῶι R : τῷ A — ἐπὶ στ(αυ)ροῦ AR : ἐπιστ(αυ)ροῦ P — διὰ τοῦ PR :  
 διατοῦ A — **178** ante ἀλλὰ par. ind. R — ἀκολουθεῖ AP : ἀκολουθῆ R — **179** μέλλον  
 AP : μέλλον R — Ἰλαρίωνος AP : Ἰλαρίωνος R — **180** ἐκείνῳ R : πρὸς ἐκείνον A :  
 προσεκέεινον P — γυνὴ PR : γυνῆ A — ante γυνὴ par. ind. PR — πεντεκαιδέκατον  
 corr. : πέντε καὶ δέκατον P : πεν\_τεκαὶ δέκατον A : πεντεκαὶ δέκατον R — **181**  
 στειρεύουσα AP : στηρεύουσα R — πρόσσειν AP : πρόσσησιν R — ἀπὸ τῆς PR :  
 ἀποτῆς A — ἐλευθεροπόλεως PR : ἐλευθεροπόλεως A — **181** ἀνασχομένῳ R :  
 ἀνασχομένῳ P : ἀνασχομένῳ A — **183** πολλή τις AP : post corr. (ex πολλή τις) R  
 — **184** ὠδίνας R : ὠδίνας AP — φέρουσα AR : ἔχουσα P — **185** τὸν PR : τον A  
 — ἔλεον AR : ἔλαιον P — φιλονεικοῦσα P : post corr. (ex φιλονεικοῦσα) AR — **186**  
 λυθῆναι AP : λυθεῖναι R — ante ὁ par. ind. P — δὲ bis acc. AP — **187** ὀφθαλμοῖς AP :  
 ὀφθαλμοῖς R — **188** αἴτημα AP : αἴτιμα R — μὲν bis acc. P — **189** ἐπανήρχετο  
 AP : post corr. (ex ἐπανήρχετο) R — Ἰλαρίων AR : Ἰλαρίων P — δὲ bis acc. A — **190**  
 πρὸς εὐχὰς R : προσευχὰς P : εἰς προσευχὰς A — διανίστατο AP : διανήστατο R  
 — **193** ἕξ AR : ἕξ P — ταῖς AR : τῆς P — μητράσι AR : μητράσι P — χρῆμα PR :  
 χρῆμα A — **194** καὶ PR : deest A — εὐκταιότατον AP : εὐκτεότατον R — ante  
 ἑνιαυτοῦ par. ind. P — παρελθόντος P : περιελθόντος R : περιελθόντες A — **195**  
 Ἰλαρίωνα AP : Ἰλαρίωνα R — δὲ bis acc. AP — ἠδέως AP : ἠδέως R — τε P : τὲ AR

καὶ εὐλογίας οἷα νέον ἡξίου καρπὸν, ὃν οὐδὲν ἦπτον ἐκείνου  
 εὐχαί, ἢ ἡ γαστήρ αὐτῆς ἐγεώργησεν, ὡς *ὑετὸς ὄψιμος*  
*γενόμεναι γῆ διψύση*, καὶ πρὸς ὠδίνας αὐτὴν διεγείρασαι. Ἔτος  
 ἤδη τρίτον ἐπὶ τριάκοντα τῆς ἡλικίας τῷ Ἰλαρίωνι ἦν, καὶ τὸ  
 200 σημεῖον τοῦτο παραδόξως αὐτῷ διηνύετο. [20] Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα,  
 γυνὴ τις ἑτέρα τῶν τῆς συγκλήτου, Ἀρισταινέτη ὄνομα, Ἐλπιδίου  
 τοῦ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων τῶν πραιτωρίων γυνή, ἀνδρὸς εὐσεβοῦς, εὐσεβῆς  
 σύνοικος, αὕτη τριῶν μὲν παίδων γίνεται μήτηρ, τοὺς τρεῖς δὲ  
 ἅμα χαλεπῆ νόσῳ περιληφθέντας, ἡμιτριταῖος γὰρ ἦν, καὶ δεινῶς  
 205 ὑπ' αὐτῆς πάσχοντας, μητρικοῖς ὄμμασιν ἐθεώρει. Ἐπεὶ οὖν καὶ  
 τέχνη καὶ χεῖρες ἰατρῶν ἀπηγόρευον, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου  
 νενικῆσθαι φανερώς ὠμολόγουν, ἐκείνη τοῖς φυσικοῖς σπλάγχχνις  
 μάλλον, ἢ οἱ παῖδες τῷ τῆς νόσου φλεγομένη πυρί, πάντων  
 ἀπογνοῦσα τῶν ἄλλων, ἐπὶ τὸν μέγα καταφεύγει Ἰλαρίωνα, καὶ  
 210 θρήνους ὁμοῦ καὶ ὄρκους καὶ δάκρυα συγκεράσασα, πείθει τῇ  
 Γαζαίων αἰθῆς ἐπιδημῆσαι, τοῦτο μὲν, εἰς ἐπισκοπὴν τῶν αὐτῆς  
 παίδων, τοῦτο δέ, καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀπάσης σχεδόν· καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὕτη  
 κακῶς ἔπασχε τῷ ἑλλητισμῷ καὶ τῷ πλείστῳ μέρει χαλεπῶς  
 ἐνόσει· ὃ δὲ καὶ μάλλον τὸν Ἰλαρίωνα ἐπηγάγετο, οὕτω πρότερον

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**196** ἡξίου PR : ἡξίου A — ἦπτον P : ἦπτον AR — ἐκείνου R : αἰ ἐκείνου P : αἰ  
 αἰκείνου A — **197** γαστήρ AR : γαστήρ P — ὑετὸς AR : υἱετὸς P — **198** ὠδίνας R  
 : ὠδίνας AP — ante ἔτος par. ind. R — **199** ἤδη R : ἤδη A : ἤδη P — ἐπὶ τριάκοντα  
 AR : ἐπιτριάκοντα P — Ἰλαρίωνι AP : ἰλαρίωνι R — **200** ante μετὰ par. ind. PR —  
 γυνὴ τις AP : γυνὴ τίς R — ἀρισταινέτη AP : ἀρησταινέτη R — **201** ὄνομα AP  
 : ὄνομα R — **202** πραιτωρίων AP : πραιτορίων post corr. (ex πραιτωρίων) R — γυνή  
 AP : post corr. (ex γυνή) R — εὐσεβῆς AP : εὐσεβεῖς R — **203** αὕτη AP : αὔτη R  
 — μὲν bis acc. P — **204** χαλεπῆ AR : χαλεπή P — **205** ὑπ' αὐτῆς AR : ὑπαυτῆς P  
 — ὄμμασιν AP : post corr. (ex ὄμμασιν) R — ante ἐπεὶ par. ind. PR — **206** χεῖρες P :  
 χεῖρες A : χεῖραις post corr. (ex χεῖραις) R — ἀπηγόρευον P : ἀπηγόρευον AR —  
**207** νενικῆσθαι AP : νενικέσθαι R — ὠμολόγουν A : ὠμολόγουν P : ὀμολόγουν post  
 corr. (ex ὠμολόγουν) R — **209** μέγα καταφεύγει Ἰλαρίωνα R : μέγαν Ἰλαρίωνα  
 καταφεύγει AP — **211** ἐπιδημῆσαι AP : post corr. (ex ἐπιδημεῖσαι?) R — **211-212**  
 τοῦτο-παίδων PR : deest A — μὲν, ... δέ, post corr. (ex μὲν ... δέ) R — **212** δέ bis  
 acc. A — ἀπάσης PR : ἀπάσης A — αὕτη A : αὐτὴ post corr. (ex αὐτῆ) P : αὐτῆι R  
 — **214** ἐνόσει AP : ἐνώσει R — ὃ AP : ὃ R — Ἰλαρίωνα AP : ἰλαρίωνι R — οὕτω  
 AP : οὕτω post corr. (ex οὕτω) R

215 τῆς σκηνῆς οὐδὲ βραχὺ προελθεῖν ἀνασχόμενον. [21] Ἄναστᾶς  
τοῖνον ἐκείθεν, μετὰ ἡλίου δυσμᾶς τὴν πόλιν καταλαμβάνει, καὶ  
χείρας ἐπιθεὶς τοῖς νοσοῦσιν, εἶτα καὶ τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ θεῖον  
καλέσας ὄνομα, δαίμοσι καὶ νόσοις ἄστεκτόν τι δέος καὶ  
ἀνυπόστατον, πρῶτα μὲν, ἰδρῶτα πολλὸν τοῦ λίαν τῷ πυρετῷ  
220 ξηρανθέντος σώματος αὐτῶν ἀπολείβει, ὥσπερ Μωυσῆς ἐκ πέτρας  
τὸ νᾶμα, εἶτα τοὺς νεανίσκους εὐθύς ῥώννυσι, τροφήν τε ὀρέξει  
αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέπει, τεκμήριον τοῦτο διδοὺς ἀψευδοῦς ὑγείας· καὶ  
αὐτοὶ τὴν βρώσιν ἠδέως προσίεντο, καὶ ὥσπερ ἐξ ὕπνου ῥᾶον  
οὕτω καὶ ταχὺ διανίσταντο. [22] Ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν τὰ εἰκότα Θεῷ  
225 ἠὺχαρίστουν, τῆς δὲ φήμης τὴν Παλαιστίνην ὁμοῦ πᾶσαν καὶ τὴν  
Συρίαν ὀξύτατα διεληθούσης, τὸ νοσοῦν ἅπαν πλήθος ἐκ πολλῶν  
πατρίδων πρὸς ἐκεῖνον συνέρρεον, ἀφθόνου τε καὶ ἀμίσθου τῆς  
θεραπείας ἀπέλαυον. Τοῦτο μεταβολὴν τοῦ τε βίου καὶ τῆς  
θρησκείας πολλοῖς τῶν ἑλληνιστῶν ἐνεποιεῖ, ὡς μὴ μόνον  
230 μεταθέσθαι πρὸς θεοσέβειαν, ὃ μείζονος ὑπήρχε νοσήματος  
θεραπεία, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῶν μοναχῶν σχῆμα περιβαλέσθαι, καίτοι  
μηδέπω μοναστηρίων κατὰ τὴν Παλαιστίνην, μὴ δὲ μοναχῶν  
πρότερον ὄντων. [23] Πρὸ γὰρ δὴ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ Ἰλαρίωνος ἐν  
ταύτῃ διατριβῶν, καὶ τῶν πολλῶν ἐκείνων ὧν αὐτουργὸς κατέστη

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220 ὥσπερ Μωυσῆς-νᾶμα] cf. Exod. 17:6

215 τῆς σκηνῆς PR : τῆσκηνῆς A — ante ἀναστᾶς par. ind. RP — ἀναστᾶς AP :  
post corr. (ex ἀναστᾶς) R — 216 δυσμᾶς P : post corr. (ex δυσμᾶς) R : δυσμᾶς A —  
καταλαμβάνει AP : κατὰ λαμβάνει R — 217 χείρας AP : post corr. (ex χείρας) R —  
ante χείρας scr. εἰς A — νοσοῦσιν AR : νοσοῦσι P — 219 ἰδρῶτα PR : ἰδρῶτα A  
— 220 αὐτῶν AP : αὐτῶι R — ἀπολείβει AP : ἀπὸ δίδωσιν R — 220-221 νᾶμα  
corr.: τὸ νᾶμα R : ποτὲ νάματα P : ποτὲ ναύματα A — 221 ὀρέξει P : ὀρέξαι  
AR — 222 αὐτοῖς AR : αὐτοῦς P — ἀψευδοῦς PR : ἀψευδοῦς A — 223 αὐτοὶ AP :  
αὐτοῖ post corr. (ex αὐτοὶ) R — 224 οὕτω AP : οὕτωι R — ταχὺ PR : τραχὺ A —  
ante ἐκεῖνοι par. ind. R — ἐκεῖνοι PR : ἐκεῖνοι A — 225 δὲ φήμης R : φήμης δὲ AP  
— 226 ὀξύτατα P : post corr. (ex ὀξύτατα) R : ὀξύτατα A — νοσοῦν ἅπαν AR :  
σύμπαν P — 227 πρὸς-τῆς AP : deest R — 228 ἀπέλαυον AP : ἀπίλαυον post corr. (ex  
ἀπέλαυον?) R — τοῦ AP : post corr. (ex τοῦ) R — 229 πολλοῖς AP : πολλοῖς R —  
ἑλληνιστῶν P : ἑλληνιστῶν AR — ἐνεποιεῖ R : ἐν ἐποίει P : ἐποίει A — 230  
μεταθέσθαι AP : μετὰ θέσθαι R — νοσήματος θεραπεία R : νοσήματος  
θεραπεία A : θεραπεία νοσήματος P — 231 τὸ τῶν PR : τῶν τῶν A — 232 μηδέπω  
R : μὴ δέπω P : δήπωτε A — παλαιστίνην P : παλαιστήνην AR — 233 ante πρὸ  
par. ind. PR — πρὸ γὰρ A : προγὰρ PR — ἰλαρίωνος AP : ἰλαρίωνος R — 234  
διατριβῶν PR : διατρίβων A

235 θαυμάτων, οὔτε μοναστηρίων ἐν Παλαιστίνη ὄνομα, οὔτε μοναχῶν ἦν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀρετῆς ἔρωσ, οὐδέ τις ἐπίδοσις πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον· ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ μὲν γὰρ ὁ μέγας Ἀντώνιος, ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ δέ, Ἰλαρίων ὁ θεῖος καλῶν ἀπέλαμπεν, ὁ μὲν ἤδη γηρῶν, ὁ δέ, νεότητος ἔχων ἄνθος, καὶ ἀρετῆς κάλλος ἐπιτερπέστερον. [24] Τῷ θεῷ τοίνυν

240 Ἰλαρίωνι τούτῳ, καὶ γυνή τις ἑτέρα πρόσσεισιν ἀπὸ Ῥινοκουρούρων, ἐπὶ δεκάτῳ χρόνῳ τῆς ἡλικίας τὸ βλέπειν ἀφηρημένη. Ἦτις ἄρα καὶ ἰατροῖς προσέχουσα, τὴν μὲν οὐσίαν ἐλάττω πολλῶ διέθηκε, πρὸς δὲ τὸ φῶς, οὐδὲν πλέον ἐκ τούτων ἀπώνατο. Ἄλλ' ἦν ἀληθέστατος ἰατρὸς Ἰλαρίων, μετὰ τοῦ προῖκα ἰᾶσθαι, καὶ ταχεῖαν

245 παρέχων τὴν θεραπείαν. Ὅν ἐπεὶ εὔρε, καὶ τὸ φῶς εὔρε ῥαδίως, καὶ οἴκαδε χαίρουσα ἐπανήει. [25] Ἐπειτά τις αὐτῷ καὶ ἡμίοχος ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως Γάζης ἐπὶ κλίνη κομίζεται, ὑπὸ τινος μὲν πληγείς δαίμονος, παρεθείς δὲ οὕτω τὰ μέλη, ὡς μικροῦ μηδὲν ἦττον τῆς φερούσης κλίνης, ἀκίνητος διακεῖσθαι. Ὅς τοῦτο μόνον

250 τῆς ἑαυτοῦ θρησκείας, Ἑλλην γὰρ ἦν, τὴν ἄρησιν δοῦς τοῦ ἐπιτηδεύματος, τὴν θεραπείαν ἀντιλαμβάνει. Καὶ οὕτω δὴ κατὰ λόγον τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ὑγείᾳ, καὶ ἡ τοῦ σώματος ἠκολούθει, ὥστε μείζον ἰδεῖν ἀγαθόν, τοῦ ζητουμένου τὸ ἀπροσδόκητον. [26] Τί δ' ἂν τὰ κατὰ τὸν Μεσικᾶν ἐκείνον εἴποις τὸν νεανίσκον; Ὅς ἀπὸ τῶν

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**235** ὄνομα AP : post corr. (ex ὄνομα) R — **236** οὐδὲ R : οὐδε A : οὐδὲ P — ἐπίδοσις PR : ἐπίδωσις A — **236** ante ἐν par. ind. R — **237** αἰγύπτῳ AP : αἰγύπτῳ R — μὲν γὰρ AP : μὲν γὰρ R — μὲν ... δὲ bis acc. A — παλαιστίνη PR : παλαιστήνη A — Ἰλαρίων A : post corr. (ex Ἰλαρίων) P : Ἰλαρίων R — **238** καλῶν A : καλὸν PR — μὲν ... δὲ bis acc. AP — ἤδη PR : ἤδη A — **239** ante τῷ par. ind. PR — **240** Ἰλαρίωνι AP : Ἰλαρίωνι R — **241** ἐπὶ δεκάτῳ R : ἐπιδεκάτῳ AP — ἄρα AP : post corr. (ex ἄρα) R — **242** ἐλάττω AP : ἐλάττω R — διέθηκε AP : διέθηκεν R — **243** τούτων AR : τούτου P — ἀπώνατο AP : post corr. (ex ἀπόνατο) R — **244** ἰατρὸς AR : ἰατρὸς P — Ἰλαρίων AP : Ἰλαρίων R — προῖκα AP : post corr. (ex προῖκα) R — ἰᾶσθαι R : ἰάσθαι AP — ταχεῖαν AP : ταχείαν R — **245** ante ὄν par. ind. R — ἐπεὶ bis acc. P — **246** οἴκαδε PR : οἴκαδε A — ἐπανήει AP : ἐπανείη R — ἡμίοχος AR : ἡμίοχος P — **247** ἐπὶ κλίνης R : ἐπικλίνης AP — **248** πληγείς P : πληγείς A : πληγῆς post corr. (ex πληγῆς) R — παρεθείς PR : παρεθείς A — οὕτω AP : οὕτω R — μηδὲν R : μὴ δὲν AP — **249** ἦττον AP : post corr. (ex ἦττον) R — **250** Ἑλλην P : ἔλλην AR — δοῦς AP : post corr. (ex δοῦς) R — **251** οὕτω AP : οὕτω R — **251-252** κατὰ λόγον AR : καταλόγον P — **252** ἠκολούθει P : post corr. (ex ἠκολούθει) R : ἠκολούθει A — ante τὸ scr. ὁ A — **254** ante τί par. ind. PR — μεσικᾶν AP : μεσικᾶν R

255 προαστείων μὲν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ὤρματο, ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα  
ἐπεικῶς ἰσχυρότατος. Οὗτος παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἀγρίῳ δαίμονι  
κατεσχέθη, ὡς μὴ δὲ τοῖς ἐκ σιδήρου δεσμοῖς ἐπέχειν αὐτὸν  
δύνασθαι τοὺς οἰκείους, ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς ἀθρόον τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων  
ἐπιπηδάν, καὶ τῶν μὲν, ῥίνας, τῶν δέ, χεῖλη, τῶν δὲ καὶ ὦτα  
260 τοῖς ὁδοῦσιν αὐτοῦ διατρῶγειν, καὶ χεῖρας δὲ ἄλλων, καὶ πόδας  
διαλυμαίνεσθαι· καὶ ὅλως μάστιγα τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ τὸν νεανίσκον  
εἶναι πικρὰν, καὶ κακὸν ἄμαχον καὶ ἀτίθασον, καθάπερ ὄργανόν  
τι καὶ ὄπλον στερρόν, τῷ συνοίκῳ δαίμονι κατὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
ἀποδειχθέντα. [27] Οὗτος μόλις ποτὲ μηχαναῖς τισὶ καὶ τέχναις  
265 χερσὶ πλειόνων καταληφθεῖς, ὑπὸ δεσμοῖς ἀρρήκτοις, πρὸς τὸν τὰ  
πάντα σοφὸν ἄγεται Ἰλαρίωνα. Ὁ δὲ φιλάνθρωπον αὐτίκα χεῖρα  
ἐπιθεῖς τῷ ἀγρίῳ ἐκείνῳ, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὄνομα τὸ φρικτὸν  
ἐπειπῶν, ἀπελαύνει μὲν εὐθὺς τὸν ποιηρὸν δαίμονα, οὕτω ῥαδίως,  
ὡς οὐδὲν εὐκοπώτερον, φαῦλόν τι κινίδιον καὶ σαπρόν, ὑγιᾶ δὲ τὸν  
270 νεανίσκον, καὶ κακοῦ παντὸς ἐλεύθερον ἀποδίδωσι τοῖς οἰκείοις, οἰκέτι  
οὔτε αὐτὸν κακὸν πάσχοντα, οὔτε ἄλλους δρώντα κακῶς. [28] Μιμείται  
νάματα ποτάμια τὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς θαύματα, καὶ κατ' ἴσον αὐτοῖς

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**255** μὲν bis acc. P — ὤρματο AP : ὄρματο R — **256** ἐπεικῶς AP : post corr. (ex ἐπεικῶς) R — ἰσχυρότατος AP : ἰσχυρώτατος R — παρὰ τοσοῦτον R : παρατοσοῦτον AP — **257** τοῖς AP : τοὺς R — **258** οἰκείους AP : post corr. (ex οἰκείους) R — ἀθρόον AP : ἀθρῶον R — **258** μὲν ... δὲ ... δὲ bis acc. AP — **259** ῥίνας A : ῥίνας PR — **260** ὁδοῦσιν A : post corr. (ex ὁδοῦσιν) R : ὁδοῦσιν P — διατρῶγειν AP : διατρῶγην R — χεῖρας AR : χεῖρας P — **261** μάστιγα AP : μάστιγα R — παλαιστίνη AR : παλαίστινι P — **262** πικρὰν PR : πικρᾶν A — κακὸν post corr. (ex ακὸν et add. κ sup. lin) P — ἄμαχον PR : ἄμαχον A — ἀτίθασον corr. : ἀτίθασσον P : ἀντίθασσον AR — **264** ante οὗτος par. ind. P — **264-265** καί-χερσὶ AR : deest P — **265** καταλειφθεῖς AP : post corr. (ex κατὰ λειφθεῖς) R — ἀρρήκτοις R : post corr. P : ἀρρήτοις A — **266** Ἰλαρίωνα A : Ἰλαρίωνα PR — δὲ bis acc. AP — φιλάν(θρωπ)ον R : φιλαν(θρωπ)ον P : φιλᾶν(θρωπ)ον A — **267** ἐπιθεῖς PR : ἐπιθεῖς A — ὄνομα AP : post corr. (ex ὄνομα) R — **268** ἀπελαύνει AP : ἀπελαύνη R — εὐθὺς R : εὐθέως AP — οὕτω AP : οὕτω R — **269** εὐκοπώτερον PR : εὐκολώτερον A — σαπρόν· post corr. (ex σαπρόν) P — ὑγιᾶ AR : ὑγια P — **270** καὶ AR : deest P — ἀποδίδωσι AP : post corr. (ex ἀπὸ δίδωσι) R — **271** αὐτὸν PR : αὐτον A — **272** κακῶς PR : κακῶς A — ante μιμείται par. ind. PR — μιμείται P : μιμήται R : εἰ μὴ τὰ A — ποτάμια R : ποταμῶν AP — θαύματα AP : κατορθώματα R — κατ' ἴσον post corr. (ex κατ' ἴσον) R : κατίσον AP



ἐπιρρεΐ· καὶ Ὀρίωνι γάρ ποτε συγκλητικῶ ἀνδρὶ ἐκ πόλεως  
 Ἀχιλλέας, ἥτις παρὰ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν κείται θάλασσαν, δαιμόνων ὅλως  
 275 ἐπεπήδησε λεγεῶν, καὶ ὅσα δαιμόνων εἴωθε χαλεπότης, ἐπ' αὐτῷ  
 ἐποίουν. Θεραπείας οὖν κὰν τούτῳ πάσης ἀπογνωσθείσης, ἄγεται  
 παρὰ τὸν ὅσιον δεσμοῖς καὶ αὐτὸς κάτοχος ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ·  
 ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ὁ θαυμάσιος τὸ τῆς διδασκαλίας μέλι παρετίθει τοῖς  
 ἀδελφοῖς. [28] Ὁ γ' οὖν ποιηρὸς λεγεῶν ἐκεῖνος, ἔστι γὰρ μετὰ  
 280 τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ἰταμόν ἢ κακία, καὶ αὐτῷ προσβάλλει τῷ ἀγίῳ διὰ  
 τοῦ πάσχοντος· οὕτω γὰρ ἐκμαίνουσι τὸν Ὀρίωνα, ὡς καὶ τὰ  
 δεσμὰ ῥαδίως ἄ περιέκειτο διασπᾶσαι, καὶ τὸ τῶν κατεχόντων  
 ἀποσείσασθαι πλήθος, καὶ αὐτῷ ἀθρόον ἐπεισπεσόντα τῷ Ἰλαρίωνι,  
 περιλαβεῖν τε αὐτὸν ὀπισθεν, καὶ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς αὐτίκα διάραι.  
 285 Τοῖς μὲν οὖν παροῦσι, βοή ἦν, καὶ φόβος ἐπήλθε, μὴ καὶ τῇ γῆ  
 τὸν ἅγιον προσαρράξας συντρίψῃ, δεινῶς ἤδη καὶ ὑπὸ νηστείας  
 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῆς ἀρετῆς πόνων τὰ μέλη κατειργασμένον· ὁ δὲ  
 ἡρέμα καὶ οἶον ἐν ὀρμῇ μειδιάματος, «Ἐάσατε» ἔφη «τὸν ἐμὸν  
 ἀντίπαλον παλαίειν ἐμοί», καὶ προσερείσας τῷ ἐδάφει τοὺς πόδας,

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**275** Λεγεῶν] cf. Marc. 5:9, 15; Luc. 8:30 — **279-280** ἰταμόν-κακία] cf. Iohannem Chrysostomum, *In Acta apostolorum*, 1, 89, PG 60, col. 89.60.

**273** Ὀρίωνι PR : ὠρίων A — **274** ἀχιλλέας AP : ἀχιλλέως post. corr. (ex ἀχιλέως et add. λ sup. lin.) R — ὅλως R : ὄλος P : deest A — **274-275** δαιμόνων<sup>1</sup>-ὅσα PR : deest (homoioteleuton) A — **275** ἐπ' αὐτῷ A : ἐπαὐτῷ R : ἐπαυτῷ P — **276** ante θεραπείας par. ind. R — κὰν AR : καὶ P — **278** διδασκαλίας AP : διδασκαλείας R — μέλι AP : μέλη R — **279** ante ὁ par. ind. PR — γ' οὖν A : γ' οὖν P : γοῦν R — ποιηρὸς PR : ποιηρῶς A — λεγεῶν PR : λεγεῶν A — ἔστι-κακία] γνω(μικόν) in marg. R — ἰταμόν AP : ποιηρὸν R — **281** οὕτω AP : οὕτω R — ἐκμαίνουσι PR : ἐκμένουσι A — **282** δεσμὰ P : δεσμα AR — ἄ περιέκειτο PR : ἔκειτο ἄπερ A — διασπᾶσαι AP : διασπᾶσθαι R — **283** ἀποσείσασθαι AP : ἀπὸ σείσασθαι post. corr. (ex ἀπὸ σόσασθαι?) R — ἀθρόον AP : ἀθρών R — ἐπεισπεσόντα A : ἐπεισπεσόντι P : ἐπὶ πεσόντα R — Ἰλαρίωνι P : post corr. (ex Ἰλαρίωνα) A : Ἰλαρίωνι R — **284** τε AP : τέ R — ὀπισθεν AP : post. corr. (ex ὀπισθεν) R — **285** βοή AP : post. corr. (ex βοῆ) R — **286** προσαρράξας A : πρὸς) ἀρράξας R : προσαράξας P — συντρίψῃ P : συντρίψει AR — συντρίψει· δεινῶς AR : συντρίψῃ δεινῶς· P — ὑπὸ νηστείας PR : ὑπονηστείας A — **287** μέλη AP : μέλει R — ante ὁ par. ind. R — δὲ bis acc. AP — **288** μειδιάματος AR : μειδιάματος P — **289** προσερείσας A : προσερείσας P : πρὸς ἐρ[ρ]είσας R — ἐδάφει PR : ἐδάφη A

290 λαβόμενος τε τοῦ Ὀρίωνος τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν, καίτοι  
 μικρὸν διασεΐσας, οἷονεὶ παῖδα ἢ ἕτερον ἀσθενή λῖαν καὶ  
 εὐκαθαίρετον, εἰς γῆν καταβάλλει. Εἶτα ἐπισφραγισάμενος αὐτόν,  
 καὶ εὐχήν τινα ἐπειπών, φυγαδεύει τε ἄθροον τὸν ποιηρὸν λεγεῶνα,  
 καὶ τὸν Ὀρίωνα νήφοντα διαιήσθησι, γλώττη τε εὐπαιδευτῶ καὶ  
 295 σῶφροισι, ἀποδιδόντα Θεῶ τὰ εὐχαριστήρια. [29] Ἐν αὐτῷ ἐξ ἐκείνου  
 διήλθε, καὶ ὁ Ὀρίων δεῖξαι βουλόμενος ὅτι μὴ πρὸς ἀχάριστον  
 ψυχὴν ἢ εὐεργεσία, μὴ δὲ παθῶν εἶ, οὐχὶ καὶ ποιεῖν ἔμαθε πρὸς  
 τοὺς ἄρξαντας ἀγαθοῦ, λαβὼν τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ παῖδια, καὶ  
 χρημάτων ὅσα ἐδόκει αὐτῷ ἀρκεῖν εἰς ἀμοιβὴν τοιαύτης εὐεργεσίας,  
 300 πρὸς τὸν ἅγιον παραγίνεται. Καὶ ὁ μὲν, ἐπιμελῶς δεῖται δεχθῆναι  
 τὴν προσφορὰν, ἀγνοῶν ἴσως ὅτι ἐκεῖνα προσφέρει, ἃ φεύγειν ὁ  
 Ἰλαρίων μεμάθηκεν ἐκ πολλοῦ· ὁ δέ, οὐ δέχεται μὲν, ἀποδέχεται δὲ  
 τὴν γνώμην, καὶ διανέμειν ἔνθα χρήσιμον εἰς τοὺς δεομένους  
 κελεύει, δύο τὰ κάλλιστα ὁμοῦ δι' αὐτῶν μὲν, πρὸς ἔλεον τῶν  
 305 ἐνδεῶς ἐχόντων διερεθίζων, τῷ δὲ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὑποδείγματι δεικνύς,  
 ὅτι περὶ ὁ πλοῦτον ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Θεὸν θέμενος, οὔτε χρημάτων δεῖται,

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**290** ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ PR : ἐπικεφαλῇ A — καίτοι R : καί τι AP — **291** οἷονεὶ AP : οἷονεὶ post corr. ex (οἷονεὶ) R — ἕτερον PR : ἕτερον A — **292** γῆν PR : γῆν A — **293** εὐχήν τινα AR : εὐχήν τινα P — **293** corr.: ἐπειπών AP : ἐπέιπ(ών) R — τε P : τὲ AR — ἄθροον AP : ἀθρών post corr. (ex ἀθρών) R — λεγεῶνα AP : post corr. ex (λεγεῶνα) R — **294** νήφοντα AP : post corr. ex (νήφον τα) R — διαιήσθησι AP : διαιήσθησι R — γλώττη AP : γλώττει R — **295** σῶφροισι R : σωφρονούση P : σωφρονούσι A — ἀποδιδόντα AP : ἀποδιδόντα post corr. (ex ἀπὸ διδόντα) R — ante ἐν αὐτῷ par. ind. R — ἐξ ἐκείνου AR : ἐξεκείνου P — **296** δεῖξαι AP : δείξαι R — **298** ἄρξαντας AP : post corr. (ex ἄρξαντας) R — **299** ἀρκεῖν AR : ἀρκειν P — **300** μὲν bis acc. AP — **301** τὴν PR : deest A — προσφέρει R : προσφέρει A : post corr. P — **302** Ἰλαρίων AP : ἰλαρίων R — δὲ bis acc. APR — μὲν post corr. (ex μὲν) R : bis acc. AP — **303** δεομένους PR : δεομαίνους A — **304** διανύων R : διανύων αὐτόν AP — ἔλεον AR : post corr. (ex ἔλαιον) P — **305** διερεθίζων AR : πρὸς ἐρεθίζων P — καθ' ἑαυτὸν AR : καθεαυτὸν P

οὔτε μὴν ἄλλου οὐδέ τινος τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάντα μικρὸν  
 ἡγείται ψυχῶν ἔρωτας, καὶ μικρῶν ὄντως ἀξίων, καὶ ὡς εἶ γε δὴ  
 καὶ αὐτὸς τοιούτων ἐραστής ἦν, οὐκ ἂν δὴ καὶ σημείων τοιούτων  
 310 ἐδείκνυτο ποιητής. Οὕτως ἐκεῖνος καὶ διδαχθεὶς καὶ πεισθεὶς,  
 εὐλογίας τε τυχῶν, σὺν ἅμα γυναικὶ καὶ τέκνοις, οἴκαδε ἐπανήει.  
 [30] Εἰς πείραν ἦλθε τῶν τοιῶνδε θαυμάτων, καὶ ὁ λατόμος  
 Ζανάνινος ὄνομα, ὃς ἐν γειτόνων τῇ μοιῇ τοῦ ὀσίου λιθοτομῶν,  
 ἀθρόον παρείθη τὰ μέλη. Εἶτα, οὐ ποσὶν ἰδίους, ἀλλὰ χερσὶ μάλλον  
 315 ἐτέρων εἰς τὸν μέγαν ἀχθεὶς, καὶ χειρῶν ἐκείνου τῆς ἐπιθέσεως,  
 ὧ θαύματος, σὺν εὐχῇ μόνη ἀξιωθεὶς, ὑγιῆς δείκνυται, καὶ εἰς τὸν  
 ἴδιον οἶκον, οὐδενὸς δεηθεὶς εἰς βοήθειαν, ἐπανέρχεται, καὶ τῆς  
 ἑαυτοῦ τέχνης ὡς τὸ πρότερον ἀκωλύτως ἔχεται. [31] Οὐδὲ ὁ  
 στρατηγὸς τῆς πόλεως Γάζης, Ἰταλικὸς οὗτος ἐλέγετο, τῶν κατὰ  
 320 τὸν ἄνδρα θαυμασίων ἀμύητος. Καὶ οὗτός γε μάλλον, ὅσω καὶ  
 χριστιανὸς ἦν, καὶ χριστιανῶν ὁ πιστότατος· ἐτέλει μὲν γὰρ τό  
 γε αὐτοῦ μέρος, τὴν ἵπποδρομίαν συνήθως τῇ πόλει, κατὰ τοὺς  
 ἐπικρατοῦντας θεσμούς, τούτῳ δὲ ἀντεστρατήγει τις τῶν ἀσεβῶν,

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**307** ἄλλου οὐδέ τινος R : ἄλλου οὐδενὸς P : ἄλλος οὐδενὸς A — ante γῆς scr. τῆς  
 AP — ante ἀλλὰ par. ind P — **308** μικρὸν R : μικρῶν AP — ψυχῶν AR : ψυχρῶν P  
 — **310** οὕτως PR : οὗτος A — διδαχθεὶς AR : διδαχθεις P — πεισθεὶς PR :  
 πεισθεις A — **311** τυχῶν PR : τυχῶν A — ἐπανήει AP : ἐπανείη R — **312** ante  
 εἰς par. ind. PR — πείραν AP : πείραν R — τοιῶνδε AR : τοιούτων P — **313** ὄνομα  
 AP : post corr. (ex ὄνομα) R — ὀσίου R : ὀσίου AP — λιθοτομῶν PR : λιθοτομῶν A  
 — **314** ἀθρόον AP : ἀθρῶον R — παρείθη AP : παρήθει R — **315** ἐτέρων PR :  
 ἐτέρων A — **316** θαύματος PR : θαύματος A — μόνη R : μόνης AP — ὑγιῆς post  
 corr. (ex ὑγιείς ex ὑγιῆς) R : ὑγιῆς P : ὑγιείς A — δείκνυται AR : γίνεταί P —  
**317** οὐδενὸς AP : οὐδένος R — **318** ἀκωλύτως AP : post corr. (ex ἀκολύτως) R —  
 ante οὐδὲ par. ind PR — **319** οὗτος AP : post corr. (ex οὗτος) R — **320** τὸν AR : τῶν  
 P — ἄνδρα AP : post corr. (ex ἄνδρα) R — ἀμύητος AP : post corr. (ex ἀμοιή(τος) et  
 add. u sup. lin.) R — οὗτός γε AP : οὗτος γε R — **321** μὲν γὰρ P : μὲν γὰρ R : μὲν  
 οἶν A — **322** τό γε αὐτοῦ μέρος PR : αὐτοῦ τότε (τό τε?) μέρος A —  
 ἵπποδρομίαν P : post corr. (ex ἵπποδρομίαν) R : ἵπποδρομίαν A —

μέρος τοῦ ἀγώνος καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχων, ὃς τῷ εἰδώλῳ θύων Μαρινάν,  
 325 καὶ διὰ τῶν τῷ βδελύγματι τούτῳ παρεδρευόντων δαιμόνων,  
 σφάλλων ἰσχυρῶς τοὺς τοῦ Ἰταλικοῦ ἵππους, καὶ τοὺς ἡμιόχους  
 ἀπράκτους τελῶν, τὴν νίκην αὐτὸς εἶχε, καὶ ἀλαζῶν ἦν καὶ *πολὺς*  
*τὴν ὄφρυν*. Ὁ μὴ φέρειν δυνάμενος ὁ Ἰταλικός, οὐ διὰ τὴν ἦτταν  
 μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ λοιδορεῖσθαι καὶ εἰς χλεύην κείσθαι τοῖς  
 330 ἑλληνισταῖς ἐκάστοτε, καὶ «Ποῦ ἐστὶν ἡ βοήθεια τοῦ Θεοῦ σου;»  
 ἀκούειν, ἐπὶ τὸν ὄσιον καταφεύγει. [32] Ὁ δὲ σεμνὸν ὑπομειδιάσας·  
 «Τί δέ, μὴ ἀποδόμενος» ἔφη «τοὺς ἵππους, πενήτων θεραπείαν  
 τὸ πρᾶγμα ποιεῖς, ἀλλ' οὔτω πολλοὺς μετὰ τῆς αἰσχύνης, καὶ  
 τοὺς λυποῦντας ἔχεις καὶ ὄνειδίζοντας;». Καὶ ὁ Ἰταλικός, «Οὐχ'  
 335 ἐκόντες» ἔφη «ταῦτα ποιούμεν ἴστω ἢ σὴ ἀρετῇ, οὐδὲ γνώμη τὸ  
 πρᾶγμα ἡμετέρα ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ τέλος τί καὶ τοῦτο δημόσιον, καὶ  
 βασιλέως θεσμὰ πρὸς ἀνάγκην ἐνίστε ταῦτα καὶ μὴ βουλομένους  
 ἡμᾶς ἀπαιτοῦντα». [33] Ὡσκναι μὲν οὖν τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δέησιν ὁ  
 μέγας, οὐκ εὐπρεπῆ πρὸς Θεὸν εἶναι λογιζόμενος, ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ  
 340 πρᾶγμα βλασφημίας αἴτιον τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦν, ἄλλως τε δὲ καὶ

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**324** τῷ εἰδώλῳ R : τῷ εἰδώλῳ P : τῶν εἰδώλων A — **325** τῷ R : τῷ P : τῷ A —  
**326** σφάλλων AP : σφάλλον post corr. (ex σφάλλον) R — ἰταλικοῦ AP : ἰτταλικοῦ R —  
 ἡμιόχους A : ἡμιόχους P : ἡμιόχους R — **327** τελῶν AR : τελῶν P — ἀλαζῶν R :  
 ἀλαζῶν P : ἀλαζῶν A — **328** ἰταλικός AP : ἰτταλικός R — ἦτταν AP : post corr. (ex  
 ἦτταν) R — **329** post καὶ scr. διὰ A — λοιδορεῖσθαι AP : λυδορεῖσθαι R — χλεύην AP :  
 χλεύειν R — **330** ἑλληνισταῖς P : ἑλληνισταῖς AR — ἐκάστοτε PR : ἐκάστω τε A —  
 ἐστὶν AR : ἐστὶν P — **331** ante ὁ par. ind. R — δὲ bis acc. APR — ὑπομειδιάσας AP :  
 ὑπομηδιάσας R — **332** ἵππους AP : ἵππους R — πενήτων AP : παινήτων R — **333**  
 οὔτω AP : οὔτω R — πολλοὺς AP : post corr. (ex πολλοῦς) R — **334** : λυποῦντας A :  
 post corr. P : λοιποῦντας R — ὄνειδίζοντας P : post corr. (ex ὄνειδίζοντας) R :  
 ὄνειδίζοντας A — ἰταλικός P : ἰταλικός A : ἰτταλικός R — **335** ἐκόντες AP :  
 ἐκόντες R — ἔφη AP : deest R — **336** ποιούμεν AP : ποιῶμεν R — σὴ ἀρετῇ P : post  
 corr. (ex σὴ ἀρετῇ) R : σὴ ἀρετῇ A — **336** ἡμετέρα ἐστὶν AR : ἡμέτερά ἐστὶν P —  
 τί corr. : τί APR — δημόσιον PR : δημοσίον A — **337** θεσμὰ P : θεσμὰ A : post corr.  
 R — ἀνάγκην AP : ἀνάγκην R — **338** ἡμᾶς AP : ἡμῖν R — ante ὣσκναι par. ind. R —  
 ὣσκναι AP : ὄκναι post corr. (ex ὄκναι) R — οὖν AP : deest R — αὐτοῦ PR : αὐτοῦ A —  
**339** οὐκ εὐπρεπῆ AR : οὐκευπρεπῆ P — δὲ bis acc. P — πρᾶγμα post corr. (ex  
 πρᾶγμα) A — **340** αἴτιον AP : αἴτιον R

τοὺς παρόντας δυσωπηθεῖς, ἐδέοντο γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ μὴ περιιδεῖν  
 οὕτως ἔχοντα τὸν Ἴταλικόν, πλησθῆναι κελεύει τὸ ποτήριον  
 ὕδατος, ἐν ᾧ πίνειν αὐτῷ σύνηθες, ὄστράκου δὲ ἦν, καὶ εἰς χεῖρας  
 τῷ Ἴταλικῷ ἐντεθῆναι. Τοῦτο λαβὼν ἐκεῖνος, ὁμοῦ τε τοὺς ἵππους  
 345 καὶ τὸν ἱππῶνα, καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῶν ἀρμάτων τοὺς  
 ἠμιόχους ἐνοπτρίζεται, καθαρῶς ἐν τῷ ὕδατι· δεδεμένοι δὲ πάντες  
 ἦσαν, γοητεία τῶν ἐναντίων. [34] Τοῦτο ἰδὼν καὶ Θεῷ χάριν  
 ὁμολογήσας καὶ Ἰλαρίωνι, αὐτίκα μὲν εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἐπανήκει,  
 λαβὼν δὲ ἐκείνου τοῦ ὕδατος, οὓς ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ ἵππους  
 350 δεδεμένους εἶδε, διαρραίνει πάντας. Εἶτα καὶ τῷ σεβασμίῳ τοῦ  
 σταυροῦ τύπῳ ἐπισφραγίζει, καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου, μεταβαίνει μὲν ἐπὶ  
 τὸν Ἴταλικὸν ἢ νίκη, αἰσχύνῃ δὲ λαμβάνει τοὺς ἀντιπάλους  
 ἐσχάτη, καὶ πολλοῖς ὑπόθεσις σωτηρίας τὸ πρᾶγμα γίνεται. [35]  
 Πάντως ἀπόχρη τῶν Ἰλαρίωνος καλῶν καὶ ταῦτα, καὶ εἰ μὴ τῶν  
 355 ἐξῆς τί προσθήσομαι· ἀλλὰ δέδοικα μὴ ἀπληστίας φεύγων γραφήν,  
 ῥαθυμίας ἐγκλήματι περιπέσω, καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ τοιούτοις  
 ἀκροαταῖς, οὓς ἐν τοῖς διηγήμασι τῶν καλῶν, οὐ τὸ πλεον οἶδα  
 τοῦ μετρίου, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐνδεέστερον ἀνιᾶν. Λεγέσθω τοιγαροῦν καὶ  
 παρατιθέσθω τοῖς καλοῖς ὑμῖν δαιτυμόσιν εἰς κόρον τὰ ἐκείνου καλά.

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**341** αὐτοὶ AP : post corr. (ex αὐτοῖ) R — **342** Ἴταλικόν AP : ἰτταλικόν R — **343** πίνειν  
 AP : πίνην R — ὄστράκου P : ὄστράκου A : οστράκου R — Ἴταλικῷ AP : ἰτταλικῷ R —  
**344** ὁμοῦ τε A : ὁμοῦ τὲ R : deest P — τοὺς R : τοὺς τε AP — ἵππους AP : post corr.  
 (ex ἵππους) R — **345** ἱππῶνα AP : post corr. (ex ἱππῶνα) R — μετὰ-ἀρμάτων PR :  
 deest A — ἀρμάτων AP : post corr. (ex ἀρμάτων) R — **345** ἠμιόχους A : ἠμιόχους P :  
 ἠμιόχους R — **346** ἐνοπτρίζεται PR : ἐνοπτρίζεσθαι A — **347** ἦσαν AP : ἦσαν R — ante  
 τοῦτο par. ind P — **348** Ἰλαρίωνι P : ἰλαρίωνι R : ἰλαρίονι A — ἐπανήκει AP : ἐπανείκει  
 post corr. (ex ἐπανείκει) R — **349** ante λαβὼν par. ind. R — ante λαβὼν scr. ὁ A — οὓς  
 AP : post corr. (ex οὓς) R — ἵππους AP : post corr. (ex ἵππους) R — **350** δεδεμένους  
 R : πεπεδημένους AP — εἶδε AP : ἴδε R — **351** μεταβαίνει AP : post corr. (ex μετὰ  
 βαίνει) R — μὲν R : bis acc. P : μεν A — **352** Ἴταλικόν P : ἰταλικόν A : ἰτταλικόν  
 R — δὲ PR : δε A — **354** ante πάντως par. ind. R — τῶν AP : τὸ R — **355** ἐξῆς corr. :  
 ἐξῆς APR — τί corr. : τί APR — προσθήσομαι R : προσθήσομεν AP — **357** οὓς AP :  
 post corr. (ex οὓς) R — **358** ante λεγέσθω par. ind. R — τοιγαροῦν P : τοιγαροῦν R :  
 τοιγαροῦν A — **359** παρατιθέσθω AP : παρατιθέσθω R — δαιτυμόσιν corr. :  
 δαιτυμῶσιν A : δετοιμῶσιν R : δαιτοιμῶσιν P — ἐκείνου AP : ἐκείνου R

360 [36] Παρθένου τινὸς κανονικῆς, ἀκόλαστος ἦρα παῖς. Ὡς δὲ ἐρῶν  
οὐκ ἐτύγχανε, τί ποιεῖ; καὶ πρὸς τί φέρεται παρὰ τοῦ οἴστρου καὶ  
τῆς μανίας; Μαγικαῖς ἑαυτὸν ἐκδίδωσι τέχναις· τοιοῦτον γὰρ  
ἀτιμασθεῖς ἔρωσ, φεῖδεται πρὸς ἄνυσιν, οὐδενός. Πέταλα οἷν  
365 χαλκοῦ γίνονται, καὶ μορφαί τινες δαιμόνων ἐν αὐτοῖς  
διαγλύφονται, καὶ νήμασι δεσμοῦνται λεπτοῖς. Ἐπειτα καὶ ῥήματά  
τινα γοητικὰ ἐγχαράττονται, ἐρασμίους ὡς αὐτὸς ὤφειτο ποιοῦντα,  
κἂν πάνυ μισούμενός τις καὶ ἀπόστοργος ᾗ. Καὶ ταῦτα ὑπὸ ταῖς  
φλιαῖς λάθρα τῆς οἰκίας κατορύττονται τῆς παρθένου. [37] Αὐτίκα γ'  
οἷν δαίμων τις τῶν φιληδόνων ἐφάλλεται ταύτην. Καὶ ἅμα ἠλίσκετο  
370 τῷ ἔρωτι τοῦ παιδός, καὶ πονήρως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἶχε καὶ ἀθλίως  
ἀπώλλυτο. Ἐώκει δὲ καὶ μαίνεσθαι φανερώς· διέστρεφε γὰρ τὰς  
ὄψεις, διέπριε τοὺς ὀδόντας, ἢ κόμη αὐτῆ, ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου  
δηλαδὴ καὶ τῶν νώτων, ἀκόσμως καθεῖτο, καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἐρωμένου  
ὄνομα συνεχῶς ἐπεβόα. [38] Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ προσήκοντες ἦσθοντο τοῦ  
375 κακοῦ, καὶ τὸν βαρὺν αὐτῆς καὶ μανικὸν εἶδον ἔρωτα, μικρὰ θέμενοι  
πάντα, παρὰ τὸν ὄσιον ἄγουσι τὴν παρθένον, καὶ || βοηθῶ χρώνται  
κατὰ τοῦ μισητοῦ πόθου, πατρὶ σεμινοτάτῳ καὶ φίλτρον ἐμβαλόντος  
πᾶσι πνευματικόν· ὅς καὶ ὄλω πνευμάτων ἐπετίμησε λεγεῶνι, καὶ  
νεανίσκον ἐρρύσατο τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς, τυφλοῖς τὸ ὄραν, καὶ  
380 παρειμένους τὸ κινεῖσθαι παρέσχετο. [39] Τὸ μέντοι φιλοσώματον

APR

**362-363** τοιοῦτον-οὐδενός] *locum non inveni*

**360** ante παρθένου par. ind. PR — ἦρα R : ἦρα AP — ἐρῶν AR : ἐρῶν P — οὐκ ἐτύγχανε AR : οὐκετύγχανε P — **361** οἴστρου AP : post corr. (ex οἴστρου) R — **361-362** καὶ τῆς μανίας AP : deest R — **362** μαγικαῖς AP : post corr. (ex μαγικαῖς) R — ἑαυτὸν AP : post corr. (ex ἑαυτῶν) R — τέχναις PR : τέχνες A — τοιοῦτον AP : post corr. (ex τοιοῦτον) R — **362-363** τοιοῦτον-οὐδενός] γνω(μικόν) in marg. R — **364** τινες AR : τινος P — ἐν αὐτοῖς P : ἑαυτοῖς R : ἐν αὐταῖς A — **365** λεπτοῖς AP : διπλοῖς R — **365-366** ῥήματά τινα AP : ῥήματα τινα R — **367** κἂν A : post corr. (ex κἂν) P : κἂν R — ταῦτα AR : ταῦτα P — **368** φλιαῖς AP : post corr. (ex φιλίας et eras. ι) R — οἰκίας AP : post corr. (ex οἰκίας) R — αὐτίκα AR : αὐτίκα P — ante αὐτίκα par. ind. P — **368-369** γ' οἷν AP : γοῖν R — **369** τις corr. : τίς APR — φιληδόνων AP : φιλιδόνων R — ταύτην R : ταύτη AP — **370** ἔρωτι post corr. R — ὑπ' αὐτοῦ AP : αὐτῷ R — **371** ἀπώλλυτο AR : ἀπόλλυτο P — ἐώκει A : ἐώκει PR — μαίνεσθαι AP : μένεσθαι R — γὰρ PR : deest A — **372** διέπριε AP : διέτριζε R — ὀδόντας A : post corr. (ex ὀδόντας) R : ὀδόντας P — κόμη AP : κόμη R — **373** τῶν νώτων P : τῶν νότων R : τῶν ὄτων A — **374** ὄνομα AP : post corr. (ex ὄνομα) R — ante ἐπεὶ par. ind. PR — ἐπεὶ bis acc. P — ἦσθοντο P : ἦσθοντο post corr. (ex ἦσθοντο) R : ἦσθοντο A — **375** βαρὺν PR : βαρύν A — **376** πάντα PR : ταῦτα A — τὸν AR : τὸ P — ante τὸ par. ind. P — **378** ἐμβαλόντος R : ἐμβάλλοντος A : ἐμβαλόντι P — λεγεῶνι post corr. (ex λεγεῶν) R : λεγεῶνι AP — **380** παρειμένους P : παρημένους AR — ante τὸ<sup>2</sup> par. ind. R

εκείνο καὶ φαῦλον δαιμόνιον, ὡς καὶ μόνῃς ὑπήσθετο τῆς τοῦ  
 Ἰλαρίωνος παρουσίας, ἐβόα τε φανερώς καὶ ἀνωδύρετο, «Πόρρωθεν,  
 ἐγὼ εἰς Μέμφιν» λέγον «ἀδείας ἀπέλαυον, ἐνυπνίοις καὶ  
 φάσμασι μόνον ἐπιφοιτῶν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· ἐνταῦθα δὲ οὐκ οἶδ'  
 385 ὅπως ἐπὶ κακῷ τῷ ἑμαυτοῦ παρήλθον». [40] Ταῦτα ἔλεγε· καὶ  
 προσαχθείσης τῷ Ἰλαρίω τῆς παρθένου, καὶ τινων πάλιν ὑπ'  
 ἐκείνου λεχθέντων, «ὦ κριτήρια» καὶ αἴθις τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐπέβόα,  
 «ἠλίκα πάσχω, καὶ ὅποια ἠδίκημαι! Κελεύεις με δούλε τοῦ Θεοῦ  
 ἐξελεθῆν; Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην εἰς πέταλον νήματι δεδεμένος, καὶ  
 390 ὑπὸ γῆν ἐν φλιᾷ κατεχόμενος, εἰ μὴ με ὁ κατέχων λύσειε παῖς».

[41] Κινεῖ τοῦτο πρὸς γέλωτα τὸν μακάριον, καὶ «ὄντως μέγας»  
 ἔφη «καὶ ἄμαχος σὺ τὴν ἰσχύν, πετάλω καὶ λεπτῷ νήματι  
 κατεχόμενος. Τί δὲ μὴ πρὸς τὸν κατέχοντά σε μᾶλλον εἰσέδυσ,  
 ἀλλ' οὕτως εἰς σῶφρονα παρθένον ἐξύβρισας καὶ κοσμίαν;» Ὁ δὲ  
 395 κρύπτειν ἐθέλων, ὅμως καὶ ἄκων ὁμολογεῖ, φωτὸς ἔργον ὁ λίαν  
 ἔσκοτισμένος ποιῶν· καὶ δίδωσι ποιηροῦ πράγματος ἀληθῆ καὶ  
 βελτίστην ἀπολογίαν, «Οὐδὲ μία με» εἰπὼν «χρεία πρὸς ἐκείνον  
 ἐκάλει, ὃν ἕτερος εἶχε δαίμων ἠδυπαθείας, ἐμοῦ πολλῷ χαλεπώτερος».

[42] Ταῦτα τῷ ποιηρῷ εἰπόντι ἐπιτιμήσας ὁ Ἰλαρίων, ἐπιτίθησι τὰς  
 400 χεῖρας τῇ κεφαλῇ τῆς παρθένου. Αἱ δέ, φοβερὰ τις μάστιξ τῷ δαίμονι

#### APR

**381** ὑπήσθετο PR : ὑπήσθετο A — **382** Ἰλαρίωνος P : Ἰλαρίωνος AR — τε P : τὲ AR  
 — ἀνωδύρετο AP : ἀνοδύρετο R — **383** λέγον A : λέγων PR — post λέγων scr. μένειν  
 R — **385** ἑμαυτοῦ R : ἑμαυτοῦ P : ἐμ' αὐτοῦ A — ante ταῦτα par. ind. PR —  
 ταῦτα PR : αὐτὰ A — **386** προσαχθείσης AP : πρ(ὸς) ἀχθείσης R — Ἰλαρίω AP :  
 Ἰλαρίωνη R — **386-387** ὑπ' ἐκείνου A : ὑπέκεινου R : ὑπεκείνου P — **388**  
 ἠδίκημαι P : post corr. (ex ἠδίκημαι) R : ἠδίκημαι A — με AP : μαι R — **389** post  
 ἐξελεθῆν sign. interrog. AP — οὐκ ἂν A : οὐκ' ἂν P : οὐκὰν R — **390** ἐν PR : ἐκ A  
 — **391** ante κινεῖ par. ind. R — πρὸς γέλωτα AR : προσγέλωτα P — ὄντως AP : post  
 corr. (ex ὄντως) R — **392** ante μέγας scr. ὁ in marg. R — **393** κατεχόμενος R :  
 κατεσχήμενος AP — σε AP : σαι R — **394** δὲ bis acc. APR — **395** κρύπτειν PR :  
 κρύπτων A — ὁμολογεῖ AP : post corr. (ex ὁμολογεῖ) R — ἔργον PR : ἔργων A —  
**396** ἀληθῆ AP : ἀληθεῖ R — **397** οὐδὲ μία PR : οὐδὲ μίαν A — με PR : deest A —  
 εἰπὼν PR : εἰπὼν A — χρεία AR : χρεία P — **398** ἕτερος P : ἕτερος A : deest R  
 — ἠδυπαθείας AP : post corr. (ex ἠδυπαθείας) R — χαλεπώτερος P : χαλεπότερος  
 AR — **399** ante ταῦτα par. ind. PR — Ἰλαρίων AP : Ἰλαρίων R — ἐπιτιμήσας PR :  
 ἐπετιμήσας A — ἐπιτίθησι PR : ἐπετίθησι A — χεῖρας A : χεῖρας PR — **400** δὲ  
 bis acc. A — τις AP : deest R — δαίμονι AP : δαίμονη R

ὤφθησαν· καὶ ὁ μὲν, εὐθὺς ἐδιώκετο καὶ φυγὰς ὤχετο, ἡ παρθένος  
 δὲ τῆς τυρανίδος ἔλυετο, καὶ κοσμίως παρίστατο. Ἐγκαλέσας οὖν  
 καὶ αὐτῇ ἐπὶ τῶν παρόντων ὁ ὄσιος τὰ εἰκότα, καθότι πρόφασιν  
 ἐκείνη παρέσχε τῷ δαίμονι τῆς εἰσόδου, ταύτην μὲν σωφρονοῦσαν  
 405 καὶ ὑγιαίνουσαν οἴκαδε πέμπει, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς παρόντας, «Οὐδὲ μία  
 καθ' ἡμῶν» ἔλεγεν «ἐξουσία τοῖς ποιηροῖς δαίμοσιν, εἰ μὴ αὐτοὶ  
 πρότερον δώμεν τὰς ἀφορμάς· ἀλλὰ τί καθ' ἡμῶν εἶπον; Οὐδὲ κατὰ  
 ζῶων ἀλόγων, μὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ συγχωρήσαντος, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ κατὰ τῶν  
 κτηνῶν τοῦ Ἰώβ, αἰτήσας ἔλαβε, καὶ κατὰ τῶν χοίρων, ὡς δηλοῦσι  
 410 τὰ εὐαγγέλια· ἡμῖν δὲ μάλλον, τὸ κατ' αὐτῶν ἰσχύειν ἐδόθη παρὰ  
 Χριστοῦ, εἶπερ ἐκείνου δόσις τὸ πατεῖν ἡμᾶς ἐπάνω ὄφρων καὶ  
 σκορπίων, καὶ ἐπὶ πάσαν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ». Εἶχε μὲν οὕτω  
 ταῦτα, καὶ οὕτως ἡ οἰκουμένη πάσα τῶν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς θαυμάτων  
 ἀπέλαυον· ἔφθασε δὲ ἤδη καὶ μέχρις αὐτοῦ βασιλέως ἡ περὶ αὐτοῦ  
 415 φήμη· δεινὴ γὰρ αὕτη καὶ πλείστον τῆς γῆς μέρος ἐν βραχεῖ  
 διελθεῖν, καὶ φανερὰν θέσθαι καὶ διαβόητον, ἢ κακίαν ἢ ἀρετὴν· κἂν  
 ἄλλος τις κρύπτειν ἐθέλοι ταύτην, ἐκείνη πολλοῖς στόμασιν  
 ἀδομένην ποιεῖ. [43] Καὶ γὰρ τῶν λεγομένων τιμὴ κανδιδάτων, καὶ ᾧ  
 μάλιστα ὁ βασιλεὺς ἤδετο καὶ προσέκειτο, δαίμων τις, ἐκ παιδικῆς ἔτι

APR

401 πατεῖν-ἐχθροῦ] Luc. 10:19

401 ὤφθησαν AP : post corr. (ex ὤφθησαν) R — μὲν bis acc. AP — φυγὰς AP : post corr.  
 (ex φυγᾶς) R — 402 παρίστατο PR : παρίστατω A — 403 αὐτῇ R : αὐτῇ A : αὐτῇ  
 P — εἰκότα PR : εικότα A — καθότι AP : καθότι R — 404 δαίμονι AP : δαίμονη R —  
 405 ὑγιαίνουσαν AP : ὑγιένουσαν R — οἴκαδε PR : οἴκαδε A — 406 αὐτοὶ AP : post  
 corr. (ex αὐτοῖ) R — 407 δώμεν PR : δώμεν A — ἀφορμάς AP : post corr. (ex  
 ἀφορμᾶς) R — ἀλλὰ τί καθ' ἡμῶν εἶπον, A : ἀλλὰ καθ' ἡμῶν εἶπον; P : deest R —  
 407-408 κατὰ ζῶων PR : καταζῶων A — 409 κτηνῶν-τῶν AP : deest (homoioteleuton)  
 R — 410 εὐαγγέλια AP : εὐαγγέλια R — 411 εἶπερ PR : εἶπερ A — ἡμᾶς AP : deest  
 R — ὄφρων AP : post corr. (ex ὄφρων) R — 412 πάσαν PR : πάσαν A — τὴν  
 δύναμιν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ R : τὴν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ δύναμιν AP — εἶχε AR : εἶχε P — post  
 μὲν scr. οὖν P — 413 οὕτως PR : οὕτως A — πάσα PR : deest A — 414 ἤδη transp.  
 post βασιλέως A — 415 αὕτη AP : αὕτη R — πλείστον AP : πλίστον R — 416 ἢ<sup>1</sup> PR :  
 ἢ A — κἂν AP : κἂν R — 417 ἄλλος τις P : ἄλλως τις A : ἄλλ' ὅστις R — 418 ante  
 καὶ par. ind. PR — λεγομένων AP : λεγομένωι R — 419 ἤδετο P : post corr. (ex ἤδετο)  
 R : ἤδετο A



420 προσβαλὼν ἡλικίας, λάθρα τε αὐτῷ ἠνώχλει, καὶ τῶν νυκτῶν κράζειν  
 ὁμοῦ καὶ στένειν καὶ βρύχειν τοὺς ὀδόντας ἐποίει. Οὗτος προσέρχεται  
 κατὰ μόνας τῷ βασιλεῖ Κωνσταντίῳ, καὶ διέξεισι τὸ πάθος, καὶ τὴν  
 ἐπιβουλήν τοῦ μιανοῦ δαίμονος ἐξηγεῖται. Εἶτα καὶ τὸν ἰατρὸν ὅστις  
 τῶν τοιούτων μηνύει. Ὁ μὲν οὖν καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπινεύσαντος βασιλέως,  
 425 εἰς Παλαιστίνην παρὰ τὸν ὅσιον ἔρχεται· ὁ δὲ τοῖς τοῦ καινιδάτου  
 ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐνιδῶν, ἐφ' ᾧ τε ἴκει καὶ ὅτου χάριν, παραχρήμα ἔγνω. Οὐ  
 μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ ποιηρὸς δαίμων τὴν ἐπιδημίαν τοῦ ὀσίου μὴ ἐνεγκῶν,  
 δῆλος γίνεται, σάλον καὶ αὐτὸς ὑποπνέων. Καὶ εὐθὺς μετεωρίζει τὸν  
 ἄνδρα καὶ τῷ ἀέρι δίδωσι, τῶν ποδῶν οὐδ' ὄλως αὐτῷ γῆς ἀπτομένων.  
 430 Ἐξέπληττε γ' οὖν τοὺς παρόντας, οὐ τοῦτο μόνον, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ  
 ἀμαθῆς ὢν ὁ ἀνὴρ γλώττης ἐτέρας, ὅτι μὴ τῆς τῶν Φράγγων μόνης  
 καὶ Ἰταλῶν, ἡμείβετο εὐσυνέτως τὰς τοῦ ἀγίου ἐρωτήσεις, πρὸς τὴν  
 ἐγχώριον τῶν Παλαιστινῶν γλώτταν, καὶ τὴν τῶν Σύρων ὁμιλοῦντος.  
 Καὶ διωμολόγει τε διὰ τῆς ἐκείνου γλώττης ὁ δαίμων, ὅπως ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
 435 εἰς αὐτὸν εἰσέλθοι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἄγνωστα τὰ λεγόμενα ἦσαν, τοῖς τε  
 συμπαροῦσι τῷ καινιδάτῳ στρατιώταις, καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνου παισίν, ὁ  
 μακάριος, ἵνα καὶ αὐτοῖς εὐδιηλα ἦ, γλώττη τῇ ἑλληνίδι τὰς ἐρωτήσεις  
 ποιεῖν ἤρξατο. Καὶ ὁ δαίμων ἀκολούθως, ἑλληνιστὶ αὐτῷ ἀπεκρίνατο· ὅτι

#### APR

**420** προσβαλὼν PR : προσβαλὼν A — ἠνώχλει A : ἠνόχλει P : ἐνόχλη R — **421**  
 ὀδόντας A : ὀδόντας P : ὀδώντ(ας) post corr. (ex ὀδώντ(ας)) R — ante οὗτος par. ind.  
 PR — **422** κατὰ μόνας PR : καταμόνας A — τὸ AR : τῷ P — **423** μιανοῦ AR :  
 ποιηροῦ P — **423-424** εἶτα-μηνύει AP : deest R — **424** τοιούτων P : post corr. (ex  
 τοιούτος) A — μὲν bis acc. AP — **425** παλαιστίνην P : post corr. (ex παλαιστήνην) R :  
 παλαιστήνην A — δὲ bis acc. AP — **426** ὀφθαλμοῖς A : ὀφθαλοῖς post corr. (ex  
 ὀφθαλμοῖς) R : ὀφθαλοῦς P — ἐνιδῶν PR : ἐνιδῶν A — τε PR : τὲ A — ἴκει AP :  
 ἴκοι post corr. (ex ἴκοι) R — παραχρήμα PR : παρὰ χρήμα A — **427** ἐνεγκῶν PR :  
 ἐνεγκῶν A — **428** ὑποπνέων P : ὑπομένων AR — **429** δίδωσι AP : δίδωσιν R —  
**430** γ' οὖν AP : γοῦν R — **431** ὢν P : post corr. (ex ὢν) R : ὦν A — γλώττης A :  
 γλώσσης PR — φράγγων AR : φρᾶγγων P — μόνης PR : μόνου A — **432** ἡμείβετο  
 AP : post corr. (ex ἡμείβετο) R — εὐσυνέτως post corr. (ex συνέτως et add. εὐ sup. lin.)  
 P — **433** παλαιστινῶν AP : παλαιστηνῶν R — γλώτταν AP : γλώσσαν R —  
 ὁμιλοῦντος AP : ὀμηλοῦντος R — **434** διωμολόγει A : διωμολογεῖ P : καὶ ὁμολόγει  
 R — **435** ἐπεὶ bis acc. P — ἦσαν AP : post corr. (ex ἦσαν) R — **436** συμπαροῦσι PR :  
 παροῦσι A — **437** εὐδιηλα PR : εὐδιηλα A — ἦ AP : ἦμ post corr. (ex ἦν?) R—  
 γλώττη AP : γλώττει R — τῇ AP : deest R — ἑλληνίδι P : ἑλληνίδι A : ἑλληνίδη R  
 — **438** ἤρξατο AP : εἶρξατο R — ἑλληνιστὶ P : ἑλληνιστὶ A : ἑλληνιστῇ R —  
 αὐτῷ R : αὐτῷ P : deest A — **440** ἀπεκρίνατο PR : ἀπεκρίνετο A

γοήτων κακοτεχνίαις, τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἴκησιν ἐποίησατο. Ἡ  
 440 μακαρία μέντοι γλώττα ἐκείνη, οὐδὲ πάντα ἐξελεῖν τὸν  
 κανιδάτον ὑπομείνασα, τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὄνομα ἐκάλει, καὶ τῷ  
 ποιηρῷ πνεύματι ἐπέταττε φεύγειν· ὁ δὲ καὶ ἄκων τῷ κελεύσματι  
 λειτουργῶν, εὐθὺς ὤχετο, καὶ τῆς ἐξ αὐτοῦ βλάβης τὸν ἄνθρωπον  
 ἠλευθέρου. [44] Αὐτὸς μέντοι ὁ κανιδάτος, οἷα χάριτας ἀποδιδούς  
 445 τῆς εὐεργεσίας, χρυσὸν εὐγνωμόνως τῷ ἀγίῳ προσήγεν. Ἄλλ'  
 ἐκείνος ἄρτον τῇ χειρὶ ὑποδείξας, «Οἱ τοιαύτη τροφῇ χρώμενοι»  
 ἔφη, «κρίθινος δὲ ὁ ἄρτος ἀκριβῶς ἦν, τὸν τιμώμενον παρ' ἡμῖν  
 χρυσόν, ἴσα καὶ τῷ πηλῷ λογίζονται» εἶπε. Καὶ αὐτίκα εὐλογίας  
 αὐτῷ μεταδούς, οἵκαδε τὸν χρυσὸν ἐπαγόμενον ἐκέλευεν  
 450 ὑποστρέφειν, οὐ δαίμονος ἀπαλλάξας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρυσὸν  
 ἀτιμάζειν διδάξας, πρᾶγμα οὐδὲν ἔλαττον μιарοῦ δαίμονος  
 ἐνεργούντος τοῖς φιλοχρημάτοις. [45] Ὁ μὲν οὖν, οὕτω κοινῇ πᾶσι  
 θησαυρὸς προέκειτο ἀγαθῶν, καὶ οὕτως οἱ κακῶς πάσχοντες,  
 ἀμίσθου παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ ῥαδίας ἀπέλαυον τῆς θεραπείας· καὶ γὰρ οὐ  
 455 μέχρῃς ἀνθρώπων μόνον τὰ θαύματα ἴστατο, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ πολλοῖς  
 τῶν ἀλόγων ζῶων ἐπεκάμπτετο φιλαγάθως, ποιήρως ἔχουσι καὶ  
 δεομένοις ἐπικουρίας, ὥστε καὶ κάμηλον ὑπερμεγέθη καὶ ἱκανὴν ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ ὄγκου τοῦ σώματος εἰς θαῦμα τοὺς ὀρώντας κινεῖν, δαιμόνων

#### APR

439 οἴκησιν P : οἴκησιν A : οἴκεισιν R — ἡ PR : deest A — 440 ἐξελεῖν R :  
 διεξελεῖν AP — 441 ὑπομείνασα AP : post corr. (ex ὑπὸ μείνασα) R — ὄνομα AP :  
 post corr. (ex ὄνομα) R — 442 πνεύματι AP : δαίμοινη R — δὲ bis acc. AP — ἄκων  
 PR : ἄκων A — 443 λειτουργῶν PR : λειτουργῶν A — ἐξ αὐτοῦ PR : ἐξ' αὐτοῦ A  
 — 444 ἠλευθέρου P : post corr. (ex ἠλευθέρου) R : ἠλευθέρου A — ante αὐτὸς par. ind. R  
 — ὁ PR : deest A — ἀποδιδούς AP : post corr. (ex ἀπὸ διδοῦς) R — 445 προσήγεν  
 AP : προσείγεν post corr. (ex προσείγεν) R — 446 ὑποδείξας AP : post corr. (ex ὑπὸ  
 δείξας) R — 447 κρίθινος AP : post corr. (ex κρίθηνος et alt. man. sscr. i) R — 448 ἴσα  
 A : ἴσα P : ἴσα post corr. (ex ἴσα) R — 449 μεταδούς AP : post corr. (ex μεταδοῦς) R  
 — οἵκαδε P : post corr. (ex οἵκαδε) R : οἵκα δὲ A — τὸν AP : τὸν (ex τὸ) τὸν—  
 450 δαίμονος AP : δαίμωνος R — 451 μιарοῦ P : post corr. (ex μιарῶν?) A : μήαροῦ  
 R — δαίμονος AP : δαίμωνος R — 452 ἐνεργούντος A : ἐνοχλοῦν PR — ante ὁ par.  
 ind. PR — μὲν bis acc. P — οὕτω AP : οὕτω R — κοινῇ PR : κινή A — 454 ῥαδίας  
 A : ῥαδείας R : ῥαδίως P — ἀπέλαυον AP : ἀπέλαυον R — ante θεραπείας scr. τῆς  
 R — 455 ἀλλ' ἤδη AP : ἀλλ' | λῆδη R — 457 καὶ<sup>1</sup> AP : deest R — ὑπερμεγέθη AP :  
 ὑπὲρ μεγέθη R

καὶ αὐτὴν οἴκημα γενομένην, καὶ βία πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὸ συχνῶν  
460 χειρῶν μόλις ἀχθεῖσαν, διαστρέφουσάν τε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ  
ἀφρίζουσιν, καὶ τ' ἄλλα ὅσα δαιμονώσιν ἴδια πράττουσαν, εὐχερῶς  
ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἄνθρωπος ἐθεράπευσε. [46] Ταῦτα καὶ εἰς Ἄντωνιον  
ἐφοῖτα τὸν μέγαν, ἡγαλλέ τε τὸν ἄνδρα πνευματικῶς, καὶ ὡσπερ  
ἐπὶ παιδὶ πατὴρ, οὕτω διακείμενος ἦν, καὶ ταῖς ἀγαθαῖς αὐτοῦ  
465 φήμαις ἐνετρύφα. Ἄμέλει καὶ προσηγόρευε τὸν Ἰλαρίωνα  
συνεχῶς, καὶ γράμμασι φιλικοῖς ἡσπάζετο, καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ Συρίας ὁ  
Ἄντωνιος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐρχομένοις, ἐφ' ᾧ τινὸς καὶ θεραπείας  
ἐπιτυχεῖν, ἐμέμφετο τῆς μακρᾶς ἐκείνης ταλαιπωρίας, εἰ τὸν  
ιατρὸν ἐγγὺς ἔχοντες, οἱ δὲ πόρρωθεν ἄλλον ἐπιζητοῦσιν. [47] Ἡ  
470 γε μὴν Παλαιστίνη πάσα, οὕτω τῆς Ἰλαρίωνος γλώττης καὶ τῆς  
αὐτοῦ γλυκείας Σειρήνος ἐάλωσαν, ὡς καὶ μοναστήρια πανταχοῦ  
διαπήξασθαι, κείρασθαί τε ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸ τῶν μοναχῶν ἔνδυμα,  
μετὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ὑπελθεῖν ἀκριβείας, αὐτῷ τε  
προσιέναι καὶ δεῖσθαι ἕκαστον δοῦναι καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν  
475 μοναστηρίοις τοὺς μακαρίους ἐκείνου πόδας προσβαλόντας ἰδεῖν,  
ὥστε καὶ τύπον ἐξ ἐκείνου παραλαβεῖν, τῆς κατὰ μοναχοὺς  
ἀγωγῆς. Ὁ δὲ καιρὸν τῆς ἀφίξεως τὸν πρὸ τοῦ τρυγητοῦ σημήνας,

#### APR

459 οἴκημα PR : οἴκημα A — βία AP : βεία R — ὑπὸ συχνῶν AR : ὑποσυχνῶν P  
— 460 ἀχθεῖσαν AP : ἀχθήσαν R — ὀφθαλμοὺς AP : post corr. (ex ὀφθαλμοὺς) R —  
461 τᾶλλα A : τᾶλλα post corr. (ex τᾶλλα) P : τ' ἄλλα R — ἴδια AP : ἦδη R —  
εὐχερῶς PR : εὐχαιρῶς A — 462 χ(ριστο)υ PR : θε(ο)υ A — ἐθεράπευσε AP :  
ἐθεράπευσεν R — ante ταῦτα par. ind. PR — καὶ AP : deest P — 463 ἐφοῖτα AP :  
ἐφοῖτα R — post μέγα scr. v in ras. R — ἡγαλλέ τε P : post corr. (ex ἡγαλλέ τε) R :  
ἡγάλλετε A — 464 ἐπὶ παιδὶ PR : ἐπιπαιδὶ A — οὕτω AP : οὕτω R — 465  
ἐνετρύφα A : ἐνετρύφα P : ἐνετρυφᾶτο R — 465 Ἰλαρίωνα AP : Ἰλαρίωνα R — 466  
ἡσπάζετο P : post corr. (ex ἡσπάζετο) R : ἡσπάζετο A — ἀπὸ συρίας R : ἀποσυρίας  
AP — 467 πρὸς P : παρ' AR — ἐφ' ᾧ AP : ἐφῶ R — τινὸς A : τινὸς PR — 468  
ταλαιπωρίας AP : post corr. (ex ταλαιπορίας) R — 469 δὲ bis acc. P — 469 ante ἢ par.  
ind. R — 470 οὕτω AP : οὕτω R — Ἰλαρίωνος AP : Ἰλαρίωνος R — 471 γλυκείας  
PR : γλυκίας A — καὶ PR : deest A — 472 κείρασθαί P : κήρασθαί AR — 474 καὶ  
δεῖσθαι A : καὶ δῆσθαι R : deest P — 475 προσβαλόντας AP : προσβαλόντας post  
corr. (ex προσβαλόντας) R — 476 ἐξ ἐκείνου AR : ἐξεκείνου P — 477 ἀγωγῆς AP :  
post corr. (ex ἀγωγῆς) R — ante ὁ par. ind. R — δὲ bis acc. AP — πρὸ τοῦ A : προτοῦ  
PR — τρυγητοῦ P : post corr. (ex τρυγητοῦ ?) R : τρυγήτου A — σημήνας PR :  
σημάνας A

τηνικαῦτα καὶ τῶν μοναστηρίων ἐκάστῳ προσήει, καὶ κανόνα καὶ  
 τύπον πολιτείας σεμνῆς, οἷς τε ἔλεγε καὶ οἷς ἐποίει μᾶλλον  
 480 παραδιδούς, εἶτα καὶ ἱκανῶς ὑπαλείφων εἰς ἀρετὴν, ἀπηλλάττετο.  
 [48] Ἀπήει δέ ποτε πρὸς τὴν ἔρημον Κάδης, ὥστε τινα τῶν ἐν  
 αὐτῇ μαθητῶν ἐπιδεῖν. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄμα τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἄλλων  
 φοιτητῶν διὰ τῆς πόλεως Λούζης ὁδεύειν ἔμελλε, κατ' ἐκείνην δέ  
 τὴν ἡμέραν, πάνδημος ἑορτὴ, οὐ τοῦ πλήθους μόνον τῆς πόλεως,  
 485 ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τῶν περιχώρων ἀπασῶν, Ἀφροδίτῃ τῇ μιὰρᾶ  
 ἐτελεῖτο. Ἔτι τοίνυν οὕτω τῇ πόλει προσεγγίζοντος τοῦ ὀσίου,  
 λόγος διὰ πάντων ἐχώρει, τὸν Ἰλαρίωνα μέλλειν διὰ τῆς πόλεως  
 ἔρχεσθαι. Καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐπὶ γλυκείας ἐλπίδος ἅπασα ἦν, καὶ  
 ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐστῶσι πάντες ἑώρων, τοῦτο μόνον τὴν Ἰλαρίωνος ὄψιν  
 490 ἐρώντες ἰδεῖν. [49] Ἄρτι δέ τῶν τῆς πόλεως ἐπιβαίνοντι ὀρίων,  
 πλήθος ἐκείθεν ἅπαν ἡλικίας ἀπάσης, ἀθρόον ὡσπέρ τι ρεῦμα  
 χεθέν, προὔπηντα τῷ Ἰλαρίωνι. Καὶ πάντες τῷ ἐδάφει  
 ἐπικλιθέντες, καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῷ προσερείσαντες, τῇ ἐγχωρίῳ  
 τῶν Σύρων γλώττῃ, «Κύριε εὐλόγησον», ὡς ἐκ μιᾶς γλώττης ἐβόων·  
 495 οὕτως ἡ ἀρετὴ χρῆμα τίμιον καὶ αἰδέσιμον, οὐ τοῖς ἐρασταῖς  
 αὐτῆς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς οὐδὲν πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔχουσιν, οὐδὲ

APR

**478** τηνικαῦτα PR : τηνικαῦτα A — προσήει AP : προσείη R — κανόνα AP : κανόνα R — **479** τε AR : τὲ P — **480** ἱκανῶς P : ἱκανῶς A : deest R — ὑπαλείφων P : ὑπαλήφων A : ὑπαληφων R — ἀπηλλάττετο AP : ἀπηλάττετο R — **481** ante ἀπήει par. ind. PR — ἀπέει δέ ποτε R : ἀπήει δέ ποτε P : ποτὲ A — **482** ἐν αὐτῇ AP : ἐναυτῇ R — **482** μὲν bis acc. AP — **483** κατ' ἐκείνην A : κατέκεινην R : κατεκείνην P — **484** πάνδημος ἑορτῇ corr. : πάνδημος ἑορτῇ P : πάνδημος ἑορτῇ A : πάνδημον ἑορτῇ R — πλήθους AP : πλήθους R — **485** ἀφροδίτῃ AP : ἀφροδίτῃ R — μιὰρᾶ AP : post corr. (ex μιὰρᾶ) R — **486** ante ἔτι par. ind. P — οὕτω AP : οὕτω R — **487** διὰ πάντων AR : διαπάντων P — ἱλαρίωνα AP : ἱλαρίωνα R — **488** ἐπὶ R : ἐπὶ P : deest A — γλυκείας AP : γλυκίας R — **489** ἐστῶσι corr. : ἐστῶσι A : ἐστῶτες post corr. (ex ἐστῶτες) R : ἐστῶ P — ἱλαρίωνος AP : ἱλαρίωνος R — **490** ante ἄρτι par. ind R — ἐπιβαίνοντι AP : ἐπιβαίνων R — **491** ὀρίων AP : ὀρίων in ras. (ex ἱλαρίων?) R — ἅπαν AP : ἅπαν R — ἀπάσης P : ἀπάσης R : deest A — ἀθρόον AP : ἀθρόων R — **492** ρεῦμα PR : ρεῦμα A — προὔπηντα R : προὔπηντα A : προὔπηντα P — ἱλαρίωνι P : ἱλαρίωνι AR — ἐδάφει P : post corr. (ex ἐδάφη) A : ἐδάφη R — **493** ἐπικλιθέντες P : ἐπικληθέντες AR — κεφαλὰς AP : post corr. (ex κεφαλὰς) R — αὐτῷ προσερείσαντες P : αὐτῷ προσερείσαντες A : αὐτ(ῶν) προσερείσαντες R — post τῇ ἐγχωρίῳ scr. τῇ P — **494** κύριε εὐλόγησον P : κύριε εὐλόγει R : κυριεὐλόγει A — ὡς AR : deest P — **495** ἀρετῇ P : post corr. (ex ἀρετῇ) R : ἀρετῇ A — χρῆμα PR : κτήμα A — αἰδέσιμον AP : ἐδέσιμον R — οὐ AR : οὐ P — ἐραστ[...] in textu et add. αἷς in marg. A — **496** αὐτῆς PR : αὐταῖς A — οὐδὲ<sup>2</sup> A : οὐδὲ P : οὐδὲν R

προσκειμένοις. [50] Ὁ ἱερὸς τοίνυν Ἰλαρίων τῆς θερμότητος αὐτοὺς  
καὶ τῆς γνώμης ἀποδεξάμενος, διαλέγεται καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀληθοῦς  
τῶν χριστιανῶν πίστεως· καὶ καθάπερ τινα γῆν εὐρῶν ἀγαθὴν, καὶ  
500 τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας δέξασθαι σπόρον ἐπιτηδείαν, τὰ σπέρματά τε  
αὐτοῖς καταβάλλει τῆς εὐσεβείας· καὶ σὺν δάκρυσιν δεηθεὶς ὑπὲρ  
αὐτῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀφίστησιν αὐτοὺς τῆς ἀπάτης, καὶ ὅσα  
χριστιανοῖς νόμος μυσταγωγεῖ, καὶ τῇ καθαρᾷ τῶν εὐσεβῶν  
προσάγει λατρεία. [51] Ἐκεῖνοι δὲ θερμοὶ μὲν καὶ ἄλλως ὄντες,  
505 προσέτι δὲ καὶ τῷ νῦν τοῦ θεοσεβεῖν ἄρξασθαι, πλείονι τῇ ὀρμῇ  
κεχρημένοι, ἐπεὶ καὶ φύσει θερμότεροι περὶ τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων  
ἀρχὰς οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ὡς τοῦ κόρου κατὰ μικρὸν καὶ τοῦ ἔθους  
ἀμβλύνειν τὰς σφοδρότητας πεφυκότων, οὐδὲ οἶον αὐτὸν  
ὑποχωρῆσαι τῆς πόλεως, ἕως διέγραψέ τε αὐτοῖς ἐκκλησίαν. Καὶ  
510 τὸ σπαρτίον αὐτὸς διέτεινε πρῶτος, καὶ τὸ τῆς οἰκοδομίας σχῆμα  
διεσημήνατο. [54] Τοσαύτη μὲν δὴ τούτων γέγονεν ἡ μεταβολή,  
καὶ οὕτω τῆς ἡδίστης ἐκείνης ἠττήθησαν γλώττης, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν  
δὴ τὸν ἐκείνων ἱερέα, ὅστις αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς ἀτίμου τελετῆς  
ἐξηγεῖτο, τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ στέφανον ἀποθέσθαι, εἰώθει γὰρ  
515 ἐστεφανωμένος ταύτην διατιθέναι, καὶ ταῖς μακαρίαις τούτου

APR

499 sqq. cf. Luc. 8:15

497 ante ὁ par. ind PR — ἰλαρίων corr. : ἰλαρίων APR — θερμότητος AP : θερμότητος  
R — 498 ἀποδεξάμενος AP : post corr. (ex ἀπὸ δεξάμενος) R — post περὶ scr. αὐτῆς  
A — 499 καὶ<sup>1</sup> PR : deest A — εὐρῶν P : post corr. (ex εὐρών) R : εὐρών A — 500  
δέξασθαι AR : δεξασθαι P — σπόρον AR : λόγον P — 501 σὺν PR : συν A —  
δάκρυσιν AR : δάκρυσιν P — 502 ἀπάτης AP : ἀπάτης R — 503 μυσταγωγεῖ P : post  
corr. (ex μυσταγωγῆ) A : μυσταγωγῆ R — καθαρὰ P : post corr. (ex καθαρὰ) R :  
καθαρὰ A — 504 ante ἐκεῖνοι par. ind. PR — δὲ bis acc. P — 505 τῷ AP : post corr.  
(ex τῶν) R — πλείονι AP : πλείωνη R — ὀρμῇ AP : ὀρμή R — 506 ἐπεὶ bis acc. P —  
τὰς AP : τὰς post corr. (ex τὰς) R — 507 κατὰ μικρὸν AR : καταμικρὸν P — 508  
ἀμβλύνειν AR : ἀμβλύνειν P — οὐδὲ AR : οὐδὲ P — οἶον corr. : εἶων AP : ἴων R —  
509 ὑποχωρῆσαι AP : post corr. (ex ὑπὸ χωρῆσαι) R — διέγραψέ τε AP :  
διέγραψέται R — 510 τὸ<sup>1</sup> PR : deest A — πρῶτος AP : πρῶτον R — οἰκοδομίας AP :  
οἰκονομίας post corr. (ex οἰκονομίας) R — 511 ante τοσαύτη par. ind. PR — μεταβολή  
AP : post corr. (ex μεταβολῆ) R — 512 οὕτω AP : οὕτω R — ἡδίστης AP : ἰδίστης post  
corr. (ex ἰδίστης) R — 513 δὴ AP : δῆ R — ἐκείνων post corr. (ex ἐκείνων) P —  
ἱερέα AP : ἱερέα R — ὅστις P : ὡστις R : ὅστις A — 514 ἐπὶ τῇ PR : ἐπὶ τῇ A —  
στέφανον AR : στεφανον P — εἰώθει AP : εἰώθη R — 515 ἐστεφανωμένος AP :  
ἐστεφανομένος post corr. (ex ἐστεφανομένος) R — τούτου PR : τοῦτου A

χερσί, τὸ μέτωπον ὡς εἶχεν εὐθύς ὑποσχεῖν, καὶ σφραγισθῆναι  
 τῆ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σφραγίδι, καὶ τελειωθῆναι διὰ βαπτίσματος.  
 Τοῦτο καὶ ἡ πόλις ἰδόντες, ἐβαπτίσαντο καὶ αὐτοὶ πάντες καὶ  
 τὰς ψυχὰς ἐφωτίσθησαν. [55] Τοῦ δὲ ἐπιόντος ἐνιαυτοῦ, κατ'  
 520 ἐπισκοπὴν ἕξεισι καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν. Μοιῆ δέ τινα τὰ  
 πρῶτα παραβαλῶν, ἢ τοῦ Σκινδουλά λέλεκτο, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους  
 τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ, συμβουλαῖς τε καὶ παραινέσεσι κατηρτίσατο, καὶ  
 οἰονεὶ πτερὸν εἰς ἀρετὴν αὐτοῖς γέγονεν, ἕνα δὲ φειδωλὸν  
 ἀτεχνῶς ἐν τούτοις εὐρών, καὶ λίαν τοῦ τῶν χρημάτων ἔρωτος  
 525 ἠττημένον, ὡς ῥᾶον ἂν τὴν ψυχὴν προέσθαι, ἢ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων,  
 καὶ βραχὺ μεταδοῦναι τῷ χρεῖαν ἔχοντι. Οὐδ' ἐπισκοπῆς αὐτὸν  
 μόνης, οὐδὲ ἄλλης ὠφελείας ἀξιῶσαι ἠνέσχετο. Οἶα τὴν  
 ὑπερβολὴν τῆς σκαιότητος αὐτοῦ καὶ μανίας, τῷ διορατικῷ  
 χαρίσματι προειδῶς, καὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν παντάπασιν ἀπελπίσας,  
 530 εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ὠμότητος καὶ μισανθρωπίας ἦλθεν ἐκεῖνος, ὡς  
 καὶ τοῦ Ἰλαρίωνος μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν παριόντος, ὃν οἶμαι καὶ  
 λίθινοι ἀνδριάντες ἂν μεθ' ἡδονῆς διερχόμενοι εἶδον, αὐτὸς  
 φύλακας τῷ ἀμπελῶνι ἐπέστησεν ὠμοτάτους καὶ ἀπηγεῖς, ὥστε  
 μηδένα μεθεῖναι τῷ ἀμπελῶνι προσβαλεῖν,

#### APR

**516** χερσί AR : χερσίν P — **517** σφραγίδι A : σφραγίδι P : σφραγίδη R —  
 τελειωθῆναι AP : τελειωθείναι R — διὰ βαπτίσματος R : διαβαπτίσματος AP — **519**  
 ψυχὰς AP : post corr. (ex ψυχᾶς) R — ante τοῦ par. ind. PR — **519-520** κατ'  
 ἐπισκοπὴν AR : κατεπισκοπὴν P — **520** ἕξεισι PR : ἕξεισι A — μοιῆ AR : μοιῆ P  
 — πρῶτα AP : post corr. (ex πρῶτα) R — **521** παραβαλῶν PR : παραβαλῶν A — ἢ AP  
 : ἢ R — τοῦ σκινδουλά R : τοῦ σκινδουλά P : τουσκινδουλά A — λέλεκτο PR :  
 λέλεκτω A — **521-522** ἐν αὐτῇ P : ἐναυτῇ A : ἐναυτῇ R — **522** συμβουλαῖς τε P :  
 συμβουλαῖς τε A : συμβουλες τε R — οἰονεὶ corr. : οἰονεὶ R : οἰονεὶ P : οἰνεὶ A —  
**523** ἕνα PR : ἕνα A — φειδωλὸν AR : φειδωλον P — **524** τούτοις P : τούτοις AR  
 — εὐρών PR : εὐρώ(ν) A — **525** ῥᾶον ἂν PR : ἂν ῥᾶον ἂν A — ψυχὴν post corr.  
 (ex ψυχῆν) P — προέσθαι P : post corr. (ex προέσθαι) R : προέσθε A — **527** ἢ PR : ἢ  
 A — **527** ὠφελείας AP : ὠφελείας post corr. (ex ὠφελίας) R — ἀξιῶσαι AR : ἀξιῶσα  
 P — ἠνέσχετο AP : post corr. (ex ἠνέσχετο) R — οἶα AR : οἶ P — **527-528** τῆς  
 σκαιότητος PR : τῆσκαιότητος A — **528** μανίας PR : μανείας A — προειδῶς P :  
 προειδῶς, post corr. (ex προειδῶς,) R : προειδῶς, A — **530** ὠμότητος AR : ὠμότητος  
 P — μισανθρωπίας PR : μισανθρωπίας A — Ἰλαρίωνος AP : Ἰλαρίωνος R — **531**  
 παριόντος P : παριόντων AR — ὃν AP : ὢν post corr. (ex ὦν) R — λίθινοι AP :  
 λίθινοι R — ἀνδριάντες AP : ἀδριάντες R — **532** εἶδον AP : εἶδων R — ἀμπελῶνι  
 AP : ἀμπελῶνι post corr. (ex ἀμπελώνη) R — **533** ὠμοτάτους P : post corr. (ex  
 ὠμοτάτους) R : ὠμοτάτους A — ἀπηγεῖς AP : ἀπεινῆς R — μηδένα A : μὴ δένα  
 PR — ἀμπελῶνι AP : ἀμπελώνη R

535 μὴ δὲ ῥάγα μόνην ἐκείθεν λαβεῖν, εἰς βραχὺ παραμύθιον τοῦ ἐκ  
 τῆς ὁδοῦ κόπου καὶ τῆς ταλαιπωρίας. Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἀκόλουθα  
 τῇ προαιρέσει τοῦ φειδωλοῦ ποιοῦντες, οὐδὲ ἴχνος ποδὸς τῷ  
 ἀμπελῶνι προσέβαλον. Πλὴν ἀλλ' ἐκείνω πάντως εἰς τούναντίον  
 ἐξέβη τὸ πρᾶγμα, καθὰ δὴ καὶ ὁ λόγος δηλώσει μετὰ μικρὸν·  
 540 δεῖ γὰρ πρότερον τὰ τῆς ἀγαθῆς καὶ φιλοξένου γνωρίσαι ψυχῆς,  
 καὶ ἀπεναντίας ἐκείνη διακειμένης, τῇ φειδωλῷ τε καὶ  
 μικρολόγῳ. [56] Τοῦ θείου γὰρ Ἰλαρίωνος ἐκείθεν εἰς τὴν τοῦ  
 Ἰβᾶ μόνην λεγομένην καταλαβόντος, ὁ τῆς μονῆς ταύτης  
 ἀφηγούμενος, πάνυ φιλοφρόνως αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν  
 ὑποδέχεται. Παντοδαπῶς τε ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἐγένετο, καὶ γυμνὴν  
 545 αὐτοῖς ἐώκει προτιθέναι καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν. Ἀμέλει καὶ τοὺς  
 ἀδελφοὺς εἰς τὸν ἀμπελῶνα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ παρελθεῖν ἡξίου, καὶ εἰς  
 κόρον τῶν βοτρυῶν κατατρυφήσαι. Οἱ δὲ καὶ εἰς τρισχιλίους  
 ὄντες, ὅμως ἀπὸ τινος περιωπῆς εὐλογήσαντος τοῦ ὀσίου τὸν  
 ἀμπελῶνα, εἰσῆλθον εἰς αὐτὸν πάντες, καὶ διακόρως  
 550 ἐνεφορήθησαν, ὥσπερ οὐχ' ἑαυτοῖς μᾶλλον, ἢ τῇ πλουσίᾳ γνώμῃ  
 τοῦ καλέσαντος χαριζόμενοι. [57] Σκόπει δὲ καὶ ἀξίας τὰς  
 ἀντιδόσεις, καὶ ἔργον τῆς τε τοῦ Θεοῦ δικαιοκρισίας, καὶ τῆς  
 εὐλογίας τοῦ μακαρίου ἐπάξιον· πρότερον μὲν γὰρ, περίπου

APR

**534** ῥάγα corr.: ῥάγα APR — post ῥάγα erasit μόνην (dittographia) R — εἰς PR : ὡς A  
 — **535** κόπου AP : post corr. (ex κόπου) R — ante οὔτοι par. ind. R — **537** ἀμπελῶνι  
 AP : ἀμπελῶνι R — ἀλλ' ἐκείνω AP : ἀλλ' | λέκεινω R — τούναντίον corr. :  
 τουναντίον P : τουναντίον R : τοῦ ναντίον A — **538** μετὰ μικρὸν PR : μεταμικρὸν A  
 — **539** ante δεῖ par. ind. R — γνωρίσαι AP : γνωρήσαι R — **540** τε P : τὲ AR — **541**  
 ante τοῦ par. ind. P — Ἰλαρίωνος P : Ἰλαρίωνος AR — **542** Ἰβᾶ AR : Ἰβᾶ P — **544**  
 ὑποδέχεται AP : ἀποδέχεται R — παντοδαπῶς τε corr. : παντοδαπῶς τὲ post corr.  
 (ex παντοδαπῶς τὲ) R : παντοδαπῶς τε AP — ἐγένετο AR : ἐγένετο P — **546** ἡξίου  
 P : post corr. (ex ἡξίου) R : ἡξίου A — **547** κατατρυφήσαι P : κατὰ τρυφήσαι R :  
 κατατρυφήσε A — δὲ bis acc. APR — **548** περιωπῆς A : περιοπῆς PR — **549**  
 ἀμπελῶνα AP : post corr. (ex ἀμπελῶνα) R — **550** ἐνεφορήθησαν AP : ἐνεφορήθησαν R  
 — **551** ante σκόπει par. ind. R — δὲ AP : δε R — **552** ἀντιδόσεις AP : ἀντιδώσεις R  
 — **553** μὲν γὰρ, A : μὲν γὰρ P : μὲν γὰρ, R

τὰς ἑκατὸν λαγύνους ὁ ἀμπελῶν ἐγεώργει, τότε δὲ καίτοι παρὰ  
 555 πολλῶν στομάτων οὕτω διαβρωθεὶς, τριπλασίονα τὸν οἶνον  
 ἀπεδεδώκει· ὁ δὲ τοῦ φειδωλοῦ, φεῦ, παρὰ πολὺ τοῦ συνήθους  
 ἐλάττονα, καὶ αὐτὸν ὀξίνην· οὐκ εὐφραίνοντα καρδίαν, ἀλλ'  
 ἀνιώντα, καὶ κατάλληλον ποιότητα εἶπεν ἂν τις, τῆς τοῦ δεσπότου  
 ψυχῆς ἔχοντα, καὶ ὅτι ἀπὸ καρπῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων αὐτοῦ Μιχαίας  
 560 ἂν ἔφη ὁ θεῖος, τὴν ἀκαρπίαν ταύτην ἐδρέψατο. [58] Ἦδη δέ ποτε  
 τῷ ὀσίῳ καὶ περὶ του, τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῷ ἀδελφῶν ἀνηγγέλη, ὡς κῆπόν  
 τε ἔχει ἰδίᾳ, καὶ ὡς οὐδὲ ὀλίγου τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ λαχάνων παραχωρεῖ  
 τιλὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν μετέχειν. Ἐκείνον μὲν οἶν, ἐπεὶ μεμάθηκεν  
 ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὰ λαληθέντα, ἐξ ὄψεως ποιεῖ· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους  
 565 καλέσας παρήνει, μὴ μιμείσθαι τὸ ἄφιλον τῆς γνώμης, ἀλλὰ  
 μισεῖν. Αὐτὸς μέντοι ἀπόστοργος οὕτω γενόμενος μοναχός, οὐ  
 διελίμπανε λιτανεύων τοὺς ἀδελφούς, καὶ μάλλον τῶν ἄλλων,  
 Ἐσύχιον τὸν καλόν· ἐτύγχανε γὰρ οὗτος τῷ ἀγίῳ τὰ πρὸς  
 χρεῖαν διακονούμενος. Τούτου οἶν ἐδέϊτο διαφερόντως  
 570 διαπρεσβεύσασθαι αὐτῷ τὴν καταλλαγὴν. Καί ποτε χλωρὰς αὐτῷ

APR

557 εὐφραίνοντα καρδίαν] cf. Ps. 103:15 — 559 καρπῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων] Mich. 7:13

554 ἀμπελῶν P : ἀμπελῶν A : post corr. (ex ἀμπελῶν) R — δὲ PR : δὴ A — 554-  
 555 παρὰ πολλῶν P : παραπολλῶν A : διαπολλῶν R — 555 τριπλασίονα AP :  
 τριπλασίονα R — 556 ἀπεδεδώκει corr.: ἀποδεδώκει PR : ἀποδιδώκει A — δὲ bis  
 acc. A — παρὰ πολὺ AR : παραπολὺ P — 559 μιχαίας AP : μιχαῖος R — 560 ἦδη  
 P : post corr. (ex ἦδη) R : ἦδη A — ante ἦδη par. ind. PR — 561 περὶ του, τῶν P :  
 περὶ τοῦ, τῶν R : περίπου τῶν A — ἀνηγγέλη A : ἀνηγγέλλη P : ἀνηγγέλει R —  
 κῆπόν τε corr.: κῆπον τε PR : κῆπόν τινα A — 562 ἰδίᾳ AP : post corr. (ex ἰδίᾳ)  
 R — οὐδὲ R : οὐδε P : οὐκ A — ὀλίγου P : post corr. (ex ὀλίγου) R : ὀλίγου A —  
 563 τιλὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν μετέχειν A : τιλὶ μετέχειν τῶν ἀδελφῶν PR — ἐκείνον P :  
 ἐκείνων post corr. (ex ἐκείνων) R : ἐκείνον A — μὲν PR : μιν A — ἐπεὶ bis acc. P  
 — 564 ἀληθῆ AP : ἀληθεῖ R — ἐξ ὄψεως AR : ἐξόψεως P — 565 παρήνει AP :  
 παρήνη R — τῆς γνώμης AR : deest P — 566 post ἀπόστοργος scr. ὁ AP — 567  
 λιτανεύων AR : λιπαρεύων P — μάλλον PR : μάλλον A — τῶν AR : τὸν P — 568  
 ἐτύγχανε AP : ἐτυγχανε R — οὗτος AP : οὕτως R — ante χρεῖαν scr. τὴν R —  
 569 διακονούμενος PR : διανοούμενος A — τούτου PR : τοῦτου A — 570 τὴν post  
 corr. (ex τὴν) P — καταλλαγὴν AP : post corr. (ex καταλλαγὴν) R — χλωρὰς P : post  
 corr. (ex χλωρὰς) R : χλωρὰς A



προσήνεγκεν ἐρεβίνθους· ὁ δέ, σοφὸς ὢν, καὶ βουλευθεὶς ἀφορμὴν  
αὐτὰς πρὸς τὴν πρεσβείαν λαβεῖν, θεὸς ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης,  
εὐλογεῖν ἡξίου τὸν Ἰλαρίωνα, μὴ σημήνας τίς ὁ ταύτας  
προσενεγκῶν. Ἄλλ' ἐκείνω ἐγγὺς ὢν, καὶ εἰς καρδίαν λαλῶν ὁ  
575 πλάσας κατὰ μόνας τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν, οὐκ ἀφήκεν ὅλως τὸ  
γενόμενον ἀγνοῆσαι. [59] Ταῦτά τοι καὶ αὐστηρότερον τῷ Ἡσυχίῳ  
προσενεχθεὶς, «Οὐκ αἰσθάνη» ἔφη, «ὄσης ἀπόζουσιν ἀπληστίας;»  
Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκείνος ἀντέλεγεν ὁμαλῶς, «Ποίαν δὲ ἀπληστίας ὁσμὴν  
ἐρεβίνθια ἔξει;» Ὁ ἅγιος ἐπιβεβαιῶν αὐθις τὸ εἰρημένον, καὶ  
580 «Παράθες αὐτὰ» ἔφη «τοῖς βουσί, καὶ εἴση ὅτι οὐδαμῶς ἂν  
ἄψωνται τούτων». Παρετίθει τοιγαροῦν ὁ Ἡσύχιος, καὶ οἱ βόες τὴν  
τοῦ ὀσίου πρόρρησιν ἐπιστοῦντο· καὶ ταῖς ἐρεβίνθοις, ἴσα καὶ  
λίθοις, οὐδὲ βραχὺ τὸ στόμα προσήγαγον. [60] Ἦν δέ τι καὶ  
585 τοιοῦτον τῷ Ἰλαρίῳ. Ὁμοῦ τις αὐτῷ προσήει, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, ἀπὸ  
τῆς τοῦ σώματος ὁσμῆς, τοῦτο δέ, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ἱματίων ἀφῆς  
δῆλον αὐτῷ ἐγίνετο, ποίῳ πάθει ὁ προσβαλὼν ἴσχετο. [61] Ἔτος  
μὲν οὖν ἐξηκοστὸν ἤδη καὶ τρίτον ἠνύετο τῷ μεγάλῳ· ὀχλούμενος  
δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν προσιόντων, συχνοὶ γὰρ οἱ προσβάλλοντες

APR

571 ἐρεβίνθους AP : ἐρεβίνθους R — δέ bis acc. AP — ἀφορμὴν PR : ἀφορμὴν A —  
572 θεὸς P : θῆς post corr. (ex θῆς) R : θεὸς A — 573 Ἰλαρίωνα AP : Ἰλαρίωνα R —  
σημήνας AP : σημάνας R — ταύτας P : ταύτας post corr. (ex ταύτας) R : ταύτης  
A — 574 ἐκείνω AP : ἐκείνος R — 575 κατὰ μόνας R : κατὰ μόν(ας) add. in marg. P :  
καταμόνας A — οὐκ ἀφήκεν AR : οὐκαφῆκεν P — 576 ἀγνοῆσαι AP : ἀγνωῆσαι R  
— ante ταῦτά par. ind. R — ταῦτά τοι PR : ταῦτά τι A — αὐστηρότερον PR :  
αὐτηρότερον A — ἡσυχίῳ AP : ἡσυχίῳ R — 577 προσενεχθεὶς P : post corr. (ex  
πρὸς ἐνεχθεὶς) R : προσἐνεχθεὶς A — αἰσθάνη AP : ἐσθάνη R — ἀπληστίας PR :  
ἀπληστείας A — post ἀπληστίας sign. interrog. APR — 578 ἀντέλεγεν PR : ἔλεγεν  
A — ὁμαλῶς A : ὁμαλῶς P : ὁ, μαλῶς R — ποίαν R : ποῖαν AP — ἀπληστίας AP  
: ἀπληστείας R — 579 ἐπιβεβαιῶν corr. : ἐπιβεβαιῶν AP : ἐπὶ βεβαιῶν R — 580  
βουσί AP : post corr. (ex βουσί) R — εἴση AP : post corr. (ex ἔση) R — 581 ante  
παρετίθει par. ind. P — τοιγαροῦν P : τοιγαροῦν R : γὰρ οὖν A — ἡσύχιος AP :  
ἡσύχιος R — ante τὴν scr. (καὶ) R — 582 ἐρεβίνθοις P : ἐρεβίνθοις R : ἐρεβίνθους  
A — 583 οὐδὲ PR : οὐδε A — προσήγαγον R : προσήγον AP — 584 τοιοῦτον A :  
τοιούτω P : τοιούτω R — Ἰλαρίῳ P : Ἰλαρίῳ A : Ἰλαρίωνη R — ante ὁμοῦ par. ind.  
R — αὐτῷ R : αὐτῷ P : αὐτῶν A — 585 ὁσμῆς P : ὁσμῆς AR — τοῦτο PR : τοῦτω  
A — ἱματίων R : ἱματίων AP — ante ἀφῆς scr. ὁσμῆς καὶ A — 586 πάθει AP : πάθη  
R — ante ἔτος par. ind. PR — 587 μὲν οὖν AP : μενοῦν R — ἐξηκοστὸν R :  
ἐξηκοστὸν P : ἐξικοστὸν A — ἠνύετο P : post corr. (ex ἠνύετο) R : ἠνύετο A — 589  
πλήθους PR : πλήθους A

ἦσαν· καὶ μάλιστα, ὅσοι διὰ νοσημάτων θεραπείαν προσέβαλλον.  
590 Ἐξ οὗ καὶ συνέβαινε τῷ ἀγίῳ τὸ περιὸν τῆς τιμῆς. Ἐκείνος  
πρὸς τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην δόξαν ἀπεχθανόμενος, ἥσχαλλεν, ἐδυσφόρει,  
τῆς προτέρας ἐμέμνητο ἡσυχίας· καὶ ταύτην, οἷα φίλην καὶ  
σύνοικον ἀποβαλὼν, δάκρυσι πολλάκις κατὰ μόνας ἀνεκαλείτο.  
[62] Ἐπερωτώντων δὲ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς λύπης,  
595 ἐκείνος, «Ὅτι καὶ πάλιν» ἔλεγεν «εἰς τὸν κόσμον ὑπέστρεψα,  
τέκνα. Ὅτι τὴν δόξαν ἤδη, καὶ τὸν μισθὸν ἐνταῦθα τὸ ἐμὸν  
ἀπέχω· πάσα γὰρ ὡς ὁράτε ἡ Παλαιστίνη καὶ αἱ περὶ αὐτὴν  
χώραι δοξάζουσίν με, καὶ ὑμεῖς δὲ ἴσα καὶ δεσπότη προσάγετέ  
μοι τιμὴν». [63] Ταῦτα ἡ γλυκεία ἐκείνη ἀδελφότης ἀκούσαντες,  
600 αἰσθόμενοι τε ὅτι φυγὴν ἐννοεῖται λαθραίαν, πολλὴν περὶ αὐτὸν  
τὴν φυλακὴν εἶχον, καὶ ἀγρύπνοις ἔβλεπον ὀφθαλμοῖς, μὴ καὶ  
λάθοι αὐτοὺς ὁ ποιμὴν, ἐκ μέσης τῆς ποιμνῆς ἀποφυγῶν· καὶ  
μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων, Ἡσύχιος· τοῦτον γὰρ καὶ λίαν ὁ πατὴρ  
ἐφίλει, καὶ ὡς παιδὸς γνησίου τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκείνου περιεκαίετο.  
605 [64] Ἐν τοσοῦτῳ δὲ πρόσεισιν αὐτῷ ἡ καλὴ καὶ πάλιν  
Ἀρισταινέτη· ἦν δὴ καὶ προλαβὼν ὁ λόγος μετὰ τῶν παίδων  
ἐγνώρισε, καὶ ὅπως Ἰλαρίων αὐτοὺς ἐγγύτατα θανάτου νοσοῦντας

APR

590 συνέβαινε AP : συνέβενε R — περιὸν AP : περιῶν R — 591 ἥσχαλλεν P : post corr. (ex ἥσχαλεν et sscr. λ) R : ἥσχαλλε A — ἐδυσφόρει PR : ἐδυσφόρει A — 592 οἷα A : post corr. (ex οἷα) R : οἷα P — φίλην AP : φίλιν R — 593 ἀποβαλὼν PR : ἀποβαλῶν A — κατὰ μόνας AR : καταμόνας P — 594 ante ἐπερωτώντων par. ind. P — ἐπερωτώντων PR : ἐπερωτώντων A — 595 post ἐκείνος scr. δὲ (bis acc.) A — ἔλεγεν PR : ἔλεγε A — post ἔλεγε scr. τὴν A — 597 ἀπέχω AP : ἀπέχω R — παλαιστίνη AP : παλεστίνη R — 598 χώραι AP : χώραι R — δὲ bis acc. A — ἴσα corr. : ἴσα post corr. (ex ἴσα) R : ἴσα AP — δεσπότη AP : post corr. (ex δεσπότη) R — προσάγετέ P : προσάγεταί R : προσάγαγετέ A — 599 ante ταῦτα par. ind. PR — γλυκεία AP : γλυκεία R — 600 αἰσθόμενοι P : αἰσθόμενῆ A : ἐσθόμενοι R — φυγὴν AP : φυγεῖν post corr. (ex φυγὴν) R — ἐννοεῖται post corr. (ex ἐννοῆται) A — λαθραίαν AP : λαθρέαν R — 601 ὀφθαλμοῖς AP : ὀφθαλμοῖς R — 602 λάθοι A : λάθη P : λάθει R — 605 ante ἐν par. ind. R — τοσοῦτῳ A : post corr. (ex τοσοῦτο) R : τῶσοῦτῳ P — δὲ bis acc. A — αὐτῷ ἡ καλὴ R : ἡ καλὴ αὐτῷ AP — 606 ἦν AP : post corr. (ex ἦν) R — προλαβὼν PR : προλαβῶν A — 607 ἐγνώρισε AP : ἐγνώρησεν R — Ἰλαρίων AP : Ἰλαρίωνα R

610 ιάσατο. Αὕτη οὖν προσελθοῦσα εὐχῆς ἡξίου τυχεῖν, οἶα τὴν ἐπὶ  
 τὸν μέγαν Ἀντώνιον ἀπιέναι μέλλουσα. Ὁ δὲ περὶ τινων  
 πνευματικῶν διαλεχθεῖς πρότερον, εἶτα «ἐκεῖνος ἤδη τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς  
 μεθέστηκεν» ἔφη. Βεβαίως τὸ λεχθέντος· μετ' ὀλίγον γὰρ  
 ἀγγελία σαφῆς ἦκει, τὴν Ἀντωνίου σημαίνουσα πρὸς Θεὸν  
 ἐκδημίαν. [65] Ὁ μέντοι θαυμαστὸς Ἰλαρίων, οὐδὲ βραχὺ τῆς  
 615 φίλης ἡσυχίας ἐλάμβανε λήθην, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλλον αὐτῆς ἦρα, τὰς  
 τῶν προσιόντων δυσχεραίνων ὀχλήσεις, καὶ ὡς γλυκύτητος θείας  
 καὶ τρυφῆς ἄλλης, καὶ ἀπορρήτου φωτισμοῦ πηγὴν αὐτὴν ἐγνωκῶς,  
 λίαν ἐδίψα. Τισὶ γ' οὖν τῶν ἀδελφῶν οἷς μάλλον ἐθάρρει, τὴν  
 γνώμην κοινοῦται, καὶ τὸ ὑποζύγιον εὐτρεπῆς ἦν· γῆρα γὰρ  
 ἔκαμνεν ἤδη, καὶ ἡ πολλὴ ἐγκράτεια καὶ οἱ πόνοι τῆς ἀρετῆς,  
 620 ὀλίγην αὐτῷ καὶ ἄτοιον διέθηκαν τὴν ἰσχύν. [66] Ὁ μὲν οὖν  
 ἐπέβαινε τοῦ ὑποζυγίου, ὄξυ δὲ διὰ πάντων ἐχώρει τὸ βέλος τῆς  
 ἀγγελίας. Ὑποχωρεῖν μὲν ἤδη τὸν ποιμένα, ἐρήμους δὲ πάσης  
 αὐτοὺς ἀπολιμπάνεσθαι φυλακῆς· καὶ αὐτίκα πλήθος τε ἀνθρώπων  
 ὑπὲρ τοὺς δισμυρίους συνέρρεον, καὶ περιβαλόντες αὐτὸν πάντοθεν, ὡς

APR

**608** ιάσατο AR : ἰάσατο P — ante αὕτη par. ind. PR — προσελθοῦσα PR :  
 προσέλθοῦσα A — εὐχῆς PR : εὐχῆν A — τυχεῖν PR : τυχήν A — **609** ἀπιέναι  
 AR : ἐπιέναι P — μέλλουσα AP : μέλλουσαν R — ante ὁ par. ind. R — δὲ bis acc.  
 AP — **610** διαλεχθεῖς A : διαλεχθεῖς P : διὰ λεχθεῖς R — ἐκεῖνος PR : ἐκεῖνος A  
 — ἐπὶ γῆς R : ἐπιγῆς AP — **611** μετ' ὀλίγον post corr. (ex μετόλιγον) R : μετ'  
 ὀλίγον A : μετολίγον P — **612** σαφῆς AP : post corr. (ex σαφῆς) R — ἦκει post corr.  
 (ex ἦκει) R : ἦκε AP — **613** ante ὁ par. ind. R — θαυμαστὸς R : θαυμάσιος AP —  
 Ἰλαρίων AP : ἰλαρίων R — οὐδὲ AR : οὐδε P — **614** μάλλον PR : μάλλον A — ἦρα corr. :  
 ἦρα AP : post corr. (ex ἦρα) R — **615** προσιόντων AR : εισιόντων P — δυσχεραίνων  
 AP : δυσχαιρένων R — **616** πηγὴν PR : πηγῆν A — ἐγνωκῶς PR : ἐγνωκῶς A — ante  
 τισὶ par. ind. R — **617** γ' οὖν AP : γοῦν R — οἷς AP : post corr. (ex οἷς) R — **617-618**  
 τὴν γνώμην κοινοῦται AR : κοινοῦται τὴν γνώμην P — **618** ὑποζύγιον AP : ὑπὸ  
 ζύγιον R — εὐτρεπῆς AP : εὐπρεπῆς R — **619** πολλὴ AP : post corr. (ex πολλῆ) R —  
 ἐγκράτεια PR : ἐγκρατεία A — **620** ὀλίγην P : post corr. (ex ὀλίγην) R : ὀλίγην A —  
 ἰσχύν A : ἰσχύν P : ψυχὴν R — ante ὁ par. ind. R — μὲν bis acc. AP — **621** ὄξυ P :  
 post corr. (ex ὄξυ) R : ὄξυ A — διὰ πάντων AR : διαπάντων P — **622** ὑποχωρεῖν AP :  
 post corr. (ex ὑπὸ χωρεῖν) R — δὲ bis acc. P — **623** ἀπολιμπάνεσθαι AP : ἀπὸ  
 λιμπάνεσθαι R — πλήθος PR : πλήθους A — **624** δισμυρίους R : δυσμυρίους AP —  
 συνέρρεον AP : συνέρρεων R — περιβαλόντες PR : περιβαλλόντες A — πάντοθεν AP  
 : πάντωθεν R

625 μὴ δὲ ῥαδίαν εἶναι τῷ ὑποζυγίῳ τὴν πάροδον, ἰκέτευον, ἐδέοντο, ἐλιπάρουν, θερμὸν τῇ δεήσει παρακιρνώντες καὶ δάκρυον, ὥστε μὴ ἐκείθεν ἀπαναστήναι, μὴ δὲ οὕτω καταλιπεῖν τοὺς αὐτὸν μόνον ἐν νόσοις, ἐν θλίψεσιν, ἐν ἀνάγκαις ἰατρόν, βοηθόν, ἐλπίδα, παρὰ ψυχὴν Παλαιστίνης ὅλης ἐπισταμένους. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα, 630 καὶ πλείω τούτων, ὅσα τὸ πάθος αὐτοῖς λέγειν ὑπετίθει, καὶ ἡ τῶν σπλάγχων αὐτοῦ τῶν πατρικῶν στέρησις. Ἐπεὶ δὲ λέγοντες οὐδὲν ἦνυον, καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ κατέχοντες ἀνένδοτον οὔσαν καὶ ἀτεινὴ τὴν ὄρμην ἐώρων, ἑπτὰ γὰρ ὄλαι διήλθον ἡμέραι, κάκεινος ἔμινε παρ' αὐτοῖς ὅλως ἄσιτος, ἀπαρακλήτος, μὴ δὲ βραχὺ προσέσθαι 635 τροφῆς ἀνασχόμενος, φιλονικεῖν πρὸς τοιαύτην ἔνστασιν ἰσχυρὰν ἀπειπόντες, συγχωροῦσιν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν· οὐχ' ἐκόντες, ἀλλὰ κοπτόμενοι μὲν τὰ σπλάγχνα καὶ λίαν ὀδυνηρῶς ἔχοντες. Ἐφιάσι δ' οὖν ὅμως, οὐδ' ἐκείνου τὴν διαίρεσιν ἀπαθῶς ὑπομένοντος, ἀλλὰ τῶν θερμῶν ἐρώτων καὶ τῶν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ 640 λόγων, ὃν ὄραν εἶχεν ὡς ἐν κατόπτρῳ διὰ τῆς ἡσυχίας, ἰσχυρῶς αὐτὸν ἐλκόντων, καὶ πειθόντων φέρειν εὐψύχως, τοῦ καλοῦ ποιμνίου τὴν στέρησιν. [67] Τεσσαράκοντα γ' οὖν τῶν ἀδελφῶν

APR

640 ἐν κατόπτρῳ] cf. 1 Cor. 13:12

625 δὲ AP : δε R — ὑποζυγίῳ P : ὑποζυγίῳ post corr. (ex ὑποζυγίου) A : ὑπὸ ζυγίου R — ἐδέοντο PR : ἐδέωντο A — 626 καὶ AR : deest P — 627 ἀπαναστήναι AP : post corr. (ex ἀπαναστεῖναι) R — 628 θλίψεσιν AP : θλήψεσιν R — post ἀνάγκαις sign. interrog. A — ἰατρόν post corr. (ex ἰατρὸν) R — βοηθόν post corr. (ex βοηθὸν) R — 629 παρὰ ψυχὴν corr.: παραψυχὴν APR — παλαιστίνης PR : παλεστίνης A — ἐπισταμένους AP : ἐπισταμένους post corr. (ex ἐπισταμένης) R — μὲν bis acc. AP — 630 τούτων PR : τοῦτων A — 631 post τῶν ca. 4 litt. illeg. P — ἐπεὶ bis acc. P — λέγοντες PR : λέγουσιν A — 632 ἦνυον P : post corr. (ex ἦνυον) R : ἦνυοιον A — ἐπὶ πολὺ R : ἐπιπολὺ AP — οὔσαν PR : οὔσαν A — ἀτεινὴ A : post corr. (ex ἀτεινὴ) R : ἐνὴ P — 633 ὄρμην P : ὄρμην AR — ὄλαι διήλθον PR : διήλθον ὄλαι A — 634 ὅλως R : οὔτως AP — προσέσθαι R : προσέσται A : προσεσ[...] P — 635 φιλονικεῖν R : φιλονικεῖν AP — πρὸς PR : προς A — τοιαύτην AR : ταύτην P — 636 συγχωροῦσιν R : ἐφιάσιν AP — 637 ὀδυνηρῶς AP : post corr. (ex ὀδυνηρῶς) R — 638 ἐφιάσι PR : ἐφιάσιν A — δ' οὖν AP : δ'οὖν R — ἐκείνου PR : ἐκείνου A — 639 ὑπομένοντος A : post corr. (ex ὑπὸ μένοντος) R : ὑπομένοντες P — 639-640 τῶν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ λόγων R : ἰύγγων τοῦ Ἰησοῦ A : ἰύγγων (ex ἰύγων) τῆς Ἰησοῦ P — 640 ὡς ἐν κατόπτρῳ PR : ἐν deest A — 641 αὐτὸν R : αὐτῶν AP — ἐλκόντων PR : ἐλκόντων A — πειθόντων P : πιθόντων post corr. (ex πειθόντων) R : πειθόντες A — 642 γ' οὖν AP : γοῦν R

μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ συμπαραλαβῶν, πέμπτη τὸ ἀπ' ἐκείνου ἡμέρα,  
 κατήχθη πρὸς τὸ Πηλοῦσιον. Ἐπισκεψάμενος δὲ τοὺς τὴν πλησίον  
 645 ἔρημον οἰκοῦντας ἀδελφούς, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ὁμολογητὴν Δρακόντιον  
 παραγίνεται, ὃς διὰ τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν ὁμολογίαν τῆς οἰκείας  
 ἐπισκοπῆς ἀπεληλαμένος, ὑπερόριος ἐν Ταβάστῳ διέτριβε πόλει.  
 Εὐλογήσας οὖν ἐκείνον καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πάλιν εὐλογηθεὶς, εἰς  
 Βαβυλῶνα τῆς Αἰγύπτου μεταχωρεῖ, ἔνθα καὶ Φίλωνα τὸν  
 650 ἐπίσκοπον εἶδεν, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπερορίαν κατεδικάσθη διὰ τὸ  
 περὶ τὴν πίστιν ὀρθόδοξον, καὶ τὸ τὰς Ἀρείου διελέγχειν  
 κεινοφωνίας. [68] Εἶτα καὶ εἰς Ἀφρόδιτον πόλιν δυσὶν ἡμέραις  
 καταλαμβάνει, ἐφ' ᾧ Βασιανὸν ἰδεῖν τὸν διάκονον. Τοῦτον δὲ τὸν  
 Βασιανὸν λόγος εἶχε μισθωσάμενον καμήλους, ὕδωρ δι' ἐκείνων  
 655 μετακομίζειν, ὥστε εἰς πόσιν εἶναι τοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν μονὴν τοῦ θείου  
 Ἀντωνίου ἀφικνουμένοις, οἷα ἐρήμου πάντων οὔσης τῆς ἐπ'  
 ἐκείνην ὁδοῦ, καὶ μὴ δὲ αὐτοῦ εὐπορίαν ὕδατος ἐχούσης. [69]  
 Ἀπαναστὰς μέντοι καὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτου πόλεως ὁ μέγας Ἰλαρίων, καὶ  
 τὴν μεταξὺ πᾶσαν ἔρημόν τε καὶ ἄνυδρον, τρισὶ διελθὼν ἡμέραις, εἰς

APR

643 συμπαραλαβῶν PR: συμπαραλαβῶν A — ἀπ' ἐκείνου A : ἀπεκείνου PR — 644  
 κατήχθη AP : κατήχθει R — δὲ bis acc. P — 645 οἰκοῦντας AP : οἰκοῦντας post corr.  
 (ex οἰκοῦντας) R — ἀδελφούς PR : ἀδελφοῦς A — τὸν PR : τὴν A — ὁμολογητὴν  
 AP : post corr. (ex ὁμολογιτὴν) R — 647 ἀπεληλαμένος PR : ἀπεληλαμένης A — 649  
 αἰγύπτου AP : post corr. (ex αἰγύπτου) R — φίλωνα AP : post corr. (ex φίλονα) R —  
 651 διελέγχειν AP : post corr. (ex διελέγchon) R — 652 κεινοφωνίας PR : κεινοφονίας  
 A — ante εἶτα par. ind. R — πόλιν PR : πάλιν A — 653 ἐφ' ᾧ A : ἐφῶ PR —  
 βασιανὸν AR : βασιανὸν P — ante τοῦτον par. ind. P — 654 καμήλους AR : καμίλους  
 P — 654-655 ὕδωρ δι' ἐκείνων μετακομίζειν A : ὕδωρ διεκείνων μετακομίζειν P :  
 ὕδωρ μετακομίζειν διεκείνων (ex διεκείνων) R — 655 ὥστε AR : ὅς τε P — 657-  
 658 ἐπ' ἐκείνην A : ἐπέκείνην P : ἐπέκείνης R — 658 ante ἀπαναστὰς par. ind. PR —  
 ἀφροδίτου AP : ἀφροδίτου post corr. (ex ἀφροδίτου et add. i sup. lin.) R — Ἰλαρίων AP  
 : Ἰλαρίων R — 659 ἄνυδρον PR : ἄνοιδρον A

660 τὴν Ἀντωνίου τοῦ μεγάλου μοιῆν ἀφικνεῖται, ἐν ἣ δύο τινὰς  
 μοναχοὺς τῶν μαθητῶν ἐκείνου καταλαμβάνει, ὧν ὁ μὲν Ἰσαάκ, ὁ δὲ  
 Πλουσιανὸς ἐκαλεῖτο. Οἱ γὰρ τὸν θεῖον Ἰλαρίωνα θεασάμενοι, πάσης  
 ἐπληρώθησαν εὐφροσύνης. Ἡ δὲ μοιῆ ἐπὶ τινος ὄρους μάλα μὲν  
 τραχέος, μάλα δὲ ὑψηλοῦ ὤκοδόμητο. Οὐ πλέον, ἢ μίλιον διήκει τὸ  
 665 ὄρος. Διαρρέουσι δὲ ἐν τούτῳ καὶ κρήναι συχναί, καὶ νάματα  
 διειδῶν ὑδάτων, ἰδεῖν τε καλλίστων, καὶ πιεῖν ἄγαν ἡδίστων· ὧν τὰ  
 μὲν, εἰς ἀμμώδη τινὰ καταδύεται χωρία, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀρούρας ἄρδει,  
 ἐξῆς δὲ συρρέοντα ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀνακινούμενα, χειμαρρον πάντα  
 μέγαν ποιεῖ. Παραπεφύκασι δὲ ταῖς ὄχθαις τοῦ χειμάρρου, καὶ  
 670 φοίνικες εὐμήκεις, καὶ καρπὸν πολὺν τε καὶ καλὸν φέροντες· οἱ καὶ  
 πανταχόθεν ἐπισκιάζοντες, καὶ πάνυ εὐκόσμως ἀπολαμβάνοντες τὸ  
 χωρίον, ὠραῖον αὐτὸ ποιούσι, καὶ ἀπόρητον ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡδονήν. [70]  
 Παραλαβόντες τοίνυν οἱ Ἀντωνίου μαθηταὶ τὸν σοφὸν Ἰλαρίωνα,  
 περιῆγον τὸ χωρίον ὅλον ἐκεῖνο, καὶ μεθ' ἡδονῆς ἐπεδείκνυον,  
 675 « Ἐν τῷδε » λέγοντες « τῷ τόπῳ, ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν ἔψαλλεν· ἐν  
 ἐκείνῳ ἡσύχαζεν· ἐκεῖ καθεζόμενος, πρὸς τὴν τῶν σφυρίδων

APR

**660** ἀφικνεῖται PR : ἀφικνεῖται A — τινὰς AP : post corr. (ex τινᾶς) R — **661**  
 ἐκείνου PR : ἐκείνου A — καταλαμβάνει AP : καταλαμβάνει R — μὲν bis acc. PR  
 — δὲ bis acc. AP — **662** post γὰρ scr. καὶ AP — Ἰλαρίωνα AP : Ἰλαρίωνα R — **663**  
 μοιῆ PR : μοιῆ A — τινος PR : τινος A — ὄρους PR : ὄρους A — μάλα AP : post  
 corr. (ex μάλα) R — **664** τραχέος A : τραχέως PR — μάλα AP : μάλα R — πλέον R :  
 μείον AP — **665** ὄρος P : post corr. (ex ὄρος) R : ὄρος A — τούτῳ AP : post corr. (ex  
 τοῦτῳ) R — κρήναι A : κρήναι PR — **666** τε AP : τὲ R — πιεῖν PR : ποιεῖν A — **667**  
 μὲν bis acc. AP — ἀμμώδη PR : ἀμμώδι A — τινὰ AP : post corr. (ex τινᾶ) R — δὲ  
 bis acc. P — **668** ἐξῆς corr. : ἐξῆς APR — ἀνακινούμενα AR : ἀνακινούμενα P —  
**669** παραπεφύκασι PR : παραπεφύκοτα A — ὄχθαις AP : post corr. (ex ὄχθαις) R —  
**670** φοίνικες AP : φίνικες post corr. (ex φύνικες) R — εὐμήκεις AP : εὐμήκης R —  
**671** εὐκόσμως AR : εὐκόσμος P — ἀπολαμβάνοντες AP : ἀπὸ λαμβάνοντες R — **672**  
 αὐτὸ AP : αὐτῷ R — ὀφθαλμοῖς AP : post corr. (ex ὀφθαλμοῖς) R — ἡδονήν AP :  
 post corr. (ex ἡδονήν) R — **673** ante παραλαβόντες par. ind. R — ἀντωνίου AP :  
 αντωνίου R — Ἰλαρίωνα P : Ἰλαρίωνα AR — **674** μεθ' ἡδονῆς A : post corr. (ex  
 μεθῆδονῆς) R : μεθηδονῆς P — **675** τῷδε AP : post corr. (ex τῷδε) R —  
 λέγου[spatium vacuum ca. 4 litt.]τες A — **676** ἐκείνῳ PR : ἐκείνων A

ἐπονεῖτο πλοκήν· ὦδε, σύνηθες αὐτῷ καμόντι διαναπαύεσθαι· ἐκεῖ  
 καθεύδειν· ταύτην τὴν ἄμπελον, ἐκεῖνα τὰ δένδρα, αὐτὸς ἐφύτευσε·  
 τήνδε τὴν πρασιάν, χερσὶν ἰδίαις ἐκείνος ἐφιλοπόνησε· κολυμβήθρα  
 680 τῶν ὑδάτων αὕτη, ἐφ' ᾧ τὸν κῆπον ἀρδεύεσθαι, δεξιᾶς ἔργον  
 ἐκείνης, πολλῷ πόνῳ καὶ ἰδρῶτι γεγενημένον». [71] Ταῦτα ἐκείνοι  
 μὲν ἠδέως ἔλεγον, ἠδῖον δὲ ἤκουεν Ἰλαρίων. Παρελθὼν δὲ ἀνὰ τὸν  
 τόπον ἐν ᾧ σύνηθες Ἄντωνίῳ καθεύδειν, ἀναπίπτει ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὁ  
 γέρων. Εἶτα, σὺν ἠδονῇ καὶ φόβῳ κατεφίλει τὴν γῆν. Εἰσελθόντι δὲ  
 685 εἰς τὸν κῆπον, ὑπεδείκνουν αὐτῷ δένδρα γόνιμα διαφόρων καρπῶν,  
 ἃ οὐ πρότερον ἢ τρία ἔτη, τὸν μακάριον ἔλεγον φυτεῦσαι.  
 Προσετίθουν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο διήγημα, μετὰ θαύματος καὶ ἠδονῆν  
 ἔχον. [72] Αἱ ἀγέλαι τῶν ἀγρίων ζώων, τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς εἰς  
 πρόφασιν ἐρχόμεναι τῶν ὑδάτων, κακῶς ἐποίουν τὸν κῆπον, καὶ  
 690 τοὺς Ἄντωνίου πόνους ἀτεχνῶς ἐλυμαίνοντο. Ποτὲ γ' οἷν τὸ  
 συνήθως ἐξηγούμενον τῆς ἀγέλης, ἐπιτάγμασι στήναι ποιεῖ. Εἶτα  
 ράβδον μετὰ χεῖρας λαβῶν, ἠρέμα εἰς τὰς ἐκείνου πλευρὰς ἔπαιε,  
 «Διὰ τί» λέγων «ἀδικεῖτέ με, μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντα; Διὰ τί λυμαίνεσθε  
 καρπούς, ἐφ' οἷς ὑμεῖς οὐδὲν ὄλως κεκοπιάκατε;» Ταῦτα

APR

**677** πλοκήν post corr. (ex πλοκήν) R — ὦδε AP : ὦδε R — καμόντι AR : deest P —  
**678** τὴν PR : deest A — ἐφύτευσε PR : ἐφύτευσεν A — **679** ἰδίαις AR : deest P —  
 κολυμβήθρα AR : κολυμβήθρα P — **680** ἐφ' ᾧ A : ἐφῶ R : ἐφῶ P — **681** ἰδρῶτι AP  
 : post corr. (ex ἰδρῶτι) R — ante ταῦτα par. ind. PR — **682** μὲν bis acc. AP — ἤκουεν P  
 : post corr. (ex ἤκουεν) R : ἤκουεν A — ἰλαρίων AP : ἰλαρίων R — παρελθὼν post  
 corr. (ex παρελθὼν) A — **683** ante ἀντωνίῳ scr. τῷ A — ἐπ' αὐτὸν AP : post corr. (ex  
 ἐπαὐτὸν) R — **684** ἠδονῇ PR : ἠδονῆ A — γῆν AP : post corr. (ex γῆν) R —  
 εἰσελθόντι PR : εἰσελθόντη A — **685** ὑπεδείκνουν AP : ὑπέδεικνουν R — γόνιμα P  
 : post corr. (ex γόνιμα) A : γόνιμα R — **686** ἢ AP : post corr. (ex ἢ) R — ἔτη AP :  
 ἔτι R — **687** post τοῦτο scr. τὸ P — **688** ἔχον A : ἔχων PR — ante αἱ par. ind. R —  
 κατ' ἀρχὰς AR : καταρχὰς P — **690** ἐλυμαίνοντο AP : ἐλυμένοντο R — γ' οἷν  
 AP : γοῖν R — **690-691** τὸ συνήθως A : τὸν συνήθως R : τῶν συνήθων P — **691**  
 ἐπιτάγμασι R : ἐπιτάγματι AP — **692** μετὰ χεῖρας A : μεταχείρας P : μετὰ  
 χεῖρας R — ἠρέμα A : ἠρέμα PR — πλευρὰς A : post corr. (ex πλευρὰς) R : πλευρὰς  
 P — **693** διὰ τί ... διὰ τί A : διατί ... διὰ τί P : διατί ... διατί post corr. (ex διὰ τί  
 ... διὰ τί) R — ἀδικεῖτε AP : ἀδικεῖται R — με PR : deest A — μηδὲν A : post corr.  
 (ex μὴ δὲν) R : μὴ δὲν P — post ἀδικοῦντα sign. interrog. R — διὰ τί AP : διατί post  
 corr. (ex διὰ τί) R — λυμαίνεσθε P : λυμαίνεσθαι R : λυμένεσθαι A — **694** καρπούς  
 AP : post corr. (ex καρπούς) R — οἷς ὑμεῖς οὐδὲν ὄλως AR : οἷς οὐδὲν ὄλως ὑμεῖς  
 P — post κεκοπιάκατε sign. interrog. R — ante ταῦτα par. ind. R

695 εἰπών, παρήγγειλε μηκέτι μηδαμῶς ἐπιβῆναι τοῦ κήπου· κάκεινα  
τὸ παράγγελμα ἐφύλαττον ἀκριβῶς· τὸ λοιπὸν γάρ, τῷ χειμάρρῳ  
μὲν προσήρχοντο, πίνοντα δὲ ἐπανήει, μηδὲν ὄλως μήτε λαχάνου  
μήτε ἄλλου τῶν τοῦ κήπου μηδενὸς ἀψάμενα. [73] Τούτων Ἰλαρίων  
ἀκούων, ἐδέετο αὐτῶν, ἐκ μέσης ψυχῆς ὑποδειχθῆναι καὶ τὸν  
700 τόπον, ἐν ᾧ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ θεοῦ ἔκειτο Ἀντωνίου. Οἱ δὲ μὴ  
βουλόμενοι τῇ παρακοῇ λυπήσαι τὸν γέροντα, σοφίζονται τὴν  
αἴτησιν οὕτως· καὶ παραλαβόντες αὐτὸν περιήγον, ἄγνοιάν τε καὶ  
λήθην ὑποκρινόμενοι, διὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐντολήν· παρήγγελτο  
γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δηλαδὴ Ἀντωνίου, μηδεὶ μὴ δ' ὄλως  
705 ἐπίδηλον ποιῆσαι τὸν τόπον. Αἴτιον δὲ τῆς παραγγελίας,  
Περγάμιός τις ἀνὴρ, οὐ χρήμασι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πίστει πλουτῶν  
πάνυ τε φιλῶν τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ἔτι περιόντος αὐτοῦ, ναὸν ἐξ  
αὐτῶν ἐδείματο τῶν κρηπίδων, ὥστε τὸ ἱερὸν ἐκείνο σῶμα  
θάψεται ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἀπὸ τῆς προσηγορίας καλέσαι  
710 τῆς τοῦ ἀγίου. [74] Ἐκεῖνος μέντοι, τῶν παρόντων ἀπάντων  
ὑπερορῶν, καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τιμὴν, ὕφεσίν τινα τῆς θείας εἶναι  
νομίζων, οἰκειώσεώς τε τῆς πρὸς Θεὸν ἀλλοτρίωσιν, ἐπέσκηψε τοῦτο μὴ

APR

**695** παρήγγειλε AP : παρήγγηλε R — μηκέτι AR : μηκέτι P — μηδαμῶς A : μη  
δαμῶς PR — κάκεινα A : post corr. (ex κάκεινα) R : κακείνα P — **696** χειμάρρῳ AR :  
χειμάρῳ P — **697** μὲν R : bis acc. P : deest A — πίνοντα post corr. (ex πίνοντα) R :  
πίνοντα A : πίνοντα P — μηδὲν corr. : μὴ δὲν APR — **698** μηδενὸς A : μηδενὸς P :  
post corr. (ex μὴδένος) R — ante τούτων par. ind. PR — Ἰλαρίων AP : Ἰλαρίων R —  
**699** ὑποδειχθῆναι (ex ὑπὸ δειχθῆναι) καὶ τὸν R : ὑποδειχθῆναι τὸν P : ἀποδειχθῆναι  
οἱ τὸν A — **700** ἐν ᾧ corr. : ἐνώι R : ἵνα A : ὅπου P — σῶμα AP : σῶμα R — δὲ  
bis acc. AP — **701** σοφίζονται AP : σωφίζονται R — **702** αἴτησιν AP : post corr. (ex  
αἴτησιν) R — ἄγνοιάν τε AP : ἄγνοιαν τὲ R — **703** λήθην AP : post corr. (ex λίθην)  
R — ὑποκρινόμενοι AP : ὑπὸ κρινόμενοι R — ante παρήγγελτο par. ind. R — **704**  
μηδεὶ μὴ δ' ὄλως A : μηδὲν μὴδὲ ὄλως R : μηδεὶ μὴδ' ὄλως P — **705** αἴτιον  
P : αἴτιον A : ἔτειον R — **707** τε P : τὲ AR — **708** κρηπίδων P : κρηπίδων A :  
κρηπίδων R — ἐκείνο AR : ἐκείνου P — **709** θάψεται R : θάψαιται A : θάψαι τε P  
— τὸν PR : deest A — **710** ante ἐκεῖνος par. ind. P — ἀπάντων AP : ἀπάντ(ων) post  
corr. (ex ἀπάντ(ων)) R — **711** ἐξ ἀνθρώπων AR : ἐξαθρώπων P — **712** νομίζων PR :  
νομίζειν A — ἐπέσκηψε AP : ἐπέσκηψαι R



γενέσθαι. Ὅπερ οἱ μαθηταὶ δεδιότες, ἵνα μὴ τρόπον τινὰ καὶ  
 Περγαμίῳ γένηται φανερὸς ὁ τόπος, οὐδὲ Ἰλαρίῳ τῷ σοφῷ  
 715 δῆλον αὐτὸν ἔγνωσαν ποιῆσαι. [75] Ἀποτυχῶν τοίνυν τῆς  
 ἐπιθυμίας ὁ Ἰλαρίων, ὑποστρέψας, εἰς Ἀφρόδιτον ἔρχεται πόλιν,  
 πρὸς τὸν διάκονον Βάσσον. Ἐκεῖθεν δέ, τοὺς μὲν σὺν αὐτῷ πάντας  
 εἰς Παλαιστίνην ἐκπέμπει, δύο δὲ μόνους τῶν ἀδελφῶν κατασχών,  
 ἐν τῇ πλησίον τῆς Ἀφροδίτου πόλεως ἐρήμῳ διεκαρτέρει, καθάπερ  
 720 τις γενναῖος ἀριστεύς, τροπαίοις συνάπτων τρόπαια, καὶ τοῖς  
 προτέροις τῆς ἀσκήσεως ἀγῶσι, μείζονας προστιθείς, καὶ ἑαυτὸν  
 ὑπερβάλλον τῇ καρτερίᾳ. Ἐντεῦθεν καὶ δαψιλεστέρους παρὰ πολὺ  
 τοὺς καρποὺς τῶν καλῶν τῆς ἀρετῆς σπερμάτων ἐτρύγα, ἢ μᾶλλον  
 725 ἑτέροις παρείχε τοὺς καρποὺς τρυγᾶν, ὧν τοὺς πόνους αὐτὸς  
 ὑπέμεινε. [76] Ἀντωνίου γὰρ ἤδη τοῦ μεγάλου πρὸς Θεὸν  
 ἐκδημήσαντος, αὐχμὸς παρ' ὅλον τριετὴ χρόνον, τὴν περίχωρον  
 ἐκείνην περιέλαβε πάσαν. Εἶτα καὶ λιμός, τὸ συγγενὲς ἐκείνῳ  
 κακὸν ἠκολούθει. Λύπη τοιγαροῦν καὶ ἀθυμία καὶ στένωσις τοὺς  
 περιοίκους συνείχεν, οὕτω χαλεπῶς, ὡς ὑπὸ πάντων τοῦτο  
 730 λεγομένον εἶναι, ὅτι τὸν θάνατον Ἀντωνίου, οὐκ ἄνθρωποι μόνον,

APR

**713** δεδιότες AP : δεδιώτες R — τινὰ AP : post corr. (ex τινά) R — **714** περγαμίῳ  
 AR : περγαμιάῳ P — Ἰλαρίῳ AP : Ἰλαρίῳ R — **715** αὐτὸν ἔγνωσαν ποιῆσαι R  
 : αὐτὸν ποιῆσαι ἔγνωσαν A : αὐτῷ ἔγνωσαν ποιῆσαι P — ante ἀποτυχῶν par. ind.  
 PR — ἀποτυχῶν PR : ἀποτυχῶν A — **715-716** τοίνυν Ἰλαρίων τῆς ἐπιθυμίας R :  
 τοίνυν τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ὁ Ἰλαρίων AP — **716** ἀφρόδιτον AP : ἀφρόδητον R — ante  
 πόλιν scr. τὴν AP — **717** διάκονον PR : διάκονα A — βάσσον AP : post corr. (ex  
 βάσσον) R — **718** παλαιστίνην AP : παλεστίνην R — **721** ἀγῶσι AR : ἀγῶσι P —  
 προστιθείς P : προστιθείς, post corr. (ex προστιθείς,) R : πρὸς τιθείς A — **722**  
 ἐντεῦθεν AR : ἐντεῦθε P — παρὰ πολὺ A : παραπολὺ PR — **723** τῶν sscr. P — **725**  
 ante ἀντωνίου par. ind. PR — **726** παρ' ὅλον AP : post corr. (ex παρόλον) R — **727**  
 ἐκείνῳ P : ἐκείνῳ R : ἐκείνῳ A — **728** ἠκολούθει AP : post corr. (ex ἠκολούθει) R —  
 τοιγαροῦν corr. : τοιγαροῦν R : τοιγάροῦν P : τοίγαροῦν A — **729** οὕτω AP : οὕτω  
 R — τοῦτο A : τούτων PR

ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ κτίσις πᾶσα πειθεῖ. [77] Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἀπώλλυντο οὕτως καὶ  
 κτήνη καὶ ἄνθρωποι, μαθόντες ἐκ γειτόνων ποῦ διατρίβειν τὸν ἐκείνου  
 τε μαθητὴν καὶ ἀκριβῆ τῆς ἀρετῆς διάδοχον Ἰλαρίωνα, γένος εὐθύς  
 πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦσαν, καὶ ἡλικία πᾶσα ἐχώρει· καὶ τὴν πιέζουσιν ὀργὴν  
 735 καὶ ὀδυνῶσαν αὐτοὺς ἐπέθεν, καὶ στήσαι ταύτην δι' ἰκεσίας  
 ἐδέοντο. [78] Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐκάμπτετο· καὶ ποῦ γὰρ ἦν τὴν φιλάνθρωπον  
 ἐκείνην ἀπειθῆσαι ψυχὴν; Ἐκάμπτετο τοίνυν καὶ χεῖρες αὐτοῦ πρὸς  
 Θεὸν ἤρουτο. Ἄμα δὲ τῇ εὐχῇ, καὶ ὄμβρος ἐφ' ἱκανὸν ἐφέρετο· καὶ ὁ  
 αὐχμὸς διελύετο, καὶ τὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ κακὸν ἴστατο. Οὕτω ταύτης λήθην  
 740 εἶχον τῆς συμφορᾶς, καὶ ἐρπετῶν πάλιν πληθὺς τῶν τῆς γῆς λαγόνων  
 ἀναδοθείσα, τοῖς δῆγμασι καὶ τῇ τοῦ ἰοῦ πικρία τοὺς πολλοὺς  
 ἐλυμαίνοντο. Καὶ ἦν ἡ πληγὴ αὕτη, πληγὴ μᾶλλον τῆς ἐκείνου ψυχῆς,  
 καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα ἐκόπτετο, καὶ ἀθυμίας βέλει τὴν καρδίαν ἐπλήττετο.  
 [79] Τί οὖν ἡ συμπαθῆς τῷ ὄντι καὶ φιλάνθρωποτάτη ψυχὴ; Λύσιν καὶ  
 745 τούτου δίδωσι τοῦ κακοῦ, οὐκ ἰατροὺς καλέσας, οὐ πρὸς φάρμακα καὶ  
 τὴν ἐκ βοτανῶν καὶ ὕλης ἑτέρας ἀποβλέψας βοήθειαν· ἀλλ' ἐλαίω  
 χρίων καὶ τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ κλήσιν ἐπάδων, τὸ ἀνυσιμώτατον ὄντως ἐν

APR

**731** κτίσις AP : κτήσις R — πειθεῖ AP : πειθῆ R — ante ἐπεὶ par. ind P — ἐπεὶ  
 bis acc. P — ἀπώλλυντο A : ἀπώλυτο P : ἀπόλλυντο R — **732** κτήνη AP : post corr.  
 (ex κτήνη) R — ἐκ AP : ἐν R — διατρίβειν AP : διατρίβην R — ἐκείνου PR :  
 ἐκείνου A — **733** ἰλαρίωνα AP : ἰλαρίωνα R — **734** πᾶσα PR : deest A — **735**  
 ὀδυνῶσαν AP : post corr. (ex ὀδυνῶσαν) R — δι' ἰκεσίας A : post corr. (ex δίκεσίας) R  
 : δίκεσίας P — **736** ante ὁ par. ind. R — μὲν bis acc. A — **738** ἤρουτο AP : post corr.  
 (ex ἤρουτο) R — post δὲ scr. καὶ A — ὄμβρος P : post corr. (ex ὄμβρος) R : ὄμβροις A  
 — ἐφ' ἱκανὸν A : post corr. (ex ἐφίκανον) R : ἐφικανὸν P — ὁ PR : deest A — **739**  
 οὕτω AP : οὕτω R — **740** εἶχον PR : εἶχον A — ἐρπετῶν P : ἐρπετῶν AR — **741**  
 ἀναδοθείσα AP : ἀναδοθέντων R — ἰοῦ PR : ἰοῦ A — πολλοὺς PR : πολλοὺς A —  
**742** ἦν AP : post corr. (ex ἦν) R — αὕτη AP : post corr. (ex αὕτη) R — **744** ante τί par.  
 ind. PR — ψυχὴ AP : ψυχῆ R — **746** βοτανῶν AP : βοτάνων R — ἀποβλέψας AP :  
 post corr. (ex ἀπὸ βλέψας) R — ἐλαίω A : post corr. (ex ἐλαίω) R : ἐλαίω P

τοῖς κακοῖς φάρμακον. Ἐξ ἐκείνου τοιγαροῦν συνέρρειον παρ'  
 αὐτόν, πάντες ὅσοι τινὸς ἐδέοντο θεραπείας, καὶ τοῦτο  
 750 ἄφθονον τρυγῶντες τὸ ἀγαθὸν, ὑπέστρεφον. Ἄλλ' ἐκείνος καὶ τὴν  
 ὄχλησιν φεύγων, καὶ τὴν παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων δόξαν ὡς πηγὴν  
 μυρίων κακῶν ἀπωθούμενος, εἷς τι χωρίον πλησίον Ἀλεξανδρείας  
 μεταφοιτᾷ. Βρούχιον ὄνομα τῷ χωρίῳ. Πλήν, οὐδὲ οὕτως ἦν  
 ἐφίλει γαλήνην τῆς ἡσυχίας εὐρίσκει, τοὺς ἐκείσε ἀδελφοὺς ὁρῶν  
 755 πολλὴν ὄσιν προσάγοντας αὐτῷ τιμὴν. [80] Πρὸς ἦν οὕτως  
 ἀπεχθῶς εἶχεν, ὡς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος τῶν φιλοδόξων πρὸς ἀτιμίαν καὶ  
 ὄνειδος. Ὅθεν αὐτὸς μὲν ὑποχωρήσαι νυκτὸς ἐμελέτα, ἐλθὼν δὲ  
 εἰς αἴσθησιν τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, περιείχον τότε ἰσχυρῶς  
 καὶ μένειν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐβιάζοντο, ἢ μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰλαρίωνος  
 760 ἀψευδῶν Σειρήνων αὐτοὶ εἶχοντο· τὸ πρᾶον γὰρ ἐκείνου καὶ  
 γαληνόν, καὶ ἡ ἐπιτρέπουσα τῷ ἦθει ἐλευθερία, ἅπαντας ἐκάλει  
 πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ μεθ' ἡδονῆς ἐφείλκετο. Ὡς δὲ μένειν αὐτὸς οὐκ  
 ἐπέιθετο, διαλεχθεὶς ὅσα πρὸς ψυχῆς ὠφέλειαν φέρει, τὴν Ἄνασαν  
 διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου καταλαμβάνει. [81] Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κωνσταντίος μὲν  
 765 σὺν τῇ ἀρχῇ κατέστρεψε καὶ τὸν βίον, Ἰουλιανὸς δὲ εἰς τὸν  
 θρόνον τὸν βασιλικὸν εἰσεφθάρη ἀνοσιώτατα, ὧ δίκη καὶ ἀνοχὴ

#### APR

748 ἐξ ἐκείνου PR : ἐξεκείνου A — τοιγαροῦν P : τοιγαροῦν R : τοί γὰρ οὖν A —  
 748-749 παρ' αὐτόν πάντες AR : πάντες παρ' αὐτόν P — 749 ὅσοι τινὸς PR : ὅσοί  
 τινος A — 751 ὄχλησιν AP : post corr. (ex ὄχλησιν) R — φεύγων AP : φεύγον R — ὡς  
 PR : deest A — πηγὴν P : post corr. (ex πηγὴν) R : πηγὴν A — 752 ἀπωθούμενος P : post  
 corr. (ex ἀποθούμενος) R : ἀποθούμενος A — 753 μεταφοιτᾷ AP : post corr. (ex  
 μεταφοιτᾷ) R — βρούχιον AR : βρύχιον P — ὄνομα AP : post corr. (ex ὄνομα) R — τῷ  
 χωρίῳ AP : τὸ χωρίον R — ἦν AP : post corr. (ex ἦν) R — 754 εὐρίσκει PR : εὐρίσκει  
 A — ἐκείσε AP : ἐκείσαι R — ἀδελφοὺς AP : post corr. (ex ἀδελφοῦς) R — 755 πολλὴν  
 ὄσιν PR : ὄσιν πολλὴν A — ante τιμὴν scr. τὴν AP — ante πρὸς par. ind. R — ἦν P :  
 post corr. (ex ἦν) R : ἦν A — 756 οὐδεὶς AR : οὐδεὶς P — 757 ὄνειδος AP : ὄνιδος R  
 — ἐλθὼν A : ἐλθὼν PR — 758 περιείχον PR : περιείχοντο A — 759 παρ' αὐτοῖς AP  
 : παρ' αυτοῖς R — Ἰλαρίωνος AP : Ἰλαρίωνος R — 760 εἶχοντο AP : post corr. (ex  
 εἶχοντο) R — 761 γαληνόν AP : γαλινόν R — ἐπιτρέπουσα P : ἐπιτρέπουσα R :  
 πρέπουσα A — 762 μεθ' ἡδονῆς AP : post corr. (ex μεθ' ἡδονῆς) R — μένειν AP : post  
 corr. (ex μένην et add. εἰ sup. lin.) R — 762-763 οὐκ ἐπέιθετο AP : οὐκεπέιθετο R —  
 763 διαλεχθεὶς post corr. (ex διαλεχθῆς) A — ὅσα πρὸς ψυχῆς ὠφέλειαν φέρει R :  
 ὅσα φέρει πρὸς ψυχῆς ὠφέλειαν AP — ἄνασαν P : ἄνσαν A : ἄνασαν post corr. (ex  
 ἄνσαν et add. α sup. lin.) R — 764 ante ἐπεὶ par. ind. PR — ἐπεὶ bis acc. P — δὲ PR : δε  
 A — κωνσταντίος AP : κωνσταντίος post corr. (ex κωνσταντίνος) R — 765 κατέστρεψε  
 AP : κατέστρεψαι R — 766 εἰσεφθάρη AP : εἰσεφθάρει R — ὧ P : post corr. (ex ὧ) R :  
 ὦ A — ἀνοχὴ P : post corr. (ex ἀνοχῆ) R : ἀνοχὴ A

Θεοῦ! καὶ θεσμὰ εἰσεβείας ἅπερ ἐκεῖνος κακῶς ἐτυράνησε, τῶν  
 Γαζαίων ὅσοι ἀρειανίζοντες ἔτι καὶ τὰ ἑλληνικὰ τιμώντες  
 ὑπῆρχον, κινοῦνται μεγάλῳ θυμῷ καὶ φύσῃματι κατὰ τοῦ ὀσίου.  
 770 Καὶ πέμπουσί τινας τῶν ὁμοφρόνων παρὰ τὸ Βρούχιον, ὥστε  
 κακοῖς αὐτὸν ἐσχάτοις περιβαλεῖν· οἱ δὲ ἀφικόμενοι, λύκος ἦσαν  
 τὸ τοῦ λόγου *μάτην χανῶν*. [82] Πάλαι τοῦ ὀσίου τὴν ἐπιβουλήν  
 προειδότος, καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ἔννασαν, ὥσπερ ἤδη καὶ ἐγνωρίσαμεν,  
 ἀφικομένου, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τὴν αἰσχύνην οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες, εἰς μείζονά  
 775 τε διακαίονται τὴν μαίαν. Καὶ ἀναστρέψαντες, παροξύνουσι τὸν  
 ἀνοσιώτατον βασιλέα, καταστραφῆναι μὲν ἕως αὐτῶν κρηπίδων  
 τὴν ἐκείνου μονήν, καὶ τοὺς μονάζοντας πολλὰ πρότερον  
 τιμωρηθέντας, ἀπελαθῆναι· Ἰλαρίωνα δὲ καὶ Ἡσύχιον, ὅπου περ ἂν  
 εὔρεθῶσι τὰ βαρύτερα κολασθέντας, εἶτα καὶ αὐτῷ παραδοθῆναι  
 780 θανάτῳ. [83] Ἐλάνθανον δὲ τὸ τοῦ λόγου, *ἀετὸν διώκοντες εἰς*  
*νεφέλας*, ἢ τὸ τοῦ θείου Παύλου, *ἀέρα δέροντες* ἢ τοξεύοντες,  
 ἅτε καὶ πρὶν γενέσθαι ταῦτα τοῦ Ἰλαρίωνος ἀκριβῶς εἰδότος,  
 καὶ εἰς Ἔννασαν παρ' ὄλον ἐνιαυτὸν διάγοντος, εἶτα μέντοι καὶ  
 πρὸς νῆσον ἀποπλευσαί τινα διαμελετώντος. Ἐν τούτῳ δέ,  
 785 πρόσεισί τις αὐτῷ τῶν μαθητῶν ἀπὸ Παλαιστίνης Ἄδριανὸς ὄνομα,

APR

771-772 λύκος-χανῶν] Suda, λ, 818; CPG, Gregorius Cyprius, *Paroemiae*, Centuria 2.95,  
 4.15, Michael Apostoles, *Paroemiae* 10.89, 14.42 — 780-781 ἀετὸν-νεφέλας] Iohannes  
 Mauropous, *Epistulae* 28, ed. A. Karpozilos, *The Letters of Ioannes Mauropous*  
*Metropolitan of Euchaita*, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 34 (Thessalonica, 1990),  
 ep. 28.2 — 781 ἀέρα-δέροντες] cf. 1 Cor. 9:26

767 θεσμὰ AP : post corr. (ex θεσμᾶ) R — ἅπερ AP : ἅπερ R — 768 γαζαίων AR :  
 γαζέων P — ἀρειανίζοντες R : ἀριανίζοντες AP — ἑλληνικὰ P : ἑλληνικὰ AR —  
 τιμώντες AP : post corr. (ex τιμώντες) R — 769 κινοῦνται PR : κινοῦντα A —  
 φύσῃματι AP : φύσίματι post corr. (ex φύσῃματι) R — 770 πέμπουσί τινας AP :  
 πέμπουσι τινας R — βρούχιον AR : βρύχιον P — 771 αὐτὸν AP : αὐτοῖς R —  
 ἐσχάτοις AP : αἰσχάτοις R — δὲ bis acc. AP — ἀφικόμενοι AP : ἀφεικόμενοι R —  
 772 χανῶν AP : post corr. (ex χανῶν) R — ante πάλαι par. ind. P — ἐγνωρίσαμεν AP :  
 ἐγνωρήσαμεν R — 774 ἀφικομένου AP : ἀφηκομένου R — αἰσχύνην AP : ἐσχύνην R  
 — 776 ἀνοσιώτατον PR : ἀνοσιότατον A — καταστραφῆναι AP : κατὰ στραφῆναι R  
 — κρηπίδων AP : κριπίδων post corr. (ex κρηπίδων) R — 777 μονήν post corr. (ex  
 μονήν) R — 778 Ἰλαρίωνα AP : Ἰλαρίωνα R — δὲ bis acc. P — Ἡσύχιον AP : Ἡσύχιον  
 R — 779 εὔρεθῶσι P : post corr. (ex εὔρεθῶσι) R : εὔρεθῶσι A — τὰ βαρύτερα AR :  
 ταβαρύτερα P — 780 ante ἐλάνθανον par. ind. P — 781 τοξεύοντες PR : τοξέβοντες  
 A — 782 ἅτε A : ἅτε PR — γενέσθαι PR : γένεσθαι A — Ἰλαρίωνος AP : Ἰλαρίωνος R  
 — ἀκριβῶς AP : post corr. (ex ἀκριβῶς) R — 783 παρ' ὄλον AP : post corr. (ex  
 παρ' ὄλον) R — ante εἶτα par. ind. R — 784 ἀποπλευσαί τινα AP : ἀπὸ πλεῦσε τίνα R  
 — διαμελετώντος AP : post corr. (ex διαμελετόντος) R — ante ἐν par. ind. P —  
 τούτῳ AP : post corr. (ex τούτο) R — 785 αὐτῷ AP : deest R — ὄνομα AP : ὄνομα R

τεθνάναι μὲν τὸν ἀποστάτην ἀπαγγέλλων, γενέσθαι δὲ βασιλέα  
 χριστιανὸν καὶ ἀψευδὴ φίλον ὀρθοδοξίας· διὸ καὶ καταλαβεῖν  
 αὐτὸν πάλιν τὴν Παλαιστίνην ἡξίου. Ὁ δέ, οὐκ ἠνείχετο, ἀλλ' εἷς  
 τινα παραθαλασσίδιον διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου πόλιν τῆς Λιβύης ἀπαίρει.  
 790 [84] Ὁ μέντοι μαθητῆς Ἀδριανὸς ἔρωτι πάλαι φιλαργυρίας  
 κάτοχος ὢν, καὶ ἃ δι' αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῶν μαθητῶν ἐπέμφθη τῷ  
 Ἰλαρίωνι κλέψας, κακὸς καὶ αὐτὸς περὶ τὸν διδάσκαλον γίνεται.  
 Καὶ ἐπεὶ μὴ ὁ γέρων ἐπείθετο, αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν Παλαιστίνην  
 ἐπανελθὼν, οὐ διέλιπε λοιδορούμενός τε καὶ διαβάλλον ὁ μιαρὸς,  
 795 τὸν ἀληθῶς ἅγιον. Ὅθεν ἐφ' ὁμοία γνώμη τῆς Ἰούδα φιλαργυρίας,  
 παρόμοιος αὐτῷ καὶ θάνατος ἠκολούθη· νόσω γὰρ περισχεθεὶς  
 χαλεπῇ, καὶ σάρκας ὅλας αἴσχιστα διαρρυεῖς, καὶ δυσωδίαν οὐχ'  
 ὅπως καὶ φορητὴν ἐκείθεν ἐκπέμπων, τὴν ψυχὴν ἀθλίως, ἀφήκεν ὁ  
 ἄθλιος. [85] Ὁ θεῖος μέντοι Ἰλαρίων, Ζάναρον ἕνα τῶν μαθητῶν  
 800 παραλαβὼν, εἰς Κλάσαν ἐκείθεν τῆς Σικελίας ἀπέπλει. Καὶ ὁ μὲν  
 Ἀδρίας ἤδη αὐτοῖς ἀπεπλείτο, ἐκείνος δὲ μὴ ἔχων ὅθεν ἂν τῆς  
 ναυτιλίας ἀποδῶ τὸν μισθόν, πρὸς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ μετὰ χεῖρας  
 εἶχεν ἀπέβλεψε, καὶ πωλῆσαι διανοεῖτο. Ἄλλ' ὁ Θεός, πόρον αὐτῷ ἐν

APR

**786** τεθνάναι corr. : τεθνᾶναι P : post corr. (ex τεθνάναι) R : τεθάναι A — μὲν bis  
 acc. P — **787** ἀψευδὴ A : ἀψευδῆ PR — ὀρθοδοξίας AP : post corr. (ex ὀρθοδοξίας) R  
 — καὶ<sup>2</sup> PR : deest A — **788** πάλιν AR : πάλαι P — παλαιστίνην AP : παλαιστήνην R  
 — ἡξίου AP : ἡξίου R — δὲ bis acc. AP — οὐκ ἠνείχετο AR : οὐκηνείχετο P — ἀλλ'  
 AP : ἀλ' | λ R — **788-789** εἷς τινα AR : εἰστινα P — **789** πόλιν PR : πάλαι A —  
**790** ante ὁ par. ind. PR — μαθητῆς P : post corr. (ex μαθητῆς) R : μαθητῆς A — **791**  
 ἃ AP : post corr. (ex ἃ) R — δι' αὐτοῦ PR : διαυτοῦ A — παρὰ τῶν PR : παρατῶν A  
 — **792** Ἰλαρίωνι P : Ἰλαρίωνι AR — **793** ante καὶ par. ind. R — ἐπεὶ bis acc. P —  
 παλαιστίνην AP : παλαιστήνην R — **794** διέλιπε AP : διέλειπε R — λοιδορούμενός  
 PR : λοιδωρούμενός A — **795** ἐφ' ὁμοία P : ἐφ' ὁμοία R : ἐφ' ὁμία A — **796**  
 παρόμοιος R : παρ' ὁμοίος P : παρόμιος A — ante θάνατος scr. ὁ R — ἠκολούθη  
 corr. : ἠκολούθει post corr. (ex ἠκολούθη) P : post corr. (ex ἠκολούθη) A : ἠκολούθη R  
 — **797** αἴσχιστα A : αἴσχηστα R : ἄσχηστα P — δυσωδίαν AP : post corr. (ex  
 δυσωδίαν) R — **797-798** οὐχ' ὅπως AP : οὐχ ὅπως R — **798** ante ὁ par. ind. PR —  
**799** θεῖος μέντοι AP : μέντοι θεῖος R — Ἰλαρίων AP : Ἰλαρίων R — **800** παραλαβὼν  
 PR : παραλαβῶν A — **801** ἀπεπλείτο R : ἐπλείτο AP — δὲ bis acc. P — μὴ ἔχων  
 PR : μηέχων A — ἂν PR : ἂν A — **802** ναυτιλίας AR : ναυτηλίας P — χεῖρας AP :  
 χείρας R — **803** ἀπέβλεψε AP : ἀπέβλεψεν R — διανοεῖτο PR : διανοεῖτο A

805 απόροις ἀτεχνῶς δίδωσιν. Εἶχε δὲ οὕτως· δαίμονι ὁ παῖς τοῦ  
 ναυκλήρου ἀλίσκεται παραχρήμα, καὶ φάρμακον αὐτῷ τοῦ κακοῦ,  
 εὐχή μόνη τοῦ ἁγίου γίνεται· καὶ τοῦτο ἤρκεσεν, εἰς μισθὸν τῷ  
 ναυκλήρῳ, φιλοτίμως καταβληθέντα. [86] Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ πάλιν ὁ ἅγιος,  
 εἰς τὴν μεσόγειον ἄνεισιν, ἐν ἣ διέτριβε κρυπτόμενος καὶ  
 810 ὑπολανθάνων, ξύλα τε συλλέγων καὶ πωλεῖν αὐτὰ τῷ Ζανάρῳ  
 διδούς· καὶ οὕτως ἑαυτοῖς ἄμφω πορίζοντες τὴν τροφήν. Ἄλλ'  
 οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα τὸν πιστὸν ὁ καλὸς δεσπότης λαθεῖν ἀφήκε  
 θεράποντα. [87] Σκουτάριος γάρ τις ἀνὴρ ὄνομα, δαίμονι καὶ αὐτὸς  
 ἑάλω. Ἐφθέγγετο δὲ διὰ τῆς ἐκείνου γλώττης ὁ δαίμων, καὶ  
 ἄκοντα τὸν ἅγιον ἐφανέρου, ὡς ἄρα εἰς Σικελίαν ἀπὸ τῆς  
 815 ἀνατολῆς ὁ Ἰλαρίων ἔναγχος ἀποπλεύσει, καὶ ὡς κρύπτοιτο ἐν  
 αὐτῇ, καὶ ὡς μέλλοι πάλιν ὀλίγω ὕστερον πλοίου τινοῦ ἐπιβάς, εἰς  
 τὸ σπήλαιόν τε καὶ τὴν ἐρημίαν ἐπανελθεῖν. [88] Ταῦτα ὁ δαίμων  
 ἔλεγε, καὶ ὁ Σκουτάριος ἀνηρέυνα πανταχοῦ καὶ ἐζήτηει τὸν  
 Ἰλαρίωνα. Ὡς δὲ περιῖων εἶρε, καὶ ἦσθετο αὐτὸν ὅστις ἦν, πίπτει  
 820 παραχρήμα καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ ποδῶν τῶν ἱερῶν δράσεται. Ὅθεν οὐδὲ  
 πλέον αὐτῷ ἐδέησε πρὸς τὴν τοῦ τυραννοῦντος ἀπαλλαγὴν· ἀλλ'  
 εὐθύς ὁ δαίμων ἐξήκει, ταπεινοφροσύνης ὥσπερ ὁ ὑψηλόφρων, οὐδὲ

APR

**805** ἀλίσκεται P : post corr. (ex ἀλίσκεται) R : ἀλίσκεται A — παραχρήμα AP : παρά  
 χρήμα R — **806** εὐχή post corr. (ex εὐχῆ) R : εὐχῆ AP — μόνη PR : μό ν νη A —  
 ἤρκεσεν AP : εἴρκεσεν R — **807** ante ἐκεῖθεν par. ind. R — πάλιν ὁ ἅγιος R : ὁ  
 ἅγιος πάλιν AP — **808** μεσόγειον AR : μεσόγειον P — **809** ὑπολανθάνων AP :  
 ὑπολανθάνων post corr. (ex ὑπὸ λανθάνων) R — τε P : τὲ AR — **810** διδούς post corr.  
 (ex διδούς) P — **811** τὸν AR : τον P — **812** ante σκουτάριος par. ind. PR — ὄνομα P :  
 post corr. (ex ὄνομα) R : ὄνομα A — **813** ἑάλω AP : ἑάλω R — **814** ἄκοντα AR : ἄκων,  
 ἄκοντα P — ἄρα AP : post corr. (ex ἄρα) R — **815** Ἰλαρίων AP : Ἰλαρίων R —  
 ἀποπλεύσει AP : post corr. (ex ἀπὸ πλεύσει) R — κρύπτοιτο AP : κρύπτωτο R — **816**  
 καὶ ὡς PR : deest A — ὀλίγω corr. : ὀλίγω R : ὀλίγω AP — ἐπιβάς AP : ἐπιβάς R —  
**817** ante ταῦτα par. ind. R — **819** Ἰλαρίωνα AP : Ἰλαρίωνα R — περιῖων P : post corr.  
 (ex περιῖων) A : περιῖων R — αὐτὸν PR : αὐτῶν A — **820** παραχρήμα P : παρά χρήμα  
 R : παραχρήμα A — **820-821** οὐδὲ πλέον R : οὐδεπλέον A : οὐδὲ πλέον P — **821**  
 ἀπαλλαγὴν post corr. (ex ἀπαλλαγὴν) R — **822** ὑψηλόφρων PR : ὑψηλόφρον A

σύμβολόν τι θεάσασθαι δυναθεῖς. Ἐκ τούτου συνέρρει καὶ πάλιν τὸ  
πλήθος ὄσους ἐπέεζε νόσων ἀνάγκη, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἦν ὃς λυπούμενος  
825 ἐπανήει, ἢ μετὰ μελλον ἔχων τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνον ἀφίξεως· ἀλλὰ  
πάντες μετ' ὀδύνης ἀπιόντες, μετὰ πολλῆς ὑπέστρεφον  
εὐφροσύνης. [89] Ὁ μέντοι μαθητῆς Ἡσύχιος, ἥδη γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐπὶ  
τὰ ἐξῆς ἰτέον τῆς διηγήσεως, ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν ἐζήτηι τὸν Ἰλαρίωνα,  
τριῶν δὲ αὐτῷ περιελθόντων ἐνιαυτῶν, ἦκει τις Ἰουδαῖος τῶν  
830 ἐμπόρων, μηνύων προφήτην εἰς Σικελίαν μέγαν τῶν χριστιανῶν  
παραγεγενῆσθαι. Καὶ ὁ Ἡσύχιος ἐπειδὴ ἔμαθεν, ὡς εἶχεν εὐθύς  
εἰς Σικελίαν ἀφίκετο, καὶ τὸν ὄσιον ἐκείσε καταλαμβάνει· ἀλλὰ τὸ  
πλήθος τῶν προσιόντων, Ἰλαρίωνα καὶ πάλιν τὸν θεῖον ἐλύπει.  
Ἀμέλει καὶ τῶν προτέρων ὁμοίως εἶχετο, καὶ τὴν ὄχλησιν  
835 διαφεύγων, εἰς Ἐπίδαυρον ἄμα δυσὶ μαθηταῖς τῆς Δαλματίας  
ἀπέπλει. Πλὴν ἢ τῶν ἐκείνου χαρίτων ὁσμῆ, πολλή τις οὔσα καὶ  
ἡδὺ πνέουσα, δῆλον αὐτὸν ἐν πάσι τοῖς Ἐπιδαυρίοις ποιεῖ. Καὶ  
συνδραμόντες, ἐδέοντο τοῦ ἀνδρός, χαλεποῦ γείτονος αὐτοῦς  
ἀπαλλάξαι. [90] Δράκοντος γὰρ τι χρῆμα τεράστιον κατὰ τῆς  
840 Ἐπιδαύρου πάσης διέρπον, βόας τε αὐτοῖς βουκόλοις, καίτοι τῶν  
ἄλλων, βοῦς αὕτη μείζονας τρέφει, καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους κατήσθιε

#### APR

**823** συνέρρει PR : συνέρρη A — **824** ὄσους AP : deest R — ἐπέεζε A : ἐπέεζεν P : ἐπέεζαι R — **825** ἐπανήει AP : ἐπανείη R — ἔχων τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνον ἀφίξεως corr. : ἔχων τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνον (ex προσέκεινον) ἀφίξεως R : ἔχων τῆς προσεκέεινον ἀφίξεως P : τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνον ἀφίξεως ἔχων A — **826** μετ' ὀδύνης A : post corr. (ex μετ' ὀδύνης) R : μετοδύνης P — ἀπιόντες AP : ἀπίοντες R — **827** ante ὁ par. ind. P — μαθητῆς P : post corr. (ex μαθητῆς) R : μαθητῆς A — ἥδη PR : ἥδι A — **828** ἐξῆς corr. : ἐξῆς AR : ἐξῆς P — μὲν PR : μεν A — Ἰλαρίωνα AP : Ἰλαρίωνα R — **829** ἦκει post corr. (ex ἦκει) R — τις corr. : τίς APR — Ἰουδαῖος PR : Ἰουδαῖος A — **830** μέγαν AP : post corr. (ex μέγα) R — **831** παραγεγενῆσθαι PR : παραγίνεσθαι A — **832** ἐκείσε AP : ἐκείσαι R — **833** προσιόντων PR : εἰσιόντων A — Ἰλαρίωνα AP : Ἰλαρίωνα R — **834** ὄχλησιν P : post corr. (ex ὄχλησιν) R : ὄχλησιν A — **835** διαφεύγων AP : διαφεύγον R — **836** ἀπέπλει post corr. (ex ἀπέπλη) A — ὁσμῆ R : post corr. (ex ὁσμῆ) P : ὁσμῆ A — οὔσα PR : οὔσα A — **837** ἡδὺ πνέουσα PR : ἡδυπνέουσα A — ἐπιδαυρίοις AR : ἐπιδαύροις P — **838** συνδραμόντες AP : post corr. (ex σὺν δραμόντες) R — χαλεποῦ AP : χαλαιποῦ R — **838** γείτονος PR : γίτονος et sign. scr. inf. lin. A — **839** ante δράκοντος par. ind. R — **840** πάσης PR : πᾶσης A — τε PR : τὲ A — **841** τρέφει PR : τρέφη A — κατήσθιε AP : κατίσθιε post corr. (ex κατήσθιε) R

τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ λιμὸς ἦν τῇ πόλει, καὶ μᾶστιξ ὀλεθρία  
 πλήττουσα. Τῆς συμφορᾶς τοίνυν αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰλαρίων καὶ τοῦ  
 ποιηροῦ γειτονήματος ἐλεήσας, κελεύει ξύλων σωρείαν  
 845 ἀθροίσαντας, φλόγα μεγίστην ἀνάψαι. Καὶ αὐτίκα, οἱ μὲν, ἐπὶ τὴν  
 συλλογὴν τῶν ξύλων ἐτρέποντο, ὁ δὲ προσήχετο. Καὶ  
 συμφορηθέντων ἤδη τῶν ξύλων πῦρ αὐτοῖς ὑποβάλλεται, καὶ τῆς  
 φλογὸς οὐδέπω ἀρθείσης, ἀλλ' ἔτι τὰ ξύλα διαβοσκομένης, ἐκέλευε  
 μὲν ὁ ἅγιος, τὸ δὲ θηρίον κατὰ μέσου τοῦ πυρὸς ἐχώρει. Καὶ  
 850 οὕτω συσπειραθέν, καὶ οἶονεὶ συναγαγὸν ἑαυτῷ πάντοθεν, εὐθὺς  
 κατεκάη· καὶ τῇ Ἐπιδαύρῳ ὕμνοι Θεῷ τὰ παρόντα, καὶ χάρις τῷ  
 Ἰλαρίωνι. [91] Ὑποχωρήσαι μέντοι καὶ αὐτόθεν μέλλοντος || τοῦ  
 ὀσίου, ἔφευγε γὰρ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀρετῆς δόξαν, πάνυ συντόμως αὐτὸν  
 διώκουσαν, οὕτω μέγα κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἔσεισεν ὁ Θεός, ὡς καὶ τὴν  
 855 θάλασσαν τῶν ἰδίων ἀνατιναχθεῖσαν ὄρων, χάσμα παράδοξον οἶον  
 καὶ φοβερὸν τὸν βυθὸν ἐπιδείξει. Εἰς τοσοῦτον δὲ τὰ κύματα  
 ἦρετο, ὡς καὶ ἄλλον εἶναι τοῦτον νομίζειν κατακλυσμόν, καὶ τὴν  
 κιβωτὸν ἤδη ἐπιζητεῖν καὶ τὸν Νῶε. [92] *Κύριος* γὰρ φησι  
*μακρόθυμος, καὶ μεγάλη ἡ ἰσχὺς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀθῶν οὐκ ἀθωώσει*

APR

**857-859** κατακλυσμόν-Νῶε ] cf. Gen. 7 — **858-862** Κύριος-ἐξερημῶν] Nahum 1:3-4

**842** λιμὸς A : λοιμὸς PR — ὀλεθρία P : post corr. (ex ὀλέθρια) R : καὶ ὀλέθρια A — **843**  
 ante τῆς par. ind. R — αὐτοὺς AR : deest P — Ἰλαρίων AP : Ἰλαρίων R — **844** σωρείαν  
 post corr. (ex σωρίαν) A — **845** ἀθροίσαντας AR : ἀθροίσαντας P : post corr. (ex  
 ἀθρύσαντας) R — μὲν bis acc. AP — **846** δὲ bis acc. AP — **847** ὑποβάλλεται AP : ὑπὸ  
 βάλλεται R — **848** ἀρθείσης AP : post corr. (ex ἀρθήσης) R — ἀλλ' ἔτι A : ἀλ' | ἔτι  
 R : ἀλλ' ἔτι P — **849** δὲ PR : deest A — **850** οὕτω AP : οὕτω R — οἶονεὶ A : οἶονεὶ P :  
 post corr. (ex οἶονεὶ) R — συναγαγὸν A : συναγαγὼν PR — ἑαυτῷ R : ἑαυτὸ P : αὐτῷ  
 A — **851** τὰ παρόντα PR : ταπαρόντα A — **852** Ἰλαρίωνι AP : Ἰλαρίωνι R — ante  
 ὑποχωρήσαι par. ind. R — ὑποχωρήσαι AP : ὑπὸ χορήσαι post corr. (ex ὑπὸ χωρήσαι) R  
 — **853** συντόμως AP : συντόμως R — **854** οὕτω AP : οὕτω R — ἔσεισεν AR : post corr.  
 (ex ἔσειεν et add. σ sup. lin.) P — καὶ AP : lacuna R — **855** ἀνατιναχθεῖσαν P : post  
 corr. (ex ἀνατειναχθεῖσαν) R : ἀνατιναχθεῖσαν A — **857** ἄλλον PR : ἄλλον A — post  
 ἄλλον scr. τουτονεὶ R — τοῦτον PR : τοῦτο A — **858** ἐπιζητεῖν P : ἐπιζη[ras. ca. 4  
 litt.]τεῖν A : post corr. (ex ἐπιζητήν) R — ante κύριος par. ind. PR — **858-865** κύριος-  
 κύριος] sign. in marg. A — **859** οὐκ AP : οὐκ R



860 *Κύριος· ἐν συντελείᾳ, καὶ ἐν συσσεισμῷ ἢ ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ  
νεφέλαι κοινορτὸς ποδῶν αὐτοῦ. Ἀπειλῶν θαλάσση καὶ ξηραίνων  
αὐτήν, καὶ πάντα τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἐξηρημῶν. Διὰ τοῦτο  
καταφεύγουσι καὶ πάλιν ἅμα γυναιξίν, ἅμα τέκνοις, ἐπὶ τὴν  
ὁμολογουμένην βοήθειαν, καὶ λιπαροῦσι τὸν Ἰλαρίωνα, ἐπισχεθῆναι  
865 αὐτοῖς τὴν ὄργην Κυρίου, μηδὲ ὄλον κενωθῆναι καὶ τὸν τρυγίαν  
τὸ ταύτης ἔσχατον, ἀλλ' ἐν ὄργῃ, ἐλέους μνησθῆναι τὸν ἀγαθόν,  
οὗ πάσαι αἱ ὁδοὶ κατὰ τὸν θεῖον φάναι προφήτην, ἔλεος καὶ  
ἀλήθεια. Ὁ δέ, τρεῖς ἐν τισι χωρίοις σταυροὺς κατὰ πρόσωπον  
πηξάμενος τῆς θαλάσσης, τὰς χεῖράς τε αὐτὸς εἰς οὐρανὸν  
870 ἀνατείνας, τὴν ἀπειλὴν ἴστησι· καὶ ἡ θραῦσις ἐκόπασε, καὶ  
ἀσφαλὲς αὐτοῖς κατεγγυᾶται τὸ μέλλον. [93] Εἶτα νυκτὸς ἐκείθεν  
ἀπάρας, εἰς Βερβήλιμβον ἐμπόριον τῆς Δαλματίας κατέρρει, καὶ  
πλοίου εἰς Κύπρον ἀναγομένου ἐπιτυχῶν, πρὸς ταύτην ἀπέπλει.  
Περὶ τὸν Μαλέα δὲ γενομένῳ ληστρικῆς οἱ ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ ἐφόδου  
875 ὑπήσθοντο, καὶ αὐτίκα προστρέχουσι κατάφοβοι τῷ ἀγίῳ· δῆλος  
γὰρ ἦν, καὶ ἀπὸ μόνης εὐθύς τῆς ὄψεως, οἷαν κρύπτειν παρ'  
ἑαυτῷ τὴν χάριν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ Πνεύματος. Προστρέχουσι γ' οὖν,  
καὶ τῶν μακαρίων ἐκείνου ποδῶν ἄπτονται, μηχανὴν ζητοῦντες,*

APR

**867-868** *πάσαι-ἀλήθεια*] Ps. 24 (25):10

**860** συσσεισμῷ corr. : συσεισμῷ AP : συσησμῷ R — **862** αὐτήν· post corr. (ex αὐτήν·)  
R — **863** καταφεύγουσι PR : καταφεύγουσιν A — ἅμα γυναιξίν· ἅμα A : ἅμα  
γυναιξίν ἅμα P : γυναιξίν ἅμα καὶ R — **865** ὄργην AP : post corr. (ex ὄργῃν) R — post  
κύριον· scr. καὶ A — μηδὲ A : μὴ δὲ PR — **866** ἔσχατον AP : αἴσχατον R — ἀλλ'  
AP : ἀλ' | λ R — ἐν ὄργῃ P : ἐνοργῇ AR — τὸν ἀγαθόν AP : τῶν ἀγαθῶν R — **867**  
φάναι AP : φάναι R — προφήτην AR : δα(υ)δ P — **868** δὲ bis acc. APR — κατὰ  
πρόσωπον AR : καταπρόσωπον P — **869** χεῖράς τε A : χείρας (ex χείρας) τὲ R :  
χείρας τὲ P — **870** ἀνατείνας PR : ἀνατείνας A — θραῦσις P : θραύσις AR —  
ἐκόπασε PR : ἐκόπασεν A — **871** κατεγγυᾶται AP : κατεγ[ ]γυασε R — ante εἶτα  
par. ind. P — εἶτα PR : εἶα A — **872** βερβήλιμβον AP : βερβήλιμβρον R — κατέρρει  
R : κατέρει A : καταίρει P — **873** πλοίου PR : πλοίου A — ἐπιτυχῶν P : ἐπιτυχῶν A :  
ἐπὶ τυχῶν R — **874** μαλέα AR : μαλαίαν P — τῷ R : τῷ P : τὸ A — **876** ἀπὸ μόνης  
R : ἀπομόνης AP — ὄψεως AP : post corr. (ex ὄψεως) R — οἷαν P : οἷαν R : οἷαν A  
— κρύπτειν R : κρύπτει AP — **877** γ' οὖν AP : γοῦν R — **878** ἄπτονται AP : post corr.  
(ex ἄπτονται) R — ζητοῦντες AP : post corr. (ex ζητούντες) R

δι' ἧς ἂν αὐτοῖς διαφυγεῖν τὸν κίνδυνον γένοιτο. Ὁ δὲ πρᾶόν τι  
 880 καὶ ἰλαρὸν ὑπομειδιάσας, «Μὴ πλείονες οὗτοι» ἔφη «τῆς τοῦ  
 Φαραῶ στρατείας, οἳ γε θείῳ νεύματι μόνῳ κατεποντίσθησαν;»  
 Οὐπω πέρας αὐτῷ εἶχεν ὁ λόγος, καὶ οἱ μὲν, ἐπήεσαν φονικῶς, ὁ  
 δέ, λίθον ἔκ γε τοῦ πλοίου λαβῶν, ῥίπτει μεταξὺ τῆς νεῶς τε  
 καὶ τῶν ληστῶν, καὶ οἶονεὶ τεῖχος αὐτοῖς ὁ λίθος γίνεται, καὶ  
 885 τὴν ἔφοδον ἐκείνοις ἀποτεριχίζει, καίτοι γε πάνυ σφόδρα κατὰ  
 τοῦ πλοίου ὀρμώντων, εἰς τοῦπίσω αὐτοῖς ἐχώρει τὰ τῆς ὀρμῆς.  
 Καὶ οὕτως οἱ περὶ τὸν ἅγιον ἀπαθεῖς κακῶν ἔμενον. [94] Τὰς  
 Κυκλάδας μέντοι διαπλεύσας, εἰς Πάφον πόλιν τῆς Κυπρίων  
 κατήρην. Ἡ δὲ ἦν ὑπὸ σεισμοῦ κατενεχθεῖσα ἡ Πάφος, καὶ τὴν  
 890 καταστροφὴν, δίκην εἰσπραχθεῖσα τῆς ἀσεβείας. Ἦδη δὲ καὶ  
 ἀνθρώπων ἔρημος ἦν, ἀπαναστήσαντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ σεισμοῦ. Τῆς νεῶς  
 οἷν ἀποβάς ὁ θεῖος Ἰλαρίων, τῆς πόλεως τε τὴν ἔρημίαν ἰδὼν, καὶ  
 ὅπως ἔχη ἐπιτηδείως πρὸς ἡσυχίας ἀπόλαυσιν, ἦσθη τε ἱκανῶς, καὶ  
 ταύτην ἐκείνην εἶναι, οἷαν ἐπόθει εἰπὼν, τὰς ἱεράς ἐν αὐτῇ  
 895 διατριβὰς ἐποιεῖτο. Ἀλλὰ τὰ συνήθη καὶ πάλιν ἐγένετο· καὶ οὐ ἐφίλει  
 καὶ κατατρυφᾶν οὐ μεθίετο· πῶς γάρ, εἴ γε τὰ μὲν σώματα κάμνειν

#### APR

**879** δι' ἧς AP : διῆς R — διαφυγεῖν PR : διαφυγήν A — δὲ bis acc. AP — πρᾶόν τι AR  
 : πρᾶόν τι P — **880** ἰλαρὸν AP : ἰλαρὸν R — μὴ bis acc. APR — **881** φαραῶ corr.:  
 φαραῶ AP : φαραῶ R — στρατείας P : post corr. (ex στρατίας) R : στρατίας A — post  
 κατεποντίσθησαν sign. interrog. APR — **882** οὐπω A : οὐπω post corr. (ex οὐπω) R :  
 οὐπω P — **882** μὲν bis acc. APR — φονικῶς PR : φωνικῶς A — **883** δὲ bis acc. APR  
 — λαβῶν PR : λαβῶν A — μεταξὺ PR : μετὰξὺ A — νεῶς AP : νεῶς post corr. (ex νεῶς)  
 R — **884** οἶονεὶ A : post corr. (ex οἶονεὶ) R : οἶονεὶ P — τεῖχος AP : post corr. (ex  
 τεῖχος) R — **885** καίτοιγε PR : καίτοιγε A — πάνυ AP : πάνυ R — **886** ὀρμώντων  
 post corr. (ex ὀρμώντων) AP : ὀρμώντων R — τοῦπίσω A : τουπίσω P : τουπίσω (post  
 corr. (ex τουπίσω) R — ὀρμῆς AP : ὀρμῆς R — **887** ante τὰς par. ind. R — **889** κατήρην  
 AP : post corr. (ex κατήρην) R — δὲ bis acc. APR — κατενεχθεῖσα AP : post corr. (ex  
 κατενεχθήσα) R — **890** εἰσπραχθεῖσα AP : εἰσπραχθήσα R — **891** ἦν AP : ἦν R —  
 σεισμοῦ AP : θυμοῦ R — νεῶς P : post corr. (ex νεῶς vel νεῶς) R : νεῶς A — **892** ὁ θεῖος  
 AP : deest R — ἰλαρίων P : ἰλαρίων AR — ἔρημίαν AR : ἔρημίαν P — **893** ἔχη P : ἔχει  
 AR — ἐπιτηδείως P : post corr. (ex ἐπιτηδίως) R : ἐπιτηδίως A — ἡσυχίας AP :  
 ἡσυχίας R — τε A : τὲ PR — **894** ἐκείνην AR : ἐκείνον P — οἷαν A : οἷαν PR — εἰπὼν  
 PR : εἰπὼν A — ἐν αὐτῇ AP : ἐναυτῇ R — **895** συνήθη AP : συνήθει R — ἐγένετο AR :  
 ἐγένετο P — οὐ PR : οὐ A — **896** κατατρυφᾶν PR : κατὰ τρυφᾶν A — εἴ γε R : εἰ γε  
 P : εἰ γε A

ἀνάγκη, καὶ παραπτώμασι καὶ νόσοις ἀνθρωπίνας ὑπηρετεῖν; Ὁ  
 δὲ ἰατρὸς ἦν ἄμισθος καὶ φιλόφρων, καὶ κρείττων παντὸς  
 ἀρρωστήματος. Οἱ τε γὰρ ὑπὸ δαιμόνων ὀχλούμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 900 ὄσους ἑτέρα τις συμφορὰ καὶ πάθος ἐπέιξε, προσήεσαν αὐτῷ καὶ  
 τὴν νόσον εὐθὺς καὶ τὴν συμφορὰν ἀπετίθεντο. Καὶ οἱ μὲν τὴν  
 θεραπείαν λαβόντες ἀσφαλῆ, ἐπανήεσαν, ἕτεροι δὲ πάλιν αὐτῷ  
 καθάπερ ἐκ διαδοχῆς προσήεσαν· ἐξῆς δὲ ἄλλοι, καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς  
 ἕτεροι, ὡς ῥᾶον ἐπ' αὐτῷ τοῦ παθεῖν, τὸ ἀποθέσθαι πᾶν τὸ λυποῦν  
 905 εὐρίσκοντες. [95] Ἔτος μὲν οὖν αὐτῷ τῆς ἐν Πάφῳ διατριβῆς,  
 δεύτερον ἦν. Καὶ ἀποστὰς ἐκεῖθεν, ἐπὶ τι ὄρος ὑψηλὸν μὲν καὶ  
 δύσβατον ἄνεισι, τ' ἄλλα δὲ ὕδασι τε διαρρέομενοι, καὶ δένδροις  
 κομῶν, καὶ πρὸς λαχάνων γονὰς ἐπιτηδείως ἔχειν φαινόμενοι.  
 Πλησίον δὲ καὶ ναὸς εἰδωλικὸς ὠκοδόμητο, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν  
 910 δαιμονίων αὐτῷ ἐπεφοίτα. [96] Ὁ θεὸς τοιγαροῦν Ἰλαρίων, τό τε  
 τοῦ χωρίου δύσβατον ὄρων, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν δαιμόνων  
 προσδοκωμένην τοῖς παριούσι βλάβην ἐννοῶν, ἐκέισε τὰς τῶν  
 προσιόντων διαφυγεῖν ὀχλήσεις ἐνόμισεν, οἷα δαιμόνων μὲν  
 ἐφόδους περιφρονῶν, ἀνθρώπων δὲ μάλλον ἐκκλίνων ἐπιδημίας, ὡς

APR

**897** ἀν(θρωπί)νας AP : post corr. (ex ἀν(θρωπή)νας et alt. man. scr. ἰ sup. lin.) R — **898**  
 δὲ bis acc. APR — κρείττων AP : post corr. (ex κρείττων) R — **899** ὑπὸ δαιμόνων R :  
 ὑποδαιμόνων AP — ὀχλούμενοι AP : ὀχλούμενοι R — **900** τίς APR — **902** θεραπείαν  
 PR : θεραπείαν A — πάλιν AR : ἄλλοι P — **902-903** ἕτεροι-προσήεσαν AR : deest P —  
**903** ἐξῆς corr. : ἐξῆς APR — **904** ῥᾶον AP : ῥᾶον R — ἐπ' αὐτῷ A : ἐπαὐτῷ R ἐπαυτῷ  
 P — λυποῦν AR : λοιποῦν P — **905** ante ἔτος par. ind. P (et sign. in marg.) R — αὐτῷ R :  
 αὐτῶν A — **906** ἦν AP : post corr. (ex ἦν) R — **907** τ' ἄλλα R : τὰλλα A :  
 πολλὰ P — δὲ bis acc. P — δένδροις PR : δένδρα A — **908** γονὰς AP : post corr. (ex  
 γονὰς) R — ἐπιτηδείως PR : ἐπιτηδίως A — **909** εἰδωλικὸς PR : εἰδωλικὸν A — **910**  
 ante ὁ par. ind. PR — τοιγαροῦν P : τοιγαροῦν R : τοιγαροῦν A — ἰλαρίων P :  
 ἰλαρίων AR — τό τε corr. : τό,τε P : τότε AR — **911** ὄρων PR : deest A — **912**  
 προσδοκωμένην P : post corr. (ex προσδοκομένην) R : προσδοκωμένην post corr. (ex  
 προσδοκωμένην) A — παριούσι PR : παροῦσι A — ἐκέισε AP : ἐκέισαι R — **913** corr. :  
 ὀχλήσεις AR : ἐνοχλήσεις P — ἐνόμισεν AP : post corr. (ex ἐνόμισεν, deinde erasit η et  
 alt. man. scr. ἰ sup. lin.) R

915 δυναμένας σφάλλιν αὐτῷ τὸ φιλήσυχον. [97] Λάχανα τοίνυν ἐν  
αὐτῷ φυτεύει, καὶ κῆπον ἐργάζεται, αὐτουργὸς ἐν αὐτῷ τῆς  
οἰκείας τροφῆς γενόμενος. Ἄλλὰ τοῦ κήπου ποτὲ προϊών, ὁρᾷ  
τινὰ παρειμένον πρὸς ταῖς θύραις κείμενον, καὶ τοῦ μαθητοῦ  
ἐπυνθάνετο Ἑσυχίου, τί ἂν εἴη τοῦτο, καὶ ὅτου χάριν ἐνταῦθα,  
920 καὶ ὅθεν ὁ παρειμένος ἀχθείη. Ὁ δέ, «Τοῦ δεσπότου» φησὶν  
«οὔτος· δεσπότου δέ φημι τοῦ ἀγροῦ, ἐν ᾧ δὴ καὶ τὰς διατριβάς  
ποιούμεθα». Ἀγάγοι δ' ἂν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνος ἐνταῦθα, ἐφ' ᾧ τινὸς καὶ  
θεραπείας ἐπιτυχεῖν. [98] Ἠχθέσθη πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ἰλαρίων, ὅτι  
γνώριμος ἤδη καὶ τοῖς ἐκείσε κατέστη. Καίτοι θαυμάζειν οὐκ  
925 ἔδει τὸν θαυμαστόν, εἰ μετὰ τοσοῦτου φωτὸς τῆς ἀρετῆς  
πορευόμενος, δῆλος ἐγίνετο τοῖς παρακειμένοις. Καὶ ταῦτα  
ῥαδίως οὔτω, καὶ ὥσπερ ἔξ ἐπιτάγματος δυνάμενος ἀνύειν τὰς  
θεραπείας. Ἀψάμενος γ' οἶν αὐτοῦ ὁμως, «Ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ  
Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἔγειραι» λέγει. Οὕτως εἰπὼν, ὑγιᾶ  
930 τοῦτον αὐτίκα δείκνυσι. Κηδόμενος δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ  
ἀδελφῶν, ἦλγει γὰρ ὑπὲρ πάντων ἡ μακαρία ψυχὴ, τὸν θεῖον  
Ἑσυχιον ἐπισκέψασθαί τε αὐτοὺς ἐκπέμπει, καὶ παραινέσει καὶ

APR

**915** δυναμένας AR : post corr. (ex δυναμένης) P — σφάλλιν AP : σφάλλιν R — ante  
λάχανα par. ind. R — **916** ἐν αὐτῷ P : ἐναυτῷ R : ἑαυτὸν A — **917** κήπου P : post corr.  
(ex κήπου) R : κόπου A — **918** παρειμένον PR : παρημένον A — **920** ὁ AP : deest R  
— ἀχθείη PR : ἀχθήει A — δὲ bis acc. PR — **921** δέ φημι AP : δὲ φημι R — δὴ AP  
: deest R — διατριβάς AP : post corr. (ex διατριβάς) R — **922** ἐφ' ᾧ AP : ἐφ ᾧ R —  
τινος A : τινὸς PR — **923** ante ἠχθέσθη par. ind. R — ἠχθέσθη AP : post corr. (ex  
ἠχθέσθη) R — Ἰλαρίων P : ἰλαρίων AR — post ὅτι scr. δὴ AP — **924** γνώριμος AP :  
γνώρημος R — ἤδη AP : post corr. (ex ἤδη) R — ἐκείσε AP : post corr. (ex ἐκείσαι et  
scr. ε sup. lin.) R — καίτοι AR : (καί)τοι post corr. (ex (καί)τοι) P — **924-925** οὐκ ἔδει  
AR : οὐκέδει P — **925** τοσοῦτου P : post corr. (ex τοσοῦτου) R : τοσοῦτο A — **927** οὔτω  
AP : οὔτω R — ἔξ ἐπιτάγματος AR : ἐξεπιτάγματος P — **928** ἀψάμενος PR :  
ἀψάμενος A — γ' οἶν AP : γοῖν R — αὐτοῦ PR : post corr. (ex αὐτῷ) A — ὀνόματι AP  
: post corr. (ex ὀνόματι) R — τοῦ R : deest AP — **930** παλαιστίνη AP : post corr. (ex  
παλαιστήνη et scr. ἰ sup. lin.) R — ψυχὴ P : post corr. (ex ψυχῆ) R : ψυχῆ A

διδασκαλίαις καὶ συμβουλαῖς ἀσφαλίσασθαι. Αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς τὸ  
 ὄρος διεκαρτέρει. Ἀχθόμενος μὲν ἐφ' οἷς ἑώρα ἑαυτὸν τιμώμενον,  
 935 καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ὀχλούμενον, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν αὐτόθεν φυγὴν  
 ἐμελέτα μὲν, ἔμενε δὲ ὅμως τὴν Ἑσυχίου ἐπάνοδο. Φιλῶν δὲ καὶ  
 τὸ μηδενὶ φορτικὸς εἶναι, αὐτὸς ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶ κριθᾶς  
 σπείρων, παρείχεν ἑαυτῷ τὴν τροφήν λίαν εὐγενῶς καὶ  
 ἐλευθερίως. [99] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὀγδοηκοστὸν αὐτῷ τῆς ἡλικίας  
 940 ἠνύετο ἔτος, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ποθούμενον Ἰησοῦν ἐκδημούντα ἤδη  
 αἰσθόμενος ἑαυτὸν, οἰοεῖ τινα διαθήκην αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ χειρὶ γράφει.  
 Κληρονόμον δὲ αὕτη, τὸν μαθητὴν Ἑσύχιον εἶχεν, ἤδη  
 τετελευτηκότος αὐτῷ τοῦ συμφοιτητοῦ Ναζάρου, καὶ τῆς μακαρίας  
 ἐκείνου πρὸς Θεὸν ἀψαμένου πορείας. Ὁ δὲ κλῆρος, εὐαγγέλιον ἦν,  
 945 ὅπερ αἱ ἱεραὶ τοῦ Ἰλαρίωνος ἔτι νεάζουσαι χεῖρες ἔγραψαν, καὶ  
 παλλίον, στιχάριόν τε καὶ κουκούλλιον τρύχινον, ἃ δὴ τοῖς  
 μοναχοῖς οὕτω σύνηθες ὀνομάζειν. Τοῦ κληρονόμου τοίνυν αὐτῶν  
 Ἑσυχίου οὕτω τῆς Παλαιστίνης ἐπανελθόντος, νοσεῖ μὲν ὁ μέγας  
 Ἰλαρίων τὰ τελευταῖα, ἀφικνοῦνται δὲ πολλοὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς  
 950 Πάφου μεθ' ὧν ἦν καὶ ἡ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιφανῆς Κωνσταντία, ἥτις τὴν

APR

**934** ὄρος AP : post corr. (ex ὄρος) R — ἑαυτὸν τιμώμενον P : τιμώμενον ἑαυτὸν AR  
 — **935** ὀχλούμενον corr. : post corr. (ex ὀχλούμενον) R : ὀχλούμενον P : ὄ[ras. ca. 3  
 litt.]χλούμενον A — διὰ τοῦτο AR : διατοῦτο P — αὐτόθεν AR : αὐτόθι P — φυγὴν  
 corr: φυγεῖν PR : τιμὴν A — **936** ἐμελέτα AR : ἐμελέτα P — μὲν post corr. (ex  
 μὲν) R : μὲν bis acc. AP — δὲ<sup>1</sup> AR : δε P — τὴν AP : τοῦ R — φιλῶν AR : φιλῶν P —  
**937** μηδενὶ A : μηδενὶ PR — **938** σπείρων AR : post corr. (ex σπείρων) P — ἑαυτῷ AP  
 : αὐτῷ R — εὐγενῶς PR : εὐγενὸς A — ἐλευθερίως AR : post corr. (ex ἐλευθερίως)  
 P — **939** ante ἐν par. ind PR — τούτῳ R : τούτω P : τούτω A — **940** ἠνύετο ἔτος  
 PR : ἔτος ἠνύετο A — ἰ(ησο)ῦν corr. : ἰ(ησο)ῦν R : ἰ(ησο)ῦν A : ι(ησο)ῦν P — **941**  
 οἰοεῖ AP : οἰοεῖ R — **942** ἤδη AP : post corr. (ex ἤδη) R — **943** συμφοιτητοῦ A :  
 συμφυτητοῦ PR — ναζάρου AP : ναζαρίου R — **944** ἀψαμένου PR : ἀψαμένου A —  
 πορείας AP : post corr. (ex πορείας) R — **945** αἱ AP : αἱ R — ἰλαρίωνος AP :  
 ἰλαρίωνος R — χεῖρες AP : χεῖραις post corr. (ex χεῖραις) R — **946** κουκούλλιον R :  
 κουκούλιον AP — τρύχινον AP : τρίχινον R — **947** οὕτω AP : οὕτω R — ὀνομάζειν  
 P : post corr. (ex ὀνομάζειν) R : ὀνομάζειν A — **948** οὕτω P : οὕτω A : οὕτω R — **949**  
 Ἰλαρίων AP : Ἰλαρίων R — τελευταῖα PR : τελευταῖα A — πολλοὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν A :  
 πρὸς αὐτὸν πολλοὶ τῶν R : πρὸς αὐτὸν πολὺ τῶν P — **950** μεθ' ὧν AP : μεθ' ὧν R —  
 ἦν AP : ἦν R — ἐπιφανῆς PR : ἐπιφανὴς A

θυγατέρα καὶ γαμβρὸν ἐλαίου χρίσματι, καὶ μόνη τῶν τοῦ ἁγίου  
 χειρῶν ἐπαφῆ, χαλεπῆς εἶδεν ἀρρωστίας ἀπαλλαγένας. [100]  
 Τούτοις τοιγαροῦν ἀπὸ τῆς Πάφου προΐουσι, τελευταίαν δίδωσιν  
 ἐντολήν· ἡ δὲ ἦν· «Ἠνίκα πρὸς τὸν καλοῦντα δεσπότην ἡ ψυχὴ  
 955 ἐκδημήσοι, θάψαι αὐτίκα παρὰ τῷ κήπῳ τὸ σῶμα, ἐν ᾧ τὴν ἰδίαν  
 τροφήν ἐκεῖνος ἐγεώργει, ἵν' ὁ τὸ σῶμα τρέφων αὐτῷ τόπος,  
 αὐτὸς καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς διαιρεθὲν ὑποδέξῃται. Θάψαι δὲ μετ' αὐτῶν  
 ἐκείνων ὧν ἠμφίεστο ῥακίων, δεικνύς ὅτι λίαν ἠσπάζετο καὶ  
 ἐφίλει ταῦτα· μεθ' ὧν τοὺς ἀσκητικούς ἰδρώτας ἐκεῖνος ἤνυσε».

960 [101] Μέλλων δὲ ἤδη ἐκλείπειν, νήφων ἦν, καὶ πολλὸν φέρων τὸ  
 ἡρεμαῖον καὶ εὐκατάστατον, ἐφαίνετο καὶ διαλεγόμενος ἑαυτῷ  
 τοιαῦτα· «Ἔξελθε ψυχὴ. Τί δέδοικας; Τί διστάζεις; Ἐβδομήκοντα  
 ἔτη Χριστῷ δουλεύεις, καὶ θάνατον ἔτι δειλιάς; Ἐκεῖνός σε νῦν  
 καλεῖ. Πορεύου πρὸς αὐτὸν χαίρουσα». Οὕτως ἔφη, καὶ ὅλον ἑαυτὸν

965 τῷ σημείῳ τοῦ σταυροῦ σφραγίσας, αὐτὸς μὲν πρὸς τὰς  
 ἐκδεχομένας αὐτὸν μετέβη σκηνάς, τὸ σῶμα δέ, ὅσιως ὁ κήπος  
 ἐδέχετο. Δεδιότες γε μὴν οἱ Κύπριοι, μὴ λαθόντες τῶν Παλαιστινῶν  
 τινὲς ὑφέλωνται τοῦτο, αὐτοὶ δὲ κινδυνεύσωσι τοιαύτην ὑποστῆναι

APR

**951** χρίσματι P : χρίσματι AR — τῶν AP : deest R — **952** ἀρρωστίας AP : ἀρρωστείας R — **953** ante τούτοις par. ind. R — τούτοις PR : post corr. (ex τούτοις) A — τοιγαροῦν P : τοιγαροῦν A : τοιγαροῦν post corr. (ex γὰρ οὖν et add. τοι vel ἄρ' οὖν et add. τοιγ al. man.) R — προΐουσι post corr. (ex προοῦσι) R : παροῦσι AP — **954** δὲ bis acc. AP — ἦν AP : post corr. (ex ἦν) R — ἠνίκα R : ἠνίκα A : ηνίκα P — ψυχὴ AP : post corr. (ex ψυχῆ) R — **955** σῶμα AP : post corr. (ex σῶμα) R — **955-956** ἰδίαν τροφήν ἐκεῖνος R : ἰδίαν ἐκεῖνος τροφήν AP — **956** ἵν' PR : ἵν' A — **957** δὲ bis acc. A — **958** ἠμφίεστο AP : ἠμφίεστω R — ῥακίων AR : ρακίων P — ἠσπάζετο PR : ἠσπάζετο A — **959** μεθ' ὧν AR : μεθῶν P — ἰδρώτας AR : ἰδρώτας post corr. (ex ἰδρώτας) P — ἐκεῖνος AR : ἐκεῖνους P — ἤνυσε AP : post corr. (ex ἤνυσε) R — **960** ante μέλλων par. ind. R — ἤδη AP : ἤδη R — ἐκλείπειν AP : ἐκλείπειν R — νήφων AP : νήφον post corr. (ex νήφον) R — φέρων PR : φόρων A — **961** ἡρεμαῖον A : ἡρεμαῖον PR — **962** διστάζεις AP : διστάζης R — **963** δειλιάς AP : διλιάς R — post δειλιάς sign. interrog. APR — **966** μετέβη AP : μεταβαίνει R — σκηνάς AP : post corr. (ex σκηνάς) R — δὲ bis acc. P — **967** παλαιστινῶν PR : παλαιστηνῶν A — **968** ὑφέλωνται AP : post corr. (ex ὑφέλωνται) R — τοῦτο AP : τούτω post corr. (ex τούτω) R — κινδυνεύσωσι AP : κινδυνεύσουσι R — ὑποστῆναι AP : ἀποστῆναι R

ζημίαν, φυλακῆ αὐτὸ τῇ πάσῃ ἐτήρουν. [102] Ἴσχυριος, ἔτι περὶ τὴν Παλαιστίνην διατρίβων, ἐπεὶ τοῦ διδασκάλου  
 970 τὴν τελευτὴν ἤκουσεν, ἀπτέρῳ τιλὶ τάχει τὴν Κύπρον καταλαμβάνει. Εἶτα τὴν πολλὴν ἐκείνην τῶν Κυπρίων ἀσφάλειαν, καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν ἣν εἶχον περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἰδὼν, καὶ τὸ τὴν πατρίδα στέρεσθαι τοῦ λειψάνου μὴ φέρων, σοφώτερόν τι διανοεῖται καὶ  
 975 πλάττεται. Παραμένειν βούλεσθαι διὰ τέλους τῷ τοῦ διδασκάλου μνήματι, καὶ ὡς εἰς τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς ἀφικέσθαι τὴν Παλαιστίνην ἀπολιπών. [103] Ἀμέλει καὶ δέκατον πρὸς τῷ τάφῳ μῆνα διηγουκῶς, καὶ πάσαν κλέψας ὑπόνοιαν, νυκτὸς ὑφαιρεῖται τὸ λείψανον, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Μαΐουμᾶν μονὴν ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ διακομίζει. Τοῦτο δὲ  
 980 τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ ἀθρόον πάσῃ διαδοθέν, οἱ δὲ αὐτίκα συνέρρουσιν, οἷα τὸν Ἰλαρίωνα ἔτι περιόντα ὀψόμενοι. Ἐχαιρον δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα, καὶ ὅπως ὀλόκληρον μὲν αὐτῷ εἶη τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἡδίστην τινα εὐωδίαν ὅλον ἐκπέμπον, ὀλόκληρα δὲ ἀκριβῶς καὶ ὑγιῆ τὰ ἐνδύματα, φαιδρὰ δὲ οἷα καὶ ἡ τοῦ προσώπου ἀκτίς, μετὰ τοῦ φυσικοῦ ἄνθους  
 985 ἐξάλλοιτο. [104] Ἐνθεν τοι καὶ ὕμνους ἐπ' αὐτῷ τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἄσαντες, καὶ λαμπάδας φιλοτίμως ἀνάψαντες, ἀκολούθως εἶπεν ἄν τις ἐκεῖ καὶ λίαν οἰκείως, τὰ φῶτα περὶ τὸν τοῦ φωτὸς υἱὸν τε καὶ κληρονόμον. Καὶ τᾶλλα δὴ τὰ νενομισμένα Χριστιανοῖς πάντα

969-988 AP — 969-979 μαΐουμᾶν] R

969 αὐτὸ PR : αὐτῷ A — τῇ πάσῃ AP : πάσι R — ante ἄλλ' par. ind. P — μαθητῆς PR : μαθητῆς A — 970 παλαιστίνην AP : παλαιστίνην post corr. (ex παλαιστήνην et scr. ἰ sup. lin.) R — ἐπεὶ bis acc. P — 971 ἤκουσεν AP : post corr. (ex ἤκουσεν) R — 973 ἦν P : post corr. (ex ἦν) R : ἦν A — σῶμα AP : post corr. (ex σῶμα) R — 974 λειψάν[ου] R — σοφώτερόν AP : σοφώτερόν post corr. (ex σοφώτερόν) R — 975 παραμένειν AP : post corr. (ex παραμαίνειν et scr. ε sup. lin.) R — διὰ τέλους A : διατέλους P : deest R — 976 παλαιστίνην AP : παλαιστίνην post corr. (ex παλαιστήνην et scr. ἰ sup. lin.) R — 977 ἀπολιπών PR : ἀπολιπών A — ante ἀμέλει par. ind. PR — μῆνα διηγουκῶς P : μῆνα διηγουκῶς A : post corr. (ex μῆν ἀδιηγουκῶς) R — 979 μαΐουμᾶν P : μαΐουμᾶν A : μαΐουμᾶ R — διακομίζει AR : κομίζει P — 979-990 μαΐουμᾶν μονὴν-μαΐουμᾶν AP : deest (homoioteleuton) R — 980 ἀθρόον A : post corr. (ex ἀθρόον et scr. ο sup. lin.) P — δὲ bis acc. P — 981 ὀψόμενοι P : ὀψόμενοι A — 982 εἶη P : εἶη A — τινα P : τινα A — 982-983 εὐωδίαν ὅλον A : ὅλον εὐωδίαν P — 983 ὀλόκληρα corr. : ὀλόκληρα P : ὀλοκλήρον A — 984 οἷα A : οἷα P — 985 ἐξάλλοιτο A : ἐξάλλοιτο P — ante ἐνθεν par. ind. P — 985-986 ὕμνους ἐπ' αὐτῷ τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἄσαντες A : ὕμνους ἱεροὺς τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῷ τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἄσαντες P — ἄν P : ἄν A — 987 καὶ A : deest P — 988 τὰ νενομισμένα P : ταυνομισμένα A — χριστιανοῖς πάντα P : πάντα χριστιανοῖς A

διατελέσαντες, λαμπρῶς τε ὁμοῦ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ  
 990 τοῦ Μαΐουμᾶν μονῇ κατατίθενται. Κυπρίοις δὲ ἡ τοῦ λειψάνου  
 ζημία, δεινὴ τις ἦν καὶ ἀφόρητος καὶ μέσης αὐτοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς  
 ἀπτομένη καιρίως. [105] Ἦ γε μὴν μακαρία Κωνσταντία καὶ λίαν  
 περὶ τὸν ὄσιον θερμῶς ἔχουσα, καὶ ὅλη τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν πίστεως  
 καὶ τῆς ἀγάπης ἐκκρεμαμένη, οὐδὲ ψιλὴν τὴν πικρὰν ἐκείνην  
 995 ὑπήνεγκεν ἀγγελίαν· ἀλλ' ὁμοῦ τε ἤκουσε τὸ λείψανον ἐκείνου  
 ὑφαιρεθῆναι, καὶ ὁμοῦ ἐτεθνήκει, καθάπερ τῆς ἀγγελίας αὐτῇ τὸν  
 θάνατον προσβαλούσης, καὶ οἶα μὴ δὲ ζῆν ἀνεχομένη μετὰ τὴν  
 ἐκείνου κλοπὴν. [106] Οὕτως Ἰλαρίων ὁ θεῖος ὦν τε ἀπέστη καὶ  
 οἷς ἐπεδήμησε, πολλὴν ἀμφοτέροις ἐνέσταξε, τοῖς μὲν, ἐπιθυμίαν,  
 1000 τοῖς δὲ ἠδονήν. Καὶ νῦν Παλαιστίνη τε ὁμοῦ καὶ Κύπρος ἀφθόνων  
 κομιδῇ τῶν ἐκείνου κατατροφῶσι χαρίτων, πολλῶν κατ' ἄμφω τῶν  
 θαυμάτων ἐκτελουμένων, καὶ πολλῶ γε μάλλον ἐν τῷ κήπῳ, ἐξ οὗ  
 τε ἐτρέφετο καὶ ὅς τὸ σῶμα μετὰ τελευτὴν ὑπεδέχετο, καὶ ὄν  
 τῶν ἄλλων τόπων ἐφ' οἷς περιῶν ἔτι διέτριψε διαφερόντως  
 1005 ἠγάπησεν· εἰς δόξαν Πατρὸς Υἱοῦ καὶ ἀγίου Πνεύματος, ᾧ  
 πρέπει τιμὴ, κράτος, μεγαλωσύνη τε καὶ μεγαλοπρέπεια· νῦν καὶ  
 αἰεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων· ἀμήν.

**989-1008 AP — 990 μονῆ] -1008 R**

**990** μαΐουμᾶν P : post corr. (ex μαΐμᾶν et secr. ου) A — δὲ AR : deest P — **991** ἦν P :  
 post corr. (ex ἦν) R : ἦν A — αὐτοῖς AR : αὐτῆς P — **992** καιρίως AR : κυρίως P — ἡ  
 AP : ἡ R — ante ἡ par. ind. R — μακαρία AP : μακαρίτις post corr. (ex μακαρίτης et scr.  
 ἰ sup. lin.) R — **994** ἐκκρεμαμένη AP : ἐκκρεμμαμένη R — τὴν πικρὰν ἐκείνην AR :  
 ἐκείνην τὴν πικρὰν P — **995** τε AP : τὲ R — ἤκουσε AP : post corr. (ex ἤκουσε) R —  
**997** προσβαλούσης P : post corr. (ex πρὸς βαλούσης ) R : πρὸς βαλούσης A — **998** ante  
 οὕτως par. ind. P — Ἰλαρίων AP : Ἰλαρίων R — ὦν τε A : ὦν τὲ PR — **999** ἐνέσταξε PR  
 : ἐνέταξε A — μὲν bis acc. AP — **1000** δὲ bis acc. AP — **1002** ἐξ οὗ AP : ἐξοῦ R —  
**1003** τε P : τὲ R : deest A — σῶμα AP : post corr. (ex σῶμα) R — **1004** ἐφ' οἷς AP : ἐφ'  
 οὗ post corr. (ex ἐφ' οἷ?) R — διέτριψε AP : διέτριβε R — διαφερόντως AP : διὰ  
 φερόντως) R — **1005** ἠγάπησεν P : post corr. (ex ἠγάπησεν) R : ἠγάπησεν A — **1006**  
 μεγαλωσύνη P : post corr. (ex μεγαλοσύνη) R : μεγαλοσύνη A — τε P : τὲ AR



## CHAPTER III

### Commentary

#### 1. *Passio of St James the Persian (BHG 773)*

- 1-2** Ἀρκαδίου ... Θεοδοσίος ... Ὀνώριος: Emperor Arcadius (395-408) succeeded his father, Theodosius I (379-395). Arcadius inherited the eastern part of the Roman Empire, while his brother Honorius (395-423) was appointed emperor of the western part. On Arcadius see G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, trans. J.M. Hussey (Oxford, 1968), p. 54; T.E. Gregory, 'Arkadios', in *ODB*, pp. 173-74. On Theodosius I, see N.Q. King, *The Emperor Theodosius and the Establishment of Christianity* (London, 1961), esp. pp. 92-96; Ostrogorsky, *History*, pp. 52-54; T.E. Gregory, 'Theodosios I' in *ODB*, p. 2050. On Honorius, see E.T. Gregory, 'Honorius', in *ODB*, p. 946.
- 3** Ἰσδιγέρδου: On King Yasgerd I (399-420), see Labourt, *Le Christianisme*, pp. 104-109. See also below, pp. 194-195.
- 4.** Οὐαραράτ: On King Vahram V (420-438), see Labourt, *Le Christianisme*, pp. 109-118. See also below, pp. 194-195.
- 6.** τῷ τῆς ἀσεβείας πατρὶ - πολεμίῳ: a common expression used by Byzantine writers to refer to the devil.
- 7-8** πάντα λίθον ἐκίνει: a common proverb conveying the meaning 'he left no stone unturned'. See E.L. Leutsch and F.G. Schneidewin eds., *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum*, 3 vols. and supplement (Göttingen, 1839), vol. I, Zenobius V 63, Diogenianus VII 42, Apostolius XV 65 al.; vol. II, Macarius VII 4.
- 11** πόλει ... Βαλατῶ: The ancient city of Beth Lapat, or Gondisapor (Gundishapur), in Huzistan (Northern Kurdistan), does not exist anymore. The site with its ruins is now called Sahabad. See A. Van Lantschoot, 'Bêth Lapat', in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, vol. VIII (Paris, 1935), cols 1233-35. Following the expulsion of the Nestorians in the fifth century, Hellenism was strengthened in Iran and Mesopotamia, where schools were established by the émigrés, who found protection under the Sassanide rulers. The latter employed

Greeks as doctors. The best known among these schools was that of Gondisapor, where Greek texts, especially medical, were translated into Pehlvi. See P. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin: notes et remarques sur enseignement et culture à Byzance des origines au Xe siècle* (Paris, 1971), p. 23.

- 19** Οὐαράρατ, τὸν Ἰσδιγέρδου παῖδα: on Vahram V, son of King Yasgerd I, see above, notes to **3-4**.
- 144-145** εἰς ὕδωρ γράφειν: proverb conveying the meaning of attempting the impossible. See *CPG*, vol. I, Plutarchus, *Proverbia* 5; vol. II, Macarius V 50, Apostolius VI 56. See also below, notes to **145**.
- 145** λίθον ἔψειν: proverb conveying the same meaning as the previous and the next proverb (**144-145**). See *CPG*, vol. I, *Appendix* III 67; vol. II Macarius V 63, Apostolius X 68.
- 145** θάλατταν σπείρειν: proverb conveying the same meaning as previous proverbs (**144-145**). See *CPG* vol. I Plutarchi *Proverbia* 41, Zenobius III 55 nott.; vol. II Macarius IV 62.

## **2. Passio of St Plato (BHG 1551-1552)**

- 1** Γαλατῶν: the province of Galatia in central Asia Minor, placed under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople at least from 650. See R. Janin and D. Stiernon, ‘Galatie’, in *Dictionnaire d’histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, vol. 19 (Paris, 1981), pp. 714-731.
- 11** Ἀγκύρας ... πόλεως ἐπιφανέστατης τῶν Γαλατῶν: the city of Ankyra, the Metropolitan See of the province of Galatia. See C. Karalevsky, ‘Ancyre’, in *Dictionnaire d’histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1914), pp. 1538-1543. See also K. Belke, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, vol. 4: *Galatien und Lykaonien* (Vienna, 1984), pp. 26-30, and J.O. Rosenquist, ‘Asia Minor on the Threshold of the Middle Ages: Hagiographical Glimpses from Lycia and Galatia’, in *Aspects of Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium*, eds. L. Rydén and J.O. Rosenquist (Stockholm, 1993), pp. 145-156.
- 25** ὁ πονηρὸς: namely, the devil (cf. Matth. 13:38-39).

- 31** τὴν τῶν βικαρίων ἀρχὴν: here the office of the deputy (βικάριος or οὐικάριος, Lat. *vicarius*) of a praetorian prefect. See Lampe, s.v. *βικάριος*, 1, p. 297.
- 31** Ἀγριππῖνος: the identification of Agrippinus with his namesake *vicarii* in the *Passio* of Clemens of Ancyra and the *Passio* of Eustochius, Gaianus and companions, all martyred under Diocletian and Maximian, is possible. See J.M. Sauget, ‘Platone, santo martire di Ancira’, in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, vol. X (Rome 1968), cols. 959-961.
- 45** πατρῶαν πρεσβευούσης θρησκείαν: namely, the pagan religion.
- 55** βικάριος: see A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, vol. 1 (Baltimore, 1964), pp. 481-482, 565-566, 592-593.
- 147** Σωφρόνιος: so far Sophronius *commentariensis* has not been identified.
- 148** κομενταρήσιος: (or κομενταρίσιος, Lat. *commentariensis*) the public official in charge of state documents, and in some cases one who keeps prison records. See Lampe, s.v. *κομενταρήσιος*, p. 766 and A.H.M Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* (Balltimore 1964) vols I and II, esp. pp. 174-175, 563-565 and 586-589.
- 154** κομενταρησίου: see above note to 148.
- 201** Ἀρισταινέτη: wife of Helpidius; see A.H.M. Jones with J.R. Martindale and J. Morris, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1971-1992), I, p. 104.
- 201** Ἐλπιδίου: husband of Aristainete; see Jones with Martindale and Morris, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, I, p. 414.
- 235** ὁ τόπος ὃς οὕτω Βασιλικὴ καλεῖται: a reference to a place called Basilica (literally, ‘of the King’) or, most probably, to a hall in the architectural type of the *basilica*.
- 285** ὁμώνυμον ὄντα τῷ σοφῷ Πλάτῳ: a reference to the philosopher Plato. See below, pp. 213-214, 216.
- 304** ὀκτωκαιδεκάτην τότε τοῦ Νοεμβρίου μηνός: 18 November, the feast-day of St Plato. For Plato’s feastday of 22 July according to the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, see below, p. 211.
- 306-307** ἐν ἐπισήμῳ τόπῳ: the place where the relics of the Saint were transferred is not specified.

### 3. *Vita of St Hilarion (BHG 755)*

- 1-2** Ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ πόλις ἐστίν, οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους ἀπέχουσα Γάζης: Hilarion was born around 291 (see below, pp. 231) in the town of Gaza in Palestine about which see F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, ‘Gaza’, in *Dictionnaire d’archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, vol. XVI (Paris 1924), cols. 695-720.
- 9** Ἀλεξανδρείαν: on Alexandria in Egypt in this period see C.W. Griggs, *Early Egyptian Christianity: from its Origins to 451 CE* (Leiden 1990), esp. pp. 79-116; A. Jakab, *Ecclesia Alexandrina: evolution sociale et institutionnelle du christianisme alexandrin (Ile et IIIe siècles)* (Bern-Oxford, 2001) esp. pp. 90-115.
- 10** παῖς ἔτι καὶ αὐτὸς ὦν: namely, between five and fourteen years old, according to the unpublished text in the 15<sup>th</sup>-century cod. *Kopenhagen GKS* 1985, f. 140r.13-18, defining the seven ages of man: <sup>13</sup> Αἱ ἡλικίαι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου | <sup>14</sup> + βρέφος λέγεται ἀπ’ αὐτῆς τῆς γεννήσεως), ἕως ἐτῶν δ’, παῖς | <sup>15</sup> λέγεται ἀπὸ ἐτῶν ε’ ἕως ιδ’, μαιράκιον δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ιε’ ἕως τῶν κβ’, | <sup>16</sup> νεανίσκος ἀπὸ τῶν κγ’ ἕως τῶν μα’, ἀνὴρ ἀπὸ τοῦ μβ’, | <sup>17</sup> ἄχρι τῶν νς’, γηραιὸς, ἀπὸ τῶν νθ’ ἕως ξθ’, πρεσβύτης > | <sup>18</sup> μέχρι <τῆς τελευτῆς> τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ.<sup>83</sup> On the ages of man in hagiographical texts of the middle Byzantine period, see A. Kiousopoulou, *Χρόνος καὶ ἡλικίες στὴ βυζαντινὴ κοινωνία. Ἡ κλίμακα τῶν ἡλικιῶν ἀπὸ τὰ ἀγιολογικὰ κείμενα τῆς μέσης ἐποχῆς* (Athens, 1997), esp. pp. 61-95.
- 20** Ἀντωνίου: the famous ascetic St Anthony, who’s *Life* was written by Athanasius, was born in Coma near Herakleopolis Magna in Lower Egypt ca. 251 and died in 356. Hilarion visited him when Anthony was living in the desert between the Nile and the Red Sea ca. 307. See M. C. Celletti, ‘Hilarione di Gaza’ in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, vol. VII (Rome 1966), cols. 731-732. The *Life of St Anthony* was edited by G.J.M. Bartelink, *Athanase d’Alexandrie, Vie d’Antoine*, SC 400 (Paris 1994).
- 22** Ἀντώνιον: see above, note to **20**.
- 27** Ἀντώνιος: see above, note to **20**.

<sup>83</sup> I would like to thank Dr Charalambos Dendrinou for drawing my attention to this text.

- 30-32** μετὰ δύο τῆς παρουσίας ἡμέρας τῷ τῶν μοναχῶν καθαγιάζει τοῦτον καὶ τελεσιουργεῖ σχήματι: on this see below, p. 248.
- 40-41** οἰκείαν ... πατρίδα: the village of Tabatha, close to Gaza. The metaphrastic version does not make explicit reference to the name of Hilarion's village, which appears in the original *Vita* by Jerome and in the three Greek premetaphrastic versions (see below, p. 243).
- 48-49** Ἔτος τῆς ἡλικίας ἐν ᾧ ταῦτα ἐπράττετο, πεντεκαιδέκατον: the fifteenth year of Hilarion's age, i.e., around 306.
- 51** τοῦ ἐμπορίου ... Μαΐουμάν: Majuma, the port of Gaza. See Cabrol & Leclercq, 'Gaza', col. 698.
- 113** ἕξκαιδέκατον ἔτος ἄγων τῆς ἡλικίας: the sixteenth year of Hilarion's age, i.e., around 307.
- 128-129** παρ' ὅλους τέσσαρας χρόνους: four years later Hilarion was around twenty years old.
- 130** ξέστου *sextarius*, see E. Schillbach, *Metrologie* (Munich, 1970), p.153
- 130** εἰκοστοῦ ἑβδόμου: the twenty-seventh year of Hilarion's age, i.e., around 318.
- 131-132** τριακοστὸν ἤδη τῆς ζωῆς ἔτος: the thirtieth year of Hilarion's age, i.e., around 321.
- 133-134** πέμπτος δὲ αὐτῷ ἐγένετο χρόνος ... πέμπτου ἤδη καὶ τριακοστοῦ ἄπτεσθαι: the sixteenth year of Hilarion's age, i.e., around 326.
- 135** οὐγκίας *uncia*, see E. Schillbach, *Metrologie* (Munich, 1970), pp. 160-162, 204, 208-209.
- 139** ἀμβλυωπίαν: cf. Jerome, *Vita St Hilarionis*, 5, 4, p.84 'caligare oculos suos'.
- 142** εἰς ἕξηκοστὸν ἀφίκετο ἔτος: the sixtieth year of Hilarion's age, i.e., around 351.
- 145** ἐνιαυτοὺς ἀπέσχετο ἄρτου, ἕως ἐπὶ τὰ ὀγδοήκοντα διεγένετο: i.e., around 321.
- 151** Ὀκτωκαιδέκατον ἄρτι γενόμενον ἔτος: the saint died at the age of eighty, around 371.
- 168** ἰλαρῶς: a play between this word and the Saint's name.

- 181** Ἐλευθεροπόλεως: the city of Eleutheropolis (ancient Bethogabris) between Ascalon and Aelia. See G. Williams, ‘Bethogabris’, in *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, ed. W. Smith, 2 vols. (London 1856), I, p. 397.
- 198-199** Ἔτος ἦδη τρίτον ἐπὶ τριάκοντα τῆς ἡλικίας τῷ Ἰλαρίωνι: the thirty-third year of Hilarion’s age, i.e., around 324.
- 201-203** Ἀρισταινέτη ὄνομα, Ἐλπιδίου τοῦ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων τῶν πραιτωρίων γυνή: Elpidius and his wife Aristhaeneta are well known in other sources, including Ammianus Marcellinus, Libanius and the *Codex Theodosianus*. Elpidius was appointed *praefectus praetorii* around the year 360 and he probably met Hilarion early in his public life. See A.A.R. Bastiaensen & J.W. Smit eds., *Vita di Martino, Vita di Ilarione, In memoria di Paola* (Milan 1975), p. 298.
- 211** τῇ Γαζαίων: see above, note to **1-2**.
- 240** Ῥινοκουρούρων: Rhinocorura or Rhinolura (modern El Arish) was a maritime city between the confines of Egypt and Palestine. See G. Williams, ‘Rhinocorura’, in *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, ed. Smith, vol. II, p. 709.
- 246-7** ἡνίοχος ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως Γάζης: on Gaza, see above, note to **1-2**.
- 254** Μεσικάν: ‘Marsitas’ in Jerome’s original. See Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, **10**, 1, p. 92.
- 273** Ὀρίωνι ... συγκλητικῶ: ‘Orion vir primarius et ditissimus urbis Ailae’ in Jerome’s original. See Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, p. 94, lines 19-20.
- 273-274** πόλεως Ἀχιλλέας, ἥτις παρὰ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν κείται θάλασσαν: unidentified city by the Red Sea.
- 275** Λεγεών: on the demon by the name Legion, see below, p. 240.
- 313** Ζανάννους: ‘Zananus Maiumetes’ in Jerome’s original. See Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, **11**, 1, p.96.
- 319** στρατηγὸς τῆς πόλεως Γάζης, Ἰταλικὸς: ‘Italicus eiusdem oppidi [scil. Maiuma] municeps christianus’ in Jerome’s original. See Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, **11**, 3, p. 96.
- 324** Μαρνάν: the inhabitants of the city of Gaza used to worship a local deity called Marnas (‘our Lord’) and for quite a long time they were reluctant to convert to the Christian religion. It was only in 406 that Marnas’ temple was destroyed following the order of empress Eudocia. See Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, p. 298.

- 383** Μέμφιν: Memphis had been one of the most important cities of pharaonic Egypt. In the Imperial age it was still well known because of the shrine of Aesculapius, mentioned in the original text by Jerome. See Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, p. 301.
- 419** κανδιδάτων: (Latin *candidatus*) military official attached to the court. See Lampe *s.v.*, p. 700.
- 422** τῷ βασιλεῖ Κωνσταντίῳ: Constantius II, one of the three sons of Constantine I, was the sole ruler of the Roman Empire from 350 to 361, when he was succeeded by Julian (361-363).
- 424** βασιλέως: Constantius II (350-361).
- 425** κανδιδάτου: see above, note to **419**.
- 431-432** Φράγγων ... Ἰταλῶν: cf. Jerome's original text 'inter Saxones quippe et Alemannos gens eius, non tam lata quam valida, apud historicus Germania, nunc Francia vocatur'. See Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, **13**, 2, p. 102.
- 441** κανδιδάτον: see above, note to **419**.
- 443** κανδιδάτος: see above, note to **419**.
- 462-463** Ἀντώνιον ἐφοῖτα τὸν μέγαν: see above, note to **20**.
- 481** τὴν ἔρημον Κάδης: possibly the desert of Cades, in the Northern part of Sinai peninsula (Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, p. 304), or Kadesh a location on the Southeastern part of Palestine, where a fountain is located, allegedly where the Israelites encamped when they intended to enter the Promised Land. See E. Boucher James, 'Kadesh', in *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, ed. Smith, vol. II, p. 103.
- 483** τῆς πόλεως Λούζης: unidentified city. 'Elusa' in the Latin original (Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, **16** p. 108), Λούζα in Version 1 (A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχυολογίας*, vol. V [St Petersburg, 1889; repr. Brussels, 1963], p. 114) Λουζᾶ in Version 2 (R.F. Strout, 'The Greek versions of Jerome's *Vita Sancti Hilarioni*', in *Studies in the Text Tradition of St Jerome's Vitae Patrum*, ed. W.A. Oldfather [Urbana, 1943], p. 371).
- 494** Σύρων γλώπτη, «Κύριε εὐλόγησον»: 'voce Syra: "Barech"' in Jerome's original. See Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, **16**, p. 110.
- 520-521** Μονῆ ... ἧ τοῦ Σκινδουλᾶ: unidentified monastery, which does not appear in the Latin original and in the Samos version, though it is included in Version 1

(Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα*, p. 115) and Version 2 (Strout, ‘The Greek versions’, p. 372).

- 542** Ἡβᾶ: unidentified city, which appears neither in the Latin original, nor in the premetaphrastic texts.
- 568** Ἡσύχιον: Hesychius was Hilarion’s most beloved disciple. He is also mentioned by Sozomenos (as ‘Hesychas’), *Hist. Ecc.*, III 14, 27. See Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, p. 306.
- 606** Ἀρισταινέτη: see above, note to **201-203**.
- 609** Ἀντώνιον: see above, note to **20**.
- 612-613** τὴν Ἀντωνίου σημαίνουσα πρὸς Θεὸν ἐκδημίαν: see above, note to **20**.
- 644** πρὸς τὸ Πηλούσιον: Pelousion, present Port Said, was a city in Lower Egypt, situated on the easternmost bank of the Nile, the ‘Ostium Pelusiacum’. See W.B. Donne, ‘Pelousion’, in *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, ed. Smith, vol. II, p. 572. For a reconstruction of Hilarion’s journey, see Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, p. 307.
- 645** τὸν ὁμολογητὴν Δρακόντιον: a bishop from Hermopolis parva, mentioned by Athanasius, *Historia Arianorum ad monachos*, 72, as being one of the victims of the Arian persecutions. See Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, pp. 307-308.
- 647** ἐν Ταβάστῳ διέτριβε πόλει: a fort close to modern al-Buhayrah al-Murra al-Kubra. See Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, p. 307.
- 649** Φίλωνα: Philo, bishop of an unspecified town of Libya exiled in Babylon, is mentioned by Athanasius, *Historia Arianorum ad monachos*, 72; see above, note to **645**. See Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, p. 308.
- 649** Βαβυλῶνα τῆς Αἰγύπτου: Babylon, not far from Cairo. See Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, p. 307.
- 652** εἰς Ἀφρόδιτον: or Aphroditopolis, ca. 50 miles south of Cairo, along the Nile. See Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, p. 307.
- 653** Βασιανὸν ἰδεῖν τὸν διάκονον: ‘Baisane’ in Jerome’s original. See Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, **20** p. 118.
- 655** Βασιανὸν ἰδεῖν: see note to **653**.
- 656** Ἀντωνίου: see above, note to **20**.
- 658** τῆς Ἀφροδίτου πόλεως: see above, note to **652**.



- 662** ὁ μὲν Ἰσαάκ, ὁ δὲ Πλουσιανός: Anthony's two disciples, who may be identified with two unnamed hermits mentioned in Athanasius, *Vita Antonii*, 91. See Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, p. 308.
- 716** εἰς Ἀφρόδιτον: see above, note to **652**.
- 717** Βάσσον: most probably a corruption for Βασιανόν; see above, note to **653**. The name does not appear in Jerome's original text nor in the Samos version, though it appears as Βασιανόν in both Version 1 (Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα*, p. 122) and Version 2 (Strout, 'The Greek versions', p. 379).
- 752-753** εἰς τι χωρίον πλησίον Ἀλεξανδρείας μεταφοιτᾶ· Βρούχιον ὄνομα τῷ χωρίῳ: Bruchium, a famous quarter of Alexandria, was destroyed in 271. See Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, pp. 310.
- 763** τὴν Ἄνασαν: unidentified city, which does not appear in Jerome's original text.
- 764** Κωνστάντιος: see above, note to **422**.
- 765-766** τῇ ἀρχῇ κατέστρεψε καὶ τὸν βίον, Ἰουλιανὸς δὲ εἰς τὸν θρόνον τὸν βασιλικὸν εἰσεφθάρη ἀνοσιώτατα: Emperor Julian succeeded Constantius II in 361 and died in 363, during a military campaign against Persia, after having started an anti-Christian policy. Julian was succeeded by Emperor Jovian (363-364), a fervent Christian who put an end to his predecessor's restoration of pagan religion.
- 768** Γαζαίων: the city of Gaza.
- 770** Βρούχιον: see above, note to **752-753**.
- 773** τὴν Ἄνασαν: see above, note to **763**.
- 783** Ἄνασαν: see above, note to **763**.
- 785** Ἀδριανός: in Jerome's original text, Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, **24**, p. 124.
- 790** Ἀδριανός: see note right above.
- 799** Ζάναρον: 'Zananum' in Jerome's original text. See Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, **25**, 1, p. 126, and pp. 310-311, where Bastiaensen suggests it could be the same person mentioned in **11**, 1 p. 96, namely the paralyzed charioteer cured by Hilarion. In the metaphrastic version the paralyzed charioteer is mentioned as well, though his name is not given (see edition above, **25**, line 246, p. 141).
- 800** εἰς Κλάσαν ἐκεῖθεν τῆς Σικελίας ἀπέπλει: possibly West of Capo Pachino. See Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, p. 111.

- 809** τὴν μεσόγαλιον ἄνεισιν: the Mediterranean, in Latin ‘Adria’, indicating the sea between Crete and Sicily. See Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, **25**, 2, p. 126, and p. 311.
- 812** Σκουτάριος: from the Latin ‘scutarius’, bodyguard armed with shields, see Lampe *s.v.* p. 997-998. From the 3rd c. AD the term designated soldiers of the imperial guard. In the metaphrastic version the term becomes a proper name; see below p. 239.
- 820** Σκουτάριος: see above, notes to **812**.
- 835** Ἐπίδαιρον ... τῆς Δαλματίας: the present city of Dubrovnik.
- 837** Ἐπιδαιρίοις: see right above.
- 840** Ἐπιδαύρου: see right above.
- 851** Ἐπιδαύρω: see right above.
- 872** Βερβήλιμβον ἐμπόριον τῆς Δαλματίας: unidentified port in Dalmatia, which is not mentioned in the Samos version or Jerome’s original text, though it appears both in Version 1 (Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα*, p. 131) and Version 2 (Strout, ‘The Greek versions’, p. 389).
- 874** Μαλέα: Cape Malea at the South-East of the Peloponnese.
- 888** Κυκλάδας ... Πάφον: the city of Paphos in Cyprus where a famous shrine of Aphrodite seems to have been active in that period. There is no mention of the Cyclades in the Latin text: ‘il passaggio tra Capo Malea, all’estremità sud-est del Peloponneso, e l’isola di Citera rientrava nella normale rotta di navigazione tra lo Ionio e il bacino orientale del Mediterraneo’ (Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, p. 312).
- 905** Πάφω διατριβῆς: see above, note to **888**.
- 943** Ναζάρου in AP (Ναζαρίου in R): possibly a corruption of Ζάναρον; see above, note to 799. The name appears as ‘Zazanous’ in Versions 1 and 2 of the *Vita*. The name does not appear in Jerome’s original text.
- 950** Κωνσταντία: ‘Constantia quaedam, sancta femina’, in the Latin original text (Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, **32-33** p. 142).
- 953** Πάφου: see above, note to **888**.
- 979** Μαΐουμᾶν: the monastery of Maiuma, destroyed during the reign of Julian (361-363), was probably restored after his death. See, Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, p. 315.
- 990** Μαΐουμᾶν: see above, note to **979**.
- 992** Κωνσταντία: see above, note to **950**.

## PART II

### The Metaphrastic Process

This chapter examines the metaphrastic process on the basis of a comparison of the three texts edited above (pp. 85-182) with their extant premetaphrastic sources, in terms of historical information, development of the plot, and a textual analysis including structure, syntax and grammar, vocabulary and style. In comparing some of the metaphrastic redactions with the earlier sources, the existence of different versions of the same hagiographical account makes it quite problematic to establish which texts Symeon had at his disposal. Consequently, the comparison between the metaphrastic versions and the premetaphrastic sources may appear in itself a rather arbitrary way to operate. In addition, the possibility that the redactor may have used a number of sources which have not survived or remain uncatalogued, or that he used more than one sources, makes this examination even more complex. Nevertheless, I would argue that the analysis of Symeon's redactions in the light of the available premetaphrastic texts seems to reveal certain patterns and characteristics of the way he re-worked earlier material, and hence this approach is useful.

In medieval hagiographical texts the proliferation of different versions of the same narration is well established. This is the case with the *Passio of St James the Persian* (BHG 773) and the four premetaphrastic Greek versions edited by Devos<sup>84</sup>, and the *Vita of St Hilarion* (BHG 755), which goes back to Jerome's original Latin text, with three other Greek premetaphrastic versions studied by Strout<sup>85</sup>. In the case of the *Passio of St James* and in the case of two among the three extant premetaphrastic versions of the *Vita of St Hilarion*, as we shall see below (pp. 194 ff., 231 ff.), it is quite clear that the premetaphrastic sources, though slightly different from each other, more or less overlap in terms of length, structure and grammar, whereas the metaphrastic texts are radically different re-elaborations, related to the earlier extant material in terms of content but not necessarily in terms of structure and grammar. This is illustrated in the examination of the texts below.

<sup>84</sup> P. Devos, 'Le dossier hagiographique de S. Jacques l'intercis. La passion grecque inédite. Recensions  $\alpha$  et  $\beta$ ', *AB* 71 (1953), pp. 157-210; idem, 'Le dossier hagiographique de S. Jacques l'intercis. La passion grecque inédite. Recensions  $\gamma$  et  $\delta$ ', *AB* 72 (1954), pp. 213-56.

<sup>85</sup> See below, pp. 232-233.

## CHAPTER IV

### The Three Metaphrastic Texts Edited Above

#### Section A. The *Passio of St James the Persian* (BHG 773)

##### 1. Historical information

According to the metaphrastic version of the *Passio of St James the Persian*<sup>86</sup> (known also as ‘Intercisus’ after the way he was martyred), the Saint lived during the reigns of Emperor Arcadius (395-408), brother of Honorius, and the Sassanid King Yasgerd I (399-420)<sup>87</sup>, who was succeeded by his son Varham V (420-438)<sup>88</sup>. This information is in agreement with the premetaphrastic Greek *recensiones*  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$  of the *Passio*, which give Honorius and Theodosius as the Emperors in the West, and  $\delta$ , which mentions both Arcadius and Honorius (though calling the saint ‘Anastasius’ instead of ‘James’<sup>89</sup>). The earlier Syriac version states that the Saint died in the year 732 (without specifying the era), under ‘Alexander, that is the second year of Vahram’<sup>90</sup>. The identity of ‘Alexander’ remains questionable, though an identification with Emperor Alexander (912-913) seems impossible. Moreover, scholars questioned the very existence of St James, due to the lack of any reference to his martyrdom by contemporary authors who mentioned the persecutions of the Christians in Persia, including Socrates, Sozomenos, St Augustin of Hippo and Theodoret<sup>91</sup>. The existence of another Persian saint by the same name, a notary who suffered an identical martyrdom ( $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\mu\epsilon\lambda\iota\sigma\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ ) under the same King Vahram just a year later<sup>92</sup>, adds to the confusion over James.

Both the premetaphrastic Greek recensions and the metaphrastic *Passio* do not mention the year of the saint’s martyrdom, though the premetaphrastic versions ( $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$  and  $\delta$ ) agree that his execution took place in the reign of Vahram, on 27 November ( $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$  specify it was a Friday). This day was accepted by the Metaphrast, and remains the feast-day of St James in the Orthodox Church to the present. The earliest evidence

<sup>86</sup> Edited above, pp. 85-108.

<sup>87</sup> J. Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l’Empire Perse sous la dynastie Sassanide* (Paris, 1904), pp. 104-118.

<sup>88</sup> M.C. Celletti, ‘Giacomo l’interciso’, in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, vol. VI (Rome, 1965), cols. 357-362.

<sup>89</sup> Devos, ‘Recensions  $\gamma$  et  $\delta$ ’, pp. 213-256.

<sup>90</sup> Devos, ‘Recensions  $\alpha$  et  $\beta$ ’, p. 168.

<sup>91</sup> Celletti, ‘Giacomo l’interciso’, col. 359.

<sup>92</sup> Labourt, *Le Christianisme*, pp. 113-116; J. Sauget, ‘Giacomo, notaio, santo, martire in Persia’, in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, vol. VI (Rome, 1965), cols. 418-19.

of St James' cult is contained in a calendar of the Monastery of Qennesre dated to the ninth century, preserved in *London, British Museum, Additional Ms. 14504*<sup>93</sup>, while the earliest Greek manuscripts containing versions of his premetaphrastic *Passio* are dated to the tenth century.<sup>94</sup>

The metaphrastic text, in agreement with the earlier sources, states that St James spent his youth in the court of King Yasgerd I, father of Varham V. It is known that Yasgerd originally followed a peaceful policy towards his Christian subjects, as he wanted to maintain good relations with the Roman Empire. At a certain stage, however, provoked by an over-zealous bishop named Abdias, who allowed the Christians to destroy the Zoroastrian temples, Yasgerd reacted forcefully, taking strict measures against the Christian communities<sup>95</sup>. The persecution became more severe under the reign of his son and successor Vahram<sup>96</sup>.

According to both the Syriac and Greek tradition (both the premetaphrastic recensions and the metaphrastic *Passio*) James was born in the Persian city of Beth Lapath, known also by its later name of Gondisapor (Gundishapur), in modern Huzistan (see above, edition of text, p. 85.11). Unlike the premetaphrastic tradition, the metaphrastic version mentions a large Christian community in Persia during the reign of Yasgerd (1).<sup>97</sup> Born to a Christian family, James was baptized as a child. He is described as a wealthy and noble man of great virtue, highly esteemed by Yasgerd, who honoured him with his friendship and many generous gifts (2). When Varham succeeded his father he showed the same affection towards James. In return, in order to please Varham, James abandoned his Christian faith, adopting the Zoroastrian religion (3). When the news spread, and James' mother and wife were informed that he decided to serve 'the earthly King rather than the celestial King', they were greatly disappointed and disheartened. So, they sent him a letter, which is reported extensively in the text (6). As soon as James read the letter, he repented, crying and blaming himself for abandoning his faith. He then resumed his reading of the Holy Scriptures, which was eventually reported to the King, who ordered his arrest (7-8). When James was brought before Vahram, he was questioned by the King about his faith — a hagiographical *topos*, going back to the early *Acta martyrum*, in which the martyr is usually interrogated by the pagan judge. Vahram asked James if he was a 'Nazarene' or a

<sup>93</sup> Celletti, 'Giacomo l'interciso', col. 360.

<sup>94</sup> Devos, 'Recensions  $\alpha$  et  $\beta$ ', pp. 164-167; idem, 'Recensions  $\gamma$  et  $\delta$ ', pp. 222-224.

<sup>95</sup> Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, vol. November, p. 210; Labourt, *Le Christianisme*, pp. 104-108.

<sup>96</sup> Labourt, *Le Christianisme*, pp. 109-118.

‘magos’. James courageously asserted his Christian identity (**9**). The King then reminded him of their past friendship and tried to win him over by promising material benefits. Failing to persuade James, Vahram decided to threaten him (**10**). Despite Vahram’s threats, James remained firm and asked the King to order his execution. Vahram made a last attempt to persuade his old friend to change his mind, reminding him of his young age and the privileges he would continue to enjoy. James resisted and explained that he did not care about earthly goods, wealth and glory, adding that his religion prohibited him to worship created things, ‘the sun, the moon and the other elements’, rather than the Creator (**12-13**). This statement enraged the King who, on the advice of one of his counsellors, decided to execute James by cutting off his limbs, through progressive mutilation, a torture also known as the punishment of the nine deaths (**14**)<sup>98</sup>.

The second half of the text (**15-26**) describes the martyrdom. The *confessor* is brought to the stadium, where everything is prepared for his execution. A huge crowd gathered in the theatre. Together with the invisible ‘blood thirsty’ evil spirits and the chorus of angels, they witnessed the martyrdom (**15**). At the sight of the instrument of his torture James remained calm and prayed to God to support him (**16**). Then the execution started with the chopping off of his fingers and toes (**17**). In an attempt to save him the executioners begged James to change his mind and accept medical treatment. James refused and encouraged them to proceed with cutting off the rest of his limbs (**18-19**), which they did, by cutting off his wrists, then the flat of his feet, his forearms and his arms (**20**). During his long torture the martyr prayed ceaselessly to God, and endured his sufferings joyfully (**21-23**). At the final stage, while the audience fainted in front of the horrible sight of blood, the martyr remained firm praying to God (**24-26**). Following his prayer, James’ martyrdom was completed by his decapitation (**27**).

The Greek tradition of St James’ *Passio* goes back to the Syriac *Passio* (*BHO* 394)<sup>99</sup>. Devos, who investigated extensively the premetaphrastic tradition of the Greek *Passio* (*BHG* 772) traced four premetaphrastic Greek recensions ( $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$  and  $\delta$ )<sup>100</sup>. The Greek tradition, according to him, ‘a servi de chaînon intermédiaire entre le syriaque et toutes les autres versions que nous connaissons: latine, d’une part, et, de l’autre, copte

<sup>97</sup> Paragraph numbers in bold, occasionally followed by line numbers (e.g., [1].4-6)) refer to the metaphrastic *Passio* edited above, pp. 85-108.

<sup>98</sup> Celletti, ‘Giacomo l’interciso’, col. 359.

<sup>99</sup> On the Syriac *Passio* see Devos, ‘Recensions  $\alpha$  et  $\beta$ ’, pp. 168-178, who includes in his dossier the Latin translation.

<sup>100</sup> Devos, ‘Recensions  $\alpha$  et  $\beta$ ’, pp. 158-159.

(...) la seule exception est la traduction arménienne, calquée elle aussi sur l'original'<sup>101</sup>. In the group of these recensions Devos suggested that in many cases  $\gamma$  represents the closest link to the Syriac archetype<sup>102</sup>.

## 2. Structure of the text

### 2.1. Length and order of events

Among the four different versions edited in Devos's hagiographical dossier,  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$  are complete texts while  $\delta$  comprises *excerpta*<sup>103</sup>. The three complete texts differ in terms of length, though not drastically:  $\alpha$  is the shortest, with 14 pages in the printed edition,  $\gamma$  is the longest, with 19 pages, and  $\beta$  between 16-17 pages long. An approximate calculation shows that the metaphrastic redaction of St James' *Passio* is more or less as long as  $\beta$ . In this case, therefore, it appears that we are not dealing with a text that has been dramatically reduced or expanded in terms of length. However, the structure of the metaphrastic re-elaboration seems to be quite different, as the structure of Symeon's redaction, especially in the second half, has almost no relation with that of any of the texts edited by Devos. This suggests that Symeon either used another text (or texts) which has not survived or drastically re-worked these sources.

The three edited *recensiones*,  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$ <sup>104</sup>, are very similar in terms of structure. Paragraphs 1-9 focus on the events prior to the martyrdom. Paragraphs 10-41 give a meticulous description of the martyrdom, through a long list of every single part of the martyr's body cut off by his executioners, starting from the first finger, one-by-one, until the tenth, followed in the same way by the mutilation of his toes, then all the other limbs. The enumeration of fingers, toes and limbs cut off is structured as a long prayer consisting of the martyr thanking God throughout his progressive mutilation, and using, in the invocation, a religious symbolism related to every number. For example, in all versions number three is related to the Biblical episode of the three young men in the furnace (Dan. 3); number four to the fourth of the twelve children of Jacob, namely Judas; eight is connected with the Jewish custom of circumcising male children on the

<sup>101</sup> Devos, 'Recensions  $\alpha$  et  $\beta$ ', p. 159.

<sup>102</sup> Devos, 'Recensions  $\gamma$  et  $\delta$ ', pp. 214-215.

<sup>103</sup> Devos, 'Recensions  $\gamma$  et  $\delta$ ', pp. 249-256, edited only the first ten paragraphs and the epilogue of  $\delta$  on the base of a single Ms.

<sup>104</sup> The Latin translation of the original Syriac source, included in Devos hagiographical dossier ('Recensions  $\alpha$  et  $\beta$ ', pp. 168-177), shows that it had more or less the same structure; recension  $\delta$ , as already mentioned, has been only partially edited.

eight day from their birth; nine is linked with the ninth hour when Christ died on the Cross, and so forth.

In Symeon's redaction there is a certain degree of correspondence with the first nine paragraphs of the four aforementioned premetaphrastic recensions ( $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$  and  $\delta$ ) in terms of content and, to a limited extent, in terms of order of events. If indeed any of these four recensions served as a model for Symeon, his re-elaboration seems to have been quite radical. In the second part of the metaphrastic *Passio* (15-27) the difference in terms of structure is even more remarkable: the meticulous numbering of fingers and limbs that appears in  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$  (the corresponding part of  $\delta$  was not edited by Devos) is totally absent. Symeon does mention the progressive mutilation, but his description is quite concise, occupying only a few lines<sup>105</sup>.

As far as the order of events is concerned, in general Symeon's redaction is consistent with the three premetaphrastic recensions ( $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$ ). For, the sequence and substance of the events as presented in these earlier texts is not altered, even though the re-elaboration is extensive. In a few cases Symeon's version appears to be more cohesive in describing the sequence of the events. For example, all four premetaphrastic versions describe the decision of the saint's mother and wife to send him a letter concerning his faith, quoting it word-for-word. But it is only after the quotation (2) in the paragraph following (3) that recensions  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$  inform the reader that James was not in town<sup>106</sup>, hence the necessity of a letter (this information is not contained in  $\delta$ ). More specifically,  $\alpha$  states that the king was ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν<sup>107</sup> and  $\beta$  that he was ἐν τοῖς ὀρίοις τῆς πόλεως<sup>108</sup>, so that the reader has to infer that James was with the king at that stage. It is only  $\gamma$  that specifies that the saint happened to be μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως (...) ἐν τοῖς ὀρίοις ἔξω τῆς πόλεως<sup>109</sup>. In Symeon's version this explanation precedes the citation of the letter, which seems more logical in terms of cause and effect: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν εἴσω τῶν Βαβυλῶνος ὀρίων, ἀλλ' ἔξω που τῆς πόλεως ἐτύχανεν ὧν<sup>110</sup>. This appears to be a typical feature of the metaphrastic re-working process, indicating concern for explaining the story in a more cohesive way, giving clear indications about the time, place and causes of the events.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>105</sup> See edition above, pp. 85-108, lines 302-305, 337-343, 361-364.

<sup>106</sup> Devos, 'Recensions  $\alpha$  et  $\beta$ ', pp. 179, 194-195; idem, 'Recensions  $\gamma$  et  $\delta$ ', pp. 231-232, 250-251.

<sup>107</sup> Devos, 'Recensions  $\alpha$  et  $\beta$ ', p. 179.

<sup>108</sup> Devos, 'Recensions  $\alpha$  et  $\beta$ ', p. 195.

<sup>109</sup> Devos, 'Recensions  $\gamma$  et  $\delta$ ', p. 231.

<sup>110</sup> See edition above, 7, lines 56-57.

<sup>111</sup> For example, see below, p. 219 (transitional sentences).



## 2.2. Omissions, additions and changes

The most remarkable difference between Symeon's redaction and the edited premetaphrastic sources concerns the absence of the enumeration of the Saint's fingers, toes and limbs, during the progressive mutilation (**10-41** in versions  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ , and  $\gamma$ ), which – as mentioned above – is dramatically summarized<sup>112</sup>, to the extent that Symeon's text does not echo at all the structure of the premetaphrastic texts. In addition, none of the 'numeric' allusions and similes are found in the metaphrastic version, though, as we shall see below<sup>113</sup>, certain figures of speech (mostly metaphors or similes) and some significant terms employed by the premetaphrastic sources, do occur in Symeon's text as well.

The two speeches which James addresses to himself after he read the letter are quoted in direct speech in all four premetaphrastic texts (**3-4**). In the metaphrastic redaction (7.81-102) the Saint realizes his fault and reacts by crying bitterly and repenting, without however revealing his thoughts in direct speech. Moreover, Symeon emphasizes James' repentance by mentioning the scriptural episodes of Manasses (2 Chr. 33: 11-13) and Peter (Matth. 26:74-75, Mark 14:66-72, Luke 22:31-34, 54-62, and John 13:38, 18:25-27), which are not found in any of the four premetaphrastic texts.

Similarly, the dialogue between the King and the martyr is treated differently in Symeon's version. In all premetaphrastic redactions ( $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$  and  $\delta$ ) the dialogue occupies a quite long paragraph (**5**), consisting of very short questions and answers, echoing the typical style of the *Acta martyrum*<sup>114</sup>. In the metaphrastic text (**9-13**), however, this *stichomythia* is limited to a few lines (121 and 125-130). In Symeon's version the questions and answers, reported in direct speech, are more complex than those in the premetaphrastic texts: they are much longer and they look more like little speeches, especially the final one delivered by the Saint, occupying two consecutive paragraphs (**12-13**.171-205).

Again, if we compare the section of the metaphrastic *Passio* where the King makes the decision to cut James into pieces (**14**) with the premetaphrastic sources (**6** in  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$  and  $\delta$ ), we find that in Symeon's redaction the dialogue is absent. In all recensions edited by Devos the King summons his counsellors asking them, in direct speech, what kind of punishment James deserves. The most evil among them suggests mutilation,

<sup>112</sup> See edition above, pp. 102-105, lines 302-305, 337-343, 361-364.

<sup>113</sup> See below, pp. 202-204.

using once more direct speech. As already mentioned above, in the metaphrastic version the dialogue does not occur: it is reported that a certain person, inspired by the devil, proposes (*ἀποφαίνεται* 14.208) to the King a new and inhumane kind of torture.

The two following paragraphs (15-16) describe how the King, eventually, takes the decision to follow the advice of the evil man, and sentences James to death. Subsequently the saint is taken to the place of his martyrdom where he delivers his *confessio*. This section shows an even more radically different structure (and style as we shall see), when we compare Symeon's version<sup>115</sup> with the premetaphrastic sources<sup>116</sup>. The most striking difference is that the latter employ the dialogue form quite extensively to describe the development of the plot, namely the events that led to the Saint's sentence, in a rather concise way. Symeon, on the other hand, does not use dialogues at all in this section, but only direct speech for the *confessio*, as in the case of the premetaphrastic sources. He rather focuses on different elements concerning the preparation of the martyrdom, describing the sight of a 'crowd' of spirits who are attending the execution (15), the executioners in the stadium, the instruments (*ὄργανα*) they are about to use to cut the Saint to pieces (16.234) and the Saint's fearless attitude (16.243-247).

In the paragraphs of the metaphrastic redaction that follow, though the structure is completely different from that of the premetaphrastic texts, it is possible to trace some passages which appear to be quite similar to the corresponding sections of the texts edited by Devos. For example, the section in which certain people attending the execution urged James to obey the King's will — on the grounds that, since he is a rich man he could receive medical attention, which would enable him to live happily even without his fingers (18.279-291) — is both quite similar and placed in direct speech by Symeon and by the authors of recensions  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$  (21) (the correspondent paragraph of  $\delta$  has not been edited by Devos). In the final part of the *Passio* the three premetaphrastic redactions,  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$ , report that the relics of the saint were collected after his martyrdom by an anonymous person<sup>117</sup>, whereas neither Symeon nor recension  $\delta$  makes mention of this event.

<sup>114</sup> See 5 in all four versions: Devos, 'Recensions  $\alpha$  et  $\beta$ ', pp. 180-181, 196-197; idem, 'Recensions  $\gamma$  et  $\delta$ ', pp. 233-234, 252-253.

<sup>115</sup> See edition above, 14-17, pp. 96-99.

<sup>116</sup> See 6-9 in all four versions: Devos, 'Recensions  $\alpha$  et  $\beta$ ', pp. 182-183, 197-199; idem, 'Recensions  $\gamma$  et  $\delta$ ', pp. 234-235, 253-255.

### 2.3. Prologue and epilogue

Prologues of the Metaphrastic *corpus* have been extensively examined by Zilliacus<sup>118</sup> and Högel<sup>119</sup>, for they are useful examples of how Symeon used to work. Högel pointed out that ‘Symeon composed his prologues quite independently of the old text he used as a basis’ and often ‘felt free to substitute the old prologue with something of his own’<sup>120</sup>. This observation is confirmed in our case, for the four *recensiones* edited by Devos evidently do not have the same structure in terms of prologue and epilogue. In fact  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  lack a prologue. They start *in medias res*, describing James’ place of birth and his family. On the other hand, both  $\gamma$  and  $\delta$  have a prologue:  $\gamma$  states that following the defeat of paganism the devil found an ally in King Yasgerd, who started persecuting Christians in Persia<sup>121</sup>. The prologue in  $\delta$  mentions Arcadius and Honorius, calling the latter ἐπάρατος<sup>122</sup> on account of being responsible for a persecution of the Christians. This inaccurate statement is followed by a list of Roman Emperors that contains chronological mistakes<sup>123</sup>.

The metaphrastic prologue is quite concise and does not show particular effort in terms of rhetorical devices. The initial expression, διέποντος σκῆπτρα, occurs also in other metaphrastic prologues (for example, in the *Passio of St Euphemia*: σκῆπτρα διέποντες<sup>124</sup>). In the first few lines Symeon gives in a succinct way essential pieces of historical information, which are scattered in the earlier texts. For example, in  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$  the name of Yasgerd is mentioned at the beginning of the text, while that of his son, Varham, appears only at the end (44), when the date of the martyrdom is given<sup>125</sup>. Consequently, the reader has to infer that James was executed under Yasgerd’s successor, Varham. In  $\delta$  the name of Yasgerd is given in the prologue and at the end<sup>126</sup>, while Varham does not appear at all.

The metaphrastic prologue provides the reader with the essential pieces of information needed to follow the narration, including the names of the Roman Emperors Arcadius, Theodosius and Honorius, followed by those of the Persian King Yasgerd and

<sup>117</sup> Devos, ‘Recensions  $\alpha$  et  $\beta$ ’, pp. 192-193, 209-210; idem, ‘Recensions  $\gamma$  et  $\delta$ ’, p. 248.

<sup>118</sup> Zilliacus, ‘Zur stilistischen’, pp. 333-350.

<sup>119</sup> Högel, *Rephrasing*, esp. pp. 159-165; idem, *Symeon*, pp. 139-149.

<sup>120</sup> Högel, *Rephrasing*, p. 159.

<sup>121</sup> Devos, ‘Recensions  $\gamma$  et  $\delta$ ’, p. 230.

<sup>122</sup> Devos, ‘Recensions  $\gamma$  et  $\delta$ ’, p. 249.

<sup>123</sup> Devos, ‘Recensions  $\gamma$  et  $\delta$ ’, in particular p. 228.

<sup>124</sup> Halkin, *Euphémie*, p. 145.

<sup>125</sup> Devos, ‘Recensions  $\alpha$  et  $\beta$ ’, pp. 192, 209; idem, ‘Recensions  $\gamma$  et  $\delta$ ’, p. 247.

<sup>126</sup> Devos, ‘Recensions  $\gamma$  et  $\delta$ ’, pp. 250, 256.

his son Varham (1.3-4). In the paragraph following (2.18-20) it is clearly explained that Varham succeeded his father: Διὸ δὴ καὶ τῆς Περσικῆς ἀρχῆς εἰς Οὐαραράτ, τὸν Ἰσδιγέρδου παῖδα μεταπεσοῦσης. In this way, the reader is informed that the martyr was executed under Varham's reign.

As far as the epilogues are concerned, the difference between the metaphrastic and the premetaphrastic texts involves the description of the collection of the martyr's relics. In α, β and γ a short paragraph (44)<sup>127</sup> reports the day of the saint's death and the names of the Emperors and the Persian King at the time, while in the final paragraph the information that the relics were transferred to an unspecified sacred place is added (45)<sup>128</sup>. In the metaphrastic redaction, as in recension γ, the reference to the relics is absent. The text in γ closes with the date and the names of the rulers, while the metaphrastic version does not give any chronological indication. Symeon concludes with two quotations from Paul (1 Cor. 2:9, 3:8) and the formula αὐτῷ πρέπει πάσα τιμὴ, δόξα καὶ κράτος· νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν<sup>129</sup>.

#### **2.4. Other common elements between the premetaphrastic and metaphrastic texts in different sections of the accounts**

If indeed Symeon used any of the four premetaphrastic texts edited by Devos as a basis for his reworked version, certain analogies in the texts may suggest that in his re-elaboration of the sources the Metaphrast may have altered the sequence in which some components of the narration appear in the earlier versions. For example, in the metaphrastic version the passage presenting the saint speaking to the King against the idols (13.194-196) echoes some elements contained in all four premetaphrastic recensions (5):

**13.194-196:** Ἥλιον δὲ καὶ σελήνην, καὶ ἄστρα, καὶ πῦρ παρὰ Θεοῦ δεδημιουργεῖσθαι πιστεύομεν, καθάπερ δὴ καὶ τὰλλα στοιχεῖα, καὶ τὴν αἰσθητὴν ἅπασαν κτίσιν· Θεὸν δέ, ἢ τέκνον Θεοῦ λέγειν, τί τούτων καθ' ἡμᾶς, ἢ φρονεῖν, ἢ τὴν προσήκουσαν Θεῷ προσκύνησιν αὐτοῖς νέμειν;

We believe that the sun, the moon the stars and the fire were created by God, as well as the other elements and the whole perceptible creation. How do you expect us to call these God, or creatures of God, or to give them the veneration which is due to God?

<sup>127</sup> Devos, 'Recensions α et β', pp. 192, 209-210; idem, 'Recensions γ et δ', p. 247.

<sup>128</sup> Devos, 'Recensions α et β', pp. 192-193, 209; idem, 'Recensions γ et δ', pp. 247-248.

In the earlier texts the short reference to the sun, moon and stars with relation to the Zoroastrian faith is contained in the dialogue between James and the King (5)<sup>130</sup> but in this case the person who is speaking is the Persian King and not the martyr:

**α:** οὔτε τῷ Θεῷ  
προσκυνεῖτε οὔτε  
ἡλίῳ οὔτε σελήνῃ  
οὔτε τῷ πυρὶ οὔτε  
τῷ ὕδατι ἅτινά  
εἰσιν τέκνα Θεοῦ.

**β:** οὔτε γὰρ τῷ Θεῷ  
προσκυνεῖτε οὔτε τῷ  
ἡλίῳ οὔτε τῇ σελήνῃ  
οὔτε τῷ πυρὶ οὔτε  
τῷ ὕδατι ἅτινά εἰσιν  
τέκνα Θεοῦ.

**γ:** οὔτε τοῖς θεοῖς  
προσκυνεῖν, τῷ ἡλίῳ  
καὶ τῇ σελήνῃ, τῷ  
πυρὶ καὶ τῷ ὕδατι

**δ:** οὔτε γὰρ φωσφόρον  
σεβεῖτε οὔτε σελήνῃ  
προσκυνεῖτε οὔτε πῦρ  
οὔτε ὕδατα ἅτινά  
εἰσιν τέκνα Θεοῦ

The fact that we read about the Persian religion in the first part of the premetaphrastic versions while in the metaphrastic narration only at the end of the first half of the text may give us a hint of the way Symeon might have used to re-work earlier texts, that is, by collecting material from different sections of his sources in a selective way, adjusting them to serve his own account, without necessarily following the same order as his sources.

A number of other similar cases in the *Passio of St James* seem to point to this procedure as one of the possible techniques employed by the Metaphrast in the process of editing earlier sources. For example, the passage where the saint is encouraged to receive medical attention on the grounds that he comes from a wealthy family (18.277-290) seems to echo paragraph 21 of two of the premetaphrastic versions namely β and γ<sup>131</sup> (this detail does not appear in α, and the corresponding paragraph in δ is not edited in Devos' dossier, where only *excerpta* of δ are included).

**β:** Εἰσὶν γὰρ σοφοὶ ἰατροὶ  
δυνάμενοί σε θεραπεῦσαι ...  
Πολλὰ γὰρ κτήματα ἔχων,  
δύνασαι θεραπευθῆναι καὶ  
ἐν ἀναπαύσει εἶναι. Εἰ γὰρ  
πένης ὑπήρχες ἐν ἑαυτῷ  
λογίσασθαι εἶχες καὶ  
εἰπεῖν «Ἀμφοτέρων τῶν  
χειρῶν οἱ δάκτυλοί μου  
ἐξεκόπησαν· ποῖα μοι  
λοιπὸν ἐστὶν ἐλπίς ἢ τί  
μοι τὸ ὄφελος τῆς ζωῆς,  
μὴ δυναμένῳ καμεῖν ἵνα  
ζήσω;» Νῦν πάντες οἶδαμεν

**γ:** εἰσὶν γὰρ ἰατροὶ σοφοὶ  
ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἐπιστήμονες καὶ  
δύνανταί σε θεραπεῦσαι ...  
ἔχεις χρήματα καὶ κτήματα  
πολλὰ καὶ δύνασαι ἐν  
ἀναπαύσει εἶναι. Εἰ γὰρ  
πένης ὑπήρχες εἶχες ἂν ἐν  
ἑαυτῷ λογίσασθαι καὶ εἰπεῖν  
«Ὅλοι μου οἱ δάκτυλοι  
ἐξεκόπησαν τῶν χειρῶν· ποῖα  
μοι λοιπὸν ἐλπίς ἢ τί μοι  
ὄφελος ἐὰν ζήσω; Πένης εἰμὶ  
καὶ καμεῖν οὐ δύναμαι· τί τὸ  
κέρδος τῆς παρούσης ζωῆς;»

[18].277-290 Οἱ δὲ καὶ κηδόμενοι,  
καὶ συμβουλευεῖν ὡςπερ νομίζοντες  
τὰ σωτήρια, πρὸς μετάνοιαν τῶν  
δεδογμένων αὐτὸν καὶ ἄρνησιν  
ἐξεκαλοῦντο, ἰατροὺς λέγοντες εἶναι  
παρ' αὐτοῖς, οἱ τὴν θεραπείαν τῶν  
ἤδη κακωθέντων μελῶν, καὶ  
ταχύτεραν ἐλπίδος αὐτῷ παρέξουσιν.  
«Ἄλλως τε» δέ φησι «καὶ χρυσὸς  
σοι πολὺς καὶ πλοῦτος τὸ ὑστέρημα  
τούτων ἀναπληρώσει, κἂν χρήμασι  
περιπτεῖων ἦς, οὐδεμίαν αὐτῶν  
αἴσθησιν ἔξεις», ὡς εἶχον αὐτοὶ  
κρίσεως, οἱ γῆ καὶ τοῖς γηϊνοῖς

<sup>129</sup> See edition above, 27, lines 420-430.

<sup>130</sup> Devos, 'Recensions α et β', pp. 181, 197; idem, 'Recensions γ et δ', pp. 234, 253.

<sup>131</sup> Devos, 'Recensions α et β', p. 203; idem, 'Recensions γ et δ', pp. 239-240.

ὅτι πλούσιος εἶ καὶ  
ἄφατός σου ἐστὶν ὁ  
χρυσός. Καὶ ἐὰν θέλῃς,  
δύνασαι ζῆσαι καὶ  
εὐφραιθῆναι μετὰ τῆς  
συμβίου σου τῆς ἐκ  
νεότητός σου καὶ τῆς  
μητρὸς σου ...

Ἡμεῖς δὲ οἶδαμεν ὅτι  
πλούσιος εἶ καὶ ἔχεις  
χρήματα πάμπολλα, ἀρκέσαι  
δυνάμενα ἐπὶ ἔτη πλείστα  
καὶ σοὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ σου  
καὶ τῇ συμβίῳ σου ...

προσηλωμένοι, καὶ αὐτῷ τὰ λυσιτελή  
δῆθεν συμβουλευόντες. «Τί δαί, οὐχὶ  
καὶ παρὰ Πέρσαις πολλοὶ» ἔλεγον,  
«οἱ μὲν τὰς χεῖρας εἰσὶν αὐτοῖς  
βραχίσοι καθάπαξ ἐκκεκομμένοι, οἱ  
δὲ καὶ πηρωθείσας αὐτὰς νόσω, ἢ  
καὶ ἐτέρως ἔχοντες, οἷς ὀλίγη  
φροντὶς ἢ τοιαύτη πῆρωσις, εἰ μόνον  
μὴ ἐνδεῶς ἔχουσι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων,  
οἷς δὲ καὶ πλουτεῖν ὑπάρχει,  
καθάπερ σύ, καὶ περιρρεῖσθαι τοῖς  
χρήμασιν, ἐν λήθῃ ταῦτα καὶ περὶ  
οὐδενὸς νομίζονται.»

In another passage of the metaphrastic version (17.266-271), elements of the premetaphrastic text (20<sup>132</sup>) in versions β and γ, but not α, are echoed, citing the same biblical quotation (Ps. 143:9: *ἐν ψαλτηρίῳ δεκαχόρδῳ ψαλῶ σοι*). As in the case of the passage quoted right above, the quotation does not appear in α, while the corresponding paragraph of δ has not been edited by Devos. Another short phrase appears both in the metaphrastic text (μακαρίας ταύτης σφαγῆς) and in version γ (μακαρίας σφαγῆς ταύτης).

17.266-271 «Ἐπίσκεψαι τὴν  
ἄμπελον ταύτην» εἶπεν «ἦν  
ἐφύτευσεν ἡ δεξιὰ σου καὶ  
τῷ σῷ ἐλέει κατάρτησον,  
ἵνα τοῖς ἐκτιμηθεῖσι τούτοις  
δακτύλοις μου, ὡς ἐν  
ψαλτηρίῳ δεκαχόρδῳ σοι  
ψαλῶ Χριστέ μονογενὲς τοῦ  
Θεοῦ παῖ. Εὐχαριστῶ σοι,  
ὅτι με κατηξίωσας τῆς  
μακαρίας ταύτης σφαγῆς,  
διὰ τὸ σὸν ὄνομα τὸ  
πανάγιον, τὸ ἐπικληθὲν ἐν  
ἐμοί».

β, 20: Ἐν τῷ ἰῶτα ψηφίζεται  
πᾶς ἀριθμός, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἰῶτα  
Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἡ λύτρωσις  
τοῦ κόσμου. διὰ τοῦτο κἀγώ,  
ὁ μικρὸς ἐν ψαλτηρίῳ  
δεκαχόρδῳ ψαλῶ σοι τῷ  
καταξίωσαντί με διὰ τοῦτο  
τοῦ δακτύλου τὴν ἐκτομὴν  
ὑπομείναι, ἵνα ἀντὶ τῶν  
νεύρων τῆς κιθάρας ἐν τοῖς  
δέκα μου δακτύλοις ὑμνήσω  
τὴν δόξαν σου· καὶ ψαλῶ τῷ  
ὀνόματί σου Ὑψιστε.

γ, 20: Ἐν τῷ ἰῶτα ψηφίζεται  
πᾶς ἀριθμός, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἰῶτα  
Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἡ λύτρωσις  
καὶ σωτηρία τοῦ κόσμου. Καὶ  
ἐν ψαλτηρίῳ δεκαχόρδῳ ψαλῶ  
σοι, Χριστέ μονογενῆ Ἰιὲ τοῦ  
Θεοῦ, ὅτι καταξίωσάς με τὸν  
ταπεινὸν καὶ ἐλάχιστον τῆς  
μακαρίας σφαγῆς ταύτης. διὰ  
τοῦτο ὑμνῶ τὴν ἀκατάληπτόν  
σου δόξαν καὶ ἔξομολογοῦμαι  
τῷ ὀνόματί σου Κύριε τῷ  
φοβερῷ καὶ ἐνδόξῳ ἐν πάσῃ  
τῇ γῆ.

The presence of such elements shared between the metaphrastic text and the premetaphrastic versions β and γ could suggest their re-working by Symeon. This hypothesis, however, cannot be substantiated, on the grounds that in several instances it is also possible in Symeon's text to trace elements shared by all four versions (α, β, γ and δ). For example, in the same passage quoted right above, Symeon employs the image of the grapevine with reference to Ps. 79:15, which appears in all four

premetaphrastic redactions, though in a different section of the account (10)<sup>133</sup>. Therefore, from the analysis of the four recensions edited by Devos, it is quite difficult to tell whether a particular one or more of them would have been used by Symeon. In fact, in different passages of the metaphrastic version it is possible to trace elements shared with all four recensions, or only with one, two or three of them.<sup>134</sup>

### 3. Syntax, grammar, vocabulary and style

As already pointed out (pp. 198-199), the structure of the premetaphrastic recensions and that of Symeon's are very different, both in syntactical and grammatical terms. A comparison of parallel passages illustrates how these texts treat the same topic in a different way. These passages were selected from the first half of the metaphrastic recension, as its structure is not entirely dissimilar from that of the earlier texts, in contrast to the second half.

#### 3.1. James' birth-place and family

The following passages concern the sections of πατρις and γένος:

<i>Recensio</i> α, 1:	<i>Recensio</i> β, 1:	<i>Recensio</i> γ, 1: Ἦν	<i>Recensio</i> δ, 1: ἀκούοντας [2].10-22:	
Κατ' ἐκέλευον τὸν καιρὸν ἦν ὁ μακάριος Ἰάκωβος οἰκῶν ἐν Βαλαπάτῃ τῇ πόλει τῶν Ἰουζουσῶν τῆς βασιλείας τῶν Περσῶν. <sup>132</sup> Ἦν δὲ εὐγενὴς καὶ ὀνομαστὸς καὶ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ πρώτος. <sup>133</sup> Ἦν δὲ τῷ γένει χριστιανὸς ἐκ προγόνων καὶ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ. Ἰσχυρῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ πρώτος ἐν ταῖς	Ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ διωγμοῦ τοῦ κατὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ἦν τις Ἰάκωβος ὀνόματι οἰκῶν ἐν Βηλαπάτῃ τῇ πόλει ἐν χώρᾳ τῶν Ἐλεουζησῶν. ἦν δὲ ἡ πόλις αὕτη τῆς βασιλείας τῶν Περσῶν. Ὁ δὲ μακάριος γνωστὸς ἦν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ εὐγενὴς καὶ ὀνομαστὸς μεγάλως φοβούμενος τὸν Θεόν. <sup>132</sup> Ἦν δὲ τῷ γένει χριστιανὸς, καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ	δὲ τις ὀνόματι Ἰάκωβος οἰκῶν ἐν πόλει λεγομένη Βηλαπάτῃ ἐν χώρᾳ τῶν Ἰουζαυτῶν, πρώτος ὑπάρχων τῶν ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ, ὅς καὶ πολλὰ δόματα ἐλάμβανεν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, διὰ τὸ ἀγαπάσθαι αὐτὸν πάντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. ἐκ προγόνων οὖν ὑπάρχων χριστιανὸς ὁ Ἰάκωβος καὶ διὰ τὴν πολλὴν ἀγάπην καὶ στοργὴν ἦν εἶχεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς,	τότε τινὸς ἐν Βηθλαβὰ τῇ πόλει— περιχώριος δὲ ἦν αὕτη τῶν Ἐλεσιζίων πόλεως, ἡ πόλις δὲ αὕτη ἐγνωρίζετο τῆς τῶν Περσῶν αὐταρχίας— Ἀναστάσιος τῶν ὄνομα τῷ ἀνδρὶ· θεοσεβὴς ὑπάρχων ἀνὴρ τὰ τε ἄλλα σεμνὸς ἐγγινώσκετό τε ἐπὶ πάσας πόλιν καὶ χώραν καὶ τῇ τοῦ εὐγενεὶς καὶ ἐπιχαρεστάτου <...> καὶ τῇ τοῦ ὀνόματος αἰξήσει τυγχάνων καὶ τοῖς θεοσεβείας ἀσκούμενος ὄροις τῷ	Ἐν τοῖτοις οἰν καὶ ὁ μέγας Ἰάκωβος ἦν, ὅς ἐξ Ἀσσυρίων μὲν εἶλκε τὸ γένος, ἐν πόλει δὲ Βαλατῷ λεγομένη τὰς οἰκήσεις εἶχε· πλούτῳ μὲν δαμνέστατος, εὐγενεῖα δὲ τῶν ἄλλων διαφορότατος, ἀρετῇ καὶ συνέσει τῶν πάντων ἐπισημότατος. Διὰ ταῦτα καὶ τῆς πρώτης ἀπέλαυε παρὰ τῷ βασιλεὶ δόξης καὶ

<sup>132</sup> Devos, 'Recensions α et β', p. 203; idem, 'Recensions γ et δ', p. 239.

<sup>133</sup> Devos, 'Recensions α et β', pp. 184, 200; idem, 'Recensions γ et δ', pp. 236, 255.

<sup>134</sup> On the possibility that the Metaphrastic technique of reworking earlier texts may have involved the 'contamination' of more than one sources, see Efthymiadis, 'John of Sardis', esp. p. 32 (with reference to the metaphrastic *Passio of St Nikephoros the Martyr*).

ἡμέραις· Ἰσγαράδ τοῦ βασιλέως, συνεχῶς ἐλάμβανεν τὰ δόματα παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως· πάνυ γὰρ ἠγάπα αὐτόν.	χριστιανὰ ἦσαν. Καὶ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ πρῶτος ἦν ὁ μακάριος οὗτος ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἰσδιγγέρδου τοῦ βασιλέως· συνεχῶς δὲ ἐλάμβανε δόματα παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως· πάνυ γὰρ ἠγάπα αὐτόν.	μετέστρεψεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως, καὶ ἠνείκατο τὸν χριστιανισμόν.	δὲ γένοι χριστιανός, ἅμα τε τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τῆς γαμετῆς ὑπάρχων· καὶ ἐν τοῖς παλατίοις τοῦ βασιλέως πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ὑπερέχων σφοδρῶς· συγχυοτέρως παρέχων δόματα τούτῳ ὁ βασιλεὺς στοργὴν γὰρ εἶχε πρὸς τοῦτον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μετήλλαξε ταῦτόν τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν ὀμνήσεως.	οἰκειότητος, πολλῶν τε ἡξιοῦτο καὶ μεγάλων τῶν δωρεῶν· Χριστιανὸς δὲ ὢν ἐκ ἠγίου, ἔτε καὶ Χριστιανῶν πατέρων τυχῶν, εὐσεβεία μᾶλλον ἢ γάλακτι τιθηνοῦμενος, πρὸς τελειότητα τῆς πίστεως συναίγεται. <u>Διὸ</u> <u>δὴ καὶ τῆς</u> <u>Περσικῆς ἀρχῆς</u> <u>εἰς Οὐαραράτ, τὸν</u> <u>Ἰσδιγγέρδου παῖδα</u> <u>μεταπεσοῦσης, τὴν</u> <u>αὐτὴν τῷ πατρὶ</u> <u>καὶ οὗτος πρὸς</u> <u>τὸν Ἰάκωβον</u> <u>εὐμένειαν διετήρει,</u> <u>διὰ τιμῆς αὐτόν</u> <u>ἄγων καὶ</u> <u>σεβάζομενος.</u>
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A comparison between the premetaphrastic recensions and the metaphrastic text clearly shows the use of rhetorical devices in the latter: Symeon uses two periphrases to indicate James' city of origin (εἶλκε τὸ γένος) and residence (τὰς οἰκήσεις εἶχε), whereas the earlier texts simply report where he was living, by using the participle of the verb οἰκέω. In addition, Symeon utilises a sequence of three superlatives, each one referring to one or two nouns in the dative: δαψιλέστατος, διαφορώτατος, ἐπισημότατος, related to πλούτῳ, εὐγενεία, ἀρετῇ and συνέσει, respectively. When the Metaphrast mentions that James was brought up as a Christian, he uses an abstract noun plus the genitive τελειότητα τῆς πίστεως, preceded by a metaphor, εὐσεβεία μᾶλλον ἢ γάλακτι τιθηνοῦμενος, whereas none of the premetaphrastic recensions uses any figure of speech in giving this piece of information.

Finally, in Symeon's text the reader is provided with an explanation (passage underlined above) concerning the fact that, after Varham succeeded Yasgerd, he kept the saint in the same high esteem as his father did before. This is a good example of a 'transitional sentence', as it provides the link with the following section of the account, at the same time clarifying the context. This kind of explanation, concerning the succession of Varham, does not appear in any of the premetaphrastic texts.



### 3.2. James' mother and wife write him a letter

Symeon's use of periphrasis is further illustrated by the passage describing James' mother and wife's reaction on finding out that he abjured his Christian faith (5<sup>135</sup>).

**Recensio α, 2:** Ἀκούσασα δὲ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ, μετὰ πάσης σπουδῆς χαράξασαι γράμματα, ἐδήλωσαν αὐτῷ, ἐπόμεναι τῇ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ ἀκολουθίᾳ, λέγουσαι·

**Recensio β, 2:** Ἀκούσασα δὲ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ, μετὰ πάσης σπουδῆς χαράξασαι γράμματα, ἀπέστειλαν αὐτῷ, ἐπόμεναι τῇ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ ἀκολουθίᾳ·

**Recensio γ, 2:** Ἀκούσασαι δὲ ταῦτα ἡ τε μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ, μετὰ πάσης σπουδῆς χαράξασαι γράμματα, ἀπέστειλαν αὐτῷ ἐπιστολὴν ἐπόμεναι τῇ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ καταστάσει, περιέχουσαν οὕτως·

**Recensio δ, 2:** Ἀκούσασα τοίνυν ἡ μήτηρ, τοιγαροῦν σχεδὸν εἶπειν τε καὶ ἡ γυνὴ γραμματίον τε διὰ πάσης σπουδῆς ἐγχαράπτουσιν, ἐπιμείναι τοῦ τὸν τῇ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ ἐπισπεύδουσιν ἀκολουθίᾳ·

[5].46-59: Ἐπεὶ γὰρ τὸ ποιηρὸν τοῦτο διάγγελμα, τὰς ἀκοὰς πάντων διήει, ὅτι Ἰάκωβος τὰ Χριστιανῶν ἐξομοσάμενος, περὶ πλείονος ἔθετο θεραπείαν θνητοῦ βασιλέως ἢ Θεοῦ, ἡ μήτηρ εὐθὺς ἐκείνου καὶ ἡ κοινῶς τοῦ βίου, τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν μερίδος ὑπάρχουσαι, ἰσχυρῶς πληγείσαι τῷ ἀδοκίτῳ τῆς ἀκοῆς, ζήλω τε τῷ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκκαυθεῖσαι, καὶ ἡ μὲν, υἱοῦ θάνατον, ἡ δέ, ἀνδρὸς ἀποδурωμένη — πῶς γὰρ ἂν αὐταῖς καὶ ἐκρίθη ζῶν, ὁ κατὰ πίστιν ἤδη διαφθαρεῖς;—, ἐπεὶ μὴ εἶχον αὐτῷ γλώσση τὰ δέοντα παραινεῖν, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν εἶσω τῶν Βαβυλῶνος ὀρίων, ἀλλ' ἔξω που τῆς πόλεως ἐτύγχανεν ὢν, γράμμασιν ὅσα καὶ γλώττῃ χρησάμεναι, τὴν ἀγαθὴν Ἰακώβου ψυχὴν παραπεισθεῖσαν τοῦ δέοντος ἀνορθοῦσιν. Εἶχε δὲ ὧδέ πως τὰ γεγραμμένα.

By comparing these texts, it is evident that Symeon uses once again periphrasis: (a) ἀκοὰς πάντων διήει, instead of a simple verb (ἀκούω) in the form of the participle in all premetaphrastic recensions, and (b) ἡ κοινῶς τοῦ βίου instead of the noun γυνή, that appears in all earlier texts. In addition, the Metaphrast uses another short periphrasis to give the Christian identity of the two women: τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν μερίδος ὑπάρχουσαι.

The use of periphrasis is not the only reason for Symeon's redaction to appear to be longer than all the earlier recensions. This is also due to the presence of two transitional sentences (underlined in the passage above). The first one explains what the bad news (ποιηρὸν τοῦτο διάγγελμα) was about, namely James abjuring his faith, and the second one clarifies the reason why his mother and his wife had to send him a letter, namely his absence from home. As mentioned above (p. 198), the earlier texts give this explanation only after the letter is quoted.

It is important to note that Symeon draws particular attention to the psychological reaction of the two women: they are shocked (πληγείσαι) by the unexpected news, and their souls are burning (ἐκκαυθεῖσαι) with zeal, for what they want above all is to save their son and husband from impiety. The presence of a rhetorical question

<sup>135</sup> Devos, 'Recensions α et β', pp. 184, 200; idem, 'Recensions γ et δ', pp. 236, 255.

<sup>135</sup> Devos, 'Recensions α et β', pp. 179, 194; idem, 'Recensions γ et δ', pp. 231, 250.

(introduced by πῶς γὰρ) shows that the redactor intended to keep a high level of style.<sup>136</sup> This is also suggested by the presence of the compound verb δια-φθείρω (instead of φθείρω) to indicate the degree of his loss in terms of religious faith.

### 3.3. James' reaction to the letter

A few similarities between the metaphrastic text (7.81-102) and the earlier versions (3-4<sup>137</sup>) are demonstrated in the following passage, which gives an account of James' reaction after he reads the letter from his mother and wife, followed by a description of his repentance. One of the possible reasons for Symeon's redaction containing very few elements in common with the earlier text, is that the premetaphrastic texts (as mentioned above, p. 199) report in direct speech the saint thinking aloud. I only quote, for every version, the few lines echoed in Symeon's text.

**α. 3:** Καὶ ἀναγνοὺς ὁ μακάριος τὴν πεμφθεῖσαν αὐτῷ ἐπιστολὴν, εὐθὺς ἦλθεν εἰς ἑαυτὸν, καὶ ἡ μετάνοια ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ ἔβλυσεν ὡς πηγὴ ῥέουσα ζωὴν αἰώνιον, καὶ ἐν ἑαυτῷ διελέγετο (...). **4:** Καὶ εὐθὺς ἐξέδραμεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἰδίαν σκητὴν καὶ τὰς ἀγίας γραφὰς ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἐβάσταζεν καὶ σπουδαίως ἀνεγίνωσκεν καὶ ἑαυτὸν οἰκοδόμει, καὶ ὁ νοῦς αὐτοῦ παρεμυθεῖτο ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀναγνώσματος, καὶ ὡς ἐξ ὑπνοῦ μετεστράφη αὐτοῦ ἡ προθυμία, καὶ ἤρξατο ἐν ἑαυτοῦ λέγειν (...).

**β. 3:** Ἀναγνοὺς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐδάκρυε λέγων (...) ἡ μετάνοια αὐτοῦ ἔνδον ἔβρυν ὡσπερ πηγὴ. **4:** Καὶ εὐθέως ἐξέδραμεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἰδίαν σκητὴν καὶ ταῖς ἀγίας γραφὰς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδούς ὡς ἐξ ὑπνοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ διήγειρεν λέγων (...).

**γ. 3:** Δεξάμενος ὁ μακάριος τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ ἀναγνοὺς, εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἔλθων ἔλεγε πρὸς ἑαυτὸν (...). **4:** Καὶ σπεύσας ἔδραμεν ἐπὶ τὴν σκητὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ λαβὼν τὴν βίβλον ἀνεγίνωσκεν μετὰ προθυμίας καὶ κατανύξεως πολλῆς, καὶ ὁ νοῦς αὐτοῦ κατὰ μέρος διενόηγετο, καὶ προθυμία αὐτῷ καὶ πόθος περὶ τὴν πίστιν ἐγένετο, καὶ δακρύων ἔλεγε (...).

**δ. 3:** Ταύτην δεξάμενος τὴν ἐπιστολὴν δακρυρροῶν πικρῶς ἐξεβόησεν «Οἱμοι, οἱμοι». Ὅτ' οἷν ταύτην κατασχῶν, ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν τοῖς ὅρεσιν ἦν, τότε οἷν μετ' οἰμογῆς δάκρυων ἐξέφασκε λέγων (...). Ἐπι τούτων τὰ τοιαῦτα <λέγοντος>, ῥέων ἅμα τοῖνον καὶ ἔλκον καθὼς τις ἄλλος ποταμηδὸν ῥεῦμα, ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ μετανοῶν, ὡσπερ τις ἔχεεν εἰπεῖν πηγὴν ῥέουσαν ζωὴν αἰώνιον. **4:** Οὗτος τοῖνον δραμῶν ὁ τρισαρσιεὺς καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν οἰκίσκον αὐτοῦ ἐγκαθῶρμητο, τὸ οἷν γραμματεῖον αὐτῶν ἐπιδούς, ὡς τις ἐξ ὑπνοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν διαγείρει, λέγων (...).

[7].81-102: Ταῦτα ἐπεὶ τὰ γράμματα Ἰάκωβος ἐθεάσατο, καθάπερ ἐξ ὑπνοῦ τινὸς καὶ μέθης ἀνενεγκῶν, καὶ πλήρης ἐννοιῶν γενόμενος ἀνανοσησάμενός τε οἷον ἀπώλεσε τῆς πίστεως θησαυρὸν, καὶ οἷου φωτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀποστήσας σκότει περιέπεσε τῆς πλάνης βαθεῖ, πολλὸς ἦν εἰς μετάνοιαν, καὶ πῦρ αὐτὸν κατανύξεως εἰσῆει, καὶ δακρύων μάλα θερμῶν ἠφίει πηγὰς, ἐναργὴ σύμβολα τῆς τῶν ἡδὴ πραχθέντων μεταμελείας· στεναγμοὶ τε βαρεῖς ἐν πικρία ψυχῆς ἐκφερόμενοι, ὀλοφυρμοὶ καὶ στερινοτυπία καὶ οἰμωγαί, θρήνος καὶ μέλος τὸ τῆς θείας γραφῆς καὶ οὐαὶ δικηκούοντο. Τίς ἂν ἐκείνην τὴν τραγωδίαν, τίς τὴν σύγχυσιν τῆς ψυχῆς διαγράψοι λόγος; Ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐξηγόρευε τὰ ἡμαρτημένα, ἵν' ἀφεθῆ αὐτῷ ἡ τῆς καρδίας ἀσέβεια· ἑαυτοῦ κατήγορος ἦν ἐν πρωτολογίᾳ, ἵνα ἀναφανῆ δικαίος· πνεῦμα καὶ καρδίαν προσήγε συντετριμμένην, ἵν' ὑπὸ Κυρίου μὴ ἐξουδενωθῆ· ἐμμέιτο τῇ μεταμελείᾳ τὸν Μανασσή· ὁ Πέτρος ἦν αὐτῷ ὑπόδειγμα πρὸς μετάνοιαν· γραφῶν ἱερῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις μελέτη παράμονος ἔννοια τῶν ἐκέισε δικαστηρίων, ὧν οὕτως ἐναργὴ τὴν μνήμην εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ καρδίαν ἐνέγραψεν, ὡς ἂν ἡδὴ παρῶν καὶ κρινόμενος καὶ τῶν βεβιωμένων τὰς εὐθύναις ὑπέχων.

<sup>136</sup> See above, p. 17.

<sup>137</sup> Devos, 'Recensions α et β', pp. 179-180, 195; idem, 'Recensions γ et δ', pp. 232, 251.

By comparing this passage it appears that the metaphrastic text and the premetaphrastic versions are quite different, though they do share two similes, namely the image of the Saint, after he realizes his fault, resembling a man waking up from sleep (ἐξ ὕπνου), and the image of a fountain (πηγή) of tears. Both similes are contained in all premetaphrastic recensions, but γ. Symeon gives a more elaborate image in both cases. The awakening is accompanied by drunkenness: ἐξ ὕπνου τινὸς καὶ μέθης, while the noun πηγή in Symeon is given in the plural (πηγάς). The two images do not appear in the same order as that in the earlier texts. It is clear, therefore, that in this case, the metaphrastic redaction, though giving the same pieces of information (James repents and reads the Bible) as the premetaphrastic versions, it organizes them in a different way.

The most striking factor in Symeon's text is the stylistic and rhetorical effort displayed. In order to describe the saint realizing that he lost his Christian faith, a number of metaphorical images are used. His faith is described as a treasure (θησαυρόν) and light (φωτὸς) in antithesis to darkness (σκότει) and the abyss (βαθεῖ) of the error and fire (πῦρ) burning the repentant. Following this series of metaphorical figures, we find a sequence of synonyms related to the action of lamenting: στεναγμοί, ὀλοφυρμοί, στερνοτυπία καὶ οἰμωγαί, and οὐαί. A rhetorical question introduced by the pronoun τίς, repeated twice, is correctly expressed in the optative form (διαγράψου), which is also an indication of a rather high level of style. The dramatic tone of this passage is epitomized by the use of τραγωδίαν to describe the scene.

### 3.4. Dialogue between James and the King

A similar dramatic effect is present in the paragraph following (9.117-130), containing the dialogue between James and the Persian King. As mentioned above (p. 199), the earlier texts contain a much longer dialogue, presented in a paratactic style, characteristic of all four recensions, which is usually avoided by Symeon. Moreover, in the metaphrastic redaction the verbs which introduce the direct speech usually split the sentence (e.g., «Ναζωραῖος εἶ» φησὶ, «καὶ etc. », «Χριστιανὸς» εἶπεν «ἐγώ», «Παρὰ τί δὲ» ὁ τύραννος ἔφη, «μάγος etc. », and so forth). This convention does not appear in the earlier texts (5<sup>138</sup>) where the verbs introduce the direct speech without interrupting the sentence (e.g., λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς· «Ναζωραῖος εἶ;» Ἰάκωβος εἶπεν· «Ναζωραῖός εἰμι»).

<sup>138</sup> Devos, 'Recensions α et β', pp. 180, 196; idem, 'Recensions γ et δ', pp. 233, 252.

**α, 5:** Καὶ στάντος αὐτοῦ πρὸ τοῦ βήματος, λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς· «Ναζωραῖός εἰ;» Ἰάκωβος εἶπεν· «Ναζωραῖός εἰμι.» Ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶπεν· «Οἰκοῦν μάγος εἶ;» Ἰάκωβος εἶπεν· «Μάγος οὐκ εἰμί· μὴ γένοιτο».

**β, 5:** Καὶ σταθέντος αὐτοῦ πρὸ τοῦ βήματος, ἔφη πρὸς αὐτὸν· «Λέγε μοι, σὺ Ναζωραῖός εἰ;» Ἰάκωβος εἶπεν· «Ναί Ναζωραῖός εἰμι.» Ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν· «Οἰκοῦν μάγος εἶ;» Ἰάκωβος εἶπεν· «Μάγος οὐκ εἰμί· μὴ γένοιτο».

**γ, 5:** Εστῶτος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βασιλέως, ἔφη πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς «Λέγε σὺ Ναζωραῖός εἶ;» Ἰάκωβος εἶπεν· «Ναί Ναζωραῖός εἰμι.» Ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶπεν· «Οὐκ εἶ Ναζωραῖός ἀλλὰ μάγος». Ἰάκωβος εἶπεν· «Ἐγὼ μάγος οὐκ εἰμί, ἀλλὰ χριστιανός».

**δ, 5:** Ἀκούσας ταῦτα τοίνυν ὁ βασιλεὺς, θυμῷ ζέων ἐμάνη σφόδρα· προσκαλεῖται γὰρ τοῦτον τάχος, ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν· «Δῆλόν μοι ποίησον, Ἰάκωβε τὸ ἀληθές· ἀληθῶς Ναζωραῖός εἰ;» Ἰάκωβός φησιν· «Ναί γάρ, φησί, ἀληθῶς τοῦτό μοι εἶρηκας ὅτι Ναζωραῖός εἰμι». Φήσαντος δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν τοῦ βασιλέως ὅτι μάγος καὶ γόης ἐστίν, προσχῶν ὁ μακάριος εἶπε· «Μάγος καθὼς σὺ λέγεις, βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ οὐκ εἰμί».

[9].117-130: Ἐπεὶ οὖν οὕτως ἔχων παρέστη, ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν σφοδρὸν πόθον ἐκείνον εἰς ὄργην ἄκρατον μεταβεβλημένος, ἀφόρητος ἦν, ἀκάθεκτος, ὅλως τῷ πάθει νενικημένος. Εὐθὺς οὖν «Ναζωραῖός εἰ» φησί, «καὶ οὐ μάγος;» τῷ σάλῳ τῆς καρδίας ἐπικοπτόμενος τὴν φωνήν, καὶ σύντομον ὥσπερ καὶ κομματικὴν ποιούμενος τὴν ἐρώτησιν, μέγα δὲ παρὰ Πέρσαις ὁ μάγος καὶ οὐ τὸ τυχὸν εἰς τιμήν. Ὁ δὲ μάρτυς ἐλευθέρῃ τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ ἀδεεῖ, «Χριστιανός» εἶπεν «ἐγώ». «Παρὰ τί δὲ» ὁ τύραννος ἔφη, «μάγος ὢν τὸ πρότερον, Χριστιανὸν σεαυτὸν καταγγέλλεις;» Καὶ ὁς «Πάσης μαγείας» εἶπεν «ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ καὶ δαιμονικῆς μαγγανείας καταργηθείσης, πόθεν ἐμὲ προσέχειν τούτοις ὑπολαμβάνεις;»

The first lines in Symeon's redaction focus on the theme of rage: the King is described as entirely incapable to exercise any control over his own passions: ὅλως τῷ πάθει νενικημένος. His anger is ἄκρατος, an adjective linked with ἀφόρητος and ἀκάθεκτος, employed to describe the King's attitude, all containing the privative *alpha*. The metaphrastic version gives a detailed account of the psychological reactions of the protagonist of the scene. It even illustrates the way in which the King's voice was altered, as a result of his heart beating faster, to the extent of sounding as if it was 'broken': τῷ σάλῳ τῆς καρδίας ἐπικοπτόμενος τὴν φωνήν ὥσπερ καὶ κομματικὴν ποιούμενος τὴν ἐρώτησιν. In the premetaphrastic versions the King's anger is mentioned very briefly after the dialogue, in the beginning of the following paragraph (6<sup>139</sup>), where the reader (or audience) is informed of the King's rage burning like fire:

**α:** τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς ὠργίσθη, καὶ ἡ ὄργη αὐτοῦ ὡς πῦρ ἐκαίετο.

**β:** τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς ὠργίσθη, καὶ ἡ ὄψις αὐτοῦ ὁμοία πυρὶ γέγονεν.

**γ:** τότε ὀργισθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ ὥσπερ πῦρ τῷ θυμῷ ἀναφθείς ἐκέλευσεν ...

**δ:** ὁ ἀλιτῆριος ἐμμανὴς ἐγεγόνει καὶ μετ' ὀργῆς καὶ θυμοῦ στραφείς ...

<sup>139</sup> Devos, 'Recensions α et β', pp. 182, 197; idem, 'Recensions γ et δ', pp. 234, 253.

Following the description of the King's reaction, Symeon introduces a short transitional sentence (μέγα δὲ παρὰ Πέρσαις ὁ μάγος καὶ οὐ τὸ τυχὸν εἰς τιμὴν, underlined in the passage above, p. 210), which clarifies the reason why James's statement that he was not a μάγος anymore was perceived as an offensive remark in the Persian cultural context, namely on the grounds that the title of μάγος was considered to be a high honour. In addition, Symeon seems to play with the adjective μέγα referring to the noun μάγος as they sound like an alliteration, while the rhetorical device of a litotes is also employed. The Metaphrast's comments on the way the saint responds to the King, building up the psychological picture of the protagonist's attitude (ἐλευθέρα τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ ἀδεεῖ), do not appear in any of the premetaphrastic texts.

As far as the dialogue in the metaphrastic version is concerned, even though it is quite similar to that of the earlier redactions, we can detect certain differences. The final sentences are slightly longer than the premetaphrastic ones, as they seem to be more complex from the stylistic point of view.

## Section B. The *Passio of St Plato* (BHG 1551-1552)

### 1. Historical information

The only premetaphrastic *Passio* of Plato published so far, is that in the *Patrologia Graeca*<sup>140</sup>. The editor<sup>141</sup> included this *Passio* in the month of July, instead of that of November, adding the note: 'Latine apud Surium ad diem 22 Julii: Graeca nunc primum prodeunt ex cod. Ms. Paris. n. 1539, saec. XII EDIT. The date at the end of the Greek text and Latin translation in the *Patrologia Graeca* (cols 425D and 427-428) is 18 November. A plausible reason for this is that in the Western tradition, which goes back to the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, Plato's feastday falls on 22 July<sup>142</sup>.

The historical information on the Saint is scant in both versions. They briefly state that Plato was born in the Galatian city of Ancyra (modern Ankara) and that a *vicarius* called Agrippinus was the martyr's judge. Since the name Agrippinus occurs in other hagiographical accounts, namely in the *Passio of St Clemens of Ancyra* and in the

<sup>140</sup> PG 115, cols. 403-428 (paragraph numbers in bold, followed by column sections A-D [e.g., **414B**], refer to this edition).

<sup>141</sup> On the activity of J.P. Migne see above, p. 17 n. 29.

<sup>142</sup> See J.M. Sauget, 'Platone, santo martire di Ancira', in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, vol. X (Rome, 1968), cols. 959-961, who erroneously refers to the *Passio of St Plato* in PG 115 as being the metaphrastic, for this is actually the premetaphrastic version.

*Passio of St Eustochius and his companions*, who were martyred under Diocletian, it has been suggested that this may be the period in which the redactor of the *Passio of St Plato* places the martyrdom of the Saint<sup>143</sup>. This hypothesis, however, needs to be ascertained on the basis of more concrete evidence.

According to the metaphrastic version<sup>144</sup>, with the number of Christians shrinking among the Galatians, Plato became a champion of the Christian faith **(1)**. Born of a noble and wealthy family in Ancyra, Plato was brought up as a Christian and eventually became a guide for those who were deceived and accepted the idols **(2)**. As a result of his hatred towards Plato on account of his firm faith, the devil started persuading the inhabitants of the region to denounce Plato to the *vicarius* Agrippinus, an evil man. Once Agrippinus was informed about Plato and his activities, he interrogated him, adopting at first a mild attitude **(3)**. Agrippinus asked Plato why he choose to worship Christ, what his name was and where he came from **(4)**. Plato answered that he was a Christian **(4a)**. The *vicarius* continued his attempts to persuade Plato to abandon his religion, though without any success **(4b-c)**. Agrippinus ordered **(4d)** that Plato should be beaten harshly. Since the wounds on the martyr's body were miraculously cured, Agrippinus ordered his incarceration **(4d)**. In front of the prison's gate Plato addressed a crowd of Christians who followed him there **(5-5c)**. Seven days later Plato was taken again before Agrippinus, who tried to persuade him to sacrifice to the gods, offering him his young and beautiful niece as a bride **(6-7)**. The martyr remained firm to his decision. Consequently, a fire was prepared for him to be burned alive over an iron bed **(8)**. *Commentarius* Sophronius' subsequent attempt to convince Plato to change his mind and obey Agrippinus, was resisted by Plato, who responded that the idols are only lifeless objects **(9-10)**. Agrippinus then tried to tempt Plato by asking him to simply state that Apollo is great, and then be set free, but the saint refused once more **(11-12)**. Enraged by Plato's response Agrippinus ordered him to get on the iron bed **(13)**. The saint accepted Agrippinus' command in a calm way, continuously praying to God. In vain did Agrippinus keep threatening the martyr **(14)**. As a last attempt, Agrippinus tried to persuade Plato to blaspheme against the name of Christ, but Plato once again refused to obey **(15)**. The judge then ordered that burning iron spheres should be brought and placed under Plato's armpits. As a result of this torture, the martyr started burning and exhaling smoke from his nostrils and mouth **(16)**. Nevertheless, Plato remained firm and

<sup>143</sup> Sauget, 'Platone di Ancira', cols. 959-960.

<sup>144</sup> As in the case of the *Passio of St James*, paragraph numbers in bold, occasionally followed by line numbers (e.g., [1].4-6) refer to the edition above, pp. 110-127.

prayed to God (17). The superiority of Christ's athlete became evident to all spectators. The scene reached its peak when Plato threw a piece of his own flesh, cut by the executioners, to Agrippinus calling him a dog (18). The executioners then proceeded to skin Plato alive, which he suffered showing no fear (19). Agrippinus made a final, unsuccessful attempt to convince the martyr (20-21). In such a state the saint was imprisoned once again (22). Eighteen days later, the judge decided to put him to death by decapitation (23). The *Passio* closes with the translation of the martyr's relics by certain Christians to an unspecified sacred place (24).

## **2. Structure of the text**

### **2.1. Length and order of events**

Symeon's *Passio of St Plato* is approximately one third shorter than the premetaphrastic text. Following the traditional pattern in the *Acta martyrum*, both *Passiones* are structured in the form of a dialogue between the two protagonists, namely the martyr and the *vicarius*. The most striking difference between the two texts is that in Symeon's version the dialogue is employed to a lesser extent in comparison with the earlier text (67 changes of speakers in *PG* against 26 in the metaphrastic version). Even if we consider that the latter version is shorter, it is quite clear that the Metaphrast was more economical than the redactor of the earlier text, as far as the employment of the dialogue form is concerned. Another feature of Symeon's text is that questions and answers usually consist of longer sentences, if we compare them with the corresponding ones in the premetaphrastic text (see below, pp. 220 ff.). As far as the structure of the plot is concerned, differences in terms of events and their sequence are almost negligible, though one has to bear in mind that this is not a long and complex narration. In fact, both texts consist of dialogues which develop over a simple plot.

### **2.2. Omissions, additions and changes**

As mentioned above, the text published in *PG* is longer than the metaphrastic version, though it describes the same events in the same order. If indeed Symeon used it as a source, he has summarized it; especially the second half. It is noteworthy that the metaphrastic text does not contain any passage echoing or resembling a section of the earlier text, where Plato denies any analogies between himself and his namesake the great

Greek philosopher, asserting that whereas many people were deceived by the philosopher he only follows the Christian φιλοσοφία.

**424C:** ὁμώνυμός εἰμι Πλάτωνος, ὁμότροπος δὲ οὐκ εἰμί· οἷς γὰρ οὐ συνάπτει τρόπος, οὐδὲ ὄνομα τούτους συνίστησι. Ὁ δὲ τρόπος συζευγνύει, εἰ μὴ μόνον εὐσέβεια, ὥστε εἰς οὐδὲν ἑοικώς εἰμι Πλάτωνι, εἰ μὴ μόνον κατὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο βλάψαι μου τὸν εὐσεβῆ λογισμὸν οὐ δύναται πώποτε· φιλοσοφίαν γὰρ ἐν Χριστῷ μετέρχομαι· ἡ δὲ ἐκείνου φιλοσοφία παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ μωρία ἐστὶν καὶ ἀπωλείας πρόξενος τοῖς πειθομένοις αὐτῇ. Γέγραπται γάρ· Ἐπολύ τὴν σοφίαν τῶν σοφῶν, καὶ τὴν σύνεσιν τῶν συνετῶν ἀθετήσω. Τὰ γὰρ δόγματα τῶν θεῶν, ἃ σὺ λέγεις, ἐκείνος μύθοις ψευδέσιν καὶ πεπλανημένοις· τῇ γὰρ ἀπάτη τῶν δαιμόνων τῶν ψυχοφθόρων στοιχειαζόμενος, καὶ πάντες οἱ κατ' αὐτὸν τυφλοῦντες τὰ νοήματα ἡμῶν διὰ τῆς πανουργίας τῶν λόγων ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπλότητος τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν ἀπήγαγον.<sup>145</sup>

On the contrary, in the whole text of the metaphrastic redaction we cannot detect any trace of hostility against ancient philosophy, and this may be an indication of Symeon's views (including those of his team), pointing to a different attitude towards the legacy of classical philosophical thought, which in his times was perceived as an *ancilla* of Christian faith.<sup>146</sup> This observation seems to be confirmed by another passage in the prologue of the earlier text (*PG* 115, col. 44 A; see below, p. 216), where a rather critical stance against ancient Greek philosophy is reflected. In the corresponding passage of Symeon's prologue (see below, pp. 214-215) there is no evidence of any similar statement.

### 2.3. Prologue and epilogue

Unlike the case of the *Passio* of James, the *Passio* of Plato, in both the metaphrastic and premetaphrastic versions, is preceded by prologues, which, at least in their initial sections, are similar in terms of vocabulary and content, the metaphrastic being moderately shorter:

**404 B:** Οὐ ξένα Γαλατῶν ἔστιν ἃ μέλλω λέγειν, οὐδὲ τῶν τὴν Ἄγκυρα οἰκούντων ἀλλότρια, οὐδὲ ὁμολογητοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ λόγον πεπιστευμένου ἄπιστα ἔρω. Ἐπραττον Γαλάται ἀνοήτως ἃ σύνηθες αὐτοῖς

[1] Οὐ ξένα Γαλατῶν τὰ παρόντα, οὐδὲ ὁμολογητοῦ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀλλότρια· Γαλάται μὲν γὰρ ἔπραττον ἀνοήτως, ἃ σύνηθες πράττειν αὐτοῖς, καὶ εἰδώλοισ

<sup>145</sup> *PG* 115, col. 424C.

<sup>146</sup> Lemerle, *Le premier*, pp. 305-306.



ἦν· ὑπῆρχεν δὲ Πλάτων ὁ ἀγιώτατος ἀληθῶς Θεοῦ σοφίαν πεπιστευμένος καὶ κεκτημένος καὶ ἔπασχεν ἃ ὑπομένειν ὁμολογητῆ νόμος Χριστοῦ προσέταπεν. Λαβόντες οὖν αὐτὸν ἔθεντο ἐν φρουρᾷ ὡς λόγον Θεοῦ καταγγέλλοντα καὶ νόμους βασιλέως καθαροῦντα. Οὕτως οὖν αὐτὸν ἐτιμωροῦντο ἃ μὴ θέμις ὑπομεῖναι τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν ἐνδεικνύμενοι, εἰς ἀπόνοιαν χαλεπὴν καὶ ὤμοσάτην μετατραπέντες. Ἐφερεν δὲ ἡ καθαροτάτη Πλάτωνος ψυχὴ γειναίως πάσας τὰς συμφοράς φέρειν μεμελετηκυῖα· φιλοσοφίαν γάρ, οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν τῷ ὁμωνύμῳ φιλοσοφίας οὐδὲ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνῳ λόγον ἀσκήσας, ὑπερεῖχεν ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ λόγου, διέφερε δὲ πίστει τῶν πώποτε γεγενημένων.

θυσίαν προσήγον, ὑπέμενε δὲ καὶ ὁ μακαριώτατος Πλάτων, ὅσα καὶ κήρυκα εὐσεβείας διὰ Χριστὸν ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ ὑπομένειν ἐχρήν· τῆς γὰρ περὶ τὰ εἰδῶλα δυσσεβείας ἐπικρατούσης, καὶ ὅσαι ἡμέραι πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον ἐπιδιδούσης, ἐν στενῷ δὲ κομῶδῃ τοῦ τῶν χριστιανῶν συναλαθέτος πληρώματος, οὗτος ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ θεράπων, ὁ μέγας φημὶ Πλάτων, τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν πίστει πλατυνόμενος τὴν διάνοιαν, τῷ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὑποδείγματι, τὸ στενὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ ἄτολμον, εὐρίνει τὲ ἱκανῶς καὶ παρρησίας ἐμπύπλησιν.

The two *incipit* start with the same litotes, οὐ ξένα, both followed by the noun ὁμολογητῆς and the adjective ἀλλότριος, though the latter word has a different subject in the two texts. The negation οὐδὲ is used twice in the premetaphrastic version and once by the Metaphrast. As far as this introductory sentence is concerned, it seems possible that Symeon's is a summarized version of the earlier text, retaining some of its words, though used in a different way.

In the second *colon* of the first sentence (corresponding to the second sentence in the premetaphrastic text) the Metaphrast introduces an explanatory sentence (καὶ εἰδῶλοις θυσίαν προσήγον) to clarify in what sense Galatians were acting in a foolish way (ἀνοήτως)<sup>147</sup>. This is not specified in the premetaphrastic text; it is the reader who has to infer that the Galatians were worshipping the idols. The syntactical and grammatical structure appears to be quite similar in the two redactions, as the subject (Γαλάται), the verb (ἔπραττον), the adverb (ἀνοήτως) connected to the relative clause (ἃ σύνηθες πράττειν αὐτοῖς) are identical in both versions, though Symeon's period is symmetrically built with the connectives μὲν and δέ, opposed to each other, thus enabling him to avoid parataxis. The second part of the same clause (ὑπέμενε δὲ καὶ ὁ μακαριώτατος Πλάτων, ὅσα καὶ κήρυκα εὐσεβείας διὰ Χριστὸν ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ ὑπομένειν ἐχρήν) seems to correspond to the premetaphrastic clause: ὑπῆρχεν δὲ Πλάτων ὁ ἀγιώτατος ἀληθῶς Θεοῦ σοφίαν πεπιστευμένος καὶ κεκτημένος καὶ ἔπασχεν ἃ ὑπομένειν ὁμολογητῆ νόμος Χριστοῦ προσέταπεν. In this case the analogies between the two texts are fewer than in the first part, for though the meaning is basically the same, the verbs and the vocabulary are different. For example, in both versions the name of Plato is accompanied by superlatives of different adjectives (μακαριώτατος against ἀγιώτατος) while different verbs correspond to each other with

<sup>147</sup> Schiffer, *Untersuchungen*, p. 12, has already pointed out that, unlike the premetaphrastic text, Symeon explains in what sense the Galatians were acting in a foolish way.

similar meanings: ὑπέμεινε corresponding to ἔπασχεν; ἐχρήν corresponding to προσέταπτεν; and ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ ὑπομένειν corresponding to ὑπομένειν. As far as this last couple of corresponding verbs is concerned, we note that in Symeon's version we have an hendiadys.

The following sections of the two prologues are not easily comparable to each other, as they are different in terms of structure and meaning. In the metaphrastic redaction it is explained that because idolatry was prevailing, the number of Christians was decreasing (passage underlined above, p. 215). It is clear that once again the Metaphrast shows concern in linking sentences to each other and explaining further the events that move the plot. In the earlier text, though the explanation is given in a clear way, the statement that Plato was imprisoned because of his faith (passage underlined above) follows the previous sentence quite abruptly, while the subject is unclear, for it is not explained who exactly were the people who took the saint (λαβόντες οὖν αὐτὸν).

In the final section of Symeon's version quoted above, we find a word play based on the etymology of the saint's name (Πλάτων / πλατυνόμενος) — a rhetorical device quite common in the metaphrastic works<sup>148</sup>. On the other hand, in the earlier text it is stated, in a rather dismissive way towards ancient philosophy, that Plato was capable of enduring all sorts of cruel punishments because he did not practice the same philosophy as his homonymous (Ἐφερεν δὲ ἡ καθαρὸτάτη Πλάτωνος ψυχὴ γενναίως πάσας τὰς συμφορὰς φέρειν μεμελετηκῶς· φιλοσοφίαν γάρ, οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν τῷ ὁμωνύμῳ φιλοσοφῆσας οἰδὲ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκείνῳ λόγον ἀσκήσας). The fact that in Symeon's redaction there are no statements against classical philosophy, is consistent with the observation concerning the premetaphrastic passage with reference to the ancient philosopher (see above, p. 214)

Both epilogues are rather conventional and follow, with slight variations, the typical *explicit* in hagiographical texts:

**425 D:** Τὸ δὲ λείψανον τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ μακαρίου Πλάτωνος λαβόντες οἱ Χριστιανοὶ κατέθεντο ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ. Ἐτελειώθη δὲ ὁ ἅγιος Πλάτων μὴνὶ Νοεμβρίῳ ιη', βασιλεύοντος τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

[25] Τινὲς δὲ τῶν δι' ἐκείνου πεπιστευκότων, τὸ τίμιον αὐτοῦ ἀνελόμενοι σῶμα, καὶ τοὺς προσήκοντας ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἕμους τε καὶ ψαλμοὺς ᾄσαντες, ἐν ἐπισήμῳ τόπῳ κατέθεντο· εἰς δόξαν Πατρὸς Υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

<sup>148</sup> For a word play with the name of Agrippinus, see below p. 229. Another word play with the name of the saint is contained in the *Vita of St Hilarion*, see edition above, p. 137.168). Cf. Zilliacus, 'Zur stilistischen', p. 340.

Though the main verb (κατέθεντο) is the same in both versions, the middle participle (ἀνελόμενοι) used by the Metaphrast seems to be more specific than the rather generic λαβόντες used in the premetaphrastic text. It is interesting that the verb ἀνελόμενοι employed by Symeon, especially in middle voice, is often used in the context of funerals<sup>149</sup>. In addition, this is a compound verb (ἀν-αιρέω), which appears to be in tune with Symeon's preference for verbs preceded by prepositions, which seems to be one of the characteristics of the 'metaphrastic' style. Similarly, the expression ἐν ἐπισημῷ τόπῳ (in a sacred place), may sound more 'elevating' than the simple ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ (on the spot), in terms of Plato's saintly status, though we must always bear in mind that Symeon may have simply found ἐπισημῷ in another, so far unknown, source.

By stating that some of the people who started believing because of Plato (Τινὲς δὲ τῶν δι' ἐκείνου πεπιστευκότων) took care of his relics, Symeon offers perhaps a more cohesive plot, whereas the premetaphrastic version mentions, more generically, Christians (οἱ Χριστιανοὶ). Finally, the metaphrastic text is more elaborate. For example, the final scene describes Plato's followers chanting (ἕμνους τε καὶ ψαλμοὺς ᾄσαντες) offering fitting tribute to the martyr (προσέκοντας ἐπ' αὐτῷ).

### 3. Syntax, grammar, vocabulary and style

#### 3.1. Plato's birth-place, family and education

As in the case of the *Passio of St James*, a comparison of parallel passages in the editions of the two *Passiones* of St Plato illustrates differences and similarities between the metaphrastic text and the earlier version. The passage quoted below contains the initial part of the *Passio*, where both redactors introduce the martyr.

**404C-405A** Οὗτος οἷν ὁ μακάριος πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν τὴν Ἁγκυραν οἰκοῦντων εὐηργέτει, πολλοὺς δὲ τῷ λόγῳ φωτίζων ἐποίει πιστεῦσαι, πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν καταδυναστευομένων ἡλευθέρου καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν εὐηργέτει τούτου χάριν

[2]"Ὁς ἐξ' Ἀγκύρας μὲν εἶλκε τὸ γένος, πόλεις ἐπιφανέστατης τῶν Γαλατῶν, τῆς αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς ἐνεγκαμένης τυχῶν, ἐπισήμιους εἶχε παραπλησίως καὶ τοὺς γεννήτορας, οὐ κατὰ τὸ τῆς οὐσίας πολυτελεῶς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὸ θεμιτὸν περὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν. Πάσαν δὲ παιδείαν ἀθρόοις, πολλοὺς μὲν τὴν ἀρετὴν, πολλοὺς δὲ τὴν σῖμειν, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ ζῆλον ἐτέλει. Οὐκ ἐνεγκῶν δὲ κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ, τὰ μὲν τῆς ἀπάτης ἀνθούντα ὄραν, τὴν δὲ ἀληθῆ πίστιν ἀπαιθοῦσαν οἶον καὶ ὑπορέουσιν, ἀλλὰ ζημίαν ὡσπερ Χριστοῦ λογισάμενος τὴν τοσοῦτων ψυχῶν ἀπώλειαν, καὶ τῷ ἐκείνου ζῆλῳ πυρὸς σφοδρότερον κινηθεὶς, διαίσταται κατὰ τῆς ἀσεβείας, καὶ ὁδηγὸς τοῖς ἐσκοπισμένοις γίνεται· καὶ πολλοὺς

<sup>149</sup> Cf. Herodotus 4. 14; Thucydides 4. 97, Euripides. *Supp.* 1167, etc.

δικας ἀπητέιτο· καὶ ἐκὼν  
 ἐδίδου καὶ ὑπέμενε τὰς  
 συμφοράς.<sup>7</sup> Ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῦ  
 ὁ σκοπὸς πρὸς τὸν  
 Κύριον, οὗ καὶ μιμητὴς  
 ἐγένετο. Δι' ὃ καὶ  
 θαρρῶν ἀπήει ἐπὶ τὴν  
 τιμωρίαν ἀγόμενος. Ὁ δὲ  
 βικάριος Ἀγριππῖνος  
 προκαθίσας ἐν τῇ  
 βασιλικῇ ἀντικρυσ τοῦ  
 Διός, ἐκέλευσε  
 παραστήναι τὸν μάρτυρα.

μὲν αὐτῶν δαιφιλῆς καθίσταται χεῖρ εἰς εὐεργεσίαν, οὐ λόγῳ μόνον τρέφω  
 ψυχάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄρτον παρέχω τὸν ἐπιούσιον, καὶ κοινὰ προπιθεῖς τὰ  
 ὄντα τοῖς δεομένοις, πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ τυραινουμένοις, εἰς ἐπικουρίαν  
 παρίσταται. [3] Ἐπιτεῖθεν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ τοῦ φθόνου κακὸν ὑποτίφεται· οὐδὲ  
γὰρ εἶχε φέρειν ὁ ποιητὴς τὰ τελούμενα, ἀλλ' ὁρῶν ἑαυτὸν ὑφ' ἑνὸς οὕτω  
κραταιῶς πολεμοῦμενον, καὶ οὓς ἔδοξεν ἔχειν εἰσω τῶν ἑαυτοῦ δικτύων ὑπ'  
ἐκείνου πάλιν ὑφαιρουμένους, δι' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων πλέκει τῷ Πλάτῳ τὴν  
ἐπιβουλήν, καὶ τοιαύτας αὐτῷ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀποδιδόναι παρασκευάζει τὰς  
ἀμοιβάς· ἄνδρα γὰρ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ κακίας ὑπουργὸν δραστήριον εὐρηκώς,  
τὴν τῶν βικαρίων ἀρχὴν ἐν Γαλατία τότε πεπιστευμένον, Ἀγριππῖνος αὐτῷ  
ὄνομα, πείθει πρὸς αὐτὸν τοὺς τῆς χώρας διαβαλεῖν τὸν ἅγιον. Ὅς  
 ἐπίσης, βιάσασθαί τε ὀμότατος ἦν, καὶ θωπέαις κλέψαι, καὶ δεινότητι  
 λόγων ἐλεῖν, ἱκανώτατος. Ὡς δὲ καὶ παρίσταται Πλάτων ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας  
 ἀγωνιστής, ἐφ' ἡψηλοῦ προκαθημένῳ τοῦ βήματος.

After the prologue (1), Symeon gives some biographical details (2), before he continues with an account of Plato's interrogation and martyrdom (3-24). The premetaphrastic text, however, after its slightly longer prologue (404B), passes on to the description of Plato's interrogation beginning with its description almost *in medias res* (404C), limiting the biographical information to the fact that Plato was a benefactor for many of Ancyra's citizens by converting them to Christianity, on account of which he was punished by the authorities of the city (404C). In the case of the metaphrastic redaction, the biographical section (2) contains more extensive information. Unlike the earlier text, Symeon devoted the introductory section to the saint's πατρίς, γένος and παιδεία, following the rhetorical rules established in by Menander the Rhetor for the composition of biographical accounts<sup>150</sup>. This section closes with a description of Plato's fervent zeal (ζήλω κινήσεις) against paganism in defence of his faith, guiding those 'who were in the dark' (τοῖς ἔσκοτισμένοις), supporting them not only through words but also in material terms (ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄρτον παρέχω τὸν ἐπιούσιον).

The premetaphrastic text mentions the city of Ancyra, where Plato lived, without specifying that it was his birth-place. Nor does it give any information about Plato's family or education. It is noteworthy that the idea of the *imitatio Christi*, present at the end of the passage quoted above, does not appear in Symeon's version. The only element that the two passages seem to share is the concept of εὐεργεσία, occurring twice as a verb (εὐεργέτει) in the earlier text and once in Symeon's version (2) as a noun (εἰς εὐεργεσίαν). The metaphrastic redaction, however, seems to be more elaborate in describing Plato's beneficial actions towards his fellow citizens.

The premetaphrastic passage is shorter than the corresponding one by Symeon (404C-405A), it has a paratactic structure and it is made of shorter sentences: after the

particle *μέν*, twice followed by *δέ*, the first period is built with the two conjunctions *καί*. The following period, introduced by *ἦν γάρ*, is quite succinct and its structure is very simple. Similarly, the sentence introduced by *Δι' ὃ* is very brief and its syntax is equally simple (imperfect *ἀπῆει* plus two participles *θαῤῥῶν* and *ἀγόμενος*), as is that of the closing period (one participle, *προκαθίσας*, joined to the main verb in the aorist, *ἐκέλευσεν*, followed by the infinitive *παραστήναι*).

It is noteworthy that at the beginning of the metaphrastic text in the *Passio of St Plato* we read the phrase *εἶλκε τὸ γένος*, which also occurs in the introductory section of the *Passio of St James* (above, p. 205) to indicate the birth-place of the martyr. Symeon specifies *τῶν Γαλατῶν*, which appears to be an indication of his concern for giving clear explanations. The first sentence is introduced by a relative clause, followed by a couple of participles (*ἐνεγκαμένης* and *τυχῶν*) linked to the imperfect *εἶχε*, after which the redactor used the emphatic connectives *οὐ μόνον ... ἀλλὰ καί*. This quite complex syntactical structure clearly exemplifies how dissimilar the metaphrastic prose is from the paratactic style of the earlier text.

As far as the section on *παιδεία* is concerned, Symeon treats it in a concise, yet effective way: the initial participle states that Plato *πάσαν δὲ παιδείαν ἀθροίσας*, in the sense of the range and level of education he received, while the rest of the sentence describes Plato's qualities, namely *ἀρετή*, *σύνεσις* and *ζήλος* for Christ, all connected by the particles *μέν* and *δέ*.

The following sentence is characterized by extensive use of participles (*ἐνεγκῶν*, *ἀιθοῦντα*, *ἀπαιθοῦσαν καὶ ὑπορρέουσαν*, *λογισάμενος*, *κινηθεῖς*, *τρέφων*, *παρέχων*, *προτιθεῖς*, *τυραννουμένοις*) and by the use of connectives (*τὰ μὲν ... τὴν δὲ, οὐ μόνον ... ἀλλὰ καί*). In one instance the Metaphrast plays with the verb *αιθέω*, employing it once in its simple form and once with a prefix (*ἀπαιθέω*) in order to reinforce the opposition of *μέν* and *δέ*, also using the alliteration *ἀπάτης αιθοῦντα*. The same tendency of playing with prefixes is apparent in the three verbs: *διαίσταται*, *καθίσταται*, *παρίσταται*.

Another feature of the metaphrastic text is, once again, the presence of transitional/explanatory sentences. For example, following information about the saint's place of birth, family and education, Symeon introduces a paragraph (3) (passage underlined above, p. 218) where he explains that it was the devil who wanted to take action against Plato, as he was seeing that the saint was contributing to the spreading of the Christian faith, fighting idolatry. The Metaphrast also explains that the devil found his instrument

<sup>150</sup> See above, p. 13 with n. 1.

in the *vicarius* of Galatia, whose name was Agrippinus, adding that the devil himself was instigating the inhabitants of the region to denounce Plato to the *vicarius* on account of being a Christian. This information does not appear in the earlier text, where the corresponding explanation is given by the very concise δι' ὃ ('for which reason'), that is, Plato being a μιμητῆς of the Lord. After this brief elucidation, the premetaphrastic version goes directly to Agrippinus' order for Plato to be brought before him at the basilica opposite to the temple of Zeus: ἐν τῇ βασιλικῇ ἀντικρυς τοῦ Διός, ἐκέλευσεν παραστήναι τὸν μάρτυρα<sup>151</sup>. The comparison between these two parallel sections shows clearly in what sense the term 'transitional sentence'<sup>152</sup> can be used to define this feature of the metaphrastic prose, which is both stylistic and structural; more precisely, it is a way to make the narration clearer and more coherent to the audience. In contrast, the earlier text gives a series of pieces of information, quite often without linking them to one another.

In Symeon's version, before the reader is informed that the martyr stood in front of Agrippinus, a brief description of the *vicarius* is given: Ὅς ἐπίσης, βιάσασθαι τε ὠμότατος ἦν, καὶ θωπέαις κλέψαι, καὶ δεινότητι λόγων ἐλείν, ἱκανώτατος. The two adjectives are both used in the superlative form (ὠμότατος, ἱκανώτατος) and their collocation indicates that the redactor aimed at a rather rhetorical style. This is particularly evident in the position of the closing one (ἱκανώτατος, referred to two infinitives), also suggested by the presence of the noun δεινότης, typically used to indicate the orator's rhetorical skills (e.g., Isoc. I, 4: δεινότης ἐν τοῖς λόγοις).

Finally, if we compare the two last corresponding sentences, we note that both versions, though in different forms, employed the same verbs (προκαθίζω and παρίστημι) with reference to Agrippinus and Plato, respectively:

<p>Ὁ δὲ βικάριος Ἀγριππίνος προκαθίσας ἐν τῇ βασιλικῇ ἀντικρυς τοῦ Διός, ἐκέλευσεν παραστήναι τὸν μάρτυρα.</p>	<p>Ἦ δὲ καὶ παρίσταται Πλάτων ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀγωνιστής, ἐφ' ἕψηλῳ προκαθημένῳ τοῦ βήματος</p>
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### 3.2. Interrogation and *confessio*

As stated above, though the dialogue between Plato and the *vicarius* Agrippinus develops throughout the whole *Passio* in both texts, it is treated differently in the two versions. The main structural difference is that questions and answers in Symeon's text

<sup>151</sup> PG 115, cols. 404B-405.

<sup>152</sup> Schiffer, 'Metaphrastic Lives', p. 41, calls them 'introductory phrases combined with explanations'.

are fewer and made of longer sentences. Parallel passages of the initial part of the dialogue, where the martyr is interrogated by the *vicarius*, are quoted below.

**405 A-D** Ὁ δὲ βοηθὸς ἔφη· «Ἐσθηκεν πρὸ τοῦ βήματός σου, κύριε.» Ἀγριππίος εἶπεν· «Πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐν ἡσυχία διαγούσης, ἵνα τί αὐτὸς ἐν τοσαύτῃ καὶ τηλικαύτῃ καθέστηκας πλάνῃ;» Πλάτων εἶπεν· «Ὑμεῖς ἐστε οἱ ἐν πλάνῃ διάγοντες τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν σὺν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ σεβόμενοι λίθους πεπελεκημένους καὶ ξύλα σαθρὰ ἔργα χειρῶν ἀνθρώπων.» Ὁ δὲ Ἀγριππίος ἔφη· «Τὸ νέον τῆς ἡλικίας προπετεῖν σε ποιεῖ καὶ ἕβριον οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσάν σοι προξενεῖ. Εἰπέ οἶν μοι ποίας θρησκείας εἶ, καὶ ποίας τύχης τυγχάνεις, ἢ τί τὸ ὄνομά σου;» Πλάτων εἶπεν· «Θέλεις μάθειν, ποίας θρησκείας εἰμί; Χριστιανὸς εἰμι.» Ἀγριππίος ἔφη· «Τὸ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων σοι κληρωθὲν ὄνομα λέγω, ὅτι γὰρ Χριστιανὸς εἶ καγὼ οἶδα· **405B** ἀλλὰ ἐκέλευεν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ μηδένα ἀνθρώπων ὀνομάζεσθαι Χριστιανόν.» Πλάτων εἶπεν· «Εἰ μάθειν, θέλεις, ποίας θρησκείας εἰμί, εἶπον ἤδη ὅτι Χριστιανὸς εἰμι· εἰ τὸ ὄνομα θέλεις μάθειν τὸ παρὰ τῶν γονέων κληρωθὲν, Πλάτων λέγομαι ἐκ παιδός, Χριστοῦ δούλῳς εἰμι ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου· πόλεως δὲ τῆς ἐνταῦθα τυγχάνω· ἐκρατήθην δὲ ὡς θεοσεβῆς καὶ δούλῳς Χριστοῦ καὶ σὸς προσηρέχθην καὶ πρόκειται μοι διὰ Χριστὸν θάνατος, ὃν ὑποστήμαί με δεῖ παρὰ σοῦ. Ποίει οἶν ὃ θέλεις.» **405C** Ὁ δὲ Ἀγριππίος ἔφη· «Οὐ συμφέρει σοι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ κατὰ διάνοια ἔχειν· τοὺς γὰρ ὁμολογούντας αὐτὸν θανάτῳ παραδίδουσαι ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐκέλευεν, τοὺς δὲ ἀριουμένους τιμαῖς καὶ δωρεαῖς ἀμείβεσθαι. Διὸ συμβουλεύω σοι πεισθῆναι τῷ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος νόμῳ, καὶ κερδηθῆναι τὸ κακοῦ θανάτου πείραν λαβεῖν.» Ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ Πλάτων εἶπεν· «Ὑγὼ τῷ ἐμῷ πείθομαι βασιλεῖ, ᾧ κεκλήρωμαι· τὸν δὲ πρόσκαιρον τοῦτον αἰροῦμαι θάνατον, ἵνα τὴν αἰώνιον αὐτοῦ κληρονομήσω βασιλείαν.» Ἀγριππίος λέγει· «Ὑπαγε σκέψαι τὸ συμφέρον σοι, ἵνα μὴ καὶ κακῶς ἀποθάνῃς.» Ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ Πλάτων εἶπεν· «Τὰ συμφερόντα μοι ὁ Κύριος μεριμνήσει.» Ἀγριππίος λέγει· «Ὑγιως τὰ προστάγματα τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, ὡς κελεύουσιν οἱ ἄχραντοι αὐτοῦ νόμοι πανταχοῦ πάντας τοὺς **405D** Χριστιανούς ἢ θῆειν ἢ τὸ ζῆν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι. Σὺ οἶν πῶς τολμᾷς ἀνατρέψαι τὰ προστάγματα τοῦ βασιλέως διὰ τῆς παρακοῆς καὶ τοὺς ὑπακούοντας ἀνατρέψεις;» Πλάτων γελάσας εἶπεν· «Ὑγιως τὸ πρόσταγμα τοῦ Θεοῦ μου, ὡς κελεύουσίν μοι ἄχραντοι αὐτοῦ νόμοι ἀνατρέπουν τὰς τῶν δαιμόνων τελετὰς καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύειν, οὔτε σοι ξένον ἐστὶν ἐπινοεῖν βασάνους, οὔτε δὲ ἐμὲ αἰκίζόμενον ὕπερ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀποθνήσκειν. Σὺ γὰρ ἤδη πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ ὑποθέσει ἀνέλες, οἵτινες νικῆσαντες τὸν θάνατον ἀνεδήσαντο κατὰ τοῦ διαβόλου τὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης στέφανον.»

[3-4d].35-85 Ὁ δὲ τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐκ πολλοῦ διδαχθεὶς, καὶ μαθὼν οἶον τῷ μάρτυρι τὸ τῆς γνώμης εὐσταθὲς τε καὶ φιλελεύθερον, σκέπτεται καθ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ μάλα δεινῶς· ὡς εἰ ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς πρότερον καὶ ταῖς τιμωρίαις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἤδη τῶν προοιμίων κατ' αὐτοῦ χρήσαιτο, τοῦσαι μᾶλλον αὐτῷ τὴν εὐστασίαν, καὶ θρέψει πλέον τὸ ἀταπείνωτον τοῦ φρονήματος· αὐτὸς δὲ ἀσθενὴς φαίνεται, καὶ εἰς αἰσχίνην αὐτῷ ἢ ἄμιλλα καταλήξει." Ὄθεν καὶ διενεόετο, τὴν πρώτην ἀπαλωτέροις αὐτὸν ῥήμασιν ὑπελθεῖν, ὑπεκλίειν οὕτως αὐτοῦ τὸν τόνον τῆς εὐσεβείας βουλόμενος. [4] Καί, «λέγε μοι» φησὶν «ὦ οὗτος, πῶς ἄρα πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡσυχίαν ἀγούσης καὶ τὴν πατρῶαν πρεσβευούσης θρησκείαν, αὐτὸς καθάπερ ἀπειναντίας ἡμῖν ἐρχόμενος, θεοὺς μὲν τοὺς κοινούς ἠγνῶστας, Ἐσταυρωμένῳ δὲ προσκυκεῖν ἀνέχη, ἕβριον οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἐντεῖθεν σεαυτῷ προξενῶν.» Ἀλλὰ γνώριζε ἡμῖν ἤδη αὐτὸ τε τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτοις, τὴν κλήσιν. [4a] Πλάτων ὁ γενναῖος πρὸς ταῦτα φησὶ, «Τὸ χριστιανὸς καὶ εἶναι καὶ ὀνομάζεσθαι, τοῦτο καὶ πατὴρ ἐμοὶ καὶ σέβας καὶ ὄνομα. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸ παρὰ τῶν γονέων ἐπικληθὲν μοι ζητεῖς, Πλάτων καλοῦμαι· πολίτης δὲ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως, καὶ δούλῳς ἐπὶ πᾶσι Χριστοῦ, δι' ὃν καὶ δεσμῶν καὶ μάστιγας καὶ θανάτους εἰ οἶον τε πολλοὺς ὑπομένειν, ἔτοιμός εἰμι καὶ προθύμως ἔχω.» [4b] Καὶ ὁ βικάριος λόγους αὐτὸν ὑπένει καὶ ἔτι βουλόμενος, «Ὁρῶν» ἔφη «πολλὴν ὄσπιν ἐπιπρέπουσάν σοι τῷ προσώπῳ τὴν σύνεσιν, οὐκ ἀπογινώσκω τὴν μεταμέλειαν· οἶμαι γὰρ ὅτι πεισθήσῃ μοι τὰ χρηστὰ συμβουλεύοντι, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔλοιό ἀτιμίαν ἀντὶ τιμῆς, καὶ ἀντὶ τριφῆς καὶ δόξης αἰσχίνην, καὶ τὸ ἰδεῖν νεότητα οὕτω καλὴν χαλεπαῖς βασάνοις ἵβριζομένην· οἶδας γὰρ οἶα τοὺς τὸν Ἐσταυρωμένον τιμώντας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκέλευεν ὑπομένειν.» [4c] «Ὑγιως» εἶπεν ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δούλῳς, «ἀλλὰ καὶ οἶα μᾶλλον αἰ τοῦ ἐμοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Δεσπότης πάντων ἐντολαὶ βούλονται, αἱ δῆπου καὶ αὐτῶν ἡμῖν τῶν βασιλέων, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὦν ὡς θεοὺς ἐκεῖνα τιμῶσι δαιμόνων, καὶ λίαν εἰσὶν ἰσχυρότεροι.» Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἐμὰ λυσιτελοῦν, τῷ ἀληθεῖ Θεῷ μελήσει, αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς ἐμοῦ μήτε τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐπιστρεφομένου προστάξεων, μήτε τῆς ὑμετέρας συμβουλίας πάλιν οὐδένα ποιουμένου λόγον, ἔχου τῶν διατεταγμένων καὶ καθ' ἡμῶν ὀπλιζοῦ στερρότεροι.»

Before reporting the dialogue, Symeon inserts a transitional sentence (passage underlined above) in which he aims at maintaining a fairly high level of style. He first clarifies that Agrippinus had been informed of Plato's activities long before (ἐκ πολλοῦ), and then describes the *vicarius*'s thoughts and psychological attitude in a remarkably accurate and subtle way, explaining what strategy he was intending to use in order to curb Plato's resistance. The syntactical structure of this section is quite complex: it is based on a pair of participles (διδασκῶν, καὶ μαθῶν) linked to the main verb σκέπτεται, followed by ὥς, plus a conditional sentence built with the optative (εἰ χρήσαιτο), a hallmark of a rather high style, plus the future simple (τονώσει and θρέψει). Pairs of adjectives or nouns joined by a conjunction (εὐσταθὲς τε καὶ φιλελεύθερον and ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς καὶ ταῖς τιμωρίαις) enrich the description. The conjunction ὅθεν introduces the next sentence where the rhetorical device of alliteration (ὑπελθεῖν, ὑπεκλύειν) is used.

In the premetaphrastic text no introductory/explanatory sentence is present, as the dialogue follows immediately after the report that Agrippinus ordered Plato to be brought in front of him for interrogation. The rhythm of the alternation of questions and answers appears to be rather swift in the premetaphrastic version, where a change of speaker is much more frequent than in Symeon's version, and their succession resembles almost a *stychomythia*. It is true that the section with the dialogue in metaphrastic version is shorter than the corresponding one in the premetaphrastic text. Even in such a case, however, the questions and answers contained in Symeon's version, namely four, are much fewer than that in the premetaphrastic version: no less than thirteen.

In the premetaphrastic redaction the speakers are named without being ascribed any adjective or apposition describing their attitude or disposition. Only in a very few cases the name of Plato is accompanied by a participle (γέλασας once, and ἀποκριθεὶς twice). In addition, verbs such ἔφη, εἶπεν and λέγει, introduce directly the quotation of the speech. The metaphrastic version appears to be quite different in terms of structure of the dialogue not only because, as stated above, the sentences are longer. In stating the names of the speakers, Symeon gives some details about their character or attitude, often using an adjective or a short phrase (e.g., ὑπεκλύειν οὕτως αὐτοῦ τὸν τόνον τῆς εὐσεβείας βουλόμενος; Πλάτων ὁ γενναῖος; ὁ βικάριος λόγοις αὐτὸν ὑπιέναι καὶ ἔτι βουλόμενος; ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δοῦλος). The technique employed to introduce questions and answers is also different in Symeon, as the verb is often placed in a position that splits the speech in two parts (e.g., «λέγε μοι» φησὶν «ὦ ... etc.»;



«Ὁρώων» ἔφη «πολλήν ... etc. »; «Ἔγνω» εἶπεν ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δούλος, «ἀλλὰ ... etc.»<sup>153</sup>), whereas in the earlier text the verb is directly followed by the quotation (e.g., εἶπεν: «etc. »).

If we compare the two texts we note that, in the first section, they share two short phrases almost word-for-word: Πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐν ἡσυχία διαγούσης, corresponding to πῶς ἄρα πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡσυχίαν ἀγούσης, and ὕβριν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν σοι προξενεῖ corresponding to ὕβριν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἐντεῦθεν σεαυτῷ προξενῶν. In the premetaphrastic redaction these two phrases appear in two different questions asked by Agrippinus, whereas in Symeon's version both are included in the same sentence. It is possible that the Metaphrast, in summarizing the dialogue and in reducing the number of questions and answers, selected these two phrases from the earlier text in order to re-use them in his new version. As a result, in Symeon's redaction we have a longer sentence instead of the two short questions of the premetaphrastic text. However, we must repeat that Symeon could have used another source which we are not aware of.

The next section, where Plato declares to be a Christian, shows some similarities with the premetaphrastic text as far as the meaning is concerned and, to a very limited extent, the vocabulary. The structure appears to be quite different in the two redactions, as the premetaphrastic text has a simpler syntactical structure compared to Symeon's version, which seems to be more complex as it avoids parataxis, and, at the same time, appears to be more condensed.

It is interesting to compare in the two versions the way Agrippinus asks Plato what is his name and where he comes from. In the premetaphrastic redaction the *vicarius* states to the martyr: εἶπε οὖν μοι ποίας θρησκείας εἶ, καὶ ποίας τύχης τυγχάνεις, ἢ τί τὸ ὄνομά σου. The way Agrippinus asks the same question in the metaphrastic redaction shows a higher degree of concern about the style: γινώριζε ἡμῖν ἤδη αὐτό τε τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις, τὴν κλήσιν. In the metaphrastic version Agrippinus uses the majestic plural, while the verb he employs (γινώριζω) is more sophisticated in comparison to the more colloquial λέγω used by the premetaphrastic compiler. Similarly, Symeon employs the word ἀξίωμα (rank, dignity), which implies that the *vicarius* is aware of Plato's high social status. The corresponding word in the premetaphrastic version is, once again, more generic: τύχη (here it appears

<sup>153</sup> This tendency has been pointed out by Zilliacus, 'Zur stilistischen', pp. 349-350.

with an alliteration: τύχης τυγχάνεις). Likewise the noun ὄνομα is more colloquial than κλήσις.

In the two redactions, Plato's answer also appears to be different in terms of style. In the earlier text it is constructed with two sentences in the first conditional (εἰ μαθεῖν, θέλεις, ποίας θρησκείας εἰμί, εἶπον ἤδη Χριστιανός εἰμι· εἰ τὸ ὄνομα θέλεις μάθειν τὸ παρὰ τῶν γονέων κληρωθέν, Πλάτων λέγομαι ἐκ παιδός), where the infinitive μαθεῖν is repeated twice, together with the present indicative θέλεις, while the noun employed for “name” is again ὄνομα. The Metaphrast, however, used a more complex syntax, starting the sentence with a double substantivized infinitive (τὸ χριστιανός καὶ εἶναι καὶ ὀνομάζεσθαι), joined with a triple καὶ that explains what the word “Christian” meant to him (καὶ πατρίς ἐμοὶ καὶ σέβας καὶ ὄνομα). The verb used in the conditional sentence is ζητεῖς, corresponding to the premetaphrastic θέλεις. A neuter participle (ἐπικληθέν) is employed instead of the noun ὄνομα, and, eventually, the verb καλοῦμαι corresponds to the premetaphrastic λέγομαι. In both these cases the metaphrastic text seems to contain a more refined vocabulary if compared to the premetaphrastic redaction.

In both versions the idea of the martyr being δοῦλος Χριστοῦ occurs. The premetaphrastic text seems to have, again, a more paratactic structure (καὶ πρόκειται μοι διὰ Χριστὸν θάνατος ὃν ὑποστήναί με δεῖ παρὰ σοῦ· Ποίει οἶν ὃ θέλεις), compared to Symeon's redaction, which employs a single, though longer, sentence, characterized by a triple καὶ to create a *climax* (δι' ὃν καὶ δεσμὰ καὶ μάστιγας καὶ θανάτους εἰ οἶόν τε πολλοὺς ὑπομένειν, ἔτοιμός εἰμι καὶ προθύμως ἔχω).

In the last section of the dialogue (*PG 405 CD* Symeon **4b-c**) the main difference between the two texts concerns, once more, the alternation of questions and answers, the metaphrastic text containing only two statements each one pronounced by one of the two protagonists. The more striking discrepancy in terms of vocabulary is that the premetaphrastic version employs the term αὐτοκράτωρ while the metaphrastic one βασιλεύς (the verb being the same in different tenses: ἐκέλευεν / ἐκέλευσεν). Two verbs shared by the metaphrastic and premetaphrastic versions are πείθω and συμβουλεύω, though the syntax is different in each case, the earlier text having a simpler syntax (συμβουλεύω σοι πεισθῆναι) compared to the more complex metaphrastic equivalent (οἶμαι γὰρ ὅτι πεισθήσῃ μοι τὰ χρηστὰ συμβουλεύοντι).

The Metaphrast shows a certain degree of concern for maintaining a rather high level of style in Agrippinus' statement where, besides avoiding parataxis, he employs litotes

(οὐκ ἀπογινώσκω) and the optative (ἔλοιο). Especially in the scene where the *vicarius* encourages Plato not to choose dishonour instead of honour, and shame instead of luxury and glory, the Metaphrast uses a chiasmus: ἀτιμίαν ἀντὶ τιμῆς, καὶ ἀντὶ τρυφῆς καὶ δόξης αἰσχύνην.

### 3.3. Martyrdom

A comparison of the description of the martyrdom in the metaphrastic text (16-19) and the premetaphrastic corresponding sections shows that they share several elements, despite the fact that they do not appear in the same order. This highlights the method Symeon used in his re-working of earlier sources, such as that in *PG*.

**416B.11-417A** Ὁ δὲ Ἀγριππῖνος θυμοῦ πλησθεὶς διὰ τὴν παρῆρησίαν τοῦ μάρτυρος, ἔξανέστη τοῦ θρόνου καὶ τὸ φιβλατόριον περισχισάμενος

**416C** σπουδῆ πολλῇ κελεύει σφαίρας σιδηρὰς πυρωθῆναι καὶ τεθῆναι εἰς τὰς μασχάλας αὐτοῦ. Οἱ δὲ ὑπηρέται τοῦ Σατανᾶ θάπτον τὰ κελευσθέντα αὐτοῖς διεπράττοντο· τοσαύτη γὰρ σφοδρότης ἐκ τῶν σφαιρῶν ἐγένετο τοῦ πυρός, ὥστε μὴ μόνον ἀναφανῆναι τὰς πλευρὰς αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἔνδοθεν οἰκονομίαν τῶν σπλάγχθων αὐτοῦ φθαρῆναι, ἕως διὰ τῶν μυκτῆρων αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου ὁ καπνὸς ἀνεφέρετο ἐκ τῆς ὑπαφθῆσης αὐτῶν διὰ τῶν σφαιρῶν θερμότητος. Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Πλάτων ἤδη νομισθεὶς τεθνάναι εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν

Ἀγριππῖνον «Μικραὶ σοῦ εἰσιν αἱ βάσανοι, αἰμοπότα καὶ θειότροπε καὶ ἀνήμερε κύων πρὸς τὸ θυμόν σου καὶ ἀγριότητα· ἀλλ' ὁ θυμὸς σου ἔστω μικρὸς, αἱ δὲ βάσανοί σου ἔστωσαν μεγάλαι· γνώση γὰρ διὰ τῶν βασάνων, ὧν ἐπάγεις μοι τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ βοηθοῦ μου Χριστοῦ. **416D** Ὁ δὲ βοηθὸς προσελθὼν πλησίον τοῦ ἁγίου Πλάτωνος εἶπεν αὐτῷ· «Πείσθητι τοῖς προστάγμασι τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, καὶ θύσου τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ τὸ κακῶς ἀποθανεῖν κέρδησον. Οὐ γὰρ δύνασαι ἀποφυγεῖν τὸ θάνατον, ἐὰν μὴ ἀνάσχη τῶν λεχθέντων σοι παρ' ἐμοῦ». Ὁ δὲ μεγαλόφρων καὶ εὐγενὴς τῆ ψυχῆ καὶ ἀληθῶς δοῦλος τοῦ Χριστοῦ Πλάτων τὸ μὲν βοηθὸν οὐ μικρῶς ἐνυβρίσας, ἐπεστόμισεν ὡς κακοσύμβουλον, ἀτέρπῳ δὲ φρονήματι καὶ ἀμετακινήτῳ τῆ ψυχῆ καὶ ἀταράχῳ τῆ διανοίᾳ ἀνατείνας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἶπεν· «Τὸν ἰωτόν μου ἔδωκα εἰς μάστιγας, τὰς σιαγονὰς εἰς ραπίσματα· τὸ δὲ πρόσωπόν μου οὐκ ἀπέτρεψα ἀπὸ αἰσχύνῃς ἐμπτυσμάτων· **417A** μὴ ἀποστῆς ἀπ' ἐμοῦ Κύριε, ὅτι θλίψις ἐγγύς, μὴ ποτε εἴπωσιν τὰ ἔθνη, Ποῦ ἔστιν ὁ

[16] Θυμοῦ πλείονος ὁ δικάζων ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀναπλησθεὶς, «Ἐγὼ σοι φιλανθρώπως» ἔφη «καὶ προσηνῶς, οἷα συνήθει τοὺς λόγους προσήγον, καὶ ῥήμασιν ἀπαλωτέροις, πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον ἐξεκαλούμην. Ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸς ὑβριστὴς εἶ καὶ θρασύς ἐκ πολλῆς ἀνοίας, ἐγὼ σε πράγμασι μᾶλλον σῶφρονα καὶ συνετὸν ἀπεργάσομαι». Ταῦτα εἶπε· καὶ ὡς περ ἔτι σχήματι καὶ λόγοις τὸ τῆς ὀργῆς ἀκάθεκτον ἐνδεικνύμενος, περιρρήγνυσί τε αὐτῷ τὴν χλαμύδα, καὶ κελεύει σφαίρας σιδηρὰς πυρωθείσας, ὑποβληθῆναι αὐτοῦ ταῖς μασχάλαις· οὗ δὴ καὶ ταχὺ γενομένου, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον τὸ πῦρ τοῦ δικαίου καθίκετο, ὡς ἐν ὀλίγῳ γυμνὰς μὲν σαρκῶν τὰς πλευρὰς ἀποφῆναι, καπνὸν δὲ τῶν τε ῥινῶν ἐκδίδοσθαι καὶ τοῦ στόματος τῶν τιμίων αὐτοῦ σαρκῶν τὴν τῆξιν διασημαίνοντα. [17] Ἐκεῖνος μέντοι καὶ τοιαῦτα πάσχων, ἔτι τῶν βασάνων ἀνώτερος ἦν· οἱ δὲ, πείραν αὐτοῦ σαφῆ τῆς καρτερίας λαβόντες, ὁμως ἐπιθυμία τῆς μεγάλης ἐκεῖνου ψυχῆς, οὕτω τὴν μεταβολὴν ἀπηγόρευον. Ἀλλὰ τις τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἐγγυτέρῳ τῷ μάρτυρι παραστάς, ταῖς μασχάλαις ἔτι τῶν σιδηρῶν ἐκείνων σφαιρῶν ἐπιβεβλημένων, αὐτομολῆσαί τε αὐτὸν παρῆναι πρὸς τὴν ἀσέβειαν· καὶ «Ὁρα Πλάτων» ἔλεγε, «μὴ ἄρα οὐ δυνατὸς εἶης διὰ τέλους ὑπομείναι τὴν τιμωρίαν». Ὑβρεσι τοίνυν ὁ μάρτυς τὴν ποιηρὰν ἐκείνην τοῦ λυμεῶνος συμβουλίην ἀμειψάμενος, τὸ ἐξῆς ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἦν κατὰ τὸν Προφήτην καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀκοίω· οὐδέ ἔχων ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ ἐλεγμοίς, ἀλλ' εὐθὺ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὄλῳ τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ ἑώρα, καὶ τὴν ἐκείθεν παράκλησιν ἐξεδέχετο, «Ἴδε Κύριε» λέγων «καὶ μὴ ἀποστῆς ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ὅτι θλίψις ἐγγύς, ὅτι πῦρ καὶ σίδηρος τὴν ψυχὴν μου διεμερίσαντο. Ἀλλὰ σὺ εἶ Θεὸς μόνος ποιῶν ἐξ

*Θεὸς αὐτοῦ;* Αὐτὸς οὖν Κύριε, Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, εἰδόκησον εἰς ἐμέ, ἵνα τελείως τὴν τυρανίδα τοῦ διαβόλου διαφυγῶν παραστῶ τῷ βήματί σου τῷ φοβερῷ τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα ἀγωνισάμενος· σοὶ γὰρ πρέπει καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίαις καὶ ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ τῆς δεσποτείας σου τιμῆ, κράτος, μεγαλωσύνη, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας». Καὶ πολλῶν ἐπακουσάντων τὸ Ἀμήν, ἐσεισθη ὁ τόπος τῆς βασιλικῆς καὶ οὐδὲ οὕτως συνήκεν ὁ Ἀγριππίνος, ὅτι βοηθούμενος ἦν παρὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀλλ' εἶπε πρὸς αὐτόν· **[the dialogue continues in 417A-420C]. 420C-D** Ὁ δὲ γενναῖος ἀθλητῆς ὡσπερ τις πύργος βαλλόμενος καὶ ἀσάλυτος μένων καὶ ἀμετακίνητος, ἐν ὀνείροις ἐδόκει βασιλεύεσθαι· μὴ δειλάσας γὰρ τὴν βάσανον ταύτην μηδὲ καταπλαγείς ὑπ' αὐτῆς, οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐνέδωκεν ὀλιγωρήσας, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ μεγαλοφυχήσας, λῶρον ἕνα ἀποσπάσας ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ πλευρᾶς ὃν οἱ δῆμοι ἔτεμνον ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ ἔρριψεν πρὸ τοῦ βήματος τοῦ δικαστοῦ λέγων· « Ἄσυμπαθέστατε καὶ πάντων θηρίων ἀγριώτατε, ἡ καρδία σου οὕτως πεπύρωται, καὶ τὸν Θεὸν οὐκ ἐπιγιώσκεις, τὸν καὶ εἰκόνα ἰδίαν ἡμᾶς πεποικηκότα πῶς οὐδὲ τὸ ὁμοιοπαθὲς σῶμα οἰκτείρεις κατὰ μέρος τέμνον· τέρπει σε ἡ τῶν μελῶν μου κατακοπή; Ταῦτα δὲ λέγω, οὐκ ὡς φεύγων τὸ ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἀποθανεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὴν σὴν ὠμότητα **420D** πᾶσιν ποιῶν κατάδηλον· ἐπεὶ πῶς ἡδέως διὰ τὸν Χριστὸν πάσχω καὶ τὰ παρὰ σοῦ ἐναγόμενα ὑπομένω τὴν τῶν πόνων δεινότητα οὐ φεύγω, ἵνα ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι τὴν ἄνεσιν εὕρω· σὺ δὲ ἀπνηέστατε, δεξάμενος τὴν τοῦ σώματός μου δορὰν, μάρτυρα τῆς ἀσεβείας ἔχεις, πέμπουσάν σε εἰς αἰωνίαν καὶ ἀτελεύτητον κόλασιν μετὰ τῶν εἰδώλων σου». Ἀγριππίνος ἔφη· « Ἴνα τί ἀσύνετος εἶ, καὶ ἐμίσησας τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα, καὶ οὐ φροντίζεις ὅτι τὰ ἔγκατά σου διὰ τῶν πλευρῶν σου σὺν τῇ κόπρῳ φέρεται, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀναισθητεῖς· πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις, οὐκ ἄρκεσθεις τοῖς εἰρημένους σου, νῦν οὐκ ἐπαύσω τοὺς θεοὺς ἐνυβρίζων καὶ παροξύνων τὸ σεμνὸν δικαστήριον. **[the dialogue continues in 421A-B]** **421B** Ἀγριππίνος ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀναρτηθέντα· εἰς τὸ ξύλον ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ξέεσθαι, ὥστε τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐκχεῖσθαι· καὶ ὁ κήρυξ ἐβόα φωνῆ μεγάλῃ· «Θύσον Πλάτων καὶ ἀπολύη». Τοῦ δὲ ἀγίου Πλάτωνος ἀρνούμενου καὶ μὴ βουλομένου θῆσαι, ἐκέλευσεν ὀγκνίους τὰς παρεῖας αὐτοῦ ξέεσθαι, ὥστε μηκέτι ὁράσαι πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπινον, διὰ τὸ γυμνωσθῆναι τὰ ὀστά αὐτοῦ.

αἰῶνος θαυμάσια, καὶ σοῦ ἐστὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀμήν». **[18]** Πολλῶν οὖν το «ἀμήν» τοῦτο καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα ὑπακουσάντων, ὁ τοὺς φοβουμένους αὐτὸν πατρικῶς οἰκτείρων Θεός, ἐπιβλέπει πρὸς ἐπικουρίαν εὐθὺς τοῦ Πλάτωνος. Καὶ ὁ τόπος ὅς οὕτω Βασιλικὴ καλεῖται, καθ' ὃν Ἀγριππίνω τὸ δικαστικὸν βῆμα συνεκεκρότητο, κλονεῖται, καὶ τῆς φρικτῆς ἐκείνης ἐπισκοπῆς τοῦ Δεσπότη, μνηστῆς γίνεται· καὶ πᾶσιν ἐμβάλλει δέος, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ Ἀγριππίνω· ἀλλ' ἐπίσης ἔτι ἀσύνετος ἦν· οὐ μόνον γὰρ οὐδὲν εἰς νοῦν τῶν παρόντων ἐβάλλετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρυτέρας τὸν ἀθλητὴν ἀνάγκαις ἐλείν ἐπειράτο· καὶ εἴ τι τῶν σαρκῶν ὑπολιπὲς ἦν, ἀποδέρεσθαι τοῦτο τῶν ὀστέων ἐπέτρεπεν, « Ἰδωμεν» λέγων «εἰ ἄρα βοηθήσω αὐτῷ παρέσται, ὃν ἐπιβοᾶται Θεοῖν». Καὶ δῆτα τὸ τάχος, ἔργου μὲν αἱ τῶν δημίων εἶχοντο χεῖρες, καὶ ἀνηλεῶς οἴμοι τὸ ἐκείνου δέρμα ταῖς μαχαιρίσι κατέτεμνον· ὁ δὲ, ὡς ψυχῆς ἀπεριτρέπτου καὶ γενναίου φρονήματος, καθάπερ ἡπίω τιλὶ φαρμάκῳ προσέκειτο τῇ εὐχῇ, καὶ εἰς ἐπήκοον τοῦ περιστηκότος πλήθους, ὑπομένων « Ἰπέμενα τὸν Κύριον» καὶ «προσέσχε μοι» ἔψαλλε, καὶ «εἰσήκουσε τῆς δεήσεώς μου», καὶ «ἔστησεν ἐπὶ πέτραν τοὺς πόδας μου», καὶ «κατεύθυνε τὰ διαβήματά μου». Οὕτω ψάλλον, οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν μικρόφυχον οὐδὲ ἀγεννὲς πρὸς τοσαύτην ὑπέστη τιμωρίας ὑπερβολήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λῶρον ἕνα τῶν οἰκείων σαρκῶν ἐκκοπτόμενον ἤδη τῇ χειρὶ λαβῶν καὶ ἐκσπάσας, ἐπρρίπτει τῷ ἡγεμόνι, «Δέξαι τοῦτο» εἰπὼν «αἰμοβόρε κύου καὶ φάγε, ἀνθρωπεῖων σαρκῶν ὀρεγόμενος». Ἐφ' οἷς ἐκάλυψεν αἰσχύνη τὸ τοῦ δικαστοῦ πρόσωπον, καὶ τῶν ἐν χειρὶ πάντων ἀφέμενος, ἵστατο τοῖς ὅλοις διαπορῶν καὶ οὐκ ἔχων ὅ τι καὶ δράσειεν. Ἀλλ' ἐγγὺς παρὼν ὁ ἐκείνῳ μὲν φιλῶν, τῷ δὲ ἀγίῳ ἐχθραίνων διάβολος, καὶ τρόπον ἕτερον ὑπέμνησε τιμωρίας. **[19]** Ἐπὶ ξύλου τοίνυν ἀναρτηθῆναι κελεύεται, καὶ εἴ τι ἐπίλοιπον τῶν σαρκῶν, τοῖς ὄνυξι ξέεσθαι, τοῦ κήρυκος ἐπιφωνοῦντος, «Θύσον ὡς Πλάτων, καὶ ἀπαλλάγηθι τῶν κολάσεων». Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ πάλιν εἶχετο καρτερίας ὁ ἀθλητῆς, καὶ δῆλος ἦν οὐδὲ ψιλὸν οἷς παρέχων τῷ κήρυκι, ἀγριάνας ἐπὶ πλεον ὁ Ἀγριππίνος, καὶ αὐτὰς ἐδίδου τὰς παρεῖας τοῖς ὄνυξι, ὥστε ἡλλοιοῦτο μὲν ἡ ἐπιφάνεια τοῦ προσώπου, ἀνεκαλύπτετο δὲ τὸ δέρμα τῆς ὄψεως· καὶ χωροῦντες οἱ ὄνυχες ἐνδοτέρω, νεῦρα μὲν καὶ ὀστά καὶ φλέβας ἀνώρυττον, ὑφέλεσθαι δὲ οὐκ εἶχον τῆς παρησιᾶς τὸν θησαυρόν.

The first element both redactions seem to share is that of the *vicarius*' rage (θυμοῦ πλησθεῖς and Θυμοῦ ἀναπλησθεῖς), where Symeon used the verb with a prefix. An explanation of what triggered Agrippinus' anger is included in both texts, the earlier version being more concise: διὰ τὴν παρῶρησίαν τοῦ μάρτυρος. In the metaphrastic text the *vicarius* states that he was trying to behave in a friendly fashion towards Plato, only to receive in return the saint's contempt and arrogance (Ἐγὼ σοι φιλαυθρώπως ... Ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸς ὑβριστῆς εἶ καὶ θρασὺς). This is followed by a short transitional sentence (underlined in the passage above), where Symeon adds that he was showing (ἐνδεικνύμενος) his words to be in tune with his rage.

In Symeon's redaction as well as in the premetaphrastic text, Agrippinus tears apart the martyr's clothes. In both versions the verbs, expressing the same concept, are preceded by a prefix: περισχισάμενος and περιρρήγνυσι<sup>154</sup>. Interestingly enough, the earlier text uses a Hellenized term, φιβλατόριον, coming from the Latin word *fibula*, whereas the Metaphrast opts for χλαμύς. This confirms the observation that one of the characteristic features of Symeon's prose is the tendency to avoid Latinisms<sup>155</sup>, though, it should be stressed, he does not hesitate to employ them in several cases<sup>156</sup>, which shows that he was not consistently avoiding them.

The two redactions share the rest of the sentence almost *verbatim*: the main verb and the object are identical (κελεύει σφαίρας σιδηράς) while the subordinates are slightly different: πυρωθῆναι καὶ τεθῆναι εἰς τὰς μασχάλας αὐτοῦ in the premetaphrastic text and πυρωθείσας, ὑποβληθῆναι αὐτοῦ ταῖς μασχάλαις in Symeon's version. The metaphrastic redaction seems to have a more complex syntax since the object is accompanied by a passive participle (πυρωθείσας), joined to the compound verb (ὑποβληθῆναι) directly related to the dative (ταῖς μασχάλαις), whereas the earlier text has two infinitives (πυρωθῆναι and τεθῆναι), linked by the conjunction καὶ, and the infinitive τεθῆναι is referred to the preposition εἰς plus accusative (τὰς μασχάλας).

In both versions a consecutive clause, τοσαύτη ... ὥστε and τοσοῦτον ... ὥς, precedes the description of the state of the martyr's body, which is slightly different in

<sup>154</sup> The translator in *PG* 115 col. 416B ad fin., rendered περισχισάμενος with 'indutus', which is inaccurate.

<sup>155</sup> Zilliaccus, 'Das lateinische Lehnwort', esp. pp. 327-336.

<sup>156</sup> As far as the use of Latinisms in the *Passio of St Plato* is concerned, it seems to confirm only to a limited extent the observations by Zilliaccus, 'Das lateinische Lehnwort', esp. pp. 327-336. For example, as in the case of the noun φιβλατόριον mentioned above, the word σπεκουλάτωρ, occurring three times in *PG* 115, 425CD, does not appear in the metaphrastic version, though Latinisms are not absent in Symeon's redaction, for example the noun βικάριος appears several times (see edition above, pp. 111.31, 113.55 and 69, et alibi). Another Latin word, κομεντάριος, is found in the metaphrastic text (p. 118.148), preceded by the explanation of the Latin term, as Symeon specifies that it indicates a dignity (ἀξία).

the two redactions. The verbs, used in the infinitive, are ἀναφαίνω in the premetaphrastic text and ἀποφαίνω in Symeon's version, and the noun (πλευρὰς), appearing in both versions, is accompanied by the adjective γυμνὰς in the metaphrastic text.

The description of the smoke exhaling from the martyr's nose shows similarities as well as differences in the two versions, the most interesting of which being the use of the term μυκτήρ to indicate the nose in the earlier text, whereas in the later version we find ῥίς. Since the noun μυκτήρ in some cases appears to be used to express ridicule or sarcasm (Timon, *Fragmenta et tituli* 799.3; Lucian, *Prometheus es in verbis* 1, 9), it is plausible that Symeon found this word unsuitable to the dignity of a saint suffering martyrdom.

Other differences concern both syntax and vocabulary. For example, the earlier text states that smoke was coming out through his nostrils and brain (διὰ τῶν μυκτήρων αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου ὁ καπνὸς ἀνεφέρετο) whereas in Symeon's version the same image occurs, though this time the verb is different and the brain is replaced by the mouth (καπνὸν δὲ τῶν τε ῥινῶν ἐκδίδοσθαι καὶ τοῦ στόματος). To indicate the inward parts of the body, the premetaphrastic redaction states οἰκονομίαν τῶν σπλάγχνων corresponding to αὐτοῦ σαρκῶν τὴν τῆξιν in Symeon's version, omitting any reference to σπλάγχνα. In both cases Symeon seems to avoid a too detailed description of the inward parts of the body that might cause shock or repulsion to the reader or might appear to be incongruous with the dignity of the saint.

The figure of the assistant (βοηθός *PG 416D*) does not appear at all in the metaphrastic text, whereas, the prayer said by the saint appears in both redactions (*PG 416D-417A*, edition 17), the only common element between the premetaphrastic and the metaphrastic invocation being the quotation: μὴ ἀποστῆς ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ὅτι θλίψις ἐγγύς (Ps. 21:12).

The reaction of the people who gathered in the Basilica after they heard the martyr's prayer (*PG 417A*, edition 18), described very briefly, share some common features in the two versions. Once again, Symeon's redaction appears to have a more complex syntactical structure. While the earlier text simply refers to the place as ὁ τόπος τῆς βασιλικῆς, since it is already mentioned in the beginning of the *Passio* (*PG 404D-405A*), Symeon needs to specify the function of the place as well as the name, as this is the first time he mentions it in his text, adding a detail concerning the use by Agrippinus of the Basilica for trials: ὁ τόπος ὃς οὕτω Βασιλικὴ καλεῖται καθ' ὃν Ἀγριππίνω τὸ δικαστικὸν βῆμα συνεκεκρότητο. The verbs used to describe the reaction of the crowd

in the two versions are σείω in the premetaphrastic and κλονέω in the metaphrastic text, indicating respectively the act of shaking and that of being agitated.

The earlier text simply states that Agrippinus did not understand (οὐδὲ οὕτως συνῆκεν) that Plato was receiving help from Christ. In the metaphrastic redaction, though a similar concept is conveyed with relation to Agrippinus, who is called ἀσύνητος (witless, incapable of understanding), this is expanded through the concept of δέος. The tribunal itself becomes a ‘messenger’ (μηνυτῆς γίνεται) of the awesome overseeing (φρικτῆς ἐπισκοπῆς) of the Lord, arousing fear in all spectators (καὶ πᾶσιν ἐμβάλλει δέος), except Agrippinus.

The description of the martyrdom contains, in both versions, a rather horrifying *coup de théâtre*, as the saint tears a piece of his own flesh and throws it to Agrippinus in contempt, thus displaying his superiority *vis-à-vis* the inhumanity of his persecutor. This section contains a number of common features between the two texts, starting from the introductory phrase, which places emphasis on the fact that Plato does not succumb to the torments. In both texts we have the construction οὐ μόνον .... ἀλλὰ. In the premetaphrastic redaction the participle ὀλιγορήσας as opposed to μεγαλοφυχήσας, corresponds to Symeon’s οὐδὲν μικρόψυχον οὐδὲ ἀγεννὲς ὑπέστη. Other similarities concern the participles used to indicate the action of tearing (ἀποσπάσας and ἐκσπάσας), the name and the adjective to which they refer (λῶρον ἕνα in both redactions), followed by τῆς αὐτοῦ πλευρᾶς in the earlier text, and by τῶν οἰκείων σαρκῶν in Symeon’s version. Both texts specify that the saint’s body was being cut: ὄν οἱ δῆμοι ἔτεμνον and ἐκκοπτόμενον ἤδη, though they use different verbs: τέμνω and ἐκκόπτω, Symeon opting, once more, for a compound verb, as is the case with the verb employed for the action of throwing (ρίπτω in the premetaphrastic text and ἐπιρρίπτω in Symeon’s text).

The address of Agrippinus in the vocative (κύον) in Symeon’s text, does not appear in the corresponding premetaphrastic passage, where he is called ἀσυμπαθέστατε καὶ πάντων θηρίων ἀγριώτατε. However, elsewhere in the text the *vicarius* is called κύων twice (*PG 116C* and *420A.1*). As far as the adjective ἄγριος and the verb ἀγριαίνω are concerned, a word play with Agrippinus’ name is made by Symeon twice (see edition, line 167: ὁ μέντοι καὶ κλήσει καὶ τρόποις ἄγριος ἡγεμών; and **19**: ἀγριάνας ἐπὶ πλέον ὁ Ἀγριππίνος). The same word play occurs in the premetaphrastic text (*PG 420 A*: καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἄγριος).

An interesting difference between the two redactions concern the attitude of the writer in describing the reaction of the *vicarius* after the martyr throws his own flesh to him. In the metaphrastic text we have a transitional sentence (underlined in the passage above)

which states that, as a result of his feeling ashamed the judge becomes even more cruel (ἐκάλυψεν αἰσχύνῃ τὸ τοῦ δικαστοῦ πρόσωπον), using the potential optative to express Agrippinus' state of confusion (οὐκ ἔχων ὅ τι καὶ δράσειεν).

By giving no description of Agrippinus' psychological state, the author of the earlier text gives the reader a different picture of the *vicarius*, namely of Agrippinus simply accusing Plato for not giving due consideration about what his body is experiencing, without hesitating to refer to his excrement (οὐ φροντίζεις ὅτι τὰ ἔγκατά σου διὰ τῶν πλευρῶν σου σὺν τῇ κόπρῳ φέρεται). Symeon, however, makes no mention of the latter. If indeed the Metaphrast was using this premetaphrastic text, we could argue that he was acting as a 'censor', by eliminating elements that he perceived as inappropriate to the dignity of the saint<sup>157</sup>. A similar instance occurs with Symeon's *Vita of St Hilarion* (cf. below, p. 255).

The last section (PG 421B and [19]) (see above, p. 226), describes Agrippinus' ordering for Plato to be hanged and skinned alive. The two redactions are very close in the initial statement, using the same verbs, though in different tenses and modes (ἐκέλευσεν / κελεύεται and ἀναρτηθέντα / ἀναρτηθῆναι), and the same noun, though joined to different prepositions (εἰς τὸ ξύλον / ἐπὶ ξύλου). Similarly the phrase pronounced by the κήρυξ is almost identical in both texts (premetaphrastic: ὁ κήρυξ ἐβόα φωνῇ μεγάλῃ: «Θύσον Πλάτων καὶ ἀπολύη; Symeon: τοῦ κήρυκος ἐπιφωνοῦντος, «Θύσον ὦ Πλάτων, καὶ ἀπαλλάγηθι τῶν κολάσεων). The Metaphrast uses the absolute genitive and he opts for the compound verb ἐπιφωνέω. In addition, he uses the verb ἀπαλλάσσω, whereas the earlier text employs the more colloquial ἀπολύω.

The structure of the closing sentence following the pronouncement of the herald is different in the two redactions, though we can trace the same verb (ξέεσθαι) and terms occurring in them: τὰς παρειὰς and τὰ ὀστά (the latter are followed by νεῦρα καὶ φλέβας in Symeon). The most interesting discrepancy in terms of vocabulary is the variant ὀγκίνους / ὀνυξιν. The term ὀγκινος (from the Latin *uncinus*) used in the earlier version makes better sense. If indeed Symeon had this version as a model, it is possible that he misunderstood it and changed it with a Greek term which sounds similar to the Latin.

<sup>157</sup> As it seems to be the case in the *Vita of St Daniel*, where the premetaphrastic text explicitly mentions the Stylite's feces, though this reference is not found in Symeon's version: L. Franco, 'Le Vite di Simeone Metafrasta', in *Bisanzio nell'età dei Macedoni. Forme della produzione letteraria e artistica. VII Giornata di Studi Bizantini (Milano 15-16 marzo 2005)*, eds. F. Conca and G. Fiaccadori, Quaderni di Acme, 87 (Milan, 2007), p. 103.



## Section C. The *Passio of St Hilarion* (BHG 755)

### 1. Historical information and editions

Hilarion was born to a pagan family in Egypt, in the village of Tabatha, close to Gaza, around 291. In order to complete his education, his parents sent him to Alexandria, where he converted to the Christian religion and subsequently visited the great ascetic Anthony sometime ca. 307<sup>158</sup>, aspiring to pursue his spiritual mode of life. After a two-month period with him, Hilarion returned home, where he was informed of both his parents' death. After distributing all his worldly possessions to the poor, Hilarion set off to Maiuma to live as a hermit. Within a few years a number of disciples gathered around him. At the same time his fame for performing miracles spread. At some stage (ca. 360) Hilarion decided to leave Maiuma, as a result of the increasing number of pilgrims who visited him at the expense of his pursued solitude. Therefore, he resolved to embark on a long journey across the Mediterranean, from Libya to Sicily, Epidauros and eventually to Cyprus, where he died in 371 at the age of eighty.

Hilarion's fame as a saint is mostly due to his biography written by Jerome (*BHL* 3879)<sup>159</sup> around two decades after the saint's death, and certainly not earlier than 386, when Jerome came to Palestine<sup>160</sup>. Though the literary character of Jerome's *Vita of St Hilarion*, containing a number of novelistic themes, led some scholars in the past to question whether Hilarion did exist<sup>161</sup>, it is now generally accepted that the saint was an historical figure<sup>162</sup>, despite the fact that Jerome exaggerated his importance, presenting him as the founder of Palestinian monasticism<sup>163</sup>. The *Vita of St Hilarion* enjoyed great popularity in the Greek world, as it appears from the seven extant Greek versions of the

<sup>158</sup> M.C. Celletti, 'Ilarione di Gaza', in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, vol. VII, (Rome, 1966), cols. 731-732. On Gaza, see also L. Rydén, 'Gaza, Emesa and Constantinople: Late Antique Cities in the Light of Hagiography', in *Aspects of Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium*, eds. L. Rydén and J.O. Rosenquist (Stockholm, 1993), pp. 133-144

<sup>159</sup> Jerome's *Vita* is edited by A.A.R. Bastiaensen & J. W. Smit eds., *Vita di Martino, Vita di Ilarione, In memoria di Paola* (Milan 1975), pp. 69-143.

<sup>160</sup> C. Mohrman, 'Introduction', in Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, esp. pp. xxxix-xl.

<sup>161</sup> Namely, W. Israel, 'Die Vita Sancti Hilarionis des Hieronymus als Quelle für die Anfänge des Mönchtums kritisch untersucht', *Zeitschrift für die wissenschaftliche Theologie* XXIII (1880), pp. 129-165 (cited by C. Mohrman, 'Introduction', in Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, p.xli), which I have been unable to consult.

<sup>162</sup> See G. Grützmacher, *Hieronymus: eine biographische Studie zur alten Kirchengeschichte*, vol. II, (Paris, 1880), pp. 87ff. and P. de Labriolle ed., 'Vie de Paule de Thèbes et Vie d'Hilarion, par St Jerome', in *Science et Religion. Étude pour le temps present* CDXXXVI (Paris, no date), pp. 33 ff. (cited by C. Mohrman, 'Introduction', in Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, pp. xxxii, xlii), both of which I have been unable to consult.

<sup>163</sup> See Mohrman, 'Introduction', in Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, esp. pp. xl-xlii.

Latin original, the metaphrastic *Vita* (BHG 755) among them. One of the Greek versions (BHG 752) has been edited by Papadopoulos-Kerameus<sup>164</sup>. In her extensive study R.F. Strout investigated all versions (BHG 751z, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756 and 756e) fully editing three of them, namely the Samos Version (BHG 751z), Version 2 (BHG 753) and Version 6 (BHG 756e) of the free translation, as well as *excerpta* from the other redactions (BHG 752, 754, 755, 756)<sup>165</sup>.

It is Jerome himself who informs us that some of his works, including the *Vita of St Hilarion*, were translated by his friend Sophronius, pointing out that ‘opuscula mea in graecum sermonem transtulit elegantissime’<sup>166</sup>. Strout expressed uncertainty concerning the identification of Sophronius’ translation with that of Samos (named after the *codex unicus* preserved in the monastery of the Holy Cross on the island of Samos<sup>167</sup>), or with what she calls a second translation, comprising a group of all other Greek versions, including the metaphrastic one, or indeed the fragmentary Coptic translation, preserved in *Papyrus Quintus Taurinensis*<sup>168</sup>. The most literal of the three, namely the Samos translation, is fully published by Strout<sup>169</sup>. The second translation, found in no less than six versions, is looser according to Strout<sup>170</sup>. Concerning the relationships between these six versions, which she described in a *stemma*<sup>171</sup>, Strout concluded that **Version 1** (the one edited by Papadopoulos Kerameus and partially re-edited by Strout<sup>172</sup>) is the most literal; **Version 3** (preserved only in cod. *Par. Coisl.* 110, published by Strout in *excerpta*<sup>173</sup>) is a combination of the metaphrastic **Version 4** (also published in *excerpta*<sup>174</sup>) and **Version 2** (which is fully-published by Strout<sup>175</sup>). According to Strout, **Version 4** is a paraphrasis of Version 2<sup>176</sup>; Strout did not include a full edition of Version 4 on the grounds that the purpose of her study was to investigate the original free translation and hence the later metaphrastic redaction was of little value to this

<sup>164</sup> A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχυολογίας*, vol. V (St Petersburg, 1889; repr. Brussels, 1963), pp. 82-136.

<sup>165</sup> R.F. Strout, ‘The Greek versions of Jerome’s *Vita Sancti Hilarioni*’, in W.A. Oldfather, *Studies in the Text Tradition of St Jerome’s Vitae Patrum* (Urbana 1943), pp. 306-416.

<sup>166</sup> See Strout, ‘The Greek versions’, p. 307, quoting *De viris illustribus* 134.

<sup>167</sup> J.L. Catterall, ‘The Samos translation of Jerome’s *Life of Hilarion*’, in W.A. Oldfather, *Studies in the Text Tradition of St Jerome’s Vitae Patrum* (Urbana 1943) pp. 416-448, at p. 416: ‘It is a paper codex, bound together with other documents, and probably dates from the fifteenth century’.

<sup>168</sup> Strout, ‘The Greek versions’, p. 307.

<sup>169</sup> Strout, ‘The Greek versions’, pp. 312-332.

<sup>170</sup> Strout, ‘The Greek versions’, p. 307.

<sup>171</sup> Strout, ‘The Greek versions’, p. 311.

<sup>172</sup> Strout, ‘The Greek versions’, pp. 337-339.

<sup>173</sup> Strout, ‘The Greek versions’, pp. 394-398.

<sup>174</sup> Strout, ‘The Greek versions’, pp. 398-405.

<sup>175</sup> Strout, ‘The Greek versions’, pp. 347-394.

<sup>176</sup> Strout, ‘The Greek versions’, p. 401; see also p. 396.

purpose<sup>177</sup>. **Version 5** (published by Strout in *excerpta*<sup>178</sup>), a paraphrase or *laudatio* by Neophytus the Recluse (b. ca. 1134), is indebted to Version 4<sup>179</sup>. **Version 6** (fully edited by Strout<sup>180</sup>), preserved in a single Ms., *Ambrosianus* 839, is an abridged text, which according to Strout ‘contains some vestiges of a translation which is more literal than version 2’<sup>181</sup>.

According to the metaphrastic text (*BHG* 755)<sup>182</sup>, Hilarion was born to a pagan family in Palestine, not far from Gaza, and was sent to Alexandria to receive his education. There he decided to visit St Anthony (**1-3**). After only two days since they met, the famous ascetic tonsured the young disciple (**4-6**). When Hilarion returned to Palestine, discovering that his parents had died in the meantime, he distributed his inheritance to the poor. Despite his young age (he was fifteen at the time) he decided to live in solitude in a small cave close to Maiuma where the devil began to tempt him, disguising himself in various forms. Nevertheless, Hilarion did not fall into his ambushes and continued to pray (**7-11**). A year later (at the age of sixteen) the saint built an extremely small and narrow cell, which barely gave him some relief from the heat and the cold. He never washed himself and only had a haircut on Easter day. He lived on wild herbs and barley bread until the age of sixty; from then on until the end of his life he even abstained from bread (**12-15**). When he was eighteen Hilarion was visited by thieves. Showing no fear of their threats they eventually left full of admiration for the ascetic (**16-17**). What follows is a series of miracles performed by Hilarion. An unnamed woman from Eletheroupolis, who had been childless for fifteen years, was able to conceive thanks to Hilarion’s prayers. He was now thirty-three years of age. It was at this time that he also cured through prayer the children of another woman, Aristeneta, married to a *praefectus praetorio* (**18-21**). These healings spread the young saint’s fame throughout Palestine, consequently attracting monks, in the same way that the old Antony was the pole of attraction of monastic life in Egypt (**22-23**). Subsequently, Hilarion cured a blind woman from Rhinocorura and a charioteer from Gaza who was possessed by demons, and performed another exorcism on a man of senatorial rank called Orion (**24-29**). A paralyzed man called Zanannos was also cured by Hilarion. The saint even accepted to help a Christian called Italikos to win a horse

<sup>177</sup> Strout, ‘The Greek versions’, p. 402.

<sup>178</sup> Strout, ‘The Greek versions’, pp. 405-408.

<sup>179</sup> Strout, ‘The Greek versions’, pp. 406-407.

<sup>180</sup> Strout, ‘The Greek versions’, pp. 408-416.

<sup>181</sup> Strout, ‘The Greek versions’, p. 411.

<sup>182</sup> As in the case of the *Passio of St James* and the *Passio of St Plato*, paragraph numbers in bold, followed by line numbers (e.g., [1].4-6) refer to the edition above, pp. 129-182.

tournament in order to prove that his pagan opponent could not achieve anything by means of magic (30-35). A Christian virgin under the spell of her suitor, a pagan who wanted to take her virginity, was also saved (as well as reprimanded) by Hilarion (36-42). A *candidatus* of the Emperor Constantius (337-361) who was possessed by a polyglot demon was also exorcized. (43-45).

Hilarion continued to cure the faithful and his fame reached St Anthony, who wrote to him expressing his admiration for his disciple's work in Palestine (46-47). Once, on his way to Cades, Hilarion passed through the city of Louza where a huge crowd was celebrating the goddess Aphrodite. Hilarion had become so famous that even pagans asked to be blessed by him. Eventually, he was able to convert some of them and he even traced on the ground the perimeter of a church to be built (48-54). The following year the saint visited some of his disciples, one of whom was stingy and another one who was generous: the vines of the generous disciple produced a triple crop, whereas those of the stingy one produced less grapes than the usual and his wine turned into vinegar (55-57). A similar episode concerning stinginess occurred involving chickpeas given as present from a stingy brother: Hilarion, smelling the stench of vice ordered his beloved disciple, Hesychios, to feed the oxen with them. As Hesychios handed the vegetables to the animals, the latter refused to touch them. Moreover, Hilarion displayed another special gift: he could tell by what sin a human being was afflicted by his smell (58-60).

When Hilarion turned sixty-three, with the increasing number of people asking for his blessing, he found he could not enjoy his solitude anymore. In the meantime, Anthony had died, as Hilarion had foretold days before the arrival of a messenger who broke the news to him (61-64). Longing for solitude Hilarion wished to leave his abode, but the faithful did not allow him to fulfil his wish. As many as two thousand people gathered to stop him from leaving. After he refused to receive any food for seven days, they finally allowed him to go, together with forty brothers. They first went to Pelousion, then to Tabastha to visit the confessor Dracontios, then to Babylon in Egypt to visit the bishop Philon, until they reached the city of Aphroditon.

From there they embarked on a three-day trip in the desert on camels to visit Anthony's hermitage, where they met two of the latter's disciples. The location of the saint's hermitage is described as a marvellous oasis with springs and palm trees in the middle of the desert. Hilarion and his companions visited all the places where the great ascetic used to pray, work and live, including the little garden where Anthony used to grow his vegetables, where they were told by Anthony's disciples that after the saint

spoke to the wild animals, even they restrained themselves from damaging it. Anthony's disciples, however, refused to show Hilarion and his companions the tomb of the saint, on the grounds that they feared that a rich man called Pergamios would steal the relics (65-74).

Hilarion returned to Aphroditon, keeping with him only two of the brothers. He retired to a hermitage nearby, where he pursued an even more rigorous ascetic life than in the past. Following three years of drought, thanks to his prayers it rained again, much to the relief of the inhabitants who were suffering from famine. Once again, Hilarion became the object of veneration for local people, who visited him, and therefore decided to move towards Alexandria, first to the area of Bruchium and then to Anasa (75-80). In the meantime, Julian's ascent to the throne (in 361) inaugurated a new persecution of Christians. Hilarion and Hesychios managed to escape. Some time later a disciple by the name of Hadrian came to them to inform them that the Emperor had died. Wishing to share Hilarion's fame, Hadrian invited the saint to return to Palestine. As a result of his ill-intentioned invitation Hadrian fell ill and died (81-85).

Together with a disciple called Zanos, Hilarion sailed to Clasa in Sicily, where nobody knew him. Since he had no money, he intended to pay the fare for his trip by selling a manuscript with the Gospels which happened to be his only possession. During the journey, however, Hilarion freed the son of the captain from an evil spirit and, in return, the father refused to accept any payment from the saint. Accompanied by Zanos, Hilarion went to the mainland where they earned their living by collecting and selling wood. Meanwhile, a man called Scoutarios was possessed by a demon who was repeating that Hilarion was hiding in Sicily. Scoutarios, therefore, went there in search of the saint. As soon as he found him he was freed from the spirit. In the meantime Hilarion's disciple Hesychios was looking for his spiritual father. When he was informed by a Jew that an old man was performing miracles in Sicily, he could sense that it was Hilarion. So, he travelled there and he eventually found him. Wishing to avoid the crowds of faithful who wanted to venerate him, Hilarion once again set off with Zanos and Hesychios to Epidauros in Dalmatia. As soon as they arrived, Hilarion had to face the threat of a dragon, whom he killed, and of a seaquake, which he stopped.

He eventually sailed to Cyprus (85-93). When his boat approached Cape Malea in the Peloponnese it was targeted by pirates. The presence of Hilarion, however, stopped them from attacking the boat, thus safely crossing the Cyclades and reaching Paphos, in Cyprus.

Soon after the old Hilarion set foot on the island a large number of people sought his help. Once again his fame became an obstacle to his solitary life. After he spent two years on the island, he withdrew in a secluded mountain, infested by demons, where he grew vegetables in a little garden for his own use. It was there that he cured the owner of the field from some unspecified disease. Longing for his brothers in Palestine, Hilarion sent Hesychios there. Surrounded once more by people asking to be healed by him, the saint did not want to leave the island before Hesychios would return from Palestine (94-99). By that time Hilarion had reached the age of eighty and resolved to write his Will, appointing Hesychios as the inheritor of his few earthly possessions, namely, a Gospel book and his monastic *palleum*, *sticharion* and *koukoullion*. He then prepared himself for the last journey. While he was ill Hilarion was visited by a number of pilgrims from Paphos, among whom was a pious woman by the name of Constantia, whose daughter and son-in-law Hilarion cured from a disease. When Hesychios was informed of his master's death he travelled to Cyprus in no time. Ten months later Hesychios succeeded in secretly bringing Hilarion's relics back to Maiuma where they were ceremoniously deposited (100-104). After the removal of the relics from Paphos, Constantia died out of sorrow (105). The narration closes with Hilarion's posthumous miracles (106).

## 2. Structure

In terms of structure, I have compared the metaphrastic redaction with the earlier versions (1, 2 and Samos), as the other versions represent later traditions.

### 2.1. Length and order of events

The metaphrastic *Vita* is moderately shorter than Version 2, while the Samos redaction is less than half of Version 2. Version 1 is the longest of all, also due to the fact that it contains a long sermon which is not included in any of the other versions (see below, pp. 237-238). Apart from this, Versions 1 and 2 are very similar in terms of length, content and language. The events reported by these three premetaphrastic texts are essentially the same and agree with the metaphrastic version in terms of development of the plot. Though the order by which the events appear in all metaphrastic and premetaphrastic texts is the same, not all episodes are recorded in all of them: especially in the Samos version, the shortest one, certain episodes are absent or extremely

condensed, while in very few cases their order is slightly changed. The metaphrastic version does not contain any additional material.

## 2.2. Prologue

As far as the prologue is concerned, Symeon's redaction appears to be substantially different from the other three versions (Samos and versions 1 and 2). The Metaphrast starts *in medias res* without any introductory paragraph, whereas all three redactions reproduce the original prologue by Jerome. Opening with a quotation from Sallust, this prologue is structured on the *topos* of modesty (*recusatio*) by means of two elements<sup>183</sup>: first the episode with Alexander the Great visiting the tomb of Achilles, praising the hero's fortune for having Homer celebrate his deeds<sup>184</sup>; and secondly the assertion that Homer himself would either be envious of the topic the author is about to relate, or he would have succumbed before its magnitude. Finally, the author declares that he was urged to write about the saint, hence he felt obliged to undertake this difficult task, another *topos* in biographical and hagiographical texts.

The person who encouraged Jerome to compose the *Vita* of Hilarion was Epiphanius, bishop of Cyprus, who knew Hilarion personally. According to Jerome<sup>185</sup>, Epiphanius wrote him a letter asking him to compose an account of the saint's remarkable life. The absence of a prologue in Symeon's version of the *Vita of St Hilarion* can be explained by the fact that in the whole metaphrastic *corpus* prologues, as already mentioned above, seem to be independent sections<sup>186</sup>. It is noteworthy that both the Metaphrast and the authors of the later postmetaphrastic Versions 3 and 5 do not include a translation of Jerome's prologue. This strengthens Strout's views that Versions 3 and 5 derive from Symeon's Version<sup>187</sup>, though one should always bear in mind that intermediary traditions cannot be excluded.

## 2.3. Omissions, additions and changes

Version 1 (24)<sup>188</sup> includes a lengthy sermon focusing on the advantages of self-restraint and the monastic life, largely based on scriptural quotations and reported in indirect

<sup>183</sup> Bastiaensen-Smit, 1, pp. 72.74.

<sup>184</sup> Arrian, *Anabasis* I, 12,1; Plutarch, *Alexander* 15, 8; Cicero, *Pro Archia* 10 H. A., *Probus* I,1.

<sup>185</sup> Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, 1, p. 72, line 13.

<sup>186</sup> See above, pp. 18-19, 201.

<sup>187</sup> Strout, 'The Greek versions', pp. 394-396, 405-407.

speech, though in some cases addressing the audience. The sermon is not included in any of the other redactions or in the original Latin text by Jerome. It should be pointed out that this insertion may reflect the intention to imitate and pay tribute to the most famous of all hagiographical works, namely the *Vita of St Anthony*, which includes a long speech by the saint<sup>189</sup>. This seems to be plausible also because from the very beginning of the *Vita of St Hilarion*, Anthony is presented as Hilarion's master and model, while the two ascetics are described as complementing each other. This is clearly what is meant by the statement in the *Vita of St Hilarion* (22-23) that the old Anthony was the pole of attraction for ascetics in Egypt, while Hilarion became his equivalent in Palestine. It has been argued that the insertion of this sermon may be an indication that Sophronius was the author of Version 1, for among other works by Jerome, he translated the *Epistula ad Eustochium* which praises virginity<sup>190</sup>.

Apart from this sermon, all episodes appearing in Versions 1 and 2 are present in the metaphrastic text, while in the Samos Version, some of them do not appear or are extremely condensed. However, there are a few details recorded in the Latin original and in the premetaphrastic redactions, which are absent in Symeon's version. Two examples illustrate this. The first concerns a *praefectus*, mentioned in the context of Julian's policy against the Christians, in Versions 1 and 2 (33<sup>191</sup>): ἦν δὲ ὁ ἑπαρχος τῆ τῶν Ἀρειανῶν αἰρέσει συνεργῶν. According to the text, certain people accused Hilarion on the grounds of his Christian faith and denounced him to the *praefectus*, who (in Versions 1 and 2) is said to be a follower of Arius and therefore pleased to have found a pretext to harm the saint by executing the Emperor's orders. In the metaphrastic Version it is reported that the inhabitants of Gaza, ὅσοι ἀρειανίζοντες ἔτι καὶ τὰ ἑλληνικὰ τιμῶντες ὑπήρχον, κινδύνονται μεγάλῳ θυμῷ καὶ φυσήματι κατὰ τοῦ ὀσίου, without mentioning the Arian *praefectus*. In the Samos Version and in the Latin original the word *praefectus* does not appear either: in the former case we are informed that the citizens of Gaza arrived with the executioners<sup>192</sup>: οἱ Γαζαῖοι μετὰ τῶν δημίῳν παραγενόμενοι. In Jerome's version the *praefecti* of Gaza are mentioned together with the *lictores*: "Gazenses cum lictoribus praefecti"<sup>193</sup>. This passage, therefore, may suggest that Symeon was using more than one of these versions.

<sup>188</sup> Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα*, pp. 103-133.

<sup>189</sup> Bartelink, *Vie d'Antoine*, 16-40, pp. 176-252.

<sup>190</sup> See Catterall, 'The Samos translation', p. 418.

<sup>191</sup> Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα*, p. 125; Strout, 'The Greek versions', p. 381.

<sup>192</sup> Strout, 'The Greek versions', p. 326.

<sup>193</sup> Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, p. 124.14.



The second example concerns an omission of a place-name, that is the basilica of St Peter in Rome mentioned in all three premetaphrastic redactions (37) (Samos: Σκουταρίου τινὸς στρεβλουμένου ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλικῇ τοῦ μακαρίου Πέτρου. Version 1: Σκουτάριος γάρ τις ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐν τῷ μαρτυρίῳ τοῦ ἁγίου Πέτρου. Version 2: Σκουτάριος γάρ τις ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐν τῷ μαρτυρίῳ τοῦ ἁγίου Πέτρου) and the original text by Jerome (26): ‘Scutarium quidam qui in basilica beati Petri Romae torqueretur’<sup>194</sup>. This paragraph reports the story of a soldier (*scutarius*) possessed by a demon in St Peter’s basilica in Rome. The evil spirit talking through the soldier’s mouth was repeating that Hilarion was hiding in Sicily. Consequently, the soldier could not find peace of mind until he travelled to Sicily to be cured by Hilarion. The metaphrastic version (87, 812- 88, 819) does not mention St Peter’s basilica or martyrion. Most importantly the Latin word *scutarius* becomes a proper name:

[87] Σκουτάριος γάρ τις ἀνὴρ ὄνομα, δαίμονι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐάλω. Ἐφθέγγετο δὲ διὰ τῆς ἐκείνου γλώττης ὁ δαίμων, καὶ ἄκουτα τὸν ἅγιον ἐφάνερον, ὡς ἄρα εἰς Σικελίαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς ὁ Ἰλαρίων ἔναγχος ἀποπλεύσει, καὶ ὡς κρύπτοιτο ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ ὡς μέλλοι πάλιν ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον πλοίου τινὸς ἐπιβάς, εἰς τὸ σπήλαιόν τε καὶ τὴν ἐρημίαν ἐπανελθεῖν. [88] Ταῦτα ὁ δαίμων ἔλεγε, καὶ ὁ Σκουτάριος ἀνηρέυνα πανταχοῦ καὶ ἐζήτει τὸν Ἰλαρίωνα.

In this case the Metaphrast either misunderstood *scutarius*, and turned it into a proper name (which seems unlikely as *scutarius* is not a rare or difficult term) or he did so in order to avoid a Latin word. It is noteworthy that Zilliacus identified a similar case<sup>195</sup>, where Symeon confused (or changed?) the generic noun *ματρώνη* with a proper name.

## 2.4. Epilogue

The metaphrastic version contains only hints of the original epilogue, whereas all three premetaphrastic versions appear to be closer to it<sup>196</sup>:

Jerome	Samos, 47	Version 1, 47	Version 2, 47	[106] Οὕτως Ἰλαρίων
Cernas usque	Ἐξεστὶν ὄραν	Καὶ τούτοις τοῖς	Καὶ τούτοις τοῖς	ὁ θεὸς ὧν τε ἀπέστη
hodie miram	μέχρις σήμερον	προτερήμασι	προτερήμασι μέχρι	καὶ οἷς ἐπεδήμησε,
inter	μεγάλῃν ἕριδα	μέχρι σήμερον	τῆς σήμερον Κύπριοι	πολλὴν ἀμφοτέροις
	μεταξὺ	Κύπριοι καὶ	καὶ Παλαιστινοὶ εἰς	ἐνέσταξε, τοῖς μὲν,

<sup>194</sup>Strout, ‘The Greek versions’, pp. 328, 385; Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα*, p. 127; Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, p. 128.2-3.

<sup>195</sup>Zilliacus, ‘Das lateinische Lehnwort’, p.343.

<sup>196</sup>Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, 33, p. 142.

<p>Palestinos et Cyprios contentione, his corpus Hilarionis, illis spiritum se habere certantibus. Et tamen in utrisque locis magna cotidie signa fiunt, sed magis hortulo Cypri, forsitan quia plus illum locum dilexerit.</p>	<p>Παλαιστινῶν καὶ Κυπρίων, τῶν μὲν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰλαρίωνος, τῶν δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα ἔχειν ἀμιλλωμένων· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐν ἑκατέρῳ τόπῳ μεγάλα σημεῖα ὁσημέραι γίνονται, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐν τῷ κηπαρίῳ τῆς Κύπρου, τυχὸν διότι πλέον τὸν τόπον ἐκείνου ἠγάπησε. Συμμαχοῦντος τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ζώντος καὶ βασιλεύοντος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· τέλος σὺν Θεῷ.</p>	<p>Παλαιστινοὶ τῇ πνευματικῇ συγγενείᾳ ἐναβρύνονται, οἱ μὲν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ὁσίου Ἰλαρίωνος, οἱ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα ἔχειν λέγοντες· ἐν ἀμφότεροις γάρ τοῖς τόποις ταῖς τοῦ μακαρίου ἐκείνου πρεσβείαις ἰάσεις καὶ σημεῖα μέχρι σήμερον γίνονται, πολλῶ δὲ πλέον εἰς τὸν κήπον, ὅπου τελευθεῖς ἐτέθη ὁ ἅγιος. Πάντων μᾶλλον τῶν τόπων, ἐν οἷς γεγευε, τοῦτον ἠγάπησεν. Τῷ δὲ Θεῷ ἡμῶν δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.</p>	<p>πνευματικῆς εὐγενείας περιφανείαν ἐναβρύνονται, οἱ μὲν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ὁσίου Ἰλαρίωνος, οἱ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα ἔχειν λέγοντες· ἐν ἀμφότεροις γὰρ τοῖς τόποις ταῖς τοῦ μακαρίου ἐκείνου πρεσβείαις ἰάσεις καὶ σημεῖα μέχρι σήμερον γίνονται, πολλῶ δὲ πλέον εἰς τὸν κήπον, ὅπου τελευθεῖς ἐτέθη ὁ ἅγιος. Πάντων μᾶλλον τῶν τόπων, ἐν οἷς γέγονεν, τοῦτον ἠγάπησεν. Αὐτοῦ τὰς πρεσβείαις καὶ ἡμεῖς διαφυλαχθείμεν ἐν Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.</p>	<p>ἐπιθυμίαν, τοῖς δὲ ἡδονήν. Καὶ νῦν Παλαιστίνη τε ὁμοῦ καὶ Κύπρος ἀφθόνων κομιδῆ τῶν ἐκείνου κατατροφῶσι χαρίτων, πολλῶν κατ' ἄμφω τῶν θαυμάτων ἐκτελουμένων, καὶ πολλῶ γε μᾶλλον ἐν τῷ κήπῳ, ἐξ οὗ τε ἐτρέφετο καὶ ὅς τὸ σῶμα μετὰ τελευτῆν ὑπεδέχετο, καὶ ὄν τῶν ἄλλων τόπων ἐφ' οἷς περὶ τῶν ἔτι διέτριψε διαφερόντως ἠγάπησεν· εἰς δόξαν Πατρὸς Υἱοῦ καὶ ἀγίου Πνεύματος, ᾧ πρέπει τιμὴ, κράτος, μεγαλωσύνη τε καὶ μεγαλοπρέπεια· νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν.</p>
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All three premetaphrastic epilogues mention the rivalry between Cyprus and Palestine concerning the cult of Hilarion. The Samos version is the most explicit, using the phrase *μεγάλην ἔριδα*, as well as the participle *ἀμιλλωμένων*. Version 1 and 2 use the verb *ἐναβρύνομαι* (to pride oneself on something) adding that the Palestinians claimed to possess the saint's body while the the Cypriots claim to possess his spirit. In the metaphrastic epilogue the idea of rivalry is not present nor is the contraposition between Hilarion's soul and body. The emphasis is rather on the abundance of posthumous miracles (*ἀφθόνων χαρίτων*) occurring in both places.

The common elements between the the original text and the metaphrastic redaction focus on the part of the sentence that follows, namely the idea of the garden (*hortulo / κήπῳ*) and the statement that Cyprus was the place Hilarion loved most (*plus dilexerit/ διαφερόντως ἠγάπησεν*). It is noteworthy that Symeon's version appears to be different from the premetaphrastic versions in the choice of the comparative adverb *διαφερόντως*, used after another comparative adverb *πολλῶ μᾶλλον*. This creates a *variatio* absent in the premetaphrastic texts, where *μᾶλλον... πλέον, πολλῶ δὲ πλέον ... μᾶλλον*, are employed, which are closer to the Latin "magis ... plus". In the same sentence the metaphrastic redaction also shows a more complex syntactical structure,

using an absolute genitive (πολλῶν κατ' ἄμφω τῶν θαυμάτων ἐκτελουμένων) joined to a triple relative clause (ἐξ οὗ τε ἐτρέφετο καὶ ὅς τὸ σῶμα μετὰ τελευτῆν ὑπεδέχετο, καὶ ὃν τῶν ἄλλων τόπων ἐφ' οἷς περιῶν).

### 3. Syntax, grammar, vocabulary, style

*A propos* of the Symeon's style in his re-working of the *Vita of St Hilarion*, Strout remarked that,

Metaphrastes used his sources with great freedom. His imagination needed only the small start of a sentence from which to develop a full-length sermon. But on the other hand he felt free to discard incidents which did not seem to afford sufficient general interest. The result, with its endless alliteration and its endless repetition, is far from the simple dignity of the narrative by St Jerome. Both the language and the logic move in questionable sequence<sup>197</sup>.

An analysis of the metaphrastic text, however, in terms of style and grammar, shows that this is not entirely true. For this purpose, the most useful premetaphrastic version to compare with is Version 2, as this seems to have been his main source. In cases where there are indications that the Metaphrast might have been using also other sources, these shall be quoted as well.

The whole metaphrastic *Vita of St Hilarion* in terms of syntax does not seem to be too distant from its possible source (namely Version 2), or at least it is not dramatically different as in other cases. In fact, all Greek translations of Jerome do not show a strongly paratactic structure, both because they reflect Jerome's sophisticated style, and because of the structure of a *Vita* in itself, which is characterized by a less paratactic prose than that of a *Passio*, which by definition is shorter and extensively based on dialogues. Indeed, the metaphrastic re-working of the *Vita of St Hilarion* seems to be less radical if we compare it with the metaphrastic rephrasing of the *Passio of St James* and the *Passio of St Plato* analyzed above (for example, see pp. 225-226)<sup>198</sup>.

In the *Vita of St Hilarion*, though Symeon shows the same tendency to use complex sentences and employ rhetorical devices, yet the stylistic gap between the Metaphrast and his possible sources is limited, as we shall see below. An analysis of Symeon's

<sup>197</sup> Strout, 'The Greek versions', p. 401, n. 70.

stylistic re-working in the *Vita of St Hilarion* shows that his rephrasing is not carried out in an ‘even’ way. In certain cases, Symeon’s text shows great similarities with the premetaphrastic redactions in terms of vocabulary and grammatical structure, while in other cases the re-elaboration appears to me more radical. This is illustrated in the analysis below.

### 3.1. Birth-place and education.

The parallel passages between Version 2 and the metaphrastic text quoted below concern the first years of Hilarion’s life, his birth in Palestine, his trip to Alexandria to receive his education and the description of his virtues. Version 2 appears in the first column, though, as mentioned above, occasionally references from the other two premetaphrastic redactions are given.

**Version 2, 2** Ἰλαρίων τοίνυν ὁ ἅγιος τῷ μὲν γένει ἦν Παλαιστινός, ἀπὸ κώμης Οὐαθὰ κειμένης ἀπὸ πέντε μιλίων τῆς πόλεως Γάζης πρὸς νότον.<sup>198</sup> Ἦσαν δὲ οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ εἰδωλόατραι· ῥόδον ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἐξ ἀκανθῶν ἀναφυεῖς, ἀπεστάλη δὲ παρὰ τῶν γονέων αὐτοῦ εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν μαθεῖν γράμματα, κακεῖ διέτριβε τῇ ἐκ φύσεως ἀγαθῇ προαιρέσει αὐτοῦ διαπρέπων ἐν πάσιν, τύπος τε τῶν ὁμηλικῶν τῆς τσοαύτης ἀρχῆς κάλλιστος ἐγένετο, ἀγαπητικὸς πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ὁμόφρονas ὑπάρχων· δυνατός τε ἦν ἐν σύνεσει λόγων, ἀποτόμως τοὺς τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἀνισταμένους ἐλέγχων, καὶ τὸ πάντων μείζον, πιστεύων τελείως εἰς τὸν Κυρίον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, οὐκ ἵπποδρομικαῖς δὲ μαρίαις, οὐδὲ ταῖς τῶν θηριαλώτων αἰμοβόροις θεωρίαις, οὐδὲ θεάτρων αἰσχροῖς καὶ ἀκαθάρτοις θεάμασι τὸ καθαρὸν τῆς διάνοιας αὐτοῦ μολύνas ποτέ, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ὄλωσ τῶν ἀθέσμων καὶ μυσαρῶν τούτων θεατῆς γενόμενος.

[1] Ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ πόλις ἐστίν, οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους ἀπέχουσα Γάζης. Αὕτη τὸ μέγα τῆς ἐρήμου θαῦμα, τὸν πολὺν ἐν ἀρεταῖς ἠνεγκεν Ἰλαρίωνα, ἐκ πατέρων μὲν οὐκ εὐσεβῶν γεγονότα, ῥόδον ἐξ ἀκανθῶν τὸ τοῦ λόγου, παιδείας δὲ μὴ ἀμοιρεῖν ὅμως τὸν παῖδα τὸν ἑαυτῶν ἐγνωκότων, καὶ τούτου πάντως κατὰ θεῖαν πρόνοιαν γενομένου, ἵνα τοιαύτη φύσις, ἀγαθοῦ τοιοῦτου πράγματος τῶν λόγων μὴ διαμάρτοι. [2] Πέμπουσιν οὖν οἱ γονεῖς κατὰ σοφίας ἔρωτα τοῦτον εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. Ὁ δὲ εἰς διδασκαλεῖα μὲν ἐφοῖτα μετὰ τῶν παιδῶν, παῖς ἔτι καὶ αὐτὸς ὢν, τὸ δὲ τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῦ γενναῖον, κόσμιόν τε καὶ βεβηκός· ἐδηλοῦτο μὲν, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἠθους, ἐδηλοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων, ὡσπέρ τις χαρακτήρ ἐναργής, τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πραττομένοις ἐπιφαινόμενος· θέατρά τε γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ ἀγῶνες ἵππων καὶ δρόμοι, καὶ θηρῶν συμπλοκὴ καὶ πάλη, αἰ νεότητος σχεδὸν ἀπάσης κεναὶ σχολαὶ καὶ ἀπάται, καὶ πάντων ἀπαλῶν ψυχῶν δελεάματα, παρ’ οὐδὲν ἐλογίζοντο·

The name of Hilarion’s village is absent in Symeon’s version, though it appears in all three premetaphrastic versions (Οὐαθὰ in Version 2, Ωαβαθά in the Samos version and

<sup>198</sup> On the metaphrastic re-working, cf. Rapp, ‘Byzantine hagiographers’, p. 39: ‘Earlier martyrs Acts required considerable rhetorical embellishment, while the stylistically elaborate pieces of a skilled professional like Nicetas the Paphlagonian had to be toned down and simplified’.

Version 1<sup>199</sup>). It is noteworthy that the indication of the distance between the village and Gaza given by the Metaphrast is expressed in *stadia*, as in the Samos version (τεσσαράκοντα σταδίου)<sup>200</sup>, and not in *milia* as in Versions 1 and 2 (πέντε μιλίων)<sup>201</sup>. This points to the possibility that Symeon was aware of both the Samos Version and Version 2, as in the metaphrastic text we have both, τεσσαράκοντα and πέντε. At the same time this example confirms Symeon’s tendency to avoid Latin borrowings. The indication of the distance is preceded by litotes οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ, corresponding to ἀπὸ of Version 2 (and Version 1) and to περὶ of the Samos version (the Latin being “circiter”). Zilliacus pointed out that Symeon had a tendency to confuse *stadion* and *milion*<sup>202</sup>. In this case, however, the Metaphrast seems to use these terms interchangeably.

The highly celebratory expression introducing the protagonist (τὸ μέγα τῆς ἐρήμου θαῦμα) is further strengthened by the presence of a multitude of virtues in Hilarion’s character: τὸν πολλὸν ἐν ἀρεταῖς. These emphatic praises do not appear in any of the premetaphrastic redactions or in Jerome. It is noteworthy that in using metaphors the Metaphrast often seems to opt for abstract nouns (θαῦμα) rather than concrete nouns. Hilarion’s parents are called εἰδωλόατραι both in Version 2 and in the Samos version<sup>203</sup>, whereas in Version 1 they are described as ἐκδεδομένους τοῖς εἰδώλοις<sup>204</sup>, which is closer to “parentes idolis deditos” of Jerome’s text<sup>205</sup>. In the metaphrastic text the nouns εἰδωλόατραι / εἰδώλοις do not appear, while another litotes (οὐκ εὐσεβῶν) is employed instead. It seems that this phrase does not reflect just the intention to use a rhetorical device, but reveals a conscious selection of a more ‘respectful’ expression to describe the pagan parents of the Saint. Moreover, this litotes, introduced by the connective μὲν is joined to another one, δὲ μὴ ἀμοιρεῖν, introduced in turn by the connective, δὲ, correlated to the previous μὲν, thus creating a symmetrical structure. Following an absolute genitive (τούτου πάντως κατὰ θεῖαν πρόνοιαν γενομένου), the sentence ends with a final close (ἵνα τοιαύτη φύσις ... μὴ διαμάρτοι ) that employs the potential optative, which is an indication of Symeon’s concern to observe the grammatical conventions of classical Greek, thus rendering a higher level of style. Optative is not used in any of the premetaphrastic sources.

<sup>199</sup> Strout, ‘The Greek versions’, 2, p. 313, Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα*, 2, p. 84.11.

<sup>200</sup> Strout, ‘The Greek versions’, 2, p. 313.

<sup>201</sup> Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα*, 2, p. 84.

<sup>202</sup> Zilliacus, ‘Das lateinische Lehnwort’, p.343.

<sup>203</sup> Strout, ‘The Greek versions’, 2, p. 313.

<sup>204</sup> Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα*, 2, p. 84.

<sup>205</sup> Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, 2, p. 74.

In the same passage, the proverb ῥόδον ἐξ ἀκανθῶν (still used among Greeks), appears in all versions as well as in the Latin original (“rosa, ut dicitur, de spinis floruit”). As for the statement that the saint was sent by his parents to Alexandria to learn grammar, expressed by Symeon in active voice, this is expressed in the passive in all premetaphrastic versions. Both the Samos version<sup>206</sup> “παρ’ ὧν πεμφθεὶς εἰς Ἀλεξανδρίαν παιδοτρίβη παρεδόθη” and Version 1<sup>207</sup> “παρ’ ὧν ἀποσταλὲς εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν κάκεισε γραμματικῶ παραδοθεὶς” are both closer to the original “A quibus missus Alexandriam grammatico traditus est”<sup>208</sup>. Similarly, Version 2 keeps the passive (ἀπεστάλη), but an infinitive (μαθεῖν γράμματα) substitutes the noun, i.e., the Latin “grammaticus”, which appears in the Samos version (παιδοτρίβη) and in Version 1 (γραμματικῶ). In terms of syntax, Symeon’s version of this sentence is quite different from all the premetaphrastic versions. It seems to be simpler and at the same time more elegant. The verb is in the present and, as mentioned above, in the active (πέμπουσιν), joined to an indirect object indicating cause (κατὰ σοφίας ἔρωτα), once again using an abstract noun. The terms employed by Symeon are, in a certain sense, of a higher level as they sound almost philosophical (σοφία and ἔρως versus γραμματικός, μαθεῖν γράμματα and παιδοτρίβη). On the other hand, they seem less appropriate, since they refer to a child’s primary education.

According to the narration, even as a little boy Hilarion immediately showed his exceptional character. The verb used by the Metaphrast is the imperfect ἐδηλοῦτο, repeated twice and accompanied by the connectives μέν ... δέ, with reference to his character (ἦθος) and actions (ἔργα). The anaphora (ἐδηλοῦτο... ἐδηλοῦτο) is strengthened by the participle ἐπιφαινόμενος in the final part of the clause.

In general, if compared with Version 2, the other two premetaphrastic versions seem to be closer to the Latin original. Strout and Catteral convincingly argued that the Samos version is the closest to the original *Vita* by Jerome, while Catteral added that it is possibly even closer to the original than any of the extant Latin Mss<sup>209</sup>. However, it should be also stressed, that even though Version 2 is very close to Version 1 (in many passages they are almost identical), the latter appears to be closer to the Latin text, while Version 2 seems to be more of a re-elaboration of the original text by Jerome, as the following example from a passage concerning Hilarion’s learning abilities illustrates:

<sup>206</sup> Strout, ‘The Greek versions’, 2, p. 313.

<sup>207</sup> Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα*, 2, p. 84.15-16.

<sup>208</sup> Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, 2, p. 74.

<b>Jerome:</b> magna ingenii et morum documenta prae-buit, in breui carus omnibus et loquendi arte gnarus <sup>210</sup>	<b>Samos Version</b> <sup>211</sup> : μεγάλα παραδείγματα παρέσχευεν εὐφυΐων τε καὶ τρόπων χρηστῶν ἐν βραχεῖ, πεφιλημένος πάσι καὶ τοῦ λέγειν ἔμπειρος.	<b>Version 1</b> <sup>212</sup> : μέγιστα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φύσεως καὶ τῶν τρόπων δοκίμια ἐν βραχεῖ χρόνῳ παρέσχευεν, πᾶσιν τε τιμιώτατος ἦν καὶ τῆς τέχνης τῶν λόγων ἔμπειρος.
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The following parallel passages, mentioning Hilarion's indifference towards the base entertainment provided by the circus, which appears in all Greek versions, shows that both Symeon and Version 2 contain a slightly more extensive description (cf. above, p. 243), while the Samos Version and Version 1 are closer to Jerome's original text:

<b>Jerome</b> <sup>213</sup> : Quodque his maius est omnibus, credens in Dominum Iesum, non circi furoribus, non arenae sanguine, non theatri luxuria delectabatur.	<b>Samos Version</b> <sup>214</sup> : καὶ ὅπερ τοῦτον πάντων μείζον, πιστεύων εἰς τόν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν· οὐ ταῖς τοῦ κύρκου, οὐ τῷ αἵματι τῆς ἄμμου, οὐ τῇ πολυτελείᾳ τοῦ θεάτρου ἦδετο.	<b>Version 1</b> <sup>215</sup> : καὶ ὅπερ τούτον πάντων μείζον ἦν, εἰς τόν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν ἐπίστευεν. οὐ γάρ ἑαυτὸν τῇ μακίᾳ τῆς ἵπποδρομίας, οὐ τῷ αἵματι τῶν κυνηγίων, οὐδὲ θεατρικῇ αἰσχρότητι ἔτρεπεν.
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Apart from the fact that the word *circus* in this passage appears only in the Samos Version, quite faithfully transliterated into Greek as κύρκος, another interesting lexical change is that the word 'blood' (*sanguine* in the Latin original) present in the Samos Version and in Version 1, does not appear either in Symeon or Version 2 (cf. above, p. 243). This, once again, confirms Strout's argument about the close relationship between Version 2 and the metaphrastic text.

In the same passage Symeon's version seems first to split and secondly to expand a pair of adjectives present in Version 2: from ἵπποδρομικαῖς and θηριαλώτων, to ἀγῶνες ἵππων καὶ δρόμοι and θηρῶν συμπλοκῇ καὶ πάλη, respectively. This reflects one of the techniques frequently used in the metaphrastic texts, where elements of earlier texts are often rephrased by means of turning them into short periphrases (for example, see pp. 206-207).

Moreover, if we compare this passage in the three premetaphrastic texts with that in Symeon's text we notice that the terminology referring to the theatre seems to be 'milder' in the latter. In the premetaphrastic redactions the terms corresponding to the

<sup>209</sup> Catteral, 'The Samos translation', esp. p. 417.

<sup>210</sup> Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, 2, p. 74.

<sup>211</sup> Strout, 'The Greek versions', 2, p. 313.

<sup>212</sup> Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα*, 2, p. 84.15-16.

<sup>213</sup> Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, 2, p. 74.9-10.

<sup>214</sup> Strout, 'The Greek versions', 2, p. 313.

<sup>215</sup> Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα*, 2, p. 84.17-20.

Latin ‘circi furoribus’, ‘arenae sanguine’, ‘theatri luxuria’ are rendered with adjectives and nouns which have a strongly negative moral connotation, or refer to the idea of bloodthirsty spectacles: αίματι and μανία (Samos); μανία, αίματι and αίσχροτητι (Version 1); μανίαις, αίμοβόροις θεωρίαις, αίσχροίς και άκαθάρτοις θεάμασι (Version 2). In Symeon’s version, however, the emphasis seems to be placed rather on the concept of deception and vanity connected with theatrical activities (κεναί σχολαί και άπάται, και πάντων άπαλών ψυχών δελεάματα).

### 3.2. Hilarion’s encounter with Anthony and Hilarion’s tonsure

The passages quoted below describe Hilarion’s encounter with Anthony and the beginning of his monastic life.

**Version 2, 3:** Προκόπτων δέ προς τόν τε θεοσεβείας ζήλον καθ’ εκάστην ήμέραν ήκουεν παρά πάντων περι τής ένθέου πολιτείας του μακαριωτάτω Αντωνίου, και ζέων τώ πνεύματι εύθυσ ώρμησε προς αυτόν εις την έρημον· και εύρων αυτόν, έμεινε προς αυτόν και παρ’ αυτού κατηχήθη. Και τó σχήμα του μοναχού ó άγιος Αντώνιος δέδωκεν αυτόν· έμεινέν τε παρ’ αυτόν μήνας δύο, και κατανοήσας άκολουθως την άκρίβειαν τής πολιτείας αυτού και τó σεμνόν ήθος αυτού και τó έπεικές και πράον τής καταστάσεως αυτού· και πάσας τās έν Χριστώ άρετάς του άγιού γνησίως καταμαθών, και την τούτου μήμην άκμάζοντι πόθω γυμνάζων παρ’ έαυτώ. Πώς άδιαλείπτως προσήχετο, σπουδαίως δέ μετά έπεικειάς και τελείας άγάπης ύπεδέχετο τούς παραγινομένους προς αυτόν άδελφούς δια τόν τής φιλαδελφίας θεσμόν. φιλόξενος γάρ ήν και παρακλητικός εις τó νουθετήσαι και έπιστρέψαι προς τόν Κύριον τούς παραγινομένους προς αυτόν τών άπίστων και εις τόν μονήρη βίον τούς βουλομένους προτρέψασθαι εύμενώς· τής γάρ έγκρατείας αυτού την τραχύτητα οιδεμία άρρωστία σώματος ίσχυσε λύσαι ποτε. Είργάζετο δέ ταις χειρσί πάντοτε και έψαλλε και ήχηετο άδιαλείπτως, τύπος άγαθός πάσι τοίς βουλομένοις ζηλούν την πολιτείαν αυτού γινόμενος. Έπαιθούσης γοίν αυτόν πλουσίως έν πάσι τής του Χριστού χάριτος και τής όσίας αυτού πολιτείας πανταχού διαβαινούσης, ήρξαντο πολλοί υπό διαφόρων άσθενειών και υπό πνευμάτων άκαθάρτων όχλούμενοι άκούοντες παραγένεσθαι προς αυτόν. Και ού συνεχώρουν αυτόν κατά προαίρεσιν ήσυχάζειν δικην γάρ πόλεως πλήθη εις την έρημον παρεγένοντο προς αυτόν· έπει ούν ούκ είων αυτόν κατά γνώμην ήρμείν, έβουλήθη εις την έσωτέραν έρημον έαυτόν μεταβείναι. Καλέσας ούν τόν άγιόν Ιλαρίωνα και έξεγείρων αυτού την προθυμίαν, λέγει αυτόν· «ώς στρατιώτης δοκιμος του Χριστού, γενναίως τοίς πόνοις τής άσκήσεως και πάσαις ταις θεοσεβείας άρεταίς μέχρι τέλους έκαρτέρησον, ίνα τοίς άθλοίς τής άρετής τά νικητήρια κατά του έχθρου ποιησάμενος, τόν τής άφθαρσίας στέφανον έν τή του Κυρίου παρουσία αναδήσῃ, τής αυτού χάριτος συνεργούσης σοι έν πάσιν». Και ταύτα έπευξάμενος αυτόν ó άγιος Αντώνιος έπέτρεψε τον μετά των αδελφών εις την Παλαιστίνη άπελθείν.

[3] Ούτω τοίνυν άγομένου, και τοιαύτην άκρίβειαν άρετής εύθυσ από γραμμής έπιδεικνυμένου, έπει τόν Αντωνίου βίον λαμπρόν τε ήγεν ή φήμη και μέγαν, έρωτι του άνδρός την του Ιλαρίωνος ψυχήν έθελγε, και όπως Αντώνιον ίδοι, φροντίς αυτόν ύπήρχεν έπιμελής· Αμέλει και προς αυτόν άφικνείται, και την εκείνου άρετήν, μείζονα παρά πολύν τής φήμης εύρίσκει· καιτοι γε ταύτης ούκ άκριβούν είωθίας ως τά πολλά την άλήθειαν, άλλα πλείονα προσπιθέναι τών πραττομένων άεί και παραδοξότερα.

[4] Ο θεός τοίνυν Αντώνιος, τό τε τής γνώμης έλεύθερον, και τó τής ψυχής γενναίον και αυτός καταμαθών του παιδός, και από τής βλάστης όποιον γένοιτο τó φυτόν στοχασάμενος, ή μάλλον όφθαλμοίς τοίς ένδον όξυτάτα θεασάμενος, μετά δύο τής παρουσίας ήμέρας τώ των μοναχών καθαγιάζει τούτον και τελεσιουργεί σχήματι.

[5] Έπει δέ τó συνεχές των εκείσε παραβαλλόντων όχλησιν Αντωνίω παρείχε, την φιλουμένην ήσυχίαν τάραπτον, και καθαρώς άπολαύειν αυτής ούκ έών, αυτός μέν εις την ένδοτέραν έρημον άναχωρήσειν έσκέψατο, τόν Ιλαρίωνα δέ καλέσας, «Επίμεινον» έφη «τέκνον τή εύσεβεία και τοίς πόνοις των άρετών άχρι τέλους, και τής έπιμονής ταύτης και καρτερίας, την των ούρανών βασιλείαν ως ώρμόν τε και ήδιστον τρυγήσεις καρπόν». [6] Ταύτα είπόν, τρύχινόν τε αυτόν χιτώνα, και τι και δερμάτινον έπιδοίς περιβόλαιον, εις την οικείαν έπανελθείν πατρίδα, μετ’ αδελφών των έπισκήπτει. Είτα εκείνος μέν όπερ αυτόν σκοπός ήν έποίησε, και προς τά ένδοτέρα τής έρήμου έχώρει. [7] Ο Ιλαρίων δέ εις Παλαιστίνη έπανελθών ...



All of the premetaphrastic redactions state that as soon as Hilarion met Anthony, he changed his old garment: “mutato pristino habitu” in Jerome; μεταλλάξας τὸ σχῆμα in the Samos Version; ἀλλάξας τὸ σχῆμα τὸ πρότερον in Version 1<sup>216</sup>. Version 2 and Symeon are more specific about the kind of cloth, namely the monastic habit: τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ μοναχοῦ δέδωκεν αὐτῷ, and μοναχῶν καθαγιάζει τοῦτον καὶ τελεσιουργεῖ σχήματι, respectively. Even though the content of the *Vita* in all premetaphrastic redactions and in Symeon’s is essentially the same, the metaphrastic version gives a different piece of information concerning the period of time Hilarion needed in order to be tonsured. In Jerome’s text, Samos and Versions 1 and 2, it is stated that Hilarion spent almost two months with Anthony (Jerome: “duobus fere mensibus iuxta eum mansit”, Samos: δύο μῆνας σχεδὸν παρ’ ἐκείνῳ ἔμεινεν, Version 1: δύο μῆνας πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἔμεινεν, Version 2: ἔμεινέν τε παρ’ αὐτῷ μῆνας δύο), thus agreeing on the length of time. The only difference between Version 2 and the other Greek texts is the fact that in this Version the sentence is longer. The metaphrastic version, on the other hand, states that it took only two days for Hilarion to become a monk (4: μετὰ δύο τῆς παρουσίας ἡμέρας τῷ τῶν μοναχῶν καθαγιάζει τοῦτον καὶ τελεσιουργεῖ σχήματι).

The metaphrastic passage (3) begins with an absolute genitive (ἀγομένου... ἐπιδεικνυμένου) referring to the saint, followed by the subject (ἡ φήμη) and the main verb (ἦγεν). In Version 2, a simple participle (προκόπτων) is linked to the verb (ἦκουεν), followed by the conjunction καὶ which introduces the phrase ζέων τῷ πνεύματι, which goes back to the Latin “incensus visendi eius studio”<sup>217</sup>, and corresponds to the metaphrastic καὶ ἔρωτι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὴν τοῦ Ἰλαρίωνος ψυχὴν ἔθελγε, followed by an optative (ὅπως ἴδοι), which does not appear either in Version 2 or in the other Greek premetaphrastic redactions. The sentence following the optative seems to be an amplification of the short sentence in Version 2: εὐθύς ὠρμησε πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον. As already stressed, however, we should always bear in mind the possibility that Symeon may have used another intermediate redaction, close to Version 2.

In the metaphrastic paragraph following (4), the same technique seems to be employed, as Symeon’s text appears once more to expand Version 2 by re-working it quite freely. In fact, the only expression they share is τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ μοναχοῦ

<sup>216</sup> Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, 2, p. 76.20-24; Strout, ‘The Greek versions’, 3, p. 313; Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ανάλεκτα*, 2, pp. 84.25-85.5, respectively.

<sup>217</sup> Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, 2, pp. 74-76.

(Version 2) corresponding to the metaphrastic τῷ τῶν μοναχῶν καθαγιαῖζει τοῦτον καὶ τελεσιουργεῖ σχήματι.

The two last metaphrastic paragraphs (5-6) report that Anthony decided to withdraw into the inner desert since he was not allowed to pursue solitary life any more, as the numbers of faithful asking for his blessing were unceasingly increasing. In the Latin original the search for solitude and tranquility, an indispensable element of ascetic life stressed throughout the *Vita*, refers to Hilarion. The same is the case with the Samos version and Version 1<sup>218</sup>. In contrast, in Symeon's redaction this element refers to Anthony, as in Version 2 (see above, p. 247). In addition, in Version 2 and the metaphrastic text the subject is Anthony and not Hilarion. In both of these versions it is Anthony who makes the decision for himself to escape from the crowds, hence he calls Hilarion and suggests to him that he should return to Palestine. Also, both Version 2 and the Metaphrast include a short direct speech by Anthony. These analogies, namely the search for ἡσυχία with reference to Anthony and the direct speech, which is absent in Jerome, Samos and Version 1, further confirm Strout's conclusion that Version 2 may have been Symeon's main source. If so, the Metaphrast has re-worked it rather extensively.

As it appears from the parallel passages quoted above, in the metaphrastic text a considerable section of Version 2 (underlined above, p. 247) is absent, while Symeon re-works some of the elements of the premetaphrastic text. The word ἡσυχία, which in the metaphrastic text is accompanied by the participle φιλουμένη, corresponds to the verb ἡσυχάζειν of Version 2. Similarly, the negation οὐκ ἔων in Symeon corresponds to οὐ συνεχώρουν and also to οὐκ εἶων αὐτὸν κατὰ γνώμην ἡρεμεῖν in Version 2. The indication of a secluded hermitage in the inner desert, ἐνδοτέραν ἔρημον in Symeon's text, corresponds to ἐσωτέραν ἔρημον of Version 2, both in the literal and metaphorical sense. Finally, the verb ἐσκέψατο used by Symeon renders ἐβουλήθη of Version 2, while the participle καλέσας, preceding the direct speech, is the same in both versions.

As far as the direct speech is concerned, however, its content is different in Symeon and Version 2, in the sense that in Version 2 it reflects a metaphor concerning the 'militancy' of the ascetic, which is found in Jerome, Samos and Version 1<sup>219</sup>, though not expressed in direct speech. The noun στρατιώτης and the phrase τοῖς ἄθλοισι τῆς

<sup>218</sup> Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, 2, p. 76.14; Strout, 'The Greek versions', 3, p. 313; Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα*, 2, p. 84.26, respectively.

ἀρετῆς of Version 2 echo Jerome’s ‘militare coepisse’ and ‘victoriae praemia’. The metaphrastic version, on the other hand, does not contain the military metaphor, but refers to πόνους τῶν ἀρετῶν, corresponding to πόνους τῆς ἀσκήσεως, also echoing Version 2 in the use of the noun καρτερία, reflecting the imperative καρτέρησον.

### 3.3. Anthony’s hermitage

The following parallel passages contain the description of Antony’s hermitage in Egypt. At this stage of the metaphrastic account Anthony has died, Hilarion has become an old man and he is now travelling through Egypt in search for solitude. He visits the place where his master spent the last years of his life in a small oasis, located three-day distance from the town of Aphroditon (lines 658-659). Contrary to the passages examined above (pp. 243, 247), Symeon’s description of Antony’s hermitage is remarkably close to that of Version 2. The first lines, quoted below, describe an almost idyllic little valley, with springs, palms and greenery, on the top of a mountain, right in the middle of the desert. This brief ἔκφρασις falls into the category of the literary *topos* of the *locus amoenus*, as it appears also in the Latin original<sup>220</sup>.

**Version 2, 31:** Ἀξιὸν δὲ εἰς μνήμην ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντας τοῦ τόπου, ἐν ᾧ κατῴκει ὁ μακάριος πατὴρ ἡμῶν Ἀντωνίος, εἰς εὐφροσύνην τῶν ἀκούοντων διὰ βραχέων ῥημάτων δηγήσασθαι τὴν ἐπιτήδειον καὶ περικαλλῆ τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου. Ὅρος ἦν ὑψηλὸν καὶ πάνυ τραχύ· ἐπὶ μίλιον ἕν ἔχον τὸ μήκος· ὑποκάτω δὲ τοῦ ὄρους ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐν ᾧ τὸ μοναστήριον εἶχεν, ἀναβρῖνει ὕδατα καθαρὰ, ἃ μὲν αὐτῶν εἰς ἄμμον λήγοντα, ἃ δὲ προσβαίνοντα κατὰ βραχὺ εἰς γῆν χωροῦσιν· ἡ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ὑδάτων ἔκροια ποιεῖ χειμάρρου, καὶ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν εἰς τὰς ὄχθας τοῦ χειμάρρου στήκουσι φοίνικες πολλοί, καρπὸν πολὺν καὶ καλὸν φέροντες· καὶ πανταχόθεν κατασκιάζοντες πάνυ τερπνὸν τὸν τόπον ποιοῦσιν. Γενομένων δὲ ἡμῶν ἐκεῖ, ὁ μακάριος Ἰλαρίων μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν τοῦ ἀγίου Ἀντωνίου παραλαβὼν ἡμᾶς περιήγεν ὄλον τὸν τόπον ἐκείνον καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς χαρᾶς ἐπεδείκνυον ἡμῖν οἱ μαθηταὶ τοῦ μακαρίου, ὁ Πλουσιανὸς καὶ Ἰσαάκ, καὶ ἔλεγον ἡμῖν, «Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ ἔψαλλεν ὁ ἅγιος πατὴρ ἡμῶν, καὶ

[69].663ff. Ἡ δὲ μονὴ ἐπὶ τινος ὄρους μάλα μὲν τραχέος, μάλα δὲ ὑψηλοῦ ὑψοδόμητο. Οὐ πλέον, ἢ μίλιον διήκει τὸ ὄρος. Διαρρέουσι δὲ ἐν τούτῳ καὶ κρήναι συχναί, καὶ νάματα διειδῶν ὑδάτων, ἰδεῖν τε καλλίστων, καὶ πιεῖν ἄγαν ἡδίστων· ὧν τὰ μὲν, εἰς ἀμμώδη τινα καταδύεται χωρία, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀρούρας ἄρδει, ἐξῆς δὲ συρρέοντα ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀνακοινοῦμενα, χειμάρρου πάντα μέγαν ποιεῖ. Παραπεφύκασι δὲ ταῖς ὄχθαις τοῦ χειμάρρου, καὶ φοίνικες εὐμήκεις, καὶ καρπὸν πολὺν τε καὶ καλὸν φέροντες· οἱ καὶ πανταχόθεν ἐπισκιάζοντες, καὶ πάνυ εὐκόσμως ἀπολαμβάνοντες τὸ χωρίον, ὠραῖον αὐτὸ ποιοῦσι, καὶ ἀπόρητον ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡδονήν. [70] Παραλαβόντες τοῖνυν οἱ Ἀντωνίου μαθηταὶ τὸν σοφὸν Ἰλαρίωνα, περιήγον τὸ χωρίον ὄλον ἐκείνο, καὶ μεθ’ ἡδονῆς ἐπεδείκνυον, «Ἐν τῷδε» λέγοντες «τῷ τόπῳ, ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν

<sup>219</sup> Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, 2, p. 76.24-25; Strout, ‘The Greek versions’, 3, p. 313; Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ανάλεκτα*, 2, p. 85.3-4, respectively.

<sup>220</sup> Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, 21, pp. 118-123.

ἐν ἐκείνῳ ἠΰχετο, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἠσύχαζεν, κάκει  
καθεζόμενος σπυρίδας ἐποίει, καὶ ὧδε συνήθειαν  
εἶχεν ἀπὸ τοῦ καμάτου διαναπαύεσθαι, κάκει  
ἐκάθειυθεν, καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἄμπελον κάκεινα τὰ  
δένδρα αὐτὸς ἐφύτευσεν, καὶ ταύτην τὴν πρασιάν  
ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶν ἐποίησεν, καὶ τὴν κολυμβήθραν  
ταύτην τῶν ὑδάτων εἰς τὸ ποτίζειν τὸν κῆπον  
μετὰ καμάτου πολλοῦ καὶ ἰδρώτος αὐτὸς  
ῥηκοδόμησεν· καὶ τούτο τὸ δίκελλον» φησὶν «εἰς τὸ  
σκάπτειν τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἔσχεν».

ἔψαλλεν· ἐν ἐκείνῳ ἠσύχαζεν· ἐκεῖ  
καθεζόμενος, πρὸς τὴν τῶν σπυρίδων  
ἐπονεῖτο πλοκήν· ὧδε, σύνηθες αὐτῷ  
καμόντι διαναπαύεσθαι· ἐκεῖ καθεύδειν·  
ταύτην τὴν ἄμπελον, ἐκεῖνα τὰ δένδρα,  
αὐτὸς ἐφύτευσε· τήνδε τὴν πρασιάν,  
χερσὶν ἰδίαις ἐκεῖνος ἐφιλοπόνησε·  
κολυμβήθρα τῶν ὑδάτων αὕτη, ἐφ' ᾧ τὸν  
κῆπον ἀρδεύεσθαι, δεξιᾶς ἔργον ἐκείνης,  
πολλῷ πόνῳ καὶ ἰδρῶτι γεγενημένον».

The short introductory sentence which appears in Version 2 echoes the original Latin: ‘Et quia se praebet occasio et ad id loci venimus, dignum videtur brevi sermone habitaculum tanti viri describere’. It is found both in the Samos version (δοκεῖ βραχεῖ λόγῳ ... διαγράψασθαι) and in Version 1 (ἄξιον ... διὰ βραχέων ῥημάτων διηγῆσασθαι)<sup>221</sup>. The metaphrastic redaction, however, begins the description *in medias res*. The vocabulary Symeon employs to describe the mountain is very similar to that of Version 2. The two adjectives referring to the mountain (ὄρος) are the same, though placed in different cases and joined by different adverbs: ὑψηλὸν καὶ πάνυ τραχύ in Version 2, and τραχέος καὶ μάλα ὑψηλοῦ in Symeon. Though Symeon used the term *stadia* to measure distance in the beginning of the *Vita* (see above p. 244), he does not hesitate to employ the Latin term μίλιον in this case, as does Version 2. As far as the lexical evidence in this passage is concerned, the noun μονή used by the Metaphrast to indicate the monastery, is a synonyme of μοναστήριον used in Version 2.

Concerning the syntax of the first sentence of this section in the metaphrastic version, though the structure is different, it seems similar to the relatively short sentences of Version 2. However, the second sentence (from διαρρέουσι) seems to be more complex. Though the first part does not seem to echo Version 2 (ἀναβρῦει ὕδατα καθαρὰ), it may be an elaboration of this phrase. Its structure has symmetry, as the two superlatives (καλλίστων and ἡδίστων) are joined to their respective infinitives (ιδεῖν and πλεῖν). The second clause of the same period has a symmetrical structure, too, but in this case the metaphrastic text seems to echo quite closely Version 2, as in both redactions the sentence is divided in two parts, each one introduced by the connectives μέν.... δέ, and the verbs employed in the two texts correspond to each other, though the verb used by Symeon (καταδύεται) is more precise than the corresponding verb of Version 2 (λήγοντα). The same stands for the phrase εἰς ἀμμώδη τινα χωρία Symeon

<sup>221</sup> Bastiaensen-Smit, **21**, p. 118; Strout, ‘The Greek versions’, **31**, p. 325; Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα*, **31**, p. 120, respectively.

uses, and the simpler one, εἰς ἄμμον, used in Version 2. The phrase τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀρούρας ἄρδει of the metaphrastic text, corresponds to ἃ δὲ προσβαίνοντα κατὰ βραχὺ εἰς γῆν χωροῦσιν of the premetaphrastic text, with the archaic ἀρούρας replacing the more vernacular γῆν.

The section of the metaphrastic paragraph that follows (69) shows other analogies between Symeon's text and Version 2 in terms of structure and vocabulary. Symeon's phrase ἐξῆς δὲ συρρέοντα ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀνακινούμενα, χεῖμαρρον πάντα μέγαν ποιεῖ seems to be an expanded rephrasing of the shorter phrase ἡ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ὑδάτων ἕκροια ποιεῖ χεῖμαρρον in Version 2. The sentence describing the palm trees in the metaphrastic redaction suggests once again that Symeon's text represent an expanded reworking of Version 2. The perfect παραπεφύκασι, which corresponds to the στήκουσι in Version 2, appears to be more 'classical', στήκουσι being a later form for the perfect ἔστηκα. This indicates Symeon's concern to keep a higher level of style, as well as his predilection for compound verbs. The perfect in Symeon precedes the dative ταῖς ὄχθαις τοῦ χεῖμαρρου, which seems to be almost identical in Version 2 (τὰς ὄχθας τοῦ χεῖμαρρου). The second section of this period is almost the same at the beginning, as only the adjective referring to the palm trees is different: πολλοὶ in the metaphrastic version, εὐμήκεις in Version 2. Similarly, the adverb πανταχόθεν is the same, while the participle that follows is linked to different prepositions: ἐπισκιάζοντες in Symeon, κατασκιάζοντες in Version 2.

The final short phrase πάνυ τερπνὸν τὸν τόπον ποιούσιν shows Symeon's love for amplification. Though the adverb πάνυ in Version 2 appears also in Symeon, he strenghtens it by using another adverb, εὐκόσμως, joined to the compound verb ἀπολαμβάνοντες, while the noun expressing the object in the premetaphrastic text (τόπον) becomes more specific (χωρίον) in the metaphrastic redaction. The verb ποιούσι of Version 2 is also employed by Symeon, though linked to a different adjective (ώραῖον) coupled by a noun (ἡδονή), with reference to χωρίον, accompanied by a rather emphatic adjective (ἀπόρητον ὀφθαλμοῖς) thus creating a rhetorical device.

The next metaphrastic paragraph (70), contrary to the premetaphrastic redaction, does not mention the names of Anthony's disciples (Plousianos and Isaac), though these are given by Symeon in the beginning of paragraph 69 (line 662, not quoted above). This shows that Symeon wanted to avoid an unnecessary repetition, or can be explained by the Metaphrast's tendency to be economical with proper names. I have noted a

similar tendency in Symeon's *Vita of St Daniel*<sup>222</sup>, where at least two passages of the metaphrastic text do not provide the reader with a long list of proper names given in the premetaphrastic text. As F. Paschoud, has pointed out: "Quiconque a quelque expérience de la manière de travailler des historiens et des abrégiateurs antiques sait qu'une de leur fréquentes pratiques est de supprimer des nomes propres, et dans ce cas de remplacer parfois un singulier spécifique par un vague pluriel"<sup>223</sup>.

In this paragraph Symeon employs direct speech, as in the case of Version 2 as well as Version 1 and the Samos Version, all reproducing the Latin original<sup>224</sup>. The vocabulary in the metaphrastic text is very similar to that of Version 2, though Symeon's redaction is slightly condensed, and the direct speech is presented in the same way as in other cases (cf. above, pp. 209, 222-223), by splitting the sentence with verbs indicating the action of speaking: « Ἐν τῷδε » λέγοντες « τῷ τόπῳ... », which renders greater elegance in comparison to the premetaphrastic text, which introduces direct speech by placing the verb in the beginning: ἔλεγον ἡμῖν « ... ».

As far as the vocabulary is concerned, these two versions show great similarities. The subject, the verb and the indication of place are almost the same (τῷ τόπῳ ... ὁ πατήρ ἡμῶν... ἔψαλλεν), though the metaphrastic redaction seems to summarize Version 2 by omitting the adjective ἅγιος, the short phrase ἠῤῥαχτο, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ, and the final sentence. In both versions the expression ἐκεῖ καθεζόμενος appears to be identical, and the short phrase following is more elaborate in the metaphrastic redaction, where the noun πλοκή σπυρίδων refers to the verb ἐπονείτο, which corresponds to the more unassuming ἐποίει σπυρίδας of Version 2. The phrase ὧδε συνήθειαν εἶχεν ἀπὸ τοῦ καμάτου διαναπαύεσθαι in the premetaphrastic text corresponds to Symeon's σύνηθες αὐτῷ καμόντι διαναπαύεσθαι. Only the infinitive remains the same in both texts, whereas the noun κάματος appears as a participle (καμόντι) in Symeon's text, while the noun συνήθεια of Version 2 is rendered by a neuter adjective (σύνηθες). The verb following is the same in the two texts, though in different modes, infinitive and indicative: καθεύδειν / ἐκάθευδεν.

Moreover, the short phrase ταύτην τὴν ἄμπελον, ἐκεῖνα τὰ δένδρα, αὐτὸς ἐφύτευσε in Version 2 is identical in Symeon's text, as well as the one following, where only a small, though interesting variation occurs: the verb ποιέω in the premetaphrastic

<sup>222</sup> Franco, 'Le Vite', pp. 99-100.

<sup>223</sup> F. Paschoud, 'Zosime et Constantine. Nouvelle controverses', *Museum Helveticum* 54 (1997), 9-28 at p. 21.

<sup>224</sup> Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, 21, p. 120; Strout, 31, p. 325; Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα*, 31, p. 121.

version corresponds to the more evocative φιλοπονέω of the metaphrastic redaction. This variation is similar to the one analyzed right above (ἐποιεῖτο πλοκὴν σπυρίδων corresponding to ἐποίει σπυρίδας).

The closing phrases in direct speech in the parallel passages quoted above show once more certain variations: the verb ἀρδεύεσθαι in the metaphrastic version is more specific than the corresponding ποτίζειν of the premetaphrastic text. Though the nouns κολυμβήθρα and κήπος are the same, in Symeon's text this is followed by a metonymy (δεξιᾶς ἔργον ἐκείνης), which does not appear in the earlier text. Finally, the noun ἰδρώς is present in both texts, though in different cases, while the metaphrastic text opts for the noun πόνος instead of κάματος.

### 3.4. Demons

The short passage below, which describes the different appearances under which the demons used to disguise themselves, shows Symeon's predilection for 'endless alliteration'<sup>225</sup>:

**Version 2, 7:** Καταπεσῶν δὲ ὁ ἐχθρὸς οὐκ ἐπαύσατο, ἀλλὰ πάλιν ἑτέραις μεθοδίαις πειράζειν αὐτὸν ἐπεχείρει, γυναῖκας αὐτῷ γυμνάς καὶ θρυπτομένας αἰσχροῦς καθεύδοντι παριστῶν καὶ πεινῶντι αὐτῷ φαντασίας ποικίλας βρωμάτων πλήθος προσφέρων· καὶ προσευχομένου αὐτοῦ λύκος γινόμενος, πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἐστῶς, ὠρυάτο. Καὶ ἄλλοτε πάλιν ἀλώπηξ διαχλευάζων αὐτὸν ἤρξατο ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ ἄλλεσθαι, καὶ ψάλλοντος αὐτοῦ κατὰ μόνας ...

[12].101-108: καὶ ὅσα ἐξῆς τῆς ψῆδης, ὁ ἐχθρὸς δὲ καίτοι καταπεσῶν καὶ τὰ ἔσχατα ἠττηθεὶς, οὐδὲ οὕτως ἀπείχετο προσβολῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔτι γυναῖκας αὐτῷ καθεύδοντι θρυπτομένας, πρὸς ἡδονὴν ὑπεδείκνυ· καὶ ποτὲ μὲν, βρωμάτων ὑπέφαινε ποικιλίας, ποτὲ δὲ προσευχομένῳ, τοῦτο μὲν, λύκος ἦν ὠρυόμενος, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἀλώπηξ, ἄλλοτε ἀλλαχοῦ ἀλλομένη· ...

The premetaphrastic correspondent passage contains a number of elements which appear in the metaphrastic text. As far as the alliteration (ἀλώπηξ, ἄλλοτε ἀλλαχοῦ ἀλλομένη) is concerned, if indeed Symeon was re-elaborating Version 2, he put together the adverb and the noun ἄλλοτε ἀλώπηξ, appearing in this redaction, and coordinated it with the verb ἄλλεσθαι, present in the premetaphrastic version, by changing it into a participle. The second adverb (ἀλλαχοῦ) in the metaphrastic text, which is absent in Version 2, makes the alliteration more extensive.

The first section of the same passage shows that the premetaphrastic version and the metaphrastic redaction share a number of elements, both in terms of vocabulary and

<sup>225</sup> Strout, 'The Greek versions', p. 401, n. 70.

syntax, the latter being slightly shorter. The two texts have the subject similarly linked to a participle (ἐχθρὸς καταπεσών). They also share the same object and its participle (γυναῖκας θρυπτομένης) as well as the dative (καθεύδοντι). What they do not share, however, is the important adjective γυμνὰς. If indeed the substitution of this word by the more ‘appropriate’ expression πρὸς ἡδονὴν ὑπεδείκνυ is due to Symeon’s choice and not to an intermediary transmission of the text which he followed, this is evidence of Symeon’s ‘censorship’ (cf. a similar case above, p. 230). This suggestion may be strengthened by the fact that the adjective is present in all premetaphrastic sources as well as in the original (Jerome: ‘nudae mulieres’; Samos: γυμναὶ γυναῖκες; Version 1: γυναῖκας γυμνὰς<sup>226</sup>).

Finally, both versions contain the image of a variety of foods appearing to tempt the ascetic (φαντασίας ποικίλας βρωμάτων πλήθος and the more concise βρωμάτων ὑπέφαινε ποικιλίας), linked with the same compound verb (προσεύχω), while in both versions the devil is disguised as a howling wolf (λύκος ὠρυάτο and λύκος ὠρυόμενος).

In conclusion, our analysis of the *Vita of St Hilarion*, though it confirms Strout’s view about the close relation between Symeon and Version 2, nonetheless shows that Symeon may have consulted more than one source. This is also illustrated by a final example:

<b>Samos, 24:</b> ἐπέστελλεν αὐτῷ καὶ παρ’ αὐτοῦ γράμματα ἀσπασίως ἐκομίζετο.	<b>Version 1, 24:</b> ἔγραφεν αὐτῷ συνεχῶς ...	<b>Version 2, 24:</b> ἔγραφεν αὐτῷ συνεχῶς ...	[47]: Ἀμέλει καὶ προσηγόρευε τὸν Ἰλαρίωνα συνεχῶς, καὶ γράμμασι φιλικοῖς ἠσπάζετο ...
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In the metaphrastic redaction (47) the phrase γράμμασι φιλικοῖς ἠσπάζετο seems to be closer to the Samos version (γράμματα ἀσπασίως ἐκομίζετο<sup>227</sup>) than to Versions 1 and 2 (ἔγραφεν<sup>228</sup>), while the adverb συνεχῶς in Symeon’s text, is only found in Versions 1 and 2. It should be emphatically repeated, that apart from the fact that the Metaphrast may have been re-working the *Vita of St Hilarion* on the basis of

<sup>226</sup> Bastiaensen & Smit, *Vita*, 3, p. 80.46; Strout, ‘The Greek versions’, 7, p. 315; Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα*, 7, p. 87, respectively.

<sup>227</sup> Strout, ‘The Greek versions’, p. 321.

<sup>228</sup> Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα*, p. 103; Strout, ‘The Greek versions’, p. 369.



more than one source<sup>229</sup>, it is also possible that he could also have consulted an intermediate version, or indeed versions, which have not survived.

<sup>229</sup> On the possibility that the Metaphrast's technique of reworking earlier sources may have involved the 'contamination' of more than one redaction, see Efthymiadis, 'John of Sardis', p. 32.

## CONCLUSIONS

Our study of the metaphrastic *Passio of St James*, the *Passio of St Plato* and the *Vita of St Hilarion* in comparison to their premetaphrastic extant texts shows the different approaches and techniques employed by the Metaphrast in re-working earlier sources. Our examination of the metaphrastic *Passio of St James* and *Passio of St Plato* in comparison with the earlier extant versions indicates that Symeon's approach was selective in terms of structure, at the same time showing awareness of the need for a cohesive and clear presentation of the story to facilitate the audience in following the plot. In the *Passio of St Plato* as well as in the *Passio of St James* the Metaphrast displays the same tendency to reduce direct speech in favour of indirect speech, and when the former is employed, the sentences are usually split by verbs indicating the action of speaking, such as φημι, λέγω, etc. In both texts the metaphrastic version extensively uses rhetorical devices, including similes, metaphors, periphrases and rhetorical questions. In terms of style, the metaphrastic versions could be described as middle-high, which reflects the audience to which the two *Passiones* were addressed. In general, the metaphrastic redactions of these two texts and the premetaphrastic versions seem to be considerably, or in some cases radically, different in terms of structure, grammar and syntax, even though they do not substantially diverge in terms of length and content.

As far as the *Vita of St Hilarion* is concerned, the metaphrastic version is very close to the extant premetaphrastic sources in terms of content, as in the metaphrastic text only a few episodes are not recorded, while no new material is added. If compared to the two metaphrastic *Passiones* examined above, in terms of structure and vocabulary the metaphrastic *Vita of St Hilarion* shows a different approach by the redactor/s, as it appears to be much closer to the extant premetaphrastic sources. This may be also due to the fact that the original Latin *Vita of St Hilarion* was a highly sophisticated literary work written by a well-known author. In the *Vita of St Hilarion*, too, the Metaphrast seems to have a tendency to reduce direct speech, though to a lesser extent than in the *Passiones*, dividing sentences with verbs indicating speaking.

Insofar syntax and grammar is concerned, it is possible to trace a number of different methods and techniques employed by the Metaphrast in re-working earlier material. Our observations on the general features and tendencies recurring in the three metaphrastic texts examined above, confirm Zilliagus and subsequently Schiffer's findings on various typological categories contained in other metaphrastic texts. It should be stressed, however, that these features and tendencies are not observed systematically, which seem

to confirm Høgel's hypothesis in favour of the involvement of more than one person in the re-working of the text, to which we subscribe, supported by Psellos's explicit statement in his *Encomion* to Symeon.

A recurrent grammatical pattern is that often in the metaphrastic version prepositions are added to verbs and nouns used in the earlier texts. This gives the metaphrastic redaction a higher degree of accuracy, showing care in choosing appropriate words which may convey a range of nuances. In addition, the Metaphrast usually rephrases passages where the syntax of earlier texts is clumsy or incorrect. In these cases the redactor intervenes to correct and improve the text.

Another tendency in the metaphrastic versions is the use of modes and tenses, such as perfect and optative, which are not so common in the premetaphrastic versions, aiming, once more, at a higher level of style. The absolute genitive, though typical in Greek prose from Late Antiquity onwards<sup>230</sup>, is used by the Metaphrast quite often and in a peculiar way: either to expand the earlier texts or to avoid the paratactic prose characteristic of most of the premetaphrastic sources. For the same reason the Metaphrast uses a wide range of connectives, such as *μὲν*, *δὲ*, *τε*, *οὐπω*, *οὔν*, which quite often replace the paratactic *καὶ* of the premetaphrastic texts.

A typical metaphrastic technique is the tendency to insert long and short periphrases. The use of transitional and explanatory sentences and phrases has a syntactical and stylistic function, at the same time facilitating the reader to follow the plot. This technique results in expanding the text of the earlier sources at the same time clarifying it and avoiding parataxis. The transitional sentences in Symeon's texts which we examined may contain long genitive absolutes, conditional sentences, or sentences structured on the contraposition of the connectives *μὲν/δὲ*.

Another fairly consistent feature of the metaphrastic prose is the use of word play, metaphorical images and *variatio*, in an attempt to elevate the style of the earlier sources. The tendency by the Metaphrast to avoid Latin words in our three texts point to the same direction.

The general impression from a comparative reading of these texts is that, though the metaphrastic versions are re-elaborations in accordance with the general principles and criteria mentioned above, this process is not carried out systematically, as we can single out certain "inconsistencies". In my view, one of the most important reasons in investigating the metaphrastic corpus by comparing it to the extant premetaphrastic

<sup>230</sup> See Matino, *Lingua*, esp. pp. 20-23.

sources is to assess whether ‘consistency’ is an expectation of a modern audience, who assume that Symeon (and his team) must have worked in accordance with clear principles and criteria. The present thesis shows that the re-working process by the Metaphrast seem to be more complex. In addition, we should always bear in mind that premetaphrastic texts which the Metaphrast may have re-worked simply have not survived, or indeed remain uncatalogued.

In order to draw safer conclusions it would be necessary to examine the whole Metaphrastic corpus applying the same comparative approach. This would require good editions of the metaphrastic works (including the *Vita of St Eleutherios* (BHG 571b) which hitherto remains unpublished), and in many cases also of the premetaphrastic extant sources. Undoubtedly, the study of the whole metaphrastic corpus in the light of the earlier sources, a demanding undertaking which should involve co-operation among a group of scholars, would offer us a better understanding of the metaphrastic process in particular, and of the cultural features characterizing the so-called ‘Macedonian Renaissance’ in general.

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## PLATES



