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The Soterios Project revisited: status quaestionis and the future edition

Abstract: Not until 2006 could the scholarly community welcome the first critical edition of the 103 *Quaestiones et responsiones* ascribed to Anastasius of Sinai (CPG 7746; M. RICHARD / J. A. MUNITIZ. CCSG, 59). However, this publication did not solve all topics surrounding Anastasius's work, because 21 Greek manuscripts contain still another florilegium, the so-called *Σωτήριος* dating from before 900 AD, whose core is formed by 88 ἐρωταποκρίσεις. Between 914 and 927 a Slavonic translation thereof was made which has been preserved in the so-called *Изборник*, a codex from 1073. The first and sole critical edition of the Slavonic text was made by O. M. BODJANSKIJ (1845). The 900th anniversary of the *Изборник* in 1973 incited the interest in the Greek original. Eventually, in 1996 the decision to edit the Greek text was made, mainly under the impetus of Prof. em. Dr F. J. THOMSON. This edition, originally started by Dr D. Tj. SIESWERDA, will be continued by the author of this article in close cooperation with Dr L. SELS, specialist in Church Slavonic.

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In 2006 the first critical edition of the 103 *Quaestiones et responsiones* ascribed to Anastasius of Sinai († shortly after 700; CPG 7746) was published by Marcel RICHARD and Joseph A. MUNITIZ.¹ Earlier attempts to edit these ἐρωταποκρίσεις had proven to be both unsuccessful and completely unscholarly, the first one of which was prepared by Jakob GRETZER (1562–1625), *Sancti Anastasii Sinaitae, Patriarchae Antiocheni Quaestiones et Responsiones de varijs argumentis CLIV nunc primum graece et latine cum insigni auctario publicatae*, Ingolstadii 1617, 1–685, a publication which was in fact a conflation of the genuine Anastasian

I wholeheartedly wish to thank Prof. em. Dr Francis J. THOMSON and Dr Douwe Tj. SIESWERDA for their highly appreciated guidance and advice, and for having given me the permission to use the numerous documents and notes they compiled on the matter, as well as Dr Lara SELS for her most valuable critical judgment.

1 M. RICHARD/J. A. MUNITIZ, *Anastasii Sinaitae Quaestiones et responsiones*. CCSG, 59. Turnhout 2006, 4–165.

collection and a collection of 88 questions that had, as will be shown, been revised on a later date. Moreover, GRETSEK thought it necessary to append seven additional questions (98a–b, 100a–c, 105a and 109a), which brought the total to 161. More than a century later, Johann Conrad PEEZ and Felix BADER republished the text unchanged in the Bavarian city of Regensburg, in the 14th volume of Anastasius' so-called "collected works".² A new reprint followed in 1860 in Jacques-Paul MIGNE's *Patrologia Graeca* series, volume 89, 312–824, an edition which Leonhard MASING characterized as *überaus elend*.³

However, the actual situation is even more complex as no less than 21 Greek manuscripts (see list *infra*) contain still another florilegium, the so-called *Σωτήριος* (sc. λόγος; see *infra*), the core of which is formed by the above-mentioned series of 88 ἐρωταποκρίσεις.⁴ These can be divided in two groups the first of which (No 1–23, 40, 55, 70, 73–74 and 81) contains genuine Anastasian *quaestiones* dealing with basic moral, or, as Douwe Tj. SIESWERDA calls them, *pastoral* questions:⁵ how to live a correct Christian life? How to bear up against great problems and solve minor ones?⁶ The answers, however, appear for the

2 J.C. PEEZ/F. BADER, Opera omnia antehac ab ipsomet auctore accurate recognita opusculis multis notis (...) aucta et illustrata, nunc selecto ordine ad certos titulos revocata (17 volumes). Ratisbonae 1734–41, here volume 14 (1740) 166–446.

3 L. MASING, Studien zur Kenntnis des Izbornik Svjatoslava vom Jahre 1073 nebst Bemerkungen zu den jüngeren Handschriften (2 parts). *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 8 (1885–86) 357–95, and 9 (1885–86) 77–112; here 8 (1885–86) 359. – Contemporary scholarship on the *erotapokriseis* literature can be found in, e.g., A. VOLGERS/C. ZAMAGNI (eds.), *Erotapokriseis: Early Christian question-and-answer literature in context*. Proceedings of the Utrecht Colloquium, 13–14 October 2003. Leuven 2004; Y. PAPADOYANNAKIS, Instruction by question and answer in late antiquity: the case of late antique and Byzantine *Erotapokriseis*, in S.F. Johnson (ed.), *Greek literature in late antiquity: dynamism, didacticism, classicism*. Aldershot/Burlington (VT) 2006, 91–105. M.-P. BUSSIÈRES (ed.), *La littérature des questions et des réponses dans l'Antiquité profane et chrétienne: de l'enseignement à l'exégèse*. Actes du séminaire sur le genre des questions et réponses tenu à Ottawa les 27 et 28 septembre 2009. Turnhout 2013; I. DE VOS/O. GRINCHENKO, *The Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem*. Exploring the Slavonic material. *Byzantion* 84 (2014) 105–144.

4 See F.J. THOMSON, Byzantine erotapocritic literature in Slavonic translation with special attention to the important role played by Anastasius Sinaita's *Interrogationes et responsiones* in the conversion of the Slavs. *Byzantion* 84 (2014) 385–432, here 403–431.

5 D.Tj. SIESWERDA, The Σωτήριος, the original of the Izbornik of 1073. *Sacris Erudiri* 40 (2001) 293–327, here 298.

6 Examples: No 4: Ἐάν τις παύσῃ τῆς ἁμαρτίας, ἀρκεῖ τοῦτο πρὸς μετάνοιαν ἢ οὐ; No 5: Ἐάν τις ἐστὶν γέρων ἢ ἀδύνατος καὶ ὀλιγόψυχος καὶ οὐ δύναται μονάσαι ἢ τὰ τοῦ μοναχοῦ ποιῆσαι, πῶς οὗτος δύναται μετανοῆσαι καὶ σωθῆναι; No 10: Πόθεν ὀρώμεν τινας πιστοὺς σωματικὰ πταίσματα ποιοῦντας, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ εὐεργετημένους καὶ κινδύνων διασφoζομένους; No 13: Πόσον μέτρον τῶν ἰδίων χρημάτων ὀφείλει προσφέρειν τις τῷ Θεῷ; No 17: Ἄρα πάντα τὰ

greater part to have been revised by one or more 9th-century revisers, with Biblical and patristic quotations added or otherwise altered.⁷ The second part (No 24–39, 41–54, 56–69, 71–72, 75–80, 82–88) consists of the *Patrologia Graeca* numbers 24–39, 41–54, 56–59, 142–151, 61–62, 65–74 and 152–154 respectively, and is purely pseudo-Anastasian. Some of these *quaestiones* have been taken from other collections compiled by Maximus Confessor, Theodoret of Cyrus, and possibly John Chrysostom.⁸ They discuss problems one could come across when reading the Bible: explanatory questions, theoretical questions about objective and sense of both prophetic and apostolic statements, next to more concrete queries, some of which can be considered quite practical in nature.⁹

What is more, each ἐρωταπόκρισις is in fact an anthology in itself, for after the answer of the so-called Anastasius follows a string of quotations from the Testaments, Church Fathers and other authors. Many of them can, again, be seen as miniature florilegia as they are composed of utterances and passages from different patristic works or Bible books, often linked by connecting phrases such as καὶ πάλιν... and καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον... So, for instance, the answer to *quaestio* No 8 (= Anastasius of Sinai's *quaestio* No 25: Ἐκ πόσων τρόπων ἡ πορνεία καὶ οἱ ἐνυπνιασμοὶ ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ γίνονται;¹⁰) consists of a thoroughly revised and substantially enlarged version of the real Anastasian *responsio*, larded with Bib-

κακὰ ὅσα ποιοῦσιν ἡμῖν τὰ ἔθνη, κατὰ κέλευσιν Θεοῦ ποιοῦσιν; No 23: Αἰσθητός ἐστιν ὁ παράδεισος ἢ νοητός, φθαρτός ἢ ἄφθαρτος;

7 Cf. M. V. ВІВІКОВ, Византийский прототип древнейшей славянской книги (Изборник Святослава 1073 г.). Moskva 1996, 43–102, and SIESWERDA, The Σωτήριος (as footnote 5 above).

8 Cf. D.Tj. SIESWERDA / F.J. THOMSON, A critical Greek edition of Question 23 of the Pseudo-Anastasian Ἐρωταποκρίσεις together with the *Editio Princeps* of its Old Bulgarian translation associated with Tsar Symeon, in B. Janssens/B. Roosen/ P. Van Deun (eds.), *Philomathestatos: Studies in Greek and Byzantine texts presented to Jacques Noret for his sixty-fifth birthday. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 137. Leuven 2004, 567–589, here 581–83.

9 Examples: No 25: Πῶς νοητέον τὸ Ἰδόντες οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν ἀνθρώπων (*Gen.* 6:2); No 30: Τίνος ἔνεκεν καταρᾶται ὁ Ἰώβ τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ (cf. *Iob* 3:1, 3); No 37: Τί δήποτε διὰ σμικρὰν πλημμέλειαν πόρρωθεν ἰδεῖν ὁ Μωϋσῆς προσετάχθη τὴν γῆν, εἰσαγαγεῖν δὲ τὸν λαὸν ἐκωλύθη (cf. *Deut.* 3:27; 31:2); No 44: Πόσος ἦν τὸ μέγεθος ὁ Σολομώντιος ναός; No 48: Τίς ἡ ὀφθεῖσα εἰκὼν τοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσορ (cf. *Dan.* 2:31); No 59: Διὰ τί φησιν ὁ ἀπόστολος: Διδάσκειν γυναῖκί οὐκ ἐπιτρέπω (*I Tim.* 2:12); No 72: Τοῦ Κυρίου λέγοντος πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους αὐτοῦ Ὅσα ἂν δῆσται, ἔσται δεδεμένα (*Matth.* 18:18), ἐάν τις παροργίσῃ ἄνδρα ἅγιον καὶ ἀποστείλῃ νόσον ἢ δαίμονα ἢ θάνατον ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ τιμωρίαν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ, ἄρα δύναται ὁ ἄνθρωπος παρακαλέσαι ἕτερον ἅγιον ἐκφυγεῖν τῆς ἀποφάσεως τοῦ ἁγίου ἀνδρός; No 84: Πῶς ὁ ληστής πρὸ τῆς ἀναστάσεως εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν παράδεισον (cf. *Luc.* 23:43); No 88: Τίνος τύπον καὶ εἰκόνα ἐπέχει ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία;

10 See RICHARD/MUNITIZ, *Anastasioi Sinaitae Quaestiones et responsiones* (as footnote 1 above) 51.

lical quotations (in order: *I Cor.* 6:18 *libere*; *Rom.* 13:12 *fin.*–14; *ibid.* 6:12; *Luc.* 12:47; *Sap.* 6:6 *fin.*; *ibid.* 10:6–7 *partim*; *II Petr.* 2:9–10 *partim*; *Iudae* 1:7–8; *Is.* 66:24 *partim*; *Rom.* 1:28; *ibid.* 1:24 *fin.*; *I Cor.* 3:16–17; *Gal.* 6:7–8 *partim*; *I Cor.* 6:9–10 *partim*; *II Cor.* 5:10, and *I Cor.* 3:13). Thereafter starts the florilegium containing three additional Bible quotations (*Is.* 5:18; *Ier.* 4:22 *partim*; *ibid.* 13:23) and patristic text fragments stemming from Basil of Caesarea, *Homiliae super Psalmos* (CPG 2836; quoting *Prov.* 9:18a and alluding to Plato, *Phaedo* 115e); Isidore of Pelusium, *Epistulae* (CPG 5557); Theodoret of Cyrus, *Graecorum affectionum curatio* (CPG 6210); Maximus Confessor, *Quaestiones et dubia* (CPG 7689); John Climacus, *Scala paradisi* (CPG 7852); Athanasius of Alexandria, *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem* (CPG 2257); John Chrysostom, *Expositio in psalmum* 6 (CPG 4413; quoting *Ps.* 140:2; *Col.* 3:12; *Ps.* 6:3 *fin.*); *Ἰωσήπου ἐκ τῶν Μακαβαϊκῶν* (see Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *De virtutibus et vitiis*; quoting *IV Mach.* 1:13–30; *ibid.* 1:32–33; *ibid.* 1:35; allusions on *ibid.* 2:2, *Ex.* 20:17 and *Deut.* 5:21; *IV Mach.* 2:3–5; *ibid.* 2:7; *Gen.* 49:7; *IV Mach.* 2:15–3:5; *ibid.* 3:17–18; *ibid.* 7:17–18); and finally Maximus Confessor again, with a text fragment of his *Disputatio cum Pyrrho* (CPG 7698).

The ἐρωταποκρίσεις are preceded by ten prefaces presenting both theological questions such as the ὁρθή πίστις, dogmas on the holy Trinity and the dual nature of Christ, and the decrees of the six oecumenical councils defining ὁρθοδοξία:¹¹

1. a fragment from Basil of Caesarea, *Adversus Eunomium liber* V, 2–5 (CPG 2837; ed. PG 29, 752–761);

2. a series of 26 minor passages taken from Cyril of Alexandria, *De s. Trinitate dialogi VII* (CPG 5216; ed. PG 75, 861–64, 756–57, 789, 792, 967, 917–18, 820, cf. 948, 821, ?, 953, 1004, 960–61, 1008, 1008–1012, cf. 840, ?, ?, 908, 1013–16, 1104–05, 1105, ?, 1125–28, 1128–29, ?);

3. Isidore of Pelusium, *Epistolae* I, 423 (CPG 5557; cf. PG 78, 417);

4. twelve fragments from Theodoret of Cyrus, *Expositio rectae fidei* (CPG 6218; ed. PG 6, 1208–1216, 1220, 1221–24, 1224, 1225, 1225–28, 1229–1232, 1232–33, 1233–36, 1237, 1237, 1240);¹²

5. Maximus Confessor, *De adventu domini* (CPG 7707/28; ed. S. L. EPIFANOVICH [1917], 82–83; new edition by B. ROOSEN 2001 [thesis]);

¹¹ Cf. F. J. THOMSON, A comparison of the contents of the two translations of the Symeonian Florilegium on the basis of the Greek original texts. *Кирило-Методиевски студии* 17 (2007) 721–758, here 724–26 and 744–749.

¹² In Greek this entry falsely reads Ἰουστίνου φιλοσόφου καὶ μάρτυρος ἐκ τοῦ περὶ τῆς ὁρθῆς πίστεως, viz. Justin Martyr.

6. two fragments of Anastasius of Antioch, *Ad Sergium Grammaticum capita CL* (CPG 6957; ed. G. WEISS, *Studia* [1965] 128, and PG 89, 1285–86);

7. a fragment from Gregory of Nyssa, *Oratio catechetica magna* (CPG 3150; ed. E. MÜHLENBERG [1996], IV (= III, 4), 38; cf. PG 45, 41);

8. a collection of ten fragments nine of which are taken from John Chrysostom, *In epistolam I ad Corinthios homiliae* 4, 5 and 7 (CPG 4428; ed. PG 61, 31, 32, 56, cf. 32, 41, 42, 59, 60, and 60–61; tenth fragment untraced);

9. Michael Syncellus, *Libellus de orthodoxa fide sive Professio fidei* (cf. B. DE MONTFAUCON [1715], 90–93);

10. De sex sanctis et oecumenicis synodis.

The core of the florilegium is followed by 25 appendices offering diverse contents, both spiritual and secular, theological discourses (e.g. on substance, essence and nature of the Trinitarian persons), and documents discussing literary tropes, chronology, prophets, apostles, kings and emperors:¹³

1. Theodore of Raithu, *Praeparatio* 11, 15 and 19 (CPG 7600; ed. F. DIEKAMP [1938], 200–02, 209, 219; PG 91, 1484–1504 *passim*). In truth, approx. 45 % of the text is based on John of Damascus' *Dialectica* (CPG 8041; ed. PG 94, 521–676);

2. two fragments of John of Damascus on essence and substance: *Contra Iacobitas* 11–64 (CPG 8047; ed. PG 94, 1441–44 and 1468) and *Dialectica* 9 (CPG 8041; ed. PG 94, 521–676);¹⁴

3. Maximus Confessor, *Unionum definitiones* (CPG 7697/18);¹⁵

4. George Choeroboscus, *Tractatus de tropis poeticis* (abridged version);

5. an entry based more or less on Epiphanius of Constantia, *Panarion* (*Adversus haereses*) (CPG 3745; unedited; source untraced);

6. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Dialogus inter s. Basilium et s. Gregorium Theologum de invisibili Dei essentia* (CPG 3067; ed. C. HEINRICI [1911], 32–35);

7. seven excerpts of Theodoret of Cyrus, *Haereticarum fabularum compendium* (CPG 6223; ed. PG 83, 448, 477, 480, 481) and *Quaestiones et responsiones ad orthodoxos* 117 (CPG 6285; ed. A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS [1895], 119; PG 6,

¹³ Cf. SIESWERDA, The Σωτήριος (as footnote 5 above) 298.

¹⁴ In Greek this entry is erroneously entitled Μαξίμου περὶ ἐνουσίου καὶ ἐνυποστάτου.

¹⁵ In Greek this entry is entitled Τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ ἐνώσεως ὅτι κατὰ ἰ' τρόπους γίνεται ἡ ἐνωσις. Scholarly edition of this fragment by J. JOHANNET, Les chapitres de définitions philosophiques dans l'*Izbornik de 1073* (Édition gréco-slave). *Revue des études slaves* 63 (1991) 55–111, here 110–111. Variant quotation in PG 91, 213–216. Cf. John of Damascus, *De unione* (CPG 8087/8; PG 95, 232).

1365–68), combined with one of John of Damascus, *De theologia* (CPG 8087/5; ed. PG 95, 229);

8. Irenaeus of Lyons, *Adversus haereses* V (CPG 1306), fragment 11 (ed. A. ROUSSEAU – L. DOUTRELEAU – CH. MERCIER (1969 [2006], [2013]));

9. Pseudo-Augustine, *Ex dogmaticis*; the first fragment is a Greek translation of a passage taken from Vigilius of Thapso, *Contra Felicianum Arianum de unitate Trinitatis liber unus* (CPL 808); the sources of the other two fragments remain unclear; cf. Demetrius Tornicius, *Epistula* 32;

10. a *Chronotaxis Domini* allegedly based on the *Constitutiones apostolicae* (BHG 779ji; ed. PG 1, 517–518);

11. a first fragment probably based on Eusebius of Caesarea, *Chronicon* (CPG 3494; cf. BHG 779mi; ed. PG 92, 1053);

12. a second fragment probably based on Eusebius of Caesarea, *op. cit.* (cf. BHG 779mj; ed. PG 92, 1053–57), combined with a passage from George the Monk, *Chronicon* (ed. C. DE BOOR I [1904], 129) and *Chronicon breve* (ed. PG 110, 177);

13. text ascribed to Hesychius of Jerusalem, *In Christi natalem* (CPG 6595; BHG 779mj; ed. PG 92, 1057, 93, 1449 and 97, 44–45); is in reality one of the few fragments preserved of Hesychius of Miletus' *Historia mundi*;

14. John of Damascus, *De mensibus Macedonicis* (CPG 8087/11; ed. PG 95, 236); based on three excerpts from his *Expositio fidei* (CPG 8043), 21;

15. id., *De mensibus diversis* (ed. PG 95, 236–237);

16. *Decalogus* (Ex. 20:3–5 and 7–17);

17. John of Damascus, *Expositio fidei* (CPG 8043; ed. PG 94, 1177–1180);

18. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Carmina dogmatica* 12 (CPG 3034/12; ed. PG 37, 472–474, 138, 924);

19. Isidore of Pelusium (?), *De LX libris et quinam extra illos sint* (ed. PG 1, 515–517);

20. Epiphanius of Constantia, *Enumeratio LXXII prophetarum et prophetissarum* (CPG 3779; BHG 1591a; ed. TH. SCHERMANN [1907], 1–3);

21. id., *De prophetarum vita et obitu* (*Recensio altera*) (CPG 3778; BHG^a 1587, 778e–f, 958d; BHGⁿ 484xb, 2155b; ed. TH. SCHERMANN [1907], 55–66; PG 43, 415–424);

22. Hippolytus of Rome, *De XII apostolis, ubinam quisque eorum praedicaverit ac ubi consummatus sit* (CPG 1911; BHG 153a; ed. PG 10, 952–953);

23. id., *De LXX apostolis* (CPG 1911; BHG 153b; ed. PG 10, 953–957);

24. *Doxologia*;

25. *Tabula imperatorum graecorum ab Augusto usque ad Alexandrum* (912–913).

The *raison d'être* of the anthology was aptly expressed by F.J. THOMSON: “It is perfectly obvious that the florilegium was compiled with the aim of providing a guide to Christian faith and behaviour for the lay Christian and all information which it contains (...) was subordinate to that end.”¹⁶

Manuscript tradition

K Athos, Λαύρας, Γ 37 (14th c.)

(ff. 1^v–134^r; core: ff. 37^v–134^r; appendices absent)

L Athos, Λαύρας, Γ 115 (13th c.)

(ff. 1^r–162^v; core: ff. 16^r–130^v and 159^{r,v}; lacuna between ff. 15^v and 16^r, indicated by *λείπει* in the upper margin of f. 15^v. Also present are: [i] a list of the patriarchs of Rome, Jerusalem, Alexandria, Antioch and Constantinople [ff. 155^v–157^r], [ii] a list of the Jewish, Assyrian and Greek kings [ff. 157^r–158^r], and [iii] a list of the Roman and Byzantine emperors [ff. 158^r–159^r])

P¹ Escorial, Real Biblioteca, R III 2 (= Gr. 36) (14th c.; copy of **P**)

(ff. 12^r–212^v; core: ff. 14^v–184^v)

J¹ Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. IV, 6 (11th c.; copy of **J**)

(ff. 1^r–232^r and 247^r–249^v; core: ff. 1^r–215^r; prefaces absent. Added is a list of the Byzantine emperors [f. 250^{r,v}])

F Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. IV, 7 (12th c.)

(ff. 1^r–209^r; prefaces and appendices absent; incomplete as is indicated on the folium preceding f. 1^r: *Finis desid.*; see *infra* codex **F***)

J Jerusalem, Πατριαρχική βιβλιοθήκη, Ἀγίου τάφου 34 (10th c.)

(ff. 1^r–251^r and 266^r–267^v; core: ff. 1^r–233^v; prefaces absent)

16 F.J. THOMSON, The Symeonian Florilegium – Problems of its origin, content, textology and edition, together with an English translation of the Eulogy of Tzar Symeon. *Palaeobulgarica/Старобългаристика* 17 (1993) 37–53, here 46. – S.N. SAKKOS, Περὶ τῶν Ἀναστασίων Σιναΐ-τῶν. Thessaloniki 1964, 145, called the collection a *religious encyclopaedia* (*θρησκευτικὴ ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια*), a characterisation which, although not applicable to the whole, nevertheless seems appropriate for the greater part of the core as well as the appendices.

F* Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, B. P. G. 90 (12th c.) (*non vidi*)
(ff. 1^r–7^v, which are in reality the final folia of codex **F** *supra*)

Meteora, Μεταμορφώσεως, 28 (14th c.) (*non vidi*)
(ff. 1^r–73^r)

A Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, H 257 inf. (= Gr. 1041) (13th c.)
(ff. 163^v–257^v: core: ff. 176^v–257^v; appendices absent; lacuna between ff. 257^v
and 258^r, as indicated in the bottom margin of f. 257^v)

B Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, L 88 sup. (= Gr. 489) (10th c.)
(ff. 1^v–223^r and 226^r–231^r; core: ff. 1^v–193^v, followed by prefaces; appendices
absent)

N Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, Fondo greco 27 (15th c.)
(ff. 1^r–263^v and 277^v–314^v; core: ff. 1^r–261^v; prefaces absent)

O Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci 206 (13th c.)
(ff. 1^r–123^r; core: ff. 1^r–111^r; prefaces absent)

P Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ancien fonds grec 922 (11th c.)
(ff. 6^r–265^v; core: ff. 6^r–228^r)

Q Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ancien fonds grec 1085 (11th c.)
(ff. 1^r–261^r; core ff. 1^r–240^r; prefaces absent)

R Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ancien fonds grec 1259A (14th c.)
(ff. 6^r–158^r; core: ff. 28^v–151^r)

C Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds Coislin 120 (ca 900)
(ff. 4^r–224^v; core: ff. 31^v–194^v. Added are: [i] a list of the patriarchs of Rome,
Jerusalem, Alexandria, Antioch and Constantinople [ff. 224^v–228^v], [ii] a list
of the Jewish, Assyrian and Greek kings [ff. 228^v–229^v], and [iii] a list of the
Roman and Byzantine emperors [f. 229^v; incomplete due to a missing folio
between ff. 229^v and 230^r])

Q¹ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds Coislin 258 (12th c.; copy of **Q**)
(ff. 1^r–212^v; core: ff. 1^r–192^v; prefaces absent)

I Patmos, Μονή τοῦ Ἀγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου, 109 (ca 900)
(ff. 19^r–264^v; core: ff. 49^r–251^v)

V Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Gr. 423 (10th c.)
(ff. 1^r–423^v; core: ff. 55^r–385^r)

J* Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Gr. 620 (16th c.; copy of **J**)
(ff. 101^r–200^v; core: ff. 101^r–182^v; prefaces absent)

J² Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. gr. 414 (11th c.; copy of **J**)
(ff. 0^r–161^v and 171^r–175^r; core: ff. 0^r–150^r; prefaces absent. Added are: [i] a list of the patriarchs of Rome, Jerusalem, Alexandria, Antioch and Constantinople [ff. 175^r–178^v], [ii] a list of the Jewish, Assyrian and Greek kings [ff. 178^v–179^v], and [iii] a list of the Roman and Byzantine emperors [ff. 179^v–180^v])¹⁷

M Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Fondo antico, Gr. 498/coll. 432
(2nd half 14th c.) (ff. 1^r–122^v and 390^v–392^r; core: 4^v–64^v and 75^r–112^r)

The collection cannot have originated after 900 AD precisely because the two oldest codices (**C** and **I**) stem from that period. The *terminus post quem* most certainly is the restoration of the veneration of the icons (843), for in the answer to the 2nd and 57th Question a work against iconoclasm, the *Contra iconomachos* of patriarch Nicephorus I of Constantinople, is quoted, while in the ninth preface the *Libellus de fide orthodoxa* of Michael Syncellus (ca 761–846) is found, in which the author asserts his belief in iconodulia. In two manuscripts (**C** and **L**; both f. 1^r) the anthology is entitled *Βίβλος γενομένη καὶ συντεθεῖσα ἐκ διαφορῶν λόγων καὶ διηγήσεων ψυχωφελῶν ἢ λεγομένη Σωτήριος*.

During his stay in Moscow from the 25th of October 1792 to the 7th of January 1793, Josef DOBROVSKÝ (1753–1829), a renowned Bohemian philologist and historian, was doing research in the Library of the *New Jerusalem Monastery of the Resurrection*, outside the metropolis, and discovered a splendid though lacunary codex of 266 folia,¹⁸ written in 1073 and once in the possession of Prince (later Grand Prince) Svjatoslav II Jaroslavič of Kiev (1027–1076); it proved to con-

¹⁷ The expression “f. 0” refers to the folium preceding f. 1.

¹⁸ Two folia are missing after f. 4, 7 and 11, and eight folia after f. 130.

tain the Slavonic translation of the *Σωτήριος*,¹⁹ which had originally been made somewhere between 914 and 927 at the express command of Tsar Symeon I the Great of Bulgaria (864/865–927), son of Khan Boris-Michael who had adopted the Orthodox faith in 865.²⁰ Later on, the Russian Synod ordered that the manuscript should be transferred to be part of the Synodal collection.²¹ It is now to be found in the *State History Museum*, bearing the number 1043 (*olim* 31D). It is generally known under the name *Изборник (Святослава) 1073*. The final entry in this manuscript constitutes the *terminus post quem* of the Slavonic translation; it concerns a list of Roman and Byzantine emperors on ff. 264^r–266^r, in which the length of the reign of each is specified.²² That of the last complete reign, namely Alexander's, is one year and 25 days, which is correct, as he had the power from the 12th of May 912 to the 6th of June 913. The length of reign of the last two rulers, viz. Constantine VII (908–959) and regentess Zoe (914–919/920) remains unmentioned. Strangely enough, this list is found in codex 1043 only, although some Greek manuscripts do present it: the codices J² (ff. 179^v–180^v) and L (ff. 158^v–159^v) offer the complete list, J¹ (f. 250^{r,v}) gives the

19 Cf. F. J. THOMSON, A contribution to the textology of the Symeonian Florilegium together with the *Editio Princeps* of the part of Anastasian Question 20 missing in the codex of 1073. *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 28 (2006) 307–327, here 307.

20 Cf. SIESWERDA, The *Σωτήριος* (as footnote 5 above) 293; THOMSON, The Symeonian Florilegium (as footnote 16 above) 37; IDEM, An edition and comparison of Question XXIII of Anastasius Sinaita's *Interrogationes et responsiones* in the two translations of the Symeonian Florilegium, in L. TASEVA/R. MARTI et al. (eds.), *Многократните преводи в южнославянското средновековие. Доклади от международната конференция София, 7–9 юли 2005 г.* Sofia 2006, 111. – The ff. 263^v–264^r contain a verse eulogy of Svjatoslav of Kiev, in which he is praised for ordering the Slavonic translation of the florilegium (this text was recopied on f. 2^{v,r} [sic] in a slightly variant prose form). His name, however, appears to have been written over an erasure. According to codex 5/1082 (*olim* 118/5; ca 1500) of the collection of the *Dormition Monastery* (see *infra*), which is the sole copy to contain the eulogy in its original form, Symeon of Bulgaria ordered the translation to be made. Edition of the eulogy in the *Изборник*: P. DINEKOV (ed.), *Симеонов сборник (по Светославовия препис от 1073 г.)*, vol. 1. Sofia 1991, 202–201 and 720–721; G. КАРОВ (ed.), *Изборник великого князя Святослава 1073 г. Издание Императорского Общества любителей древней письменности*, 55. Sankt-Peterburg 1880. Reprint in the review *Monumenta linguae slavicae dialecti veteris; fontes et dissertationes*, 3. Wiesbaden 1965, 4–3 and 526–527; B. РYBAKOV (ed.), *Изборник Святослава 1073 года. Факсимильное издание*. Moskva 1983, 2^{v,r} and 263^v–264^r. Edition of the eulogy in codex 5/1082 and short description of this manuscript by S. ŠEVYREV, *Поездка в Кирилло-Белозерский монастырь. Вакационные дни профессора С. Шевырева в 1847 году*, vol. 2. Moskva 1850, 30–32.

21 Instruction No 4958 of the Russian Synod, dating from the 4th of July 1834; cf. THOMSON, A contribution (as footnote 19 above) 313 note 3.

22 Cf. THOMSON, A comparison (as footnote 11 above) 722.

Byzantine emperors only, and **C** (f. 229^v) merely possesses the beginning, the rest of the text missing due to the loss of a folio. **L** ends with Alexander and a reign of one year and one month; **J**¹ also ends with Alexander but wrongly mentions a reign of one year and 15 days; **J**² has the same false calculation and adds an extra name: Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ υἱὸς Λέοντος; according to Mihail V. BIBIKOV the list is also found in the Meteora codex Μεταμορφ. 28.²³ If the translator himself added Zoe's name in his Slavonic text, he must have been working between 914 and 919/920; on the other hand, if we assume that Zoe was already present in the Greek model, the Slavonic translation must stem from between 914 and Symeon's death on the 27th of May 927, this date naturally being the *terminus ante quem*.²⁴

The first and at the same time sole effort to accomplish a critical edition of the Slavonic florilegium was made by Osip M. BODJANSKIĬ (1808–1877), a notable Slavist of Ukrainian ethnicity, who held the chair of the history and literature of Slavic languages at Moscow University (1842–1868). In 1845, together with an anonymous scribe, he produced a copy of the *Изборник*. Two years later, in 1847, he had a copy made of a second manuscript that contains the Slavonic anthology, namely codex 275 of the *Synodal Library*, a direct *descriptus* of the *Изборник*, which was copied in 1403 by Anthimus, a monk of the *St. Andronicus's Monastery of the Acheiropoietic Icon of Our Saviour* at Moscow. Later on, a third copy of the anthology which goes back to the archetype independently of the manuscript of 1073, viz. codex 5/1082 (*olim* 118/5; ca 1500) of the collection of the *Dormition Monastery*, a monastery that was founded by St. Cyril of Belozero (Beloe Ozero) in ca 1397 on the bank of Lake Siverskoe, was discovered by Stepan ŠEVYREV (1806–1864), a literary critic who lectured at the University of Moscow,²⁵ and is now kept in the Russian *National Library* at Saint Petersburg.²⁶

Karl Benedict HASE (1789–1864), keeper of the Greek manuscripts in the then *Bibliothèque Impériale* in Paris, sent him a copy of the Coislin 120 (**C**; ca 900), the oldest manuscript containing the florilegium. Nevertheless, BODJANSKIĬ's work on the edition proceeded extremely slowly, partly because he com-

²³ BIBIKOV (as footnote 7 above) 258.

²⁴ THOMSON, A comparison (as footnote 11 above) 722: "Clearly the Slavonic list (...) contains more accurate information than the extant Greek ones."

²⁵ See ŠEVYREV (as footnote 20 above).

²⁶ MASING (as footnote 3 above) 371–389; I. ROZOV, О датировке и локализации Кирилло-Белозерского списка Изборника Симеона-Святослава, in E. Nemirovskij (ed.), Русско-болгарские связи в области книжного дела. Сборник научных трудов. Актуальные проблемы книговедения, 5. Moskva 1981, 22–35.

bined his chair with the office of secretary of the *Society of Russian History and Antiquities* attached to the university (1845–1848, 1858–1877).²⁷ BODJANSKIJ died on the 6th of September 1877 and had, at that moment, merely collated the ff. 4^r–75^r of the *Изборник* with four other codices, viz. number 275 of the *Synodal Library*, number 5/1082 stemming from the *Dormition Monastery* collection, as well as two manuscripts from the library of Count Nikolaj RUMJANCEV (1754–1826), namely No 6 and 356,²⁸ and added the Greek original and a Latin translation.

The disappointing result of BODJANSKIJ's efforts was published in 1883 by Elpididor V. BARSOV (1836–1917), secretary of the *Society of Russian History and Antiquities* (1881–1907), who added a historiographic account of the study of the *Изборник*, and Aleksandr L. DJUVERNUA (1839–1886), professor of Slavic philology at Moscow University (1869–1886), who added an introduction to the edition.²⁹ Some considered the edition to be a valuable contribution;³⁰ this opinion was not at all shared by MASING in his review that was published in *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 8 (1885), 572: [D]as vorliegende erste Heft (...) bei der so vielfach, um nicht zu sagen überall, hervortretenden Systemlosigkeit und dem Mangel an Kritik in der Anlage und Durchführung, sowie bei der alle Grenzen des Entschulbaren weit übersteigenden Incorrectheit des dargebotenen Inhalts einen wissenschaftlichen Werth mit zweifelloser Entschiedenheit nicht repräsentiert.³¹

The whole text as found in the lacunary *Изборник* was reproduced in three editions, resp. by Gennadij KARPOV, Petr DINEKOV (diplomatic edition) and Boris

27 Cf. THOMSON, A contribution (as footnote 19 above) 307.

28 The Rumjancev codex No 6 was discovered by Aleksandr VOSTOKOV (1781–1864), at that time assistant curator of manuscripts in the St. Petersburg Public Library (1815–1828).

29 E.V. BARSOV / A.L. DJUVERNUA, *Изборник великого князя Святослава Ярославича 1073 года. С греческим и латинским текстами. Чтения в Императорском Обществе истории и древностей российских*, 123. Moskva 1883, 1–184.

30 Cf. K. КУЕВ, Поява и разпространение на Симеоновия сборник, in Dinekov (as footnote 20 above) 38; H. LUNT, On the *Izbornik* of 1073. *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 7 (1983) 359 note 1; R. MARTI, review of B. Rybakov (ed.), *Изборник Святослава 1073 года. Факсимильное издание*. Moskva 1983, in *Russian Linguistics* 9 (1985) 120, who also remarks (122 note 12) that it is ...virtually useless.

31 The emphases are in the original. – Later on, in 1993, F.J. THOMSON called the edition an “unmitigated disaster”, arguing: “both the Slavonic and Greek texts are Bodyansky's own totally artificial constructs, a strange mixture of variants arbitrarily chosen from various codices and his own conjectures, while the Latin translations have been taken from other editions and are often not emended and thus correspond to neither the Greek, nor the Slavonic” (THOMSON, *The Symeon Florilegium*, as footnote 16 above, 41). He sums up a list of shortcomings in his article A contribution (as footnote 19 above) 308.

РЯБАКОВ (facsimile edition).³² In none of these was any attempt made to fill up the gaps in the *exemplar*, although the fragments missing after ff. 3, 7 and 11 are present in the 5/1082-codex (ff. 8^v–12^v, 18^v–23^r, and 30^v–34^r), and even in BOD-JANSKIЈ's partial edition.³³ In addition, the text missing after f. 130 remained unpublished until 2004, when SIESWERDA and THOMSON edited Question 23 on the basis of the 5/1082-codex.³⁴

This Slavonic translation³⁵ has reached us in three different recensions, namely (a) the full recension of what could be called “family A”, including, of course, the *Изборник*, codex 275 of the *Synodal Library* (copy of the preceding manuscript),³⁶ and the 5/1082-codex of the *Dormition Monastery*; (b) “family B”, displaying several omissions,³⁷ consisting of codex Athos, Zographou 223, a Ruthenian manuscript of the late 16th or early 17th c.,³⁸ and codex 260 in the collection of the *Lithuanian Academy of Sciences* (16th c.);³⁹ (c) the abridged recension, to which belong e.g. No 6 of the Rumjancev-collection (15th c.),⁴⁰ manuscript 399/86 in the collection of the *Monastery of the Transfiguration* on the Solovki Islands in the White Sea (17th c.),⁴¹ the Serbian codex 382 (late 13th or early 14th c.) in the collection of the *Monastery of Chilandar* (Χιλανδα-

32 KARPOV (as footnote 20 above). Reprint in the review *Monumenta linguae slavicae dialecti veteris; fontes et dissertationes*, 3. Wiesbaden 1965; DINEKOV (as footnote 20 above); РЯБАКОВ (as footnote 20 above).

33 THOMSON, A contribution (as footnote 19 above) 309; cf. BARSOV/DJUVERNIA (as footnote 29 above) 2–7, 14–19, and 28–32.

34 SIESWERDA/THOMSON, A critical Greek edition (as footnote 8 above) 581–583.

35 An exhaustive list of Slavonic manuscripts containing the florilegium does not exist. КУЕВ (as footnote 30 above) presents 27 in Dinekov (as footnote 20 above) 34–98.

36 See A. GORSKIЈ/K. NEVOSTRUЕV, Описание славянских рукописей Московской Синодальной библиотеки. Москва 1855–1917, part 2 (2), 406.

37 Namely the second half of Anastasian Question 48 and all of Question 52; further most of the *index librorum canonicorum* taken from John of Damascus' *Expositio fidei* (CPG 8043), which forms the 17th appendix to the Questions.

38 C. RALEVA, Зографский список сборника царя Симеона, *Palaeobulgarica/Старобългаристика* 17/4 (1993) 22–58, especially 46; E. WEINER, Ein weiterer Textzeuge für den Simeonschen Kodex. *Anzeiger für slavische Philologie* 22/2 (1994) 199–205.

39 C. RALEVA, Вилненският препис на Симеоновия сборник. Текстологически въпроси, *Кирило-Методиевски студии* 5 (1988) 131–155, especially 134 and 146–147; see also F. DOBRJANSKIЈ, Описание рукописей Виленкой Публичной библиотеки, церковно-славянских и русских. Vilnius 1882, 432–439.

40 LUNT (as footnote 30 above) 368.

41 I. PORFIR'EV/A. VADKOVSKIЈ/N. KRASNOSEL'CEV, Описание рукописей Соловецкого монастыря, находящихся в библиотеке Казанской духовной академии, vol. 1. Kazan 1881, 736–39, especially 737.

πίου) on Athos,⁴² further the Serbian codex 72 (14th c.) and the Wallachian codex 310 (16th c.), both of which belong to the collection of the *Academia Română*.⁴³

Moreover, a second translation has been preserved in one manuscript only, viz. on the ff. 1^r–189^r of codex *Berliner Staatsbibliothek*, Wuk 45 (second quarter of the 15th c.). This text is written in Serbian orthography, *reveals*, however, *traces of having been copied at some stage from a Bulgarian MS*.⁴⁴ On linguistic grounds any datation before the 14th c. seems improbable.⁴⁵ This translation has not yet been edited, apart from two minor excerpts from Anastasius' 64th Question, one of the prefaces to the Questions (Michael Syncellus' aforementioned *Libellus de fide orthodoxa*), and seven of the appendices to the Questions (see *supra*).⁴⁶

As SIESWERDA recalls,⁴⁷ the 900th anniversary of the *Изборник* led to various activities in 1973 and the following years: a conference at Saint Petersburg, further textological study, articles and even an edition.⁴⁸ At the same time, interest in the Greek original grew. In 1996 BIVIČOV presented and described about 20

42 K. IVANOVA, За Хилендарския препис на първия Симеонов сборник, *Старобългарска литература* 5 (1979) 57–96, especially 84–85; A. MILTENOVA, Един непроучен флорилегий в южнославянската ръкописна традиция от XIII–XIV век., in T. Totev (ed.), *Медиевистични изследвания. В памет на Пејо Димитров*. Šumen 1996, 74–86.

43 See G. MIHAILA, Списки сборника царя Симеона в библиотеке Румынской академии, *Palaeobulgarica/Старобългаристика* 11/3 (1987) 3–20, especially 11–12; KUEV (as footnote 30 above) in Dinekov (as footnote 20 above) vol. 1.C. Sofia 1991, 41–43 and 70–71.

44 THOMSON, An edition and comparison (as footnote 20 above) 112; A. JACIMIRSKIJ, Описание южно-славянских и русских рукописей заграничных библиотек, vol. 1. Petrograd 1921, 433.

45 THOMSON, An edition and comparison (as footnote 20 above) 112.

46 These are: (a) Irenaeus of Lyons, *Adversus haereses* V (CPG 1306; f. 179^{r-v}), fragment 11; (b) Pseudo-Augustine, *Ex dogmaticis*; excerpt starting with a passage taken from Vigilius of Thapsos's *Contra Felicianum Arianum de unitate Trinitatis liber unus* (CPL 808; ff. 179^v–180^r); the source of the other two fragments remains unclear; (c) Isidore of Pelusium (?), *De LX libris et quinam extra illos sint* (ff. 182^v–183^r); (d) Epiphanius of Constantia, *Enumeratio LXXII prophetarum et prophetissarum* (CPG 3779; BHG 1591a; f. 183^{r-v}); (e) a fragment allegedly based on the *Constitutiones Apostolorum* (CPG 1730; f. 180^{r-v}); (f–g) two fragments allegedly excerpted from Eusebius of Caesarea's *Chronicon* (CPG 3494; BHG 779mi and mj; ff. 180^v–181^r and 181^r–182^r); cf. THOMSON, An edition and comparison (as footnote 20 above) 113.

47 This paragraph is to a large extent based on SIESWERDA, The Σωτήριος (as footnote 5 above) 294–95.

48 B. RYBAKOV (as footnote 20 above); DINEKOV (as footnote 19 above) vol. 1–2. Sofia 1991–93; see THOMSON, The Symeonian Florilegium (as footnote 16 above) 37–53.

Greek manuscripts together with a *stemma codicum*.⁴⁹ It was then that THOMSON made the suggestion that the *Institute of Early Christian and Byzantine Studies* at the *Catholic University Leuven (KULeuven)* should take upon itself the huge task of reconstructing the archetype and providing a scholarly edition of the compilation that equals ca 400 A4's! Already in 2004, THOMSON's cooperation with SIESWERDA led to the first critical edition ever of Question 23 of the florilegium,⁵⁰ while he provided two years later the *editio princeps* of the part of Question 20 that is missing in the *Изборник*.⁵¹ However, due to manifold difficulties and setbacks, personal and other, the Leuven project came to a standstill. Those were the circumstances in which I was eventually invited to start a new endeavour.

Back in 2007, THOMSON gave the initial impetus for a comparative study of the Greek *Σωτήριος*, the 14th-c. Slavonic translation and the 10th-c. Slavonic "Florilegium of Symeon". The exceptional importance of the latter translation which undoubtedly played a major role in the Christianization and consolidation of the Faith throughout the Slav world is clear from its wide distribution and its huge indirect tradition.⁵²

Further research and the identification of the branches of the Greek tradition to which the Slavonic versions belong remains of pivotal importance. A scholarly edition of the Greek *Σωτήριος* is the *conditio sine qua non* for the establishment of a truly critical edition of the Slavonic "Florilegium of Symeon" and the cooperation with specialists of Old Church Slavonic from the outset will provide a solid fundament for future endeavours in that direction. The introduction of Slavonic readings in the apparatus of the edition of the Greek text, which will be done in cooperation with the specialist in Church Slavonic Dr Lara SELS (*KU-Leuven / Ghent University*), will not only shed more light on the relationship between the two traditions but it will also make the edition of the Greek text a valuable instrument for Slavists. At the same time, however, the Greek collection – the importance of which was already pointed out by Hans-Georg BECK in 1959⁵³ – deserves to be pulled out of the shadow of its famous Slavonic translation to be

⁴⁹ BIBIKOV (as footnote 7 above).

⁵⁰ SIESWERDA/THOMSON, A critical Greek edition (as footnote 8 above) 567 – 589.

⁵¹ THOMSON, A contribution (as footnote 19 above) 320 – 27.

⁵² As observed by THOMSON, Byzantine erotapocritic literature (as footnote 4 above) 421 – 424, who goes into considerable detail where the Slavonic tradition is concerned.

⁵³ H.-G. BECK, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 12.2). München 1959, 444: "ein kulturgeschichtlich besonders wichtiges, leider noch nicht ausgeschöpftes Werk, das eine tiefe Einsicht in die 'Volkstheologie' der Zeit bietet".

studied in its own right, within the broader context of contemporary *erotapokriseis* scholarship.