

Maria Korogodina and Basil Lourié

## Introduction

### Preface

We have given the title *On the Perdition of the Higher Intellect and on the Image of Light* (thereafter PHI) to the treatise that is preserved without any title; its beginning and possibly its end are missing. PHI is known in Slavonic only, though it bears evident marks of being a translation from Greek. Many places in the text seem quite obscure, but, at least some of them become much clearer when the reader recalls Greek syntax and Greek lexemes. This means that the translation was not of an especially high level.

The text has no self-standing manuscript tradition, even though it is preserved in dozens of manuscripts. It survived as having been encapsulated within other larger literary works; all of them, however, share the same Slavonic translation of PHI. The earliest manuscripts are dated to the fifteenth century; the earliest compilations in which PHI is found date to the thirteenth century (see below). The thirteenth century is the *terminus ante quem*; we do not know the exact date and the exact place at which PHI appeared in Slavonic.

In its present condition, the text contains an afterword written in another style and designed to allow PHI to be accommodated in mainstream Byzantine literature. Without this afterword, however, the text is not in any way an ordinary one. PHI is a treatise that expounds a peculiar Christology and refers to an Old Testament typology that is non-standard for mainstream Byzantine exegesis. We can demonstrate that the Christology of PHI represents a kind of Origenism in the style of Evagrius, whereas the typology is basically a Jewish Christian one, such as was still available in fifth-century Jerusalem (and probably later). There are reasons to suppose that the lost Greek original of PHI, in turn, was translated from Syriac.

### The Manuscript Tradition

The manuscript tradition of PHI is described in detail by Maria Korogodina (Korogodina, *Кормчие книги XIV – первой половины XVII века*, Moscow—St. Petersburg, 2017, vol. 1, pp. 173-176). It is divided into two branches: within an anti-Latin treatise *The Epistle against the Romans*, and within the so-called *Selected Words* of Gregory of Nazianzus. In the second branch, the text is somewhat shortened at the beginning and the end, but the lost part is not significant.

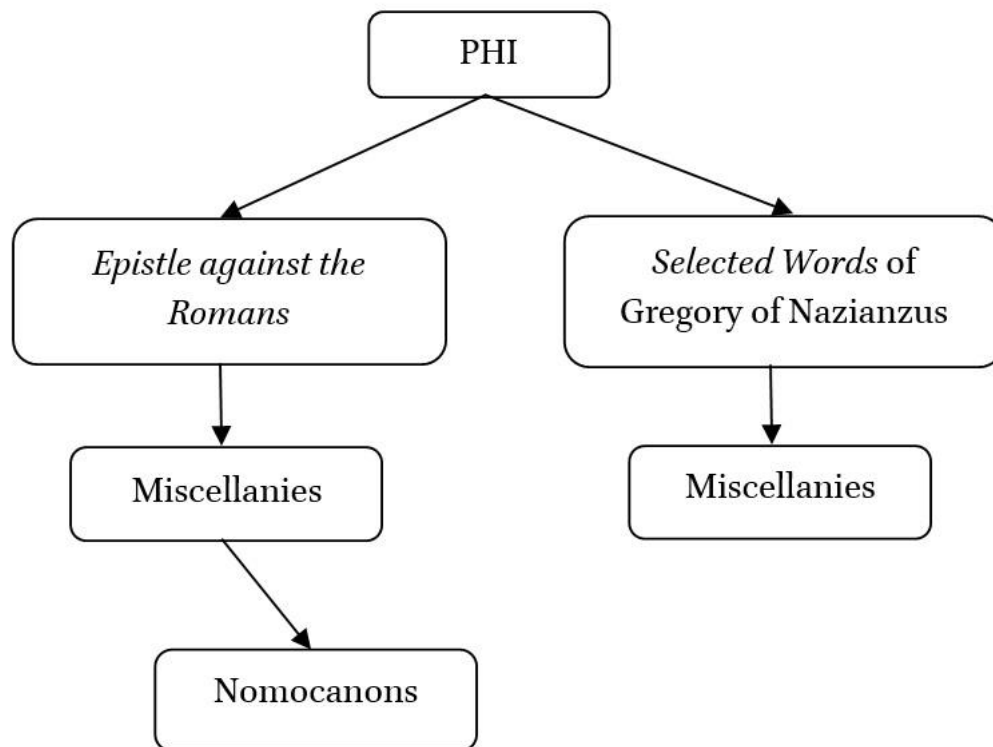
The first branch, which is related to anti-Latin polemics, is in turn subdivided into two sub-branches, that of the miscellanies (four manuscripts of the fifteenth century) and that of the Nomocanon (*Kormchaya*) (see Figure); PHI is present

---

<sup>1</sup> This research was carried out by one of the co-authors, Basil Lourié, with a financial support of the Russian Foundation for Basic Research, project 18-011-01243 “Formation of the conceptual categorical apparatus of Eastern Christian philosophical and theological thought of the third and the fourth centuries”; and by the other co-author, Maria Korogodina, Saint-Petersburg University, with a financial support of the Russian Science Foundation, project 20-18-00171 “Moscovia & Ruthenia in the 15<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> centuries: mutual influences of written traditions in liturgy, canon law, the educational system, and theology”. Both authors express their deepest gratitude to Prof. Joseph O’Leary for improving their English. They are also grateful to all those who helped them at different stages of their work, especially to Dmitry Afinogenov, Andrey Borodikhin, Anissava Miltenova, Anna Pichkhadze, Alexander Simonov, Sergius Temčinas, and Constantine Vershinin.

in the Chudov recension of the Nomocanon compiled in the fourteenth century and preserved in more than 30 manuscripts of different dates starting from the middle of the fifteenth century.

#### Transmission of PHI within the Slavonic Compilations



The second branch is preserved in four fifteenth-century manuscripts of the *Selected Words* of Gregory of Nazianzus. The original form of this compilation from the works of Gregory of Nazianzus is attributed to Kliment (Clement) Smoljatič, the metropolitan of Kiev in 1147–1155. However, Kliment himself did not include PHI in the original compilation; it was added to it only at some later stage. In the *Selected Words*, PHI is a smooth continuation of the commentary of Nicetas of Serres (metropolitan of Heraclea since 1117) on homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus, as if it were part of the latter. However, the commentary by Nicetas of Heraclea (CPG 3027), dated to the turn of the eleven-twelfth centuries, is well known in both Greek and Slavonic<sup>2</sup>, and it does not contain PHI. This commentary was translated into Slavonic almost immediately and was partially included in the *Selected Words* of Gregory of Nazianzus. Thus, the *terminus ante quem* for the Slavonic translation of PHI is the thirteenth century, when it was included in the *Epistle against the Romans*.

<sup>2</sup> There is no modern edition of this commentary that is known, beside Greek, in Latin, Slavonic, and Georgian. The bibliography in CPG 3027 (which appeared in 1974) deals with the published fragments in Greek and Latin and the unpublished Georgian version but omits the Slavonic entirely; there is no addition in the *Supplementum* (1998), whereas for the Greek fragments, Constantinescu, *Nicetae Heracleensis commentariorum XVI orationum Gregorii Nazianzeni fragmenta rem litterariam, historiam atque doctrinam antiquitatis spectantia*, Bucharest, 1977, pp. 170–197 has been added. For the Slavonic version, see Никольский, *О литературных трудах митрополита Климента Смолятича*, St. Petersburg, 1892 (161–199), where only a part of the published fragments ascribed to Nicetas is genuine. The Slavonic version remains unpublished as a whole, and its origin is under discussion; the manuscript tradition has not been studied. For a possible Russian origin, see, most recently, Поньрко, “Был ли Климент Смолятич создателем первого славянского перевода Толкований Никиты Ираклийского на 16 слов Григория Богослова”, *ТОДРЛ* 59 (2008), pp. 133–143, and Пичхадзе, *Переводческая деятельность в домонгольской Руси*, Moscow, 2011, pp. 33–34, but both leave unanswered and even unmentioned the arguments of Francis Thomson for a South Slavic origin (Thomson, “‘Made in Russia’. A Survey of the Translations Allegedly Made in Kievan Russia,” in: *Millennium Russiae Christianae*, Cologne, 1993, p. 316, cf. Thomson *The Reception of Byzantine Culture in Mediaeval Russia*, Aldershot—Brookfield, 1999, Addenda, 26).

## The Language of the Slavonic Translation

The language of the Slavonic translation is rather peculiar and certainly deserves to be studied properly, but such an inquiry would be beyond our competence. A surface inspection reveals some archaisms and a number of *hapax legomena*. The archaisms would suggest a date earlier than the thirteenth century (if not much earlier). For instance, **ЕДИНОЧАДЫН** instead of **ЕДИНОРОДНЫН** as a rendering of *μονογενής*; the hiatus is preserved in some copies of the text: **ГОРТААНЬ, НЕСЫТААГО, ПОДОБА АШЕ, УВЕРЪТААШЕСА**.

The *hapax legomena* are interesting in another respect. They tell us nothing specific about the *Sitz im Leben* of the translation, but they are sufficient to indicate the translation school—which turns out to be different from all others known to us.

– **СЪЧАННЕ (СЪЧАННЮ МОЗГОМЪ)** “imbuing or making sated by sap” (“making sated of the brains”) (§ 2). A *hapax legomenon*. The lexeme is known only in this text (*СлРЯ* п-17, issue 26, 262);

– **РАСПЛОВАЕНЬЕ (ВОДОУ ВЪ РАСПЛОВАЕНЬЕ БРАШЬНОУ)** “dissolving” (“dissolving the food”) (§ 2). A *hapax legomenon*. The lexeme is known only in this text [(Miklosich 1862–1865, 905), (Срезневский 1893–1912, vol. 3, col. 79); *СлРЯ* п-17, issue 22, 26];

– **СОУХОСТЪНАМА (СОУХОСТЪНАМА СИЛА)** “dry, solid” (“the power/force of dryness”) (§ 2). In such contexts, this lexeme is known only in this text [(Miklosich 1862–1865, 905), (Срезневский 1893–1912, vol. 3, col. 632)]. Perhaps, the phrase “the power of dryness” appeared as a result of a Greek scribe’s or Slavic translator’s mistake: “power” instead of another word designating food. Indeed, the word **СОУХОСТЪНЫН** is known in the phrases **СОУХОТЪНА СЪНЪДЪ**, **СОУХОТЪНО ПАМЪ** “dry food” (Miklosich 1862–1865, 905). It would be expected that the meaning of the word **СОУХОСТЪНЫН** in PHI is the same, because, in the context, it emphasizes that the body needs food first and drink afterwards: “We thus bring into the body the bread first, then the chalice. Why do we give first the power of dryness to the flesh... then, the water?” The phrase “the dry food” (**СОУХОСТЪНОН СЪНЪДИ**), and not “the power of dryness,” would look natural in the contraposition to “bread” and “chalice.” The words designating “food” and “power” would have been confused already in Greek, by either a Greek scribe or the Slavic translator: compare βρῶμα “food” and ρῶμη “strength, force” (Miklosich 1862–1865, 44, 838).

All these phrases are concentrated at the beginning of PHI (§ 2), almost within a single sentence. All of them deal with the topic of necessity to feed the flesh. The author’s attention to the physiological side of human existence is striking and somewhat unexpected in a theological text. It may recall Galen’s doctrine on the role of the oppositions, including “moist” and “dry,” of which excess or deficiency would lead to illness. A fragmentary Slavonic version of Galen’s *De elementis ex Hippocrate* (under the name *Galen’s [sc., treatise] on Hippocrates*) was popular in Russian monastic literature.<sup>3</sup> However, in this monastic literature, there is no wording similar to that of PHI.

There are also lexemes known elsewhere but taking peculiar forms in PHI.

– **ТРЕУКААННЪ** (adverbial form) — “in a thrice-unhappy manner” (§ 4). The adjective “thrice-unhappy” (τριάθλιος) is well known in Slavonic (*СлРЯ* п-17, issue 30, 122, 160) but the adverb is unknown elsewhere in Slavonic, whereas it does occur, rarely, in Greek (τρισαθλίως).

– **ТРИСТАТНОЮ ВЕЩЮ ПОТОПЛЕНЪ БЫ** — an apparently meaningless phrase “with the thing (belonging to) the best officer(s) he was drowned” (§ 5). One more example of an erroneous translation. The image of the τριστάται “(Pharaoh’s) best officers” referring to Exodus 15:4 was quite common in hymnography and homiletics, almost exclusively in contexts related to drowning.<sup>4</sup> However, the mention of a “thing” here looks odd. We provide below (in the section “Syriac behind Greek”) a possible explanation of this phenomenon.

<sup>3</sup> See, for instance, the early fifteenth-century miscellany, Russian National Library (St. Petersburg), collection of the Kirillo-Belozersky monastery, Nr XII, ff. 215r–219v.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *СлРЯ* п-17, issue 30, p. 164, s.v. ТРИСТАТЪ.

Now we have to conclude that the Slavonic translation goes back to a pre-thirteenth-century epoch and belongs to a specific kind of people.

### The Unity of the Text

The text contains a postface that is linked to the bulk of the text through a quotation from Gregory of Nazianzus but has nothing in common with its specific contents. It has no common language features described above either. It consists exclusively of liturgical and paraliturgical quotations related to the Nativity of Christ.<sup>5</sup> This text has been compiled from the Slavonic translations known otherwise and, therefore, is not a part of the original text of PHI but an addition inserted in the Slavic version. It looks like a connecting link between PHI and the following long narrative on the twelve apostles, thus filling the gap in the chronological order between the Old Testament and Christian history. We have postponed its analysis to another study and excluded it from the present edition.

Apart from this afterword, the text of PHI is coherent, being a translation of a unique work that was not a compilation. The following observations would lead to this conclusion.

Throughout the whole text, the author uses the same phrases when he wants to introduce a new idea. For example, in §§ 1 and 3: **ПРЕЖЕ БѢ... ПРѢ БО СЕГО НЕ БѢ** (“earlier was ... earlier it was not”).

The long digression about the origin of “corruption” in the human genus at the beginning of the treatise elaborates on the same key notions, partly borrowed from Nemesis of Emesa: **ТАБѢННОМОУ ТАБѢНЪНОЕ** “the corruptible (thing) the corruptible one” (§ 1); **ІАДЕНЬЕ И ПИТЬЕ. ТАБѢНЪНОЕ ПО УСОУЖЕННИ** “eating and drinking (would become) corruptible after the condemnation” (*ibid.*); **НЕ ТАБѢННЕМЪ ТЕЛЕСЕ УВНОВЛЕНЪ. НЕ ІАКОЖЕ РОДОМЪ НЕТАБѢНЪНО БО БЛАГОДАТНЮ. АЩЕ БО НЕТАБѢНЪ РОДОМЪ БЫ БЫ. ТО НЕ БЫ УСОУЖЕНЪ БЫ СМРТНЮ. АЩЕ ЛИ БЫ ТАБѢНЪ. ТО НЕ БЫ ПАКЫ ИМѢЛЪ НАДЕЖІ ВОСКРѢНІА. ТО КАКО БЫ И УСОУЖЕНЪ ТАЕЮ. ЕСТЬСТВОМЪ ТАБѢНЪ СОУЩЪ** “(he) was not renewed through the incorruptibility of the body, as (he) is incorruptible not by genus but by grace, (as) the renewal through the incorruptibility of the body. It is not that he is incorruptible by genus but by grace. Were he incorruptible by genus, he would not be condemned to death; were he corruptible, he would not have the expectation of resurrection either; and how would he be condemned to corruption, were he corruptible by nature” (§ 3, quotation from Nemesis of Emesa); **ВСИ УСОУЖЕНИ БЫВШЕ В ЗЕМЛЮ И ТАБѢНІЕ** “all having been condemned to the earth and the corruption” (§ 4).

Throughout the text, the translator repeatedly uses the same lexemes, including those that are rare in Slavonic. This feature of PHI in Slavonic reveals repetition of the respective terms in the Greek original. Let us compare several cases of repetition of peculiar wording in different parts of PHI (Table 1).

Table 1

First occurrence	Repetition
<p><b>ВЪ ЧАСТЫХЪ НЕДОУГЫ И ВЪ ВЕЛИКЫХЪ БОЛѢЗНИ ВЪПАДАЮТЪ. ТОЛѢСТОСТНЮ БО ПЛОТИ. Ѡ ТАКОВЫХЪ ВЫСОТЫ. БОЛѢЗНЬНѢ ѠПАДШЕ УСОУЖЕНИ БЫВШЕ</b> (§ 2)</p> <p>“they fall into frequent ailments and great illnesses, — because, with the thickness of the flesh, they were fallen painfully from such a height, when they were</p>	<p><b>ПРЕУДОЛѢ БО ТОЛѢСТОСТЬ ТОНКОСТИ. ЗЕМЬНАЯ БО ЗЕМЬНЫИ. А НЕБНАЯ НЕБНЫИМЪ</b> (§ 10)</p> <p>“the thickness overcame the thinness — because the earthly (things) are to the earthly (things), the heavenly ones to the heavenly”</p>

<sup>5</sup> In the following order: a short quotation from the commentary of Nicetas of Heraclea on Gregory of Nazianzus's *Oratio* 38 Εἰς τὰ ἄγια φῶτα, sc., the Nativity, two troparia of the Nativity canon by Kosmas of Maiouma, and relatively long fragments from the anaphora of Basil the Great which is also to be celebrated at the Nativity.

condemned”	
<p>перваго стрѣ<sup>с</sup>ти вътораго вестрастнемъ <b>гонѣзнь</b> (§ 8)</p> <p>(the second lamb) will rescue from the passions of the first with the impassibility of the second</p>	<p>преодо<sup>л</sup>ѣ во емоу жизни <b>гонѣзненіа</b> (§ 8)</p> <p>“thus overcame his life rescuing”</p>
<p>ѡ<sup>д</sup>ѣніе и питіе не хлѣвно бѣаше. но <b>породно</b> бѣаше и <b>духовно</b> (§ 1)</p> <p>“eating and drinking was not from bread but it was paradisiac and spiritual”</p>	<p>иди на первоуоу <b>породоу</b> (§ 12)</p> <p>“go to the former Paradise”</p>
<p>ѡ<sup>д</sup> таковыа <b>высоты</b>. болѣзньнѣ ѡ<sup>д</sup>падше (§ 2)</p> <p>“they were fallen painfully from such a height”</p>	<p>ѡ<sup>д</sup> <b>высоты</b> въ пренсподънни мракъ сведенъ бы<sup>с</sup> (§ 4)</p> <p>“He was brought down from the height to the underworld darkness”</p>
<p>въ прекращенѣ <b>хитрости</b>. познавъ <b>хитрыца</b> (§ 12)</p> <p>“until he will recognise the artist at (the time when) the art is stopped”</p>	<p>снѣ оу<sup>м</sup>а и снѣ <b>хитрости</b> (§ 13)</p> <p>“the son of the intellect and the son of art”</p>
<p>не вѣстаноу<sup>т</sup>ѣ бо нижнѣ<sup>а</sup> къ <b>выспренимъ</b> (§ 10)</p> <p>“the (things) below will not arise to the (things) above”</p>	<p>на не <b>выспрь</b> высоцѣ. но на краинѣ<sup>и</sup> части (§ 15)</p> <p>“not above on the height but on an extreme part”</p>
<p>губель перваго <b>высокаго оу<sup>м</sup>а</b> (§ 4)</p> <p>“the perdition of the first higher intellect”</p>	<p>в размѣшеніе оу<sup>м</sup>а <b>прѣвысокаго</b> (§ 11)</p> <p>“with the confusion having the highest of the intellect”</p>

This comparison makes it evident that the whole text was penned by a unique author.

### The Two Previous and the Present Editions

The text has been published previously twice. The *editio princeps* has been produced by Andrey Nikolaevič Popov (1841–1881) in 1875, within the *Epistle against the Romans*, according to a fifteenth-century manuscript of his own collection, which now seems to be lost (Попов, *Историко-литературный обзор древнерусских полемических сочинений против латинян: XI–XV вв.*, Moscow, 1875, pp. 191–194). Another edition, within the *Selected Words* of Gregory of Nazianzus, was published by Nikolai Konstantinovič Nikol’skij (1863–1936) in 1892 according to a unique fifteenth-century manuscript (Никольский, *О литературных трудах митрополита Климента Смолятича*, St. Petersburg, 1892, pp. 174–176). Nikol’skij was not aware of Popov’s edition. Oddly enough, nobody so far has realised that the two publications share the same text.

The printed recensions of the Slavonic Nomocanon do not include the Chudov recension, the only one that contains PHI. The present critical edition is based on twelve manuscripts: all four miscellany manuscripts, all four manuscripts of the *Selected Words* of Gregory of Nazianzus, and four fifteenth- and sixteenth-century manuscripts of the Chudov recension of the Nomocanon.

The present edition is not a Lachmannian reconstruction but follows the best (though not ideal) fifteenth-century manuscript with the variant readings according to eleven other manuscripts. The edition is based on the manuscripts containing the largest fragment of PHI in combination with the *Epistle against the Romans*. The variant readings of the

Nomocanons and the *Selected Words* of Gregory of Nazianzus are mostly secondary in comparison with those of the miscellanies containing the *Epistle against the Romans*.<sup>6</sup>

Our main manuscript was written by Martinian of the White Lake († 1483), a famous figure among the ascetics of the Russian “Northern Thebaid.” It is the earliest copy among the miscellanies, though it has some secondary readings as well. For example, we find the words **προπονεῖδου προπονεῖδα** (“he preached preaching”) in the reasoning on God’s foresight (§ 3). It seems to be a tautology which breaks the sense of the passage dedicated to the foresight of Christ advent, his death on the cross, and the salvation he brought, but not of his preaching. Other manuscripts kept the right reading **πο προνεῖδου προπονεῖδα** (“he preached according to the foreknowledge”). The word **προνεῖδῳ** with the meaning of “foreknowledge” or “foresight” is attested in the writings of John the Exarch of Bulgaria (late ninth—early tenth century) and the early Slavonic translation of Gregory of Nazianzus.<sup>7</sup> The mistake first appeared not in Martinian’s codex but much earlier, because it affected the *Selected Words* of Gregory of Nazianzus, which contains the contaminated phrase **πο προπονεῖδου προπονεῖδα**.

Another mistake in the oldest manuscript is the reading **δα εδινη τα σμρῳ** “in order that the unique death *you*,” the last word being a direct object in the accusative case (§ 8) instead of the reading **εδινη τα σμρῳ** (“in order that the unique *that* death”) in the other miscellanies and the Nomocanons. The *Selected Words* of Gregory, however, contains the erroneous reading, thus making us consider Martinian’s manuscript to be close to the protograph used by the editor of the *Selected Words* responsible for including PHI.

### Patristic Background

It is rather easy to see that the theology of PHI is somewhat at odds with the Middle Byzantine sources. It is therefore important to “factor out” the patristic background shared by PHI with mainstream Byzantine theology. It belongs to the period preceding the parting of the ways and can serve us as a *terminus post quem* for the original of PHI. The list of such “classical” patristic authors turns out to be short, unless we consider the exegetical part of PHI: Gregory of Nazianzus, who died in 390, and Nemesius of Emesa, who wrote his *De natura hominis* between 390 and 400.

Nemesius is paraphrased in § 3; cf. his *De natura hominis*, I, 5 (46).<sup>8</sup> The two passages from Nemesius paraphrased in PHI originally follow each other in reverse sequence (s. Table 2).

Table 2

PHI	Nemesius, ed. (Morani 1987)	Translation of Nemesius
Were he incorruptible by genus, he would not be condemned to death; were he corruptible (φθαρτός), he would not have the expectation of resurrection (ἡ ἐλπίς τῆς ἀναστάσεως) either; and how he would be condemned to corruption [φθορά], were he corruptible by nature [τῇ φύσει)?	εἰ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὐτὸν θνητὸν ἐποίησεν ὁ θεός, οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτόντα θανάτῳ κατεδίκασε· τοῦ γὰρ θνητοῦ θνητότητα οὐδεὶς καταδικάζει· εἰ δ' αὖ πάλιν ἀθάνατον, οὐδ' ἂν τροφῆς αὐτὸν ἐνδεᾶ κατεσκεύασεν οὐδὲν γὰρ τῶν ἀθανάτων τροφῆς σωματικῆς δεῖται...	For if God had made him mortal from the beginning He would not have condemned him to death when he had sinned: for nobody condemns the mortal to mortality. If, however, He had rather made him immortal, He would not have made him in need of food, since nothing immortal needs bodily food...
...he (God) will put him at the borderline of the two natures, the mortal and the immortal.	Ἑβραῖοι δὲ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὕτε θνητὸν ὁμολογουμένως οὐτε ἀθάνατον γεγενῆσθαι φασιν, ἀλλ' ἐν μεθορίῳ [PHI follows the variant reading ἐν μεθορίῳ,	The Hebrews <Philo is meant> say that man came into existence in the beginning as neither mortal nor immortal, but at the boundary of each nature, so that, if he

<sup>6</sup> For the examples, see Корогодина, *Кормчие книги*, Moscow–St. Petersburg, 2017, vol. 1, pp. 175–178.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Срезневский, *Материалы для словаря древне-русского языка*, St. Petersburg, 1893–1912, vol. 2, col. 1516.

<sup>8</sup> Text: Morani, Nemesio Emeseni *De natura hominis*, Leipzig, 1987, p. 6; transl. Sharples, van der Eijk, Nemesius, *On the Nature of Man*, Liverpool, 1988, p. 41.



	p. 6, apparatus ad l. 7] ἐκατέρας φύσεως, ἵνα, ἂν μὲν τοῖς σωματικοῖς ἀκολουθήσῃ πάθεσι, περιπέσῃ καὶ ταῖς σωματικαῖς μεταβολαῖς, ἂν δὲ τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς προτιμήσῃ καλὰ, τῆς ἀθανασίας ἀξιωθῇ.	should pursue bodily affections, he would be subjected also to bodily changes, while, if he should estimate more highly the goods of the soul, he might be thought worthy of immortality
--	--	--

The presence of Nemesius blurs the picture. Indeed, Nemesius himself was acquainted with Gregory of Nazianzus personally, and his work was written in the line of the *De hominis opificio* by Gregory of Nyssa. Nevertheless, it is only in the mid-seventh century that Nemesius's work became extremely fashionable (sometimes ascribed to Gregory of Nyssa or quoted anonymously) after having appeared as if *ex nihilo*. We know practically nothing about the earlier career of Nemesius's work.<sup>9</sup> In Byzantium, this phenomenon is certainly related to the monothelite quarrels and especially with Maximus the Confessor's recourse to Nemesius, which kindled interest in Nemesius in various anti-Maximite milieux.<sup>10</sup>

Short passages of Nemesius became available in Slavonic in the earliest Slavonic patristic florilegium translated by order of Tsar Simeon of Bulgaria between 914 and 927 (the Greek original called Σωτήριος dates from before 900).<sup>11</sup> The text is overlapping with the quotation in PHI<sup>12</sup> but the translation is different.<sup>13</sup> It is to be concluded that Nemesius was quoted already in the Greek original of PHI and thus translated into Slavonic without using any previously existing translation.

PHI paraphrases Nemesius without an explicit reference to the author and as if sharing some very common knowledge. It looks as if his work was already classical. Therefore, we can cautiously suppose that this manner of quotation is a later feature, to be dated to the mid-seventh century at the earliest. Nevertheless, this is far from sure. The only safe *terminus post quem* provided to us by Nemesius is AD 390/400 (the date of the composition of his work).

Looking at the "typological" part of PHI, we could add more patristic evidences, including Basil the Great and even Jacob of Sarug (451-521). The latter is especially interesting, because his understanding of Abel as the firstborn of the dead, whereas Christ is the firstborn of the living, is in apparent disagreement with Rom. 5:12 and the entire Byzantine exegesis, where the first who brought death was Adam. PHI follows Jacob of Sarug's exegesis, which is not attested in Greek at all: "He (God) found the one who is caused to become the beginning of death, whose blood the entire earth embraced" (§ 8).

Given that we will argue that PHI in Greek was, in turn, a translation from Syriac, a direct influence of Jacob of Sarug cannot be excluded. However, Jacob himself certainly followed an earlier Christian tradition. Because PHI is, in its exegetical part, very archaic, its author could have had an independent access to the same tradition as Jacob of Sarug.

One can add that the imagery of "miraculously transferred from the darkness to the light" (§ 14) sounds as if it is borrowed from the late fourth-century *Corpus Macarianum*, written in Greek but by a Syrian and in Syria. However, from the fifth century its popularity became overwhelming and, thus this source is of little use for identifying the *Sitz im Leben* of PHI.

<sup>9</sup> For the manuscript tradition of Nemesius's in various versions, see especially the literature summarised by Moreno Morani in *id.*, *Nemesio Emeseni De natura hominis*, 1987, pp. v–xv with addition of Samir, "Les versions arabes de Némésios de Ḥomṣ," in: *L'eredità classica nelle lingue orientali*, Rome, 1986, pp. 99–151, and Zonta, "Nemesiana syriaca: New Fragments from the Missing Syriac Version of the *De natura hominis*," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 36 (1991), pp. 223–258.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Samir, "Les versions arabes", 100.

<sup>11</sup> Often called, after the earliest preserved manuscript, "Izbornik ["Miscellany"] of [the Great Prince of Kiev] Svjatoslav of 1073." On this collection, see especially Sieswerda, "The Σωτήριος, the original of the Izbornik of 1073," *Sacris Erudiri* 40 (2001), pp. 293–327, and De Groote, "The Soterios Project revisited: status quaestionis and the future edition," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 108 (2015), pp. 63–78.

<sup>12</sup> Nemesius's passage: Динеков, *Симеонов сборник (по Светославовия препис от 1073 г.)*. Т. 1, Sofia, 1991, pp. 458–462 = ff. 132 в 16–134 г 6; for the overlapping fragment, see, *ibid.*, p. 458 = ff. 132 в 20–134 г 22.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. comparison between the two translations in Корогодина, *Кормчие книги*, Moscow–St. Petersburg, 2017, vol. 1, p. 174.

## Theological Contents

The basic theological scheme of PHI is easily recognisable against the background of Evagrian Origenism, but some details remain either unclear or unexplained against this particular background. We are dealing, in PHI, with some unknown or almost unknown form of Origenism.

The Evagrian scheme, as it is preserved especially in his works surviving in Syriac, the *Gnostic Chapters* and the *Great Epistle to Melania*, presupposes the following stages<sup>14</sup>:

1. After the Fall of the intellects: the intellects, previously imageless, acquired an image, and
2. God created for them “practical bodies” bearing this image and aspiring to reach the likeness of God. Then,
3. Christ-Logos, the only unfallen intellect, accepts such a body voluntarily in order to change it into the likeness of his own glorious body—but this is only the first stage of the two-stage process of salvation that has to take place within this aeon; then,
4. beyond this aeon, at the second stage of the two-stage salvation process, the intellects acquire the Son’s image that is the essential knowledge of the Trinity.

In PHI, § 6 describes the acquiring of images by the fallen intellects (point 1 above) and re-creation of them “for practice” ( **на дѣйство**) in order to acquire the likeness of God. This is point 2 above and the common Origenistic idea (going back to Origen himself) that the bodily creation is “according to the image of God” (but not according to the likeness), whereas the very purpose of this creation is to reach the likeness of God. In PHI, God “re-creates” “them” (intellects), aiming at the achievement by them of his likeness.

The two-stage salvation through the Logos (points 3 and 4 above) is described in § 14, where the imagery of the mould seems to be original. When accepting the body, the Logos, in PHI, makes from the material of this body a new form, and what is poured into this form (that is, unified with the Logos) acquires the likeness of the divine light. This act and even the wording correspond to the first stage of the two-stage salvation process in Evagrius: compare *Gnostic Chapters*, 6:14: “During the aeons God will change the body of our humiliation into the likeness of the glorious body (Phil 3:21) of the Lord. Then, after all aeons, he will also make us in the likeness of his Son’s image (Rom 8:29), if it is the case that the Son’s image is the essential knowledge of God the Father.”<sup>15</sup> At the first of the two stages, the bodies of the intellects become identical to the glorious body of the Logos. Then, this Christological part goes on to the topics of the Second Coming and the Judgment, whereas the final goal of salvation has already been pointed out in § 6 (giving to the image of God his likeness).

What seems to be most problematic is the relationship between the Higher Intellect and other, presumably, intellects referred to in the plural. PHI, especially in §§ 14 to 16, often switches from plural to singular, and we can never be sure of the original meaning. In the Evagrian and the earlier forms of Origenism, there was no such personage as the Higher Intellect at all. The “intellects” were always in the plural. In PHI, however, there was some Higher Intellect as well as some other, presumably, intellects, such as the Logos and the fallen beings referred to in the plural. One can suppose, moreover, that these beings are, in some way, the posteriority of the Higher Intellect. Here we have no ambition to resolve these problems. It is obvious that the theology of PHI needs to be properly investigated, taking into account, among other matters, our scanty data on the Palestinian *protoktistoi* Origenists.<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup> Cf. especially Ramelli, Evagrius, *Kephalaia gnostika*, Atlanta, GA, 2015, Guillaumont, *Les ‘Képhalaia gnostica’ d’Évagre le Pontique et l’histoire de l’origénisme chez les Grecs et les Syriens*, Paris, 1962, and Guillaumont, *Un philosophe au désert. Évagre le Pontique*, Paris, 2004.

<sup>15</sup> Ramelli, Evagrius, p. 323, cf. Guillaumont, *Les six centuries des “Kephalaia gnostica” d’Évagre le Pontique*, Turnhout, 1958/1985, p. 223.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. van Esbroeck, “L’homélie de Pierre de Jérusalem et la fin de l’origénisme palestinien en 551,” *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 51 (1985), pp. 33-59.



## Old Testament Typology

The rich Old Testament typology of PHI deserves a separate study as well. Now we will sketch only an outline. The sequence of the “types” follows a liturgical calendar known from several Second Temple Jewish and early Christian texts (see Table 3). What is especially important to note is that it roughly corresponds to the liturgical structure described by John II of Jerusalem in his homily on the dedication of the Sion basilica in 394 (preserved in Armenian only).<sup>17</sup> The liturgy is a necessary link between the typological meaning of the Old Testament and the history of salvation.

Table 3

Typological scene or figure in PHI	Liturgical meaning	The main source for this liturgical meaning
Abel	Passover/Easter	Abel as the Lamb; the mainstream exegesis
Enoch	Pentecost	2 Enoch
Noah	Summer Solstice	John II of Jerusalem
Tower of Babel	Second Pentecost/New Wine	No parallel (normally Tower of Babel at the first Pentecost: cf. 3 Baruch and the mainstream Christian exegesis)
Abraham	Third Pentecost	John II of Jerusalem
Isaac and Melchizedek	<i>Yom Kippur</i>	3 Baruch

### Some comments<sup>18</sup>:

– 2 Enoch is referred to with the words “having sent”: Enoch’s ascension is mediated by angelic figures in 2 Enoch but not in Genesis or 1 Enoch. In 2 Enoch, the main liturgical time is Pentecost.

– Noah at the Summer Solstice: this goes against the chronologies of the Flood but is in conformity with the confusion between the Ark of Noah and the Ark of the Covenant. The latter has had its feast near the Summer Solstice in different Second Temple Jewish calendars (e.g., 3 Baruch, *Joseph and Aseneth*...)—as attested in the homily of John II of Jerusalem and confirmed in the later Jerusalem liturgical calendar.

– The Tower of Babel at the second Pentecost instead of the first: I do not know of any parallels, but an assimilation between the first two Pentecosts was a common Early Christian phenomenon, in the way that even the Pentecost described in the Book of Acts is now identified by some scholars with the second Pentecost (New Wine festival) and not the first.<sup>19</sup>

– Abraham at the third Pentecost: attested by John II of Jerusalem and confirmed by the later Jerusalem liturgical calendar.

– Isaac and Melchizedek are both prototypes of Christ in mainstream exegesis. The divine High Priest at the Yom Kippur, though not identified with Melchizedek, is described in 3 Baruch. In PHI, however, Melchizedek is certainly a divine figure. It is difficult, however, to identify the precise kind of “Melchizedekianism” of PHI within the set of the known doctrines where Melchizedek was divine and not human: their number is great but still not exhaustively established. It is worth noting, however, that we do not find any Melchizedekianism in Evagrius.

<sup>17</sup> On the liturgical calendar implied in this homily, see Lourié, “John II of Jerusalem’s Homily on the Encaenia of St. Sion and Its Calendrical Background,” in: *Armenia between Byzantium and the Orient: Celebrating the Memory of Karen Yuzbashian (1927-2009)*, Leiden, 2019, pp. 152-196.

<sup>18</sup> For bibliography, see the commentary to the translation below and Lourié, “John II of Jerusalem’s Homily”.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Nodet, “De Josué à Jésus, via Qumrân et le « pain quotidien »,” *Revue biblique* 114 (2007), pp. 208-236, at p. 216.

## Syriac behind Greek

Slavonic PHI is certainly translated from Greek and does not share any features of other (rare) Slavonic texts that were translated directly from Syriac.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, the Greek of its lost original seems to be often irregular. Below several examples are outlined:

§ 6. The most difficult place in the Slavonic: **СВѢТНАІА СИ ТМА** and, in the next sentence, **ДО ПРОМЫСЛА СВѢТНАГО**. The literal translation of **СВѢТНАІА** theoretically could be either “worldly” or “of light” (but there are no such cases in the known texts in Slavonic<sup>21</sup>), and **СИ ТМА** could be translated as “his/her/its darkness” (there is also the variant reading **СИ ТМА** “this darkness”). Some manuscripts have, in both places, the readings **СВѢТЛАІА** “luminous/of light”, which are certainly secondary; we follow instead the *lectiones difficiliores*. The same problem arises in the second sentence, where the difficult phrase could theoretically be translated as either “to the worldly providence” or “to the providence of light”. Recourse to the possible Greek original turned out to be of no help (no combinations with the relevant roots are attested). However, this conundrum can be resolved with the help of Syriac with its homonymy of the meanings *אֵלֻן* and *קֹסְמוֹס* in the unique **ܐܠܗܐ**. Incidentally, the Slavonic **СВѢТЪ** is also homonymic: either *κόσμος* or *φῶς*. The translator has followed, in both cases, the *κόσμος*-meaning, whereas the *αἰών*-meaning was the right one in both cases (this does not mean that the Slavonic is translated from Syriac directly: the same error might be committed by the translator into Greek; the sequence between Greek and Syriac is here irrelevant). The translation “eternal darkness” fits perfectly with the context. It is rather standard in Greek, but see especially Job 10:22 LXX: after having said “before I go whence I will not return, to the land of darkness and the shadow of death” (10:21), Job continued (10:22 LXX): *εἰς γῆν σκοτῶν αἰωνίου* “to the land of darkness eternal.” The pronoun **СИ** “his/her/its” in PHI could be a remnant of some Syriac construction, e.g., with **ܐܠܗܐ**.

§ 5. The phrase **ТРИСТАТНОЮ ВЕЩЮ** in the sense “in the same manner as the best officers (*τριστάτοι*)” seems to be almost impossible in Greek. The word *τριστάτης*, according to the data of *TLG*, is never used in Genitivus possessivus, nor is a possessive adjective derived from it attested. Moreover, the normal Greek equivalents of the Slavonic **ВЕЩЬ** (especially *πράγμα*) are not compatible with *τριστάτης* as a predicate. However, in Syriac, the word with the meaning “in the same manner as,” **ܐܠܗܐ**, looks similar to the word **ܐܠܗܐ**, “being, reality.”

§ 4. The literal translation of the Slavonic **ОТДАНО БЫТЬ КО ИЗВОЛЬШЕМУ И ПОКОРШЕМУСА КЪ ВОЛИ** would be “It was given to the one who wished and obeyed himself to the will.” However, if we consider, at each occurrence of Slavonic **КО/КЪ**

<sup>20</sup> For their non-exhaustive list, see Lourié, “Direct Translations into Slavonic from Syriac: a Preliminary List,” in: *ΠΟΛΥΣΤΩΡ. Scripta slavica Mario Capaldo dicata*, Moscow—Rome, pp. 161-168, and *idem*, “Slavonic Pseudepigrapha, Nubia, and the Syrians,” in: *The Other Side: Apocryphal Perspectives on Ancient Christian “Orthodoxies”*, Göttingen, 2017, pp. 225-250.

<sup>21</sup> No lemma **СВѢТНЫЙ** in Miklosich, *Lexicon Palaeoslovenico-Graeco-Latinum*, Vienna, 1862–1865, Срезневский, *Материалы для словаря древне-русского языка*, St. Petersburg, 1893-1912, and *LLP. СЛРЯ II-17*, issue 23, p. 143, s.v. **СВѢТНЫЙ** refers to the entry **СОВѢТНЫЙ**, (*СЛРЯ II-17*, issue 26, pp. 43-44) which describes **СВѢТНЫЙ** as a spelling variant for **СОВѢТНЫЙ** and **СВѢТНЫЙ**—a frequent word whose main meanings are related to either *σύμφωνος* “accordant” or *βουλή*, *συμβουλή* “council”, “to be aware” etc.; cf. (Срезневский, *Материалы для словаря древне-русского языка*, St. Petersburg, 1893-1912, vol. 3, cols. 682-683) and *LLP*, vol. 4, p. 245, s.v. **СВѢТНЫЙ**. However, the example with the spelling **СВѢТНЫЙ** in *СЛРЯ II-17* is the only one among many occurrences of the word, which suggests that this spelling was rare; indeed, otherwise it would not have created difficulty for the scribes of PHI: **И БѢЖЕ ДАВІДЪ СВѢТЕНЪ О ВСЕМЪ СО ДНАФАНЪ СІМЪ ГАУЛЕМЪ** “and David reported everything to Jonathan son of Saul” (from a *Palaea interpretata*, 1406; *СЛРЯ II-17*, issue 26, p. 44). In PHI, **СВѢТНЫЙ** occurs in two sentences following each other, applied in the first sentence to “darkness” and, in the second, to “providence.” It is extremely unlikely that the same Slavonic word would render two different words in Greek. However, no Greek word that could be rendered with **СВѢТНЫЙ**, to the best of our knowledge, could be consistently applied to both “darkness” and “providence.” We are grateful to Anna Pichkhadze for her discussion of the theoretical possibility of the meaning “of light/luminous” (which in fact has been “restored” here by some scribes).

(“to”) the Syriac preposition *l-*, we obtain, in the first instance, the mark of the agent of the passive verb (“it was given by the one who has voluntarily chosen”), and, in the second instance the mark of the Dative: cf. ܠܝ ܚܝܠܐ = θελήματι (1 Pet 4:2).

#### *Other possible hallmarks of a Syriac Vorlage?*

In the present condition of the Slavonic text, its own syntax is not clear enough to allow us to look for syntactical Semitisms. Nevertheless, in at least one place we can suppose a mistranslation of a typically Syriac phrase:

§ 8: “the destroyer of the cause” (instead of the expected “the cause of destruction”): this is possibly a mistranslation of a Syriac phrase with the *status constructus*.

#### **Conclusions**

PHI represents a so far unrecognisable branch of Origenism, similar but not identical to the Evagrian one. A date earlier than the middle of the sixth century (when there occurred the major schism within Origenism and other events resulting in its ramification and propagation, often in new guises<sup>22</sup>) is hardly possible, but the most likely date is the mid-seventh century or later. For a later date, we have two mutually enforcing reasons: the way of quoting Nemesis of Emesa and the esoteric style of PHI, which would have been a safety measure in an epoch when Origenism had become not especially welcome.

Several features of the text could be explained on the supposition of a Syriac *Vorlage* behind the lost Greek text. The *Sitzen im Leben* of the Slavonic version of PHI, its lost Greek original, and the hypothetical Syriac *Vorlage* of the latter remain so far unknown.

---

<sup>22</sup> Cf., especially for the later modifications of Origenism, Baranov and Lourié, “The Role of Christ’s Soul-Mediator in the Iconoclastic Christology,” in: *Origeniana Nona*, Leuven, 2009, pp. 403-411.

# On the Perdition of the Higher Intellect and on the Image of Light: Edition

## Manuscripts

The edition is based on the earliest of the miscellanies: National Library of Russia (St. Petersburg), collection of the Kirillo-Belozersky monastery, Nr 19/1096 (С6М), ff. 323r–328r. Miscellany of St. Martinian Belozersky; first quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Cf. (Никольский 1897, 263–271), (Шиббаев 2013, 86–90).

The sigla of the manuscripts used for the variant readings indicate their affiliation to different types of books.

С6 – *sbornik* (miscellany),

К – *Kormčaja* (Nomocanon),

Сл – *Slovesa izbrannyja* (*Selected Words*) of Gregory of Nazianzus.

The manuscripts used for the variant readings are listed below.

## Miscellanies:

С6Е – National Library of Russia (St. Petersburg), collection of the Kirillo-Belozersky monastery, Nr 53/1130, ff. 494r–497v. Miscellanea of Efrosin (Euphrosynos) of White Lake (Belozersky), 1460s. Cf. (Каран, Понырко, Рождественская 1980, 196–215), (Шиббаев 2013, 222–226).

С6П1 – Russian State Library (Moscow), fund 236, collection of A. N. Popov, Nr 147, ff. 54v–60r. Miscellany; third quarter of 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>23</sup>

С6П2 – the lost miscellany belonged to A. N. Popov, 15<sup>th</sup> century. Cf. (Попов 1875, 191–195).

## Nomocanons:

КФ – Perm State Humanitarian-Pedagogical University (Perm), Manuscript collection, Nr 1, ff. 276r–278v. Nomocanon, Chudov recension; third quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The manuscript has been given by Prokhor (Prochoros), the bishop of Sarai and the Don (1471–1491), to the Ferapontov monastery as a contribution for commemoration. Cf. (Демкова, Якунина 1990), (Пихоя 2001), (Поздеева 2014, 29–46), and (Корогодина 2017, vol. 2, 117–118).

КО – Russian State Library (Moscow), fund 209, collection of P. A. Ovtchinnikov, Nr 150, ff. 357v–360r. Nomocanon, Chudov recension; 1480s. Cf. (Корогодина 2017, vol. 2, 122).

КБ – Russian Academy of Sciences Library (St. Petersburg), Main collection of manuscripts, Nr 21.5.4, ff. 385v–389r. Nomocanon, Chudov recension; early 16<sup>th</sup> century. Cf. (Корогодина 2017, vol. 2, 113–114).

---

<sup>23</sup> Watermarks: 1) Grapes, variant: (Шварц), Nr 291 (1460); 2) Bull, variant: (Briquet), Nr 2815 (1462); 3) Letter P, unidentified; 4) Vine, slightly similar: (Шварц), Nr 313 (1470); 5) Crown with trefoil, two forms, variant: (Лихачев), Nrs 1035–1036 (1460–1461); 6) Bull's head, slightly similar: (Briquet), Nr 15094 (1435); 7) Cross, unidentified; 8) Bull's head, two forms, variant: (Briquet), Nrs 14324–14325 (1461, 1465); 9) Gothic letter Z (?), slightly similar: (Briquet), Nr 9209 (1448); 10) Bull's head without eyes, unidentified; 11) Anchor, unidentified; 12) Three mounts, variant: (Piccard), Findb. 16, Nr 2224 (1461–1463); 13) Bull's head, variant: (Лихачев), Nr 1045 (1462); 14) Bull's head, variant: (Лихачев), Nrs 1107–1108 (1466); 15) Bull, variant: (Лихачев), Nr 1021 (1455/56); 16) Bull's head, similar: (Лихачев), Nr 1116 (1466/67); 17) Bull, variant: (Лихачев), Nr 2593 (1440–1450); 18) Bull's head, variant: (Лихачев), Nr 1042 (1460/61); 19) Bull's head, two forms, variant: (Лихачев), Nrs 1260–1261 (1470).

КТ2 – Russian State Library (Moscow), fund 304, collection of the Holy Trinity St. Sergius Laura, Nr 205, ff. 351v-354v. Nomocanon, Chudov recension; late 15<sup>th</sup> century. A contribution to the Holy Trinity St. Sergius monastery by monk Arsenij Odinets (late 15<sup>th</sup> or early 16<sup>th</sup> century). Cf. (Иларій, Арсеній 1878–1879, part 1, 332–339), (Корогодина 2017, vol. 2, 122–123), (Новикова 2019, 8–9).

#### *The Selected Words of Gregory of Nazianzus:*

СЛТ1 – Russian State Library (Moscow), fund 304, collection of the Holy Trinity St. Sergius Laura, Nr 122, ff. 168v-172r. Apocalypse with commentaries by Andrew of Caesarea; last quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>24</sup>. Belonged to the Metropolitan of Moscow Zosima (1490–1494). Cf. (Иларій, Арсеній 1878–1879, part 1, 89–90).

СЛС – National Library of Russia (St. Petersburg), collection of the monastery of the Solovki Islands, Nr 807/917, ff. 417r-419v. Miscellany with commentaries; 1470s–1480s<sup>25</sup>.

СЛТих – The State Public Scientific Technological Library of the Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Novosibirsk), collection of M. N. Tikhomirov, Nr 397, ff. 120r-123r. Miscellany with commentaries; middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Cf. (Иткин n.d.).

СЛЧ – State Historical Museum (Moscow), collection of Chudovo monastery, Nr 320, ff. 358v-361v. St. Gregory the Great's homilies on the Gospels; second quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. A contribution to the Pafnutij (Paphnutios) of Borovsk monastery by archimandrite of the Novospassky monastery German (1467–1482). Cf. (Протасьева 1980, 187–188).

#### **Principles of This Edition**

The text from the main manuscript (National Library of Russia, collection of Kirillo-Belozersky monastery, Nr 19/1096) is copied as it is with all Old Slavonic letters and punctuation symbols. The diacritical marks are not reproduced except the mark over the letter *ѣ*. The text is divided into paragraphs with titles (in English) for the reader's convenience.

Among the variant readings, on all occasions the meaningful variants are given, such as lexical changes, omissions and additions of words, morphological differences representing different grammatical forms (including the interchange of the full and short forms). The slips of the pen are taken into account only if they either affect the meaning of the text or are repeated in several manuscripts. Not taken into account are: the orthographical variants, including those caused by historical development of the language, the contraction, the inflexion of the demonstrative pronouns, the gemination of the last vowels, the gemination of the suffix *—н*–, the variants of inflexions and prefixes (e.g., *прѣ-* / *прѣ-* / *прн-*; *соу-* / *съ-*, and others), the numerals denoted by Cyrillic numbers instead of being written out, the Russicisms (such as *сѣбѣ* / *собѣ*), and omissions or additions of the particle *же* and the conjunction *и*. Not taken into account also are sporadic scribal corrections of some letters in the main manuscript, which do not affect the word inflection and are not corroborated by other manuscripts.

---

<sup>24</sup> Watermarks: 1) Bull's head with a crown, similar: (Piccard), Findb. 2, Abt. XV, Nr 211 (1479/80); 2) Bull's head with three rays, slightly similar: (Лихачев), Nr 3870 (1476); 3) Three mounts, a fragment of a watermark, unidentified; 4) ligature, unidentified; 5) Bull's head with a cross under the nose, species: (Шибаяев, *Рукописи Кирилло-Белозерского монастыря XV века. Историко-кодикологическое исследование*, Moscow—St. Petersburg, 2013), Nrs 129–130 (1480); 6) Bull's head with a cross on the top, variant: (Лихачев), Nrs 4081–4082 (last quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century).

<sup>25</sup> Watermarks: 1) Bull's head with a crown, variant: (Piccard), Findb. 2, Abt. XV, Nr 233 (1478–1482); 2) Three mounts, similar: (Лихачев), Nr 2623 (1460–1470); 3) Letter P with a flower, species: (Piccard), Findb. 4, Abt. X, Nrs 27–62 (1473–1485); 4) Letter Y with a cross, variant: (Лихачев), Nrs 2519–2521 (1465–1466); 5) Letter P with a flower, variant: (Piccard), Findb. 4, Abt. IX, Nrs 741–744 (1476–1479); 6) Dog with a flower over the back, variant: (Briquet), Nrs 3623, 3624 (1475–1482); 7) Bull's head with a cross and a snake, variant: (Лихачев), Nrs 3899–3903 (1490), (Briquet), Nr 15364 (1489).

# Slavonic Text

## Part I: The Fall and the Second Creation

### 1. The Pre-Fall Condition: Nourished by the Spirit

Преже бѣ<sup>26</sup> в раи. ѿдѣние и питіе не<sup>27</sup> хлѣвно бѣаше. но породно бѣаше и дѣховно. лѣпо бѣаше дѣховному дѣвное<sup>28</sup>. таче послѣди. тлѣнномоу тлѣнѣно<sup>29</sup>. трѣбѣ вѣдѣти<sup>30</sup> ны. іако земное наше тѣло ѿ земли сѣздано естъ. а не іакоже нѣци мнати. нѣ ѿ которыа силы и зѣло прельстишася. легко бѣ ѿдѣнѣе. легко бѣ и тѣло. да оубо ѿ дѣнѣе и питѣе. тлѣнѣное по<sup>31</sup> соуженіи.

### 2. The Post-Fall Condition: Food and Health

Бы іакоже рече свѣдѣтельствоуа павелъ. нѣ<sup>32</sup> црѣтвѣ<sup>31</sup> вжне. пища и питіе. а григорин бгословець<sup>32</sup> рече. не боудѣмъ аци се есмы<sup>33</sup>. но боудѣмъ іакоже прѣже бѣх<sup>34</sup>. нынѣ бо ны жажа оудроучаетъ<sup>34</sup>. алчѣва томитъ. ѿдѣше бо пити хоцѣмъ. преже бо хлѣвъ // (л. 323 об.) вѣносимъ въ тѣло. таже чашю. почто преже соухостѣнною силоу да мѣи плоти. подпоръ жиламъ и оутверженѣе костемъ. таже водоу<sup>35</sup> въ распловленѣе брашноу. и ко исполненію крови. и к наполненію. и сѣсочанію<sup>36</sup> мозгомъ. и влагоу тѣлоу<sup>37</sup>. таче расхотѣсѣ во<sup>38</sup> всѣ<sup>38</sup> ставы. сѣмѣси вѣшесѣ съ брашномъ. аще вѣое и въ мѣроу воспримомъ. то сѣдравне велико. аще ли коего не въ мѣроу прииметъ<sup>39</sup>. то въ частыа недоугы и въ великыа болѣзні вѣпадають. толѣстостію бо плоти. ѿ таковыа высоты. болѣзньнѣ ѿпадше всоужени бывше<sup>40</sup>.

### 3. The Nature: Neither Corruptible nor Incorruptible

Прѣ<sup>41</sup> бо сего<sup>41</sup> не вѣ сего трѣбѣ. имже дѣховнаа блгдѣ бѣ. не тлѣннѣмъ телесе вѣновленъ<sup>42</sup>. не іакоже родо<sup>43</sup> не тлѣнѣнъ но блгодатію.

Аще<sup>43</sup> бо нетлѣнѣнъ родомъ бы<sup>44</sup> бы. то не бы всоуженъ бы<sup>45</sup> смртію. аще ли<sup>46</sup> бы тлѣнѣнъ. то не бы<sup>47</sup> паки и мѣлѣ надежѣ // (л. 324) вѣскрѣніа. то како<sup>48</sup> бы и всоуженъ тлею<sup>49</sup>. естъствомъ тлѣнѣнъ соущѣ. и преже іакоже р

<sup>26</sup> бо СбП1, СбП2, КФ, КО, КБ, КТ2.

<sup>27</sup> нет СбЕ.

<sup>28</sup> дѣвное дѣховномъ (вм. дѣховному дѣвное) КФ, КО, КБ, КТ2.

<sup>29</sup> тлѣнѣное тлѣнномъ (вм. тлѣнномоу тлѣнѣное) КФ, КО, КБ, КТ2.

<sup>30</sup> видѣти СбП1, СбП2, СбЕ, КТ2.

<sup>31</sup> цркви СбЕ; црѣтво КТ2.

<sup>32</sup> бгословъ КФ.

<sup>33</sup> ксмъ СбП1, СбП2, КФ, КО, КБ, КТ2.

<sup>34</sup> оудроучаю<sup>т</sup> КБ.

<sup>35</sup> водою СбП2.

<sup>36</sup> сѣчанию СбП1, СбП2, сочанию КФ, КБ.

<sup>37</sup> тѣлом КФ, КО, КБ, КТ2.

<sup>38</sup> нет СбП1, СбП2.

<sup>39</sup> вѣспрѣимомъ КФ, КБ, вѣспрѣимомъ КО, КТ2.

<sup>40</sup> Слова всоужени бывше написаны писцовым почерком на нижнем поле со знаком вставки СбМ.

<sup>41</sup> всего КТ2.

<sup>42</sup> вѣновленіе КФ, КО, КБ, вѣновленіа КТ2.

<sup>43</sup> Отсюда начинается общий фрагмент со «Словесами избранными», известный по спискам СлС, СлТ1, СлТих, СлЧ.



ѣ<sup>ч</sup> бѣ<sup>50</sup>. въ болѣзнихъ<sup>51</sup> родиши чада своя. тавьлаа емоу ѡ воскр<sup>с</sup>нии надежю<sup>52</sup>. проповѣдоу<sup>53</sup> проповѣда. тако не до коньца забьвенъ боудеть ѡ разроушенни. да тѣмъ смотраше в немъ. ѡ единочадѣмъ<sup>54</sup> снѣ въстаниа. да тѣмъ<sup>55</sup> постави и на прѣдѣлѣ. ѡбою естъствоу. смртѣна и бесмертѣна<sup>56</sup>.

#### 4. The Fall of the First Higher Intellect

Не бо баше на пользѣ смртѣноснаго въкоуса въкоусивъши. вси ѡсоужени бывше<sup>57</sup> в землю и<sup>58</sup> тлѣние. дша же соупротивникомъ ѡдана бы. гнѣвоу паче ѡдолѣвающ<sup>59</sup> вжественѣи гарости. ѡдано бы ко изволюемоу<sup>60</sup>. и покорышемоуся к<sup>61</sup> воли. ѡ высоты въ пренсподънии<sup>62</sup> мракъ сведенъ бы. что бы гыбель перьваго высокаго оу ма. послѣднѣю нищетою. смѣренъ бывъ тревканнѣ<sup>63</sup>.

#### 5. The Fall: Exodus Imagery

Тристатною<sup>64</sup> вещью потопленъ бы. црѣствова над нимъ тма съ золню. пагѣбы и льсти исполнь<sup>65</sup>. съ вихромъ<sup>66</sup> въскака<sup>67</sup>.

#### 6. The Second Creation and the Way of Restoration

<sup>44</sup> **БЫ** СлТух.

<sup>45</sup> нет КФ, КО, КБ, КТ2, СлС, СлТ1, СлТух, СлЧ.

<sup>46</sup> нет СБЕ.

<sup>47</sup> Далее стерто слово **пакы**, повторенное писцом дважды СБМ.

<sup>48</sup> **пакы** СлС, СлТ1, СлТух, СлЧ.

<sup>49</sup> **тлѣннѣю** СлС, СлТ1, СлТух, СлЧ.

<sup>50</sup> **гъ** СБЕ.

<sup>51</sup> **болѣзни** СБЕ.

<sup>52</sup> **надежа** СБЕ.

<sup>53</sup> по провѣдоу СбП1, СбП2, КФ, КО, КБ, КТ2, СлС; по проповѣдоу СлТ1, СлТух, СлЧ.

<sup>54</sup> **единочадомъ** исправлено на **едино<sup>м</sup> чадѣмъ** СБЕ.

<sup>55</sup> Далее зачеркнуто **смотраше в не<sup>м</sup>** СБЕ.

<sup>56</sup> **бесмертнаа** СБЕ. Далее **да тѣмъ постави и** СлС, СлТ1, СлТух, СлЧ.

<sup>57</sup> Нет слов **вси ѡсоужени бывше** СлС, СлТ1, СлТух, СлЧ.

<sup>58</sup> **и въ** КФ, КО, КТ2.

<sup>59</sup> Буква **а** исправлена из буквы **о** СБМ; **ѡдолѣваюци** КФ, КБ, КО, КТ2; **ѡдолѣвающюу**. и СлТ1, СлТух, СлЧ; **ѡдѡволѣвающюу**. и СлС.

<sup>60</sup> **изволюемѡся** КФ, КО, КБ, КТ2.

<sup>61</sup> **въ** КФ, КО, КБ, КТ2.

<sup>62</sup> Далее **си** КФ, КО, КБ, КТ2.

<sup>63</sup> **превканинѣ** СБЕ; **преоканинѣ** СлТух.

<sup>64</sup> **Тристѣставною же** КФ, КО, КБ, КТ2. Фраза **Тристатною ... въскакаа** написана на нижнем поле писцовым почерком со знаком вставки СБМ.

<sup>65</sup> **исполненъ** КБ.

<sup>66</sup> Нет слов **съ вихромъ** СлС, СлТ1, СлТух, СлЧ.

<sup>67</sup> **всѡческаа** СлТ1, СлЧ.

Иѡко творимаѡ<sup>68</sup> // (л. 324 об.) ими на дѣиство<sup>69</sup>. претварѡѡ свое<sup>Г</sup> подобиа. и ѿ безъобразнаго<sup>70</sup> въ образное. п  
рѣврати своимъ лѣкавствомъ. тѣми паче наполѡниѡ гортаанъ насытааго<sup>71</sup> ада<sup>72</sup>. тѣми паче въображаетъ<sup>73</sup>  
ѡ<sup>73</sup>. даѡти въразоу подобиа имъ<sup>74</sup> егоже сѣмене наполниѡ свѣтънаѡ<sup>75</sup> си<sup>76</sup> тма. црьствова<sup>77</sup> до промысла<sup>78</sup> св  
ѣтнаго<sup>79</sup>. донъ же поманоу. возвратѡнаго<sup>80</sup> си оума. и жалостѡнаго забытиѡ. ѿ невѣдомаго<sup>81</sup> и ѿ разоумѡнаг  
о. въ скотие то страстьное<sup>82</sup> чювьственое<sup>83</sup>: ~

Part II: Key Points of the History of Salvation

## 7. Looking for the Righteous: the First Failed Attempt

Смотрѡ<sup>84</sup> еѡва въспѡтъ пондѣтъ. ѿ первыѡ прельсти. возѡда оумъ ѿ глаубоки нощи<sup>85</sup>. и не върѣте никого ж  
е. растѡлиѡа бо сѡ и ѡмразиѡа сѡ<sup>86</sup> въ начинаниѡ.

## 8. Abel

Върѣте въ начало смрѡти повинѡнаго. егоже кровь сѡ земаѡ ѡбиаѡтъ. начальныѡ<sup>87</sup> начатокъ. върѣте агньце  
мъ. послоужѡиѡа // (л. 325) да чѡтъ агнецъ ѡвѡиѡ сѡ<sup>88</sup>. багрд<sup>М</sup> и червленицею покрыѡтъ. чистостѡиу<sup>89</sup> свѣта ѡблиѡ  
нъ. да едина тѡ<sup>90</sup> смрѡтъ. всемоу члвчѡскомоу родоу<sup>91</sup> бы<sup>Г</sup>:

Подѡваѡе бо второмоу агньцю. первымъ воображеноу быти. да перѡваго стрѡти вътораго бестрастѡиѡмъ<sup>92</sup> гон  
ѡзнетъ<sup>93</sup>. сличныѡ<sup>94</sup> бо<sup>95</sup> въразъ<sup>96</sup>. поставѡи хлѣѡу агнецъ. ѿ единого сѣмене. ѡбѣ ѡрасѡи. и не возможе перѡв

<sup>68</sup> творима КТ2.

<sup>69</sup> дѣиствѡ. и КБ.

<sup>70</sup> безъобразнаѡ КФ, КО, КБ, КТ2.

<sup>71</sup> насыѡна<sup>Г</sup> СлТух.

<sup>72</sup> ада СБЕ.

<sup>73</sup> воображаетъ СлТ1, СлТух, СлЧ.

<sup>74</sup> и<sup>Х</sup> СбП1, СбП2, КФ, КО, КБ, КТ2, СлС, СлТ1, СлТух, СлЧ.

<sup>75</sup> свѣтлаѡ КБ, СлТ1, СлТух, СлЧ.

<sup>76</sup> сѡѡ СБЕ; нет КФ, КО, КБ, КТ2.

<sup>77</sup> црѡтво КБ.

<sup>78</sup> добро мысла (вм. до промысла) СлТ1, СлТух, СлЧ.

<sup>79</sup> свѣтлаго СБЕ.

<sup>80</sup> възѡратнаго СбП2; възратнаго КФ, КО; возрѡстнаго СлС, възрѡстнаго СлТ, СлТух, СлЧ, КБ.

<sup>81</sup> невидѡмаго КО, КТ2.

<sup>82</sup> скотострѡтъное (вм. скотие то страстьное) СлС, СлТ1, СлТух, СлЧ.

<sup>83</sup> чювьствие СБЕ.

<sup>84</sup> Сматрѡѡ СлТ1, СлЧ.

<sup>85</sup> нощѡ СлС, вещи СлТ1, вещьѡ СлЧ, вощѡ СлТух.

<sup>86</sup> ѡбразиѡаѡ КО, КТ2, СлТ1, СлЧ, буква ѡ исправлена из буквы м СлТух.

<sup>87</sup> начатыѡ СлТ1, СлТух, СлЧ.

<sup>88</sup> ѡвлѡетъ сѡ СлТ1, ѡвѡт сѡ где буквы ѡѡ написаны на поле со знаком вставки СлЧ.

<sup>89</sup> чѡтотоу СлТ1.

<sup>90</sup> та СбП1, СбП2, КФ, КО, КБ, КТ2; нет слов едина тѡ СлТ1, СлС, СлТух, СлЧ.

<sup>91</sup> родоу члвчѡскомоу (вм. члвчѡскомоу родоу) СлТ1, СлТух, СлЧ.

аѡ ѡраслѣ оунышемоу ѡдолѣти. имъже не сверышенъ принесе плодъ. да тѣмъ ѡраслѣ<sup>97</sup> гнѣвашесѣ на оунышаг  
о. прѣдолѣ бо<sup>98</sup> емоу жизни гонзненна. разроушникъ винѣ бывѣ. нанесеною же емоу казнью. въ правѣдоу<sup>99</sup>  
мещенѣ<sup>100</sup> припатъ. како бо емоу не припати<sup>101</sup> казни. имъже онъ створи. ѡбразъ подобна си разроуши. соупро  
тивникъ бы<sup>с</sup> самодержцю твари лоукавствомъ того сѣменемъ возрастоша. прѣдолѣни злобою и лоука//  
(л. 325 об.)вствомъ. въспитѣни<sup>102</sup> бывъше. да гавитъ<sup>с</sup> соу<sup>д</sup> въ правѣдоу. соудашемоу всѣхъ. ꙗко самовластие  
мъ ѡдержими. да не<sup>104</sup> на повиннаго виноу въскладають.

#### 9. Epoch

Ѳжада во спасения и не ѡбрѣте дающаго емоу. но ѡбрѣтѣ нѣкоего въ добродѣтели<sup>105</sup>. и посла изъятъ и<sup>106</sup> ѡ вре  
меньнаа жизни. и писано не ѡбрѣташесѣ<sup>107</sup> ꙗко прѣстави и бѣ.

#### 10. Noah

Таче избра втораго родоу начальника<sup>108</sup>. к нему же положи<sup>109</sup> мѣрило правды. тажко<sup>е</sup> бо погроузисѣ. легкое ж  
е<sup>110</sup> възвысисѣ. прѣдолѣ бо толстость тонкости. зѣмьнаа бо зѣмьнынъ. а не<sup>м</sup>наа не<sup>с</sup>нынимъ. не въстану<sup>с</sup>тъ бо н  
ижня<sup>а</sup> къ<sup>111</sup> выпренимъ. ꙗко расыпашасѣ кости и<sup>х</sup> при адѣ.

#### 11. The Tower of Babel

Бего ради тоу не воста прелестнаа тѣма безъ искоуса. дондеже възвышеноу<sup>112</sup> гордость<sup>113</sup> показа. юже<sup>114</sup> ра  
сыпа самъ. дхомъ оустъ его<sup>115</sup>. в размѣшеніе<sup>116</sup> оу<sup>ма</sup> прѣвысокаго // (л. 326) прѣсѣкъъ.

<sup>92</sup> бестрѣтне СлТ1, СлТух, СлЧ.

<sup>93</sup> гонзѣтъ СбП1, СбП2.

<sup>94</sup> сличны СлТ1.

<sup>95</sup> нет КБ.

<sup>96</sup> ѡбразы СлТ1, СлЧ.

<sup>97</sup> ѡраслѣ СбЕ, СлТух.

<sup>98</sup> нет СлС, СлТ1, СлТух, СлЧ.

<sup>99</sup> право КФ, КО, КБ, КТ2.

<sup>100</sup> ѡмощеніе КТ2.

<sup>101</sup> не пріати емоу (вм. емоу не припати) СлС, СлТ1, СлТух, СлЧ.

<sup>102</sup> въспитѣни СбП1, СбП2; въспитани СлС, СлТ1, СлТух, СлЧ.

<sup>103</sup> гавитсѣ КТ2.

<sup>104</sup> Повторено дважды КФ, КО, КБ.

<sup>105</sup> добродѣтели<sup>х</sup> СбЕ.

<sup>106</sup> Написано над строкой писцовым почерком СбМ.

<sup>107</sup> ѡбрѣташесѣ КФ.

<sup>108</sup> началникоу СбП1, КТ2.

<sup>109</sup> приложи КО, КТ2.

<sup>110</sup> бо СбЕ.

<sup>111</sup> Далее стерто три (?) буквы СбМ.

<sup>112</sup> възвышеноу СбП2, СлТ1, СлТух, СлЧ.

<sup>113</sup> Перед словом гордость зачеркнуто слово прелестъ СбЕ.

<sup>114</sup> ꙗже СбП2.

<sup>115</sup> нет СлТ1.

12. Abraham

И превратное. в непревратное претвори. да въращеть плодъ. въращения изъвъръѣте. во егоже въжелѣ. не ноу жею сътвори. дондеже въ прекращенѣ<sup>118</sup> хитрости. познавъ<sup>119</sup> хитрьца. к нему же и завѣтъ показа. въстани рѣ<sup>120</sup> ѿ обычаа первыа прѣлести. и иди на первую породу. да боудеши чадомъ ѿца. иже воспринимаетъ земаю перваго бытия. и родиши<sup>121</sup> снъ радости<sup>122</sup>. върова рѣ<sup>123</sup> бви<sup>124</sup> и въмѣниса емоу въ правдоу. и роди сна<sup>125</sup> въ старости<sup>126</sup> маститѣ.

13. Isaac and Melchizedek Prefiguring the Two Natures of Christ (but not the Logos as an Intellect)

Изъображаетъ бо<sup>127</sup> ѿселе въразъ послѣдняя стрѣ<sup>128</sup> стѣни<sup>129</sup> страсти. соугубѣ<sup>130</sup> двѣ естества. ба и чавка. по божеству. мельхиседекъ. а<sup>131</sup> по чловѣчеству<sup>132</sup> снъ радости. а по оутѣшенію снъ оума и снъ хитрости. ѿ него же возрасте. вѣ. племени.

Part III: Christology

14. The Two-Stage Salvation

Люта искоушениа непреклонна<sup>133</sup>. ѿкаме// (л. 326 об.) нѣна срдца. въображаетъ упокоу. поставла<sup>134</sup> въразъ свѣта. дондеже лѣаное во въразъ боудеть. въобразяшагоса подобна<sup>135</sup> чюднѣ перевода ѿ тмы на свѣтъ. да<sup>136</sup> свѣдѣтельство ѿного<sup>137</sup> свѣта. великъ свѣтъ боудеть<sup>138</sup>. видимы же син свѣтъ тма боудеть.

15. The Overnight Journey to the First Image Stamping

Иакоже<sup>139</sup> не смѣхомъ нареши слнца имже лоуна есть. хоташю же воснати слнцю. абие разбива<sup>140</sup> ношъ. свѣтлостію<sup>141</sup> звѣзды. и проведе<sup>142</sup> ѿ<sup>143</sup> чресъ поучиноу стрѣ<sup>144</sup>. въображенаго стрѣ<sup>145</sup>. въображенаго<sup>146</sup> стѣню. п

---

<sup>116</sup> размѣшеніи СБЕ.

<sup>117</sup> оумоу СБЕ.

<sup>118</sup> превращеніе СЛТ1, СЛЧ, прекраще<sup>Н</sup> СЛТух.

<sup>119</sup> позна СЛС, СЛТ1, СЛТух, СЛЧ.

<sup>120</sup> роди СЛС, СЛТ1, СЛТух, СЛЧ.

<sup>121</sup> въ радости СЛС, СЛТ1, СЛТух, СЛЧ.

<sup>122</sup> авра<sup>М</sup> бви СЛТух.

<sup>123</sup> нет КФ, КО, КБ, КТ2; снъ СЛТ1, СЛТух, СЛЧ.

<sup>124</sup> радости СБЕ.

<sup>125</sup> нет КФ, КО, КБ, КТ2.

<sup>126</sup> стѣни КФ, КО, КБ, КТ2.

<sup>127</sup> Буква ѣ исправлена из буквы ѣ СБМ.

<sup>128</sup> и СЛТ1, СЛЧ.

<sup>129</sup> влчт<sup>С</sup>воу СБП1, СБП2.

<sup>130</sup> нет СЛС, СЛТ1, СЛТух, СЛЧ.

<sup>131</sup> поставла<sup>Т</sup> КБ.

<sup>132</sup> подобно СЛТ1, въ подобно где въ зачеркнуто СЛЧ.

<sup>133</sup> на СБЕ.

<sup>134</sup> ѿно бо СЛТ1, СЛЧ, ѿно СЛТух.

<sup>135</sup> бѣ<sup>Т</sup> свѣ<sup>Т</sup> (вм. свѣтъ боудеть) СЛТух.

остави и<sup>142</sup> на вѣтовани<sup>143</sup> перваго воображенія<sup>144</sup>. на не<sup>145</sup> выпрь высоцѣ. но на краинѣ<sup>н</sup> части. не возмо  
же бо превести. ѿ глѹбокия ноци<sup>146</sup>. имже свѣдѣтельства не баше. водащю<sup>147</sup> бо рабопкореныа нгоу.

#### 16. The Second Coming

В работѣ<sup>148</sup> соущю<sup>149</sup> несвободна тварь. не възможе наслѣдити свободы. донь<sup>л. 327</sup> деже въображеныи ѿ  
тъ<sup>150</sup> нми. нижняа ѿрасли снѧ црѧ вышняго. мдрѣ<sup>с</sup>тъ. снѣ и наслѣдникъ вышняго црѧ. вблеченъ<sup>151</sup> въ мѣсть.  
и ѿдѣ<sup>н</sup> въ соу<sup>д</sup>. таино съшествіе<sup>152</sup> его. но пакы<sup>153</sup> гаръ прихѡ<sup>д</sup> его.

---

<sup>136</sup> тако КФ, КО, КБ, КТ2, СлТ1, СлТух, СлЧ.

<sup>137</sup> разбѣна СБЕ; разбивашесѧ СлТ1, СлЧ.

<sup>138</sup> свѣтлостыи СлС, СлТух, СлТ1, СлЧ.

<sup>139</sup> нет СлТ1.

<sup>140</sup> стрѣ<sup>с</sup>тен СлТ1, СлТух, СлЧ.

<sup>141</sup> нет, вм. и КФ, КО, КБ, КТ2.

<sup>142</sup> нет СлТух.

<sup>143</sup> вѣтованіа КБ.

<sup>144</sup> въраженіа СБЕ; въображеніи СлТ1, СлЧ.

<sup>145</sup> не на (вм. на не) СбП1, СбП2, КФ, КО, КБ, КТ2, СлС, СлТ1, СлТух, СлЧ.

<sup>146</sup> ноціи КБ.

<sup>147</sup> водаще КФ, КО, КБ, КТ2, СлТух, СлС.

<sup>148</sup> рабѣ КФ, КО, КБ, КТ2.

<sup>149</sup> соущи СбП1, СбП2, КФ, КО, КБ, КТ2, СлС, СлТ1, СлТух, СлЧ.

<sup>150</sup> нет КФ, КО, КБ, КТ2.

<sup>151</sup> воблечѣ<sup>н</sup> причем буква в исправлена из буквы п КБ; вболченъ СлС, СлТ1, СлТух, СлЧ.

<sup>152</sup> шествіе СлС, СлТух, прішествіе СлТ1, СлЧ.

<sup>153</sup> испр., в СбМ папакы.

## A Tentative Translation<sup>154</sup>

The task of translation of the Slavonic text would require understanding the Greek words and syntactical constructions rendered in Slavonic. Therefore, the present translation normally does not represent the whole range of meanings that could be read into the Slavonic text by a reader who has no idea of the Greek original, but refers to a specific restoration of the Greek key words, which are often inserted into the translation in [square brackets]. Also in [brackets] are some additions to the text of the translation intended to provide an interpretation of obscure passages. The words in (ordinary parentheses) are added to make the translation smoother, even though this remains very technical and far from any attempt to render the literary style of the lost Greek original. We hope that, at least, the translation is not too close to the extremely obscure literary style of the Slavonic text either, in order to be a little clearer. The biblical references are given in (parentheses) as well.

### Part I: The Fall and the Second Creation

#### 1. The Pre-Fall Condition: Nourished by the Spirit

Formerly, in Paradise, food and drink [βρώμα καὶ πῶμα/πόσις] were not (earthly) bread but paradisal [ποροδνο = τοῦ παραδείσου] and spiritual [πνευματική]. The spiritual (nourishment) was such as befitted the spiritual (person), just as the corruptible (food befitted) the corruptible (body). There is a need to know<sup>155</sup> that our earthly body is created out of the earth and not out of some power [τινὸς δυνάμεως], as some, who greatly deceive themselves, think. The food was light [ἐλαφρόν], and the body was light [ἐλαφρόν]—in the way that [δα οὖνο = ἵνα γάρ] eating and drinking (would become)<sup>156</sup> corruptible after the condemnation.

#### 2. The Post-Fall Condition: Food and Health

It came about as Paul attests: *the kingdom of God is not eating and drinking* [οὐ ... ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ βρώσις καὶ πόσις] (Rom 14:17), while Gregory the Theologian says: *Let us not remain what we are, but let us become what we once were* [Μὴ μείνωμεν ὅπερ ἐσμέν, ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἦμεν γενώμεθα].<sup>157</sup> Because now thirst torments us, hunger makes us suffer, so that after having eaten, we wish to drink. Thus we bring into the body the bread first, then the chalice. Why [почто = διὰ τί etc.] do we first give the power of dryness to the flesh? — The support for the sinews and the base for the bones; then, the water to dissolve the food and enrich the blood, and also to fill and make sated [(сѣ)сочаннѣю<sup>158</sup>] the brains, and (provide) moisture for the body. Then it [sc., water] reaches all the members (after) having been mixed with the food. If they accept both of them (eating and drinking) and according to a measure, then (the result is) great health, but if they accept<sup>159</sup> some (of the two) not according to a measure, then they fall into frequent ailments and great illnesses, — because, with the thickness of the flesh, they have fallen painfully from such a height, when they were condemned.

<sup>154</sup> The authors are especially grateful to Prof. James O'Leary for his help with this translation, but the responsibility for the possible mistakes and shortcomings should be attributed solely to the authors.

<sup>155</sup> Variant reading: to see; вѣдѣти “to know” and видѣти “to see” are often interchangeable due to the transition *ѣ > i* in the northern (e.g., Novgorodian) as well as in Ukrainian dialects; cf. (Цейтлин, Вечерка, Благова, *Старославянский словарь (по рукописям X–XI веков)*. Moscow, 1994, p. 164).

<sup>156</sup> Missing verb?

<sup>157</sup> Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* 39, 2; (Moreschini, Galloway, Grégoire de Nazianze, *Discours* 38-41, Paris, 1990, p. 152) = PG 36, 336.25-26. The Slavonic allows as well the following translation: *We will not remain what we are, but we will become what we once were.*

<sup>158</sup> *А нарах legomenon*. Compare *СЛРЯ* II-17 (issue 26, p. 262, s.v. СОЧАНІЕ) «наполнение живительными соками» “full of vivifying juices,” with the unique reference to РНІ). Cf. (Срезневский, *Материалы для словаря древне-русского языка*, St. Petersburg, 1893-1912/2003, vol. 3, col. 471): СОЧЬНЫИ «касающийся ѣды» “pertaining to eating.”

<sup>159</sup> We follow the variant readings with the plural.



### 3. The Nature: Neither Corruptible nor Incorruptible

However, there was no need of this to those who had spiritual grace [χάρις]. He was<sup>160</sup> not renewed through the incorruptibility [ἀφθαρσία] of the body, as he is incorruptible [ἀφθαρτος] not by genus [τῷ γένει] but by grace [τῇ χάρει].<sup>161</sup> Were<sup>162</sup> he incorruptible by genus, he would not be condemned to death; were he corruptible [φθαρτός], he would not have the expectation of resurrection [ἡ ἐλπίς τῆς ἀναστάσεως] either; and how would he be condemned to corruption [φθορά], if he was corruptible by nature [τῇ φύσει]?<sup>163</sup>

And formerly God said: *In pain you shall bring forth your*<sup>164</sup> *children* [ἐν λύπαις τέξῃ τέκνα] (Gen 3:16). When making appear the expectation of resurrection [τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς ἀναστάσεως], he (God) announced according to foreknowledge<sup>165</sup> [κατὰ τὸ προγνώρισμα] that *not for ever* would he<sup>166</sup> be *forgotten*<sup>167</sup> in destruction, in order that he (God) will dispense [σμοτρωσιε = *some form of οἰκονομέω*] to him [В НЕМЪ = εἰς αὐτόν] the rising [sc., resurrection]<sup>168</sup> through the only-begotten Son in order that, in this way, he (God) will put him at the borderline of the two natures, the mortal and the immortal<sup>169</sup>.

<sup>160</sup> Shift from the plural to the singular masculine in the original.

<sup>161</sup> The line of thought is that of Theophilus of Antioch, *Ad Autolycum* ii, 27 (Bardy, Théophile d'Antioche, *Trois livres à Autolycus*, Paris, 1948, pp. 164, 166), but in a form closer to Nemesius of Emesa (see below). In Theophilus and Nemesius, unlike their predecessors Philo [*De opificio mundi*, 46, p. 134 (Cohn, Wendland, Philonis Alexandrini *Opera quae supersunt*. Vol. 1, Berlin, 1896, pp. 46-47)] and Origen [*Homilia in Genesin*, I, 13 (Baehrens, *Origenes Werke*. Bd. 6, Leipzig, 1920, pp. 15-16), cf. (Habermehl, *Origenes. Werke mit deutscher Übersetzung*, hrsg. Alfons Fürst und Christoph Marksches. Bd. 1/2, Berlin, 2011, SS. 50-53)], the ambiguity of human nature lies not in the dualism of the immortal soul and the mortal body but the result of free choice. Placing the human on the borderline between the immortal and the mortal due to the dualism of the soul and the body is, after Philo, a patristic commonplace. However, a reinterpretation of this idea in the vein of Theophilus of Antioch, making from this dualism a dualism of free choice (between the carnal drives and the spiritual intentions) is proper to Nemesius. It is the latter who is followed by our anonymous author.

<sup>162</sup> Here the common text of the two sources begins.

<sup>163</sup> Cf. Nemesius of Emesa, *De natura hominis* I, 5 (46): εἰ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὐτὸν θνητὸν ἐποίησεν ὁ θεός, οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτόντα θανάτῳ κατεδίκασε· τοῦ γὰρ θνητοῦ θνητότητα οὐδεὶς καταδικάζει· εἰ δ' αὖ πάλιν ἀθάνατον, οὐδ' ἂν τροφῆς αὐτὸν ἐνδεᾶ κατεσκεύασεν οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀθανάτων τροφῆς σωματικῆς δεῖται... (Morani, *Nemesio Emeseni De natura hominis*, Leipzig, 1987, pp. 6.10-13); "For if God had made him mortal from the beginning He would not have condemned him to death when he had sinned: for nobody condemns the mortal to mortality. If, however, He had rather made him immortal, He would not have made him in need of food, since nothing immortal needs bodily food" (Sharples, van der Eijk, *Nemesius, On the Nature of Man*, Liverpool, 1988, p. 41).

<sup>164</sup> This "your" is an authorial addition rather than a variant of a biblical manuscript (no such addition is found in the Göttingen edition of the Greek text, the available Hebrew, the Targums, and the Syriac).

<sup>165</sup> For the reading translated here, see Introduction, section "The Two Previous and the Present Editions."

<sup>166</sup> The subject of the clause—evidently, the human BEING—is not made explicit.

<sup>167</sup> Cf. Ps. 73 [MT 74]:19: μὴ ἐπιλάβῃ εἰς τέλος.

<sup>168</sup> In the Slavonic: СМОТРАШЕ В НЕМЪ. Ѡ ЕДИННОЧАДѢМЪ СИѢ ВЪСТАНИИ. In our translation, the syntagmata are СМОТРАШЕ... ВЪСТАНИИ and (ВЪСТАНИИ) Ѡ ЕДИННОЧАДѢМЪ СИѢ. Another syntagmatic subdivision is syntactically possible but apparently meaningless: "...was dispensing in him in/for the only-begotten son of rising".

<sup>169</sup> Compare in Nemesius: Ἑβραῖοιο δὲ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐξ ἄνθρωπον ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὕτε θνητὸν ὁμολογουμένως οὕτε ἀθάνατον γεγενῆσθαι φασιν, ἀλλ' ἐν μεθορίοις [our text follows the variant reading ἐν μεθορίῳ (Morani, *Nemesio Emeseni De natura hominis*, Leipzig, 1987, p. 6, apparatus ad l. 7)] ἑκατέρας φύσεως, ἵνα ἂν μὲν τοῖς σωματικοῖς ἀκολουθήσῃ πάθεσι, περιπέσῃ καὶ ταῖς σωματικαῖς μεταβολαῖς, ἂν δὲ τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς προτιμήσῃ καλά, τῆς ἀθανασίας ἀξιοῦσθαι (*ibid.*, p. 6); translation: "The Hebrews <Philo is meant> say that man came into existence in the beginning as neither mortal nor immortal, but at the boundary of each nature, so that, if he should pursue bodily affections, he would be subjected also to bodily changes, while, if he should estimate more highly the goods of the soul, he might be thought worthy of immortality" [(Sharples, van der Eijk, *Nemesius, On the Nature of Man*, Liverpool, 1988, p. 41), with a little change]. This passage precedes immediately the passage quoted before. Given that our author follows

<sup>177</sup> The text has the instrumental case **ими** “by them.” This error could easily occur in the process of translation, because the underlying Greek construction would have had *αὐτοῖς* without the preposition. In the Slavonic

having a form [εἶδος].<sup>180</sup> The more<sup>181</sup> the throat of insatiable Hades [τοῦ Ἀϊδης ἀκορέστου] filled, the more he (God) was image-making [some form of εἰκονίζω<sup>182</sup> or ἐντυπώω] so as to give to the image [εἰκῶν] the likeness [ὁμοίωμα] to him [= the Higher Intellect], with whose seed [σπέρματος]<sup>183</sup> the eternal darkness [ἡ σκοτία αἰωνία]<sup>184</sup> is filled. He (God) reigned through the eternal providence<sup>185</sup> until he recalled the intellect that could return to him<sup>186</sup>—and (this intellect's) lamentable falling off,

translation, such misunderstanding of what the Greek case meant resulted in a radical mistranslation of the whole sentence, making the subject of the actions the fallen intellects instead of God and mentioning them not only in the plural (which is, in this sentence, correct) but also in the singular (because the real subject was singular—God). The most literal translation of the present Slavonic sentence would be the following: “Because re-creating what they are creating into practice of his/their likeness, and from the formless to the having a form, he transformed them with his/their wickedness.”

<sup>178</sup> The so-called “practical bodies” are meant, the result of the second creation after the fall of the intellects. Cf. Evagrius Ponticus (under the name of Origen), *Selecta in Psalmos*, PG 12, 1097 D: Κρίσις ἐστὶ δικαίων μὲν ἢ ἀπὸ πρακτικοῦ σώματος ἐπὶ ἀγγελικὰ μετάβασις· ἀσεβῶν δὲ ἀπὸ πρακτικοῦ σώματος ἐπὶ σκοτεινὰ καὶ ζοφερά μετάθεσις σώματα (“The judgment is, for the righteous, transition from the practical body to the angelic (bodies), whereas for the impious, transposition from the practical body to the dark and gloomy bodies”).

<sup>179</sup> The main Origenistic idea of creation according to the image of God but re-creation according to his likeness, which has had to pass through the stage of the practical body. Cf. Origen's commentary to Num 24:8 (LXX, not in the Hebrew bible): *Καὶ τὰ πάχνη αὐτῶν ἐκμυελιεῖ* (Peter W. Flint translates either “And de-marrow their [sc. the enemies of Israel] stoutness” or “And suck out their marrow”; in (Pietersma, Wright 2007, 131); Origen's commentary: Τότε, φησὶν, ὅταν τὴν σαρκικὴν κατάστασιν εἰς πνευματικὴν διὰ τῆς πραγματικῆς μεταποιῇ “Then, he [the prophet Balaam] said, when the fleshly state will be re-created into a spiritual one through the practical one” (Origen, *Selecta in Numeros*, PG 12, 584.11-13).

<sup>180</sup> The pre-fallen intellects were formless, but they acquired forms (εἶδη) due to the fall. For these forms, the practical bodies were created, thus in conformity with the Aristotelian dichotomy of the matter—(ὕλη = σῶμα in the Origenistic language, where it is applied to the angels too, since they are to a greater or lesser degree fallen as well) — and the form (εἶδος). However, in the unity with the Logos of God (who is the only non-fallen intellect), they will become again formless and reach the likeness of God. For all this, see especially the detailed commentaries by Ilaria L. E. Ramelli (Ramelli, Evagrius, *Kephalaia gnostika*, Atlanta, GA, 2015). Cf. Evagrius, *Kephalaia gnostika* (*The Gnostic Chapters*), 1:46, 3:31, 5:62 (Guillaumont, *Les six centuries des “Kephalaia gnostica” d'Évagre le Pontique*, Turnhout, 1958/1985, pp. 39, 111, 203, 205) etc.

<sup>181</sup> We tentatively translate the construction **Τῷ μᾶλλον πλεονεξῶν**... **Τῷ μᾶλλον πλεονεξῶν**... as “the more... the more...”.

<sup>182</sup> This verb does not require as a complement εἶδος but is no less compatible with ὁμοίωσις; cf. John Damascene, *Orationes de imaginibus tres* I, 8: εἰκονίσεις τὸ τοῦ ὁραθέντος ὁμοίωμα (Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*. III, Berlin—New York, 1975, p. 82).

<sup>183</sup> The “practical bodies” of the fallen intellects are meant. On the mortal body as a seed, see, in Origenism, e.g., Evagrius, *Gnostic Chapters* 2:25: “Just as this body is called the seed of the future ear, so will also this aeon be called seed of the one that will come after it”; cf. *ibid.*, 1:24 (Ramelli, Evagrius, p. 105 et passim), with the appropriate references to the predecessors, esp. to 1 Cor 15, Philo, Gregory of Nyssa etc.); cf. Guillaumont, *Les six centuries des “Kephalaia gnostica” d'Évagre le Pontique*, pp. 71, 27. These bodies of the intellects are called their seeds in respect to their resurrected state (when these intellects will become “ears”).

<sup>184</sup> Here we have “improved” the Greek original of the Slavonic text by restoring the right Greek translation from Syriac. The Slavonic translation implies that the Greek text has had “the darkness of the world” (ἡ σκοτία τοῦ κόσμου or κοσμική) instead of ἡ σκοτία αἰωνία. See, for the details, Introduction, section “Syriac behind Greek.”

<sup>185</sup> Cf. above on the understanding of **ΠΡΟΜΥΣΛΑ СВѢТНАГО**. In this context, the proposition **ΔΟ** looks as a calque of the Syriac **Δ**-, here in the meaning of an instrumental mark (the providence is a tool for reigning). The temporal meaning of this **ΔΟ** would be, moreover, out of place (despite the temporal preposition **ΔΟΝΔΕЖЕ** in the next phrase), due to the fact that the providence is not limited temporarily; cf. Ἐπεὶ περ ἡ μεγαλυσύνη τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ ἐν τοῖς κτίσμασιν οὕσα θεωρεῖται, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι πέρας τῆς μεγαλυσύνης αὐτοῦ, μήποτε ἡ ἐξ ἀπειρου ἐπ' ἀπειρον καὶ ἐντεῦθεν παρίσταται τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰς τὰ ὄντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενόμενα πρόνοια “Since indeed the majesty of God is

from the incomprehensible [τὸ ἀνόητον] and reasonable [τὸ λογικόν]<sup>187</sup> into the animal [τὸ ζωτικόν] passionate [παθητικόν] (and?) sensual [αἰσθητικόν]. : ~

## Part II: Key Points of the History of Salvation

### 1. Looking for the Righteous: the First Failed Attempt

[He (God) was] looking for<sup>188</sup> whether<sup>189</sup> somebody would go back<sup>190</sup> from the first lie, raising the intellect from the deep night<sup>191</sup>, and did not find anybody: because *they caused corruption and were abominable in their practices* (Ps 13:1 LXX)<sup>192</sup>.

### 2. Abel

He [God] found the one who was caused to become the beginning of death<sup>193</sup>, whose blood the entire earth embraced<sup>194</sup>. He [God] found the premise of the premises [НАЧАЛЬНЫИ НАЧАТОКЪ = ἀπαρχὴ τῶν ἀπαρχῶν<sup>195</sup>]. With the lamb [*here identified*

---

conceivable in Christ and in the creatures, and there is no limit/end of his majesty, the providence of God about the things/beings that were generated by him is not to be disposed/limited from the infinity to the infinity and in between" [Pseudo(?) -Origen, *Selecta in Psalmos* (fragmenta e catenis), PG 12, 1673 A].

186 The topic of this "return" (ἀποκατάστασις, ἐπάνοδος etc.) is the central one in the whole Origenistic soteriology. The phrase ВОЗВРАТЪ НАГО СИ ОУМА could mean, in Slavonic, "of his intellect that can return"; it is clear, however, that the subject of action here is God, whereas the intellect belongs to the object of action.

<sup>187</sup> The intellect is rational but incomprehensible; Gregory of Nyssa, *De hominis opificio*, 11; PG 44, 153 D: "Τίς ἔγνω νοῦν Κυρίου;" φησὶν ὁ Ἀπόστολος. Ἐγὼ δὲ παρὰ τοῦτό φημι, Τίς τὸν ἴδιον νοῦν κατενόησεν; ("Who hath known the intellect of the Lord?, said the Apostle [Rom 11:34]. But I rather would say: who has known his own intellect?").

<sup>188</sup> The sentence uses adverbial participles (here and later) without any verb. Considered within the framework of Slavonic or Greek syntax, this sentence is incomplete; therefore, we have to either suppose a lacuna or disregard the previous mark of the end of a long passage and add this sentence to the previous one as a continuation of the latter. However, within the framework of Syriac syntax, the participles are suitable for expressing the predicates, and our sentence looks correct. This reading seems to us the one that fits best.

<sup>189</sup> To read **ЕДА** instead of **ЕДВА**.

<sup>190</sup> The terminology of the *apokatastasis* theory (see above).

<sup>191</sup> A paraphrase of Ps 13 [MT 14]:2: κύριος ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ διέκυψεν ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῦ ἰδεῖν εἰ ἔστιν συνίων ἢ ἐκζητῶν τὸν θεόν. However, the imagery of an intellect within the night is properly Evagrian; cf. his Gnostical Chapters 4:29: "Just as, if the earth were destroyed, then the night would no more exist on the face of the firmament, likewise, once evilness is removed, then ignorance will no longer exist among rational creatures. For ignorance is the shadow of evilness: those who walk in it, as in the night, are illuminated by the (lamp) oil of Christ and see the stars, in accord with the knowledge that they are worthy of receiving from him. And they too, the stars, will "fall" for them, unless they immediately turn toward the 'Sun of Justice'" Ramelli, Evagrius, p. 212, cf. Guillaumont, *Les six centuries des "Kephalai gnostica" d'Évagre le Pontique*, pp. 147, 149, etc.

<sup>192</sup> Albert Pietersma's tr. in Pietersma and Wright, *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under That Title*. New York—Oxford, 2007, p. 552); in Greek: διέφθειραν καὶ ἐβδελύχθησαν ἐν ἐπιτηδεύμασιν. Our text has a difference from the Greek in the last word: **НАЧИНАНИИ** (singular) instead of **НАЧИНАНИИ<sup>x</sup>** (plural)—rather because of having lost the letter **χ** written above the line (as usual) than as a result of an alternative translation of the uncountable singular **נְלִילִי** in the Hebrew (cf. the same, **נְלִי**, in the Aramaic Targum, but plural in the Syriac).

<sup>193</sup> An unusual exegesis: the beginning of death is not in Adam (as it is according to Rom 5:12 and almost all patristic exegesis) but in Abel. This idea is attested in Jacob of Sarug (ca 451–521): Abel was the firstborn of the dead, Christ the firstborn of the living (2<sup>nd</sup> *memra* on Cain and Abel; cf. Glenthøj, *Cain and Abel in Syriac and Greek Writers* (4<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> centuries), Leuven, 1997, p. 61). The parallel between Abel and Christ is, on the contrary, the common ground of Christian exegesis.

with Abel himself<sup>196</sup>, they [sc., Cain and Abel] offered sacrifices<sup>197</sup> in order to [ἵνα] make appear the pure lamb [ἄμνός καθαρός<sup>198</sup>] as covered/dressed [some form of ἐνδιδύσκω, cf. Lk 16:19] with purple and [red] fine linen [Lk 16:19<sup>199</sup>, but referring to Is. 63:1-2], poured out the purity of light [καθαρότης τοῦ φωτός], so that [ἵνα] that<sup>200</sup> death would be the unique one [some derivate from once (ἐφάπαξ)?] for the whole human genus (cf. Heb 7:27)<sup>201</sup>.

The second lamb [sc., Christ] ought to be prefigured [ΒΟΕΒΡΑЖЕНОΥ БЫΤИ: some form of ἐντυπώ] by the first [sc., Abel], so that [ἵνα] the second (lamb) will bring rescue from the passions [παθήματα] of the first by the impassibility [ἀπάθεια] of the second. Thus, he [sc., Abel] added a similar figure [τύπος?] to the bread, a lamb. The two offsprings [sc., of Cain and Abel] were from the unique seed, and the first offspring [sc., Cain's] failed to overcome the junior one [sc., Abel's], in that he brought an imperfect fruit. Therefore, he, being furious, was angry with the junior, thus overcame his life rescuing [sc., and so brought his life to an end], being the cause of destruction<sup>202</sup>, but, with the plague applied to him [sc., to Cain], he received the rightful vengeance (cf. Gen. 4:15). How, therefore, could he not receive a plague for what he had done, having destroyed the image of his [sc., God's] similitude [УБРАΖЪ ПОДОБИЯ СЯ = τὸν εἰκόνα/τύπον τοῦ ὁμοιώματος αὐτοῦ]<sup>203</sup>?

He was an adversary to the autocrator/emperor of the creature<sup>204</sup> by a lie/craftiness. They grew up by his seed<sup>205</sup>, being overtaken with the evilness and were nourished with the lie/craftiness, for [ἵνα] will appear the judgment with righteousness

<sup>194</sup> An elaboration on Gen 4:11: Abel's blood is received not by the earth (without further qualification) but by the entire earth. The exegesis implying the guilt of the whole earth, which required the punishment by the flood, is preserved by Basil of Caesarea, *Letter* 260, 5: "the punishment for the entire earth [the flood] because of the flow of sin became great (πάσῃ τῇ γῇ τιμωρία διὰ τὸ πολλὴν γένεσθαι χύσιν τῆς ἀμαρτίας)", the deluge, was necessary to stop the propagation of Cain's sin down the generations. Courtonne, Saint Basile, *Lettres*, t. 3, Paris, 1966, p. 112.

<sup>195</sup> There is no adjective from ἀπαρχή "premise / first fruit"; the expression ἀπαρχή τῶν ἀπαρχῶν is very rare: the only case we know is in Origen's *Commentarius in Evangelium Iohannis*, I, 2, 12; Blanc, Origène, *Commentaire sur Saint Jean*, t. I, Paris, 1966, p. 64: ἀπαρχή τῶν πολλῶν ἀπαρχῶν, where the context is that the Gospels and the study thereof are the premises for all other Scriptures and studies of them, while the latter are, in turn, premises of everything.

<sup>196</sup> Cf. Gen 4:4: καὶ Ἀβελ ἤνεγκεν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τῶν πρωτοτόκων τῶν προβάτων αὐτοῦ.

<sup>197</sup> The verb ПОСЛЮЖИША is to be understood here in the meaning "to offer sacrifices" (λειτουργέω etc.).

<sup>198</sup> This expression is unbiblical and, therefore, relatively rare. Cf., in Cyril of Alexandria, *Glaphyra in Pentateuchum*: Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄμνός ὡς καθαρὸν τε καὶ ἄμωμον θύμα κατὰ νόμον νοεῖται "And the lamb is to be understood, according to the Law, as a sacrifice pure as well as without blemish" (PG 69, 425 D); only the latter synonym, "without blemish", is a standard biblical one.

<sup>199</sup> The wording БЛГРД М Н ЧЕРВЛЕННИЦЕЮ ПОКРЫТЪ is certainly that of Lk 16:19: ἐνεδιδύσκετο πορφύραν καὶ βύσσον; cf. *LLP*, vol. 4, p. 885. Nevertheless, the meaning is obviously that of the famous prophecy on Christ in Is 63:1-6, esp. vv. 1-2: τίς οὗτος ὁ παραγινόμενος ἐξ Ἐδωμ ἐρύθημα ἱματίων ἐκ Βοσορ [= "flesh" in the common Patristic exegesis]... διὰ τί σου ἐρυθρὰ τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ τὰ ἐνδύματά σου ὡς ἀπὸ πατητοῦ ληνοῦ.

<sup>200</sup> We follow the reading ТА ("that") and not ТЯ ("you" in acc. sg.).

<sup>201</sup> This allusion to Heb 7:27 (ἐφάπαξ ἑαυτὸν ἀνενέγκας) is a clear reference to the typology in which Abel is a prefiguration of Christ.

<sup>202</sup> The text has "destroyer of the cause," which seems to be a mistake for "the cause of destruction." Such mistakes could be easily made as a misinterpretation of the Syriac *status constructus*.

<sup>203</sup> This phraseology is understandable in an Origenistic framework: the likeness to God is to be reached only in the final salvation (*apokatastasis*), but it has never been lost by the unique intellect of Christ, the Logos; Abel is an image of Christ, while the latter is, in turn, the likeness of God; Abel, being "an image of the likeness", was destroyed by Cain.

<sup>204</sup> This epithet of God, αὐτοκράτωρ τοῦ κόσμου, seems to be unknown outside this text.

<sup>205</sup> In the Slavonic, ТОГО СЪМЕНИМЪ (instrumental case).

[ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ] (cf. Ps 95 [MT 96]:13) of the one who is judging all<sup>206</sup>, because they are controlled [κρατούμενοι] by free will (αὐτεξουσία), so that blame will not fall on the innocent.

### 3. Enoch

He [God?<sup>207</sup>], therefore, craved for the salvation [σωτηρία, sc., of humans] and did not find any who would render/compensate to him [ἀποδιδόμενος]<sup>208</sup>. He found, however, somebody of virtue and sent (2 Enoch 1:8)<sup>209</sup> to take him off from the temporary life. And it is written: *and he was not found, because God transferred him*<sup>210</sup> [καὶ οὐχ ὑρίσκειτο ὅτι μετέθηκεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεός] (Gen 5:24).

### 4. Noah

Then, he [God] chose the second chief/beginning of the genus [γενεάρχης] and applied to him the right balance [ζυγὸς δίκαιος]<sup>211</sup>: thus, what (was) heavy was drowned, what (was) light rose up, because the thickness overcame the thinness — because the earthly (things) are to the earthly (things), the heavenly ones to the heavenly<sup>212</sup>, so that the (things) below will not rise to the (things) above, because their *bones were strewn beside Hades* [διεσκορπίσθη τὰ ὀστά <... (ἡμῶν) is substituted with αὐτῶν> παρὰ τὸν ᾗδην (Ps 140:7<sup>213</sup>)].

### 5. The Tower of Babel

Therefore, the darkness of deceit [ἡ σκοτία τῆς πλάνης?<sup>214</sup>] remained<sup>215</sup> in vain [τοῦτ' ἐκεῖ = δωρεάν] without attestation—until it revealed the higher pride/insolence (cf. Is 10:33)<sup>216</sup>, which he (God) himself *scattered* [διέσπειρεν] (Gen 11:8, 9) *with the spirit*

---

<sup>206</sup> Possibly the flood is meant, often considered as the punishment for the Cainites.

<sup>207</sup> The syntax allows reading of this sentence from the point of view of a human (who was seeking for salvation), but, in this case, there would be a rupture in the meaning before the next phrase of this sentence and would preclude our resolution for an obscure reading there (ΔΑΙΟΥΣΑΓΩ ΕΜΟΥ).

<sup>208</sup> In the Slavonic, ΔΑΙΟΥΣΑΓΩ ΕΜΟΥ. It seems that the meaning is that of the verb ἀποδίδωμι rather than δίδωμι. Cf. Numb 5:8: ὥστε ἀποδοῦναι αὐτῷ τὸ πλημμέλημα πρὸς αὐτόν... τὸ πλημμέλημα τὸ ἀποδιδόμενον κυρῶι “...to compensate him for the error to him, the error compensated to the Lord...” [Peter W. Flint’s tr. (Pietersma and Wright, *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under That Title*. New York—Oxford, 2007, p. 115)].

<sup>209</sup> No sending is mentioned in Gen 5:24. In 2 Enoch 1, Enoch is taken to the heaven with “two huge men” (1:4) appearing before him, who said, among others (1:8): “The eternal God [*longer rec.*; Lord in *shorter rec.*] has sent us to you” Francis Andersen’s tr.: Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Vol. 1, London, 1983, pp. 106-109.

<sup>210</sup> Translation by Robert J. V. Hiebert in: Pietersma and Wright, *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under That Title*. New York—Oxford, 2007, p. 9.

<sup>211</sup> The right balance is possibly implied to be already given to Enoch, the great-grandfather of Noah, who said to his children (according to the recension in the *Mérido pravednoe*): “...and the just balance I measured” Andersen’s tr. (Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Vol. 1, London, 1983, p. 217); cf. the same motive in 1 Enoch 43:2 but applied to “the stars of heaven” only.

<sup>212</sup> On the heavenly (angelic) features of Noah, see especially the description of his birth in 1 Enoch 106-107 and the Qumranic Aramaic *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QapGen, cols. i-ii, v); Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon*, Leiden, 2009, pp. 33-35, 40-42.

<sup>213</sup> Translation by Albert Pietersma in: Pietersma and Wright, *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under That Title*. New York—Oxford, 2007, 2007, p. 616.

<sup>214</sup> Not a frequent phrase in Greek; normally, the main word in the phrase is πλάνη, and the dependent word is some derivate of σκοτία [e.g., διὰ τὸ τῆς πλάνης ἐσκοτισμένον “because of being darkened with deceit”; John Chrysostom, *In Isaiam* II, 9 (Dumortier, *Jean Chrysostome. Commentaire sur Isaïe*, Paris, 1983, p. 144); ἐφώτισε τὰ ἐσκοτισμένα τῇ πλάνῃ ἔθνη (the Law) “enlighten the gentiles darkened by deceit”; (Pseudo-)Gregory of Nyssa,



of his mouth [τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ] (Ps 32:6), for the *confounding* [σύγχυσις] (Gen 11:9) hewed down the highest of the intellect (cf. Is 10:33).<sup>217</sup>

## 6. Abraham

And he (God) transformed the changeable into the unchangeable<sup>218</sup> to obtain the fruit of conversion/return<sup>219</sup>. Thus, he found what he desired, not created with necessity [ἀνάγκη],<sup>220</sup> until he (this man) recognised the artist [τεχνίτης]<sup>221</sup> when the art [τέχνη] stopped [κατάπαυσις or a similar word],<sup>222</sup> and he (God) revealed the Covenant [διαθήκη] to the same (man). “Rise up, he said, from the custom of the first/former deceit [προτέρα πλάνη]<sup>223</sup> and go to the first/former Paradise<sup>224</sup>, so as [ἵνα] to become the father of the children who will receive back the earth of the first/former being<sup>225</sup> (cf. Gen 12:1-2),<sup>226</sup> and you will beget the son of joy (Gen 21:6).<sup>227</sup> [Abraham], it is said [ῥεῖ = φησὶν, *believed God, and it was reckoned to him as righteousness*”<sup>228</sup>

Θεογνωσία, fragmenta apud Euthymium Zigabenum, *Panoplia dogmatica*, PG 130, 273 C]. One can suppose, if the main word and the dependent word have switched places, that an intermediary having a Syriac *status constructus* phrase intervened.

<sup>215</sup> In the Slavonic, **ѡѡѡѡ** (active voice) which we consider to be a mistranslation of a Greek mediopassive verb that would require the translation **ѡѡѡѡѡѡѡѡ**. The respective Greek verb must have been a derivate of *λείπω*, such as *καταλείπω* (or with another prefix), having the aorist third-person singular forms for active and mediopassive voices such as *κατέλιπε* and *κατελίπετο* respectively.

<sup>216</sup> Is 10:33: καὶ οἱ ὑψηλοὶ τῇ ὕβρει συντριβήσονται “and those who are high with pride/insolence will be hewn down.”

<sup>217</sup> Cf. in Evagrius, *Gnostic Chapters* 4:53: "Knowledge is diminished and descends among those who build up the tower with evilness and with false doctrines. Ignorance and confusion of ideas occur to them, just as also to those who were building the tower" Ramelli, Evagrius, p. 228, cf. Guillaumont, *Les six centuries des "Kephalaia gnostica" d'Évagre le Pontique*, p. 159.

<sup>218</sup> As becomes clear from the next sentence, here the free will is meant, which is changeable but eventually must become unchangeable.

<sup>219</sup> The sentences are divided not according to the punctuation of the manuscripts but so as to keep the particle **ἔ** (**γάρ**) in second place in the second sentence.

<sup>220</sup> Abraham was chosen in God's response to his own will but not created according to God's desire and, therefore, without participation of Abraham's own will.

<sup>221</sup> God as the Artist/Constructor (τεχνίτης) of the Universe is a commonplace of Christian exegesis, including the Origenistic one. However, we do not claim to interpret all the peculiarities of the use of the term τέχνη and its derivatives in our text (cf. esp. § 13, endnote 83).

<sup>222</sup> God did not create, with his art, anything new in Abraham but simply waited to be recognised by him. This is in conformity with the *Apocalypse of Abraham* (8:3), where the Mighty One said: “You are searching for the God of gods, the Creator, in the mind/intellect (עַל הַלֵּב) of your heart. I am he” [translation by Ryszard Rubinkiewicz (Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Vol. 1, London, 1983, p. 693)].

<sup>223</sup> A common term for idolatry since, at the latest, the fourth century.

<sup>224</sup> Abraham begins the *apokatastasis*—the return from deceit to Paradise.

<sup>225</sup> "The land of the first/former being" must be Paradise.

<sup>226</sup> A symbolic interpretation of Abraham's story in the sense of the Origenistic *apokatastasis*.

[illegible]

[ἐπίστευσεν <...> τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην] (Gen 15:6; quoted in Rom 4:3, Gal 3:6, James 2:23), and he gave birth to a son in prosperous old age<sup>229</sup> [ἐν γήρει πίονι] (Ps 91:15).

#### 7. Isaac and Melchizedek Prefiguring the Two Natures of Christ (but not the Logos as an Intellect)

Thus, [God] traces [*some form of* ἐκτυπώω, ἐντυπώω etc.] here<sup>230</sup> the image [τύπος?] of the extreme passion, as a shadow of the passion [sc., of Christ], the two natures [δύο φύσεις], (those of) God and the human, in two ways [διττῶς/δισσῶς]<sup>231</sup>: according to the divinity [κατὰ τὴν θεότητα], Melchizedek,<sup>232</sup> but, according to the humanity [κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα] the son of rejoicing,<sup>233</sup> but, according to the comforting [κατὰ τὴν παράκλησιν<sup>234</sup>], the son of Intellect<sup>235</sup> and the son of art [τέχνης],<sup>236</sup> from whom the twelve tribes grew.

---

Greek/Slavonic has “laughter” in the first part of the verse and “rejoicing” in the second, the Syriac/Aramaic has “rejoicing” in both parts, whereas the Hebrew has “laughter” in both. However, the translation of the name of Isaac as “rejoicing” (χαρά or ἀγαλλίαμα) occurs repeatedly in Philo, and Byzantine exegetes knew it quite well. The peculiarity of our text consists in the identification of this “rejoicing” with Christ according to the flesh. The only instance known to us is an anonymous ninth- or tenth-century anti-Jewish text: ...ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ Ἰσαὰκ ἀγαλλίασις καὶ χαρά. Τίς δ’ ἄλλός ἐστιν ἀληθῶς καὶ κυρίως ἀγαλλίασις καὶ χαρά, ἀλλ’ ἢ μόνος Χριστὸς ὁ τῆς ἐνθέου καὶ ὄντως ἀγαλλιάσεως καὶ χαρᾶς τοῖς πᾶσιν αἵτιος καὶ πρόξενος γεγωνῶς ἅτε δὴ καὶ κατ’ οὐσίαν ὑπάρχων Θεός, ὁ καὶ κατὰ δύναμιν θείας ἐπαγγελίας ἥ πέφυκεν ἄνθρωπος ἐπ’ ἐσχάτων ἐκ τῆς Ἀβραμιαίας φυλῆς γεννηθεὶς ὡς ὁ σωματικὸς Ἰσαὰκ... [ch. 11 (Hostens, *Anonymi auctoris Theognosiae (saec. IX/X) dissertatio contra Iudaeos*, Turnhout, 1986, pp. 237-238); translation: “...because ‘Isaac’ is interpreted as ‘rejoicing’ and ‘delight.’ Indeed, who else is truly and in the proper sense joy and delight than the unique Christ, who became responsible and distributor to all of the divine and real joy and delight, who, while being God by essence, in the latter (days), was born from the Abrahamic tribe like the carnal Isaac, by the power of the divine annunciation”]. The anti-Jewish context could be a mark of an early Christian origin of the argument used; at least, this anonymous author made intensive use of earlier anti-Jewish works.

<sup>228</sup> Translation by Robert J.V. Hiebert (Pietersma and Wright, *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under That Title*. New York—Oxford, 2007, p. 14).

<sup>229</sup> Translation by Albert Pietersma (Pietersma and Wright, *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under That Title*. New York—Oxford, 2007, p. 594). The relevant part of the verse reads “In prosperous old age they [the righteous] will still increase” (in the Hebrew, where this verse is Ps 92:14 “they shall still bring forth fruit”). This verse is referred to in our text as having been fulfilled in Abraham.

<sup>230</sup> “Here” for **ῶεαѣ**, which means literally “from this [point, place etc.]”.

<sup>231</sup> This sharp Christological formulation puts our author into the camp of the post-451 Chalcedonians. In Russian Slavonic, **соглагоуѣ** could have an adverbial meaning (*СлПл-17*, issue 28, p. 239).

<sup>232</sup> The divinity of Melchizedek is a Second Temple Jewish doctrine preserved with some monastic milieu in no necessary connexion with the Origenism. Its condemnation is already witnessed in Epiphanius of Salamine (*ca* 377) and the *Apophthegmata Patrum*. However, we have no witness on either divinity or humanity of Melchizedek in the preserved corpus of Evagrius. Origen himself (and, if we trust Jerome’s testimony, Didymus) considered Melchizedek as some angelic/heavenly power. Such a doctrine is condemned also by Cyril of Alexandria (together with the opinion of those who consider Melchizedek to be the Holy Spirit). See, for the details, Horton Jr., *The Melchizedek Tradition*, Cambridge, 1976; cf. Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchireša*<sup>ς</sup>, Washington, DC, 1981. Our text is compatible with both “super-human” interpretations of Melchizedek, as either divine or some heavenly “power” (δύναμις).

<sup>233</sup> Isaac as a prefiguration of Christ is a common topic of Christian exegesis, especially due to the *Ageda*.

<sup>234</sup> The Slavonic has **огѣшениѣ** “comforting” (παράκλησις), which we consider as connected to “Comforter” (Παράκλητος), that is, the Holy Spirit.

<sup>235</sup> In Origenism, the Logos, being the only non-fallen intellect, is distinct from God, even though acquiring some kind of identity with him. Christ is the incarnate Logos. Therefore, to mark Christ’s relations to his two natures,

### Part III: Christology

#### 1. The Two-Stage Salvation<sup>237</sup>

(O) severe temptations, (O) inflexible, hardened [*lit.* petrified] hearts [πεπωρωμένοι αἱ καρδίαι, cf. Mk 6:52, 8:17]! He [God] forms<sup>238</sup> a mould [τὸ ἐκμαγεῖον?] By putting/stamping an image of light [εἰκῶν/εἶδος φωτός]<sup>239</sup>—until what will be poured into the image (in the mould) of the formed<sup>240</sup> similitude [ὁμοίωμα — *here in the sense of archetype*], thus miraculously transferred from darkness to light (cf. Eph 1:12-13<sup>241</sup>)<sup>242</sup>,—in order that [ἵνα] the witness of [*correct to that which is witnessed by*<sup>243</sup>] that light will become a great light<sup>244</sup>, whereas this visible light will become darkness<sup>245</sup>.

---

divine and human, would not be enough to specify who Christ is in fact: there is a need to specify him as an intellect.

<sup>236</sup> Cf. above on the term “art.” We must confess that its usage in the present text is not identifiable with any known tradition.

<sup>237</sup> The following text will be more easily comprehensible when taking in mind the following chapter of the *Gnostic Chapters* (6:34) by Evagrius: “During the aeons God *will change the body of our humiliation into the likeness of the glorious body* (Phil 3:21) of the Lord. Then, after all aeons, he will also make us *in the likeness of his Son’s image* (Rom 8:29), if it is the case that the Son’s image is the essential knowledge of God the Father” Ramelli, Evagrius, p. 335, cf. Guillaumont, *Les six centuries des “Kephalaia gnostica” d’Évagre le Pontique*, p. 231; see also commentary Ramelli, Evagrius, pp. 335-336. The *apokatastasis* implies a two-stage process: (1) during the aeons: the incarnation, that is, when God accepted our body and transformed it into the glory of resurrection; (2) after all aeons, finally: the definitive unity of all reasonable creatures with the Trinity (more on this s. in Evagrius’s *Great Letter to Melania*). According to this scheme, the unity with Christ is still not the highest, decisive, and absolute degree of divinisation. For the alternative attitude of the Byzantine Orthodoxy, as it was expressed especially against Origenism, see Larchet, *La divinisation de l’homme selon saint Maxime le Confesseur*, Paris, 1996.

<sup>238</sup> There is a fitting Scholastic term *informatio* corresponding to such Greek terms as ἐντύπωσις, some derivatives of μορφώ etc.; in Slavonic, as in Latin, there was no such variability of synonyms.

<sup>239</sup> The right Greek term here seems to be rather εἰκῶν than εἶδος, although these words would have been used as synonyms. The expression εἶδος φωτός is not frequent [it is known, however, from *Joseph and Aseneth*, 20, 6 (Burchard, *Joseph und Aseneth kritisch herausgegeben*, Leiden, 2003, p. 252)], whereas phrases with derivatives of εἰκῶν and φῶς are common, and here our “image” (εἰκῶν) will be put in connexion with the “similitude” (ὁμοίωμα). Cf., e.g., in Gregory of Nyssa (*In Canticum Canticorum*, II): the human nature must become a reflection (image produced as a reproduction) of the true Light (John 1:9) — ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη φύσις τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ φωτός ἀπεικόνισμα (Langerbeck, Gregorii Nysseni *In Canticum Canticorum*, Leiden, 1960, p. 51).

<sup>240</sup> In Greek, one would suppose a term such as τυποθεῖς.

<sup>241</sup> This is an elaboration on Eph 1:12-13: εὐχαριστοῦντες τῷ πατρὶ τῷ ἱκανώσαντι ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν μερίδα τοῦ κλήρου τῶν ἁγίων ἐν τῷ φωτὶ ὃς ἐρρύσατο ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ σκότους καὶ μετέστησεν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ. However, our text follows rather some tradition of paraphrasing. Especially close is a sentence in the *Corpus Macarianum* (type III, homily 16, 3), where the idea of “transferring” from the darkness to the light is connected to the topic of the “image” (εἰκῶν): Δόξα τῷ οὕτως ἀγαπήσαντι τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν κατ’ εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ κτισθεῖσαν, τῷ λυτρωσαμένῳ αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ σκότους καὶ μεταστήσαντι αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ φωτός τῆς ζωῆς (Klostermann and Bezold, *Neue Homilien des Makarius/Symeon. I. Aus Typus III*, Berlin, 1961, p. 83); translation: “Glory to him who so much loved the soul that was created according to his image (εἰκῶν), who freed it from the kingdom of darkness and transferred it to the kingdom of the light of life.”

<sup>242</sup> For the whole inspiration of this passage, cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *On the Beatitudes*, VI, 4: τὸ γὰρ σοι χωρητὸν τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ κατανοήσεως μέτρον ἐν σοὶ ἐστίν, οὕτω τοῦ πλάσαντός σε τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀγαθὸν εὐθύς τῇ φύσει κατοουσιώσαντος. τῶν γὰρ τῆς ἰδίας φύσεως ἀγαθῶν ὁ θεὸς ἐνετύπωσε τῇ σῇ κατασκευῇ τὰ μιμήματα, οἷόν τινα κηρὸν σχήματι γλυφῆς προτυπώσας. ἀλλ’ ἡ κακία τῷ θεοειδεῖ χαρακτηρὶ περιχυθεῖσα ἄχρηστον ἐποίησέ σοι τὸ ἀγαθὸν ποκεκρυμμένον τοῖς αἰσχροῖς προκαλύμμασιν. εἰ οὖν ἀποκλύσειας πάλιν δι’ ἐπιμελείας βίου τὸν ἐπιπλασθέντα τῇ καρδίᾳ σου ῥύπον, ἀναλάμψει σοι τὸ θεοειδὲς κάλλος (Callahan, Gregorii Nysseni *De oratione dominica. De Beatitudinibus*, Leiden, 1992, p. 143).

## 2. The Overnight Journey<sup>246</sup> to the First Image-Stamping

Because we did not dare to name the sun, when we were with the moon, and when the sun was about to shine forth, the night has been instantly crushed [**PAZBHBABECA**, not **PAZBHBATA**] by the brilliancy [**λαμπρότης**] of a star, and it [sc., star; or he, sc. God] led them through the abyss of the passion [**ἄβυσσος τοῦ πάθους**].<sup>247</sup>

He who was stamped with the image of passion [**πάθος**], who was stamped with the image of the shadow [sc., the shadow of evil = ignorance], him he [God] made to stand on the promise [**ἐπαγγελία/ἐπάγγελμα**] of the first image-stamping [sc., that dealt with above]—not<sup>248</sup> above on the height but on an extreme part. Because he failed to convey from the deep night those to whom there was no witness [sc., Christ], because he was guiding those who were slavishly submitted<sup>249</sup> to the yoke<sup>250</sup>.

---

Translation by Stuart George Hall in (Drobner and Viciano, *Gregory of Nyssa: Homilies on the Beatitudes. An English Version with the Commentary and Supporting Studies*, Leiden, 2000, p. 70): “The measure of what is accessible to you is in you, for thus your Maker from the start invested your essential nature with such good. God has imprinted upon your constitution replicas of the good things in his own nature, as through stamping wax with the shape of a design. Vice however, overlaying the God-like pattern, has made the good useless to you, hidden under curtains of shame. If you were to wash away once more by scrupulous living the filth that has accumulated upon your heart, the God-like beauty would again light up for you.”

<sup>243</sup> The witness must be of somebody or something else, and, therefore, such a correction is tempting. Indeed, the corresponding words are not easily confused in Greek and Slavonic, but, in Syriac, the situation is different. The words for “witness”, such as **ܠܗܘܢܬܝܬܐ** and **ܠܗܘܢܬܝܬܐ**, looks very similar to **ܠܬܝܬܐ** “that of which evidence is given” (*TS*, col. 2537).

<sup>244</sup> This phrase about the witness alludes to John 1:7-9, where the true Light was Christ, whereas John the Baptist was not the Light but sent as a witness of the Light. Here, however, some lesser light is a witness of a greater one. The lesser light is the incarnate Logos, Christ. The great light is the Trinity at the *apokatastasis*.

<sup>245</sup> A mark of the end of the visible world at the *apokatastasis*, which is to take place “after all aeons.”

<sup>246</sup> For better understanding of the following part, the reader could bear in mind a chapter from the *Gnostic Chapters* by Evagrius (4:29): “Just as, if the earth were destroyed, then the night would no more exist on the face of the firmament, likewise, once evilness is removed, then ignorance will no longer exist among rational creatures. For ignorance is the shadow of evilness: those who walk in it, as in the night, are illuminated by the (lamp) oil of Christ and see the stars, in accord with the knowledge that they are worthy of receiving from him. And they too, the stars, will ‘fall’ for them, unless they immediately turn toward the ‘Sun of Justice’”, Ramelli, Evagrius, pp. 212-213, cf. Guillaumont, *Les six centuries des “Kephalaia gnostica” d’Évagre le Pontique*, pp. 147, 149. To sum up the details we have to keep in mind: the night is produced by the shadow of evilness, which is ignorance; those who are in the night are guided by Christ using stars. From other chapters, we know that these stars are not necessarily the material luminaries (whereas they also serve to help humankind: 6:88) but principally refer to the “intelligible stars”: “Intelligible stars are rational natures who have been entrusted with illuminating those who are in darkness” (3:62; Ramelli, Evagrius, p. 177, cf. Guillaumont, *Les six centuries des “Kephalaia gnostica” d’Évagre le Pontique*, p. 123); almost the same wording in 3:84 (Ramelli, Evagrius, p. 192), cf. Guillaumont, *Les six centuries des “Kephalaia gnostica” d’Évagre le Pontique*, p. 133. In the following description of an overnight journey the author, of course, alludes—once more—to the Exodus, where passing through the abyss took place at night as well.

<sup>247</sup> We are grateful to Dmitry Afinogenov for his help in clarifying this difficult passage.

<sup>248</sup> We follow the reading **НЕ НА** and not the erroneous **НА НЕ**.

<sup>249</sup> In the Slavonic, this is a *hapax legomenon* composite word **РАБОПОКОРЕНИЯ** (never occurring in the lexica of Slavonic and Greek), whereas it is easily imaginable in Greek after the pattern of **δουλοκρατούμενοι**: e.g., \***δουλοταττούμενοι**. Such a *compositum* would hardly pass through Syriac. Therefore, this is a piece of linguistic evidence in favour of Greek as the language of the immediate original of the Slavonic.

<sup>250</sup> An apparent discrepancy with the Exodus, where those guided were already free from the servitude in Egypt.

### 3. The Second Coming

Being in servitude [δουλεία], the non-free creature [κτίσις] could not inherit [cf. 1 Cor 15:50: κληρονομήσαι οὐ δύναται]<sup>251</sup> liberty [ἐλευθερία] (cf. Rom 8:21)<sup>252</sup> until his [Christ's/Logos's] image is stamped in them<sup>253, 254</sup> who are the lower branches [κλήματα; cf. John 15:5]<sup>255</sup> of the son of the most high [υἱὸς ὑψίστου] (cf. Ps 81:6 LXX) king [βασιλέως<sup>256</sup>]<sup>257</sup>. The *wisdom* [σοφία] (1 Cor 1:24), the son and the *heir* [ὁ κληρονόμος; Mk 12:7]<sup>258</sup> of the most high king [τοῦ ὑψίστου βασιλέως] is clothed with revenge [ἐνδύον ἐν ἄμυναν] and dressed [περιβάλλον] with judgment [ἐν κρίσιν/ἐκδίκησιν]<sup>259</sup> (cf. Is 59:17; Wis 5:17-18)<sup>260</sup>. His descent

---

<sup>251</sup> Inheritance is mentioned here in connection with Rom 8:21 “because the creation itself also will be delivered from the servitude of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God” (cf. Greek quote below). Our author means that the creature failed to acquire what is due to the children of God, namely, the liberty from corruption. The allusion to 1 Cor 15:50 (τοῦτο δὲ φημι ἀδελφοί ὅτι σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα βασιλείαν θεοῦ κληρονομήσαι οὐ δύναται οὐδὲ ἡ φθορὰ τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν κληρονομεῖ “Now this I say, brethren, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God; nor does corruption inherit incorruption”) serves to insist that the bodies (“flesh and blood”) will not participate in the resurrection; see below on the incarnation in the “inner man” and not the “outer” one.

<sup>252</sup> The wording of this passage is that of Rom 8:21: ὅτι καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ κτίσις ἐλευθερωθήσεται ἀπὸ τῆς δουλείας τῆς φθορᾶς εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς δόξης τῶν τέκνων τοῦ θεοῦ.

<sup>253</sup> In the Slavonic, **ИММ** (instrumental case).

<sup>254</sup> The incarnation of the Logos gives the liberty from corruption or (see Rom 8:20, which is also underlying this passage), from vanity/futility (ματαιότης). This vanity is, according to Origen, the bodies: *Ego quidem arbitror non aliam esse vanitatem quam corpora* “I therefore consider the vanity to be nothing other than the bodies”; cf. the whole of this commentary on Rom 8:19-21 in Origen, *De principiis*, I, 7, 5; Koetschau, *Origenes Werke*, Bd. 5, Leipzig, 1913, pp. 91-94, quoted p. 92, cf. also the parallel places in Origen referred to in the apparatus. The body, however, according to both Origen and Evagrius, is an outer and less important part of the man, whereas the incarnation of the Logos is aiming at the interior one. Thus, according to an Evagrian definition (*Gnostic Chapters*, 6:39), “The birth of Christ is the birth of our inner human being, which is from the beginning, that which Christ, like a good builder, has founded and built upon the head stone of the building of his body” (Ramelli, Evagrius, p. 338), cf. Guillaumont, *Les six centuries des “Kephalaia gnostica” d’Évagre le Pontique*, p. 233. In these terms, one can reformulate the main idea of this sentence that Logos’s image-stamping, which is the incarnation, affected the inner man and not the outer one, thus becoming the main prerequisite for the future liberation from the corruption and the body (because, in Origenism, where is a body, there is corruption).

<sup>255</sup> Here, in the context of liberation from the death and corruption (when the latter is equated with the body itself), the topic of the branches of the Christ as the true vine was actualised in the Origenistic exegesis: “Indeed, every plant, after its winter death, awaits its spring resurrection. Therefore, if we too have been planted together with Christ in his death, it is necessary that the Father, as a farmer, purifies us like branches of the true vine, that we may bring very much fruit, as Christ himself says in the Gospels: *I am the true vine, you are the branches, and my Father is the Farmer* (John 15:1)” (*Omnis etenim planta post hiemis mortem resurrectionem ueris expectat. Si ergo et nos in Christi morte complantati sumus ei, necesse est ut Pater agricola purget nos tamquam palmites uitis uerae ut fructum plurimum afferamus, sicut et ipse in euangeliiis dicit: ego sum uitis uera, uos palmites, pater meus Agricola*); Origen, *Commentarius ad Romanos* 5.9.65–72; see also 1.15.54–66; quoted according to Ramelli, Evagrius, p. 45.

<sup>256</sup> “Most high king”: this expression is obtained with contraction of Ps 46:3 LXX (ὅτι κύριος ὑψίστος φοβερός βασιλεὺς μέγας ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν). It is not very frequent, although not unique, e.g. Pseudo-Chrysostom, *De augusta porta et in orationem dominicam*, 1; PG 51, 41, line 7.

<sup>257</sup> The reference to Ps 81:6 puts the Logos among a congregation of faithful, but the context is “singularised”, especially with the opposition between the “most high (king)” and the “lower (vine branches)”; the latter evokes in imagination vine shoots hanging downward.

<sup>258</sup> That is the one who did not fail to inherit what the creature failed.

<sup>259</sup> The motive of covering/dressing in something immaterial and divine is juxtaposed to the previous motive of the corruptible body. The reader should have in mind the famous clothing with the *tunics of skin* (Gen 3:21) in patristic and especially Origenist exegesis (in the latter, “tunics of skin” are the material bodies).

[κατάβασις] is mysterious [μυστική?]<sup>261</sup>, but also [ἀλλὰ πάλιν] relentless [ѿрѣ = ἀπότομος?]<sup>262</sup> is *his coming* [παρουσία αὐτοῦ; 1 Cor 15:23].

## Abbreviations

*Briquet* — Briquet, Charles Moïse. *Les Filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600. A facsimile of the 1907 edition with supplementary material contributed by a number of scholars.* Edited by Allan Stevenson. Amsterdam: The Paper Publications Society, 1968.

*CPG* — Mauritius Geerard. *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*. 4 vols. (Corpus Christianorum). Turnhout: Brepols, 1974–1983; M. Geerard, J. Noret. *Clavis Patrum Graecorum. Supplementum*. (Corpus Christianorum). Turnhout: Brepols, 1998.

*CSCO* — Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium.

*GCS* — Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte.

*GNO* — Gregorii Nysseni Opera.

*LLP* — *Slovník Jazyka Staroslověnského / Lexicon Linguae Palaeoslavicae*. Hlavní redaktor: Josef Kurz [succeeded by] Zoe Hauptová. 4 vols. Prague: Academia Euroslavica, 1958–1997; reprint: St. Petersburg: Издательство Санкт-Петербургского университета, 2006.

*PG* — J.-P. Migne. *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeca*.

*Piccard* — Gerhard Piccard. *Die Wasserzeichenkartei Piccard im Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart*. (Veröffentlichungen der Staatlichen Archivverwaltung Baden-Württemberg. Sonderreihe). 17 Bde. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1961–1997.

*PO* — Patrologia orientalis.

*SC* — Sources chrétiennes.

*TLG* — *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*.

*TS* — Robert Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879–1901.

*TU* — Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur.

*Лихачев* — Лихачев, Н. П. *Палеографическое значение бумажных водяных знаков*. Части 1–3. (Общество любителей древней письменности, 116). St. Petersburg: Типография «В. С. Балашев и К<sup>о</sup>», 1899.

*СЛРЯ 11–17* — Институт русского языка им. В. В. Виноградова [Российской] Академии Наук [СССР]. *Словарь русского языка XI–XVII вв*. Выпуски [issues] 1–30–. Moscow: Наука, 1975–2015–.

*ТОДРЛ* — *Труды отдела древнерусской литературы Института русской литературы [Российской] Академии Наук [СССР] (Пушкинского дома)*. Тома [volumes] 1–65–. St. Petersburg: Наука, 1934–2017–.

*Шварц* — Шварц, Е. М. *Новгородские рукописи XV века: кодикологическое исследование рукописей Софийско-Новгородского собрания Государственной Публичной Библиотеки им. М. Е. Салтыкова-Щедрина*. Moscow—Leningrad: Издательство Государственной Публичной Библиотеки им. М. Е. Салтыкова-Щедрина, 1989.

<sup>260</sup> The wording is that of Is 59:17 (καὶ ἐνεδύσατο δικαιοσύνην ὡς θώρακα καὶ περιέθετο περικεφαλαίαν σωτηρίου ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ περιεβάλετο ἱμάτιον ἐκδικήσεως καὶ τὸ περιβόλαιον) and Wis 5:17–18 (καὶ ὀπλοποιήσῃ τὴν κτίσιν εἰς ἄμυναν ἐχθρῶν ἐνδύσεται θώρακα δικαιοσύνην καὶ περιθήσεται κόρυθα κρίσιν ἀνυπόκριτον).

<sup>261</sup> This phraseology refers to a mystical and/or sacramental understanding, rather common in Christian exegesis. Cf. in Origen: τὸ μυστήριον τῆς τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνσωματώσεως καὶ καταβάσεως (*Commentarius in Evangelium Iohannis*, VI, 5, 29 (Blanc, Origène, *Commentaire sur Saint Jean*, t. II, Paris, 1970, p. 150).

<sup>262</sup> This epithet is problematic, because Slavonic ѿрѣ refers not to the standard Greek epithet of παρουσία—φοβερά (страшное “fearful”). Срезневский, *Материалы для словаря древне-русского языка*, St. Petersburg, 1893–1912, col. 1664 provides a case where ѿрѣ renders ἀπότομος (in the translation of Gregory of Nazianzus!), even though the standard Greek equivalent is θυμώδης. Nevertheless, according to the data of *TLG*, only the adverb ἀποτόμως occurs (rarely!) in the context of the second coming, and there is no instance of the adjective ἀπότομος being applied to the noun παρουσία.