Stefka Pileva

AN IMPORTANT WITNESS TO THE OLD SLAVONIC MONASTIC MISCELLANIES – KRKA 4 (1346)

M.A. Thesis in Medieval Studies

Central European University

Budapest

June 2003

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by Stefka Pileva (Bulgaria)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,

Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements

of the Master of Arts degree in Medieval Studies

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU

Chair, Examination Co	ommittee
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I, the undersigned, **Stefka Pileva**, candidate for the M.A. degree in Medieval Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 1 June 2003	
	Signature

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INTRODUCTION

This MA thesis is aimed at providing a detailed description of a fourteenth-century Church Slavic manuscript. Unfortunately, the codex was probably lost some ten years ago because of the war in Croatia in the period 1991-1995. This sorrowful fact, however, makes such a description indispensable and essential. Happily, microfilms and photocopies of the manuscript are available, as well as a machine-readable text and a full digital copy. The present study is not intended to be a profound and complete one, but rather is intended to present as exhaustive description of the manuscript as is possible in terms of both its physical features and content, which can be used by other researchers later on for analysis and further investigations. The principal approach is a descriptive one, although on occasion I also suggest some interpretations of the evidence, thus proposing some ideas concerning the circumstances about the creation of the manuscript and the history of the codex.

The Slavic manuscript designated as Krka 4 (264/62) is known among the specialists in Slavonic Studies as the Krka Patericon. In the catalogues and in different works it is usually referred to as a patericon collection. It is called either *Krka Patericon*⁴ or a *Bulgarian Patericon from 1346*, or even the *Vissarionov Patericon*

Northern Dalmatia), Starine 48 (1958): 190.

¹ As far as I know, microfilms of cod. Krka 4 are available at the National Library "SS. Cyril and Methodius" in Sofia, at the National Library in Belgrade and at the Hilandar Research Library, RCMSS, Ohio State University, from where I received the photocopies of the manuscript.

² I thank Prof. Veder who sent me the machine-readable text of Krka 4.

³ At "Kirilometodievistika" Department, Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski."

⁴ Nikolaas van Wijk and Richard Pope, *The Old Church Slavonic Translation of the '* Άνδρῶν 'αγίων βίβλος in the edition of N. van Wijk, ed. D. Armstrong, R. Pope and C. H. van Schooneveld (Hague – Paris: Mouton, 1975); Zhivka Ikonomova, *Наблюдения върху фонетиката и правописа на Кръчкия патерик* (Observations on the Phonetics and Orthography of the Krka Patericon), Sofia, unpublished. ⁵ Vladimir Mošin and Milan Radeka, "Ćirilski rukopisi u sjevernoj Dalmacii" (Cyrillic Manuscripts in

after the name of one of the scribes.⁶ It is a fourteenth-century (1346) Slavic manuscript, Bulgarian recension, containing part of the text of the Scete Patericon, lives of venerable monks as well as other works connected to monasticism – sermons and homilies of John Chrysostom, Ephraem the Syrian, St. Basil the Great, Athanasius of Alexandria and other Church Fathers. From the colophon left by one of the scribes we know that it was copied in 1346 in the Lavra of Saint Michael the Archangel.⁷ A full description of the manuscript has not been provided until now.⁸ The composition has not been of interest to the scholars either. Usually they simply mention it as one of the Slavonic manuscripts containing the text of the Scete Patericon, the Slavonic translation of the systematic collection of *Apophthegmata patrum*. It has been taken for comparison with other manuscripts containing this text, or has been studied with regard to its linguistic characteristics. Its colophon was published twice but the full text was never published in its original Church Slavic language.⁹

The manuscript bears its name after the Krka monastery, where it was kept for several centuries. Unfortunately, its present location is unknown. According to the tradition, the sister of the Serbian King Stefan Dušan, Princess Helena, the wife of Mladen Šubic, founded the Krka monastery in the middle of the fourteenth century. There is evidence that in 1402 the church was built. From then onwards the monastery

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⁶ Ivan Duichev, *Из старата българска книжнина* (From the Old Bulgarian Literature), vol. 2 (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1944), 128.

⁷ The text of the colophon in Church Slavic and its English translation are presented in Chapter One.

⁸ An overview of the secondary literature on Krka 4 is provided in Chapter Two.

⁹ Petâr Dinekov, Kuio Kuev and Donka Petkanova, *Христоматия по старобългарска литература* (Anthology of Old Bulgarian Literature) (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1974), 320-321. Part of the colophon is published also by Ivan Duichev, *Из старата българска книженина*, 128-129.

¹⁰ Dr. Slobodan Mileusnic, a Director of the Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Belgrade, told me that during the war in Croatia in 1991-1995 he went to the monastery and tried to save the books from the library. He managed to take many early printed books and some manuscripts, which are now at MSOC, but Krka 4 was not among them.

played a significant role in the life of the Orthodox population in northern Dalmatia.¹¹

Nothing is known about the history of the manuscript itself, or when and how it appeared in the Krka monastery.¹²

Afetr World War II, in the 1950s, Prof. Milan Radeka established a new inventory of the manuscripts in northern Dalmatia in general and in the Krka monastery in particular, together with Prof. Vladimir Mošin. Therefore, most of the manuscripts now have two shelf-marks: a new one and an old one. So the Krka Patericon owes its current number (N 4) to Prof. Radeka, but I will use both the new and the old shelf-marks for convenience and in order to avoid eventual confusion in the future.

The first chapter of the present thesis is dedicated to the codex itself. It presents a physical description of the manuscript, but some questions concerning its contents are also brought forward. There are two main points here: 1. The number of the scribes and the distribution of their handwritings suggest that it was in a monastic center that the codex was prepared; 2. The codex consists of two distinct parts originally belonging to independent codices, which were probably bound together at a later point. These two conclusions are confirmed by the examination of the scribes' handwritings, the decoration, the information provided by the colophon, and so on. The arguments and possible explanations are given at the relevant places.

The second chapter deals mainly with the contents of the manuscript and with the Scete Patericon as its main source, at least of the first part. A briefly presented

Mošin and Radeka, "Ćirilski rukopisi u sjevernoj Dalmacii," 189. About the history of the monastery, see also Boshko Strika, *Dalmatinski manastiri* (Dalmatian Monasteries) (Zagreb, 1930): 95-115 and Vladimir Petkovic, *Pregled crkvenih spomenika kroz povesnicu srpskog naroda* (Review of the Church Monuments throughout the History of the Serbian People) (Belgrade: Serbian Academy of Science, 1950): 155-156.

¹² Probably it came from the Hilandar monastery on Mount Athos; see V. Mošin and M. Radeka, "Ćirilski rukopisi u sjevernoj Dalmacii," 191.

table of contents re-confirms the high probability of the supposition that there were originally two distinct parts that were later united, but which were produced at the same place by the same monk-scribes. The chapter also contains some information about the Scete Patericon in general and its presence in a Slavonic context. Special attention is accorded to the way that Krka 4 represents this text: to what extent the manuscript shares the common features of the textual family to which it belongs, and what its own peculiarities are. At the end of the chapter I present a short overview of the secondary literature concerning Krka 4 manuscript.

The last but not least part of the thesis is the Appendix: perhaps this is the most essential element. A very detailed content with all the *incipit* in Church Slavic is presented. Each text is supplied with information in parentheses about its place in the manuscript. For non-patericon works both *incipit* and *desinit* are provided in order to facilitate the identification of the texts. I supplied all the *apophthegmata* with a numbering that reflects the numbering of the archetype of the Scete Patericon, which William Veder created. It coincides with that of the critical edition of the Scete Patericon that is going to be published this year.¹³ It also corresponds to the numbering of the Greek text of the systematic collection of *Apophthegmata patrum* established by Jean-Claude Guy.¹⁴ The original orthography of the manuscript is preserved, the marks of abbreviation are kept, but the diacritical marks are not given. Sometimes the original punctuation is preserved; sometimes it is changed according to the modern standards.

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¹³ William R. Veder, Хиляда години като един ден. За живота на текстовете в Православното славянство (Thousand Years as One Day. Towards the Life of the Texts in Slavia Orthodoxa) (Sofia: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, in press). I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Veder, who kindly placed at my disposal some of his latest findings and who answered all my questions.

¹⁴ Jean-Claude Guy, *Recherches sur la tradition grecque des Apophthegmata Patrum* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1962) (Subsidia Hagiographica 36).

As far as was possible, I tried to indicate some of the sources of the texts in Krka 4, apart from the *apophthegmata* of the systematic collection, which are accompanied by numbering according to standards established by William Veder. These sources are included in the short table of contents of the Krka 4 manuscript in the second chapter. I give the references to the editions of the texts (if such exist) in the footnotes. Some of the texts, however, still remain unidentified.

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¹⁵ William R. Veder, "Le Skitskij Paterik (Collection Systematique Slave des Apophthegmata Patrum)." *Polata knigopisnaia* 4 (1981): 51-72; "La Tradition Slave des *Apophthegmata Patrum*." *Slovo* 24 (1974): 59-93; *Хиляда години като един ден*.

CHAPTER ONE:

THE CODEX: KRKA 4 MANUSCRIPT FROM OUTSIDE

As was mentioned in the Introduction, this chapter is dedicated to the codex itself. It is aimed at presenting as full a description of Krka 4 manuscript as is possible, both in terms of its physical characteristics and its content. The descriptive part will be combined with an analysis of the material presented, thus trying to reconstruct some of the circumstances of the creation and eventually of the later history of the manuscript. The data from the study of the specific characteristics will be compared, analyzed and interpreted in order to clarify and gain more precise information about the place where the manuscript was copied, about the scribes, and so on. Whenever it is relevant, linguistic data will be considered as well.

Two stipulations, however, need to be made at the beginning of this thesis. The first one is that all the observations are based on photocopies of the manuscript and not on direct work with the codex itself. This naturally imposes certain limits, beyond which the study cannot be extended. Nevertheless, bearing in mind the fact that nowadays the manuscript's location is unknown and that it has not been fully studied and described until now, it is still worth investigating that codex.

The second pre-condition to be mentioned from the beginning is the fact that the manuscript consists of two parts: the first one is on ff. 1r-224v and the second one on ff. 225r-279v. Whether these were originally two different collections, which were later bound together, or whether they belong to one and the same codex, is a question that still needs clarification. That problem should be always kept in mind, and I will address my study very often precisely in order to shed light on that issue.

2.1 Physical Description

Due to the unfortunate loss of the manuscript in the years of the war in Croatia (1991-1995) the physical description of the manuscript will be limited to the data which one can gain having only photocopies. Happily, we have at our disposal three short but, nevertheless, extremely valuable descriptions of some codicological features of the manuscript.¹⁶

Krka 4 is a fourteenth-century (1346) Bulgarian codex, containing the text of the Scete Patericon as well as some other monastic texts. The language is Church Slavic, Bulgarian recension. The manuscript is written on paper. It has the following watermarks: a pear with two leaves, scissors and an arrow.¹⁷ In its current arrangement the codex consists of 279 leaves¹⁸ with size 280x 200 mm (written area 210 x 130 mm).¹⁹ The script is *ustav*. Usually, the text is distributed into twenty-seven lines per page, apart from the occasions when a new text begins and the letters of the title are of a bigger size. There are two blank pages (18v and 115v) probably because the ink from the front page has penetrated through the leaf and the reverse side was not good for writing. The binding is later, of Renaissance type.²⁰

There are traces of two numberings in the manuscript: an older and a modern one. Neither of them seems to be original. There are thirty-six quires, each of which consists of eight leaves with the exception of the first one, which consists of six, the

¹⁶ N. van Wijk and R. Pope, *The Old Church Slavonic Translation*, 92; V. Mošin and M. Radeka, "Ćirilski rukopisi u sjevernoj Dalmacii," 190-191; Dimitrije Bogdanović, *Инвентар ћирилских рукописа у Југославији (XI-XVII века)* (An Inventory of the Cyrillic Manuscripts in Yugoslavia from the Period between the Eleventh and the Seventeenth Century) (Belgrade: Serbian Academy of Science, 1982), 80.

¹⁷ Mošin and Radeka, "Ćirilski rukopisi u sjevernoj Dalmacii," 190. The first watermark is under N 4288 according to Vladimir Mošin and S. Traljić, *Filigranes des XIIIe et XIVe ss.* (Zagreb, 1957).

¹⁸ It is unknown to me why Mošin and Radeka mention 287 leaves, see Mošin and Radeka, "Ćirilski rukopisi u sjevernoj Dalmacii," 190.

¹⁹ Van Wijk, The Old Church Slavonic Translation, 92.

twenty-eighth (where is the colophon) with four leaves, and the last one with seven leaves. The distribution of the quires is as follows: I⁶, II-XVI⁸, XVII⁸ (-3-7), XVIII⁸ (disrupted), XIX⁸, XX⁸ (±3), XXI-XXVIII⁸, XXIX⁴, XXX-XXXV⁸, XXXVI⁸ (-8). As is seen, the third leaf of the seventeenth quire is missing. The text of the f. 128 is interrupted, according to the traditional sequence of the *apophthegmata* in this chapter two of them are missing. The seventh leaf was misplaced after f. 150 (the text on ff. 131-151-132 is in a succession). The third leaf of the twentieth quire is also missing being replaced by f. 151 from the seventeenth quire.

The quires are numbered both at the first and the last page, for example, the marker \hat{a} is found both on ff. 1r and 6v. Two types of markers can be distinguished. The first type, which is more typical for the first part, has the following characteristics: the letters are surrounded by three dots, two from the sides and one under the letter. Above the letter itself there are two marks of abbreviation (*title*) ($\hat{}$) one above another and on the top there is a small circumflex ($\hat{}$). The signs of the second type have a different look: the letter is surrounded again from the three sides (right, left and below) this time not by one dot but by groups of four dots of very small size ($\hat{\cdot}$), there is one mark of abbreviation ($\hat{}$), and again the sign ($\hat{}$) on the top. Both types of signatures follow one sequence, being distributed as follows: quires 1-16 - 1st type, 17-29 - 2nd type, 30-36 - 1st type.

Worth mentioning here is the short twenty-ninth quire, which consists of only four leaves, signed both front and back. This could be regarded as an indicator pointing at the supposition that the manuscript was originally intended to end at this point. I shall refer to the question of the arrangement of the codex on many occasions

²⁰ Mošin-Radeka, "Ćirilski rukopisi u sjevernoj Dalmacii," 190. According to their description, on the

in my study. In any case, however, this evidence is important enough, because it strongly supports the hypothesis of two codices which were later bound together.

2.2 Colophon

On ff. 224r-224v the principal scribe of the manuscript, probably Vissarion, left a relatively long colophon, which has been, until now, the only source for the eventual date and place of compilation of the manuscript. Of special importance for the present study is the notice that the manuscript was prepared in the Lavra of St. Michael the Archangel. The evidence that the manuscript was composed in a certain monastery will be confirmed later on also by other data, which testify that this monastery must have been not so small and that there was a scriptorium in it. I shall turn to this issue again when I focus on the question of how many scribes took part in compiling the manuscript.

The colophon was published twice, but the full text was never published in its original Church Slavic language.²¹ Here I give both the Church Slavic text and the English translation:

Многомативе пръщедрыи ги. рекый ищъте и шбращете. и приимете. таъцъте и швръджт са вамъ. и адъ гръшны и недостоины рабъ твои ги. поноудй хоуджа мысаъ с $\hat{\rho}$ ца моег ω . помътавъ неаъжное ω бъщание уаколюбиа твоего вако. еже $\hat{\phi}$ е нехотай съмрти гръшникоу. нж

Oh most merciful and most generous God, who said: "Seek and you will find and you will receive, knock, and it shall be opened to you!" (Matthew 7:7, Luke 11: 9). And I, oh God, being your sinful and unworthy servant, forced the poor thoughts of my heart having recalled the unlying promise of your love of mankind, oh Lord, "who said that you do not want the death of the sinner, but rather that he

cover there are three concentric frames with two rhombi in the middle.

²¹ Peter Dinekov, Kuio Kuev, and Donka Petkanova, *Христоматия по старобългарска литература*, 320-321. Part of the colophon is published also by Ivan Duichev, *Из старата българска книжнина*, 128-129.

ВЪЗВратити см ем и жив8 быти, того ради і адь оукріспивіь немощи тікла моего, и тачнох гржбох ржкох начрьто писание се. да аше и съгожши вь коемъ либо утни, или главидиту или съ добгы гла. или въ помысліў. въсе оугодно бжди **ТВОЕМ8** чаколювию ги. а въсъкъ чътыи. гржбости исправлен а не клъните, помините како бе намь хс. Аще шпвстите чакомь съговшения й шпвстить вай шць мои неньии. понеже вьси имамы вможти, тако и същони члин и въсъ краснаа мира сего wcтан $\vec{\mathbf{x}}$. а мы нази родихом см. и нази имамо въ дема вънити. Ѿ неж же въдати выхомуть. Такоже $\hat{\phi}$ е аплуть павелуть. Всек слава чакомъ точка, тоава во исъще и цвътъ еж шпаде, а слово почквывает в в оф и оф. да не л'инте са бин и братиа, на поличните и мене гожшнаго и х8дааго и последневаго. Въ инокый, б $\hat{\alpha}$ в..е а не кльните: има $\tilde{\rho}$ ви // capiwna. **ем8же** Въсегда **ВЪСПОМИНАНИЕ** смоть, а батьство гожеть, и шувство гообъ. Писа же см сїа книга рекомый патерикъ. въ лавов весплътнаго архистратига михаила. Настожщомоу архимандритв киръ никодим, при ўтолювивомъ и влагородномъ, цри їwаннѣ ме_тдолжащому алеўандоч. влъгаръское цотво и гръчьское въ ли. s \widetilde{w} . $\widetilde{h}\widetilde{A}$. $\widetilde{\epsilon}\widetilde{h}\widetilde{A}$. \widetilde{A}^{\P}

should come back and live." (Ez 18:23)22 Therefore, I too, having confirmed my bodily weakness, wrote this writing with a perishable and crude hand. If I have erred in some reading or chapter, or, I say, in something else, or in my thoughts, let it all be convenient to your love of mankind, oh God. And let everyone, who is reading, correct the rudeness. "Do not curse" (Ro 12:14) but remember what Christ you said to us: "If forgive transgressions, your transgressions will be forgiven by My Heavenly Father" (Mat 6:14). Because we all have to die as a mortal human beings and all the beauties of the world will remain, "and we were born naked and naked we will enter" "the earth from which we were taken" (Job 1:21 combined with Gen 3:19). As Paul the Apostle said "Each human glory is like grass. The grass withers and its flower falls away," but the word remains there" (1 Peter 1:24, quoting Is 40:6) "to generation and generation" (Ps 105: 31 etc.). Do not be lazy, fathers and brethren, but remember me also, the sinful and poor and the last among the monks. "Bless and do not curse" (Ro 12:14) the name (има $\tilde{\rho}$) of Vissarion, for whom the death is a permanent reminder, sins are wealth, and the grave his fatherland.

This book called Patericon was written in the Lavra of the incorporeal *Archistrategos* [Highest Commander of the Heavenly Host] Michael, during the government of the archmandrite kyr Nikodim, in the time of the Christ-loving and honorable Tsar Ivan Alexander who possesses the Bulgarian and the Greek kingdoms, in 6865 (Anno Mundi), indiction 1.

At first sight the colophon gives us precise answers to the questions where and when the manuscript, or at least its first part, was compiled. In the case of time its belonging to the fourteenth-century milieu is confirmed also by other evidence like orthography

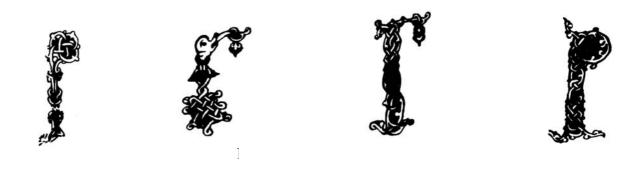
²² Although the citation is originally from Ez 18:23, which contains it in a somewhat different form, the scribe giotes in fact the standard prayer that the Orthodox priest recites over the repentent, beginning with these words: "For you said, oh Lord: 'I do not want…'" Greek text: Εὐχολόγιον τὸ Μέγα τῆς κατὰ 'Ανατολὰς 'Ορθοδόζου Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ed. Hieromonk Spyridon Zervos (2nd edition: Venice: Phoinix, 1862; 4th reprint edition: Athens: Aster, 1992), 224.

and decoration for example. However, although the name of the monastery is explicitly given, its whereabouts still remain unidentified. A good candidate could be one of the rock monasteries near Ivanovo, in northeastern Bulgaria where a monastic complex of cells, churches and cloisters was established that became a scholarly and cultural center in the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries. ²³

2.3 Decoration

One headpiece²⁴ and about thirty-four ornamented initial letters represent the decoration of the manuscript. The decoration is not very rich, a fact which is no surprise when dealing with codices of a monastic type.

The headpiece is interlaced, elaborated in a simple manner. The same style is applied to some of the initials among which interlaced figures prevail (see Appendix 2):



Two types of initial letters are to be found in the manuscript, according to the text that they introduce. Ordinary letters but bigger and a bit thicker represent the first type. These initials introduce paragraphs or utterances within the framework of a larger

²³ http://get.info.bg/visit/dir.asp?d=0-4-Monasteries, accessed on May 28, 2003. On f. 1r, see Appendix 3, figure 1.

textual entity. Decorated initials represent the second type. Usually, we find a decorated initial at the beginning of a new text under the title (with few exceptions).²⁵ Very often there is a very small stylized floral element on the left margin, after which follows the title. The following text starts with a decorated initial, forming in this way a composition. Sometimes, after each textual entity there is a special drawing indicating the end of the reading representing a hand holding a roll (see Appendix 2, fig.130v).

In Krka 4 there are thirty-four ornamented initials. They correspond to the so-called Balkan style. Interlaced and geometrical figures characterize this style, which was typical for the manuscripts from the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries.²⁶ Sometimes floral elements are combined with teratological features (see fig. 158r above and also Appendix 2). Very often the construction of the initial letters unites floral, teratological, and interlaced elements.

Decorated initial letters cover from three to eight lines of the page. The greater part represents **E**-initials (13 out of 34). It seems that they were elaborated by the scribe(s) himself/themselves. An interesting marginal note supports this assumption. On f. 49r a big six-line decorated **E**-initial is depicted. However, the text begins with **Γ** not with **E** (Γλάμιε μ'Κκτο cταρεμε «ϊΒελημην»). ²⁷ The scribe realized the mistake too late and on the upper margin he wrote "I wrote the wrong letter, forgive me." Apart from the fact that the case is quite out of the ordinary, the first person of the verb definitely

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²⁵ The initial on f. 89v, see Appendix 2.

²⁶ For more information see Aksinija Dzurova, Въведение в славянската кодикология (Introduction to the Slavonic Codicology) (Sofia, 1997), 184-189, and http://www.omda.bg/engl/history/initials.html, accessed on May 15, 2003. See, for instance, initial No 1101 from the *Miscellany of Vladislav the Grammarian* (1469) and the initial on f. 49r from Krka 4, or initials No 794 and 766 from the *Tomic Psalter* (1360) and most of the **E**-initials in Krka 4.

²⁷ "A certain father from Thebais was saying..."

 $^{^{28}}$ съгржшй вуквж + да простъте

demonstrates the practice of elaborating the initials by the scribes of the manuscripts. In this respect of a certain importance is the fact that the marginal note is in Vissarion's handwriting. Therefore, this observation is decisive in terms of establishing who was the creator of the initial letters in the manuscript; to my view it was Vissarion.

Two observations are worth mentioning here: firstly, all the decorated initial letters are of one and the same type in both parts of the manuscript, see, for instance, II-initials on ff. 40v and 230v, II-initials on ff. 38v and 225r, II-initials on ff. 114v and 261v, and so on. This demonstrates the unity of the manuscript in terms of its decoration. However, it does not prove that the two parts were originally one codex. This fact only supports the hypothesis that there was probably a scriptorium in the Lavra of St. Michael the Archangel and that the second part of Krka 4 could also have been produced in the same place.

Secondly, all the initials in the first part are to be found on the pages filled with Vissarion's handwriting. This question is important in terms of establishing whether the two parts of Krka 4 originally belonged to the same codex. The assumption that it was Vissarion who elaborated them could help to account for the textual unity represented in the first part (containing the text of the Scete Patericon and the interpolation, which, however, contains part of this text as well). This observation is also important for clarifying the fact whether the titles in part two were written by hand A, that is to say, the hand which had worked out the initials in the manuscript.

In order to establish whether there is such dependence, let us study the different hands recognizable in this manuscript, as far as it is possible from photocopies.

2.4 Scribes

Although it is difficult to precisely identify the different hands with only photocopies of the manuscript at our disposal, some preliminary observations could still be made, because sometimes it is obvious that the hand had changed. I have distinguished eight different hands in the first part of the manuscript (A, B, C, D, E, F, G and I) and three in the second (H, F, A). The principal scribe of the first part is hand A (Vissarion), while other scribes appear only from time to time. Here is the distribution of the hands:

Hand A (ff. 1r - 11v 9, ff. 12r 1 - 66r 22, ff. 66v 16 – 72r 24, f. 72v 3-16; ff. 74r 1 – 75v 2, ff. 76r 4 – 103r 1, 103v, ff. 105r 1 – 113r 27, f. 116r, f. 117r, ff. 118v 14 – 127r, ff. 127v 22 – 145r 27, ff. 146r 1 – 224v (end of the first part); possibly the titles in the second part: f. 232v, f. 237r 8-12; f. 248v 21-26; f. 251v 18; f. 271v). Vissarion (scribe A) obviously is a proficient and very skilful scribe. His handwriting, sloping to the right, is beautiful and legible, although at a certain point later on he becomes careless, often makes mistakes and has to cross out incorrectly copied texts. He indicates his mistakes also by writing in the margins "I made a mistake," and so on (see Appendix 3 where samples of the hands are given).

Hand B (f. 11v 9-27). His script has the following characteristics: the letters are more lengthened than those of the Hand A, the two parts of \mathbb{Y} are separated; \mathbb{h} and \mathbb{h} are longer than other letters; the stem (*hasta*) of \mathbb{a} is almost vertical and often protrudes above other letters. His letters in general are vertical.

Hand C (ff. 66r 22 - 66v 16). This hand has two most characteristic features: he regularly uses \mathbf{m} (after a vowel and in the beginning of the word), which is not the norm of the manuscript, and he decorates the stems with small dots, thus making his

script really particular and specific. Another peculiarity of his writing is the belly of **m**, which is longer than the two stems and goes under the line. This scribe must have been a skilful and proficient one.

Hand I (72r 24 – 72v 3; 72v 16 – 73v 27). The most characteristic features of this hand are that the belly of \mathbf{M} is much bigger than that traced by the other hands, its letters are long and narrow.

Hand D (ff. 75v 2 – 76r 3; 103r 2-27). The most specific feature of this hand is that it uses the character between κ and κ for κ . Its κ is also bigger than that of the other scribes. In general, his handwriting is not beautiful.

Hand E (ff. 103v 1–104v 27; ff. 127r–127v 22). The stems of \mathbf{z} , \mathbf{s} , $\mathbf{\psi}$, $\mathbf{\eta}$ and \mathbf{x} are quite long and reach the letters from the line below. This scribe uses almost only \mathbf{s} and very rarely \mathbf{r} . As a diacritical mark he uses only a reversed circumflex ($\check{}$) on the vowels. The left side of \mathbf{r} is longer than the right one.

Hand F (f. 115r; f. 116v; ff. 117v 1–118v 14; f. 226v; f. 233v). Ugly and careless handwriting, the rows are wavy, the letters are deformed. It is obvious that the scribe had no experience, but he appears in both parts of the codex.

Hand G (f. 145v). The letters have more of an oval shape. The line of a is wavy and almost vertical. The slope is rather to the left.

Hand H (ff. 225r 1–226r 27; ff. 227r 1 – 232v; ff. 233r – 233v 2; ff. 234r-279v probably without the titles). Peculiarities: the stem of κ is sloping to the right, he writes κ as a star (one vertical and two crossed lines); the stems of ρ , χ are short; he uses 8 not Υ , puts dots on the vowels.

Typical ligatures for all the scribes are тв, тр, ти, р'к, в'к, ау (the last only once).

As it appears from the proposed scheme, Vissarion was the principal scribe of the first part (ff. 1r - 224v, if we assume that the colophon is original). But from time to time it was necessary for someone else to interfere, perhaps in order to finish the work as soon as possible. There are occasions when the scribes took turns and each copied one side of a leaf. It is hardly possible to establish a certain correlation between the different scribes and the texts. The only thing we can claim with a certain extent of plausibility is the fact that there was one principal scribe who copied almost the whole first part. This preliminary observation is important in terms of providing evidence for the assumption that more than one collection was used as a source for Krka 4.

As for the second part, it seems to me that the principal scribe of part two does not appear in part one. However, we can certainly recognize the peculiar handwriting of F and the skilful hand of A, who probably painted the initial letters. The precise definition of how many hands there were, and which were the leaves, pages and even passages covered by their handwritings, is difficult to establish. Here I present only the cases in which the change of the hand is obvious and is supported by some orthographic evidence as well.

The only thing we can surely ascertain is that from time to time the principal scribe had to be replaced, but the longest interference was no more than one leaf and a half (F, ff. 117v 1-118v 14). This allows us to state once again that there was a principal scribe, probably Vissarion. Perhaps it is not only a coincidence that on the

²⁹ Hand A, as it seems to me, made the titles.

leaves covered by his handwriting the text of the Scete Patericon is to be found; perhaps he was copying mainly this text.

As was mentioned, in some cases it is quite obvious that the hands had changed, sometimes even in the middle of the line, as is the case with the last text, The Life of St. Theodora. In this case one scribe (A) wrote the first several words of the beginning of the text and another hand replaced him in the middle of the sentence. It seems to me that in the second part of the manuscript an interesting practice was established: one and the same hand wrote most of the titles, and another hand (H) wrote the text itself. What makes me think so is the fact that on several occasions in the first part and more often in the second, a special mark stands after each title or sometimes at the end of an entry. This mark resembles a cursive 'To with a longer cross line. When this mark indicates the end of an entry, it is in a way turned and resembles a, as if the scribe is about to write amun's, which is the usual end of the sermons and Vitae. It is interesting, because different homilies, sermons and lives of the saints, that is, those texts that do not belong to the genre of patericon, end with the usual formula, such as w $\hat{\vec{x}}$ t $\hat{\vec{c}}$ t $\hat{\vec{c}}$ t $\hat{\vec{c}}$ t нашемъ, ем же слава ... и дръжава въ въкы, въкомъ, амин. (Sermon about Amphilochius the Faster, f. 33v). So apparently, sometimes the principal scribe copied just a single apophthegma with a similar type of an end-indicator also, which sign might be considered as his "signature." In the first part of the manuscript this sign is usually placed at the end of the utterances, always in those parts which were copied by scribe A, while in the second part it appears at the end of the title. The appearance of this "personal signature" also makes me think that scribe A was writing the titles of the texts in the second part.

This brings us to another problem which, however, cannot be solved without having the codex itself at our disposal. It is probable that the two parts of the

manuscript originally did not belong to the same codex. Indeed, it is strange that after this long and sophisticated colophon on ff. 224r-224v the manuscript continues with other texts. However, the colophon is placed after the final text of the Scete Patericon, included in Krka 4 (chapter 18, apophthegm 16). If the copyists used more than one collection as a source in compiling Krka 4 (which is certain), it is possible to assume that the colophon might have belonged to one of the sources for Krka 4. According to this assumption, the source would have been copied until its end together with the colophon, and after that the scribes turned to another collection. As I have said, this question can be solved only after a firsthand study of the manuscript. Here this possibility is only mentioned. However, until contrary evidence, I assume that the colophon is an original one written by Vissarion, whom I consider to be the principal scribe of part one also.

Another preliminary conclusion might be drawn at this point as well. It is clear that several scribes were working on this manuscript. Two of them we meet in both parts (A and F), and perhaps one and the same person elaborated the decorated initials. We also mentioned the possibility that it might turn out that we are faced with originally two independent codices. All that considered, we could hardly be wrong if we state that it was in a scriptorium of a monastery that Krka 4 was prepared. That monastery, probably the Lavra of St. Michael the Archangel, may have been a provincial one, but the scribes were literate and some of them quite skillful and well prepared. Certainly in this scriptorium the elder monk-scribes were teaching and training their younger brethren. Traces of a kind of educational process could be noticed in some of the marginal notes, with which I will deal in the following pages.

2.5 Marginal Notes and Ownership Marks

An interesting feature of every manuscript is the presence of marginal notes, both contemporary and not. In Krka 4 we can distinguish several groups of such notes: on the one hand, some of them are contemporary and written by the scribes themselves. On the other, most of the marginal notes are late, the last being even from the twentieth century. I have already mentioned the type of "educative notes." Such a type, for instance, is presented on f. 279v.

The text on the last folio covers only half of the page. In the free space below there are some drawings and short notes, as if somebody was training himself to draw. Three hands are depicted, one of them holding a roll, imitating the images which were put after the separate texts in the manuscript, similar to the one on f. 130v (see Appendix 2). It is obvious that the hand is not trained. On the right there is the head of an old man and on the left the figure of a saint. The depictions of the hands and the roll are between them. There is a short note saying глава съкратите а рооук (...)³⁰ which seems to be an instruction of a master or a teacher to his students. Traces of such educational activity can be found at other places in the manuscript as well. On f. 31r somebody had trained himself in writing certain letters (λ , κ , ϵ), on f. 34r in the lower margin traces of four B may be noticed, and finally, on. f. 28v we find an attempt at an imitation again of the hand holding a roll. The decorated initial letter on f. 89v also fits into this context. It is of the same type as the rest of the initials; however, the belly of K is not very well elaborated and it seems that the depiction of this initial letter was entrusted not to scribe A but to somebody else who was not so skilful.

³⁰ "Make the head smaller, and the hands (...)."

There is another group of marginal notes, which are closely related to the text. Sometimes in the right or left margins we find written either names of monks telling a certain story, or those of the persons whose *Vita* is being told in the parallel text. For instance on f. 42r, which is covered by the *Life of Mark from Athens*, somebody wrote Mapko. We have a similar case on f. 124r, where Chikamphikia is written next to one of her *apophthegmata*, or on the next f. 124v where the name of Cappa is to be found. Certainly one of the purposes was to make it easier to find a certain texts. But the fact that we can find particular names in the margins might give us a hint about the reception by a reader, who perhaps preferred some texts to the others.

The attitude of the readers toward the text may also be discerned in another group of marginal notes, which could be called "notes-commentaries." They are among the most interesting and attractive ones. On f. 122r, for instance, we read w char тебі түди, 31 or on f. 119v: w велико діши(на) вдовице (упива) на бга; on f. 146v: Сарра митера ...хиречи достославна и присно хвалима. Particularly interesting are the inscriptions of the scribes themselves, which they write mainly when they make mistakes: съгрукши адъ согрук ...) ща съгрукши 32 (f. 48v).

From the seventeenth century there is a transaction mark on f. I, published by Vladimir Mošin and Milan Radeka³³ and saying "Да се зна сиа книга монасира Вилендара стие стие (*sic*) гори атона. И даше е игъменъ Виаришнъ оўсе троице за цекин ш. И да е има плати ермонхъ Серафишнъ."³⁴ It is an important note not only because it gives us information about the price of the book in those times, but also

³² "I made a mistake, I, the sinner, made a mistake"

^{31 &}quot;Praise to You, oh Lord."

Mošin and Radeka, "Ćirilski rukopisi u sjevernoj Dalmacii," 191.

because it gives us the only trace for establishing the history of the manuscript itself. What we know about it is that at a certain point Krka 4 was in the Hilandar monastery on Mount Athos and later somehow reached northern Dalmatia.

On f. 224, just under the colophon, there is a contemporary note in Bulgarian (from the twentieth century, maybe shortly before the 1940s, because the orthography follows the norms before the language reform in 1940s):³⁵ Написана в година 6854 отъ сътворението на света, Т.Е. година 1346 отъ Рождество Христово.³⁶

2.6 Contents

As was already mentioned, Krka 4 contains part of the text of the Scete Patericon, sermons of the Church Fathers (Ephraem the Syrian, John Chrysostom, Basil the Great, Athanasius from Alexandria), lives of venerable monks and saints (Mark from Athens, Ephrosinus the Cook, St. Theodora).³⁷

Τhe text of the Scete Patericon represented in Krka 4 starts with chapter 2, Ποβ'κςτιι ςτιν ταρείμα κακο πόβαετα ςα βας'κμένης ταμανίενης βεζανλακβίε μεκατίι. Κάποςλοβι ωγε. 38 This reflects an early textual editing of the Greek collection, the translation of which is the Scete Patericon, namely 'Ανδρῶν 'αγίων βίβλος. The collection 'Ανδρῶν 'αγίων βίβλος was composed no later than 538 in Greek. It underwent two textual editings, testified by the Greek manuscripts. The first one, more often found among the Greek manuscripts, starts with the chapter Πρῶτον

³⁴ "Let it be known that this book of the Vilandar [sic] monastery on the Holy Mount Athos was given to the abbot Vissarion in the Holy Trinity for 800 *cekin* and to pay it to *hieromonachos* Serafion."

³⁵ It may seem ridiculous, but the fact that the years AD are counted "after Christ was born" is also a hint that this inscription was written at least before 1945, because after that for the years AD the phrase "from the new era" was adopted.

³⁶ "Written in the year 6854 from the creation of the world, that is, 1346 after Christ was born."

³⁷ See Appendix 1 where a full description of the contents of the manuscript with all the *incipit* is given.

κεφάλαιον παράινεσιν εἰς προκοπὴν τελειότητος ἐκ διαφόρων προσώπων περιέχει.³⁹ The other one is preserved mainly in Slavonic manuscripts and begins with the chapter Τὸ δεύτερον δὲ. τὸ απὸ τῆς ἡσυχίας δείκνυσι κέρδος. Scholars traditionally divide Slavonic manuscripts into two groups according to the presence or absence of the first chapter.⁴⁰ Preobrazhenskii states that the second one was earlier. Krka 4 manuscript represents precisely this early editing of the text, which, however, is typical for most Slavonic manuscripts forming the Slavonic tradition of the systematic collection of *Apophthegmata patrum*.⁴¹

The typical structure and content of the Scete Patericon, represented in the Slavonic tradition, consists of three sections: [1] Chapters A, 1, B and their convoy, [2] Chapters 2-22, and [3] Final convoy. According to William Veder, who established the manuscript tradition of the Scete patericon, Krka 4 belongs to family W. This family contains only section [2] (chapters 2-22) and from section 3 (the final convoy), chapters H-J. On the one hand, Krka 4 shares these common features of family W, but on the other, it shows some individual peculiarities as will be shown.

³⁸ "Stories of the Holy Fathers about how it Behooves to Long for Stillness in all Eagerness. Father, Bless."

³⁹ I quote the chapters according to V. S. Preobrazhenskii, *Славяно-русский Скитский патерик*. *Опыт историко-библиографического исследования* (Slavic-Russian Skitskij Patericon. An Attempt at a Historical and Bibliographical Research) (Kiev: Tipografiia I. I. Chokolova, 1909), 11. ⁴⁰ Veder, "Le Skitskij Paterik," 63.

⁴¹ More details about the origin and the Slavonic tradition of the Scete Patericon will be presented in the next chapter.

⁴² W. Veder, "Le Skitskij paterik," 52-54.

⁴³ To this family together with Krka 4 also belong the following manuscripts: 1) Vienna, ÖNB, Slav. 152 (end of the thirteenth–beginning of the fourteenth century, Bulgarian, known also as Mihanović Paterikon. The part containing the text of the Scete Patericon was published by van Wijk, *The Old Church Slavonic Translation*); 2) Peć, MPP, 86 (end of the thirteenth century, Serbian, described by Biljana Jovanović, "Pećki Paterik. Tri jezićke redakcije slovenskog prevoda Skitskog paterika" (Peć Patericon. Three Linguistic Editings of the Slavonic Translation of the Scete Patericon), *Slovo* 24 (1974): 139-188.; 3) Paris, BN, Slave 10 (fourteenth century, Serbian); 4) Moscow, GBL, Popov 93 (fourteenth century, Bulgarian); 5) Moscow, GIM, Chludov 185 (fourteenth century, Bulgarian, lost) and the fragment Leiden, UB, BPL 2290.

⁴⁴ With regard to the content of the primary translation into Slavic, it should be mentioned that van Wijk believed that it was limited only to the section 2. However, he knew only three manuscripts and the Leiden fragments.

From this section [2] Krka 4 contains chapters 2-7 and 9-18; that is, it omits chapter 8 and chapters 19-22. 45 (One saying from chapter 19 and two from chapter 21 are incorporated into the big interpolation (f. 38v-104v) with which I will deal later on). From the final convoy in Krka 4 are presented chapter H (Прповито wya нашто Стефана Фівенскаго. Запов'єди шрекших см мира и таже въ мир'є шує, блгослови) 46, сhapter O (Слови стіто авва макаріа велікааги) 47 and chapter M (ш нрав'є добрыхъ). 48

As was mentioned above, the manuscript consists of two parts. The text of the Scete Patericon is to be found only in the first part (ff.1r-224v). The arrangement is not linear: the chapters do not follow immediately one after another. Between them sometimes different texts are incorporated, as is the case between chapters four and five, where two texts, originally not belonging to the text of the Scete Patericon, are added (a Sermon about Amphilochius the Faster and a story about a bishop who left his bishopric). This is not an isolated example. There are occasions where even the successive structure of the sayings within a chapter is broken and the chapter continues later (this is the case with chapters 5, 10 and 16). Particularly interesting is the case with the breaking of chapter 5, because after its sixteenth saying quite a long interpolation is incorporated (ff.38v-104v), after which chapter 5 continues from saying No 30. This lengthy interpolation is quite interesting from several aspects. Firstly, as we saw above, the scribe did not change. The interpolation starts from f. 38v and is still in Vissarion's hand. Through the pages covered by the interpolation, several scribes can be distinguished. However, there is no correlation between the scribes and any particular text, so we have to look for an explanation somewhere else.

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⁴⁵ See Appendix 1.

⁴⁶ "Commandments of our Reverend Father Stephan of Thebais to those who have Died for the World, but yet are in the World. Father, Bless."

⁴⁷ "Homily of St. Abba Macarius the Great," saying 1.

Such an explanation could be provided by the supposition that the scribes used another collection, from which they copied the texts from the interpolation. This seems quite probable; however, it does not explain why the copyists decided to change the collections exactly in the middle of chapter 5 of the Scete Patericon.

Within the framework of the interpolation *apophthegmata* from different paterica are united under the title *Sentences and Stories of the Holy Fathers* (ff. 47v-55v). Sixteen of these *apophthegmata* are from the Scete Patericon itself and thirteen of them are found in Krka 4 also as parts of the chapters to which they originally belong (see Appendix 1). The repetition of texts in one manuscript is not such an extraordinary phenomenon. It could have happened by mistake, but here the case hardly can be the same. We have to search for a plausible explanation rather in a different direction, namely in the aforementioned supposition that the scribe(s) turned to another collection at a certain point and copied perhaps all of its texts.

The new collection was not a patericon but it certainly contained texts related to that tradition and to the tradition of the Scete Patericon in particular. Such a hypothesis is occasioned by the fact that ff. 55v-56v, 62v-65v, and 73r-73v are covered by chapters H, M and O of the Scete Patericon, which originally do not belong to it. Both chapters M and O are part of the so-called *Slavic Complement* to the Scete Patericon, ⁴⁹ presented by seven series complementary to the *apophthegmata* transmitted by the Scete Patericon without, at present, being documented by the Greek manuscripts. ⁵⁰ The chapters in question are part of the so-called final convoy, ⁵¹ and usually these texts followed the text of the Scete Patericon. Whatever the explanation could be, it is obvious that the compilers of the manuscript used at least two – or

⁴⁸ "About Good Virtues," sayings 1-5, 7-13.

⁴⁹ Veder, "Le Skitskij Paterik," 54.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

maybe even more – collections to compound their manuscript. Probably these were other monastic collections available to them at that time. We have already established that the manuscript was prepared in a scriptorium of a monastery and monks probably had different kinds of monastic collections at their disposal.

The repetition of the *apophthegmata* gives us quite a fruitful opportunity for some textual observations. I will provide two short excerpts from texts copied twice in the manuscript which text seem to two different translations:⁵²

$$(49r)$$
 (110v)

Глаше н'вкто старець оївеанинь тако адь уждю бы ереа еллиньска. и д'втищь сыи, единож. тако вид'й шца своего вышедша въ коумирище тако да жрытвж сътвори. вънидо въсл'едь его и вид'й сатанж с'еджща. и шкуть воиньство его, въсе пр'встожще и се единь ш кнжзь его, въшедь поср'е, клан'едше сж емоу шн же ре емоу шкждоу ты грждеши (...)

Глаше етеръ W «Пватскыхь старецъ, тако адъ въ иереа идолъскаго и съдъ въ иркви малъ иеще сы и видъх шца своего, множицеж въходжща, сътворити жрътвж идоломъ адъ же едїнож штаи вънидш въслъдь его и видъ сотонж съджща, и въсм вом его пръстожщжж емоу и се единъ W кназь пріиде кланъж см емоу швъщав же діаволъ ре емоу Wкжду ты пришелъ еси (...)

The differences concern the lexicon (vocabulary), the word order, and the syntax (mainly in the substitution of participles by subordinate clauses). Here are the lexical couples from the passage quoted above, the right side representing the text on f. 48r (interpolation) and the left the one on f. 110v:

нъкто — етеръ вътры - боурм ереа еллиньска - иереа идолъскаго
$$\widetilde{\mathsf{Y}}$$
лкы - мжжж дътищь — малъ порад $\widetilde{\mathsf{N}}$ — изб $\widetilde{\mathsf{N}}$

-

⁵¹ Ibid 53-54

⁵² Prof. Ralph Cleminson brought my attention to that fact.

ВЬШЕДША - ВЪХОДЖЩА
ВОИНЬСТВО - ВОМ
ВЪШЕДЬ — ПРЇИДЕ
ГРЖДЕШИ - ПРИШЕЛЪ ЕСИ
НЪКОЕИ — СЕИ
ВЕСИ — СТРАНЪ
ИЗЛИТЇЕ — ПРОЛЇАНЇЕ
ВЪ КОЛИКО ВРЪМЖ - КОЛИЦЪМИ ДЯЪМИ
ЕЛИКО — ТОЛИКО
ТЪЧЇЖ - ТЪКМО

таче— се
дроугы - третій
стьваженіе и крамолж стьтвори — втьўвиго
вранть
много кртьвопролитіе стьд'елавть —
множьство пролитіе крве стьтворй
нев'естника — женихомть
влждь — любод'еаніе
д'ело - вещь
д'ель иноучьское — чий мнишскый

(48r)

Старецъ нъкто, съдъше въ пУстыни, имъж шстоанів ш воды, пъприщ ві шедъ едінож въдати, принемогь, и рече что есть поточка троудоу сицевоу. поїидж пръбываж близу воды. и се рекъ въ себъ, оувъдъвъ нъкоего послъдъствожща емв. и **МЕРАЦЬ** СМ, И ВИД' ПОСЛ'ЕД' ЪСТВОУ ЖЩАГО, м'краща стопы еги и в'впроси его старец'в и послань есмь мерити стопы твож, и ВЪДАТІ ТИ МЪДЖ. И СЕ СЛЫШАВЬ СТАРЕЦЪ, багодшествовавъ, оусоъднъ шедъ, приложи В'ТОТАН'ЕНШЕ, Е. П'ТПОНЩЬ. И В'ТСЕЛИ СА В'Т пустыня, вынатрынчишя, и шстоя ш воды, пъпришъ, ді(126v)

Старець сѣдѣше поустыни. етерь ВЪ имише шстоаніе воды далече, ыко, біпъпоищь ï единож поиде стаоець почрыпьсти водж, и изнеможе и ре въ сев'в, каа потр'вба троуда сего. нж да пріндж и живж блидь воды. и се рекь ВЪЗВОАТИ СА ВЪСПАТЬ И ВИДЪ ЕТЕОА последоужщи вмоу, и чьтжща стопы вмоу. WH WE BY TOOCH ETO $\widetilde{\Gamma}\Lambda\Lambda$, KTO ECH THI, WH WE ре ему, аптак пть есмъ и послань есмъ исуьсти стопы твож, и дати ти мъддж-Слышав же се старець, и оукръпи см. и поспъшенъ вы и приложи к томоу и еще пьприще едино

The comparison between the texts shows that in this case we are faced with two two translations, that in the interpolation being later, which is clear from the more archaic vocabulary of the texts representing the Scete Patericon in its normal order. Here it should be added that it is precisely the archaic character of the lexis of the Scete Patericon that made some scholars state that it was St. Methodius who translated the

Scete Patericon in Old Church Slavonic probably in Moravia or Pannonia.⁵³ Leaving aside the long lasting and still going debate among the scholars on that issue, only one thing can be taken for certain: that an early date should be assigned to the Old Slavic translation, which statement however, does not contradict the otherwise unprovable supposition of a possible Methodian translation.

Before I start dealing with the contents of Krka 4 in the next chapter, let me briefly summarize some of the observations and suppositions proposed in this one. The first hypothesis that I suggest is that the manuscript was prepared in a scriptorium of a monastery, perhaps the Lavra of St. Michael the Archangel. Several pieces of evidence support this idea. Firstly, it is mentioned in the colophon that the book was prepared in a monastery. Secondly, several scribes who were working on the manuscript can be distinguished and, moreover, the handwriting of two of them can be recognized in both parts. Even if the second part did not originally belong to the manuscript, it was prepared in the same place by the same scribes (probably monks). The identical style of the decoration in both parts is also a hint that the place and the time of their creation might well be the same. Another piece of indirect evidence supporting that hypothesis is to be found in the interpolation, which made us claim that the scribes probably used more than one collection in compiling Krka 4. In the monastery they certainly had had different monastic collections at their disposal and even perhaps a library.

Another important supposition is the idea that I have already mentioned, that most probably the scribes used more than one collection as a source for Krka 4. However, the question whether the two parts of the manuscript represent two separate

⁵³ See particularly the works of N. van Wijk, "O Pateryku, przetłumaczonym przez Metodego." (On the Patericon Collection Translated by Methodius), *Prace* filologiczne XVII (1937), 59-65; *The Old Church Slavonic Translation*, and all his works on Slavonic Paterica in general.

codices or not is at this stage hard to answer. It seems to me most probable that they really were part of different manuscripts, although compiled in the same place, in the same time and by the same people. Apart from all the evidence leading to such a conclusion, I am inclined to accept this idea also because of another reason. In the colophon itself the scribe explicitly states that "This book, called Patericon, was written..." However, in the following leaves of the second part there is only one section "Words from the Patericon" (ff. 230v-237r) and no other patericon works are found. It really seems that the colophon marked the end of an entire book, so the hypothesis that the two parts were independent sounds quite logical. In any case, only an immediate study of the codex can completely clarify this issue, but a brief study of the content of the manuscript could contribute to that issue as well.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Here I should mention Prof. Perczel's opinion who believes that there is another possibility, namely that Vissarion wrote his colophon when his team finished copying the first collection and then they turned to copy another collection. This is a usual phenomenon, that is, to write a colophon after having finished the main text copied and then to copy another text, in order to fill the blank folios.

CHAPTER TWO:

THE CONTENT: THE MANUSCRIPT FROM INSIDE

In this chapter I will briefly present and discuss the contents and the composition of the Krka 4 manuscript. A profound textological study, although needed, is quite beyond the scope of this thesis. However, some preliminary observations certainly can be of use: firstly, because the one-sidedness of the approach will be avoided and some of the suggestions that were proposed in the first chapter could be re-confirmed; secondly, because it could become a good starting point for further investigations.

The presentation and the interpretation of the material will naturally be based on some of the conclusions drawn in the previous part of the thesis. Such an important conclusion is the hypothesis that in the case of Krka 4 we are faced probably with originally two independent codices (or parts of codices). As will be clarified by the short table of contents that follows, this supposition is supported, alongside other evidence, also by the texts constituting both parts:

3.1 Short Table of Contents of Krka 4

Part I:

(1r-29r) Sayings of the Holy Fathers

Scete Patericon, chapter 2: 1 - chapter 4: 86

(29 r- 33 v) A Logos about Amphilochius the Faster how he was Sanctified by the Angels

"Ασκησις τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν 'Αμφιλοχίου ἐπισκόπου Ἰκονίου καὶ μοναχοῦ 55

⁵⁵ H. Delehaye in his article "Catalogus codicum Hagiographicorum Graecorum regii monasterii S. Laurentii Scorialensis" *Analecta Bollandiana* 28 (1909): 393 describes a Greek manuscript from the

(33v-35r) A Story about the Bishop who Left his Bishopric

John Moschos, Pratum Spirituale, cap. 37⁵⁶

(35r-38r) Sayings of the Holy Fathers

Scete Patericon, chapter 5 (until No 16)

(38v-40r) About the Monk Ior

(40r-47v) Life of our Venerable Father Mark from Athens

Βίος καὶ πολιτεία του όσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Μάρκου τοῦ ᾿Αθηναίου τοῦ ἀσκήσαντος ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῆς Θράκης τῆς οἴσης ἐπέκεινα τῶν ἐνδοτάτων ἡμερῶν τῆς εἰσόδου Αἰθιοπίας ἐπέκεινα τοῦ ἔθνους τῶν Χίτων⁵⁷

(47v-55v) Sentences and Stories of the Holy Fathers

(55v-62v) Commandments of our Father Stephen of Thebais to those who have Died for the World, but yet are in the World

Scete Patericon, chapter H

(62v-65v) Homily of St. Abba Macarius the Great

Scete Patericon, chapter O: 1

(65v-67v) Other Sentences of the Holy Fathers

John Chrysostom, Antony the Great, Ephraem the Syrian, Basil the Great, Isidore, John Carpathos

(67v-71v) Other Chapters from the Holy Fathers on Different Virtues

Neilus of Ancyra, John Cassian, Abba Isaiah, Maximus Confessor, Thalassius,

Ephraem the Syrian, John Climacus, Mark the Hermit, Carpus, Palladius, John Carpathus, Sirah)

(71v-72v) Words of the Fathers

From different Paterica

(73r-74v) About Good Virtues

Scete Patericon, chapter M Abba Isaiah, Sermon VII⁵⁸

(75r-79v) St. Ephrem, About the ones who Weaken because of their Sins

(79v-84v) Homily of our Venerable Father Ephraem about the Blessed ones Ephraem the Syrian, Μακαρισμοὶ ἔτεροι, κεφάλαια κ.⁵⁹

(84v-95v) **Homily of St. Ephraem the Syrian with 22 chapters** (here only 18) Ephraem the Syrian, Περὶ αρετῶν καὶ κακιῶν λόγος⁶⁰

1. About the Fear of God

10. About Wrath

eleventh century containing the Greek text. See also Corpus Christianorum. Clavis Patrum Graecorum, vol. 5, ed. S. Gennaro and Fr. Glorie (Turnhout: Fabrieken Brepols, 1987), 3230-3254 (later referred to as CPG).

⁵⁶ Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina 74, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1850), coll. 136-137 (later I will refer to the volumes in the series as PL).

⁵⁷ A Greek manuscript containing this text is described by H. Delehaye, "Catalogus codicum Hagiographicorum Graecorum regii monasterii S. Laurentii Scorialensis," 387.

⁵⁸ Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeca 40, ed. Ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1858), coll. 1126-1127 (later I will refer to the volumes in the series as PG).

⁵⁹ Beautitudines aliae, capita viginti, ed. Konstantinos G. Frantzoles, 'Οσίου Έφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου Έργα, vol. 2 (Thessaloniki: To periboli tēs Panagias, 1989), 267-279.

⁶⁰ Sermo de virtutibu et vitiis, ed. Konstantinos G. Frantzoles, Sanctis patris nostri Ephraem Syri opera omnia, vol. 1 (Thessaloniki: To periboli tēs Panagias, 1988), 37-73.

Περὶ φόβου Θεοῦ

2. About the Lack of Fear

Περὶ ἀφοβίας 3. About Love Περὶ ἀγάπης

4. About those who Do not Have Love

Περὶ τῶν μὴ ἐχόντων ἀγάπην

5. About Longanimity Περὶ μακροθυμίας

6. About the One who Does not Have Longanimity

Περί του μη έχοντος μακροθυμίαν

7. About Patience Περὶ ὑπομονῆς

8. About the One who Does not Have Patience

Περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἔχοντος ὑπομονήν 9. About not having Wrath Περὶ ἀοργησίας Περὶ ὀξυχολίας
11. About Meekness
Περὶ πραότητος
12. About Wickedness
Περὶ πονηρίας
13. About Truth
Περὶ ἀληθείας
14. About Lieing
Περὶ ψεύδους
15. About Obedience
Πεοὶ ὑπακοῆς

16. About Disobedience and Murmur Περὶ ἀνυποταζίας καὶ γογγυσμοῦ

17. About not having either Envy or Jealousy; Περί

τοῦ μὴ ἔχειν φθόνον ἤ ζῆλον 18. About Envy and Jealousy Περὶ φθόνου καὶ ζήλου

(95v-97v) Selected Words from a Patericon

(97v-100r) Homily of St. Isaac

(101r-103r) Useful Words

(103r-104v) Quite Useful Questions and Answers from the Holy Fathers

(104v-152r) Continues the text of the **Scete Patericon** without a title (chapter 5: 30-chapter 10: 165, omitting chapter 8)

(152v-155v) Life of our Venerable Father Euphrosinus the Cook

Βίος Εὐφροσύνου μαγείρου σύντομος 61 or the Synaxarion text : Οὖτος εξ άγροίκων ἀποτεξθείς, καὶ ιδιώτης ών, μοναστών διάκονος εχρημάτισε, παρορώμενος πολλὰ καὶ μυκτηριζόμενος, καὶ τῷ μαγειρίῳ προστεθηκώς...

(155v-204r) **Scete Patericon**, chapter 10: 170 – chapter 16:21

(204r-211v) On the Sixth Friday of Great Lent. Regulations of our

Abba Basil, Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, How it Behooves One to Be a Monk

St. Basil the Great, Λόγος εἰς τὸ πῶς δεῖ εἶναι τὸν μοναχόν 62

(211v-212v) Homily about the Wine and the Good Oil

(212v-223v) **Scete Patericon**, chapter 16: 22 – chapter 18:16

(224r-224v) Scribe's colophon

Part II:

⁶¹ A manuscript containing the Greek text is described by H. Delehaye, "Catalogus codicum Hagiographicorum Graecorum regii monasterii S. Laurentii Scorialensis," 393. *Vita Euphrosyni (BHG* 628): Th. von Karayan, *Frühlingsgabe für Freunde älterer Literatur* (Wien, 1839), 70-76; Léon Glugnet, *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* 10 (1905): 42-45; *Vita Euphrosyni (BHG* 628b) cf. *Analecta Bollandiana* 28 (1909): 387; *Synaxarium (11 Sept.)*, *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* 34-36

⁶² St. Basil the Great, Sermo 15 *De vita monastica*, CPG 2893, listed, however, under the heading "Opera Ascetica Dubia ac Spuria."

(225r-230r) Homily of our Father Athanasius the Great, Patriarch of Alexandria,

about God's Commandments to those who Withdrew from the World and Who Want to Be Saved

St. Athanasius of Alexandria, Του εν άγίοις Πατρός ήμων 'Αθανασίου του Μεγάλου Πατριάρχου 'Αλεζανδρείας, Λόγος διακριτικός και είς τὰς έντολας του θεου τοις αποταξαμένοις 63

(230r) Homily of the Venerable Father Philemon the Hermit

(Only the title and the initial letter)

(230v-237r) Words from the Patericon

(237r-240v) The Story of Abba Eulogius

On Eulogius the Quarry-man (in the stories of Abba Daniel of Scetis): Περί του λατόμου Εὐλογίου: Γέγονεν κατά την Θηβαίδα ο άββας Δανιηλ ο πρεσβύτερος της Σκήτεως, έχων μεθ' εαυτου ένα των μαθητων αυτου ...64

(242v-246v) Useful Tales from Abba Vissarion's Life

(246v-248v) Theophilos, Bishop of Alexandria, On the Holy Eucharist

(248v-251v) The Story of Abba Doula

On Abba Doulas (in the stories of Abba Daniel of Scetis): Ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Δουλα: Διηγήσατο ο άββας Δανιήλ ότι έγένετο τις μοναχός Δουλας ονόματι, δς και εν μεγάλοις των πατέρων ελογίσθη... 65

(251v-261r) Fifth Homily about Repentance

(261r-265v) Homily about the Passions of the Savior

Ephraem the Syrian, Λόγος περί του πάθους του Σωτηρος⁶⁶

(265v-269v) St. Ephraem's Homily on the Repentance

Ephraem the Syrian, Λόγος ετερος κατανυκτικός 67

(269v-271v) St. Ephrem's Homily on the Judgment

Ephraem the Syrian, Λόγος περί κρίσεως και αναστάσεως 68

(271v-279v) Life of St. Theodora

Two main issues that have been already mentioned on the previous pages are noticeable here: 1. The first part of the codex (ff. 1r-224v) contains a relatively complete Scete Patericon with quite a lengthy interpolation, within the framework of

⁶³ Sermo pro iis qui saeculo renuntiarunt, in PG coll. 1409-1420.

⁶⁴ Léon Glugnet, "Vie et récits de l'abbé Daniel de Scété," Revue de l'Orient Chrétien 5 (1900) 49-73, 254-271, 370-391. However, this edition could not be consulted and the citations are taken from the following edition: 'Ο ἄββᾶς Δανιὴλ τῆς Σκήτεως, ed. and tr. into Modern Greek by P. Giachanatzis (Thessaloniki: To Perivoli tis Panaghias, 1988). Eulogius' life is on pp. 44-57.

⁵ See above, n. 65. The story of Abba Doulas is on pp. 69-75 in Giachanatzis' edition.

⁶⁶ Sermo de passione Salvatoris, ed. Konstantinos G. Frantzoles, 'Οσίου Έφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου 'έργα, vol. 7 (1998), 31-41.

⁶⁷ Sermo aliu compunctorius, ed. Konstantinos G. Frantzoles, 'Οσίου Έφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου 'έργα, vol. 1 (1988), 391-399.

which separate *apophthegmata* and even chapters of the Scete Patericon are also found; 2. All the texts in both parts are connected to monasticism.

The first point confirms once again the unity of the first part this time in terms of composition of the texts included. The succession of the text breaks on several occasions, but a real interruption of the text is caused only by large interpolation. Concerning the incorporation of the interpolation I cannot find a reasonable explanation yet; it is obvious that the scribe turned to another collection but I still cannot answer the question why and why exactly in the middle of a chapter. Nevertheless, we can claim certain unison in this first part in terms of its contents as well.

Conversely, the second part of the manuscript, conversely, does not contain a single *apophthegma* of the Scete Patericon. The genre in general is presented quite poorly: nine out of twelve works covering the pages of the second part are homilies and monastic stories, two of them monastic lives, and only seven pages contain words from a patericon. This part also seems to be consistent in its contents. Therefore, the second conclusion we drew may suggest why they were put together. The apparent connection with the tradition of the monastic literature could be a trustworthy motif for their linking. This might not be so difficult, bearing in mind the fact, as we established earlier, that they were prepared in the same monastic scriptorium and perhaps for a monastic audience. But with regard to the questions of when it was done and by whom it is difficult even to speculate at this stage.

⁶⁸ Sermo de iudicio et resurrectione, ed. Konstantinos G. Frantzoles, 'Οσίου Έφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου Έργα, vol. 4 (1992), 200-205.

3.2 Scete Patericon – the Main Source

3.2.1 Denomination and Origin

As the bigger part of the manuscript is covered by the text of the Scete Patericon, special attention should be paid to this collection. The question of the origin, history and tradition of the Slavonic Paterica in general is a complicated issue. The problem becomes even bigger because of the fact that only a few texts are published, which makes the investigation to a great extent partial and not complete.

The Scete Patericon is a collection that contains edifying sentences of the holy Fathers and stories about the lives of the eastern monks in the period between the fourth and the fifth century. The text is divided into several chapters and the single *apophthegmata* are listed in alphabetical order according to the name of the fathers following the Greek alphabet. The anonymous sentences are located at the end of each chapter. Most scholars accept the statement that if the alphabetical structure is broken the entries are a later addition.

The denomination Scete Patericon⁶⁹ is not to be found in the Greek manuscripts. It appears in late Slavonic manuscripts (from the seventeenth century onwards) and designates the Slavonic translation of the systematic collection of the *Apophthegmata patrum*. The term *Scete* (Skitskij) appears for the first time in the *trebnik* of Kiprian the Metropolite, in the article about the books that should be read and the ones that should not be read.⁷⁰ However, Kiprian does not mention exactly

included stories not exclusively about these monks.

⁶⁹ The name comes from the desert of Scetis in Egypt, where there lived the monks whose lives and monastic experiences are the main topic of the text. According to Preobrazhenskiĭ, the word 'Skitskij' comes from the Coptic 'Schiet.' A special form of monasticism was developed in the desert of Scetis, where groups of ascetics lived together in a 'skete', often as disciples of an 'abba', a spiritual father. However, the name Scete Patericon is to be considered conditional, since in the collection there are

V. S. Preobrazhenskii, Славяно-русский Скитский патерик. Опыт историко-библиографического исследования, 8.

which patericon he designates as *Skitskij*. The early manuscripts (from the thirteenth century) have one of the following titles:⁷¹

Житиы и повъсти различьны стуть оць боносыныйуть

Lives and Different Stories of the God-Bearing Holy Fathers Житик стучь боносычыную оць поустыныник ⁷²

Lives of the God-Bearing Desert Fathers

Повъсти стуъ старьць

Stories of the Holy Fathers

Повъсти ст $\widetilde{\chi}$ ъ от (скитьскънуъ) 73

Stories of the Holy Fathers (of Scetis)

(3) старьчьскъпуть пооччении

From the Instructions of the Fathers

Словеса бувскага

Words of the Fathers

Съборьникъ бубскънихъ Дшепольдиънихъ словесъ⁷⁴

Collection of Some Sayings of the Fathers Useful for the Soul

Some scholars think that the prototype of the Scete Patericon is the collection listed under N 198 in Patriarch Photius' Βιβλιοθήκη called 'Ανδρῶν 'αγίων βίβλος. About this collection Photius says that it is an excerpt from another one, namely Μέγα Λειμωνάριον. ⁷⁵ Such a Greek collection is not preserved, so the study of the

⁷³ The third and the fourth titles are in the same time the beginning of chapter two.

⁷¹ William R. Veder, "Le Skitskij Paterik," 51; Preobrazhenskii, Славяно-русский Скитский патерик, 179.

⁷² The first two examples are also the title of the first chapter.

⁷⁴ The last three are considered new titles of transformed collections. The Greek manuscripts, which contain the systematic collection of the *Apophthegmata patrum*, have the following titles: Ανδρῶν 'αγίων βίβλος; Αποφθέγματα τῶν 'αγίων πατέρων; Βίβλος τῶν 'αγίων γερόντων; Παράδεισος; Παραίνεσις τῶν 'αγίων πατέρων; Παραίνεσις καὶ 'αποσπάσματα καὶ βίοι πατέρων. (Preobrazhenskii, *Славяно-русский Скитский патерик*, 130-131). Latin titles: Verba Seniorum; De vita et doctrina et perfectione ss. Patrum; Vitae patrum et sententiae; Paraeneses ss. Patrum, Abbatum et Monachorum; SS. Aegyptiorum anachoretarum apophthegmata; Liber sermonum vel adhortationis Patrum ad profectum monachorum; Adhortationes ss. Patrum perfectionesque monachorum; Liber de vita et actibus ss. Patrum de diverso genere virtutum; De verbis seniorum ss. Patrum; Liber de verbis et exemplis ss. Patrum eremitarum; Adhortationes ss. Patrum, profectionesque monachorum (Preobrazhenskii, *Славяно-русский Скитский патерик*, 130).

⁷⁵ As sources for compiling the collection Μέγα Λειμωνάριον the following were used: Ruffinus of Aquileia, *Historia monachorum in Aegypto*; Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*; John Cassian, *De institutis coenobiorum* and *Collationes patrum*; Sulpicius Severus, *Dialogi*; Athanasius the Great, *Life of St. Antony*; *Life of St. Synclitici*; *Life of Ephrem the Syrian*; Antony the Great; Evagrius Ponticus; Ephrem

Slavonic text could help the reconstruction of Photius' collection, a little contribution to which could be made by this thesis as well.

The Russian scholar Preobrazhenskii made a detailed survey of the description given by Photius of the contents of ᾿Ανδρῶν ὁαγίων βίβλος. He gives a comparative table of the chapters of the ᾿Ανδρῶν ὁαγίων βίβλος, its Latin translation (*Verba Seniorum*) and its Slavonic translation (Scete Patericon). On the basis of this table he comes to the conclusion that Μέγα Λειμωνάριον was a common source not only for the Scete Patericon, but also for the so-called Alphabetical-Jerusalem Patericon. They contain a great number of common texts. However, it can be stated that these excerpts were made independently from one another, as there are many differences between them as well. Leaving aside the scholarly debate concerning the primacy of the Alphabetical or Systematical collections, of certain importance for this study is one of the conclusions Preobrazhenskii makes, namely that the collection Μέγα Λειμωνάριον had a systematical division into chapters, which means that the Scete Patericon (᾿Ανδρῶν ὁαγίων βίβλος) inherited this way of organization of the texts from its prototype.

The most ancient version, however, of the prototype of the Scete Patericon is preserved not in Greek, but in a Latin translation made in the sixth century by Pelagius and John.⁷⁸

the Syrian; Hesyheia, presbyter of Jerusalem; Abba Isaiah; Dyadoh, bishop of Fotiki; Martin of Dumio, *Aegyptorum patrum sententiae*.

⁷⁶ Preobrazhenskii, Славяно-русский Скитский патерик, 11.

Here it should be mentioned that in the Slavonic tradition six paterica were known: the Scete Patericon, Patericon Sinaiticum (John Moschos' *Pratum Spirituale*), Egyptian Patericon (*Historia monachorum in Aegypto*), Alphabetical-Jerusalem Patericon, Roman Patericon (Pope Gregory I's *Dialogues*) and Composite Patericon (contains readings from all other Paterica).

⁷⁸ Verba Seniorum, in PL 73 (books V-VII of Vitae Patrum).

3.2.2 Structure and Content of the Scete Patericon

The Scete Patericon consists of a maximum of 1,136 apophthegms. W. Veder assigns to them a numbering corresponding to the synoptic table of the Greek and Latin collections established by Jean-Claude Guy. The *apophthegmata* are divided into a maximum of 29 chapters dedicated to a certain theme, varying in length from 2 to 140 pieces, the ascribed parts being at the beginning and the anonymous ones at the end.

Veder presents the structure and the content of the hypothetical Scete Patericon after having studied 48 manuscripts. He states that the text of the Scete Patericon consists of three sections: [1] Chapters A, 1, B and their convoy; [2] Chapters 2-22; [3] The final convoy:⁸⁰

Section [1]: Chapters A, 1, B and the convoy:

- A Житига и повъсти различьнъ стуть ой воносыныйх Lives and Different Stories of Holy God-Bearing Fathers
- 1 Hakazahuk ctīxta oğa ha прыспытаник конкукнок Instruction of the Holy Fathers about the Final Achievement
- В Дроугата старкукската пров'кщанита Other Sayings of the Elders
- C Почьто посыгъшним ть оубо мъногъ оуспъхъ дантъ Why [He] Gives Great Success to those who Can Sense St. John Chrysostom, De Virginitate 3881
- **D** Почьто аще чьстьять бракть алгычжщана оучитть Павыть Why Paul Teaches those who Want that the Marriage is Honest St. John Chrysostom, De Virginitate 30⁸²

⁷⁹ Jean-Claude Guy, *Recherches sur la tradition grècque des Apophthegmata Patrum* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1962).

⁸⁰ Veder, "Le Skitskij paterik," 52-54.

⁸¹ PG 48 col. 560.

⁸² PG 48 col. 553.

St. John Chrysostom, *Homilia 23 in 2 Ep. Corinth*⁸³

F Слово стго Евсевина

A Homily of St. Eusebius St. Eusebius of Caesarea, Commentaria In Esaiam 40⁸⁴

 \mathbf{G} Слово стто Ишанна Zлатаоустваго о толь како подобантъ кънигъ чисти A Sermon of St. John Chrysostom about how it Behooves to Read Books Apophthegm N 670; cf. St. John Chrysostom, De patientia⁸⁵

[2] Chapters 2-22

- 2 Пов'всти стуъ старьць тако безмачения съ вьсжкомь тъщаниемь искати Stories of the Holy Elders about how to Long for Stillness in all Eagerness
- О оумилении $3a^{86}$ **About Compunction**
- 3b О печали About Grief
- 0 сълирении и плачи **3c** About Humility and Crying
- 4 О пощении, тако не тъкъмо й брашьна или й бесекаты достоитъ приимати иго,

нъ и **ѿ** видѣниы и **ѿ** прочииуъ дшевьнъпуъ подвизании About Fasting that we should not Fast only in Food or Speech, but also in Seeing and in the other Psychic Motions

5 Пов'ести различьны къ оутвръждению въстажщимъ на нъ бранемъ й любод финии Different Stories Fortifying those who have a Fight of Fornication

- 6 Ико не достоитъ сънискати им'вним и **\vec{w}** лихоимьства хранити см That it is not Proper to Seek Wealth and that we Must Keep ourselves from the Usury
- 7 О съдънии въ келии и о дълъ ржубнъмь повъсти различьнъ къ памати **МЖЖЬСТВОУ ОУЧАЩА НАСЪ**

84 PG 24 col. 368.

⁸³ PG 61 col. 562.

⁸⁵ PG 63 col. 940

⁸⁶ The tripartition of chapter 3 is proper to the family P of the Scete Patericon; the other Mss have chapter 3 undivided under the title of 3a, including Krka 4, see Veder, "Le Skitskij Paterik."

About Sitting in the Cell and Manual Work, Different Tales in Memory of the Virtue of those who have Taught us

- 8 Ико не подобанетъ дълъ своихъ пръдъ чловъкъ творити
 That it is not Proper to Do our Deeds Before People
- 9 Ико подобантъ хранити съ ниндиногоже осжждати

 That it is Proper to Take Heed of ourselves and that we Must not Offend Anybody
- 10 О расъмотрении
 About Watchfulness
- 11 О въдрости, ыко подовантъ въдроу вънти о высемы
 About Cheerfulness, that it is Proper to Be Cheerful about Everything
- 12 О молитв к и о въдрости, тако подовантъ въинж молити сж съ въдростиж About Prayer and Cheerfulness, that it is Proper Always to Pray in Cheerfulness
- 0 страньноприытии, тако странынникты подобантъ приимати съ кротостин и миловати

 About Hospitality, that it Behooves to Accept Strangers in Meekness and to Be Merciful
- 14 О блажен клы послоушании About Blessed Obedience
- 15 О съмиренои мждрости About Humble Wisdom
- 16
 Имо подобантъ трыпъти обидж

 That it Behooves to Endure Offenses
- 17 О любви About Love
- 18 О продорьливтынхть

 About those who Have Foresight
- 19 О творжщинуть знамению стуть старьць About Holy Elders who Perform Signs
- ${f 20a}^{87}$ О житии добр ${f k}$ различном ${f k}$ старьцем ${f k}$

 $^{^{87}}$ The bipartition of chapter 20 and 22 refers only to the family \check{C} of the Scete Patericon, see Veder, "Le Skitskij Paterik."

About the Good Life of Different Fathers

- **20b** О постыницихты и о трыптыни [послоушающинхты]

 About Fasters and the Patience [of those Living in Obedience]⁸⁸
- 21 Просв'кщанию състар'кв'ьшинхть см постыникть

 Instructions of Elder Fasters
- **22a** Исправлению стуть оць

 Orders of the Holy Fathers
- **22b** О несътажании

 About not Having Property

[3] The final convoy:

- H **З**апов'кди стто оща Стефана числомь ·ві·

 Twelve Commandments of the Holy Father Stephen
 Stephen of Thebais, 12 chapters on the Virtues
- I Слово стго оща нашего Ефрема о пользи дши и о съмидени

 A Sermon of our Father Ephraem about what Benefits the Soul and about Humility

 Macarius the Great, Homilia 40⁸⁹
- J Gлово оща Монс'кы сжщааго въ Скит'к къ ощоу Пуминоу A Sermon of Father Moses in Scetis to Father Poemen Moses the Egyptian, Ad abbatem Poemena
- K Gлово оща Макарина о оумилении

 A Sermon of Father Macarius about Compunction

 Macarius (Symeon), Sermon on Compunction
- L Калоупера Моис'кы запов'кдь: Седмь начаттыкть словесыный хъ A Commandment of Moses the Monk: Seven of the Verbal Beginnings
- M О нравъхъ добрънихъ и зълънихъ

 About Good and Evil Dispositions

 Hesiah (Moses), De virtutibus
- N Gлово сто оща нашего Иwaнна Zлатаоустааго къ етероу игоуменоу A Sermon of our Holy Father John Chrysostom to another Abbot St. John Chrysostom, Epistola ad abbatem

⁸⁸ "Those living in obedience" or ὑποτακτικοί are the cenobite monks.

⁸⁹ PG 34 coll. 761-768.

O Наказание стуть ощь [о въздръжании и о алъчьбъ] An Instruction of the Holy Fathers [about Temperance and Greed]

Veder states that there is a Slavic complement of the Scete Patericon, dividing it into seven series [chapter A (1-54), chapter 1 (1-40), chapter B (1-27), chapter 3c (7-75), chapter 22b (15-18), chapter L (1-31), chapter O (1-66)]. These seven series are supplementary to the *apophthegmata* transmitted by the Scete Patericon and are not documented by the Greek manuscripts.⁹⁰

3.2.3 The Scete Patericon in the Slavonic Tradition

As is very well known, six are the patericon collections spread among the Slavs: the Sinajskij Patericon, the Roman Patericon, the Alphabetical-Jerusalem Patericon, the Composite collection, the Egyptian Patericon, and the Scete Patericon. On the basis of a linguistic comparison of the Slavonic Paterica, van Wijk arrived at the conclusion that the text of the Scete Patericon presents the most archaic lexical and grammatical peculiarities. Therefore he identifies the otherward knihman mentioned in chapter 15 of *Vita Methodii* with the Scete Patericon. Its conclusion remains without having been refuted so far. Whoever the translator of the Scete Patericon might have been, certainly it was translated quite early into Old Church Slavonic. Cosmas Presbyter, in his *Homily against the Bogomils*, written in the tenth century, uses excerpts from it. 92

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⁹⁰ For more information, see W. Veder, "Le Skitskij Paterik," 54-61, where he gives the *incipit* of each *apophthegma*.

⁹¹ For a very detailed survey of the different theories and opinions concerning the *Book(s) of Fathers* in the chapter 15 of *Vita Methodii*, see Richard Pope's *Preface* to *The Old Church Slavonic Translation*, 1-24. See also Preobrazhenskii, *Славяно-русский Скитский патерик*

⁹² Preobrazhenskii, *Славяно-русский Скитский патерик*, 158. Preobrazhenskii compares Cosmas Presbyter's text to the text of the Scete Patericon and claims their closeness. For example, in one of the homilies Cosmas quotes the famous sentence of St. Antony about the monks and fish.

The Scete Patericon was one of the sources for the *Izbornik of 1076*⁹³ prepared for Prince Sviatoslav. As is well-known, this manuscript is a copy of a Bulgarian collection prepared during the time of the Bulgarian King Symeon, which means that at least excerpts from the Scete Patericon had been translated into Old Church Slavonic by the first half of the tenth century. Preobrazhenskij dates the copy of the translator to the sixth or seventh century. Moreover, William Veder points out a number of supplementary *apophthegmata*, unknown in the same normal systematic collection in its more developed state which I already have mentioned. 95

It is basically accepted that in the Slavonic tradition there were two textual redactions of the Scete Patericon. About seventy Slavonic manuscripts representing this text have come down to us. They testify to only one translation of the text, but to two redactions. Scholars state that in all manuscripts a short version of the text is preserved, but it is supposed that the manuscripts are from a non-preserved extended Slavonic version of the Scete Patericon, because each manuscript contains entries that are not found in other manuscripts but exist in the full text.⁹⁶

3.3 Krka 4 and the Scete Patericon

The part of Krka 4 containing the text of the Scete Patericon belongs to the family W, according to William Veder's categorisation. The manuscripts from this family contain section [2] (chapters 2-22) and from section 3 (the final convoy) chapters H-J. To the same family belong the following manuscripts:

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⁹³ W. Veder, "Патерик Египетский Краткий. Переделка патерика Египетского до 1076 года" (Egyptian Patericon, short version. Reworking of the Egyptian Patericon until 1076), *Palaeobulgarica* 3/1 (1979): 8.

⁹⁴Preobrazhenskii, Славяно-русский Скитский патерик, 220.

⁹⁵ W. Veder, "Le Skitskij paterik," 71.

⁹⁶ Svetlina Nikolova, *Патеричните разкази в българската средновековна литература* (The Patericon Stories in Bulgarian Medieval Literature) (Sofia: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 1980), 33.

- 1) Vienna, ÖNB, Slav. 152 (end of the thirteenth-beginning of the fourteenth century, Bulgarian)⁹⁷
 - 2) Peć, MPP, 86 (end of the thirteenth century, Serbian)⁹⁸
 - 3) Krka 4 (264/62) (1346, Bulgarian)
 - 4) Paris, BN, Slav 10 (fourteenth century, Serbian)
 - 5) Moscow, GBL, Popov 93 (fourteenth century, Bulgarian)
 - 6) [lost] Moscow, GIM, Chludov 185 (fourteenth century, Bulgarian)

The texts of the Scete Patericon represented in Krka 4 are as follows:

- **chapter 2:** Sayings of the Holy Elders about how to Long for Stillness in all Eagerness (1-4, 6-8, 10, 14, 19-20, 23-29)
- **chapter 3:** *About Compunction of the Holy Elders* (3-4b, 5-6, 6, 15-18, 20, 24, 32-42, 44-45a, 57-111)
- **chapter 4:** About Fasting, that we should not Fast only in Food or in Speech, but also in Seeing and in the other Psychic Motions (1-15, 17, 19-20, 22, 24, 26-31, 33-40, 42-48, 52-57, 59-60, 63-66, 69-76, 78, 82, 85-86)
- **chapter 5:** Different Stories Fortifying those who have a Fight of Fornication (1-7, 9-10, 13-16)
- **chapter 21:** (38, 19)
- **chapter 19:** (21)
- **chapter H:** Commandments of our Father Stephen of Thebais to those who have Died for the World, but yet are in the World
- chapter M: About the Good Virtues
- **chapter O:** Sermon of St. Abba Macarius the Great (1)
- **chapter 5:** (30-33, 35-46)
- **chapter 6:** That it is not Proper to Seek Wealth and that we Must Keep ourselves from Usury (1-4, 6-11, 14-15, 17-26)
- **chapter 7:** *Different Tales in Memory of the Virtue of those who have Taught us* (1-5, 9-12, 14-17, 19-22, 25-30, 32-41, 45, 47-49, 46, 50-51, 53-54, 56-57)
- **chapter 9:** That it is Proper to Take Heed of ourselves and that we Must not Offend Anybody (2, 5, 7-11, 13-16, 18, 17 19)
- **chapter 10:** *About Watchfulness* (1-5, 7-11, 23-26, 44-45, 48-51, 19-20, 22, 21, 52, 38-40, 12-16, 47, 53, 57-61, 64-65, 62, 66, 70-72, 75b-78, 81, 86, 90-99, 102-103, 105, 107-112, 122, 136, 138, 150, 152, 163, 165, 170, 172-175, 191-192b).
- **chapter 11:** That it is not [sic] Proper to Be Cheerful about Everything (4-5, 8-18, 35-38, 40-41, 44, 46, 48, 55-59, 62-63, 65, 60, 67-72, 74-78, 81, 91-98, 100-110)

⁹⁷ Known also as Mihanović Paterikon. The part containing the text of the Scete Patericon was published by van Wijk, *The Old Church Slavonic Translation*.

⁹⁸ Described by Biljana Jovanović, "Pećki Paterik," 139-188.

chapter 12: That it is Proper Always to Pray in Cheerfulness

(1-11, 13, 17, 18, 16, 15)

chapter 13: That it Behooves To Accept Strangers

(1-11, 13-15)

chapter 14: About Blessed Obedience

(2-4, 11-12, 14-15, 19-21, 23, 13, 24-25, 27-29c)

chapter 15: About Humble Wisdom

 $(1-5,\,7-20a,\,31-36,\,38-40,\,42,\,41,\,43,\,46-47,\,49,\,52-56,\,58-60,\,62,\,64-68,$

70-81, 83-92, 94, 96-103, 105-107, 109-112)

chapter 16: That it Behooves to Endure Offenses

(2-6, 9a/b, 13-14, 21, 22-23a, 25-28)

chapter 17: About Love

(1-4, 6-8, 12, 14-24, 26, 29)

chapter 18: About those who Have Foresight

(1-2, 6-7, 3, 15, 10, 13, 16)

3.4 Scholars about Cod. Krka 4

Those scholars who have ever dealt with this manuscript can be divided into two groups. The first group is interested in Krka 4 insofar as it contains part of the text of the Scete Patericon, thus somehow ignoring the rest of its contents. The second group pays attention mainly to the linguistic features of the monument.

To the first group belong such scholars as Nikolaas van Wijk, William Veder and Biljana Jovanović. To Nikolaas van Wijk and William Veder we owe the most profound studies on the Scete Patericon. Yan Wijk briefly analyzed the language of the Krka 4 manuscript, his interest being provoked by the fact that the manuscript contains the Slavonic translation of 'Ανδρῶν 'αγίων βίβλος. He was interested mainly in the lexicology and morphology, in order to prove the archaic character of the language and to show that it was precisely the Scete Patericon that was translated by Methodius.

⁹⁹ The full list of his works on Paterica is published by R. Pope, *The Old Church Slavonic Translation*, 25-26. A list of Veder's works can be found in *Polata knigopisnaja* 12 (1985): 2.

¹⁰⁰ N. van Wijk, "Rukopisni paterik manastira Krke" (Patericon Manuscript from the Krka Monastery), *Magazin sjeverne Dalmacije* 2 (1935): 108-110.

Van Wijk assumed the text of the Krka Patericon to be a part of the very early Slavonic translation of the Scete Patericon, made at the end of the ninth century either by St. Methodius, or by one of his disciples shortly after Methodius' death. In this group he included also three other manuscripts, one of which he prepared for publication shortly before his death.

Van Wijk intended to publish variant readings from the Krka Patericon in his edition of *The Old Church Slavonic Translation of the* 'Ανδρῶν 'αγίων βίβλος. He compiled a list of variants from the Krka Patericon, the Leiden folia, and the Greek and Latin versions of the text, but no such list has come down to us. ¹⁰³ R. Pope, the editor of van Wijk's manuscript, says that van Wijk was adding copious variants from the Krka manuscript alongside those from the Paris manuscript at the bottom of every page of his edition of the Vienna Manuscript. At a certain point in the text he abandoned this plan, probably in favor of the above-mentioned variant list in appendix form, and he went back and crossed out all the variants from the Krka manuscript. He also planned to make a vocabulary analysis, which, however, was not preserved. ¹⁰⁴

William Veder is another scholar who also investigated the Krka 4 codex with regard to the text of the Scete Patericon. He, as a matter of fact, was also a professor at Leiden University like his predecessor, and continued Van Wijk's work. He devoted a number of profound studies to the Scete Patericon, trying to describe and to identify all the Slavonic manuscripts containing this text. In a series of studies he

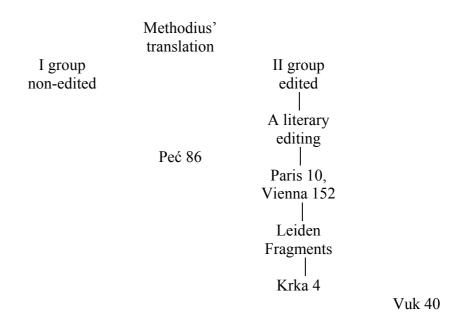
¹⁰¹ Vienna, ŐNB, Slav. 152 (end of the thirteenth century, Bulgarian); Paris, BN, Slav 10 (fourteenth century, Serbian); Leiden, UB, BPL 2290 (end of the fourteenth century, Serbian): fragment of ch. 9-10

Vienna, ÖNB, Slav 152. It was published after the death of van Wijk; see *The Old Church Slavonic Translation*

¹⁰³ R. Pope, *The Old Church Slavonic Translation*, 45.

reconstructs the archetype of the Scete Patericon and established the manuscript families, the manuscript tradition, and so on. I will use some of his extremely important and for this study fundamental findings in this thesis.

The Serbian scholar Biljana Jovanović is interested in Krka 4 on the one hand insofar as the text of the Scete Patericon is concerned, while on the other she suggests a working scheme for the eventual filiation of the texts of the Slavonic translation of the Scete Patericon. She tries to reconstruct the text and establishes the following scheme:



And in the second group she distinguishes the following:

I II III
Peć 86 Paris 10, Vienna 152 Krka 4
IIa
Leiden Fragments

¹⁰⁵ Biljana Jovanović, "Pećki Paterik. Tri jezićke redakcije slovenskog prevoda Skitskog paterika," 139-188.

She says that Krka 4 belongs to this group of manuscripts, which were composed in the second quarter of the fourteenth century. It follows the old archaic norms, which served as a literary model, but there are also some corrections and additions, made most often from another Greek protograph, and there is a tendency towards a deliberate archaicization of the language.

The Bulgarian scholar Zhivka Ikonomova wrote another profound linguistic study on the Krka 4 manuscript. She investigated the phonetics and the orthography of the manuscript in connection with the history of the Old Church Slavonic and Bulgarian languages. She worked with photocopies of the manuscript. After having studied the linguistics of the monument, she states that it shares common features with the other Bulgarian manuscripts from the first half of the fourteenth century.

These, then, are the scholars who offer, more or less, a study of the Krka 4 manuscript from a certain aspect. The monument is also included in several catalogues. Dimitrije Bogdanović in his *Инвентар ћирилских рукописа у Југославију (11-17 века)* lists Krka 4 under N 1084 and includes a short description: "1084. Патерик (Патерик крчки), буг., 1346. Папир, 279 листова, 280 х 200 мм. Запис писара Висариона, и др. Крка 4." ¹⁰⁷ The listed bibliography to the manuscript is quite significant: he points out four titles as a secondary literature on the monument; in this, however, the Krka Patericon is not accorded any special attention but is rather simply mentioned. The first one is P. A. Syrkhu's *Краткий отчет о* занятиях за границей доцента императорского Ст.-Петербургского университета

¹⁰⁶ Zhivka Ikonomova, Наблюдения върху фонетиката и правописа на Кръчкия патерик.
¹⁰⁷ Dimitrije Bogdanović, Инвентар ћирилских рукописа у Југославији (XI-XVII века), 80.

П. А. Сырку в летние месяцы 1893 и 1894 гг., ¹⁰⁸ where he describes different monasteries that he had visited in northern Dalmatia. One of these monasteries was the Krka monastery where the Krka Patericon was kept. Syrku simply mentions the manuscript and the last part of the colophon with the indication of the time when the book was written. A footnote is worth mentioning: he points out that the Czech historian Konstantin Jireček in his *History of the Bulgarians* wrongly translated the words при утолюкивом и влагородном , ури имани альядандо as if the manuscript was written for the Bulgarian Tsar Ioan Alexander instead of "during the time of Ioan Alexander."

Very important is the article of Vladimir Mošin and Milan Radeka about the Cyrillic manuscripts in northern Dalmatia. This article actually is an inventory of the manuscripts in the Krka monastery with a brief description of some of the monuments. The longest description belongs precisely to Krka 4, to which the two scholars paid special attention. Here we find important information regarding the history of the manuscript: they claim that the manuscript comes from the Hilandar monastery on Mount Athos. Another very important fact mentioned there is that at the end of the colophon on f. 224r the words where were written later than the text of the colophon, namely in the seventeenth century. This could be a very important observation, since it is possible that it might turn out that actually Vissarion was not the real scribe of the manuscript.

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¹⁰⁸ Pyotr A. Syrkhu, "Краткий отчет о занятиях за границей доцента императорского Ст.-Петербургского университета П. А. Сырку в летние месяцы 1893 и 1894 гг." (A Brief Report about the Occupations abroad of P. A. Syrku, a Professor at the Imperial University of St. Petersburg, during the Summer Months of 1893 and 1894), *Izvestiia imp. Akademii nauk* II/5 (1895): CLXXXVIII-CCXV.

¹⁰⁹ K. Jireček, История болгар (A History of the Bulgarians) (Odessa, 1878), 411, footnote 5.

¹¹⁰ V. Mošin and M. Radeka, "Ćirilski rukopisi u sjevernoj Dalmacij," 189-215.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 191.

The Russian scholar E. Karskii also only mentions the manuscript and the scribe Vissarion in his *Cπαββη*ικαβ κυρυπποβίκαβ παπεοιραφυβ:¹¹² in the alphabetical lists of the known scribes of Cyrillic books until the year 1500, and in the list of medieval Bulgarian monuments until the fourteenth century. For Vissarion he only says that this is the scribe of the patericon from 1346, giving a reference to another work. For the patericon itself he actually retells the last part of the colophon – that this is a patericon from the Krka monastery written for Nikodim, an archimandrite of the Bulgarian Lavra of Saint Michael the Archangel. His information is based on Syrku and does not add anything new.

The Bulgarian scholar Svetlina Nikolova only mentions the Krka Patericon as one of the seven extant transcripts of the Scete Patericon made in the fourteenth century.¹¹³

It seems that the scholars were interested only in that part of the manuscript which contains the text of the Scete Patericon. Apart from Zhivka Ikonomova's study on the phonetics and orthography of the manuscript, all the scholars actually mention the manuscript only insofar as it presents part of the Slavonic patericon tradition in general and the tradition of the Scete Patericon in particular. In this short review I have tried to include and comment on all the works known to me that mention, for one reason or another, the Krka 4 manuscript. It is certainly not an exhaustive survey, and there are possibly also some other works. However, what I have tried to demonstrate is that this manuscript was ignored and neglected to a certain extent until now and that it is worth investigating.

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¹¹² E. F. Karskii, *Славянская кирилловская палеография* (Slavic Cyrillic Palaeography) (Moscow: Nauka, 1979) (1st ed. Leningrad, 1928), 35, 290.

¹¹³ Svetlina Nikolova, Патеричните разкази в българската средновековна литература, 32.

CONCLUSION

FINAL SPECULATIONS AND FURTHER PERSPECTIVES

The following conclusions can be drawn after having studied the data provided by the description of both the physical and the compositional characteristics of Krka 4 manuscript:

- In its present arrangement the codex consists of two distinct parts (I ff. 1r-224v; II ff. 225r-279v) which originally belonged to different and independent manuscripts, which were also produced in the same place, that is, the same monastery. I am inclined to think so because of the following:
 - The colophon testifies that the scribe thought that he was finishing an entire book. The singular form of the noun "patericon" also implies such an assumption ("This book called Patericon was written..."). The place of the colophon, namely after the last *apophthegma* of the Scete Patericon, indicates the same idea;
 - The first part constitutes unity in terms of its content and principal scribe.

 There is one principal scribe, Vissarion, most probably a monk in the Lavra of St. Michael the Archangel. He was copying the (Scete) Patericon, which is to be found only between ff. 1r-224v. Apart from the long interpolation, the whole first part contains more or less only the text of the Scete Patericon.

- 2. The first part is a relatively complete (Scete) Patericon with quite a lengthy interpolation, within the framework of which, however, separate *apophthegmata* and even chapters of the Scete Patericon are also represented. All the texts from the Scete Patericon (chapters 2-18) are to be found in the first part.
- 3. The manuscript(s) were prepared in a monastic center (scriptorium) probably in the Lavra of St. Michael the Archangel mentioned in the colophon. For such a conclusion the following evidence provides testimony:
 - there is the colophon itself;
 - several scribes were working on the manuscript;
 - two of them appear in both parts;
 - there is a unity of the manuscripts in terms of the decoration (they were prepared in the same place by the same scribes);
 - the contents point at a monastic audience.
- 4. More than one collection was used as a source in compiling the Krka 4 manuscript. This is proved mainly by the presence of the long interpolation, probably copied from a Greek miscellany. Certainly to be mentioned here is the extremely interesting fact that several *apophthegmata* from the Scete Patericon are copied twice, once in the interpolation and once later on as part of the corresponding chapters, and that they represent two different translations of the same sayings.

The description and observations on Krka 4 manuscript that were provided in this thesis are not based on firsthand work with the codex but on photocopies.

Certainly, a direct work with the monument could support or, conversely, disprove

some of the hypotheses proposed here. However, the description of the physical characteristics of the codex and the detailed description of the content given in Appendix 1 belong to the objective features of this study and aim to be – counting also the necessary fallibility of human and thus scholarly nature - correct. They can certainly be used in further investigations of both the codex and its content and in comparison to other manuscripts containing not only the text of the Scete Patericon but preserving also other text traditions.

Bearing in mind the traditional problems of Slavonic Studies concerning critical editions of texts, I hope this study will fill some of the gaps that exist especially in the field of the Slavonic Paterica.

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APPENDICES:

1. The incipit of the Texts in Krka 4

Chapter 2: (1r) Пов'єсти сты старець како побаеть сь вьс'єц'ємь тъщаніємь бедьмуьвие искати. Бугослови \mathbf{w} \mathbf{v} \mathbf{e} .

- 1 (1r) Рече авва, антоніе. такоже рыбы дам(ета)жще на свсть оумиражть.
- $2\,(1r)\,\widehat{P}_{\rm F}$ пакы, съдми въ поустыни, и безилъвьствоужи
- 3 (1r) Футь арсеніе, їєще сыи вть полатть цовть
- 4 (1r) Тъже авва арсенїе, шшедь въ мнишьскоє житие.
- 6 (1v) Прінде иногда влаженый феффіль архівівнь, кь фор арсенію
- 7 (1v) Иногда же пакы изволи архієбкіть, прінти къ немоу.
- $8\,(1{\rm V})$ Иде иногда $\ddot{w}\ddot{\psi}$ ть арсен \ddot{i} е въмиксто, и бътоу тръст \ddot{i} е
- 10 (21) съджщоу иногда шйоу арсенію въ кан(опъ)
- 14 (2v) Рече авва евагоїє: Ѿсікан многілій любові,
- $19 \, (2v) \, \mathbf{K} \, \bar{\mathbf{p}} \, \mathbf{a} \, \mathbf{n} \, \bar{\mathbf{p}} \, \mathbf{n} \, \mathbf{$
- 20~(2v) \hat{P}_{ϵ} авва моисии, чакь, б'вгаж \ddot{w} чакь, побень есть гроздоу др'влоу
- 23 (2v) Ре ава данилъ, бедь гадвы превбываеть й стреклъ вражи
- 24 (3r) Рече авва пимень. начатокъ зломоу е мльва
- 25 (3r) Рече пакы, тако добро есть б'кгати т'клесныхь.
- 26 (3r) Глаше иногда, авраамъ Ученикъ шца сісша.
- 27 (3r) Ре амма, синклитикиї. мнози въ горъ съджщей
- 28 (3r) Ре старець, дачженть есть мин коупити педмачьей
- 29 (3r) Повъдааше етерь. тако трїє въстаниви

Chapter 3: (3v) w вмилени стыхть тіть, слови є:

- 3 (3v) Глахж w оби арсени, тако въсть лета живота своего
- $4 (4r) \mathbf{K} \mathbf{p} \mathbf{a}$ въпроси $\mathbf{w} \mathbf{q} \mathbf{a}$ аммона, $\mathbf{p} \mathbf{r} \mathbf{a} \mathbf{a} \mathbf{m} \mathbf{e} \mathbf{m} \mathbf{o} \mathbf{v}$. Ръци ми слово.
- 4a (4r) Братома дв'яма. бы гоненіе. и жта быста пріжти мжкы.
- 4b (4v) Рече старець. начун с $\hat{\rho}$ це свое пималу w коем $\hat{\kappa}$ о брат $\hat{\kappa}$ глати.
- $5\,(4{\rm V})\,\widehat{P}_{\rm E}$ авва, евагри. Сжди въ кели своеи, и събери си мыслъ свож
- $5a\,(5r)\,\widehat{P}_{\epsilon}$ старецъ. горе дши съгръшивши по стъмъ кръщени
- 5b (5v) \hat{P}_{ϵ} πακώ. Γορε μης, το μης, τακο βέρεης \hat{C}_{Λ} ελώψχ
- $6 (6r) \hat{P}_{\epsilon}$ авва иліа. адь трії вещен бож см.
- 15 (6r) Блаженый фемфіль, архіейкить, Умираж ўе.
- 16 (6r) Глауж шүй. тако таджийму братйаму
- $17\,(6{
 m v})\,\widehat{P}_{
 m e}$ авва їаков'ь, такоже св'єтилникь, в'ь темн'єложници просв'єщаєть
- 18 (6v) Въпросишж етери оди, ида макаріа егіптънина глаще.
- 20 (6v) Послашж иногда старци, нитрискыж горы, кь великшмоу шцоу макарію
- 24 (71) Мимохода иногда авва пимень въ егупет.
- 32 (7r) и ўе, двое мм сьтвори. едино шнж пагоуба, дроугое же тако адь
- 33 (7г) Авва сілочань, съдж иногда съ братіж. бы
- 34 (7v) Ре влаженая сунтиклитіки, подвигь есть, и троудь многь тръбъ
- $35 (7v) \hat{\mathbf{P}}_{\mathbf{f}}$ авва иперхии. Мий бъдоъ, ношь и $\tilde{\mathbf{A}}$ нъ
- 36 (7v) Пріндошж братіа кь шйоу філипоу, имаще съ собож люди просты.
- 37 (7v) Пов'едашж w оби пішр'е, и w о фейр'е. Мко в'еста полагажща милоти

- $38\,(8r)$ Пов'еда етерь \ddot{w} старець, тако брат етерь wtitu хотм в'ь мин $\dot{\vec{w}}$ кое жит \ddot{i} е
- $39 \, (8 \text{V}) \, P^{\text{V}}$ е старець, аще би вудножно было, въ пришествіе бжіе
- 40~(8v) \mathbf{K} $\mathbf{\tilde{p}}$ βυπροσί σταρμα $\mathbf{\tilde{p}}$ λλ. Ψνε. $\mathbf{\tilde{w}}$ κλλον λιι εφμε жестоко есть
- 41 (91) Вид в старець етера смежща см. и гла емоу
- 42 (9r) Р страецъ. такоже стънь свож съ собож имаши
- 44a (9r) Боа въпроси етера старца, гла. что сътвора.
- 44b (9r) приключи во см етероу \ddot{w} старецъ, почити иногда.
- 45 (9r) Въпроси боа етера старца, глж. ыко желаеть Дша моа слъды
- 45a (9v) $\mathbf{F}_{0}^{\mathsf{T}}$ weath са въ шерадь инишьскый, иде и вьсели са въ горя нитрійскях.
- 57 (9v) Старець етерь с'кд'кше, в'ь лжу'в блаженаго антонїа
- 58 (10г) въ единь оубо й дни, видъ старецъ брата, насытивша см брашна
- 59 (10v) $\Gamma \widetilde{\Lambda} a$ emy brath, kako ecth chobo ce, wye.
- 60 (10 v) Яще добеши въсък x агодж, не насыти см.
- 61 (11r) и аще ўет ти мыслъ твоа. вь стыи днъ. сътвори лоучьшаа брашна
- $62~(11\mathrm{r})$ и аще видиши етеры прихудащая к тебъ, егда видиши й
- 63 (11r) и аще стажиши книгж, не оукраси ж доброж повлакож
- 64 (11v) Яще видиши съсждъ, или съчивце У брата
- 65 (11v) Аще разлічниши см вічстати ношим на Утрічницж
- 66 (12т) Яще принесет ти бра въ любовъ почьсть
- 67 (12r) Аще слышиши стый шуть житіе, начыни и тъ нарицати имы гне
- 68 (12r) аще ли не скончаеши, тогда дадри своеи немощи
- 69(12r) Яще сътворилъ еси гут пльскый, не помышлъй како сътворилъ еси
- 70 (12r) Аще въ поустыни живеши, и разоумъещи, тако посъщает та гъ
- 71 (12v) Яще любод каниа брань, ткло ти и сфце, раживаеть
- 72a (12v) Сть старцемъ етеромъ, и великомъ, живъше брать лънивъ
- 72b (13r) w въсъкомъ дълъ своемъ, и на въсъкъ дять
- 73 (13r) Аще покусиши см, на по великь, или на въджите
- 74 (13v) Аще идеши кь старцоу, и бжае матва, и повелит ти състи
- 75 (13v) Аще испов'яст (т)и боа, таннж свож, ил та даклънеть да оёши
- 76 (13v) Аще не имаши Умленіа въ Дши твоеи, разоумъи тако величаніе имаши
- 77 (13v) Аще wckжд'кет ти тр'кбованіе т'клесное. не р'кци улкоу
- 78 (13v) аще w себ'к даст (т)и чакть что, и точкочеші его
- 79 (14r) Яще дасть ти $\overline{6^{\circ}}$ ь плачь. не непщочи, тако вел $\overline{1}$ е
- 80 (14r) Аще не имаши, см'кренїа Дховнаго, стажи пон'к т'клесное
- 81 (14т) Яше въпрашаеши шим Дховным, и слышиши ш нй слово бжіе
- 82 (14r) Яще похвалит та чакъ, пред лицемь твоимъ. помысли абіе греды свож.
- 83 (14r) Яще въпадеши въ любод канїе, и бждеши блидъ мікста идеже въпалъ
- 84 (14r) Яще виши брата шчима своима съгржшажща въ блждъ
- 85 (14v) Яще шклеветаеть, боа брата предуль тобож. не моди срамлети см сего
- $86\,(14\mathrm{v})$ Яще въ болъднь въпадеши, и въспроши етеры вещи въ тръбован \ddot{i} е
- 87 (15r) Въстаж 🗓 съна своего, въ пръв'емъ слов'е прослави е ба оусты своими
- 88 (15r) Яще виши въ сънъ жены, то двигни см, не помыслити ни
- 89 (15r) Въдавгажщоу ти на шдръ твоемъ. ТУ помъни гробъ твои
- 90 (15r) Сжтъ во доуси, на въсе готови. да іакоже лежит члкъ на шдръ своемъ
- $91\ (15v)$ аще ли д'ялаєши д'яло съ братіами, то не въсхощи гавити имъ гако болше
- 92 (15v) оутвољди см, и съхрани см въ словесе сихь. тако аще сїа твориши
- $93~(15 {
 m V})$ \hat{P} є старецъ. тако длъжень $\hat{\epsilon}$ мін, егда тастъ съ братіж. въсегда низъ
- $94 (16r) \hat{\rho}_{\epsilon}$ пакы, тоиже старецъ. Повны сжтъ злыж мысли. мышевемъ
- 95 (16г) Ре пакы, сице побаеть кажщомоу см
- $96\,(16\mathrm{r})\,\hat{P}_{\mathrm{f}}$ пакы. идохомгь иногда въ канопь, къ александри, иї пъприщь $\ddot{\mathrm{w}}\,\,\mathrm{r}$ фа
- 97a (16v) Къпросихим же пакы старца, како можеть члкъ съхранити слъды

- 97b (17r) Скада же вамъ и се старецъ. тако сиръчь въ животъ своемъ, наставникъ
- 98 (17v) глаше пакы гако члкть втьдаж см вть скртькть ба ради волеж
- 99 (17v) бе пакы тъиже старецъ. тако въсъкъ гре, кромъ тъла е.
- 100 (17v) Въпросишж шуа лонгина глаще, каа есть доброд втвлъ болшии въсей шуе
- $101\ (18r)\ \hat{P}_{\epsilon}$ пакы старецъ. такоже мрътвы не гастъ.
- 102 (18г) Рече пакы, постъ тънитъ тъло, а бъдъние
- 103 (18г) Имъще же авва логіанъ, много оумиленіа слъдъ.
- $104\,(18\mathrm{r})\,$ ў же емоу старецъ. Чждо, се естъ канонь егоже не тръкоуеть $\overline{\mathrm{gr}}$ ь
- 105 (18г) Бра живъше вь кели w себъ единь, близь wya
- 106 (19г) Біра въпроси старца како приходи плачь шче
- 107 (19r) гла емоу бра подобает ли шче мнихоу поминати родителм
- 108 (19r) Бра прінде въ горж феремский къ старцоу
- 109 (19г) гла емоу старецъ върж ми ими уждо- тако елико
- $110\,(20\mathrm{r})\,\widehat{P}$ е старецъ смъреніе многымъ естъ сіние
- $111\ (20r)\ \widehat{\mathbf{P}}$ е пакы еже естъ w въръ $\widetilde{\mathbf{P}}$ ла и уъсти

Chapter 4: (20r) w пощении тако не подобаетть \ddot{w} брашена постити см тъкмо или \ddot{w} бес \ddot{t} ды нж и \ddot{w} вид \ddot{t} ниа и прочінуть $\ddot{\chi}$ ши подвиданіи. слово \dot{r} блгосливи \ddot{w} е:~

- 1 (20r) Братіа придошж къ шщоу антонію й скита
- 2-3 (20v) Глаше оубо авва данінать w оци арсени
- 4 (20v) Глаше w немъ авва данінать тако толико лів житть сть нами
- $5 (21r) \hat{P}_{\epsilon}$ пакы \vec{w} немъ. тако тъкмо единож лета, изменташе водж ваинъжж.
- 6 (21r) рече пакы-тако егда съвръшааше см въсчкъ плодъ сънчедныи
- 7 (21г) Глахж w оби агафинк. тако въск лета живота своего
- 8 (21r) Ходмщоу иногда старцоу, агафиноу съ оученикы своими. и шбръте
- 9 (21r) Прінде етеръ й старецъ, къ шубу ахілъ
- $10~(21 \mathrm{v})$ Пріде иногда авва, ахіліє, въ келіж шуа їсаїж въ с (κu) тъ
- 11 (21v) Глахж w оби амчмои, тако больше, и сълежааше
- $12 (21v) \hat{P}_{E}$ авва, веньшминъ, попъ келінскый, шко идохомъ въ скить
- 13 (22г) (п)овъдашж w оби дишскоръ
- 14(22r) $\hat{\mathbf{P}}_{\mathbf{F}}$ авва, евагріїн тако $\hat{\mathbf{p}}_{\mathbf{F}}$ старецъ. сего ради $\hat{\mathbf{w}}_{\mathbf{F}}^{"}$ илм сласти
- 15 (22r) Посла иногда епіфаніе, архієнкить кипръскый, къ шубу иларішноу
- 17 (22v) Иногда авва чинонъ, иды в x^{114} . и оутроуди см, съде блигy к
- 19~(22v) \hat{P}_{ϵ} авва фефръ тако ненасыщение хлъба исоушаетъ тъло мнихоу
- 20~(22v) ho_{ϵ} авва ho_{ϵ} авва ho_{ϵ} коловъ тако ащ ϵ въсхотат ho_{ϵ} враз ho_{ϵ} градъ пръжти
- 22 (22v) Ре авва исаакъ ппъ келіискый вид в брата жжижща на сель
- 24 (23r) Въпроси етерь брать, ща сидора попа скитьскаго.
- 26 (23r) Пов'едааше авва касїан'ь, w етере шун їшан'е, игоумена
- $27 (23r) \, \rho^{\circ}$ е пакы. тако повекда ми $\ddot{\text{w}}$ ц моиси. w оуй сарапиwне, $\ddot{\text{г}}$ лм.
- 28 (24г) Авва логінъ, единож болькъ, глаше въ себъ
- 29 (24r) Гаахж w ойн макари, ыко аше оупраживаше см
- 30 (24r) Авва макарие великыи. Глаше братіамъ въ скитъ
- 31 (24r) Ре тъже авва макаріе великыи аще по даеши комоу
- 33 (24v) Глахж w оби пимен'я, тако зовом'я на брашно
- 34 (24v) Пов'едааше етер'ь, штоу пиминоу, w етер'е мнис'е
- $35~(24 \mathrm{v})$ Ре пакы авва пиминъ. $\widetilde{\mathrm{A}}$ ша ничимже смъръет см, аще не лишит см хлъба

¹¹⁴ Leave 22v is corrupted and the word is not legible, but in other manuscripts here stands пальстингь; see Veder, "La Tradition Slave des *Apophthegmata Patrum*," 74.

- $36 (24v) \ \hat{P}_{\epsilon}$ пакы. тако аще помеченете чаке пишемых речи.
- 37 (24v) Ре пакы старецъ. тако бра въпроси шца памвона.
- 38 (24v) Боа въпроси шуа пимина, бам. како дачьженъ есмъ быти въ кинови
- 39 (24v) Ре авва пимінъ такоже дымь изгонитъ пчелы.
- 40 (24v) Повъда етеръ старецъ w оби пиминъ, и w братеи егw
- $42 (25r) \Gamma \widetilde{na} \chi x w o u nuw pt. нако ходаще над <math>t u e$.
- $43 (25 v) \Gamma \widetilde{\text{ладж}} \text{ w оби петр'к поист'км'ь, иже в'ь келиах'ь}$
- 44 (25v) Бы иногда прихожденіе братіамъ кь шйоу антонію въ горж.
- 45~(25v) \mathbf{K} ра въпроси \mathbf{w} ра сисоа \mathbf{r} ла. Что сътвора \mathbf{w} ре
- 46 (25 v) Множицеж же глаше, whoy сисооу Учнкь его
- 47 (261) Ре съ дръзновениемъ многомъ, шцъ сисон.
- 48 (26г) Прінде иногда авва силочанъ, и оучнкъ его дахаріа
- $52 (26r) \hat{P}_{\epsilon}$ авва фитои. Тако странствие наше, се естъ, еже дръжати оуста своа члвкоу
- 53 (26г) Ре авва еперхи. такоже лъвъ страшенъ е мнагримъ.
- $54 (26r) \hat{P}_{\epsilon}$ пакы. пость оузда есть мнихоу.
- 55 (26r) Ре пакы. соухо ю поста т'кло мних , и дшж
- 56 (26v) Ре пакы, цъломждоть мий, на демли чьстенъ бждеть.
- 57 (26v) Тъиже рече, мий недръжжи жуыка своего въ врема гисва
- $59 (26 \text{V}) \ \hat{\mathbf{P}}_{\mathbf{F}}$ пакы. Добро е гасти маса, и пити вино
- 60 (26v) Ре пакы- такоже зьмї апошыпта, въ оухш
- 63 (26v) Кы прадникъ иногда въ скитъ. и дашж
- $64~(26 \mathrm{v})$ Иногда же принесенъ $\hat{\mathbf{E}}$ ы кръчагь вина въ начжтокь, да да $\bar{\mathbf{J}}$ ж брат $\bar{\mathbf{I}}$ амъ
- 65 (27r) Бра етеръ, разгичка см на етера брата
- 66 (27r) Иде иногда ппь скитскый, кь архиейкпоч
- 69 (27r) Иде етерь старецъ, кь иномоу старцоу. и ре
- 70~(27r) Ингь етерь старець, иде кь етероу старцоу, wh же свари лющж брата
- 71 (27v) Къдъалка см етеръ бра w оутра иногда. и бра
- 72 (27v) Бъ етерь \ddot{w} старецъ, и не можаше прижти брашно
- 73 (28г) Пов'еда w оби етерек, тако в'ъсхот'евшоу емоу единож. дына стъпчести
- 74 (28r) Боа етеръ иногда иде. посътити свож сестрж
- 75 (28r) Мий сръте не пжти уръноридицж. съврати же см егоуменїа
- 76 (28v) Пріндошж иногда шин, звани феффілолі архієйкполічь
- 78 (28v) Кол'к етеръ старецъ иногда бол'куниж великож.
- 82 (28v) Старецъ етерь пости см, за м. днеи не пити воды.
- 85 (29т) Братіа въ скить придвани вышж. истребити пленицж.
- 86(29r) \hat{P}_{ϵ} старецъ, тако есть улекъ мальум. нж не \bar{w} добродътъли
- (29r) \mathbf{G}_{n}^{2} พ постниц'ร Амфілмхи како $\mathbf{\bar{w}}$ аггла $\mathbf{\bar{c}}$ щень $\mathbf{\hat{c}}$ ы. $\mathbf{\bar{c}}$ йви, $\mathbf{\bar{w}}$

 $\mathbf{E}^{\dagger}\mathbf{k}$ етерь мий, именеміть амфилихіїє-қікло праведень; и бігоуьстивь... (33v) граждікне же въси плакаашж см добраго оучителік, и истиннаго-доброе же оученії его, тії дръжжще- славмще ба сть въсікми нами. \mathbf{w} $\mathbf{\hat{x}}$ $\mathbf{\hat{c}}$ $\mathbf{\hat{r}}$ и нашеміть, ем же слава ... и дръжава вть вікны, вікоміть , амин.

(33v) ПОВЪСТИ СТЫХЬ ЁЛГЬ. БАВИ СУС:~

 $(33v)^{115}$ Пов'кда нам'ъ един'ъ \ddot{w} оф'ъ о етер'к епискуп'к. Тако wстави свое епк пьство. И иде в'ъ гра кии; и наемникъ \dot{k} ы, и работа сжеижджщимъ гра... (38г) и се пакы брань нападе егw. wh же пакы в'ъстав'ъ. иде пакы къ старцоу. с'ътвори же се старец'ъ, и не wскръби его. нж глаше емоу, в'ъсе еже на полуж егw:~

¹¹⁵John Moschos, *Pratum Spirituale*, cap. 37, PL 74 coll. 136-137. This work of John Moschos was known among the Slavs as *Sinajskij Paterik*.

Chapter 5: (35r) Пов'ести различны к'ъ оутвержению в'ъстающимъ на ны бранемъ \(\vec{w}\) любод'етанига

- 1 (35r) Ре авва антиніє; помышліся, тако имай тісло движеніє
- $2 (35r) \hat{P}$ є авва; геронтії, иже на камени. Тако $\hat{\mathbb{A}}$ оди искоусими
- $3 (35v) \hat{P}_{\epsilon}$ авва, імань коловъ. тако насыщажи см
- $4 (35 \mathrm{v}) \, \widehat{P}$ е авва, касїанъ. тако глаше намъ, $\overline{\mathrm{w}}$ уъ моиси. Добро есть не таити мысли
- 5a~(37r)~ С мысли любод канїа, выпрошень $\hat{\hat{\mathbf{E}}}$ ы авва кирь 116 аледандржиннъ
- 6(37v) Глаше авва, матои тако поїнде бо къ мін и $\hat{\phi}$ е ми
- 7(37v) $\hat{\mathbf{P}}_{\mathbf{f}}$ авва піминъ. такоже спатарії $\hat{\mathbf{P}}_{\mathbf{f}}$ ю
- 9 (37v) Прінде иногда бра къ шубу пиминоу, и гла
- 10 (37v) Боа выпроси ша пимина, любод каніа ради-
- 13 (38r) Повъдшж w матери сарръ, тако пръбы $\hat{\Gamma}$ і. $\hat{\Lambda}$ ъ.
- 14 (38r) Ръшж пакы w неи- тако належаше еи тъиже
- 15 (38r) Кратоу етероу бранъ бы й любоджаніа.
- 16 (38r) Бранъ бы иномоу братоу вь любоджани. и въста нощіж,
- (38v) + w чрънорісци, їшръ:

Вид'куть, дроугаго мжжа чюдна въ оїваїд'я. їшргь, има емоу. шуа монастырей врати, тысжщи. и шврадь им'яжщи аггелъскый. деймсатім к л'ятом сый. и врадж имы до пръсеи... (40r) толико даръ доврод'яниа им'яше такоже многыймъ и доврымъ житїемъ свож дни пр'яиде в'яше же вид'яти множьствоу чръноризець в'я цркви такоже ликъ н'якыхъ праведныхъ, св'ятлоужще см. и немлъчными ба славжще, емоу же слва в бкы ам

(40г) ЖИТЇЄ И ЖИДНЬ ПРЪПОБИГО СЭЦЯ НА

шего мар'ка афіненскаго. Жившаго вь гор'в фрачьст'ви. Сжщжж ше онь пол'ь ефіопіж. Пр'вмо жуыка. Хетенскаго. $\vec{Eh}\vec{Bi}$. О $\vec{Y}\vec{e}$:~

Пов'єда нам'ь авва серапішнь. Сжщу мії в'ьнжтрьній пустыни егупта, глм. тако в'ь с'ьн'є спыщоу ми. идо к'ь шцоу їшанну великом. и прилоучиста см два шшельника... (47v) тако да оулоучим'ь и мы млть в'ь днь страшный сждный с'ь пріїобнымь шцем'ь нашим'ь авва макарком. Иже \ddot{w} афії сказаємый. млтвами пр'єўтжж бідж, и в'ьс'єхь стыхь твой. Мко блвень еси вь в'єкы в'єком'ь амин'ь:~

(47v) ИДРЕНІЯ СТЫ ЁЩЬ ПАЧЕ ЖЕ И ПОВЪСТИ

и бес'еды сладу'еншж, и поледны з'елw. гаже в'ь кратц'е \ddot{w} многа избрахwмъ, и съписахwмъ, любве \ddot{h} ради. в'ь полеж χ шамъ, ради \ddot{k} а тъщьщим см. \ddot{k} ви о χ е:

- $(47 \mathrm{v})^{117} \, \widehat{\mathbf{P}}_{\epsilon}$ нъкто $\ddot{\mathbf{w}}$ старецъ. иже понжжаеть себе ради $\vec{\mathbf{p}}_{a}$
- (47v)¹¹⁸ Тъже ре. Еже на въсъкаа себе понжжажи.
- $(47v)^{119}$ исаїно брате, не пр'кнемагаи, в'ъ каков'єм'ъ либо троуд'є
- $(47v)^{120}$ такоже во развращень домгь, вгьнъждоу града
- (48r) \hat{P}_{ϵ} авва, антоние. Тако бул не шставитул брани
- (48r)¹²¹ Старецъ нъкто, съдъше въ пУстыни, имъж йстоаніе й воды,
- (48v) Галаше авва їшань, килийь раифоу игУже.

¹¹⁶ In Veder's description it is Father Poemen, not Kyr, see "La tradition Slave des *Apophthegmata Patrum*," 75, chapter 5, *apophthegma* 5a.

Scete Pareicon, chapter 21, apophthegma 38.

Scete Patericon, chapter 21, apophthegma 19.

¹¹⁹ Isaias, Asceticon, CPG 5555, 5:29, Veder, Хиляда години като един ден.

¹²⁰ Isaias, Asceticon, CPG 5555, 5:31, ibid.

¹²¹ Scete Patericon, chapter 7, apophthegma 38.

- $(49r)^{122}$ $\Gamma \widetilde{\text{лаше}}$ н'Екто старець \bullet ївеанинь тако адь чждw бы ереа еллиньска
- (50r)¹²³ Приїде н'Екто фівеаній. Кь авв'є сисов. хота быти мий
- $(50 r)^{124} \ \Gamma \widetilde{\text{лах}}$ ж старци. Тако аще имать кто в'крж в'ь учьсимь либи-
- $(50r)^{125}$ нії единого Убо сице ище біл. \ddot{w} новоначалных в
- $(50r)^{126} \, Y \widetilde{\text{nk}}$ k h'kkto, им'еж умди, трї. и шставль й вь град'к, иде в'ь монастыръ
- (50v)¹²⁷ \(\vec{w}\) житіа \(\tilde{c}\) тго венедикта а \(\sigma\) Н'ккогда \(\tilde{c}\) томоу венедиктоу, в'\(\tilde{c}\) своеи кели
- (51v) авва, исаїа:~ Яще старець твои посилает тж ити ніккам
- $(51 \mathrm{v})^{128}$ посла нъкто $\ddot{\mathbf{w}}$ брате Чуеника своего принести водж
- (51v) Поваеть хотмщому повиняти см ба ради
- (52r) \hat{P}_{ϵ} старецъ нъкто \hat{w} векикыхь. подобржиши есть жити съ двъма,
- (52r) Брать въпроси старца глм. помышленіе глет ми. тако млъчаніе
- (52v) Бра ніжкто вік магкчани сікдж. и прочьтік
- (53r) стто ефрема:~ Аще живеши съ братіами, не въсхощи повелъ
- (53v) Ре старець, аще немощичеши, и просиши
- (53v) $\hat{\mathbf{p}}_{\mathbf{f}}$ пакы. аще Удръжит та въ любовъ
- $(53v)^{129}$ Аввъ захарїоу, $\hat{\vec{\mathfrak{p}}}$ е нъкогда авва моиси.
- (53v)¹³⁰ Пов'кдаше авва пимин'ь, тако хотащу авв'к дахаріоу пр'яставити см.
- $(54r)^{131}$ Б $\ddot{\rho}$ а $\dot{\phi}$ е авв'х фейроу отыци ми глу, тако
- (54r)¹³² Глаше, амма фефра. такоже ни постъ
- (54r) Пакы тынже старецты ўе. тако легкое бръмы шставлъше
- (54r) $\hat{\beta}_{\epsilon}$ abba ganoie. Hech, bonih mene ecth.
- (54г) 133 Съджщимъ старцемъ нъкогда, и гаджщій, стоаше же слоужжи авва алиніе.
- $(54 \mathrm{V})^{134} \ \widehat{P}$ е пакы. Zемл'к на неиже Zaпов'кда $\widehat{\Gamma}$ к жр'ктвы творити.
- (54v) Бра прінде къ старцоу, и въпроси его глж, како еси оче.
- $(54 v)^{135} \ \widehat{P}_{\text{E}}$ авва карїшичь. Тако многы тр $^{\text{L}}$ ды сътворй
- $(54 {\rm V})^{136}$ Прінде н'екто бра, къ авв'я сісою въ горж стго антоніа.
- $(54 \text{V})^{137}$ Дроугыи б \bar{p} а въпрос \ddot{i} его \bar{r} лм. авва. видм тако па \bar{m} м \bar{u} иа
- (55r) w молитеч
- (551) Ре авва исаїа, дондеже не оумочьтват см, немощнаа чювьства
- (551) Ре авва антоніе. тако аще хощеть Улкъ, й оутра до вечера.
- (55r) Пов'еда н'екто й оцть. тако вть солоуни град'е велиц'емть
- (55v) \hat{P}_{ϵ} старецть не высткы мийскый, котив см, сп (еты) см.
- (55v) стго ефрема:~ Клаженій, възлюбившей ба. и любве ради еги, небр'ящи и вьс'я

¹²² Scete Patericon, chapter 5, apophthegma 44.

¹²³ Scete Patericon, chapter 14, apophthegma 15.

¹²⁴ Scete Patericon, chapter 14, apophthegma 20.

¹²⁵ Scete Patericon, chapter 14, apophthegma 24.

¹²⁶ Scete Patericon, chapter 14, apophthegma 28.

¹²⁷ Roman Patericon (the *Dialogues* of Pope Gregory the Great, book 2), see Josip Hamm, *Dijalozi Grgura Velikoga u prijevodu iz godine 1513* (The Dilaogues of Gregory the Great in a translation from 1513) (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1978).

¹²⁸ Scete Patericon, chapter 19, apophthegma 21.

¹²⁹ Alphabetical collection (Zacharias 3, Veder, Хиляда години като един ден.).

¹³⁰ Alphabetical collection.

¹³¹ Alphabetical collection, Theodor Pherm. 20, *ibid*.).

¹³² Alphabetical collection.

¹³³ Scete Patericon, chapter 15, apophthegma 54.

¹³⁴ Scete Patericon, chapter 15, apophthegma 55.

¹³⁵ Scete Patericon, chapter 15, apophthegma 17.

¹³⁶ Scete Patericon, chapter 15, apophthegma 62.

¹³⁷ Scete Patericon, chapter 15, apophthegma 65.

- Chapter H: (55v) Прпобнго шұй нашго Стефана Фівенскаго. Запов'еди шрекших см мира и гаже в'е мир'е, шүе, багослови: Пръвое Убо, не им'еи Убш приумщеній с'е женами, да не с'ъгориши в'е шгни ихь
- (56v) тогоже дапов'еди болшжа правы, к хотал сптса преже въсего тр'екочемъ, ц'еломждой на всако готови сжще

Chapter O: 138 (62v) Слови стго авва макаріа велікааги:~

- (62v) Пов'еда намъ авва исаїа тако с'едмщ8 ми н'екогда близоу авва макаріа и пріндошж 2. братей ї аледандріж, исквшажще его гліще, ръци намъ об'є како сібем см
- (65v) Инън бестальн стыхть $\ddot{w}\ddot{\psi}$ ть 139

 $P_{\epsilon}^{\hat{\epsilon}}$ старецть, аще наложж $\hat{\tau}$ ти на с $\hat{\rho}$ це помышленіа в'ясшве, на пость великть \hat{P}_{ϵ} їшанть златооустый, с'яджщ \hat{s} ти на убтени словесть в $\hat{\kappa}$ твный пр'яже призови ба мащи \hat{g} ты проси н'якто авва антоніа гаж, ръци ми уто съхранити могж и боу вгодити

- (661) їшана златовста Міль вы очво чьда повиночте сь егвменв тако самомоч ўоч. ефреміь— Їже повиночет сь настожщомоч агглійь повит сь злач— Моль вы очво чьдїа моїа послочшівние стьжівте: без всівкого прівкословита.
- (66v) стто буд нашего василіа велікагы Кратие истинное и съврьшенное повинование къ негоуменоу вьсжмь гавлжет см. Златооў:- Братіе възненавидите мийскым и многым и празным бестады.
- (67r) v тогоже: Молм вы оубш ойн и братіє моа и чжда любите сж дроуга. Га ради рекшагш.
 - стто ефрема:~ Иже въ ношны бъдъніхъ и мівахь вдавает см съноу
- (67v) стто оба нішо исідора. Въ еже бъдівти обем не въ нощи тъбіж гла. їш карпафії: Не глите обем ѝ братіе іако хощемъ сіїти са и не можемъ.

иныї главидныї. Стыї ЁПТь С Радличныйхь добродт

тълех покподменаго миа ніпла о матеж. Оче вувни:~

Доброд'ѣт'ѣлем'ъ доброд'ѣл'ъ быти мівж \ddot{w} б $\dot{\tilde{w}}$ твнаго писаніа наоучихом см. Наумло пр'ѣл'ъсти УмУ, т'ъщеславії

Не хоши такоже тебф непщочет см

АЩЕ ЛЮБИШИ ПОМИЛОВАТИ СМ ТАКОЖЕ ПОВАЕТЪ

Потеже меже дароваті ти см слъдамъ помли см

(68r) Касїанъ:~ Не числы псаломсымі нж пожщаго съвъстиж вънимаеть бъ.

їсаїа:~ Блюди да не мачанием в оубы мъна са.

стго максима:~ Тъло члвче црквъ е биа...

фаласії: дри Пристанище вы и спению и бъдамъ

стго ефрема:~ Слава инокоу боати см г и слукрити себе

Не понашаи братоу нестадащоу да не и тъ

Любащомоу покои тълесный въпадя емоу болъднии

Ё мжжии еже въ бестраши бжии ходащих

Феретын їж даъготръпеніа и незаобиа

«Фаласіе: — Фреченіе прьвое инокоу дъанішмъ пръмъненіе

¹³⁸ The usual title of this chapter is Накадании стукь ощь [о въздръжании и о алъчькът], cf. Veder, "Le Skitskij patrik," 59. In Krka 4 only the first utterance is presented.

¹³⁹ Veder in *Хиляда години като един ден* mentions a manuscript containing some of the following tetxs: Cod. Kiev, CBAN, DA/P, 154, Serbian, fifteenth century.

(68v) л'вствичникть: Иже мира странечьствоужи да не к том мироу прикоснет см авва исаїа: Мирь è еже мыслити w т'влесный тогожде: Съблюденіе запов'вдемь ражаеть покааніе. ніль: Вгь цркви тако на нбси ходи ефремь: Не изволивыи стоати тръп'вливно вгь събор'в тоже: Не шкличаи злы да не в'ьзненавидя теке стго ефрема: Наказоуемый и пр'вкословож побенть è коню жестокооустоу авва марко:

авва марко:~

(691) Не бжди вченикъ хвалжщаго себе

стго ефрема:~ Не хощи начжлникь быти

тоже:~ Пръкословоужи егоуменоу и неповиноуж сж емоу не оукьснить

мадимь:~ Яще досажаеши нъкомоу и въ гарость подвигнеши сж

ефре:~ Увы, кое постыдъніе пріиметь на

нй:~ Вънимаимъ себъ ѝ любимици а другы не йстецаимъ

ефремъ:~ Не побаеть спти сж хотжщоу вънимати съгръщеніемъ

карпа:~ Не исжжаи блждника аще еси цъломждръ

паладіе:~ Въ сънъди твоеи даваи уръвоу твоемоу еліко

карпа:~ Не еже късно гасти се тъуїж по естъ

касіанъ:~ Не тъуиж насыщеніе вина съвъсть упіваеть

ефремъ:~ Яще оубо по скончани бъдъніа и шбычнаго правила

ниїлъ:~ Цъломждрію мати въздръжаніе

лъствичні:~ Исъхши тинъ к тому свініамъ не оугажаєтъ

тогожде:~ Й'к бш что багостажати безь тръп'кнїа и багороднаго възръжаніа марко:~ €лико оубш в чріквоу насыщеноу ш прічеи:~ Лоуче в ажкавъ мажъ паче баготворньї жены нитаєтъ свікцж свіктилника

ефрем'ь:~

(70г) Любми бес'еды женьскым в'ьдви на себе б'еса блюднаго марко: Не ем'ем'ь в'еры помышленіем'ь нашим'ь тогоже: ОУбы, соль ї воды есть и пакы аще приближит см вод'е растап'ет л'ествичник'ь: Сё'е иноком'ь агли св'ет же члкшм'ь иночьское житіе карпа: Не едино очеш погочел'етть доброд'еттель сирахь: Добр'е очео глаше н'екто ї пр'емждры тако лочче е ефрем: Многословіє помрачаєть с'ьв'есть

(70v) карпа:~ Глати поваеть по нжжи добраа и гли къ боу ефрем:~ ОУмножажи р'кчи посф'к братій оумножаеть ненависти нійлть:~ Д'клш быти законоу непщоуи уьтеніа ефем:~ Яще уьтеши уътеній не бръзш и не пр'кмждро тьуїж уьти ниїлъ:~ Яще на д'клш ржкж подвигнеши жзыкть да поетть твои ефем:~ Не любжи бо д'клати оупражненть бжде тогоже:~ Любжи бо д'клати без скртьби пр'кбываетть Рекошж оубш ойи тако иже д'клаетть сть един'кмть б'ксомть борит сж карпа:~ Иже словесемть белиц'кмть и высшц'кмть почитаж ба

(71r) ни — Аще имаши иманіа или богатство раздан тогоже: Ничтоже ползоуеть притжжаніе тоже: Лихоимецть естть иже стажаніемть на лишаа пртветьсхода тогоже: Домоу правителть естть а не лихоимецть сира: три вещи втъзгнаша са доуша моа

авва марко:~ Въ тъще троудъ въсъмъ чакомъ

(71v) паладіє: Клажень есть иже тръпа носить ближністо тогоже: Любан болівдни віъ добродівтівлехь и троудів нійлів: Колівдінаа и скрібенаа тръпа радости великый себів родитів

СЛОКЕСА СТАРЕЧЁКАА. СЛОКО. А. БАКИ ФУЕ:~

 $\widehat{\mathbf{P}}_{\mathbf{E}}$ авва ероникъ, юнъ сыи, не оутваръи са ходити

Р пакы. юноша да не бждё въ д в ризв николиже

(72r) Ре пакы. аше идеши въ гра или въ весь

Pe пакы. аще старца въпрашаеши w помышлени своемъ

Ре пакы w смікрени. Что есть смікреніе

(72v) Ре пакы. аще которын бра на брата бес кдоует

 \widehat{P}_{ϵ} пакы, аще сътвориши себ'к книгж не вкрашаи ем скрасно, страсть бо ти несть

 $\widehat{\mathbf{P}}_{\mathbf{f}}$ пакы: аще см събладниши вь чьсомъ либо

Ре пакы, аще шклеветань бждеши й нѣко вь чьсомь либо

Р̂е авва макаріе: мачьчи вь своемь д'качь и елико можеши

Chapter M: (73r) w hoar's Loeghly's 140

- (1) (73r) Стра биїн штонить всм дловж
- (2) (73r) Четыре нрави сж мачаніа. счнабъджти запов'еди
- (3) (73r) Четыре нрави с \vec{x} иже съблюдати $\vec{\mu}$ шж свож
- (4) (73r) **Y**етыре сим нравы потръбно \hat{i} имъти на въсъкъ \hat{y} а
- (5) (73r) Четыре нрави сж помагажще новоподвижникоу
- (7) (73v) Четырми дълесы въйвижет см бля
- (8) (73v) Четырми дълесы штемичвает са оумъ
- (9) (73v) Четырми д'клесы ги'квь вьявижет см
- (10) (73v) Четырми д'клесы поуста бываеть Дша
- (11)(73v) Четыре нрави с \ddot{x} . Аже б'едно притажаваеть ч \tilde{n} вк'ь
- (12) (73 v) Конецъ же семоу всемоу еже аще слышиши, ръци
- (13) (73v) тышжи см съблюсти сїм нравьї можеть спсень быти
- (73v) Никтоже оубы вы стра не приидеты бжій и аще
- (74г) Мнови й длаго л'вненїа велми бедь исц'вленїа Сице же посф'в града живжщй и в'ь мжтежё Я немощный да в'вгаеть дльі да не т'в ради Држхать бжди, и радостенть, печаленть, и веселть Приходжщжж ти напасти, с'ь радостіж и блгодареніемть Прил'впи сж гви в'врож и любовиж См'вжи очи свои й видимы да продриши
- (74v) Да възімръзий та въсе сяще въ седмыни въкъ
- (74v) Да пріндет ти на оумъ хоужшаа, и скоро тлимаа шстави
- (74v) Поработи т'клш а дшж свободи
 Не в'ъдаваи же лейкый т'клоу плъть бо е
 Б'ъдаваи см в'ъс'кмъ скръбнымъ в'ъ вр'кмм се
 Тръп'ъ е
 жит"е се
 попобнаго исаака:~ Помышл'ки на в'ъс'к дн'ъ в'ъ что в'ъпаде

 $^{^{140}}$ Abba Isaiah, Sermon VII, περὶ ἀρετῶν, PG 40, coll. 1126-1127. The title was added in the upper margin.

Мънаи себе чиста быти ю гов

Аще въдалъ еси себе въ покааніе боу, шстави

(75r) Не вьсели см въ м̂т въ немже боу сътршилъ еси Не шкры пръдъ въсъми помышленіа своа Мко троудъ и нищета и странствіе и злостраданіе Мънъ хоудое въдъніе. Өдинож приложи шшествиа

СЛОКО СТГО СЭЦА НАШЕГО ЕФРЕМА СЭ

шпадажщихь ш свож авности и непщоужщихъ вынж w

∵ гръсъхъ. พұй бұйви:~

Брате мнишьскомоу ли житїоу похот'єл'ь еси, добру д'єлоу похот'єл'ь еси ... (79v) т'є $\hat{\tilde{m}}$ е влажен'ь мжж'ь божи сж $\vec{\Gamma a}$, тако $\hat{\tilde{w}}$ него прінміє в'єнец'ь, иже оуготова $\tilde{\kappa}$ 141 любжщіїм'ь егинако томоу побалеть в'ьс'єкла слава и поклан'єніїє:~

(79v) ПРЪПОЕНТО СЭЦА ИШГО ЕФРЕМА: САО.

л. w блаженыхъ. бави оче:~

Блаженть, иже въдненавить житте се члуьское и съ $\overline{\Gamma}$ ить единомть по \underline{V} ченте его естть ... (84v) да $\overline{\Gamma}$ лм, вть краснъмть раи, сть въсъми \overline{C} тыми. Славшцоу и \overline{C} ноу, и \overline{C} тмоу \overline{A} χοу и ниъ \overline{I} въсъм \overline{E} въкъ.

(84v) СТГ «СФРЕМА СЇРЇНА САО. ЄГА ПРЇДО

шж кть немоу братіа. Въпросишж еги и д'клесехть имы главть $\cdot \overline{\text{kb}} \cdot$ прологть:~ Блажж вашж жизнь $\hat{\chi}$ илюбци, тако блгодръзновенна $\hat{\epsilon}$. Шкаж же мож жизнть, тако непотрукна $\hat{\epsilon}$... (86г) и невъх дръжаніа ради, вънть изгнаноу быти урътога шного:~

- (86r) О страс'к бжін; глава ·а-Блажень страха биа в'ь сев'к, повинен'ь е ... (86v) в'ь мноз'к оублаз'к вина бываеть стра бии стажавшим'ь:~
- (86v) + w бестраши, глава $\cdot \vec{E}$:

 Неим'кжи страха биа въ себъ, повиненъ $\hat{\vec{E}}$... (86v) послет его въ тъмж кром'кшиж. кто оубо не wkaetь сицераци.
- (86v) ш любви, глава · г̄:

 Клажень мжжь им'вжи любов'ь бжіж ... (87v) тако б'ь любы є и пр'ябыважи в'ь любви, в'ь бэ'я
 пр'ябывает'ь.
- (87v) ⊙ неимащихь любве, глава •д̃: Ѿкаанен же и стр̂тень, ѿ любве биж далече ѿстоить ... (87v) и прѣлъщает са въ вёѣ, и не въсть шкаанны тако въ тьлеѣ ходить∴
- (88r) w дачьготръпівни. глава :- є :-Блаженть, по истин'в чакть whit. иже дачьготръпівніе стажа ... (88r) даготръпівніе віьсегда цівлитть еги-

-

¹⁴¹ Added later by another hand.

- (89r) w неимащихть трубігікній. глава. й:~ Фжаанень же и страстенть, нестажавый трубігікній ... (89v) Стажи трубігікніїе, да сіїсете см.
- (89v) w безгичкви. глава. ««:~ Клажень члкть иже неоудобть разгичкваель бываеть ... (90r) тако сего тчкло, и дша вьсегда фрава естъ.

- (91r) w лжкавств'к. глава. $\vec{\text{ві}}$:- Рыдати оубо поваєть и плакати, w неимъщій кротости ... (91v) того ради міль вы братіїє Єже хранити сь \bar{w} многословесїа:-
- (91v) w истин'в. гаа. га:~ Блажен'в иже втв истинж живо свои добре буини ... (92r) блаженть е въсегда, истин'в работажи:~
- (92r) ш лжжахть. глава. Ді́:~ Ф)каанен же, и страстенть въсегда лжжжи вынж ... (92v) т'клиже вънемл'юте братіа моа еже вынж не лъгати.
- (92v) ⊙ послоушаній : глава. єї:~ Блаженъ иже стажа себъ послоушанії ... (93r) тълже блаженъ члкъ стажавый послоушани.
- (931) ш непокоръствъ ї ш ръптани. гла. sī:~ Прокла, и шкааненъ иже послушаніе не стажа, на раптаніе ... (941) ни же съпротивъ швъщаваем имъ, ни праднословимъ:~
- (94r) о їже не им'вти зависті и ревности. Гаа. Зї:~ Клажень иже зависти и ревности не посл'вдова ... (94v) и мжжьств'в подр'яга своего радочеть см независтивыи:~
- (94v) w завистим ї w ревности. глава. йі:~

 Вть сй же себе оугазвивый шкаанень е. и стъпрічьстникть діаволоу е. ... (95v) дайе стътворите ü ва зависть. да не стъ діаволомъ, шсжжени бждете.
- (96r) Ре ста фефра. егда кто начьнё безмльётвовати. абїе лжкавый приходії Крать н'вкой непр'встан'ви мілв'в прилежж и ничтоже не д'влаж Кра в'ыпроси страца гілж. како поббает ми быти в'ь кели
- (96v) Ре пакы. мачьчаніе вть разоумік. втьставаться инока вть страхть яжин исаакть: Ре авва исаакть. стьмотри разумно w семть w брате Ре пакы ттьже старецть. аще убо не можеши безматьётвовати сфцемть

(97v) Ре авва исаакъ. Стажавы смъреніе въ своемъ сфци Ре пакы. аще съхраниши ждыкъ свои ѝ брате, ты даст ти са і ба

СКАТАГО ИСЛАКА. СЛОЖО:~

Съи е чинь целомждотьный, и болюбедный, еже не съдирати фуима само и швамо.

- (981) Болше въсъкжж добродътъли расжжение. вину же, кромъ троуда велика Съ цъломждримъ тажъ, и пи, тако е лъпо уждомъ бжиемъ.
- (98v) Иже вьей бестыджина прилежжи, странень е иночьскаго шбрада
- (99r) Аще нжжа ти бждё засміати см, то да не швмт ти см зжви Да имаши събестедника и сътаиника божщаго см га
- (99v) Лоуче е теб'т гад'ь с'ьн'тсти смортный, нежели с'ь женож гасти Небр'тжен'ь бжди, а не небр'тди; шбидень бжди, а не шбиди Да не б'ъдлюбиши дшем твоем что й миркыйхъ.
- (100т) С ласкръде, иже своемоу ищж оугодити урчвоу Бъгаи еже не оучити. ни же съписаелный цркве.
 Съ гръдымъ не съвесели см, да не възмейм стго дха дъиство й дшж твоеж Сїа наказанїа, аще съхраниши й члбче. и оупразниши себе вынж.
 стго ефрема: Въспріими млъчанїе. то бо тм избавить й многы злъ.
 Пръстани еже испытовати туждаа злаа.
- (100v) Горе неправедникоу. горе бестоудномоу. горе питажщомоу см безправды. Възлюби добржж дружинж, а ш злыж дроужины бъгаи Не възжелъи старъшина быти Дшамъ Безлобіе имъи, къ въсприжтию заповъди бжиихь Фстаи много гавъ пакостны бесъдъ Не бжди лжкавъ, и горкь изволеніемъ Безгъвие дръжи, да см не шпиеши безъ вина
- (101г) Не бываи сластолюбивъ и нерадивъ.
 - ∴ слово, по бозът поледно:
 Рече старець, тако члкъ съджи въ кели своеи и почуъж см въ
 флитурь.
 - 🔆 СЛШВЕСА ПОЛЕДНАА, СТТО ИСААКА:~ ВЪ ЕДЇНЪ УБО Ѿ АНИ, ИДОХЪ ВЪ КЕЛЇЖ НЪКОЕГО БРАТА СТА.
- (101v) Егда не можаше сътръпъти въдгоръніе пламе wного
- (102г) Бъше же мативъ и срамъжливъ съ тихостиж милоуж
- (102v) Иногда пакы ид δ кгь некоемоу \ddot{w} древних старецев, доброу и добродектелноу. И пакы $\hat{\beta}$ е ми. сгь чакомгь пржщём см, и слово свое хотм поставити в \mathring{p} хоу иного \hat{P} е некто \ddot{w} стыхь. дивам см тако слыша некцев вгь келиахь Тъже старець, $\hat{\beta}$ е слово чюдеси достоино. Вгь истинж гам
- (103г) Кыпрашай бүше тыже старець шового бра что створы тако многажи бывает ми вещу.

СТЪІ СТАРЕЦЬ ВыПРОСИ И ЁВТЕТИ ЗТАОСДЁ :~

Βυπός: κακο πόδαεττ быти инокоу вь κελί ѾΒΕ: Εжε ογκανιτία сω Ѿ γλύκαγο ραζίλια

ВЫПОО: ЧТО МЪНИТ СА БЫТИ МНИХЬ

(103v) พืชนี: ภทที่ Голжбь \hat{i} . Такоже Голжбь исходить

выпоро: Аще оубо изыдеть бра на слоужбж, и сржщё его жена швъ: брани не може оубъжати

ΒΚΠρο: -

ѿв'Ё: Ничтоже множае оуставленаго. Мнози бо хотаще быти вышедши

вьпбо: Почто не могж жити сь брато швъ: Хане ба не боиши сж

(104r) выпос: Аще събладнит ма брать, велиши ли да покаж са кь нем шет :Покаи са кь немоу

выпо : хощж мүнъ выти бга ради

выпо : Почто егда стож на матвъ, не впражнъет са оумь мои

ѿв'к: **З**ане диаволь испрыва не хот'еше поклонити см

выпо : Өкждоу сласти брашенных принашахт ми

ЁВЁ: такоже сънъднж адамоу за пать

выпо : Почто сице влядь стяжаеть чавкоу

ШВЕ: Понеже въсть диаво пако блядь на тоуждя

выпос: Како може члвкь шстин навчты бъсовьскых швъ: Икоже рыба не можеть въдбранити рыбарю

(104v) выпо Собро ли в жити вы поустыни พืช เรา Исраилт เพาะ егда по всташж พ рабо египетьскый

Continues the text of the Scete Patericon, ch. 5:

- 30 (104v) Крать выпроси старца гля. аще приключит ся члекоу выпадняти вы напасты.
- 31 (105r) Брата два изыдоста на тръгъ продати ржкод каїє свое.
- $32\,(105 {
 m V})$ Прінде иногда бра къ етероу старцоу и $\widetilde{\mbox{гл}}$ а емоу. Брат ми шскръбл $\mbox{кет}$ ма
- 33 (106г) Бра й діавола бранъ илічше и иде къ етероу старцоу
- 35(106r) Brä be kil ctarmoy uto ciltera wye. 14ko oympilmetent ma ckepilnilik
- 36 (106v) Ин же бра въпроси страца w тоиже мысли
- 37 (106v) Бра въпроси етера старца глм. Что сътворм $\overline{\text{wye}}$ тако мыслъ ми
- 38 (107г) Глахж ший тако мыслъ любод кани олов кна в
- 39 (107v) Два бра бранъ прижета й любодъаніа
- 40 (108г) Старецъ етеръ бъ въ скитъ и въпаде въ неджгь велеи
- 41 (108v) Бра етеръ искоушенъ бы ю демона любдъаніа ради
- $42\,(108 \mathrm{V})\,$ **М**нй етеръ бъ въ нижни стран $\mathring{\mathrm{a}}$ егупта и бъще именить
- 43 (109v) БратУ иномУ бы бранъ й любод Канїа. приключи же см емУ
- $44\,(110\mathrm{V})\,\Gamma$ лаше етеръ $\ddot{\mathbf{w}}$ δ іватскыхь старецъ тако адъ біх уждо нереа идолъскаго
- 45 (111v) Гаахж w етерік і старецік інко і житіа сего мира вік
- 46 (112r) Мий етей бік і древнихь и говікнісміх прікспікваж

Chapter 6: (114v) тако не поваетъ сънискати иливниа и ш лихоиманиа хранити см. блгослови оче:~

- 1 (112r) Бра нъкои фрек см простаго житиа и разда имъніе свое ницімъ
- 2 (115т) Пов'кдааше авва данилъ w оби аръсени тако прииде иногда
- 3 (115т) Бол'к иногда тьжде авва арсение вь скит'к и тр'кбоваше
- 4 (115r) Пов'едаашж w wuu агафwи'к тако евы на лета миога
- $6\,(116\mathrm{r})\,\hat{P}$ е авва евагрії тако имікше етерік $\hat{\mathbf{w}}$ братей неулії тікмо едино
- 7 (116г) Авва фефръ феремъскый имічше книгы добры

- 8 (116v) Пов'еда етеръ й старецъ о ичні їман'е перъс'енин'е тако й многых слоужбы
- 9 (117v) Пов'кдашж еттери й старец'ь тако иногда прійде еттер'ь вра носм капж малж
- $10\,(117\mathrm{v})\,\Gamma$ лаше ава исаакъ брати $^{\widehat{a}}$ тако
- $11\,(117\mathrm{v})\,\widehat{P}_{\mathrm{E}}$ пакы. Тъже исаакъ. Тако $\widetilde{\Gamma}$ лаше авва пиминь
- $14\,(118$ г) $\widehat{P}_{\mathbf{f}}$ авва касианъ тако синклітъ етеръ именемъ мнй бъ $\widehat{\mathbf{i}}$
- 15 (118r) Бр \ddot{a} въпросиста ръца $^{142} [sic]$ \tilde{r} ла что сътвора нако
- 17 (118v) Въпроша бъ стага синъклитикиа аще добро съвръшено е неиличние
- $18\,(118\mathrm{v})\,\widehat{\mathbf{P}}_{\mathbf{f}}$ ава иперхи скровище $\widehat{\mathbf{f}}_{\mathbf{f}}$ мнихоу нищета волънаа
- $19\,(118\mathrm{v})$ Б'юще етеръ $\ddot{\mathbf{w}}$ стыхъ рекомы філагръ, съи жів'юще въ нерлимъ
- 20 (119r) Въпрошенъ бы старецъ ю брата рьци ми авва слово
- 21 (119r) Старца етеръ мол'яше пріжти дааніа въ свож потр'явж
- 22 (119т) Пріндошж иногда етери й еллинъ. принесошж дааніа дати брати любве ради
- $23\ (119v)\ \Pi$ рїнде етеръ велен \ddot{w} инож страны и принесе злато
- $24\,(119\mathrm{v})$ Принесе етеръ старцоу евиданиа $^{143}\,$ гла ем
- 25 (120r) Пов'кдашж wүй w оүй етер'к градиріі 144 тако прилежно д'клааше
- 26 (120v) Бра въпроси етера старца глж. Велиши ли шче да оудръжж себъ два златика

Chapter 7: (121r) กิ่ง หี фадличных кь паматії мжжьствоу оучащь на слово. ба оує:~

- $1\,(121\mathrm{r})$ Стыи антонії сідда иногда віл пустыни и віл оуныни бы многіл
- $2\,(121\mathrm{v})$ Бра въпроси wya агатона $^{145}\,$ глм. \mathbf{z} апов'к $\mathbf{z}^{\widehat{\mathbf{n}}}$ пріиде и $\hat{\mathbf{t}}$ ми бранъ
- $3~(121 \mathrm{v})$ \widehat{P}_{E} авва аммонъ. тако, $\widehat{\mathrm{Ai}}\cdot\widehat{\mathrm{a}}$ 'к. сътвор $\widehat{\mathrm{h}}$ вь скит'в мам см ба $\widehat{\mathrm{Ai}}$ нъ
- $4 (121 \mathrm{v}) \, \widehat{P}$ е авва вїсаріїмнъ. $\widetilde{m_i}$ нощен пръкв $^\mathrm{L}$ посръдів драчна
- $5\,(121\mathrm{v})\,\widehat{P}$ е авва венїамин'ь оученикомь своим'ь пжтем'ь ц $\widehat{\hat{\rho}}$ кым'ь
- 9 (121v) Бра етерь съдъше въ скитъ единъ и съмжщаше см и иде
- 10 (122r) Въпроси тогоже шуа инъ бра глм. аще вънедаапж бжде етерь грохоть
- 11 (122r) Γ กัลงห งนุน 146 จะพื้ดห и ง พนุน ภาหาน сжщема има въ енаоч
- 12(122r) $\hat{\mathbf{P}}_{\mathbf{E}}$ авва піминъ w старци їманъ коловъ тако помоли см боу
- 14 (122v) Прінде авва великый макаріе кть шув антонію вть горж
- 15 (122v) Въдыде же иногда тъже шуб макаріе й скита въ тернатъ
- $16\ (123r)\ \Gamma$ лаше авва мафон хощж д'кланію лекькоу и пр * кыважщоу
- 17 (1231) Пов'едашж старци о ючи милид'е так живжщоу емоу иногда
- $19\,(124\mathrm{r})$ Б \ddot{p} а въпроси w \ddot{q} а пимина \ddot{r} лж тако с $\dot{\beta}$ це ми wслаблено $\hat{\epsilon}$
- $20\,(124\mathrm{r})\,\hat{P}$ е авва пакы исидоръ, предвитеръ келинскы. \hat{P} е иногда людемъ $\hat{\Gamma}$ лм
- 21~(124r) Гаше авва великын павелъ галатійскы тако мий имъж
- 22 (124г) Р є стаа сінтиклітики въ храмік швщаго житіа живжще
- $25\,(124\mathrm{v})\,\widehat{P}_{\mathrm{e}}$ пакы тако съпр k шажщей въ семъ жити и нехотжщей въ темницж
- 26(124v) $\Gamma \widetilde{\text{Max}} \times w$ emakenthu $\widetilde{\text{Met}}$ capoth. Tako bray otkim notkem which, $\widetilde{\text{Met}} \cdot n \tilde{\text{Ke}}$.
- 27a (125r) Ре авва еперхіи пів Дховнаа да бывает ти віл оустів пооученіе
- 27b~(125r) сказаніє же сего $\hat{\epsilon}$ тав'я пжтий сть бр'яменемть троуждаж см
- 28 (125r) Ре пакы тако дбить намъ пръже напасти въмржжати см
- $29a\ (125r)\ \hat{P}_{\epsilon}$ старець. аще прінд \bar{x} чакоу напасти \bar{w} въсждоу
- 29a (125r) Бра етерь бъше въ келіахь и прінде на него напа

¹⁴² Most probably it should be старъца.

¹⁴³ дагания in Veder, "La Tadition Slave," 77.

¹⁴⁴ градари, *ibid*.

¹⁴⁵ антонию, *ibid*.

¹⁴⁶ Without preposition, it is omitted probably.

- 30 (125v) Пакы глаше тъже старецъ тако сего ради не співет см намъ спение
- 32 (125v) Пріндошж етери въ пУстына къ щоў великоў и рекошж
- 33 (125v) Глауж тако древній старци не скоро прекуожалуж й мексть свой
- 34 (125v) Бра ое етеру старцоу что сътвора тако помышленіа шскръблівят ма
- 35 (126r) Въпрошень бы старець, почто мелаб'яж с'яда в'ь кели своеи
- 36 (126г) Етера ѿ старец мол'яхж братіа пр'ястати ѿ великы троудов'я
- 37 (126v) Бра въпроси старца глж. тако помышленіа моа глоумат см дл'я
- 38 (126v) Старець етерь съдъше въ пУстыни имъше йстолніе воды
- 39 (127г) Гаахж старци тако аще приключить ти см напасть на м'кст'в идеже
- 40~(127r) Брать етерь бъще вь мбщёжити и бъще безмачьбникь
- 41 (127г) Брать выпроси старца глж: что сьтворм оче тако не дълаж ничьсоже
- 45 (127v) Брать вы мжүй мыслиж своеж тако хощж штити ш жилища своегш
- $47\,(127\mathrm{v})\,\Gamma$ лаше етерь о ни $\hat{\mu}$ е ладар $\hat{\kappa}$ тако не wegettaель ни единого делж добра
- 48 (127v) Бра прफ्रहार्ड, रू. Лफ бранъ пріємаж, хотм изыти й общаго житіа
- 49 (128r) Бра етерь въпаде въ напа и ѿ скръби погоуби мнишьскый канонь
- 46 (128v) Рече старець келїа е мних пешь вававулоска [sic]
- $50\,(128\mathrm{v})$ Ин же старець, етерь б $^{\rm t}$ и часто бол $^{\rm t}$ ше
- 51 (128v) Рече старець тако иногда етерь бра (...)
- 52 (129г) себе, дарова же ему бъ въ сеи нощи
- 53 (129v) Кол'к иногда старець въ келиа и единь жив'кше
- 54 (130г) Ре старець, аще постигнет тм неджгь тълесный то не прънемагай
- 56 (130г) Повъдааше й обь, етерь бал. тако съджщоу ми въ аледандри
- 57 (130v) Бра въпроси етера старца гъм. аще есм на мъстъ и піндё ми скръбъ

Chapter 9: (131r) เสหอ ที่พี่ธละ ชุดลหนาย с. и หม่ единого осжжати. слово. ธภัยน. พ $\widetilde{\gamma}$ е:~

- 2 (131г) Съгрукши бра иногда, и шлжуенъ бывааше поповскаго сана
- 5 (131r) Приїде иногда авва исаакть вть шпщее житїе и видть брата
- 7 (131г) Събладни см иногда бра въ скит и бывшоу събору
- 8 (131v) Въпроси авва имсіфъ мца пимина глм рьци ми мує
- 9 (131v) Бра въпроси тогоже старца пимина глм. аще вижж
- 10 (131v) Събладни см иногда бра въ мпщеемъ жіти бъще же въ тій мікстій
- 11 (151v) Бра въпроси wа пимина \tilde{r} ла уто сътвора авва тако стжжаж си
- 13 (151v) Вы иногда събору [sic] въ скитъ и гладж ший и събладнившим см
- 14 (1321) Рече авва пафноутії тако иногда иджий ми пжтемъ
- 15 (132r) Ре старець не шсжжан любод вицж аще еси ц вломждрънь
- 16 (1321) Попъ й причьта прінде къ ишелникоу етеру
- 18 (132v) Кыста два брата велика житіемъ въ шпщемъ жити и повиста см шба
- 17 19 (133r) Мжжъ стъ вид'я брата етера съгрчашивша и плакав см горко и рече

Chapter 10: (133v) w расмотрени $\widehat{c_{NO}}$ $\widehat{b_{NE}}$ wie

- $1\,(133\mathrm{v})\,\widehat{P}$ е авва антиніе, тако с $\widehat{\mathbf{x}}$ етери сътерше своа т'клеса пощеніем ь
- 2 (133v) Братіа етера пріндошж къ шубу антинію възв'ястити емоу вид'яніа
- 3 (133v) Бъше етерь ловець въ пУстыни и ловъще звърм дивіж
- 4(134r) Бой бе шүбү антонію помли са w ми \pm
- 5(134r) $\hat{\mathbf{P}}$ е пакы авва антоніе тако $\hat{\mathbf{E}}$ не wctabaketh брани
- 7 (1341) Ре авва евагрії влаженому арсению како мы толика накаданіа съв'ємы
- 8 (134v) Глаше блаженый арсеніе тако страненъ мий въ уюжей демли
- 9 (134v) Въпроси авва макаріе шца арсеніа глм. добро лі е еже не им'яти никомуже
- $10~(134 \mathrm{v})$ Глааше авва данїилъ тако егда хоттьше оумръти
- $11~(134 \mathrm{v})$ Пов'еда нам'ь авва петр'ь Чуеник'ь о $\overline{\mathrm{q}}$ а лота тако $\overline{\mathrm{k}}$ 'е иногда в'ь кели $\overline{\mathrm{w}}$ $\overline{\mathrm{q}}$ а

- 12(139r) Глахж w от агафинк ыко пріндошж етери къ немоу
- $13\text{-}14\ (139\mathrm{V})$ Въпрошенъ бы тъиже авва агафинъ что $\hat{\epsilon}$ более
- 15 (139v) Тъиже авва агафинь събору бывшоу въ скуть и етерь вещі
- $16\,(139{
 m v})\,\hat{P}$ ะ пакы тъиже авва агафинъ аще гнъвливъ м $\hat{\vec{p}}$ ъвца въск \hat{p} сить
- 47 (139v) Бра въпроси шца макаріа гля како щжж ми полды
- 19 (137г) Глахж w етеръ старци тако сътвори . н. ль ни хажба гады ни воды скоро
- 20 (137v) Пов'кда етерь бием'ь тако в'кше старец'ь етер'ь в'ьстайлив'ь
- $22\,(137\mathrm{v})\,\Gamma$ лаше авва даніилъ тако елико т'кло силн'кет'ъ толико дша лив'кв'кеть
- 21 (137v) Глахж w оби данійлік вік скитік тако егда прійдошж варвари
- 23 (1351) Пов'кдааше т'ъже авва даніна тако егда б'яше в'ь скит'я авва арценіе
- 24 (135r) Прінде въ начатців своемъ авва евагрії къ етерУ старцоу и гла емоу
- 25 (135v) Ре авва евагрії оуму Убо плаважщи съставліветь уктеніе
- 26 (135v) ИджщУ иногда шиоу ефремУ и се едина любодъица
- $52 (138r) \hat{P}_{E}$ авва пиминъ хощж улка съгръщажща и кажща сж
- 38 (1381) Въпроси иногда авва пиминъ юща їмсифа гля что сътворя мує
- 39 (138v) Пріндошж иногда минси ераклиевъсти, къ шцоу ишсифу и се имъще
- 40 (138v) Бра въпроси $w\overline{u}$ а їосіфа и \widetilde{r} ла емоу уто сътвора тако ни страдати могж
- 44 (136г) Глаше авва исаакъ оївеанинъ брати не приносите само
- 45 (136г) Въпроси иногда авва логінъ шуа лукіа ш трієхъ польшленіхь
- $48 (136r) \hat{P}_{\epsilon}$ авва макаріє 147 аще помічнеміч длаа приносимаа наміч
- $49\,(136\mathrm{v})\,\widehat{P}_{\mathrm{F}}$ авва маттои не въсть сотона коеж сътім побъжена бываеть $\widetilde{\mathrm{Ama}}$
- 50 (136v) Повъдашж w wun натиръ оученици wua силвана гако егда съдъвше въ хыжи
- 51 (136v) Бра въпроси ища пимина глм. тако магьва ми е на мексте
- 53 (140т) Пріндошж иногда попове мирьстін въ монастыръ идеже бъ бідъ пиминъ
- 57 (140v) Бра въпроси шца пимина глж. тако сътвпри гре великъ
- 58 (140v) Въпроси же его авва аммонъ w мыслех нечистыхъ
- 59 (140v) Въпроси его аваа исаїа w томъже словеси
- 60 (140v) Въпроси его инъ бра w томъже словеси
- 61 (141г) Въпроси его авва ишсиф. како побаетъ шуе постити см
- $64\,(141\mathrm{r})$ Въпроси $\mathrm{w}\overline{\mathrm{u}}$ а пимина бра $\mathrm{\tilde{r}}$ ла уто, сътвора тжгот t сеи w дръжащ $\mathrm{\tilde{u}}$ а ма
- $65~(141 \mathrm{r})$ $\widehat{\mathbf{P}}_{\mathbf{E}}$ пакы авва пимингь не въходи вгь муссто идеже видиши етеры ръвен $\widehat{\mathbf{E}}$
- $62\,(141\mathrm{V})$ Бра въпроси его $\widetilde{\Gamma}$ лм. Wye авва аще въпаднетъ кто улкъ
- 66 (141v) Бой пойнде кть шцоу пимину глм. настваж нивж
- 70 (142r) Бра дроугын въпроси его глм. почто оудел вважт ми похоти
- $71~(142 \mathrm{v})~\widehat{P}$ е пакы тъиже авва пиминъ тако добро бывалъство оуби оучитъ члка
- $72\,(142\mathrm{v})\,\widehat{P}$ е пакы тъиже пиминъ, тако чакъ Уча и не твора имже оучитъ
- 75b (142v) $\hat{\mathbf{P}}$ е пакы тако $\hat{\mathbf{E}}$ үлкты и мынан са магыча с $\hat{\mathbf{p}}$ це емоу
- $76 (142 \text{V}) \hat{P}_{\epsilon}$ пакы тако аще с \bar{x} түйе вулкоупу и едінул оубо безьмауь втвовати
- 77 (142v) Р пакы длоба николиже длобж штонит
- 78 (142v) \hat{P}_{ϵ} пакы нѣ мий хУлникъ. нѣ мий творми въздаанїа
- 81 (1431) Бра прінде къ штоу пиминоу, и бе емоу шче иногда помышленіа имамъ
- 86 (1431) Бра въпроси ища пимина, шуб аще вижж вещъ велиши ли да рекж би
- $90\,(143r)$ Бра въпроси \overline{w} уа пимина \overline{r} ла тако тъщета ми бываетъ w о \overline{y} и моемъ
- 91 (143v) Въпроси шца пина авраамъ оученикъ шца агафина
- 92 (143v) $\hat{\mathbf{p}}_{\epsilon}$ авва пиминъ, тако бр $\tilde{\mathbf{a}}$ въпроси w $\tilde{\mathbf{q}}$ а моисеа како можетъ улкъ
- 93 (144г) Бра въпроси шта пилина гла ште како поваеть съдъти въ кели
- $94\ (144r)$ Прїндоста иногда, $\widetilde{\mathbf{e}}\cdot$ брата къ wyoy пиминоу въпроси его единъ ею гла
- $95~(144 \mathrm{v})$ Бра въпроси старца памвона $\widetilde{\epsilon}$ лм почто въдбран k ят ми б t си

¹⁴⁷ Рече нъкто wuth великть in Veder, "La Tadition Slave," 80.

- 96 (144г) Ре авва паладіе. побасть дши постмиї см ба ради
- 97 (1451) Глаше етеръ й старецъ чко въпроси ища сісма гла
- 98 (145r) Бра $\hat{\phi}$ е whoy сісшоу шує почто не шхода \hat{w} мене похоти
- 99 (145г) Прінде етеръ бра къ шцоу силоуану въ горж синанскжж
- $102\,(145\mathrm{v})\,\widehat{P}$ е стаа синкайтики естъ печаль поледнаа и естъ печаль
- 103~(146r) $\hat{\mathbf{P}}_{\mathbf{E}}$ пакы добро оубо $\hat{\mathbf{E}}$ еже не прогн'квати см
- $105 (146r) \hat{P}$ е пакы тако $\hat{\epsilon}$ и \hat{w} врага пощен \hat{e} прострукто
- 107 (146v) Пріндоста иногда два старца шшелъника велика й страны пилусінскых
- $108\,(146{
 m V})\,\hat{P}$ е пакы мти сарра. аще пом \hat{h} м $\vec{\hbox{в}}$ ви да вьси ч $\vec{\hbox{n}}$ ци приим $\vec{\hbox{m}}$ изв $\vec{\hbox{w}}$ шен $\vec{\hbox{i}}$ е
- $109\,(146\mathrm{v})\,\hat{P}$ е авва иперхи. пр $^{\mathrm{t}}$ кмждр $^{\mathrm{t}}$ $\hat{\epsilon}$ в $^{\mathrm{t}}$ истинж иже словомь не Чүить
- 110 (146v) Пріїнде иногда етерь мий римачанин ромъ
- $111\,(148\mathrm{V})\,\Gamma$ й же старець й потръба въ тъхъ словесехъ
- $112\,(148{\rm V})$ Къпроси етеръ бра wул аще искврънчавает см кто
- $122\,(149\mathrm{r})\,\widehat{P}$ е старецъ тако иногда етерь б \overline{p} а въпаде въ ташкыи гр \overline{k}
- 136 (150г) Бра въпроси старца гля шче се мля старця и глят ми
- 138 (150r) Бра секдм и безуммименствоваше и пріхождааху [sic] демони
- $150\,(152r)$ те с нами етеро връма. Аще ли же не можете
- 152 (152r) Бой въпроси старца \widetilde{r} ла аще приключит ми си, wtaготити ми са \widetilde{w} съна
- 163 (1521) Бра въпроси мала мниха глж добро ли е млъчати
- 165 (1521) Гааше старець етерь тако егда събирахом см въ начмтокъ

(152v) ЖИТЇЄ И ЖИ**Z**NЪ ПРЪПОБНАГО ФІДА НАШЕГО ЄФРОСЇНА ПОВАРА. БАТОСЛОВИ, ФУЄ:~

Оты оубо, иже въ стыхь \ddot{w} нашъ ефросінъ въ веси нъцъи роди см \ddot{w} еврноу родителю, и въ невъждъствъ въспитанъ ... (155v) бъгаж улумскыж славы. Мы же сіа слышавше, вь велицъ оужасъ быхwarъ. Олышавше и благословжще wца и сна и стго χ а. ннінъ и присно и въ въкы въкоатъ. Аминъ.

Chapter 10 continues:

- 170 (155v) Сънидошж иногда мниси й егупта въ скить. посътіти страцм
- 172~(156ר) \mathbf{K} פּדפּף \mathbf{k} ששׁבּ וו הּגּוֹ אַחאוֹ. אַהוֹפּ כיגדאַספְּע כּפּהפּ דאַה רֹאַה
- 173 (156v) рішж же старци аще видиши юношж възладмща на йви
- 174 (156 V) Бра етеръ $\hat{\phi}$ е старцоу велику. Хошж муе мбръсти старца по воли моен
- 175 (156v) Два брата приснаа единороднаа пріїндоста в'в мнишьство
- 191 (157r) Ре старецъ порци книгы сътворишж и пріндошж ющи наши
- 192 (157r) Γ лахж старци кок \forall ль хнаменіє $\hat{\epsilon}$ нехлобію
- 192а (157г) Прінде иногда авва аммонъ, на етеро міжето въкоченти съ братіами
- 192b (157v) Въпроси авва агафий шуа алониа, глж шуб хошж оудръжати жуыкь свои

Chapter 11: (157v) тако не ві подобаєть въдроу быти w въсемъ. багослови, ·wye:~

- 4 (1581) Бра въпроси ища арсеніа, слышати слово й него
- 5(158r) \hat{P} е пакы тъже авва арсенїе аще $\vec{\epsilon}$ а въдыщемъ гавит см намъ
- $8-10~(158r)~\widehat{P}$ е авва агафин. подобаеть мнихоу вьсегда не иставй свож съвъсти
- 11 (158v)Р ${
 m hay}$ ж 148 о w ${
 m h}$ и а $^{
 m h}$ мон'к тако егда ид'кше в $^{
 m h}$ ц ${
 m p}$ кв $^{
 m h}$
- 12 (158v) глаше авва амион wyy анчичви въ начитућ како мм види
- 13~(158v) \hat{P} е авва алоніи. Тако аще не $\hat{\vec{p}}$ еть члкть вть с $\hat{\vec{p}}$ ци своемть

¹⁴⁸ Obviously instead of raayx.

- $14\,(158\mathrm{v})\,\widehat{P}$ е пакы. тако аще хощё чакь, тw до $\widehat{\mathrm{g}}$ ера хощё быти въ прасать бии
- $15~(159 \mathrm{r})$ Авва серапішнъ 149 оумираж рече. Длъженъ есть быти мнй
- 16 (159r) Иджше иногда авва данїилъ и авва аммонъ въкоупъ
- 17 (1591) Ре авва евагрії. Велико Е беспечалії матівж дівати
- $18~(159 \mathrm{r})$ Тъиже $\hat{\beta}$ е. помни вынж днь исхода твоего
- $35~(159r)~\widehat{P}$ е авва фешна $^{150}~$ сыи въ енафік тако аще вълчкнить бъ
- 36(159r) \hat{P}_{ϵ} авва фешна зане оупразни са оумъ нашъ
- 37 (159r) Пріндошж иногда етери ї братім искУсити шца ішана.
- $38\,(159\mathrm{V})\,\Gamma$ лахж пакы w томьже їшан'я колов'я тако плет'яше пленицж
- 40 (159 V) $\hat{\textbf{P}}_{\textbf{E}}$ πακμί ϊψανία κολοβία πακό αζα πόπενία εςλία υλίκον
- 41 (159v) Старець етерь віше віь скитік віьстанивіь оубо віь пліьтьское
- $44\,(160\mathrm{v})$ Бра въпроси шуа $\ddot{\mathrm{u}}$ имана $\ddot{\mathrm{r}}$ лм что сътворм $\ddot{\mathrm{o}}$ че тако множицеж етерь бра
- $46~(160 \mathrm{v})$ \hat{P}_{ϵ} авва исидоръ попъ скитьскый. Азъ е \hat{r} а $\hat{\mathbf{f}}$ ъ юнъ
- 48 (160v) Пов'кдааше авва касїан'ь, w старци етер'к с'кдащи в'ь поустыни
- 55 (161r) Иде иногда авва пиминъ. егда б'к юнъ къ етероу старцоу
- 56 (161v) Поїнде иногда, авва аммонъ, къ шоў пиминоў
- 57 (161v) Въпрошенъ бы авва піминъ w скврънаў и ўе
- 58 (1621) Глауж о шүй пиминч тако егда хотчыше изыти на пчийе
- $59\,(162\mathrm{r})\,\widehat{P}_{\mathrm{E}}$ авва пиминъ тако въпроси етеръ $\mathrm{w}\widehat{\mu}$ а пасиа $\widehat{\Gamma}$ лм
- $62~(162r)~\widehat{P}$ е пакы авва пиминъ тако аще сътвори \widehat{r} чакъ, ново ябо
- 65~(162 r) Въпроси иногда w q a петра, оученикъ w q a лота, $\tilde{r} n m$
- $60~(162\mathrm{v})$ \hat{P} е авва пиминъ пакы тако наумтокъ, и кончина $\hat{\epsilon}$ стр $\hat{\delta}$ гнъ
- 67 (162v) Бра въпроси шца сісоа глм. шче хощж сфце свое
- 68 (163г) Съджиоу иногда старцоу сілоуаноу, въ горъ сінаистъи
- 69 (1631) Въпроси авва моиси, ща силоуана гла. Шче может ли члкъ по вьса дни
- 70 (1631) Въпросишж иногда братіа, шуа сілУана глжще. кое д'кло д'клалъ еси
- 71 (163r) $\hat{\mathbf{P}}_{\mathbf{f}}$ авва серапішнъ, такоже патаріе ц $\hat{\mathbf{p}}$ ти
- $72 (163 \text{V}) \hat{P}_{\epsilon}$ стаа синклитики. Умда. Въси вълы како с \hat{i} ти см
- $74\,(163\mathrm{v})\,\widehat{P}_{\mathrm{E}}$ пакы. тако попаетть на демоны въмржжати см
- $75 (163v) \hat{P}$ е пакы. не имамы \hat{z} е бес печали быти
- 76(164г) \hat{P}_{ϵ} авва иперхіи, помышленієм вынж бываи въ ц $\hat{\epsilon}$ тви
- 77 (164r) $\hat{\mathbf{P}}_{\epsilon}$ пакы. животь минуоу, по подобъствій а $\tilde{\mathbf{P}}_{\epsilon}$ льскоу да бываєть
- $78~(164 r)~\hat{P}$ е авва арсеніе. тако аще не съхранії чакть, сфца своего добръ
- 81 (164v) Приїде етерь ї старецть, кть ином старцоу и глівста межоу собож
- 91 (164v) \widehat{P}_{ϵ} старець. Тако покаеть минху, по въсж вечеры, и по въсж очтра
- 92 (165r) \hat{P}_{ϵ} старецъ. Тако иже изгоубить (кто) год зато, или сребоо
- 93 (165r) Глаше старець. тако не побавше скръбъти ни w чесомже
- 94 (165r) Ре старецъ. такоже воинъ, и ловець, иджще на бранъ
- 95 (165r) \hat{P} е старець. такоже не можеть, шбид'кти никто стожщаго оу $\hat{\mathbf{qp}}$ 'к
- $96\ (165r)\ \hat{P}$ е старець. тако поваеть члку хранити дъло свое
- $97\,(165\mathrm{v})\,\widehat{P}_{\mathrm{E}}$ старець $\widehat{\mathbf{w}}$ мала д'кла и до велика еже сътвор $\widehat{\mathbf{u}}$ кто
- $98 \, (165 \mathrm{v}) \, \hat{P}_{\epsilon}$ старець спащоу ти или въстажщ ξ или етероу что творащоу
- $100\,(165\mathrm{V})$ Бра въпроси старца что сътвора $\mathrm{w}\widetilde{\mathrm{y}}$ е за леность мож
- $101\ (165\mathrm{V})\ \mathrm{K\ddot{p}a}\ \mathrm{\dot{q}e}$ етероу старцоу не вида шуе никоем брани въ с $\mathrm{\dot{q}}$ ци
- 102 (165v) Глауж w етеръ старци тако егда глауж ему мысли

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¹⁴⁹ висарионъ in Veder, "La Tadition Slave," 83.

¹⁵⁰ феодоръ, синапъ, *ibid*.

¹⁵¹ Added later.

- $103~(165 \mathrm{v})$ $\widehat{\mathbf{P}}$ е старецъ \cdot аще вънмтрънїи нашъ чакь не вънимаетъ
- $104\,(165\mathrm{v})\,\Gamma$ лахж старци \cdot тако три сжть силы сотонины
- $105\,(165 \mathrm{v})\,\widehat{P}$ е старецъ \cdot маљуаніе дръжи и ни w чьсомже см пеци
- $106\,(165\mathrm{v})\,\widehat{P}$ е старецъ. тако сотона, жже плетець $\widehat{\mathfrak{e}}$ и елико подаваеши
- $107\,(165\mathrm{v})\,\widehat{\mathbf{P}}$ е старецъ. етероу братоу. Дїаволъ $\widehat{\mathbf{t}}$ врагъ а ты еси храмъ
- 108 (166v) Глаше етерть й старецть, тако ега дакрыжтть волоу 6чи
- 109 (166v) ОУпрадни см ереи въ скитъ и шбита оу етера старца
- 110 (1671) Глахж старци тако въ горъ шуа андоніа съдъше д, мжжен

Chapter 12: (167r) เสหง ทงдобаєть въсегда คั้งเขา са съ бъдростиа $\hat{\epsilon}$ би $\hat{\mathbf{w}}$

- $1\,(167\mathrm{r})\,\Gamma$ лахж w оүй, арсени тако въ с $\hat{\mathbb{R}}$ тж верь, иставачаще слице да собож
- 2 (167r) Въпросишж братіа шұа агафина гажще коа реть е въ жити шүе
- 3 (167v) Пов'кда авва, доласеи оученик' wya висарішна гла
- 4(167v) \hat{P}_{ϵ} старець евагрие, аще стжжаеши см млм см и съ трепетомъ
- $5\,(168\mathrm{r})\,\widehat{P}$ е пакы тъже евагріе. Єгда ти брані наиджть на с $\widehat{\rho}$ це
- 6 (168r) Нарчковано бы баженомоу епіфанію кипръскомоу
- 7 (1681) Прінде иногда шуїт моуси, на ръвеникъ почръпьсти водж
- $8\ (168 r)\ P_{\epsilon}$ авва исаїа попъ пілоусінскый сътворишж иногда братіа любовъ
- 9(168v) Прінде \ddot{w} цть лотть, кть $w\ddot{q}$ оу иwси ϕ оу и $\dot{\tilde{p}}$ е елюу, $w\ddot{v}$ е
- $10\,(168\mathrm{v})$ Пріидошж иногда къ шұбу лоукію, етери мниси, рекоміи евкітъне
- 11 (1691) Въпросишж етера браїа шуа макарїа глаще, како длъжни есмы шує
- 13 (169r) Γ лахж w ойн, дифии 152 тако аще не скоро ржить свои сведтьше
- 17 (169v) Прінде иногда етерь старецъ въ горж синанскжж
- $18\,(169\mathrm{v})$ Пов'кдашж братіа глаще. тако идох $^{\widehat{m}}$ иногда к'ъ старцем'ъ
- $16~(170 {
 m r})$ Глаше етерь $\ddot{
 m w}$ старець. Такоже невъзможно $\hat{
 m e}$ комоу видъти лица своего
- 15 (170г) Глаше старець, тако подобаеть матеж джати часто, понеже матеа

Chapter 13: (170r) іако подобаєть странникыї приємати, и съ кротостиж миловати. Wye, благослови:~

- 1 (170г) Идошж иногда етери шүй, къ шүбү їшсіфоч въ панеф
- 2(170v) \hat{P}_{E} авва касїанть тако идох $\hat{\vec{w}}$ вть егупеть $\hat{\vec{w}}$ палестины
- 3~(171r) \hat{P}_{ϵ} пакы тако идох $\hat{\vec{w}}$ иногда къ иномоу старцоу и сътвори намъ оучръжен $\ddot{\vec{\epsilon}}$ ен $\ddot{\vec{\epsilon}}$ е
- 4(171v) Дана $\vec{\text{в}}$ иногда, запов'єдть вть скит'є тако постити см н $\hat{\epsilon}$ лм єдинж
- 5 (171v) Бра прінде къ шубу пиминоу, по двоу нёлю поста
- $6\,(171\mathrm{v})$ Бра етеръ, $\hat{\beta}$ е къ шүбү пиминоу. аще дам братоу моемоу
- 7(172r) Ин же бра въпроси его \widetilde{r} ла ръци ми \widetilde{w} е слово
- 8 (172r) Бра приде къ етероу шшелникоу егда же пакы изыде **w** него
- 9 (172v) Өшелникъ етеръ, живъше близь монастыръ имъше житїе велико
- 10(172v) $\Gamma \widetilde{\text{лад}}$ ж w етер'к старци, в'ь сиріи іако жив'єше в'ь поустыни при пжти
- 11 (1731) Пріндоста иногда два брата, къ етеру старцоу шбычан же имъще
- $13\ (173r)\$ Мий етергь \bullet ївеанингь имікше слоужебный даргь $\ddot{\mathbf{w}}$ $\vec{\mathbf{e}}$ а
- 14(173r) Мий 153 етерь им'кше брата проста людина сжща да елико д'клааше бр \ddot{a}
- 15 (1741) Старець етеръ съдъше съ етеромъ братомъ въкоупъ

Chapter 14: (174v) พ ธภิжหาหา กอดาชิเมลทน, $\widehat{c_{n}}$ 0, พ $\widehat{v_{r}}$ 1 ธภิธิน:~

2 (174v) Блаженыи авва арсенїе ў иногда шубу александроу егда не достанет ти таліа

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¹⁵² сисон in Veder, "La Tadition Slave," 84.

¹⁵³ **Ö** нихъ, *ibid.*, 85.

- 3 (175т) Прінде і і і авраамъ, къ ші оу арін и съджщема въкоупъ
- 4 (175v) Пов'едладж w оби їшан'є колов'є тако иде к'ь фівеаниноу старцоу
- 11(175v) Γ лахж w ойн сілоуан'к тако им'кше в'ь скит'к оученика именем'ь марка
- 12 (176г) Въниде иногда мти видъти марка сна своего въ скитъ
- 14 (176v) Пріндошж иногда четыре скіттене къ влаженомоу шйоу памвоу
- $15~(177 {
 m r})$ Прінде иногда етерь къ шубу сисобу бівеніноў, хота быти мий
- 19 (177r) $\hat{\mathbf{P}}_{\mathbf{f}}$ авва иперхи тако съсждъ $\hat{\mathbf{f}}$ мних послочшаніе имъжи истинное
- $20~(177r)~\Gamma$ лахж старци ыко аще кто иматъ върж къ комоу
- 21 (177v) Гаахж старци тако се ищеть бъ й въсъкого хрістіанина
- 23 (177v) Бра въ скупт живъше и единож поиде на жжтвж иде къ великоу шйоу
- 13 (1781) Бъше мжжь етерь простъ и дъло въренъ и прииде къ што пиминоу
- 24 (178v) Глахж старци тако ничтоже иції біл ш послівднихь
- 25 (178v) Старець wшелникть иливше себть слоугж живтьше вть веси
- 27 (179v) Два брата приснаа пріндоста въ монастыръ хотмща жити тоу
- 28 (180r) Инъ етеръ прость мжжъ имъше трое штроумть въ градъ и шстави ихъ
- 29a~(180v) \hat{P}_{ϵ} старецъ тако съдми въ послоушани wya ахвиаго
- 29b (181r) третій чинъ живый въ поустыни и не вида чака
- 29с (181r) Сего ради оубо w чада добро бываеть послоушаніе га ради

Chapter 15: (181v) w см'крен'ки мядрости, словш. шүе багослови:~

- 1 (181v) Авва андоніє троуждаж см кть глжбинть бил сжда- и втыпроси глм- ги-
- 2(181v) \hat{P}_{ϵ} abba ahawnie kie whoy пилиноу тако се $\hat{\epsilon}$ arao beanko чакоу
- 3 (181v) Ре пакы старець андоніє вид'й въсм с'юти неприаднины на демли простръты
- 4 (181v) Пріндошж иногда старци къ шуот андонію и бікше и шуб ішсифъ
- 5 (1821) Пріндошж иногда къ шйоу арсенію демони въ келіж его
- 7 (1821) Въпрашажщоу иногда шуоу арсенію етера старца егіпт книна ш своихь
- $8 (182v) \Gamma \widetilde{\text{ла}} \chi x$ старци тако дано вы прати въ скіть по малоу смокъвъ
- 9 (182v) Глахж старци о ший арсени шко не въдможе никтоже постигнжти
- 10а (182v) Съдащоу томоуже биоу арсенію иногда въ нижни страна
- 10b (183v) Хотащоу же арсенію оумр'яти и смятиста са оученика его
- 10с (184г) Слышав же авва пимиминъ зі тако оуспе арсеніе и прослъдив см
- 11 (184r) Повъдааше данїнать w немъ тако никанже не коттеше что глати
- 12 (184v) Пов'едлаше туп тимить тако туп анчет и туп пиминть и проучел ею братіл
- 13 (185у) Глауж w оци аммон'я тако пріндошж еттери исправление прижти ї него
- 14~(185v) ที่อุ้นแพ พบุ๊อง กลพอุ๊เอ พ ะก็เหาน พหตะหน หุตัตรานหาน เสหอ
- 15 (186r) Ре авва данійль тако бікше віх вавилонік етера покоиника діхщи
- 16(186v) \hat{P}_{ϵ} авва евагріє начатокь $\hat{\epsilon}$ спінію своа сьв'ясть
- 17(186v) \hat{P}_{ϵ} авва карішнъ тако многы троуды плътьскых сътворй
- 18 (186v) Съдащоу инога шиоу захаріи въ скітт и пріиде на него видъніе
- $19\ (187\mathrm{r})\ \dot{P}_\mathrm{f}$ авва моиси къ братоу **z**ахаріи что да сътворм ръци ми
- $20\,(187\mathrm{r})\,\widehat{
 ho}$ е авва пиминъ тако въпроси $\widehat{\mathrm{w}}\widehat{\mathrm{q}}$ ъ мои си брата $\mathrm{zaxap}\widehat{\mathrm{m}}$ ъ егда хотъше
- 20а (1871) Бра въпроси шца пимина глм. что да сътворм
- 31 (187v) Блаженый фемфілъ архіеппъ, прійде иногда въ горж нитрійскжж
- 32 (187v) OV прадни см иногда авва фефръ, гаджще съ братіж и по гаденіи же
- $33 (187v) \Gamma \tilde{\text{Max}} x$ w томьже พบุท จะพื้วห เสเจ ธนี้ สูเลหงทาง หาง скитть и не хоттыше
- $34\,(188r)\,\widehat{P}_{\epsilon}$ авва їшанть коловть тако врата бил с $\widehat{\mathbf{x}}$ сливрение и шуй наши
- 35 (1881) Ре пакы см'вренаа мждбю и стра бжін выше есть в'ьс'вкыж доброд'вт'вли
- 36 (1881) Ре нъкын 🕏 оївандскы старець тако дальженть е мий пръже въсего
- 38 (188v) Събращя иногда въ скитъ братіа глаще w милуиседецъ
- 39 (188v) Пов'едааше иногда себе ради ійць макарії и глше тако егда б'ё юнь с'ед'ехь

- 40 (189v) Мимоходж иногда ѿ блата ѿџћ макаріе въ келіж свож
- 42 (190r) Иди иногда авва мафши ü рафУма въ страны гевальскых
- $41\ (190 \mathrm{r})$ $\hat{\mathbf{P}}_{\mathbf{f}}$ авва мафии елико чакъ приближаета къ боу толико себе
- $43 (190v) \Gamma \tilde{\text{лах}} \text{ж} \text{ w ойи моиси тако бы сщений}$
- $46\,(190\mathrm{v})$ Слыша авва пиминъ таже w несторъ живжщаго въ мбщемъ жити
- 47 (191r) Гаахж w оци лоумби въ скитт тако свободень вт и прихождааше
- 49 (191v) Въпрошенъ бы авва пиминъ ю брата како длъженъ есмъ быти на мъстъ
- 52 (191v) Бра въпроси старца пимина что ми подобаеть вънимати съджщоу ми
- $53 (191v) \hat{P}_{\epsilon}$ пакы авва пиминъ тако бра въпроси wya алоніа.
- $54\,(192\mathrm{r})\,\widehat{P}$ е пакы тъже старець тако съдмий иногда старцемъ и гаджиймъ
- 55 (192r) Ре пакы демач на неиже заповъда гъ жрътвы сътворити
- $56 (192r) \hat{P}$ е пакы. Чакть аще стхранить чинь свои
- 58 (1921) Глахж w очи пимин'в тако николиже не хот вше слова своего положити
- 59 (1921) Прінде инога баженый архієбінь фемфіль и събрашж братіа въ скіть
- $60~(192 \mathrm{v})$ Пов'еда нам'ь бр \overline{a} в'ерень \overline{r} лм тако идохом'ь, \overline{z} wшелник'ь
- 62 (1931) Пріїнде етерь бра кть шцоу сисооу вть горж шца андоніа
- 64 (193v) Пріндошж етера братіа къ шубу сисобу слышати слово ї него
- $65 (193 \mathrm{V})$ Бра въпроси wya сисоа $\tilde{\epsilon}$ ла вижж себе wye тако памат ми къ боу
- 66 (1941) Р с стаа сийклитикій такоже невъдможно кораблю съдівланоу
- 67 (194r) Ре в выстж, смъренаа мждрость
- 68 (1941) побень вжди мытарю да не съ фарисешть шсждиши см
- 70 (194г) Старець етерь въше ишелникъ и плавааше въ поустыни
- 71 (1940) Старець етерь мий поустынникъ чакь бъсноуж лютъ
- $72~(194 \mathrm{v})$ $\hat{\mathbf{p}}_{\epsilon}$ старець егда мысли гогьдынеж ин величеніа пристжпі тебе
- 73 (1951) Ре старець не положи сфца своего на брата своего глж
- 74 (195r) Ре старець имжи чьсть и хвалж паче достоенъ е
- 75~(195r) Бра въпроси старца гла добро ли $\hat{\epsilon}$ wye покланъти са много до \mathbf{z} ема
- $76 (195 \mathrm{r})$ Въпрошенъ б $\hat{\epsilon}$ старець \hat{w} брата почто таковжж бранъ имамъ
- 77 (195v) Ре бра старцоу аще бра принесет ми изъвъноу словеса
- 78 (195v) Въпрошень бы старець что есть ше сметрение
- 79 (1950) Ре старець въ всткои напасти не дадираи чакоу
- 80 (195) Ре старець николиже чина своего пръдръ
- 81 (195v) Бой въпроси старца гля что е шүе см'кренаа мждой
- 83 (196г) Инъ бой въпроси старца гла что естъ дъло странечьствио
- 84 (1961) Пріндошж етера братіа иногда й фіванды
- 85 (196v) Живъше етерь мий егуптънинъ въ селъ цоъ града
- $86 (197r) \Gamma \widetilde{\text{лах}} x$ старци егда брани приемлемъ, тогда паче да смърим см
- 87 (1971) Единомоу й братіж нави см діаволь, и прембради см в в аггла светлав
- 88 (1971) Глахж старци тако аще и аггањ тавит см не приемли его
- 89 (197г) Пов'кдаахж w етер'к старци іако с'кд'кше вь кели своеи и подвизааше см
- 90~(197v) Старцоу етероу гл $\hat{\delta}$ ж демони хотмще его прkлъстити
- 91 (197v) Пов'кдашж w ином'ь старци тако с'ътвори по 🗗 нелеи, единож Днем'ь гады
- 92 (197v) Γλάχχ \mathbf{w} επερίκ сπαρμи ιακό πρόσι ου \mathbf{k} ά ζα $\mathbf{\hat{z}}$ · λί $\mathbf{\hat{k}}$ επερό χαροκαμίε
- 94 (1981) Ре старець. хощж съ смерениемъ повеженъ быти
- 95 (198r) \hat{P}_{ϵ} старець. Не бжди нерадж w брат'к слоужжще ти
- 96 (198r) Бой въпроси старца глм. Шуб аще живж съ братім и видм вещь
- 97 (198v) Бра въпроси старца глж. что е сп'каніе члкоу
- 98 (198v) Ре старець аще кто речетть комоу сть смъреніем
- $99\,(198\mathrm{v})\,\widehat{P}_{\mathrm{E}}$ старець аще шбржщемъ съ смърениемъ маъчание да не имамы себе
- $100\,(198\mathrm{v})\,\Gamma$ лие старець аще не би полагалъ хл k бопечець покрова
- $101\ (199r)\ \hat{P}$ е старець хощж наоучень быти нежели оучити

- $102~(199\mathrm{r})$ и пакы $\hat{\vec{p}}$ е не оучи пр $\hat{\mathbf{t}}$ же вр $\hat{\mathbf{t}}$ мене аще ли $\hat{\mathbf{t}}$ w в $\hat{\mathbf{t}}$ всем $\hat{\mathbf{t}}$
- 103 (1991) Въпрошенъ бы старець что е смекрение и швекщавъ ре
- 105 (1991) Въпроси етеръ бра етера старца глм. рьци ми оче едино слово
- 106 (1991) Ре старець. иже тръпить Укорь и досажение и тъщетж
- $107\,(199\mathrm{r})\,\widehat{\mathbf{P}}$ е старець. не им'ки хнаменїа съ егоуменом'ъ ни часто ходи к'ъ немоу
- 109 (1991) Бъше бой етерь въ мпщемъ жити и въсм таготж
- $110\,(199\mathrm{v})$ Въпрошень бы старець како етери г $^{\widehat{\mathrm{T}}}$ а тако видимъ вид'вн $^{\widehat{\mathrm{T}}}$ а
- 111a (199v) Бра скръбъ имжше на брата. Слышав же тw, и пріиде покаати см
- 111b (200r) и проповъдан емоу причм сице глж
- 111c(201r) \hat{P}_{E} старець се есть исц'яленіе члкоу и семоу
- 112 (2011) Два мниха бъста приснаа брата и въсхотъ дїаволъ

Chapter 16: (201v) เสเง ที่จัยสะหน ทฤษสาดหาษาย พยนส, พұ้ ยกักงดางยน:~

- $2 (201 \mathrm{v}) \, \Gamma$ лахж w ойн геласін тако имікше книгы кожны достоины $\overline{\mathrm{si}}$ златиць
- 3 (202r) Бывшоу иногда събороу въ скит и втер вещи гла авва попъ евагрії
- 4 (2021) Съджщоу иногда шцоу їшаноу колову пръдь црквим
- 5 (202v) Глахж братіа w мал'яль їшан'я фівеанін'я оученика шца айлона
- $6\,(202v)\,\Gamma$ аахж wүй w старуи исодор* поп* манастыр*ьст*км*ь тако аще кто им*кше
- 9 (203г) Кывшоу иногда събороу въ скутъ и хотъхж старци искоусити юща моисеа
- 9a~(203r) Идыде иногда wүй макаріе въ горж нитрінскжж и $\hat{\phi}$ е оученикоу своемоу
- $9b\ (203v)\ \Gamma$ лаше авва макарії іткоже слово жестоко, добрыж члкы злы творить
- 13 (203v) Бра шбидж пріїєм і шного брата и пріїн къ шцоу сісооу фівеаниноу
- 14 (203v) Въстанива мжжа видъ етерь носмща мотвца на шдоъ и гла емоу
- 21 (204г) Пріїндошж иногда разбонници въ монастырь старца етера и рекошж емоу
- (204r) КЪ ПАТО : ПС ПО, СТГО ЖАЙ НШО ВАСИЛІА ЕЙПА КЕСАРІЖ КАПАДОКІИСКЫЖО ОУКАЗЪ, КАКО ПОДОБАЕТЪ, БЫТИ ЧРЪНЦЕЛЬ ЖУЕ БЛГОСЛОВИ:~

Ольшасте ли братіа моа бавена $(...)^{154}$ га гажща иже шставить, шца и мітре братіж, и сестры, женж и чжда, и грждеть по мн'в. стьи, $\vec{\rho}$ соугоубо ... (211v) да лишенть бжді бавеніа, и цркве. да негли сж шбратит да идеть вънь. небо, нж мало $\hat{\epsilon}$ спажщих сж:

(211v) САО, С ВИНТ: И С ДРЪВЪНЪ МАСАТ; БАВИ:~

Едина учама віна доволна $\hat{\epsilon}$ мниху. Аще ли $\hat{\epsilon}$ немощенть велми и старь да испиеть двч ... (212v) прінмчате оуготованое вамть ц $\hat{\rho}$ твії \hat{w} сложенії въсего мира их негоже быти спобалени бъдемть ц $\hat{\rho}$ твіїю его нинч и п $\hat{\rho}$ но и в $\hat{\kappa}$ бы вчак $\hat{\sigma}$:

Continues chapter 16:

- 22 (212v) Два мниха б'еста на н'екоем'ь м'ест'е с'еджща и пріїнде к'ь нима старець
- 23 (212v) Пріндошж братіа къ шцоу стоу въ пУсть мів живжщомУ и шбрътошж его
- 23a (213r) Мий етеръ w въсемъ подвизааше см на непріадиъ
- 25 (213г) Пов'кдашж етери тако філосифі етери иногда въсхот'яшж искоусити мнихы
- 26 (213v) Старець етеръ б'яше им'яше искоушена оучнка и ю наглъства своего
- 27~(213v) $\Gamma \widetilde{\text{лаше}}$ етерь $\ddot{\textbf{w}}$ старець тако слыш $\dot{\textbf{a}}$ $\ddot{\textbf{w}}$ етерь $\ddot{\textbf{c}}$ тыхь старець. тако с $\ddot{\textbf{x}}$ юни
- $28\,(214\mathrm{v})\,\Gamma$ лахж w етерік братік сілсікда велика сжща старца тако вілходжще
- $*(214v)^{155}$ Пріндохомъ къ урънцоу афанасію въ лаврж сті о щі нащего савы

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¹⁵⁴ Two letters are illegible.

Last three *apophthegmata* of chapter 16 are not part of the Scete Patericon.

- *(215г) Пакы тоиже урънець афанасіе пов'еда намъ w тwm e en int аделфі
- *(215v) Глет же стыи афанасіе с $\frac{1}{6}$ үлкть, иже хощії $\frac{1}{2}$ е насладити см

Chapter 17: (216r) w aforen caoro, where $\widehat{\text{gar}}$ each $\widehat{\text{gar}}$

- $1\ (216r)\ \widehat{P}_{\epsilon}$ abba ahaonie azh oyeo ea ne eom ca na aioba efo noneme aiobh eo
- 2(216r) $\hat{\phi}$ е пакы тако \hat{w} иск $\hat{\phi}$ н $\hat{\epsilon}$ намъ животь
- 3~(216r)~ G q ть нитрійскый алімонть прійде кть w q оу андонію и $\overset{\circ}{\mathsf{p}}$ е емоу. Вижіж себе
- 4 (216г) Прінде авва иларішнь, ї палестины къ шубу андонію въ горж и ўе елюу
- 6(216r) \hat{P}_{ϵ} авва марко, wyoy арсенію. Почто б'кгаєши \hat{w} \hat{h} а wye
- $7~(216 \mathrm{v})~\Gamma \widetilde{\mathit{n}}$ ше етерь $\ddot{\mathbf{w}}$ брат $\ddot{\mathbf{m}}$ тако с $\dot{\mathbf{k}}$ джщем $\dot{\mathbf{k}}$ намь иногда, и г $\widetilde{\mathit{n}}$ ахом $\dot{\mathbf{k}}$ w любви
- 8(216v) \hat{P}_{ϵ} авва агафинъ тако николиже не сп \hat{a} илище гн \hat{b} в на кого
- $12~(216 \mathrm{v})~\widehat{\mathbf{P}}$ е авва пілинь. Сътвори силож своєм не ш**у**лобити никогоже
- 14 (216v) Бы иногда шүбү памвоу ходити съ бртаїм по странамъ егіпетскымъ
- 15 (216v) Гахж о шүй пафноути. тако не скоро піаше вина
- 16 (217r) Ре авва иперхи- избави искрънъго \(\bar{w}\) гръхъ бес поношениа елика т\(\bar{v}\)
- $17~(217\mathrm{v})$ Постник'ь етер'ь вид'я б'ясну 156 жща см, и не можаше пости 157 см
- 18 (217v) Два брата б'еста б'ь келиах'ь и б'еше единь стар'ь
- 21~(218r) $\Gamma \widetilde{n} \chi x$ w етер'я старци в'я скіт'я іако бол'я и в'ясхот'я мало в'якоусити
- 22 (218т) Бра въпроси старца гам. два ест брата и единъ безмаъствоуетъ
- 23 (218v) Въпроси етерь братъ старца гля како ся етери нив троужажще см
- 24 (218v) Поидошж иногда трїє братіа на жжтвж и нажшж себ'ю, ў нив'ь
- 26 (219v) Два старца бъста живжща многа лъта въкоупъ
- 29 (219v) Бра слоужаше етероу старцоу больщоу, приключи же сы емоу шславъти

Chapter 18: (220r) พ старцะ продорлівь \hat{c} เลื้อ เลื้อน, องัย:~

- 1 (220г) Фиоу андониоу гави см въ поустыни тако есть въ градъ подобень тебъ
- 2 (220r) Бра иде вь келіж шуа арсеніа въ скитть и видть шкънцемъ стаца въсего
- 6 (220r) Отрокъ сыи баженыи ефремъ и видъ въ сънъ видъние тако въдрасте
- 7(220v) и пакы вид\$ етеръ \$ с\$ с\$ в\$ сън\$
- 3 (220v) Ре авва данілъ, оученикъ шуа арсеніа тако w иномъ еттеръ глаше
- 15 (221v) Гаше авва макаріе и хот'єше оут'єшити братим іако иногда прійде
- 10 (221v) Рече авва їшань тако вид'я етеръ старець вид'яние въ оужасть тако трїе
- 13 (222г) Ö ГТ макаріе единть живікше вть велиціки поустыно и бікше его близу
- 16 (223v) Гааше пакы авва макаріе, w запоустікни скитьстіки брати

СЛВА СЬВРЫШІТЕЛЮ БУ В ВВЬЇ АМИНЬ:~

- (224r) Многомативе прекщедоми ги рекми, ищете и обращете и приимете 158
- (225r) Иже вь сты, юща нашего Афанасіа великааго, патріарха аледайдръскаго- слово шглавлено къ запов'ядемъ бжіамъ. въс'ямъ швръгшійм мира и хотмщимъ спасти см:~

Въдлюбленнии потъщий см w спени нашемъ тако връмм съкращено $\hat{\epsilon}$ прочее, и не можеть кто попещи см w своеи $\bar{\mu}$ ши ... (230г) Прочее оубо братие, въ с \hat{u} пръбыванте самъпоочуъхте

¹⁵⁶ The \mathbf{v} on the \mathbf{o} seems to have been added later.

¹⁵⁷ Later another ти was added.

¹⁵⁸ This is the colophon.

см. и не оуныванте тако да спобить на гъ своимъ заповъдемъ \widetilde{A} нъ и нощъ и спеть въ ц \widehat{b} ви своемъ нев \widehat{b} нъжнъ:

(230r) пръповнаго ища филимона ишельца слово въло поледно й патерика 159

(230v) СЛОВСЭ СЭ ПАТЕРІКА, СЭУЕ БАВИ:~

Пов'еда намъ буб влисеи тако юну ми сжщоу бол'ехь до сьмрьти

(236v) Рече шүть исанга. Ш пати страстен брань бажда оумножает са Ичемы самфона сильнченши ни соломона мждрченши (...) диаволъ рыкаетть тако львь. ходить ищж кого пожрчети

(237r) СЛОКФ, ЄКЛОГІ́Я СТЯРЦЯ:~

Пов'едашж нам'ь оученици аввж [sic] евлогіа глаще. Тако егда посилааше ны старец'ь евлогії в'ь аледандріїж продати ржкод'єлие наше тогда дааше ны запов'єди (...) (240v) а брать твои whe, понждиль са есть вгодити боу \cdot т'ємьже не можеши оуже вид'єти его :~

- (240v) Повъда намъ авва фещдваь гаж нъкогда вь кинови фреко см
- (242r) Глаше ть старець велликый аще хощете w чада спти са
- (242v) Глаше пакы w чада б'ежимь очео прочее шб'егимь тако се с'емреть присп'е

(242v) ПОВЪСТЬ ПОЛЕДНА Ё ЖИТЇА ЁЦА ВИСАРЇСНА:~

Вид'ехомь и великаго постника wya висариwна въсеко кротчаишаго и оумиление имаща еже не вид'ехомь 8 иного \ddot{w} оуть ... (246v) пр'ебы безь печали \ddot{w} таковым беды и пагоубы- помощим пр'естым бум и $\dot{\psi}$ тнаго полод и потча \ddot{w} то \ddot{w} и и $\ddot{\psi}$ тнаго полод \ddot{w} и по $\ddot{\psi}$ \ddot{w} на $\ddot{\psi}$ $\ddot{\psi$

(246v) ПОВЪСТЬ �ЄОФЇЛА. АРХЇЄЇКПА

аледандоскаго w сттамъ причащени:~

Глааше w братт нткоемь тако бывш8 сьбор8 въ стыж днь недчелж вьста сты брать по шбычтю вьнити въ црковь ... (248v) и которыижо шхожааше въ свож келиж славжщи и блгодаржщи ба, давъшаго себе по насъ- том8 слава въ вчкы- аминтъ-:

(248v) ӨЦА ДОУЛЪІ, СЛОВСЭ:~

Глааше авва данійлуь скитіштинуь іако адуь и вуь швщежителници сукд \hat{w} ш себу и вусук искоусивуь швруктохуь, іако вуь швщемуь жити паче множицеж и скоруке оуспуктуь ... (251v) многыми во скрывьми побаеть намь вынити вы ц \hat{p} тво н \hat{b} ное ш христук іссук \hat{r} и нашемь емоуже слава вы вукны аминь :~

(251v) ТЪчНО САО ЧИСЛЪНО, СУАКОМОУ

степени стфпець стож текы бе страха вари нъкогда петра їшаннь пръдь оучини выиннъ послоушаниемъ покааніа, варивы и послоушаніа. Дрбгый же покааніа. О покаани по печенъмъ. И истинож ізвленно, въ немже и о бго въ годнъй темници стыхь шсжжений: — Словш. є шує бави:

Покаанії єстть въдвращенії кутьщеніїю, покааниє єсть далогь кь боу вьторааго житиа \cdot кажи см єсть см'френию к δ пець ... (261r) донел'єже прис'єтитть тебе χc сн'ь бжии и б'ь вь въскр'єшени и по печениаго покааниа \cdot амин'ь \cdot :~

(261v) © СТРТИ, СПСОКЪ, СЛКО. ФУЕ, БА̂КИ;~

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 $^{^{159}}$ A three-line Π -initial follows the 'title,' but the rest of the leaf is left blank.

Бож см глати и ждыкомь коснжти см. страшн'ви пов'всти спов'в страшно бо есть о сеи глати. Еть во нашь дне пр'вдань бы вь ржкы гр'вшникомь и неуьстивыимь улкомь ... (265∨) и тьмы кром'вшныж, и плача в'вунаго. да глж и блеж. слава извольшомо спасти гр'вшника многыми щедротами милосрьдиа его. аминть: ~

(265v) СТТО ЄФРЕМА СÃО О ПКААНИИ. БА́ВИ ОУЕ

 \mathbf{OV} мили са $\widetilde{\mathbf{A}}$ ше моа оумили са w вьс $\widetilde{\mathbf{k}}$ благый гаже прижла еси $\widetilde{\mathbf{w}}$ ба и не съхрани $(\dots)^{160}$ ($269\mathbf{v}$) и с $\widehat{\mathbf{h}}$ еть кажщи са. помли са емоу, да ны вьведеть вь цртво н $\widehat{\mathbf{k}}$ ное· гако том $\widetilde{\mathbf{s}}$ побаеть слава и поклан'кние· съ wyemь и $\widehat{\mathbf{c}}$ тымь $\widetilde{\mathbf{A}}$ хомь и нин'к и п $\widehat{\mathbf{b}}$ но и вь в'ккы в'ккомь:

(269v) СТТО ЄФРЕМА, САО; СЭ СЖДТЬ БАЯЇ

Приид'яте выси братие послоушанте мене малааго ефрема и посадимы сждиж свож мыслы да оув'ядимы своа с $\hat{\rho}$ ца ... (271 v) побивы свож главж тако иноша 161 вы браны выс'ямы вык'ягія пр'яже ренныймую противлы и поб'яжь w $\hat{\chi}$ 'я \hat{i} с'я спасены бъдеть аминуы \div

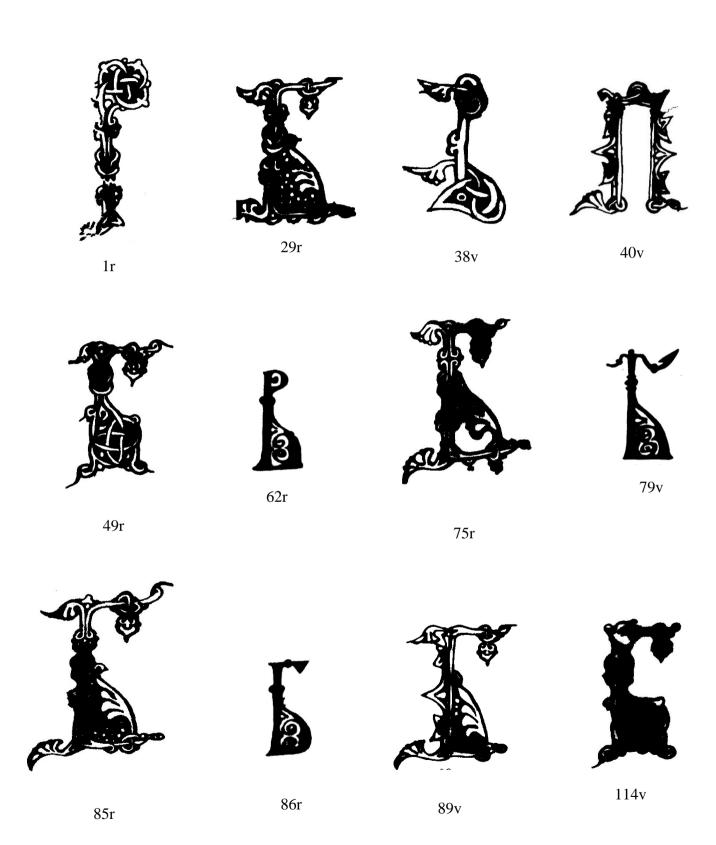
(271v) ЖИТиЄ И ЖИДНЬ СТыїх ФЕФРЫЇ

Въ дни зинона цр † к и григориа епарха сжща вь алексаньдри и жена етера именемь фефдора мжжа та красна вид † книемь и богата родители божщи сж га † та бо сь агглы ликьствова ... (279 $^{\circ}$) сжщи толикы напасти (...) да млимь сж оубо и мы шбр † всти $^{\leftarrow}$ вдие сь нем $^{\circ}$ вл $^{\circ}$ одатим и улколюби (...) га нашего † іу † ха $^{\circ}$ емоуже п † баеть слава, уъстъ и поклан † кние ш $^{\circ}$ 0 и с $^{\circ}$ 0 и с $^{\circ}$ 1 и с $^{\circ}$ 2 нин $^{\circ}$ 6 и п † 6 и вь в † 6 комь аминь \div \sim

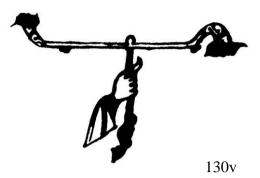
¹⁶⁰ The text continues on the next page, but the first two lines are illegible.

¹⁶¹ Above и is written ю.

2. Decorated initial letters









129v







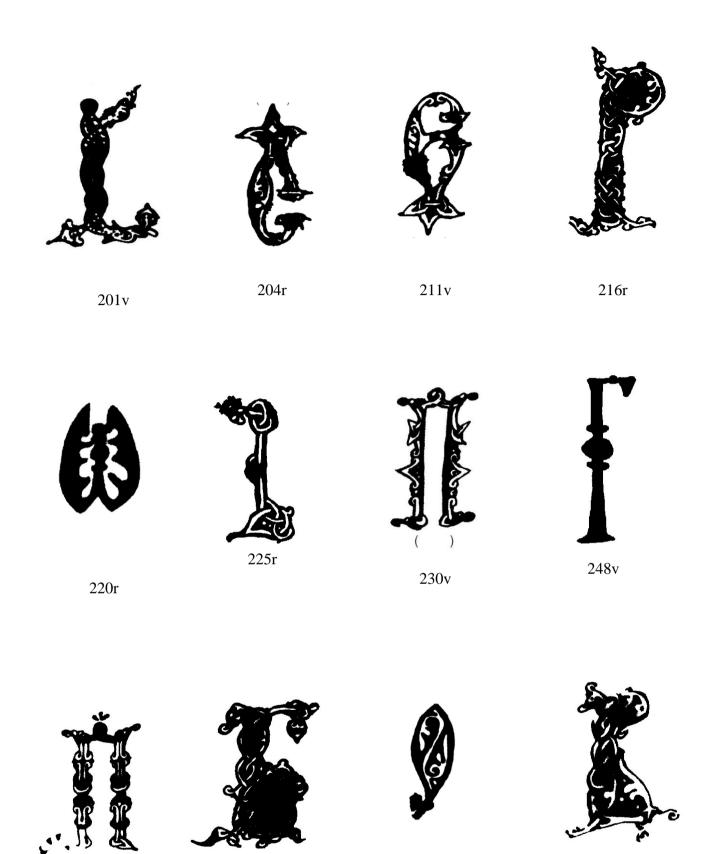








167r



265v

271v

261v

251v

3. Samples of scribes' handwritings



Figure 1. Cod. Krka 4, scribe A (Vissarion), f. 1r

LAMMONHMOLTTY MAN A BCENILOR HILL

Figure 2. Cod. Krka 4, scribe A (Vissarion), f. 1v

DEANERPHEARH: HONEREE SCEEDCIE, WEONHT <u>еропижолдопан. Ачали, энизанмуоз</u> **НДЕЖЕСТЕДИШНОНZЖ, НЖВЕНЕ, НАНПОЖ** AHLTHO . MKOKEABLA, APLENTEMBOPS WE МХДЬ, ВЪСЕ . НПОСПЕЛТЕ ТЕОА, НСЪСЖДНТБОН, MITOACZITEOH HEATTOSHITEOH LAEX KATTAICO . AA АЩЕЕТЕРНПРІНДЖШКРАСТНТЕКЕ, ДАНЕГОДЬ HMZEXAEYTTOBZZATHBLICEAHTBOCH! щев наншнех сжда, нанетт нвцеограта, нан HHOYES - AMERIAL TESTANEHTLA, WEST SHHOP THY MIELE HHEIIOLYO MYHEY - YAHYOA AHMIH WILLYTERSY . HHALOWEMHYYZZEWHTIXZYH ВРІМУМНИОМНУНОВОДОЗИННУ ИЕТУЖТИЦЕ RROLEGEWO. LIHINGROELAPLISALHTHWE · LYVE . AHHKO WOOLA ZAVELLY VITEOLOS ACBHHAHMATT TAICOBKHBHNT, TOHYLTE THE TA, BITICOTONERS (TAX WATOHAIAOR HENRY PASERHETELALONESHH HELD TYTHING WY WEYAR HOHEY YX HYYLOH POAHAATO, HITAZOETETZ, MAHTELI, THE SEASONS CONTRACTOR OF THE MARKET AS MAKE HUOKYOHHIYEWOYOZENYYLYYY THE CTHEAL WYEW RACKET AT TACKAT HET

Figure 3. Cod. Krka 4, scribe B, f. 11v

CT, TROAHCATALIA KOLOV : EQ ZHH: TIPTINOVIUTHE E- ALATHITATO

Figure 4. Cod. Krka 4, scribe C (from line 22), f. 66r

BANHENSHTOVALENOVISITALISMBATETIA: LANGERTHANKOVELHAIA ETIVALEHOVNE TESSUTH HENTELEMENTS TEL AND HEEF HTTPAZHURECTELMINPHHANT THEHMAPHERT

Figure 5. Cod. Krka 4, scribe C, f. 66v

£ШНП**Р**ФДИНЫЗ. (-) ГДА ГФА**НОЯ** PENNETE, CHERTCEPAN VINETHIATIELL HUTTHEFATOTHMACETACA

Figure 6. Cod. Krka 4, scribe I, f. 72r

KTRACETO. NE LYOKKURALZAGET, HONEHUM. KERHTHA TONE ENWITARNEAL HE

Figure 7. Cod. Krka 4, scribe D, f. 75v

MERETOARENTEAN PRIMEMHE LICY STREET HENTOLONY ZAMEEANE SON WHEA

Figure 8. Cod. Krka 4, scribe E, f. 103v

MAHMEA THE HILL THE HALL BUT AND THE THE THE THE METAL WATER SHEET STATE TO THE WALL WALLEN CTPHANT HANDE OF TOTAL ACOUNTAINSTENEPA CHONNELO THEVE STRONG THE WATER TO LEVEL MOTOFCARLA HEROKE HPEXEANIL ... TIOBE ANTENNAMIN I PARME : MERCEIM * TAMMORA PARKENNALZ YE HHKZICE . HEFALDEN FORE WELALAL AFTERSNEH: TWILLER HELEX ANE ALAK KHATOSEUS ME HAHOALZA ENSCRUK: TOPAL PALOY SE NA KORILGENRIS: EL

Figure 9. Cod. Krka 4, scribe F and other scribes, f. 115r

4. CMHREY HP HHEXOMEMHUYZ 4. 4 CKMY HHE HOVAOTEMAN, PANELLOY-WALKAZINA HECTEREY ALMOTATHICTER PANH KAN WEH SALOUELY WHO THE WASHELLE KIRRATH WEEKS HONEP

Figure 10. Cod. Krka 4, scribe G, f. 145v

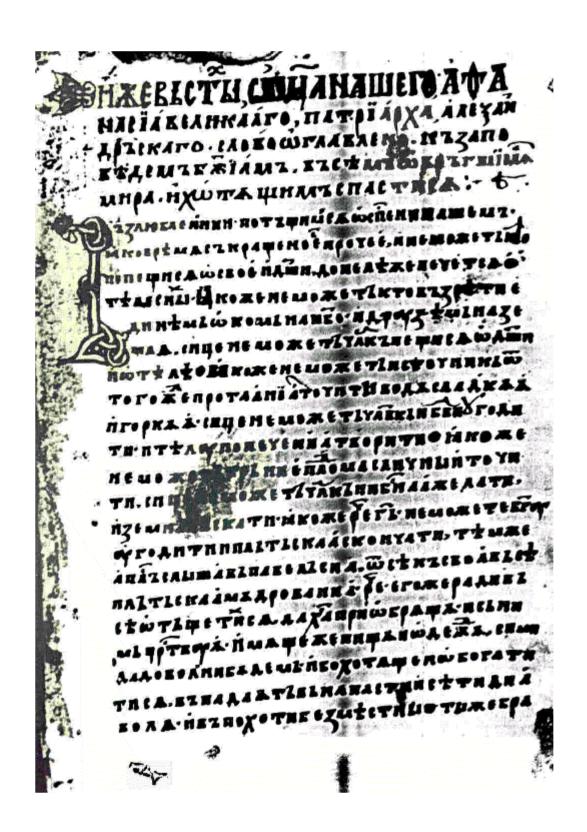


Figure 11. Cod. Krka 4, scribe H, f. 225r

EZ & ESIE-IFALO : KSACIASRIE HITEMA: HITEME WEAHEZAT MERECOYE THEITE HATTEN ZPANTETS COTPACTING CANTEX SINGE ZARTE ETTS WEAD ENCH BERTIA WATHYAKA PARAETECAN & PENHE CAABAMEYAYA PAMAETT LIPTE OF CTRO:- BEZZENTENE, PARAETTAKED TOCTO: TARLATE BACTAOENAA PARA ETERATOYER : EMEAHENTHROCTOA NETER : WEANSETT AND POLETEAN : THE CHOTTAKE CRABETETTS CTTPA COTH : MEAN NHE SCAMENNOE, AKT & FT & (TPA (TH RZZAPINANNE KEWTANSETIN, MAAMENNETTELECHOE, LINASTRPAHLE NNE: CBACERANNE METTALA, WENDERIE CAMMI NOTWENATHE TELA, CHENNE LIMIN: - E THERENHALLEN FOFTESCEPA: 14 TAETLAHSIBE A THEKEBOY TETE AS WE WHITEHCKAL COTAN & ETTLASEPO ATTEAN: ENSTAINMENOY (T4, R252 ARREACTERATICATE KEFOY RANGEOCAGE + #4, PA# 46 TEACHOC TENCHERS: EME (ZTROPUTHROLDENCKEZNETO: ZMARKENA ets, mkooying erorian theornates AN: 46 ME OF MEN CEOR BOAL CHAMENS ETTAKEAROYKINE: - NOOYYENNERSO

Figure 12. Cod. Krka 4, scribe F, f. 226v

LH WERKPLAH III LEA A PLZIO CHE PIFITE нина саткорименстокавычнымуйст! POHWENDA HONEL KEWNLEAFOR CAMOREANS CHRARZATEOPHE ACACKHHACK CHHACAPE A neandonanenord Anasaronstanualnen a TAPACTPLYARLINPERIC POPPONAHARLAND ENBLTLICK WAYLAMOUTHS WERE A HONE & nerow tere Knywor sualinimus Tromy arus BANGHE 4007 HAVENKHEHKELIAL OYHANICKON EL OKRAMENANICTARN INTOPALINAMENTA THE THEOREM CHARAKOVOH AND VEH ZITHO EO TA HATOKOL TOKKH LY 100 \$ 1 THORES HINTLOHOR AXILTROPHIPEAATE ALXEA R WHEN HAND CONCLARTINE WORK VHHICK KTC THE nue Loun tvos. Los ukrab rung nubuko cuo RETHON HAZARHA HOEHRACKO A PALIKAMILO MINOMAKERANE KEC BACKKEE IN ENDIR & C. PENNAHAAL HEOTHEN LHHOE E & L IN & FIEL Ани: инонацай перисорная паруа HARRI HER MIE TE PANAL A STAR A TAKE PACHARIA & AITAPOANTEAN EORINEA EOCLAPPALIANICACTRORA. HAN

Figure 13. Codex Krka 4, scribe A (line 21) and scribe H, f. 271v