

Doctoral Dissertation

Martyr Memories:
The Afterlife of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* between
East and West in Medieval Hagiographical Collections
(Eighth – Eleventh Centuries)

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CONTENTS

Introduction	1
The Study of Martyrdom Literature	12
The Case Study.....	21
Methodology	27
Sources	32
Scholarship	41
Chapter 1:	46
Mapping the Text: A Geography of Manuscripts Containing the <i>Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium</i>. Contexts and Audiences	46
Latin manuscripts of the <i>Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium</i>	47
The Old Church Slavonic manuscript of the <i>Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium</i>	56
Byzantine manuscripts of the <i>Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium</i>	61
A Georgian manuscript of the <i>Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium</i>	69
Lack of networks and the origin of the <i>Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium</i>	73
Conclusion.....	75
Chapter 2:	78
Wrapping up the Text: Manuscripts as Calendars and Other Miscellanies	78
Definitions	79
History of calendar development	82
Quantitative method	89
Remembering and forgetting Irenaeus and other saints in Latin hagiographical collections ...	94
Remembering and forgetting Irenaeus and other saints in Byzantine and Slavonic hagiographic collections.....	102
Irenaeus' feast day.....	115
Other Miscellanies.....	118
Conclusion.....	121
Chapter 3:	125
Calendars, Texts and the Cult of Saints	125
Scholarship	126
Archeological traces of Irenaeus of Sirmium.....	129
Spaces/places, calendars and the written testimonies	138
Conclusion.....	143
Chapter 4:	145
“Numberless Ways to Tell a Story:” Transformations of the <i>Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium</i> in Different Christian Traditions	145
Methodology	148
Structural analysis of BHG 948	154
Differences among the manuscript variants of BHG 948	157
Structural analysis of BHG 949e.....	162
Structural analysis of BHG 950z.....	166
Differing features of the three BHG variants	168
Intertextuality of BHG 948 and 949e.....	175

Intertextuality of BHG 950z.....	180
Intertextuality of BHG 951	184
Intertextuality of BHG 950	184
Greek Liturgical Canons	186
Latin textual transformations	189
The Old Church Slavonic translation of the <i>Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium</i>	196
The Differences of the Latin, Greek and Old Church Slavonic <i>Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium</i>	198
Georgian textual version	205
Armenian textual version	209
Conclusion.....	210
Chapter 5:	213
How Did Collections Transform Single Texts? The <i>Martyrdom of Irenaeus</i> in the Imperial <i>Menologia</i>	213
Decoration	217
Use.....	223
Commissioning hagiographical collections in Byzantium.....	227
Conclusion.....	234
Epilogue:	235
Remembering Irenaeus in Sremska Mitrovica Today	235
Irenaeus' Bridge in Sremska Mitrovica	236
Irenaeus' Street.....	240
The Church dedicated to the Martyrs of Sirmium.....	242
Conclusion.....	243
Conclusion	245
APPENDIX	252
Latin hagiographical collections containing the <i>Martyrdom of Irenaeus</i> as the calendars for the months:	252
Latin hagiographical collections from 1 st February – 6 th April.....	252
and their order of saints	252
Greek hagiographical collections for March	265
and their order of saints	265
Greek hagiographical collections for August.....	275
and their order of saints	275
Venice, Marcianus gr. 360, 20, ff. 395r-398v (BHG 948).....	284
(parallel reading of BnF gr. 1177, ff. 211v-213r)	284
Martyrdom of the holy martyr Irenaeus in	286
Venice, Marcianus gr. 360, 20 (My translation)	286
Vienna, Historicus gr. 45, ff. 246r-247v (BHG 948)	287
(The underlined sections are differences with Venice 360, 20)	287
Moscow, Syn. gr. 183, ff. 242r-244r (BHG 949e)	291
Martyrdom of Saint Irenaeus, bishop of Sirmium in	293
Moscow Syn. gr. 183 (My translation with the corrections by Robert Jordan)	293
Vienna, Hist. gr. 45, ff. 247v-248r (BHG 950):.....	294
Irenaeus of Sirmium and Irenaeus of Lyon	294
Entry on Irenaeus in Synaxarion of Constantinople.....	295

Martyrdom of Irenaeus, Or et Oropseus (Latyšev)	295
Martyrdom of Irenaeus, Or et Oropseus in Milan, Ambrosiana, B 1 inf., ff. 70r-71v (BHG 951)	296
Martyrdom of the holy and glorious martyrs Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus (My translation with the corrections by Robert Jordan)	297
Entry on Irenaeus, Or et Oropseus in Synaxarion of Constantinople	298
Canon 30 on St Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus, 30 August	298
Canon on Irenaeus (Sinaiticus gr. 614)	305
Munich, Clm 4554, 8 th century, ff. 89v-91 (BHL 4466)	312
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Lat. 371/Cod. 13. 712, ff. 77r-78v (BHL 4466)	315
Passion of Saint Irenaeus bishop, Vienna 371 (My translation)	317
Twelfth-century manuscripts: Brussels 9289 (basic text), Einsiedeln, Brussels 207-208, London Nero C.VII	319
Thirteenth-century Manuscripts: Dublin, London Harl, St-Omer 716, Trier	322
Paris, BnF lat. 5279, f. 125v	324
Martyrdom of Irenaeus in Suprasl Codex	325
Martyrdom of Irenaeus in Suprasl Codex (My translation)	327
Georgian Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium	329
Armenian Martyrdom of Saint Irenaeus the Bishop	331
Bibliography	332
Latin Manuscripts	332
Greek manuscripts	333
Old Church Slavonic Suprasl Codex	333
Georgian manuscript	334
Secondary Literature	334

List of Figures

Figure 1. Map of Sremska Mitrovica, indicating the two late antique cult places	129
Figure 2. The epigraphic inscription mentioning the <i>basilica Erenei</i>	130
Figure 3. The site in Mačvanska Mitrovica	132
Figure 4. The site of <i>Zidine</i> in 2010.....	132
Figure 5. The four subsequent structures in the site <i>Zidine</i>	135
Figure 6. The ostrakon bearing the name of St Jonas	141
Figure 7. Munich Clm 4554, 90r, eighth century	191
Figure 8. Rouen U 42, 212r, eleventh century	192
Figure 9. <i>Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium</i> in Moscow Syn. 183, f. 242r, eleventh century..	218
Figure 10. A miniature from the Walters manuscript (fol. 50v)	219
Figure 11. Manuscript Vienna 371, tenth century	220
Figure 12. Dublin, Trinity, thirteenth century, and Brussels 9289, twelfth century	221
Figure 13. Suprasl Codex.....	222
Figure 14. Vienna, Hist. gr. 45, eleventh century	223
Figure 15. The bridge of Irenaeus from Sremska Mitrovica side	237
Figure 16. The street of Irenaeus in Sremska Mitrovica.....	241
Figure 17. The Church of the Sirmian martyrs	242

List of tables

Table 1. Distribution of Latin hagiographical manuscripts in the Middle Ages, Philippart's database	90
Table 2. The total numbers of the liturgy-related collections in the Byzantine world	91
Table 3. Saint Irenaeus' feast days in Latin hagiographical collections.....	97
Table 4. Presence of different main characters of hagiography in Latin manuscripts.....	98
Table 5. Irenaeus' feast day in March <i>Menologia</i>	105
Table 6. Different characters of hagiography in March <i>Menologia</i>	106
Table 7. Irenaeus' feast day in August <i>Menologia</i>	112
Table 8. Different characters of hagiography in August <i>Menologia</i>	114
Table 9. Irenaeus' feast day in the calendars	116
Table 10. The Prayer for the emperor in Moscow Syn. gr. 183	214
Table 11. The Prayer for the emperor in Jerusalem Taphou 17.....	215

Introduction

The phenomenon of dying for faith – martyrdom – hardly needs explanation in the contemporary world. It has resurfaced from the past, becoming an actual, even burning issue in the last decades. The world has witnessed lately the acts of many suicide bombers whose ultimate sacrifice has often been described as martyrdom.¹ This is especially the case because they sacrifice their lives for a cause they believe in, ordinarily as the avowed soldiers of religious war, war for faith. Apart from suicide bombers, large numbers of other violent deaths connected to various causes take place in our times. Discussing martyrdom, the American scholar Elisabeth Castelli states:

Today, in the 21st century, one cannot help but notice how centrally the figure of the martyr has emerged on a global stage – not only as a mythic frame for embodied acts of political insurrection and terror, but also as a story that the state tells about the casualties of its militarism, growing numbers of dead soldiers eulogized as actors in one noble gesture after another of willing self-sacrifice, martyrs to an abstraction – the nation, freedom, our way of life.²

The roots of martyrdom are a much-debated subject in contemporary scholarship. In antiquity, as the power of Christianity advanced, gaining ground but not yet being recognized as an official religion, a number of Christians forfeited their lives for their faith in defiance of the persecuting Roman authorities. Even though the number of casualties and the length of the persecutions are today a matter of debate, the very occurrence of persecutions is rarely questioned.³ The last wave of the persecutions of the Roman authorities before the Edict of Tolerance in 313 CE is of particular interest for this dissertation.

The last, “Great” persecution of Christians in the early fourth century (303–311 CE) during the Roman tetrarchs Diocletian, Galerius, Maximian and Constantius marks a watershed in the history of Christianity, dividing as it does Christian history into two momentous phases. The edicts of the tetrarchs lead to what is believed to have been the most severe persecution of

¹ For the latest contribution to the subject, see D. Janes and A. Houen, ed., *Martyrdom and Terrorism: Pre-Modern to Contemporary Perspectives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

² E. A. Castelli, “The Ambivalent Legacy of Violence and Victimhood: Using Early Christian Martyrs to Think With,” *Spiritus* 6 (2006): 1-24.

³ For the debates, see T. D. Barnes, *Early Christian Hagiography and Roman History* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010) (hereafter Barnes, *Early Christian Hagiography*); C. R. Moss, *The Myth of Persecution: How Early Christians Invented A Story of Martyrdom* (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 2013) (hereafter Moss, *The Myth*).

Christians in the Roman Empire. While I may agree with the argument of the British ancient historian Timothy D. Barnes that Christians actually enjoyed religious freedoms from the third century CE, I nonetheless cannot overlook the fact that the persecution of the fourth century was the last persecution of Christians administered by the Roman authorities before the Roman Empire stopped hounding them for good and imposed religious toleration towards Christianity.⁴ The transitional period was characterized by the spread of Christianity. Followers of this religion gradually outnumbered those people taking part in pagan religious rituals despite the huge losses incurred by the multitude of Christians who suffered martyrdom.

“Martyr,” a category with manifold meanings, has transformed from its initial signification reflecting an impartial witness to referring later to a more partial sufferer who is convicted and dies for his faith. Following the general tenets of the fourth century transition, the category of “martyr” necessitated reformulation in the post-persecution period. In the view of some scholars, this category has always been problematic for the church.⁵ Yet, standing at the threshold of Christianity as a tolerated religion, martyrdom deserves special attention. This dissertation will not focus on the issues and problems concerning the category of martyr *per se*, but rather on the narratives addressing martyrs’ suffering and death, which emerged out of certain cultural contexts within early and medieval Christianity.⁶ It will spotlight one particular martyrdom narrative, the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* as well as its afterlife in the post-transition period.

“Martyrdom narratives” refer to an Early Christian genre and a sub-genre of hagiography,⁷ often hailed as “acts and passions of the martyrs.”⁸ The common subject matter of

⁴ See Barnes, *Early Christian Hagiography*. On the subject of questioning the persecutions altogether, see Moss, *The Myth*. See also K. Cooper, “Martyrdom, Memory, and the ‘Media Event,’” in *Martyrdom and Terrorism: Pre-Modern to Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. D. Janes and A. Houen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 23-39, particularly the footnote 8, with the list of contributions to the subject: Barnes, Sherwin-White, de Sainte Croix, Engberg.

⁵ D. Loades, “Introduction,” in *Martyrs and Martyrologies*, ed. D. Wood (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1993), xv.

⁶ Here I invoke the conclusions of E. A. Castelli in her study *Martyrdom and Memory: Early Christian Culture Making* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004) (hereafter Castelli, *Martyrdom and Memory*).

⁷ Many scholars do not see martyrdom literature as part of hagiography and many studies on hagiography do not include martyrdom narratives. In her article on martyr passions in the *Oxford Handbook of the Early Christian Studies*, Susan Harvey admits that a large number of scholars take the *Life of Antony* as a real turning point and the beginning of the literary genre of hagiography proper in the form of a saint’s *vita*. Robert Bartlett has recently reasserted that hagiography was born with the *Life of St Antony* and *Life of St Martin*. The cutting-edge scholarly work on Byzantine hagiography, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography I*, edited by Stephanos Efthymiadis, excludes early martyrdom narratives. However, Efthymiadis includes “passions” as forms of hagiographical narratives in his second volume of the *Ashgate Companion*. Martin Hinterberger refers to the “passions” as the subgenre of hagiography in the same publication. M. S. Williams distinguishes a saint’s life, the

vita, from the pagan lives as well as from the broader scope of hagiography. Timothy Barnes makes clear that he employs the term “hagiography” to designate the study of the evidence relating to saints and martyrs, while he exploits martyrdom narratives extensively in his study. In this dissertation, I understand hagiography in a broader sense, where martyrdom literature is one of its constituent parts. Early Christian martyrdom narratives stand on the threshold of medieval hagiographical genre and this dissertation considers them as part of the broader genre of hagiography. See S. Efthymiadis, “New Developments in Hagiography: The Rediscovery of Byzantine Hagiography,” in *Hagiography in Byzantium: Literature, Social History and Cult* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Variorum, 2011), I, 157-171 (hereafter Efthymiadis, “New Developments in Hagiography”), about the commencement of the hagiographical genre with *The Life of Antony* in the fourth century. See also idem, ed., *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography I* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Variorum, 2011), 9; idem, ed., “Introduction,” in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography II: Genres and Contexts* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014) (hereafter Efthymiadis, “Introduction”), 4; G. W. Bowersock, *Martyrdom and Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) (hereafter Bowersock, *Martyrdom*), 39; C. Walsh, *The Cult of St Katherine of Alexandria in Early Medieval Europe* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 8-9; M. van Uytenghe, “L’hagiographie: Un genre Chrétien ou antique tardif?” *Analecta Bollandiana* 111 (1993): 135-188; S. A. Harvey, “Martyr Passions,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies*, ed. S. A. Harvey, and D. G. Hunter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 608 (hereafter Harvey, “Martyr Passions”); Barnes, *Early Christian Hagiography*, IX; M. S. Williams, *Authorized Lives in Early Christian Biography: Between Eusebius and Augustine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); R. Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 19-22 (hereafter Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?*); M. Hinterberger, “Byzantine Hagiography and its Literary Genres. Some Critical Observations,” in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography II: Genres and Contexts* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), 28.

⁸ The phrase “martyrdom literature/martyrdom narratives” refers to what scholars ordinarily address as “the acts and the passions of the martyrs.” The proposed expression – martyrdom narratives – implies a text that ends in a martyr’s death/martyrdom, the conventional mannerism characteristic of both the acts and the passions of the martyrs. Additionally, the new-fangled expression does not necessitate further distinction between the two. Previously, scholars have made attempts to demarcate differences between the acts and the passions. Delehayé has suggested that the *acta* mainly contain interrogation, while the *passio* narrates events from the arrest up to the death of the martyr. Hilhorst relies on several authors when highlighting that the acts/*acta* refer to the trial records on which at least some of the martyrs’ acts were based. Tilley repeats that the acts focus on interrogation and are grounded in the minutes of the trials. She departs from Delehayé’s definition of passions, asserting that they focus on the suffering, tortures and death of the martyr. She notes the disadvantages of placing too strict a dichotomy between the acts and the passions – there are simply too many pieces, which do not fit neatly into either category. She rounds off her argument by stating that there cannot be a simple divide between the two. In accord with her claim, no division is recognized between the acts and the passions in this dissertation, while calling these narratives by a more general term, marked by the common event at the end of the narratives. Contemporary scholarly literature predominantly uses the term martyrdom narratives/literature. Nevertheless, some scholars, such as Candida R. Moss, still use more old-fashioned terms such as martyr acts. Lucy Grig once again confirmed that there were no secure methods to distinguish and clarify distinctions between the acts and the passions. In a very recent publication, Stephanos Efthymiadis uses the term “passions” to mark a complete corpus of both acts and passions from Late Antiquity. The consensus over the terminology, as well as the clear definition of which texts belong to the group of acts and which to the group of passions has not yet been reached. I use the term martyrdom narratives/literature/martyrdoms in this dissertation to mark the full body of the texts which end their narratives with the persecution of martyrs. See the literature on the subject: H. Delehayé, *Les passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1966), 173; H. Leclercq, “Actes des martyrs,” in *Dictionnaire d’archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie I*, ed. F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1907); G. Lanata, *Gli atti dei martiri come documenti processuali mentarii* (Milan: Giuffrè, 1973); G. A. Bisbee, *Pre-Decian Acts of Martyrs and Commentarii* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988); Bowersock, *Martyrdom*; M. Tilley, *Donatist Martyr Stories. The Church in Conflict in Roman North Africa* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1996), xx-xxi (hereafter Tilley, *Donatist Martyr Stories*); C. R. Moss, *The Other Christs: Imitating Jesus in Ancient Christian Ideologies of Martyrdom* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010) (hereafter Moss, *The Other Christs*); L. Grig, *Making Martyrs in Late Antiquity* (London: Duckworth, 2004) (hereafter Grig, *Making Martyrs*); Efthymiadis, “Introduction,” 1-21.

these narratives is persecution and death of Christian martyrs, who preferred to sacrifice their lives rather than apostatize. The genre of martyrdom narratives emerged in the second century CE and it was considered both testimony and supporting witness to the earliest phases of Christianity and of the persecution of early Christians,⁹ since a body of texts possibly survives from the Early Christian period. The age of martyrs, their life sacrifice and death through martyrdom was described in a number of these texts.

The commencement of this literature is marked by concise martyrdom narratives, based on the court records of the trials and structured in a form of a dialogue. According to the Bollandist scholar Hippolyte Delehaye, these acts are historically based accounts of martyrdom, generally recognizable by the realistic narration of events, void of exaggeration and embellishment. However, very few (if any) of such early narratives have been preserved.

This genre soon progressed towards new forms after the fourth century. At a time when hagiographical expression generally flourished, multiple other forms of hagiography appear such as the lives of saints, miracle stories, and different forms of encomia and panegyrics. Thus, the rise of Christian hagiographical narratives was embodied through several partially overlapping and interdependent streams of narration.

On the one hand, the lives of saints implemented new-fangled *fabulae* and promoted novel Christian characters within the hagiographical narratives – hermits, ascetics, widows, bishops, presbyters, abbots, monks, military saints, transvestite saints, holy fools, stylites etc. On the other hand, the well-known, conventional characters – martyrs – do not ebb from the hagiographical scope. They keep on appearing, but in the narratives of somewhat altered forms. In fact, the two-fold tracks of narrative development related to martyrdom narratives are reified at this time. While new martyrdom narratives keep appearing, rewriting of earlier martyrdom narratives also ensues. The *metaphrasis* of early martyrdom narratives is an elephantine subject *per se*, and this dissertation will touch upon this issue. The bulk of martyrdom narratives being written at this time alone for the most part abandon shorter, realistic plots and adopt longer narratives where the martyr “becomes a character with almost supernatural powers, able to heal people and perform miracles.”¹⁰ These “epic passions,” that is, fictive martyrdom stories flourish

⁹ Harvey, “Martyr Passions,” 604.

¹⁰ A. Hilhorst, “The Apocryphal Acts as Martyrdom Texts: The Case of the *Acts of Andrew*,” in *The Apocryphal Acts of John. Studies on the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* 1, ed. J. N. Bremmer (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1995), 3 (hereafter Hilhorst, “The Apocryphal Acts”).

after the fourth century. The transition from historical to epic martyrdom narratives, at some points a matter for debate, is now placed after the fourth century.¹¹

What was the rationale behind the appearance of epic passions from the genre initially represented solely by historical martyrdoms? According to Delehay, the formation of epic passions was instigated by authors' need to rely on distant memories about martyrs in their consequent production of fictional narratives. In his view, a hagiographer sometimes knew only the name and the place of martyrdom, and he had to construct a complete story out of very thin material.¹² Many times a martyr's story was a construct based on author's preferences, choices, and motives. Delehay argued against the authors' sole concern with the literary effect in the epic passions where less consideration was paid to factual truth and exactness.¹³ This argument reflects his concern for veracity and authenticity of the martyrdom narratives. Another scholar, Alison Goddard Elliott, suggested that later martyrdom narratives were based largely on oral traditions since many Christian documents were destroyed during the Diocletian's persecutions.¹⁴ She further suggested that there existed a genuine interest in later generations to preserve the memory of the persecuted heroes. However, a specialist in the apocryphal acts, A. Hilhorst, notes that the distortion of truth appearing in the later martyrdom narratives is characteristic in the rewritings of earlier martyrdom narratives as well.¹⁵

The switch in the aggrandizement of the main hero in hagiographical narratives from martyrs to multiple other characters has been a much discussed, but only partially explained notion ever since the study by Edward Eugene Malone on *The Monk and the Martyr*.¹⁶ Malone explains the process of the transition from martyr to monk as being the simple replacement of a main hero depending on the expectations and preferences of the audience. Timothy Barnes believes that after the end of the persecutions, martyrs were replaced by monks, bishops and holy

¹¹ Elliot and Hilhorst both assign the transformation of martyrdom narratives to a period after the peace of Constantine when the Christian Church was recognized by the Roman Empire. Barnes also fixes the period of the change to the cessation of the persecutions at the beginning of the fourth century. Therefore, they amend Delehay's dating, who assigned the period of transition to a time "long after the persecutions." See Hilhorst, "The Apocryphal Acts;" Barnes, *Early Christian Hagiography*, 154; H. Delehay, *The Legends of the Saints*, tr. D. Attwater (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998), 12-39 (hereafter Delehay, *The Legends*); A. G. Elliott, *Roads to Paradise. Reading the Lives of the Early Saints* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1987), 26 (hereafter Elliott, *Roads to Paradise*).

¹² Delehay, *The Legends*, 68.

¹³ Ibid, 12-39.

¹⁴ Elliott, *Roads to Paradise*, 26.

¹⁵ Hilhorst, "The Apocryphal Acts," 13-14.

¹⁶ E. E. Malone, *The Monk and the Martyr* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1950).

men and women as the heroes of hagiographies, as hagiographers were more eager to imbue readers with explicit moral and theological messages rather than to accurately report the actions of the narrative heroes.¹⁷ In their work on the *Holy Women of the Syrian Orient*, Sebastian Brock and Susan Harvey discuss the transition from martyr to monk or saint, arguing that the particular historical situation determined where the emphasis of a story was placed:

In times of peace it is the saint's life that is shown to mirror the work of Christ, usually with asceticism providing the means of imitation. In times of persecution it is the saint's death or rather the manner of saint's death that proves significant.¹⁸

In their view, holy lives and holy deaths come down to the same thing because martyrdom and asceticism only represent the two forms of humanity's encounter with the divine.¹⁹ Averil Cameron initially argued that after the Constantinian turn, asceticism filled the gap caused by this rejection of martyrdom as a subject matter in these narratives.²⁰ However, she later warned that the lives of saints should not be confused with accounts of martyrs: it would be too simple to suppose, as has often been thought that these holy men are the direct heirs of the martyrs.²¹ Évelyne Patlagean argued that accounts of martyrdom lost their attraction and were replaced by ascetic lives, as the militant period receded into the past.²² Andrew Louth argued that the mantle of the martyr passed to the ascetic who possessed a widely acknowledged power of intercession in the fourth century.²³ Robert Bartlett has recently suggested that the original form of martyrdom, death because of faith, became less common after the conversion of the Roman Empire.²⁴ Confessors, no longer able to die for their faith, could make up for it by a hypothetical willingness to endure martyrdom by asceticism, which represented a substitute for it.²⁵ He still

¹⁷ Barnes, *Early Christian Hagiography*, 154.

¹⁸ S. Brock and S. A. Harvey, *Holy Women of the Syrian Orient* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 14 (hereafter Brock and Harvey, *Holy Women*).

¹⁹ Ibid., 19.

²⁰ A. Cameron, *Christianity and Rhetoric of the Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 70, n. 81 (hereafter Cameron, *Christianity and Rhetoric*).

²¹ A. Cameron, "On Defining the Holy Man," in *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. P. A. Hayward, J. D. Howard-Johnston (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 38 (hereafter Cameron, "On Defining the Holy Man").

²² É. Patlagean, "Ancient Byzantine Hagiography and Social History," in *Saints and Their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History*, ed. S. Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 102 (hereafter Patlagean, "Ancient Byzantine Hagiography").

²³ A. Louth, "Unity and Diversity in the Church of the Fourth Century," in *Unity and Diversity in the Church*, ed. R. N. Swanson (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 16.

²⁴ Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?* 185.

²⁵ Ibid., 176.

recognized that the fundamental turning point in the history of Christian sanctity came when the veneration previously exclusively tied to martyrs was now extended to holy men and women who had not suffered violent death.²⁶ Thus, despite sporadic calls for caution, the issue has been mostly overlooked in scholarship to the point where martyrs and the other hagiographical characters, monks, saints, holy men, etc. were seen only as different forms of human encounter with the divine. In addition, scholars placed an emphasis on the loss of appeal of martyrdom narratives because of historical circumstances after the fourth century and the tolerance introduced towards Christianity.

As for its further destiny, martyrdom literature was treated ambiguously in Late Antiquity and in the Early Middle Ages. Initially, this literature was utilized in the local gatherings of Early Christians when they came together to commemorate martyrs. Performance readings of martyrdom texts as part of the commemoration of the feast day of martyrs were already attested from the fourth century.²⁷ In addition, the mechanism of martyrs' promotion by bishops was fostered in Late Antiquity.²⁸ Yet, the episcopal patronage of martyrs targeted certain martyrs more than the others. The negligence was particularly connected to less known martyrs and martyrs whose relics were lost or had never been found.

Through some of the acts of the councils it appears that several different restrictions on reading the stories of martyrs existed. Occasionally, martyrdoms were openly exposed to calls for their destruction.²⁹ Depending on the text, some martyrdom narratives bordered on apocryphal and non-canonical literature. Over-production of martyrdom narratives, especially the proliferation of epic passions, some of which were forbidden, made martyrs and their

²⁶ Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?* 185.

²⁷ L. Ross, *Text, Image, Message: Saints in Medieval Manuscript Illuminations* (London: Greenwood Press, 1994), 11 (hereafter Ross, *Text, Image, Message*). See also Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?* 506; B. de Gaiffier, "La lecture des Actes des martyrs dans la prière liturgique en Occident," *Analecta Bollandiana* 72 (1954): 134-166; idem, "La lecture des passions des martyrs à Rome avant le IX^e siècle," *Analecta Bollandiana* 87 (1969): 63-78; V. Saxer, *Morts, martyrs, reliques en Afrique chrétienne aux premiers siècles. Les témoignages de Tertullien, Cyprien et Augustin à la lumière de l'archéologie africaine* (Paris: Editions Beauchesne, 1980); A. G. Martimort, *Les lectures liturgiques et leurs livres* (Turnhout, Brepols, 1992), 97-102.

²⁸ On this subject, see P. Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982) (hereafter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*). For a different view, see P. A. Hayward, "Demystifying the Role of Sanctity in Western Christendom," in *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown*, ed. P. A. Hayward and J. Howard-Johnston (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 115-142.

²⁹ G. Philippart, and M. Trigalet, "Latin Hagiography before the Ninth Century: A Synoptic View," in *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe. New Directions in Early Medieval Studies*, ed. J. R. Davis, and M. McCormick (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 111-130 (hereafter Philippart and Trigalet, "Latin Hagiography before the Ninth Century").

narratives look suspicious. A movement existed already in the fourth century that detested the celebrations of martyrs.³⁰

Namely, Canon 20 of the Council of Gangra in CE 340 states: “If any one shall, from a presumptuous disposition, condemn and abhor the assemblies (in honor) of the martyrs, or the services performed there, and the commemoration of them, let him be anathema.”³¹ Such calls for the protection of the veneration of martyrs already reflects the negative trends connected with their use in the fourth century. Enchev argues that “even before 340 CE the increased veneration of the relics of martyrs led to opposing opinions among some Christians.”³² Further, the council of Laodicea in CE 363-364, particularly Canon 9, forbade gatherings in suspicious places such as places of martyrdom.

Such decisions might have been triggered by the complex processes that ensued after the age of persecutions. They relate to theology and the activity of certain groups such as the Donatists in Northern Africa.³³ During the procedures against those who lapsed, the Donatists insisted on their condemnation. *Lapsi* were the Christians who apostatized during the persecutions and later asked for forgiveness. Catholic bishops tended to give reprieves for the *lapsi* in the post-persecution period. By insisting on condemnation of the *lapsi*, the Donatists strengthened the ideological linking of martyrdom to their views which were proclaimed heretical. Therefore, the Catholic Church persecuted the Donatists, whose attachment to martyrdom consequently became pivotal. This is conspicuous in the writings of Augustine.³⁴ The Donatists saw themselves as the authentic heirs of pre-Constantinian Christianity and continuators of the “church of the martyrs.”³⁵ They claimed continuity with the martyr tradition

³⁰ See T. Enchev, “The Belief in Martyrs and Relics in the Light of Church Canons,” in *Early Christian Martyrs and Relics and their Veneration in East and West*, ed. A. Minchev, Y. Votov (Varna: Regionalen istoričeski muzej, 2006), 43-48 (hereafter Enchev, “The Belief in Martyrs”).

³¹ H. Percival, tr., *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* II, 14, ed. P. Schaff, H. Wace (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1900). <<http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/3804.htm>> Last accessed: 17/01/2014.

³² Enchev, “The Belief in Martyrs,” 44.

³³ For the Donatist martyr stories, see G. Philippart, *Hagiographies: Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550* I-V (Turnhout: Brepols, 1994-2010), 60-66 (hereafter Philippart, *Hagiographies*). See also Tilley, *Donatist Martyr Stories*; idem, “Dilatory Donatists or Procrastinating Catholics: The Trial at the Conference of Carthage,” *Church History* 60, No. 1 (1991): 7-19; idem, “Sustaining Donatist Self-Identity: From the Church of the Martyrs to the Collecta of the Desert,” *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 5, No. 1 (1997): 21-35, etc.

³⁴ See B. D. Shaw, *Sacred Violence: African Christians and Sectarian Hatred in the Age of Augustine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

³⁵ See C. Garbarino, “Augustine, Donatists and Martyrdom,” in *An Age of Saints? Power, Conflict and Dissent in Early Medieval Christianity*, ed. P. Sarris, M. Dal Santo, P. Booth (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 49-61 (hereafter Garbarino, “Augustine, Donatists and Martyrdom”).

of the pre-Constantinian period as they were exposed to continued persecutions ensuing after the cessation of the official persecutions, which targeted particularly this group. The Donatist martyrdom narratives arise from this cultural context. In his writings against the activities of this group, Augustine was impelled to re-theologize the concept of martyrdom.³⁶ He placed an emphasis in his sermons on bearing witness, and “ignored any notion that martyrdom included literal sacrifice.”³⁷

In a number of recently appearing studies, treating the question of martyrdom and suicide,³⁸ the notion of martyrdom is linked to a voluntary action. These studies emphasize that the Church Fathers insisted that martyrdom could not be voluntary. Augustine condemned voluntary martyrdom in opposition to the Donatists. Altogether, such emerging problems forcing the Church Fathers and the other prominent apologists to re-theologize the concept of martyrdom, demonstrated that the new circumstances required a redefined concept of martyrdom. The earlier, CE pre-313 definition of martyrdom was no longer tenable as the age of martyrs came to an end.

In the fifth century, Canon 83 from the Council of Carthage in CE 419 reports on the decision to destroy altars built in the memory of martyrs where there were no relics; people who visited these places were accused of holding superstitious beliefs. Canon 83 declared that no commemoration of martyrs should take place where there was no body or relics of martyrs or where it had not been proven by a reliable ancient tradition that these locations were formerly their dwellings, property, or places of martyrdom. Martyrs’ tombs seemed to have presented a menace to the Church as they tended to escape ecclesiastical control.

Further, when the far-reaching body of texts appeared, *Gesta martyrum*, allegedly composed from the fifth to the sixth century, the papacy expressed tenuous appreciation of this collection, whose authenticity was deemed suspicious.³⁹ In the sixth and seventh century, these

³⁶ See A. Dupont, “Augustine’s Homiletic Definition of Martyrdom. The Centrality of the Martyr’s Grace in his Anti-Donatist and Anti-Pelagian *Sermones ad Populum*,” in *Christian Martyrdom in Late Antiquity (300-450 AD)*, ed. P. Gemeinhardt, J. Leemans (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2012), 155-178.

³⁷ Garbarino, “Augustine, Donatists and Martyrdom,” 50.

³⁸ E.g., Bowersock, *Martyrdom and Rome*, 59-74; A. J. Droge, J. D. Tabor, *A Noble Death: Suicide and Martyrdom among Christians and Jews in Antiquity* (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1992); D. T. Bradford, “Early Christian Martyrdom and the Psychology of Depression, Suicide, and Bodily Mutilation,” *Psychotherapy: Theory, Research, Practice, Training* 27, No. 1 (1990): 30-41, etc.

³⁹ A. Thacker, “Loca Sanctorum: The Significance of Place in the Study of the Saints,” in *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West*, ed. A. Thacker, R. Sharpe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 15 (hereafter Thacker, “Loca Sanctorum”).

texts were excluded from the liturgy in churches under papal control.⁴⁰ However, the restriction most likely did not apply to the readings about local martyrs in Gaul, Spain and Africa.⁴¹ In Spain and Gaul, readings of martyrdoms were performed as lessons during Mass, replacing scriptural readings on the designated feast days.⁴² Bishop Caesarius of Arles confirms that the readings of martyrdom narratives took place in the sixth-century Gaul. He permitted the members of his congregation to sit during the reading of very long passions in church.⁴³

Yet again, the Council of Trullo in 692 CE in Canon 63 forbade the public readings of the histories of martyrs in church and particularly those which had been falsely put together. The same canon further anathematized those individuals who accepted them and ordered such books to be burned. Some scholars see this decision as an attempt at centralized control in the area of saints and calendars.⁴⁴

While martyrdoms were part of the readings in church services in Gaul and Spain in Late Antiquity, the situation in Rome was such that until the eighth century (Pope Hadrian I), martyrdom narratives were read out only in the churches dedicated to these particular martyrs.⁴⁵ However, by the end of the eighth century the replacement of the scriptural readings in the Divine office by the readings from saints' lives became a more widespread practice.⁴⁶ It became standard practice that saints' lives were perused during the services for saints' feast days in the West. Similarly, in the Benedictine monastic context the recital of saints to be remembered took place in church on the day preceding their commemoration.

In the early ninth century (CE 817), the Council of Aachen ordered that the appropriate entries in a *Martyrology* be read each day at the particular time.⁴⁷ Martyrdom texts reappeared in Latin liturgy in CE 817 following the edicts of Louis the Pious.

Thus, complex issues prompted the ambiguous treatment of martyrdom literature in Late Antiquity. Martyrdom narratives possibly had to go through processes of rewriting, purging and

⁴⁰ Thacker, "Loca Sanctorum" 15.

⁴¹ Ibid. See also Gaiffier, "La lecture des Actes des martyrs dans la prière liturgique en Occident," 134-166; idem, "La lecture des passions des martyrs à Rome avant le IX^e siècle," 63-78.

⁴² Ross, *Text, Image, Message*, 11. See also Gaiffier, "La lecture des Actes des martyrs dans la prière liturgique en Occident," 134-166.

⁴³ See Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?* 506.

⁴⁴ C. Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes. Rewriting and Canonization* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2002), 35 (hereafter Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes*).

⁴⁵ Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?* 506.

⁴⁶ Ross, *Text, Image, Message*, 11.

⁴⁷ Ross, *Text, Image, Message*, 11-12. See also L. C. Sheppard, *The Liturgical Books* (London: Hawthorn Books, 1962), 58.

purification in order to become fully appropriated after the age of transition. This transformation particularly pertains to their insertion within medieval hagiographical collections. It has been suggested that this literature occasionally shared the destiny and status of apocryphal literature. Hagiography was frequently exposed to adaptation, adjustment, abridgement, or even complete rewriting.⁴⁸ An expert in ancient Christian martyrdom, Candida Moss, argued that early martyrdom narratives reinforced the performance of the literal *imitatio Christi*.⁴⁹ Thus, martyrdom narratives were the only sub-genre of hagiography that needed to be purged of the *imitatio Christi* after the fourth century. The promotion of the literal *imitatio Christi* was no longer tenable. This feature might have caused martyrdom narratives to be seen less advantageously. Their exaltation of the *imitatio Christi* written down in the Early Christian period needed to be reduced in the following centuries to a mere veneration of a martyr so that this literature could continue to be of some use. The literal following of Christ needed to be shorted, keeping only the metaphorical meaning of looking upon martyrs.

According to a specialist of late antique hagiography, Marc van Uytfanghe, before the Edict of Milan in CE 313, the Acts of Martyrs were not produced only to perpetuate the memory of martyrs, but to encourage other potential martyrs to follow their example.⁵⁰ The narratives were made to promote and instigate a paradigm of behavior. These activities were no longer encouraged after CE 313. Consequently, the enthusiasm for such narratives had to be curtailed to simple veneration and memory to prevent them from encouraging mimicry. According to the Byzantinist Derek Krueger, the growing pleas for the mimesis of saintly lives were increasingly present from the fourth century, whereas the mimesis of martyrdom was pushed aside and even restricted.⁵¹

Imitation of a saintly life could have been promulgated with ease throughout the Middle Ages. When it comes to the active discourse on martyrdom, the end of persecution brought about its termination. Martyrs could no longer be imitated and their practice could no longer be taken

⁴⁸ See Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes*, 46.

⁴⁹ Moss, *The Other Christs*.

⁵⁰ M. van Uytfanghe, "L'hagiographie antique tardive: une littérature populaire?" *An Tard* 9 (2001): 204 (hereafter Uytfanghe, "L'hagiographie antique tardive").

⁵¹ D. Krueger, "Hagiography as an Ascetic Practice in the Early Christian East," *The Journal of Religion* 79, No. 2 (1999): 216-232.

as the ultimate proof of Christian devotion.⁵² In the view of Lucy Grig, “discourses of martyrdom were co-opted and adapted to fit the new circumstances.”⁵³ Thus, the afterlife of martyrdom narratives becomes a worthy subject for study. Use of martyrdom narratives was subject to their appropriation in the centuries to come. However, before going into detail about the particular subject of this dissertation, I will turn my attention to the ways martyrdom literature has been studied in the early modern and contemporary periods in order to situate my work within its larger scholarly context.

The Study of Martyrdom Literature

How and from what time has martyrdom literature been critically studied? Research on the subject was initially classed together with the general examination of hagiography. As an umbrella term, “hagiography” covers the study of the narratives about holy persons in the Middle Ages, as well as the martyrs.⁵⁴

The interest in hagiography appeared in the late sixteenth century when the Jesuit editors and publishers of the *Acta Sanctorum*, the Bollandists, began endeavoring to collect and gather all the hagiographical writings they could possibly find. Initially, they contrived to edit whatever they could find, uncritically approaching both non-literary and literary evidence and non-historical and legendary texts.⁵⁵ Jean Bolland intended to publish only Latin texts, an intention which was later modified.⁵⁶ From the eighteenth century, the Bollandists occasionally summarized the texts instead of publishing them at full length. Hippolyte Delehaye improved this methodology at the turn of the twentieth century, together with the other eminent Bollandist scholars, such as Papebroch and Peeters. Delehaye changed the direction of the field by the introduction of the critical (positivist) approach for the study of hagiography. Research conducted prior to Delehaye concentrated on gathering material rather than analysis. The

⁵² Ph. Wood, “Excluded from Power? The Boundaries of Orthodoxy in the Works of Athanasius and John of Ephesus,” in *An Age of Saints? Power, Conflict and Dissent in Early Medieval Christianity*, ed. P. Sarris, M. Dal Santo, P. Booth (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 63.

⁵³ Grig, *Making Martyrs*, 26.

⁵⁴ Harvey, “Martyr Passions,” 603.

⁵⁵ F. van Ommeslaeghe, “The Acta Sanctorum and Bollandist Methodology,” in *The Byzantine Saint*, ed. S. Hackel, (Crestwood, New York: St Vladimir’s Seminary’s Press, 2001), 156.

⁵⁶ For the history of the Bollandist activities, see H. Delehaye, *L’oeuvre des Bollandistes à travers trois siècles, 1615-1915* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1959). See also R. Godding, *De Rosweyde aux Acta Sanctorum. La recherche hagiographique des Bollandistes à travers quatre siècles* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 2009).

Bollandist project continued for more than four centuries to the present day. The *Acta Sanctorum* contains sixty eight volumes, grouped from January to November.

As for his approach, Delehaye perceived hagiography as a branch of the science of history.⁵⁷ Consequently, his methods did not differ from those applied to any other historical source: he sought to extract historical facts and reconstruct evidence from the hagiographical material. As a consequence, historical persons and events were distinguished from myths and legends.⁵⁸ The aim was to reconstruct positive data: the historical veracity of a saint, of events, places, dates, shrines, churches, relics, memorial festivals.⁵⁹ This is why the Bollandist definition of hagiography tied this literature to the cult of saints, which encompassed inclusion of material evidence into the study of saints. This definition dominated the field for quite a long time. The Bollandists worked on the literary aspects of the texts, but only in the sense of establishing careful criteria for identifying various literary genres of hagiography: passions and acts of martyrs, and *vitae* of saints.⁶⁰ This is point where the distinction between historical martyrdoms and epic passions comes from. It is an inheritance of the Bollandists to consider only a few martyrdoms to be historical and to neglect the remainder of the epic passions/fiction hagiography. The vast majority of these narratives, considered to be unauthentic epic passions, started being studied only recently. Guy Philippart and Gordon Whatley are among the scholars who warned against neglecting these works.⁶¹

The Bollandist dominance in the field of hagiography in the first fifty years of the twentieth century has gradually been surpassed. While their work is enormous in light of modern scholarship, their methodology, mostly based on studying hagiographical texts using philological and historical methods, nowadays represents only part of the methodological spectrum. Scholars now apply other methodological approaches.

Applying structural theory, É. Patlagean studied hagiography through social history. Peter Brown brought in interpretation of power structures through the cult of saints promoted by the higher social strata in Late Antiquity. Recent scholarship distinguishes the literary qualities

⁵⁷ Delehaye, *Cinq études sur la méthode hagiographique* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1934), 7.

⁵⁸ Harvey, "Martyr Passions," 611.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Philippart and Trigalet, "Latin Hagiography before the Ninth Century," 111-130; G. Whatley, "More Than a Female Joseph? The Sources of the Late-Fifth-Century *Passio Sanctae Eugeniae*," in *Saints and Scholars: New Perspectives on Anglo-Saxon Literature and Culture in Honour of Hugh Magennis*, ed. S. McWilliams (Cambridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2012), 87-111.

of hagiographical literature and studies its literary aspects unrelated to the cults of saints. “What matters today in the study of hagiography is a text and its context, hero, authors, language, writing style and models, audience and underlying message.”⁶²

Post-structuralist literary theory has raised awareness of the need to observe authors’ rhetoric,⁶³ narrative structure, *topoi*, but also ideologies, identities, theologies, agendas, etc. Scholars consider the extent to which Early Christian authors constructed their narratives and subjugated them to contemporary literary standards and rhetorical strategies.⁶⁴ Scholars approach the “thought worlds” of ancient people by studying their fears and anxieties. Hagiography offers a view into the soul of people in the past.⁶⁵ Consequently, scholarship has abandoned the assumption that the testimonies surrounding martyrs were inspired by religious zeal about “what really happened.”

Even though martyrdom narratives deserve their special place in the scholarship of hagiography, there has been a dearth in the systematic study of this group of narratives since the heyday of the Bollandists. Nonetheless, scholars acknowledge their presence in the overall body of hagiographical literature and the importance of studying this literature. Efthymiadis endorses the idea that the narratives about Early Christian martyrs represent a large proportion of the overall output of the post-iconoclastic period in Byzantium (eighth to tenth century), although they are much neglected by Byzantinists because they are considered to be of low historical value and have imprecise dating.⁶⁶ Brown highlights that passions were rarely studied *per se*.⁶⁷ Phillipart warns against ignoring these sources, particularly the epic passions: “Historians shunned them because most of them offer unreliable information about the age of persecution. Nevertheless, when they are analyzed as a whole, fascinating new features emerge.”⁶⁸

Some of the methodologies employed in the broader study of hagiography are applied to martyrdom narratives as well. The study of martyrdom narratives runs in several different

⁶² S. Efthymiadis, “New Developments in Hagiography,” in *Hagiography in Byzantium: Literature, Social History and Cult*, I, 157-171 (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Variorum, 2011), 164-165 (hereafter Efthymiadis, “New Developments in Hagiography”).

⁶³ Harvey, “Martyr Passions,” 605.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid, 612.

⁶⁶ S. Efthymiadis, “Hagiography from the ‘Dark Age’ to the Age of Symeon Metaphrastes (Eight-Tenth Centuries),” in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography I: Periods and Places*, ed. S. Efthymiadis (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 95-96 (hereafter Efthymiadis, “Hagiography from the ‘Dark Age’”).

⁶⁷ Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*.

⁶⁸ Phillipart and Trigalet, “Latin Hagiography before the Ninth Century,” 112.

directions. Some scholars analyze the etymology and linguistic category of the word “martyr.” Others examine the origin of the phenomenon of martyrdom, its roots, and connections to Jewish and pagan practices.⁶⁹ Boyarin, van Henten and Lieu agree that martyrdom narratives are the key sites for identity construction among Jews and Christians.⁷⁰ Yet, the others study the cultural and social implications of martyrdom in the world of early Christianity. Among the recent publications of this kind, Elisabeth Castelli argues that martyrdom narratives were a form of culture making.⁷¹ Some scholars analyze the literary aspects of martyrdoms, incorporating them (or not) into the broader studies on hagiography. Cutting-edge scholarship on the subject explores the idea that the stories of Christian martyrs were exaggerated and invented by the early church.⁷²

Describing trends in the study of martyrdom, Candida Moss states:

Illustrious early-20th century histories of martyrdom attempted to pin down the historical facts, to isolate what really happened. Philologists attempted to isolate the origins of the phenomenon of martyrdom in the evolution of the linguistic category of the martyr. Others still have tapped the intellectual reservoirs of the ancient world for stories and motifs that resonate with martyrdom. More recent studies have asked not “where does martyrdom come from?” but “what do ancient ideologies of martyrdom tell us about ancient Christianity?” A number of scholars looked at the extent to which martyr acts and discussions of martyrdom in the early church serve to create an ideal Christian self and distinguish Christians from others.⁷³

The latest trends in scholarship dealing with martyrdom narratives promote analyses of what these narratives reveal about the ideologies of martyrdom and the social and cultural contexts of Early Christianity.⁷⁴ However, any analysis such as Moss’ book on ancient Christian martyrdom must recognize that the textual history of Early Christian martyrdom texts is extremely complicated. It is impossible to know what the initial layer of a text was and what was added later during the reworking processes. In the case of Perpetua, Moss admits that Perpetua’s voice was blurred in the layers added by successive generations of editors, artists, and

⁶⁹ Boyarin, Strumtsa, Bowersock, Frend, and most recently Moss.

⁷⁰ S. Matthews, *Perfect Martyr: The Stoning of Stephen and the Construction of Christian Identity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 7.

⁷¹ Castelli, *Martyrdom and Memory*.

⁷² C. R. Moss, *The Myth of Persecution*. See also Cooper, “Martyrdom, Memory, and the ‘Media Event,’” 23-39.

⁷³ C. R. Moss, *Ancient Christian Martyrdom: Diverse Practices, Theologies, and Traditions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 17 (hereafter Moss, *Ancient Christian Martyrdom*).

⁷⁴ See the works of C. R. Moss, L. Grig, etc.

homilists.⁷⁵ Eventually, we are left puzzled as to what to extract from such texts as their earliest layers when we want to form conclusions about the ideologies of martyrdom in Early Christianity.

Does this mean that the postmodern analysis came too early to the study of texts, which were perhaps not properly examined through the multiplicity of their varieties? Does it mean that the study of what the ancient Christian texts could tell us about certain notions in Christian Antiquity in fact probably reflects not only the ancient layers, but later interpolations and insertions as well? This and several other problems have thus far marked martyrdom literature as a disfavored subject for scholarly analysis.

The obstacles for studying this literature are numerous. To name a few, the complete and total body of martyrdom literature is as yet unidentified. The total number of Latin hagiographical texts has been estimated only recently through the work of Philippart and Trigalet.⁷⁶ When it comes to hagiography and more specifically martyrdom literature in other languages, the numbers are either imprecise or unknown.

Furthermore, it is still difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish between historical martyrdoms and epic passions within the martyrdom literature, let alone know the total numbers for the two groups. The corpus of epic passions is considered to contribute to the largest part of these narratives. The insistence on authenticity and historicity of martyrdom narratives by the Bollandists is nowadays considered outdated. However, this distinction remains indispensable, primarily for studies attempting to encompass the full body of historical martyrdoms. In such studies, it is difficult to define what comprises the bodies of either historical martyrdoms or epic passions. Scholars have reached a certain consensus regarding the texts that belong to historical martyrdoms; however, the criteria used to distinguish these texts are unclear. Mostly, by tacit consensus they only study texts already being used by other scholars. Moss agrees that a lingering unspoken commitment exists to the traditional dating of the acts of the martyrs in contemporary scholarship.⁷⁷ However, this dating was estimated by nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century scholars. Many scholars continue to use the martyrdom texts traditionally

⁷⁵ Moss, *Ancient Christian Martyrdom*, 132.

⁷⁶ Philippart and Trigalet, "Latin Hagiography before the Ninth Century," 111-130.

⁷⁷ Moss, *Ancient Christian Martyrdom*, 18.

considered to be early in order to assess early Christian views on martyrdom, even though this methodology has proved problematic.⁷⁸

Moreover, scholars create their own lists of “authentic martyrdoms.” Delehayé offered his concise slant on the authentic texts.⁷⁹ Elliot alluded to some seventy authentic martyrdoms.⁸⁰ In Moss’ *The Other Christs*, the collections of Ruinart and von Gebhardt and von Harnack⁸¹ are said to have established the small canon of the generally historically reliable texts.⁸² Moss employs the string of martyrdom narratives that fits the compilations mentioned above. Musurillo also has his own slant on authentic texts.⁸³ Barnes has created his own list of authentic historical martyrdoms.⁸⁴ In his words, we possess nineteen independent texts, which were composed very shortly after the martyrdoms that they describe, between the CE 150s and 313. However, Moss disputes the early dating of the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* (which many other scholars consider to be the earliest written martyrdom narrative) although this text is in the list of the authentic martyrdoms accepted by Barnes. Furthermore, Barnes criticizes Grig, who denies the authenticity and historicity of the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* and *Martyrdom of Pionios*,⁸⁵ the texts which Barnes sees as authentic.⁸⁶

The problem of textual dating is tightly connected to authenticity and historicity. As Moss states, “the survey of martyrological discourse in the ancient world reveals some uncertainty in the dating of early martyr texts.”⁸⁷ Few, if any, of the texts Moss examined in her book *Ancient Christian Martyrdom* could be firmly fixed in the second century. In her view,

⁷⁸ Moss, *Ancient Christian Martyrdom*, 18.

⁷⁹ Polycarp, Pionius, Scillitan martyrs, Justin, Perpetua and Felicitas, Montanus and Lucius, Cyprian, Letter to the Churches of Lyon and Vienne, Maximilian, Crispina, Carpus, Papyrus and Agathonike. See Delehayé, *Les Passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires*, 11-182.

⁸⁰ Elliott, *Roads to Paradise*, 25, n. 30; See also F. Lot, *The End of the Ancient World and the Beginning of the Middle Ages* (London: Kegan Paul, 1931), 162.

⁸¹ O. von Gebhardt, *Acta martyrum selecta; ausgewählte Märtyreracten, und andere urkunden aus der verfolgungszeit der christlichen kirche* (Berlin: A. Duncker, 1902). Adolf von Harnack worked on the second volume of this collection.

⁸² C. R. Moss, *The Other Christs*, Introduction.

⁸³ H. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1972) (hereafter Musurillo, *The Acts*).

⁸⁴ T. D. Barnes, “Early Christian Hagiography and the Roman Historian,” in *Christian Martyrdom in Late Antiquity (300-450 AD)*, ed. P. Gemeinhardt, J. Leemans (New York: Walter De Gruyter, 2012), 15-34. See idem, “Pre-Decian Martyrs,” *Journal of Theological Studies* 19 (1968): 509-531; idem, *Early Christian Hagiography*, 355-359.

⁸⁵ Grig, *Making Martyrs*.

⁸⁶ Barnes, “Early Christian Hagiography and the Roman Historian,” 18, n. 13.

⁸⁷ Moss, *Ancient Christian Martyrdom*, 166.

“losing chronological footholds is unsettling, and it is difficult to narrate history of anything without solid dates and confidence in our sources.”⁸⁸

Another issue at stake is the unknown authorship of most martyrdom narratives. Recent scholarship tends to concentrate on dated works by known authors. However, hundreds of mostly anonymous martyria, lives, miracle stories outnumber the group of authorial writings. The ill-suited history and ambiguous treatment of these narratives as well as the above-mentioned impediments make studying early Christian martyrdom narratives a difficult enterprise.

Another possible problem is the lack of but also occasional inadequacy of critical editions. Scholars usually work with editions and only occasionally turn to the extant manuscripts. To name but a few examples, the texts in the *Acta Sanctorum* are at times based on meager and uncharacteristic manuscripts. As to the editions of the martyrdom narratives, several publications came out between Ruinart’s *Acta primorum martyrum sincera et selecta* in 1689 and Musurillo’s *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs* in 1971.⁸⁹ While the editors guaranteed the authenticity of the collections, the selection of the redacted martyrdom narratives meanwhile has been downsized from the former collection to the latter collection.

Even when a text is attested as authentic in all the above-mentioned collections, its textual variants recorded by different hagiographical numbers (BHG, BHL, BHO, etc.) can still diverge significantly. The textual variants within the same hagiographical number in the manuscripts, as well as the textual versions in the different languages only amplify variability. To illustrate these perplexities, the *Acts of Cyprian* is considered an objective martyrdom account, fashioned on the model of proconsular acts.⁹⁰ This is, however, a composite text, with at least three distinct layers.⁹¹ There was always an enormous interest in rewriting *The Acts of Cyprian*; namely, 34 BHL versions of the text survive. This number betrays the existence of at least that many Latin manuscript copies and the number of manuscripts could be even higher. In addition, this calculation does not consider translations of martyrdom narratives in the other languages and their manuscript copies.

⁸⁸ Moss, *Ancient Christian Martyrdom*, 166.

⁸⁹ T. Ruinart, *Acta primorum martyrum sincera et selecta* (Amsterdam: Ex officina Wetsteniana, 1689); Musurillo, *The Acts*.

⁹⁰ Musurillo, *The Acts*, xxxi.

⁹¹ Delehay, *The Legends*, 112; Musurillo, *The Acts*, xxx.

Similarly, the *Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas* is said to be piece written by three authors.⁹² The part of the text written in the first person singular, Perpetua's "diary,"⁹³ is believed to be an older layer of the text.⁹⁴ The narrative is built upon the later layers of the text embedded in the earlier layers. Five BHL numbers of this text exist.

All these perplexities are not tied exclusively to martyrdom narratives; they may also pertain to other medieval literary genres. However, medieval hagiography with martyrdom literature as its constituent part overshadows the other literary genres because of the numbers of texts appearing in medieval manuscripts. On the one hand, martyrdom literature is marked by the vast manuscript material, containing manifold varieties of the textual versions. On the other hand, it is tied to the barriers discussed earlier. All this explains the reluctance of scholars to deal with this literature. The methods and directions used to study and interpret this literature need reshaping if we deal with multi-variant texts whose (critical) editions take into consideration only part of the evidence.

Within the broader study of hagiography, there are several voices raised so far against the conventional interpretation of hagiographical texts. Discussing the scholarship on hagiography, Patrick Geary already expressed his dissatisfaction in 1994.⁹⁵ Looking back to what has happened in the field from 1965, he concluded that conceptual problems prevented scholars from reaching a full understanding of the hagiographical material. In his view, the study of hagiography has been caught by the "linguistic turn," although "Derrida has not revealed something radically new to us; that hagiography reproduces hagiography rather than a putative reality."⁹⁶ Geary argues that little remained after "scholars deconstructed hagiographic texts into their constituent literary and rhetorical echoes."⁹⁷ In his view, the solution to the problem lies in the following: to rediscover a hagiographic text, one should begin with the manuscript collections held in major European libraries.

⁹² R. D. Butler, *The New Prophecy and 'New Visions: Evidence of Montanism in The Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2006), 49 (hereafter Butler, *The New Prophecy and 'New Visions,* '). For this text, see also T. J. Heffernan, *The Passion of Perpetua and Felicity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Philippart, *Hagiographies*, 33-35.

⁹³ Butler, *The New Prophecy and 'New Visions,* ' 1.

⁹⁴ Musurillo, *The Acts*, xxvii.

⁹⁵ P. J. Geary, "Saints, Scholars and Society: The Elusive Goal," in *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994), 9-29 (hereafter Geary, "Saints, Scholars and Society").

⁹⁶ Ibid, 17.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

In 2008, Susan A. Harvey reasserted this stance. In the *Oxford Handbook of the Early Christian Studies*, writing an article on the methodology for studying Early Christian martyr passions, Harvey conveyed a similar message.⁹⁸ She noted that what was missing in the field of martyr passions and hagiography is “placing hagiography within its varying contexts of reception: where and how it was read, heard, performed, enacted, in what ritual or performative conditions or spaces, and how these differing contexts contributed to the narrative represented and received.”⁹⁹ Harvey stressed the need for comparative studies of the different versions of hagiography in their ancient translations.

These two less frequented appeals to change the way hagiography is studied significantly influenced my work. However, I learned from a recent article of Anna Taylor that these fields of study have already been acknowledged. Namely, Taylor marks three major trends in recent scholarship on hagiography: interest in the rhetorical aspects of the texts, interest in redactions, and attention to the manuscripts.¹⁰⁰ The last two trends pertain to the subject matter of this dissertation.

The interest in redactions and the “permutations of the narrative” certainly contributed to the shift from the initial search for the original version to paying attention to its varieties.¹⁰¹ The important works in the area of examining the physical aspects of the textual transmission have been carried out by those of Philippart, Trigalet, Dolbeau, Geary, Ashley and Sheingorn.¹⁰² Finally, Taylor concludes that recent scholarship allows us to consider individual text in relation to its historical context, its broad literary heritage, and its range of uses.¹⁰³

Together, Geary and Harvey influenced and directed research on the case study at the heart of this dissertation, the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium*, while Taylor only confirmed

⁹⁸ Harvey, “Martyr Passions,” 603-627.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ A. Taylor, “Hagiography and Early Medieval History,” *Religion Compass* 7, No. 1 (2013): 3 (hereafter Taylor, “Hagiography and Early Medieval History”).

¹⁰¹ F. Lifshitz, “Beyond Positivism and Genre: “Hagiographic” Texts as Historical Narrative,” *Viator* 25 (1994): 95-113 (hereafter Lifshitz, “Beyond Positivism”). See also Philippart, *Hagiographies*, 1994; D. R. Bauer, and K. Herbers, *Hagiographie im context. Wirkungsweisen und Möglichkeiten historischer Auswertung. Beiträge zur Hagiographie 1* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2000). Another important contributor to this subject is Goulet, who applies Genette’s theory of intertextuality to the study of hagiographical texts. See M. Goulet, *Écriture et réécriture hagiographiques: essai sur les réécritures de Vies de saints dans l’Occident latin médiéval (VIIIe-XIIIe siècle)* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2005) (hereafter Goulet, *Ecriture et reécriture*); M. Goulet et M. Heinzelmänn, ed., *La réécriture hagiographique dans l’Occident médiéval: transformations formelles et idéologiques* (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2003) (hereafter Goulet and Heinzelmänn, *La réécriture hagiographique*).

¹⁰² See K. Ashley and P. Sheingorn, *Writing Faith: Text, Sign and History in the Miracles of Sainte Foy* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1999).

¹⁰³ Taylor, “Hagiography and Early Medieval History,” 8.

my views concerning the best methodological practice in studying hagiography, while her article helped to situate my work in the wider scholarship. In the following, the case study itself will be described in more detail.

The Case Study

The *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* is a paradigmatic martyrdom narrative. It complies with the rules of the genre, with which it shares a common structure, form, and aims. The *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* was allegedly written down in the course of the fourth century CE. If so, it belongs to the category of Early Christian martyrdom narratives. It is an anonymous narrative, devoid of exact dating, bereft of information about the original language and the original version of the text. Late Antiquity exhibits plenty of similar examples of such narrative writing. Several unresolved questions related to this text have made it an unappealing subject of study thus far.

Irenaeus was the first Christian bishop of Sirmium. Sirmium was one of the flourishing urban centers within the later Roman Empire, particularly during the Tetrarchy. After Theodosius' death and the division of the Empire in CE 395, Sirmium remained literally on the border between the Eastern and the Western Empires. This prosperous late antique city was also an important Early Christian center. Consequently, it bore witness to one of the major persecutions of Christians after the fourth edict of Diocletian in CE 304. A number of Christians were martyred in Sirmium according to the narratives, among them Anastasia, Sinerotes/Serenus, Quattuor coronati, Deacon Demetrius,¹⁰⁴ and Bishop Irenaeus.

The *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* describes Bishop Irenaeus' arrest, his trial, and his rejection of offering up a pagan sacrifice. The bishop renounces earthly life, declaring that he

¹⁰⁴ As some of these martyrs' relics were scattered to the far corners of the Late Roman Empire, their cults accordingly developed in these new locations. Quattuor Coronati had their early cult in Rome. A fifth-century manuscript in the Vatican Library records the text on their martyrdom. The cult of Anastasia, a martyr who suffered in Sirmium, developed initially in Rome and Constantinople and later on the Dalmatian coast. Sinerotes/Serenus never had cult and his martyrdom is only preserved in the two early Latin manuscripts. Finally, an important cult developed around Demetrius although its rise is uncertain. There is a debate as to whether Sirmium and Thessaloniki are the places of origin for his cult. See M. Vickers, "Sirmium or Thessaloniki? A Critical Examination of the St. Demetrius Legend," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 67 (1974): 337-350; P. Toth, "Sirmian Martyrs in Exile. Pannonian Case-studies and a Re-evaluation of the St. Demetrius Problem," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 103 (2010): 145-170; see also T. Vedriš, "Communities in Conflict. The Rivalry between the Cults of St Anastasia and Chrysogonus in Medieval Zadar," *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 11 (2005): 29-48.

confesses Christianity. Before his beheading, Irenaeus prays to God. After he suffers martyrdom, his body is thrown into the River Sava.

Irenaeus's martyrdom narrative was written, rewritten and translated into five different languages, Latin, Greek, Old Church Slavonic, Armenian and Georgian, all of which came into light in the medieval Mediterranean in several dozen textual versions. These numbers and varieties do not permit any of the steps in the textual afterlife of this particular narrative to be disregarded. Placing an emphasis on the variety of textual versions has not been a common methodological approach in the scholarship so far, while the textual varieties were usually overlooked in favor of using a number of representative manuscripts or alternative critical editions. Discussing textual varieties in the study of martyrdom literature in general stands out from current methodological trends, which tend toward reconstructing the ideologies and mentalities of Early Christians, mostly on the basis of textual editions. However, an Early Christian martyrdom narrative underwent a number of interpolations in the Middle Ages and no text can be taken for granted. We could not possibly know which of a text's multiple layers were added at which time if all the phases of its afterlife are not followed. *Habent sua fata libelli*. This expression applies not only to different textual versions, but to the separate manuscripts as well. Every codex has its own destiny, its own story.

An addition to the number of textual versions in the manuscripts is the question of the existence of the cult of Irenaeus, albeit in the limited area around Sirmium and unrelated to the appearance of the manuscripts. The early cult of Irenaeus existed from the fourth to the sixth centuries, as attested by the archeological remains and by an epigraphic inscription in Sirmium. Two late antique cult places are associated to his cult. The epigraphic inscription attests to the location of one of the cult places, a basilica, while the other cult place remains unconfirmed. Irenaeus' early cult was swept away by the Avar invasions of Sirmium in the sixth century. There are no traces of cultic continuity in the following period.

New life was breathed into the unconfirmed late antique cult place during the Middle Ages (tenth to fourteenth centuries) and after some centuries of silence. Three churches were subsequently built on the spot in this period. The last is dated to the end of the thirteenth century and dedicated to Irenaeus. This attestation led Vladislav Popović, who excavated in Sirmium, to assume that the earlier buildings had had the same dedication. In his view, the dedication of the church from the end of the thirteenth century probably did not mean that a continuity of the

religious cult existed, but that the dedication to Irenaeus emerged as a consequence of proliferating literary and liturgical sources at the time.¹⁰⁵ He linked the material evidence to the literary evidence. It is due to this affirmation that the dissertation touches upon the issue of cult, but only to deconstruct the idea that the cult and the extant textual evidence were connected. Besides, it is of note that Irenaeus' bodily remains, the relics, never made an appearance and are almost completely absent from the narratives. As mentioned earlier, Irenaeus died by beheading and his body was thrown into the River Sava. Despite the absence of the bodily remnants, the textual evidence still circulated for some time in the Middle Ages and was translated into different languages.

Irenaeus of Sirmium was not a prominent medieval saint, although he was an early martyr. His martyrdom narrative belongs to the category of historical martyrdoms. His cult existed in Late Antiquity. None of the late antique features were constructed, yet his fame did not last long after a certain point in the Middle Ages. Why?

The focus of the dissertation is on the period of the Early Middle Ages, starting in the eighth century, when the written evidence related to the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* first materialized in manuscripts. The first preserved manuscript with the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* stems from the eighth century and comes from the Latin West. By the eleventh century, the manuscripts with this text had already come out in Latin, Greek and Old Church Slavonic. The eleventh century represents a determining period in the afterlife of this narrative. After the eleventh century, the Latin West evinced a notable increase in the number of manuscripts containing this text, while this text almost completely disappeared in Byzantium and its Commonwealth, judging by the number of manuscripts which significantly decreased. The revival of the cult place in Sirmium takes place at this time.

Studying textual varieties lies at the core of this dissertation. However, studying textual varieties in their own right does not reveal much if we do not consider that there are communities and contexts behind the texts. The languages in which this text was written are bound to a multiplicity of places, environments, and different realms. Some of these environments possibly wield influence on the text. As Susan Harvey noted, the various contexts in which a text appears

¹⁰⁵ V. Popović, "Blaženi Irinej, prvi episkop Sirmijuma" [The Blessed Irenaeus, the First Bishop of Sirmium], in *Sirmium – grad careva i mučenika* [Sirmium. The City of the Emperors and Martyrs], (Sremska Mitrovica: Blago Sirmiuma, 2003).

contribute to the text being differently represented and received.¹⁰⁶ Additionally, analysis of the different contexts contributes to understanding of how the martyr was “remembered” in various Christian realms and different communities.

The analysis of the textual versions reveals a great deal about rewriting and translating processes that took place in the different environments, in Medieval West, Byzantium, among the Slavs, and consequently in Armenian and Georgian Christian traditions. Scholarship has dealt with the phenomenon of rewriting, but analyses of rewriting processes, particularly within hagiography, are still uncommon.¹⁰⁷

The medieval period starting from the eighth century is historically distant from the age of Early Christian martyrs. The distance compels us to reflect on how the past was used in this period. The dissertation explores the uses of the past through the lens of this case study. The text is discussed within its cultural and social contexts of use in the centuries, which postdate its original setting and dating. It focuses on the afterlife of the martyrdom narrative dedicated to Irenaeus of Sirmium, reflected in the manuscripts written on and off throughout Europe and the Near East, in Latin, Greek, Old Church Slavonic, Armenian and Georgian.

The questions to be pursued in this dissertation and their arrangement by chapters are presented in the following section. Chapter one is concerned with place. Where were the manuscripts containing the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* copied, kept and used? The further focus of the chapter is on readers and users of the hagiographical manuscript collections containing the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus*. How available and comprehensible were such hagiographical texts to their audience? To what extent could a hagiographical text touch a wider audience? Finally, the connections of the various scriptoria, which produced the manuscripts containing this text will be investigated. Based on the connections (or lack thereof) of the different scriptoria, particularly in the realms where different languages were used, the feasible conclusion about the emergence of the first translation of this text will be presented.

Furthermore, chapter two deals with the collections. How was the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* contextualized within the manuscript collections? What kind of collections contained this text? Were all the collections aligned to calendars? The time-period that concerns this

¹⁰⁶ Harvey, “Martyr Passions,” 603-627.

¹⁰⁷ A good example of such study is Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes*, 2002. The forthcoming publication of S. Efthymiadis will be dedicated to the trends and techniques of rewriting in Byzantium. See S. Efthymiadis, ed., *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography II: Genres and Contexts* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), xvii.

dissertation overlaps with the processes of calendar formation which were taking place in both East and West. Many saints, whose narratives entered hagiographic collections in the late antique period either managed to perpetuate memory by retaining their stable date in the calendar and in this way continued to be “remembered,” or lost the date and were “forgotten” by the eleventh century. The aim of the chapter is to call attention to the importance of calendars in the processes surrounding the survival of single texts. Complex rules were applied in the formation of calendar collections. The period from the eighth to the eleventh centuries was the key period for martyrs and other saints to establish themselves in calendars and be remembered or to fade into oblivion for good. It is sufficient to imagine that either destiny was instigated by complex circumstances. The position of Irenaeus in the calendar collections was impacted by changing trends; it eventually led to disruption of the feast day where the hagiographical text had sheltered.

Further, chapter three touches upon the cult of Irenaeus and its connection to the hagiographical text and the calendar collections. Therefore, the chapter also pertains to calendars, but only with a view to their links with the possible late antique and medieval cult(s) of Irenaeus and his establishment in the calendar collections in local religious environments. The chapter considers the commonly held concept that calendars were greatly influenced by local hues; local prominence and cult were the entrance ticket for saints into (local) calendars. While this may have been possible, the lesser known saints such as Irenaeus appeared in calendars not with the short-cut entrance tickets based on their cult but usually in ways that were unrelated to the communities that adopted the calendars. The aim of the chapter is to understand that the presence of saints in calendars did not necessarily depend on their cults or their local prominence. Calendars often had a life of their own. They were transferred from tradition to tradition, while the calendar collections were arrayed according to the order of the saints contained within them. Calendars were not necessarily attached to particular communities, as they were often borrowed from one community to the other. When used, they reflected nothing more than the general pious attitude of a community towards the holy. The calendars were transmitted from authoritative and influential realms. The calendars in particular communities were therefore not necessarily local calendars.

Chapter four deals with the textual varieties of Irenaeus’ narrative. It follows the transformations of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* in the manuscripts, particularly focusing on the different languages. This is one of the core issues of this dissertation, as it will

reveal the extent to which medieval interpolations in the late antique text impacted the processes of textual transformation. The questions to be pursued are: How was the text transformed when copied into different manuscripts? How do the translations of this text in different languages relate to each other? Was the text transformed in different Christian communities due to the touchstones of these particular communities, or the textual differences only display the different phases of textual *metaphrasis*? Did the communities actively shape the text?

Chapter five delves into the question of what it looked like when medieval communities themselves shaped the inner transformations in the hagiographical text. The focus lies on several manuscripts in which the text was molded in order to fit the purposes of the new collections. The *raison d'être* of the collections influenced the transformation of a single text. These collections are the “Imperial *Menologia*” which certainly stand out compared to the rest of the corpus containing the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium*. The different outlook of the “Imperial *Menologia*” indicates the various social classes of the manuscript users. The chapter will contrast and compare the uses of the “Imperial *Menologia*” and the other manuscript collections containing the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium*. Chapter five ends by contextualizing the “Imperial *Menologia*” within broader historical and literary contexts in Byzantium.

Finally, this dissertation aims to reveal the new meanings Early Christian martyrdoms attained in the eyes of medieval Christian communities based on the way they came to be used. In the history of medieval Christian realms, many emerging historical situations evidencing the existence of victims called for martyrs as being the erstwhile actors of the embodied suffering. The specific features of martyrs and martyrdom tied their recollection specifically to the periods of crisis. Their appropriation and reuse escalated in times of turmoil, when people felt an enhanced need to associate themselves with the martyrs. In times of peace, the new, living examples of good Christian behavior prevailed. Common Christians were taught to fast, pray, and admire Christian soldiers in peace, *milites Christi* – monks, ascetics, hermits, and holy men of various kinds. The attachment to martyrs did not reveal anything about martyrs themselves; it said more about people, their needs, and their longing to re-appropriate the symbols of the past. Martyrs brought to mind the events and the suffering of a particular group in the past. Their commemoration acted as a warning and a reminder that such events should not be repeated. In this sense, they become a powerful tool in the hands of groups that reclaimed their victimized past. Martyrdoms are the product of remembering; memories of the past, rather than past itself

come to be more influential in societies that tend to revisit their past. This mechanism proved vigorous in the past as well as in the contemporary world. The epilogue will treat this subject in greater detail.

Methodology

The range of methodological approaches that ensue will facilitate answers to the proposed questions. What Geary and Harvey suggested for the future of hagiography study – namely, going back to libraries in search of hagiographical manuscripts and studying the ways hagiographical texts were received, used and performed – has been embraced within the methodological framework of “New/Material Philology.” This philological school seeks to describe the history of a period or a group by using the written sources which appeared as cultural products of the same period and the same group in order to understand their perspectives on their own history. Therefore, the postulates of New Philology will be applied as the overarching methodology for this dissertation. New Philology is particularly useful in studying anonymous texts where the origin and the original version of a text must be disregarded and the text is studied in the context and in the form in which it was used within the community where the text continued.

“New Philology” initially appeared within the methodological framework of Colonial studies in the 1970s, more precisely through studying the history of colonized people through using their own written sources (James Lockhart,¹⁰⁸ Matthew Restall,¹⁰⁹ Susan Schroeder¹¹⁰). According to Restall, in “New Philology,” the study of native language sources is crucial to

¹⁰⁸ See J. Lockhart, *The Men of Cajamarca: A Social and Biographical Study of the First Conquerors of Peru* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1972); idem, *Nahuatl in the Middle Years: Language Contact Phenomena in Texts of the Colonial Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976); idem, *Beyond the Codices: The Nahuatl View of Colonial Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976); idem, *Nahuas and Spaniards: Postconquest Mexican History and Philology* (Stanford: Stanford University Press; and Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center, 1991); idem, *Of Things of the Indies: Essays Old and New in Early Latin American History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999); J. Lockhart, L. Sousa, and S. Wood, eds., *Sources and Methods for the Study of Postconquest Mesoamerican Ethnohistory* (The Wired Humanities Project at the University of Oregon, 2007).

¹⁰⁹ See M. Restall, *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); idem, *2012 and the End of the World: the Western Roots of the Maya Apocalypse* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2011); idem, *The Black Middle: Africans, Mayas, and Spaniards in Colonial Yucatan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009); idem, “A History of the New Philology and the New Philology in History,” *Latin American Research Review* 38, No. 1, (2003): 113-134 (hereafter Restall, “A History of the New Philology”).

¹¹⁰ S. Schroeder, *Chimalpahin and the Kingdoms of Chalco* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1991).

understanding indigenous societies. The school is thus both a model and a method, with the “New” referring to the innovation in both emphasizing native roles in colonial history through the study of native language sources (the model) and in analyzing those sources philologically (the method).¹¹¹

In the field of medieval studies, it has been employed since the beginning of 1990s, emerging first within medieval French and Norse studies. It was elaborated in Norse studies by Matthew Driscoll.¹¹² A special issue of *Speculum* in 1990 was dedicated to New Philology.¹¹³ The remark of Bernard Cerquiglini, that “medieval writing does not produce variants, but that it is in itself a variance” has been commonly repeated.¹¹⁴ Also, medieval culture did not just simply live with diversity, it cultivated it.¹¹⁵ Wenzel suggested that we can no longer consider a codex as a mere receptacle, preserving the text under investigation; instead, a modern editor has to look at the manuscript “holistically,” as a total unit about whose physical makeup, composition and history we have to investigate to the fullest.¹¹⁶ One appropriately “postmodern gesture” of New Philology, as suggested by Stephen Nichols, is a return to the manuscripts themselves, not merely as sources of editions, but as “the original texts.”¹¹⁷

New Philology now emerges in different areas of medieval studies as a useful groundwork for studying manuscript varieties. The work of the Würzburg research group proved to be particularly effective in the field of hagiography combined with New Philology.¹¹⁸ Currently the group of scholars (Hugo Lundhaug, Liv Ingeborg Lied) utilizes the same methodology at the University of Oslo to study the Nag Hammadi collections and Syriac Pseudepigrapha.¹¹⁹

¹¹¹ Restall, “A History of the New Philology,” 113-134.

¹¹² M. J. Driscoll, “The Words on the Page: Thoughts on Philology, Old and New,” in *Creating the Medieval Saga: Versions, Variability, and Editorial Interpretations of Old Norse Saga Literature*, ed. J. Quinn and E. Lethbridge (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2010), 85-102 (hereafter Driscoll, “The Words on the Page”); idem, “The Long and Winding Road: Manuscript Culture in Post-medieval Iceland,” in *White Field, Black Seeds: Nordic Literacy Practices in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. A. Kuismin, M. J. Driscoll (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2013), 50-63, etc.

¹¹³ *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies* 65/1 (1990).

¹¹⁴ See S. G. Nichols, “The New Philology: Introduction: Philology in a Manuscript Culture,” *Speculum* 65 (1990): 1 (hereafter Nichols, “The New Philology: Introduction”).

¹¹⁵ Nichols, “The New Philology: Introduction,” 9.

¹¹⁶ S. Wenzel, “Reflections on (New) Philology,” *Speculum* 65 (1990): 14.

¹¹⁷ S. Fleischmann, “Philology, Linguistics, and the Discourse of the Medieval Text,” *Speculum* 65 (1990): 25.

¹¹⁸ See e.g., W. Williams-Krapp, “Late Medieval German Manuscript Culture and Vernacular Hagiography,” in “*Scribere sanctorum gesta.*” *Recueil d'études d'hagiographie médiévale offert à Guy Philippart*, ed. É. Renard, M. Trigalet, X. Hermand, P. Bertrand (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 343-355.

¹¹⁹ See H. Lundhaug, *The Project New Contexts for Old Texts: Unorthodox Texts and Monastic Manuscript Culture*

The study of texts through the methodology of New Philology has been encouraged by the general instability and differences between medieval textual variants. Arguing that “variation is what medieval text is about,”¹²⁰ it relies on the premise that it is possible to have as many versions of a text as we have manuscripts. The versions speak to the specific backgrounds and contexts of their use. New Philology perceives literary works as inseparable components to their materiality. As Driscoll notes, “one needs to look at the whole book, and the relationships between the text and the form and layout, illumination, rubrics and other paratextual features, and, not least, the surrounding texts.”¹²¹ Through such methodology, one is able to comprehend the way a text was used, performed, understood or enacted, as a separate unit, or as a part of the whole manuscript. The book is a physical object. It goes as a physical object through a series of processes in which a potentially large number of people are involved. Codices and manuscripts derive from processes which are socially, economically and intellectually determined. Such factors influence the form of the text and are part of its meaning.

Apart from New Philology as the overarching methodological framework for this dissertation, several other approaches will be implemented. New Philology combines nicely with the methodological frameworks of narratology and intertextuality.¹²² Narratology and intertextuality are useful methodologies for presenting textual variability regarding the narrative structure and textual borrowings. Further, the study of the places of manuscript production and use concerns manuscript geography, a field which combines well with New Philology.¹²³ In the

in *Fourth- and Fifth-Century Egypt*, <<http://www.tf.uio.no/english/research/projects/newcont/>> Last accessed: 17/01/2014; L. I. Lied and H. Lundhaug, ed., *Snapshots of Evolving Traditions: Jewish and Christian Manuscript Culture, Textual Fluidity, and New Philology*, forthcoming; L. I. Lied, “Text – Work – Manuscript: What is “an Old Testament Pseudepigraph on?”” <https://www.academia.edu/5245275/Response_to_Old_Testament_Pseudepigrapha_More_Noncanonical_Scriptures_Lied_SBL_251113> Last accessed: 26/05/2014.

¹²⁰ Driscoll, “The Words on the Page.”

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² See M. Bal, *Narratology. Introduction to the Theory of Narrative* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1997) (hereafter Bal, *Narratology*); G. Genette, *Narrative Discourse. An Essay in Method* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1980) (hereafter Genette, *Narrative Discourse*); idem, *Narrative Discourse Revisited* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988) (hereafter Genette, *Narrative Discourse Revisited*); J. Phelan and P. J. Rabinowitz, ed., *A Companion to Narrative Theory* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005); G. Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree* (London: University of Nebraska Press, 1997) (hereafter Genette, *Palimpsests*); G. Allen, *Intertextuality* (London: Routledge, 2000) (hereafter Allen, *Intertextuality*).

¹²³ See W. Scase, ed., *Essays in Manuscript Geography: Vernacular Manuscripts of the English West Midlands from the Conquest to the Sixteenth Century* (Turnout: Brepols, 2007) (hereafter Scase, *Essays in Manuscript Geography*).

study of calendars, I used the quantitative method of Guy Philippart.¹²⁴ The methodologies will be explained in detail in the chapters to which they pertain.

Some scholars from the fields of study affiliated with medieval studies note some of the tenets of New Philology without particularly naming the methodology. Their focus was placed on the textual varieties and the textual translations in different languages.

In the study of liturgy, Paul Bradshaw emphasized that liturgical texts were more exposed to emendation than other sorts of literature because their aim was to provide for the current needs of a living Christian community in a specific cultural context.¹²⁵ In the same way as hagiography, liturgical manuscripts are a genre of “living literature.” This material circulates within a community, influencing forming its heritage and traditions but also reflecting changing historical and cultural circumstances because it is constantly subject to revision and rewriting.¹²⁶ In other words, such texts were shaped by immediate needs and did not aim at preserving the texts in an unchanged form. Claudia Rapp pointed out that “such ‘living texts’ were best studied through the particular contexts and environments in which they were used.”¹²⁷ F. L. Cross argues that liturgical manuscripts were not written to satisfy historical interest but to serve a strictly practical end. Their intent was to serve the needs of the church.¹²⁸ The New Testament scholar David C. Parker¹²⁹ criticizes the lack of sufficient attention that is paid to textual varieties.¹³⁰ The failure to treat works in their physical setting and the denial of the manuscript tradition is in his view a fundamental methodological error.¹³¹

Further, Sebastian Brock points out that the study of the literature of Late Antiquity must not ignore the literature in languages other than Latin and Greek but must include oriental languages; this is particularly so for the study of hagiography, where the texts easily crossed

¹²⁴ See Philippart and Trigalet, “Latin Hagiography before the Ninth Century;” M. Trigalet, “Compter les livres hagiographiques: aspects quantitatifs de la création et de la diffusion de la littérature hagiographique latine (IIe – XVe siècle,” *Gazette du livre médiéval* 38 (2001): 1-13 (hereafter Trigalet, “Compter les livres hagiographiques”); G. Philippart, *Hagiographies*, <http://www.unamur.be/philo_lettres/histoire/h221m.htm> Last accessed: 23/07/2014.

¹²⁵ P. F. Bradshaw, “Continuity and Change in Early Eucharistic Practice: Shifting Scholarly Perspectives,” in *Continuity and Change in Christian Worship*, ed. R. N. Swanson (Rochester, NY: The Boydell Press, 1999), 2.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹²⁷ Personal communication, Vienna, October 2012.

¹²⁸ F. L. Cross, “Early Western Liturgical Manuscripts,” *Journal of Theological Studies* 16 (1965): 63-64.

¹²⁹ D. C. Parker, *Textual Scholarship and the Making of the New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) (hereafter Parker, *Textual Scholarship*).

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 14.

linguistic boundaries.¹³² Parker stressed the significance of various copies of a (New Testament) text in various languages, many of which had dialectal sub-versions and their own history of recensions. “Each of these has its own bibliographical, textual, and cultural history and current significance.”¹³³

This dissertation profited a great deal from the existence of the Old Church Slavonic *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium*. Its translation, analysis and comparison to the versions of the same text in other languages are particularly significant from the point of view of this dissertation for several reasons. Generally, scholars have already acknowledged Old Church Slavonic translations of hagiographical works as important in the history of textual transmission. Francis Dvornik argued for the importance and frequent indispensability of Old Church Slavonic textual evidence in the textual transmission of Latin and Greek Christian texts.¹³⁴ A significant number of reading *menologia* translated into Old Church Slavonic from Greek are considered to have preserved pre-metaphrastic versions of the texts. The Slavonic insistence on pre-metaphrastic texts was continued possibly up to the seventeenth century.¹³⁵ This makes Old Church Slavonic translations of the Christian texts precious guardians of the early textual versions.¹³⁶ Finally, scholarship on the Suprasl Codex within the Slavic studies could possibly provide a framework and give directions for research on Latin and Greek manuscripts of the same text. Neither the Latin nor the Greek manuscripts containing the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium*, regardless of how many actually exist, have been studied as thoroughly as the single Old Church Slavonic manuscript containing this text, the Suprasl Codex.

¹³² S. P. Brock, “Saints in Syriac: A Little-Tapped Resource,” *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 16, No. 2 (2008): 181-196.

¹³³ Parker, *Textual Scholarship*, 21.

¹³⁴ F. Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958), 203.

¹³⁵ See D. Atanasova, *Мъченици, текстове, контексти* [Martyrs, Texts, Contexts], (Sofia: Stigmati, 2008), 185. See also T. Helland, “The Serbian Church Slavonic Text of the Martyrion of Dorotheos of Alexandria,” *Poljarnyj Vestnik* 9 (2006): 46-51; idem, “The Pre-Metaphrastic Byzantine Reading *Menologion* for July in the Slavonic Tradition,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 101, No. 2 (2008): 659-667.

¹³⁶ The Suprasl Codex, the Old Church Slavonic manuscript, which contains the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium*, has been marked as a collection that completely lacks the texts reworked by Metaphrastes. Dobrev explicitly argues this. See I. Dobrev, “Агиографската реформа на Симеон Метафраст и съставът на Супрасълския сборник” [Hagiographical Reform of Symeon Metaphrastes and the Composition of the Suprasl Codex], *Старобългарска литература* 10 (1981): 16-38 (hereafter Dobrev, “Агиографската реформа”).

Sources

The important basis for studying hagiographical texts is their systematic enumeration. A hagiographical number is given to each distinct text. The Bollandists established this system. The numbers disregard the title of the narrative and estimate the textual version. Narratives with the same title could still represent different versions and receive different hagiographical numbers. The reference books entitled as *bibliothecae hagiographicae*, introducing the numbers of hagiographical texts, have been published for Latin texts (*Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, BHL),¹³⁷ Greek texts (*Bibliotheca hagiographica Graeca*, BHG),¹³⁸ Oriental texts, that is Syriac, Coptic, Arabic, Armenian, Ethiopian (*Bibliotheca hagiographica orientalis*, BHO).¹³⁹ However, BHO does not contain Georgian hagiographical texts. The information about what has been written and translated into Georgian language within the large hagiographical corpus is available only in Georgian, in the first volume of the six-volume collection written by Enriko Gabidzashvili, published in 2004.¹⁴⁰ Climentina Ivanova published the Slavonic hagiographical corpus in the *Bibliotheca hagiographica Balkano-Slavica* (BHBS) only in 2008.¹⁴¹

The Latin *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* comes in one BHL number, 4466. This feature suggests that all the manuscripts contain the same textual version. Dolbeau has published the total list of the Latin manuscripts, which contain this text. They are 37 Latin manuscripts, starting from the eighth century as well as four adaptations of the narrative.¹⁴² Dolbeau presumes that this number will grow in the future as new library catalogues keep being published.

The preserved Latin manuscripts containing this text come from the West: France, Belgium, Germany, England, Northern Italy, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, etc. This text rarely appears in Britain and Italy (the few examples come from the monasteries of Jervaux and Bobbio). The regions with the highest production of the manuscripts are the Rhine Basin,

¹³⁷ Socii Bollandiani, *Bibliotheca hagiographica Latina* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1898-1899) (hereafter BHL).

¹³⁸ F. Halkin, *Bibliotheca hagiographica Graeca 1-3* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1957) (hereafter BHG).

¹³⁹ P. Peeters, *Bibliotheca hagiographica orientalis* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1910) (hereafter BHO).

¹⁴⁰ E. Gabidzashvili, *Dzveli kartuli mc'erlobis natargmni dzeglebi* [Translated Works of Ancient Georgian Literature], (Tbilisi: Theological Seminary and Academy Publishing House, 2004) (hereafter Gabidzashvili, *Translated Works. Hagiography*).

¹⁴¹ K. Ivanova, ed., *Bibliotheca hagiographica Balkano-Slavica* (Sofia: Akad-no izd. "Prof. Marin Drinov," 2008) (hereafter BHBS).

¹⁴² F. Dolbeau, "Le dossier hagiographique d'Irenée, évêque de Sirmium," *Sanctorum societas* (2005): 147-168 (hereafter Dolbeau, "Le dossier").

Flanders, and the area around the River Seine. These regions generally transmitted the highest number of legend collections.¹⁴³

Dolbeau's list of manuscripts in alphabetical order, according to the manuscripts' libraries, is shown in the following list.¹⁴⁴

- Auxerre, Bibl. Mun. 127 (114), ff. 205v – 206, twelfth century, Pontigny
- Avranches, Bibl. mun. 167, ff. 114v – 115, thirteenth century, Mont-Saint-Michel
- Brussels, Bibl. roy. 207 – 208, ff. 204v – 205, twelfth century, region of Cologne
- Brussels, Bibl. roy. 9289, ff. 139v – 140, twelfth century, St-Laurent de Liege
- Cambrai, Bibl. mun. 816, ff. 181v – 182v, fifteenth century, St-Sepulchre de Cambrai
- Cambron, the lost legend, preserved in Brussels, Bibl. roy. 8524, 7, seventeenth century
- Charleville, Bibl. mun. 200, ff. 112 – 113, thirteenth century, Signy (?)
- Charleville, Bibl. mun. 254, t. I, ff. 142v – 143v, twelfth century, Belval
- Compiègne, the lost legend, preserved in Paris, B.N.F. lat. 13071, ff. 156, seventeenth century
- Douai, Bibl. mun. 840, ff. 152v – 153r, twelfth century, Marchiennes
- Dublin, Trin. Coll. Lib. B. 1. 16. (cat. 171), ff. 106 – 108, thirteenth century, Jervaux
- Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibl. 247, ff. 201 – 205, twelfth century
- Augsburg, Univ. Lib. I 2 4. 16, ff. 51 – 52, twelfth to thirteenth century, Harburg (Schloss), Bibl. Oettingen – Wallerstein
- Karlsruhe, Badische landesbibl. Aug. XXXII, ff. 132rv, ninth century, Reichenau
- London, Brit. Lib. Nero C VII, ff. 29rv, twelfth century
- London, Brit. Lib. Harl. 2800, ff. 138, thirteenth century, Arnstein
- Montpellier, Bibl. univ. med. 1, t. V, ff. 179v – 180, twelfth century, Clairvaux
- Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibl. Clm 4554, ff. 89v–91, eighth to ninth century, Benediktbeuern
- Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibl. Clm 17138, ff. 14v–15, twelfth to thirteenth century

¹⁴³ Dolbeau, "Le dossier," 156, n. 28.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, 153-155. Dolbeau records where the manuscripts were deposited in modern times, the manuscript numeration, folios, dating, and their place of origin. In his article, he also includes lost legends about Irenaeus, reconstructed either in later manuscripts or from the other texts.

- Ourscamp, the lost legend, preserved in the manuscript Paris, BnF lat. 11769, ff. 322v, seventeenth century
- Paris, BnF lat. 5279, ff. 125v,¹⁴⁵ thirteenth century, Savigny
- Paris, BnF lat. 5297, ff. 159v-160r, thirteenth century, Foucarmont
- Paris, BnF lat. 5349, ff. 199v-200v, fourteenth century, Fontevrault
- Paris, BnF lat. 5352, ff. 219rv, thirteenth century, Bonport
- Paris, BnF lat. 16732, ff. 181rv, twelfth century, Châalis
- Paris, BnF lat. 17004, ff. 176rv, thirteenth century, Feuillants
- Reims, the lost legend, preserved in Paris, BnF lat. 950, ff. 15v, sixteenth century
- Rouen, Bibl. mun. U 42 (cat. 1379), ff. 211v-212v, tenth to eleventh century, Angers
- Saint-Omer, Bibl. mun. 715, t. 1, ff. 168v-169v, the end of eleventh century, St-Bertin
- Saint-Omer, Bibl. mun. 716, t. II, ff. 167v-168v, thirteenth century, Clairmarais
- Torino, Bibl. Naz. F. III. 16, ff. 31–32v, tenth century, Bobbio
- Trier, Stadtbibl. 1151, t. 1 (962), ff. 154-155, thirteenth century, St-Maximin
- Val-Secret, the lost legend, preserved in Paris, BnF lat. 950, ff. 12v, sixteenth century
- Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibl. (ÖNB) 371, ff. 77-78v, tenth century, Salzburg
- The shortened legend of St Savior of Utrecht, partly lost; the text is connected to the Utrecht manuscript, Bibl. Rijksuniv. 391, t. I, ff. 107, dated to 1423–1424

The Latin *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* came out in several editions from the seventeenth-century *Acta Sanctorum* to Dolbeau's edition in 2005.¹⁴⁶ The version of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* in the *Acta Sanctorum* was published in 1668, based on the following manuscripts:

1. Legend of Longpont (nowadays lost; Dolbeau reconstructed it on the basis of the other texts)¹⁴⁷
2. Legend of Bodeken – composed around 1460 (the manuscript was destroyed in 1945)
3. Trier Stadtbibl. 1151, 1, thirteenth century

¹⁴⁵ The manuscript page is ripped at this point; in what follows, folio 126r already contains another text, *Passio Kaloceri martyris*.

¹⁴⁶ Ruinart, *Acta primorum martyrum*; Gebhardt, *Acta martyrum selecta*; Musurillo, *The Acts*; Dolbeau, "Le dossier," etc.

¹⁴⁷ F. Dolbeau, "Notes sur la genèse et sur la diffusion du *Liber de natalitiis*," *Revue d'Histoire des textes* 6 (1976): 143-195.

This edition was crafted out of several later manuscripts. Another edition of the Latin text include Ruinart's *Acta primorum martyrum sincera et selecta*.¹⁴⁸ The following manuscripts are used in this edition:

1. Paris, BnF lat. 17004, thirteenth century
2. Ourscamp (the lost legend; copy is preserved in Paris, BnF lat. 11769)
3. Paris, BnF lat. 5297, thirteenth century
4. Avranches, Bibl. Mun. 167, thirteenth century
5. Compiègne, a lost legend
6. Reims (St. Remi), a lost legend, which has been preserved in Paris, BnF lat. 950, from the sixteenth century

Ruinart's edition is based solely on later manuscripts and lost legends. Farlati published this text in the nineteenth century in the *Illyrici sacri tomus septimus*.¹⁴⁹ Gebhardt published it in the *Acta martyrum selecta*.¹⁵⁰ Knopf, Krüger and Ruhbach published this text in the *Selected Acts of the Martyrs*.¹⁵¹ The Latin *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* was published by Herbert Musurillo.¹⁵²

François Dolbeau published the critical edition of the Latin text with a French translation in 2005 using a large number of manuscripts. The manuscripts used in the edition range from early to later periods (eighth/ninth century – thirteenth century):

1. Paris BnF lat. 17004, thirteenth century
2. Dublin, Trin. Coll. B 1 16 (cat. 171), thirteenth century
3. Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibl. Aug. XXXII, ninth century
4. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4554, eighth to ninth century
5. Turin, Bibl. naz. F. III. 16, tenth century
6. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibl. (ÖNB) 371, tenth century
7. Avranches, Bibl. Mun. 167, thirteenth century

¹⁴⁸ Ruinart, *Acta primorum martyrum*.

¹⁴⁹ D. Farlati, *Illyrici Sacri Tomus Septimus, Ecclesia Diocletana, Antibarensis, Dyrrhachiensis, Et Sirmiensis, Cum Earum Suffraganeis* (Venice: Apud Sebastianum Coleti, 1817).

¹⁵⁰ Gebhardt, *Acta martyrum selecta*.

¹⁵¹ R. Knopf, *Ausgewählte Märtyrerakten* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1913).

¹⁵² Musurillo, *The Acts*.

8. Paris, BnF lat. 5297, thirteenth century

The Greek *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* is only found in manuscripts dating from the tenth and eleventh centuries. There are at least ten manuscripts that contain different versions of this martyrdom. The Greek martyrdom is represented in several BHG numbers and the three main versions of the narrative. Apart from the most common *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium*, there are two other versions, namely, the *Martyrdom of the two Irenaei* and the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus*. In the version concerning the two Irenaei, the second one is Irenaeus of Lyon. As to the third version, the individuals called Or and Oropseus are otherwise completely unknown.¹⁵³ The versions are marked by different hagiographical numbers, BHG 948 – 951b.

In Halkin's *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* from 1957 there exist two distinct variants of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium*, BHG 948 and BHG 949.¹⁵⁴ They differ in the ending of the martyrdom. When Halkin published *Novum Auctarium* in 1984, he completely omitted BHG 949 and kept only BHG 948.¹⁵⁵ Therefore, the texts categorized as BHG 948 and 949 will be treated as the same text in this dissertation. To my knowledge, there are six extant manuscripts containing this text.

- Venice, Marcianus gr. 360, 20, tenth to eleventh century (ff. 540, 35, 5x25), ff. 395r-398v¹⁵⁶
- Paris, BnF gr. 1177 (Fontabl.-Reg. 2447),¹⁵⁷ eleventh century (ff. 292, 28x22,5), ff. 211v-213r¹⁵⁸
- Paris, BnF, Suppl. gr. 241, tenth century, (ff. 282, 38x26,5), ff. 215r-216v¹⁵⁹
- Paris, BnF gr. 548, tenth century (?eleventh century) (ff. 312, 31x21), formerly Reg. 2481, ff. 190v-192r¹⁶⁰

¹⁵³ Or is mentioned in Palladius' *Historia Lausiaca*, although it is not certain whether it is the same individual as the person by that name in the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus*.

¹⁵⁴ BHG, 41.

¹⁵⁵ F. Halkin, *Novum Auctarium Bibliothecae Hagiographicae Graecae* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1984).

¹⁵⁶ H. Delehaye, "Catologus hagiographicum Graecorum bibliothecae D. Marci Venetiarum," *Analecta Bollandiana* 24 (1905): 12 (hereafter Delehaye, "Catologus hagiographicum Graecorum Venetiarum").

¹⁵⁷ A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der Griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts I* (Leipzig, 1937), 432 (hereafter Ehrhard, I).

¹⁵⁸ For the contents, see F. Halkin, *Manuscripts Grecs de Paris. Inventaire hagiographique* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1968), 127-128 (hereafter Halkin, *Manuscripts Grecs de Paris*). See also Ehrhard, I, 432-437.

¹⁵⁹ Ehrhard, I, 678. See also Halkin, *Manuscripts Grecs de Paris*, 288-289.

- Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibl., Hist. gr. 45, eleventh century (ff. 310, 29,5x24), ff. 246r-248v
- Brussels, Bibliotheca Bollandiana, Boll. 193, seventeenth to eighteenth century, ff. 117r-118v

The manuscript Vienna, Hist. gr. 45 was edited by Lambeck–Collarius.¹⁶¹ The Greek version of the text in the *Acta Sanctorum* was reconstructed from four manuscripts (Vienna Hist. gr. 45, Paris 241, Paris 548, Paris 1177), as suggested by Helland.¹⁶²

The BHG 949e version of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* is known from the manuscript Moscow, Syn. gr. 183 (31,6 x 24,4, ff. 263), ff. 242r-244r. According to the latest pagination, it dates to the eleventh century. The manuscript contains a *menologion* for February and March. This text is edited by V. V. Latyšev, in *Menologii Anonymi Byzantini, saeculi X qui supersunt*.¹⁶³ The edition of the manuscript comes from 1911 and the reprint was published in 1970.

The BHG 950 denomination – the *Martyrdom of the two Irenaei* – is recognized only in Halkin's publication from 1957. Halkin omitted this version in 1984.¹⁶⁴ There are two manuscripts that contain this text:

- Vienna, Hist. gr. 45, eleventh century (This text was also edited in the Lambeck–Collarius collection), ff. 247v-248r
- Brussels, Mss. Boll. 193, seventeenth to eighteenth century, ff. 119

¹⁶⁰ H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la bibliothèque nationale* (Paris: Alphonse Picard Libraire, 1886), 82-83 (hereafter Omont, *Inventaire sommaire*); Halkin, *Manuscripts Grecs de Paris*, 33-34; Ehrhard I, 679-682. Omont dates it to the eleventh century in another publication. See H. Omont, *Catalogus codicum hagiographorum bibliothecae nationalis Parisiensis* (Brussels: E. Leroux, 1896), 16-19 (hereafter Omont, *Catalogus codicum*).

¹⁶¹ P. Lambeck (Lambecius), and A. F. Collarius, *Commentatorium de Augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi VIII* (Vienna, 1780), 435-444.

¹⁶² T. Helland, "The Slavonic Tradition of Pre-Metaphrastic Reading *Menologia* for March-Codex Suprasliensis and its Russian and Ukrainian Parallels," *Scando-Slavica* 54, No. 1 (2007): 59-76 (hereafter Helland, "The Slavonic Tradition").

¹⁶³ V. V. Latyšev, *Menologii anonymi Byzantini, saeculi X qui supersunt* (Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat, 1911, reprint 1970) (hereafter Latyšev, *Menologii anonymi*).

¹⁶⁴ See BHG, 41. See also Halkin, *Novum Auctarium Bibliothecae Hagiographicae Graecae*.

The BHG 950z denomination – *Martyrdom of Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus* – has been marked as BHG 951b in Halkin’s publication from 1957. Halkin changed the hagiographical number of this text to BHG 950z in 1984. There are several manuscripts containing this text:

- Jerusalem Panagiou Taphou 17 (ff. 241, 35x25), eleventh century, (ff. 205-205v), edited by Latyšev (previously referred as St Sepulchri 17)¹⁶⁵
- Athos, Dionysiou 83, 1142 (ff. 242)¹⁶⁶
- Athens, 1046, fourteenth century (ff. 416, 27,6x18)
- Jerusalem, St Crucis No.16, sixteenth century (ff. 340, 32,2x21,8)¹⁶⁷

The BHG 951 version – *The Martyrdom of Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus* – differs from BHG 950z by the omission of the prayer for the emperor.¹⁶⁸ This text is contained in Ambrosiana, B. 1. inf., thirteenth century (1239/40, ff. 121, 31,5x23,2; ff. 70r-71v) and comes from a monastery in Calabria.¹⁶⁹

The existence of the liturgical canons adds to the general variety of the texts about Irenaeus of Sirmium in the Greek tradition. There are two versions of the canon: *Canon of Irenaeus*, and *Canon of Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus*.¹⁷⁰ There are four manuscripts containing the canons:

- Sinaiticus gr. 614 (ff. 104, 25, 5x19,6cm), eleventh century, containing the *Canon on Irenaeus of Sirmium*, under the date 6th April (ff. 21r-23v)¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁵ Latyšev, *Menologii anonymi*. Unfortunately, I have not managed to see this manuscript.

¹⁶⁶ Ehrhard, III, 360.

¹⁶⁷ A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *IEΠΟΣΟΛΥΜΙΤΙΚΗ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗ III* [Jerusalem Library III], (Petropolis: Kirspaoum, 1897), 39-45.

¹⁶⁸ According to Halkin, in both 1957- and 1984-publications

¹⁶⁹ F. Halkin, “Le mois de janvier du ‘Ménologe impérial’ Byzantin,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 57 (1939): 225-236 (hereafter Halkin, “Le mois de janvier”).

¹⁷⁰ In the Appendix, I used the edition of Schirò for the *Canon on Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus*, formed on the basis of the manuscripts Vaticanus gr. 2069 (seventeenth century), Sinaiticus gr. 632 (eleventh to twelfth century), and Criptense Δ.α. XII (eleventh century). The text of the *Canon on Irenaeus* was recovered from the manuscript Sinaiticus gr. 614.

¹⁷¹ See D. Getov, “The Unedited Byzantine Liturgical Canons in the Library of Congress Microfilms of the Greek Manuscripts in St. Catherine Monastery on Mount Sinai,” *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 3, No. 6 (2009): 67-113; M. Kamil, *Catalogue of All Manuscripts in the Monastery of St. Catharine on Mount Sinai* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1970). Petrova and Iovcheva mention two other manuscripts, which contain this canon: Athon. Lavrae D 37 from the thirteenth century, and Alexandr. Patr. 146 from 1353, where Irenaeus’ canon is placed on 8th April. See M. Petrova, and M. Iovcheva, “Светците от Супрасълския сборник: имена, дати, източници” [Saints in the Suprasl Codex: Names, Dates, Sources], in *Rediscovery: Bulgarian Codex Suprasliensis of 10th century*, ed. A. Miltenova (Sofia: East-West Publishers, 2012), 397-398 (hereafter Petrova, and Iovcheva,

- Sinaiticus gr. 632, eleventh to twelfth century, containing the *Canon on Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus* (ff. 151v-153v)¹⁷²
- Criptense Δ.α. XII, eleventh century¹⁷³
- Vaticanus gr. 2069, seventeenth century, ff. 261-262v¹⁷⁴

The Old Church Slavonic *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* appears in the tenth-century Suprasl Codex (Retkov Sbornik, 285 folios, 31x23 cm).¹⁷⁵ The manuscript is divided into three parts which are deposited in three different European libraries. The manuscript part marked as RNL, F.n.I.72 is held nowadays in St. Petersburg, Russia (16 folia, ff. 237-268), in the Public Library “Салтыков-Щедрин.” This part contains the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium*. Two other parts of the manuscript are held in the National Library of Warsaw (NLP, Zamojski BOZ. 201, 151 fol., ff. 269-570) and the University Library of Ljubljana (Ljubljana, UL, Cod. Kop. 2, 118 fol., ff. 1-236).¹⁷⁶

The history of this manuscript and its whereabouts has been eventful. It was found in the Suprasl monastery (from which it got its name) in Poland in the nineteenth century. The manuscript found its way to the Suprasl monastery by paths and at a time that are still a source of speculation by scholars.¹⁷⁷ One of the suggestions is that the manuscript might have been taken out from Bulgaria through the north (across the River Danube) to end up in the Suprasl monastery.¹⁷⁸ Others suggested that it was initially transferred to Mount Athos, and subsequently

“Светците от Супрасълския сборник”). I worked on this text from the manuscript Sinaiticus gr. 614 (a copy from the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences), helped by the transcription by Demosthenis Stratigopoulos.

¹⁷² Membranaceus, mm. 270x210, ff. 209, Menaem augusti. See J. Schirò, ed., *Analecta Hymnica Graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris XII, Cannones augusti* (Rome: Instituto di studi bizantini e neoellenici, 1980), vii (hereafter Schirò, *Analecta Hymnica Graeca*).

¹⁷³ Membranaceus, mm. 230x150, ff. 174, Menaem augusti, forte a Sophronio hieromonacho exaratus. See Schirò, *Analecta Hymnica Graeca*, v.

¹⁷⁴ Chartaceus, mm. 290x200, ff. 261-262v. Calendarium liturgicum. Index sanctorum Calabriae italica lingua. Menaem septembris-augusti. See Schirò, *Analecta Hymnica Graeca*, vii, 522.

¹⁷⁵ For the latest dating of the manuscript, see G. Krustev, A. Bojadziev, “On the Dating of Codex Suprasliensis,” in *Rediscovery: Bulgarian Codex Suprasliensis of 10th century*, ed. A. Miltenova (Sofia, East-West Publishers, 2012), 17-23 (hereafter Krustev, and Bojadziev, “On the Dating”).

¹⁷⁶ The Suprasl Codex is known as one of the earliest and the finest examples of uncial Cyrillic writing in Old Church Slavonic and possibly the largest extant Old Bulgarian manuscript from the Preslav “literary school.” Consequently, UNESCO inscribed it as an item in the Memory of the World Register.

¹⁷⁷ К. Кув, “История на Супрасълския Сборник” [History of the Suprasl Codex], in *Проучвания върху Супрасълския сборник, Старобългарски паметник от X век* [Studies of the Suprasl Codex, the Old Bulgarian Monument of the Tenth Century], ed. Й. Заимов (София: Българската Академия на Науките, 1980), 9-12 (hereafter Кув, “История на Супрасълския Сборник”).

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 9.

to the Suprasl monastery (the monks of the Suprasl monastery were former Athonite monks).¹⁷⁹ There are several other theories as to how the Suprasl Codex came to the Suprasl monastery from Bulgaria into contemporary Poland.¹⁸⁰

Mikhail Bobrowsky came across this manuscript in 1823 in the Suprasl monastery.¹⁸¹ In 1830, Kopitar, who worked in the National Library in Vienna at the time, asked Bobrowsky to lend him a part of the manuscript for examination and edition. Kopitar never gave this part back to Bobrowsky. Kopitar died in 1844 and this part of the manuscript remain in what is today Slovenia, where it is currently held in the University Library of Ljubljana. In the meantime, Bobrowsky sold his library. He himself died in 1848. The part of manuscript nowadays held in Warsaw changed several hands after Bobrowsky before it ended up in Warsaw in 1872. In 1939, this part disappeared from the Warsaw library. It was found in the USA in the late 1960s and was conveyed back to Warsaw. The third part ended up in St Petersburg. This part contains sixteen leaves purchased by Byčkov after they were cut off from the part now in Warsaw.

As for the editions of the Suprasl Codex, Franc Miklosich produced the first partial edition.¹⁸² It comprises solely the part that Kopitar borrowed, published by Miklosich in Vienna in 1851. Sreznevsky published several texts from the manuscript in 1868, among which is the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium*.¹⁸³ The Suprasl Codex was edited and published by Severjanov in 1904.¹⁸⁴ Zaimov and Kapaldo also edited this manuscript, with the adjoining parallel Greek sources.¹⁸⁵

¹⁷⁹ Кув, “История на Супрасълския Сборник,” 9.

¹⁸⁰ M. Hajduk, “Sanktuarium na Supra” [The Shrine at Supra], *Slavia Orientalis* 38, No. 3-4 (1989): 511-536; S. Temchin, “О бытовании древнеболгарского Супрасельского сборника в Великом княжестве Литовском в XV–XVI веках” [On the Existence of the Ancient Bulgarian Suprasl Codex in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the Fifteenth to Sixteenth Centuries], in *Этнокультурные и этноязыковые контакты на территории Великого княжества Литовского: Материалы международной научной конференции* [Ethno-Cultural and Ethno-Linguistic Contacts in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: Proceedings of the International Conference], (Москва, 2006), 175-189; L. L. Shavinskaya, *Литературная культура белорусов Подляшья XV–XIX вв: Книжные собрания Супрасельского Благовещенского монастыря* [Literary Culture of Belorus in the Fifteenth to Sixteenth centuries: The Book Collections of the Suprasl Monastery], (Минск: Национальная библиотека Беларуси, 1998), etc.

¹⁸¹ M. Bobrovskii, “Библиографические листы” [Bibliographies], С-П., No. 14 (1825): 189-200; see also Kuev, “История на Супрасълския Сборник,” 10.

¹⁸² F. Miklosich, *Monumenta linguae Palaeoslovenicae e codice Suprasliensis* (Vienna: Braumüller, 1851).

¹⁸³ I. I. Sreznevskii, “Древние славянские памятники юсового письма” [Ancient Slavonic Monuments with the ius-letters], *Сборник Отделения русского языка и словесности Императорской академии наук* 3. No. 1 (1868): 27-36.

¹⁸⁴ S. Severjanov, ed., *Codex Suprasliensis* (Graz: Akademische Druck, U. Verlagsanstalt, 1956).

¹⁸⁵ I. Zaimov, and M. Kapaldo, *Supras'lski ili Retkov zbornik* [Suprasl or Retko's Collection], (София: Българската Академия на Науките, 1982).

A single Georgian manuscript containing the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* is deposited in the Kutaisi State Historical Museum in Georgia. The manuscript is Kutaisi 1 (XVI), (ff. 582, 41,5x27). The *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* covers the folios 526r-528v.¹⁸⁶ It is dated to the sixteenth century and written in *nushuri* (Middle Georgian) script. Finally, the Armenian *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* used in this dissertation was published in the *Vitae et passionnes sanctorum Armeniace*, in Venice in 1874.¹⁸⁷

Scholarship

The *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* has only been an occasional subject of scholarly interest. Several scholars discussed the authenticity and historicity of the text. According to Delehaye, the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* belongs among historical martyrdoms.¹⁸⁸ The Bollandists Delehaye and Aigran esteemed positively the historicity of the text and dated it to the early period. Delehaye estimated this text style-wise to be a document based on the trial records.¹⁸⁹ Aigran attested that Irenaeus' martyrdom was one of the historically based narratives from the period of the Great Persecution in CE 304.¹⁹⁰ Hildebrandt called this text a "stylized lengthened court protocol."¹⁹¹ Musurillo considered this text to be among the most reliable of the early hagiographical documents and relevant historical sources. In his view, this text lay close to the earliest type of acts from the fourth-century late Roman province of Pannonia.¹⁹²

However, Gaiffier was skeptical about dating this text to a time period prior to the fifth century CE, arguing that it could not be an authentic document from the trial of Irenaeus.¹⁹³ As recently as 2013, Timothy Barnes commented on the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium*. He guessed at its unreliability because it belonged to the group of texts concerning Pannonian martyrs:

¹⁸⁶ Gabidzashvili, *Translated Works. Hagiography*, 243. See also K. Kekelidze, ed., *Xelnatserta agtseriloba I* [Description of Manuscripts], (Tbilisi: Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences, 1953), 7.

¹⁸⁷ See *Vitae et passionnes sanctorum selectae ex Eclogariis I-II* (Venice, 1874). See also *BHO*, 1910. Unfortunately, I had no way of learning about the manuscript tradition of this Armenian translation.

¹⁸⁸ Delehaye, *The Legends*.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁰ R. Aigran, *L'hagiographie, ses sources, ses methodes, son histoire* (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1953).

¹⁹¹ H. Hildebrandt, "Early Christianity in Roman Pannonia – Facts among Fiction," *Studia Patristica* 39 (2006): 59-64.

¹⁹² Musurillo, *The Acts*, Introduction.

¹⁹³ B. de Gaiffier, "Qualche osservazione sui luoghi comuni negli Atti dei martiri," *Giornale italiano di filologia* 10 (1957): 147-155.

My book from 2010 deliberately avoided any discussion of Pannonian martyrs, who suffered in the persecution under Galerius, because of their problematical documentation, even though the passion of Irenaeus, who was the bishop of Sirmium, is included in the standard modern collections of authentic early hagiographical documents.¹⁹⁴

Aside from the historicity and authenticity of this text, the most frequently asked question concerned its original language. In the seventeenth century, Tillemont considered that the original language must have been Greek, although the Latin text appeared to be closer to the court acts.¹⁹⁵

In 1955, Simonetti concluded that the original version of this text was Greek, although this version was by that time lost.¹⁹⁶ He was convinced that the Latin version was a literal translation of the now-lost Greek version. The Latin text had indirect connections with the extant Greek version because it represented its somewhat earlier phase of *metaphrasis*. Simonetti's arguments were related to the philological details of the text, phrases, expressions, etc.¹⁹⁷ He thought that a translator possibly made additions to the Latin text during the process of translation.¹⁹⁸

He had two hypotheses; one related to the Latin redaction being derived directly from Greek. A translator added the parts which appeared in the Latin text and did not exist in the Greek text. Second, the Latin redaction derived from a lost Greek text containing all the expressions which made the Latin version different from the Greek text.

He argued that the extant Greek version was created on the basis of a Greek source which was the direct source for the Latin text.¹⁹⁹ He further argued that the Latin version was a faithful and literal translation of the lost Greek version, as it preserved the typical hagiographical style

¹⁹⁴ Barnes, "Early Christian Hagiography and the Roman Historian," 26.

¹⁹⁵ L. Le Nain de Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles* 5 (Paris, 1698), 250-254; 686-687; See also A. D. Berardino, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Early Church*, tr. A. Walford (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), entry on IRENAEUS of Sirmium; see also Dolbeau, "Le dossier," 148.

¹⁹⁶ M. Simonetti, *Studi agiografici* (Rome: Angelo Signorelli, 1955), 55-75 (hereafter Simonetti, *Studi agiografici*).

¹⁹⁷ Some of his argumentation goes as follows: the mention of Constantius Chlorus is present only in the Greek text. In his view, a rewriter of the Greek version would not have needed to add the name of this emperor if he was rewriting the text from Latin to Greek, if this name was possibly not present in the Latin version. There would have been no reasons to add the name of this emperor in the Greek text, if the original text was in Latin. The only feasible explanation is that the name of this emperor was purposefully omitted in the Latin text. Second, there are uncommon Latin expressions in the Latin version, or Latin expressions which have been badly translated from the Greek, such as *iratus super fiduciam, quod et factum e[st] circa famulum d[e] hireneum*, etc. Finally, Simonetti comments on the use of the adjective *regalis* in the sense of *imperialis*, which, in his view, represents the literal translation of the Greek word βασιλικός.

¹⁹⁸ Simonetti, *Studi Agiografici*, 65.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid, 66.

and retained the dialogues.²⁰⁰ Simonetti emphasized that the present Greek text was reminiscent of an eulogy or a panegyric.²⁰¹

Other scholars refuted Simonetti's ideas. Gaiffier was skeptical of his arguments.²⁰² Dolbeau repeated the opinion of the majority of scholars that the Latin version was earlier.²⁰³ He questioned all Simonetti's arguments, saying that they were not persuasive. He finally confirmed that Simonetti's weak argumentation did not mean that his hypothesis of the Greek as the original language should be completely discarded. There is still a possibility to argue that Greek was the original language.

When it comes to Slavic studies, while the Old Church Slavonic *Martyrdom of Irenaeus* has not been the subject of scholarly analysis, the Suprasl Codex which contains this text has attracted a great deal of scholarly attention. There are over two hundred scholarly titles connected to discussions of different aspects of the manuscript. Research on this manuscript already commenced in the mid-nineteenth century, and continues thriving up to the present with enthusiasm.

Scholarly research has focused largely on the following aspects: paleography, orthography, and phonetics,²⁰⁴ lexical and syntactical analysis,²⁰⁵ morphology,²⁰⁶ the composition of the Suprasl Codex,²⁰⁷ Greek sources of the Suprasl Codex,²⁰⁸ and their Old Bulgarian translations,²⁰⁹ Biblical references,²¹⁰ textual analysis,²¹¹ Bulgarian historical lexicology,²¹² vocabulary,²¹³ lexemes,²¹⁴ etc.

²⁰⁰ Simonetti, *Studi Agiografici*, 68.

²⁰¹ Ibid., 70. See John Chrysostom's panegyrics for comparison.

²⁰² Gaiffier, "Qualche osservazione sui luoghi comuni negli Atti dei martiri," 147-155.

²⁰³ Dolbeau, "Le dossier," 148-150.

²⁰⁴ A. Vostokov, F. Miklosich, I. Sreznevskij, P. Lavrovskij, A. Leskien, P. Diels, F. Pastrnek, J. Papłoński, V. Jagić, N. van Wijk, K. Meyer, S. Obnorskij, V. Vondrák, B. Velčeva

²⁰⁵ V. Oblak, V. Vondrák, S. Kul'bakin, N. Durnovo, R. Aitzetmüller, Ju. Otkupščikov, E. Metel'skaja, E. Bláhová, E. Dogramadžieva

²⁰⁶ A. Marguliés, J. Kurz, V. Vondrák, S. Słoński, T. Amse-de Jong, K. Meyer, N. van Wijk, R. Scholvin, O. Wiedemann, M. Dumitrescu, D. Ivanova-Mirčeva, J. Zaimov, I. Kočev, E. Kočeva, T. Mostrova

²⁰⁷ A. Marguliés, *Der altkirchenslavische Codex Suprasliensis* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1927) (hereafter, Marguliés, *Der altkirchenslavische Codex Suprasliensis*).

²⁰⁸ R. Trautmann, R. Klostermann, R. Aitzetmüller, M. Capaldo, R. Abicht, S. Ivanov, W. Lüdtkke, A. Leskien, K. Meyer, T. Lysaght

²⁰⁹ D. Ivanova-Mirčeva, Ž. Ikonomova, A. Milev, P. Petkov

²¹⁰ L. Moszyński

²¹¹ A. Popov, V. Jagić, J. Vajs, A. Vaillant, E. Bláhová

²¹² K. Mirčev

²¹³ A. Davidov

²¹⁴ S. Smjadovski, L. Stefova, A.-M. Totomanova, M. Tihova

The two most recent scholarly gatherings dedicated to the Suprasl Codex occurred in Bulgaria, in Šumen in 1977²¹⁵ and in Sofia in 2011.²¹⁶ The proceedings of the latter conference demonstrate the latest trends in the field – the issues of digitalization, dating, and the specific questions related to the individual texts. A website has also been started, displaying updated research on the Suprasl Codex.²¹⁷

To sum up, the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus* has not attracted much scholarly attention thus far, aside from the Bollandist categorization of the text and the discussions concerning its original language. The above-mentioned studies were traditionally isolated from each others to such an extent that one group of scholars sometimes did not necessarily know about the other. The link between the scholarship on the Latin and Greek versions of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus* with the Old Church Slavonic version of this text has never been made, let alone with the Armenian and Georgian versions. In my view, research into the original language of this text based solely on Latin and Greek versions contains significant flaws, even if the original language eventually turns out to be one of the two.

Moreover, moving away from studying the original language into studying its textual variants, one needs to go through all the paths of its textual afterlife in order to recognize as many of the textual layers within it as possible. In this way, there would be a greater chance to spot the initial layers and the later additions to the text; one can interpret the particular additions linked to given periods, spaces and communities. Such research permits comprehension of the full text's afterlife. One is able to formulate arguments regarding the power of the interpolations and to their links. Further, this kind of research perspective helps reveal the strategies of meaning and propaganda behind the interpolations, if such exist. This kind of analysis altogether functions very well with the “living texts,” which changed through the different media of their transmission in the Middle Ages.

In the following chapter, I will reveal the places where the manuscripts containing the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus* were kept, preserved, used and read. My analysis will then look away in

²¹⁵ I. Zaimov, ed., *Проучвания върху Супрасълския сборник, Старобългарски паметник от X век* [Studies of the Suprasl Codex, the Old Bulgarian Monument of the Tenth Century], (София: Българската Академия на Науките, 1980).

²¹⁶ A. Miltenova, ed., *Rediscovery: Bulgarian Codex Suprasliensis of 10th century* (Sofia: East-West Publishers, 2012).

²¹⁷ Codex Suprasliensis, <<http://csup.ilit.bas.bg/node/5>> Last accessed 04/06/2012.

the chapters to come from the places, contexts and historical background to the manuscripts and their contents, as well as to the text itself in all of its rich varieties.

Chapter 1: Mapping the Text: A Geography of Manuscripts Containing the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium*. Contexts and Audiences

This chapter presents the manuscripts containing the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium*. The primary, but not the only, concern of this chapter is the places where the manuscripts were produced. I map the manuscripts into a network of their manuscript geography, describing the *loci* where the manuscripts were produced, used, and exchanged and setting these processes against a historical background.

Both manuscript geography and New Philology tie manuscript collections to their own unique communities of producers and consumers. In both areas of research each aspect of manuscript materiality has both geographical and historical coordinates and the manuscript book is perceived as a product which came out of a multitude of processes.²¹⁸ Books are connected to physical places and also to the literary communities behind them. One of the major postulates of both areas is that “the history of the manuscript book cannot be told without thick description of its geographies.”²¹⁹

Uncovering the places of production and use leads to revealing the users of hagiographical texts. This question leads to examining the availability of a hagiographical text to a wider audience. Availability does not presuppose only the physical accessibility of a text or the opportunity of the common audience to physically come in contact with a text, but also the linguistic comprehensibility of the text among the wider audience. Finally, this chapter investigates the possible networks (or lack thereof) and connections of the places of manuscript production. The presence and the absence of networks reveals a great deal about the transmission processes. Based on the connections (or lack thereof), the conclusion will assess and appraise the possible original setting of the first translation of this text.

The information about manuscript provenance is commonly retrieved from colophons, marginal notes, and dedications written in manuscripts, although this information is not always to hand. For the present study, I use information about provenance from convenient manuscript catalogues, buttressed by my personal study of the manuscripts in manuscript libraries. In the

²¹⁸ Scase, *Essays in Manuscript Geography*, 1.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

following, the manuscripts containing the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus* will be described according to the traditions to which they belong.

Latin manuscripts of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium*

The earliest Latin manuscript containing the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* emerged in eighth-century Bavaria. The manuscript Munich Clm 4554, dated to the third quarter of the eighth century, is the first material witness of this text in Latin and the earliest material evidence in general.

Several scholars have discussed this manuscript. Delehayé assumed that the Latin texts in Munich Clm 4554 were translations of Greek texts from “a Greek *menologion*” available at the time, in which the passions of the saints of Asia Minor, Egypt, and Moezia were arranged in a calendar order.²²⁰ Philippart argues that this manuscript compiled various translations of scattered Greek passions made in Rome rather than translating an earlier *menologion*, since no equivalent Greek collection has yet emerged at this date.²²¹ Philippart’s opinion has come to be more appreciated, particularly because the collection in Munich Clm 4554 is not aligned according to a calendar. Both scholars agree that the manuscript contains texts translated from Greek, which is an important argument for this dissertation, particularly as this manuscript is the earliest preserved material testimony of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus*. Its appearance bears testimony of the interest in Greek hagiographies in the early medieval West.

The manuscript was digitized and described briefly in 2012, besides being included in several earlier manuscript catalogues.²²² The provenance of the manuscript is the Benediktbeuern monastery in Bavaria. However, the manuscript contains two colophons which point to a different provenance – the monastery of Kochel/Cochel, situated near the Benediktbeuern.

²²⁰ Phillipart and Trigalet, “Latin Hagiography before the Ninth Century,” 125-126.

²²¹ Ibid, 126.

²²² See Europeana, “Vitae et passiones sanctorum. Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 4554,” <<http://www.europeanaregia.eu/en/manuscripts/munich-bayerische-staatsbibliothek-clm-4554/en>> Last accessed: 11/01/2014. See also K. Halm, *Catalogus codicum Latinorum bibliothecae regiae Monacensis* I, 2 (Monachii, 1894); G. Gunter, *Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München. Die Pergamenthandschriften aus Benediktbeuern: Clm 4501–4663, neu beschrieben von Günter Glauche* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994); K. Bierbrauer, *Die vorkarolingischen und karolingischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1990).

In the introductory folios, a colophon says: *Donum Kyfila(e). Saec. VIII. AP.*²²³ Folio 164v of the manuscript (the last folio containing the text) has a note: *Kyfila Regina Monialis donavit Mon(aste)rio S. Michaelis Cochl. Saec. VIII.*²²⁴ The two colophons reveal that a person by the name of Kyfila donated the manuscript as a gift to the monastery of Kochel/Cochel. Queen Kyfila/Gifila was probably the wife of Childeric III, the king of the Franks from the Merovingian dynasty (717–754 CE).²²⁵ Therefore, a female member of the royal family donated the manuscript to the Kochel monastery in Bavaria.²²⁶ However, it is not attested that the colophon dates to the same period as the manuscript. The note might date to a later period and the manuscript might be tied to the royal family for political reasons of the period.

Kochel and Benediktbeuern were sister monasteries of the Benedictine order, founded by Lanfrid, a member of the Bavarian noble clan Huosi.²²⁷ Lanfrid founded Benediktbeuern around 739 CE,²²⁸ and founded Kochel for his sister somewhat later in the same century. The Benediktbeuern is also linked to the royal Frankish family through its donor, Gailswind, a cousin of Charles Martel.²²⁹

²²³ Europeana, "Vitae et passiones sanctorum – BSB Clm 4554," <<http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0006/bsb00064009/images/index.html?id=00064009&fip=193.174.98.30&no=&seite=9>> Last accessed: 23/07/2014.

²²⁴ Europeana, "Vitae et passiones sanctorum – BSB Clm 4554," <<http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0006/bsb00064009/images/index.html?id=00064009&fip=193.174.98.30&no=&seite=348>> Last accessed: 23/07/2014.

²²⁵ Her generous donations of books to various monasteries are described in the *Chronicon Benedictoburanum*. See P. C. Meichelbeck, *Chronicon Benedictoburanum, in quo ex incunabulis, vicissitudinibus, decrementis, incrementis monasterii, actis abbatum, et aliorum virorum celebrium Historia Germaniae* (Monasterii Benedictoburani, 1752), 14.

²²⁶ R. McKitterick discusses the Christian context of the Germanic custom of gift exchange in *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 78.

²²⁷ Some scholars hold that this noble family was pro-Frankish. See K. L. Roper Pearson, *Conflicting Loyalties in Early Medieval Bavaria: A View of Socio-Political Interaction, 680-900* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 59 (hereafter Roper Pearson, *Conflicting Loyalties*). See page 99 for the connections of the Huosi family with Benediktbeuern.

²²⁸ See G. Declercq, "The Scriptorium of Benediktbeuern and the Palimpsest Codex Clm 6333," *Early Medieval Palimpsests* 26 (2007): 55-71.

²²⁹ Roper Pearson, *Conflicting Loyalties*, 99. "The founding legend, composed long after the establishment of the monastery, credited Boniface with its consecration, and Carlomann, Pippin, and Tassilo III as its royal sponsors. The actual founders were said to be the three brothers Lantfrid, Waldram, and Elyandus, who went on to establish a convent at Kochelsee." The monasteries were founded in the midst of the complex power struggles in early medieval Bavaria. Bavaria at the time was not fully controlled by the Franks and had local rulers, who ruled under Frankish oversight. The monasteries were founded during the reign of Odilo, the duke of Bavaria and Alamannic nobleman from the house of Agilolfings. During his rule, the bishoprics of Regensburg, Freising, Passau and Salzburg were established in Bavaria in 739. This organization of the bishoprics was not in charge of the Bavarian rulers, but in the hands of Frankish men of power such as Charles Martel. Charles Martel ruled over Franks in the period of interregnum (737-743 CE) and held power in Bavaria. Martel also took care to enforce conversion in the Germanic lands.

The connection to Benediktbeuern monastery might be through a missionary in the Germanic lands, Boniface. He enjoyed the support of Martel and other Frankish officials in his missionary work. He may have had some influence on the establishment of the Benediktbeuern by urging the local Bavarian noble clan to build a monastery.²³⁰ In his missionary work, Boniface struggled to constitute monasteries and make them introduce the *Rule of St. Benedict*, rather than relying on Iro-Frankish or Gallo-Roman traditions. He aimed to unify monastic culture. The Anglo-Saxon monasticism which he represented was essentially Benedictine. It was the Roman Benedictine form of Christianity that he and the other Anglo-Saxon missionaries introduced to the Continent.²³¹

Just as other monasteries in Bavaria suffered from Viking and Magyar raids in the tenth century,²³² so did the monasteries Kochel and Benediktbeuern in a Hungarian raid in 955. Kochel never recovered from the devastation. Its riches (including books) were subsequently transferred to Benediktbeuern, among them the manuscript Clm 4554. After 1031, Benediktbeuern Abbey continued its life until 1803. Consequently, all the property was ascribed to this monastery. This explains the confused double provenance of the manuscript Clm 4554. In fact, the manuscript was held in both these places.

The *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* further appears in the manuscript Karlsruhe Aug. XXXII, dated to the ninth century, which originated from the Benedictine abbey of Reichenau.²³³ Reichenau monastery was established in 724 on an island in Lake Constance in the contemporary southern Germany by a wandering bishop, Pirminius, seemingly of Irish origin.²³⁴ This

²³⁰ Duke Odilo of Bavaria decided to reform the Bavarian church as separate from Frankish control and closely allied with papacy in the eighth century. Boniface became the metropolitan of Austrasia in 742, with the idea of establishing spiritual links between the Frankish and Bavarian churches. This was certainly not part of Odilo's overall plan, as it raised the possibility that future clerical appointments in Bavaria could come under the control and influence of the Franks. Odilo requested suspension of Boniface's authority in Bavaria in 742-3. No metropolitan of Bavaria was appointed until the time of Charlemagne. The Agilolfingi dynasty of Bavaria, to which Odilo and Tassilo belonged, was displaced by 788 not only by the superior military power of the Franks, but also by their own Bavarian magnates, who sought the greater advantages of association with Charlemagne. After the deposition of Tassilo III, Bavaria became a subregnum of the Carolingian empire. See Roper Pearson, *Conflicting Loyalties*, 53-74.

²³¹ P. Geary, *Before France and Germany: The Creation and Transformation of the Merovingian World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 214-217 (hereafter Geary, *Before France and Germany*).

²³² M. de Yong, "Carolingian Monasticism: the Power of Prayer," in *New Cambridge Medieval History Volume 2: c.700-c.900*, ed. R. McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 652.

²³³ See A. T. Holder, and K. L. Preisendanz, *Die Reichenauer Handschriften* (Leipzig, 1906-1912).

²³⁴ S. Wells, "Reichenau," in *Encyclopedia of Monasticism II*, ed. W. M. Johnston (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 2000), 1070-1071. Pirminius (700-753) was a monk, who enjoyed the favor of Charles Martel, as well as Odilo of Bavaria. He was appointed abbot of the Mittelzell Abbey on Reichenau Island. It is a question whether

monastery became influential during the Carolingian dynasty in the second half of the eighth century. The manuscript appeared in the Bavarian context; this monastic foundation was established by an Irish missionary on the Continent and supported by the Frankish rulers.²³⁵ Holder's catalog attests the dating of the manuscript to the ninth century. The latter catalog confirms that the manuscript is dated before 846 CE.²³⁶ The heading of folio 1r says: *Liber monasterii augie maioris*, which refers to Reichenau.²³⁷

The Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium came to light in the manuscript Turin F. III. 16, dated to the tenth century and originating from the monastery of Bobbio in northern Italy. Bobbio was established by the cooperation of the Irish missionary Columbanus and the Lombard king Agilulf in 613 CE.²³⁸ Written by different hands, this manuscript was once *liber Sancti Columbani de Bobbio*: it belonged to the monastery of St. Columbanus. The upper margin of the first folio testifies: *Istud passionarium est monachorum congregationis sancte Justine de observantia ordinis sancti benedicti residentium in monasterium sancti columbani de bobio*.²³⁹ Otherwise, the nineteenth-century catalogue provides the contents of the manuscript.

This manuscript is among the manuscripts from Bobbio with lavish illuminations, and probably the only one among them which is a passionary.²⁴⁰ The illuminations were inspired by

Pirminius founded the cloister with the support of the duke of Bavaria, who strove to preserve the area from the Frankish control, or with the support of Charles Martel.

²³⁵ Reichenau became one of the main monastic centers in the Alemannic area and flourished during both the reigns of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious. It is among the most important Carolingian monasteries which stood in close connection to rulers and intellectuals. The ninth century was one of the more prosperous periods of the monastery regarding book production. Reichenau had the reputation of being the leading center of learning and spirituality by the eleventh century. The Abbey of Reichenau was the largest and artistically most influential centre for producing lavishly illuminated manuscripts in Europe during the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. Reichenau also has the first lengthy and detailed medieval library catalogue, from the year 821/822. See B. Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 18, 96, n. 20 (hereafter Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries*); see also A. Rulkens, "'Domus dei' and 'opus dei': The Reichenau Monastery in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries," (MA Thesis, Utrecht: University of Utrecht, 2004), 14-16. The catalogue is published by P. Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz* 1 (Munich, 1918), 251.

²³⁶ Carolingian Culture at Reichenau and St. Gall, "Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek: Perg. Aug. 32," <<http://www.stgallplan.org/stgallmss/viewItem.do?ark=p21198-zz00289pqz>> Last accessed: 12/01/2014. This manuscript is included in the above-mentioned ongoing project, although it has not been described yet.

²³⁷ Ibid., <<http://www.stgallplan.org/stgallmss/viewItem.do?ark=p21198-zz00289pqz&pageArk=p21198-zz0028fvyk3&xmlstylesheet=TEITranscription.xsl&fileId>> Last accessed: 12/01/2014.

²³⁸ M. Richter, *Bobbio in the Early Middle Ages* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008), 13 (hereafter Richter, *Bobbio*).

²³⁹ G. Ottino, *Codici Bobbiesi nella Bibliotheca Nazionale di Torino* (Torino/Palermo: Carlo Clausen, 1890), 20-22.

²⁴⁰ P. Aebischer and L. Donati, *La "Vita Sancti Marini": texte du manuscrit F. III. 16 de la Bibliothèque nationale de Turin* (San Marino: Biblioteca di San Marino, 1980); See also L. Scappaticci, "Codici Musicali palinsesti del monastero di san Colombano di Bobbio," <<http://ifc.dpz.es/recursos/publicaciones/26/54/7.LeandraScappaticci.pdf>>

Carolingian exemplars, which replaced the Irish influence from the previous period.²⁴¹ All the manuscripts are of considerable size, executed lavishly, written with wide margins, on new parchment.²⁴² The illuminations are enriched with gold and purple colors. The *Passion of St. Anastasius* (BHL 410b) from this manuscript is said to be a very literal word-for-word Greek translation to Latin.²⁴³

Thus, the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* initially appeared in Latin manuscripts originating from early medieval Bavaria and northern Italy, in monasteries established by the Anglo-Saxon and Irish missionaries, who were supervised and supported by the Frankish and Lombard rulers. The idea of Boniface, the Anglo-Saxon missionary, was to introduce the *Rule of St. Benedict* to the newly established monasteries. Even though the Iro-Frankish missionaries, who established Christian communities in large parts of Bavaria and also in places like Bobbio, were not organized into a single church,²⁴⁴ they were probably already Benedictine by the time the manuscripts with the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* appeared in these institutions.

Reichenau and Bobbio had good communication with the rulers, under whose supervision they conducted missionary work. The royal patronage of the monasteries is clear.²⁴⁵ The manuscripts testify to the interest in Greek hagiographical translations in early medieval Western (Bavarian and northern Italian) monastic contexts.

²⁴¹ Richter, *Bobbio*, 166.

²⁴² Ibid.

²⁴³ See B. Bischoff and M. Lapidge, ed., *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 183 (hereafter Bischoff and Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*).

²⁴⁴ Geary, *Before France and Germany*, 216.

²⁴⁵ Richter, *Bobbio*, 23. See also C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism. Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (London: Longman, 1984), 49: The special relationship between the monastery and its founding dynasty helps to explain the success of St. Columbanus in promoting Irish monasticism. Columbanus also directed part of his mission to the Merovingian court. The ideals and usages of Celtic monasticism were widely diffused on the Continent and stimulated a wave of monastic foundations under the patronage of kings, queens, and the Frankish nobility. Initially, Bobbio was among the Irish communities on the Continent, which nourished Eastern Greek traditions particularly. Such traditions were sterner than the general Western monastic trends. Bobbio was given the task of combating the Arian heresy dominant among the Lombards. For this reason, dogmatic works predominated in the library. The monastery followed the Columban Rule at first, but it introduced the *Rule of St. Benedict* from the seventh century and became a Benedictine monastery, “as an alternative to the sterner Columban Rule.” The Irish liturgy was opened to influences of Ambrosian Milan, Mosarabic Spain, southern Gaul, and even the East. The Columban Rule was completely abandoned in the tenth century. See F. Lifshitz, *The Name of the Saint. The Martyrology of Jerome and Access to the Sacred in Francia, 627 – 827* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), 26 (hereafter Lifshitz, *The Name of the Saint*); Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries*, 9; J. J. Silke, “Bobbio, Italy,” in *Encyclopedia of Monasticism I*, ed. W. M. Johnston (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 2000), 156-157; idem, “Liturgy: Celtic,” in *Encyclopedia of Monasticism I*, ed. W. M. Johnston (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 2000), 781.

Another manuscript containing the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* – Vienna 371 – comes from Salzburg.²⁴⁶ The dating of this manuscript is imprecise;²⁴⁷ it belongs loosely to the period from the eighth to the twelfth century.²⁴⁸ This manuscript could possibly be the earliest Latin Western manuscript of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus*.

Perhthar, a monk of the Saint-Amand Abbey in Salzburg, owned this manuscript in the tenth century.²⁴⁹ Before 990 CE Perhthar gave this manuscript as a gift to Archbishop Friedrich von Chiemgau (archbishop of Salzburg, 958-991 CE). The manuscript stayed in Salzburg (Domkapitelbibliothek) from the tenth/eleventh century until 1806. If the early dating is correct, there is a possibility that this manuscript was ordered from the Frankish areas for the use in Bavaria as part of the new policy and reforms which strengthened the Frankish influence in Bavaria.

Another manuscript containing the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus*, Rouen U 42, is dated to the tenth or eleventh century.²⁵⁰ The manuscript belonged to the Abbey of Angers in nowadays western France (*erat olim Capucinatorum Moritanensium*). The appearance of this manuscript attests that the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus* moved westwards from the initial places of where it appeared.

Finally, the manuscript St-Omer, 715, tomus I, containing the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus*, is dated to the end of the eleventh century. It originated from the Benedictine Abbey of St-Bertin in St-Omer, France. Another catalogue dates the manuscript to the twelfth century.²⁵¹

Altogether, the *loci* where the manuscripts with the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus* appear from the eighth to the eleventh centuries were subject to monastic reforms which erased local and

²⁴⁶ For this manuscript, see K. Foltz, *Geschichte der Salzburger Bibliotheken* (Vienna, 1877); B. Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit II* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1980); M. Goulet, "Parva pro magnis munera. Études de littérature tardo-antique et médiévale offertes à François Dolbeau par ses élèves," *Artistica et medievalia* 51 (2009): 397-409 (hereafter Goulet, "Parva pro magnis munera"), etc.

²⁴⁷ See Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Katalog <<http://aleph.onb.ac.at/F/?func=find-c&ccl term=WRD=AL00174336&local base=ONB06>> Last accessed: 12/01/2014.

²⁴⁸ Dolbeau dated it to the tenth century. Dolbeau, "Le dossier," 153-155.

²⁴⁹ Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Katalog <<http://aleph.onb.ac.at/F/?func=find-c&ccl term=WRD=AL00174336&local base=ONB06>> Last accessed: 24/07/2014.

²⁵⁰ A. Poncelet, "Catalogue codicum hagiographicorum latinorum bibliothecae publicae Rotomagensis," *Analecta Bollandiana* 23 (1904): 187-191; see also H. Omont, ed., *Catalogue general des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Rouen* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1886), 345-349.

²⁵¹ See BHL, Liste des témoins du texte "BHL 4466" <http://bhlms.fltr.ucl.ac.be/Nquersaintsection.cfm?code_bhl=4466&RequestTimeout=500> Last accessed: 24/07/2014. See also R. Lechat, "Catalogus codicum Latinorum Sancti Audomari," *Analecta Bollandiana* 47 (1929): 241-306; 49 (1931): 102-116.

original divergences. Initially established by the missionaries from different regions, they were introduced to the Benedictine rule and all of them became Benedictine outposts.²⁵²

The reforms, which presupposed the insistence in use of the *Rule of St. Benedict*, also demanded the correct Latin language. Bullough referred to this notion when writing about the reform undertaken in the Carolingian period, directed against the “colloquial language” in liturgy:

One of the paradoxes of ‘Carolingian reform’ is that the more successful it was in training the clergy in ‘good Latin,’ with the traditional syntax and carefully articulated in ways that served clearly to distinguish it from the ‘Romance’ vernaculars in a direct line of descent from earlier spoken Latin...the less accessible the liturgy of mass and office became to the ordinary faithful in both Romance and Germanic regions.²⁵³

Most scholars agree about the successful standardization and the efficient insistence on the proper Latin in the liturgy. Christine Mohrmann argued that:

The process of development during which the Latin language changed gradually from Vulgar Latin into the Romance languages did not touch the language of the liturgy. Instead, liturgical Latin survived the developments within the colloquial language.²⁵⁴

²⁵² Scholars agree that the liturgical practices of the Western church at the beginning of the eighth century were as diverse and ‘national’ as the organizational and geographical structures of the church at that time. Merovingian liturgical practices might have allowed a certain level of variation. However, when Charlemagne received the *Sacramentarium Gregorianum* from the Pope Hadrian I around 784 CE, it struck a fatal blow to the Merovingian liturgy. The Merovingian liturgical practice was replaced by the Roman rite as a part of Charlemagne’s liturgical reforms. Yet, some scholars argue that the subsequent liturgical production in the Carolingian period did not witness absolute abandonment of Merovingian Frankish rites. Great diversity in liturgical practices continued throughout the ninth century and beyond. Louis the Pious held councils in 816 and 817 and insisted on the consistent use of the *Rule of Benedict* and unified liturgical monastic customs. The tenth century witnessed another wave of monastic reform. In the German realm, concern for monastic discipline remained very much a royal prerogative. See R. E. Reynolds, “The Organization, Law and Liturgy of the Western Church, 700-900,” in *New Cambridge Medieval History Volume 2*, ed. R. McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 617-618; Y. Hen, *Culture and Religion in Merovingian Gaul, AD 481-751* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 59-60 (hereafter Hen, *Culture and Religion in Merovingian Gaul*). On this subject, see also R. McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977), 123-38; C. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, tr. W. G. Storey, N. K. Rasmussen (Washington, DC: Pastoral Press, 1986), 80-87; C. Vogel, “Les reforms liturgiques sous Charlemagne,” in *Karl des Grosses Lebenswerk und Nachleben II* (Dusseldorf, 1965), 217-33; M. de Yong, “Carolingian Monasticism: the Power of Prayer,” in *New Cambridge Medieval History Volume 2: c.700-c.900*, ed. R. McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 652.

²⁵³ D. Bullough, “The Carolingian Liturgical Experience,” in *Continuity and Change in Christian Worship*, ed. R. N. Swanson (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 1999), 52.

²⁵⁴ E. Rose, “Liturgical Latin in the Bobbio Missal,” in *The Bobbio Missal: Liturgy and Religious Culture in Merovingian Gaul*, ed. Y. Hen and R. Meens (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 77; See also C. Mohrmann, “Sakralsprache und Umgangssprache,” *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 10 (1968): 344-354.

While the Latin of the liturgy stayed fossilized, everyday Latin was gradually abandoned; there are debates as to when this change occurred. Scholars agree that the ordinary audience no longer understood the Latin language by the ninth century.²⁵⁵ “Romanists” argue that the change from Latin to vernacular languages was evident already in the fifth century, when Latin was no longer spoken language in Gaul.²⁵⁶ “Latinists” argue that Latin was spoken in Gaul up to the end of the seventh century.²⁵⁷ Hen and Uytfanghe agreed that Latin in Merovingian Gaul was the Latin understood by common people.²⁵⁸ “Vulgarists” argue that the vulgar Roman language, different from Latin, was spoken in Gaul in the eighth century.²⁵⁹ The fourth group argues that *rustica lingua Romana* was nothing but Latin.²⁶⁰ Hayward reasserted that popular audiences might have been able to comprehend simple Latin as late as the ninth century.²⁶¹

While it is not clear whether the fossilization of the language influenced hagiography, it occurred in the case of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus*. This hagiographical text appeared in only one BHL version (BHL 4466) and it stayed relatively stable throughout the Middle Ages. This textual stability (particularly language-wise) certainly distanced the text from its audience in the course of centuries if one takes into consideration the transformation of Latin language.

The audience for hagiography as well as the understanding of hagiography shrank from the Merovingian to the Carolingian periods. The purpose of hagiography changed too. Marc Van Uytfanghe argued that during the Merovingian period the lives of saints were aimed at both the cultivated audience and ordinary people and that both groups could understand Latin hagiography at this time.²⁶² Ordinary people could get in touch with hagiographical texts by listening to services on saints’ feast days, when certain parts of the hagiography would be read aloud. Merovingian hagiographers indicated that their audience, even illiterate believers, understood them. However, there was a significant change in the audience from Merovingian to Carolingian hagiography: the former had a practical pastoral aim, while the latter served for the

²⁵⁵ Hen, *Culture and Religion in Merovingian Gaul*, 21-23.

²⁵⁶ F. Lot, G. Bonfante.

²⁵⁷ D. Norberg, C. Mohrmann, H. Pirenne, M. Van Uytfanghe, M. Banniard, R. Wright.

²⁵⁸ Hen, *Culture and Religion in Merovingian Gaul*, 27.

²⁵⁹ M. A. Pie, E. Itkonen, J. Fontaine, T. J. Walsh.

²⁶⁰ M. Richter, R. McKitterick, R. Wright.

²⁶¹ Hayward, “Demystifying the Role of Sanctity,” 128.

²⁶² M. van Uytfanghe, “L’hagiographie et son public à l’époque mérovingienne,” *Studia patristica* 16 (1985): 54-62; see also K. Heene, “Merovingian and Carolingian Hagiography. Continuity or Change in Public and Aims?” *Analecta Bollandiana* 107 (1989): 418 (hereafter Heene, “Merovingian and Carolingian Hagiography”).

edification of the monks, nuns and clerics.²⁶³ Thus, the shrinkage of audience was already clear in this period, not only through the comprehensibility of the language but also through the accessibility of the texts.

When it comes to Germanic peoples who inhabited the region of the first appearance of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* in the Western world, they did not use Latin as their native tongue. The question is how large an audience texts like the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus* could attract in these circumstances. In Germanic areas the audience was probably restricted to the literate monks in the monasteries which kept the manuscripts. Even if public readings of the hagiographical texts were made during the liturgy to an audience other than regular monastic dwellers, it is unlikely that such an audience commonly understood the Latin texts. K. Heene confirms that Latin was introduced in the Germanic-speaking territories during the evangelization period as the language of the Church and elite, who studied it as a foreign language.²⁶⁴ Yet, she attests that inside German monasteries in the Carolingian period, hagiographical texts were used and read aloud as in Frankish cloisters, during meals or during the readings in morning services or *vigiliae* on the feast day of a saint.²⁶⁵ The circumstances might have been different in the typically Latin/Romance regions, where the Latin texts might have been understood better and by a wider audience, including the listeners.

Metaphrasis was a practice applied in hagiography in the Latin realm.²⁶⁶ This practice was very much present in the West, particularly in the Carolingian period. Rewriters “disparaged the style of the hagiographical corpus from the previous, Merovingian period that scarcely any examples of Merovingian hagiography survive in the original form.”²⁶⁷ Yet, in the case of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium*, such a practice was not enforced. This text remained in a single BHL version throughout the Middle Ages; most likely it gradually lost its audience as the centuries went by.

²⁶³ Heene, “Merovingian and Carolingian Hagiography,” 426.

²⁶⁴ Ibid, 416.

²⁶⁵ Ibid, 424.

²⁶⁶ See M. Goullet, *Ecriture et reécriture*, and Goullet and Heinzelmann, *La réécriture hagiographique*. It was demonstrated in these works that the texts dedicated to the most important saints, such as Martin of Tours, were exposed to *metaphrasis*. The database of Philippart shows that the most prominent saints had a higher number of the BHL texts dedicated to them. This number probably included the metaphrased texts, as well as numerous writings of the prominent authorities about the same saints.

²⁶⁷ Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?* 541.

The Old Church Slavonic manuscript of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium*

The Old Church Slavonic *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* appeared in the Suprasl Codex, dated to the end of the tenth century,²⁶⁸ in the cultural context of Preslav, the capital of the First Bulgarian Empire. This is also the only preserved Old Church Slavonic manuscript which contains this text in the period from the tenth to the sixteenth century. The Suprasl Codex is known as one of the earliest and finest examples of uncial Cyrillic writing in Old Church Slavonic and possibly the largest extant Old Bulgarian manuscript from the Preslav “literary school.”²⁶⁹

A great deal of scholarly discussion has been raised over the issues of dating²⁷⁰ and the provenance of the Suprasl Codex.²⁷¹ The predominant current scholarly opinion is that the

²⁶⁸ For the latest dating of the manuscript, see Krustev, and Bojadziev, “On the Dating.”

²⁶⁹ For “Preslav Literary School,” see E. Georgiev, “Возникновение Преславской литературной школы” [The Emergence of Preslav Literary School], *Palaeobulgarica* 6, No. 1 (1982): 16-28. See also F. Curta, *Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages 500-1250* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); K. Popkonstantinov, R. Kostova, “Скрипторият в Равненския манастир: Още веднъж за украсата на старобългарските ръкописи от IX-X в.” [The Scriptorium of the Ravna Monastery: Once Again on the Decoration of the Old Bulgarian Manuscripts of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries], in *Medieval Christian Europe: East and West. Traditions, Values, Communications*, ed. V. Gjuzelev, A. Miltenova (Sofia: Gutenberg Publishing House, 2002), 719-726, etc.

²⁷⁰ V. Oblak, “Zur Würdigung des Altslovenischen. 1. Codex Suprasliensis,” *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 15 (1893): 338-348; Marguliés, *Der altkirchenslavische Codex Suprasliensis*; Krustev and Bojadziev, “On the Dating.” Furthermore, the results of examining the single texts in the manuscript additionally support the dating of the manuscript. Ehrhard, discussing the *Martyrdom of 42 Martyrs of Amorion*, concludes that the Suprasl Codex could not have been produced earlier than the second half of the ninth century. The 42 martyrs of Amorion suffered martyrdom in the Phrygian city of Amorion by Moslem Saracens in 848 CE. This fact establishes the *terminus post quem*; it appears that this martyrdom was translated for the newly made Slavonic compilation very soon after it was written in Greek. Ivanova explains that St. Aninas lived almost contemporaneously with the creation of the Suprasl Codex, whereas his martyrdom is included in the codex; a copyist therefore took care to subsume contemporary saints into the collection as well. Also, the Cyrillic script was created only in the early tenth century. See Ehrhard, III, 600; A. Ivanova, “Ново издание на Супрасълския Сборник” [The New Publication of The Suprasl Codex], *Palaeobulgarica* 8, No. 1 (1984): 124 (hereafter Ivanova, “Ново издание на Супрасълския Сборник”); D. Dunkov, “Наблюдения върху състава на Супрасълския сборник” [Observations on the Composition of the Suprasl Codex], *Език и литература* 45 (1990): 27; V. Pandurski, “Месецословът в Супрасълския Сборник” [Synaxarion in the Suprasl Codex], in *Проучвания върху Супрасълския сборник, Старобългарски паметник от X век* [Studies of the Suprasl Codex, the Old Bulgarian Monument of the Tenth Century], ed. Й. Заимов (София: Българската Академия на Науките, 1980), 42, etc.

²⁷¹ Miklosich, *Monumenta linguae Palaeoslovenicae*; Oblak, “Zur Würdigung des Altslovenischen,” 338-348; V. Jagić, “Das Verhältnis der altkirchenslavischen Übersetzung zu diesem Texte,” *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 35 (1914): 51-55; J. Barbulescu, “Jarășj despre Savina kniga și Codex Suprasliensis in Dacia Traiană” [Once Again on Sava’s Book and the Suprasl Codex in Roman Dacia], *Archiva Societății istorico-filologice din Iași* 44 (1937): 59-75; Marguliés, *Der altkirchenslavische Codex Suprasliensis*; I. Dobrev, “Агиографската реформа на Симеон Метафраст и съставът на Супрасълския сборник” [Hagiographical Reform of Symeon Metaphrastes and the Composition of the Suprasl Codex], *Старобългарска литература* 10 (1981): 37 (hereafter Dobrev, “Агиографската реформа”), etc.

manuscript was produced in eastern Bulgaria, probably in Preslav²⁷² by the end of the tenth century.²⁷³ Preslav was the second capital of the First Bulgarian Empire and the new seat of the Christian ruler, Symeon of Bulgaria (893-927 CE). Scholars agree that the Suprasl Codex was composed at the time of Tsar Peter of Bulgaria (927-969). Many scriptoria existed in eastern Bulgaria at the time, yet the Suprasl Codex is particularly linked to Preslav.²⁷⁴

The “Preslav school” (tenth to eleventh centuries) was one of the several “schools of translation” in medieval Bulgaria, along with the Cyrillo-Methodian school (ninth to eleventh centuries) and the Tarnovo school (thirteenth to fourteenth centuries).²⁷⁵ The disciples of Cyril and Methodius took part in the activities of the Preslav school. They found refuge in the First Bulgarian Empire after the Moravian mission of Cyril and Methodius failed and their disciples were expelled from Moravia.

In the town of Preslav stood the magnificent emperor’s palace, the patriarchal palace, a cathedral church, palace chapel, and several monastic complexes.²⁷⁶ Aside from the “inner town,” infrastructure developed outside of it. The palace monastery was outside of the inner town. Further, approximately 25 monasteries existed around the town, the most famous of which were the monastery in Patleina near Preslav and the monastery of Mostich in Selishte. Some of the monasteries were related to the Bulgarian ruling dynasty of the ninth century. The Ravna

²⁷² See L. Boeva, “Беллетристически Елементи в житиях Супрасълския сборник” [The Elements of Fiction in the Lives of the Suprasl Codex], in *Проучвания върху Супрасълския сборник, Старобългарски паметник от X век* [Studies of the Suprasl Codex, the Old Bulgarian Monument of the Tenth Century], ed. Й. Заимов (София: Българската Академия на Науките, 1980), 95.

²⁷³ See Krustev and Bojadziev, “On the Dating.”

²⁷⁴ See B. Velcheva, “Супрасълският сборник и времето на цар Петър” [Suprasl Codex and the Time of Tsar Peter], in *Rediscovery: Bulgarian Codex Suprasliensis of 10th century*, ed. A. Miltenova (Sofia: East-West Publishers, 2012), 13-16. See also V. Ivanova-Mavrodinova, and L. Mavrodinova, “Украсата на старобългарските ръкописи до края на XI в.” [Decoration of the Old Bulgarian Manuscripts Until the End of the Eleventh Century], *Кирило-Методиевски студии* 12 (1999): 5-86.

²⁷⁵ D. Ivanova-Mircheva, “Супрасълският Сборник и Старобългарските преводачески школи” [Suprasl Codex and the Old Bulgarian Schools of Translation], in *Проучвания върху Супрасълския сборник, Старобългарски паметник от X век* [Studies of the Suprasl Codex, the Old Bulgarian Monument of the Tenth Century], ed. Й. Заимов (София: Българската Академия на Науките, 1980), 82; E. Mircheva, “Търновският новоизведен превод на Мъчението на св. 40 мъченици от Севастия” [A New Translation of the Martyrdom of 40 martyrs of Sebaste from Turnovo], *Старобългарска литература* 43-44 (2010-2011): 119.

²⁷⁶ On the architecture in Preslav, see S. Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans from Diocletian to Suleyman the Magnificent* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 289-290 (hereafter Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans*); R. Kostova, “Patronage and Monastic Geography in Bulgaria in the late Ninth and Tenth Centuries,” in *State and Church: Studies in Medieval Bulgaria and Byzantium*, ed. V. Gjuzelev, K. Petkov (Sofia: American Research Center in Sofia, 2011), 192; Popkonstantinov and Kostova, “Скрипторият в Равненския манастир,” 720; T. Totev, P. Georgiev, “Novi danni za oblika na njakoi manastiri v Pliska i Preslav” [New Data on the Appearance of some Monasteries in Pliska and Preslav], in *Bulgarsko srednovekovie* [Bulgarian Middle Ages], (Sofia: Nauka i iskustvo, 1980), 135.

monastery was founded by Boris-Mihail in the ninth century and the monastery had strong ties with the royal family. The intellectual elite of the tenth century, Constantine of Preslav, John Exarch, Černorizac Hrabar, were active in some of these monasteries, which testifies to the affluent cultural epoch. There may have been workshops, i.e., the places of production of the texts in Old Church Slavonic, in the rich royal complex of the palace monastery.²⁷⁷ Preslav had many palace churches and monasteries where the Suprasl Codex, among others, might have been copied and used.

Therefore, the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* was possibly copied in the Old Church Slavonic language in the urban setting of the Bulgarian capital. This text was presumably used in some of the city monasteries which could have been related to the ruler's court and possibly used in royal liturgical ceremonies. Alternatively, the manuscript could have been used in the monastic setting and by the monastic dwellers. The assumption is that the audience for this manuscript included the royal court, but may have included a wider audience in the town of Preslav, if there were an option to attend the readings during services.

While it is known that the Suprasl Codex emerged in the cultural context of Preslav, it is unclear if the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus* in Old Church Slavonic was translated at time or at some earlier period. Translations in Old Church Slavonic appeared as early as the ninth century; the different texts in the Suprasl Codex were translated at different times.

A great deal of research has been conducted on the dating of the translations of the texts within the Suprasl Codex. The general conclusion is that the texts were translated at different times prior to the assemblage of the codex. The Suprasl Codex is divided thematically into two parts, hagiographical and homiletic. The hagiographical texts, lives of the saints and martyrdom narratives, are arranged according to the calendar from 4th to 31st March.²⁷⁸

Scholars initially ascertained that the two layers of the manuscript were translated at different times.²⁷⁹ They recognized an older, archaic layer (Cyrillo-Methodian), which was predominantly homiletic, and a later, martyrological layer (Preslav translations), which includes

²⁷⁷ Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans*, 291.

²⁷⁸ They are fixed dates of the calendar year. Apart from containing 24 hagiographical texts about Christian saints for March, this manuscript contains 23 homilies for the movable feasts of the calendar year: twenty by John Chrysostom, one by Patriarch Photius, one by Basil the Great, and one by Epiphanius of Cyprus.

²⁷⁹ I. Dobrev, "Гръцките думи в Супрасълския сборник и втората редакция на старобългарските богослужбени книги" [Greek Words in the Suprasl Codex and the Second Redaction of the Old Bulgarian Liturgical Books], *Български език* 28, No. 2 (1978): 97.

the texts ascribed to Preslav scribes from different periods.²⁸⁰ Gradually, however, they came to argue that the different martyrdom narratives were translated prior to the period of the Preslav school.

Dunkov, a Bulgarian scholar, contributed to this subject by separating three groups of the Suprasl texts according to their use of archaic textological doublets, contrasted to later “Preslav” textological doublets.²⁸¹ By textological doublets, Dunkov understands pairs of words translated from Greek, where one of them is translated and the other is only transcribed, staying basically Greek (i.e. въздохъ – аеръ, for Greek ἀήρ). He counted the number of times each option was used in the texts of the Suprasl Codex, concluding that they are heterogeneous in terms of the use

²⁸⁰ Mircheva attested that the otherwise “Preslav-made” Suprasl Codex contains several more archaic layers and texts. Blahova marked John Chrysostom’s *Homily for the Annunciation 2* as an archaic layer within the Suprasl Codex. Wijk argued that the *Homily for the Annunciation 2* is very archaic and was probably translated by Clement of Ohrid. Ivanova-Mircheva confirms the hypothesis of Wijk that the *Homily for the Annunciation 2* was translated, if not during Cyrillo-Methodian times, then at the time of Clement of Ohrid. Mircheva adds that the same text was initially an archaic text, but that it was corrected and edited in compliance with the “Preslav literary school” in the process of adapting archaic Cyrillo-Methodian texts during their copying and compilation in the collections in Preslav. Dobrev concluded that the non-Preslav translations are Epiphanius’ *Homily for Holy Saturday on Christ’s funeral*, John Chrysostom’s *Homily on Christ’s resurrection on the third day*, John Chrysostom’s *Homily for Holy Monday about the fig tree*, Chrysostom’s *Easter Homily*, and Chrysostom’s *Homily on St Thomas the Apostle*. In his view, *Encomion for the 40 martyrs of Sebasteia* and *Homily for Annunciation 2* do not belong to the archaic layer of the Suprasl Codex. Blahova argued that the archaic works are Epiphanius’ *Homily*, Basil’s *Encomion for the 40 martyrs of Sebasteia*, Chrysostom’s *Homily for the Annunciation 2*, Chrysostom’s *Homily on Christ’s Resurrection*, and *Easter Homily*, and also the *Martyrdom of St. Sabinos*. Mechev argues that Photios’ *Homily for Palm Sunday* is from the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition. Kapaldo confirms that the *Homily for the Annunciation 2* and *Encomion for the 40 martyrs* belong to the archaic layer of the Suprasl Codex. Mircheva reports that different scholars during the course of the twentieth century gave their own lists of the archaic texts within the Suprasl Codex, but that they did not necessarily correspond. However, homiletic texts prevail in the lists; only a few martyrological texts are mentioned among them. The *Martyrdom of the 40 martyrs of Sebasteia* is one of them. See E. Mircheva, “Прояви на Преславската преводаческа и редакторска школа в слово No 21 от Супрасълския Сборник” [Features of the Translation and the Editorial School of Preslav in the Encomion no. 21 in the Suprasl Codex], *Palaeobulgarica* 21, No. 2 (1997): 15, 16, 22; N. van H. Wijk, “Был ли Климент переводчиком No. 21 Супрасълской рукописи” [Was Clement the Translator of the Text n. 21 in the Suprasl Codex], in *Юбилейний збірник на пошану акад. М. С. Грушевського* [The Annual Collection in Honor of Acad. M. S. Grushevsky], 178-184 (Kiev, 1928); D. Ivanova-Mircheva, “Архаичен препис на слово № 21 от Супрасълския сборник” [The Archaic Transcription of the Text no. 21 of the Suprasl Codex], *Изследвания върху историята и диалектите на българския език* [Research on the History and the Dialects of Bulgarian Language], (Sofia, 1979), 181; idem, “Супрасълският Сборник и Старобългарските преводачески школи” [Suprasl Codex and the Old Bulgarian Schools of Translation], 83-85; Dobrev, “Гръцките думи в Супрасълския сборник,” 97; idem, “Агиографската реформа,” 16-38; K. Mechev, “Словото на Патриарх Фотий за връбница и четвородневния Лазар в Супрасълския сборник” [The Encomion of Patriarch Photius for Palm Sunday in the Suprasl Codex], in *Проучвания върху Супрасълския сборник, Старобългарски паметник от X век* [Studies of the Suprasl Codex, the Old Bulgarian Monument of the Tenth Century], ed. Й. Заимов (София: Българската Академия на Науките, 1980), 36; M. Kapaldo, “За състава на Супрасълския сборник” [About the Composition of the Suprasl Codex], in *Проучвания върху Супрасълския сборник, Старобългарски паметник от X век* [Studies of the Suprasl Codex, the Old Bulgarian Monument of the Tenth Century], ed. Й. Заимов (София: Българската Академия на Науките, 1980), 210; Margulies, *Der altkirchenslavische Codex Suprasliensis*, 1927.

²⁸¹ Dunkov, “Супрасълският сборник и етапите в развитието,” 16-17.

of such words (some texts use innovative, translated, Slavonic words more than the others which use archaizing transcribed words).²⁸² Dunkov placed the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* into the second group, between the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition and the Preslav tradition, thus evincing the dating of the translation of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* to an earlier period than the “Preslav school.” Dunkov’s theory discarded the previous common conviction that the two layers in the Suprasl Codex were strictly homiletic and martyrological layers, where the former is earlier and latter is later. He argued that there are both homilies and martyrdoms in all three groups.²⁸³

In another article, Dunkov argued that there was a group of texts, the lives of the saints/martyrdoms, in the Suprasl Codex, which were translated already around 885 CE.²⁸⁴ The *Life of Gregory the Great*, *Martyrdom of Irenaeus*, and *Martyrdom of Terentios, Africanos and Pompeos* belong to this group.²⁸⁵ These texts were translated in Moravia during Methodius’ mission. He places the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* directly in the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition, which is the earliest possible tradition of the Slavonic translations.

As to the subject of the comprehensibility of hagiographical texts in the Slavonic setting, scholars have researched the reworking of the texts prior to their placement in the Suprasl Codex. They have studied the methods employed in the texts reworked in the “Preslav school.” Natalia Samoilova argues that the fragments and quotes from the Gospels in the Suprasl Codex show that quotes were redacted in the “Preslav literary school” and then inserted in both the newly translated texts as well as the earlier ones.²⁸⁶ Mircheva argues that one of the requirements of the “Preslav literary school” was a demand for a higher literary style.²⁸⁷ Mircheva argues that archaic texts were embellished and corrected before they entered the Suprasl Codex. Dobrev argues that the Preslav translations in the Suprasl Codex were adapted so that the Greek

²⁸² Dunkov, “Супрасълският сборник и етапите в развитието,” 14.

²⁸³ Ibid, 18-19.

²⁸⁴ D. Dunkov, “Наблюдения върху състава на Супрасълския сборник” [Observations on the Composition of the Suprasl Codex], *Език и литература* 45 (1990): 25-34.

²⁸⁵ Dunkov, “Наблюдения върху състава на Супрасълския сборник,” 26. Among the earliest translated texts in his view are Epiphanius’ *Homily*, Basil’s *Encomion for 40 martyrs*, Chrysostom’s *Homily for the Annunciation 2*, *Homily for Easter*, *Homily for Good Friday*, *Homily for the St Thomas the Apostle*, *Vita of Sabinos*, *Vita of John Klimakos*.

²⁸⁶ N. Samoilova, “Преславска лексика в евангелските цитати на Супрасълския Сборник” [The Vocabulary of Preslav in the Biblical Quotations in the Suprasl Codex], *Palaeobulgarica* 21, No. 1 (1997): 87-88.

²⁸⁷ E. Mircheva, “Прояви на Преславската преводаческа и редакторска школа,” 21.

expressions were replaced with the corresponding Slavonic words.²⁸⁸ Such revisions could show that the texts were meant to be read by the higher stratum of society, who could understand such heightened stylistic embellishments. However, the translation rather than transcription of the Greek words could point to the reverse process – making the texts more understandable and accessible to a wider audience. Samoilova's and Mircheva's articles confirm the ongoing metaphrastic activity on Slavonic texts, pointing out *metaphrasis* as an activity not exclusively related to Byzantium, but a more universal and ongoing medieval textual activity.²⁸⁹

Byzantine manuscripts of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium*

The preserved Greek manuscripts containing the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* are not dated earlier than the tenth century. Five medieval manuscripts and one early modern manuscript contain the BHG 948 version of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium*.²⁹⁰ One medieval manuscript contains the BHG 949e version. Three medieval and one early modern manuscripts contain BHG 950z. Finally, one medieval manuscript contains the BHG 951 variant.

The largest group, five manuscripts, containing BHG 948 originated in Constantinople. The manuscript Venice Marcianus gr. 360, 20 is dated to the tenth or eleventh century.²⁹¹ On one of the initial pages of the manuscript is written: *Vitae sanctorum et elogia mentium iulii et augusti in depositionem pretiosae Vestis S. Deiparae in Blachernis*.²⁹² This note shows that the Church of the Virgin Mary of Blachernae in Constantinople was in possession of the manuscript. This church was probably the second most important church in Constantinople after Hagia Sophia.²⁹³

²⁸⁸ Dobrev, "Гръцките думи в Супрасълския сборник," 97.

²⁸⁹ Horace Lunt confirmed that *metaphrasis* was an activity very present in Slavonic texts. See H. G. Lunt, "One OCS Translation or Two? On the Suprasliensis and Related Sborniki," *Welt der Slaven* 28 (1983): 225-249.

²⁹⁰ The sixth manuscript containing BHG 948 is from Bibliotheca Bollandiana, Brussels, Mss. Boll. 193 (117r–118v). It is a later, seventeenth- or eighteenth-century copy of unknown origin, catalogued by Delehay and Vorst. This manuscript contains three versions of the text: BHG 948, BHG 950 and BHG 951. It also contains lives of the saints for August, which are not organized chronologically. Initially the lives of saints appear on 20th August, and the lives for August 1st, 2nd, 3rd, etc. appear only later. This is no surprise, as the manuscript is a composite. Latin texts are present in this manuscript as well.

²⁹¹ This dating was according to an earlier catalogue. Ehrhard corrected the dating to the eleventh century. See Delehay, "Catalogus bibliothecae D. Marci Venetiarum," 12; See also Ehrhard, I, 432.

²⁹² Noted in my personal examination of the manuscript. Ehrhard was not aware of this note and reported that the origin of this manuscript was unknown. See Ehrhard, I, 432.

²⁹³ The basilica of the Virgin Mary was built as early as the fifth century by the Empress Pulcheria. It was located in the quarter of the city of Constantinople named Blachernae. The church was burned down and rebuilt in 1070. It

Ehrhard argued that the manuscripts Marcianus Venice 360, 20 and BnF gr. 1177 were identical and probably copied at one and the same, although unknown place. Ehrhard dated BnF gr. 1177 to the eleventh century.²⁹⁴

However, Ehrhard missed the note of a copyist/scribe in folio 9 of BnF gr. 1177: “Monk Methodios, *cathegoumenos* of the monastery of St. George.”²⁹⁵ The note alludes to the monastery of St. George at Mangana in Constantinople, the possible provenance of the manuscript. Constantine IX Monomachos founded the monastery of St. George in the eleventh century as an imperial foundation and residence of the emperors. Thus, the two two-month *menologia* were tied to the imperial monastic foundations of Constantinople. Neither of them contains any significant decorations.

Venice 360, 20 has a significantly larger number of folios than BnF gr. 1177 (540 and 292 folios, respectively). When I examined both manuscripts myself, I noticed a number of similarities. Namely, both of them contain plain and voluminous collections of saints’ lives (*bioi agiōn*), with no decorations, not even of the capital letters, and no marginal notes. This utilitarian presentation probably indicates strictly monastic use.

Manuscript BnF gr. 1177 was transferred to Western Europe, the (monastery of?) Fontebiau at some point in the Middle Ages (as Fontebaudensis 87), according to Omont’s catalogue.²⁹⁶ Probably it was brought to Western Europe through Crusader expeditions. This is the one of the few known encounters of the Greek manuscript material containing this text with the Latin realm.

The third manuscript containing the BHG 948 version, BnF Suppl. gr. 241, is dated to the tenth century and was copied in Constantinople.²⁹⁷ Ehrhard ascribed its origin to Constantinople as it contained a text dedicated to the celebration of the victory over the Persians (626 CE) on 7th

became the foremost Marian shrine in the capital as early as the ninth century. The imperial residence was near-by. Under the Komnenoi dynasty, Blachernae became the customary residence of the emperor, which continued during the Palaiologoi dynasty. See A. P. Kazhdan, ed., “Blachernai, Church and Palace of,” in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 293; D. Krausmüller, “Metaphrasis after the Second Iconoclasm: Nicephorus Skeuophylax and his Encomia on Theophanes Confessor (BHG 1790), Theodore of Sykeon (BHG 1749), and George the Martyr (BHG 682),” *Symbolae Osloensis* 78 (2003): 49 (hereafter Krausmüller, “Metaphrasis after the Second Iconoclasm”).

²⁹⁴ Ehrhard, I, 432.

²⁹⁵ I saw this note on my personal examination. It is the only marginal note with several lines in the whole manuscript (folio 9).

²⁹⁶ Omont, *Catalogus codicum*, 75.

²⁹⁷ Ehrhard, I, 678. See also Halkin, “Manuscripts Grecs de Paris,” 288-289 and Omont, *Catalogus codicum*, 330.

August.²⁹⁸ Ehrhard assumed that it was written for a monastery in Constantinople, but other than the Studios monastery.²⁹⁹ Omont reports notes at the beginning and end of the manuscript written in Arabic.³⁰⁰ The layout does not contain decorations. Only the beginnings of the texts are decorated, along with the capital letters. The signature of a scribe Stephanos appears in folio 255: “Lord, protect your servant, Stephanos, who wrote this. Amen.”³⁰¹ This manuscript was also transferred to the West – to the abbey of St-Germain des Pres.³⁰²

Omont initially dated another manuscript containing BHG 948, BnF gr. 548, to the tenth century,³⁰³ and later to the eleventh century.³⁰⁴ Ehrhard argued on the basis of the scholia that this manuscript must be dated to the tenth century.³⁰⁵

The fifth manuscript containing BHG 948 is Vienna, Historicus gr. 45, entitled in folio 1 *Vitae sanctorum mensis augusti*.³⁰⁶ In folios 2r and 309v is written: *Augerius de Busbecke comparavit Constantinopoli*: Busbecke purchased (it) in Constantinople.³⁰⁷ Ehrhard assumed because Busbecke had acquired this manuscript in Constantinople it implied that it was originally copied in Constantinople.³⁰⁸ He dated it to the eleventh century.

On personal examination of the manuscript, I found notes made by Busbecke throughout the manuscript in black ink in the margins, starting from folio 42r, the same as those in folios 2r and 309v. The original ink is brown, while Busbecke’s ink is black. Busbecke apparently read most, if not all, of the texts in the manuscript, commenting on the texts in Latin in the margins. The notes are all related to his reading of the texts, presenting his interpretation and understanding of the texts. The comments demonstrate a significant level of knowledge of Byzantine literature and literature in general.³⁰⁹ Busbecke made a valid correction in the folio 246v of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus*. Namely, it was originally written that Irenaeus was from

²⁹⁸ Ehrhard, I, 676-677.

²⁹⁹ Ehrhard, I, 679.

³⁰⁰ Omont, *Catalogus codicum*, 330.

³⁰¹ Ibid,

³⁰² Ibid.

³⁰³ Omont, *Inventaire sommaire*; Halkin, “Manuscrits Grecs de Paris,” 33-34; Ehrhard, I, 679-682.

³⁰⁴ Omont, *Catalogus codicum*, 16.

³⁰⁵ Ehrhard, I, 679-680.

³⁰⁶ Folio 1 also contains several misleading notes regarding the title and the contents, which are crossed out in black ink, such as Joannes Chrysostomi in Machabees, which is one of the initial texts. A note in folios 139v-140r seems to be by a scribe.

³⁰⁷ C. van de Vorst and H. Delehay, *Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum Graecorum Germaniae Belgii Angliae* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1913), 55.

³⁰⁸ Ehrhard, I, 682.

³⁰⁹ Namely, in folio 189v, he says: *Iuvenalem Hierosol. Epist. ea de re compellant*, and in folio 206r, he says: *Multa de hac imagine scripsit Constantinus Porphyrogenitos*.

Spain, and Busbecke crossed Ἰσπανίας and added Παννονίας in the margin. This detail gives a hint that an original scribe of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus* was not completely acquainted with the narrative he copied. Vienna Hist. gr. 45 is the only medieval manuscript, containing the BHG 950 text, the *Martyrdom of the two Irenaei*. In folio 248r, *successor Apostolorum* was added by the name of Irenaeus.

Thus, all the Greek manuscripts containing BHG 948 probably came, in one way or another, from the different monastic centers in Constantinople. The physical features and the page layouts testify to the monastic use of these manuscripts.

Unlike them, manuscript Moscow, Syn. gr. 183, containing the BHG 949e textual version relates to the imperial court in Constantinople. D’Aiuto argued that it was originally produced and used in the imperial court of Constantinople.³¹⁰ It is dated to the eleventh century.³¹¹ D’Aiuto identified the hand of a copyist/calligrapher Nicola, who held the imperial office of *asecretis* of Seleukia in the year of 1040, during the reign of Michael IV.³¹² His argument contradicts another recent dating of this manuscript by Detorakis to the end of the tenth century.³¹³

This manuscript is hailed as an Imperial *Menologion*. It was copied and illuminated in Constantinople for a client in the court and remained there for an indefinite period of time, stored in an unknown area, possibly in a library building, a place of worship or a monastery related to the court in Constantinople.³¹⁴ This manuscript was produced for the use of the imperial family. Only the members of the imperial family and the court entourage could access these texts. Its later life was equally interesting.³¹⁵

³¹⁰ See F. D’Aiuto, “Note ai manoscritti del Menologio Imperiale, 1. Un monogramma nel Menologio di Mosca,” *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 39 (2002): 195 (hereafter D’Aiuto, “Note ai manoscritti”).

³¹¹ For a description of the manuscript, see Archimandrite Vladimir, *Систематическое описание рукописей Московской синодальной (патриаршей) библиотеки: Рукописи греческия* [A Systematic Description of the Manuscripts of the Moscow Synodal Patriarchal Library: Greek Manuscripts], (Moscow, 1894). The manuscript is digitized in the Historical Museum in Moscow. When I examined the manuscript personally, I noticed that the manuscript is recorded as being from the twelfth century, which is probably a mistake. D’Aiuto dated this manuscript to the eleventh century.

³¹² See D’Aiuto, “Note ai manoscritti,” 196.

³¹³ Th. Detorakis, “Η χρονολόγηση τοῦ αὐτοκρατορικοῦ μηνολογίου τοῦ Β. Latyšev” [The Dating of the Imperial *Menologion* by Latyšev], *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 83, No. 1 (1990): 46-50 (hereafter Detorakis, “Η χρονολόγηση”).

³¹⁴ See D’Aiuto, “Note ai manoscritti,” 200.

³¹⁵ This manuscript was brought to the Konstamonitou monastery in the interior of the peninsula of Mt. Athos, founded in the mid-eleventh century. The editor, Vladimir Latyšev, alluded to the Athonite origin of the manuscript. In his view, the Athonite provenance was made clear by *manu recentiore*, f. 269v (the last folio of the manuscript, 263r, according to the newest pagination). The newest pagination is based on my personal examination of the manuscript in the Library of the State Historical Museum in Moscow in September 2013. The CD copies of the manuscript provide the newest pagination system. This manuscript has the table of contents in folios 1r-v. The table

Another Imperial *Menologion*, manuscript Jerusalem Panagiou Taphou 17,³¹⁶ containing the BHG 950z version of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus*, was initially the property of the lavra of St. Sabas in Palestine; it came out of another monastic context.³¹⁷ Dated to the eleventh or twelfth century,³¹⁸ this manuscript may have been a gift for a woman.³¹⁹ At the end of the codex there is a iambic verse which might imply that this codex was given to a woman for her educational exercise and study pursuits (μελετή). Even though this manuscript is hailed as an Imperial *Menologion*, due to the lack of illuminations, it may be that it was not the original Imperial *Menologion*, but a copy. The note to a woman also supports such an idea. Three copies of BHG 950z later than the eleventh century are known.³²⁰ The provenance of the manuscripts

of contents contains only the texts for March, even though the manuscript contains the texts for February as well. Before that, there is a note in the first blank folio. Different notes are present in folios 1r-v, 2v, 18r, 185r, 262r (previously 269r – contains a note and a seal in this folio), 262v, and 263r (the last folio of the manuscript). Popov attested that the seals in the folios 2v and 268 (262r according to the newest pagination), with the image of St. Stephen Protomartyr holding a censer and the church in his hands certify the manuscript's origin from the monastery of Konstamonitou. The Protomartyr was a patron saint of this monastery. There is also a note in folio 2v. However, D'Aiuto attested that although the manuscript was taken to Athos, it was produced in Constantinople. Arsenius Suhanov brought the manuscript from the Konstamonitou monastery on Mount Athos to Moscow in the mid-seventeenth century. Patterson-Ševčenko reports that this manuscript belonged to the Kastamonitou monastery on Mount Athos in the sixteenth century, after which it was taken to Moscow, probably in 1655. See A. Kazhdan, ed., "Kastamonitou monastery," in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 1110; Latyšev, *Menologii anonymi*, III, n. 2; D. K. Tréneff, ed., *Miniatures du ménologe grec du XI-me siècle No. 183 de la bibliothèque synodale à Moscou* (Moscow, 1911), 5-6; See D'Aiuto, "Note ai manoscritti," 200; N. P. Ševčenko, "The Walters 'Imperial' *Menologion*," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 51 (1993): 62, n. 19 (hereafter N. P. Ševčenko, "The Walters 'Imperial' *Menologion*").

³¹⁶ Patterson-Ševčenko, Detorakis, and D'Aiuto use the name Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchate Taphou 17 for this manuscript. The editor, Latyšev, as well as some Bollandist scholars, used the name St. Sepulchri 17. The Greek Patriarchate in Jerusalem, which holds the manuscript, calls it Panagiou Taphou 17. See F. Halkin, "Le mois de Janvier du 'Ménologe Impérial' byzantin," *Analecta Bollandiana* 57 (1939): 225-236 (hereafter Halkin, "Le mois de Janvier").

³¹⁷ This is attested by four notes, on folios 2, 39, 145v, and 224. Latyšev, *Menologii Anonymi*, 2, I. The Lavra of St. Sabas was Palestinian monastic coenobium established in Late Antiquity. It reached its full-scale importance before the rise of Islam. The liturgical influence of St. Sabas on the early evolution of the Byzantine rite via Jerusalem is significant. It still functions as a monastic community which follows the *Typicon* of St. Sabas. For bibliography on St. Sabas in Palestine, see See Lapidge and Bischoff, *Biblical Commentaries*, 67; J. Worthley, "St. Sabas, 439-532," in *Encyclopedia of Monasticism II*, ed. W. M. Johnston (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 2000), 1109.

³¹⁸ Latyšev dated it to the eleventh century. However, Patterson-Ševčenko, Detorakis, and D'Aiuto date it to the twelfth century. Ehrhard also dates it to the twelfth century. See N. P. Ševčenko, "The Walters 'Imperial' *Menologion*," 62, n. 20; see also Detorakis, "Η Χρονολογήση," 46; F. D'Aiuto, "Un ramo italogreco nella tradizione manoscritta del 'Menologio Imperial,'" in *Nuove ricerche sui manoscritti greci dell'Ambrosiana*, ed. C. M. Mazzucchi, C. Pasini (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2003), 164 (hereafter D'Aiuto, "Un ramo italogreco"), Ehrhard, III, 355.

³¹⁹ See Papadopoulos-Kerameos, *IEPOΣOΛYMITIKH BIBΛIOΘHKH I*, 69.

³²⁰ One of them is the manuscript Athon. Dionys. 83, dated to 1142, written by monk Arsenios Spastrikos. This manuscript is a copy of Jerusalem Panagiou Taphou 17, and their contents correspond completely. See Ehrhard, III, 360. Latyšev admitted that he did not study manuscript Dionysiou 83, but he assumed that it had contents similar to Panagiou Taphou 17 and Ambrosiana B 1 inf. N. P. Ševčenko listed this manuscript among the Imperial *Menologia*. At the end, there is a note made by a monk, Arsenios, that the manuscript was made during the reign of John

containing the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus* betrays their peripheral settings in Palestine, Athos, and Jerusalem.

Another manuscript, Ambrosiana, B. 1. inf., dated to the thirteenth century (1239/40), contains the BHG 951 version of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus*.³²¹ Version BHG 951 is similar to BHG 950z except that it does not have the prayer for the emperor. The prayers for the emperor in the copies of the Imperial *Menologia* had probably lost their relevance by this time. Ambrosiana B 1 inf. originated from the Southern Italian monastery of St. Nicola di Calamizzi (*Rutiensis monasterium Calabriae*). The manuscript was ordered by Niphon and copied by Laurentius from the same monastery.³²² The manuscript may have been copied from the monastery St. Giovanni Calibita in Caloveto, close to Rossano in Calabria. The colophon states that Laurentius undertook the task of writing the manuscript at the behest of Father Niphon who arranged his sea trip to the destination i.e., to the area of Rossano and Caloveto, and that Laurentius even went there twice for the purpose of his assignment.³²³

Therefore, the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus* in its variations remained strictly in the monastic environments of Palestine, Mount Athos, Jerusalem, and Southern Italy and did not come close to the imperial capital.

Greek exemplars dedicated to Irenaeus of Sirmium did not emerge solely in the form of hagiographies. Several liturgical manuscripts in the two versions contain canons dedicated to Irenaeus. Three medieval and one early modern manuscripts contain the two versions of the canon, but only one manuscript contains the *Canon on Irenaeus* and three manuscripts contain

Komnenos in 1137: "The present writing has been finished by the hand of the monk Arsenios, by the surname of Spastrikos, during the reign of John Porphyrogenitos Komnenos and the holy Patriarch Leo Styppes, in 1137." See S. P. Lambros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos I* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1966), 327. This manuscript comes from the monastic Athonite context. The second copy of Jerusalem Panagiotou Taphou 17 is Athens 1046, dated to the fourteenth century, which contains all the same texts as Panagiotou Taphou 17 except for one. I assume that this manuscript was also of Athonite origin. The third copy is Jerusalem, St. Crucis No.16, a sixteenth-century manuscript. See A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *IEPOΣOAYMITIKH BIBAIOΘHKH III* [Jerusalem Library III], (Petropolis: Kirspaoum, 1897), 39-45. This manuscript originated from Jerusalem and differed from Panagiotou Taphou 17 in the first seven texts. By this time all the prayers for the emperor had been omitted. See Ehrhard, III, 362. This is no longer the version BHG 950z, but BHG 951.

³²¹ Halkin, "Le mois de janvier."

³²² C. Pasini, *Inventario agiografico dei manoscritti greci dell' Ambrosiana* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 2003), 171. Latyšev dates the Ambrosiana manuscript to 1240, and confirms that it was copied by the monk Laurentius. He stressed that Laurentius was not the author, but the scribe. Ehrhard claimed previously that Laurentius was the author. See Latyšev, *Menologii Anonymi* 2, V.

³²³ D'Aiuto does not agree with Turyn that the copying occurred in two phases. See A. Turyn, *Dated Greek Manuscripts of the 13th and 14th Centuries in the Libraries of Italy I* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1972), 13; D'Aiuto, "Un ramo italogreco," 162.

the *Canon on Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus*. They also originated from the peripheral regions of Sinai and Southern Italy.

The *Canon on Irenaeus of Sirmium* appears in Sinaiticus gr. 614 on 6th April.³²⁴ The name of the manuscript testifies to its origin from St. Catherine's in Sinai. This manuscript contains the cryptograph: Θεοδώρου μοναχοῦ and *preces pro Cosma monacho*. A monk, Theodore, may have been the scribe; the manuscript has a dedication to a monk, Cosma. This *menaion* for April, dated to the eleventh century, contains the lections from 1st April (Mary of Egypt) to 1st May (Jeremia prophet).³²⁵ Nikiforova dated it to the tenth or eleventh century.³²⁶

The *Canon on Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus*, placed on 30th August appears in three manuscripts. One of them is Sinaiticus gr. 632, a *menaion* for August,³²⁷ dated to the eleventh or twelfth century, from the monastery of St. Catherine of Sinai. It is not clear whether the manuscript was produced at St. Catherine's.³²⁸ The other copy of the *Canon on Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus* is preserved in manuscript Criptense Δ.α.XII, dated to the eleventh century, from the Grottaferrata monastery in Southern Italy. Neilos of Rossano founded the Grottaferrata monastery (St. Maria di Grottaferrata), a Greek monastery south of Rome, in 1004.³²⁹ A copy of this Canon is preserved in Vaticanus gr. 2069 from the seventeenth century.

The canons emanated from the typical monastic settings of Sinai and Southern Italy in the collections of *menaia* used in the monastic liturgy. These canons are ascribed to Joseph the

³²⁴ See M. Kamil, *Catalogue of all Manuscripts in the Monastery of St Catherine on Mount Sinai* (Wiesbaden, 1970); V. Gardhausen, *Catalogus codicum graecorum sinaiticorum* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1886). See also D. Harlfinger, D. R. Reinsch, J. A. M. Sonderkamp, *Die atierten griechischen Handschriften des Katharinen-Klosters auf dem berge Sinai 9.bis 12. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1983); Getov, "The Unedited Byzantine Liturgical Canons," 82. This article gives further references for the description of the manuscript in E. Papailiopolou – Fotopoulou, *Ταμείον ἀνεκδότων βυζαντινῶν ἁσματικῶν κανόνων* I [Treasury of the Unedited Byzantine Sung Canons], (Athens, 1996), as M 561.

³²⁵ Gardhausen, *Catalogus codicum graecorum sinaiticorum*, 143.

³²⁶ A. Nikiforova, "К вопросу о происхождении служебной Минеи: о структуре, составе и месяцеслове служебных Миней IX–XII вв. из библиотеки монастыря вмц. Екатерины на Синае. Материалы международной научно-богословской конференции 'Россия–Афон: тысячелетие духовного единства'" [On the Origin of the Office *Menaion*: the Structure, Composition and the Calendar of the Office *Menaia* of the Ninth-Twelfth Centuries from the Library of St. Catherine at Sinai], (Москва, 2008), 380–389. See <<http://www.academia.edu/1042960/ IX-XII . . . To the origin of Office Menaion. Structure Calendar and Content of the Menaea of 9th - 12th cc. from St.Catherines Monastery on the Sinai>> Last accessed: 12/01/2015. However, she wrongly identified the saint as Irinarh of Smyrna.

³²⁷ Gardhausen, *Catalogus codicum graecorum sinaiticorum*, 146.

³²⁸ Justinian built the monastery between 548–565 CE. It was particularly important during the Arab incursions. See A. Kazhdan, ed., "Catherine, Monastery of Saint," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 392.

³²⁹ A. Kazhdan, ed., "Grottaferrata," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 883–884.

Hymnographer, who lived in the ninth century.³³⁰ If written by Joseph, they would be the only literary forms with known authorship dedicated to Irenaeus. However, while some scholars argue that Joseph was the author, others argue that the author is unknown.³³¹

Joseph, a monk from Sicily, lived in Thessalonica, Constantinople (Studios Monastery), and Rome.³³² He was the sacristan of St. Sofia and the abbot of the Constantinopolitan monastery.³³³ He contributed significantly to development of the canon as a liturgical form, which replaced the *kondakion* after the seventh century.³³⁴ Joseph endeavored to write canons of saints as a result of the uncertain situation in the eastern parts of the Byzantine empire. Scholars ascribe 466 liturgical canons to Joseph.³³⁵

The devotional practice of producing canons of saints may have been a way to insure protection, but some scholars see it differently. Krausmüller argues that Joseph's endeavor uncovers an "encyclopedic" mindset, which also stood behind the flowering of hymnography in the ninth century.³³⁶ Joseph's project was monastic in character, as a canon played no part in the cathedral service as it was performed at Hagia Sophia in this period.³³⁷

To sum up, the most common Greek variant of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium*, BHG 948, arose in Constantinopolitan monastic contexts: the Theotokos church of Blachernae, St. George at Mangana, and "a Constantinopolitan monastery, other than Studios monastery," all of which had ties with the imperial families.³³⁸ The rare BHG 949e from manuscript Moscow Syn. 183 was particularly tied to the imperial court in Constantinople. This was the Imperial *Menologion* whose contents were not available to the wider audience. Another version, the

³³⁰ J. Szövérfy, *A Guide to Byzantine Hymnography* (Brookline, MA: Classical Folia Editions, 1979).

³³¹ Szövérfy, Nikiforova.

³³² C. Van de Vorst, "Note sur S. Joseph l'Hymnographe," *Analecta Bollandiana* 38 (1920): 148-154.

³³³ Krausmüller, "Metaphrasis after the Second Iconoclasm," 50.

³³⁴ J. A. McGuckin, "Poetry and Hymnography (2): The Greek World," in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies*, ed. S. A. Harvey, D. Hunter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 651. This replacement corresponded time-wise with the period when the empire shrank and some of the cities previously in the empire were cut off due to Arab incursions.

³³⁵ This line refers primarily to E. I. Tomadakes; see N. P. Ševčenko, "Canon and Calendar: the Role of a Ninth-century Hymnographer in Shaping the Celebration of the Saints," in *The Celebration of the Saints in Byzantine Art and Liturgy* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), I, 104-105 (hereafter N. P. Ševčenko, "Canon and Calendar"), for a more extensive bibliography on the debate over the authorship of Joseph's canons.

³³⁶ Krausmüller, "Metaphrasis after the Second Iconoclasm," 63.

³³⁷ N. P. Ševčenko, "Canon and Calendar," I, 112.

³³⁸ Høgel confirms that the earliest liturgical hagiographical collections (*menologia*) were probably produced and copied in some of the major monasteries. See C. Høgel, "Hagiography under the Macedonians: The Two Recensions of the Metaphrastic *Menologion*," in *Byzantium in the Year 1000*, ed. P. Magdalino (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 220 (hereafter Høgel, "Hagiography under the Macedonians"); see also Ehrhard, I, n. 19.

Martyrdom of Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus in the variants BHG 950z and 951 relates to the monasteries of St. Sabas in Palestine, Mount Athos and Southern Italy. Monastic communities were the users and readers of these manuscripts. Finally, the canons are tied to St. Catherine of Sinai and Grotaferrata monasteries. The *Martyrdom of Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus* appears in its variants exclusively in the peripheral zones, compared to BHG 948, which is associated exclusively with Constantinople.

When it comes to the availability of hagiography for a wider audience in Byzantium, it is known that a lay audience “due to their democratic character” attended services in the Byzantine monasteries.³³⁹ Half-educated and uneducated people were able to listen to readings of hagiography. However, the assumption is that they did not fully understand the language, e.g. of the Metaphrastic lives. An example from a manuscript attests to a person who was about to read a saint’s life warning the audience not to lie on the church floor and not to sleep during his reading.³⁴⁰

Metaphrasis was one of the tools for better comprehension and making hagiography closer to the contemporary audience. It lay at the heart of the Byzantine hagiographical tradition. Interestingly, the tendency to rewrite did not affect all of Byzantine literature – historiography, e.g., does not demonstrate such an inclination.³⁴¹

The prestige of high style in hagiography increased through the history of the Byzantine literature.³⁴² Initially, hagiographical texts were not tied to a high style. However, the examples of low-style texts disappeared completely after the iconoclastic age.³⁴³ Yet, not everyone was able to understand the heightened style of hagiography. This feature resulted in a new, restricted audience of Byzantine hagiography in the early and high Middle Ages.

A Georgian manuscript of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium*

A single known Georgian manuscript which contains the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* is deposited in Kutaisi, Georgia. The manuscript is Kutaisi 1 (XVI), dated to the

³³⁹ Ihor Ševčenko, “Levels of Style in Byzantine Prose,” *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 31, No. 1-2 (1981): 302-3 (hereafter Ševčenko, “Levels of Style”).

³⁴⁰ Ševčenko, “Levels of Style,” 302-3.

³⁴¹ Ibid, 301.

³⁴² Ibid.

³⁴³ Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes*, 23.

sixteenth century.³⁴⁴ The manuscript is written on paper,³⁴⁵ arranged according to a calendar and contains texts about saints for the months of February and August. The manuscript is part of a five-volume collection which the author of the catalogue marks as “Metaphrastic.”³⁴⁶

According to Kekelidze, this Metaphrastic collection was copied in the monastery of Gelati in the sixteenth century for the *catholicos* of Abkhazia, Euthymios (Evdemon I Chetidze), who commissioned it.³⁴⁷ King David the Builder founded the Gelati monastery in the twelfth century. Catholicos Euthymios commissioned the full metaphrastic collection to be copied from an earlier manuscript which was kept in Gelati. Euthymios’ initial idea was to get a translation of the complete enterprise of Symeon Metaphrastes (September-January) and of his continuator, John Xiphilinos the Younger (February-August). The whole collection of twelve months was copied; however, only five volumes survive: 1) February and August, 2) March, 3) June and July, 4) September and October, 5) December.³⁴⁸ The *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* is in the first volume.

Three issues are of interest at this point. First, the extant manuscript was copied in the sixteenth century, but the date of the translation of the Greek text into Georgian is a desirable, still unknown, detail. Several scholars have discussed this issue and proposed datings for the translation. Certainly, the dating of the translation would attest the time period when cultural contacts of the two realms occurred. Second, the collection of the Metaphrastic summer part of the year, at hand here, is not preserved in Greek but only in Georgian. Therefore, everything that can be known about a Greek collection has to be studied through the Georgian collection. As a Greek original for the summer part of the Metaphrastic *menologion* is no longer extant, its Georgian translation presents the single source for the lost Greek collection. Third, the question is how much this collection represents Greek culture at the time and how much Georgian culture was embedded through the process of translation.

Georgians were initially Christianized from Palestine. However, in the period from the tenth to the eleventh centuries, the loss of Palestinian territories to the Arabs caused the Georgian

³⁴⁴ E. Gabidzashvili, *Translated Works* I, 243.

³⁴⁵ Paper comes into use in Georgian manuscript tradition in the eleventh century

³⁴⁶ K. Kekelidze, ed., *Xelnatserta agtseriloba* 1 [Description of Manuscripts], (Tbilisi: Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences, 1953), 1.

³⁴⁷ Folio 582r.

³⁴⁸ K. Kekelidze, “Иоанн Ксифилин, продолжатель Симеона Метафраста” [John Xiphilinos, the Continuator of Symeon Metaphrastes], *Христианский Восток* 1 (1912): 335 (hereafter Kekelidze, “Иоанн Ксифилин”).

kingdom to shift towards Byzantium as the main source of political, religious and cultural influences. Georgian intellectuals leaned towards Byzantine culture.

The Georgian king, David IV (1073–1125), established a school, the Academy, at Gelati between 1106 and 1110. This institution became an important cultural and educational center in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Georgia.³⁴⁹ In the twelfth century, David IV invited several educated Georgians who had studied in Byzantium and been exposed to Byzantine culture to return to Georgia and become engaged in the activities of the Gelati monastery. These were the literati of their time, trained in prominent Constantinopolitan institutions.

Arsen Iqaltoeli (Arsen of Iqalto) and Ioane Petritsi were among those educated in Byzantium who were invited to the Gelati monastery. They were closely associated with the king.³⁵⁰ Petritsi, the first appointed head of the Gelati Academy,³⁵¹ is known to have been inclined to translate hagiographical works from Greek. Iqaltoeli was a theologian and the author of several treatises on dogma, some of which he translated from Greek into Georgian. Moreover, he had been a student of Michael Psellos and John Xiphilinos in Byzantium. He probably made the translation in the second part of the twelfth century.³⁵² Kekelidze argues that a translator of Xiphilinos' work into Georgian is unknown; however, it might have been one of the above-mentioned literati or another person from the same circle.

In Kekelidze's view, John Xiphilinos the Younger did what Symeon Metaphrastes did not do – he paraphrased the lives of saints from February until August.³⁵³ Xiphilinos composed a supplement to Metaphrastes at the request of his uncle, Patriarch John VIII Xiphilinos (1064-

³⁴⁹ David looked to Byzantium when he established the school at Gelati, being inspired by the educational policy of Constantine IX Monomachos and his foundation of the law school at St. George of Mangana. The most popular educational centers, the academies of the twelfth century, where young Georgians were sent to finish their education were Gelati, Iqalto, Gremi, Petritzos, Mangana. See C. Toumanoff, "Caucasia and Byzantine Studies," *Traditio: Studies in Ancient and Medieval History, Thought and Religion* XII (1956): 420.

³⁵⁰ See S. Nikolaishvili, "Construction of Power and Kingship Ideology under King David IV the Builder (r. 1089-1125): With Special Attention to the Byzantine Model," (Budapest: Central European University, MA Thesis, 2011).

³⁵¹ For Ioane Petritsi, see L. Gigineishvili, *The Platonic Theology of Ioane Petritsi* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2007), T. Nutsubidze, C. B. Horn, B. Lourié, ed., *Georgian Christian Thought and Its Cultural Context* (Leiden: Brill, 2014); I. D. Pantskhava, *Petritsi* (Moscow: Mysi, 1982), T. Kukava, *Ioane Petricis msop'lmxedveloba [The World View of Ioanne Petritsi]*, (Tbilisi: Mec'niereba, 1971), D. Sumbadze, *Deda-up'lisat'vis anu Gelat'is akademi da beržnuli p'ilosop'iis dasasruli [In the Name of Theotokos, Gelati School and the End of Greek Philosophy]*, (Tbilisi: T'bilis universitetis gamomc'emloba, 1997).

³⁵² Kekelidze, "Иоанн Ксифилин," 340.

³⁵³ Ibid, 332.

1075).³⁵⁴ Yet, Høgel argues somewhat differently from Kekelidze that Xiphilinos reused the Metaphrastic texts for September to January, while he paraphrased the other texts for the rest of the church year.³⁵⁵ Later, the Metaphrastic *Menologion* preserved in the sixteenth-century Kutaisi manuscript was translated in the large project in the Gelati monastery in the twelfth century. A note in manuscript Kutaisi 3 (XVI), folio 341r, says, “in the particular case Xiphilinos, the author of these metaphrases, says...”³⁵⁶ The note is copied from an earlier manuscript and was probably written by the translator of the manuscript into Georgian. Kutaisi 3 (XVI) belongs to the same collection as manuscript Kutaisi 1 (XVI), part of the five-volume “Metaphrastic collection.” They attest the same practice and method. A note at the end of the first volume for the month of August (folios 579-581) was written by Xiphilinos (as copied from Greek).³⁵⁷

John Xiphilinos the Younger belonged to the circle of literati organized around the Academy established by Constantine Monomachos, whose other prominent members were Michael Psellos, Patriarch John Xiphilinos, Nicetas Rhetor and John Mavropous.³⁵⁸ Xiphilinos the Younger continued the summer part of the *Menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes and a Georgian literatus translated his work into Georgian. It is likely that the Georgian students brought the summer part of the *Menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes from Byzantium to Georgia and instigated its translation.

The Metaphrastic collection of Xiphilinos the Younger, dedicated to Alexios I Komnenos, is called *ypomnistikon* (ὕπομνηστικόν). Interestingly, the dedication addressed to Alexios I is also translated and preserved in Georgian.³⁵⁹ It is placed in the end of the collection for August.³⁶⁰ The dedication was not omitted or changed, but translated together with the rest of the collection. Such a literal translation of the collection in its entirety could indicate that the collection was not appropriated and transformed when translated into Georgian.

³⁵⁴ N. P. Ševčenko, *Illustrated Manuscripts of the Metaphrastian Menologion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 6 (hereafter N. P. Ševčenko, *Illustrated Manuscripts*). Xiphilinos started the work after the death of the Patriarch, from 1075-1081, and finished by the end of the eleventh century. See Kekelidze, “Иоанн Ксифилин,” 335.

³⁵⁵ Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes*, 117; See also Kekelidze, “Иоанн Ксифилин,” 325-47.

³⁵⁶ Kekelidze, “Иоанн Ксифилин,” 332.

³⁵⁷ M. Van Esbroeck, *Les plus anciens homéliaires géorgiens* (Louvain la neuve: Institut Orientaliste, 1975), 9.

³⁵⁸ Kekelidze, “Иоанн Ксифилин,” 331.

³⁵⁹ A. Kazhdan, ed., “Xiphilinos, John the Younger,” *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 2211.

³⁶⁰ Kekelidze, “Иоанн Ксифилин,” 334.

The dedication of Xiphilinos' collection to Alexios I installs this collection in the long trajectory of hagiographical collections dedicated to the Byzantine emperors. The continuity of this practice goes from Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos and Basil II to Alexios I and it persisted for several centuries.

As to the comprehensibility of the collection and the method of translation in the Gelati monastery, the literati produced translations from Greek, relying heavily on Greek syntax and language structure to the point where they imitated the language. Toumanoff describes the translation methods as a trend of submission to Byzantine models:

Each of them tended increasingly to depart from the freedom and individuality achieved by the Georgian language. Each of them endeavored increasingly to subordinate translation to the original, to the point of an almost slavish word-for-word rendering, and of forcing upon Georgian even Greek word-formations and idioms of speech. The richness of the language made these attempts not only possible, but also rather successful.³⁶¹

However, such translations may have limited the audience for hagiographical texts to a large extent. Taking into consideration that the translations in the Gelati monastery were not widely available, and that the language of the hagiographical translations was sophisticated and imitating the Greek models, the assumption is that such literary products could be understood only by the narrow circle of the literati around Gelati, even if there was a possibility that a wider audience was exposed to the readings of the texts.

Lack of networks and the origin of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium*

Based on the extant material, it is evident that the institutions which copied, kept and used the manuscripts containing the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus* in the Latin West had no palpable connections to the Eastern centers of manuscript production. The manuscript evidence shows that from the moment this text appeared in the manuscripts in the Latin West and in Byzantium, it had separate afterlives. Only two Greek manuscripts containing BHG 948 are known to have been transferred to the West, probably owing to Crusader expeditions. The lack of contacts leads

³⁶¹ Toumanoff, "Caucasia and Byzantine Studies," 420.

to the conclusion that the narrative was translated from the original language before the appearance of the first material (manuscript) evidence.

The first material evidence of this text dates to the eighth century. What would have been a possible *locus* for the encounter between the Latin and Byzantine cultural realms prior to this period? Philippart alludes to Rome as the place where such contact could have happened. He suggests that Clm 4554 gathered “various translations made in Rome of scattered Greek passions.”³⁶² He also hints at the existence of scriptoria in Rome which were hectically translating early hagiographical works during Late Antiquity, basically from Greek to Latin, but also the other way around. Lapidge and Bischoff wrote about scriptoria in Rome with prolific workshops.³⁶³ There is evidence of nine possible seventh-century monastic foundations in Rome, five of them Greek.³⁶⁴

Who were the Greek-speaking translators in Italy in Late Antiquity? At the end of the sixth century, a certain number of Greek-speaking people certainly lived in Southern Italy³⁶⁵ and in the seventh century a number of Greek-speaking refugees from Syria and Egypt came to Italy.³⁶⁶ Due to the incursions of the Sassanid Persians, monks fled from Syria and Palestine to Antioch and Egypt, but as the Persians advanced towards these territories, the monks found refuge in Rome. The invasion and conquest of Palestine and Syria by the Persians and Arabs caused an exodus of people to Southern Italy and Sicily.³⁶⁷ Among the displaced were monks from Syria and Palestine, who joined the monastic communities in Italy. Several monasteries of

³⁶² Philippart and Trigalet, “Latin Hagiography before the Ninth Century,” 126.

³⁶³ See Lapidge and Bischoff, *Biblical Commentaries*, 65-67; see also S. Borsari, “Le migrazione dall’Oriente in Italia nell VII secolo,” *La Parola del Passato* 6 (1951): 133-138; idem, *Il monachesimo bizantino nella Sicilia e nell’Italia meridionale prenormanne* (Naples: Nella sede dell’instituto, 1963); idem, “Il monachesimo bizantino nell’Italia meridionale e insulare,” *Settimane* 34 (1988): 675-95; L. Bréhier, “Les colonies d’Orientaux en Occident au commencement du moyen-âge,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 12, No. 1 (1903): 1-39; K. Lake, “The Greek Monasteries in South Italy,” *Journal of Theological Studies* 4 (1902-3): 345-68, 517-42; 5 (1903-4): 22-41, 189-202; L. T. White, “The Byzantinization of Sicily,” *The American Historical Review* 42, no. 1 (1936): 1-42; A. Guillou, “Grecs d’Italie du Sud et de Sicile au moyen âge: les moines,” *Mélanges de l’école française de Rome* 75 (1963): 79-110; F. Antonelli, “I primi monasteri di monaci orientali in Roma,” *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 5 (1928): 105-21; A. Michel, “Die griechischen Klostersiedlungen zu Rom bis zur Mitte des 11. Jahrhunderts,” *Ostkirchliche Studien* 1 (1952): 32-45; J.-M. Sansterre, *Les Moines grecs et orientaux à Rome aux époques byzantine et carolingienne* (Brussels, 1983); idem, “Le monachisme byzantin à Rome,” *Settimane* 34 (1988): 701-46; G. Ferarri, *Early Roman Monasteries: Notes for the History of the Monasteries and Convents at Rome from the Fifth Through the Tenth Century* (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di archeologia Cristiana, 1957), 281-90.

³⁶⁴ M. Costambeys, “The Transmission of Tradition: Gregorian Influence and Innovation in Eighth-century Italian Monasticism,” in *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Y. Hen and M. Innes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 82.

³⁶⁵ See White, “The Byzantinization of Sicily,” 6.

³⁶⁶ Ibid, 7.

³⁶⁷ Lapidge and Bischoff, *Biblical Commentaries*, 65-66.

oriental monks were established in Rome.³⁶⁸ Émigrés from Southern Italy were by no means rare in Rome in the sixth and seventh centuries.³⁶⁹ Thus, the first translation of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus* might have been composed in Rome prior to the late eighth century.

It is certain that the Old Church Slavonic Suprasl Codex was produced based on Greek sources and that there was close cultural exchange between Byzantium and the Slavonic world. The same goes for the Georgian realm and the Georgian manuscript containing the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus*, which clearly came out as a product of the cultural exchange between Georgia and Byzantium.

Conclusion

This chapter has identified the institutions and places which copied, kept and used manuscripts containing the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium*. It additionally discussed the readers and users of the hagiographical manuscript collections containing this text. A further task of the chapter was to examine the availability of the hagiographical text to a wider audience, which presupposed not only the physical availability of a text and the opportunity for common audience to come into contact with the text physically, but also linguistic comprehensibility. Finally, the goal was to examine the connections (or their lack) among the institutions which held manuscripts with this text in order to discover its transmission paths. Based on all this, a possible original setting for the first translation of this text was proposed.

The earliest material evidence of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* comes from the Latin realm; it appeared in manuscripts from early medieval Bavaria and northern Italy. The monasteries which kept these manuscripts were founded by Anglo-Saxon and Irish missionaries and supported by Frankish and Lombard rulers. At the time these manuscripts appeared, monasteries had already introduced the *Rule of St. Benedict*. As early as the tenth and eleventh century, this text was copied in places west of the initial location as far away as present-day France.

³⁶⁸ Lapidge and Bischoff, *Biblical Commentaries*, 66.

³⁶⁹ C. Cubitt, "Unity and Diversity in the Early Anglo-Saxon Liturgy," in *Unity and Diversity in the Church*, ed. R. N. Swanson (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 55 (hereafter Cubitt, "Unity and Diversity"); see also A. Chavasse, *Le Sacramentaire Gelasien (Vaticanus Reginensis 316)* (Paris: Desclee et Cie, 1958), 342-3; H. Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991), 176-7.

However, the Carolingian reforms, which presupposed introduction of the *Rule of St. Benedict*, also insisted on the correct Latin language. Scholars agree that such pertinacity was characteristic for the liturgy. The transitional period from Merovingian to the Carolingian realms had as a result a shrinkage of the audience for hagiography, not only through (in)comprehensibility of the language but also through the accessibility of the texts. Furthermore, in the Germanic-speaking areas, Latin was a foreign language and its comprehension was left to the learned audience.

The *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* appeared in the Old Church Slavonic language in the tenth-century Suprasl Codex, ascribed to the urban setting of Preslav, the second capital of the First Bulgarian Empire. This is the sole material evidence of the text prior to the sixteenth century. Presumably, this text was used in some of the town monasteries related to the ruler's court and in royal liturgical ceremonies. Alternatively, it may have been used by monastic dwellers in monasteries outside the town. The text could have been translated earlier than the Preslav period. Some scholars have argued for its translation in the Cyrillo-Methodian period in Moravia. Scholars have pointed out the ongoing metaphrastic activity of the Suprasl texts, a process that could have brought the common audience closer to the text, but also elevated and heightened its stylistic level.

The Greek *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* came forth in several different settings in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries, Constantinopolitan imperial monastic environments which were tied to the imperial families and the imperial court in Constantinople (the Imperial *Menologion*). The *Martyrdom of Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus* relates to the monastery of St. Sabas in Palestine and Southern Italian monastic contexts; its copies occur in Mount Athos and Jerusalem. The canons dedicated to Irenaeus, and Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus relate to St. Catherine of Sinai and Grottaferrata monasteries. Even though hagiography seems to have been available to a wider audience in Byzantium, the constant demand for *metaphrasis*, which elevated its literary style, probably restricted the comprehensibility.

The single testimony of a Georgian *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium*, preserved in a sixteenth-century manuscript from Kutaisi, may hold a twelfth-century translation of the large Metaphrastic *Menologion* (both the collections of Symeon Metaphrastes and John Xiphilinos the Younger, which are partially preserved) from a project conducted in the Gelati monastery, Georgia. A translator of Xiphilinos' work into Georgian might have been someone from among

the literati who gathered at Gelati invited by King David IV. The translations in the Gelati monastery were not widely available; the language of the translations was sophisticated and imitated the Greek models. Only the narrow circle of the literati around Gelati could make use of such language; it was probably incomprehensible to the common people, had there been an opportunity for a wider audience to be exposed to the readings of such texts.

The question of how frequently hagiography was used, read or heard in the Middle Ages has often been revisited in scholarship.³⁷⁰ In the Early Middle Ages,³⁷¹ readership was concentrated on particular social groups of users and consumers of hagiography.³⁷² The literature dedicated to saints apparently became restricted to those who had access to it – monastic circles, the higher levels of society, royal and imperial circles. Lay people could have been the listeners of hagiography. The audience for hagiography shrank in the Early Middle Ages. Likewise, the “holistic” approaches which estimated the popularity of hagiography in previous scholarship have proved cumbersome; the focus should be on the popularity of the single hagiographical texts rather than hagiography as a whole.

³⁷⁰ Patlagean argued that hagiography in the Early Byzantine period was not simply “popular” literature; it was addressed to the whole of society. In her view, it is dangerous to suppose that hagiography was confined to ignorant authors and audiences and lower layers of society. Ševčenko confirms that Byzantine hagiography as a whole was a popular genre. Høgel argues that “hagiography probably permeated late antique society to a greater extent than any other written literature, except the Bible. If any written literature in this age may be labeled ‘popular,’ it is hagiography.” Harvey concludes that the success of hagiography was immediate. However, Uytfanghe preferred to speak of communitarian ecclesiastical literature, which developed spontaneously rather than qualifying hagiography as popular literature. Averil Cameron rejected the assumed popular character of apocryphal and hagiographical literature. See E. Patlagean, “Ancient Byzantine Hagiography,” 102-103; Ševčenko, “Levels of Style in Byzantine Prose,” 303, n. 41; Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes*, 31; Harvey, “Martyr Passions,” 609; Uytfanghe, “L’hagiographie antique tardive,” 201-218; A. Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric*, 108-113.

³⁷¹ For the Early Middle Ages, Høgel argues that hagiography in Byzantium by the year 1000 had adopted many traits of popular literature. Efthymiadis confirms that “a rich manuscript tradition is a clear sign of a sizeable readership.” Van Egmond argues that the audience for hagiographical readings was relatively restricted in the Carolingian period and tied to clergy, whereas in the Merovingian period it also spread to the laity as an intended audience. He noticed the extended use of the words referring to “reading (*legere*)” in the Carolingian period, compared to the Merovingian “*audire*.” Hayward acknowledged that, although there have been strenuous attempts to show that hagiography was aimed at a broad Christian audience, the evidence is quite ambiguous and tends to point the other way. See Høgel, “Hagiography under the Macedonians,” 217; Efthymiadis, “New Developments in Hagiography;” W. S. van Egmond, “The Audience of Early Medieval Hagiographical Texts: Some Questions Revisited,” in *New Approaches to Medieval Communication*, ed. M. Mostert (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 45; Hayward, “Demystifying the Role of Sanctity in Western Christendom,” 127.

³⁷² Uytfanghe, “L’hagiographie antique tardive,” 201.

Chapter 2: Wrapping up the Text: Manuscripts as Calendars and Other Miscellanies

This chapter discusses the contextualization of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* within the manuscript collections. Contextualization is an analysis of the manuscript contents and the rules used in the selection of the texts. The aim is to demonstrate that a hagiographical text had to cope with the complex set of guidelines applied in formation of the hagiographical collections. Complying with such guidelines meant an enduring life for a hagiographical narrative.

Most of the hagiographical manuscripts containing the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus* were arranged according to calendars. The calendars used in the alignment of collections varied to a degree.

Hagiographical narratives might have emerged as oral tales in Late Antiquity. They might have been written down in separate *libelli* used in local Christian communities. However, their survival and preservation in the Middle Ages depended on writing them down in collections, which were mostly aligned according to calendars. If not formally placed in a collection sorted according to a calendar or other similar collection, written down and preserved, the texts went into oblivion along with the saints.

The feast days of different saints had different levels of stability in calendars. The stability of saintly dates in calendars directly influenced the presence (or absence) of hagiographical narratives in collections, making them instrumental in the survival of a hagiographical text. Therefore, the survival of a hagiographical text depended on the feast day of a saint in a calendar.

This notion does not refer to hagiographical collections, which did not follow the calendar order; such collections were mostly dedicated to one or a few saints, predominantly as companions to the celebration of the cult of the same saint within a particular institution or environment. However, these were usually well known and prominent saints, whose memory was never in jeopardy.

The number of recognized saints increased during Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages to the point where every day of the year had at least one saint to be commemorated. To

deal with this increase, some saints were moved to alternate days in some traditions, with the result that some saints have different feast days in different calendars; alternatively, the saints were removed from calendars. The alignment of the saints and the selection of texts in the collections influenced the very existence of the texts. Notions of the preservation and disappearance of saints from the calendars came down to, respectively, remembering and forgetting saints. Remembering them kept them abiding and established in calendars; forgetting was the vanishing of saints from calendars. It was in the hands of copyists to turn collective memory into institutional remembering, written down in manuscript books.

Definitions

From the outset, it is evident that the majority of the manuscripts containing the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* are collections aligned according to different calendars. The hagiographical texts are arranged according to the calendar year and the saints are placed according to their feast days.

What were the rules of composing such hagiographical collections? Scribes and copyists copied these collections from other collections they had at hand. However, it is quite uncommon today to find manuscripts which match in both their calendar/order of saints and textual correspondence. In my view, scribes and copyists first chose a calendar (order of saints) to implement into a collection, and then sought texts, probably from the different manuscripts, compiling them anew. Scribes and copyists occasionally rewrote all the texts in a certain manner when producing the new collections. Manuscript collections sometimes fitted the precepts of “scribal schools,” where particular rules were applied in the composition of collections.³⁷³

Collections appeared out of a need Christians had to organize their liturgical year by associating each day with one or more saints, in this way ascribing the feast days to the saints. The basic calendars with the lists of saintly names and their feast days were attached to the end of manuscripts of the Gospel lectionaries, Apostols, and Psalters. Late medieval calendars could also have prefaced a Psalter or Book of Hours.³⁷⁴ In Byzantium, the lists of feasts were

³⁷³ Such as in the case of the “Preslav school” mentioned in the first chapter.

³⁷⁴ Ross, *Text, Image, Message*, 28.

occasionally included in the Tetravangelia, Praxapostoloi, and Biblical lectionaries.³⁷⁵ More elaborate collections with longer entries on saints were called *synaxaria* in the Byzantine tradition. *Martyrologies* were their parallel in the Western tradition.³⁷⁶

Byzantine *synaxaria* and Western Latin *martyrologies* were compilations, which contained more substantial information about saints in the form of brief notes. This information was related to the specific details of a saint's birth, life, virtues, and death. These collections followed the circle of the immovable feasts of the calendar year. The simple lists of saints appended to the various liturgical readings were occasionally referred to as *synaxaria* as well.³⁷⁷ In the Western tradition, *martyrologies* might also contain only the names of saints and dates of their death and still be called *martyrologies*.

Synaxaria were commonly used in liturgy because they contained concise entries.³⁷⁸ *Martyrologies* were used in connection with the divine office on a daily basis, but were technically not liturgical books.³⁷⁹ In the view of some scholars, they had no official approval and status and were often composed on the private initiative for local use.

The subject of this dissertation is the hagiographical collections containing the full-scale hagiographies of saints arranged according to calendars, called *menologia* in Byzantium, and *legendaries/passionale/vitae sanctorum* in the Latin West. A *menologion* is a collection containing the lives of saints (*vitae*) and martyrdom narratives arranged according to the feast

³⁷⁵ See A. Luzzi, "Synaxaria and the Synaxarion of Constantinople," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography II: Genres and Contexts*, ed. S. Efthymiadis (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), 197 (hereafter Luzzi, "Synaxaria").

³⁷⁶ Discussing the books of memory in the Early Middle Ages in Western Europe, Megan McLaughlin argued that a new type of name-list – the necrology – appeared in the mid-ninth century. It was a document arranged as calendar. It was not meant to be used during mass, but in the monastic chapter meeting each morning at prime, along with the selection from the rule and the appropriate entries from the calendar and *martyrology*. Only in the ninth century did the necrology develop into a separate document, but even then, it was frequently bound together with the rule, the calendar, and the *martyrology*, and was often referred to as a "*martyrology*." Thus, the definition of *martyrology* is not entirely clear and sometimes confused in the specific contexts. See M. McLaughlin, *Consorting with Saints: Prayer for the Dead in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994), 92-6.

³⁷⁷ N. P. Ševčenko, *Illustrated Manuscripts*, 5. However, the lists of saints are not to be confused with proper *synaxaria*, which bore additional information about saints.

³⁷⁸ In that sense, synaxarial notes were incorporated into *menaion* and *triodion* and usually read after the sixth ode of the canon at *orthos*.

³⁷⁹ See F. Lifshitz, "Bede, Martyrology," in *Medieval Hagiography. An Anthology*, ed. T. Head (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 2000), 169-177. Thomas Head confirms that the list of martyrs and other saints were read during the Mass and the monastic office on their feast days. See T. Head, "Introduction," in *Medieval Hagiography. An Anthology*, ed. T. Head (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 2000), xiii-xlix.

days of saints in a church calendar.³⁸⁰ In the Latin tradition, a *passionale* (*passionarius*, *passionarium*, *liber passionalis*) was a collection of passions of martyrs.³⁸¹ *Vitae sanctorum* and legendaries included various lives of saints and were not restricted solely to martyrdom narratives.

The texts in these collections were too long to be used in the liturgy; for this reason, their use is not obvious from the outset. When such collections were to serve as liturgical tools in Byzantium, they were usually adapted in the form of *menaia*.³⁸² A *menaion* is a set of twelve liturgical books (one for each month) containing various readings used for daily liturgies in the fixed cycle, that is, feasts that fall on a fixed date in the church calendar.³⁸³ The readings comprised hagiographical texts, *synaxarion* notes, and liturgical canons. In order to fit the criteria for the formation of a *menaion*, hagiographical texts were abridged and revised. Needless to say, liturgies as performed enterprises had forms apt to timely limits and spatial conditions. When a movable feast fell on a day with a fixed feast, *menaion* contents had to compete with those of *triodion*, *pentekostarion*, and *oktoechos* (hymn books for the movable circle). The relative precedence of the texts to be read on such days was regulated by liturgical *typicon*.³⁸⁴ In the thirteenth century, the practice of incorporating *synaxaria* into *menaia* became widespread.³⁸⁵ The text would be placed between the sixth and seventh odes of a canon dedicated to a saint.

In the Western tradition, the closest parallel to a *menaion* was *breviary*. Such collections contained prayers, hymns, psalms, and different readings complying with the rules of the Liturgy of the Hours. Western breviaries and missals were books with fixed contents.³⁸⁶ The Byzantine church did not have such books and the texts necessary for the service were combined from different sources. The books are divided into the prayers during Mass and the Lessons of the

³⁸⁰ A. P. Kazhdan, ed., "Menologion," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 1341; see also Høgel, "Hagiography under the Macedonians," 224. *Menologion* was normally produced in a ten-volume edition. See R. H. Jordan, R. Morris, *Hypotyposis of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis, Constantinople (11th-12th centuries): Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012), 245, n. 7.

³⁸¹ Ross, *Text, Image, Message*, 87. See also G. Philippart, *Les légendiers latins et autres manuscrits hagiographiques*, (Brussels: Turnhout, 1977), 24-25, 30.

³⁸² The *menaion* stems from the post-Iconoclastic period. Joseph the Hymnographer was considered the initiator of the *menaion*, having written 385 canons of saints. See N. P. Ševčenko, "Canon and Calendar," I, 105.

³⁸³ A. P. Kazhdan, ed., "Menaion," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 1338.

³⁸⁴ The *typicon* was an instructional book in the monastic setting, containing rules which regulated everyday life in a monastery, including the order of services and the behavior of monks. This manual also contained a calendar used by the monastery. This collection consisted of a *synaxarion* among the other regular contents.

³⁸⁵ Luzzi, "Synaxaria," 198.

³⁸⁶ E. Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), 130.

Service. Both groups contain the readings for the movable and immovable feasts. The *typicon* was used to decide on the reading for every day.

In the Slavonic tradition, *menaia* were either “reading *menaia*” (equal to *menologia* in Byzantium) or “service *menaia*” (*menaia* in Byzantium, or liturgical books proper). The term “reading *menaion*” is often read as Чети-миней (čti-minej). Reading *menaia* contain texts for both liturgical and non-liturgical readings, longer lives of saints, martyrdoms and other hagiographical writings organized according to a calendar.³⁸⁷ *Synaxaria* had a parallel in the Slavonic context in the form of *prologs*. Greek *synaxaria* translated into the Slavonic language were called *prologs*, even though this word means “introduction” and was meant initially to describe only the prefaces to *synaxaria*.³⁸⁸

Therefore, hagiographical texts could appear in and outside of liturgical contexts. Their use in liturgy is quite clear, while the aspect that pertains to non-liturgical applications could imply several different things. This is where the collections of *menologia*, reading *menaia* and *passionaries/vitae sanctorum* were used for various additional purposes.

History of calendar development

How did the calendars and the calendar collections (*synaxaria*, *martyrologies*, *menologia*, *vitae sanctorum*) emerge historically and develop into their final forms? Different scholars date the appearance of the calendar collections to different periods. Ehrhard argues that the first evidence from the West comes from the fourth century, while the first Greek evidence is from the seventh century.³⁸⁹ He went as far as to argue that Greek calendar collections existed in the fourth century; however, they were no longer extant. Other scholars were skeptical of this idea.³⁹⁰ Dehelaye (Høgel as well) argued that both local and general *martyrologies* existed in the Greek world in the early period; however, they were transmitted and preserved only in Syriac

³⁸⁷ D. Petkanova, ed., “Миней” [Menaion], in *Старо-Българска литература. Енциклопедичен речник* [Old-Bulgarian Literature. Encyclopaedic Dictionary], (София: Издателство “Петър Берон, 1992), 270-271.

³⁸⁸ S. Sraasky, *Полный месяцесловъ Востока* [The Complete Calendar of the East], (Москва: Типография современных известий, Типо-Литография В. А. Паркова, во Владимире, 1875-1901), 1, 5.

³⁸⁹ Ehrhard, I, 19, n. 1.

³⁹⁰ See C. Rapp, “Byzantine Hagiographers as Antiquarians: Seventh to Tenth Centuries,” in *Bosphorus: Essays in Honour of Cyril Mango*, eds. C. Rapp, S. Efthymiadis, D. Tsougarakis (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1995) (hereafter, Rapp, “Byzantine Hagiographers as Antiquarians”). For the development of church calendars, see Ehrhard, I, 25-35.

and Latin translations.³⁹¹ Høgel argues that liturgical hagiographical collections (*menologia*) probably appeared in Byzantium in the seventh and eighth century, after the Constantinopolitan church calendar had been fully established.³⁹² Claudia Rapp notes the attempts to formulate the calendar earlier than the tenth century, possibly in the ninth century and earlier.³⁹³

Scholars have not reached a consensus as to if and when the formation of calendars was finalized. Nilles argues that the liturgical year was generally fixed by the ninth century.³⁹⁴ However, he also admits: “Calendars have never been fixed in the sense of being closed.”³⁹⁵ Claudia Rapp argues that “production of *menologia* and *synaxaria* made sense only when no significant additions to the canon of saints were expected.”³⁹⁶ Høgel admits that it is impossible to trace the history of the unification of church calendars in the Orthodox Church.³⁹⁷ Ehrhard insists that the Constantinopolitan calendar was ecumenical and Byzantine in character from its earliest stage, rather than exclusively limited to Constantinople.³⁹⁸ Therefore, he excludes the use of the other local calendars.

Many calendars and calendar collections have appeared in the course of history. Among them is the *Breviarium Syriacum*, the Syriac list of saints dated to 411.³⁹⁹ A manuscript containing this list originated from Edessa.⁴⁰⁰ The list goes back to an earlier Greek archetype which was composed in Nicomedia around 360.⁴⁰¹ It gathers all the martyrs’ names known at the time from the entire Roman Empire. The list has little in common with the rest of the calendar

³⁹¹ Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes*, 35, n. 52; see also H. Delehay, *L’ancienne hagiographie byzantine: les sources, les premiers modèles, la formation des genres*, ed. B. Joassard, X. Lequeux (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes 1991), 4.

³⁹² Høgel, “Hagiography under the Macedonians,” 220. He quotes Ehrhard regarding the final establishment of the calendar. See Ehrhard, I, 28-33.

³⁹³ Rapp, “Byzantine Hagiographers as Antiquarians,” 33.

³⁹⁴ “In the course of the Middle Ages and later, a number of calendars were drawn up, both within the different Christian churches, such as Latin, Slav, Byzantine, and also within the non-Chalcedonian Churches.” Referring to Ehrhard, Nilles states that the “majority of the apostles, martyrs and other holy men and women found their place in the calendar by the ninth century.” See N. Nilles, *Kalendarium Manuale utriusque ecclesiae prientalis et occidentalis I* (England: Gregg International Publishers Limited England, 1971), Introduction by J. M. Hussey (hereafter Nilles, *Kalendarium*).

³⁹⁵ Nilles, *Kalendarium I*, Introduction.

³⁹⁶ Rapp, “Byzantine Hagiographers as Antiquarians,” 32.

³⁹⁷ Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes*, 35.

³⁹⁸ See Ehrhard, I, 28-33. See also Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes*, 35, n. 54.

³⁹⁹ F. Nau, ed., “Un martyrologe et douze ménologes syriaques,” *Patrologia Orientalis* 10 (1915): 7-26 (hereafter Nau, “Un martyrologe”); The German translation: H. Lietzmann, *Die drei ältesten Martyrologien* (Bonn, 1911); Latin translation: B. Mariani, *Breviarium Syriacum* (Rome: Herder, 1956). Nau dates the *Breviarium* between 362 and 411 CE. See Nau, “Un martyrologe,” 7.

⁴⁰⁰ British Museum Ms. add. 12150. See Nau, “Un martyrologe,” 7.

⁴⁰¹ See M. Poorthuis, J. Schwartz, ed., *Saints and Role Models in Judaism and Christianity* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 185, n. 10; see also Mariani, *Breviarium Syriacum*, 10-14.

tradition.⁴⁰² The *Breviarium* was among the sources for the *Hieronymian martyrology*, written in Latin in the sixth to seventh century.⁴⁰³

The *Hieronymian Martyrology* may have been compiled in northern Italy in the fifth century and reworked in Auxerre in 592.⁴⁰⁴ This collection undoubtedly served as a source for most of the subsequent martyrologia in the West. The Northumbrian monk the Venerable Bede produced a *Martyrology* at the beginning of the eighth century (725-731). Other Western martyrologia that appeared in the ninth century were those of Ado of Vienne, of Notker, of Usuard, of Florus of Lyon, of Hrabanus Maurus, et alii.⁴⁰⁵

Multiple problems appeared in compiling martyrologies. The *Hieronymian Martyrology* is known for the number of doublets and homonyms.⁴⁰⁶ Notker made use of the *Hieronymian Martyrology* as a source of brief references to saints, but most of the entries derive from the martyrologies of Ado of Vienne and Hrabanus Maurus.⁴⁰⁷ Ado's method was considered arbitrary for the way in which he assigned dates to undated events and resolved the contradictions in his sources.⁴⁰⁸ Ado was not interested in the exact chronology, but in geographical links within his diocese.⁴⁰⁹ Hrabanus Maurus used only one source for his martyrology – Venerable Bede.⁴¹⁰ Bede's martyrology recounts almost exclusively the passions of martyrs, while Hrabanus (like the other martyrologists of the ninth century) devoted more attention to the lives of confessors.⁴¹¹

The *Martyrology* of Usuard was ultimately based on Ado's work.⁴¹² Usuard dedicated his *Martyrology* to the commissioner, King Charles the Bald.⁴¹³ It filled the remaining gaps in the

⁴⁰² Nau, "Un martyrologe," 7.

⁴⁰³ Ibid. For the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, see Lifshitz, *The Name of the Saint*.

⁴⁰⁴ See Bischoff and Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, 163. See also J. Dubois, *Les martyrologes du moyen âge latin*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 1978), 29-37.

⁴⁰⁵ Between 838 and 855, four substantial martyrologies – by Florus, Hrabanus, Wandalbert, and Ado – were produced, respectively, in Lyons, Mainz, and Prüm. See J. L. Nelson, "The Franks, the Martyrology of Usuard, and the Martyrs of Cordoba," in *Martyrs and Martyrologies*, ed. D. Wood (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1993), 68.

⁴⁰⁶ J. M. McCulloh, "Historical Martyrologies in the Benedictine Cultural Tradition," in *Benedictine Culture 750-1050*, ed. W. Lourdaux, and D. Verhelst (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1983), 119 (hereafter McCulloh, "Historical Martyrologies").

⁴⁰⁷ McCulloh, "Historical Martyrologies," 119.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁹ A. Borst, *The Ordering of Time: From the Ancient Computus to the Modern Computer* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 47 (hereafter Borst, *The Ordering of Time*).

⁴¹⁰ McCulloh, "Historical Martyrologies," 126.

⁴¹¹ Ibid, 127. See also H. Quentin, *Les martyrologes historiques du Moyen-Âge: étude sur la formation du martyrologe romain* (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1908).

⁴¹² Borst, *The Ordering of Time*, 47.

ecclesiastical year, being more concerned with complementing than confirming the existing dates. Notker the Stammerer composed the *Martyrology* around 896, conceiving it as an abridged version of a variety of ecclesiastical histories;⁴¹⁴ he was against the introduction of new saints' dates.⁴¹⁵ Nowadays the official martyrology of the Roman Rite, the *Roman Martyrology*, stems from the sixteenth century, promulgated by Pope Gregory XIII. This martyrology took into account the Gregorian reform of the church calendar.⁴¹⁶ Its main source is the *Martyrology* of Usuard.

These Western calendars were general calendars, widespread and in common use. However, local calendars were also in use from the sixth century in the West.⁴¹⁷ Some scholars argue that calendars of saints depended on the local cult of saints in the early period. Different churches venerated different saints, and different dioceses enlarged their cycle of saints by absorbing new saints, many of whom were local inhabitants of the region. Considerable diversity in liturgical celebration continued well into the later Merovingian period. Local calendars were not restricted only to the region of Gaul. Some of these calendars are still extant, such as the *Calendar of Carthage* (505/35 CE),⁴¹⁸ the *Sinaite Latin Calendar* (800 CE),⁴¹⁹ the *Marble*

⁴¹³ See Nelson, "The Franks, the Martyrology of Usuard, and the Martyrs of Cordoba," 70, 79-80: "After his journey through Spain, Usuard included in his *Martyrology* the Christians who were killed by Muslims in Cordoba during the 850s. However, anyone unfamiliar with the year of their deaths was forced to regard them as Early Christian martyrs." King Charles the Bald took a personal interest in the Martyrs of Cordoba. Usuard not only dedicated this collection to him, where he included the Martyrs of Cordoba, but also traveled to Spain in search for their relics. Usuard included even those martyrs, who were martyred some months before his composition. Nelson notes that "Charles the Bald commanded Usuard to go through existing *martyrologies* and collect the feasts of the saints *in quondam unitatem*." That unity, in her words, included the whole of Christendom as well as Spain. She argues that "the fates of those martyrs (such as martyrs of Cordoba) helped establishing prejudices of lasting significance. They promulgated the end of attitudes, which favored *conviventia*, or tolerance, in modern terms, in Spain. They shaped new distinct bloody-minded vengeance of the Christian West. See also Borst, *The Ordering of Time*, 47.

⁴¹⁴ Borst, *The Ordering of Time*, 49.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid.

⁴¹⁶ Gregory VIII, *The Roman Martyrology* (Baltimore: John Murphy Company Publishers, 1916).

⁴¹⁷ Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy in Frankish Gaul*, 32-33.

⁴¹⁸ For the Calendar of Carthage, see Philippart, *Hagiographies*, 78-82; see also The Calendar of Carthage, <<http://archive.today/1mi4>> Last accessed: 24/07/2014; Y. Duval, *Loca Sanctorum Africae: Le culte des martyrs en Afrique du IVe au VIIe siècle* I-II (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1982) (hereafter Duval, *Loca Sanctorum*); J. B. de Rossi and L. Duchesne, ed., *Acta Sanctorum 65: Novembris II.1* (Brussels, 1894), 69-72.

⁴¹⁹ See Duval, *Loca Sanctorum*; J. Gribomont, "Le mystérieux calendrier Latin du Sinai: Édition et commentaire," *Analecta Bollandiana* 75 (1957): 105-34; E. A. Lowe, "An Unknown Latin Psalter is Mount Sinai," *Scriptorium* 9 (1955): 177-99; Philippart, *Hagiographies*, 83-87.

Calendar of Naples (821-41).⁴²⁰ The Irish *Martyrology of Oengus de Culdee* is another local calendar dated to 800.⁴²¹

As to the Byzantine calendar collections, traces of their existence come from the seventh to ninth centuries, although some scholars claim they existed earlier. Høgel argues that the Constantinopolitan cathedral calendar, which was fixed between 650 and 750, was used in the ninth century throughout the Byzantine Empire.⁴²² The earliest surviving manuscript of the Constantinopolitan calendar is Patmos 266.⁴²³ This was the earliest witness to the so-called *Typicon of the Great Church*.⁴²⁴ It dates to the eighth to tenth centuries.⁴²⁵ Another testimony to the early calendar tradition is the tenth-century manuscript Jerusalem St. Crucis 40.⁴²⁶

The best known *synaxarion* in the Byzantine tradition is the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* from the tenth century, commissioned by Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos.⁴²⁷ It has been preserved in a number of manuscripts; the Bollandists' edition was reconstructed from the twelfth-century manuscript Sirmondianum.⁴²⁸ In Nersessian's view, Sirmondianum was copied for use in a church in Constantinople, or one in the immediate vicinity, which conformed to the Constantinopolitan type of religious service.⁴²⁹ Høgel argues that this collection was used for service in Hagia Sophia.⁴³⁰

⁴²⁰ See H. Delehaye, "Hagiographie Napolitaine," *Analecta Bollandiana* 57 (1939): 5-59.

⁴²¹ The sources for this collection are Ambrose (unknown work), *Martyrology* of Eusebius, Sensus by Hilary, and *Hieronymian Martyrology*. W. Stokes, *Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee* (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1905), vii-xliv.

⁴²² Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes*, 35.

⁴²³ See Krausmüller, "Metaphrasis after the Second Iconoclasm," 50, n. 28. Delehaye argues that its copyist was a monk from the Lavra of St. Sabas. Patmos 266 presents the *Typicon* of Hagia Sophia of Constantinople and the state of liturgy before the end of iconoclastic controversy as well as before introducing Palestinian elements. The influence of Palestine on Constantinople in the domain of liturgy and the adoption of the Palestinian monastic rite by Constantinople occurred immediately after the victory over iconoclasm. See Juan Mateos, ed., *Le typicon de la grande église* (Rome: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1962), VIII-X (hereafter Mateos, *Le typicon de la grande église*). See also Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music*, 134.

⁴²⁴ Luzzi, "Synaxaria," 200.

⁴²⁵ For the dating, see Mateos, *Le typicon de la grande église*, v. Luzzi dates it to 900. See also Luzzi, "Synaxaria," 201.

⁴²⁶ Mateos, *Le typicon de la grande église*. Luzzi dates this collection to the tenth-eleventh century. See Luzzi, "Synaxaria," 202.

⁴²⁷ Rapp, "Byzantine Hagiographers as Antiquarians," 32. Nersessian dated it to the reign of Leo the Wise (886-912 CE), rather than his son Constantine VII. See S. Der Nersessian, "Remarks on the Date of the Menologium and the Psalter Written for Basil II," *Byzantion* 15 (1940/41): 125 (hereafter Nersessian, "Remarks on the Date").

⁴²⁸ H. Delehaye, ed., *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice Sirmondiano* (Brussels: Apud socios Bollandianos, 1902) (hereafter *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*). The Sirmondianum *Synaxarion*, or the manuscript Berolinensis Phil. 1622 is dated to the twelfth-thirteenth century. See Luzzi, "Synaxaria," 200.

⁴²⁹ Nersessian, "Remarks on the Date," 106.

⁴³⁰ Høgel, "Hagiography under the Macedonians," 220.

The *Menologion* of Basil II emerged soon after the appearance of the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*. This collection is preserved in Vaticanus gr. 1613. It is still unclear whether this collection was conceived as a liturgical book intended for services in Hagia Sophia or was just a collection of abridged saints' lives, misleadingly called *menologion*.⁴³¹ The *Menologion* of Basil II is certainly a textual variant of the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*, with each paragraph about a saint measuring sixteen lines in length. The *Menologion* is preserved only for the first part of the Byzantine calendar year (September-January). It is not clear whether there was a summer part of the collection. Unlike this, the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* consists of the entries for the complete calendar year.

The Emperor Constantine VII commissioned another important compilation during his reign, namely, the *Menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes. Unlike the other collections mentioned, which were either lists of saints, or *martyrologies* and *synaxaria*, this was a *menologion* proper. This collection coming from the imperial commission appears to have been one of the most significant and most copied enterprises of all times in Byzantium.⁴³² Some scholars perceive the publication the Metaphrastic *Menologion* as an immediate success, based on the large number of surviving manuscripts, which raised it quickly to the rank of the hagiographical anthology and hagiographical "classical" collection always referred to by subsequent generations.⁴³³ Others acknowledge that the success of the Metaphrastic *Menologion* was not immediate due to the political background of its publication.⁴³⁴ A Georgian source, Ephraim Mtsire, testifies that Symeon Metaphrastes lost favor at the court of Basil II and his *Menologion* was to be burned. Metaphrastic texts were read only "in the houses" after Symeon lost favor with Basil II. Yet, Constantine VII's commissioned collections were widely copied in the centuries to come.

In the twelfth century, the *Typicon* of the Evergetis monastery in Constantinople affirms that the Metaphrastic *Menologion* was in use in the monastery at the time when the *Typicon* was promulgated.⁴³⁵ The *Typicon* of the Evergetis monastery in Constantinople presented a mixed

⁴³¹ Efthymiadis, "Hagiography from the 'Dark Age,'" 129.

⁴³² About *menologion*, see Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes*.

⁴³³ D'Aiuto, "Un ramo italogreco," 150.

⁴³⁴ See Høgel, "Hagiography under the Macedonians," 223; see also K. Kekelidze, "Симеон Метафраст по грузинским источникам" [Symeon Metaphrastes in Georgian Sources], *Труды Киевской академии* 2 (1910): 2-20 (hereafter Kekelidze, "Симеон Метафраст").

⁴³⁵ See S. A. Paschalidis, "The Hagiography of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography I: Periods and Places*, ed. S. Efthymiadis (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 144 (hereafter Paschalidis, "The Hagiography"). Ehrhard reconstructed the original content of the Metaphrastic *Menologion* largely on the basis of the information on readings contained in the *Synaxarion* of Evergetis. See N. P.

rite of Constantinople and Jerusalem and was accepted throughout the empire by the eleventh and twelfth century.⁴³⁶ The Metaphrastic collection contained longer texts, but the calendar was not filled with saints for each day. In fact, occasionally, one would find only a few texts per month.⁴³⁷ Altogether, the imperial patronage of hagiographical collections at this time became a fashion in Byzantium and publishing hagiographical collections became part of their ideology.

The other collections emerging at this time, aligned according to the calendars of saints were – among others – Christopher of Mytilene’s *Verse Calendar*⁴³⁸ and the *Typicon* of the monastery of St. Salvatore in Messina (Codex Messinensis gr. 115) from 1131.⁴³⁹ John Xiphilinos the Younger attempted to supplement the Metaphrastic *Menologion* for the summer part of the calendar year during the reign of Alexios I Komnenos. His *Menologion* is preserved only in Georgian, still keeping the prologue and the dedication to Alexios I in the translation.⁴⁴⁰

The Slavonic calendar tradition was tied to the Byzantine tradition. Calendars were borrowed and saints’ hagiographies were aligned accordingly. Manuscript evidence from the Slavonic world is scarce before the fourteenth century, the time when calendars were more standardized than in the ninth and tenth centuries, when the first collections were transmitted from the Greek into the Slavonic world. The calendar development in this early period has to be reconstructed from the very few collections aligned according to the calendars.

The survey above went through many *martyrologies* and *synaxaria* that were the basis for the collections of *menologia* and passionaries. This survey, however, does not claim to have exhausted the totality of the calendars in Latin, Greek, and Old Church Slavonic realms. It certainly leaves out a portion of the material. Naturally, the calendars agree on some dates, while they differ on others. Such variety in the calendars that formed the basis of calendar collections gives a hint as to why it is so difficult to trace their genesis and full expansion.

Ševčenko, “The Evergetis *Synaxarion* and the Celebration of a Saint in Thelfth-century Art and Liturgy,” in *Work and worship at the Theotokos Evergetis 1050-1200*, ed. M. Mullett and A. Kirby (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises 6.2, 1997), 386-399 (hereafter N. P. Ševčenko, “The Evergetis *Synaxarion*”). See also Ehrhard, II, 306-709.

⁴³⁶ Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music*, 134.

⁴³⁷ For the full list of Metaphrastic lives, see Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes*.

⁴³⁸ He was a Byzantine official and the prominent poet of the eleventh century.

⁴³⁹ See M. Arranz, ed., *Le typicon du monastère du saint-Sauveur à Messine* (Rome: Pontificum Institutum Orientalium Atudiorum, 1969).

⁴⁴⁰ Paschalidis, “Hagiography,” 144. For John Xiphilinos the Younger, see H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich: C. H. Beck’sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1959); Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes*.

As to the numbers of calendar collections created on the basis of the calendars presented, the totality of the evidence that exists today is probably only a part of the corpus once in circulation. The quantity of the vast corpus of collections of *menologia* and passionaries has only recently been the subject of scholarly study,⁴⁴¹ even though the numbers reveal that such hagiographical collections were the most popular medieval readings in both the East and the West. So, what are the numbers?

Quantitative method

The total numbers of Latin and Greek calendar collections – lectionaries/*vitae sanctorum/passionale* and *menologia* extant today have been ascertained through the efforts of several scholars. A significant number of manuscripts have been lost along the way; however, I assume that no category or a type of manuscript collection was intentionally destroyed in the course of centuries.

For twenty years a team led by Philippart and Trigalet has conducted quantitative calculations of the total number of extant Latin hagiographical manuscripts.⁴⁴² Some of the manuscripts are hagiographical collections proper, while some are only *libelli*, booklets containing texts on single saints.⁴⁴³ They engaged in identification and description of what was previously reported by the Bollandists as approximately 13.600 hagiographical texts.⁴⁴⁴ In 2001, Trigalet reported the description of three quarters of the total of 7463 manuscripts.⁴⁴⁵ Their latest publication reports of some 10000 hagiographical texts (they revised the initial Bollandist estimation) and around 7000 preserved Latin hagiographical manuscripts from the Middle Ages (second to fifteenth centuries).⁴⁴⁶

⁴⁴¹ Philippart and Trigalet, “Latin Hagiography before the Ninth Century,” 111-129.

⁴⁴² Ibid; See also Trigalet, “Compter les livres hagiographiques,” 1-13. D. C. Parker applies a quantitative method in the study of New Testament manuscripts, using the universally accepted database, i.e., list of manuscripts of the NT at the Münster Institute for NT Textual Research. See Parker, *Textual Scholarship*, 33.

⁴⁴³ Philippart and Trigalet, “Latin Hagiography before the Ninth Century,” 111.

⁴⁴⁴ G. Philippart, *Hagiographies*, <http://www.unamur.be/philo_lettres/histoire/h221m.htm> Last accessed: 23/07/2014.

⁴⁴⁵ Trigalet, “Compter les livres hagiographiques,” 1-13.

⁴⁴⁶ Philippart and Trigalet, “Latin Hagiography before the Ninth Century,” 111.

They advanced their research by counting the number by century.⁴⁴⁷ The chart below was developed on a sample of 3326 manuscripts out of a total of 3813 (not the grand total of 7000), recorded at the end of 1996.⁴⁴⁸ Philippart assumes that the trend in manuscript production will have stayed the same when the total of 7000 is counted.⁴⁴⁹ In the range of centuries that pertain to the subject of the dissertation, the peak of the Latin hagiographical production was in the twelfth century (20,9%).⁴⁵⁰

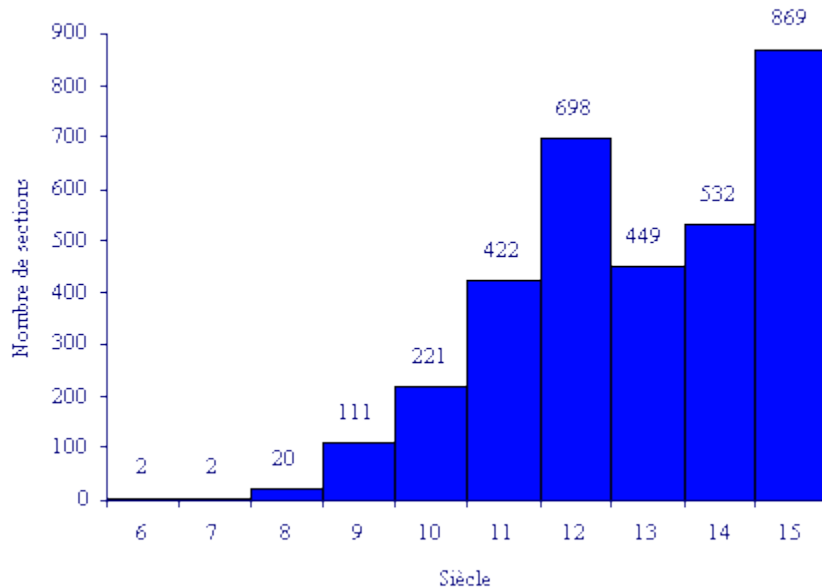


Table 1. Distribution of Latin hagiographical manuscripts in the Middle Ages, Philippart's database⁴⁵¹

Hagiographic production in the West did not decline after the twelfth century. The chart above demonstrates only the hagiographical corpus of the Latin manuscripts. However, transmission and translation of hagiographical collections from Latin into vernacular languages started approximately from the thirteenth century.⁴⁵² A more complete overview of Western medieval hagiographical collections would be attained by complementing the chart above with the numbers of collections in the vernacular languages compiled in the West at this time. This

⁴⁴⁷ G. Philippart, *Hagiographies*, <http://www.unamur.be/philo_lettres/histoire/h221m.htm> Last accessed: 23/07/2014.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁹ Personal communication, Brussels, April 2014.

⁴⁵⁰ There follow the thirteenth century with 15%, the eleventh century with 12.7%, and the tenth century with 6.64%.

⁴⁵¹ See <http://www.unamur.be/philo_lettres/histoire/h2211.htm> Last accessed: 03/02/2015.

⁴⁵² See, e.g., J. Deploige, "The Database "Narrative Sources from the Medieval Low Countries." A Short Introduction Followed by the User's Guide," in *Medieval Narrative Sources. A Gateway into the Medieval Mind* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2005), 271-298.

feature would contribute to a broader view of the popularity of hagiography. Philippart worked solely on Latin manuscripts, however. To my knowledge, there is no calculation of the number of manuscripts of vernacular hagiography in the Middle Ages.

When it comes to the preserved hagiographical manuscripts in the Byzantine world, the Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes (IRHT, Paris) calculated the preliminary numbers. The institute has recorded to date around 40.000 Greek medieval manuscripts altogether (up to the sixteenth century).⁴⁵³ This number presupposes the whole of Greek medieval heritage, including all genres of writing. The IRHT records 772 collections under the title “hagiographica” (i.e., hagiographical collections). This means collections containing hagiographical texts, which were not necessarily organized according to the calendars of saints. Sometimes a whole manuscript would be dedicated to different writings about the same saint, or a few of them. Collections of *menologia* in this database are listed in the section “liturgica” (i.e., liturgical collections) among the other liturgy-related collections. This leaves the impression that *menologia* were only used in a liturgical context, which was not necessarily the case.

The IHRT counted 242 extant collections of *menologia*. The highest number of them date to the eleventh century (32.2%). The extant *menologia* from the ninth and tenth centuries comprise 8.67%, while the number of this type of collection dropped after the eleventh century (20% in the twelfth century, 10.7% in the thirteenth century). The IHRT distinguishes the category of abridged *menologia*, which reached a peak in the thirteenth century, in the preserved manuscripts (29% of a total of 55 manuscripts). When numbers of *menologia* and abridged *menologia* are counted together, the eleventh century was the peak of production (29.6% out of a total of 297).

Menaia	Menologia and abridged menologia	Synaxaria and abridged synaxaria
379	297 (242+55)	181

Table 2. The total numbers of the liturgy-related collections in the Byzantine world⁴⁵⁴

⁴⁵³ Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes, “Pinakes: Textes and manuscrits grecs,” <http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/pages/show/id_cmsspage/2> Last accessed: 23/07/2014.

⁴⁵⁴ IRHT, <http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/pages/show/id_cmsspage/2> Last accessed: 03/02/2015.

While analyzing Byzantine hagiographical manuscripts, Ehrhard added homiletic manuscripts to this analysis. He stated that he had examined 2750 Byzantine Greek manuscripts of this kind.⁴⁵⁵ This approximate estimate can be taken as the total number of preserved Byzantine Greek hagiographic manuscripts from the Middle Ages.

The eleventh century was the peak of production of *menologia* for reasons related to the *Menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes. As soon as this collection came out, it proliferated to the extent of overshadowing all the other collections. Its popularity grew so much that a large number of the eleventh-century *menologia* are Metaphrastic *menologia*. Due to the fact that Symeon's *Menologion* contains a large number of texts for the first part of the calendar year (September–January) and very few for the summer, copies of the Metaphrastic *Menologion* are to a great extent *menologia* for the period from September– January (63.4%).

How do all these numbers relate to Irenaeus of Sirmium and the text about his martyrdom? The number of the manuscripts that include the text about Irenaeus' martyrdom does not come anywhere close to the total numbers of medieval hagiographical manuscripts. The number of the Latin hagiographic manuscripts containing the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* amounts to six manuscripts in the period from the eighth to the eleventh century. This number increases to twenty-two manuscripts for the twelfth to thirteenth centuries according to Dolbeau.⁴⁵⁶ Therefore, the number of Latin manuscripts with this text follows the general trends in Latin hagiography, with a peak of production in the twelfth century. The Western Latin tradition displayed a growing interest in hagiographical and passionary collections in the twelfth century.⁴⁵⁷ While the number of the manuscripts with this text expanded in the West after the eleventh century, it was the opposite in Byzantium. Seven Greek manuscripts containing the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* are extant from the tenth and eleventh centuries, while only four manuscripts with this text are known after the eleventh century (three copies of Jerusalem Taphou 17 and Ambrosiana B 1 inf.).

Most of the hagiographical manuscripts produced in eleventh-century Byzantium were metaphrastic. The *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* never entered the Metaphrastic

⁴⁵⁵ Ehrhard, I, xvii. Høgel mentions perhaps 2000 to 3000 Byzantine liturgical hagiographical manuscripts that have survived until the present day, out of which one third are Metaphrastic collections. Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes*, 11-16.

⁴⁵⁶ Dolbeau, "Le dossier."

⁴⁵⁷ It would have been fruitful to refer to the calculations regarding the hagiographical collections for March and April had such calculations been done. However, Philippart and Trigalet did not calculate the hagiographical collections according to single months. Personal communication, Brussels, April 2014.

Menologion, and commonly appears in the pre-metaphrastic collections (according to Ehrhard). Pre-metaphrastic collections refer to collections of texts, which were omitted from the work of Symeon Metaphrastes.⁴⁵⁸ They were usually earlier than the Metaphrastic *Menologion*, but not always. In the eleventh century, both types of the collections were in use.

The pre-metaphrastic compilations were disadvantaged in comparison to the metaphrastic collections in the eleventh century. The summer part of the year was underprivileged compared to the winter part of the Byzantine calendar year. The success of the *Menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes left little room for the distribution of other hagiographical collections.⁴⁵⁹ It caused the decline in the circulation of pre-metaphrastic collections, which became conspicuously limited. The *Typicon* of Evergetis testifies that from the twelfth century the Metaphrastic collection and the calendar of saints were used almost exclusively throughout the Byzantine empire.

Symeon's metaphrastic activities were praised and respected even in his own time. However, his enterprise and the texts he worked on were far from being the only metaphrased texts in Byzantium. The trend of *metaphrasis* in Byzantium was in fact continual.⁴⁶⁰ Possibly it was not *metaphrasis* (or lack thereof) that caused decline in use of the pre-metaphrastic collections, but the authority of the compiler, his method, the collection, and his choice of the saints that became the canon.

When it comes to the Slavonic hagiographical collections arranged according to the calendars, as well as the calendars themselves, the total numbers are unknown. Evidence is sparse before the fourteenth century. Within this evidence, the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* appears in only one Slavonic manuscript from the late tenth century.

The calendars of saints were in the process of formation from the eighth to the eleventh centuries in both East and West. A number of different calendars were applied to the collections of *menologia*, passionaries and lectionaries. Saying that calendars were not stable in fact means that the feast days of saints were not stable, although some were more stable than others. This gives an impression of how remembering the saints and their narratives was sealed through the

⁴⁵⁸ "Pre-metaphrastic" does not mean that the texts in these collections were not metaphrased/rewritten, only that they were not associated with Symeon Metaphrastes. Metaphrasis was a widespread practice in Byzantium and texts, which did not enter the Metaphrastic *Menologion* were metaphrased in different ways. This topic will be the subject of chapter four.

⁴⁵⁹ D'Aiuto, "Un ramo italogreco," 150.

⁴⁶⁰ On the subject of *metaphrasis*, see also S. F. Johnson, *The Life and Miracles of Thecla: Literary Study* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006).

complex processes of first turning the oral tales into the written form, and then further positioning the texts within the collections. Remembering was dependent on the feast day of a saint, the position of the feast day in the calendars compared to the movable cycle, the other saints who were celebrated on the same day or simply on scribes and copyists, who sometimes did not choose the particular saints and their hagiographical texts for the collections they worked on.

Remembering and forgetting Irenaeus and other saints in Latin hagiographical collections

The hagiographical collections changed contents in the Middle Ages according to patterns which led to inserting, deleting and replacing saints. Saints who persistently kept their feast days in the calendar collections gave their hagiographical texts safe grounds for preservation of memory. The memories of some saints, however, were not well-preserved because they appeared in very few hagiographical collections.

On a sample of seventeen Latin hagiographical collections from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries containing the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium*, I examined the changing trends related to the feast days of Irenaeus and several other saints (See Appendix). The earliest Latin hagiographical manuscripts in the sample containing this text cover most of or the whole calendar year. Not all the days were filled with saints' feasts. The gaps between the entries in the calendars are wider, sometimes comprising several days. The ninth-century Karlsruhe manuscript covers ten months (July to May) with a confused order in some places.⁴⁶¹ The tenth-century Turin collection contains texts from January to October.⁴⁶² The tenth-century collection Vienna 371 covers the entire year.⁴⁶³ The tenth–eleventh century Rouen U 42 manuscript has the

⁴⁶¹ See A. Holder, *Die Handschriften der Badischen Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe 5: Die Reichenauer Handschriften 1* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1970), 119. <http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/hs/katalogseiten/HSK0720_c119.jpg.htm> Last accessed: 25/07/2014. See also A. Holder, *Die Handschriften der Grossherzoglich Badischen Hof-Und Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe V* (Leipzig: Druck und Verlag von B. G. Treubner, 1906).

⁴⁶² Turin, Bibliotheca Nazionale F. III. 16, is entitled *Passionarium*. The contents of this manuscript indicate that the texts were arranged in the form of a calendar starting from late December with 1-4 entries for each month. However, towards the end, this calendar order is interrupted and saints appear without an order. For the contents, see A. Poncelet, "Cat. Lat. Turin.," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 28 (1909): 417-478. See also G. Ottino, *I Codici Bobbiesi nella Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino* (Torino/Palermo: Carlo Clausen, 1890), 20. <<http://www.archive.org/stream/icodicibobbiesi00torigoog#page/n33/mode/2up>> Last accessed: 25/07/2014.

⁴⁶³ The conclusions about the contents of this calendar are made on my personal examination of the manuscript.

texts intermittently organized throughout the year.⁴⁶⁴ The trend of including the entire year changed after the eleventh century, when single manuscripts commonly stretch to several months, but the dates are more densely occupied by saintly feasts. The eleventh-century St-Omer 715 manuscript encompasses the months from January to the beginning of April.⁴⁶⁵ The twelve manuscripts dated to the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries are:⁴⁶⁶ Douai (January to April),⁴⁶⁷ Montpellier (Feb-March),⁴⁶⁸ BnF 16732 (Feb-March),⁴⁶⁹ Brussels 207-8 (Jan-June),⁴⁷⁰ St-Omer 716 (Feb-April),⁴⁷¹ Avranches (March-June),⁴⁷² BnF 17004 (Feb-March),⁴⁷³ BnF 5279

⁴⁶⁴ Rouen, Codex U 42 is entitled *Vitae sanctorum*. It is a sort of a calendar with a somewhat confused order from the beginning of the year (January), until the April of the next year. For the contents, see A. Poncelet, "Catalogue codicum hagiographicorum Latinorum bibliothecae publicae Rotomagensis," *Analecta Bollandiana* 23 (1904): 129-275.

⁴⁶⁵ St-Omer, 715, tomus I is entitled *Vitae sanctorum*. It is a legendary with 57 vitae, including saints with feast days from January to the beginning of April. This manuscript demonstrates novelties in terms of contents. It shows a significant increase in the total number of saints who now appear closer in date in between each others. For the contents, see Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Manuscripta, "Liste des textes hagiographiques copiés en même temps que BHL 4466 dans le ms. Saint-Omer 715,"

<http://bhlms.fltr.ucl.ac.be/Nqueryfolio.cfm?numsection=3469&code_bhl=4466&ville=Saint-Omer&fonds=BP&cote=715> Last accessed: 25/07/2014. See also F. Dolbeau, "Le légendier de l'Analecta Bollandianabaye cistercienne de Clairmarais," *Analecta Bollandiana* 91 (1973): 273-286; F. Dolbeau, "Le tome perdu du légendier de Saint-Omer reconstitué grâce aux 'Collectanea Bollandiana,'" *Analecta Bollandiana* 93 (1975): 363-375.

⁴⁶⁶ This sample does not comprise the total number of manuscripts containing the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* as presented by Dolbeau. The sample was chosen based on the availability of information. I was not able to obtain information about the rest of the corpus presented by Dolbeau.

⁴⁶⁷ Douai, 840 has the contents, which demonstrate a grouping of saints on many dates; in other words, this manuscript looks as if it is the sum of the other manuscripts examined in this work. Where the earlier manuscripts celebrate one saint, this one contains two or three saints. It seems as if it united the contents of some previously copied manuscripts. This manuscript embraces many lives of Western abbots and bishops, and often the life is followed by the miracles of the same saint. For the contents, see A. Poncelet, "Cat. Lat. Doac.," *Analecta Bollandiana* 20 (1901): 361-470.

⁴⁶⁸ Montpellier, Codex 1 tomus V, 35 appears as a calendar for February-March, judging by the appearance of the texts related to particular saints. For the contents, see H. Moretus, "Cat. Lat. Fac. Med. Montepul.," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 34-35 (1915-1916): 228-305.

⁴⁶⁹ For the contents, see Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Manuscripta, "Liste des textes hagiographiques copiés en même temps que BHL 4466 dans le ms. Paris, BNF, lat. 16732," <http://bhlms.fltr.ucl.ac.be/Nqueryfolio.cfm?numsection=4496&code_bhl=4466&ville=Paris&fonds=BNF&cote=lat.%2016732> Last accessed: 25/07/2014. See also *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum antiquiorum saeculo XVI qui asservantur in Bibliotheca nationali Parisiensi 1-4* (Bruxelles, 1889-1893).

⁴⁷⁰ The title of Brussels, Bibliothéque Royale 207-208 is *Passionale*. See Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Manuscripta, "Liste des textes hagiographiques copiés en même temps que BHL 4466 dans le ms. Bruxelles 207-208," <http://bhlms.fltr.ucl.ac.be/Nqueryfolio.cfm?numsection=442&code_bhl=4466&ville=Bruxelles&fonds=KBR&cote=00207-00208%20%283132%29> Last accessed: 25/07/2014. See also *Catalogus Lat. Bibl. Reg. Brux.* (Brussels, 1886-1889); M. Coens, "Un légendier de Cysoing," *Analecta Bollandiana* 60 (1942): 17-20; F. Dolbeau, "Deux légendiers démembrés du diocèse de Liège," *Analecta Bollandiana* 109 (1991): 117-136; idem, "Un légendier de la cathédrale d'Arras (Bruxelles, B. R., II. 2310)," *Analecta Bollandiana* 107 (1989): 128.

⁴⁷¹ St-Omer 716 was part of a nine-volume collection of the *Sanctorum passionis et vitae*. For the contents, see Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Manuscripta, "Liste des textes hagiographiques copiés en même temps que BHL 4466 dans le ms. Saint-Omer, 716,"

(March),⁴⁷⁴ BnF 5297 (Feb-March),⁴⁷⁵ BnF 5352 (Feb-March),⁴⁷⁶ Dublin (March-April),⁴⁷⁷ and Trier (Feb-April).⁴⁷⁸

Research on the collections of this sample is restricted solely to the months of February, March, and six days of April. This research sample is not large compared to the total numbers of Latin hagiographical collections presented above, but this sample pertains primarily to Irenaeus. Considering that a fair number of Latin hagiographical manuscripts out of the extant total were calendar collections of the months February-April,⁴⁷⁹ one can imagine how many of them had other saints instead of Irenaeus on the same feast day.

This sample demonstrates that the feast day of Irenaeus occupied only two dates in all of the manuscripts. The initial feast date of Irenaeus was 6th April. The text appeared in this feast

<http://bhlms.fltr.ucl.ac.be/Nqueryfolio.cfm?numsection=3474&code_bhl=4466&ville=Saint-Omer&fonds=BP&cote=716> Last accessed: 25/07/2014. See also R. Lechat, "Cat. Lat. Sancti Audomari," *Analecta Bollandiana* 47 (1929): 241-306; 49 (1931): 102-116; F. Dolbeau, "Le légendier de l'Analecta Bollandianabaye cistercienne de Clairmarais," *Analecta Bollandiana* 91 (1973): 273-286; idem, "Le tome perdu du légendier de Saint-Omer reconstitué grâce aux 'Collectanea Bollandiana,'" *Analecta Bollandiana* 93 (1975): 363-375.

⁴⁷² Avranches is a legendary on parchment. It is a calendar from March to June, with sporadic other dates. For the contents of this manuscript, see J. Van der Straeten, "Les manuscrits hagiographiques du Mont-Saint-Michel conservés à Avranches," *Analecta Bollandiana* 86 (1968): 104-134.

⁴⁷³ For the contents, see Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Manuscripta, "Liste des textes hagiographiques copiés en même temps que BHL 4466 dans le ms. Paris, BNF, lat. 17004,"

<http://bhlms.fltr.ucl.ac.be/Nqueryfolio.cfm?numsection=4558&code_bhl=4466&ville=Paris&fonds=BNF&cote=lat.%2017004> Last accessed: 25/07/2014. See also *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum antiquiorum saeculo XVI qui asservantur in Bibliotheca nationali Parisiensi* 1-4 (Brussels, 1889-1893).

⁴⁷⁴ See Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Manuscripta, "Liste des textes hagiographiques copiés en même temps que BHL 4466 dans le ms. Paris, BNF, lat. 05279,"

<http://bhlms.fltr.ucl.ac.be/Nqueryfolio.cfm?numsection=3867&code_bhl=4466&ville=Paris&fonds=BNF&cote=lat.%2005279> Last accessed: 25/07/2014. See also *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum antiquiorum saeculo XVI qui asservantur in Bibliotheca nationali Parisiensi* 1-4 (Bruxelles, 1889-1893).

⁴⁷⁵ See Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Manuscripta, "Liste des textes hagiographiques copiés en même temps que BHL 4466 dans le ms. Paris, BNF, lat. 05297,"

<http://bhlms.fltr.ucl.ac.be/Nqueryfolio.cfm?numsection=182&code_bhl=4466&ville=Paris&fonds=BNF&cote=lat.%2005297> Last accessed: 25/07/2014. See also *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum antiquiorum saeculo XVI qui asservantur in Bibliotheca nationali Parisiensi* 1-4 (Brussels, 1889-1893).

⁴⁷⁶ For the contents, see Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Manuscripta, "Liste des textes hagiographiques copiés en même temps que BHL 4466 dans le ms. Paris, BNF, lat. 05352,"

<http://bhlms.fltr.ucl.ac.be/Nqueryfolio.cfm?numsection=3934&code_bhl=4466&ville=Paris&fonds=BNF&cote=lat.%2005352> Last accessed: 25/07/2014. See *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum antiquiorum saeculo XVI qui asservantur in Bibliotheca nationali Parisiensi* 1-4 (Brussels, 1889-1893).

⁴⁷⁷ For Dublin, Trinity College, see M. L. Colker, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval and Renaissance Latin Manuscripts* (Dublin: Trinity College Library Dublin, 1991); P. Grosjean, "Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum bibliothecarum Dubliniensium," *Analecta Bollandiana* 46 (1928): 81-148; 62 (1944): 33-41.

⁴⁷⁸ Trier, Codex 1151, I, contains the months of February, March and April of the Great *Legendarium*. This manuscript demonstrates large number of texts dedicated to the eastern Greek saints. See M. Coens, "Cat. Lat. Bibl. Civit. Trevir.," *Analecta Bollandiana* 52 (1934): 157-285.

⁴⁷⁹ Unfortunately, Philippart and his team did not calculate the numbers of the collections according to months. Personal communication, Brussels, April 2014.

day in the manuscripts from the eighth to the eleventh century. After the eleventh century, the feast day of Irenaeus was most commonly 25th March. In the thirteenth century, some manuscripts still place Irenaeus' martyrdom on 6th April, probably due to being the copies of earlier manuscripts. Another hagiographical text on the same feast day appeared in the twelfth century.

In a number of manuscripts Irenaeus shares the feast day with Hermeland. Generally speaking, this was reason enough for a saint to lose his place in the calendar if the other saint occupying the same feast day was more important. The "successful" saints usually accumulated texts about them in the same feast day; the lesser-known saints would usually end up sharing a feast day with another saint.

Irenaeus' martyrdom was present up to the late Middle Ages, albeit in a fairly small number of manuscripts. This means that there were other calendar collections for the months February to April, which did not place Irenaeus on 6th April or 25th March, but some other saint instead.

	8 th c.	9 th c.	10 th c.		10-11 th c.	11 th c.	12 th c.			13 th c.							
	Munich	Karlsruhe	Turin	Vienne	U 42	Omer715	Douai	Montp.	BnF16732	Dublin	Omer716	Avr.	BnF17004	BnF5279	BnF5297	BnF5352	Trier
25 Mar		<i>Passion of Hireneus</i>					<i>Passion of Hireneus</i>	<i>Passion of Hireneus, Vita of Hermeland</i>	<i>Passion of Hireneus, Vita of Hermeland</i>	<i>Passion of Hireneus</i>	<i>Passion of Hireneus</i>	<i>Passion of Hireneus, Vita of Hermeland</i>	<i>Passion of Hireneus, Vita of Hermeland</i>	<i>Passion of Hireneus, Vita of Hermeland</i>	<i>Passion of Hireneus, Vita of Hermeland</i>	<i>Passion of Hireneus, Vita of Hermeland</i>	
6 Apr	<i>Passion of Irenaeus</i>		<i>Passion of Hirenaeus bishop Irenaeus</i>	<i>Passion of bishop Irenaeus</i>	<i>Passion of St Hireneus</i>	<i>Passion of Yrenaeus</i>											<i>Passion of Irenaeus</i>

Table 3. Saint Irenaeus' feast days in 17 Latin hagiographical collections

The contents of collections containing the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus* changed over time. These innovations depended on the calendars and their constant upgrading, but probably in part their contents depended on the preferences of their audiences. If one imagines that the collections

were arranged according to calendars, it was a scribal decision to choose a saint for a particular date among those who occupy the same feast day, shown in Table 4, below.

	9 th c.	10 th century			11 th century		12 th century				13 th century						
	Karlsruhe	Turin	Vienne	U42	StOmer 715	Douai	Bruss.2 07-8	Montp.	BnF16 732	Dublin	Omer 716	Avr.	1700 4	527 9	529 7	5352	Trier
Early Christian martyrs	91.6%	75%	100%	80%	41.17%	45.4%	58.3%	41.17%	44.73%	33.3%	38.46%	58.3%	44.73%	33.3%	44.1%	42.8%	60%
Western Bishops	8.3%				35.29%	36.36%	12.5%	5.8%	13.15%	33.3%	30.76%	8.3%	13.15%	13.3%	14.7%	14.28%	16%
Post-313 CE martyrs		25%		20%			4.16%	5.8%	5.26%				5.26%	13.3%	5.8%	2.85%	4%
Western Abbesses					5.8%	9.09%	4.16%	5.8%	2.63%	11.1%	3.84%		2.63%	6.6%	2.94%	2.85%	4%
Western nuns					5.8%		4.16%	5.8%	5.26%		3.84%		5.26%		2.94%	5.71%	4%
Easter nuns					5.8%		4.16%	5.8%	2.63%		3.84%	8.3%	2.63%		2.94%	2.85%	8%
Popes						4.54%	4.16%	5.8%	2.63%		3.84%	8.3%	2.63%	6.6%	5.8%	2.85%	
Easter monks									2.63%				2.63%		2.94%	2.85%	
Easter abbots							4.16%	5.8%	2.63%	11.1%			2.63%	6.6%	2.94%	2.85%	4%
Apostles							4.16%		2.63%				2.63%	6.6%	2.94%	2.85%	
Western Abbots						4.54%		11.7%	10.52%		3.84%	16.6%	10.52%	6.6%	5.8%	11.42%	
Western monks					5.8%			5.8%	2.63%		7.69%		2.63%		5.8%	2.85%	
Royal saints										11.1%	3.84%						
John Baptist									2.63%				2.63%	6.6%		2.85%	

Table 4. The presence of different main characters of hagiography in Latin manuscripts⁴⁸⁰

This sample shows that the earliest manuscripts cherished early Christian martyrs as the main characters of hagiographical narratives. After the initial enthusiasm for the martyrs, their numbers dropped in the collections after the eleventh century and towards the twelfth century. The trends altered when the Latin hagiographical collections sequenced according to calendars

⁴⁸⁰ The characters of hagiographical narratives are on the left side, juxtaposed to the manuscripts and their dating on the right side.

introduced other popular characters, such as bishops, abbots/abbesses, monks, nuns, royal saints, etc. Occasionally the collections inclined towards martyrdom narratives reappear (Brussels 207-8, Avranches, Trier). This feature is the most common in the collections of passionaries, particularly dedicated to martyrs. Some collections, such as Trier, lean more towards the Eastern saints. Despite the reduction in the use of martyrdom narratives and the addition of new saints in the collections over the course of time, early Christian martyrs were a stable component of calendar collections in the West through the High Middle Ages. They played an instrumental role in the Western calendars throughout the medieval period.⁴⁸¹

The calendar collections of the sample show various different replacements of saints. The replacements, disappearances and appearances of saints were compared to BHL database, which offers a total number of manuscripts in which the texts about particular saints appear. BHL database is constantly updated, but it is as yet incomplete; the numbers here again are to be taken provisionally. Another parameter of comparison is Philippart's database, which communicates the number of BHL versions dedicated to particular saints as well as their dating.

In the collections of the sample, certain early Christian martyrs appear regularly. Agatha, Juliana, Perpetua and Felicitas, Philemon, the 40 martyrs of Sebasteia, and Longin come into focus throughout the calendars, for the most part having their feast dates fixed with the utmost stability. The overview of the calendar collections evidences the rise of saints who gained popularity later and were introduced in the collections (Amandus, Vedastes,⁴⁸² Austraberta, Albinus, Pope Gregory I, Gertrude, Benedict of Nursia). They belong specifically to the Western tradition.

In certain periods in the West, the promotion of a whole set of new saints ensued. It is well known that promotion of the "Merovingian royal saints" and figures from the sixth to the eighth centuries make another layer in the Latin medieval hagiographical collections. In the Merovingian period, the use of saints traditionally associated with the royal family took a new turn.⁴⁸³ For example, Gertrude was Pippin's saintly aunt and the abbess of Nivelles.⁴⁸⁴ "The

⁴⁸¹ In the view of Alan Thacker, until the tenth century (in Italy), martyrs retained their traditional dominance; episcopal saints rose to pre-eminence only with the bishops' acquisition of comital powers. See Thacker, "Loca Sanctorum," 23.

⁴⁸² For the rewriting of the *Vita Vedasti* by Alcuin, see C. Veyrard-Cosme, "Alcuin et la réécriture hagiographique: d'un programme avoué d'emendatio à son actualisation," in *La réécriture hagiographique dans l'Occident médiéval. Transformations formelles et idéologiques*, ed. M. Goullet, M. Heinzelmann (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2003), 71-86.

⁴⁸³ Geary, *Before France and Germany*, 188.

Frankish kingdoms built up a rich repertoire of saints in the period from the fourth to the eighth centuries, mainly consisting of early martyrs, both historical and invented, confessor saints, aristocratic bishop-saints, and the new female saints.”⁴⁸⁵

A certain number of the saints introduced later, possibly locally favored, provide another layer in the calendars (Eusebia, Ansbart, Dewi, Siviard, Winwaloëus/Gvinwaloëus, Eadward, Regulus). Their good reputation was not widespread, as they are only present in a few collections. Finally, a number of early Christian martyrs disappeared from the calendar collections after the initial attempts to situate and promote them in the same collections (Pionius, Serenus, Montanus and Gemelles, Maximilian, Emeterus and Celedonius, Acacius, Celerinus).

These “forgotten” early Christian martyrs are under-represented in the manuscripts, which is demonstrated by the number of manuscripts where they appear, as recorded in the BHL database.⁴⁸⁶ The number of manuscripts about them is small, even though they were dated early in Philippart’s database.⁴⁸⁷ The *Passion of Montanus and Gemelles*, which is in fact the *Passion of Montanus and Lucius*, is known in only six manuscripts and has two BHL versions (BHL 6009-6010). Philippart dated version BHL 6009 to 259 CE. This text is an authentic early Christian, yet abandoned martyrdom text.

The early Christian martyr – Serenus – who suffered under Maximian in Sirmium is represented by only two BHL versions and eleven manuscripts. Both hagiographical versions are dated to the period 293 to 305 CE. Also, the *Passion of Maximilian* (BHL 5813) has only one BHL version and only two manuscripts in which it appears, even though the text about his martyrdom is dated 295 to 305 CE. This early Christian martyr was one of the “forgotten” martyrs in the Middle Ages. The *Passion of Acacius* (BHL 25) is present in seven manuscripts.⁴⁸⁸ The text about his martyrdom has only one BHL version, dated 301 to 400 CE. The text *Epistula sancti Cypriani de Celerino lectore*, about the early Christian martyr Celerinus, who suffered in Carthage in the third century, has only one BHL version (BHL 1719), dated 201 to 258 CE. This early Christian text is present in only eight manuscripts, all from the twelfth

⁴⁸⁴ P. Fouracre, “The Long Shadow of the Merovingians,” in *Charlemagne: Empire and Society*, ed. J. Story (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 15.

⁴⁸⁵ Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?* 38.

⁴⁸⁶ The BHL database gives estimates on the number of manuscripts in which saints appear. See Société des Bollandistes, *BHLms*, <<http://bhlms.fltr.ucl.ac.be>> Last accessed: 25/07/2014.

⁴⁸⁷ G. Philippart, *Hagiographies: Chronologie de l'hagiographie latine* <http://www.unamur.be/philo_lettres/histoire/h2222.htm> Last accessed: 25/07/2014.

⁴⁸⁸ The ninth-century Karlsruhe and the other six manuscripts from the BHL database.

century and later. The authenticity and the early date of martyrdom narratives certainly was not a secure way for some saints to ensure a long-lived memory.

Another impediment to the memory of some saints was the collision of saints on the same feast days. Saints replaced other saints within the same date. The early Christian martyr Dorothea appears on 6th and 7th February in the calendar collections. However, Amandus and Vedastes, prominent bishops from the West and saints who gained vast popularity, were assigned to occupy the same dates. Even though both of them maintained their feast days in the calendars of the sample, it is noticeable that Saints Amandus and Vedastes had a number of different texts dedicated to them, while Dorothea was promoted by only one text. Also, the number of manuscripts in which the texts about Vedastes and Amandus appear is much higher.

The early Christian martyr Maximilian is present in only a few manuscripts on 12th March.⁴⁸⁹ However, Pope Gregory I traditionally occupies this date in most of the collections. A few other saints were assigned to the same date, one of which was an early Christian martyr, Pionius, who emerged on this date in one manuscript of the sample, and Paul Aurelianus, a monastic saint and the founding saint of Brittany, who appeared in a number of manuscripts together with Gregory I. The early Christian martyr Celerinus, whose text is assigned to 3rd Feb, did not have much chance besides Blasius, Tryphon, and Respicius, whose texts appear in a much larger number of manuscripts on the same date. The early Christian martyr Agatha held a stable feast day on 5th Feb, while Bertulf of Renty appear on the same date in only one manuscript. Bertulf was a seventh- or eighth-century monk who founded the Benedictine abbey in Renty. Similarly, on 25th March Irenaeus of Sirmium collides with Hermeland. Occasionally, this was a vital factor in the processes of remembering and forgetting of saints if one of the competing saints was prominent enough to force abandoning the other saint for good.

How did some saints preserve their stable positions in the calendar collections while the others did not? Such processes have already been explained in scholarship on single examples of saints.⁴⁹⁰ The most common explanation is that some saints had their cults supported and promoted by prominent authorities. Encomia were composed in their honor as early as the late antique period. The well-known aggrandizement of saints by authoritative figures, bishops,

⁴⁸⁹ For this saint, see Philippart, *Hagiographies*, 49-52.

⁴⁹⁰ E. K. Fowden, *Barbarian Plain: Saint Sergius Between Rome and Iran* (University of California Press, 1999); C. Walsh, *The Cult of St Katherine of Alexandria in Early Medieval Europe* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), J. Osborne, "Politics, Diplomacy and the Cult of Relics in Venice and the Northern Adriatic in the First Half of the Ninth Century," *Early Medieval Europe* 8, No. 3 (1999): 369-386, etc.

archbishops and the like, certainly enabled the presence and enduring afterlives of some saints and their saintly narratives. Some of these encomia were written by prominent church fathers. The existence of Basil the Great's *Encomion for the 40 martyrs of Sebasteia* certainly supported and enhanced belief in this group of saints and enforced their presence in later calendars. Augustine wrote the *Sermon about Perpetua and Felicitas* and John Chrysostom wrote a *Homily on St Ignatios*. Venantius Fortunatus dedicated a poem to Agatha. Gregory of Tours was among the prominent promoters of the saints.⁴⁹¹

The advocacy of saints required a widespread belief in their saintly powers. The input of the authoritative figures could in fact be just a starter in the whole process. The relics of the saints were powerful tool. Some saints, such as Emeterius and Celedonius, simply did not continue in the calendars, even though Prudentius had promoted them.⁴⁹² Therefore, hagiographical writings had to survive the complex rules, the will of scribes, and other manuscript and calendar policies in order to achieve long afterlives in the calendars.

Remembering and forgetting Irenaeus and other saints in Byzantine and Slavonic hagiographical collections

In the Byzantine world, there was far less precision in observing the saintly feast days as such. This, of course, depended on which saints were in question. Saints tended to lose their initial feast days more easily and acquire new dates more frequently than in the West. Irenaeus of Sirmium is a good example of this, but there are also other examples. Høgel argues that the dates were sometimes fabricated and ascribed to a saint only to fit the calendar.⁴⁹³ In the Byzantine world, especially for minor saints, the date did not matter; therefore, processes of saintly oblivion were much more common.

Irenaeus' feast day was assigned on the different dates in different collections. Several different feast days of this saint combine with the several different BHG textual versions. This martyrdom narrative appears in one Greek *menologion* for March and one Old Church Slavonic

⁴⁹¹ See R. Van Dam, tr., *Gregory of Tours: Glory of the Martyrs* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1988).

⁴⁹² See Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?* 508.

⁴⁹³ Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes*, 35, n. 50.

reading *menaion* (equaling a *menologion*) in March, as well as in eight medieval Greek *menologia* for August and two early modern *menologia* for August.

In the March *menologia*/reading *menaia*, the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* appears on 26th March in the eleventh-century Moscow Syn. 183 (February-March), BHG 949e version.⁴⁹⁴ This text also occurs on 26th March in the tenth-century Old Church Slavonic Suprasl Codex (March).⁴⁹⁵ While the former is defined as the “Imperial *Menologion*,” the latter is a pre-metaphrastic reading *menaion*.⁴⁹⁶

In the light of the total numbers of preserved *menologia* in Byzantium, the sample consisting of one Greek and one Old Church Slavonic *menologion* for March seems incredibly small. However, the general trends in Byzantium in the eleventh century dictated that Metaphrastic *menologia* were much more available than other collections; the pre-metaphrastic collections were disadvantaged.

Ehrhard worked on the preserved pre-metaphrastic evidence and was able to identify altogether three manuscripts as pre-metaphrastic March *menologia*. He attested that *menologia* for March were not as numerous as *menologia* for other months, such as August.⁴⁹⁷ He included the Old Church Slavonic Suprasl Codex in his analysis, stressing that it was an important source for a better comprehension of the Byzantine Greek *menologion* tradition for March.⁴⁹⁸

The two other manuscripts are Patmos 736 (fourteenth century) and Marcianus gr. 359 (tenth century). Patmos 736 is significantly fragmented.⁴⁹⁹ It presents a later type of March *menologion*, with limited contents, containing the texts from 2nd to 9th March (and a text on 25th

⁴⁹⁴ For the contents, see Latyšev, *Menologii Anonymi*. The contents are additionally confirmed by my personal examination of the manuscript. This manuscript is marked “Imperial *Menologion*.” D’Aiuto emphasizes that the organizing principle of the collection in the Moscow *Menologion* has not been studied yet. See D’Aiuto, “Note ai manoscritti,” 191.

⁴⁹⁵ This manuscript is a pre-metaphrastic reading *menaion*, with a calendar of saints, aligned from 4th to 31st March. See Marguliés, *Der altkirchenslavische Codex Suprasliensis*, 4. For the contents of the Suprasl Codex, see I. Zaimov, and M. Kapaldo, *Супрасълски или Ретков сборник 1-2* [Suprasl or Retko’s Collection 1-2], (София: Българската академия на науките, 1982) (hereafter Zaimov, and Kapaldo, *Suprasl or Retko’s Collection*); See also C. Vakareliyska, “Distinguishing Features of the Calendar in the Codex Suprasliensis,” in *Rediscovery: Bulgarian Codex Suprasliensis of 10th century*, ed. A. Miltenova (Sofia: East-West Publishers, 2012), 61-63 (hereafter Vakareliyska); Ehrhard, I, 594-598.

⁴⁹⁶ Even though the feast date of Irenaeus in these two manuscripts is the same, the texts in the two manuscripts are not similar. This feature will be the subject of chapter four. Scribes and copyists initially choose calendars of saints, making them the basis for hagiographical collections, where they aligned hagiographical texts according to the calendars. The different hagiographical collections could have had the same saint on the same feast day, but it would not necessarily imply that their textual versions correspond.

⁴⁹⁷ Ehrhard, I, 587.

⁴⁹⁸ See Ehrhard; See also Dobrev, “Агиографската реформа на Симеон Метафраст,” 33.

⁴⁹⁹ For the contents, see Ehrhard, I, 587-8.

March). It is probably a fourteenth-century copy of an earlier manuscript. Marcianus gr. 359 presents a calendar collection for March and April.⁵⁰⁰

However, Ehrhard did not notice that the “Imperial *Menologion*,” Moscow Syn. 183, has striking similarities with these three manuscripts in the contents. This is surprising because Ehrhard included Moscow Syn. 183 in his study. Patmos 736 is also marked as an “Imperial *Menologion*” in the scholarship. Yet, this manuscript has been analyzed in the pre-metaphrastic March corpus, while Moscow Syn. 183 was not. The discussion below, which includes Moscow Syn. 183, adds fruitful results.

Furthermore, two additional Slavonic manuscripts date to the fifteenth and sixteenth century respectively,⁵⁰¹ St Petersburg 596⁵⁰² and Kiev 117,⁵⁰³ which have strikingly similar contents to the Suprasl Codex; for the most part their calendars of saints match.⁵⁰⁴ These Slavonic manuscripts are useful to compare as they are descendants of a pre-metaphrastic March *menologion* and they preserve pre-metaphrastic layers of texts.⁵⁰⁵ Ehrhard did not mention these manuscripts in his study.

In the Latin tradition it was possible to examine the calendar order of a range of manuscripts emanating from the different periods and to identify the seasonal preferences and changing trends. In the tradition of Greek March *menologia*, the sample is smaller and the range can only be seen from the tenth to the eleventh century and further. Ehrhard was still able to

⁵⁰⁰ For the contents, see Ehrhard, I, 589-593.

⁵⁰¹ I am grateful to Dr Anissava Miltenova, who informed me about the two manuscripts, which contain the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus*, and provided me with copies.

⁵⁰² The contents of the manuscript St. Petersburg 596, described by Turilov, are taken from Vakareliyska, 61-63 for this comparison.

⁵⁰³ Kiev 117 is a sixteenth-century Ukrainian manuscript kept in Kiev. See N. I. Petrov, *Описание киевскихъ рукописныхъ собраний* [*The Description of the Kiev Manuscript Collections*], (Москва: Университетская типография, 1896), 213-218. See also Vakareliyska, 61-63.

⁵⁰⁴ See Helland, “The Slavonic Tradition,” 59-76, 68.

⁵⁰⁵ For the textual correspondence of the text in Suprasl Codex and Kiev 117, see the Appendix (where the Old Church Slavonic Zaimov-Kapaldo edition of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus* is presented with the different reading from Kiev 117). Helland recognized Kiev 117 as a later descendant of the pre-metaphrastic March *menologion*. This sixteenth-century manuscript was apparently copied from the Suprasl Codex. However, Afinogenov claimed that the later Russian March *menologia*, such as Kiev 117, were not translated from the Suprasl Codex, but Terje Helland refuted this argument. Helland finds Afinogenov’s comparison of the March texts a major flaw in his work, repeating that Archimandrite Sergij already noted that the Suprasl Codex was the basis of the Slavonic *menologia* of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. See also D. E. Afinogenov, “Новгородское переводное четье-минейное собрание” [Collection of Translated Čti-minei from Novgorod], in *Abhandlungen zu den Grossen Lesemenäen des Metropoliten Makarij. Kodikologische, miszellenologische und textologische Untersuchungen*, (Freiburg: Weiher, 2006), 261-294; Helland, “Some Remarks,” 27-39; idem, “The Slavonic Tradition,” 59-76; E. Weiher, ed., *Die Grossen Lesemenäen des Metropoliten Makarij, Uspenskij spisok 1-11. März*, (Freiburg, 1997).

establish the two layers in the sample of March *menologia*, distinguishing earlier and later calendar traditions.

Ehrhard marked the Suprasl Codex as the primer of the tradition earlier than Patmos 736.⁵⁰⁶ Patmos 736 is a copy of a copy of a later type of *menologion* for March and it shows significant correspondences with Marcianus gr. 359. This makes the Suprasl Codex an indirect witness to an earlier type.⁵⁰⁷ This is important in connection to the feast date of Irenaeus of Sirmium on 26th March. The attachment of this saint to this date makes it part of the earlier tradition (if Ehrhard is right on this issue). Marcianus gr. 359 has the *Encomion of Archangel Gabriel* on 26th March, and probably the same saint would have appeared in Patmos 736, had it covered this date. While they represent the later type of March *menologion*, the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* was present in the March *menologion* of the earlier type, as reflected in the Suprasl Codex. This might explain the later appearance of this martyrdom in the *menologia* for August. Archangel Gabriel cast out Irenaeus from 26th March. Manuscript Moscow Syn. 183 demonstrates a correspondence to the Suprasl Codex in relation to Irenaeus' feast day; thus, Moscow Syn. 183 seems to belong either to an earlier type of the calendar or is perhaps a transitional type.

	Suprasl codex, 10 th cent. OCS	Cod. Marc. Gr. 359 10 th cent. GR	Cod. Mosq. 183, 11 th cent. GR	Cod. Patmiac. 736, 14 th cent. GR	St Petersburg 596, 15 th c. OCS	Kiev 117, 16 th cent. OCS
26th March	Martyrdom of Eirenaeus of Sirmium	Encomion for Archangel Gabriel	Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium		John Chrysostom on Synaxis of Gabriel, Martyrdom of Irenaeus	Martyrdom of Ireneus the bishop

Table 5. Irenaeus' feast day in March *menologia*

When it comes to the hagiographical characters represented in the collections of pre-metaphrastic March *menologia*, they exhibit very different choices compared to the Western collections:

⁵⁰⁶ Ehrhard, III, 599-603.

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid, 599-600.

	Suprasl Codex	Marc. 359	Mosq. 183	Patm. 736	St Petersburg	Kiev 117
Early Christ. Martyrs	44.4%	43.2%	54.8%	23.5%	41.6%	41.6%
Post-313 CE martyrs	11.1%	15.9%	9.67%	23.5%	13.8%	12.5%
Iconoclastic martyrs	3.7%	4.5%	3.2%	11.7%	2.7%	4.16%
Persian martyrs	3.7%	2.27%	3.2%	0	2.7%	4.16%
Arabic martyrs	0	2.27%	0	0	0	0
Eastern monks	18.5%	11.3%	12.9%	0	16.6%	20.83%
Eastern abbots	3.7%	2.27%	3.2%	0	2.7%	4.16%
Eastern bishops	0	4.5%	3.2%	0	0	0
Theotokos	7.4%	2.27%	3.2%	41.2%	11.1%	8.3%
Popes	3.7%	2.27%	3.2%	0	2.7%	4.16%
Patriarchs	0	4.5%	3.2%	0	2.7%	0
Western abbots	0	2.27%	0	0	0	0
Archangels	0	2.27%	0	0	2.7%	0
Unidentified	3.7%	0	0	0	0	0

Table 6. Different characters of hagiography in March *menologia*

The Byzantine calendar collections for March in the tenth and eleventh centuries were far from ignoring the early Christian martyrs (although some more than the others).⁵⁰⁸ Moscow Syn. 183 has the largest number of texts dedicated to martyrs, 70.87%. The hagiographical collections combined texts about the early Christian martyrs with the new, Persian, Arabic, and Iconoclastic martyrs, as well as other categories of saints. Thus, Byzantine sacred readership utterly depended on martyrs, old and new alike.

Comparison of the Byzantine collections has shown that the saints were frequently moved to different dates. To name some, the *Martyrdom of Konon of Isauria* appears in all the collections on different dates (Suprasl, Kiev, St. Petersburg and Marcianus – 6th March, Moscow – 8th March, Patmos – 5th March). The *Life of Gregory the Great* appears on 11th March in the Suprasl Codex, Kiev 117 and St. Petersburg, on 12th March in the Marcianus, and on 14th March in Moscow Syn. 183. The *Martyrdom of Sabinos* appears in the Moscow manuscript on 11th March, on 13th March in the Suprasl Codex, and on 14th March in the Marcianus and St.

⁵⁰⁸ The Suprasl Codex has altogether 59.2% texts dedicated to martyrs. Marcianus gr. 359 has 65.87% texts dedicated to martyrs. Patmos 736 contains 58.7% of the texts about martyrs. St Petersburg has 60.8% of the texts about martyrs. Finally, Kiev has 62.42% of the texts dedicated to martyrs.

Petersburg manuscripts. Marcianus 359 contains the *Martyrdom of Pionios* on 11th March, while Moscow Syn. 183 contains this text on 15th March, and the Suprasl Codex, St. Petersburg and Kiev have it on 12th March.

The saints were occasionally transferred to different months. The *Martyrdom of Paul and Juliana* was moved from March to August *menologia*. This text appears in almost all the manuscripts of the sample, which means that at some point this text had a stable date in the March calendar. Yet, it also appears in Vaticanus gr. 1671 and Paris Suppl. gr. 241, which are both August *menologia*.⁵⁰⁹ Three other texts were transferred from March *menologia* to August *menologia*: the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium*, the *Martyrdom of Dalmatos* and the *Martyrdom of Dometios*. The reasons for copying the whole set of the martyrdom narratives previously written down in the March *menologion* tradition into the August *menologia* are not clear.

In Byzantine calendars, saints tended to lose their feast days by being merged with other saints. Basiliskos is a good example. He is present together with two other saints in the *Martyrdom of Eutropios, Kleonikos and Basiliskos* (BHG 656) on 3rd March in the Marcianus, Patmos, and Moscow Syn. 183. The St. Petersburg manuscript contains the *Vita of Eutropius and Callinicus* on the same date. The Kiev manuscript contains only the *Vita of Basiliscus* on the same date. However, the Suprasl Codex and St. Petersburg 596 have the *Martyrdom of Basiliskos* alone on 5th March (BHG 241). The other calendars demonstrate that the three saints were separated again, which placed Basiliskos on 22nd May. These military saints were said to have fought with St. Theodor Tyron, and they all suffered during Maximian's persecutions in 308 CE. The fact that they were military saints might have gathered them in the first place. Such a tendency to merge saints emerged in Byzantium around the tenth century due to a belief in the saintly agency in worldly endeavors, particularly military expeditions.⁵¹⁰

A number of saints in the pre-metaphrastic March *menologia* held stable dates in the calendars. The 40 martyrs of Sebasteia, the 42 Martyrs of Amorion, Codratos, and others secured remembering through calendars. The 42 martyrs of Amorion entered the Metaphrastic

⁵⁰⁹ See the edition of the Greek *Martyrdom of Paul and Juliana* by R. Trautmann, and R. Clostermann, "Drei griechische Texte zum Codex Suprasliensis," *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie* 11 (1934): 1-21, 299-324; 12 (1935): 277-294.

⁵¹⁰ See M. White, *Military Saints in Byzantium and Rus, 900-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 64-93 (hereafter White, *Military Saints*).

Menologion.⁵¹¹ Eight BHG versions are dedicated to the 40 martyrs of Sebasteia; five of them are encomia by Ephraim the Syrian, Basil, and Gregory of Nyssa (BHG 168-169).⁵¹² The martyrs of Sebasteia were remembered in the Early Middle Ages by being described by many authoritative figures in the encomia and by entering the Metaphrastic *Menologion*. The martyrs of Sebasteia are also present in the *Verse Calendar* of Christopher of Mytilene on 9th March.⁵¹³

In contrast, there are a number of texts, which appear only sporadically in these manuscripts. Unfortunately, it is difficult to draw conclusions on the general presence of these saints in the Byzantine tradition due to the lack of the databases.

Some of these saints appear only in the Suprasl Codex.⁵¹⁴ This manuscript contains a number of the texts that the other manuscripts do not contain (texts about saints Alexander Presbyter, Aninas, Terentios, Afrikanos and his companions, Artimon, John Hesychastes). Ehrhard ascribed these differences to possible changes that were made when the Slavs adopted the Byzantine calendar. Ivanova ascribed freedom in the selection of saints to a certain detachment and lukewarm dependence of the Slavonic church on Constantinople in the initial decades after the conversion.⁵¹⁵ Dobrev concluded that the Suprasl Codex contains readings of Byzantine originals from the non-*menologion* collections.⁵¹⁶ In my view, the Suprasl Codex certainly demonstrates differences compared to the other March *menologia*, but this might have appeared because the Greek calendar for March also changed and adopted new saints and replaced earlier ones after this calendar collection was transferred to the Slavonic world. The Suprasl Codex possibly displays the fossilized earlier phase of the March *menologia*, as Ehrhard argued. Otherwise, it would be difficult to explain the choice of saints in it, judging by the saints which differ from the other March *menologia*, and which are quite unrelated to the contexts of medieval Bulgaria. They cannot be considered local saints.

⁵¹¹ It must be stressed that the turn from the pre-metaphrastic to metaphrastic tradition did not necessarily mean a radical change in the order of calendars. Some of the saints from pre-metaphrastic collections entered the metaphrastic collections as well.

⁵¹² For the Encomia on the 40 Martyrs of Sebasteia by Basil the Great, Ephraem the Syrian, and Gregory of Nyssa, see C. Walker, *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003), 170-176.

⁵¹³ See Follieri, I, 135.

⁵¹⁴ Vakareliyska argues that 13 saints appear in the Suprasl Codex, who rarely appear in other similar collections; therefore, half of the saints' entries in the Suprasl Codex are rare or unique. She makes her calculations based on the dates for the particular saints being moved one or two days earlier or later. Yet, as I argued at the beginning, the Greek calendars (the source for Slavonic calendars) were far from stable at this point. Their feast days were often loose and saints could move easily from one date to another, particularly a day or two back and forth. See Vakareliyska, 56.

⁵¹⁵ Ivanova, "Ново издание на Супрасълския Сборник," 124.

⁵¹⁶ Dobrev, "Агиографската реформа на Симеон Метафраст," 36.

Altogether, this conclusion places the Suprasl Codex in a certain calendar type and detaches it from the previous conclusions about the uniqueness of this manuscript regarding the choice of saints.⁵¹⁷ The Suprasl Codex is not unique in its order of saints; however, it demonstrates variations compared to the other March *menologia*. It is likely that the Suprasl Codex was part of a yearly calendar regardless of the fact that no other months are preserved.⁵¹⁸

The other manuscripts of the sample exhibit their own specific features. Marcianus 359 appears to be a manuscript, which gathered more texts per day than the other manuscripts, possibly due to the wish of a copyist not to exclude texts. This manuscript contains the largest number of different texts.

Finally, Moscow Syn. 183, the “Imperial *Menologion*,” displays the greatest number of texts dedicated to martyrs, as well as the highest number of early Christian martyrs. For example, the Marcianus contains two texts on 4th March, the *Martyrdom of Theodoretos* (post-313 CE martyr) and the *Martyrdom of Paulos and Juliana* (early Christian martyrs), whereas Moscow Syn. 183 contains only the latter. The Marcianus contains the *Martyrdom of Photeine* (an early Christian martyr) and the *Martyrdom of the Monks of St Sabas Monastery* (Arabic martyrs) on 20th March, whereas the Moscow Syn. 183 contains only the former text dedicated to the early Christian martyrs. Therefore, Moscow Syn. 183 displays special attachment to texts dedicated to martyrs.

⁵¹⁷ Pandursky argued that this codex, as known today, contains the originally ordered and organized saints’ stories. He suggests that the dates under which the lives and martyrdoms of the saints were placed differ from other Greek calendars. In his view, placing Irenaeus on 26th March was the original contribution of the Suprasl Codex. Smjadovski suggested liturgical contextualization of the codex and argued that the Suprasl Codex deviated from the ninth-century Constantinopolitan Byzantine *synaxaria* in the calendar order of the saints. Ivanova argues that an author/copyist of the Suprasl Codex made an original selection in compiling the texts for the Suprasl Codex. Ivanova attests that this Slavonic reading *menologion* did not copy Byzantine *menologia* in their entirety. See V. Pandurski, “Месецословът в Супрасълския Сборник” [Synaxarion in the Suprasl Codex], in *Проучвания върху Супрасълския сборник, Старобългарски паметник от X век* [Studies of the Suprasl Codex, the Old Bulgarian Monument of the Tenth Century], ed. Й. Заимов (София: Българската Академия на Науките, 1980), 39-42; T. Smjadovski, “Супрасълският Сборник и Богослужебното многообразие през ранното средновековие” [Suprasl Codex and the Liturgical Diversity in the Early Middle Ages], in *Проучвания върху Супрасълския сборник, Старобългарски паметник от X век* [Studies of the Suprasl Codex, the Old Bulgarian Monument of the Tenth Century], ed. Й. Заимов (София: Българската Академия на Науките, 1980), 107 (hereafter Smjadovski, “Супрасълският Сборник”); Ivanova, “Ново издание на Супрасълския Сборник,” 121-125.

⁵¹⁸ Several scholars have hinted at this possibility. Ivanova assumed the existence of the reading *menologia* for the other months in this period. Helland assumes that the *Martyrdom of Dorotheos of Alexandria* was once part of the pre-metaphrastic reading *menologion* for October, which was part of a yearly calendar, to which Suprasl Codex also belonged. Petrova and Iovcheva confirmed recently that both Ehrhard and Helland had this idea. See Ivanova, “Ново издание на Супрасълския Сборник,” 123; T. Helland, “The Serbian Church Slavonic Text of the Martyrion of Dorotheos of Alexandria,” *Poljarnyj Vestnik* 9 (2006): 48; Petrova and Iovcheva, “Светците от Супрасълския сборник,” 377-434.

The encomiastic texts, such as the *Prayer for Pionios*⁵¹⁹ and the *Annunciation of Theotokos*, are rare in these collections. However, the tendency to include them increased in Byzantine hagiographical manuscripts even from the contemporary period. The notion of a *vita*/martyrdom narrative of a saint accompanied by an encomion/prayer for the purposes of promoting a saint by adding a number of texts about him, and also texts of different genres (martyrdom/*vita* + encomion/panegyric) was popular in Byzantium. This notion might have been an attempt to promote certain saints and possibly aimed to bolster the cult of the saint. The inclination to combine encomia and homilies with the basic text about a saint (martyrdom or *vita*) is apparent in the August *menologia*. In these Byzantine *menologia* collections, the martyrdom narratives blended with *vitae* and encomia written by authoritative figures.

In the August *menologia*, there are eight medieval manuscripts and two early modern manuscripts which incorporate Irenaeus' martyrdom. Irenaeus emerges in the calendar for August on several different dates. Several different dates combine with several BHG versions of Irenaeus' martyrdom in the different collections.

To start with, the two *menologia* for July and August,⁵²⁰ Marcianus gr. 360, 20⁵²¹ and BnF gr. 1177,⁵²² have similar contents and both contain BHG 948. The three other manuscripts containing BHG 948 – BnF 548, BnF Suppl. 241, and Vienna Hist. gr. 45 – are *menologia* for August.⁵²³ The first four are pre-metaphrastic August *menologia* according to Ehrhard. He was not sure whether Vienna Hist. gr. 45 is a post-metaphrastic or metaphrastic *menologion*.⁵²⁴

⁵¹⁹ The *Prayer for Pionios*, a very peculiar text, appears only in the Suprasl Codex and the St. Petersburg on different dates. Its source and the original language are not known; Ehrhard thought that it was Latin. See Ehrhard, I, 595.

⁵²⁰ Ehrhard distinguished two-month *menologia* from one-month *menologia* in his work. In his view, these two manuscripts constitute a specific type of two-month *menologion*, which hardly has anything to do with the other *menologia* for July and August. They have somewhat in common with the manuscripts among the *menologia* for the entire year: Codex τῆς μονῆς 100 from Theological School of Halki, eleventh century (Ehrhard, I, 327), and Cod. Vat. gr. 866, eleventh century (Ehrhard, I, 338). Ehrhard confirms that the two manuscripts have nine texts in common with a three-month *menologion* from the eleventh century, Paris, BnF gr. 1453 (Ehrhard, I, 367). Ehrhard argues that this special type of *menologion* in the two manuscripts was once part of the cycle of the entire calendar year. Regarding the dating, the two manuscripts are earlier than the other collections for July and August. See Ehrhard, I, 436.

⁵²¹ For the contents, see Delehaye, "Catologus hagiographicum Graecorum bibliothecae D. Marci Venetiarum," 191-193. However, Ehrhard adds several other texts to the list of H. Delehaye (such as Encomia for Transfiguration and Dormition). See Ehrhard, I, 432-434. The contents written down in the manuscript (Marc. gr. 360, 20) testify to the presence of these texts. I personally examined the contents of this manuscript.

⁵²² For the contents, see Ehrhard, I, 432-434. I have personally examined the contents of this manuscript.

⁵²³ Ehrhard, I, 676-681. According to Ehrhard, the origin of BnF 241 is revealed by the dedication to the victory over Persians (626 CE) placed in the calendar on 7th August in folio 32v. BnF 548 is lacking some texts, which appear in

Ehrhard did not examine all of them together. He excluded the two July-August *menologia* from the comparison with the other August *menologia*, arguing that they constitute a separate category. He compared the August pre-metaphrastic *menologia*, six manuscripts and two fragments altogether. Out of them, the three manuscripts incorporate *The Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium*.⁵²⁵

The earliest of the six pre-metaphrastic August *menologia*, Cod. Vat. gr. 1671, dated to the tenth century, does not contain *The Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium*.⁵²⁶ Ehrhard suggested that this manuscript presented a *menologion* for August as it had looked in the ninth century.⁵²⁷ As this manuscript includes almost all the same saints as BnF 548 and BnF 241, it might have omitted Irenaeus' *Martyrdom* because it was introduced into the August *menologion* from March calendar at some later point.

Placing the contents of all of these manuscripts next to each other gives new results, even though there are more manuscripts to be added to this collation. The version BHG 950z – *The Martyrdom of Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus* – appears in calendar collections for August, on the same date as some of the above-mentioned manuscripts. This text occurs in the manuscript Jerusalem Taphou 17, an eleventh-century *menologion* for June, July and August,⁵²⁸ which has

Vat. gr. 1671 and BnF 241 (twelve texts). BnF 241 is not much later than Vat. gr. 1671. For the contents, see Halkin, *Manuscripts Grecs de Paris*, 288-289.

⁵²⁴ Ehrhard excluded Vienna Hist. gr. 45 from the analysis because he was not sure in which category to place this manuscript. Initially, Ehrhard marked Vienna 45 as a later type due to its contents and its relationship to Vat. gr. 1671, BnF 241, and BnF 548 (it has only some of the contents of these other manuscripts), pondering whether this *menologion* was post-metaphrastic. Finally, he concluded that this manuscript was as old as Metaphrast. The manuscript Vienna, Hist. gr. 45 is the only medieval manuscript which contains *The Martyrdom of the two Irenaei* (BHG 950), besides the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* (BHG 948). The former text follows right after the latter. For the contents, see Van de Vorst and Delehay, *Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum Graecorum Germaniae Belgii Angliae*, 55. See also Ehrhard, I, 687-688.

⁵²⁵ This makes Irenaeus' presence in the calendars of this type in the eleventh century 50% (See Ehrhard, I, 673).

⁵²⁶ See Ehrhard, I, 674–675. This manuscript was copied in the Stoudios monastery in Constantinople by the Deacon Dorotheos and Hegoumenos Timotheos. See Ehrhard, I, 674. This manuscript was the subject of an article by Afinogenov, whose ideas Terje Helland later refuted. Afinogenov argued that this manuscript was not present in the Stoudios monastery in the twelfth century, as it had been transferred to the Grottaferrata monastery in Italy. He argued that this is why June and August *menologia* were not translated in Stoudios monastery in the twelfth century – their sources were not available in Stoudios and they had already been sent to the Grottaferrata. Helland's article refutes this argument. See D. E. Afinogenov, "Новгородское переводное четье-минейное собрание," 261-294; also Helland, "Some Remarks," 27-28.

⁵²⁷ See Ehrhard, I, 676.

⁵²⁸ For the contents of this manuscript, see Ehrhard, III, 356-360. Jerusalem Panagiotou Taphou 17 is marked as an "Imperial *Menologion*." Papadopoulos-Kerameus' catalogue, *ΙΕΡΟΣΟΛΥΜΙΤΙΚΗ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗ* from 1891 calls the Jerusalem Taphou 17 a *synaxarion*. However, this manuscript comprises texts as long as proper hagiographies. It contains 93 *vitae sanctorum*, passions and orations for three months. The author of the catalogue assumes that the contents of the codex are *vitae* and *martyria* possibly written by Symeon Metaphrastes. The contents of this

three later copies.⁵²⁹ The version BHG 951 of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus* only appears in the thirteenth-century manuscript Ambrosiana B 1 inf., a *menologion* for August.⁵³⁰

The feast day of Irenaeus of Sirmium in the August collections moves forward in date, as is presented in this table:

	Vat. gr. 1671, 10 th c.	Venice 360 (and Paris 1177)	Paris 241	Paris 548	Vienna Hist.45	Jerusalem, Taphou 17, 11-12 th c.	Ambrosiana, 13 th c.
21 August	Martyrdom of Bassa and her sons	<u>Martyrdom of St. Irenaeus of Sirmium</u>	<u>Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium</u>		Deeds of the apostle Thadasios, Martyrdom of Bases, Theognidos, Agapitos and Pistis	Martyrdom of Myron	Martyrdom of Myron
22 August	Martyrdom of Agathonikos and companions	Encomion of martyr Agathonikos	Martyrdom of Agathonikos and companions	Martyrdom of Agathonikos, <u>Martyrdom of Irenaeus</u>	Martyrdom of Agathonikos, Encomion for Agathonikos, Martyrdom of Lukios	Martyrdom of Agathonikos	Martyrdom of Agathonicus
23 August	Vita of Anthusa		Vita of Anthusa		<u>Martyrdom of Irenaeus, Martyrdom of the two Irenaei</u>	<u>Martyrdom of Ireneus of Sirmium, Or and Oropseus</u>	<u>Martyrdom of Ireneus, Or and Oropseus</u>

Table 7. Irenaeus' feast day in August *menologia*

In the manuscripts Venice 360, BnF 1177, and BnF 241, Irenaeus of Sirmium appears on 21st August. In manuscript BnF 548, this narrative has moved to 22nd August. Finally, in Vienna

manuscript for the month of August correspond almost completely to the other August *menologia* (containing BHG 948). See Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *IEPOΣOAYMITIKH BIBAIOΘHKH I*, 69.

⁵²⁹ The contents of the twelfth-century manuscript Dionysiou 83 overlaps with the contents of the Jerusalem Taphou 17, as it contains lives and martyria of saints, as well as panegyrics, from June to August. Latyšev never examined Dionysiou 83, but he believed that there was a connection between the two manuscripts. The catalogue of the manuscripts of Mount Athos confirms the contents. See S. Lambros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1895), 327. The second copy is the fourteenth-century Athens 1046, which contains all the texts like Jerusalem, except for one. The third copy is Jerusalem St Crucis No.16, a sixteenth-century manuscript, which contains all the texts as the Jerusalem 17, except for the first 7. However, all the prayers for the emperor are omitted. See Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *IEPOΣOAYMITIKH BIBAIOΘHKH III*, 39-45. See also Ehrhard, III, 362.

⁵³⁰ For the contents of Ambrosiana B 1 inf., see Ehrhard, III, 367-8.

Hist. 45, this narrative comes on 23rd August. In the Jerusalem Taphou 17, the narrative about Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus is celebrated on 23rd August. Irenaeus was apparently almost abandoned in the Byzantine tradition after the eleventh century.⁵³¹

When it comes to Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus, one of the dates of this version (in the *Canon for Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus*) is 30th August, which was eventually abandoned. Irenaeus of Sirmium appeared alone on 21st and 22nd August. He was merged with Or and Oropseus on 23rd August. Irenaeus' inclusion in this group of three is yet another example of merging saints in the Byzantine *menologia*.⁵³² Or and Oropseus turned out to be the saints appearing in the group of three, but the leader of the group was replaceable. For instance, the Slavonic calendar collection from the fourteenth century, *Stishniat prolog*, commemorates Ilarios, Or and Oropseus on 17 November.⁵³³

The *Martyrdom of the two Irenaei* (BHG 950) was recognized by Halkin as a separate text in his publication from 1957,⁵³⁴ but he completely omitted this text in 1984.⁵³⁵ Intriguing as it may seem at first glance, the text under this title does not offer anything further than the two short synaxarial entries – of Irenaeus of Sirmium and completely unrelated, of Irenaeus of Lyon. The existence of this text in Hist. gr. 45 could be explained by the fact that the manuscript had many entries on saints, e.g., martyrdoms and lives, which were accompanied by other texts about the same saints, e.g., *encomia*, *logoi*, homilies or miracles. Gathering together the texts about the same saints possibly served to maintain saints' positions in the calendar and to shape their popularity, which could have lead to the development of cult. Alternatively, the manuscript might have had an encyclopedic character. In Irenaeus' case, there was no additional text to follow up the martyrdom narrative. A compiler came up with an idea to combine two separate entries from the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* to produce an artificial text about the two Irenaei. As this text was not a proper hagiographical text, it did not reappear in the medieval manuscripts.

	Vat. Gr.	Venice 360	Paris 241	Paris 548	Vienna	Jerusalem	Ambrosiana
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⁵³¹ There are only four manuscripts, which contain versions of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus*, appearing after the eleventh century.

⁵³² This notion generally came out in Byzantium due to belief in the saintly agency in the worldly, possibly military endeavors. However, it does not seem likely that this was the reason in this case.

⁵³³ See G. Petkov, *Stišnijat prolog v starata bulgarska, srbska i ruska literatura. Arheografija, tekstologija i izdanie na proložni stihove* [Stišnijat Prologue in the Old Bulgarian, Serbian and Russian Literature. Archeography, Textology, and the Edition of the Prologue Verses], (Plovdiv, 2000).

⁵³⁴ Halkin, *BHG*, 41.

⁵³⁵ Halkin, *Novum Auctarium BHG*.

	1671	(and Paris 1177)			Hist.45	Taphou 17	
Early Christian martyrs	37.5%	31,2%	45.7%	36.6%	30.13%	43.7%	42.8%
Stephen Protomartyr	2.5%	6,25%	2.8%	3.3%	1.4%	3.1%	
Jewish martyrs	5%	18,7%		13.3%	5.4%	3.1%	
Post-313 CE martyrs	2.5%	6,25%	8.5%	6.6%	4.1%	9.3%	4.76%
Persian martyrs	2.5%				1.4%		
Iconoclastic martyrs					1.4%		
Eastern abbots	2.5%		2.8%	6.6%	1.4%	3.1%	
Eastern bishops			2.8%	3.3%	6.8%	9.3%	9.5%
Eastern monks	2.5%			10%	5.4%	9.3%	14.2%
Prophets	2.5%			3.3%	2.7%		
Apostles	2.5%	6.25%	2.8%	10%	5.4%	3.1%	
Christ	7.5%		2.8%		9.5%	6.2%	4.76%
Theotokos	22.5%	6.25%	20%		13.6%	6.2%	14.2%
John Baptist	10%	25%	5.7%	6.6%	4.1%	3.1%	9.5%
Western bishops					1.4%		
Undefined			5.7%		6.8%		

Table 8. Different characters of hagiography in August *menologia*

Even though the manuscripts in general display a large number of texts about martyrs, they certainly promote other important figures, such as Theotokos, John Baptist and Christ.⁵³⁶ The collections in the sample include a large number of encomiastic texts. Ehrhard was the first to notice a strong preference in the manuscripts towards encomia and homilies.⁵³⁷ He argued that the manuscripts Paris 1177 and Vienna use predominantly encomia, except in six cases, where encomia for particular early martyrs do not exist (Kerykos and Julitta, Aemilianos, Theodota and

⁵³⁶ Vaticanus gr. 1671, the tenth-century pre-metaphrastic *menologion* for August, contains 50% of the narratives about martyrs. In the tenth-century Venice 360 (and Paris 1177 as well), a two-month *menologion* for July and August, 62.4% are narratives about martyrs (in August). 57% of Paris 241 is texts about martyrs. In Paris 548, 59.8% of the texts are about martyrs. In the Vienna manuscript, 43.83% of the texts are about martyrs. In the eleventh- or twelfth-century Jerusalem manuscript, 59.2% of the texts are about martyrs. In the thirteenth-century Ambrosiana, which only fragmentarily contains the copies of hagiographical texts and runs from 13th August until the end of the month, 47.5% of the texts are about martyrs.

⁵³⁷ Ehrhard, I, 434.

her children, Seven children of Ephesus, Markellos, and Irenaeus of Sirmium).⁵³⁸ The contents of Vienna 45 manifest heavy permeation of the writings of John Chrysostom and Andreas from Crete and contain homilies, *logoi*, and encomia. Jerusalem Taphou 17, the “Imperial *Menologion*,” includes a large number of the texts about martyrs, but not the highest number, although this manuscript does contain a few encomiastic texts.

Altogether, a significant number of saints can be considered as “remembered,” such as the Maccabees, St. Stephen the Protomartyr and the translation of his relics, and early Christian martyrs, such as Laurentios, Xystos and Hyppolitos, Euplus, Photios and Aniketos, Florus and Laurus, Diomedes, Bassa and her children, Adrian and Natalia, Agathonikos. Most of these saints have at least one encomiastic text devoted to them written by prominent and authoritative literati.

A number of saints come into light on different dates in the calendars: Theodota, Myron, Straton and Philippos. However, a number of saints appear only sporadically and they can be considered “forgotten.” Among them are Bishop Marinos, the monks Macarios and Georgios Limniotes, and also the early Christian martyrs, Eleutherios, Ursikios, Tition. They are usually noted in only one BHG version. A number of saints could not be identified for the analysis in this dissertation. They can certainly be considered “forgotten.” Ermos, Serapion and Poluainos, Lukios, Seuiros and Memnon.

The August *menologia* demonstrate that encomiastic writings tended to prevail in the Byzantine tradition at this time. The saints, who did not have any encomiastic writings on their behalf were abandoned. The tendency of making encomia the dominant genre in the Byzantine calendar collections finally led to forgetting the saints, including martyrs, who did not have such authoritative support.⁵³⁹

Irenaeus’ feast day

Different calendar collections were aligned according to different calendars. The calendars extended over cultural borders and were used cross-culturally. As a consequence, there

⁵³⁸ Ehrhard, I, 434.

⁵³⁹ Interestingly, Ehrhard argued that homiletic material was often a later addition to the *menologia* tradition, and that a large number of homilies in a collection would be a sign that the collection is of a later date. See Ehrhard, I, 438-701; see also Helland, “Some Remarks,” 28.

are several different dates in the different traditions related to Irenaeus of Sirmium. I have compiled the following table showing the change of Irenaeus' feast day in the calendars listed at the beginning of this chapter in order to see where at least some of the influences come from.

	Breviariu m Syria cum, 411 CE	Cal endar of Car tha ge	Marty rologiu m Hieron ymianu m, 6-7 th c.	Mart yrolo gy of Bede, 8 th c.	Ma rble cald endar of Na ples , 9 th c.	Marty rologiu m Roma num	Pat mo s 26 6, 9- 10 ^t h c. ⁵⁴⁰	Jeru sale m St Cru cis 40 (Ty pico n of the Gre at Chu rch), 10 th c.	Synaxa rion of Consta ntinopl e, 10 th c.	Men ologi on of Basil II, 11 th c.	Cale ndar of Chris tophe r of Mytil ene, 11 th c.	Meta phras tic Men ologion , 10- 11 th c.	Syna xario n of Theo tokos Ever getis, 11 th c.	Typ icon of St Salv ator e in Mes sina , 12 th c.
Ire nae us of Sir miu m	6 th Apr	X	6 th Apr	6 th Apr	27 Apr , 27 Jun	25 th Mar	22 Au g	22 Aug	21 Aug	21 Aug	X	x	X	X

Table 9. Irenaeus' feast day in the calendars

The earliest Latin calendar collections which have Irenaeus' feast day on 6th April, correspond in the date with the earliest Syriac tradition.⁵⁴¹ In this sense, the early Eastern calendar tradition was better preserved in the West. In the Irish *Martyrology* from 800 CE, Irenaeus reappears on 6th April.⁵⁴² The liturgical *Canon on Irenaeus*, ascribed to Joseph the Hymnographer and written down in Sinaiticus gr. 614, lists him on 6th April as well, which could be another example of concurrence with the early Syriac calendar.

⁵⁴⁰ From A. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie liturgitseskich rukopisej I* [*The Description of Liturgical Manuscripts I*], (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1965), 1-151.

⁵⁴¹ The editor of the *Breviarium Syriacum* noted that this calendar had strong connections with Western calendars, while it was difficult to trace its connections to the Eastern calendars, although it is an Eastern calendar. Nau, "Un martyrologe," 7.

⁵⁴² The Irish *Martyrology of Oengus de Culdee* could probably testify to the true-to-life transference of the Eastern calendar sources far to the West. Such liturgical and calendar connections from Syria and the East to Anglo-Saxon England were discussed by Bischoff and Lapidge and they were able to identify some parallels in early calendars and litanies. See Bischoff and Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, 172.

The date of 25th March seems to be a later feast day of Irenaeus in the Latin tradition. What is striking is its proximity to 26th March, the date utilized in one “Imperial *Menologion*” and in the Old Church Slavonic Suprasl Codex. Nilles thought that the date of 26th March seemed like the earliest and most appropriate date for this saint.⁵⁴³

The *Martyrdom of Irenaeus* appeared on 26th March in the earlier layer of the March *menologia* (in the Suprasl Codex and Moscow Syn. 183). However, the *Encomion for the Archangel Gabriel* replaced it. This was the time when the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus* may have been transferred to the August *menologia*. The earlier tradition, which placed Irenaeus in March, still existed for some time, along with the later tradition, which accommodated Irenaeus in August. Irenaeus appeared in both the March and August *menologia* in the eleventh century.

Irenaeus’ feast day was transferred to August in the Greek calendars as early as the tenth century. Interestingly, none of the prominent Byzantine calendars noted above placed Irenaeus’ feast day on 26th March. All of them accommodate Irenaeus on either 21st or 22nd August.

The Metaphrastic *Menologion* and the Evergetis calendar cast this saint out of the calendar for good. In the *Synaxarion* of the monastery of Theotokos Euergetis there is no date dedicated to Irenaeus of Sirmium.⁵⁴⁴ Neither does the *Typicon* of the monastery of St. Salvatore in Messina, restored from the Codex Messinensis gr. 115, have a feast day of Irenaeus of Sirmium.⁵⁴⁵

The sole witnesses to the Georgian and Armenian traditions of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus* testify that this text occupied the feast day of 23rd August.⁵⁴⁶ The Georgian manuscript incorporates metaphrastic texts for the summer part of the calendar year (February and August).⁵⁴⁷ The date of 23rd August shows that this feast day has to do with the Byzantine tradition. The same applies to the Armenian calendar collection.

The *Canon of Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus*, ascribed to Joseph the Hymnographer, appears on 30th August in the manuscripts Grottaferrata and Sinaiticus gr. 632. However, the *Martyrdom*

⁵⁴³ See Nilles, *Kalendarium* I, 255, II, 603.

⁵⁴⁴ See R. H. Jordan, tr., *The Synaxarion of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis*, I-III (Belfast: The Queen’s University, 2000) (hereafter Jordan, *The Synaxarion of Evergetis*).

⁵⁴⁵ See Arranz, *Le typicon du monastère du saint-Sauveur à Messine*.

⁵⁴⁶ See Nilles, *Kalendarium* I, 255, II, 603.

⁵⁴⁷ The contents for August: Isakios and Dalmatios, The Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, Eusignios, Domentios, Miron, bishop of Crete, Pope Csystos, Evilos, Photios and Aniketos, prophet Michael, Diomedes, Miron, Florus and Laurus, Andreas Stratelates, Thadeos, Bassa and her sons, Agathonikos, Irenaeus of Sirmium, Apostle Titus, Adrian and Natalia, Moses, Ursikinus. See Kekelidze, “Иоанн Ксифилин,” 337-339.

of Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus is present on 23rd August in several Greek *menologia* before it disappears altogether from the Byzantine tradition. Irenaeus was clearly one of the saints who initially appeared alone, but was later grouped with the two other saints, a common practice in Byzantium.⁵⁴⁸ When the feast date of Irenaeus was transferred from March to August *menologia*, its initial date was 21st August, but it was eventually shifted towards the joint date with Or and Oropseus – 23rd August. This date was clearly a short-lived position of this saint, before he vanished for good from the Byzantine calendar.

Other Miscellanies

A few collections containing the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* are not arranged according to the calendars and they are best described as miscellanies by the organization of their contents. One of them is the manuscript Munich Clm 4554, the earliest preserved Latin manuscript containing the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium*. The first appearance of this text in the Latin West does not bind it to a calendar collection. The sequence of the hagiographical texts in this manuscript does not correspond to any known calendar, and the dates are not displayed at the beginning of the texts.

This manuscript contains a large number of apocryphal acts and martyrdoms, mostly dedicated to the martyrs from Asia Minor, Africa, and Moesia, among which bishop-martyrs predominate, with a significant number of female martyrs towards the end.⁵⁴⁹ The manuscript is entitled *Passionale apostolorum et aliorum plurimorum martyrum*.⁵⁵⁰

⁵⁴⁸ Monica White discussed the phenomenon of merging military saints in the period from the ninth to the twelfth century. See White, *Military Saints*.

⁵⁴⁹ The contents of this manuscript are: The Acts of the Apostles: Passion of Saint Peter and Paul (BHL 6571, 6657), Passion of the Apostle Andrew (BHL 429), “Anapausis” of St John the Apostle (BHL 4320), Passion of St Jacob (BHL 4057), brother of John the Apostle, Passion of St Thomas the Apostle (BHL 8136), Passion of St Bartholomew the Apostle (BHL 1002), Passion of St Matthew the Apostle (BHL 5690), Passion of St Jacob (BHL 4089), Passion of St Clemens (BHL 1848), the pope of Rome, Confession of the passion of St Paul of Narbonne (BHL 6589), Passion of Felix the bishop (BHL 2895d), Passion of St Ignatius the bishop (BHL 4255b), Passion of Saturninus the bishop (BHL 7495-96), Passion of St Alexander the bishop and Theodotus (BHL 269b), Passion of Eleutherius the bishop (BHL 2451), Passion of Polycarp the bishop (?), Passion of St Babylas the bishop (BHL 890), Passion of St Nestor the bishop (BHL 6068b), Passion of St Cyprian the bishop (BHL 2038), Passion of St Cyrillus the bishop (BHL 2070a), Passion of St Cyprian the bishop and St Justina (BHL 2047), Passion of St Militus the bishop/Marcellus the tribunos (BHL 5240), Passion of Sixtus the bishop, Laurentius the archdeacon and Yppolitus (BHL 7811), Passion of Privatus the bishop (BHL 6932), Passion of Irenaeus the bishop (BHL 4466), Passion of Psotius the bishop (BHL 6983m), Vita or Passion of Julianus martyr and Basilissa (BHL 4529), Passion of Satorus, Saturninus, Revocatus, Perpetua and Felicitas (BHL 6636), Passion of Chrysogonus and Anastasia (BHL 1795), Passion of Cionie and Erenie (Theodota) (BHL 8093), Passion of St Marinus senator (BHL 5538), Passion of

The manuscript opens with the Acts of the Apostles: Peter and Paul, Andrew, John, Thomas, Bartholomew, Matthew, Jacob. The passions of the bishops follow (this is where Irenaeus' martyrdom is situated). The last section is dedicated to female martyrs. This manuscript displays a certain hierarchy, as the saints are ordered according to their prominence and rank. This manuscript is a collection of narratives mostly about Eastern saints. Philippart assumed that it was compiled in some of the Eastern monastic settings in touch with the West, possibly the Greek monasteries in Rome.⁵⁵¹ This view corrected Delehaye's argument that this manuscript was a translation from a now-lost Greek *menologion*. This manuscript among others testifies to the text being chosen on the basis of its own subject and not due to the calendar order of saints.

There are several other manuscripts which do not seem to be organized according to the calendar. One of them is the twelfth-century *Bibliothèque Royale* 9289 from Brussels, called *Passionale*.⁵⁵² This manuscript is a vast collection of passions, the first volume of a two-volume

St Lucia the virgin (BHL 4992), Passion of St Caecilia (BHL 1495), Passion of St Valerianus and Tiburtius (BHL 8483), Passion of St Juliana (BHL 4522), Passion of St Agatha (BHL 136a), Passion of Agnes virgin (BHL 156b), Martyrium of Ciryus and Julitta (BHL 1805). See *Analecta Bollandiana*, 114 (1996): 153-156. See also K. L. Halm, G von Laubmann, W. Meyer, *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis* <<http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/bsb00008252/images/index.html?id=00008252&fip=193.174.98.30&no=&seite=216>> Last accessed: 25/07/2014. See also G. Glauche, *Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München, Clm 4501-4663* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1994).

<http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/hs/katalogseiten/HSK0448_b080.JPG.htm> Last accessed: 25/07/2014.

⁵⁵⁰ Europeana Regia, "Vitae et passiones sanctorum - BSB Clm 4554," <<http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0006/bsb00064009/images/index.html?id=00064009&fip=eayawxseayaqrseayasdaweayawqq&no=10&seite=1>> Last accessed: 25/07/2014.

⁵⁵¹ Philippart, and Trigalet, "Latin Hagiography before the Ninth Century," 126.

⁵⁵² The contents of this manuscript are: Vita of Justus (BHL 4599), Passion of Anicetus and Fotinus (BHL 481), Passion of Antoninus (BHL 572), Passion of Iustus martyr (BHL 4590), Vita of bishop Evortius (BHL 2799), Passion of Gorgonius and Dorotheus (BHL 3617), Passion of Protus and Iacinctus (BHL 6976), Passion of Felix and Regula (BHL 2887), Passion of Cornelius (BHL 1958), Passion of Cyprian (BHL 2037), Vita of Heraclius (?), Passion of Ferreolus (BHL 2911), Passion of Ianuarius (BHL 4115), Passion of Sergius and Bachus (BHL 7599), Passion of Tharacus, Probus and Andronicus (BHL 7981), Passion of Lambert (BHL 4686), Passion of two Ewalds (BHL 2804), Vita of Wencezlav (BHL 8821), Passion of Domnin (BHL 2264), Passion of Victor and seven companions (BHL 8589), Vita of Gallus (BHL 3247, 3248), Passion of Philip, Severus and Hermes (BHL 6834), Passion of Theodoritus (BHL 8074), *De Iuliano imperatore*, Vita of Severinus (BHL 7647), Passion of Crispin and Crispinianus (BHL 1990), Passion of Eusebius (BHL 2739), Passion of Cesarius (BHL 1511), Passion of Benignus (BHL 1153), Passion of Evstachius (BHL 2760), Vita of Amantius (BHL 351), Passion of Menas (BHL 5921), Vita of Briccius (BHL 1452), Passion of Evgenius (BHL 2685), Vita of Maclov (BHL 5119), Vita of Anian (BHL 474), Passion of Romanus, Ysicius and Barala (BHL 7303), Passion of Maxim (BHL 5829), Passion of Mavr (BHL 5787), Vita of Columbanus (BHL 1898), Vita of Trudo (BHL 8325), Vita of Antidius (BHL 566), Passion of Marculus (BHL 5271), Passion of Petrus (BHL 6696), Passion of Saturnin (BHL 7499), Passion of Sabinus (BHL 7454), Vita of Evcharius (BHL 2655), Passion of Gentianus, Fuscianus, and Victorius (BHL 3226), Passion of Paul of Narbonne (BHL 6589), Invention of the saints Gervasius and Prothasius (BHL 3514), Passion of Nicasius (BHL 6078), Passion of Gregory (BHL 3677), Passion of Concordius (BHL 1906), Passion of Peter Balsamus (BHL

collection of passions.⁵⁵³ It does not present the collection aligned according to a calendar, and it reveals the form of a miscellany.

The twelfth-century Charleville 254 is marked, according to the catalog, as a four-volume collection of saints' lives, called *Passiones et vitae sanctorum*.⁵⁵⁴ A single hand wrote all four volumes. Volume one contains male saints and martyrs, many of who were bishops.⁵⁵⁵ Volume two contains mostly texts about female martyrs and saints; volume three contains the passions of the Apostles, but also other male and female saints. The third volume has a note: "*Perscriptus fuit hic liber Sanctae Mariae de Bellavalle a fratribus. Orate pro eis.*" The fourth volume contains *vitae*, miracles and passions of different saints and ends with the Lord's Prayer. This selection of saints certainly does not refer to a calendar and recalls more the hierarchy of saints as presented in Munich 4554.

6702), Passion of Lucian (BHL 5005, 5009), Passion of Speusip, Eleusip and Meleusip (BHL 7829), Passion of Pontian (?), Passion of Patroclus (?), Passion of Ascle (BHL 722), Passion of Timotheus (BHL 8294), Passion of Savinianus (BHL 7441), Passion of Tyrsus and Gallenicus (BHL 8280), Passion of Ignatius (BHL 4256), Passion of Phileas (?), Passion of Philemon and Apollonius (BHL 6803), Passion of Pigmenius (BHL 1322), Passion of Hyreneus (BHL 4466), Passion of Ursmar (BHL 8417), Passion of Felix, Fortunatus and Achilleus (BHL 2896), Passion of Sigismund (BHL 7719), Passion of Andeolus (BHL 423), Victory of Constantine (?), Translation of saint Nicholas (?), Miracles of Nicholas (BHL 6174), Passion of Mutius (BHL 6023), Passion of Pontius (BHL 6896), Passion of Peregrin (BHL 6623), Passion of Pope Urban (BHL 8372), Passion of Charaun (BHL 1566), Passion of Conon (BHL 1912), Passion of Priscus (BHL 6930), Passion of Bonifacius (BHL 1413), Passion of Barnabas (BHL 985), Passion of Ferreolus and Ferrution (BHL 2905), Passion of Hermagoras and Fortunatus (BHL 3841), Passion of Salvius (BHL 7470), Passion of Focas (BHL 6838), Passion of Eusebius (BHL 2748), Passion of Felix (BHL 2865), Passions of Gratilian (BHL 3632), Passion of Alexander (?), Passion of Firmin (BHL 3002), Passion of Florentin and Hylarius (BHL 3033), Passion of Piaton (BHL 6846), Passion of Demetrius (BHL 2122), Passion of Nicasius, Quirin and Scuviculus (BHL 6082), Passion of innumerable martyrs (BHL 1505), Passion of Eadmund (BHL 2392), Sermon of Rabbodus, Sermon of conversion of St Paul, Passion of Monon (BHL 6005). See J. Van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique* (Brussels, 1901-1948); see also "Catalogus Lat. Bibl. Reg. Brux.," (Brussels, 1886-1889); M. Coens, "Un légendier de Cysoing," *Analecta Bollandiana* 60 (1942): 17-20; F. Dolbeau, "Deux légendiers démembrés du diocèse de Liège," *Analecta Bollandiana* 109 (1991): 117-136; idem, "Un légendier de la cathédrale d'Arras (Brussels, B. R., II. 2310)," *Analecta Bollandiana* 107 (1989): 128.

⁵⁵³ J. Van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique* (Brussels, 1901-1948), 200.

⁵⁵⁴ See *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements* V (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1849). <<http://www.archive.org/stream/catalogue05fran#page/662/mode/2up>> Last accessed: 25/07/2014.

⁵⁵⁵ The contents: Passion of Apollinaris, Passion of Panteleon, Passion of St Stephan pontifex, Passion of Pope Calixtus, Passion of Cornelius, Passion of Cesarius, Passion of Theodore, Passion of Ignatius, Passion of Marcus, Passion of Mennas, Passion of Savinus, Passion of Euplus, Passion of Genesius, Passion of Longinus, Passion of Christophorus, Passion of Eusebius of Vercelli, Passion of Donatus, Passion of Mammetus, Passion of Simphorianus, Passion of Genesius Arelatensis, Passion of Cyprian, Passion of Gorgonius, Passion of Marcellus, Passion of Andochius, Passion of Blasius, Passion of Triphon, Passion of Lucian, Passion of the child Justus, Vita of St German, Passion of Marcellus, Passion of Nestor, Passion of Polycarp, Passion of Theodoritus presbyter, Passion of St Urban, Passion of Felix presbyter, Passion of St Hyreneus, Passion of St Eleutherius.

Finally, the thirteenth-century Charleville 200 is a collection called *Sanctorum passiones et vitae*.⁵⁵⁶ The beginning and the end of the manuscript are missing. The contents do not seem to have been sequenced according to a calendar form.⁵⁵⁷

These collections show saints' *vitae* and martyrdom narratives being placed into different contexts and perspectives, particularly compared to the predominant medieval calendar form. The collections lose their order according to the calendar year, which may have transformed their initial function. The transformations shed light on redefining medieval books; they lost their foothold as religious tools and developed into the newly fashionable secular readings. A hagiographical text could be read for the sake of reading, education and entertainment. The texts were chosen specifically for their characters and the stories they tell.

Conclusion

The task of this chapter was to contextualize the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* in the contents of the manuscripts where it appeared. For the most part, this text appears in the collections arranged according to calendars. As a lesser-known saint, Irenaeus of Sirmium appears in a small number of manuscripts. This made it possible to follow the patterns of his

⁵⁵⁶ *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements* V (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1849). < <http://www.archive.org/stream/catalogue05fran#page/636/mode/2up> > Last accessed: 25/07/2014.

⁵⁵⁷ The contents: Passion of Thomas bishop Cantuariensis, Passion of Sebastian of Rome, Passion of Agnes, Passion of Vincentius, Passion of Carolus Bonus comes Flandriae, Passion of Marc the Evangelist, Passion of Agatha, Passion of Nichasius and his daughter, Passion of Anastasia, Passion of Theodota and children in Nicaea, Dormition of John the Apostle, Passion of Felix presbyter of Rome, Passion of Babylas, Passion of Agape, Chiona et Irene, Passion of Eleutherius and Antia, Passion of Eutyches, Victorinus et Maro, Passion of Pancratius, Passion of Sabinus, Passion of Euplus, Passion of Genesius, Passion of Gregory of Spoleto, Passion of Tryphon, Passion of Blasius, Passion of Euphrasia or Eupraxia in Thebaide, Passion of Marius, Martha, Audifax et Abacuc and Valentin, Passion of Iuliana of Nicomedia, Passion of Montanus and Lucius, Miracles in England during the king Conrad, Passion of Rufinus and Valerius, Passion of Pope Urbanus, Confession of Cyprian, Passion of Iustina and Theoctistus, Passion of Nereus and Achilleus, Altercatio of St Peter and Paul the apostles, Translation of Stephen the Protomartyr, Passion of Ascla, Passion of George, Passion of Irenaeus of Sirmium, Translation of relics of Apostle Jacob, Passion of Phileas and Philoromus, Passion of Dorothea, Passion of Theophilus, Passion of Catharine of Alexandria, Passion of Quintin, Passion of 11 000 virgins, Passion of Caesarius, Passion of Eustachius, Passion of Quattuor coronati, Passion of Theodore, Passion of St Peter the Apostle, Passion of St Paul, On the nativity of Maria, Vita of Nicolaus bishop of Myra. See Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Manuscripta, "Liste des textes hagiographiques copies en meme temps que BHL 4466 dans le ms. Charleville, 200," < http://bhlms.fltr.ucl.ac.be/Nqueryfolio.cfm?numsection=1985&code_bhl=4466&ville=Charleville&fonds=BP&cote=200 > Last accessed: 25/07/2014. See also *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements* V (Metz, Verdun, Charleville), (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1879), 637-8. < <http://www.archive.org/stream/catalogue05fran#page/636/mode/2up> > Last accessed: 25/07/2014. See also J. Van der Straeten, "Les manuscrits hagiographiques de Charleville, Verdun et Saint-Michel," *Subsidia Hagiographica* 56 (1974).

appearances and disappearances in calendar collections. The chapter demonstrates that complex rules were involved in aligning saints in calendar collections. Hagiographies were to cope with these rules in order to cater for enduring afterlives in hagiographical collections.

The peak of copying Irenaeus' text in Latin corresponded to the general trends in production of Latin hagiographical manuscripts in the West. The largest number of preserved Latin medieval hagiographical manuscripts were prepared in the twelfth century. The Latin *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* has been preserved in a higher number of copies from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries compared to the earlier period. In the Byzantine realm, according to the preserved manuscripts, the peak of copying hagiography was the eleventh century, which corresponds to the appearance rate of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium*. The *Menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes, a collection, which did not contain the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium*, dominated in Byzantium in later centuries. This text rarely appears in the Greek language after the eleventh century.

Irenaeus did not hold a stable date in any of the traditions; yet, it occupied a larger number of dates in the Byzantine tradition. Irenaeus was moved to several different dates in the calendars for March and August, and these dates were combined with different textual versions. Altogether, its peak of presence in the eleventh century and its appearance in several manuscripts up to the eleventh century did not keep this text from being subject of extensive *metaphrasis*.

In the West, the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* appears in a number of calendar collections on two different dates, 6th April and 25th March. The first date dominated up to the eleventh century, while the latter date took over after the twelfth century. Despite its relatively regular patterns of appearance, albeit in a small number of manuscripts, the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus* was a text unexposed to *metaphrasis* in the Latin West. In the Slavonic context, only one manuscript testifies to its appearance in the tenth century. When the calendars were standardized in the Slavonic realm, Irenaeus was no longer a part of them.

In the Early Middle Ages in both East and West, calendars were being transformed and updated. New figures from hagiographical narratives occupied the feast days of the calendar collections which had previously been dominated by Christian martyrs. Early Christian martyrs kept a significant part of all the calendar collections, but some more than the others. In the Latin collections of saints' lives and legendaries, other popular characters, such as bishops,

abbots/abbesses, monks, nuns, royal saints, eventually replaced martyrs. Martyrs, however, had whole collections dedicated to them – passionaries.

The Byzantine tradition of *menologia* was far from omitting the early Christian martyrs (although, some collections more than others). Hagiographical collections combined the texts about early Christian martyrs with the new martyrs – Persian, Arabic, and Iconoclastic martyrs – and other figures, such as Theotokos, John Baptist and Christ.

Saints lost their feast days for various reasons – collision with other saints on the same feast day, transferring to other dates, merging with other saints, and decisions by scribes and copyists not to choose them as representative for a particular feast day. Irenaeus experienced all of these misfortunes. The names and dates of saints who had firm support from authority figures and saints with stable cults were kept in the calendars, preserving their commemoration. Many saints without such aid lost their dates in the calendars and were forgotten. Irenaeus did not have such backing, if one disregards the ill-fated attempt to create an artificial hagiographical text about the two Irenaei.

Many examples evidence that the calendar collections did not always reflect the environments in which they were used. The calendars involved in making the hagiographical collections were not locally flavored and were often transferred from community to community without local input. Thus, calendars lived a life of their own.

At least in one example, a calendar in the collection was purposefully chosen on the basis of being an earlier martyr-laden calendar type. The manuscript Moscow Syn. 183 was designed to make the collection rich with martyrs' tales, grounded on the earlier calendar for March (even richer in the number of martyrdoms).

The matching dates of the saintly feast days in the different collections do not imply that the texts about the saints corresponded narrative-wise, such as in the case of the Suprasl Codex and Moscow Syn 183. This notion implies that copyists of these manuscripts used similar *synaxaria* in aligning the saints in the collections, but looked for texts elsewhere.

A number of collections in which the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus* appears were not arranged according to calendars. For the most part, they are found in the collections organized around the subjects and themes, where saints are present because of their characteristics: title, gender, rank, etc. Such collections, which are sometimes multi-volume works, manifest a change of readership and a switch from religion-related to broader secular reading.

Along the way, many of the texts were cast out and replaced by the other texts, which brought oblivion upon the saints. However, many saints kept their feast days, maintaining their remembering. Even examining an unrepresentative number of manuscripts, the calendars still enabled the preservation of the memory of saints whose relics were not extant and whose cults did not develop. The Early Middle Ages was sufficient time for many a martyr or saint to be either remembered or forgotten. The complex mechanisms enabled remembering, lack thereof led to forgetting.

Chapter 3: Calendars, Texts and the Cult of Saints

This chapter pertains to the subject of calendars, examining the links among the calendar collections, the text and the cult of the saint. The chapter investigates whether there are links of the alleged local saintly cult of Irenaeus to the appearance of his hagiographical text in the collections, arranged according to the calendars, which were in use in places which could claim him as a local saint. The previous chapter argued that the calendars and the saints' feast days were important in sheltering hagiographical texts. This chapter draws attention away from the cults as the sole factors for placing saints into local and other calendars.

This line of investigation is necessitated by a deep-rooted opinion in the scholarship that local or other cults played an instrumental role in positioning the saints in the calendar collections used in local environments. If the saint had his hagiographical text written down in a particular calendar collection used in a local setting, was this place in the calendar collection earned only by a prominent local cult? The aim of this chapter is to deconstruct such an idea.

Scholarship has evinced a great deal of literature written on the cult of saints. The scholarly study of the cult of saints is frequently linked to hagiographies of saints; some scholars ineluctably link sanctity and place.⁵⁵⁸ Not much research, however, has been conducted on the links among the cult of saints, hagiographical texts, and the collections in which these texts appear in a calendar order. The general impression in scholarship is that saintly cults were the entrance ticket of a saint into calendar collections. Saints in a calendar had their cults developed, their shrines and their sacred spaces defined, and the locations of their relics made known. Also, the placement of saints in calendars was *a priori* understood in scholarship as relying on local saintly cults. "Local" is defined by the physical existence of a saint and an identifiable place of burial or a site associated with a saint.⁵⁵⁹ It is often said that certain calendars "contain a significant portion of local hues."⁵⁶⁰

But was the existence of a body, a relic and a shrine a prerogative for the existence of a narrative and a way for a saint to enter a calendar collection? How can the existence of hagiographical narratives which did not support any saintly cults be explained? Were the three

⁵⁵⁸ See Thacker, "Loca Sanctorum," 1.

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁰ See, e.g., Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy in Frankish Gaul*, 32-33.

notions – a body/cult, a narrative, and a feast day/place in the calendar collections – inexorably interconnected?

This chapter's starting point is the existence of the late antique cult of Irenaeus and the medieval revival of the same cult place. It was exactly this revival that was connected with the hagiographical sources dedicated to Irenaeus at the time. After examining all the sources, I make clear that the cult was not an instrumental determinant to placing Irenaeus' hagiographical text in the calendars used locally.

Generally speaking, narratives were quite independent of cults. Their appearance, development and place in hagiographical collections did not depend on extant or non-extant cults. At times calendars could have a life of their own. The authentic relics of saints were in fact quite rare. Numerous forgeries and thefts of relics took place in the Middle Ages.⁵⁶¹ The literary embodiment of historical memory, that is, narrative writings about saints, came to light more often than the authentic relics of saints. In that sense, the organization of the saints in calendars and sorting out their narratives according to the dates could not depend solely on the existence of their relics.

Scholarship

Hagiographical texts have enduringly been understood as a means of promoting saintly cults. This notion was very much installed by the authority of the Bollandist Delehaye, who set the trend at the beginning of the twentieth century, saying that: "Hagiography intends primarily to engender, propagate and strengthen the cult of saints."⁵⁶² In his view, the existence of a hagiographical text is bound to the existence of a cult, while a cult depends on bodily remnants of a saint and his shrine. He affirmed that three markers are crucial for sainthood – historical source, martyrology and a shrine.⁵⁶³ In this way, Delehaye tied the literary to the material. He additionally emphasized that a narrative or legend develops through the continuity of the cult.

Peter Brown further influenced the study of the cult of saints. Brown concentrated on the power relations between bishops, the power-holders, and saints/martyrs, the power-bearers.

⁵⁶¹ See P. J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

⁵⁶² Delehaye, *Les légendes hagiographiques*, xiii and 2.

⁵⁶³ "Apart from memory, we often possess something else related to the saints, e.g., their relics, their shrines, sometimes their writings as well." See Delehaye, *The Legends*, 59.

Brown's intention was to show that relics – the bones of the martyrs and saints – were power-bearing tools in the hands of the powerful bishops in late antiquity.⁵⁶⁴ He placed hardly any focus on textuality. Averil Cameron reasserted that “martyr accounts serve thus to confirm the position that the body had already held – if in a different way – as a central focus of Christian discourse.”⁵⁶⁵

Moreover, scholars linked the survival of saints in the transitional period of the so-called “Dark Ages” (sixth to eighth century) to the success of their saintly cults. The success of cults led to flagging saintly names in the calendars, which capacitated their remembering. Høgel emphasized that cult practice ensured the survival of the late antique texts into the following period from roughly 650 to 800.⁵⁶⁶

Scholars place significant emphasis on local cults and their role in the formation of calendars. On many times it is written that church calendars hold a significant portion of local hues. Apart from the most conspicuous saintly figures, which hold stable dates, many local saints found places in the calendars due to their local prominence. Such statements commonly connote awareness in local communities about saints, and include the celebration of their feast days and their local saintly cults. Emphasis on locality presupposes a local cult. It has been accepted that a successful cult had to have support in a community. Where there was no community to support a cult, the process of forgetting was inevitable.⁵⁶⁷ In Hen's view, the sanctoral cycle in the West was dependent on the local cults of saints.⁵⁶⁸ Different churches venerated different saints, and different dioceses enlarged their sanctoral cycle by absorbing different new saints, many of whom were local inhabitants of the region.⁵⁶⁹ Therefore, the presumption regarding the preservation of hagiographical texts in the transitional period was that they were closely tied to the cults of saints and their local prominence.

⁵⁶⁴ The heroes of urban areas, martyrs, who died and were buried outside the city walls, became the focus of ecclesiastical life. Around their shrines bishops: “came to orchestrate the cult of saints in such a way as to base their power on these new towns outside of town.” In Brown's view, a “martyr was the *partonus*, the invisible, heavenly concomitant of the patronage exercised palpably on earth by bishop.” Brown, *The Cult of Saints*, 8; 38.

⁵⁶⁵ Cameron, *Christianity and Rhetoric*, 10; 71.

⁵⁶⁶ Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes*, 31.

⁵⁶⁷ This explanation comes from scholars dealing with Western early medieval holiness. Cubitt explains why some of the holy men got written up and the others not: “The answer partially lies in the absence of monastic communities who could revere their memory and foster their cult, and partially perhaps in the political sphere.” See Cubitt, “Memory and Narrative in the Cult of Saints,” 61.

⁵⁶⁸ Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy*, 32.

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid.

The study of saintly cults was also distinguished from the study of the literary aspects of hagiography. Hagiography displays too wider a range of writings to be restricted to the sole definition of Delehaye, who argues that hagiography serves only to corroborate the cult of saints. Claudia Rapp argues that Delehaye's definition of hagiography "does not do full justice to the breadth and intention of hagiographical writing in Late Antiquity."⁵⁷⁰ This observation has been fruitful for widening the horizons of studying hagiography in directions which focus on its literary value, regardless of the functioning (or non-functioning) cults.

Several scholars have discussed hagiography dedicated to saints unrelated to their saintly cults. Lifshitz challenges Delehaye's definition of hagiography by saying that there were many writings about saints that seem never to have served any functioning cult.⁵⁷¹ Many hagiographical narratives are unrelated to any kind of liturgical veneration, are bereft of festal dates, and unrelated to any cult.⁵⁷² Efthymiadis confirms that many writings about saints seem to have never served any functioning cult.⁵⁷³ He distances himself from the study of historicity and cult, saying that: "we must first make a distinction between hagiography and the cult of saints on the one hand, and between hagiography as literature and as *ancilla historiae* on the other."⁵⁷⁴

In her book on the *Hieronymian Martyrology*, Lifshitz debates saintly names disjointed from saintly cults. She argues that this collection filled in every single day of the calendar with the names of the saints whose relics no single institution could possibly have possessed.⁵⁷⁵ Saints' names were written down even without cults and relics. Therefore, it was not only the saintly cult, but also the name of the saint that was a bearer of sacred power.

It was not only the relics or burying *ad sanctos* that people believed could help them, but also the practice of *sanctorum nominum festivitas*, reciting of the saints' names. All the individuals and communities who used copies of the *Pseudo-Hieronymian Martyrology* during the 780s were evincing the conviction that the name of the saint, not only recited but also written, was an effective mechanism through which to tap, route, or assess a saint's power.⁵⁷⁶

⁵⁷⁰ C. Rapp, "The Origins of Hagiography and the Literature of Early Monasticism: Purpose and Genre between Tradition and Innovation," in *Unclassical Traditions*, Volume I: *Alternatives to the Classical Past in Late Antiquity*, ed. C. Kelly, R. Flower, M. S. Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge Philological Society, 2010), 119-130.

⁵⁷¹ Lifshitz, "Beyond Positivism and Genre," 97; see also footnote 7.

⁵⁷² Ibid.

⁵⁷³ Ibid, 96-97; see also Efthymiadis, "New Developments in Hagiography," 167: "Hagiography as a method of promoting saints' cult is not identical with the cult itself, and its literary value is not dependent upon its historical value."

⁵⁷⁴ Efthymiadis, "New Developments in Hagiography," 167.

⁵⁷⁵ Lifshitz, *The Name of the Saint*, 5.

⁵⁷⁶ Lifshitz, *The Name of the Saint*, 96.

Lifshitz's arguments in the *Name of the Saint* contributed to detaching the calendars of saints from saintly relics. The saintly cults had separated from the hagiographies of saints in scholarship previously. The case study of Irenaeus of Sirmium shows that the three traits of sainthood were not necessarily operating in either ways. Before elaborating on the deficient connections among the space/cult, the narrative and the calendars, I will describe the material evidence of the cult of Irenaeus on the territory of the ancient and medieval Sirmium.

Archeological traces of Irenaeus of Sirmium

Irenaeus of Sirmium had a saintly cult. The late antique cult was attested not only at one, but potentially at two cult-places in Sirmium, in what are nowadays Sremska Mitrovica and Mačvanska Mitrovica (Serbia). However, the cult faded away at both sites after the initial period of activity, from the fourth to the sixth century, due to the Avar incursions. From the tenth to the fourteenth century, cult practice resuscitated at one of the late antique sites.

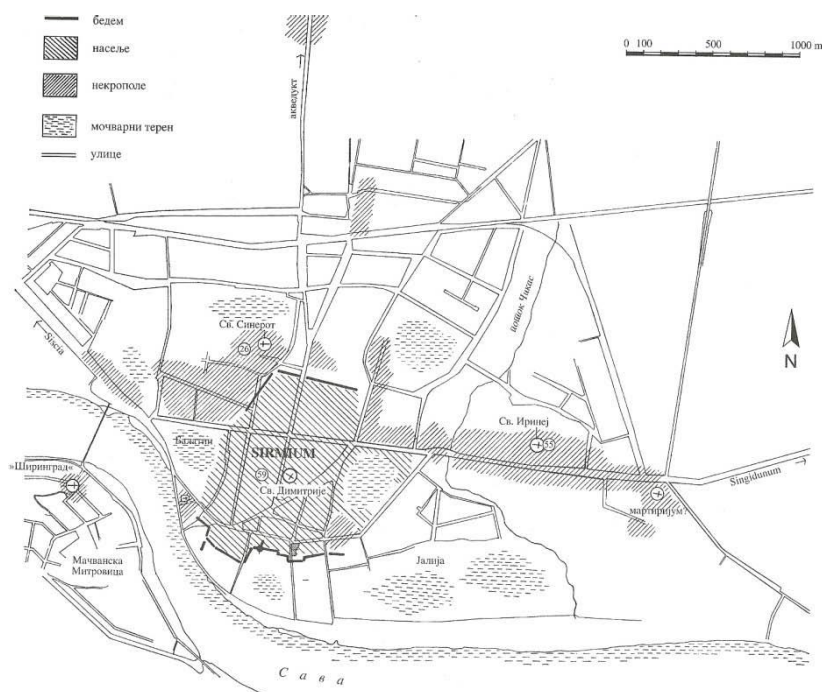


Figure 1. Map of Sremska Mitrovica, indicating the two late antique cult places⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷⁷ V. Popović, *Sirmium i na nebu i na zemlji* [Sirmium in the Heavens and on Earth], (Sremska Mitrovica: Blago Sirmiuma, 2004), 45 (hereafter Popović, *Sirmium i na nebu i na zemlji*).

One of the sites from the late antique period credited to Irenaeus is the *basilica Irenaei*, on the left bank of the Sava River, in the core settlement of ancient Sirmium, marked site 55, located in Palanka Street, no. 63, in the garden. 850 square meters were excavated there in 1976/77.⁵⁷⁸ The site is the eastern necropolis of Sirmium, with graves from the fourth century. The full ground plan of the one-aisled basilica with the apse towards the east and the remnants of graves and sarcophagi were excavated at the site. Coins of Constantine II, Constantius II, Constans, Valens and Gratian have also been found. The most spectacular find was a tombstone with an epigraphic inscription which refers to the name of Irenaeus.⁵⁷⁹

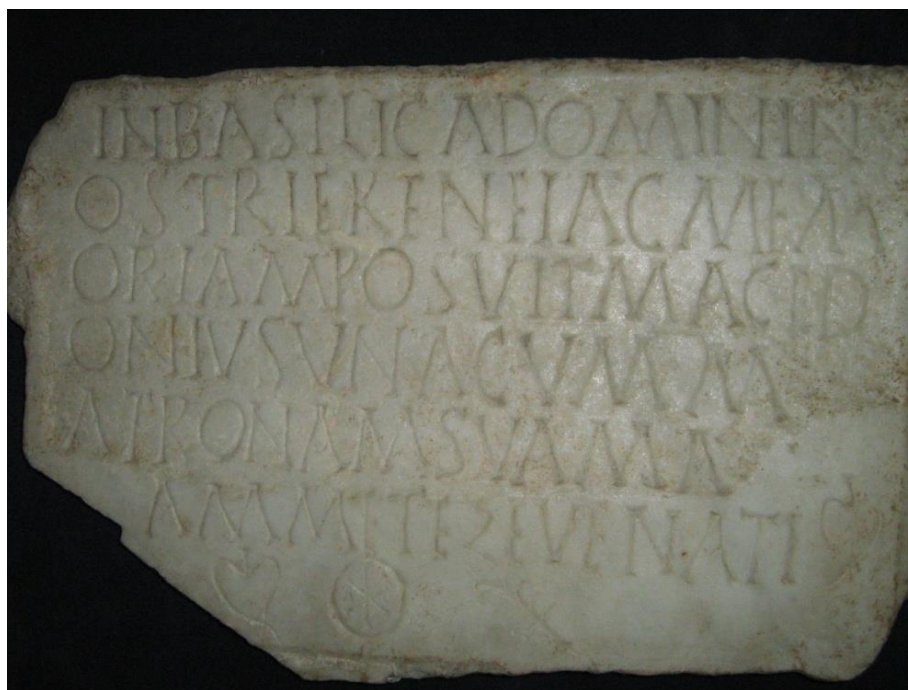


Figure 2. The epigraphic inscription mentioning the *basilica Irenaei*⁵⁸⁰

Ever since the end of the excavations, the walls of basilica have been covered. Vladislav Popović, who was in charge of the excavations in Sirmium in 1976, wrote:

The archeologists were lucky. During the excavations of the northeastern cemetery of Sirmium, a small and highly damaged cult object was found. The

⁵⁷⁸ See P. Milošević, *Topografija Sirmijuma* [The Topography of Sirmium], (Novi Sad: Srpska Akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1994), 44.

⁵⁷⁹ “In basilica domini nostri irenei as memoriam posuit Macedonius una cum matronam suam Aamet/Mamet...” (“Macedonius, together with his wife Ames/Mamet, the daughter of Zevenat, supported the building of this tombstone in the basilica of our Lord Irenaeus”). The tombstone is deposited in the Museum of Srem, Sremska Mitrovica, Serbia. See Popović, *Sirmium i na nebu i na zemlji*, 84.

⁵⁸⁰ Popović, *Sirmium i na nebu i na zemlji*, 85.

object has one nave, with apse oriented to the East. Inside and outside the church, many graves were found. In the close vicinity of the altar, an inscription was found, saying...*in basilica domini nostri irenei*... The problem of the grave of Saint Irenaeus has been solved for good. The mention of the basilica was sufficient that this structure be considered a martyrium, i. e. the place where the saint last resided.⁵⁸¹

While the fourth-century site on the left bank of the Sava River was attested as the cult place dedicated to Irenaeus by the epigraphic inscription, the site on the right bank of the Sava in modern Mačvanska Mitrovica remained unattested. It is only an assumption that it was dedicated to Irenaeus. The unattested site Zidine (also called Širingrad) is located 150m from the riverbank. It is a complex site with several archeological layers, a late antique necropolis with a martyrium, medieval dwellings, and three medieval churches one on top of the other. The site revived in the tenth century, and thrived continuously up to the fifteenth century.⁵⁸² The revival of the sacred place makes this site stand out. Popović repeatedly asserted that the two cult places were dedicated to the same saint: “One cult place could have been located in the north-eastern necropolis of Sirmium. The other could have been next to the *pons Basentis*, in the vicinity of the place where the martyr was persecuted.”⁵⁸³

⁵⁸¹ V. Popović, “Blaženi Irinej, prvi episkop Sirmijuma” [The Blessed Irenaeus, the First Bishop of Sirmium], in *Sirmium i na nebu i na zemlji* [Sirmium in the Heavens and on Earth], (Sremska Mitrovica: Blago Sirmiuma, 2004), 85 (hereafter Popović, “Blaženi Irinej”).

⁵⁸² Both Popović and Minić confirmed the continuity of the site.

⁵⁸³ V. Popović, “Sremska Mitrovica je sveta zemlja...” [Sremska Mitrovica is the Holy Land...], in *Sirmium i na nebu i na zemlji* [Sirmium in the Heavens and on Earth], (Sremska Mitrovica: Blago Sirmiuma, 2004), 11-12 (hereafter Popović, “Sremska Mitrovica je sveta zemlja”).

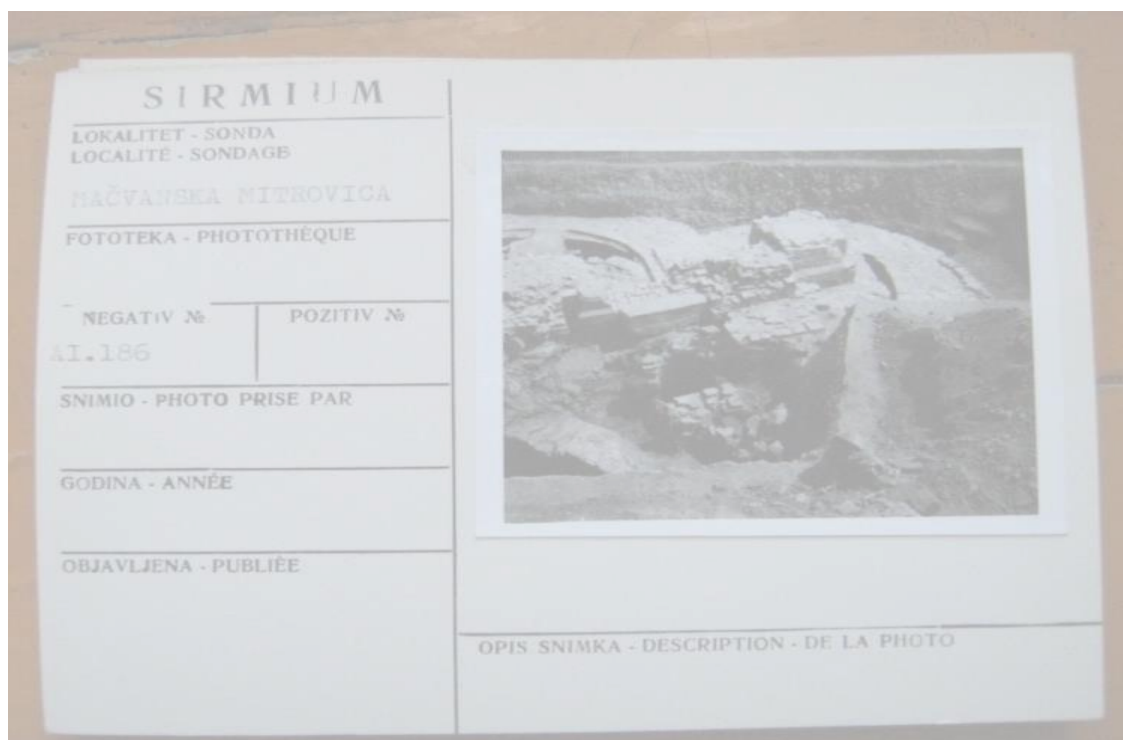


Figure 3. The site in Mačvanska Mitrovica⁵⁸⁴



Figure 4. The site of *Zidine* in 2010⁵⁸⁵

⁵⁸⁴ The card is deposited in the Museum of Srem (the photo taken during the excavations).

Popović, who led the excavations of Zidine from 1966 to 1970, assumed that the late antique site was the cult place of some of the Sirmian martyrs, possibly of Irenaeus.⁵⁸⁶ The late antique site was a Roman construction with an apse towards the east and with sidewalls; only the southern wall was excavated. The technique of building was typical for late antique structures; bronze items from the time of Valentinian I were found. Near the structure, several Roman graves were found. The Roman cemetery was concentrated mostly around the cult feature.⁵⁸⁷ The reason for this lies in the lack of good terrain and in the width of the raised terrain of the site Zidine.⁵⁸⁸ The ancient *martyrium* and the three medieval churches were in the middle of the raised space, around the *nekropolae*.⁵⁸⁹ The surrounding space was lower and quite often flooded, sometimes even underwater.⁵⁹⁰

The Roman necropolis was divided into earlier and later levels of burials on the basis of vertical stratigraphy, burying rituals, archeological and numismatic findings.⁵⁹¹ The two levels of the Roman necropolis are clearly separate from the later medieval necropolis. The earlier level of the Roman necropolis contained a great deal of ceramics from the second and third centuries.⁵⁹² It was the remnants of the cemetery that belonged to the settlement of the Romanized population of Sirmium.⁵⁹³ The archeological material in the later level of the Roman necropolis dates to the period from the fourth to the sixth centuries.⁵⁹⁴ The late antique graves sporadically contain Ostrogoth and Gepid elements.⁵⁹⁵ The highest concentration of graves was around the entrance to the martyrium.⁵⁹⁶ The martyrium was the focal point of a well-used early Christian necropolis of the fourth century, which was in use at least until the mid-sixth century.⁵⁹⁷ It is unclear whether

⁵⁸⁵ Photo by the author, April 2010.

⁵⁸⁶ V. Popović, "Sirmium – Mitrovica, Sremska i Mačvanska" [Sirmium – Mitrovica, Sremska and Mačvanska], *Arheološki pregled* 9 (1967): 131-138. See also Popović, *Sirmium. Grad careva i mučenika*, 81-86.

⁵⁸⁷ V. Popović, "Mačvanska Mitrovica, Nekropole" [Mačvanska Mitrovica, Nekropolae], *Sirmium* 12 (1980): 61 (hereafter Popović, "Mačvanska Mitrovica, Nekropole").

⁵⁸⁸ Ibid, 62.

⁵⁸⁹ Popović, "Mačvanska Mitrovica, Nekropole," 62.

⁵⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁹¹ Ibid.

⁵⁹² Ibid, 63.

⁵⁹³ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁵ See Slavenka Ercegović-Pavlović, "An Eastern Germanic Grave from Mačvanska Mitrovica," *Sirmium* 4 (1982): 19-23.

⁵⁹⁶ Popović, "Mačvanska Mitrovica, Nekropole," 64.

⁵⁹⁷ M. Jeremić, "Kultne građevine hrišćanskog Sirmijuma" [The Cult Buildings of the Christian Sirmium], in *Sirmium i na nebu i na zemlji* [Sirmium in the Heavens and on Earth], (Sremska Mitrovica: Blago Sirmiuma, 2004), 62.

the populace of Sirmium buried their deceased at this place as there were many other necropolae in the core settlement. The region along the Sava flooded frequently, and crossing the river was often difficult. Popović distrusted the existence of a significant settlement in Mačvanska Mitrovica in the Roman period, but still left a slight possibility that an agrarian community had existed there, who buried the deceased.⁵⁹⁸ The martyrium was destroyed at some point and between this and the next level of building there are thick layers of gravel. Popović supposed that the destruction of the later level of graves and late antique tombstones occurred at the time of the Avar invasion in the sixth century.⁵⁹⁹ From the sixth to the tenth century, the site of Zidine went completely out of use.⁶⁰⁰ The same applies to the inferred site on the left bank.

However, the unattested late antique site in Mačvanska Mitrovica was reactivated from the tenth to the fourteenth century. The excavations in Zidine uncovered the three subsequent churches on top of what Popović deemed a late antique martyrium. In Popović's opinion, all four churches were surrounded by necropolae and were of religious character.⁶⁰¹ Other scholars agreed with him that this site was quite remarkable and unique, at least among the sites within the borders of Serbia.⁶⁰² This cult place evinced extraordinary importance.⁶⁰³ He stressed that the cult continuity from the tenth to the fourteenth centuries was undeniable. He also allowed the possibility that discovering the dedication of one of the churches would solve the dedications of the others.⁶⁰⁴

⁵⁹⁸ Popović, "Mačvanska Mitrovica, Nekropole," 63.

⁵⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid, 66.

⁶⁰¹ Popović, *Sirmium. Grad careva i mučenika*, 83.

⁶⁰² Dušica Minić, "Le site d'habitation medieval de Mačvanska Mitrovica," *Sirmium* 11 (1980): VI.

⁶⁰³ Popović, *Sirmium. Grad careva i mučenika*, 82.

⁶⁰⁴ Ibid, 83.

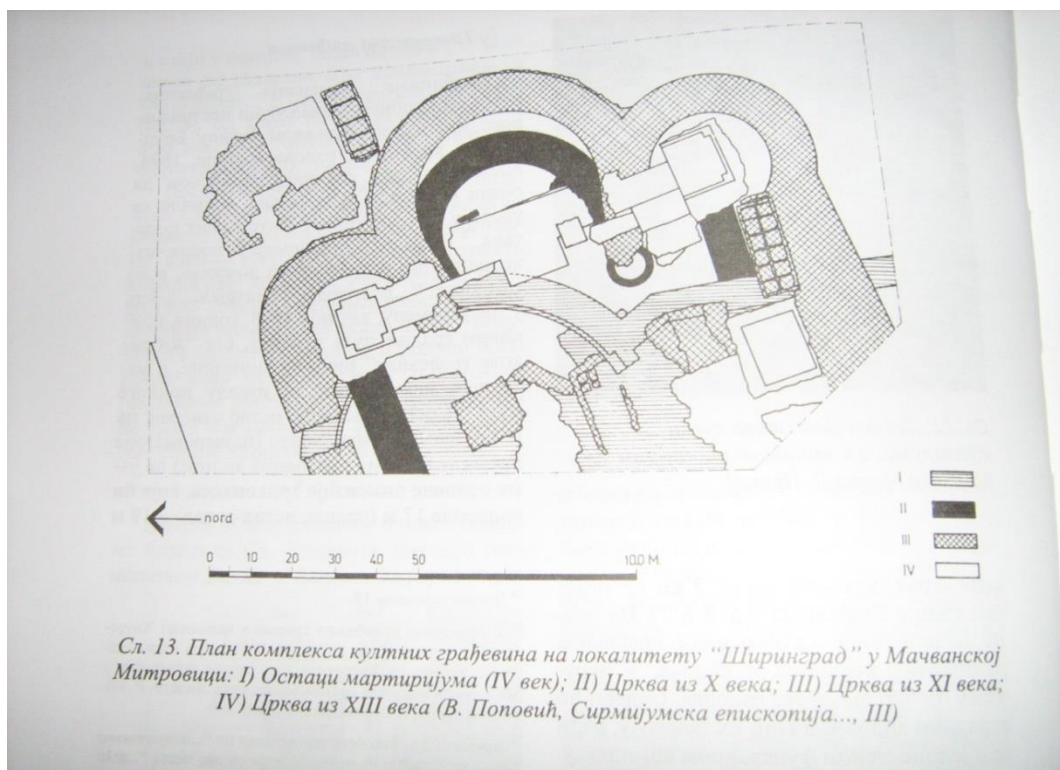


Figure 5. The four subsequent structures in the site Zidine⁶⁰⁵

[The plan of the structure of the cult buildings in the site Širingrad in Mačvanska Mitrovica: I) The remnants of the martyrium (fourth century), II) The church from the tenth century, III) The church from the eleventh century, IV) The church from the thirteenth century]

The layer which lies on top of the late antique martyrium (the second layer of the site), is a one-apse church of small dimensions, with a rustic circular baptistery in the naos.⁶⁰⁶ The graves in this level are concentrated only around the church. The altar space was discovered, together with the southern side wall. Building the next structure destroyed the other walls. This layer of habitation did not leave any traces of coins, but, according to the Byzantine *folis* of an anonymous emission from the eleventh century found in the subsequent church, Popović concluded that this church predated the eleventh century and dated it to the tenth century.⁶⁰⁷ Popović assumed that this church belonged to a Frankish mission,⁶⁰⁸ was destroyed by fire and very soon a new church was built on its ground plan.⁶⁰⁹

⁶⁰⁵ Popović, *Sirmium i na nebu i na zemlji*, 56.

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid, 82.

⁶⁰⁷ Popović, "Mačvanska Mitrovica, Nekropole," 64.

⁶⁰⁸ Popović, "Blaženi Irinej," 85.

⁶⁰⁹ Popović, "Mačvanska Mitrovica, Nekropole," 64.

The third layer reveals a small, basilica-type, three-apse church, with the apse to the East. This church was built immediately after the destruction of the previous one. It was possibly in use for a longer period of time from the eleventh to the thirteenth century. Popović concluded that this church was intentionally destroyed before the new church has been built on top of it.

A great number of graves have been found around the third church.⁶¹⁰ The graves were divided into earlier and later levels of burials, the earlier from the eleventh to the twelfth century, the later from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. There is a continuity of burying around this church from the beginning of the eleventh century until the beginning of the thirteenth century.⁶¹¹ Coins of John Tzimiskes were found in the central apse. In the later level of burying Byzantine and the Hungarian coins were found around and in the graves.⁶¹² The Byzantine coins are from the period of Manuel Komnenos and Hungarian coins from the period of Coloman, Stephen II, Bela II and Geza II. This church may have been connected to the Byzantine conquest of Sirmium at the time of Basil II, and could even have been the episcopal church that Basil II built after his conquest of this region. Even if not from Basil's time, this church was attested as Byzantine;⁶¹³ Popović notes that this church was mentioned in a papal letter from 1229 CE as a cathedral of the Greek order.⁶¹⁴

The church from the fourth layer was a large multi-nave church. This church was the only one dedicated to Irenaeus, based on several charters from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁶¹⁵ Popović confirmed that it was a Catholic church, where the Benedictine bishopric of Srem was placed.⁶¹⁶ The altar space was not excavated and Popović hesitated whether the altar

⁶¹⁰ Popović, "Mačvanska Mitrovica, Nekropole," 64.

⁶¹¹ Ibid, 65.

⁶¹² Ibid.

⁶¹³ Popović, "Blaženi Irinej, prvi episkop Sirmijuma," 85.

⁶¹⁴ Popović, *Sirmium. Grad careva i mučenika*, 84. Gregory IX inquired about a "great church" (episcopal church) of the Greek order in a letter from 1229.

⁶¹⁵ See Popović, "Blaženi Irinej," 85-86; see also idem, "Sirmijska episkopija i srednjevekovna crkva na Balkanu" [Sirmian Bishopric and the Medieval Church in the Balkans], in *Sirmium. Grad careva i mučenika* [Sirmium. The City of the Emperors and Martyrs], ed. V. Popović (Sremska Mitrovica: Blago Sirmijuma, 2003), 293: "In a document from 1309, it is clear that a papal representative, an Archdeacon Cambio de Neutra first went to visit the church of St. Irenaeus (*ad ecclesiam sancti Yrinei, ubi episcopus Sirmiensis consuevit immorari*), and then, after crossing the Sava, together with the bishop, he went to the town of St. Demetrius (*ad villam Sancti Demetrii*), therefore, to Sremska Mitrovica." See Gy. Györffy, "Das Güterverzeichnis des griechischen Klosters Szavaszentdemeter aus dem 12. Jahrhundert," *Studia Slavica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 5 (1959): 73; S. Ćirković, "Civitas sancti Demetrii," In *Sremska Mitrovica*, ed. R. Prica, 59-71 (Sremska Mitrovica: Skupština Opštine/Muzej Srema, 1969), 60, n. 6. Popović argued that the Latin charters mention *praepositus ecclesiae S. Irinei Syirmiensis* as early as 1252, giving as the reference J. Bösendorfer, *Crnice iz slavonske povijesti* [Notes from the Slavonic History], (Osijek: Tiskom J. Pfeiffera, 1910), 239.

⁶¹⁶ Popović, "Blaženi Irinej," 85-86.

belonged to the third or the fourth layer. He dated the building of the fourth church around 1230.⁶¹⁷ This level of burying almost completely lacks any accompanying archeological material.⁶¹⁸ The site had continuity of burying from the thirteenth up to the fifteenth century.

Around the packed and compact burials, churches, and sacred objects, local dwellings were attested continuously from the tenth to the thirteenth century at the site of Zidine. The medieval dwelling site was located southwest of the necropolis. The first level of habitation is dated to the period from the tenth to the eleventh century.⁶¹⁹ No coins were found in this level. The second level of dwelling, which corresponds to the Byzantine church, is dated to the eleventh and twelfth century with the help of Byzantine and Hungarian coins and ceramics.⁶²⁰ The three Byzantine *foles* of an anonymous emission were found here (976–1030), as well as a *folis* of Constantine X Ducas, and a Hungarian coin of Solomon.⁶²¹ The second level was culturally quite rich. The next level of settlement is dated to the twelfth and thirteenth century, the same level as the Byzantine church. The coins found in this level are connected to the period of the Komnenoi dynasty and several Hungarian kings. The last level of dwelling belongs to the period from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century and was almost completely destroyed.⁶²²

Therefore, the earliest of the three subsequent medieval churches in the site of *Zidine* in Mačvanska Mitrovica might have belonged to a Frankish mission from the tenth century.⁶²³ The three-apse church was built on its foundations in the early decades of the eleventh century. It was Byzantine, even though it is not clear whether it belonged to the period of Samuil of Bulgaria or Basil II. It was mentioned in a papal letter in 1229 as a cathedral of the Greek rite. On its ruins, perhaps even before 1232, a Catholic Church was built, in which a Benedictine bishopric was sited in the second half of the thirteenth century. The last church was dedicated to Irenaeus (*ecclesia sancti Irenaei Syrmensis*) according to the Latin charters from thirteenth and fourteenth century. There are no direct testimonies for the dedications of the first two churches, nor of the

⁶¹⁷ Popović, “Mačvanska Mitrovica, Nekropole,” 69. In “Sirmijska episkopija i srednjevekovna crkva na Balkanu” [Sirmian Bishopric and the Medieval Church in the Balkans], *Sirmium* 11 (1980): VII, Popović argued that the fourth church was probably built between 1229, when the Pope Gregory XI inquired about the church of the Greek order, and 1252, when the Latin charters already mention the Catholic church at this site. Probably the fourth church was built between 1229 and 1232.

⁶¹⁸ Popović, “Mačvanska Mitrovica, Nekropole,” 65.

⁶¹⁹ Minić, “Le site d’habitation medieval de Mačvanska Mitrovica,” 74.

⁶²⁰ Popović, “Mačvanska Mitrovica, Nekropole,” 68; Minić, “Le site d’habitation medieval de Mačvanska Mitrovica,” 75.

⁶²¹ Minić, “Le site d’habitation medieval de Mačvanska Mitrovica,” 75.

⁶²² Ibid.

⁶²³ Popović, “Blaženi Irinej,” 85.

dedication of the late antique martyrium.⁶²⁴ However, Popović presumed that the consecration of the last church from the thirteenth century could mean that the previous churches were devoted to Irenaeus as well:

It seems probable that the dedication of one church would solve the dedication of the others. It was not the result of some sort of cult and ethnic continuity, but of the available literary and liturgical sources of the time.⁶²⁵

Popović alluded to the connection of the sacred place and the literary sources, but this line remained an assumption in his work. The links between the places/spaces, calendars, and written sources will be discussed further below.

Spaces/places, calendars and the written testimonies

Sirmium was assuredly a region of clashing interests and power struggles of Bavarian, Carolingian, Byzantine, and Bulgarian missionaries in the early Middle Ages. Archeological remains of missionary work orchestrated from the West were attested at Sirmium in the structure that Popović identified as the basilica of a tenth-century Frankish mission. Its dating to the tenth century clarifies that the basilica postdates the first appearance of the Latin *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* in a manuscript from the West (eighth century). Therefore, the hagiographic text could have prompted the construction of the church, although the idea that this text inspired the building of the church still appears far-fetched.

It has also been evinced that the first Latin collections which include the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* are either calendars or collections of translations from Greek.⁶²⁶ Therefore, compiling them was probably not inspired by local cults of the saints. The argument about local agency certainly does not hold true in the case of the texts about typically Eastern saints included in the Latin collections. The inclusion of a text in calendar collections had nothing to do with the place and its hierotopy. It had to do with the calendar – the order of saints which formed the basis for assembling a particular collection.

As to Byzantine contexts, the church tentatively ascribed to Byzantine activity in Mačvanska Mitrovica has been dated imprecisely. Bulgarian rule in the region collided at the

⁶²⁴ Popović, “Blaženi Irinej,” 86.

⁶²⁵ Popović, *Sirmium. Grad careva i mučenika*, 83.

⁶²⁶ See Phillipart and Trigalet, “Latin Hagiography before the Ninth Century,” 125-126.

time with the Byzantine rule. Popović was hesitant about the dating of this church and he changed his mind several times. He initially dated it to the last quarter of the tenth century and the first quarter of the eleventh century, 976 to 1030/35 on the basis of the coins and *foles*.⁶²⁷ This dating corresponded to the time of the Bulgarian rulers Boris II, Roman, Samuil, Gavril Radomir and Ivan Vladislav, prior to the Byzantine conquest in 1018. This was a broad dating, which Popović corrected later, saying that the church might have been built at the time of Samuil's rule, as the Sirmian bishopric was possibly active in Samuil's time (976-1014).⁶²⁸ Finally, Popović reconsidered the dating of the church after the ill-famed article of Imre Boba,⁶²⁹ and moved it to the early eleventh century, possibly even after 1018. This way he rejected the argument of Imre Boba, who connected Sirmium with the Moravian bishopric of Methodius in the ninth and tenth centuries, and this church with Methodius' seat.⁶³⁰

However, Sirmium was mentioned among the episcopal sees after the independent Archbishopric of Ohrid was established in the eleventh century. Popović assumed that the Byzantine church in Sirmium was the seat of a bishop noted among the bishoprics in the Basil's chrysobulls from 1019 to 1020.⁶³¹ Its rank among the bishoprics was not one of high status.⁶³² The Sirmium bishopric may have been active already during the rule of Samuil, as Basil's chrysobulls affirmed not only the newly-achieved rights of the bishoprics, but also the previous rights.⁶³³ Paul Stephenson relied on the publications of Popović, reaffirming that the episcopal church in Širingrad was built as part of Basil's policy: "On the opposite bank of the river Sava, at modern Mačvanska Mitrovica, a new Episcopal church was built presumably in order to cater for the new Byzantine Christian garrison."⁶³⁴ However, the Greek hagiographical narrative about Irenaeus had already been circulating in Byzantium from at least the tenth century. Also, a dedication to Irenaeus was never noted for the Byzantine church in Mačvanska Mitrovica. Therefore, I have to conclude that if any connection existed, it was not the cult which enlivened

⁶²⁷ Popović, "Sirmijska episkopija i srednjevekovna crkva na Balkanu."

⁶²⁸ Ibid, 294-295.

⁶²⁹ I. Boba, "Cathedral Church in Sirmium and the Grave of St Methodius," *Die slawischen Sprachen* 8 (1985): 35-40. See also Popović, "Sirmijska episkopija i srednjevekovna crkva na Balkanu," in which Popović refuted Boba's ideas.

⁶³⁰ Popović, "Sirmijska episkopija i srednjevekovna crkva na Balkanu," VIII.

⁶³¹ Ibid.

⁶³² Ibid.

⁶³³ Popović, "Sirmijska episkopija i srednjevekovna crkva na Balkanu," VIII.

⁶³⁴ P. Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier. A Political Study of the Northern Balkans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 65.

the hagiographical writing or the placement of Irenaeus in the calendars; it could only have been the other way around. There is no clear attestation of any of the ways, however.

The ascription of local prominence to Irenaeus, which installed him in a “local calendar,” appears to be the most convincing in the Bulgarian context and in recent Bulgarian scholarship. Namely, the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* emerged in the Old Church Slavonic Suprasl Codex, the tenth-century collection of saints’ lives and martyrdoms from the Preslav literary school. The presence of Irenaeus in this collection was linked to the *locus* – the inclusion of Sirmium within the borders of the First Bulgarian Empire.

The Bulgarian medievalist Teodosij Smjadovski calls Irenaeus a local saint, when discussing the Suprasl Codex.⁶³⁵ The feast of Irenaeus possibly served a local liturgical tradition of the Srem diocese.⁶³⁶ The promotion of Irenaeus relates to Methodius’ archbishopric in Sirmium. Methodius aimed to emphasize the continuity of the archbishopric by promoting the first bishop martyr who held the same position.⁶³⁷ Popkonstantinov notes that Methodius revived the old martyrdom tradition and promoted Irenaeus as a saint when he became the bishop of Sirmium.⁶³⁸ Ivanova stresses that Slavonic copyists, when compiling the Suprasl Codex, paid attention to local saints such as Irenaeus of Sirmium.⁶³⁹

Also, during the excavations of the Church of Mostič in Preslav in 1952-1953 archeologists discovered eight ceramic ostraca in the corner of a burial chamber,⁶⁴⁰ bearing the names of saints, among which there was the name of Jonas, whose vita (*Vita of Jonas and Barachisios*) was included in the Suprasl Codex. This artifact indicating the presence of the local cult and the relics of a saint whose hagiography was present in the Suprasl Codex further consolidated the assumption that the local cults played a role during the inclusion of texts in this manuscript. The saints whose names were written on the ostraca were popular in tenth-century Bulgaria; the names probably stood beside saintly relics. This conclusion reinforced the idea that other saints from the Suprasl Codex could have had cults in medieval Bulgaria.

⁶³⁵ Smjadovski, “Супрасълският Сборник,” 108.

⁶³⁶ Ibid.

⁶³⁷ Ibid, 114-115.

⁶³⁸ K. Popkonstantinov, T. Smjadovski, “За почитането на Климент, папа Римски в средновековна България” [About Honoring of Clement the Pope in Medieval Bulgaria], *Palaeobulgarica* 4, No. 7 (1983): 86-92.

⁶³⁹ Ivanova, “Ново издание на Супрасълския Сборник,” 124-125.

⁶⁴⁰ M. Petrova, “Бележки върху Преславските керамични “етикети” към мощи на светци (Св. Мария/Св. Марина Антиохийска) [The Notes on the Preslav Ceramic “Labels” in Relation to the Relics of the Saints (St Maria/St Marina of Antioch)], *Старобългарска литература* 35-36 (2006): 75-96.



Figure 6. The ostracon bearing the name of St. Jonas⁶⁴¹

It was not only the calendar of the Suprasl Codex and the archeological material that were perceived as the testimonies to Irenaeus' local cult. Another source adduced Irenaeus' cult – *Historia martyrii XV martyrum* (BHG 1199) written by Theophylact of Ohrid.⁶⁴² He wrote the work *Historia martyrii XV martyrum* intending to promote the cult of local saints, the fifteen martyrs of Strumica.⁶⁴³

⁶⁴¹ Source: <http://csup.ilit.bas.bg/sites/default/files/Codex_Suprasliensis_070811.pdf> Last accessed: 03/02/2015.

⁶⁴² See PG 126. Theophylact of Ohrid (1055-1107) was the archbishop sent from Constantinople to reside in the new independent Bulgarian archbishopric of Ohrid. The archbishopric was autocephalous from 1019 until the eighteenth century, although the autocephalous Bulgarian church separated from it in 1239. Theophylact was a representative of the Byzantine ecclesiastical order in the new autocephalous Bulgarian archbishopric, a Byzantine outpost but symbolically independent Bulgarian. This archbishopric was established as a see of the Bulgarian church and as a marker of its independence, although Byzantium recruited for its posts.

⁶⁴³ This text is preserved in only one manuscript, Oxford, MS Barocci 197 (f. 589r-621v). This information contradicts its assumed purpose. This was a hagiographical writing. Obolensky assumed that the main reason for writing *Historia martyrii XV martyrum* was the desire to promote the cult of local martyrs. Namely, Theophylact intended “to enhance the status of his archdiocese by uncovering its early Christian roots and by painting the history of the Bulgarian church on a wide historical canvas.” He wanted to connect the history of his archbishopric, embodied in the cult of local saints with the early Christian traditions of the Roman Empire. Precisely due to these assumptions, it is a surprise that this writing was preserved in only one manuscript. The explanation probably lies in a failure to raise this text to the level of hagiography and these saints to a level of veneration which would enforce the translation of the text from the strictly historiographical corpus to a hagiographical collection. A meager scholarly discussion was raised over the authorship of the *Historia martyrii XV martyrum*. Paul Gautier demonstrated that one person wrote the *Historia martyrii XV martyrum* and *Vita Clementis*; in his view, this person could not have been Theophylact. Obolensky strongly opposes this view. Pachalidis agreed with Obolensky and approved of the opinion that Theophylact was the author of the *Vita of Clement*. See D. Obolensky, *Six Byzantine Portraits* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 71-76, n. 183, n. 184; see also idem, “Theophylact of Ohrid and the Authorship of the *Vita Clementis*,” in *Byzantium: Tribute to Andreas N. Stratos ii* (Athens, 1986), 601-18; P. Gautier, *Deux oeuvres*

In this writing of a considerable length (32 folia), Theophylact describes the time of Constantine the Great, his fights with Maxentius, the Arian controversy and the Council of Niceaea, after which Constantine's sons took over the empire. The author emphasizes the time of Julian the Apostate, when the persecution of the fifteen martyrs from Tiberiopolis (Strumica in Bulgarian) occurred. The time when Bulgars accepted Christianity and Boris I became the new Christian leader is also touched upon. In the meantime, the martyrs of Strumica were buried and the miracles commenced. Boris I (r. 852-889) (Theophylact refers to him as Michael) heard rumors about them and appealed for the translation of their relics to Bregalnica, where he built a church for the martyrs. Some of them were transferred to Bregalnica, while the others were kept in Strumica. The translation of relics was followed by numerous miracles. The relics of the martyrs cured people from evil spirits, leprosy, voraciousness, etc. This is where a brief episode about Irenaeus comes in.

Theophylact describes Irenaeus as having a miraculous power of healing people.⁶⁴⁴ A man has been ill of voraciousness, a disease caused by a demon. He visited all the places that were illustrious for healing miracles, namely, Rome, for the Apostle Peter. After Peter, he went to Irenaeus, as "Irenaeus was very famous for miracles." Finally, the man visited the burial chamber of the martyrs of Strumica, which helped him heal.

Therefore, the period of Irenaeus' active agency in healing miracles, in the words of Theophylact, occurred during the reign of Boris I (r. 852-889). However, multiple obscurities arise from the reading. Theophylact refers to Irenaeus exclusively in this short episode. It is difficult to fathom Theophylact's intention in referring to this saint. Moreover, it is in fact unclear which Irenaeus he talks about; Theophylact never explicitly says that he is referring to Irenaeus of Sirmium and never says where the cult place was that the sick man visited.

This time-span predates the revival of the cult place in Zidine and renewal of the cultic and other agency in Mačvanska Mitrovica. Popović clearly underlined that Sirmium did not have any traces of habitation in the ninth century.⁶⁴⁵ It is difficult to comprehend Theophylact's intention in ascribing healing powers to Irenaeus, especially taking into consideration the lack of

hagiographiques de pseudo-Théophylacte, (PhD dissertation, University of Paris, Sorbonne, 1968); Pachalidis, "Hagiography of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," 154, n. 51.

⁶⁴⁴ PG 126, 220: Αἰσθησιν δέ τοῦ πάθους λαβὼν ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἡσχύνετο μέν, οὐκ ἔχων δέ ὁ καὶ δράσοιε [φ. -σειε], τοὺς ἀνὰ πάντας τόπους ἐν ἁγίοις θαυματουργοὺς περιήει. ὥστε καὶ τῆς Ῥώμης [φ. τῇ Ῥώμῃ] ἐπιφοιτήσαι, τὴν τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ κορυφαίου Πέτρου τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐπικαλούμενος δύναμιν. Ἐπεζήτησε δέ καὶ τὸν ἅγιον Εἰρηναῖον, πολλὴν καὶ αὐτὸν ᾄδόμενον ἐν τοῖς θαύμασιν.

⁶⁴⁵ Popović, *Sirmium. Grad careva i mučenika*, 302.

the archeological traces in Mačvanska Mitrovica. Generally, the analysis of the discrepancy of different sources is logical only if Theophylact was indeed referring to Irenaeus of Sirmium. However, there is no way of knowing.

As for the third Byzantine church, Popović was not sure whether it was built at the time of Bulgarian predominance in the region, or later, when Basil II conquered the region. From the point of view of this dissertation, such a differentiation would make a difference. This is approximately the time of the creation of the Suprasl Codex. Bulgarian building activity at the site of a potential cult of Irenaeus would have constituted a link between the text and a cult place. Even if the commissioner of the church building at this spot were known, however, the dedication of the church to Irenaeus is still missing. The only confirmed consecration is of the fourth church to Irenaeus in the late thirteenth century, in a Catholic context, when Sirmium already belonged to Hungary. Therefore, the local prominence of Irenaeus in the Bulgarian context has to be rejected.

Conclusion

This chapter examined the links of the cults of saints and the saintly hagiographies placed in collections aligned according to calendars. The case study of Irenaeus of Sirmium demonstrates that the bonds of the cult, the hagiographical text, and the calendars are not a requirement, even if Irenaeus' late antique and medieval cults potentially thrived in his hometown, Sirmium and in the near-by Mačvanska Mitrovica. These archeological discoveries do not correspond time-wise with the appearance of the hagiographical text in collections and there is no evidence that the site played a role in the installation of this saint in the calendar collections. Popović's assumption that revived cult activity at the site of Zidine may have been inspired by the available literary and liturgical sources of the time might hold true; however, such an idea is far-fetched. The reverse process – copying the literary and liturgical sources due to the cult activity is certainly out of question.

Irenaeus was not deemed a local saint by any of the communities that used the collections with the text dedicated to his martyrdom. The local prominence of his cult did not earn him a place in calendar collections. Even if this was not an issue in the Latin and Byzantine realms, such a suspicion was raised in connection to the Bulgarian realm. The calendar upon which the

Suprasl Codex was created was an earlier type of calendar for March. The *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* was placed in the Suprasl Codex because Irenaeus occupied the feast day of 26th March in an earlier type of calendar for March, not because he was a local saint with a local cult.

Many saints in the calendars were far from being local saints. Their appropriation had to do with the calendars traveling from one Christian community to the other. Robert Bartlett has recently argued that calendars, although usually bearing marks of locality and period, did not instantly reflect the liturgical practices of religious communities that produced them, because calendars could be borrowed or fossilized.⁶⁴⁶ In this way, different communities could have learned about different saints without any knowledge or information about their cults. On occasion, calendars had a life of their own.

The cult of saints was certainly one of the ways for a saint to enter calendar collections and thus furnish the memory in the transitional period from the popularization of the cult of saints to the standardization of church calendars; it generally proved to be a powerful tool in preserving saintly names. However, it was not the sole and the dominant way. In the cases of minor cults, or where there were no cults or relics of saints, the calendars were the only repositories of saintly memory. They played a crucial role in preserving and maintaining commemoration. The saintly names were kept safe on the feast days, at least until the other saints were introduced to take away their feast days and place in the calendars.

⁶⁴⁶ Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?* 125.

Chapter 4: “Numberless Ways to Tell a Story:” Transformations of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* in Different Christian Traditions

In the previous chapters, I treated the *loci* of production and use of the manuscripts containing the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium*, as well as the inner ordering of the manuscript collections. In this chapter, the focus is on the text. The analysis will comprise textual transformations of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* in the different Christian traditions and the different languages. Additionally, the narrative will be analyzed through the same-language transformations.

The *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* is extant in five languages, namely, in Latin, Greek, Old Church Slavonic, Armenian, and Georgian. The text additionally appears in different textual variants within the same language. The original language and the original version of the text are yet to be known. However, the dissertation will not deal with this issue. The focus will be on the differences of the textual variants. In accord with the principles of New Philology, the intention is to analyze each textual variant in the context in which it appears. The aim is to see whether the transformations in the variants were made with the reflections to the environments in which they were used. Some of the variants possibly demonstrate meaningful differences and exhibit different strategies of meaning. Also, without diminishing the Bollandist differentiation of hagiographical texts through BH numbers, the dissertation will show that hagiographical texts tend to exhibit significant level of fluidity and variation beyond it.

The questions to follow up in this chapter are: How was the text transformed when translated and then copied in the different manuscripts? Some parts of the text could have been highlighted and the others could have been disregarded in the different textual versions, when translated in the different environments. Do the differences in the textual variants tell of the preferences of the particular communities or the texts solely display the different phases of textual *metaphrasis*? Are the strategies of meaning displayed in the different textual transformations?

Further, what do the differences in the textual versions tell about the communities? Did communities shape the text? This chapter will also tackle the relations of the translations of this text in the different languages. Finally, what was the purpose of *metaphrasis*? Was *metaphrasis* aiming to purge and purify the texts from the dubious contents or to elaborate and elevate a low

style of late antique texts and improve them for contemporary audience? Was *metaphrasis* a religious or a stylistic tool?

The Greek versions, which were abundantly exposed to *metaphrasis*, marked by the different BHG numbers, require detailed description. Furthermore, I will explain their connections. The relations among the texts will be analyzed with the help of theoretical concepts of narratology and intertextuality of Gérard Genette and Mieke Bal. The Greek versions are particularly apt for applying narratological theoretical framework due to their differences in narrative structure. The writings of Genette and Bal facilitate the structural analysis of the various hagiographical textual versions.

The narrative structure is an indicator of what is given priority to and what is left out in a narrative text. The premise is that the same sequence of events could be told through different textual versions and written in a number of different ways. Emphasizing different aspects of the text, one produces different textual descriptions. Differing structures invoke the conclusion that different actants (scribes, copyists, translators) express the felt need to emphasize different parts of the same story. Narrative structure has relevance for the meaning of the narrative.⁶⁴⁷ Emphasis of particular parts contributes to different aims. The effect changes if actant's language use from one written text to another and from one version to another is altered.⁶⁴⁸ Seeing what has been emphasized in the particular texts will enable conclusions on the strategies of meaning behind each text.

Additionally, a number of the Latin textual variants will be analyzed with the purpose of demonstrating the variations of the single BHL textual version in the manuscripts. The differences are mostly in wording, morphology, and syntax. The textual borrowings and interdependence of the various versions will be analyzed through intertextual concepts of Gérard Genette. Furthermore, the single versions in Old Church Slavonic, Georgian and Armenian will be examined in connection to the Greek variants to which they relate.

There exist a number of challenges in studying such narrative texts. The anonymous writings have not been the most favorable scholarly subject matter, and this dissertation aims to bridge this gap. Scholars tend to begin their research from the author. The better known the

⁶⁴⁷ Bal, *Narratology*. 13.

⁶⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 79.

author, the easier it is to establish facts, contexts, and conclusions. Literary theory dedicates significant space to the discussion of authorship.

This subject has been a burning issue ever since Roland Barthes' "Death of the Author."⁶⁴⁹ Barthes argues against interpreting texts through the aspects of author's identity – his political views, religion, ethnicity, historical background, etc. Ever since, the prominent theorists, such as Derrida and Foucault, dealt with the concept. Deconstructionists insisted on disjoining of author and text. Foucault challenged the concept and the authority of author. Similarly, the theorists dealt with "implied author"⁶⁵⁰ and "the death and return of the author."⁶⁵¹ Instead of calling it a discussion on "author," Genette discusses "focalization." Bal followed with the distinction of narrator and author, saying that "the narrator is the central concept in the analysis of the narrative text."⁶⁵² Narrator does not imply the biographical author, but "the agent which utters the linguistic signs which constitute the text."⁶⁵³ One might consider this still an open discussion, along with the newest "resurrection of the implied author."⁶⁵⁴

Altogether, these theories might be beneficial to the study of anonymous texts. However, they will be disregarded in my dissertation, as along with the postulates of New Philology, the texts are to be linked to the communities, which used and read them. In that sense, "author" loses its value and meaning, even if known, and particularly if not known. Therefore, I shift my focus from author to copyists, scribes, and readers.

Another possible obstacle in studying this literature, "indefiniteness" of the text, will be turned into a subject matter of this dissertation. This dissertation will take the advantage of the textual varieties. Genette pays attention to the "text that is not closed."⁶⁵⁵ Each text, depending on the number of manuscripts it appears in, could have had as many versions of a text, or at least one main text, with the slight variations in the rest of the corpus. It is always legitimate and sometimes necessary to appeal to one or the other of the textual variants for comparison with the rest of the corpus. Respecting the variations complies with the postulates of New Philology.

⁶⁴⁹ R. Barthes, "The Death of the Author," *Aspen* 5-6 (1967).

⁶⁵⁰ See e.g., T. Kindt, H.-H. Muller, *The Implied Author: Concept and Controversy* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2006).

⁶⁵¹ See e.g., S. Burke, *The Death and Return of the Author: Criticism and Subjectivity in Barthes, Foucault and Derrida* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992).

⁶⁵² Bal, *Narratology*, 19.

⁶⁵³ *Ibid*, 18.

⁶⁵⁴ W. C. Booth, "Resurrection of the Implied Author: Why Bother?," in *A Companion to Narrative Theory*, ed. J. Phelan, and P. J. Rabinowitz (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2005), 75-88.

⁶⁵⁵ Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, 21.

The theoretical framework of New Philology anticipates studying texts within the environments in which they are used, regardless of the original settings of a text. The texts are linked to the communities, which copied, used and read them. This framework is particularly beneficial for studying anonymous texts, especially knowing that their original setting and dating are unknown. We do not know when these texts first emerged, but we know when and where they were copied and used. This chapter will combine narratological and intertextual analysis, with the overarching postulates of New Philology.

Methodology

The different versions of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus* are to be analyzed through the methodological frameworks of narratology by Genette and Bal, and later, through the framework of intertextuality by Genette. How is narratology applicable to analysis of this martyrdom narrative, stemming from Late Antiquity?

As recent as in 2005, David Richter explained that contemporary narratologies (both rhetorical and structuralist) were applicable to the complex literary works and their sophistication exceeds the simplicity of the narratives composed in Late Antiquity by anonymous authors.⁶⁵⁶ He argues:

The narratological analyses were designed for works of narrative artistry, written by identifiable authors about whose lives and attitudes information can be discovered, or in the case of anonymous authors, who can be at least placed with some confidence both geographically and historically.⁶⁵⁷

Further, contemporary narratologies, in his view, presume our pre-knowledge about the genres of the literary works analyzed; they allow using the common rules of interpretation, while none of these is applicable to the ancient, particularly Christian and Biblical texts. How is narratology then applicable to the interpretation of this text? Certain aspects, particularly in the sphere of structuralist narratology, are useful nevertheless.

The starting concepts in narratological theory are those of story, *fabula* and narrative. When the succession of events, real or fictitious, are connected into a coherent written form, they

⁶⁵⁶ D. H. Richter, "Genre, Repetition, Temporal Order: Some Aspects of Biblical Narratology," in *A Companion to Narrative Theory*, ed. J. Phelan, P. J. Rabinowitz (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005), 286.

⁶⁵⁷ Ibid.

become the subject of discourse, a narrative text.⁶⁵⁸ Genette takes the narrative discourse or narrative text as the meaning for the term “narrative,” although he recognizes three meanings, which define the term.⁶⁵⁹ In Bal’s view, text is a finite, structured whole composed of language signs.⁶⁶⁰ Narrative text is a text in which an agent relates a story in a particular medium, such as language, imagery, sound, buildings, or a combination thereof.⁶⁶¹ Story is the content of that text. According to Bal, story is the way in which the events are presented and fabula is the sequence of events.⁶⁶² Fabula is a series of logically and chronologically related events that are caused or experienced by actors.⁶⁶³ Several processes partake in bricking various elements into a story. The series of events that are presented in a story are constructed according to certain rules, that is, the logic of events.⁶⁶⁴ The amount of time, which is allotted in the story to the various elements of fabula is determined with respect to the amount of time, which these elements take up in fabula.⁶⁶⁵

The *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* does not present a narrative as complex as the Proustian narrative that Genette analyzed. This is why this chapter does not aim to follow and exploit the theories of Genette and Bal to their entirety. Their concepts will be applicable only in the sections with suitable and relevant paradigms. What Genette discusses under the subjects of duration/speed and frequency is particularly useful for the analysis of this text.

By duration and speed, he means the connections between the duration of the events or story sections (in real life) and the pseudo-duration (in fact, the length of the text) of their telling in the narrative – connections, thus, of the speed.⁶⁶⁶ Speed is the relationship between a temporal dimension and a spatial dimension: it is defined by the relationship between duration of the story and a length of the text, measured in lines and pages.⁶⁶⁷ However, the full method of analysis still

⁶⁵⁸ Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, 25.

⁶⁵⁹ Namely, the first meaning refers to the oral or written discourse that undertakes to tell of an event or a series of events (the definition that Genette uses). A second meaning of narrative refers to the succession of events, real or fictitious, that are the subject of discourse, and to their several relations of linking, opposition, repetition, etc. Furthermore, “analysis of narrative” means the study of a totality of actions and situations taken in themselves, without regard to the medium, linguistic or other, through which knowledge of that totality comes to us. The third meaning of narrative presupposes the act of narrating taken in itself. See Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, 25-26.

⁶⁶⁰ Bal, *Narratology*, 5.

⁶⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶⁶² Ibid, 6-7.

⁶⁶³ Ibid, 5.

⁶⁶⁴ Ibid, 7.

⁶⁶⁵ Ibid, 8.

⁶⁶⁶ See Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, 86-112; idem, *Narrative Discourse Revisited*, 33.

⁶⁶⁷ Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, 87-88.

appears as too complex for this text. What particularly fits is pseudo-duration of the sections of the narrative juxtaposed to their topical choices.

Therefore, this is my point of departure; I propose to examine *length* of the different sections in relation to the topics they describe. This means physical space (number of lines on paper and number of words) dedicated to each sub-topic within the larger narrative. Bal calls this concept the “attention paid” to particular segments or the topics within the fabula.⁶⁶⁸ In the same way, Genette’s “pseudo-duration” presupposes studying the length of the textual segments.⁶⁶⁹

Several other Genette’s concepts are to be applied in this chapter. “Summary” is narrating in a few paragraphs/a few pages about something that happened within several days, months, or years of existence, without details of action or speech.⁶⁷⁰ “Pause” presents the descriptions and digressions without action,⁶⁷¹ and “ellipsis” presents the story time elided. “Scene” presents the action and the most dramatic moments of the narrative, such as dialogues.⁶⁷²

Frequency and mood in the narrative will occasionally be applied in this chapter. Frequency refers to the repetition, recurrence of the same events in the narrative.⁶⁷³ Mood represents a point of view, a perspective.⁶⁷⁴ Genette contrasts two narrative modes, according to whether the author himself is the speaker (pure narrative) or the author delivers a speech as if he were someone else (mimesis).⁶⁷⁵ The pure narrative is taken to be more distant in time than mimesis.

This chapter will touch upon the issues of the first-person and the third-person narratives, that is, the “homodiegetic” (where the narrator is absent from the story he tells) and “heterodiegetic” (where the narrator is present as a character in the story he tells) narratives.⁶⁷⁶

Additionally, Genette’s theory of intertextuality will be applied in this chapter for establishing connections among the textual versions and for the analysis of metaphrastic

⁶⁶⁸ Bal, *Narratology*, 101.

⁶⁶⁹ Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, 35.

⁶⁷⁰ Ibid, 95-96.

⁶⁷¹ Ibid, 99.

⁶⁷² Ibid, 109.

⁶⁷³ The major concepts are “singulative narrative,” which is narrating once what happened once. Further, “repeating narrative” is narrating several times what happened once. “Iterative narrative” is narrating once what happened many times. Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, 113.

⁶⁷⁴ Genette explains that narrative representation has its degrees: the narrative can furnish the reader with more or fewer details, and in a more or less direct way, and can thus seem to keep at a greater or lesser distance from what it tells. Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, 162.

⁶⁷⁵ Ibid, 162-3.

⁶⁷⁶ Ibid, 243-245.

processes. Any literary work is considered to be best understood when moved outwards from the work's inner structure into the relations it possesses with other works and other linguistic structures.⁶⁷⁷ Genette's definition of intertextuality purports the actual presence of one text within the other. Every text is a mosaic and a combination of quotations and references from other texts, genres and discourses.

Aside from studying intertextual links and inter-dependence among the versions, intertextuality will serve to enlighten *metaphrastic* processes in this chapter. Intertextuality pertains to the sections, which overlap in the textual versions, while the sections that differ will be analyzed according to the *metaphrastic* processes undertaken.

Metaphrasis was in general commonly exercised in the texts written by anonymous authors, particularly in Byzantium. Scholars argue for the medieval understanding that the texts could not carry authority if written by anonymous authors.⁶⁷⁸ Authoritative texts, even if written in a simple style – the church fathers, the evangelists, Paul, etc. – had different treatment. The *Life of Antony* was not rewritten when placed in the *Metaphrastic Menologion*, even though this text was “clearly written in a language not normally accepted by the Metaphrastic redactors.”⁶⁷⁹ Likewise, the *Life of Euthymios*, written by Cyril of Skythopolis, has been included in the *Metaphrastic Menologion* with only a few changes made in the text.⁶⁸⁰

This implies that *metaphrasis* was a tool of reworking possibly dubious texts, where redactors were not sure of their contents, but nevertheless wished to keep them in some form within the collections. Ephraim Mtsire, the Georgian monk and theologian of the eleventh century, confirms that one of the reasons for redaction of the old hagiographical texts was the wish to purge them from heretical ideas.⁶⁸¹

The reasons that prompted rewriters to choose various texts for *metaphrasis* at the different periods in Byzantium are beyond the scope of this dissertation. Such analyses were conducted on the single case studies.⁶⁸² *Metaphrasis* is to be understood more globally and not

⁶⁷⁷ Allen, *Intertextuality*, 12.

⁶⁷⁸ Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes*, 47. In the West, *metaphrasis* was certainly present; yet, I am indecisive whether it was applied to anonymous texts or to the texts which bore authority and prestige.

⁶⁷⁹ Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes*, 92.

⁶⁸⁰ M. Hinterberger, “The Byzantine Hagiographer and his Text,” in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography II: Genres and Contexts*, ed. S. Efthymiadis (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), 227 (hereafter Hinterberger, “The Byzantine Hagiographer”).

⁶⁸¹ Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes*, 137.

⁶⁸² See e.g. Krausmüller, “Metaphrasis after the Second Iconoclasm.”

only in relation to the Byzantine cultural contexts and the endeavors of Symeon Metaphrastes. A widespread practice of rewriting was applied not only to the texts rewritten by Symeon Metaphrastes. *Metaphrasis* was a form of textual handling adopted and appropriated in the different medieval realms.

Going back to intertextuality, in its plainest and the most simplified level, it presupposes literal, word-for-word borrowings from one text to the other. When it comes to the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium*, citations are present in the different versions of this text. These texts contain the lines from other texts, either through citations of single words, syntagms, or sentences.

Occasionally the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* contains reformulations reflected in transformation of the sentences from direct to indirect speech, which nevertheless preserve the same theme. Intertextuality additionally means drawing inspiration or imitating thematic models, which is clear from the examples Genette gives (Aeneid, Ulysses, and Odyssey). This means borrowing the same topic or a subject by not necessarily using the same words. Transformation apprehends difference caused by a certain amount of distortion inflicted upon the hypotext, whereas imitation means difference where a text is ascribed new function and stylistic embellishments.⁶⁸³ If rewriting is aimed at stylistic rewriting and a change of style, it is called *transstylization*.⁶⁸⁴

Intertextuality further enhances studying of *length*. In that sense, Genette discusses the two types of transformation, one that consists of abridging the text – *reduction*, and the other of extending it – *augmentation*.⁶⁸⁵ Reductions and augmentations, which reduce and augment length, certainly also introduce changes that quite evidently affect not only length but also structure and substance.⁶⁸⁶ “To reduce or augment a text is to produce another text, briefer or longer, which derives from it, but not without altering it in various manners.”⁶⁸⁷ *Excision* is a cut off, the simplest version of reduction; it comprises simple omitting, or subtracting. Aside from the simple cut off, *amputation*, excision also presupposes another feature relevant for this dissertation: *expurgation*. Expurgation is reduction with a moralizing or edifying function.⁶⁸⁸

⁶⁸³ Genette, *Palimpsests*, 25.

⁶⁸⁴ Ibid, 226.

⁶⁸⁵ Ibid, 228.

⁶⁸⁶ Ibid, 229.

⁶⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁸ Ibid., 235.

Concision presupposes not omitting of any part of the text, but narrating in a more concise style. Concision produces a new text, which does not necessarily preserve any word of the original text.⁶⁸⁹ The third form of reduction is *condensation*, which depends only in indirect way upon the text to be reduced. It is mediated by the mental operation that is absent from the two other forms of reduction, a sort of autonomous synthesis produced from memory upon the body of the text, where every detail of the text must be forgotten and only the meaning is kept.⁶⁹⁰ It is differently called digest, abridgement, summary, resume.

Augmentation has several manifestations. *Extension* is augmentation by massive addition, the simplest form of augmentation.⁶⁹¹ *Expansion* is an augmentation of the text by large amounts of the new additions, but with stylistic embellishments. Finally, *amplification* brings in the thematic power when performing augmentation.

A distinct type of intertextuality, to which Genette pays a special attention is hypertextuality.⁶⁹² It involves any relationship uniting a text B (hypertext) to an earlier text A (hypotext). Hypertextuality is a more demanding form of intertextuality, which actually requires relative chronological precedence. In order to deal with hypertextuality, one needs to know which text is earlier, when he compares the two. One of the objections to Genette⁶⁹³ was that it would be one thing to examine the hypertextual relations and functions of a text which explicitly foregrounds its reliance in transformation of a hypotext; it would be quite another to deal with a text which hides its hypotext or depends upon a hypotext no longer available or known by modern readers.⁶⁹⁴ My aim in this dissertation is to go beyond hypo- and hyper-textual relations among the texts, which require knowledge of the original text, and to establish intertextual connections with the material that we have in hand today. In order to analyze and compare the textual versions of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus*, I first proceed to the different Greek BHG variants to describe their narrative structure.

⁶⁸⁹ Genette, *Palimpsests*, 235.

⁶⁹⁰ Ibid, 238.

⁶⁹¹ Ibid, 254.

⁶⁹² Ibid, 5.

⁶⁹³ Ibid, 51.

⁶⁹⁴ Allen, *Intertextuality*, 111.

Structural analysis of BHG 948

This textual version is preserved in six manuscripts (five medieval and one early modern). For the presentation and comparison, I use the version from Venice 360, 20, which is among the earliest Greek manuscripts and contains the plain Greek version.⁶⁹⁵

The narrative structure of BHG 948 is thematically separated into six parts. In part one, which has the form of prologue (containing the **moralizing message**), readers are introduced into prerequisites of piety and the path to firm faith. This section brings in strong moral messages. It does not contain a word about Irenaeus and it is applicable as an introduction to any other martyrdom narrative. The section contains “non-narrative comments,”⁶⁹⁶ which bear ideological statements and offer the avert ideology of the text. The rest of the text has the ideological messages as well, but they could be embedded, naturalized, and hidden.⁶⁹⁷ “Non-narrative comments” are likewise present in the answers that Irenaeus gives to Probus, somewhat later in the narrative. Helland discussed the prologue of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus*, arguing that it was written in the Atticising language, whereas the syntax goes beyond what is considered permitted within Greek grammar, particularly in the use of the tenses.⁶⁹⁸

The prologue does not parallel the other hagiographies of Irenaeus. It goes as follows:

Whenever a pious person has been instructed in good ways, desiring of the better (things) and has adopted the fear of God, (then) he hastens to the benefit of the good news, having despised altogether the earthly things and the things he has heard, he desires to see the true faith and he celebrates the Lord rather because of having adopted what he saw.⁶⁹⁹

Further, BHG 948 introduces the story about Irenaeus in part two, the **introduction**:

This is what happened with blessed Irenaeus, the bishop of the city of Sirmium. He hoped to benefit from the invitation to the high court, through surpassing goodness and piety for God, and the name of the deeds of authorities, young and worth being a pioneer of the front line, having seized the persecution, which happened during the time of the kings Diocletian and Maximian and Constantius, using the inflexible and unyielding eagerness, and clinging to the more valuable things.⁷⁰⁰

⁶⁹⁵ The textual variations among the five medieval manuscripts containing BHG 948 will be explained somewhat later in this chapter.

⁶⁹⁶ Bal, *Narratology*, 31. Genette uses the term “pause” (descriptions and digressions) for such sections.

⁶⁹⁷ Bal, *Narratology*, 31.

⁶⁹⁸ Helland, “The Slavonic Tradition,” 75. Ihor Ševčenko argued that Attic language was the characteristic of the high style. See Ševčenko, “Levels of Style in Byzantine Prose,” 289-312.

⁶⁹⁹ See Marcianus gr. 360, 20, f. 395r – 398v

⁷⁰⁰ Ibid.

Only BHG 948 names “the kings Diocletian and Maximian and Constantius.” Constantius is not commonly mentioned in the other versions. In the introduction, Irenaeus is presented in the light of his piety, moral qualities, firm faith. The whole passage contains a sound moral propaganda.

In part three, **suffering of the family**, it is stressed that Irenaeus did not succumb to the fear of punishment nor had he changed his mind even after seeing the grief of his children, wife, and relatives. In this part, suffering of his family is described in detail, as well as their pains when seeing his would-be persecution, children “with tears embracing his legs,” and his wife, “mourning and humiliated, lamenting on her knees.” To all these scenes he stays unaffected. This is a very important feature – family suffers, while Irenaeus stays undaunted. This part contains the stark contrast, where the pain is described on one side and calmness on the other. This all is to show a profound piety – again, a strong moral message.

In part four, the **trial, dialogue and sentence**, Irenaeus is brought in front of Probus, the governor of Pannonia. There is a very linear chronological narrating from this point – Irenaeus’ refusal to sacrifice to the pagan gods, his imprisonment, some days spent in a prison, another round of persuasion to sacrifice, his refusal, sentencing to death:

Then he was put in prison for very many days, given over to the prison guard. In the middle of the night, the governor sat before him. The blessed Irenaeus was brought upon him again, and diverse tortures withstanding, ...⁷⁰¹

This part narrates the events sequentially. Graduation of tension is present. Irenaeus stresses that he would reap rewards because of his martyrdom – “I receive death, but not for long, because through the death from you, I will receive the eternal life through God.” The attention is then turned to the interrogation by Probus about the family of Irenaeus. Irenaeus again stays rather neutral; there is no special dramatic overturn and demonstration of emotional tone. Irenaeus is asked whether he had children and parents. Irenaeus quotes from Matthew 10:37. He denies having all the above said members of the family, and finally he is sentenced to death.

BHG 948 has something that the other texts do not have – a highly moralizing tone in each answer of Irenaeus. His answers are commonly Bible-related. He gives the two moralizing answers in the dialogue with Probus: “Because I have God, whom I learned to respect from my

⁷⁰¹ See Marcianus gr. 360, 20, f. 395r – 398v.

childhood age, I cannot fall on my knees to your mentioned gods,” and “I receive death, but not for long, because through the death from you, I will receive the eternal life through God.” The “non-narrative comments” repeat at this point. These repetitive lines do not contribute to slowing down the narrative, but quite the opposite – to improve the dynamics, as they have argumentative function.⁷⁰²

Further, another Irenaeus’ moralizing sentence follows: “Who loves a father or a mother above me, or brothers, wife, children, is not worth of me.” There is no room for description of pain and suffering that Irenaeus goes through. The only pain is the pain of the family, to which Irenaeus stays unmoved. The aim of a narrator is to emphasize his faith, which is firm to endure and which surpasses love for the family.

The three rounds of persuasion are gradually introduced in the passage to follow during the trial. Repetition and frequency are at work at this point. In this section a scene, which occurred once is mentioned several times. Probus tried to convince Irenaeus to sacrifice by provoking sympathy related to his children, to his young age, and to the punishments he is about to experience. The persuasion does not work. Irenaeus is sentenced and is about to be thrown into the river. At this point, he opens up the speech: “...so that you learn how we Christians look down upon death, because we are fulfilled with the faith in Christ.”⁷⁰³ Again, this is a “non – narrative comment.”

In this variant, Probus is represented as the least aggressive and negative character in comparison to all the other Greek variants. He practically pleads Irenaeus to sacrifice, so that he would not have to sentence him to death. There is neither threat nor anger in his tone. Irenaeus stays calm and firm in his beliefs, unmoved, likewise convincing Probus to conduct the persecution. This is all to the same end – representation of the strength of faith and consistent moral messages. Therefore, the emphasis is on Irenaeus and on his deeds, actions and decisions. Probus appears as a side character, whose attitude is of lesser importance. Emphasizing the exemplary character of the martyr prompts one to conclude that such description served to inspire imitation. In the other two martyrdoms, these features change to an extent.

Part five describes the **persecution**. Irenaeus is to be cut by the sword and afterwards thrown into the river. However, he “joyfully expects (χαρισσάμενῳ)” the beheading. A narrator

⁷⁰² Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, 99.

⁷⁰³ See Marcianus gr. 360, 20, f. 395r – 398v

names the bridge where the beheading takes place as the “bridge of Artemis.” Before the martyrdom, Irenaeus takes off his garment and raises the hands towards the sky, praying for the people of Sirmium and the “Catholic Church.” He utters the prayer: “For your people and the Catholic Church and its complete fullness, believing in you, Lord, I suffer everything.” In this part, Irenaeus is presented as grandiose and proud. No hint of suffering is anticipated, not surprisingly; the emphasis alone is placed on his strength of mind and endurance in faith. The monologue or soliloquy is introduced at this point. This is the embedded text, spoken out by one actor only.

Part six, which looks like a **synaxarial entry**, is rather brief. It mentions that the martyrdom occurred on 21st August in Sirmium, during the governorship of Probus. This part ends with the formula, including the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.

The structure goes as follows: (1) **moralizing message** (52 words), (2) **introduction** (62 words) – (3) **suffering of the family** (148 words) – (4) **trial, dialogue and sentence** (311 words) – (5) **persecution** (98 words) – (6) **synaxarial entry** (42 words). Altogether, this text has 713 words, out of which 7,3% goes on moralizing message, 8,7% goes on introduction, 20,7% goes on suffering of the family, 43,6% goes on trial, dialogue and sentence, 13,7% goes on persecution, and 5,9% goes on synaxarial entry.

Differences among the manuscript variants of BHG 948

The differences among the six manuscript variants of BHG 948 come out partly as a consequence of distinction of BHG 948 and BHG 949, and partly as a consequence of rewriting processes of the single manuscripts. Five of them are medieval; Marcianus gr. 360, 20 has been already presented. The Appendix demonstrates that the differences between Marcianus gr. 360, 20 and BnF gr. 1177 are minor. On the other hand, the most embellished BHG 948 variant is contained in the manuscript Vienna Hist. gr. 45. The two other manuscripts from Paris are somewhere in between, but certainly closer to Marcianus manuscript. In the following, I compare the differences between Marcianus 360, 20 and Vienna Hist. gr. 45, as the most visible differences among BHG 948 variants. The aim is to show varieties occurring within the same BHG number.

The comparison of the tenth-century manuscript Venice 360 and the eleventh-century Vienna Hist. gr. 45 reveals three types of differences: extensions, transformations, and excisions. Extensions are the most common; they represent the sections inserted into one text while they do not exist in the other. Transformations are replacements of one expression with the other; they could be defined as rewritings. Excisions appear on a few occasions and represent deletions of a particular part of the text.

Extensions are the most present type of transformation when the two manuscripts are compared. They present the additions in the text from the earlier-dated text in Venice manuscript to the later-dated Vienna manuscript. Extensions reflect interesting ideological language behind the technique of a rewriter.

Significant space in the rewriting process is dedicated to the lines explaining the martyr's thoughts and reasoning. Rewriters took on the task to explain martyr's decisions better. Such is the sentence: "He considers the present things as nothing, as perishable, and having no value" (τὰ δε παρόντα εἰς οὐδέν ἡγεῖται. ὥς φθαρτὰ καὶ οὐδενὸς ὄντα ἄξια), inserted in Vienna manuscript at the end of the introduction. This line explains additionally Irenaeus' reasoning to become a martyr. Sometimes only a word is added to the initial sentence; however, it amends description of martyr's faith. The line "and having the fear of judgment in front of his eyes" was added the word "always" (ἀεὶ) in Vienna manuscript. Similarly, the sentence "neither I will sacrifice" (οὔτε μὴν θύω ποτε) is ascribed an additional "ever."

The sentence "so that he is thrown alive in the river, ending up at the bottom of it. He snapped his soul by the evil" (ὥπως ζῶν ἐν αὐτῷ βληθεὶς ποταμοβρύχιος γένηται καὶ ἐν κακῷ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπορρήξῃ), added in Vienna manuscript reveals ideological stance of a rewriter through defending the position of the martyr. This line also communicates an attitude of a rewriter towards the Roman authorities.

The new adjectives added to the description of the martyr naturally describe him in the most positive light. A noun χρηστότητα is added in the expression "exceeding goodness and honesty," meaning goodness and honesty of Irenaeus. A rewriter had the tendency to add positive comments about the martyr. Judgment is felt in the line "as if this just man was villainous" (ὥς κακοῦργος ὁ δίκαιος), where the attitude of a rewriter is announced in justifying the martyr.

Rewriting processes eventually were adding the emotional language to the old texts. In this case, the section describing the emotional encounters with the family is supplemented with some new words and lines. The sentence “He stayed unmoved by children, who mourned among relatives and friends” was adjoined the new adjective “dearest” (φίλτατα), describing children. This way the contrast was downright – Irenaeus could resist even the sadness of the dearest children. Somewhat later the adjectives “the most tender and the dearest” (ἀπαλοὶ καὶ φίλτατοι) describe the children who were embracing the martyr’s legs.

Similarly, the adverb “often” (πολλάκις) is added in the sentence: “To this scene even the fathers, who were faint-hearted and (often) accustomed to this, effeminate.” This word could possibly imply that the persecutions were the frequent events.

The emotional language and biased tone of rewriters were followed by the extended descriptions of the tortures of the martyr. Such is the line: (Irenaeus was brought in) “to the seat for interrogation, and before the interrogation, he was whipped very much” (ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος εἰσερώτησιν. καὶ προπάσης ἐρωτήσεως. μαστιχθεὶς σφόδρα). The supplementary description of pain and suffering of the martyr were to provoke sympathy and make events more realistic and closer to readers’ understanding. In the speech Irenaeus gives before the persecution, he says: “I waited to be thrown to the sword.” This line has a continuation in Vienna manuscript: “And to the beasts, and to whatever else from the horrible things” (καὶ θηρίοις. καὶ εἴ τι ἕτερον ἐπὶ τοῦτοις δεινόν). Rewriting process went into direction of adding tortures ascribed to the martyr. Multiple tortures were multiplying even more in the course of centuries.

Also, the sentence “The governor, angry because of the frankness of the blessed martyr Irenaeus, ordered that he be killed by sword” has an extension in Vienna manuscript: “First, and then that he is like that thrown to the river” (πρότερον. καὶ εἴθ’ οὕτως ριφῆναι ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν). This line adds to the description of brutality as the death scene is depicted in more detail.

Consequently, rewriting processes contributed to a more detailed describing of the governor’s viciousness. He came to be an utterly negative character. The sentence, which Probus says to Irenaeus: “You receive death, even kept off from it by withstanding these tortures” gets an extension in Vienna manuscript by the two lines, which altogether mean: “Irenaeae, receive death penalty and comply to some of the good advice I give you (Even kept off from it by withstanding these tortures) and the stupidities, if you want to die bitterly” (καὶ πείσθη τί μοι

καλοῦς σοι συμβουλεύοντι and another, καὶ τὴν μωρίαν. ἐπεὶ, μέλλεις πικρῶς ἀποθνήσκειν). The augmentation of Probus' speech contributes to the argument about general transformation of hagiographical narratives: Roman governors tended to become vicious characters, which were elaborating their thoughts in longer speeches.

In Venice manuscript, Probus' sentence is described by neutral language: "Probus governor said: "Since he does not want to obey to the royal order." This sentence was later introduced the ideological language in Vienna manuscript. Several lines are brought in this section, first "then the governor Probus, having learned that Irenaeus would not convert from the right faith" (τότε πρόβος ὁ ἡγεμὼν εἰδὼς ὅτι οὐ μεταπείθεται ἐκ τῆς ὀρθῆς πιστέως) and then "saying to him that Irenaeus is the leader and protector of Christians" (κατ' αὐτοῦ λέγων. εἰρηναῖος ὁ τῶν χριστιανῶν προστάτης καὶ ὑπερασπιστής). Therefore, Probus becomes bold and straightforward character that does not refrain from threats during the process.

Also, the governor becomes more aggressive character: "Therefore, having heard this, the governor, exceedingly angry..." (Ταῦτα τοίνυν ἀκούσας ὁ ἡγεμὼν. καὶ σφόδρα).

Finally, extensions were concerning more precise theology. The word μόνου added in Vienna manuscript agrees with the word "God;" it therefore serves to emphasize monotheistic ideas. Also, the expressions πρὸς κ[ύριον] and ἰ[η]σο[υ] χ[ρί]στ[ου] are added in Vienna manuscript, emphasizing that the Lord is Jesus Christ. The ending speech in Venice manuscript, "Lord, let the heavens open up and accept the soul of your slave. For your people and the Catholic Church and its complete fullness, believing in you, Lord, I suffer everything," continues in Vienna manuscript in the following way: "For your saintly name. Lord, give to us who remember as well, everything for salvation ... and eternal life. That glory and strength belong to you, in the centuries of the centuries. And having said that, blessed Irenaeus..." (ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος σου τοῦ ἁγίου. δὸς οὖν δέσποτα καὶ τοῖς μνημονεύουσιν ἡμῖν, πάντα τὰ πρὸς σ[ω]τερίαν αὐτήματα. καὶ ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιον. ὅτι σοὶ πρέπει ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὁ μακάριος εἰρηναῖος).

Aside from the above-described extensions, there are several examples of transformations occurring from the basic text in Venice manuscript to the more complex Vienna manuscript. Transformations presupposed replacement of one word or expression with the other.

The simple θῦσαι in Venice manuscript is replaced by the expression θύειν τοῖς θεοῖς in Vienna manuscript. The text in Vienna manuscript makes it precise that "sacrifice should be

made to gods,” while Venice manuscript mentions only “sacrifice.” This addition could be an indicator of the later dating of the text in Vienna manuscript.

The sentence “and smitten by sword” has different continuation in the two manuscripts. While Vienna manuscript contains “he was hurled into the river called Sava by the investigator” (ὕπὸ τοῦ σπεκουλάτορος. ἐρίφη εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν λεγόμενον σαόν τὸν ὄντα), Venice manuscript contains “he was sent to the river Sava” (ἐπέμφθη εἰς τὸν σαόν ποταμὸν). The word *speculator* in Vienna manuscript, probably borrowed from Latin, possibly had the negative meaning. Also, Irenaeus is not sent to the river, but thrown in an aggressive way. This tendency to add to the description of torture is usually ascribed to the later texts. Also, when Irenaeus was sent to prison, in Venice manuscript he was “taken in” (ἀνελήφθη) the prison, while in Vienna manuscript he was “thrown in” (ἐνεβλήθη).

Vienna manuscript places an emphasis on martyr at the end of the narrative, while Venice manuscript only names the event. Vienna text contains “holy and known Jesus’ martyr Irenaeus ended his life” (ἐτελειώθη δέ ὁ ἅγιος καὶ ἔνδοξος τοῦ χριστοῦ ἱερομάρτυς εἰρηναῖος), while Venice only says “it happened” (ἐπράχθη δε ταῦτα). Also, Vienna manuscript is more detailed in the following line: “Then, taking the punishment, saint Irenaeus came and stood above the bridge, so called the bridge of Artemis” (τότε λαβὼν τὴν ἀπόφασιν ὁ ἅγιος εἰρηναῖος. ἐλθὼν, ἔστη εἰς τὸν τό ποντῆς γεφύρας ἐπάνω, ἥτις καλεῖται ἄρτεμις. καὶ), while Venice contains the abbreviated “and standing near the bridge, which is called the bridge of Artemis” (μετὰ τὸ παραγενέσθαι εἰς τὸν γεφύραν ἥτις καλεῖται ἄρτεμις).

Finally, at one place Vienna text reads that Irenaeus is from Spain (ἰσπανίας), which is a mistake in the text, with the correction in the margin - παννονίας. Venice manuscript reads the proper τῆς παννονίας. This word indicates that a scribe who worked on copying of Vienna manuscript apparently did not know what was the character of the story he copied.

A few excisions in the Vienna manuscript in comparison to Venice manuscript reveal that historical accuracy of the martyrdom narratives might have faded in time; additionally, their theological formulas became imprecise. Venice manuscript contains the full record of the Roman emperors related to the persecution: διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ μαξιμιανοῦ καὶ κωνσταντίου τῶν βασιλέων, while Vienna manuscript mentions only Diocletian. There is a thread of distancing from the past events and losing accuracy in historical record. In trinity formula, Venice

manuscript contains the full trinity, as after Jesus it is written: μεθ' οὗ τῷ πατρὶ σὺν τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι. Vienna manuscript names only our Lord Jesus Christ.

Altogether, it is apparent that rewriting processes were contributing to the embellishment of the earlier and simpler texts regarding style and content in various different ways. Many a times, such embellishments proved to be a tool of ideology. In this way, rewriting revealed a great deal of the intention behind.

Structural analysis of BHG 949e

As to the narrative structure of BHG 949e, the text is thematically divided into seven sections. This is the longest version dedicated to Irenaeus. Section one, **the introduction**, opens up with the first person singular (φημι); the audience is addressed directly. BHG 949e is the only “first-person” narrative in the analyzed corpus.⁷⁰⁴ This gives BHG 949e a sense of a tale. Recounting the events that occurred recently opens the narrative. The narrator does not say that he himself participated or witnessed the events; he only represented himself as the narrator.

Genette defines this as “heterodiegetic” narrative; even though the narrator starts with the “first person,” he is still absent from the story he recounts.⁷⁰⁵ Use of the “first person” does not imply that the narrative is focalized through the hero.⁷⁰⁶ The narrator is not a character of the story. In the rest of the corpus, there is an external narrator, who tells about his objects of narrative, where he does not mention himself as a character or a narrator. In this case, BHG 949e is also a “narrative of events,”⁷⁰⁷ a *diegesis*, as well as the other martyrdoms, just told by a person who claims to be a narrator at the beginning.

The “personal language situation” is otherwise characterized by the inconsistent use of the past tenses when talking about the past events. Not all the past tenses are possible to appear.⁷⁰⁸ It is also characterized by the use of the modal verbs, expressing the uncertainty of a speaker, by use of the first person pronoun in narrating, by use of the emotional words, as well as

⁷⁰⁴ According to the category of “person,” narratives are distinguished between the “first-person” and “third-person” narratives.

⁷⁰⁵ Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, 244-45. The usage of the first person is also called “personal language situation.” Bal, *Narratology*, 47.

⁷⁰⁶ Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, 198.

⁷⁰⁷ Genette, *Narrative Discourse Revisited*, 43, 164.

⁷⁰⁸ Bal, *Narratology*, 52.

conative words and aspects. If a narrator is himself a speaker and does not attempt to suggest to readers that anyone but himself is speaking, it is a form of a more distant narration.⁷⁰⁹ The narrator takes a stance from a certain position distant from the event he narrates. This premise complies with BHG 949e being a narrative written some time after the event, reflecting the attitude to the past from a certain timely distance.

The opening of BHG 949e goes as follows:

I tell of those recently famed for evil, Diocletian and Maximian, who after they had taken over the imperial rule and badly abused it, were proposing edicts against those found (to be) Christians. Blessed Irenaeus, having despised their threatened punishments and very violent torture, like a priest of the highest God, taught the word of truth and converted many from unbelief to knowledge of the truth...⁷¹⁰

The narrator talks about recent events (ἄρτι). This line highlights the question of “distance,” representing an event that is separated from the present moment by a certain timely interval.⁷¹¹ BHG 949e has a more informal approach in narrating and more subjectively colored and emotional word choice, as if the narrator was personally affected by the persecutions. He characterizes the persecutors in a more dramatic manner. BHG 949e additionally stresses the educational side of Irenaeus’ activities. Diocletian and Maximian, who are introduced at the very beginning of the first sentence, are stamped by diverse infamous epithets. The narrator reminds of the edict against Christians. Irenaeus is brought in somewhat later. The narrator stresses Irenaeus’ zealousness in converting non-believers and reluctance over the actions of Roman authorities against Christians.

Section two describes the **suffering of the family**. Irenaeus is portrayed as an undaunted person; he does not fall for the earthly matters. The narrator is quite verbose when telling about suffering, to which Irenaeus stays untouched. The vivid description and subjective tone characterize this passage. Although Irenaeus does not partake in suffering, suffering still dominates this part.

In section three, **trial and negotiation**, the narrator describes Irenaeus’ joy (χαίρων), almost of the Donatist kind, when turning to martyrdom. What is stressed is Irenaeus’ detachment and disregard. Probus, another person to be ushered in the story, is the “son of

⁷⁰⁹ Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, 162.

⁷¹⁰ See Codex Moscow Syn. gr. 183, fol. 242r-244r

⁷¹¹ Bal, *Narratology*, 89.

lawlessness.” Probus is described as the official, who resided in Sirmium at the time. This section opens up a narrative setting – the prison where Irenaeus is kept. The dialogue begins with the words of Probus. He forces Irenaeus first to explain the nature of teaching that he preaches, and later to sacrifice to the pagan, “unconquered gods,” which was the decision of the fourth edict of Diocletian against Christians. BHG 949e has the investigative part, which does not parallel the other texts: “Who and from where are you and what are the things said against you, say quickly,” he said, “and what is its actual name?” And when he (Probus) learned in full the things about this, he said: “Sacrifice, Irenaeus.”

Probus reminds Irenaeus that there are rewards proceeding from the act of sacrifice – he can stay cheerful among the living. The investigation in the previous segment took place in the court. Irenaeus’ words display stability of his faith. Part three ends with Irenaeus being sent back to prison because of his adamant attitude.

In section four, the **suffering of Irenaeus**, he stayed for some days in prison, and then he was taken out to the court again. The narrator employs repetition and frequency, as Irenaeus is taken for the second time to the investigation. His prison stay is described in more detail:

The governor looked grimly towards him and was forcing him to sacrifice, but when he did not have him complying, he began to suggest various harsh punishments, scrapings, whippings, beatings from sticks and all other vicious acts of torture. As Irenaeus did not concede to these things in any way, the martyr, alas, endured a burning of fire and torture each day, [and] was being forced to deny Christ and worship false gods.⁷¹²

There is a gradual dynamic upgrading in the narrative at this point – not only is Irenaeus taken to the court for the second time, but he is exposed to bigger and severer punishments. He is exposed to scrapings, whippings, beatings from sticks, and all the other terrible tortures.

Part five starts with a dramatic turn in the form of **dialogue**; Probus becomes deceitful, trying to unsettle Irenaeus’ faith by mentioning his family and his youth. Although a wife and sons are mentioned, their presence is ellipsed. To the mention of the family, Irenaeus answers by quoting Matthew 10:37. The dialogue becomes tense and they avail the offenses. Irenaeus is called “miserable (τῶν ἀνθρώπων),” and Probus is called “lawless (παράνομος).” No agreement is achieved to the end of the part 5. Irenaeus is firm in his belief and his sophisticated answers show it.

⁷¹² Codex Moscow Syn. gr. 183, fol. 242r-244r

Part six, the **persecution**, reveals about Probus' huge anger because of the situation. The dialogue continues. Irenaeus is sentenced to death by throwing into the river. From the other versions of the story, we know that Irenaeus was not just thrown into the river, but beheaded first. However, there is only a mention of the sword; neither beheading, nor the head are touched upon. Irenaeus says that the death is a reward and a luxury for him. He is killed by the sword and his body is thrown into the river.

Part seven is the **prayer for the emperor**. This prayer does not take the entire section seven; in the opening, a narrator addresses the martyr and describes the details of the persecution. Further, within the prayer, the narrator asks the martyr to pray for the Emperor and his earthly benefits. The narrator is detailed in his good wishes for the Emperor.

This part is a very important section of the “Imperial *Menologion*.” Even though martyrs replaced the earthly life for the eternal life, paradoxically, the prayers for the emperors contained hopes related particularly to “this” world. Peter Brown wrote about this contradictory phenomenon on the example of the *Liber sacramentorum*:

On the one hand, the prayers evoked insistently the unparalleled sufferings of the bodies of the martyrs. These sufferings marked out the saints as unique and utterly otherworldly beings. On the other hand, the prayers called upon the saints to answer all and every prayer for safety and success in this life.⁷¹³

The *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* ends with the prayer for the worldly well-being of the emperor, while previously describing the suffering of the martyr who gave up his worldly life altogether. This ascertains significant detachment from the age of martyrs. Brown proceeds by stating that anybody who wished to understand how and why saints came to be enjoyed in the Late Antiquity has to grapple with this paradox. On his own admittance, he did not do that when he was writing *The Cult of Saints*.⁷¹⁴

The structure of this narrative goes as follows: (1) **introduction** (58 words), **suffering of the family** (90 words) – (2) **trial, dialogue, negotiation** (122 words), **suffering of Irenaeus** (65 words) – (4) **dialogue** (171 words) – (5) **persecution** (98 words) – (6) **prayer for the Emperor** (111 words). Altogether, the text has 715 words, out of which 8,1% is dedicated to introduction, 12,6% to suffering of the family, 17% to trial and negotiation, 9% to suffering of Irenaeus, 23,9% to dialogue, 13,7% to persecution, and 15,5% to the prayer for the emperor.

⁷¹³ P. Brown, “Enjoying the Saints in Late Antiquity,” *Early Medieval Europe* 9, No. 1 (2000): 15.

⁷¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 16.

Structural analysis of BHG 950z

As to the narrative structure of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus* in BHG 950z, the text is thematically separated in four sections. This is the shortest martyrdom written about Irenaeus. In part one, **the introduction**, it is pointed out that the story relates to Irenaeus of Sirmium. This is important to emphasize, as this version has two other characters (Or and Oropseus), while Irenaeus's identity could have been blurred without naming the town of Sirmium. Mentioning the *locus*, Sirmium, attests that exactly he is meant here. Irenaeus is given the territorial identity in this text.

Part one introduces the story and the setting. Irenaeus is given various embellishing attributes – he is named after peace, he is noble, he is a leader and the protector of the city. These attributes are new; they did not appear in any other text. They point out to the increased encomiastic tendency of this variant. The persecution is described in emotional tone. Diocletian and Maximian are the “tyrants”, and the persecution was the biggest set in motion against Christians.

Part two, **investigation and dialogue**, starts with an informal question, which improves the dynamics of the text. The dialogue is introduced. Probus convinces Irenaeus to sacrifice and promises very many good and benefiting rewards. Probus' utterance is boasting and pompous, which is a new feature. In no other hagiography is Irenaeus offered such rewards if he sacrifices. This is another moment of gradation. Still, Irenaeus refuses, by saying that he does not want to live among people and to be glorified together with them. After saying this, he is put into prison.

After some days, the scene is set in a prison. In this text, present tense is occasionally used in narrating at the places where past tenses are expected, which can be defined as “personal language situation.”⁷¹⁵ Probus repeatedly tries to convince Irenaeus to sacrifice. Frequency is apparent in the repetition of persuasion. As Probus does not succeed, he exposes Irenaeus to tortures. He horribly whips him, painfully scraps him, he burns him with fire. Irenaeus stays calm and untouched. Another round of persuasion occurs. Gradually, the tortures of the martyr become worse. The offences Irenaeus and Probus exchange are the most explicit in this martyrdom. At this point, Probus announces the death of somebody from the crowd if Irenaeus

⁷¹⁵ Bal, *Narratology*, 47.

does not sacrifice. This is the new feature, gradually the most intense in Probus' persuasion and extortion. Still, Irenaeus' faith is so strong that no ransom can move him. Therefore, he gives a didactic answer:

Because it is not right to worship things that happen to be images of demons; and then as I am a Christian, whom Christ reared from my coming forth from my very mother's womb, whom Christ made as a man, whom God exalted and enlightened with the light of the knowledge of God. For His sake I am ready to endure all things and you would never see me sacrificing to mute statues. Therefore, do what you like, you most totally unlawful one. Burn me with fire, cut me with a sword and do everything you want to do to me. For from this you will know that I think the death brought on me for Christ's sake is nothing.⁷¹⁶

With these words part two ends. Section three introduces **Or and Oropseus**. It opens with Irenaeus alone, being taken to the riverbank of Sava, where his "honored head" is cut by sword. Furthermore, Probus takes the two people from the crowd (although he said he would take one more), namely, "famous" (κλεινόν) Or and "wise" (σοφόν) Oropseus, and forced them to sacrifice as well. Or and Oropseus are exposed to tortures; they are put in fire, but are saved by God who sent the rain. They are thrown to the beasts, but they escape it too. They are hanged on the tree, scraped painfully, and finally their heads are cut off by sword. A glimpse of miraculous appears in this narrative. The two martyrs escape all the tortures miraculously, except for the sword. There is a gradual sequence of the tortures. Also, it is stressed that it is God's grace that saves them. They did not escape the last torture perhaps because a narrator wanted to make them equal to Irenaeus by the way they ended their lives.

Part four is a **prayer for the Emperor**. The saints are addressed directly. Martyrs are asked for the benefits of the Emperor, which is another formula of the "Imperial *Menologion*."

Several innovative features are introduced in this narrative. First, the identity of Irenaeus is sealed as being Irenaeus of Sirmium, even though he appears with the two other characters in the narrative. The opening of the martyrdom is expounded by the details about Irenaeus, his imprisonment and investigation. Or and Oropseus entered the narrative. This text contains gradational narrative segments. Highly descriptive and picturesque adjectives are used in describing suffering and offences. The text contains miraculous moments, which the other variants of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* do not contain.

⁷¹⁶ V. V. Latyšev, *Menologii anonymi Byzantini, saeculi X qui supersunt* (Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat, 1911, reprint 1970), 311.

The structure is the following: (1) **introduction** (90 words) – (2) **investigation, dialogue** (229 words)– (3) **Or and Oropseus** (105 words) – (4) **prayer for the Emperor** (74 words). Altogether, the text has 498 words, out of which 18,07% goes on introduction, 45,9% goes on investigation and dialogue, 21,08% goes on Or and Oropseus, and 14,85% goes on prayer for the emperor.

Differing features of the three BHG variants

The three variants aimed at the different audiences and different purposes. BHG 948 sends moral messages throughout the narrative. This feature is the most obvious in the prologue, the section that is not repeated in the other Greek versions. This section does not mention Irenaeus, but gives the general instructions in faith. This “pause” in the narrative betrays the ideological stance of the text. This part is present only in BHG 948 and not in the other versions. The question is whom such messages were sent to and who would need to hear them. Omitting the passage also communicates a great deal of the changing purposes of the narrative.

BHG 949e does not have the moralizing introduction and it goes straight to the description of the setting and the events. Thus, BHG 949e and BHG 948 are not comparable in terms of parallel sections (1 – 1, 2 – 2, 3 – 3, etc.). The structure of the comparison between BHG 948 and BHG 949e would be 1-0, 2-1, 3-2, etc. BHG 950z immediately proceeds to the introduction to the story and the setting. The overview of the three introductions goes as follows:

BHG 948	BHG 949e	BHG 950z
This is what happened with blessed Irenaeus, the bishop of the city of Sirmium. He hoped to benefit from the invitation to the high court, through surpassing goodness, and piety for God, and the name of the deeds of authorities, young and worth being the pioneer of the front line, having seized the persecution, which happened during the time of kings Diocletian and Maximian and Constantius, using the inflexible and	I tell of those recently famed for evil, Diocletian and Maximian, who after they had taken over the imperial rule and badly abused it, were proposing edicts against those found (to be) Christians. Blessed Irenaeus, having despised their threatened punishments and very violent torture, like a priest of the highest God, taught the word of truth and converted many from unbelief to knowledge of the truth,	The city of Sirmium had the great martyr Irenaeus, who was very noble and named after peace, as the leader and protector of the city, shepherding the church well and offering well the spiritual service to God. So then after the tyrants Diocletian and Maximian had set in motion the biggest possible persecution against Christians and most of them (or we better say all of them) were being arrested and subjected by

unyielding eagerness, and clinging to the more valuable things.		novel punishments to an excess of evil, this on the one hand because of themselves and on the other because of those in agreement with them being questioned, that utterly good Irenaeus was slandered to Probus, the governor of the land of Pannonia, and after being arrested was brought before his judgment seat.
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The three variants represent the martyr differently. In BHG 948, Irenaeus is the subject of the passage. The Emperors are mentioned only later, almost as the side characters. Irenaeus pursues his plan, while the Emperors are the witnesses of his endeavor. The martyr is an active character, who combats the authorities and sticks to his faith. In BHG 949e, Irenaeus is a subordinate object. In BHG 950z Irenaeus is presented as a victim, although he is named immediately in the opening. Turning the martyr into a victim is possibly a narratological feature; yet, this transformation means that the narrative loses its initial purpose – to inspire the others to imitate him. It widens the distance between the martyr and readers. Its further aim is to remind and recall remembering the martyrs. It reminds of the victims from the past, to which a certain group associates, and of their suffering.

BHG 948 opens with a moralizing introduction and dedicates less space to the introduction into the narrative, while BHG 950z lengthens this part. In this way, the moralizing section gave way to the augmentation of the tale-like introductions into the narrative.

Part two in BHG 949e and part three in BHG 948 are comparable. The sections narrate the same event – Irenaeus' detachment from the earthly life and the other people, suffering of his family, and the tortures that are to come to the martyr. BHG 950z does not dedicate any space to this sub-topic and suffering of the family is completely omitted.

BHG 948	BHG 949e
He rendered the present pain into pleasure, using the unbent and unyielding eagerness. And being searched from the above-mentioned, he hoped for the benefit from the call above. He did not set himself free from the intensity of the violence, by withstanding the multiple pains. He stayed unmoved by the threatening rivers, steep riverbanks and tortures. He stayed	...not bowing to the ruler's anger, nor various punishments, not rivers, nor cliffs where those who contend for Christ were thrown. He did not soften to the things people tend to soften to, to a passionate attachment to parents clearly, orphanage of children, tears of women, of fellows and their advice, laments of friends and relatives, or become weakened at all by

<p>unmoved by children, grievously suffering more than anybody, who mourned among relatives and friends. To this scene even the fathers, who were faint-hearted and accustomed to this, effeminate. So, when children with tears embraced his legs (and made the Saint hostile), the humiliated appearance of the wife, who mourned, grief of parents over the son, being in the prime time of life, groan of the family and lament of the friends and familiar ones (persecution), impelled to pity still a young man in his prime, in the middle of prayer. To all of them, whom he talked to, he did not bend, but as we said, having taken the passion of those better than him, and having the fear of judgment in front of his eyes, fearing the uttered words of God, “If somebody denies me in front of people, I will deny him myself in front of my Father who is in the heavens.” Understanding that he received the punishment more difficult from all, he hoped for the future hope.</p>	<p>some other things of this kind or become panic-stricken in the face of any of these things, always having the Lord’s voice in mind and shivering at the judgments in the other world: ‘Whoever will deny me,’ he says, in front of people, I will also deny him in front of my Father, who is in the heavens.’ Then, having despised everything, he joyfully proceeded towards martyrdom.</p>
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BHG 948 accords more space to this sub-topic than BHG 949e. Suffering of the family and friends in BHG 948 are placed in blunter contrast with the indifference of Irenaeus. His detachment from the people and society is more elaborated in BHG 948. This makes one assume that the audience of BHG 948 was closer to the understanding of such detachment.

The section about trial, dialogue, and negotiations takes the largest space and appears as the most important section in each of the three versions. Dialogue is generally the most dominant form of non-narrative embedded text.⁷¹⁷ As embedded texts do not belong to the narrator but to the actor (in this case, Irenaeus or Probus), dialogue is a form in which the actors, and not the primary narrators, utter language. Dialogue contributes to higher dramatization.

The discrepancies are reflected in the dialogues being of the different dynamics. BHG 948 emphasizes Irenaeus’ answers. The answers show Irenaeus’ verbal domination, or at least equality to the Roman authorities. Irenaeus gives exactly seven moralizing answers that contain Christian messages. Occasionally, Probus’ words are transferred into indirect speech, while everything Irenaeus says is in direct speech. Irenaeus’ answers go as follows:

⁷¹⁷ Bal, *Narratology*, 60.

BHG 948
“But, I do not choose to live among you.”
“Because I have God, whom I learned to respect from my childhood age, I cannot fall on my knees to your mentioned gods.”
“I receive death, but not for long, because through the death from you, I will receive the eternal life through God.”
“Who loves a father or a mother above me, or brothers, wife, children, is not worth of me.”
“My sons have God, like I have, who can save them. You, on the other hand, do what is ordered you to do!”
“I will not sacrifice. You do what you like. Keep in mind that by the strength of God I will sustain everything fully.”
“I was taking into consideration your diverse threats of the death; I waited to be thrown to the sword, while you were becoming greater and better. On which account, if you want, order and do it, so that you learn how we Christians look down upon death, because we are fulfilled with the faith in Christ.”

In BHG 949e, Irenaeus’ answers are fewer but longer, which slows down the dynamics to an extent.

BHG 949e
“Probus, I will never sacrifice, for I neither choose to live with you, nor will I deny my Christ at all, who is the true God, the creator and the Lord of everything.”
“The one who loves, Christ says, a father, or children or a wife or brothers more than me is not worthy of me anymore. As he taught this, how will I honor those more than him, who can save them and make them heirs of his kingdom?”
“I will not sacrifice, you lawless man, I will not deny my Christ, may it not happen! No, by the contests and struggles for piety, even if you offer to me something even greater of the previous good things, I would never deny my creator.”

Irenaeus’ answers are longer, but they are altogether three. They are combined with the approximately double amount of Probus’ investigative utterances. Probus is the one who leads the dialogue and who dominates. In BHG 948, answers are shorter, but they add to the dynamics of the text. Their frequency is higher, and consequently, they impress and convince a reader better. They equal to the amount of Probus’ lines.

In BHG 950z, the tendency of giving longer but fewer answers increases. There are only two answers of Irenaeus, while the second one appears as a small speech. However, Probus’ lines are even longer than in the other two versions. What Irenaeus says in defense is:

BHG 950z
“But I do not want to live among you, governor, nor spend any time together and be glorified together with you.”

“Because it is not right to worship things that happen to be images of demons; and then as I am a Christian, whom Christ reared from my coming forth from my very mother’s womb, whom Christ made as a man, whom God exalted and enlightened with the light of the knowledge of God. For His sake I am ready to endure all things and you would never see me sacrificing to mute statues. Therefore, do what you like, you most totally unlawful one. Burn me with fire, cut me with a sword and do everything you want to do to me. For from this you will know that I think the death brought on me for Christ’s sake is nothing.”

Irenaeus seems to be fully responding to the opponents and properly defending his attitude only in BHG 948. He confronts Probus on an equal basis. Not only both sides reply in the likewise manner throughout the entire conversation and seem to take the same amount of space, but one additionally gets the impression of Irenaeus’ presence and strength. In BHG 949e, Irenaeus is compliant, while Probus harshly initiates the investigation. The tendency of slowing down the dynamics is apparent in BHG 950z. While Probus tries to deceive Irenaeus, Irenaeus’ strength is not felt.

Further in the section on trial, BHG 949e contains part devoted to the tortures brought upon Irenaeus. In BHG 948 there is only a part of a sentence given space to it (...diverse tortures withstanding), and BHG 950z does not mention it. BHG 949e assigns several lines to it:

The governor looked grimly towards him and was forcing him to sacrifice, but when he did not have him complying, he began to suggest various harsh punishments, scrapings, whippings, beatings from sticks and all other vicious acts of torture. As Irenaeus did not concede to these things in any way, the martyr, alas, endured a burning of fire and torture each day, [and] was being forced to deny Christ and worship false gods.

BHG 948 and BHG 949e contain very conspicuous part of the negotiations, when Probus cunningly tries to persuade Irenaeus to sacrifice by mentioning the members of his family. BHG 948 touches upon sons and parents, while BHG 949e alludes to a wife, the sons and the other descendants. BHG 950z does not contain this part of the narrative. The persuasion is an addition, which opens up the range of interpretations.⁷¹⁸

⁷¹⁸ Høgel reveals that much was retold in indirect speech in rewriting the old hagiographical texts; the narrator gives more information about the protagonists’ reactions, mode of speech, state of mind, etc. These details are explanation and interpretation of what is going on. The result is an interpretation that was not the only possible one when reading the old life, e.g. when the narrator tells that the persecutor who is speaking is lying and only trying to trap the martyr. C. Høgel, “The Redaction of Symeon Metaphrastes: Literary Aspects of the Metaphrastic Martyria,” in *Metaphrasis. Redactions and Audiences in Middle Byzantine Hagiography*, ed. C. Høgel (Oslo: The Research Council of Norway, 1996), 15 (hereafter Høgel, “The Redaction of Symeon Metaphrastes”).

The insults are an addition to emotional and subjective tone in the narratives. BHG 948 lacks the offences and Probus is never characterized by the insulting words. On the contrary, he is represented as more than willing to let Irenaeus free if only he sacrifices. In BHG 949e, Irenaeus and Probus put down each other in a sharp tone. While BHG 948 contains the sentence: “I advice you, young guy, to sacrifice, so that I do not have to expose you to different troubles,” in BHG 949e, the same line goes as follows: “Before you receive the answer, you miserable man, be willing to sacrifice to the gods, so that you do not die in an evil way.” In BHG 950z, Probus calls Irenaeus “the most sacrilegious one (ἄσεβέστατος),” while Irenaeus calls Probus “the totally unlawful one” (παρανομώτατος). Therefore, BHG 949e and BHG 950z insist on the rudeness and widen the gap between the Roman authority and the martyr.

In the section related to the persecution, Probus appears as upset in all the texts; however, BHG 949e repeats it several times. Irenaeus’ answers to this are different in BHG 948 and BHG 949e. BHG 948 contains a brief response to Probus, while afterwards the martyr speaks directly to the Lord. In BHG 949e, the entire speech is directed to Probus and Irenaeus convinces him that the punishment is in fact a reward for him.

BHG 948	BHG 949e
<p>“I understand God’s grace; because of the manifold expectance of death, the brighter crown I am joyfully expecting!”</p> <p>“Lord, let the heavens open up and accept the soul of your slave. For your people and the Catholic Church and its complete fullness, believing in you, Lord, I suffer everything.” And smitten by sword, he was thrown to the river Sava.”</p>	<p>“Even if you by all means subject me to the sword, I accept that also eagerly. Yes, indeed I consider myself worthy of it, for you will plait bigger crowns and rewards for me by imposing it. I was hoping for some other more terrible punishments to withstand for Christ than those that were brought upon me. Now I consider these more like luxuries than punishments.”</p>

In BHG 950z a completely new feature appears in this section, unparalleled to any other versions. Namely, Probus takes the two other persons from the crowd to be persecuted (Or and Oropseus). This part of the narrative is highly dramatic, with the gradual sequence of severe tortures, from which the two characters miraculously escape. This section cannot be compared to the other two martyrdoms, and the sources should be sought out elsewhere.

The last section is completely different in the three texts. BHG 948 has a synaxarial description of the martyrdom, containing the details of the occurrence of the event, time, place, and rule. BHG 949e contains the prayer to the martyr. The martyr is asked to provide the

<p>μνηστέον εἰρηναῖος εἶπεν, ἐγὼ σὺν τῇ διαφορῇ τῶν θανάτων ἀπειλὴν ἐννοῶν προσδεχόμεναι αὐτὴν μεζώνως μελλόντος σου, καὶ εἴποι με ὑποβόλαιν διὰ εἰ βοῦλαι παρακλήσαντο καὶ τοῦ τοῦ πρῶτου ἵνα μόνος πᾶς ἡμεῖς αἱ χριστιανῶν, θανάτου καταπονοῦμεν διὰ τὴν εἰς τὸν θῆλον ἡμῶν πιστὴν περὶ τὸν αἰῶνα.</p> <p>ἰρηναῖος οὖν ὁ ἡμεῶν ἐπὶ τῇ παρρησίᾳ τοῦ μακαρίου μάρτυρος εἰρηναίου ἐκτελεσάτω εἴποι αὐτὸν ἀναλαμβάνει ὁ δὲ στυγερὸς μάρτυς, ὡς περὶ δευτέρου βολέου ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς γενέσεως, εἶπεν θεῶν χάριν ἡμεῶν, τῶν δὲ πολλῶν θανάτων ὑπομνήσεως λαμπροῦν μὴ στεφανῶν χαρισμένην μετὰ τοῦ παραγενέσθαι εἰς τὴν γαλήνην ἥτις καλεῖται ὁρμητὴς ἀποδοθεῖς τὰ ἡμέτια, καὶ ἀνταίνειν εἰς τὴν οὐρανὴν τὰς χεῖρας πρὸς τοὺς εἰσὶν κληρικοὺς ἀναχθῆναι αἱ οὐρανῶν καὶ ὑπερβῆναι τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ δούλου σου, ὡς περὶ τὸ λαὸν σου καὶ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ παντὸς τοῦ πληρώματος αὐτῆς, οὐκ πιστεύειν κληρικοὺς ταῦτα πύργου, καὶ ἐλπίσει τὸ εἶποι ἐπιμνησθῆναι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα πιστῶν.</p> <p>ἐπαρχὴ δὲ ταῦτα μὴν ἀκούσας, εἰκότι πρῶτη ἐν σπυρίδι, ἡμερομένουτος προφῶν, κατὰ δὲ ἡμῶν βουλεύμενος τοῦ ἐκείνου ἡμῶν ἡρωῶν χριστοῦ, μετὰ τοῦ τοῦ πρῶτου σὺν τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι δόξα τῇ καὶ κράτος, νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ τοῖς αἰῶσι τοῖς αἰῶσι πάντων αἰῶνων, ἀμήν.</p>	<p>εἴποι με πάντως εἰ γε καθυποβόλης δέχομαι καὶ τοῦτο πρόθυμος καὶ ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸν μεζώνως γὰρ μὴ τοὺς στεφανῶν πλέξει καὶ τὰ βροχία, καὶ τοῦτο προσθεῖς ἔπειθον γὰρ ἄλλος τῶνδε ἡμεῶν τῶν κολάσεως, πᾶν προσηγορεύον μὴ διὰ χριστοῦ ὑπομνήσειν, νῦν δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τρυφῶς μάλλον ἢ κολάσεως ἡρώδης, αὐτοῦ οὕτω ῥηθῆναι, ὅτις ὁ παρόφρων πληροῦς τὴν τε διὰ τῆς κατὰ δόξαν.</p> <p>ἡμεῖς αὐτὸν καὶ περὶ τὸν πύργον ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἐκτελέσειν.</p> <p>Ἀφαινοῦνται ταῦτα σὺν παντὶ μάρτυς αἱ στυγερῶν, πρὸς τὴν οὕτω καλουμένην γαλήνην ὁρμητὴν, ἀποδοῦν πρόθυμος τὰ ἡμέτια, γαλήνην ἵσταται, δεχθὲν τὴν τομὴν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπαφίη, καὶ νῦν σὺν ἀγγέλοις περὶ τὸν θρόνον ὡς ὁρμητὴς ὡς μάρτυς στεφανῶν τὸν δεσποτικὸν αἵτησι δορυφῆται παρὰ θεοῦ, βοῦλαι ἡμῶν τῶν δούλων καὶ φιλέων, καὶ πάντων ἐνοσηνομένων τοῖς καλοῖς προσηγορίαις. Μέθυσιν ζωῆς μακρᾶς καὶ ἀπείρου, ἵλας παθῶν ἀλλοτριῶν, χρυσῶν ἔργων τὴν καλὴν μετουσίαν, ἀριστεριῶν τὴν κατὰ θεὸν πάντων, ἡμέρας ἀνεσπερὶ τὸν καλὸν κληρὸν, λαμπρῶν δόξων καὶ καλῶν ἐνοσημάτων. Πάντων ἐφεσὶν τὴν ἀκατοῦν δόξαν, καὶ βασιλείας θεοῦ τὴν κληρονομίαν, ὅτι αὐτὸν πρέπει ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος, νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας πάντων αἰῶνων, ἀμήν.</p>
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Intertextuality of BHG 948 and 949e

Intertextuality presupposes containing parts and sections of one text within the other. Intertextuality is brought into play in this dissertation to define the connections among the different textual versions of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus*. Everything that does not pertain to intertextuality (the sections of the various versions that overlap) will fall under the analysis of metaphrastic processes.

The two features, intertextuality and *metaphrasis*, are entwined in the text. The processes of textual transformation do not presuppose only changes of form, amputations and extensions, but also more complex changes of substance. Reductions and augmentations, by reducing and augmenting length, also introduce innovations that affect not only length but also structure and substance.⁷²⁰ Reduction and augmentation of a text is production of another text, briefer or longer, which derives from it, but not without its alteration in various manners.⁷²¹ Certainly, this analysis is most fruitful when applied to the different BHG variants.

How do the BHG variants of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus* relate intertextually? The introductory moralizing part in BHG 948 is *amputated* in BHG 949e. In the parallel sections of BHG 949e and BHG 948 (part 1 – part 2), the key words repeat, around which the narratives are put up in a completely different manner.

BHG 948	BHG 949e
<p>ὁ δὲ γέγονεν καὶ περὶ τὸν <u>μακάριον</u> ἐπίσκοπον <u>εἰρηναῖον</u>. τῆς τοῦ σιρμίου πόλεως. οὗτος γὰρ δι' ἐπιείκειαν ὑπερβάλλουσιν. καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸ θεῖον εὐλάβειαν. τοῖς ἔργοις κυρῶν τὴν προσηγορίαν. καὶ νέος τῆς προεδρίας ἀξιοθεῖς. καταλαβόντος αὐτὸν τοῦ διωγμοῦ τοῦ γενομένου ἐπὶ <u>διοκλητιανῷ</u> καὶ <u>μαξιμιανῷ</u> καὶ κωνσταντίῳ τῶν βασιλέων. οὐχ' ὥσπερ ἔνιοι τιμῶ πράγματι μόνω χρώμενος.</p>	<p>Ἄρτι τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ κακίᾳ περιβοήτων. <u>διοκλητιανῷ</u> φημι καὶ <u>μαξιμιανῷ</u>. τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπιλαβομένων. καὶ κακῶς αὐτῇ κεκρημένων. διατάγματά τε προτιθεμένων κατὰ τῶν εὐρισκομένων χριστιανῶν. ὁ <u>μακάριος</u> <u>εἰρηναῖος</u>. τῶν ἡπειλημένων ἐκείνων κολαστερίων καταφρονήσας καὶ τῆς σφοδροτάτης ἀνάγκης. ἅτε ἱερεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑφίστου τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας</p>

⁷²⁰ Genette, *Palimpsests*, 229.

⁷²¹ Ibid.

καὶ προστετηκὼς τοῖς τῇ δε μᾶλλον πράγμασιν.	λόγον ἐδίδασκε καὶ πολλοὺς τῆς ἀθείας ἐπέστρεφε πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἐπίγνωσιν.
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It is apparent that the repeated key words name the characters of the narrative, Irenaeus, Diocletian, Maximian, and use the common adjective that describes the martyr Irenaeus (μακάριος). The rest of both paragraphs is a result of *metaphrasis*. Their focus is different; whereas BHG 948 describes firmness of martyr's faith, using the encomiastic epithets for martyr, his bishop's title, *locus* (Sirmium), the focus of BHG 949e is on the severity of the persecutions, punishments, and the educational side of Irenaeus' conversional activities. Therefore, the two paragraphs have different topical choices, which might reflect the different functions ascribed to the texts.

The section describing the suffering of the family displays that more words and phrases overlap.

BHG 948	BHG 949e
<p>λύπη τὴν παροῦσαν χαρὰν ἡμαύρωσεν. ἀλλὰ ἀκάμπτω καὶ ἀνενδότω προθυμία χρώμενος. καὶ τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτεινόμενος ἔσπευδεν ἐπὶ τὸ βραβεῖον τῆς ἄνω κλήσεως. οὐκ ἐξέλυσαν γοῦν αὐτοῦ τὴν στερότητα ὕβρεις. <u>ποικίλα</u> πάθη σημαίνουσαι. οὐ <u>ποταμοὶ</u> ἀπειλούμενοι. οὐ <u>κρημνοὶ</u> καὶ βασάνων εἶδη διάφορα. οὐ τότε πάντων ἀλγεινότερον. <u>Τέκνα</u> μετὰ συγγενῶν. καὶ φίλων ὀλοφυρόμενα. <u>οἷς εἰώθασι[ν]</u> <u>καταμαλάττεσθαι</u> πᾶτέρες ὀλιγόψυχοι. ὅτ' ἂν <u>παῖδες</u> τοῖς ποσὶ μετὰ <u>δακρύων</u> περιπλέκωνται. <u>γυναικὸς</u> ὀλοφυρομένης ὄψις κατηφής. γονέων πένθος ἐφ' οὗ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀκμάζοντι. οἰκείων στεναγμός. καὶ θρήνος <u>φίλων</u>. καὶ γνωρίμων. ἐτι νεάζουσιν ἀκμὴν μετὰ δεήσεως οἰκτεῖται προτρεπομένων· τοῦτοις πᾶσιν οἷς εἶπον οὐκ ἐκάμπτετο. ἀλλὰ καθάπερ εἶπομεν. τῷ τῶν κρειττόνων ἔρωτι κατεχόμενος καὶ τὸν φόβον τῆς κρίσεως πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχων. δεδοικῶς δὲ τὴν φωνὴν ἐκεῖνη[ν] τοῦ κ[υ]ρίου τὴν λέγουσαν. <u>ἐάν τις ἀρνήσεται με ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων</u>. ἀρνήσομαι αὐτόν <u>ἐγὼ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ π[α]τρ[ο]ῦ μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐ[ρα]νοῖς</u>. <u>πάντων ὑπερφρονήσας</u> τῶν χαλεπώτερων κολαστηρίων, ἔσπευδεν ἐπὶ τὴν προκειμένην ἐλπίδα.</p>	<p>μὴ θυμὸν ὑποπτήσων ἀρχοντικόν. μὴ κολάσεις <u>ποικίλας</u>. μὴ <u>ποταμοὺς</u>. μὴ <u>κρημνοὺς</u>. οἷς οἱ διὰ χριστόν ἀθλοῦντες ἐπερριπτοῦντο. μὴ <u>καταμαλακίζόμενος</u>. <u>οἷς εἰώθασι</u> ἀνθρώποι <u>καταμαλακίζεσθαι</u>. προσπαθεία <u>τεκόντων</u> δηλαδή. <u>παίδων</u> ὀρφανία. <u>δάκρυσι γυναικῶν</u>. ἡλικιωτῶν αὐτῶν συμβουλαῖς. <u>φίλων</u> καὶ συγγενῶν ὀδυρμοῖς. μὴδ' ἄλλοις τισὶ τοιούτοις ὅλως ἡττώμενος ἢ καὶ πρὸς τι τούτων καταπληττόμενος. τὴν δεσποτικὴν πάντως φωνὴν ἐπὶ μνήμης ἔχων. καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖσε φρίττων δικαιοτήρια. <u>ὅστις γὰρ ἀρνήσεται με φη[σίν]</u> <u>ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων</u>. ἀρνήσομαι <u>τοῦτον</u> <u>ἐγὼ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ π[α]τρ[ο]ῦ μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐ[ρα]νοῖς</u>. Ἐνθεν τοι καὶ <u>πάντων καταφρονήσας</u>. χαίρων ἐχώρει πρὸς τὸ μαρτύριον.</p>

The overlapping words appear in the different grammatical forms in the two versions. This does not downsize the fact that one of these texts performed the intertextual influence on the

other, as the number of the correspondences is too high to be accidental. BHG 948 is *expanded* by manifold stylistic embellishments, while BHG 949e is *concised*. BHG 948 contains two particularly long augmentations, which describe the same subject matter of the paragraph in more detail – suffering of the family. There is no topical divergence of the two paragraphs at this point.

Towards the end, there is a *citation* from Mathew 10:33 in both texts. Therefore, both texts are the hypertexts of the quotation from the Bible. In the last line, the word πάντων repeats. The verb that follows in participle aorist active is the same in both texts, but with the different prefix. In BHG 948, the line is “he hoped for the future hope,” while in BHG 949e, it is “he joyfully proceeded towards martyrdom.” The changing strategies of the two textual versions could be seen in the replacement of one word for another; what was “hope” in one version (as seen through the eyes of the martyr) is turned into “martyrdom” in the other version, as the realistic image of what audience sees. This word replacement is another example of the distancing of the text from the historical event and its adjustment to the contemporary audience; the change occurred where the audience could no longer understand it in the initial context.

BHG 948	BHG 949e
<p><u>προσαχθεῖς</u> οὖν τῷ τηνικαῦτα τῆς παννονίας ἡγεμόνι <u>πρόβῳ</u> καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς εἰ βούλοιο θῆσαι ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ μακάριος εἰρηναῖος. <u>ἀλλ’ οὐδε ζῆν μεθ’ ὑμῶν αἰροῦμαι.</u> τότε ἀνελήφθη εἰς τὸ <u>δεσμοκτήριον</u> ἐκ πλείονων δέ <u>ἡμερῶν</u> ἐν τῇ τῆς εἰρκτῆς φρουρᾷ παραδοθεὶς. μέσης νυκτὸς προκαθίσαντος <u>τοῦ ἡγεμόνος.</u> προσήχθη πάλιν ὁ μακάριος εἰρηναῖος καὶ ποικίλας <u>βασάνους</u> ὑπομείνας. καὶ ἐρωτώμενος διὰ τί οὐκ ἐπιθύει, ἀπεκρίθη ὅτι Θεοῖν ἔχω, ὃν ἐκ παιδὸς ἡλικίας σέβειν δεδίδαγμαί. καὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις ὑφ’ ὑμῶν θεοῖς. προσκυνεῖν οὐ δύναμαι. πρόβος ἡγεμῶν εἶπεν. κέρδησον τὸν θάνατον ἄρκεσθεις αἷς ὑπομεμένηκας ὕβρεσιν εἰρηναῖος εἶπεν. κερδαίνω μετ’ οὐ πολὺ τὸν θάνατον, ὅτ’ ἂν διὰ τοῦ παρὰ σοῦ θανάτου. τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἀπολάβω. πρόβος εἶπεν. <u>υἱοὺς ἔχεις; ἀπεκρίνατο· οὐκ ἔχω. πρόβος εἶπεν. γονεῖς ἔχεις; ἀπεκρίθη· οὐκ ἔχω.</u> ταῦτα δε ἔλεγεν ὁ μακάριος εἰρηναῖος. τὴν τοῦ κυρίου ἐντολὴν λέγουσαν. <u>ὁ φιλῶν πιατέραν ἢ μητέραν ὑπὲρ ἐμέ. ἢ ἀδελφοὺς ἢ γυναῖκα. ἢ τέκνα. οὐκ ἔστιν μου ἄξιος;</u> πρὸς ὃν ἀτενίζων ὁ μακάριος ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ὅλως ἦν τῷ φρονήματι διαιτῶμενος. ἅπασαν τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην διάθεσιν καταλυπών. καὶ οὐδένα πλεον τοῦ κυρίου εἰδέναι καὶ ἔχειν ὁμολόγει. πάλιν οὖν εἶπεν πρὸς</p>	<p>Συσχεθεὶς γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀσεβῶν. καὶ τῷ τοῦ <u>πρόβου</u> βήματι <u>προσαχθεῖς.</u> ἐν τῷ σημίῳ τότε διάγοντος. ὅλος ἄτρεπτος. ὅλος ἀκατάπληκτος ἔστη. διὸ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ τῆς ἀνομίας υἱός· τίς καὶ πόθεν καὶ τίνα τὰ κατὰ σοῦ φημιζόμενα. λέγε τὸ τάχος ἔφη. καὶ τίς ἡ κλήσις αὐτῇ. καὶ ἐπεὶ μάθοι τὰ περὶ τούτων ἠκριβωμένως. θύσον εἰρηναῖε λέγει τοῖς ἀνικητοῖς θεοῖς. ἵνα δὴ καὶ τῶν προεπταισμένων σοι τὴν συγχώρησιν λάβης. καὶ τῶν μενουσῶν σε βασάνων ἀπαλλαγῇς καὶ μείνης μεθ’ ἡμῶν εὐφραίνόμενος. καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν· <u>Ἄλλ’ οὐ θύσω ποτέ πρόβε. φησὶ ἐκεῖνος. οὐδε γὰρ ζῆν μεθ’ ὑμῶν αἰροῦμαι.</u> οὔτε μὴν τὸν ἐμὸν χριστόν ὅλως ἀρνήσομαι. Θεοῖν ἀληθῇ τυγχάνοντα. καὶ τῶν ἀπάντων ποιητὴν καὶ δεσπότην. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως εἰπόντα τὸν μάρτυρα. τὸ <u>δεσμοκτήριον</u> εἶχεν. <u>ἡμερῶν</u> δέ παρελθουσῶν οὐκ ὀλίγων τὸ δικαστήριον αὐτὸν διεδέξατο. πρὸς ὃν <u>ὁ ἡγεμῶν.</u> δεινὸν ἀπιδὼν. καὶ τοῦτον θύειν ἀπαναγκάζων. ἐπεὶ μὴ πειθόμενον εἶχε. κολάσεσιν ὑπέβαλλε χαλεπαῖς καὶ ποικίλαις. ξεσμοῖς. μάστιγι. ταῖς ἐκ ράβδων πληγαῖς. καὶ πάσαις ἄλλης <u>βασάνου</u> κακουργίας. ὥς δέ πρὸς ταῦτα μηδαμῶς ἐνεδίδου. καὶ πυρὸς ὁ μάρτυς φεῦ καθυπέμεινε καὶ σιν. καὶ καθ’ ἐκάστην βάσανον. ἀρνήσασθαι παρεβιάζετο τὸν χριστόν. καὶ τοῖς κιβδηλοῖς λατρεῦσαι θεοῖς.</p>

<p>αὐτὸν ὁ ἡγεμὼν οἶδά σε υἱοὺς ἔχοντα. κἂν δι' αὐτοὺς ἐπιθυσον ἵνα ζῆς. ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ μακάριος εἰρηναῖος οἱ υἱοί μου, θεοὶν ἔχουσιν ὡς κἀγώ. <u>ὅς δύναιται αὐτοὺς σῶσαι.</u> σύ δε. τὸ κελευσθέν σοι ποιήσον. πρόβος ἡγεμὼν εἶπεν. συμβουλεύω σοι νεώτερε ἐπιθῦσαι ἵνα μὴ διαφόροις σε αἰκισμοῖς ἀνέλω. εἰρηναῖος εἶπεν. <u>οὐκ ἐπιθύω.</u> ποίει ὁ θέλεις. γνώση γὰρ ὡς τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ χριστοῦ γενναίως πάντα ὑπομενῶ.</p>	<p>καὶ ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐπέθετο. τρόποις ἀπατελοῖς ὁ πρόβος ὑπέρχεται τοῦτον. <u>γυναῖκα ἔχεις εἰπὼν. υἱοὺς. καὶ λοιποὺς ἄλλους προσήκοντας.</u> μηδὲ τούτων στειρηθῆναι θελήσης. νέαν ἔτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἄγων τὴν ἡλικίαν. ἀλλὰ κἂν δι' αὐτοὺς ζῆν οὕτω καλῶς παρ' ἡμῖν ἐθέλησον. ἔσται σοι γὰρ καὶ πλοῦτος καὶ δόξα. καὶ τῶν ἄλλων καλῶν ἢ ἐπίδοσις. ταῦτα τούτου κομψῶς οὕτω καὶ περινενομημένως εἰπόντος. ὁ ἅγιος. τὰ μεν ἀκόλουθα τῆς ἀποκρίσεως ἀφείς. πρὸς ἓν δε τοῦτο συγκεφαλαιώσας τὸν λόγον. <u>ὁ φιλῶν εἶπε χριστόν φησὶ. Π[ατέ]ρα ἢ ἡ μ[ι]τή[ρ]α ἢ τέκνα. ἢ γυναῖκα. ἢ ἀδελφοὺς ὑπὲρ ἐμέ, οὐκέτι μου ἄξιος.</u> καὶ ταῦτα διδάξαντος. πῶς φησὶν ἐγὼ τούτου προτιμήσομαι τούτους. <u>ὅς καὶ αὐτοὺς δύναιται σῶσαι.</u> καὶ κληρονόμους ποιῆσαι τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας. καὶ ὁ πρόβος. Πρὸ τοῦ σε τὴν ἀπόφασιν δέξασθαι ταλαίπωρε. θῶσαι θέλησον τοῖς θεοῖς. ἵνα μὴ κακῶς ἀποθάνης. καὶ ὁ ἅγιος. <u>οὐ θύσω</u> παράνομε. οὐκ ἀρνήσομαι τὸν χριστόν μου μὴ γένοιτο. οὐ μὰ τοὺς ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἀγῶνας καὶ τὰ παλαίσματα. οὐκ ἂν εἴ τί μοι καὶ μείζον τῶν προλαβόντων καλῶν προσενέγκης. ἀρνεθῆην ἐγὼ ποτε τὸν ἐμὸν ποιητήν.</p>
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In the opening of the parallel paragraphs above, a few words repeat in both versions (προσαχθείς, Πρόβου). Further in BHG 948, interrogation continues immediately. Irenaeus' answer (οὐδέ γάρ ζῆν μεθ' ὑμῶν αἰροῦμαι) is not positioned at the same place in the two versions. BHG 949e contains a long augmentation, describing the circumstances of the interrogation by Probus. This section of BHG 949e is *expanded* by the stylistic additions and embellishments.

Another augmentation of BHG 949e describes the tortures that Irenaeus goes through, to which BHG 948 dedicates only a few words. BHG 949e *amplifies* the narrative at this point by the new thematic subject, which does not exist in the other version.

However, before the next intertextually congruent section, BHG 948 augments the narrative by *extending* the dialogue and negotiation between Irenaeus and Probus. This is the opportunity for a narrator to place the words into the martyr's mouth, which could inspire those who listen.

The next session, which corresponds intertextually, is the interrogation regarding the members of the family. Even though Probus mentions the different family members in the two versions, these sections correspond topically. There is an augmentation in BHG 949e, presenting

an *extension*, where Probus gives an exposition as to why is good for Irenaeus to sacrifice to the pagan gods. Also, there is a *citation* from Matthew 10:37 in both versions (ὁ φιλῶν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα ὑπὲρ ἐμέ. ἢ ἀδελφοὺς ἢ γυναῖκα. ἢ τέκνα. οὐκ ἔστιν μου ἄξιος). Towards the end of the passage, a few more parts of the sentences overlap intertextually. Otherwise, BHG 948 *extends* the narrative by the answers of Irenaeus, whereas BHG 949e gives the equal space to the lines uttered by Irenaeus and Probus at this point.

BHG 948	BHG 949e
<p>πρόβος ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἀπεφώνησεν ὅτι ἐπειδὴ πειθαρχῆσαι οὐ βούλει τῇ βασιλικῇ κελεύσει. διὰ τοῦτο. <u>κατὰ τὸ πρόσταγμα τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος</u> κατὰ τοῦ <u>ποταμοῦ ριφίση</u>. εἰρηναῖος εἶπεν. ἐγὼ σοὶ τὴν διάφορον τῶν θανάτων ἀπειλὴν ἐννοῶν. προσεδεχόμεν αὐτὴν <u>μειζόνως</u> μελλόντος σου. καὶ <u>ξίφει</u> με ὑποβαλλεῖν διὸ εἰ βούλει. παρακέκλησο καὶ τοῦ τὸ πράξει ἵνα μάθης. πῶς ἡμεῖς οἱ χριστιανοὶ. θανάτου καταφρονοῦμεν. διὰ τὴν εἰς τὸν Θεόν ἡμῶν πίστιν τετελειώμενοι. ὀργισθεῖς οὖν ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἐπὶ τῇ παρόρησίᾳ τοῦ μακαρίου μάρτυρος εἰρηναίου ἐκέλευσε[ν] <u>ξίφει</u> αὐτὸν ἀναλωθῆναι ὁ δὲ ἀγιώτατος μάρτυς ὥσπερ δευτέρου <u>βραβείου</u> ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος. εἶπεν· Θεῷ χάριν ὁμολογῶ. τῷ δια ποικίλης θανάτου ὑπομονῆς. λαμπρότερόν μοι <u>στέφανον</u> χαρισάμενο. μετὰ τὸ παραγενέσθαι εἰς τὸν γεφύραν ἥτις καλεῖται ἄρτεμις. ἀποδυθεὶς τὰ ἱμάτια. καὶ ἀνατείνας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν τὰς χεῖρας. ἤρξατο οὕτως εἰπών· κ[ύρι]ε. ἀνοιχθήτωσαν οἱ οὐρανοὶ καὶ ὑποδεξάσθωσαν τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ δούλου σου. ὑπὲρ τε τοῦ λαοῦ σου καὶ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας. καὶ παντὸς τοῦ πληρώματος αὐτῆς. σοὶ πιστεύων κ[ύρι]ε. ταῦτα πάσχω. καὶ πληγείς τῷ ξίφει. ἐπέμφθη εἰς τὸν σάον ποταμὸν.</p>	<p>τότε δὴ τῷ τυμῷ σφαδάζων ὁ πρόβος· <u>κατὰ τὸ πρόσταγμα</u> φησὶ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων. πρὸς τὸν ἅγιον ἔφη. τῇ φορᾷ δοθείση <u>τοῦ ποταμοῦ</u>. καὶ τί τοῦτο. φησὶν ὁ ἅγιος. καὶ <u>ξίφει</u> με πάντως εἴ γε καθυποβάλῃς. δέχομαι καὶ τοῦτο προθύμως. ναὶ δὴ καὶ ἄξιῳ. <u>μειζονας</u> γάρ μοι τοὺς <u>στεφάνους</u> πλέξεις καὶ τὰ <u>βραβεῖα</u>. καὶ τοῦτο προσθεῖς. ἡλιπζον γὰρ ἄλλας τινὰς δεινότερας κολάσεις. τῶν προεπενεχθεισῶν μοι διὰ χριστόν ὑπομῖναι. νῦν δέ καὶ ταῦτα τρυφᾷς μᾶλλον ἢ κολάσεις ἡγοῦμαι. τούτων οὕτω ρηθέντων. ὀργῆς ὁ παράφορος πληρωθεὶς. τὸν τε διὰ ξίφους καταδικάζει θάνατον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν <u>εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν</u> ὡς προέφη. κατὰδυσιν.</p>

In the chart above, after part of the sentence and several words, which overlap in both paragraphs (κατὰ τὸ πρόσταγμα τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, ποταμοῦ), augmentation is present in BHG 948 in the form of Irenaeus' speeches. The inserted lines of his speech *extended* these sections. There are three expositions of Irenaeus, one before and one after he receives the verdict, as well as one on the bridge, before the beheading. In the section describing Irenaeus on the bridge, his speech and performance are particularly *excised* from the other versions.

Looking at BHG 949e, one notices that it also contains the speech of Irenaeus. Topically, the two sections agree as they both contain the dialogue. However, Irenaeus does not address Probus in the same way in the two versions. BHG 948 presents both characters as relatively

respectful to each others. Irenaeus encourages Probus to expose him to sacrifice, and emphasizes that Probus was kind in his treatment. In BHG 949e, the dialogue between the characters is hostile. Even the use of the same word, *μειζόνως*, does not bring in the same meaning. Finally, BHG 948 names the *locus*, the river Sava, while BHG 949e disregards this information. This could be another sign that *locus* did not matter in the time when BHG 949e was written.

Altogether, BHG 948 and BHG 949e contain a great deal of intertextual borrowings. One text was certainly used in rewriting of the other. All sorts of textual transformations were applied in the processes of *metaphrasis*. The most dominating types were expansion and concision, the two forms, which prompt narrating in a more expanded or concise way, but with stylistic embellishments. Such innovations were introduced due to the changing aims of the rewritten texts.⁷²²

The conclusion proposes a new view towards *metaphrasis* – it was not employed only when there was a need to expurgate a text from the suspicious contents or when a text needed to be elevated to a more elaborate style. It was also successfully applied when a need arose for the changing purposes of a text.

Intertextuality of BHG 950z

BHG 950z text, first of all, contains the section of the narrative introducing Or and Oropseus, which does not appear in BHG 948 and BHG 949e. The section about Or and Oropseus intertextually does not correspond to the two other Greek versions, and its intertextual paradigms are to be sought in the other sources.

The introduction is longer than in the other two versions and it is an outcome of rewriting, an *extension*. This particularly pertains to the second part of the introduction, which discusses the details of the persecution. The subjects of the introduction are the severity of the persecution, Irenaeus' role in it, and his victimization. In this section, there are still some common words and phrases, which are the same as in BHG 948 and BHG 949e: *μάρτυρα Εἰρηναῖον, ἡ τοῦ Σιρμίου πόλις, Διοκλητιανοῦ τοίνυν καί Μαξιμιανοῦ*. Topically, Irenaeus

⁷²² BHG 949e gives space to Probus' speech, to suffering of the martyr and the suffering of his relatives and friends. BHG 948, on the other hand, gives space to Irenaeus' answers, where the martyr is able to explain his point of view.

is described as a victim, while his sacrifice is placed in the larger context of the violent persecution. This change of tone points out to the new function ascribed to the text.

Needless to say, the section about the suffering of the family of Irenaeus, which appears in both BHG 948 and BHG 949e, is completely *amputated* from the BHG 950z textual version.

The beginning of the part two on the trial is *extended* by Probus' novel way of persuasion directed to Irenaeus. In this part, BHG 950z intertextually overlaps on two occasions both with BHG 949e and BHG 948. The syntagm of BHG 949e “καὶ τῷ τοῦ πρόβου βήματι προσαχθεὶς ἐν τῷ σπημίῳ” goes as follows in BHG 950z: “καὶ συλληφθεὶς τῷ βήματι τούτου προσάγεται.” BHG 948 uses only the verb προσαχθεὶς.

The sentence in both BHG 948 and 949e: “But, I do not want to live among you” (ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ζῆν αἰροῦμαι σὺν ὑμῖν) appears in BHG 950z as well. The full phrase does not overlap with neither one of the other two versions, as they use the phrase μεθ’ ὑμῶν.

Further in the section on trial, several correspondences appear between BHG 950z and 949e.

BHG 950z	BHG 949e
ταῦτα τοῦτον εἰπόντα δεσμὰ λαμβάνουσιν εὐθὺς καὶ <u>τό δεσμοκτήριον</u> . Ἡμέραι παρήλθον οὐχὶ συχναί, καὶ μέσης νυκτὸς ὁ πρόβος εἰς ἐξέτασιν προκαθίσας, ὅτε δὴ πάντως εἰς οὗς αὐτῷ λελάληκεν ὁ σατανᾶς, ἄγει τὸν μάρτυρα πρὸς ἐρώτησιν καὶ <u>θῦσαι τοῦτον ἡνάγκαζε</u> τοῖς βδελύγμασιν.	Ἀλλὰ <u>ταῦτα</u> μὲν οὕτως εἰπόντα τὸν μάρτυρα. <u>τὸ δεσμοκτήριον</u> εἶχεν. <u>ἡμερῶν δὲ παρελθουσῶν οὐκ</u> ὀλίγων τὸ δικαστήριον αὐτὸν διεδέξατο. πρὸς ὃν ὁ ἡγεμὼν. δεινὸν ἀπιδὼν. καὶ <u>τοῦτον θύειν ἀπαναγκάζων</u> .

This passage displays strong intertextual connections between the two texts, not only in the same word choice, but also in the use of constructions (accusative absolute, genitive absolute, ἀναγκάζω + infinitive). From the same passage, there is an overlapping word, which appears in both BHG 950z and BHG 948: προκαθίσας/προκαθίσαντος.

What follows further in BHG 950z is the section, which intertextually corresponds to BHG 949e, describing the tortures. Unlike in BHG 949e, which devotes a longer section to it, BHG 950z *concises* it to only one sentence, but this sentence uses the same words as BHG 949e.

BHG 950z	BHG 949e
ὥς δὲ μὴ ἔπειθε, <u>μαστιρίζει</u> δεινῶς, <u>ξέει</u> πικρῶς, φλέγει φρικτῶς τῷ <u>πυρί</u> . γενναίως τοίνυν ὑπομεμενηκότος αὐτοῦ τὰς <u>κολάσεις</u> ὁ δυσσεβὴς καὶ κατάρατος ἄρχων αὐθις αὐτὸν πρὸς θυσίαν καλεῖ,	ἐπεὶ μὴ <u>πειθόμενον</u> εἶχε. <u>κολάσεσιν</u> ὑπέβαλλε χαλεπαῖς καὶ ποικίλαις. <u>ξεσμοῖς</u> . <u>μάστιξι</u> . ταῖς ἐκ ῥάβδων πληγαῖς. καὶ πάσαις ἄλλης βασάνου κακουργίαις. ὥς δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα μηδαμῶς ἐνεδίδου. καὶ <u>πυρὸς</u> ὁ μάρτυς φεῦ καθυπέμεινε καῦσιν. καὶ καθ’ ἐκάστην βάσανον. ἀρνήσασθαι <u>παρεβιάζετο</u> τὸν χριστόν.

The section points out that the specific key words are repeated in both textual versions, although in the different grammatical forms, which does not change the strong intertextual analogy of the two texts in this section.

In general, BHG 950z demonstrates intertextual connections with BHG 949e, while it overlaps with BHG 948 only in the cases when BHG 949e has the same word choice. However, the phrase τὸν σαόν ποταμὸν contained in BHG 948 appears in BHG 950z – τῷ ποταμῷ Σάῳ, and not in BHG 949e. It has already been stressed that some versions contain this geographical term and some do not. The river Sava is also recounted in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*, entry on Irenaeus. It is possible that a narrator of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus* (BHG 950z) relied on the entries on Irenaeus, and Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus from the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* while working on this text, or on some of its variants.⁷²³

The section of BHG 950z about Or and Oropseus was influenced by the entries in the *Synaxarion*. The analysis reveals common intertextual sections. This part of the narrative in BHG 950z begins with the furiousness of the governor Probus, deciding that the “all-honorable head” (of Irenaeus) be cut off by sword. The two other actors appear – Or and Oropseus. Probus takes them randomly from the crowd gathered around the persecution. As they also refuse to sacrifice to the pagan gods, they are to be persecuted.

BHG 950z contains the sentence, “immediately (Probus) placed in the middle also famous Or and wise Oropseus” (αὐτίκα δὲ παρίστησιν εἰς μέσον καὶ Ὁρ τὸν κλεινὸν καὶ Ὁρόψεω τὸν σοφόν), which repeats the same verb as both entries in the *Synaxarion* (on Irenaeus, and on Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus). Further, in the episode of throwing the saints to the fire, BHG 950z uses the expression “he threw them in a fire” (πυρὶ παραδίδωσι), while the synaxarial version on Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus uses the expression πυρὶ ἀπορρίπτεται.

The following sentence in BHG 950z has several words in common with the entry on Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus in the *Synaxarion*: “Rain poured down from above and extinguished the fire” (ὑετὸς γὰρ ἄνωθεν κατενεχθεὶς ἀπέσβεσε τοῦτο). In the synaxarial version, it goes as follows: Παραυτὰ δὲ ὑετοῦ καταρραγέντος ἄνωθεν καὶ τοῦ πυρός σβεσθέντος.

⁷²³ The *Synaxarion of Constantinople* is edited by the Bollandists with the following title: Delehaye, *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*. The use of the entries from this edition has to be taken with reservation. Namely, the edition is made on the basis of a twelfth-century manuscript, while *synaxaria* with the different readings and variations existed in the Mediterranean world.

In the scene of throwing the saints to the beasts, in BHG 950z the line is: “Probus, fighting in his soul, threw them to wild beasts” (θυμομαχήσας ὁ Πρόβος θηρίοις τούτους ἐκδίδωσιν). In the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (entry on Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus), it goes as follows: εἰθ’ οὕτως θηρίοις ἐβλήθησαν βρῶμα. While there is only one word, which overlaps in this example, it is interesting that BHG 950z uses the verb “to give” instead of “to throw,” emphasizing that the martyrs were not thrown, but given to the beasts, which possibly reflects a wish of the narrator to choose more moderate verb while expressing the punishment of the martyr. Such feature reveals narrator’s biased attitude in rewriting the martyrdom.

In the scene where the martyrs are hanged on the tree, BHG 950z has a line: “He hanged them on a tree” (ξύλω ἀναρτᾷ). In the *Synaxarion* (entry on Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus), it is: ἐπὶ ξύλου ἀναρτῶνται. In the scene of scraping, the *Synaxarion* (Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus) uses the verb ξέω, while BHG 950z uses the verb ξαίνω. BHG 950z contains the sentence at this point, with which the *Synaxarion* (entry on Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus) ends: “Then he ordered that their heads be cut off with a sword” (εἶπα καὶ ξίφει τάς αὐτῶν κεφαλὰς ἐκμηθῆναι κελεύει). The underlined sections demonstrate the words that repeat in both entries of the *Synaxarion*. However, the section in BHG 950z ends with the conclusion:

So then, they too were taken along with the holy martyr Irenaeus to the place of consummation and they received their blessed death. Then they were also thrown into the river Sava,⁷²⁴ so named.

To sum up, BHG 949e and BHG 950z have the intertextual connections. Also, BHG 950z has the strong intertextual connections with both entries of the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (on Irenaeus, and on Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus). However, BHG 948 has only a few common lines with BHG 950z, and only those, which appear in the other versions as well. This is an important conclusion, as BHG 948 proves to be the version, translated in the other languages, while BHG 950z appears as the text unrelated to it. The manuscript evidence shows that BHG 950z appears in the manuscript Jerusalem Taphou 17, and in the several later Jerusalem and Athonite manuscripts. This version could have been restricted to these geographical areas. On the contrary, BHG 948 appears as a translation in the Latin, Slavonic and Armenian realms.

⁷²⁴ I have already stressed that the river Sava appears in BHG 950z probably as this text was influenced intertextually by the entry on Irenaeus in the *Synaxarium of Constantinople*, and not by BHG 948.

Regarding *metaphrasis*, BHG 950z to the largest part applies the techniques of extension and excision, that is, simple additions and cut offs. This is an indicator not of the improvement of style or of writing something completely different on the basis of the other known text, but an indicator that this text was not written on the basis of the other BHG versions. We know that BHG 950z relates to the entries of the *Synaxarion*, and it could have been created on the basis of them. Its intertextual connections to BHG 949e are explainable only if the latter appeared later than BHG 950z. In that sense, BHG 949e was created on the basis of the sources (BHG 948 and BHG 950z), which did not have common points earlier.

Intertextuality of BHG 951

The version BHG 951 is the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus* (BHG 950z) without the prayer for the emperor. This version is preserved in only two manuscripts, Ambrosiana, B 1 inf., dated to the thirteenth century, and one other manuscript from the seventeenth or eighteenth century. Therefore, the omission of the prayer for the emperor was the practice already from the thirteenth century. A copyist wished to keep the narrative, but the prayer itself probably did not make any relevance at the time.

The manuscript Ambrosiana B 1 inf. emerged in the southern Italian context, whereas a monk that undertook the task of copying the manuscript travelled twice to the other monastery in order to accomplish this endeavor. The comparison of BHG 951 version from the Ambrosiana manuscript with BHG 950z in Jerusalem, Taphou 17 does not demonstrate any relevant differences, which would indicate the changing strategies of meaning. The only difference is the *excision* of the prayer for the emperor.

Intertextuality of BHG 950

The version BHG 950 appears in the two manuscripts, one medieval (Vienna Hist. gr. 45) and one early modern manuscript. This version presents nothing further than the two synaxarial entries joined together – the entry of Irenaeus of Sirmium and of Irenaeus of Lyon from the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*. I have already argued in the second chapter for the possible reasons why the two saints were merged in the same martyrdom text.

The Irenaeus-of-Sirmium part of BHG 950 intertextually recalls the entry from the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*. The following chart demonstrates intertextuality of the two parallel texts:

BHG 950	Entry on Irenaeus in the <i>Synaxarion of Constantinople</i>
<p>Οὗτος ὁ ἅγιος ἱερομάρτυς εἰρηναῖος. Ἐπίσκοπος ἦν τοῦ σιρμίου. ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας διοκλητιανοῦ. καὶ κρατηθεὶς ἤχθη εἰς παντονίαν.⁷²⁵ καὶ παρέστη πρόβω τῷ ἡγεμόνι. ὁμολογῶν καὶ κηρύττων τὴν εἰς χριστὸν τὸν ἀληθινὸν θεὸν πίστιν. Διὸ κατακλείεται φρουρᾷ. καὶ πάλιν μαστίζεται. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα λαβὼν τὴν ἀπόφασιν. ἔστη εἰς τὸν τόπον τῆς γεφύρας τοῦ ποταμοῦ σάου. καὶ ἐκτείνας τὰς χεῖρας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἠΐξατο οὕτως· κῦριε ὑπόδεξαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου. καὶ στήσον τὸν πόλεμον. τὸν κατὰ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας σου γινόμενον. καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν. κρουσθεὶς τῷ ξίφει ἐρρίφη εἰς τὸν ποταμόν.</p>	<p>Οὗτος ὁ ἅγιος ἦν ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ κρατηθεὶς ἀπὸ τοῦ Σιρμίου ἤχθη εἰς Παννονίαν καὶ παρέστη Πρόβω τῷ ἡγεμόνι, ὁμολογῶν καὶ κηρύττων τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν τὸν ἀληθινὸν Θεὸν πίστιν. Διὸ κατακλείεται φρουρᾷ· καὶ ἐξαχθεὶς μαστίζεται, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα λαβὼν τὴν ἀπόφασιν ξίφει τὴν κεφαλὴν τμηθεὶς ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ρίπτεται Σάω· καὶ οὕτως ἐτελειώθη αὐτοῦ ἡ μαρτυρία.</p>

The initial lines of BHG 950 are identical with the entry from the *Synaxarion*, as the underlined text demonstrates. The differences in BHG 950 are characteristic in the second part. The scene where Irenaeus is already on the bridge over the river Sava, holding his hands up towards the sky, uttering a speech, is present only in BHG 948. In the following, the intertextual similarities of this part of BHG 948 with BHG 950 are demonstrated:

BHG 948	BHG 950
<p>παραγενέσθαι εἰς τὸν γεφύραν ἣτις καλεῖται ἄρτεμις. ἀποδυθεὶς τὰ ἱμάτια. καὶ ἀνατείνας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν τὰς χεῖρας. ἠΐξατο οὕτως εἰπὼν· κῦριε. ἀνοιχθήτωσαν οἱ οὐρανοὶ καὶ ὑποδεξάσθωσαν τὸ πνεῦμά μου. τοῦ δούλου σου. ὑπὲρ τε τοῦ λαοῦ σου καὶ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας. καὶ παντὸς τοῦ πληρώματος αὐτῆς. σοὶ πιστεύων κῦριε. ταῦτα πάσχω. καὶ πληγείς τῷ ξίφει. ἐπέμφθη εἰς τὸν σάον ποταμόν.</p>	<p>ἔστη εἰς τὸν τόπον τῆς γεφύρας τοῦ ποταμοῦ σάου. καὶ ἐκτείνας τὰς χεῖρας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἠΐξατο οὕτως· κῦριε ὑπόδεξαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου. καὶ στήσον τὸν πόλεμον. τὸν κατὰ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας σου γινόμενον. καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν. κρουσθεὶς τῷ ξίφει ἐρρίφη εἰς τὸν ποταμόν.</p>

Therefore, BHG 950 has intertextual correspondences with the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (entry on Irenaeus) and with BHG 948. This artificial hagiographical form is

⁷²⁵ Probably a mistake, instead of Παννονίαν.

apparently composed out of the two sources, with a few words that stay outside of the intertextual correspondences.

Greek Liturgical Canons

There are two liturgical canons, dedicated to Irenaeus and Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus respectively, preserved in the several manuscripts, starting from the eleventh century.⁷²⁶ Canons have a specific poetic form, consisting of a number of odes, which consist of a number of lines within the fixed form of stanza. What also pertain to the form are the repetitive common phrases, which appear occasionally, probably due to the rules of the genre. One such feature is the occasional addressing the martyrs, which sequences addressing Theotokos. However, the structure of the canons will not be the subject of the analysis in this dissertation.

The two canons were ascribed to Joseph the Hymnographer, who lived in the ninth century and wrote canons to saints extensively.⁷²⁷ While some scholars argue for Joseph's authorship, the others claim the anonymity of their author. If authored by Joseph, these two canons would be the only texts about Irenaeus, which have their author known. The canons bring in the interesting lines of thought regarding their intertextuality and connections to the other texts about Irenaeus. They introduce certain new *topoi*, unknown to the other texts. In the following, the new *topoi* from the canons, as well as the intertextual connections with the other writings about Irenaeus are to be presented. The canons are the special texts in the context of this hagiographical corpus.

The *Canon of Irenaeus* abounds with phrases uncommon for the rest of the corpus. Intertextually, the *Canon of Irenaeus* resembles BHG 949e, BHG 950z and the entry on Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus of the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*. The phrase Εἰρήνης ἐπόνυμος appears in BHG 950z as well. The phrase καὶ ποταμῷ ἀπορριφεῖς is common with BHG 950z.

⁷²⁶ For the overview of Byzantine hagiography in verse, see S. Efthymiadis, "Greek Byzantine Hagiography in Verse," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography II: Genres and Contexts*, ed. S. Efthymiadis (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), 161-180; see also A. Giannouli, "Byzantine Hagiography and Hymnography: an Interrelationship," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography II: Genres and Contexts*, ed. S. Efthymiadis (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), 285-312.

⁷²⁷ It has been known that Joseph has "brought back to life" many saints. According to the number of written canons, he wrote at least one canon for each day of the calendar year. In the words of N. P. Ševčenko, many of these saints were famous, but dozens were totally obscure, shadowy figures that had at the time no more identity than a date in the calendar and a name. See N. P. Ševčenko, "Canon and Calendar," I, 106.

While Irenaeus is called in this canon μάρτυς καὶ ποιμήν, in BHG 950z appears the phrase of a similar meaning, using the verb instead of a noun: τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ποιμαίνοντα. The phrase ἔσβεσας πυρὰν is used in BHG 950z and in the entry on Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus of the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*.

The lines Οὐ κατέκαμψεν προσπάθειά σε συζύγου, οὐ τῶν γονέων φίλτρον, οὐ τῶν τέκνων ὁ πόθος recall several words from BHG 949e and pull out the topical resemblance: μὴ καταμαλακίζόμενος. οἷς εἰώθασιν ἄν[θρωπ]οι καταμαλακίζεσθαι. προσπαθεία τεκόντων δηλαδή. παίδων ὀρφανία... The words βραβεῖα, ταῖς μάστιξι and στεφάνοις appear in BHG 949e as well. It is unusual to see that the *Canon of Irenaeus* does not have any common points with BHG 948, but that its sources are the same as for the *Canon of Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus*.

The *Canon of Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus* dedicates large space to the bodily remnants of Irenaeus. This is a single text, which discusses the issue of the bodily remnants of the saint. Knowing that the bodily remnants of Irenaeus were never mentioned anywhere else and that according to the martyrdom narrative, the body of Irenaeus was thrown into the river after beheading, one could assume that such allusion presents a construct.

A few verses in the ode A of the *Canon of Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus* are:

You filled the lights of delight
Of the living folks
By the manifestation of your present
Most sacred body, you, chosen by God...

Further ahead, another stanza in the same ode A utters the words about the funerary urn of Irenaeus:

Reaping the joy of the wonders from God
You saint,
To those who resort by desire
To the funerary urn
Of your revered remnants
You would feed the encouragement
Of the soul and the body

Abundantly

You, the saintliest.

These are only a few examples to refer to the bodily remnants of Irenaeus. More could be found in the full version of this canon (see Appendix). It suffices to say that the repeated mention of the funerary urn of Irenaeus could be ascribed to the attempt of the cult revival. It is difficult to discuss further this line of thought, as the author of this canon is hypothetical and its original place of emergence is unknown.

Regarding intertextuality, the *Canon of Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus* recalls the lines and words from BHG 949e, BHG 950z, and the entry on Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus from the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*. The *Canon of Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus* mentions τυράννου, the word that also appears in BHG 949e and BHG 950z. The line Ὁμοτάτοις παρεδίδου θηρσὶν εἰς βρῶσιν from the *Canon of Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus* strikingly resembles the entry on Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*: εἰθ' οὕτως θηρίοις ἐβλήθησαν βρῶμα. However, this line from the canon uses the same verb like in BHG 950z: δίδωμι. The syntagm ποικίλαις βασάνοις is mentioned in this canon, as well as in BHG 949e. The word εἰδῶλων appears in BHG 950z.

The fact that the *Canon of Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus* intertextually relates to BHG 950z, BHG 949e, and the entry on Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus from the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* further compels the conclusion that the narratives about Irenaeus had two lines of development. One line was related to the narrative about the three saints, with the texts appearing in Jerusalem, Athos, Sinai, Southern Italy, while the other line related to BHG 948, which was later translated into Latin, Old Church Slavonic and Armenian.

Further, Irenaeus is called *levites* on a few occasions in this canon: εἰρηνεπώνυμε λευῖτα, Ἱερώτατον λευίτην σε τοῦ κυρίου. Irenaeus is called in the same way in the entry on Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus of the *Synaxarion*: Εἰρηνάιος λευίτης. This brings in the thought that Irenaeus from the story about Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus was initially not Irenaeus of Sirmium. Initially this was a saint unrelated to him; yet, the new identity has eventually been ascribed to him. If one takes a look into the entry on Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus in the *Synaxarion*, it is noticeable that the *locus*, Sirmium, is not present. The same applies to the

Canon of Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus. Only in BHG 950z, mentioning Sirmium seals the identity of Irenaeus.

Latin textual transformations

This section of the chapter explores the variations of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* in the Latin manuscripts. Only one BHL number (4466) marks the Latin version. Thus, variations come almost unexpectedly. Yet, it will be demonstrated that the different textual variants in the manuscripts evince certain level of divergence despite the single BHL number.

There are six Latin manuscripts dated from the eighth to the eleventh century to be discussed: Munich, Clm 4554 (eighth century), Karlsruhe XXXII (ninth century), Turin (tenth century), Vienna 371 (tenth century), U 42 (tenth to eleventh century), St-Omer 715 (eleventh century). The manuscripts dated after this period will be consulted for comparison of the development of this narrative in the Latin language. Finally, the Latin *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* will be set against its correspondent Greek version.

The differences among the Latin manuscript variants narrow down to different words, phrases and sentences. This is why the similarities are not the major focus of this section, but dissimilarities. It is expected that the textual variants (as being marked by one BHL number) will highly depend on each other. Intertextual interpretation is to be applied where the divergent sections display different strategies of meaning in the larger context. The analysis of *metaphrasis* will not be part of this section. This Latin text was not metaphrased in the Latin West.

The version BHL 4466 corresponds to BHG 948 Greek version. They are yet far from identical. Their differences will be presented further in this chapter. Narratological structure of the Latin version is not necessary to present due to its similarities to BHG 948.

The *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* displays notable textual deviations in the earliest dated Latin manuscript, Munich, Clm 4554, compared to the variants in the other five manuscripts dated prior to the twelfth century. Clm 4554 contains augmentations, which were successfully *excised* in the manuscripts from the ninth to twelfth centuries. Some of the augmented sections of Clm 4554 were cut off in all the other manuscripts, and never reappeared in this text again.

The most accidental and most common divergences of Clm 4554 are misspellings, inversions of word order, word confusions, confusions of grammatical forms, accidental omissions and additions to the text. The manuscript Clm 4554 is abundant in misspellings. Occasionally it seems as if a scribe did not know what he was writing about. Diocletian is spelled as Dioclesian. Instead of *praeside*, it is written *presidi*; *adulescentia* is *aduliscentia*. *Torqiri* is written instead of *torqueri*. *Gaudio* is written instead of *gaudeo*. A scribe replaced the word *itaque* with *aque*. *Dixit* is regularly confused with *dicit*. There appears the phrase *dignus nomine suo*, which is corrected in the later manuscripts to *dignus nominis sui*.

At several spots, it is written *sacrificia* or *sacrificas* instead of imperative *sacrifica*, which is part of the dialogue between Irenaeus and Probus. In the phrase *consulo mihi in p[er]petuo si non sacrificavero*, which appears in the later manuscripts, the verbal form in Clm 4554 is *consuleo*. At one place, it is written *consule tibi* instead of *consulo tibi*, which changes the meaning of the line. The verb *faciebant* in Clm 4554 is replaced by *efficiebant* in the later manuscripts. Gerundium *negando* is replaced in the later manuscripts by participle *denegans*. *Lucrare penas* in this manuscript is replaced by *lucrans paenis* later.

The phrase *qui diis et non sacrificaverit eradicabitur* in this manuscript is replaced by *qui diis et non deo sacrificat exterminabitur* in the other manuscripts. It is apparent that the word *deo* is omitted in Clm 4554, which makes the phrase incomplete and incomprehensible. The phrase *qui amat/diligit p[atrem] aut matre[m] aut uxorem aut filios aut fraters aut parentes sup[er] me, non e[st] me dignus* (Matthew, 10.37) repeats twice in Clm 4554, which implies a scribal confusion. In the later manuscripts, one of these lines was replaced by another citation from the Bible. Such mistakes and the impression that scribe(s) occasionally did not know what the text was about, might point out that the textual version of Clm 4554 was copied from an earlier manuscript. This further prompts the conclusion that the translation of this text existed in Latin prior to the eighth century.

As for names and geographical terms, Clm 4554 is the sole case among the earlier manuscripts where the name of Irenaeus is spelled correctly. In Karlsruhe, it is *Hereneus/Hireneus*. The Vienna manuscript uses the form *Hireneus*, and U 42 at one point spells the name as *Hyreneus* (212^v). In the eleventh-century St-Omer 715, Hireneus becomes *Yreneus*. Regarding the name Sirmium, in Clm 4554, it is *Syrmientium*. In Karlsruhe, it is *Sirmiensium*. The name of Sirmium is not used consistently in Vienna manuscript (*Serieniensium*). In U 42,

the mistake related to the name Sirmium is corrected (*Sirmiensium*). In St-Omer 715 the town is *Syrmiensium*.

The confusions in the plot are another notable feature of Clm 4554. The following section demonstrates this:

Here the slaves, embracing his legs with tears, were saying: Have compassion, father, on yourself and us; their mourning wives pleaded there to the scene of a young man...

*(Hinc pueri pedes eius cum lacrimis amplexantes dicebant; miserere tui et n[ost]ri, pater; Inde uxores eorum lugentes vultus aetatem eius precabantur...)*⁷²⁸

The phrase *uxores eorum* describes the wives of those who appeared at the spot of Irenaeus' persecution and were probably slaves. In the eleventh-century manuscript U 42, *eorum* is already deleted, and it becomes unclear whose wives appeared in the scene. In the manuscripts later than the eleventh century, the plural form turns into singular, and Irenaeus is ascribed a wife.

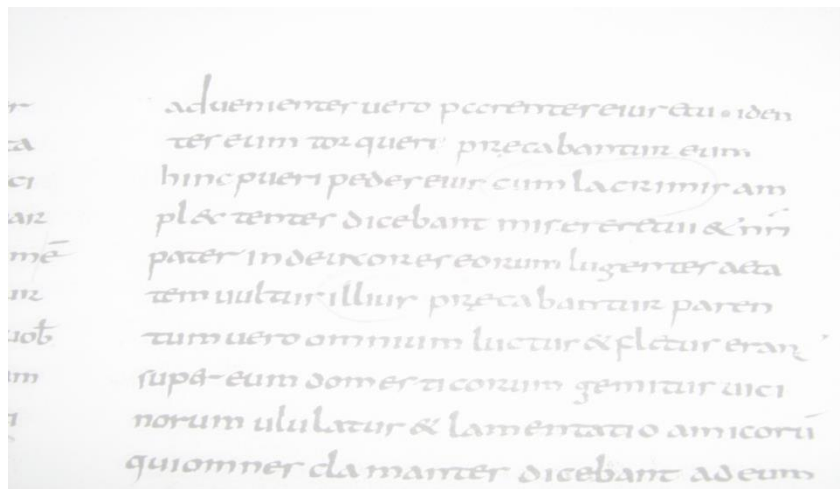


Figure 7. Munich Clm 4554, 90r, eighth century⁷²⁹

⁷²⁸ Munich, Clm 4554, 90r.

⁷²⁹ Source: <<http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0006/bsb00064009/images/index.html?id=00064009&fp=qrssdasxdsydeayaweayasdassdaseayawxdsyd&no=16&seite=197>> Last accessed: 03/02/2015.

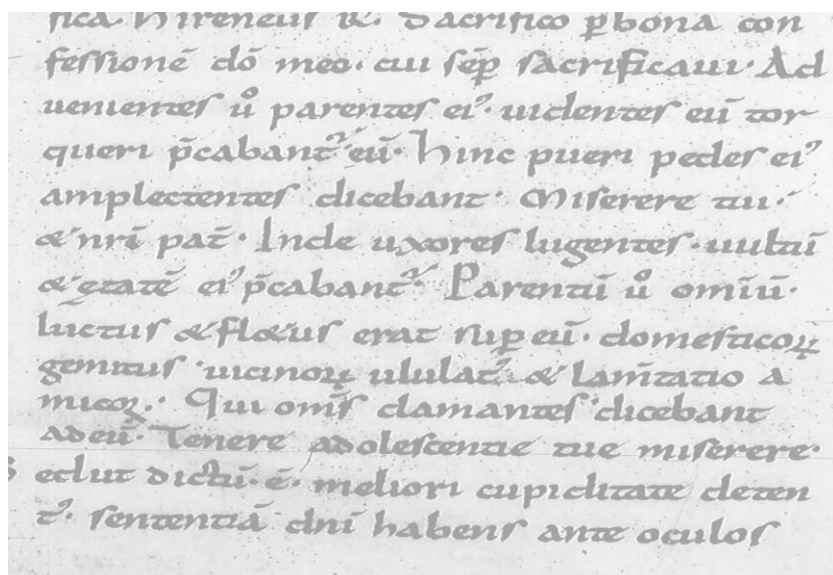


Figure 8. Rouen U 42, 212r, eleventh century⁷³⁰

In the twelfth-century manuscript Brussels 9289, this section of the text was changed to *Tunc uxor eius lugens vultu[m]*... This means that a narrator decided for the reading “HIS wife.” This transformation of the text was copied and became instrumental in forming the opinion that Irenaeus had a wife. Irenaeus of Sirmium came to be presented in the contemporary scholarly literature and popular books as married, having wife and children.⁷³¹ However, the earliest preserved manuscripts of the Latin text display different evidence. In the other twelfth-century manuscripts, like in Brussels 207-208, the phrase is *uxores lugentes*. In the thirteenth-century Einsiedeln manuscript, this part repeats the reading as the earlier manuscripts: *inde uxores lugentes*. In the thirteenth-century Dublin manuscript, the part *Inde uxores lugentes* also contains the early variant of this line.

The Latin text in Clm 4554 belongs to the period when martyrdom narratives still possibly contained dubious sections. The problematic and ambiguous parts were eventually *expurgated*. This form of reduction set off a moralizing component of the texts. The unpurged texts nevertheless testify to the theological deviations present at the time. They are precious from our point of view, particularly as they are not many in number.

⁷³⁰ Courtesy of the Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale.

⁷³¹ In Vladislav Popović's works, Candida Moss' *Other Christs*, etc. See also D. Praet, “‘Melior cupiditate detentus’: Christian Self-definition and the Rejection of Marriage in the Early Acts of the Martyrs,” *Euphrosyne* 31 (2003): 457-473.

In Clm 4554, *modestia* ascribed to Irenaeus is not *ingenita*, like in the later manuscripts, but *modestia sibi a d[e]o donata*. This line contains the idea that modesty as the personal trait is given from God. The line *et qui non tollet crucem suam et sequitur me non potest meus esse discipulus* (Luke 14.27) contains the idea of taking the cross and following Christ. This line appeared in this manuscript and it never reappeared again in this hagiographical text, being *expurgated* from the later textual versions. Candida Moss has written on the notion of *imitatio Christi* in the early martyr acts, arguing that this notion was taken quite literally in the early texts.⁷³² Moss particularly writes about the idea to “take up your cross and follow me.” She argues that it was to be understood in a literal sense in the early Christian contexts.⁷³³ Therefore, this line needed to be purged in order to avoid the literal meaning of inspiring martyrdom.

Further, the sentence *Filii mi d[omi]n[u]m habent quem et ego qui potens e[st] mecum illos salvare* is confusing, knowing that the word *mecum* has never reappeared in this text. If *mecum* is considered a part of subject, it contains the idea that the martyr is able to provide salvation to his sons together with God. Assumingly, such agency of martyrs was considered problematic in the centuries that ensued. However, if *mecum* is a part of object, then the martyr is the object of salvation as well as the sons, and it is not clear why this form was later deleted.

Therefore, the first manuscript evidence of the Latin *Martyrdom of Irenaeus* testifies that the text abounded in mistakes of different kind, which were *expurgated* in the later manuscripts. On the one hand, this feature possibly points out that this text was copied by a scribe who did not understand the text properly (which further testifies of the existence of an earlier copy). On the other hand, we should not be surprised by the presence of the contents to be expurgated. Such expurgating processes occurring at the time were common. Until the eighth century, martyrdom narratives were unfavorable readings in the West, particularly Rome. Martyrdom narratives were excluded from the liturgy in the West prior to this period, but in fact this contributed to their proliferation. The proliferation occurred because it escaped the ecclesiastical control.⁷³⁴ Since the *Decretum Gelasianum*, the expulsion of the acts and the passions from the liturgy denoted them as “apocryphal” and their “orthodoxy” was not always catered for.⁷³⁵

⁷³² Moss, *The Other Christs*.

⁷³³ Ibid, 30-32.

⁷³⁴ Uytendange, “L’hagiographie antique tardive,” 207.

⁷³⁵ Ibid.

Finally, the analysis of Clm 4554 is to be rounded off by pointing out to the example in the text, which bespeaks that this Latin version was translated from Greek. In a part towards the end, Irenaeus is thrown in the river Sava, *in fluvium Savi*. In Clm 4554, it is written: *in fluvio ti savi*. *Ti* is unclear: it could be either Greek particle $\tau\iota$, or Greek article in dative singular feminine ($\tau\eta$). In either case, it points out that this text was translated from Greek.

Therefore, the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus* in the manuscript Clm 4554 is a peculiar text. Its augmentations were *excised* and never reappeared again in the manuscripts. The other pre-twelfth century manuscripts, Karlsruhe XXXII, Turin, Vienna 371, U 42, and St-Omer 715 indicate surprisingly small and insignificant differences. The textual variants in these manuscripts could be treated as one and the same text (see Appendix). Once the dubious sections were cleared, the text was copied quite faithfully (at least according to the extant manuscript evidence) until the twelfth century.⁷³⁶

The afterlife of this text in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the Latin realm was analyzed due to the over-production of manuscripts with this text at the time. The transformations of the text were evaluated through several available manuscripts, which were a random sample. I included four twelfth-century manuscripts for comparison: Brussels 9289, Brussels 207-208, London Nero and Einsiedeln. They present an arbitrary sample out of the total of eleven twelfth-century manuscripts known by far. The manuscript Brussels 9289 generally demonstrates more significant deviations in comparison to the other three manuscripts.

When it comes to the name of the martyr, it diverges in all four manuscripts. In Brussels 9289 and Brussels 207-8, it is *Hyreneus*. In Einsiedeln manuscript, Irenaeus appears as *Hireneus*, and in London Nero, he is *Hereneus*. In Brussels 9289, the name of the *locus* is *Smyrnensium*, which names the city of Smyrna (Izmir in contemporary Turkey), confused with Sirmium. In Einsiedeln manuscript, the *locus* is properly spelled as *Sirmiensem*. In Brussels 207-8, it is *Sermiensiu[m]*, and in London Nero *Sermiensiu[m]*. Confusing the name of the martyr and the geographical place of his persecution leave the impression that the martyr's identity was not well known, at least among scribe(s).

⁷³⁶ U 42 is grammatically more correct version in comparison to the Vienna manuscript. At one spot in the folio 212^r, *poenas* from the Vienna manuscript is replaced by *tormenta* in U 42. Otherwise, the two texts show no dissimilarities. In Karlsruhe, there are several words that differ: future *sacrificabo* instead of *sacrifico*, *confortat* instead of *confestat*, and replacements of letters within words, like *adolescentiae* instead of *adulscientiae*.

Brussels 9289 has *modestia sua ingenti* instead of *modestia ingenita*, as in the previous manuscripts, which possibly implies that a scribe did not understand the text. In a line uttered by Irenaeus, he calls the gods – *vani*, empty. This addition does not parallel any other twelfth-century version. It contains inserted narrator's opinion and ideological point of view. In addressing Irenaeus, Probus asks: *Et q[ui] fuer[un]t illi qui p[ro] te tanta auctoritate flebant ante n[ost]ram sessione[m]*? By the phrase *te tanta auctoritate*, Probus appears as paying a tribute and showing respect to the would-be martyr Irenaeus by uttering such words. This is an addition that demonstrates a tendency of scribes to impose their own opinion about martyrs. The phrase *Prob[us] dix[it] Consule t[ibi] senex et immola* (I advice you, old man, to sacrifice...) gives away a scribe as not understanding the plot of the narrative, as *consulo* is changed to *consule*, and *iuvenis*, which was the way Probus addressed Irenaeus earlier, was changed to *senex*. The expression *catholica ecclesia* is omitted. The river Sava is left out, as it did not fit into the geographical milieu of Asia Minor, considering that a scribe writes Smyrna as a geographical place of the event again towards the end. Instead of continuing to address Irenaeus as *Hyreneus*, a scribe addresses him at times as *Hereneus*. At some point in the text, it is written *amantes* instead of *clamantes*, which confuses the meaning. Some sentences or parts of sentences are completely omitted from the text, probably by mistake.

In Brussels 9289, there are dozens of accidental mistakes in the text and only a few intentional additions, where scribes introduced their own opinion on the subject. The other three manuscripts demonstrate even lesser differences and usually agree where Brussels 9289 stands out. Einsiedeln has lesser number of differences with the manuscripts earlier than the eleventh century in comparison to Brussels 9289. Brussels 207-208 very much resembles Einsiedeln. Also, the twelfth-century London, Brit. Lib. Nero C VII has similarities with Brussels 207-208 and Einsiedeln.

The four thirteenth-century manuscripts are worked over in order to observe the processes of transformation of this text at the time (Dublin, London Harl, St-Omer 716, Trier). They are a random sample of the total of ten thirteenth-century manuscripts. London Harl, as well as Dublin manuscripts demonstrate significant textual simplicity. It is probable that copyists at the time preferred to go to the earlier manuscripts and copy them than to add stylistic embellishments to the existent text.

In St-Omer 716, the inconsistency of Irenaeus' name is striking. Several versions of the name appear in the text: *Hyreneus*, *Yreneus*, *Ireneus*. The thirteenth-century manuscript versions did not bring anything innovative to this text, but went back to the earlier models.

In Dublin manuscript, the only emperor mentioned is Diocletian. There is no consistency regarding the name of Irenaeus – *Hyreneus*, *Hireneus*, etc. The town is written *syrrminensium* at the opening and the end, but there is no consistency to its use. This manuscript uses the phrase *modestia ingenita* and also uses a very archaic *eradicabitur*. It uses the abbreviations typical of the thirteenth century, while the text is preserved in the early form.

In Dublin manuscript, a copyist did not understand the line *qui om[ne]s clamantes ad d[eu]m dicebant*, where it is *deum* instead of *eum* (like in the other manuscripts). Simplicity of this text is seen in omitting the verb to be (e.g. *proiectus est*, where *est* is omitted), or particles like *ibidem*. This manuscript uses the word *confortat*. The sentence *Filii mei d[eu]m que[m] ego habeo habent q[ui] potest illos salvos fa[ce]re* contains the cumbersome structure. This manuscript variant has a very early and correct sentence *Consulo t[ibi] iuvenis...* This sentence has been corrupted afterwards with the use of the form *consule*.

To sum up, the four phases in the development of the Latin version of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus* are noticeable from the above-said. The first one is present in Clm 4554. This version appears as a copy of a low quality. It was duplicated from a Latin text, translated from Greek sometime earlier. A copyist leaves the impression that he does not understand the text. It contains mistakes, problematic theological phrases and syntactic flaws. This text was corrected soon. Up to the eleventh century, there occurs another phase of this text, in which it was reproduced in at least five manuscripts in almost an unchanged form.

The twelfth century brought innovations and embellishments to the text, in some manuscripts more than the others. The textual variants from the thirteenth century demonstrate the same precision noticeable in the period from the ninth-eleventh centuries. Scribes are no longer willing to improvise and transform the text, but prefer to copy from the earlier examples.

The Old Church Slavonic translation of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium*

The sole version of the Old Church Slavonic *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* corresponds to the Greek version BHG 948. The Old Church Slavonic text is a very literal, word-

for-word translation of the BHG 948 Greek text. Scholars have already suggested the four Greek manuscripts as the sources of the Old Church Slavonic *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium*, all of which contain BHG 948 – the manuscripts Paris 548, Paris 1177, Paris 241, and Vienna Hist. 45.⁷³⁷ While this Greek version is the closest to the Slavonic version, they are far from being identical. The Slavonic *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* is a text significantly shorter in comparison to the above-mentioned BHG version. The Old Church Slavonic text is *excised* of one particular large paragraph of the Greek text. The same paragraph, which I named previously as “suffering of the family,” describes (among the other matters) the public display of emotions of the people who were close to Irenaeus and who were standing in front of him, begging him to reject Christianity and sacrifice to the pagan gods, which he refuted. The paragraph abounds in pain and suffering.

This Old Church Slavonic text is not shorter due to a policy applied in compiling the Suprasl Codex. The texts in the Old Church Slavonic Suprasl Codex have different length. *The Vita of Paul and Juliana*, for example, covers fifteen pages in the Zaimov-Kapaldo edition.⁷³⁸ *The Vita of Basiliskos* covers nine pages.⁷³⁹ The texts were apparently placed in the Codex regardless of their length and were not standardized length-wise for the purposes of the manuscript. If the longer texts were not abridged, why would there be any reduction of another brief text, the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium*, which covers three pages? The *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* was possibly translated from an earlier and concise Greek text, which explains the differences with the extant Greek version. There is no way of knowing if the text was purposefully abbreviated while being translated into Old Church Slavonic.⁷⁴⁰

⁷³⁷ Zaimov and Kapaldo, *Supras'lski ili Retkov zbornik*, 11.

⁷³⁸ Ibid, 21-49.

⁷³⁹ Ibid, 49-65.

⁷⁴⁰ The Slavonic texts, translated from Greek and briefer than their Greek parallels, are already registered through the textual transmission of the hagiographical texts outside of the Suprasl Codex. Zlatarski noted that the Slavonic translation of the *Miracles I-II of the St Demetrius* was, in comparison to the Greek text from the *Acta Sanctorum*, somewhat shorter. Zlatarski assumes that a Slavonic translator had some other Greek version of the text in front of him, but not necessarily the earlier version. See F. Barišić, *Čuda Dimitrija Slounskog kao istorijski izvori* [The Miracles of Demetrius of Thessaloniki as Historical Sources], (Beograd: Srpska Akademija Nauka: Posebna izdanja, 1953), 32, n. 10; See also V. N. Zlatarski, *История на българската държава през средните векове* [History of the Bulgarian State in the Middle Ages], (София: Наука и изкуство, 1972).

The Differences of the Latin, Greek and Old Church Slavonic *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium*

The versions of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus* in Latin and Old Church Slavonic both comply with BHG 948 textual version. Narrative structure and intertextual links are examined in search of the differences in the three texts. The aim is to see the amount to which these texts reflect the societies, which composed, copied and used the text. The transformations, which bear new strategies of meaning point it out. The variants used for comparison are: the Greek variant in the manuscript Venice 360, 20 (the simple and probably among the earliest preserved Greek manuscript variants), Zaimov-Kapaldo Old Church Slavonic edition (the most commonly used edition) and the Latin version from Vienna 371 (the simplest and possibly a very early variant).

The opening of the three textual versions demonstrates that the Slavonic and Greek versions have direct translational connections, displayed in the paragraph previously defined as a prologue. They exhibit a more sophisticated introduction of general and didactic character, focusing on the morals of the story. Unlike them, the Latin text displays simpler introduction, which opens up the story directly.

When there was persecution under the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian, when Christians resisted to various fights, they accepted the punishments given to them by tyrants with mind devoted to God. Therefore, they made themselves the partakers of the eternal rewards.	Whenever a pious person has been instructed in good ways, desiring of the better (things) and has adopted the fear of God, (then) he hastens to the benefit of the good news, having despised altogether the earthly things and the things he has heard, he desires to see the true faith and he celebrates the Lord rather because of having adopted what he saw.	When a clement custom grows with devoutness, a person, striving to the better ones, adopts the fear of God. Then, having despised everything, which is in this life, he strives to the acceptance of the clement promises, in order to, by being that obedient and knowing by firm faith, he wishes to glorify the Lord again, by being absorbed by the glory of God.
Cum esset persecutio sub diocliciano et maximiano imperatoribus. quando diversis agonibus concertantes christiani a tyrannis inlata supplicia devota d[e]o mente suscipientes. Praemiis se perpetuis participes efficiebant;	ὅτ' ἄν τις τρόποις ἀγαθοῖς εὐσεβῆς, συνασκηθῇ. τῶν κρείττονων ἐφιέμενος. καὶ φόβο[v] θεοῦ προσλάβηται. τότε πάντων ἀθρόως τῶν ἐν τῷ δε τῷ βίῳ, καταφρονήσας. πρὸς τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων ἀγαθῶν τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν ἐπείγεται καὶ ἅπερ διὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς	Егда нравъ благъ съ доброчъстиємъ Възрасть. Большихъ желая страхъ Божии приметъ. Тъгда въсе юже въ Семъ житии прѣобидѣвъ. Къ обѣштанныхъ благихъ приатию подвизаетъ сѧ. Да ѡже послушаниимъ акы сѧшта вѣроу тврдоу вида

	παρόντα πίστει βεβαίῃ θεώμενος ἐπεθύμησε[ν]. ταῦτα θάπτον δι' αὐτῆς τῆς αὐτοψίας ὑπολαβὼν ἔχειν. δοξάζει τὸν κ[ύριο]ν.	въждела. та же паки божіѣхъ славоѣхъ въсприим славить господа.
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Why is the opening of the Latin text different? Scholars pondered this subject previously. Simonetti argued that the Latin text has a very typical introduction, characteristic for the majority of Latin hagiographical texts.⁷⁴¹ The preface of the Latin text is a common place.⁷⁴² Generally, the openings into Latin hagiographies were later interpolations, as the Latin hagiographies imitated court protocols from the early church. Their introductions have stereotypical repetitive expressions.⁷⁴³ The Greek opening is, in comparison to Latin, longer, more elaborate, focused on the concept of its general character.⁷⁴⁴

Simonetti's arguments seem likely. Aside from the evidence he offered, there is another text, which confirms his ideas, even though it stayed outside of his scope. It is the *Passio Floriani* (BHL 3054-3061), whose corresponding sections with the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus* are marked by bold letters.⁷⁴⁵

In illis diebus **sub Diocletiano et Maximiano imperatoribus cum esset persecutio christianorum, quando diversis agonibus concertantes christiani a tyrannis inlata supplicia devota Deo mente suscipiebant** et promissionis Christi **participes efficiebantur**, tunc quidam in montibus se abscondebant, quidam autem in cavernis petrarum et sic malis poenis de hac vita liberabantur. Tunc sanctitas et fides per patientiam suos athletas coronabat, haec autem victoria ad vitam ducit aeternam. Tunc impiissimi iudices iussi ab imperatoribus certabant insanientes, Christi athletae e contrario laborabant et superabant eorum insaniam, venerabilis vero fides vincebat.

Therefore, the moralizing introduction was *amputated* during the translation of this text from Greek into Latin. It was replaced by another opening, which *amplified* the narrative. The new preface made a direct introduction into the story, generic and similar to the other Latin hagiographies.

The following paragraph displays the parallel sections of the three texts:

⁷⁴¹ Simonetti, *Studi Agiografici*, 62-63.

⁷⁴² Ibid, 61.

⁷⁴³ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁴ Ibid, 55.

⁷⁴⁵ See B. Sepp, *Die passio s. Floriani, Eine Erwiderung auf die neueste Publikation von Bruno Krusch: Der hl. Florian und sein Stift. Ein Beitrag zur Passauer Bistumsgeschichte N.A. XXVIII* (Regensburg, 1903).

This is what happened to the servant of God Ireneus, the bishop of the town of Sirmium. I will demonstrate and show even now to you his fight and victory. Because of his inborn moderation and fear of God that he was devoted to by rightful deeds, he became a dignified of his name;	This is what happened with blessed Irenaeus, the bishop of the city of Sirmium. He hoped to benefit from the invitation to the high court, through surpassing goodness and piety for God, and the name of the deeds of authorities, ...	This happened also with the blessed Irenaeus, the bishop of the city of Sirmium. Because of the excessive meekness and because of divine fear of God, he strengthened his denomination by deeds.
Quod et factum e[st] circa famulum d[e]i hireneum ep[iscopu]m urbis serieniensium. cuius iam nunc vobis certamen pandam victoriamque ostendam, Qui pro modestia sua ingenita et timore divino cui operibus rectis inserviebat dignus nominis sui inventus e[st];	ὁ δὴ γέγονεν καὶ περὶ τὸν μακάριον ἐπίσκοπον εἰρηναῖον. τῆς τοῦ σιρμίου πόλεως. οὗτος γὰρ δι' ἐπιείκειαν ὑπερβάλλουσαν. καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸ θεῖο[v] εὐλάβειαν. τοῖς ἔργοις κυρῶν τὴν προσηγορίαν[v].	Юже бысть и о блаженѣмъ иринеи епискоупѣ еремиискааго града. Кротости ради лихыа. И юже о божии dobrogovънии. Дѣлы оутвърди нареченое.

The Latin version contains an addition to the first sentence: “I will demonstrate and show even now to you his fight and victory (*cuius iam nunc vobis certamen pandam victoriamque ostendam*).” Readers are addressed on a more personal level. Immediacy in the author-reader relation is enabled. On the other hand, such notions presuppose certain timely distance in a historical sense between readers and the events described.

The Latin version contains augmentations of the text; however, not all of them bear particular strategies of meaning. One example where there is a personal input from the side of a narrator is the ending of the Latin paragraph above, where the line *dignus nominis sui inventus e[st]* augments the text by a translator’s estimation of the martyr’s deeds.

The Greek and Old Church Slavonic variants are not closer to each others in all the examples. Some illustrations testify to the opposite: the word *Κροτος*/meekness in the Slavonic text and *modestia*/moderation in Latin are turned into *ἐπιείκεια*/reasonableness in the Greek text. Also, *timor divinus* in the Latin text and *божии dobrogovънии* in the Old Church Slavonic text, which both mean the same – fear of God – are turned into *εὐλάβεια*/piety in the Greek text.

However, in the paragraph above, the word *Ingenita*/inborn in the Latin text does not exist in the other two texts. Instead, there is an adjective *лихыѧ*/ὑπερβάλλουσαν/“exceeding” in the Greek and the Old Church Slavonic texts.

The Old Church Slavonic text mostly follows the Greek text even where it was difficult to pursue its structure, due to the differences in the languages. In the following paragraph, such notion is visible:

young and worth being the pioneer of the front line, having seized the persecution, which happened during the time of kings Diocletian and Maximian and Constantius,	Thus, as the persecution has arrived, which occurred during the emperors Diocletian and Maximian,
καὶ νέος τῆς προεδρίας ἀξιωθεὶς. καταλαβόντος αὐτὸν τοῦ διωγμοῦ τοῦ γενομένου ἐπὶ διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ μαξιμιανοῦ καὶ κωνσταντίου τῶν βασιλέων.	Постигъшоу бо гонению. Юже бысть при диоклитиѧнѣ и маѣимиѧнѣ при

Genitive absolute, which appears in Greek, and which is possible to extend to several nouns and verbs within the construction is something, which is hardly achieved in Old Church Slavonic. Instead, the construction is translated only partially into the corresponding dative absolute in the Old Church Slavonic text; however, a translator had to switch to the relative clause in the middle of construction. These are the examples where one could spot the efforts made by translators to literally follow the text they translate.

The Greek version contains the augmentation, which does not parallel the other two versions at the same place within the narrative structure. In the Slavonic version this augmentation was either *excised*, simply cut off at this place (or we better say, *amputated*), or this section did not exist in a Greek version from which the Old Church Slavonic version was translated. When it comes to the Latin version, similar augmentation appears somewhat later in the Latin text. The augmentations affect the narrative structure. Comparison of the Latin and Greek versions shows that they have the lines that correspond.

clementissimi principes iusserunt aut sacrificare aut tormentis succumbere debere, hireneus respondit; mihi enim praeceptu[m] e[st] tormenta magis suscipere quam d[eu]m denegans demoniis sacrificare, probus praes[es] dixit; Aut sacrificata aut faciam te torqueri. hireneus resp[ond]it; gaudeo si feceris ut d[omi]ni mei passionib[us] particeps inveniatur; prob[us] preses iussit eum vexari; Cumq[ue] acerrime vexaretur dixit ad eum; quid dicis hirenee sacrificata, hireneus respond[it];	οὐχ’ ὥσπερ ἔνιοι τιμίῳ πράγματι μόνῳ χρώμενος. καὶ προστετηκὼς τοῖς τῇ δε μᾶλλον πράγμασιν. λύπη τὴν παροῦσαν χαρὰν ἡμαυρώσεν. ἀλλὰ ἀκάμπτῳ καὶ ἀνεנדότῳ προθυμία χρώμενος. καὶ τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτεινόμενος ἔσπευδεν ἐπὶ τὸ βραβεῖον τῆς ἀνω κλήσεως. οὐκ ἐξέλυσαν γοῶν αὐτοῦ τὴν στερότητα ὕβρεις. ποικίλα πάθη σεμαίνουσαι. οὐ ποταμοὶ ἀπειλούμενοι. οὐ κρημνοὶ καὶ βασάνων εἶδη διάφορα. οὐ τότε πάντων
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<p>Sacrifico per bonam confessione[m] d[e]o meo cui semp[er] sacrificavi. Advenientes vero parentes eius videntes eum torqueri praecabantur eum; <u>hinc pueri pedes eius amplectentes dicebant; miserere tui et n[ost]ri, pater; Inde uxores lugentes vultus aetatem eius precabantur, parentum vero omnium luctus et fletus erat sup[er] eum domesticorum gemitus vicinorum ululatus et lamentatio amicorum qui om[n]e[s] clamantes ad eum dicebant; tenerae adulescentiae tuae miserere, Sed, ut dictu[m] e[st] meliore cupiditate detentus sententiam d[omi]ni ante oculos habens quae dicit si quis me negaverit coram hominibus ego negabo eum coram patre meo qui in caelis est, Omnes ergo despiciens nulli omnino respondit festinabat autem ad sup[er]nam spem vocationis pervenire. probus praeses dixit; quid dicis flectere horum lacrimis ab insania tua et consulens adulescentie tue sacrificia, hireneus respondit consulo mihi in p[er]petuo si non sacrificavero, probus iussit eum recipi in custodia carceris;</u></p>	<p>ἀλγεινότερον. Τέκνα μετὰ συγγενῶν. καὶ φίλων ὀλοφυρόμενα. οἷς εἰώθασιν καταμαλάττεσθαι πᾶτέρες ὀλιγόψυχοι. ὅτ' ἂν παῖδες τοῖς ποσὶ μετὰ δακρύων περιπλέκωνται. γυναικὸς ὀλοφυρομένης ὅψις κατηφής. γονέων πένθος ἐφ' οὐδὲ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀκμάζοντι. οἰκείων στεναγμός. καὶ θρήνος φίλων. καὶ γνωρίμων. ἔτι νεάζουσιν ἀκμήν μετὰ δεήσεως οἰκτεῖραι προτρεπομένων τούτοις πᾶσιν οἷς εἶπον οὐκ ἐκάμπτετο. ἀλλὰ καθάπερ εἶπομεν. τῷ τῶν κρειττόνων ἔρωτι κατεχόμενος καὶ τὸν φόβον τῆς κρίσεως πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχων. δεδοικὼς δὲ τὴν φωνὴν ἐκεῖνην τοῦ κυρίου τὴν λέγουσαν. ἐάν τις ἁρνήσεται με ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ἁρνήσομαι αὐτόν καὶ ἐγὼ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. πάντων ὑπερφρονήσας τῶν χαλεπότερων κολαστηρίων, ἔσπευδεν ἐπὶ τὴν προκειμένην ἐλπίδα.</p>
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The underlined texts of the two passages correspond by their meaning. Both passages represent the part of the narrative, called “suffering of the family.” The two paragraphs do not take the similar position in the narrative structure of their narratives. This indicates that rearranging paragraphs in the narrative structure was administered during the process of *metaphrasis*. A Greek version, which served as the basis for translation into Latin had a narrative structure, which was later rearranged in the way as is preserved in the extant Greek version. The question of *excision* of this part of the narrative from the Old Church Slavonic text, although highly interesting, stays open.

Further, there follows the section, translated in word-for-word style in all the three versions:

therefore, he was caught and brought to Probus, the governor of Pannonia.	Having been brought then to the governor of Pannonia, Probus...	thus, saint Irenaeus was induced to the governor Probus.
Conp[re]hensus itaq[ue] oblatus probo praeside pannoniae.	προσαχθεὶς οὖν τῷ τῆς παννονίας ἡγεμόνι πρόβῳ	Приведень оубо бысть сватыи иринеи къ князоу провоу.

Even though this example seems like a proper translation from one language to the other, Simonetti found the Latin version in this line to have the symptomatic language and the common phrases, recognizable in the other hagiographical works.⁷⁴⁶ Simonetti sees the Latin version as occasionally artificial, and has objections towards the excessive use of the direct speech in the Latin text, arguing that the dialogues were the later interpolations of the text, having noting to do with the court protocols.⁷⁴⁷ In fact, there are several examples in this text where the Latin textual version utilizes the direct speech and the other two versions do not. One of the examples is in what follows:

Governor Probus told him: "Conforming to the divine orders, sacrifice to gods." Irenaeus replied: "The one, who sacrifices to gods, and not to God, will be exterminated." Probus governor said:	and asked if he wanted to sacrifice, blessed Irenaeus answered: "But, I do not choose to live among you."	Having been interrogated whether he wanted to sacrifice to the gods, blessed Irenaeus answered with these words: "But, I do not want to live among you."
probus preses dixit ad eum; Obtemperans praeceptis divinis sacrificia diis; Irenaeus resp[ondit] qui diis et non d[e]o sacrificat exterminabitur, probus praeses dixit,	καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς εἰ βούλοιτο θύσαι ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ μακάριος εἰρηναῖος. ἀλλ' οὐδε ζῆν μεθ' ὑμῶν αἰροῦμαι.	И въпрошенъ бывъ аште хоштеть пожръти богомъ. отъвѣшта блажєнии иринеи глагола. нъ и жити же съ вами не хоштѣ

While the Old Church Slavonic text follows carefully the construction applied in the Greek text, the Latin version uses the dialogues. Another example where the Latin text has a different reading, employing the direct speech, while the other two texts have indirect speech is:

Probus told him: "For once, sacrifice, Irenaeus, you who acquire punishment." Irenaeus replied: "Do as it is ordered, and do not expect this from me." The governor again	and diverse tortures withstanding, he was asked why he did not sacrifice, he replied: "Because I have God, whom I learned to respect from my childhood age,	and he endured different tortures. And they ask him why would not he sacrifice, And he answered by saying: "Because I have the God, whom I learned to venerate
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⁷⁴⁶ The expression *comprehensus...oblatus est* is typical for many hagiographical texts, such as the *Passion of Agape, Irene and Chione* (translated from Greek to Latin. See X. Lequeux, "Latin Hagiographical Literature Translated into Greek," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, ed. S. Efthymiadis (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 385-400), the *Passion of Pollion*, the *Passion of Peter and Andrea*, the *Passion of Carpus, Papyrus and Agathonice*, etc. See also Simonetti, *Studi Agiografici*, 61.

⁷⁴⁷ Simonetti, *Studi Agiografici*, 57. Timothy Barnes discussed the subject of protocol style, arguing that it did not provide guarantee of authenticity, historicity, or derivation from an official documentary record, because authors of hagiography "quickly learned how to use it in order to lend the bogus air of authenticity to accounts of trial." Barnes, *Early Christian Hagiography*, 58.

ordered that he is beaten by sticks to die. Irenaeus replied: "I have God, whom I learned to respect since my youth;		from the young age.
probus dixit ad eum, Iam sacrificia hirenee lucrans paenis, hireneus resp[on]d[it]; fac quod iussum e[st] hoc a me ne expectes. probus iterum vexatum eum fustib[us] caedi praecepit, hireneus resp[on]d[it], D[eu]m habeo quem a prima aetate colere dedici	καὶ ποικίλας βασάνους ὑπομείνας. καὶ ἐρωτώμενος διὰ τί οὐκ ἐπιθύει, ἀπεκρίθη ὅτι θεόν ἔχω, ὃν ἐκ παιδὸς ἡλικίας σέβειν δεδίδαγμαί.	И различны мжкы сътрыпѣвъ. И въпрашаємъ почто не пожреши. Отъвѣшта глагола. Яко бога имамъ ѿгоже из млады врьсты чисти навыхохъ.

To sum up, the Old Church Slavonic translation from Greek is to the most part a literal, word-for-word translation, where the Old Church Slavonic text demonstrates attempts to follow the Greek constructions. The Latin text, although a translation from Greek, stands out from the extant Greek text by a number of discrepancies, which Simonetti previously defined as common places. The analysis of the Old Church Slavonic version corroborates Simonetti's ideas; however, Simonetti did not use this version. The most likely explanation is that the Latin translation was produced after the basic Greek text, which is kept in the Old Church Slavonic translation, experienced a *metaphrasis*. In other words, all three languages preserve the different layers of the Greek text from different periods. The earliest version is the one kept in Old Church Slavonic translation. There follows the version sustained in the Latin translation, and the latest version is the one held in the extant Greek manuscripts.

This argument explains the *excision* of the paragraph in the Old Church Slavonic text related to the suffering of the family. In the time of the translation of a Greek text into Old Church Slavonic, this paragraph simply did not exist in the text. Otherwise, it would be very difficult to explain why a translator/copyist of the Old Church Slavonic text omitted the most dramatic but also the most poetic section of the text, the suffering of the family.

Both Greek and Latin versions have augmentations of the text. The augmentation does not come at the same place in the narrative structure of the Greek and Latin texts. This reveals that rearrangement of the paragraphs occurred within the metaphrastic processes.

Greek hagiographical texts were exposed to *metaphrasis* to a large extent. *Metaphrasis* was the practice, which existed beyond the activity of Symeon Metaphrastes, and it was probably

continually applied to Byzantine hagiographical texts.⁷⁴⁸ This practice is not obvious in the Latin and Slavonic examples of this text, even though it was practiced in the West and in Slavonic realms. The text did not go through the transformations in the West and in Slavonic world as in Byzantium.

When it comes to the question of textual transformations as reflections of the particular communities in which the textual versions were copied, the Old Church Slavonic version does not echo any particular agenda of the Christian community. This text was a literal translation of a Greek text. Its appearance evinces no more than the general inclination of the Slavonic community to adopt the literary works from Byzantium, once this population was converted to Christianity. The Latin text testifies to the tendency to generate the form, making it characteristic of the hagiographies in the West, which was more a literary device than a general strategy of a group or a society. The Latin version kept enough layers to conclude that it manifested a Greek version in the phase earlier than the extant Greek text. Altogether, the Old Church Slavonic and Latin texts by their form and structure display only different phases of the Greek textual *metaphrasis* and do not reveal about the societies and groups, which copied these texts.

The *Martyrdom of Irenaeus* discloses the agenda only in the versions of the “Imperial *Menologia*,” BHG 949e and BHG 950z, and in one liturgical canon (*Canon of Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus*). These versions of the text were transformed with the aim to appropriate the text for the specific purpose. BHG 948 version is another form of *metaphrasis*, which does not uncover mentality of the communities behind. The same pertains to the Latin and Old Church Slavonic versions. In what follows, there is an analysis of the Georgian version of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus*, which is another text with a possible agenda behind.

Georgian textual version

The Georgian and Armenian versions of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* are not at the core of this dissertation, mostly because I am not familiar with the languages in which they were written. Nevertheless, the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* was translated in these languages, which is a fact I could not ignore. This is particularly so, as the information about the

⁷⁴⁸ The question of *metaphrasis* and the authoritative/non-authoritative texts could be thought through further. Maybe an over-statement, this text was metaphrased in Byzantium because it was non-authoritative, while it was not metaphrased in the West for the same reason.

existence of the Georgian *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* came to me accidentally and unexpectedly.⁷⁴⁹ The Georgian version of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus* thus far has been inedited. Therefore, it is both edited and translated into English for the purposes of this dissertation.⁷⁵⁰ The following analysis of the Georgian *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* is based only on the English translation of the text.

The Georgian manuscript containing this text, Kutaisi I (XVI), is a sixteenth-century copy of an earlier manuscript, originating from the Gelati monastery in Georgia. The language of the text resembles the linguistic features of the twelfth century, while the translation is made from Greek. The syntax of the Georgian translation strongly resembles the Greek syntax.

This manuscript is the first in the five-volume collection of the Metaphrastic texts translated from Greek. Scholars have already assumed that the five volumes deposited in Kutaisi must be the remnants of the Georgian translation of the two prominent Byzantine collections, *Menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes and *Menologion* of John Xiphilinos the Younger. The latter collection was sporadically mentioned in the scholarship, but was never extensively studied. John Xiphilinos the Younger wrote the collection in the late eleventh century, persuaded by his uncle, the patriarch, and dedicated it to the emperor Alexios I Komnenos.

The Georgian *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* is a unique text, unprecedented by the other textual versions. The first line of the introduction contains an important message: “God will not forgive if the virtue of marvelous St. Irenaeus is not revealed.” The line gives a warning and reminds that oblivion of this martyr must not happen. God’s will is particularly emphasized. The martyr is presented as a mediator between God and the people. He is a shepherd of the “speaking flock.” Some Greek texts of *Martyrdom of Irenaeus* likewise describe the martyr as a mediator who sits in the Lord’s throne with angels. These lines are part of the Imperial *Menologia*, where martyr is asked to pray for the emperor. In no other text is Irenaeus equaled to St. Peter the Apostle, seen as such in the eyes of God, as in this Georgian translation. The introduction appears to be general and applicable to any saint. Nevertheless, the name of the martyr Irenaeus is clearly uttered.

The emperor Diocletian is described as “the evil servant.” This phrasing is symptomatic for some Greek texts, such as BHG 949e and BHG 950z. There follows a long list of Irenaeus’

⁷⁴⁹ I am grateful to Temo Jojua and Enriko Gabidzashvili for this information.

⁷⁵⁰ This subject will stay open for future researchers, which I encourage by introducing these versions into my dissertation.

virtues, his activity in worship, good leadership of the bishopric, his shepherding and particularly his educational role. The line “he freed many people in his flock from ignorance and impiety,” resembles thematically to the line from BHG 949e, “he taught the word of truth and converted many from disbelief to knowledge of the truth,” where Irenaeus’s educational mission is emphasized. Unlike in the other versions, more sentences are dedicated to his educational role.

The part that follows, possibly a *topos*, describes the word of mouth spread about Irenaeus. Similar passage appears in the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, and in the lives of saints, such as the *Life of Antony*, the *Life of John of Rila*, etc.

The word about Irenaeus was spread outside of the nearby regions and became known to the far away places. This word (of mouth) also reached the rulers. And these rulers started looking for Irenaeus so that they would capture him and so that they would make revenge because of his daring lawlessness.⁷⁵¹

This text has the higher dramatization in comparison to the other versions. Namely, the “Hellenes” appear in the role of denunciators, who report to Probus about Irenaeus’ activities. They repeatedly accuse the martyr, as a result of which Probus becomes furious. After they catch Irenaeus, the trial begins. The line “I myself did not choose to live with you, who are unbelievers” repeats in this text after all BHG versions. However, the “idols” are named only in BHG 950z. The phrase “Irenaeus, whose name means peace” appears only in BHG 950z and in the *Canon on Irenaeus*.

The passage in which Irenaeus answers resembles BHG 950z by alluding to the childhood age and his long and enduring belief in God:

All the humans, o ruler, live according to what they learned when they were children and according to what they considered as good, acceptable, and what they grew up with. And they are faithful to all this until the end of their lives. I myself from my childhood learned to be a good servant and I grew up with the teaching of Christ and his disciples.⁷⁵²

The line “I myself do not consider anything more right and more desirable than this teaching” resembles by its meaning to a line from BHG 950z. Also, the line “those who are thrown in the fire will not burn, and those who are thrown in the sea will not drown, and those wounded by sword will not pass away” is in a way present in BHG 950z, where Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus are thrown into the fire, hanged on a tree, and finally beheaded by the sword.

⁷⁵¹ Kutaisi 1 (XVI), 16th century, ff. 526r-528v

⁷⁵² Ibid.

The following section of Irenaeus' speech is unusual, as he talks about "(bodily) remnants and dry bones that will make miracles and cure incurable diseases." Further in his speech, Irenaeus talks about the resurrection and Eucharist. The Georgian translation is the only text, which mentions resurrection, relics, miraculous deeds produced by relics, and Eucharist.

The following section resembles BHG 948:

When Probus heard this, he behaved in a different way and asked if Irenaeus had children and Irenaeus replied no. Then Probus asked if Irenaeus had parents and Irenaeus replied no.⁷⁵³

Also, the sentence "who loves mother, father, wife, children and brothers more than me, is not worthy of me" comes forth in BHG 948. The line where Irenaeus recounts that he rejected his parents' property is the well-known *topos* from the *Life of Antony*. After being convicted, Irenaeus reacted similarly as in BHG 948, raising his hands to the sky and uttering the prayer. The tribute to "your people and the Catholic Church" is from BHG 948, as no other version contains this line. The following line alludes to the literal *imitatio Christi*, which was usually purged and replaced in metaphrased texts.

And now you awarded me with a bigger honor that you will help me to accomplish my service to you as a shepherd in your name with martyrdom. And here I sacrifice myself to you. And I will sacrifice myself in the similar way as you sacrificed yourself for us in front of your father.⁷⁵⁴

The end of the text says that his "honorable head" was cut off, which is the line present in BHG 950z.

This text has some sections in common with all the known Greek versions – BHG 948, BHG 949e, the canons, and most of all, BHG 950z. It contains a number of additional features, which no other texts have. The text was layered by the different lines from the lives of saints, a feature unusual at least for this corpus but probably not so unusual for hagiography in general.⁷⁵⁵ This text certainly presents a hybrid narrative, in which the different other *Martyrdoms of Irenaeus* performed their influence.

⁷⁵³ Kutaisi 1 (XVI), 16th century, ff. 526r-528v

⁷⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵⁵ Similarly, Høgel made an observation that the Metaphrastic redacted versions tended to enhance main themes such as love, loyalty and asceticism in comparison with the old lives. "These themes are accorded a greater role in the redacted version." This observation is important if we think of the different thematic layers affixed to the hagiographical texts in time. See Høgel, "The Redaction of Symeon Metaphrastes," 14.

This version is the Georgian translation of the latest written Greek narrative on Irenaeus. It could have been made on the basis of a Greek version, which had been lost in the meantime. Alternatively, it was produced on the basis of the range of sources. There is no way of knowing the extent to which this text corresponds to a lost Greek version, and the extent to which it contains the embellishments added in Georgian.

Xiphilinos' oeuvre relates to the turn of the twelfth century, while his work is dedicated to Alexios I (1081-1118). This Georgian version of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus*, whose Greek original is ascribed to Xiphilinos, mostly resembles BHG 950z, the narrative about Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus. BHG 950z, being the "Imperial *Menologia*" came out during the rule of Michael IV Paphlagonian (1034-1041), as well as BHG 949e, while Xiphilinos' work is clearly later. This attests that Xiphilinos consulted these "Imperial *Menologia*" while composing his work. Alternatively, he considered the other related common source(s), nowadays lost, which associated to the "Imperial *Menologia*." Xiphilinos also took into consideration BHG 948 at the several places. Regardless of whether this text was the work of Xiphilinos or not, it appears as a late, hybrid narrative about Irenaeus, where various different previous versions had their say in the process of writing.

To sum up, BHG 948 has the links with the Latin, Slavonic and Armenian versions, while BHG 950z has no common points with BHG 948, but with the two canons on Irenaeus, and Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus. BHG 949e has the common points with BHG 948 and BHG 950z, while the Georgian translation has the common points with all the above-mentioned narratives. This is why it is likely that it presents its latest hybrid narrative.

Armenian textual version

What I already stressed about the Georgian version of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* applies to the Armenian textual version as well. My analysis of this text is based solely on the English translation, which was conducted for the purposes of this dissertation.⁷⁵⁶

The Armenian *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* is the translation of BHG 948. This version is a plain translation from Greek, which does not contain any significant additions to the text.

⁷⁵⁶ See the Appendix and the translation of Arpine Asryan.

Part one of BHG 948 (prologue), which is characteristic for this Greek version, repeats in the Armenian translation. Only Diocletian is mentioned in the introduction of the Armenian version. In the same section, “the dark dealings of the king” are mentioned, which is something that does not appear in BHG 948. The part about the suffering of the family is somewhat *excised* in the Armenian version; some sections about the descriptions of pain are cut off. The section on trial follows quite literally what is written in BHG 948, with the only exception that some of Irenaeus’ answers are shorter than in BHG 948. The section on the persecution follows carefully the Greek text. Finally, the section, which resembles the synaxarial entry refers to the Armenian calendar and does not mention Probus’ governorship in Sirmium.⁷⁵⁷

Conclusion

This chapter focused on the textual transformations of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* in different Christian traditions and different languages, as well as within the same-language groups. Each textual variant was analyzed in its own right. The main question pertained to the differences of the textual variants. The concern was whether they reveal the preferences of the particular communities or the texts solely display the different phases of textual *metaphrasis*. The chapter paid attention to the changes of the text, which implied different strategies of meaning. Finally, the chapter concentrated on the purpose of *metaphrasis*. Complying with the axioms of New Philology, this chapter had a premise that no text can be taken for granted if we do not break down all the phases of its afterlife.

Regarding the comparison among the three Greek textual variants, BHG 948 abounds in moral messages throughout the text, which are the most obvious in the prologue, the part of the text, which does not reappear in the other variants. In BHG 948, martyr Irenaeus is an active character, who combats the authorities on an equal basis. In the textual variant BHG 949e, Irenaeus is an object, and in BHG 950z, he is a victim. BHG 949e dedicates more space to the descriptions of suffering, tortures, and emotions, particularly negative emotions. The similar conclusions apply to BHG 950z. The transformations point out to the change in the initial

⁷⁵⁷ This analysis has to be taken with reservations. The full understanding of the Armenian text would enable a more thorough analysis. However, this stays the subject for other researchers. Unfortunately for my work, the Armenian realm stayed quite unexplored. Nevertheless, I could not ignore the existence of this textual version.

purpose of the text. Initially, the martyr was to inspire the others to imitate him. Martyr turns into a victimized hero from a paradigmatic character.

BHG 948 and BHG 949e contain a great deal of intertextual borrowings. BHG 949e and BHG 950z also have intertextual connections. BHG 950z has strong intertextual connections with both entries of the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (on Irenaeus, and on Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus). Yet, BHG 948 has only a few common lines with BHG 950z, and only those, which appear in the other versions as well. BHG 951 is the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus* without the ending prayer for the emperor, while BHG 950 presents the two synaxarial entries, dedicated to Irenaeus of Sirmium and Irenaeus of Lyon, merged together. The *Canon of Irenaeus* intertextually resembles to BHG 949e, BHG 950z and the entry on Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus of the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*. The *Canon of Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus* resembles BHG 949e, BHG 950z, and the entry on Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus from the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*.

Altogether, the Greek narratives about Irenaeus have two lines of development. One line relates to the narrative about the three saints, with the texts appearing in Jerusalem, Athos, Sinai, Southern Italy, while the other line relates to BHG 948, which was later translated into Latin, Old Church Slavonic and Armenian.

The new meaning has been proposed for *metaphrasis*. It was used not only when there was a need to expurgate a text from the suspicious contents or when a text needed to be elevated to the more elaborate style. It was also successfully applied when a need arose for the changing purposes of a text.

Latin, Old Church Slavonic and Armenian versions all correspond to BHG 948 textual version. The earliest of all the textual versions of this text appears to be the one preserved in Old Church Slavonic translation. The second earliest is the Latin translation of an earlier Greek variant, while the latest version is the one preserved in the extant Greek manuscripts.

The paragraph related to the suffering of the family is excised from the Old Church Slavonic text. Also, the Latin and Greek texts have the suffering of the family in the different places within the narrative structure, which reveals that the metaphrastic processes presupposed rearrangement of the paragraphs. The Old Church Slavonic and Latin texts express the different phases of the Greek textual *metaphrasis* and do not reveal about the societies and groups, which copied these texts. BHG 948 version is another form of *metaphrasis*, which does not uncover

mentality of the communities behind. Finally, the Georgian version of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* appears as a late, hybrid narrative, where one can see the influences of all the previous versions.

The *Martyrdom of Irenaeus* reflects the agenda in the versions of the “Imperial *Menologia*,” BHG 949e and BHG 950z, in the *Canon of Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus*, and possibly in the Georgian translation. These versions of the text were transformed intentionally with the aim of producing certain effect. While one cannot speculate about the *Canon of Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus* because of its possible authorship, as well as about the Georgian translation because of its possible links to John Xiphilinos the Younger, the texts of the two Imperial *Menologia* will be discussed in the following.

Chapter 5: How Did Collections Transform Single Texts? The *Martyrdom of Irenaeus* in the Imperial *Menologia*

It has already been demonstrated that hagiographical texts appear in various different medieval contexts. Sometimes these contexts made the texts change. Specific circumstances of the particular environments at times imposed different transformations of hagiographical texts. New environments occasionally needed hagiographical texts in new forms and with new messages. Therefore, rewriters' task was to insert the new messages in the old texts. The idea of the chapter is to point out that the new environments sometimes made the hagiographical texts transform textually in order to gain new purposes in the course of the Middle Ages. Texts were exposed to textual transformations that meant something in the particular contexts.

The chapter will eye up a few cases when the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus* was adjusted to fit the purposes of the new hagiographical collections in which it was included and appropriated to the set standards imposed in their creation. Namely, several manuscripts containing the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus* known as the "Imperial *Menologia*" pertain to the example. These collections shaped their texts.⁷⁵⁸ The name of these collections indicates that the emperors were their intended owners and users.

The Imperial *Menologia* had a sophisticated outlook. The textual layout within the manuscript folia and the combination of text with images was carefully contrived. The texts were commonly combined with miniatures. These collections followed the pattern of placing one text about a saint per day. The textual composition usually ended with an acrostic, highlighting the same, repetitive letters. It was the dedicatory note in a form of a prayer for the emperor, which ultimately designated these collections as the "Imperial *Menologia*." Therefore, the hagiographical texts were transformed in these manuscripts in order to serve the very special function of the collection – to succor to the aims of the dedication to the emperor.

The "Imperial *Menologia*" containing the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus* are the eleventh-century Moscow Syn. 183 (*menologion* for February-March) and the eleventh-twelfth-century Jerusalem Taphou 17 (*menologion* for June-August), as well as several copies of the latter

⁷⁵⁸ On this subject, see M. Diesenberger, "How Collections Shape the Texts: Rewriting and Rearranging *Passions* in Carolingian Bavaria," in *Livrets, collections et textes. Études sur la tradition hagiographique latine*, ed. Martin Heinzelmann (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2006), 195-220.

manuscript.⁷⁵⁹ Imperial *Menologia* existed in larger numbers, according to some scholars. However, the evidence is nowadays lost. D’Aiuto reports of 730 texts, *vitae* and passions, which existed in the Imperial *Menologia*, only 200 of which survived.⁷⁶⁰ This chapter will focus mostly on the manuscript Syn. gr. 183.

What makes these collections “Imperial” is the prayer for the emperor at the end of each hagiographical text. In these prayers, which differ textually and rhythmically (being either in meter or in rhythmic prose),⁷⁶¹ God is asked through the intercession of a saint/martyr to grant the array of benefits to the emperor, such as victory over the enemies, health and long life, peaceful reign, remission of the sins, physical health and spiritual salvation, and prosperity and peace of the Empire.⁷⁶² Saints/martyrs are pleaded a long list of benedictions. In the prayers, saints and martyrs are said to take a place on the throne next to Christ together with angels.

The prayers for the emperor in the manuscripts Moscow Syn. 183 and Jerusalem Taphou 17 are presented in the following:

καὶ νῦν σὺν ἀγγέλοις περὶ τὸν θρόνον ὡς ἀρχιερεὺς ὡς μάρτυς στρεφόμενος τὸν δεσποτικόν. αἵτησαι δωρηθῆναι παρὰ Θεοῦ. βασιλεῖ ἡμῶν τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ φιλαγάθῳ. καὶ πᾶσιν ἐνσεμνυνομένῳ τοῖς καλοῖς προτερήμασι. Μέθεξιν ζωῆς μακρᾶς καὶ ἀπήμονος. ἰλῦος παθῶν ἀλλοτριώσιν. χρεστών ἔργων τὴν καλὴν μετουσίαν. ἀριστευμάτων τὴν κατόρθωσιν πάντων. ἡμέρας ἀνεσπέρου τὸν καλὸν κλῆρον. λαμπρὰν δικαίων καὶ καλὴν ξυναυλίαν. Πάντων ἐφετῶν τὴν ἀκροτάτην δόσιν. καὶ βασιλείας Θεοῦ τὴν κληρουχίαν. ὅτι αὐτῷ πρέπει ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος. νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ. καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.	And now as an archpriest, as a martyr moving with the angels around the throne of the Lord, beg that to our righteous king who loves what is good and is honoured by all noble privileges be given by God participation in a long life free from harm, separation from the impurity of the passions, noble participation in useful works, successful accomplishment of all the deeds of prowess, a good inheritance of day without evening, the bright and good dwelling of the righteous, the highest gift of all desired things and his portion of the kingdom of heaven, for to Him belong glory and power now and always and to the ages of ages. Amen.
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Table 10. The Prayer for the emperor in Moscow Syn. gr. 183

⁷⁵⁹ Eight other extant manuscripts of this kind are known to date, and the ninth manuscript is a fragment: Athos, Kutlunus 23, twelfth century (February – March, some of April – May), Athens, B. N. gr. 982, 1599 (February – May), Athos, Protaton 47, 1598 (February – May), Patmos 736, fourteenth century, (March), Athos, Dionisiou 83, 1142 (June – August), Athens, B. N. gr. 1046, fourteenth century (June – August), Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchate Stavrou 16, sixteenth century (June – August), Walters *Menologion* 521, Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, eleventh century (January), Benaki fragment (February, and one text from December). See N. P. Ševčenko, “The Walters ‘Imperial’ *Menologion*,” 44; 62, n. 20; idem, *Illustrated Manuscripts*; Halkin, “Le mois de Janvier,” D’Aiuto, “Un ramo italogreco,” 145-174.

⁷⁶⁰ D’Aiuto, “Un ramo italogreco,” 148.

⁷⁶¹ Many prayers are couched in twelve-syllable verse. See N. P. Ševčenko, “The Walters ‘Imperial’ *Menologion*,” 62, n. 21.

⁷⁶² N. P. Ševčenko, “The Walters ‘Imperial’ *Menologion*,” 44. See also D’Aiuto, “Note ai manoscritti,” 190.

<p>Καὶ νῦν, ὦ πανθαύμαστοι μάρτυρες, ἵνα πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὸν λόγον ποιήσω, τῷ δεσποτικῷ σὺν ἀγγέλοις παριστάμενοι θρόνῳ, νέμοιτε ταῖς εὐκτικαῖς ὑμῶν εἰς Θεὸν ἱκεσίαις βασιλεῖ ἡμῶν τῷ πρῶτῳ καὶ τὰ πάντα καλῶ μακρὰν τὴν ζωὴν καὶ γαλήνιον, ἰλύος πάσης ἀπηλλαγμένην, χάριτος θείας πεπληρωμένην, πάντων ἀγαθῶν μεμεστωμένην καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖθεν βασιλείας τὴν χάριν ἐν αὐτῷ Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.</p>	<p>And now, O, wholly marvelous martyrs, that I might turn my speech to you who stand with angels beside the Lord's throne, may you grant, through your prayerful supplications to God, to our king, gentle and good in every way, a long and calm life, delivered from all foulness, full of divine joy, filled with all good things, and the grace of the kingdom there in Christ our God himself, to whom be glory and power now and always and to the ages of the ages. Amen.⁷⁶³</p>
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Table 11. The Prayer for the emperor in Jerusalem Taphou 17

Scholars debated the acrostic, agreeing that it forms the letters MIXAIAΠ in all the manuscripts. However, not all the manuscripts display all capital letters in the acrostic.⁷⁶⁴ In some, the acrostic is not necessarily seen as distinguished and separate at a first glance. However, the initial letters are visible as they are colored by more intensive shade of red color than the rest of the text (see the text in the table above).

Moscow Syn. 183 is deemed to have had a dedication to the Byzantine emperor Michael IV Paphlagonian (r. 1034-1041).⁷⁶⁵ This hypothesis was not entirely convincing for all the scholars. Initially, Halkin and Ehrhard attributed it to the reign of Michael IV.⁷⁶⁶ Ehrhard thought that Michael's brother John the Eunuch could have been responsible for the creation of the Imperial *Menologion* for his brother Michael, who was of weak health.⁷⁶⁷

⁷⁶³ My translation with the corrections by Robert Jordan.

⁷⁶⁴ In the ending prayer of Moscow Syn. 183, only the first and the last letters are written by majuscule within the acrostic, while the other letters were written by minuscule (ΜιχαηλΠ). See Nersessian, "Московский Менологий" [Moscow Menologion], in *Византия, Южные славяне и Древняя Русь, Западная Европа. Искусство и культура. Сборник статей в честь В. Н. Лазарева* [Byzantium, Southern Slavs, Ancient Rus, and Western Europe. Art and Culture. The Collection of Articles in Honor of V. N. Lazarev], ed. В. Н. Гращенков, О. И. Подобедова, Т. Б. Князевская, 94-111 (Москва: Наука, 1973), 95.

⁷⁶⁵ N. P. Ševčenko, "The Walters 'Imperial' *Menologion*," 44. See also D'Aiuto, "Un ramo italogreco," 145-174; idem, "Note ai manoscritti," 189-228. For a different view, see Th. Detorakis, "Ἡ χρονολόγησις," 46-50.

⁷⁶⁶ Halkin assumed that Michael Paphlagonian drafted the *Menologion* on the basis of an earlier model with the same texts. See Halkin, "Le mois de Janvier," 230. See also A. Constantinides Hero, "An Anonymous Narrative of the Martyrdom of the Anchorites of Mount Sinai," in *Byzantine Religious Culture: Studies in Honor of Alice-Mary Talbot*, ed. D. Sullivan, E. Fisher, S. Papaioannou (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 414 (hereafter Hero, "An anonymous narrative").

⁷⁶⁷ In this way John introduced daily prayers in Orthos (morning liturgical service) by promulgating such collection. See Ehrhard, III, 405.

Yet, Patterson Ševčenko and Detorakis expressed their doubts. Patterson Ševčenko initially assumed that Moscow Syn. 183 was commissioned or given to the Emperor, based on the closing phrases of the prayers for the well being of the emperor.⁷⁶⁸ After the publication of Detorakis' article, Ševčenko expressed her concern that Michael IV was not commonly called Paphlagonian in the official documents.⁷⁶⁹ In her view, it was not clear whether he was a commissioner, a gift receiver, a donor, or possibly the acrostic relates to an author. Another premise was that the acrostic was dedicated to Michael I Keroularios, the Patriarch of Constantinople in the eleventh century (1043-1059).⁷⁷⁰ Detorakis assumed that the acrostic did not refer to the *Menologion's* imperial patron.⁷⁷¹ He interpreted the acrostic as a clue to the identity of the anonymous author.⁷⁷² However, D'Aiuto argued again that the manuscript was dedicated to Michael IV Paphlagonian.⁷⁷³

Textually, the narratives in this collection were written (or paraphrased) particularly to fit the structure and purposes of the manuscript.⁷⁷⁴ The texts are traditionally considered in scholarship to be the abridged versions of the hagiographical texts composed earlier by Symeon Metaphrastes.⁷⁷⁵ The narratives are written in an elevated style, which might correspond to the style of Metaphrastes. Patterson Ševčenko argues:

where there was no Metaphrastian text to adapt, an author of the collection turned to the other known hagiographical sources. In a couple of cases, he may have relied on originals that are now lost or have composed a new life just for this collection.⁷⁷⁶

⁷⁶⁸ N. P. Ševčenko, *Illustrated Manuscripts*, 190.

⁷⁶⁹ N. P. Ševčenko, "The Walters 'Imperial' *Menologion*," 58.

⁷⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷⁷¹ Detorakis, "Η χρονολόγηση," 46-50. See also Constantinides Hero, "An Anonymous Narrative," 415.

⁷⁷² Constantinides Hero, "An Anonymous Narrative," 415.

⁷⁷³ He based the argument on a monogram written reputedly in the Moscow Syn. 183 and in some other manuscripts of the later date, which did not signify the name of the original dedicatee or the commissioner (because such monogram was identified in three other manuscripts), but the later possible owner of the manuscript, Manuel Angelos (λογαριαστής της αὐλῆς), who lived by the end of the thirteenth century. In D'Aiuto's view, Π should not be read as Paphlagonian. He suggested that this letter has some magical numerological significance. The collection, however, has some other strong ties to Michael IV and it was dedicated to him. See D'Aiuto, "Note ai manoscritti," 194-213. See also D'Aiuto, "Un ramo italogreco," 145-174; N. P. Ševčenko, "The Imperial *Menologia* and the 'Menologion' of Basil II," in *The Celebration of the Saints in Byzantine Art and Liturgy* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2013), II, 9 (hereafter N. P. Ševčenko, "The Imperial *Menologia*").

⁷⁷⁴ See D'Aiuto, "Note ai manoscritti del Menologio Imperiale," 191.

⁷⁷⁵ N. P. Ševčenko, "The Walters 'Imperial' *Menologion*," 44.

⁷⁷⁶ Ibid.

Høgel confirmed that Imperial *Menologia* depended on the Metaphrastic *Menologia*.⁷⁷⁷ However, the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus* has never entered the *Menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes nor have had the official Metaphrastic version that we know of. Yet, this text is present in the two versions in the Imperial *Menologia*. The authorship of these compositions stays unclear. When it comes to the collections, unification of the texts was their single most striking feature. Another important component of their outlook was the elaborate and costly decoration.

Decoration

Moscow Syn. 183 and the two other collections (Baltimore and Benaki fragment) were the illuminated manuscripts among the Imperial *Menologia*.⁷⁷⁸ The illustrated Imperial *Menologia* together with the *Menologion* of Basil II present some of the most luxurious Byzantine manuscripts known to date.⁷⁷⁹ Yet, the other Imperial *Menologion* containing the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus*, Jerusalem Taphou 17, has no illuminations. This feature compels the conclusion that Jerusalem Taphou 17 was not the original Imperial *Menologion*, but the copy.⁷⁸⁰

Moscow Syn. 183 contains fifty-nine hagiographical texts and fifty-seven illustrations.⁷⁸¹ All but the two texts are accompanied by an image of a saint or a martyr. The images are placed ahead of the text, taking a width of two columns of script, while the texts follow. The text is organized in two columns per page. The images are predominantly of high stylistic value, colored by different colors, including gold.⁷⁸² Some of the images are in varying condition, some well preserved, the others deteriorating. Moscow Syn. 183 has twenty-nine lines of text per page in the folios without illuminations. In the illuminated folios, the number of lines is nineteen. The date of each saint is written over the left-hand column. The miniatures, which are of varying

⁷⁷⁷ Høgel, "Hagiography under the Macedonians," 227.

⁷⁷⁸ N. P. Ševčenko, "The Walters 'Imperial' *Menologion*," 44.

⁷⁷⁹ Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes*, 151.

⁷⁸⁰ It was said earlier that the copies of Jerusalem Taphou 17 still differ in their order of texts to some extent. This would be an indicator that copyists of the different manuscripts of Imperial *Menologia* made different choices of texts and saints, this way not holding tight to faithful copying of the entire collections. The lack of images could be another argument that this manuscript was not the original Imperial *Menologion*; the same applies to the other Imperial *Menologia* without images.

⁷⁸¹ Latyšev, *Menologii anonymi*, IV. See also Nersessian, "Московский Менологий," 94-111.

⁷⁸² Latyšev, *Menologii Anonymi*, IV.

dimensions, are placed wherever one text ends and the other one begins.⁷⁸³ Such a high-style decoration and investment in this manuscript reveals its importance.

The martyrdom of Irenaeus is presented in the folio 242r in a mountainous landscape, dominated by the wild mountain river. This feature points out to yet another aspect of distancing from the past and the original setting of the historical event, knowing that the landscape of Sirmium looks quite differently.



Figure 9. *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* in Moscow Syn. 183, f. 242r, eleventh century⁷⁸⁴

⁷⁸³ See N. P. Ševčenko, “The Walters ‘Imperial’ *Menologion*,” 62, n. 21.

⁷⁸⁴ The courtesy of the State Historical Museum, Moscow

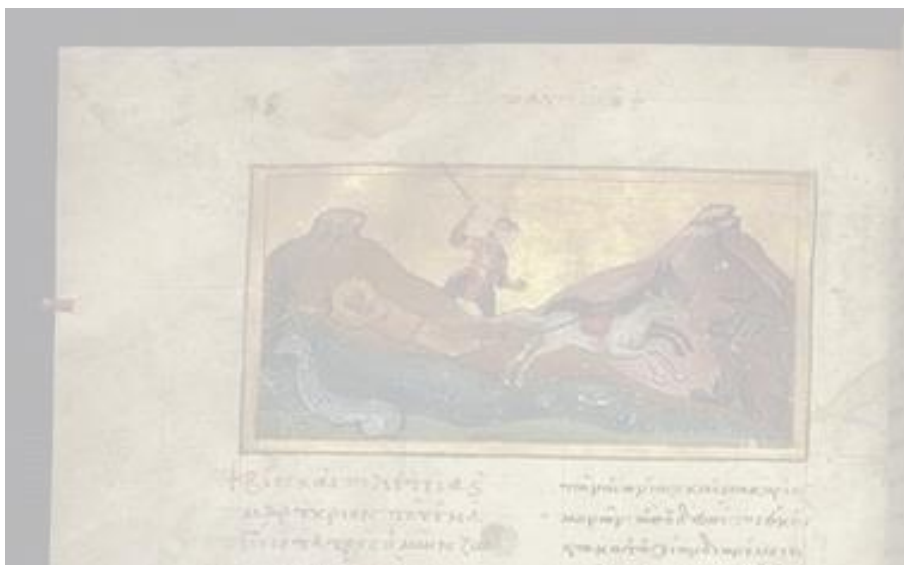


Figure 10. A miniature from the Walters manuscript (fol. 50v)⁷⁸⁵

Some scholars argued that the Imperial *Menologia* imitated the illuminations of Basil II's *Menologion*.⁷⁸⁶ This refers particularly to the Walters manuscript (another illuminated Imperial *Menologion*). D'Aiuto directly linked Basil's *Menologion* and the Walters collection regarding the illuminations.⁷⁸⁷ When it comes to Moscow Syn. 183, Nersessian pointed out that its miniatures do not reflect the direct influence from the *Menologion* of Basil II; yet, the two collections could have had a common source.⁷⁸⁸ Patterson Ševčenko repeated the conclusion of Nersessian that bringing the Walters *Menologion* in close relation with the Moscow Syn. 183 is deluding, as Nersessian demonstrated that these two are not a pair and that the Moscow *Menologion* belongs to the later half of the eleventh century.⁷⁸⁹ Nevertheless, the high stylistic value of these collections is apparent.⁷⁹⁰ One can assume that investment in such manuscripts was quite costly.

⁷⁸⁵ Source: <<http://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/html/W521/>> Last accessed: 03/02/2015.

⁷⁸⁶ A. Kazhdan, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* 2 (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 1341-1342.

⁷⁸⁷ See D'Aiuto, "Note ai manoscritti," 193. See also D'Aiuto, "Un ramo italogreco," 149. This is also the view of Nersessian, see "Московский Менологий."

⁷⁸⁸ Nersessian, "Московский Менологий," 107.

⁷⁸⁹ N. P. Ševčenko, "The Walters 'Imperial' *Menologion*," 44-45.

⁷⁹⁰ On a side note, the illuminations of the Imperial *Menologion* Moscow Syn. 183 could suggest reconstructing the illuminations of the non-extant summer part of Basil's *Menologion* (if there existed a summer part), knowing that Basil's *Menologion* contains only the winter part of the calendar year. See D'Aiuto, "Note ai manoscritti," 194.

This outlook (particularly of the illuminated Imperial *Menologia*) significantly differs from the rest of the manuscripts in which the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium* appears. The other collections, commonly called *menologia* in the Byzantine tradition, and *passionale*, *vitae sanctorum*, lectionaries, and legendaries in the Western Latin tradition⁷⁹¹ had in general simpler outlook. The earlier Latin manuscripts commonly betray plane, unadorned production. The page layout was simple, while the text was commonly written in either one or two columns. Illuminations and ornamentations of capital letters are absent. Headings were usually visible, emphasizing the beginning of texts, but also a new date of the calendar. Passionaries in general significantly varied in length and scope to the point where a standard medieval passionary was difficult to define.⁷⁹²

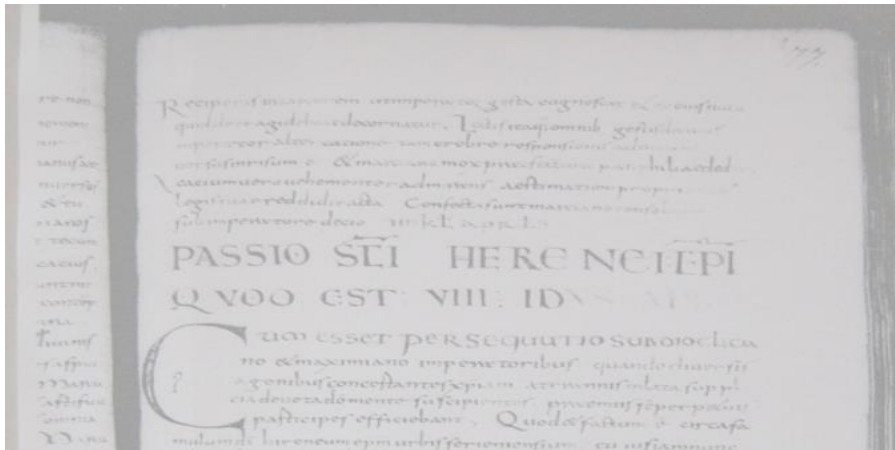


Figure 11. Manuscript Vienna 371, tenth century⁷⁹³

The manuscripts later in date came to be somewhat more decorated. The cover of the eleventh-century St-Omer 715 was adorned with jewels and the other precious ornaments.⁷⁹⁴ The ornamentation of the capital letters was regularly present in the layout of the manuscripts from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This is the time when passionaries received the artistic

⁷⁹¹ Karlsruhe XXXII is entitled as *Passionale sanctorum: lectionarium breviarii, vitae sanctorum, from July to May*; Turin, F. III. 16 is entitled as *Passionarium*; Vienna 371 is entitled as *Passionale*; Rouen U 42 is entitled as *Vitae sanctorum*; St-Omer 715 is entitled *Vitae sanctorum*; it is a legendary with 57 *vitae*, covering saints with feast days from January to March. St-Omer 716 was a part of a nine-volume collection of the *Sanctorum passionis et vitae*. Trier 1151 contains the months of February, March and April of the Great *Legendarium*. The title of Brussels, Bibliotheque Royale 207-208 is *Passionale*.

⁷⁹² See Ross, *Text, Image, Message*, 69.

⁷⁹³ The courtesy of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.

⁷⁹⁴ This manuscript was badly mutilated with damaged folios. Some initial capital letters are cut out from the folios.

attention previously lavished on Bibles, Psalters, Benedictionals, Sacramentaries.⁷⁹⁵ This possibly has to do with the general economic growth of medieval Western Europe, whereas the above-mentioned precedence of decorating Bibles and Psalters, rather than Passionaries implies their higher priority and importance. The twelfth-century manuscript Brussels 9289 contained red lined but not tinted and only partly illuminated capital letters; however, the chapters of this manuscript still looked quite plain and had no other color additions.

Another twelfth-century manuscript of large dimensions, Brussels 207-208, was probably not intended to move to different locations. It was wrapped in brown leather skin and was in a deteriorating condition. It contained a number of illuminations of capital initial letters. Among the thirteenth-century manuscripts, the manuscript Dublin had the initials lavishly decorated in a wide range of colors (see the image bellow).⁷⁹⁶

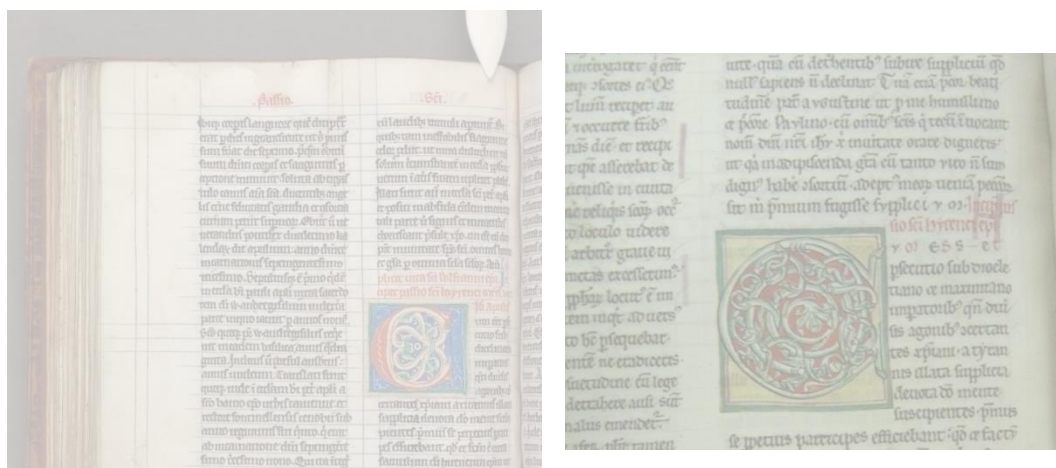


Figure 12. Dublin, Trinity, thirteenth century, and Brussels 9289, twelfth century⁷⁹⁷

The Slavonic Suprasl Codex had a simple layout, with the text written in one column and sporadically ornamented capital letters. The individual texts in the manuscript had headpieces, text-dividers in smaller letters and large initials spanning several rows. Their style is geometric knot-work, with floral motives.⁷⁹⁸ Even the simplest headpieces had palmettes and trefoils, such

⁷⁹⁵ Ross, *Text, Image, Message*, 69.

⁷⁹⁶ See M. L. Colker, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval and Renaissance Latin Manuscripts* (Dublin: Trinity College Library Dublin, 1991); P. Grosjean, "Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum bibliothecarum Dubliniensium," *Analecta Bollandiana* 46 (1928): 81-148; 62 (1944): 33-41.

⁷⁹⁷ The courtesy of the Trinity College Library, Dublin and Bibliothèque royale, Brussels.

⁷⁹⁸ A. Džurova, *1000 години българска ръкописна книга* [Thousand Years of Bulgarian Manuscript Book], (Sofia: Septemvri, 1981), 21-22.

as in the production of the tenth-century Constantinopolitan workshops.⁷⁹⁹ Sporadic marginal drawings were present throughout the manuscript. Yet, they were not devised as part of the agenda; they revealed either spontaneous scribal activity or the activity of a reader.

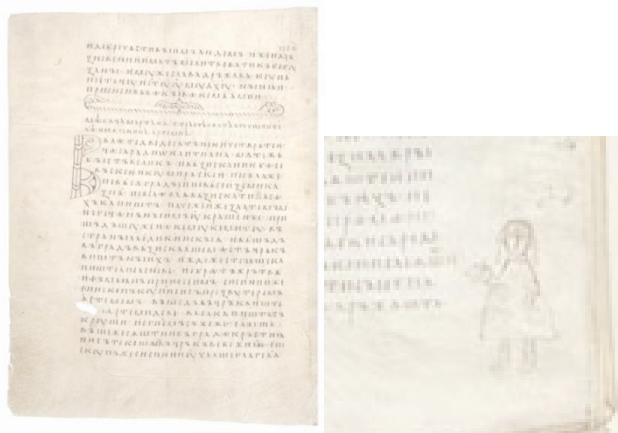


Figure 13. Suprasl Codex⁸⁰⁰

The majority of the Greek manuscripts from the tenth and eleventh centuries demonstrate limited decoration. Wooden cover without significant decorations and ornaments covers the manuscript Marcianus 360. Although voluminous, it had a modest appearance. It contained gold letters and initials in colors.⁸⁰¹ In the manuscript Vienna Hist. gr. 45, headings in front of the texts have ornamentations, in four colors, namely, gold, blue, green and red. Occasionally, initial letters are ornamented too.

⁷⁹⁹ A. Džurova, “Към въпроса за графичната украса на ранните гръцки ръкописи от Охрид, Cod. Gr. 70 (Inv. 44)” [The Issue of the Graphic Decoration of the Early Greek Manuscripts of Ohrid, Cod. Gr. 70], in *Християнската култура в средновековна България* [Christian Culture in the Medieval Bulgaria], ed. П. Георгиев (В. Търново: Фабер, 2008), 234-257. Ivanova-Mavrodinova and Mavrodinova wrote about the initials and their decoration in the Suprasl Codex. V. Ivanova-Mavrodinova and L. Mavrodinova, “За украсата на Супрасълския сборник” [About the Decoration of the Suprasl Codex], in *Литературознание и фолклористика. В чест на 70-годишнината на акад. Петър Динев* [Literature and Folklore. In Honor of the 70th Anniversary of Acad. Peter Dinekov], (Sofia: Изд-во на Българската академия на науките, 1983), 165-174 (hereafter Ivanova-Mavrodinova, Mavrodinova, “За украсата на Супрасълския сборник”).

⁸⁰⁰ Source: <<http://www.unesco-ci.org/photos/showphoto.php/photo/3988/title/drawing-on-the-margin-of-codexsuprasliensis/cat/871>> Last accessed: 03/02/2015.

⁸⁰¹ Ehrhard I, 432.

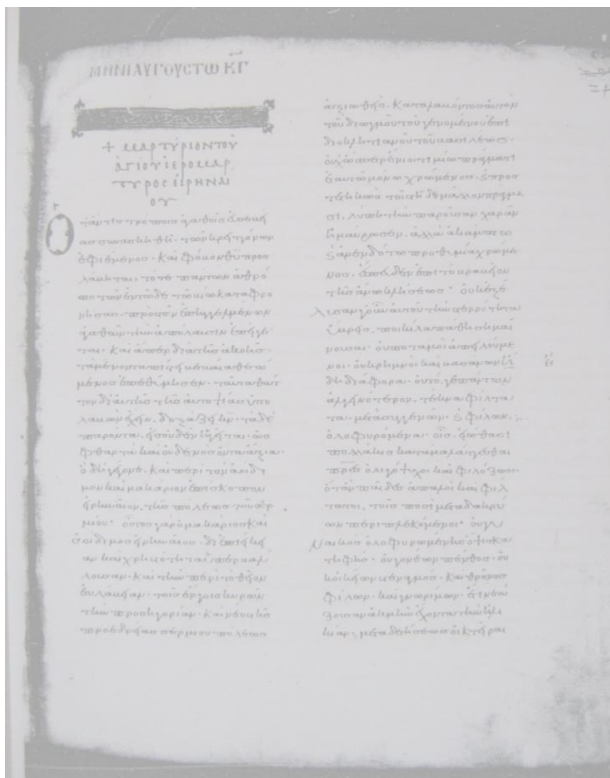


Figure 14. Vienna, Hist. gr. 45, eleventh century⁸⁰²

Even if sporadic ornamentation of the above-mentioned collections existed, it pertained mostly to capital letters. The Imperial *Menologia* certainly exceeded them by style and decoration. The two groups of manuscripts certainly targeted different groups of readers and users.

Use

The “Imperial *Menologia*” were probably used in royal monasteries in Constantinople.⁸⁰³ In the so-called “royal offices,” especially in the imperial foundations of the Komnenoi dynasty,

⁸⁰² The courtesy of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.

⁸⁰³ N. P. Ševčenko, “The Walters ‘Imperial’ *Menologion*,” 43, 59.

such *menologia* might have served as part of the liturgies.⁸⁰⁴ In several important Constantinopolitan imperial monastic foundations of the Komnenoi dynasty in the eleventh century, such as the Theotokos Evergetis, the Theotokos Kecharitomene, and the Pantokrator, a special short office was recited just before Orthos, where such *menologia* could have been used.⁸⁰⁵

D'Aiuto initially thought that the Byzantine Imperial *Menologia* might have had both monastic and courtly uses.⁸⁰⁶ He argued that these collections were suitable for collective uses, either liturgical or general, for the daily community readings, especially in a monastic context.⁸⁰⁷ However, low preservation rate of the Imperial *Menologia* and the low production rate made him reconsider the wide use of these manuscripts. He concluded that they were not produced for wide circulation. Their luxurious illuminated volumes and the high-ranking commissioners imply this. "They were secluded in the closed area of the Palace, among a few court officials, where the emperor, with the gift of these volumes of the Imperial *Menologia*, read and used the prayers daily."⁸⁰⁸

The rest of the body of manuscripts containing the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus* would probably fit best into monastic contexts. Høgel argues that such collections probably belong to monastic context due to the length of the texts.⁸⁰⁹ Certain sections of monastic liturgical service allowed longer hagiographical readings and these included *menologia* and Lectionaries. In this way, such collections were part of the liturgy. In the monastic tradition it was particularly monastic morning service, Orthos, which allowed such readings. Use of such literature fostered honoring of the individual saints.⁸¹⁰

Regarding the Metaphrastic *Menologion*, it is known that its texts were read at Orthos in Xiphilinos' days (eleventh century).⁸¹¹ The *Typicon* of the Evergetis monastery (1054 CE) confirms it. The *Menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes was regularly read aloud in the

⁸⁰⁴ Ibid, 59.

⁸⁰⁵ N. P. Ševčenko, "The Imperial *Menologia*," II, 27.

⁸⁰⁶ D'Aiuto, "Un ramo italogreco," 148.

⁸⁰⁷ Ibid, 151.

⁸⁰⁸ Ibid, 152.

⁸⁰⁹ Høgel, "Hagiography under the Macedonians," 224. "Which other institution would have the hope of entertaining an audience just about every day with the full text of a saint's life," he asks.

⁸¹⁰ N. P. Ševčenko, "The Evergetis *Synaxarion*," 392.

⁸¹¹ Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes*, 117.

monasteries during the morning service in the twelfth century.⁸¹² The *Typicon* from the later periods confirms that such practice continued.⁸¹³

The audience of monastic morning services need not be necessarily limited to monastic dwellers, but also to temporary guests and lay audience (visitors). Hagiographical texts could even have reached illiterate audience, as the *menologia* were read in churches and monasteries.⁸¹⁴ In this way, hagiographical texts were available to a wider audience.

Some copies of the Metaphrastic *Menologion* were owned by important figures in the political and intellectual history of the eleventh century.⁸¹⁵ The high-ranking imperial employees commissioned and owned the luxurious copies of the Metaphrastic *Menologion*.⁸¹⁶ In this way, *menologia* were used in private setting.

Very similar contexts sheltered for the reading of the hagiographical collections in the West. The manuscripts comprising hagiographical stories, especially when not lavishly decorated, usually were used in monasteries and abbeys. Hagiographical texts may have been used in a number of ways in the monasteries, first of all, within the liturgy of the saint's feast day, for the monastic reading during meals, and for private study.⁸¹⁷ As part of the monastic liturgy, hagiographical readings were commonly read during the office of Matins (morning service), along with Biblical and patristic selections. However, some scholars assume that the length of some texts indicates that reading took place in the context of the monastic Night Office, or perhaps at the Chapter meetings and in the refectory.⁸¹⁸ Lectionaries introduced in the twelfth century probably served as general monastic readers.

Passionaries were used for reading in a variety of medieval church and monastic contexts.⁸¹⁹ They were wielded as Office readings.⁸²⁰ By the eleventh and twelfth centuries, passionaries became medieval "best-sellers" and indispensable tools in monastic daily life and

⁸¹² A. P. Kazhdan, ed., "Menologion," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 1341. See also Jordan and Morris, *The Hypotyposis of Evergetis*, 62, 72.

⁸¹³ N. P. Ševčenko, *Illustrated Manuscripts*, 3.

⁸¹⁴ Høgel, "Hagiography under the Macedonians," 218.

⁸¹⁵ N. P. Ševčenko, *Illustrated Manuscripts*, 3-4.

⁸¹⁶ Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes*, 152.

⁸¹⁷ Cubitt, "Memory and Narrative in the Cult of Saints," 35; See also Heene, "Merovingian and Carolingian Hagiography," 415-428; B. de Gaiffier, "L'hagiographie et son public au XIe siècle," in *Miscellanea Historica in honorem Leonis van der Essen Universitatis Catholicae in Oppido Lovanienensi iam annos XXXV professoris* (Brussels, 1947), I, 135-166.

⁸¹⁸ Ross, *Text, Image, Message*, 68.

⁸¹⁹ Ibid. See also Philippart, *Légendiers Latins*, 114.

⁸²⁰ Ross, *Text, Image, Message*, 68.

routine.⁸²¹ In the Latin West, aside from the church services dedicated to the celebrations of saints' feast days, hagiography was perused in monasteries, in the monks' Chapter House⁸²² and dining room, as well as in private individual readings.⁸²³

Similarly to the Byzantine contexts (Metaphrastic *Menologion*), many Latin hagiographical collections could have been used and read within aristocratic households as private readings. Such practice opened a new chapter of medieval literature, which was at this point utilized as a kind of historical entertainment, read out at private gatherings.⁸²⁴

Hagiographical manuscripts were sometimes gifts.⁸²⁵ Usually a member of a royal family or a layperson would donate them to a monastery or an ecclesiastical figure would give them to another ecclesiastical figure. The gifts to the church in different forms (also in the form of manuscripts) ensured that the prayers and salvation for the donators would be read and performed.⁸²⁶

Suprasl Codex was a reading *menaion* utilized in the medieval Bulgarian contexts. Such books were usually auxiliary liturgical books. If liturgical, they were read aloud at Orthos in the monastic context, but also for the laity.⁸²⁷ In monastic context, they were read communally over meals, or individually in monastic cells. They were also wielded privately in monasteries. Therefore, the majority of the manuscripts containing the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus* were read in the monastic contexts, unlike a few of them, with the prefix of "Imperial," which were sheltered at the court.

⁸²¹ Ibid, 69.

⁸²² The Chapter was the daily meeting of monks, which had as an agenda not only discussion of business but also reading of texts, including hagiographical texts. See Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?* 507.

⁸²³ Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?* 507.

⁸²⁴ Hayward, "Demystifying the Role of Sanctity," 127-8; see also M. Hainzelmann, "Neue Aspekte der biographischen und hagiographischen Literatur in der lateinischen Welt (1-6. Jahrhundert)," *Francia* I (1973): 27-44.

⁸²⁵ On the gift giving in early medieval West, see M. Costambeys, "The Transmission of Tradition," 84-5, 91. On the gift giving in Byzantium, see P. Magdalino, "Évaluation de dons et donation de livres dans la diplomatie byzantine," in *Geschenke erhaltendie Freundschaft: Gabentausch und Netzwerkpflege im europäischen Mittelalter*. Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums Münster, 19.-20. November 2009, ed. M. Grünbart (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2011), 103-116; H. Meredith, ed., *Objects in Motion: The Circulation of Religion and Sacred Objects in the Late Antique and Byzantine World* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2011); S. Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

⁸²⁶ D. Starostine, "...in die festivitatis: Gift-giving, Power and the Calendar in the Carolingian Kingdoms," in *Early Medieval Europe* 14, No. 4 (2006): 465-486. Starostine describes the payment of precarial fees on a saint's feast day as being more than just rendering of monetary dues to the monastery: it was a gift to the saint who was more likely to hear people's prayers on this day in comparison to other days of the year.

⁸²⁷ See D. Petkanova, ed., "Миней" [Menaion], in *Старо-Българска литература. Енциклопедичен речник* [Old-Bulgarian Literature. Encyclopaedic Dictionary], (София: Издателство "Петър Берон," 1992), 270-271.

The extant material evidence regarding Imperial *Menologia* is scarce. The disappearance of the significant amount of the evidence leaves one puzzled as to whether such collections were created only for certain months. This idea is most probably untenable. Some scholars already discussed whether these collections were part of the larger series for the entire calendar year.⁸²⁸

Michael IV Paphlagonian's commissioning of the "Imperial *Menologion*" as the calendar for the entire year could be examined in the light of his aspirations to imitate the previous imperial models. Michael Paphlagonian might have gotten such inspiration by looking up to the examples of the collections commissioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus and Basil II. The texts in the Imperial *Menologion* were somewhat longer than in Basil's *Menologion*, but the general aims and purposes corresponded to the latter collection, with the imitating illuminations, even if not reaching the same aesthetic quality as Basil's *Menologion*. The high style and luxurious decoration, the composition created only to suit the purpose of this collection and to fit its standards all betray the place of the Imperial *Menologia* of the eleventh century in the highest social stratum of the Byzantine society. However, such fashion was not novel at the time.

Commissioning hagiographical collections in Byzantium

How did the Byzantine emperors become attached to hagiographical collections? This notion is tied to the divine intercession in earthly matters. The imperial interest in divine intercession has had a long trajectory. Monica White has recently argued that the belief in divine

⁸²⁸ There is an ongoing debate about the connections of the surviving "Imperial *Menologia*," initiated by Ehrhard. Ehrhard initially talked about the two distinct series of collections, *menologion* A and *menologion* B. He concluded that *menologion* B was an earlier form of *menologion* A. According to Ehrhard, the representatives of *menologion* A are Moscow Syn. 183, Jerusalem Taphou 17, Patmos, and Walters, while *menologion* B, an earlier version, is represented by Kutlumuş 23. Ševčenko thinks that Walters belongs to *menologion* B, the earlier version. D'Aiuto also discussed the two parallel and distinct series, for the entire calendar year, with one text per day. Some of them are preserved in the copies from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but some are preserved in the original form; one of the originals is the Moscow *Menologion*. Another one is Walters Baltimore, but it is from another series. Benaki fragment with the texts for February could have been connected to the Walters manuscript. The reasons for making the two series, A and B, stays unresolved issue to this day; the hypothesis is that each series was deposited in the different location (library or the place of worship) related to the court. The research of the two series has been done on the basis of miniatures as well. Patterson Ševčenko repeated the conclusion of Nersessian that bringing the Walters *Menologion* in close relation with the Moscow *Menologion* (Syn. gr. 183) is deluding, as Nersessian demonstrated that these two are not a pair and that Moscow *Menologion* belongs to the later half of the eleventh century. Research on Benaki fragment (which could be a continuation of Walters) demonstrated that at least two different illustrated editions, if not three, were created in the course of the eleventh century. This corresponds to the series of *menologion* A and B. See Ehrhard, 3; N. P. Ševčenko, "The Walters 'Imperial' *Menologion*," 44-45; 62, n. 21; D'Aiuto, "Un ramo italogreco," 148-149; Idem, "Note ai manoscritti," 191-194.

intercession in military expeditions one way or another dates as far back as from Constantine. In the sixth century, the very attachment to saints is reflected through the belief in the divine help of Mary.⁸²⁹ The idea of the divine intercession was increasingly present already from the reign of Heracleios in the seventh century.⁸³⁰ In the various writings from the period, as well as from his own writings, it is apparent that Heracleios introduced the rhetoric significantly imbued in religious language. Theophanes Confessor testifies that on an occasion, Heracleios even invited his soldiers to sacrifice their lives in the battle like martyrs.⁸³¹ Heracleius' reign was stamped by the creeping threats from Sassanid Persia, Arabs, and Slavic migrations. The Eastern realm was prone to the attachment to saints, particularly martyrs, due to the fact that the creeping threats coming from the East, Persians, Arabs, as well as the inner enemies, constantly produced new streams of martyrs, Persian martyrs, Arabic martyrs, Iconoclastic martyrs.

The period of the sixth to eighth centuries was utterly turbulent in Byzantium, as the empire was almost incessantly exposed to attacks and threats. Almost as a rule, religious consolidation is sought for every time when the outer enemy threatens a group. The Islamic forces triggered the Byzantine emperors to impose homogeneity in different ways. The images of military saints started appearing from the sixth century as the symbolic and apotropaic representations in Byzantium.⁸³²

Since the period of the Second Iconoclasm in the eighth century, saints have been the frequent subject of different hagiographical forms in Byzantium, written by famous contemporary literati. In the eighth century, the staunch iconophile Theodore Studite composed the encomia about his favorite saints, John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, the Apostle Bartholomew, and anchorite Arsenios.⁸³³ Theodore resided in the Studios monastery in Constantinople, the important resistance center of the iconoclastic combat.

Ever since the post-iconoclastic period, saints/martyrs have appealed to the higher strata of society in Byzantium. This notion has reached its peak with the imperial interest in

⁸²⁹ See A. Cameron, "The Theotokos in Sixth-Century Byzantium: A City Finds its Symbol," in *Continuity and Change in Sixth-Century Byzantium* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1981), 96-102.

⁸³⁰ White, *Military Saints*.

⁸³¹ Ibid, 49.

⁸³² P. L. Grotowski, *Arms and Armour of the Warrior Saints. Tradition and Innovation in Byzantine Iconography (843-1261)* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 121 (hereafter Grotowski, *Arms and Armour*).

⁸³³ Efthymiadis, "Hagiography from the 'Dark Age,'" 101, 129. See also Nilles, *Kalendarium*. The correspondence of Theodore Studite and Methodios testifies to the early existence of the collections organized according to the calendar.

hagiography from the ninth up to the twelfth century. Along with it, the emperors included the religious rhetoric in the motivation of the army through the military treatises.⁸³⁴

Hagiography attracted the imperial attention during the Byzantine emperor Leo VI the Wise (886-912). He wrote 42 homilies for his favorite saints: John the Baptist, Demetrios, Nicholas, Stephen, Clement of Ancyra, Trypho, St Paul, and John Chrysostom.⁸³⁵ In the *Homily 26 on St Clement of Ancyra*, Leo VI placed a sort of a self-prayer for the emperor (himself), addressed to the martyr at the end.⁸³⁶ This prayer might have been a predecessor to the imperial prayers such as in Moscow Syn. 183 and Jerusalem Taphou 17.

The process of merging individual saints into the groups with the purpose of becoming the imperial patrons occurred during the reign of Leo VI.⁸³⁷ Additionally, the wide circle of literati around Leo VI wrote many encomia about saints: Procopios the Deacon, George of Nikomedeia, Theophanes of Caesarea, Photios, Euthymios the Protasecretis, Nicephoros Skeuophylax, Metrophanes of Smyrna, Anastasios Quaestor.⁸³⁸ Niketas David the Paphlagon wrote 55 encomia dedicated to saints in the ninth century,⁸³⁹ dedicated to Eustathios (20 Sept), Cosmas and Damian (1 Nov), Prokopios (8 Jul), protomartyr Stephen (2 Aug), Anastasia of Rome (29 Oct).⁸⁴⁰

In the ninth century, Joseph the Hymnographer allegedly wrote 466 liturgical canons to saints.⁸⁴¹ In view of P. Ševčenko, the project of Joseph the Hymnographer, which comprised of writing canons for every day of the calendar year, might have been officially sponsored by the emperor Basil I.⁸⁴² The drift of writing hymnography could be possibly explained as:

⁸³⁴ White, *Military Saints*, 52-63.

⁸³⁵ Efthymiadis, "Hagiography from the 'Dark Age,'" 114; see also T. Antonopoulou, *The Homilies of the Emperor Leo VI* (Leiden: Brill, 1997) (hereafter Antonopoulou, *The Homilies*).

⁸³⁶ Antonopoulou, *The Homilies*, 126.

⁸³⁷ White, *Military Saints*, 65.

⁸³⁸ Efthymiadis, "Hagiography from the 'Dark Age,'" 115. For the literati of the time, see T. Antonopoulou, "Homiletic Activity in Constantinople around 900," in *Preacher and Audience: Studies in Early Christian and Byzantine Homiletics*, ed. M. Cunningham and P. Allen (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 317-348; S. Tougher, *The Reign of Leo VI (886-912): Politics and People* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), etc.

⁸³⁹ Efthymiadis, "Hagiography from the 'Dark Age,'" 116. For Niketas David the Paphlagonian, see S. Paschalidis, *ΝΙΚΗΤΑΣ ΔΑΒΙΔ ΠΑΦΛΑΓΩΝ: ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΕΡΓΟ ΤΟΥ* [Nicetas David Paphlagon: Person and his Work], (Thessaloniki: ΚΕΝΤΡΟ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ, 1999) (hereafter Paschalidis, *ΝΙΚΗΤΑΣ ΔΑΒΙΔ ΠΑΦΛΑΓΩΝ*).

⁸⁴⁰ Paschalidis, *ΝΙΚΗΤΑΣ ΔΑΒΙΔ ΠΑΦΛΑΓΩΝ*, 301.

⁸⁴¹ See N. P. Ševčenko, "Canon and Calendar," I, 104-5. He was considered to be the instigator of *menaion* as a form of liturgical book.

⁸⁴² See N. P. Ševčenko, "Canon and Calendar," I, 113-114.

a spiritual answer of the monks to the social cataclysm of the time, like the Iconoclasm in Joseph's time, and siege of Jerusalem by Persians and Arabs in the first wave of hymnography writing, represented by Andrew of Crete, John the Monk, and Cosmas of Jerusalem in the seventh and eighth century.⁸⁴³

John Mauropous, who wrote a number of canons for the saints, considered himself the successor of Joseph the Hymnographer.⁸⁴⁴ The interest in hagiography and hagiographical collections has transferred from the father emperor to the son, from Leo VI to Constantine VII.

From the tenth century an increasing interest in the sacred nature of warfare emerges at the court in Byzantium.⁸⁴⁵ It inspired series of emperors to seek their heavenly patrons. The development of interest in the role of religion in warfare in the Byzantine army, as well as the relationship of soldiers to martyrs emerging at this time was notable and significant.

During the oeuvre of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos, the two most important collections saw the light in Byzantium – The *Synaxarion of Constantinople* and the *Menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes. They were different in size and scope, but had one thing in common – they could both pinpoint to the imperial interest in saints.

Making of the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* as liturgical tool could be perceived as the imperial attempt of Constantine VII to control the religious life, practices, readings, even the very saints to be mentioned on each feast day. Some scholars argued for a clear political ideology behind commission of the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* by Constantine VII.⁸⁴⁶ When it comes to the Metaphrastic *Menologion*, such control could be envisaged in the sphere of monastic life, readings and practices. If there was such a plan, it was certainly successful, as the *Menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes consequently became the most popular *menologion* collection in Byzantium, unprecedented by authority and the amount of transmission.

The imperial interest in commissioning the collections of *menologia* did not cease with this, even though the two collections commissioned by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos became the official readings in liturgy and in monastic contexts. The continuity is astonishing, especially

⁸⁴³ See A. Nikiforova, "The Historical Development of Liturgical Menaion in the 9th–12th Century," <http://www.academia.edu/2309904/The_Historical_Development_of_Liturgical_Menaion_in_the_9-12th_cc_abstract_of_PhD> Last accessed: 12/01/2015.

⁸⁴⁴ See N. P. Ševčenko, "Canon and Calendar," I, 105.

⁸⁴⁵ White, *Military Saints*, 31.

⁸⁴⁶ See Luzzi, "Synaxaria," 199; see also A. Luzzi, "L'ideologia constantiniana nella liturgia dell'eta do Constantino VII Porfirogenito," *Rivista di studi byzantini e neoellenici* 28 (1991): 113-24; P. Odorico, "Ideologie politique, production litteraire et patronage au Xe siècle: l'empereur Constantin VII et le synaxariste Evariste," *Medioevo Greco* 1 (2001): 199-219.

considering a long line of the similar collections commissioned by the succeeding emperors. It almost comes as surprise that the Byzantine emperors needed hagiographical collections produced one after another, dedicated to each single one of them.

The tradition continued with at least several consequent emperors, who were either the commissioners of the hagiographical collections or the dedicatees. The *Menologion* of Basil II, a sort of a *synaxarion*, was richly illuminated and reworked in order that every text fits the sixteen-lines of text. Scholars are still indecisive whether this collection suited liturgical purposes in Byzantium. Its appearance nevertheless transpires a collision in prestige and competition among the emperors regarding the hagiographical collections.

Some sources testify to this collision. Namely, the *Metaphrastic Menologion* as a huge project instigated by Constantine VII was finished possibly after his reign. Its “publication” relates to the time of Basil II.⁸⁴⁷ According to Ephraim Mtsire, Basil II prohibited reading of the *Metaphrastic Menologion* in all churches at some point and reduced it to the private readings. What made Basil II infuriated was the hearing from a reading of a Metaphrastic life that “the good luck of the Greek empire ended with the emperor Leo VI.”⁸⁴⁸ Basil II possibly felt fear and uncertainty and was superstitious. Hagiographical collections may have been perceived as apotropaic tools. The emperors needed hagiographical collections so that saints/martyrs protect them in their endeavors.

There are a number of other hagiographical collections dedicated to the emperors. Christopher of Mytilene wrote his *Verse Calendar* and devoted it either to Romanus III or Constantine IX. The Imperial *Menologia* consecrated to Michael IV Paphlagonian concur with a long line of the collections dedicated to the emperors. Finally, the *Menologion* of John Xiphilinos the Younger has a dedication to the emperor Alexios I Komnenos, nowadays preserved only in Georgian.

Additionally, the proliferation of encomia and panegyrics in Byzantium consequently led to their placement in the hagiographical collections, until they filled the collections as the predominant readings (which was demonstrated earlier in the chapter two in relation to the August *Menologia*). Compilers of *menologia* preferred choosing texts by the known and more prominent authors than the anonymous texts. It was a safe way to provide readership – saints

⁸⁴⁷ Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes*, 127-134.

⁸⁴⁸ Ibid, 69.

present in such collections were the saints that were once promoted by authoritative figures. By the eleventh century, encomia tended to become predominant form of hagiographical narrative in Byzantine *menologia*.

The interest in the collections of saints' lives ceased around the twelfth century. This is the period to which Paul Magdalino dedicated an article, arguing that the belief in saintly power and the intercession of holy men, as well as in spirituality was at the very low level in Byzantium. Also, the intolerance towards the holiness of holy men was increasing.⁸⁴⁹

The appearance of all the above-mentioned hagiographical collections associated to particular imperial figures and their number bewilders. This is more so as some of these collections were turned into official readings in Byzantium and the question arises about the need for the further new collections. The trends behind the imperial dedication and commission of the hagiographical collections at the time could be grasped as fashion in Byzantium, but they could have meant more than that.

Some discussion has been raised in scholarship regarding the aims of these collections. In her article on the Byzantine antiquarianism of the tenth century, Claudia Rapp writes about the compilation of the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*, arguing that the efforts were made to make saints' lives more accessible in order to preserve memory of the saints and to make promotion of their cult.⁸⁵⁰ Rapp's article emphasizes that such collections were the reflection of antiquarianism of the time. On the other hand, Høgel considers Rapp's stress on encyclopaedic nature of the hagiographical liturgical collections at this period as over-emphasized.⁸⁵¹ In his view, these were first and foremost the texts, which dealt with the holy.⁸⁵²

When it comes to the Imperial *Menologia*, it seems that they have been designed to support emperor's endeavors in the worldly combats. The collections gathered both old and new martyrs and saints to uphold the emperor's success in the activities.⁸⁵³ The saints and martyrs were asked through the texts to help the emperor. In my view, the reasons for collecting the old tales might lie in the understanding of the books as apotropaic and protection amulets; the

⁸⁴⁹ P. Magdalino, "The Byzantine Holy Man in the Twelfth Century," in *The Byzantine Saint*, ed. S. Hackel (London: Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius, 1981), 51-66.

⁸⁵⁰ Rapp, "Byzantine Hagiographers as Antiquarians," 31.

⁸⁵¹ Høgel, "Hagiography under the Macedonians," 218, n. 6.

⁸⁵² Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes*, 49.

⁸⁵³ Similarly, Nancy Ševčenko attested that the images in the Imperial *Menologia* (she discussed the Walters *Menologion*) were not illustrations of the narrative texts, but painted invocations. See N. P. Ševčenko, "The Walters 'Imperial' *Menologion*," 43.

heroes, the martyrs and the saints were expected to foster their owners. Possibly the emperors were at the time in need of them.

However, there is more to it. Looking into the characters of the narratives of the Imperial *Menologia*, the numbers say that martyrs are predominant. Moscow Syn. 183 contains a higher number of narratives about martyrs than the other collections of the similar calendar type. Also, Jerusalem Taphou 17 contains the high numbers of both early Christian martyrs, and martyrs in general. When it comes to the other collections, Høgel noticed that more than a half of the texts included in the Metaphrastic *Menologion* were martyria, despite the uncommon practice to write martyrdoms in the days of Symeon Metaphrastes.⁸⁵⁴ Monica White noted that the “military saints” were in fact never called as such in the sources. The most common way of addressing them was “martyrs.”⁸⁵⁵ She confirms that $\frac{3}{4}$ of the entries in the *Menologion* of Basil II are dedicated to martyrs.⁸⁵⁶ Hinterberger argued that passions of the martyrs occupied the central place among hagiographical genres, judging by the *Metaphrastic Menologion*, which contained 78 passions out of 148 texts.⁸⁵⁷

Why martyrs? The answer could be found in invoking the past victims. It is not only the nature of a saint but also the way they ended their lives that proved inspiring in certain contexts. Martyrs stood out throughout the history of Christianity as the first heroes who literally sacrificed their lives for faith. In certain contexts, this notion was necessary to revisit all over again.

Moscow Syn. 183 encloses the highest number of the narratives about martyrs. This manuscript produced in the eleventh century had the saints aligned according to an earlier type of calendar, which came to be considered as unusual at the time. Taking on an earlier calendar could be explained by the inclination to have as many martyrs as possible in the collection. Soliciting the past victims proved to be a powerful tool. It recalled remembering of the victims. It was a warning and a reminder that such sacrifice was not to be repeated in the future.

⁸⁵⁴ Høgel, “The Redaction of Symeon Metaphrastes,” 7-21.

⁸⁵⁵ White, *Military Saints*, 3.

⁸⁵⁶ Ibid, 74.

⁸⁵⁷ M. Hinterberger, “Byzantine Hagiography and its Literary Genres. Some Critical Observations,” in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography II: Genres and Contexts*, ed. S. Efthymiadis (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), 29 (hereafter Hinterberger, “Byzantine Hagiography”).

Conclusion

The collections of Imperial *Menologia* transformed single texts, including the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus*, in order to concur to their standards. The criteria imposed having the characteristic ending, the prayer for the emperor, which addressed the martyrs and saints, pleading them to provide an array of earthly benefits for the emperor. In the case of Moscow Syn. 183, the emperor turned out to be the Byzantine emperor of the eleventh century Michael IV Paphlagonian. The manuscript Moscow Syn. 183, together with a few other Imperial *Menologia*, contains illuminations, which depict martyrs and saints in one of the characteristic scenes from their hagiographies. Irenaeus was presented in the scene of throwing his beheaded body into the river. The existence of the illuminations in this manuscript possibly points out to its originality, and it certainly distinguishes it from another Imperial *Menologion* containing the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus*, Jerusalem Taphou 17, which might be a copy. The illuminations testify to a high stylistic and economic value, even if they do not correspond to the illuminations of the *Menologion* of Basil II and the Walters collection, as some scholars estimated.

The calendar used in aligning the *menologion* in Moscow Syn. 183 was an earlier, martyr-laden calendar, unusual and outdated at the time. The texts chosen for the collection were mostly from the Metaphrastic collection. Where there was no metaphrastic text to copy, the text was either rewritten or used from some other sources. The collection was finally unified in a way that each text had the same ending – the prayer for the emperor – albeit composed by different words. The reasons which impelled Michael IV or somebody from his nearest surrounding to commission this manuscript are unknown. Yet, this collection stands in the long trajectory of the hagiographical collections commissioned by the Byzantine emperors.

The trends of commissioning hagiographical collections begin in Late Antiquity, but intensify in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The reasons of commissioning Moscow Syn. 183 could be related to the turmoils of the time where the increased need of reminding people of the victims of the past came to light. The conclusion that the text BHG 949e is rewritten in a more emotional manner, where the martyr becomes a victimized character, fits into the broader scope of this collection. It served the purpose of bringing to mind the past victims and the past suffering, with the admonition that such events are not to be repeated in future.

Epilogue: Remembering Irenaeus in Sremska Mitrovica Today

I visited Sremska Mitrovica in spring 2010, anticipating to see if commemoration of Irenaeus of Sirmium exists today in this town. In the place of the ancient Sirmium, there are nowadays two towns: Sremska Mitrovica and Mačvanska Mitrovica. One of the most important cities of the later Roman Empire is at present a medium-size town: 37586 citizens inhabit Sremska Mitrovica and 3873 citizens inhabit Mačvanska Mitrovica.⁸⁵⁸ The river Sava is the natural border between them. While being the official border a number of times in the past, the river Sava now does not separate the two towns administrative-wise. Mačvanska Mitrovica belongs to the municipality of Sremska Mitrovica and to the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina. Mačvanska Mitrovica is the only inhabited place across the river Sava that belongs to Vojvodina.

I arrived to Sremska Mitrovica, assuming that there is no community or the group of people anywhere else in the world, who would remember Irenaeus more than this community, which is geographically located at the same place as the ancient Sirmium. This assumption at first does not seem right if one takes into account discontinuity, the various layers of the past, migrations, wars, etc. In spite of a great deal of what transpired over the centuries, despite the oblivion, migrations and the change in the power structures, memory of this saint in Sremska Mitrovica has yet persevered. My plan to visit Sremska Mitrovica came as a consequence of the information that there appeared several newly built objects in honor of Irenaeus in contemporary Sremska Mitrovica. Remembering became embodied through the public monuments: a bridge across the river Sava connecting Sremska and Mačvanska Mitrovica named after Irenaeus, a newly built church bearing the name of the Sirmian martyrs (among which is Irenaeus) and a street named Irenaeus' street in this town.

Thinking of remembering in general, one presupposes a collective action, testifying to the will and the wish of a social community to choose and organize its representations of the past. Remembering usually contains many layers of intention: social, political, and institutional intentions. They support and approve introduction of the elements of the past into the public

⁸⁵⁸ The numbers are according to the census in 2011. See Republički zavod za statistiku [Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia], *Popis stanovništva, domaćinstava i stanova u Republici Srbiji 2011*, (Belgrade, 2011), 29-30.

domain.⁸⁵⁹ Remembering is usually selective; groups select from the past and construct the past selectively. Some details from the past are lost forever, while the other are subject of careful reproduction and promotion. In collective memory, the crucial question is who wants people to remember something and why.⁸⁶⁰ Who directs remembering? The structures of power play a decisive role in choosing the elements of the past to be reproduced. A body or the power representatives have to instrumentalize, organize and direct remembering.

Certainly, in this case recollection presupposes not continuity, but rather resurfacing. When not directly linked to the events in question, memory is usually textually or orally mediated. Re-emerging of memory in this case appears thanks to the mediators between the mediated memory (through the texts) and the population. Another question is how collective memory when linked to the systems of power and reflecting the politics of memory influences common people.

Therefore, upon my arrival in Sremska Mitrovica I realized that remembering is embodied through several public monuments all connected to Irenaeus. And all of a sudden, common people came to remember Irenaeus again.

Irenaeus' Bridge in Sremska Mitrovica

Ivo Andrić, the novelist and the Nobel Prize winner, wrote that buildings and people were inextricably linked. There are no buildings that emerged by accident, disconnectedly to human society and disconnectedly to the needs, wishes and customs of the same society.⁸⁶¹ The same could be said about the long and elegant bridge, which connects the two Mitrovicas. The bridge was a need of the local community. It made the route from Mačvanska Mitrovica to the center of Sremska Mitrovica significantly shorter. Building the bridge came out as an outcome of many petitions and protests. Even when the building commenced, the end of the construction works was often unpredictable and pending.

The whole process was successfully implemented in the political rhetoric. During the construction works, local and state politicians made convincing promises related to the

⁸⁵⁹ J. Byford, *Potiskivanje i poricanje antisemitizma* [Suppressing and Denial of Anti-Semitism], (Belgrade: Helsinški odbor za ljudska prava, 2005), 49 (hereafter Byford).

⁸⁶⁰ See P. Burke, "History as Social Memory," in *Memory, History, Culture and the Mind*, ed. T. Butler (New York: Blackwell, 1989).

⁸⁶¹ I. Andrić, *Bridge on the Drina* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977).

accomplishment of the building. In the meantime, a great deal of mythology was constructed around the bridge.

The bridge was named after Irenaeus. Thus, people in the committee in charge were aware of the late antique story about his martyrdom. The insiders recalled *the bridge of Artemis* from the Greek martyrdom and *pons Basentis* from the Latin martyrdom. The question over the initiator of such idea came up.



Figure 15. The bridge of Irenaeus from Sremska Mitrovica side⁸⁶²

The bridge was built between 1990 and 1993, the years imbued in turbulence and uncertainty in Serbia. The process of disintegration of the Former Yugoslavia was taking place. JNA (Yugoslav National Army) was involved in the military operations in the territories of Bosnia and Croatia, recruiting a number of people. At the same time, a large influx of refugees (mostly Serbs) from the territories of Bosnia and Croatia was arriving to Serbia on a daily basis.

Consequently, nationalism gained ground as a predominant ideology of the Serbian society. The triumph of Slobodan Milošević in the political scene and rise of the Serbian nationalism received a strong support even from the Serbian Orthodox Church.⁸⁶³ Nationalism acted upon the social reproduction of collective memory. In the chaotic manner and saturated in everyday uncertainty, Serbia reconstructed the collective memory through the public monuments, as it usually happens with the contemporary nation-states, which construct their own sense of the past through variety of public rituals, monuments, and exhibits.⁸⁶⁴

⁸⁶² Photo by the author, April 2010.

⁸⁶³ Byford, 54.

⁸⁶⁴ See V. Roudometof, *Collective Memory, National Identity, and Ethnic Conflict: Greece, Bulgaria, and the Macedonian Question* (London: Praeger Publishers, 2002), 7.

Once finished, the bridge was consecrated by the church authorities and put in use on 28th June 1994, on *Vidovdan* (St Vid's Day). *Vidovdan* is an important feast day in the calendar of the Serbian Orthodox Church. This day is associated with the Battle of Kosovo in 1389. Even though a defeat, the Battle of Kosovo became remembered through myth and celebrated almost as a victory over the Ottoman Empire. The symbolism of this date was confused with the religious connotation in naming the bridge. Irenaeus was historically not in any way related to Serbs, but exclusively to the geographical place of Sremska Mitrovica, while the Battle of Kosovo took place far away from Sremska Mitrovica. However, this event altogether served as an apt metaphor to merge several episodes of the past suffering and combine them with the moments of glory.

Who was in charge for naming the bridge? The collection of essays entirely devoted to the bridge, *the Bridge "Saint Irenaeus,"* published in 2000, does not say anything about it.⁸⁶⁵ The *Official Bulletin*⁸⁶⁶ in 1993 registered the decision regarding the name of the bridge, signed by the president of the municipality, Slobodan Prodanović, the member of the Socialist Party of Serbia. The Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS), whose president was Slobodan Milošević, ruled over the municipality of Sremska Mitrovica, as well as over most of the country in 1993.

In one of the initial pages of *the Bridge "Saint Irenaeus,"* there is a photo of Slobodan Milošević on the bridge of Irenaeus, entitled: "Among the First Ones on the Bridge."⁸⁶⁷ He gave the following speech on this occasion: "I am glad that I am here today in the heart of Srem. Srem gave a huge contribution to the unity of Serbia and was the first to break up with the politics of autonomy which was dividing Serbia."⁸⁶⁸ Milošević used the metaphor of bridge as a link between the two administratively distinct regions. The bridge became a symbol of the connection between Sremska and Mačvanska Mitrovica, between Srem and Mačva, between Vojvodina and Serbia. It was another item used in Milošević's endeavors to defeat the politics of autonomy, which he fought against due to the economic and political reasons, but also because of the creeping threats and increasing demands for autonomy coming from Kosovo. Milošević was in fact against any autonomy within the Republic of Serbia and he hoped to abolish the autonomy

⁸⁶⁵ M. Milovanović, and N. Terzić, *Most "Sveti Irinej"* [The Bridge "Saint Irenaeus"], (Sremska Mitrovica, Sirmiumart, 2000) (hereafter Milovanović and Terzić, *Most „Sveti Irinej“*).

⁸⁶⁶ *Službeni list opština Srema 3* (XXIII), [The Official Bulletin of the Municipalities of Srem 3] (Sremska Mitrovica: Historical Archives, 1993), 81.

⁸⁶⁷ Milovanović and Terzić, *Most „Sveti Irinej,”* 3.

⁸⁶⁸ Ibid.

of Kosovo. In this sense, the bridge connecting the two regions divided by the river served as an apt metaphor for this abolishment.

During the opening of the bridge, followed by the splendid celebration, Aleksa Jokić, the Minister of transportation and communications in the Government of Serbia at the time confirmed the imperative of the abolishment of autonomy by stressing in his speech that “now there are no obstacles between Srem and Mačva, nor there will ever be again.”⁸⁶⁹ The bond established by the bridge symbolically annihilated any potential autonomy.

Dimitrije Stojšić, who was a political candidate during the local elections campaign in 1990, wrote in *the Bridge* “*Saint Irenaeus*” that

if we dive into the river Sava, we can see the remnants of the ancient history and the traces of the first bridge, where the great martyr Irenaeus gave his life for the faith, and from where he went into sainthood and into the legend. We can see and be proud of the message of his sacrifice – the one who has faith will win. We conveyed this message with dignity, by writing a new history of this young bridge, when we were standing unarmed on this and many other bridges of this country, which American and NATO vultures were bombing. We were ready, because of our faith, to sacrifice ourselves to their bombs, knowing that Irenaeus’ death overpowered his and our persecutors.⁸⁷⁰

During the NATO bombing of Serbia in 1999, when the bridges were strategically exposed to bombing more than the other objects and targets, people tended to “defend the bridges” by standing on them during the air threats. This symbolic gesture was spread as common practice. In such situations, the parallels to the ancient martyr who died on the bridge were prompt. The metaphorical analogy was naturally not used immediately, but some time later and through the narrative writings. The existence of the bridge, and particularly the bridge bearing the name of the ancient martyr provided fruitful metaphors for the people in power. The bridge was a useful symbol in the 1990s, when Slobodan Milošević rhetoricised on the bridge about the abolition of autonomy, and again even more powerful in 1999, when people literally stood on the bridges all over Serbia during the air threats in the NATO bombing. People were exposing themselves as sacrifice, ready to fall down along with the bridges. It was the same with this bridge, like with many bridges around. In such situation the connection to the ancient martyr

⁸⁶⁹ Milovanović and Terzić, *Most „Sveti Irinej,”* 166.

⁸⁷⁰ Ibid, 71.

who died by being beheaded and thrown from the bridge was very obvious. People associated with the martyr all over again.

Irenaeus' Street

Towards the end of 1992, the municipality of Sremska Mitrovica made a decision to change a number of the earlier street names and replace them with the new names. The Committee for Naming the Streets and Squares was in charge for the replacement of the street names. Slobodan Prodanović yet again placed his signature and stamp on this decision. The names of thirty-nine streets and squares have been changed. Before 1992, Sremska Mitrovica had at least half of the streets that had the names related to the Partisan past.

This decision was part of a larger project and one of the ways to break up with the communist Partisan past, to which the earlier names testified. Naturally, in the eye of beholder, the earlier names were no longer considered a usable past befitting for the maintenance of the coherent group identity. Memory was to be redirected.⁸⁷¹ To name some of the replacements, the streets of Maršal Tito, Sonja Marinković, Pinki, Ivo Lola Ribar, etc. were substituted by the streets of Ćira Milekić, Vuk Karadžić, Nikola Pašić, etc. The Committee chose the new names for the streets among the prominent individuals from the national Serbian early modern past, the prominent local citizens, local toponyms, names of the prominent Christian Roman emperors, but also Roman gods, like Jupiter. Among them, Irenaeus found his place. Attachment to nation, *locus*, and grandiose past took over the turn and swept away the Partisan past in this way. This was a suitable way to implement the new forms and patterns of grandeur in a young national community with the heightened sensibility to its past and concern about its place in history.⁸⁷² The deliberate selectivity articulated through the particular characters was clearly part of the global idea of convoking the heroes that “belong to us.”

⁸⁷¹ See J. V. Wertsch, *Voices of Collective Remembering* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 31.

⁸⁷² G. Valtchinova, “Reinventing the Past, Reenchanted the Future,” in *The “Vision Thing.” Studying Divine Intervention*, ed. W. A. Christian Jr. and G. Klaniczay (Budapest: Collegium Budapest, 2009), 159 (hereafter Valtchinova).



Figure 16. The street of Irenaeus in Sremska Mitrovica⁸⁷³

The *Official Bulletin* specified that the Committee consisted of the politicians, local citizens, and prominent cultural and public figures, i.e., the literati of the contemporary community.⁸⁷⁴ One of the informants I talked to during my research in Sremska Mitrovica, Bora Čekerinac, said that renaming the streets and squares was the imperative of the time we lived in. He confirmed that the Committee consisted of academics and politically impartial experts. The members of the Committee were Petar Milošević, Radomir Prica, Dragan Popović, and Čekerinac himself. The work was left to specialists, but was monitored by the higher political structures. The expert knowledge was used as a critical resource for restructuring the changing present.⁸⁷⁵

Materializing the greatness and making history palpable by projecting its glory to everyday life occurred in Sremska Mitrovica in the case of renaming the streets. The new names of the streets were linked to the new nationalistic ideas and the heroes that are “our own.” Irenaeus emerged yet again as part of the larger scope, as someone got the idea that he could corroborate such ideas as well. Apparently the destiny of not only this saint, but also many others was to be known and then forgotten, and to resurface for smaller and larger periods of time. Resurfacing was usually politically fuelled.

⁸⁷³ Photo by the author, April 2010.

⁸⁷⁴ *Službeni list opština Srema 7* (XXIII), [The Official Bulletin of the Municipalities of Srem 7] (Sremska Mitrovica: The Historical Archives 1993), 293.

⁸⁷⁵ Valtchinova, 160.

Therefore, the use of historical record was political. National histories provide a population with heroes, monuments, and other evidence for the existence of national identity through the ages.⁸⁷⁶ The nations are involved in rituals, the construction of national myths, and other symbolic elements that help construct and maintain peoples' sense of belonging to an "imagined community."⁸⁷⁷ And yet again, Irenaeus emerged as an "adopted" hero under the new circumstances and in the new context.

The Church dedicated to the Martyrs of Sirmium

The church dedicated to the Sirmian martyrs is located in the part of the town, which the archpriest Djordje Blagojević (another informant during my research in Sremska Mitrovica) called the "Small Bosnia." People occasionally name the church in the same way. According to a janitor of the church, this part of the town is called "Small Bosnia" because it is inhabited by the people, who migrated from Bosnia either as the "colonizers" in the late 1940s after the WWII⁸⁷⁸ or as the refugees from the war in Bosnia in 1990s. The church was built between 1994 and 1998. Its name encompasses Irenaeus among other Sirmian martyrs: Serenus, Demetrius and Anastasia. Where does the name of the church come from?



Figure 17. The Church of the Sirmian martyrs⁸⁷⁹

Both informants, the archpriest Blagojević and the janitor of the church, agreed that a bishop gave the name to the church. The janitor of the church said that the church was built by the initiative of the citizens, who wished to have a church in this part of the town, closer to their homes. The church in the town center dedicated to St Demetrius was too distant from their homes.⁸⁸⁰

⁸⁷⁶ Roudometof, *Collective Memory, National Identity, and Ethnic Conflict*, 9-10.

⁸⁷⁷ Ibid, 7.

⁸⁷⁸ The "colonization" and agrarian reform were carried out in Yugoslavia after 1945 by the communist government. The population from Bosnia and Montenegro was allocated to Vojvodina, and they were given the houses and lands.

⁸⁷⁹ Photo by the author, April 2010.

When asked why this name of the church and why construction in this part of the town, the archpriest gave an interesting answer. Continuing his talk about the “Small Bosnia,” he said that this church was named after the Sirmian martyrs because people increasingly associated with the “new martyrs” and the victims of the current wars during the 1990s, particularly as many of them were refugees. Therefore, the parallels with the earlier martyrs became more obvious. The old martyrdoms went along with the new martyrdoms. At the beginning of 1990s, martyrdom and victimization became the dominant subjects of the Serbian nationalistic rhetoric in political and church discourse.⁸⁸¹

According to the archpriest, there was a concentration camp in this part of the town during the WWII. He was not sure whether this detail influenced the building of the church in this particular location, but he made the parallels nevertheless. In fact, the concentration camps in this place have a long trajectory. During the WWII, Srem belonged to the Independent State of Croatia, at the time collaborators of the Nazi Germany. They organized a concentration camp in Sremska Mitrovica for Serbs, Roma and Jews. Later, from 1945 to 1947, the new communist government organized the concentration camp “Svilara” in Sremska Mitrovica for the Danubian Germans, previously inhabited in Vojvodina. From 1991 to 1992, during the disintegration wars of the Former Yugoslavia, the camp in Sremska Mitrovica existed for the Croat prisoners imprisoned by the Serbian army.⁸⁸² Despite the long martyr-laden history of this place, its current inhabitants do not affiliate with all the victims from the past, but naturally choose the ones they associate to.

Conclusion

Commemoration usually functions in a way that it employs reorganizing and reconstructing bits of information from the past into a general scheme rather than accurately recalling the matters and facts. Also, people are often good at summoning up the gist of what

⁸⁸⁰ St. Demetrius is the major saint in Sremska Mitrovica. The town itself bears the name of this saint. See M. Vuković, “Using an Ancient Saint for Contemporary Political Purposes: the Case of Irenaeus of Sirmium in Sremska Mitrovica Today,” *Religion in Eastern Europe* 30, No. 3 (2010): 16-24.

⁸⁸¹ Byford, 72.

⁸⁸² M. C. Bassiouni, Final report of the United Nations Commission of Experts established pursuant to Security Council Resolution 780 (1992), S/1994/674/Ad.2, New York, 1994,

<http://www.law.depaul.edu/centers_institutes/iharli/downloads/Annex_Summaries_and_Conclusions.pdf>, 67.
Last accessed: 21/07/2014.

happened, a process that involves selectively using and often distorting or deleting pieces of information that do not contribute to the overall picture they reconstruct.⁸⁸³ Irenaeus and his commemoration was only a tool in a political context; Irenaeus as a martyr did not stand for himself but for the different means.

In the period when Irenaeus resurfaced in the local community and in the mind of common people, this country ascribed to itself plenty of new martyrs, linked to the old martyrs by the same idea – death for a cause. The “new martyrs” were the Serbian victims of the wars in Croatia, Bosnia, and Kosovo. This was an easy link to make for the higher political powers. The martyr became a tool, apt to invoke new, nationalistic ideas, grandeur, and to help construct the new identity.

Several features appeared in the 1990s to corroborate remembering, but in the mind of common people these ideas were present only partially. Only a few general *topoi* were remembered about Irenaeus in Sremska Mitrovica at the time: his position in the church, the bridge and the beheading on the bridge. Nothing else mattered. Certainly, those who live in Irenaeus’ street know of his name. Certainly, the parishioners who celebrate the feast day of the Sirmian martyrs know of Irenaeus. In this sense, the decisions from 1992/3 to name the bridge and the street after the saint did something towards enhancing the memory of the saint.

Yet, the more important question is how is Irenaeus remembered in the local community. Locals truly did not perceive the origin of Irenaeus as being different from their own origin. His Christian beliefs and his origin from Sirmium were emphasized, while his Roman citizenship and his Greek name were not an issue. In this sense, he was in a way ascribed a new identity.

Remembering always presupposes a distance, a separation that the group experiences between itself and the event from the past.⁸⁸⁴ Though well aware of the time distance, people still tend to embrace heroes and characters, if only necessary, even if heroes themselves were not what they are taken for. Once the connection of places of history is made to the contemporary state’s physical and political geography, the landmarks of national territory become holy and the heroes become “our own.”

⁸⁸³ Wertsch, *Voices of Collective Remembering*, 8.

⁸⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 46.

Conclusion

People appropriate the past time and again in a variety of wrappers and forms. Tokens of the past linked to a particular group or society find their way into the contemporary domain to meet different needs. Of all the past that may be revisited, a particular power lies in revisiting a past suffering. Dying for a cause – for an idea, for freedom, for a way of life – can be the subject of long-lasting memory among those who associated themselves with these victims. This phenomenon is particularly significant in times of turmoil. At such moments, there is always a special connection between a current time of crisis and a need to invoke past martyrdoms.

The tales about Christian martyrdom were an apt medium for such appeals among all the Christians who followed. The narratives came to light in fair numbers and out of the cultural contexts of early and medieval Christian societies. Their re-appropriation was unceasingly carried out throughout the Middle Ages. Their potential was based on specificity of the sacrifice of their heroes. “Whenever Christians felt threatened, they returned to the martyrs of the early Church for consolation and inspiration.”⁸⁸⁵

Martyrs as characters in hagiographical stories were valued and sought after especially in the times of discord. This notion was even more indicative when an outside enemy was involved. Turmoil caused by external foes instigated consolidation of inner strengths, and one of the ways to achieve spiritual harmony was to invoke victims from the past. This mechanism proved to work well in the Middle Ages, as it does today. The martyrs (particularly the early martyrs – the earlier, the more genuine) inevitably became the most compelling symbols at the worst of times for a country or a society.

In the period between the tenth and the twelfth centuries, Byzantine emperors intensively involved themselves in the commissioning of collections of saints’ lives. These collections often exceeded in the number of martyrdom narratives compared to the other hagiographical texts. One of these collections, the Moscow Syn. 183 manuscript which is known to be the original extant Imperial *Menologion*, aligned the saints according to an earlier and, at times outdated, calendar order. The number of texts dedicated to martyrs in this collection exceeds all other similar collections. The idea behind commissioning this manuscript was to potentially collect together as

⁸⁸⁵ C. R. Moss, *The Myth of Persecution: How Early Christians Invented A Story of Martyrdom* (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 2013), 8.

many martyrs as possible; this is why a copyist used the earlier type of calendar for March (the later calendars replaced martyrs with the other characters). The commissioner/composer of this manuscript instigated a particularly martyr-laden collection. Moreover, the texts in the manuscript were accompanied by illuminations with persecution themes, while each text ended in a prayer for the emperor. The *metaphrastic* processes set the emotional tone in the texts of this *Menologion*, making them significantly different from their earlier versions. They abound in suffering, struggle and emotions, and eventually turn a martyr into a victimized character. Such a collection was cleverly conceived in order to compel feelings of vengeance among the present generations and the generations to follow.

This collection had an “agenda” to transform single texts in order to fit the collection. Textual transformation was a means of adjusting the text into a collection for the desired purpose. The aim was to appropriate artifacts of a distant past in order to make that past usable. The martyr tended to be extracted and inserted into the new context and his appealing features emphasized. What did not present a usable past was pushed aside.

Another example of using the ancient martyr in contemporary (political) purposes was testified to the town of Sremska Mitrovica, Serbia. In the 1990s in Serbia, in circumstances connected to changing and rebuilding a new identity during turbulent times, an ancient martyr again served as a powerful tool in the hands of leaders to remind people of the old victims, the old martyrs and link them to the new martyrs to whom the local community was attached. Recalling the victims was a warning and reminder that such victimization must not be repeated in the future.

In the case of Irenaeus of Sirmium, the texts in the Imperial *Menologia* are among the more apparent examples of ancient hagiographical texts worked through and interpolated in the Middle Ages. Other examples abound. Each saint, his hagiographical text, and the afterlife of the text had its own story to tell. Textual varieties of the medieval hagiographies go far beyond what we know about them at present.

In order to insure their safe afterlives, medieval hagiographical texts not only had to go through extensive textual transformations but also cope with the complex processes required to align saints within calendar collections. Unsettling and losing its position within a calendar meant the future preservation of a hagiographical text was precarious.

Hagiographical texts were only sometimes singled out in the collections because of preferences towards their subject matter. They were mostly chosen because of the feast day of the saint they referenced; if a saint did not already have a date in the calendar, the opportunity to appear in a collection would vanish. The processes of calendar standardization took place during the Early Middle Ages. This period was marked by the appearance of many different calendar orderings of saints. The dates of a saint's feast day could be changed, months switched around or the saints could even be completely withdrawn from their feast days.

Remembrance of saints and their narratives was sealed through the complex processes of positioning the texts within the collections. Their memory was dependent on the feast day of a saint, the position of the feast day in the calendars in comparison to the movable cycle, the other saints who were celebrated on the same date or simply on the fact that certain saints and certain texts were not chosen by scribes and copyists for a place in the collections.

Some saints had their own prominent cult, which provided a safe way for them to keep their feast day, the place in the calendar, and secure grounds in which to plant their hagiographical text. This was not the case with Irenaeus and similar lesser-known saints. Irenaeus had an early cult and his hagiographical text was present in calendar collections, but the cult was not connected to the calendar collections. His alleged late antique and medieval cult had no palpable connections with the appearance of his hagiographical text in the collections aligned according to the calendars used in various local Christian communities. Irenaeus did not appear in any of the calendar collections because of his local prominence.

Therefore, his occasional journey into calendars came about in different ways. The cult of saints was not the exclusive route for a saint to enter calendar collections in the transitional period from the popularization of the cult of saints to the standardization of the church calendars. The installation of a saint within a calendar did not necessarily depend on the local prominence of a saint or a martyr either.

Although the cult of saints proved to be a safe way to preserve the memory of saints, calendars nevertheless maintained remembrance of the saints, particularly those whose cults did not develop or who did not have any bodily remnants preserved as relics. In this way, calendars preserved recollection of lesser-known saints.

Calendars were at times adopted from another realm without local input and the mark of locality. In this sense, they lived a life of their own, being fossilized and transferred from

community to community along with the entirety of their hagiographical narratives. In this manner, particular saints and martyrs were relocated into certain new environments by the token of transfer from a more authoritative realm.

Anonymous late antique martyrdom narratives were appropriated in the early medieval period according to the needs of their textual communities. Therefore, one should not come too quickly to conclusions about a particular hagiographical text which might even have been preserved sometimes in hundreds of manuscripts, unless a careful examination of all the available material has not been conducted. Without such research, we might never know the number of hands, which saw, read and decided to add something to the initial text in the marginalia or even to the core layout.

The textual versions as preserved in the manuscripts present the authentic sources bound to particular communities, places and time periods. The *Martyrdom of Irenaeus* appeared in Latin, Byzantine, Bulgarian, Georgian, and Armenian realms, mostly in monastic contexts, and in religious foundations supported by the rulers. In the Latin context, the manuscripts appear initially in Bavaria and northern Italy which were peripheral and semi-dependent areas in the transitional period of Merovingian and later Carolingian political entities. They appeared in the monasteries established by royal patronage and by missionaries coming from Anglo-Saxon and Irish contexts. In Slavonic and Greek contexts, the manuscripts with this text appeared in the urban monastic settings of the capitals of the First Bulgarian Empire and Byzantium, in Preslav and Constantinople. Part of the Greek hagiographical corpus appears in the contexts of the Byzantine court. Yet another part of the corpus appears in the peripheral monastic settings of Palestine, Sinai, and southern Italy. The Georgian translation of this text possibly emerged in the circle of literati gathered together by the ruler David IV in a monastic educational center in twelfth-century Georgia.

The Latin text was distanced from the contemporary audience for various reasons. The audience for hagiography became limited to monastic circles and people acquainted with Latin. The audience for Latin texts was probably even more restricted in early medieval Bavaria. Hagiographical texts were paraphrased in Byzantium and a high style in hagiography became a set trend from a certain point in Byzantine literary history. The notion of *metaphrasis*, on the one hand, adjusted the texts to the contemporary audience, and on the other hand, elevated the literary style. Georgian text introduced a wide range of Greek syntax to the point that it could

probably have been understood and available only to a limited audience. Despite the common conviction that hagiography was a popular genre in the Middle Ages, its availability (also depending on the language) actually shrank in the Early Middle Ages.

Early Christian martyrdom narratives were easily transmitted cross-culturally in a number of ancient languages. This universal Christian literature was borrowed from one realm to another, albeit with accompanying changes and transformations to make the text coherent in new cultural contexts. However, contemporary scholarship is still falling short of introducing more extensive cross-cultural textual comparisons of hagiographical texts. Such studies have only been introduced in the domain of Latin and Greek texts. Hagiography in other languages has mostly been analyzed in isolation. To my knowledge, a comprehensive analysis of a hagiographical text in all the languages it appears in has not yet been written. This dissertation aimed to bridge this methodological gap.

Unlike the latest trends in the study of martyrdom literature which attempt to uncover Early Christian ideologies of martyrdom and social and cultural contexts of Early Christianity based on textual editions, this dissertation started from the premise that it was generally difficult to recognize specifically Early Christian and late antique layers in hagiographical texts because of the medieval interpolations within them and subsequent contents added over time. This approach inevitably moves the focus of the research from the Early Christian period to the medieval period. Moreover, such texts originating from earlier contexts and used later in the medieval period really reflect attitudes towards the past of the particular medieval Christian communities appropriating them.

The scrutiny indicated the presence of two streams of narrative evolution related to Irenaeus. One was dominated by BHG 948 (the Greek textual version emerging in Constantinople) which was later translated into Latin, Old Church Slavonic and Armenian. The other stream was associated with the narrative about the three saints (Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus), with the texts appearing in peripheral zones, such as Jerusalem, Sinai, and southern Italy. This version was disconnected from BHG 948 and it developed independently from the mainstream martyrdom narrative about Irenaeus. Therefore, besides the dominant narrative about Irenaeus which circulated in the centers and was transmitted to Latin West, Bulgaria, Armenia, there existed an unrelated narrative, which was disseminated in the peripheral areas, such as Jerusalem, southern Italy, and the Sinai. The latter narrative was probably constructed solely

around the name of the saint in the calendar. Sometimes only the name of the martyr and the place of martyrdom were sufficient to construct a hagiographical narrative. Author(s) of the *Canon on Irenaeus*, the *Canon on Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus* and the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus* (BHG 950z) were either not aware of the narrative circulating in Constantinople or did not make use of it deliberately. This means that it was possible for multiple narratives about the same saint to appear in different parts of the empire quite independently.

The various textual versions of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus* commonly do not reflect the features specific to the particular Christian communities in which they were stored. Many of them were only the copies taken from one Christian community to the other. The Old Church Slavonic and Latin textual versions do not demonstrate that any strategies of meaning existed behind their creation and translation. By their form and structure they reflect only different phases of the Greek textual *metaphrasis*. BHG 948 is another textual variant that does not step out from the frameworks of its use. Such deliberate agendas were only visible in several texts. The *Canon of Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus* described the bodily remains of Irenaeus, a feature which was otherwise never mentioned in his narratives. This was the *trope* which possibly acted as a means for the cult revival. The Georgian version revealed the latest lost Greek version which possessed common points with all the other narratives about Irenaeus. It appeared as the latest hybrid narrative. Both the canons and the Georgian version had their alleged authors. Finally, the Imperial *Menologia*, which ended in a prayer for the emperor were strategically transformed in order to use the content for new purposes.

On the other hand, a great quantity of material was transferred without proper feedback, readership and use. It was only a Renaissance merchant, who bought the manuscript Vienna Hist. gr. 45 in Constantinople, who corrected the mistake made in the manuscript saying that Irenaeus was from Spain. No previous medieval reader had ever cared to correct this line.

Comparative textual analysis established the Old Church Slavonic textual version as possibly the earliest preserved version of the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus*. It is also the briefest textual version about Irenaeus. It does not contain the long literary section of the narrative about the suffering of the family. It is assumed that this section was not intentionally omitted, but rather that the translation of the text into Slavonic took place before this section was added to the core narrative.

This conclusion raises a red flag towards trends in the study of martyrdom literature. It is uncommon that scholars use versions in languages such as Old Church Slavonic when discussing various Early Christian views expressed in Early Christian martyrdom narratives, even though at times hagiographical narratives in this and some other languages happen to be among the earliest preserved versions.

This dissertation analyzed several medieval examples and one contemporary example of the use of the past through appropriation of an Early Christian martyrdom narrative, the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus*. It further contextualized the martyrdom narrative in all of its rich varieties. One of the goals of this dissertation was to contribute methodologically to the study of hagiography by emphasizing textual diversities. The findings produced by this dissertation research could have the broader applications for the study of single works of medieval literature, both hagiographical and beyond, which were potentially exposed to diverse textual variants. The method is also applicable to other genres of medieval literature. If tackling these issues succeeds in provoking new ideas and instigates discussion, the dissertation will be considered to have fulfilled its aim.

APPENDIX

Latin hagiographical collections containing the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus* as the calendars for the months:

		Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jul	Jul	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec
9 th c.	Karlsruhe	X	x	X	X	X	x	x	X	x	X	X	X
10 th	Turin	X	X	X	X	X	x	x	X	x	X		
10 th	Vienna	X	X	X	X	X	x	x	X	x	X	X	X
11 th	Rouen	X	X	X	X	X	x	x	X	x	X	X	X
11 th	Omer715	X	X	X	X								
12 th	Douai	X	X	X	X								
	Montpellier		X	X									
	BnF 16732		X	X									
12 th	Bruss.207-8	X	X	X	X	x	x						
13 th	Dublin			X	X								
13 th	Omer716		X	X	X								
	Avranches			X	X	x	X						
	BnF 17004		X	X									
	BnF 5279			X									
	BnF 5297		X	X									
	BnF 5352		X	X									
	Trier		X	X	X								

Latin hagiographical collections from 1st February – 6th April and their order of saints

	Karlsruhe	Turin	Vien na	U 42	Omer715	Douai	Bruss.2 07-8	Montp.	BnF167 32	Dubli n	Omer716	Avr.	BnF1 7004	BnF5 279	BnF5 297	BnF5 352	Trier
1Feb	<i>Passion of Pionius</i> ⁸⁸⁶				<i>Vita of Brigida</i>	<i>Passio n of Ignatiu s</i> ⁸⁸⁷	<i>Vita of Brigita</i>		<i>Vita of Brigid a; Passio n of Ignatiu</i>				<i>Vita of Brigida; Pass ion</i>			<i>Vita of Brigida; Pass ion</i>	<i>Vita of Brigida</i> ⁸⁸⁸

⁸⁸⁶ The *Passion of Pionius* (BHL 6852) appears on 1st February in the ninth-century Karlsruhe (BHL 6852). Pionius is placed in *Martyrologium Romanum* on 1st February and in the *Menologion Graecum* on 11th March (see Nilles). An *Armenian Missale* also places Pionius on 11th March. Elsewhere in Nilles, it is said that Pionius is celebrated on 23rd March in an Armenian *menologion* together with a group of saints. In some earlier missals and calendars, Teunios/Tevonios appears on the same date, but, as it does not repeat in other *menologia*, Nilles argues that it must have been confused with Pionius, as the feast of Pionius has not been established earlier. It seems that Pionius was pushed out of the calendar, as there are two other saints in this date, Stephanus and Abdelmessihus. Pionius is present in the Slavonic Suprasl Codex on 12th March, accompanied by the *Prayer for Pionius*. The *Passion of Pionius* reappears in the twelfth-century Brussels 207-8 (BHL 6852) and in the thirteenth-century Trier (BHL 6852), but in March. Pionius suffered in Smyrna in 250 CE. The *Martyrdom of Pionius* has been a subject of study of Louis Robert, where “he draws on parallels in inscriptions, papyri and contemporary texts in order to establish this text as authentic document of its time. Bollandists’ database reports of one BHL version, and eight manuscripts in which it appears (although this database does not contain Karlsruhe manuscript and it is therefore incomplete). Philippart’s database shows the dating from 501-650 CE. As Nilles confirms, Pionius has been pushed out of the calendar on 1st February, which was the initial date of his appearance. He is one of the saints, who were abandoned starting from

									<i>s of Antioch</i>				<i>of Ignatios</i>			<i>of Ignatius</i>	
3Feb				<i>Passion of Blasius</i>		<i>Passion of Blasius</i> ⁸⁸⁹	<i>Passion of Blasius</i>	<i>Passion of Blasius</i>	<i>Passion of Blasius , Passion of Celerinus,⁸⁹⁰ Passion of Tryphon and</i>		<i>Passion of Blasius</i>		<i>Passion of Blasius; Passion of Celerinus</i>		<i>Passion of Blasius, Passion of Tryphon and</i>	<i>Passion of Blasius; Passion of Celerinus</i>	<i>Passion of Blasius</i>

the early Middle Ages; however, in the eleventh to fourteenth centuries, his text has been copied again in the West. There are two hagiographical texts dedicated to Pionios recorded in BHG on 11th March (BHG 1546, 1547). Pionios is mentioned in the *Marble Calendar of Naples* (821-41 CE), on the date 11th March. See Nilles, *Kalendarium* 573, 595, 596. See also C. Rapp, "Hagiography and the Cult of the Saints in the Light of Epigraphy and Acclamations," in *Byzantine Religious Culture: Studies in Honor of Alice-Mary Talbot* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 297; L. Robert, G. W. Bowersock, C. P. Jones, ed., *Le martyre de Pionios, prêtre de Smyrne* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1994); see also Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Manuscripta, "Dossier hagiographique de "Pionius presb. et soc. mm. Smyrnae," <http://bhlms.fltr.ucl.ac.be/Nquerysaintrubrique.cfm?code_dossier=Pionius&rubrique=Pionius%20presb.%20et%20soc.%20mm.%20Smyrnae> Last accessed: 26/07/2014.

⁸⁸⁷ The *Passion of Ignatius* (BHL 4255-4263) appears on 1st February in the twelfth-century Douai (BHL 4256), BnF 16732 (BHL 4256), thirteenth-century BnF 17004 (BHL 4256) and BnF 5352 (BHL 4256). Numerous calendars testify to his frequent presence, and 1st Feb is only one of the dates on which this saint appears. He is celebrated in the old calendars on several dates: 17th Oct, 16th Nov, 17th Nov (Syriac tradition), 20th Dec (in an old Syriac codex, this date is the coronation of the Bishop Ignatios), 29th Jan (translation of relics of Ignatios), 1st Feb (Latin calendars), 17th Dec (another translation of relics). He is present in Syriac calendars, as well as in Syro-Maronite calendars. Ignatios of Antioch, according to Philippart, has fifteen BHL versions dedicated to him; the earliest stable dating among the texts is the dating of BHL 4262 to 347-420 CE, and BHL 4260b to 400 CE. The BHL database reports of at least 98 manuscripts in which this text appears. Ignatius is mentioned on several dates in the *Marble Calendar of Naples* (821-41 CE), such as 29th Jan, 17th Oct, 20th Dec. See Nilles, *Kalendarium I*, 358, 85, 466, 469, 486, 487.

⁸⁸⁸ The *Vita of Brigida* (BHL 1455-1462) appears in the eleventh-century St-Omer 715 (BHL 1455), twelfth-century Brussels 207-8 (BHL 1456), BnF 16732 (BHL 1457), thirteenth-century Trier (BHL 1457), BnF 17004 (1457), and BnF 5352 (BHL 1457). Brigida died in Hibernia in 523 CE. St. Brigit of Kildare was one of the Irish patron saints and early Irish Christian nun. Nilles does not record any details of this saint. Philippart's database records nineteen BHL versions, dated unstably from the sixth century. BHL database records 91 manuscripts in which the different BHL versions appear. Brigida was among the later saints, who gained popularity in the West.

⁸⁸⁹ The *Passion of bishop Blasius from Sebasteia* (BHL 1370-1380h) appears on 3rd February in the tenth-eleventh century U 42 (BHL 1370), twelfth-century Douai (BHL 1370), in the twelfth-century Brussels 207-8 (BHL 1370), BnF 16732 (BHL 1370), Montpellier (BHL 1373), and in the thirteenth-century St-Omer 716 (BHL 1374m), Trier (BHL 1370), BnF lat. 5297 (BHL 1370), BnF lat. 5352 (BHL 1370), BnF lat. 17004 (BHL 1370). The bishop Blasius from Sebaste was martyred during Diocletian. The commemoration of this saint in Latin calendars is on 3rd Feb. He appears in Syriac tradition on 11th Feb, as well as in Syro-Maronite. Armenian calendar celebrates him on 10th Feb. This early martyr has relevance in Syriac and Armenian tradition; the saint also has a firm position in Latin tradition on 3rd Feb. Philippart's database records 23 BHL versions. However, majority of them is loosely dated to the period 313-1550 CE. The only firmly dated version is BHL 1380 to 871 CE. This text in different BHL numbers appears in 171 Latin manuscripts. Blasius is mentioned on 3rd Feb in the *Marble Calendar of Naples* (821-41 CE). See Nilles, *Kalendarium I*, 98, 242, 470, 487; II, 569.

⁸⁹⁰ This text is in fact the *Epistula sancti Cypriani de Celerino lectore*. The text (BHL 1719) appears on 3rd Feb in the twelfth-century BnF 16732 (BHL 1719), thirteenth-century BnF 17004 (BHL 1719) and BnF 5352 (BHL 1719). Celerinus suffered in the third century in Carthage. Nilles does not record any details regarding this saint. Philippart's database, however, records only one BHL version, 1719, dated from 201-258 CE. He therefore appears as the early Christian martyr, whose narrative became abandoned later. BHL database records only eight manuscripts, all from the twelfth century and further.

									<i>Respi- cius</i> ⁸⁹¹				<i>Pass ion of Tryp hon and Resp icius</i>		<i>Resp icius</i>	<i>Pass ion of Tryp hon and Resp icius</i>	
4Feb	<i>Pass ion of Phile as and Phil orome</i> ⁸⁹²						<i>Passio n of Philea s and Philor ome</i>		<i>Passio n of Philea s and Philor ome</i>				<i>Pass ion of Phile as and Phil orome</i>		<i>Pass ion of Phile as and Phil orome</i>	<i>Pass ion of Phile as and Phil orome</i>	<i>Pass ion of Phile as and Phil orome</i>
5Feb					<i>Passion of Agatha</i> ⁸⁹³	<i>Passio n of Agatha</i>	<i>Passio n of Agatha</i>		<i>Passio n of Agatha</i>		<i>Vita of Bertulf</i> ⁸⁹⁴ , <i>Passion of Agatha</i>		<i>Pass ion of Agat ha</i>		<i>Pass ion of Agat ha</i>	<i>Pass ion of Agat ha</i>	<i>Pass ion of Agat ha</i>
6Feb	<i>Passi on of Dorot</i>				<i>Vita of Vedastes, Miracles</i>	<i>Passio n of</i>	<i>Passion of Dorothe</i>				<i>Vita of Vedastes, Miracles of</i>						<i>Passi on of Doro</i>

⁸⁹¹ The *Passion of Tryphon and Respicius* (BHL 8336-8340) appears on 3rd Feb in the twelfth-century BnF 16732 (BHL 8338), thirteenth-century BnF 17004 (BHL 8338), BnF 5297 (BHL 8338), and BnF 5352 (BHL 8338). The two martyrs suffered under Decius. Nilles testifies that Tryphon suffered under Decius in Nicaea in 250 CE. However, Nilles does not say anything about Respicius. Latin calendars celebrate this saint on 10th Nov, when he appears in the *Martyrologium Romanum*. His feast day appears in the *Menologion* of Basil II in February. Philippart's database reports of ten BHL versions, all dated imprecisely from the third-twelfth century. BHL database reports of forty two manuscripts.

⁸⁹² The *Passion of Phileas Thumis and Philorome* (BHL 6799-6802d) appears on 4th February in the ninth-century Karlsruhe (BHL 6799), and reappears in the twelfth-century Brussels 207-8 (BHL 6799), BnF 16732 (BHL 6800, 6801, 6802), in the thirteenth-century BnF 5352 (BHL 6800), BnF 17004 (BHL 6800, 6802), Trier (BHL 6799), BnF 5297 (BHL 6800, 6802). Phileas and Philorome were the early Christian martyrs, martyred probably between 306-7 CE in Alexandria, whose narrative reemerged in the manuscripts from the twelfth–thirteenth centuries. This narrative does not appear regularly in the calendars and these martyrs could be considered to be initially forgotten, but then revisited martyrs. Nilles does not mention them, unless it is the same Phileas (without Philorome), who is mentioned on 17th Oct in the Coptic calendar. Philippart's database reports of 7 BHL versions, and BHL database reveals thirty four manuscripts in which the text appears. Most of the versions Philippart recorded are stably dated to 400 CE. See Nilles, *Kalendarium II*, 708.

⁸⁹³ On 5th February, the *Passion of Agatha* (BHL 133-140) appears in the eleventh-century St-Omer 715 (BHL 133), in the twelfth-century Douai (BHL 133), Brussels 207-8 (BHL 135), BnF 16732 (BHL 133), and in the thirteenth-century BnF lat. 5297 (BHL 133), Trier (BHL 133), St Omer 716 (BHL 133), BnF lat. 17004 (BHL 133), BnF 5352 (BHL 133). Nilles reports that Agatha from Sicily has been persecuted in 251 CE. She appears in Latin calendars on 5th Feb, while in Greek calendars, she is accompanied by Theodula from Cilicia, and in the *Menologion* of Basil II, they are celebrated on 18th January. Agatha was widely celebrated on this date. She appears in Syriac tradition on 5th Feb, as well as in Syro-Maronite. In the Coptic tradition, she is celebrated on 28th May. Efthymiadis tells of the *Encomion of St Agatha* (BHG 38) written by Methodios, the Patriarch of Constantinople (843-847). Agatha also appears in the eighth-century Munich Clm 4554 (BHL 136a). Comparison of her feast day in the different traditions makes it clear that her feast day was transferred from Syriac to Latin tradition on the same date, while it changed in the Byzantine tradition. She was accompanied by another female saint in the Byzantine tradition. Philippart's database testifies of seventeen BHL versions, while BHL database tells of 222 manuscripts. However, the closest to fixed dating is BHL 137 to 640-709 CE. Agatha was present in the *Calendar of Carthage* (505/35 CE) on 5th Feb, in the Sinaite Latin Calendar (800 CE) on 5th Feb, as well as in *Marble Calendar of Naples* (821-41 CE), on the same date. See Nilles, *Kalendarium I*, 94, 470, 487, II, 719; See also Efthymiadis, "Hagiography from the 'Dark Age,'" 103.

⁸⁹⁴ The *Vita of Bertulf* (BHL 1316-1317a) appears in the thirteenth-century St-Omer 716 (BHL 1316). Bertulf of Renty was the seventh-eighth-century monk and founder of the Benedictine abbey in Renty.

	hea				of Vedastes, Vita of Amandus	Dorothea, ⁸⁹⁵ Vita, of bishop Vedastes, Miracles of Vedastes (2 books), Vita of bishop Amandus	a				Vedastes, Vita of Amandus, Translation of Relics of Amandus, Vision of Aldegund about the translation of relics of Amandus, Miracles of Amandus, ⁸⁹⁶					thea
7Feb	Vita of Vedastes						Vita of Vedastes		Vita of bishop Amandus, Vita, of bishop Vedastes, Passion of Dorothea			Vita of bish op Amandus, Vita, of bish opVedastes, Passion of Dorothea		Vita of bish op Amandus, Vita of Milton monachus, Epistula martini	Vita of bish op Amandus, Vita, of bish opVedastes, Passion of Dorothea	Vita of bish op Amandus, Vita, of bish opVedastes,

⁸⁹⁵ The *Passion of Dorothea from Cesarea* (BHL 2321-2325e) appears on 6th February in the ninth-century Karlsruhe (BHL 2323). Nilles testifies that Dorothea is present in the *Kalendarium Breviarium Romani* on 6th Feb. This text reemerges in the twelfth-century Douai also on 6th Feb (BHG 2323), together with *Vita of bishop Vedastes* (BHL 8501-8519) (in Douai, BHL 8508), the *Miracles of Vedastes* (two books, BHL 8510, BHL 8513-8515), and *Vita of bishop Amandus from Utrecht* (BHL 332-348) (in Douai, BHL 332, 340). The *Passion of Dorothea* appears on 6th Feb in two more manuscripts: Brussels 207-208 (BHL 2323) and Trier (BHL 2323). Otherwise, her feast day is moved to 7th Feb in the twelfth-century BnF 16732 (BHL 2323), and in the thirteenth-century BnF 5297 (BHL 2323), BnF 17004 (BHL 2323), BnF 5352 (BHL 2323). Both Dorothea and Vedastes and Amandus found their way in the calendars, although their dates were clashing up in certain calendar collections. Dorothea, however, although coming from the East, does not have any background in the eastern calendars. There are no texts dedicated to Dorothea in Greek or Oriental Christian languages. She appears in the manuscripts in the West. In Philippart's database, she appears together with Theophilus in eleven BHL versions, all dated loosely from 284-1550 CE. There are 78 manuscripts in which this text appears. See Nilles, *Kalendarium* I, 377, 390.

⁸⁹⁶ The *Vita of bishop Vedastes* (BHL 8501-8519) and *Vita of bishop Amandus from Utrecht* (BHL 332-348), sometimes accompanied by the other texts about the two saints, appear in several calendar collections on 6th Feb and in a number of manuscripts on 7th Feb. In the ninth-century Karlsruhe, the *Vita of Vedastes* is on 7th Feb (BHL 8506, 8509). In Douai, they appear on 6th Feb (BHL 8508, BHL 8510, BHL 8513-8515, BHL 332, 340). In the thirteenth-century St-Omer 716, there are several texts on 6th February, *Vita of Vedastes*, *Miracles of Vedastes*, *Vita of Amandus*, *Translation of Relics of Amandus*, *Vision of Aldegund about the translation of relics of Amandus*, *Miracles of Amandus* (BHL 8508, 8510, 8513-15, BHL 332, 340, 342, 344, 347), which all testify to the outburst of popularity of these two saints. In the eleventh-century St-Omer 715, they appear accompanied by the *Miracles of Vedastes* (BHL 8508, 8510, 8513, 8514, 8515, BHL 332). The texts about Amandus and Vedastes reappear in the twelfth-century Brussels 207-8 (BHL 8506), BnF 16732 (BHL 332, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, BHL 8506, 8507, 8508, 8510, 8514, 8515, 8513), in the thirteenth-century Trier (BHL 332, BHL 8506), BnF 5297 (BHL 332, 339, 340, 341, 343, BHL 8509, 8508, 8510, 8513, 8514, 8515, here together with Alcuin's *Homilies about Vedastes*), BnF 17004 (BHL 332, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, BHL 8510, 8506, 8508, 8513, 8514, 8515), BnF 5352 (BHL 332, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, BHL 8509, 8508, 8510, 8513, 8514, 8515). Nilles does not say anything about Vedastes and Amandus. The study of Yitzhak Hen demonstrated that the feast day of Amandus was already present in the reconstructed eighth-century calendar of the region around Chelles in Gaul. Philippart notes 25 BHL versions dedicated to Vedastes, and 24 versions to Amandus. The manuscripts are aplenty. These are exclusively Western saints. See Hen, *Culture and Religion in Merovingian Gaul*, 95.

															<i>papa e,⁸⁹⁷ Vita of Veda stes, Pass ion and vita of Doro thea</i>		
8 Feb																	
9Feb					<i>Vita of Ansbert</i>					<i>Vita of Ansbert⁸⁹⁸</i>							
10Feb							<i>Vita of Austra berta⁸⁹⁹</i>	<i>Vita of Austra berta</i>		<i>Vita of Austraber ta</i>		<i>Vita of Aust rabe rta</i>		<i>Vita of Aust rabe rta</i>	<i>Vita of Aust rabe rta</i>		
11Feb					<i>Vita of Euphrasia</i>		<i>Vita of Euphrasia⁹⁰⁰</i>	<i>Vita of Severinus⁹⁰¹, Vita of Euphrasia, Acts of Saturninus and socii</i>		<i>Vita of Euphrasia</i>		<i>Vita of Seve rinus , Vita of Euphrasia ; Acts of Satu</i>		<i>Vita of Euphrasia , Acts of Saturninus and socii⁹⁰²</i>	<i>Vita of Severinus , Vita of Euphrasia , Acts of Satu</i>	<i>Vita of Euphrasia</i>	

⁸⁹⁷ The texts *Vita of Milon monachus* and *Epistula Martini papae* (BHL 5592 – 5598b) appear in BnF 5297 on 7th Feb. BHL database does not record them in this manuscript; I have learned of their presence on the personal examination. The hagiographical text about the Pope is recorded by Philippart to have nine versions, the earliest one to be dated loosely to the seventh century. There are 42 manuscripts about Pope Martin in BHL database.

⁸⁹⁸ On 9th February, the *Vita of Ansbert* (BHL 519-523) appears in the eleventh-century St-Omer 715 (BHL 520) and in the thirteenth-century St-Omer 716 (BHL 520). Nilles does not mention Ansbert. Philippart's database records six BHL versions, while there are twenty two manuscripts with this text.

⁸⁹⁹ The *Vita of Austraberta* (BHL 831-838) appears on 10th February in the twelfth-century Montpellier (BHL 832, 834, 838), BnF 16732 (BHL 832, 833, 836, 838), in the thirteenth-century St-Omer 716 (BHL 835), BnF 5297 (BHL 832, 834, 837, 838), BnF 17004 (BHL 832, 834, 836, 838), BnF 5352 (BHL 832, 834, 837, 838). Nilles does not say anything about this saint. Philippart's database records nine BHL versions, while there are sixty one manuscripts in Latin with this text.

⁹⁰⁰ The *Vita of Euphrasia* (BHL 2718-2721) appears on 11th February in the eleventh-century St-Omer 715 (BHL 2718), twelfth-century Montpellier (BHL 2719), BnF 16732 (BHL 2718), in the thirteenth-century St-Omer 716 (BHL 2718), Trier (BHL 2718), BnF 5297 (BHL 2718), BnF 17004 (BHL 2718), BnF 5352 (BHL 2718). Euphrasia/Eupraxia from Thebaide was a virgin, who was born in Constantinople, and lived in the monastery in Thebaide. She was a sister of Theodosius the Elder, the father of the Roman emperor Theodosius I. Her saintly background is therefore monastic. In Latin calendars, she is commemorated on 13th March. In the Greek calendars, she is celebrated together with Anna and Olympia on 25th July. In a Syriac manuscript, Eupraxia is celebrated together with Hilaria on 29th July. In some Slavic calendars, she is celebrated on 12th January. In Armenian tradition, she appears on 20th July. This virgin appears in calendars, although her feast day is highly unstable. Philippart's database reveals five BHL versions, while this text appears in 57 Latin manuscripts. In the *Marble Calendar of Naples*, Eupraxia is celebrated on 25th July with Anne. See Nilles, *Kalendarium* I, 222, 223, 66, II, 46, 607.

⁹⁰¹ The *Vita of Severinus* (BHL 7643-7646) appears on 11th Feb in the twelfth-century BnF 16732 (BHL 7643, 7644, 7645), thirteenth-century BnF 17004 (BHL 7643, 7644, 7645), and BnF 5352 (BHL 7643). Severinus lived in the fifth – sixth century. Philippart's database records four BHL versions, dated loosely from sixth-tenth century. BHL database records 29 manuscripts. Nilles does not mention this saint.

⁹⁰² The *Confessiones and Acts of Saturninus and socii* (BHL 7492) appear on 11th Feb in BnF lat. 5352 (BHL 7492), BnF 5297 (BHL 7492), BnF 17004 (BHL 7492), BnF 16732 (BHL 7492). Philippart records only one version of this

													rnin us and socii			rnin us and socii	
12F eb	<i>Passion of Eulalia</i> ⁹⁰³				<i>Passion of Eulalia</i>		<i>Passion of Eulalia</i>				<i>Passion of Eulalia</i>						<i>Passion of Eulalia</i>
14F eb						<i>Passion of martyr Valentin</i> ⁹⁰⁴	<i>Passion of Valentinus</i>	<i>Passion of martyr Valentin</i>	<i>Passion of martyr Valentin</i>		<i>Passion of martyr Valentin</i>		<i>Passion of martyr Valentin</i>		<i>Passion of martyr Valentin</i>	<i>Passion of martyr Valentin</i>	<i>Passion of martyr Valentin</i>
15F eb									<i>Passion of Faustinus and Jovitta</i> ⁹⁰⁵				<i>Passion of Faustinus and Jovitta</i>		<i>Passion of Faustinus and Jovitta</i>	<i>Passion of Faustinus and Jovitta</i>	
16F eb					<i>Passion of Iuliana from Nicomedia</i> ⁹⁰⁶	<i>Passion of Iuliana from Nicomedia</i>	<i>Passion of Juliana</i>	<i>Passion of Iuliana from Nicomedia</i>	<i>Passion of Iuliana from Nicomedia</i>		<i>Passion of Iuliana from Nicomedia</i>		<i>Passion of Iuliana from Nicomedia</i>		<i>Passion of Iuliana from Nicomedia</i>	<i>Passion of Iuliana from Nicomedia</i>	<i>Passion of Iuliana from Nicomedia</i>
17F eb					<i>Vita of Silvinus</i>			<i>Vita of Silvinus</i> ⁹⁰⁷	<i>Passion of Polych</i>		<i>Vita of Silvinus</i>		<i>Passion of</i>		<i>Passion of</i>	<i>Passion of</i>	

text and dates it to 284-305. BHL database records 16 manuscripts in which the texts about this saint appear. Saturninus, Felix, Dativus and socii are the early martyrs, who suffered in Carthage in 304 CE during Diocletian.

⁹⁰³ On 12th February, the *Passion of Eulalia of Barcelona* (BHL 2693 – 2698) appears in the ninth-century Karlsruhe (BHL 2693), in the eleventh-century St-Omer 715 (BHL 2699, 2696), twelfth-century Brussels 207-8 (BHL 2693), in the thirteenth-century Trier (BHL 2693) and St-Omer 716 (BHL 2700). Nilles does not mention Eulalia. However, the database of Philippart reports of thirteen versions, while BHL database reports of 65 manuscripts.

⁹⁰⁴ On 14th February, the *Passion of martyr Valentin* (BHL 8460-8461; 8463-66) appears in the twelfth-century Douai (BHL 8460), BnF 16732 (BHL 8460), Brussels 207-8 (BHL 8463, 8460), Montpellier (BHL 8460), and in the thirteenth-century St-Omer 716 (BHL 8460), BnF 5352 (BHL 8460), BnF 17004 (BHL 8460), BnF 5297 (BHL 8460), Trier (BHL 8460). It seems that this saint became the standard saint celebrated on 14th Feb at some point. Philippart records three BHL versions, while BHL database records 106 manuscripts. Nilles records his feast day in the *Kalendarium Breviarii Romani* to be 14th Feb. In the *Marble Calendar of Naples*, Valentinus is on the date of 14th Feb. See Nilles, *Kalendarium* I, 377, 390.

⁹⁰⁵ The *Passion of Faustinus and Jovitta* (BHL 2836-2840) appears on 15th Feb in the twelfth-century BnF 16732 (BHL 2838), thirteenth-century BnF 17004 (BHL 2838), BnF 5297 (BHL 2838), BnF 5352 (BHL 2838). These martyrs suffered during Hadrian. Nilles marks that they are celebrated on 15th Feb in the *Kalendarium Romanum*. Philippart's database reports of seven BHL versions, dated loosely from second-eleventh century. BHL database records 62 manuscripts.

⁹⁰⁶ On 16th February, the *Passion of Iuliana from Nicomedia* (BHL 4522-4527) appears in the eighth-century Munich (BHL 4522), in the eleventh-century St-Omer 715 (BHL 4523m), twelfth-century BnF 16732 (BHL 4522), Douai (BHL 4522), Brussels 207-8 (BHL 4522), Montpellier (BHL 4522), in the thirteenth-century St-Omer 716 (BHL 4522), BnF 5352 (BHL 4522), BnF 17004 (BHL 4522), BnF 5297 (BHL 4522), Trier (BHL 4523). Nilles says that Iuliana is celebrated on 16th Feb in the *Martyrologium Romanum*. In Greek calendars, she is celebrated on 21st Dec. In the Syriac tradition, she is celebrated on 4th Dec, together with Barbara. In an Armenian *menologion*, she is celebrated on 20th Dec. She is in the Coptic calendar on 8th Dec, together with Barbara. Philippart reports of fourteen BHL versions, appearing in 141 manuscripts. Iuliana is on 16th Feb in the *Marble Calendar of Naples*. See Nilles, *Kalendarium* I, 359, 464, II, 621, 699, 711.

⁹⁰⁷ On 17th February, the *Vita of Silvinus* (BHL 7747-7748b) appears in the eleventh-century St-Omer 715 (BHL 7747), twelfth-century BnF 16732 (BHL 7747), Montpellier (BHL 7747), in the thirteenth-century St-Omer 716

									ronius and Parmenius ⁹⁰⁸ , Vita of Silvinius					Polychronus and Parmenius, Vita of Silvinius		Polychronus and Parmenius, Vita of Silvinius	Polychronus and Parmenius, Vita of Silvinius	
23 Feb			Passion of Serenus				Passion of Serenus ⁹⁰⁹											
24Feb	Passion of Montanus and Gemelles ⁹¹⁰						Passion of Montanus and Gemelles; Vita of Matthias Apostle		Vita of Matthias Apostle ⁹¹¹ , De inventione capitis of precursor domini				Vita of Matthias Apostle, De inventione capitis of St John Baptist ⁹¹²	Vita of Matthias Apostle	Vita of Matthias Apostle	Vita of Matthias Apostle, Passion of John precursor domini	Passion of Montanus and Gemelles	
25Feb		Passion of Victor																

(BHL 7747), BnF 5352 (BHL 7747), BnF 17004 (BHL 7747), BnF 5297 (BHL 7747). Philippart demonstrates three BHL versions in 25 manuscripts. The earliest one is dated loosely from the eighth century. Nilles does not mention this saint.

⁹⁰⁸ The *Passion of Polychronius and Parmenius* (BHL 6884) appears on 17th Feb in the twelfth-century BnF 16732 (BHL 6884), thirteenth-century BnF 17004 (BHL 6884), BnF 5297 (BHL 6884), BnF 5352 (BHL 6884). The martyrs suffered under Decius. Nilles does not mention them. Philippart records two BHL versions, one of which is dated from 400-600 CE. BHL database reports of 118 manuscripts.

⁹⁰⁹ The *Passion of Serenus* (BHL 7595-7596) appears on 23rd Feb in the tenth-century Vienna 371, and in the twelfth-century Brussels 207-8 (BHL 7595). Serenus suffered in Sirmium under Maximian. Nilles does not discuss this saint. Philippart's database reports of two BHL versions; both of them are dated from 293-305 CE. The number of manuscripts in which this text appears is eleven. Therefore, this is another of the early martyrs, who was forgotten along the way.

⁹¹⁰ On 24th February, the *Passion of Montanus and Gemelles* appears in the ninth-century Karlsruhe (BHL 6009), twelfth-century Brussels 207-8 (BHL 6010), and in the thirteenth-century Trier (BHL 6009). This is in fact the *Passion of Montanus and Lucius* (BHL 6009-6010), which appears in only two BHL versions. However, the version BHL 6009 is dated from 259 CE by Philippart, and therefore represents an early Christian martyrdom text, authentic, but abandoned. The BHL database reports of only 6 manuscripts; majority of them stem from the twelfth century, which testifies revival of interest in martyrs in that period. Nilles does not mention it. Saints Montanus and Lucius are in the *Calendar of Carthage* (505/35 CE) under 23rd May, while only St Montanus is under 16th March.

⁹¹¹ The *Vita of Matthias the Apostle* (BHL 5695 – 5719) appears on 24th Feb in the twelfth-century BnF 16732 (BHL 5695), Brussels 207-8 (5696b), thirteenth-century BnF 17004 (BHL 5695), BnF 5279 (BHL 5695), BnF 5297 (BHL 5695), BnF 5352 (BHL 5695). Nilles informs us that Matthias the Apostle is celebrated in the Latin calendars on 24th Feb, while he is celebrated on 9th August in Greek and Syriac calendars. Philippart's database testifies of thirty three BHL versions, a few of which are dated loosely from second-eleventh century, and the rest is dated later, from the twelfth century. It appears as the narratives about this saint had an outburst of popularity in the high Middle Ages. BHL database reports of 140 manuscripts. See Nilles, I, 242, 480, 489.

⁹¹² The text *De inventione capitis of St John Baptist*, recorded also as the *Passion of John precursor domini* appears in BnF 5352 (BHL 4290, 4291), BnF 17004 (BHL 4290, 4291), and BnF 16732 (BHL 4290, 4291) on 24th Feb. BHL records 41 different texts about John Baptist (BHL 4289m – 4315e), many of which are recorded in a number of manuscripts.

		rinus and Victor ⁹¹³															
26Feb	Passion of Nestor ⁹¹⁴						Passion of Nestor		Passion of Alexander Alexandrinus ⁹¹⁵				Passion of Alexander Alexandrinus	Passion of Alexander Alexandrinus	Passion of Alexander Alexandrinus	Passion of Alexander Alexandrinus	Passion of Nestor
1Mar					Vita of Albinus	Vita of Albinus ⁹¹⁶	Vita of Albinus	Vita of Albinus	Vita of Albinus	Vita of Albinus	Vita of Albinus, Vita of Dewi ⁹¹⁷	Vita of Albinus, Vita of Siviard ⁹¹⁸	Vita of Albinus	Vita of Albinus	Vita of Albinus	Vita of Albinus	Vita of Albinus
2Mar											Vita Caroli comite Flandriae ⁹¹⁹						
3Mar	Passion of Emeterus and					Vita of Winwaloeus/Gwinwaloeus ⁹²¹				Vita of Winwaloeus/Gwinwal	Vita of Winwaloeus/Gwinwaloeus						Passion of Emeterus and

⁹¹³ The *Passion of Victorinus, Victor and Companions* (BHL 8596d) appears on 25th February in the tenth-century Turin. These saints suffered in Egypt, under the emperor Numerian, in the end of the third century. Philippart's database testifies of one BHL version, dated loosely from 283-1000 CE, while there are only four manuscripts in which the text appears. Nilles records Victorinus on 25th Feb in Latin calendars, while this saint is celebrated on 5th April in Greek calendars together with his companions. In the *Menologion* of Basil II, they appear on 31st Jan. See Nilles, I, 133.

⁹¹⁴ The *Passion of Nestor* (BHL 6068-6068b) appears on 26th February in the ninth-century Karlsruhe (BHL 6068), in the twelfth-century Brussels 207-8 (BHL 6068), and in the thirteenth-century Trier (BHL 6068). It also appears in the eighth-century Munich (BHL 6068b). This text appears in two BHL versions, both dated loosely, from third – tenth century, and it is present in only fifteen manuscripts. Nilles reports that Nestor is celebrated on 28th Feb in the Greek calendars. He is very often confused for some other saints. His name also appears in the Syriac calendar. Nestor is often merged with the two other saints in Greek calendar, Basilios and Procopios, in church horologia. The Roman *Martyrology* places him in Feb as well. See Nilles, *Kalendarium* I, 113, 309.

⁹¹⁵ The *Passion of Alexander Alexandrinus* (BHL 272) appears on 26th Feb in the twelfth-century BnF 16732 (BHL 272), thirteenth-century BnF 17004 (BHL 272), BnF 5279 (BHL 272), BnF 5297 (BHL 272), BnF 5352 (BHL 272). He suffered in 326 CE. Philippart testifies of only one BHL version, dated from 551-580 CE. BHL database records eleven manuscripts.

⁹¹⁶ On 1st March the *Vita of Albinus* (BHL 234-237b) appears on 1st March in the eleventh-century St-Omer 715 (BHL 234), twelfth-century Douai (BHL 234), BnF 16732 (BHL 234, 236), Montpellier (BHL 234), Brussels 207-8 (BHL 234), in the thirteenth-century Dublin (BHL 234), St-Omer 716 (BHL 234), Avranches (BHL 234), BnF 5352 (BHL 234, 236), BnF 5279 (BHL 234, 236), Trier (BHL 234), BnF 5297 (BHL 234, 236), BnF 17004 (BHL 234, 236). Nilles does not mention this saint; however, BHL database reports 86 manuscripts in which the different BHL versions dedicated to this saint were written. These manuscripts regularly appear from the eighth century. Philippart testifies to eight BHL versions, one of which (BHL 234) was stably dated to the sixth century.

⁹¹⁷ The *Vita of Dewi* (BHL 2107-2112) appears on 1st March in St-Omer 716 (BHL 2107). There are eleven BHL versions dedicated to Dewi, while different versions of the text appear in only eight manuscripts.

⁹¹⁸ The *Vita of Siviard* (BHL 7799) appears on 1st March in Avranches (BHL 7799). Sivinard died either in 604, 683, or in 729, according to BHL. Its only BHL version is dated to 604-1300, while there are two manuscripts in which it appears.

⁹¹⁹ The *Vita Caroli comite Flandriae* (BHL 1573-1576) appears in the thirteenth-century St-Omer 716 (BHL 1573). He died in 1127 CE. His four BHL versions are all dated firmly to the twelfth century, while there are twelve manuscripts in which the different versions of this text are written down. He could have been a later local saint.

	<i>Cele doni us</i> ⁹²⁰									<i>oeus</i>							<i>Cele doni us</i>
7M ar	<i>Pass ion of Perp etua and Felic itas</i>		<i>Pass ion of Perp etua and Felic itas</i>		<i>Passion of Perpetu aand Felicitas</i> ⁹²²	<i>Passio n of Perpet ua and Felicit as</i>	<i>Passio n of Perpet ua and Felicit as</i>	<i>Passio n of Perpet ua and Felicit as</i>	<i>Passio n of Perpet uaand Felicit as</i>	<i>Passi on of Perp etuaa nd Felic itas</i>	<i>Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas</i>	<i>Passi on of Perp etua and Felic itas</i>	<i>Pass ion of Perp etua and Felic itas</i>	<i>Pass ion of Perp etua and Feli citas</i>	<i>Pass ion of Perp etua and Felic itas</i>		<i>Pass ion of Perp etua and Feli citas</i>
8M ar	<i>Pass ion of Phil emo n</i> ⁹²³			<i>Passi on of Phile mon</i>			<i>Passio n of Philem on</i>	<i>Passio n of Philem on</i>	<i>Passio n of Philem on</i>			<i>Passi on of Phile mon</i>	<i>Pass ion of Phile mon</i>	<i>Pass ion of Phil emo n</i>	<i>Pass ion of Phile mon</i>		<i>Pass ion of Phil emo n</i>
9M ar		<i>Passi on of 40 marty rs of Seba steia</i> ⁹²⁴															

⁹²¹ The *Vita of Winwaloëus/Gvinwaloëus* (BHL 8956d-8967) appears in the twelfth-century Douai (BHL 8961) and repeats in the thirteenth-century Dublin (BHL 8964) and St-Omer 716 (BHL 8961). Winwaloëus' narratives exist in 13 BHL versions, the earliest of which are stably dated to the ninth century. BHL database tells of only ten manuscripts that contain different versions of this narrative. St Winwaloe (sixth century) was a founder and a first abbot of Landévennec Abbey, in France.

⁹²⁰ The *Passion of Emeterus and Celedonius* (BHL 2532-2534) appears on 3rd March in the ninth-century Karlsruhe (BHL 2533), and in the thirteenth-century Trier (BHL 2533). Philippart records four BHL versions, two of which are stably dated to 348-405 CE (poems written by Prudentius). BHL database records 18 manuscripts. Nilles does not mention them.

⁹²² The *Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas* (BHL 6633-6636) appears on 7th March in the ninth-century Karlsruhe (BHL 6634), tenth-century Vienna 371, eleventh-century St-Omer 715 (BHL 6634) and repeats in the twelfth-century Douai (BHL 6634), BnF 16732 (BHL 6634), Montpellier (BHL 6634, with the addition of Augustine's *Sermon of Perpetua and Felicitas*), Brussels 207-8 (BHL 6635), in the thirteenth-century Dublin (BHL 6634), St-Omer 716 (BHL 6634), Avranches (BHL 6634), BnF 5279 (BHL 6634, with Augustine's Sermon), BnF 5297 (BHL 6634, with Sermon), Trier (BHL 6634), BnF 17004 (BHL 6634), BnF 5352 (BHL 6634). Nilles recorded that Perpetua and Felicitas are celebrated on 7th March in the *Kalendarium Breviarium Romani*. This text also appears in the eighth-century Munich (BHL 6636). Philippart records five BHL versions; however, this text is one of the earliest martyrdom narratives, whose dating of the three BHL versions is 203 CE. BHL database testifies of 66 manuscripts of different versions of this text. See Nilles, *Kalendarium* I, 377, 391.

⁹²³ The *Passion of Philemon, Apollonius, and companions* (BHL 6803-6804) appears on 8th March in the ninth-century Karlsruhe (BHL 6803), in the tenth-eleventh century Rouen, in the twelfth-century Brussels 207-8 (BHL 6803), Montpellier (BHL 6803), BnF 16732 (BHL 6803), in the thirteenth-century BnF 17004 (BHL 6803), Trier (BHL 6803), BnF 5297 (BHL 6803), BnF 5279 (BHL 6803), Avranches (BHL 6803), BnF 5352 (BHL 6803). Nilles said that Philemon is celebrated initially on 8th March in Latin tradition, together with the deacon Apollonius. Arianus is added later. He was initially the persecutor, but he converted himself and became a martyr. In the Greek tradition, Apollonius, Arianus, and several other saints are celebrated on 14th Dec. This group is divided into three smaller groups in the Latin calendars, which testifies to the trend of Greek calendars to merge saints. The Metaphrastic version of the text also exists. This saint appears in the Syriac tradition. Philippart notes two BHL versions, one of which (6804) is stably dated to 400 CE. BHL database demonstrates thirty Latin manuscripts with the texts dedicated to this saint. Altogether, the records testify to the early martyrs/saints, who maintained their remembrance throughout the Middle Ages and in different traditions. See Nilles, *Kalendarium* I, 353-4.

⁹²⁴ The *Passion of 40 martyrs of Sebaste* (BHL 7537-7542) appears on 9th March in the tenth-century Turin (BHL 7538) and on 13th January in the eleventh-century St-Omer 715. Nilles said that the 40 martyrs are celebrated on 9th March in Greek *menologia*, in Slavonic tradition, in Arabic and Syriac. Gregory of Nissa wrote about them. They

11 Mar				<i>Passion of 40 martyrs of Sebasteia</i>			<i>Passion of 40 martyrs of Sebasteia</i>	<i>Passion of 40 martyrs of Sebasteia</i>	<i>Passion of 40 martyrs of Sebasteia</i>	<i>Passion of 40 martyrs of Sebasteia</i>			<i>Passion of 40 martyrs of Sebasteia</i>	<i>Passion of 40 martyrs of Sebasteia</i>	<i>Passion of 40 martyrs of Sebasteia</i>		<i>Passion of 40 martyrs of Sebasteia</i>
12 Mar						<i>Vita of Pope Gregory</i> ⁹²⁵	<i>Vita of Pope Gregory</i>	<i>Vita of Pope Gregory</i>	<i>Vita of Pope Gregory</i>	<i>Passion of Maximilian</i> ⁹²⁷	<i>Vita of Pope Gregory</i>	<i>Passion of Maximilian, Vita of Pope Gregory</i>	<i>Vita of Pope Gregory</i>	<i>Vita of Pope Gregory</i>	<i>Vita of Pope Gregory</i>	<i>Vita of Pope Gregory</i>	<i>Passion of Pionius</i>
15 Mar				<i>Passion of Longin</i> ⁹²⁸	<i>Passion of Longin</i>	<i>Passion of Longin</i>		<i>Passion of Longin</i>	<i>Passion of Longin</i>		<i>Passion of Longin</i>		<i>Passion of Longin</i>	<i>Passion of Longin</i>	<i>Passion of Longin</i>	<i>Passion of Longin</i>	

appear in the Armenian calendar on 9th March. In Slavonic tradition, their feast day is from 7th-14th March. They also appear in the calendar of Chaldeans in 9th March. In Coptic calendar, they are on 13th March. The *Passion of 40 martyrs of Sebasteia* reappears on 11th March in tenth-eleventh century Rouen, in the twelfth-century Brussels 207-8 (BHL 7539), Montpellier (BHL 7538), BnF lat. 16732 (BHL 7539), as well as in thirteenth-century Trier (BHL 7537), Dublin (BHL 7539), BnF lat. 5279 (BHL 7539), BnF lat. 5297 (BHL 7539), BnF lat. 5352 (BHL 7539), BnF lat. 17004 (BHL 7539). Philippart records fourteen BHL versions, two of which are dated to the turn of the fifth century (7541, 7542). BHL database records 97 Latin manuscripts in which different versions of this text appear. This text gained a vast popularity. The study of Yitzhak Hen demonstrated that the feast day of 40 martyrs was already present in the reconstructed eighth-century calendar of the region around Chelles in Gaul. See Nilles, *Kalendarium* I, 118-9, 472, II, 101, 577, 682, 701, 716; see also Hen, *Culture and Religion in Merovingian Gaul*, 95.

⁹²⁵ On 12th March, the *Vita of Pope Gregory* (BHL 3636-3651c) appears in the twelfth-century Douai (BHL 3640), BnF 16732 (BHL 3639, 3640), Montpellier (BHL 3639, along with *Epitaph for St Gregory* and *Another Vita of Gregory*, BHL 3641), Brussels 207-8 (BHL 3640), in the thirteenth-century St-Omer 716 (BHL 3641, 3642), BnF 5352 (BHL 3640, 3641, 3642), BnF 5279 (BHL 3640, 3641, 3642, along with John the Deacon's *Vita of St Gregory*), BnF 5297 (BHL 3640, 3641, 3642, along with *Vita and Miracles of Gregory the Pope*), Avranches (BHL 3641), BnF 17004 (BHL 3639, 3640). Nilles said that Gregory was joined to Theophanos in the Greek calendar on 12th March. He is present on the same date in Syriac calendar, as well as in Syro-Maronite. In Coptic calendar, he is on 1st March. He also appears in the Slavonic Suprasl Codex. Philippart marks thirty two BHL versions dedicated to Gregory, with the dating from the seventh–sixteenth century. BHL database reports of incredible 428 manuscripts in which various versions dedicated to this saint appear. According to BHG, there are two *vitae* of Gregory in Greek (BHG 720, 721). Gregory appears in the *Marble Calendar of Naples* (821-41 CE) on 12th March. See Nilles, *Kalendarium* I, 121, 133, 216, 269, 287, 333, 472, 487, 492, II, 19, 57, 77, 81, 85, 92, 120, 142, 221, 716.

⁹²⁶ The *Vita of Paul Aurelianus* (BHL 6585-6587) appears in the twelfth-century BnF 16732 (BHL 6586), thirteenth-century BnF 17004 (BHL 6586), BnF 5279 (BHL 6586), BnF 5297 (BHL 6586), BnF 5352 (BHL 6586). Among his three BHL versions, one is stably dated to 884 CE, and the other two to tenth-eleventh century. There are seventeen manuscripts in which the different versions dedicated to this saint appear. Paul Aurelianus was one of the seven founder saints of Brittany, who lived in the sixth century.

⁹²⁷ On 12th March, the *Passion of Maximilian* (BHL 5813) appears in the thirteenth-century Dublin (BHL 5813), while the thirteenth-century Avranches has both Gregory and Maximilian (BHL 5813). Philippart's database records only one BHL text, dated to the early period (295-305 CE). BHL database records only two manuscripts of this text. Therefore, this early Christian martyr is a good example of forgetting martyrs in the early Middle Ages. Nilles does not mention him, nor there is a Greek text dedicated to him.

⁹²⁸ On 15th March, the *Passion of Longin* (BHL 4965-4965g) appears in the tenth-eleventh-century Rouen, eleventh-century St-Omer 715 (BHL 4965), twelfth-century Douai (BHL 4965), Montpellier (BHL 4965), Charleville 254, BnF 16732 (BHL 4965), thirteenth-century St-Omer 716 (BHL 4965), BnF 17004 (BHL 4965), BnF 5297 (BHL

														in	gin	in	in	
16 Ma r						<i>Vita of Eusebia, The verse life of Eusebia, Miracles of Eusebia</i> ⁹²⁹												
17 Ma r						<i>Vita of Patricius</i> ⁹³⁰				<i>Vita of Patricius</i>	<i>Vita of Patricius, Vita of Gertrude</i>							
18 Ma r					<i>Vita of Gertrude</i>	<i>Vita of Gertrude</i> ⁹³¹	<i>Vita of Gertrude; Miracles of Gertrude</i>	<i>Vita of Gertrude</i>	<i>Vita of Gertrude</i>	<i>Vita of Gertrude, Passion of Eadward, Miracles of Eadward</i>			<i>Vita of Gertrude</i>	<i>Vita of Gertrude</i>	<i>Vita of Gertrude</i>	<i>Vita of Gertrude</i>	<i>Vita of Gertrude</i>	<i>Vita of Gertrude</i>

4965), BnF 5279 (BHL 4965), and BnF 5352 (BHL 4965). In the tenth-century Turin, this text is on 25th March. In Nilles' index, there are two Longini. The first Longin, a soldier from Cappadocia, is celebrated on 15th March in the *Martyrologium Romanum*. He is not to be confused with Longin the centurion, who is in the *Menologion* of Basil II on 16th Oct. Longin the centurion is celebrated on 16th Oct in Syriac calendar, as well as in Syro-Maronite. In another place Nilles said that Longin centurion is celebrated on 15th March in the *Martyrologium Romanum* and on 16th Oct in *Menologium Graecum* and in Armenian calendar, which makes the two Longini one and the same person. In Coptic calendar, Longin centurion is celebrated on 23rd July. BHG reports of three texts, while BHO reports of two Armenian versions. Philippart records five BHL versions; however, none of them is stably dated. The dating goes from the second – at least eighth century. BHL database shows 71 manuscripts, which contain texts dedicated to this saint. In the *Marble Calendar of Naples*, Longin is on 16th Oct. See Nilles, *Kalendarium* I, 303; also I, 302, 462, 485, II, 611, 722.

⁹²⁹ The *Vita of Eusebia* (BHL 2736-2738a) appears on 16th March in the twelfth-century Douai (BHL 2736), and does not reappear again in the manuscripts of the sample. The *Vita* appears in Douai together with the *Metric Vita* (BHL 2737) and the *Miracles of Eusebia* (BHL 2738). Philippart records four BHL versions, the earliest of which (2736) is dated to 1000 CE. BHL database records nine manuscripts. Eusebia was the abbess herself and a daughter of a Merovingian abbess, who lived in the seventh century. The case of this saint in this manuscript appears as an attempt of revival or corroboration of the saintly cult, but probably without success.

⁹³⁰ On 17th March, the *Vita of Patricius* (BHL 6492-6518d) appears in the twelfth-century Douai (BHL 6504), the thirteenth-century Dublin (BHL 6507), while in the thirteenth-century St-Omer 716 (BHL 6505), it appears together with the *Vita of Gertrude*. In the thirteenth-century Trier, the same text appears together with the *Relatio purgatorii St Patricii* (BHL 6511). In Dublin manuscript, there follows the *Narratio de purgatorio Hiberniae* (BHL 6510?). Philippart records 46 BHL versions, the earliest of which is dated to the fifth-sixth century. BHL database reports of 71 manuscripts. Nilles says that Patricius is celebrated on 17th March in the *Kalendarium Breviarum Romani*. See Nilles, *Kalendarium* I, 377, 391.

⁹³¹ The *Vita of Gertrude* (BHL 3490-3504) appears on 18th March in the eleventh-century St-Omer 715 (BHL 3490, 3495), twelfth-century Douai (BHL 3494), BnF 16732 (BHL 3490, 3495), Brussels 207-8 (BHL 3490, *Miracles of Gertrude*, BHL 3399), Montpellier (BHL 3490, along with the *Miracles of Gertrude*, BHL 3495), thirteenth-century Dublin (along with the *Miracles of Gertrude*, BHL 3495), BnF 5352 (BHL 3490, 3495), BnF 5279 (BHL 3490, 3495), BnF 5297 (BHL 3490, 3495), Trier (BHL 3493, 3497), BnF 17004 (BHL 3490, 3495). In the thirteenth-century St-Omer 716, it appears on 17th March (BHL 3493, 3497, 3495, 3500). Nilles reports that she appears on 15th November in Western calendars. Philippart records twenty BHL versions, the earliest of which (3490) is dated to 670 CE. BHL database reports of 139 manuscripts in which the different versions dedicated to Gertrude were written. See Nilles, *Kalendarium* I, 386, 401.

										<i>ard</i> 932							
19 Mar							<i>Vita of John the Confessor</i>	<i>Vita of St John the Confessor</i> ⁹³³	<i>Vita of St John the Confessor (penariensis), Passion of Kalocerus</i>	<i>Vita of St John the Confessor</i>			<i>Vita of St John the Confessor (penariensis), Passion of Kalocerus</i>	<i>Vita of St John the Confessor (penariensis), Passion of Kalocerus</i> ⁹³⁴	<i>Vita of St John the Confessor, Passion of Kalocerus</i>	<i>Vita of St John the Confessor</i>	<i>Vita of St John the Confessor</i>
20 Mar					<i>Vita of Cuthbertus</i> ⁹³⁵	<i>Vita of Wlfrannus</i>											
21 Mar							<i>Vita of Wlfrannus</i> ⁹³⁶	<i>Vita of Wlfrannus; Vita of Benedict of Nursia</i> ⁹³⁷	<i>Vita of Wlfrannus</i>				<i>Vita of Wlfrannus; Vita of Benedict of Nursia</i>	<i>Vita of Wlfrannus</i>	<i>Vita of Wlfrannus; Vita of Benedict of Nursia</i>	<i>Vita of Wlfrannus</i>	<i>Vita of Wlfrannus</i>
25	<i>Pass</i>	<i>Passi</i>				<i>Passio</i>		<i>Passio</i>	<i>Vita of</i>	<i>Passi</i>	<i>Passion of</i>	<i>Passi</i>	<i>Pass</i>	<i>Pass</i>	<i>Pass</i>	<i>Pass</i>	

⁹³² The *Passion of Eadward* (BHL 2418-2420) appears on 18th March in the thirteenth-century Dublin (BHL 2418, along with the *Miracles of Eadward*, BHL 2418). Eadward, the king of Angles (ninth–tenth century), has five BHL versions dedicated to him, some of which might have been written as soon as he died, in 978, and also eleven manuscripts. Therefore, he was a saint exclusively tied to the Anglo-Saxon lands and could be marked as a local saint. In Nilles, he is mentioned on 13th October in *Kalendarium Breviarum Romani*. See Nilles, *Kalendarium* I, 384, 400.

⁹³³ On 19th March, the *Vita of St John the Confessor* (BHL 4420) is present in the twelfth-century Brussels 207-8 (BHL 4420), Montpellier (BHL 4420), BnF 16732 (BHL 4420), in the thirteenth-century Trier (BHL 4420), BnF 17004 (BHL 4420), BnF 5297 (BHL 4420), BnF 5279 (BHL 4420), and BnF 5352 (BHL 4420), and Dublin (BHL 4420). Philippart records only one BHL version, dated loosely from 501-600 CE, while there are 25 manuscripts with this text. This saint is in fact called St John the Syrian of Pinna, who was the prominent Syrian hermit and the founder of the monastery, who died in the sixth century.

⁹³⁴ The *Passion of Kalocerus* (BHL 1528-1531) appears on 19th March in BnF 5352 (BHL 1529), BnF 17004 (BHL 1529), BnF 16732 (BHL 1529), BnF 5279 (BHL 1529), and BnF 5297 (BHL 1529). Philippart records six versions, all dated loosely from the second to the twelfth century. BHL database records 15 manuscripts in which the different versions of the hagiographies dedicated to this saint appear. Calocerus was the second-century Christian martyr and an officer in the Roman army.

⁹³⁵ The *Vita of Cuthbertus* (BHL 2019-2032) appears on 20th March in the eleventh-century St-Omer 715 (BHL 2019). Cuthbertus died in 687 CE. Philippart's database records seventeen BHL versions, while BHL database records 34 manuscripts in which the different versions dedicated to this saint appear.

⁹³⁶ The *Vita of Wlfrannus* (BHL 8738-8742) appears on 20th March in the 12th-century Douai (BHL 8738), and a day later in 12th-century BnF 16732 (BHL 8738), Montpellier (BHL 8738), in the 13th-century Dublin (BHL 8738), BnF 5352 (BHL 8738), BnF 5297 (BHL 8738), BnF 17004 (BHL 8738). Philippart records five BHL versions, the earliest dated to 788-811 CE. BHL database reports of 25 manuscripts.

⁹³⁷ The *Vita of Benedict of Nursia* (BHL 1102-1143) appears on 21st March in the twelfth-century BnF 16732 (BHL 1102), and thirteenth-century BnF 17004 (BHL 1102) and BnF 5352 (BHL 1102). The sixth-century monastic leader became vastly popular as the subject of hagiography. There are 68 BHL versions dedicated to this saint, according to Philippart, and plenty of manuscripts in which the text appears. According to Nilles, he is celebrated on 21st March in Latin Calendars, and on 14th March in Greek calendars. He appears in Syro-Maronite calendar on 21st March. See Nilles, I, 122, 487.

Ma r	ion of Hire neus	on of Long in				n of Yreneu s		n of Hirene us, Vita of Herme land	Herme land ⁹³⁸ , Passio n of Hirene us	on of Hire neus	Hireneus	on of Hire neus, Vita of Her mela nd	ion of Hire neus, Vita of Her mela nd	ion of Hire neus , Vita of Her mela nd	ion of Hire neus, Vita of Her mela nd	ion of Hire neus, Vita of Her mela nd	
27 Ma r									Vita of John Hermit ⁹³⁹				Vita of John Her mit	Vita of Joha nis pena riens is	Vita of John the Her mit	Vita of John Her mit	
30 Ma r						Vita of bishop Regulu ⁹⁴⁰					Vita of bishop Regulus						
31 Ma r	Pass ion of Acac ius ⁹⁴¹		Pass ion of Acac ius									Passi on of Acac ius					Pass ion of Acac ius
1 Ap r						Vita of bishop Hugo ⁹⁴²											
2 Ap r						Vita of Theod osia virgin and martyr ⁹⁴³	Vita of Mary of Egypt	Passio n of Eustasi us ⁹⁴⁴	Vita of Eustasi us abbot	Passi on of Theo dosia , Vita of Nicet	Passion of Theodosia	Passi on of Theo dora/ Theo dosia , Vita	Vita of Eust asius abbo t		Vita of Eust asius abbo tis	Vita of Eust asius abbo t	Vita of Mar y of Egy pt ⁹⁴⁶

⁹³⁸ The *Vita of Hermeland* (BHL 3851-3852) appears on 25th March in the twelfth-century Montpellier (BHL 3851), BnF 16732 (BHL 3851), in the thirteenth-century Avranches (BHL 3851), BnF 17004 (BHL 3851), BnF 5297 (BHL 3851), BnF 5279 (BHL 3851), and BnF 5352 (BHL 3851). There exist two BHL versions dedicated to this saint, both dated the earliest to 720-750 CE. They appear in sixteen manuscripts.

⁹³⁹ The *Vita of John the Hermit* (BHL 4329-4329d) appears on 27th March in BnF 5352 (BHL 4329), BnF 5297 (BHL 4329), BnF 17004 (BHL 4329), BnF 5279, and BnF 16732 (BHL 4329). John the Hermit was an ascetic and hermit in Egypt, who lived in the fourth century. Philippart records two versions dedicated to this saint, one of which is written from 393 – 400 CE and the other in the seventh century. BHL database records 20 manuscripts in which the texts dedicated to this saint appear.

⁹⁴⁰ The *Vita of bishop Regulus* (BHL 7106-7109) appears on 30th March in the twelfth-century Douai (BHL 7106) and in the thirteenth-century St-Omer 716 (BHL 7106). Philippart records its four versions, dated loosely, from fourth-twelfth century. There are thirteen manuscripts with different versions of this text. St Regulus was a bishop of Senlis, France.

⁹⁴¹ On 31st March, the *Passion of Acacius* (BHL 25), appears in the ninth-century Karlsruhe (BHL 25), tenth-century Vienna, in the twelfth-century Brussels 207-8, in the thirteenth-century Avranches (BHL 25), Trier (BHL 25). Acacius has only one BHL version, dated to the early period, from 301-400 CE. This text exists in six manuscripts (BHL database does not mention Karlsruhe), all from the twelfth century. This saint appears as early but abandoned saint. St Acacius died during Diocletian's persecutions.

⁹⁴² The *Vita of bishop Hugo Gratianopolitanus* (BHL 4016), who died in 1137, is celebrated on 1st April in the twelfth-century Douai (BHL 4016). There is only one BHL version dedicated to this saint, dated to 1137. Also, there are fourteen manuscripts, according to BHL database, in which this saint appears. He appears as a later and local saint, whose cult was not widespread.

⁹⁴³ The *Vita of Theodosia* (BHL 8090-8092) is celebrated on 2nd April in the twelfth-century Douai (BHL 8090), thirteenth-century Dublin (BHL 8090), Avranches (BHL 8090), and St-Omer 716 (BHL 8090). Theodosia of Tyre suffered martyrdom under Maximianus in Caesarea in 307 CE. There are four BHL versions dedicated to her, one of which is dated firmly to 601-650 CE. Also, there are 48 manuscripts in which the different versions dedicated to this saint appear, according to BHL database.

										<i>ius</i> ⁹⁴⁵		<i>of Mary of Egypt</i>					
3A pr										<i>Passion of Agape, Chione and Hirene</i>		<i>Passion of Agape, Chione and Hirene</i> ⁹⁴⁷					
4 Apr					<i>Vita of Ambrose</i>	<i>Vita of bishop Ambrose</i> ⁹⁴⁸	<i>Vita of Ambrose</i>				<i>Vita of Ambrose</i>						<i>Vita of Ambrose</i>
5 Apr					<i>Passion of Agape, Chione, Hirene</i>						<i>Passion of Agape, Chione and Hirene</i>						
6 Apr		<i>Passion of Hireneus</i>	<i>Passion of Irenaeus</i>	<i>Passion of Hireneus</i>	<i>Passion of Yreneus</i>		<i>Passion of Hyreneus</i>										<i>Passion of Hyreneus</i>

Greek hagiographical collections for March and their order of saints

	Suprasl codex, 10 th cent. OCS	Cod. Marc. Gr. 359 GR (10 th cent.)	Cod. Mosq. 376, 11 th cent. GR	Cod. Patmiac. 736, 14 th cent. GR	St Petersburg 596, 15 th c. OCS	Kiev 117, 16 th cent. OCS
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⁹⁴⁴ The *Vita of Eustasius* (BHL 2773-2774) appears on 2nd April in Montpellier (BHL 2773), BnF 16732 (BHL 2773), BnF 17004 (BHL 2773), BnF 5352 (BHL 2773), and BnF 5297 (BHL 2773). Alternatively, this saint appears in Latin tradition on 29th March. There are two BHL versions dedicated to him, dated firmly to 629-659 CE. There are also 27 manuscripts in which the text appears. Eustasius was an abbot in Luxeuil and missionary in Bavaria, who lived in the sixth-seventh century. This saint died in 629 CE.

⁹⁴⁶ The *Vita of Mary of Egypt* (BHL 5415-5421) appears on 2nd April in the twelfth-century Brussels 207-8 (BHL 5417), thirteenth-century Trier (BHL 5415) and Avranches (BHL 5417). She has plenty of hagiographical writings dedicated to her; Philippart records 25 BHL versions, and BHL database records 184 manuscripts. She was an ascetic and lived at the turn of the fifth century. Nilles testifies that she is celebrated on 1st April in Greek calendar, and on 2nd April in the *Martyrologium Romanum*. She is also celebrated in Slavonic calendar. There is a *Vita* written by Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem (634-638), dedicated to her. She appears in Syriac calendar on 1st April, as well as in Syro-Maronite. See Nilles, I, 130, 473, 487.

⁹⁴⁵ The *Vita of Nicetius* (BHL 6088-6089) appears on 2nd April in the thirteenth-century Dublin manuscript (BHL 6089). Nicetius, the Archbishop of Lyon, died in 573 CE. There are nine manuscripts in which this text appears, and also two BHL versions, dated from 573-594 CE.

⁹⁴⁷ The *Passion of Agape, Chione and Hirene* (BHL 118-120) appears on 5th April in the eleventh-century St-Omer 715 (BHL 118), thirteenth-century St-Omer 716 (BHL 118), and on 3rd April in the thirteenth-century Avranches (BHL 118) and the thirteenth-century Dublin (BHL 118). The three saints suffered in Thessaloniki under Diocletian. There are three BHL versions dedicated to them, one of which is dated from 401-600 CE. This text appears in 71 manuscripts. Nilles does not mention them.

⁹⁴⁸ The *Vita of bishop Ambrose* (BHL 377-381) appears on 4th April in the eleventh-century St-Omer 715 (BHL 377), twelfth-century Douai (BHL 377), Brussels 207-8 (BHL 377), and the thirteenth-century Trier (BHL 377) and St-Omer 716 (BHL 377). Ambrose of Milan, the well-known Latin father of the church, died in 397 CE. There are eight BHL versions dedicated to him, one of which (BHL 377) is dated to 422 CE. The other versions are written later. Also, there are 200 manuscripts in which this narrative appears.

1 March		Vita of Eudokia ⁹⁴⁹	Martyrdom of Eudokia		Vita of Eudocius	
2 March		Martyrdom of Theodotos of Cyrene, ⁹⁵⁰ Martyrdom of Andronikos and Athanasia ⁹⁵¹	Vita of Andronikos and Athanasia	Martyrdom of Theodotos of Cyrene	Vita of Theodosius of Cyrene	
3 March		Martyrdom of Eutropios, Kleonikos and Basiliskos ⁹⁵²	Martyrdom of Eutropios, Kleonikos and Basiliskos	Combat of Eutropios, Kleonikos and Basiliskos	Vita of Eutropios and Callinicus	Vita of Basiliscus
4 March	Martyrdom of Paulus and Juliana ⁹⁵³	Martyrdom of Theodoretos, ⁹⁵⁴	Martyrdom of Paul and Juliana	Martyrdom of Theodoretos,	Martyrdom of Paul and Juliana	Vita of James the Monk/Hesychastes

⁹⁴⁹ The *Martyrdom of Eudokia* (BHG 604-605) appears in the three manuscripts of the sample. The other three manuscripts do not have hagiographical texts on this date, as they are damaged at this place. Nilles notes that Eudokia appears on 1st March in the Greek calendar. In the same date, she appears in the *Martyrologium Romanum*. Although there is a belief that she was martyred during Trajan's reign in Heliopolis, it is mentioned elsewhere that she was not martyred during Trajan, but spent an ascetic life in a monastery in the fifth–sixth century. Nilles reports that the translation of her relics is celebrated in the Greek *menaia* on 4th Aug. In that sense, she was merged on 4th August together with another group of saints, Ia and companions. In the Syriac calendar, she is celebrated on 1st March as Eudokia Samaritana, as well as in Syro-Maronite. Eudokia is present in the *Verse Calendar* of Christopher of Mytilene on 1st March. BHG testifies that this saint has the two BHG versions dedicated to her; the same source refers that Eudokia suffered during Trajan's reign in Heliopolis. Therefore, she is attested as the early Christian martyr, whose cult was corroborated further by the invention of her relics. However, her identity was confused later – it appeared that she was not the early martyr, but a nun in the sixth century. See Nilles, I, 115, 234, 471, 487. See also Follieri, I, 135.

⁹⁵⁰ The *Martyrdom of Theodotos/Theodosius of Cyrene* (BHG ?) appears in Marcianus and Patmos, the manuscripts of the later type of pre-metaphrastic March, according to Ehrhard, as well as in the late Slavonic manuscript, St Petersburg 596. Theodotos, the Bishop of Cyrene in Cyprus, was persecuted around 324 CE during Licinius. Nilles reports that Theodotus is celebrated on 2nd March together with Hesychius in the Greek calendar. In the *Martyrologium Romanum*, he is celebrated on 6th May. There are many elogia dedicated to this saint, preserved from Greek *menaia* and *synaxaria*. Spaasky reports about such elogia in Slavonic *menologia* on 2nd March. I suppose that the earlier text in this date was *Martyrdom of Theodotos*, which was replaced by *Martyrdom of Andronikos and Athanasia*, on the basis of Ehrhard's argument that Suprasl Codex and Moscow manuscript have an earlier type of calendar. See Nilles, I, 116.

⁹⁵¹ *Martyrdom of Andronikos and Athanasia* (BHG 120-123) appears in Marcianus and Moscow manuscripts. These saints were confessors in Egypt in the fifth century. Andronikos and Athanasia have two feast days, 27th Feb and 2nd March and four BHG versions. Nilles reports that they might be celebrated on 9th Oct in Greek and Latin calendars. See Nilles, I, 299.

⁹⁵² The *Martyrdom of Eutropios, Kleonikos and Basiliskos* (BHG 656) is present on 3rd March in Marcianus, Moscow and Patmos manuscripts. On the same date, there are Eutropius and Callinicus in the St Petersburg manuscript. Kiev manuscript contains only *Vita of Basiliscus* on the same date. However, Suprasl Codex and St Petersburg 596 have the *Martyrdom of Basiliskos* alone on 5th March (BHG 241, BHBS 479). Nilles reports that Eutropius is placed on 3rd March in the Greek calendar. Eutropius, together with his companions military saints Kleonikos and Basiliskos, fought with St Theodor Tyron, and they all suffered under Maximian's persecutions in 308 CE. In the *Martyrologium Romanum*, they are placed in the same date. However, in the calendars, Basiliskos additionally appears alone. Basiliskos is present alone in the *Breviarium Romanum* on 27th Jan. Basiliskos alone is celebrated in Greek calendars on 22nd May. In the *Martyrologium Romanum*, he is also celebrated on 22nd May. In the Syriac calendar, he is celebrated on 22nd May. In the Armenian calendar, he is celebrated on 25th May. Basiliscus is mentioned on 22nd May in the *Marble Calendar of Naples* (821-41 CE). BHG denotes his feast day as 22nd May (BHG 241). Possibly, Basiliskos was initially placed on 5th March, as in Suprasl Codex. He was later merged with Eutropius and Kleonikos, and placed together with them on 3rd March. Finally, he alone was moved from 3rd March to 22nd May, when majority of calendars mention him. Eutropius is present in the *Verse Calendar* of Christopher of Mytilene on 3rd March. See Nilles, I, 164, 476, II, 614; I, 116-7. See also Follieri, I, 135.

⁹⁵³ The *Martyrdom of Paul and Juliana* (BHG 964, BHBS 478) is present in almost all the manuscripts of the sample, except for Kiev manuscript. Nilles reports that Paul and Juliana are celebrated on 4th March in many Greek

		Martyrdom of Paulos and Juliana		Combat of Paulos and Juliana		
5 March	Martyrdom of Basiliskos	Vita of Gerasimos from Palestine, ⁹⁵⁵ Vita of Hypatios from Gangra ⁹⁵⁶	Vita of Hypatios of Gangra	Martyrdom of Konon	Martyrdom of Basiliscus	
6 March	Martyrdom of Konon of Isauria ⁹⁵⁷	Martyrdom of Konon, Martyrdom of 42 martyrs of Amorion ⁹⁵⁸	Martyrdom of 42 martyrs of Amorion	Martyrdom of 42 martyrs of Amorion	Martyrdom of Konon, Miracles of Konon, Martyrdom of 42 martyrs of	Miracles of Konon of Isauria, Martyrdom of 42 martyrs of Amorion

calendars. They suffered during Aurelian in the third century. The *Martyrologium Romanum* celebrates them on 17th August. In the *Marble Calendar of Naples* (821-41 CE), a bishop Paul appears on 3rd March, which might be the same saint. There is one BHG version dedicated to them (BHG 964). There exist the Metaphrastic version dedicated to them, placed in the calendar for August. According to Nilles, the Metaphrastic version could be also found in the Suprasl Codex from the late tenth century. BHG testifies their feast day as 17th August. Namely, the edition of the Greek *Martyrdom of Paul and Juliana* by Trautmann and Klostermann is based on the manuscript Vaticanus gr. 1671 (234r-249v), and the different reading of BnF Suppl. gr. 241 (170v), which are both August *menologia*. These manuscripts (being the August *menologia*) contain the *Martyrdom of Paul and Juliana*, as well as the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium*, and two other martyrdom texts extant in the Suprasl Codex, the *Martyrdom of Dalmatos* and the *Martyrdom of Dometios*. The reasons of copying the whole set of the martyrdom narratives, previously belonging to the March *menologion* tradition, into the August *menologia*, are so far unknown to me. It might be that the initial text on this date was dedicated to Paul and Juliana; however, the Patmos and Marcianus manuscripts, containing the later type of calendar, have another text on this date. See Nilles, I, 117.

⁹⁵⁴ On 4th March, there is the *Martyrdom of Theodoretos* in the two manuscripts of the sample, Marcianus and Patmos. He was a presbyter of Antioch, who suffered during the emperor Julian. Ehrhard confirms this information. Nilles reports that Theodoretus is celebrated on 23rd Oct in the *Martyrologium Romanum*, and in Greek *menologion* on 2nd March. There is no *vita* in the Armenian Menologion, although he is in the calendar. See Nilles, II, 612; Ehrhard, I, 587.

⁹⁵⁵ The *Martyrdom of Gerasimos* (BHG 693-696) appears only in Marcianus on 5th March. Gerasimos was dedicated four BHG versions. He was a monk in the desert of Jordan who passed away in 475 CE, and an anachoret who lived in the time of the emperor Zenon. Nilles reports that Gerasimos is present in the Greek calendar on 4th March. In the *Martyrologium Romanum*, he is celebrated on 5th March. There was a monastery dedicated to St Gerasimos in the Jordan valley. In the Syriac calendar, he is celebrated on 4th March. Gerasimos is present in the *Marble Calendar of Naples* on 5th March. See Nilles, I, 117, 219, 472, II, 43.

⁹⁵⁶ The *Vita of Hypatios* (BHL 759) appears in the two manuscripts, Marcianus and Moscow, on 5th March. Hypatios was the Wonderworker and the Bishop of Gangra in the fourth century. Nilles reports of his feast day on 31st March. However, BHG reports of his feast day on 14th Nov. In the *Martyrologium Romanum*, he is also celebrated on 14th Nov, as well as in the *Menologion* of Basil II. See Nilles, I, 129.

⁹⁵⁷ The *Martyrdom of Konon of Isauria* (BHG ?, BHBS 480) is a text of the unstable date; it appears in all the collections, but on different dates (Suprasl, Kiev, St Petersburg and Marcianus – 6th March, Moscow – 8th March, Patmos – 5th March). Nilles testifies that Konon has a Slavonic *vita* in the Suprasl Codex. In the Greek calendar, he is celebrated on 5th March. Konon lived in the apostolic times and allegedly accepted Christianity by some of the Apostles. Konon is present in the *Verse Calendar* of Christopher of Mytilene on 5th March. There is another Konon, who was celebrated in the Greek calendar a day later, on 6th March, and who was martyred in Pamphylia in 251 CE. Due to this confusion, he was commemorated in the *Martyrologium Romanum* on 6th March. See Follieri, I, 135. See also Nilles, I, 117.

⁹⁵⁸ The *Martyrdom of 42 martyrs of Amorion* (BHG 1210-1214, BHBS 480-481) is placed a day later in Suprasl manuscript (7th March) than in the other collections (6th March). Nilles testifies that the martyrs of Amorion are celebrated on 6th March in the Greek calendar. In the *Martyrologium Romanum*, they are celebrated on the same day. In the Syriac calendar, they are celebrated on 6th March. BHG records five hagiographical texts. The 42 martyrs of Amorion suffered in 848 CE, during the emperor Theophilus, the iconoclastic ruler. They were taken from Amorion, Phrygia, by the Saracens around 840 CE to Syria, where they died around 848 CE. Efthymiadis argues that this text must have generated strong emotions in contemporary Byzantines. The martyrs of Amorion are present in the *Verse Calendar* of Christopher of Mytilene on 6th March. See Efthymiadis, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, 113. See Follieri, I, 135. See Nilles, I, 118, 472.

					Amorion	
7 March	Martyrdom of 42 martyrs of Amorion, Martyrdom of Basileus and Kapiton from Cherson ⁹⁵⁹	Martyrdom of 7 bishops of Cherson	Martyrdom of the holy martyr-bishops from Hersonos, Basileos, Kapitonos, and companions	Martyrdom of Ephraim, Basileus, Eugenios, Agathodoros, Elpidios, Aitherios, and Kapiton, Bishops from Cherson		
8 March		Vita of Theophylactos of Nikomedia ⁹⁶⁰	Life of Konon Isaurian	Vita of Theophylactos of Nikomedia		
9 March	Martyrdom of 40 martyrs of Sebaste, ⁹⁶¹ Basil the Great on the 40 martyrs	Martyrdom of 40 martyrs of Sebaste	Martyrdom of 40 martyrs of Sebaste	Martyrdom of 40 martyrs of Sebaste, Encomium of Basil the Great on 40 martyrs	Martyrdom of the 40 martyrs of Sebaste, Basil the Great on the 40 martyrs	Martyrdom of the 40 Martyrs of Sebasteia, Encomium for 40 martyrs of Sebasteia by Basil
10 March	Martyrdom of Kodratos and companions ⁹⁶²	Martyrdom of Kodratos and companions	Martyrdom of Kodratos, Cyprian,		Martyrdom of Codratus	Vita of Kodratos and companions

⁹⁵⁹ The *Martyrdom of the bishops of Cherson* (BHG 266-267) appears on 7th March in the Suprasl, Moscow, Patmos and Marcianus manuscripts. Kiev manuscript contains this text, but without date. The martyr bishops of Cherson suffered during Diocletian in the fourth century. Nilles reports that the martyrs of Cherson are celebrated on 7th March in the Greek calendar, and on 4th March in the *Martyrologium Romanum*. BHG records two versions. Their feast day appears in the *Marble Calendar of Naples* as 6th March. Ephraem, the bishop of Cherson is present in the *Verse Calendar* of Christopher of Mytilene on 7th March. Vakareliyska reports that it was probably this date that was assigned to the bishops of Cherson in the Suprasl Codex, while Ehrhard does not place them on this date instantly, but only later says that they are placed on 7th March. See Ehrhard, I, 598. See also Follieri, I, 135; Nilles, I, 118.

⁹⁶⁰ The *Vita of Theophylactos of Nicomedia* (BHG ?) appears on 8th March in Patmos and Marcianus manuscripts. Nilles reports that Theophylactos is generally celebrated on 8th Mar. He was ordained by the Patriarch of Constantinople Tarasios to be Metropolitan of Nikomedia. In the *Martyrologium Romanum*, it is referred on the previous day that he was tortured by Leo V the Armenian and exiled because of the veneration of the holy images. After the torture for 30 years, he was killed in exile in 845 CE. This text is important for dating, as Theophylactos was a saint and ascetic monk from the eighth century, who dwelled on Mount Olympos in Bithynia. In the view of Efthymiadis, this saint was among those for whom the ‘doublets’ were written – they were celebrated in more than one biography. Theophylactos of Nikomedia is present in the *Verse Calendar* of Christopher of Mytilene on 8th March. See Efthymiadis, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, 110; Follieri, I, 135; Nilles, I, 118.

⁹⁶¹ The *Martyrdom of 40 martyrs of Sebasteia* (BHG 1201-1208, BHBS 481-484) appears in all the calendar collections of the sample on the same date. The martyrs of Sebasteia were the group of Roman soldiers, who suffered martyrdom in 320 CE during Licinius. This text also appears in the Latin calendars, mostly on 11th March. However, it appears on 9th March in the tenth-century Turin, which presents the important overlap with these Greek *menologia*. This group of saints enabled a continual presence in the calendars from the very early period and in both Greek and Latin traditions. It could be said with certainty that the martyrs of Sebasteia were remembered in the early Middle Ages. Nilles testifies that the 40 martyrs are celebrated on 9th March in the Greek *menologia*, but also in Slavonic, Arabic and Syriac traditions. They appear in the Armenian calendar on 9th March. In Slavonic tradition, their feast day is from 7th-14th March. They also appear in the calendar of Chaldeans on 9th March. In Coptic calendar, they are on 13th March. BHG records eight versions dedicated to them, five of which are encomia by Ephraem the Syrian, Basil, and Gregory of Nyssa. The martyrs of Sebasteia are present in the *Verse Calendar* of Christopher of Mytilene on 9th March. In several of the Greek and Slavonic *menologia* of the sample, there is another accompanying text on this date, Basil the Great’s Encomium on the 40 martyrs of Sebaste. See Follieri, I, 135. See Nilles, I, 118-9, 472, II, 101, 577, 682, 701, 716.

⁹⁶² The *Martyrdom of Codratos and companions* from Korinth (BHG 357-358, BHBS 486) is present in all the manuscripts of the sample on 10th March (Patmos ended its list of saints with 9th March; therefore, there is no information of its contents from this date). Codratos suffered with his companions in Corinth in 258 CE, during

			Dionysios, Criskentos			
11 March	Vita of pope Gregory ⁹⁶³	Martyrdom of Sophronios, ⁹⁶⁴ Martyrdom of Pionios	Martyrdom of Sabinos ⁹⁶⁵		Vita of Pope Gregory I	Vita of Gregory, pope of Rome
12 March	Martyrdom of Pionios, Prayer for Pionios ⁹⁶⁶	Vita of Theophanes Confessor, ⁹⁶⁷ Vita of Gregory the Pope	Vita of Theophanes		Martyrdom of Pionius	Martyrdom of Pionios the Presbyter

Decian's and Valerian's persecutions. Nilles confirms that Codratos is celebrated on 10th March in the Greek calendar. In the *Martyrologium Romanum*, he is under the same date. BHG noted two versions; interestingly, one of them (BHG 358) is the *Martyrdom of Codratos* rewritten by Nikeforos Gregoras in the fourteenth century. It would be interesting to further investigate the reasons of Nikeforos Gregoras to rewrite this piece. Codratos is present in the *Verse Calendar* of Christopher of Mytilene on 10th March. See Follieri, I, 135. See Nilles, I, 119.

⁹⁶³ The *Vita of Gregory the Great* (BHG 720-721, BHBS 481) is another text of the unstable date. It appears on 11th March in Suprasl Codex, Kiev 117 and St Petersburg, on 12th March in Marcianus, and on 14th March in Moscow manuscript. BHG records two versions on 12th March. Nilles informs that Pope Gregory is celebrated in the same day in the *Martyrologium* and *Breviarium Romanum*. It is notable that the text about this saint appears on 12th March in a number of Latin manuscripts used in this dissertation. Nilles further informs that Gregory is merged with Theophanos in the Greek calendar under 12th March. He is present on the same date in Syriac calendar, as well as in Syro-Maronite. In the Coptic calendar, he is on 1st March. Gregory the Great appears in the *Marble Calendar of Naples* on 12th March. Vakareliyska reports that Gregory appears in the *Typicon of the Great church, Menologion* of Basil II, and in some other Greek calendars on 12th March. See Nilles, I, 121, 133, 216, 269, 287, 333, 472, 487, 492, II, 19, 57, 77, 81, 85, 92, 120, 142, 221, 716. See also Vakareliyska, "Distinguishing Features of the Calendar in the Codex Suprasliensis," 55.

⁹⁶⁴ The *Martyrdom of Sophronios* (BHG 1641) appears in Marcianus on 11th March. Sophronios was the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who died in 638 CE. John Moshos dedicated his *Pratum Spirituale* to Patriarch Sophronios. He is present in the *Verse Calendar* of Christopher of Mytilene on 11th March. In the *Marble Calendar of Naples*, Sophronios is placed on 1st March. Nilles reports that Sophronios is celebrated on 11th March in the Greek calendar. In the *Martyrologium Romanum*, he is on the same date. In the Syriac calendar, he is on 11th March, as well as in Syro-Maronite. See Nilles, I, 120, 472, 487, II, 49, 127, 150, 153, 184. See Follieri, I, 135.

⁹⁶⁵ The *Martyrdom of Sabinos* (BHG 1612, BHBS 488) appears in Moscow manuscript on 11th March, on 13th March in Suprasl Codex, and on 14th March in Marcianus and St Petersburg manuscripts. Sabinos suffered during Diocletian in Hermopolis in Egypt, by being thrown in the river in 287 CE. Nilles reveals that Sabinos is celebrated on 16th March in the Greek calendar. In the *Martyrologium Romanum*, he is celebrated on the same date. In the Coptic calendar, he is on 26th Feb. BHG reveals one version of the text. In the *Marble Calendar of Naples*, Sabinus is on 26th March. See Nilles, I, 123, II, 715.

⁹⁶⁶ The *Martyrdom of Pionius* (BHG 1546-1547, BHBS 487) appears on 12th March in the Suprasl Codex, St Petersburg and Kiev, as well as on 11th March in Marcianus and on 15th March in Moscow manuscript. The Suprasl Codex also contains the *Prayer for Pionius* on 12th March. St Petersburg manuscript contains the *Prayer* on 31st March. Pionios was a martyr and presbyter in Smyrna, who suffered under Decius in the third century. Nilles confirms that Pionios is placed on 1st February in the *Martyrologium Romanum*, and he is placed on 11th March in the *Menologion Graecum*. An *Armenian Missale* mentions Pionios on 11th March. Otherwise, Pionios is celebrated on 23rd March in Armenian *menologion*, celebrated together with a group of saints. In some older missals and calendars, there is Teunios/Tevonios on the same date, but, as it does not repeat in other *menologia*, Nilles argues that it must have been confused with Pionios, as the feast of Pionios has not been established earlier. Pionius is on 11th March in the *Marble Calendar of Naples*. In some of the Latin hagiographical collections in this dissertation, Pionius appears on 12th March. Pionios also appears on 11th March in Patmos 266 and in the *Typicon of the Great Church*. See Nilles, I, 573, 595, 596.

⁹⁶⁷ The *Vita of Theophanes Confessor* (BHG 1788-1792) appears on 12th March in Marcianus and Moscow manuscripts. He was the confessor of Sigriana, who died in 818 CE. There are five BHG versions, three of which have their authors known: Methodius, Nicephoros Skeuophylax, Theodoros. The Encomion for Theophanes Confessor (BHG 1790) was written by Nicephorus "Skeuophylax," who was among the literati of the post-iconoclastic period. Marcianus 359 contains exactly the version written by Nicephorus Skeuophylax (BHG 1790). However, this version was the metaphrasis of the earlier *Vita of Theophanes*, written by Patriarch Methodius (BHG 1787z). Theophanes Confessor is present in the *Verse Calendar* of Christopher of Mytilene on 12th March. Nilles

13 March	Martyrdom of Sabinos	Translation of Relics of Nikephoros, Patriarch of Constantinople ⁹⁶⁸	Translation of relics of Nikeforos archbishop of Constantinople		Father Nicetas, ?	
14 March	Martyrdom of Alexander Presbyter ⁹⁶⁹	Martyrdom of Sabinos, Vita of Benedict of Nursia ⁹⁷⁰	Life of Gregory pope of Rome		Martyrdom of Sabinus	
15 March		Martyrdom of Agapios and companions from Palestine ⁹⁷¹	Martyrdom of Pionios		Martyrdom of Alexander the Priest	
16 March		Martyrdom of Menignos ⁹⁷²	Martyrdom of Menignos		Martyrdom of Trophimus and Phallus	
17 March		Vita of Alexios, ⁹⁷³ Vita of	Vita of father Alexios		Vita of Alexis, "Man of God"	Martyrdom of Sabinus

reports that he was celebrated in Greek calendar on 12th March. Being brought up by the iconodule parents, he pursued this path as well. The emperor Leo V the Armenian attempted to induce him to condemn the veneration of the icons, but in vain. He was put in prison for two years, tortured, and finally exiled in Samotrace, where he died around 820 CE. The *Martyrologium Romanum* celebrates him on the same day. See Follieri, I, 135; Krausmüller, "Metaphrasis after the Second Iconoclasm," 45-70, 49, n. 21, 54; Nilles, I, 120.

⁹⁶⁸ The *Translation of Relics of Nikephoros, Patriarch of Constantinople* (BHG 1336-1337) appears on 13th March in Marcianus and Moscow manuscripts. The text is written by Theophanes Presbyter. It is not clear what text appears in St Petersburg on this date, but it may be the same text. Patriarch died in 815 CE by martyr's death after years of combat with Leo V the Armenian. This saint was a zealous defender of the holy icons. Translation of Nikeforos, the patriarch of Constantinople, is present in the *Verse Calendar* of Christopher of Mytilene on 13th March. Nilles reports that he is celebrated on 13th March in Greek calendar. In the *Martyrologium Romanum*, he is celebrated in the same day. The translation of his relics to Constantinople occurred in 826 CE. Therefore, he is ascribed another feast day, 2nd June. See Follieri, I, 135. See also Nilles, I, 121, 131, 170, 242.

⁹⁶⁹ The *Martyrdom of Alexander Presbyter* (BHG ?, BHBS 488-489) appears on 14th March in Suprasl Codex. On 15th March, there is Alexander the Priest in St Petersburg manuscript. It is not clear who was this person. Vakareliyska says that Alexander the Priest was a martyr at Sida in Pamphylia. Petrova and Iovcheva in their article also testify that this was Alexander of Sida, Pamphylia, who suffered during Aurelian in the third century. They mention that Alexander from Sida is confused with another saint, Alexander from Pydna, Macedonia, who suffered during Galerius. The latter saint is mentioned in Nilles, as Alexander martyr from Pydna, Macedonia, who suffered during Maximianus, and is celebrated in Greek calendar on 14 March. The *Menologion* of Basil II commemorates him the day before. Alexander of Pydna is present in the *Verse Calendar* of Christopher of Mytilene on 14th March. See Follieri, I, 135; Nilles, I, 122; C. Vakareliyska, "Distinguishing Features of the Calendar in the Codex Suprasliensis," 51-74; Petrova and Iovcheva, "Светците от Супрасълския сборник: имена, дати, източници," 377-434.

⁹⁷⁰ The *Vita of Benedict of Nursia* (BHG 273) appears in Marcianus on 14th March, and does not appear elsewhere. The *Vita* is written originally by Gregory the Great in the *Dialogues*, and then translated into Greek. Needless to say, Benedict was the prominent Western monastic founder and abbot who lived at the turn of the sixth century. Nilles notes that Benedict of Nursia is celebrated on 14th March in the Greek calendar. This day was attributed to Benedict because, in the words of Nilles, 21st March, when he actually died, was already occupied by Jacob the Bishop, and 14th March was a vacant date. In the Latin calendars, he is celebrated on 21st March. Actually, he appears in some of the Latin hagiographical collections used in this dissertation also on 21st March. In the Syro-Maronite calendar, he is celebrated on 21st March. In the *Marble Calendar of Naples*, Benedict is on 21st March. BHG denotes his feast day as 14th Mar and reports of only one BHG version. See Nilles, I, 122, 392, 487, II, 43.

⁹⁷¹ The *Martyrdom of Agapios and companions* (BHG 1193) appears on 15th March in Marcianus manuscript. This text is in fact the *Martyrdom of the martyrs of Palestine*, recorded by Eusebius in his *Church History*. The martyrs suffered in Caesarea in Palestine, during Diocletian in 303 CE. Nilles also reports that the martyrs from Palestine are celebrated on 15th March. In the *Martyrologium Romanum*, their feast day is 24th March. See Nilles, I, 122-23.

⁹⁷² The *Martyrdom of Menignos* (BHG ?) appears in Marcianus and Moscow manuscripts on 16th March. Nilles does not mention this saint nor there is a note about him in BHG. Ehrhard records that he suffered during Decius in the third century. See Ehrhard, I, 591.

		Paphnutios ⁹⁷⁴				
18 March	? Vita of the Holy Fathers, the Taxiarchons ⁹⁷⁵	Vita of Cyril of Jerusalem ⁹⁷⁶	Vita of abba Paul (the Simple) ⁹⁷⁷		Vita of Aninas Thaumaturgus	Vita of Aninas
19 March	Vita of Paul the Simple	Martyrdom of Chrysanthos and Dareia ⁹⁷⁸	Martyrdom of Chrisantes and Dareias		Vita of Paul the Simple	Vita of Paul the Simple
20 March	Martyrdom of Terentios, Afrikanos and companions ⁹⁷⁹	Martyrdom of Photeine, ⁹⁸⁰ Martyrdom of the	Martyrdom of Foteine from Samareitidos		Martyrdom of Terentius et alii	Martyrdom of Terentius, Africanus and

⁹⁷³ The *Vita of Alexios* (BHG 51-56) appears on 17th March in Marcianus, Moscow and St Petersburg manuscripts. Alexios from Edessa died in the fifth century. Nilles testifies that Alexios is mentioned in the *Martyrologium Romanum* on 17th July, as well as in the *Breviarium*. Some scholars in the seventeenth century thought that he was the same person as John Calybites from Constantinople. However, Nilles thinks that it cannot be true. In the Greek calendar, he is mentioned on 17th March. There are Syriac Acts of this saint. Alexios homo dei is present in the *Verse Calendar* of Christopher of Mytilene on 17th March. See Follieri, I, 135. See also Nilles, I, 123.

⁹⁷⁴ The *Vita of Paphnutios* appears on 17th March in Marcianus manuscript. Both the *Marble Calendar of Naples* and BHG record the saint Paphnutios on 20th April (BHG 1419), but it is unclear whether it is the same person as this one. Nilles also reports of Paphnutios on several occasions, but the feast days of the saint(s) are never in March. If Paphnutios from Marcianus and BHG coincide, then this early Christian martyr suffered during Diocletian in Egypt.

⁹⁷⁵ The *Vita of the Holy Fathers, the Taxiarchons* (BHG 1318, BHBS 489) appears in the Suprasl Codex on 18th March in the calendar, according to Helland. Vakareliyska marks that this text was probably not assigned a feast day. She pulls the argument of Ehrhard that this text was not a *vita* assigned to a specific date. On another place in the same article, Vakareliyska says that this text was placed unconventionally in the Suprasl Codex on 17th March. Ehrhard does not mention this text on 18th March in the list of saints arranged according to the feast days. See Helland, "The Slavonic Tradition of Pre-Metaphrastic reading *menologia* for March," 69. See also Vakareliyska, "Distinguishing Features of the Calendar in the Codex Suprasliensis," 53, 54, n. 3; Ehrhard, I, 597.

⁹⁷⁶ The *Vita of Cyril of Jerusalem* (BHG ?) appears in Marcianus on 18th March. Nilles confirms that Cyril was celebrated in the Greek calendar on 18th March. The *Martyrologium Romanum* celebrates him on the same day. In the Syriac calendar, he is celebrated on 18th March, as well as in Syro-Maronite. In the Armenian calendar, he is celebrated on 18th Mar. In the Coptic calendar, his feast is on 22nd March. Cyril was a fourth-century theologian of the church and the bishop of Jerusalem. Cyril of Jerusalem is present in the *Verse Calendar* of Christopher of Mytilene on 18th March. See Follieri, I, 135. See also Nilles, I, 124, 392, 472, 487, II, 210, 560, 561, 576, 609, 716.

⁹⁷⁷ The *Vita of Paul the Simple* (BHG 1474r, BHBS 492) appears on 18th March in Moscow manuscript, while Suprasl Codex, Kiev 117 and St Petersburg manuscripts contain this text on 19th March. Paul the Simple was a disciple of St Antony in the fourth century. Vakareliyska adds that he was the confessor and hermit in the Thebaid in Egypt. BHG records two textual versions, one from the *History of the Monks of Egypt*, and the other from Palladius' *Lausiac History*, while it does not ascribe any BHG numbers to the texts, but it does ascribe him the feast day of 5th Oct. See Vakareliyska, "Distinguishing Features of the Calendar in the Codex Suprasliensis," 53.

⁹⁷⁸ The *Martyrdom of Chrysanthos and Dareia* (BHG 313) appears on 19th March in Marcianus and Moscow manuscripts. This text appears in one BHG version. The early Christian martyrs Chrysanthos and Dareia were husband and wife and they suffered in 283 CE in Rome. Nilles confirms that Chrysanthos and Dareia are celebrated on 19th March in Greek calendar. In the *Martyrologium Romanum*, they are celebrated on 25 Oct. They suffered many tortures under prefect Celerinus. Finally, it was ordered by the emperor Numerian that they be thrown to arenarium and be covered alive by stones and ground. Chrysanthos and Dareia are present in the *Verse Calendar* of Christopher of Mytilene on 19th March. Also, the Latin version of this text has eleven BHL versions (BHL 1787-1794), the earliest dated to the sixth century. In the *Marble Calendar of Naples*, Chrysanthos and Dareia are on 19th March, but Chrysanthos reappears on 21st August and 25th Oct. See Nilles, I, 125. See Follieri, I, 135.

⁹⁷⁹ The *Martyrdom of Terentios, Afrikanos and companions* (BHG 1700, BHBS 492-493) appears on 20th March in the Suprasl, St Petersburg and Kiev manuscripts. Nilles, as well as BHG, confirm that Terentios, Pompeios and Africanos suffered in Africa during Decius. However, they are placed on 28th Oct in BHG. Their feast day in the *Martyrologium Romanum* is 10th April, the same date as in the Greek calendar, as well as in the *Menologion* of Basil II. There exists one BHG version. Terentios and Africanos are also in the *Marble Calendar of Naples* on 10th April. See Nilles, I, 135.

		Monks of St Sabas monastery ⁹⁸¹				Pompeius
21 March	Vita of Isakios, monk in Constantinople ⁹⁸²	Martyrdom of Thophimos and Thalos from Laodiceia ⁹⁸³	Martyrdom of Trophimos and Thalos from Laodikeia		Vita of Isaacius Confessor	Vita of Isaak of Dalmatia
22 March	Martyrdom of Trophimos and Eukarpion ⁹⁸⁴	Martyrdom of Basileios, ⁹⁸⁵ Martyrdom of Kalliopios ⁹⁸⁶	Martyrdom of Kalliopios		Martyrdom of Trophimus and Eucarpus	Martyrdom of Thophimos and Eukarpion
23 March	Martyrdom of Dometios ⁹⁸⁷	Martyrdom of Nikon, ⁹⁸⁸	Martyrdom of Trophimus and		Martyrdom of Dometius and	Martyrdom of Domentian and

⁹⁸⁰ The *Martyrdom of Photina from Samareitidos* (BHG 1541) appears in Marcianus and Moscow manuscripts on 20th March. Photina is placed on 20th March in BHG, with one BHG number. There exists one BHL version of this text, BHL 6838m, dated loosely from 101-1550 CE. She was a martyr of the first century.

⁹⁸¹ The *Martyrdom of the Monks of St Sabas* monastery (BHG 1200) appears in Marcianus on 20th March. The monks of the St Sabas monastery suffered in 797 CE by Saracens. The text is written by Stephen the Sabaite. Nilles confirms that the monks of St Sabas are celebrated on 20th March in Greek calendar. They are also commemorated in Slavonic calendar as well as in the *Menologion* of Basil II. See Nilles, I, 125, 309.

⁹⁸² The *Vita of Isakios, monk in Constantinople* (BHG 955-956, BHBS 493) appears on 21th March in Suprasl, St Petersburg and Kiev manuscripts. It also appears in Marcianus, but on 27th March. He was the abbot from Constantinople during the reign of Valens, the Arian emperor of the East. His *vita* was composed already at 383 CE. Nilles reports that his feast day is 30th May in the Greek calendar. He was to be found in calendars merged with his successor, Dalmatos, who gave a name to the monastery, Dalmatou. Dalmatos may also appear on 6th June. On 3rd Aug, Isaakios, Dalmatos and Faustos appear in the Greek calendar. Dalmatos appears in the *Martyrologium Romanum* on 5th Dec, while Faustos is present as his son. In the *Menologion* of Basil II, he is celebrated on the same day. Isaak and Dalmatos also appear in Theodore Studite's canon of the saints. According to BHG, there are two BHG texts, while his feast day is 30th May. The two heroes have been considered the founders of the Constantinopolitan monasticism. Isacius is present in the *Marble Calendar of Naples* on 27th March, but also on 30th May. The Encomion for Isakios and Dalmatos has been written by Michael the Monk (BHG 956d) in the ninth century. These saints were among those who were transferred from March *menologia* to August *menologia*. In this transfer, the Encomion for Isakios and Dalmatos, written by Michael the Monk was used in the Codex Paris BnF 548. Hatlie argued that no other manuscripts of the same encomion have been identified to date, even though the August tradition shows that the text about these saints is common on 3rd August. See Nilles, I, 167, 233, II, 44. See P. Hatlie, "The Encomium of St. Isakios and Dalmatos by Michael the Monk," 275-276.

⁹⁸³ The *Martyrdom of Trophimos and Thalos* appears in Marcianus and Moscow manuscripts on 21st March. The two are from Laodikeia and they suffered under Diocletian.

⁹⁸⁴ The *Martyrdom of Trophimos and Eukarpion* (BHG ?, BHBS 493) appears in all the manuscripts of the sample: in the Suprasl, St Petersburg and Kiev manuscripts on 22nd March, and in Marcianus and Moscow manuscripts on 23rd March. Trophimus and Eukarpion have BHL 8320 version, dated to 249-1550 CE. These monks-martyrs from Nikomedia were soldiers during the persecution against Christians under the emperor Diocletian.

⁹⁸⁵ The *Martyrdom of Basileios* (BHG 239-240) appears in Marcianus on 22nd March. According to some sources, Basileus, the bishop and martyr of Amaseia, suffered around 332 CE. Nilles confirms that Basileus suffered in Nikomedia around 322 CE, under Licinius, on 28th March. His body was thrown in the sea and the angel Eldiphorus found it and took it to Amaseia. He was buried on 26th April. That is why in both Greek calendar and in the *Martyrologium Romanum*, he is celebrated on 26th April. In St Petersburg manuscript, there appears the text about Basil, Bishop of Amosia on 27th March, which might point out to the same person. On the other hand, Ehrhard says that Basileios was a martyr presbyter from Ancyra, who suffered during Julian. According to BHG, there are two texts, *vita* and *laudatio*, on 26th April. Basilius is present in the *Verse Calendar* of Christopher of Mytilene on 22nd March. See Follieri, I, 135; Nilles, I, 146; II, 613; Ehrhard, I, 592.

⁹⁸⁶ The *Martyrdom of Kalliopios* (BHG 290) appears in Marcianus and Moscow manuscripts on 22nd March. Kalliopius has one BHG version dedicated to him, while his feast day is 7th April. Nilles confirms that Kalliopius is celebrated on 7th April together with George, bishop of Mytilene. Kalliopius, who was from Pompeiopolis in Cilicia, suffered during Maximinus the prefect in 304 CE in Cilicia, having been fixed to the cross, after surviving many tortures. In the *Martyrologium Romanum*, he is also on 7th April. See Nilles, I, 134.

⁹⁸⁷ The *Martyrdom of Dometios* (BHG 560-561, BHBS 494) appears in all the manuscripts on 23rd or 24th March. BHG references Dometios on 7th August, testifying that he suffered during Julian. There exist a *vita* and a passion

		Martyrdom of Trophimos and Eukarpion	Eukarpion		disciples	his pupil
24 March	Martyrdom of Artimon ⁹⁸⁹	Martyrdom of Dometios	Martyrdom of Dometios		Passion of Artemon the Priest	Vita of Artemon
25 March	2 encomia of John Chrysostom on Annunciation of Theotokos ⁹⁹⁰	John Chrysostom's Encomion on Annunciation of Theotokos	Logos in Annunciation of Theotokos	Annunciation of Theotokos, Encomia by Andrew of Crete, John of Damascus, Gregory Thaumaturgus, 3 encomia by John Chrysostom	John Chrysostom on the Annunciation 1-2, Gregory the New on the Annunciation, John of Damascus on the Annunciation	Sermon of John Chrysostom on Annunciation (2 sermons)
26 March	Martyrdom of Eirenaeus of Sirmium	Encomion for Archangel Gabriel ⁹⁹¹	Martyrdom of Irenaeus from Sirmium		John Chrysostom on Synaxis of Gabriel, Martyrdom of Irenaeus	Martyrdom of Irenaeus the bishop
27 March		Vita of Isakios, Martyrdom of Philetos and Lydia ⁹⁹²	Martyrdom of Philetas and Lydia		Martyrdom of Basil, Bishop of Amosia	

dedicated to this saint. Dometius appears on 7th August in the *Marble Calendar of Naples*. Nilles notes that he is celebrated on 7th August, together with the Memory of the liberation of Constantinople from Persians and Avars in 626 CE. Dometius was celebrated on 7th August in the *Martyrologium Romanum* as well. In the Syriac calendar, he is celebrated on 7th August, as well as in Syro-maronite. He was present in the canon of the Holy Fathers composed by Theodore Studite on 8th March. I have already emphasized that this text was among those which were transferred from the March *menologia* to the August *menologia*. See Nilles, I, 238, 460, 480, 489, II, 43.

⁹⁸⁸ The *Martyrdom of Nikon* (BHG 1369) appears on 23rd March in Marcianus manuscript. Nikon and his companions suffered in 273 CE near Tauromenium. He was from around Naples and suffered with 199 monks in Sicilia by governor Quintianus in 250 CE. He belonged to a very early monastic community in Sicily. There is one BHG version dedicated to them on 23rd March. Nikon is present in the *Verse Calendar* of Christopher of Mytilene on 23rd March. Nilles reports that Nikon is celebrated on 23rd March in the Greek calendar, as well as in the *Martyrologium Romanum*. See Nilles, I, 126; Follieri, I, 135.

⁹⁸⁹ The *Martyrdom of Artimon* (BHG 175, BHBS 494) appears in the Suprasl Codex, St Petersburg and Kiev on 24th March. Artimon Thaumaturgus suffered under Diocletian. BHG denounces his feast day as 8th Oct. However, another Artimon, bishop of Seleukia, is known to be celebrated on 24th March and to have been the contemporary of the Apostle Paul. Vakareliyska records that Artimon was the priest and martyr at Laodicea. Petrova and Iovcheva confirm that Artemon was a martyr from Laodikeia, who suffered during Diocletian. See Vakareliyska, "Distinguishing Features of the Calendar in the Codex Suprasliensis," 53; Petrova and Iovcheva, "Светците от Супрасълския сборник: имена, дати, източници," 382.

⁹⁹⁰ The feast of the Annunciation on 25th March was introduced in Constantinople in the mid-sixth century (560 CE). Annuntiation of Maria Deipara is present in the *Verse Calendar* of Christopher of Mytilene on 25th March. See Rev. Dr. S. Alexoupoulos, "Presanctified on March 25? Glimpses in the Liturgical Practice of Constantinople before the Council of Trullo (691/2)," *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* III, No. 5 (2008): 7-25. See also Follieri, I, 135.

⁹⁹¹ The *Encomion for Archangel Gabriel* appears in Marcianus manuscript on 26th March. St Petersburg contains a version of John Chrysostom's writing about this saint. This saint appears in the *Verse Calendar* of Christopher of Mytilene on 26th March. Metrophanes of Smyrna wrote the Laudations on the Archangels Michael and Gabriel in the ninth century. Nilles reports that Gabriel is celebrated on 26th March in Greek calendar. Most of the Latin calendars celebrate this saint on 18 March. He appears in Syriac, as well as Syro-maronite calendars on 26th March. He is also present in the Slavonic calendars on this date. See also Nilles, I, 127, 210, 391, 463, 487; Efthymiadis, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography I*, 115; Follieri, I, 135.

⁹⁹² The *Martyrdom of Philetas and Lydia* (BHG ?) appears in Marcianus and Moscow manuscripts on 27th March. Philetas and Lydia were early Christian martyrs who suffered during Hadrian. Nilles does not mention these saints, nor BHG reveals their BHG number(s).

28 March		Martyrdom of Markos and Cyrillos from Arethusa ⁹⁹³	Martyrdom of Ionas and Varahisios ⁹⁹⁴		Martyrdom of Theodore the Priest	
29 March	Martyrdom of Jonas and Barachisios and companions	Martyrdom of Jonas and Barachisios	Combat of Marcos and Cyrillos of Arethusa		Martyrdom of Jonah and Barajesus	Martyrdom of Jonas, Barachisios and companions
30 March	Vita of John Klimakos ⁹⁹⁵	Vita of John Klimachos	Logos on John Klimakos		Vita of John Hesychastes	Vita of John Klimakos
31 March	Vita of John Hesyhastes ⁹⁹⁶	Martyrdom of Kyriakos and Anna, ⁹⁹⁷ Martyrdom of Akakios ⁹⁹⁸	Combat of martyr Akakios		Vita of John Climacus, Prayer for Pionius	Vita of John the Hesyhast
Undated	Martyrdom of Aninas, ⁹⁹⁹ Vita of James the Monk/Hesyhast ¹⁰⁰⁰					Vita of Basil and Capito of Cherson

⁹⁹³ The *Martyrdom of Markos and Cyrillos of Arethusa* (BHG ?) appears on 28th March in Marcianus, and on 29th March in Moscow manuscript. Mark the Confessor, the bishop of Arethusa in Syria, lived during the emperor Julian.

⁹⁹⁴ The *Martyrdom of Jonas and Barachisios* (BHG 942-943, BHBS 509) appears in all the manuscripts of the sample, either on 28th or 29th March. BHG confirms that the two texts talk about these saints, who are celebrated on 29th March. They were Persian martyrs and they suffered in 327 CE of the king Sapor. Barachisios appears on 29th March in the *Verse Calendar* of Christopher of Mytilene. Cyrillos is recorded in Syro-maronite calendar to be celebrated on 29th March. See Nilles, I, 487. See also Follieri, I, 135.

⁹⁹⁵ The *Vita of John Klimachos* (BHG 882-883, BHL 510) appears on 30th March in all the manuscripts of the sample, except in St Petersburg manuscript, where it appears on 31st March. He was an abbot in Mount Sinai, who died in 649 CE. One of the BHG versions was written by Daniel Rhaitenus and the other is a fragment. John Klimachos is also present in the *Verse Calendar* of Christopher of Mytilene on 30th March. Nilles reports that this saint is celebrated on 30th March in Greek calendar. He is celebrated in the *Martyrologium Romanum* at the same day. This saint also appears in the Syriac calendar on 30th March. See Follieri, I, 135. See also Nilles, 129, 473.

⁹⁹⁶ The *Vita of John Hesyhastes* (BHG 897-898, BHBS 510) appears on 31st March in Suprasl Codex and Kiev, and on 30th March in St Petersburg manuscript. This saint was the monk of the Laura of St Sabas, who died in 558 CE. BHG records his feast day to be 8th Dec.

⁹⁹⁷ According to Ehrhard (I, 593), Kyriakos and his mother Anna from Jerusalem suffered during Julian.

⁹⁹⁸ The *Martyrdom of Acacius* (BHG ?) appears in Marcianus and Moscow manuscripts on 31st March. Christopher of Mytilene has Acacius on 31st March in his *Calendar*. Acacius is present in the same date in the Latin calendars from the West, which were used for this dissertation. He was the bishop of Melitene, who died in the persecutions of Decius. Nilles testifies that this saint is celebrated on the different dates in Greek calendar, 31st March, 17th April, 15th Sept. See Follieri, I, 135. See also Nilles, I, 141.

⁹⁹⁹ The *Martyrdom of Aninas* (?*thaumaturgus*) (?BHG 130, BHBS 491-492) appears undated in the Suprasl Codex, and reappears in the other two Slavonic March *menologia*, Kiev and St Petersburg, but on 18th March. This text is placed usually at the end of the list of the contents of the Suprasl Codex. BHG records one version of this text on 18th March, noting that he was anachoret in the region of Euphrates. This Greek version is written by Theodore Hyrtacenus, and Aninas is called Thaumaturgus. Nilles reports that Aninas was among the canon of the holy fathers, formed by Theodore Studite on 18th March. However, Helland claims that Aninas is “a saint lacking any vita in the Greek tradition, but who is known from the *Synaxarion* and whose text is undated in Codex Suprasliensis.” Vakareliyska also marks that this text was without a date. She draws in the argument of Margulies, where he assumed that “the *vita* of Aninas was intended for either 16th or 18th March.” Margulies relied on 16th March to be the date for Aninas, while Spaasky and some other authors placed Aninas on 18th March. Petrova and Iovcheva write that Aninas the miracle-maker was from Chalcedon, Syria; he lived in a desert and died in 488 CE. See Vakareliyska, “Distinguishing Features of the Calendar in the Codex Suprasliensis,” 53-54; Helland, “The Slavonic Tradition of Pre-Metaphrastic reading *menologia* for March,” 69; Nilles, II, 42; Petrova and Iovcheva, “Светците от Супрасълския сборник: имена, дати, източници,” 383.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Vakareliyska thinks that the most likely date for James the Hesyhast is 4th March. Ehrhard assumes that this text was placed on 4th March in the Suprasl Codex. Kiev 117 also had this text on 4th March. According to Petrova and Iovcheva, James the Monk was a monk in Palestine, who lived in the sixth century. See Vakareliyska, “Distinguishing Features of the Calendar in the Codex Suprasliensis,” 57; Ehrhard, I, 598; Petrova and Iovcheva, “Светците от Супрасълския сборник: имена, дати, източници,” 424.

Greek hagiographical collections for August and their order of saints

	Vat. gr. 1671, 10 th c.	Venice 360	Paris 1177	Paris 241	Paris 548	Vienna, 11 th c.	Jerusalem Taphou 17, 11-12 th c.	Ambrosian a, 13 th c.
1 Aug	Martyrdom of Maccabees, ¹⁰⁰¹ Encomion of Gregory of Nazianzes to Maccabees	Josephus Flavius' On Maccabees, John Chrisostom's Encomion for Maccabees, Gregory Theologian's Encomion on Maccabees (Gregory of Nazianzes)	Josephus Flavius' On Maccabees, John Chrisostom's Encomion for Maccabees, Gregory Theologian's Encomion on Maccabees (Gregory of Nazianzes)		Encomion of Gregory the Theologian on Maccabees, Narrative of Josephus on Maccabees, John Chrysostom's Encomion on Maccabees (2 versions)	John Chrisostom's Encomion to Maccabees (3 versions), Martyrdom of Maccabees in Josephus Flavius' History, Gregory the Theologian's Encomion to Maccabees	Martyrdom of Maccabees	
2 Aug	Translation of relics of St Stephen to Constantinople ¹⁰⁰²	Martyrdom of St. Theodota and her children, ¹⁰⁰³ John Chrisostom's on St. martyr Stephanos, Martyrdom of the children	Martyrdom of St. Theodota and her children, John Chrisostom's on St. martyr Stephanos, Martyrdom of the children from Ephesus	The translation of relics of St Stephen	Translation of relics of St Stephan from Jerusalem to Constantinop le, Martyrdom of Seven Sleepers	Encomion of the arrival of St Stephen to Constantinople	Translation of Relics of Stephen the Protomartyr	

¹⁰⁰¹ Maccabees (BHG 1006-1010) are celebrated on 1st August in Greek calendar. They are also celebrated in Slavonic, Syriac and Arabic calendars. This date was reserved for Maccabees from the earliest calendars, such as Syriac. They are celebrated in the same day in the *Martyrologium Romanum*, as well as in Syro-Maronite calendar. Maccabees are placed in the *Verse Calendar* of Christopher of Mytilene on 1st August. Maccabees, or the Holy Maccabean Martyrs or Holy Maccabees are seven Jewish brothers, their mother and their teacher, who suffered in the 2nd century BC in the Jewish revolt against Seleukids. BHG records the three encomia dedicated to these saints by John Chrysostom. In the above calendar collections, most of them have the same saints on this feast day. See Nilles I, 230, 397, 405, 479, 489. See also Follieri, I, 140.

¹⁰⁰² St Stephen (BHG 1649-1665) is celebrated on 27th Dec in Greek calendar, according to Nilles. He is celebrated on the same date in Slavonic calendar. In Syriac calendar, he is commemorated on 8th Jan. In Syro-Maronite calendar, he is celebrated on 26th Dec. On 2nd August, the translation of his relics is celebrated in Greek calendar. Translation of Stephen the Protomartyr is in the *Verse Calendar* of Christopher of Mytilene on 2nd August. BHG records its two feast days, 27th Dec and 2nd Aug. BHG also records many encomia dedicated to this saint, written by Gregory of Nyssa, Proclus, Leo the emperor, Neophytes, Asterius Amasenus. In the above calendar collections, the translation of relics of St Stephen appears in most of them, sometimes with a few other texts. Interestingly, until the fourth century, early Christians were not especially interested in Stephen. "The sixth-century Gallic *Decretum Gellasianum* mentions a spurious work about Stephen, the *Revelatio quae appellatur Stephani*, apocryphal text, but this had been identified by P. von Winterfeld as a Palestinian text written by the priest Lucian in 415 CE." See Moss, *Ancient Christian Martyrdom*, 117. See also Follieri, I, 140; Nilles I, 368, 468, 486, 231, 480.

¹⁰⁰³ The *Martyrdom of Theodota and her children* (BHG ?) appears on 2nd Aug in Venice 360 and Paris 1177 (the two two-month *menologia*, which Ehrhard denounced as separate from the other August *menologia*). This text apparently appears in Paris 241 on 28th Aug. Nilles records that these saints are celebrated in Greek calendar on 29th July. They are celebrated mostly in *menaia*. Theodota suffered during Diocletian in Nicaea. BHG records a certain Theodote, but with the feast dates different from the above-mentioned. See Nilles, I, 226-227.

		from Ephesus ¹⁰⁰⁴						
3 Aug	Vita of Isaakios, hegoumenos in Konstantinople , Vita of Dalmatos			Vita of Dalmatos, Cyrill's epistle to Dalmatos on Nestorius, Two letters to Dalmatos from the Ephesus synod	Vita of Dalmatos, Encomion of Michael the Monk on Isakios and Dalmatos ¹⁰⁰⁵	Life of Dalmatos, Martyrdom of Dosas and Ias ¹⁰⁰⁶	Vita of Isakios, Faustos, and Dalmatos	
4 Aug	Martyrdom of Pope Stephen and companions in Rome ¹⁰⁰⁷			Martyrdom of pope Stephen		Martyrdom of Eleutherios ¹⁰⁰⁸	Martyrdom of Eleutherios Kubikularios	

¹⁰⁰⁴ The *Martyrdom of seven sleepers from Ephesus* (BHG 1593-1599) appears in Venice 360, Paris 1177, and Paris 548 on 2nd August. It also appears in Vat. Gr. 1671 on 7th Aug. Omont does not record this text in Paris 548, and I noticed it on the personal examination of the manuscript. BHG records seven BHG versions, as well as their feast day on 22nd Oct. The seven sleepers of Ephesus were a group of young Christians who hid in a cave during the persecutions under Decius in the third century, and stayed enclosed and sleeping inside for 180 years. They woke up during the reign of Theodosius II. It seems that this text was a part of an earlier layer, but it disappears in the later collections from this date. See Omont, *Catalogus codicum*, 16.

¹⁰⁰⁵ This text is one of those, which were transferred from March *menologia* to August *menologia*. The *Vita of Isakios, monk in Constantinople* (BHG 955-956) appears on 21th March in Suprasl and Kiev manuscripts. He was the abbot from Constantinople during the reign of Valens, the Arian emperor of the East. His *vita* was composed already at 383 CE. Nilles reports that his feast day is 30th May in Greek calendar. He was to be found in calendars merged with his successor, Dalmatos, who gave a name to the monastery, Dalmatou. Dalmatos may also appear on 6th June. On 3rd Aug, Isaakios, Dalmatos and Faustos appear in Greek calendar. Dalmatos appears in the *Martyrologium Romanum* on 5th Dec, while Faustus is present as his son. In the *Menologion* of Basil II, they are celebrated on the same day. Isaak and Dalmatos also appear in Theodore Studite's canon of the saints. According to BHG, there are two BHG texts, while the feast day is 30th May. The two heroes have been considered the founders of the Constantinopolitan monasticism. Isakios is present in the *Marble Calendar of Naples* on 27th March, but also on 30th May. The Encomion for Isakios and Dalmatos has been written by Michael the Monk (BHG 956d) in the ninth century. The same encomion was used in the Codex Paris 548. Hatlie argues that no other manuscripts of the same encomion have been identified to date, even though August tradition shows that the text about these saints is common on 3rd August. The monks Dalmatos, Faustus and Isakios are in the *Verse Calendar* of Christopher of Mytilene on 3rd Aug. In the above calendar collections, these saints appear in all of them, except for the two two-month *menologia*, which do not have saints on this date. Paris 241 has the two additional texts about this saint, which seem dogmatically important: *Cyrill's epistle to Dalmatos on Nestorius* and *Two letters to Dalmatos from the Ephesus synod*. The two texts are not catalogued and I noticed them on the personal examination of the manuscript. See Follieri, I, 140; Nilles, I, 167, 233, II, 44; Hatlie, "The Encomium of St. Isakios and Dalmatos by Michael the Monk," 275-276.

¹⁰⁰⁶ The *Martyrdom of Dosas and Ias* (BHG 761-762) appears in Vienna manuscript on 3rd Aug, but also in Vat. gr. 1671 on 5th Aug. Nilles testifies that Ia in Perside is celebrated on 4th Aug together with companions. They suffered under Sapor in 362 CE. Therefore, they are the Persian martyrs. In the *Martyrologium Romanum*, they are celebrated on the same day. There were insinuations that Ia is the same saint as Eudokia, whose translation of relics is celebrated on 4th August in Greek *menaia*. BHG records two versions, one of which is written by Macarios the Monk. Their feast day is 4th Aug according to BHG. See Nilles, I, 234.

¹⁰⁰⁷ The *Martyrdom of Pope Stephen in Rome* (BHG 1669) appears on 4th Aug in Vat. Gr. 1671 and Paris 241. It also appears in Jerusalem 17 on 9th Aug. Pope Stephen is present in the *Kalendarium ecclesiae occidentalis* on 2nd Aug. BHG records one BHG version and the feast day 4th August. He suffered in Rome in 257 CE. This text appears in the earliest of the calendar collections, and then repeats in the two of them. It does not appear in the two-month *menologia*. See Nilles, I, 382, 397.

5 Aug	Martyrdom of Eusignios, ¹⁰⁰⁹ Martyrdom of Ia in Persia			Martyrdom of Eusignios	Martyrdom of Eusignios	Martyrdom of Eusignios	Martyrdom of Eusignios	
6 Aug	Transfiguration of Christ by John Chrysostom, Transfiguration of Christ by Ephraim, Transfiguration of Christ by Anastasios Sinaite	Homilies in Transfiguration of Cyril of Alexandria, Homilies in transfiguration of Basil of Seleukia, Homilies in transfiguration of Andrew of Crete	Homilies in Transfiguration of Cyril of Alexandria, Homilies in transfiguration of Basil of Seleukia, Homilies in transfiguration of Andrew of Crete	Transfiguration of Christ by John Chrysostom ¹⁰¹⁰		Homily of John Chrysostom on the metamorphosis of Christ, Homily of Andreas, archbishop of Crete on metamorphosis of Christ, Logos of Basil of Seleukia on metamorphosis of Christ, Logos on metamorphosis of Christ, Anastasios archbishop of Antioch on metamorphosis of Christ	Logos in Transfiguration of Christ	
7 Aug	Memory on 7 sleepers of Ephesus			Liberation of Constantinople from Persians, ¹⁰¹¹ Life and martyrdom of Dometios ¹⁰¹²	Life of Dometios		Life and Martyrdom of Dometios the Persian	
8 Aug						Combat of the 11 iconoclastic martyrs from	Vita of Myron ¹⁰¹⁶	

¹⁰⁰⁸ The *Martyrdom of Eleutherios* (BHG 572) appears on 4th Aug in Vienna and Jerusalem Taphou 17. BHG records one version and the feast day on 4th Aug. Eleutherios was the early Christian martyr, who suffered under Maximianus in Tarsia.

¹⁰⁰⁹ The *Martyrdom of Eusignios* (BHG 638-640) appears in the majority of the calendar collections above on 5th Aug. This of course does not apply to the two-month *menologia*. Nilles confirms that this saint is celebrated on 5th Aug in Greek calendar. In the *Martyrologium Romanum*, he is commemorated on the same day. Eusignios was the martyr from Antioch, who suffered under Julian the Apostate. Eusignios is in the *Verse Calendar* of Christopher of Mytilene on 5th Aug. BHG also records his feast day to be 5th Aug, as well as three BHG versions. See Follieri, I, 140; Nilles, I, 234.

¹⁰¹⁰ Omont does not record this text. See Omont, *Catalogus codicum*, 330.

¹⁰¹¹ The catalogue in the manuscript testifies that this text is written by John Chrysostom (personal examination of the manuscript). The published catalogues did not mention such feature nor said something more about this text.

¹⁰¹² This text was among those which were transferred from the March *menologia* to the August *menologia*. The *Martyrdom of Dometios* (BHG 560-561) appears in all the March Menologia of the sample in this dissertation on 23rd or 24th March. Also, it appears on 7th Aug in Paris 241, Paris 548, and Jerusalem 17. He is not present in the earliest *menologion* for August, Vat. gr. 1671, probably because it belonged to the March *menologion* at the time. He is not present in the two-month Menologia nor in the later Vienna 45 manuscript. BHG refers to Dometios on 7th August, testifying that he suffered under Julian. There exists a *vita* and a passion dedicated to this saint. Dometius appears on 7th August in the *Marble Calendar of Naples*. Nilles notes that he is celebrated on 7th August, together with the Memory of the liberation of Constantinople from Persians and Avars in 626 CE. Dometius was celebrated on 7th August in the *Martyrologium Romanum* as well. In the Syriac calendar, he is celebrated on 7th August, as well as in Syro-maronite. He was present in the canon of the Holy Fathers composed by Theodore Studite on 8th March. Dometius Persian is present in the *Verse Calendar* of Christopher of Mytilene on 7th Aug. See Nilles, I, 238, 460, 480, 489, II, 43. See Follieri, I, 140.

						the time of Leo Isaurian, ¹⁰¹³ Short history of the arrival of Persians and Arabs, ¹⁰¹⁴ Martyrdom of Marinos ¹⁰¹⁵		
9 Aug						Martyrdom of Myron bishop of Crete, Encomion for Matthias Apostle ¹⁰¹⁷	Martyrdom of Roman pope Stephen	
10 Aug	Martyrdom of Laurentios, Xystos, and Hippolytos ¹⁰¹⁸	Encomion for St. martyr Laurentius	Encomion for St. martyr Laurentius	Martyrdom of Laurentius, Xystos and Hippolytus	Martyrdom of Laurentios, Xystos, and Hippolytos	Martyrdom of Xystos, Laurentios, and Ippolitos	Martyrdom of Laurentios, Xystos and Hippolytos	
11 Aug	Martyrdom of Euplos ¹⁰¹⁹			Martyrdom of Andreas	Martyrdom of Euplus	Martyrdom of Ursikinos, ¹⁰²¹	Martyrdom of Euplos	

¹⁰¹⁶ The *Vita of Myron* of Crete (BHG 1311-1312) appears in Jerusalem 17 on 8th Aug. The same text appears in Vienna on 9th Aug. According to BHG, there are two persons called Myron, where one is the bishop from the island of Crete, who died in 350 (BHG 1311-1312, feast day 8th Aug), while the other is Myron, the martyr of Cyzikos, who suffered during Decius (BHG 1313-1314, feast day 17th Aug). Interestingly, in Vienna 45, Myron appears first on 9th Aug with the version dedicated to Myron of Crete (BHG 1312), and then on 17th Aug with the both versions dedicated to Myron of Crete again (BHG 1312), and for Myron of Cyzikos (BHG 1314). In the other manuscripts, as well as in these, but on later date, Myron is the martyr from Cyzikos, who suffered during Decius. In Paris 548 he is present on 17th Aug. In Paris 241 he appears on 13th Aug. Ehrhard's catalogue (I, 677) testifies that Myron celebrated in Paris 241 was martyred during Decius. The same goes from Paris 548, Myron suffered under Decius. In Jerusalem 17 and Ambrosiana, Myron appears on 21st Aug. Myron in Jerusalem 17 was Myron of Cyzikos (BHG 1313-1314), and in Ambrosiana it is BHG 1313, also Myron of Cyzikos. Myron of Cyzikos is in the *Verse Calendar* of Christopher of Mytilene on 17th Aug. See Follieri, I, 140.

¹⁰¹³ This text is marked as BHG 1195. According to BHG, these were 10 (or 13) Constantinopolitan martyrs, who suffered in 729 CE by Leo Isaurian. They are iconoclastic martyrs.

¹⁰¹⁴ This text is marked as BHG 1062 by a manuscript cataloguer. BHG testifies that this text presents a short history of Akathistos.

¹⁰¹⁵ The *Martyrdom of Marinos* (BHG 1171) appears in Vienna on 8th Aug. BHG testifies that 8th Aug is the feast day of this saint, who suffered under Diocletian. There exists only one BHG version. Nilles records this saint to be celebrated on 16th Dec in Greek calendar. This saint also appears in the *Menologion* of Basil II. Like the two previous texts, this text appears only in the later Vienna 45 manuscript. See Nilles, I, 355.

¹⁰¹⁷ The *Encomion for Apostle Matthias* (BHG 1229) appears in Vienna on 9th Aug. According to BHG, there is one version of this text, and this is the *Laudatio* by Niketas Paphlagon. The feast day according to BHG is 9th Aug. Nilles confirms that this saint is celebrated on 9th Aug in Greek calendar. In Latin calendars, he is celebrated on 24th Feb. He appears in a number of Latin calendar collections, used in this dissertation. He also appears in Syriac calendar, under the same date as in Greek calendar. In Syro-Marionite calendar, he is also celebrated on 9th Aug. The Apostle Matthias is in the *Verse Calendar* of Christopher of Mytilene on 9th Aug. See Nilles, I, 242, 480, 489. See Follieri, I, 140.

¹⁰¹⁸ The *Martyrdom of Laurentios, Xystos, and Hippolytos* (BHG 977-978) appears in all the manuscripts of the sample. Paris 1177 and Venice 360 contain the Encomion to these martyrs. According to BHG, there are two versions, one of which is *Oration* by Demetrios Cydonos. These martyrs suffered in Rome in 258 CE. Laurentius is in the *Verse Calendar* of Christopher of Mytilene on 10th Aug. Nilles confirms that these martyrs are celebrated on 10th Aug in Greek calendar. They also appear in Slavonic calendar. In Latin calendar, they are celebrated in the same day. They also appear in Syriac, as well as Syro-Marionite calendar on the same day. See Follieri, I, 140. See also Nilles, I, 243, 480, 489.

¹⁰¹⁹ The *Martyrdom of Euplus* (BHG 629-630) appears on 11th Aug in the four calendars above: Vat. gr. 1671, Paris 548, Vienna 45 and Jerusalem 17. Euplus is present in the Latin calendars on 12th August, in the ninth-century Karlsruhe and the tenth-eleventh century Rouen (a day earlier). Euplus is in the *Verse Calendar* of Christopher of Mytilene on 11th Aug. BHG testifies of the feast day of 11th Aug, as well as of the two BHG versions. Euplus was an

g				Stratelates ¹⁰²⁰		Martyrdom of Euplus		
12 Aug	Martyrdom of Photios, Aniketos and companions ¹⁰²²			Martyrion of Photios, Aniketos and companions	Martyrdom of Photios, Aniketos and companions	Martyrdom of Aniketos and Fotos	Martyrdom of Photios and Aniketos	
13 Aug	Vita of Maximos the Confessor ¹⁰²³			Martyrdom of Myron		Combat of the holy father Maximos	Life and Martyrdom of Maximos the Confessor	Vita of Maximus Confessor
14 Aug		Life and martyrdom of St. Marcellus ¹⁰²⁴	Life and martyrdom of St. Marcellus	Life and Martyrdom of Markellos		Life of Markellos, Theodoret of Cyrhus on the prophet Mihaïos (2 texts) ¹⁰²⁵	Martyrdom of Markellos	Passion of Marcellus of Apamea
15 Aug	Dormition, by John the Theologos,		Three homilies of Andrew of Crete for	Dormition encomion of John		Oration on dormition of Deipara, by	Memory of Koimesis	Dormition of Maria Deipara

early Christian martyr, who suffered in Catana in Sicily during Diocletian in 304 CE. Nilles confirms that Euplus is celebrated on 11th Aug in Greek calendar. In Latin calendar, he is celebrated a day later. See Follieri, I, 140. See also Nilles, I, 244, 480.

¹⁰²¹ The *Martyrdom of Ursikios* (BHG 1861) appears in Vienna on 11th Aug. This text also appears in Paris 241 on 27th Aug. BHG presents its feast day to be 14th Aug. There is one BHG version. Ursikinus suffered under Maximian in Illyricum.

¹⁰²⁰ The *Martyrdom of Andreas Stratelates* (BHG 118-119) appears on 11th Aug in Paris 241. This text again appears on 19th Aug in Vat. gr. 1671, Paris 548, Vienna, Jerusalem, Ambrosiana. BHG records that he is celebrated on 19th Aug. There are two BHG versions. He was a tribune, who suffered in Cilicia under Maximian. This saint is prominent among military saints. Nilles confirms the feast day in Greek calendar to be 19th Aug. He is celebrated on the same date in the *Martyrologium Romanum*, as well as in Syriac calendar. Andreas Stratelates is in the *Verse Calendar* of Christopher of Mytilene on 19th Aug. See Follieri, I, 140. See Nilles, I, 252, 480.

¹⁰²² The *Martyrdom of Photios and Anicetos* (BHG 1542-1544) appears on 12th Aug in almost all the calendar collections of the sample. It is not present in the two-month *menologia*. BHG testifies their feast day to be 12th Aug, while there are three BHG versions. These martyrs suffered in Nikomedia in 305 CE. Nilles confirms that they are celebrated in Greek calendar on 12th Aug. In *Martyrologium Romanum*, they are celebrated on the same day. These saints appear in the *Verse Calendar* of Christopher of Mytilene on 12th Aug. See Follieri, I, 140. See also Nilles, I, 244.

¹⁰²³ The *Vita of Maximos the Confessor* (BHG 1231-1236) appears in the four manuscripts of the sample on 13th Aug: in the earliest Vat. gr. 1671, but also in the later Vienna 45, Jerusalem 17, Ambrosiana. BHG demonstrates six BHG texts, but marks the feast day of this saint to be 21st Jan. Maximus the Confessor was the seventh-century monk and theologian from Constantinople. Nilles confirms that Maximos is celebrated on 21st Jan, although the translation of his relics is celebrated on 13th Aug. He is also celebrated among Slavs. In the *Martyrologium Romanum*, he is celebrated on 13th Aug. The translation of Maximos the Confessor is in the *Verse Calendar* of Christopher of Mytilene on 13th Aug. The translation of his relics appears also in the *Menologion* of Basil II. See Follieri, I, 140. See also Nilles, I, 78, 244, 469.

¹⁰²⁴ The *Martyrdom of Marcellus* (BHG 1026-1027) of Apameia in Syria appears in the six manuscripts of the sample on 14th Aug. He is not present in the earliest Vat. gr. 1671, but also in Paris 548. BHG testifies of the two BHG versions, and marks his feast day as 14th Aug. He was the bishop in Apameia in Syria, who suffered in 389 CE. Nilles confirms that he was celebrated on 14th Aug in Greek calendar. He is celebrated in the *Martyrologium Romanum* on the same day. See Nilles, I, 245.

¹⁰²⁵ Theodoret of Cyrhus' composition on the prophet Mihaïos (BHG 1281) appears only in Vienna on 14th Aug. Nilles reports that this saint is celebrated on 14th Aug in Greek calendar. He is celebrated on 15th Jan in the *Martyrologium Romanum*. Michaelas the prophet is in the *Verse Calendar* of Christopher of Mytilene on 14th Aug. BHG denounces his feast day to be 22nd April. See Follieri, I, 140. See also Nilles, I, 245.

	Dormition by Theodore Studite, Dormition by Andreas from Crete (3), Dormition by John Damascenus (2)		Dormition of Mary ¹⁰²⁶	Theologian, Encomion of of Andreas from Crete, Dormition of Germanos of Constantinople, Dormition of Andreas from Crete, Dormition of John of Damaskus (3 texts), Dormition of Andreas from Crete		John of Thessaloniki, Andreas from Crete's Logos on dormition of Maria (3 texts), Encomion of Germanos I on dormition of Theotokos (3 texts), Encomion of John of Damascus on dormition of Theotokos (3 texts)		
16 Aug	Martyrdom of Diomedes ¹⁰²⁷			Martyrdom of Diomedes	Martyrdom of Diomedes	Logos on Christ, On the holy icon of Christ in Edessa, ¹⁰²⁸ Encomion on martyr Diomedes, On the arrival and return of Saracens to Constantinople, Martyrdom of Diomedes	Translation of Christ's Icon from Edessa, Martyrdom of Diomedes	Translation of Icon of Christ from Edessa, Passion of Diomedes
17 Aug	Martyrdom of Paul and Juliana ¹⁰²⁹			Martyrion of Juliana and Paulos	Martyrdom of Myron	Life of Myron, Martyrdom of Myron	Martyrdom of Straton, Phillipos, and	Passion of Straton

¹⁰²⁶ Even though Ehrhard reports that both Venice 360 and BnF 1177 have these texts, I noticed them only in BnF Gr. 1177. Omont mentions them too. See Omont, *Catalogus codicum*, 75-77.

¹⁰²⁷ The *Martyrdom of Diomedes* (BHG 548-552) appears on 16th Aug in six manuscripts of the sample. BHG marks its feast day to be 16th Aug, while it gives five BHG versions. Two of them are *laudationes*, one of which is written by Maximos Planudes. Diomedes was a martyr from Nicaea who suffered under Diocletian. Diomedes is in the *Verse Calendar* of Christopher of Mytilene on 16th Aug. Nilles confirms that Diomedes is celebrated on 16th Aug in Greek calendar. He is celebrated in Latin calendar on the same date. See Follieri, I, 140. See also Nilles, I, 251.

¹⁰²⁸ The *Translation of the Icon of Christ to Edessa* (BHG 795-6), which appears on 16th Aug in the three latest manuscripts, has been the subject of a homily (BHG 796g) written by Gregory Referendaire, one of the literati from the period of Constantine VII, for the occasion of this event which occurred in 944. See B. Flusin, "L'empereur hagiographe. Remarques sur le rôle des premiers empereurs macédoniens dans le culte des saints," in *L'empereur hagiographe: Culte des saints et monarchie Byzantine et post-byzantine*, ed. P. Guran and B. Flusin (Bucharest: New Europe College, 2000), 48.

¹⁰²⁹ This text is one of those, which were transferred from March *menologia* to August *menologia*. The *Martyrdom of Paul and Juliana* (BHG 964) is present in Vat. gr. 1671, as well as Paris 241, and in all the manuscripts of the sample for March, which indicates the early affiliation of these martyrs with March calendar. Nilles reports that Paul and Juliana are celebrated on 4th March in many Greek calendars. They suffered under Aurelian in the second century. The *Martyrologium Romanum* celebrates them on 17th August. In the *Marble Calendar of Naples* (821-41 CE), there appears the bishop Paul on 3rd March, which might be the same saint. There exist the Metaphrastic version dedicated to them, placed in the calendar for August. According to Nilles, the Metaphrastic version could be also found in the Suprasl Codex from the late tenth century (even though some scholars argued that the Suprasl Codex did not contain metaphrastic texts). BHG testifies to their feast day as 17th August. Namely, the edition of the Greek *Martyrdom of Paul and Juliana* by Trautmann and Klostermann is based on the manuscript Vaticanus Gr. 1671 (234r – 249v), and the different reading of Parisinus suppl. gr. 241 (170v). See Nilles, I, 117.

							Eutychianos ¹⁰³⁰	
18 Aug	Martyrdom of Florus and Laurus ¹⁰³¹			Life and martyrdom of Florus and Laurus	Life and martyrdom of Florus and Laurus, Life of Makarios ¹⁰³²	Martyrdom of Laurus and Florus, Martyrdom of Stratonos, Filipos and Eutyhianos	Martyrdom of Lauros and Floros	Passion of Florus and Laurus
19 Aug	Martyrdom of Andreas Stratelates				Martyrdom of Andreas Stratelates	Martyrdom of Andreas, Martyrdom of Ermos, Serapion and Poluainos, ¹⁰³³ Combat of Andreas	Martyrdom of Andreas Stratelates	Passion of Andreas Stratelates
20 Aug	Memory on Samuil the prophet ¹⁰³⁴			Martyrion of Bassa ¹⁰³⁵	Deeds of Thaddaios the apostle, ¹⁰³⁶ Martyrdom of Bassa, Memory of Samuel the prophet	Life and miracles of prophet Samuil	Martyrdom of Bassa and her Children	Passion of Bassa
21 Aug	Martyrdom of Bassa and her sons	Martyrdom of St. Irenaeus of Sirmium	Martyrdom of St. Irenaeus of Sirmium	Martyrion of Irenaeus of Sirmium		Deeds of the apostle Thadasios, Martyrdom of Bases, Theognidos, Agapitos and Pistis	Martyrdom of Myron of Kyzikos	Passion of Myron

¹⁰³⁰ The *Martyrdom of Straton, Phillipos, and Eutychianos* (BHG 1672) appears in Jerusalem 17 and Ambrosiana on 17th Aug and in Vienna on 18th Aug. BHG confirms their feast day to be 17th Aug. They were martyrs, who suffered in Nikomedia in 303 CE.

¹⁰³¹ The *Martyrdom of Florus and Laurus* (BHG 660-664) appear on 18th Aug in six manuscripts. It does not appear in the two-month *menologia*. BHG confirms their feast day to be 18th Aug and gives five BHG versions. They were martyrs from Illyricum, who suffered in the second century. Nilles confirmed that they were celebrated on 18th Aug in Greek calendar. In the *Martyrologium Romanum*, they are celebrated on the same day. They are also celebrated on the same date in Syriac calendar. Florus and Laurus are in the *Calendar* of Christopher of Mytilene on 18th Aug. See Follieri, I, 140. See Nilles, I, 251, 480.

¹⁰³² The *Vita of Macarios* (BHG 1000) appears on 18th Aug in Paris 548. Macarios, the monk of Constantinople, is celebrated on 18th Aug, according to BHG. According to Ehrhard, Macarios was hegoumenos of the monastery Pelekete (today Tirilye in Turkey).

¹⁰³³ The *Martyrdom of Ermos, Serapion and Poluainos* (BHG ?) was not identified. It appears on 19th Aug only in Vienna 45.

¹⁰³⁴ The *Vita of Samuel the Prophet* (BHG ?) appears in the three manuscripts of the sample, Vat. gr. 1671, Paris 548, and Vienna on 20th Aug. Samuil the prophet is in the *Verse Calendar* of Christopher of Mytilene on 20th Aug. Nilles records Samuel to be celebrated on 20th Aug in Greek calendar. Samuel the Prophet appears on 20th Aug in Syro-Maronite calendar. See Follieri, I, 140. See also Nilles, I, 252, 489.

¹⁰³⁵ The *Martyrdom of Bassa and her children* (BHG 268-270) appears in the four manuscripts on 20th Aug, and in two on 21st Aug. It does not appear in the two-month *menologia*. BHG records their feast day to be 20th Aug, and it records three BHG versions. Bassa and her children suffered under Maximian. Nilles confirms that she is celebrated on 21st Aug in Greek calendar. She is celebrated on the same day in Syriac calendar. Bassa and her sons are in the *Verse Calendar* of Christopher of Mytilene on 21st Aug. See Follieri, I, 140. See Nilles, I, 255, 480.

¹⁰³⁶ The *Deeds of Thaddaios the Apostle* (BHG 1702-1705) appears on 20th and 21st Aug in Paris 548 and Vienna respectively. BHG records that he is celebrated on 19th June, while there are four BHG versions. Nilles reports that Thaddeus the Apostle is celebrated on 21st Aug in Greek calendar. In Syro-Maronite calendar, he is celebrated on 18th Oct, together with Lucas. See Nilles, I, 184, 253, 485.

22 Aug	Martyrdom of Agathonikos and companions ¹⁰³⁷	Encomion of martyr Agathonikos	Encomion of martyr Agathonikos/ Vita of Agathonikos ¹⁰³⁸	Martyrion of Agathonikos and companions	Martyrdom of Agathonikos, Martyrdom of Irenaeus	Martyrdom of Agathonikos, Encomion for Agathonikos, Martyrdom of Lukios ¹⁰³⁹	Martyrdom of Agathonikos	Passion of Agathonikos
23 Aug	Vita of Anthusa ¹⁰⁴⁰			Vita of Anthusa		Martyrdom of Irenaeus, Martyrdom of the two Irenaei	Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium, Or and Oropseus	Passion of Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus
24 Aug	Martyrdom of Athanasios, ¹⁰⁴¹ Martyrdom of Charisemos and Neophytos ¹⁰⁴²			Martyrion of Athanasios, Martyrion of Charisemos and Neophytos		Martyrdom of Anthusa, Martyrdom of Neofytos, Harisimos, Martyrdom of Athanasios, Martyrdom of Seuiros and Memnon, ¹⁰⁴³ Memory of Kalinikos, archbishop of Constantinople, ¹⁰⁴⁴ Martyrdom of Titon, ¹⁰⁴⁵ Vita of Georgios Limniotos, ¹⁰⁴⁶	Martyrdom of Anthusa and Athanasios, Harisimos, and Neophitos	Passion of Anthusa

¹⁰³⁷ The *Martyrdom of Agathonikos* (BHG 39-43) appears in all the calendar collections of the sample on 22nd Aug. Agathonikos is celebrated on 22nd Aug according to BHG, while five BHG versions are dedicated to this saint. Two of them are *laudationes*. Agathonikos and his companions suffered during Maximian. Nilles confirms his feast day on 22nd Aug. In the *Martyrologium Romanum*, he is celebrated on the same day. Anastasios Questor wrote the *Encomion to St Agathonikos*. Agathonikos is in the *Verse Calendar* of Christopher of Mytilene on 22nd Aug. See Efthymiadis, “Hagiography from the ‘Dark Age,’” 115. See Follieri, I, 140. See Nilles, I, 255.

¹⁰³⁸ *Vita* in BnF Gr. 1177.

¹⁰³⁹ The *Martyrdom of Lukios* (BHG ?) appears in Vienna on 22nd Aug. I could not identify this saint.

¹⁰⁴⁰ The *Vita of Anthusa* (BHG 136-137) appears on 23rd Aug in Vat. gr. 1671 and Paris 241. It also appears in Vienna, Jerusalem 17, and in Ambrosiana on 24th Aug. BHG testifies of the two BHG versions and of the feast day as 22nd Aug. Anthusa was the early Christian martyr, who suffered during Valerian (third century) in Tarsus in Cilicia.

¹⁰⁴¹ The *Martyrdom of Athanasios* (BHG 181-182) appears in Vat. gr. 1671, Paris 241 and Vienna on 24th Aug. BHG testifies of two BHG versions and the feast day as 22nd Aug. Athanasios was the bishop-martyr, who suffered under Valerian. Interestingly, Jerusalem 17 merged Anthusa with this group of saints into the *Martyrdom of Anthusa and Athanasios, Harisimos, and Neophitos*.

¹⁰⁴² The *Martyrdom of Charisemos and Neophytos* (BHG 299) appears in Vat. gr. 1671, Paris 241 and Vienna on 24 Aug. BHG testifies of one version, and of the feast day being 22nd Aug. The two martyrs suffered under Valerian. Jerusalem 17 merged all these saints together.

¹⁰⁴³ The *Martyrdom of Seuiros and Memnon* (BHG ?) appears in Vienna on 24th Aug. I could not identify these saints.

¹⁰⁴⁴ The *Vita of Kalinikos* (BHG 288-289) appears on 24th Aug in Vienna. It also appears on Ambrosiana on 29th Aug and in Jerusalem on 30th Aug. BHG confirms two versions and the feast day as 23rd Aug. Kalinikos was the bishop of Constantinople, who dies in 705 CE. Nilles records that Kalinikos is celebrated in Greek calendar on 23rd Aug. See Nilles, I, 255.

¹⁰⁴⁵ The *Martyrdom of Titon* (BHG 1850) appears on 24th Aug in Vienna. BHG records one version and the feast day 24th Aug. Titon was a martyr who suffered under Diocletian in Claudiopolis.

¹⁰⁴⁶ The *Vita of Georgios Limniotos* (BHG 692) appears in Vienna on 24th Aug. BHG records one version, and the feast day 24th Aug. Georgios was the monk in Mount Olympos, who died in 730 CE.

						On the apostle bishop Tit. ¹⁰⁴⁷ Andreas of Crete's Encomion on the apostle Tit		
25 Aug	Andreas from Crete's Encomion for Titus	Andreas from Crete's Encomion for the apostle Titus	Andreas from Crete's Encomion for the apostle Titus	Encomion of Andreas from Crete to Titos	Vita of Titus, Andreas of Crete's Encomion for Titus		Memory of Titos Apostle	
26 Aug	Martyrdom of Adrianos and 23 companions ¹⁰⁴⁸			Martyrion of Adrianos and 23 companions	Martyrdom of Adrianos and 23 companions	Martyrdom of Adrianos and Natalia, Martyrdom of Adrianos ¹⁰⁴⁹	Martyrdom of Adrianos and Natalia	Passion of Adrianus and Natalia
27 Aug				Martyrion of Ursikios	Vita of abbas Poimen ¹⁰⁵⁰	Of the pathiarch of Constantinople, ¹⁰⁵¹ On the Holy bishop of Kordoba in Ispania, ¹⁰⁵² On abbas Poimen	Vita of Poimen	Vita of Poemen
28 Aug				Martyrdom of Theodote	Life of Moyses ¹⁰⁵³	On the father Moses	Vita of Moses	Vita of Moyses

¹⁰⁴⁷ The *Vita of Titus the Apostle* (BHG 1851-1852) appears on 24th Aug in Vienna, and in all the other manuscripts of the sample on 25th Aug. There are two BHG versions, one of which is written by Andrew of Crete, and this version predominantly appears in the calendar collections, although sometimes it is accompanied by the *Vita*. BHG records the feast day to be 25th Aug. Titus was the apostle in Crete and a disciple of St Paul. The Apostle Titus is in the *Verse Calendar* of Christopher of Mytilene on 24th Aug. Nilles confirms his feast day in Greek calendar as 25th Aug, while Latin calendar celebrates him on 4th Jan and 6th Feb. He is also in Syriac calendar on 25th Aug. See Follieri, I, 140. See also Nilles, I, 260, 481.

¹⁰⁴⁸ The *Martyrdom of Adrianos, Natalia and companions* (BHG 27-29) appears in most of the calendar collections of the sample on 26th Aug. It does not appear in the two-month *menologia*. BHG records three versions and the feast day of 26th Aug. Adrianos and Natalia were martyrs who suffered in Nikomedia under Maximian. Adrianos and Natalia are in the *Verse Calendar* of Christopher of Mytilene on 26th Aug. Nilles confirms the feast day as 26th Aug in Greek calendar. In Latin calendar, they appear on several dates: Adrianos appears on 8th Sept, while Natalia appears on 1st Dec. See Follieri, I, 140. See Nilles, I, 260, 382, 398.

¹⁰⁴⁹ The *Martyrdom of Adrianos* (BHG 26) appears in Vienna on 26th Aug. He was the martyr, who suffered under Licinius. His feast day is confirmed by BHG to be 26th Aug, and there is one BHG version.

¹⁰⁵⁰ The *Vita of Abbas Poemen* (BHG 1554-1555) appears in Paris 548, Vienna, Jerusalem and Ambrosiana manuscripts on 27th Aug. Poemen is in the *Verse Calendar* of Christopher of Mytilene on 27th Aug. BHG records two versions, and the feast day 27th Aug. Abbas Poemen was the Egyptian monk and anachorete in Scetis, and the early Desert Father, who is quoted frequently in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*. He lived in the fifth century. Nilles confirms his feast day in Greek calendar to be 27th Aug. His *Vita* is also translated into Latin. He appears in Syro-Maronite calendar on 27th Aug. See Nilles, I, 260, 489. See also Follieri, I, 140.

¹⁰⁵¹ *Of the pathiarch of Constantinople* (BHG 1272) is the hagiographical text on Menas, Bishop of Constantinople in the sixth century. BHG records feast day as 25th Aug and one BHG version. This text appears in Vienna on 27th Aug.

¹⁰⁵² *On the Holy Bishop of Cordoba in Ispania* (BHG) appears in Vienna manuscript on 27th Aug. Interestingly, it was with the *Martyrology* of Usuard in the West that the martyrs of Cordoba (Christians who have been killed by Muslims in Cordoba during the 850s) were introduced into the calendar. Nilles reports of Hosios, bishop of Cordoba, to be celebrated on 27th Aug. He also appears in the *Menologion* of Basil II. See Borst, *The Ordering of Time*, 47. See Nilles, I, 260.

¹⁰⁵³ The *Vita of Moyses* (BHG 1308-1310) appears in Paris 548, Vienna, Jerusalem and Ambrosiana manuscripts on 28th Aug. BHG testifies of three BHG versions (two *vitae* and *laudatio*) and the feast day 28th Aug. Moyses was the hermit from Ethiopia, who lived in the fourth century. The anchorite Moyses from Ethiopia is in the *Verse Calendar* of Christopher of Mytilene on 28th Aug. Nilles reports of his feast day in Greek calendar as 28th Aug. He is also

g				and her children				
29 Aug	Decapitation of John the Baptist by Theodore Studite, Decapitation of John the Baptist by Andreas from Crete, Decapitation of John the Baptist by John Chrysostom, Decapitation of John the Baptist by Chrysippos, presbyter from Jerusalem	John Chrysostom's On deeds and beheading of John the Baptist, Encomion for John the Baptist, Andreas from Crete's on beheading of John the Baptist, Basil of Seleukia's on beheading of John the Baptist ¹⁰⁵⁴	John Chrysostom's homilies in beheading of John the Baptist, Michael Psellos' homilies in beheading of John Baptist, Andrew of Crete, Homilies in beheading of John Baptist, Basil of Seleukia's Homilies on beheading of John Baptist	Homily of John Chrysostom, Encomion of Andreas of Crete	John Chrysostom's Encomion on beheading of John the Baptist (3 versions), Andreas from Crete's Encomion on beheading of John the Baptist	Andreas of Crete's Encomion on John the Baptist, Basil of Seleukia's Encomion on John the Baptist, Life of John the Baptist	Memory of Decapitation of John the Baptist	Vita of Callinicus, Encomion for the Decapitation of John the Baptist by John Chrysostom, Encomion for the Decapitation of John the Baptist by Andrew of Crete
30 Aug				Eulogios Latomos			Vita of Kallinikos	
31 Aug	Translation of Theotokos, by Germanos from Constantinople, Translation of Theotokos by Euthymios	Encomion on burial of Theotokos	Homilies in zōnam beatae Mariae of German, patriarch of Constantinople ¹⁰⁵⁵				Memory on Translation of Theotokos	Translation of Theotokos, 2 encomia by Germanos of Constantinople

Venice, Marcianus gr. 360, 20, ff. 395r-398v (BHG 948) (parallel reading of BnF gr. 1177, ff. 211v-213r)

MARTYPION TOY AGIOY MARTYPOΣ EIPHNΑIOY

ὅτ' ἂν τις τρόποις ἀγαθοῖς εὐσεβῆς, συνασκηθῇ. τῶν κρειττόνων ἐφιέμενος. καὶ φόβο[ν] θεοῦ προσλάβηται. τότε πάντων ἀθρόως τῶν ἐν τῷ δε τῷ βίῳ, καταφρονήσας. πρὸς τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων ἀγαθῶν τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν ἐπείγεται· καὶ ἅπερ διὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς παρόντα πίστει

celebrated among Slavs. In the *Martyrologium Romanum*, he is celebrated on the same day. See Follieri, I, 140. See also Nilles, I, 260, 481, 489.

¹⁰⁵⁴John Baptist's decapitation is in the Calendar of Christopher of Mytilene on 29th Aug. See Follieri, I, 140. In all of the manuscripts with BHG 948 there is a feast day of John Baptist on 29th August. Efthymiadis writes of Theodore Studite, who dedicated a fair amount of his hagiographical output to such traditional saints as John the Baptist, and wrote encomia to him. Such promotion is present starting from Studite's activity (759-826 CE). See Efthymiadis, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, 101. In the study of Hen, *Culture and Religion in Merovingian Gaul*, 90, it is shown that the feast day dedicated to John the Baptist's death was 29th August already in the sixth-century calendar of Arles.

¹⁰⁵⁵ In BnF gr. 1177, on my personal examination of the manuscript. Omont also confirms this information. See Omont, *Catalogus codicum*, 77.

βεβαία θεώμενος ἐπεθύμησε[ν]. ταῦτα θάττον δι' αὐτῆς τῆς αὐτοψίας ὑπολαβὼν ἔχειν. δοξάζει τὸν κ[ύριον].

ὁ δὲ γέγονεν καὶ περὶ τὸν μακάριον ἐπίσκοπον εἰρηναῖον. τῆς τοῦ σιρμίου πόλεως. οὗτος γὰρ δι' ἐπιείκειαν ὑπερβάλλουσιν. καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸ θεῖον[ν] εὐλάβειαν. τοῖς ἔργοις κυρῶν τὴν προσηγορίαν[ν]. καὶ νέος τῆς προεδρίας ἀξιωθείς. καταλαβόντος αὐτὸν τοῦ διωγμοῦ τοῦ γενομένου ἐπὶ διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ μαξιμιανοῦ καὶ κωνσταντίου τῶν βασιλέων. οὐχ' ὥσπερ ἔνιοι τιμίῳ πράγματι μόνω χρώμενος. καὶ προστετηκὼς τοῖς τῇ δε μᾶλλον πράγμασιν.

λύπη τὴν παροῦσαν χαρὰν ἡμαύρωσεν. ἀλλὰ ἀκάμπτω καὶ ἀνενδότῳ προθυμία χρώμενος. καὶ τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτεινόμενος ἔσπευδεν ἐπὶ τὸ βραβεῖον τῆς ἄνω κλήσεως. οὐκ ἐξέλυσαν γοῦν αὐτοῦ τὴν στερότητα ὕβρεις. ποικίλα πάθη σημαίνουσαι.¹⁰⁵⁶ οὐ ποταμοὶ ἀπειλούμενοι. οὐ κρημνοὶ καὶ βασάνων εἶδη διάφορα. οὐ τότε πάντων ἀλγεινότερον. τέκνα μετὰ συγγενῶν. καὶ φίλων ὀλοφυρόμενα. οἷς εἰώθασι[ν] καταμαλάττεσθαι πιατέρες ὀλιγόψυχοι. ὅτ' ἂν παῖδες τοῖς ποσὶ μετὰ δακρύων περιπλέκωνται. γυναικὸς ὀλοφυρομένης ὄψις κατηφής. γονέων πένθος ἐφ' οὐκ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀκμάζοντι. οἰκείων στεναγμός. καὶ θρήνος φίλων. καὶ γνωρίμων. ἔτι νεάζουσιν ἀκμὴν μετὰ δεήσεως οἰκτεῖραι προτρεπομένων· τοῦτοις πᾶσιν οἷς εἶπον οὐκ ἐκάμπτετο. ἀλλὰ καθάπερ εἶπομεν. τῷ τῶν κρειττόνων ἔρωτι κατεχόμενος καὶ τὸν φόβον τῆς κρίσεως πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχων. δεδοικὼς δὲ τὴν φωνὴν ἐκεῖνη[ν] τοῦ κ[υρίου] τὴν λέγουσαν. ἔάν τις ἀρνήσεταιί με ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ἀρνήσομαι αὐτόν καὶ γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ πατρ[ός] μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. πάντων ὑπερφρονήσας τῶν χαλεπότερων κολαστηρίων,¹⁰⁵⁷ ἔσπευδεν ἐπὶ τὴν προκειμένην ἐλπίδα.

προσαχθεὶς οὖν τῷ τῆνικαῦτα τῆς παννονίας ἡγεμόνι πρόβῳ καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς εἰ βούλοιτο θῦσαι ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ μακάριος εἰρηναῖος. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ζῆν μεθ' ὑμῶν αἰροῦμαι. τότε ἀνελήφθη εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἐκ πλειόνων δὲ ἡμερῶν ἐν τῇ τῆς εἰρκτικῆς φρουρᾷ παραδοθεὶς. μέσης νυκτὸς προκαθίσαντος τοῦ ἡγεμόνος. προσήχθη πάλιν ὁ μακάριος εἰρηναῖος καὶ ποικίλας βασάνους ὑπομείνας. καὶ ἐρωτώμενος διὰ τί οὐκ ἐπιθύει, ἀπεκρίθη ὅτι θεὸν ἔχω, ὃν ἐκ παιδὸς ἡλικίας σέβειν δεδίδαγμα. καὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις ὑφ' ὑμῶν θεοῖς. προσκυνεῖν οὐ δύναμαι. πρόβος ἡγεμῶν εἶπεν. κέρδησον τὸν θάνατον ἀρκεσθεὶς αἷς ὑπομεμένηκας ὕβρεσιν εἰρηναῖος εἶπεν. κερδαίνω μετ' οὐ πολὺ τὸν θάνατον, ὅτ' ἂν διὰ τοῦ παρὰ σοῦ θανάτου. τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἀπολάβω. πρόβος εἶπεν. υἱοὺς ἔχεις; ἀπεκρίνατο· οὐκ ἔχω. πρόβος εἶπεν. γονεῖς ἔχεις; ἀπεκρίθη· οὐκ ἔχω. ταῦτα δὲ ἔλεγεν ὁ μακάριος εἰρηναῖος. τὴν τοῦ κ[υρίου] ἐντολήν¹⁰⁵⁸ λέγουσαν. ὁ φιλῶν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα ὑπὲρ ἐμέ. ἢ ἀδελφοὺς ἢ γυναῖκα. ἢ τέκνα. οὐκ ἔστιν μου ἄξιος· πρὸς ὃν ἀτενίζων ὁ μακάριος ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ὅλως ἦν τῷ φρονήματι διαιτῶμενος. ἅπασαν τὴν ἀνθρώπινον[ν] διάθεσιν καταλυπὼν. καὶ οὐδένα πλέον τοῦ κ[υρίου] εἰδέναι καὶ ἔχει[ν] ὠμολόγει. πάλιν οὖν εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν ὁ ἡγεμῶν· οἶδά σε υἱοὺς ἔχοντα. καὶ κἄν δι' αὐτοὺς ἐπιθύσῃς ἵνα ζῇς. ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ μακάριος εἰρηναῖος οἱ υἱοί μου, θεὸν ἔχουσιν ὥς καὶ γὰρ. ὃς δύναται αὐτοὺς σῶσαι. σύ δε. τὸ κελευσθέν σοι ποίησον. πρόβος ἡγεμῶν¹⁰⁵⁹ εἶπεν. συμβουλεύω σοι νεώτερε ἐπιθύσαι ἵνα μὴ διαφόροις σε αἰκισμοῖς ἀνέλῃ. εἰρηναῖος εἶπεν. οὐκ ἐπιθύω. ποιεῖ ὁ θέλεις. γνώση γὰρ ὡς τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ χριστοῦ γενναίως πάντα ὑπομενῶ. πρόβος ὁ ἡγεμῶν ἀπεφώνησε ἐπειδὴ πειθαρχῆσαι οὐ βούλει τῇ βασιλικῇ κελεύσει. διὰ τοῦτο. κατὰ τὸ πρόσταγμα τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος κατὰ τοῦ

¹⁰⁵⁶ In BnF gr. 1177, σημαίνουσαι

¹⁰⁵⁷ This word is omitted in BnF gr. 1177.

¹⁰⁵⁸ In BnF gr. 1177, added: ἔμαυλον ἔχων τὴν λέγουσαν

¹⁰⁵⁹ This word is omitted in BnF gr. 1177.

ποταμοῦ ριφίση. εἰρηναῖος εἶπεν. ἐγὼ σοῦ τὴν διάφορον τῶν θανάτων ἀπειλὴν ἐννοῶν. προσεδεχόμεν αὐτὴν μειζόνως μελλόντος σου. καὶ ξίφει με ὑποβαλλεῖν διὸ εἰ βούλει. παρακέκλησο καὶ τοῦ τὸ πράξαι ἵνα μάθης. πῶς ἡμεῖς οἱ χριστιανοὶ. θανάτου καταφρονοῦμεν. διὰ τὴν εἰς τὸν θεόν ἡμῶν πίστιν τετελειώμενοι.

ὀργισθεῖς οὖν ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἐπὶ τῇ παρρησίᾳ τοῦ μακαρίου μάρτυρος εἰρηναίου ἐκέλευσε[ν] ξίφει αὐτὸν ἀναλωθῆναι ὁ δὲ ἀγιώτατος μάρτυς ὥσπερ δευτέρου βραβείου ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος. εἶπεν· θεῷ χάριν ὁμολογῶ. τῷ δια ποικίλης θανάτου ὑπομονῆς. λαμπρότερόν μοι στέφανον χαρισαμένω. καὶ μετὰ τὸ παραγενέσθαι εἰς τὸν γεφύραν ἥτις καλεῖται ἄρτεμις. ἀποδυθεὶς τὰ ἱμάτια. καὶ ἀνατείνας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν τὰς χεῖρας. ἤψατο οὕτως εἰπὼν· κ[ύρι]ε. ἀνοιχθήτωσαν οἱ οὐρανοὶ καὶ ὑποδεξάσθωσαν τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ δούλου σου. ὑπὲρ τε τοῦ λαοῦ σου καὶ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας. καὶ παντὸς τοῦ πληρώματος αὐτῆς. σοὶ πιστεύων κ[ύρι]ε. ταῦτα πάσχω. καὶ πληγείς τῷ ξίφει. ἐπέμφθη εἰς τὸν σάον ποταμόν.

ἐπράχθη δε ταῦτα μηνὶ αὐγούστῳ, εἰκάδι πρώτη, ἐν σιρμίου, ἡγεμονέοντος πρόβου, κατὰ δὲ ἡμᾶς βασιλεύοντος τοῦ κ[υρίου] ἡμῶν ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ, μεθ' οὗ τῷ π[ατρί] συν τῷ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι δόξα τιμὴ καὶ κράτος, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

Martyrdom of the holy martyr Irenaeus in Venice, Marcianus gr. 360, 20 (My translation)

Whenever a pious person has been instructed in good ways, desiring of the better (things) and has adopted the fear of God, (then) he hastens to the benefit of the good news, having despised altogether the earthly things and the things he has heard, he desires to see the true faith and he celebrates the Lord rather because of having adopted what he saw.

This is what happened with blessed Irenaeus, the bishop of the city of Sirmium. He hoped to benefit from the invitation to the high court, through surpassing goodness and piety for God, and the name of the deeds of authorities, young and worth being the pioneer of the front line, having seized the persecution, which happened during the time of kings Diocletian and Maximian and Constantius, using the inflexible and unyielding eagerness, and clinging to the more valuable things.

He rendered the present pain into pleasure, using the unbent and unyielding eagerness. And being searched from the above-mentioned, he hoped for the benefit from the call above. He did not set himself free from the intensity of the violence, by withstanding the multiple pains. He stayed unmoved by the threatening rivers, steep riverbanks and tortures. He stayed unmoved by children, grievously suffering more than anybody, who mourned among relatives and friends. To this scene even the fathers, who were faint-hearted and accustomed to this, effeminate. So, when children with tears embraced his legs (and made the Saint hostile), the humiliated appearance of the wife, who mourned, grief of parents over the son, being in the prime time of life, groan of the family and lament of the friends and familiar ones (persecution), impelled to pity still a young man in his prime, in the middle of prayer. To all of them, whom he talked to, he did not bend, but as we said, having taken the passion of those better than him, and having the fear of judgment in front of his eyes, fearing the uttered words of God, "If somebody denies me in front of people, I will deny him myself in front of my Father who is in the heavens." Understanding that he received the punishment more difficult from all, he hoped for the future hope.

Having been brought then to the governor of Pannonia, Probus, and asked if he wanted to sacrifice, blessed Irenaeus answered: "But, I do not choose to live among you." Then he was put in prison for very many days, given over to the prison guard. In the middle of the night, the governor sat before him. The blessed Irenaeus was brought upon him again, and diverse tortures withstanding, he was asked why he did not sacrifice, he replied: "Because I have God, whom I learned to respect from my childhood age, I cannot fall on my knees to your mentioned gods." The governor Probus said: "You receive death, even kept off from it by withstanding these tortures. Irenaeus said: "I receive death, but not for long, because through the death from you, I will receive the eternal life through God." Probus said: "Do you have children?" and he replied, "I do not have." Probus said: "Do you have parents?" He answered, "I do not have." Then the blessed Irenaeus said, having the uttered commandment from God: "Who loves a father or a mother above me, or brothers, wife, children, is not worth of me." The blessed (Irenaeus) said to him, who looked intently, he confessed he did not see and have anybody full of the Lord, completely governed by the spirit in the heavens, and having understood the whole worldly disposition. And the governor again spoke to him: "I know you have children. If you sacrifice because of them, you will live." And the blessed Ireneus answered: "My sons have God, like I have, who can save them. You, on the other hand, do what is ordered you to do!" The governor Probus said: "I advice you, young guy, to sacrifice, so that I do not have to expose you to different troubles." Ireneus said: "I will not sacrifice. You do what you like. Learn (keep in mind) that by the strength of God I will sustain everything fully." Probus governor said: "Since he does not want to obey to the royal order, because of that, according to the Emperor's ordinance, let him be thrown to the river." Ireneus said: "I was taking into consideration your diverse threats of the death; I waited to be thrown to the sword, while you were becoming greater and better. On which account, if you want, order and do it, so that you learn how we Christians look down upon death, because we are fulfilled with the faith in Christ."

The governor, angry because of the frankness of the blessed martyr Ireneus, ordered that he be killed by sword. The saintliest martyr, as if he gained a second prize, said: "I understand God's grace; because of the manifold expectance of death, the brighter crown I am joyfully expecting!" And standing near the bridge, which is called the bridge of Artemis, having taken off the garment, and having risen and holding up the hands towards the sky, he said: "Lord, let the heavens open up and accept the soul of your slave. For your people and the Catholic Church and its complete fullness, believing in you, Lord, I suffer everything." And smitten by sword, he was thrown to the river Sava.

This happened in the month of August, on 21st, in Sirmium, during the governance of Probus, in the reign of our Lord, Jesus Christ, with whom to the Father and the Holy Spirit the glory, honor and reign, now and always and in the centuries of the centuries. Amen.

Vienna, Historicus gr. 45, ff. 246r-247v (BHG 948) (The underlined sections are differences with Venice 360, 20)

MAPTYPION TOY AGIOY IEPOMAPTYPOΣ EIPHNAIOY

‘Οτ’ ἂν τις τρόποις ἀγαθοῖς εὐσεβείας¹⁰⁶⁰ συνασκηθῇ. τῶν κρειττόνων ἐφιέμενος. καὶ φόβον Θεοῦ προσλάβηται, τότε πάντων ἀθρόως τῶν ἐν τῷ δε τῷ βίῳ καταφρονήσας. πρὸς τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων ἀγαθῶν τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν ἐπείγεται· καὶ ἅπερ διὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς. τὰ μένοντα¹⁰⁶¹ πίστει βεβαία θεώμενος ἐπεθύμησεν. ταῦτα θάττον δι’ αὐτῆς τῆς αὐτοψίας ὑπολαβὼν ἔχειν. δοξάζει Κ[ύριον].

τὰ δὲ παρόντα. εἰς οὐδέν ἡγεῖται. ὥς φθαρτὰ καὶ οὐδενὸς ὄντα ἄξια.¹⁰⁶²

ὃ δὲ γέγονε. καὶ περὶ τὸν ἀοίδινον¹⁰⁶³ καὶ μακάριον ἐπίσκοπον εἰρηναῖον. τῆς πόλεως τοῦ σερμίου.¹⁰⁶⁴ οὗτος γὰρ ὁ μακάριος καὶ ἀοίδινος εἰρηναῖος¹⁰⁶⁵ δι’ ἐπιείκειαν καὶ χρηστότητα¹⁰⁶⁶ ὑπερβάλλουσιν. καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸ θεῖον εὐλάβειαν. τοῖς ἔργοις κυρῶν τὴν προσηγορίαν. καὶ νέος τῆς προεδρείας σερμίου πόλεως¹⁰⁶⁷ ἄξιωθεις. καταλαβόντος αὐτὸν τοῦ διωγμοῦ τοῦ γενομένου ἐπὶ διοκλητιανοῦ¹⁰⁶⁸ τοῦ βασιλέως. οὐχ’ ὥσπερ ἔνιοι τιμῷ πράγματι ἐαυτῷ¹⁰⁶⁹ μόνω χρώμενος. καὶ προστετηκὼς τοῖ στή δε μᾶλλον πράγμασι.

λύπη τὴν παροῦσαν χαρὰν ἡμαίρωσεν. ἀλλὰ ἀκάμπτω καὶ ἀνενδότῳ προθυμία χρώμενος. ἔσπευδεν ἐπὶ τὸ βραβεῖον τῆς ἄνω κλήσεως. οὐκ ἐξέλυσαν γοῦν αὐτοῦ τὴν στερότητα ὕβρεις. ποικίλα πάθη σεμαίνουσαι. οὐ ποταμοὶ ἀπειλούμενοι. οὐ κρημνοὶ καὶ βασάνων ἥδη¹⁰⁷⁰ διάφορα. οὐ τότε πάντων ἀλγεινότερον. τέκνα φίλτατα.¹⁰⁷¹ μετὰ συγγενῶν. καὶ φίλων ὀλοφυρόμενα. οἷς εἰώθασιν πολλάκις¹⁰⁷² καταμαλάττεσθαι πᾶτες ὀλιγόψυχοι. καὶ φιλόζωοι.¹⁰⁷³ ὅτ’ ἂν παῖδες ἀπαλοὶ καὶ φίλτατοι.¹⁰⁷⁴ τοῖς ποσὶ μετὰ δακρύων περιπλεκόμενοι.¹⁰⁷⁵ οὐ¹⁰⁷⁶ γυναικὸς ὀλοφυρομένης ὄψις κατηφής. οὐ¹⁰⁷⁷ γονέων πένθος.¹⁰⁷⁸ οὐκ¹⁰⁷⁹ οἰκείων στεναγμός. καὶ θρήνος φίλων. καὶ γνωρίμων. ἔτι νεάζουσιν ἀκμὴν ἔχοντα τὴν ἡλικίαν.¹⁰⁸⁰ μετὰ δεήσεως οἰκτεῖραι προτρεπομένων· τοῦτοις γὰρ πᾶσιν οἷς εἶπον παρακαλούντων τὸν μακάριον εἰρηναῖον καὶ ὀδυρομένων. οὐδ’ ὅλως¹⁰⁸¹ ἐκάμπτετο. ἢ ἐπείσθη τινι.¹⁰⁸² ἀλλὰ καθάπερ εἶπομεν. τῷ τῶν κρειττόνων ἔρωτι κατεχόμενος ὁ μακαρίτης.¹⁰⁸³ καὶ τὸν φόβον τῆς κρίσεως ἀεὶ¹⁰⁸⁴ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχων. δεδοικὼς δὲ καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἐκείνην τοῦ κυρίου τὴν λέγουσαν. ἔάν τις ἀρνήσεται με ἔμπροσθεν τῶν

¹⁰⁶⁰ In Venice 360, εὐσεβείας

¹⁰⁶¹ In Venice 360, παρόντα

¹⁰⁶² It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹⁰⁶³ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹⁰⁶⁴ In Venice 360, σερμίου

¹⁰⁶⁵ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹⁰⁶⁶ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹⁰⁶⁷ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹⁰⁶⁸ In Venice 360, διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ μαξιμιανοῦ καὶ κωνσταντίου τῶν βασιλέων

¹⁰⁶⁹ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹⁰⁷⁰ In Venice 360, εἶδη

¹⁰⁷¹ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹⁰⁷² It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹⁰⁷³ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹⁰⁷⁴ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹⁰⁷⁵ In Venice 360, περιπλέκονται

¹⁰⁷⁶ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹⁰⁷⁷ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹⁰⁷⁸ In Venice 360, added ἐφ’ οὗ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀκμάζοντι

¹⁰⁷⁹ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹⁰⁸⁰ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹⁰⁸¹ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹⁰⁸² It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹⁰⁸³ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹⁰⁸⁴ It does not exist in Venice 360.

ἀν[θρώπων]. ἀρνήσομαι αὐτὸν κἀγὼ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ π[ατ]ρ[ί]ός μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐ[ρα]νοῖς. πάντων ὑπερφρονήσας τῶν χαλεπῶν¹⁰⁸⁵ κολαστηρίων, ἔσπευδεν ἐπὶ τὴν προκειμένην ἐλπίδα.

προσαχθεὶς δέ¹⁰⁸⁶ τῷ τηνικαῦτα τῆς ἰσπανίας¹⁰⁸⁷ [παννονίας - marginal note] ἡγεμόνι τούνομα¹⁰⁸⁸ πρόβω ὁ μακάριος εἰρηνάιος.¹⁰⁸⁹ καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς παρ' αὐτοῦ¹⁰⁹⁰ εἰ βούλοιτο θῦναι τοῖς θεοῖς,¹⁰⁹¹ ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ μακάριος μεταπαρρησίας.¹⁰⁹² οὔτε μὴν θύω ποτέ.¹⁰⁹³ οὔτε¹⁰⁹⁴ μεθ' ὑμῶν αἰροῦμαι τοῦ ζῆν. τότε ἐνεβλήθη¹⁰⁹⁵ εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ὡς κακοῦργος ὁ δίκαιος.¹⁰⁹⁶ ἐκ πλειόνων δέ ἡμερῶν ἐν τῇ τῆς εἰρκτῆς φρουρᾷ παραδοθεὶς. μέσης νυκτὸς προκαθίσαντος τοῦ ἡγεμόνος. προσήχθη πάλιν ὁ μακάριος εἰρηνάιος ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος εἰσερώτησιν. καὶ προπάσης ἐρωτήσεως. μαστιχθεὶς σφόδρα.¹⁰⁹⁷ καὶ ποικίλας βασάνους ὑπομείνας. καὶ ἐρωτώμενος διὰ τί οὐκ ἐπιθύει, ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτοῖς μετὰ παρρησίας.¹⁰⁹⁸ ὅτι θεοῖν ἔχω, ὃν ἐκ παιδὸς ἡλικίας σέβειν δεδίδαγμαι. καὶ τοῖς ὑφ' ὑμῶν λεγομένοις θεοῖς. προσκυνεῖν οὐ δύναμαι. πρόβος ἡγεμῶν εἶπεν. εἰρηνάιε,¹⁰⁹⁹ κέρδησον τὸν θάνατον καὶ πείσθη τί μοι καλοῦς σοι συμβουλευόντι.¹¹⁰⁰ ἄρκεσθεις αἷς ὑπομεμένηκας ὕβρεσιν καὶ τὶ μωρίαίς. ἐπεὶ, μέλλεις πικρῶς ἀποθνήσκειν. ὁ ἅγιος¹¹⁰¹ εἰρηνάιος εἶπεν. ἀληθῶς ἡγεμὸν τότε¹¹⁰² κερδαίνω¹¹⁰³ τὸν θάνατον, ὅτ' ἂν διὰ τοῦ παρὰ σοῦ μοι ἐπεγομένου¹¹⁰⁴ θανάτου. τὴν παρὰ τοῦ μόνου¹¹⁰⁵ θεοῦ, ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἀπολάβω. πρόβος ἡγεμῶν¹¹⁰⁶ εἶπεν. υἱοὺς ἔχεις; ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ ἅγιος.¹¹⁰⁷ οὐκ ἔχω. πρόβος εἶπεν. γονεῖς ἔχεις; ἀπεκρίθη· οὐκ ἔχω. ταῦτα δε ἔλεγεν ὁ μακάριος εἰρηνάιος. τὴν τοῦ κ[υ]ρίου ἐντολὴν ἐναυλον ἔχων τὴν¹¹⁰⁸ λέγουσαν. ὁ φιλῶν π[α]τέ[ρ]α ἢ μ[η]τέ[ρ]α ὑπέρ ἐμέ. ἢ ἀδελφοὺς ἢ γυναῖκα. ἢ τέκνα. οὐκ ἔστιν μου ἄξιος· πρὸς ὃν ἀτενίζων ὁ μακάριος εἰρηνάιος¹¹⁰⁹ ἐν τοῖς οὐ[ρα]νοῖς ὅλως ἦν τῷ φρονήματι διαιτῶμενος. ἅπασαν τὴν ἀν[θρώπι]νὴν διάθεσιν καταλυπών. καὶ οὐδένα πλέον τοῦ κ[υ]ρίου εἰδέναι ἢ ἔχειν ὡμολόγει. πάλιν οὖν εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ ἡγεμῶν· ἐγώ¹¹¹⁰ οἶδά σε υἱοὺς ἔχοντα κἂν δι' αὐτοὺς ἐπίθυσον, εἰρηνάιε¹¹¹¹ ἵνα ζήσης.¹¹¹²

¹⁰⁸⁵ In Venice 360, χαλεπώτερων

¹⁰⁸⁶ In Venice 360, οὖν

¹⁰⁸⁷ In Venice 360, τῆς παννονίας

¹⁰⁸⁸ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹⁰⁸⁹ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹⁰⁹⁰ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹⁰⁹¹ In Venice 360, θῶσαι

¹⁰⁹² In Venice 360, εἰρηνάιος

¹⁰⁹³ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹⁰⁹⁴ In Venice 360, ἀλλ' οὐδε

¹⁰⁹⁵ In Venice 360, ἀνεβλήθη

¹⁰⁹⁶ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹⁰⁹⁷ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹⁰⁹⁸ In Venice 360, ἀπεκρίθη

¹⁰⁹⁹ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹¹⁰⁰ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹¹⁰¹ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹¹⁰² It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹¹⁰³ In Venice 360, κερδαίνω μετ' οὐ πολὺ

¹¹⁰⁴ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹¹⁰⁵ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹¹⁰⁶ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹¹⁰⁷ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹¹⁰⁸ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹¹⁰⁹ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹¹¹⁰ It does not exist in Venice 360.

ἀπεκρίθη¹¹¹¹ ὁ μακάριος εἰρηναῖος καὶ εἶπεν.¹¹¹⁴ οἱ υἱοὶ μου, θεοὶν ἔχουσιν ὡς καὶ γώ. ὅς δύναται αὐτοὺς σῶσαι. σὺ δέ. τὸ κελευσθέν σοι ποιήσον ἐντάχει.¹¹¹⁵ πρόβος ἡγεμῶν εἶπεν. συμβουλεύω σοι νεώτερε ἐπιθύσαι τοῖς θεοῖς προθύμως.¹¹¹⁶ ἵνα μὴ διαφόροις αἰκισμοῖς σε ἀναλώσω.¹¹¹⁷ ὁ ἅγιος¹¹¹⁸ εἰρηναῖος εἶπεν. οὐκ ἐπιθύω ποτέ.¹¹¹⁹ ποιεὶ τοῖνυν¹¹²⁰ ὃ θέλεις ἐντάχει.¹¹²¹ γνῶση γὰρ ὡς τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ χριστοῦ γενναίως πάντα ὑπομενῶ. τότε¹¹²² πρόβος ὁ ἡγεμῶν εἰδὼς ὅτι οὐ μεταπείθεται ἐκ τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως.¹¹²³ ἀπεφάνητο κατ' αὐτοῦ λέγων. εἰρηναῖος ὁ τῶν χριστιανῶν προστάτης καὶ ὑπερασπιστής.¹¹²⁴ ἐπειδὴ πειθαρχῆσαι οὐ βούλεται¹¹²⁵ τῇ βασιλικῇ κελεύσει. διὰ τοῦτο. κατὰ τὸ πρόσταγμα τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν βαλούμενον σαὸν ριφήσεται.¹¹²⁶ ὅπως ζῶν ἐν αὐτῷ βληθεὶς, ποταμοβρύχιος γένηται. καὶ ἐν κακῷ. τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπορρήξῃ. ὁ δέ ἅγιος¹¹²⁷ εἰρηναῖος εἶπεν. ἐγὼ σοῦ ᾧ ἡγεμὸν¹¹²⁸ τὴν διάφορον τῶν θανάτων ἀπειλὴν ἐννοῶν. προσεδεχόμεν αὐτὴν μειζόνως κατ' ἐμοῦ ἐπανατείνειν.¹¹²⁹ μελλόντος σου. καὶ ξίφει με ὑποβαλλεῖν. καὶ θηρίοις. καὶ εἴ τι ἕτερον ἐπὶ τοῦτοις δεινόν.¹¹³⁰ διὸ εἰ βούλει. παρακέκλησο καὶ ταῦτα¹¹³¹ πράξαι ἐν ἡμῖν.¹¹³² ἵνα μάθῃς. πῶς ἡμεῖς οἱ χριστιανοὶ. θανάτου καταφρονούμεν. διὰ τὴν εἰς τὸν θεόν ἡμῶν πίστιν τετελειώμενοι. ταῦτα τοῖνυν ἀκούσας ὁ ἡγεμῶν. καὶ σφόδρα¹¹³³ ὀργισθεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ παρρησίᾳ τοῦ ἁγίου¹¹³⁴ μάρτυρος εἰρηναίου ἐκέλευσεν ξίφει αὐτὸν ἀναλωθῆναι πρότερον. καὶ εἰθ' οὕτως ριφῆναι ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν.¹¹³⁵ ὁ δέ ἁγιώτατος μάρτυς εἰρηναῖος,¹¹³⁶ ὥσπερ δευτέρου βραβείου ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος. εἶπεν· θεῷ χάριν ὁμολογῶ. τῷ δια ποικίλης θανάτου ὑπομονῆς. λαμπρότερόν μοι στέφανον χαρισαμένω. τότε λαβὼν τὴν ἀπόφασιν ὁ ἅγιος εἰρηναῖος. ἐλθὼν, ἔστη εἰς τὸν τό ποντῆς γεφύρας ἐπάνω, ἣτις καλεῖται ἄρτεμις. καὶ¹¹³⁷ ἀποδυθεὶς τὰ ἱμάτια. ἀνατείνας τὰς χεῖρας εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. ἤψατο πρὸς κύριον¹¹³⁸ οὕτως εἰπών·

¹¹¹¹ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹¹¹² In Venice 360, ζῆς

¹¹¹³ In Venice 360, ἀπεκρίνατο

¹¹¹⁴ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹¹¹⁵ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹¹¹⁶ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹¹¹⁷ In Venice 360, ἀνέλω

¹¹¹⁸ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹¹¹⁹ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹¹²⁰ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹¹²¹ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹¹²² It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹¹²³ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹¹²⁴ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹¹²⁵ In Venice 360, βούλει

¹¹²⁶ In Venice 360, κατὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ριφίση

¹¹²⁷ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹¹²⁸ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹¹²⁹ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹¹³⁰ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹¹³¹ In Venice 360, τοῦ τὸ

¹¹³² It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹¹³³ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹¹³⁴ In Venice 360, μακαρίου

¹¹³⁵ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹¹³⁶ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹¹³⁷ In Venice 360, μετὰ τὸ παραγενέσθαι εἰς τὸν γεφύραν ἣτις καλεῖται ἄρτεμις

¹¹³⁸ It does not exist in Venice 360.

κ[ύρι]ε ἰ[η]σο[υ] χ[ρί]στ[ε].¹¹³⁹ ἀνοιχθήτωσαν οἱ οὐ[ρα]νοί καὶ ὑποδεξάσθωσαν τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ δούλου σου. ὑπέρ τε τοῦ λαοῦ σου καὶ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας. καὶ παντὸς τοῦ πληρώματος αὐτῆς. σοὶ γὰρ πιστεύων κ[ύρι]ε. ταῦτα πάσχω ὑπέρ τοῦ ὀνόματός σου τοῦ ἁγίου. δὸς οὖν δέσποτα καὶ τοῖς μνημονεύουσιν ἡμῖν, πάντα τὰ πρὸς σ[ω]τερίαν αὐτήματα. καὶ ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιον. ὅτι σοὶ πρέπει ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὁ μακάριος εἰρηναῖος¹¹⁴⁰ πληγείς τῷ ξίφει ὑπὸ τοῦ σπεκουλάτορος. ἐρίφη εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν λεγόμενον σαόν τὸν ὄντα.¹¹⁴¹ ἐν τῷ σερμίῳ.¹¹⁴² ἐτελειώθη δέ ὁ ἅγιος καὶ ἔνδοξος τοῦ χ[ρισ]τοῦ ἱερομάρτυς εἰρηναῖος.¹¹⁴³ μηνὶ αὐγούστῳ, ΚΓ [εἰκάδι πρώτη] βασιλεύοντος διοκλητιανοῦ. καὶ ἡγεμονεύοντος πρόβου. κατὰ δέ ἡμᾶς βασιλεύοντος¹¹⁴⁴ τοῦ κ[υ]ρίο[υ] ἡμῶν ἰ[η]σοῦ χ[ρί]στο[υ].¹¹⁴⁵ ὃ ἡ¹¹⁴⁶ δόξα¹¹⁴⁷ καὶ τὸ κράτος νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ. καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

Moscow, Syn. gr. 183, ff. 242r-244r (BHG 949e)

MARTYRIUM TOY AGIOY EIPHNAIΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΣΗΡΜΙΟΥ

Ἄρτι τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ κακίᾳ περιβοήτων. διοκλητιανοῦ φημι καὶ μαξιμιανοῦ. τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπιλαβομένων. καὶ κακῶς αὐτῇ κεχρημένων. διατάγματά τε προτιθεμένων κατὰ τῶν εὐρισκομένων χριστιανῶν. ὁ μακάριος εἰρηναῖος. τῶν ἡπειλημένων ἐκείνων κολαστερῶν καταφρονήσας καὶ τῆς σφοδρότατης ἀνάγκης. ἅτε ἱερεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑφίστου τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγον ἐδίδασκε καὶ πολλοὺς τῆς ἀθείας ἐπέστρεφε πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἐπίγνωσιν.

μὴ θυμὸν ὑποπτήσσω ἀρχοντικόν. μὴ κολάσεις ποικίλας. μὴ ποταμοὺς. μὴ κρημνοὺς. οἷς οἱ διὰ χ[ρισ]τόν ἀθλοῦντες ἐπερριπτοῦντο. μὴ καταμαλακίζόμενος. οἷς εἰώθασιν ἀν[θ]ρωποι καταμαλακίζεσθαι. προσπαθεία τεκόντων δηλαδὴ. παίδων ὀρφανία. δάκρυσι γυναικῶν. ἡλικιωτῶν αὐτῶν συμβουλαῖς. φίλων καὶ συγγενῶν ὀδυρμοῖς. μὴδ' ἄλλοις τισὶ τοιούτοις ὅλως ἠττώμενος ἢ καὶ πρὸς τι τούτων καταπληττόμενος. τὴν δεσποτικὴν πάντως **φωνήν** ἐπὶ μνήμης ἔχων. καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖσε φρίττων δικαιωτήρια. ὅστις γὰρ ἀρνήσεται με φη[σίν] ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀν[θ]ρώπων. ἀρνήσομαι τοῦτον κἀγὼ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ π[α]τρ[ός] μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐ[ρα]νοῖς. Ἐνθεν τοι καὶ πάντων καταφρονήσας. χαίρων ἐχώρει πρὸς τὸ μαρτύριον.

Συσχεθεῖς γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀσεβῶν. καὶ τῷ τοῦ πρόβου βήματι προσαχθεῖς. ἐν τῷ σερμίῳ τότε διάγοντος. ὅλος ἄτρεπτος. ὅλος ἀκατάπληκτος ἔστη. διὸ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ τῆς ἀνομίας υἱός· τίς καὶ πόθεν καὶ τίνα τὰ κατὰ σοῦ φημιζόμενα. λέγε τὸ τάχος ἔφη. καὶ τίς ἢ κλησὶς αὐτῇ. καὶ ἐπεὶ μάθοι τὰ περὶ τούτων ἡκριβωμένως. θύσον εἰρηναῖε λέγει τοῖς ἀνικῆτοις θεοῖς. ἵνα δὴ καὶ τῶν προεπταισμένων σοι τὴν συγχώρησιν λάβῃς. καὶ

¹¹³⁹ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹¹⁴⁰ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹¹⁴¹ In Venice 360, ἐπέμφθη εἰς τὸν σαόν ποταμὸν.

¹¹⁴² In Venice 360, ἐν σερμίου

¹¹⁴³ In Venice 360, ἐπράχθη δε ταῦτα

¹¹⁴⁴ In Venice 360, ἡγεμονεύοντος πρόβου, κατὰ δέ ἡμᾶς βασιλεύοντος

¹¹⁴⁵ In Venice 360, μεθ' οὗ τῷ π[α]τρὶ σὺν τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι

¹¹⁴⁶ It does not exist in Venice 360.

¹¹⁴⁷ in Venice 360, added τιμή

τῶν μενουσῶν σε βασάνων ἀπαλλαγῆς καὶ μείνης μεθ' ἡμῶν εὐφραϊνόμενος. καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν· Ὁ ἄλλ' οὐ θύσω ποτέ πρόβε. φησὶ ἐκεῖνος. οὐδε γὰρ ζῆν μεθ' ὑμῶν αἰροῦμαι. οὔτε μὴν τὸν ἐμὸν χριστόν ὅλως ἀρνήσομαι. Θεοῦν ἀληθῆ τυγχάνοντα. καὶ τῶν ἀπάντων ποιητὴν καὶ δεσπότην. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μεν οὕτως εἰπόντα τὸν μάρτυρα. τὸ δεσποτήριον εἶχεν.

ἡμερῶν δέ παρελθουσῶν οὐκ ὀλίγων τὸ δικαστήριον αὐτὸν διεδέξατο. πρὸς δὲ ὃν ὁ ἡγεμὼν. δεινὸν ἀπιδῶν. καὶ τοῦτον θύειν ἀπαναγκάζων. ἐπεὶ μὴ πειθόμενον εἶχε. κολάσασιν ὑπέβαλλε χαλεπαῖς καὶ ποικίλαις. ξεσμοῖς. μᾶστιξι. ταῖς ἐκ ῥάβδων πληγαῖς. καὶ πάσαις ἄλλης βασάνου κακουργίαις. ὡς δέ πρὸς ταῦτα μηδαμῶς ἐνεδίδου. καὶ πυρὸς ὁ μάρτυς φεῦ καθυπέμεινε καὶ σιν. καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην βάσανον. ἀρνήσασθαι παρεβιάζετο τὸν χριστόν. καὶ τοῖς κιβδήλοις λατρεῦσαι θεοῖς.

καὶ ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐπείθετο. τρόποις ἀπατελοῖς ὁ πρόβος ὑπέρχεται τοῦτον. γυναῖκα ἔχεις εἰπὼν. υἱοῦς. καὶ λοιποὺς ἄλλους προσήκοντας. μηδὲ τούτων στερηθῆναι θελήσης. νέαν ἔτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἄγων τὴν ἡλικίαν. ἀλλὰ κἂν δι' αὐτοὺς ζῆν οὕτω καλῶς παρ' ἡμῖν ἐθέλησον. ἔσται σοι γὰρ καὶ πλοῦτος καὶ δόξα. καὶ τῶν ἄλλων καλῶν ἢ ἐπίδοσις. ταῦτα τοῦτου κομψῶς οὕτω καὶ περινενομημένως εἰπόντος. ὁ ἅγιος. τὰ μεν ἀκόλουθα τῆς ἀποκρίσεως ἀφείδ. πρὸς ἓν δε τοῦτο συγκεφαλαιώσας τὸν λόγον. ὁ φιλὼν εἶπε χριστόν φησὶ. Π[ατέ]ρα ἢ ἡ μ[ητέ]ρα ἢ τέκνα. ἢ γυναῖκα. ἢ ἀδελφοὺς ὑπὲρ ἐμέ, οὐκέτι μου ἄξιος. καὶ ταῦτα διδάξαντος. πῶς φησὶν ἐγὼ τούτου προτιμήσομαι τούτους. ὅς καὶ αὐτοὺς δύναται σῶσαι. καὶ κληρονόμους ποιῆσαι τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας. καὶ ὁ πρόβος. Πρὸ τοῦ σε τὴν ἀπόφασιν δέξασθαι ταλαίπωρε. θῦσαι θέλησον τοῖς θεοῖς. ἵνα μὴ κακῶς ἀποθάνης. καὶ ὁ ἅγιος. οὐ θύσω παράνομε. οὐκ ἀρνήσομαι τὸν χριστόν μου μὴ γένοιτο. οὐ μὰ τοὺς ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἀγῶνας καὶ τὰ παλαιίσματα. οὐκ ἂν εἴ τί μοι καὶ μείζον τῶν προλαβόντων καλῶν προσενέγκης. ἀρνεθῆιν ἐγὼ ποτε τὸν ἐμὸν ποιητὴν.

τότε δὴ τῷ τυμῷ σφαδάζων ὁ πρόβος· κατὰ τὸ πρόσταγμα φησὶ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων. πρὸς τὸν ἅγιον ἔφη. τῇ φορᾷ δοθείση τοῦ ποταμοῦ. καὶ τί τοῦτο. φησὶν ὁ ἅγιος. καὶ ξίφει με πάντως εἴ γε καθυποβάλῃς. δέχομαι καὶ τοῦτο προθύμως. ναὶ δὴ καὶ ἀξιῶ. μείζονας γὰρ μοι τοὺς στεφάνους πλέξεις καὶ τὰ βραβεῖα. καὶ τοῦτο προσθεῖς. ἡλπίζον γὰρ ἄλλας τινὰς δεινότερας κολάσεις. τῶν προεπενεχθεισῶν μοι διὰ χριστόν ὑπομεῖναι. νῦν δέ καὶ ταῦτα τρυφὰς μᾶλλον ἢ κολάσεις ἡγοῦμαι. τούτων οὕτω ῥηθέντων. ὀργῆς ὁ παράφορος πληρωθεὶς. τὸν τε διὰ ξίφους καταδικάζει θάνατον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ὡς προέφη. κατάδυσιν.

Ἀφικνοῦνται τοιγάρτοι μετὰ σοῦ πανάγαθε μάρτυς οἱ στρατιῶται. πρὸς τὴν οὕτω καλουμένην γέφυραν ἄρτεμιν. ἀποδύη πρόθυμος τὰ ἱμάτια. γυμνὸς ἵστασαι. δέχη τὴν τομὴν καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ ἐπαφίη. καὶ νῦν σὺν ἀγγέλοις περὶ τὸν θρόνον ὡς ἀρχιερεὺς ὡς μάρτυς στρεφόμενος τὸν δεσποτικόν. αἵτησαι δωρηθῆναι παρὰ Θεοῦ. βασιλεῖ ἡμῶν τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ φιλαγάθῳ. καὶ πᾶσιν ἐνσεμνυνομένῳ τοῖς καλοῖς προτερήμασι. **Μ**έθεξιν ζωῆς μακρᾶς καὶ ἀπήμονος. **Λ**ύος παθῶν ἁλλοτρίωσιν. **Χ**ρεστών ἔργων τὴν καλὴν μετουσίαν. **Α**ριστευμάτων τὴν κατόρθωσιν πάντων. **Ἡ**μέρας ἀνεσπέρου τὸν καλὸν κλῆρον. **Χ**αμπρὰν δικαίων καὶ καλὴν ξυναυλίαν. **Π**άντων ἐφετῶν τὴν ἀκροτάτην δόσιν. καὶ βασιλείας Θεοῦ τὴν κληρουχίαν. ὅτι αὐτῷ πρέπει ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος. νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ. καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

**Martyrdom of Saint Irenaeus, bishop of Sirmium in Moscow Syn. gr. 183 (My translation
with the corrections by Robert Jordan)**

I tell of those recently famed for evil, Diocletian and Maximian, who after they had taken over the imperial rule and badly abused it, were proposing edicts against those found (to be) Christians. Blessed Irenaeus, having despised their threatened punishments and very violent torture, like a priest of the highest God, taught the word of truth and converted many from unbelief to knowledge of the truth,

not bowing to the ruler's anger, nor various punishments, nor rivers, nor cliffs where those who contend for Christ were thrown. He did not soften to the things people tend to soften to, to a passionate attachment to parents clearly, orphanhood of children, tears of women, of fellows and their advice, laments of friends and relatives, or become weakened at all by some other things of this kind or become panic-stricken in the face of any of these things, always having the Lord's voice in mind and shivering at the judgments in the other world: 'Whoever will deny me,' he says, in front of people, I will also deny him in front of my Father, who is in the heavens.' Then, having despised everything, he joyfully proceeded towards martyrdom.

Arrested by the infidels and brought to the tribunal of Probus who was in Sirmium then, he stood completely unchanged and undaunted. Because of this, the son of lawlessness said to him: 'Who and from where are you and what are the things said against you, say quickly,' he said, 'and what is its actual name?' And when he (Probus) thoroughly/accurately learned the things about this, he said: 'Sacrifice, Irenaeus, to the unconquered gods so that you may receive forgiveness for your previous sins, and may be delivered from the tortures that await you, and may stay cheerful with us.' And Irenaeus replied to him: 'Probus, I will never sacrifice,' he said, 'for I neither choose to live with you, nor will I deny my Christ at all, who is the true God, the creator and the Lord of everything.' But after the martyr spoke like that the prison held him.

When many days passed, the court took him over. The governor looked grimly towards him and was forcing him to sacrifice, but when he did not have him obeying/complying, he began to suggest various harsh punishments, scrapings, whippings, beatings from sticks and all other vicious acts of torture. As Irenaeus did not concede to these things in any way, the martyr, alas, endured a burning of fire and torture each day, [and] was being forced to deny Christ and worship false gods.

And when he was not persuaded, Probus approached him in deceitful ways. 'You have a wife, sons and other remaining relations. Don't willingly be deprived of them, being still yourself in a youthful time of life, but even on account of them be willing to live well like this among us. You will have wealth, and glory and abundance of other good things.' After Probus said these things nicely composed and in a contrived way, the saint, passing over what follows the response, summed up the answer to him: 'The one who loves, Christ says,' he replied, 'a father, or children or a wife or brothers more than me is not worthy of me anymore. As he taught this, how' he said, 'will I honour those more than him, who can save them and make them heirs of his kingdom?' And Probus said to him, 'Before you receive the answer, you miserable man, 'be willing to sacrifice to the gods, so that you do not die in an evil way.' And the saint said: "I will not sacrifice, you lawless man, I will not deny my Christ, may it not happen! No, by the contests and struggles for piety, even if you offer to me something even greater of the previous good things, I would never deny my creator."

Then struggling with his anger, Probus said to the saint: 'By the order of the Emperors you will be given to the rushing of the river.' 'And why that?' said the saint. 'Even if you by all means subject me to the sword, I accept that also eagerly. Yes, indeed I consider myself worthy of it, for you will plait bigger crowns and rewards for me by imposing it. I was hoping for some other more terrible punishments to withstand for Christ than those that were brought upon me. Now I consider these more like luxuries than punishments.' When these things were said like that, the one led astray [Probus] full of anger sentenced him [Irenaeus] to death by the sword and to be sunk in the river as he previously said.

Wholly-good martyr, the soldiers arrived with you at the so-called bridge of Artemis. You stripped off your garments eagerly, you stood naked, you received the beheading and were let go into the river. And now as an archpriest, as a martyr moving with the angels around the throne of the Lord beg that to our righteous king who loves what is good and is honoured by all noble privileges be given by God participation in a long life free from harm, separation from the impurity of the passions, noble participation in useful works, successful accomplishment of all the deeds of prowess, a good inheritance of day without evening, the bright and good dwelling of the righteous, the highest gift of all desired things and his portion of the kingdom of heaven, for to Him belong glory and power now and always and to the ages of ages. Amen.

Vienna, Hist. gr. 45, ff. 247v-248r (BHG 950): Irenaeus of Sirmium and Irenaeus of Lyon

Μαρτύριον τῶν δύο ἁγίων μαρτύρων εἰρηναίων

Ὅτος ὁ ἅγιος ἱερομάρτυς εἰρηναῖος. Ἐπίσκοπος ἦν τοῦ σιρμίου. ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας διοκλητιανοῦ. καὶ κρατηθεὶς ἤχθη εἰς παντονίαν. καὶ παρέστη πρόβῳ τῷ ἡγεμόνι. ὁμολογῶν καὶ κηρύττων τὴν εἰς χριστὸν τὸν ἀληθινὸν θεὸν πίστιν. Διὸ κατακλείεται φρουρᾷ. καὶ πάλιν μαστίζεται. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα λαβὼν τὴν ἀπόφασιν. ἔστη εἰς τὸν τόπον τῆς γεφύρας τοῦ ποταμοῦ σάου. καὶ ἐκτείνας τὰς χεῖρας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἠύξατο οὕτως· κ[ύρι]ε ὑπόδεξαι τὸ πν[εύμ]α μου. καὶ στήσον τὸν πόλεμον. τὸν κατὰ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας σου γινόμενον. καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν. κρουσθεὶς τῷ ξίφει ἐρρίφη εἰς τὸν ποταμόν. Γέγονε δέ καὶ ἕτερός τις Εἰρηναῖος. ἀρχαῖος ἀνὴρ. ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις Μάρκου Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ βασιλέως. διάδοχος τῶν αὐτοπῶν τῶν μακαρίων ἀποστόλων γενόμενος, ἐν λουγδούνῳ πόλει τῆς γαλλίας ἐπισκοπήσας ὅστις, φησὶ, πολύκαρπον τὸν μαθητὴν ἰωάννου τοῦ θεολόγου. ἐωρακέναι νήπιος ὢν. οὗτος πολλὰ μνήμης ἄξια βιβλία καταλέλοιπε. τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς πίστεως. ἐξ ὧν οἱ μεταγενέστεροι. τὰς ἀφορμὰς τῆς ἐρμηνείας τῶν θείων γραφῶν ἔλαβον. μετὰ ποθαινὸν οὖν ἐπίσκοπον τῆς εἰρημένης πόλεως μαρτυρήσαντα τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοὺς οἷακας λαβόμενος καὶ πολλοὺς, λόγοις καὶ παραινέσεσιν ἀφαρπάσας ἐκ τῆς πλάνης τῶν δαιμόνων, καὶ τῷ Χριστῷ μάρτυρας προσαγαγὼν τελευταῖον. καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τῶν διωκτῶν ξίφει τελειωθείς, στεφανοῦται παρὰ τῆς θείας χειρὸς, Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν. ταῖς πρεσβείαις αὐτῶν, Κ[ύρι]ε, ἐν εἰρήνῃ βέρνησον τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν. καὶ ρύσαι ἡμᾶς, ἀπὸ πάσης μηχανῆς τοῦ ἀντικειμένου.

Entry on Irenaeus in Synaxarion of Constantinople

(Delehay, H. ed. *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice Sirmondiano*. Brussels: Apud socios Bollandianos, 1902)

Καί ἄθλησις τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Εἰρηναίου ἐπισκόπου Σιρμίου.

Οὗτος ὁ ἅγιος ἦν ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Διοκλητιανοῦ· καὶ κρατηθεὶς ἀπὸ τοῦ Σιρμίου ἤχθη εἰς Παννονίαν καὶ παρέστη Πρόβῳ τῷ ἡγεμόνι, ὁμολογῶν καὶ κηρύττων τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν τὸν ἀληθινὸν Θεὸν πίστιν. Διὸ κατακλείεται φρουρᾷ· καὶ ἐξαχθεὶς **μαστίζεται, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα λαβὼν τὴν ἀπόφασιν ξίφει τὴν κεφαλὴν** τμηθεὶς ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ῥίπτεται Σάφ· καὶ οὕτως ἐτελειώθη αὐτοῦ ἡ μαρτυρία.

Martyrdom of Irenaeus, Or et Oropseus (Latyšev)

(Latyšev, V. V. *Menologii anonymi Byzantini, saeculi X qui supersunt*. Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat, 1911, reprint 1970)

MARTYRION TΩN AΓIΩN KAI ENΔOΞΩN MARTYΡΩN EIPHNAIΟΥ, ΩΡ KAI OPOΨΕΩ

Τὸν τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπώνυμον καὶ γενναιότατον μάρτυρα Εἰρηναῖον τὸν μέγαν ἢ τοῦ Σιρμίου πόλις πρόεδρον ἔσχε καὶ πολιοῦχον, καλῶς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ποιμαίνοντα καὶ καλῶς Θεῷ τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν προσάγοντα. Διοκλητιανοῦ τοίνυν καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν τυράνων διωγμὸν ὅτι μέγιστον κατὰ Χριστιανῶν κινήσαντων καὶ πλήθος ὅτι πολὺ τούτων ἢ μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν ἅπαντας συλλαμβανομένων καὶ τιμωρίαις ξέναις εἰς ὑπερβολὴν κακίας καθυπαγόντων τοῦτο μὲν δι' ἐαυτῶν, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑπερητούμενων ὁμοφρόνων αὐτοῖς, διαβάλλεται τῷ τῆς χώρας Παννονίας ἄρχοντι Πρόβῳ καὶ ὁ καλὸς οὗτος Εἰρηναῖος ὁ πάνυ καὶ συλληφθεὶς τῷ βήματι τούτου προσάγεται.

Καὶ τί γίνεται; πρὸς θυσίαν τῶν εἰδώλων καλεῖται. εἴπερ γάρ, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, θῦσαι τοῖς θεοῖς θελήσεις, ὁ πρόβος ἔφησε τῷ δικαίῳ, μέγιστον ἀναδείξω σε, γράψας τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ μεγάλων πραγμάτων διοικήσεις ἐμπιστευθήσῃ. εἰ δ' οὖν, ἀλλὰ τιμωρία σε διαδέχονται μὴδε λόγῳ ῥηταί, ἔφη, καὶ ὁ ἅγιος· ἀλλ' οὐδε ζῆν αἰροῦμαι σὺν ὑμῖν, ἡγεμῶν, εἶπε, μὴ τί γε συνδιάγειν καὶ συνδοξάζεσθαι. ταῦτα τοῦτον εἰπόντα δεσμὰ λαμβάνουσιν εὐθὺς καὶ τό δεσμωτήριον. Ἡμέραι παρήλθον οὐχὶ συχναί, καὶ μέσης νυκτὸς ὁ πρόβος εἰς ἐξέτασιν προκαθίσας, ὅτε δὴ πάντως εἰς οὗς αὐτῷ λελάληκεν ὁ σατανᾶς, ἄγει τὸν μάρτυρα πρὸς ἐρώτησιν καὶ θῦσαι τοῦτον ἠνάγκαζε τοῖς βδελύγμασιν. ὥς δὲ μὴ ἔπειθε, μαστίζει δεινῶς, ξέει πικρῶς, φλέγει φρικτῶς τῷ πυρί. γενναίως τοίνυν ὑπομεμενηκότος αὐτοῦ τὰς κολάσεις ὁ δυσσεβὴς καὶ κατάρατος ἄρχων αὐθις αὐτὸν πρὸς θυσίαν καλεῖ, Ἵνα τί, λέγων, μὴ θύεις τοῖς ἀθανάτοις θεοῖς, ἀσεβέστατε, ἀλλ' ἔθου σκοπὸν κακῶς οὕτως ἀποθανεῖν καὶ πικρῶς, καὶ ὁ ἅγιος· Ὅτι μὴ θέμις δαιμόνων εἰδῶλα τυγχάνοντα προσκυνεῖν καὶ τότε τὸν χριστιανὸν ἐμέ, ὃν ὁ Χριστὸς ἔθρεψεν ἐξ αὐτῆς μητρικῆς προόδου γαστρός, Χριστὸς ἠνδρώσε, Χριστὸς ἐμεγάλυνε καὶ τῷ τῆς θεογνωσίας κατεφώτισε φέγγει. δι' ὃν καὶ πάντα ὑπομένειν ἔτοιμός εἰμι, καὶ οὐκ ἴδοις μέποτε θυσίαν ξοάνοις ἀπονεῖμαι κωφοῖς. ποίει τοιγαροῦν ὃ βούλει, παρανομώτατε. πυρί καίε, ξίφει τέμνε καὶ πᾶν εἴ τι ἂν ᾗ βουλομένῳ σοι πράττειν ἐπ' ἐμοὶ ποίει. γνώση γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν, ὥς οὐδὲν ἡγῆμαι τὸν διὰ Χριστὸν ἐπενηνεγμένον μοι θάνατον.

Θυμοῦται ὁ ἄρχων τούτων ἀκούσας καὶ τούτου μεν ξίφει κελεύει τὴν πάντιμον κεφαλὴν ἐκκοπῆναι, αὐτίκα δὲ παρίστησιν εἰς μέσον καὶ Ὡρ τὸν κλεινὸν καὶ Ὀρόψεω τὸν σοφόν. οὗς καὶ αὐτοὺς θῦσαι μὴ βουληθέντας πυρὶ παραδίδωσι. καὶ ἐπεὶ Θεὸς ὁ τὸ θέλημα ποιῶν τῶν φοβουμένων αὐτὸν τῆς καμίνου διεσώσατο τούτους, ὑετὸς γὰρ ἄνωθεν κατενεχθεὶς ἀπέσβεσε τοῦτο, θυμομαχῆσας ὁ Πρόβος θηρίοις τούτους ἐκδίδωσιν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων παραδόξως σωθέντας ξύλῳ ἀναρτᾷ καὶ ξαίνει πικρῶς, εἴτα καὶ ξίφει τὰς αὐτῶν κεφαλὰς ἐκτιμηθῆναι κελεύει. ἄγονται τοίνυν καὶ οὗτοι σὺν τῷ ἱερομάρτυρι Εἰρηναίῳ πρὸς τὸν τόπον τῆς τελειώσεως καὶ τὸ μακάριον δέχονται τέλος, εἴτα καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ Σάῳ οὕτως ὠνομασμένῳ ῥιπτοῦνται.

Καὶ νῦν, ὦ πανθαύμαστοι μάρτυρες, ἵνα πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὸν λόγον ποιήσω, τῷ δεσποτικῷ σὺν ἀγγέλοις παριστάμενοι θρόνῳ, νέμοιτε ταῖς εὐκτικαῖς ὑμῶν εἰς Θεὸν ἱκεσίαις βασιλεῖ ἡμῶν τῷ πρῶ καὶ τὰ πάντα καλῷ μακρὰν τὴν ζωὴν καὶ γαλήνιον, ἰλύος πάσης ἀπηλλαγμένην, χάριτος θείας πεπληρωμένην, πάντων ἀγαθῶν μεμεστωμένην καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖθεν βασιλείας τὴν χάριν ἐν αὐτῷ Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

Martyrdom of Irenaeus, Or et Oropseus in Milan, Ambrosiana, B 1 inf., ff. 70r-71v (BHG

951)

MARTYRIUM TON AGION MARTYRON EIRHNAIOY OP KAI OROPSAIOY

τόν τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπώνυμον καὶ γενναιότατον μάρτυρα εἰρηναῖον τόν μέγαν ἢ τοῦ σιρμίου πόλις πρόεδρο[ν] ἔσχε καὶ πολιοῦχον. καλῶς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ποιμαίνοντα καὶ καλῶς θ[ε]ῶ τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν προσάγοντα. διοκλητιανοῦ τοίνυν καὶ μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν τυράνων διωγμὸν ὅτι μέγιστον κατὰ χριστιανῶν κινήσαντων. καὶ πλῆθος ὅτι πολὺ τούτων ἢ μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν ἅπαντας συλλαμβανομένων καὶ τιμωρίαις ξέναις εἰς ὑπερβολὴν κακίας καθυπαγόντων τοῦτο μὲν δι' ἐαυτῶν, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑπηρετοῦ οἷς μένων ὁμοφρόνων αὐτοῖς. διαβάλλεται τῷ τῆς χώρας παννονίας ἄρχοντι πρόβῳ καὶ ὁ καλό[ς] οὗτος εἰρηναῖος ὁ πάνυ καὶ συλληφθεὶς τῷ βήματι τούτου προσάγεται.

καὶ τί γίνεται; πρό[ς] θυσίαν τῶν ειδώλων καλεῖται. εἴπερ γὰρ ὦ ἀν[θ]ρωπ[ε] θῦσαι τοῖς θεοῖς θελήσεις ὁ πρόβος ἔφη τῷ δικαίῳ. μέγιστον ἀναδείξω σε. γράψας τῷ βασιλεῖ. καὶ μεγάλων πραγμάτων διοικήσεις ἐμπιστευθήσῃ. εἰ δ' οὖν. ἀλλὰ τιμωρίαι σε μὴ δέ λόγῳ ῥηταί, ὅσον οὕτω διαδοῦξονται ἔφη, καὶ ὁ ἅγιος· ἀλλ' οὐδέ ζῆν αἰροῦμαι σὺν ὑμῖν, ἡγεμῶ[ν] εἶπε, μὴ τί γε συνδιάγειν καὶ συνδοξάζεσθαι. ταῦτα τοῦτον εἰπόντα δεσμὰ λαμβάνουσιν αὐθις καὶ τό δεσμωτήριον. ἡμέραι παρήλθον συχναί. καὶ μέσης νυκτός ὁ πρόβος εἰς ἐξέτασιν προκαθίσας. ὅτε δὴ πάντως εἰς οὗς αὐτῷ λελάληκεν ὁ σατανᾶς. ἀγει τόν μάρτυρα πρὸς ἐρώτησιν καὶ θῦσαι τοῦτον ἠνάγκαζε τοῖς βδελύγμασιν. ὥς δὲ μὴ ἔπειθε, μαστίζει δεινῶς, ξέει πικρῶς, φλέγει φρικτῶς τῷ πυρί. γενναίως τοίνυν ὑπομεμενηκότος αὐτοῦ τὰς κολάσεις ὁ δυσσεβὴς καὶ κατάρατος ἄρχων αὐθις αὐτόν πρό[ς] θυσίαν καλεῖ, ἵνα τί, λέγων, μὴ θύσεις τοῖς ἀθανάτοις θεοῖς, ἀσεβέστατε. ἀλλ' ἔθου σκοπὸν κακῶς οὕτως ἀποθανεῖν καὶ πικρῶς. καὶ ὁ ἅγιος· ὅτι μὴ θέμις δαιμόνων εἰδῶλα τυγχάνοντας προσκυνεῖν. καὶ τότε τόν χριστιανόν ἐμέ, ὃν ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐκ μητρικῆς γαστρός προόδου ὁ χ[ρι]στός ἐθρεψεν. ὁ χριστός ἠνδρωσεν. ὁ χ[ρι]στός ἐμεγάλυνε καὶ τῷ τῆς θεογνωσίας κατεφώτισε φέγγει. δι' ὃν καὶ πάντα ὑπομένειν ἔτοιμός εἰμι, καὶ οὐκ ἴδοις μέ ποτέ ξοάνοις θυσίαν. ἀπονέμοντα κωφοῖς. ποίει τοιγαροῦν

ὁ βούλει, παρανομώτατε. πυρί καίτε, ξίφει τέμνε καὶ πᾶν ὅτι ἂν ἡ βουλομένῳ σοι πράττειν ἐπ' ἐμοί. πράττε. γνώση γὰρ ἐνταῦθεν, ὡς οὐδέν ἡγημαὶ τὸν διὰ χριστὸν ἐπενηνεγμένον μοι θάνατον.

θυμοῦται τούτων ἀκούσας ὁ ἄρχων καὶ τούτου μὲν ξίφει κελεύσει τὴν πάντιμον κεφαλὴν ἐκκοπῆναι, αὐτίκα δὲ παρίστησιν εἰς μέσον καὶ ὦρ τὸν κλεινὸν καὶ ὁρῶσαιον τὸν σοφόν. οὕς καὶ αὐτοὺς θῦσαι μὴ βουληθέντας **πυρὶ** παραδίδωσι. καὶ ἐπεὶ θεοῦ ὁ τὸ θέλημα ποιῶ[ν] τῶν φοβουμένων αὐτὸ[ν] τῆς καμίνου διεσώσατο τούτους, **ὕετός** γὰρ ἄνωθεν κατενεχθεὶς **ἀπέσβεσε** ταύτην, θυμομαχήσας ὁ πρόβος **θηρίοις** τούτους **ἐκδίδωσιν**. ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων παραδόξως σωθέν[τας]. **ξύλω ἀναρτῶ** καὶ ξέει πικρῶς. εἶτα καὶ ξίφει τὰς αὐτῶν **κεφαλὰς ἐκτμηθῆναι** κελεύει. ἄγονται τοίνυν[ν] καὶ οὗτοι σὺν τῷ ἱερομάρτυρι εἰρηναίῳ πρὸς τὸν τῆς τελειώσεως τόπον καὶ τὸ μακάριον δέχονται τέλος, εἶτα καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ σάφ' οὕτως ὀνομαζομένῳ ῥίπτουνται.

καὶ νῦν τῷ θρόνῳ παριστάνται τοῦ πανβασιλέως θεοῦ ἡμῶν. ᾧ πρέπει ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος νῦν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ἀμήν.

Martyrdom of the holy and glorious martyrs Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus (My translation with the corrections by Robert Jordan)

The city of Sirmium had the great martyr Irenaeus, who was very noble and named after peace, as the leader and protector of the city, shepherding the church well and offering well the spiritual service to God. So then after the tyrants Diocletian and Maximian had set in motion the biggest possible persecution against Christians and most of them (or we better say all of them) were being arrested and subjected by novel punishments to an excess of evil, this on the one hand because of themselves and on the other because of those in agreement with them being questioned, that utterly good Irenaeus was slandered to Probus, the governor of the land of Pannonia, and after being arrested was brought before his judgement seat.

And what happened? He was summoned in front of the altar for sacrifice to the idols. "If in fact, o man, you will be willing to sacrifice to the gods," said Probus to the righteous man, "I will make you very great by writing to the king; you will be entrusted with the management of great things. If not, punishments not even describable in words will come upon you," he said, and the saint said, "But I do not want to live among you, governor, nor spend any time together and be glorified together with you." When he said that, chains and the prison immediately received him. A few days passed and in the middle of the night Probus sat in state for an inquiry when Satan of course has spoken to him in his ear. He brought the martyr for investigation and was forcing him to sacrifice to the abominations. When he did not convince him, he horribly whipped him, painfully scraped him and frightfully burnt him with fire. As Irenaeus nobly endured the punishments, the impious and accursed governor again invited him to sacrifice, saying, "To what end do you not sacrifice to the immortal gods, you most sacrilegious one? But did you make it an aim to die in such a bad and cruel way?" The saint said, "Because it is not right to worship things that happen to be images of demons; and then as I am a Christian, whom Christ reared from my coming forth from my very mother's womb, whom Christ made as a man, whom God exalted and enlightened with the light of the knowledge of God. For His sake I am ready to endure all things and you would never see me sacrificing to mute statues. Therefore, do what you like, you most totally unlawful one. Burn me with fire, cut me with a sword and do everything you want to

do to me. For from this you will know that I think the death brought on me for Christ's sake is nothing."

The governor became furious when he heard this and ordered that his all-honourable head be cut off with a sword and immediately placed in the middle also famous Or and wise Oropseus. As they also did not want to sacrifice, he threw them in a fire. When God, the one who does the will of those who fear him, saved them from the furnace, for rain poured down from above and extinguished the fire, Probus, fighting in his soul, threw them to wild beasts. But as they were saved unexpectedly from these, he hanged them on a tree and scraped them painfully, and then he ordered that their heads be cut off with a sword. So then, they too were taken along with the holy martyr Irenaeus to the place of consummation and they received their blessed death. Then they were also thrown into the river Sava, so named.

And now, O wholly marvelous martyrs, that I might turn my speech to you who stand with angels beside the Lord's throne, may you grant, through your prayerful supplications to God, to our king, gentle and good in every way, a long and calm life, delivered from all foulness, full of divine joy, filled with all good things, and the grace of the kingdom there in Christ our God himself, to whom be glory and power now and always and to the ages of ages. Amen.

Entry on Irenaeus, Or et Oropseus in Synaxarion of Constantinople

(Delehay, H. ed. *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice Sirmondiano*. Brussels: Apud socios Bollandianos, 1902)

Τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἄθλησις τῶν ἁγίων τοῦ Χριστοῦ μαρτύρων Εἰρηναίου, Ὡρ καὶ Ὡρόψεως. Ὁ μακάριος Εἰρηναῖος λευίτης ὑπῆρχε τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ ἐκήρυσσε παρρησίᾳ τὸν Χριστὸν Θεὸν εἶναι ἀληθινόν. Διὸ συσχεθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐλλήνων, παρίσταται τῷ ἄρχοντι καὶ εὐθέως ἐν πυρὶ ἀπορρίπτεται μετὰ τῶν συνάθλων αὐτοῦ Ὡρ καὶ Ὡρόψεως. Παραυτὰ δέ ὑετοῦ καταρραγέντος ἄνωθεν καὶ τοῦ πυρός σβεσθέντος, ἐξῆλθον ἀβλαβεῖς, εἰθ' οὕτως θηρίοις ἐβλήθησαν βρῶμα. Ἀλλὰ κακεῖθεν ἀπήμαντοι θεῖα μείναντες προνοίᾳ, ἐπὶ ξύλου ἀναρτῶνται καὶ ξέονται σφοδρῶς καὶ πάλιν οἱ αὐτοὶ διέμειναν ἀσινεῖς. Μανία δέ κατασχεθέντες οἱ τοῖς δαίμοσι προσκείμενοι ξίφει αὐτοὺς ἀποτέμνουσιν.

Canon 30 on St Irenaeus, Or and Oropseus, 30 August

(Schiro, J. *Analecta Hymnica Graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris XII*. Canones Augusti. Rome, 1980.)

Ἦχος δ'
ὥδῃ α'. Θαλάσσης τὸ ἐρυθραῖον πέλαγος
Ἀγγέλων σὺν τοῖς βροτοῖς τὰ τάγματα
πανηγυρίζουσιν
ἐπὶ τῇ μνήμῃ σήμερον φαιδρῶς
Εἰρηναίου τοῦ μάρτυρος,
μεθ' οὗ συνηγωνίσαντο
Ὡρ ἐν τοῖς ἄθλοις καὶ Ὡρόψεως.

Στρατείαν τὴν ἐπὶ γῆς οἱ ἅγιοι
ἀπαρνησάμενοι
καὶ οὐρανίου ἔρωτι ζωῆς
τῷ Χριστῷ στρατευσάμενοι,
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἠνδρίσαντο
μέχρι θανάτου προθυμότατα.

Λαμπρᾶς σὺ τῆς θυμηδίας ἔπλησας
τῶν εὐσεβούντων λαοὺς
τῇ τοῦ πανσέπτου σώματός σου νῦν
φανερῶσει, θεόληπτε,
ὃ καὶ περιπτυσσόμενοι,
σέ, Εἰρηναίε, μακαρίζομεν.

Θαυμάτων παρὰ Θεοῦ δρεψάμενος
τὴν χάριν, ἅγιε,
τοῖς προσφοιτῶσι πόθῳ τῇ σορῷ
τῶν τιμίων λειψάνων σου
ῥώσιν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος
ἀφθόνως νέμοις, ἱερώτατε.

Θερμὴν σε πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἀντίληψιν
καὶ ὀχυρὰν βοηθὸν
καὶ ἀρραγὲς προσφύγιον, ἀγνή
θεοτόκε, κεκτήμεθα
ἐν πειρασμοῖς καὶ θλίψεσιν,
ἐξ ὧν πρεσβείαις σου ῥυσθεῖημεν.

ὥδὴ β'. Δῶμεν μεγαλωσύνην
Φιλομάρτυρες, δεῦτε
Εἰρηναῖον, ὦρ, Ὀρόψεον
ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὕμνοις καὶ ἐγκωμίοις
τοὺς ἀθλοφόρους τιμήσωμεν πιστῶς.

Τῶν φθαρτῶν τὰ ἐστῶτα
ἀντηλλάξαντο οἱ ἅγιοι,
στρατολογία χριστεπωνύμῳ
καταλεγέντες ὡς ὄντως ἀριστεῖς.

Δόξα τῷ ἐν ἀγίοις
θαυμαστῷ Θεῷ καὶ αἵνεσις.
ἰδοὺ τὸ πρὶν γὰρ ἀγνοούμενον
σῶμα τοῦ μάρτυρος δείκνυσιν ἡμῖν.

Πλουσίως παροχεύει
τῶν λειψάνων σου τὰ νάματα,
ἱερομάρτυς ὦ Εἰρεναίε,

τοῖς ἀσθενοῦσιν ἰάσεων πηγάς.

Ἐν σοί, θεωγεννήτορ,
πεποιθότες, οὐ δεδοίκαμεν
ὑπεναντίων τὰς ἐπηρείας·
καὶ γὰρ προφθάνεις καὶ σώζεις ἐν σπουδῇ.

ὥδῃ γ'. *Εὐφραίνεται ἐπὶ σοὶ*
Ἀνόμῳ καὶ δυσμενεῖ
τῷ ἡγεμόνι, θυμικὸν πνέοντι,
γνώμῃ ἀτρέπτῳ, ἅγιοι
τῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἀντετάξασθε.

Ἐτοίμως διὰ Χριστὸν
ὑπὲρ τὸ ζῆν θνήσκειν στερρῶς εἴλαντο
οἱ εὐκλεεῖς μάρτυρες
Εἰρηναῖος, Ὡρ καὶ Ὁρόψεος.

Παντοίας νόσου δεινῆς
τοὺς καταφεύγοντας πιστῶς, ἅγιε
τῇ τῶν λειψάντων θήκῃ σου,
Εἰρηναίε, ῥύσαι πρεσβείας σου.

Ὡς ἔμψυχος θησαυρὸς
πρὶν κεκρυμμένος ἐν τῇ γῇ, ἔνδοξε,
τοῖς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἔφανας
καὶ καταγλαίζεις τοῖς θαύμασιν.

Ὀλέθριον κατ' ἐχθρῶν,
σωτηριώδῃ δέ πιστῶν φύλακα
σέ τὴν ἀγνὴν ἔγνωμεν.
ὅθεν ἐπὶ σοὶ ἐγκαυχώμεθα.

ὥδῃ δ'. Ἐπαρθέντα σε ἰδοῦσα ἡ ἐκκλησία
Ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐκλάμπασα δαδουχία
τοὺς ἀθλητάς ἐνίσχυσε
κατὰ τοῦ τυράννου
οὗ τὴν ἀθεότητα
σοφῶς ἀπεκρούσαντο
Εἰρηναῖος, Ὡρ καὶ Ὁρόψεος.

Ὡμοτάτοις παρεδίδου θηρσὶν εἰς βρῶσιν
ὁ δυσμενὴς τοὺς μάρτυρας
οἷς καὶ τὸ προσπαῦσαι
ὅλως κατηδέσθησαν,
τρανῶς στηλιτεύοντες
τὸ τῶν ἀνομούντων ἀτίθασον.

Ἱερώτατον λευίτην σε τοῦ κυρίου
καὶ ὡς πιστὸν διάκονον
φρικτῶν μυστηρίων
πάνσοφε, γενόμενον
τιμῶντες δεόμεθα
μέμνησο ἡμῶν σαῖς δεήσεσιν.

Ὡς τὸ πρότερον ἐφ' ὕδωρ Μωσῆς ὁ μέγας
θήκη περιεχόμενος
ἄθρόον ὠράθη,
οὕτως ἐν τῇ λάρνακι
καὶ τοῦ πεφανέρωσαι,
Εἰρηναίε, νῦν ὑποχθόνιος.

Φῶς ἀνέσπερον ἐκλάμψαν τῆς σῆς νηδύος,
Χριστός, ὁ μέγας ἥλιος,
τῆς δικαιοσύνης,
ἥστραψε τὴν σύμπασαν γῆν,
ἐν ᾧ φωταυγούμενοι,
σέ, παρθενομήτορ, δοξάζομεν.

ὦδὴ εἴ. Σύ, κύριέ μου, φῶς εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἐλήλυθας
Σὺ δέδωκας, Χριστέ,
τοῖς ἁγίοις κραταίωσιν,
σέ εὐραντο στεφοδότην
ἐν ποικίλαις βασανοῖς
Τῷ ἐχθρῷ προσπαλαίσαντες.

Πῦρ ἄνυλον ὑμεῖς
ταῖς φρεσὶν ἔνδον ἔχοντες,
πῦρ ἔνυλον, ἀθλοφόροι,
οὐκ ἐπτήξατε. θάττον
εἰς δρόσον γὰρ μετήνεκται.

Εἶδομεν ἀληθῶς
οἱ ἐν κόσμῳ παράδοξα,
σέ, ἅγιε Εἰρηναίε,
Ἰερμῶν ὡς ἐν δρόσῳ,
ἐν τῇ λάρνακι κείμενον.

Βρύεις μύρων πληθὺν
ἐκ τῶν θείων λειψάνων σου,
ὦν, πάνσεπτε, ἀπαντλοῦντες
ἱεράς ὡς ἐκ κρήνης,
τάς ἰάσεις λαμβάνομεν.

Ἄνοιξον, ἀγαθή,
τοῦ ἐλέους σου θύραν ἡμῖν,

ὦ δέσποινα θεοτόκε,
 ἢ οὐράνιος πύλη
 πρὸς Θεὸν παρεισάγουσα.

ὥδὴ ζ'. *Θύσω σοι μετὰ φωνῆς αἰνέσεως, κύριε,*
 Ἄσμασιν
 Εἰρηναῖον καὶ Ὄρ καὶ Ὀρόψεον
 ἱερονίκοις τιμῶμεν.
 τῆς ἐλλήνων πλάνης γὰρ καθαιρέται,
 τῆς Χριστοῦ δέ
 ἀνεδείχθησαν δόξης ὑπέρμαχοι.

Πρόθυμοι
 τοῦ τυθῆναι κολάσει τὰ σώματα
 ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ τοῦ τυθέντος
 δι' ἡμᾶς, σοφοί, ἡρετίσασθε,
 ἱερεῖα
 καὶ δεκτὰ χρηματίσαντες θύματα.

Δείκνυσι
 τὸ σπουδαῖον τῆς σῆς ἐπισκέψεως
 ἥνπερ ἀρτίως εἰργάσω,
 Εἰρηναῖε μάρτυς, θαυματουργίαν,
 ἀκαθάρτου
 ἀπαλλάξας τὸν παῖδα ἐκ πνεύματος.

Ῥώσεων
 ταμιεῖον τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀνέφκται
 ἢ ἐκ πολλοῦ κεκρυμμένη
 τῶν λειψάνων θήκη σου, Εἰρηναῖε,
 ἐν ᾗ πίστει
 προσιόντες, παθῶν ἐξιώμεθα.

Νεύσαντας
 ἕως γῆς χαλεποῖς ὀλισθήμασι
 καὶ ὥς ἐν σάλῳ θαλάσσης
 πειρασμοῖς καὶ θλίψεσι ποντουμένους,
 θεοτόκε,
 ἐξελοῦ νῦν ἡμᾶς καὶ διάσωσον.

ὥδὴ ζ'. Ἐν τῇ καμίνῳ Ἀβραμιαῖοι παῖδες τῇ περσικῇ

Ἐν τῇ καμίνῳ
 ὥσπερ οἱ πάλαι παῖδες τῇ Δεηρᾷ
 οὕτως
ἐμβληθέντες, ἅγιοι, τῷ πυρὶ
 σὺν αὐτοῖς τε δροσιζόμενοι,
 Θεῷ ἐμέλπετε.

εὐλογητὸν τὸ κράτος σου, κύριε.

Καθηρηκότες
τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἅπαν τὸ δυσμενές,
τούτου
κολακείαις τε καὶ ταῖς προσβολαῖς
τῶν **βασάνων** οὐχ ὑπήχθητε,
ζήλω δέ, ἅγιοι,
τῆς εὐσεβείας πλέον ἐρρώσθητε.

Ὁ εὐδοκήσας
ἡγνοημένην πρώην τοῦ ἀθλητοῦ,
σῶτερ,
Εἰρηναίου θήκην εἰς παμφανές
προελθεῖν τῆς καταθέσεως,
τοῖς δεομένοις σου
δι' αὐτοῦ τὰ ἐλέη σου δώρησαι.

Τοῖς ἐν ἀνάγκαις
πρὸς σέ μολοῦσι πόθω εἰλικρινεῖ
γίνου,
Εἰρηναίε, τάχιστος ἄρωγός
ἐκ κινδύνων τε καὶ θλίψεων
καὶ περιστάσεων
τοὺς τελοῦντας τὴν μνήμην σου λύτρωσαι.

Ὅν ἐκ νηδύος
τῆς σῆς, παρθένε, τίκτεις ὑπερφυῶς,
τοῦτον
ἰλεοῦ τοῖς δούλοις σου συμπαθῶς
ὥς Θεὸν φύσει πιλάνθρωπον
καὶ καταλλάττουσα
εὐμενίζου μητρώαις ἐντεύξεσιν.

ὥδῃ ἡ. Χεῖρας ἐκπετάσας Δανιήλ

Δόξη καὶ στρατεία γεηρᾷ
ἐνδιαπρέψαντες,
πρὸς τὴν οὐράνιον
καὶ ἀστασίαστον στράτευσιν
μετετάξαντο τῇ χάριτι
σὺν Εἰρηναίῳ τῷ σεπτῷ
Ὡρ καὶ Ὁρόψεος.
εὐλογεῖτε
πάντα τὰ ἔργα κυρίου τὸν κύριον.

Ἦττηται ὑπέροφρος ἐχθρὸς
τῇ εὐανδρείᾳ ὑμῶν,

μάρτυρες ἔνδοξοι,
καὶ καταβέβληται τύραννος.
τοῖς δεινοῖς γὰρ κραταιούμενοι,
τὸ τῶν **εἰδώλων** ἄδρανές
ἐθριαμβεύσατε
ἐκβοῶντες.
πάντα τὰ ἔργα κυρίου τὸν κύριον.

Πάσχοντα τὸν παῖδα καὶ τῷ σῶ
προσκαρτεροῦντα ναῶ
ἰάσω τάχιστα
τοῦ καταβάλλοντος δαίμονος,
δι' αὐτοῦ δέ, Εἰρηναῖε σοφέ,
τὴν κεκρυμμένην σου σορὸν
νῦν ἀνευράμενοι,
μελωδοῦμεν.
πάντα τὰ ἔργα κυρίου τὸν κύριον.

Δέχου τὰς λατρείας τῶν θερμῶς
προσπελαζόντων σοι,
ἱερομάρτυς Χριστοῦ,
καὶ τὴν ἐκβλύζουσαν ἅπανστα
σῶν λειψάνων παραδόξως πηγὴν
φυγαδευτήριον παθῶν
καὶ καθαρμὸν τῶν ψυχῶν
ἡμῖν δεῖξον,
ὥπως σέ ὕμνοις ἐνθέοις δοξάζωμεν.

Ὑπερῶεν κτισμάτων τῶν ἐν γῇ
καὶ οὐρανίων πασῶν
φρικτῶν δυνάμεων
σὺ ἀνηγόρευσαι, πάνταγενε.
τὸν γὰρ τουτοῖς ἀπερίληπτον
ἐγκυμονεῖς καὶ γαλουχεῖς
ἀγκάλαις φέρουσα
καὶ τὸ θαῦμα
νοῦς καταπλήττεται πᾶς καὶ ἐξίσταται.

ὦδὲ θ'. Λίθος ἀχειρόμητος ὄρους

Δεῦτε, ὦ φιλέορτοι, πίσκει
τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ ὀπλίτας
τῆς πανυπερθέου τριάδος
σὺν Εἰρηναίῳ, Ὡρ καὶ Ὁρόψεον
ἁσματικῶς γεραίροντες
ὡς νικηφόρους μεγαλύνωμεν.

Ξίφει τὸ μακάριον **τέλος**

οἱ ἄθλοφόροι δεδεγμένοι
 ἐν φλογὶ καμίνου **θηρσί** τε
 καὶ πρὶν γενναίως προσομιλήσαντες,
 νῦν ἐν ὑψίστοις γήθονται
 σὺν τοῖς ἀύλοις τῶν ἀγγέλων χοροῖς.

Μάκαρ Εἰρηναῖε, μὴ λίπης
 ἐξ ἀναγκῶν καὶ ἀλγηδόνων
 καὶ ἐξ ἀμετρήτων πταισμάτων
 ἀεὶ λυτροῦσθαι τοὺς προσιόντας πόθῳ
 τῇ τῶν λειψάνων θήκῃ σου,
 ἥν σεβασμίως ἀσπαζόμεθα.

Φάνηθι σπουδαῖος προστάτης,
 εἰρηνεπώνυμε **λευῖτα**,
 τοῖς ἐν πειρασμοῖς καὶ κινδύνοις
 τὴν κραταιάν σου προσκαλουμένοις σκέπην
 καὶ πρὸς Θεὸν δεήσεσι
 τὰ δυσχερῆ ἡμῖν εὐμάριζε.

Σὺ ταῖς πρὸς Θεὸν μεσιτείαις
 χριστιανῶν ὑπερασπίζεις,
 δέσποινα, τοῦ κόσμου τὸ κλέος,
 καὶ νῦν συνήθως δεινῶν ἐκλυτρουμένη
 ἀτρώτους περιφύλαττε
 τοὺς σέ ἀπαύστως μεγαλύνοντας.

Canon on Irenaeus (Sinaiticus gr. 614)

Folio 21r – 23v¹¹⁴⁸

Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ς' (=ἀπριλίου). Τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Εἰρηναίου τοῦ ἐν τῷ Σιρμίῳ καὶ τοῦ
 ἁγίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Εὐτυχίου ἀπχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως

Κάθισμα. Ἦχος δ'. Ἐπεφάνης σήμερον.
 Τῶν βασάνων, ἅγιε,
 τὴν τρικυμίαν
 διελθὼν κατήντησας
 πρὸς τοὺς λιμένας τῆς ζωῆς
 ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τὸν φιλόανθρωπον
 καθικετεύων,
 μαρτύρων ἀγλάισμα.

¹¹⁴⁸ I thank Dimosthenis Stratigopoulos for sharing the draft transcription of this text from the manuscript.

f. 21v

Στιχηρά. Ἦχος δ'. ῥΕδωκας σημείωσιν.

Μάρτυς ἐθελούσιος.

καὶ ἱεράρχης πανάριστος

καὶ ποιμὴν ἀξιάγαστος,

μάκαρ, ἐχρημάτισας

καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας

ἀκλόνητος πύργος

καὶ εὐσεβείας στηριγμὸς

καὶ ἀσωμάτων

πάντων συνόμιλος,

μεθ' ὧν σε μακαρίζομεν

ὥς τὸν ἀγῶνα τελέσαντα

καὶ τὴν πίστιν τηρήσαντα,

Εἰρηναίε θαυμάσιε.

Τὴν γῆν καθηγίαςας

ρείθροις ἀγίων αἱμάτων σου

καὶ τὸν δράκοντα ἔπνιξας

τὸν πρὶν ἐμφωλεύοντα

ὑδασι, παμμάκαρ,

βληθεὶς μετὰ τέλος

ἐν ποταμῷ, ἱεουργέ

τῶν μυστηρίων

Θεοῦ πανόλβιε,

ἀγγέλων ἰσοστάσιε,

τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐδραῖωμα,

εὐσεβῶν τὸ κραταίωμα

τῶν πιστῶς εὐφημούντων σε.

Εἰρήνης ἐπώνυμος,

ἱεουργὸς ἱερώτατος,

ἀθλητῆς ἐννομώτατος

καὶ φωστὴρ ἀκοίμητος

ἐκκλησίας ὥφθης,

μάκαρ Εἰρηναίε,

καὶ τῶν πιστῶν καταφυγὴ

καὶ ἰαμάτων

βρύσις ἀένναος.

διό σε μακαρίζομεν

καὶ τὴν ἀγίαν σου σήμερον

ἐκτελοῦντες πανήγυριν

τὸν σωτῆρα δοξάζομεν.

f.22r

Ὁ κανὼν φέρων ἀκραστιχίδα. Εἰρηνικὴν μοι, μάρτυς, αἶτησαι χάριν. (Ἰωσήφ)

Ἦχος δ'.

ὥδῃ α'. Χοροὶ Ἰσραὴλ ἀνίκμοις ποσὶ

Ἐν τόπῳ σκηνῆς Θεοῦ θαυμαστῆς

καὶ τῶν ἀθλητῶν ὁμηγύρεσι

συννυπάρξων, θεόφρον,
 τοὺς τὴν ἱερὰν καὶ εὐκλεῆ καὶ φωτοφόρον
 μνήμην σου τελοῦντας ἐκ πόθου
 πάντοτε
 περιφύλαττε θεΐαις ἐντεύξεσιν.
 Ἱεραρχίας τῷ χρίσματι, ὅσιε,
 ποιμὴν θεοπρόβλητος γέγονας
 βακτηρίᾳ δογμάτων
 νέμων τοῦ Χριστοῦ, πάτερ, τὸ ποίμνιον πανσόφως
 καὶ ὥσπερ ἄμνός ἐκουσίως
 τέθυσαι
 μιμησάμενος πάθος σωτήριον.
 Ῥομφαία γέγονας δίστομος πάσας
 ἐναντίων, σοφέ, διακόπτουσα
 δυνατῶς μυριάδας.
 ὅθεν ἡ Χριστοῦ καταστέφει νῦν ἐκκλησία
 θεΐαις συμφωνίαις ᾠσμάτων
 πίστει σου
 ἐορτάζουσα τὴν θεΐαν ἄθλησιν.
 θ.
 Ἡ βάτος τὸ πρὶν εἰκόνα τῆς σῆς
 φέρουσα λοχείας, ἀγνὴ παναμώμητε,
 ἀκατάφλεκτος μένει.
 σὺ γὰρ τῆς θεότητος τὸ πῦρ τεκοῦσα, κόρη,
 ὅλως οὐκ ἐφλέχθης, παρθένε.
 ὅθεν σε
 μακαρίζομεν ὡς θεομήτορα.
 ὥδὲ γ'. *Τόζον/δυνατόν ἡσθένησεν*
 Νόμοις
 ἱεροῖς πειθόμενος
 τῶν παρανομούντων
 ἐπιβουλὰς καὶ τὰ ἔνεδρα,
 Εἰρηναίε, ἐνεπεκρούσω
 θεΐῳ σθένει δυναμούμενος.
 Ἵνα
 τὴν ἐκεῖθεν εὐκλειαν,
 μάρτυς Εἰρηναίε,
 Κληρονομήσης, ὑπέμεινας
 τὰς βασάνους τὰς ἀνυπόιστους
 καὶ τὸν θάνατον τὸν ἄδικον.
 Κόσμος
 ἱερέων γέγονας
 καὶ τῶν ἀθλοφόρων
 περιφανές ἐγκαλλώπισμα,
 Εἰρηναίε ἱερομάρτυς,
 τῶν ἀγγέλων ἰσοστάσιε.
 θ.
 Ἦνθει

ῥάβδος εἰκονίζουσα
 ἄνικμος ἀσπόρως
 τὸν Χριστὸν τὴν βλαστήσασαν,
 θεομήτορα, ἣν ἀπαύστως
 Συνελθόν//τες μακαρίσωμεν.
 ᾠδὴ δ'. Δι' ἀγάπησιν, οἰκτίρμων,
 Νεκρωθέντα ἐκουσίως τὸν ζωοδότην
 κατανοῶν, παμμάκαρ,
 ἐνεκρώθης τῷ κόσμῳ,
 ζῆς δέ μετὰ θάνατον
 ἀθλήσας στερρώτατα.
 Μακρυνόμενος φιλίας τῆς πρὸς γονέας
 καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους
 οἰκειώθης κυρίῳ
 ἄθλων τελειότητι,
 θεόφρον μακάριε.
 Οὐ κατέκαμψεν προσπάθειά σε συζύγου,
 οὐ τῶν γονέων φίλτρον,
 οὐ τῶν τέκνων ὁ πόθος
 πρὸς τὰ τῆς ἀθλήσεως
 χωρήσαντα σκάμματα.
 Ἰατρεῖον ἀναδέδεικται πάσης νόσου
 τὸ ἱερόν σου σῶμα,
 Εἰρηναῖε παμμάκαρ,
 καὶ φυγαδευτήριον
 δαιμόνων σκαιότητος.
 θ.
 Μακαρία ἡ κοιλία σου δεξαμένη,
 θεογεννήτορ, ὦφθη
 τὸν μακάριον Λόγον
 ἄνθρωπον γενόμενον
 δι' ἄφατον ἔλεος.
 ᾠδὴ ε'. Τὸν φωτισμόν σου, κύριε,
 Ἄνεπιστρόφως ὥδευσας
 τὴν φέρουσάν ὁδὸν
 πρὸς τὰς ἐπαύλεις
 τὰς ἐπουρανίους,
 μάρτυς καὶ ποιμήν,
 τῆς ἐκκλησίας
 ἀδιάσειστον ἔρεισμα.
 Ῥεῖθροις αἱμάτων ἔσβεσας
 δεινὴν πυρκαϊάν
 πολυθείας,
 γενναῖε ὀπλίτα,
 νῦν δέ τῶν παθῶν
 ξηραίνεις χύσιν
 ἰαμάτων ἐκβλύσεσι.
 Τοὺς ῥαβδισμοὺς ὑπήνεγκας

Προθύμῳ λογισμῷ,
τὰς ἀλγηδόνας,
μάρτυς Εἰρηναίε,
καὶ τοὺς σπαραγμοὺς
τὴν δι' αἰῶνος
ἄφθαρσίαν σκοπούμενος.
θ.

Ἐπερυψοῦμεν, ἄχραντε,
τὸν τόκον σου πιστῶς
καὶ ἐν αἰνέσει
τιμῶμέν σε, ἀγνή.
σὺ γὰρ τὴν ἡμῶν
ἀτιμασθεῖσαν
φύσιν θείως ἐτίμησας.
ὥδῃ ζ'. Ἐβόησε/προτυπῶν
Συνέτριψας
τῶν δαιμόνων ἀνίδρυτα ξόανα
συντρίβων σου,
Εἰρηναίε, τὸ νῶτον
ταῖς μάστιξι
καὶ βραβεῖα νίκης
ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀπηνέγκω, θαυμάσιε.
Ἀγάλλεται
ἡ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησία τιμῶσά σου
τοὺς ἀγῶνας
τὰ λαμπρὰς ἀριστείας,
πανεύφημε,
καὶ τὴν θείαν μνήμην
καὶ λειψάνων τὴν θήκην ἐκάστοτε.
Ἰάτρευσον
τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν, μάκαρ, τὰ τραύματα,
οἷς ὑπέστης
δι' ἀγάπην τοῦ κτίσαντος τραύμασι
τοῦ τραυματισθέντος,
ἵν' ἡμᾶς τῶν τραυμάτων λητρώσῃται.
θ.
Τοῦ ἄνθρακος
τοῦ ἀύλου γεγέννησαι πύρειον.
διὰ σοῦ γὰρ
εὐωδίαν τῷ κόσμῳ διέπνευσε,
Θεομήτορ κόρη,
σαρκωθείς ὑπὲρ νοῦν ἀναθότητι.
ὥδῃ ζ'. Ὁ διασώσας ἐν πυρί
Ἡ σὴ ἀθόλωτος ψυχὴ
ταῖς τῶν δυσμενῶν συμβουλείαις
καὶ ἀπειλαῖς, μάρτυς σοφέ,
οὐδαμῶς ἐχαυνώθη,
ἀλλ' ἔμεινεν

τῷ Θεῷ ἀτενίζουσα
 τῷ τὴν νίκην σοι, θεόφρον,
 παρεχομένῳ.
 Σῶμα προδοὺς τοῖς αἰκισμοῖς
 καὶ τῇ ἀποφάσει τοῦ ξίφους
 ἐναπερρίφης ποταμοῦ,
 Εἰρηναίε, τοῖς ρείθροις
 τὰ ρεύματα
 τῆς ἀπάτης ἐν χάριτι,
 ἀθλοφόρε γενναϊόφρον,
 ἀποξηράνας.
 Αἷμασιν ἔσβεσας πυρὰν
 τῆς εἰδωλικῆς δυσσεβείας
 καὶ ποταμῷ ἀπορριφεῖς
 τῆς τρυφῆς τὸν χειμάοουν
 ἀπείληφας
 εὐλογῶν τὸν ποιήσαντα,
 ἱεράρχα Εἰρηναίε,
 μαρτύρων κλέος.
 θ.
 Ἱερολόγων ἱερῶν
 πάλαι σε χορὸς προεκάλει
 πύλην καὶ ὄρος νοητόν,
 Θεοτόκε, καὶ τόμον
 καινότατον,
 ἐν ᾧ Λόγος ἐγγέγραπται
 ὑπὲρ λόγον πρὸ ἀνάρχου
 πατρὸς δακτύλῳ.
 ᾠδὴ ἡ'. *Λυτρωτὰ τοῦ παντός παντοδύναμε*
 Χορευέτω ἡ σύμπασα σήμερον
 ἑορτὴν ἐκτελοῦσα σωτήριον
 τοῦ θεοφόρου μάρτυρος
 τοῦ τὴν πλάνην ἐλόντος
 καὶ τὰ βραβεῖα
 οὐρανόθεν λαβόντος ἐν χάριτι.
 Ἀκλινεῖ ἐναθλήσας φρονήματι
 τῶν δαιμόνων τὸ στίφος ἐκλόνησας
 καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις, ἅγιε,
 τοῖς ἀύλοις συνήφθης
 μέλπων ἀπαύστως.
 εὐλογεῖτε τὰ ἔργα κυρίου.
 Ῥαντισμῷ τῶν ἀγίων αἱμάτων σου
 ἡ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησία κατήρδευται,
 οἱ ποταμοὶ δέ ἔστησαν
 τῆς ἀπάτης, βληθέντος
 σοῦ, Εἰρηναίε,
 ποταμίους ἐν ρείθροις, μακάριε.
 τριαδικόν.

Ἱεραῖς ἐν φωναῖς ἀνμνήσωμεν
 σὺν Υἱῷ τὸν Πατέρα τὸν ἄναρχον
 καὶ Πνεῦμα τὸ πανάγιον,
 κυριότητα μίαν
 καὶ βασιλείαν,
 ποιητὴν τῶν ἀπάντων καὶ κύριον.
 Θεοτοκίον.
 Νομικαὶ σε σκιαὶ προετύπωσαν
 ἐσομένην κυρίου λοχεύτριαν,
 ὧν τὰς ἐκβάσεις σέβοντες
 προσκυνοῦμεν, ὕμνοῦμεν
 καὶ εὐλογοῦμεν,
 παναμώμητε, τὰ μεγαλεῖά σου.
 ὦδὴ θ'. Ὁ τόκος σου ἄφθορος ἐδείχθη
 Ἰδεῖν ἡξιώθης τὰ μακρόθεν,
 σοφέ, τὰ ἐλπιζόμενά σοι γέρα
 ἐκτελέσας τὸν δρόμον
 τὸν καλὸν καὶ συντηρήσας, μάρτυς, τὴν πίστιν
 μέχρι θανάτου, Εἰρηναῖε,
 ἀδιάπτωτον.
 Ὡραῖος ἐν κάλλει ἀπεφάνθης,
 μάρτυς, τῆς ἀθλήσεως, θεόφρον,
 καὶ κατέπληξας νόας
 ἀνελθὼν νίκης στεφάνοις κατεστεμμένος
 πρὸς οὐρανίους καταπαύσεις,
 ἀξιάγαστε.
 Σταγόσιν αἱμάτων ἐλαμπρύνθης,
 Στιγμάτων τε κάλλει ὠραώθης,
 ὁμοιώθης ἀγγέλοις
 ἀληθῶς καὶ τοῦ ἡλίου λάμπας πλέον,
 ἱεραρχῶν τε καὶ μαρτύρων
 ἀκροθίνιον.
 Ἠγίασται κόσμος ἐορτάζων
 σήμερον τὴν μνήμην σου, θεόφρον,
 ἣν τελοῦντας ἐκ πόθου
 καὶ ἡμας ρυσαι παντοίων βίου σκανδαλῶν
 Καὶ αἰωνίου, Εἰρηναῖε,
 κατακρίσεως.
 Θεοτοκίον.
 Φανείσα ἀγγέλων ἀνωτέρα
 καὶ τῶν χαρουβιμ ἁγιωτέρα,
 παναγία παρθένε,
 ὥς τὸν Θεὸν ἀνερμηνεύτως συλλαβοῦσα
 σῶζε τοὺς πόθῳ καταχρέους
 ἀνυμνοῦντάς σε.

Munich, Clm 4554, ff. 89v-91 (BHL 4466) (differences with Vienna 371 underlined and in footnotes)

Cum e[ss]et persecutio sub dioclesiano¹¹⁴⁹ et maximiano imperatorib[us] quando diversis agonibus concertantes chri[sti]ani a tyrannis inlata supplicia devota d[e]o mente suscipientes premiis¹¹⁵⁰ se perpetuis participes faciebant¹¹⁵¹ quod et factum e[st] circa d[e]i famulum ireneum¹¹⁵² epis[copum] urbis syrmientium¹¹⁵³ cuius iam nunc vob[is] certamen in christo nomine¹¹⁵⁴ pandam victoriamque ostendam qui pro timore divino et modestia sibi a d[e]o donata qua¹¹⁵⁵ rectis inserviebat operibus dignus nomine suo¹¹⁵⁶ inventus e[st] comprehensus aque¹¹⁵⁷ oblatus est¹¹⁵⁸ p[ro]bo pannonie presidi qui dic[it]¹¹⁵⁹ ad eu[m] obtemperans preceptis divinis sacrificia dis¹¹⁶⁰ ireneus¹¹⁶¹ r[espondit] qui diis et non sacrificaverit eradicabitur¹¹⁶² probus pr[ese]s dic[it]¹¹⁶³ clementissimi principes iusserunt aut sacrificare aut tormentis subcumbere¹¹⁶⁴ ireneus s[a]l[c]e[r]¹¹⁶⁵ r[espondit] mihi enim a d[e]o¹¹⁶⁶ preceptum est tormenta magis susceper¹¹⁶⁷ quam d[e]u[m] negando¹¹⁶⁸ sacrificare demoniis probus pr[ae]s dic[it]¹¹⁶⁹ aut sacrificia¹¹⁷⁰ aut faciam te torq[ui]ri¹¹⁷¹ s[a]l[c]e[r] ireneus¹¹⁷² r[espondit] gaudio¹¹⁷³ si feceris ut particeps passionibus d[omi]ni mei inveniar tunc¹¹⁷⁴ p[ro]bus pr[ese]s iussit eum acerime vexaretur dic[it]¹¹⁷⁵ ad eum quid dicis ireneus sacrificas¹¹⁷⁶ ireneus¹¹⁷⁷ r[espondit] sacrifico p[er] bonam confessione[m] d[e]o meo cui semper sacrificavi advenientes vero parentes eius videntes eum torqueri praecabantur

¹¹⁴⁹ In Vienna 371, diocliciano

¹¹⁵⁰ In Vienna 371, praemiis

¹¹⁵¹ In Vienna 371, efficiebant

¹¹⁵² In Vienna 371, famulum d[e]i hireneum

¹¹⁵³ In Vienna 371, serieniensium

¹¹⁵⁴ in christo nomine does not exist in Vienna 371.

¹¹⁵⁵ In Vienna 371, Qui pro modestia sua ingenita et timore divino

¹¹⁵⁶ In Vienna 371, nominis sui

¹¹⁵⁷ In Vienna 371, itaq[ue]

¹¹⁵⁸ est does not exist in Vienna 371.

¹¹⁵⁹ In Vienna 371, praeside pannoniae. probus preses dixit ad eum

¹¹⁶⁰ In Vienna 371, diis

¹¹⁶¹ In Vienna 371, hireneus

¹¹⁶² In Vienna 371, qui diis et non d[e]o sacrificat exterminabitur

¹¹⁶³ In Vienna 371, praeses dixit

¹¹⁶⁴ In Vienna 371, succumbere debere

¹¹⁶⁵ In Vienna 371, hireneus

¹¹⁶⁶ a d[e]o does not exist in Vienna 371

¹¹⁶⁷ In Vienna 371, suscipere

¹¹⁶⁸ In Vienna 371, denegans

¹¹⁶⁹ In Vienna 371, dixit

¹¹⁷⁰ In Vienna 371, sacrificia

¹¹⁷¹ In Vienna 371, torqueri

¹¹⁷² In Vienna 371, hireneus

¹¹⁷³ In Vienna 371, gaudeo

¹¹⁷⁴ Tunc does not exist in Vienna 371

¹¹⁷⁵ In Vienna 371, vexari; Cumq[ue] acerrime vexaretur dixit

¹¹⁷⁶ In Vienna 371, quid dicis hirenee sacrificia

¹¹⁷⁷ In Vienna 371, hireneus

eum hinc pueri pedes eius cum lacrimis¹¹⁷⁸ amplectentes dicebant miserere tui et n[ost]ri pater inde uxores eorum¹¹⁷⁹ lugentes aetatem vultus illius¹¹⁸⁰ precabantur parentum vero omnium luctus et fletus erat super eum domesticorum gemitus vicinorum ululatus et lamentatio amicoru[m] qui omnes clamantes dicebant ad eum miserere tenere aduliscentie tue¹¹⁸¹ sed ut dictum e[st] meliore cupiditate detentus ante oculus habebat sententiam d[omi]ni qua dicit qui amat patrem aut matrem aut uxorem aut filios sup[er] me non est me dignus et qui non tollet crucem suam et sequitur me non potest meus esse discipulus¹¹⁸² Omnes ergo dispiciens¹¹⁸³ nulli omnino respondit festinabat autem pervenire ad superne vocationis spem¹¹⁸⁴ p[ro]bus pr[ese]s dic[it]¹¹⁸⁵ quid dicis irenee¹¹⁸⁶ flecter[er]¹¹⁸⁷ horum lacrimis ab insania tua et consulens aduliscentie tue¹¹⁸⁸ sacrificas¹¹⁸⁹ ireneus r[espondit] in perpe[t]uo mihi consuleo¹¹⁹⁰ si non sacrificavero p[ro]b[us] autem¹¹⁹¹ iussit eum recipi in custodia carceris plurimis vero diebus ibide[m] clausus penis¹¹⁹² affectus e[st] post hec vero¹¹⁹³ procedente media nocte et redente¹¹⁹⁴ pro tribunali p[re]sede¹¹⁹⁵ probo introductus e[st] iterum beatissimus ireneus¹¹⁹⁶ et¹¹⁹⁷ probus ad eum dicit¹¹⁹⁸ iam sacrifica irenee¹¹⁹⁹ et lucrare penas¹²⁰⁰ ireneus r[espondit] fac quod vis¹²⁰¹ hoc autem¹²⁰² a me ne expectes prob[us] iterum fustibus eum cedi precepit¹²⁰³ ireneus r[espondit] d[eu]m habeo quem a prima etate mea¹²⁰⁴ colere dedici ipsu[m] adoro qui me confortat¹²⁰⁵ in ominib[us] cui etiam sacrificio¹²⁰⁶ deos vero manu factos¹²⁰⁷ adorare non possum probus dicit¹²⁰⁸ lucrare mortem tuum¹²⁰⁹ iam tibi sufficiant q[uae] pertulisti¹²¹⁰ tormenta ireneus r[espondit]

¹¹⁷⁸ Cum lacrimis does not exist in Vienna 371

¹¹⁷⁹ Eorum does not exist in Vienna 371

¹¹⁸⁰ In Vienna 371, eius

¹¹⁸¹ In Vienna 371, tenerae adolescentiae tuae

¹¹⁸² In Vienna 371, sententiam d[omi]ni ante oculos habens quae dicit si quis me negaverit coram hominibus ego negabo eum coram patre meo qui in caelis est

¹¹⁸³ In Vienna 371, despiciens

¹¹⁸⁴ In Vienna 371, ad sup[er]nam spem vocationis

¹¹⁸⁵ In Vienna 371, dixit

¹¹⁸⁶ Irene does not exist in Vienna 371

¹¹⁸⁷ In Vienna 371, flectere

¹¹⁸⁸ In Vienna 371, adolescentie tue

¹¹⁸⁹ In Vienna 371, sacrificia

¹¹⁹⁰ In Vienna 371, consulo

¹¹⁹¹ Autem does not exist in Vienna 371

¹¹⁹² In Vienna 371, poenis

¹¹⁹³ In Vienna 371, Quodam autem tempore

¹¹⁹⁴ Et redente does not exist in Vienna 371

¹¹⁹⁵ In Vienna 371, praesidi

¹¹⁹⁶ In Vienna 371, martyr hireneus

¹¹⁹⁷ Does not exist in Vienna 371

¹¹⁹⁸ In Vienna 371, dixit

¹¹⁹⁹ In Vienna 371, hirenee

¹²⁰⁰ In Vienna 371, lucrans paenis

¹²⁰¹ In Vienna 371, iussum e[st]

¹²⁰² Autem does not exist in Vienna 371

¹²⁰³ In Vienna 371, vexatum eum fustib[us] caedi praecepit

¹²⁰⁴ In Vienna 371, aetate mea does not exist.

¹²⁰⁵ In Vienna 371, confestat

¹²⁰⁶ In Vienna 371, sacrifico

¹²⁰⁷ In Vienna 371, factis

¹²⁰⁸ In Vienna 371, dixit

¹²⁰⁹ Tuum does not exist in Vienna 371

lucror continuo mortem quando per eas quas mihi putas inferre te¹²¹¹ penas¹²¹² quas ego non sentio propter d[eu]m accipere vitam eternam probus dic[it]¹²¹³ filios habes ireneus¹²¹⁴ r[espondit] non habeo probus dic[it] parentes haberi¹²¹⁵ ireneus r[espondit] non habeo probus dic[it] et qui fuerunt illi qui flebant preterita sessione ireneus r[espondit] p[re]ceptum e[st] d[omi]ni mei ih[es]u chri[sti] dicentes¹²¹⁶ qui diligit patrem aut matrem aut uxorem aut fr[atrem]¹²¹⁷ aut parentes super me none[st] me dignus atque ideo¹²¹⁸ ad d[eu]m in celis¹²¹⁹ aspiciens et ad eius promissiones intendens omnia que¹²²⁰ despiciens nullum absq[ue] eum me¹²²¹ nosse et anime confiteor¹²²² probus dic[it]¹²²³ scio te filios habere¹²²⁴ vel propter illos sacrificia ireneus r[espondit] filii mi¹²²⁵ habent d[omi]n[u]m¹²²⁶ quem et¹²²⁷ ego qui potens est mecum illis salvare¹²²⁸ tu autem fac quod tibi p[re]ceptum e[st] probus dic[it] consule¹²²⁹ tibi iuvenis immola ut non te variis cruciamentis¹²³⁰ inpendam ireneus r[espondit] fac quod vis iam nunc videbis quant(d)am¹²³¹ mihi d[omi]n[u]s ih[esu]s chr[istu]s tolerantiam dabit adversus tuas¹²³² insidias p[ro]b[us] dic[it] dabo in te sententiam ireneus r[espondit] gratulor si feceris tunc¹²³³ probus data sententia dic[it] ireneum¹²³⁴ inoboedientem¹²³⁵ preceptis regalib[us] in fluvium precipitari precipio¹²³⁶ ireneus r[espondit] multiferas menas¹²³⁷ tuas et tormenta plurima exspectabam ut etiam post hec¹²³⁸ me ferro subiceris¹²³⁹ tu autem nihil horum inferre voluisti¹²⁴⁰ unde et¹²⁴¹ facias oro ut cognoscas quemammodum chri[sti]ani propter fidem que est in

¹²¹⁰ In Vienna 371, tolerasti

¹²¹¹ Te does not exist in Vienna 371

¹²¹² In Vienna 371, poenas

¹²¹³ In Vienna 371, dixit

¹²¹⁴ In Vienna 371, Uxorem habes hireneus resp[on]d[it] non habeo. probus dixit, filios habes. hireneus resp[on]d[it] non habeo.

¹²¹⁵ In Vienna 371, habes

¹²¹⁶ In Vienna 371, dicentis

¹²¹⁷ In Vienna 371, aut filios aut fratres.

¹²¹⁸ In Vienna 371, Itaq[ue]

¹²¹⁹ In Vienna 371, caelum

¹²²⁰ Que does not exist in Vienna 371

¹²²¹ In Vienna 371, se

¹²²² In Vienna 371, habere fatebatur

¹²²³ In Vienna 371, dixit

¹²²⁴ scio te filios habere does not exist in Vienna 371

¹²²⁵ In Vienna 371, mei

¹²²⁶ In Vienna 371, deum

¹²²⁷ Et does not exist in Vienna 371

¹²²⁸ In Vienna 371, potest illos salvare

¹²²⁹ In Vienna 371, consulo

¹²³⁰ In Vienna 371, cruciatib[us]

¹²³¹ In Vienna 371, quantam

¹²³² In Vienna 371, tuus – superscript

¹²³³ Tunc does not exist in Vienna 371

¹²³⁴ In Vienna 371, dix[it] hireneu

¹²³⁵ In Vienna 371, inoboediente

¹²³⁶ In Vienna 371, iubeo

¹²³⁷ In Vienna 371, multifarias minas

¹²³⁸ In Vienna 371, p[ro]pt[er] h[a]ec

¹²³⁹ In Vienna 371, subiceris [subiceres – superscript]

¹²⁴⁰ In Vienna 371, intulisti

¹²⁴¹ In Vienna 371, hoc

d[omi]no¹²⁴² mortem contempnere consueverunt iratus itaq[ue] p[ro]bus sup[er] fiduciam beatissimi viri iussit eum gladio percuti s[an]c[tu]s vero d[e]i martyr¹²⁴³ tibi gratias ago d[omi]ne ih[es]u chr[ist]e qui mihi per varias penas¹²⁴⁴ atq[ue]¹²⁴⁵ tormenta tolerantia[m] dare¹²⁴⁶ dignatus es et efficere me¹²⁴⁷ glorie eternaе partem cumq[ue]¹²⁴⁸ venisset ad pontem qui vocatur vasis¹²⁴⁹ et¹²⁵⁰ expolians se vestimenta sua¹²⁵¹ et extendens manus in caelum oravit dicens d[omi]ne ih[esu] chr[ist]e qui pro mundi salute pati dignatus es pateant caeli tui ut suscipiant angeli sp[iritu]m servi tui irenei qui propter nomen tuum et plebem¹²⁵² productus de ecclesia tua catholica¹²⁵³ hec patior te peto tuam qui¹²⁵⁴ misericordia[m] dep[re]cor ut a¹²⁵⁵ me suscipere et istos¹²⁵⁶ in fide tua confirmare digneris sic itaque percussus gladio proiectus e[st] a ministris in fluvio ti savi¹²⁵⁷ passus e[st] autem¹²⁵⁸ beatissimus ireneus¹²⁵⁹ ep[iscopu]s syrmientium¹²⁶⁰ civitatis die octavum idus april[is] sub dioclesiano et maximiano imperatoribus¹²⁶¹ agente probo preside regna¹²⁶² d[omi]no n[ost]ro ih[es]u chr[ist]o cum patre et sp[irit]u s[an]c[t]o¹²⁶³ in secula seculorum amen expli[cit]

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Lat. 371/Cod. 13. 712, ff. 77r-78v (BHL 4466)

(with the different readings of Karlsruhe XXXII, U 42, St-Omer 715)

PASSIO S[ANC]TI HERENEI EP[ISCOP]I QUOD EST VIII IDUS

Cum esset persecutio sub diocliciano et maximiano¹²⁶⁴ imperatoribus. quando¹²⁶⁵ diversis agonibus concertantes christiani a tyrannis inlata supplicia devota d[e]o mente suscipientes. Praemiis se perpetuis participes efficiebant; Quod et factum e[st] circa famulum d[e]i

¹²⁴² In Vienna 371, d[e]o

¹²⁴³ In Vienna 371, tamquam secundum palmam accipiens. d[e]o gratias agebat dicens

¹²⁴⁴ In Vienna 371, poenas

¹²⁴⁵ In Vienna 371, et

¹²⁴⁶ In Vienna 371, donas tolerantia[m]

¹²⁴⁷ In Vienna 371, meae

¹²⁴⁸ In Vienna 371, et cum

¹²⁴⁹ In Vienna 371, basentis

¹²⁵⁰ Et does not exist in Vienna 371

¹²⁵¹ Sua does not exist in Vienna 371

¹²⁵² In Vienna 371, plebem tuam

¹²⁵³ In Vienna 371, catholica sermiensium

¹²⁵⁴ In Vienna 371, tuamq[ue]

¹²⁵⁵ Does not exist in Vienna 371

¹²⁵⁶ In Vienna 371, hos

¹²⁵⁷ In Vienna 371, in fluvium savi

¹²⁵⁸ In Vienna 371, martirizavit

¹²⁵⁹ In Vienna 371, famulus d[e]i s[a]c[e]r hireneus

¹²⁶⁰ In Vienna 371, civitatis sermiensium

¹²⁶¹ In Vienna 371, diocliciano imperatore

¹²⁶² In Vienna 371, regnante

¹²⁶³ cum patre et sp[irit]u s[an]c[t]o does not exist in Vienna 371, instead cui est gloria

¹²⁶⁴ Omitted in St-Omer 715.

¹²⁶⁵ Omitted in U 42. It generally appears only in a few earliest manuscripts.

hireneum¹²⁶⁶ ep[iscopu]m urbis serieniensium.¹²⁶⁷ cuius iam nunc vobis certamen pandam victoriamque ostendam, Qui pro modestia sua ingenita et timore divino cui operibus rectis inserviebat dignus nominis sui inventus e[st]; Conp[re]hensus itaq[ue] oblatus probo praeside¹²⁶⁸ pannoniae. probus preses dixit ad eum; Obtemperans praeceptis divinis sacrificare diis; hireneus resp[ondit] qui diis et non d[e]o sacrificat exterminabitur,¹²⁶⁹ probus praeses dixit, clementissimi principes iusserunt aut sacrificare aut tormentis succumbere debere, hireneus respondit; mihi enim praeceptu[m] e[st] tormenta magis suscipere quam d[eu]m denegans demoniis sacrificare, probus praes[es] dixit; Aut sacrificare aut faciam te torqueri. hireneus resp[ondit]; gaudeo si feceris ut d[omi]ni mei passionib[us] particeps inveniar; prob[us] preses iussit eum vexari; Cumq[ue] acerrime vexaretur dixit ad eum; quid dicis hirenee sacrificare, hireneus respond[it]; Sacrifico¹²⁷⁰ per bonam confessione[m] d[e]o meo cui semp[er] sacrificavi. Advenientes vero parentes eius videntes eum torqueri praecabantur eum; hinc pueri pedes eius amplectentes dicebant; miserere tui et n[ost]ri, pater; Inde uxores lugentes vultus aetatem eius precabantur, parentum vero omnium luctus et fletus erat sup[er] eum domesticorum gemitus vicinorum ululatus et lamentatio amicorum qui om[n]es clamantes ad eum dicebant; tenerae adolescentiae tuae miserere, Sed, ut dictu[m] e[st] meliore cupiditate detentus sententiam d[omi]ni ante oculos habens quae dicit si quis me negaverit coram hominibus ego negabo eum coram patre meo qui in caelis est, Omnes ergo despiciens nulli omnino respondit festinabat autem ad sup[er]nam spem vocationis pervenire. probus praeses dixit; quid dicis flectere horum lacrimis ab insania tua et consulens adolescentie¹²⁷¹ tue sacrificare, hireneus respondit consulo mihi in p[er]petuo si non sacrificavero, probus iussit eum recipi in custodia carceris; plurimis vero dieb[us] ibidem clausus poenis e[st] affectus, Quodam autem tempore media nocte procedente p[ro] tribunali praesidi probo introductus e[st] iterum beatissimus martyr hireneus. probus dixit ad eum, Iam sacrificare hirenee lucrans paenis,¹²⁷² hireneus resp[ondit]; fac quod iussum e[st] hoc a me ne expectes. probus iterum vexatum eum fustib[us] caedi praecepit, hireneus resp[ondit], D[eu]m habeo quem a prima aetate colere dedici ipsum adoro qui me confestat¹²⁷³ in omnibus cui etiam et sacrifico, Deos vero manu factis adorare non possum, prob[us] dixit, Lucrare mortem. Iam tibi sufficiant quae tolerasti tormenta. hireneus respo[ndit], Lucror continuo morte[m] quando per eas quas mihi putas inferre poenas, quas ego non sentio, propter d[eu]m accipere¹²⁷⁴ vitam aeternam. probus dixit. Uxorem habes hireneus resp[ondit] non habeo. probus dixit, filios habes. hireneus resp[ondit] non habeo. probus di[xit] parentes habes? hireneus respond[it] non habeo. probus dix[it] et qui fuerunt illi qui praeterita flebant sessione; hireneus respond[it] praeceptum e[st] d[omi]ni mei iesu chri[sti] dicentis, Qui diligit p[atrem] aut matre[m] aut uxorem aut filios aut fratres. aut parentes sup[er] me, none[st] me dignus, Itaq[ue] ad d[eu]m in caelum aspiciens et ad eius promissiones intendens omnia despiciens. nullum absque eum se nosse atq[ue] habere fatebatur, probus dixit; vel p[ro]pt[er] illos sacrificare. hireneus resp[ondit] Filii mei d[eu]m habent quem ego. qui potest illos salvare. Tu autem fac quod tibi praeceptum e[st]. probus dixit,

¹²⁶⁶ In Karlsruhe, hereneum

¹²⁶⁷ In Karlsruhe, sirmiensium

¹²⁶⁸ In Karlsruhe, praesidi

¹²⁶⁹ Eradicabitur in St-Omer 715.

¹²⁷⁰ In Karlsruhe, sacrificabo

¹²⁷¹ In Karlsruhe, adolescentiae

¹²⁷² Poenas in St-Omer 715.

¹²⁷³ In Karlsruhe, confortat

¹²⁷⁴ In Karlsruhe, accipero

Consulo¹²⁷⁵ tibi iuvenis immola ut non te cruciatib[us] inpendam, hireneus resp[on]d[it], fac quod vis iam nunc videbis quantam mihi d[omi]n[u]s ih[esu]s chr[istu]s dabit tolerantia[m] adversus [tuus – **superscript**] insidias. probus dix[it] Dabo in te sententia[m], hireneus resp[on]d[it], gratulor si feceris, prob[us] data sententia dix[it] hireneu inoboediente.¹²⁷⁶ praeceptis regalibus in fluvium praecipitari iubeo. hireneus resp[on]d[it] multafarias minas tuas et tormenta plurima expectabam. ut etiam p[ro]pt[er] h[a]ec me ferro subiceris¹²⁷⁷ [subiceres - **superscript**], tu autem nihil horum intulisti unde hoc facias, oro ut cognoscas quemammodum chr[ist]iani propt[er] fidem quae est in d[e]o mortem contempnere consueverunt, Iratus itaq[ue] probus sup[er] fiducia[m] beatissimi viri iussit eum etiam gladio percuti, S[an]c[tu]s vero d[e]i martyr tamquam secundum¹²⁷⁸ palmam accipiens. d[e]o gratias agebat dicens, tibi gratias ago d[omi]ne ih[esu]s chr[ist]e qui mihi per varias poenas et tormenta donas tolerantia[m] ut aeternae gloriae meae participem efficere dignatus es. Et cum venisset ad pontem qui vocatur basentis expolians se vestimenta. et extendens manus in caelu[m] oravit dicens, D[omi]ne ih[esu]s chr[ist]e qui pro mundi salute pati dignatus es pateant caeli tui ut suscipiant angeli sp[iritu]m servi tui hirenei qui propt[er] nomen tuum et plebem tuam p[ro]ductus de ecclesia tua catholica sermiensium haec patior, te peto tuamq[ue] deprecor misericordiam ut et me suscipere et hos in fide tua confirmare digneris, Sic itaq[ue] percussus gladio a ministris proiectus e[st] in fluvium savi; martirizavit famulus d[e]i s[a]c[e]r hireneus ep[iscopu]s civitatis sermiensium die VIII id[us] april[is]. Sub diocliciano imperatore agente probo preside regnante d[omi]no n[ost]ro ih[esu]s chr[ist]o cui est gloria in secula seculorum. amen; expli[cit]

Passion of Saint Irenaeus bishop, Vienna 371 (My translation)

When there was the persecution under the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian, when Christians resisted to various fights, they accepted the punishments given to them by tyrants with mind devoted to God. Therefore, they made themselves the partakers of the eternal rewards. This is what happened to the servant of God Irenaeus, the bishop of the town of Sirmium. I will demonstrate and show even now to you his fight and victory. Because of his inborn moderation and fear of God that he was devoted to by rightful deeds, he became dignified of his name; therefore, he was caught and brought to Probus, the governor of Pannonia. Governor Probus told him: "Conforming to the divine orders, sacrifice to gods." Irenaeus replied: "The one, who sacrifices to gods, and not to God, will be exterminated." Probus governor said: "Merciful emperors ordered either to sacrifice, or to be exposed to tortures." Irenaeus answered: "I have an order to accept the tortures, rather than to sacrifice to demons, and reject God." Governor Probus said: "Either sacrifice, or I will make you suffer torture." Irenaeus answered: "I am happy if you will, as I will be found a companion of my Lord by suffering." The governor Probus ordered that he be tortured.

While he was tortured without mercy, governor told him: "What do you say, Irenaeus? Sacrifice!" Irenaeus replied: "I will sacrifice through true confession to my God, to whom I

¹²⁷⁵ In Karlsruhe, consule

¹²⁷⁶ In Karlsruhe, Hireneum inoboedientem

¹²⁷⁷ In Karlsruhe, subiaceris

¹²⁷⁸ In Karlsruhe, secundam

always sacrificed.” There came his parents, and when they saw him tortured, they begged him; here the slaves, embracing his legs, were saying: “Have compassion, father, on yourself and us.” There women begged, mourning the outlook of his youth. Sorrow and cry of all the parents was above him, lamentation of the housemembers and howling of neighbors and friends, who all were saying to him: “Have mercy to your gentle youth.” But, as was said, he wanted something higher, keeping in front of his eyes the sentence of God, which says: If somebody rejects me in front of people, I will reject him in front of my Father who is in the heavens. Therefore, having rejected all of them, he did not reply to anybody, but he rushed to arrive to the higher hope of the duty. Probus Governor said: “What do you say? Let their tears convert you from your mindlessness, have mercy on your youth, and sacrifice.” Irenaeus answered: “I will have mercy on myself forever, if I do not sacrifice.” Governor ordered to take him in the prison.

He was imprisoned there for a long time, and exposed to tortures. Then after some time, the most blessed martyr Irenaeus in the middle of the night was taken in front of the governor Probus, who was presiding over the tribunal. Probus told him: “For once, sacrifice, Irenaeus, you who acquire punishment.” Irenaeus replied: “Do as it is ordered, and do not expect this from me.” The governor again ordered that he is beaten by sticks to die. Irenaeus replied: “I have God, whom I learned to respect since my youth; who consoles me, to whom I sacrifice, and gods made by the human hand I cannot worship.” Probus said: “Avoid death; the tortures you already survived suffice.” Irenaeus answered: “I avoid death when I accept the eternal life because of God through those which you think you impose as punishments on me, which I do not feel as punishments.” Probus said: “Do you have a wife?” Irenaeus answered: “I do not have.” Probus said: “Do you have sons?” Irenaeus replied: “I do not have.” Probus said: “Do you have parents?” Irenaeus answered: “I do not have.” Probus said: “And who were those who were crying in the previous trial?” Irenaeus answered: “It is a command of my Lord Jesus Christ, who says: Who loves father or mother or wife or children or brothers, or parents more than me, is not worth of me. Therefore, who streams towards God in heavens, and extends to his promises, despises everything, and confesses that he does not have other father than him.”

Probus said: “So, sacrifice, for the sake of their love.” Irenaeus replied: “My sons have God, whom I have too, who can save them. And you do what is ordered to you.” Probus said: “I advice you, young man, to sacrifice, so that I do not submit yourself to tortures.” Irenaeus replied: “Do whatever you want; You will see just now what kind of tolerance Lord Jesus Christ will give to me against the ambushes.” Probus said: “I will proclaim the punishment to you.” Irenaeus answered: “I thank you if you do it.” Having given the sentence, Probus said: “I order that inobedient Irenaeus be thrown to the river, because of the disrespecting of the emperor’s orders.” Irenaeus replied: “I expected manifold threats and many tortures from you. I expected that you also expose me to the iron because of this. And you did not impose any of these things. I ask you to know how Christians despise death because of faith in God.”

Therefore, the angry Governor because of the trust of this most blessed man ordered that he be cut off by sword. But Saint and the martyr of God, as if he receives the second palm, thanked to God, by saying: “I thank you, Lord Jesus Christ, who gave me the endurance through many punishments and tortures, that you deem to make me worthy to be participant of your eternal glory.” And when he arrived to the bridge, which is called Basentis, after taking off the garment, and raising hands towards the sky, he prayed by saying: “Lord Jesus Christ, you who deemed worthy to suffer for the salvation of the world, let your heavens open that angels accept the soul of your slave Irenaeus. I suffer this because of your name and your people from the Catholic Church of Sirmium. I also ask and I avert your mercy to make me dignified to keep me and

confirm them in your faith.” Therefore, cut by sword from the officers, and thrown in the river Sava, the Slave of God St. Irenaeus, bishop of Sirmium, was martyred on the 6th of April, during Diocletian and governor of Prefecture Probus, during the reign of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom glory in the centuries of the centuries. Amen.

Twelfth-century manuscripts: Brussels 9289 (basic text), Einsiedeln, Brussels 207-208,

London Nero C.VII

PASSIO S[AN]C[T]I HYRENEI¹²⁷⁹ EP[ISCOP]I ET. MART.¹²⁸⁰

Cum esset persecutio sub diocletiano et maximiano imperatoribus diversis¹²⁸¹ agonibus decertantes¹²⁸² christiani a tyrannis illata supplicia devota d[omi]no¹²⁸³ mente suscipientes. praemiisse perpetuis participes efficiebant; Q[uo]d et factu[m] e[st] circa famulu[m] d[e]i hyreneu[m]¹²⁸⁴ ep[iscopu]m urbis¹²⁸⁵ smyrnensiu[m].¹²⁸⁶ cui[us] iam nunc vobis certam[en] panda[m] victoria[m]q[ue] ostenda[m] Qui p[ro] modestia sua ingenti¹²⁸⁷ et timore divino cui operib[us] rectis inserviebat dign[us] nominis sui invent[us] est. Comp[re]hensus itaq[ue] oblat[us] e[st] p[ro]bo p[rae]sidi pannoniae. Prob[us] p[rae]ses¹²⁸⁸ dix[it] ad eu[m]; Obtemp[er]ans p[rae]ceptis divinis sacrificia diis; hyreneus¹²⁸⁹ respondit qui diis vanis¹²⁹⁰ et n[on] d[e]o sacrificat ext[er]minabit[ur] prob[us] preses dix[it] clem[en]tissimi p[ri]ncipes iusser[un]t aut sacrificare aut torm[en]tis te¹²⁹¹ succumbere debere hyreneus respondit Mihi¹²⁹² p[rae]ceptu[m] e[st] torm[en]ta magis suscip[er]e qua[m] d[e]u[m] denegando¹²⁹³ demoniis sacrificare Prob[us] p[rae]ses dix[it] Aut sacrificia aut facia[m] te torqueri. hyreneus dix[it]¹²⁹⁴ Gaudeo si feceris. ut d[omi]ni mei passionib[us] particeps inveniar. Prob[us] p[re]ses iussit¹²⁹⁵ eu[m] vexari. Cunq[ue] acerrime vexaret[ur] dix[it] ad eu[m] Q[ui]d dicis hyrenee sacrificia hyreneus respondit Sacrifico¹²⁹⁶ p[er] bona[m] c[on]fessione[m] d[e]o meo cui semp[er] sacrificavi. Advenientes¹²⁹⁷ parentes ei[us] videntes eu[m] torqueri p[rae]cabant[ur] eum Tunc¹²⁹⁸ pueri pedes ei[us] amplectentes dicebant miserere tui et n[ost]ri, pater¹²⁹⁹ Tunc uxore

¹²⁷⁹ In Einsiedeln, it is Hirenei. In Bruss. 207-8, it is Hyrenei. In London Nero Herenei

¹²⁸⁰ In Einsiedeln, et. mart. omitted. In Bruss. 207-8 and London Nero too.

¹²⁸¹ In Einsiedeln, it is quando diversis. In Bruss. 207-8 and London Nero too.

¹²⁸² In Einsiedeln, it is concertantes, in Bruss. 207-8 and London Nero too.

¹²⁸³ In Einsiedeln, it is d[e]o, in Bruss. 207-8 and London Nero too.

¹²⁸⁴ In London Nero hereneu[m]

¹²⁸⁵ In Einsiedeln, there is no urbis. In London Nero urbe[m]

¹²⁸⁶ In Einsiedeln, sirmiensiu[m]. in Bruss. 207-8 sirmiensiu[m]. in London Nero sirmiensiu[m]

¹²⁸⁷ In Einsiedeln, ingenta, in Bruss. 207-8 and London Nero too.

¹²⁸⁸ In Bruss. 207-8 omitted

¹²⁸⁹ In Bruss. 207-8, Herene[us], in London Nero too.

¹²⁹⁰ In Einsiedeln, no vanis. In Bruss. 207-8 and London Nero too.

¹²⁹¹ In Einsiedeln, no te, in Bruss. 207-8 and London Nero too.

¹²⁹² In Bruss. 207-8, michi enim, in London Nero too.

¹²⁹³ In Einsiedeln, denegans. In Bruss. 207-8 denegando, in London Nero denegando.

¹²⁹⁴ In Einsiedeln, respondit (earlier). In Bruss. 207-8 and London Nero too.

¹²⁹⁵ In Bruss. 207-8, continuo iussit, in London Nero too.

¹²⁹⁶ In Einsiedeln, sacrificabo. In Bruss. 207-8 sacrifico

¹²⁹⁷ In Einsiedeln, advenientes v[er]o. In Bruss. 207-8 too.

¹²⁹⁸ In Einsiedeln, hinc, in London Nero too.

eius lugens¹³⁰⁰ vultu[m] pulchritudinis et¹³⁰¹ etate[m] ei[us] lamentabant¹³⁰² parent[m] ei[us]¹³⁰³ om[n]iu[m] luct[us] et flet[us] erat sup[er] eu[m]. domestico[rum] gemit[us] vicino[rum] ululat[us] et lamentatio amico[rum] Qui om[ne]s clamantes¹³⁰⁴ ad eu[m] dicebant Tenere adolescentie tue miserere Sed ut dictu[m] e[st] meliore cupiditate detent[us] sententia[m] d[eu]m¹³⁰⁵ habens ante oculos que dicit si q[ui]s me negaverit¹³⁰⁶ cora[m] hominib[us] et ego negabo eu[m] cora[m] patre meo q[ui] in celis e[st] Om[ne]s¹³⁰⁷ despiciens nulli om[n]ino respondit festinabatq[ue] ad sup[er]ne[m] spe[m] vocationis¹³⁰⁸ p[er]venire. Prob[us] p[re]ses dix[it] Q[ui]d dicis Flectere ho[rum] lacrimis ab insania tua et c[on]sule¹³⁰⁹ adolescentie tue Sacrifica hyreneus respondit Consulo m[hi] in p[er]petuu[m] si n[on] sacrificavero. Prob[us] iussit eu[m] recipi in custodia carceris Plurimis v[er]o dieb[us] ibide[m] clausus penis e[st] affect[us] Quoda[m] aute[m] te[m]pore media nocte p[ro]cedente¹³¹⁰ p[ro] tribunali p[re]side p[ro]bo introduct[us] e[st] iteru[m] beatissim[us] martyr hyreneus. Prob[us]¹³¹¹ dix[it]¹³¹² ad eu[m] Iam sacrifica hyreneus lucrans vita[m] tua[m]¹³¹³ hyreneus resp[on]d[it]¹³¹⁴ Fac q[uo]d iuss[um] e[st] tibi¹³¹⁵ hoc¹³¹⁶ a me ne expectes. Prob[us] iteru[m] vexatu[m] eu[m] cu[m] fustib[us] cedi p[re]cepit hyreneus resp[on]d[it]. D[eu]m habeo que[m] a p[ri]ma¹³¹⁷ etate colere dedici¹³¹⁸ ipsu[m] adoro q[ui] me c[on]festat¹³¹⁹ cui etia[m] et sacrifico. Deos v[er]o manu factos adorare n[on] possu[m] Prob[us] dix[it]¹³²⁰ Lucrare mort[em]. Iam tibi sufficiant que tolerasti torm[en]ta. hyreneus respondit Lucror c[on]tinuo morte[m]¹³²¹ p[er] eas quas m[hi] putas inferre penas quasq[ue] n[on] sentio¹³²² q[ui]a p[ro] eis utiq[ue] recipia[m] vita[m] et[er]na[m]. Prob[us] dix[it]¹³²³ Uxore[m] habes hyreneus respondit Non habeo. Probus dix[it] Filios habes. hyreneus respondit non habeo. Prob[us] di[xit] Parentes habes. hyreneus respondit Non habeo. Prob[us]

¹²⁹⁹ In Bruss. 207-8, omitted et nostri pater, in London Nero too.

¹³⁰⁰ In Einsiedeln, inde uxores lugentes. In Bruss. 207-8 in[de] au[tem] pat[er] et in[de] uxores lugentes, in London Nero too.

¹³⁰¹ In Einsiedeln, no pulchritudinis et. In Bruss. 207-8 and London Nero too.

¹³⁰² In Einsiedeln, p[rae]cabantur. In Bruss. 207-8 and London Nero too.

¹³⁰³ In Einsiedeln, no eius but v[er]o. In Bruss. 207-8 and London Nero too.

¹³⁰⁴ In Einsiedeln, amantes(?). In Bruss. 207-8 venientes, in London Nero venientes.

¹³⁰⁵ In Bruss. 207-8 domini, in London Nero too.

¹³⁰⁶ In London Nero, negaverit dix[it] d[eu]s

¹³⁰⁷ In Einsiedeln, omnes ergo. In Bruss. 207-8 and London Nero too.

¹³⁰⁸ In Bruss. 207-8 vocationis et[er]ne, in London Nero too.

¹³⁰⁹ In Einsiedeln, consulens. In Bruss. 207-8 and London Nero too.

¹³¹⁰ In Bruss. 207-8, p[re]sidente, in London Nero too.

¹³¹¹ In Bruss. 207-8 Probus au[tem]

¹³¹² In Einsiedeln, dicit. In Bruss. 207-8 dixit

¹³¹³ In Einsiedeln, penas, in Bruss. 207-8 and London Nero too.

¹³¹⁴ In Einsiedeln, this is omitted: hyreneus resp[on]d[it] Fac q[uo]d iuss[um] e[st] tibi hoc a me ne expectes. Prob[us] iteru[m] vexatu[m] eu[m] cu[m] fustib[us] cedi p[re]cepit

¹³¹⁵ In Bruss. 207-8 tibi e[st], in London Nero too.

¹³¹⁶ In London Nero, no hoc

¹³¹⁷ In Bruss. 207-8 a primeva

¹³¹⁸ In Bruss. 207-8 didici

¹³¹⁹ In Einsiedeln, confortat in omnibus, in Bruss. 207-8 and London Nero too.

¹³²⁰ In Einsiedeln, dicit

¹³²¹ In London Nero, morte[m] quando

¹³²² In Einsiedeln, instead of this line, it goes: p[ro]pt[er] d[eu]m accepero una[m] et[er]na[m]. In Bruss. 207-8 p[ro]pt[er] d[eu]m accipia[m] ut lucre[m] vita[m] et[er]na[m]. In London Nero, quas et ego n[on] sentio p[ro]pt[er] d[eu]m accipia[m] ut lucre[m] vita[m] et[er]na[m].

¹³²³ In Einsiedeln, dicit

dix[it] Et q[ui] fuer[un]t illi qui p[ro] te tanta auctoritate¹³²⁴ flebant ante n[ost]ram¹³²⁵ sessione[m] hyreneus respondit Preceptu[m] e[st] d[eu]m¹³²⁶ mei iesy chri[sti] dicentis¹³²⁷ Qui diligit patre[m] aut matre[m] aut uxore[m] aut filios aut fr[at]re[s]. aut parentes sup[er] me, n[on] e[st] me dign[us] Itaq[ue] ad d[eu]m in celum¹³²⁸ aspici¹³²⁹ et ad ei[us] p[ro]missiones om[ni]a despicientes.¹³³⁰ nullum absq[ue] eo nosse aut habere fatebunt[ur]¹³³¹ Prob[us] dix[it] Vel p[ro]pt[er] tuos filios¹³³² sacrificata. hyreneus respondit Filii mei d[eu]m que[m] et ego habeo¹³³³ habent. Q[ui] potest illos salvare. Tu aut[em] fac q[uo]d t[ibi] p[re]ceptu[m] est. Prob[us] dix[it] Consule¹³³⁴ t[ibi] senex¹³³⁵ et immola ut n[on] te cruciatib[us] impendam, hyreneus respondit, Fac q[uo]d vis ia[m] nunc videbis quanta[m] m[ihi] d[omi]n[u]s ih[esu]s chr[istu]s dabit tolerantia[m] adversus tuas insidias. Prob[us] dixit Dabo in te sententia[m] mortis¹³³⁶ hyreneus respondit Gratulor si feceris Prob[us] data sententia dix[it] hyreneu inobediente[m] p[re]ceptis regalib[us] in fluvio[m] p[re]cipitari iubeo. hyreneus respondit Multifarias minas tuas et torm[en]ta plurima expectaba[m] ut etia[m] p[ro]pt[er] hoc¹³³⁷ me subiceres ferro tu aute[m] nihil hor[um] intulisti que p[ro]mittebas m[ihi] Qua p[ro]pt[er] oro¹³³⁸ ut cognoscas quemammodu[m] chr[ist]iani quae est in d[eu]m morte[m] suscip[er]e consuever[un]t,¹³³⁹ Irat[us] itaq[ue] p[ro]bus sup[er] fiducia beatissimi viri iussit eu[m] gladio etia[m] p[er]cuti, S[an]c[t]u[s] deniq[ue]¹³⁴⁰ martyr in p[er]misso sibi martyrio congaudens¹³⁴¹ d[e]o gra[t]ias agebat dicens Tibi gra[t]ias ago d[omi]ne ih[esu]s chr[ist]e q[ui] m[ihi] p[er] varias penas et torm[en]ta donasti¹³⁴² tolerantia[m] et et[er]nae gl[ori]e¹³⁴³ me particeps[m] efficere dignat[us] es.¹³⁴⁴ Et cu[m] venisset ad ponte[m] qui vocat[ur] basentus¹³⁴⁵ expolians se vestim[en]tis suis¹³⁴⁶ et extendens man[us] in celu[m] oravit dicens D[omi]ne ih[esu]s chr[ist]e q[ui] p[ro] mundi salute pati dignat[us] es pateant celi tui ut suscipiant angli sp[iritu]m meu[m]¹³⁴⁷ q[ui] a hec patior

¹³²⁴ In Einsiedeln, this is omitted and it is written p[re]terita, in Bruss. 207-8 and London Nero too.

¹³²⁵ In Einsiedeln, this is omitted, in Bruss. 207-8 and London Nero too.

¹³²⁶ In London Nero d[omi]ni mei

¹³²⁷ In Bruss. 207-8 dicentes

¹³²⁸ In London Nero, celis

¹³²⁹ In Einsiedeln, aspiciens, in Bruss. 207-8 and London Nero too.

¹³³⁰ In Bruss. 207-8dens omniaque despiciens, in London Nero omnia que despiciens.

¹³³¹ In Einsiedeln, eo se nosse atq[ue] habere fatebatur. In Bruss. 207-8 eo me nosse atq[ue] habere fateor, in London Nero too.

¹³³² In Einsiedeln, illos, in Bruss. 207-8 and London Nero too.

¹³³³ In Einsiedeln, omitted quem et ego habeo

¹³³⁴ In London Nero, consule[m]

¹³³⁵ In Einsiedeln, iuvenis, in Bruss. 207-8 and London Nero too.

¹³³⁶ In Einsiedeln omitted, in Bruss. 207-8 and London Nero too.

¹³³⁷ In Einsiedeln, hec, in London Nero too.

¹³³⁸ In Einsiedeln instead of que p[ro]mittebas m[ihi] Qua p[ro]pt[er] oro, it goes: unde hoc facias oro. In Bruss. 207-8 and London Nero too.

¹³³⁹ In Einsiedeln, instead of quae est in d[eu]m morte[m] suscip[er]e consuever[un]t, it goes: p[ro]pt[er] fide[m] que e[st] in d[e]o morte[m] conte[m]pnere esueverunt. In Bruss. 207-8 and London Nero too, except consueverunt.

¹³⁴⁰ In Einsiedeln, vero d[e]i, in Bruss. 207-8 and London Nero too.

¹³⁴¹ In Einsiedeln, ta[m]qua[m] secundam palma[m] accipiens, in Bruss. 207-8 and London Nero too.

¹³⁴² In Bruss. 207-8 donas, in London Nero too.

¹³⁴³ In Einsiedeln, instead of glorie, superscript vite. In Bruss. 207-8 glorie tue, in London Nero too.

¹³⁴⁴ In London Nero digneris.

¹³⁴⁵ In Einsiedeln, basensis, in Bruss. 207-8 and London Nero too.

¹³⁴⁶ In Einsiedeln, vestimenta sua, in Bruss. 207-8 and London Nero too.

¹³⁴⁷ In Einsiedeln, servi tui hirenei, in Bruss. 207-8 and London Nero too.

p[ro]pt[er] nom[en] tuu[m]¹³⁴⁸ Tua(m) dep[re]cor mis[er]ic[or]diam ut et me suscip[er]e et filios meos¹³⁴⁹ in tua fide c[on]firmare digneris Sic itaq[ue] p[er]cussus gladio a ministris p[ro]bi¹³⁵⁰ p[ro]iectus e[st] in fluvio[m];¹³⁵¹ Martirizat[us] e[st] servus¹³⁵² d[e]i hereneus ep[iscopu]s civitatis smymensium¹³⁵³ die VIII id[us] april[is]. Sub diocliciano¹³⁵⁴ imp[er]atore agente probo p[re]side regnante d[omi]no n[ost]ro ih[es]u chr[ist]o¹³⁵⁵ cui est honor et gl[ori]a in s[e]c[u]la s[e]c[u]lor[um]. Amen.

Thirteenth-century Manuscripts: Dublin, London Harl, St-Omer 716, Trier

(Differences with Vienna manuscript underlined)

PASSIO S[ANC]TI HYRENEI M[A]R[TYR]IS¹³⁵⁶ VIII IDUS APRILIS

Cum e[ss]et p[er]secutio sub diocliciano imperatore. q[ua]n[do] div[er]sis agonibus co[n]certantes chri[sti]ani a tyrannis¹³⁵⁷ illata supplicia devota d[e]o mente suscipientes. P[rae]miis sepeperpetuis participes efficiebant; q[uo]d et f[a]c[tu]m e[st] circa famulum d[e]i hireneum¹³⁵⁸ ep[iscopu]m urbis syrmene[n]sium.¹³⁵⁹ cui[us] iam n[un]c vobis certamen pandam victoria[m]¹³⁶⁰ ostendam, qui¹³⁶¹ modestia sua ingenita et timore divino cui op[er]ib[us] rectis inserviebat. dign[us] no[m]in[is] sui invent[us] e[st]; Conp[re]hensus itaq[ue] oblatus e[st] p[ro]bo p[re]sidi pannonie. P[ro]bus p[re]ses dixit ad s[an]c[tu]m hireneum;¹³⁶² Obte[m]perans p[re]ceptis divinis sacrificia diis; hireneus¹³⁶³ respondit. Qui diis et n[on] d[e]o sacrificat eradicabitur.¹³⁶⁴ P[ro]b[us] p[re]ses dixit, clementissimi p[ri]ncipes iusserunt aut sac[ri]ficare aut torme[n]tis succumbere¹³⁶⁵ debere. hireneus respondit. Michi eni[m]¹³⁶⁶ p[re]ceptu[m] e[st] tormenta magis suscipe[re] q[ua]m d[e]u[m] denegans demoniis sacrificare, p[ro]b[us] dixit; Aut sacrificia aut faciam te torq[ue]ri. hireneus respondit. gaudeo si feceris. ut d[omi]ni mei passionib[us] particeps inveniar. P[ro]b[us] p[re]ses iussit eu[m] vexari; Cu[m]q[ue] acerrime vexaret[ur] dix[it] ad eu[m] Q[ui]d dicis hirenee sacrificia. hireneus respond[it]; Sacrifico p[er] bona[m] c[on]fessione[m] d[e]o meo. cui semp[er] sac[ri]ficavi. advenientes v[er]o parentes ei[us] videntes eum torq[ue]ri p[re]cabantur eu[m]; hinc pueri pedes eius amplecte[n]tes

¹³⁴⁸ In Einsiedeln, p[ro]pt[er] nom[en] tuu[m] et plebe[m] tua[m] p[ro]ductus de ecclesia tua catholica sirmiensiu[m] hec patior repeti tua[m]que. In Bruss. 207-8 and London Nero too.

¹³⁴⁹ In Einsiedeln, hos, in Bruss. 207-8 and London Nero too.

¹³⁵⁰ In London Nero, this word omitted

¹³⁵¹ In Einsiedeln, in fluvium savi, in London Nero too.

¹³⁵² In Bruss. 207-8 famulus, in London Nero too.

¹³⁵³ In Bruss. 207-8 sermiensium

¹³⁵⁴ In Bruss. 207-8 dyocletiano

¹³⁵⁵ In London Nero, the line omitted: cui est honor et gl[ori]a in s[e]c[u]la s[e]c[u]lor[um]. Amen.

¹³⁵⁶ In St-Omer 716, ep[iscop]i et m[ar]t[yr]is que e[st]

¹³⁵⁷ In St-Omer 716, tyrannis

¹³⁵⁸ In St-Omer 716, hyreneu[m]

¹³⁵⁹ In London Harl, sermiensium. In St-Omer 716 syrmienensiu[m]

¹³⁶⁰ In London Harl, victoriamq[ue], in St-Omer 716 too.

¹³⁶¹ In London Harl, qui p[ro], in St-Omer 716

¹³⁶² In London Harl, ad eum, in St-Omer 716 too.

¹³⁶³ In St-Omer 716, Yreneus

¹³⁶⁴ In London Harl, exterminabit[ur]

¹³⁶⁵ In London Harl, succumbere te (superscript)

¹³⁶⁶ In London Harl, aute[m]

dicebant; miserere n[ost]ri et¹³⁶⁷ tui, p[ate]r; Inde uxores lugentes vultus etatum ei[us] p[re]cabantur,¹³⁶⁸ parentum v[er]o o[mn]i[u]m luctus et fletus erat sup[er] eu[m] domesticor[um] gemitus vicinor[um] ululatus et lamentatio amicor[um] qui om[n]es clamantes¹³⁶⁹ ad d[eu]m¹³⁷⁰ dicebant; tenere adolescentie tue miserere. S[ed] ut d[i]c[tu]m e[st] meliore cupiditate detentus sententiam d[omi]ni an[te] oculos habens quae dicit¹³⁷¹ si q[ui]s me negav[er]it coram hominib[us] et ego negabo eu[m] coram p[at]re meo qui e[st] in celis. Om[n]es [er]go despiciens ubum nullum¹³⁷² o[mn]ino respondit festinabatq[ue] ad sup[er]nam spem vocationis p[er]venire. P[ro]b[us] p[re]ses dix[it]. quid dicis flectere hor[um] lacrimis ab insania tua et c[on]sulens adolescentie tue. Sacrifica. hireneus respondit consulo m[ihi] i[n] p[er]petuo si n[on] sac[ri]ficavero, p[ro]b[us] iussit eum recipi i[n] custodiam carceris; plurimis v[er]o dieb[us] clausus poenis affectus. Quodam aut[em] t[em]p[or]e media nocte p[ro]cedente p[ro] t[ri]bunali p[re]side p[ro]bo introductus est it[er]u[m] beatissimus martyr hireneus. P[ro]b[us] dixit ad eum. Iam sac[ri]fica hirenee lucrans penas, hireneus respondit. fac q[uo]d iussum e[st] hoc a me n[on] expectes. P[ro]b[us] iterum vexatus eu[m] fustib[us] cedi p[re]cepit, hireneus respondit. D[eu]m habeo quem a p[ri]ma etate colere didici ip[su]m adoro qui me confortat i[n] o[mn]ib[us] cui etiam et sacrifico. Deos v[er]o manu factos adorare n[on] possum. P[ro]b[us] dix[it] Lucrare mortem. Iam t[ibi] sufficiant q[ue] tolerasti tormenta. hireneus respondit Lucror c[on]tinuo morte[m] q[ua]n[do] p[er] eas q[ua]s m[ihi] inferreputas penas quas ego no[n] sentio p[ro]pt[er] d[eu]m accipio¹³⁷³ vitam et[er]na[m]. p[ro]b[us] dix[it]. Uxorem habes hireneus respondit non habeo. P[ro]b[us] dixit, filios habes. hireneus respondit no[n] habeo. P[ro]b[us] di[xit] parentes habes. hireneus respondit no[n] habeo. P[ro]b[us] dix[it] et qui fuerunt illi qui p[re]terita flebant sessione. hireneus respo[n]dit preceptum e[st] d[omi]ni mei iesu chri[sti] dice[n]tis, Qui diligit p[at]rem aut m[at]rem aut uxore[m] aut filios aut fr[at]res. aut parentes sup[er] me, n[on] e[st] me dign[us] Itaq[ue] ad d[eu]m in celum aspiciens et ad ei[us] promissiones intendens o[mn]ia despicie[n]s. nullum absq[ue] eum¹³⁷⁴ nosse se atq[ue] h[abe]re fatebat[ur] P[ro]b[us] dix[it]. vel p[ro]pt[er] illos sac[ri]fica. hireneus respondit Filii mei d[eu]m que[m] ego habeo habent q[ui] potest illos salvos fa[ce]re.¹³⁷⁵ Tu au[tem] fac q[uo]d t[ibi] p[re]ceptum e[st]. P[ro]b[us] dix[it] Consulo t[ibi] iuvenis i[m]mola ut n[on] te cruciatib[us] i[n]pendam. hireneus respondit. fac quod vis ia[m] nu[n]c videbis q[ua]ntam m[ihi] d[omi]n[u]s ih[esu]s chr[istu]s tolerantiam adv[er]sus tuas insidias dabit. P[ro]b[us] dix[it] Dabo in te se[n]tentiam. hireneus respondit. gratulor si feceris. P[ro]b[us] data sententia dixit hireneum i[n]oboediente[m]. p[re]ceptis regalib[us] i[n] fluvium p[re]cipitari iubeo. hireneus respondit multapharias minas tuas et torme[n]ta plurima expectabam. ut etia[m] p[ro]pter hec me ferro subicias.¹³⁷⁶ tu au[tem] nich[il] ho[rum] intulisti un[de] hoc facias oro ut cognoscas que[m] admodu[m] chr[ist]iani p[ro]pt[er] fidem q[ue] e[st] in d[e]o morte[m] c[on]tempne[re] c[on]sueverunt. Irat[us] itaq[ue] P[ro]b[us] sup[er] fiducia[m] beatissimi viri iussit eu[m] etiam gladio p[er]cuti, S[an]c[tu]s vero d[e]i martir tanq[ua]m s[ecun]dam palma[m] accipie[n]s. d[e]o gra[tia]s agebat dicens. tibi gr[at]ias ago

¹³⁶⁷ In London Harl, this is missing, in St-Omer 716, tui et n[ost]ri, pat[er]

¹³⁶⁸ In London Harl, instead of etatum ei[us] p[re]cabantur, it goes: vultus crinesq[ue] disce[r]pebant

¹³⁶⁹ In London Harl, venientes

¹³⁷⁰ In London Harl, ad eum

¹³⁷¹ In London Harl, habens dix[it]

¹³⁷² In London Harl, nulli

¹³⁷³ In St-Omer 716, accip[er]e mereor

¹³⁷⁴ In St-Omer 716, eo

¹³⁷⁵ In St-Omer 716, filii mei d[eu]m habent que[m] ego qui potest illos salvare

¹³⁷⁶ In St-Omer 716, subiceres

d[omi]ne ih[esu] chr[ist]e qui m[ihi] p[er] varias penas et tormenta donas tolerantiam ut eterne gl[ori]e me participem effi[ce]re dignatus es. Et cu[m] veniss[et] ad pontem q[ui] vocatur basentis expolians se vestimentis suis.¹³⁷⁷ et extendens man[us] in celo oravit dice[n]s. D[omi]ne ih[esu] chr[ist]e qui p[ro] mu[n]di salute pati dignatus es pateant celi tui ut suscipiant angli sp[iritu]m servi tui hirenei qui p[ro]pt[er] nomen tuum et plebe[m] tuam p[ro]ductus de ecclesia tua catholica sirmiensem¹³⁷⁸ haec patior. te peto tuamq[ue] dep[re]cor mi[sericordi]am ut et me suscip[er]e et hos in tua fide c[on]firmare digneris, Sic itaq[ue] percuss[us] gladio a ministris proiectus e[st] in fluvium savi. Martirizatus est famulus d[e]i s[an]c[tu]s hireneus ep[iscopu]s civitatis syrminensium octavo id[us] ap[ri]lis. Sub diocliciano imp[er]atore agente probo preside regnante d[omi]no n[ost]ro ih[esu] chr[ist]o cui e[st] gl[ori]am in secula seculorum. amen; expli[cit]

Paris, BnF lat. 5279, f. 125v

PASSIO S[ANC]TI HYRENEI EP[ISCOP]I ET MARTYRIS

Cum esset persecutio sub diocletiano et maximiano imperatoribus; diversis agonibus concertantes christiani. a tyrannis illata supplicia devota d[e]o mente suscipientes. Praemiis se perpetuis participes efficiebant; Quod et factum e[st] circa famulum d[e]i hyreneum ep[iscopu]m urbis sirmiensem. cuius iam nunc vobis certamen pandam victoriamque ostendam, Qui pro modestia sua ingenita et timore divino cui operibus rectis inserviebat dignus nominis sui inventus e[st]; Conp[re]hensus itaq[ue] oblatus probo praesidi pannonie. probus preses dixit ad eum; Obtemperans divinis praeceptis sacrificare diis; hyreneus resp[ondit] qui diis et non d[e]o sacrificat exterminabitur, probus praeses dixit, clementissimi principes iusserunt aut sacrificare aut tormentis succumbere debere, hyreneus respondit; michi enim praeceptu[m] e[st] tormenta magis suscipere quam d[e]u[m] denegans demoniis sacrificare, probus praes[es] dixit; Aut sacrificare aut faciam te torqueri. hyreneus resp[ondit]; gaudeo si feceris ut d[omi]ni mi passionib[us] particeps inveniar; prob[us] preses iussit eum vexari; Cumq[ue] acerrime vexaretur dixit ad eum; quid dicis hyrenee sacrificare, hyreneus respond[it]; Sacrifico per bonam confessione[m] d[e]o meo cui semp[er] sacrificavi. Advenientes vero parentes eius videntes eum torqueri praecabantur eum; hinc pueri pedes eius amplectentes dicebant; miserere tui et n[ost]ri, pater; Inde uxores lugentes vultum aetatem eius precabantur, parentum vero omnium luctus et fletus erat sup[er] eum domesticorum gemitus vicinorum ululatus et lamentatio amicorum qui om[n]es clamantes dicebant ad eum; tenere adolescentie tue miserere, Sed, ut dictu[m] e[st] meliori cupiditate detentus sententiam d[omi]ni habebat ante oculos qui dixit si quis me negaverit coram hominibus et ego negabo eum coram patre meo qui in celis est, Omnes ergo despiciens nulli respondit festinabat ad sup[er]ne spem vocationis pervenire. Probus preses dixit; quid dicis flectere horum lacrimis ab insania tua et consulens adolescentie tue sacrificare, hyreneus respondit consulo michi in p[er]petuum si non sacrificavero, probus iussit eum recipi in custodia carceris; plurimis vero dieb[us] ibidem clausus penis e[st] affectus, Quodam autem tempore media nocte procedente p[ro] tribunali praeside probo... (folios ripped off in the manuscript)

¹³⁷⁷ In St-Omer 716, vestimenta sua

¹³⁷⁸ In St-Omer 716, syrminensiu[m]

Martyrdom of Irenaeus in Suprasl Codex

[Zaimov, I. and Kapaldo, M.] Заимов, Й. and Капалдо, М. *Супрасълски или Ретков сборник 1-2* [*Supras'lski or Retkov zbornik 1-2*]. София: Българската академия на науките, 1982.

[Comparison with KIEV 117]

1 Мѣсѣца марта кс. Мѣчениѣ стааго иринеа
 2 Егда нравъ благъ съ доброчѣстиѣмъ
 3 Възрасть.¹³⁷⁹ Большиихъ желаа страхъ
 4 Божии прииметь. Тѣгда вѣсе ѣже въ
 5 Семъ житии прѣобидѣвъ.¹³⁸⁰ Къ обѣшта-
 6 ныхъ благыхъ приатию подвиза-
 7 ютъ сѧ. Да ѣже послушаниѣмъ¹³⁸¹ акы сѧ-
 8 шта вѣроуѣ твѣрдоуѣ вида вѣждеа.
 9 та же пакы божѣю славюѣ вѣсприим
 10 славить господа.¹³⁸² Юже бытъ и о блаженѣ-
 11 мѣ иринеи епискоупѣ еремиискааго гра-
 12 да. Кротости ради лихыа. И ѣже о божии
 13 доброговѣнии. Дѣлы оутвѣрди нарече-
 14 ноу. Постигѣшоу бо гонению. Юже бы-
 15 стѣ при диоклитиѧнѣ и маѣимиѧнѣ
 16 цри. Приведенѣ оубо бытъ свѣтѣи
 17 иринеи къ князоу провоу. И вѣпрошенѣ
 18 бывѣ аште хоштеть пожрѣти богомѣ.
 19 отѣвѣшта блаженѣи иринеи глагола.
 20 нѣ¹³⁸³ и жити же съ вами не хоштѣ. Тѣгда¹³⁸⁴
 21 повелѣ затворити и въ тѣмници.¹³⁸⁵ Мно-
 22 гомѣ¹³⁸⁶ же дѣнемѣ минѣвѣшемѣ.¹³⁸⁷ Сѣштоу
 23 ѣмоу въ тѣмници. Въ полоуношти при-
 24 шѣдѣшоу князоу. Изведенѣ бытъ
 25 пакы блаженѣи иринеи. И различѣ-
 26 ны мѣжы сѣтрыпѣвъ. И вѣпрашаѣмѣ
 27 почто не пожрѣши. Отѣвѣшта глаго-
 28 ла. Яко бога имаѣ ѣгоже из млади
 29 врѣсты чисти навѣкохъ. И глаголемымѣ
 30 вами богомѣ не поклонѣ сѧ. Провѣ рече.
 31 приобращѣи жизнь сѣбѣ. Довѣлѣѣтъ

¹³⁷⁹ In Kiev 117, Възрастъ.

¹³⁸⁰ In Kiev 117, прѣобидивѣ.

¹³⁸¹ In Kiev 117, послушаниѣмѣ.

¹³⁸² In Kiev 117, Бога.

¹³⁸³ In Kiev 117, нѣ.

¹³⁸⁴ In Kiev 117, Тогда.

¹³⁸⁵ In Kiev 117, темници.

¹³⁸⁶ In Kiev 117, Многымѣ.

¹³⁸⁷ In Kiev 117, миноувшимѣ.

32 ти ѡже приа досаждениа. Сватыи ири-
 33 неи рече. Не приобращаѣ съмрѣти. Жи-
 34 зни прѣдлежаѣшти. Нѣ да отъ бога жи-
 35 знѣ приимѣ. Провѣ рече имаши ли женѣ
 36 отъвѣшта не имамѣ. Се же глаголааше
 37 блаженый иринеи. Господьнѣ заповѣдѣ
 38 съконѣчаваа глаголѣшѣжѣ. Любѣи отъ-
 39 ца и матере. Или братиѣжѣ. Или женѣ. Или
 40 чада паче мене. Нѣсть мене достоинѣ.
 41 на нѣже заповѣдѣ възирѣла блаженный.
 42 на небо имѣаше оумѣ. Видѣти желаа
 43 славѣ господьнѣ. И все чловѣчьско жити-
 44 ю оставивѣ. Ничѣ соже паче господа. Вѣдѣ-
 45 ти же и имѣти исповѣдааше. Пакоу оу-
 46 бо рече къ немуу кѣназѣ. Вѣдѣ та сынѣ
 47 имѣшта. Понѣ тѣхѣ дѣлѣма пожрѣи.
 48 онѣ же отъвѣштавааше. Сынове мои
 49 бога имѣтъ ѡкоже и азѣ. Иже можетѣ а
 50 сънабѣдѣти. Ты же повелѣноу ти съ-
 51 твори. Провѣ рече съвѣштаваѣ ти ю-
 52 ноше пожрѣти. Да не различьнымѣ
 53 мѣкамѣ прѣдамѣ та. Сватыи мѣче-
 54 никѣ иринеи рече. Не жѣрѣ. Твори юже
 55 хоштеши. Оувѣси бо ѡкоу силоу христо-
 56 совуу добьѣ все сътрѣпѣжѣ. Провѣ рече.
 57 юлѣма же не хоштеши повинѣти сѣ цѣ-
 58 сароу. Въ рѣкѣ вѣврѣженѣ бѣдѣши.
 59 иринеи рече. Ты различьными мѣками
 60 прѣштааше оуморити ма. И азѣ надѣахѣ
 61 сѣ ѡкоу мечемѣ отъсѣчѣши ми главѣ. За-
 62 не молѣ та повели и то сътворити. Да оу-
 63 вѣси како крѣстьяни съмрѣтъ прѣовидѣ-
 64 ти навькохомѣ. Христовы ради любьве
 65 разгѣваваѣ же сѣ кѣназѣ. О дрѣзости ста-
 66 го мѣченика иринеа. Повелѣ мечемѣ оу-
 67 сѣкижѣи. Сватыи же мѣченикѣ. ѡкоу
 68 вѣторыи вѣнѣцѣ полоучивѣ рече. Благо-
 69 дѣтъ исповѣдаѣ богоу моему. Дарѣ-
 70 ствовавшоу оу моу ми различьнымѣ
 71 мѣкамѣ трѣпѣнию вѣнѣцѣ. И югда прѣ-
 72 лѣзоша мостѣ рекомыи артемисѣ. Съ-
 73 влѣкъ ризы своѣ. И възрѣвѣ на небо. По-
 74 моли сѣ глагола сѣце. Господи да отврѣ-
 75 зжѣ сѣ небеса. И да приимжѣ доушѣ
 76 раба твоѣго. ѡкоже и людемѣ твоимѣ
 77 всеѣчьскыа црѣкѣве. И всеѣкого испль-

78 нениѡ ѡѡ. К тебѣ вѣроуѡ г[оспод]и їсоу хрьсте-
 79 се вѣсе страждѡ. И оуѣкижвѣше и вѣврѣ-
 80 гошѡ и вѣ рѣкѡ. Се же сѡ сътвори вѣ срѣ-
 81 мѣ. Старѣшинѣствоуѣштоу провоу.
 82 цѣсарѣствоуѣштоу же вѣ вѣкы їсоу хрь-
 83 стоу господоу наѣмоу. Ымоу же слава ны-
 84 нѣ и присно и вѣ вѣкы вѣкомѣ амин.

Martyrdom of Irenaeus in Suprasl Codex (My translation)

2 On the 26th of March, the passion of Saint Irenaeus.
 3 When a clement custom grows with devoutness,
 4 a person, striving to the better ones,
 5 adopts the fear of God. Then, having despised
 6 everything, which is in this life, he strives
 7 to the acceptance of the clement promises,
 8 in order to, by being that obedient
 9 and knowing by firm faith, wish to glorify the Lord
 10 again, by being absorbed by the glory of God.
 11 This happened also with
 12 the blessed Irenaeus, the bishop of the city of Sirmium.
 13 Because of the excessive meekness and because of divine
 14 fear of God, he strengthened his denomination by deeds.
 15 Thus, as the persecution has arrived,
 16 which occurred during the emperors Diocletian and Maximian,
 17 thus, saint Irenaeus was induced
 18 to the governor Probus. Having been interrogated
 19 whether he wanted to sacrifice to the gods,
 20 blessed Irenaeus answered with these words:
 21 "But, I do not want to live among you." Then
 22 he was taken to be locked up in prison.
 23 As many days had passed by, while he stayed in prison,
 24 the governor came to him once at midnight.
 25 Again, the blessed Irenaeus was led out
 26 and he endured different tortures.
 27. And they ask him
 28 why he would not sacrifice, And he answered by saying:
 29 "Because I have God, whom I learned to
 30 venerate from the young age. And

1 I do not bow to the gods that you mentioned." Probus said:
 2 "Obtain the life for you! The displeasures you
 3 already received suffice." Saint Irenaeus said:

4 "I do not obtain death,
 5 but life is provided for me. However, I will receive life from God."
 6 Probus said: "Do you have a wife?"
 7 He replied: "I do not have." This is what blessed Irenaeus said,
 8 fulfilling the commandment of Lord by saying:
 9 "The one who loves father
 10 and mother, or brotherhood, or wife,
 11 or a child more than me, is not worthy of me."
 12 To this commandment blessed Irenaeus, looking up to the sky,
 13 had in mind that he would like to see
 14 the glory of God and to leave the earthly life altogether.
 15 He confessed that there is nothing above the Lord
 16 to know or to have.
 17 Thus, again, governor said to him: "I see that you
 18 have a son. Sacrifice at least because of them."
 19 But, he replied: "My sons
 20 have the God, as well as I do, who can
 21 save them. And you should order the commandment."
 22 Probus said: "I advice you, young guy, to sacrifice,
 23 so that I do not expose you to different tortures."
 24 Saint martyr Irenaeus said:
 25 "I will not sacrifice. You do as you wish.
 26 Learn how by the strength of Christ I endure everything bravely."
 27 Probus said:
 28 "Since you did not want to subdue to the emperor,
 29 you will be thrown into the river."
 30 Irenaeus said: "You threatened to

1 kill me by different tortures. And I hoped
 2 that you would cut my head off by sword.
 3 Because of that I beg you to order it and do it,
 4 so that you see how we Christians
 5 learned to despise death." But, because of the love for Christ
 6 the governor became furious. Because of the audaciousness
 7 of the saint martyr Irenaeus, he ordered that Irenaeus be killed
 8 by sword. But saint martyr,
 9 as if having received the second crown, said:
 10 "I confess the gratitude to my God,
 11 who gifted me with the crown of endurance
 12 by different tortures. When
 13 they crossed the bridge called Artemis, he took off
 14 his garment, and, having looked up to the sky,
 15 he prayed, saying this: "My Lord, let the heavens open up
 16 and accept the soul
 17 of your servant. As for all your people
 18 and the church, and for any gratification,

19 believing in you, the Lord Jesus Christ, I suffer all.”
20 And they cut his head off
21 and threw it in the river. This happened in Sirmium,
22 during the governorship of Probus,
23 and during the reign for eternity of our Lord, Jesus Christ,
24 to whom the glory, now
25 and always and in the centuries of the centuries. Amen.

Georgian Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium

Kutaisi 1 (XVI) (translation by Sandro Nikolaishvili)

In the month of August 23rd.

Deeds of the saint martyr Irenaeus, bishop of Sirmium; Father, bless us!

God will not forgive if the virtue of marvelous St. Irenaeus is not revealed. God did not want the deeds of this important person to be lost without reward and receiving the crown. God made this martyr a mediator between him and the people and appointed him a shepherd of the people who are the speaking flock. And when God saw Irenaeus as equal to Peter, the head of the Apostles, he lit Irenaeus as a candle so that his light shines in front of the people. After this, he introduced him to the stadium of martyrdom. And then firmly and without any obstacle, God made him to be his martyr. Irenaeus, already wrapped in grand victory and crowned, was taken by God to the heaven.

And this man lived during the days when the evil servant Diocletian was ruling. He was active in divine worship and very skilled in virtuous deeds in the bishopric church of the city of Sirmium. In his young age, he was elevated as a bishop. In his ability to be a good shepherd and with his virtues he freed many people in his flock from ignorance and impiety. His flock multiplied. He achieved all this by teaching his flock things that were profitable and things that would save their souls and moreover increase their spirit by his firm and trustworthy faith. By his example, he was persuading his flock to abandon the tricks made by the devil and to refuse worshiping the pagan cults (idols). The word about Irenaeus was spread outside of the nearby regions and became known to the far away places. This word (of mouth) also reached the rulers. And these rulers started looking for Irenaeus so that they would capture him and so that they would make revenge because of his daring lawlessness. During the rule of Probus in Panonnia, the Hellenes came to Probus and denounced Irenaeus, who was according to them spitting the gods and resisting the laws of the kingdom. They claimed that Irenaeus was openly converting almost everybody to Christianity. They begged the ruler Probus not to close his eyes on the insults that Irenaeus makes on his office, as Irenaeus was plebeius and did not show respect towards the authority. The insult came from the plebeius who did not hold any office, who was condemned and whose behavior was shameful. The Ellenes immediately managed to persuade the ruler Probus and Probus became as angry as they were. He sent cavalry in order to bring the bishop to him. And when they brought Irenaeus, Probus asked him immediately whether it was acceptable to worship the gods together with them. And Irenaeus replied briefly: “I myself did not choose to

live with you, who are unbelievers. But, as I live with you, I will not share your worship of the idols and your godless behavior.” After this, he was taken to the prison by the order of the ruler. After he spent several days in the prison in difficult conditions, he was called again in front of the ruler. He was placed in front of the ruler and the trial started again. He was accused that he did not recognize the gods, he did not worship them, and he did not make the sacrifice. Not only did Irenaeus behave like this, but he also encouraged the others to do the same. Irenaeus, whose name means peace (he himself was peaceful), replied calmly: “All the humans, o ruler, live according to what they learned when they were children and according to what they considered as good, acceptable, and what they grew up with. And they are faithful to all this until the end of their lives. I myself from my childhood learned to be a good servant and I grew up with the teaching of Christ and his disciples. At the same time, I distanced myself from everything that was horrible and evil. All my live I was persuading people that they have to distance themselves from the evil and to believe in goodness. And I myself do not consider anything more right and more desirable than this teaching. I consider that the teaching of Christ is the only truth and God’s grace and power are with those who defend these commandments. This power and grace allow people to make unbelievable deeds. For instance, those who are thrown in the fire will not burn, and those who are thrown in the sea will not drown, and those wounded by sword will not pass away. And when they die, their honorable remnants and dry bones will cure and make miracles and cure incurable diseases. And they will make some people who are almost dead resurrect. And everything above-mentioned is fulfilled by the true God, Jesus Christ, the only mighty one who loves human kind and who is merciful, but condemned by you. And those who once recognize Jesus, and who have received Eucharist, they will never have any wish to step away from him. And moreover, they will convert the others to the same faith.”

When Probus heard this, he behaved in a different way and asked if Irenaeus had children and Irenaeus replied no. Then Probus asked if Irenaeus had parents and Irenaeus replied no. Probus told him: “I know that you have both and if you care about them, then you better believe in gods and show respect.”

“O ruler, God teaches us in one of his commandments that God himself should be loved more than the parents, children, and wives. God says: ‘Who loves mother, father, wife, children and brothers more than me is not worthy of me.’ And because of this, at present I rejected my parents’ property because it is better to reject all this than to reject God, who himself is the one who can love us the most and who can guarantee the eternal life in the heaven.”

And then Probus who was defeated in this examination told to Irenaeus: “Because you stand on the position which is truthful, but harmful for you, and you insult the gods and are against the laws of the kingdom, then we will order the decapitation against you. And after beheading, we will throw you in the river.”

When Irenaeus heard this verdict, he uplifted his hands to the heaven and said the prayer: “Thank you, the men-loving only-begotten son of God, for the honor that you awarded me with in my lifetime. You made me, the unworthy man, be the servant of your holy imperishable remnants. And you would always listen to my prayers, which were directed towards your people and the Catholic Church. And now you awarded me with a bigger honor that you will help me to accomplish my service to you as a shepherd in your name with martyrdom. And here I sacrifice myself to you. And I will sacrifice myself in the similar way as you sacrificed yourself for us in front of your father. And here accept from me the highest sacrifice and let me in the camp of your flock, so that in this sheep-fold I hear your sweet and your life-giving voice. I will be happy to enter the shepherd’s flock.”

He prayed and surrendered himself to the officials. And they took him until the bridge of the river, and they cut his honorable head by the sword. Immediately his body with the head was thrown into the river. And God gave mercy to his spirit which lifted up. And God crowned him.

God is adorned by all glory, respect and worship, from here to eternity. Amen.

Armenian Martyrdom of Saint Irenaeus the Bishop

(Translation by Arpine Asryan)

Those who were brought up in goodness and love for God, being educated and longing for the best, they fear God and at the same time they despise everything which is earthly. Longing for enjoying the promised goods, as everything is heard and what is confirmed by faith, what he is longing for to get nearer, he will be immediately eyewitness and, accepting [it], he will praise the Lord.

This is what happened at the time of Blessed Irenaeus, Bishop of Sermia, who was worthy of Bishop's Seat from a very young age, thanks to his incomparable pioussness and the fear of God. And when persecutions began at the time of King Diocletian, he neither fell in despair from sadness about earthy problems, as others did, nor neglected joy, but went straight to his supreme vocation and goal, with courageous and invincible willingness, longing for future and forgetting the past, as dark dealings of the king were unable to overcome his firmness.

Neither diverse enmities, which led to tortures, nor rivers' whirlpools, nor caverns' landslips, or threats of various tortures depressed him; he resisted to those who were used to harm everybody, to cause annoyance to men, to make children cry, to make women lament and have sad looks, to make acquaintances, relatives and family mourn over the corpses of youngsters with heartrending screams leading to lamentation and crying. In other words, he was filled by willingness and the fear of Judgment before his eyes, he was terrified by the voice of the Lord who said: "If someone renounces me in front of men, I shall also renounce him before my Father who is in Heaven." He despised everything, aspiring to the hope of future.

Irenaeus was brought before the judge Probus who was then working in Panonnia. Probus asked: "Don't you want to offer sacrifice [to idols]?" The Blessed Irenaeus answered: "I don't want to live like you." Then he was sent to the prison where he spent numerous days, tied and tortured. Once the judge sent by night for the tortured blessed martyr and asked him: "Why don't you want to offer sacrifice?" The saint answered: "Because I have a God whom I used to adore from my young years and I cannot venerate your so-called gods". The judge Probus said: "Accept your death; you have suffered enough from tortures." Irenaeus said: "Soon I shall get my death from you; then I shall get the eternal life, which is God." Probus said: "Do you have a wife or children?" The saint answered: "No." He asked: "Do you have parents?" And he said: "No." Saying so, the Blessed Irenaeus was thinking about the Lord's command: "Those who love their father and mother, their brothers and children more than they love me are not worthy of me." And lifting his eyes to the Heaven, he honestly renounced all earthly things and adored Lord more than anyone. Again the judge said to him: "I know that you have children; if only for them you could offer sacrifice." The saint answered: "My children have God in them and God can be as vivifying as I am for them. Do what you have the order to do." Probus advised him: "O

youngster, comply so that you do not die in various and numerous tortures.” Irenaeus said: “No, I shall not. Say everything you want and be aware that by the almightiness of Christ I can resist everything.” And the judge gave the verdict of death, saying: “As you don’t want to submit to the royal orders, for this very reason and by the command of these rulers, you will be thrown in the river.” And Irenaeus answered: “I hoped for more than these various tortures that you threaten with. If you want you may kill me by sword, and I beg you to do so, so that you know that Christians despise death in the name of the faith that we learned thanks to God”.

So, the judge, who was angry with saint Irenaeus for his boldness, ordered to kill him. And the saint, falling martyr of the second victory, said: “Thanks God who gave me great patience and the brightest crown of death.” And when they arrived to the bridge Artemis, he took off his clothes and raising his arms to the heaven, he prayed: “O Lord, let the heaven open and accept the soul of your unworthy servant who trusted in you in the name of your people and the Universal Church. My Lord Jesus, my sufferings are in the name of it”. And his cut head fell in the river.

And this happened on the sixth day of Ahekan. Glory, praise and mightiness to the reign of our Lord Jesus Christ, God the Father and the Holy Spirit, now and ever and in the eternity of times. Amen.

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