Lev Shadrin

"O WONDROUS AND STRANGE MYSTERY."

A CODICOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION AND TEXTUAL

ANALYSIS OF SAINT GEORGE'S VISION (BHG 691U-V)

MA Thesis in Comparative History, with a specialization
in Late Antique, Medieval, and Renaissance Studies.

Central European University

Budapest

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(Russia)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,

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Medieval, and Renaissance Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

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Chair, Examination Committee

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Thesis Supervisor

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Examiner

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External Reader

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Month YYYY

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I, the undersigned, **Lev Shadrin**, candidate for the MA degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in Late Antique, Medieval, and Renaissance Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 16 May 2019

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Abstract

The Vision of Saint George is a revelatory apocryphal miracle, which is preserved in seven Greek manuscripts dated to the 14th-16th centuries period. The canonical Byzantine hagiographic corpus dedicated to Saint George praises him as a martyr, athlete of faith, and a holy warrior saint. However, these defining concepts are not present in the subject text, as it focuses on a revelatory and apocalyptic narrative, which is not typically associated with the Saint. Moreover, the text has been published a century ago, and has been largely ignored in the scholarship. Therefore, the present thesis aims to collate the existing information on the Vision miracle, produce a paleographic and codicological survey of the manuscript sources containing the text, outline the core narrative elements constituting the textual framework and facilitating the dynamics of the miracle, and, lastly, highlight the potential hypertextual references in order to elaborate on the literary origins of the miracle.

Acknowledgements

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List of Abbreviations

BHG   *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca. Novum Auctarium,* ed. François Halkin, Subsidia Hagiographica 65 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1984).

BHO   *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis*, ed. Paul Peeters, Subsidia Hagiographica 10 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1970).

BnF   Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

fol., ff.   Single folio, multiple folia

col.   Column, followed by the number (1,2 – left, right), for the bi-columnal manuscript page layout

Introduction

The present study is focused on BHG 691u-v, a non-canonical vision miracle of Saint George, which is contained in a group of 14th to 16th centuries manuscripts. The text has been first published in 1911 by Johann Baptist Aufhauser, who has identified several manuscripts containing this miracle and has transcribed it from one of the codices.[1] The publication included a brief paleographic survey of the manuscript and the Greek text with amended itacisms, added iota-subscripts, and corrected diacritic marks. Two years later Aufhauser produced a fundamental publication, which collated various texts within Saint George's Byzantine hagiographic corpus, including the vision miracle.[2] However, no critical commentary has been produced since.

The title of Aufhauser's 1911 publication – "Eine apokalyptische Vision" – has piqued my interest, since I had been unaware of this aspect in relation to the saint's hagiography. Indeed, the most characteristic and widely-known motifs involve Saint George's Passio, or the dragon-slaying miracle, which convey a different idea of the saint's veneration and functions. The cult of Saint George in Byzantium and the corpus of hagiographic texts referring to him have attracted much scholarly attention. Hippolyte Delehaye, Karl Krumbacher, André-Jean Festugière, Alexander Kirpičnikov, Christopher Walter, Piotr Grotowski, and many other researchers have engaged with the vast number of textual and material sources across different national traditions.[3]

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[1] Johann Baptist Aufhauser, "Eine Apokalyptische Vision Des Hl. Georg," *Βυζαντίς* 2 (1911-1912): 137-142.

[2] Johann Baptist Aufhauser, *Miracula S. Georgii* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1913).

3 Hippolyte Delehaye, *Les légendes grecques des saints militaires* (Paris: Librairie Alphonse Picard, 1909), and *Les Origines du culte des martyrs* (Brussels: Bureaux de la Société des Bollandistes, 1912); Karl Krumbacher, *Der heilige Georg in der griechischen Überlieferung*, Abhandlungen der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Philologische und Historische Klasse 25, 3 (Munich: Verlag der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1911); André-Jean Festugière, *Sainte Thècle, saints Côme et Damien, saints Cyr et Jean (extraits), saint Georges. Traduits et annotés* (Paris: Picard, 1971); [Alexander Kirpičnikov] Александр Иванович Кирпичников, Св. Георгий и Егорий Храбрый: Исследование литературной истории христианской легенды. [Saint George and Yegorij the Brave: Studies on the literary development of the Christian legend] (St. Petersburg: Balašov, 1879); Christopher Walter, *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition*

Despite this prolific and crucial activity, this research area still contains unexplored lacunae, one of which is represented by the primary textual source of the present research. This thesis aims to elaborate on the identity of this text within the Byzantine hagiographic framework and relate the miracle to the rest of Saint George's corpus.

Chapter 1 provides a paleographic and codicological overview of seven codices, which contain the text of the miracle. By organizing the scarce and fragmented data on the production, style, provenance, and textual content of the manuscripts, I highlight several similarities regarding the typology of the codices, as well as their peripheral origins.

Chapter 2 features a thorough examination of the miracle structure, which involves separating the text into seven individual passages and tracing the dynamics of the narrative development throughout the parts. The chapter highlights the main components of the vision, i.e. characters, visual motifs, and tropes. The results of this investigation establish the basis of comparison for Chapter 3, which explores the relations between the two major conceptual components in the text – the apocalyptic element and the protagonist component – and explores potential hypertextual influences.

(Burlington: Ashgate, 2003); Piotr Grotowski, "The Legend of St. George Saving A Youth from Captivity and Its Depiction in Art," *Byzantine Studies* (2001), accessed March 29, 2017 http://archaeology.kiev.ua/byzantine/—art/grotowski.htm;

1. Codicological Description

The BHG 691u-v text is contained in a group of seven manuscripts, ranging from the early 14ᵗʰ to 16ᵗʰ centuries. These codices are: Messanensis S. Salv. gr. 29, Biblioteca Regionale Universitaria "Giacomo Longo," Messina, [Diktyon number 40690]; Ancyrensis gr. 62, National Library, Ankara, [Diktyon number 667]; Atheniensis 278, Ἐθνική Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Ἑλλάδος, Athens, [Diktyon number 2574]; Mediolanensis Ambrosianus C 92 sup, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, [Diktyon number 42431]; Parisinus gr. 401, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, [Diktyon number 49974]; Parisinus gr. 1164, BnF, Paris, [Diktyon number 50765]; Brixiensis A. III. 03, Biblioteca Civica Queriniana, Brescia, [Diktyon number 9823].[4] This chapter features a brief codicological description of the manuscripts, which is based on the results of personal hands-on evaluation during the manuscript libraries visits, as well as incorporates information from the relevant library catalogues and academic articles.[5] The chapter aims to collate the strands of information, dispersed across multiple sources, regarding the dating, manuscript production and provenance, as well as outline the style, distinctive paleographic traits, and the typology of the codices. The results of this investigation, presented in a coherent format, form the basis for the overview of the BHG 691u-v narrative framework in Chapter 2 and for the interpretative hypotheses in Chapter 3. The codices are presented according to their assumed periodization.

Codex Messanensis S. Salv. gr. 29

The description of this codex is based on the digital copy available at the "Giacomo Longo" University Library website, as well as on the information available in the articles by

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[4] Aufhauser listed another manuscript in his initial publication, Jerus. Bibl. Patr. 492, ff. 72-77, which he intended to review in further works. However, his 1913 *Miracula* does not mention this codex. I was unable to identify it and include in this research. See Aufhauser, "Eine apokalyptische Vision," 142.

[5] I was able to personally investigate the following codices: Ambr. C 92 sup, Par. 1164, Par. 401.

Mario Re and Maria Stelladoro.[6] Another secondary source containing a brief codicological entry on M is the PhD dissertation defended in 2015 by Juditha Johanna Oosterhuis-den Otter at the Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam.[7]

This palimpsest codex, dated to 1308, forms the second part of the bipartite menologion, together with Cod. Mess. S. Salv. gr. 30. It contains both parchment and paper quaternions, with pages measuring 420 x 330 mm.[8] The titles and initials are written in a red ink in the Alexandrian majuscule. The main text is written in a light-brown ink, following the "Reggio" minuscule – a local style, which has developed in southern Calabria and northern Sicily, in the territory under the influence of the Norman court. The style was actively used in the scriptorium at the Santissimo Salvatore monastery in Messina, where the present codex originates from. *Stile di Reggio* has been defined as essentially "only a provincial variant of the Perlschrift."[9] According to Paul Canart, the Reggio minuscule in its pure form is characterized by the following features: the strict verticality of the ductus, the letter-forms with uniform height and contrasting width,[10] the absence of cursive elements and irregular ligatures, and the gradual narrowing of the space between the letters.[11]

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[6] The digital copy of the manuscript is available in the BRUM online database at http://www.bibliome.it/ms-gr-029/, accessed 11 April 2019. Mario Re, "Il Typikon Del S. Salvatore de Lingua Phari Come Fonte per La Storia Della Biblioteca Del Monastero," *Byzantino-Sicula III. Miscellanea Di Scritti in Memoria Di B. Lavagnini*, 3 (2000): 249-78; Maria Stelladoro, "Daniele Monaco, Scriba del SS.mo Salvatore di Messina de Lingua Phari," *Pecia* 13 (2010): 11-30.

[7] Juditha J. Oosterhuis-den Otter, "Four Pseudo-Chrysostomian Homilies on Job (CPG4564, BHG939d-g): Transmission, Critical Edition, and Translation" (PhD diss., Vrije Universiteit, 2015), 9. Accessed May 10, 2019 at https://research.vu.nl/ws/portalfiles/portal/42148564/complete+dissertation.pdf

[8] Palimpsest sections: f. I, 251, II-IV. Paper quaternions: I-V. Blank folia: 248-249. See Stelladoro, "Daniele Monaco," 18.

[9] "<…> style de Reggio, qui est le plus représenté dans la production locale et qui n'est en fait qu'une variante provinciale de la Perlschrift…" See Paul Géhin, review of *Il Monastero del S.mo Salvatore in Lingua Phari. Proposte scrittorie e coscienza culturale*, by Maria Bianca Foti, *Revue des études byzantines,* 50 (1992): 303-304. Perlschrift is one of the prominent Byzantine styles, which has emerged in the late 10th century and has been actively used throughout the 11th century. The style is easily identifiable by its rounded, elegant letter-forms, which are joined together with ligatures in a regular and uniform manner, similar to a string of pearls – hence, the name. For a more thorough definition of Perlschrift see Paolo Eleuteri, "Perlschrift," in *Der Neue Pauly*, ed. Hubert Cancik, Helmuth Schneider, and Manfred Landfester. Accessed 14 May, 2019 http://dx.doi.org/—10.1163/1574-9347_dnp_e914690

[10] Narrow letters: ε, η, ν, ο, ρ, δ, σ, ς, θ. Wide letters: μ, π, λ, φ, ξ, ω, β (archaic). The contrast in width became more pronounced over the course of stylistic development.

[11] Paul Canart, *Lezioni di Paleografia e di Codicologia Greca* (Vatican City, 1980), 34-35.

The manuscript contains ornamental geometric decorations, as well as an illumination (f. 213v, col. 1), which depicts, among other figures, the scribe – a monk named Daniel, who can be identified with the help of the inscription.[12] He held the office of σκευοφύλαξ[13] at the Santissimo Salvatore monastery in Messina and was a prolific copyist. [14] According to Stelladoro, in Cod. Mess. 29 Daniel uses a later variant of the Reggio style, which is less dependent on the earlier prototype, but rather employs a more pronounced rectangular stylization.[15] This is further supported by Canart, who lists the present codex among the manuscripts, representing "a sporadic survival of the Reggio style" with archaizing motifs.[16]

The manuscript contains 65 individual texts: metaphrastic and premetaphrastic acts of saints as well as lives of the local saints. The group of Saint George texts includes the following: Conceptio et natiuitas (BHG 680), Passio (BHG 678), De dracone (BHG 687e), De bobus Theopisti (BHG 689b), De filio ducis Leonis (BHG 688), De zona sancti (BHG 687f).

The vision miracle (BHG 691v)[17] appears on ff. 14v-15 with a title Περὶ τῆς ὀπτασίας τοῦ ὄρους τῶν Ἐλέων. Incipit: Ἄνω μὲν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῶν διανοιῶν ἡμῶν ἀπάραντες παράδοξον θαῦμα ὅπερ γέγονεν ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις ἐκείνοις κατανοήσωμεν.[18] Explicit: τὶς ἤκουσε ἐξ αἰῶνος ταῦτα θαύματα· ἃ κ[ύριο]ς ἐποίησεν τῷ μάρτυρι Γεωργίῳ μεγάλατι [illeg.] καὶ φοβερὰ· εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀμήν. The text contains 118 lines and is organized in a bi-columnal layout, with 18 passages delineated with majuscule initials. Due to the poor quality of the

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[12] The Virgin with the monk Bartolomeo di Simeri (d. 1130). F. 213v with the illumination is available online at the Biblioteca Regionale di Messina website, accessed May 14, 2019 at http://www.regione.sicilia.it/beniculturali/brum/manoscritti_mancini/S.Salv.29,%20f.213v.jpg

[13] "A cleric, usually a priest, appointed to look after the sacred valuables and liturgical vessels of a church." See *ODB*, s.v. "skeuophylax." Accessed May 5, 2019 at https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-5005

[14] For the history of the Santissimo Salvatore di Messina monastery and scriptorium see Maria Teresa Rodriquez, "Note Sulla Storia Della Biblioteca Del S. Salvatore Di Messina," *Mediaeval Sophia* 19 (2017): 121-35. For a list of select codices attributed to Daniel the monk see Stelladoro, "Daniele Monaco," 18-22.

[15] Stelladoro, "Daniele Monaco," 17.

[16] Canart, *Lezioni di Paleografia,* 41.

[17] It is possible to identify the text as the v-version of BHG 691 based on the page layout, as well as the text length and the number of passages, hence confirming the information provided in the Pinakes database, accessed May 14, 2019, https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/40690/

[18] Due to poor legibility the incipit is reproduced after Alberto Mancini, *Codices Graeci Monasterii Messanensis S. Salvatoris* (Messina, 1907), 54.

digitized copy and the inability to access the manuscript for hands-on investigation, I was unable to assess the contents of the miracle text.

Codex Ancyrensis gr. 62

The codicological information on this manuscript, which is preserved in the National Library in Ankara, is available from two secondary sources.[19] The initial description of the Soumela Monastery manuscript collection has been published by Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus in 1912.[20] It has been later re-assessed in 1977 by Paul Moraux, who was able to examine several codices from this collection after they had been transferred to the National Library in Ankara, and has confirmed the early 14th century dating suggested by Papadopoulos-Kerameus.[21]

According to Moraux, the size of the codex is 200 x 135 mm, and it consists of 204 paper pages, which contain no watermarks, ex libris, or numeration.[22] The codex is organized in quaternions, while ff. 63-74 form two trinions. As noted by Papadopoulos-Kerameus, the text is organized in a single-column layout.[23] Moraux provides further observations on the internal binding, remarking that the ff. 1-14 and ff. 180-204 have been sewn through, which makes it difficult to identify the dating of the individual quaternions or estimate the extent of losses. He also comments on the poor condition of codex: "The top of the volume is now very damaged, so that the first two or three lines of each page are destroyed or almost completely illegible."[24] The notes available in the Ankara National Library online catalogue support this

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[19] The denomination of the codex conforms to the regulations followed by the rest of the collation. Since the information on the fund and index provided in the Pinakes database entry is abrdiged, it is advisable to search the Ankara National Library depository with the following identifier: 06 Mil Yz Latince 62.

[20] Ἀθανάσιος Παπαδόπουλος-Κεραμεύς, "Ἑλληνικοὶ κώδικες ἐν τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ τῆς μονῆς Σουμελᾶ," *Vizantijskij Vremennik,* 19 (1912): 282-322.

[21] Paul Moraux, "Manuscrits de Souméla Conservés à Ankara," Analecta Bollandiana 95, no. 3-4 (1977): 261-68.

[22] The codex size provided by the Ankara National Library online catalogue deviates slightly: 200 x 142 mm. Accessed May 10, 2019, https://dijital-kutuphane.mkutup.gov.tr/en/manuscripts/catalog/

[23] "Πανηγυρικὸν ἐκ φύλλων παχύτατου χάρτου 205 (0.20 x 0.135), γραφὲν ἐν μονοστήλῳ περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς 14-ης ἑκατοντ." Παπαδόπουλος-Κεραμεύς, "Ἑλληνικοὶ κώδικες ἐν τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ τῆς μονῆς Σουμελᾶ," 299.

[24] "Le haut du volume est aujourd'hui très abîmé, si bien que les deux ou trois premières lignes de chaque page sont ou détruites ou presque totalement illisibles." Moraux, "Manuscrits de Souméla," 262.

observation, stating that the upper parts of the folia have been exposed to moisture damage and mold.

The codex contains 33 texts, which include i.a. Saint George's Passio altera (BHG 671-672b).[25] The vision miracle (BHG 691u) is located on ff. 117v-121v.[26] Incipit: ἄρατε τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς. Explicit: ἀλλ᾽ ὁ φιλῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ · σοὶ γὰρ ἐδόθη χάρις πρεσβεύειν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν."[27]

Codex Atheniensis 278

The information available on this codex is rather scarce and comes predominantly from the codicological notes produced by the Images, Documents et Archives de Laboratoire (IDeAL) department of the Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes (IRHT) in Paris.[28]

According to the notes, Cod. Ath. 278 comes from the Dousikou monastery, which is located near the Pyli village, 25 kilometers away from the city of Trikala, Greece.[29] It is attributed to the 14th century, written on eastern paper with a dark-brown ink, in a slightly tilted and elegant minuscule. The manuscript is organized in 44 quaternions without numeration along with two bifolia, and contains 341 folia, which measure 264 x 195 mm. The page layout is monocolumnal, organized in 28 to 29 lines. According to Aufhauser, Cod. Atheniensis contains 349 folia and must be dated to the 15th century.[30] This does not necessarily contradict

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[25] For the full list of texts see the Pinakes online catalogue at https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/667/, accessed May 14, 2019. Papadopoulos-Kerameus lists 26 texts, while Moraux identifies 30. See Παπαδόπουλος-Κεραμεύς, "Ἑλληνικοὶ κώδικες ἐν τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ τῆς μονῆς Σουμελᾶ," 299-300; Moraux, "Manuscrits de Souméla," 263-267.

[26] Moraux, "Manuscrits de Souméla," 265.

[27] The incipit and explicit are reproduced after Moraux, who has in turn reproduced the incipit after Papadopoulos-Kerameus: "Φύλλ. 117β. ῾Θαῦμα γενόμενον τοῦ ἁγίου… Γεωργίου, το πῶς εἶδεν ὁ ἔνδοξος Γεώργιος τὸν θεὸν φανερῶς.᾽ Ἀρχ. ῾Ἄρατε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς᾽ κτλ. – ιζ´)."

[28] The notes are available at http://ideal.irht.cnrs.fr/document/819502, accessed May 14, 2019.

[29] Μονὴ Δουσίκου, later renamed after its founder Saint Bessarion (ὁ ἅγιος Βισσαρίων), was built in 1527-35 on the ruins of a 13th century Byzantine monastery, Πόρτα-Παναγιά. A church of the same name, which used to be the katholikon of the monastery, is the only remaining structure of the monastic complex. However, due to the scarcity of the available information, it is currently impossible to further clarify the provenance of the manuscript.

[30] Aufhauser, *Miracula*, VII.

the IDeAL description, since it notes that 4 folia have been glued on the inside of the binding as a later, 15th century addition.

The manuscript comprises 38 individual texts, belonging to identified ecclesiastical authors (John Chrysostom, Theodore Studite, Andrew of Crete, Gregory of Nazianzus), as well as anonymous hagiographic compositions and homilies.[31] The corpus of texts related to Saint George includes the following miracles: Conceptio et natiuitas (BHG 680b), De dracone (BHG 2687), De Manuele (691h), De filio ducis Leonis (BHG 688e).

The vision miracle (BHG 691u) is located on ff. 268v-271, with a title Ἀποκάλυψις τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Γεωργίου. Incipit: Ἄρατε τούς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς διανοίας ὑμῶν καὶ ἴδετε τὸ καινὸν θέαμα τοῦτο, ὅπερ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἡμῶν γέγονεν. Explicit: ἅγιε Γεώργιε, τοὺς πιστοὺς βασιλεῖς ἡμῶν στερέωσον, καὶ τὸν κόσμον εἰρήνευσον, ὑπόταξον πάντα τὰ βάρβαρα ἔθνη ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν, τοὺς δὲ τὴν ἁγίαν σου μνήμην ἐπιτελοῦντας λύτρωσι ἀπὸ λιμοῦ, λοιμοῦ χαλάζης, ἐπιδρομῆς ἀλλοφύλων καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ… ἀμήν.

Codex Mediolanensis Ambrosianus C 92 sup

Codex C 92 sup, deposited in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan, is a composite codex, containing 86 different texts: hagiographic accounts, texts of John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nazianzus, Ephrem Graecus, Pseudo-Eusebius of Alexandria, as well as several apocrypha and various miscellaneous works.[32] Oosterhuis-den Otter defines the codex as an "Italo-Greek non-menological lectionary."[33] According to the Martini-Bassi catalogue (entry 192), the codex is written on 328 paper pages, the folio size is 300 x 218 mm.[34] Certain pages have

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[31] For the full list of texts see the Pinakes online catalogue at https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/2574/, accessed May 14, 2019.

[32] The full list of texts is available in the Pinakes online-database of the IRHT (Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes). Accessed May 13, 2019 at http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/42431/

[33] Oosterhuis-den Otter, "Four Pseudo-Chrysostomian Homilies on Job," 9-10.

[34] Emidio Martini, Domenico Bassi, *Catalogus Codicum Graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae* (Milan: Hoepli, 1906), 205-212.

sustained damage from insects or humidity, and new paper was used to restore the damaged parts.[35]

The codex includes the following texts related to Saint George: Passio (in the recension of Niketas David Paphlagon, BHG 676b), De filio ducis Leonis (BHG 688), De dracone (BHG 687), De bobus Theopisti (BHG 689). The vision-miracle text (BHG 691u) appears on ff. 6-8 with the title: Ὀπτασία καὶ θαύμα τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδόξου μεγαλομάρτυρος Γεωργίου, δέσποτα εὐλόγησον. Incipit: Ἄρατε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἡμῶν τῆς διανοίας ἀδελφοί. Explicit: νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων, ἀμὴν ἀμὴν.

The text is organized in a bi-columnal layout, in 34 lines, leaving ample marginal space. The quadrilinear ruling contributes to the expanded verticality of the ductus, providing enough space for the diacritic marks and low-hanging letters,[36] as well as for the letters with elongated upward strokes and ligatures.[37] The folia contain no illuminations, but feature a figurative alpha-initial, as well as an ornamental headpiece.[38] The style can be characterized as regular, normalized, and elegant. The letters are uniform in size, with several notable exceptions, such as the pronounced curved strokes of ψ and υ; large β, both with the regular and a "tilted spectacle" ductus; α with a detached elongated upper stroke; ε is inscribed in various styles – as a majuscule letter, as a typical minuscule letter with a retreating central stroke, and as a letter formed by two semicircles.[39]

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[35] For a list of damaged folia and lacunae see the note in Martini-Bassi, *Catalogus*, *212*.

[36] Frequent: ν, ρ, φ, γ, ψ, ι, χ; occasional: λ, θ, ζ.

[37] δ, ε, κ, τ, ξ, φ; diphthong -ει-.

[38] A similar initial introduces the next text on fol.8, col.2. Both alpha-initials are stylized after animalistic, avian figures, and supposedly represent a pelican, pecking at its breast to feed the starving nestlings with its own blood. This iconographic topos is commonly associated with the ideas of Crucifixion and Eucharist: the pelican symbolizes Christ's sacrifice in order to provide spiritual nourishment for the faithful. It is safe to assume that both initials were traced simultaneously with the main text, based on the indentation of the corresponding lines. For the pelican visual topos see *The Oxford Dictionary of Christian Art*, 2nd edition, ed. Peter Murray, Linda Murray, and Tom Devonshire Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), s.v. "birds, symbolic."

[39] I am especially grateful to Floris Bernard for his assistance with this codicological investigation. According to his remarks, the outlined paleographic features may signify an even later date.

Codex Parisinus gr. 401

The codex 401 from the manuscript department of Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris is an exceptional item within the reviewed collation. The information on this codex is derived from the monumental publication by Karl Krumbacher, which contains a thorough description of the manuscripts' contents, as well as from a brief note by Jean Darrouzès, who provides several observations regarding the marginal scholia. [40] These insights are supplemented by the results of my own investigation.

In its present state the codex contains 172 folia with 20 texts, which are exclusively dedicated to Saint George. However, the original ff. 1-37 have been lost and replaced later with "a thin, ribbed paper with a watermark (shears)," while the remaining part is written on a thick bombycine paper.[41] According to Krumbacher, the contents of the manuscript can be divided into eight textual groups, which constitute offices on the feast days related to Saint George,[42] as well as canons for the saint, a group of six miracles (including the subject of the present thesis, BHG 691v), and, ultimately, Saint George's passio in Theodore Daphnopates' recension.[43]

In the comments regarding the structure of the codex, Krumbacher remarks that "the texts combined in the Codex Parisinus were initially conceived as a united entity."[44] He supports this claim with codicological evidence, referring to the passio fragment (ff. 117-172v), which is rather independent from the rest of the liturgical passages in the codex, but follows the preceding text on the same folio without interruption. Having investigated the individual

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[40] Karl Krumbacher, *Der heilige Georg,* 272-275; Jean Darrouzès, "Les manuscrits originaires de Chypre à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris," *Revue des études byzantines* 8, no. 1 (1950): 162-96.

[41] Krumbacher, *Der heilige Georg*, 272. The replaced folia have also been noted by Darrouzès, "Les manuscrits originaires de Chypre," 176.

[42] April 23 – martyrdom of Saint George. November 3 – consecration of the cathedral in Lydda in the name of the saint.

[43] Which is ascribed to Symeon Metaphrastes on fol. 117: Μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδόξου μεγαλομάρτυρος Γεωργίου συγγραφὲν παρὰ Συμεῶνος μαγίστρου καὶ λογοθέτου τοῦ δρόμου.

[44] Krumbacher, *Der heilige Georg*, 275.

hymns and canons, Krumbacher develops the initial hypothesis, claiming that this textual collection does not represent an actual akolouthia in respect to the part of the Office, but is rather a compendium related to the celebration of Saint George's feast days. "The canons, as shown above, with the exception of the third, have not yet been prepared for use in worship; they exist here primarily as literary texts; but the insertion of the hymn piece in the third canon proves that there is already a relationship to worship."[45] Most importantly, he places the miracle group within the same functional framework, defining it as a necessary supplement to the liturgical material. Finally, Krumbacher suggests the following definition for the structure of Cod. Parisinus 401: "It is a collection of liturgical materials for the two feasts of Saint George, supplemented by the Passion of the Saint, which was intended to be read outside the Service."[46]

Jean Darrouzès expands this definition by identifying a region, where the codex may have been in use: "It was intended to be used during service in a church of the saint of the eparchy of Solea <on Cyprus>. Indeed, on ff. 110 and 112, an inscription addresses the bishop of Solea."[47] Darrouzès has also identified a series of other dedicatory inscriptions in the margins: an obituary for a certain father John, which contains the year of his death (1409, a potential *terminus ante quem*), and is expanded with a later addition, stating that John was buried at the church of Saint George's "τῆς Ἀναμωκλίδου." Unfortunately, Darrouzès was unable to identify this church, neither does he provide any further information on the Solea eparchy inscription. He dates the codex to the 14th century (despite the obituary inscription referenced above), while Krumbacher suggests the 14th-15th centuries dating.

Darrouzès briefly elaborates on the style of writing, characterizing it as typically Cypriot, in an intense black ink, with square-shaped letter-forms. As pointed out above, the

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[45] Ibid., 276.
[46] Ibid., 277.
[47] Darrouzès, "Les manuscrits originaires de Chypre," 176.

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codex is written in two hands: the first, featured on ff. 1-37, is defined by a lively, irregular, and non-constrained character, with letters-forms of divergent sizes, protruding ligatures and occasional flourishes, as well as abundant rounded elements in the ductus. The second part, presented on ff. 38-172v, is much more regular, and strictly follows the ruling. In my opinion, Darrouzès' remark on the square shape of the letters is more relevant for the second hand. It is also worth to mention the differences in the ornamental décor: the second part features headpieces with floral ornaments, depicted in a red ink and in a uniform style, while the first part contains a variety of polychrome decorations in a more relaxed and discrepant manner.

The miracle text (BHG 691v) is featured on ff. 61-65v, with a title: Περὶ τῆς ὀπτασίας τοῦ ὄρους τῶν ἐλαιῶν. Incipit: Ἄρωμεν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῶν διανοίων ἡμῶν. Explicit: ὦ τοῦ παραδόξου θαύματος· τίς ἤκουσεν ἐξ αἰῶνος τοιαῦτα θαυμάσια· ἅ ὁ κύριος τῷ μάρτυρι ἐποίησεν· ὦ ἡ δόξα ἀμήν.

Codex Parisinus gr. 1164

The information on this codex is rather scarce. It is a composite manuscript, containing 370 paper folia, which comprise different dating clusters within the 15th-16th centuries period. Aufhauser describes the style as a "thick, plump minuscule," which is confirmed by my observations.[48] The writing is quite expressive, with active ligature interlinear protrusions. At the same time, the lines mostly conform to the horizontal ruling. Fol. 104v features two majuscule initials, and four π-initials appear on fol. 107 to denote the individual passages.

Aufhauser's remarks regarding the irregularities of diacritic marks and abundant iotacisms have led him to assume that the scribe may have not been well-trained.[49]

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[48] Aufhauser, "Eine apokalyptische Vision," 137. The codex is available online as a digitized copy at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10722200n, accessed January 29, 2018.

[49] Aufhauser, "Eine apokalyptische Vision," 138.

Oosterhuis-den Otter identified a six month lectionary within the core of the manuscript, surrounded by various patristic texts.[50] The groups of texts related to Saint George includes the following miracles: De bobus Theopisti (BHG 689), De dracone (BHG 687), De daemone (BHG 687k). The vision miracle (BHGu) is written on ff. 104v-108.

Codex Brixiensis A. III. 03

The codex has been investigated by Krumbacher, who has incorporated the text of Saint George's Conception and Nativity legend into his publication.[51] However, he provides no codicological commentary of his own, supplementing a reference to the Martini-Bassi catalogue.[52] The latter contains an extensive list of texts, as well as a brief description.

This composite manuscript contains 571 folia, measuring 285 x 194 mm., and featuring multiple hands. It was most likely combined from various quaternions, which originally belonged to other codices. The Pinakes online catalogue dates various textual entries to the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries.[53]

Preliminary Conclusions

Based on the collation presented in this chapter, it is possible to outline the following similarities. Most of the codices are attributed to the 14th century, with the exception of Parisinus gr. 1164 and Brixiensis A. III. 03. All of the codices have either been explicitly identified as menologia and lectionaries, or contain traits, which can signify their liturgical function.

Codex Parisinus gr. 401 is the most fascinating within the group, since the texts it contains are dedicated exclusively to Saint George. The liturgical textual core of the

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[50] Oosterhuis-den Otter, "Four Pseudo-Chrysostomian Homilies on Job," 13.
[51] Krumbacher, *Der heilige Georg*, 103-105.
[52] Emidio Martini and Domenico Bassi, *Catalogo Di Manoscritti Greci Esistenti Nelle Biblioteche Italiane.*, vol. 1, 2 (Milan: Hoepli, 1896), 225-241.
[53] For the full list of texts see https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/9823/, accessed May 14, 2019.

manuscript, which has been pointed out by Krumbacher, deserves a separate, more diligent investigation, which must remain beyond the scope of this thesis.

As does the issue of production and provenance. While the region of production has been narrowed down for three out of seven codices based on the information gleaned from the secondary literature and paleographic traits, the rest of the manuscripts remain unidentified.

2. Narrative Structure

This chapter narrows down the scope of investigation and introduces the text of BHG 691u-v as the main source of the thesis, along with critical remarks, structural analysis, and paleographic commentaries within relevant passages. The chapter aims to outline the core narrative structure, trace its development, and highlight the distinctive literary elements, which constitute the internal framework of the text. The resulting observations form the analytical basis for Chapter 3, which presents observations regarding hypertextual influences.

It must be clarified that only five out of seven codices have been incorporated into the following chapters due to the unattainability of the manuscript (Ancyrensis gr. 62, Brixiensis A. III. 03). The text in Atheniensis 278 and Messaniensis S. Salv. gr. 029 has been consulted with the help of Aufhauser's 1913 edition.

2.1. Introductory Passages

The miracle text can be divided into seven passages, which are analyzed and elaborated upon in the subchapters below. This division is determined primarily by shifts in narrative (e.g. changing the narration from 3rd person to 1st person; change of scene, characters, or setting) and is complemented by paleographic commentary on marginal highlights or initials whenever it is relevant. The seven passages are arranged into three groups, represented by the corresponding subchapters: 2.1. Introductory passages; 2.2. Vision; 2.3. Interpretation and

Conclusion. A table in the Appendix 2 demonstrates the distribution of passages across the manuscripts, including the corresponding folia and line numbers. It is clear that three manuscripts (i.e. Parisinus gr. 1164, Mediolanensis Ambrosianus C 92 sup, and Atheniensis 278) contain the full text of the miracle (BHG 691u), while Parisinus gr. 401 and Messianensis S. Salv. gr. 29 feature an abridged version (BHG 691v), foregoing interpretative and comparative passages, as well as the concluding prayer.[54] For future reference the manuscripts are noted as follows: Parisinus gr. 1164 = P1; Mediolanensis Ambrosianus C 92 sup = Am; Atheniensis 278 = Ath; Parisinus gr. 401 = P2; Messianensis S. Salv. gr. 029 = M. BHG 691 entries are referred to by the letter in their index, i.e. U or V.

Title

While the major titular elements are shared across the manuscripts, certain versions deviate from other in details. All versions define the miracle as a "vision" (ὀπτασία). P1 and Am expand this denomination with "wonder" (θαῦμα), while also mentioning St. George explicitly as an "all-glorious great martyr." P2 and M leave the saint's name out but provide a topographic reference: "on the vision on the Mount of Olives" (περὶ τῆς ὀπτασίας τοῦ ὄρους τῶν Ἐλαιῶν). The Mount is mentioned further in the narrative and is most likely related to king David, drawing parallels between 2 Sam.15:30 and St. George singing τὸ τοῦ Δαβὶδ ἀλληλούια during his ascent (expanded with a particular quote, attributed to a passage from Ps.118:133 in P1 and Am).[55] It is noteworthy that one group of manuscripts (P1, Am) does not mention the Mount of Olives, while the other group (P2, M) contains both the topographic reference and the quote.

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[54] It must be noted that I was unable to investigate the text in two manuscripts, namely Cod. Brix. A. III. 3 and Cod. 06 Mil Yz Latince 62. According to the Pinakes database, the latter contains the U-variation of the miracle, which is represented in the other reviewed codices; while the former features BHG 691w, on which I unfortunately cannot elaborate.

[55] P1, f.105 [12-14]: ἀνῆλθον ἐν τῷ ὄρη ψάλλον τὰ περὶ τοῦ Δαβὶδ λόγους · κατεύθυνον τὰ διαβήματά σου κατὰ τὸ λόγιόν σου · καὶ μὴ κατὰ κυριεὑσάτο μου πᾶσα ἀνομία ·

The Ath title presents a crucial outlying case: ἀποκάλυψις τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Γεωργίου· κύριε εὐλόγησον. This is the first reference to a potentially apocalyptic narrative. The word and its morphological derivatives (ἀποκαλυφθεῖσαν) also appear in P2.[56] Naturally, a single word cannot be considered as substantial basis for determining the typology of the text. However, this detail must be taken into account when formulating the final conclusion.

Introduction

The introduction is styled in a typical Byzantine hagiographic tradition, starting with a metaphoric exhortation:

U: P1 f.104v [3-5]	V: P2 f.61 [10-13]
Ἄρατε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς διανοίας ὑμῶν ἀδελφοὶ· καὶ ἴδετε τὸ καινὸν θαῦμα τοῦτο, ὅπερ [5] ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἡμῶν γέγονεν	[10] Ἄρωμεν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῶν διανοιῶν ἡμῶν· καὶ εἰδῶμεν παράδοξον θαῦμα ὅ γέγονεν · ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς ἐκείνοις
Raise the eyes of your thought, brothers! And behold this new/strange miracle, which occurred in our days.	Let us raise the eyes of our thoughts, brothers! And let us learn of a wondrous miracle, which occurred in these times.

While diverging slightly in verbal inflected forms, there are no significant textual differences across the manuscripts. The miracle (θαῦμα, μυστήρια) is classified as wondrous, novel, strange, and tremendous (παράδοξος, καινός, ξένος, φρικτός), albeit recent and contemporary (ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἡμῶν γέγονεν). The author urges his fearful audience (οἱ φοβούμενοι) to comprehend the "ineffable love of God towards all mankind" and listen to the wondrous tale. The introductory passage follows the rule of three, which enhances the initial delivery and grabs the attention of the audience.

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[56] P2 f.61v [7].

Ἐγένετο…

Despite being rather brief, the following passage must be viewed as a stand-alone element, since it introduces the protagonist and opens up the narration. Paleographic evidence supports this suggestion, as P1 has the passage marked with a flourishing ε-initial, while in Am f.6 col.2 [12] the scribe has left ample space between the end of the previous sentence (μυστήριον) and the start of the next (ἐγένετο). P2 and M do not contain any visual demarcation. The passage opens up as follows:

U: P1 f.104v [11-13]	V: P2 f.61v [4-8]
[11] Ἐγένετο μετὰ τὸ γεννηθῆναι τὸν ἅγιον Γεώργιον · καὶ ἀνδριθῆναι ἐπέλαμψεν ἐπ᾽αὐτὸν ἡ χάρις τοῦ ἁγίου πν[εύματο]ς	ἐγένετο κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς [5] ἐκείνους· ὀπτασία τίς παράδοξος· πρὸς τὸν μάρτυρα τοῦ Χ[ριστο]ῦ Γεώργιον· κατὰ τὴν ἀπὸ καλυφθεῖσαν αὐτῶ δόξαν· εἶδε σημεῖον·
[The miracle] occurred after Saint George was born and reached manhood, and the grace of the Holy Spirit shone upon him.	The vision occurred somehow incredibly in our times, for George, the martyr of Christ; [and he] perceived [this] sign according to the glory, which had been revealed to him.

The U-version mentions St. George's birth and coming-of-age, which I interpret as a fleeting remark on the saint's pious heritage, obligatory for the genre. The legend of St. George's conception and nativity, which incorporates the parents into the developing Passio narrative, has been studied by Krumbacher.[57] However, this motif is clearly not the focus of the present text, correlating to the liturgical typology of the codices, which has been outlined in the previous chapter.

The next few lines mention the saint fasting, holding vigils, and praying night and day (καὶ ἤρξατο νηστείαις καὶ ἀγρυπνίαις· καὶ προσευχαῖς λατρεύειν τῷ θεῷ νύκταν καὶ ἡμέραν)[58]

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[57] Krumbacher, *Der heilige Georg,* 243-250.
[58] P1 f.104v [14-16].

prior to his *deisis*, which occurs in the following passage. The verb in aorist tense and the infinitive λατρεύειν imply the general and recurring nature of these actions – another fleeting remark on George's piety. The V-version omits this reference and continues the interpolated narrative, which mentions a 40-day fast (καὶ νηστεύσας ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα· τὸν θεὸν ἱλεοῦτο λέγων).[59] Aufhauser observes a reference to Mt.4:2, possibly suggesting an *imitatio Christi* concept.

Deisis

This passage introduces the saint's prayer to the Lord, which is presented as a direct appeal with vocatives, epithets, and a reference to Ex.19:

U: Am f.6r. col.2 [21] – f.6v. col.1 [1]

ἄναρχε καὶ ἀρχικότατε· θεὲ τοῦ παντὸς ὁ μήτε ἀρχὴν ἔχων μήτε τέλος· ὁ δι᾽ εὐσπλαγχνίαν ἄφατον ἐμφανίσας τῷ [25] θεράποντί σου Μωσῇ ἐν Σϊνᾶ διὰ τὸν ἠγαπημένον Ἰσραὴλ ἐάν εἰμι ἄξιος τῆς βασιλείας σου· καὶ κελεύεις δοῦλός σου εἶναι · ἐμφάνισόν μοι σεαυτὸν σὺν πάσαις ταῖς στρατιαῖς σου [30] ἵνα γνῶ ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν [f.6v.I] ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην

O Lord Eternal, the utmost Divine source of all, without beginning and without end. By [Your] ineffable mercy and [Your] love towards Israel [You] manifested for Your servant Moses on Mount Sinai. Should I be worthy of Your Kingdom and [should] You order me to be your servant, [may You] manifest Yourself to me with all Your armies, so that [I] know that You are our Lord, all across the oikoumene.

V: P2 f.61v [10-11]: ζωἀρχικῶτατε – life-commanding / source of all life | [18] – f.62r [1]: ἵνα γνῶ ὅτι θ[εὸ]ς μόνος ὑπάρχεις · καὶ φοβερὸς ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένη[ν] – so that I know that You are the only Divine Ruler and [that you are] feared all across the oikoumene.

This is the first account of the narrative shifting from the 3rd person to the 1st person. George's character is finally given voice to deliver a powerful supplication. George's plea does not go unanswered: an angel arrives ἐν ὁράματι τῆς νυκτός, reassures the Saint that his request

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[59] P2 f.61v [8-10].

has been heard, and relates the command of the Lord. George is therefore prompted to ascend the mountain (P2, M: τῶν Ἐλαιῶν) and behold the revelation.

2.2. The Vision

The vision passage constitutes the most eventful part of the miracle. It is indeed the longest passage, the revelatory culmination, overloaded with characters and vivid scenes. Therefore, in order to enhance its comprehensibility and facilitate further literary analysis, it is advisable to break it down into smaller units according to particular scenes, characters, narration devices, and overarching motifs. The entire passage is presented in 1st person singular verbs, signifying the firsthand account and contributing to the immersion. George remains stationary on top of the mountain, in a transitional, intermediary state: still on earth, but catching a glimpse of heaven.

Angels, wheels, and crowds

The majority of the celestial host appearing before Saint George consists of different choirs of angels. However, their true nature and adherence to a certain choir is revealed to George only in the conclusive interpretation, delivered by one of the angels. Prior to that the saint perceives them simply as "gilded wheels" (καὶ <…> εἶδον τέσσαρες τροχοὺς ὡς ἦν διαχρυσοῦν),[60] which carry πλήθη λαῶν, "crowds of people," or τάγματα, "ranks, cohorts." Since the text does not further elaborate on their appearance, it is difficult to say, whether the latter qualification represents a military connotation. The "crowds" descending from heaven atop the "wheels" are qualified as "unadorned, formless, gold-bearing, gold-like" (ἀκαλλώπιστοι, ἀσχημάτιστοι, χρυσοφόροι, χρυσοειδεῖς).[61] Their number is uncountable: the cohorts estimate μυρίαι μυριάδες, myriads upon myriads.

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[60] P1 f.105 [18-19]
[61] P1 f.105 [28] – f.105v [1].

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The four initial groups enter the scene from four cardinal directions, while their arrival is signified by fiery flashes, thunder, or rays of light: four wheels come from the east, six from the west, twelve from the north, and four from the south. The arrival episodes are expressed in almost identical phrases with a similar syntax and ample use of the adjective ὅμοιος, contributing to the recurring pattern of the scene.

Each group is singing praise to the Lord:

P1 f.105 [21-22]: Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ [30] καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη·

Glory [be] to God in the highest [heaven] and peace [be] on earth.[62]

f.105v [1-2]: Ἅγιος ὁ θεὸς· ἅγιος ἰσχυρὸς· καὶ τὰ τούτου ὅμοια·

"Holy God, Holy Strong,"[63] and other similar to this.

[11-12]: Εἷς ἅγιος εἷς κύριος· Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ ἐρχόμενος εἰς τὸν κόσμον· μάλιστα καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἅγιον Γεώργιον·

One is Holy, One is the Lord, Jesus Christ, who comes into the world, and most of all – to Saint George.

The psalm-singing in qualified as "fear-inducing, enfeebling both the mind and the soul" (ἡ ψαλμῳδία φοβερὰ · διαλύων νοῦν καὶ ψυχὴν).[64] Following their descent, the heavenly hosts come together and stop next to Saint George.

Thrones, Virtues, σκευός

The next scene is introduced by the appearance of the "gracious sun" (ἥλιος εὐμενὴς ἦλθεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς).[65] As George struggles to make out the source of the light (πόθεν τὸ φῶς), he sees "twelve thrones atop the clouds, and men, [both] handsome and fearful, sitting on the

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[62] Aufhauser notes the reference to Lk.2:14 δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ καὶ ἐπι γῆς εἰρήνη ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας. See Aufhauser, *Miracula*, 139.
[63] Initial lines of the Trisagion: Holy God, Holy Strong, Holy Immortal, have mercy on us.
[64] P1 f.105ᵛ [6-7].
[65] P1 f.105ᵛ [13].

thrones" (εἶδον δώδεκα θρόνους ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν· καὶ ἄνδρας εὐειδεῖς καὶ φοβερούς· καὶ ἐκάθοντο ἐπὶ τοὺς θρόνους). Following this group, a "large golden vessel" (σκεῦος μέγα χρυσοῦν) appears, engulfing the entire world, earth, sea, mountains, and hills with "a pristine, dreadful, and sweet fragrance". With the appearance of the Virtues (δυνάμεις) and an "illuminated cloud with the icon/image of a man, more pristine than the rays of the sun" (καὶ νεφέλη φωτεινὴ μετ᾽αὐτῶν· καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῆς νεφέλης εἰκὼν ἀνθρώπου· καθαρωτέρα ἡλιακῆς ἀκτῖνας) the narrative shifts into a new register. The cohorts start worshipping the 'icon' one by one (καὶ ἤρξαντο τὰ τάγματα ἕν καθ᾽ἕν προσκυνεῖν τῇ εἰκόνι ἐκείνῃ). This motif, along with the overall processional nature of the narrative, is reminiscent of the Heavenly Liturgy typology.

The voice of God

The vision reaches its culmination with the Lord addressing Saint George. The voice of God comes from a "fiery cloud with uncountable multitudes in the midst" (νεφέλη ὡς εἴδει πυρὸς· καὶ πλήθη ἀναρίθμητα ἐν μέσῳ τῆς νεφέλης) and is qualified as "immaculate and life-commanding."[66] The scene is preceded by the descent of archangels as "four fiery pillars" (εἶδον τέσσαρης στύλους πυροὺς κατερχωμένους ἐκ τοῦ οὐ[ρα]νοῦ), and the great 'spirit' (πνεῦμα), "turning over mountains and stones" (διαλύων ὅροι καὶ πέτρας). The Saint is urged to place his face upon a stone and listen carefully:

Am f.7 col.1 [33] – f.7v col.2 [22]

> George, behold, I have fulfilled your plea, I descended on your behalf from Heaven; it is impossible for you to see my face, for no man may gaze upon my face and live. And [this] shall be a sign [to you], My right hand shall protect you, and I shall place my spirit upon you, and you shall be the first in my kingdom. And whatever you [might] bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatever you loosen in heaven shall be freed upon earth, and whatever you request in my

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[66] P1 f.106 [16-19]: ἡ ἄχραντος καὶ ζωαρχικωτάτη φωνὴ τοῦ θεοῦ· ἡ διαρρήξασα τὰ δεσμὰ τοῦ θανάτου· καὶ ζοφώσασα τὸν διάβολον· καὶ τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἀναστήσασα

name I shall grant you, and your name shall be in the Bible. You shall become martyr on my behalf. Thrice will they put you to death, but I shall raise you to the exultation of people, and your name shall be known from one end of the world to the other. I shall not adjure you, but through being the endurance of the martyrs// but because you are the endurance of martyrs, [and] because of [this] I loved you just as [I loved] Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. And wherever you are, I [shall be] by you. Go in peace, o chosen of my kingdom; go to the down-trodden, for you will come back in short time into my final and immortal kingdom.

Γεώργιε· ἰδοὺ ἐπλήρωσα τὴν αἴτησίν σου· καὶ κατῆλθον [f.7 col.2] διὰ σὲ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν· οὐ δυνατὸν δὲ ἰδεῖν σε τὸ πρόσωπόν μου· ὅτι οὐ μὴ ὄψηται ἄνθρωπος τὸ πρόσωπόν μου καὶ ζήσεται· καὶ ἔσται σημεῖον καὶ σκεπάσει σοὶ ἡ δεξιά μου· [5] καὶ θήσω τὸ πνευμά μου ἐπὶ σὲ· καὶ ἔσει πρῶτος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου· καὶ ὅ ἐὰν δήσῃς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔσται δεδεμένον ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς· καὶ ὃ ἐὰν αἰτήσῃς ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου· δώσω σοι· καὶ ἔσται τὸ ὄνομά [10] σου ἐν τῇ ἀθανάτῳ βίβλῳ· καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ μαρτυρήσεις· τρίτον σε θανατώσουσιν· κ᾽αγὼ ἀναστήσω σε εἰς ἀγαλλίαμα ἐθνῶν· καὶ ἔσται τὸ ὄνομά σου γνωστὸν· ἀπὸ περάτων τῆς οἰκουμένης· οὐ μή σε [15] ἐπιμαρτυρήσω· ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ εἶναί σε ὑπομονὴ τῶν μαρτύρων · διὸ ἠγάπησά σε ὡς τὸν Ἀβραὰμ· καὶ Ἰσαὰκ· καὶ Ἰακὼβ· καὶ ὅπου ἐὰν ἔσῃ κ᾽αγὼ μετὰ σοῦ· πορεύου εἰς εἰρήνην ὁ ἐκλεκτός τῆς βασιλείας [20] μου· πορεύου εἰς τὴν κάτω πατουμένην· μετ᾽ὀλίγον δὲ πάλιν· εἰσέλθεις εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν μου τὴν διάδοχον καὶ ἀθάνατον ·

Hence, the theophany is complete, George's request has been fulfilled. Moreover, the details of his imminent martyrdom are revealed to him, including the three episodes of death and resurrection. The Greek in lines 14-17 is problematic: the double negation οὐ μὴ in the protasis is most likely corrupted due to iotacism, which is rather prevalent in P1 and Am. A personal pronoun μοι may be supplied as a potential substitute, changing the translation to "I shall not subject you to martyrdom *on my behalf / for me*." The lines in P2 support this suggestion: οὐ γὰρ ἤθελον τοῦ μαρτυρῆσαι σε· ἀλλὰ δια τὸ εἶναί σε ὑπομονῇ τῶν μαρτύρων συνεχώρησα τοῦτο γενέσθαι (for I do not wish for you to become a martyr, but through this I shall make way for you to become the endurance of the martyrs).[67]

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[67] f.65 [15] – f.65v [2]

Transcendent State

Before continuing with the narrative, it is necessary to point out the state of Saint George himself. Emotions are explicit in the passage: the saint is overcome by fear (ἔμφοβος δὲ γενόμενος), struggling to make out the source of the supernatural fire (καὶ ἀτενίσας ἰδεῖν πόθεν τὸ πῦρ). Further emotional expressions reoccur throughout the vision scene, intensifying this state: George "considers in fear, what could it [all] be" (ἐμοῦ δὲ μετὰ φόβου διαλογιζομένου τί ἂν τοῦτο);[68] he marvels (θαυμάζοντος) at the strange scenes unfurling in his presence. His bewilderment reaches the utmost intensity right before the speech of the Lord, affecting George's physical state and rendering him speechless:

P1 f.106 [14-16]:

καὶ ἦλθεν ἀκτὶς ἡλίου καὶ ἔδωκέν μοι εἰς τὴν κορυφὴν καὶ συνετάραξέν μοι καὶ ἡ ψυχή μου εἰς ἔγκλησιν τελείαν ἐγένετο καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα μου κεκώλυται τῷ λάριγγί μου·

A ray of sun came and touched me on the head and confused me, and my soul became absolutely closed off [cf. κλεῖσις? ἐγκλεῖω? | Am: was in fear], and my tongue had been impeded by my larynx.

Am f.7 col.1 [26-29]: ἐκκληψιν | P2 64 [19] – 65v [5]: ἡ ψυχῇ μου ἐδειλίασε

Another outstanding aspect is the synesthetic character of the narrative. George listens and hears, gazes and sees; he smells the sweet fragrance emanating from the vessel; he feels the 'touch' of the ray of light as much as he feels the stone, upon which he is urged to place his head. However, the saint remains passive, he does not (or simply cannot) react to any of the stimuli.

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[68] P1 f.105ʳ [23-24].

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2.3. Interpretation and conclusion

As has been outlined in the introduction to this chapter, the following passages (i.e. interpretation, comparison with other prophets, and concluding prayer) are present only in the U-version (P1, Am, Ath). The reasons for this abridgement are not entirely clear, especially considering the exegetical value of these lines. The V-group (P2, M) is dated to the same period as the U-group, 14th century – therefore, it is likely that there may have existed an intermediary abridged prototype. However, considering the prevalent liturgical element of the codices, the text could have been abridged with practical implications, in order to incorporate it into the service.

The previous chapter leaves both the protagonist and a potential reader confused; the author joins in exclamation: "O what a strangest of miracles! Who has ever heard of such strange wonders, which the Lord has performed for Saint George!"[69] Conveniently enough, a seraph descends to shed some light on the matter:

P1 f.106v [17-27]

οἱ τέσσαρες τροχοὶ οἱ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν εἰσὶν τὰ φρικτὰ Χερουβὶμ καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ δυσμῶν τὰ ἅγια Σεραφὶμ καὶ τὰ ἔνδοξα ἑξαπτέρυγα καὶ οἱ [10] ἀπὸ νότον οἱ δώδεκα λεγεῶνες τῶν πολλυομμάτων καὶ οἱ δώδεκα θρόνοι οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν εἰσὶν οἱ δώδεκα μαθηταὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ οἱ μέλλοντες κρῖναι τὰς δώδεκα φυλὰς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, τὸ δὲ σκεῦος τὸ χρυσοῦν τὸ τὴν εὐωδίαν πληροῦν τὰ πάντα τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας ἐστιν, καὶ ἡ νεφέλη ἡ ἔχουσα τὰ πλήθη τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ [15] θεοῦ καὶ οἱ τέσσαρες στύλοι εἰσίν οἱ ἀρχάγγελοι καὶ τὰ φοβερὰ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ὁ κύριός ἐστιν

The four wheels from the East are the fearful cherubim. And [those] from the West [are] the holy seraphim, the esteemed six-winged [angels]. And [those] from the South [are] the twelve legions of the many-eyed [i.e. Thrones, or *ophanim*]. And the twelve thrones upon the clouds are the twelve apostles of the Lord, who will judge the twelve tribes of Israel. And the golden vessel, which filled everything with sweet fragrance, is the Holy

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[69] ὦ τῶν παραδόξων θαυμάτων · τίς ἤκουσεν · ἐξ αἰῶνων τιαῦτα παράδοξα θαύματα · ἃ ὁ κ[ύριο]ς ἐποίησεν μετὰ τῶν ἅγιον Γεώργ[ιον]

Spirit. And the cloud bearing the throngs of angels is the Son of God. And the four pillars are the archangels. And the frightful [entity] in the [cloud] is the Lord <…>

Therefore, the revelation continues even after the departure of the major characters. Considering the preceding authorial exclamation, which separated the flow of the narrative, it is likely that the angelic interpretation is a plot device, seeking to reconcile the miraculous narrative with conventional angelology. However, not only does the passage omit the "four wheels from the north," there is also no mention of Dominions (κυριότητες), Powers (ἐξουσίαι), or Principalities (ἀρχαί).

Comparison with the other prophets

"Where shall I praise you, Saint George, the great-martyr of Jesus Christ? In the New [Testament], or in the Old?" (ποῦ σε ἐγκομιάσω μεγαλομάρτυς τοῦ Χ[ριστο]ῦ Γεώργιε · ἐν [5] τῇ παλαιᾷ ἢ ἐν τῇ νέα).[70] These words preface another narrative shift: the miracle reaches its end, and the anonymous hagiographer seeks to take the stage. The following passage features several comparative reflections, which intend to prove that Saint George has been granted a much greater divine favor than some of the OT or NT prophets. These entries follow the same scheme: the great so-and-so has done X, but you, o George, have done X+1. The choice of saints for comparison seems to have been dictated by the affinity to the revelatory narrative:

P1 f.107 [5-25]

[5] Ἡσαΐας ὁ μέγας προφήτης ἐν τῇ λαβίδῃ τοῖς χείλεσιν τὸν θεῖον ἄνθρακα ἐδέξατο· σὺ δὲ, ὦ παμμακάριστε Γεώργιε, ὅλον ἐνεδύθης τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον·
Δανιὴλ ὁ προφήτης ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ Χωβὰρ εἶδεν θρόνους καὶ παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν [10] ἐκάθητο καὶ χίλιαι χυλιάδες ἐλειτούργουν αὐτῷ· σὺ δὲ οὐ μόνον χίλιαι χυλιάδες εἶδας, ἀλλὰ καὶ μυρίαι μυριάδες καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τῆς δόξης μετὰ τῶν οὐρανίων δυνάμεων, πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον εἶδας καὶ τὴν ἄχραντον αὐτοῦ φωνὴν ἤκουσας.·

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[70] P1 f.107 [4-5].

εἰς ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἀπόστολον Παῦλον; ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖνος ἡρπάγη εἰς τὸν παράδεισον
[15] καὶ εἶδεν καὶ οὐκ ἠδυνήθη τι διηγήσασθαι· σὺ δὲ τὰ φοβερὰ θαύματα τῶν
ἐπουρανίων ἐθεάσω καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν δόξαν διηγήσαι ἔχεις

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[20] εἰς ἐκεῖνον τὸν πρωτομάρτυρα Στέφανον; ἀλλ᾽ἐκεῖνος μέλλων παραδιδόναι
τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον αὐτοῦ εἶδεν τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνεῳγμένον καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ
ἑστῶτα ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ. σὺ δὲ ὦ παμμακάριστε Γεώργιε οὐ μόνον τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ
[25] θεοῦ εἶδες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα.

The comparison does not provide any conclusion: it seems that the eminence and primacy of George's glory is evident and irrefutable. Paleographic evidence supports the suggested importance of this passage: P1 designates each ποῦ σε ἐγκομιάσω phrase (which preface each comparative entry) with a π-initial; Am has the entire passage marked with a thin line in the margins.

The laudations continue: "Where shall I praise you, o George, the great-martyr of Jesus Christ? I cannot find a worthy way (κατ᾽ἀξίαν οὐχ εὑρίσκω).[71] This humble phrase is followed by an extensive list of praises and glorifying epithets, including novel sobriquets, such as ὁ συμπολίτης τῶν ἀγγέλων ("the fellow-citizen of angels"), ὁ γνώριμος τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος ("the one who has perceived the Holy Trinity"); along with more traditional epithets, such as τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὁ ἐλευθερωτής ("the liberator of those in captivity"). The passage ends with a prayer to Saint George and blessings to all the faithful Christians, who pray, minister, or commemorate the Saint.

Intermediate Conclusions

This chapter has presented the most significant elements, which contribute to the dynamic development of the narrative. The overall narrative framework is congruent to the typology of the codices, which include the text. Liturgical motifs, i.e. direct textual references to the liturgical hymns (τρισάγιον, χερουβικόν), as well as the sequential introduction of

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[71] P1 f. 107 [27].

characters and motifs via almost verbally identical passages, seem to establish a connection between the protagonist receiving a vision of the Heavenly Liturgy and the audience attending a service in church.

3. Suggested Comparative Frameworks

The third chapter discusses the individual literary motifs, narrative elements, and visual tropes, which may have been influenced by other literary genres and traditions. The genre of apocalyptic literature offers a vast array of potential allusions and parallels for the text in question, but the problem of defining Saint George's vision as "apocalyptic" is controversial. On the other hand, as will be demonstrated below, certain motifs may have been transmitted from other hagiographic texts related to George.

3.1. The Apocalyptic Component

One of the elements, which enable the discussion of the apocalyptic component within this miracle, besides the textual references, is the title of Johann Baptist Aufhauser's 1911 publication – "Eine apokalyptische Vision…"[72] In order to establish whether BHG 691u-v can be classified as an apocalyptic text and identify the textual elements, which may have prompted Aufhauser to define it as apocalyptic, it is necessary to review the text against the backdrop of the Byzantine apocalyptic literary framework. Therefore, this sub-chapter aims to outline several better known sources, which have been clearly distinguished as apocalypses, in search of potential nodes of comparison.

The literary world of the Byzantine apocalypticism has attracted much scholarly attention, resulting in a corpus of works, which have largely focused on studying individual texts and identifying traces of apocalyptic themes within the distinct literary genres (e.g. homilies). The fundamental publications include Paul J. Alexander's "The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition," which examines the Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius of Patara.[73]

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[72] Aufhauser, "Eine apokalyptische Vision," 1911.
[73] Paul J. Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).

Jane Baun's masterful study of the Apocalypse of Anastasia and the Apocalypse of Theotokos in relation to their Late Antique literary prototype, the Apocalypse of Paul, is a perfect example of a diligent and scrupulous comparative criticism.[74] Paul Magdalino examines the varying concepts in Byzantine eschatology within the context of political environment.[75] However, a general survey of the Byzantine literary apocalyptic framework still remains to be written. In the chapter on Byzantine Apocalypses in the second volume of the Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism, David Olster remarks on the scarcity of synthetic and integrating analysis produced in this area, the results of which "hardly compare either in detail or in depth with the study of Western medieval apocalypses."[76] This notion has been repeatedly voiced in various scholarly publications throughout the next two decades.[77]

Scholars embarking on an ambitious quest to provide a systematic classification for the discrepant texts, which belong to the Byzantine apocalyptic milieu, inevitably face the issues of defining the terminology, the internal taxonomy, and the scope of sources. Which traits constitute a literary apocalypse? Which characteristics should be utilized to classify the wide spectrum of apocalyptic texts? How is it possible to differentiate between "apocalypse," "apocalyptic," apocalypticism," and "eschatology?"

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[74] Jane Baun, "The 'Apocalypse of Anastasia' in Its Middle Byzantine Context" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1997); "The Moral Apocalypse in Byzantium," *Apocalyptic Time*, 2000, 241-67; *Tales from Another Byzantium: Celestial Journey and Local Community in the Medieval Greek Apocrypha* (Cambridge University Press, 2007); "Apocalyptic 'Panagia': Some Byways of Marian Revelation in Byzantium," in *The Cult of the Mother of God In Byzantium: Texts and Images* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 199-218.

[75] Paul Magdalino, "The History of the Future and Its Uses: Prophecy, Policy and Propaganda," in *The Making of Byzantine History: Studies Dedicated to Donald M.Nicol on His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Roderick Beaton, Charlotte Roueché, and Donald MacGillivray Nicol (Aldershot: Variorum, 1993): 3-34.

[76] Olster further outlines several key factors, which in his opinion lie at the root of this phenomenon: the absence of a "great" Byzantine apocalyptic author (as opposed to e.g. Joachim of Fiore in the West), the unproductive scholarly distinction between the "high" and "low" literary genres and sources, and the misattribution of the Byzantine apocalyptic category. Although I do not necessarily agree with his first claim, I find Olster's observations crucial and relevant for the modern discourse on Byzantine literature. See David Olster, "Byzantine Apocalypses," in *The Encyclopedia of Apoclypticism*, ed. McGinn, Bernard, John J. Collins, and Stephen J. Stein, vol. 2, (New York/London: Continuum, 2000): 248-51.

[77] See Leslie Brubaker, "Byzantine Visions of the End," *Studies in Church History* 45 (2009): 97-98; Jane Baun, "Moral Apocalypse," 241-245.

The researchers of Byzantine apocalyptic literature have produced several models aimed at solving these questions. By tracing the development and dissemination of the pervasive narrative structures within the groups of source texts, which have shaped the Byzantine apocalyptic framework, scholars have been able to pinpoint the recurring literary topoi, such as the Last Emperor topos, the prophecies on the seven year-weeks, or the literary katabasis along with the visions of Heaven and Hell. The results of these typological surveys formed the basis for emerging categorization within the corpus, distinguishing between the political/historical and moral apocalypses, as well as classifying an isolated sub-genre of "tours of Hell." However, the source text of the present thesis does not fit any of the proposed models. As has been shown in Chapter 2, the miracle does not contain any references to a political component (in contrast with, e.g. the Book of Daniel, which has influenced the Pseudo-Methodius Apocalypse), nor does it involve a katabasis motif, as, for example, the Apocalypse of Theotokos and the Apocalypse of Anastasia.

Without a substantial comparative model, which could enable the identification of hypertextual influences for BHG 691u-v within the corpus of Byzantine apocalyptic literature, it may be prudent to expand the periodization scope for the sources and investigate the research on the Late Antique apocalyptic prototypes in search of a relevant model. This expansion is substantiated by the eminent transtextual relation between the Byzantine literary tradition and the Antique textual core. This notion has been expressed and reaffirmed in the scholarly discourse: to quote i.a. Jane Baun, who observes how "the Eastern <apocalyptic> tradition drew on a rich variety of pagan, Jewish, and Christian texts to create a number of distinct strands."[78]

A fundamental publication in the Semeia journal presents the results of a meticulous survey of the apocalyptic literature within the period 250 BCE – 250 CE, which has been

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[78] Baun, "Moral Apocalypse," 243.

carried out by the SBL Apocalypse Research Group chaired by John J. Collins.[79] Despite the fact that the publications in this volume comprise the intermediate analytical findings, which have attracted a fair amount of criticism, Collins' contribution resulted in a proposed comprehensive definition for the apocalypse as a literary genre:

> "'Apocalypse' is a genre of (1) revelatory literature with a (2) narrative framework, in which a revelation is (3) mediated by an otherworldly being to a (4) human recipient, disclosing a (5) transcendent reality which is both (5.1) temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and (5.2) spatial insofar as it involves another, supernatural world."[80]

This definition has later been emendated by David Hellholm, who has observed that Collins' model neglects the "statement of function," which raises the question of practical implications regarding the genre.[81] Nevertheless, Hellholm accepts the definition, expanding it with "the following addition on the same level of abstraction: 'intended (6) for a group in crisis with the purpose of (7.1) exhortation and / or (7.2) consolation by means of divine authority.'"[82]

Based on the textual analysis of the miracle presented in the Chapter 2, it is possible to outline the textual elements of BHG 691, which are indicative of each category. The (1) revelatory nature of the miracle is intrinsic to the entire narrative. The (2) narrative framework is represented by a simple embedded structure, which involves two narrators: an anonymous author (Introduction – Ἐγένετο…; Comparison – Concluding prayer) and the Saint himself (Deisis – Interpretation). The revelation is (3) mediated by several otherworldly actors, including angels of various ranks and the voice of the Lord. Considering the brief mention of Saint George's birth in the prologue along with the details of his imminent martyrdom revealed in the vision (4) the recipient is granted an ante-mortem revelation. The (5.1) temporal element is represented by the promise of a personal salvation for Saint George, which is further

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[79] John Joseph Collins, ed., *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre*, Semeia 14 (The Society of Biblical Literature, 1979).
[80] Collins, *Apocalypse*, 9. The numeration of the defining elements is my own.
[81] David Hellholm, "The Problem of Apocalyptic Genre and the Apocalypse of John," *Semeia* 36 (1986): 26.
[82] Hellholm, "The Problem of Apocalyptic Genre," 27. The numeration is my own.

extrapolated onto the faithful Christian audience in the form of an (7.1) exhortation and (7.2) consolation within the Concluding prayer passage. The calamities referred to in the prayer (i.e. famine, earthquake, flood, hail, and war) represent the hardships of a (6) group facing a potential crisis. While the (5.2) spatial component is not as explicit as in the "tours of Hell" apocalypses, the concepts of travel and space are present in the episode of going up into the mountain.

Considering the broad temporal and cultural scope of Byzantine apocalyptic literature, the variation within the genre and the potential for interpolation is extensive. Therefore, I would agree with Aufhauser's denomination, to the extent that "die apokalyptische" must remain an adjective (i.e. a supplementing component, classifying an essential element) within this model.

3.2. The Protagonist Component

The choice of the protagonist for this text is most unusual, since the narrative does not feature any major connections to other texts in the Greek corpus of Saint George's miracles. However, certain aspects are worth outlining in order to postulate potential comparative bases.

The visionary aspect, comprising the core of BHG 691u-v, is present, albeit to a lesser extent, in the saint's passio (BHG 670a) and the select ante-mortem miracles, such as De Dracone, De Zona Sancti, and De Daimone. The narrative structure for this element is mostly uniform: Saint George addresses the Lord in prayer with a specific request, which is responded to either by an otherworldly mediator (angel) or the voice from Heaven. The recurring prison scene, in which the saint experiences a theophany and is granted a revelation regarding his forthcoming martyrdom, death, and resurrection, is the most representative example of parallelism.

Individual miracles also contain passages, which can be related to the vision text.

De Dracone, Aufhauser, 120 [13-15][83]	BHG 691u, P1 [14-15]
[13] Ἄναρχε, ἀόρατε, ζωαρχικώτατε παντοκράτορ, θεὲ τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου ὁποὺ δὲν ἔχεις [15] μήτε ἀρχὴν μήτε τέλος	[14] Ἄναρχε, ζωαρχικώτατε θεὲ τοῦ παντός, ὁ μήτε ἀρχὴν ἔχων [15] μήτε τέλος
O eternal, invisible, life-commanding *pantokrator*, God of all the universe, whereas You have no beginning and no end…	O eternal, o life-commanding God of all, He who is without beginning and without end…
De Zona, Aufhauser, 134 [4-5]	BHG 691u, P1.
<…> ἵνα γνῶμεν, ὅτι σὺ εἶ θεὸς ἀληθινὸς μέγας καὶ φοβερὸς	<…> ἵνα γνῷ, ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ὡς φοβερὸς ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην.
<…> so that we may know that you are the true God, great and fear-inspiring	<…> so that I may know that you are our God, who is feared across the entire world.

The Coptic corpus of Saint George's vita and miracle texts, translated by Ernest A. Wallis Budge, contains an encomium to the saint composed by Abba Theodotus, the bishop of Ancyra.[84] The text relates the passio story, along with the legend of the relics transfer. Budge remarks that he was unable "to find an allusion in the encomium of Theodotus, Bishop of Ancyra, to any other work on St. George."[85] However, after a preliminary investigation, it is possible to observe that the text does contain several passages, which bear close semblance to BHG 691u. They appear in the introductory and intermissive parts, where the narrator's voice is more prevalent.

Encomium of Theodotus, bishop of Ancyra, transl. E.A.W. Budge [310]

George, my master, by what holy name shall I call thee? Shall I call thee "Prophet" or "Lawgiver" or shall I say "Apostle" or "Martyr" or "Righteous

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[83] See Aufhauser, *Miracula,* 113-29, 134-37.
[84] Ernest A. Wallis Budge, *The Martyrdom and Miracles of Saint George of Cappadocia. The Coptic Texts* (London: D. Nutt, 1888).
[85] "<…> save the encomium upon him attributed to Theodosius, Bishop of Jerusalem." The latter encomium remains outside the scope of the present thesis. See Budge, *The Martyrdom and Miracles,* xvi.

man?" In very truth thou art worthy, beloved of Christ, to be called by all these names, but if I call thee "Prophet" thou excellest the Prophets, and if I call thee "Lawgiver" thou art also more excellent than the Lawgivers. Moses the lawgiver saw but a little of the glory of God; but to thee, George, my master, did God speak mouth to mouth in glory and honour. The Apostles who were twelve and seventy preached in all the world, each in his own country, and rebuked those who served idols and turned them to Christ: but thou, brilliant star, hast by thyself rebuked the idolaters, and governors with their armies and the whole world, and hast overthrown them with the fire of heaven, and hast made the name of Christ to shine throughout the whole world.

This matrix of comparison does not appear in any other text related to Saint George. While the main comparative categories (e.g. "Prophets") are mostly shared between the two passages, the essence of comparison is different. Theodotus alludes to the scenes from Saint George's passio, which include the prison theophanies, casting down the pagan idols, converting the generals, and the invocation of a fire upon the lawless governors, pronounced by the saint before his death. The pairings featured in the BHG 691u text refer back to the vision itself, foregoing any references to the rest of Saint George's hagiographic corpus.

After the conclusion of the martyrdom events, the text introduces a new narrative, relating a revelatory experience of a certain bishop, who "was taken up to heaven in vision."[86]

E.A.W. Budge [327]

<…> and he saw most exalted mysteries the which it is not lawful for an earthly being to utter. He said, "I saw that I was standing before the throne of the Father, and I saw thousands of thousands, and myriads of myriads praising the holy Trinity, and coming in bands, and they worshipped God, and glorified Him, and blessed Him, and made their requests, and afterwards they stood in rows, and no earthly creature could describe the glory and the great honour which they had received from the Trinity. And I saw one coming forth from within the veil like unto a king wearing a diadem of gold with seven crowns upon it, and he was riding upon a white horse <…> And when he came forth a mighty multitude followed him on this side <…>

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[86] According to Budge, the bishop may have been Theodotus himself, see Budge, *The Martyrdom and Miracles*, 327 (footnote 1).

The parallels between the BHG 691u-v and the Coptic encomium are striking: "thousands of thousands, and myriads of myriads" of angels worshipping and glorifying God, the glorious rider, who is revealed to be Saint George himself, rides out from the middle of the heavenly host, which had come "in bands" (similar to the way τὰ τάγματα appeared in BHG 691u-v). It is difficult to say, whether the 7th century encomium may have directly influenced a text presented in 14th century codices. Therefore, having outlined several explicit parallels, I must leave this subject for further investigation.

Conclusion

This source-driven interdisciplinary research project has engaged with an extensive scope of material, aiming to contribute to the studies of a text, which has been introduced into scholarship more than a century ago, but not investigated since. An accurate and scrupulous collation of the heavily fragmented information on the BHG 691u-v miracle has been the main focus of the present thesis. The metaphor of a pitch-dark room, which is barely illuminated by occasional faint motes of light, perfectly describes the initial research stages.

Thankfully, meticulous investigation has yielded results. The group of manuscripts, which have been presented in the first chapter, turned out to be an inter-related entity not only in regard to their close periodization, but also in their typology. Liturgical manuscripts constitute a powerful medium for literary invention, extrapolation, and mimesis. Moreover, three out of seven codices represent distinctive stylistic traits, which are deeply rooted in local manuscript traditions (i.e. Cyprus, Reggio-Calabria, and Trebizond). Each of these localities deserves a separate examination in the context of Late and Post-Byzantine paleography.

Unfortunately, the liturgical component of BHG 691u-v has remained beyond the scope of the present work, and remains for future research. It may be interesting to extrapolate the structure of the narrative upon the akolouthia and see, whether certain parallels can be drawn between the vision and the particular elements of the Office, such as i.a. the Little and the Great Entrance, the χερουβικόν and the τρισάγιον hymns, μακαρισμοί, and other less evident components.

As Karl Krumbacher noted in conclusion to his examination of Codex Parisinus gr. 401, a comprehensive investigation into the history of menologia (and by extension − of other liturgical literature in its complex typology) is a fruitful, far-sighted, almost boundless task:

> "Die Aufklärung dieser Frage könnte nur unternommen werden auf Grund einer Geschichte der Georgsakoluthie, und diese wiederum ließe sich mit Erfolg nur

in Angriff nehmen im Zusammenhang einer umfassenden Untersuchung über die Geschichte der Menaeen. einer fruchtbaren, weitausblickenden, fast uferlosen Aufgabe, zu deren Lösung in erster Linie autoptische Prüfung einer Unzahl in den östlichen und westlichen Bibliotheken zerstreuter Hss nötig wäre."[87]

Krumbacher's idea deeply resonates with a notion expressed some fifteen year prior by Papadopoulos-Kerameus, who compared the menologia in their contemporary state with museums displaying the scattered and identified parts of sculptures.[88] The problems of chant attribution, error transmitting, and disparate canons have been outlined more than a century ago. Therefore, I hope that the results of my examination may contribute to further research in this area.

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[87] Krumbacher, *Der heilige Georg*, 277.
[88] Αθανάσιος Παπαδόπουλος-Κεραμεύς, "Σχεδίασμα περὶ τῶν λειτουργικῶν Μηναίων," *Vizantijskij Vremennik,* 1, 3 (1894): 341-388.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Translation.

The translation follows the BHG 691u variant of the text, since it is a non-abridged version, and aims for a balance between adaptation and conveying the correct sense. Certain problematic passages still await solution. I am immensely thankful to Sámuel Gábor for his assistance with correcting my translation. As always, each and every mistake is my own.

The vision and miracle of Saint George the glorious great-martyr, Lord be praised.

Lift your eyes of thought, brothers, and behold this new wonder, which has occurred in our days. Apprehend God's inexpressible love for mankind and devote your veneration to Him. Listen to the frightening miracles of the all-glorious great martyr George. Come hither, all the God-fearing people, and I shall describe to you the frightening mystery, which the saint saw.

It occurred after Saint George was born and reached manhood, and the grace of the Holy Spirit shone upon him and awoke him to the fear of God. And he started serving God with fasts, vigils and prayers night and day. Having kept a fourty-day Fast, he started beseeching God, saying: "O Eternal, o life-commanding God of all, You, who are without a beginning and without an end. Who by ineffable mercy manifested to Your servant Moses on Mount Sinai, because of Your love towards Israel. Should I be worthy of Your Kingdom and should You order me to be your servant, may you show Yourself to me with all Your armies, so that I knew that You are our Lord, who is feared across all the *oikoumene*."

As George the all-glorious martyr has finished this prayer, eternal and true Lord did not disregard him, neither was He unmoved by the saint's plea. But an angel of the Lord came in a nightly vision and told him: "O George, your plea has been heard by the ears of the Lord and

He has revealed the following to you. I have heard your voice and your plea to Me. Behold as I fulfill your request. Raise up to the mountain and you will see that, which you have asked for so that you may know that I am with you."

When I, George, have heard this, I went up the mountain, singing the Psalm of David: "Direct my steps by Your Word, and let not any iniquity have dominion over me." As I was singing this and many more of these, a fiery flash came from the east and appeared next to me. As I was overcome by fear and was trying to see, where is the fire, I saw four wheels that were gilded, and a multitude of people were on top of the wheels. And they started to move with force and they sang: "Glory to God in the highest heaven and on earth peace." They came close to me and stopped on the spot. As I was considering in fear, what could this be, I heard a mighty thunder from the west. Constrained by fear, I looked to the west for the source of the sound and saw six wheels, same as the other, and a multitude of people upon them: unadorned, formless, gold-bearing, gold-like; and they were singing too – "Holy is the God, Holy Strong" and so on. And they have also come after the others. Forthwith a light came towards the north, and I saw twelve wheels, same as the others, and many multitudes upon them, and they were causing a frightening sound, and frightening Psalm-singing, which dissolved the mind and the soul. But I did not perceive what they were speaking about. As I was marveling over these [wonders], I looked to the south and I saw that four wheels were coming in force, these were also singing "One is Holy, one is the Lord, Jesus Christ, Who comes into the world, and most of all – to Saint George." After the four cohorts have come together, the gracious "sun" came to us. As I was trying to see where the light [was coming] from, I saw twelve thrones atop the clouds, and men, both beautiful and formidable, and they were sitting on the thrones; they came after the cohorts, and this instant I saw a large golden vessel, and it stood in our midst. A sweet and dreadful fragrance came out of it, and with that smell it [i.e. the vessel] engulfed the sky, the earth, the sea, the mountains and the hills, and the entire world. As I was being filled with

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this fragrance, I saw many Virtues descending [from Heaven] and an illuminated cloud following them. And in the middle of the cloud [I saw] an icon of a man, more pristine than the ray of the sun. It came and stood amidst the cohorts, and the cohorts started to prostrate [before] that icon one by one and stopped on the spot.

While I was contemplating [this] in fear, I saw four fiery pillars descending from the sky, and they came after the cohorts, and they all gathered near me. Out of great fear, I myself did not see what to do. And I saw a great Spirit turning over mountains and stones; and a sound of a gentle breeze, and a cloud [as if] in the form of fire, and countless multitudes in the middle of the cloud. And as they came within a stade [from the gathering], the cohorts started singing: "One is Holy, One is the Lord, the King of Glory." And there came a Voice saying to me: "George, place your face on a rock and listen carefully." A ray of sun came and touched me on the head and confused me, and my soul became inspired, and my tongue impeded speech. And there came the immaculate, life-commanding voice of God, [the one] that has broken asunder the bonds of death, cast the devil into darkness, and resurrected Adam, and told onto me: "George, behold, I have fulfilled your plea/request, I descended on your behalf from Heaven. It is impossible that you see my face, for no man would gaze upon my face and live, so this shall be a sign to you. My right hand shall protect you, and I shall place My Spirit upon you, and you shall be the first in My Kingdom. And whatever you might bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatever you loosen in heaven shall be freed upon earth, and whatever you request in My Name I shall grant you, and your name shall be in the Bible, and you shall become a martyr on My behalf. Thrice will they put you to death, but I shall raise you [from the dead to the exultation of the people, and your name shall be known from one end of the world to the other. I shall not (?) adjure you, but through being the endurance of the martyrs// but because you are the endurance of martyrs, [and] because of [this] I loved you just as [I loved] Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; and wherever you are, I [shall be] by your side. Go in peace,

o chosen of My Kingdom. Go to the down-trodden, for you will come back soon into My final and immortal Kingdom." Having said that, the Lord departed onto heaven, and I did not see anything after I stood up.

O what an incredible miracle! Who has ever heard such incredible wonders, which the Lord manifested for Saint George?

And this instant a one of the Seraphim came, he called upon me and told me: "O George, you must wish to learn what are these [wonders], which you have seen? For I have been sent by the Lord, and I will reveal everything that you have seen to you. The four wheels from the East are the fear-inspiring cherubim. And [those] from the West [are] the holy seraphim, the esteemed six-winged [angels]. And [those] from the South [are] the twelve legions of the many-eyed [angels]. And the twelve thrones upon the clouds are the twelve apostles of the Lord, who will judge the twelve tribes of Israel. And the golden vessel, which filled everything with sweet fragrance, is the Holy Spirit. And the cloud bearing the throngs of angels is the Son of God. And the four pillars are the archangels. And the frightful [entity] in this [cloud] is the Lord, who has been speaking. Go in peace, o beloved and chosen of God. [You, who are] enlightened [and] worthy [in the eyes] of God."

O what a wondrous and strange mystery!

Who has ever seen or heard of such glory? Where shall I praise you, o George, the great-martyr of Christ, in the Old [Testament] or in the New [Testament]? The great prophet Isaiah received divine coal in tongs upon [his] lips. But you, o blessed George, were entirely clothed in the Holy Spirit. The prophet Daniel saw thrones in the river Chobar, the Ancient of Days seated [upon them], and a thousand of thousands ministered to Him. But you saw not only a thousand of thousands, but moreover a myriad of myriads, and the kingdom of glory along with the heavenly Virtues; [this] you saw face to face, and you heard His immaculate voice.

How shall I praise you, o George, the great-martyr of Christ? Like Paul the Apostle? But that [man] was carried off into the Paradise; [he] saw, but was unable to describe anything. But you gazed upon the frightful wonders of heavenly [abodes] and you can describe their glory.

How shall I praise you, o blessed George? Like Saint Stephen the proto-martyr? But as that [Saint] was about to hand over the Holy Spirit, he saw that the Heaven was open and that the Son of God was standing by His right hand. But you, o blessed George, saw not only the Son of God, but the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

How shall I praise you, o George, the great-martyr of Christ? I cannot find a worthy [way], o the first of martyrs, the one [who was deemed] worthy to hear the immaculate voice, the chosen of God, the fellow-citizen of the angels, the one [whose name is] written into the Bible, the one prepared for the kingdom of God, the one who has attained the power to bind and loosen, the one who knows about the Holy Trinity, the good adviser of the Christians, a bridge leading into life, a helper to those in need, a swift savior of the sinners, the saint by grace, the liberator of those in captivity, the harbor of those who sail, a swift caretaker of those under guard and in chains, aid and swift caretaker of the hopeless.

Blessed be, o George, alongside all the people, blessed are those, who have known you, blessed are those known to you, blessed are those conversing with you, blessed are your kinsmen, blessed are those taught by you, blessed are the places and cities you have traveled through, blessed is your shrine, blessed are the priests, who minister divine services in your shrine, blessed are the men taking refuge in your shrine. Blessed are those fulfilling your ever-venerable memory, for theirs is the kingdom of Heaven. Blessed are those pouring wine in your saintly memory, for they will be comforted; blessed are those kindling a big light in [memory of] your martyrdom, for they will be illuminated.

Saint George, may you save our emperor in peace, subdue the barbarous tribes for him, but release those fulfilling your memory from famine, earthquake, flood, and hail; from being run over by foreign tribes and from war with our kin; and from the wicked dragon. For you have been given the grace to preside over us in Jesus Christ, our Lord, glory and power to Him, to His Eternal Father, and to His Spirit, now and ever and unto the ages of ages, Amen.

Appendix 2.

Passage	Par. 1164 (=P1)	Ambr. C 92 sup (=Am)	Athen. 278 (=Ath)[89]	Par. 401 (=P2)	Mess. gr. 029 (=M)[90]
Introduction	f.104^v [1–10]	f.6$^{r.II}$ [1–12]	p.137 [1-10]	f.61^r [8] – f.61^v [4]	f.14^v [36–44]
Ἐγένετο…	[11–17]	[12–22]	p.138 [1-7]	[4–10]	?
Deisis	[17] – f.105^r [10]	[22] – f.6$^{v.I}$ [15]	p.138 [7] – p.139 [5]	[10] – f.62^r [15]	?
Vision	[10] – f.106^v [13]	[15] – f.7$^{r.II}$ [27]	p.139 [5] – p.144 [3]	[15] – f.65^v [15]	?
Interpretation	[13] – f.107^r [2]	[27] – f.7$^{v.I}$ [15]	p.144 [3] – p.145 [2]	n/a	n/a
Comparison with other prophets	[2–27]	[15] – f.7$^{v.II}$ [15]	p.145 [2] – p.146 [5]	n/a	n/a
Concluding prayer	[27] – f.108^r [5]	[15] – f.8^r [30]	p.146 [6] – p.147	n/a	n/a

Appendix 2. A comparative table showing the distribution of textual passages, outlined in Chapter 2.

[89] Since Cod. Athen. 278 remains inaccessible to me at this point, I provide the pages and lines here according to Aufhauser.
[90] Due to the low resolution of the available copy I was unable to provide the exact lines for the passages.