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ONCE AGAIN ABOUT THE MULTIFOLD SLAVONIC TRANSLATIONS AND THEIR CONTEXT: *ON PRAYER* BY EVAGRIUS OF PONTUS (CPG 2452)

Abstract. The article examines the history of the Slavic translations of the work *On Prayer* by Evagrios (Evagrius) of Pontus (CPG 2452). The witnesses are more than 35 – in manuscripts of Russian, Serbian, Bulgarian and Moldavian-Wallachian provenance, from the 12th to the 17th century. Two translations are analysed, which are distributed in monastic collections compiled in different ways. The first of these can be situated in the context of the early parenetic literature of the First Bulgarian Kingdom (10th c.), and the other is related to the literary tradition and ascetical practices of Hesychasm in the 14th century. A version of the first translation, which appeared in the 14th century in the Bulgarian milieu is also considered. The comparison of the language of the translations with their Greek original allows for extremely interesting observations on the translators' approaches. The reception of the text *On Prayer* is a key to understanding the processes that take place in the Slavic literature over a long period, characterized on the one hand by the continuity, and on the other by the introduction of new phenomena, both in the selection of vocabulary and in the compositions of the manuscripts as a whole. The history of the work *On Prayer* sheds light on the connections of the monastic centres on the Balkans, Russia, and Mount Athos.

Keywords: Slavic literature of the Middle Ages, multifold translations, paraenetic style, Hesychasm, the composition of anthologies

Introduction

Evagrius Ponticus (Evagrius Ponticus) (345–399)¹ is chronologically the third patristic author to dedicate a work to the subject of prayer after Clement of Alexandria (150–215) and Origen (c. 184–c. 253). The work under the title of *Περὶ προσευχῆς* (*De oratione*) (CPG 2452; PG, vol. LXXIX, col. 1165–1200) is one of his most popular texts attested by the existence of translations into different languages. The tradition of the Greek text, known from about 150 copies in full

¹ This paper is a part of the international project on the monastic heritage of Slavia Orthodoxa, and in the project the Greek forms of the names are preferred (ending -os, not -us), as is customary in the inventories.

text and excerpts, has been studied well and has been published in a critical edition². The work is an anthology of wise sentences in paraenetic style, planned as a collection of 153 texts – similar to the number of fish in the miraculous catch of Simon Peter (John 21: 11). This reasoning for the composition's relation to the New Testament has been developed in the Prologue, with arguments supporting the intellectual communication with God. The objective of the author is not the liturgical application of prayer or the explanation of its content, but rather an intellectual, contemplative aspect, the rising to God and its achievement in solitude. Underscored by researchers, this peculiarity of the text also determines the context in which it is found in Slavic manuscripts, as we shall see from the descriptions of their characteristics. The language used by Evagrius belongs to *Haute literature*, with purposeful use of symbolism and rhetorical devices (anaphora, epiphora, parallel syntax, and others). Therefore the question about the technique of the Slavic translation and to what extent it follows complements or deviates from the Greek original is important. The present initial study aims to establish the translations and redactions, and their chronology, but a study on the style of the translation is forthcoming.

As has already been established, a large portion of the works of Evagrius was copied under the name of Neilos (Nilus) of Ancyra (of Sinai) (2nd half of the 4th c. – 430), others are encountered with the name of Hesychios (Hesychius) of Jerusalem (2nd half of the 4th c. – ca. 450/451). Pseudo-authorship was made necessary by the fact that Evagrius was declared heretical at the Fifth Ecumenical Council (553) on the charges that he was a follower of Origen (ca. 185 – ca. 254), with views close to Gnosticism, and was thus condemned with Origen himself. The sentence was confirmed by the Sixth Ecumenical Council. Because of the interpretations and the suggestions close to those of Origen, all his texts were anathematised at the Lateran Council of 649, and those who did not want to reject the works of Evagrius were also subject to anathema³.

However, the anathema on Evagrius and the confiscation of his works from the Greek Orthodox libraries after 553 did not diminish the popularity of his works. In addition to Greek, they are also known in translations into Syriac⁴, Coptic, Arabic, Armenian and Georgian⁵, but also in Slavic. I shall note that one of the earliest

² ÉVAGRE LE PONTIQUE, *Chapitres sur la prière*, ed. et trans. P. GÉHIN, Paris 2017 [= SC, 589].

³ Г.И. БЕНЕВИЧ, *Евагрий Понтийский и палестинская философско-богословская традиция*, АЕГу 23, 2017, p. 21–26.

⁴ J. MUYLDERMANS, *Evagriana Syriaca. Textes inédits du British Museum et de la Vaticane*, Louvain 1952, p. 39–46.

⁵ K. SAMIR, *Evagre le Pontique dans la tradition arabo-copte*, [in:] *Actes du IV^e Congrès Copte. Louvain-la-Neuve, 5–10 septembre 1988*, vol. II, ed. M. RASSART-DERBERGH, J. RIES, Louvain-la-Neuve 1992 [= PIOL, 41], p. 132–133. Evagrius' works have also been translated into Romanian: D. MUTALÂP, *The Structure and Composition of a Proto-Philokalic Romanian Manuscript from 1769*, [in:] *Translations of Patristic Literature in South-Eastern Literature*, ed. L. TASEVA, R. MARTI, Brăila 2020, p. 309;

translated works is a combination of wise sayings, known as *Capita paraenetica* (CPG 6583a and 6583b) under the title: Прѣснаго вѣда нашего нила. в разоумын оученіа дшѣпользнаа. Incip.: Стрѣ имѣи бжїи и ѿтомъ къ вѣсьмъ свѣтѣльствомъ свѣсти своеѣ вѣсѣдоуи. The *sententiae* has three known translations: (1) in the so-called *Knjažeski Izbornik* (*Princely Collection*) (10th c.) which has reached us in the *Izbornik of 1076*⁶; (2) in manuscripts related to No. 382 of Hilandar monastery, end 13th and the beginning of the 14th century and its protograph⁷; (3) in the traditions of the Slavic *Pčela* (the Bee) miscellany⁸, and (4) a new translation of an excerpt of the wise sayings with a different composition compared with the Greek text, included in miscellanies of ascetic literature⁹. Despite the considerable academic interest in the work of Evagrius Ponticos and its distribution among the Slavs¹⁰, a number of translations remain unstudied, including their chronology and their transmission, and these works include *De oratione*. As I noted above, all copies bear the name of Neilos of Ancyra. The original authorship was already established in the 1930s by father Irénée Hausherr¹¹. A recent comprehensive review of the works, publications and commentaries was made by Joel Kalvesmaki¹².

The distribution of *De oratione* in Slavic translation presents both the interpretation of the subject in different periods of the development of medieval literature and the context of the concrete text.

IDEM, *Redacția scurtă a unei scrieri ascetico-mistice atribuite lui Evagrie Ponticul în literatura română veche (I)*, LR 69, 2020, p. 31–48.

⁶ У. ФЕДЕР, *Кънажи изборникъ за възпитание на канартикина*, vol. II, Велико Търново 2008, p. 8–10, 35–48.

⁷ This Bulgarian translation can be attributed to the 10th century. The contents are duplicated in: No. 72, 14th century and No. 310, 16th century of the Romanian Academy Library, Bucharest. Cf. A. MILTENOVA, *Towards the Slavic Translations of Capita Paraenetica Ascribed to either Nilus of Ankyra or to Hesychius of Jerusalem*, [in:] *Σπαράγματα Βυζαντινοσλαβικής Κληρονομιάς. (Χαριστήριος Τόμος στον Καθηγητή Ιωάννη Χρ. Ταρνανίδη)*, Θεσσαλονίκη 2011, p. 125–154.

⁸ MS F.п.І.44, parchment, 14th–15th century, contains the sentences of Menandros and Barnabas, cf. В.М. СЕМЕНОВ, *Изречения Исихия и Варнавы по русским спискам*, ПДП 92, 1892, p. 1–9.

⁹ Published after a Russian manuscript: М.Н. СПЕРАНСКИЙ, *Переводные сборники изречений в славянорусской письменности. Исследование и текст*, Москва 1904, p. 195–203. The Middle Bulgarian copies are known, but have not been studied, e.g. No. 80 (Ryapov miscellany), BAS Archive, second half of the 14th century.

¹⁰ К.В. ВЕРШИНИН, *Из истории славянских переводов Евагрия Понтийского*, [in:] *Письменность, литература, фольклор славянских народов. История славистики XVI Международного съезда славистов. Белград, 20–27 августа 2018 г. Доклады российской делегации*, Москва 2018, p. 52–61.

¹¹ I. HAUSHERR, *Le traité de l'oraison d'Évagre le Pontique (Pseudo-Nil)*, RAM 15, 1934, p. 34–93, 113–170; IDEM, *Le 'De oratione' d'Évagre le Pontique en syriaque et en arabe*, OCP 5, 1939, p. 7–71; IDEM, *Les leçons d'un contemplatif. Le Traité de l'oraison d'Évagre le Pontique*, Paris 1960. The author notes the presence of the work in the *Bibliotheca* of Patriarch Photios (Photius: *Bibliotheca*, cod. 201).

¹² Cf. <http://evagriusponticus.net/corpus.htm#cp2452> [28 XII 2020]. J. KALVESMAKI, *Evagrius and his Legacy*, Notre Dame, Ind. 2016.

Sources

The copies in Slavic manuscripts of Serbian, Bulgarian, Russian and Slavonic Romanian provenance number over 35, and the most typical examples of the translations and redactions can be given as follows¹³:

1. MS 93, Dečani monastery collection, 12th–13th century, parchment, 192 folia, 4°. Of Russian provenance. F. 179v.–186r: Прп(д)бнго оца нашего нила о млѣтѣ. Incip.: Иже хощеть благовоны тмыанъ творити. то ѹистын ливанъ и касиа поноухъ и стастикиъ тзѹно сложить по законуу. си жи (!) соутъ ѹетырство добро-правьемь. аще во испзанъ и равна боудоутъ. то непреданъ боудеть оумъ¹⁴.

Explic.: Мо(л)тѣвъ похвала. не просто колнѣство. нъ каквоѣство. и се авлаеть. възхо-дивъшии въ цркви. и вы молаць са не блгословите (sic!) и прочее и прочее. Елма же въ помыслѣ еси тѣлеснѣмь. и оумъ ти стѣннына обзходитъ красоты. нѣси не оу млѣтѣ видѣлъ мѣста. нъ и еше далече блжены еа. пжтъ есть. егда прѣстоа въ млѣтѣ. паѹе всако арости оноа бывааше. тзгда въ истиноу обрѣте молитвоу.

2. MS 10d (253), Hludov Collection, State Historical Museum, together with fragment No 323, N.K. Nikolsky Collection, Russian Academy Library, parchment, 13th century. Of Russian provenance. F. 125r–151 Прп(д)бнаго оца нила о млѣтѣ. главизнъ. рѣг. Incip.: Иже хощеть блговоны тмыанъ творити. то ѹистын ливанъ, и касию.¹⁵

3. MS 644, Synodal Collection, State Historical Museum, end-14th – beginning of the 15th century, parchment, 135 folia. Of Russian provenance. F. 96v–114v: Прп(д)бна(г) ѡца нашего нила о молитѣвъ главизнъ р. и ѣ. и г. Incip.: Иже хощеть блговонынн тмыанъ творити¹⁶.

¹³ Acknowledgments: I am very grateful to the monks of the Hilandar Monastery and the Hilandar Research Library for the opportunity to work with manuscripts.

¹⁴ Д. Богдановић, Н.Р. Синдик, *Опис ћирилскихъ рукописнихъ књига манастира Високи Дечани*, vol. I, Београд 2011, p. 376–380; W. VEDER, *Евагрий Понтийский О Молитве. К вопросу о глаголице на Руси*, [in:] *Forma formans. Studi in onore di Boris Uspenskij*, ed. S. BERTOLISSI et al., Napoli 2010, p. 243–266; Т.И. Афанасьева, Д.М. Буланин, У. ФЕДЕР, *Письменные памятники истории и культуры России в собраниях зарубежных архивов и библиотек*, vol. VII, Берлинский Кормчий. Древнерусский учительный сборник XIV века, ed. Д.М. Буланин, Санкт Петербург 2018.

¹⁵ А. Попов, *Первое прибавление к описанию рукописей и каталогу книг церковной печати библиотеки А.И. Хлудова*, Москва 1875, p. 8–9; *Сводный каталог славяно-русскихъ рукописныхъ книгъ, хранящихся в СССР. XI–XIII вв.*, Москва 1984, № 229 (Sobolevsky, following A.N. Popov, incorrectly dated the manuscript to the 15th century); a fragment from it – Russian Academic Library, St. Petersburg, Nikolsky Collection, No. 323 (СК XI–XIII, No 308); identification of the parts: Д.М. Буланин, *Реконструкция древнерусского сборника XIII в.*, [in:] *Исследования по древней и новой литературе*, Ленинград 1987, p. 342–345; *Каталог памятников древнерусской письменности XI–XIV вв. (Рукописные книги)*, ed. Д.М. Буланин, А.А. Романова et al., Санкт Петербург 2014 [= SSO, 7], p. 250. The manuscript is not accessible *de visu* to me.

¹⁶ А. Горский, К. Невоструев, *Описание славянскихъ рукописей Московской Синодальной библиотеки*, vol. II, *Писания святыхъ отцовъ*, pars 3, *Разные богословские сочинения*, Москва 1857,

4. MS Hamilton 381, State Library in Berlin, second half of the 14th century. Of Russian provenance. F. 100v-c-d-110r-a-b: Прп(д)бнаго оца нила о мѣтѣхъ главизнѣхъ. ѿ. и ѿ. Incip.: Иже хощеть бл҃говонными темѣианѣхъ творити то ч(с)тыми ливанѣхъ и касию и онуѣхъ и стакти тоуено. положить по законуу си же сѹть чѣтыре добронравнемѣ. аще бо исполнѣ нравна бѹдѹть. то не преданѣхъ бѹдетѣ оумѣ¹⁷.

Explic.: О мѣтѣхъ похвала. не просто колиѹство. но каковыѣство. и се являють възсходивши въ цр҃кѣхъ и вы молаще са не бла҃дословите. и прочее. рнѣ. елма же в помыслѣхъ еси телеснѣмѣхъ. и оумѣ ти стѣнныиа обѣходитѣ красоты. не си оуне мѣтѣхъ видѣлѣхъ мѣст(а) но и еще далече бл҃жнии еиа пѹть есть. рнѣ. егда престоиа въ молитѣхъ паѹе всакоа радости иноа бываше. тогда во истинѹ обрѣте молитѹ.

5. MS 1036, National library in Sofia, paper, 297 folia, second half of the 14th century. Of Bulgarian provenance, Middle Bulgarian orthography. F. 196v-203r: Прѣп(д)бнаго ѿца нашего нила ѿ м(л)тѣхъ главѣхъ ѿ и ѿ. Incip.: Иже хощетѣхъ бл҃говонныа, димѣианѣхъ творити. тѣхъ чистыи ливанѣхъ, и касѣа, и смирна, и стакти, тѣхъно възложитѣхъ по законѣ. си же сѣтѣхъ чѣтыре двѣбрии нрави. аще бѹ испльнѣ и равна бѣдетѣхъ оумѣ¹⁸.

Explic.: Мѣтѣа похвала е(с) не просто колиѹство. нѣ ко(лиѹ (sic!) вство и се являѣтѣхъ възходящи въ цр҃кѣхъ. и вы не бла҃дословите молаще се, и прочее. Елма же еси въ помыслѣхъ тѣлеснѣмѣхъ. и оумѣ ти вѣхѹдитѣхъ стѣнныиѣхъ красоты. не оуеси оуѣдѣлѣхъ мѣста мѣтѣхъ красѹты. нѣ и еще далече е(с) пѣтѣхъ еѣхъ блаженныи. егда прѣ(д)стоиши въ мѣтѣхъ. паѹе инѹѣхъ възсѣкыа радости бываеши, тѣхъгда въ истинѣхъ вѣрѣте мѣтѣхъ. славаще ѿца и сѣа и сѣго дѣа. нинѣхъ и присно и въ вѣкы вѣкомѣхъ д(м).

6. MS 2 (old 13 /29/), State Archive of the Republic of Moldova, Chişinău, paper, 328 folia, the third quarter of 14th c.; semiuncial; without juses, two jers (inconsistent) orthography with traces of Middle Bulgarian; Moldavian provenance, New Neamţ monastery¹⁹. F. 23v-30r: Прѣбна(г) ѿца ншего нила

vol. II, pars 2, № 154, p. 283-287; *Предварительный список славяно-русских рукописных книг XV в., хранящихся в СССР*, ed. А.А. Турилов, Москва 1986, № 458; СК-2, № 89; *Каталог памятников древнерусской письменности XI-XIV вв...*, p. 250.

¹⁷ Д.М. Буланин, *Древнерусский учительный сборник XIV в. Berlin, Hamilton 381 и его бывший владелец Александр, 10-й герцог Гамильтон*, pars 1, RAnt 1 (14), 2017, p. 23-75; pars 2, RAnt 2 (15), 2017, p. 79-98; *Берлинский Кормчий. Древнерусский учительный сборник XIV века...*

¹⁸ М. Стоянов, Х. Кодов, *Опис на славянските ръкописи в Софийската народна библиотека*, vol. III, София 1964, p. 231-239. Contains redaction γ f of the *Apophthegmata Patrum* – the classification of the manuscripts of the *Svodny Paterik* follows the distribution of И. Еремин, “Сводный” *Патерик у південно-слов’янських, українському та московському письменствах*, ЗІФВУАН 12, 1927, p. 46-77; 15, 1927, p. 50-77; cf. С. Николова, *Патеричните разкази в историята на старата българска литература*, СЛ 1, 1971, p. 167-191; С. Николова, *Патеричните разкази в българската средновековна литература*, София 1980, p. 36-37.

¹⁹ No analytical description has been published. Inventory (typewriting): Фонд 2119. Опись № 2 славяно-русских рукописных книг, XIV-XIX вв. Кишинев, 1983. The manuscript has been used *de visu*.

ѡ мѣтѣѣ, главѣ ѿ и ѿ. Incip.: Їже хощеть бл҃говонныи фѣмѣаны творити. то чистыи ливань, и касїю, и смирна и стакти. тѣѣно вѣложитъ по законуѣ.

Explic.: Мѣтѣа похвала и(с) не просто количество. нѣ ко (sic!) вѣство и се являють вѣходящи вѣ цр҃кѣѣ. и вы не блѣдословите мѣще се, и проуеи. Ѣлма же неси вѣ помыслѣ тѣблеснѣмѣ. и оумѣ ти вѣбходить стѣнныи красоты. не оуеси оуѣѣдѣль мѣста мѣтѣнныи красоты. нѣ и еше далече и(с) пѣтъ не блаженыи. Ѣгда прѣ(д)стоиши вѣ мѣтѣѣ. паѣе иноѣ вѣзаскоѣ радости бываѣши, тог(д)а вѣ истинноуѣ вѣрѣте мѣтѣѣ. славеѣе ѡѣа и сѣа и сѣго дѣа. нѣна и пр(с)но и вѣ вѣкы.

7. MS 151 п, coll. 301, Church Archaeological Museum at the Kyiv Theological Academy – now in Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine, Kyiv, paper, 631 folia, 80–90 years of 14th century, Serbian orthography. From the collection of Archimandrite Antonin Kapustin, monastery St Paul (Mount Athos). 410v–417v: Ніла постника главизны ѡ мѣтѣѣ. Incip.: Иже хощеть бл҃говонїни дѣмїа(м) оустроити²⁰.

8. MS 47, Hilferding Collection, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, paper, 510 folia, third quarter of the 14th century. Of Bulgarian provenance. 120r–131v: Ніла постника. главизны ѡ м(л)тѣѣ. Incip.: Иже хощеть бл҃говонныи дѣмїанѣ оустроити. ч(с)тноѣ ливано. и касїѣ. и ониѣа и стакти, равнѣ да сѣложитъ по законуѣ. сїа же сѣтъ, чѣтворица добродѣтѣлемѣ²¹.

Explic.: Мѣтѣѣ похвала, не простѣо количество, нѣ каѣчество. и се являѣтъ вѣзѣше(д)шеи вѣ сѣилицѣ. нѣ и еше и вы молаѣе са не лихоглїте и проѣаа бѣѣ же нашѣмоу слава вѣ вѣкы вѣкѡ(м), аминѣ:–

9. MS 80, Archive of Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (Ryapov miscellany), paper, 394 folia, second half of the 14th century. Of Bulgarian provenance, Middle Bulgarian orthography. F. 188r–194v: Прп(д)ѣнаго ѡѣа нашего нїла ѡ мѣтѣѣ, главѣ, ѿнѣ. Incip.: Иже хощеть бл҃говонныѣ дѣмїаны творити. то чистыи ливань. и касїа, и смїрна, и стакти тѣѣно вѣложитъ по законуѣ. си же сѣтъ чѣтыре добри прави. аѣе бо испльнѣ и равна боудѣтъ, не прѣда(н) вѣдѣ оу(м). The text stops after chapter чѣ – torn folia, no explicit²².

²⁰ Л.А. Гнатенко, О.С. Онищенко, В.В. Нимчук, С.Г. Даневич, Л.А. Дубровїна, Н.М. Зубкова, *Слов'янська кирилична рукописна книга XIV ст. З фондів Інституту рукопису Національної бібліотеки України імені в. І. Вернадського. Каталог. Кодиколого-орфографічне дослідження. Палеографічний альбом*, Київ 2007, р. 119–127. The manuscript is not accessible *de visu* to me.

²¹ В. Мошин, *К датировке рукописей из собрания А.Ф. Гильфердинга Государственной Публичной библиотеки*, ТОДЛ 15, 1958, р. 409–417, 414, № 47; Б. Христова, В.М. Загребин, Г.П. Енин, Е.М. Шварц, *Славянские рукописи болгарского происхождения в Российской национальной библиотеке*, Санкт Петербург 2009, р. 121–126.

²² Х. Кодов, *Опис на славянските ръкописи в библиотеката на Българската академия на науките*, София 1969, р. 174–188.

10. MS 456, Hilandar monastery, paper, 314 folia, end 14th century. Of Serbian provenance, Raška orthography²³. F. 144v–154v: Нила по(с)ника главизни ѡ млѣвъ. Incip.: Иже хощетъ бл҃говонныи дѣмѣанъ оустроити. ѿ(с)гноѣ ливано и касѣе и ѡниѡа и стакти, равнѣ да съложитъ по законуу. сѣа же соу(т), ѿтворица добродѣтели(м). аще бо испльнѣны и равны боу(д)тъ, непрѣданъ боудетъ оумь.

Explic.: Млѣвъ похвала, не просто количество. нѣ качество. и се являють вышѣ(д)шеи въ сѣтилище. нѣ и еже и вы млѣще се не лихо(о)глѣте и проѡаа.

11. MS 468, Hilandar monastery, paper, 278 folia, end 14th – beginning of 15th century. Serbian orthography²⁴. F. 98r–107v: П(р)ѣпо(д)но(г) ѡца н(а)шго нила по(с)тника главызнѣи. ѡ млѣвъ. глава ѡ. Incip.: Иже хощетъ бл҃говонныи дѣмѣамъ оустроити. ѿсноѣ ливана касѣе, и ониха, и стакти. равнѣ да сложитъ по законуу. сѣа же соу(т) ѿтвор(и)ца доб(д)талмь. аще бо испльнѣнѣи и равны(и) боудѣ(т) непрѣданъ боудетъ оумь.

Explic.: Млѣвъ похвала не просто количество нѣ качество. и се являють вышѣдыши въ свѣтилище. нѣ и еже и ѡи молеще се, не лихоглѣте и проѡаа. Directly following the text and added in another hand (?) another work with incip.: Велика ѡрѡжѣа мльѣщом(ѡ) съ трыпѣнѣемъ. въз(д)ръжанѣе. и любовь. и млѣва. и прочитание, with the right margin containing the note: да(л)сѣев(о), and after that: нилово.

12. MS 28, Austrian National Library, Vienna, paper, 544 folia, mid-15th century. Originates from Hilandar monastery, Raška orthography. F. 219r–239v: Нила постника главизны ѡ млѣвъ. сто. и петѣдесе(тъ). Incip.: Иже хощетъ бл҃говоннѣи дѣмѣа(м) оустроити. ѿ(с)гноѣ ливано и касѣе и ониха и стакти, равнѣ да съложитъ по законуу. сѣа же соу(т), ѿтворица добродѣтели(м). аще оубо испльнѣнѣни и равны боу(д)тъ, непрѣданъ боудетъ оумь²⁵.

Explic.: Млѣвъ похвала, не просто количество, нѣ качество. и се являю(т) вышѣ(д)шеи въ сѣтилище. нѣ и еже и вы млѣще се не лихоглѣте и проѡаа.

²³ P. МАТЕЈИЋ, Н. ТНОМАС, *Manuscripts on Microform of the Hilandar Research Library (The Ohio State University)*. Catalog, vol. I–II, Columbus 1992, p. 548; Д. БОГДАНОВИЋ, *Каталог ћирилских рукописа манастира Хиландара*, vol. I, Београд 1978, p. 175: Нила Посника о молитви у 150 глав. The description wrongly registers a copy in MS 475 Hilandar, ca. 1320–1330, Raška orthography. 42b–50: Нила Постника 150. In fact, this is a *Stoslovets* (*Centuria de fide*) ascribed to the Patriarch of Constantinople, Genadios.

²⁴ P. МАТЕЈИЋ, Н. ТНОМАС, *Manuscripts on Microform of the Hilandar Research Library...*, p. 558; Д. БОГДАНОВИЋ, *Каталог ћирилских...*, p. 179: Нила Посника о молитви глави 150. W. VEDER, *Евагрий Понтийский О Молитве...* allows reconstruction of the protograph of the copy in Decani 93 of manuscripts 456 and 468 from Chilandar, but they constitute another translation of the work.

²⁵ G. BIRKFEHLNER, *Glagolitische und kyrillische Handschriften in Oesterreich*, Wien 1975 [= SB.LA, 23], p. 132–137.

13. MS 426 (31) National Library of Serbia, Belgrade (destroyed in World War II). Convoluted. *Scala Paradisi* by John Sinaïtes, 15th–16th century. The main part dates from the 15th century. F. 407v–414r: Сѣго нѣла постника главизны в м(л)твѣ. Incip.: Иже хощет благовонын димѣан оустроити чѣстное ливано и касѣа и ониха и стакти равнѣ да сложить по законуу сѣа же соут чѣтворица добродѣтель²⁶.
14. MS 159, Romanian Academy Library, Bucharest, paper, 322 folia, end 14th – beginning of 15th century. Brought from Mount Athos by Paisios Velichkovsky (copyist Davud and others), Middle Bulgarian orthography. F. 115v–128v: Нѣла постника. главизны в м(л)твѣ рѣ. Incip.: Иже хоще(т) блѣговнын димѣан оустроити. чѣстное ливано. и касѣж. и ониха и стакти, равнѣ да съложи(т) по законѣ сѣа же сж(т) чѣтворица добродѣтелем...²⁷.
15. MS 315, Romanian Academy Library, Bucharest, paper, 257 folia, the second half of the 14th – 15th century, of Bulgarian provenance. Middle Bulgarian orthography. Convoluted. F. 1r–140r: (without title or incipit) Нѣла постника. главизны в м(л)твѣ рѣ. Contains chapters 1–7, 12, 14, 17, 24–29, 33, 35–36, 43, 48–49, 53, 60–61, 80–88²⁸.
16. MS 165 (1720) Homilies of Dorotheos of Gaza with additions, 1414, Holy Trinity – St. Sergius Lavra, Russian State Library, Moscow. Two-*jus*, two-*jer* orthography. F. 236r–251r: Нѣла постника. главизны о м(л)твѣ. Incip.: Иже хоще(т) блѣговнын димѣан оустроити. чѣстное ливано и касѣа и ониха и стакти, равнѣ да сложи(т) по законуу, сѣа же сж(т), чѣтворица добродѣтеле(м). аще бо исполнены и равны бждоу(т). непреданъ в!де(т) оумъ.
- Explic.: Млѣтвѣ похвала. не просто количество, но качество. и се являють възше(д)шенъ въ стѣилище. но и еже и въ мѣлаще са не лихоголите и пром(ч)а.
17. MS 116 (91) Interpretative apostolos with added articles, 15th century, Holy Trinity – St. Sergius Lavra, Russian State Library, Moscow. Two-*jus*, two-*jer* orthography. F. 321v–330v: Нѣла по[стника] главизны о м(л)твѣ. Incip.: Иже хоще(т) блѣговнын димѣан оустроити, чѣстное ливано и касѣа и ониха и стакти. равнѣ да съложитъ по законѣ. сѣа же сжтъ, чѣтворица добродѣтеле, а(ще) бо исполнены и равны бждѣтъ. непреданъ бждеть оумъ.
- No explic.: [П]ѣнѣе оубо, стр(с)ти оуталѣе(т). и растворянѣе тѣлесное без'мѣвѣствовати съдѣловажтъ. млѣва же дѣ... (incomplete).

²⁶ Љ. Стојановић, *Каталог Народне библиотеке у Београду*, Београд 1982, p. 174–179.

²⁷ I.-R. MIRCEA, P. BOICHEVA, S. TODOROVA, *Répertoire des manuscrits slaves en Roumanie. Auteurs byzantines et slaves*, Sofia 2005, p. 141; P.P. PANAITESCU, *Manuscrisele slave din Biblioteca Academiei R.P.R.*, vol. I, Bucureşti 1959, p. 236–237.

²⁸ I.-R. MIRCEA, P. BOICHEVA, S. TODOROVA, *Répertoire des manuscrits slaves en Roumanie...*, p. 141; P.P. PANAITESCU, *Catalogul manuscriselor slavo-române şi slave din Biblioteca Academiei Române*, vol. II, ed. D.-L. ARAMĂ, G. MINĂILĂ, G. ŞTREMPER, Bucureşti 2003, p. 66–71.

18. MS 167 (1673) *Scala Paradisi* by John Sinaites and homilies of Dorotheos of Gaza with additions, 1423, Holy Trinity – St. Sergius Lavra, Russian State Library, Moscow. F. 515r–527v: Нила постника главизны в м(л)твѣ. гла(в) ѿ. Incip.: Иже хощетъ бл҃говѣнныи диміанъ оустроити. ч(с)тноє ливано и касѣа и вниха и стакти, равнѣ да сложитъ по законуу, сѣа же соутъ, четворица добродѣтеле(м). аще бо исполнены и равны боудоуть.

Explic. (written partly in the right margin): Млѣтвѣ похвала. не просто коли(ч)ство. но и се явлѣю(т) вѣзше(д)шеи вѣ сѣилице. но и еже и вы млаще (с) не лихоголите и прочаа.

19. MS 183 (1675) *Scala Paradisi* by John Sinaites and homilies of Symeon the New Theologian with additions, 14th–15th century. Holy Trinity – St. Sergius Lavra, Russian State Library, Moscow. F. 332v–343r: Сѣго нила постника. главизны в мо(л). Incip.: Иже хоще(т) бл҃говонныи диміанъ оустроити, ч(с)тноє ливано и касѣа и вниха и стактѣ равнѣ да сложи(т) по законуу. сѣа же соу(т) четворица добродѣтеле(м). аще бо исполнены боудоу(т), непреданъ боуде(т) оумъ.

Explic.: Млѣтвѣ похвала. не просто количество, но качество. и се явлѣють вѣзше(д)шеи вѣ сѣилице. но и еже и вы млаще са не лихоголите и прочаа.

20. MS 756 (1637) Miscellany, 15th century. Holy Trinity – St. Sergius Lavra, Russian State Library, Moscow. F. 89r–103r: Нила постника. главизны в м(л)твѣ. Incip.: Иже хощетъ бл҃говонныи фиміанъ оустроити. ч(с)тноє ливано и касѣа и вниха и стакти. равнѣ да сложитъ по законуу, сѣа же соутъ, четворица добродѣтелемъ. аще бо исполнены(и) и равны боудоуть. непреданъ боудеть оумъ.

Explic.: Млѣтвѣ похвала. не прѣстѣи количество. нѣ качество. и се явлѣють вѣзше(д)шеи вѣ сѣилице. но и еже и вы млаще са не лихоголите и прочаа.

21. MS 1054, Pogodin Collection, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg. *Scala Paradisi* by John Sinaites and homilies of Dorotheos of Gaza, mid-14th century and the beginning of the 15th century. Tărnovo two-jus, two-*jer* orthography²⁹. Of Bulgarian provenance up to f. 327, from there on the text is written by a Russian scribe who used a Middle Bulgarian source. F. 343r–344v: missing incipit and folia until chapter ꙗже ꙗс – Любанѣа тѣмъ ꙗко ѿ(с)но събесѣдѣ(т). ѿвѣра(щ) вѣсѣко помышленіе кр(с)тно.

Explic.: ꙗ. М(л)твѣ похвала, не прѣстѣи коли(ч)ство, нѣ качество. и се явлѣе(т) вѣзше(д)шеи и вѣ сѣилице. нѣ и еже и вы млаще са не лихоголите и прочаа:~

22. MS 49, Homilies of Symeon the New Theologian, Moscow Theological Academy, Russian State Library, Moscow, end-14th – beginning of 15th century,

²⁹ К. ИВАНОВА, *Български, сръбски и молдо-влахийски кирилски ръкописи в сбирката на М.П. Погodin*, София 1981, p. 308–325.

parchment, 245 folia. Of Russian provenance with traces of Middle Bulgarian protograph. F. 126r–138v. Нила постника главизны о молитвъѣ. Incip.: Иже хоцетъ бл҃говонныи дѣмѣанъ оустроитъ ч҃(с)тноє лѣвано и касѣа и вниха и стакти, равнѣ да сложитъ по законуу, сѣа же соутъ, чѣтворица добродѣтѣлемъ. аще бо исплѣненныи равны боудоуть– непреданъ боудеть оумъ³⁰.

Explic.: Млѣвъ похвала. не просто количество, но качество, и се явлѣють възше(д)ше и въ сѣтилице. но и еже и вы молаще са не лихоголите и проучаа:~

23. MS 1044, Pogodin Collection, Russian National Library, Moscow. From the beginning of the 15th century. One-*jer* Serbian orthography. F. 149r–165v: Нила постника гла[в]зни в молитвъѣ. Иже хоцетъ, бл҃говонныѣ дѣмѣанъ оустроити, чѣстное лѣвани касѣе, и вниха и стакти, равнѣ да съложитъ по законѣ, сѣа же соутъ чѣтворица добродѣтѣлемъ, аще исплѣненныи равны бѣдѣтъ, непреданъ бѣдѣтъ оумъ³¹.

24. MS 323, Mazurin (196), Russian State Archive, Moscow, first quarter of 15th century. F. 429v–443, f. 429v–443: Главизны в млѣвъѣ. Иже хоце(т) бл҃говонныи дѣмѣанъ оустроити³².

25. MS 269 (1134/1244), Solovetsky Collection, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, second half of the 15th century³³. Catechetical sermons of Theodore the Studite³⁴. F. 110–120v: Прп(д)на(г) оца наше(г) нила в млѣвъѣ главизна рѣг. Incip.: Иже хоце(т) бл҃г(о)валныи (!) темѣанъ творити. то ч҃(с)тын лѣванъ и касѣо и онѣхъ. и стактѣи. ч҃(с)тно сложитъ по законѣ си(ж) сѣтъ чѣтырѣство добронравѣемъ. аще бо исполнь и равно бѣдѣ(т). да непреданъ бѣде(т) оумъ.

Explic.: Млѣвъ похвала не просто количество. но каковѣство и се явлѣють. възсходивши въ цр҃кви и вы молаще(с) б(с)лѣте и проучаа. Елма же в помыслѣ еси тѣлесне(м). и оумъ ти стѣвнѣныа обходити красоты. нѣ си(не) (sic!) въ млѣвъ видѣвъ мѣста. но и еше далече бл҃жнѣ ея пѣтъ естъ. Егда престоа въ млѣвъѣ. па(ч) всакоа рад(о)сти сна бываши. тог(д)а въ истинѣ вѣрѣте млѣвъѣ. The final formula is missing, what follows is a text from another text about the spiritual vices.

³⁰ Леонид архим (Л.А. Кавелин), *Сведение о славянских рукописях, поступивших из книгохранилища св. Троицкой Сергиевой лавры в библиотеку Троицкой Духовной семинарии в 1747 году. Ныне находящихся в библиотеке Московской Духовной Академии*, Москва 1887, р. 5–7 (№ 3).

³¹ К. Иванова, *Български, сръбски и молдо-влахийски...*, р. 374–381.

³² И.Л. Жучкова, Л.В. Мошкова, А.А. Турилов, *Каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг XV века хранящихся в РГАДА*, Москва 2000, р. 214–218. I had no access to the manuscript.

³³ [И.Я. Порфирьев, А.В. Вадковский, Н.Ф. Красносельцев], *Описание рукописей Соловецкого монастыря, находящихся в библиотеке Казанской Духовной Академии*, Казань 1881, р. 409–419.

³⁴ Д.С. Ищенко, *Огласительные поучения Феодора Студита в Византии и у славян*, ВВ 40, 1979, р. 164.

26. MS 1320, Sofia Collection, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg. Russian. Great Reading Menaion, February, 16th century. F. 234r–238r: *Нила постника. глави(з)ны ѡ млѣтѣѣ. Incip.: Иже хощеть бл҃говонныи дѣмїанъ оустроити. чѣстное ливано и касїа и вниха и стакти. равнѣ да сложить по законѣ, сїа же сѣть, чѣтвороица добродѣтелемъ. аще бо исполнены правны бѣдѣть. непреданъ бѣдетъ оумъ.*
27. MS 189 (1613) Theological miscellany, end-16th–17th century. Holy Trinity – St. Sergius Lavra, Russian State Library, Moscow. F. 270r–278r: *Нила постника. главизны ѡ м(л)тѣѣ. Incip.: Иже хощеть бл҃говонныи фимїанъ оустроити. ч(с)тное ливана и касїа и вниха и стакти. равнѣ да сложить по законуу, сїа же сѣть, чѣтверїца добродѣтелемъ. аще бо исполнены и равны бѣдѣть. непреданъ боудетъ оумъ.*
- On f. 614r–617v: the same redaction, without title. Incip.: *Иже хощеть бл҃говонныи фимїанъ оустроити. ч(с)тное ливана и касїа и вниха и стакти. равнѣ да сложить по законуу, сїа же сѣть, чѣтверїца добродѣтелемъ. аще бо исполнены и равны бѣдѣть. непреданъ боудетъ оумъ.*
28. MS 297 (597), Solovetsky Collection, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, 16th–17th century³⁵. Homilies of Nil Sorsky with added works. Among these: f. 367–373: *Глава аї. Нила постника главизны. ѡ млѣтѣѣ. The same anthology in MS 298 (598), 17th century and 299(599), end-18th century.*
29. MS 398 (85), Solovetsky Collection, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, 16th–17th century³⁶. Collection named ‘Glavnik’ (ascetic miscellany composed of chapters). F. 149–163v: *Нила постника главизны ѡ млѣтѣѣ. The description notes that the copy is the same as in No. 276.*
30. MS 276 (797), Solovetsky Collection, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, 17th century³⁷. Gregory of Sinai et al., ascetic works. F. 227–252: *Нила постника главизны ѡ молитѣѣ. Incip.: Иже хощетъ благовоныи фимїанъ оустроити.*
31. MS 406 (471), Solovetsky Collection, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, 17th century³⁸. Collection named ‘Koinobion’ (ascetic miscellany). Cursive. F. 2506–265: *Преп. отца нашего Нила постника главы ѡ молитѣѣ. The description notes that the copy is the same as the one in No. 276.*

In this listing, I do not include a copy in a 15th century manuscript from the State Humanitarian and Pedagogical University “K.D. Ushinskiy” in Perm

³⁵ [И.Я. Порфирьев, А.В. Вадковский, Н.Ф. Красносельцев], *Описание рукописей Соловецкого монастыря...*, p. 461–463.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 463.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 463–464.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 743–745.

(Russia), of Bulgarian provenance³⁹, regrettably lost today⁴⁰. The manuscript is a quarto, 442 folia, written in schooled semi-uncial, incipit missing. Middle Bulgarian orthography – two-*jer*, two-*jus* (with typical mixing of nasals); contains the homilies of Isaac of Nineveh (f. 2–396) and other articles, among which a copy of *On Prayer* by Neilos of Ancyra (414r–428v), the work of Patriarch Germanos I (634–733) *The kindest poems to the tearful guilt* (Стиси добрейши къ вине слъз-ней) (f. 428v–430), as well as Evagrius' *Of the eight spirits of wickedness* (430v–433r) again with the name of Neilos of Ancyra. Then come excerpts from chapters of Abba Isaiah and Abba Mark (f. 433–442v) probably from the *Apophthegmata Patrum*. The copies of *On Prayer* and *Of the eight spirits of wickedness* deserve special attention in respect to the chronology of the translation of the text, as they are among the earliest as regards the overall content. *The kindest poems* are known in Slavic copies from the beginning of the 14th century, the language and style of the translation indicating ascetic literature related to Hesychasm. Parchment miscellany No. 49 from the Moscow Theological Academy Collection, Russian State Library (here No. 21) is close in content with this manuscript book. A subsequent publication of N.S. Demkova and I.P. Medvedev⁴¹ follows the Slavic tradition of the work of Patriarch Germanos I in detail, the commentary remarking on the value of the Perm manuscript. In the 15th century, it belonged to an educated family and later fell into the hands of Ural peasants. Interestingly, 19th-century marginal notes call the book an 'adviser': *Светникъ книга. Хорошо. Сия книга Съветник, деревни Неверова*⁴².

Slavic translations and versions

The copies listed above can be grouped into two translations – there are differences both in the title of the work and in its content. The title in the earliest recorded sample in MS Dečani 93 and the copies of the first translation (hereinafter A) is the following: Прп(д)бнаго оца нашего нила о млѣвѣ, or in more detail: Прп(д)бнаго оца нила о млѣвѣ. главизнѣ. рѣг. A version with editorial changes is observed in MS 80 (Руаров miscellany), Archive of Bulgarian Academy in Sofia, MS 1036, National Library in Sofia: Прп(д)бнаго ѿца нашего нѣла ѿ млѣвѣ, главы, рѣв; Прѣпн(д)бнаго ѿца нашего нила ѿ м(л)твѣ главы ѣ и ѿѣ, and in the MS 2 from State Archive

³⁹ Н.С. ДЕМКОВА, С.А. СЕМЯЧКО, "Стиси добрейши" патриарха Германа в южнославянской рукописи середины XV в. из собрания Пермского педагогического института, [in:] Грузинская и русская средневековые литературы, Тбилиси 1992, p. 93–99.

⁴⁰ The researchers worked with the manuscript in 1984, they dated it according to watermarks and underscored its great value. It disappeared after 1986. I am exceedingly grateful to Svetlana Semyachko for the information about this manuscript, as well as for providing access to the publication.

⁴¹ Н.С. ДЕМКОВА, И.П. МЕДВЕДЕВ, «Стиси добрейши къ винѣ слъзнѣи» византийского патриарха Германа (VIII в.) в славянских и древнерусских рукописях, Psl 10.1, 2002, p. 36–53.

⁴² Н.С. ДЕМКОВА, С.А. СЕМЯЧКО, "Стиси добрейши" патриарха Германа..., p. 95.

Theodore of Edessa and Neilos of Ancyra, as well as *Enchiridion* by Epiktetos⁴³), they underscored the following: *рассматриваемая рукопись сохранила даже некоторые выражения в древнейшем виде, нежели Изборник* [*the manuscript in question even preserved some expressions in the oldest form, as if coming from the Izbornik*] (p. 284). The authors dwell on the following peculiarities of the archaic translation: ἀρετὴ is translated by добронравие; ἐνάρετος – добронравный (ταῦτα δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ τετράς τῶν ἀρετῶν – сина же соуть, четворица добродѣтели(м)); θυσιαστήριον – тресникъ; ἐγκαλεῖν – поимы творити; πάντως, παντελῶς – вѣхма, вѣшиж and others.

In translation A, after analysis, a branch is found with additional editorial changes in two Middle Bulgarian manuscripts: NL 1036, ABAS 80 (Ryapov miscellany) and one Slavic-Romanian MS 2 (old 13 /29/), State Archive of the Republic of Moldova. Examples will be discussed below. Solov from the 15th century. 269 (1134/1244) is an interesting case, as it retains archaic features characteristic only of Decani 93; but at the end there is another text in the form of questions and answers, contaminated without a separate title⁴⁴.

Translation B was made at the beginning of the 14th century in Bulgaria or a Bulgarian environment on Mount Athos. It includes the following manuscripts: Hilandar 456, Kiiv 151, Gilferding 47, Moscow Theological Academy 49, MS from the State Humanitarian and Pedagogical University in Perm (today lost), Hilandar 468, Vienna 28, Belgrade 426 (31), Bucharest 159, Bucharest 315, Trinity-Sergius Lavra 116 (91), Trinity-Sergius Lavra 165 (1720), Trinity-Sergius Lavra 167 (1673), Trinity-Sergius Lavra 183 (1675), Trinity-Sergius Lavra 189 (1613) (two copies), Trinity-Sergius Lavra 756 (1637), Pogodin 1054, Pogodin 1044, Mazurin 323, Solov. 276 (797), Solov. 297 (597), Solov. 298 (598), Solov. 299 (599), Solov. 398 (85), Solov. 406 (471), Sof. 1320 (Great Reading Menaion). The language of translation B follows all distinctive features of the Middle Bulgarian period. There are differences in comparison with translation A regarding specifics of grammar and lexis, while changes in respect to composition are minimal.

Some typical differences in the tradition of the text can be illustrated with the following examples⁴⁵:

⁴³ Д.М. Буланин, *Античные традиции в древнерусской литературе XI–XVI вв.*, München 1991 [= SBe, 278], p. 96–137 (research), 301–327 (publication).

⁴⁴ I am very grateful to Zhana Levshina for her help with access to this manuscript.

⁴⁵ I use the Greek text according to *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca*, vol. LXXIX, ed. J.-P. MIGNE, Paris 1865, col. 1165–1200. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*® (TLG®), <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/Cite?4110:024:42799> [25 II 2021]. The numbering of the wise saying differs in the translations, as well as in the individual copies, for this reason I quote it according to the Greek text. In the parallels translation A follows the text of Decani 93, redaction of A – NL 1036, and translation B – Vienna 28.

Η'. Μὴ οὖν εἰς πάθος τρέψῃς τὸ τῶν παθῶν ἀλέξημα, ἵνα μὴ πλεόν παροργίσῃς τὸν δεδωκότα τὴν χάριν·

Translation A: не вѣзвратиоу—боу на сѣрѣть страстѣноуѣ лѣтѣбоу да не паѣе прог(н)лвдѣши да—вшаго бл҃гдѣть.

Redaction: не вѣзврати са оубо на страстныа вратѣбы да не прогнѣвдѣши паѣе давшаго.

Translation B: да не оубо на страсть вѣратише страстемь вратѣвание. ꙗко да не множае прогнѣвдѣши давшаго ти бл҃г(д)ѣть.

ΙΒ'. Ἦνίκα ἂν ἀπαντήσῃ σοι πειρασμός, ἡ ἀντιλογία, ἡ διερεθίσῃ πρὸς τὴν δι' ἐναντίας ἄμυνα κινήσῃ θυμὸν, ἡ τινὰ ἄσημον ῥῆξαι φωνήν, μνήσθητι τῆς προσευχῆς καὶ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὴν κρίματος· καὶ εὐθέως ἡ ἐν σοὶ ἄτακτος κίνησις ἡρεμήσει.

Translation A: ѿгда срацетъ тѣ напастъ ли ѿвѣщание. или дражи или кѣ противникоу брань. двигнотѣи аротъ или нѣкзи извѣщи гл҃ѣ. помани млтѣоу. и еже неосожение. и

абие соущее в тебе. вещинное движение оумлзкнетъ.

Redaction: ѿгда срацетъ тѣ напастъ или ѿвѣщаніе, или раздраженіе, или кѣ противникоу брань двигнѣти ѣдротъ, или нѣкын, извѣщи гл҃(с). помѣни млтѣѣ. и еже ѿ неи ѿсѣж(д)еніе. и абіе сѣцее вѣ тебѣ вещинное движеніе, оумлзкнетъ.

Translation B: Ънегда аще прїидетъ ти искушение или прѣвѣкание. или раздражае(т) къ съпротивоумоу ѿмыщяюшоу подвигоути ѣдро(с). или нѣкоіе вещин'но рѣчи словѣ. помени млтѣоу и юже ѿ неи соудбоу. и абіе же вѣтебѣ вещин'ное подвижение оутѣши(т) се.

ΙΓ'. Ὅσα ἂν ποιήσῃς πρὸς ἄμυναν ἀδελφοῦ ἡδίκηκός (42) σε, ἅπαντα εἰς σκάνδαλόν σοι γενήσεται ἐν καιρῷ προσευχῆς

Translation A: Ѣлико же аще твориши на соупровное (!) братоу по обидѣвшомоу тѣ. все то на блазнѣ ти боудетъ вѣ (в)рема млтѣѣ.

Redaction: Ѣлико аще сѣтвориши на сѣпротивие братѣ прѣобидѣвшоу тѣ. вѣсе тѣ на сѣблазнѣ ти бѣдетъ. вѣ вѣрема млтѣѣ.

Translation B: Ѣлика аще сѣтвориши къ ѿмыщению братоу ѿбидѣвшомоу тѣ, все не на добру тебѣ боудотъ вѣ вѣреме млтѣѣ.

ΙΕ'. Προσευχή ἐστι χαρᾶς καὶ εὐχαριστίας πρόβλημα.

Ις'. Προσευχή ἐστι λύπης καὶ ἀθυμίας ἀλέξημα.

Translation A: Млтва естъ печали и оуныини л҃(ѣ)ѣба. Млтва естъ радости и б҃(л)гдѣти податель.

Redaction: Млтва е(с), радости, и бл҃годѣти поданіе. Млтва е(с), оуныинѣу, и печали лѣѣба.

Translation B: Млтва естъ радости бл҃годарениа гаданіе. Млтва естъ печали и скръби прѣмѣненіе

ΙΗ'. Εἰ βούλει ἐπαινετῶς προσεύχεσθαι, ἄρνησαι ἑαυτὸν καθ' ὥραν, καὶ πάμπολα δεινὰ πάμπολα ὑπὲρ προσευχῆς φιλοσόφει.

Translation A: Аще хоцѣши похвалнѣ молити са. ѿвѣрзи са себе на все ѣасѣ (Лк 9:23) и много зло стража вѣ млтѣѣ прѣвѣзѣан.

Redaction: Аще хоцѣши беспечѣлнѣ молити са. ѿвѣрзи са себе на вѣса ѣасы. и много бѣ зло страж(д)ѣ, трѣзпи прѣвѣзѣѣж вѣ млтѣѣ.

Translation B: Аще хощеши похвалѣти помѣтити се, ѿверзи се себе на кждо члв. и прѣмннѡгаа лютаа стражде ѡ млѣтѣхъ любовоу дръстѡути.

ΚΔ'....πάση μηχανῇ χρῆσαι πρὸς τὸ μὴ ῥῆξαι θυμόν

Превод А: ꙗко вѣсѣмъ оубо злѣтѣн(е)немъ дръжи сѧ не испогустити гнѣва

Redaction: ꙗко вѣсѣмъ оубо ~~злѣтѣнѣмъ~~ (!) дръжи сѧ не испогустити гнѣва

Превод Б: ꙗко всакѡ оубо кѣзнь сѣтвори неже (не)изнести ѧрнѡстѣ

Λζ'. Εἰ προσεύξασθαι ποθεῖς, ἀπόταξαι τοῖς σύμπασιν, ἵνα τὸ πᾶν κληρονομήσῃς

Translation A: Аще молити сѧ хощеши отъверзи сѧ всакычѣ да все приѣститиши.

Redaction: Аще молити сѧ хощеши. ѿверзи сѧ вѣсего, да вѣсе наслѣдиши.

Translation B: Аще млѣтити сѧ желедеши, ѿрѣци сѧ вса чѣскыи(ч) ѧко да все наслѣди(ш).

ΜΖ'. Ὅταν πολλὰ ποιήσας ὁ πονηρότατος δαίμων

Translation A: ѿгда много сѣтворивъ прѡнзиривъи бѣсѣ

Redaction: ѿгда много сѣтворитъ прѡнърливъи бѣсѣ.

Translation B: ѿгда многоа сѣтворивъ лѡукавнѣиши бѣсѣ

ΜΘ'. ἢ περὶ πνευματικῆς προσευχῆς· λίαν γὰρ πολέμιος αὐτοῖς ἐστί

Translation A: нѣ о дѣхѡвнѣи млѣтѣхъ. зѣло бо сѣпостатъ имъ естѣ. и на тагѡтѡу

Redaction: нѣ ѡ дѣхѣнѣи млѣтѣхъ. сѣлаѡ бо сѣпостатъ намъ естѣ на тагѡтѣ.

Translation B: развѣ ѡ дѣхѡвнѣи млѣтѣхъ. зѣло бѡ ратникъ тѣмъ естѣ и ненавистѣ на.

ΝΑ'. Τὰς ἀρετὰς μετερχόμεθα διὰ τοὺς λόγους τῶν γεγονότων, καὶ τούτους διὰ τὸν οὐσιώσαντα Κύριον, οὗτος δὲ ἐν τῇ καταστάσει τῆς προσευχῆς ἀναφαίνεσθαι εἴωθε.

Translation A: Доброуравна прохѡдимъ словесѣ ради бѣивъиш(ч) и соучѣствовавъишаго дѣла бѧ сѣ же вѣ сѣвръшенѣи молитѣхъ авлати сѧ обѣиѧи имат

Redaction: Доброуравѣа прохѡдимъ, словесѣ дѣла бѣиши(ч). неспѣцѣствовавъишаго дѣла бѣ. сѣи же вѣиѧи сѣвръшенѣи мн(ли)тѣхъ, ѧвити сѧ иматъ.

Translation B: Доброуравѣи прохѡди(м), ра(ди) словесѣ бѣиши(ч), и си(ч), ради соучѣствѣнаго словесѣ. Сие же вѣ оустрѡении млѣтѣхъ вѣиѧи сѧ вѣиѧе.

ΡΑΒ'. Ὁμηρενέτωσάν σοι αἱ σωματικαὶ ἀρεταὶ πρὸς τὰς ψυχικάς, καὶ αἱ ψυχικαὶ πρὸς τὰς πνευματικάς. Καὶ αὗται πρὸς τὴν αὔλον γινώσιν.

Translation A: Да тазаютѣ. телеснаа бѣгѡуравна кѣ дѣшевнымъ. и сѧ кѣ чистѡму. и соучѣствѡму разѡму.

Redaction: Да та задаватъ тѣлеснаа доброуравѣа, кѣ дѣшевнымъ. и сѧ кѣ чистѡмѣ, и спѣцѣствѡму разѡмѣ.

Translation B: Да не паретѣти тѣлесныѣ доброуравѣи, кѣ дѣшевнымъ. и дѣшевныѣ кѣ дѣхѡвнымъ. и дѣхѡвныѣ пакы кѣ невестѣствѡмѣ разѡмѣ.

PM'. Μὴ παραιτοῦ τοὺς κναφεῖς· εἰ γὰρ καὶ τύπτουσι πατοῦντες, καὶ τείνοντες ξαίνουσι, ἀλλὰ γε διὰ τούτων λαμπρὰ ἡ αἴσθησίς σου γίνεται.

Translation A: Ne vʒymni sa otʹ bʹliabnikʹ. aʹce vo binyotʹ peroyʹce. i protajoyʹce greboyʹtʹ. nʹz siʹxʹz ΔΕΛΛ svʹbʹtʹla rʹiʹza tʹvoa. bʹzivaetʹ.

Redaction: Ne vʒimani sa ō bʹliabnikʹ. aʹce bw biʹtʹzʹ perʹtʹce. i protajʹtʹce bʹiʹtʹzʹ. nʹz siʹ(x) ΔΔΛ (sic!) svʹbʹtʹla rʹiʹza tʹvoa bʹzivaetʹ.

Translation B: Ne ōriʹciʹa se peroyʹciʹ(x). aʹce vo i binyotʹ peroyʹce, i protajoyʹce stroyʹzhetʹ, nʹz oyʹbo siʹ(x) rʹadi svʹbʹtʹla vʹdeʹzʹda tʹvoia bʹzivaetʹ.

PMZ'. Εἰ τὸν μετὰ δώρου προσελθόντα ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον οὐκ ἐδέξατο, ὁ ἀνενδεὴς, καὶ ἀδέκαστος ἕως τοῦριον οὐκ ἐδέξατο, ὁ ἀνενδεὴς, καὶ ἀδέκαστος ἕως τοῦ διαλλαγῆναι τῷ πλησίον λυπούμενῳ πρὸς αὐτὸν, σκόπει πόσης φυλακῆς καὶ διακρίσεως χρεια, ἵνα εὐπρόσδεκτον δώμεν τῷ Θεῷ θυμίαμα ἐν τῷ νοητῷ θυσιαστήριῳ.

Translation A: Aʹce sz darʹzʹmʹ priʹxodaʹciʹaʹaʹgo kʹz tʹreʹbʹnyʹnikoyʹ ne priʹa. obʹnʹazʹni (sic!) i bʹezʹmʹzʹdʹnyʹni. donʹdeʹzʹe szʹmirʹitʹ sa. sz bliʹzʹnyʹnyʹmʹ. opʹeʹchalʹnyʹnyʹmʹ smʹotʹri kolʹika xʹranʹeniʹa i rasʹyʹzʹdʹeniʹa poʹtreʹba eʹstʹ. da bʹlʹgʹopʹriʹatʹnyʹzʹ damʹzi bʹoyʹ tʹmʹbʹanʹz. na rʹazʹoyʹmʹnyʹzʹni tʹreʹbʹyʹkʹz. (sic!)

Redaction: Aʹce sz darʹomʹz priʹ(x)odaʹciʹaʹaʹgo kʹz jʹrʹzʹtʹvʹnikoyʹ ne priʹnʹcipʹiʹalʹz. i bʹezʹmʹzʹdʹni. donʹdeʹzʹe szʹmirʹitʹ sa sz bliʹzʹnyʹnyʹmʹ vʹpʹeʹchalʹenyʹnyʹmʹ. szʹmʹotʹri kolʹiko xʹranʹeniʹa, i rasʹpʹzʹdʹeniʹa poʹtrʹbʹa eʹcʹ. da bʹlʹgʹopʹriʹatʹnyʹzʹ damʹy bʹeʹvi na rʹazʹoyʹmʹnyʹ vʹatʹarʹ.

Translation B: Aʹce iʹzʹe sz darʹomʹ priʹshʹ(ʹdʹ)ʹaʹgo kʹz jʹrʹtʹvʹʹnikoyʹ ne priʹeʹtʹ) ne tʹrʹvʹoyʹciʹe niʹyʹ- toʹzʹe i ne mʹzʹdo priʹemʹni, donʹdeʹzʹe szʹmirʹiti se isʹkʹryʹnʹnemʹoyʹ pʹeʹchalʹoyʹtʹciʹoyʹ na nʹ. szʹmʹotʹri kolʹiʹkoyʹ xʹranʹeniʹoyʹ poʹtrʹbʹa i rʹazʹoyʹzʹ(ʹdʹ)eniʹo, iʹako da bʹlʹgʹopʹriʹetʹʹni vʹoyʹdʹeʹ(m) bʹeʹvi kaʹdʹilo priʹnʹosʹeʹciʹe na mʹyʹslʹnyʹ jʹrʹtʹvʹnyʹkʹ.

The end of the work in both translations reads in the following way:

PNA'. Προσευχῆς ἔπαινος, οὐχ ἀπλῶς ἡ ποσότης, ἀλλ' ἡ ποιότης, καὶ τοῦτο δηλοῦσιν οἱ ἀναβάντες εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, καὶ τὸ, «Υμεῖς προσευχόμενοι, μὴ βαττολογήσητε» καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.

PNB'. Εφ' ὅσον τῇ ἀναλογία προσέχεις τοῦ σώματος, καὶ ὁ νοῦς σου τὰ τῆς σκηνῆς περιέπει τερπνὰ, οὐδέπω τῆς προσευχῆς ἐώρακας τόπον· ἀλλὰ μα- κρὰν ἀπὸ σοῦ ἡ μακαρία ταύτης ὁδὸς τυγχάνει.

PNΓ'. Ὅταν παριστάμενος εἰς προσευχὴν ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν ἄλλην χαρὰν γένη, τότε ἀληθῶς εὐρη- κας προσευχὴν.

Translation A

Moʹ(ʹlʹ)ʹtʹvʹ poʹxʹbʹla. ne prostʹo kolʹiʹtʹvʹto. nʹz kaʹkovʹtʹvʹto. i se avʹlaetʹ. vʹzʹxʹodʹivʹzʹhiʹni vʹzʹ cʹrʹkʹvi. i vʹy moʹlaʹciʹ sa ne bʹlʹgʹosʹlovʹite (sic!) i proʹtʹee. i proʹtʹee. eʹlʹma zʹe vʹzʹ poʹmʹyʹslʹʹe siʹ tʹbʹlʹesʹnyʹmʹ. i oyʹmʹzʹ ti stʹbʹnyʹnyʹa obʹxʹodʹitʹʹ krʹasʹoty. nʹbʹsi ne oyʹ mʹlʹtʹvʹ vʹidʹʹlʹazʹ mʹbʹstʹa. nʹz i eʹiʹe dʹalʹeʹe bʹlʹ- zʹeʹnyʹ eʹa. pʹjʹtʹzʹ eʹstʹ. eʹgʹda pʹrʹvʹstʹoa vʹzʹ mʹlʹtʹvʹ. paʹtʹe vsʹako jʹrʹostʹi onoʹa bʹyʹvʹaʹshʹe. tʹzʹgʹda vʹzʹ istʹinʹoyʹ obʹrʹvʹtʹe moʹlitʹvʹy. (Dečani 93)

rʹhʹv. O mʹlʹtʹvʹ poʹxʹbʹla. ne prostʹo kolʹiʹtʹvʹto. no kaʹkovʹtʹvʹto. i se iʹavʹlaʹyʹotʹ vʹzʹxʹodʹivʹshʹen vʹzʹ cʹrʹkʹvʹ i vʹy moʹlaʹciʹe sa ne bʹlʹadʹosʹlovʹite. i proʹtʹeʹe. rʹhʹf. iʹelʹma zʹe vʹ poʹmʹyʹslʹʹʹe siʹ tʹelʹesʹnyʹmʹ. i oyʹmʹzʹ ti stʹbʹnyʹnyʹa obʹxʹodʹitʹʹ krʹasʹoty. ne siʹ oyʹne mʹlʹtʹvʹ vʹidʹʹlʹazʹ mʹbʹstʹ(ʹa) no i eʹiʹe dʹalʹeʹe bʹlʹzʹnyʹnyʹ iʹeʹa puʹtʹʹzʹ eʹstʹ. rʹhʹd. iʹeʹgʹda pʹrʹestʹoia vʹzʹ moʹlitʹvʹʹtʹ paʹtʹe vsʹakʹoia rʹadʹostʹi iʹnʹoia bʹyʹvʹaʹshʹe. toʹgʹda vo istʹinʹoyʹ obʹrʹvʹtʹe moʹlitʹvʹy. (Hamilton 381)

Redaction of translation A

рн. МЛѢВА ПОХВАЛА Е(С) НЕ ПРОСТО КОЛИЧѢСТВО. НЖ КО(ЛНЧЪ sic!)ВСТВО⁴⁶ И СЕ ІАВЛѢЖТЪ ВЪХОДАЩЕИ ВЪ ЦРКВѢ. И ВЫ НЕ БЛАДОСЛОВИТЕ МОЛАЩЕ СЕ, И ПРОЧЕЕ.

рпа. ЕМА ЖЕ ЕСИ ВЪ ПОМЫСЛѢ ТѢЛЕСНѢМЪ. И ОУМЪ ТИ ВЕХУДИТЪ СѢННЫМЪ КРАСОТЫ. НЕ ОУЕСИ ОУВѢДѢВЪ МѢСТА МЛѢВНЫА КРАСОТЫ. НЖ И ЕЩЕ ДАЛЕЧЕ Е(С) ПЖТЪ ЕЖ БЛАЖЕНЫИ.

рпв. ЕГДА ПРБ(Д)СТОИШИ ВЪ МЛѢВѢ. ПАЧЕ ИИИЖ ВЪСѢКЫА РАДОСТИ БЫВАЕШИ, ТУГДА ВЪ ИСТИНѢ ВЕРБТЕ МЛѢВЖ. СЛАВАЩЕ УЦА И СНА И СѢГО ДХА. НИИѢ И ПРИНО И ВЪ ВѢКЫ ВѢКОМЪ А(М). (NL 1036)

Translation B

рпа. МЛѢВѢ ПОХВАЛА, НЕ ПРОСТО КОЛИЧѢСТВО, НЪ КАЧѢСТВО. И СЕ ІАВЛІАЕ(Т) ВЫШЬ(Д)ШЕН ВЪ СѢНИЩЕ. НЪ И ЕЖЕ И ВЫ МЛѢЩЕ СЕ НЕ ЛИХОГЛІТЕ И ПРОУДА. (Vienna 28)

МЛѢВѢ ПОХВАЛА, НЕ ПРОСТѢ КОЛИЧѢСТВО, НЪ КАЧѢСТВО. И СЕ ІАВЛІАЕТЪ ВЪЗЫШЕ(Д)ШЕН ВЪ СѢНИЩЕ. НЪ И ЕЖЕ И ВЫ МОЛАЩЕ СА НЕ ЛИХОГЛІТЕ И ПРОУДА БЮ ЖЕ НАШЕМОУ СЛАВА ВЪ ВѢКЫ ВѢКМ(М), АМИНЪ:– (Hilferding 47)

рпв. М(Л)ѢВѢ ПОХВАЛА, НЕ ПРОСТѢ КОЛИ(Ч)СТВО, НЖ КАЧѢСТВО. И СЕ ІАВЛѢ(Т) ВЪЗ'ШЕ(Д)ШЕ И ВЪ СѢНИЩЕ. НЖ И ЕЖЕ И ВЫ МОЛАЩЕ СА НЕ ЛИХОГЛІТЕ И ПРИУДА. (Pogodin 1054)

The copies of the early translation A are not numerous and, as I have shown, have reached us mainly in Russian manuscripts whose contents are connected with either the *Scete Paterikon* (Dečani 93) or with the so-called *Menaion Izbornik*, introduced to science by D.M. Bulanin who studied it in depth (Hludov 10d, State Historical Museum, Moscow and the fragment Nikolskiy 323, Library of Russian Academy, St. Petersburg, 13th century)⁴⁷. Without any doubt, the translation of *On Prayer* corresponds to the tradition of 9th–10th century Old Church Slavonic texts. Compared with the tradition of the 14th century, it underwent development only in the two Middle Bulgarian manuscripts NL 1036 and ABAS 80 (Ryapov miscellany), and in one Slavonic Romanian MS 2, State Archive of the Republic of Moldova, so far not introduced in academic circulation. In most cases, they preserve the archaic readings, but along with that (as seen from the examples above) some new translations of Greek lexemes are introduced, as well as corrections of the archaic text, for example:

- $\sigma\theta\upsilon\chi\zeta$ in translation A, the Gk. $\theta\nu\upsilon\chi, \acute{o}$ ⁴⁸ in the 14th-century redaction is substituted for смїрна, and the entire phrase from the Old Testament quotation (Sir 24: 17–18, Exod 30: 34) sounds in the following manner: то чистыи ливань, и касїа, и смїрна, и стакти.

⁴⁶ The syllable *лнчъ* is superscribed above the word between the row, in an attempt to correct the word *каковѣство* which the scribe could not understand.

⁴⁷ Д.М. Буланин, *Реконструкция древнерусского сборника...*, p. 342–345; ИДЕМ, *Античные традиции...*, p. 132.

⁴⁸ One of the components of holy frankincense burnt only in the sanctuary.

- *ЧЕТЫРСТВО ДОБРОПРАВЬЕМЪ* in translation A, the Gk. ἡ τετρας τῶν ἀρετῶν is substituted for the combination *ЧЕТЫРЕ ДОБРИ ПРАВИ*, while everywhere in translation B ἀρετῇ, ἡ it is translated with *ДОБРОДѢТЕЛЬ* and the derivatives of this lexeme (see above).
- At places, the 14th-century redaction has restored early forms in comparison with the early Russian copies. For example, instead of *РАДИ* it introduces *ДѢЛА*, but elsewhere the text has not been understood;
- In separate cases, in the South Slavic copies of translation B (also at places in the redaction of translation A) lexemes from the early Russian copies are substituted for older lexemes, as for example: *Молащю ти са въз лѣпотоу. сица ти са сѣрацють вѣщи да мниши праведно соуше все сѣ гнѣвзъмь дадати. а нѣсть правѣдно гнѣвз на бѣлижнѣго отиноудь* (translation A); *Молещюу же ти се по(д)бѣтѣ, такоѣи приидоу(т) тебѣ вѣщи, ѣко да мниши праведно быти всако разѣарити се. нѣ(с) же праведна ѣростъ на искрънѣго ѿноудь* (translation B).
- The example with the adverbs *вѣшиж /вѣшиа* and *вѣхма* is indicative:

	Dečani 93	Hamilton	ABAS 80	NL 1036	Hilferding 47	Vienna 28
ΛΑ'. Μὴ προσεύχου τὰ σὰ θελήματα γενέσθαι, οὐδὲ γὰρ πάντως συμφωνοῦσι τῷ βουλήματι τοῦ θεοῦ ἀλλὰ μάλλον καθὼς ἐδιδάχθης, προσεύχου λέγων· <Γενήθῃ τὸ θέλημά σου> ἐν ἐμοί. Καὶ ἐπὶ παντὶ δὲ πράγματι οὕτως αὐτὸν αἰτεῖ, ἵνα τὸ αὐτοῦ γένηται θέλημα· θέλει γὰρ τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ συμφέρον τῇ ψυχῇ σου· σου δὲ οὐ πάντως τοῦτο ζητεῖς.	Не моли са твоимъ воламъ вѣгити. не бо и <u>вѣхма</u> сѣглас(с)уютъ. сѣвѣтоу бѣжию. нъ пагѣ акоже еси наоученъ. моли са глѣ. да бѣдетъ вола тво (Мт 6:10) на мнѣ (Мт 26:42) и о всакои же вѣщи тако ѿ него проси да того бѣдетъ вола. хощеть бо блгоуму и пользѣномуу дѣши.(!) тѣ же вѣхма не того просиши.	лѣ. Не моли са твоимъ воламъ вѣгити. не бо и <u>вѣхма</u> сѣгласуютъ. сѣвѣту бѣжию. но пагѣ акоже еси наоученъ. моли са глѣ. да бѣдетъ вола твоѣа на мнѣ. и о всакои вѣщи тако ты ѿ него проси да того бѣдетъ вола. хощеть бо блгоуму и полезномуу дѣши. ты же вѣхма не того просиши.	ѣр. Не моли са твоимъ волѣмъ быти. не сѣгласѣжт' бо <u>вѣшиж</u> , сѣвѣтоу бѣжию, нъ пагѣ акоже еси наоученъ глѣ, да бѣдетъ волѣ твоѣа на мнѣ. и о вѣсѣкон же вѣщи тако проси ѿ него. да того(бѣ)детъ волѣ. хощеть бо блгоуму и полезномуу дѣши. ты же тѣчиж не того просиши.	кѣ. Не моли са твоимъ волѣмъ быти. не сѣгласоужт' бо <u>вѣшиа</u> , сѣвѣтоу бѣжию. нъ пагѣ акоже еси наоученъ глѣ, да бѣдетъ волѣ твоѣа на мнѣ. и о вѣсѣкон же вѣщи тако проси ѿ него. да тѣго да бѣдетъ волѣ. хощетъ бо блгоуму и полезномуу дѣши. ты же тѣчиѣа, не тѣго просиши.	лѣ. Не мѣи са твоимъ волѣмъ быти, ни бѣ сѣгласоужт' хотѣнѣю бѣжию. нъ пагѣ акоже наѣченъ бѣ(с) мѣи са глѣ, да бѣдетъ волѣ твоѣа вѣ мнѣ. и вѣ вѣсѣкон же вѣщи. сице егѣ моли, ѣко да волѣ его бѣдетъ. хощетъ бѣ блгое и полезное дѣши. ты же не вѣсѣк(о) се ицѣ(с)ш(и).	Не мѣи се твоимъ воламъ быти, ни бо сѣгласоуютъ хотѣнѣю бѣжию. нъ пагѣ акоже наоученъ бѣ(с) мѣи се глѣ, да бѣдетъ вѣла твоѣа кѣ мнѣ. и вѣ вѣсѣкон же вѣщи. Сице него мѣи. ѣко да вола его бѣдетъ. хощетъ бо блгое, и полезное дѣши. тыи же не всако се ицѣши.

At places, the redacted text shows relocation in the order of the wise sayings, e.g.: Млтва єсть кротости и безгнѣвию прозавєниє. Млтва єсть печали и оуныини л(ѣ)ѣба. Млтва єсть радости и б(л)гати податель (translation A) in the redaction reads as: Молитва є(с) кротости, и безгнѣвиюу прозавєнїє. Млтва є(с), радости, и бл҃годѣти поданїє. Млтва є(с), оуныинїюу, и печали лѣѣба (National Library 1036). There are also other insignificant differences, which give reason to conclude that the initial translation served as the basis for the redaction.

The copies indicate different versions of the Byzantine tradition, but the prologue, in which allegory is used to explain the number of chapters of wise sayings (153), the ratio of the numerical values and their symbolism⁴⁹ is missing. A most general comparison between translations A and B makes it clear that the second translation uses that branch of the Greek tradition which contains additional changes in respect to the ending. The work in translation B is definitely imbued with the ideas of Hesychasm and its main guidelines for 'intelligent' ascesis. The style and language follow certain rhetorical techniques typical of the 14th century. Without a doubt, translation B did gain some authority and that was why it spread in manuscripts of an origin both like the Tărnovo school or Balkan literary centres and from Hilandar monastery on Mount Athos. It was precisely this remake of the work that spread quite widely in manuscript tradition of 14th–15th century South Slavic, Moldo-Wallachian and Russian ascetic miscellanies, also being accepted and included in the Great Reading Menaion of Makarios.

Hilferding 47 of the third quarter of the 14th century is a representative Middle Bulgarian manuscript preserving translation B. At the end of the manuscript, there is a marginal note stating that it was in the Orthodox monastery of Piva in Montenegro, where it was found later on. The works of Gregory of Sinai, Symeon the New Theologian, the *Chapters on Love* by Maximos the Confessor, Diadochos of Photike, the 40 chapters of Thalassios the Libyan to presbyter Paul, chapters by Abba Macarios, Abba Mark, chapters by Theodore of Edessa, Abba Isaiah, questions and answers of Athanasios of Alexandria to Prince Antioch, *Stosloveti* (*Centuria de fide*) attributed to Genadios, the Patriarch of Constantinople, and other texts, characterize the contents. As I have already pointed out, the 15th century manuscript from the Perm State Humanitarian and Pedagogical University, of Bulgarian provenance, mainly contains part of the sermons for hermits of Isaac of Nineveh, as well as excerpts with the names of Abba Isaiah and Abba Mark. The content of Kiiv 151 is similar: the ascetic sermons of Isaac of Nineveh, the sermons of Stephen of Thebes⁵⁰, chapters by Abba Macarios, Abba Mark, chapters by Theodore

⁴⁹ C. JOEST, *Die arithmetische Feinstruktur im Traktat De oratione des Evagrius Pontikos*, VC 72, 2018, p. 21–40.

⁵⁰ The first translation is contained in Dečani 93; the second revised translation is preserved in the group of manuscripts which contain the second translation of *De oratione*, cf. W. VEDER, *The Commandments of Stephen of Thebes*, [in:] ПКІІІ, vol. XII, София 2012, p. 165–190.

of Edessa, Gregory of Sinai, Abba Isaiah, Hesychios of Jerusalem to Theodoulos, chapters by Niketas Stethatos, questions and answers of Athanasios of Alexandria to Prince Antioch, etc. The content of MS 1054, Pogodin Collection, *Scala Paradisi* by John Sinaites and homilies of Dorotheos of Gaza, works of Gregory of Sinai and others, is no less important. The similarity between the Bulgarian part of the book with the hand and the design of the miscellany came from the pen of the scribe Lavrentii – No. F.I.376 from the collection of the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg (known as the miscellany of Ivan-Alexander of 1348) – is well known and equally well studied⁵¹. The copy is a good presentation of *De oratione* in a didactic content of monastic type. The Russian scribe copied the text of *De oratione* (preserved in part because of missing folia) from a Middle Bulgarian protograph. K. Ivanova assumed that the manuscript, written in the capital of Târnovo, was already in Russia by the beginning of the 15th century⁵². The copy of the translation B in MS 1044 of the Pogodin collection (with one-*jer*, Serbian orthography, probably originating in Western Serbia or Bosnia⁵³), which is similar in content to the Ryapov miscellany, is evidence of how widespread it was in the Balkans and of its connection with the Athonite monasteries.

MS 159 and 315 from the Romanian Academy Library, Bucharest, are ascetic miscellanies. In addition to the listed authors, No. 159 includes the treatise of Hesychios of Jerusalem to Theodoulos, chapters by Niketas Stethatos and others, and No. 315 – excerpts from Anastasios of Sinai, Athanasios of Alexandria, Ephrem the Syrian, Makarios of Egypt, and others. The manuscripts of Serbian provenance from Hilandar obviously follow the tradition of ascetic miscellanies – No. 28 is probably the most distinguished example, written by a highly educated scribe, containing works of Diadochos of Photike, Philotheos Monachos, Symeon the New Theologian, Niketas Stethatos, *Stoslovets* of Genadios with accompanying short florilegia, chapters of Thalassios the Libyan, the treatises of Gregory of Sinai, the chapters of Maximos the Confessor, as well as of Hesychios of Jerusalem to Theodoulos. The miscellanies from Hilandar No. 456 and No. 468 are also included in the group, with works belonging to Gregory of Sinai, Symeon the New Theologian, the chapters of Maximos the Confessor about love, of Hesychios of Jerusalem to Theodoulos, the “acting” chapters of Theodore of Edessa, Diadochos of Photike, Macarios of Egypt and excerpts from the Paterikon.

This shortlisting makes it clear that the second translation of *De oratione* by Evagrius Ponticos (with the name of Neilos of Ancyra) has been incorporated into a permanent context. M. Scarpa thinks that its formation was completed around

⁵¹ А.А. Турилов, *К истории Тырновского “царского” скриптория XIV в.*, [in:] *Межславянские культурные связи эпохи средневековья и источниковедение истории и культуры славян. Этюды и характеристики*, Москва 2012, p. 318–319, 539 (note 26/1).

⁵² К. ИВАНОВА, *Български, сръбски и молдо-влахийски...*, p. 325.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 381.

the middle to the end of the 1360s, Hilferding 47 being quoted as an example together with the closely related National Library in Sofia 672⁵⁴. In his quest for a Greek source of appropriate content, he cites the miscellany quoted by Italian researcher A. Rigo as written in an environment close to Patriarch Kallistos the First: Matsouki Ecclesiae S. Parasceuae (olim monasterii Bylizas 5) of the third quarter of the 14th century⁵⁵ and Mosqu. Synod. 509 (Vladimir 247) of the 15th century, written at the Ivron monastery⁵⁶. To this period M. Scarpa adds the Ryapov miscellany No. 80, NL 1036, and now I am adding the newly discovered No. 2 from the State Archives of the Republic of Moldova, from New Neamț monastery. I can hypothesize that the archetype of these three manuscripts may have been written before the middle of the 14th century, but this is the subject of relevant research.

In Russian 15th–16th-century tradition, translation B is part of contents of identical type. Interesting cases include the manuscripts with traces of a Middle Bulgarian protograph, in which the discussed work is included together with the text of the Epistles with interpretation (Solov. 116 (91), which is an exception), with the homilies of Dorotheos of Gaza (Solov. 165 (1720)) and the *Scala paradisi* by John Sinaites and homilies of Dorotheos of Gaza (Solov. 167 (1673), 183 (1675)). More examples can be given related to the distribution of translation B, topical from the end of 14th through the 16th–17th century, such as the formation of the ascetic collection called “Glavnik” by Metropolitan Daniel (2nd half of the 15th century – 1547) who gathered in one book the translations of authors, read and popularized by monks in the era of Hesychasm⁵⁷. An important attestation to the transmission of *De oratione* is its inclusion in the contents of the Great Reading Menaion for February. As T. Chertoritskaya⁵⁸ has underscored, on the one hand, the contents for this month as a whole reveals continuity compared with the topical trends in the 14th century, and on the other – the perception of the works as complex.

⁵⁴ М. СКАРПА, *Аскетико-монашеские сборники XIV в.: содержание и среда составления*, Рбг 36.2, 2012, р. 46; ИДЕМ, *Славянские переводы аскетико-монашеских сборников в XIV в.: между Болгарией и Святой горой*, [in:] *Афон и славянский мир. Сборник 3. Материалы международной научной конференции, посвященной 1000-летию присутствия русских на Святой горе. Киев 21–23 мая 2015 г.*, Афон 2016, р. 311–316; ИДЕМ, *Аскетико-монашеские сборники между Болгария и Афон в XIV столетие*, [in:] *Серебряный век. Нови открытия*, София 2016, р. 221–227.

⁵⁵ Description of the manuscript and bibliography: <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/40509/> [26 II 2021].

⁵⁶ A. RIGO, *Il monaco, la Chiesa e la liturgia. I Capitoli sulle gerarchie di Gregorio il Sinaita*, Firenze 2005 [= MCOO, 4], p. XXI–XXIV, XXVI–XXXIII; ИДЕМ, *Callisto I patriarca, I 100 (109) capitoli sulla purezza dell'anima. Introduzione, edizione e traduzione*, B 80, 2010, p. 333–407.

⁵⁷ MS 134 (489), 16th c., collection of Joseph Volokolamsk Monastery (113), Russian State Library, Moscow. ИОСИФ ИЕРОМ, *Опись рукописей перенесенных из библиотеки Иосифова монастыря в библиотеку Московской духовной академии*, Москва 1882, р. 101–107.

⁵⁸ Т.В. ЧЕРТОРИЦКАЯ, *Четви сборники в составе Великих Миней Четвх митрополита Макария*, ТОДЛ 46, 1993, р. 100–101.

The transmission of *De oratione* turns over a new leaf in the entire account of connections and exchange of translated works, both in initial and new forms, between Tărnovo, Mount Athos, the Balkan literary centres and Russia. The continuity between the ages, on the one hand, and the reconsideration of the genre of didactic “chapters” (κεφάλαια) in the different periods, on the other, are a distinctive accent in the panorama of Orthodox literature. The translated anthologies of rich content are proof of a wide circle of sources used by scribes. The veritable boom of ascetic literature strengthens the ideological and cultural principles in the spiritual life of Orthodox Christians.

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