

CRITICAL REMARKS ON THEOPHYLACT OF OHRID'S
MARTYRDOM OF THE FIFTEEN MARTYRS
OF TIBERIOPOLIS:
THE EDITORIAL ADVENTURE OF A TEXT FROM THE MIDDLE AGES

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Theophylact of Ohrid's contact with the local Christian legacy during his years as archbishop (1088-1108 or 1126)¹ had a strong and direct impact on him. The two hagiographic texts he composed, drawing precisely on this local legacy, are a case in point. I refer to (a) the well known *Vita Clementis* (Βίος τοῦ ἁγίου Κλήμεντος Ἀχρίδος),² the life of Cyril and Methodius' student and first bishop of Ohrid, and (b) the less known *Historia martyrii XV martyrum* (Μαρτύριον

* I wish to thank Associate Professor Theodora Antonopoulou as well as the anonymous readers of this paper for their useful observations. All remaining mistakes, of course, are mine.

- ¹ The exact date of Theophylact's death is unknown. He was definitely alive until the year 1108, since his letters mention Bohemund's invasion of Dyrrachium in that year [see Théophylacte d'Achrida. Discours, traités, poésies, ed. P. GAUTIER (*CFHB*, 16/1). Thessaloniki 1980, 36-37]. H.-G. Beck dates his death to that year [H.-G. BECK, Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich (*Byzantinisches Handbuch*, II/1). Munich 1959, 649-651], although other scholars [see for example *ODB* III, 268 s.v. "Theophylact of Ohrid" (A. P. ΚΑΖΗΔΑΝ)] put it later, in 1126. For Theophylact's life and works see also indicatively R. ΚΑΤΙČIĆ, Βιογραφικά περί Θεοφυλάκτου αρχιεπισκόπου Ἀχρίδος, *EEBS* 30 (1960-1961) 364-385; P. GAUTIER, L'épiscopat de Théophylacte Héphaïstos archevêque de Bulgarie. Notes chronologiques et biographiques. *RÉB* 21 (1963) 165-168; D. OBOLENSKY, Six Byzantine Portraits. Oxford 1988, 34-82; M. MULLETT, Theophylact of Ohrid. Reading the letters of a Byzantine archbishop (*Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs*, 2). Birmingham 1997.
- ² For the text see Grutskite žitija na Kliment Okhridski, ed. A. MILEV. Sofia 1966, 76-146 [repr. I. B. ANASTASIOU, Βίος Κωνσταντίνου-Κυρίλλου, Βίος Μεθοδίου, Βίος Κλήμεντος Ἀχρίδος, *Επετηρίς Θεολογικής Σχολής Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης* 12 (1966) 162-184] and I. ILIEV, Prostrannoto žitie na Kliment Okhridski. Kritično izdanie (The Long Life of Saint Clement of Ohrid. A Critical Edition). *Byzantinobulgarica* 9 (1995) 81-106. On the authorship of the Life of Saint Clement of Ohrid see OBOLENSKY, Portraits (cited n. 1), 62-63, practically a summary of Obolensky's article Theophylact of Ohrid and the authorship of the *Vita Clementis*, in: Byzantium: Tribute to Andreas N. Stratos. Athens 1986, 601-618.

τῶν ἁγίων ἐνδόξων ἱεροματύρων ἸΕ' τῶν ἐν Τιβεριουπόλει τῇ βουλγαρικῶς ἐπονομαζομένη Στρουμίτζη³ μαρτυρησάντων ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ παραβάτου;⁴ hereafter *Martyrdom*), which will be the topic of this article. This extensive hagiographical text narrates the life, the martyrdom and the miracles of the fifteen men who were martyred in Tiberiopolis during the reign of the emperor Julian (361-363) – specifically on the 27th of November in the year 362 – and whose veneration was thereafter widespread among the Orthodox populations of the Balkans.⁵ At the same time, however, the *Martyrdom* incorporates much information concerning the history of the first Bulgarian State and Church and may, therefore, also be considered as an important historical source for this particular period. It is written in atticizing language, enriched with various elements from the ecclesiastical texts cited directly or indirectly by Theophylact. In view of its content the *Martyrdom* may be conventionally divided into four parts: the first (§1-16) presents the history of the first Christian Church up to the middle of the 4th century and the reign of Julian, the second (§17-27) deals with the life of the fifteen martyrs, the third (§28-36) with the Christianization of the Bulgarians, while the fourth and final section (§37-55) concludes with the miraculous acts of the fifteen martyrs in the broader region of Macedonia.

More specifically, the *Martyrdom* starts with a general account of the persecutions of the first Christians by the Roman emperors (§1), signalling the major change that was initiated by Constantius I (§2) and pursued whole-heartedly by his son Constantine the Great (324–337), who not only established Christianity as the official religion of his empire⁶ (§3) but also contributed actively to the formation of Orthodox doctrine by convening the First Ecumenical Council of Nicaea in the year 325 (§4). The same ecclesiastical policy was followed by his three sons and successors – although Constantius II (337-361) was accused of Arianism (§5) – but not by his nephew Julian. It was in his days that the fifteen men were martyred in Tiberiopolis, and for that reason Theophylact states from the outset that he will focus on Julian's reign (§6). Indeed, in the next few pages

³ The identification of these two toponyms is attested in different sources from the middle of the 14th century and has been established by recent archaeological findings [OBOLENSKY, Portraits (cited n. 1), 72-74]. On the history of the names Tiberiopolis and Stroumnitza see A. AGGELOPOULOS, Οἱ ἸΕ' ἱερομάρτυρες Τιβεριουπόλεως-Στρουμίτζης. Ἱστορικά προβλήματα καὶ λατρευτικὴ πραγματικότητα, *Μακεδονικά* 11 (1980) 475-482 (specifically 467-474), and OBOLENSKY, Portraits (cited n. 1), 72-73.

⁴ For the title see more in p. 34.

⁵ For their veneration by the Greeks, Bulgarians and Serbs until today see more in AGGELOPOULOS, Οἱ ἸΕ' ἱερομάρτυρες (cited n. 3), 475-482.

⁶ See H. A. DRAKE, The impact of Constantine on Christianity, in: N. LENSKI (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine*. Cambridge 2006, 111-136.

Theophylact describes in detail Julian's origins and his deeds during Constantius II's reign (§7), his education and teachers (§8), up to his nomination as emperor in the year 361 (§9). He further records Julian's active promotion of idolatry (§10), and more specifically his attempted arrest of Alexandria's Archbishop Athanasius (§11), the martyrdom of Theodulus and Tatian (§12), and those of George and Dorotheus, bishops of Alexandria and Tyre respectively (§13). The *Martyrdom's* account of Julian's reign concludes with the persecution of the Christians in Nicaea, an eminently Christian city where, after all, the first Ecumenical Council had taken place a few years earlier (§14-16).

The extended description of Julian's persecutions in Nicaea carries the reader smoothly from the general historical framework to the specific topic of the text, namely the life and martyrdom of the fifteen martyrs of Tiberiopolis. This transition was most probably recognized by the copyist of the sole manuscript that preserves the *Martyrdom*,⁷ since the description of the four loyal Christians' escape from Nicaea to Tiberiopolis (i.e. Timotheus, Comasius, Eusebius and Theodore) begins with a bold capital letter (§17). These four men were gradually joined by many others, among them Peter, John, Sergius, Theodore, Nicephorus, Basil, Thomas, Ierotheus, Daniel, Chariton and Socrates (§18). Their fame soon reached Thessaloniki, from where officers of the crown were sent to force them abjure their faith (§19). In the ensuing dialogue the fifteen men confess their Christian faith and are sentenced to death (§20-23). Peter's martyrdom and the miracle with his amputated hand are described separately (§24). The fifteen martyrs were buried in Tiberiopolis (§25) and afterwards performed many miracles, thus contributing to the prosperity of the city (§26). Their grave, however, was destroyed during the Avar invasions of the sixth century, and from then on its location was unknown (§27).

From the end of the 6th century and the destruction of the martyrs' grave (§27) the narrative moves on to the end of the 7th century and an account of the Christianization of the Bulgars from the reign of Krum (803-814) to that of Czar Boris (852-889).⁸ Just like the first part of the *Martyrdom*, this third part is also rich in historical evidence. Theophylact begins with the invasion of Byzantine territory by the so-called Proto-Bulgarians at the end of the 7th

⁷ For the copyist and the manuscript see more in the following pages.

⁸ For the history of the Bulgarians see D. OBOLENSKY, *The Byzantine commonwealth: Eastern Europe (500-1453)*. London 1971; R. BROWNING, *Byzantium and Bulgaria. A comparative study across the early medieval frontier*. London 1975; J. V. A. FINE, *The Early Medieval Balkans. A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century*. Michigan 1986; M. NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU, *Οι βαλκανικοί λαοί κατά τους μέσους χρόνους*. Athens 1992.

century (§28) and continues through to the reign of Krum and the capture of a confessor of the Christian faith named Kinamonas by Krum's son and heir Omurtag (Ὀμβριτάγος) (§29-30). Omurtag's older son Enravotas (Ἐνραβωτάς, unknown from other sources), however, embraced Christianity because of his love for Kinamonas (§31-32), and was therefore killed by his pagan brother Malamir (Μαλωμηρός) (§33). Following the reign of Presiam,⁹ his successor Boris (Βορίσης) was eventually forced by external conditions to ask the Byzantine emperor Michael III (842–867) to send him priests that he might have himself and his people baptized (§34). This event took place in 864 and marked the beginning of the spread of Christianity in the Bulgarian state, where Christian churches were rebuilt during Boris' reign and the people thrived (§35). After Boris' death his son Vladimir (Βλαδιμηρός) became the czar of the Bulgarians (§36).

In the fourth and final part of the *Martyrdom* Theophylact returns to the fifteen martyrs and their miracles. He reports their appearance during Boris' reign in a specific location in Tiberiopolis, where their remains proved to have been buried, and Boris himself ordered them to be conveyed with great ceremony εἰς τὴν τῆς Βραγαληνίτζης ἐπισκοπὴν (§37). During their removal, however, a dumb man was healed (§38), and the Tiberiopolitans, realizing that they had been about to give away something extremely significant, reacted vigorously. In the end a compromise was reached with the czar: the remains of only three martyrs (i.e. Timotheus, Comasius and Eusebius) would be removed, while the rest would remain in Tiberiopolis (§39-40). The martyrs' miracles (the healing of a cripple, twice §41-43, of a man possessed of a demon §44, of another cripple §45 and another man possessed of a demon §46) continued throughout Boris' and Symeon's reigns (893-927), following the translation of the relics of Socrates and Theodore (§47): the healing of a child (§48), of a woman (§49), other miracles (§50-53) and the healing of a trencherman are recorded (§54). Theophylact concludes the *Martyrdom* by confessing his inability to enumerate all the acts of the fifteen martyrs after their death and appealing to the Holy Trinity (§55).

The presentation of the martyrdom of the fifteen martyrs of Tiberiopolis and their miracles is thus placed harmoniously and symmetrically within a wider historical framework, which begins with the first Christian centuries, moves on to the Christianization of the Bulgars in the 9th century, and concludes with the 10th century, when Christianity had already been consolidated in the region. The fact that this historical part occupies almost half of the *Martyrdom*'s pages indicates its importance for Theophylact, who manages to integrate the local tradition into

⁹ There is no reference to his name in the *Martyrdom*: Διεδέξατο δὲ τὴν τῶν Βουλγάρων ἀρχὴν ὁ τοῦ Ζβηνίτζη υἱός, αὐτοῦ δὲ ἀνεψιός, ed. ILIEV (cited n. 17), 67,10-11.

the broader Byzantine context and thus to raise its status. As a historical source the first part of the *Martyrdom* is of little value, because it delivers elements more or less well known from the Byzantine historical sources. But from §14 onwards the text provides information unattested in other works, based presumably on unidentified sources associated with Proto-Bulgarian literature, for which only hypotheses can be advanced today. What is truly interesting is that Theophylact of Ohrid does not seem simply to use the material that he draws from his sources, but to a certain degree makes their perspective transparent. Thus, he positions himself in the middle ground between the Byzantine scholarship of Constantinople on the one hand and the local tradition of Ohrid on the other.¹⁰

The text of the *Martyrdom* is preserved in a single manuscript in the Bodleian Library, Baroccianus gr. 197 (paper, 315×205 mm, 673 fols, 32 lines to a page; hereafter B).¹¹ It was written in Constantinople in the year 1343 (or the early part of 1344) by a hieromonk named in several notes as Γαλακτίων ὁ Μαδαράκης.¹² The *Martyrdom* appears on ff. 589r-621v and is the 68th of this manuscript's seventy-nine theological, patristic, hagiographic and homiletic texts. In the middle of the 18th century B. Finetti published the first edition of the *Martyrdom* together with a Latin translation.¹³ It was from this source that J.-P. Migne reproduced it later for the *Patrologia Graeca* series, adding a few critical remarks and referencing the ecclesiastical and historical sources that Theophylact allegedly relied on.¹⁴ But in this widely known – and indisputably precious – edition of

¹⁰ For more information about Theophylact's sources and the relevant bibliography see E.-S. ΚΙΑΡΙΔΟΥ, Οι πηγές του Θεοφυλάκτου Αχρίδος για το *Μαρτύριον τῶν ἁγίων ἐνδόξων ἱερομαρτύρων ΙΕ' τῶν ἐν Τιβεριουπόλει μαρτυρησάντων ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ Παραβάτου*. *Βυζαντιακά* 27 (2008) 13-46.

¹¹ See more in H. O. COXE, *Bodleian Library Quarto Catalogues, I. Greek Manuscripts*. Oxford 1969, 341-351, and A. TURYN, *Dated Greek Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Great Britain*. Washington, D.C., 1980, 108-112. Moreover, S. KOTZABASSI, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der rhetorischen und hagiographischen Werke des Gregor von Zypern (Serta Graeca, 6)*. Wiesbaden 1998, 152-155, and TH. ANTONOPOULOU, *Ανώνυμο ποίημα για την αγία Βαρβάρα από τον κώδικα Barocci 197*, in: TH. KORRES, P. KATSONI, I. LEONTIADIS, A. GOUTZIOUKOSTAS (eds.), *Φιλοτιμία. Τιμητικός τόμος για την ομότιμη καθηγήτρια Αλκμήνη Σταυρίδου-Ζαφράκα*. Thessaloniki 2011, 69-73.

¹² See E. GAMILLSCHG, D. HALFINGER, H. HUNGER, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600 (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik, 3/1)*, I. Vienna 1981, no. 44, and *PLP* 7 (1985), no. 16102.

¹³ *Theophylacti Bulgariae archiepiscopi opera omnia quae hactenus edita sunt sive quae nondum lucem viderunt cum praevia dissertatione Fr. J. Fran. Bernardi Mariae de Rubeis de ipsius Theophylacti gestis et scriptis ac doctrina*, ed. B. FINETTI-A. BONGIOVANNI, I-IV. Venice 1754-1763, 477-512; References here are to the PG reproduction; see n. 14

¹⁴ *Theophylacti Bulgariae archiepiscopi opera quae reperiri potuerunt omnia*, PG 126, 152-

the *Martyrdom* not only can several misreadings of the manuscript be detected, but also the syntax is often unhelpful for the comprehension of the text and the division in chapters is to a point problematic. Moreover, in many cases the apparatus criticus does not distinguish between the manuscript readings and the editor's corrections, while the edition's apparatus fontium is basically limited to the extracts from ecclesiastical texts (the relevant references are sometimes either inaccurate or wrong) and the historical sources that Theophylact of Ohrid allegedly had in mind, few and non-systematic as they are.

In 1968, in the context of his doctoral thesis, P. Gautier prepared a new edition of the *Martyrdom*, with a detailed apparatus criticus, an introduction, a French translation of the text and several comments.¹⁵ Unquestionably, Gautier read codex Baroccianus gr. 197 carefully and successfully corrected many of its errors, delivering the text in its best version to date. Unfortunately, however, his edition remained unpublished and therefore inaccessible to most modern scholars. A few years later S. Maslev¹⁶ once again collated the Finetti edition against the Baroccianus gr. 197 – apparently unaware of Gautier's earlier work – and published 156 critical remarks in Bulgarian in the Bulgarian Academy of Science series *Fontes Graeci Historiae Bulgaricae*. Maslev pointed out several errors and proposed corrections to troublesome readings in Finetti's edition, which in many cases differ from those of Gautier. Though he seems to have read the manuscript correctly, his tendency is to correct its readings more than is actually necessary. In any case a number of Maslev's critical remarks were incorporated into the latest text edition by Il. Iliev in 1994, along with only a few of Gautier's corrections.¹⁷ Iliev's edition, surprisingly unacknowledged in the international bibliography,¹⁸ basically corrects typographical, grammatical and other errors of the Finetti edition and thus presents the text of the *Martyrdom* in an apparently improved version. Here, too,

221 (hereafter PG).

¹⁵ P. GAUTIER, *Deux oeuvres hagiographiques du pseudo-Théophylacte*, diss., Paris 1968, 226-401 (hereafter Gautier).

¹⁶ See *Fontes Graeci Historiae Bulgaricae* IX/1. Sofia 1974, 150-174 (hereafter Maslev).

¹⁷ Μαρτύριον τῶν ἁγίων ἐνδόξων ἱερομαρτύρων ἸΕ' τῶν ἐν Τιβεριουπόλει τῇ βουλγαρικῶς ἐπονομαζομένη Στρουμίτζῃ μαρτυρησάντων ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ παραβάτου συγγραφὴν ὑπὸ Θεοφυλάκτου τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου πάσης Βουλγαρίας, ed. IL. ILIEV (*Fontes Graeci Historiae Bulgaricae* IX/2). Sofia 1994, 42-79, with a Bulgarian translation of the text as well (hereafter Iliev).

¹⁸ Characteristically enough I mention here that M. Mullett in her well known monograph on Theophylact of Ohrid refers only to the PG edition [MULLETT, *Theophylact of Ohrid*, (cited n. 1), 411], even though Iliev's edition had been published three years previously. The same occurs with the Greek translation of Obolensky's *Six Byzantine Portraits*, which was published in 1998 in Athens, but was not updated bibliographically [see OBOLENSKY, *Portraits* (cited n. 1), 114, n. 183 and n. 184].

however, there are lapses, orthographical and typographical errors, omissions and misreadings of words or phrases, indicating insufficient collation of the Finetti and Gautier editions, and of Maslev's critical remarks, against the manuscript. Moreover, the rudimentary apparatus criticus of this edition includes just fifty-two entries and therefore provides very little enlightenment regarding the editor's corrections in comparison with the manuscript text and the different corrections proposed by the earlier scholars. It may be noted, too, that the parallel Bulgarian translation does not always agree with the Byzantine text, for the translator,¹⁹ who is not the editor, seems at times to have had in mind a different version of the text from the one Iliev presents.

In the context of my study on the historical sources used by Theophylact of Ohrid for the composition of his *Martyrdom*, I realized that there is an imperative need for a new complete edition of the text.²⁰ In 2008, however, a modern Greek translation of the *Martyrdom* was published, comprising the original Byzantine text, extensive explanatory notes and an introduction on the life and overall work of Theophylact of Ohrid.²¹ Notwithstanding the translator's statement that in editing the *Martyrdom* he took into consideration all previous editions of the text, the critical comments of Maslev, and the manuscript itself,²² this edition mainly reproduces Iliev's text with the exception of some orthographical, typographical and punctuation errors. There is no doubt that Vlachakos has presented us with a text of the *Martyrdom* noticeably improved compared to Iliev's previous edition. Yet both reproduce some basic errors that may be traced back to Finetti's first edition. The necessary changes in the readings or the punctuation of the text bring about changes in meaning that necessitate a reconsideration of Vlachakos' modern Greek translation.

The editorial history of the *Martyrdom* is thus an on-going adventure, now into its second millennium: the text, composed in the 11th century, is preserved in a single 14th-century manuscript, based on which the first modern edition of the *Martyrdom* was produced in the 18th century, with the expected deficiencies of its time (Finetti), which became easily accessible after its republication in the *Patrologia Graeca* series. A second good edition of the text was prepared in 1968 (Gautier), but this remains unpublished. It was succeeded by a third edition,

¹⁹ SIMEON, *Pismata na Teofulakta Oxridski, arxiepiskop B'lgarski*. Sofia 1931, 239-269.

²⁰ See E.-S. ΚΙΑΡΙΔΟΥ, Νέα κριτική έκδοση του *Μαρτυρίου των αγίων ενδόξων ιερομαρτύρων ΙΕ' τῶν ἐν Τιβεριοῦπόλει μαρτυρησάντων* του Θεοφυλάκτου Αχρίδος, in: Proceedings of the 7th Congress of Byzantinists of Greece and Cyprus, Komotini 20-23rd September 2007. Komotini 2011, 233-234.

²¹ Θεοφύλακτος Αχρίδος, *Οι Δεκαπέντε μάρτυρες της Τιβεριοῦπολης*, intr.-trans.-comm. P. VLACHAKOS. Thessaloniki 2008 (hereafter Vlachakos).

²² VLACHAKOS, 201-202.

published in 1994 (Iliev), definitely better than the first one but significantly inferior to the second, and equally inaccessible. Finally, in 2008 there appeared an improved version of the third edition (Vlachakos) with most of its main problems and deficiencies unresolved. In view of the above, I believe that this much afflicted text requires and deserves an overall critical edition meeting modern philological standards, which I hope to accomplish in the future.

As a preview I offer in the following pages some critical remarks of my own, based on the study of Baroccianus gr. 197 (B) and the previous text editions (Finnetti, Gautier, Iliev, Vlachakos), and taking into consideration the critical comments of Mashev as well. Regarding the structure of these remarks, I begin by citing the Byzantine text according to Iliev's edition (since it lacks line numbering, the numbers of the exact lines in each page are my addition) and its version in Vlachakos' book. The readings after brackets are those that I accept. If they come directly from the manuscript, I note in parenthesis their exact version in B without further comment. If the accepted readings are corrections proposed by a particular scholar or by myself, I note that too. Although my aim here is not to compose an analytical apparatus criticus, I always mention the readings of Baroccianus gr. 197 and often the various previously suggested corrections, so that the reader of this article will be able to compare them with the readings that I consider correct.

titulus

Μαρτύριον τῶν ἁγίων ἐνδόξων ἱερομαρτύρων ΙΕ΄ τῶν ἐν Τιβεριουπόλει τῇ βουλγαρικῶς ἐπονομαζομένη Στρουμνίτση μαρτυρησάντων ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ παραβάτου συγγραφὲν ὑπὸ Θεοφυλάκτου τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου πάσης Βουλγαρίας [Iliev 42,1-9/Vlachakos 214] The word order is different in B: Μαρτύριον τῶν ἁγίων ἐνδόξων ἱερομαρτύρων ΙΕ΄, τῶν ἐν τῇ βεριουπόλει μαρτυρισάντων, ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ παραβάτου· τῆς βουλγαρικῶς ἐπόνομαζομένης Στρουμνίτζης· συγγραφὲν ὑπὸ Θεοφυλάκτου τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου πάσις Βουλγαρίας. For syntactical reasons it is unlikely, however, that the phrase τῆς βουλγαρικῶς ἐπόνομαζομένης Στρουμνίτζης belongs to the original title. Gautier rightly assumes that it is a later addition, which should be therefore deleted.

Στρουμνίτση [Iliev 42,5/Vlachakos 214] Στρουμνίτση (στρουμνίτζης B).

πάσης Βουλγαρίας [Iliev 42,9/Vlachakos 214] after the phrase πάσης Βουλγαρίας the manuscript adds δέσποτα εὐλόγησον.

§1

Ἄμελει καὶ τοὺς ἐκάστοτε βασιλεῖς καὶ τοὺς τούτων ἡγεμόνας ἀποδυσάμενος, τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων διὰ τούτων ἀντέπιπτεν [Iliev 43,7-10/Vlachakos 214,13-

216,3] ... ὑποδυσάμενος ... reads Maslev correctly in his comm. 1 (ἀποδυσάμενοι B, ἀποδησάμενος Gautier). Thus the meaning of the text is that the devil impersonated emperors and leaders and with their help precluded human salvation.

§2

Ταύτη τοι καὶ καθιστᾷ μὲν τῇ κλεινῇ Ῥώμῃ Πιεν 43,49-50/Vlachakos 218,24] ... ἐν τῇ κλεινῇ Ῥώμῃ (ἐν τῇ κλινῇ ῥώμῃ B).

βασιλέα Κωνστάντιον μέγαν ἐκείνον Πιεν 43,50-51/Vlachakos 219,1] ... τὸν μέγαν ... B *recte*.

ἀλλ' ἀφέντα τούτοις ἔχειν τὰ τῆς θρησκείας ὡς βούλονται Πιεν 44,2-3/Vlachakos 220,4-5] ... ἐφέντα τούτοις ἔχειν τῆς θρησκείας ... (ἐφύντα τούτοις ἔχειν τῆς θρησκείας B; τὰ adds firstly Finetti, but is, however, not necessary; see also Maslev, comm. 6).

ὅσοι μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἄμμου τοὺς θεμελίους τῆς πίστεως κατεβάλλοντο Πιεν 44,19-20/Vlachakos 220,22-24] ... κατεβάλλοντο writes rightly Maslev in his comm. 9 (κατεβάλλοντο B).

ὑποπτήξαντες, ὄλως πτοηθέντες ἢ δειλιάσαντες Πιεν 44,27-28/Vlachakos 222,7-8] ... ἢ ὄλως πτοηθέντες ... (ἢ ὄλως πτοηθέντες B).

Δεδιδάγμεθα γὰρ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτεινόντων τὸ σῶμα, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν μὴ δυναμένων ἀποκτείνειν καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἄξια τὰ παθήματα τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν δόξαν ἀποκαυθῆναι τοῖς ἡγαπηκόσι τὸν Κύριον Πιεν 44,41-46/Vlachakos 222,22-224,2] ... ἀποκτενόντων ... *scr.* Gautier (ἀποκτενόντων B); cf. Mat. 10.28.2-3: μὴ φοβεῖσθε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτενόντων τὸ σῶμα, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν μὴ δυναμένων ἀποκτείνειν — ... ἀποκαλυφθῆναι ... (ἀποκαλυφθῆναι B), otherwise it makes no sense; cf. Epistula Pauli ad Romanos, 8.18.1-2: Λογίζομαι γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ ἄξια τὰ παθήματα τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν δόξαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι εἰς ἡμᾶς.

καὶ παρόντων ἐξέπεσον Πιεν 45,1-2/Vlachakos 224,13] καὶ τῶν παρόντων ... B *recte*.

§3

Ἄννιβαλλιανόν Πιεν 45,16-17/Vlachakos 226,5] Ἄναβαλλιανόν B *recte* (Ἄννιβαλλιανόν Gautier); cf. Theophanis Chronographia, ed. C. DE BOOR, 5,14; Zonaras, Epitomae historiarum, ed. L. DINDORF, 3.167.16.

διὰ προσταγμάτων πρὸς τοὺς ἐκασταχοῦ ἡγεμόνας ἐκπεμπόμενος τὴν οἰκείαν εὐμένειαν ἐπεδείκνυτο Πιεν 45,24-25/Vlachakos 226,13-14] ... ἐκπεμπομένων ... *scr.* Gautier (ἐκπεμπόμενος B).

καὶ πᾶσι τῆς βασιλείας ἀβροῖς συμβόλοις Πιεν 45,31-32/Vlachakos 226,22-23] ... τοῖς τῆς βασιλείας ... B *recte*.

πρὸς τὴν ἀληθινὴν χειραγωγεία πίστιν Πιεν 45,33-34/Vlachakos 226,25] ...

χειραγωγία ... *scr.* Gautier (χειραγωγείας B); the form χειραγωγεία does not appear in Liddell–Scott's Greek Lexicon.

Ἔδει γὰρ καὶ τὴν κλήσιν αὐτοῦ μεγαλοπρεπῆ εἶναι καὶ ὄντως οὐράνιον Πιεῦ 45,35-37/Vlachakos 228,1-2] ... τὴν κλήσιν αὐτῶ ... (τὴν κλήσιν αὐτῶ B).

τοὺς γὰρ δοξάζοντάς με, φησί, δοξάσω, διὰ τοῦ προφητικοῦ εἶπε στόματος Πιεῦ 46,22-23/Vlachakos 230,14-15] to my mind the word φησί (φησί B) should be deleted because of the following διὰ τοῦ προφητικοῦ εἶπε στόματος.

§4

πόλεμον ἐπεγείρει τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ πικρόν, ὑφ' οὗ ταύτην οὐ μετρίῳ ἐκάκωσεν Πιεῦ 46,27-28/Vlachakos 230,19-20] ... οὐ μετρίως ... (οὐ μετρίως B).

Ἄλλ' ἀνθοπλίζεται τῷ θείῳ Κωνσταντίνος ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ κατὰ τὴν Νικαίων πόλιν Πιεῦ 46,28-30/Vlachakos 230,20-22] ... τῷ θείῳ ζήλω ... (τῷ θείῳ ζήλω B) — ... κατὰ τὴν Νικαίων πόλιν ... (κατὰ τὴν νικαίων πόλιν B); cf. also Πιεῦ 55,9-10: τὴν Νικαίων ἀπολιπόντες.

§5

ἦ τε ἐψά ἅπανα Πιεῦ 47,6-7/Vlachakos 232,22-23] ... πᾶσα B *recte*.

ἤρεμον καὶ ἤσυχον βίον διάγωσιν Πιεῦ 47,11-12/Vlachakos 234,3-4] ... ἡσύχιον ... (ἡσύχιον B).

Εἰ γὰρ καὶ Κωνσταντῖος παραλυπῶν τι τοὺς ὀρθοδόξους, ἔδοξεν οὐκ ἀνεχόμενος τῆς τοῦ ὁμοουσίου φωνῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε ... Πιεῦ 47,13-14/Vlachakos 234,5-7] ... παραλυπεῖν τι τοὺς ὀρθοδόξους ἔδοξεν ... reads rightly Maslev in his comm. 23 (παραλυπῆν B). Surprisingly enough Vlachakos' translation presupposes this version.

§6

Εἰ τοίνυν, ὡς ἔνεστι, κατὰ τῆς τῶν χριστιανῶν μανίας τοῦδε τοῦ τυράννου ἐπεμνήσθημεν, ὡς ἂν περιφανῆς ἔσται τῶν μαρτύρων ἢ γενναιότης, ὅτι πρὸς καιροὺς τοιοῦτους ἠνδρίσαντο καὶ ... Πιεῦ 47,37-41/Vlachakos 236,8-11] ... ἔνεστι, τῆς κατὰ τῶν χριστιανῶν μανίας ... *scr.* Gautier (κατὰ τῆς χριστιανῶν μανίας B, κατὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν μανίας PG, τῆς κατὰ χριστιανῶν μανίας Maslev, comm. 25).

§7

μητρῶν δέ, ὁ μὲν Θεοδώρας ..., ὁ δὲ Ἑλένης Πιεῦ 48,1-3/Vlachakos 236,21-22] μητέρων ... B *recte*.

Γάλλω μερίς καλῶς εἶχε Πιεῦ 48,30/Vlachakos 240,3] Γάλλω μὲν ἡ μερίς ... (Γάλλω μὲν ἡ μερίς B).

§8

ὁς πατρίδος μὲν ἦν τῆς πρὸς τὸν Ὅροντα Ἀντιοχείας Πιεῦ 48,47-48/Vlachakos 240,20-21] ... τῆς πρὸς τὸν Ὅρόντην Ἀντιοχείας *scr.* Kiapidou (τῆς πρὸς

τὸ ὄρος τῆς Ἀντιοχείας B); τῆς πρὸς τὸν Ὀροντα Ἀντιοχείας is first corrected by Gautier, but the form appears in Greek texts only as τὸν Ὀρόντην; see for example Strabo, *Geographica*, ed. A. ΜΕΙΝΕΚΕ, 14.5.3,24-25: ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Ὀρόντην ποταμὸν and Libanii Opera, ed. R. FOERSTER, epist. 367, 5,4: πρὸς Ὀρόντην, τὸν ἡμέτερον ποταμόν.

Ἄλλ' ὄγε θεομισῆς Ἰουλιανός, τὰ βασιλέως προστάγματα ἴσα ληρήματα θέμενος, μᾶλλον τι συνεῖναι Λιβανίῳ ἢ Εὐσεβίῳ Πιεν 49,3-5/Vlachakos 240,24-242,2] ... ἴσα καὶ ληρήματα ... B *recte*.

ἀναγνώστης ἐν τῇ Νικομηδεῶν ἐκκλησίᾳ καθίσταται, ὥστε τὰς θείας ὑπαναγινώσκειν τῷ Θεῷ βίβλους Πιεν 49,11-13/Vlachakos 242,8-10] ... ὑπαναγινώσκειν (read aloud in public) τῷ λαῷ ... *scr.* Gautier (ἐπαναγινώσκειν –read again aloud– τῷ Θεῷ B).

ὁ πᾶσαν γοητείαν ὑπὸ φιλοσοφίας μετιῶν προσωπεῖω Πιεν 49,20-21/Vlachakos 242,15-16] ... ὑπὸ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ... (ὑπὸ τῆς φιλοσοφίας B).

συγγίνεται μὲν Ἰουλιανῷ, τελεῖται δὲ αὐτῷ τὰς ἀθέους καὶ βαραθρώδεις ἀληθῶς τελετὰς Πιεν 49,22-24/Vlachakos 242,18-19] ... τελεῖται δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ ... *scr.* Kiaridou (τελεῖτε δὲ αὐτῷ B, τελεῖται δὲ αὐτὸν Gautier).

§9

ἡ βασίλισσα Εὐσεβία τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως βουλῇ ἐγκατέστειλεν καὶ οὕτως εἰς τὸνναντίον τὴν γνώμην αὐτοῦ περιέτρεψε Πιεν 49,30-32/Vlachakos 242,24-244,3] ... τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως βουλήν ἐγγὺς κατέστειλεν ... *scr.* Kiaridou (τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως βουλή ἐν γῇ κατέστειλεν B, τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως βουλή ἐγκατέστειλεν PG, τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως βουλή ... κατέστειλεν Gautier, τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως βουλή ἐγγύην κατέστησε Maslev, comm. 32). Maslev's proposal, to begin with, changes the meaning of the passage in comparison to what is read in other Byzantine texts (see for example Socrates' *Ecclesiastical History*, where the empress Eusebia appeases her husband's suspicions against Julian²³): Eusebia trusted her husband's point of view and οὕτως εἰς τὸνναντίον τὴν γνώμην αὐτοῦ περιέτρεψε. See, however, in Pseudo-Zonaras' *Lexicon* (epsilon, 612.2-5): Ἐγγύς. πλησίον. παρὰ τὴν γῆν τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν ἐν πρόθεσιν γίνεται ἐγγὺς ἐπίρρημα. ὡς ἂν τις εἴποι ἐν γῇ, ἥς οὐδὲν τῶν ἄλλων στοιχείων πλησιέστερον ἀνθρώπῳ χερσαίῳ ὄντι. So the reading of the manuscript ἐν γῇ κατέστειλεν may be corrected to ἐγγὺς κατέστειλεν, where ἐγγὺς

²³ ἐπεὶ δὲ Γάλλος μικρὸν ὕστερον ἀνηρέθη, παραχρῆμα καὶ Ἰουλιανός ὑποπτος κατέστη τῷ βασιλεῖ, διὸ καὶ φρουρεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν. ἰσχύσας δὲ διαδράσαι τοὺς φρουροῦντας αὐτόν, τόπον ἐκ τόπου ἀμείβων διεσώζετο. ὁψὲ δὲ ποτε ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως γαμετὴ Εὐσεβία κρυπτόμενον <αὐτόν> ἀνευροῦσα πείθει τὸν βασιλέα μηδὲν μὲν αὐτῷ δράσαι κακόν, συγχωρῆσαι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐλθόντι φιλοσοφεῖν (Sokrates, *Kirchengeschichte*, ed. G. C. HANSEN [*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte*, 1]. Berlin 1995, 189,10-15).

responds, of course, to the meaning of the time (see Liddell–Scott's Greek Lexicon s.v. ἐγγύς). In this case the dative τῆ βουλή should be corrected to the accusative τὴν βουλήν, and the translation may be as follows: the empress Eusebia “immediately calmed” the emperor’s thoughts ...

Εἶτα Κωνστάντιος μὲν ... , ὡς ἀνάξιον αὐτὸν ἀμύνηται, ... καὶ τῶν ἐλπίδων ἐκκόπτεται, ... Iliev 49,49/Vlachakos 244,19-23] ... ἀμύνηται ... *scr.* Kiapidou (ἀμείνεται B, ἀμύνηται Gautier).

§10

ἦδει γὰρ ὅτι ... οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς τὰ χριστιανῶν παρακινήσειεν, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐβούλετο, οὕτω κατὰ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης ῥιζωθείσης καὶ ἀδρυνθείσης τῆς πίστεως τῶν ὀρθοδόξων Iliev 50,10-14/Vlachakos 246,4-9, who rightly corrects παρακινήσειεν for παρακινήσειεν; παρακυνήσειεν B] ... ὡς αὐτὸς βούλοιοτο, ... *scr.* Gautier (ὡς αὐτῷ βούλητο B).

ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ κἄν τινες ἐπὶ Κωνσταντίου ἢ ναὸν καθεῖλον εἰδωλικὸν ἢ στήλην εἰδωλικὴν κατέαξαν Iliev 50,26-28/Vlachakos 246,20-21] ... καὶ εἰ κἄν τινες ... *scr.* Gautier (καὶ οἱ κἄν τινες B).

ἢ πικραῖς τιμωρίαις καὶ θανάτῳ δυσοίσταις καὶ ποιναῖς ὑποβάλλεσθαι Iliev 50,30-31/Vlachakos 246,24-25] ... θανατώδεσι δίκαις καὶ ποιναῖς ... (θανατώδέσι δίκαις καὶ πιναῖς B); see Liddell–Scott's Greek Lexicon s.v. θανατώδης.

ἀναγείρειν δὲ τοῦτον ἀναγκαζόμενος Iliev 50,35-36 / Vlachakos 248,4-5, who corrects ἀναγείρειν to ἀνεγείρειν] ἀνεγείραι ... (ἀνεγείρε B).

παισὶν ἐκ παίδων μετέωρος ἀνεπέμπετο, γραφίσις ὑποδεχομένοις τὸ γηραλαῖον ἐκείνου σῶμα Iliev 50,38-39/Vlachakos 248,7-9] ... μετέωρος ἀντεπέμπετο, γραφίσις ὑποδεχομένων ... *scr.* Kiapidou (μετέωρος ἀνεπέμπετο γραφίσις ὑποδεχομένοις B, μετέωρος ἀντεπέμπετο γραφείσις ὑποδεχομένοις Gautier); cf. Greg. Nazianz., *Contra Julianum imperatorem* 1 (orat. 4), PG 35, 620,16-17: παισὶν ἐκ παίδων μετέωρος ἀντεπέμπετο, γραφίσις ὑποδεχομένων τὸ γενναῖον σῶμα (see also Maslev, comm. 39).

Τὰς δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας κοινῶν καθαιρεῖσθαι προσέταξεν Iliev 50,41-42/Vlachakos 248,10-11] ... κοινῶς ... B *recte*.

Οὐαλεντιανός Iliev 50,47/Vlachakos 248,16] Οὐαλεντιανός (Οὐαλεντιανός B, Οὐαλεντιανός Gautier); according to TLG on line, this is the usual form of this emperor’s name in Byzantine historical texts.

§11

πέιθεται μὲν Χριστοῦ νόμοις καὶ ὑπὸ χάριν τῷ διωκτῷ καιρῷ κεκληκῶς, ἀποπλεῖ μὲν τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων Iliev 51,9-11/Vlachakos 250,7-8] ... τῷ διωκτῷ καιρῷ κεκληκῶς, ... *scr.* Kiapidou. The reading of the manuscript τῷ διώκτη καιρῷ κεκληκῶς is corrected by Finetti as τῷ διώκτη καιρῷ κεκληκῶς. To my mind, one may

choose Gautier's correction τῷ διωκτῷ (= the endeavoured, i.e. specifically here the escape) instead of τῷ διώκτη, and Maslev's correction (comm. 42) καιρὸν κεκρικῶς instead of καιρῷ κεκρικῶς (in B) or καιρῷ κεχρηκῶς (in PG, Gautier and Iliev). Thus the meaning of this passage will be that Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, obeyed the Christian rules (see specifically Matt. 10,23-25: ὅταν δὲ διώκωσιν ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ, φεύγετε εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν) and considering the circumstances appropriate for his goal (i.e. the escape) left Alexandria by ship.

τὴν βασιλικὴν ναῦν Iliev 51,11/Vlachakos 250,8-9] ... νῆαν ... (νυὰν B).

§13

σύροντες διὰ τῆς πλατείας ἐπέκτειναν Iliev 52,4-5/Vlachakos 254,6-7] ... ἀπέκτειναν B *recte*.

ἐν γήρει πίοι πλῆθυνθέντα, ὡς φησιν ὁ θεῖος Δαβίδ Iliev 52,17-18/Vlachakos 254,20-21] ... ὁ φησι ... (ὡ φησιν B); cf. Iliev 76,47-48: ὁ φησιν ἡ Γραφή.

καὶ εὐθὺ Iliev 52,25-26/Vlachakos 256,4] καὶ εὐθύς B *recte*.

§14

Ὅστε καὶ πηγὰς μαιίνειν προσέτατε λύθροις ἐναγῶν καὶ ... Iliev 52,38-39/Vlachakos 256,17-18] ... λύθροις ἐναγῶν θυσιῶν ... B *recte*.

Πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ σὺν τούτοις καὶ μετὰ τούτων, στεροῦσι μὲν αὐτοὺς τῶν προσόντων ... Iliev 53,22-24/Vlachakos 258,21-23] ... στερεῖ... (στερροῖ B, στερεῖ Gautier); the subject of this sentence is the same as the previous one (i.e. ὁ δεινὸς καὶ παρόργητος βασιλεὺς).

§15

Οὐ γὰρ ἀνέχεται βασιλεὺς παρὰ τῆς ὧν εὐμενείας τὴν πάσης ὁμοῦ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης κρατοῦσαν ἀρχὴν δεξάμενος Iliev 53,48-50/Vlachakos 260,23-262,1] ... παρὰ τῆς αὐτῶν ... *scr.* Gautier (παρὰ τοῖς τῶν B).

ἡ ἀμάθεια τοῦ κρείττονος ... οὐκ ἀμαθείας μόνον Iliev 54,12-15/Vlachakos 262,18-21] ... ἀμαθία ... Gautier (ἀμαθεία B) — ... ἀμαθίας ... Gautier (ἀμαθείας B); according to Liddell–Scott's Greek Lexicon there are two forms of the same word, ἀμάθεια and ἀμαθία, which is closer to the script of the manuscript.

ὡς δὲ καὶ παρὰ χρήματα καὶ τιμὰς καὶ περὶ τὴν ζῶην αὐτὴν τὸ μείζον πάντων ἀπολαυμάτων ὁ κίνδυνος Iliev 54,12-14/Vlachakos 262,18-21] ... περὶ χρήματα ... *scr.* Gautier (παραχρήματα B).

§16

εἰς ἀτελευτήτους αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων Iliev 54,48/Vlachakos 266,8-9] εἰς τοὺς ἀτελευτήτους αἰῶνας B *recte*.

§17

Ἐκ τούτων ἦσαν Τιμόθεος καὶ Κομάσιος, Εὐσέβιος τε καὶ Θεόδωρος Iliev 55,4-5/

Vlachakos 266,22-23] ... Τιμόθεος καὶ Κομάσιος καὶ ἔτι Εὐσέβιός τε καὶ Θεόδωρος *scr.* Kiapidou. At the beginning of §17 the manuscript has Ἐκ τούτων [i.e. those who were persecuted in Nicaea] ἦσαν Τιμόθεος καὶ Κο* καὶ Ἐτιμάσιος, Εὐσέβιός τε καὶ Θεόδωρος ... The asterisk (*) that follows Κο indicates, as in other places in the manuscript, that the copyist adds in the margin of the same page something he has forgotten to write in the text. In this case, no additional word is found in the margin, but the passage is definitely about the second martyr, Κομάσιος, whose name appears many times in the following lines. So Κο* = Κομάσιος and the text reads as follows: Τιμόθεος καὶ Κομάσιος καὶ Ἐτιμάσιος, Εὐσέβιός τε καὶ Θεόδωρος. That means, however, that there were five martyrs from Nicaea, making the full complement of martyrs in Tiberiopolis sixteen, not fifteen! Because the name Ἐτιμάσιος (unlike Κομάσιος) is found only here in the text in Finetti's edition, the correction Κομάσιος, ὃς καὶ Ἐτιμάσιος is proposed. Thus the number of martyrs is reduced to fifteen and the absence hereafter of the name Ἐτιμάσιος is logically explained. Iliev on the other hand adopts Maslev's suggestion (comm. 58) simply to erase the phrase καὶ Ἐτιμάσιος, and the same solution seems to be chosen by Gautier as well. The resemblance, however, of the two names Κομάσιος – Ἐτιμάσιος raises new questions. To my mind the solution may be found in the manuscript itself, where careful reading will discern a semicolon between ἔτι and μάσιος, i.e. καὶ Κο* καὶ ἔτι ; μάσιος, Εὐσέβιός τε καὶ Θεόδωρος ... I assume that *μάσιος which filled the gap after Κο* was incorporated by mistake into the text, and connected with the previous καὶ ἔτι in such a way that the name Ἐτιμάσιος emerged. The text may, therefore, be corrected as follows: ... Τιμόθεος καὶ Κομάσιος καὶ ἔτι Εὐσέβιός τε καὶ Θεόδωρος.

τῆς Ἰλλυριῶν γῆς Iliev 55,21-22/Vlachakos 268,16-17] τῆς τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν γῆς (τῶν Ἰλυριῶν γῆς B, τῆς add. PG); cf. Theophylactus, Vita Clementis, ed. A. MILEV, 68,3: ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Γραικῶν χώρας.

§18

Σὺν τούτοις δὲ Βασίλειος καὶ Θωμᾶς, οὗτοι διακόνων ὄντες βαθμοῦ Iliev 56,14/Vlachakos 272,16] ... Θωμᾶς, τοῦ τῶν διακόνων ὄντες βαθμοῦ ... (Θωμᾶς, τοῦ τῶν διακόνων ὄντες βαθμοῦ B).

Σωκράτης δέ, ὁ τὰ πάντα σοφῶς ἐν στρατιώταις τεταγμένος Iliev 56,15-16/Vlachakos 272,17-19] ... σαφῶς ἐν στρατιώταις τεταγμένος B *recte*.

οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ τὸ δαβιτικὸν ἐκεῖνο Iliev 56,22-23/Vlachakos 274,2] οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ ... (οὐδὲν ἄλλῃ B); cf. Theophylacte d'Achrida. Lettres, ed. P. GAUTIER, epist. 78,9: οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ τὸ λαθικηδὲς ἐκεῖνο.

περὰ γὰρ λόγῳ τὰ θαύματα Iliev 56,34/Vlachakos 274,13-14] ... τῷ λόγῳ ... (τὸ λόγῳ B).

§19

ἐν τῇ τῶν Τιβεριουπόλεως περιχώρῳ Πιεν 56,48-49/Vlachakos 276,8-9] ἐν τῇ τῆς Τιβεριουπόλεως ... (ἐν τῇ τῆς βεριουπόλεως B).

Πρὸς γὰρ τὸ στερρότερον τοῦ τείχους καὶ ἡ τῶν μηχανημάτων βαρυτέρα ἢ ἀντίστασις Πιεν 57,10-12/Vlachakos 278,2-4] ... καὶ ἡ τῶν μηχανημάτων βαρυτέρα ἀντίστασις *scr.* Κιαιρίδου (καὶ ἡ τῶν μηχανημάτων βαρυτέρα ἢ ἀντίστασις B, καὶ ἡ τῶν μηχανημάτων βαρυτέρα ἢ ἀντίστασις Gautier).

§20

βωμοὺς ἰδρύνειν Πιεν 57,24/Vlachakos 278,16] ... ἰδρύνειν ... (ἰδρύνειν B).

§21

Ὅταν γὰρ σὺ μὲν ἀκούων τοῦ ποιητοῦ τὸν Δία καὶ μοιχὸν εἰσάγοντος καὶ ἀρπακτὴν καὶ ἀπατῶντα καὶ ἀπατῶμενον ... Πιεν 58,15-18/Vlachakos 282,18-20] ... ἀρρητοποιὸν ... rightly suggested by Gautier in his apparatus criticus (though in the text he writes ἀργοποιὸν; ἀρτοποιὸν B, ἀρπακτὴν PG; see also Maslev, comm. 70).

Τίς δὲ νοῦν ἔχων καὶ φρόνιμος θεοῖς ἀψύχοις σεβάζεται, ... ; Πιεν 58,38-39/Vlachakos 284,17-18] ... νουνεχῆς ... (νουνεχῆς B).

Περὶ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως μὲν ἡμῖν καὶ μακρότερα λέγειν Πιεν 58,44-45/Vlachakos 286,1-2] ... τοῦ βασιλέως ἔστι μὲν ἡμῖν ... (βασιλέως, ἔστι μὲν ἡμῖν B).

ἵνα μὴ τὸν καιρὸν ἐνδιατρίβομεν Πιεν 58,46-47/Vlachakos 286,3-4] ... ἐνδιατρίβομεν *scr.* Gautier (ἐνδιατρίβομεν B).

Ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ σφῆζιν οὐ δυναμένου δεσπότητος καὶ βασιλέως ἀποστατοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀπολωλεκότος καὶ ἡμᾶς συναπολεῖν σπουδάζοντος καὶ εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ὠθεῖν κίνδυνον Πιεν 59,5-8/Vlachakos 286,19-22] ... συναπολλύειν σπουδάζοντος ... (συνάπολύειν σπουδάζοντος B).

§22

ὥσπερ ἐκ τοῦ γεννᾶσθαι τὸν λόγον οἶδαμεν Πιεν 59,24-25/Vlachakos 288,16] ... ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ γεννᾶσθαι ... B *recte*; cf. Damascenus, Contra Manichaeos, 8,5: ὥσπερ ὁ λόγος ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ γεννώμενος.

Τριάκοντα ἔτη δὲ γεγρονώς Πιεν 59,42-43/Vlachakos 290,10] Τριακονταετῆς ... (τριακονταετῆς B).

καὶ διδάσκων αὐτοὺς τὰ μείζονα καὶ τελειότερα Πιεν 60,7-8/Vlachakos 292,2-3] ... τελειότερα B *recte*.

§23

ὅσα περὶ τούτου πιστεύομεν Πιεν 60,25/Vlachakos 292,10] ... περὶ τούτων ... B *recte*.

δαίμοσι καὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν εἰδώλοις θῆσαι ἡμᾶς, ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῆς δου-

λείας τῶν δαιμόνων ἀπαλλαγέντας Πιεῖν 60,33-35/Vlachakos 292,19-21] ... ἡμᾶς, τοὺς ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ ... ἀπαλλαγέντας (ἡμᾶς, τοὺς ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ ... ἀπαλλαγέντας B).

§25

τῇ παντοκρατορικῇ θείᾳ δεξιᾷ τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐφορῶτος Πιεῖν 61,41-42/Vlachakos 298,25-300,1] ... ἐφορῶντος B *recte*.

§26

ταῖς τῶν ἁγίων προσέεισαν λάρναξιν Πιεῖν 62,10-11/Vlachakos 302,2] ... προσήεισαν ... *scr.* Gautier (προσέεισαν B).

πᾶσα πόλις καὶ χώρα ἐν γαλήνῃ σταθηρᾷ τὸ πρὸς Χριστὸν σέβας, ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν, ἐνδιεφύλαττε Πιεῖν 62,26-28/Vlachakos 302,19-21] ... διεφύλαττε B *recte*.

§27

τά τε τῶν ἄλλων οἰκοδομημάτων κάλλη καὶ τὰ τῶν θείων ναῶν διηδάφισαν, καὶ καταπεπτωκότων ἕως ἐδάφους Πιεῖν 61,35-37/Vlachakos 304,2-4] ... διεδάφισαν, ... (διεδάφισαν B); cf. Hesychius, *Lexicon* (epsilon, 406,1): ἐδάφισαν· κατέβαλαν, and *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Grazität s.v. διεδαφίζω* — ... διεδάφισαν, καταπεπτωκότων ... *scr.* Kiapidou (διεδάφισαν, καὶ κατὰπεπτοκότων B); καὶ should be deleted, because it distorts the syntax.

§28

ἤμειβον δὲ τοὺς ἐκάστης οἰκίτορας, τοὺς μὲν τῶν ἐκατέρων πόλεων εἰς τὰς ἀνωτέρω μετοικίζοντες Πιεῖν 62,7-9/Vlachakos 306,2-4] ... τοὺς μὲν τῶν κατωτέρω πόλεων ... *scr.* Gautier (τοὺς μὲν τῶν ἐκατέρων πόλεων B, that makes no sense).

τὸ κατὰ Χριστὸν παρεισήγον δόγμα καὶ τὸ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου φῶς, ὡς ἐνῆν, αὐτοῖς ἀπεκάλυπτον Πιεῖν 63,15-17/Vlachakos 306,10-13] ... παρεισήγαγον ... (παρησίγαγον B).

κατὰ τὸ προφητικὸν λόγιον, τὸ φάσκον· βλέποντες γὰρ βλέψουσι καὶ οὐ μὴ ἴδωσι· καὶ ἀκούοντες ἀκούσουσι καὶ οὐ μὴ συνίσουσιν Πιεῖν 63,19-22/Vlachakos 306,15-18] ... συνιῶσιν *scr.* Kiapidou (συνίσουσιν B, συνήσουσιν Gautier, συνῶσιν reads Maslev in comm. 93, like ἴδωσι); cf. Marc. 4.12.1-2: βλέποντες βλέπωσιν καὶ μὴ ἴδωσιν καὶ ἀκούοντες ἀκούωσιν καὶ μὴ συνιῶσιν.

§29

ἄλλας τε πολλὰς πόλεις τῶν Ῥωμαίων καταδραμόντος Πιεῖν 63,28-29/Vlachakos 306,24-308,1] ... πόλεις τῆς Ῥωμαίων ... (πόλις τῆς Ῥωμαίων B).

§30

Ὁμβριτάγος δὲ οὐ πρᾶως ἐνεγκὼν ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ θυμοῦ πλησθεὶς (καὶ τί γὰρ ἢ βάρβαρος ψυχὴ καὶ αἰμοχαρής;) Πιεῖν 64,38-40/Vlachakos 312,17-20] (... ἢ βάρ-

βαρος ψυχή ...) *scr.* Gautier (ή βάρβαρος ψυχή B).

τὸ πᾶσαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ὑπέιχεν ἡμῖν Πιεν 64,43/Vlachakos 312,22-314,1, who reads ὑπέχεν instead of ὑπέιχεν] ... ὑπέικειν ... (ὑπήκειν B).

§31

πέμψας, ἀξιοὶ ἀναζητησαί τε τὸν Κινάμωνα μεμεριμνημένως καὶ εὐρεθέντα πρὸς αὐτὸν στείλαι Πιεν 65,6-7/Vlachakos 314,17-18] ... ἀναζητήσεσθαι τὸν Κινάμωνα ... *scr.* Gautier (ἀναζητήσεται τὸν Κινάμωνα B).

χρόνου πρὸς ἀναγνωρισμὸν δεομένου Πιεν 65,17/Vlachakos 316,5] ... πρὸς τὸν ἀναγνωρισμὸν ... B *recte*.

Κινάμων Πιεν 65,31/Vlachakos 316,20] ὁ Κινάμων (ὁ Κινάμον B).

§32

Τοῖνυν Ἐνραβωτᾶς Πιεν 65,42/Vlachakos 318,7] ... ὁ Ἐνραβωτᾶς (ὁ ραβωτᾶς B).

§33

Τὸν δὲ Χριστόν, ὡς ἀληθῆ Θεὸν καὶ Δημιουργόν, σέβομαι Πιεν 66,35-36/Vlachakos 322,10-11] ... ὡς ἀληθινὸν Θεὸν ... (ὡς ἀληθινὸν θεὸν B).

καὶ οἱ θεῖοι οἴκοι ἀνοικοδομηθήσονται καὶ ἱερεῖς καθαρὸι τῷ καθαρῷ Θεῷ καθαρῶς λειτουργήσουσι· θυσίαι αἰνέσεως καὶ ἐξομολογήσεως τῇ ζωοποιῷ Τριάδι προσαχθήσονται Πιεν 66,47-51/Vlachakos 322,23-324,3] ... λειτουργήσουσι καὶ θυσίαι αἰνέσεως ... (λειτουργίσουσι· καὶ θυσίαι αἰνέσεως B).

§34

διὰ θλίψεων καὶ στενώσεως Πιεν 67,14-15/Vlachakos 324,2-21] ... στενώσεων B *recte*.

Ἄλλ' ὃ γε Βορίσης ... ἐπιστρέψαι θέλων τοὺς υἱοὺς καὶ δούλους πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ... ἀμέλει τότε τῷ βασιλεῖ Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῇ συγκλήτῳ διαπρεσβεύεται ... ὡς ἂν συνθήκας εἰρήνης ποιησάμενος, τοῦ λοιποῦ γαληναῖον βίον ... διάγοιεν Πιεν 67,23-33/Vlachakos 326,7-18] ... ποιησάμενοι ... *scr.* Gautier (ποιησάμενος B).

Καὶ γὰρ δὴ αὐτὸν ἀναδέξασθαι, εἰ καὶ μὴ σωματικῶς παρῆν Πιεν 67,46-48/Vlachakos 328,9-10] Καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔδοξεν αὐτὸν ἀναδέξασθαι, ... (καὶ γὰρ δεῖ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔδοξεν αὐτὸν ἀναδέξασθαι B).

Συμβαπτίσθησαν δὲ αὐτῷ, καὶ ὅσον ἐν Βουλγάροις γένος, ὄγκω τῶν ἄλλων εἶχον ἐξαίρετον Πιεν 67,48-68,2/Vlachakos 328,11-13] ... , ὄγκω τε καὶ πλοῦτου βάρει τῶν ἄλλων εἶχεν ἐξαίρετον (ὄγκον τε καὶ πλοῦτου βάρει τῶν ἄλλων εἶχεν ἐξαίρετον B).

οὐ ταλαιπῶρος Πιεν 68,6/Vlachakos 328,17-18] ἀταλαιπῶρος (ἀταλεπόρος B).

§35

Ἦν οὖν ἰδεῖν ... πληθυνθείσας τὰς ἐκκλησίας καὶ οὓς τε προειρημένοι Ὅμβροι οἳ τε Βούλγαροι καθείλον θείους ναούς, καλῶς ἀνωκοδόμησαν ... Πιεν 68,18-22/Vlachakos 330,7-10] ... ἐκκλησίας· οὓς οἳ τε προειρημένοι Ὅμβροι, ... (ἐκκλησίας· οὓς οἳ τε προῆροιμένοι ὄμβροι, B).

καὶ τὴν γῆν πᾶσαν ἐπλήρουν ἐνταῦθα τῆς δόξης καὶ τῆς αἰνέσεως Κυρίου Πιεν 68,22-24/Vlachakos 330,11-12] καὶ τὴν γῆν πᾶσαν ἐπλήρουν τῆς δόξης B *recte*; ἐνταῦθα was added unnecessarily by Finetti.

§36

«ἀγαθόν μοι, ὅτι ἐταπεινώσας με, ... Πιεν 68,46/Vlachakos 332,13-14] «ἀγαθόν μοι» λέγων «ὅτι ... (ἀγαθόν μοι λέγον ὅτι B).

§37

Φθάνει τοίνυν ἡ περὶ τούτων φήμη εἰς τοῦ βασιλέως Βουλγάρων Μιχαὴλ ἀκοάς Πιεν 69,18-19/Vlachakos 334,7-9] ... εἰς τὰς τοῦ βασιλέως ... B *recte*.

Ἄραντες οὖν τὰς μαρμάρων ἐκείνων σανίδας Πιεν 69,44-45/Vlachakos 336,8-9] ... τὰς ἐκ μαρμάρων ... B *recte*.

§38

Ὡς δὲ ὁ λαὸς εἶδε τὸ γεγονός καὶ ἀκούσειε τὸν τε τῆς ἀφωνίας χρόνον Πιεν 70,20-22/Vlachakos 338,11-13] ... ἤκουσε *scr.* Kiapidou ... (ἀκούσιε B, ἀκούσειε Gautier).

§39

καὶ πρὸς τὸν κόμητα καὶ πρὸς ἐπισκόπους Πιεν 70,28-29/Vlachakos 338,19-20] ... πρὸς τοὺς ἐπισκόπους B *recte*.

Οὐ περιοψόμεθα ἐκ μέσου τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀρπαζόμενον χειρῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν κόλπων ἡμῶν ἀφαιρούμενον τὸν ἀσινῆ καὶ ἀσύλητον θησαυρόν. Εἰ δὲ ἡμεῖς καὶ δεσμεῖσθαι καὶ κολάζεσθαι καὶ εἰς πῦρ παραπεμφθῆναι καὶ θάνατον ὑποστήναι ἐτοιμῶς ἔχομεν, οὐκ ἀκλεῆς οὐδὲ οὕτος ὁ θάνατος ἡμῖν ἔσται. Εἴτε περὶ τὰ κιβώτια στῶμεν, αὐτοῦ τὰ σώματα καταθύσομεν καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπορρίψομεν. Πιεν 70,33-42/Vlachakos 338,25-340,8] ... Ἴτε, περὶ τὰ κιβώτια στῶμεν, αὐτοῦ τὰ σώματα καταθύσομεν καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπορρίψομεν *scr.*, Gautier (Εἴ τε περὶ τὰ κιβώτια στῶμεν, αὐτοῦ τὰ σώματα καταθύσομεν καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπορρίψομεν B).

Ποῖον ἄλλον τόπον ἢ τάφον ἱερώτερον ἔξομεν ἢ τοῦτον τὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀγίους καλύψαντα, ὑπὲρ ὧν νῦν διακινδυνεύομεν; Πιεν 70,52-55/Vlachakos 340,19-22] ... διακινδυνεύομεν; *scr.* Gautier (διακινδυνεύομεν; B).

§40

καὶ εἰ δὲ πρόσταγμα τοῦτο τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς ἡμῶν βασιλέως, ἡμεῖς δὲ ὑπηρεταί

καὶ ἐκπληρωταὶ τοῦ προστάγματος ἀπεστάλημεν· τίς ὁ λόγος, δούλους εἶναι ὁμολογοῦντας, δεσποτικῶ μὴ ὑποκύπτειν κελεύσματος; IIiev 71,12-16/Vlachakos 342,12-17] after ἀπεστάλημεν I suggest placing a comma instead of a semicolon.

§41

ὁ πολλῶν δακρῶν ἄξιος IIiev 72,2-3/Vlachakos 346,11] ὁ πολλῶν δακρῶν καὶ θρήνων ἄξιος (ὁ πολλῶν δακρῶν καὶ θρίνων ἄξιως B).

μέχρι ὅτε κούφως φερόμεναι IIiev 72,10/Vlachakos 346,19, who reads μέχρις ὅτε instead of μέχρι ὅτε] μέχρι τότε ... (μέχρη τότε B).

§43

τὴν πρὸς τὸ εὐθὺ τῶν ποδῶν ἀποκατάστασιν IIiev 73,20-21/Vlachakos 352,8-9] ... εὐθὺς ... B *recte*.

§44

μηδὲν ἔχοντες δρᾶσαι IIiev 73,42-43/Vlachakos 354,7-8] μηδὲν ἕτερον ἔχοντες ... (μηδὲν ἕτερον ἔχοντες B).

§45

εἰπόντος πρὸς αὐτόν· ἄρον τὸν κράβατόν σου καὶ περιπάτει IIiev 74,23-24/Vlachakos 356,19-20] ... ἄρόν σου τὸν κράβατον καὶ περιπάτει (ἄρον σου τὸν κράβατον καὶ περιπάτη B); cf. Sozomenus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. G. C. HANSEN, 23,20-21: ἐπεὶ τὸ ῥήτον ἐκεῖνο παράγειν εἰς μέσον ἐδέησε τὸ «ἄρόν σου τὸν κράβατον καὶ περιπάτει».

§46

ὁ τὴν δεινὴν περίοδον τοῦ δαίμονος ὑφιστάμενος IIiev 74,33-34/Vlachakos 358,5-7] ... τὴν δεινὴν ἐκείνην περίοδον ... (τὴν δυνὴν ἐκείνην περίοδον B).

καὶ τὴν ἐκ μαρμάρων σκέπην τῆς λάρνακος ἀνελόμενος, τῷ τείχει ταύτην προσήρεισεν IIiev 74,44-45/Vlachakos 358,15-17] ... τῷ τοίχῳ ... (τῷ τείχῳ B).

θαυμάσια ἐποίει ὁ Θεὸς διὰ τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ δοξαζόμενος IIiev 74,51-52/Vlachakos 358,24-260,1] ... αὐτοῦ δοξάζων καὶ δοξαζόμενος (αὐτοῦ, δοξάζον καὶ δοξαζόμενος B).

§49

Αὕτη μὲν γε ἀπὸ χώρας εἰς χώραν ἐλαυνομένη ἀκαθάρτῳ πνεύματι καὶ μάλιστα τὰς ἐρημίας διοικούσα. Αὕτη ποτὲ ... τῷ τῶν ἁγίων προσήλθεν νεφ... IIiev 75,43-46/Vlachakos 362,22-364,2] ... τὰς ἐρημίας διώκουσα, αὕτη ποτὲ ... (τὰς ἐρημίας διόκουσα· αὕτη ποτὲ B)

§50

Οὐ μὴν πένης ἦν καὶ τὴν πίστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφόδρα πλούσιος· καὶ τούτου γε τὸ

γένος οὐκ ἄμοιρον τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως γέγονεν IIiev 76,9-10/Vlachakos 364,14-16] ... τοῦτω γε... (τοῦτω γε B).

τῶν ἁγίων δύναμιν καὶ χάριν IIiev 76,17-18/Vlachakos 366,1-2] τὴν τῶν ἁγίων ... B *recte*.

§51

Τρία οὖν ἔτη ἐν τῷ τῶν ἁγίων τελέσας IIiev 76,41/Vlachakos 368,1-2] ... ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῶν ἁγίων ... (ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῶν ἁγίων B).

§52

ἐπὶ τῇ ἀφωνία λύπης μόνον ἰατρὸν τὸν θάνατον ἐκδεχόμενος IIiev 77,2-3/Vlachakos 368,13-15] τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ ἀφωνία λύπης ... (τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ ἀφωνία λύπης B).

κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν λαμπρὰν καὶ μεγάλην Κυριακὴν τοῦ Πάσχα IIiev 77,7-8/Vlachakos 368,19-20] ... καὶ μεγάλην τοῦ Πάσχα Κυριακὴν B *recte*.

§53

Καὶ τοῦτο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ... IIiev 77,19-20/(οὐ) τοῦτο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ... Vlachakos 370,7] οὐ τοῦτο μόνον, ... B *recte*.

βλέπω δέ, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, ὑγιῶς καὶ ἀνεπιθολώτως IIiev 77,36/Vlachakos 370,24-25] ... ἀνεπιθόλωτον B *recte*.

Ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τὸ παρὸν ἡμᾶς παρέλθοι ἀνεκδιήγητον IIiev 77,37-38/Vlachakos 370,25-372,1] ... παρέλθη ... *scr.* Gautier (παρέλθοι B).

τὰς θύρας ἐπέκλεισαν IIiev 77,43/Vlachakos 372,6-7] ... ἀπέκλεισαν (ἀπέκλησαν B).

§54

ἔτι πείνης κατείχετο IIiev 78,8/Vlachakos 372,21] ... πείνη ... *scr.* Finetti (πίνης B); see Liddell–Scott's Greek Lexicon s.v. κατέχω.

τὴν προθυμίαν ἐκεκόπτετο IIiev 78,34/Vlachakos 376,2] ... ἐνεκόπτετο B *recte*.

τὸ ἥμισυ τῶν δυοῖν τούτων τμημάτων IIiev 78,44-45/Vlachakos 376,12-13] ... δύο ... B *recte*.

§55

Ἵσον γὰρ τοιοῦτοις ἐπιχειρεῖν καὶ πειρᾶσθαι τῶν ἁγίων ἐφεξῆς διηγεῖσθαι τὰ θαύματα IIiev 79,5-7/Vlachakos 378,3-5] ... τοιοῦτοις ἔργοις ἐπιχειρεῖν ... (τοιοῦτοις ἔργοις ἐπιχειρεῖν B).

χειμαρρος τρυφῶς καὶ πηγὴ ἀνεξάντλητος IIiev 79,9/Vlachakos 378,8] χείμαρρος τρυφῆς ... (χοίμαρος τρυφῆς B).

Ἵν καὶ εἰσμεθέξουσιν γυμνότερόν τε καὶ τελειότερόν IIiev 79,19-20/Vlacha-

kos 378,18-19] ... εἰς μεθέξουσιν οὗτοι γυμνότερόν τε καὶ τελεώτερον (εἰς μεθέξουσιν οὗτοι γυμνότερόν ται καὶ τελεώτερον B).

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ABSTRACT

This article aims to highlight the editorial adventure of Theophylact of Ohrid's less known work *Historia martyrii XV martyrum*, and as a preview of the overall critical edition that this much afflicted hagiographical text requires and deserves, it offers some critical remarks based on the study of codex Baroccianus gr. 197, the single manuscript that delivers this text, as well as the previous editions and critical comments.

