

Saint Ignatius' *Letter to the Romans*

A study on the Greek MS *Tor. C.I.10* and the Slavonic MSS *Ath. Chil. 644* and *Vindob. Slav. 33*.

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A dissertation submitted to Ghent University in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Linguistics and Literature (Latin – Greek).

Academic year: 2023 – 2024



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Preface

The master's thesis is generally considered to be the climax of the study program and for my part, this is true. In the first year, we learned all the rules of the Ancient Greek and Latin grammar, after which we came to know everything about Greek palaeography in the second year of the bachelor. And that is the point where the Paleo-Slavonic studies turn up. During the courses on reading and deciphering Greek manuscripts, I discovered several parallels with the Slavonic culture. For that reason, I decided in my third bachelor to take a course on Old Slavonic, in which I was introduced to the beautiful world of that language, mostly used to translate Greek texts. This cultural cross-fertilization intrigued me so much that attending a continuation course on Slavic philology became a must for me, because I wanted to acquire a better understanding of the Greek and Slavonic languages in connection with their transmission in manuscripts. After these two courses, the two languages and cultures gradually gained more attention in my research. In this entire process, Dr Ilse De Vos supported me and encouraged me to explore an underrepresented field of study. Thanks to her, I chose to work for a master's thesis on a subject combining Greek and Old Slavonic in some way. When I contacted Dr Lara Sels for the first time, she was very surprised to hear about this, and she proposed a very interesting topic on which I could further extend my academic skills. Prof. Dr Andrea Cuomo was also enthusiast to go along with the story and support my ideas. Many thanks to them to mentor me and give some feedback in this challenging process. For academic assistance to this thesis, I also want to thank Dr Grigory Vorobyev, who helped me a lot in providing answers to my palaeographical questions. Next to this, I also wanted to express special thanks to my mother, Nancy, who always supports me and believes in me for which I feel very grateful.

Summary

Vanaf de missiegeschiedenis van de heiligen Cyrillus en Methodius in de negende eeuw is de Griekse invloed op Slavische teksten niet meer weg te denken. Door hun bekering tot het orthodox-christelijke geloof gingen de Slaven zich meer en meer laven aan de Byzantijns-Griekse cultuur en deze in grote mate overnemen. Een voorbeeld hiervan is hun vertaalpraktijk van christelijke (liturgische, homiletische, hagiografische, theologische ...) werken, die qua taal en stijl zo nauw aansluiten bij de Griekse brontekst dat de Slavische versie moeilijk zonder het Grieks verband begrepen kan worden. Daarom focust deze thesis op de Griekse en middeleeuws-Slavische filologische, taal- en vertaalkundige context van de *Brief aan de Romeinen* (CPG 1025.4), geschreven door de vroege kerkvader Sint-Ignatius van Antiochië. Het was één van zijn zeven brieven die hij als bisschop van Syrië in de tweede eeuw schreef aan verscheidene vroeg-christelijke gemeenschappen in een periode waarin het Christendom zijn opkomst maakte. In dat verband werd hij ook naar Rome gevoerd om er ter dood veroordeeld te worden. In zijn brief blikte hij al vooruit op zijn nakende dood. Ignatius wil niets liever dan sterven voor zijn geloof en een martelaar worden. Zijn corpus van brieven werd vaak gekopieerd en geregeld voorzien van herwerkingen en nieuwe aanvullingen, maar de *Brief aan de Romeinen* kent een andere overleveringsgeschiedenis, omdat die opgenomen werd in zijn martelarenakte (*Passio Ignatii*, BHG 813). Als hagiografisch verhaal werd het gekopieerd naar het Slavisch en deze context is bepalend om de functionaliteit van de tekst te begrijpen.

Voor de Griekse traditie licht ik er één manuscript uit dat nu in de bibliotheek van Turijn wordt bewaard, de zogenaamde *Taurinensis* (*Tor. BNU C.I.10*; Diktyon 63833). Tot nu toe was dit nog niet onderworpen aan een uitgebreid paleografisch en filologisch onderzoek, waar mijn thesis aan tegemoet wil komen met een beschrijving van de schriftkenmerken en een datering van het manuscript tussen het einde van de negende en het begin van de tiende eeuw. De Slavische vertaling, die ik onderzoek in twee vroege manuscripten (*Athos Chilandaricus* 644 en *Vindobonensis Slavicus* 33), kent op zijn beurt vele gelijkenissen met de versie van de tekst in het Turijns manuscript. Daarom loont het de moeite om de relatie tussen beiden vanuit een tekstkritische hoek te onderzoeken. Samen met de Latijnse oude versie zouden deze tekstgetuigen een gemeenschappelijke voorouder kunnen hebben. Deze hypothese wordt in mijn thesis bevestigd door te bestuderen waar de *Taurinensis* afwijkt van de Griekse traditie, maar wel dezelfde lezingen heeft als de Slavische en oude Latijnse tekst. In vroeg onderzoek werd de teksttraditie van de brieven van Ignatius verdeeld in verschillende 'recensies', namelijk de korte, midden en lange recensie. Nochtans passen noch de *Taurinensis*, noch de Slavische vertaling precies in één van die hokjes, omdat deze getuigen selectief elementen uit de midden en lange recensie combineren. In deze sectie beschrijf ik hoe toevoegingen en weglatingen een rijkere interpretatie genereren in relatie met het hagiografische kaderverhaal. Er tekende zich ook een patroon in de Slavische vertaling: het manuscript *Athos Chilandaricus* 644 vertoonde zeer vaak de primaire lezing, omdat het dichterbij de Griekse tekst die als vertaalexemplaar diende. Het andere Slavische manuscript (*Vindobonensis Slavicus* 33) hechtte vooral belang aan het tekstbegrip van de lezer en gaat vrijer om met de Griekse brontekst door meer te focussen op de context en de tekstuele interpretatie.

Daarnaast viel tijdens het lezen van de *Brief aan de Romeinen* het veelvuldig gebruik van samenstellingen op. De vorming hiervan bespreek ik aan de hand van een historisch-taalkundig perspectief. Om een beter zicht te krijgen op de mechanismen achter de Slavische vertaalpraktijk in de *Brief aan de Romeinen* is een gedetailleerde studie over samenstellingen in de Griekse taal immers noodzakelijk. Deze

aanpak kende zowel een morfologisch, fonologisch als syntactisch luik, waarin ik telkens de Griekse samenstelling in al zijn facetten probeer toe te lichten, omdat die aspecten allemaal samenwerken om het woord zijn betekenis te geven. De Slavische vertaling neemt meestal de verschillende constituenten apart over als calques. In vier gevallen voorziet het een parafrase of kiest de vertaler voor een term die bekender in de oren klinkt. Zo heeft het Oud-Slavisch dus mogelijkheden om zijn taal te spiegelen aan die van hun Griekse voorbeeld, maar tegelijkertijd innoveert het ook door er vanop afstand naar te kijken.

1. Introduction

1.1 Subject and aims

Ever since the missionary activities of Cyril and Methodius in the ninth century, Greek orthodox texts left their marks on the further development of the Slavonic culture to such an extent that the Greek(-Byzantine) cultural and linguistic influence has to be taken into account when reading Slavonic translations. The case study comparing the Greek and Slavonic versions of Saint Ignatius' *Letter to the Romans*, the central theme of this master's thesis, serves as another example of the Slavonic reception of Greek texts.

The main focus of this research is the Greek and Slavonic versions of the *Letter to the Romans* (CPG 1025.4), attributed to the so-called Apostolic Father¹ Saint Ignatius of Antioch, a second-century bishop of Antioch. *The Letter* was addressed to the community in Rome after Ignatius, sentenced to death, had to travel to Rome. Written first in Greek, the *Letter* has known a broad reception in other traditions, among others Syriac, Arabic, Latin, Coptic Armenian and Georgian². The texts in these languages have been subject to much scholarly attention (often from a theological point of view). In contrast, the Slavonic translation was partly investigated in the article of Sels (2023).

Nevertheless, the *Letter to the Romans* has distinctive characteristics which caught my attention. First, his letter is transmitted in three recensions: a short (only preserved in Syriac), a middle (henceforth MR) and a long recension (henceforth LR). Among the corpus of seven letters of the middle recension, conventionally considered to be written by Ignatius to various ecclesiastical communities, the *Letter to the Romans* differs from the others since it is the only letter embedded and transmitted in the *Martyrdom of Ignatius* (or his *Passio* (BHG 0813)) – given its content related to Ignatius' visions on martyrdom. Furthermore, it is the sole letter of Ignatius to have been translated into Slavonic that we know of, precisely because it was translated along with the *Passio* (Sels 2023: 96). This raised some questions about the Greek original text and its Slavonic translation.

This thesis aims to investigate how the palaeographical, philological and linguistic relationship between the Greek source text and the Slavonic translation works in the case of Ignatius' *Letter to the*

¹ Clayton (2005: 5-8) explains that the phrase instituted by modern scholarship refers to early Christian writers and writings from the period in which early Christianity based on the New Testament writings developed into the later patristic period. The writings of the Apostolic Fathers are not included in the New Testament canon, but they give us insights in how the early generations of Christianity assembled collections of texts that had an authoritative status concerning belief, theology and ethics. Clayton (2005: 8) briefly sketches the history of the term. He begins with the French scholar Jean-Baptiste Cotelier (1629-1686), who used the expression of Apostolic Fathers in his edition, titled *Patrum qui temporibus apostolicis floruerunt, Barnabæ, Clementis, Hermæ, Ignatii, Polycarpi opera edita et non edita, vera et supposita, græce et latine, cum notis* (1672; with reprints in Antwerp and Amsterdam in 1698, 1700 and 1724) to denote the Apostolic authors who were "friends or disciples of the apostles of Jesus". Clayton (2005: ibid.) continues with modern scholars who do not attach importance to their relation to the apostles, but rather focus on a tradition of texts circulating among churches from the end of the first century into the middle of the second century. In general, according to this definition, the following works are considered belonging to the apostolic tradition (without having official ecclesiastical approval or authorization): Epistle of Barnabas, 1-2 Clement, Didache, Epistle to Diognetus, Epistles of Ignatius, Epistle of Polycarp, Martyrdom of Polycarp, Shepherd of Hermas, and the fragments of Papias. For a general introduction on Ignatius and the Apostolic Fathers, see Altaner (1961: 97-109), Kraft (1966: 295), Drobner (2007: 45-52), Quasten (1966: 40-76), Clayton (2005) and Foster (2007). On the language of the Apostolic Fathers, see Bentein (2018).

² For a synoptic view of the transmission history in the different traditions except the Slavonic one, see Given (2022: 484).

Romans. I will explain which methodologies I use to approach these components in section 1.2. Firstly, the Greek and Slavonic palaeographical approach will be discussed (section 1.2.1). To start this research, I needed access to the reproductions of Greek and Slavonic manuscripts and editions of the *Letter to the Romans*, which I explain in sections (1.2.1.1-2). I primarily focus on the so-called *Taurinensis* (Torino, BNU, C.I.10 – Diktyon 63833) because, unlike the other eight Greek manuscripts that transmit the *Passio* (BHG 0813), the *Taurinensis* displays remarkable closeness with the Slavonic manuscripts, especially with the witnesses of the earliest South-Slavic version. These involve the *Codex Athous Chilandaricus 644* (henceforth *H.644*), an early fourteenth-century paper codex in Serbian orthography and the Manuscript of Vienna (Wien, ÖNB, Vindobonensis slav. 33; henceforth *V.33*), a late fourteenth-century rendering also in Serbian orthography (Sels 2023: 118). Once I had this material, it was necessary to transcribe the letter as specified in section 1.1.1.3. A further elaboration on the description and elements of the *Taurinensis* manuscript will be provided in section 2. The question of how the palaeographical context of Ignatius' *Passio* can give an insight into the Slavonic context of translations has a central place.

These preparatory steps were the starting point from which my philological and linguistic analyses departed. In the philological section (3), a more detailed account of the place of the *Taurinensis* within the Greek tradition and the probable text source of the Slavonic manuscripts used will be given. The question about which relationship the *Taurinensis* has to the old Latin version is also addressed. In this respect, Sels (2023: 120) observes that the Greek *Taurinensis* has wordings paralleled with the Latin translation which according to Funk-Diekamp (1913: LXX-LXXI) and Bihlmeyer (1970: XXXVIII) are precious for the Greek *constitutio textus*. So, to compare the Greek and Slavonic renderings with the old Latin version and to list my philological observations, I made a document with an interlinear collation (see appendix), to which I refer throughout this entire thesis. The premises on methodology of philology and linguistics will be considered in sections 1.2.2 and 1.2.3. Afterwards, a section on the situation of the letter follows (section 1.3). Herein, I will discuss what we know of the person Ignatius (1.3.1), his corpus of letters and their transmission history (1.3.1), a brief outline of the content of the *Letter to the Romans* (1.3.3) and the relationship between the *Letter to the Romans* and the *Passio Ignatii* (1.3.4). It establishes the background of modern scholarship against which I will further elaborate my observations in the philological section (2).

Furthermore, the linguistic section (4) shows the formation of the Greek compounds in the *Letter to the Romans* and the translation of these compounds into Old Slavonic. A methodological introduction is written in 1.2.3.

Finally, in section 5, I provide an analysis of two noteworthy instances in which Greek phrases are not literally translated, for which I provide a methodological explanation in section 1.2.4.

Overall, my work aims to contribute to the understanding of the dynamism of the transfer of cultural models in the Christian Middle Ages between various ecclesiastical communities, demonstrating that the coherent use of different methodologies (palaeography, philology, translation studies, and linguistics) is the key to opening the doors to a profound knowledge of a world that is still too unexplored.

1.2. Methodology

1.2.1. Discussion of the palaeographic approach

The science of palaeography has as its subject the reading, dating and locating of handwritten documents because each handwriting has its own unique characteristics (Bianconi 2014: 267-270). So, a manuscript

has to be considered in its entirety (often in combination with codicology which studies the composition of a manuscript) and in correspondence to the context in which the manuscript functioned. Dating the handwriting of the manuscript can help reconstruct the transmission history of a text, but the discipline of palaeography is more than a dating instrument. It complements the codicological study to examine whether the manuscript was recomposed, taken from its original context and functioning in its new setting.

Greek palaeography studies in a broad sense “all the handwritten expressions in Greek characters, regardless of their support or their language” (Bianconi 2014: 297). In this wide history of Greek writing, there are several types of classification to identify several types of script. The most general distinction is the one between book scripts (mainly used for copying of books, often more regular and better stylised) and documentary scripts (used for writing documents, frequently containing many ligatures). Furthermore, a distinction is made between formal (posed and calligraphic) and informal writing, and between majuscule (bilinear) and minuscule (quadrilinear) writing (Bianconi 2014: 297-301). In the case of the *Taurinensis*, the script can be classified at first sight as a book hand with formal and minuscule writing (a more detailed account is given in section 3).

Slavonic palaeography, in turn, is more complicated, since the Slavonic writing system does not exist of one alphabet (Cleminson 2014: 310). The West Slavs, the Croats and the Slovenes converted to Latin Christianity. As a result, they followed the Latin alphabet and literary tradition, “so that their palaeographic history is part of the wider cultural development of western Christendom as a whole” (Cleminson 2014: *ibid.*). The other part of the Slavs converted to Eastern Christianity and were oriented towards the Byzantine Greek culture, with Constantinople as the capital. As a consequence, two Slavonic writing systems (i.e. Glagolitic and Cyrillic) were created in the ninth century. Glagolitic was the earliest script invented by the Greek missionary Cyril and based on Greek phonetics, but not on Greek letter forms. Cyrillic, on the other side, is partly based on Glagolitic for phonetics and letterforms, but it mainly derives from Greek and arose at the end of the ninth century (Cleminson 2014: *ibid.*). Both manuscripts *H.644* and *V.33* are written in Cyrillic script. In the field of Slavonic palaeography, Cleminson (2014: 310-314) admits that the terminology to make distinctions in script types is not well-defined. The meaning of a certain term depends on the period. In general, a classification between *ustav*, *poluustav* and *skoropis'* is made, traditionally corresponding to uncial, semi-uncial and cursive, but not entirely equivalent to their Greek or Latin names or to the meanings given in earlier scholarship. Cleminson (2014: 311) defines *ustav* as “a relatively formal, regular script largely confined [but not necessarily] between two lines”. Furthermore, Cleminson (2014: 312) defines *poluustav* as “a quadrilinear script, less regular and ‘geometrical’ than *ustav*, with many more ligatures and superscripts, but there is no unanimity among scholars about precisely where the line should be drawn between the two”. *Ustav* was in use for all Cyrillic manuscript books up to the middle of the fourteenth century, whereas *poluustav* developed from *ustav* around the end of the fourteenth century, but the two scripts never had any functional difference (Cleminson 2014: 311-312). Lastly, *skoropis* is used to indicate the cursive script from the thirteenth century onwards, because no distinction in hands for books or documents written in Cyrillic script was made before. Since there is a lot of scholarly debate what is *ustav* and *poluustav*, I will not go further in detail on this differentiation, but probably both manuscripts *H.644* and *V.33* are witness of the process evolving from *ustav* to *poluustav*.

Finally, the layout is equally important as the letterforms, as it provides information about the production, which type of text is dealt with and the use of a particular book. All these aspects support each

other in reading the manuscript. Cleminson (2014: 313) adds that Slavonic manuscripts even imitate the layout of their Greek models. In manuscript *H.644*, due to the black-and-white microfilm, colours cannot be distinguished, but the title is written in a decorative, large majuscule script and the text of the martyrrium begins with a decorative initial N covering the first six lines. In manuscript *V.33*, in turn, the scribe used red ink to indicate the title of the martyrrium. Unlike in *H.644*, the title in *V.33* is not fully written in decorative and large majuscules, only the first two letters, covering two lines. The main text also begins with a decorative, large majuscule covering six lines. These characteristics, typical for the Greek layout, can be discerned at the beginning of the martyrrium, but not in the letter, since the latter was not perceived as a separate entity. In section 1.1.1.3., I will discuss how the reading of the manuscript is digitally rendered in a transcription.

1.2.1.1. Choice of the Greek manuscript

Usually, letters are preserved and transmitted within an epistolary collection, although not every manuscript can include every letter or in the same wording (Pérez Martín 2021: 684). The same holds true for Ignatius' letters of the LR, since the *Letter to the Romans* in this tradition is accompanied by the other letters of the LR in five Greek manuscripts³. In this respect, Ehrman (2003: 214-216) acknowledges in the introduction to his edition that the "Romans had a separate history of transmission" and that the other letters of the MR were transmitted in different collections of letters⁴. Brent (2007: 8) also confirms that the *Letter to the Romans* "had an alternative manuscript tradition", and for this reason, the letter has been edited separately from the other six letters for a long time. Ehrman (2003: 212) acknowledges that the *Letter to the Romans* was not edited before 1689, when the French intellectual Dom Theodoricus Ruinart (1657-1709) published the *Acts of the Martyrs* on the basis of the eleventh-century manuscript *Par. gr. 1451 (Colbertinus 460)* (Diktyon 51068). Sels (2023: 95) further notices that the *Letter to the Romans* became incorporated in editions⁵ of the 'genuine' corpus of Ignatius' letters based on the Antiochene version of the *Acts of Ignatius* and its accordance with the Latin version⁶ of the *Letter to the Romans*.

³ According to IRHT's Pinakes, last consulted on July 26 via [Pinakes | Πίνακες - Notice : Ignatius Antiochenus, Ad Romanos \(cnrs.fr\)](https://pinakes.cnrs.fr/). These include the thirteenth-century MS *Vat. gr. 859* (Diktyon 67490), the fifteenth-century MS *Laur. Plut. gr. 07.21* (Diktyon 16044), the tenth-century MS *Monac. gr. 394* (Diktyon 44842), the tenth-century MS BNF *Par. gr. suppl. 475* (Diktyon 53218) and the eighteenth-century MS *Marc. gr. II.174 (coll. 1061)* (Diktyon 70343). These letters of the LR are separately edited by Funk-Diekamp (1913: 83-269).

⁴ As found in the manuscript *Laur. Plut. gr. 57.07* (Diktyon 16376; eleventh century), which transmit the so-called MR. On the basis of this manuscript, Isaak Vossius (1618-1689) was the first to publish the collection of letters of Ignatius in 1646.

⁵ cfr. Zahn (1876: 54-69), Lightfoot (1889: 183-234), Funk (1901: 252-263), Funk-Diekamp's LR (1913: 258-269), Bihlmeyer (1970: 96-101) and Ehrman (2003: 268-283).

⁶ James Usher (1581-1656) discovered in England two Latin manuscripts with the seven 'genuine' letters as described by the fourth-century Christian writer Eusebius in his *Ecclesiastical History* 3.36,5-10, but in a shorter form than the longer recension known until the seventeenth century. Usher edited (1644) this Latin text of the seven letters of the Ignatian corpus and claimed this version translated from Greek to be authentic, which is now referred to as the MR. Usher claimed the LR to be a falsifying of the Arians. Two years later, Usher's observations were validated by Isaak Vossius' edition of the six Greek Ignatian letters of the MR (see footnote 5). Concerning Ruinart's, Usher's and Voss' contributions, see Vinzent (2019: 366-370). For Usher's political impact on the Reformation and Counter-Reformation by editing Ignatius' letters, see Ford (2007). For more details on the so-called Arian forgery of the LR, see Gilliam (2017) and footnote 27.

As far as now is known (according to the IRHT's *Pinakes*⁷), nine Greek manuscripts transmit the *Passio Ignatii*. According to Funk-Diekamp (1913), Bihlmeyer (1970) and Ehrman (2003), four of these Greek manuscripts⁸ are treated in the edition of Ignatius' *Letter to the Romans*. The other five manuscripts⁹ are not included in any edition (neither of the *Letter to the Romans* nor of the *Passio*). Based on the description of these nine manuscripts in the catalogues, Ehrhard (1937: 155-159; 240-245; 390-398; 509-512; 1938: 130-131; 1952: 782-783) does not specify whether they include the *Letter to the Romans*, only in the catalogue of the manuscript *Athen. EBE Gr. 1027* (Diktyon 3323; twelfth century), Ehrhard (1937: 156) mentions that the final part is missing, and the text of the martyrdom ends in the middle of the *Letter to the Romans*. In turn, recent studies¹⁰ on the *Passio Ignatii* always include the *Letter to the Romans* in its martyrdom, since the hagiographical account wanted to be verisimilar and authorial by including historical and theological details. MacDiarmid (2022: 215-217) adds that the martyrologist demonstrates his knowledge about Ignatius and his letters and his ability to build Ignatius' portrait by including the *Letter to the Romans*. More information about the transmission history and the relationship between the *Letter to the Romans* and the *Passio Ignatii* will be provided in section 1.3.2-3.

Among these nine Greek manuscripts, I primarily focus on the so-termed *Taurinensis* (Torino, BNU, C.I.10; Diktyon 63833). The three mentioned editions include this Greek manuscript. Nevertheless, it escaped scholarly attention: there does not exist a proper description of the manuscript, and it is seen as a less good source for the Greek tradition because the reading shows many deviations in word order and word choice compared to the other manuscripts. However, Sels (2023: 111, 119-121) develops the hypothesis that the *Taurinensis* and the Slavonic translation came from a common ancestor, and that this ancestor deserves more attention within the Greek tradition as well, as it features remarkable parallels with the old Latin translation. Consequently, it is worth looking more closely at this manuscript to verify this hypothesis.

1.2.1.2. Choice of the Slavonic manuscript

In total, seventeen manuscripts, dated or datable between the fourteenth and the sixteenth century, preserve the Slavonic version of Ignatius' *Passio* and are known in South Slavic and East Slavic redactions (Sels 2023: 97-100). As mentioned earlier, I examine two early South Slavonic manuscripts, involving Codex *Athous Chilandaricus 644* and the manuscript of Vienna (Wien, ÖNB, slav. 33). Based on the collation of Sels (2023: 101-114), these two manuscripts transmit a text version that is the most close to the archetype of all Slavonic manuscript witnesses.

Both manuscripts date to the fourteenth century (respectively from the early and late fourteenth century) and preserve not only the earliest renderings of the text, but also the most pristine (i.e. the texts variants that are the closest to the archetype). The scheme (see figure 1) as provided by Sels (2023: 119)

⁷[Pinakes | Πίνακες - Notice : Hagiographica, Ignatius ep. Antiochenus m. \(S.\), Passio seu Acta Antiochena \(cnrs.fr\)](#) (Last accessed on 27/04/2024).

⁸ *Sinā'*, Μονή της Αγίας Αικατερίνης, gr. 0519 (Diktyon 58894; eleventh century); Jerusalem, Πατριαρχική βιβλιοθήκη, Hagiau Saba 018 (Diktyon 34275; late eleventh century); Par. BNF, gr. 1451 (Diktyon 51068; eleventh century); Torino, BNU, C. I. 10 (Diktyon 63833; end ninth or beginning of the tenth century).

⁹ Par. BNF, suppl. gr. 1273 (Diktyon 53937; eleventh or twelfth century), Ambr. gr. A.063.inf (Martini-Bassi 798) (Diktyon 42187; eleventh century), Ambr. gr. D.092.sup. (Martini-Bassi 259) (Diktyon 42573; eleventh century), Athen. EBE Gr. 1027 (Diktyon 3323; twelfth century), Istanbul, Πατριαρχική βιβλιοθήκη, Hagias Triados, 088 (Diktyon 33586; ninth or tenth century).

¹⁰ See especially MacDiarmid (2022: 204-234), Lookadoo (2023: 205-214).

illustrates this statement, since the manuscript *H.644* belongs to group 1 and the manuscript *V.33* to group 3. Moreover, these groups are part of different branches, representing the South Slavonic redaction of the text. The East Slavonic text variants, on the other hand, date to a later century and have probably consulted other Greek or Latin manuscripts as a source. I do not take into account the Metaphrast translation¹¹, since this is beyond the scope of my thesis. The Greek Metaphrast tradition is very large with more than sixty manuscripts dating from the eleventh to the seventeenth century, according to IRHT's *Pinakes*, and only twelve are included in the edition of Funk-Diekamp (1913: LXXVIII-LXXX), which does not give a representative view. Therefore, a discussion of the relationship between the Pre-Metaphrast and Metaphrast versions profits from a separate research with a philological, linguistic and stylistic approach that also could elaborate on the relationship with its Slavonic translations. The relation, however, between the Pre-Metaphrast and Metaphrast text variants in the Greek tradition has not yet been mapped for this topic, nor in relation to Slavonic translations¹².

¹¹ This term refers to the translation or rewriting (*metaphrasis*) made by Symeon, who lived in the second half of the tenth century and edited together with his redactional team in Constantinople a liturgical collection (menologium, see footnote 31) of 148 Greek saint's lives and martyria (Høgel 2002: 9). Because of his redaction work, he obtained the name "Metaphrastes". His writings were very popular in the Byzantine world (Høgel 2002: *ibid.*). For a general introduction to the life, works and reception of Symeon Metaphrastes, see Høgel (2002) and (2021: 270-281) and Papaioannou (2021: 502-512).

¹² Høgel (2002: 89) indicates this gap in modern scholarship. Ivanov and Turilov (2021: 666) remark that while Slavonic translations of Metaphrastic texts are known, scholars are mainly interested in the rich quantity of Slavonic pre-Metaphrastic hagiographical accounts, since some of these Pre-Metaphrastic Byzantine-Greek hagiographies are only preserved in Slavonic and are studied to give an insight into the Greek lost original. In the case of Ignatius' *Letter to the Romans*, Sels (2023: 96) remarks that the Metaphrastic version of Ignatius' martyrion contains an abridged variant of the letter (BHG 815, incipit Ἀρτι Τραϊανοῦ τὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας σκῆπτρα παραλαβόντος ...; Slav.). Furthermore, Sels (2023: 101-108; 114-115) compares the Slavonic prefaces of the Pre-Metaphrast and Metaphrast version. She arrives at the conclusion that the latter used the former as a starting point for a rewriting or translation in line with the Greek Metaphrast version. The Slavonic Metaphrast text only exist in one sixteenth-century manuscript written in Bulgarian orthography (viz. *Athous Chilandaricus 431*), containing a miscellany of lives and homilies with Ignatius' martyrion on f. 271r-281r. Even though the preface usually tends to be more formulaic in letters, the observations cannot be generalized for the entire letter, but it gives nevertheless an indication of several rewriting practices. For the formulaic character of Ignatius' prescripts and postscripts in relation to the letters of Paul and the Greek tradition, see Bauer (2018).

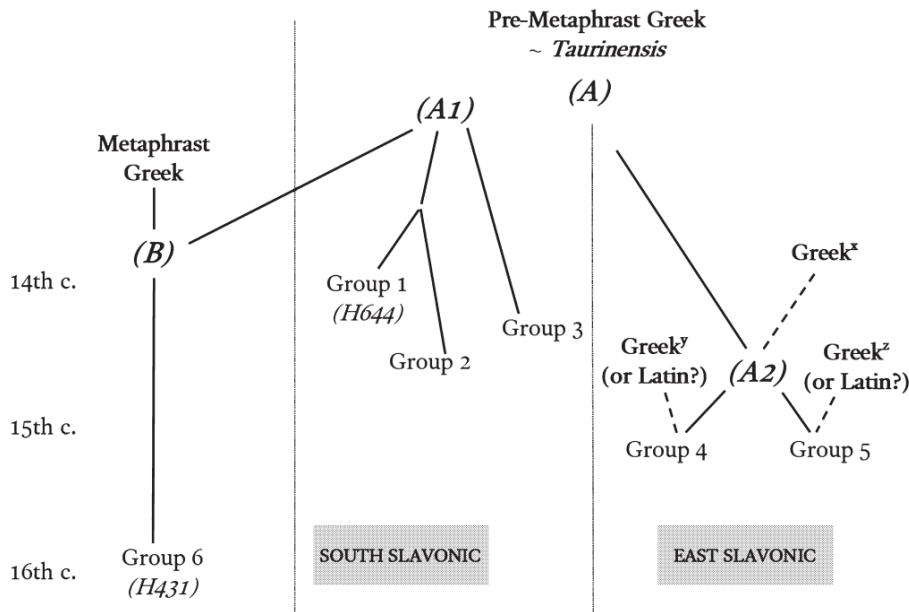


Figure 1: scheme illustrating possible relationships among the Slavonic versions based on the *Taurinensis* (Sels 2023: 119).

1.2.1.3. Transcriptions

Transcriptions represent a text as witnessed in a particular text carrier, like manuscripts in this thesis. I transcribed the fragments of the manuscripts containing the *Letter to the Romans* in an analogue way. My transcription is based on photo reproduction of the three manuscripts and not on an autoptic analysis.

For the present dissertation, I chose a diplomatic transcription (see appendix) since the form in which the manuscript reproduces the text can influence how the text was conceived by a reader. The principal value of this kind of transcription is the ability to check and search for detailed information about the orthography and layout as an instrument for additional analysis. My transcription did not intend to provide an edition. Additionally, I indicated the lines where the manuscript was illegible with dots between brackets since I did not want to reconstruct parts of the manuscript without supporting evidence.

I tried to render most of the available information about the manuscript text in my transcriptions. It includes, in the case of the *Taurinensis*, the preservation of the punctuation, the layout (in two columns without a hyphen to indicate that a word continued at the following line) and the medieval Greek orthography. However, the fact that transcriptions cannot recreate all details of the various silhouettes of handwritten letter forms facilitates the use of standardised letterforms. As a consequence, tachygraphic signs (i.e. signs attributed to frequently recurring combinations of letter forms used to save time) and ligatures (i.e. letterforms sharing a common stroke) I wrote in full without indicating where these special forms were used. Besides, in the transcription of the *Taurinensis*, I wrote abbreviations (e.g. *nomina sacra*) in full without putting the missing characters between brackets. In the transcriptions of the Slavonic manuscripts, by contrast, I transcribed the *nomina sacra* in their abbreviated form since it is difficult to reconstruct the word form without normalising the language. For example, the letters jer and jor (ѣ and ѓ)

of Old Church Slavonic (henceforth OCS) could be used in strong or weak positions¹³ in a word, depending on the following syllable. This position determined whether the half-vowel could disappear in a weak position in Church Slavonic redactions or this half-vowel could turn into a full vowel when in a strong position. However, a half-vowel in a weak position could also be maintained in Church Slavonic redactions. Therefore, it is artificial to decide or reconstruct missing letterforms when a word appears in its abbreviated form (e.g. *nomen sacrum*).

There is another point to remark. At the lines where the abbreviated forms influenced the perceived meaning or translation of the text, I showed in the document with interlinear collation (see appendix) that the abbreviation led to confusion as in the example of line 1 of the preface. Here, the editions write the Greek conjunction καί, whereas the *Taurinensis* transmits πνεύματος as a *nomen sacrum* with only πνς. This symbol is very similar to the symbol used to indicate καί and make clear that a misinterpretation happened between both signs in their abbreviated forms.

Furthermore, I chose to render the orthography as faithfully as possible. In the following paragraph, I will discuss a couple of characteristics of the orthography used in the three examined manuscripts. The scribe of the *Taurinensis* is very inaccurate and his transcription is stained by several iotacisms (i.e. due to the phonological similarity of the sound /i/ in the orthographically represented letterforms ι, η, ει, οι, υ, they were often conflated) as σηωπήσιται for σωπήσητε (§2.3) shows. Further, the omega (ω) and the omicron (ο) were often intermingled (e.g. άξιωμακαρίστων in the *Taurinensis* for άξιωμακαρίστων, §10.1), as well as the epsilon (ε) and alpha-iota (αι). These alternations appear consistently throughout the entire letter, but they complicate sometimes the interpretation, as in e.g. paragraph 7 line 2, where the *Taurinensis* writes γένεσθαι. This form (in normalisation γένεσθε) is also used in Funk-Diekamp's edition, whereas Bihlmeyer adopts γίνεσθε. The difference between the imperative in aorist (γένεσθε) or present tense (γίνεσθε), however, leads to another understanding of the text. The former urges the reader (in this case the Roman community) to stand on Ignatius' side when he is to be devoured by the wild beasts to fulfil his wish to attain God. He equalizes his will to God's – against Satan's, who will try to prevent his martyrdom and his attainment to God by corrupting the minds of the Romans. The focus in the aorist tense lies on the fact that they have to support him at one crucial moment, i.e. his martyrdom. The use of the present tense (γίνεσθε), by contrast, implies that the Roman community always has to choose for Ignatius' (and thus God's) side and always has to reject the Satan, not only now in the case of his martyrdom. It creates a more general meaning, associated with the basic principles of Christianity. If we interpret the written form γένεσθαι as an infinitive (viz. as the Greek counterpart of the Slavonic быти in H.644), then the explanation becomes somewhat more complex. The formula да не is a conjunction and is accompanied by a definite verb form (here помагати). This construction substitutes an imperative (in this case βοηθείτω), on which the infinitive быти depends. These features changes the syntax of the sentence to "let none of you who are present assist him [= Satan] to rather be on my side". In this sense, there is not such a sharp contrast between what the Romans have to do. Rather, the phrase points out that Ignatius wants to keep the Devil far away from him. If the Devil or the evil, as Ignatius sees it, is on his side, its powers will prevent him to

¹³ Weak positions are based on a trochaic pattern of syllables (with alternating strong and weak positions) and include positions where the jer/jor stands at the end of the word or precedes a vowel. In weak positions, the jer/jor can disappear in Church Slavonic redactions due to the lack of stress on that syllable. In Old Church Slavonic, by contrast, every syllable conventionally needs to have a vowel or half-vowel such as jer or jor.

become a proper martyr and attain to God. So, probably the scribe of the *Taurinensis* felt γένεσθαι rather as an imperative in the aorist tense, but the Slavonic translation, attested in *H.644* renders an infinitive (быти).

Regarding orthographic characteristics of the two Slavonic manuscripts, they are written in Raška-spelling, which is typically referred to as a Serbian spelling variant of OCS. A change in nasalisation took place in which the *ѣ-ѣ* has been replaced by *ю-ю* and the *ѣ-ѣ* by *е-е* (this phenomenon is also known as *bezjusov*). The following examples clarify the alternation more completely: *начинаю* (§5.7 in *H.644* and *V.33*, with maintaining of the jotation) for OCS *начинаѣ*; *постраждоу* for OCS *постраждѣ* (§4.10 in *H.644* and *V.33*; from the verb *постраждати* “to suffer”, which has another stem in the presens); *тепость* (§4.5 in *H.644* and *V.33*) for OCS *тѣпость*. In the case of the passive/reflexive particle, the change becomes visible since *ѣ* had been replaced by *е*, which I consistently added to the verb form as an enclitic particle (e.g. *наказаше* §5.3 in *H.644* and *V.33* for OCS *наказашѣ ѣ*). But if it stands before the verb, I transcribed the two parts separately (e.g. §5.4 where *H.644* has *оврецоутѣ* and *V.33* has *ѣ оврѣцоутѣ*).

Furthermore, the difference between *jer* and *jor* (*ь – ѝ*) had been lost, which can be seen in *V. 33* in which *ѝ* does not appear at all. In *H.644* both *jer* and *jor* are still in use (eight attestations in total). In endings, *jor* appears (etymologically correct) in the preface line 1 with *бгѣносивѝ* in *H.644* (whereas *V.33* has *бгѣносивѣ* for the nominative, masculine, singular); in §2.8 *jor* appears as well (also etymologically correct) in *ѝѝ* (*H.644*), whereas *V.33* renders *ѣѣ*. The same preservation of *ѝ* (*jor*) occurs in *H.644* in prepositions (§3.4 *нѝ*, §7.4 *вѝ* and §8.5 *сѝгѝѝ*), as well as once (§8.7) as an internal vowel *ѝврѝжѣнѝ* (from the verb *отѝврѝсти* with an alternative preteritum stem *отѝврѝжѣ-*, which is here used to build the passive preteritum participle).

In both manuscripts, when standing in weak positions *jer* has sometimes disappeared or has been replaced by *paerok*, which I indicated with a quotation mark (‘). This punctuation mark is used consistently throughout the text of the manuscripts, but not always in the same position in the two manuscripts (e.g. §4.11 *мир’ноу* и *соуѣт’ноу* in *V.33* and *соуѣтно* without *paerok* in *H.644* for OCS *мирѣноу* (“wordly”) and *соуѣтѣноу* (“vain”)).

Similar to the overall use of *ь*, there is a preference for *ы* instead of *ѝ* which is neither found in *H.644* nor in *V.33*. The following examples also show that the substitution is not limited to a specific category of words since it happens with adverbs, substantives and verbs. In §2.5 both *H.644* and *V.33* render *пакы* for OCS *пакѝ* (“again”); in §4.4, *H.644* as well as *V.33* write *зоубы* for OCS *зѣбѝ* (“teeth”); in §7.1 both in *H.644* and *V.33* *расхѝтити* is found for OCS *расхѝтити* (“steal”); and finally, in §9.4, *любы* is attested in *H.644* and *V. 33* for OCS *любѝ* (“love”). Moreover, there was a conflation between *и* and *ы* (e.g. §5.1 *рисольвы* in *H.644* and *рыкольвы* in *V.33*; §4.4 *зѝвѝринѝѝ* in *H.644* and *зѝвѝрини* in *V.33*; §5.9 *костѝи* in *H.644* and *костии* in *V.33*).

In addition, there is no Middle Bulgarian nasal shift, since there is no manuscript evidence for a confusion between *ѣ-ѣ*, which mainly appeared after /j/ due to the syncretism of /e/ and /o/ in colloquial speech.

As concerns punctuation, I made the distinction between the upper dot (‘), the middle dot (·), a low dot (.) and a comma (,). These punctuation signs differ from the modern use and are adapted in editions to present-day system of punctuation. In the *Taurinensis*, however, the upper dot (ᾶνω/τελεία στιγμή)

indicates that a larger unity has been completed (i.e. full stop). The middle dot (μέση στιγμή) marks the completion of a more independent syntactic entity of meaning, whereas commas suggest that the unit is not yet completed. For example, the *Taurinensis* transmits “ἐντέλλομε πᾶσιν, ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐκὼν ὑπὲρ θεοῦ ἀποθνήσκω” (§4.1). The phrase ἐντέλλομε πᾶσιν (“I give instructions to all”) is separated from its direct object-clause ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐκὼν ὑπὲρ θεοῦ ἀποθνήσκω (“that I am willingly dying for God”), but it has to be read in continuation with the following information. The middle dot after ἀποθνήσκω signals the completion of a syntactic unit or an idea. Indeed, the main clause has been completed and afterwards follows a negative conditional clause (ἐάνπερ ὑμεῖς μὴ κολύσεται), also terminated with a middle dot. Finally, the low dot (ὑποστιγμή) is used to separate two independent but related clauses. The use of punctuation marks in Greek manuscripts, however, is not clearcut and can change from periods and form (poetry, prose etc.). So, in general, punctuation marks can be used interchangeably for one another and therefore it is hard to separate their functions. Besides, from the ninth century onwards, the punctuation system started to evolve using less signs, so the use of this extant methods signals an early date and to a script written in minuscule Greek (see section 2).

The punctuation in the *Taurinensis* differs from that in *H.644* and *V.33*, in which the Slavonic manuscripts do not write the lower dot. Only *H.644* uses the upper dot very often, whereas *V.33* in these instances does not write a punctuation mark (§2.4) or replaces it by a point on the line or comma (§2.7).

1.2.2. Discussion of the philological approach

In this section, philology has to be understood as textual criticism in the broad sense of the word. This subdiscipline focuses on the identification of variant readings and the understanding of the transmission history of a text. For this thesis, it means that (1) I point out where the *Taurinensis* has variant readings relative to the editions (of Funk-Diekamp and Bihlmeyer) and other Greek manuscripts when included in the apparatus, (2) I comment on the mixed use of the MR and LR in the *Taurinensis* and (3) I compare the two Slavonic manuscripts with the *Taurinensis* first to discern the parallels and the differences between the text of the *Taurinensis* and the Slavonic tradition, and second to distinguish between primary and secondary readings within the Slavonic tradition. To attain these three goals, I collected all data in an Excel spreadsheet with an interlinear collation. The data included the digitally transcriptions of the three manuscripts, which I provided myself (viz. *Taurinensis*, *H.644* and *V.33*), the edition of Funk-Diekamp with the Greek and Latin text, Bihlmeyer’s edition of the Greek text and Ehrman’s translation. In general, collecting this information is a preliminary step to the process of establishing a stemma and making a critical edition, according to Andrews (2020: 160-175), but this is beyond the scope of this thesis. Nevertheless, this work can be of help for other scholars who want to make an edition and therefore, the spreadsheet is included in the appendix of this thesis. In the following paragraphs, I explain the terms collation and interlinear collation with respect to its similarities and differences.

According to Macé (2014: 331-332), the best way is to make collations of the entire text attested in all manuscripts, but due to limitations of time or practical reasons, making a partial or sampling collation serves as a good alternative. Because of limitations in scope and time, I chose to provide a sample of the entire text of the *Letter to the Romans* but only in the two Slavonic manuscripts, that are considered to be the best manuscripts from a text critical point of view, since they stand the most closely to the archetype (as explained in section 1.2.1.2).

A collation compares the textual data collected from the manuscripts containing the same texts. After the transcription, a reference text is chosen and all deviations from these texts are listed separately, together with an indication what kind of variant it is (see figure 2). Instead of following these basic principles, I always included the entire text and did not use a reference text, since the aim of the thesis was to compare and discuss the two Slavonic manuscript witnesses in relation to their Greek source text. Indeed, I marked the variant readings with different colours (according to the category of variation) and commented on them so that the interlinear collation remains understandable for other scholars using this document. The comment field enabled me to provide an easily searchable file using terms such as LR and MR consistently so that the comments were the first step to come to an overall conclusion about style, linguistic and philological analysis and translation theory. However, I did not list the variants separately annotated with signs and abbreviations to indicate omissions, inversions, corrections etc. in the manuscript text as usual when collating texts, according to Macé (2014: 332). Furthermore, in the space for remarks, I included the critical apparatus from Bihlmeyer's edition, since it was the most extensive. Finally, I complemented the fragments of the LR in the edition of Funk-Diekamp which were not translated in the edition of Ehrman with my own translation, indicated with an asterisk (*). That is why my document with interlinear collation (see figure 3) deviates from the consensus (to the extent that there is one) in making collations.

	A	B	C		D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L M N O P Q R S T U V W X Y												
1	Reference	nr.	Text		Type	Weight			Origin			A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	K					
2			Ref. Text	Variant	type	context	irreversible	irreproducible	length	total					a.c.	s.l.	p.c.	p.c.							
11	1.2.1.	8	αὐτοὶ	αὐτοὶ	suff.		1	0	0	1	?	0	?	0	*	*	1	*	0	*	0	*	1		
12	1.2.2.	9	ἔχει	ἔχει	gram.		0	0	0	0	0	?	0	?	0	*	*	0	*	0	*	0	0		
13	1.2.3.	10	γὰρ	/	om.		1	0	1	2	?	0	?	0	0	*	*	0	*	1	*	0	1	*	
14	1.3.1.	11	ταυθῶν	οἱ ταυθῶν	add.	article	0	0	1	1	1	0	?	0	1	*	*	0	*	0	*	0	0	*	
15	1.5.1.	12	οὐδέ	οὐτε	suff.		1	0	0	1	1	0	?	0	1	*	*	0	*	1	*	0	1	1	
16	1.6.1.	13	φασὶ πνέει	φασὶ πνέει	acc.		0	0	0	0	?	0	?	1	1	*	*	1	*	0	*	0	0	*	
17	1.8.1.	14	συχώρησις γίνεται ἀμαρτησάντων	/	om.		1	1	2	4	?	0	?	0	0	*	*	0	*	0	*	0	0	*	
18	1.9.1.	15	ἐπειδὴ	ἐπειδὴ γὰρ	add.		1	0	1	2	?	0	?	0	0	*	*	1	*	0	*	0	0	*	
19	1.11.1.	16	μετανοήσῃ	μετανοήσῃ	gram.	phonetic	0	0	0	0	0	1	?	0	0	*	*	0	*	0	*	0	0	*	
20	1.13-14.1.	17	ὡς εἴρηται	/	om.		1	0	2	3	?	0	?	0	1	*	*	1	*	1	*	0	1	*	
21	1.14.1.	18	ἐνταῦθα	/	om.		1	0	1	2	?	0	?	0	0	*	*	0	*	0	*	0	0	*	
22	1.14-15.1.	19	ἁμαρτήσας καὶ πάλιν ἀσπεφύρας	/	om.		1	1	2	4	0	0	?	0	0	*	*	0	*	0	*	0	0	*	
23	1.14-15.2.	20	ἁμαρτήσας καὶ πάλιν ἀσπεφύρας ἀγαθοσυνήσας	ἀγαθοσυνήσας καὶ πάλιν ἀσπεφύρας ἁμαρτήσας	inv.		1	1	2	4	0	0	?	0	0	*	*	0	*	0	*	0	0	*	
24	1.17.1.	21	ἔχοντες	ἔχοντες (1)	gram.	phonetic	0	0	0	0	0	1	?	0	1	*	*	2	*	1	0	0	0	*	
25	1.17.1.	21	ἔχοντες	ἔχοντες (2)	gram.		1	0	0	1	0	0	?	0	0	*	*	0	*	1	0	0	0	*	
26	1.20.1.	22	τις	/	om.		1	0	1	2	0	0	?	0	0	*	*	0	*	1	*	0	0	*	
27	1.21.1.	23	κρίνετε	κρίνεται	gram.	phonetic	0	0	0	0	0	1	?	0	1	*	*	0	*	0	*	0	1	0	*

Figure 2: example of a “[t]able of collations of *Florilegium Coislinianum*” (Macé 2014: 335).

Paragraphe 6			
Line 1			
Translation	Neither the ends of the world nor the kingdoms of this age will benefit me in the least.		
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	Οὐδὲν με ὠφελήσει τὰ πέρατα τοῦ κόσμου	οὐδὲ αἱ βασιλεῖαι τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου.	
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	Οὐδὲν με ὠφελήσει τὰ πέρατα τοῦ κόσμου	οὐδὲ αἱ βασιλεῖαι τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου.	
Latin edition	Nihil me iuvant, quae sunt mundi huius,	neque regnum temporale.	
C. I. 10	οὐδὲν με ὠφελήσει τὰ τερνῶ τοῦ κόσμου	οὐδὲ αἱ βασιλεῖαι τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου	
H. 644	НИКННЖЕ ПЛАЗИ НЕ СТЕПРЪТЬ КРАСНА МНРА СЕГО	НИ ЦРЪТВЫА СЕГО МНРА	
V. 33			
Critical apparatus	με HgM : μιν GT ?? πέρατα LfSfAmg : τερνῶ GHTM		
Observations	The Taurinensis has the variant reading τερνῶ, shared with the Metaphrast version (against πέρατα). This variant reading of Taurinensis is rendered in the Slavonic translation by красна (OCS краснѣ, which is the common translation for the Greek τερνός in its figurative meaning).		

Figure 3: fragment of the interlinear collation document appended to this thesis.

In other respects, I followed the guiding principles about collations. All variants (e.g. orthographical, punctuational, abbreviated forms etc.) are incorporated into a collation file. In this connection, Macé (2014: 331) nuances that “[e]ven though those features will not necessarily be interpreted as differences later on, it might be useful to know whether one word was abbreviated or not in a specific manuscript in order to

understand the process of variation". That is the reason why a diplomatic transcription is very useful, as explained in section 1.2.1.3 (together with a list of several variants). While collating the data, it is very important to identify the sources to be able to trace back the fragment of the transcribed manuscripts (Macé 2014: 332). As identification markers, I used the references to the paragraphs of the editions, since they had the same subdivision. Furthermore, I divided the sentences (main clause, subclauses or long drawn-out phrases) into lines and these lines I split into cells of cognitive units. For this last subdivision, I often relied on the punctuation from the manuscripts to simplify the comparison. I was not able to split every word into one cell, since I also incorporated the Latin text, which displays another word order than the one in Greek and Slavonic. For the reason behind the inclusion of the Latin text, see section 3 "Philology".

1.2.3. Discussion of the linguistic approach

The section about linguistics will focus on the discussion of compounds, combining a morpho-phonological and syntactical approach from an historical-linguistic perspective, even though I do not elaborate on the possible Proto-Indo-European hypotheses on compounds or their relationship.

The definition and status of compounds still is a contested topic¹⁴. Tribulato (2015: 13-16) stresses that it depends from the perspective, synchronic or diachronic, to which view is mostly preferred. In this thesis, my starting point are the Greek and Slavonic compounds, as they are found in the examined manuscript witnesses of the *Letter to the Romans* and which consist of two or more simple lexemes (i.e. the smallest unit of lexical meaning that can function independently and cannot be further subdivided) comprising a compound lexeme. Languages as Ancient Greek use stems in the formation of compounds¹⁵. The constituents are, thus, simple or complex stems (i.e. "uninflected parts of independent words" ¹⁶). I do not take into account forms with a prefix and a verbal base nor nouns derived from them. Moreover, Tribulato (2015: 20) formulates that the first element of Greek compounds can include an adverb, a preposition, a nominal or verbal stem and particles like the *alpha privativum*. For the present analysis, I only concentrate on the first constituent being an adverb and a nominal stem. Furthermore, the combination of approaches is necessary, according to Tribulato (2015: 14-16), since a too rigid classification develops from only one perspective. For the morphological description, the linking vowel will be briefly commented on and the phonological part problematises the accentuation of compounds. The syntactical approach investigates the structure and relationship of compounds, since this has an influence on the traditional classification of the studies compounds. In total, seventeen compounds are subject to investigation of which ten occur in the pre- and postscripts of the *Letter to the Romans* and of which eight are formed with ἄξιος as their first constituent. The study of Greek compounds on its own is very diverse, but the narrow definition of my scope enables me to compare (and

¹⁴ Tribulato (2015: 18) points out that in ancient Greek scholarship, by contrast, not many attention was given to the definition of compounds or to theorization, since the distinction was limited to σύνθεσις ("putting together, composition") and παράθεσις ("juxtaposition"). For more information see Debrunner (1917: 16-17), Lindner (2011: 29) for Dionysios Thrax' definition in his *Grammar* and the edition of Lentz (1867) for the discussion of Herodian's compound examples (sections 3.2.35.11-14 and 3.2.47.20-21).

¹⁵ Ralli (2009: 457) argues that languages (e.g. Greek) with a stem-based inflectional morphology have the characteristic to exclude inflectional or derivational markers from the first constituent.

¹⁶ Lieber and Štekauer (2009: 5).

not generalize) the formation of compounds with the Slavonic translation as found in the individual manuscript witnesses *H.644* and *V.33*.

1.2.4. Discussion of the approach to translation studies

In section 5, I will elaborate on translation studies. Since the activity of copying manuscripts is an act of rewriting, the copying of a text into another language can also be approached within the same concept. Words and phrases have to be transferred (from “transfere”, the Latin word for “translation”) from the one language into another or from one manuscript into another. During this task and the copying afterwards they can be simplified, specified, omitted etc. That gives every manuscript witness its unique character. This individual nature is related to variant readings (from a philological perspective), but also to a cultural perspective in which the translations could reflect the ideology of an empire and makes the original texts available to a larger audience, which can serve among others religious and educational purposes (Constantinou 2021: 21). For the early Slavonic translations, the scribes translated Greek texts or copied already existing Slavonic translations to convert the Slavs to Christianity. The language that was needed to do this was still developing both from the spoken language and the Greek language that shaped the written idiom from the beginning (Čermák 2020: 9-13). As a consequence, the focus of early translations laid on the reader(ship) for people to understand those texts and to become acquainted with the ideas in it. Both *H.644* and *V.33* are copies of such early translations and display different individual linguistic characteristics. The goal of this part is to show the attitude of the scribes within the transmission history of the two Slavonic manuscripts (or in other words, within the receiving culture). Two remarkable fragments will exemplify how the scribe or copyist of *V.33* made changes and stepped away from the very literal way of translating to make the sense behind the text less complex. Every adaptation gives an insight into the interpretation of the one who read the *Letter to the Romans*.

1.3. Situating Saint Ignatius’ *Letter to the Romans*

In this part, I introduce the figure of Ignatius, his corpus of letters and their transmission history, the content of the *Letter to the Romans* and its relation to the *Passio Ignatii*.

1.3.1. Figure of Ignatius

To start, I mention some background on Ignatius himself, inferred from his corpus of letters, since nothing is known about his life except from what he wrote in his letters and what later traditions transmit. He was a second century¹⁷ bishop of Antioch of Syria (*Letter to the Romans* 2.2, ἐπίσκοπον Συρίας), who was sent to Rome to be executed in the Colosseum. For what reason he was sent to Rome and how the situation was in Antioch when he left remains material for discussion. Ehrmann (2003: 208) summarizes the traditional and common opinions in recent scholarship. The traditional assumption made by Lightfoot (1889) and Camelot (1969) involves that Ignatius was responsible for the Antiochene church because it continued to endure persecution. When the oppressions had come to an end, Ignatius encouraged several churches to send congratulatory letters and delegates to felicitate the community. However, modern scholars point to the fact that Ignatius uses words to refer to situations of internal conflict within the Antiochene community,

¹⁷ Brent (2006; 2016) investigated Ignatius’ background and found many parallels with the literary phenomenon of the Second Sophistic, with a critical response provided by Lechner (2018).

rather than hostilities from non-Christian adversaries. Indeed, Ignatius emphasizes his concern about Christian heresies and the various theological convictions (Jewish-Christian, Gnostic), although other scholars as Hammond Bammel (1982) and Schoedel (1985) rather stress that Ignatius refers to a conflict over leadership in the church.

Ignatius says that he is condemned (*Rom.* 4.3, ἐγὼ κατάκριτος). He also wants eagerly to attain to God (*Rom.* 4.1, ἔνεστιν θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν) becoming a true disciple of God (*Rom.* 4.2, τότε ἔσομαι μαθητῆς ἀληθῶς Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ) by finding his death in the arena and suffer like Christ in His passion. Ignatius thereby explicitly urges the Roman community not to intervene in his favour so that his wish to become a martyr would not fall apart (*Rom.* 2). His condemnation and enthusiastic attitude towards his prospective death seems to limit the reason why he was sent to Rome. Ehrmann (2003: 209) prefers the explanation of Davies (1976: 175-180) that Ignatius as a common practice “was being sent as a ‘gift’ by the Syrian governor, a criminal donated for the violent hunting games of the Roman amphitheatre”. Brent (2007: 110-111), however, argues that Ignatius was sent to Rome at command of the chief administrator of Syria, because he did not have the jurisdiction to sentence Ignatius to death.

1.3.2. Corpus of Ignatian letters and transmission history

What becomes clear from the previous paragraph is the fact that in his *Letter to the Romans*, he reflected on his death and future martyrdom. Therefore, the theme and tone differ from his other letters. What is part of the so-called Ignatian corpus still is a very contested debate, certainly in relation to the question of authenticity, which I further explain in the following paragraphs. Ignatius is believed to have written the *Letter to the Ephesians* (CPG 1025.1), the *Letter to the Magnesians* (CPG 1025.2), the *Letter to the Trallians* (CPG 1025.3), the *Letter to the Romans* (CPG 1025.4), the *Letter to the Philadelphians* (CPG 1025.5), the *Letter to the Smyrneans* (CPG 1025.6), and the *Letter to Polycarp* (CPG 1025.7). Ehrman (2003: 205-206) reports his travel story: on his journey to Rome, Ignatius travelled over land through Asia Minor. At certain points he resided for a short time as e.g. in Smyrna, where he met the city's bishop Polycarp and several delegates of other churches in the region, to whom he wrote the first three letters of the list. The main theme was Ignatius' command to strive for church unity, to eliminate heretical teachings and to stay faithful to the bishops ruling over their community. There, he also wrote his *Letter to the Romans*, in which he exhorts Roman Christian society to do nothing against his condemnation and his fight with the wild beast in the arena. Only then he would be able to attain to God (*Rom.* 4.2) by undergoing a similar suffering as Christ and to become a true disciple of His. After his stay at Smyrna, he went to Troas, where he wrote the last three letters of the list, with the same themes as before (i.e. unity of the church, heresy, the agency of the highest church leaders).

Because of these three recurring topics, Ignatius' letters attracted scholarly attention from the historical and theological perspective to investigate the state of affairs of early Christianity in the second century. Deducing this information from the sources has been complicated, since there has been a strong debate amongst scholars to decide which of the circulating recensions (i.e. short, middle or long) was authentic. Firstly, I will explain the differences of the short, middle and long recension, and secondly, I will give a brief summary of the debates concerning the authenticity of the letters. The short recension is only

attested in Syriac, published in 1849 by William Cureton¹⁸ (1808-1864), and consists of “an abridgement of the letters to Polycarp, Ephesians, and Romans (with a paragraph from *Trallians*) constructed from the MR for monastic purposes” (Schoedel 1985: 3). The MR is found in Greek, Latin, Syriac, Armenian, Arabic and Coptic. In Greek, only one manuscript (i.e. *Cod. Plut.* 57.7, see footnote 5 of this thesis) transmits the corpus of letters in the MR, except from the *Letter to the Romans*. The latter is detached from the other letters and embedded in the *Passio Ignatii* (also referred to as *Acts of Ignatius*). Lookadoo (2023: 20) remarks that, as a consequence, more manuscripts transmit the *Letter to the Romans* in the previously mentioned traditions than the other epistles in the MR. Finally, the LR consists of an extended version of the seven letters of the MR, together with six supplementary letters, which include the *Letter from Mary of Cassabola to Ignatius* (CPG 1026.7), and Ignatius’ response to her (CPG 1026.8), letters to the Christian communities of Tarsus (CPG 1026.9), of Antioch (CPG 1026.10), and of Philippi (CPG 1026.12), and lastly, a letter addressed to Hero (CPG 1026.11), who succeeded Ignatius as bishop of Antioch (Ehrman 2003: 210). These versions of the LR “also came to be associated with the letters of the MR as preserved in Greek, Latin and Armenian” (Ehrman 2003: *ibid.*). The existence of these recensions caused a major discussion about the question which of these letters were authentic. The consensus in modern scholarship reads (Brent 2007; MacDiarmid 2022: 148-203) that they are inclined to follow Lightfoot’s arguments to recognize the MR as authentic. Brent (2007: 20) takes historical accounts from Eusebius of Caesarea and Malalas into account as well to reinforce this claim. In the section on philology, I will provide a more detailed overview, where I focus on the *Taurinensis* as an example of the conflation of the MR and LR (or of the fact that the labels MR and LR are actually inadequate to capture the complexity of the whole textual tradition of the Ignatian corpus).

1.3.3. Content of the *Letter to the Romans*

The *Letter to the Romans* has the following structure: first, Ignatius greets the Church in Rome (preface). He then exhorts the Roman community not to prevent his martyrdom (§1-2), but instead to pray for him to be a true Christian (§3). This true discipleship of Christ means for Ignatius to attain to God (§4-5). In this way, Ignatius wishes to die with the same sufferings as Christ and afterwards, Ignatius confesses his desire only for Christ and no longer for the earthly world (§6-8). Next, he concludes his letter with greetings and requests (§9-10).

1.3.4. Relation between Ignatius’ *Letter to the Romans* and the *Passio Ignatii*

Since the *Letter to the Romans* is incorporated into the *Passio Ignatii*, it is worth looking closer to the surrounding context in which the letter was transmitted. I first explain to which hagiographical subgenre the *passio* belongs and then, I briefly sketch the content and themes of the *Passio Ignatii* as found in the *Taurinensis*.

The *Passio Ignatii* belongs to the genre of hagiography¹⁹, which has several subgenres such as

¹⁸ Sels (2023: 96) mentions that Vinzent (2019) has paid attention (again) to Cureton’s argument that the short recension was anterior to the MR and therefore, authentic.

¹⁹ Høgel (2002: 20-21) stresses that the term hagiography is an umbrella term to which many definitions have been proposed. The discussion of what definition is preferable is beyond the scope of this thesis, but in this thesis, I use the definition of Delehay (1991: 3) as a starting point. He very easily explains hagiography as “l’ensemble des monuments

martyria, encomia, vitae, miraculae, translation of relics and hymns (Kazhdan 1999: 141; Talbot 2008: 862; Cross 2007: 729). Høgel (2002: 22) only makes a distinction between the hagiographical encomium²⁰ and the martyrion for the purpose of his book, but does not provide other subdivisions. He describes a martyrion as “a dramatic narrative, representing the trial and execution of a (Christian) person by the hands of a persecutor” and emphasizes that it is not a synonym for vitae or lives, since the biography of the person in the martyrion is not central to the story²¹. Within the subgenre of martyria, there are several categories of martyrdom accounts. Delehay (1955: 121-141) classifies six groups of martyria regarding criteria of historicity and veracity. These six groups, however, can be reduced to three (Cross 2007: 14). The first group concerns the trials of the martyrs in which the records were officially noted in shorthand, afterwards transcribed and stored in an archive. The second type includes the stories of eyewitnesses reporting the arrest, trial and their execution, either based on official documents of a trial or on a certain number of historical aspects. These secondary accounts are mostly called *passio* (with a Latin term) or *martyrion* (using the Greek word), as in e.g. the *Passio of Felicitas and Perpetua*. To a limited extend, they also contain supernatural elements, since these features did not appeal to the audience of the earliest versions. Later versions of these originally sober accounts, however, were supplemented with miraculous and other apocryphal or fictitious embellishments (Cross 2007: 14). The insertion of fictional elements diminishes the boundary with the third category, dealing with largely or purely legendary narratives, without historical verifiable information. Cross (2007: *ibid.*) gives the examples of martyria about Saint Catherine of Alexandria and Saint George. Talbot (2008: 863) concludes that the first two groups were of fundamental kind and that the *Acts of the martyrs* were “[o]ne of the earliest forms of hagiographic composition”.

The *Acts of Ignatius*²² belong to the second type. It is presented as an eyewitness account (αὐτόπτης, *Ant. Mart.* 7) of Philo of Cilicia, deacon at Tarsus, and the further unknown Syrian Rheus Agathopus describing the trial and execution (Clayton 2006: 14). Both persons were believed to travel with Ignatius, since he mentions them in his letters to the communities of Smyrna and Philadelphia. Just as there is a huge variation within hagiographical subgenres, Lightfoot (1889: 368-377) also distinguishes in his

écrits qui se rapportent au culte des saints”, focussing on Christian saints. For a more detailed account, see van Uytenghe (1993: 148-149). He defines the word more extensively and in a broader sense with four components but without theological standards. For a general introduction into Byzantine hagiography, see Talbot (2008: 862-872).

²⁰ The hagiographical encomium is a genre about the praise of a saint, centred around a rhetorical approach instead of a narrative structure. Its style and language are defined by the rules of classical rhetoric and the narrated events are often based on existing martyria (Høgel 2002: 22). In the case of Ignatius, John Chrysostom also wrote an encomium (*Homily on the Holy Martyr Ignatius*, PG 50: 587-596, with a translation provided by Mayer and Neil 2006: 101-117). In the case of the manuscript of *Istanbul, Hagias Triados*, 088 (Diktyon 33586), this oration follows the *Passio Ignatii* according to Ehrhard (1937: 511). For more details on the content of the text, see MacDiarmid (2022: 204, 222-234).

²¹ Høgel (2002: 22) acknowledges that Delehay (1921; 1966) provides the “broadest and fundamental exposition of the martyrion genre”.

²² BHG 813, CPG 1036, inc. Ἀπὶ διαδεξαμένου τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν Τραϊανοῦ ...; Slav. Ново прѣимъшоу влаетъ римскѣмъ Трояноу ... [with variants]. Sels (2023: 96) lists the editions of the Antiochene *Acts*: Migne (PG 5, 979-988, Cureton (1849: 190-195), Zahn (1849: 301-306), Lightfoot (1889: 477-495), Funk-Diekamp (1913: 324-339); together with the edition of the letter in Cureton (1849: 39-56), Zahn (1876: 54-69), Lightfoot (1889: 183-234), Funk (1901: 252-263).

edition five different kinds of martyria about Ignatius, i.e. the Antiochene, Roman²³, Bollandist²⁴, Armenian²⁵ and Metaphrast²⁶ Acts. These last three are a combination of the Roman and Antiochene Acts (Lightfoot 1889: *ibid.*).

These martyrologies, except the Antiochene and the Roman ones, are believed to be written several centuries after the events it reports. What they all have in common, however, is the fact that each martyrdom emphasizes other aspects in the remembrance or portrayal of a saint. The core story remains the same, but there is space for communities to rewrite the memories of the martyr, depending on which elements they find the most important or the most suited to their audience or local tradition. Since there are five martyrologies of Ignatius known, it means that there was a competition between communities to be approved as the authoritative and authentic version of the saint's memory. The circulation of these diverse martyria and the competition associated with this process of rewriting have implications for the devotion and later remembrance of Ignatius, from a theological as well as from a cultural perspective focussing on the influence on the portrayal of a saint. It was in this competitive atmosphere that the martyrologist wanted his version to transfer the authoritative and verisimilar report of Ignatius' memory by including the entire *Letter to the Romans* and presenting it as an eyewitness statement (MacDiarmid 2022: 209-210).

Among the seven letters, the *Letter to the Romans* fits the best in a martyrdom, since the letter has Ignatius' reflections on his (approaching) death as main subject and the narrative of the *passio* stresses the way in which the martyr dies. In total, the *Letter to the Romans* counts ten paragraphs, whereas the martyrdom only has seven of comparable length surrounding the letter completely. For these two characteristics, the martyrdom account is of major importance for the interpretation of the letter and its reception. Just as the rewriting of the MR into the LR has implications on propagating authority and promoting the strategy of those who remember the saint, so has the rewriting of the martyrdom implications on which elements are emphasized in the letter (MacDiarmid 2022: 204). The concept of rewriting and the relationship between the MR and LR will be expanded in the philological section (3). So,

²³ The Roman *Martyrium* takes place in Rome, where Ignatius' body is said to be preserved. The account focusses on the violent and torturous execution, commanded by the emperor Trajan. This version is probably from a later date than the Antiochene Acts and is independent from the latter, since many details are contradictory (the main facts as the travel to Rome, the conversation with Trajan and his martyrdom at the amphitheatre, however, correspond). Sels (2023: 96) writes that the Slavs did not know the Roman martyrdom of Ignatius (BHG 814).

²⁴ Lightfoot (1889: 371) explains that in these Acts, there is no fusion of the Antiochene and the Roman Acts; rather, this martyrdom shows "a corrupt rendering, first of the Antiochene, and then of the Roman account, running off occasionally into paraphrase".

²⁵ This version is known from an Armenian translation and is a fusion of the Antiochene and the Roman Acts, since the compiler combined nearly all events of both stories in a coherent way (Lightfoot 1889: 371-375).

²⁶ The Metaphrast martyrdom displays a more free treatment of the Antiochene and Roman Acts with higher literary purposes. This account was very popular in Greek manuscripts (with 63 witnesses, dating from the eleventh until the seventeenth century, according to IRHT's *Pinakes*, last consulted on 24 July 2024: [Pinakes | Πίνakes - Notice : Hagiographica, Ignatius ep. Antiochenus m. \(S.\), Passio metaphrastica \(cnrs.fr\)](#)). Sels (2023: 96) remarks that it "contains an abridged variant of the *Letter to the Romans* (BHG 815, inc. Ἀπὸ Τραϊανοῦ τὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας σκῆπτρα παραλαβόντος ...; Slav. Оуже Траяноу[иѣ] рѣмскаго цртва скнптры прѣм'шюу ...)". The Greek Metaphrast text was first edited by Jean-Baptiste Cotelier in 1672 (see footnote 5), but Laurentius Surius (1523-1580) published the Latin version in Cologne already in 1570.

for these reasons, it is important to consider the *Letter to the Romans* in its context of transmission within the *Passio Ignatii*.

Among those different versions of martyria, the *Taurinensis* transmits the *Antiochene Acts*, which are also translated into Slavonic. The martyrdom begins with a description of Ignatius' desire for martyrdom (§1) and then introduces emperor Trajan at his stay in Antioch after his triumph march over the Scythians and Dacians. There, he meets Ignatius and starts a dialogue with him about the demons departed from the servants of God, which depend entirely on the word θεοφόρος. Ignatius questions these statements and defends his beliefs, after which Trajan sentences him to be brought to Rome as a prisoner (§2). Ignatius joyfully sets off his travel and sails to Smyrna to see Polycarp, with whom Ignatius had been a disciple of Saint John the Apostle (§3). On his way, he met several other churches and representatives in person or by reading (and replying to) their letters. These signs of affection towards him and his approaching martyrdom encouraged him to write to the Church of the Romans (§4). After this introduction, Ignatius' *Letter to the Romans* is subjoined in its entirety. Thereafter, the story continues with the points he reaches while travelling to Rome (§5) to finally arrive in the Amphitheatre in Rome, where he was thrown before the wild beasts as a spectacle and found his death (§6). As a last sign, Ignatius appears in a vision after his death. Consequently, the eyewitnesses, grieving about the loss of Ignatius, instituted the yearly veneration of the martyr on the twentieth of December (§7). In conclusion, the *Antiochene Acts* focus more on the conversation with Trajan²⁷ and his condemnation. Both events happened in Antioch, the central place where also the martyr's relics are kept and venerated and where probably the acts first circulated²⁸ (Lightfoot 1889: 369).

2. Palaeography

2.1. Description of *Taurinensis*

2.1.1. Writing style, layout, components and date

Ehrhard (1937: 195-197) describes the *Taurinensis* in his catalogue of hagiographic-homiletic year collections. The manuscript is a fragment of a year collection which covers the major part of the orthodox church year (see footnote 33). Both hagiographical accounts (commemorating saints in the second half of December, April and in the second half of July and August, starting with the *passio* of Saint Ignatius on December 20 and ending with the Martyrium of Euplus on August 11) and homilies (for the nativity of Christ, for Easter and Lent) are included. The manuscript has 142 folio's in total. Each page is divided into two columns and counts 36 lines. The damage of the manuscript²⁹ is not mentioned by Ehrhard, but it is clearly

²⁷ For a detailed account on the depiction of emperor Trajan in the different martyria, see MacDiarmid (2022: 217-220).

²⁸ Smith (1986: 28-34) is reluctant towards the *Antiochene Acts*, since he believes that the martyrdom reflects the fourth-century dispute between Nicene and Homoian Christians in Antioch. Therefore, Smith argues that the Homoian community not only wrote the letters of the 'long recension' and found Ignatius' remnants, but also composed the *Roman Acts* in Alexandria to declare him to be an Homoian defender. MacDiarmid (2022: 205) counterarguments that the neighbourhood of Antioch is almost not accounted for in the text and further argues against a shared authorship between the *Roman* and the *Antiochene Acts*, because the text of the latter does not include elements of the 'long recension'.

²⁹ The damage is caused due to the fire in 1904 of which Funk-Diekamp (1913: LXX) reports that in the lower margins is very little information legible, since the library in Turin was ruined by a fire and this manuscript suffered damage by

visible (see figure 3) and makes some parts of the text difficult to read. No scholia or interlinear glossae are found in the *Martyrium of Ignatius*. On f. 12r, lines 11-12, traces of *rasurae* are noticeable.

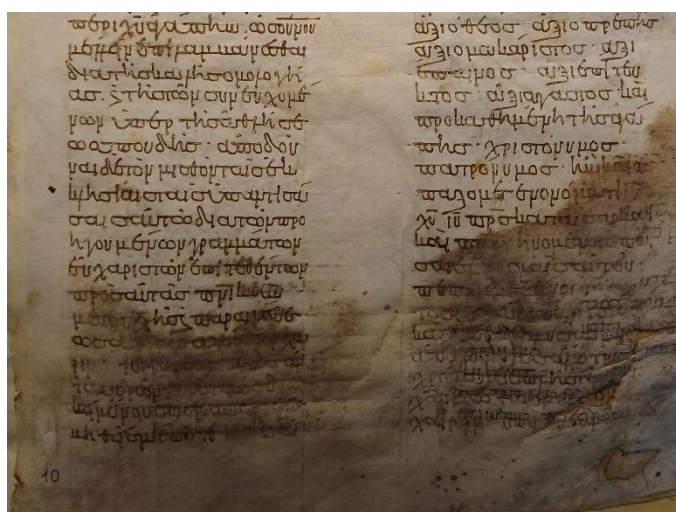


Figure 3: folium 10r with fragment of a reproduction, showing lines 19-36.

The manuscript begins with an oration of Theodoros Stoudites (759-826) about Christmas' eve (*In patriarchas et prophetas* or *Εἰς τὴν παραμονὴν [τῶν Χριστουγένων]*³⁰). The text ends on folio 8v on the first column, and on the second column of folio 8v, the *Martyrium of Ignatius* begins. Ehrhard (1937: *ibid.*) identifies the defective state of the *Taurinensis*, since the text of Ignatius' *Martyrium* is only preserved and transmitted until ἐπιθυμίαν on folio 12v. Afterwards, from f. 13r-18v the *Passio Anastasiae*³¹ is found. The writing style is the same for these three texts. Furthermore, the fact that the *Passio* starts at the second column of the verso-side provides another argument for dating the *Martyrium* together with the surrounding text, as opposed to the observations of Passini (1749: 174-175). Ehrhard (1937: 195) dates the

fire and water. Indeed, the fire of 1904 had a major impact, since it destroyed around 25.000 printed books and 1.500 manuscripts and damaged the surviving ones. For more general information on the fire of 1904 and the restauration of the manuscripts in the National library of Turin, see Porticelli (2020), Cachia (2020) and Elia (2020). The *Taur. C.I.10* is not explicitly mentioned in these articles.

³⁰ BHG 2356t, inc. τοῦ παμφαοῦς φωστήρος ἡλιοβολεῖν μέλλοντος ... Ehrhard (1937: 195) mentions that the *Taurinensis* begins in the middle of a text of which he does not have references, but ensures that this text was the first lecture on Κυριακὴ τῶν προπατόρων (i.e. a moveable feast day celebrated on the second Sunday before Christmas and commemorating the ancestors of Christ and Saint Mary, the grandmother of Theotokos). Furthermore, Fatouros (1992: 28) discusses Theodore Stoudites' works and includes the manuscript references to this work. The text is only found in the *Taurinensis* and in the eleventh-century manuscript *Par. gr. 755* (kept in BNF, Diktyon 50338) on folio 372r-380v. For a description of the Paris manuscript, see Ehrhard (1938: 225-226). For a description of the work of Theodoros Stoudites, see Kalamanos (2016: 507-509), but the text is not edited.

³¹ *Passio of Saint Anastasia of Sirmium*, celebrated on December 22 (BHG 76 γ-z; inc. Κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς (τοῦ παρανόμου καὶ ἀσεβοῦς) Διοκλητιανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως ...). Ehrhard (1937: 195) mentions that the hagiography is transmitted in the *Taurinensis* on folios 13v-18v and that the beginning of the *Passio* is missing. In general, there are 31 witnesses of this *Passio* (according to IRHT's *Pinakes*, last consulted on 25 July via [Pinakes | Πίνakes - Notice : Hagiographica, Anastasia v. m. Romae \(S.\), Passio 2 \(cnrs.fr\)](#)). Delehaye (1936: 250-258) published an edition, based on MSS the eleventh-century *Vat. gr. 866* (kept in the Vatican Library, Diktyon 67497) and the twelfth-century *Chig. R.VI. 039 (gr. 31)* (kept in the Vatican Library, Diktyon 65218) and he also gives an introduction to Saint Anastasia (Delehaye 1936: 151-171).

manuscript in the late ninth or the beginning of the tenth century. He also emphasizes that the date of Ignatius' *Martyrium* to the thirteenth century by Passini (1749: 174) is erroneous, although Funk-Diekamp (1913: LXX), Bihlmeyer (1970: XXXV, 96), Ehrman (2003: 216), Schoedel (1985: 4) and Sels (2023) also take over Passini's incorrect date. Ehrhard (1937: 195) stresses that "die Ausschmückung" supports his argumentation. Indeed, the script has round characteristics, sometimes with a thickening at the end of the stroke, which reminds of the bouletée minuscule. Furthermore, there is no indication of an imitation script of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, since the use of capital letters mixed with minuscule letters is not found. On the basis of these characteristics, the script is no imitation of the thirteenth century and has to be dated earlier.

2.1.2. How does the *Taurinensis* fit in the transmission history of the *Passio Ignatii*?

Høgel (2021: 31-32) states that most hagiographical accounts are preserved and transmitted in hagiographical collections within liturgical manuscripts, dating from the ninth to the fifteenth century. There are generally four sorts of liturgical collections in which hagiographical text can be found, including year collections (with special attention to those described by Ehrhard), *menologia*³² and collections with homilies and encomia (viz. *homiliaria* and *panegyrika*) (Høgel 2002: 39).

Only the *Taurinensis*, the *Codex Athen. gr. 1027* and the *Sin. gr. 519* consist of year collections³³, but the majority of the manuscripts transmitting the *Passio Ignatii* is part of a larger *menologium*³⁴. The other two Greek manuscripts (viz. *Ambros. gr. A 63* and *Ambros. gr. D 92 sup.*) are categorized by Ehrhard (1938: 130-131; 1952: 782-783) respectively as half year *panegyrika* and collections different from *menologia*, but neither the text of the *Passio Ignatii* nor his feast day are mentioned.

The *Taurinensis* transmits the *Passio Ignatii* together with other saints celebrated at the end of the month December, among which Anastasia (see footnote 27) and the Ten Martyrs of Crete³⁵. These saint's

³² The term *menologium* (Greek μηνολόγιον) indicates in general a collection of information organized chronologically according to the days of a month for an entire year. In the orthodox church in specific, *menologia* refer to collections typically comprising texts of feast days for the fixed church year and ordered chronologically starting on September 1 and ending on August 31 (Høgel 2002: 40). Furthermore, Høgel (2002: 41) clarifies that a *menologium* usually differs from a year collection, since the first needs one book per month, requires more books to execute liturgical obligations and was related to a rich institution or person. At the same time, a *menologium* offers the most complete version of the liturgical practice.

³³ Year collections span over the entire church year and incorporate texts on saints and for the dominical and Marian feast days. These texts are all ordered according to the fixed church year, but several liturgical text in these year collections are organized in line with the movable church calendar, such as the liturgies about Easter and Lent. As a consequence, the two sorts of texts follow each other in a seemingly illogical way, because every year the two systems would have been set up differently. Due to the combination of liturgical texts for fixed and movable events in one volume or two, a year collection consists of the most assembled hagiographic-homiletic collection and provides evidence of liturgical practices from smaller churches and monasteries. For that reason, all manuscripts have different selections and combinations of saints and homiletic orations (Høgel 2002: 40).

³⁴ *Istanbul, Hagias Triados 88* preserves a *menologium* for the month December and the manuscripts *Hieros. Sab 18, Par. gr. 1451* and *Par. suppl. gr. 1273* transmit *menologia* covering three months of the orthodox year (in this case, December until February).

³⁵ *Passio Martyres X in Creta*, BHG 1196, inc. Ἐχρῆν μὲν τῶν πράξεων τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔργω ...; celebrated at December 23. De'Cavalieri provides an introduction to the topic (1946: 7-28) and an edition (1946: 29-40), but he does not edit the *Taurinensis* (only *Hieros. Sab 18, Par. gr. 1451* and *Oxf. Bodl. Laudensis 69*).

lives are accompanied by the liturgical orations (i.e. a discourse written for and read during a liturgical ceremony) about the birth of Jesus Christ on December 25.

2.1.3. The transmission history of the Slavonic translation

Due to the early date of the *Taurinensis* (viz. late ninth or beginning of the tenth century), the text of the *Passio Ignatii* (and therefore also the *Letter to the Romans*) is not transmitted as a *corpus alienum*, since the script characteristics of Ignatius' *Martyrium* do not differ from the texts before or after. Moreover, this manuscript witness stands closer in time to its Greek original and the Latin translation, but in parallel, it is chronologically further removed from the copies of the Slavonic translation. This dating does not affect the preliminary conclusion of Sels (2023: 118) who concludes that the *Passio Ignatii* was translated into Slavonic at the latest in the thirteenth century, but probably earlier, as the earliest manuscript witness dates to the early fourteenth century.

The *Passio Ignatii* is in *H.644* (f. 70r-76r) surrounded by a compilation of saint's lives and sermons for the months of September to March (viz. a part of a year collection). The manuscript *V.33*, in turn, transmits the *Passio Ignatii* (f. 116v-120v) in a *menologium* consisting of a selection of saint's lives for December (Sels 2023: 98).

3. Philology

In this section, I focus on the philological evaluation of the differences between the Slavic versions and their Greek model by checking the editions (Funk-Diekamp, Bihlmeyer and Ehrman) to see how the history of the *Taurinensis* and its relationships with other Greek versions and with the Latin version can help us understand the history of Slavic translation itself.

A preliminary remark is the fact that the *Taurinensis* omits the end of paragraph one and the beginning of paragraph two. Moreover, the manuscript *V.33* omits regularly a couple of phrases. In this respect, Sels (2023: 99) concludes that all the witnesses of group two, the group to which *V.33* belongs, have large textual gaps due to a material deficiency in their common ancestor. In these cases, the comparison to the Slavonic witnesses will be limited solely to *H.644*.

3.1. The *Taurinensis* within the Greek tradition

3.1.1. Different recensions

The transmission history of both the *Letter to the Romans* and the LR of Ignatius' letters testify that collections of letters did not stand firm. But even within a letter, the text was not fixed in premodern cultures as the Byzantine one, which transmit texts through (the copies of) manuscripts. These elements set, therefore, the perfect atmosphere of a rewriting culture (Constantinou 2021: 6). Rewriting is thus not a literary genre, but "a mode employed for the production of texts belonging to all major premodern genres", including epistolography and hagiography (Constantinou 2021: 9). In the scholarship of Ignatius' letters, the question of the different recensions and authenticity stood central, although Bauer (2018: 93) argues that even the MR is a comprehensive revision of Ignatius' original letters. Brennecke (2018: 253) and Given (2022: 494), on their part, agree that there are traces of a redactional process of rephrase visible in the MR (for Ignatius' *Letter to the Romans* and *Letter to Polycarp* are the interventions not as profound as

in the other letters). Hence, previous scholarship tended to project versions of texts disregarding their functionality and use in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, since studies on Ignatius showed little interest in the concepts of rewriting or multiplicity within a tradition. The *Taurinensis* provides a combination of the MR and LR, which proves against the coherence as represented in the narrowed but traditional threefold recension model. The text of the *Letter to the Romans* in the *Taurinensis* is mainly based on the MR, but incorporates some of the characteristic expansions and textual variants related to the LR, which I have categorized in the following groups: additions (with and without reference to the *Bible*), word order, articles and particles, omissions and lastly, changes concerning wordform.

First, I discuss the expansions distinctive for the LR. Since Brennecke (2018: 256) points out that the LR consists of a considerable amount of quotations and allusions to the Scriptures and Eusebius of Caesarea's *Church History* supplemented to the text the MR in which those quotations were not yet available, I distinguished the additions to the MR with and without reference to the *Bible*. In this respect, Constantinou (2021: 6) draws attention to the fact that medieval authors built their narratives on sources comprising the *Bible* and writings of early Christian authors, since writing an original story matter was not their primary interest. Therefore, it is not surprisingly that textual interventions to the *Letter to the Romans* consisted of supplementing Biblical quotations, because they give an intertextual layer to the text indicating the importance of the *Bible* as the reference work par excellence and they also reinforce the already existing arguments (even to that extent that they claim authority and authenticity). For these reasons, it is worth mentioning that every time (i.e. six cases in total) when the revision of the LR refers or alludes to the *Bible*, the *Taurinensis* takes over this reading, whereas it does not adopt consistently all other augmentations without reference to the Scriptures.

In §2.5, the participle τρέχων reminds of 1 Cor. 9.24³⁶ and this reading is found in the Greek LR, the *Taurinensis* and the Metaphrast. In this sentence, Ignatius exhorts the Romans that if they keep silent, he will belong to God³⁷, while if they do not keep silent, but rather want his flesh, he will be running³⁸. The word τρέχων refers to the passage of 1 Cor. 9.24-27 in which Paul tells about a running competition in which only one athlete can win the prize. The apostle sees the contest as an exercise in self-control, with the sole difference being athletes (without having a true goal) striving to obtain the transient, while Christians pursue the imperishable. If Ignatius, thus, would continue running, he would stay as an athlete on the earth and he would not be able to accomplish his mission to achieve immortality and belong to God.

In §3.6, the phrase τὰ γὰρ φαινόμενα προσκαιρα· τὰ δὲ μὴ βλεπόμενα αἰῶνια was added to οὐδὲν φερόμενον αἰώνιον. It is a literal quotation from 2 Cor. 4.18³⁹, except for the substitution of βλεπόμενα by φαινόμενα, a variant reading distinctive for the *Taurinensis*. In this case, the text deviates from the reading of the *Bible* and creates a parallelism with the previous verb (φερόμενον) in the sentence. In his commentary to the second Pauline epistle to the Corinthians, Harris (2005: 364) points out that the difference between τὰ βλεπόμενα and τὰ μὴ βλεπόμενα should be interpreted as a relative contradiction

³⁶ Οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι οἱ ἐν σταδίῳ τρέχοντες πάντες μὲν τρέχουσιν, εἷς δὲ λαμβάνει τὸ βραβεῖον; οὕτως τρέχετε ἵνα καταλάβητε.

³⁷ ἐὰν τε γὰρ σιωπήσῃται ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ἐγὼ γενίσωμε θεοῦ (§2.4).

³⁸ ἐὰν δὲ ἐρασθῇτε τῆς σαρκὸς μου· πάλιν ἔσομε τρέχων (§2.5).

³⁹ μὴ σκοποῦντων ἡμῶν τὰ βλεπόμενα ἀλλὰ τὰ μὴ βλεπόμενα· τὰ γὰρ βλεπόμενα πρόσκαιρα, τὰ δὲ μὴ βλεπόμενα αἰῶνια. ("Because our eyes are fixed not on what can be seen, but on what cannot be seen; for what can be seen is transient, but what cannot be seen is eternal", translation Harris (2005: 363).

indicating that Paul was not strictly fixed on the things that could not be seen. Paul wanted to make clear that he felt attracted to long-lasting future and present (not yet entirely fulfilled) realities. Harris (2005: *ibid.*) further defines this antithesis as “a contrast between what is now seen by mortals and what is as yet hidden from mortal gaze because of human mortality and temporality” and not as an spatial opposition between time and timelessness. Thus, it not only creates a paradox that Christians focus their eyes on the invisible, but this discrepancy distinguishes Christians, since they do not depend their actions and attitude on the world of sense. Harris (2005: 365) discusses the content of the two categories according to Paul. The first group of the things that can be seen (τά βλεπόμενα) include the death of Jesus, the corps, mortal flesh and the external appearance, whereas to the second group (τά μὴ βλεπόμενα) belong concepts as the power of God, the resurrection, the soul and the eternal burden of glory. This Biblical interpretation fits Ignatius’ rhetoric perfectly. Before the discussed fragment in the *Letter to the Romans*, Ignatius said that if he would be considered a Christian, he also could be called one and hence could be found faithful, when he should be no longer visible to this world⁴⁰. Schoedel (1985: 173) argues that in this complicated line Ignatius wants to convey that he can only be a true disciple of God when he has died and the world no longer sees him. While nothing that appears is positive, only Christ truly arises after his death and proceeding to the Father. This thought implicates that Ignatius will disappear physically, when he dies, but he will also be freed from suspicion of not being a true Christian. Indeed, in the visible world Ignatius only appeared to be a Christian, but he could not prove he truly was.

The previous argument stating that quotations have an important role in adopting the LR readings is reinforced by the example of §6.3. The sentence τί γὰρ ὠφελεῖται ἄνθρωπος· ἐὰν κερδήσει τὸν κόσμον ὅλον· τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ζημιωθεῖ· (“What profit does it bring a man if he wins the whole world, but damages his soul?”) was added selectively to the MR rendering of the *Taurinensis*, since the following sentence of the LR without reference to the *Bible*⁴¹ was left out. The line of §6.3 is shared with the Greek LR and the Metaphrast version alluding to *Matthew* 16.26⁴², even though the *Taurinensis* stays closer to this gospel’s quote, since it substitutes the verb ἀπολέση by ζημιωθεῖ but omits αὐτοῦ before ἀπολέση⁴³. In the *Bible*, Matthew writes in his gospel (16.21-27) about Jesus’ announcement about His trip to Jerusalem, His approaching death and His advice to his apostles not to follow him so that they do not suffer the same fate. Matthew reports that Jesus said that anybody who wants to preserve His soul, will lose it and anybody who loses his life because of Jesus, will preserve it. With this argument, Jesus emphasizes that His disciples should follow Him in duty and glory and warns them neither to deny Him and corrupt their soul with earthly desires and possessions nor to decline a life in line with his precepts to prolong their temporal life. Instead, he rather encourages them to choose for the eternal happy existence by following Him and accept to bear the cross. In any case, Jesus will reward everyone according to their deeds, when He arises and returns with the angels and the glory of His Father. This passage is thus particularly interesting for a martyrism, since dying for Christ and the faith of Christianity would preserve the eternal life of the martyr. When the martyr accepts that his physical body pertaining to his momentary life may be killed by persecutors, he retains his

⁴⁰ ἐὰν γὰρ εὐρεθῶ. καὶ λέγεσθαι δύναμει· καὶ τότε πιστὸς εὐρεθῆναι. ὅταν κόσμῳ μὴ φαίνομε· (§3.5).

⁴¹ This sentence reads τὸν κύριον ποθῶ, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρός, Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστόν (§6.4).

⁴² τί γὰρ ὠφελήσεται ἄνθρωπος ἐὰν τὸν κόσμον ὅλον κερδήσῃ τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ζημιωθῇ;

⁴³ In the previous section (*Matthew* 16.25), the form ἀπολέση is used in the sentence ὃς δ’ ἂν ἀπολέσῃ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ εὕρήσει αὐτήν (“whoever loses his life because of me, will find it”). It is possible that the long recension took an excerpt of this phrase and combined it with the following section (*viz. Matthew* 16.26).

immortal soul constituting to his eternal existence and is recognized as a true disciple of God, which has the highest possible value in Christianity. This is also the case in Ignatius' *Letter to the Romans*: before the quotation, Ignatius says that it would be better for him to die in Jesus Christ than to rule all over the world⁴⁴ and afterwards, Ignatius admits that he seeks Jesus who died in our name and arose for us⁴⁵.

The incorporation of the quotation from the gospel of Matthew has as a consequence that the phrase of the MR (ὁ δὲ τοκετός μοι ἐπικείται, §6.5) no longer fits into the logical evolution of the narrative and is omitted. This is the only attestation of a deletion from the MR in the *Taurinensis*, a characteristic it has in common with the Greek LR.

Paragraph seven is remarkable for three Biblical references in three successive lines. The first one of §7.7 complements ἄρτον οὐράνιον· ἄρτον ζωῆς ("heavenly bread, bread of life") after ἄρτον θεοῦ θέλω ("I desire the bread of God"). It follows the Greek LR and the Metaphrast version. This addition can be made for stylistic reasons, creating a tricolon with bread (ἄρτον), to highlight its importance, and the repetition draws attention to the passage of John's gospel (6.31-32,48)⁴⁶, in which he discusses Jesus' Bread of Life Discourse (*John* 6.22-59). After Jesus' miracle of providing food to around five thousand men with only five loaf and two fish and his walk on the lake, Jesus spoke to the people that they should not seek for perishable food, but rather, for imperishable food of the Son offering eternal life. They remembered Mozes feeding bread to their ancestors, but Jesus corrected them that it was God who provided the heavenly bread. He continued saying that he is the bread of life (ἄρτον ζωῆς), since their ancestors have eaten *manna* in the desert and died. Anyone who eats His heavenly bread, on the contrary, will not die but will live eternally. To do this, the Son sacrifices His body, because anyone who eats from His body has eternal life inside and will be resurrected from death by Jesus. Ignatius, for his part, admits that he has no pleasure in perishable food nor in pleasures of this life⁴⁷ and therefore, he insists on seeking the everlasting life and the bread of God. The Greek words τροφῇ φθορᾶς ("the food of decay") probably reminded of a similar idea from a passage of John (6.27)⁴⁸ and inspired the author(s) of the LR to insert these quotations to verify Ignatius' words and deeds with Jesus' preaching.

The second Biblical reference seems also to be a commonplace for Jesus' genealogy, originating from David and Abraham (*Romans* 1.3, *Matthew* 1.1⁴⁹ and *Hebrews* 2.16⁵⁰). The MR only transmits that the bread is the flesh of Christ who comes from the seed of David⁵¹, whereas the Greek LR and Metaphrast version change this into οὗ γενομένου ἐν ὑστέρω ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ καὶ Ἀβραάμ and add τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ

⁴⁴ καλόν μοι ἀποθανεῖν εἰς Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ἢ βασιλεύειν τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς (§6.2).

⁴⁵ ἐκεῖνον ζητῶ· τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντα· ἐκεῖνον θέλω· τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς ἀναστάντα (§6.5).

⁴⁶ Ἄρτον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς φαγεῖν (*John* 6.31); εἶπεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, οὐ Μωϋσῆς δέδωκεν ὑμῖν τὸν ἄρτον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἀλλ' ὁ πατήρ μου δίδωσιν ὑμῖν τὸν ἄρτον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὸν ἀληθινόν· (*John* 6.32); ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ἄρτος τῆς ζωῆς (*John* 6.48). To this passage, Ignatius also refers in his *Letter to the Smyrneans* 6.2-7.1, when he discusses the interpretation of the Eucharist. Besides, the reference to Mozes (Μωϋσῆς) giving manna to the people of Israel reflects Exodus 16.

⁴⁷ οὐχ ἡδομαι τροφῇ φθορᾶς οὐδὲ ἰδοναῖς τοῦ βίου τούτου (§7.7).

⁴⁸ ἐργάζεσθε μὴ τὴν βρῶσιν τὴν ἀπολλυμένην ἀλλὰ τὴν βρῶσιν τὴν μένουσαν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

⁴⁹ Βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ υἱοῦ Δαυὶδ υἱοῦ Ἀβραάμ. ("Book of the origin of Jesus Christ, son of David and son of Abraham").

⁵⁰ οὐ γὰρ δήπου ἀγγέλων ἐπιλαμβάνεται, ἀλλὰ σπέρματος Ἀβραάμ ἐπιλαμβάνεται. ("[Jesus] does not lay hold of angels, but he lays hold of the seeds of Abraham").

⁵¹ ὃ ἐστὶ σὰρξ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ (§7.8).

θεοῦ after Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. The *Taurinensis* entirely takes over the former, while it only preserves τοῦ θεοῦ from the latter, suggesting that Jesus is God and not the Son. This is the third quotation of a Pauline letter, which seems to have a more prominent role in the LR, since §7.8 in Ignatius' *Letter to the Romans* is closely related to “περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ γενομένου ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ κατὰ σάρκα” of the preface of Paul's *Epistle to the Romans* (1.3). Instead of rigidly imitating Paul's phrase⁵², the author(s) of the LR tries/try to give an as accurate as possible description fusing some Biblical excerpts which contain the most detailed evidence concerning Jesus' origins. By elaborating on His genesis, there also appears a close parallel to Jesus and Ignatius: both are descendants from Abraham, and finding historical similarities sets the way open to draw parallels for the future. Indeed, Ignatius wants to die and to attain to God as an *imitatio Christi*. According to the Christian theology, only God, who creates the human beings, knows who they are. Christ, real God and real man, reveals to the humans who they actually are. So, the imitation of Christ (*imitatio Christi*) is, on the one hand, essential to go to paradise. In this sense, imitation means that you become “like Christ, who is God” by the grace of God. On the other hand, *imitatio Christi* means to properly live as a mere human being, because if I imitate someone, I ontologically become like the one I am imitating. And, if Jesus is a real God and the perfect prototype of men, I will become both God and a proper, perfect man. Hence, all hagiographers of saint's lives are stressing the imitation of Christ.

The last Biblical quotation in §7.9 comes from the *Old Testament* (2 Macc. 7.36⁵³). After having said that Ignatius wanted heavenly bread, he also expresses that he desires to drink his blood, which is imperishable love and eternal life⁵⁴. These last words (καὶ ἀένναος ζωῆς) pertain to the Greek LR and the Metaphrast version. This example is very striking, since the passage in 2 Maccabees 7 is the earliest account of a martyrdom of seven brothers and their mother, within the major story about the Jewish revolt against king Antiochus. In the *Letter to the Romans*, Ignatius seeks in dying for God his personal salvation, but this idea of the immortality of the soul was only introduced in the Hebrew *Bible* with 2 Maccabees, in which every son formulates his expectation of immortality (Assmann 2012: 54-55). The last surviving son articulates the statement in 2 Maccabees 7.36, after his mother conveyed her son towards martyrdom and after which he will endure the most severe and violent torture of all the sons decisively and with his head held high. The traditional Biblical notion, however, relies on the fulfilment of God's promises within distant history (viz. the future generations), not in the afterlife, whereas the martyr wants an immediate realization both of being rewarded in the beyond according to God's justice and of finding an eternal life for the soul. This conception on martyrdom is intertwined with the aspects on apocalypticism, which Assmann (2012: 55) defines as “an absolute and impatient expectation of the end of the present world and the coming of a new world”. Hereon, apocalypticists (including martyrs) place all their hopes, since arriving in a new world will free them from suffering and oppression in their present situation. So, Ignatius is linked by the use of this quotation to the earliest (prototypical) martyrs from the *Bible*, who in 4 Maccabees 8-18 are fashioned into a model of piety. Indeed, Ignatius proves his piety to God and Christianity by imitating this example.

⁵² For the influence and authority of the Pauline style, language and letters on Ignatius and for Ignatius' relationship with Paul, see Lindemann (2005), Mitchell (2006), Dauntton-Fear (2015) and Bauer (2019).

⁵³ οἱ μὲν γὰρ νῦν ἡμέτεροι ἀδελφοὶ βραχὺν ὑπενέγκαντες πόνον ἀνάου ζωῆς ὑπὸ διαθήκην θεοῦ πεπτώκασιν· σὺ δὲ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ κρίσει δίκαια τὰ πρόστιμα τῆς ὑπερηφανίας ἀποίση. (“These our brothers, after enduring a brief pain, have now drunk of ever-flowing life, in terms of God's covenant, but thou shalt receive by God's judgment the just penalty of thine arrogance”, translation Assmann (2012: 54)).

⁵⁴ καὶ πόμα θεοῦ θέλω τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ. ὃ ἐστὶν ἀγάπη ἁφθαρτος καὶ ἀένναος ζωῆς (§7.9).

Furthermore, this citation connects the discourse about the Eucharist and the immortal afterlife of the *New Testament* (as found in §7.8-9) to the *Old Testament*, in which these topics are only prominently presented in the Maccabean story.

To conclude, the use of quotations in the *Letter to the Romans*⁵⁵ makes the LR distinctive from the MR. At the same time, it embeds the arguments more profoundly into the Christian theology and creates an intertextual dialogue in which Ignatius becomes part of the larger tradition of martyrs. The semantic importance of these citations can hardly be overestimated.

In a couple of cases, groups of words are inserted without explicit reference to the *Bible*. In §1.2 τοῦ θεοῦ was appended after θέλημα in the *Taurinensis*, which shares this reading with the Metaphrast version, but not with the Greek LR. In §4.1 the adjective πάσαις is added to ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, maybe for stylistic reasons (viz. parallelism) or clarification, because the continuation reads καὶ ἐντέλλομε πᾶσιν (“we gave instructions to all [the churches]”). The *Taurinensis* shares this reading with the Greek LR. Furthermore, the verbform γενήσομαι was placed between ἀπελεύθερος and Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (§4.10) to indicate that if Ignatius suffers, he will not be immediately a freed person belonging to Jesus Christ, but rather become one. In this respect, the emphasis lays on the process from starting point to end (viz. a change of state and a new state of being), but not only on the end result as would be the case if a verb was missing and ἔστιν or ἔσται would be presumed. In §4.11⁵⁶, the words κοσμικὸν ἢ μάταιον were added to specify that Ignatius is not without purpose and does indeed desire something (viz. die as a martyr and ascend to God to be a true Christian), but nothing perishable as earthly and vain things. Here, the *Taurinensis* follows the Greek LR, but it does not render ἐν αὐτῷ before δεδεμένος. The last example of an augmentation is found in §5.9⁵⁷, where after συστάσεις the words ἀνατομαί· διαιρέσης· are added in the list of horrible things to encounter (i.e. fire, cross, wild beasts, corporal torture and evil torments of the devil). Indeed, in return for attaining to God Ignatius preaches to endure all these sufferings. In the same passage, the *Taurinensis* also changes συγκοπή to συγκοπαί, a variant reading shared with the Greek LR.

The previous example already introduced the next category of changes concerning word-form (five cases) and word-choice (nine cases) to assimilate the rendering of the *Taurinensis* to the LR. Regarding to word-form, there are no outstanding changes of meaning. In §3.1, the *Taurinensis* (together with the Greek LR and the Metaphrast version) preserves οὐδενί, indicating that the Roman community was not grudging against anyone, while the Jerusalem codex and the *Par. gr. 1451* transmit οὐδένα, articulating that they did not have envy to something. In this case, the reading of the *Taurinensis* is more coherent, since the next part reads ἄλλους ἐδιδάξατε also denoting persons. The example of §5.2 shows that the *Taurinensis* renders the adjective στρατιωτικόν as a complement to τάγμα (“troop of soldiers”), like the Greek LR and the Metaphrast version. The other Greek manuscripts, in turn, attest στρατιωτῶν as a complement to τάγμα in the genitive case, without a distinctive semantic difference. In §7.2, there is no specific semantic distinction between the dative case ἐμοί (preserved in the *Taurinensis*, Greek LR and Metaphrast version) and the genitive case ἐμοῦ as a complement to γένεσθε to express “be on my side”. The last example of the change

⁵⁵ On more detailed studies about the use of Biblical quotations in Ignatius’ letters, see Foster (2005) and in the *Apostolic Fathers*, see Gregory & Tuckett (2005).

⁵⁶ νῦν μανθάνω δεδεμένος μηδὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν κοσμικὸν ἢ μάταιον.

⁵⁷ πῦρ καὶ σταυρὸς θηρίων τε συστάσεις, ἀνατομαί, διαιρέσεις, σκορπισμοὶ ὁστέων, συγκοπαί μελῶν, ἄλεσμοὶ ὅλου τοῦ σώματος.

in word-form (§7.6) points to a difference between a participle λέγον (transmitted in the Metaphrast version) and the indicative mood λέγει (preserved in the *Taurinensis* and the Greek LR). The former is paralleled with the participle λαλοῦν as a conjunct to its subject ὁ δὲ ζῶν, whereas the latter is the main verb of the sentence and has a more accurate reading.

Relating to the changes in word-choice, five instances retain different textual interpretations, the other four deal either with theological replacements (§4.4, §4.7) or synonyms (§4.3). Already in the second line of the preface, the *Taurinensis* (and the Greek LR) substitute the reading of the MR (ἡγαπημένη, “beloved”) with ἡγιασμένη (“sanctified”). These participles used as adjectives define the word “church” (ἐκκλησίᾳ) and the semantic difference between loved by God and sanctified by God are of theological nature. Nevertheless, they both show God’s positive attitude towards the church. The variant reading of §1.1 probably originates from the polysemic meanings of ἀξιόθεα (“worthy of God”, “worth seeing”) and then was replaced by the unconfusing form ἀξιοθέατα (“worth seeing”). Furthermore, the *Taurinensis* and the Metaphrast version transmit ἀκόντα (§5.6), while the Greek LR reads ἐκόντα. Although antonyms, the meaning of this passage does not change considerably, since Ignatius’ persistence is firmly expressed in the main clause. The former points out that Ignatius will force the wild beasts if they do not want to devour him willingly, while the latter indicates that Ignatius will compel them if they do not consume him reluctantly. So, in any way, Ignatius’ desire to be devoured is so immersive that he will do whatever it takes to be devoured by the wild animals. In §6.1, the *Taurinensis* and the Metaphrast version have the reading τερπνᾶ (“pleasant things”), whereas the Greek LR preserves πέρατα (“borders”) so that the interpretation of this sentences changes completely. The latter points to the ascetic attitude of declining power and possession including the reign over the world, while the former goes even further in this ascetic attitude by rejecting the pleasures of the world and rulership. Finally, in §7.4, the *Taurinensis* and the Metaphrast version preserve πείσθητε (“be persuaded”), whereas the Greek LR reads πιστεύσατε (“believe”). The reading of πείσθητε seems more convincing in this context, because on the one part it constitutes a parallel with μηδὲ πείσθητέ in the previous phrase, and on the other, if the Roman community is persuaded by Ignatius’ letter, they will also act according to Ignatius’ wish.

Only in two clearly readable cases (§1.4, §2.8), the *Taurinensis* took over the word order from the Greek LR against that of the MR. In §1.4, the *Taurinensis* transmits ἀγάπην ὑμῶν, together with the Greek LR, whereas the MR and Metaphrast version render ὑμῶν ἀγάπην. According to the Classical Greek grammar, the differences between these two readings lay in the aspect. The former stands in the attributive position and expresses a quality (“love of mine”), whereas the latter stands in the predicative position and solely describes the word (“my love”) which has usually less emphasis. In §2.8, the *Taurinensis* probably reads κατηξίωσεν ὁ θεός, since only half the verbform is clearly readable. The Greek MR and the Metaphrast version render ὁ θεός κατηξίωσεν. Even though Ancient Greek does not have a fixed word-order, stylistic and semantic differences can be noted between varying sequences. However, there are too many parameters of what the author wanted to communicate, that I cannot draw decisive conclusions about this fragment.

One instance, in which the *Taurinensis* (§2.7) reverses its word-order against the Greek LR and the Metaphrast version, is very striking. The former renders ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, while the latter reads ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ (“in Christo Iesu”). Similarly to the use of quotations, the LR suggests also here Pauline language, as the TLG attests only 99 usages of Christ Jesus are found in the *New Testament* of which 93 belong to Paul’s

Epistles and of which 50 record the prepositional phrase ἐν with a dative case (viz. ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ)⁵⁸. Additionally, in line seven of the preface, Sels (2023: 110) already noticed the inversion of word order in the *Taurinensis* (Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ), supported by a parallel reading in the Slavonic translation.

Concerning the category of articles and particles, I made a separate list, because the Latin and Old Slavonic languages do not know the use of articles and the Old Slavonic displays an irregular use of particles. These changes are not of primary interest when comparing the Greek text transmitted in the *Taurinensis* and the Slavonic translation. Hence, they are only briefly discussed. In most of the instances where variation between the manuscripts occurs, the particles in the *Taurinensis* follow the Greek LR (§1.2, §2.4, §2.6, §5.10) and the articles in the *Taurinensis* comply with the Greek LR (§4.5, §5.10, §10.3). Only in two lines (viz. §5.4, §9.3), the *Taurinensis* follows a reading against the Greek LR, respectively rendering καὶ against ἃ καὶ (LR) and οὐδὲ γάρ against οὐ γάρ (LR). The most remarkable findings were §1.3 and §1.5, in which the *Taurinensis* follows partly the Greek LR which provide τὸ in both cases against respectively an omission and τοῦ (in the codices of Jerusalem and Sinae, the *Par. gr. 1451*, the *Monac. gr. 394* and the Metaphrast version).

3.1.2. Variant readings distinctive for the *Taurinensis*

In this section, I discuss the variant readings that only occur in the *Taurinensis*. This analysis aligns with the argument of Given (2022: 487) who proves using the Coptic translation that the MR in one language or tradition is internally divers and complicated and not so straightforward as represented in editions. Similarly to the previous part, I distinguished the following three groups of textual variants compared to the Greek tradition transmitting Ignatius' *Letter to the Romans*: word choice, word-order and word-form. Even though not all readings display a remarkable semantic difference, they are significant from a text-critical perspective. This observation also applies to the examples of the previous section.

To begin, in the first line of the preface, the conjunction καὶ was probably due to its abbreviated form incorrectly interpreted as πνεύματος, with the very similar *nomen sacrum* πᾶς, as mentioned in the introduction (1.2.1.3). As a result, the Holy Trinity is mentioned in an asyndeton, rather than God and Jesus alone. Additionally, in a series of compounds expressing Ignatius' praise to the Church of Rome, the *hapax legomenon* ἀξιόαγνος ("worthy of being consecrated") is replaced in the *Taurinensis* by ἀξιαγαστος ("admirable, astonishing") in the fourth line of the preface. The aspect of consecration and holiness as expressed in ἀξιόαγνος is not present in ἀξιαγαστος and makes the meaning of the substitution less strong in a religious context. In this respect, Schoedel (1985: 166) remarks that although the list of adjectives seems exaggerated, Ignatius' laudatory attitude relates with the key function of the city to let him attain to God since the apostolic Church of Rome had to play a crucial role to favour Ignatius' glorious march to death. In continuation of the enumeration of compounds, in line five of the preface, the *Taurinensis* has the variant reading χριστόνυμος ("in the name of Christ"), against χριστόνομος ("in the law of Christ"). The alternative of the *Taurinensis* shapes the adjective χριστόνομος depending on ἐκκλησίᾳ (line 2) to resemble the next word πατρόνυμος ("in the name of God"). More information on the formation of compound words will be

⁵⁸ Novenson (2012) studies the theological implications of placing Christ before Jesus and its use in Paul in relation to the traditional language in ancient Judaism. Morgan (2020) examines the pragmatics and semantics of the phrase "in Christ" in Pauline Epistles concluding that Paul uses the phrase with richness and complexity to build his narration of the relationship between God, Christ and the faithful through the instrumental and *encheirismatic* meaning of the prepositional phrase ἐν with dative case.

provided in section 4.1. Furthermore, Christianity is not a matter of persuasion (πεισμονῆς, §3.8), but rather of greatness, while the *Taurinensis* reads that Christianity is not a work of satiety (πλησμονῆς, §3.8). In §3.5 and §4.5 a similar change can be observed: in the former εἶναι is substituted by εὐρεθῆναι in the *Taurinensis* and in the latter γένωμαι is also replaced by a form of εὐρίσκω, namely εὐρεθήσωμε. Moreover, the *Taurinensis* changes the adverb “in a short time” (either σύντομά or συντόμως in the traditional renderings) into ἔτοιμά (“ready”) in §5.4. So, in this line, Ignatius does not pray that the wild beast would act quick with him, but that they would be found ready for him. The reading of the *Taurinensis*, therefore, stresses more the willingness of the animals to devour him, because they were sometimes terrified by the environmental noises and enthusiasm that they did not touch their targeted victims (οὐχ ὥσπερ τινῶν δειλαινόμενα οὐχ ἤψαντο, §5.5). The reaction of the martyr (including Ignatius) to that situation would be to exhort them to devour him quickly (ἄ καὶ κολακεύσω συντόμως με καταφαγεῖν, §5.5). The other reading creates a stylistic parallel with συντόμως on the next line (§5.5) and rather stresses the time span. In addition, in §10.2 the *Taurinensis* transmits παθητόν against ποθητόν so that it does not designate that the name of his companion Crocus is dear to him, but rather that Crocus’ name is subject to suffering. Schoedel (1985: 191) comments on the word ποθητόν that Ignatius uses the same formula in his *Letter to the Smyrneans* 13.2 and *Letter to Polycarp* 8.3. It is a common second-century compliment but it only has meaning when Crocus had to carry the letter to Rome before Ignatius arrived there. In the same line, the word ἐπεγνώκεναι (“observe”) is also replaced by ἀπεγνώκεναι (“give up an intention”) in the *Taurinensis*. For that reason, the *Taurinensis* generates the interpretation that Ignatius believes that the Roman community has given up their hopes in the preceding martyrs, whereas the other reading indicates that the Roman community already knew the earlier martyrs. Finally, the *Taurinensis* reads μένοντα (§10.3) against με ὄντα.

Concerning word-form, the *Taurinensis* uses seven times a form changed in inflection or conjugation as evidenced in §4.6 by οὐδὲν τοῦ σώματός μου against οὐδὲ τὸ σῶμά μου and χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ against τοῦ Χριστοῦ in the Greek MR and Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ in the Greek LR. A line before (in §4.5), the *Taurinensis* transmits βάρος against βαρύς, although the other two forms (ἔμοι against μοι and μῆδε against μῆ) differ mainly in expressing emphasis. In § 6.7, the *Taurinensis* preserves χαρίσσηται against χαρίσσηθε and similarly the *Taurinensis* has the form παράσχητε in §2.6, although the verb παρέχω has many textual variations in this line as listed in Bihlmeyer’s apparatus. The last example of §9.1 demonstrates that the article of genitive construction τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ ἐκκλησίας, which functioned as a complement to the verb μνημονεύετε (“remember the church in Syria”), is changed into a dative case τῇ. As a consequence, this line can be read without a direct object, but with the phrase as an elaboration on the prayer προσευχῇ in the dative case (“remember in your prayer, the one of the church in Syria”). In this respect, Schoedel (1985: 189) remarks that in the concluding words of Ignatius’ letters, the encouragement to remember the church in Syria is recurrent, to that extent that Ignatius cannot consider his own fate without associating it to the church of Antioch.

Within the category of word-order, four shifts are found. In §3.2⁵⁹, κάκεῖνα is brought forward to clarify its role as subject of the final clause introduced by ἵνα and as the antecedent of the relative clause introduced by ὃ. The punctuation, as discussed in 1.2.1.3, supports this argument. In §4.6, the *Taurinensis* transmits ἀληθεῖς (= ἀληθῆς), which defines μαθητῆς (“true disciple”), after χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, against the

⁵⁹ ἐγὼ δὲ θέλω, κάκεῖνα· ἵνα βαίβῃς ἢ· ὃ μαθητεύοντες ἐντέλλεσθαι. (“I simply want also those things which you command when you make disciples so that they stand firm”).

reading of ἀληθῆς directly following μαθητῆς. The textual variant of §4.9 is rather exceptional, since it reverses the traditional sequence of μέχρι νῦν into νῦν μέχρι. Lastly, in the quotation of Matthew's gospel (§6.3), the *Taurinensis* places τὸν κόσμον ὅλον after the verb κερδήσει, whereas the LR reading puts the accusative before κερδήσει.

In Bihlmeyer's apparatus, however, four incorrect variants of the *Taurinensis* are included. Already in line two of the preface, the *Taurinensis* follows the traditional reading of τὰ πάντα instead of ἀπάντα. Furthermore, in §4.2, the particle οὖν does not come after παρακαλῶ in the *Taurinensis* and in §6.1 renders the *Taurinensis* με instead of μοι. Bihlmeyer also duplicates a syllable in §8.7 when he reads ἐμημίσαται instead of ἐμησίσαται and finally, in §9.1 the *Taurinensis* has the regular reading μνημονεύετε (for μνημονεύετε) instead of the variant μνημονεύσεται.

3.1.3. Relation with the old Latin version

In this section, I compare the *Taurinensis* with the old Latin version (a.k.a. Latin MR), since Bihlmeyer (1970: XXXVI) remarks in his edition that the corresponding readings of the *Taurinensis* and the Latin MR in particular are noteworthy. This Latin recension, which is believed to reflect an ancient state of the Greek text, is known through the so-called 'Anglo-Latin' version probably translated in the thirteenth century.

The codex 247 of Tours (thirteenth century) contains an annotation at the first two lines of the left column on folio 483r in which is written that Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, has translated this letters from Greek into Latin⁶⁰. This codex contains four spurious letters of Ignatius, only attested in Latin. From this information, Lightfoot (1885: 76-78) concluded that (1) Robert Grosseteste⁶¹ (c. 1186-1253) was involved in the translation process, either as a mediator commissioning someone else to translate the letters from Greek to Latin or as a translator himself and (2) that the four spurious letters of the Tours codex were added to the collection of twelve letters in the Anglo-Latin version and the scribe of the Tours codex took over this annotation about Robert. But Lightfoot was not the first to find about this Latin version. Usher (footnote 6) noticed in the seventeenth century that medieval English writers like Grosseteste (bishop from 1235-1253), John Tyssington and William Wodeford (both late fourteenth century) cited in Latin a different version of Ignatius' letters than his contemporaries. It not only was more abbreviated and limited to a corpus of seven letters as mentioned by Eusebius, but it even corresponded to the plentiful citations of Eusebius and Theodoret of Cyrrhus (Brent 2007: 6). In reaction to this discovery, Usher found two Latin manuscripts⁶² preserving the so-called MR which he used for his edition and which Funk-Diekamp also incorporated for their revised edition. The *Letter to the Romans* was also embedded in the *Passio*

⁶⁰ "Has epistulas transtulit de greco in latinum magister robertus grossa testa linconiensis episcopus".

⁶¹ Robert Grosseteste was a well-known scholastic intellectual and translated many Greeks books into Latin. In his writings, he mentions Ignatius' words, from which was concluded that Robert was the first one to use this Latin version. The fact that this version knew only a limited spread in England supports the attribution to Grosseteste. For a general introduction to his life and works, see McEvoy (1994) and (2000). For his scientific importance and his Greek scholarship, see Cunningham and Hocknull (2016) and McEvoy (1998). For his contribution to the scholarship of Ignatius, see Lookadoo (2020).

⁶² Codex *Caiensis* 395, an handwriting from 1444, donated by the intellectual Walter Crome. It is kept in the Gonville and Caius College at Cambridge. The other is codex *Montacutianus* (now lost and of undetermined age) pertaining to the library of Richard Montagu, bishop of Norwich. The Dublin codex 781 (*D.3.11*), kept in the Trinity College in Dublin, is Usher's notebook and contains a transcript of the Codex *Caiensis* 395 as well as interlinear notes of the variant readings of the now lost codex *Montacutianus*.

Ignatii. Furthermore, Funk and Diekamp (1913: LVI) note that the text is a word-for-word translation retaining the same word-order as the exemplar so that we have a prove of a Greek codex translated with Latin words as for example in §5.8 with ζηλῶσαι rendered as its Latin loanword “zelare”. This feature immediately stands out in a comparison between the *Taurinensis* and the Latin MR and can be exemplified by various instances of which I illustrate three outstanding ones. In §8.3, the Latin MR transmits “per paucas literas deprecor vos; credite mihi” as a literal rendering of δι’ ὀλίγων γραμμάτων αἰτοῦμε ὑμᾶς. πιστεύσαταί μοι (§8.3) from the *Taurinensis*. The Latin MR shows a pattern of not delivering the textual expansions of the LR readings, as it becomes clear from this line. in which the Greek and Latin LR complement μὴ παραιτήσῃ με το αἰτοῦμε ὑμᾶς (“I ask you not to deprecate me”) and “ὅτι τὸν Ἰησοῦν φιλῶ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ παραδοθέντα το πιστεύσαταί μοι (“Trust me that I love Jesus who delivers judgment about me”). The same verbatim translation is witnessed in §4.2 and §4.4. In the first case, the Latin MR reads “deprecor vos, non concordia intempestiva fiatis mihi” as a perfect equivalence of παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς μὴ εὐνοια ἄκαιρος γένισθαί μοι from the *Taurinensis* and the Greek LR. In this respect, these three sources coincide with the Slavonic translation (discussed in section 3.2.3), as well as the fragment of example of §4.4. Herein, the *Taurinensis* and the Latin MR are paralleled against the Greek LR. The *Taurinensis* preserves σῖτός ἡμῖ θεοῦ καὶ δι’ ὀδόντων θηρίων ἀλήθομε ἵνα καθαρὸς ἄρτος εὑρεθῶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ and the Latin MR translates “frumentum sum Dei, et per dentes bestiarum molar, ut mundus panis inveniar Christi”. These last two examples demonstrate that the relationship between the Latin MR, the *Taurinensis* and the Greek LR is very striking. Only in two cases, the *Taurinensis* transmits a variant reading common to the Latin MR (ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ together with “in Iesu Christo”, §2.7 and τοῦ Χριστοῦ shared with “Christi”, §4.4). The Latin MR, however, does not correspond to the variant readings distinctive for the *Taurinensis* and although the Latin MR does not adopt any of the textual expansions of the LR, it generally corresponds to the variant readings of the Greek LR⁶³. For shared textual alternatives, the counter is on six⁶⁴.

This analysis showed that the *Taurinensis* from a text-critical perspective stands closely to the rendering of the Latin MR (and Greek LR). Both the dating to the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century and the corresponding readings with the Latin MR help us to understand the origins of the text of the *Taurinensis*. In previous editions of the *Letter to the Romans* with only a narrow selection of incorporated witnesses, the attention was primarily drawn on the cluster of the Jerusalem and Sinai codices and the *Par. gr. 1451*, probably originating from a common *hyparchetypus* (Funk-Diekamp 1913: LXXI). The rigid categories of the different recensions and the variant readings of the *Taurinensis* let Funk-Diekamp (1913: *ibid.*) to the conclusion that the *Taurinensis* was an outsider in the Greek tradition. These classifications, however, provided a distorted picture, especially when the Slavonic translation is taken into account (see section 3.2.3).

⁶³ Relating to word-order, the Latin MR follows the Greek LR in three cases, i.e. the seventh line of the preface (Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ; “Iesu Christo”), §9.3 (εἰμι ἄξιος; “sum dignus”), §10.3 (ἐστὶν ὑμῖν; “est vos”); As word-choice concerns, they correspond in eight cases, namely §1.2 (θέλημα; “voluntas”), §4.1 (omission of the personal pronoun), §4.3 (ἔστιν; “est”), §5.6 (ἐκόντα; “volentem”), §6.1 (πέρατα; “termini”), §6.2 (διὰ; “propter”), §7.9 (πόμα; “potum”), §10.2 (προσελθόντων; “advenientibus”) and two times regarding word-form (line 7 from the preface with πάση ἐντολῇ and “in omni mandato” and §8.5 with ἀληθῶς and “vere”).

⁶⁴ §1.4 and §2.8 have common word-order, §4.10-11 (γενήσομαι, δεδέμενος) and §5.2 (στρατιωτικόν; “militaris”) opts for the same word-choice and the form λέγει corresponds to “dicit” in §7.6.

3.2. The *Taurinensis* and the Slavonic translation of *H.644* and *V.33*

3.2.1. Different recensions

Concerning the quotations and omissions, the Slavonic takes over all the instances of the *Taurinensis* (§2.5, §6.3, §6.5, §7.7-9) except one (§3.6), which also renders the LR, but does not translate a distinction between φαίνόμενα and βλέπόμενα. Here, neither *H.644* nor *V.33* can inform us about their Greek model. Only in §7.8, the Slavonic translation shows two differences. *H.644* renders жива (“alive”) which has no Greek equivalent instead of the reading τοῦ θεοῦ, whereas *V.33* follows entirely the reading of the *Taurinensis*, translating the genitive “of God” with ѿ. Secondly, *H.644* omits the Greek ἐν ὑστέρω, but *V.33* renders it as послѣже. For this line, *V.33* has the primary reading.

The additions without a Biblical reference in the Slavonic translation (§1.2, §4.1, §4.10-11, §5.8-9) also follow closely the readings of the *Taurinensis*, but some versions show little variation. In the second case (§4.1), for example, *H.644* adds the preposition къ probably to clarify the addressee of the letter. This insertion is presumably secondary and has no semantic difference to the reading of *V.33* rendering азъ пишюу всѣмъ црѣвамъ. In the following two lines, not every Greek word has been translated: in §4.8, *H.644* – as opposed to the *V.33* reading мир’ноу и – does not render the Greek κοσμικόν ἥ and only transmits нѣѡ выюгю свезанъ нигѡже соуѣтно похотѣти (“I learn now, being in chains, not to desire anything vain”). Subsequently, in §5.8, *H.644* and *V.33* only translate ὁρατῶν (and not καὶ ἀωράτων), but *H.644* renders the Greek μηδὲν ὁρατῶν most literally with нигѡже in the neuter form and the depending dative видимыхъ. Here, the construction of a *dativus cum infinitivo* is used, since the optative ζηλώσαι (used to express a wish) was interpreted as an infinitive. The last example in this series (§5.9) shows that in *H.644*, the Greek συστάσεις is rendered as the dative plural звѣремъ, maybe due to the phonological confusion of Greek iotacism. In this case the nominative plural συστάσεις is meant, but the dative plural of the first declension ends in -οις (with the same pronunciation). By contrast, *V.33* has the nominative plural звѣрини like the *Taurinensis*. Further in the sentence, the *V.33* reading also renders the Greek συγκοπαὶ and ἄλεσμοὶ more closely, since it displays the respective nouns съсѣчениѡ and съмленниѡ in the nominative plural (in contrast to *H.644*, which renders the words in singular, i.e. съсѣчениѡ and съмленниѡ and therefore stays closer to the LR versions).

The Slavonic translation (§3.1, §5.2, §7.2, §7.6) has also the same changes in word-form as the *Taurinensis*. However, in §5.2, *H.644* uses the adjective воинскъ defining чинъ (“troops of soldiers”) and stays close to the *Taurinensis* rendering στρατιωτικὸν τάγμα. *V.33*, on the contrary, has the substantive воинъ, a synonym of воинъ (“soldier”) and a translation for the Greek στρατιώτης (“soldier”), but preserves рек’ше instead of ꙗже ꙗ чинъ. The reading of *V.33* is thus secondary.

Concerning to word-choice, the picture of the Slavonic translation is more divided. In four cases (§1.1, §4.3, §4.7, §5.6), the Slavonic version cannot inform us about its Greek model-text. The Slavonic translation (both *H.644* and *V.33*) renders достоудимаѡ (§1.1), but this word can be a rendering of ἀξιόθεα (in the sense “worth of seeing” and the Greek variant reading ἀξιοθέατα). In §4.3, the word звѣремъ can be a translation for βορρᾶν and βρῶμα, both derived from the Greek verb βιβρώσκω (“to eat”). Further in the paragraph (§4.7) is the variation between Χριστὸν and κύριον very common in *nomina sacra* that this difference from the *Taurinensis* is less relevant in Slavonic. In the fourth example (§5.6), ἐκόντα or ἀκόντα is omitted in *H.644* and this line is not preserved in *V.33*. The other four instances (§4.4, §6.1, §7.4 and line

two of the preface) follow the word-choice of the *Taurinensis* and the LR literally, even though V.33 has a secondary insertion of the possessive pronoun $\mu\omicron\mu\epsilon\mu\omicron\gamma$ ("mine") specifying $\chi\omicron\varsigma$ ("Christ").

Instances in which the Slavonic translation renders a different recension (against the *Taurinensis*) are also found. In the first line of the preface, the LR $\mu\omicron\nu\omicron\gamma\epsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ (“the only-begotten”) against $\mu\omicron\nu\omicron\upsilon$ (MR) and both *H.644* and *V.33* translate it as єДИНΟΥЄДІНО .

The adoption of variant readings of the *Taurinensis* could indicate that the manuscripts transmitting the Slavonic translation and the *Taurinensis* had a common ancestor. I maintain the same categories as in the discussion of the variant readings distinctive for the *Taurinensis* (section 3.1.2).

Concerning word-form, the changes in Greek are not always significant or distinguishable in Slavonic, as in §2.6, §4.5, §6.7, §9.1. In the last one, the article τῇ is not maintained as opposed to the genitive construction. *H.644* connects with the conjunction и the genitive phrase συριακῶν κυρίων (“of the Syrian church”) to въ мѣстѣ вашѣи (“in your prayer”) like the *Taurinensis*. *V.33* in turn, renders поминайте въ молитвѣхъ асиринскою цркви, in which the genitive case serves as a complement to the verb поминайте (“remember”). The compound adjective χριστόνυμος is retained in the Slavonic translation (*H.644* reads [хв]и. именины and *V.33* has хтоименины). In §4.6, only *V.33* renders the genitive ни τῆλα analogous to οὐδὲν τοῦ σώματός in the *Taurinensis*, whereas *H.644* preserves the accusative ни тѣло. In the same line, the reading of Christ is insignificant, since the Slavonic uses a standard formula, which does not say anything about the text used as a model for the translation. Finally, the position of ἀληθῆς after Christ’s mention is preserved in *H.644* and *V.33* (по истинѣ). In §3.2 and §6.3, *H.644* takes over the two variant readings of the *Taurinensis* being the word order приносѣти въ миръ corresponding to κερδήσει τὸν κόσμον ὅλον and ѿщѣтитъ for ζημιωθεῖ), while *V.33* only preserves ѿщѣтитъ. So, the word-order has been taken over in three of the four cases, since the reverse of μέχρι νῦν cannot be observed in the Slavonic single-word доєхлѣ

(§4.9).

Instances in which the Slavonic translation does not follow the reading of the *Taurinensis* are also attested. First, there are a couple of omissions of ἐπιγραφῆναι (§2.3) of ἐκὼν before ὑπὲρ θεοῦ (§4.1), of πάθους (§6.8) and of παρὼν (§7.4), which mostly indicate modifications to simplify the text. Furthermore, in §7.2, the Slavonic translation renders the infinitive быти for γένεσθε, as I already explained in the introduction. Lastly, paragraph ten is very interesting, since it does not follow the *Taurinensis* in three cases. In the *Taurinensis*, only the phrase ἐμοὶ Κρόκος is preserved and transmitted, as opposed to the phrase ἐμοὶ σὺν πολλοῖς καὶ ἄλλοις Κρόκος in the other Greek manuscripts and *H.644* (и съ инѣми многѣми крѣ[о]къ). In the same line, *H.644* transmits възлюбленіе as a translation of ποθητὸν against the reading of παθητὸν in the *Taurinensis*. Additionally, in the next line, *H.644* opts for ме ѡгъща as a parallel to με ὄντα (and not μένοντα, the reading of the *Taurinensis*).

3.1.3. Relation with the old Latin version

Sels (2023: 120) notices that the agreement of the *Taurinensis* and the Latin MR also has implications for the Slavonic translation. Therefore, a closer look to the relationship between these three resources is necessary.

As already mentioned in section 3.1.3, the two examples of paragraph four (viz. §4.2 and §4.4) showed the agreement of the *Taurinensis*, Latin MR and the Slavonic translation. Indeed, in §4.2, both *H.644* and *V.33* transmit молю вы не боудѣте ми приазнь безоум'на corresponding to the Latin MR “deprecor vos, non concordia intempestiva fiat mihi”. The same applies to §4.4 in which the Slavonic translation (*H.644* and *V.33*) renders verbatim the same phrases⁶⁵, with just the reversion of order in pure bread. With this accordance in mind, it is worth looking at the textual fragments which are not transmitted by or clearly readable from the *Taurinensis*. In §1.5, the Slavonic translation (*H.644* and *V.33*) displays a very literal representation of the Latin MR⁶⁶, with only a difference in interpretation of the objects-clause depending on неѡудбно ꙗсть, which I will explain in section 5.1. Despite the fact that *H.644* only preserves half of this line, the similarities between *H.644*, *V.33* and the Latin MR are remarkable in §2.1. In the following line (§2.2), in turn, the conformity is less strong in *V.33* due to an omission (of во николиже and врьме) and a secondary corruption (of таково into торго). *H.644* has a faithful representation of the Latin MR⁶⁷ with the finite verb in future tense (periphrastic in *H.644*) and with both the Latin negation (“neque ... aliquando”) and the Slavonic one (ни, николиже and не) emphasizing and reinforcing the strong negation in the Greek exemplar. In §7.3-4, the reading of the *Taurinensis* was very unreadable and even in *H.644* some letters

⁶⁵ *H.644* transmits пшеница ꙗсмь бѣиѧ и зѡубѣи зѡѣринѣи сѣмѧюсе· да хлѣбъ ѣиствъ ѡбрѣцѡусе хъвы, whereas *V.33* similarly reads п'шеница ꙗсмь бѣиѧ, и зѡубѣи зѡѣринѣи сѣмѧюсе· да хлѣбъ ѣиствъ ѡбрѣцѡусе хоу' моемоу (with the secondary addition of моемоу), matching to “Frumentum sum Dei et per dentes bestiarum molar, ut mundus panis inveniar Christi” of the Latin MR.

⁶⁶ *H.644* preserves мнѣ же неѡудбно ꙗеже бѣ оулоуѣити· аще же вы ꙗ не пощедите мене and *V.33* opts for мнѣ же неѡудбно ꙗсть ꙗеже бѣ оулоуѣити· аще же вы ꙗ не пощедите мене, in line with the Latin MR that renders “mihi autem difficile est Deo potiri, siquidem vos non parcitis mihi”.

⁶⁷ The Latin MR translates “Neque enim ego habebō aliquando tempus tale Deo potiendi” and *H.644* provides the reading ни аз во николиже таково врьме не имамъ имѣти· ꙗеже бѣ оулоуѣити.

could not be read, but based on the preserved fragment of *H.644* the resemblances are notable⁶⁸.

The last example shows that in §4.7 the relationship between the Slavonic translation and the Latin MR is even more clear than with the *Taurinensis*. The latter omits θεοῦ in the final clause ἵνα διὰ τῶν ὀργάνων τούτων θυσία εὑρεθῶ, whereas the former refers to God with “Dei”⁶⁹, бѣѣ (H.644)⁷⁰ and бѣѣиѣ (V.33)⁷¹. The missing reference to God in the *Taurinensis* could be an individual variant, which is not reflected in the entire branch.

The accordance between the Slavonic translation and the Latin MR not only can give an insight into the part of the *Passio Ignatii* missing in the *Taurinensis*, as Sels (2023: 120) points out, but it also shows that the Slavonic translation, the *Taurinensis* and the Latin MR go back to a common ancestor.

4. Linguistic analysis

4.1. The Greek lexicon: compounds in the *Letter to the Romans*

This section examines the seventeen compounds in the *Letter to the Romans* from a morphological, phonological and syntactical perspective.

4.1.1. Morphology

Compounds are usually built with a first and a second constituent. Tribulato (2015: 18-26) also states that the formation of Ancient Greek compounds is based on stems. In my analysis, three first constituents are construed with the adverb εὖ (e.g. εὐοικονόμητος in §1.3, εὐχερές in §1.4 and εὐοικονόμητος in §5.2), while the other fourteen are built on a nominal stem (including six nouns and eight adjectives). Relating to this last category, the (nominal) stem of the first constituent consists either of a root to which a derivational suffix is added or of a vocalic stem (Tribulato 2015: 20). In the following cases, the derivational suffix -ο- is supplemented to the root of the stem: θεοφόρος⁷² (preface, line 1), ἀξιόθεος⁷³, ἀξιοπρεπής, ἀξιομακάριστος, and ἀξιαγαστος (preface, line 4), ἀξιόθεα (§1.1), θηριομαχῶ⁷⁴ and λεοπάρδοις⁷⁵ (§5.1), ἀξιομακαρίστων (§10.1). Only in ἀξιαγαστος (preface, line 1) and ἀξιέπαινος (preface, line 4), in which the root ended in a vowel and the second constituent begins with one, no suffix is found. In the majority of the cases, however, the derivational suffix provided a vowel linking the two constituents of the compound. This linking element became wide-spread and its use caused problems when the second component begins with a vowel, especially because Ancient Greek avoids vocalic hiatus (Tribulato 2015: 24). So, many occurrences in which vocalic elements were combined either caused an hiatus, an elision or a lengthening based on historical linguistical evidence. The compound φιλόϋλον⁷⁶ (§7.5) has a linking vowel creating a hiatus, since

⁶⁸ *H.644* represents the rendering не глѣтє ꙗко ѡмѣхъ [...] любили· завѣстѣ въ васъ да не живе[...] and the Latin MR reads “Non loquimini lesus Christum et mundum concupiscatis. Invidia in vobis non inhabitat” (§7.3).

⁶⁹ “ut per organa ista Dei sacrificium inveniar.”

⁷⁰ да тѣмъ съсудѣ и жрьтва жива боудѣ бѣѣ (with the variant reading of жива “alive”).

⁷¹ да тѣмъ съсудѣ и жрьтѣва бѣѣиѣ боудѣ.

⁷² First constituent θεός consists of the root θε- (Beekes, s.v. θεός).

⁷³ First constituent ἀξιος consists of the root ἀξι- (Beekes, s.v. ἄξιος).

⁷⁴ First constituent θηρίον consists of the root θηρί- (Beekes, s.v. θήρ).

⁷⁵ First constituent λέων consists of the root λέοντ- (with original root λέον-) (Beekes, s.v. λέων).

⁷⁶ First constituent φιλόс consists of the root φιλ- (Beekes, s.v. φίλος).

the second element ὤλη originally came from a root (*swel- or *sel-)⁷⁷. Although the phonemes /w/ and /s/ (in the beginning of a word) have been lost in Classical Greek, they still left traces of their existence in later stages of the Greek language. An example of a lengthening can be found in compounds with the second constituent deriving from the Greek word ὄνομα, like χριστώνυμος⁷⁸ and πατρώνυμος⁷⁹ (preface, line 5). In this matter, Tribulato (2015: 25) mentions that a prolongation of the first vowel of the second constituent occurs, also known as the Wackernagel's lengthening⁸⁰. Instead of the expected χριστόνυμος and πατρόνυμος, as attested in the *Taurinensis*, the first omicron of ὄνομα was lengthened to an omega resulting in χριστώνυμος and πατρώνυμος. That is the reason why the wordforms in the *Taurinensis* can be linguistically explained as phonological confusions between similar sounds. In the case of ἀνθρωπαρεσκήσαι⁸¹ (§2.1), the linking vowel is elided, since the expected form would be *ἀνθρωπο-αρεσκήσαι similar to ἀνθρωπολογία, where the linking vowel is present. The word λεοπάρδοις forms the exception of the rule, since we would expect to have λεοντόπαρδος, formed with the first component λεοντο- like many compounds with the word λέων (e.g. λεοντοπόδιον, λεοντοειδής etc.). The word ἀξιοεπίτευκτος (as well as ἀξιοάγνος, mentioned in the editions) is an *hapax legomenon* created by Ignatius and never attested elsewhere. These two compounds have an hiatus of which only the one in ἀξιοάγνος can be explained etymologically⁸², because the second element of ἀξιοεπίτευκτος comes from ἐπιτυχάνω and the prefix ἐπι- does not have a lost (half-)vowel. So, it is remarkable that, if Ignatius creates a neologism, he includes the linking vowel -o- establishing an hiatus. As becomes clear from the enumeration, the connective vowel -o- is the most common. In this respect, Tribulato (2015: 22) and Ralli (2009: 455) remark that in the course of time until now in Modern Greek, exclusively -o- was used as a linking vowel without any semantic value, but solely functioning as a bridge between components and a marker to the method of making compounds.

4.1.2. Phonology

As a general rule of accentuation in modern Greek editions, the accent can only be placed at the three last syllables. Not every word, however, has its own accent, since certain word groups existing of three or more words form a unit in terms of accent. These are distinguished as enclitics (i.e. words pronounced with little stress and therefore, they attach to the previous word in a sentence) and proclitics (i.e. words pronounced with little stress that are supplemented to the following word in a phrase). These diacritics to mark accentuation were an Hellenistic invention, and separation of words was not applied or in a way different from the modern approach, as evidenced by some inscriptions of archaic texts. Nevertheless, accentuation was an important driving force for word separation, although the orthographic rules for writing Greek compounds were highly dependent on the text transmission itself. In manuscripts, accents were not

⁷⁷ Beekes, s.v. ὤλη.

⁷⁸ First constituent χριστός consists of the root χριστ- (Beekes, s.v. χρίω). In my analysis, I interpret this first constituent as Jesus' title (viz. Messiah), rather than the adjective ("anointed") where it originally comes from.

⁷⁹ First constituent πατήρ consists of the root πατρ- (Beekes, s.v. πατήρ).

⁸⁰ Tribulato (2015: 25) further explains that Wackernagel was the first to describe this linguistic change. Currently, this phenomenon is seen as a compensatory lengthening, activated by the disappearance of PIE laryngeals (sounds performed in the larynx or voice box) in Greek. In the case of ὄνομα, the first vowel initially had *h₃ which caused the preceding vowel to become an omicron in Ancient Greek and prolonged it.

⁸¹ First constituent ἀνθρωπος consists of the root ἀνθρωπ- (Beekes, s.v. ἄνθρωπος).

⁸² Beekes, s.v. ἀγνός.

systematically used until the seventh century AD and if they were applied, it was according to varying instructions of grammarians, which could significantly differ from one another so that a variation to a large extent could be observed (Tribulato 2015: 26-28). This short sketch problematises the judgement about compounds solely based on the argument of accentuation. Despite this, Tribulato (2015: 27) singles out three situations in which lexical units could be considered as compounds.

The first deals with the phenomenon in which the compound is interpreted as a new lexical unit with an accent placed according to the general rules of Greek accentuation. This often applies when the second element of the compound is an independent word in which the accent is positioned differently from that of the autonomous word. To this category belong αξιόθεος, λεόπαρδος, φιλόυλον, since the autonomous nouns are θεός, πάρδος and ὕλη with the accent on their first syllable. In the compound, the accent stands on the antepenultimate syllable when the last syllable is light.

The second group includes compounds in which the accent does not follow the general Greek rules to oppose in accentual terms the distinction between active and passive interpretation of the second constituent. An example is θεοφόρος, where the accent is placed on the penultimate syllable, while θεόφορος would be equally possible. The latter indicates the passive understanding (“possessed by a god”), whereas the former is the active equivalent (“bearing a god”).

The third and last class defines the compound adjectives in -ης with the acute accent typically on the last syllable when the antepenultimate is light. Words like μονογενής, αξιοπρεπής and εὐχερής illustrate this rule.

Notwithstanding this guiding principles, the main marker consists of morphological, rather than graphical nature. The relation between words in Ancient Greek is expressed by inflection, but when these “inflectional elements with the responsibility of indicating the relation between the constituents are lost”, this unit probably corresponds to a compound (Tribulato 2015: 28). This criterion will be elaborated in the next section.

4.1.3. Syntax

When the second constituent constitutes a word with three syllables or more, the general rules for accentuation in Ancient Greek cannot help to distinguish it as a compound. The relation of dependency, however, can be of great help.

In case of αξιομακάριστος, ἀξιέπαινος, ἀνθρωπαρεσκῆσαι and θηριομαχῶ, the dissemination into dependent entities clarifies their status. The first constituent ἄξιος mostly takes an oblique case in the genitive to complete its semantics (e.g. ἄξιος ἐπαίνου, ἄξιος μακαρίστου). Moreover, the compounds with second constituent formulating a verbal action normally have their internal argument (in this case their direct object) in the non-verbal first component. This means that in a phrase, we expect ἀνθρώπῳ or ἀνθρώποις ἀρεσκῆσαι (“to please a man or men”, with the direct object in the dative case) and θηρίον or θηρία μάχομαι (“I fight against a beast or beasts”). These case endings are lost in the compounds, which are also called “synthetic compounds” or “verbal compounds” (Tribulato 2015: 34). The subordinate elements, however, introduced the syntactic criterion of *determinatum* (head or determiner) and *determinant* (non-head or modifier). In sixteen of the seventeen examples, a determinative connection can be discerned. For the eight compounds with ἄξιος, the adjective (“worthy of *something*”) is the head and modifies the second constituent (e.g. ἄξιος ἐπαίνου “worthy of praise”). Likewise, in μονογενής, the first part (μόνο, non-head) describes the second one (-γενής, head) with “only-born” as outcome. Similarly, the

preposition εὖ (non-head) in the first constituent determines its second element (head): εὐοικονόμητος (“well-arranged”) and εὐεργετούμενος (“being a benefactor”, with its passive meaning “receiving benefits”). In the example of εὐεργετούμενος, the adverb already belonged to the verb εὐεργετέω (“being proclaimed as an εὐεργετής”, stemming from the noun εὐεργετής⁸³) on which the participle was formed. For εὐχερής, it is difficult to untangle both constituents to clarify its semantics. Furthermore, in the two compounds χριστώνυμος and πατρώνυμος, the second component ὄνομα (head) explains the first constituent (viz. name of the Messiah, name of the father). I have already mentioned the examples of ἀνθρωπαρεσκῆσαι and θηριομαχῶ in which the second constituent is the head and in which the first constituent completes its meaning. The compound θεοφόρος is built on the verbal stem of φέρω (in this case with ablaut resulting in φορ-). The second constituent (head) has an active meaning and takes the first constituent (non-head) as its object (“bearing God”). The same holds for the compound φιλόϋλον, in which the first constituent (head) defines the second (ϋλή). The order in which the compounds are arranged is from an historical perspective very important, as it informs modern scholarship about which principles of word formation they applied and how they thought about their lexicon. Tribulato (2015: 45-46) discusses and exemplifies that most languages have the tendency to present the head towards the right side of the compound. The Ancient Greek language in specific has a system of right-headed compounds with several left-oriented heads⁸⁴. This also applies to my analysis with most forms having a right-headed construction, but in some well-defined cases a left-headed one was found. The descriptive determinative compounds εὐοικονόμητος, εὐεργετούμενος, εὐχερής and μονογενής are right-headed, since the first part describes the second one with an adverb and since the head is situated in the second constituent (Smyth 1920: 252-253). The dependent determinative compounds θεοφόρος, χριστώνυμος, πατρώνυμος, ἀνθρωπαρεσκῆσαι and θηριομαχῶ are also right-headed and have an internal object to complete their meaning (Smyth 1920: ibid.). The compounds with the head ἄξιος as their first constituent, however, are left-headed, because they need an obligatory complement to fulfil their semantic value (Tribulato 2015: 113). In this respect, their function can be compared to that of prepositions and prepositional compounds. The syntactic order of an adjective followed by a noun is not fixed and the corresponding syntactic formula (e.g. ἄξιος ἐπαίνου) does not need to be attested to create a compound (e.g. ἀξιάπαινος). These mechanisms, therefore, did not often lay at the base of the formation of compounds. The word φιλόϋλος is also left-headed, but Tribulato (2015: 334-335, 346) explains this first constituent does not have a verbal origin, but rather derives from the adjective φίλος (“dear to”, mostly followed by a noun), after which it was re-interpreted as deriving from the verb φιλέω (“loving”). Therefore, φιλόϋλος is categorized as a compound with the verbal sense in the first place (V₁ compounds), as opposed to the example of βιβλιόφιλος where the verbal idea is expressed in the second position (V₂ compounds). Likewise, ἀνθρωπαρεσκῆσαι is also a V₂ compound⁸⁵.

The only case in which it is very difficult to find determiners is λεόπαρδος. The meaning “leopard” is not very transparent and tells more about the reception of the word than its constituents. The compound

⁸³ This word is compounded with the adverb εὖ, the verb ἔργω and the agentive suffix -της (see Beekes s.v. εἶργω).

⁸⁴ For a detailed case study on the left-headed compounds of the kind of ισόθεος, αξιόλογος and ἀπειρομάχας, see Tribulato (2007).

⁸⁵ The distinction between these two categories of verbal compounds has implications for historical linguistics, and therefore, Tribulato (2015: 133-346) elaborates on this topic.

λεόπαρδος means “lion-panther” or “lion-cheetah”, even though it is difficult to pinpoint to its exact meaning. Due to the coordination of two substantives (e.g. λέων and πάρδος), Tribulato (2015: 65) refers to this kind of compounds as “coordinating or hyponymic compounds”, since one constituent is a subtype of the other. As a result of their connection, these compounds can also be looked at from a theoretical perspective as having two heads. This type is very common in Ancient Greek, both with nouns (ιατρόμαντις, κλαυσίγελως) and with adjectives (γλυκύπικρος). It is remarkable that many names of animals use this kind of compounding system (ἵππαλεκτρυών, λεοδράκων, καμηλοπάρδαλις etc.). For λεόπαρδος, Nicholas (1999: 259) argues that “a πάρδος (and a panther) was primarily a leopard, but probably also a cheetah; a λεόπαρδος was probably a cheetah, but possibly also a lion cub.” The word is first attested in Galenus’ *De atra bile*, and found 71 times in total, according to the TLG corpus. There was also a distinction between πάρδαλις and πάρδος, the former being the erudite word and the latter being the vernacular colloquial-term from Latin to refer to a cheetah. The compound λεόπαρδος was more common than the learned alternative λεοπάρδαλις with only one attestation, according to the TLG corpus. Besides, the alternative λεοντόπαρδος is first attested in the *Alexander Romance*, which Nicholas (1999: 258) dates in the fifth century at the earliest. In the context of the *Letter to the Romans*, Ignatius mentioned the leopards to refer to the guards or soldiers with who Ignatius travelled to Rome. In the same line, he also writes that during his journey from Syria to Rome, he had been fighting against wild beasts (ἄπὸ Συρίας μέχρι Ρώμης θηριομαχῶ, §5.1). His reference to the leopards could be a specifying of the wild beasts in θηριομαχῶ to indicate that his martyrdom would be the final struggle in a sequence of already encountered and still present conflicts. Concerning the use of θηριομαχῶ, Schoedel (1985: 178) draws attention to a parallel with Paulus’ *Epistle to the Corinthians* 15:32 and to the multiple usages in Ignatius’ letters, as exemplified by *Letter to the Ephesians* 1.2 (θηριομαχήσαι) and *Letter to the Trallians* 10 (θηριομαχήσαι). Besides, the compound θηριομαχέω is very popular in hagiographical accounts such as *lives*, *passiones*, *martyria* etc. based on a lemma-search in the TLG corpus.

4.2. Slavonic compounds in the *Letter to the Romans* (H.644 and V.33)

The encountered Slavonic compounds have a morphological structure that is very similar to the Greek one. The connective vowel mostly is -o-⁸⁶, but in one case (ѡѣиименити), it is -e-, also common according to Polivanova (2023: 21). Concerning the selection of first and second constituents, Sels (2009: 44) remarks that Slavonic compounds, very often morphological calques based on fixed Greek counterparts, are frequent. She gives the example of благо-, оудѡвь and добро as fixed component for εὖ- and βοο- for θεο- as well as -носнь for -φόρος. If we combine the last two elements, θεοφόρος is present, which is indeed translated as бгѡносивъ in H.644 and V.33. The forms with εὖ- are more complex. In Greek, three compounds (εὐοικονόμητός, εὐχερές and εὐεργετούμενοι) are found, whereas in the Slavonic translation бгѡстроинь,

⁸⁶ In the first line of the preface: бгѡносивъ (with first constituent βοο “God”), ѡдиноѡедаго (with first constituent ѡдино “alone”). In the fourth line of the preface: достѡдѡивни in H.644 and достѡидѡбни in V.33, достѡлѡпни, достѡблѡжни, достѡхвални, достѡлоуѡивни in H.644 and достѡоумни in V.33, достѡиноѡтивни in H.644 and достѡчѡстни in V.33. These compounds all have достѡ- (from достѡинъ, “worthy”) as their first constituent. The other compounds are хѡиименити in V.33 (with first constituent христо “Christ”), preface line 5), достѡидѡмаѡ (§1.1), бгѡстроинь (§1.3, with first constituent благо “well”), рысь (with first constituent рыс “lynx”) and достѡблѡжнѡ (§10.1).

оудовъ and добропріемлюще are more varying. The word оудовъ does not render εὐχερές entirely, but only the first element, maybe because the Greek compound was not transparent enough to the Slavonic translator or scribe. As already mentioned in the section about variant readings, the Slavonic translation takes over the textual variant χριστόνυμος of the *Taurinensis*, but *H.644* renders it as “the name of Christ” in which the adjective [хв]ѣи retains its case endings as inflectional markers, whereas *V.33* renders it as a compound with an hiatus (хѣиименитѣи). The adjective next to it (viz. πατρώνυμος), by contrast, is in both Slavonic manuscripts represented as ѡѣименитѣи. Furthermore, there are eight compounds beginning with досто- in which only in достооумныи an hiatus occurs. In this respect, Polivanova (2023: 34-35) mentions that an hiatus in compounds can be observed when the first stem ends in a vowel and the second component begins with one. All the compounds of the preface built with досто- have masculine endings, despite the fact that they specify a feminine word (ἐκκλησία/ црѣкѣви). In this context, Sels (2023: 109-110) notes that the copyists were confused by the masculine-looking endings of the compound Greek adjectives, which have the same declension in the masculine and feminine gender. They nevertheless represent the *lectio difficilior* and give an insight in how the translator or copyist understood these Greek compounds. There are also two compounds (viz. достовѣлжныи and достовидѣныи) repeated in another section of the letter. Sels (2023: 112) draws attention to the latter, in which there is no parallel found, although both достовидѣныи and достовидимаѣ render the aspect of visibility, but in a different form. *H.644* even has the secondary reading достовидивнии with a clear transposal of -в- and second -д-. Sels (2023: *ibid.*) continues that even достовидѣныи of *V.33* (with ѣ instead of ѣ) is probably a form deviating from the *archetypus*, which she reconstructs as достовидѣныи. Moreover, this reconstructed form can also explain the transformed reading of *H.644*. In general, the Slavonic compounds, translated as calques from their Greek exemplar, follow very closely the Greek syntactical structure of left-headed constructions (e.g. достовидимаѣ), if present, and right-headed ones (e.g. хѣиименитѣи). In this respect, the following example is also very illustrative. The animal referred to as πάρδος became associated with the lynx (рѣс) in Old Slavonic, probably because the animal was more familiar to their society than cheetahs⁸⁷. A distinction has been made between рѣсь/рѣсѣ, corresponding to πάρδαλις, and рѣс as counterpart for πάρδος⁸⁸ in Old Slavonic as well. Despite the meaning of the constituents, рѣсѣльви is also a coordinated compound in the Slavonic translation of Ignatius' *Letter to the Romans*, consisting of рѣс (lynx or pardus) and ѣльви (lion). The formation of this compound resembles the Greek system to a large extent, although they could have also opted for леопардъ “leopardus” or леондопардосъ “leopardus, леοντόπαρδος”. In this case, the Slavonic scribes rather chose to use a proper Slavonic form or Greek calque than a loanword.

Not all Greek compoundings are rendered as such in Slavonic. Paraphrases are a way to translate Greek terms (Sels 2009: 48). This is primarily the case in ѡѣвкомъ оугодиѣ (*H.644*) and борюсе съ звѣрьми

⁸⁷ In this respect, Nicholas (1999: 270-277) remarks that also to late Byzantines (Paleologan period) the lynx was used as the best example for what kind of great cat the πάρδος might have resembled in the Balkan region. He came to this assumption based on a passage of the *Entertaining Tale of Quadrupeds* (lines 21-22, 860-864) in which the vernacular Modern Greek ρῆσος (“lynx”, with Slavonic origin) referred to a πάρδος. Nicholas further nuances that connection of the leopard to the better known lynx was not a stand-alone phenomenon, since the OCS lemma рѣсь was clarified with the Latin gloss “pardalis” in A.G. Preobrazhenskii's Russian-language Etymological Dictionary of the Russian Language (1910-1949). It presumably originated from an earlier marginal note.

⁸⁸ Kurz et al. (s.v. рѣсь, рѣс) and von Miklosich (s.v. рѣсь, рѣс).

Sels (2004: 45) rightly remarks that “[i]n adopting the form the translator aims to transpose the sense of the Greek word to Slavonic and in many cases, the meaning of these compounds is indeed transparent.” Indeed, very often you cannot understand the Slavonic compounds without their Greek exemplar, but the examples of the *Letter to the Romans* showed that *H.644* and *V.33* do not take over every compound and in the case of the first element εὐ- or φιλόϋλος the picture is not uniform but innovative.

δοξο ("good") as in *H.644*. The latter translates for its part βασιλεύειν τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς more literally with цѣтѹѡвѣти конци зѣмле ("reigning over the borders of the world") than *V.33* rendering нежели ѡбладаѣти всѣю зѣмлею ("reigning over the entire world"). The verb in *H.644* derives from the word "king" (цѣсарѣ), just like in Greek (βασιλεύς). It also takes конци in the instrumental case as its complement just like τῶν περάτων in the genitive case is used as a complement to βασιλεύειν. The dative ми does not have a Greek equivalent and is not rendered in *V.33*. Probably, it is a *dativus ethicus* that emphasizes the first person a little more. *V.33*, by contrast, renders with the phrase ѡбладаѣти всѣю зѣмлею ("over the entire world") a more free counterpart of the Greek text, although the verb has no distinct semantic meaning, but rather functions as a synonym to цѣтѹѡвѣти.

The discussed fragments showed that the reading of *H.644* is often primary, whereas the one of *V.33* focusses more on the contextual interpretation or innovation to provide an understandable text to its readers. These were only but two examples, but it reflects the consistently recurring pattern of the scribal attitudes to the original translation throughout the renderings of the *Letter to the Romans*.

6. Conclusion

The transmission history of Ignatius' *Letter to the Romans* is very complex and therefore, this thesis aims to answer the questions about the palaeographical context of the *Taurinensis*, and the philological relationship between the *Taurinensis* and the Slavonic rendering in *H.644* and *V.33*. It also investigates the linguistic aspects of compounds and the reception of the original translation in *H.644* and *V.33*.

First, the *Taurinensis* does not fit in the narrow categories of MR and LR and has several distinctive textual variants. For that reason, the *Taurinensis* was considered a less precious witness and disregarded in previous research. The palaeographical part showed that the *Taurinensis* has to be dated to the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century. This observation makes the *Taurinensis* a very early witness of the *Letter to the Romans*. Furthermore, the philological section showed that the division in recensions does not make sense, because the Slavonic tradition only renders a text combining fragments of the MR and LR. It also illustrated the very close relationship with the Latin MR and the Slavonic translation, as transmitted and preserved by *H.644* and *V.33*. In most cases where a variant reading of the *Taurinensis* is significant, the Slavonic translation also renders this textual variant, even though in some instances it displays a corruption, omission or misinterpretation. In conclusion, the comparison between the Greek *Taurinensis*, the Latin MR and the Slavonic translation confirms the hypothesis that these share a common ancestor. My thesis could be the first step to further establish relationships between the Greek manuscripts transmitting Ignatius' *Letter to the Romans* and nuance our view on the textual tradition.

Concerning the formation of compounds, studied in the linguistic part, the *Letter to the Romans* was extremely creative in the selection of compounds with ἄξιο-, which was translated with the calque досто- in the Slavonic translation. The analysis showed that not every Slavonic compound was shaped exactly like its Greek equivalent, either in construction (e.g. ανθρωπαρκῆσαι and члвкомь оугодитѣ) or in semantics (λεόπαρδος and рыкольвы). These conclusions already addressed the question of how a part of the Greek lexicon was translated, but can be expanded on with a description of derivations like ἔκτρωμα in §9.3 and its Slavonic counterparts (изврѣгъ in *H.644* and изврѣгъ in *V.33*) to better understand the Greek mechanisms of word formation and the system of translational calques.

The section of translation studies did not only show the relatively literal approach of the original translation, as testified in witness *H.644* (which closely approaches the origins of the Slavonic text), but also the secondary innovations of *V.33*, that point to a concern for context and understandability. The technique of rewriting, whether in Greek or in Slavonic translations, was also applied to the Metaphrast version and therefore, this thesis could pave the way for a more thorough investigation and understanding of intertwining traditions.

7. Bibliography

Abbreviations

BHG = Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca, from Halkin, F. (1957-1984). *Novum auctarium Bibliothecae hagiographicae graecae*. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes.

CPG = *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*. Geerard, M. (1983). *CPG 1 - Patres Antenicani (s. I-III)*. Turnhout: Brepols.

TLG = *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*. Digital Library. Ed. Maria C. Pantelia. University of California, Irvine. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu> (last accessed Aug. 13, 2024).

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7. Appendices

7.1. Transcriptions

7.1.1. Diplomatic transcription of the *Taurinensis*

Folium 10r

5 σης αὐτῷ θύρας τοῦ μαρ
 τυρίου. οἷα πρὸς τὴν ἐκ
 κλησίαν ἐπιστέλλει Ρωμαί
 ων υποτέτακται ἰ
 γνάτιος ὁ καὶ θεοφῶρος τῇ
 ἡλεημένη ἐν μεγαλήوتي
 10 τι πατὴρ ὁ ὑψίστου πνεύματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
 τοῦ μόνου υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκκλη
 σία ἡγιασμένη καὶ πε
 φωτισμένη ἐν θελήματι
 τοῦ θελήσαντος τὰ πάν
 15 τα ἃ ἐστὶν κατὰ πίστην
 καὶ ἀγάπην Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ

μῶν· ἥτις καὶ προκάθεται
 ἐν τόπῳ χωρίου ῥωμέων
 ἀξιόθεος· ἀξιοπρεπής·
 20 ἀξιομακάριστος· ἀξι
 ἐπαινος· ἀξιεπίτευ
 κτος· ἀξιαγαστος· καὶ
 προκαθημένη τῆς ἀγά
 25 πης· χριστόνυμος·
 πατρόνυμος· ἦν καὶ ἄσ
 πάζομε ἐν ονόματι [...]·
 Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ πατὴρ κατὰ σάρκα
 καὶ πνεῦμα(·) ἡνομένοις πά
 30 σαις ἐντολαῖς αὐτοῦ·
 πεπληρωμένοις πάσης χάρι
 τος θεοῦ ἀδιακρίτως
 καὶ αποδιῦλισμένους
 ἀπὸ παντὸς αλλοτρίου
 35 χρώματος, πλεῖστα ἐν θεῷ καὶ πατρί
 καὶ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ [...] ἀμώμως
 χαίρειν. Ἐπεὶ εὐξάμενος τῷ

Folium 10v

θεῷ ἐπέτοιχων ἰδεῖν ὑμῶν
 τὰ ἀξιόθεα πρόσω
 πα· ὡς καὶ πλέον ἢ
 τούμην λαβεῖν. δεδε
 μένος γὰρ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ· ἐλ
 5 πίζω ὑμᾶς ἀσπάσας
 θαι· ἐάνπερ θέλημα
 τοῦ θεοῦ ᾗ· τοῦ ἀξιοθεῖναι
 με εἰς τέλος εἶναι· ἡ μὲν
 γὰρ ἀρχή· εὐοικονόμη
 τός ἐστιν· ἐάνπερ χά
 10 ριτος ἐπιτύχω εἰς τὸ
 τὸν κληρὸν μου ἀνεμ
 ποδίστως ἀπολαβεῖν
 φοβοῦμε γὰρ τὴν ἀγάπην
 ὑμῶν. μὴ αὐτὴ με ἀδι
 κήσει· ὑμῖν γὰρ εὐχε
 15 ρές ἐστιν το θεοῦ ἐπιτυχ
 εῖν. ἐάνπερ οὔτε ὑμεῖς ἐάν ση

πεμψάμενος· καλὸν
 τῷ δῦναι ἀπὸ κόσμου
 πρὸς θεόν. ἵνα εἰς αὐτὸν
 ἀνατεῖλω· οὐδέποτε
 5 ἐβασκάνατε οὐδενί.
 ἄλλους ἐδιδάξατε· ἐ
 γὼ δὲ θέλω, κάκεῖνα· ἵ
 να βαίβεια ᾗ· ἃ μαθη
 τεύοντες ἐντέλλεσθαι.
 μόνον δύναμην μοι αἰ
 10 τεῖσθαι ἔσωθέν τε καὶ ἔξω
 θεν· ἵνα μὴ μόνον λέγω.
 ἀλλὰ καὶ θέλω· μὴ ἵνα μό
 νον λέγωμε Χριστιανός.
 15 ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐρεθῶ· ἐὰν
 γὰρ εὐρεθῶ. καὶ λέγεσθαι
 δύναμε· καὶ τότε πιστὸς
 εὐρεθῆναι. ὅταν κόσμῳ
 μὴ φαίνομε· οὐδὲν φε

ωπήσεται· κριτγони
 ἔργω ἔχεται ἐπιγρα
 φῆναι· ἐὰν τε γὰρ σιω
 πῆσεται ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ἐ
 γὼ γενίσωμε θεοῦ· ἐὰν
 δὲ ἐρασθῆτε τῆς σαρ
 κός μου· πάλιν ἔσομε
 τρέχων· πλέον δέ μοι μὴ
 παράσχητε τοῦ σπονδισ
 θῆναι θεῷ. ὡς ἔτι θυση
 αστήριον ἔτοιμόν ἐστιν· ἵ
 να ἐν ἀγάπῃ χορὸς γε
 νόμενοι ᾄσητε τῷ πατρὶ
 ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ· ὅτι τὸν ἐπίσκο
 πον Συρίας κατηξίω
 [...] εὐρεθῆναι εἰς δύο
 [...] ἀνατολῆς μετα

20

25

30

35

νόμενον αἰώνιον· τὰ γὰρ
 φαινόμενα προσκαιρα·
 τάδε μὴ βλέπομενα αἶ
 ὠνια· ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς
 Χριστὸς· ἐν τῷ πατρὶ ὧν μᾶλλον
 φένεται· οὐ πλησμο
 νῆς τὸ ἔργον. ἀλλὰ μεγέ
 θους ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστιανισ
 μός. ὅταν μῆσιται ὑ
 πὸ κόσμου· ἐγὼ γρά
 φω πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλη
 σίαις καὶ ἐντέλλομε πᾶ
 σιν, ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐκὼν ὑπὲρ
 θεοῦ ἀποθνήσκω· ἐάν
 περ ὑμεῖς μὴ κολύσι
 ται· παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς
 μὴ εὐνοια ἄκαιρος γένισ
 θαί μοι.

Folium 11r.

ἄφεταί με θηρίων ἵναι βορ
 ράν δι' ὧν ἔνεστι θεοῦ ἐπιτυ
 χεῖν(·) σῆτός ἡμι θεοῦ καὶ δι'
 ὀδόντων θηρίων ἀλήθομε·
 ἵνα καθαρὸς ἄρτος εὐρε
 θῶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ· μᾶλλον κολα
 κεύσεται τὰ θηρία. ἵνα
 ἔμοι τάφος γέγονται καὶ
 μηθὲν καταλίποσιν τῶν
 τοῦ σώματός μου· ἵνα
 μῆδε κυμηθεῖς. βαρὸς
 τινι εὐρεθῆσω με· τό
 τε ἔσομε μαθητὴς χριστοῦ
 τοῦ θεοῦ ἀληθεῖς. ὅτε οὐ
 δὲν τοῦ σώματός μου
 ὁ κόσμος ὀψεται· λητα
 νεύσεται τὸν κύριον ὑπὲρ ἐ
 μοῦ· ἵνα διὰ τῶν ὀργάνων
 τούτων θυσία εὐρεθῶ
 οὐχ ὡς Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος

5

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20

τάγμα· οἳ καὶ εὐγεργετού
 μενοι χεῖρους γίνονται·
 ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν
 αὐτῶν. μᾶλλον μαθητεύ
 ομε· ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο
 δεδικαίομε· ὡναίμην
 τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἐμοὶ ἢ
 τοιμασμένων. καὶ εὐχο
 με ἔτοιμά μοι εὐρεθεῖ
 ναι· ἃ καὶ κολακεύσω
 συντόμως με καταφα
 γεῖν· οὐχ ὥσπερ τινῶν
 δολαινόμενα οὐχ ἥψαν
 το· κἂν αὐτὰ δὲ ἀκόντα
 μὴ θελήσῃ· ἐγὼ προσβῇ
 ἄσωμε· συγγνώμην μοι
 ἔχεται· τί μοι συμφαίρει.
 ἐγὼ γηνόσκω· νῦν ἄρχω
 με μαθητῆς εἶναι· μηθέν
 με ζηλῶσαι τῶν ὁρατῶν

διατάσσομε ὑμῖν· ἐκεῖ
 νοι ἀπόστολοι· ἐγὼ κα
 τάκριτος· ἐκεῖνοι ἐλεύ
 θεροι. ἐγὼ δὲ νῦν μέχρι
 25 δοῦλος· ἀλλ' ἐὰν πάθω.
 ἀπελεύθερος γενήσω
 μαι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. καὶ ἀναστήσω
 με ἐν αὐτῷ ἐλεύθερος
 30 νῦν μανθάνω δεδεμένος
 μηδὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν κοσμι
 κόν ἢ μάταιον· ἅπλο
 ῖα μέχρι Ῥώμης θηριο
 μαχῶ, διὰ γῆς καὶ θαλάτ
 της, νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας
 35 δεδεμένος δέκα λεοπάρ
 δοις, ὃ ἐστὶν στρατιωτικὸν

Folium 11v

σιλεύειν τῶν περάτων
 τῆς γῆς· τί γὰρ ωφελεῖ
 ται ἄνθρωπος· ἐὰν κερδή
 σει τὸν κόσμον ὅλον· τὴν
 5 δὲ ψυχὴν ζημιωθεί·
 ἐκεῖνον ζητῶ· τὸν ὑπὲρ
 ῥῆμῶν ἀποθανόντα·
 ἐκεῖνον θέλω· τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς
 ἀναστάντα· σύγγνωτέ
 μοι, ἀδελφοί· μὴ ἔμπο
 10 δήσιταί μοι ζῆσαι· μὴ
 θελήσεται με ἀποθα
 νεῖν· τὸν θεοῦ θέλοντα εἶναι
 κόσμῳ μὴ χαρίσεται·
 15 ἄφεται με καθαρὸν φῶς
 λαβεῖν· ἐκεῖ παραγενό
 μενος, ἄνθρωπος θεοῦ ἔσωμαι·
 ἐπιτρέψατέ μοι μημη
 τὴν εἶναι πάθους τοῦ θεοῦ
 20 μου· εἴ τις αὐτὸν ἐν ἑαυ
 τῷ ἔχει· νοεῖσάτο ὃ θέ
 λω καὶ συμπαθείτω μοι· ἵ
 δὼς τὰ συνέχοντά με·

καὶ ἁωράτων. ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
 ἐπιτύχω· πῦρ καὶ σταυρὸς,
 θηρίων τε συστάσης·
 25 ἀνατομαί· διαιρέσης·
 σκορπησμοὶ ὀστέων·
 συγκοπαὶ μελῶν· ἄλες
 μοὶ ὅλου τοῦ σώματος·
 καὶ κολάσης τοῦ διαβό
 30 λου ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἐρχέσθω
 σαν· μόνον ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐ
 πιτύχω οὐδὲν με ὁ
 φελήσῃ τὰ τερπνὰ τοῦ
 κόσμου· οὐδὲ αἱ βα
 35 σιλεῖται τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ
 του· καλόν [.....]ο
 θανεῖν εἰς Χριστόν Ἰησοῦν [..]βα

πίσθιται. οἷς γράφω ὑ
 μῖν. ἐρῶν τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν
 ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως ἐσταύρωται.
 καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἐμοὶ πῦρ φι
 5 λόῦλον· ὕδωρ δὲ ζῶν καὶ λα
 λοῦν ἐν ἐμοί· ἔσωθέν μοι
 λέγει δεῦρο πρὸς τὸν πατέρα
 οὐχ ἡδομαι τροφῇ φθορᾶς
 οὐδὲ ἰδοναῖς τοῦ βίου τοῦ
 10 του· ἄρτον θεοῦ θέλω· ἄρ
 τον οὐράνιον· ἄρτον ζωῆς
 ὃ ἐστὶ σὰρξ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ
 γενομένου ἐν ὑστέρω ἐκ
 σπέρματος Δαυὶδ καὶ Ἀ
 15 βραάμ. καὶ πόμα θεοῦ θέ
 λω τὸ αἶμα αὐτοῦ. ὃ ἐστὶν
 ἀγάπη ἁφθαρτος καὶ ἀέν
 ναος ζωῆς· οὐκέτι θέλω
 κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ζῆν· τοῦ
 20 το δὲ ἔσται· ἐὰν ὑμῖς
 θελήσεται. θελήσεται
 ἵνα καὶ ὑμῖς θεληθεῖται·
 δι' ὀλίγων γραμμάτων αἱ

ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ του διαρπάσαι με βούλε ται καὶ τὴν εἰς θεόν μου γνῶ [...]ην διαφθῆραι· μηδεὶς [....] τῶν παρόντων· ὑμῶν βοηθεῖτο αὐτῷ· [...]ἄλλον ἐ μο. γένεσθαι του[....]ί τοῦ [.....]λητ[.] Ἰησοῦν [...] κόσ [.....] ἐ ἐπιθυμεῖ[....] βασ [.....] ἐν ὑμῖν μὴ [...]ατοι [.....] μηδ' ἂν ἐγὼ παρῶ [.....] πησθεῖτ[...] [....]τούτοις δὲ μάλλον	25 30 35	τοῦ με ὑμᾶς. πιστεύ σαταί μοι· Ἰησοῦς δὲ Χριστὸς ὑ μῖν ταῦτα φανερώσει. ὅτι ἀληθὲς λέγω· τὸ ἀψευ δὲς στόμα· ἐν ᾧ ὁ πατήρ ἀληθῶς ἐλάλησεν· αἱ τίσασθαι περὶ ἐμοῦ ἵνα ἐπιτύχω· οὐ κατὰ σάρ κα ὑμῖν ἔγραψα, ἀλλὰ κα τὰ γνώμην θεοῦ. ἐὰν π άθω, ἦθε[.....]ν ἀ[.....]ασθῶ, ἐμη σίσασται· μνιμονεύετ[.]
Folium 12r ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν τῇ ἐν Συρίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳς. ἥτης ἀντ' ἐμοῦ πυμένει τῷ θεῷ χρῆτε. μόνος αὐτὴν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐπισκοπήσει. καὶ ἡ ὑμῶν ἀγάπη· ἐγὼ δὲ αἰσχύνο με ἐξ αὐτῶν λέγεσθαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄξιός εἰμι ὢν. ἔσχα τος αὐτῶν καὶ ἔκτρωμα· ἀλλ' ἡλέημαί τις εἶναι. ἐὰν θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω [rasurae] [rasurae] ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν ἐκ κλησιῶν τῶν δεξαμένων με εἰς ὄνομα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· οὐχ ὡς παροδεύοντα· καὶ γὰρ αἱ μὴ προσήκουσαί μοι τῇ ὁδοῦ τῇ κατὰ σάρκα. κα τὰ πόλιν με προῆγον· γράφω δὲ ὑμῖν ταῦτα ἀπὸ Σμύρνης· δι' Ἐφεσίων τῶν ἀξιωμακαρίστων· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἅμα ἐμοὶ Κρόκος τὸ παθητόν μοι ὄνομα· πε ρὶ τῶν προελθόντων με	5 10 15 20 25	βρίων· ἔρρωσθαι εἰς τέλος ἐν ὑπομονῇ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀμήν· καταρτίσας τοίνυν ὡς εἰβούλ ετο τοὺς ἐν Ῥωμῇ τῶν ἀ δελφῶν ἄκοντας διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς·

ἀπὸ Συρίας εἰς Ῥώμην. εἰς
 δόξαν Θεοῦ. πιστεύω ὑμᾶς
 ἀπεγνωκέναι· οἷς καὶ δη
 λώσεται ἐγγύς μ.νοντα
 πάντες γάρ εἰσιν [...]ιοι τοῦ
 Θεοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν· οὕς
 [.....]κ[...] ἅ
 ναπαῦσ[.....]ἐ
 ὑμῖν ταῦτα [...]ὸ ἐννέ
 α καλανδῶν Σεμπτεμ

7.1.2. Diplomatic transcription of H.644

Folium 71v

21 Иґнаѳіе иже б҃гоносивъ. мѣтию и величїе
 мь оца вышшаго. ꙗса х҃са єдиноуєдаго с҃на єго.
 цр҃кви вѣщен'нѣи. И просвѣщен'нѣи волею. волив
 шаго все же іе. ѡ вѣрѣ ꙗса х҃а бѣ нашего. ꙗже и сѣ
 дить на мѣстѣ вѣси римьскїи. достѡдивнии достѡ
 лѣпнии. достѡбл҃жнии, достѡхвалнии. достоулоу
 чивнии, достоиноутиви. и прѣдсѣдеци люб'ви,

Folium 72r

[х҃в]ѣи. имениѣи. ѡч҃енименѣи иже и цѣлоую
 [в] имє ꙗса х҃а с҃на б҃жїа. по плѣти и дх҃оу сз҃выкоупле
 нымъ. всѣмъ заповѣдмъ єго. и испльнєнїемъ
 [бл҃]гїю б҃жїею. нерасоумнєнїемъ цѣжде
 н[и]ємъ чюждеє всакое шаротѣи. много ѡ х҃ѣ и
 [с]ѣ гдѣ нашємъ. непорочно радоватисє. понєже
 [п]омоливсє бѣи улоуѣихъ, достовидимая лица ва
 ша· ꙗкоже и вєще прошахъ приєти· свєзанъ ѡ х҃ѣ.
 їсѣ г҃и нашємъ· надѣюсє цѣловати вы· и аще во
 10 лѣ б҃жїа боудеть· сѣблєноу ми быти до кон'ца·
 начетык' бо бл҃гостроинъ іе. аще же и бл҃гѣ оулоуѣоу
 да жрѣби свои бес порока въспримоу· бою бо [сє] люб
 ве ваше да не та мє прѣввидитъ· вамъ бо оудобъ
 іе иже хощєте створити· мнѣ же неоудобно іе· иже
 бѣ оулоуѣити· аще же вы не пощєдите мене· не хощѣ
 бо да вы чл҃вкомъ оугодите· ни аз бо николиже та
 ково врѣмє не имамъ имѣти· иже бѣ оулоуѣити.

ни вы аще оумльчите: лоуѣше дѣло имате: ѿмль-
 чите оубо ѿ мене: азъ оубо боудоу бѣжи: аще ли же
 20 пораците плъ мою: пакы боудоу теке вещь ми же
 не подадите: еже жреноу быти бѣи: доидѣже волъ
 тарь готовъ ѿ: да въ любви ликъ быѣвши: въспойтѣ
 оцѣви ѿ и ѿсѣ: ꙗко непіа сирѣискаго спобиль ѿ бѣ.
 вбръстисе въ западѣ ѿ востока: добро еже зайти
 ѿ мира къ боу: да въ него всинаю: николиже не за
 видите никомоуже: и инѣхъ наоучите: азъ же хощѣ
 и тѣхъ да тѣрди боудоутъ: еже оучеце заповѣдаите.

Folium 72v

тѣню силоу ми просите: изъѣтръ же и извѣн[...]
 дино да не тѣню глѣю нѣ и хощоу: да [...] тѣню и
 [...]ноуосе хрѣтыанинѣ: нѣ и вбръстень боудоу а[...]
 бо и обръстень боудоу могоу и глѣти: тѣгда и вѣ-
 нѣ вбръстисе: ꙗгда въ мурѣ боудоу ꙗвѣ: ниѣ[...]
 же видимо и вѣчѣно: видимо во вѣременѣ: а не [...] дима
 вѣчѣна: бѣ бо нашъ ѿсѣ хѣ въ ѿци се паѣе ꙗвл[ѣа]
 етъ: не множества дѣло нѣ величѣства ѿ хрѣтыа[нѣ]
 стѣно: ꙗгда ненавидимъ ѿ муромѣ: азъ пишоу къ [...] 10
 мѣ црѣвамѣ: и заповѣдаю всѣмъ ꙗко азъ по божи
 ѿмираю: аще же вы не възвранисте: молю вы не боу
 дѣте ми приаѣнъ безоумѣна: не дѣбите мене бра
 шно вѣти звѣремѣ: имиже ѿ бѣ оулоуѣити: пше
 ница не смѣ бѣи и зоубѣи звѣринѣи смилаюсе: да
 хлѣбъ ѣистъ вбрецоусе хѣвы, паѣе же оуласканиѣ з
 вѣри да грѣ ми боудоутъ: и да не вставеть ничесоже
 ѿ плѣты монахѣ: да ни оусѣпѣ. тегость комоу боудѣ,
 и тоѣа боудоу ѿченикъ ѿ хѣвъ по истинѣ: ꙗгда ни тѣ
 ло мое мирѣ оузритъ: помѣните бѣ за мѣ: да тѣмъ
 20 съсоудѣ и жрътва жива боудоу боу: не ꙗкоже петръ
 и павѣль повелѣваю вамѣ: ѿна апѣла. азъ же всѣ
 жѣеникъ: ѿна свободѣна, азъ рабѣ доселѣ: аще ли
 же пострададоу свободѣ боудоу ѿ хѣвъ: и встаноу
 ѿ немѣ свободѣ: нѣиа выоуѣю свѣзанѣ: ниѣтоже
 соуѣтно похотѣти: ѿ сиріе до рима борюсе съ звѣ
 рѣми. по земли и по морю, ноцию и дѣнию, свѣза
 нѣ съ. десетину: рисольвы еже ѿ ѣи нѣ воиньскѣ иже

Folium 73r

[...]принимающе · горши бывають · [...]ми

же ꙗ па҃че наказꙋюще, нѣ не тѣми ѿправданъ
 есмь. польза есмь звѣрьмъ оꙋготованымъ
 мнѣ. и мѣюсе да ми обрещоꙋтсе готови. ихже
 [...] ѡскорѣ ме снѣстѣи. не ꙗкоже нѣкъ
 [.д.] щесе не косноꙋшесе. и аще не хотеть ꙗ
 [аз ꙗ] приноꙋждоꙋ ꙗ. ѿрадит мы азъ вѣмъ ꙗ^{то}
 ми на ползоꙋ ꙗ. нѣа начинаю ѡченикъ бы
 ти. ничесоже не ревновати ми видимыхъ. да
 10 ѡлоꙋчю ꙗ х҃а. игнѣю пропетію. съставъ же и звѣ
 рьмъ. распараниа. ѿлоꙋчениа. расипани
 ꙗ костѣи. съсѣчение оꙋдовъ. съмѣниіе всего
 тѣлесе. и моꙋка дѣвола на ме да приидеть.
 тѣчию да и ꙗ х҃а оꙋлоꙋчю. никіеже ползи
 не створеть красна мира сего. ни цр҃твыа сего
 мира. добро ми ꙗ оꙋмрѣти въ х҃а ꙗ нежели
 ми цр҃товати конци землѣ. коа полза ꙗло
 вѣковы аще приѡбрещеть всъ миръ. а свою
 дѣлоꙋ ѡцетитъ. того ицоꙋ ѡмрѣшаго понитъ
 20 сѣѣ по ꙗа. того хоцоꙋ въскрѣшоꙋмоꙋ за нѣ попѣ
 стѣте ми братіе не застоꙋпаите ми жити.
 не похотѣите не оꙋмрѣти ми хотецаго вѣоꙋ
 бити. не ѡдадите мирови семоꙋ недѣите ꙗе
 сть приѣты. тамо шѣдъ бж҃и ꙗлѣкъ боꙋдоꙋ. по
 велите ми подражателю быти ба моего. иже
 иматьеого въ себѣ. да разоꙋмѣеть ꙗемоꙋже
 хоцоꙋ и да попоустит ми. свѣди съдрѣщаіа

Folium 73v

ме, властелинъ мира сего расхѣтити ме хоще
 ть, и волю мою ꙗже къ вѣоꙋ расыпати. и къ еж [...]
 ѡ соꙋщихъ же да не помагаетъ ꙗемоꙋ [...] ꙗ м
 нѣ быти сирѣчь бж҃ію. не гл҃те ꙗ х҃а [...]
 любите. завѣсть въ васъ да не живе[...]
 молю вы не послоꙋшайте мене. и [...]
 слоꙋшайте ихже пишоꙋ живъ къ вамъ. рачю
 ѡмрѣти. мое рачение пропето ꙗ. и нѣ въ м
 нѣ ѿгнѣ вещи любовь. вода жива и гл҃циа въ [...]
 10 ѡтрыдоꙋ ми гл҃еть греди къ ѡцоꙋ. не люблю п
 ище тлѣнниа. ни сласти житиа сего. хлѣбоꙋ бж҃и
 емоꙋ хоцоꙋ. хлѣбоꙋ небсномуꙋ. хлѣбоꙋ живо
 тномуꙋ иже есть плоть ꙗ х҃ва жива. бывшаго

20 ѿ сѣмене двѣва и авраамова· и пиво бжїе хо
 цюу крѣвь єго ꙗже ꙗже ѿ любви нетлѣнна. и прїнос[.]
 цина жизнь· не хоцю по члвчюмоу жити· б[.]
 деть же то аще вы хоцете· похотѣте да и вы по
 хотѣни боудете· малимы писмены прошоу ба
 имѣти вѣроу. ꙗко хс ꙗвити вамъ то ꙗко исти
 ноу гл҃ють не лжѣваѣ ѹста· въ еѣѣ немъ же ѿцѣ
 по истинѣ сз гл҃ь· просите да оулоуѣю· не по плѣтї
 вамъ написахъ нѣ по воли бжї· аще пострадаюу
 въсхотѣли есте. аще ѿвръжень боудюу, възнена
 видѣли есте· поминайте въ мѣстѣ вашей· и сꙋ
 рьскою цр҃квѣ· ꙗже въ мене мѣсто пастыра дръжъ
 х҃а, єдинъ ꙗко хс сьблюдетъ ю· и ваша любви єю· азъ
 же стыждоусѣ ѿ сихъ гл҃атисѣ· нѣсѣмъ бо недостѣинъ.

Folium 74r

послѣдны сихъ извръгъ· нѣ помилованъ єсѣмъ
 [.]ѣтѣ быти аще ба оулоуѣю· цѣлоуѣетъ вы мои дх҃ь·
 и любви цр҃квѣ. прїемши мѣ въ имѣ ꙗко х҃во, не ꙗко
 же мимоходящюу· несоущаѣ бо ми ближнѣѣ· пѣ
 темъ плѣтѣскыи· по градомъ мѣ проваждахюу.
 пишоу же вамъ ѿ измирныи си[и] єфесѣнны досто
 блжныи· ꙗже сѣ мною и сѣ инѣми многыи кр҃
 [о]къ· възлюбленое ми имѣ· и провождѣшими мѣ ѿ
 сиріе въ римъ· въ славою бжюу вѣрою познати
 вы· имже възвѣстисте близъ мѣ соуща· вси бо до
 стоини соутъ бжї· и вамъ вселичѣскы покоитіе.
 написахъ вамъ въ кг августъ· прѣвѣе дежеть
 каландѣ сѣктембра·

7.1.3. Diplomatic transcription of V.33

Folium 118r

ИГНАТИ

10 иже бгоносивыи. Милуваніи величїемъ
 ѿца вышнѣаго. ісха єдиночѣдааго сна єго,
 цр҃кви всвѣщенѣи, и просвѣщенѣи волею. въсхо
 тѣвшѣаго въсе. ꙗже єсть по вѣрѣ ісхѣ ба на
 шего. ꙗже сѣдѣти на мѣстѣ вси римьскыи.
 достовѣдѣныи. достолѣпныи. дѣблѣжныи,
 достохвалѣныи. достоуѣныи, досточѣстѣныи.

и [...] хѣтоименити. ѿѣименити. юже и цѣлоую
 въ имѣ ісѣа сѣа ѿѣа. по плѣты и дѣху съвькоупле
 нымъ, всѣми заповѣдми іего, испльнены
 мѣ блѣгѣтию бѣиію, нерасоумѣнымъ. ицѣ
 жѣнымъ ѿ всакоѣ тоуѣе шароты. много
 мѣ ѿ хѣ ісѣ бѣѣ нашемъ, непорочно радоватисе.
 много бо моливъсе гѣи оулоуѣихъ, достовидима
 ѣа ваша лица, іако же и вещь прошахъ приѣти све
 занъ за хѣа. надѣю же се и цѣловати вы аще воля
 бѣиіа боудѣтъ. сѣблену ми быти до конѣца, на
 чѣтъкъ бо блѣгостройнѣ естъ. аще же и блѣгъ
 оулоуѣю. да жѣрѣи свои не възбранно въсь при
 имоу, бою бо се іеда любовь ваша прѣвѣидитъ
 ме, вамъ бо оудовъ естъ іеже хощете створити.
 мнѣ же не оудовно естъ іеже бѣа оулоуѣити. аще
 же выи не пощѣдите мене, не хощоу бо давыи ѣло
 вѣкомъ оугодите. да боу оугодите іакоже и оуга

[preface]

20

Folium 118v

жѣа ете, ни азъ того не имамъ имѣти, іеже бѣа
 оулоуѣити. ни вы и аще оумлѣѣте, лоуѣше дѣло
 имате. аще бо оумлѣѣте ѿ мене азъ боудоу бѣи,
 аще ли вы и хощете плѣть мою. пакы боудоу те
 кыи, вещь же ми не поданте, іеже пожреному
 быти бѣи, до идѣе ѿльтаріа давъ любовь ли
 ка бывше. въспоете ѿѣе ви ѿ ісѣ, іако іепѣа аси
 рискааго сѣбиль бѣ. ѿвѣстисе възпадѣ ѿ въ
 стока. добро естъ іеже заити ѿ мира къ боу. да оу
 него въсиіаю. іеѣа бо въ мирѣ боудоу ничѣсоже ви
 димо вѣѣно. видимаа бо вѣѣменѣна. а не види
 маѣа вѣѣна, бѣ бо нашъ ісѣ хѣ въ ѿѣи се паѣе іа
 влаіетъ, не множѣства дѣло, нѣ велиіѣства
 естъ хѣѣтиіанѣство, іеѣда ненавиіѣимо естъ
 миромъ. азъ пишоу всѣмъ цѣѣвѣамъ. и заповѣ
 даю всѣмъ. іако азъ пониѣхъ оумираю, аще выи
 не възбраните, молю вы не боудѣте ми приіазнѣ
 безоумѣна, недѣѣте мене брашно быти звѣѣремъ.
 имѣже естъ бѣа оулоуѣити. пѣшеница есмъ бѣиіа,
 и зоубы звѣѣрини сѣмилиіаюсе. да хлѣбъ ѣиетъ ѿвѣѣ
 цоуѣсе хоу моемоу. паѣе же звѣѣрне да ми гробъ боу
 доутъ, да не вѣставѣтъ ничѣсоже плѣти моеѣ, да

10

20

ни посмр'ти комоу те гостъ боудоу, тѣ ꙗ боудоу
оученикъ іс хѣвъ поистинѣ, ꙗко ни тѣла моего
миръ оузритъ, помолите ꙗ за ме. да тѣми съсоу
ди жрьт'ва бѣина боудоу. не ꙗкоже петръ и пауль
повелѣваю вамъ. ѡнааплѣ кѣста. азъ же ѡсоу
женикъ. ѡна свобод'на, азъ же доселѣ рабъ,

Folium 119r

- аще ли спостраждоу свобод'никъ боудоу іс хѣвъ,
и встаноу ѡ немъ свободъ, нѣна вы оучю свезанъ,
ничесомоуже мир'ноу и соует'ноу похотѣти
ѡ суринѣ до рима бороусѣ съ звѣр'ми. по зѣлми и
по морю, въ ноць и въ днѣ, свезанъ съ. ꙗко рысо
львы. рек'ше ѡ имъ, иже и добро принимающе,
гор'ше бывають. ѡбидами же паче наказуюсѣ,
нѣ не тѣми ѡправданъ есмь. польза есмь зѣвѣ
ремъ оуготованыи имъ мнѣ. и млюсѣ да ми
10 се ѡбрѣцоутъ готови. и нѣна начинаю оученикъ
быти. ничесомоуже не рев'новати видимы
хъ, да оулоучю іс хѣа. ѡгнь же, и пропетіе. съ
ставъ же звѣрини. распараниа. ѡлоучениа.
расипаниа кости, съсечениа оудовъ. съмлени
ѡ всего телесе, имоукадиа волѣа на ме да принде
тъ, тѣкмо хѣа да оулоучю. лоучѣ ми за хѣа оумрѣ
ти, нежели ѡбладати всею землею, каѣа бо по
льза члѣкоу аще и весь миръ приѡбрѣщеть,
а свою дшю ѡцѣтитъ. того ицоу оумьршааго за
20 ны, томоу хоцоу въскр'с'шоумоу насъ ради,
попоустите ми братіе не застоупайте ми жи
ти, да боудоу подражателъ бѣа моего, иже има
тъ ꙗго въсебѣ да разоумѣють ꙗмоуже хоцѣ ж да
попоуститъ ми, свѣды и съдръжецаѣа ме, вла
стелинъ мира сего расхытити ме хоцѣтъ, и
волю мою ꙗже къ бѣу расыпати. паче же пишоу ва
мъ послоушайте, и ꙗще живъ сы и рацю оумрѣ
ти, мое раченіе пропето кѣтъ, инѣсть въм'нѣ

Folium 119v

ѡгнь вещи любовьнѣ. вода жива и глѣющии въ мнѣ
оутрьюдоу ми глѣтъ. греди къ ѡцоу. не блюди пи
ще тлѣн'ны. ни сласти житиѣа сего. хлѣбоу бѣи
ю хоцоу. хлабоу нѣномоу. хлабоу животному.

неже есть плоть ис х̑а ба. бывшааго послѣже ѿсѣ
 мене двѣа. и авраамова. и пивоу бѣи нѣмоу хоцоу
 крове нѣго, яже есть любви не тлѣнна. и присноу
 цѣна жизнь, имѣте ми вѣроу яко ис х̑ъ явити
 вамъ то. яко истину глѣють нелъжива оуста,
 10 въ нѣмъ же ѿцѣ поистинѣ съгладаль. просите да оу
 лоучите. не по плоти вамъ написахъ нь поволибо
 жии, аще постраждоу въсхотѣсте. Аще ѿврь
 жень боудоу възненавидѣсте, поминайте въ мо
 литвѣ асүринскою црѣвь. яже въ мене мѣсто
 дръжить пастыря х̑а, единъ бо ис х̑ъ съблюдетъ
 ю. и ваша любви нѣю, азъ же стыждоусе ѿ нихъ
 глѣати, нѣсмь ни достоинъ же послѣдѣнии сихъ
 и изврагъ, нь помлванъ есмь да ба оулоучю,
 целоучетъ вы мои дх̑ъ. и любви црѣвь. приемъ
 20 шихъ ме выиме ис х̑во, не яко же мимоходяща.
 несоущаа бо ми ближиаа поутемъ плѣтскы.
 по градомъ ме проваждахоу.

7.2. Interlinear collation

Preface				
Line 1				
Translation	Ignatius, who is also called God-bearer, to the church that has obtained mercy by the greatness of the Father Most High and Jesus Christ his only Son			
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	Ιγνάτιος,	ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος,	τῇ ἡλεημένη ἐν μεγαλειότητι	ὑψίστου Θεοῦ πατρός καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ υἱοῦ
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	Ιγνάτιος,	ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος,	τῇ ἡλεημένη ἐν μεγαλειότητι	πατρός ὑψίστου καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ μόνου υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ
Latin long recension	Ignatius,	qui et Theophorus,	misericordiam consecutae in magnitudine	Dei altissimi, Patris Iesu Christi unigeniti eius Filii,
Latin middle recension (L)	Ignatius,	qui et Theophorus,	habenti propiationem in magnitudine	Patris altissimi et Iesu Christi, solius Filii ipsius,
C. I. 10	ἰγνάτιος	ὁ καὶ θεοφῶρος	τῇ ἡλεημένη ἐν μεγαλότιτι	πατρός ὑψίστου πνεύματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ μόνου υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ
H. 644	ΙΓΝΑΤΙΗΕ	ИЖЕ БГОНОСИВЪ.	ΜΛΤΗΙΘ Η ΒΕΛΗΓΗΙΕΜЪ	ΟΪΔ ΒΥΗΗΗΙΑΔΓΟ. Η̅ΕΔ Χ̅ΕΔ ΙΕΔΗΗΟΓΕΔΔΑΓΟ Σ̅ΗΑ ΙΕΓΟ.
V. 33	ΙΓΝΑΤΙΗΕ	ИЖЕ БГОНОСИВЪ.	ΜΗΛΟΒΑΗΗΗΜЪ ΒΕΛΗΓΗΙΕΜЪ	ΩΪΔ ΒΥΗΗΗΙΑΔΓΟ. ΙC ΧΔ ΙΕΔΗΗΟΓΕΔΔΑΓΟ Σ̅ΗΑ ΙΕΓΟ.
Critical apparatus	ὁ > K καὶ : πνς T			
Observations	"Apparently, the Greek τῇ ἡλεημένη was too far removed from ἐκκλησίᾳ (in the next line) for them to be linked together in the translation. Instead of dativus fem. sing. [ΜΗΛΟΒΑΗΗΗ] to be read with ιρζκζβη (ἐκκλησίᾳ), we have to read substantivized dativus masc. plur. μιλοβανηιμъ, "to those who have obtained mercy" according to the reading of group 3 (apparently read at the same level as ἠνωμένοις – πεπληρωμένοις - ἀποδιῶλισμένοις / сѡбзкоупленныиъ – исплзненныиъ – ицѣждєнныиъ in the last part of the preface). This, however, caused confusion, as ἐν μεγαλειότητι was translated as an instrumentalis neutr. βεληγιεμъ ("by the greatness"), while dativus masc. plur. can hardly be distinguished from instrumentalis neutr. sing. due to the orthographic particularities of the manuscripts. This naturally caused милованыиъ to be read together with the instrumentalis βεληγιεμъ next to it, which is obviously non-sensical ("by the great-ness that has obtained mercy"). The variant readings of groups 1-2 and 4-5 can be understood as attempts to make sense of it, in 1-2 by writing μιλοστιηικ η βεληγιεμъ ("by the mercy and greatness of the Father ..."), in 4-5 by joining помилованыи to Игнатие ("Ignatius, ..., who has obtained mercy")." (Sels 2023: 109) "Note the Slavonic reading ιεδηηογεδαγο, "only-begotten", which agrees with Greek μονογενοῦς of the so-called "long recension" against μόνου in the 'middle recension'." (Sels 2023: 110) The Latin middle recension has the perfect equivalent of the Greek <i>Taurinensis</i>.			
Line 2				
Translation	the church that is loved and enlightened by the will of the one who has willed everything that is,			
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	ἐκκλησίᾳ ἡγιασμένη	καὶ πεφωτισμένη ἐν θελήματι	θεοῦ τοῦ ποιήσαντος τὰ πάντα,	ᾗ ἔστιν,
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	ἐκκλησίᾳ ἡγαπημένη	καὶ πεφωτισμένη ἐν θελήματι	τοῦ θελήσαντος τὰ πάντα,	ᾗ ἔστιν,
Latin long recension	ecclesiae sanctificatae	et illuminatae in voluntate Dei,	qui fecit omnia,	quae sunt,
Latin middle recension (L)	ecclesiae dilectae	et illuminatae in voluntate	volentis omnia,	quae sunt
C. I. 10	ἐκκλησίᾳ ἡγιασμένη	καὶ πεφωτισμένη ἐν θελήματι	τοῦ θελήσαντος τὰ πάντα	ᾗ ἔστιν
H. 644	ЦРКВИ УСИПЕН'НЪИ.	И ПРОСВѢЩЕН'НЪИ ВОЛЕЮ.	ΟΛΗΕΨΑΔΓΟ ΒCΘ	ЖЕ ΙΕ.
V. 33	ЦРКВИ УСИПѢНЪИ,	И ПРОСВѢЩЕНЪИ ВОЛЕЮ.	ΒCΧΟ Τ'ΒΕΨΑΔΑΓΟ ΒΗCΘ	ΙΕЖЕ ΙΕCΤЪ.
Critical apparatus	ἡγαπημένη GHKLSmAmM : ἡγιασμένη T(A)g, τετιμημένη C τὰ πάντα GHKgM : ἀπάντα (sic) T ???			
Observations	The <i>Taurinensis</i> has also τὰ πάντα, but the τ is difficult to read. Therefore, it does not differ from the other readings of the manuscripts. "Groups 1-3 (A.1) have усиπєнѣи, "sanctified", which agrees with Greek ἡγιασμένη of the 'long recension' against the expected ἡγαπημένη of the 'middle recension'." (Sels 2023: 110) The variant reading of the long recension ἡγιασμένη is not taken over in the Latin middle recension.			
Line 3				
Translation	according to the faith and love of Jesus Christ, our God;			
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	κατὰ πίστιν καὶ ἀγάπην Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν,			
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	κατὰ πίστιν καὶ ἀγάπην Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν,			
Latin long recension	secundum fidem et dilectionem Iesu Christi, Dei et salvatoris nostri,			
Latin middle recension (L)	secundum dilectionem Iesu Christi Dei nostri,			

C. I. 10 κατὰ πίστην καὶ ἀγάπην Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν·
H. 644 ω β'β'ρ'β' ι̅ι̅ςα χ̅α̅ β̅α НАШЕГО.
V. 33 πο β'β'ρ'β' ις̅χ̅β'β' β̅α НАШЕГО.

Critical apparatus πίστιν καὶ TAAmCg Lightf. (cf. Eph. 14.1; 20.1) : > GHKLSmM Zahn Funk Hilgenf.

Observations "Groups 1-3 (A.1) have no (var. 0) β'β'ρ'β' ("according to the faith"), which is more in line with the Greek 'long recension' (κατὰ πίστιν [καὶ ἀγάπην]) than with the 'middle recension' (κατὰ ἀγάπην)." (Sels 2023: 110)

The Latin middle recension omits the long recension reading of πίστην καὶ which the *Taurinensis* preserves.

Line 4				
Translation	the church that is presiding in the land of the Romans, worthy of God, worthy of honor, worthy of blessing, worthy of praise, worthy of success, worthy of holiness,			
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	ἡ τις καὶ προκάθεται ἐν τόπῳ χωρίου Ῥωμαίων,	ἀξιόθεος, ἀξιοπρεπής,	ἀξιομακάριστος, ἀξιέπαινος,	ἀξιοεπίτευκτος, ἀξίαγνος
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	ἡ τις καὶ προκάθεται ἐν τόπῳ χωρίου Ῥωμαίων,	ἀξιόθεος, ἀξιοπρεπής,	ἀξιομακάριστος, ἀξιέπαινος,	ἀξιοεπίτευκτος, ἀξίαγνος
Latin long recension	quae et praesidet in loco regionis Romanorum,	Deo dignae, eminentia dignae,	beatitudine dignae, laude dignae,	fide dignae, castitate dignae,
Latin middle recension (L)	quae et praesidet in loco chori Romanorum,	digna Deo, digna decentia,	digna beatitudine, digna laude,	digne ordinata, digne casta
C. I. 10	ἡ τις καὶ προκάθεται ἐν τόπῳ χωρίου Ῥωμέων	ἀξιόθεος· ἀξιοπρεπής·	ἀξιομακάριστος· ἀξιέπαινος·	ἀξιεπίτευκτος· ἀξιαγαστος·
H. 644	ИЖЕ И СЪДНТЬ НА МЪСТЪ ВЪСИ РИМСКИН.	ДОСТΩДНЕНИИ ДОСТΩΛЪПНЫИ.	ДОСТΩБѢЖНЫИ, ДОСТΩΧΕАЛНЫИ.	ДОСТОДЪΛΟΥГЪНЕНИИ, ДОСТОИНОУТИВЫИ.
V. 33	ИЖЕ СЪДНТЬ НА МЪСТЪ ВСИ РИМСКЫЕ.	ДОСТОВИДЪНЫИ. ДОСТОΛЪПНЫИ.	ДОбѢЖЕНЫИ, ДОСТОΧЕАЛИНЫИ.	ДОСТОУГЪМНЫИ, ДОСТОУБЪСТЪНЫИ.
Critical apparatus	ἀξίαγνος Kg : ἀξιαγαστος T			
Observations	"The enumeration in praise of the Church of Rome (ἐκκλησία/ цр̑кѡви, feminine both in Greek and Slavonic) ἀξιόθεος, ἀξιοπρεπής, ἀξιομακάριστος, ἀξιέπαινος, ἀξιοεπίτευκτος, ἀξίαγνος καὶ προκαθήμενη τῆς ἀγάπης, χριστόνομος, πατρώνυμος, (ἦν καὶ ἀσπάζομαι ...) — with the misleadingly masculine-looking endings of the compounds — led to confusion: the grammatically erroneous reading with the masculine endings of groups 1 and 3 (also reflected in group 5) has to be accepted in the archetype — ДОСТОВИДНЫИ, ДОСТОΛЪПНЫИ, ДОСТΩБЛАЖЕНЫИ, ДОСТΩΧΕАЛНЫИ, ДОСТОУЛОУГЪНЕНИИ, ДОСТОУБЪСТЫНИИ И ПРѢДЪСѢДИИ ЛЮБВИ, ХРИСТОИМЕНИТЫИ, ОТЪЧЕИМЕНИТЫИ, ИЖЕ И ЦѢЛОУЖ — as it reflects the grammatical peculiarity of the Greek (and the lectio difficilior) and hence the original translation. It makes the Slavonic text extremely confusing, as Greek προκαθήμενη and ἦν have been translated with feminine endings: ПРѢДЪСѢДИИ И ИЖЕ. Even if an editor may be tempted by the option of a grammatically correct text, the feminine endings of groups 2 and 4 must be considered the result of secondary correction." (Sels 2023: 109-110)			

"In line 3 also the use of the simple verb сѣднѣ (~ κάθεται) for compound προκαθεται should be noted, a variant not registered in the Greek editions (while in line 5 we have regular прѣдъсѣдиши, with prefix, for προκαθήμενη)." (Sels 2023: 110)

The reading chori of the Latin middle recension seems to be a literal equivalent for the Greek χωρίου. Furthermore, the nominative adjectives "digna" are dependent from the word "church" ("ecclesia" in the nominative) which is more clear in the Latin middle recension, since the Latin long recension seems to allign these adjectives (in the genitive case) with the female genitive "regionis".

Line 5				
Translation	and preeminent in love, a church that keeps the law of Christ and bears the name of the Father;			
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	καὶ προκαθήμενη τῆς ἀγάπης,	χριστόνομος,	πατρώνυμος,	πνευματοφόρος,
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	καὶ προκαθήμενη τῆς ἀγάπης,	χριστόνομος,	πατρώνυμος,	
Latin long recension	fundatae in dilectione	et lege Christi,	paternum nomen habenti,	spiritiferae;
Latin middle recension (L)	et praesidens in caritate,	Christi habens legem,	Patris nomen,	
C. I. 10	καὶ προκαθήμενη τῆς ἀγάπης·	χριστόνυμος·	πατρώνυμος·	
H. 644	И ПРѢДЪСѢДИИ ЛЮБВИ,	[Х̅В̅]ЫИ. ИМЕНИТЫИ.	У҃҃҃ЕНИМЕНИТЫИ	
V. 33	И	Х̅҃҃ТОИМЕНИТЫИ.	У҃҃҃ЕНИМЕНИТЫИ.	
Critical apparatus	πατρώνυμος HT			
Observations	"Slavonic христоименитыи corresponds to χριστόνυμος rather than to [χριστόνομος] as echoed in the Latin of the ‘middle recension’." (Sels 2023: 110)			
	The Latin middle recension does not correspond to the variant reading of the <i>Taurinensis</i> (χριστόνυμος).			

Line 6	
Translation	this is the church that I greet in the name of Jesus Christ, the Son of the Father.
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	ἦν καὶ ἀσπάζομαι ἐν ὀνόματι θεοῦ παντοκράτορος καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ·
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	ἦν καὶ ἀσπάζομαι ἐν ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, υἱοῦ πατρὸς·
Latin long recension	quam et saluto in nomine Dei omnipotentis et Iesu Christi Filii eius , qui est secundum carnem et spiritum ;
Latin middle recension (L)	quam et saluto in nomine Iesu Christi, Filii Patris; secundum carnem et spiritum
C. I. 10	ἦν καὶ ἀσπάζομε ἐν ὀνόματι .. Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ πατρὸς κατὰ σάρκαν καὶ πνεῦμα(·)
H. 644	ѿже и цѣловѣю [в] имѣ їа х҃а с҃на б҃жїа. по плѣти и д҃хуꙋ съвѣкоꙋплєнымь.
V. 33	юже и цѣловѣю въ имѣ іс҃ха с҃на в҃ѣа. по плѣты и д҃хуꙋ сꙋвѣкоꙋплєнымь,
Critical apparatus	
Observations	The Latin middle recension is close to the <i>Taurinensis</i> , except for "Iesu Christi, Filii Patris", which is reversed in the <i>Taurinensis</i> to Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ and a rendering of son is omitted. The Slavonic translation, especially V.33 renders the Latin middle recension the most literal.

Line 7				
Translation	And I extend warmest greetings blamelessly in Jesus Christ, our God, to those who are united in both flesh and spirit in his every commandment, filled with the gracious gift of God without wavering, and filtered from every unsuitable taint.			
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	τοῖς κατὰ σάρκα καὶ πνεῦμα ἡνωμένοις πάσῃ ἐντολῇ αὐτοῦ,	πεπληρωμένοις πάσης χάριτος θεοῦ ἀδιακρίτως	καὶ αποδιῶλισμένους ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀλλοτρίου χρώμα· πλεῖστα ἐν θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ καὶ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν <u>Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ</u> ἀμώμως χαίρειν.	
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	κατὰ σάρκα καὶ πνεῦμα ἡνωμένοις πάσῃ ἐντολῇ αὐτοῦ,	πεπληρωμένοις χάριτος θεοῦ ἀδιακρίτως,	καὶ αποδιῶλισμένοι ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀλλοτρίου χρώματ· πλεῖστα ἐν <u>Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ</u> , τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν, ἀμώμως χαίρειν.	
Latin long recension	adunatis in mandato eius,	repletis gratia Dei inseparabiliter	et ablutis ab omni alieno colore atque immaculatis, plurimam in Deo Patre et Domino nostro Iesu Christo salutem .	
Latin middle recension (L)	unitis in omni mandato ipsius,	impletis gratia Dei indivisimi	et abstractis ab omni alieno colore plurimum in Iesu Christo, Deo nostro, immaculate gaudere.	
C. I. 10	ἡνομένοις πάσαις ἐντολαῖς αὐτοῦ·	πεπληρωμένοις πάσης χάριτος θεοῦ ἀδιακρίτως	καὶ αποδιῶλισμένους ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀλλοτρίου χρώματος,	πλεῖστα ἐν θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ καὶ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν <u>Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ</u> [...]. ἀμώμως χαίρειν.
H. 644	всѣмь заповѣдѣмь їего.	и испльнєнїемъ [вѣ]г҃нию б҃жїею.	нерасоꙋмнєнїемъ ицѣждєн[и]ємъ ѳюждєнє всакоїє шаротыи.	многo в <u>х҃ѣ и [ѣ]ѣ</u> г҃аѣ нашемъ. неперoꙋг҃но радoвaтисє.
V. 33	всѣмн заповѣдѣмн їего,	исплѣнєнымь вѣг҃нию б҃жїею,	нерасоꙋмнѣнымь.ицѣжєнымь ѿ всакоїє тоꙋг҃жєнє шароты.	многoмъ в <u>х҃ѣ їсѣ</u> б҃зѣ нашемъ, неперoꙋг҃но радoвaтисє.
Critical apparatus				
πάση ἐντολῇ GHKLCg : πάσαις ἐντολαῖς Tsm(A)Am Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ GKLSmAAmg : ~ HTCM (slecht leesbaar)				
Observations				
"The plural всѣмн заповѣдѣмн is paralleled only in codex Taurinensis (T) (πάσαις ἐντολαῖς), which, remarkably, also has the ‘long recession’ readings ἡγιασμένη (~ κειμένη) in line 2 and κατὰ πίστιν (~ по вѣрѣ) in line 3 mentioned supra." (Sels 2023: 110)				
"The remarkable inversion ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ (also typical of the Metaphrast text) is found in (the Jerusalem codex and in) codex Taurinensis as well as in Slavonic (о Христѣ И҃сꙋсъ)." (Sels 2023: 110)				
The Latin middle recension has the singular "omni mandato" (against the plural of the <i>Taurinensis</i> and the Slavonic translation of <i>H.644</i> and <i>V.33</i>) and does not share either the inversion of ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ (<i>Taurinensis</i> and Slavonic translation of <i>H.644</i> and <i>V.33</i>).				

Paragraph 1				
Line 1				
Translation	Since by my prayer to God I have managed to see your faces, which are worthy of God—as indeed I have asked to receive even more,			
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	Ἐπεὶ εὐξάμενος τῷ θεῷ	ἐπέτυχον ἰδεῖν ὑμῶν <u>τὰ ἁγιάθєα πρόσωπα</u> ,	ὥς καὶ πλέον ἡτούμην λαβεῖν	
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	Ἐπεὶ εὐξάμενος τῷ θεῷ	ἐπέτυχον ἰδεῖν ὑμῶν τὰ ἁγιάθєα πρόσωπα,	ὥς καὶ πλέον ἡτούμην λαβεῖν	
Latin long recension	Deprecans Deum	merui videre <u>dignos vultus vestros</u> ,	sicuti plurimum optabam promereri	
Latin middle recension (L)	Deprecans Deum	attigi videre vestras dignas visione facies,	ut et amplius petebam accipere;	
C. I. 10	Ἐπεὶ εὐξάμενος τῷ θεῷ	ἐπέτοихν ἰδεῖν ὑμῶν <u>τὰ ἁγιάθєа πρόσωπα</u> ·	ὡς καὶ πλέον ἡτούμην λαβεῖν.	
H. 644	поиже [п]омолихєе б҃гн .	Ѧлогꙋ҃чихъ доствои҃димаѡа <u>лица</u> вaша·	ѡскаже и вєиє прошахъ приєти·	
V. 33	многo бо молихѣе г҃ѣи	оꙋлогꙋ҃чихъ, доствои҃димаѡа <u>вaша лица</u> ,	ѡскаже и вєиє прошахъ приєти свезанъ за х҃а.	

Critical apparatus	ἀξιόθεα <i>GHT</i> g (~ <i>dignos</i> l)], ἀξιοθέατα K Met. (~ dignas visione L) ὥς G Met. (~ <i>ut</i> L, <i>sicuti</i> l)] οὕς g
Observations	Variation in 1 and 3 can be understood as the result of simple textual transmission (with group 3's <i>μνησθησθ</i> [μολιςθ] as a secondary corruption of origal <i>πονησε</i> πο[μολιςθ] ~ ἐπεὶ εὐζάμενος, and common variation in the word order of <i>ἀνιца βαшиа</i>), while the readings of 4-5 point to external influence. The original translation <i>ΔΟΥΤΟΥΔΗΜΑΙΑ</i> seems to render Greek variant reading ἀξιοθέατα (or ἀξιόθεα) in the sense “worth seeing” (<i>dignas visione</i>) The two groups that are closest to the archetype, viz. group 1 and 3, do not have a literal translation of Greek <i>ἰδεῖν</i> : they render “ἐπέτυχον ἰδεῖν” / “I have managed to see” simply by “οὐλογχιχα”, “I have attained”. The Latin middle recension has the variant reading ἀξιόθεα or ἀξιοθέατα with the interpretation of "worthy of seeing".

Line 2				
Translation	for I hope to greet you while in chains in Christ Jesus, if indeed it be the will of the one who has made me worthy to endure until the end.			
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	δεδεμένος <i>γὰρ</i> ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ	ἐλπίζω ὑμᾶς ἀσπάσασθαι,	ἐάνπερ θέλημα ᾗ τοῦ	ἀξιωθῆναί με εἰς τέλος εἶναι
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	δεδεμένος <i>γὰρ</i> ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ	ἐλπίζω ὑμᾶς ἀσπάσασθαι,	ἐάνπερ θέλημα ᾗ τοῦ	ἀξιωθῆναί με εἰς τέλος εἶναι
Latin long recension	Vinctus <i>enim</i> in Christo Iesu	spero vos salutare,	siquidem fuerit voluntas illius	qui dignum me faciat usque in finem propositum meum consum
Latin middle recension (L)	ligatus enim in Christo	spero vos salutare.	siquidem voluntas sit,	ut dignificer in finem esse.
C. I. 10	δεδεμένος <i>γὰρ</i> ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ·	ἐλπίζω ὑμᾶς ἀσπάσασθαι·	ἐάνπερ θέλημα <i>τοῦ</i> θεοῦ ᾗ·	τοῦ ἀξιωθεῖναι με εἰς τέλος εἶναι·
H. 644	свѣдѣнь <i>w</i> χ'ѣ. їсѣ їи нашѣмъ·	НАД'ѢЮСЕ Ц'ѢЛОБАДѢИ ВЪ·	И АЦМЕ ВОЛІА Б'ЖІІА ВОУ'ДѢТЬ·	сѣ̀поєлїєноу' ми єѡггѣи до ко҃н'ца·
V. 33	свѣдѣнь <i>3a</i> χ'ѣ.	НАД'ѢЮ ЖЕ СЕ И Ц'ѢЛОБАДѢИ ВЪ.	АЦМЕ ВОЛІА Б'ЖІІА ВОУ'ДѢТЬ.	сѣ̀поєлїєноу' ми єѡггѣи до ко҃н'ца.
Critical apparatus	<i>γὰρ</i> T g L] <i>om. GHK Met.</i> θέλημα L S C g : θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ <i>GHKT</i> M			
Observations	The Slavonic archetype seems to render a Greek version without <i>γὰρ</i> (Par., Hier., Sin., Met.; om. Slav) and with θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ (Par., Hier., Sin., Taur. [GrSho], Met.; <i>βολια божїиа</i> Slav). The Latin middle recension renders the <i>Taurinensis</i> very close, especially in the last part "ut dignificer in finem esse". It translates some words differently from the long recension (e.g. ligatus versus vinctus and dignificer versus dignum me faciat).			

Line 3			
Translation	For the beginning is auspicious, if I can indeed obtain the gracious gift I need to receive my lot without any impediment.		
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχὴ εὐοικονόμητός ἐστιν,	<u>ἐάνπερ χάριτος ἐπιτύχω</u>	εἰς τὸ τὸν κληρὸν μου εἰς πέρας ἀνεμποδίστως ἀπολαβεῖν
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχὴ εὐοικονόμητός ἐστιν,	<u>ἐάνπερ χάριτος ἐπιτύχω</u>	εἰς τὸ τὸν κληρὸν μου ἀνεμποδίστως ἀπολαβεῖν
Latin long recension	Illa vero principia bonae conversationis sunt	siquidem per gratiam meruero sortem meam	usque in finem sine impedimento percipere.
Latin middle recension (L)	Principium quidem enim bene dispensatum est,	siquidem gratia mea potiar,	ad hereditatem meam sine impedimento lucrari.
C. I. 10	ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχή. εὐοικονόμητός ἐστιν·	<u>ἐάνπερ χάριτος ἐπιτύχω</u>	εἰς τὸ τὸν κληρὸν μου ἀνεμποδίστως ἀπολαβεῖν
H. 644	НАУЕГЪК' БО БЛГОУГРОИИЪ ІѢ.	АЦМЕ ЖЕ И БЛГТЬ ОУЛОУ'УУ	ДА ЖРѢБИ СВОИ БЕС ПОРОКА ВЪСЪПРИИМОУ·
V. 33	НАУЕГЪКЪ БО БЛГОУГРОИИЪ ІЄТЪ.	<u>АЦМЕ ЖЕ И БЛГТЬ ОУЛОУ'ΥΙΟ.</u>	ДА ЖРѢБИ СВОИ НЕВЪЗБРАНИНО ВЪСЪПРИИМОУ,
Critical apparatus	ἐάνπερ χάριτος <i>GHKT</i> L g M : ἐὰν πέρατος S A, si finem etiam gratiae (per gratiam C) assequar Am C (Sm) τὸ T g (codd. c n) : <i>GHK</i> M g (cod. m)		
Observations	The reading <u>АЦМЕ ЖЕ И БЛГТЬ ОУЛОУ'УУ</u> corresponds to the reading <u>ἐάνπερ χάριτος ἐπιτύχω</u> , agreeing, as could be suspected, with the Greek witnesses of the martyrrium (<i>GHKT</i>) and the Greek long recension (g).		

Line 4				
Translation	For I am afraid of your love, that it may do me harm. For it is easy for you to do what you want,			
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	φοβοῦμαι γὰρ τὴν ἀγάπην ὑμῶν	μή αὐτὴ με ἀδικήσῃ	ὁμῖν γὰρ εὐχερές ἐστιν	ὁ θέλετε ποιῆσαι
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	φοβοῦμαι γὰρ τὴν ὑμῶν ἀγάπην,	μή αὐτὴ με ἀδικήσῃ	ὁμῖν γὰρ εὐχερές ἐστιν,	ὁ θέλετε ποιῆσαι
Latin long recension	Timeo enim dilectionem vestram	ne ipsa me laedat.	Vobis enim facile est,	quod vultis facere
Latin middle recension (L)	Timeo enim caritatem vestram,	ne ipsa me laedat.	Vobis enim facile est,	quod vultis facere;
C. I. 10	φοβοῦμε γὰρ τὴν ἀγάπην ὑμῶν.	μή αὐτὴ με ἀδικήσῃ	ὁμῖν γὰρ εὐχερές ἐστιν	
H. 644	βοιο βο [ce] <u>λιουβεε βασιε</u>	<u>да не та</u> ме прѣвбвѣдитъ	вѣмъ бо оудѡѡ ѿ	ѣже хоуѣте створити
V. 33	βοιο βο ce	<u>ѣда лиуβεѣ вашиа</u> прѣвбвѣдитъ ме.	вѣмъ бо оудѡѡ ѣетъ	ѣже хоуѣте створити,
Critical apparatus	ὁμῶν ἀγάπην GHKM ~ TLg			
Observations	The <i>Taurinensis</i> (C.I.10) follows the longer Latin and Greek recension (g) as concerns word order, which is literally rendered in its Slavonic translations.			
	The Hilandar manuscript (<i>H.644</i>) renders a translation closer to the Greek, which has the object in the main clause (ἀγάπην ὑμῶν - лиуβεε βασιε) and repeats this with pronoun (αὐτὴ - та) in the subclause; whereas <i>V.33</i> only mentions "your love" in the subclause as its subject, which does not affect the meaning of the sentence. In the subclause of <i>V.33</i> , ѣда could be seen as an alternative to да не , expressing a negative final clause.			
	The Latin middle recension tends to translate "love" with "caritas" against the long recension rendering "dilectio" (cfr. preface line 3 and infra, e.g. paragraph 2 line 7), but it follows the reading of the <i>Taurinensis</i> (together with the Greek long recension) in reversing the word order to ἀγάπην ὑμῶν.			

Line 5				
Translation	but it is difficult for me to attain to God, if you do not spare me.			
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	ἐμοὶ δὲ δύσκολόν ἐστιν	τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν	ἐάνπερ ὑμεῖς μὴ φείσησθέ μου	προφάσει φιλίας σαρκίνης
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	ἐμοὶ δὲ δύσκολόν ἐστιν	τὸ θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν	ἐάνπερ ὑμεῖς μὴ φείσησθέ μου	
Latin long recension	mihi autem difficile est	Deum promereri	Tamen potero, si vos pe perceritis mihi	<i>occasione amicitiae carnalis.</i>
Latin middle recension (L)	mihi autem difficile est	Deo potiri,	siquidem vos non parcitis mihi.	
C. I. 10		то θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν.	ἐάνπερ *****	
H. 644	μη҃ѣ же неоу҃доуѣно ѿ	ѣже ѣа оу҃логу҃ити	аце же вѣї не поѣмѣдитъ мене	
V. 33	μη҃ѣ же неоу҃доуѣно ѣетъ	ѣже ѣа оу҃логу҃ити.	аце же выи не поѣмѣдитъ мене,	
Critical apparatus	***** missing in C.I.10 μη L S (A) g : om. GHK Sm Am (C) M δ - ἐστιν > T (homoeot) τὸ Tg (codd. C n) : τοῦ GHKg (cod m) M			
Observations	The <i>Taurinensis</i> follows here the long Greek recension (g) with the article τὸ. It goes with the previous clause ὁμῖν γὰρ εὐχερές ἐστιν and displays an articular infinitive construction, which is rendered in the Slavonic translations. However, an accusative-with-infinitive clause was expected (viz. ἐπιτυχεῖν). The article τοῦ belongs to θεοῦ (as a complement with ἐπιτυχεῖν), but it might be possible that the article in genitive was simplified to an accusative. As a consequence an articular infinitive constructions was created.			

Paragraph 2				
Line 1				
Translation	For I do not want you to please people but to please God, as indeed you are doing.			
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	Οὐ θέλω γὰρ	ὐμᾶς ἀνθρωπαρεσκήσαι,	ἀλλὰ θεῷ ἀρέσαι,	ὥσπερ καὶ ἀρέσκετε
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	Οὐ γὰρ θέλω	ὐμᾶς ἀνθρωπαρεσκήσαι,	ἀλλὰ θεῷ ἀρέσαι,	ὥσπερ καὶ ἀρέσκετε
Latin long recension	Nolo igitur	vos homini placere,	sed Deo,	sicuti et com placuistis
Latin middle recension (L)	Non enim volo	vos hominibus placere,	sed Deo placere,	quemadmodum et placetis.
C. I. 10				
H. 644	не хоуѣмъ бо	да вы ѡлѣкомъ оу҃гоудитѣ		
V. 33	не хоуѣмъ бо	да выи ѡлѣвѣкомъ оу҃гоудитѣ.	да бѣѣ оу҃гоудитѣ	ѣакоже и оу҃гажаѣте,
Critical apparatus				

Observations

This line is missing in the *Taurinensis* , but the Greek ἀνθρωπαρεσκῆσαι, ἀλλὰ θεῷ follows the long recension and is rendered in the Slavonic translation.

The Accusative-with-infinitive construction in Greek is rendered in an object clause introduced by ἃ in Hilandar and Vienna. It is not an unusual feature, and has no particular nuance to the Greek. It is interesting to see that the translator did not translate the Greek construction very literally. It is a different approach in later Slavonic manuscripts (and it is certainly not surprising that the Metaphrast displays here an Acl-construction).

Line 2		
Translation	For I will have no other such opportunity to attain to God,	
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	οὔτε γὰρ ἐγὼ ἔξω ποτὲ καιρὸν τοιοῦτον,	ѡсѣ θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν,
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	οὔτε γὰρ ἐγὼ ἔξω ποτὲ καιρὸν τοιοῦτον	θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν,
Latin long recension	Nec enim ego habui aliquando tale tempus	ut Deum promeruissem
Latin middle recension (L)	Neque enim ego habebo aliquando tempus tale	Deo potiendi,
C. I. 10		

H. 644	НИ АЗ БО НИКОЛИЖЕ ТАКОВО ВРЪМЕ НЕ ИМАМЪ ИМѢТИ·	ИЖЕ БѢ ОУЛОУЧѢНТІ.
V. 33	НИ АЗЪ ТОГО НЕ ИМАМЪ ИМѢТИ,	ИЖЕ БѢ ОУЛОУЧѢНТИ.

Critical apparatus	οὐ GHKM : οὔτε LCg ἐγὼ ἔξω ποτὲ Lg, ἐγὼ ποτὲ ἔξω GHg (codd. c n), ποτὲ ἐγὼ ἔξω K
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Observations

In the edition of Funk-Diekamp, ὥστε belongs to the longer recension, as a parallel to the Latin tekst, but there are no further indications in the apparatus. This might show that the *Taurinensis* follows the middle recension.

In Greek, the infinitive-construction (θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν) depending on καιρὸν is used and not the substantivised infinitive, as the Slavonic manuscripts render, in the same way as in paragraph 1 line 5.

toro appears in V.33 (as well as in the other manuscript witnesses of group 2) as a secondary corruption of таково, which is the initial reading in *H.644* (as well as in group 3 with the Rila and Zographou).

БО НИКОЛИЖЕ and ВРЪМЕ are not rendered in V.33 ; НИКОЛИЖЕ seems to be a reinforced negation (corresponding with οὐδέποτε, μηδέποτε, οὐδέπω, μήπω, (οὐ)πώποτε, σῦποτε, μηδαμῶς), *H.644* seems to have 3 negations (viz. НИ, НИКОЛИЖЕ, and НЕ). The Slavonic negations do not cancel each other, the three negations rather reinforce each other. The negation in the Greek source text is also very strong.

Line 3		
Translation	nor can you be enlisted for a better work —if, that is, you keep silent.	
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	οὔτε ὑμεῖς ἐὰν σωπήσητε	κρείττονι ἔργῳ ἔχετε ἐπιγραφῆναι
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	οὔτε ὑμεῖς ἐὰν σωπήσητε	κρείττονι ἔργῳ ἔχετε ἐπιγραφῆναι
Latin long recension	Ergo si et vos tacueritis,	meliori operi conscribemini
Latin middle recension (L)	neque vos, si taceatis,	meliori operi habetis inscribi.
C. I. 10	οὔτε ὑμεῖς ἐὰν σωπήσῃται·	κριττονι ἔργῳ ἔχεται ἐπιγραφῆναι·
H. 644	НИ ВЫ АЩЕ ОУМЛЪЧѢТЕ·	ЛОУЧЪШЕ ДЪВЛО ИМАТЕ·
V. 33	НИ ВЫИ АЩЕ ОУМЛЪЧѢТЕ,	ЛОУЧЪШЕ ДЪВЛО ИМАТЕ.

Critical apparatus

Observations The Greek verb ἐπιγραφῆναι is not rendered in the Slavonic translation, but the sentence is not without meaning, nor ungrammatical. It can be a simplification or it could be disappeared in an early stage of the archetypus, which we cannot trace back. All witnesses of the South-Slavonic branch lack this infinitive.

The Latin middle recension follows the *Taurinensis* even word-for-word.

Line 4		
Translation	For if you keep silent about me, I will be a word of God;	
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	ἐάν τε γὰρ σωπήσητε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ,	ἐγὼ γενήσομαι θεοῦ
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	ἐάν γὰρ σωπήσητε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ,	ἐγὼ λόγος θεοῦ·
Latin long recension	Si enim tacueritis de me,	ego efficior Dei;

Latin middle recension (L)	Si enim taceatis a me,	ego verbum Dei;
C. I. 10	ἐάν τε γάρ σιωπήσεται ἀπ' ἐμοῦ,	ἐγὼ γενίσωμε θεοῦ·
H. 644	ΣΜΛΒΥΗΤΕ ΟΥΒΟ Ὡ ΜΕΝΕ·	АЗЬ ОΥΒО БОУДОУ БЖИ·
V. 33	ΑΙΜΕ ΒΟ ΟΥΜΛΒΥΗΤΕ Ὡ ΜΕΝΕ	АЗЬ БОУДОУ БЖИ,
Critical apparatus	γάρ GHKLAaMsmC : τε γάρ Tg > SM ἐγὼ λόγος L(Am)C, λόγος γενήσομαι Ssm (Ioannes Mon. Zahn), ἐγὼ γενήσομαι z(A)gM	
Observations	The <i>Taurinensis</i> follows the long Greek recension with respect to ἐγὼ γενήσομαι θεοῦ and is the exemplar for the Slavonic translation (בודоу бжи). It does not correspond to the Latin middle recension. Hilandar differs from Vienna in not rendering the Greek conjunction ἐάν (αίμε). Here, Vienna is certainly a witness to the original reading of the Slavonic translation.	

Line 5

Translation	but if you desire my flesh, I will once again be a mere noise.		
Greek edition Funk-Diekmann	ἐάν δὲ ἐρασθῆτε τῆς σαρκὸς μου	πάλιν ἔσομαι	τρέχων.
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	ἐάν δὲ ἐρασθῆτε τῆς σαρκὸς μου	πάλιν ἔσομαι	φωνή
Latin long recension	si autem dilexeritis carnem meam	iterum ero	currens.
Latin middle recension (L)	si autem desideretis carnem meam,	rursus factus sum	vox.
C. I. 10	ἐάν δὲ ἐρασθῆτε τῆς σαρκὸς μου·	πάλιν ἔσομε	τρέχων·
H. 644	ΑΙΜΕ ΛΗ ЖΕ ΠΟΡΑΥΗΤΕ ΠΛΒ ΜΟΙΟ·	ПАКЫ БОУДОУ	ТЕКЫ
V. 33	ΑΙΜΕ ΛΗ ΒΥΗ ΧΩΜΕΤΕ ΠΛΒΤΒ ΜΟΙΟ,	ПАКЫ БОУДОУ	ТЕКЫИ,
Critical apparatus	φωνή LSSm(Am)C Ioann. Mon, τρέχων zAgM (cf. 1 Kor. 9.24)		
Observations	The <i>Taurinensis</i> follows the Greek long recension with τρέχων and has the same reading as the Slavonic translations текы (running), which reminds to 1 Cor. 9,24. The Latin middle recension, in turn, renders "vox" ("voice"). The Greek verb ἐρασθῆτε has a more desiring connotation which is only rendered in <i>H.644</i> . Probably, <i>H.644</i> has the primary reading (lectio difficilior) and therefore, πορευετε has been replaced afterwards to a more common form (χωμετε) in the rest of the tradition (group 1-3).		

Line 6

Translation	But grant me nothing more than to be poured out as a libation to God while there is still an altar at hand,		
Greek edition Funk-Diekmann	πλεῖτον δέ μοι παρέχεσθε	τοῦ σπονδισθῆναι θεῷ,	ὥς ἐτι θυσιαστήριον ἑτοιμόν ἐστιν,
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	πλέον δέ μοι μὴ παράσχησθε	τοῦ σπονδισθῆναι θεῷ,	ὥς ἐτι θυσιαστήριον ἑτοιμόν ἐστιν,
Latin long recension	Multum enim mihi praestatis,	si me offeratis Deo,	cum iam altare paratum est,
Latin middle recension (L)	Plus autem mihi non tribuetis,	quam sacrificari Deo,	dum adhuc sacrificatorium paratum est,
C. I. 10	πλέον δέ μοι μὴ παράσχητε	τοῦ σπονδισθῆναι θεῷ.	ὥς ἐτι θυσιαστήριον ἑτοιμόν ἐστιν·
H. 644	ΒΕΙΜΕ ΜΗ ЖЕ НЕ ПОΔΑΔΗΤΕ·	ІЄЖЕ ЖРЕНΟΥ БЫТИ ББИ·	ΔΟΗΔ'ЄЖЕ УΛ'ТАРЬ Γ'ΟΥΒБ ІЄ·
V. 33	ΒΕΙΜΕ ЖЕ ΜΗ НЕ ПОΔΑΔΗΤΕ,	ІЄЖЕ ПОЖРЕНΟΥ БЫТИ ББИ,	ΔΟΗΔ'ЄЖЕ УΛБ'ТАРІА
Critical apparatus	δέ TL(SmAm)gM > GHKSA(C) παράσχητε T παράσχησθε GK, παρασχέσθαι (sic) H tribuetis L, παρέσχεσθε g, παράσχεσθε M σπονδισθῆναι HKTgM σπονδιασθῆναι G		
Observations	The <i>Taurinensis</i> follows the long Greek recension (g) as concerns the word choice of σπονδισθῆναι , but the form παράσχητε has other readings in nearly all other witnesses. In the <i>Taurinensis</i> , the active form was used. However, this is frequently used like the active and therefore does not render a different meaning in Greek, nor in the Slavonic translation, which does in this case not explicitly follows the reading of the <i>Taurinensis</i> , since the negligible difference with the other readings. The Latin middle recension follows the <i>Taurinensis</i> even word-for-word, even taking over a passive infinitive "sacrificari" instead of the Latin long recension which has "me" as the direct object of "offeratis". Grammatically, it is not a 1:1 parallel to the Greek text, but it displays a functional parallel. Only the edition of Funk-Diekmann does not have the negation (μὴ). In its apparatus they clarify μοι μὴ Ign. Lt. Maybe the reading of Funk-Diekmann is based on the Latin recension, in which the negation also is absent.		

V.33 omits ἔτοιμόν ἐστιν, whereas it is rendered in *H.644* , following the Greek source text.

The construction with articular infinitive differs in the conjugated verb: жреноу in Hilandar is used as a translation of σπένδω (the verb жрѣти or жръти can be used to among others translate the Greek σπένδω), whereas in Vienna пожреномоу is used (with the preposition no-). The prefix no- mainly expresses the perfective aspect, but does not have another semantic meaning, hence indicated in blue.

The conjunction даидаѣже is used in both Slavonic manuscripts. (даиѣдеже and даидаѣже are interchangeable as a translation of ὡς ἔτι).

ѡлѣтарѣ in Hilandar is the nominative and renders literally the Greek θυσιαστήριον, while ѡлѣтарѣа genitive is from the same base word (OCS ѡлѣтарѣ) and probably a second reading is (maybe due to the omission of г҃гоуѡ ѣе)

that by becoming a chorus in love, you may sing forth to the Father in Jesus Christ,	
ἵνα ἐν ἀγάπῃ χορὸς γενόμενοι	ἄσητε τῷ πατρὶ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ
ἵνα ἐν ἀγάπῃ χορὸς γενόμενοι	ἄσητε τῷ πατρὶ ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ
ut in dilectione chorus effecti	cantetis Deo Patri in Christo Iesu,
ut in caritate chorus effecti	cantetis Patri in Iesu Christo,
ἵνα ἐν ἀγάπῃ χορὸς γενόμενοι	ἄσητε τῷ πατρὶ ἐν <u>Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ</u> .
ДА БѢ ЛЮБѢВИ ЛНКЪ БѢИѢШИ	ВЪСПОИТѢ ОЦЕВИ Ѡ И ІСѢ .
ДА БѢ ЛЮБѢВЫ ЛНКА БЫИѢШЕ .	ВЪСПОИТЕ ѠЦЕВИ Ѡ ІСѢ ,
Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ LSSmAAm, Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ zgM	
In this case the reading of лнкъ (<i>H.644</i> and Rila-Zographou) in the nominative is primary, since it is a literal representation of the Greek χορὸς; лнка (in V.33 and its group) is a secondary reading (in the genitive; "for the love of the choir")	
The past participle -въши (nominative masculine singular) developed from the long form ending on -въшеи (short form is -въше like in the V.33). The ending as written in <i>H.644</i> is a common but variable form, which has no further importance.	
въспоиѣ in <i>H.644</i> is an imperative of the verb въиѣти, while V.33 has the reading въиѣете in indicative praesens (of the same verb въиѣти). Probably, the reading of the imperative in Hilandar is secondary, since the final clause introduced by the conjunction да needs a main verb, expressed in the indicative (similarly in the Greek, the final clause introduced by ἵνα needs a main verb, usually expressed in the conjunctive as in ἄσητε). But in this case, the confusion between ѣ was и common, and therefore the difference has not to be taken too seriously, hence indicated in blue.	
The Taurinensis and the Latin middle recension are word-for-words equivalents.	

saying that God has deemed the bishop of Syria worthy to be found at the setting of the sun, after sending him from where it rises.			
ὅτι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Συρίας <u>κατηξίωσεν ὁ θεός</u>	εὐρεθῆναι εἰς δύσιν	ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς μεταπεμψάμενος τῶν ἑαυτοῦ παθημάτων μάρτυρα.	
ὅτι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Συρίας <u>κατηξίωσεν ὁ θεός</u>	εὐρεθῆναι εἰς δύσιν	ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς μεταπεμψάμενος	
quoniam episcopum Syriae dignum fecit Deus	inveniri in occidente,	ab oriente praemittens <i>suarum passionum martyrem bonum</i> ,	
quoniam episcopum Syriae dignificavit Deus	inveniri in occidente,	ab oriente transmittens.	
ὅτι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Συρίας κατηξίω...	εὐρεθῆναι εἰς δύ...	ἀνατολῆς μεταπεμψάμενος	
ІАКѠ ІЕПІА <u>СИР҃УНСКАГО С҃ПѠНИА ІѢ БѢ</u> .	ѠБРѢСТНІСЕ ВѢ ЗАПАДѢ	Ѡ ВѢСТОКА.	
ІАКѠ ІЕПІА <u>АСИРНИСКАДО С҃ПѠНИА БѢ</u> .	ѠБРѢСТНІСЕ ВѢ ЗАПАДѢ	Ѡ ВѢСТОКА.	
κατηξίωσεν ὁ θεός TLAmg, ὁ θεός κατηξίωσεν GHKM			
The <i>Taurinensis</i> follows the long Greek and Latin recension, against the readings of GHKM in the word order of κατηξίωσεν ὁ θεός , but they do not include the longer recension of τῶν ἑαυτοῦ παθημάτων μάρτυρα.			
The Slavonic translations renders the word order of the <i>Taurinensis</i> in its variant reading with firstly the verb followed by the subject.			
<i>H.644</i> (and its branch) render ꙗко while it is omitted in V.33 (and its branch).			

H. 644	ТЪҢНІО СІЛОУҢ МИ ПРОСИТЕ· ИЗЪДҢРЪ ЖЕ И ИЗВЪН...ДИНО ДА НЕ ТЪҢНІО ГЛҢЮ	НЪ И ХОҢЮҢ·
V. 33		

Critical apparatus

Observations

The Greek ἔσωθέν is rendered in Hilandar as изъдҢрѣ (for OCS изж҃рѣ), but ἔξωθεν seems to be a conflation of multiple forms in Slavonic: извѣнѣдоу (parallel to the structure of изъд҃рѣ) and something which ends in дино, in the other witnesses of the same branch the two words are replaced by a more periphrastic description (ѡвѣнѣот҃рѣ and ѡвѣнѣи҃доу in Rila; ѡвѣнѣот҃рѣ and ѡвѣнѣи҃доу in Zographou) to make it clearer/more transparant. But this passage remains unclear, probably it is a mistake made by the scribe.

Except for the reversed word-order (mihi potentiam against δύναμην μοι) , the *Taurinensis* and the Latin middle recension have the same rendering, word-for-word.

Line 4

Translation	that I not only be called a Christian but also be found one.	
Greek edition Funk-Diekmann	ὅπως μὴ μόνον λέγωμαι Χριστιανός,	ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐρεθῶ·
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	μὴ ἵνα μόνον λέγωμαι Χριστιανός,	ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐρεθῶ.
Latin long recension	ut non solum dicar,	sed etiam inveniar Christianus.
Latin middle recension (L)	non ut solum dicar Christianus,	sed et inveniar.
C. I. 10	μὴ ἵνα μόνον λέγωμε Χριστιανός.	ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐρεθῶ·

H. 644	ДА .. ТЪҢНІО И..НОУҢСЕ ХҢРҢТҢАНННЬ·	ИЗ И ВЕРҢТЕНЬ БОУДОУҢ Д..
V. 33		

Critical apparatus

Observations

The Latin middle recension has the same reading concerning word-order as the Greek long recension and the *Taurinensis* , rendering Christianity after the verb of saying (against the Latin long recension).

Line 5

Translation	For if I be found a Christian, I can also be called one and then be faithful—when I am no longer visible in the world.			
Greek edition Funk-Diekmann	ἐάν γὰρ εὐρεθῶ,	καὶ λέγεσθαι δύναμαι	καὶ τότε πιστὸς εἶναι ,	ὅταν κόσμῳ μὴ φαίνωμαι.
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	ἐάν γὰρ εὐρεθῶ,	καὶ λέγεσθαι δύναμαι	καὶ τότε πιστὸς εἶναι ,	ὅταν κόσμῳ μὴ φαίνωμαι.
Latin long recension	Si autem inventus fuero,	et dici possum	et tunc esse fidelis,	quando mundo non comparuero.
Latin middle recension (L)	Si enim inveniar,	et dici possum	et tunc fidelis esse,	quando utique mundo non appareo.
C. I. 10	ἐάν γὰρ εὐρεθῶ.	καὶ λέγεσθαι δύναμε·	καὶ τότε πιστὸς εὐρεθῆναι .	ὅταν κόσμῳ μὴ φαίνομε·

H. 644	ВО И ОБРҢТЕНЬ	БОУДОУҢ МОУҢ И ГЛҢТИ·	ТУҢГДА И ВҢБ.НЪ ВЕРҢСҢТИ СЕ·	ИЕГДА ВЪ МҢРҢ БОУДОУҢ ІАВҢС·
V. 33				

Critical apparatus

εἶναι : εὐρεθῆναι T
φαίνωμαι G(g) : φαίνομαι HT(LM)

Observations

In the Slavonic reading of Hilandar, the conjunction **и**ме (for the Greek ἐάν) is omitted.

The *Taurinensis* has the variant reading εὐρεθῆναι for εἶναι; the Slavonic translation found in Hilandar takes over the reading of the *Taurinensis* (meaning "and then to be found faithful") .

іавѣ (transmitted in Hilandar and group 2 with Rila and Zographou) as a translation for the Greek φαίνομαι is omitted in Vienna (and its branch); the negation is omitted in all versions; Either the negation was missing in the translation model, or it was present in the translation model, but the scribe did not understand it and omitted it very early in the tradition. As a result, the reading of Hilandar has "when I shall be visible on the world", whereas that of Vienna transmits "when I shall indeed be in the world".

Line 6

Translation	Nothing that is visible is good.	
Greek edition Funk-Diekmann	οὐδὲν φαινόμενον αἰώνιον·	τὰ γὰρ βλέπομενα πρόσκαιρα,
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	οὐδὲν φαινόμενον καλόν.	τὰ δὲ μὴ βλέπομενα αἰώνια.

Latin long recension	Nihil enim de his, quae videntur, aeternum est.	<i>Quae enim videntur, inquit, temporalia sunt;</i>	<i>quae autem non videntur, aeterna sunt</i>
Latin middle recension (L)	Nihil apparentia bonum est.		
C. I. 10	οὐδὲν φερόμενον αἰώνιον·	τὰ γὰρ φαινόμενα προσκαίρα·	τὰ δὲ μὴ βλέπομενα αἰώνια·
H. 644	НИҢҮ[.]ЖЕ ВИДНМО И БҢҮҢО·	ВИДНМА БО БРҢМЕНҢНА·	А НЕ [.]ДНМА БҢҢНА·
V. 33	НИҢҮЕСОЖЕ ВИДНМО БҢҮҢО.	ВИДНМАА БО БРҢМЕНҢНА.	А НЕ ВИДНМААА БҢҢНА,
Critical apparatus	βλεπόμενα : φαινόμενα T τὰ δὲ μὴ βλέπομενα αἰώνια GHTg(M) (aus II Kor. 4,18)		
Observations	The <i>Taurinensis</i> follows here the long Greek (and Latin) recension, which the Slavonic translation also renders. The Latin middle recension has a different reading, corresponding to the edition of Bihlmeyer. In the <i>Taurinensis</i> , we have the variant reading φαινόμενα and the Slavonic translation renders ВИДНМА (in parallel with the previous φερόμενον in <i>Taurinensis</i> , which is rendered with the same word ВИДНМО, a common translation of the passive present participle of φαίνω). The Slavonic translation does not distinguish between "to see" (Greek βλέπω) and "to appear" (Greek φαίνω), which does not tell much about the Greek model text. I t is common for a passive participle present in Slavonic to express the nuance of "being able to". ВИДНМА does not only mean "to be seen" but hence also "visible". In the translation of the Greek βλεπόμενα, the Slavonic switches between the short form (ВИДНМА in Hilandar) and long form (ВИДНМАА in Vienna). The phenomenon of contraction is usual, in which the short form replaces the long. Probably the longer form was primary, also because the Greek expresses the participle with article, denoting definiteness, which the long form expresses the same in Slavonic.		

Line 7

Translation	For our God Jesus Christ, since he is in the Father, is all the more visible.		
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp			
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς	ἐν πατρὶ ὧν μᾶλλον φαίνεται.	
Latin long recension			
Latin middle recension (L)	Deus enim noster Iesus Christus	in Patre existens magis apparet.	
C. I. 10	ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς·	ἐν τῷ πατρὶ ὧν μᾶλλον φένεταιί	
H. 644	БҢ БО НАШЬ ІСЬ ХҢ	ВҢ ВҢҢ СЕ ПАҢЕ ІАВΛ[ІА]ЄТҢ·	
V. 33	БҢ БО НАШЬ ІСҢ ХҢ	ВҢ ВҢҢ СЕ ПАҢЕ ІАВΛІАІЄТҢ,	
Critical apparatus			
Observations	The similarities between the <i>Taurinensis</i> and the Latin middle recension are striking. (word-for-word)		

Line 8

Translation	The work is not a matter of persuasion, but Christianity is a matter of greatness, when it is hated by the world.			
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	Οὐ πεισμονῆς τὸ ἔργον,	ἀλλὰ μεγέθους	ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστιανισμός,	ὅταν μισῇται ὑπὸ κόσμου,
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	οὐ πεισμονῆς τὸ ἔργον,	ἀλλὰ μεγέθους	ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστιανισμός,	ὅταν μισῇται ὑπὸ κόσμου.
Latin long recension	non solum in opere,	sed etiam in magnitudine.	Christianitas enim est,	quae oditur a mundo,
Latin middle recension (L)	Non suasionis opus,	sed magnitudinis	est Christianus,	quando utique oditur a mundo.
C. I. 10	οὐ πλησμονῆς τὸ ἔργον.	ἀλλὰ μεγέθους	ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστιανισμός.	ὅταν μισῇται ὑπὸ κόσμου·
H. 644	НЕ МНОЖҢЄТҢА ДҢЛО	НҢ БЕΛНҢҢЄТҢА	ІЄ ХҢҢҢА[НҢ]ЄТҢО·	ІЄҢА НЕНАВЕДННМҢ ІЄ МҢҢОМҢ·
V. 33	НЕ МНОЖҢЄТҢА ДҢЛО,	НҢ БЕΛННЄТҢА	ІЄТҢ ХҢҢҢАНҢЄТҢО,	ІЄҢА НЕНАВЕДНМО ІЄЄТҢ МНҢОМҢ.
Critical apparatus	πεισμονῆς LSAmg Tim. : σωπῆς μόνον (μόνης H) GH, πλησμονῆς T Χριστιανισμός GHTSAAmL : χριστιανός LSM(g)			
Observations	The <i>Taurinensis</i> has the variant reading πλησμονῆς (of satiety/abundance), which reading the Slavonic translation follows in rendering množьства (also indicating the meaning of abundance)			

The Greek μεγέθους is translated similarly: Hilandar has БЕΛНҢҢЄТҢА, whereas the reading of Vienna has БЕΛННЄТҢА. Both stress the superiority, so there is no indication of this period to a relevant semantic difference, hence indicated in blue.

ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲃⲏⲁⲛⲓⲙⲓ (masculine present participle passive) refers to a not further specified christian. The Vienna reading ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲃⲏⲁⲛⲓⲙⲓ (neutre present participle passive) refers to ⲭⲣ̅ⲩⲧⲏⲁⲛⲓⲙⲓ. Here, the masculine is a secondary reading, since it is very likely that the abstract term of "Christianity" is replaced by the person who believes in Christianity (i.e. a Christian). The scribe could have had Ignatius in his mind and therefore made it masculine.

Line 9				
Translation	*It is loved by God, (because it is not [made] by humans, but [originated] from God). He says that if you are from the world, the world would love in the same way.			
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	φιλεῖται παρὰ θεοῦ.		εἰ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου γάρ, φησί, τούτου ἦτε, ὁ κόσμος ἂν ἐφίλει τὸ ἴδιον·	
Greek edition Bihlmeyer				
Latin long recension	amatur a Deo,	quia non est ab hominibus, sed ex Deo.	Si enim essetis, inquit, de mundo, mundus, quod suum est, diligeret;	
Latin middle recension (L)				
C. I. 10				
H. 644				
V. 33				
Critical apparatus				
Observations	Here, the <i>Taurinensis</i> and the Slavonic translation do not include the long Greek/Latin recension.			

Line 10				
Translation	*Now you are not from the world, but I chose you: stay in me.			
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	νυνὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔστε ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἐξελεξάμην ὑμᾶς· μένετε παρ ἐμοί.			
Greek edition Bihlmeyer				
Latin long recension	nunc autem quia non estis de mundo, propterea odit vos mundus ; sed ego elegi vos : manete in me.			
Latin middle recension (L)				
C. I. 10				
H. 644				
V. 33				
Critical apparatus				
Observations	Here, the <i>Taurinensis</i> and the Slavonic translation do not include the long Greek/Latin recension.			

Paragraph 4				
Line 1				
Translation	I am writing all the churches and giving instruction to all, that I am willingly dying for God, unless you hinder me.			
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	Ἐγὼ γράφω πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις	καὶ ἐντέλλομαι πᾶσιν,	ὅτι ἐκὼν ὑπὲρ θεοῦ ἀποθνήσκω,	ἐάνπερ ὑμεῖς μὴ κωλύσητε.
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	Ἐγὼ γράφω πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις	καὶ ἐντέλλομαι πᾶσιν,	ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐκὼν ὑπὲρ θεοῦ ἀποθνήσκω,	ἐάνπερ ὑμεῖς μὴ κωλύσητε.
Latin long recension	Ego scribo omnibus ecclesiis	et omnibus mando,	quia voluntarie pro Deo morior,	si vos non praepedieritis.
Latin middle recension (L)	Scribo ecclesiis	et praecipio omnibus,	quoniam volens pro Deo morior,	siquidem vos non prohibeatis.
C. I. 10	ἐγὼ γράφω πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις	καὶ ἐντέλλομαι πᾶσιν,	ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐκὼν ὑπὲρ θεοῦ ἀποθνήσκω·	ἐάνπερ ὑμεῖς μὴ κολύσεται·
H. 644	ⲁⲅⲃ ⲡⲏⲱⲱⲛⲓⲛⲓ ⲕⲃ [⋯]ⲙⲃ ⲡⲣ̅ⲕⲃⲱⲙⲃ·	ⲏ ⲁⲓⲡⲟⲃⲉⲧⲁⲓⲟ ⲃⲉⲧⲙⲃ	ⲓⲁⲕⲟ ⲁⲅⲃ ⲡⲟ ⲃⲟⲭⲏ ⲭⲙⲏⲣⲁⲓⲟ·	ⲁⲓⲡⲉ ⲓⲉ ⲃⲱⲧ̅ⲏ ⲛⲉ ⲃⲱⲅⲉⲣⲁⲛⲏⲏⲧⲉ·
V. 33	ⲁⲅⲃ ⲡⲏⲱⲱⲛⲓⲛⲓ ⲃⲉⲧⲙⲃ ⲡⲣ̅ⲕⲃⲱⲙⲃ.	ⲏ ⲁⲓⲡⲟⲃⲉⲧⲁⲓⲟ ⲃⲉⲧⲙⲃ.	ⲓⲁⲕⲟ ⲁⲅⲃ ⲡⲟ ⲛⲏⲭⲃ ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲣⲁⲓⲟ,	ⲁⲓⲡⲉ ⲃⲱⲏ ⲛⲉ ⲃⲱⲅⲉⲣⲁⲛⲏⲏⲧⲉ,
Critical apparatus				
	πάσαις TSSfAaMCG : > GHLSmM ἐγὼ GHTM : > Lg(SmAAMC)			
Observations	The Turin manuscript has the reading of πάσαις, together with the long greek recension (and T, S, Sf, A, C), but not with the Latin middle recension.			
	Hilandar has the preposition ⲕⲃ which Vienna omits, probably to be more clear. The insertion of ⲕⲃ is probably secondary and there is no difference in semantics.			
	Hilandar has the reading ⲡⲟ ⲃⲟⲭⲏ which is primary, since it renders the Greek ὑπὲρ θεοῦ literally. Vienna's reading could be explained as secondary based on ⲡⲟ ⲃⲟⲭⲏ. In the same phrase, ἐκὼν is not translated in Slavonic.			

The variation between възбраниѣте and възбраниѣ is one between respectively aorist and praesens tense. The aorist of *H.644* renders the Greek the most literally and is primary, while the present tense is a simplification, since the aorist is not very idiomatic in a Slavonic text.

Line 2			
Translation	I urge you, do not become an untimely kindness to me.		
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς,	μή εὖνοια ἄκαιρος γένησθέ μοι	
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς,	μή εὖνοια ἄκαιρος γένησθέ μοι	
Latin long recension	Rogo itaque vos,	ut non frustra sit in me dilectio vestra.	
Latin middle recension (L)	Deprecor vos,	non concordia intempestiva fiat mihi.	
C. I. 10	παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς	μή εὖνοια ἄκαιρος γένισθαί μοι.	
H. 644	МОЛИ ВѢ	НЕ БОУДѢТЕ МИ ΠΡΗΙΑЗНЬ БЕЗОУМ'НА·	
		НЕ БОУДѢТЕ МИ ΠΡΗΙΑЗНЬ	
V. 33	МОЛИО ВѢ	БЕЗОУМ'НА,	
Critical apparatus	παρακαλῶ + οὖν T(g)I ???		
Observations	In the critical apparatus, Bihlmeyer writes that the <i>Taurinensis</i> has παρακαλῶ οὖν, but a closer analysis of a reproduction of the manuscript falsifies this suggestion.		
	The similarities between the <i>Taurinensis</i> and the Latin middle recension are striking. (word-for-word)		
Line 3			
Translation	Allow me to be bread for the wild beasts; through them I am able to attain to God.		
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	ἄφετέ με	θηρίων εἶναι βρώμα,	δι' ὧν ἔστιν θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν.
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	ἄφετέ με	θηρίων εἶναι βρώμα,	δι' ὧν ἔνεστιν θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν.
Latin long recension	Sinite me,	ut bestiarum esca sim,	per quam possim Deum promereri.
Latin middle recension (L)	Dimittite me	bestiarum esse cibum,	per quas est Deo potiri.
C. I. 10	ἄφεταί με	θηρίων ἵναι βορράν	δι' ὧν ἔνεστι θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν(·)
H. 644	НЕДѢИТЕ МЕНЕ	БРАШНО ВѢТН ЗВѢРЕМЬ·	ИМНЖЕ ІЕ ЪА ОΥΛΟΥΓ'ΗΤН·
V. 33	НЕДѢИТЕ МЕНЕ	БРАШНО ВѢТН ЗВѢРЕМЬ.	ИМ'ЖЕ ІЕСТЬ ЪА ОΥΛΟΥΓ'ΗΤН.
Critical apparatus	βοράν M(Am) : βορράν GHT, cibum L(AC), βρώμα g : > SSfSm ἔνεστι GHTM : ἔστιν L(AmC)g		
Observations	The <i>Taurinensis</i> has the variant reading of βορράν, which is also derived from βιβρώσκω like βρώμα. The difference is not clear in the Slavonic translation, since брашно is a translation for βορράν and βρώμα. Therefore, this case does not entirely prove the common ancestor of the <i>Taurinensis</i> as modell for the Slavonic translation.		
	The similarities between the <i>Taurinensis</i> and the Latin middle recension are striking. (word-for-word)		
Line 4			
Translation	I am the wheat of God and am ground by the teeth of the wild beasts, that I may be found to be the pure bread of Christ.		
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	σῖτός εἰμι τοῦ θεοῦ	καὶ δι' ὀδόντων θηρίων ἀλήθομαι,	ἵνα καθαρὸς ἄρτος θεοῦ εὐρεθῶ.
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	σῖτός εἰμι τοῦ θεοῦ	καὶ δι' ὀδόντων θηρίων ἀλήθομαι,	ἵνα καθαρὸς ἄρτος εὐρεθῶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ
Latin long recension	Triticum Dei sum;	dentibus bestiarum molar,	ut mundus panis Dei inveniar.
Latin middle recension (L)	Frumentum sum Dei,	et per dentes bestiarum molar,	ut mundus panis inveniar Christi.
C. I. 10	σῖτός ἡμι θεοῦ	καὶ δι' ὀδόντων θηρίων ἀλήθομε·	ἵνα καθαρὸς ἄρτος εὐρεθῶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ·
H. 644	ПШЕНИЦА ІЕСМЬ БЖІИА	И ЗΟΥБѢЙ ЗВѢРИНЬІ СМІІІІЮСЕ·	ДА ХЛ'БѢЬ ΥΙΗΣТЬ УБРЕЩЮГСЕ Χ'ВЫ,
V. 33	П'ШЕНИЦА ІЕСМЬ БЖІІІА,	И ЗΟΥБЫ ЗВѢРИНИ СЪМІІІІЮСЕ.	ДА ХЛ'БѢЬ ΥΙΗΣТЬ УБРЕЩЮГСЕ ΧΟΥ' ΜΟΙΕΜΟΥ.
Critical apparatus	τοῦ Χριστοῦ GHTLSmM : θεοῦ SSfAAmCg		

Observations

In this case, the variation between Christ and God is significant (hence indicated in orange). The *Taurinensis* renders τοῦ Χριστοῦ together with the Latin middle recension (L), the Metaphrast version (M), the Jerusalem manuscript (H) and (G), whereas the long Greek recension (g) has the reading of θεοῦ. The Slavonic translation follows the reading of τοῦ Χριστοῦ in both Hilandar and Vienna, with in Vienna a secondary insertion of the possessive pronoun μοιέμου ("mine").

The similarities between the *Taurinensis* and the Latin middle recension are striking. (word-for-word)

Line 5				
Translation	Rather, coax the wild beasts, that they may become a tomb for me and leave no part of my body behind, that I may burden no one once I have died.			
Greek edition Funk-Diekmann	μᾶλλον κολακεύσατε τὰ θηρία,	ἵνα μοι τάφος γένωνται	καὶ μηθὲν καταλίπωσι τῶν τοῦ σώματός μου,	ἵνα μὴ κοιμηθεῖς βαρὺς τινὶ εὐροθῇσωμαι ¹
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	μᾶλλον κολακεύσατε τὰ θηρία,	ἵνα μοι τάφος γένωνται	καὶ μηθὲν καταλίπωσι τῶν τοῦ σώματός μου,	ἵνα μὴ κοιμηθεῖς βαρὺς τινὶ γένωμαι
Latin long recension	Magis autem blandimini bestiis,	ut mihi sepulcrum sint	et nihil relinquunt de meo corpore,	ut non obdormiens gravis alicui inveniar.
Latin middle recension (L)	Magis blandite bestiis,	ut mihi sepulcrum fiant	et nihil derelinquant eorum,	quae corporis mei, ut non dormiens gravis alicui inveniar.
C. I. 10	μᾶλλον κολακεύσαται τὰ θηρία.	ἵνα ἔμοι τάφος γένονται	καὶ μηθὲν καταλίποισιν τῶν τοῦ σώματός μου ²	ἵνα μὴδε κυμηθεῖς. βάρος τινὶ εὐρεθῇσωμε ³
H. 644	ΠΑΥΕ ЖЕ ΟΥΛΑΚΕΥΣΑΤΕ ΖΒΉΡΙΗ	ДА ГРѢ МИ БОУДОУТЬ ⁴	И ДА НЕ УСТАВЕТЬ НИЧЕОЖЕ Ѡ ПЛѢТЫ МОИХЪ	ДА НИ ОУСЫПѢ. ТЕГОУТЬ КОМОУ БОУДАѢ ⁵ ,
V. 33	ΠΑΥΕ ЖЕ ΖΒΉΡΙΗ	ДА МИ ГРОБѢ БОУДОУТЬ ⁶ ,	ДА НЕ УСТАВЕТЬ НИЧЕОЖЕ ПЛѢТИ МОИЕѢ ,	ДА НИ ПО СМРЪТИ КОМОУ ТЕГОУТЬ БОУДОУ ⁷ ,
Critical apparatus	ἔμοι T γένωνται GgM : γένονται HT τῶν TL(AmC)g : > GHM μὴ : μὴδε T βαρὺς GHLAmCgM : βάρος TS(Sm) γένωμαι GHS(Sm)CM : εὐρεθῶ L, εὐρεθῇσωμε T			
Observations	The reading of Hilandar has зѣтии (accusative plural) as object to ουλακευητε (imperative) like in the Greek source text, meaning "rather coax the wild animals", whereas Vienna omits the Greek κολακεύσασθαι and only renders зѣтии (nominative plural) as a translation of τὰ θηρία . So, the reading of Vienna is clear and meaningful but secondary, since Hilandar matches the best with the Greek source text and is primary.			
	The Taurinensis has the readings ἔμοι (against μοι) and further μὴδε (against μὴ), but this difference is insignificant in the Slavonic translation, hence indicated in blue.			
	Hilandar has the reading Ѡ плѣты моихъ ; since Ѡ (отъ) has a genitive as its complement, плѣты is the genitive from the feminine declension (of the i-stems, with the customary confusion between и and ы), and моихъ is a genitive plural. Probably because the translator got confused by the (elliptic) Greek construction: μηθὲν τῶν τοῦ σώματός μου . The Greek noun introduced by τῶν was for a Greek audience evident enough to be deduced from the context (a word as μελῶν could be expected). The scribe of the Hilandar manuscript considered that the possessive pronoun μου was depending from the plural τῶν and had to accord with this (meaning my parts of the body), whereas it stands with τοῦ σώματός (the parts of my body). So, the reading of Hilandar is primary, because the use of the plural моихъ reflects the Greek source text. In Vienna, the genitive (плѣти depending from ничесоже) is rendered (without the preposition Ѡ). So, the reading in Vienna is simplified to a genitive in the singular (and thus secondary) in which the genitive was no longer interpreted depending from the plural and τῶν in which плѣти моѣ stands for the regular плѣты моѣѠ . In both translations, the meaning of "flesh" has to be read as "body".			
	In Hilandar, the participle ουсыпѣ (active, praeterium of the verb ουсыпнѣти) is a translation of the Greek κοιμηθεῖς (in the sense of a long sleep, i.e. the death), but is omitted in Vienna. Here, again, Hilandar follows the primary reading.			
	The <i>Taurinensis</i> has the variant reading βάρος (against βαρὺς). The <i>Taurinensis</i> substitutes the adjective βαρὺς by the substantive βάρος , the same reading which is rendered in the Slavonic translation (both Hilandar and Vienna) with тѣлоусть (ОС тѣлоусть).			
	In this phrase the Slavonic translation (both in Hilandar and in Vienna) render боудоу for the Greek εὐρεθῇσωμε in <i>Taurinensis</i> . In this respect εὐρεθῶ in line 7 (same paragraph, see below) is translated as боудоу ; there is no indication that there is a variant reading (of οἴγνομαι) which could explain the translation better. So, the parallel in line 7 suggests that the Slavonic translator/scribe consciously made the phrase more simple with a form of "to be" (εἶναι). It does tell very little about the Greek model text.			
	The Latin middle recension has a different reading from the one of the <i>Taurinensis</i> . The latter renders "part of my body" (τῶν τοῦ σώματός μου) together with the Latin long recension and Greek long recension.			

Line 6			
Translation	Then I will truly be a disciple of Jesus Christ, when the world does not see even my body.		
Greek edition Funk-Diekmamp	οὐτε δὲ ἔσομαι <u>μαθητὴς ἀληθὴς</u> Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,	δτε	οὐδὲ τὸ σῶμά μου ὁ κόσμος ὄψεται.
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	<u>τότε</u> ἔσομαι <u>μαθητὴς ἀληθὴς</u> Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ,	δτε	οὐδὲ τὸ σῶμά μου ὁ κόσμος ὄψεται.
Latin long recension	Tunc vere ero discipulus Iesu Christi,	cum	corpus meum mundus non viderit.
Latin middle recension (L)	Tunc ero discipulus vere Iesu Christi,	quando	neque corpus meum mundus videbit.

C. I. 10	<u>τότε</u> ἔσομε <u>μαθητὰς</u> <u>χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ</u> <u>ἀληθεῖς</u> .	ὅτε <u>οὐδὲν τοῦ σώματός μου</u> ὁ κόσμος ὀφεται
H. 644	и <u>тогда</u> <u>буди́мъ</u> <u>ѹченикъ</u> <u>и҃хъ</u> <u>по истинѣ</u> .	и҃ѣдѣ <u>ни тѣло мое</u> <u>миръ</u> <u>оузыритъ</u> .
V. 33	<u>тъгда</u> <u>буди́мъ</u> <u>оученикъ</u> <u>и҃хъ</u> <u>по истинѣ</u> ,	и҃ѣдѣ <u>ни тѣла моего</u> <u>миръ</u> <u>оузыритъ</u> ,

Critical apparatus ἀληθῆς nach χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ T > C
 Ἡ ἰσοῦ Χριστοῦ LSAng : τοῦ Χριστοῦ GHKSmACM, χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ T
 οὐδὲ τὸ σῶμά : οὐδὲν τοῦ σώματος T

Observations The Greek τότε is rendered by τωρδα in Hilandar and by τωρδα in Vienna. This variation, however, is insignificant (hence indicated in blue), since it is the same word with an internal vocal variation.

The variation in readings of Christ is insignificant, since the Slavonic translation does not render the exceptional formula of the *Taurinensis*. Now a standard formula is used and does not say anything about the text as model for the translation. Either the Greek model used a standard formula, or the translator (or a scribe early in the tradition) replaced the less frequent formula by a fixed formula. Therefore, the variation is indicated in blue.

The Greek ἀληθής (written ἀληθεῖς in the Taurinensis) is written with a prepositional phrase in the Slavonic translation (по истинѣ, "according to the truth", both in Hilandar and Vienna). This is a translation from an adjective in Greek to a prepositional phrase with a substantive. This prepositional phrase was functioning as an adverb. To compare, in modern Russian, the adverb поистинѣ exists with the meaning "truly".

The *Taurinensis* has the variant reading οὐδὲν τοῦ σώματος (against οὐδὲ τὸ σῶμά). This is rendered in the Vienna manuscript with *ни тѣла мѣсто* (in the genitive), but not in Hilandar, where *ни тѣло мѣсто* (in the nominative is written).

The Latin middle recension does not follow the reversed word-order of the *Taurinensis* and it renders an adverb "vere", instead of an adjective. Remarkably, the adjective is omitted in the edition of Funk-Diekmann.

Line 7	
Translation	Petition Christ on my behalf, that I may be found a sacrifice through these instruments of God.
Greek edition Funk-Diekmann	λιτανεύσατε τὸν κύριον ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, ἵνα διὰ τῶν ὀργάνων τούτων θεῶ θυσία εὐρεθῶ.
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	λιτανεύσατε τὸν Χριστὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, ἵνα διὰ τῶν ὀργάνων τούτων θεοῦ θυσία εὐρεθῶ.
Latin long recension	Deprecamini Dominum pro me, ut per has operationes sacrificium inveniar.
Latin middle recension (L)	Orate Christum pro me, ut per organa ista Dei sacrificium inveniar.
C. I. 10	λιτανεύσεται τὸν κύριον ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἵνα διὰ τῶν ὀργάνων τούτων θυσία εὐρεθῶ
H. 644	ПОМЛИТЕ Б҃҃ ЗА МЯ. ДА Т҃БМЬ С҃БОУДЬ И ЖРЬТВА ЖИВА БОУДОУ БѢ҃
V. 33	ПОМОЛИТЕ Г҃А ЗА МЯ. ДА Т҃БМН С҃БОУДН ЖРЬТ҃ВА Б҃ЖІА БОУДОУ.
Critical apparatus	Χριστὸν GHKLSm(M): κύριον TSSfAAmCg
Observations	The variation between Χριστὸν and κύριον is less relevant for the Slavonic translation (common trait), hence indicated in blue. The Latin middle recension differs from the reading of the <i>Taurinensis</i> (and of the Greek long recension). Hilandar uses an instrumentalis singular (without preposition), whereas Vienna renders a instrumentalis plural (without preposition) as a translation for διὰ τῶν ὀργάνων τούτων. The latter is a perfect translation of the Greek phrase. The former, by contrast, is a total transformation and places the instrumentalis singular (Т҃БМЬ) next to the nominative (С҃БОУДЬ from the normalised OCS lemma сѣбѣ). Hilandar's translation reads "in order that I become/be an instrument and a living sacrifice for God". In the Hilandar manuscript (and its branch), the word жива is inserted without a Greek base and without appearance in Vienna (or its branch). The <i>Taurinensis</i> omits the word for God; however, both Hilandar and Vienna transmit this reference (either with a substantive БѢ҃ like in Hilandar or with an adjective Б҃ЖІА like in Vienna). Since the <i>Taurinensis</i> is a witness of the same branch of the Slavonic translation (and not a direct source), the missing reference to God in <i>Taurinensis</i> could be an individual variant, which is not reflected in the entire branch. The Slavonic translation renders two times БОУДОУ for the Greek εὐρεθῶ, although this is not a literal translation and there is no indication of a variant reading to clarify this choice of words.

Line 8			
Translation	I am not enjoining you as Peter and Paul did. They were apostles, I am condemned;		
Greek edition Funk-Diekmamp	οὐχ ὡς Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν	ἐκεῖνοι ἀπόστολοι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,	ἐγὼ δὲ ἐλάχιστος *
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	οὐχ ὡς Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν.	ἐκεῖνοι ἀπόστολοι	ἐγὼ κατάκριτος *

Latin long recension	Non sicut Petrus et Paulus praecipio vobis.	Illi enim apostoli sunt <i>Iesu Christi</i> ,	ego autem minimissimus:
Latin middle recension (L)	Non ut Petrus et Paulus praecipio vobis.	Illi apostoli,	ego condemnatus;
C. I. 10	οὐχ ὡς Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος διατάσσομε ὑμῖν.	ἐκεῖνοι ἀπόστολοι˚	ἐγὼ κατάκριτος˚
H. 644	НѢ ІАКОЖЕ ПЕТРЪ И ПАВЪΛЪ ПОВЕΛ'ѢДІО ВѦМЬ˚	ВНѦ ΔΙΠΛΑ.	ΔЗЪ ЖЕ УСѢЖЕНΙΚЪ˚
V. 33	НѢ ІАКОЖЕ ПЕТРЪ И ПАΥΛЪ ΠΟΒΕΛ'ΕΒΔΙΟ ВѦМЬ.	ВНѦ ΔΙΠΛΑ ΙΕΤΑ.	ΔЗЪ ЖЕ УСОУЖЕНИКЪ.
Critical apparatus			
Observations	The Slavonic translation uses dual forms (idiomatic forms) to render the Greek plural (ἐκεῖνοι ἀπόστολοι) (since it is about Peter and Paul).		
	The insertion of ΙΕΤΑ is a secondary specification of the elliptic construction with the addition of the verb "to be" (ΕΣΤΙ) in the dualis (since it has Peter and Paul as its subject).		
	The <i>Taurinensis</i> renders κατάκριτος (against the edition of Funk-Diekmann, who, in this respect, refer to Pseudo-Ignatius' <i>Letter to the Ephesians</i> 12,1 where the same word is used).		
	The Greek κατάκριτος (past participle) is rendered in Slavonic with a substantive (УСОУЖЕНИКЪ) based on the stem of the verb УСОУЖИТИ and suffix -ЕНИКЪ (which indicates the person who performs/undergoes the action).		
	The similarities between the Latin middle recension and the <i>Taurinensis</i> are striking. (word-for-word)		

Line 9			
Translation	they were free, until now I have been a slave.		
Greek edition Funk-Diekmann	ἐκεῖνοι ἐλεύθεροι	ὡς δοῦλοι θεοῦ,	ἐγὼ δὲ μέχρι νῦν δοῦλος.
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	ἐκεῖνοι ἐλεύθεροι		ἐγὼ δὲ μέχρι νῦν δοῦλος.
Latin long recension	illi vero liberi	sicut servi Dei,	ego autem usque nunc servus.
Latin middle recension (L)	illi liberi,		ego usque nunc servus.
C. I. 10	ἐκεῖνοι ἐλεύθεροι.		ἐγὼ δὲ νῦν μέχρι δοῦλος˚
H. 644	ВНѦ СВОБОД'Ѧ НѦ,		ΔЗЪ ΡΔΒЪ ΔΟЦΕΛ'Ъ
V. 33	ВНѦ СВОБОД'Ѧ НѦ,		ΔЗЪ ЖЕ ΔΟЦΕΛ'Ъ ΡΔΒЪ,
Critical apparatus	μέχρι νῦν : ~Τ		
Observations	The Slavonic translation uses dual forms (idiomatic forms) to render the Greek plural (ἐκεῖνοι ἐλεύθεροι) (since it is still about Peter and Paul).		
	The <i>Taurinensis</i> does not follow here the long recension; the change of word order (νῦν μέχρι) in the Taurinensis is not rendered in the Latin middle recension nor in the Slavonic translation, since "until now" constitutes only one word (доцелъ).		

Line 10			
Translation	But if I suffer, I will become a freed person who belongs to Jesus Christ, and I will rise up, free, in him.		
Greek edition Funk-Diekmann	ἀλλ' ἐάν πάθω,	ἀπελεύθερος γενήσομαι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ	καὶ ἀναστήσομαι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐλεύθερος.
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	ἀλλ' ἐάν πάθω,	ἀπελεύθερος γενήσομαι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ	καὶ ἀναστήσομαι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐλεύθερος.
Latin long recension	Sed si passus fuero,	libertus ero Iesu Christi	et resurgo in eo liber.
Latin middle recension (L)	Sed si patiar,	manumissus fiam Iesu Christi,	et resurgam liber.
C. I. 10	ἀλλ' ἐάν πάθω.	ἀπελεύθερος γενήσωμαι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.	καὶ ἀναστήσωμε ἐν αὐτῷ ἐλεύθερος
H. 644	ΔΙΜΕ ΛΗ ЖЕ ΠΟСТΡΑЖΔΟΥ˚	СВОБОД'Ъ БОУ'ΔΟΥ˚ ІУ˚ Χ'ΒЬ˚	И ВЪСΤΑΝΟΥ˚ У НІЕМЬ СВОБОД'Ъ˚
V. 33	ΔΙΜΕ ΛΗ ΕΠΟΤΡΑΨΟΥ˚	СВОБОД'ΗΝΙΚЪ БОУ'ΔΟΥ˚ ІС Χ'ΒЬ˚,	И ВЪСΤΑΝΟΥ˚ У НІЕМЬ СВОБОД'Ъ,
Critical apparatus	γενήσομαι TLA(Am)Cg :> GHKM καὶ LS(Sm)A : > zAmCgM		
Observations	The Taurinensis follows the Greek and Latin long recension and the Latin middle recension in retaining γενήσομαι. The Latin middle recension omits "in eo" and hence, differs from the reading of the Latin, Greek long recension and Taurinensis.		

In Vienna the numeral 10 is represented by the corresponding letter, whereas in Hilandar the numeral is written in full. The letter Т represents the number 10.

The Greek compound word λεοπάρδους is rendered рыкальвѣ in the Slavonic translation (attested in lexicon of Miklosich).

The similarity between the Slavonic translation of *H.644* and the Latin middle recension is very striking, but this can also be a secondary adaptation. Hence, it is not sure that it proves something about the *archetypus* .

Line 2		
Translation	which is a company of soldiers, who become worse when treated well.	
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	ὃ ἐστὶν στρατιωτικὸν τάγμα,	οἳ καὶ εὐεργετούμενοι χεῖρους γίνονται.
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	ὃ ἐστὶν στρατιωτικὸν τάγμα,	οἳ καὶ εὐεργετούμενοι χεῖρους γίνονται.
Latin long recension	hoc est cum militari custodia,	qui ex beneficiis peiores fiunt.
Latin middle recension (L)	quod est militaris ordo,	qui et beneficiati deteriores fiunt.
C. I. 10	ὃ ἐστὶν στρατιωτικὸν τάγμα·	οἳ καὶ εὐεργετούμενοι χεῖρους γίνονται·
H. 644	иже ѿ ѿиинѣ вѣиинѣскѣ	иже [...] приемилиѹче · гѣрши бывѣиѹтъ·
V. 33	рек'ше ѿиинѣ,	иже и добро приемилиѹче, гѣр'ше бывѣиѹтъ.
Critical apparatus	στρατιωτικὸν TLgM : στρατιωτῶν GHK(SSmAAmC)	
Observations	The <i>Taurinensis</i> has the variant reading στρατιωτικὸν (following with the Greek and Latin long recension and the Latin middle recension), against the reading of στρατιωτῶν. In Hilandar, the adjective вѣиинѣскѣ (OCS вѣиинѣскѣ) is used, rendering the reading of the <i>Taurinensis</i> . The Vienna manuscript has the substantive ѿиинѣ (OCS ѿиинѣ), which is a synonym of вѣиинѣ ("soldier") and a translation for the Greek στρατιώτης ("soldier"). The reading of Vienna is secondary. рек'ше is a common synonym for иже ѿ ("that is"), so it is rather a reformulation that sounded better to the copyist. The reading гѣрши of Hilandar is primary, since it is a nominative, masculine, plural (like the Greek χεῖρους), functioning as a complement to бывѣиѹтъ, whereas the Vienna reading has гѣр'ше (for OCS гѣрши).	

Line 3			
Translation	But I am becoming more of a disciple by their mistreatment. Still, it is not because of this that I have been made upright.		
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν αὐτῶν	μᾶλλον μαθητεύομαι,	ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο δεδικαίωμαι.
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν αὐτῶν	μᾶλλον μαθητεύομαι,	ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο δεδικαίωμαι.
Latin long recension	In iniustitiis autem eorum	magis edoceor ;	sed nec in hoc quidem iustificor.
Latin middle recension (L)	In iniustificationibus autem ipsorum	magis erudior;	sed non propter hoc iustificatus sum.
C. I. 10	ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν αὐτῶν.	μᾶλλον μαθητεύομε·	ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο δεδικαίωμε·
H. 644	[...]ми же ѿ	пѣгѣ наказаѹще,	нѣ не т'ѣми вѣправаданѣ иѣсмѣ.
V. 33	вѣиѣдѣми же	пѣгѣ наказаѹще,	нѣ не т'ѣми вѣправаданѣ иѣсмѣ.
Critical apparatus			
Observations	The Hilandar manuscript is illegible (indicated with [...]) and Vienna omits the Greek αὐτῶν.		

Line 4			
Translation	May I have the full pleasure of the wild beasts prepared for me; I pray they will be found ready for me.		
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	ὀνάιμην τῶν θηρίων	τῶν ἐμοὶ ἡτομασμένων,	ἃ καὶ εὐχομαι
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	ὀνάιμην τῶν θηρίων	τῶν ἐμοὶ ἡτομασμένων,	καὶ εὐχομαι
Latin long recension	Utinam fruar bestiis ,	quae mihi praeparatae sunt,	de quibus opto
Latin middle recension (L)	Sortiar bestiis	mihi esse paratis,	et oro
C. I. 10	ὀνάιμην τῶν θηρίων	τῶν ἐμοὶ ἡτομασμένων.	καὶ εὐχομε
H. 644	полѣза иѣсмѣ зѣв'ѣремѣ	оггѣтѣовѣниимѣ миѣѣ.	и мѣѹче
V. 33	полѣза иѣсмѣ зѣв'ѣремѣ	оггѣтѣовѣанѣниимѣ миѣѣ.	и мѣѹче
σύντομά μοι εὐρεθῆναι· σύντομά μοι εὐρεθῆναι· compendium mihi inveniri; promptas mihi inveniri, ἔτομά μοι εὐρεθεῖναι· да ми ѡвѣрѣиѹгѣ гѣтѣови · да ми ѣ вѣр'ѣиѹгѣтъ гѣтѣови .			

Critical apparatus	καὶ zL(SSm)M: ἄ καὶ AAmCg σύντομά Smg, promptas L, συντόμως SAAM, ἔτοιμά zM
Observations	The Greek ὀναίμην is rendered periphrastically with παλῆζα καὶαμῆ (both in Hilandar and Vienna). The <i>Taurinensis</i> has the variant reading ἔτοιμά (against σύντομά), which is rendered in Slavonic translation as рѹтъѣи (both in Hilandar and Vienna). The Latin middle recension has "promptas" and stresses more the visibility. Only the phrase "in promptu esse" has the aspect of readiness. Nevertheless, the similarities between the <i>Taurinensis</i> , the Latin middle recension and the Slavonic translation are striking. The Greek passive form εὐρεθεῖναι is rendered with ѡбρѣиоуѣтє and ѣ ѡбрѣиоуѣтъ (OCS ѡбрѣѣти ѣа), in which the passive particle ѣ is attached to the verb, while it is written separately in Vienna. This variation does not change the meaning and is therefore, insignificant.

Line 5				
Translation	Indeed, I will coax them to devour me quickly—not as happens with some, whom they are afraid to touch.			
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	ἄ καὶ κολακεύσω	συντόμως με καταφαγεῖν,	οὐχ ὥσπερ τινῶν δειλαινόμενα	οὐχ ἦψαντο.
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	ἄ καὶ κολακεύσω	συντόμως με καταφαγεῖν,	οὐχ ὥσπερ τινῶν δειλαινόμενα	οὐχ ἦψαντο.
Latin long recension	et illiciam ,	ut me lerius me comedant,	ne sicut in aliis territae sunt	et non eos tetigerunt;
Latin middle recension (L)	quibus et blandiar	cito me devorare,	non quemadmodum quosdam timentes	non tetigerunt.
C. I. 10	ἄ καὶ κολακεύσω	συντόμως με καταφαγεῖν	οὐχ ὥσπερ τινῶν διλαινόμενα	οὐχ ἦψαντο·
H. 644	нхже	[...]ѡскорѣ ме снѣстыи·	не ѡкоже нѣкы [Δ.]ѡсєє	не косноушєє·
V. 33				

Critical apparatus	
Observations	The similarity between the Latin middle recension, the Greek long recension and the <i>Taurinensis</i> is striking. (word-for-word).

Line 6				
Translation	And even if they do not wish to do so willingly, I will force them to it.			
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	κἂν αὐτὰ δὲ ἐκόντα μὴ θέλη,	ἐγὼ προσβιάσομαι.		
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	κἂν αὐτὰ δὲ ἐκόντα μὴ θέλη,	ἐγὼ προσβιάσομαι.		
Latin long recension	et si ipsae noluerint,	ego eis vim faciam .		
Latin middle recension (L)	Sed et si ipsae volentem non velint,	ego vim faciam.		
C. I. 10	κἂν αὐτὰ δὲ ἀκόντα μὴ θελήση·	ἐγὼ προσβιάσωμε·		
H. 644	и димє не хотѣтъ ѥ	[Δ3 ѥ] приноуждоуѣ ѥ·		
V. 33				

Critical apparatus	ἐκόντα L (volentem) g : ἀκόντα zM θέλη g : θελήση z(M), velint L
Observations	The <i>Taurinensis</i> has the variant reading reading ἀκόντα (against ἐκόντα in the Greek and Latin long recension and the Latin middle recension), which is omitted in Hilandar (and Vienna does not render this passage). Furthermore, the <i>Taurinensis</i> renders θελήση, as well all the other manuscripts, except from the long Greek recension.

Line 7				
Translation	Grant this to me; I know what benefits me. Now I am beginning to be a disciple.			
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	συγγνώμην μοι ἔχετε·	τί μοι συμφέρει, ἐγὼ γινώσκω.	νῦν ἄρχομαι	μαθητῆς εἶναι.
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	συγγνώμην μοι ἔχετε·	τί μοι συμφέρει, ἐγὼ γινώσκω.	νῦν ἄρχομαι	μαθητῆς εἶναι.
Latin long recension	Ignoscite mihi:	ego scio, quid mihi expediat.	Nunc incipio	esse discipulus.
Latin middle recension (L)	Veniam mihi habete;	quid mihi confert, ego cognosco.	Nunc incipio	discipulus esse;
C. I. 10	συγγνώμην μοι ἔχεται·	τί μοι συμφάριει. ἐγὼ γηνόσκω·	νῦν ἄρχωμε	μαθητῆς εἶναι·
H. 644	ѡрѣднитъ мы	Δ3ѣ вѣѣмъ ѣто ми на поλζоуѣ ѥ·	нѣна наѣинаю	ѡѣеникъ быти·
V. 33			и нѣна наѣинаю	оѣѣеникъ быти.

Critical apparatus		
Observations	The similarity between the Latin middle recension, Greek and Latin long recension and the <i>Taurinensis</i> is striking. (word-for-word).	
Line 8		
Translation	May nothing visible or invisible show any envy toward me, that I may attain to Jesus Christ.	
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	μηθέν με ζηλώσαι τῶν ὁρατῶν καὶ τῶν ἀοράτων,	ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω.
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	μηθέν με ζηλώσαι τῶν ὁρατῶν καὶ τῶν ἀοράτων,	ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω.
Latin long recension	Nulli aemulor visibilium et invisibilium,	ut Iesum Christum merear adipisci.
Latin middle recension (L)	nihil me zelare visibilium et invisibilium,	ut Iesu Christo fruar.
C. I. 10	μηθέν με ζηλώσαι τῶν ὁρατῶν καὶ ἀωράτων.	ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω·
H. 644	ⲙⲏⲛⲉⲥⲟⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲉ ρⲉⲃⲛⲟⲃⲁⲧⲏ ⲙⲏ ⲃⲏⲁⲓⲙⲏⲃⲏⲭⲥ·	ⲁⲗ ⲉ̅̅ⲗⲟⲓⲛⲓⲟ ⲓϥ̅̅ ⲭⲁ.
V. 33	ⲙⲏⲛⲉⲥⲟⲙⲟⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲉ ρⲉⲃ· ⲛⲟⲃⲁⲧⲏ ⲃⲏⲁⲓⲙⲏⲃⲏⲭⲥ,	ⲁⲗ ⲟⲓⲗⲟⲓⲛⲓⲟ ⲓⲥ̅̅ ⲭⲁ.
Critical apparatus	μηθέν GHT(g) : μηθέν Eus. Zahn Hilgenf. καὶ GHT : + τῶν gSf	
Observations	The <i>Taurinensis</i> follows the Greek and Latin long recension and the Latin middle recension in rendering τῶν ὁρατῶν καὶ ἀωράτων, but omits τῶν before ἀωράτων, which is not visible in the Slavonic translation. The Latin translation "zelare" was shaped after the Greek noun ζῆλος (Latin "zelus").	
	Hilandar renders ⲙⲏ for the Greek με, while Vienna omits this pronoun. Furthermore, both manuscripts only translate ὁρατῶν (and not καὶ ἀωράτων). Hilandar renders the Greek most literally: ⲙⲏⲛⲉⲥⲟⲓⲛⲉ is in the neuter form and the depending dative ⲃⲏⲁⲓⲙⲏⲃⲏⲭⲥ (derived from the passive present participle, which has now an adjectival value). Here, the construction of a <i>dativus cum infinitivo</i> is used; the optative ζηλώσαι (used to express a wish) was interpreted as an infinitive.	

Line 9				
Translation	Fire and cross and packs of wild beasts, cuttings and being torn apart, the scattering of bones, the mangling of limbs, the grinding of the whole body,			
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	πῦρ καὶ σταυρὸς θηρίων τε συστάσεις,	ἀνατομαί, διαιρέσεις,	σκορπισμοὶ ὁστέων,	συγκοπαὶ μελῶν, ἄλεσμοὶ ὅλου τοῦ σώματος
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	πῦρ καὶ σταυρὸς θηρίων τε συστάσεις,		σκορπισμοὶ ὁστέων,	συγκοπαὶ μελῶν, ἄλεσμοὶ ὅλου τοῦ σώματος
Latin long recension	Ignis, crux bestiarumque constantia,	abscisio, separatio,	confractio ossium,	dissipatio membrorum, interitus totius corporis
Latin middle recension (L)	Ignis et crux bestiarumque congregationes ,		dispersiones ossium,	concisio membrorum, molitiones totius corporis,
C. I. 10	πῦρ καὶ σταυρὸς . θηρίων τε συστάσης·	ἀνατομαί· διαιρέσης·	σκορπησμοὶ ὁστέων·	συγκοπαὶ μελῶν· ἄλεσμοὶ ὅλου τοῦ σώματος·
H. 644	ⲙⲓⲛⲓⲟ προπεⲧⲏⲛⲓⲟ · ⲥⲱⲥⲧⲁⲃⲧⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲃⲉⲣⲏⲙⲃ.	ⲣⲁⲥⲏⲣⲁⲣⲁⲛⲏⲛⲏⲁ. Ⲱⲗⲟⲓⲛⲓⲟⲛⲏⲛⲏⲁ.	ⲣⲁⲥⲏⲣⲏⲣⲁⲛⲏⲛⲏⲁ ⲕⲟⲥⲧⲏⲛ.	ⲥⲱⲥⲉⲃⲉⲛⲏⲛⲏⲁ ⲟⲓⲗⲟⲃⲉⲃ· ⲥⲱⲙⲁⲗⲉⲛⲏⲛⲏⲁ ⲃⲉⲥⲉⲣⲟ ⲧⲉⲗⲉⲥⲉ·
V. 33	ⲙⲓⲛⲓⲟ ⲛⲉ, ⲛⲉ προπεⲧⲏⲛⲓⲟ . ⲥⲱⲥⲧⲁⲃⲧⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲃⲉⲣⲏⲛⲏⲛⲏ .	ⲣⲁⲥⲏⲣⲁⲣⲁⲛⲏⲛⲏⲁ. Ⲱⲗⲟⲓⲛⲓⲟⲛⲏⲛⲏⲁ.	ⲣⲁⲥⲏⲣⲏⲣⲁⲛⲏⲛⲏⲁ ⲕⲟⲥⲧⲏⲛ,	ⲥⲱⲥⲉⲃⲉⲛⲏⲛⲏⲁ ⲟⲓⲗⲟⲃⲉⲃ. ⲥⲱⲙⲁⲗⲉⲛⲏⲛⲏⲁ ⲃⲉⲥⲉⲣⲟ ⲧⲉⲗⲉⲥⲉ,
Critical apparatus	συστάσεις LS Eus. Hilgenf. Krüger : + ἀνατομαί· διαίρεσης· GHT(Sm)AmgM, + διαίρεσης καὶ SfA συγκοπαὶ Tg : συγκοπή GHLM			
Observations	The Hilandar manuscript has in the beginning a very different reading (ⲙⲓⲛⲓⲟ προπεⲧⲏⲛⲓⲟ) in which Ignatius' name and the cross is rendered in the dative, probably due to a misreading of 'and' (ⲛⲏ) and 'fire' (ⲟⲓⲛⲓⲗ). The Vienna manuscript renders the Greek words πῦρ καὶ σταυρὸς in the nominative (ⲙⲓⲛⲓ ⲛⲉ, ⲛⲉ προπεⲧⲏⲛⲓⲟ) and follows the Greek in this case closer. The Greek συστάσεις is rendered in the Hilandar manuscript as the dative plural ⲛⲁⲃⲉⲣⲏⲙⲃ (from OCS ⲛⲁⲃⲉⲣⲏⲙⲃ), maybe due to the phonological confusion of Greek iotacism: in this case the nominative plural συστάσεις is meant, but the dative plural of the first declension ends in -οις (with the same pronunciation). By contrast, the Vienna manuscript has the nominative plural ⲛⲁⲃⲉⲣⲏⲛⲏ (from OCS ⲛⲁⲃⲉⲣⲏⲛⲏ, which shares the same base as ⲛⲁⲃⲉⲣⲏⲙⲃ and the same meaning) as in the Greek text. Further in the sentence, the Vienna reading also renders the Greek text (συγκοπαὶ and ἄλεσμοὶ) more closely, since it renders the nouns ⲥⲱⲥⲉⲃⲉⲛⲏⲛⲏ and ⲥⲱⲙⲁⲗⲉⲛⲏⲛⲏ in the nominative plural (in contrast to Hilandar, which renders the words in singular, i.e. ⲥⲱⲥⲉⲃⲉⲛⲏⲛⲏ and ⲥⲱⲙⲁⲗⲉⲛⲏⲛⲏ). The <i>Taurinensis</i> has the variant reading συγκοπαὶ (against συγκοπή), shared with the Greek long recension, which reading the Vienna manuscript also follows. Furthermore, the <i>Taurinensis</i> follows the long Greek recension rendering ἀνατομαί, διαιρέσεις, like the Metaphrast, G en H (but omitted in the edition of Bihlmeyer and not transmitted in the Latin middle recension). The similarity between the renderings of συστάσεις and congreationes (both in plural, against the Latin long recension "constantia" in singular) is striking.			

Line 10				
Translation	the evil torments of the devil—let them come upon me, only that I may attain to Jesus Christ.			
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	καὶ κόλασις τοῦ διαβόλου	ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἐρχέσθω,	μόνον ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω.	

Greek edition Bihlmeyer	κακαὶ κολάσεις τοῦ διαβόλου	ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἐρχέσθωσαν,	μόνον ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω.
Latin long recension	et damnatio diaboli,	omnia in me veniant,	ut Iesum Christum merear adipisci.
Latin middle recension (L)	malae punitiones diaboli	in me veniant,	solum ut Iesu Christo fruar.
C. I. 10	καὶ κολάσης τοῦ διαβόλου	ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἐρχέσθωσαν'	μόνον ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω
H. 644	Н МОУКА ДИАВОЛІА	НА МѢ ДА ПРИИДЕТЬ.	ТЪУНІО ДА Н ІЄА ХА ОΥΛΟΥΓ'ІЮ·
V. 33	Н МОУКА ДИАВОЛІА	НА МѢ ДА ПРИИДЕТЬ,	ТЪКМО ХА ДА ОΥΛΟΥΓ'ІЮ.
Critical apparatus	κακαὶ GHLS : καὶ κακαὶ SfA, καὶ πᾶσαι SmAm, καὶ TgM		
Observations	The <i>Taurinensis</i> has the reading of καὶ, shared with the long Greek recension. The Slavonic translation follows this reading (and does not render a translation of e.g. κακαὶ or πᾶσαι). This is a significant variant reading which shows that the branch of the <i>Taurinensis</i> served as a model for the Slavonic translation.		

The Slavonic translation has мѡука (both in Hilandar and Vienna) in singular, although the Greek renders κολάσεις in plural. There are two suggestions: (1) The Latin translation (together with the one in Syriac and Armenian) has the oldest text with "damnatio" in the singular as a part of the previous enumeration and πᾶσαι as the subject (in the plural) of the verb ἐρχέσθωσαν. Probably, Funk-Diekamp takes over the singular reading of κόλασις and adapts the verb to the singular (ἐρχέσθω), since he has no other subject in the plural (like πᾶσαι). Something similar appears in the Slavonic translation. In this respect, the Slavonic translation may deviate from the reading in the *Taurinensis*, and it may stand closer to a more original reading of the common group. (2) It is also possible that the Slavonic translator chose for a term in the singular with the meaning "overall torment" or "hell".

The Greek imperative ἐρχέσθωσαν (present 3 plural) is in the Slavonic translation rendered as a wish introduced by ДА, with a verb in the third person singular.

The Greek μόνον has two seemingly different translations: Hilandar renders ТЪУНІО (OCS ТЪУНІѦ) which is a common translation for the adverb μόνον, since the Slavonic word also has the a limitive nuance. However, the word ТЪКМО in the Vienna manuscript has the same meaning as ТЪУНІѦ and is also common used as a translation for μόνον. There is no relevant semantic difference, hence the variation is indicated in blue.

The Latin middle recension uses different words to express "attain to God": "attingo" (cfr. paragraph 8, line 6), "fruo" (in this line and in §5.8; §5.10; §9.4) and "potior" (paragraph 1 line 3), whereas the *Taurinensis* always opts for ἐπιτύχω.

Paragraph 6			
Line 1			
Translation	Neither the ends of the world nor the kingdoms of this age will benefit me in the least.		
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	Οὐδέν με ὠφελήσει τὰ πέρατα τοῦ κόσμου	οὐδὲ αἱ βασιλεῖαι τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου.	
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	Οὐδέν με ὠφελήσει τὰ πέρατα τοῦ κόσμου	οὐδὲ αἱ βασιλεῖαι τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου.	
Latin long recension	Nihil me iuvant, quae sunt mundi huius,	neque regnum temporale.	
Latin middle recension (L)	Nihil mihi proderunt termini mundi	neque regna saeculi huius.	
C. I. 10	οὐδέν με ὀφελήσει τὰ τερπνᾶ τοῦ κόσμου'	οὐδὲ αἱ βασιλεῖαι τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου'	
H. 644	НИКИЕЖЕ ПОЛЗИ НЕ ЄТВОРЕТЬ красна мѣра сего·	НИ ЦР'ТВЫІА СЕГО МІРА·	
V. 33			
Critical apparatus	με HgM : μοι GT ?? πέρατα LSfSmAmg : τερпнᾶ GHTM		
Observations	The <i>Taurinensis</i> has the variant reading τερпнᾶ, shared with the Metaphrast version (against πέρατα as found in the Greek long recension and the Latin middle recension). This variant reading of <i>Taurinensis</i> is rendered in the Slavonic translation by красна (OCS краснѣнѣ, which is the common translation for the Greek τερпνός in its figurative meaning). The variant reading indicated in the apparatus of Bihlmeyer is incorrect: the <i>Taurinensis</i> has με. However, the variant reading μοι which apparently occurred in the <i>Taurinensis</i>, according to the apparatus of Bihlmeyer, is incorrect. The <i>Taurinensis</i> renders με following the long Greek recension and the Metaphrast version. Remarkably, this pronoun is not translated in Hilandar; the Vienna manuscript does not include this fragment. The Slavonic word мѣрѣ is a common translation for the Greek αἰών ("century, age"), although мѣрѣ primarily has the meaning "world, peace". In this line, the genitives τοῦ αἰῶνος and мѣра are used as a complement respectively to βασιλεῖαι and ЦР'ТВЫІА.		
Line 2			

Translation	It is better for me to die in Jesus Christ than to rule the ends of the earth.		
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	καλὸν ἐμοὶ	ἀποθανεῖν διὰ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ,	ἡ βασιλεύειν τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς.
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	καλὸν μοι	ἀποθανεῖν εἰς Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν ,	ἡ βασιλεύειν τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς
Latin long recension	Bonum est mihi	mori in Christo Iesu,	quam regnare in finibus terrae.
Latin middle recension (L)	Bonum mihi	mori propter Iesum Christum,	quam regnare super terminos terrae.
C. I. 10	καλὸν [...] ⲕⲁⲗⲟⲛ	[...]οθανεῖν εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν	[...] βασιλεύειν τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς
H. 644	ΔΟΞΡΟ ΜΗ ⲓⲉ	ογμρβτι ѠѢ ⲭⲁ ⲓϥⲁ	НЕЖЕЛИ МИ ⲭⲁ ⲓϥⲁ ⲓⲣⲧⲃⲟⲩⲁⲧⲏⲏ ⲕⲟⲛⲓⲏ ⲫⲉⲙⲕⲉ
V. 33	ΛΟΥΓΕ ΜΗ	ЗА ⲭⲁ ογμρβτι ,	НЕЖЕЛИ ѠΒΛΑΔⲁⲧⲏ ѠСЕЮ ⲫⲉⲙⲕⲉЮ ,
Critical apparatus	εις GHT : ἐν M, in SFAAmI, διὰ Lg Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν LSfAg : Χριστόν Ἰησοῦν GHTSmAmM(I)		
Observations	The Slavonic translation attested in Vienna renders the comparative λογγε, whereas Hilandar renders Δοξρο, more closely following the Greek καλόν. The Vienna has a secondary reading, because of the variation on the Greek. The copyist opted for a more logical and smoothly sounding rendering.		

The variation in prepositions (ѠѢ in Hilandar and за in Vienna) rendering the same Greek preposition εἰς, expressing a direction, but here with the meaning of LSJ I.2 "with verbs expressing *rest in* a place, when a previous motion *into* or *to* it is implied". Ignatius first moves to the afterlife and then rests in the spirit of Jezus Christ or reaches into his spirit. In general, we see that the Vienna manuscript displays several times a reading in more fluent Church Slavonic than the primary reading of Hilandar. This phenomenon is also visible in this case: за ⲭⲁ is a very common formula in combination with an expression of dying. Furthermore, the representation of only ⲭⲁ in Vienna (instead of the more literal ⲭⲁ ⲓϥⲁ in Hilandar) is insignificant here, hence indicated in blue. As a consequence of this omission, the variant word order of Jesus Christ in the *Taurinensis* is rendered in the Hilandar manuscript, but not in Vienna.

The Greek βασιλεύειν τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς is rendered more literally in Hilandar by ⲭⲁⲓⲣⲧⲃⲟⲩⲁⲧⲏⲏ ⲕⲟⲛⲓⲏ ⲫⲉⲙⲕⲉ ("reigning over the borders of the world"). The verb is derived from the word "king" (OCS ⲕⲓⲛⲁⲣⲃ), just like in Greek (cfr. βασιλεύς). The complement to ⲭⲁⲓⲣⲧⲃⲟⲩⲁⲧⲏⲏ is provided by the instrumental ⲕⲟⲛⲓⲏ, like in Greek the genitive τῶν περάτων is used as a complement to βασιλεύειν as a verb meaning "to reign". The dative μι does not have a Greek equivalent and is not rendered in Vienna. Probably, it is a dativus ethicus that emphasizes the first person a little more. In Vienna, the verb "to reign" is translated by ѠΒΛΑΔⲁⲧⲏⲏ, which does not have a distinct semantic meaning in comparison with ⲭⲁⲓⲣⲧⲃⲟⲩⲁⲧⲏⲏ. These can be seen as synonyms. Furthermore, Vienna renders всею землею "over the entire world", a more free translation of the Greek source text, which we see more in the Vienna manuscript.

The Latin middle recension does not share the reversed word-order of the *Taurinensis*. Instead, it follows the reading of the Greek long recension.

Line 3			
Translation	*What profit does it bring a man if he wins the whole world, but damages his soul.		
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	τί γάρ ὠφελεῖται ἄνθρωπος.	ἐάν τὸν κόσμον ὅλον κερδήσῃ,	τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπολέσῃ;
Greek edition Bihlmeyer			
Latin long recension	Quid enim prodest homini,	si totum mundum lucretur,	animam vero suam perdat?
Latin middle recension (L)			
C. I. 10	τί γάρ ὠφελεῖται ἄνθρωπος	ἐάν κερδήσῃ τὸν κόσμον ὅλον	τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ζημιωθεί
H. 644	ΚΟΙΔ ΠΟΛΖΔ ὕΛΟϚ'ΒΚΟΒΙ	ΔΙϠⲉ ΠΡΗΩΒΡⲉⲓⲙⲉⲧѢ ѠѢ ΜΗΡѢ	Δ СВОЮ ΔΙΨΟΥ ѠϣⲉⲧⲏⲧѢ
V. 33	ΚΑΙΔ ΒΟ ΠΟΛБЗА ὕΛѢКОУ	ΔΙϠⲉ И ВѢѢ ΜΗΡѢ ΠΡΗΩΒРⲉⲓⲙⲉⲧѢ,	Δ СВОЮ ΔΙΨΟΥ ѠϣⲉⲧⲏⲧѢ.
Critical apparatus	γῆς LSfSmAAm : + τί γάρ ὠφελεῖται ἄνθρωπος. ἐάν τὸν κόσμον ὅλον κερδήσῃ, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπολέσῃ; GHTgM (nach Mt. 16,26) κερδήσει T after τὸν κόσμον ὅλον αὐτοῦ > T		
Observations	The <i>Taurinensis</i> follows the long Greek recension in rendering these lines (to which Bihlmeyer refers in his apparatus criticus, but omits in his edition). The omission of αὐτοῦ in the <i>Taurinensis</i> is also clear from the Slavonic translation, which does not have (neither in Hilandar, nor in Vienna) a translation for αὐτοῦ.		
	In the Slavonic translation, there is a variation between КОИΔ (Hilandar) and КАИΔ (Vienna), where the latter has the primary reading, since it also renders ВО (for the Greek γάρ).		
	This line reminds to a quote from Mt. 16,26. However, it is remarkable that the <i>Taurinensis</i> with ζηλωθεί deviates from the source (ἀπολέσῃ) which Bihlmeyer indicated in his apparatus. It seems that the <i>Taurinensis</i> reading stays closer to the quotation from the Bible. The Slavonic translation follows this reading, rendering Ѡϣⲉⲧⲏⲧⲏⲧⲏ (OCS ⲓⲣⲗⲓⲙⲉⲧⲏⲧⲏⲧⲏ is the common translation of the verb ζημώω).		

Translation	*I long for the Lord, the son of the true God and Father, Jezus Christ.		
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	τὸν κύριον ποθῶ,	τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρός,	Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστόν.
Greek edition Bihlmeyer			
Latin long recension	<i>Dominum nam que desidero,</i>	<i>Filium veri Dei et Patrem</i>	<i>Iesu Christi.</i>
Latin middle recension (L)			
C. I. 10			
H. 644			
V. 33			
Critical apparatus			
Observations	The <i>Taurinensis</i> does not follow here the long Greek recension.		

Line 5

Translation	That is the one I seek, who died on our behalf; that is the one I desire, who arose for us. But pains of birth have come upon me.		
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	ἐκεῖνον ζητῶ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντα	καὶ ἀναστάντα.	
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	ἐκεῖνον ζητῶ, τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντα·	ἐκεῖνον θέλω, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς ἀναστάντα.	ὁ δὲ τοκετός μοι ἐπíκειται.
Latin long recension	Ipsum utique quaero, et illum , qui pro nobis mortuus est	et resurrexit.	
Latin middle recension (L)	Illum quaero, qui pro nobis mortuus est;	illum volo, qui propter nos resurrexit.	Ille lucrum mihi adiacet.
C. I. 10	ἐκεῖνον ζητῶ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντα·	ἐκεῖνον θέλω τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς ἀναστάντα·	
H. 644	τογο иѡмѡꝝ ѡмѣрѡаго ꝑѡнѣт' ѡѡѣ ꝑѡ ѡа.	τομοꝝ χοιμοꝝ вѣскр'ѣшогѡмоꝝ за нѡѣ	
V. 33	τογο иѡмѡꝝ оꝟмѣрѡаго за ны,	τομοꝝ χοιμοꝝ вѣскр'ѣшогѡмоꝝ насъ ϱади,	
Critical apparatus	ὁ δὲ τοκετός μοι ἐπíκειται > KTg(M)		
Observations	The <i>Taurinensis</i> follows the Greek long recension in not rendering the phrase ὁ δὲ τοκετός μοι ἐπíκειται. Neither Hilandar, nor Vienna include this in the translation. The Slavonic word ꝑѡнѣт' ѡѡѣ has no Greek equivalent and is a clarification who was responsible for the death of Jezus (i.e. Pontius). The variation between the prepositions no and за is relatively insignificant, since they are both common translations for the Greek ὑπὲρ. There is a genitive-dative variation respectively in Hilandar (τὸν) and Vienna (τὸμοꝝ). The genitive can be a complement to χοιμοꝝ (infinitive χοιτῆτι) since it is here animate (the Greek ἐκεῖνον refers to Jezus). However, in ancient texts, the dative is more frequently encountered. Here, Vienna preserves a more archaic trait (cfr. paragraph line 11). Furthermore, there is a preposition variation in rendering the Greek δι' ἡμᾶς: Hilandar has written за нѡѣ, whereas Vienna the reading насъ ϱади has (in postposition).		

Line 6

Translation	Grant this to me, brothers: do not keep me from living; ; do not wish me to die;		
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	συγγνωμεῖτέ μοι, ἀδελφοί·	μὴ ἐμποδισθῆτέ μοι εἰς ζωὴν φθάσαι,	Ἰησοῦς γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ζωὴ τῶν πιστῶν·
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	σύγγνωτέ μοι, ἀδελφοί·	μὴ ἐμποδισθῆτέ μοι ζῆσαι,	
Latin long recension	Ignoscite mihi, fratres, ;	ne mihi impediatis ad vitam	<i>Iesus enim est vita fidelium</i>
Latin middle recension (L)	Ignoscite mihi, fratres;	non impediatis me vivere,	
C. I. 10	σύγγνωτέ μοι, ἀδελφοί·	μὴ ἐμποδίσσῃται μοι ζῆσαι·	μὴ θελήσῃτε με ἀποθανεῖν·
H. 644	попѣстыте ми братиѣ	не застоꝟпаѣте ми жити·	не похотѣйте не оꝟмрѣти ми
V. 33	попоꝟстите ми братиѣ	не застоꝟпаѣте ми жити,	
Critical apparatus			
Observations	The <i>Taurinensis</i> does not follow the long Greek recension, since it omits the phrase Ἰησοῦς γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ζωὴ τῶν πιστῶν. In Hilandar, the Greek θελήσῃτε is rendered by похотѣите, which has a more desiring nuance. In this text, the verb похотѣти was used to translate ἐρασθῆτε (paragraph 2 line 5) and ἐπιθυμεῖν (paragraph 4 line 11; in contrast to ἐπιθυμεῖτε in paragraph 7 line 3 where it translated with λυσιτε). In these cases the Greek bares a more desiring nuance as well.		

Line 7				
Translation	do not hand over to the world the one who wants to belong to God or deceive him by what is material. Allow me to receive the pure light;			
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	θάνατος γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ἄνευ Χριστοῦ ζωή.	τοῦ θεοῦ θέλοντά με εἶναι	κόσμῳ μὴ χαρίσῃσθε .	ἄφετέ με καθαρὸν φῶς λαβεῖν·
Greek edition Bihlmeyer		τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ θέλοντα εἶναι	κόσμῳ μὴ χαρίσῃσθε μηδὲ ὕλη ἐξαπατήσητε·	ἄφετέ με καθαρὸν φῶς λαβεῖν·
Latin long recension	<i>mors enim est vita sine Christo.</i>	Dei volens esse,	mundo non placeam.	Sinite me puram lucem percipere.
Latin middle recension (L)		Dei volentem esse	per mundum non separetis me, neque per materiam	Dimittite me purum lumen accipere;
C. I. 10		τὸν θεοῦ θέλοντα εἶναι	κόσμῳ μὴ χαρίσῃται ·	ἄφεταί με καθαρὸν φῶς λαβεῖν·
H. 644		ΧΟΤΕΨΙΑΓΟ ΒΓΩΥ· ΒΗΤΗ·	НЕ ВЪДАД ИТЕ МИ РОВИ С ЕМОУ·	НЕΔ΄ ΒΗΤΕ ΥΨΕΤ΄ ΠΗΙΕΤΥ·
V. 33				

Critical apparatus

χαρίσῃται T, χωρίσῃτέ με (deparetis me) L

Observations

The *Taurinensis* does not follow the long Greek recension, because it does not render the phrase θάνατος γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ἄνευ Χριστοῦ ζωή. It also does not follow the middle recension, since the *Taurinensis* omits μηδὲ ὕλη ἐξαπατήσητε. The Taurinensis further has the variant reading χαρίσῃται (against χαρίσῃσθε). This variation is not visible in the Slavonic translation in Hilandar, since it only renders the imperative-form.

The Slavonic **СМОУ** does not have a Greek equivalent.

The Slavonic translation of the last Greek phrase is remarkable: the Greek imperative ἄφετέ is rendered as the imperative **НЕΔ΄ΒΗΤΕ**, but the Greek **με** and **φῶς** are not rendered in the translation. We have the infinitive **ΠΗΙΕΤΥ** as a complement to **НЕΔ΄ΒΗΤΕ** (the infinitive displays the common confusions in sounds, is equivalent to OCS infinitive "πῆματι" and a perfect translation for the Greek λαβεῖν). The infinitive is congruent with **ΥΨΕΤ΄** (in the accusative), so the reading of Hilandar makes sense and could be translated as "allow me to receive the honour (of this world)". But **ΥΨΕΤ΄** is not a very common translation for καθαρός, since it means in the first place "rank, honour". (**ΥΨΕΤ΄** is a common translation for καθαρός). This could be explained if the original reading was **ΥΨΕΤ΄** (attested in the Slavonic Metaphrast), after which the word for light "**ΨΕΤ΄**" was omitted and **ΥΨΕΤ΄** was interpreted as **ΥΨΕΤ΄**.

Line 8				
Translation	when I have arrived there, I will be a human. Allow me to be an imitator of the suffering of my God.			
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	ἐκεῖ παραγενόμενος	ἄνθρωπος θεοῦ ἔσομαι.	ἐπιτρέψατε μοι	μιμητὴν εἶναι πάθους Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ μου.
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	ἐκεῖ παραγενόμενος	ἄνθρωπος ἔσομαι.	ἐπιτρέψατε μοι	μιμητὴν εἶναι τοῦ πάθους τοῦ θεοῦ μου.
Latin long recension	Illuc perveniens,	homo Dei	Concedite mihi,	ut sim imitator passionis Christi Dei mei.
Latin middle recension (L)	illuc adveniens	homo ero.	Sinite me	imitatorem esse passionis Dei mei.
C. I. 10	ἐκεῖ παραγενόμενος.	ἄνθρωπος θεοῦ ἔσωμαι·	ἐπιτρέψατέ μοι	μιμητὴν εἶναι πάθους τοῦ θεοῦ μου·
H. 644	ТѦМО ШЬДѦ	БЖІ УЉВКЪ БОУДОУ·	ПОВЕЛИТЕ МИ	ПОДРАЖАТЕЛЮ БЖІ БѦ МОЕГО.
V. 33				ΔΔ ΒΟΥΔΟΥ ΠΟΔΡΑЖАТЕΛЬ БѦ МОЕГО,

Critical apparatus

τοῦ GHKM :> Tg

Observations

The *Taurinensis* follows the long Greek recension in omitting the article τοῦ and rendering ἄνθρωπος θεοῦ (against the middle recension of ἄνθρωπος). Since the Slavonic language does not have articles, this variation is not visible in the Slavonic translation, but the Slavonic translation of H.644 does render ἄνθρωπος θεοῦ of the long recension.

Hilandar renders the accusative-and-infinitive literally with **ПОДРАЖАТЕЛЮ БЖІ** (in which the dative **ПОДРАЖАТЕЛЮ** is congruent with **МИ**, rendering a dativus cum infinitivo). Vienna, by contrast, renders a final clause in which the perfective presens of **БЖІ** (OCS **вждж**) is used with **ПОДРАЖАТЕЛЬ** in the nominative as a nominal part of the predicate.

In Hilandar, as well as in Vienna, there is no translation for πάθους, which slightly differs the meaning of the sentence from "be an imitator of the suffering of my God" to "be an imitator of my God".

Line 9				
Translation	If anyone has him within himself, let him both understand what I want and sympathize with me, realizing the things that constrain me.			
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	εἴ τις αὐτὸν ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔχει,	νοησάτω , ὃ θέλω,	καὶ συμπαθεῖτω μοι,	εἰδὼς τὰ συνέχοντά με.
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	εἴ τις αὐτὸν ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔχει,	νοησάτω , ὃ θέλω,	καὶ συμπαθεῖτω μοι,	εἰδὼς τὰ συνέχοντά με.
Latin long recension	Qui eum in se ipso vult habere,	intellegat, quod volo,	et compatiatur mihi,	sciens, quid sit in me.
Latin middle recension (L)	Si quis ipsum in se ipso habet,	intelligat quod volo,	et compatiatur mihi,	sciens, quae continent me.
C. I. 10	εἴ τις αὐτὸν ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔχει·	νοησάτω ὃ θέλω	καὶ συμπαθεῖτω μοι·	ιδῶς τὰ συνέχοντά με·
H. 644	ИЖЕ ИМАТЬ ЈЕГО ВЪ СЕБѢ·	ΔΔ ΡΑΖΟΥМ΄ ΒΙΕΤЬ ЈЕМОУЖЕ ΧΟЦЮ·	И ΔΔ ПОΠΟΥСІТІТ МН·	СВѢДН СЪДРЪЖЕИМІА МЕ,

V. 33	ИЖЕ ИМАТЬ ЕГО ВЪ СЕБѢ	ДА РАЗΟΥМѢИТЬ ІЕМОУЖЕ ХОИМѢ	Ж ДА ΠΟΠΟΥΣΤΗΤΗ ΜΗ,	СВѢДЫИ СЪДРЪЖЕЦАІА МѢ,
Critical apparatus				
Observations	The imperative in Greek (νοησάτω) is rendered as a final clause introduced by ΔΑ in the Slavonic translation (both in Hilandar and Vienna).			
	The similarity between the <i>Taurinensis</i> and the Latin middle recension is striking. (word-for-word).			
Paragraph 7				
Line 1				
Translation	The ruler of this age wishes to snatch me away and corrupt my mind, which is directed toward God.			
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	Ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦτου	διαρπάσαι με βούλεται	καὶ τὴν εἰς τὸν θεόν μου γνώμην διαφθεῖραι.	
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	Ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦτου	διαρπάσαι με βούλεται	καὶ τὴν εἰς θεόν μου γνώμην διαφθεῖραι.	
Latin long recension	Princeps mundi huius	diripere me vult	et in iudicio Dei mei disrumpere.	
Latin middle recension (L)	Princeps saeculi huius	rapere me vult	et eam quae in Deum meum sententiam corrumpere.	
C. I. 10	ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦτου	διαρπάσαι με βούλεται	καὶ τὴν εἰς θεόν μου γνώ...ην διαφθῆραι	
H. 644	ВЛАСТЕЛИНЬ МИРА СЕГО	РАСΧЫТИТИ МѢ ХОИМѢТЬ,	И ВОЛЮ МОЮ ІАЖЕ КЪ БѢѢ РАСЫПАТИ.	
V. 33	ВЛАСТЕЛИНЬ МИРА СЕГО	РАСΧЫТИТИ МѢ ХОИМѢТЬ,	И ВОЛЮ МОЮ ІЕЖЕ КЪ БѢѢ РАСЫПАТИ.	
Critical apparatus				
Observations	/			
Line 2				
Translation	And so let none of you who are present assist him; rather be on my side—that is, on God’s.			
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	μηδεις οὖν τῶν παρόντων ὑμῶν βοηθεῖτω αὐτῷ	μᾶλλον ἐμοὶ γένεσθε,	τουτέστι τοῦ θεοῦ,	
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	μηδεις οὖν τῶν παρόντων ὑμῶν βοηθεῖτω αὐτῷ	μᾶλλον ἐμοὶ γίνεσθε,	τουτέστιν τοῦ θεοῦ,	
Latin long recension	Nemo ergo de praesentibus vobis auxilietur ei	magis autem mei adiutores estote,	hoc est Dei.	
Latin middle recension (L)	Nullus igitur praesentium de vobis adiuvet ipsi;	magis autem mei fiat,	hoc est Dei mei.	
C. I. 10	μηδεις [...] τῶν παρόντ[...] ὑμῶν βοηθεῖτο αὐτῷ	[...]αλλον ἐμοὶ γένεσθαι	του[....][ι τοῦ	
H. 644	И КЪ ЕЖ [...] Ѡ СОУЩИХЪ ЗЕ ДА НЕ ПОМАГАИЕТЬ ІЕМОУ	[...]Е МНѢ БЫТИ	СИРѢѢ БЖІЮ	
V. 33				
Critical apparatus				
	ἐμοὶ TgM : ἐμοῦ GHL			
Observations	The <i>Taurinensis</i> is very difficult to read in this passage, as well as Hilandar (Vienna does not render this line).			
	The <i>Taurinensis</i> has the variant reading γένεσθαι (the infinitive, against the imperative γίνεσθε). These two forms are orally very close to each other. The meaning changes then to "let none of you who are present assist him to be on my side". The Slavonic translation, attested in Hilandar, also renders an infinitive (быти). This is also a clear argument to show the relationship between a branch to which the <i>Taurinensis</i> belongs and the Slavonic translation. This variation, however, was not indicated in any apparatus, probably because the <i>Taurinensis</i> is hard to read, but the epsilon is clearly readable.			
	The Latin middle recension has the genitive "mei" against the reading of the <i>Taurinensis</i> and the one of the Greek long recension.			
Line 3				
Translation	Do not speak about Jesus Christ but long for the world. Let no envy dwell among you.			
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	μὴ λαλεῖτε Ἰηοῦν Χριστόν,	κόσμον δὲ προτιμᾶτε.	βασκανία ἐν ὑμῖν μὴ κατοικεῖτω.	
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	μὴ λαλεῖτε Ἰηοῦν Χριστόν,	κόσμον δὲ ἐπιθυμεῖτε.	βασκανία ἐν ὑμῖν μὴ κατοικεῖτω.	
Latin long recension	Nolite dicere Iesum Christum,	mundum honorantes.	Fascinus in vobis non habitat	
Latin middle recension (L)	Non loquimini Iesum Christum	et mundum concupiscatis.	Invidia in vobis non inhabitet,	
C. I. 10	[.....]λητ[.] Ἰησοῦν	[..] κόσ[.....]ἐ	[.....]	
H. 644	НЕ ГЛѢ ІСЪ ХА	[...] ЛЮБИТЕ	ЗАВѢЩЪ ВЪ ВАСЪ ДА НЕ ЖИВЕ[...]	

Critical apparatus

Observations *Taurinensis* is very illegible, but according to the editions, the Slavonic translation of Hilandar renders the Greek very closely. The translation of ἐπιθυμεῖτε by любите is not very remarkable in this context. The two other manuscripts belonging to the same branch as Hilandar (viz. Rila and Zographou) correspond very well to the Greek. Rila reads "не ѣлите ѿ γα, мѣра же любите" and Zographou reads "не ѣлите ѿ γα, мѣра же любите".

Line 4				
Translation	Even if I urge you otherwise when I arrive, do not be persuaded; instead be persuaded by what I am writing you now.			
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	μηδὲ ἐὰν ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς παρῶν παρακαλῶ,	πείσθητε·	τούτοις δὲ μᾶλλον πιστεύσατε,	οἷς γράφω ὑμῖν.
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	μηδ' ἂν ἐγὼ παρῶν παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς,	πείσθητέ μοι·	τούτοις δὲ μᾶλλον πείσθητε,	οἷς γράφω ὑμῖν.
Latin long recension	neque, si vos praesens rogavero,	consentiat̃is mihi.	His autem magis consentite,	quae scribo vobis.
Latin middle recension (L)	neque utique ego praesens vos deprecor,	credere mihi.	His autem magis credite,	quae scribo vobis.
C. I. 10	[.....]	[.....]	τούτοις δὲ μᾶλλον πίσθιται.	οἷς γράφω ὑμῖν.
H. 644	МОЛЮ ВѦ	НЕ ПОСЛОУШАИТЕ МЕНЕ·	И [...] СЛОУШАИТЕ	
V. 33			ПАΥΕ ЖЕ ПИШΟΥ· ВАМЪ ПОСЛОУШАИТЕ,	И [...] СЛОУШАИТЕ ИΧЖЕ ПИШΟΥ·

Critical apparatus παρῶν > HT ?
πείσθητε GHTLCM : πιστεύσατε g(SmAAm)

Observations The *Taurinensis* is in this passage very hard to read. Bihlmeyer's apparatus tells that παρῶν is omitted in the *Taurinensis* , and it is not present in the Slavonic translation (although the reading of Hilandar does not render the Greek entirely). If the readings of the other manuscripts (belonging to the same branch as Hilandar) are taken into account, the omission of the Greek παρῶν as a variant reading is significant. It shows that the branch of the *Taurinensis* can have served as the model for the Slavonic translation. Rila reads "и азъ аще мѣлю въ, не послоушаите мене" and Zographou reads "и азъ аще мѣла въ, не послоушаите мене".

The *Taurinensis* has the reading πίσθιται (normalised πείσθητε), deviating from the Greek long recension which has πιστεύσατε. The Greek πίσθιται is rendered in Slavonic by послоушаите (probably Hilandar has the same reading, because слоушаите is clearly visible, but a preposition before the verb can be expected).

However, the translation of this line is remarkable in both Slavonic manuscripts: Hilandar does not render the Greek οἷς γράφω ὑμῖν in translation, whereas in Vienna τούτοις is not rendered in translation.

Line 5				
Translation	For I write to you while living, desiring to die. My passion has been crucified and there is no burning love within me for material things;			
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	ζῶν γὰρ γράφω ὑμῖν,	ἐρῶν τοῦ διὰ Χριστὸν ἀποθανεῖν.	ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως ἐσταύρωται,	καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἐμοὶ πῦρ φιλόυλον·
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	ζῶν γὰρ γράφω ὑμῖν,	ἐρῶν τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν.	ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως ἐσταύρωται,	καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἐμοὶ πῦρ φιλόυλον·
Latin long recension	Vivus enim vobis scribo,	desiderans mori pro Christo.	Meus enim amor crucifixus est	et non est in me;
Latin middle recension (L)	Vivens enim scribo vobis,	desiderans mori.	Meum desiderium crucifixum est,	et non est in me ignis amans
C. I. 10		ἐρῶν τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν	ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως ἐσταύρωται.	καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἐμοὶ πῦρ φιλόυλον·
H. 644	ЖИВЪ КЪ ВАМЪ·	РАΥЮ ΣΜΡΉΤΗ·	МОЈЕ РАΥΕΝНІЕ ПРОПЕГО ІЕ·	И Н'Ѣ ВЪ МН'Ѣ ВГН'Ь ВѢЩИ ЛЮБѢВЪ·
V. 33	И ІЕЩЕ ЖИВЪ СЫН	РАΥЮ ОΥΜΡ'ѢΤИ,	МОЈЕ РАΥΕННІЕ ПРОПЕГО ІЕСТЬ,	ИН'ѢСТЬ ВЪ М'Н'Ѣ ВГН'Ь ВѢЩИ ЛЮБѢВЪНЬ.

Critical apparatus ζῶν γὰρ γράφω ὑμῖν > T (homoeot.)

Observations In *Taurinensis* , there is an omission of ζῶν γὰρ γράφω ὑμῖν. The Greek ζῶν (participle of ζῆω) is rendered as an adjective in Hilandar живъ ("alive", congruent with the first person of пишю), while Vienna renders живъ сын (a periphrastic construction consisting of the adjective живъ and the active present participle of εἰμι (with the translation "while I am still alive"). So, the Slavonic translation relates ζῶν to the previous phrase and omits the phrase "γὰρ γράφω ὑμῖν".

The compound word φιλόυλον is a Greek Patristic word (according to the lexicon of Lampe). The Slavonic translation renders вѣщн любѣвъ (in Hilandar) and вѣщн любѣвънъ (in Vienna). The first is a composition of вѣщн (for the Greek ὕλη, in the genitive case) and любѣвъ (accusative, singular for φίλος). Here, two substantives are combined, whereas in Vienna the same word for the Greek "material" is used (вѣщн), together with the adjective любѣвънъ.

Line 6	
Translation	instead there is living water, which also is speaking in me, saying to me from within: “Come to the Father.”

Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	ὕδωρ δὲ ζῶν,	ἀλλόμενον ἐν ἐμοί,	ἔσωθέν μοι λέγει ·	Δεῦρο πρὸς τὸν πατέρα.
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	ὕδωρ δὲ ζῶν	καὶ λαλοῦν ἐν ἐμοί,	ἔσωθέν μοι λέγον ·	δεῦρο πρὸς τὸν πατέρα.
Latin long recension	aqua autem viva	alia manet in me	intrinsecus mihi dicens:	Veni ad Patrem
Latin middle recension (L)	aliquam aquam, sed vivens	et loquens est in me,	intus me dicit:	Veni ad Patrem.
C. I. 10	ὕδωρ δὲ ζῶν	καὶ λαλοῦν ἐν ἐμοί·	ἔσωθέν μοι λέγει	δεῦρο πρὸς τὸν πατέρα
H. 644	ΒΟΔΔ ЖИΒΔ	и глѣпниѧ въ [...]·	Ὡτρυюдоγ· ми глїєтъ	грєди кь вѣѣюγ·
V. 33	ΒΟΔΔ ЖИΒΔ	и глѣпниѧ въ миѣ	ογτρυюдоγ· ми глѣтъ.	грєди кь вѣѣюγ·
Critical apparatus	λέγων KCIM, λέγων GHSm : λέγει TLg			
Observations	The <i>Taurinensis</i> has the variant reading λέγει (shared with the long Greek recension and Latin middle recension), which is also rendered in the Slavonic translation by глїєтъ (the 3rd person singular of the verb "to say").			

Line 7

Translation	I have no pleasure in the food that perishes nor in the pleasures of this life. I desire the bread of God,			
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	οὐχ ἡδομαι τροφῇ φθορᾶς	οὐδὲ ἡδοναῖς τοῦ βίου τούτου,	ἄρτον τοῦ θεοῦ θέλω,	ἄρτον οὐράνιον, ἄρτον ζωῆς,
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	οὐχ ἡδομαι τροφῇ φθορᾶς	οὐδὲ ἡδοναῖς τοῦ βίου τούτου,	ἄρτον θεοῦ θέλω,	
Latin long recension	Non comedam escam corruptionis	neque desidero voluptates vitae huius.	Panem Dei volo,	<i>panem caelestem, panem vitae,</i>
Latin middle recension (L)	Non delector cibo corruptionis	neque delectationibus vitae huius.	Panem Dei volo,	
C. I. 10	οὐχ ἡδομαι τροφῇ φθορᾶς	οὐδὲ ἰδοναῖς τοῦ βίου τούτου·	ἄρτον θεοῦ θέλω·	ἄρτον οὐράνιον· ἄρτον ζωῆς
H. 644	НЕ ΛΙΟΒΛΙΟ ΠΙЦМЕ ΤΛΨΗΝΙΑ ·	НИ СЛАСТИ ЖИТНΙΑ СЕГО.	ΧΛΨΒΟΥ· БЖНЕМΟΥ · ΧΟΙΜΟΥ·	ΧΛΨΒΟΥ· НЕБСНОМОУ· ΧΛΨΒΟΥ· ЖИВОТНОМОУ·
V. 33	НЕ ΒΛΙΟΔΗ ΠΙЦМЕ ΤΛΨΗΝ · ΝΙ .	НИ СЛАСТИ ЖИТНΙΑ СЕГО.	ΧΛΨΒΟΥ· БЖНЮ · ΧΟΙΜΟΥ·	ΧΛΑΒΟΥ· НЕБНОМОУ· ΧΛΑΒΟΥ· ЖИВОТНОМОУ·
Critical apparatus	ἄρτον οὐράνιον· ἄρτον ζωῆς zgM (cf. Joh. 6,31,32,48)			
Observations	The <i>Taurinensis</i> follows here the long Greek (and Latin) recension, rendering ἄρτον οὐράνιον· ἄρτον ζωῆς (which refers to a Biblical quotation). The Slavonic translation also includes this phrase.			

The Slavonic translation renders the Greek source differently: in Hilandar, the Greek ἡδομαι is represented by λιόβλιо ("I love", which is semantically close to the Greek verb, but renders another nuance, i.e. of love, veneration and desire), whereas Vienna renders βλιюди. This is an imperative and not a first person singular as in the Greek example. So, the reading in Vienna is secondary and probably caused by a illegibility (or a defective internal dictation) of люблю.

The complement to ἡδομαι is in the dative (τροφῇ). In Hilandar, the genitive πιцмє is the object of λιόβλιо and further determined by τλψηνια (genitive, neutre, singular), just as in the Greek example of the *Taurinensis* ("I do not love food of destruction"). In Vienna, by contrast, the complement to βλιюди can be in the genitive, as is the case here with πιцмє and τλψηνι·ны is an adjective, which is a secondary reading and the adjective replaces the genitive τλψηνια.

The complement to χοιμουγ ("I want") is in the dative (χλψουγ) in both Hilandar and Vienna. However the variation between the adjective бжнемουγ (Hilandar) and бжню (Vienna) is rather insignificant, since it is the variation between the longer and shorter form of the adjective (hence indicated in blue).

Although the Latin middle recension does not render the phrase of the "heavenly bread" and "bread for life", the similarities between the *Taurinensis* and the Latin middle recension are striking. (word-for-word).

Line 8

Translation	which is the flesh of Jesus Christ, from the seed of David;			
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	ὃ ἐστὶν σὰρξ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ,	τοῦ γενομένου ἐν ὑστέρω ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ καὶ Ἀβραάμ·		
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	ὃ ἐστὶν σὰρξ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,	τοῦ ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυίδ,		
Latin long recension	quae est caro Iesu Christi <i>Filii Dei,</i>	<i>qui natus est in novissimo ex semine David</i> et Abrahæ;		
Latin middle recension (L)	quod est caro Iesu Christi,	eius qui ex genere David,		
C. I. 10	ὃ ἐστι σὰρξ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ·	τοῦ γενομένου ἐν ὑστέρω ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυίδ καὶ Ἀβραάμ.		
H. 644	ИЖЕ ІЕСТЬ ПЛѢТЬ І҃҃ХР҃ВА ЖИВΔ·	БЫВШАГО Ѡ СЪМЕНИ ДЕДѢВѢ И АВРААМОВѢ·		
V. 33	ИЖЕ ІЕСТЬ ПЛѢТЬ І҃҃ХР҃А БѢ .	БЫВШАГО ПОСЛѢЖЕ Ѡ СЪМЕНИ ДЕДѢВѢ. И АВРААМОВѢ.		
Critical apparatus	τοῦ υἱοῦ > T τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, τοῦ γενομένου ἐν ὑστέρω ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυίδ καὶ Ἀβραάμ· zgM			

Observations	The <i>Taurinensis</i> here follows the long Greek recension (against the Latin middle recension), but has a variant reading by omitting τοῦ υἱοῦ. The same reading is found in the Slavonic translation (Vienna).		
	The gender of the relative pronoun (иже in Hilandar and ѿже in Vienna) introducing the relative subclause is remarkable. The relative pronoun definitely refers to the bread. Probably, the primary reading was the feminine relative pronoun иже, and was soon replaced by the neutre ѿже that together with ѿтъ could be read as something generic as "it means, in other words".		
	Hilandar renders жива which has no Greek equivalent.		
	Hilandar does not render the Greek ἐν ὑστέρω in contrast to Vienna, that renders πᾶσι τῷ.		

Line 9			
Translation	and for drink I desire his blood, which is imperishable love.		
Greek edition Funk-Diekmann	καὶ πόμα θέλω τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ,	ὁ ἐστὶν ἀγάπη ἀφθαρτος	καὶ ἀένναος ζωῆ.
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	καὶ πόμα θέλω τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ,	ὁ ἐστὶν ἀγάπη ἀφθαρτος.	
Latin long recension	et potum volo sanguinem eius,	qui est dilectio incorruptibilis	et vita aeterna.
Latin middle recension (L)	et potum volo sanguinem ipsius,	quod est caritas incorruptibilis.	
C. I. 10	καὶ πόμα θεοῦ θέλω τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ.	ὁ ἐστὶν ἀγάπη ἀφθαρτος	καὶ ἀένναος ζωῆ·
H. 644	и пиво бѣше хоуѣю ꙗꙑъ ѿго	ѿже ѿ лѡбѣи негълаѣна.	и ꙗꙑнос[.]ѡниа жизнь·
V. 33	и пивоꙋ бѣишемоꙋ хоуѣю ꙗꙑъ ѿго,	ѿже ѿсѣтъ лѡбѣи негълаѣна.	и ꙗꙑноꙋꙗꙑна жизнь,
Critical apparatus	πόμα LSSmAAmCg : + θεοῦ zM καὶ ἀένναος ζωῆ zgM (cf. II Makk. 7,36)		
Observations	The <i>Taurinensis</i> follows here the long Greek recension, in including καὶ ἀένναος ζωῆ and the Metaphrast version in including θεοῦ (against the Latin middle recension). The first refer to a Biblical quotation, which is also represented in the Slavonic translation (both in Hilandar and Vienna).		
	The <i>Taurinensis</i> renders θεοῦ (together with πόμα; "for drink of God"), which is also rendered in the Slavonic translation, but in different cases. In Hilandar, хоуѣю has two complements in the accusative, i.e. пиво бѣше and ꙗꙑъ, whereas in Vienna, the verb has two complements in the dative, i.e. пивоꙋ бѣишемоꙋ and ꙗꙑъ.		
	The Greek ἀγάπη is rendered similarly in the Slavonic translation: in Hilandar, the nominative лѡбѣи is used (OCS лѡбѣи), whereas in Vienna the substantive is rendered by лѡби, with the common confusion between ѣи and и.		

Paragraph 8			
Line 1			
Translation	I no longer desire to live like a human; and I will succeed, if you also desire it.		
Greek edition Funk-Diekmann	Οὐκέτι θέλω κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ζῆν,	τοῦτο δὲ ἔσται,	ἐὰν ὑμεῖς θέλητε.
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	Οὐκέτι θέλω κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ζῆν,	τοῦτο δὲ ἔσται,	ἐὰν ὑμεῖς θελήσητε,
Latin long recension	Iam nolo secundum homines vivere ;	hoc autem erit,	si vos volueritis.
Latin middle recension (L)	Non amplius volo secundum homines vivere;	hoc autem erit,	si vos velitis.
C. I. 10	οὐκέτι θέλω κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ζῆν·	τοῦτο δὲ ἔσται·	ἐὰν ὑμῖς θελήσεται.
H. 644	не хоуѣю по ꙗꙑѣꙋѣиꙋꙋ жити и·	б[.]дѣтъ же то	аще вы хоуѣете·
V. 33			
Critical apparatus	θελήσητε : θέλητε g		
Observations	The Slavonic жити is an infinitive with the common confusion between и and ѡ. The extra и is added quite regularly and has no semantic value.		
	The similarities between the <i>Taurinensis</i> and the Latin middle recension are striking (word-for-word), although the form "volueritis" of the Latin long recension fits better to the Greek θελήσητε.		

Line 2	
Translation	Desire it, that you may also be desired.

Greek edition Funk-Diekmann	Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι·	ζῶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγώ,	ἐπειδὴ περ ζῇ ἐν ἐμοὶ ὁ Χριστός.
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	Θελήσατε,	ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς θεληθῇτε	
Latin long recension	Christo crucifigor;	iam ego non vivo,	quoniam vivit in me Christus.
Latin middle recension (L)	Velite autem,	ut et vos acceptemini.	
C. I. 10	Θελήσεται	ἵνα καὶ ὑμῖς θεληθεῖται·	
H. 644	ΠΟΧΟΤ΄ΕΗΤΕ	ДА И ВЫ ПОХОТѢНИ БУДѢТЕ·	
V. 33			
Critical apparatus	Θελήσατε GHTC : + δὲ L + οὖν M(Am)		
Observations	The <i>Taurinensis</i> does not follow here the long Greek or Latin recension, but closely follows the Latin middle recension. (word-for-word).		

The Greek θελήσατε and θεληθῇτε is rendered in Slavonic with a more desiring nuance by похотѣиτε and похотѣни бѹдѣте, while the more common/neutral translation would be the verb хотѣти. (cfr. paragraph 6 line 6 for the same translation).

Line 3				
Translation	Through just a few words I ask you: trust me!			
Greek edition Funk-Diekmann	δι' ὀλίγων γραμμάτων αἰτοῦμαι ὑμᾶς·	μή παραιτήσῃσθέ με·	πιστεύσατέ μοι,	ὅτι τὸν Ἰησοῦν φιλῶ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ παραδοθέντα.
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	δι' ὀλίγων γραμμάτων αἰτοῦμαι ὑμᾶς·		πιστεύσατέ μοι,	
Latin long recension	Per modica scripta rogo vos:	non mihi observetis,	credite mihi,	quia Iesum diligo, quoniam et ipse dilexit me et se ipsum tradidit pro me.
Latin middle recension (L)	Per paucas literas deprecor vos;		credite mihi.	
C. I. 10	δι' ὀλίγων γραμμάτων αἰτοῦμε ὑμᾶς.		πιστεύσαταί μοι·	
H. 644	ΜΑΛΛΗΜΥ ΠΙΣΜΕΝΗ ΠΡΟΙΠΟΥ· ΕΔ		ΗΜ΄ΕΤΗ Β΄ΕΡΟΥ·	
V. 33			ΗΜ΄ΕΤΕ ΜΗ Β΄ΕΡΟΥ·	ΙΑΚΟ
Critical apparatus				
Observations	The <i>Taurinensis</i> does not follow here the long Greek recension, although the Vienna manuscript renders ιακο for the Greek ὅτι (but omitting the rest of the sentence). The similarities, however, between the <i>Taurinensis</i> and the Latin middle recension are striking. (word-for-word).			
The Greek πιστεύσατέ is rendered periphrastically in the Slavonic translation (both in Hilandar and Vienna) by имѣти вѣрой ("have faith"). Although Hilandar uses the infinitive, Vienna renders an imperative with the person ми, like in the Greek model. The Greek μοι is not represented in Hilandar.				

Line 4				
Translation	*Why shall you take vengeance to the Lord for everything for which you take vengeance on me?			
Greek edition Funk-Diekmann	τί ἀνταποδώσω τῷ κυρίῳ περὶ πάντων	ὣν ἀνταπέδωκέ μοι;		
Greek edition Bihlmeyer				
Latin long recension	Quid retribuam ei pro omnibus,	quae retribuit mihi?		
Latin middle recension (L)				
C. I. 10				
H. 644				
V. 33				
Critical apparatus				
Observations	/			

Line 5				
Translation	Jesus Christ will show you that I speak the truth. He is the mouth that does not lie, by whom the Father spoke the truth.			
Greek edition Funk-Diekmann	αὐτός δὲ ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ καὶ ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς φανερῶσει ὑμῖν ταῦτα, ὅτι ἀληθῶς λέγω.			
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	Ἰησοῦς δὲ Χριστὸς φανερῶσει ὑμῖν ταῦτα,	ὅτι ἀληθῶς λέγω.	τὸ ἄψευδές στόμα,	ἐν ᾧ ὁ πατὴρ ἀληθῶς ἐλάλησεν.

Latin long recension	Ipsē autēm Deus et Pater et Dominus Iesū Christū manifestabit vobis haec omnia, quia verum dico.
Latin middle recension (L)	Iesus autem Christus vobis manifestabit haec,
C. l. 10	Ἰησοῦς δὲ Χριστὸς ὑμῖν ταῦτα φανερώσει.
H. 644	ꙶѢ ꙰ꙵ іавиѣъ вѡмь то
V. 33	ꙶс Ѡъ іавиѣъ вѡмь то.
Critical apparatus	ὁμῖν ταῦτα φανερώσει GHTCM : vobis manifestabit haec L, φαν. ὁμῖν ταῦτα g ἀληθῶς GH(LSm)ACg : ἀληθές TI, ἀληθὴ M(Am), ἀληθῶς ἐλάλυσεν HTL : ~ GA(C), ἀληθῶς > SmAm
Observations	The <i>Taurinensis</i> does not render the long Greek recension, but the middle recension, including τὸ ἀψευδὲς στόμα,ἐν ᾧ ὁ πατήρ ἀληθῶς ἐλάλυσεν. The variation between λ̅β̅живѡдѡ and λ̅б̅живѡдѡ is not significant, since it shows the variation between the longer and shorter form of the adjective л̅в̅живѡдѡ. Concerning word-order, the <i>Taurinensis</i> and the Metaphrast version have the same reading (not shared with the Latin middle recension, nor with the long recension).

Line 6				
Translation	Pray for me, that I may attain to God. I have not written you according to the flesh but according to the mind of God.			
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	καὶ ὑμεῖς συνεύξασθέ μοι,	ἵνα τοῦ σκοποῦ τύχω ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ.	οὐ κατὰ σάρκα ὑμῖν ἔγραψα,	ἀλλὰ κατὰ γνώμην θεοῦ.
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	αἰτήσασθε περὶ ἐμοῦ,	ἵνα ἐπιτύχω.	οὐ κατὰ σάρκα ὑμῖν ἔγραψα,	ἀλλὰ κατὰ γνώμην θεοῦ.
Latin long recension	<i>Et vos simul condeprecamini mecum,</i>	<i>ut laborem consequar in Spiritu Sancto.</i>	<i>Non secundum carnem vobis scripsi,</i>	<i>sed secundum dispositionem Dei.</i>
Latin middle recension (L)	<i>Petite pro me,</i>	<i>ut attingam.</i>	<i>Non secundum carnem vobis scripsi,</i>	<i>sed secundum sententiam Dei.</i>
C. I. 10	αἰτίσασθαι περὶ ἐμοῦ	ἵνα ἐπιτύχω·	οὐ κατὰ σάρκα ὑμῖν ἔγραψα,	ἀλλὰ κατὰ γνώμην θεοῦ.
H. 644	πρoσιτε	ΔΔ οὔλογχι·	НЕ ПО ПЛѢТІ ВѦМЬ НАПИСАХЪ	НЬ ПО ВОЛИ БЖІИ·
V. 33	πρoσιτε	ΔΔ οὔλογχι·τε.	НЕ ПО ПЛѢТИ ВѦМЬ НАПИСАХЪ	НЬ ПО ВОЛИ БОЖИИ,
Critical apparatus	ἐπιτύχω GH ¹ LSmAmCM : + ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ gA			
Observations	The <i>Taurinensis</i> does not follow the long Greek recension here, but the middle recension, rendering αἰτίσασθαι περὶ ἐμοῦ.			
Hilandar renders the Greek verb in the final clause the most closely, since the first person singular (οὔλογχι) is used like in Greek (ἐπιτύχω). Vienna renders the second person plural (οὔλογχι·τε) in the final clause, probably to make a correspondence between the preceding imperative πρoσιτε (also found in the second person plural) and the verb in the final clause. In this respect, the addressed persons pray benefit themselves from their prayer (since they would themselves attain to God). The Greek ἔγραψα is rendered in the Slavonic translation by написахъ (both in Hilandar and Vienna), while in paragraph 4 line 1 the Greek γράφω was translated by пишуγъ (from писати). The formation of the aorist (написахъ) is based on the verb with the perfective aspect, and in this case the prefix serves to this perfective aspect (further it has no semantic value). The Slavonic translation renders the Greek θεοῦ with an adjective божии. This variation is rather insignificantly, hence indicated in blue. The similarities between the <i>Taurinensis</i> and the Latin middle recension are striking. (word-for-word).				

Line 7				
Translation	If I suffer, you have desired it; if I am rejected, you have hated me.			
Greek edition Funk-Diekmann	ἐάν πάθω,	ἡγάπησατε	ἐὰν ἀποδοκιμασθῶ,	ἐμισήσατε.
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	ἐάν πάθω,	ἡθελήσατε	ἐὰν ἀποδοκιμασθῶ,	ἐμισήσατε.
Latin long recension	Si autem passus fuero,	dilexistis me;	sed si reprobatus fuero,	odio me habuistis.
Latin middle recension (L)	Si patiar,	voluistis;	si reprobus efficiar,	odivistis.
C. I. 10	ἐάν πάθω,	ἡθε.....	..ν ἄ.....ασθῶ,	ἐμισίσασται
H. 644	αψιε ποστραζδουγ	βςχουτ'ελην εςτε.	αψιε Ѡβръженъ боудουγ,	β'ζ'зненавида'ελην ιε'ετ'ε
V. 33	αψιε ποστραζδουγ	βςχουτ'ε'ετ'ε.	αψιε Ѡβръженъ боудουγ	β'ζ'зненавида'ε'ετ'ε,
Critical apparatus	ἐμημίσασται (sic) T (but after checking the reproduction of the manuscript, it should be ἐμισίσασται)			

Observations

The two verbs of the main clause are rendered differently in the two Slavonic manuscripts. The sentences are stylistically structured in a parallel way. In Hilandar, the perfect tense is used (consisting of the so-called L-participle and the presens of *бѣти*) for *въсхотѣти есѣ* and *вѣзненавидѣли кѣтѣ*. This tense emphasizes the aspect of a completed action and the continuing results in the present of that action. However, in Greek an aorist is used, (expressing the aspect of a completed action), the same tense as rendered in the Vienna manuscript with *въсхотѣтѣ* and *вѣзненавидѣтѣ*. Between these two ways of formulating, there are differences in nuance, but seen from a purely functional point of view, they are equal. It is difficult to chose which reading is primary.

Paragraph 9				
Line 1				
Translation	In your prayer remember the church of Syria, which has God as its shepherd in my place.			
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	Μνημονεύετε ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν	τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ ἐκκλησίας,	ἡ τις ἀντ' ἐμοῦ ποιμένι <i>χρήται τῷ κυρίῳ τῷ εἰπόντι</i>	
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	Μνημονεύετε ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν	τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ ἐκκλησίας,	ἡ τις ἀντ' ἐμοῦ ποιμένι <i>τῷ θεῷ</i> <i>χρήται</i>	
Latin long recension	Mementote in orationibus vestris illius, qui pro me recturus est ecclesiam, quae est in Syria.		Credite Domino di centi :	
Latin middle recension (L)	Mementote in oratione vestra eius	quae in Syria ecclesiae,	quae pro me pastore Deo utitur.	
C. I. 10	μνιμονεύετε ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν	τῇ ἐν Συρίᾳ ἐκκλησίας,	ἡ της ἀντ' ἐμοῦ πυμένι <i>τῷ θεῷ</i> <i>χρήτε</i> .	
H. 644	ПОМИНАНТЕ ВЪ МѢТѢ ВДШЕН	И С҃ΥРЬСКОУЮ ЦР҃КВЬ	ІАЖЕ ВЪ МЕНЕ МѢСТО ПАСТЫРА ДР҃ЖЪ Х҃А,	
V. 33	ПОМИНАНТЕ ВЪ МОЛНТЕѢ	АС҃ΥΡΙНСКОУЮ ЦР҃КВЬ.	ІАЖЕ ВЪ МЕНЕ МѢСТО ДР҃ЖИТЬ ПАСТЫРІА Х҃А,	
Critical apparatus	Μνημονεύετε : μνιμονεύεται Τ ??? (but after check manuscript, it should be μνιμονεύετε) τῆς : τῇ Τ			
Observations	The critical apparatus of Bihlmeyer indicates that the <i>Taurinensis</i> has the variant reading μνιμονεύεται. After having checked the manuscript, the <i>Taurinensis</i> reads μνιμονεύετε, a reading that corresponds with the other manuscripts used for the edition of Funk-Diekamp and Bihlmeyer. Furthermore, the <i>Taurinensis</i> does not follow the long Greek recension, since it does not include τῷ κυρίῳ τῷ εἰπόντι, but τῷ θεῷ instead. The Hilandar manuscript renders the Greek ὑμῶν (as <i>вдшен</i>), whereas the Vienna manuscript omits this possessive pronoun. The <i>Taurinensis</i> has the variant reading τῇ (against τῆς). In Classical Greek, verbs with a meaning related to the mind/memory have a complement in the genitive. It is rather unlikely that a complement in the dative case appears (an accusative would have been possible). As a result, the variation has to be interpreted as a complement to τῇ προσευχῇ ("in your prayer, that one in the church of Syria"). The variation between <i>с҃урьскоую</i> and <i>ас҃уриנסкоую</i> is insignificantly, since these are the same words, denoting the adjective "Syrian" . The adjective <i>ас҃уриנסкоую</i> usually has the translation of "Assyrian". On the basis of the other places where <i>Сур</i>-appears, the primary reading is the one without the a-. The Greek ἀντ' ἐμοῦ ("instead of me") is rendered more explicitly in the Slavonic translation by the phrase <i>въ мене мѣсто</i> ("to my place"). The combination of <i>вѣ</i> <i>мѣсто</i> + genitive is a common translation for the Greek ἀντὶ + genitive. The Greek <i>χρήται</i> is rendered in Hilandar by <i>др҃жъ</i> and in Vienna by <i>др҃житъ</i> (OCS <i>др҃жати</i>, "to hold"). The verb <i>др҃житъ</i> (OCS <i>др҃житъ</i>) is in the indicative praesens 3 singular, but with <i>др҃жъ</i> the grammatical endings are syncopated, so it is not transparant for me which form of the verb is meant here. There is no significant variation between the Greek <i>θεῷ</i> ("God", dative complement to <i>χρήται</i>) and the Slavonic <i>Х҃А</i> ("Christ"), because the reference to God differs not systematically. Hence, these words are indicated in blue.			

Line 2				
Translation	Jesus Christ alone will oversee it [Or: be its bishop], along with your love			
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	Εγὼ εἰμι ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλός	καὶ μόνος αὐτήν ἐπισκοπήσει	καὶ ἡ ὑμῶν <i>εἰς αὐτὸν</i> ἀγάπη.	
Greek edition Bihlmeyer		μόνος αὐτήν ἐπισκοπήσει	καὶ ἡ ὑμῶν ἀγάπη.	
Latin long recension	<i>Ego sum pastor bonus ;</i>	et solus visitabit eam ,	et sit vestra in eo dilectio .	
Latin middle recension (L)		Solus ipsi <i>Iesus Christus</i> vice episcopi sit	et vestra caritas.	
C. I. 10		μόνος αὐτήν <i>Ἰησοῦς Χριστός</i> ἐπισκοπήσει.	καὶ ἡ ὑμῶν ἀγάπη.	
H. 644		ЕДИНЪ <i>ІС Х҃Ъ</i> С҃ВЛЮДЕТЬ Ю	И ВДША ЛЮБЫ <i>ІЕЮ</i> .	
V. 33		ІЕДИНЬ БО <i>ІС Х҃Ъ</i> С҃ВЛЮДЕТЬ Ю.	И ВДША ЛЮБЫ <i>ІЕЮ</i> ,	
Critical apparatus				
Observations	The <i>Taurinensis</i> does not follow the long Greek recension, but it does follow closely the Latin middle recension, which also renders Jesus Christ.			

Greek edition Bihlmeyer	Γράφω δὲ ὑμῖν ταῦτα	ἀπὸ Σμύρνης	διὰ Ἑφεσίων	τῶν ἀξιομακαρίστων.
Latin long recension	Haec igitur scribo vobis	de Smyrna	per Ephesios	beatitudine dignos.
Latin middle recension (L)	Scribo autem vobis haec	a Smyrna	per Ephesios	digne beatos.
C. I. 10	γράφω δὲ ὑμῖν ταῦτα	ἀπὸ Σμύρνης·	δι' Ἑφεσίων	τῶν ἀξιωμακαρίστων·
H. 644	ΠΙΣΙΟΥ· ЖЕ ВАМЪ	ὩΝ ΗΖΜΗΡΝΗΙ СИ[И]	КЕ ФЕС'ЪНИИ	ΔΟΥΤΟΒΛΑЖНИМЫ·
V. 33				

Critical apparatus

Observations The similarities between the *Taurinensis* and the Latin middle recension are striking. (word-for-word).

Line 2				
Translation	Along with many others, Crocus is with me, a name that is dear to me. I believe you know about those who have preceded me from Syria to Rome for the glory of God.			
Greek edition Funk-Diekmann	ἔστι δὲ ἅμα ἐμοὶ σὺν πολλοῖς καὶ ἄλλοις Κρόκος,	τὸ ποθητόν ὄνομα,	περὶ τῶν προσελθόντων ἀπὸ Συρίας εἰς Ῥώμην	οἷς δόξαν θεοῦ πιστεύω ὑμᾶς ἐπεγνωκέναι.
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	ἔστιν δὲ καὶ ἅμα ἐμοὶ σὺν ἄλλοις πολλοῖς καὶ Κρόκος,	τὸ ποθητόν μοι ὄνομα.	περὶ τῶν προελθόντων με ἀπὸ Συρίας εἰς Ῥώμην	εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πιστεύω ὑμᾶς ἐπεγνωκέναι,
Latin long recension	Est autem mecum simul cum aliis Crocus,	desiderabile mihi nomen.	Ex his, qui advenierunt de Syria ad Romam in gloria Dei, credo vos agnoscere,	
Latin middle recension (L)	Est autem et simul mecum cum aliis multis et Crocus,	desideratum mihi nomen.	De advenientibus mecum a Syria in Romam ad gloriam Dei credo vos cognovisse,	
C. I. 10	ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἅμα ἐμοὶ Κρόκος	τὸ παθητόν μοι ὄνομα·	περὶ τῶν προελθόντων με ἀπὸ Συρίας εἰς Ῥώμην.	εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ. πιστεύω ὑμᾶς ἀπεγνωκέναι·
H. 644	ἸΕ ЖЕ СЪ МНОЮ И СЪ ИН'ЪМН МНОГ'ЪИМ КР' [О]КЪ·	ВЪЗΛΙΘΛΕΗΟΙΕ МН ΗΜΕ·	И ПРОЕЖ'ЪШНИИ МЕ Ὡ СИРИЕ ВЪ РИМЪ·	ВЪ СЛАВΟΥ БЖΟΥ Ю В'ЪРОЮ ПОЗНАТИ ВЫ·
V. 33				

Critical apparatus
καὶ GHTL : > gM(SmAaM)
παθητόν T
προσελθόντων L(Am)g : προελθόντων GHTA, συνελθ. M
θεοῦ HTgM : τοῦ θεοῦ G
ἀπεγνωκέναι T

Observations In the *Taurinensis* , only the phrase ἐμοὶ Κρόκος is preserved and transmitted, as opposed to the phrase "ἐμοὶ σὺν πολλοῖς καὶ ἄλλοις Κρόκος" in the other Greek manuscripts. The Slavonic translation, as found in *H.644* , renders the long phrase (not following the *Taurinensis* here).

The *Taurinensis* has the variant reading παθητόν (gerundivum of πάσχω "to suffer") instead of ποθητόν (gerundivum of ποθέω "to desire"). The Vienna manuscript does not transmit this paragraph, but the Hilandar manuscript transmits **ВЪЗΛΙΘΛΕΗΟΙΕ** as a translation of ποθητόν. Here, it does not follow the reading of the *Taurinensis* .

The reading of προελθόντων is a variant reading of the *Taurinensis* that does not correspond to the reading of the Latin (advenierunt) or the long Greek recension (προσελθόντων), which both express the aspect of approaching and arriving, whereas προέρχομαι emphasises the aspect of advancing and making progress. In the Slavonic, **ПРОЕЖ'ЪШНИИ** is found and means "to accompany, to escort", more focussing on the company with which you make a journey.

The *Taurinensis* and the Latin middle recension have the same reading concerning καὶ ἅμα / "et simul", but furthermore, it does not share other variant readings with the *Taurinensis* .

Line 3				
Translation	Tell them I am near. For they are all worthy of God and of you. It is fitting for you to refresh them in every way.			
Greek edition Funk-Diekmann	οἷς καὶ δηλώσετε ἐγγύς με ὄντα·	πάντες γὰρ εἶσιν ἄξιοι θεοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν·	οὓς πρέπον ἐστὶν ὑμῖν	κατὰ πάντα ἀναπαῦσαι.
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	οἷς καὶ δηλώσετε ἐγγύς με ὄντα.	πάντες γὰρ εἶσιν ἄξιοι θεοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν·	οὓς πρέπον ὑμῖν ἐστὶν	κατὰ πάντα ἀναπαῦσαι.
Latin long recension	quae mihi mandastis adhuc proxime constituto.	Omnes enim digni sunt Deo, et apud vos	me oportet	in omnibus requiescere.
Latin middle recension (L)	quibus et manifestatis prope me existentem.	Omnes enim sunt digni Deo et vobis,	quos decens est vos	secundum omnia quietare.
C. I. 10	οἷς καὶ δηλώσεται ἐγγύς μένοντα	πάντες γὰρ εἶσιν ...ιοι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν·	οὓς	κ... ἀναπαῦσ..
H. 644	ИМЖЕ ВЪЗВ'ЪТИТЕ БЛИЗЪ МЕ СОУЩА·	ВСИ БО ΔΟΥΤΟНИИ СОУТ'Ъ БЖИ· И ВАМЪ		ВСЕΛΗΓ'ЪКЫ ПОКОИТ'ИЕ.
V. 33				

Critical apparatus
με ὄντα· μένοντα (sic) T
θεοῦ Tg : τοῦ θεοῦ GH
ὕμιν ἐστὶν GHT : ~ Lg

Observations The *Taurinensis* has the reading δηλώσσαι, probably because the scribe projected the alpha of the following syllable onto the previous one, since the form δηλώσσαι does not make sense in Greek.

The *Taurinensis* has the variant reading μένοντα (participle, accusative, masculine from μένω "to stay" without an indicated antecedent in the accusative), whereas the other Greek manuscripts have με ὄντα. The Greek phrase ἐγγύς με ὄντα (with participle) serves as a direct object to the verb δηλώσετε and replaces an accusative-with-infinitive construction. In the Slavonic translation of H.644 renders με ὡγίμα as a translation for με ὄντα (against the reading of the *Taurinensis*).

Concerning ληνικῶς ποικιτηικῶς: probably, there were several corruptions resulting in this form. Originally, you had to read βικεληνικῶς (as an adverb, cfr. Mikl. ~ in omnibus of secundum omnia / κατὰ πάντα) ποικιτηι (quietare of requiescere / ἀναπαύσαι), but probably the fragment was not well understood by the scribe and he made some modifications.

Line 4			
Translation	I am writing this to you on August 24. Farewell until the end, in the endurance of Jesus Christ.		
Greek edition Funk-Diekamp	ἔγραψα δὲ ὑμῖν ταῦτα	τῇ πρὸ ἑννέα καλανδῶν Σεπτεμβρίων.	ἔρρωσθε εἰς τέλος ἐν ὑπομονῇ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.
Greek edition Bihlmeyer	ἔγραψα δὲ ὑμῖν ταῦτα	τῇ πρὸ ἑννέα καλανδῶν Σεπτεμβρίων.	ἔρρωσθε εἰς τέλος ἐν ὑπομονῇ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.
Latin long recension	Scripsi vobis haec	IX Kalendas Septembris.	Incolumes estote usque in finem in patientia Iesu Christi.
Latin middle recension (L)	Scripsi autem vobis haec in ea	quae ante novem Kalendas Septembris.	Valete in finem in sustinentia Iesu Christi.
C. I. 10	.ὲ ὑμῖν ταῦτα	...ὁ ἑννέα καλανδῶν Σεπτεμβρίων'	ἔρρωσθαι εἰς τέλος ἐν ὑπομονῇ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀμήν'
H. 644	НАΠИСАХЪ ВАМЪ ВЪ КГ' АВГУСТА.	ПРѢДЪ ДЕЖЕТЫ КАЛАНДЪ СЕКТΕΒРА.	
V. 33			
Critical apparatus	Σεπτεμβρίων (-βρίου M) TLgM		
Observations	The Hilandar manuscripts specifies the date "the day before the ninth calends of September" with 24 August.		
	The similarities between the Taurinensis and the Latin middle recension are striking, although "in ea" is not rendered in the Taurinensis.		