



Medieval Slavic Translations of the *Miracles of Saint Menas*: Sources and Textual Problems¹

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Abstract: A collection of miracles attributed to St Menas appeared in medieval Old Church Slavonic literature as a result of contacts between Orthodox Slavs in the Balkans and Byzantine Christian literature. By the 10th century, at least two distinct translations of the had likely been produced in Bulgaria. These translations have been preserved in Slavic collection manuscripts (dating from the late 13th to the 17th centuries) in both an abridged version (a compilation of several miracles) and a full translation of the entire collection, comprising 13 miracles. This article presents the current state of research on the subject, the most important sources, the hypothesized routes of migration of Greek sources into Old Church Slavonic (and later Church Slavonic) literature, and a proposed reconstruction of the transmission process of these translations within the Slavic textual tradition.

Keywords: St Menas; Greek/Byzantine literary; Orthodox Slavdom; Hagiography; Church-Slavic literature

The beginnings of the Slavic literary tradition are closely tied to the process of Christianization and intensifying contacts between Slavs and Greco-Latin Mediterranean culture. In the early period (7th century to mid-9th century), the primary challenge that limited access to and assimilation of the Christian literary heritage among Slavs was the lack of an appropriate alphabet – a tool necessary for effectively recording the Slavic language and translating religious and secular texts. A breakthrough occurred in 863 with the arrival of two missionaries, Saints Constantine-Cyril (d. February 14, 869) and Methodius (d. April 6, 885), who were sent to Great Moravia by the Byzantine Emperor Michael III (“Michael the Drunkard”, 842-867) and Patriarch Photios I of Constantinople (858-867 and 877-886). These two brothers, undoubtedly Greeks from Thessalonica (called Solun

¹ The research presented in this article has been funded by the National Science Centre (Poland) under the project “Across centuries, languages, and cultures: The Miracles of Saint Menas as a historical source, literary composition and liturgical text”, project no. UMO-2021/41/B/HS1/00550.

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by the Slavs), were fluent in the Slavic language. They are credited, particularly Constantine-Cyril, with creating the first Slavic alphabet (Glagolitic) and producing the earliest translations of Greek liturgical books. The birth of Old Church Slavonic literature³ is thus closely connected to Eastern Christian (Byzantine) literature and liturgy⁴. As a result, the most popular Greek religious texts quickly became accessible to the Slavs through translations, especially in the Balkans. In the realm of hagiography – which played a fundamental role in consolidating Christian doctrine and fostering piety among the faithful – the Slavic tradition aligns with the broader cult of saints characteristic of Byzantine cultural influence. Our research focuses specifically on the Old Church Slavonic literary legacy concerning the miracles of St Menas, attributed to Patriarch Timothy of Alexandria. Consequently, we leave aside considerations of iconography and hymnography, which address the visual and liturgical-auditory aspects of the cult.

³ The term ‘Old Church Slavonic’ is not universally accepted by medievalist scholars worldwide as the most appropriate designation (e.g., Bulgarian researchers often use the term ‘Old Bulgarian’). However, I will employ it here, as it precisely reflects the actual function of this Slavic language as a medium for liturgical and literary purposes. Due to the extensive use of ecclesiastical (theological and liturgical) terminology, unknown to Proto-Slavic language and the Slavs prior to Christianization, the earliest Old Church Slavonic texts required the introduction of numerous linguistic calques from Greek as well as Slavic neologisms. Consequently, this language differs stylistically, lexically, and syntactically from the vernacular spoken by the Slavs in the vicinity of Thessalonica. Therefore, distinguishing it from any regional dialect of everyday speech seems appropriate. The translation of the collection of miracles of St Menas was likely produced during the period when Old Church Slavonic was still in use (9th-12th centuries). However, the Slavic manuscripts serving as the primary sources for this study are much later (late 13th-17th centuries) and were written in a later form of the literary language known as ‘Church Slavonic’. This later form displays far more evident regional linguistic features.

⁴ We can recall here attempts, likely undertaken as early as the late 8th century in Carinthia and Pannonia (and probably also in western Moravia), to translate and transcribe Roman Christian prayers and teachings into the Slavic language. Examples of such efforts include the so-called Freising Manuscripts (10th century). Their continuation can be observed in medieval (12th-14th century) Latin-language manuscripts from the Polish territories. These texts include attempts to record Slavic speech using the so-called ‘simple orthography’, which relies exclusively on the letters of the Latin alphabet, without digraphs (combinations of letters) or the creation of new symbols for palatal consonants or nasal vowels. (cf. L. Moszyński, *Wstęp do filologii słowiańskiej*, Warszawa 1984, p. 9-13). However, these efforts, associated with the Latin cultural sphere, did not have as significant an impact on the development of Slavic literacy as the traditions linked to Glagolitic writing and, slightly later, Cyrillic. These two scripts represent the most enduring achievements of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission and connect the oldest monuments of Slavic literature primarily with Greek-language Byzantine literature.

1. Slavic Liturgical-Hagiographical Tradition

The Slavic hagiographic tradition concerning the holy martyr St Menas (св. Мина) is rich yet largely confined to the cultural domain of *Slavia Orthodoxa* (“Orthodox Slavdom”)⁵, where it originated, and Eastern Slavia, where many of the most significant monuments have been preserved. Texts dedicated to St Menas can be found in both primary types of liturgical books and in codices not used in worship but intended for individual or communal reading, primarily in monastic contexts. The first group includes synaxarions (referred to in Slavic as prologues) and liturgical menologia, while the second consists of reading menologia (intended for non-liturgical readings, the so-called *čet’i-minei* and codices (referred to in Slavic as *sborniki*) – primarily calendar-hagiographic collections, though occasionally also compilatory codices with varied contents. Depending on the type of book and its intended use, certain differences in the texts can be observed, particularly in terms of translation strategies (literary and formal treatment) and content (the selection and sequence of miracles).

Since the liturgical commemoration of St Menas was present in the Greek synaxarion⁶, it is reasonable to assume that the cult of this

⁵ The term was introduced into medieval Slavic studies by the Italian scholar Riccardo Picchio (1923-2011). Although his concept, which fundamentally divides the medieval Slavic cultural world into two spheres (the other being *Slavia Romana*), has its opponents. The debate largely focuses on refining its definitions and scope, primarily in a diachronic perspective, rather than challenging the core idea of the cultural influence exerted on the Slavs by two dominant models of Christian culture. For more on this topic, see R. Picchio, *Letteratura della Slavia ortodossa (IX-XVIII sec.)*, Bari 1991, p. 7-83; H. Goldblatt, *Guidelines to the study of the literary civilization of orthodox slavdom*, “Krakowsko-Wileńskie Studia Slawistyczne: seria poświęcona starożytnościom słowiańskim” 15/2 (2019) p. 9-40; T. Chynczewska-Hennel, *Between Slavia Latina and Slavia Orthodoxa. The Discussion of Ihor Skochylyas with the Concept by Riccardo Picchio*, “Studia Polsko-Ukraińskie” 9 (2022) p. 179-186.

⁶ The veneration of St Menas is recorded under the date of November 11 in the so-called *Synaxarion of the Church of Constantinople*, compiled at the end of the 10th century, as well as in the *Menologion* of Emperor Basil II from the early 11th c. On the same date, three other early Christian martyrs are also commemorated: Victor (a soldier), Vincent (a deacon), and the female martyr Stephanida. As a result, in later Slavic liturgical tradition, St Menas appears in two distinct commemorative forms: as an independent feast and as part of a joint commemoration of the three martyrs (together with Victor and Vincent; BHG 1252-1253). See *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae. E codice Sirmondiano nunc Berolinensi. Adiectis synaxariis selectis*, ed. H. Delehaye, Bruxellis

martyr appeared in the Slavic context very early, coinciding with the baptism of the Slavs and their adoption of the Byzantine liturgical calendar. This is evidenced by the iconography of early Slavic churches, where depictions of St Menas have been preserved in frescoes dating as early as the first half of the 11th century⁷. By that time, the basic hagiographic and liturgical texts dedicated to him must have been known and used in Slavic translations⁸. However, it remains a matter of hypothesis whether the extensive pre-metaphrastic reading menologia (*čet'i-minei*), translated in eastern Bulgaria in the second half of the 10th century, included not only the expected *passio* of St Menas but also his collection of miracles. Unfortunately, only the March volume of this collection has survived to

1902 [= *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae: Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris*], p. 211-214; PG 117, 153-156; Sergey (Spasskiy), arkhiep., *Polnyy mesyatslov Vostoka: V trekh tomakh*, v. 2, p. 351; v. 3, p. 464.

⁷ An example of this is the fresco in the Church of Saint Sophia in Kyiv (1040s), where St Menas is depicted in a half-length portrait wearing the attire of a martyr (*chiton* and *himation*) and holding a cross. See L.R. Frangulyan, A.N. Kryukova, M.A. Makhank'o, A.A. Turilov, L.V. Prokopenko, E.V. Shevchenko, E.M. Saenkova, *Mina*, in: *Pravoslavnyaya entsiklopediya*, v. 45, ed. P. Kirill of Moscow and All Rus, Moscow 2017, p. 251 [=PE].

⁸ The Byzantine hagiographic tradition dedicated to St Menas is rich and diverse. Chronologically, the oldest text is the pre-Metaphrastic *passio* (BHG 1254-1254c), along with the kontakion attributed to Romanos the Melodist (H. Delehaye, *L'invention des reliques de saint Ménas à Constantinople*, AnBol 29 (1910) p. 121). Another *passio* (BHG 1250) was composed by Symeon Metaphrastes (10th c.). The pre-Metaphrastic *passio* already incorporated material from the homily in honour of St Gordios by Basil the Great (*Homilia in Gordium martyrem*, BHG 703; CPG 2862); this material is present in Romanos' hymn as well as in all the *passiones* (albeit to varying degrees). In the Greek synaxarion under the date November 11, alongside the commemoration of St Menas, the feast of three other martyrs – Menas, Victor, and Vincent – was also celebrated. Their *passiones* (BHG 1252-1253) were read together with another anonymous *passio* (BHG 1251), which shows stylistic and lexical similarities to the works of Metaphrastes. Additionally, a *Laudatory Oration* (BHG 1255) is known from a single manuscript dated to the 11th c. The Byzantine hagiographic corpus is completed by a collection of 13 miracles attributed to St Menas (BHG 1256-1269), pseudo-epigraphically ascribed to Timothy I, Patriarch of Alexandria (381-385). This collection reflects literary connections between Byzantine literature and Egyptian Christianity. See P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Hagiographica. I. Osservazioni sulle leggende dei ss. martiri mena e Trifone*, Roma 1908, p. 9, 15, 17, 26; L. Silvano – P. Varalda, *Per l'edizione dei Miracula sancti Menae* (BHG 1256-1269), "Philologia Antiqua" 12 (2019) p. 53, 55; D.P. Atanasova, *Chetivata za sv. Mina v (yuzhno)slavyanskite kalendarni sbornitsi*, "Palaeobulgarica-Starobalgaristika" 48/2 (2024) p. 62.

this day (*Codex Suprasliensis*, 10th c.)⁹. Nonetheless, given its extensive contents, we cannot exclude the possibility that the November section contained narrative texts dedicated to St Menas¹⁰.

We have no doubts, however, about the existence of a very early Slavic hymnographic tradition (liturgical poetry). The oldest preserved manuscript containing the complete text of the liturgical office (*officium*, cs. *služba*) in honor of the martyrs Menas, Victor, and Vincent (November 11) dates back to the second half of the 12th century and is certainly a copy of a much older source. From the 14th century onwards, manuscripts under the date of November 11 include copies of a separate, more extensive office dedicated solely to St Menas of Egypt¹¹. In terms of content and factual basis, hymnographic texts rely heavily on early Greek synaxaria and, together with these, form the core literary corpus used in the liturgy for the commemoration of the martyr. In Slavic synaxaria from the 11th to the 14th centuries (the so-called ordinary prologue), only a brief *vita* is present (a pre-metaphrastic *passio* [BHG 1254]), with no reference to the miracles¹². They appear later in so-called verse prologue/

⁹ The manuscript is most likely associated with Preslav, a prominent centre of literacy in the capital of the first Bulgarian Empire. This manuscript, one of the most valuable monuments of Slavic literature, has been the subject of extensive scholarly research. For a comprehensive overview, including most of the relevant bibliographic references, see one of the latest collections of studies: *Preotkrivane: Suprasl'ski sbornik, starobulgarski pametnik ot X vek – Rediscovery: Bulgarian codex Suprasliensis of 10th century*, ed. A. Miltenova, Sofia 2012.

¹⁰ Byzantine calendar-type hagiographical collections reflect the regulations of the Studite and Evergetian typika. Some preserved Greek menologia of the quarterly type (four parts, each covering three months) include instructions to read the *passio* authored by Symeon Metaphrastes and/or the miracles attributed to Timothy of Alexandria on the commemoration day of St Menas (11 November). However, the collection to which the *Codex Suprasliensis* belongs did not have a typical liturgical application. Therefore, theoretically, the *passio* of St Menas and a collection of miracles (even a selected one) could have been included in it. See A.A. Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rukopisei, khryanyashchikhsya v bibliotekakh pravoslavnogo Vostoka*. v. 1. Kiev 1895 (fototip. ed. Hildesheim 1965), p. 311; A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*, v. 1, Leipzig 1937, p. 374, 377, 385; Atanasova, *Chetivata za sv. Mina*, p. 63.

¹¹ The Greek-language hymns of this service are attributed to the renowned Byzantine hymnographer Romanos the Melodist (5th/6th c.). See Delehay, *L'invention des reliques*, p. 121.

¹² See *Slavyano-russkii Prolog po drevneishim spiskam. Sinaksar' (zhiitiina-ia chast' Prologa kratkoi redaktsii) za sentiabr'-fevral'*, v. 1, ed. L.V. Prokopenko,

verse synaxarion (early 14th c.), where a slightly longer and reworked *passio*, adapted to the requirements of the new typikon (the *Jerusalem Typikon*), is accompanied by an abridged redaction of five miracles of St Menas (BHG 1269m)¹³.

Thus, the early Slavic tradition concerning the collection of miracles of Saint Menas is primarily associated with calendar collections of the menologion type, specifically the reading menologia. The oldest Slavic manuscripts of this type attest to the presence, under the date 11th November, of an incomplete collection of the miracles of Saint Menas attributed to Timothy (“the Archbishop of Alexandria”), usually consisting of a *prologue* (P) and six miracles (1-5, 7)¹⁴. The prototypes of these books, as indicated by preserved linguistic and orthographic traces, were produced in Old Bulgarian literary centres in the 9th-10th centuries (Preslav, Ohrid) and most likely represent the Slavic variant of one of the pre-Metaphrastic types of Greek menologia in three-month volumes of texts (September-November).

Moskva 2010, p. 332-334. The collection of miracles attributed to Timothy of Alexandria was conceived from the outset as a text separate from the *passio*, as it contains no information about the life and martyrdom of St Menas, offering only a brief mention (in the prologue) of the circumstances surrounding the construction of a church in his honour in Alexandria. The collection itself exhibits clear signs of literary composition, integrating the distinct themes of the individual miracles into a unified narrative framework and even including textual connections between them (allusions and interjections). The evident purpose of this compilation was to highlight the saint’s posthumous activity and his effectiveness in resolving complex issues through miraculous intervention (e.g., murder, attempted assault, infidelity, theft, perjury, illness and disability, demonic possession, etc.), thereby encouraging pilgrimages to the sanctuary at Abu Mina and the offering of votive gifts.

¹³ Edition of the text: GRM 1897, p. 801-805; G. Petkov – M. Spasova, *Tarnovskata redaktsiya na Stishniya Prolog. Tekstove. Leksikalen indeks*, v 3: *Mesets noemvri*, Plovdiv 2009, p. 39-43. For a list of preserved redactions and manuscripts, see *Predvaritel’nyi svodnyi katalog tserkovnoslavyanskikh prolozhnykh tekstov*, v. 2: *Oktyabr’*, ed M. Chistyakova, Vilnius 2019, p. 211-217.

¹⁴ Such a text arrangement can be found in the following menologia: *HBKM 1039*, 14th c.; *Деч. 94*, 14th c.; *TC/I 669*, mid-15th c. See D.P. Atanasova, *The Miracles of the Great Martyr Menas in the Medieval Slavic Pre-Metaphrastic Menaia-Cheti* (critical edition of the text, based on MS 1039 from the National Library “SS Cyril and Methodius” Sofia), “Scripta & e-Scripta” 6 (2008) p. 305-324; *Stanislavov cheti-miney*, v. 1: *Izdanie na teksta*, ed. D. Atanasova – A.M. Totomanova, Sofia 2018, p. 798-813; Atanasova, *Chetivata za sv. Mina*, p. 63.

2. Old Church Slavonic Translations of the *Miracles of St. Menas*

In Slavic medieval studies, there is a belief that within the Old Church Slavonic literary tradition, there were two translations of the *Miracles of St Menas*, based on the same, though not identical, Greek variant (redaction)¹⁵. Both translations were most likely produced in Bulgaria around the 10th century, as indicated by a number of archaic linguistic features and textual traces visible in the preserved manuscripts¹⁶. The translations differ from each other with a fairly rich set of characteristic markers (differences, variations) in the areas of lexicon, syntax, and content, meaning that it is possible not only to distinguish them but also to reconstruct the transmission (development, changes) of the text in a diachronic perspective. This task is not easy due to the considerable volume of the text(s) and the need to examine a large number of surviving manuscript copies. However, these same factors make it possible to carry out a fairly detailed reconstruction, which could therefore provide a reliable picture of the historical-literary development of the work. At present, it is impossible to determine which translation was earlier and which was later, so I will refer to them provisionally as translation A and translation B. While these terms create a certain (alphabetical) ordering, they relate exclusively to the distinctive features of the surviving copies and not to the presumed chronology of the translations.

2.1. Slavic Translation A

Translation A has survived in a relatively large group of South Slavic manuscripts as well as in manuscripts clearly linked to the Balkan tradition of East Slavic (Russian) manuscripts. These are primarily reading menologia written using the old, pre-Metaphrastic redaction¹⁷ and calendar

¹⁵ PE, p. 245-246; Comparative and critical studies of the surviving Greek copies of the collection of miracles of St Menas have allowed for the identification of four versions of the text (α , β , γ , δ), of which the first two are of the greatest significance for the study of the Slavic literary tradition. See. Silvano – Varalda, *Per l'edizione*, p. 58-59.

¹⁶ For the purposes of this study, sources attested in 24 Slavic manuscripts from the early 14th century to the second half of the 17th century were used. For a list, see the bibliography to the article.

¹⁷ The group of South Slavic manuscripts includes reading menologia: *HBKM 1039*, 14th c.; *Деч.94*, 14th c.; *Pc.59*, 1614-1625; *Hil.441*, 1624. In the case of the Ruthenian

hagiographical codices (prologues/synaxaria and *sborniki*)¹⁸. In the manuscript witnesses of this translation, we usually read the *martyrium* (M¹⁹), and the collection attributed to Timothy of Alexandria, consisting of a *prologue* (P) and a collection of miracles, typically numbering six.

2.1.1 Menologia

In the case of the reading menologia, the order of the miracles generally corresponds to the full Greek version in redaction β, as published by Pomialovskii²⁰, though this includes only its initial part (1-5, 7, with the regular omission of miracle 6 – *The Samaritan Woman*)²¹. A characteristic feature of the South Slavic copies is the omission of the *martyrium* (M) text, which is present in the Russian manuscripts. However, the language and translation solutions in the *martyrium* (M) and the miracle collection are very similar, so it can be assumed that the entire work was translated in the same place and time, although the collection was later copied in two variants.

On the diachronic level, a comparison of the surviving copies indicates that the South Slavic manuscripts can be grouped into two main

manuscripts, these are menologia of the so-called older or pre-Makariievian edition, which preserve the Church Slavonic hagiographical tradition prior to the spread of the so-called *Great Reading Menologion* by Metropolitan Makary (1st half of the 16th c.). Examples include *TCJI* 669, mid-15th century and – to some extent, as I will discuss further – *TCJI* 670, 16th c.; *ΠΑΔΑ Φ. 201 № 53*, 1550.

¹⁸ The miracles of St Menas are preserved in the following manuscripts: *Berl. Wuk* 48 (the so-called *Berlinski Sbornik*), 13th/14th c.; *ΠΓΒ φ.212, № 13*, mid-16th c.; *ΠΑΔΑ Φ.181 № 1002*, mid-16th c.; *TCJI № 793*, 16th c.; *ΠΓΒ Φ.98 № 89*, second half of the 16th c.; *ΠΓΒ Φ.212 № 15*, first half of the 17th c.; *ΠΓΒ Φ.98 № 191*, second half of the 17th c.

¹⁹ For the Slavic manuscripts I use the term *martyrium* and the abbreviation ‘M’ for the *passio* to avoid interference with the abbreviation for the *prologue* (P).

²⁰ *Zhitie prepodobnago Paisiia Velikago i Timoŕeia patriarkha Aleksandriiskago poviestvovanie o chudesakh" sv. Velikomuchenika Miny*, ed. I. Pomialovskii, Saint Petersburg 1900, p. 62-89.

²¹ The Church Slavonic manuscripts maintain their own continuous numbering (i.e., miracle 6 is recorded as 5), but this does not serve as a significant textual clue for us, as this numbering is secondary (some early manuscripts do not have it, nor do they have titles for the miracles). Therefore, it has no direct connection with the text of the Greek protograph.

branches in terms of transmission²², which confirms the general tendencies observed in the historical-literary development of the Old Bulgarian literary (scribal) tradition²³. In the case of the East Slavic (Russian) manuscripts, such branching is not found. The absence of the *martyrium* (M) in the South Slavic books is the most easily noticeable, though not the sole, distinguishing feature. In the surviving manuscripts, textual and linguistic differences also emerge, suggesting that the basis for the Slavic translation A was most likely a Greek codex containing recension α , rather than β ²⁴. However, these differences are not significant enough to speak of separate translations or redactions, though they do allow for a distinction to be made between the South Slavic and East Slavic traditions for copying the collection. I will return to this issue below.

A fundamental question arises at this point: did the original Slavic translation of the miracles in translation A include only the aforementioned texts – the *martyrium*, *prologue*, and six miracles (1-5, 7), as indicated by the oldest manuscripts? Given the current state of research, it is impossible to definitively state whether the original translation contained only the initial part or all 13 miracles in the version attributed to Timothy of Alexandria. However, what is puzzling here is the fact that the translation faithfully renders the initial units of the Greek text, which rules out the source being a protograph containing a revised version, and suggests an incomplete variant instead. Diana Atanassova has proposed that the original translation A could have been complete, but that the Slavic protograph was damaged, leading to later surviving (from the 14th c. onward) manuscripts attesting to an incomplete version²⁵. In my opinion, this hypothesis is unlikely because such a scenario would require manuscript damage at a very early stage, when there was likely only one or at most two copies of the text (still in the Balkans), as indicated by the regularity of the set and its arrangement. Even if such an event had occurred, it seems highly probable that in the Old Bulgarian literary and

²² One group is comprised of the copies *НБКМ 1039* and *Деч.94*, while the other group consists of *Рс. 59* and *Нил.441*.

²³ Atanasova, *Chetivata za sv. Mina*, p. 68.

²⁴ In most Greek manuscripts of recension α , the collection of miracles varies significantly between them, but at least three manuscripts are known that contain a complete collection of miracles in the order corresponding to version β , based on the Moscow manuscript *ГИМ Синод. гр. 161* (11th c.), which was used for the edition by Pomjałowski. Silvano – Varalda, *Per l'edizione*, p. 57. I will return to this issue later.

²⁵ Atanasova, *Chetivata za sv. Mina*, p. 66-68.

translation centres (10th-early 11th c.), which were producing numerous translations from Greek at the time, the text would have been quickly supplemented. I find the second hypothesis proposed by Diana Atanasova more convincing, namely, that the manuscripts preserved the original form of the collection and that the Old Bulgarian translator had access to a Greek manuscript containing an incomplete collection, mainly covering the initial part²⁶. This manuscript could have been physically defective or – what I find more likely – represented one of the incomplete Greek variants of the collection. Accepting this hypothesis logically explains why miracle 6 (*The Samaritan Woman*) is regularly omitted in the translations and why the same number of miracles is regularly copied in the various manuscripts. But did the Greek protograph really consist of miracles 1-5 and 7, and was the Slavic translation limited to just six miracles? There are indications that suggest that there may have been more miracles.

2.1.2 Hagiographical Codices (*sborniki*)

To attempt to answer this question, we will draw on material found in hagiographical codices (*sborniki*). The texts comprising the collection of miracles of St Menas found their way into these manuscripts very early, as evidenced by a fragment (miracle I) preserved in the *Berlin Codex* (the so-called *Berlinski Sbornik*) *Berl. Wuk* 48, from the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries²⁷. Although the source material is preserved only fragmentarily, it allows for a clear connection of the copy with translation A, while the characteristic linguistic and orthographic features of the text (visible in many later copies, including those of the Balkan reading menologion type) align with the Bulgarian tradition. Unfortunately, we do

²⁶ The Pinakes database provides information on four such manuscripts: two with the text of the *prologue* and miracles 1-5: *Mss G 063 sup*, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, 11th-12th c., and *Mss Add. 26114*, British Library, London, 12th c. (BHG 1256, 1257-1261); and two containing only miracles 1-5 (BHG 1257-1261): *Mss H 206*, Great Lavra, Mt Athos, 14th c., and *Gr. 101*, National Library 'SS Cyril and Methodius', Sofia, 14th c. (BHG 1257-1261). See Atanasova, *Chetivata za sv. Mina*, p. 68.

²⁷ Editions: H. Miklas – V. Zagrebin, *Berlinski sbornik*, Graz 1988; H. Miklas – L. Taseva – M. Jovčeva, *Berlinski Sbornik: Ein kirchenslavisches Denkmal mittelbulgarischer Redaktion des beginnenden 14. Jahrhunderts ergänzt aus weiteren handschriftlichen Quellen*, Sofia – Wien 2006.

not have other comparative material related to the early South Slavic manuscripts of this type, though these codices are more frequently represented in the East Slavic collections. In the Russian context, *sbornik* as a type of book did not quickly come under the influence the influence of the new redaction of texts brought to East Slavic literature by the Moscow Metropolitan Makary's *Great Reading Menologia* (*Menaia*). Therefore, the same translation A has been preserved in essentially all of the manuscripts. Interestingly, the arrangement of the texts in *sborniki* differs from that in menologion, and usually follows this sequence: M + 6, 8, Pr + 1-4²⁸. We thus see that the collection in *sborniki* contains the same number of miracles as in menologion (six), but that not only their arrangement but also the set of miracles included differ. In the *sborniki* version, we consistently find the presence of both miracle 6 (*The Samaritan Woman*), which is omitted in the pre-Metaphrastic menologion translations, and miracle 8 (*The Poor Woman's Sheep*), which is also absent in the menologia. The set of known traditions relating to the Old Church Slavonic miracles of St Menas is thus much broader. Furthermore, we also see two distinct traditions for copying texts in the reading menologia (*čet'i-minei*) and in codices (*sborniki*). Let us now return to South Slavic reading menologia.

2.1.3 The New Redaction in the Reading Menologion *Драг. 700*

The seemingly clear picture of translation A's history is further complicated when we consider two other manuscripts of this type that are linked in their provenance to Moldavian-Wallachian territories and textually linked to the Bulgarian lands of the Second Empire period (late 12th to late 14th c.). These are a manuscript from the Romanian monastery of Dragomirna (*Драг. 700*, 15th/16th c.) and *ГБЛ М.3170*, from the 16th century²⁹. Both represent a three-month variant (September-November) of the reading menologia, but they belong

²⁸ Slightly different in the copies: *ПГБ ф.212, № 13* (M + 6, 8, P + 1, 2, 4); *ТСП № 793* (P + 1, 2, 4).

²⁹ This group most likely also includes an incomplete Romanian copy from *BAR 552* (15th/16th c.), which I have been unable to verify. Since I also do not have access to the text of the copy *ГБЛ М.3170*, and I have deduced its similarity to the manuscript *Драг. 700* based on data from BHBS and information in the cited works of D. Atanasova, I will refer only to the manuscript from the Dragomirna Monastery in the following arguments.

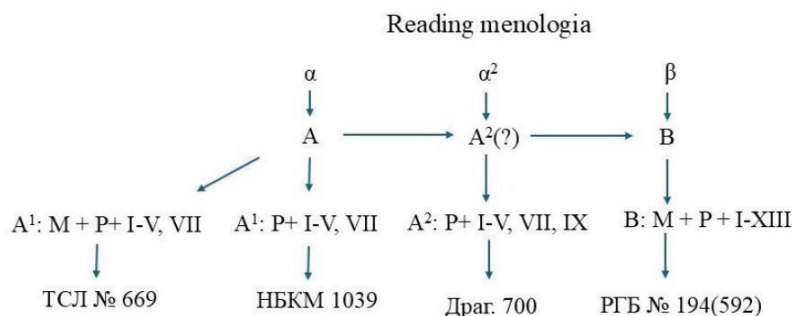
to the so-called new type, reflecting changes that first occurred in liturgical and hagiographical literature in the Balkans in the early 14th century due to the adoption of the Jerusalem Typikon. In manuscripts from this period, which are primarily linked to translation centres and scriptoria at Mount Athos and in Bulgarian monasteries (mainly around Tarnovo), new translations and redactions of these texts appear. In the menologion *Дпаз.700*, under the date 11 November, there is the collection attributed to Timothy, dedicated to Saint Menas, consisting of a *prologue* (without *martyrium*) and seven (not six!) miracles. The initial arrangement of the texts is exactly the same as in the early menologia with translation A: P + miracles 1-5 and 7 (also with the omission of 6). However, in this case, the additional (final) text in the collection (maintaining the continuity of the Slavic numbering) is miracle 9 (*The Barren Camel*). We thus have another example of an expanded repertoire of translated miracles, but we also have a situation in which one more miracle from the complete Greek version is omitted – miracle 8 (*The Poor Woman's Sheep*). It seems that this was neither a coincidence (another manuscript defect?) nor a conscious decision by the Slavic translator, since the content of miracle 8 appears to fit better with medieval cultural contexts (the plundering of a poor widow) than miracle 9, which tells the story of the martyr's friendship with his fellow villager and the punishment for appropriating a camel colt. The copy *Дпаз.700* also differs linguistically from the other copies of translation A, as well as – of course – from copies of translation B, although not on all levels of linguistic-textual comparison. It seems that we are dealing here with a distinct variant, although it is difficult to determine which source it was based on – Greek or (earlier) Slavic. Assuming the first hypothesis, the text would be another translation that – as suggested by its language, orthography, and textual environment in the manuscript (this is a menologion of the new type) – was likely made by Bulgarian-speaking translators in the 14th century, based on some Greek manuscript with a selection of miracles (P + 1-5, 7, 9). However, we notice a striking similarity in the sequence of texts in the collection between the old and new South Slavic menologia (the new ones having one more miracle). If we also consider certain archaic linguistic features and similarities to translation B in the translation solutions applied, another hypothesis arises.

It is worth considering whether there might have existed a separate Old Bulgarian branch of translation A, which was based on a Greek

manuscript of recension α but in a variant similar to the Greek manuscript *Vat. gr. 797* (10th c.), which – as noted by Silvano and Varalda – “peraltro condivide molte lezioni singolari con M, tanto che non escluderei che da un suo progenitore possa discendere la redazione β ”³⁰. Such a version (α^2) could have become the source for the Middle Bulgarian edition, a copy of which we see in manuscript *Дпаз. 700*. This translation (provisionally referred to as A^2) would have been created or known in the same literary environment as the complete translation of the collection of miracles, translation B, and therefore would possess features found in recension β . Adopting this assumption allows us to explain the analogy in the arrangement of textual units between the old and new types of menologia, as well the presence of certain linguistic archaisms, somewhat surprising in a hypothetical new translation from the 14th century (most likely), and textual-translation features similar to those found in manuscripts of translation B (See Diag. 1). The linguistic differences in the copy *Дпаз. 700* compared to translation A may be the result of a Middle Bulgarian revision (possibly also verified against the Greek text), in which traces of the old variant were preserved, and are thus visible in the known copies of both translation A and translation B. In the preparation of translation B, it is possible that the solutions found in Variant A^2 were used, as it was certainly well known to the translator(s). The collection of miracles of St Menas might have originally spread in South Slavic reading menologia in two slightly different variants of translation A- A^1 : P + 1-5, 7 and A^2 : P + 1-5, 7, 9³¹.

³⁰ See Silvano – Varalda, *Per l'edizione*, p. 58.

³¹ In the case of Church Slavonic synaxaria (prologues) of the newer type, where the texts essentially follow translation A, in addition to the *martyrium*, there is a shortened collection of miracles 1, 2, 3, 5, 4. This set of texts is found in the most widespread Church Slavonic synaxarion, the extended (so-called verse synaxarion/prologue in verse), which was compiled in Bulgaria at the beginning of the 14th century, undoubtedly based on local South Slavic manuscript monuments, such as the aforementioned pre-metaphrastic menologia. See A.A. Turilov, *K istorii Stishnogo prologa na Rusi*, “Drevniaia Rus’. Voprosy medievistiki” 23/1 (2006) p. 70-75; *Predvaritel’nyi svodnyi katalog*, p. 211-217. The variant containing the first five miracles is the most widespread among Greek manuscripts which include the *Miracles of St Menas*. Shortened versions of the first five miracles are attested in Greek synaxaria, although the Greek tradition of the collection “has been characterized by exceptional fluidity from the very beginning” (Silvano – Varalda, *Per l'edizione*, p. 57-58).



Diag. 1

2.1.4 Synopsis of the Example from *Miraculum 3*

To illustrate the relationships between *recensiones*, I will provide an example of parallel lessons from the initial part of Miracle 3 in copies representative of each variant. The excerpts are provided in the following arrangement:

- Greek text of recension α (Silvano/Varalda);
- Greek text of recension β (Pomialovskiĭ);
- Translation A¹ – old-type reading menologia, South Slavic (HBKM 1039);
- Translation A¹ – old-type reading menologia, East Slavic (TCJl № 669);
- Translation B – East Slavic reading menologia (РГБ Ф.113 № 194(592));
- Translation A² (?) – reading menologion Дпар. 700;

Miraculum 3

- Ἦν τις γυνὴ ἐκ τῆς χώρας τῶν Φιλοξενιτῶν· αὕτη ἦν πλουσία ἐν τε χρυσίῳ καὶ ἀργυρίῳ ἐκ τῶν γονέων αὐτῆς καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρός, καλουμένη Σοφία· ἦν δὲ θεοσεβὴς πάνυ (...). Ἀνέστη δὲ ἡ εὐλαβὴς γυνὴ ἐκείνη καὶ ἔλαβεν πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῆς καὶ ἀπῆλθεν μόνη εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ ἁγίου ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ μὴ νοήσαντός τινος τῶν τοῦ οἴκου αὐτῆς. (Silvano/Varalda, 1-2, 7-9);
- Ἦν τις γυνὴ ἐν χώρᾳ τῶν Φεκοζεητῶν· αὕτη ἦν πλουσία ἐν τε χρυσίῳ καὶ ἀργυρίῳ κεκοσμημένη ἐκ τῶν γονέων καὶ τοῦ αὐτῆς, καλουμένη Σοφία· ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς ἦν θεοσεβὴς πανυ (...). Ἀνέστη δὲ ἡ γυνὴ

ἐκείνη καὶ ἔλαβεν πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῆς καὶ ἀπῆλθεν πρὸς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ ἁγίου ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ μὴ νοήσαντος τοῦ οἴκου αὐτῆς ὅπως μὴ ἀπαγγείλωσι τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς καὶ κρατήσει αὐτήν· (Pomialovskii, p. 68 (29-31), 69 (8-11));

- Бѣше же жена ѿ земли физитинскыѣ, и бѣаше богата зѣло и сребро мѡго имоуши. и оукрашенѣна ѿ родителю своею и ѿ моужа своего. име же бѣше женѣ той софїа. и моужь ѿ бгѡчѣтивъ бѣ зѣло (...). И въставѣши жена възвѣмѣши вѣса иже имаше и поиде въ црѣквѣ сѣтаго тѣи. и невѣдоушоу никомоуже въ домоу ѿе, таѣше во се глѡущи въ себѣ аще оувѣдѣтъ ме тѡ не въдадетъ ми ити нѣ оудръжетѣ ме зѣде. (НБКМ 1039, f. 332d-333a);
- Бѣше жена етера ѿ земли физитѣскыѣ. бѣаше бѣта зѣло. злато и сребро имоуши. оукрашена ѿ родителю своею и ѿ моужа своего. именемѣ софїа. и моужь еѣ бѣ бгѡчѣтивъ зѣло (...). И въставѣши жена възвѣмѣши еже имѣѣше и поиде ѿдина въ црѣквѣ сѣтаго тѣи. невѣдоушоу еѣ никомоуже въ домоу своемѣ, не вонѣ глѡаще. аще мѣ оувѣдѣтъ ити. то оудержать мѣ. (ТСЛ № 669, f. 201, 201v);
- Бѣ же жена нѣкаѣ, въ странѣ фекосѣистѣ, и та бѣ богата. златомѣ и сребромѣ оукрашена ѿ родителю своею, и ѿ моужа своего. имѣ же не софїа. и моужь же еѣ бѣ бгѡчѣтивъ велии (...). И въставѣ же та жена, възвѣмѣ все свое имѣнїе, и иде ѿдина къ црѣкви сѣтаго ѡтѣи, нечюущи никомоуже ѿ домашнїи еѣ. ꙗко да не възвѣстѣтъ моужю еѣ, и оудръжать ю. (РГБ Ф. 113 № 194(592), f. 212);
- Бѣ нѣкаѣ жена въ странѣ феквзентѣемѣ. сѣ бѣ богата златомѣ и сребромѣ оукрашена ѿ родителїи и ѿ мѣжа своего. и бѣше бгѡчѣтива зѣла (...). Въставѣши оубо жена она и възвѣмѣ въсѣ имѣнїѣ своѣ, поиде въ храмѣ сѣтго ѡтѣи, никомѣ оувѣдѣвшоу ѿ домашнихъ еѣ. ꙗко да не оповѣдѣтъ мѣжѣи еѣ, и постражѣтъ ѿ него (Драг. 700, f. 393).

When comparing the copies, let us first focus on the archaic lexical and morphological features of the language in the manuscripts, which point to the early translation mentioned earlier. The Russian menologion *ТСЛ № 669* retains the Old Church Slavonic pronoun *етѣръ* for the Greek *ἕτερος* or *τίς*, which is a characteristic feature of the oldest Cyrillic-Methodian texts and early translations of Balkan (mainly Bulgarian) provenance. In later manuscripts (especially East Slavic), this pronoun is replaced by the equivalent forms *нѣкыи/ѿдинѣ*. When this occurs in passages corresponding to the Greek *τίς*, as seen in this example, it represents a relic of the early stage of Old Church Slavonic and

consistently points to an early translation³². Such traces are also found in Translation B, e.g. the use of aorists (including sigmatic aorists, e.g., **БЫСТЪ**, **ВЪЗЛАТЪ**, **ИДЕ/ПОИДЕ**), often in constructions with a Greek parallel. The copies also preserve traces of early orthography and phonetics (digraphs, jer and nasal vowels in etymological positions, e.g., **ВЪЗЪМЪШИ**, **МЖЖЪ**). Often, much information about the textology of the manuscript can be gathered from toponyms. In the case of the port name (**Φιλοξενιτῶν**), we see that although the Slavic translation clearly distorts the term, the old-type menologia (both South Slavic and Russian) follows the Greek recension α (**Φιλοξενιτῶν** – **ФИСИТИНСКЫЕ**, **ФИЗИТЪСКИА**), while menologia of Translation B and *Драз. 700* follow the Greek recension β (**Φεκοζητῶν** – **ФЕКОЗЪИСТЪКЪ**, **ФЕКЪЗЕИТСТЪКИА**). A similar relationship with the Greek recensions is observed in the use of the expression $\tilde{\omega}$ **ЗЕМЛЕ/Ω** **ЗЕМЛА** (rec. α , Translation A) vs. **ВЪ** **СТРАНЪКЪ** (rec. β , Translation B), as well as the strengthening of information through the addition of the adverb **ЗЪЛО** in its attributive form (only in A copies)³³. Similarly, a common feature for the sources of Translation B and copies of *Драз. 700* is the presence of the passive participle for the feminine gender **ΟΥΚΡΑШЕНΑ** as a translation of the Greek **κεκοσμημένη**, which is present in recension β . The existence of two separate Slavic translations is especially evident in places where the text of both Greek recensions is identical. In the copies of Translation A, the phrase referring to the woman's possessions, expressed in Greek by a participle – **πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα**, is translated descriptively with a verbal expression (**ВЪСА** **ИЖЕ** **ИМАШЕ**), while in Translation B, it is rendered using a noun (**ВСЕ** **СВОЕ** **ИМѢНІЕ**).

There is more evidence for the presence of two independent Slavic translations of the quoted passage. In Translation A (A¹), the woman travels secretly from the household members (rec. α), while in Translation B (and *Драз. 700*), she does so also in secret from her husband

³² See. A.A. Pichkhadze, *Slav. ETER: k voprosu o gruppirovke drevneslavianskikh pamiatnikov*, "Scrinium: Journal of Patrology, Critical Hagiography and Ecclesiastical History" 7-8/2, p. 219, 227; T.V. Pentkovskaia, *K istorii ispravleniia bogoslužebnykh knig v Drevnei Rusi v XIV veke. Chudovskaia redaktsiia Novogo Zaveta*, Moskva 2009, p. 36-37; I. Hristova-Shomova, *Sluzhebniiat Apostol v slavianskata rukopisna traditsiia*, v. 1: *Izledvane na biblijskii tekst*, Sofia 2004, p. 456.

³³ The copy of the Sofia menologion (*menaion*), *HBKM 1039*, at this point likely transmits a distorted text (the word **ЗЛАТО** is missing). It is probable that the word **ЗЛАТО** was mechanically omitted or that a word was accidentally dropped due to contraction (shortening) or contamination of two neighbouring words in the phrase (**ЗЪЛО**, **ЗЛАТО**).

(rec. β). The lack of mention of the husband at this point (A^1) in the version following Greek recension α is most likely a result of interpreting the incipit of the miracle story, which suggests that the woman inherited her possessions from both her parents and her husband (ἐκ τῶν γονέων αὐτῆς καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρός), thus indicating that she is already a widow. In this context, the use of the feminine form in the phrase in the *Драг. 700* copy, where the attribute of piety is ascribed to the woman (и бѣше бгѣчѣства сѣла), as opposed to her husband (as in the other copies), becomes clear. It therefore seems that this is a remnant of the Greek recension α , which has survived in the Greek transitional (α^2) or early recension β , and is found in the Slavic translation in version A^2 . Essentially, recension β , where the husband is clearly treated as being alive, emphasizes his position and importance, highlighting his piety and strong decision-making role in the household. However, this creates a fundamental logical contradiction between the phrases ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς ἦν θεοσεβὴς πανυ and τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς καὶ κρατήσῃ αὐτὴν, that is, his piety/nobility, on the one hand, and the refusal of the wife's right to make a pilgrimage to the shrine of St Menas, on the other. In the *Драг. 700* copy, we most likely have insight into some intermediate Slavic recension, where the attribute of piety is still assigned only to the woman (a trace of recension α), but where there is also her fear of her husband's reaction (influence of recension β). The omission of the woman's name (Σοφία – София) in the *Драг. 700* copy may be a random omission or a remnant of a defective prototype. Whether this is a characteristic of this copy alone or of the entire group/recension cannot be determined without access to the Moscow copy ГБЛ М.3170 and the Romanian BAR 552. In any case, however, the *Драг. 700* copy is much closer textologically to recension β and Slavic Translation B than one might expect from a formal analysis of the collection, which, as we recall, suggests its strong ties with the tradition of Translation A.

2.1.5 Conclusions for Slavic Translation A

Summing up the data from the analysis of 17 manuscript copies associated with Translation A, we can state that at least the following textual units of the hagiographical collection of St Menas were known in the Slavic medieval literary tradition: *martyrium* (M), as well as the *prologue* (P) and miracles 1-9, although I am not aware of any manuscript in which all of these texts are present together. In the literature on the subject,

two Russian menologia are mentioned – *ТСЛ № 670* (16th century) and *РГАДА Ф.201 № 53* (1550), where the texts M + P + the full collection of miracles (1-13) can be found. However, this is a hybrid version in which miracles 1-5 and 7 belong to Translation A, while miracles 6 and 8-13 are taken from Translation B. In this case, it is most likely that a mechanical supplementation of the missing texts from the South Slavic menologia occurred under the influence of the spread of the model of the Russian, Metropolitan Makary's *Great Reading Menologia*³⁴.

2.2. Slavic Translation B – Complete

The Slavic translation B of the collection of miracles of St Menas is also found in reading menologia and hagiographical codices (*sborniki*), but, in contrast to translation A, it exhibits exceptional stability in its structure and set of texts. In practically all manuscripts, it faithfully follows the Greek text of recension β, as we know it from Pomialovskii's edition, and the text arrangement is as follows: M + P + 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13. Unfortunately, in this case, we do not have South Slavic sources, and the oldest surviving manuscript with the full text is the aforementioned *Volokolamsk menologion* from the late 15th century (*РГБ Ф.113 № 194(592)*). Although this manuscript already shows distinct phonetic and orthographic features of Russian, the South Slavic origin of its prototype remains evident. We notice even more of these features in somewhat later texts, such as the two 16th-century Russian menologia *ТСЛ №782* and *ТСЛ №783*, where, in addition to archaic lexicon, forms with traces of Old Bulgarian inflection (simple and compound future tense forms with *хощети/имати* + *infinitive*, e.g., *что сътворити имамъ тѣлеси сеи* (*Mirac. I*)) and phonetic-orthographic features (e.g., large nasal vowels in etymological places or unvocalized jer) are preserved. At the current stage of research, it is difficult to determine whether translation B was made directly from the Greek recension β or if an existing Slavic copy of the hypothetical variant A² was used for this purpose. However, we can reasonably assume that translation B, following the Greek recension β, reached the East Slavic (Russian) milieu already in its complete form, that is, with all 13 correctly ordered miracles. These qualities likely led to this version being included in the 16th-century Metropolitan

³⁴ See. PE, p. 245.

Makary's *Great Reading Menologion* and, over time, becoming dominant in the Russian (Moscow) manuscript tradition. A comparative analysis of seven manuscripts of this translation reveals the presence of three branches of copies, two of which are connected to menologia of the old (РГБ Ф.113 № 194(592), РГБ Ф.98 №23, РГБ Ф.98 №19) and new (Соф. № 1319, Кол. № 505/524) types, while one is associated with calendar-based hagiographical codices (ТСЛ №783, ТСЛ №782).

A comparison of the copies of translations A and B clearly shows that the Greek proto-texts used by the Slavic translators were certainly not identical. This knowledge allows us to better understand the presence of omissions (*lacunae*) and additions in the text, as well as some significant semantic and lexical differences, without resorting to the simplistic explanation of greater or lesser freedom in translation, or the use of different translation strategies for the same Greek words. In addition to the examples already mentioned above, there are some additional arguments that can be made here. A characteristic feature of one group of manuscripts of translation A is the continuity of the *prologue* text and *Miracle 1*, where at the boundary between the texts, there is only a dot or a larger initial letter (the Lombardic capitals) next to the word ЧЛОВЕКЪ ('man'). In manuscripts with translation B, however, the *prologue* is regularly and clearly separated from *Miracle 1* (with a number mark and separate title, as in Pomialovskii's edition), and the text of the miracle begins with a sentence that is essentially the conclusion of the *prologue*. Shifting it to the beginning of the next text (*Miracle 1*) may cause confusion because it refers, in terms of content and logic, to earlier information from the *prologue* (the efforts of the people of Alexandria to build a temple for Saint Menas in the city). This structure is found in the Greek text of recension β and the Slavic translation B, but it is most likely a trace of early codices with the collection of miracles, where the texts were written *in scriptio continua* without numbers or titles. We can see this clearly in the manuscripts with translation A, where the early and archaic copies look just like this. A somewhat later Slavic tradition shows an increasing tendency to mark the boundary between texts more clearly, with a more explicit indication of the beginning of *Miracle 1* by highlighting the phrase члкъ нѣкто ѿ земли саворьскыѣ (ἄνθρωπος τις ἦν ἐκ τῆς χώρας τῶν Ἰσαύρων). This sentence begins the logical narrative continuity of the story that follows, and it is also a stylistic link to the typical introductory phrases found in other miracles in the collection (and not just this one). It is also worth noting that this tendency, visible in manuscripts of translation A, is also

present in the *Дпаз. 700* copy, which provides further evidence of the early origin of its protograph.

3. Late Church Slavonic Literary Tradition of St Menas' Miracles

Translations A and B represent the primary milestones in the narrative hagiographical tradition of the cult of St Menas within the Slavic context, although they are not the sole extant texts. Another collection is found in the Church Slavonic printed *Reading Menologion* by St Demetrius of Rostov (Daniil Tuptalo), who utilized the Russian variant of the menologia (*čet'i-minei*) translation B, as well as the sinaxarion of a new redaction, the so-called verse synaxarion/prologue in verse³⁵. The *martyrium* and the collection of miracles of St Menas in this edition have undergone literary revision in terms of language and style, and have been significantly abridged. As in the Slavic liturgical prologue, only five miracles are included³⁶, but the very presence of this collection in the widely circulated printed menologia is indicative of continued interest in the cult of St Menas within the Orthodox Slavic cultural milieu of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

4. Final Thoughts

An analysis of several Slavic manuscript copies of translations A and B has revealed certain divergences, which have facilitated the tracing of textual transmission within each respective translation. Each branch of the tradition is marked by a considerable number of textual markers, such as the specific use of vocabulary and grammatical constructions, which were either preserved or omitted in the diachronic transmission. The observations presented here are, however, preliminary and represent only a proposal for reconstructing the historical and literary process of the Slavic translation, which requires verification based on a much broader corpus of sources. Ultimately, the key instrument for research into the Slavic tradition will be a critical edition of the Greek collection

³⁵ Dimitriy Rostovskiy, *Kniga zhitiĭ svyatykh*, v. 1 (Sentiabr', okt'iabr', noiabr'), Kiev 1764, fol. 335-338v.

³⁶ PE, p. 246.

of miracles of St Menas, which will provide a stable textual counterpoint for the study of the Slavic material.

Abbreviations

- BHBS – Ivanova K., *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Balcano-Slavica*, Sofia 2008 [Иванова, Кл. *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Balcano-Slavica*. София, 2008].
- BHG – *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, v. 1-3, ed. F. Halkin, Bruxelles 1984.
- GRM – Metropolitan Makary's *Great Reading Menologion* = Makarii, Metropolitan, *Velikie Minei Chet'i, compiled by All-Russian Metropolitan Makarii. November. Days 1-12*, Saint Petersburg 1897 [Макарий, митрополит, *Великие Минеи Четии, собранные Всероссийским митрополитом Макарием. Ноябрь. Дни 1-12*. Санкт Петербург 1897].
- PE – Frangulyan L.R. – Kryukova A.N. – Makhan'ko M.A. – Turilov A.A. – Prokopenko L.V. – Shevchenko E.V. – Saenkova E.M., *Mina*, in: *Pravoslavnaya entsiklopediya*, v. 45, ed. Patriarch Kirill of Moscow and All Rus', Moscow 2017, p. 239-252. [Франгулян Л.Р. – Крюкова А.Н. – Маханько М.А. – Турилов А.А. – Прокопенко Л.В. – Шевченко Э.В. – Саенкова Е.М., *Мина*, in: *Православная энциклопедия, под редакцией Патриарха Московского и всея Руси Кирилла*, v. 45, Москва 2017, p. 239-252].

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