TERJE HELLAND

The Serbian Church Slavonic text of the Martyrion of Dorotheos of Alexandria

Dorotheos of Alexandria is an example of a martyr murdered not by the pagan authorities of the Roman Empire, but by those who also considered themselves Christians, the followers of the Alexandrian priest Arios. The Martyrion of Dorotheos of Alexandria is found in several Slavonic, handwritten, volumes of reading menologia, either in one-month menologia for the month of October or in menologia covering longer periods. It is a particularly interesting translation as it is a text which has probably originally been written in Greek, but which is now presumably lost in the Greek tradition and only preserved in a Church Slavonic translation, as part of a cycle of reading menologia. The reading menologia were the largest anthologies of hagiographic writings in Byzantium. They were revised both with regard to style and content by Symeon Metaphrastes during Basil II's reign in the latter half of the 10th century. The martyrion of Dorotheos was not to be part of the metaphrastic canon and was thus not copied after Symeon's menologion largely replaced the older versions from the 11th century and onwards.

As Albert Ehrhard showed,¹ the pre-metaphrastic tradition of Byzantine reading menologia has only been preserved in fragments. Particularly poor is the transmission of the October menologion, which is only preserved in minor fragments covering the latter part of the month. Due to these circumstances, a large number of pre-metaphrastic hagiographic texts have probably been lost over the centuries. Interestingly, the Slavonic repertoire of hagiographic texts mainly consists of pre-metaphrastic texts. The majority of these have been transmitted as part of the Slavonic tradition of reading menologia. There are several Russian manuscripts from the 15th and 16th century containing translated pre-metaphrastic reading menologia for October. Most of the translated

¹ Ehrhard, A., Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der Griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts, Teil 1., Leipzig, 1937, 439-701.

texts in the Slavonic October menologion are preserved also in the Greek tradition, as parts of other types of anthologies, however there are notable exceptions; some Slavonic texts are found in versions not corresponding to any known Greek version, and the vitae or martyria of other saints are completely lost in the Greek tradition. Amongst these latter, there are texts written to at least three martyrs celebrated in October, Theouteknos of Antioch, Paraskeve of Ikonion and Dorotheos of Alexandria.

Of these, the Martyrion of Theouteknos of Antioch and the Martyrion of Paraskeve of Ikonion are both part of the 16th century Velikie Minei Čet'i of Metropolitan Makarij, and these texts have thus been published.² Dorotheos of Alexandria however, seems to have been completely forgotten. He is neither mentioned in the Synaxarion of the Church of Constantinople,³ nor in its various Slavonic translations and perhaps therefore, his martyrion was not included in the Velikie Minei Čet'i.

The oldest known manuscript to contain the text is a 14th century Serbian paper manuscript from the collections of the Visoki Dečani monastery in Kosovo-Metochia, number 94.⁴ The collection of Slavonic medieval manuscripts of the Dečani monastery, which is now kept by the Serbian National Library in Belgrade contains some rare examples of translated Byzantine reading menologia.⁵ Dečani 94, 95 and 101 all fall into the category of reading menologia. Dečani 94 at the first glance seems to a translation of a pre-metaphrastic Byzantine three-month reading menologion for the months of September-November. The manuscript remains largely unstudied. Dečani 94 is a paper manuscript from the 14th century, written in a typical Serbian Church Slavonic

² Великие минеи четьи, Октябрь дни 4-18, Санкт-Петербург, 1874, стб. 797-803 and Великие минеи четьи, Октябрь дни 19-31, Санкт-Петербург, 1880, стб. 1972-1979.

³ At least not in any of the copies of the Synaxarion used for Delehaye's edition. See: Delehaye, H., Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae, Bruxelles, 1902.

⁴ My appreciation to Professor Klimentina Ivanova of the Kliment of Ochrid University of Sofia, who first made me aware of the manuscript. The manuscript is dated to the 1340/50s by M. Stanković, see: Гроздановиђ-Палиђ, М., Станковиђ Р., Рукописне књиге манастира високи Дечани, Водени знаци и датирањи, Београд, 1995, 34-35.

⁵ I wish to express my gratitude to the Research Council of Norway for awarding me a grant to visit Serbian manuscript collections in 2005 in the framework of its Cooperation Program with the West Balkans.

redaction of the time. It contains about 50 hagiographic and homiletic texts, all of which are translated from Greek. Since there are no original Slavonic texts amongst them, one might be quite sure that it is based on a translation of a Greek menologion and not a collection of texts compiled by a Slavic scribe.

By comparing the manuscript with transmitted Russian menologia from the 15th and 16th century, it becomes clear that it is based on three translated pre-metaphrastic monthly reading menologia. It mostly contains a selection of the same translations of the same vitae of saints, which are found in various Russian reading menologia for September, October and November from the 15th and 16th centuries. The importance of Dečani 94 could not be overstated; it is the oldest transmitted Slavonic manuscript witness of most of the texts included in it, and in almost all cases, it is the oldest transmitted South-Slavonic witness.⁶

Dečani 94 has lost a few folios at the beginning and at the end. It now begins in the middle of the Life of Symeon Stylite and ends in the middle of the Life of the Apostle Andrew. It may therefore originally have started with the standard beginning of the September menologion, the homily by John Chrysostome referred to as the ἀρχὴ τῆς ἰνδίατου (BHG 820). Dečani 94 contains fewer texts for each month than the corresponding Russian monthly menologia and the collection has thus been consciously shortened. Only a detailed comparison between the texts in Dečani 94 and in corresponding Russian manuscripts would show whether individual texts also have been shortened. Both the Russian and Serbian cycles of reading menologia in my view probably go back to one original Old-Bulgarian cycle of reading menologia, of which the famous Codex Suprasliensis once was a part.

Hieromartyr Dorotheos of Alexandria was a 4th century priest-monk from Alexandria. He was murdered by the local Arian authorities who threw him to unidentified wild beasts, probably lions. At the end of his martyrion, it is said that Dorotheos was martyred during the reign of the Roman Emperor Valens (AD 364-378), who reigned as co-emperor with

⁶ O. Tvorogov has found a total of 56 different transmitted translated lives of saints in all the Russian miscellaneous collections known to him from the 11th-14th century that he has collated. Dečani 94 alone contains almost as many texts. See: Творогов, О. В., Древнерусские четьи сборники XII-XIV вв. // ТОДРЛ 44, 1999, 196-225.

his brother Valentinian I and ruled over the eastern part of the empire. Valens is known to have persecuted the Orthodox in the latter parts of his reign, thus Dorotheos must have been killed some time during the 370s.⁷ In the menologia, he is commemorated on October 10th. The text of the martyrion is probably a Bulgarian translation from the 10th or perhaps 11th century. The language is awkward and the text is probably an extremely literal translation of the original Greek, something that is typical for translations made during the Preslav period. However, the text is not known to have been transmitted in any manuscript in Bulgarian redaction.

The folios containing the Martyrion of the Hieromartyr Dorotheos in Dečani 94 (folios 210v-211) are damaged, however, a copy of this menologion exists in a 16th century manuscript in the manuscript collections of the Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Belgrade, number 161, which contains the life of Dorotheos on folios 190-191v. In the following, the text is rendered as it is found in Dečani 94, and the missing part of the text has been added using the other manuscript, rendering its readings in brackets. The diacritical signs and breathings in the original manuscripts could not be rendered. This is the first edition of the martyrion of this forgotten Egyptian saint, whose memory has been preserved in such a peculiar way.

МЦ Того Вь І ДПь свщенномника дорофета. Аще и нъкако мнимо к нъцъми, дръвнек новъишааго славнък гавлгающи се, инта и новък дъкмо не погръшакть истыны, и вь бръме свок славы наслажакт се, извъщано же се к мною дорофета дълма мника стго. тьь бо W александрьскааго грасіи, из втскаа ращенига чрыньчьскок житик избраа. ръкомъмь пакмыволи вь свокмь манастыри живъаше, сь всакымь вьфржаникмь и потмь живыи, и всакою моудростию оукрашак се, добрыи кже жизни моужа то и соущихь сь нимь. не трыпеи добра бъсь и ненавистникь на стые цркве соушек по всемоу кгупто и вь алексанрьсцъ граде, ратью и гоненик въфвыже, гако николиже слышахомь бывшага. ни погани ни жидь ми ни разоуми вы ми. мнимы же име имъти хрфиганьско аригансцъи кресы метоущи и удръжещи все, запръ дръжещааго тъга цртво, гако и тьь бъ

⁷ Kazhdan, A., et al., Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, Oxford, 1991, Vol. 3, 2149-50.

 $^{^8}$ Probably a somewhat corrupted graecism, παρεμβολή - hermitage, dwelling place, monastery.

вьпадаль вь тоу кресь, и поставліанмыми властелин, швы вь погансцѣ зловъры кдиначе соуще, wвы же вь ренъи креси. всета вражевахоу на хртиганы и потоу кь црю твореще. и все дрьжещен правовърноую въроу хвоу, влъкоуще на трьжища на моукы гако всъмь Шноудь прогонимомь быти. дрьжещимь и истоую въроу изреднъ, кже вь вишимь чрыньчьское житик. моуже же и жены вь них же кдинь и прьвы, дъло же именытыхь бъ дорофеи стыи. велико име и славоу W всехь александрънь имъще, зависть же не малоу W кретигьь. такоу гако же и wклеветаноу кмоу быти кь влвамь, тако соупротивно въроують и творить цреви своим же пръпръниемь и тьщаниемь. многыи 🛡 хртиганьь Опроважааше 🛡 мочкьь кретикь, многы же оужааше вь пити дрьзак, и гавъ проповъдати истыноу. темь же всакымь тьщаникмь кть бывь. привёнь бы кь соудій того времене всего кгупта, иже видъ вь бголюбца дорофеа испльнивь се прости сь кличемь и пръщеникмь выпрашааше, почто смъкши противити се повелънию дрьжещааго вьселкною. Ѿ же кротко и безмльвы, іако же неналежащог на ни кдиномог пръщению безь согмнън(їа гл)ти, zлблоудиль κ послоушающей кго. и Ѿ (права)го поути сьвратише се и аще не Шстанет (се зліє) ток креси, постыгнеть и не по многъ (соудь бжій.) длою сьмртию оуморивь. а ты сам (кь кнед8) гле аще истыны не послоушанш(и оупованіе своє)го троуда пріимеши. соудига ж(є се слышавь тако) сверъпь двърь большими (разгиъвав же се и разго)ръвь се, повъле быти пр(авъднаго. вь дроугы же) днь повелъ люскок игр(ище привъсти и двърми) изъденоу быти и т(ом8 тако бывшоу. Вьсемоу) рекше градоу сь тек(шоу се нарениъмь мъстъ и) привеен бы мни(кь, масличними вънци безакон)никы главоу въ(нчаль, тако еже бьшію образь носе)щь побъдны, (попоущеном же бывшіимь звъремь на мника.) ни юдиномоу же бывшоу попоущению ни Шветоу звърые различныи. Шни же шгнемь же гомы, видъниемь тьчию моужа оустрашивше се, Шбежаше боеше се и еже тьчню вьзирати на нь. нь не годоующоу w томь мникоу, и роуцть кь боу вьатьющог и млещог не погрещити се славы мнига гако же се бъдимь и оумлимь. едина W поущенныхь звърыи дльгопостогавши, притекь хвалити се, кдинъмь хваленимь ребра мника протрыгночвь, паде на ногоч иго гако мле се. не W себе соущоу протрьданию, нь помльшаго се не погръшити се мичьскаго вънца. велицъ же кри(ч)авъ быбши по всемоу подаришоу, и дльго всъмь (вь)пиющимь, великаю въра правовърныхь, (вели)каю въра хътиганьскага. и разиде се по w(бичаю) брати се звърми старъи ловць

стефань и(менемь.) вьдьмь свою понглавь шбвивь ребра стг(о, и вьса)дивь и намше принесеи вь хажвиноу (мичю иж)е мало поживь дхь свои пръда γέν, (ch μησροю ραδος)τίю ενε εν τι χε ενε εжίν πρίνων (έχρ won. πράδαβ) же и ловца бви, даби емоу избы(ти скврьнаго того дъ)ганига и въчнык радости (и міти співити се иже) и бы. кще мало и оуди(ть стефань пръбитій вь) томь двъроловленій (кльнъаше гле іако ега м)ышлю противоу (звероу идлъсти, виждоу стг)о дорофеа посръ ло(вища стоещаа, и Штонеща Ѿ) мене оустрьман(ніе звърнон, іавъ же семоу б)ївшоу **Шпоуш**(ень бывь и стефань біль мрьскаго) того шсоуженіа. бголюбьяно же поживь. добръ W житига сего Wииде. моученоу же бывшоу стомоу дорофею. нъци же 🖫 хотиганьь на тьшиъише w том соуще. доина положише погребению сповише ВЬХРШЕСТОН ТЪЛО **КГ**0. пръдырениъмь мъстъ паремболіи вь самомь мничьскомь монастыріи. вь икм же стага хавбина сьфана бы матвами минка. вь тоиже стви хавбинь всакого ицълкнига наслажаем се. и вси прибъгающеи вь ню недоугомь же и бъсомь прогонимомь, и лютыимь больднемь исцълюемыимь всъмь іако же реши н прибегающіймь вь ню, сь радостию вьзвращаахоу се вь домы свон, всемог же пробенномог мникомь. W томь цри w властех него тако по нки w сем чюдити се. w прорицаній муника сьджано же се бы при кпатоу вальлента авгоуста и промета славнааго праже четвьтій дін wktе. цртвогющог вь въкы гот іс хот бот пшемо, кмот же сла сь шцемь и с πρτετώμαλ δάτωμ и животворещій λίζοπλ τβουμλ νηλ и πόριο и вк.

E-mail: terje.helland@hum.uit.no