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### Homiletic Collections in Greek and Oriental Manuscripts

Edited by Jost Gippert and Caroline Macé

Proceedings of the Conference ‘Hagiographico-Homiletic Collections in Greek, Latin and Oriental Manuscripts – Histories of Books and Text Transmission in a Comparative Perspective’

Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures, Universität Hamburg, 23–24 June 2017

#### Editors

Prof Dr Michael Friedrich

Universität Hamburg

Asien-Afrika-Institut

Edmund-Siemers-Allee 1/ Flügel Ost

D-20146 Hamburg

Tel. No.: +49 (0)40 42838 7127

Fax No.: +49 (0)40 42838 4899

michael.friedrich@uni-hamburg.de

Prof Dr Jörg Quenzer

Universität Hamburg

Asien-Afrika-Institut

Edmund-Siemers-Allee 1/ Flügel Ost

D-20146 Hamburg

Tel. No.: +49 40 42838 - 7203

Fax No.: +49 40 42838 - 6200

joerg.quenzer@uni-hamburg.de

#### Editorial Office

Dr Irina Wandrey

Universität Hamburg

Sonderforschungsbereich 950

‘Manuskriptkulturen in Asien, Afrika und Europa’

Warburgstraße 26

D-20354 Hamburg

Tel. No.: +49 (0)40 42838 9420

Fax No.: +49 (0)40 42838 4899

irina.wandrey@uni-hamburg.de

#### Layout

Astrid Kajsa Nylander

#### Cover

The front cover shows the three church fathers Cyril of Jerusalem, Nicholas of Myra and John Chrysostom in a 16th-century fresco of the Church of the Archangels in Matskhvarishi, Latali, Svanetia (photography by Jost Gippert). All three fathers bear a board with text fragments from the *Liturgy* by John Chrysostom (CPG 4686) in Georgian; the text passage held by Cyril of Jerusalem is the beginning of the sentence რამეთუ სახიერო და კაცთ-მოყუარე ღმერთი ხარ ‘For you are a benevolent and philanthropic God’, which also appears in lines 6–7 of Fig. 1 on p. 2 below (from an 11th-century scroll of the Iviron Monastery on Mt Athos, ms. Ivir. georg. 89).

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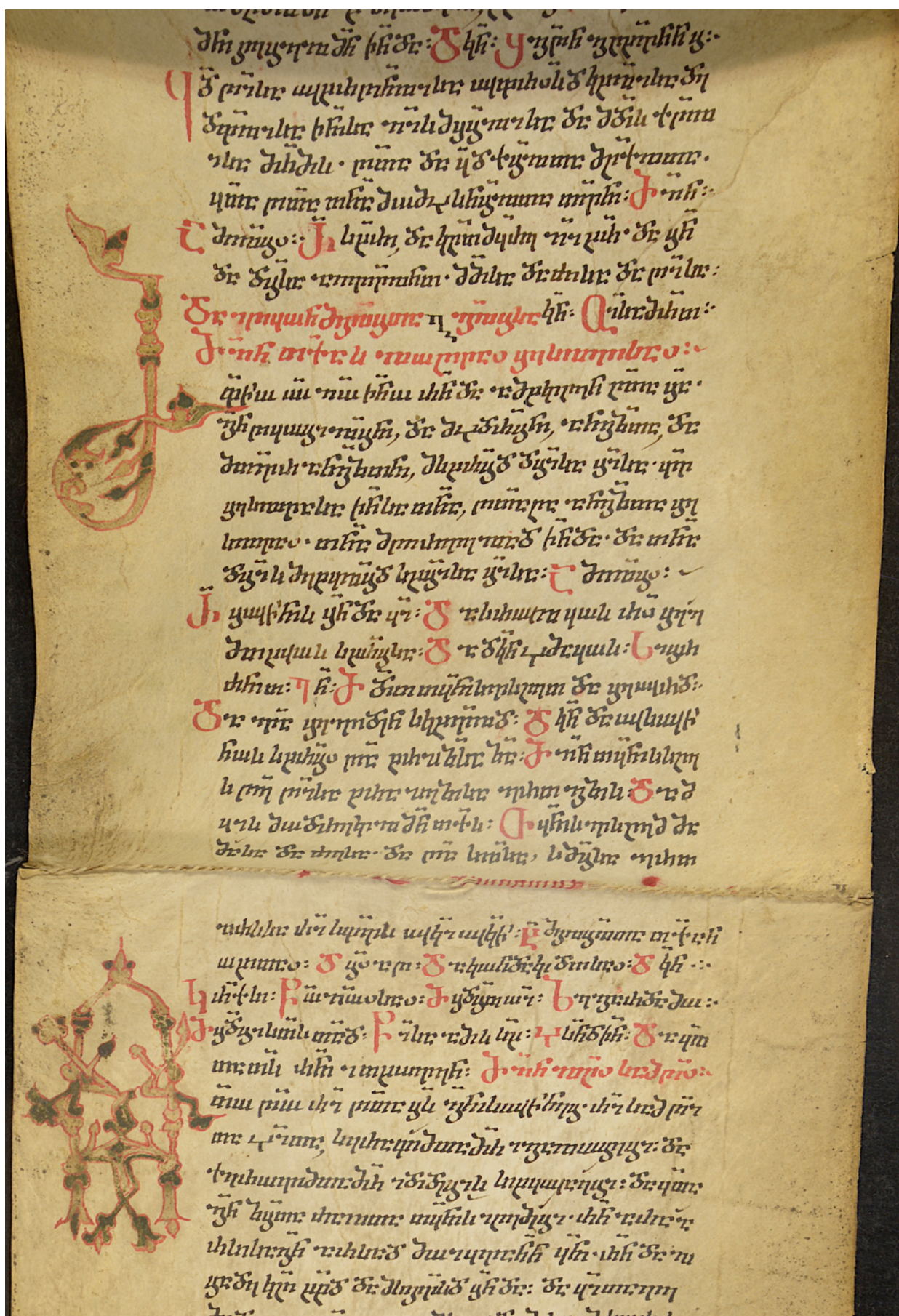


Fig. 1: Mt Athos, Iviron Monastery, georg. 89, 11<sup>th</sup>-century scroll containing the *Liturgy* by John Chrysostom (CPG 4686).

## Introduction

# Homiletic Collections in Greek and Oriental Manuscripts – Histories of Books and Text Transmission from a Comparative Perspective

Jost Gippert and Caroline Macé | Frankfurt a.M., Göttingen

Not much is known about the origins of homiletic collections (collections of sermons by Church Fathers) in Greek. Albert Ehrhard spent his life looking for Greek manuscripts that contain such collections and classifying them according to their content and the principles of their organisation.<sup>1</sup> Despite the large number of manuscripts that he found and described (c.2,750),<sup>2</sup> evidence for the situation before the ninth century remained very meagre, and the success of Symeon Metaphrastes's *Menologium* (a collection of 148 saints' lives) by the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century obscured much of the early history of these collections. In the present volume, which comprises nine scholars' contributions to a special workshop dedicated to homiletic collections,<sup>3</sup> Sever Voicu outlines the oldest Greek homiliaries that have been preserved, drawing some conclusions on the probable date (around the middle of the sixth century), place

(Constantinople) and circumstances of the composition of the original Greek collection – should it ever have existed.

To enhance the research in this field, we believe that a comparative perspective can bring about some new insights on the prehistory of these collections, which were a very important part indeed of Byzantine book production and literary culture. Several paths of research are likely to lead to promising results in this respect: firstly, the comparative study of transmission patterns of the same works within hagiographical collections (collections of saints' lives and legends) and in other types of manuscripts, especially corpora dedicated to one author. Albert Ehrhard already devoted a section of his work to 'Panegyriken<sup>4</sup> einzelner Autoren', especially to Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa and John Chrysostom.<sup>5</sup> For the latter's 'Spezialpanegyrik', see Sergey Kim's and Christian Hannick's contributions in this volume. Regarding Gregory of Nyssa, Matthieu Cassin shows that the situation is especially complicated, with the inclusion of some works in the collections corresponding to various needs in liturgical use, but also depending on peculiar literary and intellectual interests. André Binggeli examines the complex multilingual tradition of Cyril of Scythopolis' *Lives of the Monks of Palestine*, showing that this corpus of monastic *Lives* arrived between the sixth and the eighth century from Palestine (where it was also translated into Syriac and Arabic) both in southern Italy and in Constantinople and how it was rearranged to fit in the liturgical year of the Constantinopolitan rite and was then rapidly subsumed in the metaphrastic collections. Michael

<sup>1</sup> Ehrhard 1937–1952. In his preface, Ehrhard complained vehemently about the difficult conditions under which he had to work: 'Die starken Hemmungen, unter denen ich 40 Jahre gelitten habe, berechtigen mich dazu, eine laute Klage über die ungenügenden Arbeitsverhältnisse der Geisteswissenschaftler zu erheben und noch lauter die Forderung nach einer Verbesserung ihrer Forschungsbedingungen auszusprechen!' (vol. I, vi.) 'The powerful restraints I have suffered from for 40 years provide me justification to express a loud lament about the inadequate working conditions of humanities scholars, and even louder to demand an improvement of their research conditions!'. Not so much has changed in this matter, although we now can sometimes take advantage of digitised catalogues and images of manuscripts.

<sup>2</sup> Sergey Kim is preparing new indices to Ehrhard's work: of saints, of liturgical dates and of *incipits*. Two indices of manuscripts exist (Perria 1979 and Paschke and Risch 2017) and the database of Greek manuscripts *Pinakes* | *Πινάκες: Textes et manuscrits grecs* tends to refer to Ehrhard's volumes systematically.

<sup>3</sup> The workshop was held at the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC) at Universität Hamburg on 23 June 2017 (see the workshop program on p. 5 below). We wish to thank Michael Friedrich and the staff of the Centre, especially Daniela Niggemeier and Christina Kaminski, for having made this workshop possible. Our thanks are also due to the Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, which supported the workshop financially.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. below for the term.

<sup>5</sup> Ehrhard 1937–1952, vol. II (1938), 208–224. The 'liturgical' collections of Gregory of Nazianzus's homilies (see Somers 2002) are most likely an outcome of the complete collections, and the same seems true for the inclusion of some homilies of this Church father in 'Panegyriken'.

Muthreich examines the occurrence of works attributed to Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita in Arabic homiliaries.

As often, looking at the ‘Oriental’ traditions around Byzantium sheds new light on Greek manuscripts. There are of course some difficulties inherent in this kind of comparative approach. In many cases, the state of the art is less advanced and research tools (catalogues, reproductions, etc.) are less developed than for the Greek tradition, as several contributors to the present volume point out. It was surely Ehrhard’s work that instigated the contributions in the fields of Arabic (see Muthreich), Ethiopic (see Bausi), Syriac (see Kim), Armenian (see Outtier), Georgian (see Gippert) and Slavic Studies (see Hannick), but in many cases, this work is only at its beginning and needs to be extended and continued. It also proved important in this context to investigate the terminology that exists in these traditions, differing from the terminology developed by Ehrhard for Greek: terms such as Georgian *mravaltavi* (see Gippert), Armenian *tawnakan* and *čarəntir* (see Outtier), Slavonic *panegirik* and *sbornik* (see Hannick), Syriac *hudrō* (see Kim) or Arabic *kitāb al-mayāmīr* (see Muthreich) all denote homiliaries from a certain point of view, but not necessarily as collections of homilies, as do Armenian *čarəntir*, lit. ‘collection of speeches’, or Arabic *kitāb al-mayāmīr*, lit. ‘book of sermons’, in its turn reflecting Syriac *mimrā* ‘homily’. Armenian *tawnakan*, lit. ‘related to feasts’, is clearly a calque of Greek πανηγυρικόν, in its

turn borrowed into Slavonic *panegirik*; a term that denotes homiliaries with respect to their usage in solemn liturgy. Some terms simply mean ‘collections’ without further specification. This is true, e.g. of Slavonic *sbornik* and Georgian *mravaltavi*, lit. ‘containing many chapters’, the use of which may nevertheless be determined, differentiating homiliaries proper from mixed collections (hymnographic-homiletic as in the case of Syriac *hudrō* or hagiographical-homiletic) or purely hagiographical ones as those designated by Ethiopic *Gadla samā ‘tāt* or *Gadla qəddusān* (see Bausi).

The coexistence of so many different types of collections and so many divergent terms raises several questions that could be only touched upon during the workshop and require further investigation: when and where did the production of ‘homiletic collections’ originate, and for what reason? Do the ‘purer’ collections represent an older stage of development, and is this reflected in the chronology of the manuscript witnesses we have? Is the relation to major ecclesiastical feasts an intrinsic characteristic of the collections or a secondary one? To what extent were collections translated as such from one language to another? And, lastly, what does their representation in manuscript form (concerning the assignment of authors, titles and dates, the style of biblical and other quotations and, in general, the layout) tell us about the chronology of the types and their cross-linguistic interchange? Topics for many further workshops to come...

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## Workshop Program

# Hagiographico-Homiletic Collections in Greek, Latin and Oriental Manuscripts – Histories of Books and Text Transmission in a Comparative Perspective

**A workshop at the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures, Universität Hamburg  
23–24 June 2017**

### Session I: The Greek Tradition (chair: Ekkehard Mühlenberg)

**Sever Voicu, Rome**

The Earliest Greek Homiliaries

**Matthieu Cassin, Paris**

Gregory of Nyssa's Hagiographic Homilies: Authorial Tradition and  
Hagiographico-Homiletic Collections, a Comparison

### Session II: The Coptic, Arabic and Ethiopic Traditions (chair: Sever Voicu)

**Alin Suci, Göttingen**

Greek Patristics in Coptic: Early Translations and Later Systematisations  
within Homiliaries

**Michael Muthreich, Göttingen**

Dionysius Areopagita in the Arabic and Ethiopic Homiletic Tradition

**Antonella Brita & Alessandro Bausi, Hamburg**

A Few Remarks on the Hagiographico-Homiletic Collections in Ethiopic  
Manuscripts

### Session III: Specific Cases of Transmission Through Ancient Translations (chair: Caroline Macé)

**André Binggeli, Paris**

The Transmission of Cyril of Scythopolis' Corpus in Greek and Oriental  
Hagiographico-Homiletic Collections

### Session IV: Instrumenta Studiorum (chair: Jost Gippert)

**Daniel Stoeckl, Paris**

THALES (via video call)

**André Binggeli & Matthieu Cassin, Paris**

BHGms (Pinakes)

**Sergey Kim, München**

Liturgical Index of Ehrhard

**Sever Voicu, Rome**

Pseudo-Chrysostomica: An Online Database

### Session V: The Armenian, Georgian and Slavonic Traditions (chair: Tinatin Chronz)

**Bernard Outtier, Paris**

The Armenian Hagiographic-Homiletic Tradition

**Jost Gippert, Frankfurt**

Codex Vindobonensis Georg. 4: an Untypical *mravaltavi*

**Christian Hannick, Würzburg**

Zusammenstellung und Überlieferung der hagiographisch-homiletischen  
Sammlungen in der slavischen Tradition des Mittelalters

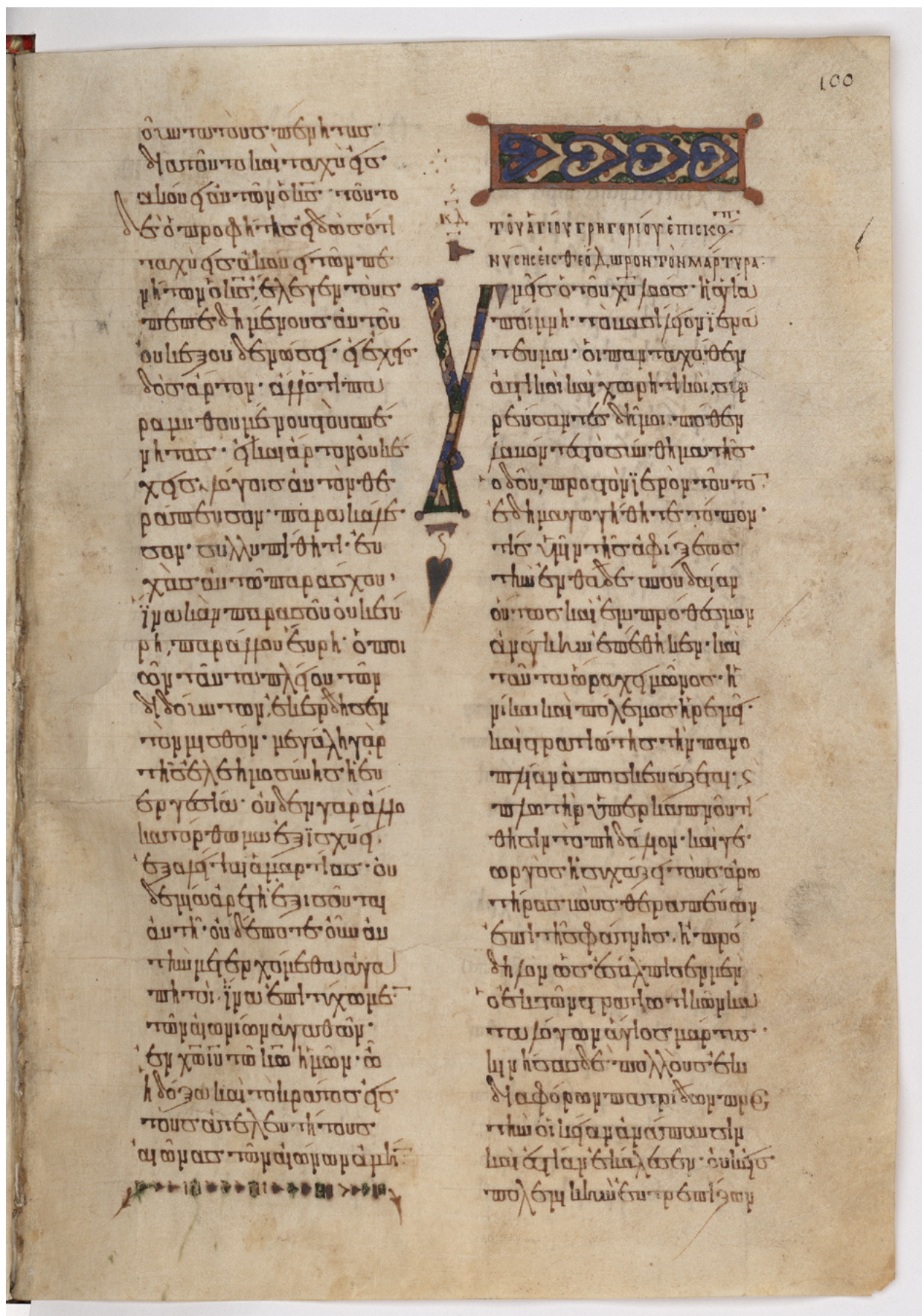


Fig. 2: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottoboni gr. 85, fol. 100<sup>r</sup> (incipit of Gregory of Nyssa, *De s. Theodoro*, see Matthieu Cassin, this volume, (15–28).

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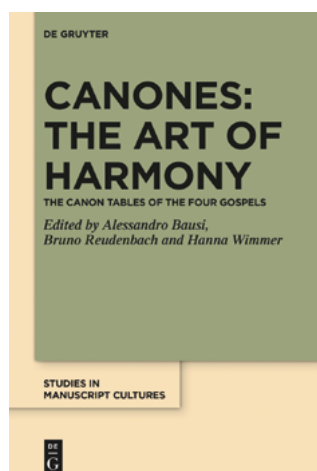
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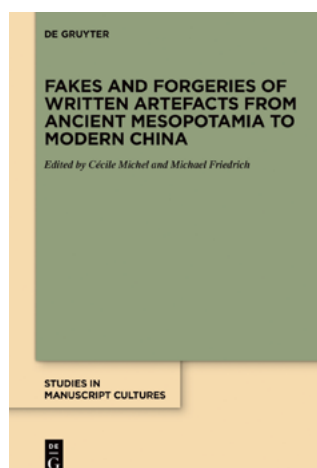


18 – *Canones: The Art of Harmony. The Canon Tables of the Four Gospels*, edited by Alessandro Bausi, Bruno Reudenbach, and Hanna Wimmer

The so-called ‘Canon Tables’ of the Christian Gospels are an absolutely remarkable feature of the early, late antique, and medieval Christian manuscript cultures of East and West, the invention of which is commonly attributed to Eusebius and dated to first decades of the fourth century AD. Intended to host a technical device for structuring, organizing, and navigating the Four Gospels united in a single codex – and, in doing so, building upon and bringing to completion previous endeavours – the Canon Tables were apparently from the beginning a highly complex combination of text, numbers and images, that became an integral and fixed part of all the manuscripts containing the Four Gospels as Sacred Scripture of the Christians and can be seen as exemplary for the formation, development and spreading of a specific Christian manuscript culture across East and West AD 300 and 800.

This book offers an updated overview on the topic of ‘Canon Tables’ in a comparative perspective and with a precise look at their context of origin, their visual appearance, their meaning, function and their usage in different times, domains, and cultures.

New release



20 – *Fakes and Forgeries of Written Artefacts from Ancient Mesopotamia to Modern China*, edited by Cécile Michel and Michael Friedrich

Fakes and forgeries are objects of fascination. This volume contains a series of thirteen articles devoted to fakes and forgeries of written artefacts from the beginnings of writing in Mesopotamia to modern China. The studies emphasise the subtle distinctions conveyed by an established vocabulary relating to the reproduction of ancient artefacts and production of artefacts claiming to be ancient: from copies, replicas and imitations to fakes and forgeries. Fakes are often a response to a demand from the public or scholarly milieu, or even both. The motives behind their production may be economic, political, religious or personal – aspiring to fame or simply playing a joke. Fakes may be revealed by combining the study of their contents, codicological, epigraphic and palaeographic analyses, and scientific investigations. However, certain famous unsolved cases still continue to defy technology today, no matter how advanced it is. Nowadays, one can find fakes in museums and private collections alike; they abound on the antique market, mixed with real artefacts that have often been looted. The scientific community’s attitude to such objects calls for ethical reflection.

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