



Slavonic Quotations from Athanasius' *Orations against the Arians* in Joseph Volotsky and Metropolitan Daniil*

Цитаты из славянского перевода Афанасиевых «Слов против ариан» у Иосифа Волоцкого и митрополита Даниила

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Abstract

This article identifies a set of Slavonic passages from Athanasius' *Orations against the Arians* quoted by Joseph Volotsky and Metropolitan Daniil in opposition to the heresy of Judaizers. These writers are two of the three men (the third one being Zinoviy Otenskiy who is examined in a separate study) that cited Athanasius' work as originally written in Greek and translated to Slavonic in 907 (today preserved in ten manuscripts of Russian origin). This

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study is aimed at exploring the significance of this fact, and it also provides a transcription and analysis of all the quotations by comparing them with the text of the *Orations* in all known manuscripts.

Keywords

Athanasius of Alexandria, *Orations against the Arians*, Joseph Volotsky, Metropolitan Daniil, Archbishop Gennady, heresy of the Judaizers

Резюме

Настоящая статья рассматривает выявленные у Иосифа Волоцкого и митрополита Даниила цитаты из Афанасиевых «Слов против ариан». Их сочинения являются двумя из трех источников русского Средневековья (к третьему относится Зиновий Отенский, анализируемый в отдельной работе), в которых цитируется данный текст, переведенный с греческого на славянский в 907 г. и сохранившийся в десяти русских списках. В статье показано, что взятые из него цитаты были использованы в полемике с ересью живодствующих. Главной целью настоящего исследования является рассмотреть значение этого факта, а также представить непосредственный текст цитат и сопоставительный анализ по всем известным нам спискам, содержащим «Слова против ариан».

Ключевые слова

Афанасий Александрийский, Иосиф Волоцкий, митрополит Даниил, архиепископ Геннадий, ересь живодствующих

It is commonly recognized that the Slavonic translation of Athanasius' *Orations against the Arians* in our possession today was first copied to counter the so-called heresy of the Judaizers active in Veliky Novgorod and Moscow in the late 15th and early 16th centuries. It is much less known, however, that there seem to be only three people who cited this writing around that time: Joseph Volotsky (1439–1515), Metropolitan of Moscow Daniil (1492–1522), and Zinoviy Otenskiy (d. 1571/2). Today, Athanasius' *Orations* are preserved in ten MS witnesses ranging from the late 15th to the mid-17th centuries, and this study is aimed at exploring the issue of reception of this writing in Joseph Volotsky's and Metropolitan Daniil's own works. For the reception of *Orations* in Zinoviy Otenskiy, I would like to refer the readers to my other work in co-authorship with Mikhail Shpakovskiy.¹ In the present article, I will examine the context in which Joseph and Daniil used the *Orations* and the purpose for which they quoted this work. In the Appendix, I provide the extensive quotations cited by Daniil next to the Greek text of *Orations* and the specific MS from which he quoted Athanasius.

¹ [Lytvynenko, Shpakovskiy (forthcoming)].

1. *Orations against the Arians* and the Heresy of the Judaizers

Among the many works of Athanasius of Alexandria (ca. 296/298–373), by far the largest and most significant theological work is the *Orations against the Arians*, CPG 2093 (written between 339–345; henceforth CA I, II, III [Metzler, Savvidis 1998; Idem 2000]). In the year 906, this writing, along with Athanasius' *Epistle to the Bishops of Egypt and Libya*, CPG 2092 (written around 356; henceforth Ep. Aeg. Lib. [Metzler, Hansen, Savvidis 1996]), was translated from Greek to Slavonic by Constantine of Preslav in Eastern Bulgaria.² Since then these texts circulated in the form of a single corpus and under the same title *Orations against the Arians*,³ in which Ep. Aeg. Lib. was given the name of the *Fourth Oration*.⁴

Originally, Athanasius' *Orations* were written to combat the so-called Arian heresy that appeared in Alexandria in the early 4th century. Very soon, that teaching spread throughout the Eastern part of the Roman Empire, denying Christ's divine nature and the Trinity [Behr 2004: 61–122]. In medieval Russia, the same doctrines were rejected by the heretical movement known in the church terminology as the heresy of the Judaizers. According to Alexeyev:

Во-первых, жидовствующие отрицали божественность Сына и Святого Духа и догмат о Святой Троице («Едино господство, едино божество въ Троицы»), но при этом признавали Бога-Отца («да не последуешь тем, иже во Отца веруют, а в Сына не веруют»). Во-вторых, еретики отрицали догмат о богооплещении Христа в человеческий образ и, следовательно, возможность изображения и почитания иконного образа («и покланяемся иконе Спасове, во плоти написаному человеколюбцу Богу нашему, ни привидением, ни мечтанием, но истинным вочеловечением подобен нам по всему, разве греха») [Алексеев 2012: 285–286].

The fact that both Arians and the Judaizers rejected the same fundamental doctrines led scholars to believe that the initial copying of Slavonic *Orations* in medieval Russia was related to the rise of the heresy of the Judaizers (e. g. [Сморгунова 2001; Горина 2012]). Several facts substantiate this point. First, Athanasius' name figures in the letter of the Novgorodian Archbishop Gennady (1410–1505), in which he inquired of the former Archbishop of

² The *First Oration* (based on two MSS) is published by [Vaillant 1954]. The *Second* and the *Third Orations* (based on two MSS) are published by [Пенкова 2015; Eadem 2016]. The *Second Oration* (based on all known MSS) is published by [Lytvynenko 2019]. One later ms [Sin994] is published by [Weiher et al. 2007].

³ In addition to the four *Orations*, the Old Slavonic corpus includes a pseudo-Athanasian text *Epistle on the Celebration of Easter*, published by [Penkova 2008: 279–303]. This writing is a translation of the *Homily on Easter VII* (CPG 4612) attributed to John Chrysostom. The Greek edition is available in [Floëri, Nautin 1957: 111–73].

⁴ Not to be confused with the disputed Greek *Oration IV* in CPG 2230.

Rostov and Jaroslavl' Ioasaf (died in 1514) about whether he had "Athanasius of Alexandria" among his books. The letter (sent in the year 1489) expresses his concern over the increasing growth of the Judaizers, and in the frequently-quoted passage Athanasius comes second in the list of twelve other books:

да є ли ѿ вѣ в кириловѣ, или в фарофѣтѣ, или на каменіо, книги, селивестръ папа рїскы, да афанаси александровскы, да слово комы прозвѣтера, на новоавальшю ересь на богочестии. да посланіе фотія патріарха, ко кнїю борису болгарському. да прѣпѣтства. да была. да цртва, да прѣти. да менандръ. да ісѹ сурдховъ. да логика. да дечнице арепашг. занѣ тѣ книги, оу еретико є [Tro730: 252v].⁵

While the passage does not mention the *Orations* (referring only to the name "Athanasius of Alexandria"), it is quite likely that Gennady meant precisely this work, for he had it copied by Dmitry Gerasimov (preserved in Pog968)⁶ in the same year as he wrote his letter to Ioasaf.⁷ The letter states that "heretics have all these books" (занѣ тѣ книги, оу еретико є), which probably implied that having the same titles among the faithful was all the more important.

Second, we have an important piece of information recorded in the colophon of the scribe Timofey Veniaminov, who made another copy of the *Orations* in Novgorod in the same year, 1489 (preserved in Vol437).⁸ It says that the work of copying was occasioned by the rise of heretics that attacked the doctrines related to Christ's deity and the Trinity:

⁵ This passage has been published multiple times (e. g. [Томеллери 1999]). Since no answer from Ioasaf has survived, scholars dispute whether Gennady's letter was intended to request these twelve books from Ioasaf, or rather to provide them to him if he lacked any [Ibid.]. In my view, the second of these options looks more likely: instead of requesting the books, Gennady wanted to check which of them Ioasaf already had, so that he could provide those that were lacking. This can be supported from the fact that Gennady commissioned his scribes to make copies of different writings and then sent them to the main monastic centers in Russia.

⁶ В аѣ, ѕ. ѕ. ѕ. при великии кнѧжѣ иванѣ и иванѣ сѹи его. при архіепискѣ поноу горѡцко генадїи. написана бы книга сѧ аѳанаси александровскы. в великомъ новѣгородѣ въ владычию дворѣ. повѣтвіемъ діакона герасима поповки. а писалъ братъ его митр. а писана съ списка съ старые книги съ болгарскѣ. а писати есмь вѣвлѣ слово въ слово. въ прѣг҃тѣю шибитель прѣтѣи болгомѣт, и чудотворца кирила. г҃и и г҃и макарію. и братъ его. герасимецъ поповка челъ бїю. помяните ма въ сѹи сѹи мѣлъвѣ а написано въ списѣ вѣ. є. словѣ о празници пасхи. This colophon has been published multiple times (e. g. [Фонич 1977]: 33–34]). For the ms description, see [Vaillant 1954: 12–14; Пенкова 2015: 126–145].

⁷ The letter is published with a brief introduction and ms description in [Казакова, Лурье 1955: 315–320; the passage in question is on p. 320]. The dating of this letter to the year 1489 is based on the only surviving MS that contains this letter [Tro730: 252v], stating: В аѣто ѕ. ѕ. ѕ. ѕ. феврѣ, кї. ѕ. преписахъ сѹи посланіе.

⁸ This MS is often inaccurately dated to the year 1488 based on the colophon in [Vol437: 217v], stating that the scribe "wrote it on October 16th in the year 6997" (писъ послѣнаго сѧ зе, ѕ. ѕ. ѕ. г҃о октѡмѣрїю. т.с.). However, since besides the year (6997), there is a clear indication of the month (October), our starting point should be the year 5008 = 1489, not 5009 = 1488. On this system of chronology, see: [Бережков 1963: 28–41].

в то а^вто зде^се въ преимѣни^{ти} т^у н^еп^оле^вс(е) мнози ѿ^ченники и дїакони; и ѿ прости^х
людїи дїаки юавлиса сквернители на вър^б непорочн^ю велика бѣда постигла гр^а сеи
и колика тма и т^угра постиже м^есто се єт^и вър^б православія ч^ито запечатлѣша єт^и
ш^ици седмиз съевр^и; проповѣд^ию и^ша и сна и єт^иго д^жха въ тр^ици єд^ино бѣ^жтво нераздѣлно
[Vol437: 237v].⁹

The passage ends by stating that the heresy was exposed by Gennady who set out to confront it: №^з въкорѣ исплѣниса о бѣзѣ блгти; д^жха єт^иаго. пресцинн^и архїепискп^о
генадіє; шенажиаъ ѕ еретицества злодѣиство [Vol437: 237v].¹⁰

2. *Orations against the Arians* in Joseph Volotsky's Writings

After Gennady's death, his cause against the Judaizers was taken up by Joseph Volotsky, who is also our main source of information on this movement [Алексеев 2012: 292–382]. He clearly recognized that they considered Christ to be less than God (содѣлах^и х^иленї и оуничиженї на х^и Бг^а) and rejected the equality of the persons of the Trinity (самопроизволн^и ювергшаса С^ияа єдиносѣцныа Т^ицы) [Просветитель 1896: 516, Слово 15]. Apparently, based on this fact he treated the heretics as new Arians (Ар^ие новыи) [Просветитель 1896: 42, Сказание], complaining that they brought back the old heresy. Taking support from the *Life of St. Anthony* (another major text composed by Athanasius and available in Slavonic as early as the 9th century) [Литвиненко 2017], Iosif sought to condemn the heretics in the same way as Anthony did the Arians in his own time:

іако ацие не подобаетъ иною^ш ос^вжати ни еретика ниже юст^ипника, то іако великии
антонїи ос^вжаше ихъ; глаше бо о еретицѣ, іако словеса ихъ лютѣшиа іада змїина:
оу^чники же своя всегда наказ^иѧ, іако да ни коего же пріоб^иженїа имѣть с мелетїаны и
ко ар^ианы и с прочими еретики [Просветитель 1896: 498, Слово 15].

Naturally, Athanasius' *Orations* would have perfectly fit the occasion if Joseph felt the need to use this work as a prooftext against the Judaizers. For what it is worth, he quotes Athanasius fourteen times (of which half is from his genuine texts and half from the pseudographia), and he mentions the name "Athanasius" over thirty times [Литвиненко 2015–2016]. Yet, he makes only two references to the *Orations*. The first one is rather indirect, retelling the account of Arius' death of which Athanasius writes in his *Fourth Oration* (= *Ep. Aeg. Lib. 19*):

⁹ See the photographs of this colophon in [Фонкіч 1977: 32].

¹⁰ See the photographs of this colophon in [Ibid.].

Просветитель 1896: 524–525, Слово 15	Fourth Oration = Ep. Aeg. Lib. 19 (from [Vol437: 212v–213r])	Ep. Aeg. Lib. 19 [Metzler, Hansen, Savvidis 1996: 59]
<p>И свидѣтельствуетъ бѣжинныи Алѣксандръ патріархъ Констант'яна града, иже баше в постѣ тергблнѣвъ всегда, и в мѣтвахъ пребывала вѣно. Сгдаже бысть совороз на злоустиваго Ариа, и по изверж'ии его науатъ каатиса лестно, а не истинно, и бѣгѹтиаго цѣла Константина молаше, яко да повелитъ прѣати его на покланїе, цѣль же повелѣвъ Алѣксандръ прѣати Ариа на покланїе, Алѣксандръ же, вѣдьи Ариево злодѣиственое ѩ злоустивое коварство, не смѣаше прѣати его на обѣженїе и цѣла пресловѣшати таковаго не хоташе, и въ недоумѣнїи баше, и абѣи мѣтвами и бѣднѣемъ и слезами теплѣишиими и постомъ бываєтъ мѣтвеникъ ко Вѣлцѣ Ѣдѣ, яко да сотворитъ полезное, оуслышана же бысть мѣтва его, и абѣи разг҃едеса Арие.</p>	<p>конурина же дрѣева. елмаже не въ простѣ вѣ. того дѣлма и повѣсти достоина є. евсевіевъ во ѹѣ пратаціимъ вѣвести его въ цѣков. епісію же константина града алѣксандръ прааше. дрѣи же повадаше нѣжко; и прещенни евсевіевыми. сѣбота же вѣаше; и надѣашеса на Ѹтря в литбргію прѣити. многа ѹбо тѣга. въ нѣмъ ѹбо престаціимъ. алѣксандръ же молацѣса. но ѿ сѣдїи вывѣ; въздрѣ на ѡбидашї. не ѹбо слѣнци зашло вѣаше. и въ едино шѣ захода дѣлма ѹѣ спадеса. и вѣоего. коміканіа же и живота; абѣи лишенъ бысть.</p>	<p>τὸ δὲ τέλος Ἀρείου, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἀπλῶς γέγονε, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ διηγήσεως ἀξιόν ἔστι. τῶν γὰρ περὶ Εὐσέβιον ἀπειλούντων εἰσαγαγεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὁ μὲν ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Ἀλέξανδρος ἀντέλεγεν, ὁ δὲ Ἀρείος ἐθάρρει τῇ βίᾳ καὶ ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς Εὐσέβιον· σάββατον γὰρ ῆν, καὶ προσεδόκα τῇ ἔξῆς συνάγεσθαι. πολὺς τοίνυν ἀγὼν ἦν ἐκείνων μὲν ἀπειλούντων, Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ εὐχομένου· ἀλλ’ ὁ κύριος κριτὴς γενόμενος ἐβράβευσε κατὰ τῶν ἀδικούντων. οὕπω γὰρ ὁ ῆλιος ἔδι καὶ χρείας αὐτὸν ἐλκυσάσης εἰς τόπον ἐκεῖ κατέπεσε καὶ ἀμβοτέρων τῆς τε κοινωνίας καὶ τοῦ ζῆν εὐθὺς ἐστερήθη.</p>

From the above table, it is clear that Joseph's account is lacking the fact that the story took place on Saturday and that Alexander was threatened by the Eusebians who intended to force Arius back into the church. On the other hand, Joseph's version adds a few elements that are missing in the *Oration*: it says that the event took place immediately after the Council's condemnation and that Arius repented (though not sincerely), pleading to the Emperor Constantine to restore him. The motif of repentance is also missing in the classical patristic descriptions of Arius' death: Athanasius' *Epistle to Serapion on the Death of Arius* [Opitz 1940: 178–180], *Panarion* of Epiphanius of Salamis [Holl 1933: 146–147], and Rufinus' *Church History* [Schwartz 1908, 1.13–14]. Nothing is said of Arius' repentance in the two *Lives of Athanasius*, of which at least one was familiar to Joseph, who directly mentions it [Просветитель 1896: 442, Слово 11]. The one

text that does refer to Arius' repentance is the *Chronicle* of George Hamartolos [Истрин 1920: 344] (available in Slavonic since the 11th century), but there is no evidence that Joseph used it for his account of Arius' death.

Another reference to the *Orations* comes when Joseph considers the issues of biblical interpretation. This time, Joseph clearly refers to the statement from the *First Oration* 1.54, but instead of giving a direct quote, he paraphrases it:

Просветитель 1896: 406–407, Слово 15	First Oration (from [Vol437: 54r])	First Oration 1.54 [Metzler, Savvidis 1998: 164]
Пищреиу оубо есть. иже вожественнаа писанія раззмѣти хотаца. гѣть великии афонасе, истазати съ многымъ шпѣствомъ плоды и лица и оумъ гѣющао. сего ради гѣть вѣтвении алѣз, яко писмѡ Ѥмрѣцъвлаѧ.	победет же якоже. о всѣ б҃жїа книги. лѣпо є творити. и нѣжа є. якоже и в се мѣсто в неже врема ре апї. и лице и притуа. есаже рѣ "написалъ є вѣро раззмѣвати.	δεῖ δέ, ὡς ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς θείας γραφῆς προσήκει ποιεῖν καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἐστιν, οὕτω καὶ ἐνταῦθα καὶ δὲ εἴπεν ὁ ἀπόστολος καὶ ρὸν καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα διόπερ ἔγραψε πιστῶς ἐκλαμβάνειν.

Joseph modifies Athanasius' triplet *врема и лицо и притуа* (*χαιρός, πρᾶγμα, πρόσωπον*) by changing the first and the third words to his own: *плоды и лица и оумъ*. Whether deliberately adjusting this passage or borrowing an already revised version from elsewhere, it is evident that Joseph had the same concern as Athanasius: ignoring these three aspects could lead one to heresy.

While the evidence that Joseph used the *Orations* is quite scarce, we do know that one of the ten MSS containing this text (i. e. *Vol437*, copied in 1489)¹¹ used to belong at some point to the Iosifo-Volokolamsky Monastery directed by Joseph from 1479 to 1515. Written initially in Novgorod, this very MS was later used by Joseph's disciple and successor in the Iosifo-Volokolamsky Monastery, Daniil, who later became the Metropolitan of Russia (1522–1539).

3. *Orations against the Arians* in Metropolitan Daniil's Writings

Sometime either in the 1520s¹² or 1530s,¹³ Daniil composed the so-called *Sobornik* in which he placed five extensive quotations from Athanasius' *Third Oration* (see Appendix, col. 3). In the year 1531, he used the same quotations to draw up a polemical writing, conventionally called *Sudnoe Delo Vassiana Patrikeyeva* (see Appendix, col. 4). The context in which Daniil quoted Athanasius was his polemic with Vassian Patrikeyev (ca. 1470—after 1531), whom

¹¹ First described by [Иером. Иосиф, 1882: 73–74], and later by [Фонкич 1977: 26–37].

¹² This date is suggested by [Журова 2020:145].

¹³ This date is suggested by [Стариков 2014а: 12, n. 13] and [Жмакин 1881: 321].

he accused of teaching a heresy that believed Christ's body to be immortal before his resurrection (ερεσίς οὐταλβηνομνήμογο). According to Daniil, that heresy undermined the reality of Christ's Incarnation, and he argued for a doctrine that recognized Christ as fully God and man: δα οὐκέτι βούδε ερετικός. и да никтъ пріимѣ злою и пагоубною ереси, нетаъвнномнмноу. но да всакъ вѣроуѣ и исповѣдаєт, съвершена тѣ єга, и съвѣршена тѣ ѡлка [Sob197: 121v].

Today, Daniil's *Sobornik* is preserved in nine MSS, of which the best one is *Sob197*, and it is available in the edition by Zhurova [Журова 2020: 471–836]. The text of *Sudnoe Delo* was published by Kazakova from *Sud17* [Казакова 1960: 285–318], and it is our only source that contains this text. Even though Daniil's quotations are too fragmentary for a thorough collation, they have given me enough evidence to establish the fact that he cited them from *Vol437*.

As it is shown in the first set of examples marked with the MSS sigla for the twelve witnesses that contain Athanasius' *Orations*,¹⁴ Daniil's quotations (*MN*) follow the group *DEFGHKL*, in which *D* is the MS from the Iosifo-Volokolamsky Monastery:

<i>Quot. 2</i>	ιακὸν εἰς ὅποις σιχὸν] ABC, ιακὸν omitted in DEFGHKL , ὅτι ἐν ἑκατέρῳ τούτων
<i>Quot. 2</i>	πεπονὶ есть] ABC, естьписано DEFGHKL , γέγραπται
<i>Quot. 2</i>	си аже] ABC, си DEFGHKL , ταῦτα ἀπερ
<i>Quot. 3</i>	τεβοραштил дѣла отъ га] ABC, ѿѣла твօրаціїл дѣла DEFGHKL , ποιοῦντος ... тѣ ՚рга той патрѡс
<i>Quot. 4</i>	Слово во плахъ бысть] ABC, во omitted in DEFGHKL , “о” γὰρ “Λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο” γινώσκετε
<i>Quot. 5</i>	тѣ во пахъ достоинъ] ABC, во omitted in DEFGHKL , ἀξιόπιστος γὰρ οὗτος γινώσκετε

Whenever *D* offers readings that are different from *EFGHKL*, Daniil's quotations keep following *D*:

<i>Quot. 1</i>	κ τομδ̄ βεσтрѣтна] ABCDMN , κτо βεстрѣтна EFGHKL, λοιπὸν ἀπαθῆς
<i>Quot. 1</i>	по своемъ сжѣтствѣ] ABCEFGHKL , по своемъ сѣꙗтствѣ DMN , κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτῆς φύσιν
<i>Quot. 3</i>	μηδὲ не вѣроуете] ABC, не вѣрѹете ми DMN , не вѣроуете EFGHKL, ἐμοὶ μὴ πιστεύητε
<i>Quot. 4</i>	даште ли твориц] ABCDMN , даше ли твора EFGHKL, εἰ δὲ ποιῶ
<i>Quot. 4</i>	видите] A, видѣте BHL , видите CDMN , видѣ EGK , видит F , γινώσκετε
<i>Quot. 5</i>	γаша] ABCDMN , γаши EFGHKL, тѣ ποτήριον γινώσκετε

¹⁴ *Pog968* (A); *Ovc791* (B); *Nik59* (C); *Vol437* (D); *Sin20* (E); *Sol63* (F); *Sof1321* (G); *Tsa180* (H); *Sin994* (K); *Ovc99* (L); *Sob197* (M); *Sud17* (N).

This situation reflects the results of my fuller collation of the entire *Third Oration*, from which Daniil borrows the quotes. First of all, my collation shows that ABCD were independently copied from the now lost Old Bulgarian protograph, and second—of these four, D is the protograph for E, and E is the ms that forms the group of five other witnesses that ascend from it: FGHKL (Lytvynenko 2019: 37–48). When we add Daniil's quotations to the picture, we find the material that is of secondary importance for establishing the protograph (due to it being a descendant of D), but of vast importance as a witness to the history of the text. To appreciate Daniil's quotations as this type of witness, we should briefly look into the way they function in his *Sobornik* and *Sudnoe Delo*.

In *Sobornik*, the quotations appear within the *Oration on the Incarnation of Christ* (ѡ въплъщениї гѧ нашего ісѧ хѧ), which is the fifth and largest *Oration* out of the other sixteen in that writing (ff. 119–204). According to Starikov, this *Oration* can be divided into three major sections [Стариков 2014а: 10–16]. It begins with the idea that Christ assumed true human nature as opposed to a belief that he only seemed to be human. This point is supported with biblical and patristic texts that speak about Christ having a true human soul and the fact that his body was mortal before he was raised from the dead, yet immortal immediately after. This is followed by the second section, where Daniil offers a detailed analysis of various heretical movements, in particular, Gnostics, Marcionites, Manicheans, Arians, and Monophysites. They are said to have distorted the doctrine of Christ's Incarnation and for that were condemned by the conciliar decisions of the Church. In the concluding section, Daniil discusses the so-called hypostatic union (a Christological formula concerning Christ's two natures united in one person from the Chalcedonian Definition in 451), as well as the Incarnation, with relevant support from the Church Fathers.

Within this structure, Athanasius is quoted twice, and all the passages come from the *Third Oration* (see Appendix, col. 3). First, we have a passage from CA III.57.30–58.1-8 (ff. 129r–129v) in the first section of Daniil's writing. Here, he uses Athanasius to argue that resurrection rendered Christ's human body immortal. The next place where Daniil quotes Athanasius is in the third section. This time, he cites a set of passages placed one after another in the following sequence: CA III.56.1–11 (ff. 176r–176v); CA III.55.11–16 (ff. 176v–177r); CA III.32.1–19 (ff. 177r–177v); CA III.34.1–14 (ff. 177v–178v). These quotes are employed to explain how Christ, being God, could experience bodily passions and undergo sufferings necessary for the salvation of man. In this scheme, Daniil appropriates the Athanasian texts with a twofold purpose: first, to affirm the traditional doctrine of Christ's two natures united in one person; and second, to explain how this relates to the doctrine of salvation. In short, Daniil wanted his opponents to realize that incorrect Christology (first quotation block) inevitably led to an incorrect soteriology, making the salvation of man impossible (second quotation block).

In a simplified form, the same motifs that we find in Daniil's *Oration on the Incarnation of Christ* are reiterated in his *Sudnoe Delo*. He changes the order of his arguments and shortens the quotations from the Scriptures and Church Fathers, though not from Athanasius. It is possible that such modifications had to do with the nature of this work written as a type of stenographical record from the court trial against Daniil's opponent Vassian Patrikeyev [Стариков 2014а: 19–21]. He cites the same passages as in his *Sobornik* but arranges them differently (see Appendix, col. 4). The first set of quotations appears in the midst of other patristic texts directed against the heresy of monophysitism: CA III.56.1–11 (ff. 355v–356v); CA III.55.11–16 (f. 356v); CA III.32.1–19 (ff. 356v–357v); CA III.34.1–14 (ff. 357v–358v). The second passage quoted from Athanasius is CA III.57.30–58.1–8 (f. 423v). It comes in the very last folio of the codex and ends abruptly, preserving only part of the text. Daniil uses this passage to support his claim that Christ possessed two natures united in one person.

It is worth noting that Daniil consistently selects the quotations from Athanasius' *Third Oration*, and not from either the *First* or the *Second Orations*. In contrast to the first two *Orations*, whose emphasis is distinctly Trinitarian, the *Third Oration* is much more focused on the issues of Christ's Incarnation. During the Christological controversies in the 5th and 7th centuries, chapters 25–56 of the *Third Oration* circulated in Byzantium as a separate writing [Mereschini, Norelli 2005: 34]. Therefore, the fact that Daniil drew from the same chapters for his own Christology should not be surprising. Rather, in citing these passages, Daniil followed a well-established tradition that saw Athanasius as a helpful resource for resolving the Christological issues.

In conclusion, both Joseph Volotsky and Metropolitan Daniil provide some beautiful examples of the reception of Athanasius' *Orations against the Arians* in medieval Russia. Their careful selection of quotes from the *Orations* shows that a 4th-century text was able to serve the purposes of the new context, in which the heresy of the Judaizers undermined the same doctrines that were denied by the Arians. My collation of Daniil's quotations has shown that he drew them from the Volokolamsky ms, which was probably available to him during the time he served as abbot at the Iosifo-Volokolamsky Monastery. Be it as it may, the fact that both Joseph and Daniil found it helpful to employ the *Orations* shows that Gennady's desire to make Athanasius available in the first place proved to be highly effective.

Appendix

The table below offers five quotations from Athanasius' third *Oration* in two works of Metropolitan Daniil: *Sobornik* and *Sudnoe Delo*. They are placed in col. 3 for *Sobornik* (marked as M) and in col. 4 for *Sudnoe Delo* (marked as N). For comparison, the same passages are also given from the Metzler–Savvidis

Greek edition in col. 1, and from *Vol437* in col. 2, which I believe to have been the codex from which Daniil copied his quotations. Unlike Zhurova [Журрова 2020: 571–572, 603–605] and Kazakova [Казакова 1960: 302–304, 318], who published Daniil’s texts in modern Russian script, I transcribed Daniil’s quotations in Slavonic, keeping them exactly as they appear in the manuscripts.

QUOTATION 1

CA III.57.30–58.1-8 [Metzler, Savvidis 2000: 370]	Vol437(D): 185v–186r	Sob197(M): 129r–129v [Журова 2020: 1–572]	Sud17(N): 423v [Казакова 1960: 318]
<p>Πειρὶ τούτου καὶ Δαβὶδ φάλλει· “οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψεις τὴν φυγήν μου εἰς ἄδην οὐδὲ δώσεις τὸν ὅσιόν σου ἵδεῖν διαφθοράν”. Ἐπερπε γάρ, φθαρτὴν οὕσαν τὴν σάρκα, μηκέτι κατὰ τὴν ἔαυτῆς φύσιν μένειν θυντήν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν ἐνδυσάμενον αὐτὴν Λόγον ἄφθαρτον διαμένειν. Ὡς γάρ αὐτὸς, γενόμενος ἐν τῷ ἡμῶν σώματι τὰ ἡμῶν ἐμμιήσατο, οὕτως ἡμεῖς δεξαμένοι τοῦτον τῆς παρ’ ἑκείνου μεταλαμβάνομεν ἀθανασίας.</p> <p>Μάτην τοίνουν σκανδαλίζεσθαι προσποιοῦνται καὶ μικρὰ νοοῦσιν οἱ Ἀρειομανῆται περὶ τοῦ Λόγου, εἰ γέγραπται, “ἐταράχθη” καὶ “ἐκλαυσεν”. Ἔοικαστι γάρ μηδὲ ἀνθρωπίνην αἰσθήσας ἔχειν, ἀγνοοῦντες τὴν τὸν ἀνθρώπων φύσιν καὶ τὰ τούτων ἕδαι· διὸ καὶ μᾶλλον ἔδει θαυμάζειν, ὅτι ἐν τοιαύτῃ πασχούσῃ σαρκὶ ἦν ὁ Λόγος, καὶ οὕτε ἐκώλυε τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας οὔτε ἔξεδίκει.</p>	<p>[185v] ο τομήκε ι ἀδὲ ποέ νε ωσταψιν διώλ μολ εν ἀδὲ νῑ δασι ψε πρόπονος̄ σωσεμ̄ βιδέτηιης ισταλην̄. πόδα ψε ω ταλην̄ ελψι ψοτη; δέκε νε ωσταδι εη πο σωσεμ̄ ελψιψτεδ̄ σμρτην̄. νο να ωλεκσαγο са в нδ словесе, бес тла пребывати. иако бо са бывъ в наше тѣбѣ; наше все држалъ є. та ко же мы прнемше его; бесмртъ его пригцаляемса без ума ѿбо творатса блажн прымати. и хд дѣ раздмтвю ароненестовни w словеси аще писано є възметеса и плакаса. мнѣ ли бо са . ни ψлуксда естества имѣща; не раздмтвие страги ψлуксіа. и своя й. ихже дѣ лама паче достоиаше чюдитися иако въ та ко страждѣши плоти, въаше слово. и не въз браниль є възстаніем на ны; нӣ</p>	<p>[129r] велїка̄ αφανасіѧ ѡ слова є на дріаны О том же и дѣдѣ ποέ. не оставиши δω̄ мою въ адѣ. ни даси же прѣно моу σωσεμоу βιδέτηιης ισταλην̄. под баше бо талѣнне сѹчи ψοти, оуж не остати εη πο σωσεμоу ελψиψтвоу σμртн̄. но за облекшагоса в ню словесе вѣ тла пребывати. иако бо [129v] самъ бывъ в наше тѣбѣ наше все πο држалъ есть. такоже и мы прем̄ ψе его. бесмртъ его пригцаляемса. вѣ з оума ѿбо творатса блажн прымати, и хоудѣ раздомтвю дріане зла чтвиин w словеси. аще писано є. въз матеса и плакаса. мнѣли бо соут̄ ни ψлуксда єтва имѹциа. не раздѹ мѣнице стрѣ ψлуксіа; и своя ихъ. и ихже дѣлама паче достоиаше чюдитися. иако в тақовѣи страждѣши ψлоти въаше слово. и не възбраниль єсть</p>	<p>[423v] Велико̄ αφонасиѧ ѡ слова еже на дрианы Дѣкъ поеть. не ωтавиши дѣшоу мою во адѣ ни даси же прѣподомоу σωσεм̄ вѣтн̄ и тлѣнне. Подобаше бо талѣннѣ сѹчи ψлоти оуже не ωтати ета по ѿсемоу εлpsiштвоу смртн̄ но за ѡлекшшего а в ню словесе. вѣ тла пребыва вать. иакоже бо самъ бывъ в наше тѣбѣ все πорожало єть такодѣ и мы приемьши его бемртие его пригцаляемса вѣ оума ѿбо тво ратъса блажн приимати и хоѹ раздомтвю дриане</p>

CA III.57.30–58.1-8 [Metzler, Savvidis 2000: 370]	Vol437(D): 185v–186r	Sob197(M): 129r–129v [Журова 2020: 1–572]	Sud17(N): 423v [Казакова 1960: 318]
κατὰ τῶν ἀναιρούντων καίπερ δυνάμενος ὁ ἄλ- λους κωλύσας ἀποθα- νεῖν, καὶ ἀποθανόντας ἐγέίρας ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, ἄλλ ἡνεύχετο πάσχειν τὸ ἔδιον σῶμα. “Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἐλήγη- θεν”, ὡς προεῖπον, ὅν σαρκὶ πάθη καὶ λοιπὸν ἀπαθῆς καὶ ἀθάνατος ἡ σάρξ κατασκευασθῆ	μιμασθε ὑγιεῖα ιοῦ, α и могры възбранивии инъемъ Ѹмре ти; и ѹмершій въставивъ из мртвы. но попѣ циаше [186г] страдати своемъ тѣлѣ. того бо дѣла ма и приде ѧко реко: Да плотію постраждѣт. и к томъ вѣстгтина и бесмртна плѣ сътворена вѣде	въстремимъ на нь. ни мица ше оүгиванющи, а и могри. възбра нивии инъемъ оумрети. и ѹмершій въставивъ из мртвы. но попѣ циаше страдати своему тѣлѣ. то дѣлама и приде ѧко реко. да плотію постраждѣ. и к томоу вѣстгтина и бесмртна плѣ сътворена вѣдѣ.	[MS abruptly ends here].

QUOTATION 2

СА III.56.1–11 [Metzler, Savvidis 2000: 367–368]	Vol437(D): 183v–184r	Sob197(M): 176r–176v [Журова 2020: 603–604]	Sud17(N): 355v–356v [Казакова 1960: 302–303]
<p>”Εδεις δὲ ἀκούοντας μὲν αὐτοὺς, “Ἐγώ καὶ ὁ Πατήρ ἐν ἐσμεν”, μίαν ὄραν τὴν θεότητα καὶ τὸ ἴδιον τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρός, ἀκούοντας δὲ τὸ, “ἐχλαυσε” καὶ τὰ ὅμοια ταῦτα τοῦ σώματος ἴδια λέγειν, μάλιστα ὅτι ἐν ἑκατέρῳ τούτων ἔχουσι τὴν ἀφορμὴν εὐλογον, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ὡς περὶ Θεοῦ γέγραπται, τὸ δὲ διὸ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον αὐτοῦ σῶμα λέγεται. Οὐ γάρ ἐν ἀσωμάτῳ τὰ τοῦ σώματος ἀν ἐγεγόνει, εἰ μὴ σῶμα λαβθών ἦν φυχτὸν καὶ θυητόν – θυητὴ γάρ ἦν ἡ ἀγία Μαρία, ἐξ ἣς ἦν καὶ τὸ σῶμα. Διὸ καὶ ἀνάγκη ἐν πάσχοντι σώματι καὶ κλαίοντι, καὶ κάμνοντι γενομένου αὐτοῦ αὐτοῦ</p>	<p>[183v] Πῶμαπε же им слышащем. азъ и ѿцъ едїно есвѣ. Едїно бѣтво видѣти по своимствѹ есстества ѿца. слышащє же. Еже плака лса; и поинъ. тѣ своя телеси глати паче въ w бои си имѣтъ винѣ иако и погоди и иако вво иако же въ єзѣ є писано. ввоже за члѣсіаго тѣла его глѣтса. не выва бо въ бесплоти; плоскад. аще не бы тѣло възлъ таинно и смртно. смртна бо баше стаа мариа; ѡ ная же вѣ и тѣло. тѣмже и ножа є. въ страждци тѣло и пѣ чли и т҃рѣжкоциса вывш</p>	<p>[176r] Подобаше же имъ слышащем, азъ и ѿцъ едино есвѣ. Едїно бѣтво вѣдѣти, по свимствѹ естества ѿца. слышащє еже плакалъ са и подобенъ тѣ своя тѣлеси глати . паче въ осои сихъ имоу вину иако по добноу. Понеже ово иако въ єзѣ г҃и сано є. ввоже за члѣсіаго тѣла его глѣтса. не выва бо въ бесплоти плоскад. аще не бы тѣло възлъ [176v] таинно, и смртно. смртна бо вѣ аше стаа мариа.ѡ ная же вѣ и тѣло хѣ тѣмже и ножа есть въ страждци </p>	<p>[355v] Великѣ афонасна ѿ слѣ иже на арианы. Подобаше имъ слышащїи. азъ ѡцъ єдино євѣ едїно бѣтво вѣти по євонст вѣ [356г] ѿца слышащє. еже плака сѧ. и поинъ тѣ своя тѣлеси глати . паче же во w бои си имѣтъ винѣ иако поинъ. понѣ ово иако о єзѣ писано єть, ово же за члѣсіаго тѣла. его глѣтса. не выва бо въ бесплоти плоскад. аще не бы тѣло възлъ таинно и смртно смртное бо баше стаа мариа дѣца ѿ ней євѣ и тѣло хѣ тѣмѣ є и ножа є въ траждѹщє с.</p>

CA III.56.1–11 [Metzler, Savvidis 2000: 367–368]	Vol437(D): 183v–184r	Sob197(M): 176r–176v [Журова 2020: 603–604]	Sud17(N): 355v–356v [Казакова 1960: 302–303]
<p>λέγεσθαι μετὰ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ταῦτα, ἀπερ ἐστὶν Ἰδια τῆς σαρκός. Εἴ τε τοίνυν ἔχλαυσε καὶ ἑταράχθη, οὐκ ἦν ὁ Λόγος, ἢ Λόγος ἐστὶν, ὁ κλαίων καὶ ταρασσόμενος, ἀλλὰ τῆς σαρκὸς ἕδιον ἦν τοῦτο· εἰ δὲ καὶ παρεκάλεσε “παρελθεῖν τὸ ποτήριον”, οὐκ ἦν ἡ θεότης ἡ δειλιῶσα, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος ἦν ἕδιον καὶ τοῦτο τὸ πάθος.</p>	<p>εμδ. того глагиса и съ твѣши; и сіа сѹть плоти своя. аще ѹбо [184г] или плақалса є и сматеса. не бꙗше слово. аще слово є смѣщаемое и плаѹаса; но плоти то бꙗше свое. аще ли же и молила є пренти чаши не бѣ бжѣтво боащѣа; но ѹлуства бѣ своя и та стѣть.</p>	<p>твѣль, и плаѹици, и трѹжаюциша бывши емоу. тогѡ глагиса и съ твѣло. и сіа соу плоти своя. аще ѹбо или плақаса. но плоти то бꙗше свое. аще ли и молила є. пренти чаши. не бѣ бжѣтво боащѣа; но ѹлуства бѣ своя та стѣть.</p>	<p>твѣле. И плаѹици и трѹжаюциша бывши емоу тогѡ глагиса и съ твѣло. И сіа соу плоти своя. аще ѹбо или плақаса еси. не бꙗше слово смѣщаемо плаѹе по плоти то бꙗше. свое аще ли же и молила єи. прииди ти чаши. не вѣ бжѣтво боащѣа но ѹлуства бѣ своя [356v] та стѣтъ</p>

QUOTATION 3

CA III.55.11–16 [Metzler, Savvidis 2000: 366–367]	Vol437(D): 183r	Sob197(M): 176v–177r [Журова 2020: 604]	Sud17(N): 356v [Казакова 1960: 303]
<p>ὁ καὶ τὸ σῶμα παθητὸν δεικνὺς ἐν τῷ ἀφιέναι κλαίειν καὶ πεινᾶν αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ Ἰδια τοῦ σώματος ἐν αὐτῷ φαίνεσθαι. ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τῶν τοιούτων ἐγνώριζεν, ὅτι Θεὸς ὁν ἀπαθῆς σάρκα παθητὴν ἔλαβεν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἔργων ἐδείκνυεν ἔαυτὸν Λόγον ὄντα τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ὑστερον γενόμενον ἀνθρωπὸν λέγων· καν ἐμοὶ μὴ πιστεύητε βλέποντες ἀνθρώπινόν με περιβεβλημένον σῶμα, ἀλλὰ καν τοῖς ἔργοις πιστεύσατε, ἵνα γνῶτε, ὅτι ἐγώ ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ ὁ Πατήρ ἐν ἐμοὶ.</p>	<p>[183г] и поика[завый] твѣло стѣгно; еже попѣчати емд. плақатиса и алкати. и своя телеси на нем поика[зоватьиса]. сими во знаемъ бываше. яко бѣ съ бестрѣтенъ; плоть стѣтною прїатъ. ѿ дѣлъ же плоть стѣтною прїатъ; ѿ дѣлъ же показашеса слово сѹци б҃жїе. и послаѣже бывша ѹлвка. аще не вѣроѣте ми; видаше ма въ ѹлвкое твѣло моимъ вѣрѣ имите. да разумѣтъ; яко дѣлъ въ ѹлвкѣ и вѣ мнѣ.</p>	<p>[176v] тогѡ: показавши и твѣло стѣтно, еже плақатиса и алкати. и своя твѣлеси на не показоватиса. сими бо зnaemъ бываше яко б҃жїе съи. бестрѣтенъ; плоть стѣтною прїатъ. ѿ дѣлъ же показовашеса слово соѹци б҃жїе. и послаѣже бывша ѹлвка. аще не вѣроѣте мнѣ видаше ма [177г] въ ѹлвкое твѣло моимъ вѣрѣ имите. да разумѣтъ; яко дѣлъ въ ѹлвкѣ и вѣ мнѣ.</p>	<p>[356v] Того. Показавши то твѣло стѣтно еже попоуца ти емоу плақатиа алката ти. и своя твѣлеси. на мнѣ по[казоватьиа]. сими бо зnaemъ бываше яко б҃жїе съи. бестрѣтенъ; плоть стѣтною прїатъ. ѿ дѣлъ же показова шна. слово соѹци б҃жїе. и по[казоватьиа]. слово соѹци б҃жїе. и пôде же бывша ѹлвка гла аще мнѣ вероуетъ мнѣ видаше ми. во ѹлвкое твѣло моимъ кшнѣа. но по дѣломъ моимъ вероу имите. да разумѣтъ; яко дѣлъ во ѹлвкѣ. и ѹлвкѣ во мнѣ.</p>

QUOTATION 4

CA III.32.1–19 [Metzler, Savvidis 2000: 342–343]	Vol437(D): 165г–165v	Sob197(M): 177г–177v [Журова 2020: 604]	Sud17(N): 356v–357v [Казакова 1960: 303]
<p>τῆς σαρκὸς πασχούσης οὐκ ἦν ἐκτὸς ταύτης ὁ Λόγος· διὰ τοῦτο γάρ αὐτοῦ λέγεται καὶ τὸ πάθος· καὶ θεῖκῶς δὲ ποιοῦντος αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐκ ἦν ἔξωθεν αὐτοῦ ἡ σάρξ, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ σώματι ταῦτα πάλιν ὁ Κύριος ἐποίει. Διὰ τοῦτο γάρ καὶ ἀνθρώπος γενούμενος ἐλεγεν· “εἰ οὐ ποιῶ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Πατρός μου, μὴ πιστεύετε μοι· εἰ δὲ ποιῶ, καὶν ἐμοὶ μὴ πιστεύητε, τοῖς ἔργοις μου πιστεύετε καὶ γινώσκετε, ὅτι ἐν ἐμοὶ ὁ Πατήρ κάγω ἐν αὐτῷ”. Ἀμέλει ὅτε χρεία γέγονε τὴν πενθερὰν Πέτρου πυρέσσουσαν ἐγεῖραι, ἀνθρωπίνως μὲν ἔξετεινε χεῖρα, θεῖκῶς δὲ ἦν παύων τὴν νόσον. Καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ ἐκ γενετῆς τυφλοῦ ἀνθρώπινον ἀπὸ τῆς σαρκὸς ἥφει πτύσμα, θεῖκῶς δὲ τοὺς ὄφθαλμοὺς ἤνοιγε διὰ τοῦ πηλοῦ· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Λαζάρου φωνὴν μὲν ὡς ἀνθρωπος, ἀνθρωπίνην ἥφει, θεῖκῶς δὲ ὡς Θεὸς τὸν Λάζαρον ἥγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν. Ταῦτα δὲ οὕτως ἐγίνετο καὶ ἐδείκνυτο, ὅτι μὴ φαντασίᾳ ἀλλὰ ἀληθῶς ἔχων ἦν σῶμα· ἔπερεπε δὲ τὸν Κύριον ἐνδιδυσκόμενον ἀνθρωπίνην σάρκα, ταύτην μετὰ τῶν ἴδίων</p>	<p>[165г] πλοτι страждци; не еш кромб ea слово. того ради того глертса и стрѣль. и єжескы же томоу! ѿнка твораціѣ дѣла не еш свѣне его плотъ. нѣ в томъ тѣлѣ таже пакы гї твораше того во дѣлма и ѹлвікъ вывѣз глаше. аще не твора дѣла ѡнца моего, не имѣте ми вѣры. аще ли же творю. аще мнѣ не имѣте вѣры, дѣлъ мої вѣроу имѣте. и видите іако въ мнѣ бѣць азъ въ немъ. тѣмже потрѣба бы течіѣ петровъ болаціѣ аргѣ вѣста виги. ѹлвікъ прострѣ роукоу. єжескы же оустави недоуго. и о рожено слѣпцѣ ѹлвіко ѿ плоти исподваше плеваніе. єжескы же ѡверзаше бре ніемъ. о лазарѣ гла іако ѹлвікъ ѹлвікъ [177v] испоуџаше. єжескы же іако ешъ ла зара вѣзвике из мртви. сеже сице бы и показано вываше. іако не привидѣніе; но по истинѣ ешъ имѣа тѣло. Помаше гї въ ѹлвікѣ пѣло облагадѣса, въ всю </p>	<p>[177г] Тогъ: плоти оубо страждци, не еш кромб ea слово. того радъ того глертса и стрѣль. и єжескы томъ ѡнка твораціѣ дѣла. не еш кромб его пла. но въ тѣлѣ таже пакы гї твораше. того во дѣлма и ѹлвікъ вывѣз глаше. аще не творю дѣлъ ѡнца моего, не имѣте ми вѣры. аще ли же творю. аще мнѣ не имѣте вѣры, дѣлъ мої вѣроу имѣте. и видите іако въ мнѣ бѣць азъ въ немъ. тѣмже потрѣба бы течіѣ петровъ болаціѣ аргѣ вѣста виги. ѹлвікъ прострѣ роукоу. єжескы же оустави недоуго. и о рожено слѣпцѣ ѹлвіко ѿ плоти исподваше плеваніе. єжескы же ѡверзаше бре ніемъ. о лазарѣ гла іако ѹлвікъ ѹлвікъ [177v] испоуџаше. єжескы же іако ешъ ла зара вѣзвике из мртви. сеже сице бы и показано вываше. іако не привидѣніе; но по истинѣ ешъ имѣа тѣло. Помаше гї въ ѹлвікѣ пѣло облагадѣса, въ всю </p>	<p>[356v] Тогъ. Плоти оубо страждѹци не еш кромб слова. того ради глертъ. и стрѣль. и єжескы томоу ѿнка твораціѣ дѣла. [357г] дѣло не еш кромб его пѣло но въ тѣлѣ таже пакы гї твораше. того во дѣлма. и ѹлвікъ вывѣз глаше аще не творю дѣла ѿнца моего не имѣте ми вѣры аще ли же творю аще мнѣ не имѣте вѣры. дѣлъ моимъ вероуитъ. и вѣтъ. іако во мнѣ ѿнца и азъ въ немъ тѣмъ потрѣба бытъ. тѣцоу петъ ровоу болацію огнемъ вѣта виги ѹлвікъ і прѣтре рѣкоу єжескы ѹже оустави недоуго. на рожено слѣпцѣ ѹлвіко ѿ плоти. испоуџаше плеваніе. єжескы же ѡверзаше бре ніемъ. о лазарѣ гла іако ѹлвікъ ѹлвікъ [357v] испоуџаше. єжескы же іако ешъ ла зара вѣзвике из мртви. сеже сице бы и показано вываше. іако не привидѣніе; но по іти ніе [357v] вѣ имѣа тѣло помаше же дати и пропатие и смртъ и дроуга нemoции тѣлениа.</p>

CA III.32.1–19 [Metzler, Savvidis 2000: 342–343]	Vol437(D): 165r–165v	Sob197(M): 177r–177v [Журова 2020: 604]	Sud17(N): 356v–357v [Казакова 1960: 303]
<p>παθῶν αὐτῆς ὅλην ἐνδύσασθαι, ἵνα ὥσπερ ἴδιον αὐτοῦ λέγομεν εἶναι τὸ σῶμα, οὕτως καὶ τὰ τοῦ σώματος πάθη ἔδια μόνον αὐτοῦ λέγηται, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἡ πτετο κατὰ τὴν θεότητα αὐτοῦ. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐτέρου τὸ σῶμα, ἐκείνου ἀν λέγοιτο καὶ τὰ πάθη· εἰ δὲ τοῦ Λόγου ἡ σάρξ – “ὅ” γάρ “Λόγος σάρξ ἐγένετο”, – ἀνάγκη καὶ τὰ τῆς σαρκὸς πάθη λέγεσθαι αὐτοῦ, οὗ καὶ ἡ σάρξ ἐστιν. Οὗ δὲ λέγεται τὰ πάθη, οἵτις ἐστι μάλιστα τὸ κατακριθῆναι, τὸ μαστιγωθῆναι, τὸ διψᾶν καὶ ὁ σταυρὸς καὶ ὁ θάνατος καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι τοῦ σώματος ἀσθενεῖαι.</p>	<p>съ своими еа стрѣми вѣлециса. да иа ко же своемъ глаго сдѣлъ тѣло; такоже и тѣла стрѣти. своя емъ тѹю глаголеса. аще и не касахъса емъ; по бѣжтвѣ его. аще ыбо иного бѣ тѣло; того да глагоса и стрѣти. аще ли пѣ словеси; слово пѣ бы. илюжа є и плотскїа стрѣти; того глагоса. егъ и плотъ єсгорже ли глагоса стрѣти какы [165v] ес. еже всѣженъ быти. еже виенъ быти еже жадати; и пропатіе и смиръ. и драга нemoци тѣлесыя.</p>	<p>съ своими еа стрѣтыми облециса. да таکоже свое емъ глаго соѹщє тѣло. таکоже и тѣла стрѣти своя емоу то тию глаголеса. аще и не касахъса емъ по бѣжтвѣ его. аще оубо иного бѣ тѣло. того да глаголеса и стрѣти. аще ли пѣ словеси. слово пѣ бысть. ноужа есть и плавскыя стрѣти того глаголеса егъ и пѣ есть. егорже ли глаголеса стрѣти. какіа же соу^т еже, осоуженъ быти. еже оубенуо быти. еже жадати. и пропатіе, и смиръ. и драгула нemoци тѣло сныя.</p>	<p>же Г҃и во ѹлѣбѹу во пѣшъ вѣлѹгѹиѹса во всю своими стрѣтыми вѣлѹгѹиѹа. да а же свое ему глаго соѹщє тѣло. таکоже же и тѣло стрѣти своя емоу тѹю глаголеса. аще и не накасахѹ емъ по бѣжтвѹу его аще ино бѣ тѣло. того да глаголеса стрѣти. аще ли пѣ словеси. слово плотъ бы. ноуда ѣть и плавскыя стрѣти. того глаголѣ его же и пѣ єть его ли глаголеса стрѣти. касна же соу^т еже всочуженуо быти. и є виенуо быти. еже</p>

QUOTATION 5

CA III.34.1–14 [Metzler, Savvidis 2000: 345]	Vol437(D): 156r–157v	Sob197(M): 177v–178v [Журова 2020: 604–605]	Sud17(N): 357v–358v [Казакова 1960: 303–304]
<p>Ἔνα δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀπαθὲς τῆς τοῦ Λόγου φύσεως καὶ τὰς διὰ τὴν σάρκα λεγομένας ἀσθενείας αὐτοῦ γινώσκειν τις ἀκριβέστερον ἔχῃ, καλὸν ἀκοῦσαι τοῦ μακαρίου Πέτρου· ἀξιόπιστος γάρ οὗτος γένοιται ἄν μάρτυς περὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος· γράφει τοίνυν ἐν τῇ Ἐπιστολῇ λέγων· “Χριστοῦ οὖν παθόντος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν σαρκί”. Οὐκοῦν καὶ ὅταν λέγηται</p>	<p>[156r] да вѣдѣти вѣчнѣ всакъ вѣ и стинѣ. и бѣстрѣстное сдѣствва словеси; и глагомыа плотю нemoци его. добро є слышати гла женаго петра. то паче достинъ съвѣдете ль о вѣдѣ спѣ. пишет же ыбо вѣ епистоли гла. юж оубо пострадавшъ насъ дѣлама пла тио. тѣмже и егда глаголеса</p>	<p>[177v] да вѣдѣти же вѣчнѣ всакъ [178r] вѣ истинѣ и бѣстрѣстное соѹщєствва словеси. и глагомыа плотю нemoци его. добро є слышати гла женаго петра. то паче достинъ съвѣдѣтель бо дѣ о спѣ. пишѣт бо вѣ епистоли гла. юж оубо пострадавшъ насъ дѣлама пла тио. тѣмже и егда глаголеса</p>	<p>[357v] вѣдати же имать всакъ войти ноу и бѣтрѣстное соѹщє тво словеси и глагомыа плотю [358r] нemoци его. добро є слышети бѣжнаго петра тои паче добро итъ сѣвѣтель о спѣ пишетъ бо во епитоли гла. ხօу ыбо пострада да вѣшоу на дѣлама пла тио темъ же и егда глаголеса</p>

СА III.34.1–14 [Metzler, Savvidis 2000: 345]	Vol437(D): 156r–157v	Sob197(M): 177v–178v [Журова 2020: 604–605]	Sud17(N): 357v–358v [Казакова 1960: 303–304]
<p>πεινᾶν καὶ διφᾶν καὶ κάμνειν καὶ μὴ εἰδέναι καὶ καθεύδειν καὶ κλαίειν καὶ αἰτεῖν καὶ φεύγειν καὶ γεννᾶσθαι καὶ παραίτεσθαι τὸ ποτήριον καὶ ἀπλῶς πάντα τὰ τῆς σαρκὸς, λεχθείη ἀν ἀκολούθως ἐφ' ἔκαστου· Χριστοῦ οὖν πεινῶντος καὶ διφῶντος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν σαρκί· καὶ μὴ εἰδέναι λέγοντος καὶ ῥαπιζομένου καὶ κάμνοντος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν σαρκί· καὶ ὑφουμένου πάλιν καὶ γεννῶμένου καὶ αὐξάνοντος καὶ φοβουμένου καὶ κρυπτομένου σαρκί· καὶ λέγοντος, Εἰ δυνατόν, παρελθέτω τὸ ποτήριον καὶ τυπτομένου καὶ λαμβάνοντος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν σαρκί· καὶ ὅλως πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν σαρκί. Καὶ γάρ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀπόστολος διὰ τοῦτο οὖν εἰρήκε· Χριστοῦ οὖν παθόντος θεότητι, ἀλλ’ “ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν σαρκί”, ἵνα μὴ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Λόγου ἴδια κατὰ φύσιν, ἀλλ’ αὐτῆς τῆς σαρκὸς ἴδια φύσει τὰ πάθη ἐπιγνωσθῇ.</p>	<p>αλγα и жажды и трѣдитиса и не вѣдѣти и спати и плакатиса и просигти и бѣгати и раждатиса и юмегата тиса чаша. и просто всемъ плотескомъ реченымъ выважаюцъ погодъ алгубицъ и жаждацъ за ны плотти и не вѣдѣти глюцизъ и зашашемъ. и трѣддацъса за ны плотти и вѣзносимъ пакы. и раждаемъ и растѣцъ и боацъса и крѣюцизъса плотти и глюцизъ аще мочино є да преидѣ чаша сїа и бѣемъ и прѣемлюцизъ за ны плотти. и штингъ все таковое за ны плотти. небо/но самъ алзъ того дѣлма не рече хъ же пострадавшъ [157v] насв дѣлма бѣкѣвъ; но за ны плотти. да не самого словесе свое вѣдѣ все то сѣтствѣ. но самоа плоти свою сѣтствомъ; стѣти іаватса.</p>	<p>алгыа, и жажда, и трѣдитиса, и не вѣдѣти, и спати, и плакатиса, и просигти, и бѣгати, и раждатиса, и юмегата тиса чаша. и просто всему плоско/мъ реченымъ выважаюцъ о немъ алгубицъ и жаждацъ за ны плотти. и не вѣдѣти глюцизъ. и зашашемъ. и трѣддацъса за ны плотти. и вѣзносимуу пакы. и раждаемъ, и растѣца, и боацъса. и крѣюцизъса плотти. и глюцизъ, аще мочино є да преидѣ чаша сїа. и бѣемъ за ны плотти. и юноу все таковое прѣемлюцизъ за ны [178v] плотти. небо, но самъ алзъ того дѣлма не рече хъ пострадавшъ на ради бѣкѣвъ. но пострадавшъ за ны пло/ти. да не самого словесе свое бѣдѣ все то соуцествомъ но са/мына плоти своя соуцѣтвъ стрѣти іавитыа.</p>	<p>алгуда и жада и троудса не ведѣти. и спати. и плакатиа. и проси и рожатиа. и юмегатиа. чаша. и прѣто всему плѣскому рѣнноу выважаюцъ в не/мъ алгучиоу, и жажкоуцъ за ны плотти не вѣти глюцизъ и злѹшаюму и трѣддающа/за ны плотти и возжисимуу пакы. и рожаему и рѣтица/циу и боацо/а. и крѣюцизъ плотти и глюцизъ аще мо/цино єть. да преидеть чаша сїа. и ене юноу за ны плотти. и юноу все таковое приемлююце [358v] за ны плотти. нбо но самъ алзъ того дѣлма не рѣ хъ пострадада/взыши нарадавшиоу [sic] за ны пло/тию, да не самого словесе бѹ/ти все то соуцествомъ но са/мына плоти своя соуцѣтвъ стрѣти іавитыа.</p>

Bibliography

Abbreviated Names of Libraries, Archives, and Depositories

BAN	Библиотека Российской академии наук—Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences
GIM	Государственный исторический музей—State Historical Museum, Moscow
RGB	Российская государственная библиотека—Russian State Library, Moscow
RNB	Российская национальная библиотека—Russian National Library, Saint Petersburg

Manuscripts

Nik59

RGB, Collection of N. P. Nikiforov, F. 199, No. 59, late 15th century and early 16th century; described in an unpublished RGB catalog, p. 20 (<http://new.search.rsl.ru/ru/record/004724331>).

Ovč99

RGB, Collection of P. A. Ovchinnikova, F. 209, No. 99, mid-17th century; described in an unpublished RGB catalog, p. 21 (<http://dlib.rsl.ru/viewer/01004724424>).

Ovč791

RGB, Collection of P. A. Ovchinnikova, F. 209, No. 791, 15th century; described in an unpublished RGB catalog, p. 169 (<http://dlib.rsl.ru/viewer/01004724424>).

Pog968

RNB, Collection of M. P. Pogodin, No. 968, 1489; described in [Vaillant 1954: 12–14; Пенкова 2015: 126–145]; various parts of the codex are published in [Vaillant 1954 (*First Oration*); Пенкова 2015 (*Second Oration*); Eadem 2016 (*Third Oration*); Lytvynenko 2019 (*Second Oration*)].

Sin20

GIM, Synodal collection, No. 20, late 1480s and early 1490s; described in [Горский, Невоструев 1859: 31–41; Фонкич 1977: 32–34].

Sin994

GIM, Synodal collection, Usp. No. 994, VMČ, no later than 1552; described and published in [Weiher et al. 2007].

Sob197

RGB, Collection of Moscow Theological Academy, F. 173.1, No. 197, 1520s; most of the codex is available at <http://old.stsl.ru/manuscripts>.

Sof1321

RNB, Sofiyskoe Collection, No. 1321, VMČ, no later than 1541; described in [Абрамович 1907: 94–95].

Sol63

RNB, Collection of the Solovetsky Monastery, No. 63, 16th century; [Порфириев, Вадковский, Красносельцев 1881: 224–225].

Sud17

BAN, Osnovnoe collection, No. 17.13.11, late 16th century; published in [Казакова 1960: 285–318].

Tro730

RGB, Collection of the Troitse-Sergiev Monastery, F. 304, No. 730, 1489; described at <http://old.stsl.ru/manuscripts>.

Tsa180

GIM, Synodal collection, Tsa. No. 180, VMČ, no later than 1554; described in [Горский, Невоструев 1886: 170].

Vol437

RGB, Collection of the Iosifo-Volokolamsky Monastery, F. 113, No. 437; described in [Иером. Иосиф, 1882: 73–74; Фонкич 1977: 26–37].

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