

L'HISTOIRE COMME ELLE
SE PRÉSENTAIT DANS
L'HAGIOGRAPHIE BYZANTINE
ET MÉDIÉVALE

BYZANTINE AND MEDIEVAL HISTORY
AS REPRESENTED IN HAGIOGRAPHY

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Abbreviations

AASS	Acta Sanctorum, collecta ... a Sociis Bollandianis. Anvers, Bruxelles & Paris 1643-1940.
AB	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> .
BHG	Halkin, F. <i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca</i> . SH 8a. Bruxelles 1957; id., <i>Novum Auctarium</i> . SH 65. Bruxelles 1986.
BHL	Socii Bollandiani, <i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina</i> . SH 6. Bruxelles 1898-1901; Fros, H., <i>Novum Supplementum</i> . SH 70. Bruxelles 1986.
BMGS	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i> .
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i> .
BBGG	<i>Bolletino della Badia Graeca di Grottaferrata</i> .
Byz	<i>Byzantion</i> .
CCSG	Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca.
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina.
CFHB	Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae.
CPG	Clavis Patrum Graecorum, I-IV (Corpus Christianorum). Turnhout 1974-1987.
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae.
CUF	Collections des Universités de France.
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i> .
EEBS	<i>Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών</i> .
EO	<i>Échos d'Orient</i>
GRBS	<i>Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies</i> .
JÖB	<i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik</i> .
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta.
ODB	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> . Ed. A.-P. Kazhdan et al., 3 vols. New York & Oxford 1991.
MEG	<i>Medioevo greco</i> .
PG	Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeca. Ed. J.-P. Migne, 161 vols. Paris 1857-1866.
PL	Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina. Ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols. Paris 1857-1866.
PO	Patrologia Orientalis. Ed. R. Graffin & F. Nau. Paris 1903 sq.
REB	<i>Revue des Études Byzantines</i> .
RSBN	<i>Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici</i> .

SBU	Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia.
SC	Sources Chrétiennes.
SH	Subsidia Hagiographica.
SP	Studia Patristica.
ST	Studi e Testi.
Syn. CP	<i>Synaxaire de Constantinople</i> . Ed. H. Delehayé, <i>Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae. Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris</i> . Bruxelles 1902.
TM	Travaux et Mémoires.
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur.

THE PHILOSOPHER'S TONGUE:
SYNAXARIA BETWEEN HISTORY AND LITERATURE.

With an Excursus on the Recension M of the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* and an Edition of BHG 2371n*

STRATIS PAPAIOANNOU



THE *SYNAXARION* (BHG 2371n, May 1st) that is the subject of this contribution may at first glance give the impression of a marginal tale. One must search for it *below* the line that separates the version, which Hippolyte Delehaye chose to print as his main text of the *Synaxarion of the Great Church of Constantinople* (Syn. CP), from other redactions that are reported in an apparatus and are reproduced when they offer variant entries. This contribution is, in a sense, about this very line, about what decides which stories cross it, and which do not, and, more importantly, what are the effects of that crossing.

This is not a paper, however, about Delehaye's critical edition and his choices—though they also deserve discussion, just as it would be ideal to possess separate editions of the earliest preserved version of Syn. CP (recension **H** in Delehaye; tenth-century) as well as of the latest and most widespread version (recension **M**, to which we shall devote an excursus, in order to reexamine its date and diffusion), along with Delehaye's main text which represents a recension that is particularly rich in content (redaction **S** = the twelfth/thirteenth-c. ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Philipps 1622 [219]).¹ We shall leave the spectacularly laborious and perceptive work of the Belgian Bollandist as well as modern philology aside, and attempt to imagine the equivalent

* I would like to thank Daria Resh and Charis Messis for valuable comments on the paper, as well as Fr. Timotheos Romanas, Dimitris Skrekas, and Kostas Karaiskos for consulting manuscripts at (respectively) the Πατριαρχικό Ίδρυμα Πατερικών Μελετών at the Monastery of Vlatadon in Thessalonike, Oxford University libraries, and the Monastery of Vatopediou on Mt Athos on my behalf and in very short notice. Gratitude is owed also to the Monastery of Vatopediou for providing a photograph of ms. 679 for consultation.

¹ On all these recensions and redactions see Delehaye 1902, v-lx with the poignant remarks in Luzzi 2014.

line in Byzantine modes of selection that determined inclusions and exclusions from *Synaxaria* and rendered the latter perhaps the most important historiographical works in Byzantium. *In what ways*, we shall ask, and *with what effects* was this imaginary line of insider vs. outsider stories traversed? Following such questions, our concern will not be how the historical past was transformed into ritual myth by its inclusion in *Synaxaria*,² but rather the other side of the same coin: how myths, invented tales, and literary fiction were—through, before, and after the *Synaxaria*—absorbed into history and reinvented as authorized past for Byzantine readers.

But first, before we continue, it may be helpful to offer here a key to some recurrent terminology in what follows:

- *synaxarion*: an individual narrative entry about a saint, a feast or a commemoration included in a *Synaxarion*;
- *Synaxarion* (abbr. in the list of mss. as *Synax.*): either a collection of *synaxaria*, regardless of the many forms that such a collection took in Byzantium, or the manuscript book containing exclusively or primarily such a collection of *synaxaria*;
- notice: that part of a synaxarial entry that assigns a feast day to a specific date; it may or may not be followed by the narrative part of a *synaxarion*;
- recension: manuscript transmission families of *Synaxaria* in the tradition of Syn. CP as established by Delehaye;
- redaction: a specific version either of a *synaxarion* or of a “recension.”

THE TEXT: BHG 2371N

Let us begin by citing our brief tale as it appears in what I would like to call its redaction **A**, the one also offered by Delehaye in the apparatus of his edition (Syn. CP May 1; 647/648.36-50). Delehaye’s version was based on a single manuscript, Paris, BNF, Coislin 223, dated to 1300/1301 and belonging to recension **M** of Syn. CP, whose origins and earliest testimonies are usually placed in the twelfth century (a topic to which, as noted, we will return).

The text printed below is based not only on Coislin 223, but also on three additional *Synaxaria*: Athens, EBE, 2004, dated to ca. 1360-1371; Athos, Monastery of Vatopediou 679, also dateable to the third quarter of the fourteenth century; and Paris, BNF, suppl. gr. 1016, dated to the fifteenth century (for the full critical edition see the Appendix below³):

² Seminal for this aspect of the synaxarial tradition are Odorico 1994 and 2018 and also Ciolfi 2018, though much work remains to be done on this front.

Τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ, μνήμη τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Φιλοσόφου

Οὗτος ὁ μέγας μάρτυς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Φιλόσοφος, ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὧν τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων, ὡς ὁ μέγας ἐν ἀσκηταῖς Ἀντώνιος διηγήσατο, τοιόνδε τὸν τοῦ μαρτυρίου δρόμον τετέλεκε.

Κήπος ἦν τερπνότατος, καὶ πάσης ἡδονῆς πλήρης· καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ κλίνης τεθείσης περικαλλοῦς, τῇ τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς τυράννου κελεύσει, τίθεται ἐπὶ ταύτης ὕπτιος ὁ Φιλόσοφος, περιγκωμισμένος τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ τοὺς πόδας ἅμα δεδεσμημένος. Εἶτα γύναιον εὐπρεπὲς μὲν τὴν ὄψιν, δυσειδὲς δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ ἀκόλαστον, εἰσάγεται ἐκεῖ κειμένῳ τῷ μάρτυρι, λόγοις ἀσέμνοις, ἐπαφαῖς ἀναιδέσι, καὶ πᾶσιν αἰσχροῖς καὶ θελκτικοῖς τρόποις, πρὸς ἡδονὴν τοῦτον φαύλην ἐρεθίζειν πειρώμενον.

Ὁ δὲ γενναῖος ἐκεῖνος, οὐκ ἔχων ὅπως ἂν ἀπώσαιο τὴν μιὰρὰν καὶ ἀναισχυντον, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ μύσας, τὴν δὲ ὄσφρησιν καὶ ἀκοὴν μὴ δυνάμενος συστειλαί τῷ κωλύματι τῶν δεσμῶν, ναὶ μὴν καὶ ταῖς ἀφαῖς τυραννοῦμενος, τί ποιεῖ; καὶ οἶαν μηχανὴν ἐφευρίσκει πρὸς ἀποσόβησιν τοσούτου κακοῦ, καὶ οὕτω μυσαρᾶς ἐπινοίας; Τὴν ἰδίαν γλώσσαν τοῖς ὀδοῦσι κόψας καὶ διαμασησάμενος, τῇ ὄψει τῆς μαινάδος προσπτύει· καὶ οὕτω τοῖς αἵμασι τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς καὶ τοὺς χιτῶνας καταβρέξας καὶ ἀχρειώσας, ἀπεκρούσατο τὴν ἀκόλαστον.

Οὕτως οὖν γενναιοτάτως πᾶν καὶ θαυμαστώως ἀγωνισάμενος ὁ ἀοίδιμος καὶ μὴ ἡττηθεὶς τῇ ἐπινοίᾳ τῶν δυσσεβῶν, ἀπετμήθη τέλος τὴν κεφαλὴν· καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐν οὐρανοῖς εὐφροσύνην καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν μεταβέβηκεν.

*On the same day [i.e., May 1st],
we celebrate the memory of the holy martyr Philosophos*

This great martyr of Christ Philosophos, being from the land of the Alexandrians as Antony, the great among the ascetics, recounted, completed the course of martyrdom in the following way.

There was a most delightful garden, full of every sort of pleasure, and a luxurious bed was placed in it, as ordered by the impious tyrant. Philosophos was laid on the bed, face up, with his hands tied behind his back, and with his feet also tethered. Then a slut, with a comely face, yet with an ugly and wanton soul, was sent in as the martyr lay there. With dirty words, indecent fondling, and all sort of despicable and lascivious tricks, she tried to excite him toward that wicked form of pleasure.

That brave man was unable to push away the filthy and shameless woman. He shut his eyes, but he could not block his nose and ears, restrained as he was from the bonds, nor indeed could he escape the tyranny of her touches. So what did he do? What kind of device did he conjure up so as to avert such great evil and such nasty ploy? He cut his own tongue with his teeth, chewed it up, and spat it in the face of the whore. Having thus splattered her face and ruined her clothes with lots of blood, he warded off the promiscuous woman.

This is how most bravely and marvelously that man of blessed memory fought. Undefeated by the ploy of the impious, he was finally beheaded, and passed to the heavenly joy and gratification.

³ The relevant entry of *Pinakes* is, as we shall see, far from complete: <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/oeuvre/17580/>. For bibliography on the three additional manuscripts, see below n. 64.

This story about a Saint Philosopher and his very philosophical denial of sex existed (as will be demonstrated below) long before its transcription in late Byzantine *Synaxaria* and their likely twelfth-century origins—indeed long before the earliest preserved *Synaxaria* of the tenth century, which do not include our story. What determined its eventual inclusion in the collection?

Ιστορία

There are several possible answers to the above question but let us first turn to what appears as a key principle of selection, at least originally, in the making of a *Synaxarion*. As we can glean from the proem of the earliest surviving recension, dated to the time of Constantine Porphyrogenetos, such defining feature was what is termed *ιστορία*. This is, namely, how the deacon and *bibliophylax* Euarestos (PmbZ 21753), the author of that preface, describes his methods of composition:

Αὐτὰς δὲ ψιλὰς τὰς φάσεις κατεθέμην εἰς μέσον, τὰ δοκοῦντα τῇ ἱστορίᾳ προσίστασθαι ἐξελῶν καὶ ὑποτεμόμενος ...

I set forth the bare accounts, having removed and omitted those elements that appeared to contradict *historia* ...⁴

From the rest of Euarestos' proem, as well as from other such prefaces' it becomes evident that *ιστορία* is first and foremost associated with such concepts as truth (*ἀλήθεια*), trustworthiness (*πίστις*), and precision (*ἀκριβεία*); in this conception, proper *ιστορία* is synonymous with the "past," what actually happened that is, and not just the recounting of what transpired.⁵ Moreover, in the very body of *Synaxaria* we can detect traces of strategies of omission of non-"historical" elements such as, for instance:

(a) the criticism or removal of fabulous details:

- e.g., in the entry on the martyr Christophoros⁶;

⁴ Delehaye 1902, xiii. Cf. the beginning of the same preface: Σὺ μὲν, ὦ θεϊότατε καὶ κράτιστε βασιλεῦ, ... ἐπέταξας ἐν βραχεί μνήμῃν ἅμα καὶ σύνοψιν τῆς ἱστορίας τῶν ταῖς κυκλοφορικαῖς τοῦ ἔτους περιόδοις τελομένων ἁγίων γενέσθαι σοι. On Euarestos see also Odorico 2001 and Luzzi 2014, 201-202.

⁵ Cf. Delehaye 1902, xiii: "... τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀπὸ τῆς πολυπλανοῦς ἐκκρίνειεν ἱστορίας ..." (here *historia* means also the telling of history); "... τὰς τῶν λεγομένων πίστεις ...;" xix (preface in ms. K; date: 1249): "... ἐπ' ἀκριβείας ἐκθέμενος ..." (cf. Delehaye 1902, xxxvi). It should be noted that, in the text printed above, Euarestos borrows the phrase "ψιλὰς τὰς φάσεις κατεθέμην εἰς μέσον" from Synesios of Cyrene (*Encomium of Baldness* 4.6). On the concept of *historia* in Byzantium see further Papaioannou 2014; on *historia* and the *Synaxarion* specifically cf. also the contribution by Sophie Métivier in the present volume.

⁶ Syn. CP May 9.2 (667,25-32): Περί τούτου τοῦ ἐνδόξου καὶ μεγαλομάρτυρος τερατώδη <λέγεται> τινα καὶ παράδοξα, ὅτι τε κυνοπρόσωπος ἦν ἐκ τῆς χώρας τῶν τοῦς ἀνθρώπους κατεσθιόντων καὶ ὅτι

– or in the entry on Paul of Thebes, the first ascetic, where we find no mention of any of the fictional creatures that St Antony, Paul’s student, encounters on his journey into the inner desert in order to meet Paul, as in the original story⁷;

and (b) the resistance to include some specific types of saints that were more recent to the creation of the first *Synaxaria*:

– saints with only literary pedigree, such as St Theoktiste of Lesbos, whose *synaxarion* (BHG 1726e) only slowly and late became part of the synaxarial canon, though the relevant *Life* by Niketas Magistros (BHG 1723-1724) was included rather quickly in the *Ménologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes (BHG 1725-1726);

– and saints whose tales, though some of them quite popular, were told in lengthy and somewhat fictionalized accounts, such as Sts. Eirene, abbess of Chrysobalanton (BHG 952; PmbZ 21617), Theodoros of Edessa (BHG 1744), and Niphon of Konstantiane (BHG 1371z).

We may suspect that the *synaxarion* of Philosophos would not exactly fit a strict definition of historical truth, even for a Byzantine. The name of the saint sounds rather suspicious; the date of the event is not fixable precisely in the frame of Byzantine chronology (the alleged persecuting tyrant remains anonymous: τῆ τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς τυράννου κελεύσει); and the location of the martyrdom, a “garden,” is rather unusual, just as Philosophos’ self-mutilation is perhaps not typically Christian. Some uneasiness about the historicity of the account may be also felt in the synaxarist’s addition that the story is reported by an authority, St. Antony (ὡς ὁ μέγας ἐν ἀσκηταῖς Ἀντώνιος διηγήσατο).

But synaxarial historicity is not merely restricted to verifiable historical reality in a modern common sense. The Byzantine understanding was more accommodating. When Euarestos claimed to have “removed and omitted those elements that appeared to contradict *historia* ...,” he was quick to add:

... καίτοι τοῖς πνευματικοῖς οὐδὲν φασιν εἶναι ἀδύνατον· οὐδὲ γὰρ φύσεως ἀκολουθία δουλεύουσιν.⁸
 ... even though for people of the spirit (i.e., the saints) nothing, as they say, is impossible, since they do not obey the laws of nature.

Earlier, Euarestos had also declared the following about his historiographical method:

... ἐκ τῶν περὶ αὐτοὺς γεγραμμένων, τίς τε ἦν ἕκαστος καὶ πρὸς οὓς ἀντετάχθη, καὶ τὸν χρόνον καθ’ ὃν καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς ἀγωνίας καὶ τῆς νίκης, τοῖς γε παροῦσιν ἐνέταξα, τὰς τῶν λεγομένων πίστεως εἰς τοὺς πρῶτους περὶ αὐτῶν γράψαντας ἀναθείς.⁹

πρότερον ἀνθρώπου ἤσθιεν, ὕστερον δὲ μετὰ τὸ πιστεῦσαι Χριστῷ μετεμορφώθη. Οὐκ ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο, οὐκ ἔστιν! ἀλλὰ τινες αὐτὸν οὕτως ὑπενόησαν διὰ τὸ ἔθνικόν καὶ ἄγριον καὶ φοβερόν.

⁷ Cf. Syn. CP January 15.2 (393,32-394,23) with BHG 1466 (on which see also below).

⁸ Delehaye 1902, xiii.

⁹ Delehaye 1902, xiii.

... the information about who each saint was, and against whom they resisted, and the time and the manner of their struggle and victory, I inserted in the present work from the texts about them, having placed the trustworthiness of the accounts upon those who first wrote about them.

Thus while Euairestos posits a truth-oriented historiographical motive behind the making of his *Synaxarion*, he also acknowledges that (a) the hagiographical version of historical truth accommodates also the special, “spiritual” realities of the saints; and that (b) the veracity of hagiographical *ιστορία* is also relegated upon tradition and authority, the special reality created by the accumulation of belief.

In this sense, our tale could very well fit the “historiographical” intentions and ideological underpinnings of any synaxarist. After all, Philosophos’ story tallies with the historical-cum-mythical world envisioned by *Synaxaria*. It is positioned, even if imprecisely, in the period most represented in the *Synaxaria*, namely the decades right before Constantine the Great—if we assume, as we must, that the unnamed tyrant is a pagan. It is located in a region, that of Alexandria, which is the setting for several entries.¹⁰ And it tells the story of a character, who nicely combines the two most typical types of saint: martyr as well as (as the name “*philosophos*” apparently suggests¹¹) ascetic.

Moreover, the social placement of the story, namely its aristocratic setting signalled by the beautiful garden and the luxurious bed, is a prevalent one in *Synaxaria*. Most of all, that the main character of our story suffers under a sexually aggressive female is also a bonus in *Synaxaria* whose aggregate point, through countless entries, was in my view the idea that the Christian way of life could stand against all forms of power and their enactment of violence.

The story’s main act of violence, the cutting of the tongue, appears several times in the collection, even if in all other *synaxaria* it is performed by the torturer and not by the victim himself.¹² For a Byzantine, we should remember—and make a brief, but related digression here—the cutting of the tongue was not only a likely scenario in the context of martyrdom accounts, but also a possible actual form of punishment. This was, for example, the fate pronounced upon a Georgian nobleman by the name of Zacharias

¹⁰ Alexandria is mentioned at least 28 times in the Syn. CP as the place of origin or death of a saint, and is thus among the most frequently mentioned city-names, after Constantinople, Rome, and Antioch. We may additionally note that the locution “*χώρα ... τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων*” is uncommon, but does appear in recensions of the *Alexander Romance*.

¹¹ Cf. e.g. Syn. CP November 22.2 (245,25), January 10.2 (383,16), February 12.5 (461,16), etc. where “*φιλοσοφία*” means “asceticism.”

¹² Cf. e.g. Syn. CP Oct. 12.2 (134,7) (St Anastasia the Roman); Nov. 18.2 (235,23-25) (St Romanos, who notably could speak even after his tongue was cut, a theme which we shall encounter also below); Dec. 10.1 (293,21-294,9) (St Menas, the *kallikelados*); July 4.2 (797,18-21) (St Theodoros, bishop of Kyrene—who carried his cut tongue on his chest), etc.

in the years of Constantine VIII¹³—Zacharias is highlighted here because he happens to be the commissioner of a Georgian illustrated copy of a *Synaxarion* translated by Euthymios the Iberian (whom we shall encounter also below), a manuscript (Tbilisi, Kekelitze Institute, MS A-648) that has not been studied enough by Byzantinists.

But let us return to the entry on Philosophos since there is much more to its eventual inclusion in *Synaxaria* and thus within the framework of synaxarial *ιστορία*.

Beneficial Tales

The earliest witness of the redaction **A** of the Philosophos entry is, as we have already seen, a *Synaxarion* dated to the year 1300/1301. This parchment book is in fact the second volume of an apparently lost two-volume work; Coislin 223 covers only the second half of the ecclesiastical year, the months from March to August. The manuscript carries the designation **Mc** in Delehaye's edition and was written, as we learn from the colophon (f. 307v), by a monk Meletios (RGK II 375; PLP 17730), for Ioannikios (PLP 8857; possibly identical to PLP 8858), the *Prôtos* of the monastic communities on Mt Athos—unfortunately we know little else about these two men.¹⁴

The great significance of this specific *Synaxarion* among the ones utilized by Delehaye lies partly in the several *Beneficial Tales* incorporated within its entries, a trend that generally characterizes recension **M**, to which the Coislin ms. belongs.¹⁵ This fusion of *Beneficial Tales* with the *Synaxarion* and thus with the tradition of liturgical lections demonstrates a renewed interest in the *Beneficial Tales* that contradicts the usual perception that the genre had its last flourish in the tenth century.¹⁶ Simultaneously, this incorporation of short stories which are not always about saints in a narrow sense contributes to a certain inclination toward literariness and story-telling that distinguishes late Byzantine *Synaxaria*, an aspect of the history of the *Synaxarion* that has not attracted the attention it deserves.¹⁷

¹³ As reported by Ioannes Skylitzes, *Synopsis of Histories* 372.69-70 Thurn. On Zacharias see the relevant entry in Православная Энциклопедия ("Orthodox Encyclopedia," Moscow 2000, available online at <http://www.pravenc.ru>).

¹⁴ The relevant part of the colophon, as ed. in Devreesse 1945, 203, reads as follows: ... σπουδῆ καὶ ἐξόδῳ τοῦ πανοσιωτάτου ἡμῶν πατρὸς ἱερομονάχου Ἰωαννικίου καὶ πρώτου τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους, χειρὶ δὲ νωθρᾶ καὶ ἀφελεί Μελετίου ἀμαρτωλοῦ. On the ms. see further Delehaye 1902, xli, and Halkin 1968, 258. See also Lamberz 1991, 49.

¹⁵ Cf. Delehaye 1902, xxxix-xli and lxxii; Luzzi 1995, 194-195 (n. 52); Binggeli 2014, 143.

¹⁶ But cf. Efthymiadis 2010.

¹⁷ For a notable discussion of the literary trajectory of one *Beneficial Tale* and its synaxarial version see Bonner 1942-1943 with Levi Della Vida 1940-1941.

The beneficial stories included in Coislin 223 and *Synaxaria* of recension M vary in character and expand the horizons of the earlier synaxarial tradition toward two directions: (a) the further insertion of historical personalities and events into the ritual, mythical, or sacred (however one wishes to call it) chronotope of hagiographical narrative¹⁸; and (b) the further inclusion of legendary/literary figures and accounts into the constructed realities of the *Synaxarion*'s version of the Byzantine past—a trend represented well by the case of Philosophos.

Indeed, if we search for our story in the tradition of *Beneficial Tales*, we shall stumble upon a version of it, listed in the relevant catalogues as BHG 1440t = Wortley 2010, no. 502. This version circulated in (unedited) copies of expanded redactions of ancient *Paterika*, which combined apophthegmatic lore with the *Leimônarion* of Moschos. I was able to locate at least three redactions of this version, in five manuscripts, the earliest of which, Paris, BNF, gr. 1596 (p. 614),¹⁹ dates to the eleventh century and its previously unedited text is reproduced here:²⁰

Σώφρονος φιλοσόφου τινος κατασχεθέντος εἰς μαρτυρίαν, πικρότατον αὐτῷ ἀγῶνα προέτεινεν ὁ τύραννος, ὥστε τὴν σωφροσύνην αὐτοῦ βιάσασθαι.

Τὰ δὲ τῆς κακομηχανίας αὐτοῦ τοιάδε γεγένηται: Ἐν κήπῳ τινὶ κατασκίῳ, ὑδάτων πλησίον κλινὴν στρώσας, καὶ τὸν ἅγιον ἐπ' αὐτῇ ὑπτίον δῆσας, ἐπαφῆκε γύναιον ἀναιδὲς πειράζειν αὐτόν, ὡς ἂν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῆς ἡδύτητος [sic],²¹ καὶ τοῦ μὴ δύνασθαι ἀποσεΐσασθαι τὴν ἐπιχειρήσιν τοῦ ἀσεβοῦς γυναιίου πανταχόθεν, καὶ ἄκων εἰς τὴν ἄνομον πράξιν ἔλκυσθῆ.

Ἄλλ' ὁ πιστὸς καὶ ἅγιος ἀνὴρ, τοῦ γυναιίου ἤδη τὰς ἡδονὰς διὰ φίλημάτων αὐτῷ ἐμποιοῦντος, ὁ αἰδιμὸς οὗτος τὴν γλώσσαν αὐτοῦ ἀποτεμῶν τοῖς ὁδοῦσι, προσέριπτε πρὸς αὐτὴν μετὰ τοῦ αἵματος εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον· καὶ ἑαυτῷ μὲν πόνον καὶ ἀλγηδῶνας ἀντὶ ἡδονῶν πεποιήκεν, ἐκείνην δὲ ἐφόβησε καὶ ἐσίανε τῷ αἵματι. Καὶ οὕτως μὲν ἐν Κυρίῳ²² [ὁ] ἅγιος καὶ σοφὸς ἀληθῶς, ἀπιγνέγκατο τὴν νίκην, τῆς σωφροσύνης καὶ ὁμολογίας κομισάμενος τοὺς στεφάνους.

¹⁸ See e.g. the entry on the farmer Metrios (Διήγησις ὠφέλιμος περὶ γεωργοῦ τινος Μετρίου λεγομένου. BHG 2272; PmbZ 25087), whose eunuch son (Konstantinos Barbaros, a *parakoimōmenos*; PmbZ 23820) had a career in the court of Leo VI; cf. Messis 2014, 52 and 183-6. Notably an (earlier?) variation of this story is to be found also in the *Chronographia* attributed to Symeon *magistros* and *logothetēs* (713,15-715,6) and preserved in Paris, BNF, gr. 1712.

¹⁹ On which see Ehrhard 1952, 922, Halkin 1968, 220-1, and, more recently, Uthemann 2015, *passim*.

²⁰ The three redactions are as follows:

Redaction α: Paris, BNF, gr. 1596, p. 614 (11th c.) and Venice, BNM, gr. II.70, ff. 228v-229r (11th-12th c.); inc. "Σώφρονος φιλοσόφου τινος." I was unable to consult the latter ms. for the text printed above.

Redaction β: Vatican, BAV, gr. 1844, f. 143r (a palimpsest; our text written in the inferior script, dated to the 11th-12th c.; cf. Canart 1973, xlv) and Escorial, RB, Ω.III.14 (Andrés 547), ff. 186v-187r (date: 1285); inc. "Σώφρονος τινος καὶ ὄντως φιλοσόφου;" I was also unable to examine these mss.

Redaction γ: Paris, BNF, gr. 2075, f. 14r (date: 1439), ed. Lampsides 1964-1966, 18; inc. "Σώφρονος τινος φιλοσόφου τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὸ ἔργον;" on the author of this redaction see the discussion below.

²¹ Redaction γ reads (correctly) here: ἐκ τῆς τοῦ τόπου ἡδύτητος.

²² The abbreviation in the ms. is written as "κα."

When a certain chaste philosopher was arrested and led to martyrdom, the tyrant chose a most relentless type of ordeal, so as to violate his chastity.

His evil plan played out as follows: In a shaded garden, he made a bed near the waters, tied on it the saint face up, and threw at him a shameless slut to tempt him, so that, because of the sweetness of the place and his inability to push off the attack of the indecent woman from every side, he might be drawn also to the illicit deed against his will.

However, as the woman had already begun to instill pleasure in him by her kisses, that faithful and holy man, that man of blessed memory, cut his own tongue with his teeth, and spat it in her face together with blood; he caused himself pain and aches instead of pleasures, and scared her off, and stained her with blood. In this fashion, the holy and truly wise man gained his victory in the name of the Lord, obtaining the crowns for his confession of faith.

Have we found here the origins of the Philosophos *synaxarion*? Partly yes, partly no. For if we compare the two versions we will quickly realize that though the plot is basically the same, and indeed the *Paterikon* variety calls the main character a “certain [anonymous] chaste philosopher = σώφρονος φιλοσόφου τινός” and also identifies his main opponent as a single anonymous “tyrant,” the rest of the wording coincides very little with the *synaxarion* cited above. Thus the presence of the Philosophos tale in Coislin 223 and the two later manuscripts can only partly be explained by the new trend of including short beneficial stories in *Synaxaria*—a trend which, we may also add, was perhaps the result of a certain monasticization of the production of that liturgical book.²³

Where could our synaxarist have read the story? The *Paterikon* version may have reached him through another avenue as it appears already in the ninth century, in the very popular *Χρονικὸν Σύντομον* of Georgios the Sinful Monk. Georgios too was in the habit of including *Beneficial Tales* in his work, and slightly revised and incorporated the *Paterikon* text cited above (Georgios’ version has its own designation in the BHG: 1442k.III = *Chronicle* 480,15-481,11).²⁴ Georgios went a step further and identified the anonymous tyrant or, rather, tyrants under whom the novel martyr suffered as no other than Diocletian and Maximian, thus further historicizing the story and inserting it within a coherent narrative about the Byzantine past.

His version was furthermore excerpted and appended (on ff. 242r-243v) in an eleventh/twelfth-century manuscript with mainly the *Klimax* of Ioannes and Isaak the Syrian’s *Ascetic Discourses* (Venice, BNM, gr. Z. 127). In the eleventh century, BHG 1442k.III

²³ The synaxarist behind Coislin 223 once refers explicitly to “ἀσκητικὰ βιβλία” before citing a story (BHG 1555g) about St Poimen (Syn. CP Aug. 27 [927/928.59]).

²⁴ On the inclusion of *Beneficial Tales* in Georgios’ *Chronicle* see Detoraki 2015 (our story is listed on p. 125); on the compilatory nature of the *Chronicle* in general see Magdalino 2011, 157-9. We may note that where Par. gr. 1596 reads “ἐκ τῆς τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῆς ἡδύτητος” (see n. 21 above), Georgios the Monk’s version has “ἐκ τῆς τοῦ τόπου ἡδύτητος καὶ μονότητος.”

was also picked up, slightly reworked and shortened, by Georgios Kedrenos in his also popular *Synopsis of Histories* (297,4). And then again, just a few years after the copying of Coislin 223, Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos (ca. 1256 – 1335; PLP 20826) copied and revised major parts from Georgios' *Chronicle* for his Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἱστορία, including also our story (7,13,55-71 = PG 145: 1232).

Did this consistent presence and thus the further legitimation of the story of the tongue-cutting ascetic in narrowly defined Byzantine historiographical discourse (in *Chronicles* and the like) provide the impetus for our synaxarist? Again partly yes and partly no. It is not unlikely that our synaxarist had read Georgios the Monk (and it remains to be investigated how many of the *Beneficial Tales* in *Synaxaria* are shared with Georgios' *Chronicle*²⁵). But again the versions are rather different; most notably in Georgios the Monk the main character of the story is an anonymous “monk = τις μονάζων” (who becomes an anonymous “ἀσκητής” in Xanthopoulos).

Canonisation littéraire

We must keep searching. If we do so, we would stagger upon an even more authoritative earlier rendering of the Philosophos story that might in fact have lent historicity to all the Greek versions we have seen so far. We read:

(3,3) Ἐτερον νεανίαν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀκμῇ τῆς ἡλικίας ἀνθούντα, ἐν κήπῳ διηνησιμένῳ προσέταττεν ἄγεσθαι.

Κάκεισε μεταξὺ τῆς λαμπρότητος τῶν κρίνων τοῦ τε ἀνθους τῶν ῥόδων, ἡσυχῶς παραρρέοντος ὕδατος, ἀπαλῶς τε ὑποσυριζόντων τῶν φύλλων, ἐπὶ στρωμνῆς ἀπαλῆς ὑπτιον ἀπαλοῖς καταδήσαντες δεσμοῖς κατέλιπον.

Ἀπάντων τε ἀναχωρούντων, πόρνη τις εὐειδῆς ἐλθοῦσα ἤρξατο ἀπαλῶς περιλαμβάνουσα τὸν τράχηλον καί, ὅπερ λέγειν ἐστὶν μῦθος, ταῖς χερσὶ τὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς κεκρυμμένα κρατεῖν, ἵνα τοῦ σώματος εἰς ἡδυπάθειαν κινηθέντος νίκην ἐαυτῇ περιποιήσῃται ἢ ἀναίσχυντος ἀσεμῶς παρελθοῦσα.

Τί ἔδει τὸν στρατιώτην Χριστοῦ διαπράττεσθαι;

Τί δὲ ἐνθυμείσθαι τὸν ὑπὸ βασάνων μὴ νικηθέντα, καὶ μέλλοντα νικᾶσθαι ὑπὸ ἡδυπαθείας;

Καὶ δὴ οὐρανόθεν ἐμπνευσθεῖς, δῆγματι τὴν γλώτταν ἐκκόψας ἀντὶ φιλήματος τῇ ὄψει ταύτης προσέπτυσεν, καὶ οὕτως τῆς ἡδυπαθείας τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἐξέκοπτεν διὰ τοῦ περὶ τὸν πόνον μεγέθους.

(3,3) He [i.e. the enemy of truth] ordered for another young man, at the very peak of his youth, to be led to a garden full of flowers.

And there, amid the brilliance of lilies and blooming roses, near a water-stream flowing gently, and while the leaves were whistling softly, they left him on a soft bed, face up, bound with soft fetters. When everyone departed, some harlot with a comely face came and began to

²⁵ For another case of a *Beneficial Tale* (on Synesios of Cyrene) shared by *Paterika*, *Chronicles*, and the Coislin 223 *Synaxarion*, see BHG 1322r (= Wortley 2010, no. 49) and Syn. CP June 27 (773,41-776,44). For this story see also Papaioannou 2020, 341.

softly throw her arms around his neck and (it is defiling to even say it!) touch with her hands his private parts, so that, once his body was aroused to lust, the shameless woman might gain a victory for herself, outwitting him by her licentiousness.

What should the soldier of Christ do?

What plan of action should he devise, the man who was not defeated by tortures, but was about to be defeated by pleasure?

Well, inspired from heaven, he bit and cut off his tongue and spat it in her face instead of kissing her, and in this way, through the magnitude of the pain, he cut off the desire for pleasure.

This text is part of a Greek translation of Jerome's (ca. 347 – 420) *Vita Sancti Pauli Primi Eremitae* (BHL 6596), written while Jerome was in Syria, before the year 380. Jerome's *Life* of Paul, presented as St Antony's teacher, was very popular in both Latin and Greek.²⁶ In the latter language it is preserved in several redactions (BHG 1466-1470).²⁷ The earliest of these, redaction **a**, is titled *Life of Our Holy Father Paul of Thebes, the One in the Desert* (BHG 1466; CPG 3636), was made by an unknown writer in the late fourth century, and was the basis of all later Greek redactions as well as a translation into Armenian; it is the version cited above (section 3.3-9).²⁸

The Greek *Life* of Paul exerted influence on new hagiographies, either in the form of large-scale imitation of its basic moments—such as for instance in the even more popular *Life* of St Mary of Egypt²⁹—or in the transformation of individual scenes into independent stories, the case of the Philosophos story.³⁰ For example, as has already been established, the version of our story as it appears in redaction **N** of Paul's *Life* (BHG 1470) is related to both the *Paterikon* (BHG 1440t) and Georgios the Monk's (BHG 1442k.III) versions mentioned above.³¹ Redaction **N**, we might add, is itself an extensive *Paterikon* entry about Paul; it carries the title *Stories by Great and Holy Fathers; St Antony's Narration about Abba Paul of Thebes* (in 4,6-10, we find our episode).

²⁶ See Oldfather 1943, 3-251.

²⁷ All edited and discussed in Tubbs Corey 1943; see also Bidez 1900 and de Decker 1905.

²⁸ Redaction **b** (BHG 1467; Tubbs Corey 1943: 172-98), an abridged version of BHG 1466, was the basis for further redactions in Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopic, and Arabic; it does not contain our episode.

²⁹ Cf. Delmas 1900-1901 and Flusin 2004.

³⁰ We should remark that, unlike Georgios the Monk, who places the self-mutilating martyrdom at the time of Diocletian and Maximian, Jerome and the Greek redactions of Paul's *Life* place the event at the time of "Decius and Valerian" (*Life of Our Holy Father Paul the Theban, the One in the Desert* 2,1).

³¹ See Tubbs Corey 1943, 238-9 with Butler 1904, lxxiv and de Decker 1905, 61-73 (esp. 67-8 on Georgios the Monk) on BHG 1470 and BHG 1442k and further Wortley 2010, no. 502, and Detoraki 2015, 125 on the relations between BHG 1470, 1440t, and 1442k.

Could our synaxarist have lifted his narrative either from the earliest Greek *Life*, at the end of which Jerome is mentioned as the author (BHG 1466; section 18), or from the *Life's Paterikon* redaction (BHG 1470), attributed to St Antony's storytelling (an attribution incited itself by another reference toward the end of BHG 1466: 13,16)?³² By a happy coincidence, Jerome is mentioned in Delehaye's edition only in a notice for June 15 printed from **Mc** (f. 178r).³³ It is unclear how much weight we should place on this unique occurrence with regard to the origins of the recension of the *Synaxarion* preserved in Coislin 223. Nevertheless, again close reading suggests that the Philosophos *synaxarion* does not depend on either BHG 1466 or BHG 1470, but actually on the most popular redaction of Jerome's translated *Life*, a version prepared by Symeon Metaphrastes (or someone in his team) sometime in the late tenth century.

In the seventh volume, that is, of Metaphrastes' *Ménologion*, for January 4, or 5, or 16, or, more commonly, 15, we find a revised *Life* of Paul, based on the redaction a mentioned above, and titled *Life and Conduct of our Father Paul of Thebes* (BHG 1468).³⁴ This redaction, which is represented by the largest number of manuscripts (over 80 witnesses³⁵) retains, but also rewrites the episode with the young man tortured in the garden (5,5-6,8 = a 3,3-9), combining it with a previous, but separate incident in the *Life* of Paul (5,1-5,4 = a 3,1-2) (I cite here both sections 5 and 6 from Metaphrastes' text, marking all differences from redaction a in italics, which in fact represent the majority of the text):

- (5) Ἐνός ποτε τῶν ἀγίων τῷ ξύλῳ προσηλωμένου καὶ μηδὲν μηδαμῶς τῶν κολάσεων ἐπιστρεφομένου ἀλλὰ γενναίαν ὅτι μάλιστα τὴν ἔνστασιν ἐπιδεικνυμένου, μέλιτι προσέταττον οἱ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐχθροὶ δι' ὄλου τοῦ σώματος αὐτὸν χρίσθαι,

εἶτα τοῦ ἡλίου διακαῶς φλέγοντος ὑπὸ δριμυτάτην ἀγαγόντας ἀκτίνα καταθεῖναι, μηδὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐάσαντας ἔχειν ἐλευθερίως ἀλλὰ τὰς χεῖρας ἀπηγκωνισμένον καὶ δεσμοῖς αὐτὰς περιβεβλημένας ἔχοντα, ἵνα μηδὲ τῶν μῶν τε καὶ τῶν μελισσῶν τὰ σμήνη δυνατὸς εἶη ἀποσοβεῖν.

Ὁ δὲ καὶ οὕτως ἔχων καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν μῶν δακνόμενος, τοῦτο δὲ τοῖς κέντροις τῶν σφηκῶν βαλλόμενος, καθάπερ ἐρεθισμὸν αὐτὰ τοῦ πρὸς Χριστὸν πόθου ποιούμενος,

ἄλλος ἦν πρὸς μὲν αὐτὸν πλέον ἀνατεινόμενος, τῶν δηγμάτων δὲ καὶ πληγῶν ὀλίγα φροντίζων, καὶ ταῦτα νεότητος εὖ ἔχων καὶ ἡλικίας ἀνδρὶ καὶ ὄρα κεκοσμημένος. Ὁ καὶ ὕλην οἱ πονηροὶ κακίας εὐρόντες καὶ

³² The assumption that the *synaxarion* of Philosophos came from Jerome's *Life* is made in Halkin 1967.

³³ We find the same entry in Athen. 2004 (f. 245r) and in Par. suppl. gr. 1016 (f. 82r). Delehaye prints, as is his custom, only the relevant notice (Syn. CP, col. 752,46): Ἰερώνυμος ἐν εἰρήνῃ τελειοῦται. In the manuscripts, however, the entry is followed by these two verses: Ἰερώνυμον τὸν μέγαν τεθηκότα, / Μέγας μένε στέφανος, οὐκ ἀπεικότως. The poem is registered in Vassiss 2005, 359.

³⁴ For the seventh volume of Metaphrastes' *Ménologion*, its contents and preserving manuscripts, see Ehrhard 1938, 531-44; January 5 seems to be the original placement of the feast of St Paul. BHG 1468 is preserved also in a somewhat abridged redaction (BHG 1468c; ed. and trans. Halkin 1985, 46-68), which also includes our episode.

³⁵ Tubbs Corey 1943, 199.

βουληθέντες οὐ τῷ σώματι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ λυμήνασθαι τοῦ γενναίου, τί ποιῶσι καὶ ποίαν πρὸς τοῦτο μηχανὴν ἐξευρίσκουσιν;

Λαγρόντες αὐτὸν ἐν κήπῳ μαλακῷ τινι καὶ καλὸν ἀνθούντι, ἐνθα καὶ ῥοδιναῖα καὶ κρίνων χάριτες ἐπεφύκεσαν, καὶ εὐωδία τις ἐπέπνει χαριστάτη,

παρέρρει δὲ καὶ ὕδωρ ἡσυχῶς διαυγὲς οἶον καὶ ποτιμώτατον, τὰ τε φύλλα τῶν δένδρων λιγυρὸν ὑπήγει τῷ ζεφύρῳ κινούμενα, καὶ καρπῶ τὰ δένδρα βρίζοντα ἦν, ἰδεῖν μὲν ἡδίστω καὶ χρήσασθαι γλυκυτάτῳ, καὶ ὁλωσ ὀφθαλμῶν ἦν ὁ κήπος τρυφή καὶ ψυχῆς ἀνεσις.

ἐνταῦθα καὶ στρωμνὴ μάλα μαλακὴ καὶ ἀβρώς τὸ σῶμα διαναπαύουσα, παρ' αὐτῶν τίθεται.

Ἐν ταύτῃ τὸν ἀδελγὴν ὕπτιον ἀνακλίναντες, καὶ μηδὲ τὰς χεῖρας τῶν δεσμῶν ἀφέντες, λείπεται μόνον.

- (6) Ἐτελεύτα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἡ ἐπίνοια εἰς πράγμα κομιδῇ βέβηλον καὶ μύσους μεστόν.

Εἰσήγετο γάρ μετὰ τὴν ἐξέλευσιν αὐτῶν ἐκείνων κόρη τις, τὸ εἶδος μὲν εὐπρεπῆς, τὴν ψυχὴν δὲ καὶ λίαν δουσιδῆς καὶ ἀκλαστος, ἥτις τῷ γενναίῳ ἐκείνῳ, φεῦ, συνανακλιθεῖσα, τὰ πάντων ἔπραττε μιαιρώτατα.

Περιεφύετο αὐτῷ, συνεπλέκετο, περιέργως ἡσάκετο, κατέψα. ὦ μιαιρὰς χεῖρός, αἰδοῦς ἤπτετο διὰ πάντων ὁλωσ ἐκκαλουμένη πρὸς ἡδονήν.

Τί οὖν ἔδει ποιεῖν τὴν σώφρονα ψυχὴν ἐκείνην;

Τί ἔδει ἀποροῦντα πρὸς τοσοῦτου κακοῦ λύσιν καὶ διώσασθαι τὴν μιαιρὰν μὴ δυνάμενον;

Εὐρεν ἐκείνης καὶ οὐκ ἠπόρησε λίαν μισοπύνης ὦν. ἔρωτα γάρ ἀντιστήσας ἔρωτι τῷ ἀκλάστῳ τὸν θεῖόν, καὶ δεῖξαι θελήσας ὅτι ῥῶον ἂν ὁ καθαρὸς καὶ φιλόθεος οὐδὲ μέλους οὐδὲ σαρκὸς φέισατο, ἵνα μόνον ἐαυτῷ τὸ σώφρον διαφυλάξῃ, δῆγματι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γλώτταν ἐκκόψας καὶ διαμασησάμενος ἀντὶ φιλήματος τῇ ὄψει τῆς πόρνης προσπτύει, πάθει πάθος καὶ ἡδονὴν ὀδύνη σβέσαι καλῶς διανοησάμενος, καὶ ὑποδείξας τοῖς σωφρονεῖν βουλομένοις, εἶπου τινὰ τοιοῦτον συμβαίη παθεῖν, πράγμα θαυμαστά μὲν ῥάδιον, μιμησασθαι δὲ χαλεπόν.

Πλὴν ἀλλὰ τούτων ἄλις ἐπιγεται γὰρ ὁ λόγος ἐπὶ τὸν θεῖον ἤδη μεταβῆναι Παῦλον ὡςπερ ὑπέσχετο.

- (5) *When once one of the saints was nailed on a piece of wood and paid no attention whatsoever to any of the tortures, but instead displayed the greatest bravery and resistance, the enemies of truth ordered that he be anointed with honey all over his body,*

and then, as the sun was blazing, they placed him directly under the fiercest rays, allowing him no freedom of movement, but having his hands tied behind his back and bound with tethers, so that he would be unable to push away the swarm of flies as well as bees.

Even so, and though he was been bitten by flies and hurt by the stings of bees, he considered all this to be some kind of incitement for the desire for Christ;

clearly, he was uplifting himself more toward Him, showing little care for the bites and the wounds, even though he was at the bloom of his youth, adorned by the beauty of that age. This was something that these wicked men used as material for evil in their wish to destroy not only the body but also the soul of that brave man; so, what did they do and what kind of device did they conjure up?

They led him to a luxurious garden, full of beautiful flowers, where roses and graceful lilies grew, where some most delightful fragrance was breezing.

Water too was gently flowing by, a water most clear and potable, and the tree leaves resounded sweetly, moved by the westerly wind, and the trees were filled with fruits, of the sweetest kind and most pleasant to eat; simply put, the garden was rapture to the eyes and relaxation to the soul.

There, a very luxurious bed, that could provide ample rest to the body, was placed by them.

On it, they lay the athlete face up, and left him on his own, without unbinding his hands.

- (6) *Their wicked plan was concluded by something entirely sacrilegious and full of defilement.*

Namely, after they themselves left, they sent in a girl, with a comely face, yet with a very ugly and wanton soul, who (alas!) lay beside that brave man, and did the most filthy things.

She embraced him, entwined herself around him, kissed him sexually, caressed him, touched (what a filthy hand!) his pudenda, trying to arouse him in every possible way toward pleasure.

So what should that chaste soul do?

What should he do, when he lacked the means against such great evil and was unable to push away the filthy woman?

He found what to do, and discovered the means, since he detested wickedness. By setting divine love against licentious love, and by wanting to show that a pure and god-loving man would, without second thought, prefer not to spare even a body part or his flesh, only so that he might preserve his chastity, he bits and cuts off his own tongue, chews it up, and spits it in the face of the whore. Quenching passion with another form of passion, and pleasure with pain, was an ingenious stratagem, displaying to all those who wish to remain chaste (if ever anyone was ever exposed to such a situation) an act that is easy to admire, but difficult to emulate.

But enough about all this; our story urges us to move on to the divine Paul, as we promised.

As is perhaps usual for Metaphrastes, the episode provides an opportunity to capitalize on learnedness and appropriate not only patristic³⁶, but also Greco-Roman rhetorical discourse. With phrases from Homer's *Odyssey*,³⁷ Plato's *Phaedrus*,³⁸ Longos' *Daphne and Chloe*,³⁹ Achilles Tatios' *Leukippe and Kleitophon*,⁴⁰ and Libanios' *Antiochikos*,⁴¹ Metaphrastes romanticizes further the erotic scene, without de-sexualizing it.

Here the plot thickens. The Metaphrastic version of our story was most influential in the Greek tradition, as one might expect from the wide circulation of Metaphrastes' *Ménologion* and the double authority of orthodoxy and learnedness it commanded.⁴²

³⁶ See:

- 5,4 ἡλικίας ἀνθει: cf. Basil, *Letters* 5,1,13 “ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἀνθει τῆς ἡλικίας,” recycled also in Symeon Metaphrastes, *Twenty Four Ethical Discourses, Selected from All the Works of Basil of Caesarea, Discourse 11, On Death* = PG 32,1268,46-7 as well as in his *Passion of St Euphemia* (BHG 620) 2 “τὴν καλλιπάρθενον Εὐφημίαν, ἣ κάλλει τε σώματος καὶ ἀρετῆς ὥρα, ἀνθει τε ἡλικίας καὶ γένους περιφανεία ...”
- 5,5 ποίαν πρὸς τοῦτο μηχανὴν ἐξευρίσκουσιν; cf. John Chrysostom, *Homilies on Genesis* = PG 54, 554, 34-5 “Ὅρα πάλιν οἷαν μηχανὴν ἐξευρίσκει!”
- 6,2 κόρη τις, τὸ εἶδος μὲν εὐπρεπῆς, τὴν ψυχὴν δὲ καὶ λιαν δυσειδῆς καὶ ἀκόλαστος; cf. Basil, *On the “Take Heed to Thyself”* 32,18-20 “διάκρινον ... τὸν εὐπρεπῆ ἀπὸ τοῦ δυσειδοῦς,” recycled also in Symeon Metaphrastes, *Twenty Four Ethical Discourses, Selected from All the Works of Basil of Caesarea, Discourse 11, On Death* = PG 32, 1261, 27-8.

³⁷ 5,7 καρπῷ τὰ δένδρα βριθοντα: cf. Homer, *Odyssey* 19,112 “βριθῆσι δὲ δένδρα καρπῷ.”

³⁸ 5,6-7 εὐωδία τις ἐπέπνει χαριεστάτη. Παρέρρει δὲ καὶ ὕδωρ ἡσύχως ... λιγυρὸν ὑπῆχει: cf. Plato, *Phaedrus* 230b3-c3 “ὡς ἀκμὴν ἔχει τῆς ἀνθης, ὡς ἂν εὐωδέστατον παρέχοι τὸν τόπον· ἢ τε αὐ πηγὴ χαριεστάτη ὑπὸ τῆς πλατάνου βεῖ μάλα ψυχροῦ ὕδατος ... τὸ εὐνουν τοῦ τόπου ὡς ἀγαπητὸν καὶ σφόδρα ἡδύ· θερινόν τε καὶ λιγυρὸν ὑπῆχει τῷ τῶν τεττίγων χορῷ.”

³⁹ 6,2-3 συνανακλιθεῖσα ... περιεφύετο αὐτῷ: cf. Longos, *Daphne and Chloe* 3,14,5 “Δάφνις συγκατακλινεῖς αὐτῇ πολὺν χρόνον ἔκειτο ... καὶ κατόπιν περιεφύετο μιμούμενος τοὺς τράγους.”

⁴⁰ 6,3 κατέψα: cf. Achilles Tatios, *Leukippe and Kleitophon* 1,14,3 (cf. 1,12,2) “ὁ μὲν κατέψα σου τοὺς ἰδρώτας.” Cf. *Suda* κ 1030: Κατέψα: τῆ χειρὶ ὠμάλιζε.

⁴¹ 5,7 διαυγὲς οἶον καὶ ποτιμώτατον: cf. Libanios, *Orations* 11,242 “ψυχρόν τε καὶ διαυγὲς καὶ ποτιμώτατον.”

⁴² On this latter feature of the *Ménologion*, see Papaioannou 2021, 502-511.

We discover its vocabulary and phrasing in a revised version of the *Chronicle* of Georgios the Monk made in the eleventh century,⁴³ in Xanthopoulos' text mentioned earlier,⁴⁴ as well as in a hagiography by the metropolitan of Philadelphia Makarios Chrysokephalos (ca. 1300 – 1382; PLP 31138),⁴⁵ and in a citation of our story by the late Byzantine scholar Makarios Makres, abbot of the Pantokrator monastery (ca. 1383 – 1431; PLP 16379).⁴⁶

Most importantly, the entire Metaphrastic story and its wording were picked up by Euthymios the Iberian, the Hagiorites (c. 955/960 – 13 May 1028; PmbZ 21960), when, based on an earlier Georgian text, he composed the afterwards also popular Greek life of *Barlaam and Ioasaph* (BHG 224 and 224a; CPG 8120), some time soon after Metaphrastes completed his *Ménologion*.⁴⁷ Without of course acknowledging it, Euthymios used the episode from Metaphrastes' *Life* of Paul in order to elaborate two crucial scenes in his fictional life of prince Ioasaph:

– First, in portraying the temptation of Ioasaph by three anonymous (as in the *Life* of Paul) lustful ladies⁴⁸; here, the tempted man of our story becomes Ioasaph—indeed one of the phrases used in the relevant passage by Euthymios seems to be echoed also in the *synaxarion* of Philosophos⁴⁹ (remarkably, we may note, of all Byzantine *Synaxaria* printed in Delehaye's edition it is again only in Coislin 223 that Barlaam and Ioasaph are given entries⁵⁰).

⁴³ PG 110,41-1260, at 572,30-573,4, chapter 175 “Περὶ τοῦ μονάζοντος.” For the influence of Metaphrastes' text, cf. the phrase “καὶ τὴν αἰδῶ τοῦ ἁγίου μιαραῖς χερσὶν ἀπτομένου καὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀναφλέγον” (572,43-45; not present in the original text of Georgios the Monk) with Metaphrastes, *Life of Paul* 6,3 “ὡ μιαρᾶς χειρὸς, αἰδοῦς ἤπτετο διὰ πάντων ὄλων ἐκκαλουμένη πρὸς ἡδονήν.”

⁴⁴ Cf. Tubbs Corey 1943,198. Delehaye 1927, 40-1 had already noted the presence of our story in Xanthopoulos, without linking it however to the Metaphrastic version.

⁴⁵ Cf. Βίος καὶ πολιτεία καὶ μερικὴ θανάτων διήγησις τοῦ Ὁσίου Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Μελετίου τοῦ ὁμολογητοῦ (BHG 1246a) 31-32 “νεότητος δὲ εὖ ἔχων, καὶ ἡλικίας ἄνη [which must be corrected to ἀνθει], κεκοσμημένος,” with Metaphrastes 5,4.

⁴⁶ Πρὸς τοὺς σκανδαλιζομένους, Λόγος γ' 25: Καὶ ἐγγυᾶται μου τῷ λόγῳ σαφῶς ἄλλα τε λαμπρὰ παραδείγματα κάκεινός γε μὴν ὁ τῆς ἀγνείας ἀθλητῆς γενναιότατος, ὅς, ἐπεὶ διαληφθέντων αὐτῷ χειρῶν καὶ ποδῶν τοῖς δεσμοῖς, εὐπρεπὲς παρέστη καὶ ἡταιρικὸς γύναιον πάντα καταψῶν αὐτοῦ τὰ μέλη καὶ πᾶσι τρόποις πρὸς μίξιν ἐκβιαζόμενον, οὐκ ἔχων ὅ,τι χρῆσαιτο πρὸς δίωσιν τοῦ καθάρματος, τὴν γλώσσαν τοῖς ἰδίοις ὀδοῦσι διαμασῆσας κατὰ τοῦ ἀναιδοῦς τῆς μαινάδος προσώπου περιπλεκομένης καὶ φιλοσύνης ἀπέπτυσε καὶ οὕτω τῆς βίας ἀπήλλαξε καὶ τὴν ἐκτομὴν μᾶλλον τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔστερξε.

⁴⁷ On *Barlaam and Ioasaph*, see the discussion and bibliography in Messis & Papaioannou 2021, 201-203.

⁴⁸ *Barlaam and Ioasaph* 30,33-54: Αὐταὶ λοιπὸν περιεφύοντο αὐτῷ, συνεπλέκοντο, πρὸς τὴν μυσαρὰν συνουσίαν ἡρέθιζον, διὰ πάντων ῥημάτων τε καὶ σχημάτων πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἐκκαλούμεναι [...] αἱ δὲ τὴν ὄψιν εὐπρεπεῖς, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν καὶ λίαν δυσειδεῖς κόραι ἐξῶθεν τὴν πονηρὰν ἐχορήγουν ὕλην [...] λύσιν ἐζῆτει εὐρεῖν τοῦ τοσοῦτου κακοῦ [...] ἔρωτι ἀνθίστησιν ἔρωτα, τῷ ἀκολάστῳ τὸν θεϊκόν.

⁴⁹ Cf. the phrase “πρὸς τὴν μυσαρὰν συνουσίαν ἡρέθιζον” and the wording “οὕτω μυσαρᾶς ἐπινοίας” in the *synaxarion* of Philosophos.

⁵⁰ Syn. CP, May 30 (717,49) (Barlaam) and Aug. 26 (925,60-61) (Ioasaph); cf. Volk 2009, 146; but see also below n. 83.

– Then, Euthymios borrowed the elaborate description of the garden from Metaphrastes’ portrayal of the martyrdom of the “young man” in order to imagine the paradise in Ioasaph’s vision of heaven that follows his temptation⁵¹—in fact, we should add, in Jerome’s original version, which Metaphrastes and Euthymios revised, the description of the garden was directly inspired from a similar seduction scene at the garden of Circe in Petronius’ *Satyricon* (131)⁵².

In Symeon Metaphrastes we have found the most significant influence on the Coislin 223 entry. The diction that the synaxarist employed (creatively, we should add) in order to describe saint Philosophos comes straight from the Metaphrastic text—along with the prevalence of the so-called historic present tense (a distinctive feature of Metaphrastes’ narrative style).⁵³ Of course there are differences too: in the *Synaxarion* the anonymous male protagonist of Metaphrastes (and, earlier, Jerome) gets a name; he is no longer described as a beautiful young man; the overtly sexual details of the description are left out; the main character reaches a martyr’s death—there is no mention of a decapitation in either Metaphrastes or in Jerome; and, finally, Philosophos is assigned a separate date on the calendar of venerated saints.

What has happened then? An anonymous, rather novelistic figure, a young man attacked by a beautiful “maiden”—as in Metaphrastes and not a “whore” as in all other versions of the story—, mentioned in passing within a hagiographical narrative, becomes in the *Synaxarion* a historical person, with a name, a biography, and a feastday.⁵⁴

⁵¹ *Barlaam and Ioasaph* 30, 204-211: “Ἐνθα φυτὰ μὲν ἑώρα παντοδαπὰ καὶ ποικίλα καρποῖς ξένοις τισὶ καὶ θαυμασίοις βριθοντα, ἰδεῖν τε ἠδίστοις καὶ ἄψασθαι ποθεινοῖς. Τὰ τε φύλλα τῶν δένδρων λιγυρὸν ὑπήχει, αὔρα τινὶ λεπτοτάτη καὶ ἀκόρεστον καὶ χαριεστάτην ἐκπεμπούση εὐωδῖαν κινούμενα. Θρόνοι τε ἐτέθηγτο ἐκέισε ἐκ καθαρωτάτου χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθων τιμίων κατεσκευασμένοι, λαμπρὰν οἶαν αἰγλήν ἀφιέντες, καὶ κλίνας ὁμοίως, ἐξάλλοις τισὶ στρωμαῖς καὶ τῷ κάλλει τὴν διήγησιν νικώσας κατηγλαῖσμένοι. Ὑδατὰ τε παρέρρει διαυγῆ λιαν καὶ αὐτὰς εὐφραλινοντα τὰς ὀράσεις.

⁵² The relevant phrases from the passage in Petronius’ *Satyricon* (131) that inspired Jerome (then Metaphrastes, and then Euthymios) read as follows: *admotisque manibus temptare coepit inguinum vires ... nobilis aestivas platanus diffuderat umbras et bacis redimita Daphne tremulaeque cupressus et circum tonsae trepidanti vertice pinus. has inter ludebat aquis errantibus amnis spumeus et querulo vexabat rore lapillos. premebat illa resoluta marmoreis cervicibus aureum torum myrtoque florenti quietum ... verberabat. ... totoque corpore in amplexum eius immisus non praecantatis usque ad satietatem oculis fruor.* I would like to thank Jan Bremmer for bringing this to my attention.

⁵³ For the Metaphrastic diction in the Coislin 223 entry, see the notes to the text edited in the Appendix below. As will become obvious from these notes, the synaxarist used phrases from the entire episode from Metaphrastes (who combined, as noted above, two separate incidents from the original *Life* Paul into one); nevertheless, the synaxarist described only Philosophos’ martyrdom in the garden (5,5-6,8 = a 3,3-9), and not the earlier torture with honey spread on the body (Metaphrastes 5,1-5,4 = a 3,1-2).

⁵⁴ A similar transformation, we might add, happened later also in the Latin tradition as the young male protagonist in the episode included in Jerome’s *Life* of Paul was assigned a date (July 28), though not a name, in the Roman Martyrology; see Delehaye 1927, 40 (n. 1).

The historiographical vagueness created by Jerome and retained in Metaphrastes is filled by the synaxarist, satisfying an avid Byzantine desire to populate the past with every saint ever mentioned or imagined. A perfect “*canonisation littéraire*” as Delehaye would have called it.⁵⁵

FATHERS AND SONS

Leaving aside the uncharted influence of Metaphrastes’ *Mênologion* and its type of literariness on post-1000 editions of the *Synaxarion*, which redaction A of the Philosophos entry exemplifies, we may ask again: have we come to the bottom of our story? If we were to interpret the Philosophos *synaxarion* as an act of zealous cataloguing of a story authorized, i.e. historicized, by several strands of writing (*Paterika*, *Beneficial Tales*, chronicles, ecclesiastical historiography, and, most significantly, Jerome and the *Mênologion* of Metaphrastes), why not add some further motivations? By the time of our synaxarist, yet another version of the story of a Christian, tempted by a woman and spitting his cut tongue so as to avoid her, was in circulation in Byzantium. In all appearances, this story was deemed apocryphal and never made it into the official calendar or ritual of the Byzantine church; but this did not preclude its gaining some popularity.

The story in question is a martyrdom account of an invented saint by the name of Niketas, known as the demon-fighter, the *daimonomachos*, who was supposedly the son of no other than Maximian, *the* (along with Diocletian) emperor-persecutor of Christians.⁵⁶ Niketas’ unofficial cult was associated with demon possession and demon healing and was indeed banned by the Constantinopolitan church (at least according to twelfth-century evidence).⁵⁷

The first attestation of Niketas’ story in Greek is found in a manuscript, Milan, Ambrosiana D 092 sup., which was written around the very same time that Symeon Metaphrastes and Euthymios the Iberian were composing the *Mênologion* and *Barlaam and Ioasaph*—notably, the manuscript was made in Southern Italy, a fact that could

⁵⁵ Delehaye 1909, 75 (on figures canonized based on the *Passion* of St George).

⁵⁶ On the construction of “Maximianos” as a literary figure in Byzantine *Passions*, see Papaioannou 2017, 300-1 as well as Charis Messis’ contribution in this volume.

⁵⁷ See the following scholion by Theodoros Balsamon on the 60th *Canon* of the council in Trullo (ed. and trans. Messis 2020): Διά τοι τούτο καὶ διάφοροι ἀγίωτατοι πατριάρχαι, πολλοὺς προσκαθημένους μετ’ ἀλύσεων ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Νικήτα, καὶ ἑτέρους τὰς τριόδους περιερχομένους καὶ προσποιουμένους δαιμονᾶν, κατέσχον μετ’ αὐθεντίας καὶ εἰς δημοσίας φρουρὰς κατέκλεισαν ἀκολούθως τῷ κανόνι.

lead us to a long digression, but which we must bypass here. In any case, the text in question was copied also elsewhere in Byzantine territories and is preserved in several witnesses (29 according to *Pinakes*),⁵⁸ while Niketas' story was available also in Latin and in Slavonic, becoming very popular in places like Venice⁵⁹ and, especially, in the Slavic world.⁶⁰

Among the many tortures to which Niketas was submitted by his father "Maximianos," we also find this one (cited here from one of the three main Greek redactions printed by Vasilij Istrin in 1899; *Passion of St Niketas* 3; BHG 1343):

Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς κελεύει εἰσαχθῆναι εὐγενῆ καὶ πανεύφημον κόρην καὶ κελεύει δεθῆναι τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ἄνω καὶ τοὺς πόδας κάτω καὶ τεθῆναι αὐτὴν μετ' αὐτοῦ, ὅπως ἐρασθῆ τῆς κόρης καὶ ἀρνήσῃται τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ θύσῃ τοῖς θεοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Ὁ δὲ μακάριος οὐκ ἠνέσχετο τῆς κόρης καὶ κόψας ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ γλώττης ἔρριψεν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ λέγων αὐτῷ. "Δέξαι βρῶμα, κύον σαρκοβόρε". Ἰδοῦσα δὲ ἡ κόρη, ὅτι ἐγεμίσθη τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ αἵματος, σφόδρα ἐσιχάθη αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπελθοῦσα πρὸς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ λέγει αὐτῷ. "Δέσποτα αὐτοκράτορ, ὁ υἱός σου γλώτταν οὐκ ἔχει καὶ ἦν εἶχεν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ παρέδωκεν".⁶¹

Upon hearing these words, the emperor orders for a noble and acclaimed maiden to be brought in; and he orders that Niketas' hands be tied up and his feet tied down, and that she be placed with him, so that he might desire the girl and renounce Christ and sacrifice for the gods of the Pagans. The blessed Niketas did not submit to the girl; and he cut a piece from his own tongue and threw it toward his father, saying to him: "Take this to eat, o flesh-eating dog." When the girl saw that his mouth was filled with blood, she was extremely disgusted by him and turning to his father says to him: "Lord emperor, your son has no tongue; he delivered the one he had to God."

⁵⁸ See <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/saint/662/>

⁵⁹ Cf. Chiesa 1998: 226-7 with BHL 6087. See also the following reference in the Λόγοι διδασκτικοί (47-54) by the Veneto-Cretan poet Marinos Phalieros (1397 – 1474): Ἄς εἶσαι πάντα ταπεινὸς καὶ ὑπομονῆς μεγάλης, / διότι αὐτὴ ἡ ταπεινώσις καὶ ἡ ἴπομονὴ εἶναι ἐκεῖνη, / λέγω σου, ὅπου ἐστεφάνωσεν τὴν Ἁγία Αἰκατερίνη, / τὸν Ἁγίον τὸν θαυμαστὸν μάρτυραν τὸν Νικήτα, / υἱὸν τοῦ Μαξιμιανοῦ, παρὰ νόμου ἀποστάτα. / καὶ εἶναι εἰς τὴν Παράδεισον, λαμπάδα ὁμπρὸς τοῦ ἄφτει / μόνον διὰ τὴν ταπεινώσιν καὶ ὑπομονὴν του ταύτη.

⁶⁰ See Marković 2008. For the story of Niketas, see further Papaioannou *forthcoming* (with edition, translation and commentary of a previously unpublished redaction).

⁶¹ Cf. also BHG 1344, section 4: Καὶ πάλιν κελεύει αὐτὸν χεῖρας καὶ πόδας δεθῆναι καὶ κελεύει ἐλθεῖν κόρην παρθένον καὶ πάνυ εὐμορφον καὶ ἐπιθῆναι αὐτὴν ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ, ὅπως συνεμβληθῆ τῇ ἁμαρτία καὶ θύσῃ τοῖς θεοῖς. Δήσαντες δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰς χεῖρας εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω καὶ θέντες αὐτὸν κάτω, ἐπέθηκαν αὐτὴν ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ γυμνή, ὅπως πλανήσῃ αὐτὸν διὰ τῆς σαρκός, ἵνα θύσῃ τοῖς θεοῖς. ὁ δὲ μακάριος Νικήτας οὐκ εἶχεν τί ποιῆσαι καὶ τοῖς ὁδοῦσι αὐτοῦ ἔκοψεν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γλώτταν καὶ ἔρριψεν αὐτὴν τοῦ κυνὸς λέγων. "Δέξον, κύον, βρῶμα." Ἰδοῦσα δὲ ἡ μιὰ κόρη τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ῥέοντα τὸ αἷμα, σφοδρῶς ἐσιχάθη αὐτὸν καὶ οὐκ ἐσυνεβλήθη τῇ ἁμαρτία, καὶ ἀπελθοῦσα πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα λέγει αὐτῷ. "Γίνωσκε, ὅτι ὁ υἱός σου γλώτταν οὐκ ἔχει." Τοῦ δὲ μακαρίου ἡ γλώσσα ἐπανεδώκε κελεύσει θεοῦ καὶ ἀπεκατεστάθη ὑγιής. The episode is absent from the third redaction printed by Istrin: BHG 1346. Istrin's edition, we might add, did not take into account the Milan ms. mentioned above; in general, a new edition of all Greek redactions is a desideratum.

The story-line of Philosophos is clearly in the background of the above account⁶², but the latter's wording does not relate to any of the versions presented thus far, just as St Niketas does not appear (as far as I can tell) in any *Synaxarion* preserved in Greek, even if it would nicely fit one of the many intended effects of the *Synaxarion* in its original conception, namely the close association of imperial authority with sainthood—here by linking a saint biologically with (and thus fully subverting) the exemplary tyrant.⁶³

Jerome's story (via Greek, via Latin?) like a free agent was employed by the anonymous author of the martyrdom of the fictional Niketas in order to highlight further the tension between father and son. For the martyr's cutting of his own tongue represents in St Niketas not only the refusal to submit to the voluptuousness of the opposite sex, but is also a symbol for a son who yields his very body to his flesh-eating father in order to preserve the freedom of his soul; a symbol perhaps of the simple fact that parents give us life, but also death.

Could it be that the author behind Philosophos' *synaxarion* took the more authoritative version of the story from Metaphrastes, and gave a proper new name to the male protagonist, in order to also rescue it from its appropriation by the apocryphal tale of a non-existent saintly son of the emperor Maximian? We shall never know. And, whatever the answer, we still have not come to the bottom of our story.

THE HISTORY OF SYNTAXARIA AND AN EXCURSUS ON THE RECENSION M

As already noted, *synaxarion* A of Philosophos is preserved in three further witnesses, not cited by Delehaye, three *Synaxaria* of the second semester (Mar.-Aug.); these would merit further study, but this cannot be performed here.⁶⁴ What concerns us instead is

⁶² A fact already noted in Delehaye 1927, 40, but with reference only to the Latin version of Niketas' story.

⁶³ Cf. e.g. the Coislin 223 entry (which again appears only here among the *Synaxaria* printed by Delehaye) for martyr Drosis, supposedly the daughter of emperor Trajan (Syn. CP, March 22 [553,11-556,46]) (see BHG 2119e for further witnesses).

⁶⁴ Athen. 2004, Vatop. 679, and Paris. suppl. gr. 1016. Athen. 2004, especially, is a remarkable book. It was written sometime between 1360 and 1371, for Helena, the Bulgarian princess, sister of tsar Ivan Alexander of Bulgaria and wife of the Serbian king Stefan IV Dusan; at the time of the copying of the manuscript, Helena had become a nun, assuming the name Yelisaveta. For all this see Politis 1991, 72-3 (though without any detailed contents of the *Synaxarion* or discussion of its relation to Mc); see also Politis 1930 and 1957, 312-6 (where it is proposed that the scribe working for Helena and her spiritual father Dorotheos was a hieromonachos Ieremias who also wrote Xeropotamou 234), with Lamberz 1991, 57 (where the identification with Ieremias is rejected). For Vatop. 679, which in my view is written in the same graphic habit as Athen. 2004, see Eustratiades and Arkadios 1924, 135. For Paris. suppl. gr. 1016 see Astruc and Concasty 1960, 97.

that these manuscripts, along with Coislin 223, are not the only ones that transmit our story. Delehayé indeed discussed at least three further manuscripts, related to **Mc**, in the introduction to his edition⁶⁵:

- Oxford, Christ Church College, gr. 2 (assigned the siglum **Md** in Delehayé), dated to the first third of the 14th c. (Constantinople)⁶⁶;
- Paris, BNF, Coislin 309 (**Me**), 14th c.⁶⁷; and
- Paris, BNF, gr. 1577, dated to the year 1520 (**Mf**)⁶⁸.

Md and **Mf** are *Synaxaria*, while **Me** is a *Ménaion* for the months of March, April, and May; it thus belongs to a new recension of this originally purely hymnographic type of book, where *synaxaria* are placed as liturgical readings right after the sixth ode of any given day's *kanôn* or *kanones*⁶⁹—it is the type of *Ménaion* that was copied in printed books and ultimately supplanted, in liturgical usage, *Synaxaria* altogether.

Delehayé presented these manuscripts, but did not record their readings. Had he done so, he would have realized that they do in fact contain an entry for Philosophos, but preserve a different redaction. This we may call redaction **B**, and it reads as follows (all differences from **A** related to position, syntax, or morphology are marked with italics; variants that are additionally related to diction are marked in bold characters; for the full critical edition see the Appendix below):

Οὗτος ὁ μέγας μάρτυς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Φιλόσοφος, ἐκ τῆς χάρας ὧν τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων, ὡς ὁ μέγας ἐν ἀσκηταῖς Ἀντωνίος διηγῆσατο, τοῖόνδε τὸν τοῦ μαρτυρίου δρόμον τετέλεκε.

⁶⁵ Delehayé discusses also a fourth one, *Codex bibliothecae cl. v. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus* = **Mg**, a *Synaxarion* (March-Aug.) dated to the 14th-15th c., which was in the private collection of Papadopoulos-Kerameus at the time that Delehayé was working on his edition; it is unclear to me what has happened to this manuscript that is currently not included among the holdings of the National Library of Russia in Saint Petersburg (where all other manuscripts that were originally in Papadopoulos-Kerameus' possession ended up).

⁶⁶ For the dating and location, see Hutter 1993, 129-132; Delehayé dated the ms. to the 13th c., while Halkin 1948a to the 12th.

⁶⁷ See Devreesse 1945, 299 with Halkin 1968, 277.

⁶⁸ Halkin 1968, 215; cf. also Politis 1958, 279 and RGK II 375. *Pinakes* (<https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/oeuvre/17580/>) records only three Paris witnesses for Philosophos' *synaxarion*: Coislin 223, Coislin 309, and gr. 2075 (to which we shall return below).

⁶⁹ As far as I can tell, this development in the history of the *Ménaion* occurred over the course of the twelfth century and was spread by the year 1200 (see e.g. mss. Par. gr. 1575, Par. suppl. gr. 152, Petropol. gr. 227, and Vind. theol. gr. 33; cf. Delehayé 1902, xxxvii-xxxviii); Krivko (2011-2012, 52) dates the development to the eleventh century, but on tenuous evidence. **Me**, we should add, represents a further, fourteenth-c.(?) stage in this development where the *Ménaia* incorporate the *synaxaria* of recension **M**, in which each *synaxarial* notice is usually followed by calendar verses (a phenomenon to which we will return).

Κήπος ἦν τερπνότατος, καὶ πάσης ἡδονῆς πλήρης, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ κλίνη τεθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου κεκαλλωπισμένη· τίθεται ὑπτίος ὁ Φιλόσοφος ἐπάνω αὐτῆς, καὶ δεσμευθεὶς τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας, λόγους θελκτικούς καὶ ἀσεμένους ὑπὸ τῆς παραστάσης αὐτῷ μαινάδος γυναικὸς ἤκουε. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὀφθαλμοὺς ὁ γενναῖος, συνέστειλε διὰ τὸ μὴ βλέπειν, τὴν δὲ ὀσφρησιν καὶ ἀκοὴν μὴ δυνάμενος συστελεῖται δεδεμένος ἄν, τί ποιεῖ; Τὴν ἰδίαν γλώσσαν τοῖς ὀδοῦσι μασσώμενος, καὶ ὀδύνας ἀφορήτους ἑαυτῷ προξενῶν, ἔμενεν ἀνήκοος, καὶ τὴν ὀσφρησιν μὴδ' ὀπωσοῦν αἰσθανόμενος. Τὴν δὲ ἄσεμνον ἐκείνην καταβρέχων τῇ γλώσσῃ αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἰδίοις αἵμασι, τὴν τε μορφήν καὶ τοὺς χιτῶνας αὐτῆς πάμπαν ἠχρεῖωσεν, αὐτὸς ἀβλαβῆς διαμείνας.

Οὕτως ἀγωνισάμενος ὁ γεννάδας καὶ μὴ ἠττηθεὶς, ἀπετημήθη τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ χαίρει αἰώνίως ἐν οὐρανοῖς.

This great martyr of Christ Philosophos, being from the land of the Alexandrians as Antony, the great among the ascetics, recounted, completed the course of martyrdom in the following way.

There was a most delightful garden, full of every sort of pleasure, and in it there was a *beautifully adorned bed, placed there by the tyrant*. Philosophos was laid *on it*, face up; with his hands and feet *bound*, he was exposed to the seductive and lascivious words of a whore who had come to him. The brave man closed his eyes so as not to see; but as he was bound and could not block his nose and ears, what does he do? He chewed his own tongue with his teeth, causing unbearable pains to himself, and thus could not bear, nor could he smell at all. Instead he splattered that lascivious woman with his tongue along with his own blood, and ruined her appearance and her clothes, while he remained unharmed.

Having fought in this way and remaining undefeated, that brave man was beheaded, and *now enjoys eternal joy* in heaven.

As is immediately apparent, this version is shorter than redaction **A**. It also bears some marks of a less learned register of Greek.⁷⁰ At that, almost all aspects of Metaphrastic diction that distinguish **A** are absent and, in at least one case, **B** seems to recall the *Paterikon* version (BHG 1440c), printed earlier in this study.⁷¹

Yet it is simultaneously clear that the two redactions are closely related to each other and are working with essentially the same text. Is **B** an abridged, simplified version of **A**? Or is **A** an expanded, *Metaphrased* version of **B**? Or do both reflect a now lost text? Should we imagine two competing branches of the Philosophos *synaxarion*? One small shared detail in the two redactions might suggest that **B** is a reworking of **A**. Namely, in all the preserved versions of our story, it is only in Metaphrastes and in *synaxaria* **A** and **B** that the martyr is said to “chew” his tongue.⁷² It seems more

⁷⁰ Note e.g. the phrase “ἐπάνω αὐτῆς” and the nominative “κλίνη τεθεῖσα” as opposed to the phrases “ἐπὶ ταύτης” and “κλίνης τεθείσης” (in Genitive absolute) of **A**. See also the use of the articular infinitive in the phrase “διὰ τὸ μὴ βλέπειν” and the awkward double dative “τῇ γλώσσῃ αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἰδίοις αἵμασι.”

⁷¹ Cf. “καὶ ὀδύνας ἀφορήτους ἑαυτῷ προξενῶν” (**B**; with no equivalent in **A**) with “καὶ ἑαυτῷ μὲν πόνον καὶ ἀλγηδόνας ἀντὶ ἡδονῶν πεποίηκεν” (BHG 1440c, as edited above).

⁷² Cf. “τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γλώτταν ἐκκόψας καὶ διαμασῆσάμενος” (Metaphrastes); “τὴν ἰδίαν γλώσσαν τοῖς ὀδοῦσι κόψας καὶ διαμασῆσάμενος” (**A**); “τὴν ἰδίαν γλώσσαν τοῖς ὀδοῦσι μασσώμενος” (**B**). Notably, while in Metaphrastes, in *synaxarion* **A**, and all other versions, the martyr also cuts and spits his tongue, in *synaxarion* **B**, the cutting and spitting of the tongue are not mentioned explicitly; an attempt to purify the story from the somewhat daring self-mutilation?

reasonable to think that this detail introduced by Metaphrastes was replicated in **A**, and then retained in the more simplified version of **B**.⁷³ But of course we may also be confronted with a coincidence, a common lost source, or a minor contamination of **B** with the Metaphrastic text.

Whatever the case, the relationship between the two redactions is not easy to decipher because it must be studied within the larger issue of the history of the recension **M** to which both *synaxaria* of Philosophos belong. Given the fact that Byzantine and post-Byzantine *Synaxaria* and *Mēnaia* remain rather understudied and are usually not presented properly in library catalogues of manuscript holdings, how can we be sure that we have identified all the witnesses of the two redactions? More importantly, do these redactions actually reflect two distinct recensions of Syn. CP, previously identified collectively as **M**? And when does recension **M** or its two separate branches date? And, accordingly, when was Philosophos first furnished with a *synaxarion*?

Here again, things become complicated. While I was able to identify only four witnesses of redaction **A** (and most probably two more⁷⁴), redaction **B** is transmitted, as far as I could confirm, in at least 19 manuscripts (most of which *Synaxaria*)—indeed, among these 19 manuscripts we find Lavra Δ 39 that was previously thought to be the earliest witness of recension **M**, dated to the twelfth century⁷⁵, but which, as I was able to ascertain, was written by the same monk Meletios (RGK II 375; PLP 17730), the scribe of **Mc** written in 1300/1301 (Meletios thus appears to have copied both an **MC** and an **MD** *Synaxarion* for the months of March through August). I have furthermore located, utilizing also four recent editions of specific *synaxaria* belonging to recension **M**,⁷⁶ some 12 additional manuscripts that most probably contain *synaxarion B* and another 9 with most probably a *synaxarion* for Philosophos, in either the **MC** or the **MD** tradition, all of which I was unable to consult for the purposes of the present contribution (see the list printed at the end of the Appendix below). We should be certain that these 46 manuscripts do not represent the total of **M** *Synaxaria* and *Mēnaia* that contain entries for the month of May—not to mention the total of manuscripts belonging to the recension **M** altogether.

⁷³ A similar retention of Metaphrastic style may lie behind the phrase “τίθεται ὑπτίος” in both **A** and **B**, which seems to echo Metaphrastes’ “στρωμνὴ μάλα μαλακὴ ... παρ’ αὐτῶν τίθεται. ἐν ταύτῃ τὸν ἀθλητὴν ὑπτίον ἀνακλιναντες ...”

⁷⁴ Lavra I 78 (14th c.) and H 166 (17th c.); see details in the list at the end of the Appendix below. Kotzabassi (2013, 169) cites also the 14th-c. Vatop. 1121 for the **MC** version of Syn. CP. Aug. 13; this is an August *Mēnaion*, however, and thus does not have an entry for Philosophos.

⁷⁵ Spyridon and Eustratiades 1925, 56; Luzzi 1995, 135; Kotzabassi 2013, 161 (n. 44).

⁷⁶ Luzzi 1995, 133-50, 162-8, and 173-6; Kotzabassi 2013, 162-75; Vassiss 2013, 213-20; Guscini 2009, 88-95.

However this might be, the image that emerges from the manuscripts that I was able to examine points to the existence of two different redactions of recension **M**, at least as far as the second semester of the ecclesiastical calendar is concerned.⁷⁷ Let us call these two redactions **MC** (with *synaxarion A* of Philosophos) and **MD** (with *synaxarion B*), based on the two main witnesses of the two branches already present in Delehaye's list, namely the mss. Coislin 223 (**Mc**) and Oxford, Christ Church College, gr. 2 (**Md**).

MC and **MD** certainly contain different (some slightly, others significantly different) redactions of certain (and possibly most) *synaxaria*. Apart from Philosophos, for instance, the **MC** and **MD** *synaxaria* for Sts Felix, January, Fortunatus, and Septemius (Apr. 16), the empress St Eirene/Xene, co-founder with her husband, emperor John II Komnenos, of the Pantokrator Monastery in Constantinople (Aug. 13), the translation of the *Mandylion* from Edessa to Constantinople (Aug. 16), St Poimen (Aug. 27), and Sts Felix, January, Septemius, and Fortunatus (Apr. 30) consistently display differences, though uneven in character:

- The **MC** *synaxarion* of Poimen is, in comparison to the **MD** redaction, enlarged with additional text, which is notably introduced in the first person by the synaxarist⁷⁸.
- By contrast, and unlike what we observed in the Philosophos entry, the **MD** redaction of the *synaxarion* of Eirene/Xene is more elaborate and extensive than that preserved in **MC** codices.⁷⁹
- The **MC** and **MD** variants in the *synaxaria* for Apr. 16, Aug. 13 and 30 are minor but consistent.⁸⁰

Furthermore, the list of feasts included in **MC** and **MD**, though clearly related in comparison to other recensions in Delehaye's edition, is not exactly identical, neither in number nor in the dates assigned to certain feasts—as already observed by Hippolyte

⁷⁷ Presently, I am unable to say whether the same bifurcation appears also in *synaxaria* of the first semester of recension **M**. For a notable related manuscript, see Binggeli 2019.

⁷⁸ The additional text of the **MC** version is edited based on codex **Mc** in the apparatus of Delehaye's edition (Syn. CP, Aug. 27 [927,57-930,46]; see also n. 23 above). The manuscripts in the **MD** redaction that I consulted preserve the same text as redaction **S** printed by Delehaye as his main text for Aug. 27, entry 1.

⁷⁹ Sofia Kotzabassi (2013, 162-75) correctly edited the two *synaxaria* of Eirene/Xene as two separate redactions (without, however, discussion of the more general bifurcation in recension **M**); in her view (2013, 162), what is termed here the **MD** *synaxarion* of Eirene/Xene is prior to the **MC** one.

⁸⁰ Luzzi (1995, 133-50, 162-8, and 173-6: *synaxaria* for Aug. 16 and 30) and Guscini (2009, 88-95: *synaxarion* for Aug. 16) did not realize the consistent variation between witnesses from recension **M** that belong to what are identified here as redactions **MC** and **MD**.

Delehaye and François Halkin, based however on limited evidence.⁸¹ Furthermore—and this previously unobserved detail is difficult to evaluate at this stage—, **MC** does not feature the same prominence of the Constantinopolitan monastery of Pantokrator (founded sometime between 1118 and 1136) as displayed by three separate entries in **MD**.⁸²

Simultaneously, the two redactions are closely linked and clearly related, in comparison to other recensions of Syn. CP. This is the case not only due to the many shared new feasts (just in this study we have noted Sts Philosophos, Drosis, Barlaam and Ioasaph⁸³, Jerome, Eirene/Xene, etc.), but also because of two further distinctive features that we observe in both **MC** and **MD**, as well as in *Synaxaria* of the first semester of the ecclesiastical calendar in recension **M**.

The first feature is the addition of calendar verses that immediately follow synaxarial notices and precede (whenever these are cited) the *synaxaria*. In a process whose details are not yet entirely clear (despite the monumental work of Enrica Follieri⁸⁴), these calendar verses originate in two metrical calendars composed by Christophoros Mytilenaios (one in hexameter [BHG 1617qI], and another in twelve-syllable verse [BHG 1617qII]). At some point (most likely during the course of the twelfth century), these Mytilenaiian calendars were incorporated in *Synaxaria* but were simultaneously expanded, with additional new verses, compositions by anonymous poets-synaxarists-copyists, in order to eventually cover almost all entries in the ever-expanding *Synaxarion*.⁸⁵ These more complete metrical calendars are the ones preserved in *Synaxaria* of recension **M** (**MC** and **MD** included).⁸⁶

⁸¹ Delehaye 1902, xli-xlvi and Halkin 1948a, 1948b, and 1950, 311-2.

⁸² Mss. in the **MD** tradition contain: (a) the already mentioned more elaborate (also in its emphasis on the foundation of the Pantokrator) entry on Eirene/Xene (Aug. 13); (b) a lengthy metrical *synaxarion* (BHG 809h; ed. in Vassis 2013, 213-20), dedicated to the foundation of the monastery (Aug. 4), mentioned only with a synaxarial notice in mss. of redaction **MC**; and (c) a synaxarial notice dedicated to the inauguration of the church of Theotokos Eleousa in the monastery (Aug. 11), that is absent from mss. of redaction **MC**. On these three feasts, see Kotzabassi 2013, 158-9. The association with the Pantokratoros monastery is related to **MD** in general and not only to Troyes, Bibl. munic. 1204 (Chiffletianus), as thought by Halkin (1948b, 32), followed by Luzzi (1995, 138).

⁸³ Barlaam (May 30) and Ioasaph (Aug. 26), we might add, are furnished with synaxarial notices in all the mss. in both the **MC** and the **MD** redactions I was able to consult; these notices are consistently followed by the following epigrams: “Τὸν Βαρλαάμ ἔγνωκε καὶ τὰ γῆς ἄκρα / Ἄκρωσ ἐνασκήσαντα, μέγρι γῆν ἔδν” (Barlaam), and “Ζηλωτὰ [alt.: Ζήλω τὰ] βασιλεια παμβασιλέως / Ὑπικησεν υἱός, γῆτινου βασιλέως” (Ioasaph). In this respect, the impression that there was some kind of neglect of Sts Barlaam and Ioasaph in the Greek *Synaxarion* tradition (Volk 2009, 146) is mistaken.

⁸⁴ Follieri 1980; see esp. vol. 1, pp. 217-24.

⁸⁵ For instance, the Philosophos *synaxarion* is among the few (along with the *synaxarion* of Eirene/Xene) that did not merit the usual twelve-syllable couplet as other secondary synaxarial

The second shared feature is a peculiarity in the list of feasts included that has previously not attracted the attention it deserves.⁸⁷ By contrast to all other recensions studied by Delehaye, manuscripts of recension **M** and thus both **MC** and **MD** incorporate in the calendar of the months January through May the movable feasts of the *Triôdion* and the *Pentekostarion* regulated each year by the date of Easter. Peculiarly, in the numerous manuscripts of recension **M**, regardless of the year in which each one was written and regardless of the redaction, Easter is placed consistently on March 25th, coinciding with the feast of the Annunciation; and all related movable feasts are assigned (though not in the same regular fashion as Easter) on the corresponding specific dates, starting on the 14th of January and the Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee, and ending on May 20th and the feast of All Saints.⁸⁸

Nothing in this cursory view of the evidence allows us to tell which of the two redactions is earlier than the other, though it seems self-evident that **MD** is much more widespread than **MC**, and this fact alone may favor its likely priority. **MD** was, as far as I am able to say, also the basis for a Slavonic translation that spread widely in the so-called “стишной Пролог” (= *Synaxarion* with *stichoi*, namely verse calendar) tradition from the fourteenth century onwards⁸⁹—this is the case at least for the *synaxarion* of

entries in most mss. of the **MC** and **MD** redactions. In 5 witnesses, however, we encounter 5 different couplets for Philosphos, most probably composed by the anonymous or eponymous scribes and/or redactors of the mss. in which they are uniquely attested; see their edition in the Appendix below. Sophronios Eustratiades, who devoted an entry to our saint in his *Hagiologion* (1960, 466, following post-Byzantine “Synaxarists,” such as Nikodemos Hagiorites [1749-1809] and Konstantinos Doukakes [1840-1908]), records another such epigram which is not preserved in Byzantine mss., as far as I can tell, but is used in the most recent printed editions of *Ménaia*: “Φιλόσοφος κλήσει τε και ἔργω, μάκαρ / ὠφθης ἀληθῶς, ὡ σοφίας σὺ φίλε.”

⁸⁶ But also in the few late Byzantine and post-Byzantine independent (i.e. non-*Synaxarial*) manuscript witnesses of Mytilenaios’ verse-calendars, all of which in my view derive from *Synaxaria*; cf. Darrouzès 1958, 62-65 and Follieri 1959. There exists no proper critical edition of the expanded “Mytilenaios” verse-calendars, which should be undertaken jointly with an edition of recension **M** and its two branches. For an ancient edition of a single version (preserved in the 14th-c. *Synaxarion* Troyes, Bibl. munic. 1204, belonging in my view to the **MD** redaction), see Siberus 1727; for a provisional edition of those verses associated with the first saint commemorated each day, see Follieri 1980, vol. 2 (as part of the commentary on the text of Mytilenaios’ calendars in hymnographic meters).

⁸⁷ Though it is noted in e.g. Delehaye 1902, lxvii-lxviii, and Follieri 1959, 255-6.

⁸⁸ Such mixture of fixed with movable feasts is not uncommon in Byzantine *Panegyrika* and in *Ménologia* of the so-called “vermischte Metaphrast,” where however the readings for March 25 are consistently placed before Holy Week; several such manuscripts are discussed in Ehrhard 1938, 1939, and 1952.

⁸⁹ On which see Sergij 1901, 334-6, and Petkov 2000.

Philosophos as attested for instance in a *стишной Пролог* dated to 1429 which offers a translation of redaction **B** of the Greek text.⁹⁰

This brings us to the issue of the creation of the recension **M** and, accordingly, of Philosophos' *synaxarion*.⁹¹ Until now the *communis opinio* for the first appearance of recension **M** is that it dates to the second half of the twelfth century and certainly after 1134, the year of death of Eirene/Xene, celebrated among its entries.⁹² Now that we possess concentrated studies on the *synaxaria* related to Eirene/Xene and the Pantokrator monastery, we may push this precise *post quem* date to 1149, the year that an icon of St Demetrios was translated from Thessalonike to Constantinople by order of the emperor Manuel I Komnenos, another event commemorated in mss. of recension **M** on October 26 as being celebrated at the Pantokrator monastery.⁹³

Halkin and Andrea Luzzi adduced further support for a twelfth-century date citing manuscripts Oxford, Christ Church College, gr. 2 (**Md**) and Lavra Δ 39 respectively.⁹⁴ However, no manuscript in recension **M**, including the two just mentioned, is actually dateable before the second half of the thirteenth century.⁹⁵ The earliest dated manuscripts of **M** are, in reverse order, the following:

- the just mentioned **Mc**, of the **MC** redaction = 1300/1301 (Mt Athos);
- **Mk**, namely, Moscow, GIM, Sinod. gr. 390 (Vlad. 354), a Sept.-Nov. *Synaxarion*, copied by the well-known scribe Theodoros Hagiopetrites⁹⁶ = 1295 (Thessalonike);
- and, to add one more to the previously discussed in scholarship manuscripts, Stavroniketa 44 (909), of the **MD** tradition = 1273/1274 (also Thessalonike?).⁹⁷

⁹⁰ Moscow, Russian State Library, Ф. 304.1, MS 715 (1736), March-June *Synaxarion* with calendar verses; on f. 207r-v: an entry for St *Philosophos* (without calendar verses as in the Greek redactions). I would like to thank Daria Resh for locating this citation.

⁹¹ If we assume, that is, that all synaxarial entries shared by **MC** and **MD** existed in the original **M** from its inception.

⁹² See, e.g., Delchaye 1902, lvi; Halkin 1948a, 60; Follieri 1980, 12-13 and 217; Luzzi 1995, 135 (n. 60); id. i 2014, 198.

⁹³ For a recent edition of the relevant lengthy *synaxarion*, composed by a monk of the Pantokrator monastery, see Kotzabassi 2013, 174-89.

⁹⁴ Halkin 1948a, 60 and Luzzi 1995, 135.

⁹⁵ For the re-dating of **Md**, see n. 66 above; for the Lavra ms., see the discussion and n. 75 above. Constantinopol. Παναγίας Καμαριωτίσσης 3, a *Mén.* Mar.-Apr. of the (most probably) **MD** redaction, was also dated wrongly to the 12th c. in Kouroupou & Géhin 2008, 69-71; the correct, 14th-c. date is provided in Binggeli, Cassin, Cronier & Kouroupou 2019, 243-7 (I would like to thank Matthieu Cassin for the latter reference).

⁹⁶ On whom see RGK I 127, II 164, and III 209 with Nelson 1991.

⁹⁷ The manuscript, which requires detailed study, was (partly) copied by monk Gerasimos (PLP 3730), about whom nothing is known.

The date of the Stavroniketa manuscript can be counted as a definite *ante quem* for the appearance of **M**.

To these chronological boundaries we may add two further references, that do not necessarily speak of **M** *Synaxaria* but still testify to the existence, by the year 1200, of liturgical books and liturgical practices associated with recension **M**: (a) the Byzantine inventory of library holdings of the monastery of St John the Theologian on the island of Patmos, dated to September 1200, lists a paper, “old” book called “τὸ δια στίχ(ων) Μιτυληναῖ(ον),” a possible reference to either a *Synaxarion* or a *Mēnaion* with *synaxaria* preceded by calendar verses⁹⁸; and (b) the so-called *Pilgrim Book* (Книга паломник) by Anthony of Novgorod, where his visit to Constantinople in 1200 is described, mentions in passing that the *synaxarion* is read in the Matins in the Great Church.⁹⁹

Assuming that the peculiar mixture of movable and immovable feasts mentioned above was a feature of the first, original *Synaxarion* of recension **M**, i.e. of both **MC** and **MD** regardless of their relation or priority, could we add a third chronological indication and consider the possibility that the original **M** *Synaxarion* was composed in a year when the feasts of Easter and the Annunciation coincided? Between the years 1149 and 1200 (if we take the references in the Patmos list and in Anthony’s work as being related directly to **M**), Easter and Annunciation coincided only in 1190; between 1149 and 1273/1274 (the date of the Stavroniketa ms.), Easter and Annunciation further coincided in 1201 and in 1212.¹⁰⁰ Is any of these years the date when we should place the original **M**, as it is preserved today, in a culminating process which may have started some decades before? Or did the mixture of movable and immovable feasts occur earlier and was simply adopted in the original **M**? Or, to suggest an alternative possibility, could it be that this fixing of Easter on March 25th did not happen because of the coincidence of Easter and the Annunciation on any specific calendar year, but was rather the result of the likely fact that the synaxarist(s) of **M**, in another move toward a more “historically” accurate and all-encompassing *Synaxarion*, adopted an ancient theological view of historical time? This view posited that Christ was indeed resurrected on a day that coincided with the 25th of March in the “Roman calendar” and that this was the very same date that (a) the Annunciation had also taken place earlier, (b) the world was originally created some thousand years before, and (c) Christ’s Second Coming was going to occur—a view that, though no longer in use for the liturgical calculation of the date of Easter among Byzantines, was popularized through some of the chronicles

⁹⁸ See Astruc 1981, 28 (l. 195), with Darrouzès 1958, 64.

⁹⁹ Loparev 1899, 84, cited in relation to the *Synaxaria* with preceding verses in Sergij 1901, 328.

¹⁰⁰ For the dates of Easter, see Grumel 1958, 258-9.

already mentioned above, such as e.g. Georgios Kedrenos (following Georgios the Monk, following Georgios Synkellos, following Iulius Africanus).¹⁰¹

A real answer to the above questions could be formulated only when all Greek (and, we should add, Slavonic) *Synaxaria*, *Mēnaia*, as well as *Typika*¹⁰² related to the period from the twelfth into the fourteenth century have been carefully catalogued and comprehensively studied—a task that would require many true *philosophoi* and far exceeds our present goal.

If we were allowed two preliminary observations here, we may remark the following. First, by the early fourteenth century, recension **M** had superseded all other recensions and acquired a universal status in Byzantine lands and their sphere of influence—this universality might suggest official endorsement, Constantinopolitan origins, and Thessalonian/Athonite approval.¹⁰³ And secondly, as already alluded

¹⁰¹ For the early Christian view, see Mosshammer 2008 *passim* (esp. 406-407 on Africanus [ca. 160–ca. 240]). For Kedrenos, see *Synopsis of Histories* (1,1-6; cf. 226,2): Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν ... καὶ ἡμέρα ὠνομάσθη παρὰ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ ... εἰκοστὴ δὲ πεμπτὴ τοῦ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις Μαρτίου μηνός ... ἐν ταύτῃ καὶ Γαβριήλ τὸν ἀσπασμὸν ἐπὶ τῇ θείᾳ συλλήψει τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ τῆ παναχράντῳ θεοτόκῳ ἐφθέγγετο. ἐν ταύτῃ καὶ ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς τοῦ πατρὸς μετὰ τὴν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀρρητον γέννησιν πᾶσαν πληρώσας οἰκονομίαν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνέστη· ἡνπερ καὶ κυριακὸν πάσχα οἱ ἅγιοι πατέρες ὠνόμασαν, ἀρχὴν λαβόντες κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἁγίαν τῆς ζωηφόρου ἀναστάσεως ἡμέραν τοῦ πεντακισχιλιοστοῦ πεντακοσιοστοῦ τριακοστοῦ ἐνάτου ἔτους ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου. καὶ τινὲς δὲ τῶν ἁγίων θεοφόρων πατέρων ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἔφασαν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, δηλονότι τοῦ Μαρτίου μηνός, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ γῆς δευτέραν τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σωτήρος ἡμῶν γενήσεσθαι παρουσίαν, ἐν ἣ κρινεῖ πᾶσαν πνοήν, ὡς τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος ἀπ' αὐτῆς πάλιν τὴν ἀρχὴν λαμβάνοντος. Cf. also the relevant *Suda* entry (α 4469): ... αὕτη ἡ ἡμέρα, ἣν ἐποίησεν ὁ κύριος. αὕτη ἐστὶ τὸ κυριακὸν Πάσχα, Μαρτίου κε' ... ἡ ἀρχὴ γὰρ τοῦ φαινομένου κόσμου ἐν αὐτῇ γέγονε, καὶ τὸ ἀληθινὸν φῶς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν αὐτῇ ἀνέστη.

¹⁰² Most of these *typika* are gathered in Dmitrievsky 1895 and 1917. In his discussion of *Synaxaria* with metrical calendars (i.e. recension **M**), Sergij Spasskii suggested that the new type of the *Synaxarion* was created in order to accommodate the re-introduction of Jerusalemite and Sabbaitic liturgical practice in Constantinople (Sergij 1901, 323-333); this old view requires revisiting in light of new studies on Byzantine *Mēnaia* (Krivko 2011-2012—see esp. pp. 58-62 on the so-called “Neo-Sabbaitic Type”) and *Typika* (e.g. Fittipaldi 2015).

¹⁰³ One wonders in this regard if Nikephoros Xanthopoulos (ca. 1256 – 1335; PLP 20826) whom we encountered also above in relation to St Philosphos was perhaps involved in this official endorsement (to partly revive here an old theory by Papadopoulos-Kerameus, rejected by Delehayé [1902, lvi-lviii], that Xanthopoulos lay behind recension **M**). Xanthopoulos, we should remember, composed: (a) a metrical *Synaxarion* in the mode of Mitylenaios (ed. Stefec 2012; BHG 1617n), utilized also in a contemporary manuscript, an illustrated *Synaxarion*, which has been somewhat misleadingly termed “Bildmenologion” (Oxford, Bodleian, Gr. th. f. 1, dated to c. 1330–1335; Hutter 2007); and (b) a widely circulating supplement (BHG 1617p; see also BHG 1617pb) to the old *Synaxaria* that adds *synaxaria* for the **imm**ovable feasts of the *Triōdion* and the *Pentekostarion*, a work that requires critical edition and renewed study.

above, the wide dissemination of **M** brought with it a distinct literarization in the transmission of *synaxaria*. Not only were they expanded with more text and infused with other narrative genres (the case of the *Beneficial Tales*, mentioned earlier), but they were also framed by or expressed in poetry—indeed of all types of learned Byzantine versification in non-hymnographical meters, the metrical calendars reached the widest circulation. This literarization of the *Synaxarion* obliges us to return once more to our *Philosophos*.

THE PHILOSOPHER

What might trouble one when first reading about St Philosophos is his name. It obviously transforms the designation of a profession (an ascetic) into a personal name (Philosophos), an admittedly common lexical transposition in premodern storytelling. But does the word merely mean ‘ascetic’? What about its original meaning ‘philosopher’? Is that completely lost? Perhaps not. The author of the *synaxarion* (at least in its A redaction) gives the impression of being a relatively learned man¹⁰⁴; and, in any case, for some Byzantine readers of our story (in both its versions), a whole set of learned associations might have been evoked when encountering the name Φιλόσοφος.¹⁰⁵

Indeed, if we left the Christian tradition behind, and started searching in the pre-Byzantine world of stories, we would quickly come across a relevant tongue-cutting episode in the biography of Zeno of Elea, the pre-Socratic philosopher (ca. 495 – ca. 430 BC). According to several Greek writers, Zeno culminated his philosophical life by refusing to reveal his accomplishments in a failed rebellion against a “tyrant;” instead he bit his own tongue and spat it in the tyrant’s face¹⁰⁶—a story replicated also in anecdotes about the life of the philosopher Anaxarchos (ca. 380 – ca. 320 BC).¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ See, e.g., the locution “κλίνης ... περικαλλούς” that likely invokes Homeric diction (cf. *Odyssey* 10.347 and 479), and the rhetorical prose-rhythm of the text.

¹⁰⁵ Though, as noted above (n. 11) the word “φιλοσοφία” usually refers to asceticism in Syn. CP, it also retains occasionally its traditional meaning of “(pagan) philosophy/learning;” see Syn. CP, Oct. 2.1 (97,23), July 1.2 (792,10), and Aug. 10.1 (881,12). More importantly, the word “φιλόσοφος” almost exclusively carries its traditional meaning of “(pagan) philosopher/teacher/learned man”—a possible but uncertain exception appears in the entry Dec. 18.8 (325,11) (Michael Synkellos, the Confessor) in a reference to the Graptoi brothers, Theodoros and Theophanes, the “ὁμολογηταὶ καὶ φιλόσοφοι”.

¹⁰⁶ See e.g. Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 9,27 “... καὶ τέλος ἀποτραγόντα τὴν γλῶτταν προσπύσαι αὐτῷ” and Plutarch, *Against Colotes* 1126d-e with Westman 1955, 297.

¹⁰⁷ See e.g. Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 9,58-59: ... κελεύσαντος δὲ τοῦ Νικοκρέοντος καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν αὐτοῦ ἐκτιμηθῆναι, λόγος ἀποτραγόντα προσπύσαι αὐτῷ.

This pre-Byzantine example of philosophical bravery was certainly known to learned Christian writers. We find references to it in such authors as Eusebios of Caesarea¹⁰⁸ and the widely read Nemesios of Emesa.¹⁰⁹ It is thus not unlikely that Zeno's model was known to the inventors and certainly to some of the readers of the tongue-biting Christian Philosofos—the late Byzantine period is precisely the time, we might additionally note, that the Γνώμαι of Secundus, the philosopher who also resisted imperial power with his silence, gained some popularity among Greek audiences.¹¹⁰

Moreover, Jerome's original version points to yet another pre-Christian source for our story. When Jerome inserted the *exemplum* of a young beautiful man in his introduction to the *Life* of Paul of Thebes in the fourth century, he had clearly in mind a similar story that he cites in his translation of Eusebios' *Chronicle*, itself composed while Jerome was in Constantinople around 380. This story is about *Leaina*, the supposed lover of Aristogeiton, or Harmodius, or both, the notorious Tyrannicides who initiated the events that led to the beginning of democracy in Athens. According to legends that circulated in the Roman period, and cited also by Jerome, Leaina was tortured for information about the conspiracy, but instead “bit her own tongue.”¹¹¹

This female version of our tale has a whole history of its own in Greek as well as in Latin; indeed, by the time that our *synaxarion* had started being regularly copied, sometime that is in the 1360s or the 1370s, Leaina was celebrated also in Boccaccio's influential *On Famous Women* (chapt. 50). Moreover, in the Greek tradition, Leaina's feat was replicated in stories of other legendary women, such as for instance that of Theano, the alleged wife of Pythagoras, who also bit off her tongue in order to not reveal the secrets of her husband.¹¹² Theano's story, we may note, was alluded in a

¹⁰⁸ *Preparation for the Gospel* 10,14,15: Ζήνων ὁ Ἐλεάτης. ὃν φασιν ἐπιβουλήν κατὰ τοῦ τότε τυράννου συστησάμενον ἀλῶναι ... οὐ προσποιηθέντα τὰς τοῦ τυράννου τιμωρίας διαμασησάμενον [the word may be echoed in the Metaphrastic version of our story] τὴν γλώσσαν προσπτύσαι αὐτῷ καὶ οὕτως ἐγκαρτερήσαντα ταῖς βασάνοις ἀποθανεῖν.

¹⁰⁹ *On Human Nature* 30 (95,3-6): ὡς Ζήνων ὁ ἀποφαγῶν ἑαυτοῦ τὴν γλῶτταν καὶ ἀποπτύσας Διονυσίῳ τῷ τυράννῳ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὸλως αὐτῷ ἐξειπεῖν τὰ ἀπόρρητα. ὁμοίως καὶ Ἀνάξαρχος ὁ φιλόσοφος ὑπομείνας πτίσσεσθαι ὑπὸ Νικοκρέοντος τοῦ τυράννου ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ προδοῦναι τοὺς φίλους.

¹¹⁰ See Perry 1964, 14-15. For the *Life* of Secundus and its transmission see Ronconi 2010.

¹¹¹ See e.g. Polyainos (2nd c.), *Στρατηγήματα* 8,45 “Ἰππίας τὴν Λέαιναν συλλαβῶν, ἐβασάνισεν ἐφ’ ᾧ τε ἐξειπεῖν τοὺς κοινωνήσαντας τῆς ἐπιθέσεως, ἡ δὲ ... ἵνα μὴ ἐξείποι, αὐτὴ τὴν αὐτῆς γλῶτταν ἀπέδακεν” with Jerome, *Chronicle* 188. Notably, Polyainos' text first begins to circulate in Byzantium in the Palaiologan period.

¹¹² Cf. e.g. David, *Prolegomena of Philosophy* 33,9-14 “Πυθαγορεία τις γυνὴ ἢ καὶ Θεανὸν λεγομένη κρατηθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐν Σικελίᾳ τυράννου . . . καταδάκνουσα τὴν γλῶσσαν ἐτέλετύτησε.” Delehaye (1927, 40) cites without details some of the pagan precedents of the story in Jerome: “... la pythagoricienne Timycha, tantôt à la courtisane Leaina, tantôt au philosophe Zénon d'Élée.”

brief mention within Gregory the Theologian's popular *Against Julian 1* (= Or. 4,70: "θανάτου περιφρόνησιν Θεανούς"), to which a scholion was dedicated in the relevant commentary attributed to Nonnos, also widely circulating; additionally, letters attributed to Theano were been copied during the Palaiologan period.¹¹³ Thus, philosophy conceived as opposition to unjust power, and exemplified in acts of extreme resistance by idealized men as well as women, might very well have been part of the grid of connotations mobilized by the *Philosophos* entry.

PATRIOTISMS

A dated, late Byzantine manuscript of the *Philosophos synaxarion*, Paris, BNF, gr. 2075, written in 1439, is exceptional among the many witnesses of the text. It is not a liturgical manuscript, but an author's autographed collection of his own texts as well as texts he was reading. This author-scribe happens to be the deacon and high officer in the patriarchate of Constantinople Ioannes Eugenikos (after 1394 – after 1454; PLP 6189; RGK II 217 and III 270), the brother of Markos Eugenikos, that staunch opponent of the Union with the Latin church in the Council of Ferrara-Florence. Right after the council, in which Ioannes too participated, he copied what is now Paris, BNF, gr. 2075.¹¹⁴ The manuscript was completed, as Ioannes tells us in a colophon on f. 281v, while he was on the ship traveling back home.¹¹⁵

The manuscript begins with two *Akolouthiai*, with *kanones* and *troparia*, composed by Eugenikos himself: one for Sts Nikolaos and Spyridon, celebrated jointly (ff. 9r-13v), and another for St Philosophos (ff. 15r-19v), the first ever and also the last such service for our saint.¹¹⁶ On f. 14v, right before the hymns in honor of St Philosophos, Eugenikos copied a slightly reworked version of *synaxarion B*, preceded by three verses of his (a two-line epigram in twelvesyllable, and an one-liner in hexameter), as was customary in *Mēnaia* by the fifteenth century (for the text see again the Appendix below). The reworked *synaxarion* corrects some of the awkward locutions of *B* and introduces

¹¹³ For the letters, see e.g. London, BL, Harley 5610, ff. 7v-10*. Ps.-Nonnos' scholion reads as follows (Scholia Mythologica 4, historia 18): ... ἱστορία ἢ κατὰ τὸν θάνατον Θεανούς τῆς Πυθαγορείας. ἔστι δὲ αὕτη: Αὕτη ὑπὸ τυράννου συνεσχέθη ἐπὶ τὸ εἰπεῖν τῆς πατρίδος τὰ ἀπόρρητα. αὕτη τὴν γλώτταν ἀποδακούσα, ἐνέπτυσε τῷ τυράννῳ, μὴ θέλουσα, καὶ ἀναγκαζομένη, ἐξείπειν, ἀφαιρεθέντος τοῦ ὀργάνου τῆς φωνῆς. I would like to thank Jennifer Nimmo Smith for bringing this to my attention.

¹¹⁴ For the ms. see Halkin 1968, 231 and further bibliography at <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/51704/>.

¹¹⁵ See Vogel and Gardthausen 1909, 171. On Eugenikos and his trip from Ferrara see further Pizzone 2013.

¹¹⁶ The texts are edited and presented in Lampsides 1964-1966.

a couple of small details (most probably of Eugenikos' own conception) that are found nowhere else and add some further flavor of gruesomeness and luxuriousness to the story.¹¹⁷

Apart from writing an *akolouthia*, however, Eugenikos also did some of the detective work we too have performed here. On f. 14r, he copied the *Paterikon* version of our story, again slightly re-worded by him (most likely).¹¹⁸ At the bottom of the same page he copied a letter by Isidoros Pelousiotes (I 463 to Dionysios, the youth: PG 78: 437a), chastising a young man for cutting his beard and looking like a woman and thus "being and appearing to be some ambiguous eunuch," while "not striving after the paternal/traditional [*πατρῶαν*] chastity, but pursuing some foreign [*ξένην*] disgrace." And on the middle of the page, Eugenikos added the following short note regarding Theano, the Pythagorean philosopher, echoing the relevant earlier scholion on Gregory the Theologian, attributed to Nonnos (Eugenikos' text is not mentioned or printed by Lampsides):

Θεανὼ ἡ Πυθαγορεῖα, ὑπὸ τυράννου συσχεθεῖσα ἐπὶ τῷ εἰπεῖν τὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἀπόρρητα, τὴν ἑαυτῆς γλῶτταν ἀποδάκνουσα, ἀπέτεμε καὶ ἐνέπτυσσε τῷ τυράννῳ· μὴ θελήσασα ἐξεῖπεῖν, ἀναγκαζομένη δὲ καὶ οὕτως, ἀφαιρεθέντος τοῦ ὄργανου, ἡ φωνὴ ἐκεκώλυτο· ὁθεν καὶ τὸ βίαιον αὐτῆ τῆς ἐπινοίας προκατειργάσθη, μήπου τι τῶν τῆς πατρίδος, καὶ ἄκουσα, βιασθῆ προδοῦναι.

Theano the Pythagorean, held up by a tyrant so as to reveal the secrets of her fatherland, bit and cut her own tongue, and spat it on the tyrant; not wanting to divulge the secrets, and still forced to do so, her voice was prevented, with the organ removed; it is for this reason that she had devised this plan beforehand, lest she might be forced to betray anything of her fatherland unwillingly.

At the very moment that our novel saint Philosophos reaches his maximum acceptance, and acquires not only a biography and feastday but also a full liturgical service, his relation to a pagan story is explicitly recognized. The emphasis on protecting the "fatherland," buttressed further by Pelousiotes' aversion to foreignness and effeminacy, and ultimately sanctified in the Christian Philosophos' sacrifice, must have struck a very personal chord for Eugenikos who had just quit the Council of Ferrara-Florence, refusing to submit to the demands of the Latins.

¹¹⁷ See the phrases in italics: Τὴν δὲ ἄσμενον ἐκείνην καταβρέχων τοῖς ἐκ τῆς γλῶττης αὐτοῦ ἰδίοις αἵμασι καὶ κρέασι, τὴν τε μορφήν καὶ τοὺς χρυσοῦφείς καὶ πολυτελεῖς χιτῶνας αὐτῆς, πάμπολλα ἠχρεῖωσεν. The term χρυσοῦφής is used also in a *protheoria* that Eugenikos wrote for Heliodoros' *Ethiopian Tale* (*Protheoria* 5).

¹¹⁸ This is what we called Redaction γ of BHG 144ot above: inc. "Σώφρονός τινος φιλοσόφου τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὸ ἔργον."

THE SPEAKING TONGUE

Some final remarks are in order. The story that is the subject of this paper lays before us a miniature history of Byzantine *hagio-historio-graphical* fiction. We have traced a legend about an Athenian woman, loyal lover and devotee to the democratic cause, or alternatively a philosopher woman and patriot, in its transformation to a male symbol of perseverance against all forms of violence—religious, political, sexual, familial. And we saw the multiple guises of this symbol—pagan philosopher, Christian young martyr, monastic, a son rebelling against his father—congeal in a martyr called Philosphos, historicized by various strands of literature, and authorized in the Byzantine *Synaxarion* tradition, likely some time in the twelfth century, as part of recension M and its two branches.

Is the tale's trajectory complete? Is, we might for instance ask, our fictive protagonist only male in his Christian forms? Does the Christianization of the story, that is, simultaneously indicate some kind of further masculinization? Apparently not. The manuscripts Messina, Biblioteca Regionale Universitaria 'Giacomo Longo', San Salvatore 30 and 29, a two-volume *Ménologion*, copied in 1307 by Δανὴλ σκευοφύλαξ τῆς μεγάλης μάνδρας τοῦ Σωτήρος ἀκρωτηρίου Μεσσήνης,¹¹⁹ includes a redaction not attested elsewhere of the *Passion* of another legendary saint, St Christina (BHG 302; S. Salv. 29, ff. 138v-142r).¹²⁰ According to this redaction, at the peak of Christina's martyrdom, the following transpired (*Passion of St Christina* 29-30):

Ὁ δὲ ἀνομος Ἰουλιανὸς μὴ φέρων τὴν ὕβριν ἐκέλευσεν ἐκκοπῆναι τὴν γλῶσσαν τῆς ἁγίας. ... Μετὰ δὲ τὸ γλωσσοκοπηθῆναι τὴν ἁγίαν, ἐπάρασα ἡ μάρτυς τὸ κόμμα τῆς γλώττης αὐτῆς ἔρριψεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ· καὶ εὐθέως ἐτυφλώθη. Καὶ φωνὴ ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς γλώττης λέγουσα: “Ἰουλιανὲ ἀτιμε, ἐπεθύμησας φαγεῖν πάντας τοὺς μασθοὺς μου καὶ ἀπέκοψας τὴν γλῶττάν μου εὐλογοῦσαν τὸν θεόν· δικαίως καὶ τὸ φῶς σου ἀπώλεσας.”

And impious Julian¹²¹, unable to bear the insult, ordered that the Saint's tongue be cut off. ... After her tongue was cut, the martyr lifted the cut tongue-piece and threw it in Julian's face; and immediately he became blind. And a voice came out of the tongue saying: “Despicable Julian, you wanted to eat both of my breasts and you cut off my tongue for praising God; it is just that you lost also your sight.”

With St Christina and her speaking tongue, we return to the early fourteenth-century, to Southern Italy, to another very particular manuscript in the tradition of Byzantine storytelling, and to yet another hagiographical historicization of a prolific myth. We have only arrived, it seems, at the beginning of a new inquiry.

¹¹⁹ On whom see Stellodoro 2010.

¹²⁰ For the important Messina mss. see Rodriguez 1999, 57-62 with Ehrhard 1939, 443-50; see also Efthymiadis 2017, 370-2.

¹²¹ This is not Julian the Apostate.

APPENDIX:

*The synaxarion of Philosophos (BHG 2371n),
redactions A and B*

What follows is a provisional edition of BHG 2371n in its two main redactions, along with Eugenikos' revised version of *synaxarion B*. The edition is based only on those *Synaxaria* that were readily available to me. Below I add a list of further possible witnesses for May 1st, and I hope to return to the matter in the future. In any case, a basic text of BHG 2371n can be produced at this stage since the text of both redactions displays a relative stability in all the consulted witnesses.

1. Redaction A

The text essentially reproduces the edition by Delehay (Syn. CP May 1; 647/648.36-50), with some minor changes in the punctuation, and with the addition of the full title, as found in the transmitting ms., listed in chronological order—chronology is applied as an ordering principle also to the manuscripts listed further below; manuscripts not previously utilized by other editors of *synaxaria* in either the **MC** or the **MD** tradition are marked with an asterisk.

- 1) **MC**¹ (**Mc**) Coislin 223, ΠΟV-IIIΓ, a. 1300/1301 (Meletios), *Synax.* Mar.-Aug.
- 2) **MC**² Athen. 2004, 143v-144v, ca. 1360-1371, *Synax.* Mar.-Aug.
- 3) **MC**³ * Vatop. 679, 14th c. (3/4), *Synax.* Mar.-Aug.
- 4) **MC**⁴ * Par. suppl. gr. 1016, 34v-35r, 15th c., *Synax.* Mar.-Aug.
- 5) **Delehay** Syn. CP May 1 (647/648.36-50) = **MC**¹

Τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ, μνήμη τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος¹²² Φιλοσόφου

Οὗτος ὁ μέγας μάρτυς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Φιλόσοφος, ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὧν τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων, ὡς ὁ μέγας ἐν ἀσκηταῖς Ἀντώνιος διηγήσατο, τοιόνδε τὸν τοῦ μαρτυρίου δρόμον τετέλεκε¹²³.

Κήπος ἦν τερπνότατος, καὶ πάσης ἡδονῆς πλήρης· καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ κλίνης τεθείσης περικαλοῦς, τῇ τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς τυράννου κελεύσει, τίθεται ἐπὶ ταύτης ὕπτιος ὁ Φιλόσοφος, περιηγκωνισμένος τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ τοὺς πόδας ἅμα δεδεσμημένους¹²⁴. Εἶτα γύναιον εὐπρεπῆς μὲν τὴν ὄψιν, δυσειδῆς δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ ἀκόλαστον, εἰσάγεται ἐκεῖ κειμένῳ τῷ μάρτυρι,

¹²² τῇ αὐτῇ – μάρτυρος: om. Delehay

¹²³ τετέλεκεν MC²

¹²⁴ δεδεσμημένους MC³MC⁴

λόγοις ἀσέμνοις, ἐπαφαίς ἀναιδέσι, καὶ πᾶσιν αἰσχροῖς καὶ θελκτικοῖς τρόποις, πρὸς ἡδονὴν τοῦτον φαύλην ἐρεθίζειν πειρώμενον¹²⁵.

Ὁ δὲ γενναῖος ἐκεῖνος, οὐκ ἔχων ὅπως ἂν ἀπώσαιτο τὴν μιάραν καὶ ἀναίσχυντον, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ μύσας, τὴν δὲ ὄσφρησιν καὶ ἀκοὴν μὴ δυνάμενος συστεῖλαι τῷ καλύματι τῶν δεσμῶν, ναί¹²⁶ μὴν καὶ ταῖς ἀφαῖς τυραννοῦμενος, τί ποιεῖ; καὶ οἷαν μηχανὴν ἐφευρίσκει πρὸς ἀποσόβησιν τοσοῦτου¹²⁷ κακοῦ, καὶ οὕτω μυσαρᾶς ἐπινοίας; Τὴν ἰδίαν γλώσσαν τοῖς ὁδοῦσι κόψας¹²⁸ καὶ διαμασησάμενος¹²⁹, τῇ ὄψει τῆς μαινάδος προσπτύει· καὶ οὕτω τοῖς αἵμασι τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς καὶ τοὺς χιτῶνας καταβρέξας καὶ ἀχρειώσας, ἀπεκρούσατο τὴν ἀκόλαστον.

Οὕτως οὖν γενναιοτάτως πάνυ καὶ θαυμαστῶς ἀγωνισάμενος ὁ αἰοιδίμος καὶ μὴ ἠττηθεὶς τῇ ἐπινοίᾳ τῶν δυσσεβῶν, ἀπετμήθη τέλος¹³⁰ τὴν κεφαλὴν· καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐν οὐρανοῖς εὐφροσύνην καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν μεταβέβηκεν.

Φιλόσοφος: cf. the beginning of the three *Paterikon Versions* (BHG 1440t = Wortley 2010, no. 502)

Redaction α: “Σώφρονος φιλοσόφου τινος”

Redaction β: “Σώφρονός τινος καὶ ὄντως φιλοσόφου”

Redaction γ = Ioannes Eugenikos (who seems to have revised the text in order to introduce the name of the saint, that is nowhere else attested): “Σώφρονός τινος φιλοσόφου τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὸ ἔργον”

ὡς ὁ μέγας ἐν ἀσκηταῖς Ἀντώνιος διηγήσατο: cf. the title of redaction N of the *Life of Paul of Thebes: Stories by Great and Holy Fathers. St Antony's Narration about Abba Paul of Thebes.*

τῆς χώρας ... τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων: cf. the *Alexander Romance*, a recension 1,31,5,5, β recension 1,31,17, and γ recension 31,20-21.

κλίνης ... περικαλλοῦς: cf. Hom. *Od.* 10,347 and 479, “περικαλλέος εὐνῆς.”

τοῦ ... τυράννου: cf. BHG 1440t, as edited above, “ὁ τύραννος.”

τίθεται ἐπὶ ταύτης ὑπτιος: cf. Metaphrastes 5,7-8 “στρωμνὴ μάλα μαλακὴ ... παρ’ αὐτῶν τίθεται. ἐν ταύτῃ τὸν ἀθλητὴν ὑπτιον ἀνακλιναντες ...”

¹²⁵ πειρώμενον MC³

¹²⁶ καὶ MC³ MC⁴

¹²⁷ τοσοῦτου: τοῦ τοιοῦτου MC⁴

¹²⁸ κατατεμῶν MC²

¹²⁹ διαμασησάμενος MC¹ MC³ MC⁴ Delehaye

¹³⁰ τέλος, ἀπετμήθη MC⁴

περιηγκωνισμένους τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ τοὺς πόδας ἅμα δεδεσμημένους: cf. Metaphrastes 5,2 “τὰς χεῖρας ἀπηγκωνισμένον καὶ δεσμοῖς αὐτὰς περιβεβλημένας ἔχοντα.”

γύναιον ... ἀκόλαστον: cf. Georgios the Monk, *Chronicle* 480,20-481,2 “ἐπαφῆκαν αὐτῶ γύναιον ἄσεμνον ... τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν τοῦ ἀκόλαστου γυναιου;” the same also in the revised version of the *Chronicle* (PG 110,572,36-38)

εὐπρεπὲς μὲν τὴν ὄψιν, δυσειδὲς δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ ἀκόλαστον, εἰσάγεται: cf. Metaphrastes 6,2 “Εἰσήγετο ... τὸ εἶδος μὲν εὐπρεπὲς, τὴν ψυχὴν δὲ καὶ λίαν δυσειδὲς καὶ ἀκόλαστος.”

ἐπαφαῖς ἀναιδέσι: cf. BHG 1440t, redaction *a*, as printed above, “γύναιον ἀναιδὲς.”

πρὸς ἡδονὴν τοῦτον φαύλην ἐρεθίζειν πειρώμενον: cf. Metaphrastes 6,3 “ὄλωσ ἐκκαλουμένη πρὸς ἡδονὴν.”

οὐκ ἔχων ὅπως ἂν ἀπώσαιο τὴν μιαν: cf. Metaphrastes 6,5 “διώσασθαι τὴν μιαν μὴ δυνάμενον.”

τοὺς μὲν ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ μύσας, τὴν δὲ ὄσφρησιν καὶ ἀκοὴν μὴ δυνάμενος συστῆλαι τῷ κωλύματι τῶν δεσμῶν, ναὶ μὴν καὶ ταῖς ἀφαῖς τυραννόμενος: a description absent in all other versions of the story—its last part nevertheless alludes to the sexualized detail in Metaphrastes (6,3): “ὦ μιανὰς χεῖρὸς, αἰδοῦς ἤπτετο.”

τί ποιεῖ: cf. *Stories by Great and Holy Fathers. St Antony's Narration about Abba Paul of Thebes* 4,9 (redaction N; BHG 1470) “τί δὲ ποιεῖ ὁ γενναῖος οὗτος στρατιώτης;”

καὶ οἷαν μηχανὴν ἐφευρίσκει: cf. Metaphrastes 5,5 “τί ποιούσι καὶ ποῖαν πρὸς τοῦτο μηχανὴν ἐξευρίσκουσιν;”

πρὸς ἀποσβῆσιν τοσοῦτου κακοῦ: cf. Metaphrastes 6,5 “ἀποροῦντα πρὸς τοσοῦτου κακοῦ λύσιν.”

οὕτω μυσαρᾶς ἐπινοίας: cf. Euthymios, *Barlaam and Ioasaph* 30,34-35 “πρὸς τὴν μυσαρὰν συνουσίαν ἠρέθιζον.”

τὴν ἰδίαν γλώσσαν τοῖς ὁδοῦσι κόψας καὶ διαμασησάμενος, τῇ ὄψει τῆς μαινάδος προσπτύει: cf. Metaphrastes 6,7 “τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γλώτταν ἐκκόψας καὶ διαμασησάμενος ἀντὶ φιλήματος τῇ ὄψει τῆς πόρνης προσπτύει.”

τῇ ὄψει τῆς μαινάδος: cf. Makarios Makres, *Πρὸς τοὺς σκανδαλιζομένους, Λόγος γ' 25* “κατὰ τοῦ ἀναιδοῦς τῆς μαινάδος προσώπου.”

ἀπετμήθη τέλος τὴν κεφαλὴν: another detail absent in all other versions of the story, except Xanthopoulos' who ends his account with the following words “μαρτυρίῳ τὸν βίον μετὰ βραχὺ ἐπεσφράγιζεν” (7,13,70-71).

2. Redaction B

The manuscripts (bibliographical references are added only when not provided above):

- 1) **MD¹** Stavroniketa 44 (909), 76v, a. 1273/1274 (Gerasimos), *Synax.* Mar.-Aug.; Lambros 1895, 77 and Spyridon and Eustratiades 1925, 396
- 2) **MD²** Lavra Δ 39 (415), 81r, ca. 1300 (Meletios), *Synax.*, Mar.-Aug.
- 3) **MD³** Athen. 2009, 87r, late 13th c.(?), *Synax.* Mar.-Aug.; Politis 1991, 75
- 4) **MD⁴** (**Md**) Oxford, Chist Church College, gr. 2, 65r-v (with *stichoi* **A**, added on the margin), 14th c. (1/3), *Synax.* Mar.-Aug.
- 5) **MD⁵** * Meteora, Rousanou 3, 78v-79r, ca. 1325, *Synax.* Mar.-Aug.; Sophianos 2009, 4I-2II
- 6) **MD⁶** Athen. Benaki T.A. 255 (Zizica-Kouroupou 95), 39r, ca. 1325-1335, *Synax.* Apr.-Nov.; Lappa-Zizica and Rizou-Kouroupou 1991, 189-99
- 7) **MD⁷** * Athen. 2515, 6r-v (with *stichoi* **B**), a. 1334 (Neilos), *Mén.* May; Luzzi 1995, 78
- 8) **MD⁸** Athen. 2679, 66v-67r, a. 1341 (Diomedes), *Synax.* Mar.-Aug.; Halkin 1984, 156-7
- 9) **MD⁹** Athen. 2435, 81r, middle of the 14th c., *Synax.* Mar.-Aug.; Politis 1991, 437-8
- 10) **MD¹⁰** Athen. 1040, a. 1381, 69v-70r, *Synax.* Mar.-Aug.; Halkin 1984, 96-7
- 11) **MD¹¹** Athen. 551, 4r (with *stichoi* **A**), a. 1385 (Ioasaph), *Mén.* May-Aug.; Sakkelion and Sakkelion 1892, 109
- 12) **MD¹²** Athen. 1039, 65v, 14th c., *Synax.* Mar.-Aug.; Halkin 1984, 95-6
- 13) **MD¹³** (**Me**) Coislin 309, 232r-v, 14th c, *Mén.* Mar.-May
- 14) **MD¹⁴** Athen. 2037, 55r, 14th c. (2/2), *Synax.* Mar.-Aug.; Politis 1991, 89
- 15) **MD¹⁵** Oxford, Christ Church College, gr. 56, 103v-104r (with *stichoi* **C**), a. 1430 (Ioannes Chortasmenos = Ignatios, metropolitan of Selybria), *Synax.* Mar.-Aug.; Hutter 1993, 156-9 and Hunger 1995, 159-62
- 16) **MD¹⁶** Protaton 55, 92v-93r, a. 1485/1486 (Nikephoros), *Synax.*, Mar.-Aug.; Lambros 1895, 8
- 17) **MD¹⁷** (**Mf**) Par. gr. 1577, 8v-9r, a. 1520 (Georgios), *Synax.* Mar.-Aug.
- 18) **MD¹⁸** Athen. 1036, IIIv-II2r, a. 1550/1551, *Synax.* Mar.-Aug.; Halkin 1984, 92-3
- 19) **MD¹⁹** Athen. 1031, 153r-v, a. 1579 (Kallistos), *Synax.* Mar.-Aug.; Halkin 1984, 88-9

Text: all differences from **A** related to syntax, position, or morphology are marked with italics; variants that are additionally related to diction are marked in bold characters.

Τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ¹³¹ μνήμη¹³² τοῦ ἁγίου¹³³ μάρτυρος Φιλοσόφου¹³⁴

stichoi A (only in MD⁴ and MD¹¹; previously unedited)

**Ὁ Φιλόσοφος εὐρηκῶς σοφὸν νόα,
Ἐκτείνειν ὄντως τὸν φρενοβλαφῆ νόα.**

stichoi B (only in MD⁷; previously unedited; author: Neilos, the scribe of the ms.?)

**Αἴγυπτον ὡς ἄδρασμον ἀφείς¹³⁵ τρισμάκαρ
Σὺ πανσόφως ἔδραμες εἰς τομῆν ξίφους**

stichoi C (only in MD¹⁵; author: Ioannes Chortasmenos, aka Ignatios, metropolitan of Selybria, the scribe of the ms.; ed. Hunger 1995, 193)

**Ὄντως σὺ τετίμηκας ὡς δεῖ σοφίαν,
Θανῶν ἄριστα, τῆς ἀληθείας χάριν.
Ὄντως μέγιστον τοῦτο γνώσεως κλέος,
Ψυχὴν ἐν καιρῷ, πίστεως δοῦναι χάριν.**

Οὗτος ὁ μέγας¹³⁶ μάρτυς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Φιλόσοφος¹³⁷, ἐκ τῆς χώρας¹³⁸ ὧν¹³⁹ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων, ὡς ὁ μέγας ἐν ἀσκηταῖς Ἀντώνιος διηγῆσατο, τοιόνδε¹⁴⁰ τὸν τοῦ μαρτυρίου δρόμον τετέλεκε¹⁴¹.

Κῆπος ἦν τερπνότατος¹⁴², καὶ πάσης ἡδονῆς πλήρης¹⁴³, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ¹⁴⁴ κλίνη¹⁴⁵ τεθείσα¹⁴⁶ ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου *κεκαλλωπισμένη*¹⁴⁷. τίθεται¹⁴⁸ ὕπτιος ὁ Φιλόσοφος *ἐπάνω αὐτῆς, καὶ*

¹³¹ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ om. MD²

¹³² μνήμη om. MD¹³

¹³³ καὶ ἐνδόξου post ἁγίου add. MD¹⁵

¹³⁴ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου post Φιλοσόφου add. MD⁷ τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρέως post Φιλοσόφου add. MD¹⁵

¹³⁵ correxi ἀφ' ἧς MD⁷

¹³⁶ ἅγιος MD¹⁴

¹³⁷ Φιλόσοφος om. MD²

¹³⁸ ὁ μέγας – χώρας om. MD⁹

¹³⁹ ἦν MD⁹ MD¹² MD¹⁸

¹⁴⁰ οἶονδε MD⁷ τοιόνδε δὲ MD³ MD⁵ MD⁸ MD¹² MD¹⁸

¹⁴¹ ἰδοὺ λέξω post τετέλεκεν add. MD⁷

¹⁴² τερπνότητος MD⁶

¹⁴³ πλήρες MD¹³

¹⁴⁴ αὐτῇ MD¹⁴

¹⁴⁵ κλίνη MD⁵

δεσμευθείς¹⁴⁹ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας¹⁵⁰, λόγους *θελκτικούς* καὶ ἀσέμνους ὑπὸ τῆς παραστάσης¹⁵¹ αὐτῶ¹⁵² *μαινάδος γυναικὸς ἤκουε*. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὀφθαλμοὺς ὁ γενναῖος, *συνέστειλε* διὰ τὸ μὴ βλέπειν, τὴν δὲ ὄσφρησιν καὶ ἀκοὴν μὴ δυνάμενος συστειλαί¹⁵³ *δεδεμένος*¹⁵⁴ ὦν, τί ποιεῖ; Τὴν ἰδίαν γλώσσαν τοῖς ὁδοῦσι *μασσώμενος*¹⁵⁵, καὶ ὀδύνας¹⁵⁶ ἀφορήτους¹⁵⁷ ἑαυτῶ *προξενῶν*, ἔμενε¹⁵⁸ ἀνήκοος¹⁵⁹, καὶ τὴν ὄσφρησιν μὴδ' ὀπωσοῦν¹⁶⁰ αἰσθανόμενος¹⁶¹. Τὴν δὲ¹⁶² ἄσεμνον ἐκείνην καταβρέχων τῇ γλώσση¹⁶³ αὐτοῦ¹⁶⁴ τοῖς ἰδίοις αἵμασι, τὴν τε μορφήν καὶ τοὺς χιτῶνας αὐτῆς¹⁶⁵ *πάμπαν* ἠχρεῖωσεν, αὐτὸς ἀβλαβής¹⁶⁶ *διαμείνας*.¹⁶⁷

Οὕτως¹⁶⁸ ἀγωνισάμενος ὁ γεννάδας¹⁶⁹ καὶ μὴ ἠττηθείς¹⁷⁰, ἀπετημήθη τὴν κεφαλὴν¹⁷¹, καὶ *χαίρει αἰωνίως*¹⁷² ἐν οὐρανοῖς¹⁷³.

καὶ ὀδύνας ἀφορήτους ἑαυτῶ προξενῶν: cf. BHG 1440t, as edited above, “καὶ ἑαυτῶ μὲν πόνον καὶ ἀληγηδόνας ἀντὶ ἠδονῶν πεποίηκεν.”

¹⁴⁶ τεθείσα κλίνη MD¹⁰ κλίνης τεθείσης MD¹⁵

¹⁴⁷ καλλωπισμένη MD⁶ MD⁸ MD⁹ καλοπισμένη MD⁷ κεκαλλωπισμένης MD¹⁵

¹⁴⁸ τίθεται οὖν MD⁶ MD¹⁴

¹⁴⁹ καὶ δεσμευθείς: δεδεμένος MD⁹ δεσμευθείς MD¹⁴

¹⁵⁰ τὰς – πόδας: χεῖρας καὶ πόδας MD⁹

¹⁵¹ παρεστῶσης MD¹³

¹⁵² αὐτῇ MD¹⁴

¹⁵³ συστειλε MD⁷

¹⁵⁴ συστειλαί δεδεμένος om. MD¹³

¹⁵⁵ μασσόμενος MD² MD⁷ MD¹⁰ MD¹⁴ MD¹⁷ MD¹⁸ MD¹⁹ καταμασσόμενος MD¹³

¹⁵⁶ ὠδίνας MD¹³

¹⁵⁷ ἀφορίτους MD¹⁰

¹⁵⁸ ἔμεινε MD⁴ MD⁷ MD⁹ MD¹⁸

¹⁵⁹ ἔμενε ἀνήκοος: ὁ μὲν νεανικῶς MD¹³

¹⁶⁰ ὀπωσοῦν MD⁶ MD⁷ MD⁹ MD¹⁰ MD¹³ MD¹⁴ MD¹⁷ MD¹⁸ MD¹⁹

¹⁶¹ ἐσθανόμενος MD¹ MD⁸ MD¹³

¹⁶² δι' MD¹⁸

¹⁶³ γλώττη MD⁶ MD¹⁰ MD¹⁸

¹⁶⁴ τῇ γλώσση αὐτοῦ om. MD⁹

¹⁶⁵ αὐτῆς om. MD² MD³ MD⁴ MD⁵ MD⁹ MD¹² MD¹³ MD¹⁸

¹⁶⁶ ἀβλαβεῖς MD⁷

¹⁶⁷ αὐτὸς ἀβλαβῆς διαμείνας om. MD⁹

¹⁶⁸ οὕτως MD⁶ MD¹⁵ MD¹⁶ MD¹⁹

¹⁶⁹ ὁ γεννάδας ἀγωνισάμενος MD⁶ MD¹⁰ MD¹⁴ MD¹⁶ MD¹⁷ ὁ γεννάδας ἀγωνισάμενος οὕτω MD¹⁵ ὁ γεννάδας ἀγωνισάμενος οὕτως MD¹⁹

¹⁷⁰ νικηθείς MD¹³

¹⁷¹ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπετημήθη MD⁹

¹⁷² αἰωνίως: χαρὰν ἀληκτον MD²

¹⁷³ οὐρανῶ MD⁴ MD¹¹ καὶ χαίρει – οὐρανοῖς om. MD⁷ MD⁹

3. Redaction B, revised by Ioannes Eugenikos

Eugenikos' text is reproduced here from the edition of Lampsides (1964-1966, 18-19), which has been slightly revised so as to follow the punctuation of the ms., Par. gr. 2075, a. 1439, 14v. All differences from redaction **B** are marked with underlined letters.

Μηνὶ Μαΐῳ α^α, μνήμη τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Φιλοσόφου.

Στίχοι:

Διπλοῦν μάρτυρα τὸν Φιλόσοφον οἶδα,

Ἔργοις φανέντα καὶ σοφὸν καὶ παρθένον.

Κρατερόθυμος ἐπάνυμος ᾧχετο φιλοσοφίης.

Οὗτος ὁ μέγας μάρτυς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Φιλόσοφος, ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὧν τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων, ὡς ὁ μέγας ἐν ἀσκηταῖς Ἀντώνιος διηγῆσατο, τοιόνδε τὸν τοῦ μαρτυρίου δρόμον τετέλεκε.

Κῆπος ἦν τερπνότατος, καὶ πάσης ἡδονῆς πλήρης· καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ κλίνης καταστρωθείσης ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου κεκαλλωπισμένης, τίθεται ὑπτίος ὁ Φιλόσοφος ἐπάνω αὐτῆς, καὶ δεσμευθεὶς τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας, λόγους θελκτικοὺς καὶ ἀσέμνους ὑπὸ τῆς παραστάσης αὐτῷ μαινάδος γυναικὸς ἤκουε. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὀφθαλμοὺς ὁ γενναῖος, συνέστειλε τοῦ μὴ βλέπειν αὐτήν, τὴν δὲ ὀσφρησιν καὶ ἀκοὴν μὴ δυνάμενος συστεῖλαι δεδεμένος ὧν, τί ποιεῖ; Τὴν ἰδίαν γλώσσαν τοῖς ὁδοῦσι μασσώμενος, καὶ ὀδύνας ἀφορήτους ἐαυτῷ προξενῶν, ἔμενεν ἀνήκοος, καὶ τὴν ὀσφρησιν μὴδ' ὀπωσοῦν αἰσθανόμενος. Τὴν δὲ ἄσεμνον ἐκείνην καταβρέχων τοῖς ἐκ τῆς γλώττης αὐτοῦ ἰδίους αἵμασι καὶ κρέασι, τὴν τε μορφήν καὶ τοὺς χρυσοῦφεῖς καὶ πολυτελεῖς χιτῶνας αὐτῆς πάμπολλα ἠχρείωσεν, αὐτὸς ἀβλαβῆς διαμεινας.

Οὕτως ὁ γενναῖος ἀγωνισάμενος καὶ μὴ ἡττηθείς, ἀπετμήθη τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ χαίρει αἰωνίως ἐν οὐρανοῖς.

χρυσοῦφεῖς: cf. Ioannes Eugenikos, *Protheōria* 5.

4. List of further MC and MD mss.

The list that follows is a conservative catalogue of manuscripts that preserve synaxarial entries for the month of May, and belong (or may belong) to the recension **M** of the *Synaxarion* and contain (or possibly contain) the *Philosophos synaxarion*.

- (a) The following mss. most probably contain *synaxarion A* of Philosophos; in parentheses I list a *synaxarion* already edited from the **MC** redaction:
- 1) Lavra I 78 (1162), 14th c., *Synax.* Mar.-Aug. (**MC** redaction of *synax.* Aug. 16); Spyridon and Eustratiades 1925, 193
 - 2) Lavra H 166 (821), 17th c., *Synax.* Mar.-Aug. (**MC** redaction of *synax.* Aug. 16); Spyridon and Eustratiades 1925, 124
- (b) The following mss. most probably contain the *synaxarion B* of Philosophos; in parentheses I list *synaxaria* already edited from the **MD** redaction:
- 1) * Sofia, Ivan Dujčev Centre for Slavo-Byzantine Studies, D. gr. 182, 14th c. (1/2); *Synax.* Mar.-Aug., with calendar verses); Getov 2007, 280
 - 2) * Sofia, Ivan Dujčev Centre for Slavo-Byzantine Studies, D. gr. 267, middle of 14th c., *Synax.* Mar.-Aug.; Getov 2007, 364
 - 3) Constantinopol. Παναγίας Καμαριωτίσσης 58, 79r, ca. 1348-1386, *Synax.* Mar.-Aug., for the usage of the Metropolis of Philadelphia (**MD** redaction of *synax.* Aug. 4, 11, and 13); Kouroupou & Géhin 2008, 186-188
 - 4) Oxon. Bodl. Gr. liturg. d. 6, ca. 1350-1360, *Synax.* Mar.-Aug. (**MD** redaction of *synax.* Aug. 4); Halkin 1950 and Crostini Lappin 2003, 68-74
 - 5) Troyes, Bibl. munic. 1204 (Chiffletianus), 14th c., *Synax.* Mar.-Aug. (**MD** redaction of *synax.* Apr. 16, and Aug. 4, 11, 13, and 30); Halkin 1947 and 1948b
 - 6) Constantinopol. Παναγίας Καμαριωτίσσης 21, 14th c., *Synax.* Mar.-Aug. (**MD** redaction of *synax.* Aug. 4, 11, and 13); Kouroupou & Géhin 2008, 105-6
 - 7) Lavra H 175 (830), 14th c., *Synax.* Mar.-Aug. (**MD** redaction of *synax.* Aug. 16); Spyridon and Eustratiades 1925, 124
 - 8) Iveron 431 (4551), 14th c., *Synax.* Mar.-Aug. (**MD** redaction of *synax.* Aug. 16); Lambros 1900, 146
 - 9) Iveron 433 (4553), 14th c., *Synax.* Mar.-Aug. (**MD** redaction of *synax.* Aug. 16); Lambros 1900, 146
 - 10) Lavra Ω 147 (1959), a. 1435, *Mén.* Mar.-Aug. (**MD** redaction of *synax.* Aug. 16); Spyridon & Eustratiades 1925, 362
 - 11) Athen. Byz. Mus. XAE 19706 (Pallas 133), *Synax.* Mar.-Aug., a. 1440 (**MD** redaction of *synax.* Aug. 4, 11, and 13); Pallas 1993-1934, 337 μθ'
 - 12) Μονή Βλατάδων 53, 15th c. (Nikodemos), *Mén.* Apr.-Aug. (**MD** redaction of *synax.* Aug. 4, 11, and 13); Eustratiades 1918, 90.

(c) The following mss. most probably contain the *synaxarion* of Philosophos, though which redaction is unclear (most likely **B**):

- 1) * *Ἐπερὰ Μονὴ Ζάβορδας* 86, 14th c. (2/2), *Synax. Mar.-Aug.*; Politis 2012, 57
- 2) * Petrop. 568, 14th c. (3/4), *Synax. Mar.-Aug.*; Granstrem 1959-1964, no. 537
- 3) * Sofia, C'rkovno-istoričeskija i archiven Institut, 217, 14th c. (4/4), *Synax. Mar.-Aug.*; Getov 2017, 29-32
- 4) * Sofia, C'rkovno-istoričeskija i archiven Institut, 384, 14th c. (4/4), *Synax. Mar.-May*; Getov 2017, 85-92
- 5) * *Ἐπερὰ Μονὴ Ζάβορδας* 6, 14th c., *Synax. Mar.-Aug.*; Politis 2012, 7
- 6) * Lavra H 190 (845), *Synax. Sept.-Aug.*, 14th c.; Spyridon & Eustratiades 1925, 127
- 7) * Vatop. 678, 16th c., *Synax. Mar.-Aug.*; Eustratiades & Arkadios 1924, 135
- 8) * Lavra H 198 (853), a. 1619, *Synax. Mar.-Aug.*; Spyridon & Eustratiades 1925, 128
- 9) * Lavra K 195 (1482), a. 1655, *Synax. May*; Spyridon & Eustratiades 1925, 256; according to Delehaye (1902, 1008) and Eustratiades (1960, 466), both based on Doukakes' *Μέγας Συναξαριστής* (vol. 5, May 17), this ms. gives the name Ioustinos to our Philosophos.

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