

# **Appendices**

## **English-Language Translations of Greek Texts**



## Appendix A-1

### Office of the Translation of the Mandyliion (MS Coislin 218)

*On the 16th of the same month: [commemoration of] the most majestic and undefiled image, not made by hands, of the Son of our true God, which was translated from Edessa; and of the holy martyr and wonderworking healer Diomēdēs.<sup>1, 2</sup>*

#### **Kathisma, fourth mode, to [the melody,] “He who was lifted up on the cross”:**

O compassionate Saviour, who came down from heaven out of compassionate mercy: you have stored up today as a treasure in the city that honours you, and amidst a people named after Christ, the most holy and undefiled form of your flesh as a firm armour. Drawing sanctification from it, let us embrace this [form] fervently in faith.<sup>3</sup>

#### **Another, the same [mode], to [the melody,] “You appeared today to the inhabited world”:**

Your God comes to you—rejoice and be glad, O queen of cities—as a human through his divine and majestic image. Receive him, as you give glory with your children.<sup>4</sup>

#### **Stichēron, first mode, to [the melody,] “O paradoxical wonder”:**

O Christ, who exist wholly and in every way as divine, and who bring divine things of goodness near to all, showing your inexpressible affection for us, to whom you have been made known as God with flesh: you willingly took this [flesh] to yourself, [and] have given your majestic image, which you formed from your face, as a great treasure, strength, and boast to those who honour you, the one typified thereon.<sup>5</sup>

- 1 Manuscript source: BNF MS Coislin 218, fols. 102v–105v; Greek edition in GRUMEL 1950. The edition by Grumel does not include any other kathismata or stichēra besides the kanōn text; such hymns have also been provided here and have been transcribed and translated from the manuscript, which has been digitised and is available online: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10037899s> (accessed 28/02/2022). Stichēra for the commemoration of the martyr Diomēdēs on the same date and present in the manuscript are omitted here.
- 2 Manuscript: Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ἰς: εἰς τὴν πάνσεπτον καὶ ἄχραντον καὶ ἀχειρότευκτον εἰκόνα· υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν· τὴν ἀπὸ Ἐδέσσης ἀνακομισθεῖσαν· καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος καὶ θαυματουργοῦ ἱατροῦ Διομήδους·
- 3 Manuscript: Κάθισμα ἦχος δ' πρὸς Ὁ ὑψωθεὶς ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ· Ὁ καταβάς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ· διὰ σπλάγχνα ἐλέους· εὐσπλαγχνε σωτήρ· τῆς σαρκός σου τὴν παναγίαν σήμερον· καὶ ἄχραντον μορφὴν· πόλει τῆ τιμώσῃ σε· καὶ λαῷ χριστονύμω· ἐναπεθησαύρισας· ὡς στερρὰν πανοπλίαν· ἐξ ἧς ἀντλοῦντες τὸν ἁγιασμόν· ταύτην ἐν πίστει θερμῶς προσπτυσώμεθα·
- 4 Manuscript: Ἄλλο ἦχος ὁ αὐτός· πρὸς Ἐπεφάνης σήμερον τῆ οἰκουμένη· Ὁ θεός σου ἦκει σοι· χαίρου καὶ τέρπου βασιλὶς· τῶν πόλεων· διὰ τῆς θείας καὶ σεπτῆς αὐτοῦ εἰκόνας ὡς ἄνθρωπος· ὃν ὑποδέχου σὺν τέκνοις δοξάζουσα·
- 5 Manuscript: Στιχηρὸν ἦχος α' πρὸς Ω τοῦ παραδόξου θαύματος· Ὅλος ὢν πάντῃ χριστὲ θεϊκῶς· καὶ τοῖς πᾶσι θεῖα· ἐγγίζων χρηστότητος· δεικνύων τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς· στοργὴν σου

**The kanōn, bearing this acrostic: “Let us honour with hymns the theandric type.”**

***Ode I, plagal fourth mode. [Heirmos:] When Moses inscribed the cross ...***<sup>6</sup>

Hosts of angelic ranks from heaven are present today on earth and rejoice, as they solemnly celebrate with us a most auspicious and radiant feast of the divine form, which by a command of him who willed to become like us has appeared for the renewal of humankind.

Being of equal honour with the Father according to the divine essence, O immortal Lord and maintainer of creation, being kindled with boundless compassion, you appeared equal to us since you are compassionate. You have granted to those who venerate you in orthodox manner as God and human the divinised image<sup>7</sup> of your flesh.

We have passed over from earth to the divine and immaterial heavenly way of life, since the likeness<sup>8</sup> of Christ has passed over to a most pious city and has found in this [city] a place of rest. Venerating it with faith, we all gain for ourselves sanctification and spiritual propitiation.

*Theotokion.* You appeared [as] a fearful wonder, both to all the angels as well as mortals, O most hymned Lady: for you held in your womb the Son, co-unoriginate and co-enthroned with the Father, who is made known as twofold in terms of natures but single in terms of substantive existence,<sup>9</sup> O maiden. We kiss his majestic type<sup>10</sup> with reverence and rejoicing.

ἄφατον· πρὸς οὓς ἐγνώσθης θεός· μετὰ σαρκός· ἦν περ θέλων προσήλειφας· εἰκόνα σου τὴν σεπτὴν· ἦν ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ σοῦ διεμόρφωσας· τούτοις θησαυρὸν ὡς μέγαν· ἰσχύν τε καὶ καύχημα· ἐδωρήσω τιμῶσι· τὸν ἐν τάτῃ σὲ τυπούμενον·

6 Grumel does not note this in his introductory comments to the edition of the Greek text, but the heirmoi here—all appearing only as incipits—appear to be the ones used in the received tradition for the kanōn of the cross at matins on Friday morning in plagal fourth mode. Some words have been supplied here from the rest of the text of these heirmoi as found in contemporary published oktōēchos books of the Byzantine rite (cf. Παρακλητικὴ ἤτοι Ὀκτώηχος ἡ Μεγάλῃ, ed. by Ἀποστολικὴ Διακονία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 903–914) in order to produce English-language clauses that make sense for the reader. The use of such heirmoi could be explained possibly via the church calendar in that year: August 16, 944 on the Julian calendar was a Friday (calculated as per <https://core2.gsfc.nasa.gov/time/julian.html> [accessed 14/05/2021]) and the musical mode of that week according to the oktōēchos for that week after Pascha (calculated as per the date of Pascha: <https://webspacescience.uu.nl/~gento113/easter/eastercalculator.htm> [accessed 14/05/2021]) would have been plagal fourth mode, making this selection simply the usual normal daily matins heirmoi for such a day—and thus possibly underscoring the historicity of the event.

7 Gr. χαρακτήρ.

8 Gr. ἐκτύπωσις.

9 Gr. ὑπόστασις.

10 Gr. τύπος.

***Ode III. A rod is understood as a type ...***

The face of Moses was glorified by [the sight] of the divine backside, but the people of grace, counted worthy of seeing your holy form,<sup>11</sup> is transformed into inexpressible glory by the effulgences<sup>12</sup> [coming] from this [form].

The most majestic image<sup>13</sup> of him who became incarnate for our sake, having visited [us] as though from another sanctuary, is restored today from barbarian authority to a God-loving people and city who bear the name of Christ.

Now, as of old, the voice of divine speech/reason<sup>14</sup> has thundered: Christ has come to what is his own through his own most majestic image,<sup>15</sup> which he fashioned as he knows [how] and gave to those who worship him.

*Theotokion.* You alone existed as an undefiled tabernacle of divine essence, since you gave birth to the one of the Trinity who united what stood apart and did not confuse the natures, and who has kept you whole after childbirth.

***Ode IV. I have heard, O Lord, the mystery of your salvation ...***

O Lord, who did not depart from the form of your begetter, you took on an alien form, and by your form<sup>16</sup> transformed our repulsive formlessness.

The cherubic images of the law covered the holy things, but we behold the glory of invisible things, since we are covered by your type.<sup>17</sup>

Previously, David leapt before the ark as he danced in song, but we rejoice as we mystically leap before the image<sup>18</sup> of Christ.

*Theotokion.* He who is most perfect according to the divine nature has appeared as one equal to what he fashioned, since he is being born from your womb and is saving the nature which had fallen.

***Ode V. O thrice-blessed tree ...***

Since the fiery sword beholds you, the divinely written type<sup>19</sup> on which Christ is depicted,<sup>20</sup> it grants to the faithful entrance into paradise and gives in return immortal delight.

O Christ, by making known the great mystery of your sojourn amongst us, which surpasses the mind—your pure conception and childbirth without suffering and

11 Gr. μορφή.

12 Gr. ἀπαυγάσματα.

13 Gr. χαρακτήρ.

14 Gr. θεολόγος, in which the component -λόγος has a variety of simultaneously possible meanings, including “speech”, “reason”, and “mind”; cf. Lampe, s.v. “λόγος, ὁ”.

15 Gr. εἰκών.

16 Gr. μορφή.

17 Gr. τύπος.

18 Gr. εἰκών.

19 Gr. τύπος.

20 Gr. μορφεῖται, from μορφέομαι.

the depiction<sup>21</sup> of your form<sup>22</sup> painted [in manner] surpassing nature—you are making something new as the creator of natures.

By the divine model<sup>23</sup> of your archetype and with divinely uttered words,<sup>24</sup> you utterly loosed Abgar's illness, having made use of your servant and disciple Thaddaeus, through whom he [sc. Abgar] found the unending life.

The barbarians' scorn was incited by a multitude of faults to conceal your image<sup>25</sup> for a most lengthy period of time, but you led it forth as an inviolate treasure and have given it as a help to an inheritance that honours you.

*Theotokion.* In variance with the laws of nature, you bear in your womb God, who is in no way contained, who in you, O Lady pure beyond comprehension, is working the refashioning of the essence of mortals in you, [and] whose most majestic likeness<sup>26</sup> we kiss.

### ***Ode VI. In the belly of the sea beast ...***

Having tasted death, O compassionate Lord, you destroyed by your cross the curse that [came] from the tree, completely healing the harm that [came] from the food; and by your divine and majestic image,<sup>27</sup> you put down the uprising of the barbarians and granted it [sc. the image] to us as an invincible weapon<sup>28</sup> against enemies, O Lord who loves humankind.

The bronze serpent lifted up of old in the wilderness on the tree<sup>29</sup> and which healed the serpents' bites<sup>30</sup> represented<sup>31</sup> the likeness<sup>32</sup> of your life-giving and

21 Gr. ἀπεικόνισμα.

22 Gr. μορφή.

23 Gr. ἐκμαγεῖον. This noun can also mean “towel”, and thus the notion of the material of the Mandylion, the cloth/napkin itself, is also present; cf. LSJ, s.v. “ἐκμαγεῖον, τό”.

24 Reference is being made here to the relic of the letter dictated by Christ, cf. *Narration 7* (18/19–20/21).

25 Gr. χαρακτήρ.

26 Gr. ἐκτύπωμα.

27 Gr. χαρακτήρ.

28 Gr. ἀκαταμάχητον ὄπλον. This imagery for the cross becomes common after the translation of the True Cross to Constantinople under Hērakleios in the seventh century and abounds in the hymnography for the feast of the Elevation of the Cross (September 14). Cf. SIMIC 2017, 160; MCGUCKIN 2011–2012, 40–41.

29 Cf. Num 21:9.

30 Reading δήξεις (“bites”, derived from the verb δάκνω, which uses the stem δηκ- in some forms of the future, aorist, and perfect tenses); both the MS and Grumel have δείξεις (“proofs” or “demonstrations”/“displays”, derived from the verb δείκνυμι, which does not make sense in this context). I believe this to be simply an example of a typical Middle Byzantine spelling mistake after the sound shift whereby /ei/ and /ē/ merged into /i/ (along with historical /i/ and /y/); cf. HOLTON et al. 2019, 10–11.

31 Gr. εἰκόνιζεν, from εἰκονίζω.

32 Gr. ὁμοιότης.

dread image,<sup>33</sup> O Christ. We, who now look on it with faith, are healed of the wounds of the marks of evil.

Today, rays have shone forth from the undefiled image<sup>34</sup> of Christ, which comes home to an imperial city and a God-bearing<sup>35</sup> people. At its entrance, bathed in boundless glimmers of light and song, it<sup>36</sup> faithfully and ceaselessly glorifies almighty God, who is fearfully depicted<sup>37</sup> on this [image].

Knowing you, O Word of God, to be beginning from beginning and an image without distinction from the begetter, we faithfully embrace the divinely engraved<sup>38</sup> type<sup>39</sup> of your flesh, in which we discern your timeless Father and the Spirit who shares your throne and form, as we are illumined in soul by the brilliance of the Trinity.

*Theotokion.* You were shown as a temple and enclosure of the Word, who shone forth before all the ages from a Father who is before all eternity, the eternal beginning. Having dwelt therein according to our manner and reconciled the fallen essence of humans to the Father, he restores the inheritance of the heavenly kingdom by grace.

#### **Ode VII. A senseless command ...**

The city of God is shown today as another new Zion, which receives in strange manner the Craftsman: not sat as before upon a foal,<sup>40</sup> but riding upon archpriests; not hymned in figural fashion<sup>41</sup> by children,<sup>42</sup> but glorified by faithful emperors and every breath of mature faithful [persons].

Words of songs are now fulfilled noetically on this feast: for previously, our God who became incarnate for our sake caused us to hear the voice of the holy Gospels, but now he shows his face, which he depicted<sup>43</sup> when he wiped it, thus confirming by both things the wonder of an ineffable incarnation.

33 Gr. χαρακτήρ.

34 Gr. εικών.

35 Gr. θεοφόρος.

36 The verb form here, δοξάζει, is singular, and thus the subject glorifying God here is left ambiguous: either the city or the people, or perhaps both reconceived in the latter half of the troparion as a unified, singular whole.

37 Gr. ἐκτυπούμενον.

38 Gr. θεοχάρακτος.

39 Gr. τύπος.

40 Cf. Matt 21:1–11, Mark 11:1–11, Luke 19:28–39, John 12:12–19 for Christ's entry into Jerusalem, which quote the prophecy of Zech 9:9; cf. also 3 Kgdms 1:33–45, where Solomon, David's heir, rides his father's donkey to the spring of Gihon, where he is anointed king.

41 Gr. τυπικῶς.

42 For the children hymning Christ, cf. the Gospel references above in this appendix, n. 40.

43 Gr. ἐναπεικόνισεν, from ἐναπεικονίζω.

Of old, the counsel of the apostate power prevailed to have the Master's form<sup>44</sup> made as though betrayed to enemies by a wicked plan, but it [sc. this power] was cheated of its hopes. For the God of boundless power, who is venerated with faith through it [sc. the form], now gives it back worthily to the tribes of the orthodox.

*Theotokion.* You appeared on earth, having been born of a maiden and divine child, and clothed yourself without deceit in my nature, through which you have overthrown the serpent who of old struck the heel of humanity, and through yourself by the might of your strength raised up him who had fallen, and caused him to sit with you in the Father's glory through your exceeding compassion.

***Ode VIII. O youths, bless ...***

Heaven dances most radiantly with angels, and the nature of [the] earthborn leaps and rejoices at the ascent of the image<sup>45</sup> of Christ, and a multitude of priests as well as the whole race [of humans] gladly honours and glorifies it to the ages.

Though surrounded by the boastfulness<sup>46</sup> of the barbarians, those who now rule by your providence produce under treaty a victorious weapon, invincible against every armour, through your majestic type<sup>47</sup>: you, the mighty God and king.

Having been united beyond understanding to mortal nature, and having truly deified it entirely through both the ineffable mixture and communion, and having glorified it through seating it with the Father, you have left your image<sup>48</sup> to us as a true witness of the dispensation.

*Theotokion.* Though existing on high in accordance with your Father's essence, you appeared to us below in the flesh, O Word, being born willingly as one humble from a pure virgin, and raised our nature that had been humbled by envy up to inexpressible glory.

***Ode IX. O Theotokos, you are a mystical paradise ...***

The destructive ranks of aerial spirits are burnt up as with fire by your image,<sup>49</sup> O Christ; the air is sanctified, the heavens together with us declare the glory which you willingly wrought by becoming like mortals on earth through pity.

The city exceedingly bright in glory and honour has been shown to imitate heaven, for it has received the very Son of God in depicted form,<sup>50</sup> by whose ineffable power it remains eternally undestroyable.

44 Gr. μορφή.

45 Gr. εικών.

46 Reading the ἀλαζονεία with an instrumental meaning along with the MS, instead of Grumel's accusative direct object ἀλαζονείαν.

47 Gr. τύπος.

48 Gr. εικών.

49 Gr. εικών.

50 Gr. ἀπομορφωμένον, from ἀπομορφώω.



O Christ, crown with victorious armour those who in your good pleasure rule on earth, since they have obtained as a shield<sup>51</sup> the undefiled form<sup>52</sup> of your flesh, by which they subject the barbarian tribes while venerating it.

*Theotokion.* O bride of God, [in manner] beyond understanding you were seen as both mother and true virgin, since he who for our sake was incarnate from you willingly became twofold in a single substantive existence, while preserving the characteristics of the essences.

51 Gr. θυρεός; this was a type of oblong, door-shaped shield, much like the Roman *scutum*; cf. LSJ, s.v. “θυρεός, ό”. The word occurs once in the New Testament (Eph 6:16) and 22 times in the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament.

52 Gr. μορφή.

## Appendix A-2

### Office of the Translation of the Mandyllion (*Analecta hymnica graeca*)

The kanōn<sup>1</sup> of the holy Mandyllion,<sup>2</sup> of which the acrostic [is]:  
“Rejoice, all you of pious mind.”

#### *Ode I, fourth mode. [Heirmos:] I will open my mouth ...*<sup>3</sup>

O heavens, exult today with brightness; O mountains, leap, O hills, clap your hands! You of divine mind, venerate in faith the likeness<sup>4</sup> of Christ’s acquisition.<sup>5</sup>

He who is beyond all being, as one beyond depiction<sup>6</sup> and as an indistinguishable image<sup>7</sup> of God, showed an indistinguishable image from which he acquired flesh when he took on the likeness<sup>8</sup> of humans.

Dance, O unwedded bride: for he who is beyond divinity has been born without seed from you, [and] thus wrought a likeness<sup>9</sup> not made by hands, having filled all things with his divine praise.

David related most clearly the power of the mystery, crying out: “The God and Lord who is coming has also appeared to us; arrange a universal feast of joy!”

#### *Ode III. [Establish] your singers, O Theotokos ...*

David, seeing the queen of cities receive within her womb the inexpressible type,<sup>10</sup> said: “All the glory of the daughter of the king is within.”

With strength, the singer cried out to the new Zion, striking the lyre of the Spirit: “Glorious and inexpressible are the things spoken of you, the metropolis<sup>11</sup> of our God.”

1 Manuscripts: MS Mess. gr. 136, fols. 293v–298v (13th century); MS Paris. gr. 13, fol. 370r–371v (13th century); MS Paris. gr. 1568, fols. 118v–124v (15th century). Greek edition in Proiou/Schirò 1980, 12:163–171.

2 Spelled here *μανδήλιον*.

3 The *heirmoi* here throughout the kanōn correspond to those of the second kanōn for the feast of the Dormition of the Theotokos (August 15) and are attributed to John of Damascus (ca. 675–749) (although this attribution is not without scrutiny or controversy; see here LOUTH 2002, 252–253, mentioned in CUNNINGHAM 2022, 164, n. 121); cf. Μηναῖον Αὐγούστου, ed. by Αποστολική Διακονία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 197–206.

4 Gr. ἐμφέρεια.

5 In patristic literature, the Greek word here often has the specific meaning of the addition or acquisition of human nature in the incarnation; cf. Lampe, s.v. “πρόσλημμα, τό”.

6 Gr. γραφή.

7 Gr. εἰκών.

8 Gr. ὁμοίωσις.

9 Gr. ἐκτύπωμα.

10 Gr. τύπος.

11 Gr. μητρόσις ἢ πόλις. The phrase here can be taken as a pun on μητρόπολις, but the insertion of the definite article ἡ preserves the more exact quotation of Ps 86:3, which reads simply, “the city of God” (ἡ πόλις τοῦ θεοῦ).

O Word of God, Edessa held you as Egypt did of old; therefore, a Father has once again called for you to return, as to another fatherland, to this city which has given birth to you.

***Ode IV. [Perceiving] the inscrutable divine counsel ...***

Leap and cry out, O voice of the Word: “Prepare again the way of the Lord”, since he has come as though on foot through the form<sup>12</sup> of the acquisition to make paths in souls perfect.

Be shattered to pieces, O senseless nations of the earth that desire wars, and understand that God, who was and shall be [such] without intermission, has come to us; be insolent no longer!

Say, O prophet of God: “Who is this who is coming from Edom, from Edessa, youthful in beauty?” He is God and human from a pure [virgin], the Lord who by nature loves humankind.

When you put to death all the enemy’s deceit, you set forth your indistinguishable form<sup>13</sup> as one intending to return, so that he [sc. the enemy] might always bear this mortification and be put to death by you, O immortal Lord, when beholding this [form].

***Ode V. Everything was amazed ...***

You went up to the heights in the form of your type<sup>14</sup>, you captured those who had taken captives, you received gifts, O Saviour, when you dwelt among them, among disobedient peoples, so that they might hymn you in Edessa, O lover of humankind.

Angels now rejoice and cry out today: “Lift up the gates, O churches, receive the form<sup>15</sup>, not depicted by hands, of God’s recorded<sup>16</sup> essence, and make copies<sup>17</sup> of it for yourselves in accordance with the archetype, O faithful!”

You have placed your bow in the cloud, O Lord, but you placed your form<sup>18</sup> on a woven cloth to adorn the foundation of the church, confirming the new covenant after closing up the cataracts of your wrath.

12 Gr. μορφή.

13 Gr. μορφή.

14 Gr. τυπούμενος, from τυπέω.

15 Gr. εἶδος.

16 Gr. ἔγγραφος. Lampe, s.v. “ἔγγραφος”, records a possible meaning of this word as being “recorded ... opp. eternal” (p. 398), and thus its use could be highlighting the recorded, historical human ‘essence’ of Christ.

17 The Greek reads here μεταγράφεσθε, which is a present mediopassive imperative, in contrast to the other imperatives—“lift” (ἄρατε) and “receive” (δέξασθε)—which are aorist active and middle, respectively. The aspectual difference here is a subtle but key one: the churches are to lift up the gates fully and receive once and for all the form (the complete nature of these acts brought to the fore by the aorist imperatives), but the present imperative injunction to make copies implies an ongoing action whose end is not foreseen, i.e., henceforth without ceasing should such copies be made.

18 Gr. μορφή.

***Ode VI. [Celebrating] this divine and most honoured [feast] ...***

Your ancestor gave shape in advance<sup>19</sup> to the glory of this form<sup>20</sup> of yours when he said, “I loved your house’s majesty and the place of your glory’s tabernacle, O Word.”

Authenticating<sup>21</sup> the glory of the second coming of your dread presence, O Christ, you have shown in advance now the form<sup>22</sup> of your shape<sup>23</sup> to us who long for you, O Craftsman of all.

You came to Egypt, O Saviour, and destroyed the idols there; and you have come to us, raising up your beauty and that of your saints for portrayal and veneration.

David cries, “Exalt the Lord, everyone, and venerate his footstool”, as one hinting at the type<sup>24</sup> of the compound acquired from the pure [virgin].

***Kathisma, fourth mode. [To the melody,] “He who was lifted up on the cross.”***

O compassionate Saviour, who came down from heaven out of compassionate mercy: you have stored today as a treasure in the city that honours you, and amidst a people named after Christ, the most holy and undefiled form of your flesh as a firm armour. Drawing sanctification from it, let us embrace<sup>25</sup> this [form] fervently in faith.

***Ode VII. The [youths] of divine mind did not worship the creation ...***

Previously, material and divine light shone in like manner on Tabor, but now the immaterial light—the likeness<sup>26</sup> of the type<sup>27</sup>—has risen, surpassing the sun, driving away the darkness of terrible heterodoxy.

The eternal Lord comes now to what is his own through a recorded<sup>28</sup> form<sup>29</sup>. Be glad, you who are his own<sup>30</sup>, let us embrace him and make melody as we greet him: “The Lord of our fathers is with us; be defeated, O nations!”

19 Gr. προδιεχάραχεν, from προδιαχάράζω.

20 Gr. εἶδος.

21 Literally, “sealing” (σφραγίζων).

22 Gr. εἶδος.

23 Gr. μορφή.

24 Gr. τύπος.

25 Proiou and Schirò choose the present indicative mediopassive form, προσπτυσσόμεθα, rather than the subjunctive προσπτυσσώμεθα. Their apparatus indicates, however, that the two earlier, 13th-century manuscripts contain the reading with the subjunctive, with the indicative reading only being attested by the latest manuscript, MS Paris. gr. 1568 from the 15th century. The subjunctive reading here, which is followed in this translation, also happens to accord with the stichèron as written in the 11th-century MS Coislin 218, edited by Grumel and also appearing in translation in this appendix (Appendix A-1). It is also noteworthy that this kathisma is the *only* shared hymnography between the two versions of the office.

26 Gr. ἐκτύπωσις.

27 Gr. τύπος.

28 Gr. ἔγγραφος.

29 Gr. μορφή.

30 This is an extended pun in the Greek text with the words for “eternal” (ἀίδιος), “what is his own” (τὰ ἴδια), and the people who are God’s own, directly addressed in the troparion (ἴδιοι).

Behold, the King of Kings is coming: go forth to meet him, O emperors, priests, peoples, and princes, and cry out: “Blessed is the Lord, who comes in the name of the Lord!”

When Jacob venerated a rod and embraced it, showing beforehand the image’s<sup>31</sup> honour, he set forth the day of the mystery, O pure Lady. Having come to know it as [being] auspicious, we have celebrated a feast today for your child.

***Ode VIII. The pious youths in the furnace ...***

Bearing your image like an adornment, O Christ, your bride the church cries: “Behold the inexpressible beauty of your life hanging before your eyes, and you all shall live.” Moses, foreseeing [this], rejoiced as he hymned you to all the ages.

The angel who was seen in the form<sup>32</sup> of dew rescued three youths in a furnace, but the Lord himself, who appeared in an acquired form<sup>33</sup>, completely saved the universe after setting it aflame with divine intimate desire, as it cries: “We exalt you above all to all the ages!”

O mountains, drip sweetness; O hills, milk; O clouds, water of gladness! For a sun has appeared as a light cloud, whom David foresaw, and he sang: “Happy the people who knows a festal shout! They will walk in the light of the Lord’s face.”

***Ode IX. [Let] every earth-born [leap in spirit]...***

The law outlined a relative honour for images in the cherubim, but Christ the truth, as one who is impalpable and who had depicted an impalpable receptacle of perceptions, makes clear that this [honour] leads all to the perception of the veneration of these things and to safely guard the perceptions of the faithful.

The bride of God—the church—made sacrificial offerings, O faithful, and having filled [her] cup, she cries out: “Come, taste and see that the bridegroom is present, Christ the Lord, who grants victories to emperors, and peace to priests and peoples!”

Today, the voice of David has been completely fulfilled, for the Lord is near to those who call on [him] in truth, and has sent forth a voice like a rod of power from the form<sup>34</sup> [taken] from her who had not experienced a man. But you, royal city,<sup>35</sup> rise up and rule over the ends of the earth!

31 Gr. εικών.

32 Gr. εἶδος.

33 Gr. ἐν εἶδει προσλήμματος; cf. also above this appendix, n. 5.

34 Gr. μορφή.

35 Gr. βασιλὶς μὲν πόλις. Given the absence of any definite or indefinite articles, I read βασιλὶς here as the adjective “royal” rather than as the substantive “queen”; cf. LSJ, s.v. “βασιλὶς”. Nevertheless, the aural pun exists, such that one might also be tempted to hear the ‘queen-city’, a feminine image fitting not only the feminine grammatical gender of the Greek word for city (πόλις) but also the Marian imagery usual in such concluding hymns; cf. here also again MANGO 2000 on the notion of Constantinople as a city defined by its connection to the Mother of God; on theotokia as a locus *par excellence* for examining Marian imagery in Byzantine hymnography, see CUNNINGHAM 2022, esp. chapter 4, entitled “Theology in Verse: Middle Byzantine Hymnography” (pp. 137–178).

## Appendix B

### Constantine Stilbēs: *Didaskalia* on the Mandylion and the Tile

*Didaskalia*<sup>1</sup> of the blessed monk Cyril, who bore the title of [bishop of] Kyzikos, and who was a teacher<sup>2</sup> at the [church of Christ] Chalkitēs when he was a deacon. On the holy [objects], the Mandylion and the Tile.

- 1) What is this sacred thing that is being transported? What is this thing that is being carried humbly<sup>3</sup>? For so great an escort<sup>4</sup> makes one think that there is something more august about the matter. Indeed, this is the ark of grace, since the spiritual Israel goes before in procession and guards as a treasure the very holy [ark] and surrounds with loud cries the tablet imprinted by God and the jar holding the manna so as to preserve inviolate the wonder. See him who bears the ark in his hands and provides for its transport: our more sublime Aaron, the great sacrificer and hierarch, the worthy bearer of vessels for objects so great as these and who escorts them into the sanctuary, who speaks well before Pharaoh on behalf of the Israel which we are, and who by his words of teaching thunders at him but sets us aright. The oracular breastplate he bears is more mystical and more secret, since he has prepared his heart as a treasury of spiritual [riches] (not to mention divine and wise ones), in which are kept both the manifestation of things at once hidden and ambiguous as well as the truth. He is adorned with a more remarkable

1 Greek edition in FLUSIN 1997. Text taken from Bodleian Library MS Barocci 25, fols. 273–275; digitised copy available online at <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/2ca2a9fe-9777-4646-a75a-1aa5b4598498/> (accessed 14/05/2021). I refer the reader here to the extensive notes and commentary by Flusin at the end of his edition, which notes the scriptural references throughout the *Didaskalia*. My notes in the following are restricted to my own insights, specific Greek words of interest, and comments with regard to the partial translation and notes in CEULEMANS 2022.

2 Gr. διδάσκαλος, which besides the usual meaning also probably refers in this context to Stilbēs holding the official office designated as such in conjunction with the patriarchal school at Hagia Sophia; cf. “Didaskalos” in *ODB* 1:619.

3 Gr. ἐνδεῶς, literally, “insufficiently”.

4 CEULEMANS 2022, 742, n. 5 interprets this as referring to a contemporaneous procession of the Mandylion and Tile in Constantinople in Stilbēs’s day, yet there are no extant liturgical sources that indicate that this icon-relic was processed annually on the commemoration of the translation. Given the lack of such rubrics for a procession of such a high-profile imperial relic—Ceulemans provides none, while sources such as the kanonarium-synaxarium of the Great Church (cf. TUCKER 2023, *passim*) abound in directions and specific starting and ending points for public liturgical processions and lack any such directions for such a procession, which most certainly would have involved the patriarch and thus have found its way into the books of the Ecclesiastic rite—I believe that the *didaskalos* here is simply using his oratorical arts to evoke the historical translation to the city in 944, and not speaking of a present-day event.

turban and a plaque on his forehead gleaming like gold: for both things are united in the understanding of the archpastor, which is near his head and full of light, since he is exceedingly perceptive and in his thoughts there is nothing base, nor noisy, nor dark or nocturnal. But as for us: why are we here? And why, then, have we gathered at this solemn celebration? With enthusiasm, we leap up before the ark in spiritual dance, and at this arrival or return, we begin to strike<sup>5</sup> the psaltery—but may Melchol be far from us, an abusive tongue peeping out against us at the window of [our] nature, at the parapet and fencing of our teeth—a psaltery, and if not [consisting] of ten strings, then at least bearing five tones: the composition of the second of the chords, then that which is diminished, and then our compositions, which compared to the ancient and great ones of David seem only half accomplished. [This psaltery], mind you, is composed of the arrangement of the speech-producing parts, especially of the tongue itself, which we stretch against the row of teeth as against the bridges on instruments, even though it is a poorly sounding string by virtue of its matter. For it is made rough by forbidden wantonness<sup>6</sup>, and made languid by songs rather than stretched tight, producing a deep sound rather than a beautiful one.

- 2) But come, let us search out whence so great a good thing has come to us—the small tablet imprinted by God—and who entrusted this to us, the Israel of the gospel. Let us make this narrative a pleasant song for the solemn celebration, since nothing is more delightful or magnificent than the Saviour’s miracles, and in this case, the story is new and not common knowledge to all. For it does not come from the book of the divine Gospel, which relates the history of the Master, since the marvels of Christ are not written down one by one therein; and the son of thunder, the thundering voice bears true witness to this.<sup>7</sup> For if they were to end up being infinite in terms of multitude and magnitude, how would they have been circumscribed? And why would someone try to relate a heavenly marvel by means of all the stars and their infinitude, when it is possible to represent all their beauty by means of

5 Gr. ἐπικράσκομεν. Flusin does not comment on this word in his apparatus, but after extensive lexical searching, I cannot find any forms of the verb anywhere. I believe that this could be a hitherto unlisted *hapax legomenon* form of the (to my knowledge unattested) verb \*ἐπικράσκω, which in form would appear to be an inchoative of the attested verb ἐπικρέκω, meaning “to strike [an instrument]”; a similar vowel change in the formation of the inchoative is seen, for example, in φάσκω > φημί (not to mention the stem formant -σκ-, cognate with the Latin -sc- formant performing the same function [e.g., scīscō > scīō] and the Sanskrit verbal root √(s)kṛ, “to make/do”, which is often attached to noun stems to form periphrastic inchoatives). Cf. *LBG*, s.v. “ἐπικρέκω”; *LSJ*, s.v. “κρέκω”.

6 Gr. τρυφή. This can also mean “softness” in both positive and negative senses, and thus serves as a polyvalent pun against the roughness indicated by the verb ἐκτραχύνω here.

7 A reference to John the Theologian and Evangelist; cf. Mark 3:17.

certain more remarkable ones? Why should one observe closely all the trails of the morning star's [light] and thoroughly investigate their great diversity, which causes interminable pain to our eyes, when their radiance is evident from [investigating] a reasonable number of them? We must set forth, then, the erection of the image and the wonder, such as I have learnt from sacred unimpeachable inscribed pillars<sup>8</sup>.

- 3) Quite recently, Christ was making his sojourn as a human on earth without being separated from the supercelestial regions as regards his divinity, and behold a certain regional ruler or king of Syrian Edessa and the neighbouring regions of no small repute (for this was the renowned Abgar), learning of Christ's wonders, takes them individually in turn to heart like seeds, and like good soil produces the full-grown fruits of faith. Quickly, he infers the truth syllogistically and infallibly concludes that Jesus is God. As a middle term that unites the extremes and binds them together with utmost necessity, he situates the miracles, and especially that of raising the dead again to life, and thus having heard with his own ears, he has come to belief; and he began to thirst all the more after beholding the awesome sight with his own eyes. Indeed, in terms of the lesser term, the middle term is hypothetical and quite false [if the knowledge come] by means of hearing; but the eye turns the hearing's hypotheses into theses, into clear confessions and undisputed conclusions. The king would have quickly rushed headlong after what he both longed for and marvelled at—like a deer after living water that gushes forth and is in no way stagnant or putrid with death, or in any way corrupted—had he not been held fast by the bonds of illness and the strong snare of disaffection. The spirit in his case is willing, but the flesh is weak; that which moves is quick, but that which is moved is sluggish; the charioteer is ready to go, but the chariot can hardly move, impeded as it is by the spikes of sicknesses. For the illness was gout, brought about in the king and becoming arthritis throughout his body, by the Syrian diet (which was contrived, luxurious, and moist), the indigestion that followed, the walks and periods of standing that were longer and more intense than is customary, retention of what is normally excreted, and in sum, a superabundance of bilious humours. This is what overcame the ruler of the place, and along with this a great amount of viscous liquid and black bile, which caused a black leprosy to erupt on his skin, clothing him in a tunic of disfigurement.

<sup>8</sup> Gr. κύρβεις. Originally, this word referred to a specific kind of triangular tablet used in Athens and onto which laws were inscribed; the overtones thus suggest not only legal or customary authority on the part of the sources consulted, but the trilaterality might also faintly hint at the Trinity and thus divine authority. Cf. LSJ, s.v. “κύρβεις, -εων, αι”. CEULEMANS 2022, 744, n. 14 sees this term as bearing more upon the physical nature of ‘tablets’ and thus subtly introducing the Tile (Κέραμος) as part of the *Didaskalia*.



- 4) Constrained by such snares is his foot, quick to move towards the Master. He writes, then, to Christ, confesses his faith, exposes the hindrance to his journey, and finally, out of affection rather than audacity, he—the slave—implores, supplicates, [and] summons to himself the Master who saves and heals. “I am weak”, he says, “visit me who am held fast in a prison and am hard pressed by the wall and enclosure of my body. Direct your beautiful feet towards me, you who proclaim the good tidings of peace even though the humours of the body battle against us. I open wide to you all the gates of Edessa. I am a leper: come into the house of the leper. I am a paralytic: search out also the floor where I am lying down. And if you wish, O God-human, to escape the plots of the Jews since you are human, Edessa will be for you a sure place of refuge. For I believe that your great power will be an unshakeable rock for its foundations and a cornerstone holding everything together for the circumference of its walls.”
- 5) But Christ writes back—O those letters inscribed by God! O divine tablet! <...> [O] brief missive! O what tokens of such great thoughts, [like] the supernatural symbols of supernatural prototypes, sparks shooting forth and emitting great light as from hidden coals! He responds, then, that the matters of the [divine] dispensation must be brought to their end [in] Jerusalem: “I do not reject my murderers”, he says, “for my passion is voluntary and quite plain, even if I should not seek out the inviolate and unassailable refuge offered by you.” These things are what [were said] in the letter, after he blessed him who had believed before he had seen; and fulfilling the desire of the faithful slave, he promises to send one of his chosen disciples to minister to his illness. For the apostles of grace, unlike those of the law or the servants of Elisha, are not weak when it comes to illnesses, but rather are healers even of internal wounds, enclosed within and deadly.
- 6) It followed from this that the ruler was all the more enflamed and driven as by a tyrant towards both faith and [the desire] to see him who had replied. Upon learning that the plots of the Jews were already about to end in death for the Saviour, he starts to think of a way to appease his desire; and this desire was to have an image<sup>9</sup> limned and to possess a likeness<sup>10</sup> of the divine form<sup>11</sup> of him who among the sons of humans stands out in beauty. For those who suffer with longing, especially of a divine nature, even the shadow of him who is longed for is most precious and desirable. So he dispatches a swift courier to Jesus in order that [this envoy] might reach him before the envy of the Jews should; this fleet-footed man was also thoroughly versed in the craft of painting. Faster than a bird, as they say, [he comes] before

9 Gr. εικῶν.

10 Gr. χαρακτήρ.

11 Gr. μορφή.

Christ, thinking that now is the proper moment to demonstrate his skills: of his feet, in running; and of his hands, in elegant painting. He undertakes to depict the Master's visage; he sets up the base as something simply to receive the material of the image<sup>12</sup>, he assembles his pigments, he takes the brush in his hand, and undertakes to move this skilful tool, this painting hand. But when this hand should be guided in its depiction by the eyes, for the hand is blind when the gaze is distant—[eyes] that strike the archetype and make an impression of the form<sup>13</sup> internally and either make an image<sup>14</sup> of it on the secret inscribed pillar<sup>15</sup> of the imagination or make an immaterial sketch of it, so that one might make a material copy thereof—the artist is then helpless and his skill in painting is put to shame. For the divine form<sup>16</sup> cannot be comprehended by the eyes, even if one should send forth to this [form] numerous spiritual rays of vision like the touches of the hands; according to him who spoke of his nature, it is incomprehensible and infinite, and the grace that shines from his face stops the painter. I will mention a very similar example, I think, and please accept it. Just as one cannot keep the pupils [of the eyes] fixed intensely on the very disc of the sun and make an exact image<sup>17</sup> of it, so too is the painter unable to fix his gaze upon the theandric form<sup>18</sup> or compile the form<sup>19</sup> from the radiance. He directed his right hand to make straight lines, curves, and triangular and polygonal shapes—these are geometrical terms—but he was unable to accomplish the whole vision, not even mentally, nor was he able to engrave the inscribed pillar<sup>20</sup>.

- 7) This marvel was but the forerunner of an even greater one and the preliminary rites of the festival, for the Almighty transformed this embarrassment into facility and ease. He summons the painter, asks for water, and washes his face. He who of old gave a sign to Gideon through the rain and through the water at the sacrifice of the zealous Tishbite; who caused a rock to gush forth and transformed the waters of the Red Sea into solid matter; and likewise at Cana through the water and at the pool of Siloam for the blind man:

12 Gr. εἶδος.

13 Gr. ἀποματτόμενος, from ἀπομάσσω, which also has the literal meaning of “to wipe off” and thus foreshadows the wiping of Christ's face in the next section. Cf. LSJ, s.v. “ἀπομάσσω”.

14 Gr. εἰδοποιούσιν, from εἰδοποιέω.

15 Gr. κύρβις; cf. this appendix above, n. 8.

16 Gr. μὶρφωμα.

17 Gr. εἰκονίσασθαι.

18 Gr. μορφή.

19 Gr. εἶδος.

20 Gr. κύρβις; this “pillar” is not defined further at this point, and so could mean either the ‘pillar’ or ‘tablet’ of his imagination or mental faculties (as in n. 15, above this appendix), or perhaps is referring obliquely to the manifestation of the divine face on the Tile, as Ceulemans suggests (as in n. 8, above this appendix).

here too, the Creator appropriates to himself the element, and taking a cloth<sup>21</sup> to wipe his face<sup>22</sup>, he immaterially imprints the form<sup>23</sup> onto it—O the wonder!—not made by hands, inviolable, indistinguishable, similar to the imprint in wax from a seal. As onto a diaphanous and transparent body, he left his immutable and immovable form. O dexterous and most skilled painter, O beautiful sketcher and accurate depicter of truth, who has no need of looking around or at [an object], nor of standing at some distance, but rather only needs to come into contact with the skin, something miraculous! O completion of a new kind of portraiture! He who of old brought forth beings from non-being and the diversity of qualities himself here again brings forth the quality of colours. No quicker could a shadow be cast by a body nor radiance shine forth from the sun than the depiction of the prototype was produced on that day.

- 8) The courier receives the gift and is glad, for the merchandise came without any effort. He hastens to return to him who sent him, and joy gives new wings to his natural fleetness of foot. In the evening, he stops near some field where there was a tile factory, and there he stored away the divine object as in an earthenware jar by surrounding it with tiles. And again, another miracle on top of the others, a third one<sup>24</sup> after the first two, a most perfect and mystical number! O this most precious field, like that one bearing a treasure in the Gospel! Who would not have eagerly acquired it with all their wealth and all their possessions on account of the richer treasure therein?

In the middle of a moonless night, a fiery pillar from heaven comes to rest upon the cloth<sup>25</sup>—it would seem that the God of ancient Israel here too is working wonders—just as a star once rested above the roof that had received Christ. Here, there is a luminous signal fire, and coming out from the image<sup>26</sup>, a copy of the image<sup>27</sup> [is made] on one of the tiles simultaneously, not made by hands or painted. Just as the movement of fire from the body containing it to another takes place without the former diminishing or incurring cost; just as an echo is produced from the voice without any instruments—that is, if I may make natural comparisons with what cannot be discussed in terms of its nature—so too a copy not made by hands<sup>28</sup> came about from the painting,

21 Gr. ὀθόνη.

22 Gr. ἀπομάξασθαι, the aorist middle infinitive of ἀπομάττω (cf. above this appendix, n. 13).

23 Gr. τὴν μορφήν ἐνετύπωσεν.

24 I concur here with CEULEMANS 2022, 746, n. 29 *pace* DUBARLE 1997, 10, that the three things in number are not different tile copies of the Mandylion, but rather three miracles in the context (the creation of the Mandylion, the creation of the Tile, and the incarnation of Christ).

25 Gr. σινδών.

26 Gr. εἰκῶν.

27 Gr. τῆς εἰκόνοσ μεταγραφή.

28 Gr. ἀχειρότευκτον τὸ ἀντίγραμμα.

a wondrous image from a wondrous image<sup>29</sup>, or rather an identical copy<sup>30</sup>. Together with the prototype, there are three things that are holy, inaccessible to thoughts, even if in another way they are united as one. O, the power of the archetype, since the tile gains its colours from it! For just as in the case of easily moved and loose bodies, whether of airy or watery substance, the cause that first moves them comes to rest when the momentum that proceeds from it is transferred from the part that was initially moved to the proximate part, and thus as a result a joint movement comes about; and just as the attractive force of the prodigious stone attaches things to one other and attaches to itself the bodies drawn to it, even if they are separated from it—for I am directing you from what is earthly and customary to what is new and heavenly—so too now do both the painting and the copies<sup>31</sup> [come about] from the strength of the supremely sovereign<sup>32</sup> cause.

- 9) So the courier bears a twofold gift in place of a simple one, and the talent of grace is doubled for him as for a good slave who is of the right disposition with regard to the gift: the royal drachma which also preserves unadulterated the imprint—these are what he delivers to the king. And the latter—but I do not know how to express the two things he was feeling—trembles at the wonder; he leaps at the sight, his heart is gripped tight with shuddering but made broad through joy, and the area around his heart becomes a coal, flaming forth here and becoming red there, all the while preserving in both parts the fervour and ardour of his faith. He sees as rays and effulgences of an exceedingly bright morning star the images<sup>33</sup> that had been sent to him from far away, which depict improvisationally the good temperament of the

29 Gr. τύπου τύπος θαυμασίου θαυμάσιος.

30 Gr. ταύτοτυπία.

31 Gr. μεταγράμματα. Perhaps this plural noun is what led Dubarle (cf. above this appendix, n. 24) to understand the “three holy things” as being three objects, namely, the Mandylion and two tile copies. Yet earlier in the passage, we find μεταγραφή, a quite common word for “copy” or “transcription” as well as for denoting the process itself, i.e. “transcribing” (the English gerund). Μετάγραμμα, on the other hand, is exceedingly rare; a *TLG* corpus search returns no results for the lemma, while *LBG* lists only this instance and one other in the *Constitutio Cypria* from around AD 1260. I surmise that the plural here, as well as the form ending in -μα (which stresses the achieved or completed occurrence or instantiation of the verb stem to which it is appended; cf. *SMYTH* 1984, § 861 [p. 241]) rather than merely an abstract noun per se (such as would be the case if we had, say, μεταγραφαί here), could be referring to multiple, already-made copies of the Mandylion in icon form, which would have been in existence in churches by the end of the 12th century when Stilbēs was giving the *Didaskalia*, especially since it comes at the end of this section of the oration before jumping back into the primary narrative. However, this train of thought must remain speculative.

32 Gr. ἀρχικώτατος. This word can also mean “most original” or “most primal” (cf. *LSJ*, s.v. “ἀρχικός”), and given the context, both meanings of divine sovereign and origin may be meant to resonate here.

33 Gr. εικόν.

elements of the body and his condition in the prime of life.<sup>34</sup> He regards the thing as a vision of God and via the rock—that is, the tile—he perceives the face of God; thinking on a deeper level, one might say the back parts [of God], that is, the form<sup>35</sup> in accordance then with the incarnation in the last times, or the depiction<sup>36</sup> that came after the substantive existence<sup>37</sup> and which is later in chronological terms. He thinks that Jesus has come to him in person and that he receives the entire God-human via the symbols; or rather, he marvels at his two natures on account of both the earthen tile and the transparent, finely woven cloth.<sup>38</sup>

He takes the potsherd in order to scrape off his discharges—what the Holy Scriptures say about Job—caused by his leprosy and arthritis: this new, divine potsherd, shining like a pearl with divine gleam, with which he rids himself of all disease. He receives the wonderworking cloth<sup>39</sup>, more healing than that fringe which wiped away or dried up fountains of blood, and just as with the Saviour’s shadow, he hoped quite rightly that this image<sup>40</sup> of his would work wonders, and his unshakeable confidence <merited him?> the inviolate <gift?> of healing.

And now, kings, understand! A prophet and king issues an order, and Abgar swiftly grasps the command: he both recognises the Saviour and also meets him. Thus, since not only did the queen of the south desire to see Solomon and delighted in the sight, but also this magnificent ruler, more cogent and more ready of wit than the female sex, thirsted for the sight of Christ, the prince of peace. Let the Jews then be shamed, they who lie and calumniate when they say that none of the rulers yearned after Christ, since Joseph and Nikodēmos from [the people of] Israel sought him out, men of great wealth and deep

34 Literally, “springtime condition” (ἐαρινὴν κατάστασιν). This phrasing might recall for the then-contemporary educated courtly hearer of the *Didaskalia* the people’s acclamation to the emperor at the spring Butcher’s Festival in Constantinople: “Behold, sweet spring is rising again (ἴδε τὸ ἔαρ τὸ γλυκὺ πάλιν ἐπανατέλλει), bringing health and life and prosperity, courage from God to the emperors of the Romans, and a God-given victory over the enemy” (*Book of Ceremonies* I.73 [transl. by Moffatt/Tall, p. 367]). Beyond contemporary Middle Byzantine court ritual, the phrase “sweet springtime” is also applied to the nativity of Christ in a homily by John of Damascus in the mid-eighth century (*Homily on the Lord’s Nativity* 1–2, ed. by Kotter, pp. 324–325), and in the received Byzantine tradition is cast liturgically as an epithet of Christ used by the Theotokos in the third stasis of the Lamentations sung at the matins of Holy Saturday: “O my sweet springtime” (ὦ γλυκὺ μου ἔαρ; cf. Τριώδιον Κατανυκτικόν, ed. by Ἀποστολική Διακονία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 1058).

35 Gr. μόρφωμα.

36 Gr. ἀπεικόνισμα.

37 Gr. ὑπόστασις.

38 Gr. ὁθόνη.

39 Gr. σινδών.

40 Gr. εἰκών.

thought who sat with the august Sanhedrin, and from the nations—this merits even greater amazement—this regional ruler and king, made exceedingly glorious by his authority and wealth and manner of life. For the heart of this king is plainly guided by God, being instructed and ordered and moved towards divine piety.

- 10) From thence has such a good thing come to us; from Edessa in the land of the morning have most luminous [light] trails been sent to us: unshakable supports of the church, like immovable stones and foundations, advocates for the honour [due to] images<sup>41</sup> who are mute and yet speak loudly, giving forth a cry from the midst of the stones, witnesses bearing witness to themselves, since it is a matter of their own veneration! And since that time, we solemnly celebrate today this transfer of the images to the queen [of cities] in accordance with pious custom: an annual solemn celebration, the return of the two beacons, the return of the festival. For both the purple and the highly honoured stone<sup>42</sup> befitted the ruling cities, and all the more so since it is a matter of piety.
- 11) But come, let us not remain merely at this solemn celebration, at the sight of the images<sup>43</sup> and their explication: let us also become ourselves likenesses<sup>44</sup> of the Saviour, imitating the teacher as much as possible. And if someone should summon us to himself, or compel us [to go]—even if he happen to be a great ruler or prince—somewhere far from the Jerusalem above in which we have been originally born, but outside of which we have been condemned to endure the punishment of death in a place paved with stones<sup>45</sup> and in this rough life, in this valley of weeping and this cave hollowed out by the torrent of tears, let us not all run to him—even if it should be that he be suffering and have some reason for calling for aid—if we see that our departure would interrupt a greater work pleasing to God: the crucifixion<sup>46</sup> of our members and their mortification. Let us not get mixed up in the crowd of the city, but while we await there what is greater and more important and while we seek

41 Gr. εικόν.

42 Gr. λίθος ὁ πολυτίμητος. Given the context of the speech on the feast of the translation itself, with the appellations above to various emperors as audience, I do not think it impossible to situate the location of the *Didaskalia* as having been pronounced in the Pharos chapel where the icon-relic and its copy were kept, which would mean this “highly honoured” stone would most likely be referring to the Holy Stone (see chapter 4), which was also housed in this chapel. The term πολυτίμητος was also used in Classical Greek especially in the context of addressing various divinities, thus also undergirding this conclusion in light of the Holy Stone’s intimate connection with Jesus Christ; cf. LSJ, s.v. “πολυτίμητος, -ον”.

43 Gr. εικόνες.

44 Gr. εικάσματα.

45 Gr. λιθόστρωτος, serving as a pun on the crucifixion of Christ and Golgotha, which is thus translated in the Gospel according to John (19:13).

46 Literally, “cross” (σταυρός).

out the heavenly commonwealth, let us go to him by means of the types and images<sup>47</sup> of our life, once we have been sanctified by the spirit, or rather by means of comforting images<sup>48</sup>, by means of the author's characters<sup>49</sup>, with these being twofold: more material for what concerns the body, more subtle for what concerns the spirit. For both require a good exhortation, and with regard to these, let us together provide succour to him who is suffering in Christ Jesus our Lord. To him be the glory to the ages. Amen.

47 Gr. εἰκονίσματα.

48 Gr. γράμμασι παρακλητικοῖς.

49 Gr. χαρακτηῖρσι τοῦ γράφοντος. This phrase has multiple puns at play, with the first term able to mean “letters”, “features”, “imprints”, and “characters”, and the latter term able to mean “writer”, “painter”, and “author”.

## Appendix C

### Office of the Translation of the Holy Stone

Office,<sup>1</sup> with God's blessing, on the translation to the great city of the Holy Stone, on which Christ our true God was placed by Joseph after being taken down [from the cross]; which [translation] took place in the 27th year of the sole rule<sup>2</sup> of the purple-born emperor, Lord<sup>3</sup> Manuel Komnēnos.

**Stichēra, plagal second mode. To [the melody,] "Having set aside..."**

Being moved from on high towards every divine action, an emperor of divine name<sup>4</sup>, Manuel, has by what he has accomplished added to the renown of us, the whole body of the faithful,<sup>5</sup> and to what is seen today. For behold, he has brought up from the East<sup>6</sup> a stone on which Joseph placed a naked Christ, who had been sprinkled all over with streams of blood. And taking myrrh and fine linen, he sealed him up in a new tomb, from which he was raised.

Of old, Moses smashed tablets that had been inscribed by God as he convicted faithless Israel who had gone mad; but an emperor named after Christ<sup>7</sup> and leading a new Israel in orthodox manner brings up from afar a tablet that received God for the strengthening of souls and for an unshakable foundation of might for the sons of him who is passing over<sup>8</sup>. Wherefore, let us come together with one accord as we glorify God, who through him magnifies the imperial crown.

A precious stone, which had received lying upon it as a dead man the Lord—the cornerstone that had been cut without any mason, that had been fixed to wood with nails, that was dripping with divinely flowing blood yet besprinkled with the tears of a virgin mother and a virgin disciple—is brought today to a royal city. Come, O people of God! As we worship with fear and joy, let us bring an offering of thanksgiving with prayers to the emperor.

1 Manuscript source: MS Athous Laurae B 6, fols. 77–83, edition in ANTONOPOULOU 2013; earlier edition in PAPAPOULOS-KERAMEUS 1898 (reprinted 1963).

2 Gr. αὐτοκρατορία.

3 Gr. βασιλέως κυροῦ.

4 Gr. βασιλεὺς θεώνυμος.

5 Gr. τοῦ πιστοῦ πληρώματος.

6 Gr. ἐξ ἑώας.

7 Or "called by Christ" (Gr. χριστόκλητος).

8 Gr. διαβαίνων, from διαβαίνω.



**The kanōn, bearing the acrostic “I, Skylitzēs, venerate the stone of Christ’s burial.”**

***Ode I, fourth mode. I shall open my mouth ...*<sup>9</sup>**

Today, the emperor<sup>10</sup> has fulfilled the prophecy by laying for the foundations of the new Zion a precious stone, which divinely flowing blood that dripped from the side of Christ has wholly sanctified.

A venerable stone, which bore as a dead man the giver of life, has been delivered to us by the command of Christ, who moved to this deed the emperor’s<sup>11</sup> heart, made especially strong<sup>12</sup> by God.

Israel sucked from the rock that gushed forth water, but we—the Israel of Christ—have received a precious stone on which he was laid after dying, and we draw forth ever-gushing strength for our souls.

Let the noetic bride of the Song<sup>13</sup> sing today: “Come forth, behold my crown, which the Lord<sup>14</sup> Manuel has given as a prize to me, when he placed a God-receiving stone in my midst.”

*Theotokion.* We sing to you with the voice of the archangel, O bride of God: “Rejoice, patroness of joy for the people named after Christ, and uncut mountain, from which a stone was cut that sanctified the stone that now lies before [us].”

***Ode III. Since you are a living and abounding fountain, O Theotokos ...*<sup>15</sup>**

Let all the nations behold Christ’s ineffable strength: for a stone, which received his deified flesh, has become a [source] bubbling up with wonders and filled with divine gifts of grace.

Let the gates of the rulers<sup>16</sup> be lifted up, let them receive with one accord the stony couch of Christ, on which he was laid to rest: made dead by the law of the flesh, but taking care for the life of the dead.

O mountains, drip gladness, and let the nature of stones rejoice with us today! For a stone has also been sanctified after receiving the body of Christ, and is now being venerated.

Let David sing: “A stone has now also been placed as the cornerstone”, for the God-receiving stone has been given to the city of God, and to this [city] will the four elements of creation be bound.

9 Heirmos is that from Ode I of the (second) kanōn for the feast of the Dormition, attributed to the monk John; cf. ANTONOPOULOU 2013, 124.

10 Gr. βασιλεύς.

11 Gr. αὐτοκράτωρ.

12 Gr. θεοκράτιστον, which Antonopoulou notes as being a *hapax legomenon*; cf. ANTONOPOULOU 2013, 118; *LBG*, s.v. “θεοκράτιστον”.

13 I.e., the Song of Songs in the Old Testament.

14 Gr. ἄναξ.

15 Heirmos is that from Ode III of the (second) kanōn for the feast of the Dormition, attributed to the monk John; cf. ANTONOPOULOU 2013, 126.

16 Gr. τῶν ἀνακτόρων.

*Theotokion.* From the earliest ages, God found no woman worthy of his incarnation except you, O most-blameless lady, and from your pure blood he constructed flesh for himself, and appeared as a human being twofold in nature.

**Kathisma, fourth mode. To [the melody,] “Go quickly before ...”**

Let us draw near to a stone gushing forth fountains of wonders. For behold, it was brought from the East to a new Zion, shining with portents like noetic Parian marble,<sup>17</sup> by the divine zeal of an orthodox ruler,<sup>18</sup> Manuel. < ... ><sup>19</sup> and let us, who draw forth grace, give glory to the Lord.

**Ode IV. He who is seated in glory ...<sup>20</sup>**

Jacob fell asleep upon a stone, and then mystically caught sight of a ladder; and now Christ, having awoken from a life-producing sleep upon a stone, has shown this [stone] to be a divine ladder leading up to the heavens.

A stone, sprinkled all over with blood from your hands and feet and side, is brought up today to your city, O my Saviour. Strengthen those who hymn you by the rock of your commandments as they touch it.

O immortal one, who split the rocks at your passion, you were taken down from the cross<sup>21</sup> by Joseph and were laid<sup>22</sup> on a stone; and for those who beseech you with faith, O Christ, you have made this [stone] an unbreakable foundation of hopes.

When you were put to death, O dispenser of life, you destroyed the princes of the air on the wood, but when you were loosed from the nails, you were placed on a stone, O Saviour, and smashed the gates of hell, and raised up all with yourself.

*Theotokion.* O maiden, since you foresaw that the flesh of your son and our God would be reddened by the gore of blood upon a stone, you washed with tears this [stone], greeting<sup>23</sup> which today we are cleansed of spiritual filth.

17 Gr. νοητός ὡς λυχνίτης.

18 Gr. ἄνακτος ὀρθοδόξου.

19 Antonopoulou’s edition here shows a line missing, based on the model melody given for the kathisma and there being a properly accented line missing at this point in the text that the model melody would require; cf. apparatus in ANTONOPOULOU 2013, 127.

20 Heirmos is that from Ode III of the kanōn to the Theotokos at Sunday matins in fourth mode, attributed to the monk John; cf. ANTONOPOULOU 2013, 127.

21 Gr. ἀπεσταυρωμένος, from the verb ἀποσταυρώω. ANTONOPOULOU 2013, 118, claims that this is a *hapax legomenon*, but this seems to be an oversight, as a second form of the same verb—albeit also only attested in this text—occurs below in Ode V, which occurrence is also noted in *LBG*, s.v. “ἀποσταυρώω”.

22 Gr. ἀνακέκλισαι, from ἀνακλίνω. The perfect form here in Greek is mediopassive, allowing for a translation into English both as a passive (i.e., “was laid”) or as an unaccusative intransitive (i.e., “was reclining”) verb form.

23 Gr. ἀσπαζόμενοι; this verb can also mean “to kiss” or “to venerate” in the case of relics and icons; cf. *Lampe*, s.v. “ἀσπάζομαι”.

**Ode V. All things were astounded at the divine ...<sup>24</sup>**

Behold, as David wrote in advance, “on the head of the king has been placed a crown adorned with a precious stone”; for having given this also to New Rome, he has ruled over all things by his counsel and action.

The king, being assisted by God, advanced in his counsels towards a noble work and gave a most venerable stone, on which Christ was laid out after being taken down from the cross<sup>25</sup> by Joseph, as an exceedingly precious ornament and foundation to the city.

God, who of old deemed liable to punishment an unworthy man who touched the ark, now makes feeble the hands of a man who dared to destroy in secret a stone that angels miraculously defend.

Joseph took down from the wood the temple of your body, which had already been destroyed, O Lord, placed it on a stone, and anointed it faithfully with myrrh; but you sanctified it/him<sup>26</sup>, O Christ, and built up your church so that it cannot be broken.<sup>27</sup>

*Theotokion.* Your forefather David dances as he sees that from your womb has come forth a king<sup>28</sup> from his seed, who, having crouched like a sleeping lion in the flesh upon a stone, has now been raised in divine manner to reign as king<sup>29</sup> eternally.

**Ode VI. [The prophet], prefiguring the [three-day] burial, cried out ...<sup>30</sup>**

Let the hills break forth with gladness as they glorify the Master, since he has sanctified the nature of stones; for the [stone] that accepted this [Master] as a corpse is now being venerated.

Having seen your salvation, we proclaim in word your strength, since by the touch of your body alone, you have shown a stone be a fountain of healing that never ceases to gush forth.

24 Heirmos is that from Ode V of the (second) kanōn for the feast of the Dormition, attributed to the monk John; cf. ANTONOPOULOU 2013, 129.

25 Gr. ἀποσταυρωθείς; cf. above this appendix, n. 21.

26 Gr. αὐτόν, which in this troparion could refer either to Joseph (i.e., he is sanctified for his good work), or to the Stone, since both nouns are grammatically masculine. Given the dual thrust of the canon’s focus on the Holy Stone as precious relic and on Manuel as specifically named ruler, I believe the ambiguity could have been intentional in the composition and have thus chosen here to maintain that in the translation.

27 Gr. ἀρραγῶς, literally “in unbroken manner/fashion”.

28 Gr. βασιλεύς.

29 Gr. βασιλεύων, from βασιλεύω.

30 Heirmos is that from Ode VI of the Triōdion kanōn for the cross at matins on Wednesday in the fourth week of the Great Fast, attributed to Theophanēs; cf. ANTONOPOULOU 2013, 130.

Patriarchs, hierarchs, and a people gathered together by God ran together with Manuel, the pious emperor<sup>31</sup>, to receive with songs of praise a stone that had received God.

A light which swaddled you all around, O stone, proclaimed the grace of the Holy Spirit which was in you, for Christ, having been placed on you, was wrapped in the swaddling bands of burial.

*Theotokion.* David said that virgins go behind you, O virgin, for not a single one [of them] is of equal rank [with you], since all follow after in second place behind your purity.

**Kontakion, second mode. To [the melody,] “Seeking the things on high ... ”**

Having received God in the flesh, and having been dyed<sup>32</sup> by a stream of divinely flowing blood, a holy stone has appeared that sanctifies every person that touches [it].<sup>33</sup> Seeing this [stone] now, O faithful, let us be strengthened in soul by a rock of divine desire.

***Ode VII. The god[ly-minded youths] did not worship creation ...***<sup>34</sup>

Let New Zion cry: “The Lord has exalted me on a rock”, for by the command of a most pious emperor<sup>35</sup>, a chosen stone, on which [the Lord] reposed, is being translated and fully glorifies this [New Zion].<sup>36</sup>

Heavenly army ranks rejoice together at the present festival, for they cover the precious stone, noetically surrounded by their wings, as it is brought up from the East today towards the newer Zion.

The place paved with stones<sup>37</sup> formerly beheld you as you were brought forth for judgment, and the stones that had been broken asunder lamented when [you] were stretched on the cross, but when you were placed on a stone, O Christ, you made firm the souls of all in [their] faith in you.

Formerly, David utterly smashed the foreigner Goliath with volleys of stones, but as we, your inheritance, greet<sup>38</sup> today your God-receiving stone, O Christ, we crush the head of the spiritual Goliath.

31 Gr. αὐτοκράτωρ.

32 Gr. βαφεῖς, from βάπτω.

33 Gr. ἀγιάζων πάντα προσψάοντα, reading a masculine accusative singular here (sc. ἀνθρώπων). Alternatively, one could take this form as a neuter accusative plural, giving the reading: “sanctifying everything that touches [it].”

34 Heirmos is that from Ode VII of the (second) kanōn for the feast of the Dormition, attributed to the monk John; cf. ANTONOPOULOU 2013, 131.

35 Gr. αὐτοκράτωρ.

36 Gr. καὶ δοξάζει ταύτην πλέον. The demonstrative pronoun here, “this” (ταύτην), is feminine accusative singular; the only grammatically feminine referent earlier in this troparion is Zion (ἡ Σιών).

37 Gr. τὸ λιθόστρωτον, cf. John 19:13.

38 Gr. ἀσπαζόμενοι; cf. above this appendix, n. 23.

*Theotokion.* A heavenly rain, which came down upon your womb like a dewdrop upon grass, did not burn this [womb] with the fire of divinity, but rather showed forth our nature, devoid of moisture, as bearing a blossom in itself.

**Ode VIII. The holy youths in the furnace ...**<sup>39</sup>

When Joseph drew the nails out from your hands and feet, he placed you on a stone; then together with your virginal disciple, she who had no experience of a man was shedding tears and made an alloy with the blood from your side; behold, [mingling] this [stone] with these [tears and blood], on which we venerate you.<sup>40</sup>

Let us stand reverently as we embrace<sup>41</sup> with faith and fear the precious stone, which the most divine zeal of an orthodox ruler, Lord<sup>42</sup> Manuel, has translated. Having been filled with ineffable gifts of grace, let us give glory to Christ who was stretched out on it.

While the shadowy priest bore about an adornment of stones from the law,<sup>43</sup> now a precious stone, having received upon itself as a dead man sprinkled with blood<sup>44</sup> the Word of God united to a body,<sup>45</sup> magnifies the hierarchs of Christ who come to meet this [stone] with songs of praise.

Fleeing the out-of-place nonsense of heresies, confusion, and divisions that introduce novelties, we stand within proper bounds,<sup>46</sup> as we venerate the one God in three hypostases, of the same nature according to the essence: a Father without beginning, a Son, and a divine Spirit.

39 Heirmos is that from Ode VIII of the (second) kanōn for the feast of the Dormition, attributed to the monk John; cf. ANTONOPOULOU 2013, 133.

40 The final verse of this troparion is corrupt, as both Antonopoulou and before her, Papadopoulos-Kerameus, have noted. I follow here the emendation suggested by ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ-KERAMEUS 1898, 186, which is also noted in the apparatus in ANTONOPOULOU 2013, 133, thus reading τοῦτον [=τὸν λίθον] ἰδοῦ τούτοις [=τοῖς δάκρυσι καὶ τῷ αἵματι] \* ἐν ᾧ σε προσκυνοῦμεν for the manuscript and edition text ὧν ἰδοῦ τοὺς τότε προσκυνοῦντας \* προσκυνοῦμεν.

41 Gr. κατασπαζόμενοι, from a verb meaning “to kiss, to embrace” and also used for the veneration of relics and images; cf. Lampe, s.v. “κατασπάζομαι”.

42 Gr. ἄναξ.

43 Gr. ἐκ λίθων τῶν τοῦ λόγου.

44 Gr. αἰμόρραντον, otherwise attested only in Euripidēs’s *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, where Iphigenia speaks of her “blood-sprinkled fate” (αἰμόρραντον...ἄταν, ll. 225–226), and in *Alkestis*, where the chorus sings of “full, blood-sprinkled sacrifices on the altars of all the gods” (πάντων δὲ θεῶν ἐπὶ βωμοῖς / αἰμόρραντοι θυσιάαι πλήρεις, ll. 133–134) (translations mine). Reference to the antiquity of this and other vocabulary items mentioned in ANTONOPOULOU 2013, 118.

45 The Greek text here exploits as a pun the many different meanings of the term λόγος: ἐκ λίθων τῶν τοῦ λόγου...λόγον θεοῦ σύσσωμον.

46 Gr. ὄρων ἐν μεσότητι. Ὅρος here can also be alluding to conciliar decisions and decrees of the church, which are also designated by this term; cf. Lampe, s.v. “ὄρος, ὄ”.

*Theotokion.* O lady beyond all blemish, you conceived the fleshless Word in your womb, as though written in a book by the Father's finger, and having given flesh to him in dread manner from your own blood, you brought him forth twofold [in nature]. Beseech him to write us into the book of those being saved in the hour of judgment.

***Ode IX. [Let] every earthborn [leap in spirit] ...<sup>47</sup>***

Behold, a special<sup>48</sup> people of God sings festal songs as it receives<sup>49</sup> a stone, on which the Giver of life was stretched out after accepting death in accordance with the law of the flesh, and offers the hymn of thanksgiving to the emperor<sup>50</sup> who has bestowed this gift of grace.

Though you were sealed in a tomb, you arose, leaving behind linen cloths as witnesses; but you sanctified a stone when you were placed on this [...],<sup>51</sup> O immortal one, bearing your hands, sides, and feet dipped<sup>52</sup> in blood. Greeting<sup>53</sup> this [stone], we hymn your dread mystery.

Moses, veiled by a dark cloud of shadow, saw the back parts of God as he came down, casting a glance through a hole in the rock; but we, glorying in the light of grace, see without any veil a stone, which the immortal one sanctified when he lay upon it as a dead man.

Joseph drew out the nails and laid you down on a stone, O Christ. Seeing this [stone] brought up to New Rome by the command of Manuel of divine name,<sup>54</sup> we ask: Make firm his sceptre by the stone of your strength, and shatter the swords of the enemies.

*Theotokion.* We glorify you, Daniel's mountain, from which was cut Christ, the unhewn stone, who showed forth a God-receiving stone when he was anointed on

47 Heirmos is that from Ode IX of the (second) kanōn for the feast of the Dormition, attributed to the monk John; cf. ANTONOPOULOU 2013, 134.

48 Gr. περιούσιος.

49 Gr. εισδεχόμενος, from εισδέχομαι, with the prefix εισ- having the sense of receiving or welcoming something or someone *into* a place (here: either the city or the palace).

50 Gr. βασιλεύς.

51 ANTONOPOULOU 2013, 135, posits a lacuna in this line here based on the syllables and accents.

52 Gr. βεβαμμένα, from βάπτω. Grammatically, this appears to be a neuter nominative or accusative plural perfect mediopassive participle, and so might seem to define the linen cloths (τὰ ὀθόνια) mentioned at the beginning of the troparion. However, in the manuscript it comes in the phrase after the first ἄνω τέλεια, suggesting that it should be taken with the various body parts of Christ, which grammatically here are a mixture of grammatically feminine (hands [χεῖρας], sides [πλευράς]) and masculine (feet [πόδας]) terms. Nonetheless, the neuter ending may also be a pun intended to hearken back to the linen garments at the beginning as well.

53 Gr. ἀσπαζόμενοι; cf. above this appendix, n. 21.

54 Gr. θεώνυμος.

it with myrrh. Greeting<sup>55</sup> it, we earnestly ask: Make Lord<sup>56</sup> Manuel also worthy of the kingdom of God.

***Exaposteilarion. To [the melody,] “Hearken, O women ...”<sup>57</sup>***

A joyful day of solemn celebration has dawned for the city of God, New Rome: for by her desire, a stone that remains most precious is brought in, on which Nikodēmos, together with Joseph, placed as a dead man covered in blood Christ, who grants [life] to all, whom/which<sup>58</sup> we now faithfully venerate.

55 Gr. ἀσπαζόμενοι; cf. above this appendix, n. 21.

56 Gr. ἄναξ.

57 Neither the manuscript nor Antonopoulou’s edition mention any mode here, but this model melody is typically sung in second mode in the received Byzantine tradition.

58 Gr. ὃν, masculine accusative singular relative pronoun, which in the context could refer either to Christ (i.e., “whom”) or to the stone (i.e., “which”, grammatically masculine in Greek) as the object of veneration. I believe the ambiguity could have been intentional in the composition and have thus chosen here to maintain that in the translation.