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MÉLANGES
BERNARD FLUSIN

édités par
André BINGGELI & Vincent DÉROCHE

avec la collaboration de
Michel STAVROU

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PRÉFACE

Οὔτοι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς πάντα θεοὶ θνητοῖς ὑπέδειξαν
ἀλλὰ χρόνῳ ζητοῦντες ἐφευρίσκουσιν ἄμεινον

Ce n'est pas dès le début que les dieux ont tout révélé aux mortels,
mais ceux-ci à force de longtemps chercher découvrent ce qui est mieux
Xénophane 18, *Greek elegy and iambus. I* (Loeb), p. 202

Depuis son Miracle et histoire dans l'œuvre de Cyrille de Scythopolis de 1983, Bernard Flusin est devenu paisiblement un auteur incontournable dans le petit monde de l'hagiographie et de l'histoire religieuse de Byzance, et bien au-delà, en contribuant au renouvellement de la discipline dont H. Delehaye avait posé les fondements voici un siècle. Ce n'est pas en un jour qu'on en arrive là, et plus d'une centaine de publications sur des sujets éminemment variés sur presque quarante ans l'expliquent à l'envi. Approche littéraire, étude des manuscrits, étude des transmissions textuelles, histoire des objets comme les reliques et les icônes autant que des thèmes littéraires et des convictions religieuses, c'est en effet toute la chaîne des possibilités d'études des sources que B. Flusin a su exploiter, et son début de carrière à l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes a achevé de le convertir à une approche des textes par les détails de leur transmission dans les manuscrits et de leur circulation dans les traditions de l'Orient chrétien, en particulier géorgienne et syriaque, toujours riche de sens pour qui sait les scruter. Progressivement, le focus initial sur le monachisme et l'hagiographie de la Palestine tarso-antique s'est élargi vers l'époque mésobyzantine et à tout l'Empire, avec même une incursion jusqu'en 1453 avec Doukas, couvrant ainsi tout le millénaire byzantin ; peu à peu, c'est une perspective proprement impériale et constantinopolitaine qui se dégage, embrassant le Synaxaire et le Typikon de la Grande Église. Elle trouve son aboutissement logique dans l'imminente publication du De cerimoniis, qu'il lui revenait de mener à son terme, tâche géante qui avait jusqu'ici découragé les byzantinistes au point de s'en remettre pour l'essentiel à l'édition Reiske du XVIII^e siècle et aux commentaires de Bury au début du XX^e. De la Grande Laure de Sabas et d'Anastase le Perse à la Constantinople de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète, la route est longue, mais fructueuse – l'un de ses derniers articles sur les histoires édifiantes liées à la Constantinople de Constantin VII résume bien cette généalogie qui relie l'histoire édifiante de la haute époque à ses avatars proprement médiévaux trop rares, mais précieux, dans un jeu constant entre le même et l'autre qui résume le rapport complexe de Byzance à son propre passé. C'est naturellement aussi que B. Flusin fut convié à rédiger sur l'histoire religieuse de Byzance des synthèses qui restent des références, dans l'Histoire du christianisme et la Nouvelle Clio.

Mais la recherche ne se fait pas dans l'isolement, et pour assurer sa continuité ses méthodes doivent se transmettre : ce fut le cas de B. Flusin en plus de trente ans d'enseignement en Sorbonne et à l'École pratique des hautes études où il forma des dizaines d'étudiants français et étrangers et où il sut séduire paradoxalement par la rigueur de la méthode d'analyse et de la réflexion, dont beaucoup se souviennent encore avec émerveillement ; sa constante sollicitude a permis d'aboutir à bien des doctorants encore peu aguerris.

Le présent volume a essayé de refléter une partie au moins de ses intérêts, en rassemblant des contributions de collègues et d'anciens étudiants, du Caucase à la Gaule, de l'Antiquité à l'époque paléologue, des synodes aux Vies de saints, et des moines aux empereurs – études de manuscrits et de traditions textuelles, ou de métaphrases et traductions anciennes, édition de textes inconnus, traductions commentées, notes lexicographiques, études sur divers phénomènes de la vie religieuse. Il ne prétend pas égaler la qualité des travaux du récipiendaire, mais témoigner de la fécondité du dialogue bienveillant qu'il a su établir avec toute la communauté des byzantinistes français et étrangers.

ABSTRACTS/RÉSUMÉS

Frédéric ALPI, *À propos du synode chalcédonien de Tyr (518) : note de lecture* p. 1

Emperor Anastasius' sudden death in July 518 consequently led to the fall and exile to Egypt of the Antiochian Patriarch Severus. His Phoenician opponent, Archbishop Epiphanius, summoned a synod at Tyre, on September 16th. Two documents referring to this assembly survived: 1) the synodical letter addressed to the σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα of Constantinople, which presents a list of transgressions and crimes attributed to Severus and his local accomplice, John Mandrites; 2) a document appended to it which contains a vivid record of what took place in the principal church of Tyre that day, including the exclamations (φωναί) of the Chalcedonian congregation. A close reading of both texts sheds new light on the Christian topography and history of protobyzantine Tyre, namely on the reciprocal role played by the principal church and the sanctuary of the Holy Virgin (θεοτόκος), as well as on their respective locations. The latter can be very plausibly linked to the remains of a large suburban Christian basilica uncovered in 1995.

Theodora ANTONOPOULOU, *Imperial hymnography: the second canon on St. John Chrysostom by Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus* p. 11

Three liturgical canons linked to the celebrated tenth-century political and literary figure of Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus have largely been overlooked in scholarly literature. This paper focuses on the unpublished second canon, dedicated to St. John Chrysostom, which came down to us in no fewer than nine manuscripts. Its attribution to the emperor is highly plausible. This article deals with the literary issues presented by the work, in particular its authorship, structure, sources, liturgical context, evaluation of the manuscript tradition, and metre. It also offers the first and at the same time critical edition of the canon with its *heirmoi*, and a critical review of its sources.

Pierre BENIC, *La sainteté royale dans le roman hagiographique de Barlaam et Joasaph : la naissance d'un nouveau modèle de souverain ascète* p. 41

This article attempts to illustrate how Saint Euthymius the Athonite constructed a new model of sanctity through the figure of Saint Joasaph, prince of India and Christian monk. The ascetic achievements of the holy man occurred at the height of his power. Indeed, Joasaph is depicted wearing royal garments over his monastic frock. The text systematically transfigures the metaphysics of earthly rule and power into a spiritual journey of conversion that leads the king and his people towards personal and common salvation. Through this new model of royal sanctity, the Georgian prince and abbot, Euthymius, urges readers to consider the ever-delicate question of rule and salvation through the prism of asceticism, inscribing it into the political program of many rulers to come.

Albrecht BERGER, *Einige Bemerkungen zur Textgeschichte des Bios des Nephon von Konstantiane* p. 55

The long *Bios* of Saint Nephon (BHG 1371z) is a completely fictitious text, dated to the period of Constantine the Great, but actually written ca. 970. The only edition of the *Bios*, published by Aleksandr Vasil'evič Rystenکو in 1928 in Odessa, does not meet the modern standards. This contribution offers some preliminary insights for the forthcoming new edition by examining the manuscripts and the textual history, through the consideration of the original title, the name of the author, and the chapter numbers.

André BINGGELI, *Le patriarche Taraise, Jean Moschos et la femme de Potiphar dans un synaxaire insolite (Sainte-Trinité 71)* p. 65

The manuscript Holy Trinity 71 (14th c.) of the Patriarchal Library in Istanbul is a very curious specimen of the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* that mixes the commemorations of saints for the winter semester—several of which were rewritten to connect some saints with the monastery founded by Patriarch Tarasius on the Bosphorus—with a very large number of spiritually beneficial tales. The article proposes a comprehensive study of the many peculiarities of this manuscript concluding on the hypothesis that it could have been compiled specifically for a convent of nuns in Palaiologan Constantinople. The study consists of three parts. In the first part, the commemorations of saints specifically related to the monastery of Tarasios are edited and the promotion of this particular monastery is commented on. The second part analyses the collection of edifying stories brought together by the compiler and highlights his interest for stories about women and Constantinopolitan nunneries. The third part offers an edition of a particular tale concerning an aristocratic adulteress, which underwent an in-depth metaphrasis to serve an uncommon moral.

Béatrice CASEAU & Charis MESSIS, *La Vie abrégée de Syméon Stylite le Jeune par Jean Pétrinos (BHG 1691) et le milieu de sa production* p. 95

This article offers the first study of the abridged *Life of Symeon the Younger* by John Petrinος, probably a monk in the Petra monastery of Constantinople. It examines the episodes retained by the writer, the possible location where the *Life* was written as well as the reasons for its creation, and offers a translation of the text. Combined with the study by B. Caseau and M.-Ch. Fayant of the abridged “Paris” *Life* (BHG 1691c), contained in the *Parisinus graecus* 1534, this article contributes to the stylistic analysis of the abridged *Lives* of Symeon the Younger.

Jean-Claude CHEYNET, *Une querelle de famille : la prise du pouvoir par Constantin VII* p. 121

All accounts by Byzantine historians of the coup d'état that allowed Constantine VII to get rid, in two stages, of the Lecapenid emperors go back to Theophanes Continuatus and remain vague and inconsistent. The reconstructed chronology of events is uncertain. The coronation of Constantines' son at Easter 946 implies a delay of more than a year after the events of January 945, too long for an emperor under threat from conspiracies. The sidelining of Romanos Lecapenos by his own sons, at the instigation of their brother-in-law, Constantine VII, remains inexplicable since Romanos had left the power to the latter in a written testament. In fact, the old emperor always desired to associate his family with the Macedonian dynasty, rather than replacing it. The unfolding scenario indicates three parties forming at the imperial court: of Romanos; of his sons; and of Constantine VII. The latter received the support of some members of the Lecapenos family, including his wife, Helen. This explains his mild treatment of his rivals' children after he emerged victorious from the crisis.

Marie-Hélène CONGOURDEAU, *Nul ne put « les dépouiller du Christ » : Nicolas Cabasilas et les martyrs* p. 141

From a young age Nicolas Cabasilas developed a great attachment to the figure of the martyr who represented for him the pinnacle of love for Christ, in answer to the crazy love (μανικὸς ἔρωξ) of Christ for men. From his first work (*Eulogy of Saint Demetrios*) to his last work (*Life in Christ*), he declines on all possible modes the intensity of this love conceived as an exit from oneself, properly speaking an ecstasy. This love does not stop at the death of the martyr, since his dead body (his relic) continues to act and spread the grace of Christ on the earth. The article discusses two aspects of Cabasilas' reflection on martyrs, placing them both in the Byzantine tradition and in the reflection of the 14th-century authors: lyricism by which Cabasilas sings the crazy love that unites the martyr and Christ, and properly theological meditation by which he refocuses the miraculous action of the relics of the martyrs in his theology of the Incarnation and the action of the Holy Spirit.

Pietro D'AGOSTINO, *Le Par. ar. 300 entre philologie et codicologie : matériaux pour servir à l'édition d'une Notitia de locis sanctis* p. 161

The BnF, *Par. ar. 300* is a voluminous codex of 501 paper sheets produced in Egypt in a Coptic milieu during the 14th century and most likely restored at the turn of the 17th century. The codex contains two world chronicles, each starting with the Creation. The first work concludes with Titus' reign, while the second continues until the Ascension of Christ. Both texts incorporate excerpts of other historiographical works. The very last section of the second text (ff. 482^r-501^r) contains a list of Syro-Palestinian holy places (*Notitia de locis sanctis*), which proves to be of the highest interest for the study of the hagiographic and local traditions related to pilgrimage sites. This article undertakes a meticulous codicological analysis of the manuscript with the edition of the *Notitia* in mind.

Muriel DEBIÉ, *Hagiographie et liturgie en dialogue : la soghitha du roi et des martyrs persans* p. 179

A Syriac *soghitha*, a liturgical dialogue poem, with a hagiographical dimension—dealing with unnamed Syriac martyrs under an anonymous Sasanian king—has been attributed to the great East-Syriac poet and theologian of the 5th century, Narsai. This study engages with the question of the text's authorship and examines the distinctive manuscripts' layout in the context of the liturgical experience. It examines the hymn in the liturgical year of the Church of the East, on the Confessors' Friday, and its transmission among the metric homilies of Narsai. The paper shows how the poem was embedded at a later, indefinite date in the ecclesiastical memory of King Shapur II's persecutions. Several manuscripts are collated to provide a translation in French of the dialogue between the group of martyrs and the king.

José DECLERCK & Basile MARKESINIS, *Quarante-neuf dodécasyllabes jusqu'ici inconnus en l'honneur des huit canons composés par Jean Damascène pour l'office des matines (Orthros) du dimanche* p. 197

The Hierosolymitanus S. Sepulcri 15 (11th century) contains four, so-called, Damascenian florilegia (*Sacra parallela*). An unidentified 14th-century hand transcribed, in the margins of ff. 244^v-249^v, a poem of 49 dodecasyllables praising John of Damascus for composing canons in each of the eight tones of Byzantine music (as found in the *Octoechos*) for the Sunday Office of Matins. The 49 dodecasyllables are divided in eight sections, one for each tone. The internal structure of this poem—one hexastich, nine tetrastichs, two distichs and three monostichs—

appears to be inspired by the iambic canons written by (or at least attributed to) John for the Feasts of Christmas, Epiphany and Pentecost. The author of the 49 dodecasyllables, well versed both in the Christian and classical traditions, is unlikely to be responsible for the numerous spelling errors in the Jerusalem manuscript. The morphology of the adjective βάρειος (for βαρύς) suggests that the poem was composed not much earlier than the 14th century, when the dodecasyllables were added to the S. Sepulcri 15.

Olivier DELOUIS, *Paratextes et épitomés : deux notices hagiographiques sur Théodore Stoudite* (BHG 1758) p. 213

Byzantine manuscripts often include paratexts that introduce, comment on or conclude the works they contain. If certain categories of these *adscripta*, such as epigrams, have been studied, hagiographic paratexts have been rather neglected, probably because of their similarity with the genre of synaxary notices. A closer look at these short *Lives* suggests two distinct channels of their elaboration: as part of the editorial process of the production of a *corpus*, or with a liturgical goal. In this paper we edit and translate two 9th–10th-century paratexts: two versions of a short *Life* of Saint Theodore the Stoudite (759–826) that are only transmitted in the manuscripts of his *Catecheses* (BHG 1758). The comparison of these short texts with two other short *Lives* preserved in the *Synaxarium* of Constantinople illustrates their specificity.

Paul DEMONT, *Note sur trois problèmes byzantins « hippocratiques » concernant le jeûne* p. 227

The Byzantine author of the *Hippocratic problems*, recently published by Alessia Guardasole and Jacques Jouanna, devoted several of them to fasting. This study proposes a re-examination of the edition and translation of three texts which present the struggle between the devil and a Christian during a fast and the resultant “mortification of the flesh.”

Vincent DÉROCHE, avec le concours de Maria XÉNAKI, *Du xoanon à l'icône, des continuités possibles* p. 235

Discourses and practices regarding holy icons in Byzantium and pagan cultic images in antiquity sometimes exhibit striking similarities. Textual continuity can rarely be traced, but rituals and stories about images are revealing, especially when we compare the very special category of ancient *xoana* with the Byzantine acheiropoiete and more generally miraculous icons. The continuities reside in rituals and gestures, not in theological terms: *xoanon* and icon are both expected to assert a direct supernatural presence, to send coded meanings by a limited number of gestures, and the endurance of these specific gestures through centuries would rather bely the idea of independent « recreations » without historical transmission.

Marina DETORAKI-FLUSIN, *Les collections de miracles : histoire du texte et histoire du culte : à propos des Miracles des saints Cyr et Jean par Sophronie de Jérusalem* p. 245

The history of the miracle collections is of interest both in regard to their textual tradition and in their relation to the history of the saints' cult. Taking the *Miracles of the Saints Cyrus and John* by Sophronius of Jerusalem as a starting point, we examine the spread of the cult of the saints in the West through the simultaneous *translatio* of their relics and translation of their *Miracles* into Latin. The importance of the Latin translations is confirmed by other examples of miracle collections, such as that of Saint Demetrius. We proceed to investigate the Greek manuscript tradition of the *Miracles of Cyrus and John*, both in the liturgical *menologia* and in the so-called special collections (*Spezielsammlungen*). The manuscript Vat. gr. 1607, a representative example of these special

collections, is shown to have a pride of place in the history of Cyrus' and John's cult. Further observations concerning this category of manuscripts are derived from such miracle collections as those of Saint Eugenius of Trebizond, Saint Demetrius and Saints Cosmas and Damian.

Jannic DURAND, *Note sur le reliquaire byzantin disparu du bras de saint Jean Baptiste au trésor de Cîteaux* p. 263

Until the French Revolution, a right hand of Saint John the Baptist was kept in the Treasury of the abbey of Cîteaux. The hand was enclosed in a Byzantine reliquary made of precious metal and provided with a Greek metrical inscription. The relic had been presented to the abbey in 1263 by Otto of Cycons, Frankish lord of Karystos in Euboea, who had received it from Baldwin II, the last Latin emperor of Constantinople. The Latin sources relevant to the transfer of the relic and the Greek inscription are well known since their publication in the 17th century, while information about the reliquary itself is largely lacking. Nevertheless, the Archives of the Côte-d'Or offer some information which goes back to the time it was destroyed. The reliquary was made of silver gild and the enclosed arm was covered by a gold revetment bearing a medallion of enamel on gold depicting the Baptism of Christ. The unusual presence of this image attached to a relic of the Baptist may refer to the tradition which since the 10th century considered the right hand of the Baptist as brought to Constantinople under Constantin VII. It bears exceptional testimony to the authority of the relic, setting it apart from any potential rivals.

Stéphanos EFTHYMIADIS, *Vers un Grégoire imaginaire ou presque : l'Éloge de Grégoire le Théologien par Nicétas le Paphlagonien* (BHG 725) p. 277

The *Encomium of Gregory the Theologian* by Niketas David the Paphlagonian (BHG 725) is a rare example of a Byzantine literary work accompanied by a contemporary literary critique, albeit by a harsh critic, Arethas of Caesarea. A highly rhetorical text, it is permeated with allusions to the mystical theology of Pseudo-Dionysios, a trait visible in other saints' *Encomia* by the same author. The text probably dates after the emergence of the Tetragamy Affair (Christmas 906) and must reflect the author's personally embarrassing monastic confinement. Despite its idiosyncratic character and poor interest in concrete detail, the *Encomium* left its mark on the later hagiography of St Gregory. One such text is the *Panegyric for the translation of Gregory's relics to Constantinople* (BHG 728), a work assigned to Konstantinos VII Porphyrogennitos.

Jean-Luc FOURNET, *L'impact de la conquête sassanide sur l'Égypte : notes lexicographiques* p. 287

The Sasanian conquest of Egypt (619–29) is poorly represented in papyrological sources, suggesting insignificant impact on the Greek language of the area. This contribution examines the Persian words borrowed into Greek to question a loanword proposed in the recent reedition of the ostraca archive of Theopemptos and Zacharias; it also suggests identifying a new word, hitherto hidden under an Arabic form, found in the *History of the patriarchs of the Church of Alexandria*.

Jean GASCOU, *La deuxième Vie (V2) des saints Cyr et Jean* (BHG 469/BHL 2077) : *remarques historiques et littéraires; visée hagiographique* p. 299

The second *Life* (V2) of the Alexandrian Saints Cyrus and John (BHG 469), predating the work of their famous hagiographer, Sophronius the Sophist (future patriarch of Jerusalem), was later heavily (if inconsistently) altered in compliance with Sophronius' views. Perceived in some Alexandrian circles as a physician, Cyrus, the leading figure in the duo, is turned into an ascetic, performing supernatural healings. In the pair's martyrdom account in the *Life*, their original burial

place was believed to be Saint Mark's mausoleum, yet, at the very end of the work, their final resting place suddenly becomes the shrine of Menouthis, near Canopus, extolled by Sophronius. In the initial version of the *Life*, the initiator of the cult was Bishop Theophilus (385–412), while in its present form and in conformity with Sophronius, this role is credited to Bishop Cyrillus (412–44). In a spirit of conciliation between the two legends, Theophilus' memory is also preserved: he is present in the *Life* as a foregoer of Cyrillus in his attempts to eradicate the local paganism. Unpublished manuscripts allow revising some altered parts of the *Life*, especially in regards to Tzo, a location on the Arabian coast of Egypt, where Cyrus probably was worshiped, and the original description of the monumental landscape along the road linking Alexandria to Canopus and Menouthis. We also offer an explanation for the seemingly out of place inclusion on the ascetic and wonder-maker Senuphius of Sctis, a contemporary of Theodosius the Great and a foregoer of another fictional ascetic character, Senuphius of Nitria or of Thessalonica.

Petre GURAN, *Tὰ τοῦ κόσμου πειρατήρια : le « verso » de l'Empire chrétien dans l'hagiographie des σαλοί*

p. 317

This study of the middle Byzantine hagiographies of the *saloi*, particularly the *Lives* of Saint Andrew the Fool and Saint Basil the Younger, attempts to unveil a deeper psychological level of this literary production and the impact of these widely circulated texts on Christian orthodox spirituality. The role of the *salos* is analyzed on the background of an official discourse about a Christian society and seen as a rejection of any attempt to consider social status as a spiritual achievement. The reverse of the hierarchical society is the universe of thoughts, the inner man. The *politeia* of the *salos* aims at the exposure of a major contradiction inside a historical Christian society: the expectation that virtue receives social recognition.

The *salos* works on the conflict between social virtue, or simply hypocrisy, and spiritual authenticity, with a result that closely resembles psychoanalysis. Both the spirituality of the *saloi* and the Jungian psychoanalysis express the inner crisis of a self-confident, rigid and egocentric society. Folly is both an escape and a cure of this spiritual disease. Seen as a mental illness and/or demonic possession, it needs to be revealed in order to be cured. The *salos* is the revelator of this very special type of social need, the disentanglement between social status and spiritual authenticity. The studied hagiographical texts support this hypothesis.

Martin HINTERBERGER, *Die Aneignung des Anderen: die Viten des Kyrillos von Skythopolis bearbeitet von Symeon Metaphrastes: Beobachtungen zur Umarbeitungstechnik*

p. 333

The present article seeks to shed light on the Metaphrastic process, i.e. the reworking of older hagiographical texts by Symeon the Metaphrast in the framework of his *Menologion* (10th century). For this, three saints' lives originally composed by Cyril of Skythopolis in the mid-6th century (the *Lives* of Euthymios, Sabas and Kyriakos) are juxtaposed with the versions produced by Symeon. Symeon's method of adapting the old texts to his own aesthetic principles is studied, with a special attention to authorial interventions modified or added by Symeon, and to his treatment of the autobiographical parts of Cyril's narrative.

Christian HØGEL, *Euthymios the Athonite, Greek-Georgian and Georgian-Greek translator—and Metaphrast?*

p. 353

Euthymios the Athonite (or the Iberian; ca. 955–1028) is a well-known translator of Greek hagiographical and patristic texts into Georgian. He also made reverse translations, not least the story of *Barlaam and Ioasaph*, from Georgian into Greek. An array of Greek texts at his disposal

helped him turn the story into a recognizable Byzantine text, free of dogmatic problems. Based on the results by Grossmann and in view of chronological issues, this article argues that a number of Metaphrastic texts were among those used by Euthymios. This points to a special relationship between the Iviron monastery and the fate of Metaphrastic texts. Finally, we offer some initial observations on the working process of Euthymios, which to some extent must have been based on collections of excerpts from the Metaphrastic texts.

Corinne JOUANNO, *Du bon usage de la parole d'après les Conseils et récits de Kékauménos* p. 363

An important preoccupation of Kekaumenos in his *Strategikon* is the proper use of speech. The author is clearly influenced by the ethics of monastic florilegia, in particular, in view of the many similarities with *Sacra parallela*, attributed to John of Damascus. Kekaumenos' work stands out by its tendency to dramatize his advice, notably through staging a double speech. Such mimetic writing, based upon a skilful use of fictional discourse, proves that we have to deal with a work whose rhetorical and literary qualities must not be underestimated.

Michel KAPLAN, *Saints dès l'enfance dans le monde byzantin des VI^e-VII^e siècles* p. 389

Byzantine hagiographers often seek proof of divine intent in the saint's childhood, or even before his birth. Thus, a child predestined for holy deeds is depicted as wise as an old man. However, saints are predominantly elderly ascetics, and their childhood characteristics are of minor interest. Just as with other Byzantine authors, the diminished interest in children among hagiographers reflects the low position held by children in Byzantine society. We highlight three notable exceptions from the 6th and 7th centuries: Nicolas of Sion, Simeon Stylite the Younger and Theodore of Sykeon.

Sofia KOTZABASSI, *Doukas and codex Vat. gr. 12* p. 399

The article identifies the 15th-century scribe who added the lost first folio of the *Lexicon vindobonense* in Vat. gr. 12 (14th century) as the Byzantine historian Doukas, copyist of Paris. gr. 1310. The same hand added also a small florilegium containing the so-called "Precepts of Pythagoras" (from the *De liberis educandis*) and other maxims, a brief method "on verse meter," and a draft of a poem addressed to an unnamed monk.

Anna LAMPADARIDI, *In graecum sermonem elegantissime transtulit : à propos d'une traduction grecque peu connue (BHG 752) de la Vie d'Hilarion par Jérôme* p. 407

The article contributes to a better understanding of the translation process of Latin hagiographical texts into Greek by studying the *Vita Sancti Hilarionis* (BHL 3879) composed by Jerome at the end of the 4th century. It focuses on the *Vita*'s largely unknown Greek translation, BHG 752 (called "version I" by Strout), whose complete text we have recently discovered. The ongoing preparation of the first critical edition of the "version 1" calls for some preliminary remarks on the context of translation of the Latin *Vita*. A comparative analysis of two Greek translations of an episode in the *Vita Hilarionis* (VH 11.3–13) illustrates the differences between a verbatim ("version 1": BHG 752) and a free translation ("version II": BHG 753) from Latin into Greek.

Avshalom LANIADO, *How to humiliate a patrician in debt: Empress Theodora, Procopius of Caesarea, and the origins of the political verse in Byzantium*

p. 421

In his *Secret History* (XV.24–35), Procopius of Caesarea tells how an elderly patrician, unable to pay his creditors, tried to recover a sum owed to him by one of the servants of Empress Theodora. The high-ranking senator appeared before the empress in person in order to plead his case. Her response was a humiliating retort, whose precise meaning is not easily determined: πατρικίε ὁ δεῖνα, μεγάλην κήλην ἔχεις. This offence spurred Procopius to report this episode but conceal the patrician's name. Despite his discretion, it seems certain that the patrician in question was none other than the *magister officiorum* Hermogenes, the addressee of an imperial rescript (Justinian, *Novel* 138) which alludes to his financial problems. Hermogenes is a four-syllable name which is proparoxytone in the vocative case. Its restitution into Procopius' text turns the answer chanted by Theodora and her eunuchs into a rhythmical 15 syllable pattern (Πατρικίε <Ερμόγενης>, μεγάλην κήλην ἔχεις), the same as a Byzantine political verse. This restitution confirms a conjecture made in 1943 by Donald Struan Robertson. The evidence of Procopius as well as of Romanos the Melode suggests that the political verse came into being before the so-called “dark ages.”

Margherita LOSACCO, « *Seuils* » : *lexique, thèmes et fonctions des préfaces dans la Bibliothèque de Photius*

p. 439

Photius' prefaces reveal to be profoundly interconnected to each other, in lexical similarities, narrative frames, and literary *topoi*. A wide range of *topoi* positions his prefaces within a long-lasting literary tradition. At the same time, they indicate a possible deeper level of intertextuality. Some images, themes, and frames in Photius' prefaces resemble those of other authors—*e.g.*, Pamphile of Epidaurus, Stobaeus, Phrynichus—which Photius quotes or summarizes in his *Library*, and therefore certainly read. This article provides a check-list of the prefaces quoted, summarized or alluded to in Photius' *Library*, together with a deeper insight into a handful of substantial chapters and passages.

Marina LOUKAKI, *Le langage du corps dans la narration de l'histoire par Jean Kinnamos* p. 455

One of the methods to confer the virtue of credibility on the historical narrative is describing some bodily signs of the persons entering the narrative, in other words, making reference to “body language.” In a literary text the references to corporal signs are never insignificant nor fortuitous. These are integral parts of the text's artistic conception and their semantic retrieval is crucial for understanding a literary work. The study of the historical narrative of John Kinnamos through this perspective shows that he uses the semiology of the body to pursue his main objective of highlighting the greatness of Emperor Manuel I. The only reason to mention the body language of his cousin, Andronic I, a pretender to the Byzantine throne, and of Latin princes, seems to be the creation of a negative impression upon the reader, thus, further exalting Manuel. Kinnamos has little interest in describing characters, taking into account feelings and explaining behaviors to interpret history.

Andrea LUZZI, *Osservazioni su una recente edizione della Vita Ignatii attribuita a Niceta David Paflagone*

p. 465

Some remarks on the edition: *The Life of Patriarch Ignatius by Nicetas David*, text and transl. by A. Smithies with notes by J. M. Duffy, Washington DC 2013. The author addresses biographical data relating to Nicetas David Paphlagon, which is not mentioned in the editor's introduction about Nicetas. He raises doubts about the editor's reconstruction of the relationships between

the extant and lost manuscripts transmitting the *Vita Ignatii*. Furthermore, he emphasizes the importance of paying painstaking attention to the role played by its edition in the collection of *Concilia generalia ecclesiae catholicae* (Rome 1608–12) for the textual criticism of the *Vita Ignatii*.

Jean-Pierre MAHÉ, *L'évêque arménien Israyēl, missionnaire chez les Huns (681-682) : pastorale et géopolitique dans le Nord-Est caucasien à la fin du VI^e siècle* p. 481

The first two books of the Armenian *History of the Albanians* (HA I-II) were compiled in the 8th century. A third book (HA III) was added in the 10th century. Later, this anonymous collection (HA I-III) was ascribed to Moses Dasxurantsi/Kalankatuatsi/Aluanits.

The second chronicle included in HA II was completed soon after 682. Focusing on Prince Juansher and his successor Varaz-Trdat, it sheds light on the efforts of the Christian and pagan nations of the Caucasus to keep out of the caliphal rule after the collapse of the Sassanian Empire.

Between December 681 and April 682, the Armenian bishop Israyel was sent as a missionary to the city of Varachan, on the North-Western coast of the Caspian Sea, in order to convert the pagan Huns to Christianity. The present article describes the main features of Hunnic paganism according to Israyel's testimony, as well as the various stages of the conversion process.

Smilja MARJANOVIĆ-DUŠANIĆ, *La mémoire d'un rituel : sur le rôle des reliques dans le couronnement du roi serbe* p. 497

One of the crucial elements in the forging of Serbian national identity was provided by the highly representative descriptions of the coronation ceremony of the first Serbian king in the cathedral of St. Saviour in Žiža (1221). The role played by the first Serbian archbishop, the future St. Sava, explains why the narrative of the ceremony is part of the two hagiographies of the saint. The first royal coronation ritual was thus canonized as a part of the collective memory, and the analysis given in this paper lays particular stress on the liturgical and ideological framework of the ceremony.

As the memories of the actual participants faded, the image of the coronation in collective memory became increasingly responsive to the political and religious circumstances of the moment, notably the changing relationship between the Orthodox and Catholic churches after 1204. This paper attempts to account for the variations by analyzing in detail the coronation and unction ritual, the role of the Holy Land relics (in particular the right hand of St. John the Baptist), and the role assigned to specific relics within what might be called the official program of the first Serbian coronation.

Athanasios MARKOPOULOS, *Pour un corpus des lettres de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien* p. 511

The literary legacy of Symeon the New Theologian (949–1022) stands out for the lack of even the most rudimentary classification on the part of the author, more interested in the immediacy of communication with his flock than in categorizing his writings. The recent publication of Symeon's four "official" letters by Turner (2009) highlighted the difference between them and regular Byzantine correspondence. The fact that Symeon concerned himself in his letters almost exclusively with matters of spiritual guidance lies at the root of the confusion surrounding their categorization as a specific literary genre, which is enhanced by a chaotic manuscript tradition. As a writer who focused primarily on interpreting his personal relationship with the Divine, Symeon strived to convey this relationship to his faithful audience, and a new, much needed corpus of his surviving correspondence should account for this specificity. It will include not only the four letters published by Turner, but all texts, preserved in the different manuscripts, which are recognized

as having some epistolary features, for instance, Hymn 21, a verse letter addressed to Stephen of Nikomedeia. Such corpus would be closer to Symeon's authorial viewpoint and illustrate the full range of his intellectual and spiritual activities.

Bernadette MARTIN-HISARD, *La Passion de sainte Christine de Tyr/Bolsena. 1, Jalons géorgiens* p. 525

The article offers an annotated translation of the oldest Georgian version of the *Passion of Christine of Tyre*, based on the recent masterful edition of the text transmitted in the palimpsest manuscript *Vind. georg. 2*. The Georgian text, unfortunately incomplete, is written no later than the 8th century in the vicinity of Jerusalem. It is based on an almost completely lost Greek original, which gave rise to a rich Latin tradition marked by some regional adaptation. The text of the palimpsest allows us to appraise the transformations undergone by the original Greek *Passion* through comparison with other Georgian versions, the Latin tradition and a late Greek tradition. It allows retracing the cult of Christine in 10th-century Constantinople, in the liturgy of the Great Church and in the life of the Great Palace.

Jean-Marie MARTIN, *La Passion de sainte Christine de Tyr/Bolsena. 2, La Vita et passio s. Christinae d'Alfan de Salerne* p. 571

The cult of Saint Christine is documented in a number of places in medieval Italy. In Bolsena, her *Passion* was attributed to a local saint, whose relics were transported to Sepino, and later, ca. 1160, to Palermo. However, Christine's cult was not always attached to the saint from Bolsena. In the second half of the 12th century Alfanus of Salerno wrote a new *Passion* of Saint Christine. Republished in this study, it presents the saint as a symbol of the passage of the Roman Empire from paganism to Christianity.

Sophie MÉTIVIER, *La notice synaxariale de saint Michel Maléinos, un abrégé inédit* p. 599

The recent description of manuscript 68 from the Holy Trinity Monastery library of Chalki revealed the existence of an unknown entry in the *Synaxary of Constantinople*, dedicated to Saint Michael Maleinos, founder of the laura on Mount Kyminas (Bithynia) in 925 and uncle of Emperor Nikephoros II Phokas (963–9). An edition of the synaxary entry and a French translation are proposed. The entry looks very much like an abstract of the *Life of Michael Maleinos* (BHG 1295). Comparison of the two texts makes it possible to describe the process of paraphrasing and illuminates the milieu of the cult of Saint Michael Maleinos.

Brigitte MONDRAIN, *Le De thematibus de Constantin Porphyrogénète dans les manuscrits* p. 613

Too short to make up a manuscript alone, the *De thematibus* of Constantine Porphyrogenetos was not transmitted in the manuscripts together with the emperor's other treatises, *De cerimoniis* or *De administrando imperio*; there was no corpus of the emperor's writings. What is more, there is no certainty that *De thematibus* was composed by the emperor himself in the form we know. Its manuscript tradition is, basically, reduced to two manuscripts. Of the two books that constitute the treatise, devoted, respectively, to the themes of the Orient and of the West, the oldest manuscript, *Vaticanus gr. 1065*, contains only the first one, while the 13th-century *Parisinus gr. 854* contains both, in the midst of very diverse texts. For many of them this manuscript is a distinguished, sometime unique, textual witness. Its paleographical and codicological features are analyzed in this article, with the aim of clarifying certain stages of its history, particularly in the 15th and 16th centuries.

Sébastien MORLET, *Une défense de la culture chez Jérôme et Socrate, et une lettre perdue d'Origène* p. 625

The defense of Greek culture in Socrates of Constantinople (*Historia ecclesiastica* III.16.9–27) has a very close parallel in Jerome, Letter 70 to Magnus. Both texts argue that even the Apostle did not hesitate to quote Greek literature, as they cite the same passages from Paul (Ti 1.12; 1 Co 15.33; Ac 17.28). Several discrepancies between both texts lead to the assumption that they have a common source. An investigation into ancient Christian exegesis reveals that the closest parallels of these texts are to be found in Origen. However, neither the *Homilies on Leviticus* (5), nor the *Homilies on Luke* (31) can be Socrates's and Jerome's common source. It may be a lost text by Origen such as the letter mentioned by Eusebius (*Historia ecclesiastica* VI.19.11), in which he defended his own use of Greek *paideia*.

Olivier MUNNICH, *Le savoir de l'illettré selon Athanase : à propos de la Vie d'Antoine* p. 635

The discourse of Anthony's visit to Greek philosophers is structured around the Pauline opposition between the power of Faith and the weakness of human wisdom. In fact, this theme stretches across the whole *Vita Antonii*. We propose to read it as an attempt by Athanasius to transcend such an opposition. Anthony goes from ignorance towards superior wisdom. In the course of this evolution, the shifting role played by Scripture is worth a thorough analysis. At first merely listened to, memorized and interiorized, it is gradually integrated by the monk into a defensive argumentative framework against the demonic assaults. Then, it is commented by the illiterate in the first part of his catechetical discourse as he becomes its exegete. In the following part of the work, Scripture is tackled more holistically, for Anthony's commentary takes on a theological dimension. In other words, Scripture is to be found everywhere in the illiterate monk's life, and the phrase "ascetism through the Scripture" (ch. 46.6) epitomizes the utter paradox of the uncultured wise man. In the *Vita*, Athanasius time and again reflects on the relationship between Christianity and secular culture. Anthony's character provides him with the means to shape a culture which claims to be free from any reference to the Greek *paideia*.

Paolo ODORICO, *Les excerpta de Malalas dans le cod. Parisinus gr. 1336* p. 651

This article presents the edition of the *excerpta* of the *Chronicle* of Jean Malalas, partially published by Cramer in 1839 from the codex *Par. gr.* 1336. Some of the published passages quite authentically reproduce the *Chronicle*, others diverge from its text, revealing the compiler's taste for the anecdotal.

Stratis PAPAIOANNOU, *Ioannes Sikeliotes (and Ioannes Geometres) revisited; with an appendix: Edition of Sikeliotes' scholia on Aelius Aristides* p. 659

Ioannes Sikeliotes was a professional teacher and rhetorician, active in Constantinople in the late 10th–early 11th century. This study portrays his intellectual and social profile, based on a new critical edition of passages from his commentary on Hermogenes and of his complete scholia on Aelius Aristides. The profile is set in juxtaposition to the comparable career of Ioannes Geometres, a better-known contemporary of Sikeliotes.

Viacheslav PATRIN, *Méditation (μελέτη) dans les Apophtegmes des pères* p. 693

The concept of μελέτη denotes one of the main ascetic practices of Egyptian monks in the *Apophtegmata patrum*, but its content is not entirely clear. The traditional translation as “meditation” is confusing due to connotations of Eastern, non-Christian, religious practices. Many scholars note the mismatch of a modern concept of meditation with the ancient meaning of the word μελέτη, as they try to restore the meaning of the word in the tradition of early Christian monasticism. This is also the aim of the present article (excerpted from a thesis prepared under the direction of Prof. Bernard Flusin), which analyzes the terms μελητη-μελετω in the *Apophtegmata patrum* and attempts to describe the ascetic practice denoted by this concept.

Ioanna ΡΑΡΤΙ, *Un évêque bibliophile à la cour de Cilicie : Jean (Yovhannēs), né Baudoin, frère du roi Hét'um I^{er}* p. 697

This paper investigates the exceptional career of a bishop born to the ruling family of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, which took him from the monastery to the court (ca. 1260–80). The analysis of his four unparalleled dedicatory portraits, all concealed in Gospels books, combined with evidence from historical sources and from texts he commissioned, allows us to illuminate the patron's self-fashioning and his agency in the arts and the court culture of his time. Moreover, the study of the modus operandi of a team of scribes and painters enables us to question the model of a scriptorium cum atelier. The close connections of manuscript production with other forms of pious patronage illuminates the role of aristocratic monasteries and their abbots in shaping and managing this Armenian kingdom in the heart of the Crusader Levant, at the crossroads of eastern and western traditions.

Antonio RIGO, *Au mont Sinai après Jean Climaque : sur l'œuvre de Philothée de Batos et l'« école sinaïte »* p. 727

As of the first half of the 20th century, scholars used the term “Sinaitic school” to describe the three authors, who were actually monks at Mount Sinai—John Climacus, Hesychius of Batos and Philotheus of Batos—as well as numerous figures of Byzantine spirituality until the 14th–15th century. The article is divided into two parts. After discussing the scholarly construct of “Sinaitic school,” this paper attempts to establish the accurate succession and chronology of the three monastic authors of Sinai and examines in more detail the life and works of one of the three, Philotheus of Batos.

Michel STAVROU, *Entre sagesse et sainteté : les instructions spirituelles du De virtute et ascesi de Nicéphore Blemmydès (XIII^e s.)* p. 747

This article presents the first translation into a modern language of the treatise *De virtute et ascesi* by Nicephorus Blemmydes, which is compiled for monastic use from philosophical and patristic sources and completes Blemmydes' *De fide*. This little text is characteristic of the effort, attested under the Nicaean emperors John III Doukas and his son Theodore II Laskaris, to restore the Greek culture in its double, classical and Christian, filiation in anticipation of reclaiming Constantinople. After an Aristotle-inspired presentation on virtues, Blemmydes reflects on practical and spiritual aspects of human action and stresses that the goal of ethical progress is the ascent to God: to the supreme bliss which is deification.

Peter VAN DEUN, *Isaac le Syrien, Jean Climaque, Syméon le Nouveau Théologien et leurs collègues : les sources du grand florilège de Marc le Moine (XIII^e s.) : l'inventaire de la Lettre Epsilon* p. 795

This paper presents the work of Mark the Monk, the spiritual guide of the princess Irène-Eulogia Palaeologina, sister of the emperor Michael VIII (second half of the 13th century). The article focuses on Mark's monumental anthology, preserved in the *Vaticanus chisianus* R.V.33 (gr. 27) and unedited until now. It also offers the complete table of contents of the Book Epsilon of the florilegium.

Ioannis VASSIS, *Deux collections inconnues d'épigrammes et d'apophtegmes destinés à être inscrits sur des images de prophètes et de pères du désert* p. 817

This paper presents two collections of inscriptions, in prose and verse, transmitted by two 14th-century manuscripts (MS. Roma, Biblioteca Angelica, gr. 7 (olim B.5.11), and MS. Roma, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, E 21) and referring to images of prophets, various saints and Desert Fathers. Twenty-five of the fifty-five metrical inscriptions were used on frescoes and are still visible today in Byzantine churches; seven others were until now known only through the *Handbook of the art of painting* by Dionysios of Fournà (between 1729 and 1732); finally, twenty-two more are unpublished. The prose inscriptions are taken from the sayings of Desert Fathers, and hymnographic, hagiographic, and ascetic texts. Such collections must have been used as a source in the elaboration of guides for Byzantine and post-Byzantine painters, as well as by the painters themselves, in quest of epigrams and sayings to inscribe on their paintings.

Robert WIŚNIEWSKI, *Spreading belief in miracles in the late antique West* p. 833

This article seeks to explain what factors helped to spread belief in miracles through the late antique Mediterranean. This belief, initially associated with holy monks and relics of the martyrs, appeared in the East in the mid-4th century. It quickly spread westward, but the time gap between its emergence in different parts of Christendom is nevertheless visible. Also, even in the regions in which people began to expect miracles to occur in their lifetime, only some relics and very few saintly monks were credited with thaumaturgical power. Several elements were needed in order to arouse belief in the power of specific saints, whether living or dead. The most important of them were written or oral miracle stories, new vectors of power, splendid ceremonies, and magnificent buildings which became a scene for thaumaturgy.

Constantin Zuckerman, *Sur la vénération des saints par l'empereur iconoclaste Constantin V, ou De la résurrection des saints et des bœufs; Appendice : Le miracle de Théopiste et ses bœufs (BHG 689), édité et traduit par René BONDoux et Jean-Pierre GRÉLOIS* p. 849

The iconoclast Council of Hiereia (754) was the first to dogmatize the veneration of saints (but not of their relics) and their power of intercession. Later the iconoclasts allegedly scraped this belief, which recent studies relate (with no evidence) to the doctrine of the dormition of the saints' souls. Yet the core doctrine of the Fathers of Hiereia is clearly stated in the 17th-anathema of the Council: the saints "are venerable in front of God in soul and body" (τιμίους εἶναι ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ψυχῆ τε καὶ σώματι). As opposed to the dormition of souls that denied the saints active bodily intercession, this doctrine recognized to them the possession of their bodies before the general resurrection. This view of the saints, spread way beyond the iconoclast circles, is best illustrated in the text of the miracle "On Theopistos' oxen" (BHG 689) as preserved in the 12th-century *Angelicus* 46 (and heavily censored in other versions), edited in the Appendix.

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