DOI: 10.11649/sm.3726

Slavia Meridionalis 26, 2026
Article No.: 3726

Citation:
Grishchenko, A. (2026). "Pharisees" in the *Laodicean Epistle* by Feodor Kuritsyn, in *The Secret of Secrets* translated into Ruthenian, and in the East Slavic *Edited Pentateuch*: Is there a connection? *Slavia Meridionalis*, *26*, Article 3726. https://doi.org/10.11649/sm.3726

Alexander Grishchenko
Heidelberg University
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7170-365X

"Pharisees" in the *Laodicean Epistle* by Feodor Kuritsyn, in *The Secret of Secrets* Translated into Ruthenian, and in the East Slavic *Edited Pentateuch*: Is There a Connection?[1]

The *Laodicean Epistle* (*Laodikiiskoe poslanie*) by Feodor (Fyodor) Kuritsyn is practically the only surviving work that contains the ideas presumably attributed to the so-called "Novgorod–Moscow heresy" of the late 15th and early 16th centuries, better known as the "Judaizing heresy" or "Judaizers" (*zhidovstvuiushchie*) – a movement that remains highly controversial to this day. The connection between this movement and Judaism – as implied by its

[1] This paper has been supported by the Gerda Henkel Foundation. I also would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Dan Shapira (Bar-Ilan University, Israel) for his constant and extensive guidance and to the anonymous reviewers for their valuable advice.

This paper has been supported by the Gerda Henkel Foundation.

Competing interests: no competing interests have been declared.

Publisher: Institute of Slavic Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences.

This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License (https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0), which permits redistribution, commercial and non-commercial, provided that the article is properly cited. © The Author(s) 2026.

very name – remains a major mystery for both researchers of the past and contemporary scholars. While pre-revolutionary Russian historians considered this connection to be obvious, it was called into question during the Soviet period. The main corpus of sources on this "heresy" was published in 1955 by Iakov Lur'e (Luria/Lourié) and his colleagues Aleksandr Zimin, Aleksandr Klibanov, and others (Казакова & Лурье, 1955). There are a huge number of research papers on "Judaizers", and it makes no sense to delve into all the issues related to them in this article. I would like to focus on just one extremely disputable passage from the *Laodicean Epistle* by Feodor Kuritsyn, the *diak* (chief clerk) of Grand Prince Ivan III Vasilyevich. In the sources, Feodor Kuritsyn was counted among the Moscow "heretics", but he escaped trial and punishment (perhaps he had died by the time of the Moscow Council of 1504, while his brother Ivan Volk Kuritsyn was burned alive). Although there is very little information about his life and activities, there is an academic consensus that Feodor somehow belonged to the circle of persons known as "Judaizers" – regardless of how one understands the nature of the latter.

Luria studied the textual history and all versions of the *Laodicean Epistle* and published them in his edition (Казакова & Лурье, 1955, pp. 256–276), which remains the single source on which all later researchers rely. First of all, here is the text of the *Laodicean Epistle* (the passage that interests me is italicised) according to its older copy from the early 16th century (Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences, No. 4.3.15) in Luria's edition:

> Душа самовластна, заграда ей вера.
> Вера ставится пророк наказанием.
> Пророк наказание исправляется чюдотворением.
> Чюдотворения дар усиляеть мудростию.
> *Мудрости сила житие фарисейску.*[2]
> Прок[3] его наука.

[2] In other, probably later, versions of the *Laodicean Epistle* (in the so-called *Easter* and *Grammatical Types*, according to Luria), instead of *житие фарисейску* there is *фарисейство жительство* (literally "Pharisaism life/living"), which, in terms of grammar, is more difficult to understand. However, it is precisely this reading that Klibanov prefers so that he can interpret it in his own way (see below).

[3] Reading of the manuscript. However, Luria corrected it to *пророк* "a prophet", which was later disproved by Moshe Taube, who believed that the Ruthenian word *прок* "a goal" was used here, but it had not been understood in the Muscovite tradition and had been replaced by "prophet" in all later copies (Taube, 1995, pp. 680–681); this reading was later supported by Robert Romanchuk (2005, p. 159).

> Наука преблажена есть.
> Сею приходим в страх божий – начало добродетелем.
> Сим съоружается душа.

And here is Moshe Taube's English translation of this short poem (Taube, 1995, p. 675):

> The soul is an autonomous substance, its constraint is faith.
> Faith is established on the commandment of the prophets.
> The commandment of the prophets is confirmed by [their capacity to] work miracles.
> The gift of working miracles is strengthened by wisdom.
> *The potency of wisdom is in an abstinent* [but literally *Pharisaical* – A.G.] *way of life*.
> Its goal is learning.
> Learning is most blessed.
> By it we arrive at the fear of God – the incipiency of virtue.
> By this is the soul defined.

As can be seen from this translation, Taube offered his own original interpretation of the expression *житие фарисейску* "Pharisaical way of life" (his arguments are discussed below), but it provoked considerable confusion among all researchers of the *Laodicean Epistle*. Thus, Luria was puzzled by the positive portrayal of the Pharisees, which was unusual for Christian literature (Казакова & Лурье, 1955, pp. 176–177):

> The word *fariseistvo* "Pharisaism" in Old Russian literature usually had a negative connotation – meaning insincere, outward religiosity, which the Gospels associate with the term. […] In what sense does Kuritsyn speak of "Pharisaism as a way of life"? Does he believe that in order to acquire true wisdom, one must lead the strict life of the Pharisees? Or, on the contrary, does he believe that "wisdom" is inextricably linked to Pharisee hypocrisy? It is difficult to answer these questions based on the available text.

Klibanov, disagreeing with Luria, offered his own rather strange explanation of this passage, which removed the positive assessment of the Pharisees (Клибанов, 1960, p. 68):

> According to the Gospel, Pharisaism is primarily legalism, i.e., outward, formal, ritualistic adherence to religion, as opposed to inner, spiritual faith. The Gospels condemn Pharisaism as false wisdom in favour of an inner and spiritual faith understood as true wisdom. If we follow what is said in the Gospels, the text under consideration will appear as follows: "Мудрости – сила. Фарисейство – жителство. Пророк ему наука, наука преблаженная." In other words: there is power in wisdom. Pharisaism is a way of life (πολιτεία), i.e., an external statute of life. This statute is served by

> the prophet's teaching (i.e., the latter inspires it, fills it with internal content). Behold the teaching that brings bliss.

However, as one can see, this logical construction is too far-fetched and suspicious. Shmuel Ettinger published his objections to the denial of the direct influence of Judaism on the "heresy of the Judaizers" for the first time in Hebrew, where he drew particular attention to the positive context of the mention of the Pharisees (Ettinger, 1960, p. 233). A new version of this work was published posthumously in Russian translation, in which Ettinger argues that "the lengthy discussions by Luria and Klibanov on the topics of the *Laodicean Epistle* are not particularly profound, since neither of them has a strong grasp of medieval philosophy, whether Jewish or Christian" (Ettinger, 1995, p. 26).

In the 1960s, after the publication of books by Luria and Klibanov, the Western and especially German Slavists turned to the *Laodicean Epistle*. Thus, Dietrich Freydank considered this work to be pre-humanistic and based on Byzantine grammatical traditions (Freydank, 1966); John V. A. Fine Jr. detected Jewish ideas in it and concluded "that every thought contained in this poem is consistent with the beliefs of Talmudic Judaism" (Fine, 1966, p. 502); Frank Kämpfer also wrote about Jewish ideas in the *Laodicean Epistle*, arguing that it did not belong to the European humanistic tradition (Kämpfer, 1968); Johann Maier considered it almost impossible for Russian "heretics" to have been familiar with the Talmudic tradition, so the most likely explanation remains the influence of Jewish–Arab rationalism through the tradition of Maimonides, which was intertwined with Kabbalah, and the Jewish communities of Kyiv or Crimea could have been the transmitters of this tradition (Maier, 1969). Another German scholar who studied the *Laodicean Epistle* in detail was Fairy von Lilienfeld, a theologian who studied the history of Russian religious thought. She found many parallels between this text and Kabbalistic writings, not only in the first poetic part, but also in the lengthy grammatical appendix *Table in Squares*, which is a treatise on the letters of the Cyrillic alphabet that reveals many parallels with Kabbalistic ideas about letters (Lilienfeld, 1978).

In most studies of the *Laodicean Epistle*, opinions on the verse *Mudrosti sila zhitie fariseisku* are deeply polarised. While opponents of the real, rather than imagined, influence of Judaism on "Judaizers" (Luria, Klibanov, and their followers) seek in various ways to disavow the appearance of these strange Pharisees, supporters of the unquestionable dependence of the "Judaizers" on Judaism, on the contrary, emphasise the importance of the positive mention

of the Pharisees in this text. These supporters, for example, use the following logic, as in the article by Fine (1966, p. 501):

> The first thing that is striking about this poem is that the Pharisees are obviously meant to be good. One must discard the negative New Testament description of the Pharisees as hypocrites and opponents of Jesus, which has consistently hindered attempts to understand this poem. […] The Pharisees were the founders of Talmudic or Rabbinic Judaism, which was accepted and followed by the great majority of Jews in Central and Eastern Europe. Thus, these Jews would have considered the Pharisees good. This suggests that the poem reflects Jewish ideas.

The sceptics offered two more explanations for the positive assessment of Pharisaism (in addition to that which Klibanov considered to be the main one, see above). First, there is a reference to Gennadius the Archbishop of Novgorod, the discoverer and first persecutor of "Judaizers", who "in the *Preface to the Paschalion* (1492) speaks approvingly about the Pharisees (as opposed to the Sadducees) as people recognising the 'resurrection of the dead'" (Казакова & Лурье, 1955, p. 176). Second, there are rather complimentary remarks about the Pharisees by Flavius Josephus in *The Jewish War*, which was known among the Eastern Slavs in the Church Slavonic translation[4] (Клибанов, 1956, pp. 334–335).

Regarding the *Preface to the Paschalion* by Gennadius, the following text was meant:[5]

> Въ жи́дѣх же бы́ша фарисѣи и саддꙋкѣи: саддꙋкѣи оубо ѿмѣтахꙋсѧ въскр(ь)с(е)нїа м(ь)ртвых, и ни а(н)гг(е)ла, ни д(ꙋ)ха имѣꙗхꙋ, фарисѣи же обоѧ̀ исповѣдахꙋ. Но по фарисѣех многое Б(о)ж(е)ственое Писа́нїе свѣдѣтелствꙋ́етъ – и ѿ пророкъ, и ѿ ап(о)с(то)лъ, и ѿ с(вѧ)тых ѡ(те)ць; саддꙋкѣем же – ни еди́но ѿ сих. И ерети́цы ꙋбо, саддꙋкѣискаа дръжа́ще, истиннꙋ ѿвръгше, лжи послѣдова́хꙋ

[4] For some reason, Klibanov refers to the modern Russian translation of *The Jewish War* from Greek, rather than the authentic Old East Slavic one. See, however, the critical edition of this translation (Пичхадзе et al., 2004), most likely made no later than the 12th century in Southwestern Rus', later commonly called Ruthenia (or, more precisely, its Ukrainian part). All copies of the *Complete* or *Chronological* version of this translation are also of Ruthenian origin, dating from the second half of the 15th century. The translation does indeed contain passages with the positive characterisation of the Pharisees, but this says more about Josephus's original than about the medieval Christian perception of them.

[5] Luria referred to the 19th-century edition of the *Preface*, based on a mid-16th-century copy. To date, more than thirty copies of this text dating from the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to the nineteenth century have been identified (Романова, 2002, pp. 119–121). Here I quote it from the manuscript *Und. 114* of the first third of the 16th century (fol. 467v).

> [= Among the Jews there were Pharisees and Sadducees: the Sadducees denied the resurrection of the dead and did not recognize angels or spirits, while the Pharisees believed in all these things. But the Holy Scriptures often testify in accordance with the Pharisees – by the prophets, the apostles, and the holy fathers; while not one of them in favor of the Sadducees. Indeed, the heretics, who adhered to sadduceeism and rejected the truth, did follow falsehood].

This passage is not connected with Gennadius's persecution of the "Judaizers"; rather, it derives from a *Nomocanon* (*Kormchaia Book*) in which the Pharisees and Sadducees are mentioned. The following text is contained in the "Rule on how to accept those coming from the Jewish faith", which comes from the Byzantine canonical text:[6]

> Проклинаю ж(е) ѿ июдѣи єреси єретикѣ: садоукѣѧ, гл(агол)емыѧ праздники, иже Д(оу)хъ С(вѧ)тыи хѵлять, и ѿ м(ь)ртвыхъ въскр(ь)снїа ѿмѣтаютсѧ, и а(н)гглы ѿлагають; фарисѣѧ и ѿлоученыѧ, иже по понед(ѣ)лникъ и в чет(верг) постатьс(ѧ), дѣвьство на времена повелѣнаѧ и лицемѣрьствѵюще, по семъ разроушаеть всѧкого въздержаніє, славѧть же р(о)ж(е)ство и звѣздочетью празнѵють; назарѣѧны же ѡслабителѧ, иже ѡ жертвах не прїимають Мѡѵсиєва закона и сего ради д(оу)шевных не жроть[sic!].

This text is very damaged, so I am providing its translation based on more corrected copies and the Greek original (Бенешевич, 1987, pp. 156–157):

> I curse the Jewish heresies and heretics: the Sadducees, called righteous [in the manuscript literally "holidays", but in the Greek text *λεγομένους δικαίους*], who blaspheme the Holy Spirit, deny the resurrection of the dead and reject angels; the Pharisees and the excluded [in the Greek original *Φαρισσαίους τοὺς ἀφωρισμένους* "the Pharisees separated"], who fast on Mondays and Thursdays, observe virginity hypocritically for a certain time and then cease all abstinence, while glorifying Christmas [translation error; in Greek *εἱμαρμένην* "fate"] and studying astrology; and the Nazirites [in Greek *Ναζαραίους τοὺς ἀφηνιαστάς*/*ἀφανιστάς* "refractory/rebellious Nazirites"] do not accept the sacrifices of Moses's Law and, therefore, enthusiastically abstain and do not offer sacrifices at all.

[6] Here I quote manuscript *Sol. 858/968* (fols. 259r–259v), to which M. Tsvetkov drew attention as the source of anti-heretical and anti-Jewish information contained in the letters of Gennadius (Цветков, 2003, p. 181): it was copied by Dositheus, the former hegumen of the Solovetsky Monastery, in Novgorod at Gennadius's court, so that the latter had these canonical texts at his disposal and actively used them. In addition, O. Chumicheva (Чумичева, 2010, pp. 220–221) and A. Kazakov (Казаков, 2018, pp. 83–84) wrote about this manuscript (or its originals) as the source for Gennadius.

However, a much more likely source of Gennadius's information about the Sadducees and Pharisees was the New Testament, which he quotes rather accurately in his *Preface to the Paschalion*: "Садѵкеи ѳбѡ гл(аѳол)ють не быти въскр(ь)сенїю, ни а(н)ггла, ни д(оу)ха, фарисеи же исповѣдѵють ѡбоа."[7] (Acts 23:8: "For the Sadducees say that there is no resurrection, neither angel, nor spirit: but the Pharisees confess both.") It is solely because the Pharisees believed in the resurrection of the dead, angels, and the Spirit that Gennadius praises them, in contrast to the Sadducees. In other words, he finds the Pharisees more appealing among the "Jewish heretics", and for this it was enough to refer only to the text of the Acts of the Apostles without delving deeper into the *Nomocanon*. It is also noteworthy that the *Nomocanon* lists the Nazirites among the "Jewish heretics" after the Sadducees and Pharisees, but Gennadius pays no attention to them. At the same time, the Nazirites turn out to be the key to understanding the Epistle, as discussed below. Gennadius probably did not identify these Greek Nazirites (*nazarějany*, from *Ναζαραῖοι*) with those he might have known from the Old Testament, since there they are called by a completely different name. In any case, all of Gennadius's attacks, as well as those of his follower Joseph Volotsky, against the Jews and "Judaizers" were entirely in line with the traditions of Byzantine *Adversus Iudaeos* literature, which Alexander Pereswetoff-Morath (2002a, 2002b) has studied in detail and shown to be purely literary in nature.

As for the positive assessment of the Pharisees in *The Jewish War*, Klibanov was contradicted by German philosopher Thomas M. Seebohm, who also worked on the problem of Jewish influence on the Novgorod–Moscow "heretics", devoting his fundamental habilitation thesis (1969) to the subject, published somewhat later (Seebohm, 1977). He examined both the "literature of the Judaizers" and the writings of their opponents in the broad social, cultural, and religious context of 15th-century Muscovy and Church Slavic literature and its source – Byzantine literature – with a particular emphasis on the philosophical ideas and concepts. Seebohm rejects Klibanov's arguments as follows (Seebohm, 1977, pp. 440–441):

> …it should also be noted that the passage from Josephus does not correspond to what Klibanov emphasises as the actual meaning of the *Laodicean Epistle*. There is no mention of "lawfulness" in the sense of "politeia". There is a reference to the individual morality of the Pharisees, from which concern for the common good is also derived, and, above all, emphasis is placed on the ascetic nature of their lifestyles.

[7] Quoted from the *Gennadian Bible* (*Sin 915*, fol. 816v).

The main significance of Seebohm's work is that he was the first to prove that works on logic (known as "Logics of the Judaizers") had influenced the teachings of "heretics", but he also suggested that these works were either a translation of some Jewish original or the work of a Jewish scholar who had acted as their sole translator or participated in their preparation. All these texts were previously known from a single Ruthenian manuscript (*The Kyevan Logic* / "Kiever Logik", a translation of fragments from *The Aims of the Philosophers* by Al-Ghazālī) and numerous Muscovite copies (*The Moscow Organon* / "Moskauer Organon", a translation combining Maimonides's *Logical Terminology* and other chapters from Al-Ghazālī), which received the name *The Logic of the Judaizers*. Furthermore, Seebohm paid special attention to the Jewish context of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, where direct contact between Jewish and Slavic scholars was the only possibility. Seebohm's work was continued by Taube, who not only wrote extensively on "Jewish–Christian collaboration" (Taube, 2005, 2012), but also prepared critical editions of both *Logics* (Taube, 2016) and *The Secret of Secrets* (Ryan & Taube, 2019), which was also translated from Hebrew in Ruthenia and widely distributed in Muscovy.

It was Seebohm who first pointed out that the Pharisees are also mentioned in the Ruthenian translation of *The Secret of Secrets* (Seebohm, 1977, p. 451):

> *The Secret of Secrets* offers some striking references, first of all to the *Laodicean Epistle*. It is not only that the term "zagrada" is used throughout to mean "protective wall" [Taube translated *zagrada* in the *Epistle* as "constraint" – A.G.];[8] above all, the terms "Pharisee" and "Pharisaical" are used consistently in a positive sense, […] much closer to the intellectual context of the *Epistle* than in Josephus.

Around the same time, British Slavist Will Ryan noted the "certain similarities of terminology and sentiment with the *Laodikiyskoye poslaniye* of Fyodor Kuritsyn", more specifically that this similarity was the word *farisei* "Pharisee" (Ryan, 1978, p. 244). The next step was taken by Taube, who turned to the Hebrew original of *The Secret of Secrets* and discovered in it the exact word that had been translated by the Ruthenian scholar as "Pharisee": it was

[8] The term *zagrada* (or, more accurately Romanised, *zahrada*) appears in the Ruthenian translation of *The Secret of Secrets* in a quotation from one of the basic and widely read Rabbinic texts (*Pirkei Avot* 3.13): "загрaда прем(у)дрости молчанїе" – "səyāḡ laḥoḳmā šəṯîqā [a fence to wisdom is silence]", as first noted by Fine (1966, p. 501). See the further reference in Taube (1995, pp. 677–678), as well as the commentary in the edition (Ryan & Taube, 2019, pp. 362–363).

the biblical term נָזִיר *nāzīr* "Nazirite" (Taube, 1995, pp. 678–680)! In this work, the *nāzīr* is a kind of wise man, a philosopher, and in the Ruthenian translation, the word *farisei* appears three times (Ryan & Taube, 2019, pp. 86/87, 110/111):

Реч(е) Патрикеи не ѡставих жадного храмоу филосоѳьского. не расмотревъ его. ани жадного *ѳарисеѧ*. не говоривши с нимъ ѡ неведомых своих. по семже пріидох ко храмꙋ с(о)лнечномоу. оустроенъ великим Ромасом. в немже ѡбретох *ѳарисеѧ* м(оу)дра и переидох его хитростию {ѡл}иже дал ми чести книги храма сего.

а ведаи иже гроза оумнаѧ влечетсѧ за справедливостью, ѩкоже рекоуть *фарисеи* арапьскїи.

Patrikii said: I have not left a single temple of philosophy unexamined, nor a single *pharisee* without talking with him about things of which I was ignorant. And at length I came to the temple of the Sun built by the great Romas (Hermes) and there I found a learned *pharisee* and outwitted him by cunning until he allowed me to read the books of that temple…

And know that fear in the mind ensues from justice, as the Arab *pharisees* say…

In the second passage, two copies contain *философи* "philosophers" instead of *фарисеи*, and another contains *учители* "teachers". However, Taube merely states that the translation of the word *nāzīr* (which in medieval Hebrew could also mean a recluse or monk) as "Pharisee" is specific to *The Secret of Secrets* and to the *Laodicean Epistle* (the original of which has not yet been found) and does not link this translation decision in any way to the original biblical context – the "Law for a Nazirite" (Num 6:1–21): "And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, When either man or woman shall separate themselves to vow a vow of a Nazarite, to separate themselves unto the LORD…" (*King James Bible*, 1769/2017). In the Masoretic Text, it is written as follows: *ʾîš ʾô-îššāʰ kî yap̄lī lindōr néḏer nāzīr ləhazzîr lYHWH*, i.e., literally "man or woman – if s/he does something wondrous by vowing a Nazirite vow to be a Nazirite for the LORD…"

The English translation of the King James Bible renders the Hebrew verb *P-L-ʾ* in the Hiphil stem (*yap̄lī*) as "to separate", which goes back to Jewish exegesis. Generally, the verb *P-L-ʾ* in biblical Hebrew usually had a "basic meaning to be different, conspicuous, curious", but there was also another meaning "to be separated, picked out, different", which was usually expressed by the similar root *P-L-H* (Köhler et al., 1996, p. 927). However, in the Hiphil stem *P-L-ʾ* basically meant "to do something wonderful", and especially with the noun *néḏer* "a vow" – "to make an explicit vow" (Köhler et al., 1996, p. 928). In addition, a homonymy can also be assumed for the root *P-L-ʾ*, since HALOT and G. Quell (1961, p. 297)

> postulate a situation involving a "special vow" or an "extreme sacrificial practice", in order to maintain a connection to the meaning of the root elsewhere. Yet the context gives no indication to this effect; in contrast, *plʾ* pi. *nēder* appears to be the normal expression for the fulfillment of a vow in the Holiness Code and the Priestly Code […]. It is distinct, priestly technical language; the assumption of a second root *plʾ* is therefore probable. (Jenni & Westermann, 1997, p. 983)

In the tradition of the Oral Torah, the verb *yaplī* came to be understood through the Mishnaic Hebrew and Judeo-Aramaic verb *P-R-Š* "to separate", see *Nedarim* – the tractate of the Mishnah and the Talmud – with regard to the "Laws of the Nazirites", 2a:3: "I am avowed from you (*mudrani mimmaḵ*) – I am separated from you (*muprəšani mimmaḵ*)".[9] In the Aramaic *Targum Onkelos*, this passage is translated as follows, also using the verb *P-R-Š*: *gəḇar ʾô ʾitəṯā ʾărê yəpārēš ləmidar nəḏar nəzîrû ləmêzar qŏḏām YY* "a man or woman – if s/he sets apart [= separate – *A.G.*] to vow a Nazirite vow to set [himself] apart [= separate; *or* be a Nazirite – *A.G.*] for Adonoy [= the LORD – *A.G.*]". The fact is that in the Aramaic-Syriac language, the verb *N-Z-R* apparently meant "to separate" (hence the Hebrew term *nāzīr* can be etymologised as "separated"; see Klein, 1987, pp. 410–411), and in Targum Onkelos a kind of *figura etymologica* appeared, when the meaning "to separate" in the word *nāzīr* itself was reinforced by the synonymous root *P-R-Š*. Naturally, the medieval Jewish exegetes knew about the synonymy of the roots *N-Z-R* and *P-R-Š* and that *nāzīr* is etymologised as "separated"; so, for example, Rashi – an exemplary interpreter of the Bible and the Talmud from the late 11th century – commented on Num 6:2 thus: "The term נזר [*nāzīr – A.G.*] wherever it occurs denotes 'keeping aloof [*pəriša*] from something'". Using the same root *P-R-Š*, Rashi also translated the verb *yaplī* – as *yapršˇ* "he will be separated". Another authoritative medieval Jewish exegete, Ibn Ezra, offered two interpretations for the verb *yaplī* in the same verse: *yapršˇ ʾô yaʿăśe dəḇār péleʾ* "he will be separated or do something wonderful" (the noun *péleʾ* is derived from the verbal root *P-L-ʾ*).

The thing is that the Slavic term *farisei* through the mediation of Greek *Φαρισαῖος* goes back to the Hebrew word *pārûš* (passive participle of the verb *P-R-Š*; see Klein, 1987, p. 526; plural *pərûšîm*), about which "[i]t is generally believed that the name derives from a Hebrew stem, *parash* ('to be separated'), hence 'Pharisee' would mean 'the separated ones' or the 'separatists'"

[9] All classical Jewish texts (Mishnah, Talmud, Targumim, and medieval exegesis) are cited here, including their English translations, according to the online resource *Sefaria* (n.d.).

(Mansoor, 2007, p. 30).[10] However, identifying the Nazirites with the Pharisees raises some problems within the Jewish tradition. Despite the fact that the origin of Rabbinic Judaism from the Pharisee movement of the Second Temple period is common knowledge, as was well understood by medieval Jews,[11] the use of the term *pərûšîm* in Mishnaic literature is quite limited, and in medieval literature it has not yet been studied. The opinion that "[a]t least it never so appears in the Mishnah or in the bulk of rabbinic tradition" (Cohen, 2014, p. 158) is not entirely correct: the word *pārūš* does appear in the Mishnah, albeit rarely (Jastrow, 1903, p. 1222).[12] The absence of the term *pərûšîm* in Jewish literature in the Talmudic and medieval periods in connection with the *Epistle* was also pointed out by Maier (1969, pp. 1–2, 7–8), who was referred to by Luria, denying the influence of Judaism on the "Judaizers" (Luria, 1984, p. 161). Taube, in light of data from *The Secret of Secrets*, quite rightly disagrees with this: "Lur′e's objection that medieval Jews would rather use נזירות [*nəzirut* 'monasticism, asceticism' – A.G.] and not פרישות [*pərišut* 'asceticism' – *A.G.*],

[10] Cf. also Cohen (2014, pp. 157–158): "Practically all scholars now agree that the name 'Pharisee' derives from the Hebrew and Aramaic *parush* or *perushi* (in the plural, *perushim*), which means 'one who is separated,' but whether the separation is from the gentiles (as Ezra and Nehemiah speak of those who 'separated themselves from the pollutions of the nations of the lands' [e.g., Ezra 6:21; cf. 1 Macc. 1:11]), from sources of ritual impurity, or from irreligious Jews, is not as clear. It is likely that the term was first used by the group's opponents in order to denigrate it ('Separatists!' they cried) and that it never became part of the group's self-definition".

[11] Cf. "The active period of Pharisaism extended well into the second century C.E. and was most influential in the development of Orthodox Judaism. […] After the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E., it was the synagogues and the schools of the Pharisees that continued to function and to promote Judaism" (Mansoor, 2007, p. 31); and "The Pharisees disappeared too, but they transformed themselves into rabbis. […] When the rabbis told stories about the Second Temple period, they were sure that their opponents were Sadducees (and Boethusians, a group mentioned only in rabbinic literature), but they were not as insistent that their ancestors were Pharisees. We might be tempted to conclude that the rabbis really have little connection with the Pharisees, a thesis that has been defended by several scholars in recent years, but there are links between the two groups" (Cohen, 2014, p. 224).

[12] Marcus Jastrow (1903, p. 1222) distinguished two meanings of this word: (1) seceder (in the tractates *Pesachim* and *Berakhot* belonging to the Mishnah) and (2) discreet, abstemious, saintly, pure (in the tractate *Bava Batra* according to the Talmud, in the tractate *Sotah* from the Tosefta, and in such early midrashim as *Leviticus Rabbah* and *Sifre*). In the latter, he emphasised the special usage of "*Parush, Pharisee*, a strict observer of the Mosaic Law and the Rabbinical regulations" – in the tractate *Shabbat* from the Tosefta, in the tractates *Berakhot* and *Sotah* according to the Jerusalem Talmud, etc. The extent to which these *pərûšîm* from Talmudic literature correspond to the historical Pharisees of the Second Temple period is a separate question, but the presence of this term in it is undeniable.

whether true or not, is immaterial, for in fact we do find נזיר [*nazir* – A.G.] rendered as фарисей" (Taube, 1995, p. 678). Although the medieval Jewish exegetes understood the synonymity of the roots *N-Z-R* and *P-R-Š* and perceived the Nazirites as "separated", the identification of the Nazirites and Pharisees is completely unknown to Jewish tradition. Here we have a specifically Christian innovation which arose as a result of the Jewish–Christian collaboration in Ruthenia in the second half of the 15th century, as I will now demonstrate with reference to another fundamentally important source – the East Slavic *Edited Pentateuch*.

The *Edited Pentateuch* was the last version of the first five books of the Old Testament in Church Slavonic translation before the appearance of the printed Church Slavonic Bible (*Ostroh Bible*, 1581); the first full translation of the Octateuch was made in Bulgaria in the early 10th century. It is an example of the so-called reading type of biblical text in medieval *Slavia Orthodoxa*, i.e., a non-liturgical, uncommented version in which the biblical text is presented in full in canonical sequence. The Pentateuch was separated from the Octateuch (the set of biblical books typical for the Byzantine tradition) only in the East Slavic area, while the South Slavs continued to use the Octateuch.[13] The manuscripts of both the Octateuch and the Pentateuch date no earlier than the early 15th century and belong to different versions that developed during the history of this text. Not going into details, I can say that the *Edited Pentateuch* was based on the textual version of the Church Slavonic Octateuch known as the *Late East Slavic Version* (it has traces of corrections based on the *Late Prophetologion*), and the latter was included in the *Gennadian Bible* of the late 15th century – a large-scale book project carried out by Archbishop Gennadius in Novgorod (Thomson, 1998, pp. 655–665). Many, including Thomson, believe that Gennadius's struggle against the "Judaizers" motivated him to create a complete Church Slavonic Bible collection, although there is no direct evidence of this. My hypothesis is that Gennadius was only able to undertake his biblical project after acquiring a large library that had been established in Novgorod before his bishopric there, and this library already contained the *Edited Pentateuch*, which had been brought to Novgorod from Ruthenia (presumably from Kyiv). [14] Among the *Edited Pentateuch* copies, there

[13] I have discussed why this happened in detail (Грищенко, 2024).

[14] In connection with the issue of the "Library of Judaizers", Dmitry Bulanin writes specifically about the book exchange between Ruthenia ("Lithuanian Rus'") and Novgorod (Буланин, 2022).

is at least one that was rewritten at the Novgorod archbishop's court and served as supporting material for the main complete copy of the *Gennadian Bible* of 1498/99. In this main copy, the Pentateuch is presented in its previous version, but with two characteristic features of the *Edited Pentateuch*. In my book about this unusual textual version (Грищенко, 2018), I identified four indications that the *Edited Pentateuch* was a special separate version of the Church Slavonic Octateuch: (1) the composition of the *Five Books of Moses* in just five books, not eight as in the Byzantine tradition; (2) the division into weekly Torah portions – *parashiyot* (*chast'* "a part" in Church Slavonic or East Slavic; this is also found in the Pentateuch within the *Gennadian Bible*); (3) the *Table of Contents* of the Pentateuch at the beginning of the book (which corresponds to the division into "parts"; also in the *Gennadian Bible*); and (4) the hundreds of marginal glosses and textual emendations made according to Jewish sources, and other redactions of the full Church Slavonic Octateuch.

Among the marginal glosses of the *Edited Pentateuch*, there are some that serve as a kind of rubricator, and they mainly repeat the formulations of the *Table of Contents*, often written in cinnabar to distinguish them from the textual glosses proper. So, at the beginning of chapter six of the Book of Numbers, i.e., the "Law for a Nazirite", most copies of the *Edited Pentateuch* contain the following cinnabar (less frequent, regular ink) glosses:

(1) "on the Pharisees":
- *o farisěekh* / *fariseekh* (*Tikh. 453*, fol. 299r; *Pogod. 1435*, fol. 528r);
- *o farisěokh* / *fariseokh* / *farisiokh* (*Hil. 279*, fol. 178r; *F.I.1*, fol. 319v; *Rum. 27*, fol. 259v; *Sol. 74/74*, fol. 153v; *Q.I.1407*, fol. 317v; *Kir.-Bel. 1/6*, fol. 263r);
- *o faris…* (*Kir.-Bel. 3/8*, fol. 307v, but for Num 6:13 – *farasěisky*, fol. 308v);

(2) "on the Pharisaical fast":
- *post o fareseokh* (*BAN 17.16.33*, fol. 258v);
- *o postě farisiistě* (*Egor. 648*, fol. 231v);
- *o postě farisiistě* / *farisiskom* for Num 6:1 and *fariseiskyi* / *farisiisky* / *farisiiski* for Num 6:13 (*Kir.-Bel. 2/7*, fols. 184v and 185r; *Vil. 51*, fols. 177r and 177v; *Muz. 3479*, fols. 280r and 281r).

In six copies of the *Edited Pentateuch*, these glosses are completely absent (*Volok. 8*, *Arkhang. D. 17*, *Kostr.*, *Mus. 10327*, *Rum. 28*, and *Pogod. 76*); in still another, the Numbers are missing (*Volok. 7*).

In the *Table of Contents*, the item "On the Pharisees" appears in the outline of the second "part" of Numbers, i.e., of the *parashah Naso*: "Съчтенїє [*var.:* согласданїє] сыновъ Левгїинъ ѿ 25 лѣтъ до 50 лѣтъ; и ѿлоученїє прокаженыхъ; и приносъ за грѣхы вольныи; и ѡ водѣ клеломои; *и ѡ фарисѣохъ*; и єже како поблагословити; и ѡ приношенїи 12 кнѧзь починочное за 12 днїи" [= The census of the sons of Levi aged from 25 to 50; the separation of lepers; the offering for conscious sins; on the cursed water; on the Pharisees; on how to bless; on the offering of the twelve princes of the first fruits for twelve days] (an integral text compiled from the MSS *Kir.-Bel. 3/8*, fol. 6r–6v; *F.I.1*, fol. 7v; *Sin 915*, fol. 9v; *Arkhang. D. 17*, fol. 462v; *Kir.-Bel. 2/7*, fol. 3v; *Rum. 27*, fol. 4v; *Q.I.1407*, fol. 5r; *Vil. 51*, fol. 4r; *Sol. 74/74*, fols. 111v–112r; *Tikh. 453*, fol. 7r; *Kostr.*, fol. 5r; *Pogod. 1435*, fol. 520v; *Volok. 7*, fol. 3v–4r; *Kir.-Bel. 1/6*, fol. 5v; and *Pogod. 76*, fol. 4v). The material presented from the manuscripts irrefutably proves that the rubrication of the "Laws of the Nazirites" as statements "on the Pharisees" or "on the Pharisaical fast" is characteristic of the prototype of *Edited Pentateuch* as a whole. How this appears in the manuscripts is shown in Figures 1–3.

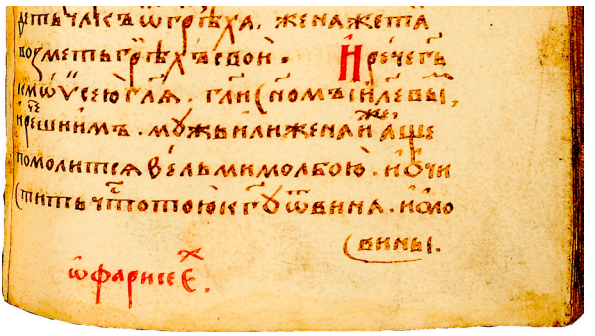


Fig. 1. The marginal cinnabar gloss *o fariseekh* "on the Pharisees" (MS *Tikh. 453*, fol. 299r) (photo: Alexander Grishchenko).

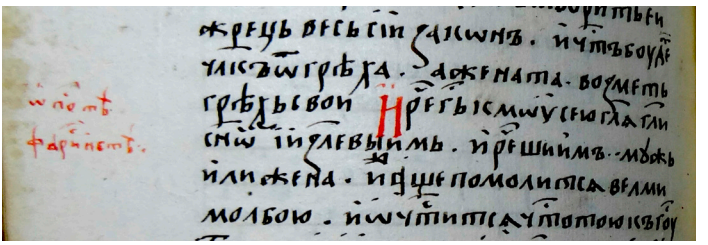


Fig. 2. The marginal cinnabar gloss *o postě farisiistě* "on the Pharisaical fast" (MS *Egor. 648*, fol. 231v) (photo: Alexander Grishchenko).

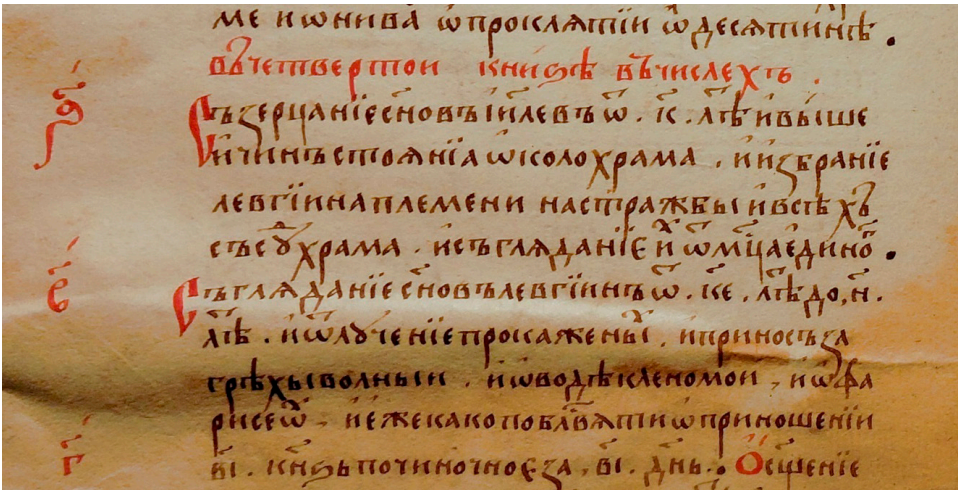


Fig. 3. Fragment of the *Table of Contents* with the item *o fariseokh* "on the Pharisees" (MS *Kir.-Bel. 2/7*, fol. 3v) (photo: Alexander Grishchenko).

It should be kept in mind that the primary Old Bulgarian Church Slavonic translation of the Octateuch followed the Septuagint, which did not preserve the term *nazir* (including in verb forms) in Numbers but translated it with derivatives of the verbs *ἁφαγνίζω* "to purify" or *εὔχομαι* "to vow"; see, e.g., in Num 6:2: *…ἀνὴρ ἢ γυνή ὃς ἐὰν μεγάλως εὔξηται εὐχὴν ἁφαγνίσασθαι ἁγνείαν κυρίῳ* (literally "man or woman who – if s/he vowed a vow to purify a purity to the Lord"). And here is how this passage appeared in the earliest *Chronographic* version of the Church Slavonic translation of the Octateuch (quoted from the oldest copy of the "reading" type – the *Lavra Pentateuch* from the early 15th century, *Tr. 1*, fol. 113d): "мужъ или жена іже аще велми помолитсѧ молбою оч(и)ститсѧ [ч(и)стотою] Г(о)с(поде)ви" (the word in square brackets, restored in accordance with the Greek text, is from the *Archival Chronograph*, *MGAMID 279*, fol. 130b); as one can see, this is a literal, word-for-word, translation from Greek. A Slavic scholar could not conclude from this text that it refers to a special category of Old Testament ascetics with the special name *nazir*, nor could he correlate this category with the word *назарѧнинъ* (from Greek *ναζιραῖος*, although formally the Slavic one is closer to Latin *nazareus*) used in the translation of another biblical book, Judges, where Samson is known by this term (three times, Jgs 13:5, 13:7,

and 16:17; in the oldest copy of the Church Slavonic translation of Judges – *Tr. 2*, fols. 90r and 97v).

In the form *nazarianin*, the Old Testament Nazirite (Greek *Ναζιρ*, *Ναζιραῖος*, or *Ναζηραῖος*) is completely indistinguishable for a Slavic scholar from two other similar-looking terms: the name of the early Jewish–Christian sect (Greek *Ναζιραῖοι* or *Νασαραῖοι*/*Νασσαραῖοι*), which is probably related to the Jewish sect mentioned above in the *Nomocanon*; and, most importantly, the epithet of Jesus according to his place of birth, i.e., of Nazareth (Greek *Ναζαρηνός*) and Nazarene (Greek *Ναζωραῖος*). The *Old Russian Language Dictionary* demonstrates how similar all these words were in early East Slavic writing (Улуханов, 2002, p. 142). This formal similarity originated in Greek and Latin (*Nazareus* and *Nazarenus*), although etymologically *Ναζιραῖος* (from Hebrew *nāzīr*) and *Ναζαρηνός*/*Ναζωραῖος* (from Hebrew *nôṣrî*) were unrelated. Thanks to this, in Greek and Slavic, the formal and intensional difference between Nazirite and Nazarenes was blurred, and the Old Testament Nazirite could well be associated with future Christians, but this was too unusual for the Slavic lexical and conceptual thesaurus as the very concept of the Old Testament Nazirite was practically unknown in Church Slavonic literature. Another, much better-known, term "Pharisee" came in to help resolve this terminological conflict. But how could this have happened? How could the word "Pharisee", with its clearly negative connotations for Christians, overcome these connotations and become, in essence, a synonym for the original true Christians?

In Figure 5, I try to illustrate the network of terms and concepts that unite the *Edited Pentateuch*, *The Secret of Secrets*, the *Laodicean Epistle*, and the *Cyrillic Manuscript Manual of Hebrew*; namely, I present in graphic form how the Old Testament "Nazirites", New Testament "Pharisees", and "Nazarenes" interacted with each other. The last text not yet mentioned here is the *Cyrillic Manuscript Manual of Hebrew*, which was the result of direct interaction between Christian and Jewish scholars in Ruthenia in the second half of the 15th century (see its main edition and accompanying study: Темчин, 2012). The dictionary section of the *Manual* contains a remarkable entry that is directly related to my topic: "Назиръ – ѿлоу́ченик [= *Nazir* means 'separated']" (see Figure 4). I would like to remind the reader that *otluchenyia* "those who were separated" was the definition of Pharisees in the *Nomocanon*; therefore, Nazirites were interpreted in the *Manual* in exactly the same way as Pharisees in traditional Church Slavonic literature.

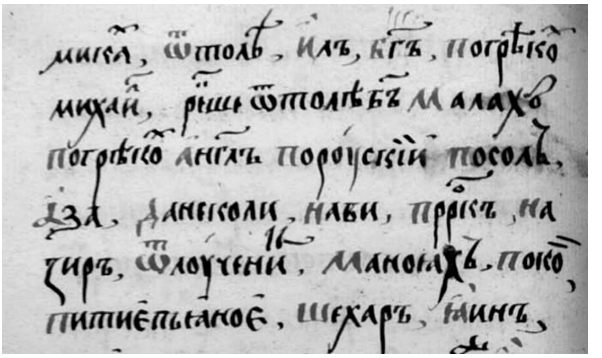


Fig. 4. Nazirite (*Nazir*) as *otluchenik* "someone separated" in the *Cyrillic Manuscript Manual of Hebrew* (Темчин, 2012, pp. 152–153; MS *Maz. 616*, fol. 126v).

Thus, all four works originate from Ruthenia[15] and were the result of Jewish–Christian collaboration, which means that they should have contained certain common ideas. But what were these ideas if we are talking about the identity of the Nazirites and the Pharisees? I attempt to reconstruct the process of forming these ideas, concepts, and terms as follows. Christian East Slavic scholars, in contact with Jewish ones, discovered that they did not understand the meaning of the "Law for a Nazirite" because, in the translation from Greek, no special category of persons was distinguished according to their religious identity. Then, Jewish colleagues explained to their Christian ones that "Nazirites" were "separated" (in accordance with traditional Jewish exegesis), but this interpretation was insufficient, so they ultimately concluded that the "separated" were also the group of ancient Jews known to Christians as the "Pharisees". And that was when the recognition took place: Christian scholars realised that they were dealing with followers of the ancient Pharisees but that the ancient Pharisees were roughly the same as the Old Testament Nazirites, who, for their part, were similar in name to the Nazarenes, the future Christians. If within the Jewish tradition there was no identification of the biblical Nazirites with the Pharisees of the Second Temple period, then this logical step had been taken not by the Jews but by their Christian counterparts. The latter, presumably the inspirers of the future "Judaizers" of Novgorod and Muscovy, sought the Hebrew origins of

[15] This is not so obvious for the *Laodicean Epistle*, since it is always signed with the name of Feodor Kuritsyn, the Muscovite dignitary. However, the postscript to the *Epistle* that the text was either "rewritten" or "translated" by Feodor, so following Taube and Romanchuk, I am inclined to believe that the prototype of the *Epistle*, at least its main ideas and terminology, was formed in Ruthenia and only then found its way to Muscovy.

Christianity in Jewish tradition, guided by the well-known principle of *Hebraica veritas*, therefore these Ruthenian scholars not only recognised the Old Testament Nazirites as the prototype of true Christians, but also found a suitable name for them – Pharisees. The negative connotations of the latter term were removed here not only by its association with the Old Testament ascetics and righteousness, but also by its connection with Paul the Apostle, who acknowledged his affiliation with the Pharisees: "I am a Pharisee, the son of a Pharisee: of the hope and resurrection of the dead I am called in question" (Acts 23:6; it should be noted again that Gennadius praised the Pharisees for their belief in the resurrection of the dead); "Which knew me from the beginning, if they would testify, that after the most straitest sect of our religion I lived a Pharisee" (Acts 26:5); "Circumcised the eighth day, of the stock of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, an Hebrew of the Hebrews; as touching the law, a Pharisee" (Phil 3:5). Not coincidentally, the *Laodicean Epistle* refers to Paul's apocryphal writing (Tite, 2012), so the motif of Paul the Pharisee, who stood at the origins of Christianity, is important in the interpretation of this text, as has already been noted, albeit without reference to the Nazirites.

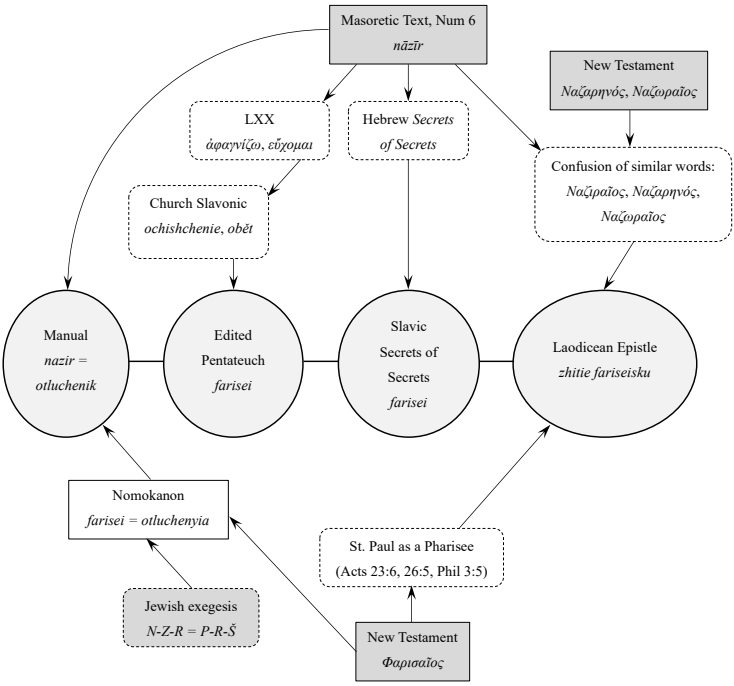


Fig. 5. Relationships between the terms and concepts "Nazirites" and "Pharisees" in 15th-century Ruthenian works produced through Jewish–Christian collaboration

Paradoxically, Seebohm, who was unaware of the identification of the Nazirites and Pharisees in Ruthenian works produced through Slavic–Jewish cooperation, came to similar conclusions about what the concept of "Pharisaism" meant for the "Judaizers" (Seebohm, 1977, p. 441):

> The difference that existed in the Old Testament between Pharisees and ordinary Jews is understood as an Old Testament precursor to the distinction between laity and monks established by the New Testament. The "monk" is thus the "Pharisee" elevated to a higher level. Based on this connection, the curious fact arises that in their struggle against monasticism, the heretics not only refer to the New Testament and early Christian ways of life as described in the Gospel […], but also clearly refer to Jewish authors and Old Testament norms.

Thus, summarising all the sources analysed, it can be stated with a certain confidence that the "Pharisees" of the *Laodicean Epistle*, as well as the "Pharisees" of *The Secret of Secrets*, are the predecessors of true Christian asceticism, who allowed their essential nature to be revealed only through a return to the origins of Christianity, namely to the Old Testament sources and their Jewish exegesis.

LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS

The abbreviated names of archives and libraries are as follows:

BAN	Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences (*Biblioteka Akademii Nauk*), St. Petersburg;
GIM	State Historical Museum (*Gosudarstvennyĭ istoricheskiĭ muzeĭ*), Moscow;
RGADA	Russian State Archives of Ancient Acts (*Rossiĭskiĭ gosudarstvennyĭ arkhiv drevnikh aktov*), Moscow;
RGB	Russian State Library (*Rossiĭskaia gosudarstvennaia biblioteka*), Moscow;
RNB	National Library of Russia (*Rossiĭskaia natsional'naia biblioteka*), St. Petersburg.

Arkhang. D. 17: BAN, Arkhangelsk Collection, No. D.17 – *Pentateuch*, 1490s.

BAN 17.16.33: BAN, Main Collection, No. 17.16.33 – *Pentateuch*, 1490s.

Egor. 648: RGB, f 98 (= Collection of E. E. Egorov), No. 648 – *Pentateuch*, early 1490s.

F.I.1: RNB, f. 550 (= Main Collection), No. F.I.1 – *Pentateuch*, 1490s.

Hil. 279: Hilandar Monastery, Mount Athos, MS Slav. 279 – *Pentateuch*, turn of the 15th and 16th centuries.

Kir.-Bel. 1/6: RNB, f. 351 (= Collection of the Kirillo-Belozersky Monastery), No. 1/6 – *Biblical codex with the Pentateuch*, 1550s (before 1556)

Kir.-Bel. 2/7: RNB, f. 351, No. 2/7 – *Pentateuch*, turn of the 15th and 16th centuries.

Kir.-Bel. 3/8: RNB, f. 351, No. 3/8 – *Pentateuch*, 1490s.

Kostr.: Kostroma Regional Universal Academic Library, Center for Rare Books, No. CR 401662.4 – *Pentateuch with The Prophecy of Solomon*, 1520s–1530s.

Maz. 616: RGADA, f. 196 (= Collection of F. F. Mazurin), op. 1, No. 616 – *Miscellany for reading*, third quarter of the 16th century.

MGAMID 279: RGADA, f. 181 (= Manuscripts of the MGAMID), op. 1, No. 279 – *Archival ("Jewish") Chronograph*, third quarter of the 15th century.

Mus. 10327: RGB, f. 178/1 (= Museum Collection [*Muzeĭnoe sobranie*]), No. 10327 – *Pentateuch with The Prophecy of Solomon*, first third of the 16th century.

Muz. 3479: GIM, *Muzeĭskoe* Collection, No. 3479 – *Pentateuch*, 1520s–1530s.

Pogod. 76: RNB, f. 588 (= Collection of M. P. Pogodin), No. 76 – *Pentateuch with appendixes*, third quarter of the 16th century.

Pogod. 1435: RNB, f. 588, No. 1435 – *Complete Chronological Palaea with Pentateuch*, 1530s.

Q.I.1407: RNB, f. 550 (= Main Collection), No. Q.I.1407 – *Pentateuch*, convolute from the turn of the 15th and 16th and from the mid-16th century.

Rum. 27: GRB, f. 256 (= Collection of N. P. Rumyantsev), No. 27 – *Pentateuch with appendixes*, 1490s.

Rum. 28: GRB, f. 256, No. 28 – *Biblical codex with the Pentateuch*, mid-16th century.

Sin 915: GIM, *Sinodal'noe* Collection, No. 915 – *Bible*, 1498/99.

Sol. 74/74: RNB, f. 717 (= Collection of the Solovetsky Monastery), No. 74/74 – *Pentateuch*, 1510s–1520s

Sol. 858/968: RNB, f. 717 – *Nomocanon*, 1492/93.

Tikh. 453: RGB, f. 299 (= Collection of N. S. Tikhonravov), No. 453 – *Pentateuch with appendixes*, first third of the 16th century.

Tr. 1: RGB, f. 304/I (Main Collection of the Trinity Lavra of St. Sergius), No. 1 – *Pentateuch*, early 15th century.

Tr. 2: RGB, f. 304/I, No. 2 – *Miscellany with biblical books*, first quarter of the 15th century.

Und. 114: RGB, f. 310 (Collection of V. M. Undolsky), No. 114 – *Typikon*, first third of the 16th century.

Vil. 51: Wróblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences (*Lietuvos mokslų akademijos Vrublevskių biblioteka*), Vilnius, MS F19–51 – *Pentateuch*, 1513.

Volok. 7: RGB, f. 113 (= Collection of Joseph-Volokolamsk Monastery), No. 7 – *Pentateuch* (uncompleted), second quarter of the 16th century.

Volok. 8: RGB, f. 113, No. 8 – *Pentateuch with appendixes*, 1493.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cohen, S. J. D. (2014). *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah* (3rd ed.). Westminster John Knox Press.

Ettinger, S. (1960). Hahashpaʿa hayehudit ʿal hatsisa hadadit bemizraḥa shel ʾeyropa besof hamaʾa ha-15 [Jewish influence on the religious ferment in Eastern Europe at the end of fifteenth century]. In S. W. Baron, B. Dinur, S. Ettinger, & I. Halpern (Eds.), *Sefer-yovel liṣḥaq baʿer / Yitzhak F. Baer: Jubilee volume on the occasion of his seventieth birthday* (pp. 228–247). The Historical Society of Israel.

Ettinger, S. (1995). Влияние евреев на "ересь жидовствующих" в Московской Руси. In W. Moskovich, S. Schwarzband, & A. Alekseev (Eds.), *Jews and Slavs: Vol. 4. Judeo-Slavic interaction in the Modern Period* (pp. 9–27). Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Fine, J. V. A., Jr. (1966). Fedor Kuritsyn's "Laodikijskoe poslanie" and the heresy of the Judaisers. *Spekulum*, *41*(3), 500–504. https://doi.org/10.2307/2851044

Freydank, D. (1966). Der "Laodicenerbrief" (Лаодикийское послание): Ein Beitrag zur Interpretation eines altrussischen humanistischen Textes. *Zeitschrift für Slawistik*, *11*(1), 355–370. https://doi.org/10.1524/slaw.1966.11.1.355

Jastrow, M. A. (1903). *Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic literature*. Luzac & Co; G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Jenni, E., & Westermann, C. (Eds.). (1997). *Theological lexicon of the Old Testament* [TLOT] (M. E. Biddle, Trans.; Vol. 2). Hendrickson Publishers.

Kämpfer, F. (1968). Zur Interpretation des "Laodicenischen Sendschreibens". *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas: Neue Folge*, *16*(1), 53–69. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41043676

King James Bible. (2017). King James Bible Online. https://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org (Original work published 1769).

Klein, E. (1987). *A comprehensive etymological dictionary of the Hebrew language for readers of English*. Carta; University of Haifa.

Köhler, L., Baumgartner, W., & Stamm, J. J. (1996). *The Hebrew and Aramaic lexicon of the Old Testament* [HALOT] (M. E. J. Richardson, Trans. & Ed.; Vol. 3). Brill.

Lilienfeld, F. von. (1978). Die "Häresie" des Fedor Kuricyn. *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte*, *24*, 39–64.

Luria, J. S. (1984). Unresolved issues in the history of the ideological movements of the late fifteenth century. In H. Birnbaum & M. S. Flier (Eds.), *Medieval Russian culture* (pp. 150–171). University of California Press.

Maier, J. (1969). Zum jüdischen Hintergrund des sogenannten "Laodicenischen Sendschreibens". *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas: Neue Folge*, *17*(1), 1–12. https://www.jstor.org/stable/41044189

Mansoor, M. (2007). Pharisees. In F. Skolnik & M. Berenbaum (Eds.), *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (2nd ed., Vol. 16, pp. 30–32). Thomson Gale; Keter Publishing House.

Pereswetoff-Morath, A. (2002a). *A grin without a cat: Vol. 1.* Adversus Iudaeos *texts in the literature of medieval Russia (988–1504).* Lund University.

Pereswetoff-Morath, A. (2002b). *A grin without a cat: Vol. 2. Jews and Christians in medieval Russia – Assessing the sources*. Lund University.

Quell, G. (1961). Das Phänomen des Wunders im Alten Testament. In A. Kuschke (Ed.), *Verbannung und Heimkehr: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Theologie Israels im 6. und 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. Wilhelm Rudolph zum 70. Geburtstag* (pp. 253–300). J. C. B. Mohr.

Romanchuk, R. (2005). The reception of the Judaizer Corpus in Ruthenia and Muscovy: A case study of the logic of Al Ghazzali, the 'Cipher in Squares', and the Laodicean Epistle. In V. V. Ivanov & J. Verkholantsev (Eds.), *Speculum Slaviae Orientalis: Muscovy, Ruthenia and Lithuania in the Late Middle Ages* / *Speculum Slaviae Orientalis: Московия, юго-западная Русь и Литва в период позднего средневековья* (pp. 144–165). Novoe izdatel′stvo.

Ryan, W. F. (1978). The Old Russian version of the pseudo-Aristotelian "Secreta Secretorum". *Slavonic and East European Review*, *56*(2), 242–260.

Ryan, W. F., & Taube, M. (2019). *The secret of secrets: The East Slavic version: Introduction, text, annotated translation, and Slavic index*. The Warburg Institute.

Seebohm, T. M. (1977). *Ratio und Charisma: Ansätze zur Ausbildung eines philosophischen und wissenschaftlichen Weltverständnisses im Moskauer Russland*. Bouvier Verlag Herbert Grundmann.

Sefaria: A living library of Jewish texts online. (n.d.). Retrieved February 21, 2026, from https://www.sefaria.org/

Taube, M. (1995). The "Poem of the Soul" in the Laodicean Epistle and the literature of the Judaizer. *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, *19*, 671–685.

Taube, M. (2005). The fifteenth-century Ruthenian translations from Hebrew and the heresy of the Judaizers: Is there a connection? In V. V. Ivanov & J. Verkholantsev (Eds.), *Speculum Slaviae Orientalis: Muscovy, Ruthenia and Lithuania in the late Middle Ages* / *Speculum Slaviae Orientalis: Московия, юго-западная Русь и Литва в период позднего средневековья* (pp. 185–208). Novoe izdatel′stvo.

Taube, M. (2012). Jewish-Christian collaboration in Slavic translations from Hebrew. In V. Izmirlieva & B. Gasparov (Eds.), *Translation and tradition in "Slavia Orthodoxa"* (pp. 26–45). LIT Verlag.

Taube, M. (2016). *The Logika of the Judaizers: A fifteenth-century Ruthenian translation from Hebrew*. The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities.

Thomson, F. J. (1998). The Slavonic translation of the Old Testament. In J. Krašovec (Ed.), *Interpretation of the Bible* (pp. 605–920). Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti; Sheffield Academic Press.

Tite, P. L. (2012). *The apocryphal epistle to the Laodiceans: An epistolary and rhetorical analysis*. Brill. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004231627

Бенешевич, В. Н. (1987). *Древнеславянская Кормчая XIV титулов без толкований* (Ю. К. Бегунов, И. С. Чичуров, & Я. Н. Щапов, Eds.; Vol. 2). Издательство Болгарской академии наук.

Буланин, Д. М. (2022). К истории книжного обмена Новгорода и Литовской Руси в конце XV века ("Библиотека еретиков"). *Русская литература*, *2*, 88–99. https://doi.org/10.31860/0131-6095-2022-2-88-99

Грищенко, А. И. (2018). *Правленое славяно-русское Пятикнижие XV века: Предварительные итоги лингвотекстологического изучения*. Древлехранилище.

Грищенко, А. И. (2024). Складывание и бытование Пятикнижия в средневековой восточнославянской письменности. *Palaeobulgarica/Старобългаристика*, *48*(4), 91–114. https://doi.org/10.59076/2603-2899.2024.4.04

Казаков, А. А. (2018). Иосиф Волоцкий и Геннадий Новгородский: К вопросу о преемстве идей в контексте сочинений против "жидовствующих". *Slověne*, *7*(1), 71–92. https://doi.org/10.31168/2305-6754.2018.7.1.5

Казакова, Н. А., & Лурье, Я. С. (1955). *Антифеодальные еретические движения на Руси XIV – начала XVI века*. Издательство Академии наук СССР.

Клибанов, А. И. (1956). "Написание о грамоте" (Опыт исследования просветительно-реформационного памятника конца XV – первой половины XVI века). In *Вопросы истории религии и атеизма* (Vol. 3, pp. 325–379). Издательство Академии наук СССР.

Клибанов, А. И. (1960). *Реформационные движения в России в XIV – первой половине XVI в.в.* Издательство Академии наук СССР.

Пичхадзе, А. А., Макеева, И. И., Баранкова, Г. С., & Уткин, А. А. (2004). *"История Иудейской войны" Иосифа Флавия: Древнерусский перевод* (Vols. 1–2). Языки славянской культуры.

Романова, А. А. (2002). *Древнерусские календарно-хронологические источники XV–XVII вв.* Дмитрий Буланин.

Темчин, С. Ю. (2012). Кириллический рукописный учебник древнееврейского языка (XVI в.): Публикация и общая характеристика памятника. In J. Jaroslavienė, V. Meliūnaitė, N. Morozova, & J. Zabarskaitė (Eds.), *Naujausi kalbų ir kultūrų tyrimai* (pp. 137–180). Europos kalbų ir kultūrų dialogo tyrėjų asociacija.

Улуханов, И. С. (Ed.). (2002). *Словарь древнерусского языка (XI–XIV вв.)* [СДРЯ XI–XIV] (Vol. 5). Институт русского языка им. В. В. Виноградова РАН.

Цветков, М. А. (2003). Послания архиепископа Геннадия Новгородского епископу Прохору Сарскому в контексте с правилами новгородских Кормчих, конца XV–XVI вв. In *Новгородский исторический сборник* (Vol. 9(19), pp. 179–196). Санкт-Петербургский институт истории РАН.

Чумичева, О. В. (2010). Иноверцы или еретики: Понятие "жидовская мудрствующие" в полемическом контексте на Руси конца XI – начала XVI вв. In С. Н. Кистерев (Ed.), *Очерки феодальной России* (Iss. 14, pp. 209–226). Альянс-Архео.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(TRANSLITERATION)

Beneshevich, V. N. (1987). *Drevneslavianskaia Kormchaia XIV titulov bez tolkovaniĭ* (IU. K. Begunov, I. S. Chichurov, & IA. N. Shchapov, Eds.; Vol. 2). Izdatel′stvo Bolgarskoĭ akademii nauk.

Bulanin, D. M. (2022). K istorii knizhnogo obmena Novgoroda i Litovskoĭ Rusi v kontse XV veka ("Biblioteka eretikov"). *Russkaia literatura*, *2*, 88–99. https://doi.org/10.31860/0131-6095-2022-2-88-99

Chumicheva, O. V. (2010). Inovertsy ili eretiki: Poniatie "zhidovskaia mudrstvuiushchie" v polemicheskom kontekste na Rusi kontsa XI – nachala XVI vv. In S. N. Kisterev (Ed.), *Ocherki feodal′noĭ Rossii* (Iss. 14, pp. 209–226). Al′ians-Arkheo.

Cohen, S. J. D. (2014). *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah* (3rd ed.). Westminster John Knox Press.

Ettinger, S. (1960). Hahashpaʿa hayehudit ʿal hatsisa hadadit bemizraḥa shel ʾeyropa besof hamaʾa ha-15 [Jewish influence on the religious ferment in Eastern Europe at the end of fifteenth century]. In S. W. Baron, B. Dinur, S. Ettinger, & I. Halpern (Eds.), *Sefer-yovel liṣḥaq baʿer / Yitzhak F. Baer: Jubilee volume on the occasion of his seventieth birthday* (pp. 228–247). The Historical Society of Israel.

Ettinger, S. (1995). Vliianie evreev na "eres′ zhidovstvuiushchikh" v Moskovskoĭ Rusi. In W. Moskovich, S. Schwarzband, & A. Alekseev (Eds.), *Jews and Slavs: Vol. 4. Judeo-Slavic interaction in the Modern Period* (pp. 9–27). Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Fine, J. V. A., Jr. (1966). Fedor Kuritsyn's "Laodikijskoe poslanie" and the heresy of the Judaisers. *Spekulum*, *41*(3), 500–504. https://doi.org/10.2307/2851044

Freydank, D. (1966). Der "Laodicenerbrief" (Laodikiĭskoe poslanie): Ein Beitrag zur Interpretation eines altrussischen humanistischen Textes. *Zeitschrift für Slawistik*, *11*(1), 355–370. https://doi.org/10.1524/slaw.1966.11.1.355

Grishchenko, A. I. (2018). *Pravlenoe slaviano-russkoe Piatiknizhie XV veka: Predvaritel′nye itogi lingvotekstologicheskogo izucheniia*. Drevlekhranilishche.

Grishchenko, A. I. (2024). Skladyvanie i bytovanie Piatiknizhiia v srednevekovoĭ vostochnoslavianskoĭ pis′mennosti. *Palaeobulgarica/Starobŭlgaristika*, *48*(4), 91–114. https://doi.org/10.59076/2603-2899.2024.4.04

Jastrow, M. A. (1903). *Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic literature*. Luzac & Co.; G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Jenni, E., & Westermann, C. (Eds.). (1997). *Theological lexicon of the Old Testament* [TLOT] (M. E. Biddle, Trans.; Vol. 2). Hendrickson Publishers.

Kämpfer, F. (1968). Zur Interpretation des "Laodicenischen Sendschreibens". *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas: Neue Folge*, *16*(1), 53–69. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41043676

Kazakov, A. A. (2018). Iosif Volotskiĭ i Gennadiĭ Novgorodskiĭ: K voprosu o preemstve ideĭ v kontekste sochineniĭ protiv "zhidovstvuiushchikh". *Slověne*, *7*(1), 71–92. https://doi.org/10.31168/2305-6754.2018.7.1.5

Kazakova, N. A., & Lur′e, IA. S. (1955). *Antifeodal′nye ereticheskie dvizheniia na Rusi XIV – nachala XVI veka*. Izdatel′stvo Akademii nauk SSSR.

King James Bible. (2017). King James Bible Online. https://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org (Original work published 1769).

Klein, E. (1987). *A comprehensive etymological dictionary of the Hebrew language for readers of English*. Carta; University of Haifa.

Klibanov, A. I. (1956). "Napisanie o gramote" (Opyt issledovaniia prosvetitel′no-reformatsionnogo pamiatnika kontsa XV – pervoĭ poloviny XVI veka). In *Voprosy istorii religii i ateizma* (Vol. 3, pp. 325–379). Izdatel′stvo Akademii nauk SSSR.

Klibanov, A. I. (1960). *Reformatsionnye dvizheniia v Rossii v XIV – pervoĭ polovine XVI v.v.* Izdatel′stvo Akademii nauk SSSR.

Köhler, L., Baumgartner, W., & Stamm, J. J. (1996). *The Hebrew and Aramaic lexicon of the Old Testament* [HALOT] (M. E. J. Richardson, Trans. & Ed.; Vol. 3). Brill.

Lilienfeld, F. von. (1978). Die "Häresie" des Fedor Kuricyn. *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte*, *24*, 39–64.

Luria, J. S. (1984). Unresolved issues in the history of the ideological movements of the late fifteenth century. In H. Birnbaum & M. S. Flier (Eds.), *Medieval Russian culture* (pp. 150–171). University of California Press.

Maier, J. (1969). Zum jüdischen Hintergrund des sogenannten "Laodicenischen Sendschreibens". *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas: Neue Folge*, *17*(1), 1–12. https://www.jstor.org/stable/41044189

Mansoor, M. (2007). Pharisees. In F. Skolnik & M. Berenbaum (Eds.), *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (2nd ed., Vol. 16, pp. 30–32). Thomson Gale; Keter Publishing House.

Pereswetoff-Morath, A. (2002a). *A grin without a cat: Vol. 1.* Adversus Iudaeos *texts in the literature of medieval Russia (988–1504).* Lund University.

Pereswetoff-Morath, A. (2002b). *A grin without a cat: Vol. 2. Jews and Christians in medieval Russia – Assessing the sources.* Lund University.

Pichkhadze, A. A., Makeeva, I. I., Barankova, G. S., & Utkin, A. A. (2004). *"Istoriia Iudeĭskoĭ voĭny" Iosifa Flaviia: Drevnerusskiĭ perevod* (Vols. 1–2). IAzyki slavianskoĭ kul′tury.

Quell, G. (1961). Das Phänomen des Wunders im Alten Testament. In A. Kuschke (Ed.), *Verbannung und Heimkehr: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Theologie Israels im 6. und 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. Wilhelm Rudolph zum 70. Geburtstag* (pp. 253–300). J. C. B. Mohr.

Romanchuk, R. (2005). The reception of the Judaizer Corpus in Ruthenia and Muscovy: A case study of the logic of Al Ghazzali, the 'Cipher in Squares', and the Laodicean Epistle. In V. V. Ivanov & J. Verkholantsev (Eds.), *Speculum Slaviae Orientalis: Muscovy, Ruthenia and Lithuania in the Late Middle Ages / Speculum Slaviae Orientalis: Moskoviia, iugo-zapadnaia Rus′ i Litva v period pozdnego srednevekov′ia* (pp. 144–165). Novoe izdatel′stvo.

Romanova, A. A. (2002). *Drevnerusskie kalendarno-khronologicheskie istochniki XV–XVII vv.* Dmitriĭ Bulanin.

Ryan, W. F. (1978). The Old Russian version of the pseudo-Aristotelian "Secreta Secretorum". *Slavonic and East European Review*, *56*(2), 242–260.

Ryan, W. F., & Taube, M. (2019). *The secret of secrets: The East Slavic version: Introduction, text, annotated translation, and Slavic index*. The Warburg Institute.

Seebohm, T. M. (1977). *Ratio und Charisma: Ansätze zur Ausbildung eines philosophischen und wissenschaftlichen Weltverständnisses im Moskauer Russland*. Bouvier Verlag Herbert Grundmann.

Sefaria: A living library of Jewish texts online. (n.d.). Retrieved February 21, 2026, from https://www.sefaria.org

Taube, M. (1995). The "Poem of the Soul" in the Laodicean Epistle and the literature of the Judaizer. *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, *19*, 671–685.

Taube, M. (2005). The fifteenth-century Ruthenian translations from Hebrew and the heresy of the Judaizers: Is there a connection? In V. V. Ivanov & J. Verkholantsev (Eds.), *Speculum Slaviae Orientalis: Muscovy, Ruthenia and Lithuania in the late Middle Ages / Speculum Slaviae Orientalis: Moskoviia, iugo-zapadnaia Rus′ i Litva v period pozdnego srednevekov′ia* (pp. 185–208). Novoe izdatel′stvo.

Taube, M. (2012). Jewish-Christian collaboration in Slavic translations from Hebrew. In V. Izmirlieva & B. Gasparov (Eds.), *Translation and tradition in "Slavia Orthodoxa"* (pp. 26–45). LIT Verlag.

Taube, M. (2016). *The Logika of the Judaizers: A fifteenth-century Ruthenian translation from Hebrew*. The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities.

Temchin, S. IU. (2012). Kirillicheskiĭ rukopisnyĭ uchebnik drevneevreĭskogo iazyka (XVI v.): Publikatsiia i obshchaia kharakteristika pamiatnika. In J. Jaroslavienė, V. Meliūnaitė, N. Morozova, & J. Zabarskaitė (Eds.), *Naujausi kalbų ir kultūrų tyrimai* (pp. 137–180). Europos kalbų ir kultūrų dialogo tyrėjų asociacija.

Thomson, F. J. (1998). The Slavonic translation of the Old Testament. In J. Krašovec (Ed.), *Interpretation of the Bible* (pp. 605–920). Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti; Sheffield Academic Press.

Tite, P. L. (2012). *The apocryphal epistle to the Laodiceans: An epistolary and rhetorical analysis*. Brill. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004231627

Tsvetkov, M. A. (2003). Poslaniia arkhiepiskopa Gennadiia Novgorodskogo episkopu Prokhoru Sarskomu v kontekste s pravilami novgorodskikh Kormchikh, kontsa XV–XVI vv. In *Novgorodskiĭ istoricheskiĭ sbornik* (Vol. 9(19), pp. 179–196). Sankt-Peterburgskiĭ institut istorii RAN.

Ulukhanov, I. S. (Ed.). (2002). *Slovar′ drevnerusskogo iazyka (XI–XIV vv.)* [SDRIA XI–XIV] (Vol. 5). Institut russkogo iazyka im. V. V. Vinogradova RAN.

„Faryzeusze" w *Liście do Laodycejczyków* Fiodora Kuricyna, w *Secretum Secretorum* przetłumaczonym na język ruski oraz we wschodniosłowiańskim *Pięcioksięgu zredagowanym* – czy istnieje między nimi jakiś związek?

Artykuł poświęcony jest znaczeniu określenia *żitije farisejsku*, występującego w *Liście do Laodycejczyków*, a więc w zasadzie jedynym zachowanym tekście zawierającym idee przypisywane „herezji nowogrodzko-moskiewskiej" (judaizantów, *żidowstwujuszczich*) z końca XV i początku XVI wieku. Dotychczasowa jego interpretacja – „życie na sposób faryzejski" – ukazuje faryzeuszy w jednoznacznie pozytywnym kontekście, co stanowi ujęcie zupełnie nietypowe dla tradycyjnej literatury chrześcijańskiej. Dzięki odkryciu Mosze Taubego, że w ruskim tłumaczeniu traktatu *Secretum Secretorum*, związanym z „piśmiennictwem judaizatorów", termin „faryzeusz" został przetłumaczony z hebrajskiego słowa *nazir* („nazirejczyk"; później: „rekluz", „mnich"), stało się jasne, że w *Liście do Laodycejczyków* „faryzeusze" również mieli być „nazirejczykami". Pozostały jednak niewyjaśnione powody takiej decyzji tłumacza. Artykuł pokazuje, że w *Pięcioksięgu zredagowanym*, który ma pochodzenie ruskie (prawdopodobnie został sporządzony w drugiej połowie XV wieku w Kijowie), „Prawo nazireatu" (Lb 6, 1–21) jest zazwyczaj opatrzone nagłówkiem „o faryzeuszach" lub „o poście faryzeuszów". Faryzeusze byli zatem powiązani nie tylko ze średniowiecznymi pustelnikami, ale też konkretnie – ze starotestamentową kategorią osób szczególnie poświęconych Panu. Można to widzieć jako poszukiwanie w żydowskich korzeniach chrześcijaństwa protoplastów „judaizantów", tak aby „faryzeusze" z *Listu do Laodycejczyków* symbolizowali prawdziwe, pierwotne chrześcijaństwo.

Słowa kluczowe: relacje chrześcijańsko-żydowskie; judaizanci wschodniosłowiańscy; Biblia cerkiewnosłowiańska; słowiańska tradycja parabiblijna

"Pharisees" in the *Laodicean Epistle* by Feodor Kuritsyn, in *The Secret of Secrets* translated into Ruthenian, and in the East Slavic *Edited Pentateuch*: Is there a connection?

The article discusses the reading *zhitie fariseisku* "Pharisaical way of life" from the so-called *Laodicean Epistle* – practically the only surviving work that contains ideas presumably attributed to the "Novgorod-Moscow heresy" (*zhidovstvuiushchie* "Judaizers") of the late 15th and early 16th centuries. The main difficulty with this reading is that it presents the Pharisees

in a purely positive context, which was highly unusual for traditional Christian literature. After Moshe Taube revealed that in the Ruthenian translation of the treatise *Secret of Secrets*, associated with the "literature of the Judaizers", the term "Pharisee" was translated from the Hebrew word *nazir* "Nazirite; later, recluse, monk", it became clear that the Pharisees in the *Laodicean Epistle* were in fact Nazirites, although the reasons for this translation decision remained unexplained. The article shows that in the Edited Pentateuch, which is of Ruthenian origin (presumably made in the second half of the 15th century in Kyiv), the "Law for a Nazirite" (Num 6:1–21) is regularly glossed with the heading "on the Pharisees" or "on the Pharisee fast". Thus, the Pharisees were related not only to medieval recluses, but specifically to the Old Testament category of those specially consecrated to the Lord. This can be seen as a search the Jewish origins of Christianity for the predecessors of the "Judaizing", so that the "Pharisees" of the *Laodicean Epistle* are the true original Christians.

Keywords: Christian-Jewish relations; East Slavic Judaizers; Church Slavonic Bible; Slavic parabiblical tradition

Alexander I. Grishchenko (alexander.grishchenko@slav.uni-heidelberg.de) – były rosyjski slawista, doktor habilitowany filologii i językoznawstwa (Narodowy Uniwersytet Badawczy „Wyższa Szkoła Ekonomiczna" w Moskwie, 2021), uczony wizytujący w Instytucie Slawistyki Uniwersytetu w Heidelbergu (początkowo jako stypendysta Fundacji Aleksandra von Humboldta, obecnie jako badacz Fundacji Gerdy Henkel) zajmujący się kontaktami literackimi i językowymi pomiędzy Żydami i Słowianami w ramach średniowiecznej *Slavia Ortodoxa*. Autor monografii, m.in. *Идиостиль Николая Моршена* [Idiostyl Nikołaja Morszena; 2009], *Правленое славяно-русское Пятикнижие XV века: предварительные итоги лингвотекстологического изучения* [Cerkiewnołowiańsko-ruski Pięcioksiąg zredagowany z XV w. Wstępne wyniki badań językowych i tekstologicznych; 2018] oraz współautor takich książek jak *Андрей Первозванный: Опыт небиографического жизнеописания* [Andrzej Apostoł. Próba biografii niebiograficznej; 2013], *Житие апостола Андрея Первозванного: Лицевая рукопись Российской национальной библиотеки ОЛДП F.137* [Żywot św. Andrzeja Apostoła. Rękopis iluminowany OLDP F.137 z Biblioteki Narodowej Rosji; 2021]. Członek Komisji Biblijnej Międzynarodowego Komitetu Slawistów (od 2018).

Alexander I. Grishchenko (alexander.grishchenko@slav.uni-heidelberg.de) – former Russian Slavist, Doctor of Science (Habilitated Doctor) in Philology

and Linguistics (2021, HSE University, Moscow), Visiting Scholar at the Slavic Institute of Heidelberg University (Germany) – initially as an Alexander von Humboldt Foundation fellow, currently as a Gerda Henkel Foundation researcher – dealing with the literary and language contacts between Jews and Slavs in medieval *Slavia Orthodoxa*. Author of academic books such as *Идиостиль Николая Моршена* [Idiostyle of Nikolai Morshen; 2009], *Правленое славяно-русское Пятикнижие XV века: предварительные итоги лингвотекстологического изучения* [The Edited Slavonic-Russian Pentateuch from the Fifteenth Century: The Preliminary Results of the Linguistic and Textological Study; 2018], and co-author of such books as *Андрей Первозванный: Опыт небиографического жизнеописания* [Andrew the Apostle: An Essay on Unbiographical Biography; 2013], *Житие апостола Андрея Первозванного: Лицевая рукопись Российской национальной библиотеки ОЛДП F.137* [The Life of St. Andrew the Apostle: The Illuminated manuscript OLDP F.137 from the National Library of Russia; 2021]. A member of the Biblical Commission of the International Committee of Slavists (since 2018).

Publication History: Received: 2026-02-24; Accepted: 2026-06-08; Published: 2026-10-30