

Series Ceranea  
vol. 3


Małgorzata Skowronek

# Palaea Historica

## The Second Slavic Translation Commentary and Text



*Alena*  
— CERANEUM —

 WYDAWNICTWO  
UNIWERSYTETU  
ŁÓDZKIEGO

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vol. 3

**Palaea Historica**  
**The Second Slavic Translation**  
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Łódź 2016



# Series Ceranea

## volume 3

University of Łódź, Waldemar Ceran Research Centre for the History and Culture  
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## Preface

This book is the result of my research on the Slavic texts of the *Palaea Historica*. Although firstly thought to be a part of a bigger whole, the edition of the source text accepted the form of an independent title. I would, therefore, like to express my gratitude to everyone, people and institutes, whose support and help, especially in acquiring source material, allowed me to prepare this edition of the relic text. I wish to thank the staff at the Library of the Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Belgrade, the staff of the Manuscripts Department at the National Library of Serbia in Belgrade, the staff of the Manuscripts, Old Printed Books, Rare and Precious Editions Department at the National Historical Museum in Sofia, Fr. Archimandrite Policarp Chițulescu from the Library of the Holy Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church in Bucharest, the directory of the Collection of Manuscripts, Rare and Precious Editions at the Romanian Academy Library in Bucharest, and Professor Anna-Maria Totomanova at the Sofia University Saint Clement of Ohrid.

A heartfelt thank you is reserved for Professor Georgi Minczew and Doctor Ivan Petrov from the Department of Slavic Philology at the University of Łódź for their valuable remarks concerning the edition and commentary of the *Palaea Historica*, and not only. Their kind criticism has greatly influenced the final form of this work.

Łódź, December 8<sup>th</sup>, 2015  
Saint Clement of Ohrid Day  
MS

## Abbreviations

- PH – Palaea Historica  
PGr – Palaea Historica, Greek text  
PH I – Palaea Historica, 1<sup>st</sup> Slavic translation  
PH II – Palaea Historica, 2<sup>nd</sup> Slavic translation  
PH III – Palaea Historica, 3<sup>rd</sup> Slavic translation  
\*\*\*  
Grk. – Greek  
OCS – Old Church Slavic

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For the Books of the Old and New Testaments commonly accepted abbreviations are used.

## I. Source texts

### PGr, PH I

**PGr** – Vassiliev 1893, p. 188–292. Main text: codex in the collection of the Austrian National Library [Österreichische Nationalbibliothek] in Vienna № 247, Cod. Vindobonensis theol. 210 (Lamb. 247), 16<sup>th</sup> century, fols. 34r–84r. Lectiones: 1. Codex Ottobonensis № 205, end of 15<sup>th</sup> century.

**PH I**<sup>1</sup> – Popov 1881, p. 1–172. Main text: codex in the collection of the State Historical Museum [Государственный исторический музей] in Moscow, formerly the collection of the Synodic Library in Moscow № 591, 15<sup>th</sup> century (dated to 1460–1470), PH on fols. 1r–130r. Lectiones: 1. codex in the collection of the State Historical Museum in Moscow, formerly the collection of the Synodic Library in Moscow № 638, dated to ca. 1460, PH on fols. 215r–319v; 2. codex in the collection of the State Historical Museum in Moscow, formerly the collection of

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<sup>1</sup> For a list of the copies of the 1<sup>st</sup> translation of the PH see: Sumnikova 1969, p. 31–32 (13 Serbian and Russian copies, dated to the 15<sup>th</sup> century); Reinhart 2007, p. 60 (20 copies). An abridged version of the PH I has survived in the writings of the Eastern Slavs, which last chapter contains the story of Samson; there are at least two copies of this version: 1. Codex of mixed contents from the National Archives of Romania in Bucharest, Cod. ANB 741, 16<sup>th</sup> century, PH on fols. 72r–156r, title **Сѣа книга вытѣа нѣси и земли. и въсѣакои твари, иже сътвори бѣ въсѣа дѣла своа испрѣва. слово прѣвое ѿ вытна**, inc.: Прѣже въсѣ сын и въсѣа и за восѣа подоваѣ истинноѣ члѣкж что ѣ бѣ. тако шѣа пави са бѣ, exc.: и иноплемѣници разоумѣша, и рѣша дати емж женѣ ѿ рода своего. да тратжѣ са съ ними. For literature cf.: Lința, Djamo-Diaconița, Stoicovici 1981, p. 257–258; Mircea 2005, p. 236; Skowronek 2013b. 2. Codex of mixed contents from the Lviv National Vasył Stefanyk Scientific Library of Ukraine, Anton Petrushevych Collection, Cod. 138, 16<sup>th</sup> century, PH on fols. 85r–166v, title **Сн книги вытѣа нѣси и земли и всѣакои твари, иже сътвори бѣ въсѣа дѣла испрѣва, блви ѿче**, inc.: Прѣже всѣ сын, и всѣа ѿ всѣа подоваѣ истинноѣ члѣкж въдати что естѣ бѣ. тако шѣа пави бѣ, exc.: ажъ потоми жена его емѣ власы вѣстригла. и в то чѣ не былъ моцны. и лѣплено емѣ очн. и въ слѣ. цѣлыи рѣ. а потѣ гды его проважено до его вежѣ. такъ порѣши вежѣ и в тои чѣ ѿвалиласа веж и всѣ тамъ повела. и з женою его. и самъ тлаю змерѣ. For literature cf.: Svencyc'kij 1906, p. 208–216; KRK 2007, p. 223–226; Skowronek 2013.

the Synodic Library in Moscow № 548, dated to ca. 1620s.<sup>2</sup>, PH on fols. 1r–62r. All codices represent the Russian edition of the Church Slavic language, however, in the manuscript of Cod. 591, apart from traits of the local Novgorod dialect, one may recognize traces of the Bulgarian protograph<sup>3</sup>.

## PH II<sup>4</sup>

### I. Copies of full text

#### 1. Complete:

> **NIM 25.** National Historical Museum [Национален исторически музей] in Sofia, Cod. Slav. 25<sup>5</sup>. Codex of mixed contents, 14<sup>th</sup> century (ca. 1380–1390), 81 fols., ca. 205 x 135 mm, half-uncial, Rashka orthography. Copy of the PH II is damaged – some folia are missing in different parts of the work, fols. 16r–35v quite damaged (missing the lower right [r] or lower left [v] part of the folio). PH II on fols. 16r–81v; f. 82r/v glued into the binding of the codex. Most headings illegible (faded), the only surviving titles of chapters were written later (i.e. not during the completion of the full codex), with a large, sloppy half-uncial. Title: illegible<sup>6</sup>; inc.: **СЪЗАНЬ БЫ ПРѢ[...] НИ НОСЕ ШЕРАЗЪ. АДАНЬ. А. ОУБО ШПОВѢДОУЮТЬ ВЪСТОКЪ ПРЪВЫ;** exc.: [...]НЬ И ЧРЪМНО МОРЕ[...] Text unpublished<sup>7</sup>.

> **MSPC 141, the so-called *Palaea* from the Velika Remeta Monastery.** Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church [Музеј Српске Православне Цркве] in Belgrade, Cod. 141<sup>8</sup>. Manuscript formerly belonged to the Velika Remeta Monastery; unknown/undefined place of composition and how it got to Velika Remeta. Codex of mixed contents (contains PH, pseudo-canonical texts, the Life of Grigori Omiricki). 15<sup>th</sup> century (ca. 1420–1430); 270 + 1 fol., 257 x 187 mm, half-uncial, Serbian orthography (Rashka with Resavian influences). Copy mechanically damaged: parts of folia missing, folia incorrectly numbered after having the book bound anew, damages on the external areas of the cards due to poor storage con-

<sup>2</sup> R. Stankov dates to the half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century; see Stankov 1994, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Popov 1881, p. XXIX–XXXII.

<sup>4</sup> For a list of copies of the 2<sup>nd</sup> translation of the PH, see: Reinhart 2007, p. 60–61 (6 copies); Skowronek 2014a, p. 15 (8 copies).

<sup>5</sup> For a description of the manuscripts cf.: Velinova, Vutova 2013, p. 85–86.

<sup>6</sup> In: Velinova, Vutova 2013, p. 86, reconstructed as: **зачѣла книзѣ сен в нем же о нѣси и земли.**

<sup>7</sup> For literature cf.: Petrova 2009.

<sup>8</sup> For literature cf.: Bogdanović 1982, p. 33, no. 269; Stanković 2003, p. 46.

ditions. Minor marginalia, inter al. on the inside of the front cover: сѣа книга ꙗ҃лема палеа [...] сѣа книга нарицаемаа читающеѣ ползѣ; слава боꙋ само(држцоꙋ) хрѣтосѣ ражѣает се слава ти [...] съ небѣ срещи те х̄ на змаї (?) as well as on the inside of the back cover: двѣ тысащени и трѣ соть пятьдесятъ и осемь лѣтъ. РН on fols. 59r–110v. Title: Б҃говидца мѡуѣсеа прѣрка кни҃га, inc.: Създанъ въ прѣвѣць роꙋкою б҃жїею. крѣтныи но се вбразъ. адамъ а збо оповѣдзеть, ехс.: и разгнѣва се г҃ъ на нѣ, и не да слова. даже до смѣрѣти ѿвзїи. се҃го ради тако ѿ радости рещи пишеть. въ лѣто въ неже смѣрѣт ѿвзїа цр҃ь, видѣ г҃а. After the improper binding of the book, one of its users marked how many folia should one flip to the continuation of the text (on fol. 93v: прѣметни в̄ листа).

> **Nikoljac 83.** Copy in the collection of the National Library of Serbia [Народна библиотека Србије] in Belgrade<sup>9</sup>. Current reference number: 83, former reference number 15<sup>10</sup>. Codex of mixed contents (apart from the РН it contains inter al. *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, pseudo-canonical texts, inter al. *The Visions of the Prophet Daniel*, *The Tale of Aphroditian*, *On the Finding of the Venerable and Life-giving Cross* by Alexander the Monk, the sermons of Saint Hippolytus, Maximus the Confessor, short teachings etc.). 15<sup>th</sup> century (ca. 1425–1435); 2 + 239 fols. (?), half-uncial (part of the marginalia are in cursive) Rashka orthography. РН II on fols. 121v–229r. Title: Б҃говидца мѡуѣсеа прѣрка кни҃га, inc.: Създанъ въ прѣвѣць роꙋкою б҃жїею. крѣтныи носе вбразъ. адамъ прѣвѣ оꙋбо повѣдоует се, ехс.: и егда оꙋмрѣтъ възна. гави се имъ г҃ъ. Се҃го ради тако ѿ радости рещи пишеть лѣто. въ неже оꙋмрѣтъ възна цр҃ь. видѣхъ г҃а. On the margins, someone added the fragments omitted in the text of the РН II – proof of editing by the copyist or by one of the later users of the codex (f. 150v, f. 151v, f. 158v, f. 161v, f. 162v); probationes pennaе (f. 196v, 198v: a few words, 199v), instructions (on f. 228v: зри ѡ прѣнию); on the margins of fols. 186v–187r there is a note in cursive: [...] сию книгу азъ прѣшши хрѣту рабъ мисаилъ еромонахъ ихиндарецъ сꙋщи славяноболгаръ. The text of the РН II has not been published; used only as a source for readings in the edition of a fragment from the Psalter of Novak<sup>11</sup>.

> **MSPC 42, the so-called *Palaea* from the Krušedol Monastery.** Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church [Музеј Српске Православне Цркве] in Belgrade, Cod. 42<sup>12</sup>. The manuscript is stored in the collection of the Krušedol Monastery

<sup>9</sup> The studies available to me do not indicate the current archival collection to which the codex belongs to.

<sup>10</sup> For literature cf.: Bogdanović 1982, p. 38; Medaković 1978, p. 89–96. The pseudo-canonical text *Testament of Reuben* was published from the manuscript Nikoljac 83 (Jovanović 2005, p. 394–404).

<sup>11</sup> Reinhart 2007.

<sup>12</sup> For literature cf.: Petković 1914, p. 217; Bogdanović 1982, p. 77, no. 1036; Stanković 2003, p. 17.



under the reference number 85. Codex of mixed contents (apart from the PH it contains also the *Chronicle* of John Zonaras, teachings from the Church Fathers, inter al. Saint Hippolytus, apocrypha, inter al. *The Visions of the Prophet Daniel*, *The Visions of the Prophet Zechariah*). 15<sup>th</sup> century (ca. 1420–1430); 318 fols., 283 x 195 mm, half-uncial, Rashka orthography. Different copyists worked on the whole codex. Minor marginalia. Note: + сїа книга мнѣтира крѣшедѡла, храма бл҃говѣщенїа прѣтыа вл҃чцы нашеа бѣци юже азъ пречитѡ, 1742 гѡ[...] въ мѣцѣ мартѣ. илїа стойковѣ сѣеннї въ шанцѣ петроварадинскѡ (f. 125v). PH on fols. 56r–112v. Title: Б҃говїца мѡсеа прѣрка книга, інс.: създанъ бѣ прѣвѣць роукою б҃жїею крѣтнинѡе вѡбра адамъ прѣви оубо вѡповѣдѡе, ехс.: е҃га змрѣ ивзѡна тави се емѡ г҃ь. се҃го ради ѡ радости реци пишеть. лѣто въ нюже змреть ивзѡна цр҃ь видѣ г҃а. The text has been published in fragments. Several passages from the copy MSPC 42 were published by Matvey Speranskiy<sup>13</sup>, who stressed the fact that he did not have the complete text in his disposal. The selected fragments are compared with excerpts from PH I (from 17<sup>th</sup>-century copies: from the damaged manuscript in the Collection of the Serbian Learned Society, later the Serbian Academy for Sciences and Arts, Cod. 24, and the surviving in minor fragments manuscript in the collection of the National Library of Serbia in Belgrade, Cod. 317, destroyed in a bombing during the Second World War). Zorica Vitić in a study on the motive of Abraham's hospitality in Serbian writings published the chapter *On the Holy Trinity*<sup>14</sup>.

> **Savina 24, the so-called *Palaea* from the codex from the Savina Monastery.** Manuscript in the Savina Monastery [Манастир Савина] (?)<sup>15</sup>. Codex of mixed contents. 16<sup>th</sup> century (ca. 1590–1600) and/or beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (convolutum volume). 320 fols., 210 x 150 mm, half-uncial, Rashka orthography. *Non vidi*.

## II. Copies of parts of the text

### 1. Selection of 22 chapters:

> **SB III22.** Library of the Holy Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church [Biblioteca Sfântului Sinod] in Bucharest, Cod. SB III21–22 ('21' refers to the first part of the convolutum volume, the PH II is in the second part)<sup>16</sup>. Codex of mixed contents (apart from the PH II it contains *The Christian Topography* of Cosmas Indicopleustes, the homiletics of (Pseudo) John Chrysostom, *On the Icons*, pseudo-canonical

<sup>13</sup> Speranskiy 1892, *passim*; Speranskiy 1960, *passim*.

<sup>14</sup> Vitić 1992, p. 93–98.

<sup>15</sup> For literature cf.: Bogdanović 1982, p. 37, no. 337; Medaković 1978, p. 89–96.

<sup>16</sup> For literature cf.: Mircea 2005, p. 167, 168, 170 (only four chapters).

writings etc.). 15<sup>th</sup> century (ca. 1459). 223 fols., 190 x 300 mm, half-uncial, Middle Bulgarian/Moldavian orthography. Minor marginalia, including a note on the inside of the back cover: сѣа книга написаса въ лѣто сѣѣз е:.. РН II on fols. 184r–207v. Title of the first chapter of the РН II: О МЕЛХИСЕДЕЦѢ; inc.: СЕИ МЕЛХИСЕДЕКЪ, ГЛѢТ СѦ БЕЗ' МТРЕ. БЕЗ' ѠЦА И БЕЗ' РѠДА. ПѠБЕНЬ СНОУ ВЫШНѢАГО БѦ; exc: АВРААМ ЖЕ ПРИЕМЪ ИЗВѢЩЕНІЕ, О ПОКААНІИ ЛОТОВѢ. И О ИЗМѢНЕНІИ ЗАПАЛЕНІА БЛГОДАРИВЪ БѦ. ВЪ ВРѢМА ЖЕ УНО, РОДИ САРРА ЖЕНА ЕГО ОТРОЧА МЖЖЬСКИИ ПОЛЬ. И НАРЕ<sup>Ѡ</sup> ИМА ЕМОУ ИСААКЪ. И ШЕРѢЗА ЕГО АВРААМЪ. И ШЕРАДОВА СѦ АВРААМЪ. И ВЕ ДѠ ЕГО О РОЖЕНІИ ИСААКОВѢ. The text of the РН II has been contaminated by short narratives on *Old Testament* themes, but of non-biblical origin<sup>17</sup>; published and provided with readings from the copy BAR slav. 358<sup>18</sup>.

> **Rum. 42.** Russian State Library in Moscow, Cod. Ф 256, the Rummyantsev Collection [Российская государственная библиотека, Румянцевское собр.], Cod. 42<sup>19</sup>. Codex of mixed contents. 15<sup>th</sup> century. 314 fols. (?), half-uncial, Middle Bulgarian orthography. Damaged copy: one folio missing, missing ending of the РН II (*On the Holy Trinity*). РН II on fols. 290r–314v. Title of the first chapter of the РН II: Ѡ МЕЛХИСЕДЕЦѢ (!); inc.: СЪ МЕЛХИСЕДЕКЪ, ГЛѢТ СѦ БЕЗ' МТРЕ. БЕЗЪ ѠЦА И БЕЗЪ РѠДА. ПѠБЕНЬ СНОУ ВЫШНѢАГО БѦ; exc: АВРААМ ЖЕ ПРИЕМЪ ИЗВѢЩЕНІЕ, О ПОКААНІИ ЛОТОВѢ. И О ИЗМѢНЕНІИ ЗАПАЛЕНІА БЛГОДАРИВЪ БѦ. ВЪ ВРѢМА.

## 2. Fragments – 5 chapters:

> **Vindob. slav. 158; fragment from the РН in the Psalter of Novak.** Austrian National Library [Österreichische Nationalbibliothek] in Vienna, Cod. Vindob. slav. 158<sup>20</sup>. 14<sup>th</sup> century (dated to 1385); 204 fols., 220 x 150 mm, half-uncial, Rashka orthography. 5 chapters of the РН on fols. 193r–202r. Titles<sup>21</sup>: [1] ПОВѢСТНОЕ ПИС(А)НІЕ Ѡ Д(А)В(Ы)ДѢ ПРО(О)РОЦѢ И Ц(ѢСА)РИ И Ѡ САОУЛѢ, inc.: СЪИ САОУЛЪ НИЦЪ БѢШЕ. Ѡ(ТЬ) ЦА ИМѢ РЕКОМАГО КІСА, exc. АРХІЕРЕИ ЖЕ ЯВІАФАРЬ ѠТІДЕ СЪ Д(А)В(Ы)ДУМ(Ъ). ОНѢ ЖЕ МОУЧАШЕ ЛЮД(И) ВЪСЕ Д(Ъ)НИ ЖІВОТА СВОЕГ(О). ДАЖЕ И ДО СЪМРѢТИ СВОЕЕ. И ШЪД(Ъ) НА БРАНЬ, ШВИЕНЬ БЫС(ТЬ). МОУЖЕ ЕЛИКЫ ПРИВЕДЕ Д(А)В(Ы)ДОУ, ѠС(ТА)ВІХУМ(Ъ) ЗА ШМНОЖЕНІА ПИС(А)НІИ; [2] Ѡ ЖЕНѢ ШРІЕВѢ, inc.: ПРѢБЕТѢ ЖЕ Д(А)В(Ы)ДЪ Ц(ѢСА)РС(Т)ВО. И БѢШЕ ВЪ ПОЛАТѢ СВОЕИ, exc.: СЕ ПИС(А)НІЕ МОУДРЫИ НѢККТѠ ПОМІНАЕ Ѡ ТВОРЦЪ ВЪ ЕДИНОМ(Ъ) Ѡ ПРАВИЛЬ ПИШЕ РЕЧ(Е) СИЦЕ. Д(АВЫ)ДОУ НѢКОГДА ТВОЕМОУ ПРО(О)РО(О)КУ ТАК(О)ЖЕ ШСТАВИ

<sup>17</sup> See table of titles.

<sup>18</sup> Skowronek 2014a.

<sup>19</sup> For literature cf.: Vostokov 1842, p. 420–422; Turilov 1986, p. 180 (no. 1737); Speranskiy 1960, p. 112 ff.; Turdeanu 1964, p. 198–199.

<sup>20</sup> For literature cf.: Birkfellner 1975, p. 354–357 (a fragment of the РН as *Apokryphe Erzählung über David und Saul*, p. 357).

<sup>21</sup> Cited from: Reinhart 2007, p. 66, 69, 73.

агг(ε)ла. люд(и) гоубеца м'чель. м'ръ подаль ес(и). The text of the PH has been published<sup>22</sup>; contains the last chapters of the work: the stories of David and Saul, the wife of Uriah, the scheme and death of Absalom as well as the story about the population census (hence, it lacks the last chapter about king Uziah, characteristic for the PH II). The text of the PH from Vindob. slav. 158 has been provided with readings from the manuscript Nikoljac 83; these register the „more significant” differences of textological character as well as of other sorts (grammatical, phonetic, morphological)<sup>23</sup>.

### 3. Fragments – 3 chapters:

> **BAR slav. 358.** Romanian Academy Library [Biblioteca Academiei Române] in Bucharest, Cod. slav. 358<sup>24</sup>. Codex of mixed contents: contains fragments of the PH compiled with other pseudo-canonical texts, excerpts from the panegyric, the life of Alexis the Man of God, the life of Mark the Athenian, the teachings of Athanasius of Alexandria and John Chrysostom, Saint Hippolytus the Pope (?), *On the End of the World*, fragments of the *Old Testament*, etc. Second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Composed in “Romanian lands”<sup>25</sup>; 179 fols., half-uncial, 210 x 160 mm. Fragments of the PH II on fols. 21v–24v. Titles: [1] о оугаденіи змыннѡмѣ, inc.: ВЪЗВЫГШЕ ЖЕ СНОВЕ ИЛЛЕВЫ, ѿ горы синаискыѡ. пондоша доудеже (!) dospаша въ поустини кадскѡ, exc.: заѣже видѣти немощь своѡ и оумръщеленыѡ тако смѣлаше глаголати. где смръти жало где аде побѣда. [2] ѡ сѣбны свѣн'а, inc.: По сем же рѣ гь мѡѡсес, сътвори ми сѣнь, по пѡнѣномѡ. И повелѣнїемъ бж҃гемъ възвыгнѡша сѡ вблаци, exc.: въсѣк же хотѣн вънннѣ въ сѣнь. да измывають сѡ водою чистою, прѣ сквннїю. и тако да вхѡдитъ въ сквннїю. [3] ѡ стѡи и сценичскѡи (!) вдежѡи, inc.: По сѣ да сътвориши ми вдежѡу стѡу, exc.: исписа и бытнѣ. иже ѿ бѡ сътвореннѣ въсѣмъ и ѡ избавленнѣ грѣхѡѡ. и ѡцѣпенїе чл҃кѡ съгрѣшащнхъ. Text used for its readings in the edition of SB III<sup>26</sup>.

### Whole text or fragment – volume undefined:

> **М.ІІ–2.** National Archives of the Republic of Macedonia [Државен архив на Република Македонија] in Skopje, Cod. М.ІІ–2<sup>27</sup>. Codex of mixed contents (apart from the fragments of the PH II it contains also *The Life of the Holy Mother*

<sup>22</sup> Reinhart 2007.

<sup>23</sup> See Reinhart 2007, p. 66–74.

<sup>24</sup> For the descriptions and catalogues of manuscripts cf.: Panaitescu 2003, p. 142–144; Mircea 2005, p. 234; Ivanova 2008, p. 125–126.

<sup>25</sup> „Scris in Țara Românească”, cited from: Panaitescu 2003, p. 142.

<sup>26</sup> Сковронэк 2014.

<sup>27</sup> For literature cf.: Мошин 1971, p. 333–335; Miltenova 2009, p. 377–378; Miltenova 2012.

of God by Epiphanius, *The Tale of Aphroditian*, *The Sermons of Saint Hippolytus on the 72 Apostles*, works with themes from the *Old Testament* and *New Testament*, teachings). The third quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. 64 fols., 210 x 140 mm, half-uncial<sup>28</sup>, Rashka orthography. Codex survives in fragments with parts missing due to poor storage conditions (humidity, mold); the end is lost. Fragments of PH II on fols. 30r–34v (?), 53r–64v<sup>29</sup>: [1 – the story of Adam’s sons and Lot’s sin] inc.:...воу чашоу гор’коу съмръти <...> роди же адамъ въ мѣсто ю(г) <...> и наре(ч) иже юмоу ситъ; [2] **Ѡ** изгнани агары, inc.: Бывшоу же исаакоу седьминъ лѣтомъ. бѣше играе съ исъмаилеюмъ. братомъ своимъ. иже ѿ агары; [3] **Ѡ** исаковѣ смърти (! – MS), inc.: Исаакоу же бывшоу осьмъ на десетѣ лѣтъ. бѣ искоушааше авраамъ. и р(ч)е аврааме аврааме; [4 – the story of King David] exc.: р(ч)е же къ дроугомо<...> члѣвоу именеюмъ акъхита. иже <...>четь прѣписовати. и авию <при>де аггль гн глѣ двдоу. разь<...> бѣ. и прогнѣва се на те гѣ. <...>кати се глѣ. и что ю(с) съврь<...> яко прогнѣва се <...> поне<...>. The M.II–2 copy preserves two titles of chapters from the PH (albeit ‘added later with a writing from the 17<sup>th</sup> century and 18<sup>th</sup> century’<sup>30</sup>), however the transmitted contents comes from ca. five chapters; apart from the chapters retaining their titles: *On the Expulsion of Hagar* and *On the Death of Isaac* (instead of *On the Sacrifice of Isaac*) as well as *On the Census* (which beginning is missing due to the loss of folia), it seems that what A. Miltenova regards as ‘the story of Adam’s sons and Lot’s sins’ are the chapters entitled *On Abel* and *On the Holy Trinity*. The hypothetical original volume of the book, estimated to have been much thicker than it is today<sup>31</sup> (considering also the lack of the original numbering of the sheets) may have included, between the last chapter from the Abraham cycle and the story of King David – more, if not all chapters from the PH II. The text has not been published, except for passages<sup>32</sup>. *Non vidi*.

### PH III

> **Shchukin 505**. Collection of the State Historical Museum in Moscow, the P.I. Shchukin Collection [Государственный Исторический Музей, Щукинское собр.], № 505<sup>33</sup>. *Non vidi*.

<sup>28</sup> According to Mošin: uncial (Mošin 1971, p. 333).

<sup>29</sup> After: Miltenova 2012.

<sup>30</sup> Miltenova 2012.

<sup>31</sup> Miltenova 2012, p. 220.

<sup>32</sup> Miltenova 2012.

<sup>33</sup> Following: Speranskiy 1960, p. 112ff.; Reinhart 2007, p. 60.

**Other source texts:**

St. Andrew of Crete, *Great Canon of Penance*, [in:] *Patrologiae cursus completes. Series graeca*, vol. 97, col. 1329–1386.

St. Cosmas of Maiuma, *Canon on the Nativity of Christ – Первый канон на Рождество Христово св. Козьмы Маямского*, [in:] Lovjagin 1861, p. 3–9.

St. Cosmas of Maiuma, *Canon on the Dormition of the Mother of God – Первый канон на Успение св. Козьмы Маямского*, [in:] Lovjagin 1861, p. 99–104.

St. Cosmas of Maiuma, *Canon on the Elevation of the Holy Cross – Канон на Воздвижение св. Козьмы Маямского*, [in:] Lovjagin 1861, p. 126–133.

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The following copies of the PH II, Savina 24 and M.II–2, have not been included in this edition as sources for readings. Also, they haven't been acknowledged in the textological characteristics of the text (as well as in the graph of the relations between the copies), since I have not been able to consult the original contents of both copies (nor provide their possible reconstruction). For the same reasons, these copies do not appear in the table of chapter titles appearing in the surviving copies of the PH II.

## II. On the 2<sup>nd</sup> Slavic translation of the *Palaea Historica*

The so-called Byzantine<sup>1</sup> PH is a text that functioned in the literature and culture of the Byzantine-Slavic commonwealth. It was composed in Byzantium at the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century and became popularized in its Slavic translations from ca. 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> century until at least the 17<sup>th</sup> century (the earliest surviving copies come from this period of time) throughout those lands inhabited by the southern Slavs, e.g. Bulgaria and Serbia, as well as the eastern Slavs, but also on lands inhabited by non-Slavic peoples, which used Old Church Slavic in liturgy and literature, e.g. Moldavia, Wallachia. We know of pre-modern translations of the text, e.g. the Romanian version dated to the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>2</sup>, but also of those variants based only on a selection of the literary work as well as of those applying a distinct segmentation of the text differing from the original (i.e. Byzantine).

The contents of the PH comprises chiefly of a selection of narratives deriving from the first books of the *Old Testament* (Gen – 2 Sam or 2 Chr; Slavic variants different from the Greek original), supplemented with details from other sources, inter al. the apocrypha, but also the poetical fragments from the *Book of Psalms* as well as the works of Byzantine hymnographers. The term ‘palaea’ appearing in the title is directly connected to the contents of the work: it derives from the expression ἡ παλαιὰ διαθήκη ‘Old Testament’, however its Slavic transcriptions ‘палѣта’, ‘палеа’, ‘палеѣа’, ‘палеѣ’, ‘палѣѣ’, even ‘палѣѣ’<sup>3</sup> and ‘палиѣ’<sup>4</sup> were used in reference to

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<sup>1</sup> Turdeanu 1964, p. 195.

<sup>2</sup> The translation of the PH I dated to the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century was made in Western Transylvania and was written in Cyrillic in a manuscript from the Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest, Cod. 649, published in: *Palia istorică* 2001. Translations of the PH I into modern languages: English, the whole text (Adler 2013, p. 600–672); Bulgarian, a fragment (the beginning: Stankov 1992).

<sup>3</sup> See Slavova 2002, p. 38.

<sup>4</sup> See Dobrjanskiy 1882, p. 144.



the Bible (especially the *Old Testament*)<sup>5</sup>, the Octoteuch (with the *Kings* and the *Chronicles* or even without, especially in the Rus)<sup>6</sup>, at times the Pentateuch, the commentaries to the books of the *Old Testament*, various compilations of the *Old Testament* stories (these are known later as the *Palaea Interpretata*)<sup>7</sup>. Hence, it is paramount to add the designation ‘historical’ to the *Palaea*, which is the object of this edition, in order to differentiate it from its other later versions composed throughout Slavic lands: the *Palaea Interpretata*<sup>8</sup>, which includes elements of disputes with the worshippers of Jahwe; and the *Palaea Chronographica*, containing elements from chronicles (of chronographers), which lay emphasis on the exact time and duration of events referring to the history, literature and culture of the Eastern Slavs<sup>9</sup>. However, we must keep in mind the fact that this epithet does not appear in the title of any of the thirty surviving copies, although we may find the word ‘*палеа*’ added later in the manuscripts.

The PH, which Slavic copies have survived in a larger number than the Greek ones, has been recognized to be a popular *Old Testament* story, a generally ‘popularized’, but not ‘pauperized’ version of the Bible<sup>10</sup>. Yet, it is also considered to be a ‘relic of legendary-apocryphal literature’, due to which its basic component and function has been slightly degraded<sup>11</sup>. Indeed, the idea that the summaries of a well-known book as the *Old Testament* may not be worth of any greater interest in order to get to know them better has resulted in opinions about the text which are over categorizing, at times too superficial and even, as it sometimes happens, contradicting. To facilitate the reading of such a large text, it has been divided into chapters, which, in the Greek copies appear in the number of sixty<sup>12</sup>.

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<sup>5</sup> For a list of manuscripts (with quotations), in which the term functions in certain meanings, see: Slavova 2002, p. 38–40; Vodolazkin 2014, p. 286 and note 2. On the history of the term ‘*palaea*’ in Byzantine and Slavic writings, its use in the *Palaea Historica* and *Palaea Interpretata*, as well as to define the commentary to the *Old Testament*, see Stankov 2010.

<sup>6</sup> Vodolazkin 2007; cf. Miltenova 2003, p. 345.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Dobrjanskiy 1882, p. 150.

<sup>8</sup> For editions see: Orlov 2007, p. 72; also *PT* 2002; for a survey of literature, see: Orlov 2007, p. 2–74; also: Tvorogov 1988–1989; Panayotov 1995; Slavova 1991; Slavova 2002.

<sup>9</sup> For a survey of literature, see: Orlov 2007, p. 74–75; Vodolazkin 2009–2011; on the edition: Vodolazkin 2006–2010.

<sup>10</sup> Franklin 1991; H.F. Marshall recognizes such role of the *Palaea* on the basis of iconographic sources: ‘[*Palaea Historica* – MS] omitted the theological arguments and confined themselves to Biblical narrative interspelled with legends. The result, when accompanied freely by illustrations, was a work corresponding closely to the ‘Poor Men’s Bible’ much in vogue in Western Europe in the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries’ (Marshall 1925, p. XXII–XXIII).

<sup>11</sup> Derzhavina 1968.

<sup>12</sup> The number differs in various copies, also due to the lacunas and the mechanical destruction of the codices.