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Cyrillo-Methodian Research Centre**

**University of Messina
Department of Ancient and Modern Civilisations**

PALEOSLAVISTIC STUDIES

Proceedings of the International Symposium for Young Scholars in Medieval Slavonic Studies

(Messina, 4-6 September 2024)

Edited by

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INTRODUCTION

“Requiem for Slavic Philology” is the deliberately provocative formula recently used by the Italian Slavist M. Garzaniti to characterise the discipline and its present challenges. Notwithstanding the indispensable role of an integrated approach to Slavic cultural phenomena, rooted in their medieval foundations and centred on the critical analysis of the written heritage, Slavic Philology as a discipline continues to face persistent constraints: enrolments in university courses remain limited, even across Slavic-speaking countries, and opportunities for early-career scholars to take part in international exchange are scarce.

This general picture, however, does not fully account for the variety of institutional settings in which Medieval Slavic Studies continue to be cultivated and renewed. Within the Bulgarian context, the Cyrillo-Methodian Research Centre (CMRC) at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences has long been committed to supporting research on Slavic sources and the Cyrillo-Methodian legacy. The Centre promotes collaborative research projects, and organises academic events that connect scholars across Europe and beyond. Over time, it has become a recognised point of reference for Palaeoslavist studies, bringing together leading specialists who contribute to its activities from an explicitly interdisciplinary perspective.

A comparable, if differently scaled, commitment may be observed in Italy. At the University of Messina, Slavic studies rest on a significant scholarly tradition and have recently been strengthened by developments such as the appointment of Associate

Professor Marco Scarpa, following his work at the CMRC. Against this background of convergent institutional trajectories and a shared commitment to the field, recent developments have opened a tangible prospect for enduring and structured cooperation. Within this framework, and in collaboration with the Paleobulgaria Foundation (Bulgaria) and the Collettivo Giovani Slavisti (Italy), an international symposium on Medieval Slavic Studies was held in September 2024.

The Symposium offered doctoral students, postdoctoral researchers, and early-career scholars an unique opportunity to present ongoing projects, share ideas and methodologies, and engage in academic dialogue with peers from across Europe and beyond. By facilitating these exchanges, the event sought to strengthen the visibility and vitality of contemporary Palaeoslavic research while promoting collaboration among institutions, scholars, and students. The call for papers received submissions from 31 young scholars representing 11 countries. The programme, covering philological, linguistic, palaeographic, codicological, historical, and cultural studies, reflected both the breadth of topics and the diversity of approaches that characterise current research in the field.

We are sincerely grateful to all participants who shared their work on this occasion. Such exchanges are essential both for the individual scholars, enabling dialogue among peers and across generations, and for the discipline as a whole, by introducing fresh perspectives that engage with established scholarly traditions while revitalising them with new questions, tools, and interpretative frameworks. For this reason, we invited participants to submit their papers for publication; twelve contributions were accepted, and the present volume is the outcome. Rather than offering conventional conference proceedings, *Paleoslavistic Studies* foregrounds research trajectories and methodological outlooks, with contributions presented in alphabetical order.

Beatrice Bindi examines the terminology used by Maximus the Greek to denote the Greek language in his Church Slavonic writings. Through the analysis of selected lemmas and adjectives, her article shows how Maximus expanded the Slavonic lexicon

by introducing meanings grounded in Greek usage, reflecting his role as a cultural mediator between Byzantium, Italian humanism, and the Slavic world.

Simeon Dekker investigates variation in past tense forms and the development of verbal aspect in Smotryc'kyj's Ruthenian, highlighting the interaction between Church Slavonic tradition and Polish influence. By analysing prefixed aorists and perfective formations, the paper brings out the complexity of diachronic processes involved in the shaping of the Ruthenian verbal system.

Maksim Gavrilkov's contribution explores the functions of biblical quotations in early Church Slavonic grammars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Using a functional model, the study demonstrates how biblical passages served normative and metalinguistic purposes in grammatical codification.

Preslava Georgieva analyses errors of translation and transmission in the Slavonic text of the Life of St Gregory of Agrigento. By distinguishing between translator's errors and scribal mistakes, the study contributes to reconstructing the textual tradition and identifying witnesses closest to the archetype.

Nicolò Ghigi presents new evidence concerning the Slavonic tradition of Germanus II's Responsio, arguing that the Slavonic version derives from a now-lost Greek epitome. His analysis clarifies the Serbian–Athonite context of the translation and underscores the importance of the Slavonic tradition for the text's history.

Nicole Hockmann examines the use of the ligature \bar{w} in Old East Slavic birchbark texts. Her results indicate a predominance of morphographic over phonographic usage, pointing to sophisticated scribal strategies in medieval vernacular writing.

Kameliya Hristova-Yordanova discusses lexical variants for the term “censer” in the Slavonic Octateuch tradition. The analysis highlights differences in usage and semantic developments, including a metaphorical value associated with the Theotokos.

Ksenia Kostomarova studies direct speech in the Kyiv Chronicle, showing how it contributes to the construction of interactions among characters. A quantitative, network-based

approach reveals narrative relations that are not immediately visible through qualitative reading alone.

Daniel Kossarev offers preliminary observations on the Slavonic translation of the *Contra Legem Sarracenorum*, laying the groundwork for future research on the text's dating, provenance, and sources.

Teresa Lombardi outlines research perspectives and methods for studying cultural and diplomatic relations between Muscovy and the Italian states in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, emphasising the impact of Italian humanism on late-medieval Russia.

Francesca Romoli and Maria Chiara Ferro present the MaximHum project, dedicated to the digitisation and mapping of Maximus the Greek's oeuvre. Their article describes aims, methodology, and preliminary results related to the construction of a digital corpus.

Finally, Georgii V. Titov analyses a miniature in the Expanded Psalter F.I.738 devoted to monastic ascetic practices. Through iconographic and stylistic analysis, he shows how the image functions as a visual complement to the penitential Psalms.

As these contributions demonstrate, the subjects addressed and the methods employed are notably diverse. Taken together, they suggest that Palaeoslavic studies retains strongly positive prospects, provided that the field continues to recognise, support, and amplify the work of young scholars who approach it with rigour, originality, and intellectual commitment. We hope that this volume will not only make these young scholars' work widely accessible but also encourage further exchange and collaboration within the international Palaeoslavic community, ensuring that the discipline remains dynamic, forward-looking, and enriched by new generations of researchers.

Marco Scarpa
Veselka Zhelyazkova

Programme of the Symposium on Medieval Slavonic Studies (Messina, 4-6 September 2024)

Wednesday, September 04

09.30–10.00

Institutional greetings and opening of the Symposium.

10.00–13.00

- Ksenia Kostomarova (Institute of the Russian Language of the Russian Academy of Sciences)
Quantitative methods in the study of medieval chronicles. The case of the Kievan Chronicle
- Paola Grasso (Ca' Foscari University of Venice)
Le versioni paleoslave delle Orazioni n°38, n°39 e n°40 di Gregorio di Nazianzo: uno studio del lessico e delle tecniche di traduzione con Python
- Beatrice Bindi (D'Annunzio University of Chieti–Pescara)
Philological and translation terminology in the work of Maximus the Greek: dynamics of lexical-semantic contact between humanistic Italy and sixteenth-century Muscovy
- Francesca Romoli (University of Pisa)
Il progetto MaximHum (PRIN 2022 PNRR)
- Letizia Ricci (University of Pisa)
Codifica in digitale dell'opera di Massimo il Greco: modello e casi di studio
- Marco Biasio (University of Pisa)
Metatextual Functions of Evidential Strategies in the Work of Maximus the Greek
- Natalia Guseva (D'Annunzio University of Chieti–Pescara)
Le traduzioni delle opere di Massimo il Greco: raccogliere, organizzare e censire

15.00–16.30

- Marta Riparante (Cyrillo–Methodian Research Centre at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences)
Classifying South Slavonic cyrillic script of the 14th century: description methodologies, problems, and perspectives

- Milena Davidović (Institute for Balkan Studies of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts)
The scribe Theoktist and his circle of collaborators: palaeographic analysis of the manuscripts
- Tatyana Braga (Institute for Bulgarian Language of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences)
Новые палеографические наблюдения над Одесским дамаскином № 37 (63)
- Georgii Titov (Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University)
Миниатюра с монашескими подвигами в Следованной Псалтири РНБ. F.I.738: вопросы иконографии и стиля
- Katerina Kiltzanidou (Democritus University of Thrace, Department of History and Ethnology)
Unveiling the Portrayal of Women from the Serbian Aristocracy in Late Middle Ages and Early Ottoman Era in the Wider Region of Macedonia (13th–16th Century)

17.00–18.00

- Leandro César Santana Neves (Federal University of Rio de Janeiro)
Aspects of the Kyivan Metropolitans' ecclesiological thought (1039–1170)
- Dagmar Vysloužilová (Masaryk University), Evgeny Podvalnov (Bunin Yelets State University)
Orthodoxy and Authority: Ideological Struggles in Medieval Russian Chronicles

Thursday, September 05

09.30–11.00

- Alberto Pontiroli (Sapienza University of Rome, Charles University of Prague)
SS Constantine-Cyril and Methodius synaxaria in Church Slavonic
- Anna Fitiskina (Higher School of Economics, Russian Language Institute)
Text criticism at the service of linguistics: the case of the Questions of Kirik

- Nicolò Ghigi (Ca' Foscari University of Venice)
Nuove evidenze sulla tradizione slava della Responsio ad fratres minores di Germano II patriarca
- Amber Ivanov (Institute for Literature of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences)
Research project "Reading for laymen in the South Slavic tradition: socio-cultural dynamics of the 14th- to 18th-century repertoire": a state-of-the-art and results

11.30–13.00

- Daniel Kossarev (Institute for Linguistic Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences)
Contra legem Sarracenorum in Slavonic translation of 15th century
- Galina Sapozhnikova (Institute of the Lithuanian Language)
Рукописная традиция кириллических переводов из польского свода Żywoty Świętych Петра Скарги: церковнославянский vs. Руська мова
- Preslava Georgieva (Cyrillo-Methodian Research Centre at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences)
Translator's and Copyists' "Mistakes" in the Life of St. Gregory of Agrigento
- Maksim Gavrilkov (Independent researcher)
The Functions of Biblical Quotations in Early Church Slavonic Grammars (16th–17th c.)

15.00–16.30

- Nicole Hockmann (Georg August University of Göttingen)
Graphematical variation in Old East Slavic birch-bark texts: the ligature <w̄>
- Simeon Dekker (Justus Liebig University Giessen)
Prefixed aorists, perfect tense, and the development of verbal aspect: From Old/Middle Bulgarian to Middle Ukrainian tense usage
- Natalia Iordani (Institute of the Russian Language of the Russian Academy of Sciences)
Gromnik of the 15th century as a source of the Dictionary of the Russian Language: 11–17th cc.

- Kameliya Hristova (Cyrillo-Methodian Research Centre at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences)
The Holy Censer in the Slavonic Translation of the Octateuch
- Yavor Ivanov (SS. Cyril and Methodius National Library)
Още веднъж за лексиката на втория славянски превод на Диалозите на свети Григорий Двоеслов

Friday, September 06

09.30–11.00

- William Pidzamecky (University of Nottingham)
Longphuirt, Wintersetlu, and Gorodišče: A Study of Viking Age Scandinavian Sites in Ireland, England, Russia, and Ukraine from the Eighth to the Tenth Centuries
- Teresa Lombardi (University of Pisa)
Le relazioni culturali fra la Moscovia e gli Stati italiani a cavallo tra Quattrocento e Cinquecento: prospettive di ricerca e metodologie
- Luca Cortesi (University of Pavia)
I “Discorsi sui giorni” di Ivan Chvorostinin (XVII sec.): contesto e prospettive di ricerca

11.00–11.30

Conclusion of the Symposium.

ARTICLES





Греческий языкъ, еллинская рѣчь, еладскыи гласъ:
ON THE DESIGNATION OF THE 'GREEK LANGUAGE'
IN SELECTED WRITINGS OF MAXIMUS THE GREEK

■ *Beatrice Bindi (Italy)*

1. Introduction

Upon his arrival in Muscovy in 1518, Maximus the Greek (c. 1470-1555/56) immediately began translating and revising the sacred texts in the Slavic language, as requested by Grand Prince Vasily III¹. Given that the Greek scholar was unfamiliar with the new cultural context and even the language², the genesis of the skills that enabled him to carry out his work successfully must be sought in his training in Italy (Garzaniti 2010: 349). Maximus the Greek (born Michael Trivolis), who arrived in Florence in 1492 following Giano Lascaris (1445-1534), was first educated at the Florentine Studium (1492-1494/95): as a pupil of Angelo Poliziano (1454-1494), he learnt and assimilated his approach to philology and translation. Later, as secretary to Gianfrancesco Pico (1469-1533) in Mirandola (1498-1503), he worked on the Latin version of the anonymous Greek treatise *De Monarchia Dei* (1501). He probably also worked on the revision of the *Expositiones in Psalmos*, which

¹ In fact, the letter that came to Athos in 1516 from Grand Prince Vasiliy III and Metropolitan Varlaam requested that the monk Savva of the Vatopedi Monastery be sent to Muscovy as a translator. For the reasons why Maximus the Greek was actually chosen for this delicate task, see Garzaniti (2019: 5-11).

² In the letter that the Vatopedi abbot Anfim sent to the metropolitan Varlaam in response to the Grand Prince's request, it is stated that Maximus "knew no other language than Greek and Latin", but that he could "quickly learn the Russian language": «но убо языка не вѣст русскаго, развѣ греческаго и латынскаго; надеѣемъ же ся яко и русскому языку вѣрзо навыкнетъ» (Белокуров 1898: 198).

the more famous uncle, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1464-1494), had collected over many years of study, also based on the Hebrew version. Lastly, after arriving in Venice (1503/04-1506), the Greek *émigré* was employed in Aldus Manutius's (1449/54-1515) printing house, where he became acquainted with the editorial challenges of producing Greek editions of sacred texts³ (Garzaniti 2010: 351).

The intense fifteen years spent in Italy significantly shaped the personality of Maximus the Greek, so that he arrived in Russia as “a man already programmed⁴ by the Western Renaissance” (ШЕВЧЕНКО 2009: 482). A skilled philologist and humanist, he quickly noticed the limited knowledge of Greek among Muscovite intellectuals and devoted himself to promoting a greater and more accurate understanding of it. The Greek language became the cornerstone of Maximus the Greek's philological and translation work, which was distinguished by a certain originality in its approach. Instead of basing his textual corrections on the conventional comparison of various manuscript lists, he advocated the need to compare the manuscript to be revised with the Greek original, which – when read and interpreted with grammatical expertise – could provide accurate answers to the erroneous choices of ancient copyists (Иконников 1915: 183).

Based on these premises, this study examines how the author refers to and denotes the ‘Greek language’ in his Church Slavonic written production. This paper should be seen in the wider context of the author's doctoral research⁵, with which it shares the same subject matter, theoretical approach and methodological framework. Before proceeding to the presentation of materials and methods, a brief review of existing scholarship is offered to underscore the relevance and significance of the research undertaken.

³ It should not be forgotten that around 1497 the Venetian printer published the Greek Psalter, edited by Dekadyos, and a Book of Hours translated from Latin (second edition 1505) (Garzaniti 2010: 351).

⁴ I. Shevchenko uses the participle adjective запрограммированный, borrowing it from the language of computer science.

⁵ The author's doctoral research examines metalinguistic reflection in the work of Maximus the Greek, with the aim of reconstructing the philological and translation terminology he developed under the supposed influence of Italian humanistic-Renaissance culture.

2. State of the Field

Among the many research perspectives on the literary legacy of Maximus the Greek, linguistic studies stand out as particularly important. Following an intensive phase of morphosyntactic analysis⁶, scholarly attention has increasingly shifted toward lexical and semasiological aspects.

M.C. Ferro deserves the credit for opening up this line of inquiry. Her analysis of the terms *ρᾶζυμῶς* and *самовластие* in Maximus the Greek's Church Slavonic works has revealed a number of peculiarities in his *usus verborum*, i.e., the use of words familiar within the Slavic literary tradition but in ways or senses that diverge partially from their conventional usage, alongside the introduction of new terms (Ferro 2019). These findings have stimulated further research, leading to the identification of various Greek and Latin borrowings in his writings (Ферро 2020, Ferro 2021). Following a similar approach, F. Romoli has examined the influence of Girolamo Savonarola's works on Maximus the Greek's vocabulary and phraseology (Romoli 2021).

The two Italian scholars have thus opened up a promising field of research that awaits further exploration. The positive outcomes of their studies encourage continued investigation of Maximus the Greek's use of Church Slavonic lexicon, factoring in the potential influence of the humanistic culture and religious renewal he encountered in late Quattrocento Italy.

3. Materials and methods

This study examines a selection of words and expressions used to denote the 'Greek language' in some works by Maximus the Greek⁷. The three terms, the seven syntagms, and the five selected sources are listed in the Tables (1-2):

⁶ L.S. Kovtun, N.V. Sinityna, B.L. Fonkich (Ковтун, Ситицына, Фонкич 1973) and E.V. Kravets (Кравец 1991) studied the language of Maximus the Greek's translations with the aim of defining the intellectual's innovative role in the elaboration of a new linguistic norm for Church Slavonic texts. I.V. Verner (Вернер 2010) analysed the salient linguistic features of the work of translating the texts, recognising Maximus the Greek as the embodiment of medieval grammatical theory. Finally, C.M. MacRobert (2008, 2017) attempted to investigate the possible antecedents of the variants made by the Athonite monk in his corrections.

⁷ The selection was made on the basis of a thematic criterion: all the selected writings deal, albeit from different angles and in different ways, with linguistic considerations concerning the translation and correction of books from Church Slavonic into Greek. The texts analysed are taken from the two-volume collected works of Maximus the Greek, edited by N.V. Sinityna (Максим Грек 2008, 2014).

Table 1: Terms and expressions

Terms	Expressions
языкъ	греческыи языкъ; еллинскыи языкъ
гласъ	греческыи гласъ; еллинскыи гласъ; еладскыи гласъ
рѣчь	греческая рѣчь; еллинская рѣчь

Table 2: Sources and sources abbreviation

Sources	Sources abbreviation
<i>Послание великому князю Василию III о переводе Толковой Псалтыри</i> (Максим Грек 2008: 151-170)	Послание о переводе I
<i>Послание россиянам, сербам и болгарам о переводе Евангельских бесед Иоанна Златоуста монахом Селиваном</i> (Максим Грек 2008: 355-357)	Послание о переводе II
<i>Слово отвѣцателно о исправлении книгъ рускых, в нем же и на глаголющих, яко плоть Господня по въскресении из мрътвыхъ неописана бысть</i> (Максим Грек 2014: 136-144)	Слово о исправлении книг I
<i>Словцо отвѣцателно о книжном исправлении</i> (Максим Грек 2014: 145-149)	Слово о исправлении книг II
<i>Сказание о иже свышнемъ мирѣ и о спасении душъ наших Господу помолимся</i> (Максим Грек 2014: 281-283)	Сказание

For each term, we reconstruct its semantics and contexts of use through a survey of Old Russian dictionaries (Miklosich, Срезневский, СРЯ 11-17) and sources from the panchronic section (панхронический корпус) of the *National Corpus of the Russian Language* (Национальный корпус русского языка НКРЯ_пан)⁸. After examining any peculiarities in Maximus the Greek's usage of the individual words, we analyse the expressions. Each of these is searched into НКРЯ_пан to assess whether the discourse on the Greek language was significant in literature before and contemporary to the Athonite monk (11th-mid-16th centuries), or whether it gained new momentum as a result of his work. In this regard, we explore possible instances of continued use of the syntagms analysed in later sources (late 16th-18th centuries)⁹. The study concludes with an analysis of selected textual fragments from the works of Maximus the Greek, which allow us to approach the study of the lexicon from a broader intertextual and intercultural perspective.

4. ChSl. языкъ, гласъ, рѣчь

4.1. ChSl. языкъ

4.1.1. The definition in dictionaries

Dictionaries give the following meanings for ChSl. языкъ (Gk. γλῶσσα, Lat. lingua): 1. tongue (anatomy) (членъ, часть тела, языкъ во рту); 2. language (system of communication) (языкъ, нарѣчие); 3. the people (народъ, племя); 4. only in the plural, the foreigners, the pagans (иноплеменники, язычники) (Miklosich; Срезневский; СРЯ 11-17).

⁸ The panchronic corpus of the НКРЯ (<<https://ruscorpora.ru/>>), developed in 2022, combines historical texts (исторические корпуса) and the main corpus (основной корпус), the oldest sources of which date back to the 17th-18th centuries. This tool makes it possible to conduct linguistic research on different centuries of Russian literary language history, on more than three hundred-million-word forms. For the present study, we used a sub-corpus of selected sources from the 12th to the 18th centuries.

⁹ The methodology adopted here was developed by M.C. Ferro and F. Romoli, who have successfully applied it over the last decade both to the study of the ChSl. lexical heritage as a whole (Ferro, Romoli 2014; Romoli 2018; Ромоли, Ферро 2018) and to the analysis of the authorial vocabulary of Maximus the Greek (see above).

4.1.2. Examples in НКРЯ_пан

Tongue (anatomy): ChSl. языкъ may refer to the ‘tongue’ (anatomy) or, by metaphorical extension, to the ‘ability to express oneself’ (и ты же птиць не(с)нзына· оумудренъ тобою· г(с)и· егда повелиши то вспюуть· и члѣкъы веселать тебе и егда же не повелиши имъ· языкъ же имѣюще внѣмѣють, “and the birds of the air are wise in your sight, O Lord; when you command them, they sing and make men merry; but when You do not command them, they are dumb, though they have a tongue” – ПБМ).

Language (way of speaking): ChSl. языкъ means ‘language’, understood as the system of communication shared by a given community (и тудѣ молвят, и есть не разумѣти языку их, “and there they speak, but it is impossible to understand their language” – МЛС).

The people: especially when used in the plural, ChSl. языкъ may denote ‘the people’. This connotation is mainly found in historical sources (и елико инѣхъ на вѣсточнѣи странѣ сѣдѣщихъ языкъ великы(х), “and a certain amount of other great peoples dwelling in the Eastern land” – А).

4.2. ChSl. гласъ

4.2.1. The definition in dictionaries

ChSl. гласъ (Gk. φωνή, ἦχος, Lat. vox) denotes: 1. the voice (голос), the sound (звук), and thus the ability to speak, in the sense of making sounds (способность говорить); 2. an utterance (изречение, высказывание, произнесенное вслух); 3. language, speech (язык, речь) (from the 16th cent. onwards); 4. in the ecclesiastical context, liturgical chant (напев) (Miklosich; Срезневский; СРЯ 11-17).

4.2.2. Examples in НКРЯ_пан

Voice. ChSl. гласъ denotes the ‘voice’, usually human (хвалить же похвалными гласы римскаа страна Петра и Паула, “the Roman country praises Peter and Paul with voices of laudation” – СЗБ; и слышаша гласъ блаженнаго страсотърпыца поюща псалтырь заутрънюю, “and they heard the voice of the blessed Passion-bearer singing the Matins Psalter” – СБГ).

4.3. ChSl. рѣчь

4.3.1. The definition in dictionaries

ChSl. рѣчь (Gk. ῥήμα, Lat. verbum; Gk. λέξις, Lat. sermo) has the following meanings: 1. speech (речь), also understood as the manner of speaking (манера говорить) and ability to speak (способность говорить); 2. language (язык); 3. what is said, someone's words (то, что сказано, чьи-л. слова); 4. story (рассказ), narrative (повествование); 5. conversation (беседа), speaking (разговор); 6. in grammar, verb (глагол) (Miklosich; Срезневский; СРЯ 11-17).

4.3.2. Examples in НКРЯ_пан

Speech, words. ChSl. рѣчь frequently means 'speech', 'words' said by someone (пославши рѣ(к) моеа, гѣ цѣрю, "listen to my words, sovereign lord" – ПАП; ино промежь государей никакой ссоры не будеть и неподобные речи и блудные, "then between the lords there will be no discussion, no unseemly and impudent speeches" – Д).

Language. In a small number of examples, ChSl. рѣчь also refers to 'language' (Но и паче же многи труды и подвиги подъях от исправления иностранных и древних пословиць, переводя на русскую рѣчь, "But even more effort and difficulties he had to face when correcting and translating foreign and ancient works into the Russian language" – ВМЧ).

4.4. ChSl. языкъ, гласъ, рѣчь in Maximus the Greek

In his writings, Maximus the Greek uses языкъ and гласъ synonymously to convey the meaning of 'language,' specifically as a 'linguistic system' or 'codified idiom'. Here we consider the examples (1-5):

(1) Сие же глаголю, поелику еллинскыи глас къ еже избыловати многозначением и многоименованием глаголании, но и чинми, образы различными глаголаниа [...] съкровенъ есть ("But this I say, because the Greek language, due to the plurality of meanings and ways of indicating words, but also due to the arrangement and various forms of the words [...] is cryptic" – Послание о переводе I).

(2) Аще убо будут от сильных в разсужении греческаго гласа глауборазумнаго, аще грамматичными художества и риторскою силою взоружени будут доволнѣ, не от себе сие, но от учителяи искусѣиших стяжаша [...] (“If, therefore, they are endowed with a profound understanding of the Greek language, rich in deep meanings, and if they are adequately equipped with the grammatical skill and rhetorical strength, if they won’t have it acquired on their own, but thanks to the teachings of the most skilled masters [...]” – Послание о переводе I).

(3) [...] по сии епистолиа нашего брата Селивана, иже книгу сию от еладскаго гласа добръише же и благоразумѣише [...] на русскои преложшю (“[...] according to this epistle of our brother Selivan, who translated this book well and judiciously from the Greek language [...] into Russian” – Послание о переводе II).

(4) [...] и приснопамятнымъ переводникомъ святыхъ писании от греческаго языка на рускыи [...] (“[...] and the ever-memorable translator of the Holy Scriptures from Greek into Russian [...]” – Слово о исправлении книг I).

(5) [...] яко еллинскыи языкъ, сирѣчь греческыи, зѣло есть хытрѣишыи [...] (“[...] for the Hellenic language, that is, Greek, is exceedingly complex [...]” – Слово о исправлении книг II).

The synonymous use of these terms is unusual in the Slavic context. Analysis of dictionaries and НКРЯ_пан data shows that within the Church Slavonic writing tradition, only языкъ was commonly used to denote ‘language’ as a ‘linguistic system’, while гласъ typically referred to ‘voice’. Although СРЯ 11-17 records the meaning of ‘language’ for гласъ from the 16th century onwards, this usage appears to have been rare and not widely adopted. In order to understand the origins of this synonymous use of terms in the work of Maximus the Greek, we have explored the possibility of influence from his native language. As noted in Miklosich, ChSl. гласъ renders Gk. φωνή, which in the Slavic area was interpreted exclusively as a phonetic aspect (‘voice’, ‘sound’). However, by consulting Greek dictionaries in the *Logeion* database (ΛΟΓΕΙΟΝ)¹⁰, we found that φωνή consistently includes

¹⁰ ΛΟΓΕΙΟΝ is a digital archive that allows simultaneous searching of entries in the many reference works that make up the Perseus Classical collection and many others (<<https://logeion.uchicago.edu/about>>).

meanings of ‘language’, ‘the language specific to a people’ and ‘idiom’. Based on these considerations, it is possible that Maximus the Greek projected the full range of semantic content of Gk. φωνή onto ChSl. гласъ.

The Athonite monk uses ChSl. рѣчь to mean ‘phrase,’ understood as a group of words constructed with strict grammatical coherence, as examples (6-9) show:

(6) [...] в них же растлѣвашеся [...] ово же от самѣх исперва сътворъшихъ книжныи перевод, приснопамятныхъ мужей, речет бо ся истина, есть негдѣ неполно разумѣвшихъ силу еллинскихъ рѣчей, и сего ради далече истинны отпадоша (“[...] in them [sacred books] there have indeed been some errors, resulting from the very first translators, men of blessed memory, who, it has to be said, did not always fully comprehend the power of the Greek expressions, and thus strayed far from the truth” – Слово о исправлении книг I).

(7) Но понеже съзвыскание бысть и о том: Богъ бо въ рождѣися, сего ради и естества, по вашему переводу, истоцишися, ли не истоцишися, ли новопрѣсѣчеся, – въдомо да есть твоему преподобию, яко не пришло ни едино не точию къ истинѣ греческыя рѣчи (“But since the issue was also about this: for God was born, therefore the nature, according to your translation, being exhausted or not exhausted, or newly ceased – let it be known to your reverence that not a single expression has come even close to the true meaning of the Greek phrase” – Сказание).

(8) Богъ бо, рече, въ рождѣися, тѣм же и всемогущею божественною силою Своею естества, рекше женскыи еже о зачатии и рожествѣ ихъ обычаи, по истиннѣи гречестѣи рѣчи екенотомисе, рекше странно и необычнѣ преложилъ или прѣмѣнилъ есть (“For God, it is said, was born, and by His almighty divine power, He wondrously and extraordinarily transformed or changed the nature – namely, the women customs regarding conception and childbirth – in a manner that is expressed as *ekenotomise*, according to the truth of the Greek phrase” – Сказание).

(9) По истинѣ ѹбо греческыя рѣчи тотъ есть тлъкъъ сущее, а еже глаголати «истоцишя» или «новопрѣсѣчеся», далече истины стоить (“The true Greek meaning is this, whereas to say, ‘exhausted,’ or ‘newly ceased,’ is far from the truth” – Сказание).

Here we note another characteristic of originality in the author's lexical use, whereby ChSl. рѣчь acquires a new meaning compared to the traditional one of 'speech'. As in the previous case, we looked for a plausible explanation for this phenomenon in his native Greek: consultation of dictionaries on ΛΟΓΕΙΟΝ indicates that λέξις (Gk. for ChSl. рѣчь in Miklosich) can mean 'phrase'. Once again, Greek semantics seems to have influenced the Church Slavonic vocabulary in the work of the Athonite monk.

The lexical innovations of Maximus the Greek discussed here should be contextualised both historically and culturally. According to the reconstruction of lexicographical developments in Rus' by L.S. Kovtun (Ковтун 1975), beginning in the 16th-17th centuries, a number of revisions of texts dedicated to translation appeared in Muscovy, including the reflections of John the Exarch on the Slavic language placed as a preface to his translation of the *Theology* of John of Damascus (Предисловие Иоанна Екзарха болгарского к переводу Богословия Иоанна Дамаскину). The Russian author of the revision had made lexical adjustments, affecting, among other things, the set of words глаголь - рѣчь - гласъ. The term глаголь was replaced twice by рѣчь and twice by гласъ. In all these cases the original Greek text had λέξις ('word', but also 'phrase'). The term гласъ was already present in the work of John the Exarch, but in reference to another Greek word, ἦχος ('voice'), in a passage emphasising the primacy of word meaning over sound (Ковтун 1975: 19). It is clear that sixteenth-century Muscovite intellectuals were not familiar with the significant semantic distinctions between terms related to language and its components. Against this background, the usage of Maximus the Greek stands out, offering a reconfiguration of this terminology based on a closer adherence to his native idiom.

5. Expressions for the 'Greek language': a comparison between НКРЯ_пан and Maximus the Greek

As observed from the analysed textual fragments (examples 1-9), Maximus the Greek associates the nouns языкъ, гласъ, and рѣчь with the adjectives греческыи, еллинскыи, and еладскыи to properly refer to the realm of the 'Greek language'.

Consulting НКРЯ_пан, we find that expressions such as греческыи гласъ, елладскыи гласъ, греческая рѣчь, and еллинская рѣчь are never attested. For the syntagm греческыи языкъ, six examples were found. The vast majority of these examples originate from chronicles, particularly from fragments that recount the translation of texts from Greek into Old Church Slavonic by Saints Constantine-Cyril and Methodius (и преложи вса книги исполнь. ѿ гречьска ѣзыка въ словѣнскъ, “and translated all the books from Greek to the Slavic language” – ПВЛ, НКЛ, НЛ, ХЛ). Beyond these instances, references to the ‘Greek language’ itself are rare in literature from the 11th to the 17th centuries. The expression греческымъ языкомъ, in the instrumental case, is more often used in passing to mean ‘in Greek’ (написано грѣческымъ языкомъ, “written in Greek” – СВ). Occurrences of the expression греческыи языкъ in the sense of a linguistic system consisting of rules and norms to be learnt appear in pedagogical sources from the late 17th and 18th centuries (“А кто греческими буквы писать что хочет, тот должен и правописание греческаго языка хранить”, “And whoever wants to write in Greek letters must also preserve Greek orthography” – Татищев).

The syntagm еллинскыи языкъ has a total of nine occurrences in НКРЯ_пан. Of these, four appear in the same source, *Alexander Romance* (*Александрия*), denoting the ‘dialect of the Hellenes’ (в ѿнемъ же слышахомъ рѣчь члѣску, еллинскымъ ѣзыкомъ, глѣущихъ, “they heard a human voice, speaking in the Hellenic language” – А). Further attestations of the expression are later. In sources from the late 15th to the 18th centuries, еллинскыи языкъ can take the meaning of an idiom in which ancient authoritative texts were written, for which a Slavic equivalent could be rendered through translation (И отголѣ распротранилося то преведение въ еллинскомъ языкѣ, и от еллинскаго языка преиде въ латынскыи языкъ, “And from there, this translation [Septuagint] spread in the Greek language, and from Greek it passed into Latin” – Геннадий).

The syntagm еллинскыи гласъ is attested in НКРЯ_пан only in the *Tale of the Battle with Mamai* (*Сказание о мамаевомъ побоище*), where, however, it does not indicate the Greek language. Here, the еллинскыи гласъ instead refers to the ‘foreign/pagan voice’ (Погании же половци увидѣша свою погыбель,

КЛИКНУША ЄДИНЬСКИМ ГЛАСОМ, ГЛАГОЛЮЩЕ, “But the vile Polovtsian saw their doom and cried out in a foreign language [in their own, pagan, language]” – СМП).

The quantitative data collected thus far shows sparse, if not entirely absent, occurrences of the syntagms used by Maximus the Greek within НКРЯ_пан. Discourse concerning the Greek language is virtually absent in Slavic sources prior to the late 15th–early 16th century. From this perspective, the innovative role of the Athonite monk appears in a new light, prompting us to formulate the following thesis: through his frequent use of terms relating to the ‘Greek language’, the author not only enriched and redefined Slavic terminology but also provided Muscovite intellectuals with new conceptual and substantive stimuli. Aware that НКРЯ_пан does not constitute a comprehensive record of Slavic literary testimonies, we consider our conclusions provisional and plan, in the future, to supplement our study with the consultation of additional digital collections.

6. Analysis of excerpts from Maximus the Greek: intertextual relationships and intercultural influences

At the end of this study, we present a closer examination of the text fragments of Maximus the Greek in which the terms and expressions analysed were found. Indeed, the analysis of linguistic contexts often allows us to capture subtle semantic nuances or to discern interesting intercultural insights. In this respect, we refer to some of the passages already mentioned in the previous sections of our work (examples 1-9):

(1) Сие же глаголю, поелику єдиньскыи глас кз еже избыловати многознамением и многоименованием глаголанни, но и чинми, образы различными глаголана – Послание о переводе I.

To define the properties of the Greek language (єдиньскыи глась), in the *Letter on the Translation of the Psalter* (Послание о переводе I), Maximus the Greek uses the nouns многознамение and многоименование. These terms are never attested in НКРЯ_пан. Among dictionaries, they appear exclusively in СРЯ 11-17: the only

examples of usage given here are from the epistle of Maximus the Greek. In light of these findings, it seems plausible to hypothesise that ChSl. многозначение and многоименование are original creations of the Athonite monk, who may have used them to convey the Gk. πολυσημία ('polysemy') and συνωνυμία ('synonymy'). Where the Muscovite intellectual environment lacked adequate conceptual categories and terminology for characterizing the ελληνίσκым гласъ, the author retrieved the necessary meanings from his native language and transposed them into the Slavic context through new calques.

Again, in the *Letter on the Translation of the Psalter*, Maximus the Greek characterises the Greek language (греческым гласъ) as 'rich in deep meanings' (глубокообразумным):

(2) Аще убо будут от сильных в разсужении греческаго гласа глубокообразумнаго, аще грамматичными художества и риторскою силою взоружени будут доволне, не от себе сие, но от учителя и искусьиших стяжаша – Послание о переводе I.

The adjective глубокообразумным is neither recorded in dictionaries nor attested in НКРЯ_пан sources. Once again, it might be an original creation of the author. The Athonite monk's tendency to expand the Slavic lexicon with a particular preference for compound forms (*composita*) has been repeatedly noted in the existing literature. As argued by M.N. Speransky (Сперанский 1960: 182), Maximus the Greek used to produce a wide variety of compound adjectives, drawing from a much richer repertoire than his contemporaries in terms of the elements combined.

In НКРЯ_пан, indeed, we do find one attestation of the adjective in the form глубокообразумным, in the *Tale of the Life of Tsar Fedor Ivanovich* (*Сказание о житии царя Феодора Ивановича*, 1598-1605) by Patriarch Job: Аще убо кто будет и от сильных в разсужении и глубокообразумнаго российскаго языка, аще и грамматичными художества и риторскою силою преукрашени будутъ доволне [...] ("If, therefore, they are endowed with a profound understanding of the Greek language, rich in deep meanings, and if they are adequately equipped with the grammatical skill and rhetorical strength [...]") – ЖФИ). One detail immediately draws our attention:

АЩЕ УБО БУДУТ ОТ СИЛНЫХ
 В РАЗСУЖЕНИИ ГРЕЧЕСКАГО
 ГЛАСА ГЛУБОРАЗУМНАГО, АЩЕ
 ГРАМАТИЧНЫМИ ХУДОЖЕСТВЫ
 И РИТОРСКОЮ СИЛОЮ ВЪОРУЖЕНИ
 БУДУТ ДОВОЛНЪ, НЕ ОТ
 СЕБЕ СИЕ, НО ОТ УЧИТЕЛЕИ
 ИСКУСНѢИШИХ СТЯЖАША —
 Послание о переводе I.

АЩЕ УБО КТО БУДЕТ
 И ОТ СИЛНЫХ В РАЗСУЖЕНИИ
 И ГЛУБОКОРАЗУМНОГО
 РОСИЙСКОГО ЯЗЫКА, АЩЕ И
 ГРАМОТИЧНЫМИ ХУДОЖЕСТВЫ
 И РИТОРСКОЮ СИЛОЮ
 ПРЕУКРАШЕНИ
 БУДУТЪ ДОВОЛНЕ —
 ЖФИ.

The text of the Patriarch Job mirrors exactly that of Maximus the Greek, except that the adjective *глубокообразумный* refers to Russian rather than Greek. We can assume that the author of the tale had some knowledge of the Athonite monk's epistle. The form *глубокообразумный* instead of *глубообразумный* could perhaps be explained as a case of linguistic correction: in Middle Russian (mid-15th century-late 17th century), compounds of the adjective *глубокий* generally took the form *глубок(о)+second word* (rather than *глубо+second word*)¹¹. Thus, Job's tale may have followed the model of the text of Maximus the Greek, replacing the interesting but grammatically irregular compound with a more standard form that obeyed the grammatical rules of word formation.

The fragment from the Athonite monk's letter details the skills required to be considered an expert in the Greek language. The expressions *грамматическими художествами* and *риторскою силою* are significant not so much linguistically as culturally and intercultural. The theorisation of a 'scientific' linguistic competence based on the arts of grammar and rhetoric reflects Maximus the Greek's training in the *Studia Humanitatis*¹². His experience in Italy, Garzaniti (2010: 358) argues, had made him aware, first and foremost, of the importance of specific training for the translator, for whom native fluency alone was not enough. This was a novel

¹¹ See Срезневский, СРЯ 11-17.

¹² In Renaissance Italy, the term *Studia humanitatis* was used to refer to a particular cycle of studies that included grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history, and moral philosophy (Kristeller 1962: 383).

approach for seventeenth-century Muscovy, where, as a result of the weakening of direct links with Byzantium (especially following the proclamation of the autocephaly of the Russian Church and the fall of Constantinople), knowledge of and interest in Greek were in decline (Кабанков 2021: 134), and where those who undertook translations from Greek often did so “with very little study” (Иконников 1915: 19).

In his *Commentary on the verse “For peace from above, and for the salvation of our souls, let us pray to the Lord”* (Сказание), Maximus the Greek criticises the errors of interpretation committed by earlier translators of liturgical texts. In doing so, he relies on the criterion of the ‘truth of the Greek phrase’ (истина греческыя рѣчи):

(7) [...] вѣдомо да есть твоему преподавию, яко не пришло ни едино не точию къ истинѣ греческыя рѣчи [...]

(8) рекше женскыи еже о зачатии и рождествѣ ихъ обычаи, по истиннѣи гречестѣи рѣчи екенотомисе [...].

(9) По истинѣ убо греческыя рѣчи тотъ есть тлъкъ сущее, а еже глаголати истошися или новопрѣсѣчяся, далече истины стоить – Сказание.

The textual fragments examined here allow us to reconstruct some of the principles of Maximus the Greek’s philological and translation method, which reflects the influence of humanist philological criticism. In particular, the concept of истина греческыя рѣчи may recall the ‘*veritas graeca*’, a notion that guided Lorenzo Valla in his *Collation of the New Testament* (*Collatio Novi Testamenti*, 1447). The Roman humanist, founder of a new type of biblical exegesis, subjected the base language of Latin and Western theological speculation to critical grammatical analysis, interpreting the collation of the New Testament as a reduction of the translated language/word of the Vulgate to the ‘*veritas graeca*’, the only, true ‘sacred text’, primary and absolutely valid as ‘revealed truth’ (Camporeale 2002: 4). Indeed, the possibility of methodological affinities between Lorenzo Valla and Maximus the Greek has already been considered in the scholarly literature: after a first comparison based on *On the Falsely Believed and Lying Donation of Constantine* (*De falso credita et ementita Constantini donatione*, 1440), Garzaniti (2010: 360) suggests that the types of errors Maximus identifies in the Slavic books are similar to those humanists reflected upon in their philological work.

Finally, one last example is considered (10), which, although it has not been mentioned before in this work, reveals some remarkable aspects:

(10) Муж бо сеи естества приуличився деснаго, и ко приатию словесных учении наипаче остроумен явлься, и тшание же внес нехудо, в малых лѣтѣх въ нрав изряден бысть, иже у нас сладкаго гласа ниже въ Афины, ниже в прочую сладу по древаелюбоученных отити потребовав, но в самом своем отечествѣ [...] (“For this man [the monk Selivan], being naturally inclined toward virtue, showed exceptional sharpness in receiving learned instruction, and he applied himself diligently. In his youth, he exhibited an exceptional character, not needing to go to Athens or elsewhere in Greece among the lovers of ancient teachings to acquire our sweet language, but remaining in his own homeland [...]” – Послание о переводе II).

In the *Letter on the Translation of St John Chrysostom on the Gospel of Matthew* (Послание о переводе II) by the monk Selivan¹³, the author uses the expression ‘sweet language’ (сладкый гласъ) to refer to Greek. After checking in НКРЯ_пан, we found that this association is never attested elsewhere. However, a similar expression, сладкый языкъ, does appear in a testimony of Selivan himself (Свидетельство троицкого монаха Селивана 1524 г., РГБ, ф. 98. Егор. 920, л. 336 об.): [...] разумом же и наказанием премудрѣшаго старца Максима [...] мужа велии мудра въ всѣх трѣх языцѣх, в еллинском, глаголю, и римском и во сладчайшем мнѣ руском (“Through the wisdom and instruction of the wisest elder Maximus, whom the sovereign himself summoned with his royal letter from the Holy Mountain – a man exceedingly learned in all three languages, namely Greek, Latin, and, sweetest to me, Russian”) (Синицына 2009: 74).

To propose a possible interpretation of the linguistic data examined here, it is essential to consider the functional relation-

¹³ Selivan, a monk of the Trinity Lavra of St. Sergius, was one of the most brilliant pupils of Maximus the Greek. He learnt the Greek language from his mentor and, having mastered it with expert skill, was able to independently translate St John Chrysostom’s Homilies on the Gospel of Matthew (Беседы Иоанна Златоуста на Евангелие от Матфея); see Ковтун (1975: 11-12).

ship between the texts mentioned. Selivan's composition appears at the beginning of his translation, functioning as a preface, while Maximus the Greek's epistle is placed at the end, functioning as a postface (see Кабанков 2021: 135-136). If in their function the two writings were mirror images, from a linguistic point of view, the use of the expressions *сладкый гласъ/языкъ* is also mirror-like. For Maximus, who praises Selivan's thorough preparation, it is Greek, his mother tongue, that is described as 'sweet'. Similarly, but in reverse, Selivan, who mentions Maximus's great erudition, describes Russian, his mother tongue, as the 'sweetest'. It is reasonable to assume that Selivan, the disciple, was inspired by the formulation of his master, Maximus, and thus associated the concept of *сладкый языкъ* with that of *родной языкъ* ('native language'). It may be interesting to extend this investigation to the works of other intellectuals who were close to the Athonite monk, in order to uncover analogous cases of reciprocal linguistic influence. For now, it is worth noting Maximus the Greek's remarkable ability to work actively on the Church Slavonic lexicon, transforming both its forms and its meanings.

7. Conclusions

This study has provided an in-depth examination of the terms and expressions used by Maximus the Greek to refer to the 'Greek language' in selected works, thus contributing new insights into the dynamics shaping the Muscovite cultural landscape of the early 16th century.

The author distinguished himself by creatively adapting Church Slavonic terminology to capture the full semantic range of Greek concepts, using terms such as *гласъ* ('voice') and *рѣчь* ('speech') with meanings that were unusual in earlier Slavic sources ('language', 'phrase'). His work reflects a conscious effort to improve the Church Slavonic lexicon by offering more precise ways of discussing linguistic categories for which exact terminology was lacking. At the same time, the Athonite monk integrated the rigorous philological methods he had learnt in Italy with the Slavic Orthodox tradition, thus driving significant intellectual advances in Muscovy, in the perspective of a *translatio studiorum* from West to East.

The research faced some methodological challenges in attempting to combine the history of the lexicon with the history of ideas, and thus a narrow linguistic perspective with a broader literary-textual and cultural one. However, this integrated approach seems to have been successfully adapted to the analysis of the lexical use of Maximus the Greek. Future avenues of research could extend to a wider and more comprehensive reconstruction of the author's terminology in the field of linguistic and philological practices, based on a larger number of texts. Such an investigation would enhance our understanding of how Maximus the Greek's lexical and conceptual frameworks shaped Russian culture and broaden our perspective on his role as a cultural mediator between humanistic, Byzantine and East Slavic traditions.

ABBREVIATIONS

ChSL.	Church Slavonic
Gk.	Greek
Lat.	Latin
А.	<i>Александрия (XI-XIII вв.).</i>
ВМЧ	<i>Из Великих Миней Четых митрополита Макария. Сентябрь. Летописец (1530-1554).</i>
Геннадий	<i>Геннадий (Гонзов). Послание Геннадия Иоасафу (1489).</i>
Д.	<i>Домострой (1500-1560).</i>
ЖФИ	<i>Сказание о житии царя Феодора Ивановича (1598-1605).</i>
МСЛ	<i>Московский летописный свод (1479-1492).</i>
НКЛ	<i>Новгородская Карамзинская летопись. Первая выборка (первая половина XV в.).</i>
НЛ	<i>Никоновская летопись [859-1176 гг.] (1526-1530).</i>
НКРЯ_пан	<i>Национальный корпус русского языка. Панхронический корпус.</i>
ПАП	<i>Повесть об Акире Премудром (середина XI в. – первая треть XIII в.).</i>
ПВЛ	<i>Повесть временных лет по Лаврентьевскому списку (1110-е).</i>
ПВМ	<i>Владимир Мономах. Поучение Владимира Мономаха (1090-е – 1110-е).</i>
СВ	<i>Сказание о Вавилоне (1390-1410).</i>
СЗБ	<i>Иларион Киевский. Слово о законе и благодати (1037-1050).</i>

СБГ	<i>Сказание о Борисе и Глебе по Успенскому сборнику</i> (вторая пол. XI в.).
СМП	<i>Сказание о Мамаевом побоище</i> (первая четверть XV в.).
Татищев	В.Н. Татищев. <i>Письмо В. К. Тредиаковскому</i> (1736).
ХЛ	<i>Холмогорская летопись</i> [852-1559 гг.] (1540-1560).

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Греческий языкъ, еллинская рѣчь, еладскыи гласъ:
ON THE DESIGNATION OF THE 'GREEK LANGUAGE'
IN SELECTED WRITINGS OF MAXIMUS THE GREEK

Summary

The article examines the terminology used by Maximus the Greek to refer to and denote the 'Greek language' in his Church Slavonic written production. Maximus the Greek, a sixteenth-century scholar and monk, was educated in Renaissance Italy and later invited to Russia to revise and translate sacred texts. His approach to translation was innovative, emphasising the comparison of Slavic manuscripts with Greek originals and introducing precise lexical adaptations to capture complex Greek concepts. The study focuses on three key terms (языкъ, гласъ, рѣчь) and their combinations with adjectives denoting 'Greek' (греческыи, еллинскыи, еладскыи). By examining the use of these words and expressions in their linguistic contexts, the article shows how the author expanded the Church Slavonic lexicon by incorporating meanings derived from Greek that were uncommon or absent in earlier Slavic sources. These lexical-semantic innovations also reflect his deep philological training and his efforts to bridge the intellectual traditions of Byzantine, humanistic, and East Slavic cultures. The research examines the work of Maximus the Greek within the broader perspective of the cultural and historical dynamics of sixteenth-century Muscovy, highlighting his role as a mediator of ideas and methodologies. His influence not only improved the linguistic tools available to Russian scholars but also shaped the metadiscourse on translation, language and textual criticism at a time of significant cultural change.

Keywords: Maximus the Greek; Greek language terminology; lexical innovation; humanism; book correction and translation; 16th-century Muscovy.

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PREFIXED AORISTS, PERFECT TENSE,
AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF VERBAL ASPECT:
FROM CHURCH SLAVONIC TO RUTHENIAN USAGE

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1. INTRODUCTION

The subject of this contribution is of both a linguistic and a philological kind. The linguistic topic of verbal aspect and morphology will be linked to the philological problem of textual provenance and translation techniques in historical texts. This will be done by looking at verb forms in the Homiliary Gospel translated in 1616 by Meletij Smotryc'kyj from Church Slavonic into Ruthenian, the common literary language of what would later become the Belarusian and Ukrainian nations, which were not yet identified as distinct entities in the 17th century.

I shall discuss some aspectual theory only in the most general terms, as my main concern is to let the material speak for itself. Barentsen (1985; 2008) and Dickey (2000) classify the Slavic languages in terms of verbal aspect into an Eastern and a Western group. Polish is considered to occupy an intermediate position, especially when it comes to past habitual contexts. Fortuin & Kamphuis (2015: 171) speak of a “Northern transitional zone”. Bearing in mind the profound influence Polish played in the Eastern Slavic parts of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, it is interesting to investigate to what extent Polish sources may have influenced the choice of prefixed or unprefixed perfective verbs corresponding to Church Slavonic prefixed aorists. The development of the function of prefixation in the creation of aspectual pairs may have been at different

stages in Polish and Ruthenian as opposed to Church Slavonic. Therefore, leaving aside issues of verb classes and temporal relations in the context, I want to focus on the basic question whether the use of Ruthenian prefixed preterites indicates aspectual differences in a generalizable way, just like present-day Polish or Russian, or whether semantics characteristic of *Aktionsart* were intended. To answer this linguistic question, a philological treatment of the relevant material is necessary.

A Ruthenian source is especially suitable to serve as a case study, due to the various linguistic influences that converged in it. The religious texts in Ruthenian (also known as *prosta mova*) represent an important step in the transition from the Middle Ages to the Early Modern era. This language, which was common to the Eastern Slavic population living in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, initially emerged as a chancery idiom in the 14th century (Moser 2005: 137), but developed and broadened into a truly literary language in the late 16th century. Although Ruthenian is indisputably a distinct East Slavic language, it absorbed many influences from West and South Slavic (Polish and Church Slavonic). Smotryc'kyj, although writing the majority of his religious polemics in Polish, used Ruthenian for his Homiliary Gospel when the language was at the height of its popularity. Accordingly, the present contribution does not deal with Old Church Slavonic or Middle Bulgarian per se, but with its reception (or aftermath) in the East and West Slavic realm. It concerns the reception of a medieval textual tradition in the Early Modern period on the border of two Slavic realms.

Smotryc'kyj translated the 78 homilies in his Homiliary Gospel into Ruthenian from a Church Slavonic printed edition, which is itself based on a manuscript tradition that dates back to a South Slavic (Middle Bulgarian) translation from the Greek (1343). Importantly, the gospel pericopes (that is, the passages from the four gospels that precede each homily) were not included in the Church Slavonic manuscripts and printed editions. It follows from this that they must have a different provenance. Earlier research has established that the Church Slavonic Ostroh Bible (cf. Dovga & Kyselov 2018) and Budny's Polish Bible

(cf. Frick 1987: XII-XIII; Garzaniti 1999: 176) are the most significant sources, although these conclusions have been reached on the basis of a rather limited data sample; a more systematic investigation is necessary. Therefore, as a first step towards this goal, I will investigate how a sample of prefixed aorists is rendered in Ruthenian, with the intermediary of the Church Slavonic Ostroh Bible and the Polish Budny Bible. A discussion has at times emerged as to the degree of originality of written Ruthenian vis-à-vis its dependence on the culturally and politically more dominant Polish language. So two issues emerge here: 1) Smotryc'kyj's dependence on Polish sources; 2) the state of the Ruthenian system of tenses and verbal aspect. These two need to be disentangled. We shall do this by analyzing examples using qualitative methods, as for the time being an electronic corpus does not exist, which would allow for quantitative conclusions.

In the present investigation, I restrict myself to the gospel pericopes, for which an explicit influence of Polish Bible translations can be proven. The text of the homilies was translated from a Church Slavonic printed text that is based on a Middle Bulgarian original. Comparing the differences in tense usage, verbal aspect and prefixation between the gospel pericopes and the homilies would be an interesting topic calling for further research.

For the purposes of the present investigation, I shall restrict myself to the 1st and 2nd persons singular and plural, because these examples will inevitably also show the auxiliary, which can be left out in the 3rd person. I start with a quantitative overview of the data collection. After that, I shall zoom in to some of the most interesting individual examples, upon which my argumentation will hinge.

In the Ostroh Bible, the majority of the 1st and 2nd person past tense forms in the gospel pericopes included in Smotryc'kyj's Homiliary Gospel are aorists (81% or 119 out of 147 tokens). This is unsurprising, as the gospel pericopes contain many narrative passages. The majority of these 119 Church Slavonic aorists are translated into Ruthenian as synthetic preterites of what I call the "Polish type" (76% or 91 tokens). This means that the auxiliary

and the participle have merged into one synthetic form, as was and still is the case in Polish.¹ This verb tense became popular in the Ruthenian written language from the late 16th century onwards (e.g. *внустилемь* ‘I have forgiven’), presumably due to the cultural and political dominance of Polish. In a minority of cases (20% or 24 tokens), the traditional, analytical Slavic perfect was used, where the auxiliary and the participle remain separate (e.g. *просиль еси* ‘you have asked’). We shall encounter both types of preterites in the examples below.

A few words will suffice to explain the different sources you will see in each example. The Greek Bible text is given according to the scholarly critical edition (Nestle, Aland 2012). The King James Version is added as an (albeit archaic, but) very literal English rendition. For Matthew and John, a critical Old Church Slavonic edition is available (Алексеев et al. 1998; 2005). Then comes the Church Slavonic Ostroh Bible (1580/81), one of the two main sources Smotryc’kyj used; a semi-facsimile edition is available (Острозька Біблія 2006). Smotryc’kyj’s other major source is Budny’s Polish Bible of 1574 (facsimile by Rothe, Scholz 1994). Finally, Tjapinski’s Ruthenian (sometimes called Old Belarusian) gospel translation (around 1580; facsimile by Halenčanka 2005), of which only Matthew and Mark have survived in print, is taken to illustrate that Smotryc’kyj’s translation decisions are not without alternative. While Tjapinski was also influenced by Polish Bibles, especially Budny’s (Клімаў 2009: 15; Naumow 2017: 129), he sometimes chose different verbs compared to Smotryc’kyj.² This is most likely to be due to his tendency towards vernacular purism (cf. Stern 2019: 639–640).

¹ The auxiliary can also be used enclitically in Wackernagel’s position (see Kuraszkievicz 1981: 129 for Polish; see Frick 1987: 47 for one Ruthenian example among many: *колижесмо та видѣли лакнучого, и накормили?*)

² Although Tjapinski is often claimed to have been Belarusian and Smotryc’kyj Ukrainian, these terms are anachronisms. It must be maintained that both authors were part of the same linguistic continuum, united by the same supra-regional literary language (cf. Moser 2005: 125–126). It is incorrect to assume that any differences between these authors are due to a division between Belarusian and Ukrainian dialects of Ruthenian. On the contrary, literary Ruthenian emerged on the basis of the exclusion of distinctive regional dialect features. It must, therefore, also be maintained that Ruthenian was not a common ancestor of the present-day Belarusian and Ukrainian standard languages; there is no direct continuity between the Ruthenian literary language and 19th-century standardization processes in either country.

2. DISCUSSION OF EXAMPLES

I shall discuss the first example most extensively; the discussion of the following examples will build upon this. This example concerns the parable of the sheep and the goats. Christ says to those at His right hand that they had served His brethren, and therefore Him, in various ways, first of all by giving them to eat and to drink:

Greek (NA28)	ἐπείνασα γὰρ καὶ ἐδώκατέ μοι φαγεῖν, ἐδίψησα καὶ ἐποτίσατέ με	
KJV	For I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink	
OCS Alekseev	възалакахъ бо сѧ и дасте ми ѣсти. възжадахъ сѧ и напоисте ма.	(Алексеев et al. 2005: 139)
CS Ostroh	възалакахъ бо сѧ, и дасте ми ѣсти. възжадахъ сѧ, и напоисте ма.	(ОБ 2006: 1575)
Smotryc'kyj	Лѧкнѹлѣ бо вѣмъ, и далисте мнѣ ѣсти; прѧгнѹлѣ, и напоилисте менѣ;	(Frick 1987: 47)
Budny	Láknąłem bo y dáwáliście mi iešć. Prągnąłem / y nápoiliście mię	(Rothe, Scholz 1994: 34)
Tjapinski	Зголоднѣломъ бо, и дались теми ѣсьти. прѧгнѹломъ и напоились теми.	(Halenčanka 2005: 80)

Homily 3 (Mt. 25:35)

The OCS verb *възалькати*, as in *възалакахъ бо сѧ*, is perfective (Kamphuis 2020: 311).³ Therefore, in accordance with previous research about East Slavic, we would expect to find a prefixed perfect in Ruthenian (e.g. Kerschbaumer 1993). This is not the

³ Although Цейтлин et al. (1994: 69) consider the simplex *алькати* to be imperfective in Old Church Slavonic, more recently Kamphuis (2020: 209) has argued convincingly that it is biaspectual.

case in Smotryč'kyj's translation (*лакнупем*), which seems to be borrowed from Budny's Polish (*łaknąć*). *Алькати* and *лакнуги* have the same etymological root, viz. Proto-Slavic **ǫlkati* and its semelfactive or inchoative variant **ǫlknŭti* (cf. Derksen 2008: 367; ЭССЯ 32: 57–58). In spite of this alleged original semelfactivity, Polish *łaknąć* is an imperfective verb (SP XVI 12: 450).⁴

Although the lemma *прагнути* is present in СРЯ XI–XVII (18: 125), which defines it as “жаждать, стремиться к чему-л.,” a notable remark is added, viz. “(ср. польск. *pragnąć*)”. In addition, the only two sources that are cited as records of this verb's use are sixteenth-century diplomatic correspondence between Muscovy and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1533–1560) and the epistles of Ivan the Terrible. This already indicates that the occurrences of this verb are not to be seen as distinct from Polish influence. The verb does not occur at all in the Russian National Corpus (НКРЯ). These considerations suffice for considering *прагнути* to be a Polonism, also in the case of Smotryč'kyj's and Tjapinski's translations. In the same vein, Boryś (2010: 479) considers present-day Ukrainian *прагнути* and Belarusian *прагнуць* to be probably derived from Polish *pragnąć*.

The issue of verbal aspect is relevant to both *лакнупем* and *прагнуем*. In Polish, neither *łaknąć* nor *pragnąć* have a perfective counterpart; therefore, in Budny's translation, the verbs in this verse acquire a durative meaning. As the (Old) Church Slavonic versions show, even at an earlier stage of the Slavic aspectual system, a perfective verb was deemed to be the most suitable translation of the Greek aorists *ἐπέινασα* and *ἐδίψησα*, thereby expressing a consecutive meaning. Tjapinski was aware of this, as evidenced by the fact that he chose a different verb in deviation from Polish, which allowed him to retain a prefixed perfective verb (*зголоднелом*). In other words, although he leaned heavily on Budny's translation of 1574 (cf. Naumow 2017: 129), considerations about verbal aspect provided Tjapinski with a linguistic reason to deviate from influential Polish versions.⁵ In the case of

⁴ This becomes especially clear from a telling example adduced in SP XVI (12: 450), taken from M. Czechowic (1575), *Rozmowy chrystyjańskie*: “gdy [Bóg] gi raz nákarmi y náfyći nigdy potym ludzie łaknąć y prágnąć áni ieść będą.” *Będa* can only be used in combination with an imperfective infinitive; *nigdy potym* shows that the construction has a temporally indefinite meaning.

⁵ Cf. the Polish perfective verb *zголодnieć*, although the Ruthenian verb *зголоднѣти*

πραгнуломъ, a similar grammatical solution was apparently not possible or desirable (although a prefixed verb with an inchoative meaning does exist in contemporary Belarusian [*запрагнуць*] and Ukrainian [*запрагнути*]). Perfective *zapragnać* and *spragnać* would also have been available in Polish. The use of the imperfective *pragnać* must have been Budny’s conscious decision; he uses imperfective verbs in this passage, where the Greek use of aorists does not warrant this (although *ναποίει* is a perfective verb; SP XVI 16: 102).⁶ Also *oblekać* in the next example is imperfective (SP XVI 19: 207). This choice may have been inspired by the desire to steer the reader towards a certain exegetical interpretation, in this case the assumption that serving Christ must be a continuous attitude, rather than a one-off action.

The parable continues with another example of service, viz. providing clothes to the naked:

Greek (NA28)	γυμνὸς καὶ περιεβάλετέ με	
KJV	Naked, and ye clothed me	
OCS Alekseev	НАГЪ И ОДѢСТЕ МА (aorist)	(Алексеев et al. 2005: 139)
CS Ostroh	НАГЪ, И ОДѢЛСТЕ МА (imperfect)	(ОБ 2006: 1575)
Smotryc’kuj	НА, И ПРИИДѢЛИСТЕ МЕНѢ	(Frick 1987: 47)
Budny	Nágim y oblekálišcie mię	(Rothe, Scholz 1994: 34)
Tjapinski	НАГИМЪ, ИДѢЛІСЬТЕ МЄ.	(Halenčanka 2005: 80)

Homily 3 (Mt. 25:36)

was available either as a cognate or a loanword (СУМ XVI-XVII 11: 164), so that its use by Tjapinski does not necessarily have to be considered a Polonism. ГСБМ (12: 150) mentions the verb *золоднети*, too, although this does not mean that it was widespread in Ruthenian written culture: only two examples are given, both of which are taken from Tjapinski.

⁶ This usage is partly in accordance with older Polish versions, e.g. Biblia Leopoldy (1561): “Abowiem łaknąłem á dąliście mi ieść. Prągnąłem: y dąliście mi pić” (cf. Olesch, Rothe 1989: 485). Budny is more consistent in that he uses the imperfective *dąwáliście*, thus matching aspectually with *łaknąłem*. Biblia Brzeska (1563, cf. Rothe, Scholz 2001: 1217) uses the same verbs as Biblia Leopoldy. More research is needed into Budny’s potential use of these versions.

The verb form *приодѣлисте* constitutes a somewhat complicated case, as it has a double prefixation (*при-* and *о-*), which is not induced by the sources, be they Church Slavonic or Polish. OCS has an aorist with a single prefix (*одѣсте*), whereas Ostroh has an imperfect (*одѣасте*). If we look at this verb from an etymological point of view, the *о-* is a prefix which makes the verb perfective (Kamphuis 2020: 61, fn. 13); however, users may have been insufficiently aware of this and may have perceived it as a simplex (unprefixed) verb. The additional prefix *при-* may also indicate that the Ruthenian system of verbal aspect was in a further stage of development than the Church Slavonic source text.

The verb *приодѣти* is already present as a perfective verb in OCS (Miklosich 1865: 675). According to НКРЯ, its use in Old East Slavic is limited to one early instance in *Слово о полку Игореве* (1185).⁷ СРЯ XI-XVII (19: 241) adds one more example with the definition “прикрыть, укрыть”, which only partially corresponds to the meaning of the verb ‘to clothe’ in this gospel pericope. Neither Church Slavonic nor Polish Bible translations seem to have influenced the use of this verb. ГСБМ (28: 385) provides an ample number of examples, so that it can be considered a fully consolidated Ruthenian verb in its own right.

Budny has a singly prefixed verb (*oblekálišcie*), which is imperfective (SP XVI 19: 207). Even Tjapinski, who can otherwise be quite inventive, as shown in the previous example, retained the same verb as in Church Slavonic (*одѣлисте*); like the Ostroh Bible, he has the (innovative) imperfect in his parallel Church Slavonic text.⁸ What remains, then, as a linguistic incentive for Smotryc’kyj is the aspectual necessity for using a perfective verb. However, there is one more option to consider when it comes to Polish influence: “Byłem nágim: á przyodzialiście mię” (Biblia Leopoldy 1561; Olesch, Rothe 1989: 485). This is one indication that Smotryc’kyj may also have used the Biblia Leopoldy, which is an assumption that needs to be corroborated by further

⁷ I do not want to dispute the solid conclusions reached by Зализняк (2004/2024) as to this text’s authenticity; nevertheless, such an early *hapax legomenon* remains a remarkable red flag.

⁸ Tjapinski cannot have used the Ostroh Bible, which appeared later, but must have used sources from a similar manuscript tradition; cf. Клімаў (2009: 15, fn. 10).

evidence. According to SP XVI (33: 522), the verb *przyodziać* is also perfective in 16th-century Polish.

We pass on to the pericope belonging to Homily 8. The disciples ask Jesus why they had not been able to cast out a demon:

Greek (NA28)	ὅτι ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἠδυνήθημεν ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτό;	
KJV	Why could not we cast him out?	
CS Ostroh	ꙗко мы не възмоꝑохомъ иꙗгнати єго;	(ОБ 2006: 1598)
Smotryc'kyj	Δλαχοꝑο мы не моꝑаи выꙗгнати єго;	(Frick 1987: 97)
Budny	Przecż my niemogliŃmy wygnąć iego?	(Rothe, Scholz 1994: 51)
Tjapinski	ꙗкъ мы немоꝑаиꙗсмо выꙗгнати єго.	(Halenčanka 2005: 119)

Homily 8 (Mk. 9:28)

Sometimes there are no morphological possibilities in Ruthenian or in Polish to produce a prefixed verb, where Church Slavonic has just that (*възмоꝑохомъ*). In this case, a prefix is not available in Polish; the verb *zmóć* has a different meaning, viz. ‘to overwhelm’. A prefixed verb *въмочи* or *змочи* was in principle available in Ruthenian (see the various examples in ГСБМ 3: 205–206; 13: 53–54; however, the lemma is absent from Тимченко 2002). Smotryc'kyj's use of the Ruthenian unprefixed *моꝑаи* is, therefore, likely to have been due to Polish influence, the morphological evidence of which is even more visible with Tjapinski's *немоꝑаиꙗсмо*. Present-day Ukrainian does have a prefixed verb *змоꝑти*, analogous to Russian *смочь*. More research is needed into the spectrum of use of this particular verb. For the time being, we can consider *моꝑаи* to be a Polonism.

In the pericope preceding Homily 14, the resurrected Christ rebukes Thomas for not having believed the report about His resurrection:

Greek (NA28)	λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· ὅτι ἑώρακάς με πεπίστευκας;	
KJV	Jesus saith unto him, Thomas, because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed:	
OCS Alekseev	ГЛА ЕМОУ ИСЪЪ БКО ВИДѢВЪ МА ВЪРОВА.	(Алексеев et al. 1998: 94)
CS Ostroh	ГЛА ЕМС ІС, ІАКО ВИДѢВЪ МА, ВЪРОВА.	(ОБ 2006: 1701)
Smotryc'kyj	МОВИЛЪ ДО НЕГО ІС, АЖЪ ОБАЧИВШИ МА ФОМО ОУВѢРИЛЕСЬ.	(Frick 1987: 132)
Budny	Mowi mu Jezus: iżeś mię uyrzał Thomażu uwierzyłeś.	(Rothe, Scholz 1994: 132)

Homily 14 (Jn. 20:29)

Concerning *оувѣрился*, the question arises whether the prefixed form is borrowed from Polish, or whether it is due to its own development in terms of verbal aspect in Ruthenian. According to Kamphuis (2020: 176), *вѣрова* is an anaspectual aorist in Old Church Slavonic. Apparently, in Polish as well as in Ruthenian, it had come to be perceived as an imperfective verb, and therefore a prefixed form was deemed necessary by Budny and Smotryc'kyj to underline Thomas's change of state from unbelief to belief. In this verse, Smotryc'kyj does not follow Budny word-for-word (which he sometimes does), so that the choice of a prefixed verb form (*оувѣрился*) must not necessarily have been a Polonism, either, but can have been a genuine expression of the Ruthenian aspectual system. The verb *увѣрити* is widely attested in Ruthenian, judging by the many examples provided in ГСБМ (34: 178); again, it is

absent from Тимченко 2003). It has come down into present-day Belarusian and Ukrainian, too. We can thus postulate a parallel development, rather than a direct dependence on Polish sources.

Homily 32 deals with the parable of the unmerciful servant:

Greek (NA28)	δοῦλε πονηρέ, πᾶσαν τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἐκείνην ἀφήκα σοι, ἐπεὶ παρεκάλεσάς με·	
KJV	O thou wicked servant, I forgave thee all that debt, because thou desiredst me:	
OCS Alekseev	рѡбе лѡкѡвѣи. вѣсь дѡлгъ твои отъпустихъ тебѣ. понеже оумоли мѡ.	(Алексеев et al. 2005: 100)
CS Ostroh	Рѡбе лѡкѡвѣи, вѣсь дѡлгъ ѡнъ ѡпустихъ тебѣ, понеже оумоли мѡ.	(ОБ 2006: 1562)
Smotryc'kyj	сло҃го злослаівыі, вѣсь дол҃гъ ѡный ѡпустилемъ тебѣ, понева҃жъ просілѣ єси менѣ.	(Frick 1987: 261)
Budny	Niewolniku złośliwy wBythek dług on odpuściłem tobie / ponieważ prosiłeś miej.	(Rothe, Scholz 1994: 24)
Tjapinski	чѣлѡдзнику злыі, вѣсь долгъ ѡный ѡпустиломъ тебе, поневажъ спросилось мѣ.	(Halenčanka 2005: 58)

Homily 32 (Mt. 18:32)

It can be stated rather unequivocally that *просиль еси* is a Polishism. Tjapinski demonstrates that a perfective verb was possible here in Ruthenian (*оупросилось*), where the prefix follows the Church Slavonic one (*оу-* in *оумоли*),⁹ but the verb itself is vernacular Ruthenian (*просити*). Alternatively, the Ruthenian verb *умолити* would have been available and is widely attested (ГСБМ 34: 425–426).¹⁰ Smotryc’kyj’s choice not to use it, in spite of the Church Slavonic source, can only be explained by Polish influence. He took for granted that this forced him to use an imperfective verb. Budny’s choice to use *prosić* rather than, e.g., *uprozić* can be explained with reference to exegetical concerns; the imperfective implies that the petition was made more than once and the lord finally answered it. Again, there is no reason in the Greek original that warrants such a repetitive interpretation (cf. Mt. 18:26–27).¹¹ Note also that for a rendition of iterativity in Polish, the frequentative or iterative verb *praszać* would have been available (SP XVI 30: 55). ГСБМ (27: 488) only mentions the further derivative form *прашувати*, giving the definition ‘распытваць’ and one example. More research is needed as to whether the verb *прашати* was in common use in 16th-century Ruthenian.

The next example has been taken from the parable of the royal wedding. The king notices a man who had refused the wedding garment distributed to the guests:

⁹ It can be noted in passing that this 2SG aorist is a relatively rare form in the Church Slavonic Bible, due to its homophony with the 3SG aorist. At least in the later tradition, a perfect was often preferred for this reason, to avoid ambiguity. Афанасьева, Шарихина (2017: 108) have proven that this preference was well-established in the East Slavic realm no later than the 14th century.

¹⁰ The early examples adduced in СРЯ XI–XVII (32: 119–120), among which counts this passage in Mt. 18:32, suggest that the medieval use of the verb *умолити* in the East Slavic realm was restricted to Church Slavonic texts, or at least heavily Church-Slavonicized genres. It was only in the 17th century that its use seems to have extended into more secular realms. Of course, this observation also raises the methodologically problematic issue of including Church Slavonic examples in a dictionary that claims to represent the “Russian” language of the 11th to the 17th centuries. The same concern applies to НКРЯ.

¹¹ Budny may simply have followed earlier Polish versions, e.g. Biblia Leopoldy (“żeś mię tylko prosił”) or Biblia Brzeska (“iżeś mię prosił”).

Greek (NA28)	καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· ἑταῖρε, πῶς εἰσηλθες ᾧδε μὴ ἔχων ἔνδυμα γάμου; ὁ δὲ ἐφίμωθη.	
KJV	And he saith unto him, Friend, how camest thou in hither not having a wedding garment? And he was speechless.	
OCS Alekseev	ї гл҃а ємоу д҃роу же како вниде сѣмо. не имы о дѣаниѣ брѣчѣна. онъ же оумлъча.	(Алексеєв et al. 2005: 118)
CS Ostroh	И гл҃а ємс, д҃рѣ же, како вниде сѣмо, не имы о дѣаниѣ брѣчѣна; он же оумолче.	(ОБ 2006: 1568)
Smotryc'kyj	И рѣкль ємс, прѣателю, їакъ єси тштѣ вшолъ немѣючи о дѣниѣ всѣлногo; Ѧ онъ оумолкъ.	(Frick 1987: 278)
Budny	Y rzekl mu: Towárzybu iáko wŃedleš tu / niemáiąc odzienia (ná) wefele? On záš zmlczáł się.	(Rothe, Scholz 1994: 29)
Tjapinski	Имовилъ єму, д҃роу же, їако ввошолось сюды немѣючи о дѣниѣ свадѣбногo, Ѧ онъ замолкъ.	(Halenčanka 2005: 68)

Homily 35 (Mt. 22:12)

This example can be dealt with cursorily: the prefix *в-* in *еси вшолъ* has so much lexical meaning that verbal aspect recedes to

the background. Its use is in no way due to Polish influence, as the same prefix is used in Church Slavonic. Tjapinski's synthetic preterite points towards a slightly more profound Polonization than Smotryc'kyj's analytical perfect.

In the pericope preceding homily 67, John the Baptist is speaking to the crowds about the coming Christ:

Greek (NA28)	ἐγὼ ἐβάπτισα ὑμᾶς ὕδατι, αὐτὸς δὲ βαπτίσει ὑμᾶς ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ.	
KJV	I indeed have baptized you with water: but he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost.	
CS Ostroh	ѦЗВ ОУВО КРѦТИХЪ ВЪ [В] ВОДѦ, ТОИ ЖЕ КРѦТИ ВЪ ДУХОМЪ СЪТЪ.	(ОБ 2006: 1583)
Smotryc'kyj	Ѧ ТѦЛКО ПОКРЕСТІЛЕМЪ ВАСЪ ВОДѦЮ, А́ ОНЪ ПОКРЕСТИТЪ ВАСЪ ДУХОМЪ СЪТЫМЪ.	(Frick 1987: 476)
Budny	Ja tylko pokrzcіłem was w wodzie / on zāś pokrzcі was w duchu ſwięthym.	(Rothe, Scholz 1994: 40)
Tjapinski	Ѧ ѡСЪТЕ ѡКРЕСЪТИЛОМЪ ВАСЪ ѦВОДЕ. ЛЕЧЪ ТОТЪ ѡКРЕСЪТИТЬ ВАСЪ ДУХОМЪ СЪВЕТЫМЪ.	(Halenčanka 2005: 94)

Homily 67 (Mk. 1:8)

Whereas Church Slavonic has a simplex verb, the use of prefixes in both Polish and Ruthenian shows that the perfective na-

ture of the verb *крѣстити* was no longer clear to users, or at least no longer a prominent feature of the verb. Already in Old Church Slavonic, according to Kamphuis (2020: 217), “[t]he verb *крѣстити* shows aberrant behaviour, as well as an atypical profile.” In other words, it already looked like an anaspectual verb in the canonical period. This tendency was reinforced in both Polish and Ruthenian, so that there came to be room for the use of a prefix.

However, which prefix? *o-*, *no-* and *y-* are available. In СРЯ XI-XVII (16: 176), *нокрѣстити* is defined as “крестить вторично”, which would not fit the context of our passage. What is more, the prefix *no-* is rare in Ruthenian, judging by its absence from CCM XIV-XV and the sparse examples given in ГСБМ (26: 87); however, the definition given there is just “пахрысьціць”, i.e. nothing about a second baptism. The only example of *окрѣстити* given in СРЯ XI-XVII (12: 344) with the (Soviet-style) definition of “подвергнуть христианскому обряду крещения и дать имя” was taken from the *Римские деяния* (*Gesta Romanorum*), a 17th-century translation from Polish (Соколова 1981: 266); this gives rise to the suspicion that the prefixed verb *окрѣстити* is to be regarded as a Polonism in East Slavic. The presence of the same lemma with various examples in ГСБМ (22: 156) indicates its more widespread use in the Ruthenian lands, which is unsurprising given the greater proximity to Polish influence compared to Muscovy. The prefix *o-* is the default perfectivizer in Polish, cf. *okrzącić* in SP XVI (21: 297). Earlier East Slavic examples tend to have the simplex biaspectual or anaspectual verb *крѣстити*, as is shown by the data from both СРЯ XI-XVII (8: 42–43) and НКРЯ. Although this biaspectuality was maintained in Polish (*krzącić*, variant spelling *chrzącić*, cf. SP XVI 11: 296–298), a lack of clarity about its aspectual status may have given rise to the extended use of perfective formations using the prefixes *o-* and *po-*. This tendency was taken over into Ruthenian to a far greater extent than in Muscovian Middle Russian.

In the next passage, Jesus speaks about John the Baptist, asking the crowds why they went after him into the wilderness:

Greek (NA28)	τί ἐξήλθατε εἰς τὴν ἔρημον θεάσασθαι; κάλαμον ὑπὸ ἀνέμου σαλευόμενον;	
KJV	What went ye out into the wilderness to see? A reed shaken with the wind?	
OCS Alekseev	чѣго видѣтъ изидѣте въ поустыинѣ трѣсти ли вѣтромъ колѣблемы.	(Алексеев et al. 2005: 61–62)
CS Ostroh	чѣсо ѡзвидѣсте въ пѣстыню видѣти; трѣсть ли вѣтромъ колѣблѣ;	(ОБ 2006: 1549)
Smotryc'kyj	чогò выходѣли ѣсте въ пѣстыню видѣти; чи трѣстины ѿ вѣтрѣ хвѣючей са;	(Frick 1987: 501)
Budny	Czego wybliście do pułtyni napátrzyć się? Trzciny li od wiatru chwielącey się?	(Rothe, Scholz 1994: 14)
Tjapinski	чого вышлисте ѡпустыню ѡдѣти, трѣстьль вѣтромъ колышѣчого.	(Halenčanka 2005: 35)

Homily 72 (Mt. 11:7)

The lexical meaning of the prefixes *из-* and *вы-* are too strong to be considered empty prefixes that merely perfectivize the verb. We saw this in a previous example with *вниде / еси виошь* ‘you came in’. Here it is ‘you have gone out’. Thus, the category of *Aktionsart* comes into play. The only interesting difference between Smotryc'kyj and both Budny and Tjapinski is that the former uses an imperfective perfect of the traditional, analytical type (*выходили есте*), and not the newer Polish-type synthetic form (*wybliście/вышлисте*) in its perfective form. Again, I see no

reason in the sources for this choice, so that for the time being we must explain it as Smotryc'kyj's own, independent choice. Whether it is an idiosyncratic choice will have to be confirmed by a more extensive data collection. He may have interpreted the 'going out' as a repeated (habitual) event, although there is no grammatical indication of this in Greek or Church Slavonic, both of which have an aorist. The critical Old Church Slavonic text has the older, canonical aorist. The Ostroh Bible gives the newer-type sigmatic aorist. Neither of these would normally indicate habituality.

3. CONCLUDING REMARKS

We have been occupied with a Ruthenian text that is largely based on a Church Slavonic original; but then we also have a substantial Polish component, adding to the complexity of foreign-language influences. We have noted that some discrepancies between the Ruthenian gospel pericopes and other Orthodox textual traditions are due to Polish influence or interference. Some unexpected deviations are based on Smotryc'kyj's own translation decisions, without any apparent impetus from Church Slavonic or Polish Bible translations. Yet other instances show that he was well aware (as was Tjapinski, for that matter) of the linguistic implications of choosing a prefixed perfective past tense verb form or, conversely, deviating from other versions by choosing an imperfective verb, for exegetical or other reasons.

The question initially posed, i.e. whether in Ruthenian prefixation necessarily means perfectivization, can in principle be affirmed. Nevertheless, especially in the case of biaspectual verbs, the influence of Polish seems to be greater than that of Church Slavonic. We have arrived at these considerations by conducting a qualitative analysis of some of the most conspicuous individual examples from a dataset that I initially created for different purposes. Although an extension of this investigation by adding a quantitative component is desirable, determining whether each individual form is due to Polish influence or due to language-internal factors in Ruthenian can still essentially only be resolved by an analysis of each token separately. Doing this for all tokens is a laborious task that must be postponed to future research.

One of the remaining issues that needs to be addressed in future research is the following: How can we reliably distinguish

a slavish adherence to Polish sources from genuine language-internal processes in Ruthenian? Answering this question would require a thorough study of original (non-translated) Ruthenian texts as well. It must be underlined that this contribution reflects work in progress; the present author is currently working on a more solid quantitative component and investigating the same verbs in a broader spectrum of texts.

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Summary

The present contribution surveys variation in past tense usage and verbal aspect in Meletij Smotryc'kyj's Ruthenian (Middle Ukrainian) translation of the *Jevanhelije Učytelnoje* (1616) ('Homiliary Gospel', sometimes also called 'Didactic Gospel'), a collection of homilies traditionally ascribed to Patriarch Kallistos I (1350–1353 and 1355–1363/64, cf. Frick 1988: 107). Smotryc'kyj's language exhibits a striking variation in past tense forms. The most conspicuous element is that the newer, "Polish-style" synthetic preterite is the norm, which already indicates a profound Polish influence, although the older, analytical perfect, consisting of an auxiliary and a so-called *l*-participle, also surfaces in a minority of tokens. However, this is not the only variation that calls for a diachronic investigation; the use of prefixation and the development of verbal aspect in Ruthenian is just as crucial. The distribution of prefixed preterites can hardly be explained with reference to language-internal variation or the use of contemporary Polish Bible translations. It is, therefore, imperative to look further back, into the Middle Ages, and investigate East Slavic printed sources of the gospel pericopes, most notably the Church Slavonic Ostroh Bible. In a further retrograde step, a sample of gospel quotations is compared to the available Old Church Slavonic versions with regard to the use of prefixed aorists. We can then move forward again to describe the fate of these verb forms in Ruthenian. The study shows that the development of verbal aspect is inextricably linked to prefixation, although some reservations exist in the case of biaspectual verbs, where the influence of Polish is demonstrably more profound than that of Church Slavonic, or that of original Ruthenian developments.

Keywords: Church Slavonic; Ruthenian; Middle Ukrainian; verbal aspect; prefixation.

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HOW TO DETERMINE FUNCTIONS OF BIBLICAL QUOTATIONS IN THE FIRST CHURCH SLAVONIC GRAMMARS (16TH–17TH CENTURIES)

■ *Maksim Gavrilkov*

The Holy Writ shaped *Slavia orthodoxa*, having defined the historical and symbolic exegesis, i.e. the interpretation and understanding of facts and narratives, such that historical events were seen in the light of biblical prototypes (cf. Picchio 1991: 39). The Bible and the liturgical context influenced the collective memory, forming the “church memory” (*memoria ecclesiae*), which served as a source of quotations.

As postulated by Marcello Garzaniti, who coined the term, the “church memory” was formed during the worship “через вербальные элементы (чтение и пение) и невербальные – иконографию, облачения священнослужителей, утварь, внутри ‘священного пространства’ церковной архитектуры, где действие исполняется с помощью сакральных жестов и движений. <...> Она [церковная память] была нацелена на интерпретацию исторической и личной реальности и обладала способностью приводить единичные события внутрь универсального ‘домостроительства’ (оїковоца)¹” (Гардзанити 2014: 25–26).

¹ “through verbal elements (reading and singing) and non-verbal elements such as iconography, clothing of the clergy and utensils, within the ‘sacred space’ of church architecture, where actions are performed through sacred gestures and movements. <...> [The church memory] was designed to interpret historical and personal reality and had the capacity to integrate individual events within the universal ‘house-building’ (оїковоца)” – translated by M. G.

Whilst there are textological and stylistic approaches to the study of biblical quotations², only the functional approach provides the key to unlocking the symbolic meaning of Church Slavonic texts and, thus, deepens the understanding of Church Slavonic book culture. A functional study aims to determine the nature of the biblical material and the relationship between quoted and non-quoted texts (cf. Запольская 2003: 482). The functional research model was conceived and defined by works of Riccardo Picchio, Aleksander Naumow, Marcello Garzaniti and Natalya Zapolskaya.

Picchio introduced the idea of a compositionally marked “biblical thematic clue”, which was intended to reveal the “total” meaning of the text on the basis of the interconnection between the literal and symbolic meaning. The “biblical thematic clue” consists of a quotation or a combination of quotations and references to the Holy Scriptures or other authoritative texts. The “thematic clue” is usually located in a marked position: at the beginning of the text or after the introduction (Picchio 1991: 42, 366–367).

Garzaniti identified different functions of biblical quotations depending on the type of text: the *illustrative* function in hagiography, *apocalyptic* in chronicles and historical narratives, *referential* and *descriptive* in pilgrim texts³, *argumentative* or *authoritative* in didactic and polemical texts (no earlier than the 14th century) (Гардзанити 2014: 200–201).

Zapolskaya was the first to systematically analyse the linguistic features of biblical quotations. That allowed her to develop a comprehensive functional approach to the study of biblical quotations: “Сложный механизм создания текстов, синтезировавших цитатный и нецитатный книжно-языковой материал, мотивировал сложность исследования данных текстов – необходимость использования комплексного подхода, включающего атрибуцию цитат, определение семантического и функционального статуса цитат, реконструкцию механизма их языковой адаптации⁴” (Запольская 2003: 482–483).

² A detailed analysis of the listed approaches will be presented in a separate paper that has been currently prepared.

³ The Scripture is used in a literal and historical sense. The quotations refer to specific geographical locations and relics from the Old or New Testament mentioned in the feast days of the liturgical calendar (cf. Гардзанити 2014: 200–201).

⁴ “The complex mechanism of creation of texts, which synthesised quoted and non-quoted textual material, presents the complexity of studying such texts – and,

Although biblical quotations in various types of Church Slavonic texts have long been in the focus of scholarly attention, metatexts, i.e. grammars, lexicons, dictionaries or linguistic treatises⁵ have not been approached from such a perspective yet.

The research model has been elaborated with the invaluable input by Zapolskaya in order to encompass the study of Church Slavonic metatexts⁶. The extended model requires to:

1. Identify and attribute biblical quotations.
2. Determine the type of each quotation. Quotations can be:
 - a. implicit (without attribution);
 - b. explicit;
 - i. marked, but not attributed (e.g. ρεχε, ΓΛΑΓΘΑΜΙ; π̂ρ̂ικъ, α̂π̂π̂λ Π̂λ̂κελ);
 - ii. attributed (e.g. Μα̂ϕ̂: ρ̂: κ̂ζ̂:).
3. Determine the place of quotations in the structure of the grammar book:
 - a. in the accompanying text (preface, afterword, notes and insertions);
 - b. in the text of grammatical rules and explanations,
 - c. examples to grammatical rules.
4. Differentiate quotations according to the Old and New Testament books, considering the thematic biblical typology.
5. Determine the liturgical contexts of the quoted texts.
6. Consult the exegetical tradition of the biblical text in question.
7. Examine linguistic adaptations in orthography, morphology and syntax and determine their functions.
8. Identify possible textological sources of quotations.

thus, the need for a comprehensive approach that includes, first, the identification and attribution of quotations, secondly, the determination of their semantic and functional status, finally, the reconstruction of the mechanism of their linguistic adaptation” – translated by M. G.

⁵ The first Church Slavonic grammars, namely *Adelphotes*, Laurentij Zizany’s *Grammatika slovenska* and Meletius Smotrisky’s *Grammatiki Slavenskija pravilnoe Syntagma*, appeared in the 16th and 17th centuries, marking a shift in the linguistic and philological approach to the normalization of the literary language. The older “traditional” approach gave way to the grammatical approach, marked by norm codification in grammars and dictionaries (cf. Tolstoj 1998: 134, 136).

⁶ A brief overview of the model and its application is given in (Гаврилков 2023).

First of all, it is necessary to find biblical quotations and correctly attribute them to biblical texts. Then, the quotations should be differentiated into two types. Quotations can be either implicit, i.e. without any attribution or references by the author, or explicit, i.e. marked, but not attributed, identifiable by the use of referential verbs, nouns, proper names, or explicitly attributed, either in the margins or in the text (e.g. Мѡѡ: ѣ: ꙗꙗ:).

The third step is to consider the place of quotations in the structure of grammars. Firstly, they can be found in accompanying texts, such as prefaces and afterwords, or in notes or insertions. Secondly, quotations can be used in grammatical rules and explanations. Thirdly, they often serve the role of illustrations or examples to grammatical rules.

The next step is to differentiate the quotations according to the books of the Old and New Testaments, considering the thematic biblical typology. Thus, the Sapiential books can be recognized as a crucial source of quotations both statistically and pragmatically (Гаврилюков 2024: 119–123).

Then, the liturgical contexts of each quoted verse should be determined. That requires establishing correspondences between the quoted texts and days or church services when they are read out. The readings throughout the church year should be considered in relation to the yearly, weekly and daily cycles as well as the services of the twelve great feasts, which significantly influenced the “church memory” and, consequently, biblical quotations.

In the next step, it is essential to understand the *synsemy*⁷ of symbolic and literal interpretations by analysing the exegetical traditions of biblical texts. This can shed light on linguistic adaptations of biblical quotations present in grammars.

Finally, it is worth identifying textological sources of biblical quotations, although this task can be rather challenging. The Ostrog Bible can serve as the starting point, but it is not the only potential source, as other handwritten Church Slavonic biblical translations or authors’ own renderings from foreign languages could have contributed as well.

⁷ The term *synsemy* was applied to the literary situation in *Slavia orthodoxa* by Riccardo Picchio (cf. Picchio 1991: 39).

The presented research model provides a comprehensive approach to determine functions of biblical quotations in Church Slavonic linguistic metatexts. This model was applied to the study of Smotrisky's *Grammatiki Slavenskija pravilnoe Syntagma* (cf. Гаврилков 2024). The following considerations introduce observations as well as issues that are yet to be studied in detail.

Smotrisky's *Grammatiki Slavenskija pravilnoe Syntagma* had a profound impact on the linguistic thought, since it was reprinted and re-edited multiple times. The major re-edition was undertaken and published in Moscow in 1648. The changes affected not only the renewed grammatical rules, but also the choice of biblical quotations. Smotrisky's Grammar reveals 65 explicitly attributed biblical quotations apart from 209 implicit ones. The explicit quotations are solely located in three chapters of the syntax section, namely 'On the Composition of Nouns', 'On the Composition of Pronouns', 'On the Composition of Verbs', whereas the implicit ones are scattered across the Grammar, except for the section on prosody. However, the Moscow Grammar of 1648 saw the elimination of attributions – there are only 22 attributed quotations⁸ located in two chapters of the syntax section, namely 'On the Composition of Pronouns', 'On the Composition of Verbs'.

Whilst identifying implicit quotations presents certain difficulties, explicitly attributed ones still require special attention, as quotations could have been wrongly attributed. Nevertheless, it would not suffice to correct a wrong attribution, as the reasons behind it need to be discovered as well. The following two cases demonstrate the way such issues could be treated, in order to provide a plausible explanation.

Smotrisky attributes *Всѧкъ просѧи приѧлетъ ѡ ѡцѧи ѡбѣтѧетъ* to John 11:22 (Ἰωἱ: ῥ: ἀϊ:) (Смотрискій 1619: 407), which proves to be wrong, despite being thematically close (cf. John 11:22 in the Ostrog Bible: ꙗко ѡлика ѡце ꝑꝑосиши ѡ ѡ. дѧстъ тебѣ ѡ). The quotation should be attributed to Matthew 7:8 (cf. Matt. 7:8 in the Ostrog Bible: всѧкъ бо ꝑꝑосѧи, ꝑꝑрѧметъ ѡ ѡцѧи, ѡбѣтѧетъ). On the one hand, the attribution to Jh. 11 could be explained by two correctly attributed quotations from

⁸ Some of the marked quotations got a wrong attribution in the Moscow edition.

Jh. 11 on the preceding and following folia (namely Jh. 11:6 and Jh. 11:19). Still, there are several other quotations from various biblical books in between and, more importantly, the quotation that directly precedes the studied one, being the only implicit (unattributed) quotation on this folium, is from Matt. 6:9, which is the beginning of the Lord's Prayer: *Ѡтче на́ш ѡже ѓси* (Ibid: 406). On the other hand, the wrong attribution can be explained by the influence of the “church memory”, as John 11:22 is part of liturgical readings on Lazarus Saturday (verses Jh. 11:1–45 are read), the day before the Palm Sunday.

The “church memory” was shaped during the most important feasts and well-attended liturgies, one of which is Easter. Smotrisky illustrates the rule on genitive with nouns (*Ѡ Родѡтєльномъ со Имены, собранїе/ часть/ число/ и чинъ знаменѡющими*) with the example: *Идоша ѡ обученїкѡ егѡ двѡ* (Ibid: 390), which cannot be precisely attributed. This example demonstrates a contamination of two liturgical readings from Luke 24:13 and John 1:35, read on liturgies on the 1st Tuesday after Easter and the 1st Wednesday after Easter respectively. Compare the readings in the Ostrog Bible:

Лк. 24:13: И се дѡ ѡ нѡ бѣста идоша в тои же дѡ

Јн. 1:35: Въ оутрѣи же паки стоаше юаннъ, и ѡ оучникѡ егѡ дѡ

Thus, the presented multifaceted and comprehensive approach allows to determine the way biblical quotations function in Church Slavonic grammars. The functional research model discussed in this paper could be applied to a wider range of Slavonic linguistic writings. The main issues concern the correct attribution of biblical quotations which demonstrate morphosyntactic adaptation or lexical variation.

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HOW TO DETERMINE FUNCTIONS
OF BIBLICAL QUOTATIONS IN THE FIRST CHURCH
SLAVONIC GRAMMARS (16th–17th CENTURIES)

Summary

The first Church Slavonic grammars appeared in the 16th and 17th centuries, marking a shift in the linguistic and philological approach to the normalization of the literary language. The older traditional approach gave way to the grammatical approach, marked by norm codification in grammars and dictionaries. Culturally dominant biblical texts determined quotations and served as the source of examples for grammatical rules.

The functional study of biblical quotations has been developed by R. Picchio, A. Naumow, M. Garzaniti and N. Zapolskaya. However, their primary focus has been on literary Church Slavonic texts, whereas biblical quotations in Church Slavonic metatexts, i.e. grammars, lexicons, dictionaries, linguistic treatises, have not been studied yet.

The paper highlights the challenges and discusses the results of the functional study of biblical quotations in the first Church Slavonic grammars. It showcases the functional research model that considers the identification, attribution, distribution, placement, liturgical context, and typology of quotations.

Keywords: Biblical Quotations; Church Slavonic; Grammars.

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TRANSLATOR'S AND COPYISTS' MISTAKES IN THE SLAVONIC TRANSLATION OF THE LIFE OF ST. GREGORY OF AGRIGENTO

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INTRODUCTION

The study of medieval texts and the examination of their history depend on many factors that could impact the final results and conclusions reached by researchers. When it comes to medieval Slavonic texts, there are several very significant characteristics that should be noted: most of these texts are translations of Late Antiquity and Byzantine works, which themselves have a long and often complex history having to do with their dissemination, reworking and influences. Therefore, studying a Slavonic text without working with the original text would lead to many inaccurate conclusions about the linguistic features of the translation¹. This also explains the second feature: the study of translations largely depends on how well the tradition of the original has been studied, what the quality of the study is, and whether a critical edition is available to assist the researcher of the Slavonic translation². Last

¹ For more information about the approaches to the Greek sources in the Slavonic critical/non-critical editions and a systematization of the possible negative outcomes caused by not having or refusing to use a critical edition or any edition at all of the original text, see Taseva 2018.

² That said, as Martin West (West 1973: 8–9) and other experienced scholars working in the field of textual criticism warn, we should not rely solely on critical editions. In many cases, the scholar behind an edition does not have access to or does not know about all the preserved copies, or may simply be biased about certain issues. That can affect the interpretation and make it difficult for other researchers and readers to understand the text. For such an example in the Life of St. Gregory of Agrigento, see Георгиева 2024b.

but not least, the knowledge of the cultural and historical context in which a text or translation was produced and disseminated is also important for an accurate analysis – it often accounts for errors, inaccuracies and changes in the text that it would be difficult explain through linguistic analysis alone³.

This article presents several examples of textologically significant errors and inaccuracies in the Slavonic translation of the Life of St. Gregory of Agrigento (later *VGrAkr*) (Георгиева 2024a: 405–407). The length of the hagiographic work and the significant number of extant Slavonic copies – 12 complete South Slavonic copies⁴, dozens of East Slavonic copies and 2 fragments – offer numerous examples of inaccuracies and deviations that occurred in the process of copying the text. These were identified in the course of preparing the critical edition of the Slavonic text, for which nine South Slavonic copies of the first Slavonic version (later *1st Sl. ver.*) of the hagiographic work, currently available to me, were used⁵. The second part of the paper discusses errors in the Slavonic text that are significant for understanding the relation between the copies of the 1st Sl. ver. of the *VGrAkr* and those of the second (revised) version (later *2nd Sl. ver.*).

CLASSIFICATION OF THE ERRORS AND POSSIBLE EXPLANATIONS

There are numerous monographs and studies devoted to the problem of errors both in single works and in entire collections. The editions (both critical and diplomatic) of biblical books and liturgical texts, which also provide commentary on deviations from the original during the translation or transmission process, are no less important. The long tradition of research on this subject has led to the establishment of various principles for classifying errors: according to the linguistic level at which they are detected (morphological, syntactic, lexical, etc.) (Thomson 1988; Велинова 2007),

³ For one such intriguing example of a change in the Slavonic text of the Chronicle of George Hamartolos that can only be explained by the historical context in which the text was transmitted, see Peev 2012.

⁴ They can be divided in two subgroups: 1st Slavonic version (10 mss.) and 2nd Slavonic version (2 mss.).

⁵ See the list of manuscripts at the end of this article.

according to the stage of the dissemination process at which they occur (translator's or copyists' mistakes) (Тасева, Рабун 2009), according to the reason for their occurrence (listening errors, errors made during the visual perception of a text) (Славова 2001; Miltenov 2006; Fuchsbauer 2012) and other classifications that are more unusual but offer a new perspective on the problem – for example, according to the approaches used to establish the initial form (Dikova 2025, in print).

This article presents errors and inaccuracies found in the Slavonic translation of *VGrAkr*. They are divided into two subgroups – translator's errors and copyists' errors. Each of the examples is presented using the following format – Greek text (Berger 1995: 143–272), Slavonic translation, and variant readings in the Slavonic tradition⁶ (if any). Each example is followed by a possible explanation for the error(s).

Translator's errors

The errors made by the Slavonic translator are not many – only three examples will be presented below.

Example 1:

Gr: Ἦσαν δὲ πάντοτε φυλάσσοντες τὰς θύρας τοῦ ἐπισκοπείου **Τριβοῦνος** καὶ **Δανατζάνος**... (Berger 1995: 214)

Sl-v1: Бѣста же вѣсѣдѣ блюдоуца дѣрѣи епѣкѣпѣе. **Трѣвѣнь**, и **Дѣанаѣань**... (Hr – 324v, Z, Dg, Lv, H1, H2, H3, Dč, R1)

Sl-v2: дѣрѣи же епѣскѣпѣе вѣхѣу по вѣсѣдѣ блѣдоми ѿ дѣвѣю нѣкоторѣи именѣмь **Трѣвѣнь** и **Дѣанѣань**... (RM – Петков 2011: 102; R2)

The first example presents not exactly a “mistake”⁷, but an open case. Its inclusion here is not meant to solve it, but to show one more point of view – that of the Slavonic translation. The problem concerns the nouns *τριβοῦνος* and *δανατζάνος* used by the author

⁶ The Slavonic text is presented according to the first copy in the brackets, and the exact folio of the manuscript or page from the edition is also indicated.

⁷ The term “mistake” is noted here in quotation marks because the first example should not be defined as an error, but rather as a misunderstanding of a term or realia by the translator.

of the Life, Leontius the Presbyter. The scholar who worked on the Greek text, Albrecht Berger, treats them as proper nouns (Berger 1995: 378), and accordingly in his edition they start with a capital letter. However, information from dictionaries points to the opposite interpretation – defining them as common nouns. The lexeme *tribounos*, -ου, ό (< lat. *tribunus*) – though not very common, is attested in texts of various genres and themes. Its primary meaning is *military tribune* (Lampe: 1407; Sophocles: 1090). The meaning denoting an administrative title is also found in epigraphic sources⁸. The second lexeme – *danatzanos*, -ου, ό – is actually a *hapax legomenon*. The only dictionaries that attest it are Lampe and Sophocles, and they refer specifically to *VGrAkr* (Lampe: 333; Sophocles: 345). The meaning there is *janitor* or *janitor of bishop's house*. Also opposed to Berger's thesis are the interpretations of the authors of the Latin and English translations of the Life, who treat these nouns as common nouns. Accordingly, in the Latin translation we find 'tribunus et danatzenos' (PG 98: 643–644), and in the English – 'a tribune and a bedroom attendant' (Martyn 2004: 188). Which of the two interpretations does the Slavonic translation support? In the 1st Sl. ver., the two lexemes were not translated, but were rather adapted to the Slavonic anthroponym system, since they were probably understood by the translator as proper nouns – *Тривунъ* and *Дианацанъ*. A clear confirmation of their interpretation as proper nouns is given in the 2nd Sl. ver., where an addition to the text – *ѿ двѣю нѣкоторый имениемъ* – clarifies it.

But is this the correct interpretation? Since *danatzanos* is a *hapax legomenon*, this does not help to clarify if these lexemes are proper nouns or not. The key to this case is the term *tribounos*. A check in the edition of the Greek text shows that it occurs a further 19 times in the Life. In 15 of them, its Slavonic equivalent in the translation is *старѣшина*, in two cases we have *omission*, in one it is translated as *сановници*, and in only one do we find the borrowing *тривуни* again, but already as a common noun in plural. This shows that in all other places in the text the lexeme was used

⁸ TELAMON project: https://telamon.uni-sofia.bg/bg/epi/view_ins/IGBulg_5409 (Last visit: 30.11.2024; 15:34).

by the author of the Life and interpreted by the Slavonic translator as a common noun. This is supported by the information in the dictionaries, where no uses of the lexeme as a proper noun are given. One more argument supporting the thesis that *δανατζάνος* and *τριβοῦνος* are common nouns is the context in which the two lexemes occur. It does not require specifying the names of these two people since they are not characters who play an important role in the plot of the Life. The mention of the two men who guard the door of the bishopric and are bribed by Sabinus and Crescentius is necessary to reemphasize the hypocrisy and arrogance of Gregory's opponents. Considering all this, I would suggest that the Slavonic translator and copyists, like Berger, misinterpreted these nouns as proper nouns.

Example 2:

• 2.1.

Gr: ...καὶ μετὰ τὰς τριάκοντα ἡμέρας ἀσπασάμενοι τὸν πρεσβύτερον... (Berger 1995: 115)

Sl-v1: ...и по **ΙΕΔΙΝΗΘ ΔΗΝΙ** цѣловавъше прѣзвнѣтера... (Hr – 309v, Z, Dr, Lv, H1, H3, Dč)⁹

Sl-v2: ...и по **ΕΔΙΝΟΜЪ ΔΗΝΙ** цѣловāvше прѣзвнѣтера... (RM – Петков 2011: 69; R2)

• 2.2.

Gr: ...ἦν ὑποχωρήσας ὁ Γρηγόριος ἐκ τῶν ἐκεῖσε **τῆ τριακάδι τοῦ Ἰουνίου** μηνός... (Berger 1995: 167)

Sl-v1: ...бѣаше ѿшьль Грѣгоріе ѿ τῶν, мѣа **иЮ ,Δ**, **ΔΗΝ** (Hr – 313v) / **(БЪ) Δ ΙΗΝΙΔ** мѣа... (Z – 67v, Dr, Lv, H1, H2, H3, Dč, R1)

Sl-v2: ...бѣаше Грѣгоріе ѿ τῶν, Δογ ѿшьль, **ιοῦνιΔ, λ.** (RM – Петков 2011: 75) / ...**ΙΗΝΙΔ, Δ2.** (R2 – 217r)

The second example reflects two instances in the text of the Life where the numerals for 30 from the Greek text (*τριακοντα*; *τριακάς*) are rendered as the numerals *ΙΕΔΙΝΗΘ* and *πρѣвѣ* (·Δ·). This error is due to the graphic similarity between the letter designations

⁹Two copies of the 1st Sl. ver. (H2 – 267v, R1) replace the problematic phrase with the conjunction *таже*. That replacement might be an attempt of one of the copyists to correct the inconsistency in the text that was created by the mistake.

for these numerals, $\lambda > \alpha$ and $\lambda > \lambda$. This type of error, caused by graphic similarity, is not uncommon in translations from Greek into Old Church Slavonic. Most often, they concern confusion between two consonants or two vowels (Thomson 1988: 357–359; Тасева, Рабѹс 2009: 138), but there are also cases where the substitution results from confusing a consonant and a vowel (Thomson 1988: 359; Тотомаћова 2008: 623; Тасева, Рабѹс 2009: 142, 146). It is difficult to judge whether the error occurred during the translation process or during the copying process. According to the critical edition of the Greek text, there are no variant readings in these parts of the Life. Therefore, the likelihood that α instead of λ was written in the Greek copy, from which the initial translation was made, is small. This leaves two options: the error may have occurred either during the translation into Old Church Slavonic or during the transmission process of the Slavonic text. Here I will present my arguments that suggest that the error occurred in the course of the translation process, and not during the copying process. First of all, I should note that in **Example 2.1.** all the copies of the Life have the incorrect reading. In **Example 2.2.**, the only exception turns out to be the RM copy of the second version, which shows the correct reading $\widehat{\lambda}$ instead of $\widehat{\alpha}$. The fact, however, that the 2nd Sl. ver. most probably is based on the 1st Sl. ver.¹⁰ and that the earlier of the two copies of the second version, RM (15th century), preserves the correct reading regarding the Greek text, while the later one – R2 (16th century), has the erroneous reading found in all the copies of the 1st Sl. ver., suggests that the reading $\widehat{\lambda}$ is due rather to editing of the text or a scribal error¹¹. Another argument to suggest that the confusion of the letters is due to a translator’s mistake concerns the fact that in the case of **Example 2.1.** all the copies have the numeral written with a word (ѲΔΙΗΘΜЪ) rather than with the letter designation. This is important because it makes it impossible for the error to occur during the transmission of the Slavonic text.

¹⁰ See examples of that below.

¹¹ The reasons for this correction in the right direction can be several: a controlled redaction made with another Greek copy available to the scribe; a correction in the text due to the scribe noticing an inconsistency in the text (shortly before, the text mentions that Gregory spent 30 days in Tripoli); confusion between the letter designations, but in the opposite direction ($\lambda > \lambda$).

Example 3:

Gr: ἐκφυγεῖν τὰς τοῦ ἐχθροῦ κακοτέχνους (Berger 1995: 180)

Sl-v1: Ѡбѣжати враговъ зѣломоу хуѣдоужѣва (Hr – 307r, Z, Dr, Lv, H1, H2, H3, Dč, R1)

Sl-v2: Ѡубѣжати вражіа злохитръства (RM – Петков 2011: 64; R2)

Example 3 shows a translator’s error caused by the confusion of vowels (ο – ου; ου – α). Most likely due to the peculiarities of the Greek paleography, the Slavonic translator misread and misinterpreted the phrase τὰς τοῦ ἐχθροῦ κακοτέχνους as τὰς τοῦ ἐχθροῦ κακοῦ τέχνας. As a consequence, the compound adjective κακοτέχνους was fragmented into the adjective κακός, which erroneously began to agree with ἐχθρός, and the noun τέχνη. This is what all the copies of the 1st Sl. ver. have. In the 2nd Sl. ver., however, we find an accurate translation of the Greek text. Again, it is possible that this difference between the two versions is due to editing of the text of the first version¹².

Errors that were made in the transmission process

Much more numerous and varied in type are the errors that were made during the transmission of the Slavonic text. For the purposes of the article, they are divided into three subgroups: errors due to spelling similarity, mistakes due to misunderstanding of realia or terms, and errors resulting from incorrect segmentation of *scripta continua*. Only a few examples of each subtype will be presented here.

• Errors due to spelling similarity

Errors of this type can lead to different outcomes – a variant reading that causes a significant change in meaning or, alternatively, a modification of the original text which is, however, adapted to the context and does not greatly change the meaning of the given text fragment.

¹² The 2nd Slavonic version of the Life bears a lot of similarities to, but also a lot of differences from, the 1st. A separate study of that later version and its relation to the first and of the source of these changes in the text is needed. See more on that topic in the next section (Deviations in the 1st Slavonic version that show its relation with the 2nd Slavonic version of the Life).

Example 4:

Gr: ὅπως δυνήσῃ ἐκφυγεῖν τὰς τοῦ ἐχθροῦ κακοτέχνους καὶ πολλὰς μηχανάς (Berger 1995: 146)

Sl-v1:

- да некли възможешѣ оубѣжати вѣрговъ зломомъ ховѣдожѣства и многыи **ловкы** (H1 – 61r, H3, Dč)
- да некли възѣможешѣ сѣѣжати вѣрговъ зломомъ; ховѣдожѣства и м'ногы **ловкавыи** (Hr – 307r)
- да негли възможешѣ оубѣжати вѣрговъ зломомъ ховѣдожѣства и многыѣ **моукыи** (Lv – 3r, H2, R1)
- да негли възможешѣ сѣѣжати вѣр҃гѣ зломѣ хѣѣдожѣства и многы **сѣѣти** (Z – 57r, Dr)

Sl-v2: да еда како възможешѣ оубѣжати вѣр҃жѣа злохытѣрѣства и мнѣгыѣ **сѣѣлы** (RM – Петков 2011: 64; R2)

Example 4 presents an interesting case of an error that is easily identified and explained due to the unusually large number of variant readings¹³. For the Greek lexeme μηχανάς (< μηχανή ἢ ‘trap’) we have four variant readings in the 1st Sl. ver. alone, as well as an additional fifth variant in the 2nd ver. The reading which we can define as the closest to the archetype and most reflective of the meaning of the Greek lexeme is ловкы (acc. pl.) < лѣка ‘trickery’ (H1, H3, Dč). It is from this lexeme that the other four variant readings derive. In the second variant reading the noun ловкы is replaced by the adjective ловкавыи (nom./acc. sg.) ‘cunning’ (Hr), which comes from the same root. The change caused by the spelling similarity does not lead to a significant divergence from the meaning of the text, but the part-of-speech change makes the comprehension of this part of the text difficult. The third variation, however, is a typical error caused by the confusion of two consonants with similar spelling, л and м. In this case the copyist’s error also results in a lexical change – лѣка > мѣка ‘suffering, torture’. However, the new lexeme fits the context. The fourth variant reading in the first version affects two copies (Z, Dr) and is due to a synonym replacement rather than a

¹³ On the topic of restoring the initial meaning of the text, based on the variant readings see Dikova 2024 (in print).

scribal error. The variant reading we find in the 2nd Sl. ver., лѣка > стрѣлы ‘arrow’, seems to be a lexical substitution in the direction from literal to metaphorical representation (*trickery* > *arrow*). In this case, however, we can interpret this as an error stemming from an incorrect copyist’s analogy. He most probably understood лѣка as m. acc. / instr. pl. of лѣкъ ‘bow’. Then he replaced it with the noun стрѣла ‘arrow’, which belongs to the same thematic group but has clear negative connotation in this context. This type of lexical variations that occur between the 1st and 2nd Slavonic versions of *VGrAkr* is key to revealing the relation between them.

Example 5:

• 5.1.

Gr: ...τῆς **μεγαλόψυχου** καρτερίας... (Berger 1995: 163)

Sl-v1:

- ...**весе́льнѣмъ** трѣпѣнїемъ...

(Hr – 312r, Z, Dr, Lv, H1, H2, H3, Dč)

- ...**вѣсесилнѣмъ** трѣпѣнїемъ... (R1 – 33r)

Sl-v2: ...**радостномуу** трѣпѣнїю... (RM – Петков 2011: 73, R2)

Another case of a scribal error or inaccuracy in the 1st Sl. ver. that leads to an incorrect lexical substitution in the second version is found in **Example 5**. For the Greek adjective *μεγαλόψυχου* (< *μεγαλόψυχος*, 2 ‘*high-souled, generous*’) in all copies of the first version (except R1 – 33r¹⁴) we find *весе́льнѣмъ* (< *весе́льнѣ*¹⁵ ‘*joyful*’). This variant reading departs from the sense of the Greek text and does not fit the context. Why is this example included in the group of copyists’ errors, however? It is important to note that the compound adjective in the Greek text was rendered with a simple one in the Slavonic translation, which does not exactly

¹⁴ Only in this copy of the 1st Slavonic version do we see a different reading – *вѣсесилнѣмъ* трѣпѣнїемъ ‘*with all-powerful endurance*’. It can be interpreted either as an attempt to restore the not so clear meaning or as a result of spelling similarity with the adjective *весе́льнѣмъ*.

¹⁵ That adjective is attested in Miklosich 1865: 61, Срезневский 1: 182, Slovník jazyka staroslověnského (SJS): <http://gorazd.org/gulliver/?recordId=1466> (Last visit: 30.11.2024, 17:21).

correspond to the meaning of the original¹⁶. So, it is necessary to determine whether this was a peculiarity of the translation or an isolated occurrence. The adjective *μεγαλόψυχος* is used one more time in the text of the Life (Berger 1995: 160). Here **οἱ μεγαλόψυχοι** ἄνδρες οὗτοι was translated as **ВЕЛІИ** сѣи мѡужы (Hr – 311r and all the other copies). In that other case, we can see that the translator chose to render the compound adjective with a simple one again. This gives us grounds to make the following assumption as to how the reading *весељнымъ* originated. If the Slavonic translator used *вєльи* to translate *μεγαλόψυχος*, the problematic phrase probably looked something like this in the initial translation – **вєлиємъ трѣпѣниємъ*¹⁷. The spelling similarity between the forms *вєлиємъ* and *весељнымъ* probably led to an error very early on in the Slavonic transmission¹⁸. After that, the incorrect reading *весељнымъ* in the 1st Sl. ver. of the Life was substituted by its synonym in the 2nd version – *радостьнъ*¹⁹. Although in this case the synonym replacement in the second version is not incorrect regarding the 1st Sl. ver., it leads to an even greater departure from the meaning of the original.

• 5.2.

Another proof that the 1st Sl. ver. served as a basis for the 2nd Sl. ver. is an error found in the copies of the second version. The phrase **τῷ πηδαλίῳ** τῆς διδασκαλίας πνευματικῶς (Berger 1995: 163) in the Greek text was rendered accurately in the first version – **ВЕСЛОМЪ** Δ̄Χ̄ΟΒ̄'НЫМЪ 8ΥΕΝΙΕΜ' (Hr – 312r). The noun *вєсло* ‘oar’, however, because of the orthographic similarity, was taken by the scribe and editor of the second version as the adjective *вєсєль* ‘joyful’. Similar to the synonym substitution in **Example 5.1** – in the 2nd Sl. ver., in place of *вєсло* (> **вєсєломъ*) we find the prepositional phrase

¹⁶ The most common translations of *μεγαλόψυχος* in Old Church Slavonic are *Щєдръ*, *вєлєдоушьнъ*, *вєликодоушьнъ*.

¹⁷ So far, we do not have *вєлиємъ трѣпѣниємъ* attested in the South Slavonic copies.

¹⁸ For examples of confusion between the roots *вєсєл-* and *вєсє-*, see SJS: <http://gorazd.org/gulliver/?recordId=1466> (Last visit: 19.11.2024, 14:59).

¹⁹ This is just one of the cases that clearly show that the 1st Slavonic version was used as a basis for the 2nd, edited version of the Life. For another such example, see Георгиева 2024b: 139–141.

въ радости (prep. + ‘happiness’ f. sg. loc.) – въ радѡсти дѡхѡвнѡи ѡгнѡнѡемь (RM – Петков 2011: 73). Here it is even clearer that the error is due to a misreading of the lexeme from the 1st Sl. ver. of the Life and therefore this is one more example of how the first version was used as a basis for a new edited version.

• Errors due to problematic realia or terms

Examples of errors due to realia or terms that were unknown or obscure for the scribes are not absent even if they are very few in number.

Example 6:

Gr: ...τὸν μὲν Σαβῖνον ἐξορισθῆναι ἐν τοῖς Θρακώοις μέρεσιν... (Berger 1995: 245)

SI-v1:

- ...къ Ѡраѡскымь стрѡнамь... ‘in Thracian territories’ (Hr – 333r, Z, Dr)
- ...къ храѡскимь стрѡнамь... ‘in Hrač (?) territories’ (H1 – 93r, H2, H3, Lv)
- ...къ грѡ(с)кымь стрѡнамь... ‘in Greek territories’ (Dč – 38r, R1)

SI-v2: ...къ прѡдѡлѡ землѡ Грѡьскыѡ... (RM – Петков 2011: 126, R2)

The realia in **Example 6** was rendered correctly in three of the Slavonic copies of the first version – τοῖς Θρακώοις μέρεσιν > къ Ѡраѡскымь стрѡнамь. This is also most likely the variant that was in the initial translation. In the other four copies, the realia was either not understood by the scribe or was rendered using a not very typical spelling (replacing Ѡ/τ with χ) – къ храѡскимь стрѡнамь. This variant reading does not refer to a real topos and the reference was probably obscure. In only two of the copies was the problematic realia replaced by another one that fit the context and would make sense to the potential reader/listener – къ грѡ(с)кымь стрѡнамь²⁰. It is difficult to say from which of the previous two branches this reading emerged. The lexical substitution in this

²⁰ For examples of similar cases, see Тотоманова 2007: 603 and Тасева, Рабуц 2009: 144.

DEVIATIONS IN THE 1ST SLAVONIC VERSION THAT SHOW ITS
RELATION WITH THE 2ND SLAVONIC VERSION OF THE LIFE

A small part of the present article is devoted to the errors that were made in the 1st Sl. ver., and then, in the editing process of the Life, went unnoticed by the scribe and were carried over into the 2nd Sl. ver. The problem of the relation between the two versions is complex. Conclusions should be drawn after a detailed study of the similarities and the differences between them, as well as of the relation between the second version and the Greek original. The aim of the examples below is to show that there is a connection between the two Slavonic versions and that these are not two different translations. Only three examples will be discussed. These add to what was already presented in examples 2, 4, 5 and 6 above.

Example 9:

Gr: ...κατέλαβον ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἐν τῇ Ἀκραγαντινῶν πόλει τῇ δεκάτῃ τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου μηνός... (Berger 1995: 263)

Sl-v1: ...ДОИДОШЕ ВЪ СИКЕЛИЮ ВЪ АКРАГАН'СКИ ГРАДѢ, СЕПТЕВРА МѢС. (Hr – 337r, Z, Dr, Lv, H1, H2, H3, Dč, R1)

Sl-v2: ...прѣиде въ акраганъ септѣрѣа девѣтѣи... (RM – Петков 2011: 138, R2)

The first example reflects another inaccuracy in the rendition of numerals in the Old Church Slavonic translation of the Life. The ordinal δέκατος ‘tenth’ in the Greek text was replaced by ΔΕΒΑΤΥИ ‘ninth’ in all of the South Slavonic copies. The occurrence of this error during the translation process would have been impossible since both the words and it would have been difficult to confuse the letter designations for these two numerals (δέκατος – ἕνατος; ι’ – θ’). A. Berger does not point out any variant readings for this part of the text either. It is easy, however, for this error to occur in a Slavonic setting. The words for the ordinal numerals 9 and 10 are similar both in spelling and pronunciation – the difference is in one consonant (ΔΕΒΑΤΥИ – ΔΕΚΑΤΥИ). Since the error is found in all copies of the first version, it most likely occurred at a very early stage in the transmission of the Slavonic text. Its presence in the 2nd Sl. ver. shows undeniably that the second version is based on the first, and it is not an entirely new translation.

Example 10:

Gr: ... ἀφομοιωμένος τῷ ἰδίῳ πατρὶ τῷ κύρῳ Χαρίτωνι τῷ ἀνδρὶ σου... (Berger 1995: 175)

Sl-v1*: ...ПѠБЕНЬ ІЄ ѠЦѠУ СВОІЄМОУ ХАΡΙΤΟΝΗ, ΜΟΥЖΟΥ ΤΒΟΙЄМОУ... (Hr – 315r, Z, Dr²¹, Lv, H2, H3, R1)

H1, Dč: ...и ПОДОБЕНЬ ІЄСТЬ ѠЦѠУ СВОІЄМОУ ХАΡΙΤΟΝΟΥ ΜΟΥЖСТВО ІЄМОУ... (H1 – 66v, Dč)

Sl-v2: ...и ВЪ ВСЕМЪ ПѠБЕНЬ ІЄ ѠЦѠУ СВОІЄМОУ ХАΡΙΤΟΝΟΥ ΜΟΥЖСТВОМЪ... (RM – Петков 2011: 80, R2)

Example 10 reflects an error that occurred in the transmission of the 1st Sl. ver. of the Life. From the information presented above, we see that in most South Slavonic copies τῷ κύρῳ Χαρίτωνι τῷ ἀνδρὶ σου was rendered correctly as χαριτονης μουζου τβοιємоу ‘Charito – your husband’. Copies H1, Dč of the 1st Sl. ver., however, preserve the reading χαριτοноу μουζьство іємоу. ‘Charito – his courage’. This deviation is probably due to the incorrect segmentation of *scripta continua*. The copyist understood the first component of the possessive pronoun τβοιємоу (poss. pron. 2p. sg. dat.) as the suffix -(c)тво used to form abstract nouns. Thus, only the anaphoric pronoun іємоу (anaph. pron. m. sg. dat.) remains of the possessive pronoun. This error is carried over to the 2nd Sl. ver. of the Life, where the reading μουζьствомъ is preserved. Editing done by the Slavonic scribe is also evident there, since the anaphoric pronoun is omitted and the noun мѡжьство is in the instrumental case – μουζьствомъ. However, the reading found in the two copies of the first version and in the second version fits well in the context (the author lists physical and personality characteristics in which Gregory resembles his father Charito).

Example 11:

Gr: ...κάκειθεν ἐχρηματίσθη πᾶσαν ῥητορικὴν τε καὶ γραμματικὴν, φιλοσοφίαν καὶ ἀστρονομίαν... (Berger 1995: 178)

Sl-v1*: ... и Ѡ НЕГО НАВИЧЕ ВЪСОУ ГРАМАТИКИЮ, и РІТОРИКИЮ и фІЛОСОФИЮ... (Hr – 316r, Z, Dr, Lv, H2, H3, R1)

²¹ This copy has мѡжєви τβοиємоу instead of μουζου τβοиємоу (caused by the influence of -ǔ-stem on -jo-stem).

H1, Dč + Sl-v2: ... и ѿ не҃го навѣиѣ всю҃ граматикѣю. и фїлософию.
(H1 – 72r, Dč | RM – Петков 2011: 82, R2)

Example 11 forms part of a group of errors that occurred due to the omission of a single lexeme or of an entire text fragment. The omissions are found in copies H1, Dč as well as in the 2nd Sl. ver. Some of them were caused by *haplography*. This type of error is very common and can be found in many Old Church Slavonic translations that have a long history of copying (Miltenov 2006: 157). Therefore, to prove the connection between the subgroup of these two copies and the 2nd Sl. ver. of the *Life*, they should be considered only in combination with other significant errors. The example above reflects a case of omitting an element from the listing of disciplines that Gregory studied. It is notable that the omission of ἀστρονομίαν and the change in word order are peculiarities of the translation, as they are found in all the South Slavonic copies. However, the absence of ῥητορικῆν is not attested in the Greek copies. Although we cannot be certain that this omission did not occur independently in the two copies of the first version and in those of the second, **Example 11** has an important place among the omission errors which – taken together – prove the connection between these two versions of the Slavonic translation.

CONCLUSIONS

This article dealt with the problem of errors and inaccuracies in the Slavonic translation of the *Life of St. Gregory of Agrigento*. These were presented in two groups – translator's errors and copyists' errors. In the first subgroup, four examples of translation inaccuracies were discussed. The probable cause of three of these (Examples 2.1. and 2.2.; Example 3) was found to be the graphic peculiarities of the Greek minuscule. The second subgroup is larger: it covers six examples, which were separated into three categories: copyist's errors due to spelling similarities between single letters or syllables, realia unclear or unknown to the copyist, and incorrect segmentation of the words in *scripta continua*. From the examples presented, it is evident that some copyists attempted to restore the corrupted meaning of the text by substituting the problematic phrase

or word (Example 5.1 and Example 6). In some of the cases examined, the relation between 1st Sl. ver. of the Life and 2nd Sl. ver. is also clearly evident (Examples 2.1, 2.2, 4, 5.1, 5.2 and 6). In the last part of the article three more examples were presented, proving that the 2nd Sl. ver. was created on the basis of the 1st Sl. ver. Examples 10 and 11 show evidence pointing to the branch of the 1st Sl. ver. from which the second version of the Life emerged, namely the group of copies H1 and Dč.

LIST OF SLAVONIC COPIES OF THE LIFE OF ST. GREGORY OF AGRIGENTO

- Dč* ms. № 147, Visoki Dečani Monastery, 14 cent., 1r–46r (omission in the beginning)
- Dr* ms. № 1795/706, Dragomirna Monastery, 15 cent., 31r–86r
- H1* ms. № 473 Hilandar Monastery, 14 cent., 60r–99v
- H2* ms. № 460, Hilandar Monastery, 15 cent., 257r–358r
- H3* ms. № 441, Hilandar Monastery, 17 cent., 242v–313v
- Hr* ms. IIIc24, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 14 cent., 306r–338r
- Lv* ms. MB 81, Stefanyk National Scientific Library, Lviv, 14 cent., 1r–79v
- R1* ms. № 306, Library of the Romanian Academy, 15 cent., 14r–126r
- R2* ms. № 327, Library of the Romanian Academy, 16 cent., 207r–268v
- RM* ms. № 2/23, Rila Monastery, 15 cent., 39r–133v
- Z* ms. Zograf 94, Zograf Monastery, 14 cent., 55v–111r

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TRANSLATOR'S AND COPYISTS' MISTAKES IN THE SLAVONIC TRANSLATION OF THE LIFE OF ST. GREGORY OF AGRIGENTO

Summary

This article examines instances of “errors” occurring in the Slavonic translation of the Life of St. Gregory of Agrigento (BHG 707). The study is based on a comparison between the Slavonic translation and the Greek original and on a textological analysis of nine copies of the first Slavonic version and two copies of the second Slavonic version. The goals of this paper include offering a possible explanation of the mistakes and changes in the Slavonic text, introducing some of the features of the translation, dwelling on the number and the types of the mistakes and trying to give an answer to the question of which copies are closest to the hyparchetype based on the “errors”. Two main groups are identified: translator’s mistakes and mistakes made in the transmission process. In many cases, a combination of the two where a problematic translation leads to mistakes made by copyists is attested. Some examples of errors that are due to failure to recognise realia or terms (both on the part of the translator and on that of copyists) and changes occurring because of a phonetic similarity between lexemes, which leads to a departure from or loss of the correct meaning in context, are presented.

Keywords: Gregory of Agrigento; hagiography; errors; Old Church Slavonic translation; textual criticism.

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NUOVE EVIDENZE SULLA TRADIZIONE SLAVA
DELLA *RESPONSIO AD FRATRES MINORES*
DI GERMANO II PATRIARCA

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Parte non trascurabile della produzione letteraria slava ecclesiastica è rappresentata dalla trattatistica polemica contro i Latini, la quale, nonostante alcuni studi preliminari, attende ancora di essere indagata a fondo. Particolarmente, restano da chiarire gli ambienti di traduzione e di prima diffusione delle traduzioni slave di alcuni opuscoli polemici bizantini, che godranno poi di notevole popolarità a partire dalla seconda metà del XIV secolo; meriterebbe pertanto di essere indagata la natura di queste raccolte, al fine di comprendere la *ratio* che ha portato alla traduzione di una selezione ben definita di opere, all'interno della vastissima produzione greca sull'argomento. In tal senso, soffermeremo la nostra attenzione su un'operetta la cui tradizione, alquanto travagliata già a Bisanzio, può forse fornire indizi utili alla comprensione delle dinamiche testé esposte: trattasi della *Responsio ad fratres minores* attribuita al patriarca Germano II, facente parte del dossier testuale della disputa tra la delegazione patriarcale e alcuni legati pontifici occorsa a Nicea nel 1234.

A onta del fatto che la figura del patriarca Germano non abbia ricevuto dai moderni l'attenzione che meriterebbe¹, si distingue la presenza di una sua opera all'interno delle collezioni slave di opuscoli polemici, da cui invece mancano nomi per noi ben più importanti: già la tradizione greca, tuttavia, ci consegna un quadro di ampia diffusione di tale scritto, attestato in una trentina di manoscritti distribuiti lungo un esteso arco cronologico (dal XIII al XVIII secolo) e riconducibili alle aree geografiche più diverse². La brevità e l'incisività dello scritto, e la sua natura di breve antologia patristica sulla processione dello Spirito Santo, corredata da sintetiche sezioni di commento volte a contestualizzare i passi citati nel dibattito contro i Latini, difatti, lo rendevano sommamente adatto a essere utilizzato in guisa di manuale, a differenza di altre opere che, se pur magari più complete, ricche od originali, per le loro dimensioni si prestavano meno a un utilizzo che potremmo dire "pratico", e come tali godettero di minor fortuna nella tradizione bizantina.

La *Responsio* è formalmente l'ultimo testo di un dossier relativo a un episodio d'incontro e dibattito teologico tra Greci e Latini che, dopo lunga sottovalutazione, ha ricevuto solo recentemente la dovuta attenzione³. L'intero dossier, che conosciamo tanto dalla tradizione greca quanto da quella latina, si compone anzitutto di un preliminare scambio epistolare, costituito da due lettere del patriar-

¹ Sulla figura del patriarca Germano fondamentale resta la monografia di Λαγοπατῆς 1913, per quanto datata, da leggere tenendo presenti alcune correzioni sulle datazioni apportate da Laurent 1969; si considerino anche le voci di Darrouzès 1967 e Турилов 2006 e la bibliografia ivi citata, comunque relativamente scarsa e che approfondisce solo singoli aspetti della sua attività o produzione scrittoria.

² L'indagine della tradizione greca della *Responsio* è il frutto delle mie ricerche per la tesi di laurea (Ghigi 2024, con nuova edizione critica del testo greco; un primo estratto di questo lavoro è stato pubblicato in Ghigi 2025). In precedenza, l'opera era nota soltanto dall'edizione di Άλτερ 1796, basata su un solo manoscritto, non privo di mende ancorché antico, e se ne ignorava il complesso stato tradizionale. Se ne veda anche il regesto in Laurent 1971: n. 1275.

³ Dopo lo studio e l'edizione del resoconto degli apocrisari latini contenuto in Golubovich 1919, si veda la recente monografia Brubaker 2023 consacrata a questo avvenimento. Entrambi i testi si basano però prevalentemente sulle fonti latine, e Brubaker addirittura ignora del tutto la *Responsio*.

ca Germano, una indirizzata al papa e una ai cardinali, consegnate manualmente ad alcuni frati francescani che visitarono Nicea nel 1232 e da essi recate a Roma, e due epistole del papa Gregorio IX. Dei colloqui tenutisi tra il gennaio e il maggio del 1234, prima nella capitale dell'Impero in esilio e poi nella residenza invernale imperiale presso Ninfeo in Lidia, ci sopravvive un preciso resoconto latino stilato dai frati che presero parte alla missione, il quale include anche alcuni documenti che furono presentati dalle due parti nel corso della disputa: una memoria di Niceforo Blemmide sul cosiddetto "trilemma" dello Spirito, una dichiarazione di parte greca sugli azzimi, una definizione sinodale della fede ortodossa, una confessione di fede (*Definitio*) di parte latina sulla processione dello Spirito, e la risposta greca a questa confessione di fede, che è appunto il testo di cui ci occupiamo, redatto – giusta il suo titolo – dal patriarca Germano e dal Santo Sinodo con lui⁴.

Una differenza immediata tra la circolazione latina e greca dei testi relativi alla disputa del 1234 è che laddove i testi latini furono mantenuti in guisa di documentazione, e ci sono appunto conservati in libri di registro, la tradizione greca ben presto li sottopose a un processo di revisione, disgiungendoli dall'occasione per cui furono scritti, e conferendo in particolare alla *Responsio*, spesso trascritta da sola, il già mentovato carattere di manuale o antologia pratica. Tale diversità di circolazione è tosto riscontrabile dalle differenze tra il testo latino, tramandatoci dal *Liber censuum* del codice Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana 228⁵, che è la traduzione immediatamente condotta dai frati del documento a loro consegnato, un documento ufficiale, dotato di sottoscrizione del cartofilace Costantino Aulino⁶, e il testo greco vulgato, che ne è una rielaborazione letteraria di poco successiva, attribuibile allo stesso Germano, che inserisce il nucleo primigenio all'interno di una più raffinata cornice retorica, contenente spiegazioni e allocuzioni polemiche contro i legati latini.

⁴ Una rassegna delle edizioni delle versioni latine e greche di ciascuno di questi testi, con un inventario di manoscritti, si trova in Ghigi 2025: 185–196.

⁵ Descrizione del manoscritto in Mazzanti, Tanganelli 2018: 38–45; edizione del testo in ed. Waddingus, Fonseca 1732: 340–350

⁶ Ricopri l'ufficio di cartofilace durante la seconda parte del patriarcato di Germano, ed è altrimenti a noi noto solo dalla sottoscrizione di due epistole, cfr. Laurent 1971: nn. 1228 e 1230.

La tradizione greca è poi tutt'altro che banale: la prima rielaborazione del testo, che definiamo *standard*, andò presto incontro a numerose manipolazioni, interpolazioni ed epitomazioni, le quali diedero origine ad almeno sette diverse recensioni, quasi tutte venutesi a formare intorno agli ambienti contrari all'unione di Lione sul finir del secolo XIII. Tra queste, le più significative ai nostri fini sono alcune epitomi che estrapolano alcune citazioni scritturali e patristiche e il relativo commento, modificandone anche l'ordine e talora aggiungendo passi originali, e una riscrittura più ampia in forma di antologia, privata delle sezioni iniziali e finali e dunque di ogni riferimento all'evento contingente della disputa, e arricchita di numerosissime altre citazioni – prive di commento – che sembrerebbero esser state tratte direttamente dagli appunti che il Sinodo aveva preparato per la prima stesura del documento, e che, pur non avendo trovato spazio in tale redazione, furono in seguito ricuperate e utilizzate in questa nuova recensione.

Considerata dunque la complessità di tale tradizione, e volgendosi a considerare il testo slavo, occorrerà *in primis* cercare di comprendere su quale delle diverse redazioni greche esso sia stato condotto, e quali informazioni questo possa fornirci sugli ambienti di traduzione dello stesso.

LA TRADIZIONE SLAVA

Nella tradizione slava non sono attestati i restanti testi facenti parte del dossier, ma soltanto un breve estratto della *Definitio* dei frati e la *Responsio* ortodossa. Il primo a prendere in considerazione lo scrisse fu Попов (Попов 1875: 149–152), che si limitò a fornire la trascrizione di qualche passaggio e un quadro generale del suo contenuto; dopo di lui, sul testo intervennero Turilov e soprattutto Nikolov, il quale realizzò una prima edizione del solo frammento della *Definitio*, con uno studio preliminare su due suoi testimoni⁷. Scarpa, infine, ha fornito un efficace sunto dello *status quaestionis*

⁷ Ossia sui mss. Pljevlja 12 e Belgr. 11 (Николов 2016: 127–137), cui egli attribuisce una preminenza nella tradizione, contestando l'opinione di Турилов 2006: 262, che invece basava le sue ricostruzioni sull'antichità del Chil. 455. Nella sua edizione (Николов 2016: 280–282) Nikolov, pur collazionando altri sei manoscritti in apparato, non procede a constatazioni stemmatiche più approfondite, né considera tutti i testimoni antichi, escludendo arbitrariamente il mosquense e il petropolitano.

prima della conoscenza dello stato testuale greco⁸. Converterà prima di procedere fornire una panoramica aggiornata della tradizione manoscritta della *Responsio* slava.

I testimoni

Per quanto concerne i manoscritti antichi (XIV–XV s.), se ne annoverano non meno di nove, in massima parte di redazione serba:

P = Pljevlja 12, ff. 275r–280r

1360/70, Турикон e miscellanea polemica, red. bulgara

Bibl.: Станковић 2003: 7; Николов 2016: 127–129

D = Dečani 75, ff. 302r–306v

1360/70, miscellanea ascetico–polemica, red. serba

con influssi ortogr. bulgari

Bibl.: Богдановић et al. 2011: 283–294; Скарпа 2012

A = Athos, Chilandar 455, ff. 276v–292r

1360/80, miscellanea ascetico–polemica, red. serba con influssi ortogr. bulgari

Bibl.: Богдановић 1978: 174–175

B = Belgrado, BNS 11, ff. 28r–34r

XIV ex., miscellanea teologica, red. serba, copiata al patriarcato di Peć

Bibl.: Штавланин–Ђорђевић et al. 1982: 20; Николов 2016: 127–129

E = Dečani 102, ff. 256v–270v (des. mut.)

1415/25, miscellanea ascetico–polemica, copiata a Dečani, red. serba

Bibl.: Богдановић et al. 2011: 421–424

⁸ Scarpa 2019. A tale scritto, per quello ch'era lo stato delle conoscenze sull'opera di Germano fino a pochi anni fa, si possono muovere solo pochi appunti: in particolare, va segnalata la segnatura errata del codice petropolitano, che discende da un errore (di stampa?) già presente in Турилов 2006. Nell'articolo poi si menziona l'opinione di Αραμπατζής 2000: 248 circa l'esistenza di un'altra opera di Germano sulla processione dello Spirito, basata su un'affermazione di Filoteo Kokkinos (PG 151: 910–915). Tuttavia, Filoteo in quel passo erroneamente attribuisce a Germano la succitata memoria di Blemmide, come emerge chiaramente dai riferimenti. Anche Allatius 1648: 712 parla di un altro *logos* di Germano sulla processione, ma fa in realtà riferimento alla versione antologizzata della *Responsio*, cfr. supra.

S = Mosca, GIM, Sin. sl. 307, ff. 394v–405v
1423, Trebnik con appendice di testi canonico-polemici,
red. serba
Bibl.: Горский, Невоструев 1869: 163–198; Scarpa 2012:
112–113

O = San Pietroburgo, RNB,
O.п.I.7 (*Tolstoj* III-65), ff. 12r–33r
XV s. in., miscellanea polemica antilatina, red. russa
Bibl.: Калайдовичь, Строевъ 1825: 592; Гранстрем 1953: 69

C = Athos, Chilandar 469, ff. 308r–320v
metà XV sec., miscellanea polemica con testi palamiti, red.
serba con influssi ortogr. bulgari
Bibl.: Богдановић 1978: 179–180; Scarpa 2012: 101–103

R = Bucarest, BAR, slav. 155, ff. 602–604v (des. mut.)
seconda metà XV sec., miscellanea crisostomica, copiata
all'Athos, red. serba con influssi bulgari
Bibl.: Panaitescu 1959: 219–225

Tra i manoscritti recenziati, in massima di redazione slavo-orientale ed esemplati sul petropolitano, si annoverano Sin. sl. 561, Sin. sl. 365, RGB Ф.381 № 345, RGB Ф. 181 № 749, RGB Ф.196, № 728, RGB Ф.256 №233, RGB Ф.205 №189, (XVI s.; l'ultimo è di redazione mediobulgara, e appare imparentato con Pljevlja 12), RGB Ф.98 №71 (XVII), i quali testimoniano la particolare attenzione per la polemistica antilatina nel mondo russo, sviluppata in particolare dopo il Concilio di Firenze e con le successive pressioni unioniste sul confine occidentale.

Lo stato testuale

Il contenuto e la struttura del testo si presentano sostanzialmente omogenee per tutti i testimoni slavi. Il testo si apre con la *Definitio* latina, di cui sono presenti solamente le prime righe. La riduzione del testo della *Definitio* è attestata in alcune epitomi greche, ma non in modo eguale a quello che si riscontra nei nostri manoscritti. Sono poi riportate le sottoscrizioni dei legati papali, in una forma corrotta rispetto a quella originale tramandata dalla versione latina e da un ramo della tradizione greca, ma che si ritrova già in una

cospicua famiglia di testimoni greci, con la quale dunque potrebbe essere imparentata la versione slava⁹.

Osservando il testo della risposta, possiamo sviluppare alcune ulteriori considerazioni. Anzitutto, il titolo riportato dai manoscritti slavi corrisponde sostanzialmente a quello portato dalla maggioranza manoscritti greci, con l'eccezione dell'aggiunta del titolo di *ecumenico* al nome del patriarca¹⁰, e di una prima incomprendibile sul significato di λοιποί: se il greco si riferisce agli altri inviati dal papa presenti nella legazione insieme ai frati minori, l'espansione del sintagma slavo reinterpreta i destinatari come proc'im сь нимь, cioè tutti i Latini in comunione col Papa: trattasi di una estensione comprensibile, nel momento in cui la *Responsio*, perduta la sua natura documentale e la sua stretta connessione con i fatti, diventa un trattato polemico generico a tutti gli effetti. Conviene inoltre notare che, laddove al testo della *Responsio* precede quello della *Definitio*, i manoscritti greci di entrambe le famiglie sogliono aggiungere che la risposta è πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην ὁμολογίαν τοῦ Πάπα, sintagma che non consta nel testo slavo.

In alcuni manoscritti (PBAC), poi, il titolo è accompagnato da una rubrica: сьбелюдаи ѿвѣщаніе сѣго пониеже коупа соуть. Si tratta con ogni evidenza di una indicazione lasciata per un copista, originariamente probabilmente un marginale. Si avrà modo di tornare su di essa.

L'*incipit* del testo è caratterizzato dalla presenza dei titololetti rubricati, che si ritrovano in un certo numero di manoscritti greci, e che sembrano ragionevolmente esser stati presenti già nel loro archetipo. Tuttavia, i titoli greci sono ἐρώτησις, ἀπόκρισις e

⁹ In esse i nomi dei legati sono riportati in modo disordinato, e sono invertiti gli ordini religiosi cui appartengono: tale corruzione caratterizza ben 13 testimoni greci (ramo x dello stemma in Ghigi 2024: 67). Del tutto interna alla trasmissione del testo slavo è invece la trivializzazione del nome ογο nell'avverbio ογοσ che si riscontra in alcuni testimoni.

¹⁰ In questo senso le elucubrazioni di Николов 2016: 133, che assegnavano a una mera lacuna meccanica (l'omissione di tale aggettivo nel titolo della *Definitio* in alcuni manoscritti di origine serba) un valore storico e politico eccessivo, riconducendola alla trentennale crisi tra la Chiesa di Serbia e quella costantinopolitana originata dalla dichiarazione di autocefalia del patriarcato di Peć del 1346, perdono di significato, poiché i medesimi manoscritti che omettono l'aggettivo nella *Definitio* lo riportano invece nella *Responsio*.

ἀπάντησις, dove i primi due indicano la domanda posta dai Greci ai Latini e la loro replica, e il terzo introduce la lunga esposizione di Germano. Nei manoscritti slavi, invece, i titoli compaiono come *впрѣсѣ, ѿвѣтъ, впрѣсѣ*, e l'ultimo in particolare sembra rilevare un'incomprensione: essa può tuttavia facilmente spiegarsi, dacché il testo polemico che segue principia effettivamente con una domanda retorica. Inoltre, il traduttore slavo potrebbe non aver colto la differenza insita tra ἀπόκρισις e ἀπάντησις, non capacitandosi della distinzione dei due che non consta nella lingua slava, e avrebbe potuto ritenere il secondo un errore da rettificare.

Dopo la citazione di Is. 61,6 [n. 7] il testo slavo e aggiunge una serie di citazioni evangeliche assenti nel testo greco, in parte coincidenti con il centone di versetti giovannei che introduce la redazione antologica, e in parte con quelli normalmente citati da altre raccolte antologiche nella polemica antifilioquista; quindi, omesse alcune parole, riporta la citazione di Pietro in Act. 2 [n. 8]. Subito dopo, smette di riferire il testo greco, e porta una serie di citazioni patristiche disordinate, di cui la prima priva di rubrica in tutti i codici e tratta dall'epistola di Cirillo d'Alessandria a Giovanni di Antiochia, che nella redazione greca si trova invece alla fine dell'opera; il brano riportato, peraltro, è leggermente più lungo, e in ciò si accorda con alcuni manoscritti greci interpolati¹¹.

Seguono immediatamente le restanti, con il nome dell'autore e dell'opera rubricati, secondo l'elenco stampato in appendice. Come si può constatare, la serie, relativamente breve, si distanzia notevolmente da quella della *standard* del testo greco, e presenta invero alcune somiglianze con la redazione in forma di antologia, come la successione dei passi atanasiani 29g–29i. Alcuni passi non compaiono in nessuna delle redazioni della *Responsio*, ma coincidono con passi presenti ad esempio nel *Sacrum Armamentarium* di Andronico Camatero¹². Altri brani sono sì presenti nella *Responsio*

¹¹ La cosiddetta redazione β, cfr. Ghigi 2025: 200–202.

¹² Come il frammento dall'orazione per la Teofania di Gregorio di Nazianzo (or. 39), che è il n. 30 del florilegio dell'*Armamentarium* (ed. Bucossi 2014) ed ha amplissima fortuna nella produzione antilatina; esso era del resto stato ripreso, con poche variazioni, già dal Damasceno, e in tal guisa compare due volte già nell'*Armamentarium* (sub n. 138 come opera di quest'ultimo). Compare in Camatero, in forma assai più estesa, anche il brano dal trattato pseudo-crisostomico *De Spiritu Sancto* (attribuito oggi a Severiano di Gabala), sub n. 10, il quale però si trova anche nella versione antologizzata della *Responsio*.

originaria, ma sono trasposti nel testo slavo con diversa estensione della citazione. Altri, infine, non sono presenti in alcuna delle opere summenzionate, ma si ritrovano sporadicamente impiegate nella controversia contro i Latini¹³. I manoscritti slavi non presentano tra loro disaccordo nella serie, eccezion fatta per una citazione molto curiosa, tratta dal commento a Giovanni di Teofilatto di Bulgaria, opera non usualmente inclusa nelle rassegne antilatine¹⁴, che si trova soltanto in C.

Verso la fine, il testo torna a coincidere con la redazione *standard* greca, riportando le ultime righe dell'esortazione di Germano ai Latini, sino alla dossologia conclusiva. Per come abbiamo fin qui vista la struttura del testo, ci troviamo dunque davanti a una nuova redazione del testo, che non ha riscontri diretti nella tradizione greca, e che per forma e contenuto potrebbe essere ricondotta al macrogruppo delle epitomi dell'opera, non senza sollevare interrogativi e problemi.

Due testi ignoti alla tradizione greca?

In tutti i manoscritti slavi, immediatamente dopo la conclusione della *Responsio*, senza soluzione di continuità né alcun elemento grafico a segnarne la differenza, segue un altro testo che non trova apparentemente riscontro nella tradizione greca, già notato e trascritto da Popov (Попов 1875: 151). Trattasi di una breve appendice, caratterizzata dai toni alquanto aspri, a commento dell'opera testé conclusa: si dice infatti che il patriarca Germano avrebbe raccolto le predette testimonianze al fine di insegnare ai Latini la fede ortodossa, ma che questi, пребыше въ ховулинни своемъ, и въ слозбе ѣже имеютъ, и въ истинноу неразумнии соуще, non vollero correggersi e proseguirono nella loro empietà. Di questa breve narrazione non si trovano in effetti riscontro esatto in alcuno dei manoscritti greci, e tuttavia in qualche codice si rinvencono delle rubriche o delle brevi appendici narrative dal contenuto affine¹⁵.

¹³ Il frammento del *Sermo I in const. hom.* di Anastasio Sinaita [n. 80], ad esempio, non si riscontra in Camatero, ma in Niceta Seides, *Adversus Latinos* IV, 1 (ed. Gabhauer 1975).

¹⁴ Molto popolare invece, e spesso presente negli stessi codici greci della *Responsio*, è l'*Allocutio ad quendam ex suis familiaribus* dello stesso Teofilatto (ed. Gautier 1980: 247–253).

¹⁵ Per esempio, nel ms. *Urbani* 32, f. 134v (molto significativamente, in prima persona, e in prima persona sembra intervenire il patriarca stesso nel corso del-

primi ad accusare i Greci di eresia, mentre nel frammento in questione appare il contrario. D'altra parte, non dobbiamo aspettarci che la parte greca avesse steso una relazione dotata della stessa precisione documentale di quella latina: laddove i legati dovevano riferire al Papa gli accadimenti, non si avvertiva la stessa necessità da parte greca. Verso la fine del frammento, inoltre, il testo cambia tenore, diventando una sorta di istruzione agli ortodossi su come rispondere a varie argomentazioni latine. Analizzando con cura il contenuto, ancora notiamo che per ampie sezioni esso riutilizza *ad litteram* porzioni di testo dell'opuscolo *Contra veteris Romæ asseclas* pseudo-foziano¹⁶, soprattutto quelle parti in cui si riportano le argomentazioni foziane contro l'impiego di Agostino, Ambrogio e Girolamo da parte latina e sulla superiorità della lingua greca nella ulteriori. Resta poi un ulteriore aspetto da chiarire: dei quattro apocrisariî papali giunti a Costantinopoli nel 1234, certamente uno di essi è Ugo di Saint Cher¹⁷, il quale però non era il portavoce della delegazione, che Golubovich identifica invece con Rodolfo di Reims (Golubovich 1919: 435); perché dunque proprio egli e soltanto egli troverebbe menzione in questo "resoconto"?

Occorre ricordare che a Costantinopoli nel secolo precedente era giunto un altro legato con lo stesso nome, Ugo Eteriano¹⁸, il quale nel 1176 scrisse un trattato sulla processione dello Spirito Santo, il *De sancto et immortalis Deo*, cercando di confutare gli scritti di Fozio e di Nicola di Metone; orbene, di quest'opera troviamo un'anonima refutazione greca, interpolata in una redazione del primo *Syntagma* di Nettario di Casole, tuttora inedita e testimoniata da due soli codici, il *Brix. Querin. A.IV.3* e il *Barb. gr. 291*¹⁹: tale operetta richiama per brevi estratti il pensiero di Ugo, e poi lo confuta con frammenti di scritti d'autore, e in particolare con alcune sezioni del *Contra veteris*; un puntuale confronto dimostra che la *поученіе* dei manoscritti slavi altro non è la tradu-

¹⁶ PG 102: 393–396; trattasi in realtà del cap. XIII della *Panoplia dogmatica* di Eutimio Zigabeno, composto nella sua prima sezione basandosi su materiale originariamente foziano o comunque di IX secolo.

¹⁷ Sulla sua figura si veda Jerman 1959.

¹⁸ Su di lui si veda la recente voce di Podolak 2020, con ampia bibliografia.

¹⁹ Brevi notizie su quest'operetta si leggono nell'inventario dei manoscritti in Podolak, Bucossi 2017: 321–328.

zione esatta di una sezione di quest'opera. Essa dunque non attiene direttamente alla disputa del 1234. Nondimeno, i due codici greci summentovati che la contengono sono anche testimoni della *Responsio* medesima: onde si spiega come i due testi, giunti insieme al traduttore slavo o già al compilatore del modello greco, siano stati impropriamente accostati, e il secondo abbia qui ricevuto la singolare titolatura riferita a Germano.

Va segnalato, infine, che in quasi tutti i manoscritti a questo testo segue una *Изложение в кѣрѣ*, probabilmente la traduzione di una delle molte *ἐκθέσεις* anonime che si rinvergono nei manoscritti polemici greci, e un brano dell'*Erotapokrisis* attribuita ad Anastasio di Antiochia e Cirillo di Alessandria, in realtà un centone di citazioni di varî padri (PG 89: 1400–1404), che qui sembrerebbe essere considerato quasi un'appendice all'opera di Germano; si tratta in effetti di un brano sovente impiegato nella controversia antilatina, già nella tradizione greca spesso presente nei medesimi manoscritti. Sembra dunque ragionevole che i due testi circolassero insieme già nell'archetipo, se non nell'originale greco.

Un ulteriore florilegio ispirato alla *Responsio*?

Assai singolare, infine, è quanto riportato dal codice *Petropol.* O.п.I.7, dove ai ff. 12r–33r è presente lo stesso gruppo di testi che abbiamo sinora discusso nei restanti manoscritti slavi; ai ff. 33v–48r, senza apparente distinzione, seguono altri estratti patristici senza ordine, in alcuni casi coincidenti con quelli della *Responsio* appena presentati e in altri nuovi, ma soprattutto dal f. 49r è copiato un altro testo, formalmente anonimo (*tit.* *СЛОВО ѠВѢСТНОЕ НА ЛАТИНСИ. ГЛ҃ЩИХЪ ЯКО СЪБИ Д҃ХЪ Ѡ ОЦА И Ѡ СНА ИСХОДИТЬ*), il quale, dopo un prolisso *incipit* che, pel fatto di contenere centoni giovannei, sembra avere vaghi paralleli con la sezione iniziale della recensione antologizzata, riporta alcune citazioni che sembrano coincidere con una delle epitomi greche della *Responsio*²⁰, seguita

²⁰ La cosiddetta epitome n. 1, cfr. Ghigi 2025: 207–208; trattasi di un compendio brevissimo, contenente appena otto citazioni, prevalentemente scritturali. Circola spesso in forma anonima, come *μαρτυρία γραφικά*, accompagnata da un sunto brevissimo della *Definitio* dei frati, e – cosa assai singolare – si ritrova in un paio di casi in manoscritti che contengono già il testo.

da alcune ulteriori citazioni crisostomiche, e da un sunto dell'insegnamento dei concili ecumenici, similmente a quanto avviene nei manoscritti greci di tale epitome, quantunque la lettera dei testi non coincida con alcuno di essi²¹. Il copista del petropolitano avrebbe dunque avuto accesso a un altro florilegio antilatino, di cui s'ignora se esistano altri testimoni slavi, né si conosce un modello greco preciso, che almeno in parte sembrerebbe dipendere dallo scritto di Germano²².

OSSERVAZIONI SUL *MODUS TRANSLATANDI*

Conviene spendere qualche parola sul vocabolario e le strategie traduttive impiegate dal redattore slavo. Anzitutto, notiamo ch'egli sovente rielabora la sintassi del testo greco, al fine di renderla più perspicua, soprattutto nella più discorsiva sezione iniziale, sostituendo verbigrazia i numerosi genitivi assoluti con preposizioni principali, o integrando singole parole. Alcune espressioni, forse ritenute ridondanti, del testo greco, vengono omesse, quantunque non si possa escludere che già l'epitome greca presente al traduttore mancasse di questi passi. Quale esempio più significativo di rielaborazione, la citazione di papa Celestino [n. 43], che utilizza una metafora medica non d'immediata comprensione, parlando dell'amputazione di una ferita dal corpo per indicare l'espulsione di un eretico dalla Chiesa, viene intieramente parafrasata. In generale, la traduzione non è sempre letterale, e la resa del senso avviene non senza la ricerca soluzioni stilisticamente peculiari: ad esempio il sintagma ἡ τῶν ἀγαθῶν χωρηγία in una citazione basiliana è reso usurpando l'espressione paolina **ΒΣΑΚΟΕ ΔΔΑΝΗΕ ΒΛΛΓΟ**, che l'apostolo riferiva però al Padre e non allo Spirito.

²¹ Le parti originali sono integralmente trascritte in *Ποιον* 1875: 156–163, mentre omette di trascrivere la serie di citazioni patristiche, limitandosi a fornire i nomi degli autori. Per la sezione conclusiva parrebbero ravvisarsi punti di contatto con il sunto dell'insegnamento dei concili riportato in una redazione slava della lettera del metropolita di Russia Giovanni II al papa (per una descrizione di questo testo, cfr. *Ibid.* 94–96).

²² L'influenza dell'opera di Germano sulle compilazioni antologiche successive è notevole, cfr. Ghigi 2025: 241–245; la congerie dei florilegi anonimi greci sulla processione dello Spirito attende ancora precise indagini.

Non di rado, il traduttore non comprende perfettamente la sintassi del testo greco, come si può evincere dai seguenti esempi²³:

1. τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται, ἀντὶ τοῦ τὴν ὑπαρξιν ἔχει καὶ τὴν οὐσίωσιν, μὴ προσθέντος δὲ ὅτι ἐξ ἐμοῦ ἐκπορεύεται
Духъ ѿ оца исходитъ, сиръчь, ꙗко ѿтоудоу бытїе имать,
не прлагаетъ же и соущьство, ꙗко и из мене исходитъ²⁴
2. προσώπου τοῦ υἱοῦ τῷ προφήτῃ ὀνομασθέντος ὅτι ἔστιν ἀπαράλλακτος
ѿ лица еже глїеть пророкъ ѿ лица сѣа глїеть. понеже изменень
3. οὐ μέρος ἐτέρου, ἀλλ' ὀλόκληρον ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ
не часть нѣкаа ѿ овоиэхъ. нъ сьврѣшенъ бѣ вѣсе бѣ видимъ

Circa il vocabolario, possiamo notare che i termini filosofici e teologici sono resi con coerenza lungo tutto il testo, ancorché con scelte non scontate (повинна per αἰτία²⁵), ed evitando l'utilizzo di grecismi (съставъ per ὑπόστασις; сѡиство per ιδιότης). Il traduttore appare in difficoltà rendere le differenze tra alcuni termini greci come γνωριστικόν, σημείον e σύμβολον, resi tutti e tre indistintamente con знамение (nell'ultimo caso, per indicare il simbolo della fede, è fatta seguire da una circonlocuzione esplicativa: еже вѣроую во единого бѣ).

Infine, è possibile affermare che il traduttore non si serve di precedenti traduzioni slave dei singoli brani patristici. Un buon esempio in tal senso è costituito dal brano dell'or. 39 di Gregorio di Nazianzo: tra le variazioni più significative rispetto al testo tramandato dalle traduzioni integrali dell'orazione²⁶, oltre all'aggiunta di alcuni verbi sottintesi, v'è una notevole incomprensione del significato dell'espressione εἰ δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ χρόνου λαμβάνεις ἀρχήν,

²³ Il testo greco è fornito sulla base dell'edizione Άλτερ 1796; il testo slavo è trascritto sulla base di A (*Chil.* 455).

²⁴ Ivi, οὐσίωσιν/соущьство, anziché essere il secondo oggetto di ἔχει/имать, diventa oggetto del προσθέντος, reso all'indicativo come прлагаетъ, creando una sentenza teologicamente priva di senso, poiché non è la sostanza a procedere, ma l'ipostasi.

²⁵ Appare quasi essere un *hapax*: esiste però l'aggettivo повинень come traduce di αἴτιος (SJS, s.v.). La scelta potrebbe essere stata originata da una erronea rilettura di αἰτία come neutro plurale del predetto aggettivo.

²⁶ Si confronti il testo nell'ed. Бруни 2010: 142.

dove il verbo λαμβάνω è scorrettamente reso con imati (come se volesse significare ‘trarre il proprio principio dal tempo’), e non nel senso di ‘intendere per principio quello nel tempo’ (correttamente *приемаѣти* nel traduttore primario).

QUALCHE IPOTESI SULLA GENESI DELLA TRADUZIONE

Come si è visto, il testo slavo non coincide con nessuna delle redazioni note dalla tradizione manoscritta greca. Certamente il traduttore slavo mostra un certo grado di rielaborazione del testo, e commette pure alcuni errori; l’ordine peculiare delle citazioni patristiche deve però essersi formato già all’interno del greco, in un testimone per noi perduto, che si può catalogare come una ulteriore versione epitomata, da aggiungersi alle tre note ai manoscritti greci. Come altre epitomi (per esempio la n. 3), tuttavia, il compilatore non si limita a estrarre il materiale, ma lo arricchisce con ulteriori citazioni patristiche, che hanno evidentemente come fonti altre antologie sul medesimo tema, quali ovviamente quella di Camatero e forsanche altre redazioni della *Responsio* stessa. Pochi sono gl’indizî testuali che ci permettono di ricostruire la preistoria di questa redazione: la forma delle sottoscrizioni rimanda con certezza a un ramo della tradizione greca che presenta la medesima corruzione; a questa famiglia appartiene anche il codice *Brix. Querin. A.IV.3*, il quale presenta un testo parzialmente eccentrico e in taluni punti forse contaminato da altre redazioni, e che è pure uno dei due testimoni greci della confutazione di Eteriano riportata come *πορϋχητιε* dai manoscritti slavi. Tali indizî parrebbero suggerire un qualche rapporto tra il codice bresciano e l’epitome slava, ma ulteriori considerazioni in tal senso non sono allo stato presente possibili.

Rapporti tra i manoscritti slavi

Tutta la tradizione slava sembrerebbe ricondursi a un solo archetipo, da collocarsi probabilmente già distante dall’effettivo momento della traduzione, che potrebbe essere avvenuta entro la fine del XIII secolo²⁷.

²⁷ Quasi sicuramente dopo il Concilio di Lione, poiché la diffusione dell’opera di Germano e alcune delle nuove redazioni ed epitomazioni, tra cui dunque anche il presumibile modello del testo slavo, si devono ricondurre al *milieu* an-

La ricostruzione che segue è provvisoria, e si basa sulla collazione della *Definitio* e di alcuni *loci* significativi del testo della *Responsio*: in particolare dovrà essere meglio verificata l'ipotesi per cui E sarebbe un descritto di D (basata sugli errori nella *Definitio* e sul luogo di copia; ma, per esemplare il resto del codice, il copista di E deve sicuramente aver avuto anche altri modelli). In sede della futura edizione, tali dettagli potranno essere perfezionati.

Come già osservava Nikolov, P e B sembrano ricondursi a un antigrafo comune, ch'egli ipotizza essere di redazione bulgara: l'ipotesi è basata prevalentemente sul fatto che nei due codici compare una breve Storia della Chiesa bulgara, particolarmente incentrata sul Sinodo di Lampsaca del 1235, oltre ad alcune operette antilatine che si erano nell'Ottocento ipotizzate esser state primieramente tradotte in Bugaria (Николов 2016: 137). Tutti gli altri manoscritti, dal canto loro, presentano alcune lezioni comuni contro quella portata da PB, onde possiamo agevolmente distinguere la nostra tradizione in due classi. All'interno della seconda classe, una sottofamiglia δ è facilmente identificabile, oltreché per un buon numero di lezioni comuni, per l'assenza della rubrica iniziale. C invece la possiede, si accorda con questo gruppo in molteplici lezioni, più di quanto non faccia A. Poiché R presenta, in comune con C e il gruppo δ , una vistosa lacuna che invece manca in A, ci sembra che essi debbano ricondursi a un medesimo subarchetipo γ . Lo stemma si presenterebbe dunque pressappoco articolato come alla tav. 1.

Luoghi di traduzione e di diffusione

Al Monte Athos, e particolarmente al prolifico *scriptorium* attivo presso monastero di Chilandar, si riconducono la maggior parte dei testimoni del ramo β ; alcuni di questi, quali D e A, sono particolarmente significativi, poiché tanto il loro contenuto quanto il loro

tiunionista dell'epoca, come dimostrato in Ghigi 2024: 104–106. Già Николов 2016: 133, constatando la complessità dello stato testuale, propendeva per una tradizione complessa, e per la lontananza dei codici in nostro possesso rispetto al momento della traduzione. Che alcune opere polemiche potessero essere stati tradotti già verso la fine del secolo XIII è ipotesi già di Turilov che, editando la traduzione slava di un opuscolo di Giovanni Grasso relativo a un colloquio tra Nicola-Nettario di Casole e Gregorio IX avvenuto nel 1232 – un testo dunque estremamente vicino per cronologia e argomento al nostro – ipotizzava che questa dovesse essere stata condotta “in un'epoca abbastanza vicina” a quella dell'originale (Турилов, Ломизе 1996).

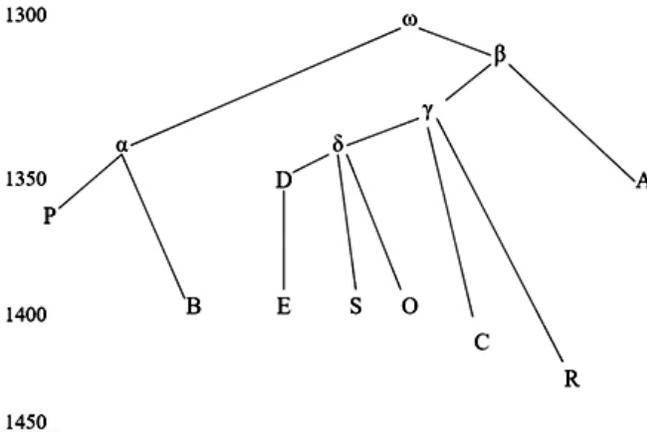
aspetto materiale li fa risalire agli ambienti legati a Gregorio Sinaita²⁸; anche C, benché sia una copia successiva e tramandi soprattutto testi palamiti – comunque tradotti in ambito athonita a partire dal 1360 –, ha dei tratti ortografici e contenutistici che sembrano riconnettere il suo esemplare al citato ambiente. R, ancorché tardivo, pure presenta alcune caratteristiche in tal senso, ed è comunque stato copiato sul Monte Athos. Quindi l'intero ramo β sembrerebbe trovare la propria origine nel circolo dei discepoli di Gregorio; ma forse che non potrebbe ricondursi a quella scuola anche l'archetipo di tutta la nostra tradizione? Questo permetterebbe di spiegare anche come esso, giunto in Bulgaria al loro seguito con la fondazione del monastero di Paroria, possa aver dato vita a un subarchetipo che, almeno nel suo contenuto, sembra avere una connotazione bulgara. E' nota parimenti l'influenza della scuola di Gregorio sulla spiritualità russa, tramite il metropolita Cipriano di Kiev ch'era stato suo discepolo, e ciò spiegherebbe l'arrivo precoce del testo in Russia, testimoniato dal codice petropolitano, di cui abbiamo già notato altre interessanti peculiarità. Accanto a ciò, notiamo che la compresenza di testi ascetici di stampo palamita e di testi polemici antilatini è piuttosto diffusa anche nella tradizione manoscritta greca, e ciò vale anche per svariati testimoni greci della *Responsio*; una sua circolazione in ambito esicasta è dunque più che plausibile.

Assunto che il nostro archetipo sarebbe stato almeno posseduto, se non copiato, dal circolo di Gregorio Sinaita, su di esso possiamo dire con certezza anche un'altra cosa: conteneva già la rubrica sotto al titolo, che avverte il copista di non trascurare la *Responsio* perché fa tutt'uno con la precedente *Definitio*, dacché troviamo tale rubrica in manoscritti di entrambe le famiglie. In essa compare un termine inusuale, κούρα: a mio avviso, esso non deve intendersi come una forma del vocabolo sl. eccl. κούρη 'caro, costoso', che in tal guisa darebbe luogo a un solecismo difficilmente giustificabile, bensì come una variante per вкупѣ 'insieme', ad avvertire un eventuale copista che, essendo *Definitio* e *Responsio* tra loro collegate, questi dovrà conservare anche la seconda

²⁸ Cfr. Скарпа 2016: 223–224. La presenza di elementi ortografici bulgari in redazioni generalmente serbe è uno degli elementi più caratteristici della produzione di detta scuola.

al momento della trascrizione; ora, *скупна* è un'evoluzione di tale sintagma che troviamo attestata esclusivamente in antico serbo²⁹.

Tale indizio ci orienta ancora una volta verso una redazione serba dell'archetipo, e ci spinge a considerare gli ambienti serbi del Monte Athos, centro molto vitale di traduzioni dal greco ancora per tutto il XIV secolo, come luogo di origine anche della traduzione di questa operetta polemica, popolarissima già a Bisanzio e molto diffusa proprio sull'Athos (da cui provengono almeno sette manoscritti greci), e che proprio attraverso la Sacra Montagna e i primi esicasti avrebbe poi conosciuto pari fortuna nel mondo slavofono. Tutto ciò ci permette infine di rimarcare ancora una volta l'importanza delle traduzioni slave per la conoscenza della storia testuale delle opere greche, troppo a lungo sottovalutate: la tradizione slava ci presenta qui difatti una ulteriore redazione, altrimenti ignota, del nostro testo, tracce della circolazione della sua epitome in altri florilegî, e testimonia infine la diffusione e la lettura di un'operetta, quale è la confutazione di Eteriano, tuttora inedita e sinora pressoché negletta dagli studi.



[tav. 1]

²⁹ Il dizionario di Avramović non riporta il lemma, mantenendo per conservatorismo la forma sl. eccl. *вкупъ* (cfr. Avramović 1791, s.v. *Zusammen*); tuttavia la troviamo ben attestata, oltre che in molteplici testi serbi volgari di XVIII e XIX secolo, in un dizionarietto asburgico (*Terminologie* 1853, s.v. *Zugleich [sammen]*, e in molti composti a seguire). Benché caduta in disuso nel serbo contemporaneo, la forma è tuttora viva in croato e risulta impiegata pure nei dialetti serbi della Vojvodina (cfr. Милорадов et. al. 2019, s.v. *скупа*)

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Appendice: Tavola di confronto delle citazioni³⁰

Redazione breve (α) del testo greco	Versione slava	Redazione breve (α) del testo greco	Versione slava
1. Matth. 12,28	1. Matth. 12,28	36. Bas. Magn., <i>Adv. Eunomium</i>	80. Anastasius Sin., <i>Sermo I in</i> <i>const. hom.</i> , 3
2. Lc. 4,18	2. Lc. 4,18	V	
3. Is. 42,7	3. Is. 42,7	37. <i>Ibid.</i>	42. Dam. Papa, <i>Anathemata</i> , 16
4. Ps. 32,6	4. Ps. 32,6	38. Ps.-	43. Coelest.
5. Ps. 138,7	5. Ps. 138,7	Bas., <i>Contra</i> <i>sabellianos</i> , 4	Papa, <i>Ep. 13 ad</i> <i>Nestorium</i> , 4
6. Joan 14,9	6. Jo. 14,9	39. <i>Ibid.</i> , 7	
7. Is. 61,6	7. Is. 61,6	40. <i>Ibid.</i> , 6	
8. Act. 2,32-33	7a. Jo. 15,26	41. Bas. Magn., <i>Ep. 38 ad</i> <i>Gregorium</i> <i>fratrem</i> , 4	
9. Jacob 1,16-17	7b. Jo. 14,15-16	42. Dam. Papa, <i>Anathemata</i> , 16	
10. 1Cor 2,10-12	7c. Jo. 14,25	43. Coelest.	
11. Tit. 2,5-6	8. Act. 2,32-33	Papa, <i>Ep. 13 ad</i> <i>Nestorium</i> , 4	
12. Dion. Areop., <i>De div. nom.</i> II, 5		44. <i>Sacr. Greg.</i> n. 538	
13. <i>Ibid.</i> II, 7	57. Cyril. Alex., <i>Ep. 39, 9 (fus.)</i>	45. Greg. Magn., <i>Dialogi</i> II, 38, 4	
14. Dion. Areop., <i>De myst. theol.</i> , III	50. Ps.-Greg. Nyss, <i>De</i> <i>cognitione Dei</i>	46. Greg. Nyss., <i>Ad Ablabium</i> , 12	
15. Ps.-Just. (Theod. Cyr.), <i>Exp. rectae fid.</i> 9	25a. (ps.-)Athanas (non inveni)	47. Greg. Nyss, <i>Encom. in S.</i> <i>Stephanum</i> , 6	
16. Apol. Laod., <i>Fides secundum</i> <i>partem</i> 18-20	[78. Theophyl. Bulg., <i>In</i> <i>Johannem</i>]	48. Greg. Nyss, <i>Contra</i> <i>Eunomium</i> I, 280	
17. Greg. Thaum, <i>Exp. fidei</i>	79. Greg. Naz., <i>Or. 39, 12</i>	49. <i>Ibid.</i> I, 377- 378	
18. Gelasii Cyziceni, <i>Hist.</i> <i>Conc. Nic.</i> II, xxi, 3	26. Apol. Laod., <i>Contra</i> <i>sabellianos</i> , 2		
19. <i>Ibid.</i> II, xxiii, 1-2	41. Bas. Magn., <i>Ep. 38 ad</i> <i>Gregorium</i> <i>fratrem</i> , 4		
20. Sev. Gabal., <i>In ps. 96</i> , 4			

³⁰ La numerazione segue quella univoca per le varie redazioni del testo greco fornita nella tabella in Ghigi 2025: 250–264.

Redazione breve (α) del testo greco	Versione slava	Redazione breve (α) del testo greco	Versione slava
21. Athan., <i>Ep. ad Serapionem</i> I,28	20f. Sever. Gabal., <i>De Spiritu Sancto</i>	50. Ps.-Greg. Nyss, <i>De cognitione Dei</i>	
22. Apol. Laod., <i>Contra sabellianos</i> , 2	29g. Ps.-Athan., <i>Dial. contra Macedon.</i> I,8	51. Cyril. Alex., <i>Anathem.</i> (Ep. 17), 9	
23. Ps.-Athan., <i>Dial. contra Macedon.</i> I, 5	29f. Athan., <i>De Trinitate</i> ,	52. Cyril. Alex., <i>Apol. contra Theod.</i> , 9	
24. <i>Ibid.</i> I, 16	29h. Did. Cæc., <i>Dial. Montanistæ et orth.</i>	53. Cyril. Alex., <i>Ep.</i> 39, 9	
25. <i>Ibid.</i> I, 20	16. Apol. Laod., <i>Fides secundum partem</i> 18-20	54. Cyril. Alex., <i>Ep.</i> 55, 4	
26. Apol. Laod., <i>Contra sabellianos</i> , 11	62. Joan. Damasc., <i>Exp. fidei</i> , 8	55. <i>Ibid.</i>	
27. Marc. Ancyr., <i>Exp. fidei</i> , 6	12. Dion. Areop., <i>De div. nom.</i> II, 7	56. <i>Ibid.</i> , 30	
28. Ps.-Athan., <i>Testim. e Script.</i> , 48	16a. Ps.-Bas., <i>Contra sabellianos</i> , 1-2	57. Cyril. Alex., <i>Ep.</i> 39, 9	
29. Athan., <i>Ep. ad Serapionem</i> I, 2	17. Greg. Thaum, <i>Exp. fidei</i>	58. Cyril. Alex., <i>Apologeticus</i> , 9	
30. Greg. Naz., <i>De dogmate</i> (or. 20), 7	48e. Greg. Nyss., <i>De Trinitate</i> (apud Camaterum, n. 44,2)		
31. Greg. Naz., <i>De Spiritu Sancto</i> (or. 31), 14	48f. Greg. Nyss., <i>Quia tres personæ</i>		
32. <i>Ibid.</i>	59. Epiph., <i>Ancor.</i> VI, 8-10		
33. Greg. Naz., <i>In Heronem</i> (or. 25), 16			
34. Greg. Naz., <i>In Ægypt. adv.</i> (or. 34), 10			
35. Ps.-Greg. Naz., <i>Ep. ad Evagrium</i>			

NEW EVIDENCES ON THE SLAVIC TRADITION OF THE RESPONSIO AD FRATRES MINORES BY PATRIARCH GERMAN II

Summary

This study presents new findings concerning the Slavic transmission of the *Responsio ad fratres minores*, a theological polemical treatise composed by Patriarch Germanus II of Constantinople as part of the Byzantine–Latin theological disputes during the Nicaea–Nymphaeum encounter in 1234. The work later became a significant text in the Orthodox defense against Latin Trinitarian doctrine. Despite its limited attention in modern scholarship, the *Responsio* enjoyed wide dissemination in both the Greek and Slavic worlds.

Following a new examination of the complex Greek manuscript tradition—previously almost unknown—several recensions and epitomized versions of the text have been identified, some heavily interpolated and adapted for didactic and anthological purposes. The paper then turns to the Slavic corpus, focusing on the nine oldest manuscript witnesses, predominantly marked by Serbian linguistic features. These contain a distinct Slavic redaction not directly corresponding to any known Greek version. It is argued that the Slavic translation derives from an otherwise lost epitome, enriched with patristic quotations from other anti-Latin sources.

Particularly significant is the identification of appended texts in Slavic manuscripts, unrecorded in the Greek tradition, including a sermon-like piece misattributed to Germanus. Previously believed to be a fragment of a lost Greek account of the debates, it is shown to be a translation of an unedited Greek treatise against Hugh Etherianus and thus unrelated to the Nicaea–Nymphaeum dispute.

Through philological and textual analysis, the paper outlines the transmission of the *Responsio* in the Slavic world, placing its translation in the Serbian Athonite milieu in the early 14th century, and tracing its diffusion through hesychast circles. The Slavic tradition not only preserves a unique textual witness to the *Responsio*, but also sheds light on its adaptation and reception. Moreover, it underscores the critical importance of Slavic manuscript traditions in reconstructing the transmission and reception of Byzantine polemical texts.

Keywords: Slavonic philology; Textual transmission; theological polemic; anti-latin literature; Greek-Slavonic translations.

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GRAPHEMATICAL VARIATION IN OLD EAST SLAVIC
BIRCH-BARK TEXTS: THE LIGATURE <w̃>

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1 INTRODUCTION

Recent research on the writing system employed in Old East Slavic (OES) birch-bark literacy has shown that the writing system used on birch-bark is the consequence of a learning mechanism called ‘syllable-writing’ (see Зализняк 2004, Zhivov 2014, Петрухин 2020). According to this mechanism, not individual graphemes and their phonological counterparts are learned individually, but the individual letter is first identified by its name as learned in the alphabet and thereafter by its phonetic value in combination with other graphemes. This approach helps to clarify a number of questions concerning the orthography of the so-called ‘vernacular’ writing-system of OES. However, it cannot satisfactorily explain the use of letters as numerals alongside spelled-out numerals as well as the various uses of the ligature <w̃>, which this paper focuses on. In this corpus linguistic study, I look at the use of the ligature in birch-bark texts from the 12th and 13th century. Overarching questions that this paper seeks to address are: Is the so-called “vernacular writing system” from the 12th and 13th centuries a strictly phonographic system except for the use of letters as numbers or are there any other elements that can be analyzed as morphographic? What does this say about the writing system in general?

The results of this corpus study support the hypothesis that the ligature <w̃> has a primary morphographic use. In over 90% of total occurrences in the 12th and 13th centuries the ligature <w̃> is used as a morphographic element representing the lemma *отъ* ‘from’. It

is only secondarily used as a phonographic element. In its phonographic use, it can represent several sequences of sound, from /o/, to /ot/, to /oto/. Because the data set is small, these results have to be treated with caution. Section 2 gives a general overview about the theoretical concepts used in the paper. Section 2.1 introduces phonography and morphography, while section 2.2 describes how Old East Slavs learned to read and write. Section 3 seeks to answer the questions posited above using a corpus linguistic approach. The data presented in section 3.1 suggest a primarily morphographic use of the ligature, and the data presented in section 3.2 warrant discussion of phonographic uses of the ligature. Section 4 discusses the legitimacy of the findings and concludes the paper.

2 GRAPHEMATICS AND THE VERNACULAR WRITING SYSTEM OF OES

Graphematics is a subdiscipline of linguistics which is concerned with the written modality of languages. Its main goal is to explain the linguistic functions of graphemes and their correspondence to phonemes or morphemes (see Meletis, Dürscheid 2022: 115). A writing system is understood as the graphematical module which relates units of sound or meaning to units of graphematical representation, such as letters in an alphabetical system (see, e.g., Meletis 2020: 61). All modern and historical Slavic languages employ phonographic writing systems, that is, individual letters correspond to phonological units. There is, however a known exception to this overarching rule, namely when letters are used as numbers. This is considered logography (see Marti 2014: 1497). The term logography is, however, a rather outdated term and the use of the term “morphography” has been increasingly popular (see e.g., Meletis 2020 and Meletis, Dürscheid 2022) and will therefore be used in the present study.

The minimal unit of graphematics which serves to distinguish meaning is the grapheme. The grapheme is realized by means of graphs which are considered “unique physical event[s]” (Meletis 2020: 46). In the case of phonographic writing systems, graphemes stand in a relation with phonemes. In morphographic writing systems such as Chinese, the graphemes relate primarily to morphemes, instead. In Zaliznyak’s initial definition, the grapheme is “the sum of all signs which the users of the graphematical system

view as ‘the same’.” (Зализняк 1979: 145, translation NH). That is, in order to be considered a grapheme, the unit has to fulfill a unique linguistic function. Different graphs which serve the same function are considered allographs.

Which units of writing in OES exactly serve as graphemes and which do not? Can we establish that the ligature <w̄> is a grapheme on the grounds that a grapheme must be a minimal unit? The ligature is made up of two independent graphemes of OES: it combines the graphemes <ω> and <τ> into a single grapheme. Following to Kohrt (1998: 555), who views the grapheme as a minimal functional unit, this question can be answered only through a thorough study of the use of the ligature. The grapheme definition introduced above as proposed by Zaliznyak as well as its application by him onto the vernacular writing system of OES (see Зализняк 1979, 2000) undermine this claim.

In the broadest sense, the grapheme has a function analogous to the function of the phoneme as well as the morpheme, which is reflected in the distinction between phonographic and morphographic writing. The individual graphemes are perceived as different and associated with unique names by the users (see Зализняк 2000: 134). In the users’ graphemathical system, every letter that is in the alphabet is an instance of a grapheme. The abstract graphemathical system, however, relies on function (see Зализняк 1979: 147). Digraphs are often treated as units (see Зализняк 1999: 544), which warrants the analysis of the ligature <w̄> as a minimal functional unit. It is to be considered a grapheme despite the fact that it is made up of graphs that can be considered independent graphemes.

2.1 PHONOGRAPHY AND MORPHOGRAPHY

In section 2, it was established that the ligature <w̄> can be considered a unique grapheme on the basis of Zaliznyak’s usage-based definition (Зализняк 1979) as well as Kohrt’s functional definition (Kohrt 1988) in OES. It is, initially, a combination of two letters which have separate grapheme-status in OES. These, however, serve functions distinct from the ligature. The question remains, however, which module of linguistic theory the ligature relates to. Writing systems that primarily relate graphemes and phonemes or syllables are considered phonographic, while those that primarily

relate graphemes and morphemes are considered morphographic (see Meletis, Dürscheid 2022: 212, 216).

As is the view of the authors, “most if not all writing systems to some degree incorporate features characteristic of other types of writing systems” (Meletis, Dürscheid 2022: 132-133). In other words, phonographic writing systems may employ features of morphography and vice versa. The possibility that Slavic languages could employ other strategies of morphography other than writing numerals has not yet been explored. In the following section, I argue that the ligature <w̃> has a dual status: In its primary function, it relates to a morpheme, the prefix or the preposition *отъ* (‘from’) and is thus to be considered a morphographic element. It only secondarily relates to the phonological sequence /ot(ъ/o)/. Its phonographic use is marginal. I will consider graphemes that are used morphographically a) those that cannot be explained as a consequence of syllable-writing in the learning process (see Петрухин 2020) and b) are used as an alternative to elements that fulfill the grapheme-phoneme correspondence phonographically. Lastly, c) graphemes which do not seem to correspond to any phonological or phonetic representation in a transparent way are considered morphographic graphemes, as well.

2.2 THE ACQUISITION OF WRITING

Learning to read in Rus’ meant to learn to read by syllables first (see Zhivov 2014: 1280). Writing exercises as those of the boy Onfim (see, e.g., birch-bark text N199) are characterized by practice sequences of a grapheme representing a consonant in combination with a grapheme representing a vowel. Zhivov thus hypothesizes that the units by which reading and writing were learned are not the individual graphemes but syllabic sequences. The process is described by Zhivov as follows: the letter <Ѣ> in combination with <а> was produced in writing as <Ѣа> to represent the syllable /ba/ (see Zhivov 2014: 1280). Petrukhin agrees with Zhivov that writing was (self)-taught and practiced in syllabic sequences (see Петрухин 2020: 120). The observation that the colon (:) is used by a number of users of the system to visually mark (open) syllables allows him to conclude that people read these sequences of letters as syllables; also making the observation that all of these syllables are open syllables (see Петрухин 2020: 108).

Conceptualizing the graphemes in OES writing acquisition thus means to relate them to multiple linguistic systems. Firstly, the letters are bestowed with names and with their function in syllabic writing. Secondly, the letters are associated with the phonological unit they represent individually. Petrukhin views the vernacular writing system “as an alphabetical system with elements of syllable-writing” (Петрухин 2020: 125, translation NH). The results of the following corpus linguistic study suggest that an additional dimension must be considered, namely morphography.

3 THE CORPUS-LINGUISTIC STUDY

A first step in towards an answer to the question of which linguistic units the graphemes in OES related to can be achieved via a corpus-linguistic study. Based on the use of the individual graphemes, conclusions can be drawn about their function. This study investigates the use of the ligature <w̄>. Birch-bark letters were taken into consideration which are dated into the timespan from 1125–1210, since most birch-bark texts known to date are dated to this time period (see Mendoza 2023: 345). This interval corresponds to Zaliznyak’s classifications “B” (2nd quarter of the 12th century – 1220, see Зализняк 2004: 227). Furthermore, the use of the ligature is on the rise in this time, there is also a decline of the spelled-out *отъ* in favour of the ligature from the 12th century onwards (see Зализняк 2004: 36) and thus this time period is considered fruitful for the present investigation.

The so-defined corpus using the Russian National Corpus (<https://www.ruscorpora.ru>; see also Савчук, Архангельский, Бонч-Осмоловская, Дони́на, Кузнецова, Ляшевская, Орехов, Подрядчикова 2024) comprises 565 texts and 9,047 tokens. The complete birch-bark corpus in the Russian National Corpus amounts to 23.598 words as of November 2024.

3.1 AS A MORPHOGRAPHIC ELEMENT

The first aim of the study was to determine the frequency of the ligature <w̄> as a representative of the preposition *отъ* (‘from’) which, using the definition b) in section 2, I consider morphographic use since it is used as an alternative to elements that fulfill the grapheme-phoneme correspondence phonographically. The results show that the ligature <w̄> in over 90% of its occurrences is used as a morphographic element representing the lemma *отъ* ‘from’.

The lemma is represented by <w̄>, and thus morphographically, in the majority of cases.

I determined the frequency of the ligature <w̄> in a subcorpus of the birch-bark corpus in the Russian National Corpus. As discussed above, only birch-bark texts dated from 1125-1220 A.D (see Зализняк 2004: 227) were taken into account. For the parameter settings, the timespan searched for equaled 1125-1210. Since the timespans are given in 20-year intervals, this ensured that documents dated up to 1220 were found, but no later documents. The subcorpus of birch-bark texts was searched for using the Lemma-option. The lemma *отъ* ‘from’ occurs 226 times in the corpus. The data were searched for reconstructed forms. Reconstructed forms in which it was not clearly visible whether the (full) ligature is present were excluded, so that only the unquestionable instances of the ligature were taken into account. Two occurrences of *отъ* were ruled out for independent reasons. They will be considered in section 3.2 as examples (6) and (7). In sum, 41 occurrences were ruled out. The number of occurrences relevant for this research was thus 185. The results of the corpus search are given in table 1.

Variant	<i>n</i>
w̄	127
отъ	38
w	6
ото	6
о	2
+	2
w̄тъ	1
w̄то	1
w̄ъ	1
от	1
	185

Table 1: Graphematical representation of the lemma отъ in birch-bark texts from 1225-1220

A preliminary overview of the data shows that the ligature is indeed the main variant (68.65%). However, it does not occur as the sole graphematical representation, but can be replaced by the phonographic spelling <отъ> and variants thereof.

Closing the investigation, there is one more argument found in the birch-bark letters for morphographic use of elements connected to the lemma *отъ*. The sign of the cross is frequently used to open letters before the initial *отъ* ('from'). The scribe Serathięn, to whom two letters are attributable, uses the sign of the cross (+) with the meaning of *отъ*, or in place of <w̃> (see Зализняк 2004: 385). A strong indicator for this view is the fact that Serathięn's name is in the genitive case in both letters, see examples (1) and (2).¹ These examples were excluded from the above-presented survey of the lemma *отъ*. All following examples are cited according to the data given on the webpage <http://gramoty.ru> (last accessed November 5, 2024).

(1) + сѣрѧѠиѧѧѧ (...)

(N643)

(2) + сѣрѧѠиѧѧѧ (...)

(N666)

'from Serathięn (...)'

Zaliznyak views this use as "compression progression", in which the greeting formula "+w̃" is reduced to just the cross (see Зализняк 2004: 385). It could thus be an instance of ellipsis. However, these are the only two instances of this use known to date.

3.2 AS A PHONOGRAPHIC ELEMENT

The second part of the study investigates the use of <w̃> as a phonographic element; considering the special circumstances in which users of the vernacular writing system learned to read and write, special attention is paid to use in syllable-writing, as well. The ligature is only marginally used as a phonographic element. It can represent several sequences of phonemes, from /o/, to /ot/, to /oto/.

The above-defined subcorpus was searched for all instances of the ligature <w̃> regardless of the position. As in the previous

¹ Birch-bark texts are numbered according to the place of excavation (N stands for Velikij Novgorod; St.R. for Staraja Russa, and Psk. for Pskov).

study, 31 reconstructed forms were excluded. The data were then manually examined with respect to the phonographical sequence the ligature corresponds to. I classified the prefix *отъ*- as an element separate from other instances. I determined the sequence based on previous analyses of individual birch-bark letters (see Янин, Зализняк, Гиппиус 2015, Гиппиус 2023) and, if there was no mention of the literature, based on the following grapheme. See table 2 for the results of the second study. In 90.7% of cases, the ligature represented the lemma, while in only 9.3% of cases, the ligature was used as a phonographic entity.

$\langle\bar{w}\rangle$ represents	<i>n</i>
lemma <i>отъ</i>	127
/o/	5
Prefix <i>от(ъ)</i>	4
/oto/	2
/ot/	1
	140

Table 2: Uses of the ligature $\langle\bar{w}\rangle$ in birch-bark texts from 1125-1220

Recalling the results presented in section 3.1, the high number of the ligature as a representative of the lemma is to be expected. What is surprising, however, is that other uses of the ligature only amount to twelve occurrences in total. Because of the uncertain status of the so-called jer vowels in OES at this point in time, the prefix cannot be certainly identified in accordance with a phonographic sequence. It could either represent /ot/, /oto/, or *отъ*/. In only one case, however, the ligature is reliably used as a phonographic element corresponding to the letters of which it is composed: the sequence /ot/, which is a surprising result. In two cases, it is moreover evident that the ligature represents the sequence /oto/. In five cases, furthermore, the ligature corresponds to /o/.

Recall from section 2 that users of the vernacular writing system of OES learned to read and write by syllabic units. In this light, then, the high number of correspondences between

the ligature <w̄> and the sequence /o/ is not surprising, since /.ot/ is not a felicitous syllable in OES. Rather, OES, at this developmental stage, is comprised of open syllables and tends to represent this in writing (see also Schaeken 1995: 101). However, in cases in which the ligature corresponds to a heterosyllabic sequence /o.to/, this line of reasoning cannot be applied. The use of the ligature thus cannot be explained by the syllable-writing mechanism in vernacular OES writing.

Furthermore, the results have to be treated with caution for yet another reason. Some of the letters which employ the ligature are part of a larger network of birch-bark letters, which Schaeken (2019: 177) calls the Luka-Ivan Network (LIN). This is a series of letters ascribed to the same persons who were business associates. It is furthermore not unlikely that the three personae, namely Luka, Ivan and Snovid, are related (see Янин, Зализняк, Гиппиус 2015 and Schaeken 2019: 179). In this light, then, it is not surprising that they employ similar writing strategies. If they were taught by the same teacher, or read the letters of the others frequently, they may have adapted some features. Three instances of phonographical writing out of twelve such instances in total can be attributed to the LIN (see table 2).

Consider example (3), a letter from Snovid to Sulęta in which the ligature <w̄> is present in two of its functions: as a representative of the lemma and as a prefix (see also Янин, Зализняк, Гиппиус 2015: 108). A further note is in order. The lemma and the prefix are homophones and homographs. The distinction between phonographic and morphographic writing in the case of the prefix when used in analogy with the lemma cannot be answered satisfactorily at this point in time.

- (3) w̄ снoвИдѦ грѦмoтѦ къ сoулѦтѣ w̄шeлѣ ти eсмѣ [...] (N1007)
 ‘From Snovid a letter to Sulęta. We went away (...).’

The scribes associated with the LIN also use the ligature in other phonographic writing. The scribe Luka, for example, uses the ligature to represent the sequence /o/ in the examples (4) and (5).

- (4) + w̄ лoукъИ къ w̄тѣцeви (N1004)
 ‘from Luka to father’

- (5) × ѿ лѡуѣкъ грамота ко ѿтечьви (N1006)
‘from Luka a letter to father’

These birch-bark texts illustrate frequently occurring graphematically variation in the vernacular writing system in which <e> and <ь> on the one hand and <o> and <ъ> on the other are not distinctive (see also Зализняк 2002).

The cases in which the ligature is used to represent the sequence /oto/ are clearly heterosyllabic. See the examples (6) and (7) below which were excluded from the data in section 3.1, but included in the phonographic considerations. N1087 is discussed by Gippius et al. (see Гиппиус, Зализняк, Топорова 2017: 19), while St. R. 54 is discussed by Gippius (Гиппиус 2023: 24). According to the authors’ analysis, the ligature <ѿ> in both of these examples corresponds to the sequence /oto/. This argument is based on the observation that both *Lьksha* and *Sьlica* are not characteristic OES first names. The fact that <ѡ> and <ъ> are not distinctive supports this claim. It is thus not surprising that the ligature <ѿ> in its phonographic use could convey both /oto/ and /отъ/.

- (6) + ѿлькъшь къ дьмьѡнъкоу (N1087)
‘from Oľksha to Дьмьѡнъкъ’
- (7) ѿсьлицѣ к ѡванѡу (St.R.54)
‘from Oсьlica to Ivan’

4 CONCLUSION

To conclude, this study shows that the ligature ѿ is, in the majority of cases, a morphographic element corresponding to the lemma *отъ*. The ligature is furthermore used as a phonographic element. These uses are, however, rare. I therefore argue that one of the writing strategies for users of the vernacular OES writing system, alongside syllable-writing and other phonographic peculiarities, was morphography. This has been argued for numerals as well (see Marti 2014), although as of yet not for OES in particular. Of course, these results have to be treated with caution considering the small size of the birch-bark corpus as a whole.

The use of the ligature <ѿ>, cannot be explained satisfactorily using the syllable-writing strategy proposed by Petrukhin

(Петрухин 2020). The relatively high number of instances in which the ligature corresponds to the sequence /o/, which in itself constitutes a syllable, supports Petrukhin's claim. Most often, however, the sequence it corresponds to is /ot(ъ)/, which is syllabified as /o.t(ъ)/ and thus hetero-syllabic.

As was already mentioned in section 2, possibilities of morphography in Slavic writing systems have not as yet been considered. The only account that I am aware of is Marti (2014) who, in passing, mentions numerals. However, many open questions still remain about the principles by which numerals are used in either their written-out (and thus phonographic) form or in their occurrence as letters (morphographic) are used. Under which circumstances do users prefer the morphographic form? In which cases do users use the phonographic form? Further research must seek strategies to answer these questions.

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GRAPHEMATICAL VARIATION IN OLD EAST SLAVIC BIRCH-BARK TEXTS: THE LIGATURE <ŵ>

Summary

This paper seeks to analyze the vernacular writing system of Old East Slavic (OES) used in the birch-bark texts from a users' point of view with respect to their writing strategies. The results of a corpus study suggest that the ligature <ŵ> is used primarily as corresponding to the lemma *otъ* 'from' (morphographic use) by users of the vernacular writing system of OES in 12th and 13th century Kyivan Rus' rather than corresponding to a sequence /ot/ (phonographic use). This is a surprising result, since phonography is the default modality for Slavic languages. Users of the vernacular writing system thus employ a variety of writing strategies, one of them being morphography.

Keywords: Historical linguistics; Old East Slavic; birch-bark texts; graphematics; writing system.

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THE HOLY CENSER IN THE SLAVONIC TRANSLATION OF THE OCTATEUCH

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INTRODUCTION

The objective of this paper is to present data about the lexical variants regarding the term ‘censer’ and to analyze the instances in order to draw conclusions about the lexical meaning of the used lexemes.

The object studied here is the text of the Octateuch which is considered not to have been used in the liturgical service but rather for reading. There are a few Old Church Slavonic manuscripts which are representative of the tradition. These manuscripts have been categorized into two groups, as outlined in the works of Željazkova (Желязкова 2016: 243-256) and Slavova (Славова 2022: 86-90). For the present study, the manuscripts belonging to the so-called by authors group B¹ have been selected, and the occurrences have been derived from these manuscripts. They are considered representative of the South Slavonic tradition, particularly with regard to their carriers of Western Bulgarian linguistic features. The manuscripts under consideration are three and they are all dated from the 16th century.

The first manuscript, originating from the collection of the traveler Viktor Grigorovich, is currently preserved at the Russian State Library under shelf mark I/M1684. Its origin can be traced to the first half of the 16th century, when it was commissioned by

¹ For more information regarding groups A and B see Slavova (Славова 2022: 79–86).

the archbishop of Ochrid Prohor for the church “Saint Kliment Ohridski” there. The manuscript contains the Octateuch and the four books of Kings. The second manuscript, bearing shelf mark IIC17 from the Library of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (HAZU), was written at the Lesnovo monastery around the middle of the 16th century and it contains the text of the Octateuch. The third manuscript, bearing shelf mark 351 from the Bulgarian National Church Museum of History and Archaeology (ЦИАИ), is dated from the beginning of the 16th century (Желязкова 2016:247-248). Notwithstanding the fact that this manuscript is the most dated, it is not employed as a primary source in this case because it is incomplete because the beginning of the manuscript is missing. Consequently, the instances presented herein have been excerpted from the manuscript from the collection of Viktor Grigorovich.

Firstly, concise information about the holy censer, its significance, and its role in religious practices will be given. Secondly, examples from the Slavonic sources together with their Greek corresponding lexemes will be provided. The meanings of these terms will be presented from a variety of sources. Finally, the metaphorical meaning of the words will be discussed further.

THE HOLY CENSER – A RELIGIOUS OBJECT

The contemporary conception of the ‘holy censer’ is that of a diminutive, portable vessel of metallic composition, typically of copper or gold, which serves the purpose of containing the burning coals transferred from the altar on which the priest sprinkles the incense.

In English a censer is an implement shaped like a bowl or a pan, intended for the burning of incense. In the English Bible the term is employed indiscriminately to render two Hebrew words which seem to have denoted different objects. One of these words, ‘miḵteret,’ occurs only three times (once in the variant ‘meḵatterot,’ 2 Chron. 30:14) (not in NRSV). This, according to its etymology, indicated a censer which was among the appointments of the Temple required for the performance of holy offices. The other word, ‘maḥtah,’ is mentioned in the Bible over twenty times. *In the English version it is rendered as ‘censer’, ‘firepan’, ‘snuff-*

dishes', and 'snuffer'. Derived from the hebrew root 'hatah' (to gather together coal or ashes), it was probably the name of various contrivances intended to remove the ashes or to carry live coals. There are some suggestions that it could have been the saucer in which the snuffers were deposited. In Ex. 25:38 (NRSV) snuffers stand for ladles used to remove the burnt portion of the wick. These may have been of small size. The larger ones in connection with the altar for burnt offerings (Ex. 27:3) (NRSV) may more properly be rendered by 'firepans'... It is evident that various forms of these were known; some being open without rims, while others, designated as 'complete', were provided with raised rims.

The *maḥtah* was, as a rule, not used to burn incense. From the documents, as now incorporated in the Pentateuch, it appears that only on the golden altar, or, as it is also called, 'the inner altar', could incense be offered (Ex. 30:1-7) (NRSV). The critical school has indeed contended that the inner or golden altar was not recognized in earlier times. But this does not weaken the evidence of the documents to the effect that in post-exilic periods censers were not proper utensils for the burning of incense. The story of Korah's adherents (Num. 16:17, 18) (NRSV), as well as Ezek. 8:11 (NRSV), proves that in the opinion of the later days the use of the *maḥtah* for this purpose was regarded in the light of an illegal profanation.

But the *maḥtah* was used in conveying incense to the altar. An exception to this was in the ritual for the Day of Atonement. The high priest filled the censer with coals from the altar and, placing upon them a handful of incense, caused the smoke to cover the mercy-seat of the Ark in the Holy of Holies (Lev. 16:12, 13) (NRSV). These 'pans' were of bronze, silver, and gold. Those in the Temple were complicated in construction and of costly material (JE 1902: 642 and the cited literature).

The information presented herein has been provided to facilitate the drawing of conclusions regarding the presence of disparate lexical elements in the Hebrew Bible from which the Septuagint was translated, and to ascertain whether these meanings were differentiated into Greek. Furthermore, it is to be investigated how the Slavonic translator adopted these meanings and translated them.

Once the theories concerning the shape and usage of the censer in the Jewish tradition are established, it is possible to introduce

these theories for the Eastern Orthodox tradition, which is basically how the Slavonic adopted them.

INSTANCES OF USAGE IN THE SLAVONIC TEXT OF THE OCTATEUCH

The following investigation will examine the instances of usage of the word ‘censer’ in the Slavonic text of the Octateuch. The analysis will begin from the contemporary Bulgarian synodal text of the Bible and will proceed back to Old Church Slavonic. The investigation will conclude that there are a few occurrences of the word ‘censer’ in the Octateuch.

The Bulgarian word is *кадилница* and plural *кадилници*. These appear in the books of Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers: two instances in Exodus, two in Leviticus, 25 times in Numbers, with no occurrences in the remaining books of the Octateuch: Genesis, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth. This results in a total of 29 occurrences of the word in the Octateuch, as translated into the contemporary Bulgarian synodal Bible.

However, a close examination of the 1751 Elizabeth Bible which is essentially a Church Slavonic translation of the Bible, reveals a significant difference. The occurrences of the word ‘censer’ are 15 in total in the books of the Octateuch – 5 times in Exodus (twice a noun and three times as a derived adjective), twice in Leviticus and 8 times in Numbers.

The following examples illustrate the Slavonic text of the Octateuch manuscripts. The citations of the Bible chapter and verse are followed by the Old Church Slavonic text from the manuscript of V. Grigorovich. The same verse from the other two manuscripts is only cited, but not copied, as it reiterates the text of the manuscript GrigI/M1684 and does not exhibit significant differences in the form of the word ‘censer’. These are followed by the Greek text of the Septuagint and the word used in the Elizabeth Bible.

- Exodus 27:3 ἢ δα сѣтворѣши вѣнци ѿ'тараѡ. ἢ по/крѣѣвиѣ ἢ паницѣ ἐγὼ, ἢ рѣжни ἐγὼ ἢ **кадилницѣ** ἐγὼ, / ἢ вѣсѣ сѣсоудѣ ἐγὼ да сѣтворѣши мѣдѣни (GrigI/M1684 63v 30-32; HAZUIIIc17 97r 5-8; ЦИАИ351 744v 8-11) – καὶ ποιήσεις στεφάνην τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ καὶ τὸν καλυπτῆρα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς φιάλας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς κρεάγρας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ **πυρεῖον** αὐτοῦ· καὶ

πάντα τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ ποιήσεις χαλκᾶ (Ralphs 2006: 102).
Елисаветинска библия 1751: **καΔίλνικъ**.

- Exodus 30:1 ἢ да сътвориши трѣбникъ, **καΔιλ'νικъ** φимιάμου, ῶ / дрѣва негниѣмаго. (GrigI/M1684 67r 8-9; HAZUШс17 101v 23-25; ЦИАИ351 49r 18-19) – Καὶ ποιήσεις θυσιαστήριον θυμιάματος ἐκ ξύλων ἀσήπτων· καὶ ποιήσεις αὐτὸ (Ralphs 2006: 107). Елисаветинска библия 1751: **καΔίλннѣй**.
- Exodus 30:27 ἢ трѣбникъ, / **καΔιλнѣй**. ἢ трѣбнѣй въсѣсъжеженїа. ἢ въсе ἐγὼ сѣсού҃ди (GrigI/M1684 67v 23-24; HAZUШс17 103r 2-3; ЦИАИ351 50v 1-2) – καὶ τὴν λυχίαν καὶ πάντα τὰ σκεύη αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ θυμιάματος (Ralphs 2006: 108). Елисаветинска библия 1751: **καΔίлннѣй**.
- Exodus 35:15 ἢ μάσλο дрѣвен'ное помаза/нїа. ἢ φимі́анъ сло҃женїа. (GrigI/M1684 71v 28-29; HAZUШс17 109r 12-13; ЦИАИ351 56v 24-25) – φ (Ralphs 2006: 114). Елисаветинска библия 1751: **καΔίлннѣй**.
- Exodus 38:22 φ and Exodus 38:23 φ – 38:22-24 οὗτος ἐποίησεν τὸ θυσιαστήριον τὸ χαλκοῦν ἐκ τῶν **πυρείων** τῶν χαλκῶν, ἃ ἦσαν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν τοῖς καταστασιάσασι μετὰ τῆς Κορε συναγωγῆς. οὗτος ἐποίησεν πάντα τὰ σκεύη τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου καὶ τὸ **πυρεῖον** αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν βάσιν καὶ τὰς φιάλας καὶ τὰς κρεάγρας χαλκᾶς. οὗτος ἐποίησεν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ παράθεμα, ἔργον δικτυωτόν, κάτωθεν τοῦ **πυρεῖου** ὑπὸ αὐτὸ ἕως τοῦ ἡμίσεος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπέθηκεν αὐτῷ τέσσαρας δακτυλίους ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων μερῶν τοῦ παραθέματος τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου χαλκοῦς, τοῖς μοχλοῖς εὐρεῖς ὥστε αἶρειν τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἐν αὐτοῖς (Ralphs 2006: 118). Елисаветинска библия 1751: **καΔίлннѣцъ... каΔίлннѣкъ**.
- Leviticus 10:1 φ – Καὶ λαβόντες οἱ δύο υἱοὶ Ααρων Ναδαβ καὶ Αβιουδ ἕκαστος τὸ **πυρεῖον** αὐτοῦ ἐπέθηκαν ἐπ' αὐτὸ πῦρ καὶ ἐπέβαλον ἐπ' αὐτὸ θυμίαμα καὶ προσήνεγκαν ἔναντι κυρίου πῦρ ἀλλότριον, ὃ οὐ προσέταξεν κύριος αὐτοῖς (Ralphs 2006: 131). Елисаветинска библия 1751: **καΔίлннѣцъ**.
- Leviticus 16:12 ἢ да възмѣ **каΔи/лннѣкъ** плъзнѣ о҃ггли о҃гни ῶ трѣбника ἢ же прѣ гд̄мъ. ἢ да на/плъзнѣ ро҃цѣ си φимі́ана чїстаа сѣлѣженїа въ нощрь ѣдѣ за/вѣсы. (GrigI/M1684 87v 18-21; HAZUШс17 135r 10-14; ЦИАИ351 82v

12-15) – και λήμψεται τὸ **πυρεῖον** πλήρες ἀνθράκων πυρὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τοῦ ἀπέναντι κυρίου και πλήσει τὰς χεῖρας θυμιάματος συνθέσεως λεπτῆς και εἰσοίσει ἐσώτερον τοῦ καταπετάσματος (Ralphs 2006: 142). Елисаветинска библия 1751: **καδίλνικъ**.

- Numbers 4:7 ἡ δα възложѣть нѡ/гы ἐγὼ τραπεζοу прѣд. ниеѣ. ἡ δα възложѣть на нѡ ѡдежѣ, / възсоу багреноу. ἡ δα възложѣ на нѡ бяюда, ἡ **трьбнаа**. ἡ / чашоу ἡ възливал'ницоу, ѡмзѣ же възливаѣть. ἡ хлѣбы / възсегдѣ да соу на ниеѣ. (GrigI/M1684 98v 8-12; HAZUIIc17 153r-153v 23-27-1; ЦИАИ351 100v 13-17) – και ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν τὴν προκειμένην ἐπιβαλοῦσιν ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἱμάτιον ὀλοπόρφυρον και τὰ τρύβλια και τὰς **θυίσκας** και τοὺς κυάθους και τὰ σπονδεῖα, ἐν οἷς σπένδει, και οἱ ἄρτοι οἱ διὰ παντὸς ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἔσονται (Ralphs 2006: 165). Елисаветинска библия 1751: **καδίλνιци**.
- Numbers 4:14 ἡ δα възложѣ на нѣ възсѣ сьсѣдѣ ἐγὼ. ѡмзѣ же сѣс/жѣ въз нѣ оу негѡ. ἡ **кади́л'ники**, ἡ рѡжанзы чѣши. ἡ по/крѡвѣ. ἡ възсѣ сьсѣдѣ трѣбника. ἡ възложѣ на нѣ покрѡвѣ / кѡжнь сѣнь. ἡ δα приложѣ нѡ/гы ἐγὼ. ἡ δα възмоуѣть / ѡдежѣ багренѣ. ἡ δα покрѡвѣ ѡмзѣвал'ница, ἡ стоѣла / ѣѣ. ἡ δα възложѣ на нѡ повлакѣс кѡжоу синѡ. ἡ δα възложѣ / нѡ/гы (GrigI/M1684 98v 25-31; HAZUIIc17 153v 19-27; ЦИАИ351 101r 7-14) – και ἐπιθήσουσιν ἐπ' αὐτὸ πάντα τὰ σκεῦη, ὅσοις λειτουργοῦσιν ἐπ' αὐτὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς, και τὰ **πυρεῖα** και τὰς κρεάγρας και τὰς φιάλας και τὸν καλυπτῆρα και πάντα τὰ σκεῦη τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου· και ἐπιβαλοῦσιν ἐπ' αὐτὸ κάλυμμα δερμάτινον ὑακίνθινον και διεμβαλοῦσιν τοὺς ἀναφορεῖς αὐτοῦ· και λήμψονται ἱμάτιον πορφυροῦν και συγκαλύψουσιν τὸν λουτῆρα και τὴν βάσιν αὐτοῦ και ἐμβαλοῦσιν αὐτὰ εἰς κάλυμμα δερμάτινον ὑακίνθινον και ἐπιθήσουσιν ἐπὶ ἀναφορεῖς (Ralphs 2006: 165). Елисаветинска библия 1751: **καди́лники**.
- Numbers 16:6 сѣ сьтворитеѣ ἡ възмѣте сѣве самѣи **кади́лники**. кѡреѣ же ἡ възсѣ сьн'мѣ ἐγὼ. (GrigI/M1684 110v 17-18; HAZUIIc17 174r 16-18; ЦИАИ351 119v 20-21) – τοῦτο ποιήσατε· λάβετε ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς **πυρεῖα**, Κορε και πᾶσα ἡ συναγωγὴ αὐτοῦ (Ralphs 2006: 183). Елисаветинска библия 1751: **καди́лники**.

- Numbers 16:17 *въ/зμέте къжо вѣсъ свой кѣдильникъ. ѿ възложите на нѣ ѱи/мїанъ. ѿ да принесѣ прѣб гмѣ къжо. ѿ ѡзъ кѣдильникъ свой; ѿ сн кѣдильникъ. ѿ тѣи ѿ ѡронъ, къжо ваю свой кѣдильнѣ* (GrigI/M1684 111r 5-8; HAZUШс17 174v 16-20; ЦИАИ351 120r 17-21) – και λάβετε ἕκαστος τὸ **πυρεῖον** αὐτοῦ και ἐπιθήσετε ἐπ’ αὐτὰ θυμίαμα και προσάξετε ἔναντι κυρίου ἕκαστος τὸ **πυρεῖον** αὐτοῦ, πεντήκοντα και διακόσια **πυρεῖα**, και σὺ και Ααρων ἕκαστος τὸ **πυρεῖον** αὐτοῦ (Ralphs 2006: 183-184). Елисаветинска библия 1751: **кадѣльникъ**.
- Numbers 16:18 *ѿ въззѣ къжо свой кѣдильникъ. ѿ възложише въ нѣ ѡгнь ѿ възложише ѱимїанъ. ѿ поставѣ ѣ прѣб двѣрмзи хрѣмомъ свѣнїа, / мнѣнѣи ѿ ѡרוןъ.* (GrigI/M1684 111r 9-11; HAZUШс17 174v 20-23; ЦИАИ351 120r 21-24) – και ἔλαβεν ἕκαστος τὸ **πυρεῖον** αὐτοῦ και ἐπέθηκαν ἐπ’ αὐτὰ πῦρ και ἐπέβαλον ἐπ’ αὐτὸ θυμίαμα. και ἔστησαν παρὰ τὰς θύρας τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου Μωυσηῆς και Ααρων (Ralphs 2006: 184). Елисаветинска библия 1751: **кадѣльникъ**.
- Numbers 16:37 *ѿ рѣ гъ къ мнѣнѣю ѿ къ ἐλιαзароу жрѣцоу снѣ / ѡרוןоу. съберете кѣдильнице мѣднѣиѣ ѿзгорѣвшихъ. ѿ ѡгнь тоу жи сѣ расыпа тамо. ѿко свѣтише кѣдильнице грѣш/нѣи въ дѣш ѡхъ.* (GrigI/M1684 111v 8-11; HAZUШс17 175v 10-14; ЦИАИ351 121r 9-12) – 17:2-3 και πρὸς Ελεαζαρ τὸν υἱὸν Ααρων τὸν ἱερέα Ἀνέλεσθε τὰ **πυρεῖα** τὰ χαλκᾶ ἐκ μέσου τῶν κατακεκαυμένων και τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἀλλότριον τοῦτο σπεῖρον ἐκεῖ, ὅτι ἠγίασαν τὰ **πυρεῖα** τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν τούτων ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς αὐτῶν· και ποιήσον αὐτὰ λεπίδας ἐλατάς, περίθεμα τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ, ὅτι προσηνέχθησαν ἔναντι κυρίου και ἠγιάσθησαν και ἐγένοντο εἰς σημεῖον τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραηλ (Ralphs 2006: 184). Елисаветинска библия 1751: **кадѣльники**.
- Numbers 16:39 *ѿ възтѣ ἐλιαзаръ снѣ ѡרוןѣ жрѣца. ѿ кѣдильнице мѣднѣиѣ. ἐλїко же ѡхъ принесѣше ѿзгорѣвшѣѣ. принесѣѣ ѡбложѣнїѣ трѣбнїкоу* (GrigI/M1684 111v 13-15; HAZUШс17 175v 16-19) (ЦИАИ351 121r 15-18) – 17:4 και ἔλαβεν Ελεαζαρ υἱὸς Ααρων τοῦ ἱερέως τὰ **πυρεῖα** τὰ χαλκᾶ, ὅσα προσήνεγκαν οἱ κατακεκαυμένοι, και προσέθηκαν αὐτὰ περίθεμα τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ (Ralphs 2006: 184). Елисаветинска библия 1751: **кадѣльники**.

τοῦ θυμιάματος [τοῦ] εὐωδίας and θυμιάω (Старобългарски речник 1999: 705).

In contrast, both words are included in Sreznevsky's dictionary. For *кадильникъ* the author cites only two occurrences in the text of the Old Testament – one in Exodus 27:3 and another in Leviticus 16:12. The Greek parallel he provides is *πυρεῖον*. For *кадильница* other examples from the Old and the New Testament are provided which do not coincide with any of the aforementioned instances. The corresponding Greek words are *θυμιατήριον* and *λιβανωτός* (СДРЯ 1893: 1171).

Notably, only *кадильница* is included in the dictionary prepared by the Check Academy of Sciences, which translates the Greek *θυμιατήριον* and cites an example from Hebrew 9:4 (ССС 1994: 279).

The Old Russian Dictionary includes both *кадильница* and *кадильникъ*, providing further evidence for the former's prevalence (СДРЯ 1991:184).

The Dictionary of F. Miklosich *Lexicon palaeoslovenico-graeco-latinum* includes both *кадильникъ* and *кадильница*, providing a basis for comparison. The former is used to translate the Greek *θυμιατήριον* and *πυρεῖον* where Leviticus 16:12 is cited, and the latter is used to translate *θυμιατήριον* and *λιβανωτός* where the cited example is from Revelation 8:3 (LPGL 1865: 278).

The Church Slavonic dictionary includes both *кадильникъ* and *кадильница*. The Greek equivalent for both is *πυρεῖον* in the first place. The meaning of *кадильникъ* is as follows 'brazier, metal or clay pot for burning coals, charcoal burner; censer'. For *кадильница* there are additional Greek words *θυμιατήριον* and *λιβανωτός* which both mean 'кадилница'. There is only one additional meaning given to *кадильница* when it translates *πυреῖον* and it is as expected 'brazier' (РЦЕ 2002: 228).

In the Dictionary of the Living Great Russian Language *кадилник* and *кадилница* are provided as synonyms (Даль 1865:173).

In the recently published Ideographic dictionary, *кадилница* is given as 'a ring or metal vessel in which coals and incense are placed for burning'. The dictionary's synonyms from different dialects demonstrate a variety of lexical choices including *кадилник*, *къдялница*, *кандилник*, *кандилница*,

кандилка, кация, ручка, рушка, уручка, темено, тимйеко, темято, теминуга, тиминик, темнянлик, тимитурняк (ИДРБЕ 2021:369).

It is possible to draw some conclusions from this. In Bulgarian dialects three words and their variants are primarily used for *кадилница*. They are the ones with the root ‘ка(н)д’, the rest are derived from incense or *тамян*. The word *кация* appears in the Church Slavonic dictionary with two meanings – 1. hearth and 2. a censer with handle, hand censer (РЦЕ 2002: 231). Regarding *ручка* and its derivatives, it is suggested that they are in connection to the Old Church Slavonic *рѣчка*. This lexeme appears in the New Testament Hebrews 9:4. It is utilized in a similar context as a synonym for *стамна* which is a loanword from the Greek *στάμνος*. Initially *стамна* was employed, and subsequently, the Slavonic word *рѣчка*. The term essentially means ‘a vessel with handle’ (Христова-Шомова 2004: 376, 641).

METAPHORICAL MEANING OF THE HOLY CENSER

In 2017 Margarita Chernyshova published a book dedicated to the names of Theotokos in Early Russian homilies. She provides multiple examples but does not always cite the biblical source. The word *кадильникъ* is not mentioned in her book, however *кадильница* is there. The author does not cite the specific verse from the Bible that corresponds to the given context, but the corresponding Greek word is *θυματήριον* (Чернышева 2017: 133-134). Consequently, *кадильница* was employed to denote Theotokos, as she is regarded as the holy censer that sustains the burning coal. This term is also employed in the *Homily for the Birth of Theotokos* by Andrew of Cretes (Христова 2017: 98-99).

At this juncture, the trajectory of the analysis diverges from the customary approach. In the New Testament, specifically in the Book of Revelation 8:5 the word *λιβανωτός* is most frequently translated with *кадильница* (Трифоновна 2022: 217).

This example is of particular significance because it appears that at a certain point in time *кадильница* emerged as the preferred term for both contexts, as evidenced in Leviticus 16:12 and Revelation 8:5. This is notable, because in Greek there were two dis-

tinct words for both contexts – πυρεῖον and λιβανωτός. The word πυρεῖον according to the Greek Lexicon of Roman and Byzantine Periods is defined as a ‘censer’ (Lev. 10:1), though it also bears a more specific connotation, namely, ‘the place where the sacred fire of the Persians was kept’ (GLRBP 1900: 963). In contrast, the definition of λιβανωτός is simply ‘censer’ and θυματήριον is listed as a synonym (GLRBP 1900: 714). This suggests that πυρεῖον possesses a more specific meaning and is therefore employed in the text of the Old Testament. It is notable that πυρεῖον appears in the same context in Exodus and also in Numbers.

A further point of interest is the material of these two censers as described in the Bible. In Leviticus, the word is πυρεῖον and the censer was made of copper, while in Revelation the word is λιβανωτός and the censer was most likely made of gold (see Revelation 8:3 NRSV). In Hebrew 9:1-7 КАДИЛЬНИЦА is described as made of gold, which would suggest that the one in Revelation has something in common. The contexts of usage of these words might suggest that the former represents the old, the past and the latter symbolizes the new, the future expectation. The term КАДИЛЬНИЦА appears to have been utilized in both contexts.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it is evident that both Slavonic words КАДИЛЬНИКЪ and КАДИЛЬНИЦА stem from the same root, distinguished solely by their suffixes. The two words bear a similar meaning, yet only one has survived in the modern Bulgarian Bible text. Notably, contemporary Bulgarian maintains both words. The term ‘кадилница’ requires no further elaboration, except for its secondary meaning of a ‘pipe’. In contrast, *кадилник* has evolved to encompass two distinct meanings: firstly, it is employed in a primary sense to denote a ‘smoky room’, secondly, it refers to ‘a bees fogging machine’. This term maintains its connection to coal and smoke, yet it differs in its intended application.

In the Old Church Slavonic tradition, which is prevalent in Orthodox Christianity, it is common for authors and translators to utilize a variety of titles, epithets, invocations when referring to Mary the Mother of God. These names, which are in general biblical symbols derived primarily from the Old and New

Testaments, represent a significant component of the religious tradition. However, it is noteworthy that some of these names, have their origins in the text of the Octateuch, a subject that merits further study in the future.

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THE HOLY CENSER IN THE SLAVONIC TRANSLATION OF THE OCTATEUCH

Summary

The present study focuses on the lexical analysis of the term ‘censer’ in the Slavonic tradition of the Octateuch. The investigation examines three Old Church Slavonic manuscripts, which are representative of the South Slavonic tradition.

The paper first provides information about the ‘holy censer’, its meaning, and usage in religious contexts. It then presents examples from Slavonic sources, comparing them with their Greek equivalents. The study identifies lexical variants for the term ‘censer’ and explores their meanings. The paper sets out to differentiate between the usage of кадильникъ and кадильница in Old Church Slavonic texts and their corresponding Greek lexemes. Furthermore, the metaphorical meaning of the ‘holy censer’ is explored, particularly its association with Theotokos in religious texts. The term кадильница is used metaphorically to denote Theotokos as the holy censer sustaining the burning coal. The findings suggest that while both Slavonic words кадильникъ and кадильница bear similar meanings, yet only кадильница has survived in modern Bible texts. The study also notes the evolution of these terms in contemporary Bulgarian.

Keywords: Octateuch, Theotokos, censer, кадильникъ, кадильница.

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PRIMARY OBSERVATIONS ON THE TEXTUAL
HISTORY OF *CONTRA LEGEM SARRACENORUM*
IN SLAVONIC TRANSLATION OF 15th c.

■ *Daniel Kossarev (Russia)*

The late 15th and early 16th century in Moskovy saw the wide distribution of texts translated from European languages. This work included the translations of Gennadius' Novgorodian circle, accomplished by Dimitrii Gerasimov, translator of Donatus' Latin grammar, brothers Dimitrii and Jurii Trachaniotes, and a dominican monk Veniamin. The creation of Gennady's Bible is also connected to the work of this circle. "Historia destructionis Troiae," notable text translated from Latin, is presumably also connected to this circle. The focus of this paper, *Сказание о срацинской вере*, is considered by scholars to be connected to the group as well. This anti-Islamic polemical text was originally composed by Dominican monk Riccoldus da Montecroce circa 1300. In the middle of 14th century it was translated to Greek by Demetrius Cydonis, one of the most significant Byzantine politicians of this period and a notable intellectual interested in various contemporaneous Latin philosophical works. The history of this work continued in the beginning of XVI c., when Bartholomeus Picensus presented to Ferdinand II a re-translation of Cydones' work back into Latin¹. Given this background, the question of which text was used for the Russian translation arises. The aim of this paper is to assess, or in some cases reassess, what is known about the text and present

¹ For overview of this translation activity and methods used by both Cydones and Picensus see Bauer 2017. I wish to express my gratitude to him for providing me some of his articles on the earliest stages of my work.

additional facts which could shed light on the history of this text. The conclusions presented in this article are of a preliminary nature. Thus, rather than providing extensive detail, here is presented an overview of major points and questions that will direct continued research on the part of the author.

A. Sobolevsky was the first to mention the existence of this text, in the short overview² a list of known copies, the probable date of composition and the original language were presented. He believed that it was sourced from Greek text; however, he does not give any arguments to support this proposition. Interestingly, at the end of this overview he expresses the opinion that the language of the text is “bad Old Church Slavonic” and its exposition “awkward”. Another view, presented by P. Bushkovitz³, suggests that the text was translated from Latin, particularly Riccoldus’ version, since the titles of these works show a resemblance⁴. In spite of a lack of evidence put forth by Sobolevsky, his assertions appear to be close to reality.

The Slavonic text varies in how name Mohammad is written: **Махуметъ** and **Моманефъ**. This variation is supported only by Greek text, for both Latin versions present a unified variant of his name – Mahometus. See:

² Соболевский 1903: 325

³ Bushkovitz 2010: 131

⁴ The title of the text namely **Оказание о срацинской вере** presents a problem, for it is not unique and it is a later title. It could be found only in three known manuscripts: Syn. 182, Sof. 1323, Egor. 215. All of them were created in the middle of XVI c. about 50 years after the supposed date of accomplishing the translation, it seems that the original title was lost and this work began with just the phrase **Начало сен книзъ...** Another problem is that the earliest known manuscript containing the copy of the text has another composition named **Оказание о срацинской вере**, which appears to be an anti-Islamic chapter extracted from John of Damascus’ work *On Heresies*, as Z. Brzozowska (Brzozowska 2020: 118) suggests it was directly borrowed from *Nomocanon of St. Sava*. This chapter was separated from the rest of the book by another polemical work **Отязание вкратце выше...**, but nonetheless it was presented in this manuscript, however in an abridged and interpolated version. The first part of this chapter is indeed Damascinus’ work, but the last sentence of this chapter is omitted (TSL 730 f. 424) and then begins an interpolation of Euthimius’ work *On sarracens* starting with the words **Е ран же четьрьемь рѣкамь...**, but then this part ends with the words **Кождо же и яко zde жить есть...** (TSL 730 f. 426, Brzozowska 2020: 342–347). The answer to the question of how Riccoldus’ work got this name is unclear.

a. **СКВЕРНЕНЪ ЖЕ И ТЕЛЕСНЫМЪ РЕМЕСТВОМЪ ВЪДАН ИМЕНЕМЪ Махуμμετ⁵**
(f. 364 ver.)

b. ἀσελγῆς δέ, καὶ ταῖς ἐκ τῆς σκηνῆς τέχναϊς ἐκδεδομένος, *ὀνόματι Μαχοῦμετ* (Con. Mahom. 1040B)

c. homo lubricus et obscenis actibus deditus, *nomine Mahometus*
(Prol. 46)

and later:

a. **Съи γβο Моамеѳъ** паче всѣхъ бывшихъ или бывающихъ Божию црковю погна (f. 364 ver.)

b. *Οὗτος δ' Μωάμεθ ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς γεγονότας ἢ ἐσομένους τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἐκκλησίαν ἐδίωξεν* (Con. Mah. 1040C)

c. *Hic Mahometus super omnes alios qui unquam fuerunt uel erunt, persecutus est ecclesiam Dei* (Prol. 47)

In addition to following the Greek translation of names closely, the Slavonic text mirrors Greek grammar and sentence composition. Where in Latin Mohammad is called “persecutus ecclesiam Dei,” both the Greek and Slavonic texts use a verbal construction. In addition, this Slavonic text contains some peculiarities which could originate only from Greek, such as reference to the non-existent heresiarch **ΚΑΗΤΥΤЪ**, which is not mentioned in any text. The context is as follows:

a. **В тѣмъ же пакы сѣгашаетса еретиковъ КАНТЮТЪ** (f. 367)

b. *Τῷ αὐτῷ δέ πάλιν αἰρετικῷ κὰν τούτῳ συνάιδων.* (Con. Mahom. 1044D)

c. *Et in hoc convenit cum Carpocrate heretico* (1. 44)

The Greek text clarifies this question: a particle κὰν and pronoun τούτῳ were misinterpreted as one word, signifying another head of the Christian heresy mentioned in the list. Moreover, in one case translator decided not to translate the Greek word, but only to transcribe it: **ΠΟΛΕΜΑ ΕΝ ΣΙΧ ΣΛΟΒΕΣΧ ΑΝΗΓΕΛΑ ΟΡΕΓΕΝΑ**. In the Greek text we have: *Ἐπόμενος ἐν τούτοις ἀμυγήπη τῷ Ὀργιένει* (Con. Mah. 1045A), a phrase that is not present in the Latin text. Furthermore, the first chapter displays much more similarities to Cydones’ text than to Riccoldus’. The list of heretical dogmas in which Islam and Christian heresies coincide differs in these versions: Cydones provides a vaster and more varied catalog that clearly resembles those, found in Slavic text.

⁵ Russian text of *Contra legem* is cited by the ms. TSL 730 if not said otherwise, Latin by the latest Mérigoux’s edition and Greek by Migne’s.

Furthermore, the translator made mistakes confusing homophones, as in this context: **Исповѣдаѣт же нѣкоє естество тако быти и паче челоука** (f. 366 ver.). Greek text shows this: Διαρρήδην δέ τι ἐν αὐτῷ φησὶν εἶναι καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον(). The verb φησὶν most probably was misunderstood as φύσιν an accusative from of φύσις “nature” and translated as such⁶. Such misunderstanding might have happened because of corruption of original text, both letters at this time were pronounced the same, so it is no surprise that they were confused leading to this mistake.

Another mistake of a similar nature could be found in this phrase: **Во единомѣ бо богу должна естъ вѣра, честь служения, дѣиство послѣдования и послѣдование пѣтлѣ**. Greek text on the other hand presents this: **Ἴσμεν γάρ μόνῳ τῷ Θεῷ ὀφείλεσθαι πίστιν, τιμὴν λατρείας, ἐνέργειαν ὑπακοῆς, καὶ ἀκολουθήσιν ὁδοῦ** (*Con. Mahom.* 1137A). The underlined phrase, which does not correspond with Greek text, could be a misinterpretation of the verb ἴσμεν “we know” as εἰς μεν “into”. An explanation to this mistake appears to be a confusion (whether already presented in a mss. containing Greek text or made by the translator) between ι and ει graphemes representing the same sound in Byzantine Greek⁷. These arguments prove that the text was indeed translated from Greek and not from any of Latin versions.

Bushkovitz’ argument about closeness of the title in Slavonic text to the original Riccoldus’ title, however, must be examined in details. Here are the titles of Latin, Greek and Slavonic texts:

a. **Начало сєи книзѣ сложєно бысть ѿ латынина рикалда сѣщѣ єиѣ бѣвѣша в чинѣ ччитєль по законѣ саракинѣскому и паку возвратившѣсѣ єиѣ кѣ своєи вѣрє латинѣстѣи вѣ всѣ си нлѣщє предисловнє сѣцєво**

b. **Incipit libellus, quem composuit frater Ricculdus ordinis Predicatorum, contra legem sarracenorum**

c. **Ριχάρδου τοῦ τῷ τάγματι τῶν παρά Λατίνοις καλουμένων Ἀδελφῶν Πρεδικατόρων κατελεγμένου ἀνασκευή τῆς παρά τοῦ καταράτου Μαχουμέθ τοῖς Σαρράκηνοῖς τεθείσης νομοθεσίας, μετενεχθεῖσα ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλῆς διαλέκτου εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα διὰ τινος Δημητρίου.**

⁶ In his recent study of Slavic translation of Donatus’ *Ars Minor* V. Tomelleri provides similar examples of such mistakes, see Томеллери 2023: 230–232.

⁷ It does not explain an unexpected interpretation of ὀφείλεσθαι as εἶπε, the reason for this could be misinterpreted beginning of the phrase, so the author changed the whole structure.

It seems obvious that Slavonic incipit is much closer to the Latin than to the Greek as presented in Migne's edition. However, the fact that the whole text was translated from Greek with only the incipit being borrowed from the Latin version is more than doubtful. A potential answer could be found in ms. Vat. gr. 706 containing a copy of Cydones' work with a different incipit: Ἀρχὴ τοῦ βιβλίου συντεθέντος παρὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ρικάρδου τῆς τάξεως ὄντος τῶν Πρεδικατόρων κατὰ τοῦ νόμου τῶν Σαρακηνῶν (f. 79). The Slavonic incipit follows this text closely, calquing words and sentence structure, which results in a misunderstanding of the preposition κατὰ. In the Greek text it was used with the meaning "against the law of Sarracens", but Slavonic translator took it as "teacher of the law of Sarracens", which might have been surprising for a potential reader, so the translator added an explanation, according to which Riccoldus was indeed a teacher of Sarracens, but he gave it up and converted back to Catholicism, an assertion that obviously contradicts Riccoldus' biography.

But what is known about this Greek manuscript and why does Slavonic translator follow this incipit? According to Mercati⁸, this copy contains notes and an encomium to Riccoldus written by Cydones himself, which makes it even more intriguing. This manuscript appears to be a collection of various works gathered by Isidore of Kiev, an infamous head of the Russian Church who was not only an acknowledged intellectual at the time but, which is more important in this context, a passionate bibliophile⁹ bested only by Michael Psell and Photius. It is not clear how Isidore acquired this text for his library, but he certainly did it before his departure to Moscovy, since the list of mss. taken by him to both Moscow and the Vatican is known, and there is no trace of Vat. gr. 706 there. Given this information it is possible to establish the terminus post quem for the Russian text to have appeared as 1437, when Isidore arrived in Moscow.

Sobolevsky dated this text to 1516 based on a description found in almost every known copy, which contains a legend of Metropolitan Alexius miraculously curing the wife of Jani Beg, khan of the Golden Horde. In the end of this note there are some

⁸Mercati 1926: 16.

⁹As Akinshin alleges that about 160 mss. were in his hands, 76 of them were in his personal library, Акиншин 2018: 185-186.

calendar calculations concerning the Second Advent in Christianity and Islam. It goes as follows:

А сказывалъ бакшій: Махметъ жилъ 63 лѣтъ, а какъ ѹмеръ, тому 884 лѣта. А сказывалъ себѣ тысящю лѣтъ лежати до втораго. По татарьскы отошло 800 лѣтъ и 80 и 4, а по рускы 982. Ино татарьскаго лѣтописца осталось 100 и 16 лѣтъ, а рускаго 18 лѣтъ (Rum. 204 f. 489).

Sobolevsky suggests using the date of Mohammad's death as 632 and adding the number given by the Tatar calendar, resulting in the year 1516 as the year of translation. This solution leads to more questions. The author of this note obviously distinguishes two calendar systems: по татарьскы and по руськы and gives different number of years related to differences in the length of the year. Thus, adding 884 to the year 632, which is given in the third calendar system, is incorrect. The next problem is that this note does not exist in the manuscript containing the earliest known copy of the text – TSL 730. Sobolevsky mentions this mss., but, in agreement with Arsenius¹⁰, the author of the description of Lavra's manuscript library, falsely dates it back to XVI c.. Another date, seemingly closer to reality, was suggested by Anisimova¹¹, who believed this manuscript to be a collection of various texts consisting of heterogeneous parts written by different scribes. The section, in which **Оказание...** is found, was dated as the third quarter of the fifteenth century, according to watermarks. Thereby, the previous date proves to be incorrect. This text was translated not at the turn of the sixteenth century.

Taking this into consideration, it is time to examine all known manuscripts containing copies of this text. At this time eight copies are known

- 1) RSL. 256.204 third quarter XV – first quarter XVI
- 2) RSL. 304.I.730 mid. XV
- 3) SHM, Sin. 182 XVI
- 4) SHM, Sin. 996 mid. XVI
- 5) RNL, Sof. 1323 second half XVI – 40s XVI

¹⁰ Арсений 1878: 119–122.

¹¹ Анисимова 2018: 5. She also presents another interpretation of this note. According to her suggestion there are 18 years left to the Second Coming, which was expected to happen in Moskovy in 1492, thus the date this note refers to is 1474. This dating seems to be better than Sobolevsky's, but completely ignores Islamic calendar, Анисимова 2021: 69.

- 6) RSL, 98.215 third quarter XVI
- 7) SHM, Uvar. 531/2 1642
- 8) RSL, 304.I.812 XVII

All of the manuscripts above are of Moscow origin and have the same volume of original text: an introduction, Chapter 1, the beginning of Chapter 2, Chapters 13-17. Also an inseparable part of the text seems to be an adscription left unnoticed by the scholars. It is presented in every copy of the text and begins as the Riccoldus' text ends. It is introduced by a phrase **Я се о СВАТЪБИ Троици и о триствъставное челоуеческаго созданиа** and then there is a selection of excerpts from the books of Old and New Testaments portraying Trinity and tripartite nature of the God. Remarkably these quotations are commented, but whether these commentaries are excerpts or were composed specially for this adscription is yet unknown¹². In the Chapter 16 there is an interpolation of Chapter 7. Here are the limits of this interpolated section:

АВЛЕННЪ В СЕДМОН ГЛАВИЗНЪ ПРЕДПОКАЗАА.

Махумет глаголющю сице бо онъ рече понеже чудеса не сотвори <...> Я еже къ утверженню симъ всѣмъ ни едино не показа знамение, но токмо нагъ мечъ, авлааше устрашаа.

Паки иже ти реку, яко ни едино есть в мирѣ учение или законъ тако удообенъ, благословен сын и свершен, яко еуагельскы... (f. 387–388).

It begins with the words **Махумет глаголющю** and serves as a quick retrospection to the seventh chapter, a section omitted in the Russian translation and therefore inaccessible to readers. Thus, the translator decided to include it in the text. The author did not place it the beginning of the chapter, but rather chose the middle. However, after this middle section he continued with the beginning, and then proceeded with another part from the middle. As a result, the interpolated sequence looks like this: Chapter 16 – the middle

¹² One of these appears to be the beginning of a chapter from Joseph Flavius' *Antiquitates Iudaicae* namely 18th where there is a Testimonium Flavianum. The excerpt goes as this: *Рече же и евреин Иосипъ во осемнадетомъ предѣлѣ, начало словиа его сице: „На сихъ лѣтѣхъ Исусъ мудръ мужь“*. Obviously, this quote is interrupted, but interestingly there is a quite accurate reference to the chapter and the name of the author, also the word **предѣлѣ** used as a synonym for chapter is at least unusual. As it is widely known Flavius' testimony of Christ's life was interpolated in Slavic translation of *De Bello Iudaicae*, but this text does not correspond with this interpolation and also clearly refers to the original Flavius' text.

of Chapter 7 (1072A–1072C) – the beginning of chapter 7 (*Con. Mahom.* 1069D-1072A) – another part from Chapter 7 (1072C–D) – the rest of chapter 16¹³.

All known copies also display similar text's corruption, which could be found in the 14th chapter. Slavic text has this this reading:

Се же видѣние исповѣдавшу Моамефѹ всеи людеиѹ, ѡстѹпиша ѡ закона тысѹщѹ человекѹ рекшииѹ же: «И мы к немѹ, възиди в день на нѣбо нам зрации и видни стрѣтающа тѣ агглы. Не разѹмѣ же свою льжѹ, но рече хвала Богу моамѹ еже оставихом или сказахомъ рече писатель. Егда есмь азѹ ѡ первыихѹ пророкѹ, еже не вѣрѹете ни ни и мнѣ, или единѹ ѡ человекѹ апостолаѹ тако въ главизнѣ пророческаго повѣдѹетѹ о вопрошающихѹ и просащихъ быти о него знамении. Рѣша же о Моамефѣ слышалѹ еси сонѣ, собралѹ еси хѹлении (f. 375).

This reading gives little sense and could not be understood without Greek original:

Τούτων δὲ πάντων χρόνος ἐλάττων ἢ τὸ δέκατον μέρος τῆς νυκτός. Τῆς δὲ θεωρίας ταύτης πλέον ὁ παρελίπομεν, ἢ ὁ διηγησάμεθα, φησὶν ὁ συγγραφεὺς. Ταύτην δὲ τὴν θεωρίαν διηγησαμένου τοῦ Μωάμεθ παντὶ τῷ λαῷ, ἀπέστησαν τοῦ νόμου αὐτῷ χιλιάδες ἀνθρώπων. Εἰπόντων δ' ἐκείνων αὐτῷ “Ἀνάβηθι ἡμέρας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν, ὁρόντων ἡμῶν, καὶ ἴδωμεν τοὺς συναντῶντάς σοι ἀγγέλους”, οὐκ ἐπέγνω τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ψεῦδος, ἀλλ' εἶπεν «Αἶνεσις τῷ θεῷ μου. Μὴ ἄλλο τι εἰμί ἐγὼ ἢ εἷς τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀπόστολος; Οὕτως ἐν τῷ κεφαλαίῳ τῶν προφητῶν διηγεῖται περὶ τῶν ζητούντων γενέσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ σημεῖα. Εἶπον πρὸς τὸν Μωάμεθ “Ἦκουσας ἐνύπνια, βλασφημίας συνήγαγες” (*Con. Mahom.* 1121A–B).

With this text it becomes obvious that, in the process of copying the text, this sequence originally presented in uncorrupted state was somehow confused. Parts of different sentences ended up together, which led to a complete incomprehensibility. The original text could have looked like this:

Видѣнію же семѹ большее же еже оставихом или сказахом, рече писатель. Се же видѣние исповѣдавшу Моамефѹ всеи людеиѹ, ѡстѹпиша ѡ закона тысѹщѹ человекѹ рекшииѹ же: „Возиди в день на нѣбо нам зрации и видни стрѣтающа тѣ агглы, не разѹмѣ же свою льжѹ“ но рече: „Хвала Богу моамѹ, или единѹ ѡ человекѹ апостолаѹ тако

¹³ Translator marks this returning to the original text of the 16th chapter by saying Паки иже ти рекѹ. This phrase obviously does not correspond with anything from either Greek or Latin text and appears in every copy of the text, which seems to be a remark made by the translator.

въ главизнѣ пророческаго повѣдѣтѣ о вопрошающихъ и просащихъ быти о него знаменна“. Рѣша же о Модимѣѣ „Слышалъ еси сонъ, собралъ еси хуления“.

What could have been the reason for such corruption? The fact that all mss. present this reading could signify that either all copies trace back to one protograph, by that moment already time-worn and, in some places, unintelligible, or the mistake was made in one of the earlier copies and later it was diligently transmitted to all other copies. One clue could hint at the answer. In the text of the first chapter there is a gap left unfilled. The gap is about 5 lines wide and spans the width of the book. This exact gap is found in all copies of the text, always in this location and always left unfilled. It seems as if the copyists interpreted this blank space as a meaningful part of the text which should also be copied. The Greek presents this text:

Πλάττει δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἀνελθεῖν, ὅτε ὑπὲρ τούτου τὸν Γαβριήλ ἀπέστειλεν ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ τὴν χεῖρα τούτου τὸν Θεὸν ἐπιθεῖναι, καὶ τούτης ἀγαμέμου τοῦ Θεοῦ ψύξεως αἴσθησιν λαβεῖν ἐν τῷ σώματι, ὥστ' αὐτὴν διελθεῖν μέχρι τοῦ τῆς ῥάχεως μυελοῦ. Ἐν οἷς δηλὸς ἐστι κοινωνῶν τοῖς Ἀνθρωπομορφίταις, σωματικὸν φάσκουσι τὸν Θεόν. Λέγει δὲ καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα κτίσμα, Μακεδονίῳ συνάδων (*Con. Mahom.* 1045A–B).

In contrast, the Slavic text contains clear omissions:

Замышлаетъ же сн Богу възшедшѣ егда о немѣ Гавриила посла Богу и рече свою Богу на сего наложившѣ и толико прикосну [...] Македонии съглашася (f. 367 ver.).

This gap, as it seems, even manages to interrupt the word for reading, **прикосну**, which in original text should have been **прикоснѣса**. One possible explanation for it could have been some kind of censorship, but it is unlikely so. The text in the gap of course presents a heretical view on the nature of the God, but it should not have surprised the author of translation, who made no move to avoid a later the part of text describing Mahometus' ascension to the God's throne. That passage shows a slight resemblance to the omitted part:

Тако же, рече, Гавриилъ дастъ мѣ ангелу дрѣвоу и три пакы иноу, и тако единѣ по единому, дондеже стахъ предъ Богомъ и предъ олтаремъ его, и прикоснѣса мнѣ Богу своєю речею посрѣди раменъ, дондеже

СТҮДЕНЬ РУКЫ ЕГО ПРОИДЕ ДАЖЕ ДО МОЗГҮ ХРЕПТА ПЛЕЩЕМА И РЕЧЕ МИҢЕ БОГҢЪ:
„Положиҥъ тебѣ и людемъ твоимъ молитвы“ (f. 374 ver.).

The most scandalous detail – God touching a man – is translated without even a note left in the margins, thus it does not seem to be an act of censorship.

Remarkably, the earliest copy, TSL 730, contains the last part of the phrase mentioning Macedonius, while in other copies his name is omitted. As a result, the reader has seen the word *сѣгашаася* but has no idea with whom these heretics agree. Omission of this name might indicate copyist's intention. However, a situation in which one copyist could have discerned heresiarch's name and another failed to do so appears to be more likely. This fact, alongside the aforementioned corruption, leads to the conclusion that, by the time this text was copied, the original text was firstly in an imperfect state and secondly served as protograph for two independent branches of textological transmission of the text: the first is presented with two mss. – TSL 730 and probably TSL 812¹⁴; and another is attributable to all other mss except Uvar. 531/2 for this copy is not yet examined. All manuscripts of this branch display the same readings which diverge from readings presented in TSL 730. It is represented best in the following examples:

1) Прашати же вса елика аще ѹтажчаша же сямъ законѹ прихѡдшцимъ и паче же иных и *добра* имѣють чревообъядение и хищение и раждъжение телесное (TSL 730).

Прашати же вса елика аще ѹтажчаша же сямъ законѹ прихѡдшцимъ и паче же иных и *правъ* имѣють чревообъядение и хищение и раждъжение телесное (Sof. 1323, Egor. 215, Rum. 204, Sin. 996, Sin. 182).

2) ѹчит же яко и паче аггелъ есть и о англѣ молитса чесо ради *требуеть* осла или животное о *Мекъке* даже и до Иерусалима (TSL 730).

ѹчит же яко и паче аггелъ есть и о англѣ молитса чесо ради *требуеть* осла или животное *ѿ льскы се* даже и до Иерусалима (Sof. 1323, Egor. 215, Rum. 204, Sin. 996, Sin. 182).

¹⁴ It is only probable because of the nature of this copy. The text appears as an abridged version of the full text provided with an explanatory note by the author: *Выписаны строки по нуже кратце ведения ради*. It was composed by Simeon Azaryin a renown intellectual, scribe and author of his time. He served as a cellarer at Trinity Lavra of St. Sergius and was quite familiar with monastery's vast library, thus, one may assume that he used as a protograph a copy remaining in the Lavra's possession. For short biography and bibliography on him see Белоброва, Клитина 1985: 161–162

3) *Слико к сему добръ рече алъкоранъ въ главизнѣ Слнеса, яко ниж Христость ни иже аггели ѿрекутъ рабѹ быти ему божню, рекше яко человека (TSL 730).*

Слико к сему добръ рече алъкоранъ въ главизнѣ Слнеса, яко ниж Христость ни иже вѣрнии аггели ѿрекутъ рабѹ быти ему божню, рекше яко человека (Sof. 1323, Egor. 215, Rum. 204, Sin. 996, Sin. 182).

These examples show that all these copies belong to a single textual branch which differs from the one that could be found in Lavra's copy. It should be said that, in the readings of the second branch, in some cases there are minor variations which correspond with the first group, such as reading *завѣта* instead of *закона* in this phrase: *Глаголють же сарракине иудеом ѹбо растлившимъ книгы Ветухаго закона*. Reading *завѣта* is found only in Rum. 204, but in margins of Sof. 1323 there is a gloss mentioning this reading.

The earliest ms. of the second group is Rum. 204. It belonged to Macarius, metropolitan of Moscow, and was composed in the Joseph-Volokolamsk monastery in the beginning of XVI c. Later, the metropolitan donated this ms. to the Pafnutiev monastery¹⁵, where one of local scribes, Arcadii, began his work on the July book of Great Reading Menaion. In this way the text was included in the complex of mss. presented by Sof. 1323, Sin. 996, Sin. 182. The last ms., Egor. 215, appears to be a compendium of various anti-heretic works copied from one of the mss. of Makarius' Menaion, but which of the copies was used is hard to determine for in most cases it follows readings typical for this group of texts, while in case of different readings in this group it shows greater resemblance to Sin. 182. Further examination is necessary to come to a final conclusion.

However, the nature of this distribution could be not two different textual branches ascending to protograph independently, but rather editing done by the copyist of Rum. 204 that was then transmitted to other copies which thus originate not with the protograph, but with TSL 730. This assumption should be taken into consideration, but it seems to contradict the next example. The list of chapters given in the beginning of the work describes the Chapter 15 in this way:

¹⁵ There is a dedicatory inscription in this ms. mentioning Macarius and the monastery, see Rum. 204 f. 6.

Пятнадесятное, о некихоторыхъ възысканиихъ о алкоранѣ общее и о еже о Христѣ к Махумету изачества и величества (TSL 730).

Пятнадесятое, о некихоторыхъ *шесть* възысканиихъ о алкоранѣ общее и о еже о Христѣ к Махумету изачества и величества (Sof. 1323, Egor. 215, Rum. 204, Sin. 996, Sin. 182).

Πεντεκαίδεκατον, περί τινων ἕξι¹⁶ ζητημάτων ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀλκοράνῳ κοινῶν, καὶ περὶ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ πρὸς τὸν Μαχοῦμετ ὑπεροχῆς (Copt. *Mahom.* 1041C).

The reading of the second group is closer to the Greek text and could not have originated from the reading of Lavra's copy. However, it could be a coincidence: the editor of Rum. 204 decided to count all questions posed by Riccoldus and added this number to the description of the chapter. However, such a coincidence seems odd, and more likely this reading was presented in the protograph, but the copyist of TSL 730 did not manage to recognize it and instead omitted it, just as the copyist of Rum. 204 left omitted the name of heresiarch in a previous example.

One last question that ought to be investigated is the reception of the text by other authors. Brzozowska, after an analysis of the text, assumed that this translation was not comprehensive¹⁷. It is true that the text contains many obscure places which are difficult to comprehend, without Greek text. Even so, the incomprehensibility of the text should be reassessed. First of all, an abridged version of the text seems to be an extract of the main ideas and theses found in this work. Composing such an excerpt would not have been possible without at least a rough understanding of the text's content.

Secondly, it is possible to trace some signs indicating acquaintance with the text. The first one could be found in a compendium composed by Sergii Climin, one of the scribes working in the Kirillo-Belozersky monastery. He was the author of various encyclopedic compendia, in one of which this passage can be found¹⁸:

¹⁶ Migne gives here reading ἐκζητημάτων but it is not supported by Vat. gr. 706, that is why in this example is given another reading closer to Slavic text.

¹⁷ Brzozowska 2020: 292.

¹⁸ The text is given here according to the article of O. Novikova, see Новикова 2013: 51–52.

RSHA 834. inv. 2 1305. f. 161 ad.	TSL 730
<p>По шестисотъ лѣтъ по Христовѣ воплощени в 26-е лѣто Ираклиа, царя греческаго, явился Молинеф еретик, человек идолослужитель, родом аравланин. И прежде бѣ убог, пребывая в наемниках, таже потом прелести нѣкую жену, вдову богатую, и поят ю за себе с мнозѣм илѣннем. И начат купля творити и бесѣдовав с жидаи и со мнозѣми еретики, и от коеяждо ереси приат от нюден оворѣзание, а от несторинан, еже не именовати Христа сыном божииа и богом. Тако же и ина многа от иных еретик навьк злая учениа и тако състави свое прелестное учение и потом бысть старѣшина разбонником, въсхот же и царь быти саракином, но не сбысться ему, баше же одержим бѣсом нечистым, жена же его видя его многожды от бѣса разбиваема, скорбяше и тужааше, яко за такова мужа посягну бѣсна и нестова. Он же глаголаше, яко аггелъми является, и того ради тако бываю, и нарече себе пророка и апостола божиа, и начат учити свои прелести саракины и персы и изманляны, и мнози послѣдоваша прелести его. Сам же отравою ѹире, и в огнь его вложи, рассѣчена на части, жидовка нѣкая</p>	<p>Хозрою убо повѣждену бывшу ѿ предреченнаго царя Ираклиа и несену бывшу паки святому кресту в Иерусалимъ съ славою великою в шестисотное двадцатое шестое лѣто ѿ господна воплощенна. Пятнадцатое ж лѣто Ираклиа царя ависа нѣкто Махуметь аравланин иже первѣе Бога бысть ѿ нѣкоторых вдовици, еа же полтъ себе жену и по сих князь быет над разбонники. На такую нападеса гордость, яко и царь арависки восхотѣлъ быти ... (f. 371)</p> <p>яко отравою живот его скончаса, и въ пламень его вължила рассѣчена на части жидовка нѣкая. (f. 383 ver.)</p>

The passage, as O. Novikova rightfully claims, paraphrases the chapter about the Sarracens¹⁹, which is also found in TSL 730. It shows that Climin not only copied this chapter, but also added some facts, which he took from Riccoldus' work. These facts are unique and can not be found in other popular works about Islam known in Slavic tradition, namely those of Damascinus' and Euthimius'.

The last problem that must be highlighted is language of the work. Sobolevsky characterized it as difficult to comprehend. It is indeed obscure and systematically present features

¹⁹More about this chapter see note 4.

which are unusual for Old Church Slavonic such as regular confusion between Dativus and Accusativus found in every copy of the text. This confusion could be illustrated the best by these examples:

а. ЯКО ДА ВЪРЕНТЬ ВЪДЕТЬ ЛЮДЕИ, ПОЧАСТЪ ПАДАСА НЕДЪГОИ ЛУКАВЫИ
ГЛАГОЛАСЕ АГГЕЛУ С НИИ ГЛАГОЛЯЩУ (f. 371).

ἵνα βεβαίως κάτοχος τις εἶναι πιστεῦται, συνεχῶς πίπτων, ἔλεγεν
ἄγγελον αὐτῷ συλλαλεῖν (*Con. Mahom.* 1116D).

б. ОНИ ПАСЕ ПРИВЕЩАЮТСА САРРАКИНОМЪ ГЛАГОЛАСЕ НЕ БОГУ РОДИВШУСА
Ъ ВЛАЖЕННЫМЪ ДЕВЫ, НО ЧЕЛОВЕКЪ ИИСУСЪ ХРИСТОСЪ (f. 371 ver.).

οἱ μάλιστα κοινωνοῦσι Σαρράκηνοῖς λέγοντες μή Θεὸν
γεγεννηθῆσαι ἐκ τῆς Μαρίας Παρθένου, ἀλλ' ἄνθρωπον Ἰησοῦν
Χριστόν (*Con. Mahom.* 1117A).

These examples show an unusual usage of what formally seems to be Dativus Absolutus with subject expressed with Dativus and semantic predicate with participle in Dativus, but Greek text shows that this structure was used to translate Accusativus cum infinitivo, which seems unexpected. The second example shows that this structure was sometimes interrupted and Dativus substituted with Accusativus making this phrase hard to understand in Slavonic text. This method of translation is used throughout the text and could not have been a single mistake, but rather author's idea of how this Greek structure should be translated.

In conclusion, this paper presents an overview and does not seek to give a definitive answer to all questions raised. Rather, the aim is to show that this text contains problems that are yet to be investigate. It establishes a backdrop against which future work will continue as the author works to solve the most principal problems related to this text, including linguistic features presented in the text, and the textual relationships between different copies of the text. A further attempt was made to show that this text did not go unmentioned by other intellectuals, but was noted and used in polemical or encyclopedic compositions.

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PRIMARY OBSERVATIONS ON THE TEXTUAL HISTORY
OF CONRA LEGEM SARRACENORUM
IN SLAVONIC TRANSLATION OF 15th c.

Summary

The medieval text *Contra Legem Sarracenorum*, authored by Riccoldus da Montecroce, stands as a significant anti-Islamic work and gained considerable recognition in Byzantine circles, particularly due to its Greek translation by Demetrius Cydones. Scholars conducted a thorough analysis of both Latin and Greek manuscripts, focusing on their historical context and linguistic characteristics. This article primarily aims to present key insights regarding the Slavonic translation of this text. This translation's content remains largely unexamined, with only a limited number of authors exploring it in their works. It remains unclear which text served as the original for this work, how many copies survived, when and where the translation was accomplished. Few notes concerning the raised questions were left by A. Sobolevsky in his catalog of Muscovian translated literature, however he failed to provide any arguments in support of his remarks. This article will attempt to build the basis for future investigations answering the most crucial questions concerning the history of the Slavonic text.

Keywords: *Contra Legem Sarracenorum*; Slavonic translated literature; Medieval Greek translations; Demetrius Cydones.

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DIRECT SPEECH IN THE KIEVAN CHRONICLE: SOME FEATURES OF USAGE

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Direct speech appears in the Primary Chronicle, the Laurentian Chronicle, and the Kievan Chronicle from the very first entries. Serving both as a way to reproduce someone else's utterance and as a unique text type that complicates narrative structure, it may act as a valuable criterion for the development of Old East Slavic chronicle writing. However, direct speech is rarely discussed as an important marker of chronicle style. The only annalistic monument that consistently emphasizes its role is the Kievan Chronicle (hereafter KC), preserved within the Ipatiev Chronicle from the first quarter of the 15th century (Гимон 2018; Гимон, Тишин 2020; Лавренченко 2018; 2022).

Individual linguistic features of KC have been described and commented on by A. A. Zaliznyak (Зализняк 2008), P. V. Petrukhin (Петрухин 2003; 2008), A. A. Gippius, M. N. Shevelova (Гиппиус 2004; Шевелева 2009; 2020), E. A. Vlasova, I. S. Yurieva (Власова 2014; Юрѣва 2009; 2017; 2018), and M. V. Skachedubova (Скачедубова 2019). A prominent characteristic of KC that frequently attracts scholarly attention is the abundance of princely dialogues, letters, and other "embedded fragments," which are analyzed in the works of J. P. Dashkevich, A. V. Yurasovsky (Юрасовский 1982; 1983), and T. V. Gimон (Гимон 2023). Less developed, however, are topics exploring the linguistic and structural content of KC. In this article, I will set aside issues of textual history and focus on annalistic direct speech as a subject in its own

right, examining the entries found in the Ipatiev Chronicle from the years 1118–1200 through the lens of direct speech.¹

1. Peculiarities of the usage of direct speech in KC

It might initially seem that a high frequency of direct speech is a unique feature of KC, but this assumption does not hold true. The large volume of direct speech replicas in the KC is probably caused, first of all, by the large volume of the text in comparison to the Primary Chronicle (hereafter PC) and the Laurentian Chronicle (hereafter LC). In the KC section covering 6626–6708 (1118–1200), direct speech comprises approximately 25% of the text, whereas in the PC, it accounts for around 35%. KC also contains fewer lines of direct speech per manuscript page than PC, averaging 4 lines per page compared to 5 in PC. The only measure in which KC objectively surpasses PC and LC is the regularity of direct speech in its annalistic entries, appearing in 68% of KC's articles, compared to 41% in PC and 39% in LC.

One might hypothesize that KC's grammatical structures in direct speech are distinct, perhaps reflecting a more vernacular language akin to that of birch bark manuscripts (e.g., the distribution of past tense forms and use of enclitics) (Зализняк 2008: 84). However, it is worth noting that these non-standard features in KC are also observed in later parts of PC (Шевелева 2009: 154–165).

It is well known that the Ipatiev and Laurentian Chronicles share textual layers, with identical or similar fragments. Yet, the text of the Ipatiev Chronicle, particularly in the KC sections, is significantly more extensive than the Laurentian Chronicle (Викул 2003; 2005; 2019; Гимон 2018; 2022; 2023; Лавренченко 2021; Юрѣва 2022). Of particular interest regarding KC's direct speech in the 1140–1150s is that out of 197

¹ In this perspective, the annalistic narrative, covering a wide range of historical events involving princes, churchmen, ordinary people, allies and rivals, creates space for the inclusion of different types of quotation in the text – direct, indirect and indirect speech (Власова 2014: 18). Of all the types of citation in this paper I will be interested in direct speech. According to E. A. Vlasova calculations, direct speech makes up 86% of all foreign speech of KC and is the predominant form of quotation in the annals of the XII–XIV centuries. (Власова 2014: 54).

shared fragments identified by I. S. Yurieva, the years 1140–1159 include a striking concentration: 104 shared fragments, with 36 in the 1140s and 68 in the 1150s. Among these 197 shared fragments, only 44 contain direct speech, and 34 of these come from the years 1140–1150. Thus, these two decades account for more than half (52%) of all shared fragments between KC and LC, as well as 77% of all shared lines of direct speech in both chronicles.

It is notable, however, that in these shared fragments, extended dialogues and speech types characteristic of KC are largely absent. This may suggest that such long-form dialogues could be a defining feature unique to KC.

	LC	KC	1145			1173		
1118			1146			1174		
1119			1147			1175		
1120			1148			1176		
1121			1149			1177		
1122			1150			1178		
1123			1151			1179		
1124			1152			1180		
1125			1153			1181		
1126			1154			1182		
1127			1155			1183		
1128			1156			1184		
1129			1157			1185		
1130			1158			1186		
1131			1159			1187		
1132			1160			1188		
1133			1161			1189		
1134			1162			1190		
1135			1163			1191		
1136			1164			1192		
1137			1165			1193		
1138			1166			1194		
1139			1167			1195		
1140			1168			1196		
1141			1169			1197		
1142			1170			1198		
1143			1171			1199		
1144			1172			1200		

(1) Correlation between the annual entries of KC and LC in terms of the presence or absence of direct speech.

In the table above gray shading indicates annalistic articles where direct speech is absent, vertical shading denotes articles with direct speech, and dotted shading highlights articles where corresponding fragments of direct speech in LC and KC appear in different years due to a chronological shift caused by the asynchronous adoption of the March and ultramarch dating systems. Black shading marks the annalistic article of 1179, which is omitted in KC due to this chronological shift.

The primary distinctions of KC's direct speech, which set it apart from other early Old East Slavic chronicles, appear to be linked not to grammar or frequency but rather to the contexts in which direct speech appears, the range of replica types used, and the specific types chosen by the chronicler in each instance. In KC, two thematic categories of direct speech emerge, which are present across the PC, KC, and LC: secular and ecclesiastical direct speech. Within secular direct speech, several structural (monologue, dialogue) and functional (exclamation, internal speech, message) types of replicas are identifiable. The distribution of these types varies significantly between different chronicles. In contrast, ecclesiastical direct speech does not display notable differences among the chronicles; in each (KC, PC, and LC), it stands apart from secular direct speech and other annalistic narrative due to its marked use of book language.

Two forms of direct speech in KC consist of dialogic lines, directed at a specific addressee with an anticipated response, and monologic lines, directed unilaterally – either without the expectation of a response or without any clear addressee. Monologic lines occur far less frequently than dialogic ones in KC, constituting only about 5% of all secular direct speech.

Dialogic direct speech not only exceeds monologic speech in frequency but can also be viewed as a deliberate technique used by the chronicler to construct a particular socio-political landscape. When investigating this hypothesis, however, we encounter challenges related to the sheer volume of dialogic lines in KC. Due to the difficulty of analyzing such an extensive corpus synchronously, we employ network analysis to examine the unique use of dialogic direct speech and its influence on the political narrative within KC.

2. Network analysis of KC actors' communications

Network analysis provides a framework for studying character interactions through graph theory, allowing us to formalize intra-textual relationships and plot structures. Our focus is primarily on network analysis as a quantitative tool for examining characters' speech. A character network or graph is constructed based on instances of direct speech, visually displaying interactions among characters. In this case, the network of KC characters is based on interactions via direct speech and reflects the frequency of speech exchanges among characters. The thickness of connections (edges) between characters (nodes) in the graph indicates the frequency of interaction, proportional to the number of exchanges between each pair of nodes. Graphs were constructed with the Gephi platform.

Given that KC's direct speech is unevenly distributed within the text (e.g., it is sparse in the annalistic entries of 1118–1138, increases sharply in the 1140–1150s, and subsequently declines), I divided the KC text into four chronological segments and constructed a social network for each period to examine character interactions over time. These segments align with periods when direct speech increases within annalistic entries.

2.1. Until the death of Yaropolk Vladimirovich (1118–1139)

The network graph for 1118–1139 reflects a simple, undeveloped communication system. Direct speech in this period primarily consists of monologic lines, with the only dialogue occurring between Mstislav Vladimirovich and Hegumen Gregory, who invites the prince to kiss the cross. The central figure in this graph is Vsevolod Olgovich, who addresses the greatest number of interlocutors. First mentioned in KC in 1128 in the context of a campaign against the Polovtsians, Vsevolod became Prince of Kiev in 1139. Interestingly, Mstislav and Yaropolk Vladimirovich, who were Kiev princes from 1125–1132 and 1132–1139, respectively, are positioned at the graph's periphery, while their father, Vladimir Vsevolodovich Monomakh (Prince of Kiev from 1113 to 1125), is absent from all dialogues mentioned by the chronicler. Thus, the most active character in the network is not necessarily the most influential or central prince.

The first central node, with connections to the largest number of interlocutors, is Izyaslav Mstislavich. He exchanges direct speech most frequently with the people of Kiev and his uncle, Vyacheslav Vladimirovich. Based on the volume of spoken lines and the number of interlocutors, Izyaslav emerges as the central figure not only in this segment but also across the entire annalistic record. In KC, he speaks approximately 186 lines and engages in dialogue with numerous characters. This high frequency of Izyaslav's direct speech corresponds with the years of his rule in Kiev (1146–1149, 1150, 1151–1154), during which the Chronicle's entries become significantly longer and contain more direct speech.

The second central node, Svyatoslav Olgovich, is an adversary of Izyaslav, with relations deteriorating following the murder of Igor Olgovich by the people of Kiev. Svyatoslav primarily exchanges lines with Yury Vladimirovich Dolgoruky. Each of these two central figures possesses an extensive but largely separate network of interactions. However, there exists a group of intermediary nodes linked to both Izyaslav and Svyatoslav, with significant interconnections. Among these key intermediaries, who engage in dialogue with both Svyatoslav Olgovich and Izyaslav Mstislavich, are:

1. Vsevolod Olgovich – Svyatoslav Olgovich's brother and Prince of Kiev from 1139–1146. In KC, dialogues between Vsevolod and his brother Svyatoslav during Svyatoslav's reign in Novgorod, as well as with Izyaslav Mstislavich regarding loyalty oaths, are mentioned.
2. Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich² – Svyatoslav Olgovich's nephew, who attempts to maintain ties with his uncle while also aligning himself with Izyaslav Mstislavich.
3. Izyaslav and Vladimir Davydovich, who, in an effort to protect their Chernigov lands, ally with Izyaslav Mstislavich, yet also cooperate with their cousin Svyatoslav Olgovich in their pursuit of Novgorod-Seversky³.

² Father of Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich - Vsevolod Olgovich - brother of Svyatoslav Olgovich. Mother of Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich - Agafya (?) - Maria (?) Mstislava - daughter of Mstislav Vladimirovich and sister Izyaslav Mstislavich. (About Agafya-Maria see (Литвина, Успенский 2006: 461, 679)).

³ Izyaslav and Vladimir Davydovich - sons of David Svyatoslavich, grandsons of Svyatoslav Yaroslavich.

4. Yury Vladimirovich Dolgoruky, who collaborates both with his ally Svyatoslav and with his main rival, Izyaslav, in the contest for the throne of Kiev.

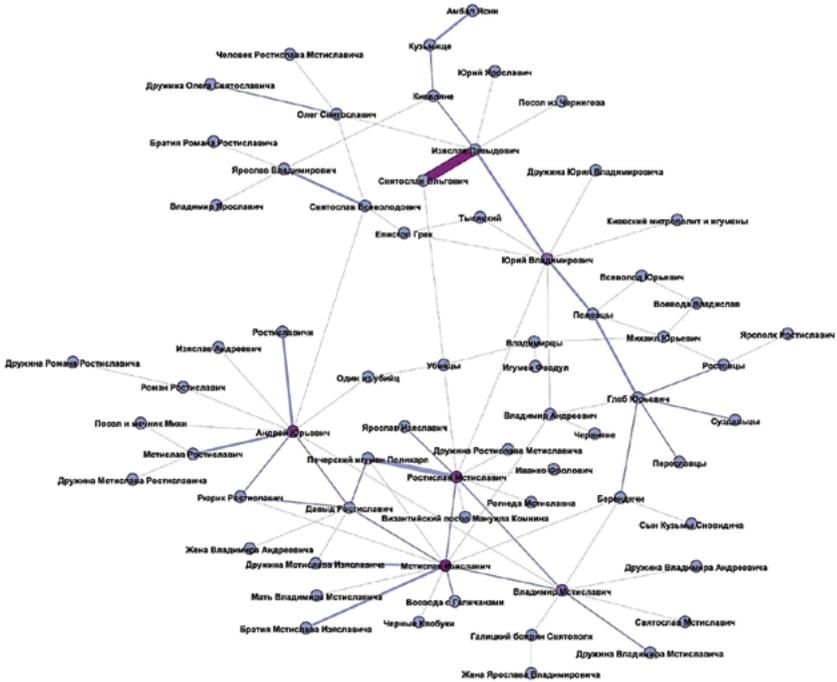
Special attention should be paid to Vladimir Volodarevich, who died in 1152, whose political strategy primarily involved maneuvering between the Kiev princes, Yuri Vladimirovich and the Hungarian king, reflecting his intermediate (even relative to the center) position in the graph. On the periphery of the graph, there appears a distinct smaller cluster, at the head of which is Izyaslav Mstislavich's brother – Rostislav Mstislavich. He, Izyaslav, and their uncle Vyacheslav Vladimirovich form a closely interconnected communicative triangle, with Vyacheslav effectively acting as a surrogate father to the Mstislavich brothers. The primary subject of dialogues within this triangle is the discussion of military actions and joint decision-making. In communications between Izyaslav, Rostislav, and Vyacheslav, it is typically Vyacheslav who initiates the conversation or sends letters. Within the dialogues between Izyaslav and Rostislav, Izyaslav generally acts as the initiator, thereby establishing a particular hierarchy of seniority within the triangle. This family-based hierarchy of seniority is largely grounded in the agreement between Izyaslav Mstislavich and Vyacheslav Vladimirovich: *ты мои еси отьць а ты мои и сынъ у тебе отьца нѣту а у мене сына нѣтуть а ты же мои сынъ ты же мои братъ и на томъ кръсть чьстьныйи целоваста* (PSRL 2 1908: 418) (see further Лавренченко 2021: 150–153).

After the death of Izyaslav Mstislavich in 1154, and the shift from his characteristic policy of active engagement with neighbors and Western monarchs to a policy focused on internal stabilization among princes, the system of character interactions loses its central pivot.

2.3 Until the death of Andrei Bogolyubsky (1155-1175)

In 1155–1175, the graph consists of several dispersed groups, each centered on the princes who, at some point during this twenty-year period, temporarily held the Kiev throne: Yuri Vladimirovich, Rostislav Mstislavich, Mstislav Izyaslavich, Gleb Yurievich, and Vladimir Mstislavich. Among them, there is one prince who openly

defied the throne of Kiev – Andrei Yurievich Bogolyubsky, whose death is notably recounted in the 1175 chronicle entry. The interaction between Svyatoslav Olgovich and Izyaslav Davydovich is the most frequent during 1155–1175, with most of their dialogues centering around the transfer of Chernigov to Svyatoslav. Izyaslav’s final chronicle speech is also addressed to Svyatoslav.



(4) Network graph for 1155-1175 showing communication between the actors.

Equally noteworthy is the communicative triangle comprising Mstislav Izyaslavich, Vladimir Mstislavich, and the Berendichi. The emergence of this triangle relates to a narrative concerning Vladimir’s breach of his oath to Mstislav and his attempt to “reconcile” with the Berendichi – an effort that ultimately fails as Vladimir’s retinue refuses to remain with him, transferring their allegiance instead to Mstislav. Symbolically, the frequency of dialogue exchanges between the three main parties in this conflict is less than the frequency of exchanges between Vladimir Mstislavich and his retinue.

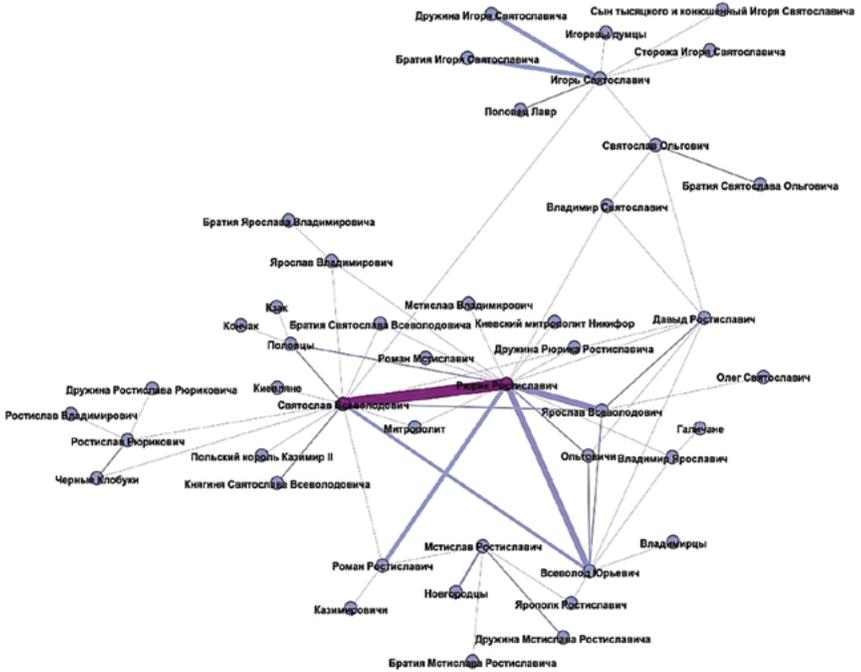
This example effectively illustrates how, with its sparse structure, the graph for 1155–1175 reveals an emerging trend in the changing communicative role of the princely druzhina. As potential addressees and interlocutors, the druzhina appear in nearly every group on the graph, with each group centered around a former, current, or future prince of Kiev. At the same time, the druzhina exhibit differing communicative strategies, with some being “silent” and others “speaking.” The latter frequently engage in dialogue with their prince, and KC includes eight of these “speaking” druzhina. The emergence of these speaking druzhina can be summarized as follows: the more central the prince’s role in the narrative, the more he communicates with his retinue. Typically, the druzhina of the prince of Kiev is most communicative, but during periods of frequent change on the throne, the druzhina of each claimant to the throne also take on notable importance, while the “silence” of the peripheral princes’ druzhina reflects the secondary roles of their princes within the main narrative.

The Kievan chronicler often makes the motivations of central figures clear to the reader, frequently achieving this by shifting from narration to direct quotations of the princes’ speeches, messages, internal monologues, and dialogues (notably between princes and their retinues). The druzhina can offer advice to the prince, disagree with his actions, and advocate for their own interests, thus complexifying the motivational structure and reducing the chronicler’s need to insert explanatory commentary.

2.4 Years 1176–1196⁴

As with the previous chronological period, within the graph for 1155–1175, a communicative triangle emerges, comprising brothers Rostislav and Vladimir Mstislavich and their nephew Mstislav Izyaslavich. In earlier periods, there had been no exchanges of dialogue between them; however, in 1158, Mstislav Izyaslavich and Vladimir Mstislavich invited Rostislav Mstislavich to reign in Kiev, favoring his claim over that of Izyaslav Davidovich.

⁴ In articles after 1196 there is no dialogic direct speech.



(5) Network graph for 1176–1196 showing communication between the actors.

After the death of Rostislav in 1167, Vladimir Mstislavich, according to KC, invited Mstislav Izyaslavich to reign, thus reforming the triangle. In the graph for 1176–1196, communication once again centers around multiple clusters, each led by actors from the next generation. The number of princely speeches increases, and the central node – Rurik Rostislavich – re-emerges, with most connections clustered around him. The second central node is Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich, while smaller clusters form around Rostislav Rurikovich and Mstislav Rostislavovich. Another peripheral node is Igor Svyatoslavich, whose replicas are largely directed towards his retinue, relatives, and close associates.

Two of the most important characters – Rurik Rostislavich and Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich – engage most frequently with each other, as well as with Svyatoslav’s father and Rurik’s kin, Vsevolod Yurievich, forming a third communicative triangle. Within this triangle, the closest connection is between Svyatoslav

Vsevolodovich and Rurik Rostislavich, who transition from rivals to co-competitors. Vsevolod Yurievich and Rurik Rostislavich jointly present collective requests and demands to Svyatoslav. It is noteworthy that Vsevolod Yurievich maintains close ties with Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich through both amicable and conflictual phases, including the dispute over Roman Glebovich's rule in Rostov.

The relationships of the three characters within this communicative triangle do not resemble the family council of Izyaslav and Rostislav Mstislavich with Vyacheslav Vladimirovich from the 1140–1150, but they also do not replicate the model of power transfer within the triangle of 1155–1175. The kinship connection between Rurik and Vsevolod, along with the model of co-power between Rurik and Svyatoslav, combine in this “triangle” elements from both systems of interaction between the central characters from the previous fragments of KC. Additionally, Rurik Rostislavich (partly adopting the functions of his father Rostislav Mstislavich) actively interacts with his brother Roman and Yaroslav Vsevolodovich – his cousin.

In summarizing the system of communication of the actors in all the considered fragments of the KC, we can confidently say that the central node of the graph is usually occupied by the power holders and those who actively claim power. As T. ГИМОН notes, out of 270 years of “speeches,” only in 94 cases was neither the sender nor the recipient the Kievan prince at the time the speech was delivered. At the same time, 28 of these 94 “speeches” either involved the addressee or the recipient becoming the prince of Kiev during the same year, and another 12 – in the following year (ГИМОН 2018: 67).

In terms of the number of uttered lines and the number of interlocutors, the central figure in the entire annalistic communication of KC is Izyaslav Mstislavich, who utters approximately 186 lines and enters into dialogue with dozens of actors. Vyacheslav Vladimirovich, the second by the number of lines, delivers only 104 statements. Such a significant amount of direct speech from Izyaslav Mstislavich is determined by the fact that the years of his reign in Kiev (1146–1149, 1150, 1151–1154) are described in remarkable detail by the chronicler in KC: there is

a sharp lengthening of annalistic articles, their elaboration, and an increase in the total amount of direct speech included in the narrative.

On the graph, a close cluster of regular “interlocutors” forms around Izyaslav Mstislavich, and on the periphery of the graph, small groups are formed, whose distance from Izyaslav Mstislavich can be explained either by the characters’ detachment from the main events covered by the chronicle (e.g., the Chernigov prince Svyatoslav Olgovich), by the episodic nature of their appearance in the narrative (Volodar Glebovich, Svyatoslav Yaroslavich), or due to the episodic nature of their appearances in the narrative (Volodar Glebovich, Svyatoslav Yaroslavich, and the murderers of Andrei Bogolyubsky), as well as chronological reasons. In the annalistic articles for the last decades of the 12th century, the Rostislavichi and Olgovichi come to the fore, which is reflected in the graph by the close connection between the characters of this group and their general distance from the main actors of the 1120s and 1140s.

Conclusions

To summarize, we can say that in KC, not only the distribution of direct speech in the annual articles is uneven, but also the density of dialogues among the protagonists. The first annual articles, continuing the tradition of the PC, contain very few dialogues, while the bulk of direct speech is distributed between 1140 and 1199, with the concentration of dialogues being especially high in the 40s–50s, which are the longest annual articles in KC. The uneven intensity of communication is also reflected in the graph structure, which quite accurately reflects not only the frequency of interaction between the actors, but also the general picture of personal and political relations between the princes. Thus, in 1155–1175 – the period when several princes, most of whom had their own narrow circle of allies and difficult relations with rivals, were able to visit the Kiev table – the communication network reached its utmost dispersion and had no common central node. In 1140–1154, which mostly coincided with the reign of Izyaslav Mstislavich, the communication network, on the contrary, reached maximum centrality and connectivity.

It is important to note that the centrality of a node in the Kievan Chronicle (KC) social network is not directly related to the hierarchical position of the incumbent. For example, the Prince of Kiev, contrary to expectations, is not necessarily and often is not at the top of the graph. The top, as a rule, turns out to be such an active person who aspires to occupy, occupies, or has recently occupied the Kiev table. A conditional factor of centrality turns out to be the actor's proximity and connection with the Kievan principality, but by no means is it always the title of Grand Duke itself. An interesting peculiarity of the social structure of the KC turns out to be the regular, repeated occurrence in different fragments of the KC of a communicative connection within the group of three actors, one of which is necessarily the current Prince of Kiev. Despite the fact that the nature of internal interaction changes from triangle to triangle (it can be built on the model of a family council or a system of successive power transfer, including relatives or in-laws), these conventional "triangles of interaction" – a recurring structural element of communication, unconnected with specific actors – suggest the idea of a stable and reproducible system of existence of the Prince of Kiev and his immediate environment.

Another important feature that the graph allows us to see is the communicative role of the princely druzhina. The druzhina gains independence, the ability to speak, to answer, to agree, and to disagree with its prince in proportion to the importance and position of its prince. The talkativeness of the druzhina is proportional to the importance of the prince: the druzhina of the Prince of Kiev and those of the princes engaged in the struggle for the Kiev table express themselves the most. The retinues of other, peripheral princes are also regularly mentioned in the narrative but, as a rule, remain silent.

We can speak of all the above-mentioned regularities as principal features of the KC. Other chronicles record other strategies for using direct speech. For example, having constructed social networks of speakers in the articles for 1118–1139 in the KC and in the LC, in KC we will see a centralized graph in which dialogues are centered around Vsevolod Olgovich.



(6) Network graph for 1118-1139 showing communication between the actors in KL.

In LC, we see three isolated groups in which dialogues arise around separate and independent plots:



(7) Network graph for 1118-1139 showing communication between the actors in CL.

1. Mstislav Vladimirovich's violations of the cross kiss to Yaroslav Svyatoslavich in the course of the struggle for Chernigov;
2. Retelling of the plot about Rogneda and Vladimir;
3. Vsevolod Olgovich's conflict with Vladimirovich and Mstislavich.

Social networks and graphs are a tool to analyze the less-obvious relations between the actors, to reveal the structure and characteristic features of their interaction, which become visible

after the formalization of the annalistic text. The system of communication and dialogic relations between the actors of the KC undoubtedly requires further research by various methods, particularly network analysis.

The system of communication of the actors in the considered fragments of the KC shows that the graph's central point is usually occupied by the power holders and those who actively claim power. Of two hundred and seventy annalistic "speeches," only in ninety-four cases (34%) neither the addressee nor the recipient was at the time of sending the Kievan prince. At the same time, in twenty-eight of these ninety-four "speeches," either the addressee or the recipient became a Kievan prince during the same year, and in another twelve in the following year.

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DIRECT SPEECH IN THE KIEVAN CHRONICLE:
SOME FEATURES OF USAGE

Summary

The paper is devoted to the peculiarities of the use of direct speech in the Kievan Chronicle, which significantly distinguishes it from other Rus' chronicles. The study demonstrates that the unique features typical of direct speech in the Kievan Chronicle appear to be connected not so much to grammar and quantitative indicators of its use but also to the situations in which direct speech appears in the chronicle text and to the specific types of speech that the annalist employs. The paper further examines social networks and communication graphs of annalistic characters constructed on the basis of direct speech. These tools enable an analysis of non-obvious relationships between characters, revealing the structure and distinctive features of their interactions that become evident only through the formalization of the annalistic text.

Keywords: Kievan Chronicle; direct speech; network analysis; communication.

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CULTURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN MUSCOVY AND THE ITALIAN STATES BETWEEN THE 15th AND 16th CENTURIES: RESEARCH PERSPECTIVES AND METHODOLOGIES

■ *Teresa Lombardi (Italy)*

1. 1. Introduction

Relations between Italy and Russia between the 15th and 16th centuries are a current issue in Slavic studies¹. During this period the conditions for an intensification of relations between Muscovy and the Italian peninsula occurred: on the one hand, Muscovy gathered powers around itself and rose to become a modern state². On the other hand, the Italian peninsula was in its full Humanistic splendour, and its economic and political role, central up until now, was beginning its downfall. In addition, under the threat of the Turkish Empire, Italian rulers were in desperate need of involving the powerful army in the crusade. Alongside all of this, it is important to remember the essential impact of the Byzantine diaspora, who played the role of mediator in these exchanges: having spent long years exiled in the Italian courts, the Byzantines had learnt their customs, their language, and their Humanistic and diplomatic practices. The increase in contacts between these two geopolitical areas generat-

¹ This has been evidenced for instance by the PRIN MaximHum – *Humanistic Italy and sixteenth-century Muscovy in dialogue: Digitization and digital mapping of the work of Maximus the Greek* – which aims to outline the humanistic influence in Muscovy mediated by Maximus the Greek; and the conference *Renaissance and renovatio in sixteenth-century Russia. Tests of dialogue and cultural relations with the West* held in Florence in April 2023.

² With the definitive liberation from the Tatar yoke (1480) and the progressive annexation of all the independent Russian principalities, and finally that of Pskov (1510), Muscovy wished to modernize from several points of view.

ed interest and a certain degree of mutual influence. To Muscovy, aspiring as it was to modernize and compete with other European powers, Italy was the land of innovation, a model to replicate³. In the Italian States, on the other hand, Muscovy had a multifaceted appeal: commercial, political, and purely Humanistic⁴.

It is essential to establish what information and beliefs were circulating at the time: there was an abundance of treatises, reports and maps in the Italian peninsula concerning Muscovy (Кудрявцев 1997, 2013, 2017a, 2017b, 2020). On the other hand, in Moscow written news about the West spread thanks to a handful of information contained in travel reports and notes, as well as in some chronicles (Garzaniti 2003; Матасова 2009; Hlaváčová 2015). The large number of travellers, clergymen (Romoli 2010), diplomats (Матасова 2020), merchants (Кудрявцев 2014), and architects (Shvīdkovskīi 2013; Rossi 2018; Fasce 2004), who travelled around over the decades and left a trace of what they had seen, allowed this information to be transferred to and from.

Even though it has been debated on for quite some time, we can now safely claim that through these intense contacts and movements Humanism and Renaissance also arrived in the Russian lands. In fact, a phenomenon similar to *Renovatio Christiana* arose in Moscow (Garzaniti 2020; Tomelleri 2013). At the same time this caused a massive number of translations of texts, both religious and secular, from Latin and/or Italian vernacular into Church Slavonic (Tomelleri 2006; Матасова 2020; Казакова 1964). It is essential to remember that this Western Humanistic in-

³ This appears primarily from the hiring of Italian architects to build a modern capital, with state-of-the-art churches, official buildings and city walls. Secondly, thanks to the Byzantines, they created a solid diplomatic apparatus, based on the Venetian model. Finally, the Byzantine intellectuals fled to Moscow helped revise the Sacred Texts, also drawing on the Italian *Vulgata*.

⁴ First of all, Muscovy appeared to the West as a land full of precious goods (especially furs and hunting animals), but for humanists and travellers it was also an unexplored and unknown territory to be discovered and told about. In addition, it is essential to remember that Muscovy was at the centre of the Latin Church's plan to carry out an anti-Turkish crusade, and therefore numerous embassies attempted to involve the Grand Prince in this project.

fluence was mediated by exiled Byzantines: from the marriage of Zoe Sophia Palaiologina with Ivan III (1472) onwards the Greek diaspora began to arrive in the Muscovite court. There the Byzantines were employed as both translators and diplomats, that is to say mediators. Among the several prominent figures of the diaspora we mention members of the Trakhanōt family (Maracoba 2017, 2020), and Maximus the Greek (Romoli 2010, 2019, 2020, 2021a, b, c; Garzaniti 2008, 2024).

1. 2. Project objectives

My research, called “Cultural Relations between Muscovy and the Italian States between the 15th and 16th Centuries: Itineraries, Protagonists, Documents”, intends to outline the complexity of the cultural relations between Italy and Muscovy in the period approximately ranging from the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438-39) to the Council of the One Hundred Chapters (1551).

Firstly, we tried to collect information on who the architects of these relations were, what their testimonies were and what sparked their interest. Through this process, we aim to highlight the general dynamics of the relationships and mutual perceptions arising from them. We will also underline the consequences of the proximity of Muscovy to Humanism and the Renaissance.

From the point of view of the practical approach, through the collection of published and unpublished primary documentation, the compilation of two inventories has been planned, one for the protagonists of these relations, and the other for their testimonies. These inventories will offer a first catalogue as a starting point for further investigations in this vast field for the academic community.

2. 1. Inventory of People. Structure

For the inventory of people, we have adopted different analysis criteria. First, we divided them by geographical area of origin: so far, there are ten Russians of the Grand Principality of Moscow; twenty-two Byzantines settled in Muscovy; and forty-seven Ital-

ians from State of the Church⁵, the Duchy of Milan⁶, the Republic of Venice⁷, the Republic of Florence⁸, and the Republic of Genoa.

We then arranged all of them chronologically to highlight the correlation between their period of testimony and historical events: for example, the Council of Ferrara-Florence, or the mission of Semën Tolbužin to hire a master architect in Italy. In addition, we included the role and type of mission. From this it emerged, for example, that in the Russian area exchanges and missions were carried out by ecclesiastics (1438-39) and by diplomats (1470s, 1490s and 1520s). Among those of Byzantine origin, we found three political figures⁹, eleven diplomats and six clergymen¹⁰ who in many cases played intellectual roles as well. Finally, from the Italian peninsula, we included eighteen people related to the artistic-architectural field (architects, but also stonemasons, blacksmiths, etc.)¹¹, seventeen diplomats¹², five merchants, three trav-

⁵They come from Rome, as well as Bologna and Ferrara, both under the papal rule. Two of them, namely Julius Pomponius Leto and Giovanni Francesco da Potenza, were born in the Reign of Naples, but they spent most of their life working in Rome.

⁶Along with people born and raised inside the territories controlled by the Duchy of Milan, there are also a few craftsmen who came from the near Duchy of Savona but were likely hired in Milan.

⁷Most of the Italians (18) came from the Republic of Venice (Venice, Vicenza, Verona, Padova, Treviso). Beside them, we could also count the members of the Della Torre family who ultimately worked for the Sacred Roman Empire, but came from the region of Gorizia, for a long time contested between Venice and the Empire.

⁸It is important to remember that Florence was a republic (at times *de facto*, at times *de iure*) up until 1532 when it became the Duchy of Florence and then in 1569 the Grand Duchy of Tuscany.

⁹Princess Zoe Sophia Palaiologina (arrived in Moscow in 1472), Prince Andrew Palaiologos (visited Moscow in 1480 and 1490), and Prince Constantine of Mangup (arrived in Moscow in 1472).

¹⁰The Byzantines mainly arrived in Moscow in 1472 with Zoe Sophia Palaiologina. Some of them went in the late 1480s, mainly to serve the growing Muscovite power. Finally, in 1518 came the delegation of monks from Mount Athos, led by Maximus the Greek.

¹¹From the arrival of Aristotle Fioravanti in 1475 onwards, there was an uninterrupted flow of architects and craftsmen to Moscow up until the 1530s.

¹²Even though diplomatic relations were continuous throughout the period of analysis, however some peaks of intensity are clearly visible: in 1468-1472 for the organisation of the marriage of Ivan IV with Zoe Sophia Palaiologina; in

ellers (1460 ca., 1480 ca., 1510 ca.), two hunters (1476) and one doctor (1490).

Another interesting criterion of analysis concerns the commissioning of the missions: it allows us to highlight the names of those who never carried out any mission or exchange, but who played a decisive role in making them happen. The commissioners are generally rulers (e. g. Grand Prince Ivan III, Vasily III, Pope Clement VII) and prominent political figures (Cardinal Bessarion).

2. 2. Inventory of People. Issues

In compiling this inventory, however, it emerged that a fair number of figures left no written testimony, or at least no document relating to Italian-Muscovite relations. Therefore, we divided the inventory between “speaking” figures and “silent” or mediating figures who travelled, but without direct testimony of it. The Russians, who travelled much less towards Italy, have for the most part documented it: only three out of eleven did not write anything about it. In the Byzantine context, half of the people are silent, but only regarding the Italian peninsula: in fact, since most of the Byzantines whose names are known to us were intellectuals as well as ambassadors or clergymen, many of them left texts of various kinds¹³.

Finally, we have the greatest imbalance in the Italian context: out of forty-seven people, twenty-eight left no direct trace of their travels to Moscow. For the most part these figures were diplomats, perhaps provided with credentials, but whose accounts of their missions may have been lost; or they were craftsmen who accompanied great master architects but were illiterate.

3. 1. Inventory of Documents. Structure

In the inventory of documents, we first assigned to each testimony an alphanumeric code that identifies the geographical

1515-1525 and from 1550 onward to secure the involvement of the Grand Prince in the crusade against the Turks.

¹³ As an example, Constantine prince of Mangup, who then became a monk and was named Kassian, wrote several hagiographies.

area of origin of the author and the type of testimony, in order to immediately identify the type of texts. For instance, the *Khozhenē na florentīiskī sobor* is coded *RR1*, the first *r* standing for Russian and the second *r* for report. Beside dividing the catalogue geographically, we also divided it chronologically. We tried to connect the time of writing with a reference event that would allow us to compare works from different sources but related to the same event. A significant example of this is provided by the Russian embassy in Milan in 1486. Related to it is a credential from Moscow, a credential letter from Milan and the transcript of a speech on Muscovy made by the Byzantine ambassador Yurī Trakhanīot¹⁴ to the Sforza court.

At this point, however, it was essential to identify the type of texts. From the Russian area we mostly have nine chronicles and six diplomatic letters; three reports, sometimes disguised in the form of a diary; two political treatises; and four works of various kinds (polemic, historical, informative, speech). From the Byzantines we have a chronicle; two speeches; two personal letters and four epistles; a polemical work; and a story. Finally, the highest number of documents come from the Italian peninsula: twenty-five official letters; four chronicles; nine maps; six travel/diplomatic reports; six ethno-geographical treatises; three personal letters; a naturalistic treatise; an informative work; and the notes of Pomponio Leto¹⁵.

For a more precise comparison it would be optimal if sources from different countries were related not only to the same event but also typologically. Unfortunately, that is not always possible. Therefore, for an adequate analysis of the texts, it is essential to identify their recurring themes. In most Italian

¹⁴ The Byzantine Giōrgos Trachaniotēs, after his long years in the courts of the Italian peninsula, became the most relevant ambassador in 15th century Muscovy and was later known as Yurī Trakhanīot.

¹⁵ It is known that Julius Pomponius Leto undertook a journey to Muscovy around 1480 and compiled a travel diary from it. Unfortunately, however, this diary has been lost and all that remains of the Pomponian *iter Scyticum* are some in-depth notes provided to his students in the lectures on Virgil's *Georgics* (Maracova 2009).

testimonies, for example, we find notes on the climate and means of transport¹⁶; on commercial practices and goods¹⁷; and on buildings¹⁸. But there are also notes on religious differences and the political situation of Muscovy¹⁹. In Russian texts, on the other hand, the most recurrent categories so far appear to be architectural progress²⁰; the exterior manifestation of the religious sphere (churches, monasteries, relics, icons)²¹; the political structure of the different States²²; the territory²³.

Finally, we have reported the person who commissioned each document, and/or the recipient. The entries here are more or less the same as for the inventory of people.

¹⁶Most authors (Ambrogio Contarini, Giosafat Barbaro, Giovanni Tedaldi) state that during winter the Russians move with sleds, even very quickly. In summer, on the contrary, with the melting of the snow, everything becomes swampy and moving is difficult.

¹⁷This is clearly due to the appeal of the Russian lands for the fine furs (ermine, sable, white fox), but also to the extraordinarily low costs of livestock to the eyes of Western travellers.

¹⁸What strikes the European interest is that most of the buildings were made of wood, but this evolved over time with the arrival of Italian architects and the progressive spreading of stone construction.

¹⁹This appears especially in texts written by ambassadors who were there to involve the Grand Prince in the crusade against the Turks (namely Alberto Campe-se, Francesco Da Collo, and Paolo Giovio thanks to Dmitrij Gerasimov). Therefore, there is an abundance of details about how pious the ruler and his people are, how their rites do not differ so much from the Western ones, or the extent and mightiness of the Russian army.

²⁰In almost all sources it is mentioned the fact that the most important buildings are large and built to perfection. The richness of the decorations (Florence, Rome) and the use of materials such as marble and stone are often noted (especially in the *Khodzheniē na florentiiskii sobor*, the *Zametka o Rīme*, and the *Povest' o vos'mom Florentiiskom sobore* by Simeon of Suzdal').

²¹For example, a central part of the *Zametka o Rīme* is dedicated to the churches of Rome (St. Paul, St. John the Baptist, St. Alexius), with descriptions regarding the materials used, the size, and the sacredness of the place (e. g. the visit to the place where St. Paul was martyred).

²²Emblematic is the *Evropeiskoī strani korolī*, a very short treatise of geopolitics, probably reworked from a longer work in Italian, which lists the various European rulers in order of importance, providing a brief explanation of their title where necessary (Казакoвa 1964).

²³In particular, the *Khodzheniē na florentiiskii sobor* describes in detail the places crossed by the Russian delegation traveling first to Ferrara, then to Florence and back (Garzaniti 2003).

3. 1. Inventory of Documents. Issues

This inventory was also divided into two sections. The first section concerns the original sources which refer to the Russian context and the Italian context. The second section consists of translations and re-workings in Church-Slavonic of Western texts in Latin made by Russian or Byzantine scribes. The choice of texts to be translated, in fact, testifies to a strong interest in both religious and secular fields in the West. In addition to the massive work of revising the Sacred Texts, among the religious texts translated is the translation by the Greek Yuriĭ Trakhanĭot of Giovanni Della Torre's account of the Spanish Inquisition (c. 1490). Another example of religious text is the *Skazanĭe ob ĭkone Tĭkhvĭnskoĭ Bogorodĭtsy*, a reworking based on the *Skazanĭe o Loretskoĭ Madonne*, translated in 1530 by the Russian diplomats Ermeĭ Trusov and Timofeĭ Sharap Lodygĭn. With respect to the secular sphere, on the other hand, there is an interest in Western philosophy²⁴ and ancient epic²⁵, as well as politics particularly the Turkish matter²⁶.

Conclusion

In the period between the 15th and 16th centuries the exchanges between Muscovy and the States of the Italian peninsula increased drastically, encouraged by a series of political, religious

²⁴ We mention for example a life of Aristotle (*Skazanĭe o ellĭnskom filosofo, o premudrom Arĭstotele*) and a reworking of the *Secretum secretorum*.

²⁵ The *Historia destructionis Troiae* is translated between the late 15th and early 16th centuries and influences various later reworkings including the *Povest' o sozdanĭi ĭ plenenĭi Troi*, found in the *Russkĭ khronograf 1512* (Tomelleri 2006).

²⁶ Several works, both originals and translations, are attributed to Maximus the Greek (Garzaniti 2024). Among the latter are the account of the capture of Constantinople from the seventh chapter of Piccolomini's *De Europa* (Клоц 1975) and the letter from the Turkish firman to the Doge Antonio Grimani announcing the capture of Rhodes.

and cultural events. This is testified by written documents of various kinds, from chronicles to treatises, from travel reports to letters. The historical moment in question has indeed been the subject of study by the scientific community for some time now. However, studies that provide a more general framework as a starting point for more in-depth analyses are lacking.

Therefore, the aim of this contribution was to show how a reference base is being created to outline for the academic community the fundamental coordinates of this period from a historical and cultural point of view. This is being achieved through the cataloguing of the people and the documents that are the witnesses of these exchanges. Both inventories have been arranged chronologically and geographically, and some informative categories have been established to highlight, for instance, the connection between major historical events and individuals' travels. In the inventory of the people the most interesting categories have appeared to be the role of the person and the type of mission. This is additionally significant when considering which of these people left a written testimony of this exchanges and which of them did not. Similarly, in the inventory of the documents, the typology of the source emerged as the most relevant category. It allows us properly to compare sources from different areas, but related to the same event. However, it also shows that most of the time, this optimal comparison is impossible, therefore making it essential to find a different approach in analysing the sources. This approach consists of tracing common themes across the various sources of the same geographical origin, subsequently highlighting the correlation to the time of writing and the typology. Through this analysis we want to offer a glimpse of the mutual perception of the two geopolitical areas, shedding light especially on the respective affinities and diversities of the Russian cultural and religious landscape and the Italian Humanistic one.

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CULTURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN MUSCOVY AND THE
ITALIAN STATES BETWEEN THE 15th AND 16th CENTURIES:
RESEARCH PERSPECTIVES AND METHODOLOGIES

Summary

During the period between the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438-1439) and the Council of the One-Hundred Chapters (1551), the relations between the States of the Italian peninsula and Muscovy significantly increased. The on-going research project intends to contribute to the outlining of these relations, particularly in respect to the diplomatic aspects, and the cultural ones (literary, artistic and architectonic). It will also attempt to highlight some of the cultural similarities between Muscovy and the Italian Renaissance, which is currently a subject of study for the scientific community in Slavic studies. In fact, the Italian humanistic influence on the Grand Principality is becoming more and more evident: both in the literary – several translations of Latin and Greek religious texts were made – and in the architectonic field – quite a few Italian architects were employed to build the Kremlin walls and various churches. At the same time, numerous were the Italian written testimonies – travel and diplomatic reports, treatises, letters, maps – referring to the Russian lands and peoples: this demonstrates an interest towards the unknown typical of the Renaissance. This contribution aims to illustrate the developments of the research up until now, its methodologies and its future perspectives.

Keywords: Muscovy; Renaissance; XVth century Italy; cultural influence.

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IL PROGETTO PRIN 2022 PNRR “MAXIMHUM”
(NR. P2022837KN):
LA COSTITUZIONE DEL CORPUS DELL’OPERA EDITA
DI MASSIMO IL GRECO E DELLE SUE TRADUZIONI
(MILESTONE 1)

- *Francesca Romoli (Italia)*
- *Maria Chiara Ferro (Italia)**

1. Il progetto MaximHum

1.1. *Finanziamento, durata, partecipanti*

Il progetto “Humanistic Italy and sixteenth-century Muscovy in dialogue: Digitisation and digital mapping of the work of Maximus the Greek” – MaximHum (nr. P2022837KN) si propone di dimostrare il “fattore umanistico” della vita e dell’opera di Massimo il Greco e il suo ruolo di primo tramite in Moscovia della cultura dell’umanesimo e dei valori della *renovatio christiana*. Il progetto è finanziato nell’ambito del PRIN 2022 PNRR e ha la durata di un biennio (novembre 2023-novembre 2025). Ideato da Francesca Romoli, coordinatore nazionale del progetto e direttore dell’unità di ricerca dell’Università di Pisa, MaximHum coinvolge, oltre all’università di Pisa, le università di Chieti-Pescara, la cui unità di ricerca è diretta da Maria Chiara Ferro, e l’università di Bologna, la cui unità di ricerca è rappresentata da Alberto Alberti. All’avvio del progetto, l’unità di ricerca pisana è costituita per la parte slavistica da Marco Biasio, Alessandro Goffi (assegnisti di ricerca) e

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Teresa Lombardi (dottoranda), per la componente informatica da Letizia Ricci (assegnista di ricerca), l'unità pescarese da Natalia Guseva (assegnista di ricerca) e Beatrice Bindi (dottoranda)¹.

1.2. *Acronimo e logo*

L'acronimo del progetto unisce i nomi 'Maximum' (Massimo il Greco), e 'Humanism' (umanesimo), e riduce in sintesi il titolo esteso del progetto e con esso l'idea portante di Massimo il Greco come mediatore dell'umanesimo in Moscovia. Sull'idea del dialogo e del ponte tra culture è stato creato anche il logo del progetto, che mette in comunicazione sulle pagine di un libro aperto due luoghi simbolo dell'itinerario di vita di Massimo il Greco: la cattedrale di Santa Maria del Fiore di Firenze, rappresentata dalla cupola del Brunelleschi, luogo in cui il giovane *émigré* bizantino venne in contatto con Savonarola e con la sua predicazione, e la laura della Trinità di san Sergio, alle porte di Mosca, rappresentata dalla cupole azzurre della cattedrale della Dormizione, dove, in età ormai avanzata, Massimo il Greco trascorse gli ultimi anni della sua vita.

1.3. *Scopo generale e obiettivi intermedi*

L'orizzonte culturale entro il quale si iscrive il progetto è quello del contatto e del dialogo culturale tra Oriente e Occidente che si instaura nella seconda metà del Quattrocento e si protrae fino alla metà del Cinquecento, dialogo di cui Massimo il Greco è uno dei protagonisti più vivaci. Lo scopo generale del progetto di dimostrare l'opera di mediazione della cultura umanistica che si realizza nella vita e attraverso l'opera di Massimo il Greco viene perseguito attraverso il raggiungimento di obiettivi intermedi: la digitalizzazione della sua opera edita e delle sue traduzioni nelle lingue europee moderne (Milestone 1); la mappatura digitale dei "fenomeni umanistici" rintracciabili nella sua opera (Milestone 2); lo studio dei "fenomeni umanistici" nel senso delle fonti e lo studio della circolazione umanistica delle fonti (Milestone 3); la ricerca di ar-

¹ Il progetto è stato prorogato al febbraio 2026. Al termine del primo anno Carlo Insera (assegnista) è subentrato a Letizia Ricci. In corso d'opera sono stati reclutati i consulenti Carla Congiu e Helen Cleary Aelmuire, e nell'unità pescarese è stata coinvolta la dottoranda Benedetta d'Egidio.

chivio (Milestone 3); l'elaborazione dei dati e la costruzione della piattaforma che permetterà la fruizione del corpus (Milestone 4).

Ognuno degli obiettivi intermedi prevede una serie definita di azioni finalizzate al suo raggiungimento. In questa sede si illustreranno le azioni che sono state intraprese ai fini del raggiungimento del primo obiettivo intermedio, ovvero la digitalizzazione dell'opera edita di Massimo il Greco e delle sue traduzioni nelle lingue europee moderne (Milestone 1). Il metodo e i criteri di costituzione del corpus dell'opera di Massimo il Greco, compito che compete all'unità di Pisa, saranno illustrati da Francesca Romoli, il metodo e i criteri di costituzione del corpus delle traduzioni, compito assegnato all'unità di Chieti-Pescara, saranno descritti da Maria Chiara Ferro. Per la parte specificamente informatica del progetto si rimanda a Romoli, Del Grosso, Ricci 2024.

2. La costituzione del corpus dell'opera edita: metodo e criteri

2.1. L'opera edita

Per 'opera edita' di Massimo il Greco si intende la sua produzione in lingua slava, ovvero le opere (originali e traduzioni) da lui prodotte nel periodo moscovita della sua vita, dal 1518, anno del suo arrivo a Mosca, fino al 1556/1557, anno della sua morte. A queste si aggiungono le epistole greche degli anni del soggiorno italiano, che, allo stato attuale delle conoscenze, spaziano per datazione dal 1492 al 1504.

La costituzione del corpus ha previsto come azioni necessarie il censimento e la catalogazione dell'intera opera di Massimo il Greco, la verifica delle edizioni esistenti con la conseguente delimitazione del corpus dell'opera edita, la ricerca e il reperimento delle edizioni, la loro trasformazione in digitale e la codifica dei testi. In questa sede, come anticipato, si riferirà in particolare del metodo e dei criteri sulla cui base è stato condotto il lavoro di costituzione del corpus (cfr. § 1.3).

2.2. Il catalogo Ivanov 1969 e le edizioni 1984-2014

Allo stato attuale della ricerca, per poter stabilire quali sono le opere editate di Massimo il Greco si dispone di strumenti tipologicamente differenziati: da un lato, cioè, il catalogo generale di A.I. Ivanov (1969), che rappresenta l'unico inventario complessivo a oggi esi-

stente della sua opera, e dall'altro lato un certo numero di edizioni.

Considerato il disallineamento cronologico che si osserva tra il catalogo di Ivanov e le edizioni scientificamente più valide dell'opera di Massimo il Greco, che compaiono a partire dagli anni Ottanta del secolo scorso e si collocano prevalentemente nell'ultimo ventennio, si è scelto di avviare il censimento a partire dalle edizioni. Si sono allora eletti a riferimento i primi due volumi della nuova edizione dell'opera completa di Massimo il Greco diretta da N.V. Sinicyna, stampati rispettivamente nel 2008 e nel 2014, il piano del terzo e ultimo volume dell'opera, che abbiamo potuto consultare grazie alla generosità di L.I. Žurova, recentemente scomparsa, che era subentrata insieme a D.M. Bulanin alla direzione dell'edizione dopo la scomparsa di Sinicyna, l'edizione del 2011 dei testi comuni alle raccolte *intra vitam* delle opere di Massimo il Greco diretta dalla stessa Žurova e l'edizione del 1984 delle epistole e delle traduzioni dalla *Suda* curata da Bulanin (Буланин 1984, Максим Грек 2008, 2014, [2025], Журова 2011).

Sulla base di queste edizioni è stato compilato un primo elenco di testi. L'elenco è stato quindi riscontrato nel catalogo di Ivanov e integrato sulla base dei dati offerti al suo interno, con l'aggiunta dell'indicazione dei testi che restano esclusi dalle edizioni del 1984-2014. Ivanov segnala per ogni testo anche le edizioni esistenti, ovvero l'assenza di edizioni. Considerato l'aggiornamento del catalogo al 1969, è stato in ogni caso necessario avviare una verifica sistematica delle informazioni raccolte al suo interno volta ad accertare la presenza di edizioni più recenti per i testi registrati come editi e la presenza di edizioni *tout court* per i testi registrati come inediti. A valle di questo lavoro di verifica si è ottenuto un elenco complessivo dell'opera edita e inedita di Massimo il Greco aggiornato all'oggi.

2.3. *L'inventario dell'opera edita*

Ai fini della costituzione dell'inventario dei testi da acquisire in digitale, l'elenco complessivo dell'opera edita e inedita di Massimo il Greco è stato riversato in un file Excel composto da più fogli di lavoro, così da pervenire a una sistematizzazione ottimale dei dati. Parallelamente è stata definita una rosa di parametri sulla cui base descrivere l'opera edita, congelando l'elenco dei testi inediti.

Sulla base di tali parametri si è proceduto a ricercare, raccogliere e inserire nell'Excel i dati necessari alla descrizione. A ogni testo è stato assegnato un identificativo univoco, recuperando l'ordine numerico delle opere dal catalogo di Ivanov, ovvero ricalcando tale ordine nel caso di redazioni lì non registrate; per i testi assenti dal catalogo di Ivanov si è invece adottato un identificativo costituito dal record bibliografico dell'edizione scelta per la digitalizzazione.

2.3.1. *Classificazione dei testi*

Nel primo foglio di lavoro è stata creata una riga per ogni testo. I testi sono stati inseriti in questo ordine: per primi i testi editi in Максим Грек 2008, quindi quelli presenti in Максим Грек 2014, poi quelli previsti nel piano nel terzo volume Максим Грек [2025], attenendoci per praticità all'ordine di comparsa dei testi nei singoli volumi. Si sono così inventariate le epistole greche del periodo italiano e larga parte della produzione originale slava di Massimo il Greco. A seguire sono stati registrati i testi originali slavi che restano esclusi dall'edizione 2008-[2025] ma che sono disponibili in edizioni precedenti, dalla prima edizione dell'opera completa di Massimo il Greco edita a Kazan' nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento (Максим Грек 1894-1897 [1859-1862¹]) ad alcune edizioni minori (per esempio Ягич 1895). A questo punto sono state inventariate le traduzioni di attribuzione certa di fonte nota, che sono disponibili in edizioni più o meno datate. Rientrano in questa sezione le traduzioni di testi sacri (il Salterio commentato e il Salterio interlineare greco-slavo) e di commentari patristici integrali (il commento di Giovanni Crisostomo ai Vangeli di Giovanni e Matteo e agli Atti degli apostoli), la cui digitalizzazione esorbita dall'orizzonte del progetto. Rientrano nella stessa categoria e negli obiettivi del progetto le traduzioni dalla Suda, editate in Буланин 1984, le traduzioni dal Fisiologo, disponibili in edizioni varie (per esempio Щеглова 1911), la traduzione del racconto sulla presa di Costantinopoli di Enea Silvio Piccolomini pubblicato in Клосс 1975 e qualche altra versione. Si apre poi una sezione dal contenuto più variegato, nella quale confluiscono opere che allo stato attuale della ricerca non possono essere classificate con precisione: si tratta di testi appartenenti alla letteratura liturgica bizantina e slava il cui status oscilla tra la traduzione e il riuoso (sul concetto di

riuso in Massimo il Greco come riflesso della pratica umanistica di ‘semantizzazione’ dei testi della tradizione si rimanda a Romoli 2023 e Ромоли 2024a), che sono disponibili perlopiù in vecchie edizioni (per esempio Попов 1869, Порфирьев 1890, Лопарев 1899, Голубцова 1911).

2.3.2. *Descrittori (metadati)*

Ogni testo è stato descritto secondo parametri definiti. I descrittori (‘metadati’ nel linguaggio dell’informatica) che sono stati individuati per una loro rappresentazione complessiva sono i seguenti:

- Identificativo dell’opera: è l’identificativo univoco assegnato ai singoli testi sulla base del catalogo di Ivanov, ovvero creato a partire dai dati dell’edizione scelta per la digitalizzazione, come sopra indicato (cfr. § 2.3);

- Lingua del testo edito: si indica la lingua del testo edito; la lingua può variare dal greco, lingua delle epistole del periodo italiano e di qualche opera del periodo moscovita, allo slavo, lingua prevalente del corpus;

- Relazione tra testi: si esplicitano eventuali relazioni tra i testi (per esempio tra testi rappresentati in greco e in slavo, ovvero tra più redazioni di uno stesso testo, oppure casi di testi abbinati);

- Edizione di riferimento: si indica l’edizione del testo scelta per la digitalizzazione; in presenza di più edizioni, si è optato di regola e salvo eccezioni dettate dalla reperibilità dei materiali, per l’edizione più recente, che di norma è anche quella informata a più alti standard di scientificità; l’edizione è indicata da un record bibliografico breve secondo il modello ‘autore data: intervallo delle pagine, posizione del testo nell’edizione’;

- Altre edizioni: si registra, con le stesse modalità usate per l’edizione di riferimento, la presenza di eventuali altre edizioni; nel caso di edizioni multiple i record sono ordinati per cronologia;

- Titolo editoriale: si registra il titolo del testo nell’edizione scelta per la digitalizzazione; tra parentesi quadre se ne offre la traslitterazione in alfabeto latino;

- Titoli editoriali alternativi: si indicano, con le stesse modalità di cui sopra, eventuali altri titoli editoriali reperibili in letteratura; nel caso di titoli coincidenti con il titolo editoriale si segnala la coincidenza senza ripetere il titolo;

- Titolo nel manoscritto: si registra il titolo del testo nel manoscritto base dell'edizione scelta per la digitalizzazione; a seconda dell'edizione il titolo nel manoscritto base può coincidere con il titolo editoriale (è il caso, per esempio, dei testi editi in Максим Грек 2014);

- Titoli alternativi di apparato: si riportano eventuali altri titoli presenti nei manoscritti di controllo dell'edizione scelta per la digitalizzazione e registrati negli apparati dell'edizione stessa; nel caso di edizioni prive di apparato l'informazione è sempre assente;

- Incipit: si trascrive l'incipit del testo nell'edizione scelta per la digitalizzazione; per le epistole si segnala la presenza di specifiche formule epistolari;

- Desinit: si trascrive il desinit del testo nell'edizione scelta per la digitalizzazione;

- Etichetta letteraria: si riporta, quando presente, l'etichetta letteraria attribuita al testo nella tradizione, ricavandola da titolo o dall'incipit del testo stesso;

- Posizione del testo nelle raccolte *intra vitam*: si indica qui la posizione del testo nelle raccolte Rumjancev, Ioasaf e Chludov (sull'argomento si vedano Синицына 1977: 221–279 Буланин, Шашков 1984; Журова 2011: 3–18 e Журова 2013); all'interrogazione, il dato permetterà di riproiettare i testi nelle raccolte che li tramandano e di ricostruirne a ritroso la composizione;

- Attribuzione: si indica l'attribuzione dei singoli testi; in assenza di un *dubium* esplicitato in letteratura, l'opera si ritiene originale; in caso di posizioni divergenti espresse in letteratura si riportano le ipotesi esistenti legandole alla bibliografia di riferimento; la rosa delle opzioni possibili prevede quattro alternative: 'testo originale', 'traduzione', 'riuso' (cfr. § 2.3.1), '*dubium*';

- Datazione: si registra, quando nota, la datazione del testo; nel caso di mancanza di accordo in letteratura, si riportano le ipotesi esistenti insieme alla bibliografia di riferimento; com'è noto, la datazione resta una questione aperta per molte delle opere di Massimo il Greco; in linea di principio è possibile distinguere tra le opere del primo periodo, precedenti cioè il primo processo (1518-1525) e quelle del secondo periodo, successive al secondo processo (1531-1556/1557), anche se in più di un caso è difficile escludere che un'opera composta nel primo periodo possa essere stata rielaborata nel secondo periodo;

- Ambito tematico: si indica l'ambito tematico e/o il genere letterario (latamente inteso) del testo; a titolo di esempio si riportano di seguito alcune delle opzioni possibili: 'consolazione', 'dibattito teologico', 'epistola dedicatoria', 'iconografia', 'nota biografica', 'ordini religiosi occidentali', 'polemica antislamica', 'prassi liturgica ortodossa', 'riflessione linguistica', '*speculum principis*', 'supplica'; vale la pena ricordare che lo studio della varietà di genere dell'opera di Massimo il Greco nel duplice riflesso della tradizione umanistica e della tradizione bizantino-slava è questione importante che merita (e attende) un'indagine attenta e approfondita;

- Traduzioni disponibili: si indica per ogni testo la disponibilità di traduzioni, così da ricordare il corpus dell'opera di Massimo il Greco al corpus delle sue traduzioni moderne.

2.4. *Gli inventari complementari*

Parallelamente sono stati predisposti gli inventari complementari dei manoscritti base, dei manoscritti di controllo, l'inventario complessivo dei manoscritti, dei repository, dei destinatari delle opere e della bibliografia (sulla base di questi inventari ulteriori saranno create le liste esterne necessarie alla codifica dei testi).

2.4.1. *I manoscritti base*

L'inventario dei manoscritti base raccoglie l'insieme dei manoscritti sulla cui base sono stati editi i singoli testi nelle edizioni scelte per la digitalizzazione. L'indicazione è sempre presente nelle edizioni più recenti. In alcune edizioni più datate, come per esempio l'edizione Максим Грек 1894-1897, l'indicazione dei testimoni di riferimento è, salvo rare eccezioni, generica e cumulativa, e come tale è stata mantenuta, restando esclusa in questi casi la possibilità di offrire un'indicazione più puntuale.

I manoscritti base sono stati rappresentati nel secondo foglio dell'Excel sulla base dei seguenti descrittori:

- Identificativo del manoscritto: è l'identificativo univoco assegnato a ogni manoscritto a partire dalla sua segnatura; di regola lo si è composto unendo l'indicazione abbreviata del fondo di appartenenza e il numero del documento;

- Edizione: si indica l'edizione scelta per la digitalizzazione;

- Record indiviso del manoscritto: si riporta la stringa di descrizione del manoscritto presente nell'edizione scelta per la digitalizzazione;

- Codice di corrispondenza: si riporta la lettera, l'abbreviazione o il codice che nell'edizione è assegnato al manoscritto;
- Identificativo dell'opera: è il consueto identificativo del testo (che nell'edizione scelta per la digitalizzazione è stato stabilito a partire dal manoscritto base);
- Foliazione: si indica, dove disponibile, il *locus* del testo nel manoscritto base;
- Informazioni aggiuntive: si riportano, dove presenti, eventuali informazioni aggiuntive, per esempio la posizione (il capitolo) occupata dal testo nel manoscritto base;
- Presenza di mani diverse: si indica, dove nota, la presenza di mani diverse; il dato è disponibile per i testi contenuti nell'edizione Максим Грек 2014, dove per ogni testo si segnala l'eventuale presenza nel manoscritto base (RGB, f. 173, MDA 42) di mani diverse: la mano del copista/dei copisti, del revisore/dei revisori e quella di Massimo il Greco.

2.4.2. *I manoscritti di controllo*

L'inventario dei manoscritti di controllo ospita l'insieme dei manoscritti sulla cui base nelle edizioni scelte per la digitalizzazione è stato riscontrato il manoscritto base e sono stati compilati gli apparati. L'indicazione dei manoscritti di controllo, sempre presente nelle edizioni recenti, è assente in alcune edizioni più datate. I manoscritti di controllo sono stati rappresentati nel terzo foglio dell'Excel sulla base degli stessi descrittori usati per rappresentare i manoscritti base, indicando cioè: l'identificativo del manoscritto, l'edizione, il record indiviso del manoscritto, il codice di corrispondenza, l'identificativo dell'opera, la foliazione, eventuali informazioni aggiuntive.

2.4.3. *L'inventario complessivo dei manoscritti*

L'inventario complessivo dei manoscritti riunisce in un elenco unico, nel quarto foglio dell'Excel, i manoscritti base e i manoscritti di controllo, e ne offre una descrizione estesa indicando per ognuno:

- Identificativo del manoscritto: è l'identificativo univoco abbinato a ogni manoscritto negli inventari precedenti (cfr. §§ 2.4.1-2);
- Repositorio: si riporta la sigla del repository in cui si conserva il manoscritto;
- Fondo: si indica, quando presente, il fondo a cui appartiene il manoscritto;

- Collezione: è l'indicazione della collezione di appartenenza del manoscritto;
- Numero: è il numero che all'interno della collezione identifica il manoscritto come documento;
- Datazione: si riporta, dove disponibile, la datazione certa o presunta del manoscritto.

2.4.4. *I repository*

L'inventario dei repository espande e integra l'indicazione dei repository offerta nell'inventario complessivo dei manoscritti (cfr. § 2.4.3). I repository sono descritti nel quinto foglio dell'Excel sulla base dei parametri di seguito elencati:

- Sigla del repository nella lingua e nell'alfabeto del paese in cui è ubicato;
- Nome per esteso del repository nella lingua e nell'alfabeto del paese in cui è ubicato;
- Traduzione italiana del nome esteso del repository, nel caso di repository esteri;
- Localizzazione del repository con indicazione della città e dello Stato in cui è ubicato.

2.4.5. *I destinatari*

L'inventario dei destinatari riunisce e sistematizza nel sesto foglio dell'Excel le indicazioni presenti nelle formule di saluto delle epistole e occasionalmente nei testi delle altre tipologie. I destinatari sono distinti per appartenenza o per provenienza e raggruppati idealmente in quattro categorie: bizantini, latini del sacro Romano Impero, latini degli Stati della penisola italiana, slavi di Moscovia. A ogni categoria corrisponde una sezione dell'inventario. All'interno di ogni sezione i nomi sono ordinati alfabeticamente e i personaggi corrispondenti descritti sulla base dei parametri di seguito elencati (in caso di identificazioni discusse si riportano le ipotesi note e la bibliografia di riferimento):

- Identificativo del destinatario: è l'identificativo univoco abbinato a ogni destinatario ed è stato composto di regola unendo le iniziali del nome, del patronimico quando presente e del cognome, ovvero, in presenza del solo nome, dalle prime lettere del nome;
- Forma standardizzata del nome: per i nomi non slavi si indicano la forma nella lingua di origine, la forma italiana e quella

russa in alfabeto cirillico; per i nomi slavi si indicano il nome, il patronimico e il cognome per esteso, in russo e in traslitterazione in alfabeto latino;

- Eventuale attributo: si riporta, quando presente, l'attributo che si lega al nome nel testo, nella lingua del testo, in forma normalizzata;
- Identificativo del testo: si registra, con il consueto identificativo, il testo in cui compare l'indicazione del destinatario;
- Occorrenza: si registra la forma in cui compare l'indicazione del destinatario nel testo, nella lingua del testo, al nominativo.

2.4.6. *La bibliografia*

In un foglio separato dell'Excel, il settimo, si offre la bibliografia delle edizioni e degli studi citate nell'inventario delle opere e negli inventari complementari, suddivise per categoria. Nella sezione delle edizioni si riportano in ordine alfabetico tutte le edizioni lavorate, sia quelle scelte per la digitalizzazione che quelle registrate come edizioni ulteriori; nella sezione degli studi si registrano, sempre in ordine alfabetico, tutti gli studi a vario titolo citati nei diversi fogli di inventario. Si adotta il sistema cosiddetto 'autore data', indicando nella prima colonna del foglio il record bibliografico breve, costituito dal cognome dell'autore e della data del testo, e nella seconda colonna il record bibliografico esteso.

2.5. *Per una visione di insieme*

L'inventario dell'opera edita così costituito raccoglie una quantità notevole di testi e di dati. Il totale delle opere censite sfiora le 400 unità, il totale delle opere editate si attesta sulle 267 unità, delle quali 239 saranno avviate alla codifica. I manoscritti complessivamente censiti sono 123; 237 sono le occorrenze dei manoscritti nella funzione di testimone base, 426 nella funzione di testimone di controllo. I destinatari complessivamente censiti sono 42, 11 dei quali rimangono da identificare. Le edizioni registrate sono 77, gli studi 60.

3. La costituzione del corpus delle traduzioni: metodo e criteri

Come anticipato in apertura, al raggiungimento del primo obiettivo intermedio del progetto concorre la creazione delle traduzioni dell'opera di Massimo il Greco nelle lingue europee moderne, di cui si illustrano qui il metodo e i criteri (cfr. § 1.3).

Il lavoro di censimento e catalogazione si è articolato in due fasi, ciascuna delle quali ha posto delle sfide a ha reso necessarie delle scelte, che sono state risolte attenendosi al duplice criterio di soddisfacimento degli obiettivi del progetto e di rispetto della tempistica di realizzazione degli interventi.

3.1. *Censimento e selezione delle traduzioni*

Ai fini della costituzione del corpus delle traduzioni, sono stati anzitutto avviati il censimento e la catalogazione dei testi tradotti, tramite il reperimento delle edizioni di interesse, in formato cartaceo o in pdf (dove disponibili), e la predisposizione e compilazione di un apposito inventario su un file Excel. La prima scelta che abbiamo operato ha interessato la traduzione di *excerpta* variamente estrapolati dalle opere, contenuti nella cospicua mole di letteratura scientifica dedicata alla figura del monaco athonita; tenere traccia di tutti i passi più o meno estesi offerti in traduzione da quanti hanno sin qui scritto sul nostro autore ci è sembrato poco utile, trattandosi spesso di brevi periodi scelti, citati e tradotti per confermare una precisa argomentazione dello studioso e raramente significativi fuori dal contesto del saggio critico che li ospita. Tuttavia, gli estratti vengono considerati e inseriti in inventario quando provvisti di un titolo editoriale, che ne indica il criterio di selezione da parte dell'autore-curatore della traduzione, come avviene nel caso di alcuni brani contenuti in Denissoff 1943, in Громов 1983 e altri. Ad oggi sono state individuate 47 edizioni di traduzioni, fra opere complete ed *excerpta*. Per quanto concerne le traduzioni in lingua russa, è stato appurato che un volume (Максим Грек 1993) contiene la riproduzione delle traduzioni delle opere slave di Massimo il Greco edite a Kazan', realizzate nei primi anni del XX secolo presso la Svjato-Troicko Sergieva Lavra, e per questa ragione non è stato inventariato. Al contrario, i curatori del volume Максим Грек 2006, celebrativo dei 450 anni dalla dipartita del monaco e che riedita la traduzione delle opere spirituali e morali (*duchovno-nravstvennye slova*), dichiarano di aver operato una revisione e apportato delle mende all'edizione delle traduzioni del secolo precedente (abbiamo verificato, in effetti, una precisione maggiore nell'indicazione delle citazioni bibliche); in questo caso, il volume

è stato preso a riferimento nel nostro inventario, in sostituzione del corrispondente novecentesco (Максим Грек 1911).

Le lingue rappresentate nelle traduzioni sono 7, e precisamente: francese, inglese, italiano, latino, neogreco, polacco, russo. In linea con gli scopi del progetto, sono state al momento escluse dal piano di digitalizzazione le traduzioni in neogreco, per un totale di 4 edizioni, contenenti 169 testi; analogamente, il portale non ospiterà traduzioni di opere dell'autore diverse dalla corrispondenza del periodo italiano e dalla sua produzione slava. È stato quindi avviato il lavoro preparatorio per la digitalizzazione delle traduzioni in lingua russa e nelle lingue che sono maggiormente dominate in occidente dagli studiosi che si occupano di umanesimo e rinascimento.

Al netto delle scelte operate, le traduzioni presenti in inventario ammontano a 265 in 6 lingue, distribuite come segue: la lingua dominante è il russo, per la quale disponiamo di più traduzioni di uno stesso testo redatte in epoche diverse, per un totale di 231 testi; in francese si contano 13 traduzioni, in polacco abbiamo 9 *excerpta* tradotti, 9 testi in lingua italiana, 4 in inglese e 1 in latino.

3.2. *Descrittori (metadati)*

Il corpus di testi così costituito è inventariato nel primo foglio di lavoro del file Excel, che registra per ogni testo una serie di 12 descrittori (metadati), utili a rappresentare il documento e a porre le basi per eventuali collegamenti con i testi delle opere, da implementare sulla piattaforma web:

1. **Identificativo della traduzione:** l'identificativo è composto a partire dall'identificativo dell'opera tradotta nell'inventario delle opere, sul modello: Ivanov NNN-trad/trad-al/trad-in, dove si assegna "trad" (traduzione) quando la traduzione è condotta sullo stesso testo edito preso a riferimento nell'inventario delle opere, mentre "trad-al" (traduzione di un altro testo) indica che la traduzione è condotta sulla base di un'edizione differente dell'opera; infine, in una manciata di casi, compare "trad-in" (traduzione di un testo inedito), ad indicare che ad essere tradotto è un testo manoscritto, non ancora pubblicato. Segue poi l'indicazione della sigla corrispondente alla

lingua (EN, FR, IT, LAT, PL, RU); nel caso degli *excerpta* si aggiunge “p” (parte, porzione di testo) e, in presenza di traduzioni parziali di più porzioni della stessa opera, “p” è seguito da 1,2, e così via; chiude la sequenza la data dell’edizione della traduzione;

2. Edizione della traduzione: si inserisce in questa colonna il record bibliografico abbreviato secondo il sistema ‘autore data: intervallo delle pagine’. La bibliografia estesa delle edizioni delle traduzioni viene conservata in un secondo foglio di lavoro nello stesso documento Excel;
3. Titolo della traduzione: si riporta il titolo nella lingua di traduzione; per le traduzioni in russo, tra parentesi tonde se ne dà la traslitterazione in alfabeto latino;
4. Titolo di riferimento evincibile dal contesto: la traduzione indicata con Ivanov 229-trad-al-IT-p-2019 è priva di un titolo editoriale. Tuttavia, dalle righe che immediatamente la precedono nel saggio di M. Garzaniti (2019: 43-44) è possibile risalire al titolo del brano in questione, che corrisponde a “Testimonianza su Savonarola in Narrazione terribile e memorabile del monaco Massimo il Greco e sulla perfetta forma di vita monastica”, come indichiamo tra quadre, a significare che si tratta di un intervento redazionale;
5. Lingua della traduzione: si registra per esteso la lingua verso la quale l’opera di Massimo il Greco è stata tradotta;
6. Nome del traduttore: se noto, si indicano il nome e l’eventuale patronimico puntati e il cognome per esteso del traduttore. Per i due volumi editi presso la Svjato-Troicko Sergieva Lavra si attribuisce la paternità delle traduzioni a Moisej poslušnik (v schime Mefodij), come indicato anche da Bulanin (2021: 12), sebbene non sia possibile stabilire se egli abbia effettivamente tradotto tutti i testi, o abbia curato l’edizione delle traduzioni eseguite anche da altri monaci;
7. Edizione di origine dell’opera tradotta: per ogni testo segnaliamo l’opera di riferimento, così come indicata nell’edizione della traduzione. Anche qui si adotta il sistema ‘autore data: intervallo delle pagine’. Per le traduzioni di inediti, indichiamo il manoscritto;
8. Lingua dell’opera tradotta: questo campo reca l’indicazione della lingua originale in cui l’opera è stata composta da Mas-

- simo il Greco. L'informazione assume rilevanza in particolare per i testi epistolari, redatti in greco e recanti formula dedicatoria in latino; per il resto, dati gli scopi precipui del progetto, si tratta di opere in slavo;
9. Identificativo dell'opera originale: per ogni traduzione si rimanda all'identificativo dell'opera tradotta nell'inventario delle opere;
 10. Edizione di riferimento dell'originale: per ogni traduzione si indica, altresì, l'edizione dell'opera originale presa a riferimento per la riproduzione del testo in formato digitale nell'inventario delle opere.
 11. Coincidenza o non coincidenza dell'edizione tradotta con l'edizione di riferimento nell'inventario delle opere: questo dato trova riscontro nell'identificativo delle traduzioni: laddove i due testi coincidono, nell'identificativo troveremo "trad", dove non coincidono, scriveremo "trad-al";
 12. Altre traduzioni: l'ultimo campo ospita l'elenco, in ordine cronologico, delle traduzioni dello stesso testo in altre lingue e/o di traduzioni successive/precedenti nella stessa lingua.

Come si vede, i parametri 2-7 servono a descrivere il testo della traduzione, mentre i dati da 8 a 11 provvedono informazioni utili al collegamento tra le traduzioni e i testi originali dell'autore; infine, il campo 12 mette in relazione tra di loro traduzioni diverse di una stessa opera. Un secondo foglio del documento di lavoro contiene la bibliografia di riferimento per la compilazione dell'inventario, mentre in un terzo foglio sono appuntate note utili ai ricercatori e informazioni di cui si vuole mantenere traccia.

3.3. Il corpus delle traduzioni e la sua utilità nell'economia del progetto

L'esistenza di un cospicuo numero di testi tradotti in russo moderno (231) e di un manipolo di estratti in polacco (9) risulta di sicuro ausilio agli slavisti impegnati nello studio dell'eredità letteraria di Massimo il Greco, potendo facilitare la comprensione di passi oscuri nell'originale, e permettendo, in particolare per la lingua russa, indagini diacroniche relative ad eventuali mutamenti semantici dei lemmi russi, evincibili dalle scelte lessicali dei tra-

duttori. I 27 testi tradotti nelle lingue europee occidentali (francese, inglese, italiano e in latino) sono, invece, preziosi in modo particolare per il pubblico dei non-slavisti e costituiscono la chiave d'accesso all'opera dell'autore per gli studiosi che non conoscono lo slavo.

Questo piccolo corpus testuale si presenta variegato sia sul piano diacronico che su quello diatopico: la prima traduzione, eseguita da S.P. Ševyrev verso l'italiano e pubblicata da P. Villari, risale al 1861 e vede la luce a Firenze, all'interno del secondo volume che lo studioso dedica alla figura di Girolamo Savonarola (cfr. *Notizia su Massimo il Greco e brano di un suo scritto* in Villari 1861: 416-421). Le più recenti si devono a F. Romoli (2021, 2023, 2024b, 2024c) e sono ancora verso l'italiano; tra queste la *Narrazione terribile e memorabile, e sulla perfetta forma di vita monastica e l'Epistola sui francescani e i domenicani* sono state pubblicate per i tipi della Firenze University Press (cfr. Romoli 2021: 176-186 e 187-188 rispettivamente). Quelle tra luoghi di edizione e lingua di traduzione sono probabilmente coincidenze fortuite, che tuttavia ci piace considerare una conferma dello stretto legame tra la culla dell'umanesimo e l'idioma del bel paese con la figura di Massimo il Greco.

La lingua occidentale maggiormente rappresentata è, invece, il francese, grazie in particolare all'opera di É. Denissoff (1943), cui va non solo il merito di aver reso noti alcuni testi di Massimo il Greco in occidente, ma soprattutto quello di aver identificato la figura del monco athonita in servizio a Mosca nella prima metà del XVI sec. con il giovane esponente della diaspora greca in Italia, Michele Trivolis. Prima di lui, era stato l'erudito e stampatore A. Firmin-Didot (1875) a restituire in francese una missiva di Michele, in appendice ad uno studio su Aldo Manuzio e l'ellenismo a Venezia; ancora una volta il *mileu* in cui nasce la traduzione ci riconduce alla presenza greca nell'Italia umanistica della fine del XV-inizio XVI secolo.

Le traduzioni verso l'inglese sono 4, apparse nell'arco temporale dal 1989 al 2021 a cura di studiosi interessati ad aspetti diversi del pensiero e dell'opera di Massimo: ancora i rapporti tra la Moscovia cinquecentesca e l'umanesimo non solo italiano per le traduzioni di O. Akopjan (cfr. *Novella on Savonarola* – Akopyan

2020: 810-811, coll. sn, e *The Words against Juan Luis Vives* – Akopyan 2021: 244-269, coll. sn), e problematiche più strettamente filologiche per i testi tradotti da H.M. Olmsted (1989: 270-272) e I. Ševčenko (1997: 64).

L'unico testo in latino è una delle opere polemiche di Massimo il Greco, e precisamente la *Oratio contra latinos, quod non liceat apponere, sive auferre quidquam, in divino fidei Symbolo*, tradotta da Ju. Križanić e pubblicata dall'orientalista A. Palmieri nel 1912 sulle pagine di *Bessarione*.

Il testo che in assoluto ha riscosso maggiore interesse da parte dei traduttori è la *Povest' ob inočeskom žitel'stve i Povest' o Savonarole*, disponibile in traduzione integrale o parziale in tutte le lingue succitate, tranne che in polacco.

4. Conclusioni

Le attività che qui di sopra abbiamo ripercorso nelle fasi, metodi e strumenti che le hanno contraddistinte, con i risultati di raccolta, censimento e catalogazione delle opere e delle traduzioni, saranno alla base della creazione dell'inedito portale dedicato a Massimo il Greco. Oltre a intercettare e mirare a colmare una lacuna nell'ambito degli studi sulla figura dell'athonita, il progetto MaximHum, di cui abbiamo presentato il primo obiettivo intermedio (Milestone 1), si pone in linea con le più aggiornate indicazioni europee e nazionali in materia di ricerca scientifica e valorizzazione del patrimonio culturale.

In riferimento al programma quadro Horizon Europe, MaximHum si situa nel settore SH5. *Cultures and Cultural Production: Literature, philology, cultural studies, study of the arts, philosophy*, e nelle sue fasi di attuazione ricade nei sotto ambiti SH5-8. *Cultural studies, cultural identities and memories, cultural heritage*, SH6-14. *History of ideas, intellectual history, history of economic thought*, e, come ben dimostra questo saggio, SH5-12. *Computational modelling and digitisation in the cultural sphere*.

Per quanto attiene ai pilastri fissati dall'ambito di applicazione del Regolamento (UE) 2021/241, che istituisce il dispositivo per la ripresa e la resilienza, ne intercetta almeno due parole chiave, vale a dire “digitale” (pilastro b), mirando alla creazione del portale web interamente dedicato all'opera di Massimo il

Greco, e “istruzione di qualità” (ricompresa nel pilastro f), dal momento che l’output scientifico costituirà un risorsa fruibile non solo da ricercatori, ma anche da studenti e docenti interessati all’argomento; tra i campi di intervento, il progetto incrocia per sua natura i nn. 129. *Protezione, sviluppo e promozione del patrimonio culturale e dei servizi culturali*, e 140. *Informazione e comunicazione*.

In campo nazionale, infine, con riferimento al PNR 2021-2027 Programma Nazionale per la Ricerca, il progetto si colloca nel macroambito 5.2. *Cultura umanistica, creatività, trasformazioni sociali, società dell’inclusione*, mostrando particolare attinenza con la sub-categoria 5.2.1. *Patrimonio culturale*, soprattutto nella “interpretazione, la salvaguardia, la conservazione e la trasmissione al futuro del patrimonio, la valorizzazione, l’educazione e la creazione di nuovi contenuti culturali” (PNR, p. 57).

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THE PROJECT PRIN 2022 PNRR “MAXIMHUM” (NR. P2022837KN):
BUILDING UP THE CORPUS OF THE EDITED WORKS OF MAXIMUS
THE GREEK AND OF THEIR TRANSLATIONS (MILESTONE 1)

Summary

The project ‘Humanistic Italy and sixteenth-century Muscovy in dialogue: Digitisation and digital mapping of the work of Maximus the Greek’ – MaximHum (nr. P2022837KN) aims to demonstrate the ‘humanistic factor’ in the life and work of Maximus the Greek, and his role as the first mediator in Muscovy of the culture of humanism and of the values of the *renovatio christiana*. The project is funded within the framework of the PRIN 2022 PNRR and lasts for a two-year period (November 2023–November 2025). Conceived by Francesca Romoli, the project’s national coordinator and director of the research unit at the University of Pisa, MaximHum involves, in addition to the University of Pisa, the Universities of Chieti-Pescara, whose research unit is headed by Maria Chiara Ferro, and the University of Bologna, whose research unit is represented by Alberto Alberti. The essay intends to outline the general purpose of the project and then focus on the intermediate objectives referring to the first six months of activity, dedicated to the digitisation of Maximus the Greek’s published works and of their translations. To be more precise, Francesca Romoli illustrates the census and collection of editions of the works in Church Slavonic by Maximus the Greek, the compilation of an updated inventory (compared to A.I. Ivanov’s 1969 inventory) of the author’s literary production, in which each work is described according to a series of descriptors (metadata) and accompanied by a wide range of related information arranged in complementary inventories. Maria Chiara Ferro describes the parallel research, collection and cataloguing work carried out for the translations of the works of Maximus the Greek into modern languages. The article also contains some references to the critical issues encountered and the choices made to overcome them, presenting data that will be poured into the platform hosting the digital corpus now under construction.

Keywords: Maximus the Greek; Humanistic Culture; Church Slavonic literary production; digital corpus; PNRR project.

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IMAGE OF MONASTIC FEATS IN THE AUGMENTED PSALTER MANUSCRIPT F.I.738 IN THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF RUSSIA. ON ITS ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE

■ *Georgii V. Titov (Russia)*

The Augmented Psalter manuscript F.I.738 in the National Library of Russia in Saint Petersburg has not attracted proper scholarly attention for a long time, especially in the light of its rich illumination. The first description of its contents with particular attention to the cycle of 25 full-page miniatures was published back in 1890 by Alexey Viktorov (Викторов 1890: 11–15). At the time when the scholar had seen it, the manuscript was kept in the library of a theological seminary in Arkhangelsk. However, soon after that, it went on sale for an unknown reason and already in 1884 Fyodor Buslaev was fortunate to purchase it in Moscow. Buslaev's famous manuscript collection was in turn catalogued by Ivan Bychkov. His description (Бычков 1897: 105–122) mentions the Augmented Psalter with substantially fewer folia – 437 compared to the “roughly 700” in Viktorov's (Викторов 1890: 11). The number given by Bychkov reflects the reality to this date.

The conundrum of the two descriptions of the same manuscript that nevertheless have significant discrepancies still does not have a proper explanation. It seems feasible that the manuscript lost quite a few quires while travelling from the library in Arkhangelsk to some merchant in Moscow with several short-time owners in between. Specifically, Buslaev purchased it without the table of contents on the first folia which was mentioned by Viktorov. Moreover, Viktorov mentions that “from the comparison of the manuscript's composition with its table of contents, it turns out

that many entries were inserted after the table of contents had been compiled and therefore are not mentioned in the latter” (Викторов 1890: 12). Already from this quote it is clear that the Augmented Psalter is a miscellany with complex history; its parts were written separately and are not contemporaneous.

The successful attempt to reconstruct the history of the Augmented Psalter was undertaken in 2011 in the National Library of Russia where the manuscript is stored. Mikhail Shibaev thoroughly inspected the codicology and the watermarks, Svetlana Semiachko examined the contents with regard to textual criticism and Èlisa Gordienko studied the miniatures and their artistic context (Гордиенко, Семячко, Шибаев 2011). In our study, we are going to rely on the conclusion that they have drawn.

At this point it appears certain that the manuscript consists of two main parts (Part A, ff. 1–8, 11–20, 38–130, 140–200, 291–397 and Part B, ff. 21(b)–37, 201–290) primarily written by three scribes, while the remaining quires and separate sheets are later additions.¹ The first part dates back to the 1470–1480s while the second was added to it in the 1510–1520s.² Both parts include miniatures. Part A features a cycle with the story of King David (ff. 4v, 5v, 6v, 7v, 19v, 20v), another image of him writing the Psalter (f. 38v) and one miniature with Sabbas the Sanctified (f. 141v). This narrative cycle (**fig. 1**) is reminiscent of the manuscripts of the *Complete Chronographic palea* (such as SHM. Sin. 210 or NLR. F.I.310).

The miniatures of the second part of the Augmented Psalter are more iconographically complex and focus on, but are not limited to, the story of Old Testament, the books of Exodus, Joshua, Deuteronomy and some others (ff. 21(b)v, 23r, 23v, 25r, 25v, 27r, 27v, 29r, 29v, 31r, 31v, 33r, 33v, 35r, 35v, 37r, 37v). Most of them

¹To complicate this even further, certain quires of Part A have been misplaced, which is why two initially distinct sections of this part of the manuscript are now jumbled. According to Mikhail Shibaev, the first scribe is identified at ff. 2r–2v, 11r–19r, 40r–92v, 97r–130v, 140–140v, 143r–146r, 147v–148r, 150r–200v, 310r–311v, 312r–323v, 333v–397v; the second at ff. 291r–306v, 324r–333v; the third at the ff. 201r–290v. There are few folia written or corrected by yet another dozen of scribes, see detailed analysis in Гордиенко, Семячко, Шибаев 2011: 11–13.

²The dating of the miniatures is in accordance with the opinion of Mikhail Shibaev (Гордиенко, Семячко, Шибаев 2011, 11–13).

are based on the tradition of illuminated copies of the *Christian Topography* of Kosmas Indikopleustes, which have been known in Greek since the late 11th century. (Kominko 2013) and appear in Slavic as early as the 15th century (Редин 1916), with an example being SHM. Uvar. 566 (fig. 2). However, neither a *Christian Topography* nor a *Complete Chronographic palea* could include all the miniatures featured in the Psalter F.I.738, which makes its cycle one of a kind.



Fig. 1. David plays the harp in the field, *left* – Augmented Psalter NLR. F.I.738, Part A, 1470–1480s, f. 4v, upper part, after Гордиенко, Семячко, Шибаев 2011, pl. 1; *right* – The *Christian Topography* of Kosmas Indikopleustes SHM. Uvar. 566, 1494, f. 63r, upper part, after Редин 1916, табл. XXII



Fig. 2. Appointing of Joshua (Num. 27:12–23), *left* – Augmented Psalter NLR. F.I.738, Part B, 1510–1520s, f. 31r, after Гордиенко, Семячко, Шибаев 2011, pl. 16; *right* – *Christian Topography* SHM. Uvar. 566, 1494, f. 54v, after Редин 1916, табл. VI.1

The origins of the Psalter F.I.738 are no less enigmatic than its history in the 19th century. The unique combination of the texts in this ‘miscellany of constant composition’ (Семячко 2011: 69) has led Semiachko to the conclusion that it might be connected with the Kirillo-Belozersky Monastery (Гордиенко, Семячко, Шибаев 2011: 124–137). Subsequently, however, she preferred Moscow to be the most likely place where the Psalter was created (Семячко 2017). The miniatures of Part A indeed have much in common with art of Moscow of the time. For instance, based on stylistic merits, Gennadii Popov compared them with the full-page frontispiece image of Cosmas Indicopleustes in the *Christian Topography* NLR. Kir.-Bel. 64/1141 of 1470–1480s (Попов 1975: 72). Ekaterina Chamorovsky assigns them and especially the full-page image of David (f. 38v) to a minor artistic movement of the “Moscow mannerist art” of the late 15th century and aligns them with the illumination of The Acts of the Apostles SHM. Chud. 46.³ Yet, this whole discussion sheds little light on the origins of the miniatures of Part B. For instance, the iconographic counterpart to the upper register of the miniature on f. 21(b)v with the image of Sophia, the Divine Wisdom, is found in Lichachev’s manuscript of The Acts of the Apostles (SPbIH RAS. 238.1.274 f. 7v) likely created in Novgorod (fig. 3).

Beyond all that, one of the miniatures of Part B (fig. 4) is noticeably distinct in terms of style and does not seem to fit within the cycle, at least from a modern perspective (f. 37v). The figures are not equally distributed between the upper and the lower registers and the drawing is different either, by far more sketchy, even ragged. Èlisa Gordienko, who was the first to pay special attention to this miniature, gave it the name “Hermit monks that subject themselves to torture” (Гордиенко, Семячко, Шибаев 2011: 188). It features seven monks committing the feats of self-torture, three of them stand with their dried tongues long out (fig. 5), two sit with their hands tied and legs bound (fig. 6), one is frantically flagellating and another one bows his head to the ground. It seems that some of the monks are outside, while

³ Opinion was expressed in an unfinished PhD thesis, “Moscow Illuminated Manuscripts, the second half of 15th to the first quarter of the 16th century” (Moscow State University).

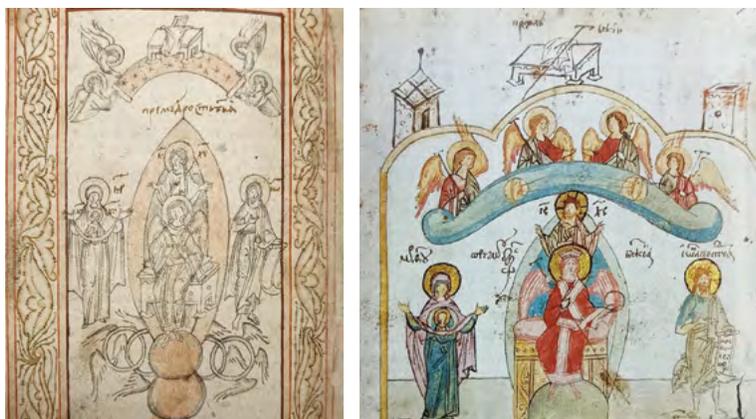


Fig. 3. Sophia, the Divine Wisdom, left – Acts of the Apostles SPbIH RAS. 238.1.274, 1490s, f. 7v © Санкт-Петербургский институт истории Российской академии наук; right – Augmented Psalter NLR. F.I.738, Part B, 1510–1520s, f. 21(b)v, upper part, after Гордиенко, Семячко, Шибяев 2011, pl. 7



Fig. 4. Monks committing the ascetic feats. Augmented Psalter NLR. F.I.738, Part B, fol. 37v, 1510–1520s



Fig. 5. Monks stand with hanging dry tongues. Augmented Psalter NLR. F.I.738. F. 37v, detail, after Гордиенко, Семячко, Шибасв 2011, pl. 23



Fig. 6. Monks with their legs in the stocks. Augmented Psalter NLR. F.I.738. F. 37v, detail, after Гордиенко, Семячко, Шибасв 2011, pl. 23

others are incarcerated in a dark cave, though the background is rather undetailed.

Gordienko tried to explain the subject choice by reference to the *Edification of Elders to a Novice Monk*, a text from the so-called “*starchestvo* tradition” (Семячко 2008) which is included in Part A (ff. 310–318, see Гордиенко, Семячко, Шибяев 2011: 96–97). However, much more likely source, as Vera Podkovyrova has noted, is the *Heavenly Ladder* of John Climacus (Подковырова, Попова 2012: 21; see Popova 2015: 494), an ascetic treaty that was one of the most popular texts in monastic reading habit in medieval Rus’ (see figures in Прохоров 2010).

The 5th chapter (logos) of the *Heavenly Ladder*, “On Pains-taking and Vivid Penitence”, is dedicated to the description of a monastery called the Prison (τῆς φυλακῆς), which John Climacus could visit together with the abbot. After the praise of μετάνοια at the beginning of the chapter (5:2) – a ‘litaney’ of short definitions or sentences in the style of Evagrius (Perrone 2019: 246) – the main body of this chapter describes the life in this prison for penitent monks practicing mortification of the flesh. The description is so vivid that Ravinder Binning recently went as far as to call it an ekphrasis that “constructs a multisensory hell on Earth” (Binning 2022: 10). Yet, it seems more worthwhile to follow in Lorenzo Perrone’s footsteps, bearing in mind the imagery of the Penitent Psalm, especially Ps. 37 and 101, when working with the Climacus’ text (Perrone 2019: 249–250). The image of monastic penitence in the 5th chapter clearly draws from the words of David “For mine iniquities are gone over mine head...” to pertain the psalm’s severe depiction of repentance.

Podkovyrova highlights that in the miniature of Psalter F.I.738 “not only the images themselves, but also the texts that accompany them are indisputably relevant to the chapter ‘On Pains-taking’” (Подковырова, Попова 2012: 21). Let us, then, address these texts first.⁴ Below, I present the four inscriptions commenting on parts of the miniature, with their translations into modern Russian and English. The Russian translation of

⁴ It should be said, though, that we know of two attempts of publishing these four short inscriptions (Гордиенко, Семячко, Шибяев 2011: 188; Попова 2024: 252, 254, 258, 264). Unfortunately, both are far from perfect.

the *Heavenly Ladder* I opt for is the so-called “version of Optina Pustyn’” (Лествица 2007) and the English text is from the edition of C. Luibheid and N. Russell (Luibheid, Russell 1982).

Inscriptions:

1. Сїи на знои себѣ тѣмѣце, и ѣзыци и ѿтполѣвшє изо ѡстѣ ||
вѡн изъвлєкшє
У ИНЫХ ВИДНЫ БЫЛИ ЯЗЫКИ, ВОСПАЛЕННЫЕ И ВЫПУЩЕН-
НЫЕ ИЗ УСТ, КАК У ПСОВ (5:14)
You could see the tongues on some of them dry and hanging
from their mouths in the manner of dogs (Luibheid, Russell
1982: 123)
2. Сїи* по нагѣ тѣлѣ || лозїеѣ себє бїюще || дѣрѣчѣхѣ
...а другие, не имея слез, били сами себя (5:9)
...others, unable to weep, struck themselves (Luibheid, Rus-
sell 1982: 122)
3. Сїи* в тѣ||мнѣ мѣстє затѣришѣ себѣ || и ногы своѣ вло||жишѣ
вѣ клаѣчѣ и мѣлиша || стѣрѣди||ти ихъ не||подвиж||ны дѣ ||
ѿтшєствїа || ихъ
а ноги их, как ноги преступников, заключить в колоды
и не освобождать от них, пока не примет их гроб (5:20)
Often they came to the great judge <...> and they would
plead with him to put irons and chains on their hands and
necks, to bind their legs in the stocks and not to release
them until death (Luibheid, Russell 1982: 125)
4. Сїи* глѣвѣ си колѣнми ѹкрывшє слєзы... [one last short word is
not legible]
Другие сидели на земле во вретїще и пепле,
лицо скрывали между коленами и челом ударяли о
землю (5:9)
Others sat in sackcloth and ashes on the ground,
hiding their faces between their knees, striking the earth
with their foreheads (Luibheid, Russell 1982: 122)

The dependence of these inscriptions in the miniature on the *Heavenly Ladder*'s text is now apparent. However, the intricate tradition of the Climacus' imagery in the Byzantine art, later adapted and developed in the Slavic world, presents several possible

origins for the miniature in question. John Martin was the first to differentiate the illustrations of the “Climax proper”, as he used to call it, and of the *Penitential Canon*⁵ (Martin 1954: 145), a hymnographic text of eight odes, probably composed within the milieu of Constantinopolitan monasticism in the late 11th or early 12th century. The *Penitential Canon* is a synthesis of text and illustration, to such an extent that all the existing Greek copies (in contrast to the Old Church Slavonic ones, see Богдановић 1974) are illuminated, and the iconographic cycle in all of them is repeated without essential variation. More precisely, two early copies of the *Penitential Canon* survived, one is the Vat. gr. 1754 and the other is the gr. 1294 in the Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest, both dating from the early 12th century. The latter has fallen short of several quires, now in Haifa (Avner 1984) and London (Parpu-lov 2018), with four folia having been lost altogether.

The common structure of all the copies of the *Penitential Canon* is such that the text is placed in the upper part of the page, while the image occupies the lower section. The verses of the *Canon* itself are always complemented with the text commenting on the image. These comments are primarily the paraphrases of the 5th chapter of the *Heavenly Ladder*. It is quite certain that these illuminated copies of the *Canon* were rather popular and widespread in the Late-Byzantine world, given the stunning stylistic divergence of the extant examples (fig. 7), such the gr. II 32 and gr. II 44 in the Marciana library in Venice, gr. 427 in the monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai or cod. 1395 in the National Library of Greece in Athens (Martin 1954: 128–149, cat. 3, 29–31).

Tatiana Popova has recently dedicated a detailed study to the *Penitential Canon* focusing on the impact it is said to have had on the art of Rus’ (Попова 2024). She argues that the two earliest Russian cycles of monastic feats – one in the Augmented Psalter F.I.738 and another in the *Heavenly Ladder* manuscript RSL. F. 304/III. №20 (Титов 2024б) – are based on two different sources, or “protographs” (Попова 2024: 142–146). To my understanding, however, as much as the manuscript tradition of the *Peniten-*

⁵ “Κανὼν κατανοητικὸς τὴν ἱστορίαν διαλαμβάνων τῶν ἐν τῇ κλίμακι ἁγίων καταδίκων”, see Pierre, Conticello, Chryssavgis 2015: 246 (№23).



Fig. 7. Monks standing with their hands tied at the back. 4th miniature of the Penitential Canon, left – Marc. gr. II 32, f. 203v, 15th century. Photo by the author. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Divieto di riproduzione; right – Sin. gr. 427, f. 2v, 14th century (?) or later, by permission of Saint Catherine’s Monastery, Sinai, Egypt.

tial Canon was consistent and stable, it is unlikely that the Russian cycles could bear any direct relevance to it. Indicatively, the two copies of the Slavic translation of the *Penitential Canon*, both in the Hilandar monastery (Богдановић 1974), have neither any traces of illumination, nor the commenting phrases which are more comparable to the inscriptions in the miniature of the Psalter (Попова 2024: 16–18). The *Canon* is unlikely to have ever been translated to the Old-Church Slavonic in its complex entirety. Instead, the correspondences found by Popova are more likely attributable to the common background of the most Climax image cycles.

I already once noted that, in comparison to the other cycles of monastic feasts in the Russian art, which far outnumber the Byzantine ones, the cycle of the Psalter, i.e. the four feasts on a single page, is too concise and too unconventional in its composition (Титов 2024a: 313). Quite naturally, it was never copied, at least not directly. My previous assumption of the cycle being incomplete (Ibid.) no longer appears plausible since all the miniatures belonging to Part B form a single quire. Èlisa Gordienko, when

faced with the same question, made an unjustifiable suggestion that the miniature could be a later addition (Гордиенко, Семячко, Шибаев: 189). Although the watermark of the f. 37 is indiscernible, the thick frame and the elegant semiuncial script, resembling the Greek minuscule, align the miniature with the others of Part B.

The surprising modification of the style in the miniature, which is apparent when compared with the adjacent ones, might be explained not only by means of the subject, i.e. the extreme ascetic practices of the monks. Specifically, if one looks closer, it is noticeable that the thick lines of an unskilled hand lay over the original ones, considerably more refined (**fig. 5**). It is especially noticeable on the beards and the laps of the monks' robes. We suspect that the miniature was mutilated by a posterior hand inking over the original drawing. Similar alterations (**fig. 8**) were made to the miniatures of the Hagiographic Miscellany from the Nikolay Likhachyov's collection (SPbIH RAS. 238.1.71).

The iconography of monastic feasts was first invented as a direct illustration to the 5th chapter of the *Heavenly Ladder*, and as such it is present in the famous manuscript Vat. gr. 394 of ca. 1084 (Martin 1954: cat. 21, p. 47–87, 177–181, figs. 67–132). Several direct copies of this manuscript exist, namely Stauronikita cod. gr. 50 (Οι θησαυροί 1991: 209–220, 340–344) and Vat. gr. 2147, both described by Martin (Martin 1954: cat. 6, 23; see Moretti 2008: 140, 146, n. 45). At a much earlier time the cycle of the *Penitential Canon* was created, clearly following a cycle com-



Fig. 8. Miniatures with posterior alteration. Hagiographic Miscellany SPbIH RAS. 238.1.71, left – f. 93v; right – f. 17, late 15th – early 16th century © Санкт-Петербургский институт истории Российской академии наук

parable to the one on the ff. 41v – 48v in Vat. gr. 394. As clearly attests the noble copy Vat. gr. 1754, it should be attributed to the same artistic milieu as the manuscripts of the Climax proper such as the Vat. gr. 394 or Princeton Garrett 16 (Ibid.: cat. 20, p. 24–47, 175–177, figs. 30–66; Kotzabassi, Ševčenko 2010: 112–125).

Chronologically, the next stage in the reception of the cycle of monastic feats is reported in the iconography of the Dormition of a Hermit with multiple scenes of monastic duties surrounding the deathbed (De Giorgi 2013). It was first reported by Martin with regard to the panel “Dormition of Ephraim Syrus” in the Vatican Museums (Martin 1951). Further studies have shown that this iconographic scheme could have emerged in the second half of the 13th century within the so-called ‘Crusader art’, the earliest survived examples being the frescoes of the “Hidden Chapel” belonging to the monastery of Panagia Soumeliotissa in Pontos (Виноградова, Адашинская 2023) and the icon “Dormition of saint Arsenius” in the monastery of Saint Catherine. Both the *Penitential Canon* cycle and the iconography of monastic feats are probably reverberations of miniature cycles in the manuscripts of the Climax proper, quite possibly of Vat. gr. 394 itself. They vary considerably, reflecting different levels of proximity to a hypothetical common source. However, the peculiarity of the miniature in the Augmented Psalter F.I.738 lies in the context in which it is placed, i.e. the illustrated Psalter.

The distinction of the so-called “aristocratic” and “monastic” Psalters, established in the Byzantine art history,⁶ becomes somewhat problematic when applied to the art of Rus’ (Гладышева и др. 2010: 284–285; Гладышева 2017: 166). It is already in the earliest manuscripts such as the Simonov Psalter (SHM. Chlud. 3) that these two Byzantine traditions blended (see Smirnova 2016). In the 16th century, the diversity increased significantly with a vast group of Godunov Psalters of the 1590s representing the ‘marginal’ type and the Egorov Psalter (RSL. F. 98. № 851) or Psalter of Tsarevich Ivan Ivanovich (SHM. Chud. 56), both dating from the 1550–1560s, accounting for the full-page illustrations type.

⁶ The credit of this discovery belongs to Fyodor Buslaev, the last owner of the Psalter F.I.738 (Буслаев 1875). See the historiographical overview in Parpulov 2017: 306–309.

Some of the Russian Psalters of the time can be singled out by means of their attention to the monastic imagery. For instance, one of the Godunov Psalters, namely STG. МК-6 (Гладышева и др. 2010) coming from the Ipatievsky Monastery in Kostroma, features a number of full-page miniatures that the other ones lack. Among them is the image of the two monks on a ladder, climbing towards Christ, with David standing at the foot of the ladder (f. 166v). It is remotely similar to the miniature of late 11th century Psalter Vat. gr. 1927 (f. 218r), a remarkable manuscript replete with images of monastic spirituality (Tomaselli 2019); though in the Byzantine Psalter such an image is parallel to Ps. 118 (Martin 1954: 18–19, 85, fig. 296; Tomaselli 2019: 41–50, 149–157).

In Egorov Psalter № 851, the words “It is good to give thanks to the Lord” (Ps. 92:1) are illustrated with the image of several monks praying to the Holy Trinity (f. 97v). Another comparable example is found in the Psalter of unknown origin RSL. F. 98. № 1684 of the first half 16th century (Титов 2025: 135–136, прим. 51).⁷ Among its full-page miniatures, one (fig. 9) shows two monks ascending to Christ on their firing wings while their brother is approaching the dragon of Hell at the bottom right (f. 3r; Титов 2025). Such compositions are secondary to the images of the Heavenly Ladder and the Last Judgement. Thus, they indicate how the Russian illustrated Psalter accumulated parts of the complex compositions with clear Byzantine roots with the aim of creating a cycle specifically fitting to the needs of the visual exegesis.

When comparing the Augmented Psalter’s miniature with other images of monastic feats in both Russian and Byzantine art, we should not overlook its ties to the Penitential psalms which are, in turn, at the core of the 5th chapter of the *Heavenly Ladder*. While it is not an independent narrative cycle, but an illustration to a psalm, it loses its bewildering incompleteness. Similarly, the image of the monks at the ladder in the Godunov Psalter of the State Tretyakov

⁷ Reproduced on the library’s website, <https://lib-fond.ru/lib-rgb/98/f-98-1684/> (accessed 01.12.24). I would like to thank Aleksandr Preobrazhensky, Alexander Grishchenko and Maria Korogodina for the discussions of the possible origin of the manuscript. Currently I am inclined to believe that it might have been created at the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, possibly in the Supraśl monastery.

gallery is no longer a vision of John Climacus. In a way the composition could be deemed incomplete either. However, it is the programme of the illuminated Psalter that substitutes for the missing elements and recontextualises the images of the monks ascending the ladder or tormenting themselves in the voluntary prison.



Fig. 9. Monks ascending to the Christ, Psalter RSL. F. 98. № 1684, f. 3r, first half of the 16th century © Российская государственная библиотека

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IMAGE OF MONASTIC FEATS IN THE AUGMENTED PSALTER
MANUSCRIPT F.I.738 IN THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF RUSSIA.
ON ITS ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE

Summary

One of the miniatures belonging to the second part of the Augmented Psalter F.I.738 in the National Library of Russia (f. 37v) is distinct from the rest of the cycle both iconographically and in the choice of the subject. This full-page illustration depicts the monks that commit ascetic feats of self-torture. Its literary source, as the inscription clearly attests, is the 5th chapter of the *Heavenly Ladder* of John Climacus dedicated to the painstaking and penitence. Yet, in comparison either with the Byzantine prototypes, namely Climax manuscript Vat. gr. 394, or its later Russian derivatives, the miniature of Psalter appears too succinct, seemingly incomplete. In the article, I briefly touch upon the origins of the iconography of monastic feats and focus on the manuscript context of the miniature, which was previously neglected, i.e. treat it as one of the miniatures of the illustrated Psalter. In relation to this analysis, I compare the Psalter F.I.738 with a few other 16th-century Russian Psalters with monastic imagery. It appears that the cycle of monastic feats in the miniature is complete, although the briefest of all, and serves as a visual counterpart to some of the Penitential Psalms. Besides, the stylistic divergence of the miniature from the others is a result of a posterior alteration.

Keywords: John Climacus; Heavenly Ladder; Penitential Canon; Iconography of the Heavenly Ladder; monastic feats; monastic subjects in art; holy convicts; Old Russian art; illuminated manuscripts; Augmented Psalter; illustrated Psalter.

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