

Series Ceranea
vol. 3

Małgorzata Skowronek

Palaea Historica

The Second Slavic Translation Commentary and Text



Marek
— CERANEUM —

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UNIWERSYTETU
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Łódź 2016

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volume 3

University of Łódź, Waldemar Ceran Research Centre for the History and Culture
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Table of contents

Preface	7
Abbreviations	9
Bibliography	9
 I. Source texts	 13
 II. On the 2nd Slavic translation of the <i>Palaea Historica</i>	 21
The original text and its dating	23
Slavic translations	24
The contents	26
Research perspectives	29
 III. Copies of the PH II. Textological notes	 31
Table of titles of the chapters in the PH II	37
 IV. Edition of the text	 49
Criteria for the edition	49
Principles of the edition	51
 V. PH II. The text.	 59
 Index of citations and references	181
Index of proper names.	185
List of illustrations	189
Illustrations	191

Preface

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

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

Łódź, December 8th, 2015
Saint Clement of Ohrid Day
MS

Abbreviations

PH – Palaea Historica

PGr – Palaea Historica, Greek text

PH I – Palaea Historica, 1st Slavic translation

PH II – Palaea Historica, 2nd Slavic translation

PH III – Palaea Historica, 3rd Slavic translation

Grk. – Greek

OCS – Old Church Slavic

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

I. Source texts

PGr, PH I

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

PH I¹ – Popov 1881, p. 1–172. Main text: codex in the collection of the State Historical Museum [Государственный исторический музей] in Moscow, formerly the collection of the Synodic Library in Moscow № 591, 15th century (dated to 1460–1470), PH on fols. 1r–130r. Lectiones: 1. codex in the collection of the State Historical Museum in Moscow, formerly the collection of the Synodic Library in Moscow № 638, dated to ca. 1460, PH on fols. 215r–319v; 2. codex in the collection of the State Historical Museum in Moscow, formerly the collection of

¹ For a list of the copies of the 1st translation of the PH see: Sumnikova 1969, p. 31–32 (13 Serbian and Russian copies, dated to the 15th century); Reinhart 2007, p. 60 (20 copies). An abridged version of the PH I has survived in the writings of the Eastern Slavs, which last chapter contains the story of Samson; there are at least two copies of this version: 1. Codex of mixed contents from the National Archives of Romania in Bucharest, Cod. ANB 741, 16th century, PH on fols. 72r–156r, title **Гѣа книга бытїа нѣси и земли. и вѣсакон твари, иже сътвори бѣ вѣса дѣла своа испрѣва. слово прѣвое ѿ бытїа**, inc.: **Прѣже вѣсѣ сын и вѣсѣ и за вѣсѣ подоваѣ истинномѣ члѣкѣ что ѣ бѣ. іако шѣ іави са бѣ, ехс.: и иноплеменици разоумѣша, и рѣша дати емѣ женѣ ѿ рода своего. да тратѣ са съ ними.** For literature cf.: Lința, Djamo-Diaconiță, Stoicovici 1981, p. 257–258; Mircea 2005, p. 236; Skowronek 2013b. 2. Codex of mixed contents from the Lviv National Vasyl Stefanyk Scientific Library of Ukraine, Anton Petrushevych Collection, Cod. 138, 16th century, PH on fols. 85r–166v, title **Ги кнїги бытїа нѣси и земли и всакои твари, иже сътвори бѣ вѣса дѣла испрѣва, бѣви ѿче**, inc.: **Прѣже вѣсѣ сын, и вѣсѣ вѣсѣ подоваѣ истинному члѣкѣ вѣдати что есть бѣ. іако шѣ іави бѣ, ехс.: ажѣ потомиѣ жена его емѣ власы востригла. и в то чѣ не был моцны. и асплено емѣ вчи. и бѣ слѣ. цѣлыи рѣ. а пото гды его проважено до его вѣжѣ. іакѣ порѣши вѣжѣ и в тон чѣ ѿвалила са вѣж и вѣсѣ тамѣ побѣла. и з женою его. и самѣ тамо змерѣ.** For literature cf.: Svencyc'kij 1906, p. 208–216; KRK 2007, p. 223–226; Skowronek 2013.

the Synodic Library in Moscow № 548, dated to ca. 1620s.², PH on fols. 1r–62r. All codices represent the Russian edition of the Church Slavic language, however, in the manuscript of Cod. 591, apart from traits of the local Novgorod dialect, one may recognize traces of the Bulgarian protograph³.

PH II⁴

I. Copies of full text

1. Complete:

> **NIM 25.** National Historical Museum [Национален исторически музей] in Sofia, Cod. Slav. 25⁵. Codex of mixed contents, 14th century (ca. 1380–1390), 81 fols., ca. 205 x 135 mm, half-uncial, Rashka orthography. Copy of the PH II is damaged – some folia are missing in different parts of the work, fols. 16r–35v quite damaged (missing the lower right [r] or lower left [v] part of the folio). PH II on fols. 16r–81v; f. 82r/v glued into the binding of the codex. Most headings illegible (faded), the only surviving titles of chapters were written later (i.e. not during the completion of the full codex), with a large, sloppy half-uncial. Title: illegible⁶; inc.: **СѢЗАНЬ БЫ ПРѢ[...]** НИ НОСЕ ВЪБРАЗЬ. АДЪМЬ. **А. ОУБО ШПОВѢДОУЮТЬ ВЪСТОКЪ ПРЪВЫ;** exc.: [...]**НЬ И ЧРЪМНО МОРЕ[...]** Text unpublished⁷.

> **MSPC 141, the so-called *Palaea* from the Velika Remeta Monastery.** Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church [Музеј Српске Православне Цркве] in Belgrade, Cod. 141⁸. Manuscript formerly belonged to the Velika Remeta Monastery; unknown/undefined place of composition and how it got to Velika Remeta. Codex of mixed contents (contains PH, pseudo-canonical texts, the Life of Grigori Omiricki). 15th century (ca. 1420–1430); 270 + 1 fol., 257 x 187 mm, half-uncial, Serbian orthography (Rashka with Resavian influences). Copy mechanically damaged: parts of folia missing, folia incorrectly numbered after having the book bound anew, damages on the external areas of the cards due to poor storage con-

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

³ Popov 1881, p. XXIX–XXXII.

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

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

⁶ In: Velinova, Vutova 2013, p. 86, reconstructed as: **ЗАЧЛА КНИЗЪ СЕН В НЕН ЖЕ О НБЕСИ И ЗЕМЛИ.**

⁷ For literature cf.: Petrova 2009.

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

ditions. Minor marginalia, inter al. on the inside of the front cover: сѣа книга ꙗ҃лема палеа [...] сѣа книга нарицаемаа читающеѣ ползѣ; слава боꙋ само(држѣоꙋ) хрѣтосѣ разѣает се слава ти [...] съ небѣ среши те х на змаї (?) as well as on the inside of the back cover: двѣ тысащѣи и трѣ сотѣ пятьдѣсѣтъ и осѣмь лѣтъ. РН on fols. 59r–110v. Title: Б҃говида мѡѡсеа прѣрка кнѣга, inc.: Сѣзданѣ въ прѣѡѡцѣ рѣскою б҃жїею. крѣтныи нѡ се ѡбразѣ. а҃дамы а҃ збо ѡповѣдѣтъ, ехс.: и разгнѣва се г҃ъ на нѣ, и не да слова. даже до сѣмрѣти ѡвзїи. сего ради тако ѡ радости рѣци пишеть. въ лѣто въ неже змрѣтъ ѡвзїа црѣ, видѣхъ г҃а. After the improper binding of the book, one of its users marked how many folia should one flip to the continuation of the text (on fol. 93v: прѣметни б҃ листа).

> **Nikoljac 83.** Copy in the collection of the National Library of Serbia [Народна библиотека Србије] in Belgrade⁹. Current reference number: 83, former reference number 15¹⁰. Codex of mixed contents (apart from the PH it contains inter al. *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, pseudo-canonical texts, inter al. *The Visions of the Prophet Daniel*, *The Tale of Aphroditian*, *On the Finding of the Venerable and Life-giving Cross* by Alexander the Monk, the sermons of Saint Hippolytus, Maximus the Confessor, short teachings etc.). 15th century (ca. 1425–1435); 2 + 239 fols. (?), half-uncial (part of the marginalia are in cursive) Rashka orthography. PH II on fols. 121v–229r. Title: Б҃говида мѡѡсеа прѣрка кнѣга, inc.: Сѣзданѣ въ прѣѡѡцѣ рѣскою б҃жїею. крѣтныи носѣ ѡбразѣ. а҃дамы прѣѡѡ оꙋбо повѣдоꙋет се, ехс.: и егда оꙋмрѣтъ ѡзына. яви се имъ г҃ъ. Сего ради тако ѡ радости рѣци пишеть лѣто. въ неже оꙋмрѣтъ ѡзына црѣ. видѣхъ г҃а. On the margins, someone added the fragments omitted in the text of the PH II – proof of editing by the copyist or by one of the later users of the codex (f. 150v, f. 151v, f. 158v, f. 161v, f. 162v); probationes pennae (f. 196v, 198v: a few words, 199v), instructions (on f. 228v: зри ѡ прѣниию); on the margins of fols. 186v–187r there is a note in cursive: [...] сию кнѣгꙋ азѣ грѣшныи хрѣтꙋ рабѣ мисаилѣ еромонахѣ ихиндарѣ сꙋщи славяноболгарѣ. The text of the PH II has not been published; used only as a source for readings in the edition of a fragment from the Psalter of Novak¹¹.

> **MSPC 42, the so-called *Palaea* from the Krušedol Monastery.** Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church [Музеј Српске Православне Цркве] in Belgrade, Cod. 42¹². The manuscript is stored in the collection of the Krušedol Monastery

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

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

¹¹ Reinhart 2007.

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

under the reference number 85. Codex of mixed contents (apart from the PH it contains also the *Chronicle* of John Zonaras, teachings from the Church Fathers, inter al. Saint Hippolytus, apocrypha, inter al. *The Visions of the Prophet Daniel*, *The Visions of the Prophet Zechariah*). 15th century (ca. 1420–1430); 318 fols., 283 x 195 mm, half-uncial, Rashka orthography. Different copyists worked on the whole codex. Minor marginalia. Note: + сѣа книга мѣтира крѣшедѡла, храма бл҃говѣщенїа прѣтыа вл҃чцы нашеа бѣци юже азъ пречитѣ, 1742 гѡ[...] въ мѣцѣ мартѣ. илѣа стойковѣ сѣеннї въ шанцѣ петроварадинскѣ (f. 125v). PH on fols. 56r–112v. Title: Б҃говїца мѡсеа прѣрка книга, іпс.: сьзданъ бѣ прѣкѡць роукою бж҃їєю крѣтниное вебѣа адамъ прѣви оубо воповѣдѣе, ехс.: е҃га змѣре нѡзна гави се емѡ г҃ь. сего ради ѡ радости реци пишетъ. лѣто въ нѣже змѣреть нѡзна цр҃ь видѣ г҃а. The text has been published in fragments. Several passages from the copy MSPC 42 were published by Matvey Speranskiy¹³, who stressed the fact that he did not have the complete text in his disposal. The selected fragments are compared with excerpts from PH I (from 17th-century copies: from the damaged manuscript in the Collection of the Serbian Learned Society, later the Serbian Academy for Sciences and Arts, Cod. 24, and the surviving in minor fragments manuscript in the collection of the National Library of Serbia in Belgrade, Cod. 317, destroyed in a bombing during the Second World War). Zorica Vitić in a study on the motive of Abraham's hospitality in Serbian writings published the chapter *On the Holy Trinity*¹⁴.

> Savina 24, the so-called *Palaea* from the codex from the Savina Monastery.

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

II. Copies of parts of the text

1. Selection of 22 chapters:

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

¹³ Speranskiy 1892, *passim*; Speranskiy 1960, *passim*.

¹⁴ Vitić 1992, p. 93–98.

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

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

writings etc.). 15th century (ca. 1459). 223 fols., 190 x 300 mm, half-uncial, Middle Bulgarian/Moldavian orthography. Minor marginalia, including a note on the inside of the back cover: *ѿа книга написана въ лѣто 703ъзъ ѿ:.* РН II on fols. 184r–207v. Title of the first chapter of the РН II: *О МЕЛХИСЕДЕЦѢ; inc.: СѢИ МЕЛХИСЕДЕКЪ, ГЛѢТ СѦ БЕЗЪ МѢРѢ. БЕЗЪ ѠЦА И БЕЗЪ РОДА. ПОБЕНЬ СНОУ ВЫШНѢГО БА; exc: АВРААМЪ ЖЕ ПРИЕМЪ ИЗВѢЩЕНІЕ, О ПОКААНІИ ЛОТОВѢ. И О ИЗМѢНЕНІИ ЗАПАЛЕНІА БЛАГОДАРИВЪ БА. ВЪ ВРѢМѦ ЖЕ ОНО, РОДИ САРРА ЖЕНА ЕГО ОТРОЧА МЛЖЖСКИИ ПОЛЪ. И НАРѢ ИМА ЕМОУ ИСААКЪ. И ВЕРѢЗА ЕГО АВРААМЪ. И ВБРАДОВА СѦ АВРААМЪ. И ВЕ ДѦ ЕГО О РОЖЕНІИ ИСААКОВѢ.* The text of the РН II has been contaminated by short narratives on *Old Testament* themes, but of non-biblical origin¹⁷; published and provided with readings from the copy BAR slav. 358¹⁸.

> **Rum. 42.** Russian State Library in Moscow, Cod. Ф 256, the Rumyantsev Collection [Российская государственная библиотека, Румянцевское собр.], Cod. 42¹⁹. Codex of mixed contents. 15th century. 314 fols. (?), half-uncial, Middle Bulgarian orthography. Damaged copy: one folio missing, missing ending of the РН II (*On the Holy Trinity*). РН II on fols. 290r–314v. Title of the first chapter of the РН II: *Ѡ МЕЛХИСЕДЕЦѢ (!); inc.: ОУ МЕЛХИСЕДЕКЪ, ГЛѢТ СѦ БЕЗЪ МѢРѢ. БЕЗЪ ѠЦА И БЕЗЪ РОДА. ПОБЕНЬ СНОУ ВЫШНѢГО БА; exc: АВРААМЪ ЖЕ ПРИЕМЪ ИЗВѢЩЕНІЕ, О ПОКААНІИ ЛОТОВѢ. И О ИЗМѢНЕНІИ ЗАПАЛЕНІА БЛАГОДАРИВЪ БА. ВЪ ВРѢМѦ.*

2. Fragments – 5 chapters:

> **Vindob. slav. 158; fragment from the PH in the Psalter of Novak.** Austrian National Library [Österreichische Nationalbibliothek] in Vienna, Cod. Vindob. slav. 158²⁰. 14th century (dated to 1385); 204 fols., 220 x 150 mm, half-uncial, Rashka orthography. 5 chapters of the PH on fols. 193r–202r. Titles²¹: [1] *ПОВѢСТНОЕ ПИС(А)НІЕ Ѡ Д(А)В(Ы)ДѢ ПРО(О)РОЦѢ И Ц(Ѣ)САРИИ Ѡ САОУЛѢ, inc.: СЫИ САОУЛЪ НИЩЕ БѢШЕ. Ѡ(ТЪ) ЦА ИМѢ РЕКОМАГО КІСА, exc. АРХІЕРЕИ ЖЕ ЯВІАДОУШЕ ѠТІДЕ СЪ Д(А)В(Ы)ДѢМ(Ъ). ОНѢ ЖЕ МОУЧАШЕ ЛЮД(И) ВСЕ Д(Ъ)НИ ЖІВОТА СВОЕГО. ДАЖЕ И ДО СМРѢТИ СВОЕ. И ШѢД(Ъ) НА БРАНЬ, ОБИЕНЬ БЫС(ТЪ). МОУЖЕ ЕЛИКЫ ПРИВЕДЕ Д(А)В(Ы)ДОУ, ѠС(ТА)ВІХѢМ(Ъ) ЗА ОБИЖЕНІА ПИС(А)НІИ; [2] Ѡ ЖЕНѢ СРІЕВѢ, inc.: ПРОБЕТѢ ЖЕ Д(А)В(Ы)ДЪ Ц(Ѣ)САРЕ(Т)ВО. И БѢШЕ ВЪ ПОЛАТѢ СВОЕИ, exc.: СЕ ПИС(А)НІЕ МОУДРЫИ НѢКТО ПОМІНАЕ Ѡ ТВОРЦѢ ВЪ ЕДИНОМ(Ъ) Ѡ ПРАВИЛЪ ПИШЕ РЕЧ(Е) СИЦЕ. Д(А)В(Ы)ДОУ НѢКОГДА ТВОЕМОУ ПРО(О)РО(О)КУ ТАК(О)ЖЕ ОБСТАВИ*

¹⁷ See table of titles.

¹⁸ Skowronek 2014a.

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

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

²¹ Cited from: Reinhart 2007, p. 66, 69, 73.

агг(ε)ла. люд(и) гоуѣща м'чємь. мїрь подаль єс(и). The text of the PH has been published²²; contains the last chapters of the work: the stories of David and Saul, the wife of Uriah, the scheme and death of Absalom as well as the story about the population census (hence, it lacks the last chapter about king Uzziah, characteristic for the PH II). The text of the PH from Vindob. slav. 158 has been provided with readings from the manuscript Nikoljac 83; these register the „more significant” differences of textological character as well as of other sorts (grammatical, phonetic, morphological)²³.

3. Fragments – 3 chapters:

> **BAR slav. 358.** Romanian Academy Library [Biblioteca Academiei Române] in Bucharest, Cod. slav. 358²⁴. Codex of mixed contents: contains fragments of the PH compiled with other pseudo-canonical texts, excerpts from the panegyric, the life of Alexis the Man of God, the life of Mark the Athenian, the teachings of Athanasius of Alexandria and John Chrysostom, Saint Hippolytus the Pope (?), *On the End of the World*, fragments of the *Old Testament*, etc. Second half of the 16th century. Composed in “Romanian lands”²⁵; 179 fols., half-uncial, 210 x 160 mm. Fragments of the PH II on fols. 21v–24v. Titles: [1] О оуѣдєніи змыннѡмѣ, inc.: Вѣзвыгыше же снѡве илѣевы, ѿ горы синаискыѡ. пондоша дондеже (!) dospaшa въ поустини кадскѡ, exc.: заѣже видѣти немощь своѡ и оумръщєленныє ꙗко смѣашє глаголю. гдє смръѣти желѡ гдє адє побѣда. [2] ѡ сѣбны свѣн'а, inc.: По сем же рѣ гѣ мѡѡсєѡ, сътвори ми сѣнь, по пѡнѣномѡ. И повелѣнїемъ бжїемъ възвыгнѡша сѡ вєлаци, exc.: въсѣк же хотѣн въннѣти въ сѣнь. да измывають сѡ водою чистою, прѣ скѣннїю. и тако да вѣхѡдѣти въ скѣннїю. [3] ѡ сѣѡн и сценичскѡн (!) ѡдежи, inc.: По сѣ да сътвориши ми ѡдежѡу сѣѡу, exc.: исписа и бытїе. иже ѿ бѡ сътворєнныѡ въсѣмъ и ѡ избавленныѡ грѣхѡ. и ѡцѣпенїе члѣкѣ съгрѣшащїихъ. Text used for its readings in the edition of SB III22²⁶.

Whole text or fragment – volume undefined:

> **М. II–2.** National Archives of the Republic of Macedonia [Државен архив на Република Македонија] in Skopje, Cod. М. II–2²⁷. Codex of mixed contents (apart from the fragments of the PH II it contains also *The Life of the Holy Mother*

²² Reinhart 2007.

²³ See Reinhart 2007, p. 66–74.

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

²⁵ „Scriș în Țara Românească”, cited from: Panaitescu 2003, p. 142.

²⁶ Сковронэк 2014.

²⁷ For literature cf.: Mošin 1971, p. 333–335; Miltenova 2009, p. 377–378; Miltenova 2012.

of God by Epiphanius, *The Tale of Aphroditian*, *The Sermons of Saint Hippolytus on the 72 Apostles*, works with themes from the *Old Testament* and *New Testament*, teachings). The third quarter of the 14th century. 64 fols., 210 x 140 mm, half-uncial²⁸, Rashka orthography. Codex survives in fragments with parts missing due to poor storage conditions (humidity, mold); the end is lost. Fragments of PH II on fols. 30r–34v (?), 53r–64v²⁹: [1 – the story of Adam’s sons and Lot’s sin] inc.:...воу чашоу гор’коу смърти <...> роди же адамы въ мѣсто ю(г) <...> и наре(ч) иже юмоу ситъ; [2] **Ѡ** изгнани агары, inc.: Бывшоу же исаакоу седьминъ лѣтомъ. бѣше играю съ исъмаилемъ. братомъ своимъ. иже ѿ агары; [3] **Ѡ** исаковѣ смърти (! – MS), inc.: Исаакоу же бывшоу осьмъ на десетѣ лѣтъ. бѣ искоушааше авраама. и р(ч)е аврааме аврааме; [4 – the story of King David] exc.: р(ч)е же къ дроугомо<...> члвкоу именовъ акъхита. иже <...>четъ прѣписовати. и авиу <при>де аггль гн глѣ дѣдоу. разъ<...> бѣ. и прогнѣва се на те глѣ. <...>кати се глѣ. и что ю(с) съврѣ<...> яко прогнѣва се <...> поне<...>. The M.II–2 copy preserves two titles of chapters from the PH (albeit ‘added later with a writing from the 17th century and 18th century’³⁰), however the transmitted contents comes from ca. five chapters; apart from the chapters retaining their titles: *On the Expulsion of Hagar* and *On the Death of Isaac* (instead of *On the Sacrifice of Isaac*) as well as *On the Census* (which beginning is missing due to the loss of folia), it seems that what A. Miltenova regards as ‘the story of Adam’s sons and Lot’s sins’ are the chapters entitled *On Abel* and *On the Holy Trinity*. The hypothetical original volume of the book, estimated to have been much thicker than it is today³¹ (considering also the lack of the original numbering of the sheets) may have included, between the last chapter from the Abraham cycle and the story of King David – more, if not all chapters from the PH II. The text has not been published, except for passages³². *Non vidi*.

PH III

> **Shchukin 505**. Collection of the State Historical Museum in Moscow, the P.I. Shchukin Collection [Государственный Исторический Музей, Щукинское собр.], № 505³³. *Non vidi*.

²⁸ According to Mošin: uncial (Mošin 1971, p. 333).

²⁹ After: Miltenova 2012.

³⁰ Miltenova 2012.

³¹ Miltenova 2012, p. 220.

³² Miltenova 2012.

³³ Following: Speranskiy 1960, p. 112ff.; Reinhart 2007, p. 60.

Other source texts:

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

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

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

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

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

II. On the 2nd Slavic translation of the *Palaea Historica*

The so-called Byzantine¹ PH is a text that functioned in the literature and culture of the Byzantine-Slavic commonwealth. It was composed in Byzantium at the end of the 9th century and became popularized in its Slavic translations from ca. 10th–11th century until at least the 17th century (the earliest surviving copies come from this period of time) throughout those lands inhabited by the southern Slavs, e.g. Bulgaria and Serbia, as well as the eastern Slavs, but also on lands inhabited by non-Slavic peoples, which used Old Church Slavic in liturgy and literature, e.g. Moldavia, Wallachia. We know of pre-modern translations of the text, e.g. the Romanian version dated to the 17th century², but also of those variants based only on a selection of the literary work as well as of those applying a distinct segmentation of the text differing from the original (i.e. Byzantine).

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

¹ Turdeanu 1964, p. 195.

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

³ See Slavova 2002, p. 38.

⁴ See Dobrjanskiy 1882, p. 144.

the Bible (especially the *Old Testament*)⁵, the Octoteuch (with the *Kings* and the *Chronicles* or even without, especially in the Rus)⁶, at times the Pentateuch, the commentaries to the books of the *Old Testament*, various compilations of the *Old Testament* stories (these are known later as the *Palaea Interpretata*)⁷. Hence, it is paramount to add the designation ‘historical’ to the *Palaea*, which is the object of this edition, in order to differentiate it from its other later versions composed throughout Slavic lands: the *Palaea Interpretata*⁸, which includes elements of disputes with the worshippers of Jahwe; and the *Palaea Chronographica*, containing elements from chronicles (of chronographers), which lay emphasis on the exact time and duration of events referring to the history, literature and culture of the Eastern Slavs⁹. However, we must keep in mind the fact that this epithet does not appear in the title of any of the thirty surviving copies, although we may find the word ‘*палеа*’ added later in the manuscripts.

The PH, which Slavic copies have survived in a larger number than the Greek ones, has been recognized to be a popular *Old Testament* story, a generally ‘popularized’, but not ‘pauperized’ version of the Bible¹⁰. Yet, it is also considered to be a ‘relic of legendary-apocryphal literature’, due to which its basic component and function has been slightly degraded¹¹. Indeed, the idea that the summaries of a well-known book as the *Old Testament* may not be worth of any greater interest in order to get to know them better has resulted in opinions about the text which are over categorizing, at times too superficial and even, as it sometimes happens, contradicting. To facilitate the reading of such a large text, it has been divided into chapters, which, in the Greek copies appear in the number of sixty¹².

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

⁶ Vodolazkin 2007; cf. Miltenova 2003, p. 345.

⁷ Cf. Dobrjanskiy 1882, p. 150.

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

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

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

¹¹ Derzhavina 1968.

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