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**THE TRANSMISSION OF THE OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC VERSION
OF THE HOMILIES OF GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS
AND THE PROBLEM OF ITS GLAGOLITIC SUBSTRATUM**

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Keywords: Old Church Slavonic; Glagolitic and Old Cyrillic Alphabets; Manuscripts; Paleography; Textual Criticism; Historical Linguistics.

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Abstract: The present paper deals with the problem of the alleged Glagolitic substratum of the Old Church Slavonic version of the Homilies (λόγοι) of Gregory of Nazianzus (ca. 329–390), undertaken in Bulgaria between the late 9th and the early 10th century. This article aims to offer a contribution to this issue in a multidisciplinary perspective. From a methodological point of view, an attempt is made to tackle it not only by studying the material and graphic aspects of the manuscripts witnesses, but also by considering the results of their text-critical and linguistic analysis. Accordingly, a number of previously unstudied paleographical, codicological, orthographical, phonetical, textual and lexical features are subjected to examination. On the one hand, the author investigates the Glagolitic letters found in the oldest Cyrillic witness of this translation, some of which were only recently discovered; on the other, he explores several scribal mistakes, lexical archaisms and *hapax legomena*. Moreover, a few very special readings, featuring the reflex / šč / for Protoslavonic **tj* are investigated for the first time. All the collected evidence points to how two Homilies of this corpus in all likelihood originally circulated in Glagolitic and how their Cyrillic transliteration was in all probability carried out soon afterwards in the Balkan area.

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An important understudied aspect in the history of the transmission of Old Church Slavonic texts consists in the problem of reconstructing the putative Glagolitic substratum of original and translated works dating from the Cyrillo-Methodian (ca. 863–885 C.E.) and the early Old Bulgarian period (reign of Tsar Symeon, ca. 893–927 C.E.), which have come down to us in East and South Slavic Cyrillic testimonies. This is a central question in Slavic Philology, which has recently attracted scholarly attention, but is far from being definitively solved.

1. Nowadays we are unsure how many works from the vast literary repertoire of *Slavia Christiana* were originally composed in the Glagolitic alphabet. This circumstance makes it very difficult to evaluate and measure the impact that the

creation of this alphabet had not only on literacy in the Balkans and in South-Eastern Europe, but also on that of Old Rus'. The task is relatively simple when investigating the Tetraevangelium and some liturgical books such as the New Testament Lectionary or the Psalter, which are extant in the earliest Glagolitic sources and form part of the repertoire known as the Paleoslavic canon¹. The problem becomes however particularly complex when works of non-liturgical content are taken into consideration, for which not only Glagolitic sources are almost always lacking, but also bearing in mind that witnesses dating back to before the 14th -15th century represent an absolute rarity. Moreover, an assessment of the original paleographic-linguistic features of texts created during the Old Bulgarian period, especially in the eastern regions of Bulgaria (Preslav School), is generally possible only indirectly, i.e., through the study of East Slavic written monuments. Some traces of continuity in the textual transmission are in fact detectable in the Western Bulgarian tradition (dating back to the Ohrid school), given the availability of witnesses of Middle Bulgarian origin (this applies as a rule to liturgical texts such as the Apostol, the Prophetologium and the Triodium).

Against this background an evaluation of the phenomenon is basically possible by adopting two different approaches. On the one hand, evidence of a Glagolitic substratum is searched by detecting transliteration errors from Glagolitic to Cyrillic; on the other, by studying the occurrence of Glagolitic inscriptions in Cyrillic codices. Both procedures are not devoid of difficulties and collected data may have no probative value when taken individually and not as a whole. As far as the first approach is concerned, a valid argument in support of the existence of a Glagolitic substratum is usually represented by errors which derive from the conflicting rendering of numerals (because of the different numerical value of the Glagolitic and Cyrillic letters); on the contrary, an assessment of secondary readings allegedly resulting from the confusion of similar Glagolitic letters (e.g., of consonants) generally requires greater caution, because at least in some instances one cannot categorically exclude that such scribal mistakes developed over time within the Cyrillic tradition. As a matter of principle, a number of paleographic, linguistic and textual conditions should be met in order to provide probative evidence of a previous Glagolitic substratum².

In the case of digraphia, the problem consists in demonstrating that the use of Glagolitic letters in a Cyrillic manuscript is to be understood as a genuine fragment of a preexistent paleographic layer and not merely as a decorative element, intentionally added by copyists at a later stage of the textual transmission. Glagolitic graphic elements in Cyrillic testimonies are to be found both in the South and in the East Slavic tradition starting as far back as from the 11th century³. A conspicuous number of them were copied in East Slavic scriptoria between the 15th and 16th centuries, a period in which Russia experienced an impressive recovery of texts of *Slavia Christiana*⁴. It is far from being clear why single Glagolitic letters or words were left un-transliterated, especially when they appear not to have been used for ornamental purposes (namely as historiated initials)⁵. Moreover, an extremely challenging problem consists in establishing whether transliterations were undertaken within the

Balkan milieu only or whether Glagolitic testimonies also circulated in Old Rus'. The existence of East Slavic filiations of Glagolitic texts that are independent of lost South Slavic Cyrillic archetypes has yet to be established on a solid text-critical basis⁶. As a consequence, many questions have been left unanswered and nothing is to be taken for granted. Every single case demands thorough investigation.

2. This article aims to offer a contribution to this problem in a multidisciplinary perspective. From a methodological point of view, an attempt is made to tackle this issue not simply by considering the paleographic evidence provided by the manuscripts witnesses, but also the results of their text-critical and linguistic analysis. The focus is on the Old Slavonic corpus of the Homilies (λόγοι) of Gregory of Nazianzus (ca. 329–390), one of the most important ecclesiastical writers and authoritative representatives of 4th-century-Greek Patristics. A vast body of evidence has come down to us consisting of more than 150 East Slavic and South Slavic Cyrillic witnesses dating from the 11th up to the 18th century, which include two traditions, one being of Old Bulgarian (= *Slav.1*), the other of Middle Bulgarian origin (= *Slav.2*). Between the end of the 9th and the first half of the 10th century, a total of 21 Homilies were rendered into Old Church Slavonic by at least two anonymous Bulgarian translators. Nearly two-thirds are transmitted in Eastern Slavic codices⁷, while the remaining textual evidence is supplemented by South Slavic sources (Middle Bulgarian⁸ and Serbian⁹).

The occurrence of a few Glagolitic letters in the oldest Cyrillic witness of this tradition, the late-11th century-Old East Slavic manuscript P (RNB, Q.п.I.16), offers the main clue to a preexisting paleographic substratum. Sreznevskiy was apparently the first scholar to inform the academic community in 1856 of the presence of Glagolitic letters in P (Срезневский / Sreznevskiy 1856:47)¹⁰. A few years later, Budilovich reported on the occurrence of the graphemes ꙗ, ꙗ, and ꙗ in P (Будилович / Budilovich 1871: 6), which he then reproduced in his diplomatic edition of the codex (Будилович / Budilovich 1875: IV, 27, 134, 149). A more recent investigation has however shown that this manuscript features two other letters, namely ꙗ and ꙗ, the latter being used as a variant form of the Cyrillic nasal grapheme Ѧ (Бруни / Bruni 2004:35; Бруни / Bruni 2010:120, n. 10; 165)¹¹. Moreover, a comprehensive analysis of the manuscript corpus enables us to conclude that out of a total of 21 Homilies translated during the Old Bulgarian period, only two show paleographic features that may be interpreted as surviving traces of an underlying Glagolitic layer. These are *Oratio 2* (whose original title sounds as *Ἀπολογητικὸς τῆς εἰς τὸν Πόντον φυγῆς ἔνεκεν* or as *Περὶ ἱεροσύνης*¹²) and *Oratio 43* (in Greek: *Ἐπιτάφιος εἰς τὸν μέγαν Βασίλειον*)¹³.

In both cases only P contains Glagolitic letters, as summarized in Table 1. Accordingly, the remaining South Slavic and East Slavic Cyrillic testimonies, preserving the Old Church Slavonic translation of *Oratio 2* and *Oratio 43*, do not include any Glagolitic grapheme. The same applies to the rest of the Old Bulgarian translations (*Slav.1*) of the Homilies¹⁴.

POSSIBLE TRANSLITERATION ERRORS IN Or. 43					
	Chapter	Folio number in P	Original reading or reconstructed* reading	Secondary reading	Supposed error
1	XXVII	47v	«ПОЖИДЕТЬ» N (L)	«ПОЖИВЕТЬ» P	[*ѡ > *ѡѣ]
2	II	21	«ТЪЛОМЪ» N (L)	«ДЪЛОМЪ» P	[*сѡ > *ѡѣ]
3	IX	27v	«ТЪВЛЕСЪ» N (L)	«ДЪВЛЕСЪ» P	[*сѡ > *ѡѣ]
4	XLIX	65	«ПРЪТИ» N (L <i>lacuna</i>)	«ПРЪДИ» P	[*сѡ > *ѡѣ]
5	LVII	71v	ЛЮТИИ*	«ЛЮДИИ» PN: w <i>lacuna</i>	[*сѡ > *ѡѣ]
6	LXXII	88v	«ХѠДАЦИИХЪ» L	«ХѠТАЦИИХЪ» PN	[*ѡѣ > *сѡ]

Table 2.

Typologically similar mistakes can be found in the Cyrillic section of the Apostle of Ohrid (RGB, F. 87, № 13, 12th century), one of the most famous Middle-Bulgarian digraphic manuscripts¹⁹. This analogy would seem to provide confirmation that these errors represent a reliable marker of a Glagolitic substrate. However, bearing in mind the extension of *Oratio* 43, which is one of Gregory's longest Homilies, one cannot fail to recognize that the number of secondary readings, which can be interpreted as the result of a transliteration error, is extremely low. Furthermore, one may not entirely exclude that the above listed mistakes may have generated independently of a supposed transliteration from one writing system to another and may have specifically arisen in the Cyrillic transmission.

As Kul'bakin noted with regard to the Apostle of Ohrid (Кульбакин / Kul'bakin 1907: CXXV), at least in a number of cases, the corruption of the text may well derive from an auditory error. This implies that the scribe replaced some letters (or some combinations of letters) with similar ones, thereby altering the meaning of the text. As is generally accepted, in the copy process the scribes' auditory had a greater importance than his visual memory and this had a significant impact on the Medieval textual transmission. Thus, similar mistakes, taken individually, can easily be explained without assuming a transliteration process²⁰.

Moreover, on the one hand, typologically analogous errors can be traced in Homilies, for which no Glagolitic letters are to be found neither in P, nor elsewhere (Table 3); on the other hand, comparable instances of confusion of consonants have not been found in the manuscript tradition of *Oratio* 2 (Бруни / Bruni 2022: 328), although this translation, as we have seen, displays the use of Glagolitic graphemes.

POSSIBLE TRANSLITERATION ERRORS IN Or. 41 AND Or. 45				
<i>Homily</i>	<i>Chapter</i>	<i>Original reading or reconstructed* reading</i>	<i>Secondary reading</i>	<i>Supposed error</i>
Or. 41	III	«ΔΥΛΕΣΑ» KOPQRSV	«ΤΕΛΕΣΑ» JLMUYZ	[*δ > *σ]
Or. 45	XVI	«ΠΟΤΥΖΜΔΒΑΙΟΨΙΟ» PUZ	«ΠΟΔΥΖΜΔΒΑΙΟΨΙΟ» MYP	[*σ > *δ]
Or. 45	XIX	«ΚΟΛ΄ΒΕΛΙΟΤΥ» P : «ΠΟΚΟΛ΄ΒΕΛΙΟΤΥ» JLMVUYZ	ΠΟΚΟΛ΄ΒΕΛΙΟΔΥ Κ	[*σ > *δ]

Table 3.

In other words, the above listed secondary readings do not provide irrefutable proof that the surviving Glagolitic letters in P undoubtedly surfaced from a pre-existing textual layer. Moreover, *Oratio* 43 and *Oratio* 2 offer contrasting evidence, since in the latter scribal mistakes in no way appear to be related to the transliteration's failures. In absence of further independent verification, one could still object that the Glagolitic letters in P represent decorative elements added at a later stage of the textual transmission. Logically, additional evidence is once again required.

4. At this point some codicological and paleographical remarks can be put forward to counter the possible objection that the Glagolitic letters in P have a solely ornamental purpose. Firstly, a look at *Oratio* 43 shows that the inserted Glagolitic graphemes are not equally distributed in the various parts of the translation, which extends over 77 parchment folios, but are concentrated in a very small portion of space corresponding to fol. 35r/v (Table 4). This may suggest that this section of the text, for unknown reasons, was not subjected to a complete transliteration, as a result of which a preexisting Glagolitic substratum apparently surfaces. Secondly, the scribe places a marginal note regarding the Cyrillic transliteration of the letter ϣ (Table 4: * ϣϣ), which can be explained as follows: while copying his antigraph he evidently came across this Glagolitic letter, which he reproduced somewhat imperfectly. Had his intention to be purely decorative, he would not have felt the need to add an explanatory note. On the contrary, the graphic rendering of ϣ is appropriate and in this instance no transcription is provided by the copyist.

As to the positioning of both letters, they are found at the beginning of the paragraph after the punctuation. Such a placement of Glagolitic letters in Cyrillic manuscripts is typical of texts, whose Glagolitic origin is not in question. In this regard one should take into consideration the Glagolitic initials in the Eugenius Psalter (RNB, Pogod. 6, 11th century, folios 6, 18, 20). In contrast, Glagolitic letters in *Oratio* 2 are to be found at the end or in the middle of a word (Table 5).

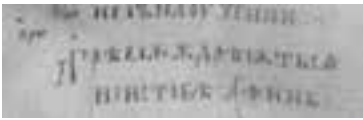
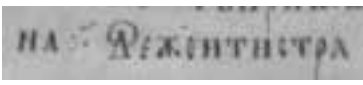
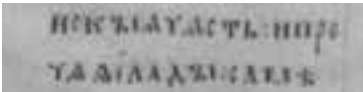
GLAGOLITIC LETTERS IN MANUSCRIPT P			
<i>Homily</i>	<i>Letter</i>	<i>Chapter and folio</i>	<i>Shape and position</i>
Or. 43	Ѡ	Chapt. XV; f. 35	
	Ѣ	Chapt. XV; f. 35v	
	Ѥ	Chapt. XV	

Table 4.

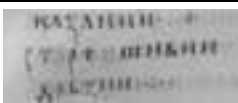
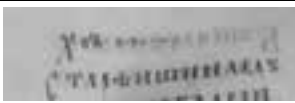
GLAGOLITIC LETTERS IN MANUSCRIPT P			
<i>Homily</i>	<i>Letter</i>	<i>Chapter and folio</i>	<i>Shape and position</i>
Or. 2	Ѧ	Chapt. XXVIII; f. 180	
	ѧ	Chapt. LVIII; f. 200	

Table 5.

As to Ѥ, its relevance to the current discussion consists in the fact that its occurrence in *Oratio* 43, albeit with an improper phonetic use, points to a possible link with a very old orthographical tradition of South Slavic origin. As already noted, this grapheme was previously known to exist only in two Old Church Slavonic Cyrillic monuments, belonging to the Palaeoslavonic canon, namely the *Sava's book* and the *Zograph Folia*²¹. This important finding, on the one hand, calls for a review of Karskiy's opinion, according to which Ѥ is unknown to East Slavic Cyrillic witnesses (Карский / Karskiy 1928: 208); while, on the other, it implies that P was copied from a Cyrillic model featuring a number of apparently contradictory paleographic characteristics, which included digraphia as well as traces of an archaic Old Bulgarian Cyrillic orthographical layer. Assuming such an intermediate stage of the textual transmission not only would better explain some conflicting aspects in P but would also fit well with a possible preexistent Glagolitic substratum.

5. The lexical features of *Oratio* 43 and *Oratio* 2 are perfectly in line with the hypothesis of an early origin of the textual transmission. Both translations teem with archaisms, some of which are *hapax legomena** (Table 6).

LEXICAL ARCHAISMS IN Or. 2 AND Or. 43				
<i>Homily</i>	<i>Chapter</i>	<i>Original reading</i>	<i>Secondary reading</i>	<i>Hapax</i>
Or. 2	LIV	«несъдравие» PKLX	-	-
Or. 2	LIV	«малъженство»* PKLX	-	+
Or. 2	LIV	«хладѣба»* PKLX	-	+
Or. 2	LIV	«тапанне»* P	«оутопаниа» KLX	+
Or. 2	LV	«тъкъръ» P	«зеркало» KLX	-
Or. 2	LV	«братръ» P	«братъ» KLX	-
Or. 43	XXX	«тъзь» PLN ²²	-	-
Or. 43	XXXIV- LXXIII	«олътаръ» PLN ²³	-	-
Or. 43	XXXIV	«милосръдине» PN ²⁴	«милосердьство» L	-
Or. 43	LXII	«малъженънии»* PLN ²⁵	-	+

Table 6.

Among these words, the adjective *МАЛЪЖЕНЪНИИ* and the noun *МАЛЪЖЕНСТВО* deserve special attention as they are undoubtedly linked to the form *МАЛЪЖЕНА*, which is considered to be of Moravian origin²⁶. Likewise, *тъзь* is also supposed to be a phonetic “moravism”²⁷, although it is well attested in the Preslav literary school (Славова / Slavova 2022: 691). The large number of archaisms and rare words²⁸ substantiates the early origin of the translation of both homilies, which can approximately be dated to between the late 9th and early 10th centuries.

Therefore, according to this additional parameter, nothing contradicts the hypothesis of a Glagolitic origin. However, the body of evidence so far gathered still remains insufficient. A hitherto understudied aspect of the language of P here proves itself to be an extremely useful tool to strengthen the hypothesis of a preexisting paleographical layer.

6. A valid clue in favor of an Old Bulgarian Cyrillic substratum, and possibly also of an even earlier Glagolitic original, is to be obtained by taking a close look at a

phonetic issue that still awaits proper research. In P the *Oratio* 43 contains a number of very special readings, featuring the reflex / šč / for Protoslavlic *tj (Table 7).

REFLEX / šč / for *tj IN Or. 43			
<i>Homily</i>	<i>Chapter</i>	<i>Original reading</i>	<i>Secondary reading</i>
Or. 43	XLVI	ѡЪДОЛѢВЛАѢШЧЕ P ²⁹	ѡЪДОЛѢВЛАѢЩЕ N
Or. 43	XLVI	ѡСКВРЪНАѢШЧЕ P ³⁰	ѡСКВРЪНѢАТЪ N
Or. 43	L	ѡТЪВѢШЧА P ³¹	om. N
Or. 43	LVII	ИМѢШЧЕ P ³²	ИМЩЕ N
Or. 43	LXIII	ВЪ ШЧѢЖДАХЪ P ³³	ВЪ ЦѢЖДАХЪ N

Table 7.

Despite previously expressed opinions, this phenomenon is unlikely to represent a “Russian” phonetic rendering (Будилович / Budilovich 1871: 13) or a later transcription influenced by the pronunciation of ѡ by East Slavic scribes (Дурново / Durnovo 2000: 104, 169)³⁴. More probably, it is an archaism of Old Bulgarian origin which was found in P’s Old Cyrillic South Slavic model. The reflex / šč / for *tj appears to be linked to the earliest Cyrillo-Methodian orthoepic norm (Гълъбов / Galabov 1986: 198)³⁵ and can be read in Naum’s acrostic dating from the late 9th century (НИШУНИ ИДОУМЪ)³⁶.

Supposedly, this was the phonetic value of the Glagolitic letter ѡ (Добрев / Dobrev 1969: 246; Велчева / Velcheva 1988: 33-34) that in some of the earliest testimonies of the Paleoslavlic Canon such as the Assemanianus (*Vat.Slav.* 3) was used together with the ligature ѡѡ³⁷. Evidence of the combined use of ѡ and ѡѡ in the Old Church Slavonic Cyrillic tradition is provided by the Apostle of Enina (NBKM 1144), in which the former occurs six times instead of the latter (see, e.g., fol. 11v: ѡѡуждеѡ)³⁸. In this regard P also shows a great variety of orthographic forms, since besides ѡ, ѡѡ, and, in one instance, even жд (fol. 241v: ждѡждѡмѡ), it displays the use of the ligature ѡѡ. Of course, it is not possible to prove that ѡѡ in P derives from ѡ, and, hence, that the latter was hypothetically to be found in its putative lost South Slavic model. However, the observed great orthographic variety suggests that in this case P far from reflecting the Old East Slavic pronunciation more probably points to a previous phase of the Cyrillic transmission, in which very diverse South Slavic orthographic traditions converged.

As noted for many Glagolitic manuscripts and digraphic Cyrillic codices, such as the Apostle of Enina, a unified standard norm in the earliest stages of the textual circulation was still lacking; therefore, different reflexes for *tj may have well coexisted in the Old Bulgarian written tradition because of the various dialectal influences³⁹. This is a period in the textual transmission characterized by great paleographic and linguistic

variety. In this context, the contradictory and occasional inconsistent features of the 11th-century Old East Slavic manuscript P, in which graphic, lexical, textual, and phonetic archaisms coexist with innovations, can be understood as traces of an earlier Old Bulgarian Cyrillic stage of the textual transmission which possibly, at least in part, had a Glagolitic substratum⁴⁰.

7. In the light of the evidence collected so far, it is therefore possible to state that the use of Ɱ, Ꙗ, љ, њ and Ɑ in *Oratio* 2 and *Oratio* 43 does not disclose an ornamental purpose, but most likely represents a marker of an older Glagolitic substratum. This conclusion in no way implies that a transliteration was made in 11th-century-Rus', nor that the archetype of the extant manuscripts was Glagolitic. Conversely, the text-critical study has already shown that the surviving tradition goes back to a Cyrillic archetype (Бруни / Bruni 2022: 328).

This points to the fact that at the very beginning of their textual transmission, which most likely occurred outside the homiletic collections which we are familiar with today, both *Oratio* 2 and *Oratio* 43 almost certainly had an initial brief circulation in Glagolitic (perhaps also in the form of translators' rough drafts or first fair copies). It was not long however before they were being transcribed into Old Cyrillic and were spread throughout Bulgarian Scriptoria. At the very beginning of the transmission the orthographic norm was evidently not strictly codified, and a great variety of graphemes were still in use. This would explain the orthographic mix that we observe in the East Slavic copies of the 11th century, in which very diverse Old Bulgarian spelling norms are apparently stratified that have not survived the test of time in the South Slavic tradition.

As far as the rest of the Homilies are concerned, this study advises extreme caution if assuming without prior verification that the entire manuscript corpus of the Slavonic Gregory of Nazianzus was originally created in Glagolitic. Although this is indeed very likely to be the case, such an assumption must be demonstrated on a case-by-case basis without generalizing the results after investigating a mere handful of texts. In this light an important next step would be to undertake a typological classification of scribal mistakes deriving from the confusion of consonants within surviving works both in Glagolitic and Cyrillic testimonies (e.g., the Gospels or the Psalms).

The conclusion of this discussion therefore leaves no doubt as to the centrality of an investigation of Glagolitic letters and of other features in the Cyrillic tradition of Gregory of Nazianzus in order to undertake a comprehensive study of the impact of the oldest Slavonic alphabet on the development of Old Bulgarian language and literature. On condition that a multidisciplinary approach is adopted on carrying out an inquiry of this nature, the conspicuous absence of early South Slavic sources is therefore to be indirectly compensated by the study of later East Slavic copies. Finally, however specific and narrow research into this topic may appear to be, the promise it offers of opening up new avenues of studies in Slavic Philology can be termed as nothing less than encouraging.

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NOTES

¹ For an updated list of the canonical manuscripts see: Miklas & Sadovski 2014: 1270–1272. On the concept of Paleoslavonic canon: Ziffer 2008.

² Regarding conditions to be satisfied in order to demonstrate the Glagolitic origin of a Cyrillic text see: Милтенов / Miltenov 2013: 40.

³ A comprehensive repertoire is available in: Милтенов / Miltenov 2009 and Милтенов / Miltenov 2010. On single Glagolitic letters in the Old Church Slavonic translation of 1-2 Samuel see: Славова / Slavova 2011.

⁴ As to this crucial period for the transmission of Old Church Slavonic texts see: Турилов / Turilov 1995; Ziffer 1997.

⁵ On the contrary, digraphia in Glagolitic manuscripts appears, at least in some instances, to be more consistent. In such testimonies as the Psalterium Demetrii (Sin.slav. 3/N), the use of Cyrillic seems to pursue the goal of graphic differentiation since it is to be found in titles and rubrics (see, for instance, fol. 3).

⁶ Besides the inherent problem of textual transmission, this question also raises issues that are relevant for the history of culture. On the one hand, knowledge of Glagolitic and its use in epigraphic context has been established to exist in Old Rus’ (cf., for example, Гиппиус & Михеев / Gippius & Mikheev 2022); on the other, there is no direct documentary evidence of circulation, reuse, and recycling of Glagolitic manuscripts in these regions. On the contrary in the South Slavic tradition Cyrillic palimpsests survive, which were written on top of earlier Glagolitic texts (see, e.g., the “Bojana Palimpsest”; Добрев / Dobrev 1972).

⁷ Or. 2, 5, 6, 27, 28, 15, 19, 24, 39, 40, 41, 42, 45.

⁸ Or. 38, 43, 11, 14, 16 and, partially, Or. 21 (Бруни / Bruni 2021: 25).

⁹ Or. 1 and 44 (Bruni 2023).

¹⁰ However, in his earlier article, containing a description of P, there are no references to the Glagolitic letters (Срезневский / Sreznevskiy 1853:247-255). The same applies to Vostokov (Востоков / Vostokov 1825: 86-91).

¹¹ The grapheme Δ is very rare in Old Cyrillic written monuments. It is to be found in Sava’s Book (RGADA, F. 381, Sin.Tip. № 14, fol. 25: «ΔИ») as well as in the *Zograph Folia* (Lavrov & Vaillant 1930: 8).

¹² Incipit: *Ἦττημαι καὶ τὴν ἦτταν ὁμολογῶ* [МЪНИИ ВЪИХЪ И МЕНИТОУ • ИСПОВЪДАИѢ] (CPG 3010.2; PG 35: 408-513). Diplomatic edition of the Old Church Slavonic version: Будилович 1871: 121-173. Text-critical analysis: Бруни / Bruni 2022.

¹³ Incipit: *Ἐμελλεν ἄρα πολλὰς ἡμῖν ὑποθέσεις τῶν λόγων* [ВЪМЪ ОУВО МЪНОГА СЛОВЕСА • СВКАЗАНІА СЛОВЕСЪНАІА] (CPG 3010.43; PG 35: 493-605). Critical edition of the Old Church Slavonic version: Бруни / Bruni 2010:151-222.

¹⁴ The only exception is represented by the occurrence of the grapheme Δ as a variant Λ of in two instances in Or. 41 in codex P.

¹⁵ In both cases the Glagolitic letter ⚭ is overwritten on an erasure. The underlying reading is старѣшиивии (Бруни / Bruni 2022: 322, п. 3).

¹⁶ Бруни / Bruni 2010: 165, line 9.

¹⁷ Бруни / Bruni 2010: 165, line 20.

¹⁸ Бруни / Bruni 2010: 162, line 24 (Chapt. XII); 164, line 11 (Chapt. XIV); 165, line 20 (Chapt. XV); 165-166, line 3 (Chapt. XVI); 167, line 10 and 14 (Chapt. XVII); 172, line 21 (Chapt. XXIII); 173, line 13 (Chapt. XXIV); 175, line 22 (Chapt. XXV); 181, line 1 (Chapt. XXXIII); 218, line 2 (Chapt. LXXVI).

¹⁹ On similar errors in texts originated in the Preslav literary school see: Славова / Slavova 1999: 42.

²⁰ As has been noted, confusion of consonants needs to occur in combination with other features such as Glagolitic glyphs or together with the conflicting rendering of numerals in order to provide proof of an underlying Glagolitic substratum (Veder 2015: 353).

²¹ See above n. 11.

²² Бруни / Bruni 2010: 179 (Chapt. XXX, line 13).

²³ Бруни / Bruni 2010: 182 (Chapt. XXXIV, line 10); 191 (Chapt. XLVI, line 11); 195 (Chapt. LII, line 6); 198 (Chapt. LVI, line 11); 216 (Chapt. LXXIII, line 5).

²⁴ Бруни / Bruni 2010: 183 (Chapt. XXXIV, line 25). On this lexical archaism see: Станков / Stankov 2016: 62.

²⁵ Бруни / Bruni 2010: 204 (Chapt. LXII, line 16).

²⁶ Regarding the heated debate on Moravisms in the Old Church Slavonic language see: Станков / Stankov 2016: 95-102.

²⁷ On its etymology see: Райнхарт / Reinhart 2019.

²⁸ A number of further rare lexemes are listed in: Спасова / Spasova 2008: 136-147.

²⁹ Бруни / Bruni 2010: 191 (Chapt. XLVI, line 9).

³⁰ Бруни / Bruni 2010: 191 (Chapt. XLVI, line 12).

³¹ Бруни / Bruni 2010: 194 (Chapt. L, line 3).

³² Бруни / Bruni 2010: 199 (Chapt. LVII, line 11).

³³ Бруни / Bruni 2010: 206 (Chapt. LXIII, line 24).

³⁴ See also: Соболевский / Sobolevskiy 1907: 44.

³⁵ See also: Жолобов / Zholobov 2014: 34.

³⁶ Кожухаров / Kozhukharov 1984: 3-19; Попов / Popov 2003: 15-24.

³⁷ Concerning the complex issue of the combined or separate use of these letters in Old Church Slavonic manuscripts see: Marti 2004: 411-412.

³⁸ Christova-Šomova & Miklas 2022: 32-33, 167.

³⁹ For dialectological data see: БДА / BDA 2001: 211.

⁴⁰ An additional interesting paleographic feature of P, which requires further study, is the use in a few readings of Or. 2 of the grapheme ѱ instead of the standard letter ц (Бруни / Bruni 2022: 322).

ABBREVIATIONS

- NBKM = Nacionalna Biblioteka “Sv.sv. Kiril i Metodiy” [= SS. Cyril and Methodius National Library], Sofia, Bulgaria
- RGADA = Rossiyskiy Gosudarstvennyj archiv drevnykh aktov [= Russian State Archive of Ancient Documents], Moscow, Russian Federation
- RGB = Rossiyskaya Gosudarstvennaya biblioteka [= Russian State Library], Moscow, Russian Federation
- RNB = Rossiyskaya Nacional'naya biblioteka [= Russian National Library], St. Petersburg, Russian Federation

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CPG: *Clavis patrum graecorum*. Ed. Geerard, M. Vol. 2. Turnhout, 1974.

PG: *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca*. Ed. J-P. Migne. Vol. 35. Paris, 1857.

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