

# PALAEOBULGARICA

## СТАРО- БЪЛГАРИСТИКА

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## СТАТИИ / СТАТЪИ / ARTICLES

*Alessandro Maria Bruni (Naples, Italy)*A REDISCOVERED CODEX OF THE OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC  
TRANSLATION OF THE BOOKS OF THE KINGDOMS\*

This paper reports the results of a preliminary analysis of a 15th century South Slavic manuscript, which was recently rediscovered after having been lost for several decades. This important, little-known source resurfaced after it was first described by Mošin in the early seventies (Mošin 1970: 23–24; Мошин 1971: 9). Under discussion here is a copy of the Old Church Slavonic translation of the Four Books of the Kingdoms (known in the Hebrew Bible as 1–2 Samuel and 1–2 Kings, hereafter 1–4 Kgdms), preserved at least until the early eighties in the Croatian Historical Museum in Zagreb (hereafter CHM) under the call number R-38 (in Cyrillic P-38)<sup>1</sup>. At that time the CHM's collection of Cyrillic manuscripts was starting to be dismembered: some codices were known to have been returned to the Serbian Orthodox Church (Вукашиновић и др. 2015: 8, № 10), apparently with the aim of taking them back to their previous place of conservation. In the case of R-38 and other 9 codices, it remains unclear where they may have been relocated. Nevertheless, it may be logically assumed that they were possibly moved back to the Monastery of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Lepavina (Манастир Ваведења Пресвете Богородице – Лепавина), where they had originally been kept before arriving in Zagreb after the Second World War (Mošin 1970: 22–29). However, no evidence of any kind exists that R-38 was ever brought back to Lepavina. In the early nineties, when Nikolova compiled a census of the Slavonic tradition of 1–4 Kgdms, there was still some uncertainty about its location, whether it still was in Zagreb or indeed somewhere else (Николова 1995: 55, 67, № 13).

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<sup>1</sup> This location is still indicated in the 1983 – Handlist of Church Slavonic manuscripts of the Old Testament (Mathiesen 1983: 32, № 136).

With the aim of shedding light on this longstanding archaeological problem, a few years ago I embarked on the arduous task of tracking down this codex. In July 2021 my efforts were finally rewarded: after persevering search I managed to find it in the town of Pakrac, in Western Slavonia, Croatia. The manuscript is now property of the Serbian Orthodox Eparchy of Slavonia (Епархија пакрачко-славонска Српске Православне цркве) and is preserved in one of the buildings located within the diocese's territory<sup>2</sup>. When the manuscript was handed over to me for consultation it had neither an inventory label nor a call number and hence seemed not to have been filed on any particular shelf<sup>3</sup>. Moreover, I could not clarify when and under what circumstances the codex had reached Pakrac<sup>4</sup>.

When compared to the description provided by Mošin more than fifty years ago, the manuscript appears to be in good condition and still consists of 167 paper folios (the size of its leaves is 280 × 200 mm)<sup>5</sup>. The codex preserves a leather covered wooden binding, slightly damaged by woodworms, and has evidently lost some folios. Mošin (1970: 23) reported the loss of two leaves, but additional lacunae can indeed be detected. A first gap is to be found between fol. 14v and fol. 15r, where the text ends at 1 Kgdms 12:4 (...H H'ECИ HACHA'CTBOBAAB HА HИ “and you have not oppressed us”/ ...καὶ οὐ κατεδυνάστευσας ἡμᾶς...), and continues from 1 Kgdms 12:23 (...H ПOKAЖE BAMЬ ПЯТЬ БѢГЪ H ГЛАДЬКЪ... “and I will show you the good and right [literally smooth] way...”/ ...καὶ δεῖξω ὑμῖν τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἀγαθὴν καὶ τὴν εὐθεῖαν...); a second one occurs between ff. 39v and 40r, where the content interrupts at 2 Kgdms 3:4 (...H YETBЬPTИ ѿPНІА [*sic!*] CИHЬ... “and the fourth Ornia son [of Pheggith]”.../... καὶ ὁ τέταρτος Ορνία υἱὸς Φεγγιθ ...) and then restarts at 2 Kgdms 3:21 (...HХЖЕ ЖЕΛАЕТ ТИ ДѢША ... “all that your soul desires” /...οἷς ἐπιθυμεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ σου...). Moreover, an even wider gap can be found on fol. 15v, where the translation breaks off at 1 Kgdms 13:15 (...H БЛЮДЕШЕ САЗАБ ЛЮДН ... “and observed Saul the people...”/...καὶ ἐπεσκέψατο Σαυλ τὸν λαὸν...) and recommences on fol. 16r from the very end of 1 Kgdms 17:39 (...ῶ HIEFO... “from him”/ ...ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ...). Therefore, in 1 Kgdms, in addition to

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<sup>2</sup> Address: Kneza Branimira 2, 34550 Pakrac, Republic of Croatia. I express my deepest gratitude to the Serbian Orthodox Church (Eparchy of Pakrac and Slavonia) and to Dr. A. Mišić (Belgrade) for their help and assistance in obtaining access to the manuscript.

<sup>3</sup> On the back of the front cover there was only a small contemporary label with the inscription “MPM 460”, which has apparently no relation to the current location of the manuscript in the diocese. I wondered whether the abbreviation has some relation to the Marča Monastery (Манастир Марча), but no confirmation of this was to be found.

<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately, I was unable to find in either Zagreb or Pakrac any documents clarifying this very issue. The catalogue of the Slavonic manuscripts of the Eparchy also does not make any mention of this codex (see: Вукашиновић и др. 2015). Consequently, this aspect awaits to be clarified by future studies.

<sup>5</sup> This is exactly the number of folios reported in Mošin's first description (Mošin 1970: 23). The number of 267 sheets indicated in his second description is evidently the result of a typo (Мошин 1971: 9).

parts of chapters 13 and 17, the lacuna in question means that chapters 14, 15 and 16 are all missing.

The text's layout consists of 27 lines per page, copied by a semiuncial hand with elements of cursive writing that can approximately be dated back to shortly after the mid-15th century<sup>6</sup>. The manuscript is written in Resava orthography without nasal graphemes (juses) and with both jers. The ink is black for the main text, while it is vermilion for titles, initials, and marginalia. A headpiece (zastavka) in Balkan style (ornamented with vermilion and green inks) is to be found on fol. 1r just above the title ΤΕΤΡΑΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΩΝ' ΗΨΕ ΣΥΤ' Δ' ΠΡΩΣΤΒΑ. ΓΗ ΗΥ ΧΕ ΕΕ НАШЬ ПΟΜΑΗΗ НАСЪ АМННЬ~ („Tetrabasileion, that is, the Four Books of the Kingdoms. Lord, Jesus Christ our God, have mercy on us. Amen”). Two inscriptions were added by the same hand that copied the biblical text: a first one (СІА КННГА ГЛІЕМН ПРСТВО А, Н Б, Н Г, Н Д, НЗБРАНО Ѡ БНЕЛІЕ А НЕ ВСЕ ПО РЕΔΣ “This book, called Reigns First, and Second, and Third and Fourth, is a selection from the Bible and [they] are not all [placed] in a sequence”) is to be found on fol. 102v close to 3 Kgdms 12:1 ΗΔΒΑШЕ ПРЬ РОΒΟΑΜЪ ВЪ СΗΚΥΜΣ... “...And King Roboam went to Sikima...”/ (καὶ πορεύεται βασιλεὺς Ροβοαμ εἰς Σικιμα), while a second (ВЪСВЕНДЦЪ Н ПРЪБЛГОМС БДУ СЛАВА ДАЮЩЮМС ВЪСАКОМС ДЪБЛ КОНЬЦЪ НЖЕ О НІЕМ НАУННАЕМОМС АМННЬ “Glory be to God, who sees everything and is most merciful, and who brings to completion everything that had a beginning in him. Amen”) can be read on fol. 167v at the very end of the manuscript. Moreover, an 18th-century inscription is written on ff. 31–32 confirming that the codex was in the possession of the Monastery of Lepavina (СН КННГА ЦАРОСТАВЕННКС ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΑ ΛΕΠΗΒΗΝΑ [*sic!*]).

The biblical text is segmented as follows:

I) **1 Kingdoms [1 Samuel]** (ff. 1–36v). *Incipit*: ΥΛΚΒЪ БЪ ΕΖΑΡΜΑΦΕΜΑ ΣΙΒΣΚΑГО, Ѡ ГОРЪИ ΕΦΡΕΕΜЪ, ΗΜΕ ΕΜΣ ΕΛΚΑΝΑ („There was a man of Harmathaim Siphera from the hill country of Ephraim and his name was Elkana“);

II) **2 Kingdoms [2 Samuel]** (ff. 36v–77). *Heading*: ΠΡΩΣΤΒΟ ΒΤΟΡΟΕ (“Second reign”). *Incipit*: Η БЪΙΣΤЪ ЯКО ВМРЪ САВЪ, ΔΔЪ ВЪЗВРАТН СЕ ПОБЪЖДАЕ АМАЛНКА („And it happened, after Saul died, that David returned from defeating Amalek“);

III) **3 Kingdoms [1 Kings]** (ff. 77–126). *Heading*: ΠΡΩΣΤΒΟ ΤΡΕΤΙΕ (“Third reign”). *Incipit*: Η ΠΡЬ ΔΔЪ БЪ СЪСТАΡΒЪ' СЕ Н ПРЪШЪДЪ ВЖЕ ΔНН СВОЕ. („And King David was old, advanced in his days“);

IV) **4 Kingdoms [2 Kings]** (ff. 126–167v). *Heading*: ΠΡΩΣΤΒΟ ΥΕΤΒΡЪΤΟ (“Fourth reign”). *Incipit*: Η ѠВРЪЖЕ СЕ ΜΟΑВЪ, ВЪ ΙΝΑΗ, ПО ВМРЪΤΒЪΙ ΑΧΑΑΒΗ. („And Moab rebelled against Israel after Achaab died.“). The text ends at 4 Kgdms 25:29 ΗΖΜΒΗΗ ΡΗΖЫ ТЪМННУНІЕ ЕГО. Н ЯКО ЯДЪШЕ ХЛЪБЪ ВЪНЪ СЪ ННМЪ ВЪСЕ ΔНН ЖИВОТА СВОЕГО СЛАВА БЪ АМІННЬ (“And he changed his prison garments: and he ate bread continually with him every day of his life. Glory to God. Amen”).

<sup>6</sup> Watermarks: Briquet 1907: № 2467 (year 1446), № 2448 (year 1453) and № 2472 (year 1464). See Mošin 1970: 23.

The Lepavina/CHM manuscript, recently rediscovered in Pakrac, which hereafter will be referred to as L, represents the only surviving copy in Resava orthography of the Old Church Slavonic translation of 1–4 Kgdms. This version was undertaken from the Septuagint by an anonymous Bulgarian translator no later than the late 9th–early 10th centuries<sup>7</sup>. Its linguistic features enable it to be dated to a period prior to the codification of the literary norm typical of the Preslav school (Eastern Bulgaria, reign of Tsar Symeon, ca. 893–927 C.E.). For this reason, the view has also been expressed that the work can be linked to the complete translation allegedly carried out by Methodius (ca. 815–885 C.E.) according to the highly controversial testimony of his hagiographer (*Life of Methodius*, Chapter XV; Соболевский 1900: 163–164; Михайлов 1912: СССI–СССIII)<sup>8</sup>. Be that as it may, it remains beyond any doubt that this translation not only preserves a number of archaisms, both on a grammatical and a lexical level, but also traces of an underlying Glagolitic substrate (Славова 2022: 140–155; Тотоманова-Панева 2019: 96–98, 101–144).

The manuscript tradition of the full text of the Old Church Slavonic version of 1–4 Kingdoms consists of more than 30 South and East Slavic testimonies dating from the 14th up to the 16th century<sup>9</sup>, only a few of which have been subjected to a preliminary textual and linguistic analysis<sup>10</sup>. Three types of witnesses have so far been classified: I) the Middle Bulgarian codices; II) the East Slavic Chronographs; III) the East Slavic non-chronographical sources (Тотоманова-Панева 2019: 7–24; Славова 2022: 139). The most important representatives of each type are listed below in *Tables* 1–3<sup>11</sup>. Some were used for the preparation of Dunkov's edition (1995a; 1995b, 1996a and 1996b)<sup>12</sup>, which was severely criticized by Thomson (1998: 766–767), because the author misleadingly overlapped readings from different translations, including the 1580–1581 printed *Ostrog Bible* (in this regard see also: Bruni 2016: 439–440), resulting in a serious methodological error.

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<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, there is also a second translation of South Slavic origin, which is transmitted in only two manuscripts: one preserved in Odessa, the other in Moscow. For further information on this second version and its importance for the textual criticism of the Bible, see: Bruni 2019.

<sup>8</sup> For a summary of the different opinions expressed by scholars on the problem of attribution, see: Николова 1995: 55, 66; Thomson 1998: 754–775.

<sup>9</sup> For an inventory and a description of the sources see: Mathiesen 1983: 18–28, 30–32; Николова 1995: 55, 67; Николова 1998: XIX–XXII, XXIV.

<sup>10</sup> On issues related to the textual criticism of this translation and its Greek parent text, see: Bruni 2016: 441–442.

<sup>11</sup> As far as the census of the manuscript tradition is concerned, a textual investigation into the remaining East Slavic codices, listed in Mathiesen 1983, which are not included here in *Tables* 1–3, is still missing. Specifically, it remains to be verified whether they contain the earliest textual stratum of the Old Church Slavonic translation of 1–4 Kingdoms or, instead, a more recent reworking of East Slavic origin.

<sup>12</sup> Manuscript sigla are given in square brackets according to Dunkov's abbreviations: Dunkov 1995a: 401–402).

- Table 1-

I. Middle Bulgarian codices	
(1) RNB, F.I. 461, third quarter of the 14th cent.	[P]
(2) RGB, F. 256, № 29, year 1537.	[R]
(3) RGB, F. 178 ( <i>Muz.sobr.</i> ) № 3750, 15th cent.	[M]
(4) BAR, № 85, 15th cent. <sup>13</sup>	
(5) BAR, № 171, late 15th cent. <sup>14</sup>	

- Table 2-

II. East Slavic Chronographs	
(6) RGADA, F. 181 № 279/658, third quarter of the 15th cent.	[A]
(7) LMAB, F19–109, first third of the 16th cent.	
(8) BN, BOZ 83, late 15th – early 16th cent.	
(9) RGB, F. 304/I № 728, early 15th cent.	[T]
(10) RGB, F. 310 ( <i>Sobr.Und.</i> ) № 1, second half of the 15th cent.	[U]
(11) RGB, F. 173 ( <i>MDA</i> ) № 12, years 1470–1480.	[D]

- Table 3-

III. East Slavic non-chronographical sources	
(12) RNB, Q.I.2, first half of the 15th cent.	
(13) RNB, <i>Solov.sobr.</i> № 75/75 15th cent.	[S]
(14) GIM, Syn. № 915, year 1499 <sup>15</sup> .	

Manuscript L differs from the above listed sources not only because of its distinctive orthography (Resava), but also with regards to the textual arrangement. L lacks a series of marginal headings introduced by the adverb *зѡдѣ* [съдѣ] “here” followed by a brief annotation on the content of each chapter, which are to be found in the Middle Bulgarian testimonies (Яцимирский 1905: 245–246, 623; an edition can be found in: Тотоманова-Панева 2019: 24–31). In contrast, L displays a series of very short rubrics in vermilion that in most cases are inserted directly into the text block<sup>16</sup>. Apart from these headings, there are no

<sup>13</sup> Description: Яцимирский 1905: 245–254; Panaitescu 1959: 256–258. This codex suffered a loss of approximately 30–35 folios: Николова 1996: 20–22.

<sup>14</sup> The manuscript, which also contains an Octateuch, is missing the beginning of 1 Kgdms and the end of 4 Kgdms (Яцимирский 1905: 621–623; Panaitescu 1959: 110; Николова 1996: 13–20).

<sup>15</sup> Кульбакин 1901: 22–23, 27.

<sup>16</sup> According to Nikolova, some Middle-Bulgarian manuscripts (BAR, № 85 and № 171) also place the headings within the text block and not in the margins (Николова 1996: 16).

additional marginal comments or glosses. Moreover, the text segmentation is characterised by a sparing use of vermillion-coloured initials up to the point that at times, for several sheets in a row, the text does not appear to be subdivided into paragraphs at all. From the point of view of the text’s disposition, L therefore appears to be closer to the East Slavic testimonies (types II–III of the above presented classification) rather than to the Middle Bulgarian ones. While the former group presents a less fragmented text<sup>17</sup>, the latter offers a more sophisticated layout which most likely is of more recent origin.

From a linguistic standpoint, L appears to be very conservative since it preserves several lexical and grammatical archaisms, making it a precious witness for investigating the translation’s oldest textual layer. As far as the vocabulary is concerned, interesting parallels can be established with such testimonies as the East Slavic Chronograph (RGADA, F. 181 № 279/658) in the use of Graecisms (e.g. кнвотъ for κιβωτός; алсѣ for ἄλσος; иереи for ἱερεὺς), Protobulgarisms (e.g. чорѣгы [чорѣгы] for σκῆπτρον; коноѣз for λέβης; κрѣѣгаѣ for ἀγγεῖον), Germanisms (e.g. кѣбѣль for κόρος), and rare words (вѣтрѣ for τέκτων; днѣо for ἔκστασις; мѣстѣ [могѣтъ] for δυναστής)<sup>18</sup>. With regard to verbal morphology, it is worth mentioning the occurrence in L of the “root-aorist” and the old “s-aorist”, as respectively shown by the following examples: I) 1 Kgdms 2:11 (L, f. 3) встѣвнше н тоу прѣ гмѣ. н ндѣ вѣ армаѣемѣ “and they left him there before the Lord and went to Harmathaim” (καὶ κατέλιπον αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ ἐνώπιον κυρίου καὶ ἀπῆλθον εἰς Ἀρμαθαιμ); II) 1 Kgdms 5:11 (L, f. 7) н рѣше пошлѣте кнвотѣ бѣ нїлѣа “and [they] said: *send away the ark of the God of Israel*” (καὶ εἶπον ἐξαποστείλατε τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ Ἰσραήλ). In these readings L differs from the Old East Slavic Chronograph (RGADA, F. 181 № 279/658), which in both instances transmits the aorist’s more recent forms ндѣоша (fol. 211) and рѣкоша (fol. 213).

When syntax is taken into consideration, L yet again preserves archaic linguistic features. This is shown for instance by the use of a rather rare Old Church Slavonic periphrasis, consisting of the verb “byti” [“to be”] used in the past tense (imperfect or imperfective aorist) in combination with the present participle<sup>19</sup>. While the problem of its semantic description still appears to be extremely controversial (Плунгян 2021), most Slavists maintain this construction to be borrowed from Greek (Issatschenko 1980: 87; Успенский 2002: 256; Живов 2017: 356–366), although others stress the evidence provided by original texts that could lead to opposite conclusions (Večerka 1993: 96). In Greek, it is chiefly

<sup>17</sup> See, for example, RNB, *Solov.sobr.* № 75/75, which in 1 Kgdms (ff. 83v–136v) presents almost no paragraphs.

<sup>18</sup> For a detailed analysis of most of these lexemes, the reader is referred to: Тотоманова-Панева 2019: 101–121; Славова 2022: 142–155.

<sup>19</sup> A number of examples from the Cyrillo-Methodian translation of the Gospels are listed in: Růžička 1964: 202–221.

to be found in the Septuagint and is widely considered to be the result of the influence of Semitic languages (Hebrew, Aramaic), even though it has multiple attestation in Classical Greek texts (see: Björck 1940; Bentein 2016: 238–247; Muraoka 2016: 397–400). Some examples are offered below: I) 1 Kgdms 2:11 (L, f. 3) Η ΟΥΡΟΥ ΕΞ ΕΛΟΥΖΕ ΛΗΤΟΥ ΓΗΝ “and the boy was ministering to the face of the Lord” (καὶ τὸ παιδάριον ἦν λειτουργῶν τῷ προσώπῳ κυρίου); II) 1 Kgdms 2:18 (L, f. 3) Ἄ ΣΑΜΗΛ ΕΞ ΕΛΟΥΖΕ ΠΡΩΔΕ ΓΜ “and Samuel was ministering before the Lord” (καὶ Σαμουηλ ἦν λειτουργῶν ἐνώπιον κυρίου); III) 1 Kgdms 3:1 (L, f. 4) ΟΥΡΟΥΝΤΙ ΣΑΜΗΛ ΕΞ ΕΛΟΥΖΕ ΓΒΗ “and the boy Samuel was ministering to the Lord” (καὶ τὸ παιδάριον Σαμουηλ ἦν λειτουργῶν τῷ κυρίῳ); IV) 1 Kgdms 7:10 (L, f. 9) Η ΕΞ ΣΑΜΗΛ ΕΞΕΝΕ ΕΞΕΣΕΖΕΚΕΝΙΑ “And Samuel was offering the sacrifice...” (καὶ ἦν Σαμουηλ ἀναφέρων τὴν ὀλοκαύτωσιν).

Due to the lack of systematic studies on the textual criticism of the Old Church Slavonic translation of 1–4 Kgdms, it is not possible here to offer a detailed analysis of the textual relationship existing between L and the other testimonies belonging to the three types of witnesses that have so far been classified. However, even a cursory examination of some readings appears to be sufficient to place L in the context of the history of the transmission and to assess whether it is of some relevance for the purpose of the translation’s text-critical reconstruction.

In this light, an interesting feature is represented by a number of textual agreements with the East Slavic branch of the manuscript tradition. A few instances can be traced, in which L matches the readings of the Old East Slavic Chronograph RGADA, F. 181 № 279/658 [= A] that deviate from the testimony of the Middle Bulgarian codices PRM [= B], as shown in *Table 4*.

- Table 4 -

	<i>AL ≠ B</i>
3 Kgdms 1:50	СКНННЮ AL: СЪНЬ B
3 Kgdms 2:5	ВЪСН AL: СЪВЪСН B
3 Kgdms 3:6	ВЕЛНЮ AL: ВЕЛНКОѢ B
3 Kgdms 12:24n	ВЪННДѸ AL: НЗЪДѸ B
	[omissions in B]
3 Kgdms 2:19	СЪДѸ НА ПРѸТѸ СВОЕМЪ AL: om. B
	[omissions in AL]
3 Kgdms 2:16	<i>post</i> ЛНЦА ТВОЕ <i>add.</i> ОУЪ МЕНЕ B : om. AL
3 Kgdms 12:6	<i>post</i> ЕЩЕ ЖНЕС ЕМ8 СЪЩЮ <i>add.</i> Н СКАЗАВЪ НМЪ ВЕЩЬ B : om. AL
3 Kgdms 20:29	<i>post</i> УУЪ ЛНЦА ЕГО <i>add.</i> РАСКАА СѸ БО СЕГО РАДН B : om. AL

Conversely, in some other cases, L presents a series of textual characteristics that are common to B, but which diverge from A. These are the inclusion of the liturgical readings into the translation's text block. In A they are missing, and special headings inform the reader that these absent sections of the text can be read in another book, the Prophetologium (see, e.g. A, fol. 267v: *снже писано въ пареміи* "These [verses] are written in the Paremiya").

As to the textual relationship, inherent in the South Slavic group, mention should be made of a significant agreement between L and the Middle-Bulgarian manuscripts BAR, № 85 and № 171 when compared to manuscript P. In 4 Kgdms the latter omits a number of verses which, contrary to previous opinions, were supposed by Nikolova to have originally been included in the translation's archetype (Николова 1996: 25–27; on this issue see also: Тотоманова-Панева 2019: 20–21). L's independent testimony therefore not only demonstrates that the readings found in BAR, № 85 and № 171 are not a later addition (Table 5), but furthermore endorses the validity of a large-scale approach to the study of the South Slavic tradition for the purpose of the critical reconstruction of the textual transmission.

- Table 5 -

4 Kgdms 4:13–14	<p><sup>13</sup>Н реч(ε) емс. ρ'цн 8во къ ниѣн. се 8днрнла есн намъ вѣса днвеса, ʎтw подѡбаѣт' тн сѣтворитн. аще е(сть) сѡво тн къ цѣрѣ, нан къ кнѣз8 снлѣ. вна же реч(ε) нѣ(смѣ) посрѣ^ людїи свои^ азѣ есмѣ жнвѣщн. н рече ʎтw пѡдѡбаѣтѣ сѣтворитн. <sup>14</sup>Н реч(ε) гнѣзї ѡтpоуищѣ его. н сѣлѡ снѡ ен нѣ(сть). а мѡже ен нѣ(сть) старѣ L (f. 131) [P om. vv. 13b–14]</p>
4 Kgdms 9:11–14	<p><sup>11</sup>Н 8сѣ нзыде къ ѡтpокомѣ гѡ сн н рѣше емс мнрѣ. ʎтw ѡко вѣхѡдн прѣвѣтннкѣ к тебѣ н реч(ε) нмѣ вы вѣсте мѡужа н льсть его. <sup>12</sup>Н рѣше неправеднѣ е(сть). аще н не вѣзвѣстншн намѣ. н реч(ε) къ ннмѣ тако, н тако. н реч(ε) къ мнѣ глїе. снце глїетѣ гѣ. помазѡхте на цѣрство инлю. <sup>13</sup>Н слышавше теѡдѡх8 спѣшно. н вѣзе къждо рнз8 свою. н полѡжн под ннмѣ. понїеже во на едннѡмѣ ѡ степень сѣ^ . н вѣстрѣвнше вѣ рѡгѣ, понїеже цѣрѣ бы(сть), иссѣ. <sup>14</sup>Н вѣзвратн се, иссѣ. снѣ иѡсафатѡвѣ. снѡ месїнна, къ їѡрамѣ. н ѡрамѣ самѣ. стрѣжаше ромѡфа галат'скаго. таж(ε) самѣ н вѣ(сь) инль, ѡ лицѡ аѡазанла цѣрѡ аснрїнска. L (f. 139v–140) [P om. v. 11b and 14a]</p>
4 Kgdms 9:25–26	<p><sup>25</sup>Н реч(ε) иссѣ, къ вѡсѣ десетѡм8 [sic!] прнставннк8 своѣм8. вѣврѣзн вѣ ʎестѣ нав8-феѡ, инлѣтѣнннѡ. ѡко помнню азѣ. н тѣи вѣсѣдн на сѡпргѣ, вѣслѣ^ ѡца его аѡаѡа. н гѣ во гѡлѡ ѡ нїемѣ гѡлѣ сѣ глѣ <sup>26</sup>ѡко сѣ крѣвїю нав8-енннѡ. н крѣвѣ снѡвѣ его. н вндѣ^ вѣѡѣрѡ реч(ε) гѣ. н нїна вѣзѣмѣ н вѣврѣзн вѣ ʎестѣ по гѡлѣ гнїю L (f. 140v) [P om. v. 25b and 26a]</p>
4 Kgdms 9:31	<p><sup>31</sup>Иссѣ вѣхѡждѡше вѣ градѣ. н реч(ε), (лци)ѣ мнрѣ замбрнн вѣнца гѡ своего L (f. 141) [P om. аще мнрѣ]</p>
4 Kgdms 9:37	<p><sup>37</sup>Н се е(сть) знаменїе, 8мрѣшеѣ ієзавелн. ѡко н гнѡн на лицн сѣлѡ вѣ ʎестн инлѣвѣ. ѡкоже н тѡрѡше н мѣи [sic!] ієзавель. L (f. 141) [P om. v. 37b]</p>

4 Kgdms 12:7–13	<p><sup>7</sup>Н БЫ(СТЬ) ВЪ КГ.Є ЛѢТО ЦРЬ ІВАСЬ. Н НЕ ВДРЪЖАШЕ ЖЬРЦН ВЕДЕКА ХРАМС</p> <p><sup>8</sup>Н ПРНЗВА ЦРЬ ІВАСЬ, ІВДАНА ЖРЬЦА Н СТАРЦЕ, Н РЕЧЕ КЪ ННМЪ ЧТО СЕ ІАКО НЕ ВДРЪЖАСТЕ ВЕДЕКА ХРАМС. ТО НННА МЪІ ВЖЕ ПРНМѢТЕ СРЕБРО, Ѡ ПРОДАЖДЕ ВАШЕ ІАКО ВЪВЕДЕКЪ ХРАМС ДАСТЕ Е<sup>9</sup>Н СЪВЕЩАШЕ ЖЬРЦН НЕПРІЕТН СРЕБРА Ѡ ЛЮДІН. Н ЕЖЕ НЕ ВЪЗМОЦН ДВНГНСТН ВЕДЕКА ХРАМС,</p> <p><sup>10</sup>Н ВЪЗЕ ІВДАЕ ЖРЬЦЪ КИВОТЬ ЕДННЬ. Н СЪДѢЛА КОВУЕЖЬЦЪ ДЬСКАМН ЕМС. Н ДАСТЪ НМА ННЗЕЕВН [sic!]. Н ВЪ ДѠМЪ МЪЖА ДѠМЪ ГННА. Н ДАШЕ ЖЬРЦН ХРАНЕЩЕН ЧНСЛО, ВЪ ГОДЪ СРЕБРА. Н ЕЖЕ ВБРѢТЕ СЕ ВЪ ДѠМЪ ГНН.</p> <p><sup>11</sup>Н БЫ(СТЬ) ІАКО ВНАѢШЕ ІАКО МНОГО Е(СТЬ) СРЕБРА ВЪ КОВУЕЗѢ. Н ВЪЗЫДЕ ПНШУН ЦРЄВЬ. Н ЖЬРЬЦЪ ВЕЛНКИ, Н ѠКРНШЕ БОЕЩН СЕ СРЕБРО ВБРѢТШЕЕ СЕ ВЪ ДѠМЪ ГНН <sup>12</sup>Н ДАШЕ Н ДРѢВОДѢЛІЕМЪ Н ЗЫДЬУТЕ ЗНЖДШЩЕН ДѠМЪ ГНЬ <sup>13</sup>Н КОЛЮЩЕЕ Н СѢКВЦЕ КАМЕНІЕМЪ НА НЗДѢЛАНІЕ ДРѢВА. Н КАМЕНІЕ ТЕСАНО НА СНЕТІЕ ВЕДЕКЪ ХРАМС ГНЮ НА ВЪСЕ ЕЛНКО РАЗДАТН ХРАМС НА ВТВРЪЖДЕНІЕ L (f. 145r/v) [P om. vv. 7-10]</p>
4 Kgdms 12:16–18	<p><sup>16</sup>Н НЕ ВБАЛГАХЪ МЪЖЪ, НМЖЕ ДАНАХЪ СРЕБРО ВЪ РЪКЫ Н<sup>х</sup>. ДАТН ТВОРЕЩІНМЪ ДѢЛО. ІАКО ВЪ ВѢРѢ ТВОРНТІ Е. <sup>17</sup>СРЕБРО ЖЕ ЗА ГРѢХЫ. Н СРЕБРО ЗА СКВРЬНЬ. ПОНІЕЖЕ ВЪНЕСЕНЪ БЫ ВЪ ДѠМЪ ГНЬ ЖЬРЦЕМЪ БЫ <sup>18</sup>ТОГДА ВЪЗЫДЕ АЗАНЛЪ ЦРЬ СНРІНСКИ. Н ВОЕВА НА ГОФЪ. Н ПРѢТЕТЪ Н АЗАНЛЪ, Н РАЗЕІ Н. Н ВЕРАТН АЗАНЛЪ АНЦЕ СВОЕ ВЪЗЫТН ХѠТЕ НА ІЕРѠМЪ L (f. 145v) [P om. vv. 16-17]</p>
4 Kgdms 18:20	<p><sup>20</sup>РЕУ(Є) ТЪКМО СЛАВЕСА ВСТЕНЬ. ХѠТѢНІЕ Н СНАА НА ВРАНЬ. ТѠ ВЖЕ НННА НА КОГО НАДѢ СЕ ѠВРЪГЛЪ СЕ ЕСН МЕНЕ L (f. 155v) [P om. v. 20b]</p>
4 Kgdms 21:16–18	<p><sup>16</sup>Н СЕ КРЬВЪ НЕПОВНННЪ ПРОЛНВАЕТЪ МАНАСІА МНОГО СѢЛО. ДОИДЕЖЕ НАПЛНН ІЕРѠМА ДОСЫТН ДО ВСТЪ. ТЪКМО ГРѢХЫ СВОИМН СЪГРѢШАЕ НМНЖЕ СЪГРѢШН ІВДА СЪТВОРНТН АВАКННОЕ ПРѢ<sup>а</sup> ВУНМА ГННМА <sup>17</sup>Н ПРОЧА СЛАВЕСЪ МАНАСІННЪ. ВСА ЕЛНКО СЪТВОРН. Н ГРѢХЫ ЕГѠЖЕ СЪГРѢШН. ТО НЕ СНАН СВѢТЪ ПНСАНА ВЪ КННГА<sup>х</sup>. СЛАВОМЪ ВЪ ДНН ЦРЬ ІВДННЬ. <sup>18</sup>Н ВМРѢТЪ МАНАСІН СЪ ѠЦН СВОИМН. Н ПОВРЕБЕНЪ БЫ(СТЬ) ВЪ ВРЪТОГРАДѢ ВЪЗАННѢ. Н ЦРѢТВОРА АМОСЪ СНЪ ЕГѠ ВЪ НІЕГО МѢСТО L (f. 160v/161) [P om. vv. 17-18]</p>

In conclusion, the codex recently rediscovered in Pakrac enriches our understanding of the Old Church Slavonic Translation of 1–4 Kgdms, by shedding new light on its manuscript tradition over the centuries. The results can be termed no less than highly significant given that L represents a completely new source, opening an entirely new path of investigation. The abovementioned textual features show L not to be a direct copy either of one of the surviving Middle Bulgarian manuscripts, or of the existing East Slavic testimonies; rather it unexpectedly represents an additional third, hitherto completely unexplored branch of transmission. This preliminary analysis demands further research in order to undertake a systematic collation of L with the rest of the textual witnesses. With a possible prospect of a critical edition of 1–4 Kgdms being produced, Slavists can therefore only look forward to future in-depth inquiry into this biblical tradition given its significance in the broader context of Cyrillo-Methodian and Old Bulgarian studies.

## ABBREVIATIONS

BAR	Biblioteca Academiei Române [ <i>Library of the Romanian Academy</i> ], Bucharest
BN	Biblioteka Narodowa [ <i>National Library</i> ], Warsaw
EPS	Eparhija pakračko-slavonska Srpske Pravoslavne Crkve [ <i>Eparchy of Pakrac and Slavonia of the Serbian Orthodox Church</i> ], Pakrac
GIM	Gosudarstvennyĭ istoricheskiĭ muzeĭ [ <i>State Historical Museum</i> ], Moscow
LMAB	Lietuvos Mokslų Akademijos Biblioteka [ <i>Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences</i> ], Vilnius.
RGADA	Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyĭ arkhiv drevnikh aktov [ <i>Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts</i> ], Moscow
RGB	Rossiiskaia Gosudarstvennaia biblioteka [ <i>Russian State Library</i> ], Moscow
RNB	Rossiiskaia Natsional'naia biblioteka [ <i>Russian National Library</i> ], St. Petersburg

## LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS

BAR, № 85, 15th cent.	
BAR, № 171, late 15th cent.	
BN, BOZ 83, late 15th – early 16th cent.	
EPS, no call number, mid-15th cent.	[L]
GIM, Syn. № 915, year 1499	
LMAB, F19–109, first third of the 16th cent.	
RGADA, F. 181 № 279/658, third quarter of the 15th cent.	[A]
RGB, F. 173 ( <i>MDA</i> ) № 12, years 1470–1480.	[D]
RGB, F. 178 ( <i>Muz.sobr.</i> ) № 3750, 15th cent.	[M]
RGB, F. 256 ( <i>Rum.sobr.</i> ), № 29, year 1537.	[R]
RGB, F. 304/I ( <i>Sobr.ruk.TSL</i> ) № 728, early 15th cent.	[T]
RGB, F. 310 ( <i>Sobr.Und.</i> ) № 1, second half of the 15th cent.	[U]
RNB, F.I. 461, third quarter of the 14th cent.	[P]
RNB, Q.I.2, first half of the 15th cent.	
RNB, <i>Solov.sobr.</i> № 75/75 15th cent.	[S]

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(*Резюме*)

Тази статия отваря нови неизследвани пътища, по които да се анализира текстовата история на старобългарския превод на четирите Книги Царства (назовани в Еврейската Библия *Първа и Втора Книга на Самуил* и *Първа и Втора Книга на Царете*), направен от гръцкия текст на *Септуагинта* от анонимен български преводач не по-късно от края на IX – началото на X в. Вниманието е съсредоточено върху южнославянски ръкопис от средата на XV в., който до началото на осемдесетте години на XX в. се е намирал в Хърватския исторически музей в Загреб под сигнатурата R-38. Последващото му място на съхранение остава неизвестно няколко десетилетия, докато през 2021 г. авторът успява да го намери в гр. Пакрац, Западна Славония, Хърватия. Кодексът, който днес е притежание на Пакрачкославонската епархия на Сръбската православна църква, се отличава не само с това, че е единственият оцелял ръкопис на превода, написан с ресавски правопис, но и с уникалните си езикови и текстови характеристики, което го прави ценен паметник за изследване на най-ранния съхранен до днес текст на превода. Сегментацията на текста в него се различава от всеки друг съществуващ източник. Освен това той изглежда много консервативен от езикова гледна точка, тъй като включва редица лексикални, граматически и синтактични архаизми. Анализът на неговите разнотечения доказва, че той не е пряко копие на нито едно от оцелелите среднобългарски или на съществуващите източнославянски свидетелства, а по-скоро представлява допълнителен трети, неизвестен досега и напълно неизследван клон на текстовата трансмисия. Следователно този наскоро преоткрит кодекс е източник от изключително значение за текстовата традиция на Книгите Царства, тъй като обогатява разбирането ни за текстовата история на техния старобългарски превод.

*Ключови думи:* старобългарски език; славянски ръкописи; преводи на Стария завет; Книги Царства; текстология; лексикография.

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