

**Uncommon Definite Forms of Possessive
Adjectives in the Old Bulgarian Translation
of Athanasius of Alexandria's *Orations Against
the Arians*¹**

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Abstract: The article discusses the uncommon definite forms (with pronominal declension) of the possessive adjectives formed with -ов-, -ъ and -ии/-ыи in the Old Bulgarian translation of Athanasius of Alexandria's *Orations Against the Arians*, carried out by Konstantin of Preslav in 906. The translation survives only in Russian manuscripts ranging from the 15th to the 18th centuries. The Russian origin of the manuscripts raises the following question: have the definite forms of the possessive adjectives discussed here been the result of the spreading of the manuscripts in a Russian environment? Although rare, definite forms of possessive adjectives ending in -ов-, -ъ and -ии/-ыи have been found in Old Bulgarian and Middle Bulgarian texts. This means that although uncommon, these forms were part of the Old Bulgarian language and the bishop Konstantin of Preslav could have used this declension model. The author argues that the uncommon definite forms of the possessive adjectives *вожни*, *отъцъ*, *духовъ*, *съпасовъ*, *христовъ* are part of the translation strategy of bishop Konstantin of Preslav to distinguish between God the Father, God the Son, the Holy Spirit, and Christ the Saviour, on the one hand, and created beings, on the other hand.

Key words: possessive adjectives, Athanasius of Alexandria, *Orations Against the Arians*, Konstantin of Preslav

¹ This article has been written under the research project „Bulgaria between the Christianity and the heresies” financed by the Bulgarian National Science Fund (BNSF). Decision number: КП 06-ОПР 05/3/ 2018.

Old Bulgarian adjectives can be of two forms: short and long (with pronominal declension), corresponding to indefinite and definite meanings, respectively. The long and short forms of the adjectives have different syntactical functions and have different declensions. In general, the long form (also known as definite, or with pronominal declension) is used attributively, whereas the short form (also known as indefinite or simple) is predicative. Possessive adjectives, formed from nouns by means of the endings **-ов-/-ев-**, **-ин-**, **-ь < *-jь**, **-иН-ъ** and **-ии-ъи < *-bjь** hold a special place. From a semantic point of view these adjectives contain to the greatest degree characteristics such as concreteness and specificity, and precisely because of their visible lexical definiteness, they did not need any definite forms. Therefore these possessive adjectives have only indefinite forms, including the cases when they are used with the meaning of definite ones. A. Vaillant points to a few exceptions from this rule, such as **вели(и)хъ ръизъ** Jo 21:11 Codex Zographensis, Savvina Kniga (evangeliarium), Codex Assemanianus (**велии** Codex Marianus); **божиихъ ревретъ** Codex Suprasliensis 457.23; **кесареватъ** Mk 12:17 Codex Zographensis (**кесарова** Codex Marianus); **къръвъ христовата** Codex Suprasliensis 483.23 (Vajan 1952: 145, 157).

My research has revealed that the definite forms of the possessive adjectives by means of the endings **-ов-**, **-ь** and **-ии-ъи** are very common in the Old Bulgarian translation of Athanasius of Alexandria's *Orations Against the Arians*, carried out by Konstantin of Preslav in 906.² The exploration draws upon all ten Russian manuscripts ranging from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries.³ For example, in the text of *Oration I* (Vaillant 1954) we can find the following five possessive adjectives, which have 27 definite forms used attributively:

божии (20): **ραζογμα божиаго** f. 60^b23 τῆς περὶ θεοῦ, **божиадго** οεραζа f. 27^a5 τοῦ θεοῦ, **божиаго** εστъства f. 20^b25 τοῦ θεοῦ, **божиаго** εстьства f. 21^a5 τοῦ θεοῦ, **божиадго** словесе f. 53^a12 τῆς τοῦ λόγου δικαιосύνης, **божиадго** словесе f. 12^b14 τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον, **божиаго** словесе f. 55^a9 τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον, **божиадго** словесе f. 58^a25 τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον, **бжийхъ** книгъ f. 12^a22 τῆς θείας γραφῆς, **божиихъ** книгъ f. 26^b16 τῶν θείων γραφῶν, **божиихъ** книгъ f. 31^b17 τῶν θείων γραφῶν, **божий** книгъ/книгъ f. 54^b8 τὰ θεῖα λόγια, f. 57^a7 τῶν θείων γραφῶν, f. 59^b10 τῆς ... θείας γραφῆς, **бжийхъ** писанїи f.

² The most essential information regarding the translation of the Orations into Old Bulgarian comes from the colophon found in most of our manuscripts (see Feder 2018).

³ А – RNB Pogodin № 968, year 1489; Б – RGB, f. 113, № 437, year 1488; В – RGB, f. 209, № 791, 15th c.; Г – RGB, f. 199, № 59, 15th–16th c.; Д – GIM Sin. № 20, years 1480–1490; Е – RNB Sol. № 63, 16th c.; Ж – GIM Sin. № 994, 16th c.; З – RNB Sofijsk. № 1321, 16th c.; И – GIM Sin. № 180, 16th c.; К – RGB, F. 209, № 99, 18th. The examples referred here follow manuscript A.

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9^a18 тѣнъ Ѹеіѡнъ ѹрафѡнъ, божијхъ писанни f. 13^a23 тѣнъ Ѹеіѡнъ ѹрафѡнъ, божиј словесъ f. 15^a25 тѣнъ Ѹеіѡнъ лоғиѡнъ, божиј словесъ f. 54^b6 тѣнъ Ѹеіѡнъ лоғиѡнъ, вѣ сънохъ божијхъ f. 58^b1 єнъ ѹіоїсъ Ѹеої, божијхъ книгахъ f. 63^a21 таїсъ Ѹеіѡнъ ѹрафаїсъ

отъръ (4): **Отъуада** f. 13^b8 тої патрѡсъ ѩдионъ, **Отъуада** єстъства f. 13^b10 тої патрѡсъ оўсіаїсъ, єстъства **Отъуада** f. 21^a23 оўсіаїсъ тої патрѡсъ, **Отъуада** єстъства f. 24^b4 тої патрѡсъ оўсіаїсъ

дѹжовъ (1) дѹжовъ ижъ f. 52^b6 тої пнеуматосъ хárитосъ (БГЕК **ѧխѹиծյօ**)

съпасовъ (1) съпасовоуогумжъ словеси f. 16^b8 тої сѡтїросъ лóговъ (БК **չՅՈՎՈՅՑ**, ГЕ спáсовомоу, ДЖЗИК **ԽՅՈՎՈՅՈՒ**)

хрьстовъ (1) хрьстоваада оѓца f. 45^a25 тої Христоу патéра (БДЖЗИК **ԽՎԱ**, ГЕ христоваада).

The Russian origin of the manuscripts raises the question: have the definite forms of the possessive adjectives discussed here been the result of the spreading of the manuscripts in a Russian environment? This could be so because, unlike the Bulgarian language in which the development of the definite article (including among adjectives) has led to the loss of the pronominal declension of the adjectives, in Russian the forms of the pronominal declension of the adjectives takes the upper hand and only some adjectives in their special function have the indefinite (short) forms (Ivanov 1983: 308, 312–313).

Are the uncommon definite forms of the possessive adjectives in *Oration I Against the Arians* due to the role of the Russian scribes or were they inherent part of the Old Bulgarian protograph itself? I believe that evidence supports the second hypothesis for several reasons.

First, the definite (pronominal) forms of the respective possessive adjectives ending in -ов-, -ъ, -ын-ъ and -ии/-ыи are not exhausted by the four examples provided by A. Vaillant. In the classical Old Bulgarian corpus of texts (based on Jagić 1879; Jagić 1883; Severjanov 1922; Meyer 1935; Slovník 1–52; SS 1999; SBR 1–2; Penkova 2008), there are at least nine more possessive adjectives (**адовъ**, **божинъ**, **владѣиънъ**, **господънъ**, **дрѹжънъ**, **кесаровъ**, **овьчъ**, **пилациъ**, **хрьстовъ**), among which there are twenty four definite forms used attributively (some substantive):

Codex Zographensis: **кесаровъ** (2): Mt 22:21 вѣздаditе оубо **кесарова** **кесареви** (**кесарева** Codex Marianus, Codex Assemanianus), Lc 20:25 вѣздаditе оубо **кесаревое** (**кесарева** Codex Marianus), **овьчъ** (1): Jo 10:1 вѣ дворъ **овьчи**

Codex Marianus: **овьчъ** (1): Jo 10:1 вѣ дворъ **овьчи**

Codex Assemanianus: **овьчъ** (3): Jo 10:1 вѣ дворъ **овьчи**, Mt 7:15 къ вамъ вѣ **одеждахъ** **овьчи** (**овьчахъ** Codex Marianus, Codex Zographensis), Jo 5:2 на **овьчи** **кїпїлї** (**овьчи** Codex Marianus, Codex Zographensis)

Euchologium Sinaiticum: пилацъ (1): помами пилацикъ оубоѣвъшъ са f. 49b

Glagolita Clozianus: христовъ (2): Хвое благовѣстъствоуїтъ рождѣство ... благовѣтиша Хсвое из мрѣтвыхъ порождѣніе 14а; владычънъ (1): съмотрѣлиевъна твора. а дынесь владиуїзъна f. 13а

Psalterium Sinaiticum: овьчъ (2): горы да възграсте сѧ Ѣко овьни. Ѣ хлъми Ѣко агнъци овьчи Ps113:6, поятъ и отъ стадъ овьчъ Ps77:70

Codex Suprasliensis: адовъ (1): адоваля побѣда изуезе f. 487.3

божии (6): іаже и бѣ о рабѣхъ божинихъ f. 213.5, прия женж си. не бракоу овьштънж. нъ божинихъ танинъ f. 242.22, гнѣвааше са о божинихъ оучениихъ f. 403.21, науинъ же отъ моседа дроуга бжигаго врѣха пророкъ f. 478.5, божигаго кръштеныя обратити хоштж слово f. 495.7, оглашада отъ бжинихъ книгъ f. 514.17

господънъ (1): траджштемъ са. тако господъне пришъствије f. 467.29

дроужънъ (1): радоуеши са съмрти дроужъни f. 314.22

христосовъ (2): благовѣстъвоваша. христосове изъ мрѣтвыхъ порождѣніе f. 452.3, туу ноге Хсовъи образъ f. 460.15.

Similar definite forms of the possessive adjectives resurface in the works by Bulgarian men of letters from the ninth - eleventh centuries, that have been preserved in later Slavonic copies, such as:

Vita Constantini: христовъ (1): христовымъ (in lieu of Хвѣмъ именѣ нарицаємо) (Slovník 48: 796; Kliment Ohridski 1973: 99)

Constantini Philosophi Tracratus de fide orthodoxa, a. 1348 (**Napisanije o pravѣj vѣrѣ**) (manuscriptum Laurentii presbyteri, RNB F.I.376): отъчъ (1): Измѣнное ѿчее подѣи f. 96а (Slovník 23: 625)

Evangelium Didacticum Constantini Preslavensis (Učitel'noe Evangelie): божии (7): не да извѣстить юстъство сна божигаго f. 7б, бывъ бѣаго дара f. 53d, прѣдъуисти бжигаго страхъ f. 61d, оусты бжигаго моужа f. 111а, съмотренија словесе бжигаго f. 207а, проповѣдите сна бжигаго f. 223с, иぢ юстъства бжигаго f. 223с (Tihova 2012: 13, 116, 132, 231*, 413, 446); христовъ (1): нынѣ хѣвааго всѣкърсенија прѣдъварајеть слава f. 231с (Tihova 2012: 462) The indefinite forms are found in all Slavic manuscripts, including the Serbian ones.

Hexaemeron Ioannis Exarchi: божии (1): недовѣдимыихъ мыслии божинихъ/ бжинихъ f. 110d (Aitzetmüller 4)

Miscellanea Symeonis regis (Izbornik 1073): иродовъ (1): на оубинство острить акы иродоваля ирода f. 172v (Simeonov sbornik 1: 538)

Miscellanea Zlatoustrij, saec. XII в. (РНБ, Ф.п.І.46) божии (1): также же прѣстата цркви имать чутенија бжинихъ книгъ f. 184г (Georgieva 2003: 301).

As a result, we are familiar with over forty definite forms of ten possessive adjectives ending in -ов/-ев- (адовъ, иродовъ, кесаровъ/кесаревъ, христовъ), -и (пилацъ), -ын-ь (владычънъ, господънъ, дроужънъ) and -ии/-ы (божии, велии). This means that

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although uncommon, these forms were part of the Old Bulgarian language and the bishop Konstantin of Preslav could have used this declension model.

Second, it is worth mentioning that definite forms of possessive adjectives ending in -ов-, -ъ, -ын-ь and -ин-/ыи have been found in Middle Bulgarian texts, for example:

Apostolus Christopolitanus, saec. XII: *хръстовъ* (1): *хвъзъх* (Slovnik 48: 796)

Tetra-evangelium Dobromiri, saec. XII (RNB, Q.п.I.55; St Catherine's monastery on mount Sinai, Cod. Slav. № 43, Cod. Slav. № 7/N) *вени* (1): Jo 21:11 *венихъ* *рыбъ*; *овъзъ* (1): Jo 10:1 въ дворъ *овъзъни* (Velчева 1975: 416, 361)

Tetra-evangelium monasterii Dečani, saec. XIII (RNB Gilferding 4): *вожии* (1): Mt 4:4 изъ оустъ *бжинъхъ* (Jagić 1883: 8)

Evangeliarium Bojanensis, saec. XIII (RGB, f. 87, № 8/ M. 1690): *вожии* (1): Mt 4:4 изъ оустъ *бжъхъ*

Miscellanea Zlatoust, saec. XIV (RNB, Q.п.I.56): *вожии* (3): *повѣстъниче нейзъ глаѣмыхъ* чоудесь *бжинъхъ* f. 70a, таќо прѣрица саци *дѣхомъ бжинимъ* движима, павель *бжинъхъ* тайнъ възвѣстителъ въпиеть f. 108б (Dimitrova 2011)

Tetra-evangelium Georgii Terteri regis, a. 1322 (RNB, F.п.I.84): *овъзъ* (2): Mt 7:15 въ одѣждахъ *овъзънихъ*; Йо 10:1 въ дворъ *ибъзъни*

Tetra-evangelium Ioannis Alexandri regis, a. 1356 (British Library, London, Add.20): *вожии* (1): Mt 4:4 изъ оустъ *бжинъхъ*, *кесаровъ* (1): Mt 22:21 *кесаровaa*; *овъзъ* (1): Jo 10:1 въ дворъ *ибъзъни*.

Such forms resurface very often (19 used ones) in the works of Patriarch Euthymius of Tarnovo,⁴ such as **Vita of St. Hilarion, Bishop of Moglena**: *вожии* (3): *бжий* присний оугодникъ f. 164г, пристанице *бжийхъ хотѣни* f. 174v; *отъзъ* (1): *Іадрінъ* же прѣстателъ ства *ицдало* ... наслѣдникъ f. 163г; *господънь* (2): по пльти *гнїе* ѿ мадре вѣро роѫство f. 165г, *гнїе* тѣло f. 167г; **Eulogy for Sts Constantine and Helena**: *вожии* (5): *Събвръ* же *бжийхъ* слоугъ f. 427г, *бжїаго* сна f. 430v, толикъ *бжийхъ* слоугъ f. 436г, *бжїаго* соуда f. 436v, *бжїаго* слава f. 438v; *отъзъ* (1): *ицде* тѣло f. 425г.26; **First Epistle to the monk of Tismana Nikodim**: *вожии* (3): *иц бжїаго мановеніа* f. 208, людїй *божїи* ради f. 210, *божїаго* гнїба f. 215; **Eulogy for St. Michael by Potuka**: *иаковъ* (1): *иаковлъ* лѣствица f. 171.25; *звѣринъ* (1): *Звѣринъ* ради ... сънѣденїа f. 176.1; **Vita of St. John of Rila**: *кесаревъ* (1): *ѡдъ* и *кесарови* *кесаревaa* f. 8.11; **Vita of St. Philothea Temnishka**: *отъзъ* (1): *слово* *ицтвее* f. 86 and **Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom**: *отъзъ* (1): *ицтвее* *съмотренїе* f. 373.29.

What is important is the fact that all copies of Patriarch Euthymius's works are from the Middle Bulgarian period or were copied with Ressava orthography; there

⁴ Drawing on the electronic version of *The Dictionary of the Language of Patriarch Euthymius* RPE 1 and RPE 2 (https://histdict.uni-sofia.bg/evtdict/evt_search/).

is not a single one of Russian origin. It is well known that Patriarch Euthymius used indefinite and definite forms of adjectives by observing rules that go back to the Old Bulgarian language (Haralampiev 1990: 63–65); hence we can assume that his use of specific forms of the respective possessive adjectives follows an archaic language model.

But let us turn back to the possessive adjectives formed with the suffixes **-ов-**, **-ъ** < *-j_b, **-ии/-ыи** < *-v_j in the text of *Oration I Against the Arians*, where there exist twenty seven definite forms of the adjectives **божии**, **отъгъ**, **дѹховъ**, **сѫпасовъ** and **хѹстовъ**. A significant fact is that these definite forms can be found in all the ten manuscripts with one exception – the indefinite form **хѹстова**, which appears in six of the manuscripts (namely, БДЖЗИК **хѹва**). This is the reason why I tend to think that all the discussed definite forms of the respective possessive pronouns were present in the Old Bulgarian protograph of *Oration I*, and that the Russian language environment only contributed to their preservation.

Yet, why did the bishop Konstantin use these forms in such a massive manner? There is no other mediaeval Slavonic text with such a concentration except the other two orations against the Arians: in the text of *Oration II* there are 27 definite forms (23 of **божии**, 2 of **отъгъ**, one form of **петровъ** and **сѫпасовъ**, Penkova 2015: 311, 358, 361, 382; Lytvynenko 2019), whereas in the text of *Oration III* there are 17 definite forms altogether (6 of **божии** and 11 of **отъгъ**, Penkova 2016: 452, 502). What is interesting is that the definite forms refer to the realm of the divine – God the Father, the Holy Spirit, and Christ the Saviour. In the text of the three *Olations Against the Arians*, there are dozens more possessive adjectives ending in the above-mentioned suffixes, but they never get definite forms.

The scholars dealing with the anti-Arian works by St. Athanasius found long time ago that in them he distinguishes clearly between divine and non-divine, including through linguistic exegesis. Following his Greek model, Konstantin of Preslav renders the binary opposition divine vs. non-divine by using the paradigm of the verb **бѹти** “to be”. Out of the present forms for the 3rd person singular and plural – **есмъ** “is” and **сѫтъ** – “they are”, respectively – he creates key theological terms such as **еѧование тѹ** ε̄ινατ/ε̄ιναι, **сѫтъство** φѹсіс, **бѹшънъ** γεννηтòς. He uses the latter together with the word **еѧество** оѹсіа, already established in the language, in accordance with a previously designed linguistic concept that corresponds to St. Athanasius of Alexandria’s anti-Arian views (Slavova 2019). Byzantine studies pay attention to the so-called triple principle, which takes into account who is referred to and who is the speaker – St. Athanasius, the Arians, or the Holy Scripture (Penkova 2018: 118 and the works cited there). In view of this plan of the utterance, the definite and indefinite forms of the possessive adjectives **божии**, **отъгъ**, **дѹховъ**, **сѫпасовъ**, **хѹстовъ** in the text of *Oration I Against the Arians* can be described as follows:

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1. The definite forms of the adjective **божин** are used in reference to God (f. 20^b25, 21^a5, 53^a12, 12^b14, 55^a9, 58^a25, 15^a25, 54^b6, 60^b23, 27^a5), God's sons (f. 58^b1) and the books of God (f. 12^a22, 26^b16, 31^b17, 54^b8, 57^a7, 59^b10, 9^a18, 13^a23, 63^a21, 63^a21) according to the Holy Scripture teaching, whereas the indefinite forms refer to God (f. 19^b24, 31^b6, 51^a14), God's elect (f. 10^a2, 10^a3, 10^a9), the Godly wisdom (f. 35^a17, 35^a19, 35^a20, 35^a21) and to the Son's relation to the Father (f. 29^b8, 55^b11) according to the Arians' beliefs, Asterius the Sophis and Samosatene. The exceptions to this model, comprising 33 forms, are only 5 (f. 20^b17, 45^b3, 46^b22, 44^a6, 45^b13).

2. The definite forms of the adjective **отъуъ** refer to God the Father (f. 13^b8, 13^b10, 21^a23, 24^b4) according to the Holy Scripture teaching, whereas the indefinite forms refer to the Arians' perceptions for Logos and to the Son's relation to the Father (f. 11^a5, 14^a26, 14^b1, 17^b1, 27^b10, 37^b22, 60^b4; 13^b25, 18^a14, 19^a1, 19^a5, 19^b9, 19^b21, 20^a18, 20^a25, 20^b6, 21^a10, 24^a8, 24^b11, 25^a18, 25^b11, 26^b4, 31^a18, 36^a8, 36^a10, 36^b5, 38^a17, 38^a27-38^b1, 51^a23, 58^a12), as well as in view of analogies with the nature of human beings (f. 26^a7, 26^a21, 33^b4, 43^b22, 52^a7). The exceptions to this model constitute one third of all cases (f. 13^b3, 25^a9, 33^a21, 41^a23, 42^a25, 45^a6, 48^b7, 49^b17, 50^a20, 59^b13, 59^b16, 59^b20, 61^b2, 62^a4, 62^a5, 62^a6, 62^b3).

3. The definite form of the adjective **дѹховъ** refers to the Holy Spirit according to biblical studies (f. 52^b6). The other two forms are indefinite and are used in the context of man and human flesh (f. 52^a25, 52^b1).

4. The definite form of the adjective **сѹпасовъ** is used in reference to Christ the Saviour according to the Holy Scripture teaching (f. 16^b8), whereas the two indefinite forms accompany the name Christ the Saviour through the eyes of the Arians (f. 9^a7, 55^b4). There is one exception to this model (f. 8^a21).

5. The definite form of the adjective **х҃ристовъ** is used in the context of the Christian teaching about God the Father (f. 45^a25), whereas the three indefinite forms refer to the Christian faith and the name of Christ through the eyes of the Arians (f. 8^a5, 9^a10, 9^a12).

Therefore we can argue that the uncommon definite forms of the possessive adjectives **божин**, **отъуъ**, **дѹховъ**, **сѹпасовъ**, **х҃ристовъ** are part of the translation strategy of bishop Konstantin of Preslav to distinguish between God the Father, God the Son, the Holy Spirit and Christ the Saviour, on the one hand, and created beings, on the other hand. The employed morphological instrument has turned out very appropriate because in principle the definite form of the adjective separates what is modified from the rest, adding to its individuality and uniqueness, so that it can be perceived as singular. Such characteristics can be attributed to God and the divine, whereas the definite forms come to additionally emphasize them. The translation strategy of the bishop Konstantin of Preslav reveals that he has followed a conceptual scheme built in advance, which met the high standards of the Greek original.

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*Заглавие
на статията*

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