

## **Biblical Citations in the Athonite Translation of the *Orations Against the Arians* by Athanasius of Alexandria**

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**Abstract:** The article is devoted to the Athonite translation of the *Orations against the Arians* by Athanasius of Alexandria, preserved in the so-called *Ragagolnik* of Epiphanius Slavivetsky. Late copy of the translation is saved in a manuscript from the Synodal collection 112 (No.360). from the 17th century, State Historical Museum, Moscow. The author makes observations on the language in a manuscript from the Pogodin collection 968, the Russian National Library, St. Petersburg and No.360 from the GIM confirms the general genesis of the copies in MS No. 360 and it. Biblical quotations testify that the translation from Mount Athos was made directly from the Greek language, without reference to the canonical books of the 10th century, but in accordance with the orthographic and grammatical standards of the Hesychastic Reform in 14th century. The translator knows and uses the translation of Konstantin of Preslav, but the similarities between the Old Bulgarian and the Athonite translations are mostly in the quotations of the New Testament. The differences between the Russian and Serbian versions are mainly due to the corrections made by Epiphanius Slavivetsky or the reference to Epiphanius of a protograph of another Greek tradition used on Mount Athos.

**Keywords:** Konstantin of Preslav, Athanasius of Alexandria, Epiphanius Slavivetsky, Hesychastic tradition, Mount Athos

The Old Bulgarian translation of the *Orations against the Arians* made by Constantine of Preslav in 906 has been the subject of a number of studies in the last decade. The most authoritative and oldest copy of this translation dates from the 14<sup>th</sup> century, in MS Pog. No. 968 at the National Library of Russia (RNB) in St. Petersburg. This copy has been used in the contemporary editions of the individual *Orations* (Vaillant 1954, Penkova 2015, Penkova 2016). The ten Russian 15<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> century

copies fall into two groups, respectively originating from Pog. No. 968, Russian National Library and MS No. 115 (437), f. 113 at the Russian State Library (RGB). Both manuscripts, copied in 1489 by order of Gennady, Archbishop of Novgorod, were aimed to be used in rooting out the heresy of the Judaizers. While the copyist of Pog. 968 – Mitya Popovka, copied from “old Bulgarian books word for word” (Vaillant 1954: 13), the copyist of MS № 115 (437), Benjamin (Timofey Velyaminov) of the Joseph-Volokolamsk monastery notes on two occasions that is also referring to “an old Athanasius”, obviously different from his text (Penkova 2018: 41–82). Benjamin’s text is phonetically Russified (see <http://old.stsl.ru/manuscripts/f-113/115>). In the 16<sup>th</sup> century Patriarch Macarius included the translation of Constantine of Preslav in the Office Menaion for May under May 2, the date of Athanasius’s death, the commemoration of Prince Boris I and the first Russian martyrs Boris and Gleb (publication in Weiher, Šmidt, Škurko 2007). The translation of Constantine of Preslav was copied right up to the 18<sup>th</sup> century (MS Ovch No. 209, RGB), but in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, during the reform of Patriarch Nikon, another translation of the *Orations* was printed in the book of the well-known reformer Epiphanius Slavinetsky, the *Theological Collection* titled *Sbornik perevodov Epifaniya Slavinetskogo (Grigorii Bogoslov, Vasily Veliki, Afanasy Aleksandrijski i Ioan Damaskin, Moskva 1665)* [Collection of Translations by Epiphanius Slavinetsky (Gregory the Theologian, Basil the Great, Athanasius of Alexandria and John Damascene)]. The copy of the first version of Epiphanius has been preserved in the 17<sup>th</sup> century MS Sin. 112 (№ 360), GIM (Gorskij, Nevostruev 1859: 42–43). Here the text from GIM No. 360 has been quoted according to photocopies with the numbering of the pages made by the copyist himself, individual folios feature double numbering also given here. That new translation was copied a century later in the Balkans, in the 1734 manuscript miscellany *Razglagolnik* of Gavriilo Stefanović Venclović kept at the Archives of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (Arhiv SANU, Inv. br. 95/135/); here the manuscript has been used according to photocopies and the citations bear the numbering of the copyist.

The objective of this article is to compare the biblical citations in the translation of Constantine of Preslav with those in the new translation given in the *Razglagolnik* (hereinafter *Razgl.*). The connection of the citations from the version of Athanasius with the gospel text familiar to the copyist is a guideline for finding the topical for the copyist redaction of the sacred text, but both the Old Bulgarian translator and the Athonite scribe have translated directly from their Greek source, without comparison and checking in certain canonical books. The biblical citations in *Oration I* and *Oration II* have already been analysed and indexed in the publications of the *Orations* according to the copy in Pog. 968 (Penkova 2015: 114–124, Penkova 2016: 109–126), which is why here there is an attachment including a list of the citations by

biblical chapters only from *Oration I*. The citations from the Old Bulgarian translation of *Oration I* are given according to the text prepared for new publication and the numbering of the pages corresponds to that in MS Pog. 968. Where the citations have been noted by Vaillant, the reference to the edition of A. Vaillant are given in brackets with page and line numbers (Vaillant 1954).

## **Textological characteristics of the new Slavic translation**

The text in the initial version of Epiphanius Slavinetzky (hereinafter GIM 360) and the Venclović text are undoubtedly of common origin, most probably one and the same Athonite translation. The linguistic features of the new translation coincide with the characteristics of 14<sup>th</sup> century Athonite translations – use of prepositions instead of non prepositional Greek phrases, contracted forms of adjectives and the imperfectum, definite articles with infinitives instead of personal verbal forms, removal of double negation and asigmatic aorist, plural instead of singular for pronouns of the ταῦτα-type, replacement of the passive for reflexive verbal forms, marking of Greek article forms with *иже, еже*, literal translation of compound words such as свѣтѣносѣць instead of дѣньница for ἑωσφόρος.<sup>1</sup> The translator of the new translated version was familiar with the one made by Constantine of Preslav, for there are examples in which the two copies of the translation contain identical words without support in the Greek. According to Lytvinenko, Epiphanius used the translation made by Constantine of Preslav: «Epiphanius definitely used the existing translation made by Constantin of Preslav in 907 and available to him in Moscow» (Lytvynenko 2019, in print).

Epiphanius additionally compared the literal Athonite translation with Greek and cut words, overwriting his lexical variant, as for example *мощь* instead of *сила*, *высочайший* instead of *вышній*, *чрез Голомвна* instead of *Голомоном*. Slavinetzky's corrections, however, are not found in the copy of Venclović. Because of the differences between the Russian and the Serbian copy, it can be assumed that the Serbian one was not made from a book brought from Russia, but came from the new Slavic translation preserved on Mt. Athos or Fruška Gora. The incipit of the Russian copy says: Я СВЕДѢТЕЛСТВОВАНЫ СІА СТЫА И БГОДЪХУНОВЕНА КНИГИ ВО ТѢПОГРАФИИ СО ГРЕЧЕСКИХЪ СТАРЫХЪ ПИСМЕННЫХЪ И ПЕЧАТНЫХЪ ПЕРЕВОДОВЪ ГТЫА ГОРЫ АТѢНСКІА:

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<sup>1</sup> I have outlined my arguments supporting the Athonite origin of the translation in the article “Сербская редакция нового славянского перевода Слов против ариан Афанасия Александрийского в сборнике «Разглагольник» Гаврила Венцловича Стефановича 1734 г.” (in print, *Linguistic Balkanique* 1, 2019).

ТОВАЖЕ СТЫЛА ГОРЫ АРХЕМАНДРИТОМЪ ДІОНІСІЕМЪ СО КЛЕВРЕТЫ ЕГВ. The Archimandrite Dionysos mentioned and the other well-trained associates directed the selection of the Greek copies and compared the Slavonic and the chosen Greek text, while the role of the editor Epiphanius was mainly to check and approve for print the proposed drafts (“кавичные книги”, see Siromaha 1999: 15–20). The choice of the literal Athonite version over the meaningful translation of Constantine of Preslav is explained with the historical fact that in the discussion with the Old Believers the latter used the Old Bulgarian translation (Penkova, 2018: 34). To distinguish themselves from the Judaizers, the reformers from Nikon’s circle separated the linguistic and the theological aspect.

According to the publisher of the *First Oration against the Arians*, A. Vaillant, Slavinsky used for comparison with the Greek consulting the 1627 Paris edition published by Johannes Piscator (Vaillant 1954: 16). The relation between the Greek text of 1627 and that of the first Greek edition printed in Heidelberg in 1601 (Editio Commeliana) has not been studied, and that includes the collection of works of Athanasius of Alexandria compiled by Nilus Dostopatres in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. The subsequent edition of B. de Montfaucon (B. de Montfaucon, 1698, 321–468) was based on MS Basiliensis gr., 13<sup>th</sup> century, originating from the St. Athanasius Great Lavra on Mt. Athos. This paper uses the contemporary critical editions of the *Oration*s (cf. Metzler, Savvidis 1998–2000 and Tetz, Wyrwa 2000). The genesis of the 10<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> century Greek copies occurs from two archetypes: **x** and **RS** (Metzler, Savvidis 1998–2000: 88–89). Basiliensis gr. belongs to the tradition **x**. The Slavic text of Oration I and III in Pog. 968 was translated from a Greek text from a mixed tradition, and only Oration II was redacted to remove the differences with **RS** (Penkova 2016: 29–37). Judging by Pog. 968, the Greek source of Constantine of Preslav was closest to a preserved 10<sup>th</sup> century Greek manuscript, Atheniensis gr. 428, for only in Atheniensis gr. 428 do the three authentic *Oration*s against the Arians precede the fourth oration featured as the *Epistle to the Bishops of Egypt and Lybia*. In the Athonite translation of the *Epistle*, it precedes the three *Oration*s, just as it does in the Greek copies after the 12<sup>th</sup> century. The Greek text of Athanasius has been proved to have “mixed” traditions of the texts even in the earliest now extant Greek manuscripts, as for example the *Codex Alexandrinus* (British Library, MS Royal 1.D.V–VIII), where the gospel part reflects the Byzantine type of texts and the Acts of Apostle Paul and the Epistles the Alexandrian one (Donker 2011: 3). In more recent research of the works of Athanasius the focus is on analysis of the exegetics of the biblical quotation (Ernest 2004) and on comparison between the orientation of Athanasius and his contemporaries Marcellus of Ancyra, Apollinarius, Eusebius and Acacius (Vinzent 2011: 131).

## Textological characteristics of the Serbian copy

The Venclović text features Serbian, not Russian phonetics, with two *jer* orthography and а for ѣ and ѡ reflect in the word, replacement of the nasal vowels with оу and е, voiced -р-, -л- (of the type сѣмрѣти). The Old Bulgarian reflects шт-, жд-, have been preserved, as well as iotated ѣ, ѡ in the beginning of the word and after soft consonants. The orthography strictly follows the spelling rules set down by Constantine of Kostenets in his *Clarification on the Alphabet*, with three types of stress, three types of stress combination with aspirations and intersecting signs like patron and kendema, as well as meaningful distribution of о and ѡ, е and ѣ, и and ѣ, оу and ѡ. In the Serbian copy we find complex adjective forms, anaphoric pronouns (ACC нь and ѣ for а), archaic participle forms of the type хранѣи (хранѣи), избавѣше се (избавѣша сѣ).

There are a number of examples in which the phrases in the *Razglagolnik* are closer to the text of Pog. 968 than to the text of Epiphanius, as for example in the quotation from Psalm 89. 1-2: ὁ μὲν Δαβὶδ ψάλλει κύριε, καταφυγὴ ἐγενήθης ἡμῖν εἰς γενεάν καὶ γενεάν. Πρὸ τοῦ ὄρη ἐδρασθῆναι καὶ πλασθῆναι τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος σὺ εἶ. Pog. 968, 17v26-18r1-2 Давы́дъ же поетъ, ги привѣжиште высть намъ в рѡ и родъ. прѣже даже горы не оутвердиша сѣ. и създа сѣ земля и вселенаѣ. ѡтъ вѣка и до вѣка ты еси. | GIM No. 360, 29/57 Дави́ѡ ꙗко поётъ. Гдѣи привѣжище выльъ еси намъ в' рѡдъ. прѣжде ѣже горамъ ѣтвердѣти сѣ, и создѣтисѣ земля, и селениѣи, ѡ вѣка и до вѣка ты еси (omitted words и родъ for καὶ γενεάν) | *Razgl.* 197r34-197v1-2 дѣтъ оубо поѣ'. ги привѣжиште вы ѡа в рѡ и рѡ. [repeated рѡ и рѡ], прѣже дѣ не выти гора и създатисѣ зѣли, и вселѣиѣи ѡ вѣка и до вѣка ты еси. In the translation ѡтъ вѣка и до вѣка Pog. 968 and *Razgl.* correspond to tradition x: καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ ἕως, while GIM No. 360 follows the tradition of **RS**: καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος. In the translation of ἐδρασθῆναι с оутвердѣти Pog. and GIM No. 360 agree with tradition x, while не выти гора in *Razgl.* corresponds to the difference in S γενηθῆναι, ὁ γενηθῆ (Tetz, Metzler, Savvidis 1998: 123). Remarkably, here *Razgl.* stands closer to the *Psalterium Sinaiticum*, 119b 12-16 прѣжде даже горы не вышиѣ — ѣ созѣда сѣ зѣлиѣ и оуселенѣѣ. The text in Pog. 968 is similar, 17v20-24: соломонъ рече, даже земля не сътворитъ. и даже бѣздѣнниѣ не сътворитъ. и даже не истекѣ источѣнници водни. и даже не оутвердѣтъ сѣ горы. прѣжде всѣ холмъ раждаѣтъ ма. и дѣ авраамъ не высть азъ есмь. GIM 360, 56: чрез Соломонѣа глетъ, прѣжде ѣже зѣмѣ сотворѣти, и прѣжде ѣже бѣдны сотворѣти, и прѣжде ѣже проиѣти истѣчѣнникомъ воднымъ, и прѣжде ѣже горамъ ѣтвердѣти сѣ, прѣжде всѣхъ хѡмъ раждаѣтъ ма. И прѣжде ѣже явраамъ выти, ѣ есмь, *Razgl.* 197: саломѡнѡ глѣѣ'. прѣже ѣ зѣмѣѡ сътворѣти. и прѣже ѣ бѣдны

сѣтворити. ѿ прѣже ѣже прои́звѣти исто́чникѡ вѡныѣ. ѿ прѣже ѣ гора́ оутверди́ти се. прѣде́ въсѣ́ хлѣ́мовѣ́ рѣда́ѣ́ ме. ѿ прѣже́ не́же авраа́мѣ выти́ азъ еса́; διὰ Σολομῶντος φησι. πρὸ τοῦ τὴν γῆν ποιῆσαι, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἀβύσσους ποιῆσαι καὶ πρὸ τοῦ προελθεῖν τὰς πηγὰς τῶν ὑδάτων, πρὸ τοῦ ὄρη ἐδρασθῆναι, πρὸ δὲ πάντων βουνῶν γεννᾶ με καὶ πρὶν Ἀβραάμ γενέσθαι ἐγὼ εἰμι. Here ἐδρασθῆναι corresponds to οὐτῶνδριτι in GIM 360 and *Razgl.*

There is another example in Chapter XLI, πῶς οὖν ἐλάμβανεν ὁ εἶχεν ἀεὶ καὶ πρὶν λαβεῖν νῦν αὐτό, Pog. 968, 43v1-2: како оубо прии́маше ѣже ѿмѣташе при́сно. ѿ прѣвѣ́е да́же ны́нѣ́ не́ вѣзметъ, GIM No. 360, 98/50: како при́тѣ́ покланѣ́мыѣ вы́ти, ѿ прѣжде́ не́же при́ти ны́ѣ́ сѣе, *Razgl.* f. 212: како оубо прѣ́еше. ѣ́же ѿмеше́ прѣ́но. ѿ прѣ́жде́ не́же при́ти ны́ѣ́ сѣе. The text of Slavintsky deviates from the Greek because of contamination with the next passage: πῶς ἔλαβε τὸ προκυνεῖσθαι ὁ καὶ πρὶν τοῦτο νῦν λαβεῖν, ἀεὶ προσκυνούμενος – Pog. 968, 43v: како при́тѣ́ покланѣ́ние. при́емлаи покланѣ́ние ѿ прѣвѣ́е се́го при́атиѣ, GIM No. 360, 98/50: како при́а покланѣ́мыѣ вы́ти, ѿ прѣ́жде́ не́же при́ти ны́ѣ́ сѣе, прѣ́но покланѣ́мыи, *Razgl.* 212: како прѣ́ѣ покланѣ́ѣ вы́ти. ѿ прѣ́де́ не́же прѣ́ѣти сѣе, прѣ́но покланѣ́мыѣ.

The presence of Slavic forms corresponding to different readings from various Greek traditions confirms the observation that the Slavic translations of the *Orations* followed Greek samples of a mixed tradition and only *Oration II* in Pog. 968 has been redacted additionally in comparison to a Greek original of the x-tradition and has been cleared of different readings according to RS (Penkova, 2016: 12). The x-tradition examples prevail in both the Old Bulgarian and the Athonite translation, as for example: ἐν δὲ τῷ Δαυιδ. ἀνεβόησε φωνῇ μεγάλης Σωσάννα καὶ εἶπεν. ὁ θεὸς ὁ αἰῶνος, ὁ τῶν κρυπτῶν γνώστης, ὁ εἰδὼς τὰ πάντα πρὶν γενέσεως αὐτῶν – Pog. 968, 18r3-5: въ дани́лѣ́ же вѣзъ́пи гла́сомъ вели́кѡ соу́сана ѿ рече, вѣ́ не́вѣ́стныи та́емныѣ́ сѣвѣ́дѣ́тель. сѣвѣ́дыи все́ прѣ́жде́ вытиѣ́ ѿ хъ – GIM No. 360, 29/57: вѣ́ дани́лѣ́ же, возво́пи гла́сомъ вели́книмъ сѣсана, ѿ рече. Бже́ не́вныи, та́инныѣ́ зна́тель, вѣ́дыи всѣ́ прѣ́жде́ вытѣ́ ѿ – *Razgl.* 197v: въ дани́лѣ́ вѣзъ́пи гла́сѡ вели́кыѣ́ сѣсана ѿ рече, вѣ́ не́вныи, та́инныѣ́ зна́телю, вѣ́дыи всѣ́ прѣ́же́ вытѣ́ ѿ хъ. Here x says: ὁ θεὸς οὐράνιος instead of ὁ θεὸς ὁ αἰῶνος.

The difference in the origin of varied readings in GIM No. 360 and *Razgl.* give grounds to assume that the Slavintskij's copy was compared additionally to a Greek sample other than that of the source of the Athonite translation: for example, for Ὁ Δαβὶδ ψάλλει λέγων in GIM No. 360 we read Давѣ́дъ поетъ́ гла́, but in *Razgl.* 193: Дѣвѣ́ поѣ́ гла́ѣ́ (гла́ for глагола and поѣ́ for поѣ́). This observation is also supported by the different word order of the type of GIM No. 360 вы́ти ны́ѣ́ compared to *Razgl.* ны́на вы́ти for νῦν γεγονέναи.

It is not known whether added or omitted words in Venclović that are missing in both copies of the Old Bulgarian translation and in GIM No. 360 are due to his Athonite protograph, as for example the frequent omission of *рече* for *φησί*, or the added in *Razgl.* 192 *вѣ некого да време*, compared to Pog. 968, 30.13: *вѣ некого да*, or the phrase added in Venclović at the end of *Oration II*, *еже аще что выстѣ*.

In both GIM No. 360 and in *Razgl.* there are marginal notes about the source in terms of biblical book or author, but we should not overlook the fact that the markings of the citations in the margin are abbreviated in a different way, as for example in GIM No. 360, 61/31 *ѣ корѣ г*, *Razgl.* 199 *ѣ корѣ г*.

## **Volume and character of biblical citations**

The exegesis of Athanasius of Alexandria stepped on citations from all canonical and deuterocanonical texts, and Athanasius himself was the first to divide the Testament into ‘Old’ and ‘New’ (*παλαιὰ τε καὶ καινή*, Penkova 2016: 110-111). The statistics of citations in the Greek Text of *Oration I* shows that of 23,132 words those from the Scriptures totalled 3,237, the citations from the New Testament being twice more frequent (Ernst, 2004: 114, 355; see a review of older research in Dragas 2005: 6–7, 11, 41). The citation paradigms (*παράδειγμα*) are repeated on many occasions in the text, surrounded by sample citations designated by Athanasius as *τύπος, χαρακτήρ*. The key citation in *Oration I* is the Epistle of Apostle Paul to the Philippians 2. 8-11 and to the Hebrews 1:4, in *Oration II* – Proverbs 8:22, in *Oration III* - Matthew 24:36. The key citations are repeated in the text as a full or shortened version, as if being retold or as a reminiscence. For example Ph 2.9-10, Pog. 968, 39r22-26 (182.6-7): *тѣм же и бѣ егò прѣвѣзнесе. и дастъ ёмоу ѿма еже ёсть выше всего ѿмене. да о ѿмени исусовѣ. всако колѣно поклонитъ сѧ. небесскыи хъ и земный и прѣисподний*, *Razgl.* 210: *тѣ же и бѣ егò прѣвѣзвысїи и даровѧ ёмоу ѿме пѧче вѣсакого ѿмени. да ѡ ѿмени исусовѣ вѣсако колѣно поклонї се, небны и землнїи и прїеїфонї*, διὸ καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ὑπερύψωσε καὶ ἐχαρίσατο αὐτῷ ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πάντων ὀνομάτων, ἵνα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι ἰησοῦ πάντων γόνου κάμψῃ ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων, in 40r20-21: *да о ѿмени исусовѣ. всако колѣно поклонїт сѧ*.

The idea of the unity between the prophecies in the Old Testament and their confirmation in the New Testament, as for example the thesis of the eternity of God the Son, His consubstantial existence with the Father and His coexistential being, is illustrated with quotations from Isaiah 40:28 (Chapter 12), Judith 8.16 9 (chapters 21, 27, 28), Daniel 13:42, The Letter of Paul to the Church in Rome 1:20 and his Letter to the Hebrews 1:2. The repetition of the same combination of citations in the three

Athanasius orations is one of the proofs of the unity and authenticity of the three Orations, cf. Pog. 968, 137r22–23: *ѣсть ѣдинъ ѿ тѣхъде оумъ въ сѣ трѣхъ словесѣ.* The precision of the citation varies: in *Oration I* are initially ‘retold’, cf. Pog. 968, John 10.30: *тѣже ѿ сѣмъ ” ѿтець ѣдино ѣста, видѣи во сего, видѣти ѿ оца, и* John 14.10, 21r17-18: *сынъ въ Отци и отць в сынѣ,* but after that they are also quoted directly: 62r26-62v1: *глаголетъ ѡбаче ѿко слово ѿ ора сѣ. азъ въ Отци ѿ оца въ мнѣ. ѿ видѣвѣи мене видѣлъ ѣсть оца. ѿ оца прѣвѣвали въ мнѣ.* The quotations from the Gospels, the Epistle Book and the Psalter are very close in both translations, while those from the Old Testament prophets reveal significant differences. For example, the block of three evangelic citations to denounce Sabellianism is repeated with variations in spelling, the changes in the Serbian copy being in the expected replacement of the dual for the plural and of perfectum for aorist: John 10:30, Pog. 968, 148r1–2 *азъ ѿ оца ѣдино ѣсѣ,* *Razgl. 279 азъ ѿ оца ѣдино ѣсмы,* John 14:9, Pog. 968 147v27 *видѣвѣи мене видѣлъ ѣсть оца,* *Razgl. 279 видѣвѣи мене видѣ оца,* John 14:10, 148r1 *азъ въ Отци, ѿ оца въ мнѣ,* *Razgl. 279 азъ въ Отци, ѿ оца въ мнѣ.* The orthography of the citations varies even in the initial translation, cf. Pog. 968, 142v 14-15 *азъ ѿ оца ѣдино ѣсѣ, азъ въ Отци, ѿ оца въ мнѣ.*

The combinations of Psalms 96:8 and 88:7 is repeated in *Oration I*, Chapter 57, *Oration II*, Chapter 49 and in *Oration III*, Chapter 10. This block is used as evidence that Jesus is different from the angels and the sons of man ‘elevated by God’. Psalm 88:7 in the *Psalterium Sinaiticum* says: 117v15-16: *кто... подовитъ сѣ ѿ въ снѣхъ вѣхъ, Тис ѡμοιωθήσεται τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν υἱοῖς Θεοῦ,* in Pog. 968, 107r7–8: *кто подовенъ ѿви въ сынѣ вожнихъ,* and 142r17 *кто оуподовитъ сѣ ѡмоу въ сынѣ вѣхъ.*

The evangelical quotations were translated directly from Greek, as for example Matthew 6:25–30, Pog. 968, 87r1–16: *не пѣцѣте сѣ ѡ доуши вѣшеи. что ѣсте. ни ѡ тѣлѣи вѣшемъ въ что ѡвлѣшти сѣ. не дѣша ли вѣштѣши ѣсть пишта. ѿ тѣло ѡдежда. възрѣте на птица небесьскыѣ. ѿко не сѣжѣтъ ни жнѣтъ, ни съвирѣжѣтъ въ житница. ѿ оца вѣшеи небесьскыи крѣмѣи ѿ, не вѣ ли пѣче тѣ ѣсте. кто оца вѣшеи пекѣи сѣ, може приложити къ раштѣниж своѣмѣ лѣкѣтъ ѣдинъ. ѿ ѡ ѡдежди пошто сѣ пѣчѣте, съмотритѣ крѣна сельнаѣ како растѣтъ, не трѣдѣтъ сѣ, ни прѣдѣтъ. глаголѣ же вѣмъ, ѿко ни солѡмонъ въ вѣси сѣвѣ своѣи, не ѡвлѣче сѣ ѿко ѣдинъ оца сѣ. ѿште сѣбно сѣлно днѣсь сѣште, ѿ оца въ пѣштѣ вѣмѣтаемъ, бѣ тако ѡдѣбѣтъ, не больми ли вѣшеи маловѣрѣни. Cf. *Razgl. 239 не пѣцѣте сѣ дѣшею вѣшею. что ѣсте. ни тѣло вѣши въ что ѡвлѣчѣте сѣ. не дѣша ли вѣщѣше ѿ пишти. ѿ тѣло ѡдѣды. възрѣте на птице ѿвѣне. ѿко не сѣю. ни жнѣ. ни съвирѣю вълагалища. ѿ оца вѣшеи ѿвѣны питаѣ ѿ, не вѣи же ли пѣче разанствѣете ѿ ни. кто же ѿ вѣ пекѣи сѣ, ѣда може приложити възрастѣ своѣмѣ лѣка ѣдинъ. ѿ ѡдѣжи что пѣчѣте сѣ. съмотритѣ крѣны**



сѣлнѣ, како растѣ, не трѣдаю се, ни прѣддѣ. Глаго же ва, тако ни солѡмонъ въ вѣсей  
славѣ своѣи ѡдѣаше се тако единѡ сѣи. аще трѣву сѣлнѣ дана сѣшѣ. и оутро въ пещь  
въмѣтаемѣ. бѣ тако ѡдѣаше. не много ли паче ва маловѣрни.

The lexical differences between Pog. 968 and *Razgl.* do not allow identification with a certain Old Bulgarian manuscript, cf. *нѣкны* instead of *нѣвѣсьскыи*, *вълагалище* instead of *житница*, *питати* instead of *крѣмити*, *разанствѣете ѿ ни* instead of *паче тѣ есте*, *възрастѣ* instead of *къ раштѣниж*, *одѣаше се* instead of *облѣче са*, *тако* instead of *не тако*, *трѣву сѣлнѣ* instead of *сѣно сѣлноє*, *много* instead of *вольми*, *маловѣры* instead of *маловѣрни*. The differences between Pog. 968 and the *Codex Zographenis* (according to the edition of Jagić 1883) are both lexical (*раштѣниж~тѣлеси*, *крина~цвѣтъ*, *пешть~огнь*, *ваштъши~вольши*, *вольми~колми*), and grammatical (preposition combination with locative ~ instrumental case, infinitive instead of a certain verbal form): *не пѣчете са дѣишъ своѣшъ. что ѣсте ли что пиете. ни тѣломъ вашимъ. въ что облѣчете са. не дѣша ли вольши естъ пиштѣ. и тѣло одежда. възърите на птица нѣскыѣ. како не сѣжтъ ни жьнѣжтъ. ни сѣбирижтъ въ житънижъ. и ѡць вашъ нѣскыи питѣтъ ѣ. не вы ли паче лоучыши ихъ есте. кто же отъ васъ пекы са. можетъ приложити тѣлеси своеѣмъ лакътъ единъ. и о одежди чьто са печете. сѣмотрите цвѣтъ сѣлнѣихъ како растѣтъ. не трѣждажтъ са. ни приджтъ. глаж же вамъ. ѣко ни солѡмонъ. въ всеи славѣ своѣи облѣче са. ѣко единъ отъ сихъ. аще же сѣно дньсь сжштѣ. а оутрѣ въ огнь въмѣтаемо. бѣ тако одѣетъ. колми паче васъ маловѣри. Individual lexical parallels with *Razgl.* are found in the East Bulgarian *Sava's Book* (according to the critical edition of Ščepkin 1903): *трѣвж сельнж дньсь сжшж, въ пещь, маловѣри*, but *Sava's Book* omits *не дѣша ли вольши естъ пиштѣ. и тѣло одежда*, what is important of the different readings is the double negation *не сѣжтъ ничесоже*, compare also the lexical and grammatical variants: *възложити на тѣло своѣ лакътъ единъ. и при одежди... развѣкимъ цвѣты сельныѣ не трѣждажтъ са ...то аще трѣвж сельнж дньсь сжшж. а оутро въ пещь вълагажшж са ... не мнози паче васъ. маловѣри.**

The Greek model of introducing a quotation by a conjunction for citation *ὅτι*, and the article *τό* for substantivization of the quoted phrase are given as *тако* and *иже/еже*. The direct citation of the quotation of the Athanasius text also provides information about the development of terminology: for example Pog. 968, 16r6 (52.19) features *въ апокалипси*, *Razgl.* f.196 *въ ѡкрѣвны*. There are introductory words before the citation: *рече, глаголетъ, поетъ*, e.g. Hosea 7.13 and 7.15-16, Pog. 968, 11v25-12a3 (36.17-20) *прорѡкъ, ѡсѣ прѣрече. ѿ горе ѡмъ, тако отъстѣжиша отъ мене, ѡкабани сжтъ. тако нечѣствоваша ѡ мнѣ. азъ же ѡзбави ѡ. ѡни глаголаша на ма лѣжж. и пакы мало постѣпъши, и на ма помыслиша зло. отъвертиша ни въ чьтоже. Razgl.* 193 *прѡкъ ѡсѣ прѣрече. Горѣ ѡмъ тако ѡскочише ѿ мене. ѡкабани сѣ тако нечѣствоваше въ ме. азъ же ѡзбави ѡ. тѣи же глаше на ме лѣжи. и по малѣ, и оусѣвѣтоваше зла.*



„ἐφρουράξατε καὶ μελετᾶτε κενὰ“ λεξειδία „κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, with different reading in x διαλεξειδία. In the *Psalterium Sinaiticum* 1v16 is вѣскжж шпаша сѣ езыци. ꙗ людѣ проучиша сѣ тѣшпетныиѣ.

The volume of the citations allows a convincing following of the x tradition, cf. Heb 4:12, Pog. 968, 126r2–8 живѡ во слово вѡжне, ѡ сѣдѣтельно. ѡ острѣе пѡне вѣаквогѡ мѡва ѡвождж остра. ѡ прохѡдѡште до раздѣленѡ джшѡ ѡ доѡха. ѡлѣнѡвѣ же ѡ мозговѣ. ѡ ѡтѣлжѡтельно мѡслѡи. ѡ мышленѡ сѣдѣвѡнаѡго. ѡ нѣсть тѣарѣ невѡдима прѣ нилѣ. вѣе же нѡго ѡ ѡближено прѣдѣ ѡнѡма егѡ, *Razgl.* 263 живѡ во слово вѡжѡи ѡ дѣиствитѣно. ѡ острѣише пѡне вѣсакѡго мѡва ѡвоѡдѣ ѡсѡра, ѡ прохѡдѣше до раздѣленѡ дѡше ѡ дѡха. ѡланѡвѣ же ѡ мазговѣ. ѡ сѣдѡталѡне помѡшлѡнѡи, ѡ вѣ ѡѡлѡнѡи сѣдѡвѡи. ѡ нѣсть здѡнѡи неѡвлѡнѡне прѣ нѡи. вѣсѡ нѡга. ѡ ѡзѡвлѡнѡ ѡчѣсѡ егѡ, Ζῶν γὰρ ὁ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἐνεργῆς, καὶ τομώτερος ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν μάχαιραν δίστομον, καὶ δικνούμενος ἄχρι μερισμοῦ ψυχῆς καὶ πνεύματος, ἀρμῶν τε καὶ μυελῶν, καὶ κριτικὸς ἐνθυμήσεων καὶ ἐννοιῶν καρδίας, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι κτίσις ἀφανῆς ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ, πάντα δὲ γυμνὰ καὶ τετραχηλισμένα τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ (in the x-redaction we have κριτικὸς ἐνθυμήσεων καὶ ἐννοιῶν καρδίας, while the RS group of manuscripts omit καὶ ἐννοιῶν καρδίας).

In *Razgl.* we have a grammatical adaptation of the forms to the context, as for example Revelation 1.8 (as well as 1.4, 4.8), Pog. 968 16r6-7 (52.20): сжѡи ѡ вѣлѡи ѡ градѣи, ѡтѣ сжѡи во ѡ ѡтѣ вѣаго, *Razgl.* 196 сѡи, ѡ вѣ, ѡ грѣдѡи. ѡ ѣ сѡи, ѡ ѡ ѣ вѣ, ѡ ѡн каѡи ѡ ѡн каѡи ѡ ѡрѡόμενος, тоῦ δὲ ὡν καὶ τοῦ ἦν. In addition to the change of grammatical gender, number and tense in the very Greek text of Athanasius himself, there are examples with added words by Athanasius, compare the citation from Matthew 12:13 and Luke 11:23 in *Oration I*, Pog. 968, 5r7-8: не сѣвѡраѡци сѣ нами растачѡжтѣ с дѡнаволомѣ, with change of number (ὁ μὴ συνάγων) and added word (сѣ дѡнаволомѣ), *Razgl.* 190. не сѣвѡрѡѡци сѣ нами растачѡѡ сѣ дѡнаволѡ. There are also pseudo-citations where Athanasius puts in the mouth of the “quoted” person his own interpretation of the text, as for example the pseudo-quotation from Ac 2:36 in Chapter 2.16 is ascribed to apostle Peter, Pog. 968, 79r17–18 разѡжѡнѡите ѡко сѡи ѡтѣ, ѡгоже вы пропѡсте. тѣ ѣсть хѣ вѡѡмыи, γνῶτε, ὅτι οὗτος ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐσταυρῶσατε, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ προσδοκῶμενος. Separate words have been used in the allusions to the biblical text and their meaning depends on how well-read the reader/listener is. For example, the reference to Genesis 3:4 consists of three words: ѡко ѡнѡ сѣвѣштѡважшѡи кѣ жѡнѣ, ὡς „τὸν ὄφιν συμβουλεύοντα τῇ γυναικί“.

## Peculiarities in *Razglagolnik* characteristics of Athonite translations

The Athonite lexis in the Venclović text includes съставъ instead of *ипостась*, храмъ instead of *цръкы*, зданіе твѣрь дѣйстви́тено instead of *сѣдѣтельно*, оумышление instead of *помышление*, отънждъ instead of *отврѣнь*, естъство instead of *радъ*, начрътание instead of *образъ*, зракъ instead of *образъ*, мждрость instead of *прѣмждрость*, овъштникъ instead of *причастъникъ*, не лѣпо instead of *не подоваетъ*, простъ instead of *грѣвъ*, послоушати instead of *повиновати*, съпоспѣшьствовати instead of *помагати*, хыщеніа instead of *грабениа*, прѣвъзвысити instead of *прѣвъзнести* *хоулати* *власвимлати*, оупразнити *Раздроушити*, *единородънъ* *единочадъ* *раздѣленіа* *разлжѣніа*. The new translation restores the most archaic practice and φύσις is consistently translated as *естъство*, while οὐσία - as *сѣтъство*. Compare the combination of citations 2 Peter 1.4 and 1Co 3.16, Pog. 968 20v18-19 (72.10-11) и то естъ же глаголаше Пётръ да вждоутъ вожиа овъштъници сѣтъства. іако̄ рече а̀постолъ, не вѣсте ли іако̄ ц̀ркви вожиа е́сте, GIM, 61 и сѣ̄ е́сть. ѣже гла Пётръ. да вѣдете Бж҃его ѡвѣщъници е́стества, и іако̄ глаголетъ а̀плъ, не вѣсте іако̄ храмъ Бж҃їи е́сте, *Razgl.* 199: и сѣ̄ і̄ гла петаръ. да вѣдете вж҃їаго ѡвѣщъници е́ства. и іако̄ гла а̀плъ. не вѣсте ли іако̄ хра̄ бж҃їи е́те. In the new translation – да вжд(е)т(е) is corrected according to Ἴνα γένησθε, but in all three texts there are modified and omitted и between *рече* and *а̀постолъ* for *ὡς φησι καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος*.

The apostolic citations are indicative of the new Athonite-Turnovo redaction, cf. Heb 1.3, Pog. 968, 13v8 (44.9) наверѣтание во е́сть о́тънждо състава, *Razgl.* 194r : *характѣръ* во і̄ о́чѣа и́постасїи, *χαράκτηρ* ἐστί τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ὑποστάσεως, Pog. and *Razgl.* follow version *х*: *χαράκτηρ* γὰρ. Here the *New Testament* features *наверѣтание* *ипостаси*, the lexeme *съставъ* is found in the Serbian Epistle Book NBKM 88, Serbian manuscript of 1362, and in the Middle Bulgarian Epistle Book NBKM 93 of the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, Athonite redaction with regulated orthography of neighbouring uses (Hristova 2004, 46, 359). Cf. also Rm 11.17, Pog. 968, 14v24-25 948.16): *лжкавно мнїи́мыи свѣтїльникъ* свои вѣжегъше о́тъ дивиа *масльница*, *Razgl.* 195: *ковѣрно мнїи́мы̄ свѣ̄и́никъ* вѣжегъше ѿ *дивомасличїа* *πανούργως* τὸν νομιζόμενον ἑαυτῶν λύχνον ἄψαντες ἐκ τῆς ἀγριελαίου. The phrase is an allusion after Lk 11.33, Mt 5.15 and Mk 4.21, but the metaphor *дива масльница* of the heretics is from the Epistle Book. The specifications concern verbal voice, as for example Proverbs 13.9, Pog. 968 14v27-15r2 (48. 17-18): *свѣтъ* во рече *невѣстивъ* оугасаѣтъ, *покриваѣтъ* же и *пѣ* *спждомъ* *лицемѣриа*, *Razgl.* 195: *свѣ̄* во *невѣстивїи* гла̄ оугасаѣт се *сего* *о҃во* *крї̄* *пѣ* *спждо̄* *лицемѣрїа*, *φῶς* γὰρ δέ, φησίν, ἀσεβῶν σβέννυται· τοῦτο μὲν κρύπτουσιν ὑπὸ τὸν μόδιον

τῆς ὑποκρίσεως, the word order in *Razgl.* follows x-tradition ἀσεβῶν φησίν, Gavriilo Venclović has replaced **нѣвѣстивѣи** with **нечѣстивѣи(хъ)** and has omitted the anaphoric **и** in compliance with the Greek.

The observations on the language in Pog. 968, GIM No.360 and *Razgl.* confirm the common genesis of the copies in MS No. 360 GIM and *Razgl.* from a single South Slavic (Athonite) translation. The Athonite translation was made directly from Greek, without reference to the canonical books revised in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, but in abidance with the orthographic and grammatical standards of the 14<sup>th</sup> century reform. The translator was familiar with and used the translation of Constantine of Preslav, but the similarities between the Old Bulgarian and Athonite translations are mainly in the New Testament. The differences between the Russian and the Serbian versions are due mainly to the corrections made by Epiphanius Slavinetzky, or to a reference of the Epiphanius protograph compared to a Greek text from another Greek tradition used before him on Mt. Athos.

## **Appendix**

### **Index of biblical quotations in Oratio I**

#### **Chapter 1:**

Isa. 5.20, Job 41.5, Mt.12.30 (Lk XI.23), Mt. 13.25, John 8.44, 1John 2.19, Ephes. 1.18, II Cor. 11.3, Col. 2.4

#### **Chapter 2**

Mt. 14.6, Rom. 1.23, II Cor.11.8, I Tim. 1.20, II Tim. 2.17, Sussana 1.9

#### **Chapter 3**

I Tim. 4.13

#### **Chapter 4**

John. 10.30, John 10.33, 1John 2.22-23, Rom. 1.30,

#### **Chapter 5**

Ps. 23.10, Joel 1.6, Joel 2.2, Tit 1.1, I Cor. 1.24

#### **Chapter 6**

Ps. 81.6 (John 10.34), I John 5.20

#### **Chapter 7**

Gen. 3.4, Jer 2.12, Hos. 7.13, Hos. 7.15-16, Ecclesiastes 21.2

#### **Chapter 8**

Jer. 25.10, John 19.15, I Tim. 4.1 (and contamination of I Tim. 9.1 and Tit. 1.13), (Col 1.18 alusion), Tit 1.14, (I John 2.11 alusion)

**Chapter 9**

Ps. 81.6, Mt. 5.15, Lk 8.16, Lk 11.30, John 1.1, (John 1.18), John 14.9, I Cor. 1.24, (II Cor. 4.4 alusion), Col 1.15, Hebr. 1.3, Hebr. 1.9, Hebr. 1.12 , Hebr. 1.24, (Hebr. 1.61alusion),  
Wis. 7. 21-22, Wis. 7.26

**Chapter 10**

Prov. 9.19, Prov. 13.9, Mt. 3.17, Mt. 5.15, Luce 16.8, Rom. 9.5, Rom. 11.17

**Chapter 11**

Ps. 2.1, John 1.1, Rom. 1.20, Rom. 9.5, I Cor. 1.24, II Cor. 3.16-17, Revelation 1.8, Revelation 4.8

**Chapter 12**

Ps. 89.17, Ps. 35.10, Ps. 54.20, Ps. 144.13, John 1.3, Col 1.17, Mt. 11.27, John 8.12, John 10.14, John 13.13, John 14.6, John 14.8, John 14.9, Rom. 1.25, Rom. 1.20 (2x), Hebr. 1.2, Hebr. 1.3, Isa. 40.28, Sussana 42 (Daniel 13.42), Baruch 4.20, Baruch 4.22.

**Chapter 13**

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**Chapter 14**

Prov. 8.1

**Chapter 15**

Mt. 3.17, John 16.15,

**Chapter 16**

Mt. 11.27 (Luce 10.22), John 10.30, John 14.9, II Petr. 1.4, I Cor.3.16, II Cor. 5.17, II Cor. 5.18, II Cor. 6.16, Hebr. 1.3

**Chapter 18**

Ps. 28.2 (Ps. 95.7), John 5.23,

**Chapter 19**

Ps. 103.24, Jer. 2.13, Jer. 17.12-13, Prov. 3.3.19, Prov. 8.12, Isa. 43.13, Jsa. 48.11, Baruch 3.12, John 14.6, I Cor. 8.6

**Chapter 20**

Prov. 8.30, John 14.6, I Cor. 4.4, Col 1.15, Hebr. 1.3.

**Chapter 21**

John 14.9, Rom. 1.30

**Chapter 22**

Mt. 12.34 (Luce 6.45), Rom. 1.23

**Chapter 23**

Ephes. 3.15

**Chapter 24**

John 1.1, Rom. 9.5, Hebr. 1.3

**Chapter 25**

John 1.14

**Chapter 26**

Gen. 14 (alusion), Gen. 16 (alusion), Gen. 21 (alusion), Hebr. 8.10

**Chapter 28**

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**Chapter 29**

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**Chapter 30**

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**Chapter 32**

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**Chapter 33**

Ps. 23.10, John 5.23,

**Chapter 34**

Mt. 6.9, Mt. 28.19, Luce 11.2, John 10.30, John 14.9, John 14.10

**Chapter 35**

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**Chapter 36**

Ps. 101.26-28, Deut. 23.39, Malach 3.6, Mt. 12.34, John 14.6, Hebr. 13.8

**Chapter 37**

Ps. 44.8, Ps. 118.98, Isa. 1.2, Phil. 2.9-10

**Chapter 38**

Gen. 18.2, Exod. 3, Prov. 8.30, Ps. 17.10, Ps. 17.14, Ps. 23.7, Daniel 7.10, John 17.5, I Cor. 2.8, Phil. 2.7, Phil. 2.8, Phil. 2.9, Phil. 2.10

**Chapter 39**

Exod. 7.1, Deut. 32.19-20, Deut. 32.43, Ps. 81.1, Mt. 10.35, Mt. 11.27, Col. 1.15, Col. 1.16-17

**Chapter 40**

Ps. 19.8, Ps. 53.1, Ps. 96.7 (Hebr. 1.6), Phil. 2.5-11,

**Chapter 41**

Gen. 3.24, Ps. 23.7, Ps. 71.5, Ps. 71.17, Ps. 88.17-18, John 1.1, John 1.14, John 17.19, Phil. 2.6, Phil. 2.7, Phil. 2.8-9, I Cor. 1.30, Rom. 6.8, Hebr. 6.20, Hebr. 9.14, Hebr. 9.24

**Chapter 42**

Lk 15.24, Ephes. 1.22, Ephes. 3.6, Phil. 2.6, Phil. 2.6-8, Phil. 2.9, Phil. 2.10-11

**Chapter 43**

Isa. 2.18-21, John 1.9, John 1.12, I John 3.24, I Cor. 1.25, I Cor. 14.25, Phil. 2.6-8, Phil. 2.9

**Chapter 44**

John 1.14, John 6.38, Acts 2.22, Acts 2.24, I Pet. 3.18, Phil. 2.6-9, Ephes. 4.10, Rom. 5.14, I Cor. 15.47, I Cor. 15.48, Hebr. 9.24

**Chapter 45**

John 1.14, Ephes. 4.9, Col. 2.9, Phil. 2.9, II Tim. 1.10

**Chapter 46**

Ps. 44.7, Ps. 44.7-8, Ps. 17.17, Ps. 17.18-19, John 17.17, John 17.18-19, II Cor. 4.4, Col. 1.15

**Chapter 47**

Ps. 44.8, Ps. 44.9, Isa. 61.1, Lk 24.1, John 16.14, John 16.13, John 16.17, John 19.39, John 20.22, Acts 10.38, I John 2.20, Ephes. 1.13, I Cor. 3.16,

**Chapter 48**

Ps. 50.13, Num. 11.16-17, Isa. 40.8, John 1.18, John 15.26, John 17.22, John 20.22, Phil. 2.9, Hebr. 13.8,

**Chapter 49**

Ps. 9.6, Ps. 44.7, Ps. 44.8, John 1.1, Gal. 3.10, Hebr. 1.3

**Chapter 50**

Ps. 44.8, Isa. 61.1, Mt. 12.24, Mt. 12.28, Mt. 12.32, Mt. 13.35, Mc 3.29, Luce 4.18, John 1.14 John 1.16, John 16.7, John 16.13, John 16.14, John 20.22, Phil. 2.6

**Chapter 51**

Ps. 44.8, Rom. 5.12, Rom. 8.4, Rom. 8.9, I Cor. 15.45, II Cor. 2.11,

**Chapter 52**

Ps. 5.6, Ps. 7.12, Ps. 10.7, Ps. 44.8, Ps. 86.2, Isa. 61.8, Malach 1.2 (= Rom. 9.13), Mt. 12.34, Mt. 15.19, Mt. 22.21, Mt. 22.29, Gal. 4.4, II Tim. 4.8,

**Chapter 53**

III Kgs. 8.27, II Chron. 6.18, Prov. 8.22, John 1.14, John 2.36, Acts 2.36, Acts 13.38, Acts 28.28, I Cor. 2.8, Hebr. 1.4, Hebr. 3.1.

**Chapter 54**

Deut. 18.15, Isa. 7.14, Isa. 53.7, Mt. 24.3, Acts 8.34, II Thes. 2.1-2, II Tim. 2.17-18, Hebr. 1.4

**Chapter 55**

Ps. 83.11, Prov. 8.10-11, Isa. 56.4-5, Mt. 1.55, Mt. 20.28 (=Mc 10.45), Gal. 3.19, Hebr. 1.1-2, Hebr. 1.2-3, Hebr. 1.3-4, Hebr. 1.14, Hebr. 2.2

**Chapter 56**

Gen. 21.5, Ps. 103.24, Job 1.2, John 1.3, John 1.18



**Chapter 57**

Gen. 29.17, Gen. 39.6, Ps. 2.7, Ps. 85.8, Ps. 88.7, , Ps. 101.26, Ps. 103.4, I Cor. 15.41, Hebr. 1.4, Hebr. 1.5, Hebr. 1.7

**Chapter 58**

Ps. 44.7, Ps. 101.26-27, John 14.28, Hebr.1.2-3, Hebr. 1.8-11

**Chapter 59**

Exod. 25.40, Ps. 18.5, Ps. 75.2, Isa. 54.13, Mt. 21.34, Mt. 18.27, Mt. 21.41, Mt. 28.19, John 6.45, Rom. 5.14, Rom. 10.18, II Tim. 1.10, I Cor. 15.22, Hebr. 2.1-3, Hebr. 7.19, Hebr. 7.22, Hebr. 8.5, Hebr. 8.6, Hebr. 9.23, Hebr. 9.24, Hebr. 10.1

**Chapter 60**

John 1.17, John 3.17, John 12.47, Rom. 5.14, Rom. 7.23, Rom. 8.3, Rom. 8.4, Rom. 8.9, II Tim. 1.10. Hebr. 7.22, Hebr. 10.1

**Chapter 61**

Gen. 2.16, Gen. 28.12, Ps. 15.8, Ps. 96.7, Luce 1.19, Luce 4.43, John 1.51, John 14.9, John 14.10, John 16.15, Hebr. 1.6

**Chapter 62**

Ps. 9.10, Ps. 30.3, Ps. 33.14, Prov. 8.22, Mt. 11.28, I Pet 2.24, Hebr. 1.4, Hebr. 1.5, Hebr. 1.7, Hebr. 1.10, Hebr. 1.14

**Chapter 63**

Gen. 14.13-16 (alusion), Gen. 19.3, III Kgs. 18.4, Ps. 30.3, Job 29.15-16, Isa. 58.9

**Chapter 65**

Exod. 15.2 (alusion), Ps. 30.3, Ps. 117.14 (alusion), Ps. 117.21 (alusion), , Isa. 12.2 (alusion), , Mt. 20.28, John 1.14, John 11.15, John 14.6, I John 2.2, Hebr. 1.4, Hebr. 7.22

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### **ABBREVIATIONS**

Ac	Acts of the Apostles
Co	The Epistle to the Corinthians
Gen	Genesis
GIM	State Historical Museum, Moscow
Heb	The Epistle of Apostle Paul to the Hebrews
Jb	Book of Job
Lk	The Book of Luke
Mk	The Book of Mark
Peter	The Epistle of Apostle Peter
Ph	The Epistle to the Philippians
Pog.	Pogodyn collection, Sct. Ptetersburg National Library
Proverbs	The Old Testaments Book of Proverbs
Ps	Psalterium
RGB	Russian State Library, Moscow
Rm	The Epistle to the Romans
RNB	Rusian National Library. St. Petersburg
SANU	Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Beograd

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**Pirinka Penkova-Lyager** finished Bulgarian Philology in Sofia University (1964). PhD thesis “Rectio of verbal nouns in Old Bulgarian“ (1968); Assistant prof. in Sofia University (1964–1968) and Prof. in Slavic studies in Odense University (1980). Lecturer in Bulgarian language in Regensburg, Germany (1968–1971); lecturer in Slavic studies in universities of Kobenhavn, Aarhus, Odense and Esbjerg in Denmark (1971–1995). Author of publications in the field of medieval studies – translations from Greek in Old Church Slavonic. Her important contribution is publication of the *Orations against the Arians* by Athanasius of Alexandria, translated by Constantine of Preslav.