

THE SLAVONIC TRADITION OF THE *QUAESTIONES*
AD ANTIOCHUM DUCEM:
THE CONFLATED NATURE OF *COD. PRAGENSIS SLAV. IX F 15*

Within the overabundant and extremely complex textual tradition of the Slavonic *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem* (CPG 2257; henceforth *QAD*)¹ there is one place where one can find order and consistency: five text witnesses from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, kept in the Russian State Library in Moscow – four from the collection of the Trinity Monastery of St Sergius (F.304), one from the Moscow Theological Academy collection (F.173) – present us with a particular variant of the Slavonic *QAD*. This version has a stable tradition and matches a particular Greek text witness almost perfectly, both in its structure – the number and sequence of the question-and-answers (QAs) – and in its readings. It has 120 out of the original 137 QAs and it closely reflects the collection of QAs found in the Greek *Cod. Oxoniensis Bodleianus* Auct. F.4.07 (Misc. 106) of the early sixteenth century, ff. 198^r-256^r, which in previous research has been referred to as M97 or 97.² Here is an overview of the Slavonic manuscripts, henceforth called the T group:

¹ See the recent publications by I. DE VOS – O. GRINCHENKO, *The Quaestiones ad Antiochum Ducem: Exploring the Slavonic Material*, in *Byz*, 84 (2014), pp. 105-143; W. VEDER, *Der 'zweite südslavische Einfluss' aus der Sicht der Textüberlieferung*, in *Die Welt der Slaven*, 59/1 (2014), pp. 95-110; F. J. THOMSON, *Byzantine Erotapocritic Literature in Slavonic Translation with Special Attention to the Important Role Played by Anastasius Sinaita's Interrogationes Et Responsiones in the Conversion of the Slavs*, in *Byz*, 84 (2014), pp. 391-392. A preliminary list of 110 Slavonic text witnesses has been published by K. KUEV, *Ivan Aleksandrovijat sbornik ot 1348*, Sofija, 1981, pp. 219-244.

² Cf. DE VOS – GRINCHENKO, *Quaestiones* [see note 1], p. 114. The manuscript was owned by a soldier named John Say and acquired by the Bodleian Library in 1618 through a gift by Thomas Cecil, Earl of Exeter (1542-1623) – cf. H. O. COXE, *Bodleian Library Quarto Catalogues I. Greek Manuscripts*, Oxford, 1969 (repr. of 1853), Misc. 106, coll. 681-682 (F. MADAN *et al.*, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, vol. II/1, Oxford, 1922, n° 2906); P. J. FEDWICK, *Bibliotheca Basiliana Universalis: a study of the manuscript tradition, translations and editions of the works of Basil of Caesarea*, IV, 2 (*CC Bibliotheca Basiliana Universalis*), Turnhout, 1999, p. 903 (siglum k5333).

- T²² *Cod. Mosquensis, RGB F.304* (Troice-Sergieva Lavra) 122, 15th c., East Slavonic orthography, ff. 225^r-275^r (Kuev [see note 1] nr. 15).
- T⁶⁶ *Cod. Mosquensis, RGB F.304* (Troice-Sergieva Lavra) 166, 16th c., East Slavonic orthography, ff. 206^r-255^v (Kuev nr. 48).
- T⁵⁰ *Cod. Mosquensis, RGB F.304* (Troice-Sergieva Lavra) 750, 15th c., East Slavonic orthography, ff. 116^r-158^r (Kuev nr. 23).
- T⁹⁰ *Cod. Mosquensis, RGB F.304* (Troice-Sergieva Lavra) 190, 1418, East Slavonic orthography, ff. 208^r-250^r (Kuev nr. 22).
- M^T *Cod. Mosquensis, RGB F.173, 50*, 15th-16th c., East Slavonic orthography, ff. 1^r-43^v.³

COMMON CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SLAVONIC T GROUP AND 97

The Greek tradition of the *QAD* shows much variation in the structure of its corpus, which originally contained 137 QAs: whereas the order of the QAs is relatively stable, their number varies greatly.⁴ In most witnesses, a certain number of QAs fell out. This is also true of the structure of 97 – its corpus of 120 QAs with some transpositions (viz. QA25 after QA26 and QA120 after QA131) is unique within the Greek tradition. However, the Slavonic manuscripts reflect this unique structure with only one minor deviation (viz. the omission of QA97-101 in T⁶⁶),⁵ as is clear from the following table.

³ Descriptions and digital reproductions of these manuscripts are available online on <http://old.stsl.ru/manuscripts>. Four additional witnesses to this version of the *QAD* can be found here as well, viz. *codd. Mosquenses, RGB F.113*, nrs 512, 522, 529 and 645. However, these manuscripts – all of the 16th century and previously kept at the Dormition Monastery of St Joseph of Volokolamsk – have a text that depends on that of T²², viz. they do not bear independent witness to the text. For the present article they have been excluded from the collations. As far as can be guessed from the brief descriptions in Kuev [see note 1] – viz. from the indicated titles, incipits and number of QAs – some twenty more *QAD* witnesses may belong to this group.

⁴ See I. DE VOS, *The Manuscript Tradition of the Quaestiones ad Antiochum Ducem*, in R. CEULEMANS – P. DE LEEMANS (eds), *On Good Authority. Tradition, Compilation and the Construction of Authority in Literature from Antiquity to the Renaissance. (Lectio Studies on the Transmission of Texts and Ideas, 3)*, Turnhout (in press).

⁵ Contrary to what is suggested in the listing of QAs contained in the T witnesses in DE VOS – GRINCHENKO, *Quaestiones* [see note 1], pp. 110-111, QA17 is missing in all T manuscripts (so also in T⁵⁰ and T⁶⁶), and QA120 is not found after QA119 in T²² and T⁵⁰ but always after QA131.

97	T group
1-16	1-16
18-23	18-23
26	26
25	25
27-51	27-51
55-77	55-77
79-96	79-96
97-101	97-101 (om. T ⁶⁶)
103-105	103-105
107-111	107-111
115-119	115-119
121-124	121-124
126-131	126-131
120	120
132	132

Table 1

The stability of the group's characteristics and its indebtedness to a Greek exemplar close to 97 can be shown at a textual level as well. As an example, a collation sample is presented below. The first line contains the reading of 97, the second the reconstructed (and orthographically standardised) archetypal text of group T, established on the basis of the transcriptions of the individual T witnesses presented underneath; as a basis for comparison, we also present the Greek majority reading (Gr)⁶ as well as the Slavonic text of the so-called *Lavrentiev sbornik* of 1348 (L), the most important representative of the other major branch within the Slavonic tradition, henceforth called version L.⁷

⁶ The term “majority reading” is a generalisation, as it basically represents the text as it is found in the *PG* edition of the *QAD* (*PG* 28, 597-700) insofar as the *PG* is in line with the majority of the Greek text witnesses. The rendering of the Greek under “Gr” has no other pretensions than to demonstrate that L follows another Greek text than T.

⁷ We know that the *Lavrentiev sbornik* – a florilegium now kept in the Russian National Library in Saint Petersburg as cod. F.I.376 – was copied in 1348 for the Bulgarian Tsar John Alexander (1331-1371); a version of the *QAD* with 124 QAs is found on ff. 105^v-155^f. See the edition by KUEV, *Sbornik* [note 1], pp. 244-287.

In previous research, the larger group of witnesses linked to the L version of the *QAD* has been called the “heterogeneous group”, as opposed to the “homogeneous group”, to which the T witnesses belong; see DE VOS – GRINCHENKO, *Quaestiones* [see note 1], pp. 110-111. In

97 οὕτω καὶ οἱ πιστοὶ οὐ δι' ἕτερόν τινα τρόπον τὰς εἰκόνας ἀσπάζονται,
 T Сице и вѣрнии не иного ради нѣкоего образа иконы лобызаѣтъ

T⁶⁶ сице и вѣрнїи: не иного ради нѣкоего образа · иконы лобѣзаѣ^м.

T²² сице и вѣрнии: не иного ра^а нѣкоего образа иконы: лобызають

T⁵⁰ сице и вѣрнии не иного ради нѣкоего образа иконы лобызають

T⁹⁰ сице и вѣрнїи не иного ради нѣкоего образа иконы лобызаѣтъ

M^T сице и вѣрнии: не иного ради нѣкоего образа: иконы лобызають

Gr οὕτω καὶ οἱ πιστοὶ οὐ δι' ἕτερόν τινα τρόπον τὰς εἰκόνας ἀσπαζόμεθα,
 L тако и вѣрнїи не иного никоегоже образа дѣлѣ иконамъ покланѣем са·

97 εἰ μὴ διὰ πόθον τὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους, ὃν ἐμφανίζομεν
 T развѣ любѣве ради иже къ сватыимъ ѡже¹⁰ ѡблѣемъ.

T⁶⁶ рѡвѣ любѣве ради: и^к къ сѣымъ: ѡже ѡблѣем (са)¹¹

T²² развѣ любѣве ра^а иже къ сѣымъ: ѡже ѡблѣемъ (са)

T⁵⁰ развѣ любѣве ради иже къ сѣымъ: ѡже ѡблѣемъ

T⁹⁰ развѣ любѣве ради иже къ сѣымъ: ѡже ѡблѣемъ

M^T развѣ любѣве ради: иже къ сѣымъ: ѡ^к ѡблѣем^м

VEDER, *Einfluss* [see note 1], p. 103, L is said to belong to “version b” while the text of the T group is called “version a”. Linguistic features as well as considerations concerning the transmission of the text have led the authors to believe that L represents the more ancient layer within the Slavonic QAD tradition.

Another witness that belongs to the L group has been included in some of the collations presented below, viz. T⁴ = *Cod. Mosquensis, RGB F.304* (Troice-Sergieva Lavra) nr. 204, 16th c., ff. 187^r-213^v.

⁸ For the Slavonic witnesses, our collation draws on the groundwork of William Veder, to whom we wish to express our gratitude. It needs to be stressed that the results presented in this article are to some extent preliminary – the number of collated witnesses is far from being complete and not all QAs have yet been investigated in depth.

⁹ Secondary readings that bring the T text more in line with the “majority Greek” / with the Slavonic L version are typical of T⁶⁶, see L. SELS – I. DE VOS, *On the Icons, the Cross and the Donkey. Questions 39-41 of the Slavonic Quaestiones Ad Antiochum Ducem*, in CH. DENDRINOS, B. ROOSEN, P. VAN DEUN (forthcoming).

¹⁰ The reading ѡже in the reconstructed T text is supported by a reading ѡже, found in an additional witness Pr, on which see below; the reading ѡже explains the East Slavonic variant ѡже of all T witnesses and can itself be explained by a common confusion between ѡ and ѡ (Middle Bulgarian nasal change).

¹¹ The addition of reflexive са to the verb ѡблѣем in T⁶⁶ and T²² is due to confusion with demonstrative се (Gr. τοῦτο) in the phrase that follows.

Gr εἰ μὴ διὰ πόθον ὄν (PG ὄν) ἐμφανίζομεν·
L НѢ ЗА ЛЮБОВЬ ꙗже ѿблѣемъ

INDEPENDENT TRANSLATION OR REDACTION?

An important question that needs to be addressed is that of the nature of the Slavonic T text, viz. the question whether we are dealing with an independent Slavonic translation of the *QAD* or with a mere redaction, viz. a revision of an existing Slavonic text based on a comparison with a Greek version close to 97. Contrary to what has been argued before,¹² important parallels between T group readings and readings from the other main branch of the Slavonic tradition here represented by L allow to suppose a common origin and to consider the T text a revision of an earlier version of the Slavonic *QAD*. The complex problem of the relation between T and the L version cannot be dealt with here in detail, though some of the collation samples below may give a first impression.

THE SLAVONIC T REDACTION AND THE GREEK TRADITION

For the development of our present argument, it is important to situate 97 within the larger context of the Greek tradition of the *QAD*, which counts 250 witnesses from the tenth to the nineteenth century and in which five distinct branches can be discerned (A to E).¹³ As demonstrated elsewhere, 97 belongs to branch B,¹⁴

¹² In DE VOS – GRINCHENKO, *Quaestiones* [see note 1], p. 113 it has been argued prematurely that the “homogeneous group” / the T-group bears witness to an independent translation, distinct from that reflected in the “heterogeneous group” (cf. note 7).

¹³ Analysis of QA39 (PG 28, 621.12-51), which is attested in ninety-seven Greek witnesses, has revealed that branch A (at least for this QA) consists of two sub-branches, viz. A1 and A2. The Arabic tradition of the *QAD*, the oldest witness of which was copied in 885 in the Monastery of Mar Saba – viz. the *Argentoratensis*, *Bibliothecae Nationalis et Universitatis or.* 4226 (*arabe* 151), on which see G. GRAF, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur I: Die Übersetzungen* (ST, 118), Città del Vaticano, 1944, pp. 312-313 –, as well as the Georgian tradition and a quotation from QA39 found both in the anthology appended to John of Damascus’ *Oratio de imaginibus* III 59 (CPG 8045) and the *Doctrina Patrum* (CPG 7781) are related to sub-branch A1. A Latin translation of the same QA was made on the occasion of the Synods of Rome in 731 held under the authority of Pope Gregory III to defend the practice of icon veneration. It has been preserved in the tenth-century *Codex Londinensis*, *Bibliothecae Britannicae*, Add. 16413 (ff. 4^r-6^v, for an edition see L.

and more in particular to a small sub-group here called group B¹³¹, after its earliest witness, an Athonite manuscript of the first half of the tenth century referred to as 131 (see the stemma, *Fig. 1*).¹⁵ However, 97 occupies a particular position within this small group, as it is characterised by a large set of unique variant readings as well as by traces of contamination with the A branch of the Greek tradition.¹⁶

BÖHRINGER, *Zwei Fragmente der römischen Synode von 769 im Codex London, British Library, Add. 16413*, in H. MORDEK [ed.], *Aus Archiven und Bibliotheken. Festschrift für Raymund Kottje zum 65. Geburtstag*, Frankfurt – Bern – New York – Paris, 1992, pp. 93-105) is related to sub-branch A2. See I. DE VOS – B. ROGGEMA – T. PATARIDZE, *A Multilingual Approach to Text Editing: Exploring the Interconnectedness of the Greek, Arabic and Georgian Traditions of the Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem*, in I. DE VOS – L. SELS – O. GRINCHENKO (eds), *Editing Classical and Medieval Texts with a Multilingual Tradition. Proceedings of the ATTEMPT Workshop held at King's College London, 19-20 December 2013 (OLA)*, Leuven (forthcoming). The main source of the PG edition of the QAD – the eleventh- or twelfth-century *Vaticanus Palatinus gr. 368* (ff. 202^r-256^v) – is to be situated in branch D.

¹⁴ SELS – DE VOS, *On the Icons* [see note 9].

¹⁵ 131 = *Cod. Athous Vatopediou* 38, first half 10th c., ff. 1^r-32^r (QA1-2, 10-19, A2, QA3-9, 29-35, A19, QA20-25, 27-29, 35-48, 50-73, 79-97, 100-137 – the order of the folia has been disturbed), see E. LAMBERZ *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften des Athosklosters Vatopedi, Band 1, Codices 1-102 (Κατάλογοι Ελληνικών Χειρογράφων Αγίου Όρους, 2)*, Thessaloniki, 2006, pp. 168-183. The other witnesses to this group, apart from 97, are 114 = *Cod. Florentinus Mediceus Laurentianus, Conv. Soppr.* 627, 13th c., ff. 80^r-92^v (QA1-25, 27-48, 50-137; see E. ROSTAGNO – N. FESTA, *Indice dei codici greci laurenziani non compresi nel catalogo del Bandini*, Firenze – Roma, 1893, pp. 172-176) and 115 = *Cod. Florentinus Mediceus Laurentianus, Plut.* 59.13, 15th-16th c., ff. 165^v-211^v (QA1-6, 8-25, 27-48, 50-137; see A. M. BANDINI, *Catalogus codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Laurentianae, tomus secundus*, Firenze, 1768, coll. 517-524). The kinship of the witnesses of group B¹³¹ is confirmed by a number of important common variants, such as the addition of τὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους after πόθον in QA39 (PG 28, 621.26) and the omission of ὡς ἀργὰ ταῦτα ἠγεῖσθαι ξύλα καί in QA41 (PG 28, 624.19).

¹⁶ Variant readings found exclusively in 97 include the addition of ἐκ τῆς ὁσμῆς τῆς ἀμπέλου after οἶνος in QA34 (PG 28, 617.19) and the abbreviation of the entire question in QA41 (PG 28, 624.10-15), viz. τίνος χάριν, πιστοὶ μὲν ἅπαντες, σταυροὺς ἀντιτύπους τοῦ χριστοῦ ποιοῦμεν, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οὐ ποιοῦμεν instead of τίνος δὲ χάριν οἱ πιστοὶ ἅπαντες σταυροὺς μὲν ἀντιτύπους τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ χριστοῦ ποιοῦμεν, τῆς δὲ ἁγίας αὐτοῦ λόγχης ἢ τοῦ καλάμου ἢ τοῦ σπόγγου ἀντίτυπα οὐ κατασκευάζομεν. For a more elaborate list, see DE VOS – GRINCHENKO, *Quaestiones* [see note 1], p. 117.

Some variants found in 97 point in the direction of contamination with sub-branch A1 (on which see note 13), such as προηγουμένως instead of α' (the numeral “one”) in QA1 (PG 28, 597.38), τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔνεκεν instead of τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐνέγκαι in QA14 (PG 28, 605.37) and

An example – a sample from the collation of the Greek witnesses of B¹³¹ together with the Slavonic T redaction (QA 39 and 41) – illustrates the fact that T also reflects the text of 97 in instances where the latter is at variance with the other witnesses of the B¹³¹ group (as is the case with the specific structure of 97's corpus of QAs, as mentioned above).

QA39, PG 28, 621.32-33 and 41-42

T **ѿже не покланѣати сѧ иконамъ и крѣстоу·**
 97 **τὸ μὴ προσκυνεῖν τὰς εἰκόνας καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν,**
 131 προσκυνεῖν τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας τῶν ἁγίων
 114 προσκυνεῖν τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας τῶν ἁγίων,
 115 προσκυνεῖν τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας τῶν ἁγίων,

T **въ единыхъ оубо стъ дънии гвѣдѣтъ сѧ кѣмоу**
 97 **ἐν μιᾷ οὖν τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἐπιφαίνεται αὐτῶ**
 131 ἐν μιᾷ οὖν φαίνεται αὐτῶ αὐταῖς ὄψεσιν τὸ πνεῦμα
 114 ἐν μιᾷ οὖν φαίνεται αὐτῶ αὐταῖς ὄψεσι τὸ πνεῦμα
 115 ἐν μιᾷ οὖν φαίνεται αὐτῶ αὐταῖς ὄψεσι τὸ πνεῦμα

QA41, PG 28, 624.17-19

T **можемъ оубо дрѣвѣ раздѣлѣти и образъ крѣстъныи разорити·**
 97 **δυνάμεθα τὰ δύο ξύλα χωρίσαι καὶ τὸν τύπον τοῦ σταυροῦ διαλύσαι·**
 131 δυνάμεθα τὰ δύο ξύλα χωρίσαντες καὶ τὸν τύπον τοῦ σταυροῦ διαλύσαντες
 114 δυνάμεθα τὰ δύο ξύλα διορίσαντες καὶ τὸν τύπον τοῦ σταυροῦ διαλύσαντες
 115 δυνάμεθα τὰ δύο ξύλα διαιρήσαντες καὶ τὸν τύπον τοῦ σταυροῦ διαλύσαντες (sic)

However, to state that 97 was the exemplar for the Slavonic T redaction would be misleading: some proper readings of 97 are not reflected in T, which in these instances follows the other witnesses of group B¹³¹. This is a clear indication that both Slavonic T and 97 go back to a common Greek ancestor, here called

the addition of καὶ αὐτῶ μόνω λατρεύσω after προσκυνήσω in QA15 (PG 28, 605.45). Note also that 97 contains QAs 26 and 49, which are missing in all other witnesses of the B¹³¹ group.

Gr^{97/T} (see the stemma, *Fig. 1*¹⁷), which apparently contained the readings common to 97 and T but not those found only in 97.

QA39, PG 28, 621.20 and 21-23

T ΤΨΜΒ ΜΖΝΟΖΗΨΕΙΨ ΝΑΥΡΖΤΑΝΗΗΘ ΟΤΡΒΙΒΖΨΟΥΨ ΣΑ
Gr^{97/T} ὄθεν πολλάκις τοῦ χαρακτῆρος λειανθέντος
97 ὄθεν πολλάκις τοῦ χαρακτῆρος ἀλλοιωθέντος
131 ὄθεν πολλάκις τοῦ χαρακτῆρος λειαθέντος
114 ὄθεν πολλάκις τοῦ χαρακτῆρος λειανθέντος
115 ὄθεν πολλάκις τοῦ χαρακτῆρος ἀλειανθέντος

T Γλικοже оубо Иаковъ хота оумрѣти краиѣви жьзла иосифова
Gr^{97/T} ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ Ἰακῶβ μέλλων τελευτᾶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ράβδου τοῦ Ἰωσήφ
97 ὥσπερ οὖν τοῦ ἰακῶβ μέλλοντος τελευτᾶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ράβδου ὁ ἰωσήφ
131 ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ ἰακῶβ μέλλων τελευτᾶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ράβδου τοῦ ἰωσήφ
114 ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ ἰακῶβ μέλλων τελευτᾶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ράβδου τοῦ ἰωσήφ
115 ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ ἰακῶβ μέλλων τελευτᾶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ράβδου τοῦ (τῆς a.c.)
ἰωσήφ

TWO ADDITIONAL WITNESSES: PR AND P

As has been argued up to this point, archetype T can be reconstructed from the witnesses T²², T⁶⁶, T⁵⁰, T⁹⁰ and M^T. However, two more manuscripts that bear witness to the same redaction deserve special attention. The first is a manuscript kept in the Czech National Museum in Prague; it is dated to the late fourteenth century (thus antedating the T manuscripts) and the only South Slavonic witness. The second is an early eighteenth-century Russian codex from the Transfiguration Monastery at Solovki, now kept in Saint Petersburg. The latter's version of the *QAD* – which, apparently, is a descendant of the text found in Pr, as will become clear below – has been published by Porfir'ev in 1890.

Pr *Cod. Pragensis slav.* IX F 15, late 14th c., Bulgarian orthography, ff. 148^r-173^v (Kuev nr. 3).¹⁸

¹⁷ Note that the location of T (viz. the reconstructed archetype of the T-redaction) on the timeline, viz. around the 14th-century, cannot be but tentative. We will return to the question of the dating of T further on. The position of Gr^{97/T} just above T is not meant to imply an indication of its date.

¹⁸ J. VAŠICA – J. VAJS, *Soupis staroslovanských rukopisů Národního Musea v Praze*, Praha, 1957, pp. 224-228; A. JACIMIRSKIJ, *Opisanie južno-slavjanskich i russkich rukopisej*

P *Cod. Petrogradensis* RNB Solovki 129/1064 (ed. Porfir'ev 1890¹⁹), early 18th c., Russian orthography, ff. 407^f-448^v.

A first element that points to the problematic nature of Pr and P is their structure, which deviates from that found in 97 and T in that they both have thirteen additional QAs, presented in bold in the following table.²⁰

97 & T	Pr	P
1-16	1-16	1-13
	17	17
18-23	18-23	18-23
26	26	24-26
	24	
25	25	
27-51	27-51	27-51
	52-54	52-54
55-77	55-77	55-77
	78	78
79-101	79-101	79-101
	102	102
103-105	103-105	103-105
	106	106
107-111	107-111	107-111
	112	112
115-119	115-119	115-119
121-122	121-122	121-122
123	123	—
124	124	124
	125	125
126-130	126-130	126-130

zagraničnych bibliotek, vol. I (*Sbornik Otdelenija Russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti rossijskoj Akademii Nauk*, 98), Petrograd, 1921, pp. 727-741. Images of folia from this codex are reproduced below (Figs 2-3) with the permission of the National Museum of Prague, for which we wish to express our gratitude.

¹⁹ I. PORFIR'EV, *Apokrifičeskie skazanja o novozavetnych licach i sobytijach po rukopisjam Soloveckoj biblioteki*, in *Sbornik Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoj Akademii nauk*, 62/4 (1890), pp. 327-378.

²⁰ On the problematic nature of Pr, see DE VOS – GRINCHENKO, *Quaestiones* [see note 1], pp. 125-126.

131	131	120
120	120	131
132	132	132
	133	133
	134-135	
		113-114

Table 2

Naturally, the question arises whether these QAs are interpolations or whether Pr and P reflect an older and fuller collection that has subsequently been abridged in T. Considering the link that undeniably exists between the T group and 97, both at a structural and at a textual level, the first option is the most probable: as Pr and P have the same textual features as T (and 97), one would expect them to have the same structure as well. The hypothesis that we are indeed dealing with interpolations is supported by a marginal note on f. 150^v of Pr (see Fig. 2a), viz. underneath QA17, the first of the supplementary QAs, which in Pr is written in the lower margin.

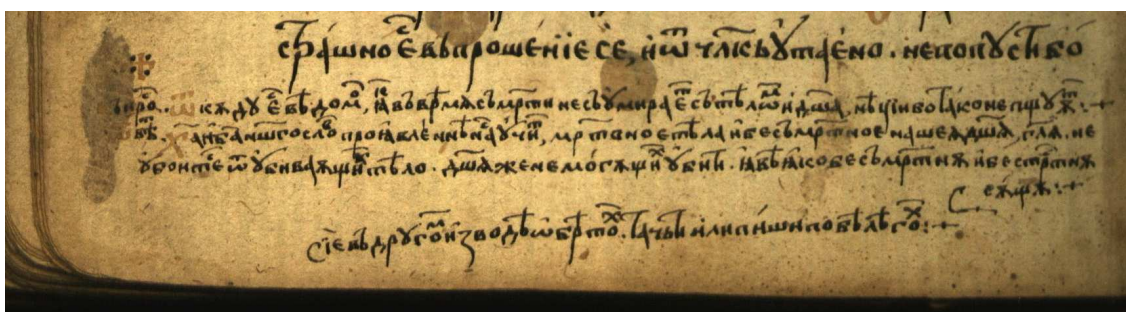


Fig. 2a: Pr, f. 150^v (detail 1: lower margin)

The note reads: *Сіе въ другѣмъ изводѣ върѣтѣ. Та чѣти или пиши по вѣлѣнью* – “This I have found in another exemplar;²¹ read or write these things according to the notes.” This is a clear indication that the scribe of Pr – who apparently was well aware of the fact that his copy would not only be read but would also be used as

²¹ See also JACIMIRSKIJ, *Opisanie* [see note 18], p. 734. The scribe has used the term *изводъ* in the meaning of “exemplar, antigraph” – cf. F. VON MIKLOSICH, *Lexicon Palaeoslovenico-graeco-latinum emendatum auctum*, Wien, 1862-1865 (repr. Aalen, 1977) – *origo, archetypon, ἀντίγραφον, exemplar*; also Đ. TRIFUNOVIĆ, *Azbučnik srpskih srednjovekovnih književnih pojmova*, Beograd, 1990 (1974), pp. 104-106 and M. MACROBERT, *What was the izvod Svetogorski?*, in V. M. ZAGREBIN (ed.), *Rus' i južnye slavjane. Sbornik statej k 100-letiju so dnja roždenija V. A. Mošina (1894-1987)*, Saint Petersburg, 1998, pp. 272-283.

an model – copied QA17 from another version of the *QAD* in the lower margin. In all probability, he took the subsequent additional QAs from this “other exemplar” as well, this time inserting them directly into the main text (and not, as QA17, in the margins) without further mention.

Another striking piece of proof for the interpolated character of Pr is found on that same folio 150^v: a considerable part of QA18 is also written in the margins, viz. on the left hand side of the main text (see *Fig. 2b*); in P the fragment is integrated in the running text. Collations show that this part of QA18 is missing in 97 as well as in all T witnesses. This suggests that the added text has been taken from the “*Δρογγῶν ἰσχυρῶν*” as well. The text version found in this other exemplar henceforth will be called version X.

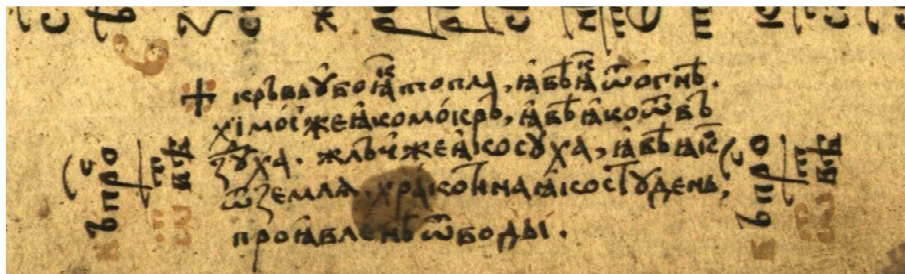


Fig. 2b: Pr, f. 150^v (detail 2: left margin, rotated)

To support our argument, collation samples are provided for both the marginal addition and the fragment of QA18 that immediately precedes it in the running text of Pr.

QA18, PG 28, 608.34-37

Gr λέγω δὴ ἐξ αἵματος καὶ φλέγματος καὶ χυμοῦ καὶ χολῆς·
 = Gr^{97T} ἤγουν ἐκ θερμοῦ καὶ ψυχροῦ καὶ ξηροῦ καὶ ὑγροῦ,
 τουτέστιν ἐκ πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος καὶ ἀέρος καὶ γῆς.

T глаголиѣ же отъ крѣви и хракотины и чрѣныа и жлѣтыа жлѣчи,
 рекъше отъ теплага и стѣденаго и соухаго и мокраго,
 сирѣчь отъ огна и воды и въздоха и зѣмла.

Pr г̄ла же, ѿ̄ крѣвӣ и хракотины. и чрѣныа, и жлѣтыа жлѣчи.
 рекше ѿ̄ топлаго и стѣденаго. и сѣхаго и мокраго.
 сирѣчь. ѿ̄ огнѣ̄ и воды, и въздох̄а и зѣмла.

P глѣо же. ѿ̄ крове, и флегма, и черныа, и желтыа желчи,
 рекше ѿ̄ теплага и стѣденаго, и сѣхаго, и мокраго.
 сирѣчь ѿ̄ огна, и воды, и въздох̄а, и земли.

L г̄ла же ѿ̄ крѣве· и глѣна· и хима· и жлѣчи·

ρεκша ѿ τοπλα и στοудена· и соуха и мокра·
еже естъ ѡгниѣ и воды· и въздоуха и земла·

Marginal addition in Pr (inserted in the running text in P):

QA18, PG 28, 608.37-40

Gr Τὸ μὲν γὰρ αἶμα ὡσπερ θερμὸν (...), δῆλον ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ πυρός· ὁ δὲ χυμὸς, ὡς ὑγρὸς, πρόδηλον ὅτι ἐξ ἀέρος· ἡ δὲ χολή ὡς ξηρὰ πρόδηλον ἀπὸ γῆς·

97 om.

T om.

Pr κρзвъ Ѹбо ꙗ̅кѡ топла, ꙗвѣ ꙗ̅кѡ ѿ огнѣ. хѣмосъ же ꙗ̅кѡ мокрзъ,
ꙗвѣ ꙗ̅кѡ ѿ въздѣха. жльчъ же ꙗ̅кѡ сѣха, ꙗвѣ ꙗ̅кѡ ѿ земла.
χракотина ꙗ̅кѡ стѣдена, проавленѣ ѿ воды.

P кровь убо ꙗко тепла, ꙗвѣ ꙗко ѿ огня. хима же ꙗко мокро,
ꙗвѣ ꙗко ѿ въздѣха, желчь же, ꙗко сѣха, авѣ ꙗко ѿ земли.
флегма же ꙗко стѣдена. проавлено, ꙗко ѿ воды.

L κρзвъ бо ꙗко топла ꙗвѣ ꙗко ѿ огня а химъ ꙗко мокрзъ·
ꙗвѣ ꙗко ѿ въздоуха· а жльчъ ꙗко соуха· вѣдомо ꙗко ѿ земла·
гльнь же ꙗко στοудень· добръ ꙗвѣ ꙗко ѿ воды·

It is clear that Pr and P follow T up to the point of interpolation, while the text added in the margin offers a text that is close to version L. P clearly has the same mixed character as Pr, on which it ultimately depends, even if the traces of the interpolation (viz. the marginal additions and notes) have disappeared.

In spite of the fact that the addition in QA18 is indeed close to the reading of L, we will argue – summarily here and more at length elsewhere – that the text found inserted in Pr does not belong to the L version of the *QAD* (even if it is bound to L by many corresponding readings). To illustrate this point, a collation from QA17 – the only QA to have been introduced from the “other exemplar” with absolute certainty – is presented here.

QA17, PG 28, 608.21-23

Gr Πόθεν δὲ δῆλον ὅτι ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ θανάτου οὐ
συναποθνήσκει μετὰ τοῦ σώματος ἢ ψυχῆ;
τινὲς γὰρ οὕτω νομίζουσιν.

97/T om.

Pr	Ὡκπδδ ε̇ вѣдом̇, ꙗ̇ вѣ время смр̇ти не сѡмирает̇ сѡ тѣлѡ̇ и дш̇а, нѣци̇и бо тако неци̇дѣ̇.
P	Ὡκδдδ̇ ꙗсть вѣдомо, ꙗко во время смр̇ти не сѡмираетъ сѡ тѣломъ дш̇а? нѣци̇и бо тако мнатъ.
L	Ὡκπдоу̇ ꙗвѣ̇ ꙗко вѣ время смр̇т̇ное не оумираетъ дш̇а сѡ тѣломъ̇. како бо мнатъ етери.
T ⁴	Ὡкоудд̇ ꙗвѣ̇ ꙗко вѣ время смр̇ти̇ не оумираетъ̇ дш̇а с тѣлом̇ ꙗкоже мнатъ̇ етери̇.

It is clear from the example that the text of Pr (and P), though similar to the L text (here represented by witnesses L and T⁴), adheres much closer to the Greek than L. As a consequence, it cannot have been derived from the latter, at least not through simple transmission by copying, that is, without consultation of a Greek copy (cf. the calque сѡ-оумираетъ for συν-αποθνήσκει vs simple verb оумираетъ in L; the marked word order сѡ тѣломъ и доуша as in Greek μετὰ τοῦ σώματος ἢ ψυχῆ vs доуша сѡ тѣломъ in L; нѣци̇и бо тако неци̇дѣ̇ literally renders Greek τινὲς γὰρ οὕτω νομίζουσιν, while како/ꙗкоже мнатъ̇ етери̇ in L does not). Similar observations – viz. some overlap with version L besides notable differences and a markedly closer adherence to the Greek – can be observed in the other QAs present in Pr (and P) but not in T. If the “other exemplar” is assumed to have had an L text (X = L), it must have been thoroughly revised by the scribe of Pr on the basis of a Greek copy. A more likely explanation for the unique features of Pr (and P) is provided by the assumption that the “other exemplar” contained a different redaction of the QAD (X ≠ L).²²

On the basis of the evidence presented above, it might be assumed that the scribe of Pr followed the T redaction for the QAs that are present in T, while drawing upon a not yet further defined version X (viz. the version found in the “other exemplar”) for the additional QAs. However, the situation is even more complex: Pr and P have readings that deviate from T in some of the QAs that *are* available in the T text. This allows for the assumption that the scribe of Pr, in compiling the text, in places preferred to follow version X even if he had the

²² A close look at QA24 – one of the QAs missing in T but present in both L and Pr/P – immediately reveals that the text of Pr/P cannot have been derived from L (nor the other way around) without consultation of a Greek copy: some readings in L and Pr/P reflect different Greek variants or a different reading of the Greek text (e.g. Pr неѡѡръна ~ δύσπιστα vs L дзѡѡѡръна ~ δύο+πιστά; Pr разливѡа са ~ χωνευόμενος vs L погрѡевѡъ ~ χωννύμενος; Pr ꙗже ~ ὅπερ vs L ꙗко ~ ὡσπερ).

T text at his disposal, or that he altered the original T text on the basis of version X. The image that comes to mind is that of a scribe sitting in front of two exemplars, now copying from the one, then from the other and perhaps occasionally mixing up both. To support this view, a collation sample is offered from QA41, which is present in T's corpus of QAs:

QA41, PG 28, 624.17-19

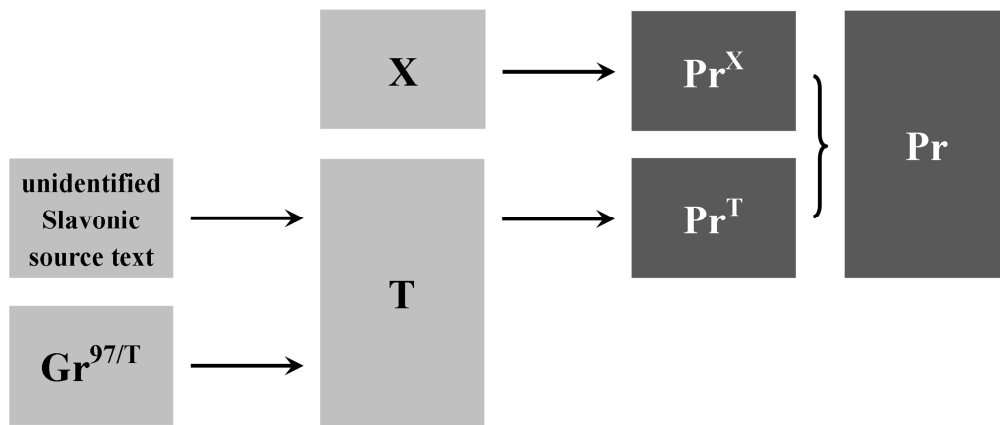
<i>Gr</i> ^{97/T}	δυνάμεθα τὰ δύο ξύλα χωρίσαι καὶ τὸν τύπον τοῦ σταυροῦ διαλύσαι
T	можемъ обѣ дрѣвѣ раздѣлити и образъ крѣстныхъ разорити
Pr	може двѣ оныя дрѣвѣ раздѣливше и образъ крѣстныхъ разоривше.
P	можемъ два оныя древа раздѣливше и образъ крѣстныхъ разоривше,
Gr	δυνάμεθα τὰ δύο ξύλα χωρίσαντες καὶ τὸν τύπον τοῦ σταυροῦ διαλύσαντες,
L	можемъ обѣ дрѣвѣ раземше и образъ крѣстныхъ разорше.
T ⁴	то може обѣ дрѣвѣ раземше образъ крѣстныхъ разорше.

The collation sample above provides several insights: (1) Pr and P have readings different from T, viz. their text does not reflect the particulars of Gr^{97/T} as does the text of T: while both 97 and T have infinitive verb forms (χωρίσαι ~ раздѣлити; διαλύσαι ~ разорити), Pr and P have participles, as does the majority Greek reading (χωρίσαντες ~ раздѣливше; διαλύσαντες ~ разоривше) and the Slavonic L witnesses (χωρίσαντες ~ раземше; διαλύσαντες ~ разорше); (2) Pr and P deviate from the witnesses of version L in their use of the verb раздѣлити instead of разати, but they do have the same verbs (раздѣлити and разорити) as the T witnesses, albeit in a different form (viz. participles instead of infinitives). It remains to be established whether the agreements between the text of Pr/P and T are due to a common textual history of versions X and T,²³ or to a mixture of X and T elements in these passages in Pr (and P).²⁴

This can be represented schematically as follows:

²³ That is, if the scribe of Pr more or less faithfully copied text blocks from the one or the other exemplar, not mixing up both.

²⁴ That is, if the scribe of Pr blended features of both X and T within one and the same text block. We will address this issue in SELS – DE VOS, *On the Icons* [see note 9] (forthcoming).



From the above it follows that, from a text critical point of view, the text of Pr needs to be treated as a conflation – Pr is a witness to two different layers of the *QAD* tradition and a distinction needs to be made (insofar as possible) between Pr^T and Pr^X . For the additional QAs in Pr (and P) – viz. the QAs not available in T – we may assume that they belong to version X of the “other exemplar”, that is, to the extent that the scribe did not interfere with the latter’s text. For the QAs in Pr (and P) that *are* present in the T group it remains to be established exactly which (parts of) QAs truly belong to the T redaction and which are influenced by or belong to version X.

THE HYBRID NATURE OF P (*Solovki 129/1064*)

It has already been pointed out that P depends on Pr: while the marginal notes discussed above identify Pr as the starting point of the contamination, its conflated nature is reflected in both the structure and the text of P. The corpus of QAs found in P closely follows that of Pr, with few exceptions (see *Table 2* above): for reasons that are unclear QA123 fell out; QA120 is put between QAs 130 and 131; interestingly, P restores the correct order of QAs 24-26, which may be linked to an admonition found as a marginal note in Pr: on f. 152^r the following phrase can be found, written in the upper margin as an addition to QA25: “Прѣже ѣти сеизи възрѣ и ѿвѣ, и потѣ. И дце сѣ тако сѣ” – “First read this question-and-answer, and after that: *And if these things are so* [viz. the beginning of QA26, which, in Pr, precedes QAs 24 and 25]” (see *Fig. 3a*).

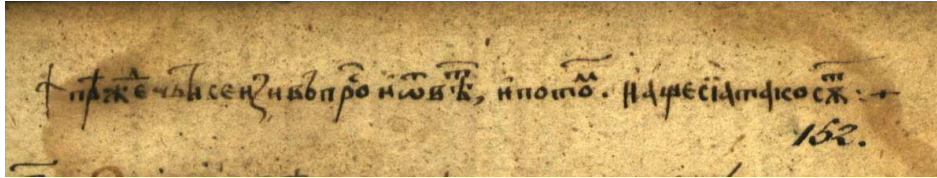


Fig. 3a: Pr, f. 152r (detail: upper margin)

QAs 134 and 135 fell out in P, which, however, features QAs 113 and 114 in final position; these have been taken from a text of the L-version, as already noted by Veder.²⁵ From this fact, as well as from the replacement of the T type title found in Pr by a title of the L type,²⁶ it is clear that the scribe of P (or of one of its ancestors) had access to an L text. Further scrutiny of P's text proves that the scribe had recourse to L on other occasions as well. To support this claim, another collation sample is offered as an example.

QA1, PG 28, 600.5-6

Gr^{97/1} οὐτε εἷς ἐστι τῆ ὑποστάσει ἀνθρωπόμορφος,
ὡς οἱ Ἑλλήνων παῖδες μυθεύονται,

T ниже еди́нъ естѣ **сѣставомъ члѣкообразънъ**,
ѣкоже еллинѣстии отроци баснословаѣтъ

*T*⁶⁶ ниже еди́нъ естѣ сѣставѣ члѣкообразънъ. ѣкоже ел'лин'стїи отроци. баснословаѣтъ.

*T*²² нї еди́нъ соста^ѣ.²⁷ члѣкообразънъ. ѣкоже ел'ин'стїи ѡтроци баснословаѣтъ.

*T*⁵⁰ ниже еди́нъ естѣствомъ члѣкообразънъ. ѣкоже елинѣстїи ѡтроци баснословаѣтъ.

*T*⁹⁰ ниже еди́нъ естѣствомъ члѣкообразънъ. ѣкоже елинѣстїи ѡтроци баснословаѣтъ.

M^T ниже еди́нъ естѣствомъ члѣкообразънъ. ѣкоже елинѣстїи ѡтроци баснословаѣтъ.

Pr ниже еди́нъ е сѣставѣ члѣкообразънъ, ѣко еллин'стїи отроци баснословаѣтъ.

P иже²⁸ еди́нъ естѣ **сѣставомъ члѣкообразънъ** (~T)
ѣкоже **жидовстїи отроци** (~L) баснословаѣтъ

Gr οὐτε εἷς ἐστι τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἀνθρωπόμορφος,
ὡς οἱ Ἑλλήνων παῖδες μυθεύονται

²⁵ VEDER, *Einfluss* [see note 1], p. 101: “In P sind Fragen 113-114 nach 132 [erroneous for 133 – LS & IDV] aus Version b [cf. above note 7 – LS & IDV] nachgetragen”.

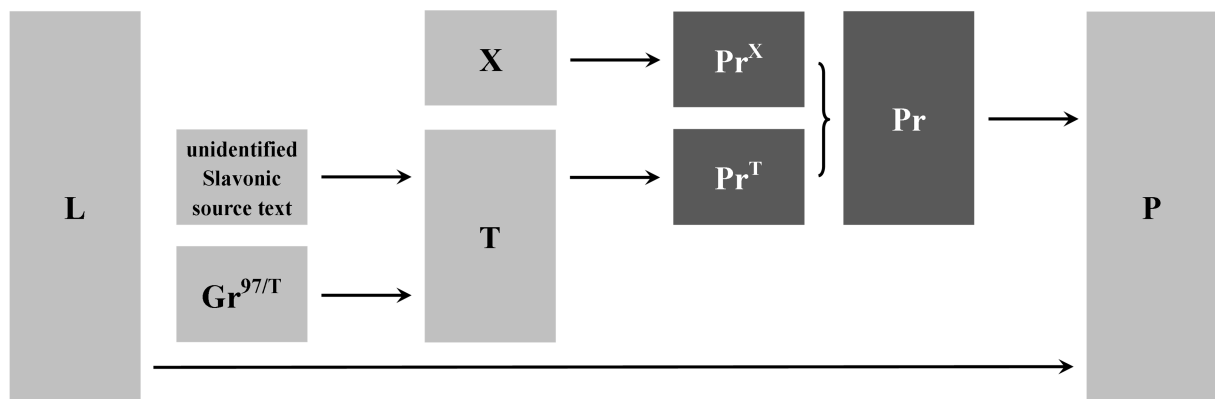
²⁶ The title *Блаженаго Афанасіа архієпископа аλεξандρїискаго кѣ Антїохюу кѣ Назоу* ... is typical of both T and Pr (viz. of the “homogeneous group”), but in P we read *Иже во стѣхъ оуѣ нашего Афанасіа архієпископа Аλεξандрїискаго ко Антїоху кнѣю*, which reflects the title of L. To judge from Kuev's list [see note 1], at least eight more East Slavonic copies, dated from the 15th up to the 18th century, combine features of the T group with this L type title, which suggests that they all have a conflated version of the QAD as the one found in P.

²⁷ естѣствомъ, which was written after состаѣ, is crossed out, and ни is added *s.l.*.

²⁸ иже is obviously a mistake for ниже.

L НИЕДИНЪ ЕСТЬ ИПОСТАСИЖЪ ЧЛВЧЕМЪ ЗРАКОМЪ
 ІАКОЖЕ ЖИДОВЪСТІИ ОТРОЦИ БАНЬСТВОУЖЪТЬ
 Т⁴ НО ЄДИНЪ ЕСТЬ ОУПОСТАСИЮ· НИ ЧЛВЧЬСКИМЪ ЗРАКОМЪ·
 ІАКОЖЕ ЖИДОВЪСТІИ ОТРОЦИ· БАНЬСТВУЮТЪ

The collation above clearly shows that in the first part of the phrase P follows the reading of the T group and Pr (сѣставомъ чловѣкообразынь and not ипостасиѣ чловѣчемъ зракомъ as in L), while for the second part P borrows the reading from version L (жидовьстии отроци and not келлиньстии отроци as in T and Pr). The text offered by P is a revision of the – already conflated – Pr text, which has been infused with L readings and minor innovations (some of which – as the introduction of the Graecism флегма for χρακοτινα in QA18 – are probably due to a comparison with a Greek version of the text). To summarise, P is a heavily contaminated text, consisting of the layers Pr (= T+X) + L, as visualised in the schema below.



It is certainly challenging and of some interest to investigate the textual history of this remarkable hybrid. However, to use P as a witness to any particular version of the *QAD* is not without peril. This observation retains all of its relevance in light of Veder’s assessment of P as a text witness: Veder writes about the latter that its text is older than that of version a^1 (viz. the hyparchetype of T⁶⁶ and T²²) and a^2 (viz. the hyparchetype of T⁵⁰ and T⁹⁰) and that it “füllt ihre Auslassungen und erklärt manche ihrer Verderbnisse [viz. of a^1 and a^2 – *LS & IDV*]”.²⁹ To the extent that version L, part of the multilayered tissue of P, is most probably older than, it is possible that P offers a more ancient text – that is, in places and always with the possibility of considerable contamination.

²⁹ VEDER, *Einfluss* [see note 1], p. 101.

HOMOGENEOUS?

What has previously been called the “homogeneous group” within the Slavonic tradition³⁰ has proved not to be homogeneous at all. On the contrary, it testifies to the existence of two separate versions of the Slavonic *QAD*.

Redaction T – found in the five witnesses of the T group as well as in Pr^T (and the corresponding text parts of its descendant P) and shown to be based on the consultation of a Greek exemplar Gr^{97/T} – is a nice example of the symbiosis of the Greek and the Slavonic traditions. A better understanding of the version of the *QAD* that was at the basis of redaction T will shed more light on the revision process and on the textual layers incorporated in the T text. It is tempting to situate the origins of this redaction on Mount Athos in the vibrant fourteenth century. The roots of the Greek branch of this tradition seem to be Athonite and the *terminus ante quem* – the dating of the earliest witness Pr (late 14th c.) – does not contradict such a hypothesis. Moreover, the linguistic characteristics of T and the close adherence to its Greek exemplar point to a late rather than to an early date.³¹

It would be premature to make firm statements on the nature of version X of the “other exemplar”. To our present knowledge, this text version is only found in the interpolated parts of Pr (and P) – so in Pr^X (and the corresponding passages in P). It is clear that it is not an isolated version but one tied firmly to the other branches of the Slavonic *QAD* tradition. At the same time, it has its own characteristics and particular choice of wording not found elsewhere in the witnesses collated so far – that is, if Pr indeed offers a faithful reflection of X. As this remains to be established, the possibility should be left open that the unique characteristics are proper to Pr itself and not to X. The first task that imposes itself to begin answering these questions is the delineation of text parts in Pr (and P) that clearly do not belong to redaction T, that is, the delineation of Pr^X.

³⁰ DE VOS – GRINCHENKO, *Quaestiones* [see note 1], pp. 110-111 and *passim*.

³¹ The question of the language and the translation technique will be addressed in more detail in SELS – DE VOS, *On the Icons* [see note 9] (forthcoming).

TO CONCLUDE

Cod. Pragensis slav. IX F 15 can be concluded to be an important witness to the text tradition of the Slavonic *QAD*: (1) Pr is the earliest witness to the T redaction and in the text parts that clearly belong to T, viz. in Pr^T, it seems to be the most reliable witness from a genealogical point of view. (2) Where its text deviates from T, Pr may be assumed to reflect the text of a “ДРУГЪ ИЗВОДЪ”, another exemplar mentioned by the scribe in the margins. Whether Pr offers a faithful rendering or an adapted version of this exemplar’s text (version X) remains to be established. (3) Pr’s *marginalia* allow for a glimpse of the scribal compilation process and they identify Pr as the starting point of the new conflated version found also in P in a form marked by further contamination.

In spite of Pr’s being a key witness to the Slavonic *QAD*, its conflated nature compels us to use it with utmost caution for the *constitutio textus* of redaction T or any other part of the Slavonic *QAD*.

The more general conclusion to be drawn from the preceding argument is that it is necessary to study *both* the Greek and the Slavonic traditions of the *QAD* in depth, as the latter cannot be understood properly if the repeated revision of its text based on the consultation of Greek exemplars is not taken into account.

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SUMMARY

The late fourteenth-century *Codex Pragensis slav.* IX F 15 (Pr) is considered a key witness to the textual tradition of the Slavonic *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem*, as it contains an almost complete set of questions-and-answers (133 QAs). It is argued, however, that this corpus is the result of a conflation of two distinct versions of the *Quaestiones*, viz. redaction T and version X.

Redaction T, found in five witnesses from the 15th-16th c., is the result of a revision of the Slavonic *QAD* based on the consultation of a Greek exemplar: both the structure (viz. the number and sequence of the QAs) and the textual particulars of the Slavonic T witnesses are in almost perfect agreement with those of the Greek *Quaestiones* in *Codex Oxoniensis*

Bodleianus Auct. F.4.07 (Misc. 106). Version X is much more enigmatic; apparently, QAs from this further unknown version of the Slavonic *QAD* were introduced in the Prague codex to complement the T redaction's corpus of 120 QAs.

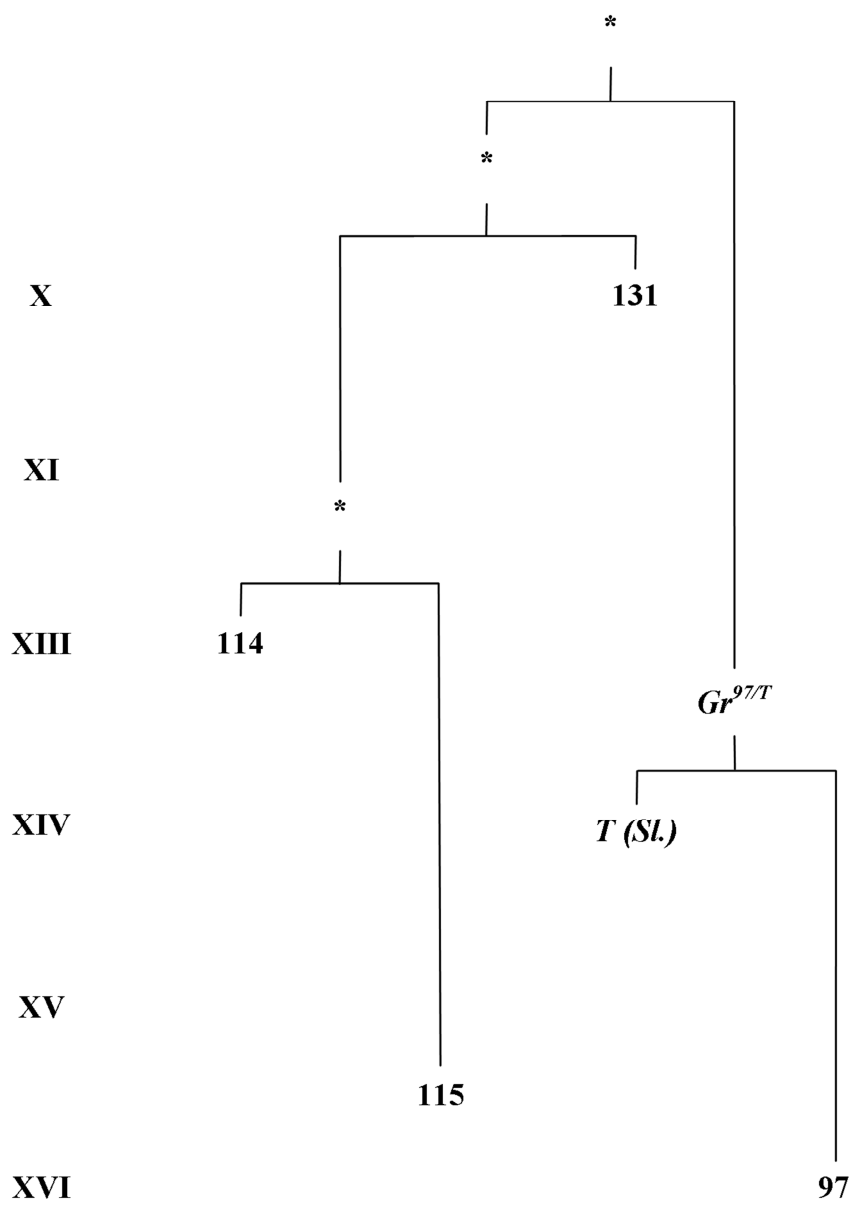


Fig. 1: *Stemma B¹³¹ group and Slavonic T redaction*

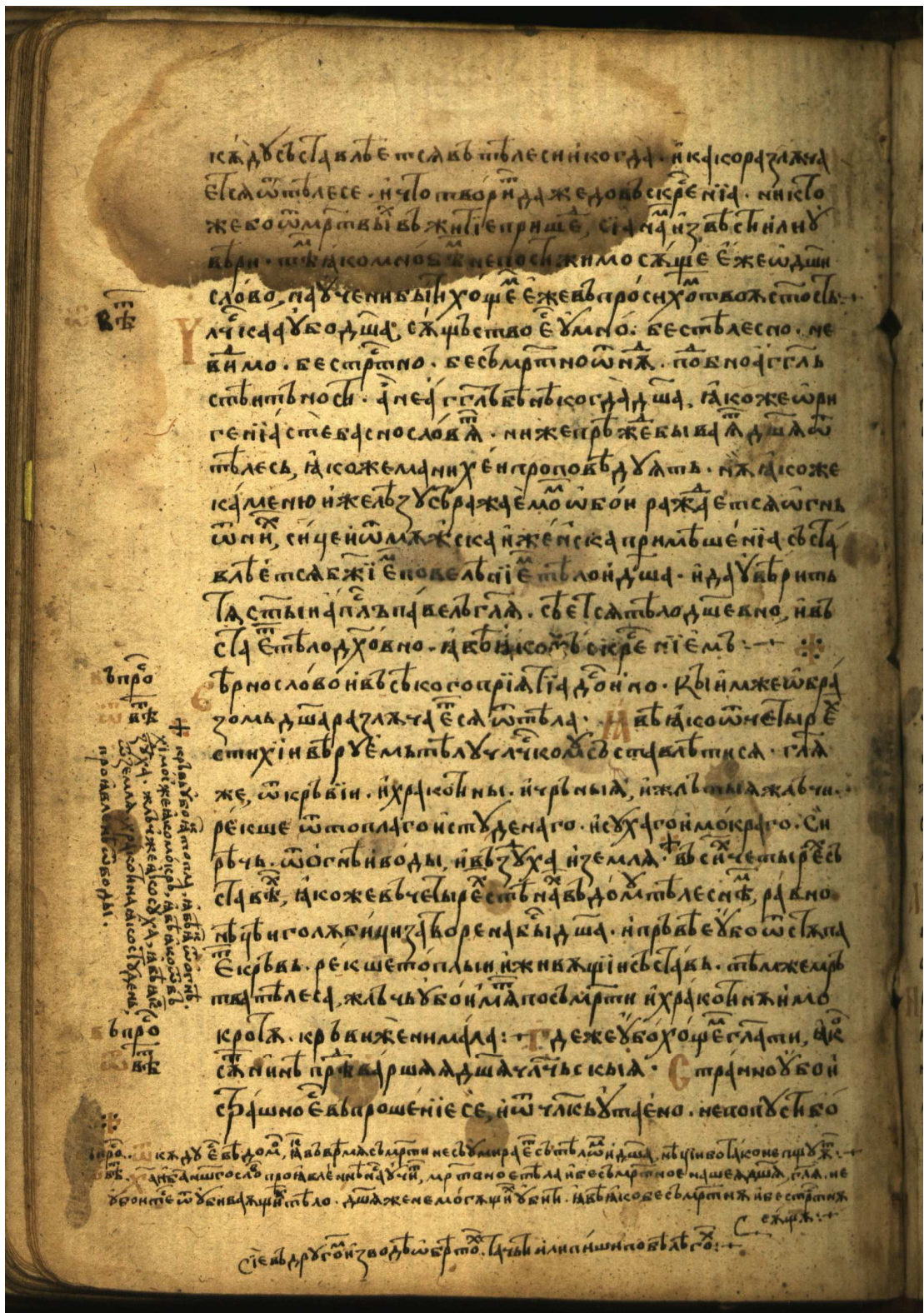


Fig. 2: Pr, f. 150^v – courtesy of the Czech National Museum, Prague

† прже чьсе нъ въ про нъ въ жъ, н по то. † а цесіа тко сж. †

152.

в про
в сордн. **Ѡ** вѣ. **Ѡ** неже вь сь дже ѡ сь менен тла сь лд шд
сд нд ш н т блесе ѡ в рд зовд нд. и мже рд рд рд гд зепознвд ѣ.
нд вьскрєніє мртввхъ сь сь менен тла д прд ж нъ д т сд.
н д коже н првд єдн ногачкѣ сь вь творн. Тко н вь нд
кд кытн вь сь єдн мчлсв вь сь єднє. Сн рь чь. вь члс мн
н вь рд зовд нд. поже н д д мовд ѡ в рд зовд нд сь з д ню. н вь лчє ствд
н ѡ в рд зовд нд. ть мже н вь нд вьскрєніє мд вь є лн. мж
жє кы полъ нже нє кы. н нг рь нд н нъ бл. н кж лъ то стъ нн
чрл мн стъ нн г рж в стъ. н нже рд зовд нд члс нд жє н ѡ в рд зовд нд.
н нє кд д нд н н сь л мє нд. Сд вь вь сь ѡ сь менен тла вь
вд є мд. сь тлє д рд зовд нд жтє сд. н нє кд прчє є рь цн мн по
з нд є ѡ цъ сь вє є прчд мд д о в мє р шєє, н прд є сд тл
то сь вь вь шє н члс з рд є г о вь сь л жд. н коже н х с т н д є
сд тл н лъ то ж р шє нъ є л. н лн н ко по з нд н вь лд є в мє р мн
м р нъ, вь лъ вь сь є д. н лн в мє р мн прчє д жє н, н з рд вь вь
сд д. д шє лн нє вь р нд є вь сь є д мн нд вь лъ жтє сд. сь мн н гд
кє вь рд зовд нд є ѡ г л жд. н ко вь вь сь є н м м р т вь, н нже нд
тє л н н по сд г д ж. н жє ж д ко д г лн. ть вь вє о д ко жє д г г лн
є д н н о в н д н ѡ в рд зовд нд, сн цє вь рь є н ѡ н шє є с т вь вь вь
сє рь шє н н рд нє тл нд прчє є вь н. н нко жє ѡ н шє є н нн
кє сь н првд сь вь творнъ, н ѡ кд є дъ з рь н о. н нд є сь
є мовь з рд є тл є кд є. Тко н члс вь ѡ вь є д сь х рд нъ д з
пovд нє тл нє нъ. Тжє рд прє сь л ш нд сь к р д ш н нъ вь
тл нє нъ. сь є м жє сь м р т нд н рд зовд нд сь вь зє м лн, вь
з нд є є жє х о т шє є вь тн н првд нє тл нє нъ: † в про.
н ко сь рд ж тл н ж нт є сє, д жє тд м о пр вь р шд ж д ш д члъ
нє сд, н лн н. † н нє кд жє. п о с л у ш н д в о п р р к д д d ѡ
с о н ч д ш нє д ч лє о г л жд. ч лє вь д к о рь в д нт є є г o. † нє o

Fig. 3: Pr, f. 152^r – courtesy of the Czech National Museum, Prague