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THE PLACE OF THE MIHANOVIĆ PSALTER IN THE FOURTEENTH-CENTURY REVISIONS OF THE CHURCH SLAVONIC PSALTER

Among the revised versions of Church Slavonic biblical and liturgical texts from the early fourteenth century, the Psalter occupies a special place, because it appears in two related but distinct revisions of approximately the same date. One of these, variously known as the ‘Athonite Redaction’¹ or as Redaction III², is found in Bulgarian manuscripts of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, notably the Šopov–Karadimov psalter fragments in Sofia³, and the Mihanović psalter fragments, HAZU III a 49 and NSK R. 4494/1, in Zagreb; Serbian copies⁴ are extant from the mid fourteenth century onward, and the redaction seems to have been in widespread use in the South Slav lands: it was printed in the Cetinje Psalter⁵ at the end of the fifteenth century. The other early fourteenth-century revision of the Church Slavonic Psalter is so far attested only in one manuscript, the Bulgarian Norov Psalter⁶. In Thomson’s classification this is Redaction IV⁷.

As is shown in Karačorova’s contrastive studies⁸ of the early textual tradition and the fourteenth-century revisions of the Church Slavonic Psalter, Redactions

¹ Е.В. ЧЕШКО, *Об афонской редакции славянского перевода псалтыри в ее отношении к другим редакциям*, [in:] *Язык и письменность среднеболгарского периода*, ed. Е.В. ЧЕШКО *et al.*, Москва 1982, p. 60–93.

² F. J. THOMSON, *The Slavonic Translation of the Old Testament*, [in:] *Interpretation of the Bible*, ed. J. KRAŠOVEC, Ljubljana–Sheffield 1998, p. 815–820.

³ Plus a fragment recently discovered in the Central State Archive in Constantinople, see Е. МУСАКОВА, *Новооткрит фрагмент от Шоповия-Карадимов псалтир*, [in:] *Богослужебните книги – познати и непознати*, София 2008, p. 27–35.

⁴ С.М. МАКРОБЕРТ, *Problems in the study of the ‘Athonite’ redaction of the Psalter in South Slavonic manuscripts*, [in:] *Studies of Medieval South Slavic Manuscripts. Proceedings of the 3rd International Hilandar Conference held from March 28 to 30, 1989 = Проучавање средњовековних јужнословенских рукописа. Зборник радова са III међународне Хиландарске конференције одржане од 28. до 30. марта 1989*, ed. П. ИВИЋ, Београд 1995, p. 195–213.

⁵ Д. МАРТИНОВИЋ, *Псалтир с последовањем Ђурђа Црнојевића 1494*, Cetinje 1986.

⁶ *Норовская псалтырь: Среднеболгарская рукопись XIV века, I–II*, ed. Е.В. ЧЕШКО *et al.*, София 1989.

⁷ F. J. THOMSON, *op. cit.*, p. 820.

⁸ И. КАРАЧОРОВА, *Към въпроса за Кирило-Методиевския старобългарски превод на псалтира*, КМс 6, 1989, p. 130–245; ЕАДЕМ, *Към изучаването на псалтирните редакции от XIV в.*

III and IV have much in common: they share not only a large number of individual readings, but also recurrent instances of systematic lexical preferences, e.g. *скоро*, *един-*, *тоуѣне* instead of earlier *адро*, *ин-*, *ашоуѣтъ/спыти/безоума*. The most obvious difference between them consists in their relationship to the Greek text and to the previous Church Slavonic versions. Redaction III has clearly been reworked with reference to Greek, but the resulting changes are limited in type and extent; behind them elements of the older Redactions I and II can readily be detected. By contrast, Redaction IV reflects a much more radical attempt to align Church Slavonic syntax and morphology with Greek: verbal rection tends to be influenced by the choice of case in Greek⁹; the distribution of prepositional phrases is based more closely on Greek usage than in Redaction III, including the systematic use of conjunctions and prepositions to govern infinitives¹⁰; *ѣже* is regularly deployed as the equivalent of the Greek definite article to introduce attributive prepositional phrases and nominalized infinitives¹¹; as far as possible, the word order of Greek is reproduced, e.g. by treating the traditional postposition *ряди* as a preposition¹²; reflexive verbs, rather than passive participles, correspond to Greek passive forms¹³; Slavonic prefixes are added to verbs, either in response to local norms or in strict imitation of Greek¹⁴, producing instances of double prefixation unusual in earlier Church Slavonic, e.g. 27:3 *съпогоуѣби*, 48:18 *сънизыдетъ*, 68:11 *съпокрыхъ*, 88:22 *съзастъжитъ*, 93:16 *съпрѣстанетъ*, 100:6 *съпсадити*, 78:13 *възъисповѣмы*, 96:9 *прѣвъзвыси*, 104:22 *спрѣмъдрити*, 118:15 *поразоумѣжъ*, 143:6–7 *изпосли*. Similarly, one-to-one correspondences between Church Slavonic and Greek lexical items are imposed, such as the calques *възвыситисѧ* rather than *възвнестисѧ* I II III for *ὑψοῦσθαι*¹⁵, *стенание* rather than *въздыханіе* I II III for *στεναγμός*¹⁶; the generalized use of *изчезати* instead of *исконъчатисѧ* I II or *съконъчатисѧ* III for *ἐκλείπειν*¹⁷

(*Библейски песни*), [in:] *Нѣсть оученикъ надъ оучителемъ своимъ. Сборникъ в чест на проф. д-р Иван Добрев, член-кореспондент на БАН и учител*, ed. А.-М. ТОТОМАНОВА, Т. СЛАВОВА, София 2005, p. 345–356.

⁹ *Норовская псалтырь...*, I, p. 72–74; И. КАРАЧОРОВА, *Към изучаването...*, p. 349–350.

¹⁰ Е.В. ЧЕШКО, *Кирилло-мефодиевский перевод Псалтыри и среднеболгарские правленные редакции. Структура слова и реляционные элементы*, [in:] *Studia slavico-byzantina et mediaevalia europensia*, I, ed. П. ДИНЕКОВ *et al.*, София 1988, p. 224–226; *Норовская псалтырь...*, I, p. 70–71; И. КАРАЧОРОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 350; С.М. MACROBERT, *Maksim Grek in linguistic context*, [forthcoming in:] *Latinitas in the Slavic World*, ed. V.S. TOMELLERI [PhS].

¹¹ Е.В. ЧЕШКО, *Кирилло-мефодиевский перевод...*, p. 225–226; *Норовская псалтырь...*, I, p. 70; И. КАРАЧОРОВА, *Към въпроса...*, p. 154–156; ЕАДЕМ, *Към изучаването...*, p. 349; С.М. MACROBERT, *op. cit.*

¹² *Норовская псалтырь...*, I, p. 71–72; И. КАРАЧОРОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 350.

¹³ Е.В. ЧЕШКО, *Кирилло-мефодиевский перевод...*, p. 228.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 220–222; И. КАРАЧОРОВА, *Към въпроса...*, p. 198; ЕАДЕМ, *Към изучаването...*, p. 352.

¹⁵ Е.В. ЧЕШКО, *Кирилло-мефодиевский перевод...*, p. 223; *Норовская псалтырь...*, I, p. 68.

¹⁶ In 11:6, 30:11, 37:9–10, 101:6, 101:21, but not 6:7, 78:11.

¹⁷ Е.В. ЧЕШКО, *Кирилло-мефодиевский перевод...*, p. 222.

and of *лжкавъ* to render *πονηρός*¹⁸ in place of *лютъъ* I II III; or the preference given to *храмъ* over *црѣкѣвъ* I II III as a translation of *ναός*¹⁹. A tendency to use translations rather than loanwords is sporadically discernible, for instance the three instances of *пѣсн*-²⁰ rather than *ψαλλи*- I II III and such isolated occurrences as 42:4 *жрътъвникѣу* for *олтарю* I II III, 44:8 *масло* for *олки* I II *ели* III. Redaction IV also goes further than Redaction III in morphological and syntactic developments such as increased use of the pronoun *тъ*²¹, the reduplicated stem *ддд*- in aorist forms²², the animate accusative of pronouns²³ and the dative case in correspondence to Greek genitive²⁴.

At the same time Redaction IV is not a totally new translation, independent of what came before. Even in its imitations of Greek infinitival constructions it sometimes betrays, through incoherence or inconsistency, its dependence on the wording of Redactions I, II and III, e.g.:

34:13 ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦς παρενοχλεῖν μοι

(вѣн)егда они огавне творѣахъ I II III

вѣнегда они огавстѣовати мѣ IV

In imitation of Greek an infinitive has been substituted here for a finite verb, but the required concomitant change from nominative to dative subject has not been carried through.

45:3 ἐν τῷ τара́σσεισθαι τὴν γῆν καὶ μετατίθεσθαι ὄρη

(вѣн)егда съмжцаетѣсѧ зѣмита и прѣлагажтѣсѧ горы I II III

вѣнегда съмжцатисѧ зѣми и прѣлагажтсѧ горы IV

The first of two conjoined verbs has been changed to an infinitive, as in Greek, but either the reviser has neglected to change the second verb, or the scribe has copied a finite form from a conservative exemplar.

¹⁸ In 33:22, 36:19, 48:6, 77:49, but not 40:2, 93:13, 143:10.

¹⁹ In 17:7, 26:4, 28:9, 44:16, 64:5, 67:30, 78:1, 143:12, but not 5:8, 10:4, 27:2, 137:2.

²⁰ In 70:22, 107:3, 151:3.

²¹ E.g. 77:6.

²² E.g. 111:9, 115:3.

²³ И. КАРАЧОРОВА, *Към изучаването...*, p. 348; С.М. МАСРОБЕРТ, *The variable treatment of clitics in 14th-century South Slavonic psalter translations*, [in:] *Многократните преводи в Южнославянското Средновековие. София, 7–9 юли 2005*, ed. Л. ТАСЕВА, Р. МАРТИ, М. ЙОВЧЕВА, Т. ПЕНТКОВСКАЯ, София 2006, p. 381–382.

²⁴ E.g. 28:6, 44:13, 77:61, 100:4, 105:22.

106:6+13+19+28 ἐν τῷ θλίβεσθαι αὐτούς

(вѣн)егда вѣстѣжишѧ I II III

106:6 вънегда вѣстѣжѣшѧ 106:13+19+28 вънегда скръбѣти имѣ IV.

Conversely to the previous example, a finite verb is retained from earlier redactions in the first instance, but replaced by an infinitive on the model of Greek in subsequent iterations.

Perhaps because the Grecizing tendency in Redaction IV is so strong, less scholarly attention has been given to the differences in native Slavonic usage between it and Redaction III. Yet these are also systematic, and they complicate the relationship between the two redactions. In some respects Redaction III follows the tradition of Redactions I and II, while Redaction IV innovates, for instance by preferring великъ²⁵ and тамо²⁶ to велии and тоу. At the same time, however, Redaction IV retains consistently the verb съмластисѧ as in I and II, whereas Redaction III just as consistently replaces it with съмжтитисѧ. Both redactions vacillate between the old loanword христѣ, found in I and II, and the calque помазаныи, but in different distributions: in 104:15, 131:10+17 Redaction III has помазаныи while Redaction IV has христѣ, but in 88:39 Redaction IV has помазаныи whereas Redaction III has христѣ. Thus neither redaction can be explained simply as a modification or elaboration of the other: they relate to previous tradition in different ways and, for all their similarities, they reflect divergent Slavonic norms.

A direct textual relationship between Redaction IV and earlier versions, unmediated by Redaction III, is also demonstrated by the number of early readings which are reproduced in IV but are alien to III²⁷. Some of these are standard in Redactions I and II, reflecting either their Greek textual tradition or their shared approach to translation and interpretation:

Revisions in III

2:12, 7:3, 12:4+5, 27:1, 37:17, 49:22 μήποτε

да некогда

15:7 & 9, 77:17 ἔτι ἔτι

21:17 ὄρουσαν ископашѧ

24:16 μονογενής единородѣ

34:16 ἐπείρασαν искоушишѧ

Early readings in IV

егда когда²⁸ I II

пакы I II

пригвоздишѧ I II

иноруденѣ cf. иночлѣдѣ I II

мжчишѧ I II

²⁵ In 20:6, 46:3, 47:2, 76:14, 85:13, 88:8, 94:3, 98:2, 105:21, 107:5, 110:2, 134:5, 137:5, 144:3, 146:5. This form also appears sporadically in Redaction II.

²⁶ In 35:13, 47:7, 68:36, 121:5, 131:17, 132:3, 136:1+3, 138:8+10.

²⁷ *Норовская псалтырь...*, I, p. 75–76.

²⁸ In the first four instances да некогда has been inserted as a correction in the Norov Psalter.

41:2 οὕτως сице	тако I II
44:10+14 πεποικιλμένη προφисπυρηνα	профогкрашена I II
44:14 ἔσωθεν βῆνηπτρῶ	вѣнѣптрѣждоу I II
46:10 οἱ κραταιοὶ дрѣжкавѣнни	крѣпци I II
72:6 ἀσέβειαν αὐτῶν нечестѣемь своимь	нечестиеж своеж I II
75:6 ὕπνον αὐτῶν сѣнѣ свон	снонѣ свонмѣ I II
75:8 ἀντιστήσεται противѣж станетѣ	противитса I II
77:19, 118:23 καταλάλει κλεβετατι	глати I II
80:5 κρίμα сѣдѣба	сѣдѣ I II
87:9+19 τοὺς γνωστούς знаемыя	знанныя cf. знаниа I II
101:28 ὁ αὐτός τῷждѣ	самѣ I II
105:29 παρώξυναν/παρώργισαν? прогнѣваша	раздражиша I II
113:5 σοί/σύ тѣбѣ	ты I II
117:2–4 δὴ οὐβο	нѣбѣ I II
118:49 τῶν λόγων/τὸν λόγον словоєсѣ твоеихѣ	слово твое I II
118:129 ἐξηρένησεν? испытаетѣ	изпыта I II
118:136 ἐφύλαξαν/ἐφύλαξα сѣхраниша	сѣхранихѣ I II
120:8 νῦν нѣбѣ	селѣ I II

Others are peculiar to Redaction I or are even minority variants known only from a few early manuscripts:

Revisions in III

16:14 τὰ κατάλοιπα останѣкѣ II
19:8 ἄρμασιν колеєницахѣ
26:6 ἐκύκλωσα обидохѣ II
63:10 τὰ ποιήματα творениа
67:26, 93:15 ἐχόμενοι близѣ II
72:7 εἰς διάθεσιν вѣ ljubъвь
77:47 συκαμίνος енкаминие I
101:28 ἐκλείψουσιν окѣждѣкѣтѣ II
104:23 παρώκησεν пришьлѣсѣтвоеа II

Early variants in IV

ωλѣкы I
ωρжкнї minority reading in I II
обидѣ I
твари I
адѣ I
вѣ ljubви I
чрѣнниче cf. чрѣница variant in I
скончажтса cf. исконачажтѣса I
приїде I

The readings cited above are the more striking instances where Redaction IV follows earlier tradition; an attentive reading of Karačorova's studies will supply further examples. The fact that some of these vestigial early readings are unusual should not occasion surprise: very conservative versions of the Church Slavonic translation, such as the Pogodin and Sofia Psalters, were still being copied in late thirteenth and early fourteenth-century Bulgaria. In addition, the sporadic indications of *diapsalmata* in the Norov Psalter have parallels almost exclusively in Redac-

tion I²⁹; they might of course have been reproduced directly from Greek, but this seems less likely, since they tend to be omitted from later Greek manuscripts³⁰.

There is clearly a problem here: Redactions III and IV, as well as displaying both coincidences and divergences in their innovations, contain different sets of readings retained from earlier redactions. Consequently there seems to be no straightforwardly reliable way of deriving one version from the other on the basis of internal evidence: each appears to relate to earlier tradition independently of the other. For this reason, arguments for the priority of one or other redaction have been based on the date of their manuscripts. Starting from the traditional dating of the Norov Psalter to the later thirteenth century, and from the dissemination of Redaction III in the fourteenth century, Češko and Karačorova assumed that Redaction IV came first³¹ and Redaction III was a subsequent modification, a compromise between its radical Grecizing stance and older tradition. But the Norov Psalter is now thought to date from the early fourteenth century³², and Thomson has argued that Redaction III preceded it³³. His argument appears to rely on Mošin's dating³⁴ of the Mihanović Psalter fragment, which largely follows Redaction III, to the late thirteenth century. However, Jagić referred the Mihanović Psalter to the early fourteenth century³⁵, and recently this dating has been revived by Turilov³⁶, on the grounds that the manuscript was written by the same scribe as the first and main hand of the Norov Psalter. If this is the case, it undermines any attempt to derive the chronological sequence of the two redactions from the dates of these manuscripts; it also brings into sharper focus the problem of the textual relationship between them.

The primary affiliation of the Mihanović Psalter to Redaction III is beyond doubt: it exhibits not only the textual features which are shared by both the early fourteenth-century revisions, but also the range of variants mentioned above which set Redaction III apart from Redaction IV, both in those places cited above³⁷

²⁹ C.M. MACROBERT, *On the headings and marginal notes in the two Glagolitic psalter manuscripts in S. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai*, [in:] *Philology Broad and Deep: In Memoriam Horace Gray Lunt*, ed. M. S. FLIER, D. J. BIRNBAUM, C.M. VAKARELIYSKA, Bloomington, IN 2014, p. 177–179.

³⁰ A. RAHLFS, *Septuaginta*, vol. X, *Psalmi cum Odis*, Göttingen 1979³, p. 77.

³¹ Е.В. ЧЕШКО, *Об афонской редакции...*, p. 86; И. КАРАЧОРОВА, *Към въпроса...*, p. 133, 239–240.

³² *Норовская псалтырь...*, p. 48–49.

³³ F.J. THOMSON, *op. cit.*, p. 815.

³⁴ V. MOŠIN, *Ćirilski rukopisi Jugoslavenske akademije*, Zagreb 1955, I, p. 55–6, II, p. 13–14.

³⁵ V. JAGIĆ, *Zwei illustrierte serbische Psalter* (= introduction to J. STRZYGOWSKI, *Die Miniaturen des Serbischen Psalters der Königlichen Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München*), DKAW.PhH 52.2, 1906, p. lxxv–lxxi.

³⁶ А.А. ТУРИЛОВ, *Болгарские книжники раннего XIV в. между Тырновом, Святой горой и Святой землей*, КМс 21, 2012, p. 236–239.

³⁷ In 44:10+14 *прѣспыщюна*, 44:14 *вънѣтръ*, 46:10 *дръжавѣнѣн*, 63:10 *творенѣа*, 72:6 *нечѣстнѣмъ своимъ*, 72:7 *въ любовь*, 75:6 *сѣмъ свон*, 75:8 *противъ станетъ*, 77:19 *клеветашъ*, 77:47 *скалѣнны*,

where Redaction IV is conservative, and also in some places where the two redactions innovate:

Revisions in III and Mihanović Psalter

79:6 ψωμιεῖς напитаеши II
 104:20 ἀφῆκεν остави
 104:22 τοῦ παιδεῦσαι наοучити
 114:7 εὐηργέτησεν благо сътвори
 118:127 τοπάζιον пазиа
 128:3 ἐμάκρυναν оудалиша

Readings in other redactions

натровеши I, насыштаеши IV
 испоуети I II ѿпоуети IV
 да наоучитъ I да накажетъ II
 еже наказати IV
 добро сътвори I II бл҃годѣиствова IV
 тв[м]па[н]зиа I II топазиа IV
 заддлъжиша I II оудлъжишж IV

In addition, the Mihanović Psalter displays a peculiarly systematic use of **съмжтити** (сж), not only in the numerous places where other manuscripts of Redaction III deploy this verb³⁸ but also in 64:8³⁹ and 67:5⁴⁰.

As a witness to Redaction III, however, the Mihanović Psalter is unusual in two ways. Firstly, it contains more inherited readings, especially from Redaction I, than do most of the other witnesses to Redaction III⁴¹. In its partial retention of old accusative pronominal forms it presents the appearance of an incomplete revision, but there are also more substantive relics of early tradition:

Revisions in III and IV

41:10 ἐν τῷ ἐκθλίβειν τὸν ἐχθρόν με
 егда стжжаетъ ми врагъ III
 вънегда стжжати врагоу IV
 72:28 72:28 τοῦ ἐξαγγεῖλαι
 да възвѣщж III еже извѣстити IV
 77:57 ἀπέστρεψεν
 овратишася III ѿвратишж сж IV
 89:2 πρὸ τοῦ ὄρη γενηθῆναι

Early readings in Mihanović Psalter

ѿ печали врага I II
 да исповѣмъ I II
 възвратишжсж I II

80:5 сждѣа, 101:28 тѣждѣ, 101:28 вскждѣжт, 104:23 пришельствова, 105:29 прогнѣваш, 113:5 твѣѣ, 118:23 клеветашж, 118:49 словесъ твоихъ, 118:129 испытаетъ, 118:136 съ<хра>нишж, 120:8 нинѣ.
³⁸ In 41:7, 45:4, 45:7, 47:6, 54:3, 54:5, 59:4, 63:9, 76:5, 82:16, 89:7, 106:27, 118:60; 82:18, also 75:6 **възмжтитжсж**; the reading **псрамаѣтѣсж** in 82:18b is probably an anticipation of **постыдаѣтсж** in the second half of the verse.

³⁹ **възмжтитѣсж**/**възмжтатѣсж** I II, **възмжтатѣсж** III, **съмжтѣсж** IV.

⁴⁰ **съмжтѣсж** I II III IV.

⁴¹ С.М. МаcROBERT, *Problems...*, p. 211.

прѣжде даже горами не быти III	прѣжде даже горы не быша I II
прѣжде еже горами быти IV	
89:2 πλασθῆναι τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην	
сѣздатисѧ земли и вѣселенѣи III IV	сѣздаса земли и вѣселена I II
54:14 γνωστέ μου	
знаемыи мои III знаише мои IV	знание мое I II
68:4 κράζων зовы III зовѣщѣ IV	вѣпиа I II
101:10 ὅτι ζανε III τακο IV	иде I II
101:26 κατ' ἀρχάς	
въ началѣцѣхъ III	въ началѣхъ I II
въ началѣхъ IV	
42:2 κραταίωμα дрѣжава III IV	крѣпость I II
44:12 ἐπεθύμησεν	
вѣжделетѣ III вѣзжелаетѣ IV	вѣсхошетѣ I II
55:13 αἱ εὐχαὶ μολιτηῶν III IV	обѣти I II
64:8 ὑποστήσεται ποσειδι III IV	противъ станетѣ I II
77:11 τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν βλαгодѣянии III IV	бл҃годати I II
77:38 & 45 διαφθερεῖν растѣлетѣ III IV	погубити I II
78:5 ἐκκαυθήσεται ραζγοριτѣ III IV	раждежетѣ I II
80:13 τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα / τὰς ἐπιθυμίας?	
начинанию III начинании IV	похотенѣ ⁴² I II

Rather as in Redaction IV, these earlier readings are sometimes conservative or minority variants:

Shared readings in III and IV

113:6 ἐσκιρτήσατε / ἐσκιρτήσαν
 вѣзыграстѣа III IV, minority reading in I
 101:23 ἐν τῷ συναχθῆναι
 (вѣн)егда сѣверитѣа II III
 вѣнегда сѣвратисѧ IV
 108:3 ἐκύκλωσαν οβιδοша II III IV
 121:6 ἐρωτήσατε вѣпроситѣ II III IV

Early variants in Mihanović Psalter

вѣзыграшжса I II
 егда сѣньмжтса I
 ωβυδж I
 о҃молитѣ I

It may be mere chance that inherited readings in the Mihanović Psalter are also found in Redaction IV, but the fact that some of them recur in the same distribution as in the Norov Psalter looks like more than coincidence:

⁴² A reminiscence, whether in Greek or in Church Slavonic, of 9:24 and 20:3.

Revisions in III

41:2 οὕτως σιце
 49:17 ἐξέβαλες ѡβρѣже
 58:12 κατάγαγε ннзложн
 60:2 τῆς δεήσεώς μου.. τῆ προσευχῆ μου
 МОЛЕННЕ МОЕ... МОЛИТВЕЖ МОИЖ
 64:11 μέθυσον оупон
 69:6 χρονίσης закъсни
 72:3 θεωρῶν зра
 73:4 ἔγνωσαν разоумѣшж
 74:9 τοῦτο снж
 75:2 γωστός вѣдоумѣ
 86:3 δεδοξασμένα ἐλαλήθη
 прѣславна гл̄ашесл
 89:3 εἶπας реклѣ еси
 96:2 γνώφος сѣиракѣ
 98:9 προσκυνεῖτε поклониτεςл
 108:1 τὴν αἴνεσίν μου хвалж моиж
 108:2 ἐλάλησαν гл̄ашл
 118:49 τῷ δούλῳ равоу твоємоу
 118:49 ἐπήλπισάς με
 оупѣвание далѣ ми еси
 127:6 ἴδοις виднши
 134:17 οὐδὲ γάρ ἐστιν нн во есть

Early readings in Mihanović Psalter and IV

тако⁴³ I II
 нзврѣже I II
 разъдрогши I II
 м̄лТВЫ МОЕЖ... МОЛЕННЕ МОЕ сf.
 МОЛИТВЕЖ МОИЖ... МОЛЕННЕ МОЕ I II
 напон I II
 замѣди⁴⁴ I II
 вѣдл I II
 познашж I
 онж I II
 знаемѣ I II
 прѣславно гл̄асл I II
 рѣ I II
 мракѣ I II
 кланѣитесл I II
 хвалы моеж I II
 вѣзгл̄ашж I II
 рава твоєго I II
 мнѣ оупование дал еси I II
 озрѣши I II
 нѣсть вѡ I II

Once again, part of this common inheritance is conservative and even unusual:

Shared readings in III

86:7 ἐν σοί оу теве I II III
 131:4 τοῖς κροτάφοις кротафома I III
 72:1 ὡς коль I II III
 77:21 ἀνεβάλετο разгнѣвасл II III

Early variants in Mihanović Psalter and IV

вѣ тевѣ minority reading in I II
 скраниама II
 тако minority reading in I
 раздражѣсл I

Of particular interest are the places where the Mihanović Psalter appears to duplicate the patterns of distribution noted above in Redaction IV:

⁴³ Corrected in the Mihanović Psalter to σιце.

⁴⁴ The Norov Psalter also had this reading originally in 39:18.

Revisions in III

49:22 μήποτε **ΔΑ** **ΝΕΚΟΓΔΑ**
 77:17 ἔτι **ΕΠΕ**
 104:15, 131:10 & 17 **Χριστός** **ΠΟΜΑΖΑΝΗ**

Early variants in Mihanović Psalter and IV

ΕΔΑ **ΚΟΓΔΑ** I II
ΠΑΚΥ I II
Χριστῆ I II

Unfortunately the fragmentary state in which the Mihanović Psalter has survived⁴⁵ makes it impossible to establish exactly how many early readings it shared with the Norov Psalter.

The second and more remarkable peculiarity of the Mihanović Psalter is that it shares some of the distinctive new readings of Redaction IV. The examples of shared lexis and parallel grammatical innovation are limited in number, and some may be due to chance, though it must be stressed that they are uncommon in the textual tradition up to the fourteenth century:

Shared readings in I II III

48:12 σκηνώματα **ΣΕΛΑ** I II III
 52:6 φόβος **ΣΤΡΑΧΑ** x2 I II III
 88:47 ἐκκαυθήσεται **ΡΑΖΓΟΡΙΤῆΣΛ** I II III
 88:49 ζήσεται **ΠΟЖИΒЕΤῆ** I II III
 90:10 ἐγγιεῖ **ΠΡΙΣΤΑЖПИΤῆ** I II III
 98:6 ἐπήκουσαν **ΟΥСЛЫШАШЕ** I II III
 106:7 ὠδήγησεν **ΝΑΒΕΔΕ** I II III
 106:22 ἐξαγγειλάτωσαν
ИСПОВѢΔΑΤῆ I II **ΠΟΒ'ΕΔΑΤῆ** III
 70:17 ἐδίδαξας **ΝΑΟΥЧИ ΜΛ** I II III
 120:5 σκέπη σου
ΠΟΚΡΟΒῆ I II **ΠΟΚΡΟΒῆ** **ΤΒΟΗ** III
 123:1–2 εἰ μὴ ὅτι **ΙΑΚΟ** **ΑΨΕ** **ΝΕ** I II III

Revisions in Mihanović Psalter and IV

ΣΕΛΕΝΙΑ
ΒΟΔΖΗ
ΡΑЖДЕЖЕΤΕΣΛ
ЖИΒЕΤῆ
ΠΡΙΒΛИЖИТЕΣΛ
ΠΟСЛОУШАШЕ
ΝΑΣΤΑΒΗ
ΒῆΖΒ'ΕΣΤΑΤῆ / **ИЗΒ'ΕΣΤΑΤῆ** IV
ΝΑՃՈՒԼ ΜΛ **ԵՍԻ**
ΠΟΚΡΟΒῆ **ΤΒΕῆ**
ΑΨΕ **ΝΕ**

Of more weight are the shared instances of approximation to Greek: standard lexical equivalents, morphological calque, choice of number, case, preposition or word order in direct imitation of Greek, and the use of **ИЖЕ** as a definite article:

⁴⁵ The manuscript has the following lacunae: pss. 1–40:7, 50:21–end of 51, 67:20–33, 83:7–end of 85, 87:8–88:26, 91:8–95:8, 104:27–105:23, 108:8–109:3, 115:10–end of 117, 135:7 to the end.

Shared readings in I II III

Revisions in Mihanović Psalter and IV

49:14 εὐχὰς οὐρανῶν I II III	МОЛІТВЫ
119:4 τοῖς ἄνθραξι	
горѣшиими жгльми I II III	ЖГЛЪМИ
77:22, 105:24, 118:66 πιστευσαι	
лти вѣры I II III	ВѢРОВАТИ
106:34 καρποφόρον πλοδοβιτη I II III	ПЛОДОНОСИЖ
71:16 ἐπ' ἄκρων	
на врѣхѡу I II на врѣхѣ III	на врѣсѣхѣ
72:21 νεφροὶ κτηροβα μοα I II III	КТРОВЫ МОЖ
88:32 τὰς ἐντολάς μου	
заповѣдни моихѣ I II III	заповѣди моа
118:40 τὰς ἐντολάς σου	
заповѣдни твоихѣ I II III	заповѣди твоа
118:136 τὸν νόμον закѡна твоего I II III	законѣ твои
119:7 ἐπολέμουν με	
борѣахжсѣ съ мѣноиж I II III	борѣхж ма
100:6 ἐν ὁδῷ ἀμώμω	
по пжти непорочьноу I II III	вѣ пжти непорочнѣ
118:51 ἕως σφόδρα βελ̄μι I II III	до зѣла
118:120 ἐκ τοῦ φόβου σου τὰς σάρκας μου	
страсѣ твоемь плѣтъ моиж I II III	ѡ страха твоего плѣти моа
44:17 ἀντὶ τῶν πατέρων σου	
вѣ ѡцѣ твоихѣ мѣсто I II III	вѣ мѣсто ѡцѣ твоихѣ
128:7 ὁ τὰ δράγματα συλλέγων	
сѣбирааи ржколати I II III	иже ржколати сѣбираж

More remarkable still are readings common to the Mihanović and Norov Psalters which derive from variants within the Greek textual tradition:

Greek variants in I II III

Greek variants in Mihanović Psalter and IV

55:8 σώσεις / ὤσεις сѣпасиши I II III	изринеши
57:6 φαρμακοῦ τε φαρμακευομένη	
отѣ... обаваньника обаваемѣ I	
фармакоῦται φαρμακευομένη	
обаваемѣ обаважьнисѣ II	обаваетсѣ ѡбаваемѣ IV
обаваемѣ обаваетѣсѣ III	ѡбаваетсѣ обаваемѣ Mihanović

61:9 ἡμῶν / ὑμῶν НАШЪ I II III	БАШЪ
102:13 οἰκτεῖρει? / οἰκτίρησεν ПОМИЛОУЕТИЪ I II ΟΥΨΕΔΡΗΤЪ III	ШЦЕДРИ Mihanović ΟΥΨΤΕΔΡΗ 16 IV
118:39 ἐντολάς? / κρίματα ΠΟΒΕΛΕΝΙΑ ТВОЯ I II III	СЖДЕБИ ТВОЯ
118:143 εἰσιν СЖТЪ / ЕСТЪ I II III	omitted in Mihanović and IV
121:8 δὴ omitted in I II III	ШЕО

These are indicative of a revision based on a slightly different Greek text from that used for Redaction III as otherwise attested⁴⁶.

What is more, in the Mihanović Psalter the innovatory and Grecizing tendencies extend beyond the variants which this manuscript shares with the Norov Psalter, to emerge in a scattering of idiosyncratic lexical items, innovatory grammatical forms, choices of case, preposition or word order prompted by Greek, and reflexive verbs in place of passive participles to render Greek medio-passive forms:

Shared readings in I II III IV

Revisions in Mihanović Psalter

68:22 εἰς τὸ βρῶμά μου ТАДЪ МОИЖ I II III IV	БРАШНО МОЕ
88:41 καθείλες РАЗОРИЛЪ ЕСИ I II IV НИЗЛОЖИЛЪ ЕСИ III	НИЗЛОЖИ
89:5 παρέλθοι ΜΙΜΟΙΔΕΤЪ I II III IV	ΠΡΕΚΙΔΕΤЪ
105:44 τῆς δεήσεως ΜΟΛΙΤΕЖ I II III ΜΟΛΙΤΕΒИ IV	ΜΟΛΕΝИЕ
61:7 ὅτι ИВО I II III IV	ТАКО
47:14 βάρεις ΔΟΜЪ I II III ТЛЖЕСТИ IV	БОГАТСТВО
59:4 συνετάραξας СЪМΛАТЕ Λ I II IV СЪМЖТИ Λ III	СМЖТИЛЪ Λ ЕСИ
88:48 ἔκτισας СЪЗЪДА I II III IV	СЪЗДАЛЪ ЕСИ
115:7 διέρρηξας РАСТΡЪЗА I II III IV	РАСТΡЪЗАЛЪ ЕСИ
90:9 καταφυγὴν σου ΠΡΙΒΕЖИЩЕ ТВОЕ I II III IV	ΠΡΙΒΕЖИЩЕ СЕБѢ
103:14 τῇ δουλείᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων НА СЛОУЖЬЕЖ ЧЛѢКОМЪ I II III IV	СЛОУЖЕЖ ЧЛѢСТЪКИ
44:14 ἐν κροσσωτοῖς χρυσοῖς ТРЪСНЫ ЗЛАТЫ I II IV	

⁴⁶ C.M. MACROBERT, *The Textual Tradition of the Church Slavonic Psalter up to the Fifteenth Century*, [in:] *Interpretation of the Bible*, ed. J. KRAŠOVEC, Ljubljana–Sheffield 1998, p. 933.

РАСНЫ ЗЛАТЫ III	ВЪ РАСНАХЪ ЗЛАТЫХЪ
118:68 ἐν τῇ χρηστότητί σου	
БЛАГОСТНИЖ ТВОЕЖ I II III IV	ВЪ БЛАГОСТИ ТВОЕИ
118:154 διὰ τὸν λόγον σου	
СЛОВЕСЕ ТВОЕГО РАДИ I II III	
РАДИ СЛОВЕСЕ ТВОЕГО IV	ЗА СЛОВО ТВОЕ
52:5 βρώσει ἄρτου	
ВЪ ХЛѢБА МѢСТО I II III	
ВЪ ІАДЬ ХЛѢБА IV	ВЪ ПИЩѢ ХЛѢБА
48:15 ἔθεντο	
ПОЛОЖЕНЫ СЖТЬ I II III IV	ПОЛОЖИШЖСА
106:27 κατεπόθη	
ПОГЛѢЩЕНА БЫСТЬ I II III IV	ПОГЛОΤΗΣΑ

These readings peculiar to the Mihanović Psalter mirror the shared linguistic practices which set it and Redaction IV apart from other versions, and raise the possibility that this manuscript may occasionally preserve traces of revision which have been lost in the Norov Psalter.

The problems of the textual relationship between the Mihanović Psalter and Redaction IV as represented by the Norov Psalter thus replicate those for Redactions III and IV: the parallels between them are too pronounced to be due to mere chance, yet the versions are to some extent independent of each other both in their inheritance from earlier tradition and in their innovations. How are these complexities to be explained?

When considering how deliberate conflation or accidental contamination has arisen between texts, it is important to keep in view the factors which shape the specific textual tradition. In the case of the Church Slavonic Psalter, the first point to bear in mind is that the redeployment of pre-existing translations was intrinsic to the process by which redactions came into being: each new version was a modification of an earlier one. Secondly, because the Psalter was so widely and frequently used, at each successive stage in the development of the text familiarity with a pre-existing redaction was inevitable: the compilers, copiers and early users of revised versions would initially have known the older, unrevised wordings better than the corrected ones. To these circumstances must be added more general considerations which bear on the revision of texts in manuscript: the production of a complete new copy was expensive of time and material, but the alternative option, correction of an extant manuscript, was laborious and difficult to carry through systematically. Scribes conscious of the potential for error – the part played by memory and inadvertence in the processes of copying or correction

– might seek to control their text by consulting more than one exemplar, only to introduce further contamination⁴⁷.

Several different ways can be envisaged in which a mixture of variants from different redactions might come to coexist in witnesses to the Church Slavonic psalter tradition:

Type 1. When a scribe worked from an exemplar containing a pre-existing version of the Church Slavonic text, but modified the text, more or less consistently, either by inserting corrections or by emending as he copied on the basis of recurrent reference to Greek. This is likely to have been the process by which the Church Slavonic version of Theodoret's commentary on the psalms was produced in the tenth century, since it reflects a different set of Greek variant readings from those characteristic of Redaction I, but betrays the lingering influence of that redaction in certain lexical inconsistencies⁴⁸. A parallel consultation of Latin gave rise to the Croatian Church Slavonic modification of Redaction I.

Type 2. When a scribe produced a copy of a new redaction by introducing corrections, more or less consistently, into a manuscript containing an older version of the text. Such an expedient might be adopted if the exemplar of the new redaction was available only for a limited time on loan, or if the cost of an entirely new manuscript could not be met. This practice is instantiated in the fourteenth-century manuscripts Peć 68⁴⁹ and F.n.1.3.⁵⁰, where it can immediately be detected by large numbers of overwritten erasures.

Type 3. When a scribe chose to work from more than one Church Slavonic exemplar, as explicitly indicated in the colophon to Sinai 9a⁵¹. The concurrent use of multiple exemplars may be signalled by alterations in mid word or mid phrase, for instance in Sinai 9a⁵² and in the Oxford Psalter⁵³, by conflation of distinct textual types, as in those East Slavonic manuscripts of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries which draw on the two Church Slavonic translations of commentaries

⁴⁷ R. POPE, *On Contamination, Multiple Exemplars, and Establishing the History of Collated Texts*, [in:] *Русь и южные славяне. Сборник статей к 100-летию со дня рождения В.А. Мошина (1894–1987)*, ed. В.М. ЗАГРЕБИН, Санкт-Петербург 1998, p. 289–294.

⁴⁸ В.А. ПОГОРЕЛОВ, *Толкования Феодорита Киррского на Псалтырь в древне-болгарском переводе. Рассмотрение списков и исследование особенностей Псалтырного текста*, Варшава 1910, p. 113–116; J. LÉPISSEIER, *Les Commentaires des Psaumes de Théodoret*, Paris 1968, p. 3–4, 304–306.

⁴⁹ C.M. MACROBERT, *Two for the Price of One: the Psalter MS Peć 68*, OSP, New Series 22, 1989, p. 1–33.

⁵⁰ C.M. MACROBERT, *The historical significance of the Frolov Psalter (Russian National Library, F.n.1.3)*, WS 42, 1997, p. 34–46.

⁵¹ Е.В. ЧЕШКО, *Об афонской редакции...*, p. 61.

⁵² C.M. MACROBERT, *What was the izvod Svetogorski?*, [in:] *Русь и южные славяне...*, p. 274–275.

⁵³ C.M. MACROBERT, *The Textual Tradition of the Oxford Serbian Psalter MS e Mus 184*, ПК, 25/26, 1994, p. 147–148.

on the psalms⁵⁴, or by a clear switch from one textual tradition to another within a single manuscript⁵⁵. It implies the existence of competing redactions, or at least uncertainty on the scribe's part about the authority of the versions available to him.

Type 4. When readings from a different redaction, typically a more recent one, were added to a manuscript on an unsystematic basis, as an afterthought by the scribe himself or by a subsequent reader. This might be done either by erasure and correction, e.g. in the psalter manuscripts Sinai 7 and 8 and the Athens Psalter⁵⁶, or by marginal or interlinear glossing, as in the two Sinai Glagolitic Psalters⁵⁷.

Type 5. When a scribe copying a new version of the text reverted sporadically to an older version which he knew by heart. Interference by memory probably explains the occasional variants characteristic of Redaction II which can be detected in manuscripts primarily affiliated to Redaction I, e.g. the fourteenth-century commented Sofia Psalter⁵⁸, or to Redaction III, e.g. the Munich Psalter⁵⁹.

Type 6. When revisers worked independently but against a similar linguistic background, on similar, typically literalistic, translational principles, or from the same Greek textual tradition, and so might arrive at the same wording by pure coincidence. This possibility has to be kept in view in evaluating some of the more literal variants in the manuscripts under consideration in this study. For instance, where the Mihanović Psalter has *ѣтѣ* for 81:6 *ἐστε* rather than *вждѣтѣ* I III IV, or both it and the Norov Psalter have *спѣсмѣ* for 79:8 *σωθησόμεθα* in place of *спѣени* *вждѣмъ* I III, these are not necessarily borrowings from Redaction II, since they are typical of the fourteenth-century approach to translation. For the same reason, there is no need to assume that the Norov Psalter took *начала* for 138:17 *αἱ ἀρχαὶ* directly from the Sinai Glagolitic Psalter in preference to the usual Church Slavonic translation *владычествия* in Redactions I II and III.

⁵⁴ C.M. MACROBERT, *The compilatory Church Slavonic catena on the Psalms in three East Slavonic manuscripts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*, Sla 74.2/3 (2005) (CyrilloMethodiana 2005 ad honorem Zdeňka Ribarova et Ludmila Pacnerová), p. 213–238.

⁵⁵ C.M. MACROBERT, *Alphabetic suspension in Glagolitic and Cyrillic manuscripts*, Slo 56/57, 2007, p. 324–327. E.B. ЧЕШКО, *Об афонской редакции...*, p. 86–91, suggests that a change of exemplars, from Redaction V to Redaction III, can be detected in the Kiev Psalter, but this is doubtful, since the latter part of this manuscript contains variants alien to Redaction III, see C.M. MACROBERT, *The impact of interpretation on the evolution of the Church Slavonic psalter text up to the fifteenth century*, [in:] *Congress Volume Ljubljana 2007*, ed. A. LEMAIRE [= Supplements to *Vetus Testamentum*, vol. 133], Leiden–Boston 2010, p. 431.

⁵⁶ C.M. MACROBERT, *On the role of memory and oral tradition in the early transmission of the Church Slavonic psalter text*, [in:] *Християнска агиология и народни вярвания. Сборник в чест на ст. н. с. Елена Коцева*, ed. А. МИЛТЕНОВА, Е. ТОМОВА, Р. СТАНКОВА, София 2008, p. 341.

⁵⁷ C.M. MACROBERT, *On the headings...*, p. 179–183.

⁵⁸ For examples, see И. КАРАЧОРОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 185–188, and the use of *взвозума* in 34:7 and 19, which is characteristic of Redaction II.

⁵⁹ E.g. the typical Redaction II reading in 62:2 *како прострѣтѣ*.

The outcomes of these different processes can be distinguished from each other when direct evidence for Type 2, 3 or 4 is available, in the form of scribal comment or detectable correction. Types 1 and 2 may also be distinguishable from Type 4 in quantitative terms, because they are likely to produce a preponderance of readings from the newer target version. The same consideration may apply to Type 3, but only if the scribe has given clear priority to one version among those on which he draws, or has made a clean change from one version to another in the course of his work.

However, once the manuscript in which the conflation or contamination took place was re-copied, any type could result in a text which mainly follows one redaction but contains sporadic readings from another. So Pope suggests that doublet readings are indicative of Type 3⁶⁰, and they are indeed a feature of the early fifteenth-century compilatory catenas on the psalms from the Jaroslavl' and Barsov collections and the related Luck Psalter of 1384⁶¹; but he concedes that doublets might also appear when a manuscript containing glosses of Type 4 was copied by a scribe who incorporated them into the text. The operation of Type 5 could likewise give rise to doublet readings, if a scribe wrote a word or phrase from memory, then realised that his exemplar contained a different wording, and added it rather than make a correction. Possible examples of this kind occur in the Luck Psalter⁶²; their interpretation as instances of Type 5 contamination relies on the information provided in the colophon, that the scribe wrote in haste and the fear of death.

Where a combination of the processes enumerated above was in operation, the outcome was liable to be correspondingly complex. For instance, the scribe of the Bucharest psalter probably worked from two manuscripts, a commentated version of Redaction I from which he reproduced the Church Slavonic translation of the pseudo-Athanasian commentary, and the newly introduced Redaction III of the simple Psalter. It is hardly surprising that the resulting text of the psalms themselves is an unpredictable mixture of the two redactions⁶³, nor that occasionally variants typical of Redaction II have crept in⁶⁴, presumably because this version was still familiar to the scribe from liturgical practice in the early fourteenth century. The alternative interpretation put forward by Karačorova⁶⁵, that the readings in this manuscript which are typical of Redaction III crept in by Type 5 contamination, relies on the assumption that Redaction III was already so well established by 1346 that the scribe of the Bucharest Psalter could have known it by heart, and so begs the question of dating.

⁶⁰ R. POPE, *On Contamination...*, p. 290.

⁶¹ C.M. MACROBERT, *The compilatory Church Slavonic catena...*, p. 222–223; EADEM, *The textual peculiarities of the Luck Psalter of 1384 (Acquisti e Doni MS 360, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence)*, RS. New Series 8 (54), 2010, p. 106.

⁶² C.M. MACROBERT, *The textual peculiarities...*, p. 107–110.

⁶³ EADEM, *Problems...*, p. 201, 211.

⁶⁴ E.g. ps. 34:19 *везоума*, ps. 39:8 *въ глвѣзньѣ книжнѣмь*, ps. 62:2 *како прострѣтсе*.

⁶⁵ И. КАРАЧОРОВА, *Към въпроса...*, p. 243.

Allowance has also to be made for the provenance and dissemination of specific versions. For example, the fourteenth-century East Slavonic manuscript Typ.34 was patently copied from the commentated version of Redaction I, which is not otherwise attested from the East Slavonic area after the twelfth century; but it also contains readings characteristic of Redaction II⁶⁶. In principle this copy could be an instance of Type 3, if we assume that the scribe worked from two manuscripts; but this assumption seems unlikely – why should a scribe have chosen to make such a conflation? – and unnecessary, since the scribe's deviations from Redaction I can more plausibly be explained as an instance of Type 5: given the peculiar difficulties of producing a simple copy of the psalms from an unfamiliar commentated redaction, the scribe was more than usually liable to revert to the version of the text most widely used and known among the East Slavs up to the late fourteenth century, i.e. Redaction II.

In the South Slav lands, by contrast, Redaction I and Redaction II continued to be used interactively at least up to the fourteenth century, giving rise to manuscripts of hybrid textual character, probably by Type 5 contamination⁶⁷. This state of textual fluidity no doubt contributed both to renewed interest in recognizably conservative versions and to the demand for new revised texts securely based on Greek. Consequently the mixture of features characteristic of Redactions I and II which is observable in Redaction III is open to more than one interpretation. It could be the outcome of deliberate conflation by Type 3⁶⁸; but to undertake such a complex process of revision, consulting more than one Church Slavonic manuscript as well as the Greek text, would surely have been justified only by the wish to reconcile competing authoritative versions⁶⁹. At present we lack evidence that Redactions I and II of the Psalter had such a status in the South Slav lands towards the end of the thirteenth century; it is not even clear how far they were recognized as distinct from each other. An alternative hypothesis is that Redaction III is a product of Type 1: that it was copied from a pre-existing version in current use – inevitably to some extent a hybrid – with systematic checking against Greek and some linguistic normalization. Under this hypothesis the shared characteristics

⁶⁶ C.M. MACROBERT, *A Missing Link in the Early Tradition of the Church Slavonic Psalter (the Tolstoy, Sluck, Eugenius and Vienna Psalters and MS 34 of the Moscow Synodal Typography)*, WSJ 39, 1993, p. 63–65.

⁶⁷ C.M. MACROBERT, *On the role of memory...*, p. 345–351.

⁶⁸ This seems to be implied by the suggestion that Redaction II functioned as a 'коректив' for the fourteenth-century revised versions, see И. КАРАЧОРОВА, *Към въпроса...*, p. 183. Deliberate conflation of earlier redactions is likewise posited for the Athonite revision of the Apostol, see И. ХРИСТОВА-ШОМОВА, *Служебният Апостол в славянската ръкописна традиция*, 1. *Изследване на библиейския текст*, София 2004, p. 771.

⁶⁹ Type 3 conflation is more plausible as a stage in the genesis of Redaction V, which seems to have been a compromise between the recently compiled and still authoritative Redactions III and IV with some limited supplementary reference back to Greek, see F. J. THOMSON, *op. cit.*, p. 823–825. For an alternative view, based on selective material, of Type 6 convergence between Redactions IV and V, see Т.А. АФАНАСЬЕВА *et al.*, *Языковые инновации в переводах, связанных с именем Киприана*, Slov 1, 2015, p. 21–26.

of Redactions II and III⁷⁰ can for the most part be explained either by reference to a common Greek textual tradition or as instances of grammatical and lexical trends which operated from the tenth century onwards.

But how do the Mihanović Psalter, apparently an early witness to Redaction III, and the Norov Psalter, the sole representative of Redaction IV, fit into the picture? Trivially they are both examples of Type 4: each has been sporadically corrected in later hands and inks to Redaction III⁷¹, thus corroborating the view that this redaction predominated in the South Slav lands. Considered in isolation, each could be an example of Type 2 or 5: either a manuscript containing an older version was corrected, somewhat inattentively, to bring it in line with Redaction III, or Redaction III was copied by a scribe who introduced older readings from memory; Type 3 conflation, though possible in principle, is less likely, for the reasons set out above. At the same time changes, systematic in the Norov Psalter, sporadic in the Mihanović Psalter, were made to align wording more closely with Greek. Once again these accounts presuppose some concurrent use of more than one Church Slavonic version, plus consultation of Greek. They also depend on the assumption, for which we lack decisive independent evidence, that Redaction III was already in existence when the manuscripts were written⁷².

However, if the textual peculiarities of the two manuscripts are considered together, the inadequacy of these interpretations becomes apparent: they fail to explain the shared distributions of inherited material, innovations, and distinctive Greek variants in the Norov and Mihanović Psalters. If it is conceded that these patterns are not merely fortuitous, then we can infer that the two manuscripts derive, whether immediately or at a small remove, from a common source, which we may call Version X. To this stage in transmission we may refer:

- with confidence, the shared textual and linguistic features, both old and new, of the Mihanović and Norov Psalters;
- with reasonable probability, the shared textual and linguistic features of Redaction III and the Norov Psalter in places where the Mihanović Psalter is defective;

⁷⁰ И. КАРАЧОРОВА, *Към въпроса...*, p. 183–197.

⁷¹ Е.В. ЧЕШКО *et al.*, *Норовская псалтырь...*, I, p. 80 on corrections mainly to the first 17 psalms.

⁷² The dating of Redaction III is a matter of ongoing debate: for instance, Е. КОЦЕВА, *Към състава на три ръкописи от Националната библиотека в София: Енински апостол, Шопов-Карадимов псалтир и Софийски апостол* (НБКМ 882), СЛ, 47, 2013, p. 280–283, argues that the textual antecedents of the Sorov-Karadimov may go back into the thirteenth century, while К. ПАВЛИКЯНОВ, *Духовная и филологическая деятельность иноков славянского происхождения в Великой Лавре святого Афанасия Афонского в XIV–XV веках*, [in:] *Афон и славянский мир. Сборник I. Материалы международной научной конференции, посвященной 1000-летию присутствия русских на Святой горе*, ed. Ж.Л. ЛЕВШНИА, Athos 2014, p. 73–80, suggests that the ‘Athonite’ revisions took place in the 1340s–50s. If Redaction III of the Psalter is identified with the ‘Athonite’ revision, the latter dating is difficult to reconcile with the attestation of this redaction in manuscripts, particularly in the Bucharest Psalter of 1346.

- conjecturally, the conservative readings of the Norov Psalter where the Mihanović Psalter is defective, though these could alternatively be due to secondary contamination when the Norov Psalter was copied;
- also conjecturally, the idiosyncratic innovations in the Mihanović Psalter where the Norov Psalter either innovates differently or reverts to the readings of older redactions.

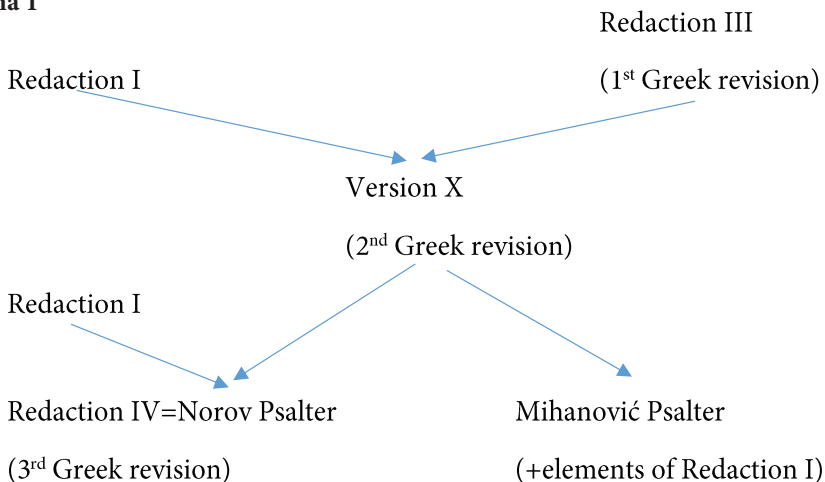
This leaves two sets of data in need of explanation:

- conservative readings in the Mihanović Psalter where the Norov Psalter innovates independently of Redaction III: these might belong to Version X, or might be secondary contaminations;
- conservative readings in either manuscript where the other agrees with Redaction III, to which Version X seems to have been closely allied: these are most numerous in the Norov Psalter, but also figure in the Mihanović Psalter.

Unless we assume that some of the readings which the Norov Psalter shares with Redaction III independently of the Mihanović Psalter are instances of Type 6 coincidence, they preclude the possibility that the Mihanović Psalter could itself have been an exemplar for the Norov Psalter. A parallel conclusion can be drawn from the presence of Redaction III readings in the Mihanović Psalter where the Norov Psalter has conservative ones; in any case the likelihood that the Mihanović Psalter, which lacks such peculiarities as double prefixation on verbs and combinations of *εκε* or *βννεγδα* with infinitives, could have been copied from the Norov Psalter is remote.

There is more than one way of envisaging the relationship between Version X and Redaction III. One possibility is an elaboration of Thomson's hypothesis, which can be represented as follows:

Schema 1

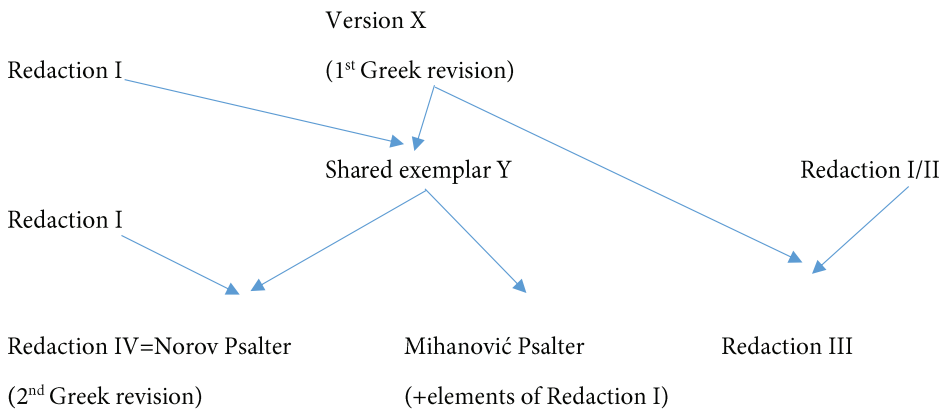


This schema presupposes that Redaction III, a Type 1 revision starting from some blend of Redactions I and II, produced a moderate approximation to Greek

in the late thirteenth century; that Version X, a Type 2 copy of Redaction III using a conservative manuscript of Redaction I with some further piecemeal revision against Greek, is reflected in the Mihanović Psalter, which underwent some additional Type 5 contamination in the process of copying; and that the Norov Psalter is in turn a Type 2 copy of Version X, also using a manuscript of Redaction I but with more thorough and literalistic revision on the basis of Greek to produce Redaction IV. So this view involves three successive stages of increasingly systematic revision against Greek, and implies that both the inconsistencies shared by the Mihanović and Norov Psalters and those peculiar to the Norov Psalter alone result from imperfect reproduction of Redaction III.

An alternative possibility is to take Version X as the starting point for change in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century:

Schema 2



This schema assumes that Version X was a Type 1 revision starting from Redaction I (perhaps with a small admixture of Redaction II readings) with thorough but not slavish reference to Greek; that this gave rise to Y, a Type 2 copy using a manuscript of Redaction I; that Y was the exemplar for both the Mihanović Psalter, which stands close to it, albeit with some Type 5 reversions to Redaction I, and for the Norov Psalter, another Type 2 copy but with further literalistic revision against Greek; and that other manuscripts of Redaction III derived from a conflation of Version X with older readings by Type 2 or Type 3 in the first half of the fourteenth century. On this view, only two revisions on the basis of Greek have to be posited⁷³, but the first of these, in Version X, has to be reconstructed from the combined witness of the Mihanović and Norov Psalters and Redaction III. Each

⁷³ This position is consistent with the absence from Redaction III of distinctive variant readings based on Greek, see C.M. MACROBERT, *The Textual Tradition of the Church Slavonic Psalter...*, *passim*.

of these contains elements of Version X, such as the use of reflexive verbs with passive function in the Mihanović and Norov Psalters, the instances of помазанин in the Norov Psalter and Redaction III; but each, including Redaction III, is an imperfect witness to Version X because all of them have undergone types of contamination or conflation.

This tentative conclusion raises further questions in turn. More attention needs to be paid to traces of possible influence from Redaction IV in psalter manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Such influence has been detected in Redaction V, the version of the psalms supposed to have been the psalter translation promoted by Metropolitan Kiprian and later incorporated into the Genadian Bible. Readings characteristic of Redaction IV also appear in some South and East Slavonic manuscripts of the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, particularly the Serbian Oxford Psalter⁷⁴ and the catenas on the psalms in the Jaroslavl' and Barsov collections. More investigation of manuscripts from this period may clarify the picture.

The other open issue is the identification of the 'Athonite' redaction of the Psalter. Since the 1980s Redaction III has been regarded as Athonite in provenance; but the evidence for this association is open to question, since it relies on generalizing Popov's interpretation⁷⁵ of the word *izvod* as 'translation' and by extension '(new) version', rather than its usual sense of 'copy, manuscript'⁷⁶. Moreover, investigations of the Athonite redactions of other Church Slavonic translations suggest that their linguistic usage and approach to translation ally them more closely with Redaction IV. Hristova-Šomova finds that the Athonite revision of the Apostol is characterized by the use of the animate accusative, reflexive verbs in passive function, *ижѣ* / *ѣжѣ* as equivalents to Greek definite articles, particularly in combination with infinitives, multiple prefixation on verbs in imitation of Greek, and increased occurrence of the pronoun *тъ*⁷⁷. Yet in the textual tradition of the Church Slavonic Psalter these usages are more prominently attested in Redaction IV than in Redaction III. Both Taseva's summary overview of linguistic usage in early fourteenth century revisions⁷⁸ and the more detailed analysis provided by Taseva and Jovčeva⁷⁹ list nominalized infinitives and infinitival clauses among the distinguishing

⁷⁴ С.М. МАСРОБЕРТ, *The Textual Tradition of the Oxford Serbian Psalter...*, ПК, 25/26, 1994, p. 152–154; ЕАДЕМ, *Maksim Grek in linguistic context*.

⁷⁵ Г. ПОПОВ, *Новооткрито сведение за преводческа дейност на българските книжовници от Света гора през първата половина на XIV в.*, БЕ, 5, 1978, p. 402–410.

⁷⁶ С.М. МАСРОБЕРТ, *What was the izvod Svetogorski?*, p. 272, 280–281.

⁷⁷ И. ХРИСТОВА-ШОМОВА, *Служебният Апостол в славянската ръкописна традиция*, 1. *Изследване на библейския текст*, София 2004, p. 771–777.

⁷⁸ Л. ТАСЕВА, *Езикът на книжнината през XIV век*, [in:] *История на българската средновековна литература*, ed. А. МИЛТЕНОВА, София 2008, p. 569–574.

⁷⁹ Л. ТАСЕВА, М. ЙОВЧЕВА, *Езиковите образци на атонските редактори*, [in:] *Българска филологическа медиевистика. Сборник. Научни изследвания в чест на проф. дфн Иван Хара-*

features of the Athonite redactions, but in the Psalter these are occasionalisms in Redaction III; they are deployed systematically only in Redaction IV. The use of Redaction III of the Church Slavonic Psalter as a guide to Athonite translational practice is therefore open to question and, if uncritically accepted, may lead to distortion in our picture of linguistic norms and trends in the early fourteenth century.

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Abstract. Modern scholarship on the textual history of Church Slavonic biblical translation recognizes two distinct revisions of the Church Slavonic Psalter from the early fourteenth century, Redaction III (sometimes called the ‘Athonite’ redaction) and Redaction IV, known only in the Norov psalter manuscript. Although they are both attested from the same period and in manuscripts of similar Bulgarian provenance, these two redactions are in some respects systematically different in their linguistic character, their approach to translational issues and their Greek textual basis. In the light of A.A. Turilov’s observation that the Mihanović Psalter, possibly the earliest witness to Redaction III, is written in the same hand as the greater part of the Norov Psalter, this paper examines the textual antecedents of the two redactions and the importance of the Mihanović Psalter as a link between them.

Keywords: Church Slavonic Psalter, ‘Athonite’ redaction, conflation, contamination.

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