



Contributi italiani al XVI Congresso Internazionale degli Slavisti

Belgrado, 20-27 agosto 2018

a cura di

Maria Chiara Ferro, Laura Salmon,
Giorgio Ziffer

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The Old Serbian Version of the *Antiochene Recension* of Samuel-Kings: Some Preliminary Issues in Textual Criticism

Alessandro Maria Bruni (“Ca’ Foscari” University of Venice)

This paper deals with the second Church Slavonic (hereafter abbreviated as *Slav*) version of 1-2 Samuel and 1-2 Kings (1-4 Kingdoms in Septuagint), which was undertaken in the Balkan region (in all probability) in Serbia, no later than in the early fifteenth century¹. It is today preserved in two Serbian manuscripts: one dating back to 1418 (National Research Library of Odessa, Ukraine, n° 6 = *Slav*^O)² and the other 1523-1543 (Moscow, Russian State Library, f. 87 N° 1-1684, ff. 210-373 = *Slav*^M)³. This translation closely replicates a recension of the Septuagint of 1-4 Kgdms that is commonly linked with the name of Lucian of Antioch, a theologian who was martyred in 312 CE and, accordingly, is widely known as the *Antiochene* or the *Lucianic* text (hereafter *LXX^L*). Research into the Lucianic *Slav* 1-4 Kgdms (hereafter *Slav-LXX^L*) is still in the beginning stages. Consequently, this report is a work-in-progress paper. The few remarks offered here demonstrate how the study of this almost unexplored manuscript legacy is particularly relevant to the textual criticism of the Bible; its inclusion in comparative research may open new avenues of investigation into the textual history of *LXX^L*.

1. *The LXX^L of Samuel-Kings and the Old Greek text*

The books of 1-2 Samuel and 1-2 Kings (1-4 Kgdms) pose serious challenges for biblical scholars, given the major textual differences between the

¹ According to the colophon of *Slav*^O (ff. 332-334), this version was carried out in 1416 (Popruženko 1894: 1-4). Authorship has been attributed to Constantine of Kostenets (ca. 1380- after 1427) or to his contemporary, the monk Gabriel of Hilandar, who is known for having rendered from Greek the Catena in Job (Thomson 1998: 762-763). In Nikolova’s view, the translation was however undertaken in the fourteenth century by a representative member of the Tarnovo Literary School (Nikolova 1995: 62).

² Močul’skij 1890: 5-6; Popruženko 1894; Kopylenko *et al.* 1960: 550; Korol’kova *et al.* 1963.

³ Viktorov 1879: 3-4. This manuscript was discovered by Grigorovič in Ohrid (Grigorovič 1877: 184). Folios ff. 210-373 are thought to have been written by the Hieromonk Vissarion of Debar (See: Nikolova 1995: 62 and 1996: 363-402; Turilov 2004: 545).

existing testimonies. Within this framework, a crucial, yet unsolved, issue lies in the appraisal of LXX^L, a text-type found in only five Byzantine minuscule codices (N° 19, 108, 82, 93, 127; previous *sigla* of the first four: *b, o, c, e*)⁴. This group significantly deviates from the rest of the Greek tradition, but finds parallels in some Latin, Syriac and Armenian sources. The denomination *Antiochene* or *Lucianic* recension is to be understood conventionally: the redaction was shown to be composed of different layers, the earliest of which was named *proto-Lucianic*, since its characterizing readings are to be found in several sources preceding the historical Lucian, namely the Qumran scrolls (Q), Josephus (J), the *Vetus latina* (VT) and the writings of some Church Fathers⁵.

Several scholars assume that LXX^L constituted (or probably constituted) the Old Greek (OG) text of LXX (namely its earliest textual stratum), which was translated from a Hebrew source, differing from the Masoretic text (MT). The analysis of LXX^L is especially relevant in the case of 1 Sam, since it has been suggested that the former derives from the same archetype of 4QSam^a. In a different opinion, however, LXX^L is not believed to plainly represent the OG. Doubts have been mainly voiced regarding those parts of the translation that, in virtue of a hebraizing revision, are commonly known as the *kaige*-sections. Moreover, the claim has been made that OG readings must be assessed on a case-by-case basis, since neither LXX nor LXX^L directly represent the original translation. Recently, Kreuzer's studies have brought new arguments in support of the identification of LXX^L with the OG, but the question seems to be still open, especially because the process of the preparation of the Göttingen editions of LXX Samuel-Kings is in progress⁶.

2. Overview of past research on Slav-LXX^L

Over more than a century, Slavicists very rarely addressed the question of the textual analysis of Slav-LXX^L. The two major contributions on this topic date from the late eighteenth century. In 1894 M.G. Popruženko published a short monograph on Slav^o. Along with the edition of excerpts from the biblical text and from the marginal notes, which include readings from “the Three” (Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion)⁷ and from J, he presented a brief sketch of the grammatical features and of the orthography of the manuscript. Some years later

⁴ Reference critical edition: Fernández Marcos *et al.* 1989-1992.

⁵ Fischer 1951; Spottorno 1995; Tov 1999; Piquer *et al.* 2008; Torijano Morales 2012.

⁶ For reference bibliography see (at least): Barthélemy 1963; Brock 1996; Cross 1964; Fernández Marcos 1994; Hugo 2010 and 2013; Kauhanen 2012; Kreuzer 2015; Rahlfs 1911; Tov 1999; Taylor 1992-1993; Ulrich 1978.

⁷ In Slav-LXX^L the number of the available readings from “the Three” is consistently higher than assumed by Popruženko (1894: 123-129), at least if looking at 1 Sam in manuscript Slav^M (see: Bruni 2016b: 442-443). This new material awaits editing and

S.M. Kul'bakin undertook a comparative textual examination of some passages of 1 Sam (1 Kgdms) that he carried out by taking as a basis selected South and East Slavic sources dating from the fourteenth-sixteenth centuries. According to his conclusions⁸, *Slav*^O would preserve a text closer to the original than *Slav*^M, since in 1 Sam 5:6,9; 6:4,18; 9:8, 23, 27; 10:2; 17:43; 19:4; 24:4 the latter would display textual contamination with the previously existing Slavonic version of the book, dating back to the Old Church Slavonic (Old Bulgarian) period (late ninth-early tenth century)⁹. Moreover, the Russian scholar was the first to establish the reliance of *Slav*-LXX^L on a Lucianic model¹⁰.

In more recent times, a number of other studies have also been produced. On the one hand, several readings from *Slav*^O were included by D. Dunkov in his edition of the Old Church Slavonic (supposedly Glagolitic) version of 1-4 Kgdms¹¹, even though the manuscript is a witness to *Slav*-LXX^L and should therefore not have been used for such a purpose¹². On the other hand, S. Nikolova expressed the opinion that *Slav*^O and *Slav*^M derive from a common, untraced, exemplar of middle Bulgarian and not Serbian origin¹³. Finally, R.V. Bulatova published a paper on the accentual system of *Slav*^O¹⁴.

3. The Crucial Issue: The Nature of the Lucianic Text in *Slav*-LXX^L

As of mid 2017, the *Slav*-LXX^L remains unpublished and still awaits to be studied in detail: nowadays no systematic collation of its two testimonies, *Slav*^O and *Slav*^M, is available. Moreover, this tradition has not yet been investigated in the light of the apparatus of the reference edition of LXX^L, whose authors were not aware of the existence of a Slavonic text¹⁵. This last point is not surprising since this secondary tradition is usually not even mentioned in studies dealing with the textual history of Samuel-Kings¹⁶. A rare exception is Tov's

to be thoroughly collated with evidence found in LXX and other secondary sources such as the Armenian version (*Ibidem*).

⁸ Kul'bakin 1901: 23-25, 43.

⁹ Some scholars ascribe this earliest translation to Methodius, while others to Gregory the Presbyter (see: Thomson 1998: 758; Alekseev 1999: 120-122; Bruni 2016b: 437).

¹⁰ Kul'bakin 1901: 23, 44.

¹¹ Dunkov 1995-1996.

¹² *Slav*-LXX^L is a new translation based on a different Greek prototype.

¹³ With the aim of substantiating the hypothesis of a Bulgarian origin of the translation, Nikolova (1995: 62) refers to Lavrov's (1914: 305-306) remarks concerning the use of nasal vowels in *Slav*^M. These characters are, however, to be found in the first part of *Slav*^M only, in which the Old Church Slavonic (Old Bulgarian) Octateuch is preserved (ff. 1-209; see, e.g., ff. 116v-117).

¹⁴ Bulatova 1995.

¹⁵ Fernández Marcos *et al.* 1989-1992.

¹⁶ See above bibliography (footnotes 5 and 6).

1972 (1999) paper on the proto-Lucianic problem in Samuel-Kings, in which reference is expressly made to the Slavonic version. In this contribution, the fundamental question was raised as to whether *Slav-LXX^L* is based on the ancient textual layer of the five Greek testimonies of *LXX^L* only, or whether, being chronological *post-Lucianic*, it reflects *LXX^L* as a whole¹⁷. This crucial issue, which was left unanswered by Slavacists¹⁸, currently remains at the very core of research into this tradition¹⁹.

With the aim of clarifying the nature of the Lucianic text in *Slav-LXX^L*, the present writer embarked on a preliminary assessment of the major textual features of the Old Serbian version of Samuel-Kings. At a first stage the circumstances imposed to limit autoptic analysis to *Slav^M* only, due to the temporary inaccessibility of *Slav^O* (in this case available data necessarily derived from scholarly literature)²⁰. Despite these constraints, research has produced encouraging results that envisage new prospects for comparative textual criticism and reveal the importance of this Serbian tradition for the textual history of the *LXX^L* of these books.

4. *The Internal Division of 3-4 Kgdms in Slav^M*

In 1-2 Kings (3-4 Kgdms) codex *Slav^M* displays distinctive textual features that cannot fail to capture scholars' attention. The text's arrangement in this manuscript only partially corresponds to that of *Slav^O* and of other *Lucianic* witnesses²¹. Textual affinity is in fact limited to the incipit of 3 Kgdms that in all these sources starts at 3 Kgdms 2:12²². The subsequent textual organization is however completely different, since *Slav^M* ends 3 Kgdms at 3 Kgdms-LXX^L 11:41²³ and begins 4 Kgdms at 3 Kgdms-LXX^L 11:42²⁴. Consequently,

¹⁷ Tov 1999: 488.

¹⁸ See: Nikolova 1995; Thomson 1998; Alekseev 1999.

¹⁹ Bruni 2016a: 403 and 2016b: 442.

²⁰ Information on *Slav^O* is based on Popruženko's description (1894: 41-54) and Kul'bakin's remarks (1901).

²¹ See: *Mosqu.Syn.gr.* 31, fol. 318v, as well as other Eastern and indirect sources such as *Vat.Syr.* 162, J and Theodoret.

²² Tov 1999: 480. See also Popruženko's description (1894: 49)

²³ *Slav^M*, fol. 313: и оуспе соломонъ съ оцѣ своими и погребовше его въ градѣ дѣдовѣ ѿца его [καὶ ἐκοιμήθη Σαλωμων μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν ἐν πόλει Δαυὶδ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ (Fernández Marcos *et al.* 1992: 38)].

²⁴ *Slav^M*, fol. 313: вистъ же тако оуслыша иероваамъ. снъ навадовъ. и еше сѣи въ егѣптѣ, такоже вѣждалъ вѣ ѿ лица соломонова. и сдѣ тamo въ егѣптѣ, тако оумрет соломонъ. и исправляетъ и приходить въ градъ свои, въ сарѣра иже въ горѣ ефремовѣ [ἐγένετο δέ, ὡς ἤκουσεν Ἱεροβοάμ υἱὸς Ναβάτ, ἔτι ὢν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ὡς ὅτε ἐφυγεν ἐκ προσώπου Σολομώντος καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, ὅτι τέθηκε Σολομών• καὶ κατευθύνει καὶ ἔρχεται εἰς τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν Σαρεῖρά τὴν ἐν ὄρει Ἐφραΐμ (*Ibidem*)].

according to *Slav*^M, 4 Kgdms consists of 3 Kgdms-LXX^L 11:42-22:54 and 4 Kgdms-LXX^L 1:1-25:30. Such an arrangement of 1-2 Kings (3-4 Kgdms) is not to be found elsewhere.

The analysis of *Slav*^M proves that this unique feature is not due to scribal mistakes, but instead intentionally appears to replicate a lost prototype. In this regard the following observations can be made. On the one hand, before 3 Kgdms-LXX^L 11:42 codex *Slav*^M inserts a heading informing the reader that 4 Kgdms begins at the reign of Rehoboam²⁵. On the other one, a very interesting marginal comment is to be found alongside the translation of 4 Kgdms 1:1 (333v)²⁶. This note tells us that in the original the copyist had before his eyes 4 Kgdms started precisely at this point, while in other testimonies at the reign of Rehoboam²⁷. Whether such an alternative structure was Slavonic or Greek, is unfortunately not specified by the Serbian glossator. Regardless of this, it is however evident that the author of *Slav*^M, or of its archetype, deliberately orientated his work towards a different LXX^L tradition, known today thanks to a single secondary witness.

5. Proto-Lucianic Readings in *Slav*^M

A first text-internal comparative analysis of *Slav*^M with LXX^L has produced the following results. This source includes several readings that belong to the ancient textual layer of the *Antiochene* recension. Accordingly, a positive response to Tov's question²⁸ may now be given: the Serbian tradition represents a new witness not only to LXX^L as a whole, but also to the *proto-Lucianic* textual stratum. With an aim to providing an initial illustration of this crucial textual feature, an edition of selected passages of *Slav*^M is offered below.

I. 1 Sam 9:3

Slav^M (fol. 220v): и възста сауль, и поеть единого ѿ отроуиць оца своего съ собою. и поиде исхати ослета крцова оца своего.

LXX^L: καὶ ἀνέστη Σαουλ, καὶ παρέλαβεν ἐν τῶν παιδάρων τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπορεύθη ζητεῖν τὰς ὄνους Κις τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ²⁹.

²⁵ *Slav*^M, fol. 313: Начело црѣвѣа ѡтерьтладо, ровнамова, сѣа соломѡнова. црѣскыих ѡтерьтладо:—.

²⁶ *Slav*^M, fol. 333v: и ѡврьже са мѡдавѣ въз ѡлы по възнегда оумрьѣти ахлавѡу [καὶ ἠθέτησε Μωῶβ ἐν Ἰσραὴλ μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν Ἀχαάβ (*Ibidem*)].

²⁷ *Slav*^M, fol. 333v: въз изводе сем зде пишеть конкьцъ црѣвѣа ·҃҃· го· начинает же црѣскыих ·҃҃· ти охѡзѣино црѣство: индѣ же ѡ ровнамова црѣства начинает.

²⁸ Tov 1999: 480.

²⁹ Fernández Marcos *et al.* 1989: p. 23.

II. *I Sam 9:24*

Slav^M (fol. 222): и въздвиже приставникъ бедроу, и еже на нени жрѣт'внѣдѣ, и постави ие прѣдѣ, сѣмоуилюм. и рече сѣмоуиль к'з сѣоулоу, се кестъ свѣдѣтел'ство, прѣдложи прѣдѣ се и ѡждѣ. ѡко въз свѣдѣтел'ство положихъ ти се ѿ люден, и зрѣзюи и ѡде сѣоуль сз сѣмоуилем въз дѣнь вни'.

LXX^L: καὶ ἤρεν ὁ μάγειρος τὴν κωλέαν καὶ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῆς, καὶ παρέθηκεν αὐτὴν ἐνώπιον Σαούλ. καὶ εἶπε Σαμουὴλ τῷ Σαούλ Ἰδοὺ μαρτύριον· παράθεσ αὐτὸ ἐνώπιόν σου καὶ φάγε, ὅτι εἰς μαρτύριον τέθειται [: παρατέθηκα] σοι παρὰ τοῦ λαοῦ· ἀπόκνιζε. καὶ ἔφαγε Σαούλ μετὰ Σαμουὴλ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ³⁰.

III. *I Sam 10:2*

Slav^M (fol. 222): и се ти знаменїе, ѡко помаза те г'ь властѣлина на дѣ, двѣстоаиѣм своим. да ѡкоже аще ѿидеши дѣнь ѿ мене, обрѣщеши два мѡужа при гробѣхъ рахїлїнѣхъ, въз прѣдѣлѣхъ венїаминѡвѣхъ въз сїлѡмѣхъ поживша велико [...].

LXX^L: καὶ τοῦτο σοι τὸ σημεῖον ὅτι κέχρικέ σε Κύριος εἰς ἄρχοντα ἐπὶ τὴν κληρονομίαν αὐτοῦ· ὡς ἐὰν ἀπέλθῃς σήμερον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, εὐρήσεις δύο ἄνδρας πρὸς τοῖς τάφοις Ῥαχὴλ ἐν τοῖς ὄριοις Βενιαμὴν μεσημβρίας ἀλλομένους μέγαλα [...]³¹.

IV. *I Sam 10:23*

Slav^M (fol. 223v): и тече сѣмоуиль и поеть его ѡноуа, и ета сѣоуль посрѣдѣ людїи, и възнесе се ѿ възѣхъ людїи паге подоѡїа и повыше.

LXX^L: καὶ ἔδραμε Σαμουὴλ καὶ ἔλαβεν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖθεν. καὶ κατέστη Σαούλ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ λαοῦ, καὶ ὑψώθη ὑπὲρ πάντα τὸν λαὸν ὑπερωμίαν καὶ ἐπάνω³².

V. *I Sam 16:14*

Slav^M (fol. 233v): и дѣхъ г'нь ѡтѡупи ѿ сѣоула и ѡблѡдаше его доухъ лоукавъ ѿ г'а, и дѡвѡдаше его.

LXX^L: καὶ πνεῦμα Κυρίου ἀπέστη ἀπὸ Σαούλ, καὶ συνεῖχεν αὐτὸν πνεῦμα πονηρὸν παρὰ Κυρίου, καὶ ἐπνιγεν αὐτόν³³.

VI. *I Sam 30:15*

Slav^M (fol. 254): и рече дѣдѣ, аще наведеши ме на ввин'ство се. и рече, клзни ми се оубо въз г'а не оумрѣзѡвѣти ме, и не прѣдати ме въз роуцѣхъ г'їдїна мѡего. и наведеоу те на ввин'ство се. и клетъ се емоу.

LXX^L: καὶ εἶπε πρὸς αὐτὸν Δαυὶδ Εἰ κατάξεις με ἐπὶ τὸ σύστρεμμα τοῦτο; καὶ εἶπεν Ὁμοσον δὴ μοι κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ θανατῶσαί με καὶ μὴ παραδοῦναι

³⁰ *Ibid.*: 25.

³¹ *Ibid.*: 26. Some textual affinity can also be found with the Old Latin translation: VL (L₁₁₅) *In finibus Benjamin in Selom* [въ сїлѡмѣхъ] *in bachallat salientem magna stadina* (see: *Ibidem*). On the importance of the VL for the study of the *proto-Lucianic text see*: Tov 1999; 479 n. 12.

³² Fernández Marcos *et al.* 1989: 28.

³³ *Ibid.*: 47.

6. Conclusions

Research presented in this paper represents a first attempt towards a comprehensive analysis of the textual features of *Slav-LXX^L* against the background of the Greek testimonies of the *Antiochene* recension of Samuel-Kings. Despite being preliminary, the undertaken work indeed looks to be promising.

The most notable implication of the current study is that *Slav^M* was shown to be a new witness to the ancient textual layer of the *Lucianic* recension, namely to the *proto-Lucianic* stratum. Moreover, the analysis has furthermore provided indirect evidence of the existence of a lost edition of *LXX^L* 1-2 Kings that featured an alternative subdivision of the books, according to which 4Kgdms consisted of 3 Kgdms-*LXX^L* 11:42-22:54 + 4 Kgdms-*LXX^L* 1:1-25:30. The simultaneous presence in the Serbian version of text-internal *proto-Lucianic* elements makes it very likely that this arrangement dates back to Late antiquity and not merely to the Middle Ages. Consequently, the hypothesis may be advanced that this *Slav* translation provides scholars with a new window into the textual history of *Antiochene* recension of Samuel-Kings and, ultimately, into the OG text of these books. Accordingly, this Serbian tradition can safely be placed at the very center of the debate surrounding one of the most complex issues facing contemporary biblical scholarship.

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Abstracts

Alessandro Maria Bruni

La versione serba antica della recensione antiochena dei libri di Samuele e dei Re: alcune questioni preliminari di critica del testo

Il contributo è dedicato all'antica traduzione slava meridionale dei libri biblici di Samuele e dei Re, preservata in due testimoni serbi dei secoli XV-XVI. Questa versione è un testimone indiretto della cosiddetta recensione antiochena o luciana della *Septuaginta*, pervenutaci in soli cinque codici manoscritti greci di epoca bizantina. Il presente lavoro si configura come un primo tentativo di studio comparato del testo slavo con il suo originale greco. Particolare attenzione è prestata all'individuazione delle cosiddette lezioni protolucianee e all'analisi di alcune caratteristiche testuali del tutto uniche che sono rinvenibili nella tradizione serba.

Алессандро Мария Бруни

Древнесербский перевод "Антиохийской" редакции книг Царств: предварительные текстологические заметки

Доклад посвящен южнославянскому переводу книг Царств, сохранившемуся в двух сербских рукописях XV-XVI вв. Этот текст восходит к так называемой "Антиохийской" или "Лукиановской" редакции Септуагинты, полностью известной лишь в пяти византийских списках. В работе совершается первая попытка сравнительного изучения славянской версии и греческого оригинала. Особое внимание уделяется выделению "протолукиановских" чтений, а также анализу ряда уникальных текстологических особенностей сербской традиции.

Keywords

Bible; Old Testament; Textual Criticism; Septuaginta; Serbian Manuscripts.