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## TOPONYMS IN THE SLAVONIC EXCERPT FROM THE CHRONICLE OF JULIUS AFRICANUS\*

**Abstract.** For a long time, Julius Africanus' Chronicle has only been known through hundreds of fragments scattered across Greek, Latin and Oriental (Syriac, Arabic, and Armenian) manuscripts. About fifteen years ago, a long and coherent Slavonic excerpt from Africanus' Chronicle was found in a chronographic compilation that survives in the five Russian witnesses of the 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> centuries. The compilation has been erroneously identified as a Slavic translation of an abridged version of the Chronicle of George Synkellos. The excerpt contains Africanus' main narrative devoid of the pre-Olympic history of nations except for the history of the Judeans. Taking up about two thirds of the whole text, it covers the years from the Creation to Christ's Resurrection. The compilers complemented it with an excerpt from a common edition of the Chronicles of George Synkellos and Theophanes the Confessor, thus taking their account to the foundation of Constantinople. Created most likely in Greece, the Compilation was translated in the early 10<sup>th</sup> century in Bulgaria, during the reign of Simeon the Great, only a few decades after the nation's conversion to Christianity. This paper analyses the periphrastic practices of the Bulgarian translators who had to adequately render the biblical and non-biblical toponyms, adapting them to the Old Bulgarian phonetics and morphology. The analysis is complicated by the fact that the Greek original of the Compilation has been lost (or has not yet been identified). In order to identify the toponyms and their meanings, the author, where appropriate, makes use of parallels from the Septuagint and the Chronicle of Synkellos. The analysis shows that the Bulgarian translator/s had a good command of Greek and a good knowledge of the biblical geography – the number of correctly translated toponyms exceeds the number of those that were misspelled (the misspellings probably occurred during the long text transmission).

**Keywords:** Julius Africanus' Chronicle, manuscripts, Slavic translation

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As we have recently learned, the transmission of a long and coherent excerpt from the chronicle of Julius Africanus is owed to the Slavic manuscript tradition. The chronicle has only been known through hundreds of fragments scattered across Greek, Latin and Oriental (Syriac, Arabic, and Armenian) manuscripts<sup>1</sup>. The excerpt, which served as a basis for a chronographic compilation preserved in five Russian witnesses of the 15<sup>th</sup> and the 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, contains Africanus' main narrative, devoid of the pre-Olympic history of nations except for the history of the Judeans<sup>2</sup>. Probably created in Greece at the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, the compilation aimed to provide the newly converted peoples with a comprehensive account of the history of Christianity<sup>3</sup>. For this reason, the narrative of Africanus, covering the period from the Creation to Christ's Resurrection – and taking up about two thirds of the text – was complemented with a short excerpt from a common edition of the chronicle of George Synkellos and the concluding parts of the chronicle of Theophanes the Confessor. This second excerpt ends with the foundation of Constantinople. The Slavonic translation was made in the early 10<sup>th</sup> century in Bulgaria, during the reign of Simeon the Great, only a few decades after the nation's conversion to Christianity. The adoption of the new religion required the whole range of foreign proper and geographic names to be domesticated and adapted to Slavic morphology. Africanus' excerpt actually concisely paraphrases the Old Testament, and its toponyms reflect the periphrastic practices of the Septuagint translators who tried to adequately render the double meanings of the toponyms from the Hebrew text<sup>4</sup>. The Greek *Vorlage* that Bulgarian men of letters had at their disposal predetermined how they rendered the borrowings at the earliest stage of building the literary norm of the OCS.

Given the fact that the Compilation's Greek original is not surviving, I draw on respective parallels from Septuagint<sup>5</sup>, the Chronicle of George Synkellos<sup>6</sup> (which is

<sup>1</sup> Africanus's excerpts were first published by Routh in *Reliquiae Sacrae*, vol. II, ed. M.J. ROUTH, Oxford 1846 (cetera: *Reliquiae Sacrae*), p. 225–309. The recent edition by Wallraff can be found in IULIUS AFRICANUS, *Chronographiae. The Extant Fragments*, ed. M. WALLRAFF, Berlin–New York 2007 [= GCS.NF, 15] (cetera: IULIUS AFRICANUS, *Chronographiae*).

<sup>2</sup> For the whole text of the compilation by three extant witnesses, enhanced by respective commentaries and a linguistic analysis of the translation, see A. ТОТОМАНОВА, *Славянската версия на Хрониката на Георги Синкел*, София 2008.

<sup>3</sup> ЕАДЕМ, *Греческая историография после иконоклазмы и распространение христианства*, [in:] *Laudator temporis acti. Studia in memoriam Ioannis a. Božilov*, vol. I, *Religio, historia*, ed. I.A. BILIARSKY, Serdicae 2018, p. 231–239.

<sup>4</sup> On that see Russel Thomas CHERRY III, *Paronomasia and Proper Names in the Old Testament. Rhetorical Function and Literary Effect* (PhD Diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1988); H. AUSLOOS, *Judges 3:12–30. An Analysis of the Greek Rendering of Hebrew Wordplay*, [in:] *Text-critical and Hermeneutical Studies in the Septuagint*, Leiden 2012, p. 53–68.

<sup>5</sup> Hereinafter, Septuagint is cited according to the site <https://sacred-texts.com/bib/poly/gen.htm> [4 VIII 2024] which is based on *Septuaginta*, ed. A. RAHLFS (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1935; repr. in 9<sup>th</sup> ed., 1971) and contains the respective Hebrew and Latin parallels.

<sup>6</sup> Synkellos' Chronicle is cited according to *Georgii Syncelli Ecloga chronographica*, ed. A. MOSSHAMMER, Leipzig 1984 [= BSGR] (cetera: GEORGIUS SYNCCELLUS).

strongly influenced by Africanus' Chronography) and a number of other sources such as Josephus<sup>7</sup> and St Jerome's Chronological tables<sup>8</sup>. Only in two cases are the toponyms attested in the extant Africanus' fragments. The text on 407a24–26 *φάρρα* же поимѣтъ авраама сѣна своѣго. ѡ лѣта в'ноука. ѡ сар'роу снохоу своѣо. преминноу зѣмлю хал'дѣнскоу въ хар'роу. посредоу рѣчѣнскоу, which is part of the account of Abraham's arrival in the promised land (407a20–407b1), has no parallel in Synkellos's Chronicle and the respective verse in the Septuagint (Gn 11: 31) does not mention the location of Haran. However, it is obvious that the adjective *посредоу рѣчѣнскѣ* must have rendered only the Greek Μεσοποταμίας or μεσοποταμιός. This example shows that the Slavic men of letters followed their Greek original and translated the toponym in the same way as the Septuagint translators did the Hebrew toponyms.

The etiological explanation of the toponyms inherited from the Hebrew Text was another challenge faced by the Slavic copyists and translators. In the Hebrew tradition, the etiology of the proper name was usually marked by paronomastic phenomena<sup>9</sup>. However, these are absent from the translation under discussion, since Africanus' text merely paraphrases the Greek Old Testament narrative, and paronomasia (word play) was not always adequately rendered in the Septuagint.

**414b8** ѡ прѣидѡша въ мѣсто еже прозваша запаленнѣ. ѡзъгорѣ бо ѡ | нѣколикѡ бжнѣмъ ѡгнемъ ѡмъ хоулахоу бѡ corresponds to Nm 11: 3 and that is the end of the story of the Jewish people who complained that they were forced to eat only manna, and who thus caused the Lord's fire to consume some of them. The Slavic word *запаленнѣ* renders the Septuagint ἐμπυρισμός, replacing the Jewish toponym *Taberah*, which conveyed the same meaning<sup>10</sup>. In the same way, this toponym was rendered in the Slavic translation of the Old Testament<sup>11</sup>.

After the burning, the Lord provided them with quails from the sea. The people then became so gluttonous for meat as to bring God's terrible plague upon themselves, and many of them died. That is why the place was called *жюпница желаннѣ*. The respective verse in Nm 11: 34 provides μνήματα τῆς ἐπιθυμίας, which explains the Slavic translation and matches the original meaning of the biblical toponym

<sup>7</sup> FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, *Antiquitatum iudaicarum libri I–XX*, [in:] *Flavii Iosephi Opera*, vol. I–IV, ed. B. NIESE, Berlin 1955 (cetera: FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, *Antiquitatum iudaicarum*); FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, *De bello iudaico*, [in:] *Flavii Iosephi Opera*, vol. VI, ed. B. NIESE, Berlin 1955 (cetera: FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, *De bello iudaico*).

<sup>8</sup> ST. JEROME, *Cronological Tables* on R. Pearse, Jerome, Chronicle (2005) (cetera: ST. JEROME, *Cronological Tables*), p. 16–187, [https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome\\_chronicle\\_02\\_part1.htm](https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome_chronicle_02_part1.htm) and p. 188–332, [https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome\\_chronicle\\_03\\_part2.htm](https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome_chronicle_03_part2.htm) [4 VIII 2024].

<sup>9</sup> R.Th. Cherry defines the paronomasia as *The deliberate use of a word or combination of words as a rhetorical device designed to create within the hearer (or reader) feelings of ambiguity and curiosity. This use is primarily based upon resemblances of sound, but may also include willful exploitation of the meaning or written appearance of these expressions* (R.Th. CHERRY III, *Paronomasia...*, p. 21).

<sup>10</sup> <https://www.sacred-texts.com/bib/poly/h8404.htm> [4 VIII 2024].

<sup>11</sup> В. Желязкова, *и прозѣва сѧ нма мѣстоу томоу... За превездането на географските имена в старобългарския превод на Стария завет*, [in:] *ръци слово твърдо. Сборник в чест на проф. д.ф.н. Татяна Славова*, София 2022, p. 458.

*Kibroth hat Taavh* ‘graves of the longing’<sup>12</sup>. Here the Slavic Old Testament reads *ΓΡΟΒΗ ΠΟΧΟΤ΄ΕΝΗΑ*<sup>13</sup>.

**415a20** *НАРѢ ЖЕ СѦ ВѢДА ТА КЛѢТНАА* corresponds to Nm 20: 13 and the adjective *κλέτῃναά* renders the Greek genitive in the word formation ὕδωρ ἀντιλογίας<sup>14</sup>. In the parallel text, Synkellos uses the combination τὸ δε ὕδωρ λοιδορίας ἐκλήθη<sup>15</sup>. Both variants translate as the Jewish toponym *Meribah*, which means ‘quarrel; provocation, strife’<sup>16</sup>. The Slavic word, however, means ‘slandorous, defamatory’, which is closer to Synkellos’s translation.

**416a23–25** *Н ПОГРЕ|ВЕНЪ БѢ ВЪ ДРАЖЪ МОАВЕНТЪСТѢНЪ, БЛНЗЪ ЖННЦМ ФГО|РѢВА* informs us of Moses’ burial place. The text is in agreement with that of Synkellos and the Septuagint (Dt 34: 6), where it reads καὶ ἐτάψαν αὐτὸν ἐν Γαι ἐν γῆ Μοάβ ἐγγὺς οἴκου Φογῶρ<sup>17</sup>. Οἶκος Φογῶρ is a literal translation of the Hebrew geographic name Beth-Peor<sup>18</sup> and the Slavic *ЖННЦМ ФГО|РѢВА* matches it. The Slavic translator perceived the toponym Γαι as a common noun and used the word combination *ВЪ ДРАЖЪ МОАВЕНТЪСТѢНЪ*, which restores the reading of the Hebrew text<sup>19</sup>. The Old Bulgarian word *ДРАЖГА* is used here to denote a valley, which is absent from historical dictionaries. In our text on 417a11, however, the same word also translates as the Greek φάραγξ, which refers to the valley of Ailon.

In **417a20–22** *ВЪШЕ | ЖЕ ВЪ ДАВНРЪ. НЖЕ ПРѢЖЕ ГРА ЗОВАШЕ СѦ КННЖКСКННЪ, |* *ЎЗΟΥ ЖЕ ДЦІЕРЪ ЎБѢЦМ ДАТН ЖЕНЪ* we come across a toponym, translated in Greece, cf. the parallel text in Synkellos καταλαμβομένην τὴν πόλιν τῶν γραμματῶν Καριαθσεφαρεὶ ἐν Δαβείρ, Ὅχαν ἔπαθλον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα εἰς γυναῖκα<sup>20</sup> and Septuagint Ios 15: 15 καὶ ἀνέβη ἐκεῖθεν Χαλεβ ἐπὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Δαβιρ τὸ δὲ ὄνομα Δαβιρ ἦν τὸ πρότερον Πόλις γραμματῶν. It is worth noting that while Synkellos mentions the original Hebrew name of the city of *Kirjath-sepher*<sup>21</sup>, it is missing both from Septuagint and from Africanus’ excerpt. V. Željzkova finds an alternative variant in the Old Bulgarian translation of the Old Testament *ΓΡΑДЪ*

<sup>12</sup> <https://www.sacred-texts.com/bib/poly/h6914.htm> [4 VIII 2024].

<sup>13</sup> В. ЖЕЛЯЗКОВА, *И прозъва сѦ...*, p. 458.

<sup>14</sup> Rendering the attribute in genitive with a relative adjective is the usual practice of the Bulgarian men of letters.

<sup>15</sup> GEORGIUS SYNCELLUS, p. 160.28–29.

<sup>16</sup> <https://www.sacred-texts.com/bib/poly/h4808.htm> [4 VIII 2024].

<sup>17</sup> GEORGIUS SYNCELLUS, p. 166.10.

<sup>18</sup> *Cyclopaedia on Biblical, Theological and Ecclesiastical Literature*, vol. I–XII, ed. J. McCLINTOCK, J. STRONG, Baker Academic, Div of Baker Publishing Group, 1982, <https://www.biblicalcyclopedia.com/B/bethpeor.html> [4 VIII 2024]. See also *The Chronography of George Synkellos. A Byzantine Chronicle of Universal History from the Creation*, trans. et praef. W. ADLER, P. TUFFIN, Oxford 2002, p. 205, n. 4.

<sup>19</sup> <https://sacred-texts.com/bib/poly/h1516.htm> [4 VIII 2024].

<sup>20</sup> GEORGIUS SYNCELLUS, p. 170.27–29.

<sup>21</sup> *Kirjath Sannah* or *Kirjath Sepher* means ‘city of branches’, or ‘city of a book’, <https://www.sacred-texts.com/bib/poly/h7158.htm> [4 VIII 2024].

пнсмѣнѣ / градѣ пнсмѣнѣнѣи<sup>22</sup>, which is not surprising, given the fact that in the early Old Bulgarian texts the *plurale tantum* кѣнннѣи might mean both ‘letters’ or ‘a book’, cf. in the translation of Gospels бѣ же ѿ написанѣ написано • надѣтѣ нѣмѣ • кѣннѣигами елинѣскими • ѿ римѣскими • ѿ еврѣисками γράμμασιν Lc 23: 38 Zogr Mar As Sav Ostr<sup>23</sup>.

The text on 417b9–10 ѡнн же покѡрнѣ ѡвѣщавше. внны сѣ тоѡ прѡстн|ша. нѣ трѣвннѣ то сѣвѣтѣлѣство прѡзвѣша concludes the story of a clash between the tribes of Judah and the tribes of Israel after Joshua’s death. It also covers their reconciliation. It is a paraphrase of Ios 22: 34 καὶ ἐπωνόμασεν Ἰησοῦς τὸν βωμὸν τῶν Ρουβην καὶ τῶν Γαδ καὶ τοῦ ἡμίσεος φυλῆς Μανασση καὶ εἶπεν ὅτι μαρτύριόν ἐστιν ἀνὰ μέσον αὐτῶν ὅτι κύριος ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶν ἐστιν. In the Hebrew text the altar is called *ayd*, which means ‘witness’<sup>24</sup>.

In 418a11–12 тоѡа бѣтѣ прѣдастѣ ѡ | хѡсѣсарѣмоу цѣю. ѡсѡгрѣнскѣ рѣкѣтѣ the word combination ѡсѡгрѣнскѣ рѣкѣтѣ corresponds to Idc 3: 8 καὶ ἀπέδοτο αὐτοῦς ἐν χειρὶ Χουσαρσαθαи βασιλέως Συρίας ποταμῶν and a toponym in genitive is again rendered by a possessive adjective formed from the same root. The Slavic translation matches the Septuagint reading while Synkellos recognizes the toponym and says Συρίας Μεσοποταμίας<sup>25</sup>.

419a20 нѣзвон велѡстннѣи is the name of the place where Samson slew a thousand Philistines with the jaw bone of an ass. In Hebrew, the name *Ramath Lechi* means *height of a jaw bone*<sup>26</sup>, while our toponym follows the Septuagint reading in Idc 15: 17 ἀναίρεσις σιαγόνος and should be translated as *annihilation with a jaw bone*. The same version is also preserved in a 14<sup>th</sup> century manuscript of Judges, kept in the Holy Trinity-St. Sergius Lavra<sup>27</sup>. According to V. Željzkova, this is typical of the Slavic translation of the Old Testament<sup>28</sup>.

424a19–22 то же ноколѣнннцн (sic!) | фнлнскѣтѣн на дѣда прншѣше с вѡн. повѣжѣнн вышѣ | на раздѡлѣ фнтанѣстѣмѣ. да нѣ мѣстоу подѡбно нмѡ | сѣтѣкѡрншѣ. растѡнѣ. The topos на раздѡлѣ фнтанѣстѣмѣ (424a21) refers to the first of the many battles that David fought against the Philistines (2Sam 5: 18, 22; 23: 13 and 1Par 11: 15). In Septuagint, the same location is referred to as κοιλὰς τῶν τιτάνων (2Sam 5), where the Slavic translation of the attribute in *gen pl*, accompanied by a possessive adjective тнтанѣскѣ, is derived from. The spelling фнтанѣскѣ

<sup>22</sup> В. Желязкова, *Вирсавия или Колодец клятвы? К вопросу о наименованиях мест в древнеболгарском переводе ветхозаветных книг*, [in:] *Славянское и балканское языкознание*, vol. XXI, *Палеославистика. Лексикология и текстология. К 100-летию Р.М. Цейтлин*, Москва 2021, p. 183.

<sup>23</sup> <http://gorazd.org/gulliver/?recordId=6507> [4 VIII 2024].

<sup>24</sup> <https://www.sacred-texts.com/bib/poly/h5707.htm> [4 VIII 2024].

<sup>25</sup> GEORGIUS SYNCHELLUS, p. 176.17–18.

<sup>26</sup> <https://www.sacred-texts.com/bib/poly/h7437.htm> [4 VIII 2024].

<sup>27</sup> И.И. Срезневский, *Словарь древнерусского языка. Репринтное издание*, vol. I, Москва 1989, p. 1032.

<sup>28</sup> В. Желязкова, *и прозѣва сѡ...*, p. 461.

is due to the confusion of the letters π, φ and ϕ in Russian and in the early OCS<sup>29</sup>. It is worth mentioning that 1Par speaks of giants (τῶν γιγάντων), as does Josephus in *Antiquitatum iudaicarum* VII.4.1, and in 2Sam 23: 13, we read ἐν τῇ κοιλάδι Ραφαῖμ. The reason for this variety lies in the fact that the Rephaims, called after their progenitor Rapha, were known for their tall stature. The Slavic translation ραϕтoнѣ can in turn be regarded as relating to an old denominative of the verb ραϕтати, ραϕтѣнѣ, ραϕтѣнѣши analogical to πατη – ορηνα, πρѣпона, – ϕατη – ζακoнѣ and so on. The archaic verb ραϕтати is not attested in the classical OCS corpus, but according to the *Dictionary of Sreznevskij*, it can be found in the *Tale of Bygone Years*, where it also has a variant ροϕтати and means ‘to breach, cut’<sup>30</sup>. The latter means that ραϕтoнѣ represents a translation of the Hebrew toponym *Baal peratsim* or ‘possessor of breaches’<sup>31</sup>. In the same way, the toponym is rendered in the Septuagint 1Par 14: 11 διὰ τοῦτο ἐκλήθη τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου ἐπάνω διακοπῶν – literally *above breaches*. The medieval Slavic and Russian Bible renders this toponym with the word combination сѣ вышнихъ сѣвѣн ‘from the above battles’<sup>32</sup>.

**436b3–4** БѢКЛАШЕ ѠЛОУМ'ПНѢ. Г. СѢВНАА (sic!). ροуμ'КНААВЪ. ТO҃А БЛШЕ is at first glance rather unclear, since it has no connection to other notes on the same page. The strange adjective сѢВНАА is an obvious scribal error and the other text witnesses mention correctly the word сѢВНАА. On 437a4–5 we find a similar record ѠЛѢМ'ПНѢ, КѢ. СѢВН'ЛАА. ВТОРАА. БѢ САМ'К. ЗНАНА БѢ that corresponds to a record in Synkellos' Chronicle: Ἐτι Σιβύλλη Σαμία χρησιμωδὸς ἢ καὶ Ἡροφίλα ἐγνωρίζετο...<sup>33</sup> This record refers to the second sibyl living in Samos and bearing the name of Herofila. The same sibyl is also known as the sibyl of Erythrea (Σιβύλλη Ἐρυθραία). The latter allows us to presume that the first record pertains to the same sibyl, and that the strange word ροуμ'КНААВЪ could be interpreted as a merged form between the adjective ροуμ'КНАА, (which means ‘ruddy, of reddish face’) and the numerical designation Б ‘the second’. The final jer must have appeared later, when one of the copyists omitted the diacritic above the letter в. The Slavic translator therefore perceived the geographic name as a prosopic feature.

**449a26–27** А ВѢ ѠЛОВѢ ѠСТРОВѢ Н ЗВѢРЬ НАРНИЦАѢ НЕРЪ. ѠСТРОВѢ | ІВН is similar to Νῆσος μεταξύ Θήρας καὶ Θηρασίας σταδίων λ' ἐφάνη<sup>34</sup>. The Greek text offers a clear account of the emergence of a small isle between the islands of Thera and Therasia. This account is placed under year 5546 from the Creation,

<sup>29</sup> А. ТОТОМАНОВА, *Славянската...*, p. 605–606.

<sup>30</sup> И.И. СРЕЗНЕВСКИЙ, *Словарь...*, vol. III, p. 95.

<sup>31</sup> <https://www.sacred-texts.com/bib/poly/h1188.htm> [4 VIII 2024].

<sup>32</sup> *Иллюстрированная полная популярная библейская энциклопедия*, труд и издание архимандрита Никифора, Москва 1891 (repr. 1990), p. 873.

<sup>33</sup> GEORGIUS SYNCCELLUS, p. 253.1, cf. Jerome's Latin version of Eusebios' Canons where this sibyl is called *Sibylla Erythraea* in St. JEROME, *Cronological Tables* (1), [https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome\\_chronicle\\_02\\_part1.htm](https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome_chronicle_02_part1.htm) [4 VII 2024].

<sup>34</sup> GEORGIUS SYNCCELLUS, p. 405.9.

i.e. AD 46, according to Synkellos. The authors of the English translation of Synkellos's Chronicle regard it as coming from Eusebius of Caesarea<sup>35</sup>. In the Chronological Tables, however, the account is recorded under the 145<sup>th</sup> Olympiad. It relates the emergence of a new island, known by the name of Hiera and located near the island of Fera (Thera)<sup>36</sup>. In the text under discussion, the account comes between 163<sup>rd</sup> and 164<sup>th</sup> Olympiad, i.e. between 126 and 123 BC, according to Africanus' chronology. The islands of Thera (today's Santorini) and Therasia are part of the Cyclades archipelago. They were formed around 1520 BC, following the eruption of an underwater volcano and the resulting gigantic tsunami that flooded the island of Crete, destroying the ancient Minoan civilization. From then on, islands of various sizes emerged as the result of numerous volcanic eruptions in the volcano's sea-filled crater. From our perspective, the important fact is that in 197 BC, the island of Giera (in our text **ГІРЬ**), followed by the island of Fia in 46 AD, emerged between the two islands mentioned above. Both islands subsequently disappeared, as reported by Seneca<sup>37</sup>. It is obvious that the Greek version refers to the island of Fia; the Slavic one, in turn, concerns itself with the earlier event. Moreover, in the Slavic version, the names of the two islands are not mentioned. The unnamed islands are also wrongly connected to the Aeolian Islands, which are also of volcanic origin, but are located near the island of Sicily. The name of the island of Thera is probably echoed in the word **ЗВЪРЬ**. A Slavic man of letters just translated the toponym, perceiving it as a form of the noun **θήρ, θηρός**. In Jerome's chronological table 228e, however, it is recorded under the 163<sup>rd</sup> Olympiad that the isle, known as Giera, emerged next to the Aeolian Islands after a volcanic eruption. The comparison between the accounts in Synkellos's Chronicle and in the Slavic Chronicle shows that the latter preserves an older version of the text containing the name of the new isle. With all probability, some Greek editors moved the event to a later date and the isle name was lost afterwards. This older version is closer to that found in Eusebius, without matching it completely.

In two cases, the Slavic man of letters left the Greek words explaining a place name untranslated, cf. **407b24** **сѣннѣдѣша сѣ на раζο|λїи ἀλν̄κ̄ιηστ̄έμ̄ιѣ**. **їже сѣ н̄н̄ѣ зовеѣѣ мѣре л̄р̄тѣоѣ**, which refers to the battle of Abraham against Chodollagomor, King of Ailam. The respective Greek text reads: **συνέβαλλον δε παρά τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν ἀλικίην, ἣ καλεῖται νῦν θάλαττα νεκρά**<sup>38</sup>. It can be discerned that the Slavic translator had a problem with the adjective **ἀλυκός** 'salty'. Perceiving it as a geographic name, he used its stem to produce a possessive adjective with the Slavonic suffix **-ѣскѣ**. He also translated the Greek **παρά τὴν**

<sup>35</sup> *The Chronography...*, p. 482, n. 9.

<sup>36</sup> ST. JEROME, *Cronological Tables* (2), p. 218a, [https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome\\_chronicle\\_03\\_part2.htm](https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome_chronicle_03_part2.htm) [4 VIII 2024].

<sup>37</sup> SENECA, *Cuestiones Naturales. Naturales Quaestiones*, VI, 21, vol. II, Salamanca 1979.

<sup>38</sup> IULIUS AFRICANUS, *Chronographiae*, F26; *Reliquiae Sacrae*, XIII. That is the first of the two cases, in which we have the original Greek text.

θάλασσαν with *на раздолиѣ*, where *раздолиѣ* means ‘valley’. It seems that the translators of the LXX faced the same problem and glossed the word *άλυκός*, cf. Gn 14: 3 πάντες οὗτοι συνεφώνησαν ἐπὶ τὴν φάραγγα τὴν ἀλυκὴν αὕτη ἢ θάλασσα τῶν ἀλῶν.

**430a21–430b6** pertains to the lawless Achaab’s son Ochozias, according to 2Reg 1: 6–18. **430a26–27** *по поустѣ | сльѣ къ комоуѣ. капищюу в зѣмли акаронѣ* includes the name of an idol temple where Ochozias sent his men to receive an oracle after he fell ill. *къ комоуѣ. капищюу в зѣмли акаронѣ* corresponds to 2Reg 1: 6 ἐν τῇ Βααλ μυῖαν θεὸν Ἀκκαρων. It is close to the respective place in Synkellos’ Chronicle ἐν εἰδωλίᾳ μυῖας Ἀκκαρων<sup>39</sup>. The Slavic translator did not translate the Greek μυῖα. He just adapted it to his own grammar, perceiving it as *моуѣ*. Later on, some of the copyists repeated by mistake the preposition *къ*, and another scribe most likely took it as part of the geographic name, replacing the *jer* with the letter *o*, according to the Russian pronunciation. In our text *акаронѣ* is definitely a toponym, but Adler and Tuffin think that *μυῖας Ἀκκαρων* should be “understood as the ‘Akkarians’ fly”, i.e. Baal-zebub the god of Ekron, whose name (‘Baal [= Lord] of the fly’) is possibly a deliberate distortion of Baal-zebub (‘Baal of the height’)<sup>40</sup>.

**443a16–20** *а|р|таксереккоу оу|а|р|шоу. црѣвова, артаксекъ (sic!). ѡχοузъ про|з-ваныи, лѣ. к. н. б. сѣ на егѣпѣ вѣд, ѡ дазмонна ѡу|де|нскна. ѡ прѣкли ѡ вѣ ѡрканио, къ каспѣнскомоу мѡрю. | а дрогнѣ в вавилонѣ.* The text almost matches S. Jerome’s tables: Ochus Apodasmo Judaeorum capta in Hyrcanum accolat translatus juxta mare Caspium collocavit<sup>41</sup> and give us an idea what stays behind the unclear *ѡ дазмонна ѡу|де|нскна*. The Slavic man of letters, similarly to St. Jerome, perceived the Greek noun ἀποδασμός as a toponym, but decomposed it in prefix ἀπό and in a geographic name. With all probability, our translator connected ἀποδασμός to the related words *δασμός*, *δασμολγία* ‘division of spoil, collection of tribute’. In the same record, Synkellos uses the word *αἰχμαλωσία*, which conveys a similar meaning, cf. Ὀχος Ἀρταξέρξου παῖς εἰς Αἴγυπτον στρατεύων μερικὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν εἶλεν Ἰουδαίων, ὧν τοὺς μὲν ἐν Ὑρκανία κατώκισε πρὸς τῇ Κασπία θαλάσση, τοὺς δὲ ἐν Βαβυλώνι, οἱ καὶ μεχρὶ νῦν εἰσιν αὐτόδι ὡς πολλοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ιστοροῦσιν<sup>42</sup>. The Latin text helps us reconstruct Africanus’ original text as εἰς Αἴγυπτον στρατεύων ἀποδασμόν (αἰχμαλωσίαν) εἶλεν Ἰουδαίων, ὧν τοὺς μὲν ἐν Ὑρκανία κατώκισε πρὸς τῇ Κασπία θαλάσση, τοὺς δὲ ἐν Βαβυλώνι...

<sup>39</sup> GEORGIUS SYNCELLUS, p. 224.20.

<sup>40</sup> *The Chronography...*, p. 277, n. 9. For the variations in rendering the stable word combination ἐν τῇ Βααλ μυῖαν θεὸν Ἀκκαρων in the Slavic translation of Kingdoms, see M. TOTOMANOVA-ΠΑΝΕΒΑ, *Книги Царства в славянската хронографска традиция*, София 2019 [= КМс, 27], p. 89–90.

<sup>41</sup> ST. JEROME, *Cronological Tables* (2), p. 203b. H. Gelzer reckons that Eusebius borrowed it directly from Africanus (Gelzer I:117–118). [https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome\\_chronicle\\_03\\_part2.htm](https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome_chronicle_03_part2.htm) [4 VIII 2024].

<sup>42</sup> GEORGIUS SYNCELLUS, p. 307.14–18.



Similar errors could also occur between prepositions and toponyms, see also:

**423a11–12** *мел'χолоу вѣ сарѣлѣ, валтнѣ ѿноу селнмоуоу. ѿ грѣма жєнѣ давѣ* corresponds to 1Sam 25: 44: καὶ Σαουλ ἔδωκεν Μελχολ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα Δαυιδ τῷ Φαλι υἱῷ Λαις τῷ ἐκ Ρομμα. Josephus reports the same<sup>43</sup>, but the name of Phalti's father is Lisos (Λίσος) of Ghetla (confused with Gallim, which is found both in the Hebrew text and in the text by St. Jerome). Obviously *отъ грѣма* comes from the incorrectly decomposed Septuagint reading ἐκ Ρομμα. There is no explanation of why Lais/Lis is replaced by Selym. In the Church Slavonic and Russian texts, however, *дмнѣ*<sup>44</sup> was usually used instead of Lais/*ланишь*, which is indicative of the variative nature of the tradition. The same texts also contain *рамма* instead of Gallim, which matches the Septuagint reading.

**447b24–25** *ѡфрнкан отъ кнпѣн. пѣвнѣн | калрхнѣн* refers to the grandson of Scipio Africanus (Scipio Africanus the Younger, the hero of the third Punic war who destroyed Carthage), as indicated by the fact that it is recorded under the 158<sup>th</sup> Olympiad, i.e. the period between 5355 and 5358 years, according to Africanus' Chronology, or 146/145 and 142/141 BC. This is the only reference to the Punic Wars in the compilation, and it is no wonder that the Slavic translator misconceived the Greek transliteration Σκηπίων ὁ Ἀφρικανός of the Latin *Scipio Africanus* and twisted the victorious Roman general's name into *ѡфрнкан отъ кнпѣн*, confusing it with the homonymous name of the historian, Julius Africanus, whom the compilation mentions twelve times<sup>45</sup>. This confusion led to the erroneous decomposition of Σκηπίων into ἐκ κηπίων, cf. the same toponym in Synkellos's part of the compilation 467b20 *въ кнпѣхѣ* in place of ἐν κήποις Σαλουστιανοῖς<sup>46</sup>.

Untranslated toponyms were very often replaced by similar-sounding ones, which occurred more often in the biblical narrative. The phenomenon could be explained as a specific case of paronymic attraction caused by the resemblance of spelling and the pronunciation of the names.

On **415a23** *въ сѣрѣскоу гѣроу* corresponds to εἰς ὄρος τὸ Ὠρ in Synkellos's Chronicle<sup>47</sup> and to the respective verse in Nm 20: 22 εἰς Ὠρ τὸ ὄρος and stays obviously for *въ ѡрѣскоу гѣроу*. Most probably the replacement occurred during the process of the text transmission<sup>48</sup>.

On **415b2** *въ нѡпѣ нѣже въ полн моѡвнтѣтѣ* corresponds to εἰς Νάπην ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ Μωαβ in the Chronicle of Synkellos<sup>49</sup>. Like Synkellos, the Slavonic translator perceived the word *νάπη* as a toponym, but copyists must have confused it with

<sup>43</sup> FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, *Antiquitatum iudaicarum*, VI, 8, 13.

<sup>44</sup> *Иллюстрированная...*, p. 883.

<sup>45</sup> А. ТОТОМАНОВА, *Славянската...*, p. 210. Another five times the famous historian is referred to as *ноулин* or *ноулинѣ*.

<sup>46</sup> GEORGIUS SYNCCELLUS, p. 423.1–2.

<sup>47</sup> GEORGIUS SYNCCELLUS, p. 160.30 – 161.1.

<sup>48</sup> The text refers to the wandering of Jews in the Idumean desert, but there is another peak bearing the same name also in Syria (<https://www.sacred-texts.com/bib/poly/h2023.htm> [4 VIII 2024]).

<sup>49</sup> GEORGIUS SYNCCELLUS, p. 161.18.

the more familiar **HOΠΓ** (today's Jaffa) due to the resemblance between letters **н** and **h**. Another reading of the verse is also possible because the word **νάπη** means 'woodland vale, dell, glen', which is found in Septuagint Nm 21: 20 **ειςνάπην ἢ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ Μωαβ**.

Behind the toponym **ΓΑΛΑΑΤΓ** on **416b21–22** **ΜΑΝΗΟΥ ΓΕ. ΛΙ. Λ'Ε' Γ'ΑΔ'ΥΣΕ. Γ'ΑΚ'Ο** **ВЪΚΟΥСНША ЗЕМН'А ПЛ'ОДА. | ТΟΚ'Ο ΜΑΝΗΟΥ ΝΕ ΒΥ', Τ'ΑΥΕ ΝΑΡ'Ο С'Α ΟΥ'СΕΛΗ ВЪ ΓΑΛΑΑΤ'Е** comes Gilgal (Gr. Γάλαγα), a name designating the place located in the vicinity of Jericho, where the Jews encamped after crossing the River Jordan (Ios 4: 19–20). Its confusion with **ΓΑΛΑΑΤΓ** may link itself to the latter's derivatives, a number of which can be found in the text: two relative adjectives **ΓΑΛΑΑΔΥСКЪ**, **ΓΑΛΑΑΔΟΥСЪ**, and the noun **ΓΑΛΑΔΗΤΗΔΗ** that refers to the inhabitants of the mountain **Γαλαάδ**. On 431a12, the toponym **Γάλαγα** is rendered correctly – **В ГΑΛΓΑΛ'Е**.

**417a16–18** speaks of Jabin the king of Hazor, according to Ios 11: 1–4, 9. The adjective **ἀνῥ'скыи** on 417a16 stays for **αἰῥ'скыи** and the unknown toponym is again confused with the more familiar one, cf. Ios 11: 1 **Ιαβιν βασιλεὺς Ασωρ**.

**420a8** corresponds to Idc 19: 14 and reads **ΔΟΥ'Ε ΔΟ ΓΑΒΑ'ΩΝΑ. ΒΕΝ'ΑΜΗΝ'Α** but Gibeon (**Γαβαών**) is a city of Chanaan, which evokes the names of Joshua, David, Saul and Solomon, and the Septuagint records that **καὶ παρῆλθον καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν καὶ ἔδυσαν ὁ ἥλιος αὐτοῖς ἐχόμενα τῆς Γαβαα ἢ ἔστιν τῷ Βενιαμιν**. The latter allows us to presume that **Γαβαα** (Gaba, Geba, Gibeah) was perceived as **Gabaon**. It most likely began to be perceived as such in Greece, given the fact that the previous text tells the story of a dismembered woman of Gibeon. However, it should be kept in mind that in the Slavic translation of the Old Testament the names of other cities are often replaced<sup>50</sup>.

**417b11–12** reads **ῶсπογпн же |н сῥскіи. ραζγъскіи ρавъ. ἀδραζαργ. црл сῥъскааго. Rezon ('Ρεζών in Septuagint, 'Ραζών with variant readings **Ρααζών** and even 'Ραάζαρος in Josephus)<sup>51</sup> is a former slave of Hadadezer, King of Zobah (1Reg 11: 23), who later fought against David and proclaimed himself King of Syria. As **зпнъ** from Greek **Ζήνων**, **ραзгъ** (**ρααзгъ**) is a normal OCS adaptation of the name 'Ρααζών, which justifies a presumption that the text initially read **ῶсπογпн же |н сῥскіи. ρααζ(ар)ъ ρавъ. ἀδραζαρα. црл сῥ|въскааго**. However, during the text transmission the personal name **ρααзгъ** was distorted and transformed under the influence of **сῥскіи** into an adjective **ρααζгъскіи**, which in turn caused a change in the meaning of the text and the replacement of the genitive form of the name of Hadadezer by a nominative one, as well as the replacement of **сῥвъскааго** by **сῥъскааго**.**

**427a4–14** retells 1Reg 9: 10–14 about the exchange of gold between Solomon and Hiram; 1Reg 9: 16–18 about the building of Geser and Tadmor and 1Reg 9:

<sup>50</sup> *Иллюстрированная...*, p. 145.

<sup>51</sup> The name actually means 'prince, ruler', <https://www.sacred-texts.com/bib/poly/h7336.htm> [4 VIII 2024].

26–28 about the ships and gold coming from abroad. However, the glosses to **HTAMHOPЪ** and **ΞΣΦHOPЪ** are missing from the biblical version. Africanus must have taken them from Josephus, cf. the reference to **HTAMHOPЪ**: **ἐγὼ ζωνογῶν, ἡ παλ'μογυρα** that renders οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες αὐτὴν προσαγορεύουσι Πάλμυραν<sup>52</sup>, and the one to **ΞΣΦHOPЪ**: **βασίη же мѣсто ѡндѣнско** that points to τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἐστὶν αὕτη<sup>53</sup>. The geographic name **ΞΣΦHOPЪ** refers us to Septuagint and to Josephus where we find **Σώφηρ** and **Σώφειρ**, respectively. The Slavic man of letters merged the toponym with the preposition **ἐκ**. The Hebrew name of Palmyra **HTAMHOPЪ** differs from **Θάδαμορ** used in Josephus. The word form starting with **HT** points to two other names conveying similar meanings – *Itamar* (the land of palms) and *Tamar* 'palm tree', which is indicative of the variations that penetrated Greek in the Hebrew-speaking areas.

**433a11–13** **въ тѣрѣхъ хѣтѣ вѣжа. сѣн же софъ ѡспрѡвн. рѡдѡсѣ, ἡ κηт'посѣ. ἃ ἡѡснфѣ| глѣтѣ, въ тѣрѣхъ κληκѣнскыѣ**, cf. ...καὶ Ἰωνᾶς ἐκπεμφθεὶς εἰς Θαρσεῖς φεύγει καὶ ὑπὸ κήτους τριήμερος ἀνέμεται. Θαρσεῖς δὲ Ῥόδον καὶ Κύπρον Ἀφρικανὸς λέγει εἶναι<sup>54</sup>. The remark is identified as belonging to Africanus<sup>55</sup>. It can be seen that Synkellos's version refers only to Africanus. The Slavic version, in turn, contains a reference to Josephus. The reference probably comes from Africanus himself. The name of the isle of Cyprus was distorted during the text transmission and the error is reported in all witnesses.

In the story of the Maccabees on **446a7–20**, according to 1Mac 2: 1–5, 23–28, 32–45. (446a7–15) the name of Mattathias' native city **Μωδεῖν** (Modin) was replaced with the more familiar **маднамаѣ**.

**446b22** **въ ἄсофъ прншѣ** the toponym should be deciphered as the name of the Galaad city of Kaspin (2Mac 12: 13), also referred to as Casphor (1Mac 5: 26, 36). The word form in our text derives rather from the Greek **Χασφῶ** than from **Κάσπιν**.

**447b8** **ѡ ἄμερнѣтѣ ἡ ἄраѣтѣ ἡ ѡ мнѣнѣ пакостн прѣша** is a note regarding Jonathan, according to 1Mac 9: 36. The word combination **ἡ ѡ мнѣнѣ** corresponds to Greek οἱ ἐκ Μηδαβα, but the toponym Medaba is confused with **мнѣнѣ** (Μηδία). The confusion must have occurred on Slavic soil.

**444a8–9** **ѡнѣнѣдѣанѡу ἄлексаѣдрѣ разѡрн. ἄлексаѣдрѣ| ἡѡрннѣскыѣ кѣмы прѣ. ἡ ἡнѣнѣнскоуѣ рѣкѡу прѣнѣ** corresponds partially to the text of Synkellos: ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρος Σογδιανὴν κατεστρέψατο. ὁ αὐτὸς τὴν Αἰὼρνήν πέτραν ἐχειρώσατο καὶ Βερναβοῶν πόταμον πρὸς Δάνδαμιν διέβη Βραχμάνων<sup>56</sup>. The note refers to Alexander the Great's Indian march, specifically to the capture of one of the most important border strongholds of India, known as **Αἰὼρνὰ πέτρα** (literally *the rock, on which the birds do not live*). The Bulgarian man of letters does not recognize the

<sup>52</sup> FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, *Antiquitatum iudaicarum*, VIII, 6, 1.

<sup>53</sup> FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, *Antiquitatum iudaicarum*, VIII, 6, 2.

<sup>54</sup> GEORGIUS SYNCCELLUS, p. 238.22–24.

<sup>55</sup> IULIUS AFRICANUS, *Chronographiae*, F 66, 3; *Reliquiae Sacrae*, XXXII.

<sup>56</sup> GEORGIUS SYNCCELLUS, p. 314.24–26.

toponym and renders its second part with the noun *камны* 'stone'. The first one, having assumed the form of an adjective with suffix *-ьскъ* (\**ѡрнѣскъѡн*), was probably distorted during the text transmission.

**454b16–455a7** provides an account of the division of Palestine into four parts. The account is more detailed than that found in the Chronicle of Synkellos<sup>57</sup>. Our story follows Josephus who offered a detailed description of the domains of the four Ethnarchs<sup>58</sup>. The toponyms *ѡнорїа. ѡ самаѡьскѡуѡ стpанѡ* (in acc.) on 454b23–24 are missing both from Synkellos and from Josephus. We can only presume that *Onoria* (*ѡнорїа*) stands for the Jewish city of Beth-horon (Bethoron), mentioned in *Antiquitatum iudaicarum*, XIV.1.4 (the reading is corrupted, but *Ἵρωναῖ* can be found in variant readings). The same city appears in *Antiquitatum iudaicarum*, VI.2.2, but the work refers to it by the name of *Κορραῖ*. The Slavic form could be explained as derived from *ѡрннѡ* with metathesis. In the Russian translation of *Antiquitatum iudaicarum* the city is for the first time referred to as *Корея* and for the second time as *Орон*. The Samathian country could be identified only as the region of *Ἀμάθα*, τὰ near to *Gadara*, where lots of thermal springs were located. This is the toponym spelling in Josephus *Antiquitatum iudaicarum* I.6.2, III.14.2, VII.5.4, VIII.6.3, and its counterpart in Septuagint 1Sam 8: 9 is *Ἡμαθ* (Hemath in the Vulgata). Philip's domains are listed (453b26–455a2) according to Josephus *Antiquitatum iudaicarum* XVII.11.4 and XVII.8.1, where it is said that *Ἀυρανίτις* (Hauran) is part of Philip's domain and it probably hides under the unclear *атpапeтѣ*<sup>59</sup>.

In two cases, the spelling both of the toponym and of its adjectival derivative was not twisted, but the toponyms coincided with Slavic words, which changed the meaning of the whole phrase, cf. **454a24–25** *послѣжѣ ѡ ѡнтн|патрѣ. съжѡ на людїн полѣ. свѡѡ ѡцѣмь ѡманѡвѡвѣ* vs. ὕστερον δέ καὶ Ἀντιπατρίδα κτίζει ἐν τῷ Λυδῶ πεδίῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑατοῦ πατρός<sup>60</sup>. Slavic readers must have perceived *на людїн полѣ* as 'in the people's field'. This was also the case with the adjective pertaining to the same geographic place **449b19–20** *ѡ равѣ людѣскоуѡ расказѣ ѡ ѡннїю прн мѡрн ѡ прнмѡрїе сѡрьскѡѡ ѡ ѡѡрннѡьскѡѡ*. The pronunciation of the Cyrillic *yshitza* as *ю /ju/*, which prevailed in Slavic manuscripts until the 13<sup>th</sup> century and was typical of the witnesses' compilation<sup>61</sup>, brought about the change in meaning.

<sup>57</sup> GEORGIUS SYNCHELLUS, p. 384.18–21.

<sup>58</sup> FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, *Antiquitatum iudaicarum*, XVII, 11, 4 and FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, *De bello iudaico*, II, 6, 3.

<sup>59</sup> On 453b22 the name of the city is reported as *ѡѡраннїтоуѡ* with metathesis from the correct *ѡѡраннїтоуѡ* that we find in the other witnesses of the compilation.

<sup>60</sup> GEORGIUS SYNCHELLUS, p. 373.5–6.

<sup>61</sup> А. ТОТОМАНОВА, *Употребата на знака за ижица като белег за датирането на текста (според данните на най-ранния препис на славянската версия на Хрониката на Георги Синкел)*, ECom 8, 2008, p. 81–98.

Africanus' excerpt is the earliest parabiblical narrative translated into Old Bulgarian (OCS). It played a significant role in shaping the impressive chronographic compilation preserved in the so-called *Jewish Chronograph* or *Chronograph of the Archive*. In fact, the paraphrase of the first nine biblical books was replaced in this *Chronograph* with a large Old Testament compilation<sup>62</sup>. The analysis of the toponyms in Africanus' excerpt clearly highlights two types of biblical toponyms preserved in the text: translated toponyms and misspelled toponyms that were twisted during the text transmission due to paronymic attraction. In all probability, the first group can be traced back to the original translation, while the second reflects the scribal errors of later copyists. It is worth noting that the number of the translated toponyms exceeds the number of those that were misspelled. This fact indicates that the Bulgarian translator's knowledge of biblical topography and biblical narrative was pretty good, as were his literary skills, which enabled him to correctly render the toponyms' meanings and make these toponyms understandable to the readers. Deviations in this regard are mostly observed when the toponym comes from a non-biblical source, as in the case with ρουμικηνά for Ἐρυθραία, зѡѡрь for Θήρα, ѿ дазмонна for ἀποδασμός, африкан отъ кнпін for Σκηπίων ὁ Ἀφρικανός (see above). These types of mistakes, when a toponym was perceived as a noun or vice versa, or a wrong morphological decomposition took place, are typical of the early translation of the Bible. Some of the metaphrastic findings of the Bulgarian man of letters such as запаленнѣ Nm 11: 3 and ѡзвон величестныи Idc 15: 17 survived throughout the centuries in the Slavic Old Testament translation. This allows us to presume that he might have been involved in the translation of the respective biblical books as well.

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<sup>62</sup> ЕАДЕМ, *Parabiblical and Biblical Compilations in Simeon's Bulgaria*, ВВолГУ.И 22.5, 2017, p. 132–141.

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