
ПОВЕРТАЄМО В УКРАЇНУ КУЛЬТУРНУ СПАДЩИНУ
RETURNING THE CULTURAL HERITAGE TO UKRAINE



The publication was prepared with the support of the Ukrainian Cultural Foundation

THE TUROV GOSPEL

of the 11th Century

Facsimile and Studies



Kyiv 2026

UDK 27-247-028.24(277.25)”10”=163.1

Authors: *L. Hnatenko, V. Korniienko, V. Moisiienko, N. Morozova, J. Ostapczuk, S. Temčinas, P. Yanitskaya*

Reviewers:
L. Dubrovina, Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor, Corresponding Member of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine
N. Nikitenko, Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor

The Turov Gospel of the 11th Century : Facsimile and Studies / Exec. eds. L. Hnatenko, V. Korniienko. Kyiv : Gorobets, 2026. 312 pp., illus.
ISBN 978-966-2377-95-8

The Turov Gospel is a handwritten monument of medieval Ukrainian literacy, which was created in the middle of the 11th century in the Grand Princely scriptorium of the Metropolitan Saint Sophia Cathedral and which eloquently attests to the Kyivan book writing school of that period in the history of Rus'-Ukraine. Stored in the Wróblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences (F19-1).

This book was prepared within the framework of the project “Returning the Cultural Heritage to Ukraine”, initiated by the Gorobets Publishing House in 2009. It is aimed at making Ukrainian manuscript monuments, preserved in libraries and museums of other countries, accessible both to specialists and everyone interested in the history, paleography, decorative design and language of Ukrainian manuscripts.

UDK 27-247-028.24(277.25)”10”=163.1

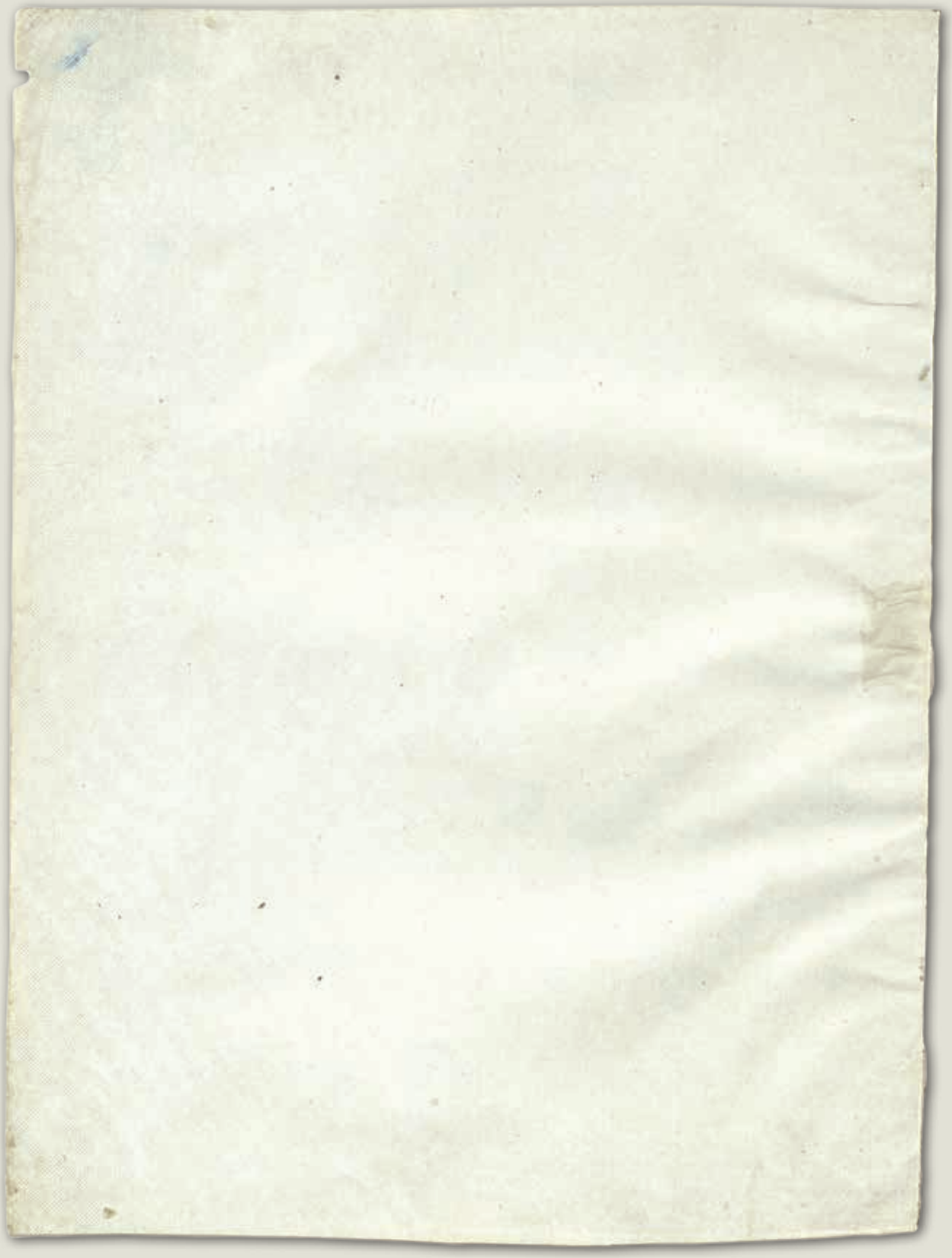
ISBN 978-966-2377-95-8

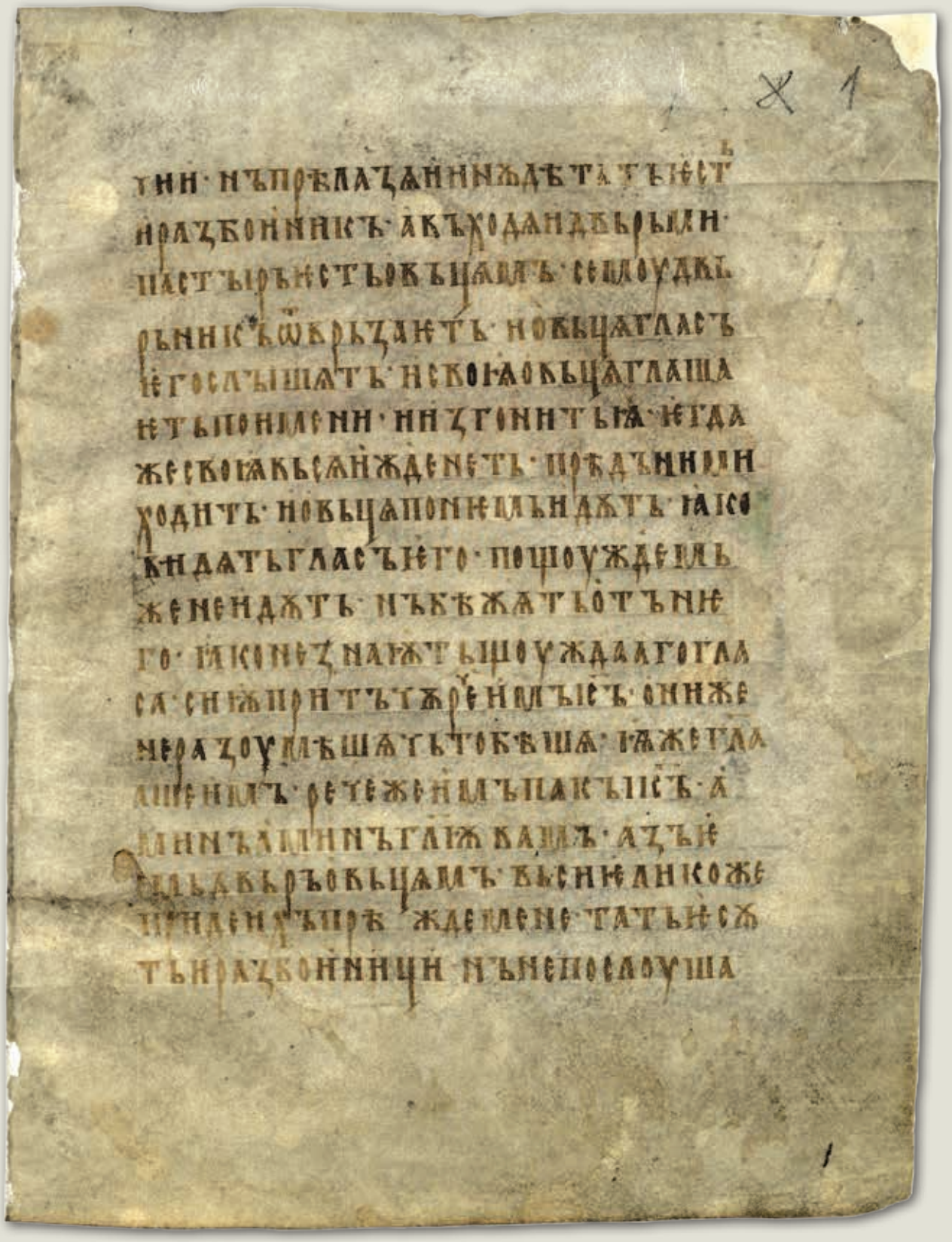
All rights reserved
© The Authors, 2026
© Original Layout by Gorobets Publishing House, 2026

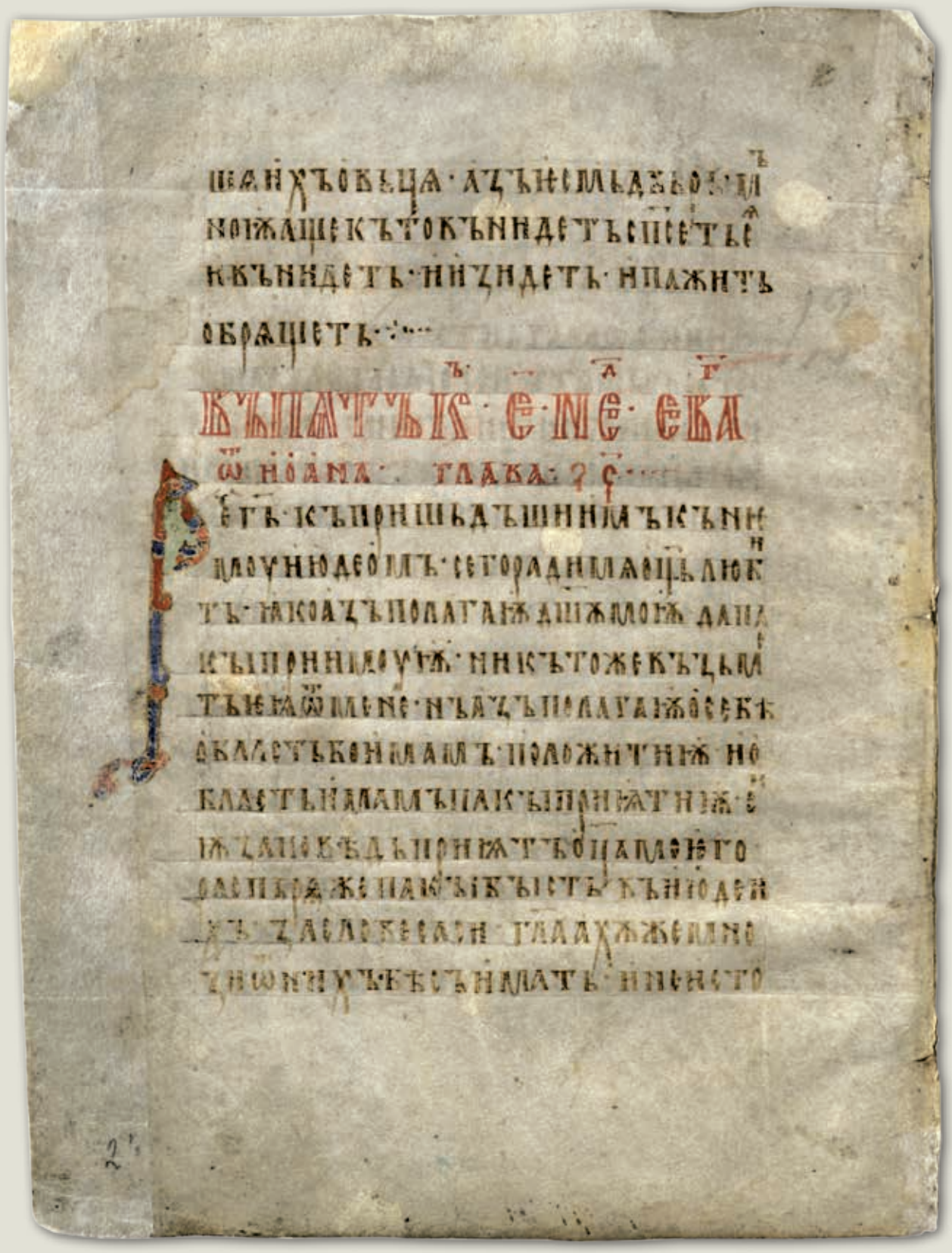


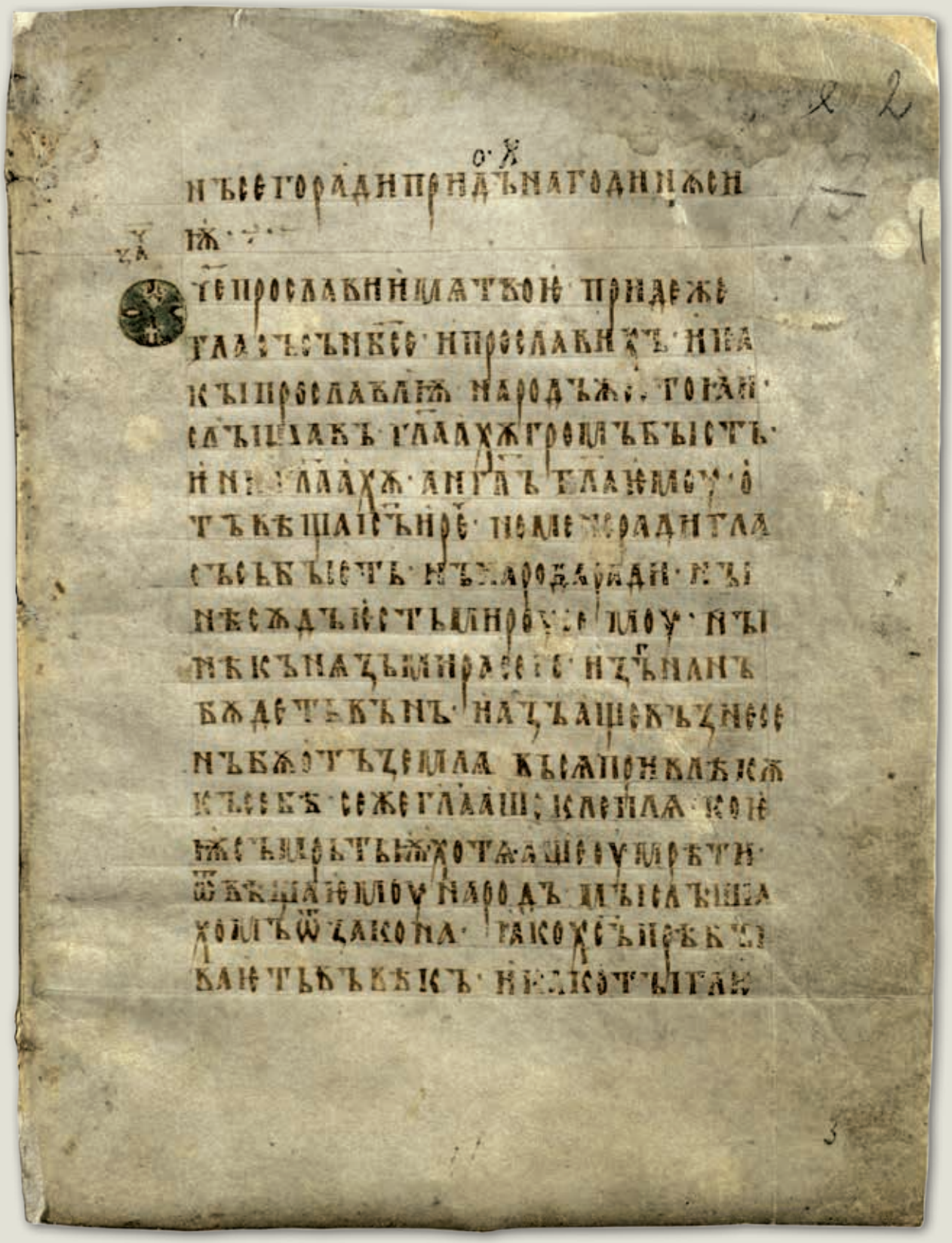
F19
Виленская Публичная
БИБЛІОТЕКА.
№ 1

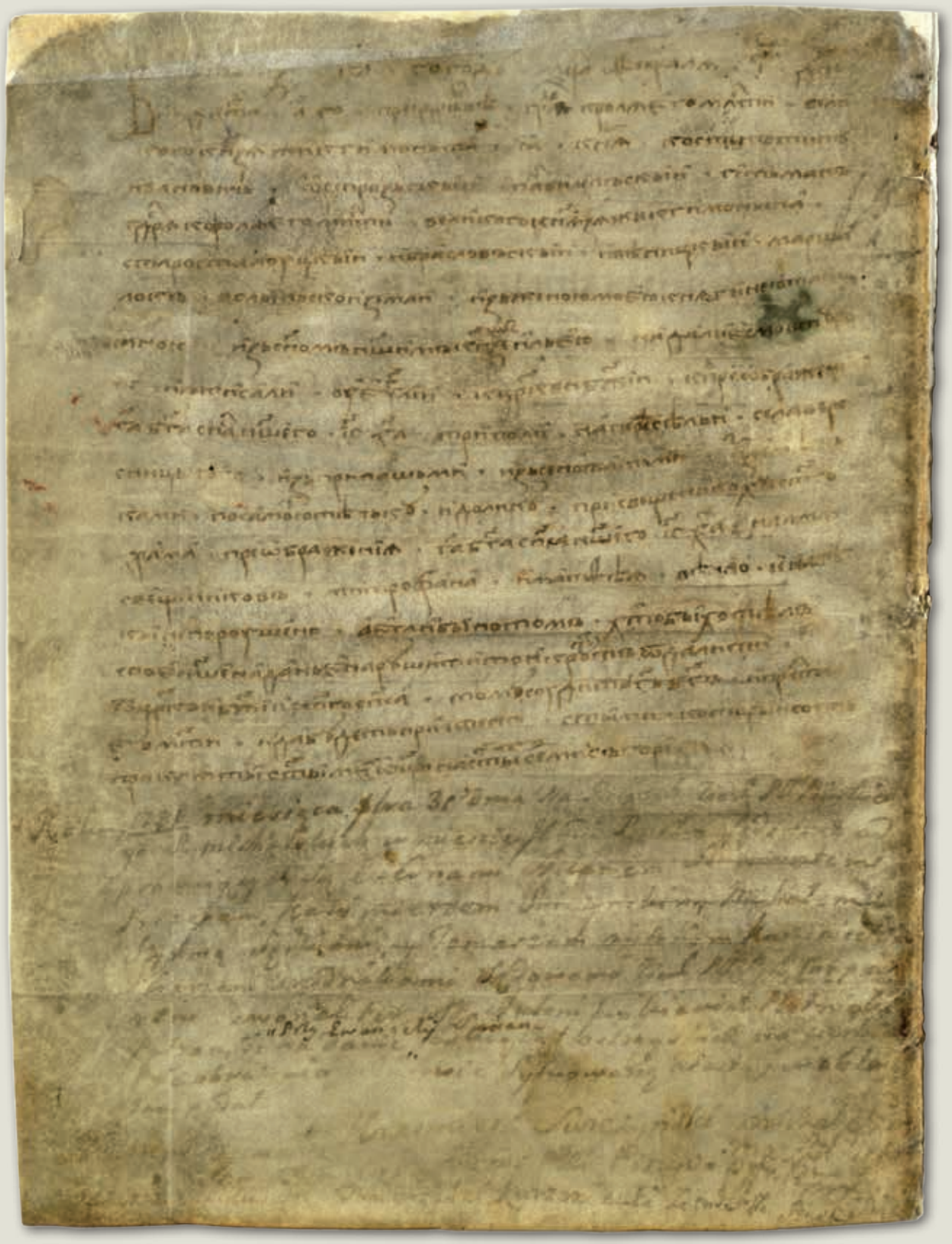


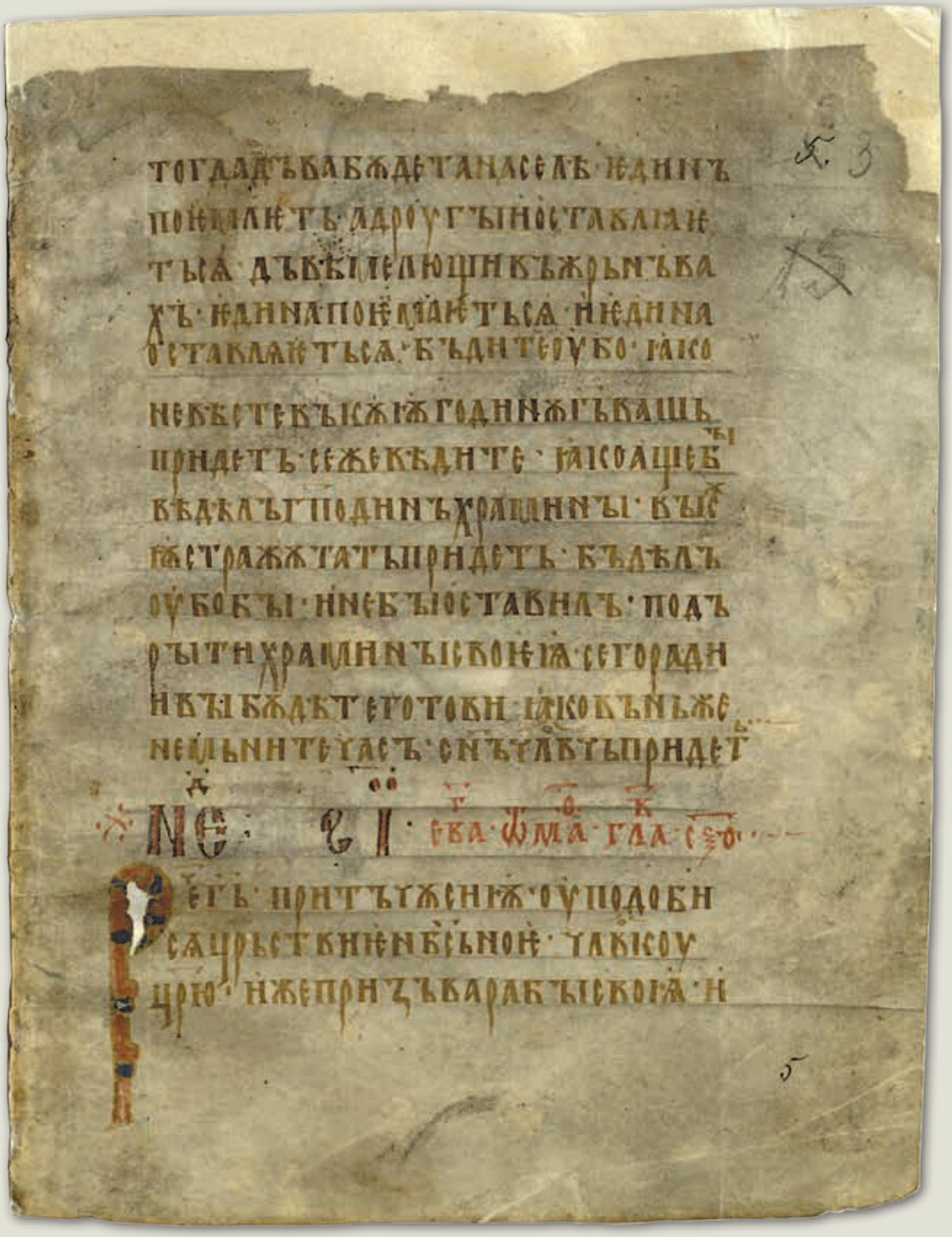








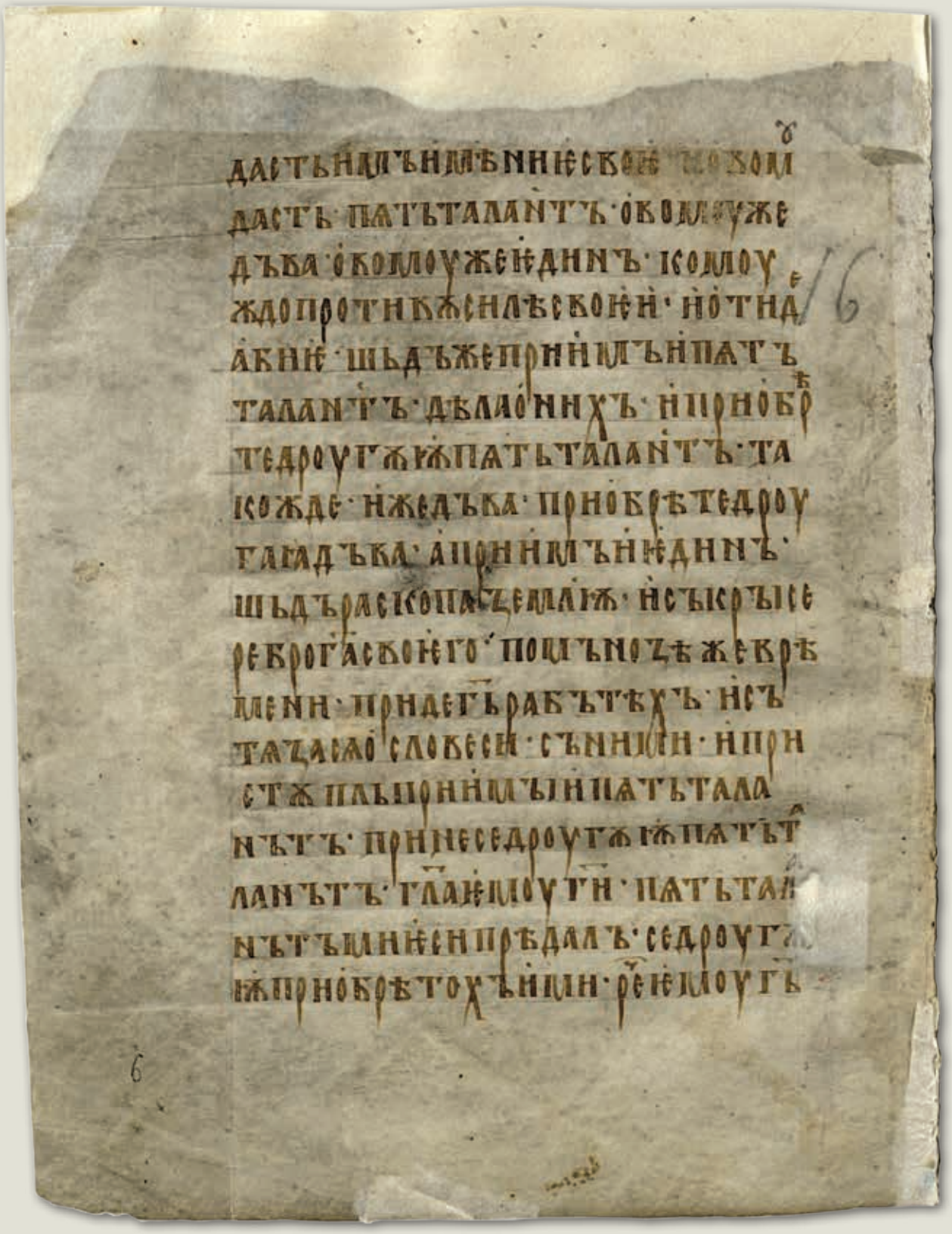


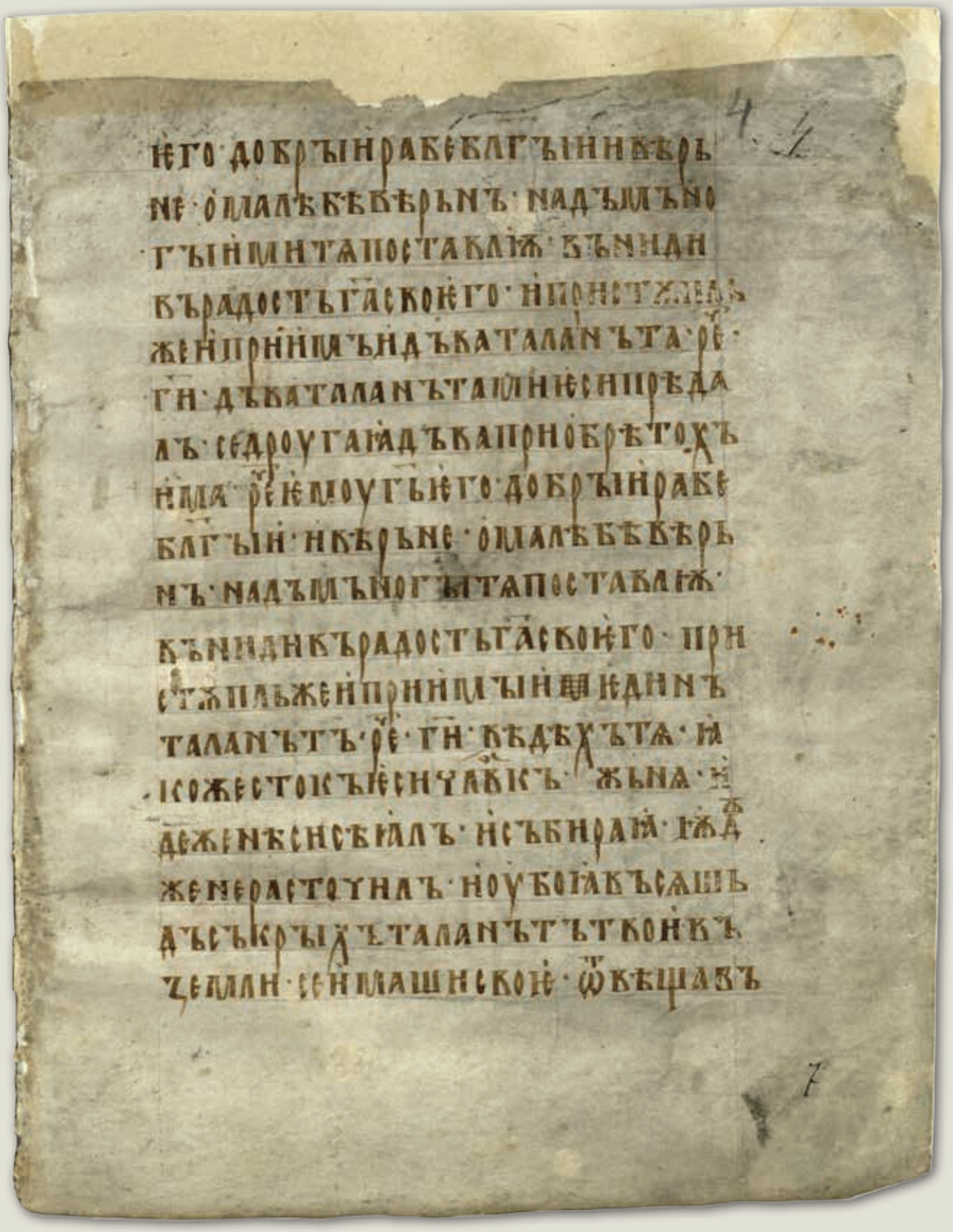


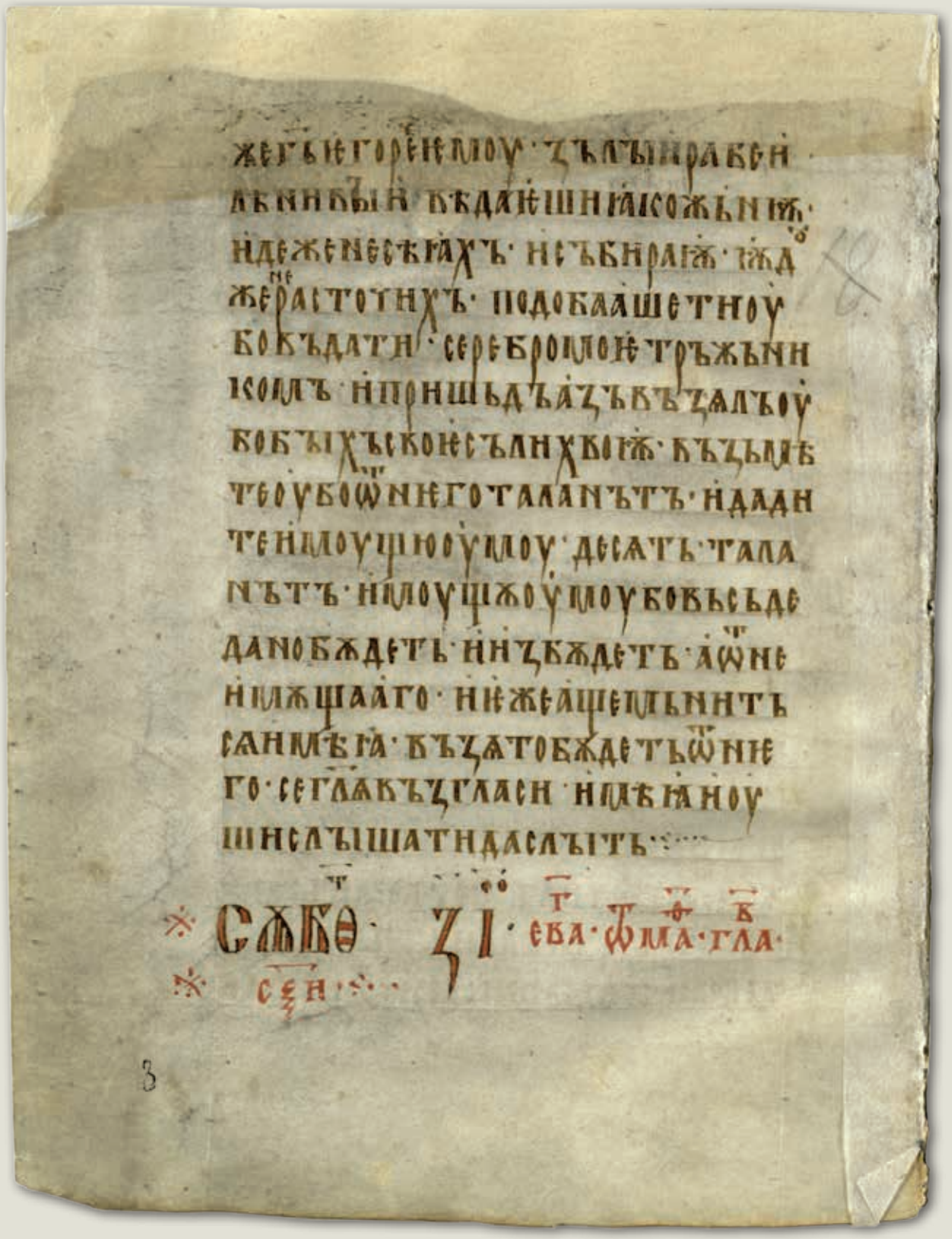
тогда дъва жены селѣ единѣ
повелѣть дроугыи оставлятѣ
тыа дъвѣ мелющи къ жрьнъвѣ
хъ· единѣ повелѣться· и единѣ
оставлятьса· бъдѣте оубо· гако
не вѣсте въ кыи годѣ господь вашь
придетъ· сежекѣдѣте· гако аще бы
вѣдалъ господинъ храминыи· въ кыи
стражѧ тать придетъ· бъдѣлъ
оубо бы· и не бы оставилъ· подъ
рыти храминѣ своеѧ· сего ради
и вы готови· гако въ нюже
не мьнѣте часъ· сынъ бь придетъ

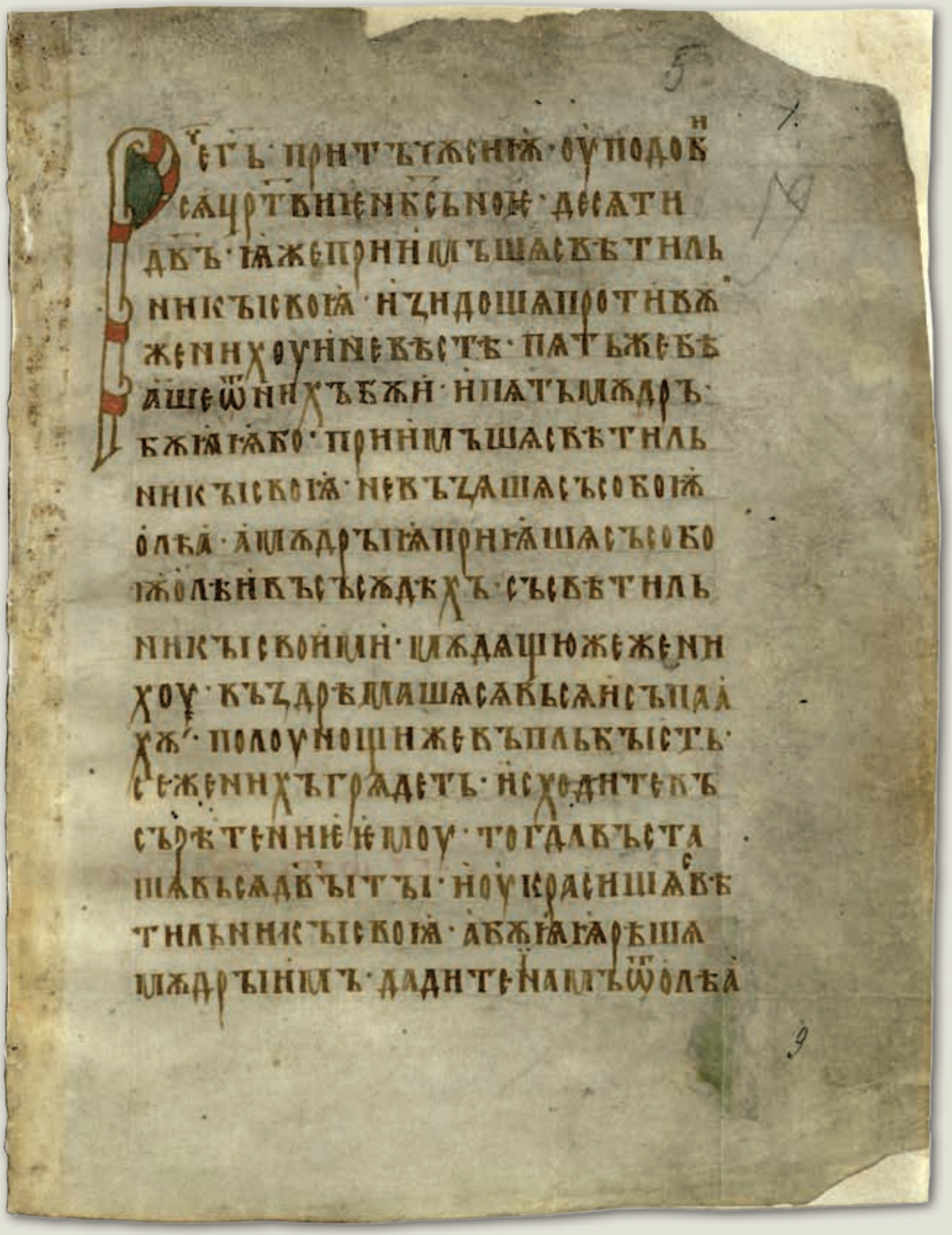
Ме· Сі· гва· жма· гда· сво·

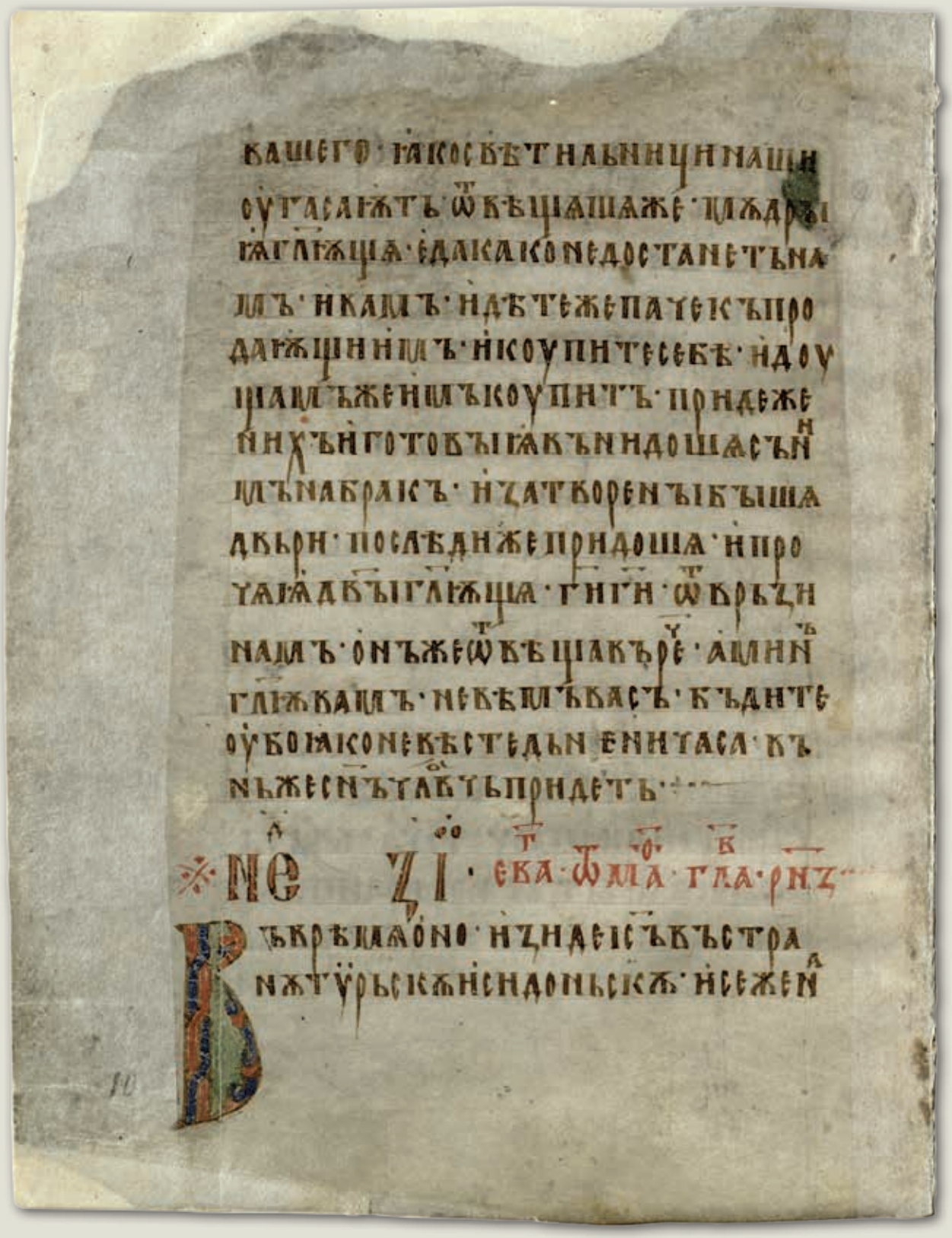
ѣтъ· притъчѧ сиѧ· оу подобѣ
сацрьстви небѣсьноѥ· такоу
црю· иже прѣзъ въ рабъ ѣскоѧ· и




4
7





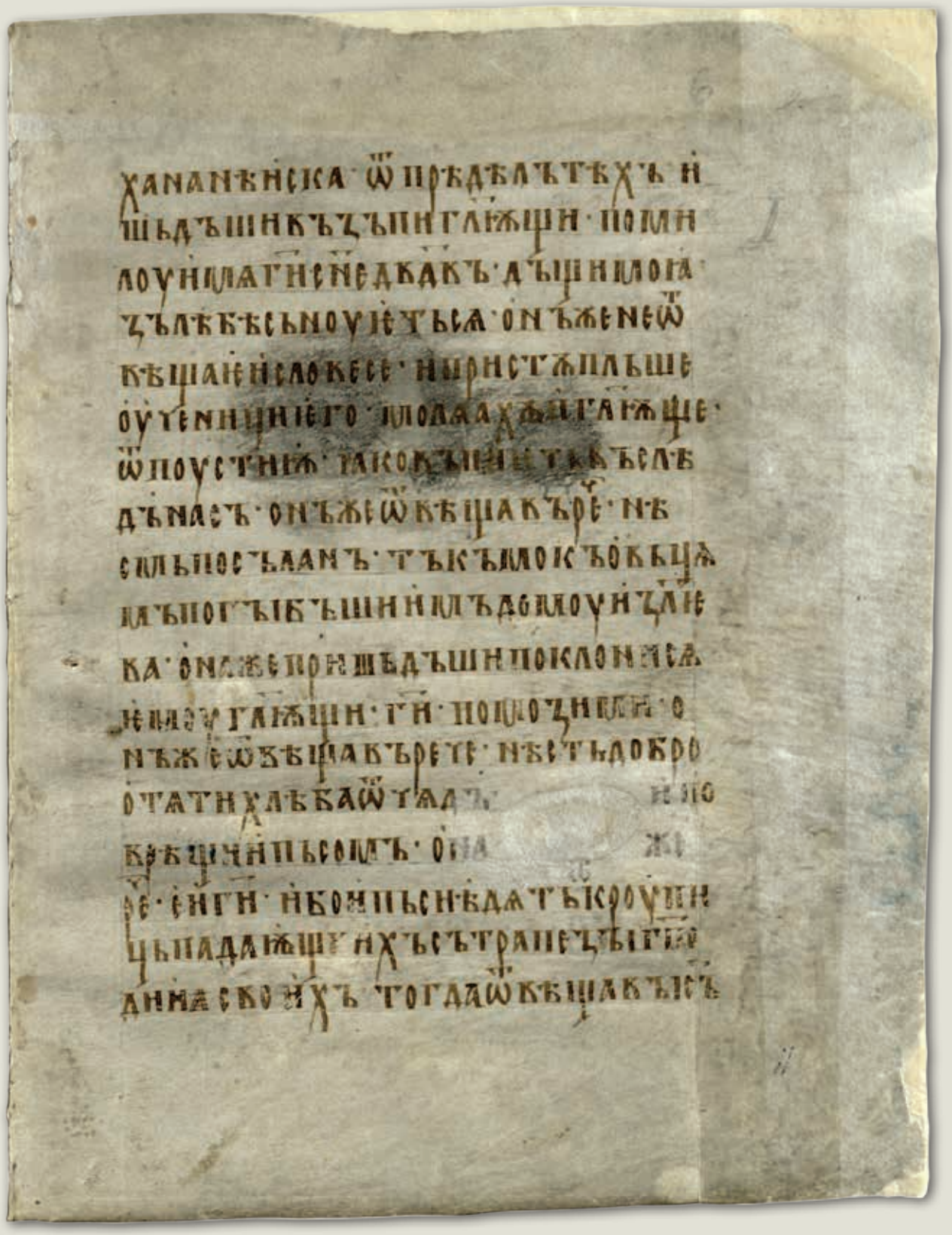


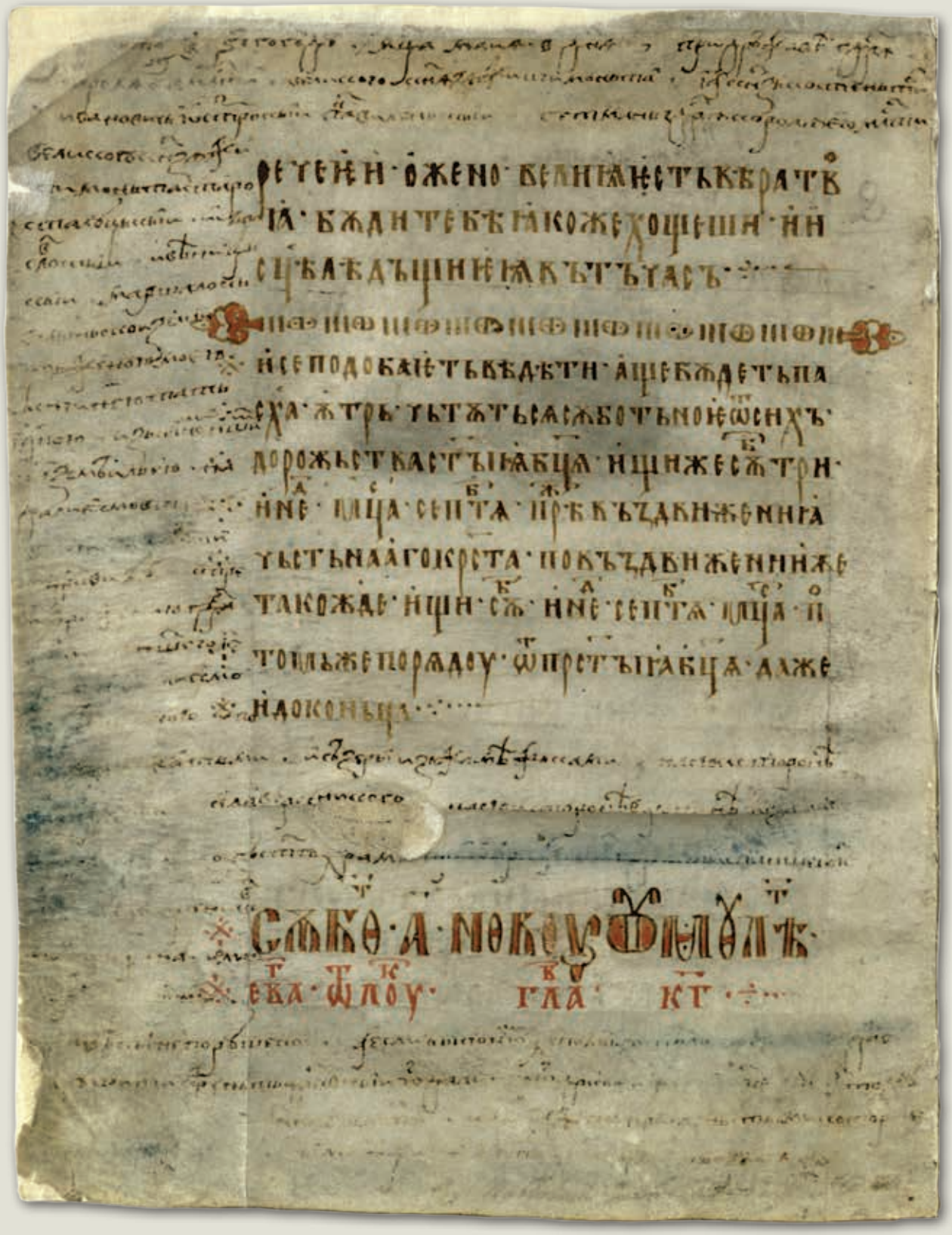
каѣщего · гако свѣтнаьниц нашн
оутасаѭтъ ѡкѣщашаже · цѧдрꙑ
гаглѧща · едако недостанетъна
лъ · нкадъ · ндѣтежепатекъпро
даѧщинимъ · нкоупнтесебѣ · ндоу
цѧлъжеишъкоупнтъ · прндеже
нихъ · готовꙑгакънндошасъ
цъ · набракъ · нзатворенꙑбъша
двьрн · послѣдњепридоша · нпро
чаѧдъгласѧща · гнгн · ѡкрꙑзн
надъ · онъжеѡкѣщакъре · амнн
глѧкашъ · некѣмъвасъ · къдантѣ
оубоѧкоекѣстедьн · ѣнитасл · къ
ньжеснътавтъпридетъ ·

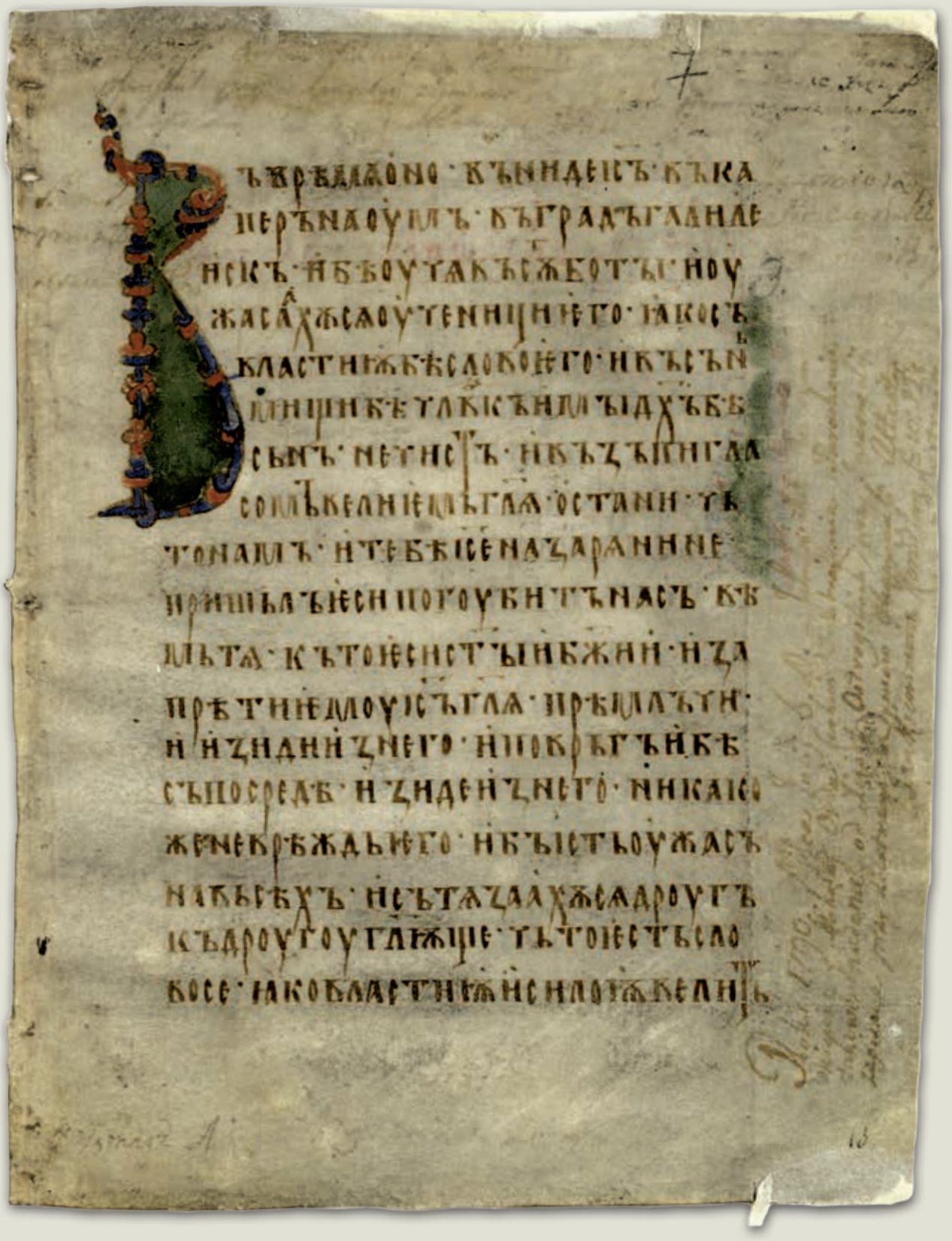
Ѧ ѳ Г ѳ Б

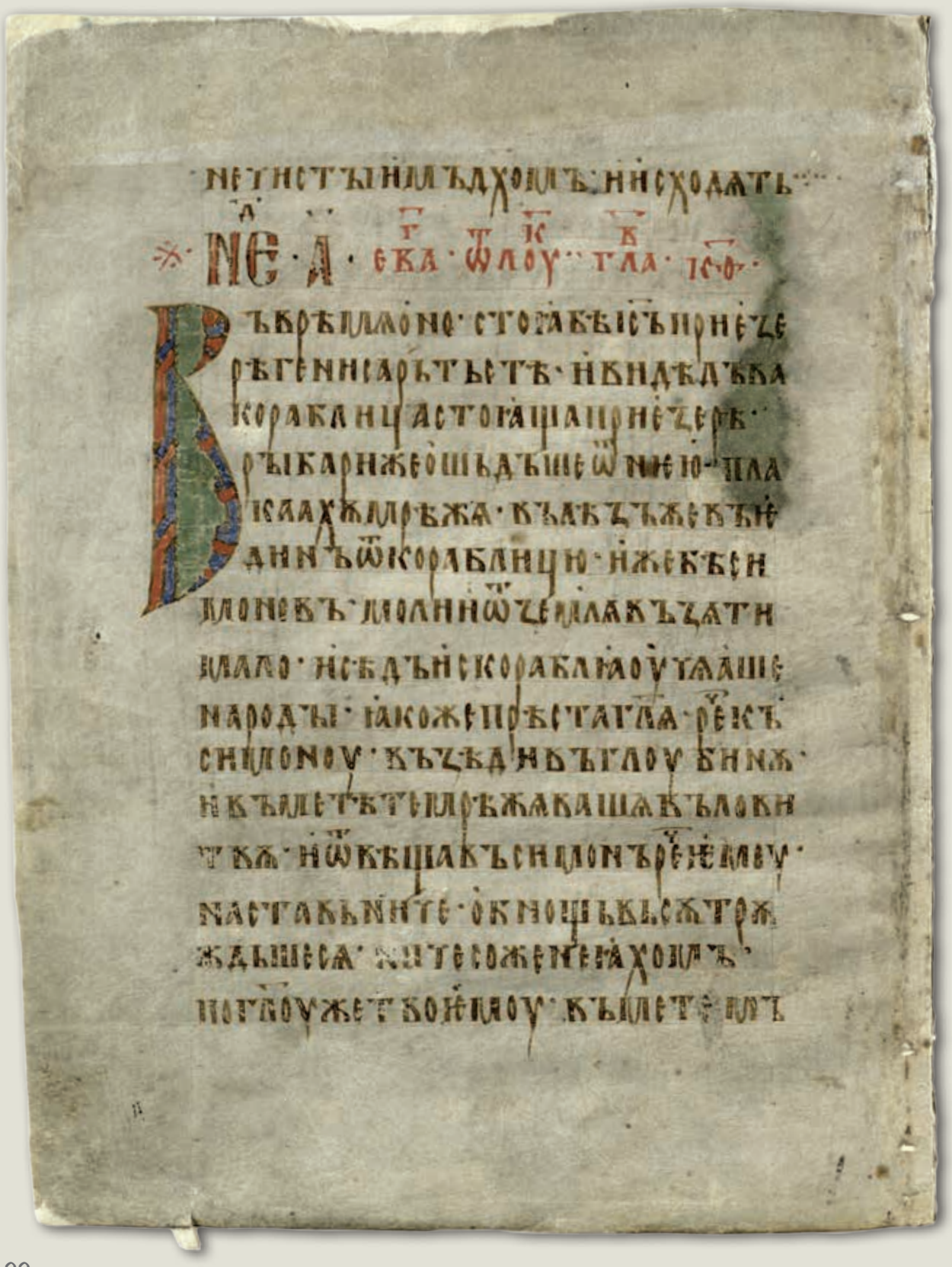
✻ Ѱѣ Ѯ І · ека · ѳма · гла · рнѯ

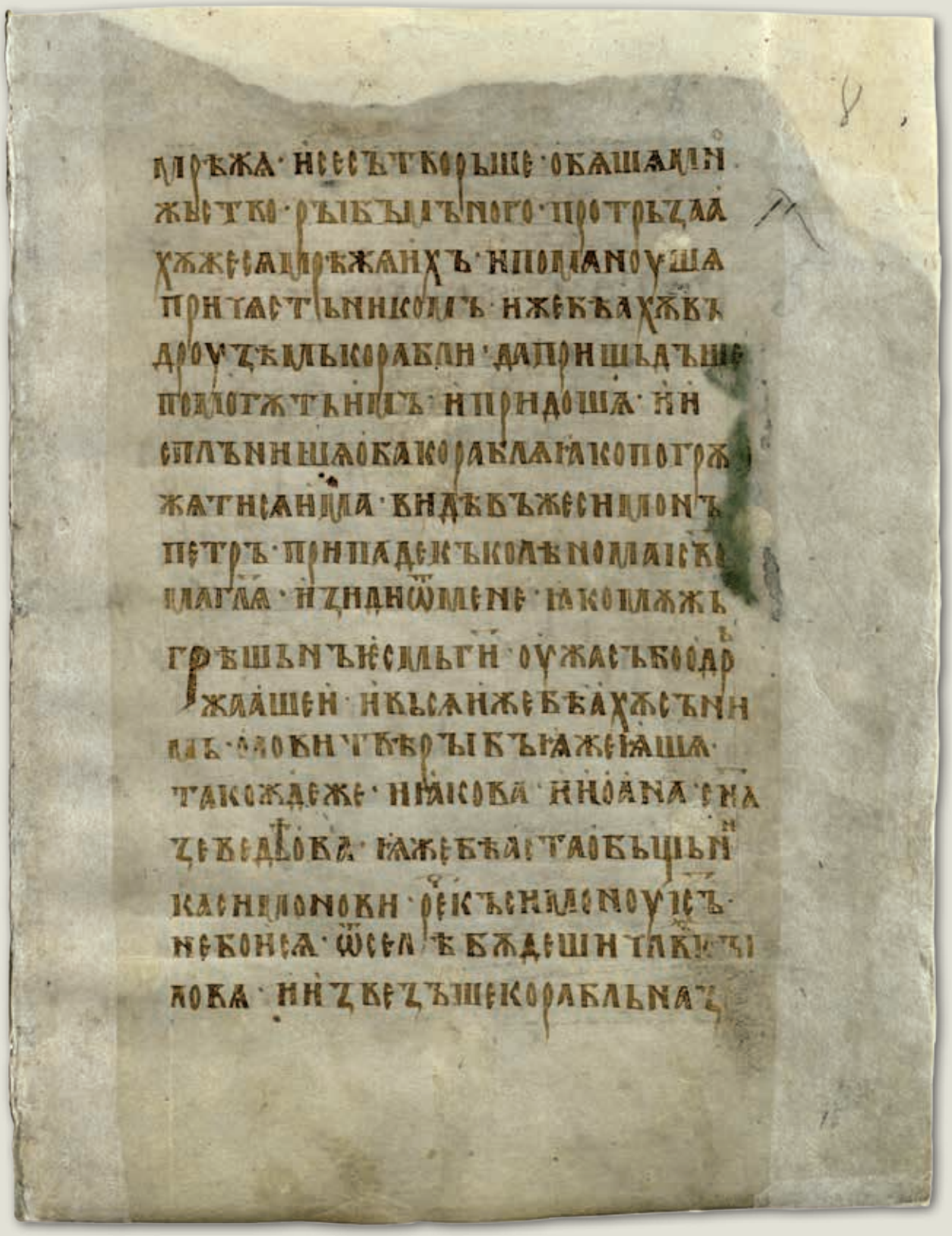
Вѣкрѣцаѧно · нѯнаѣісъвъстра
нжтꙋрьскѧнєндоньскѧ · нєѣжєѧ

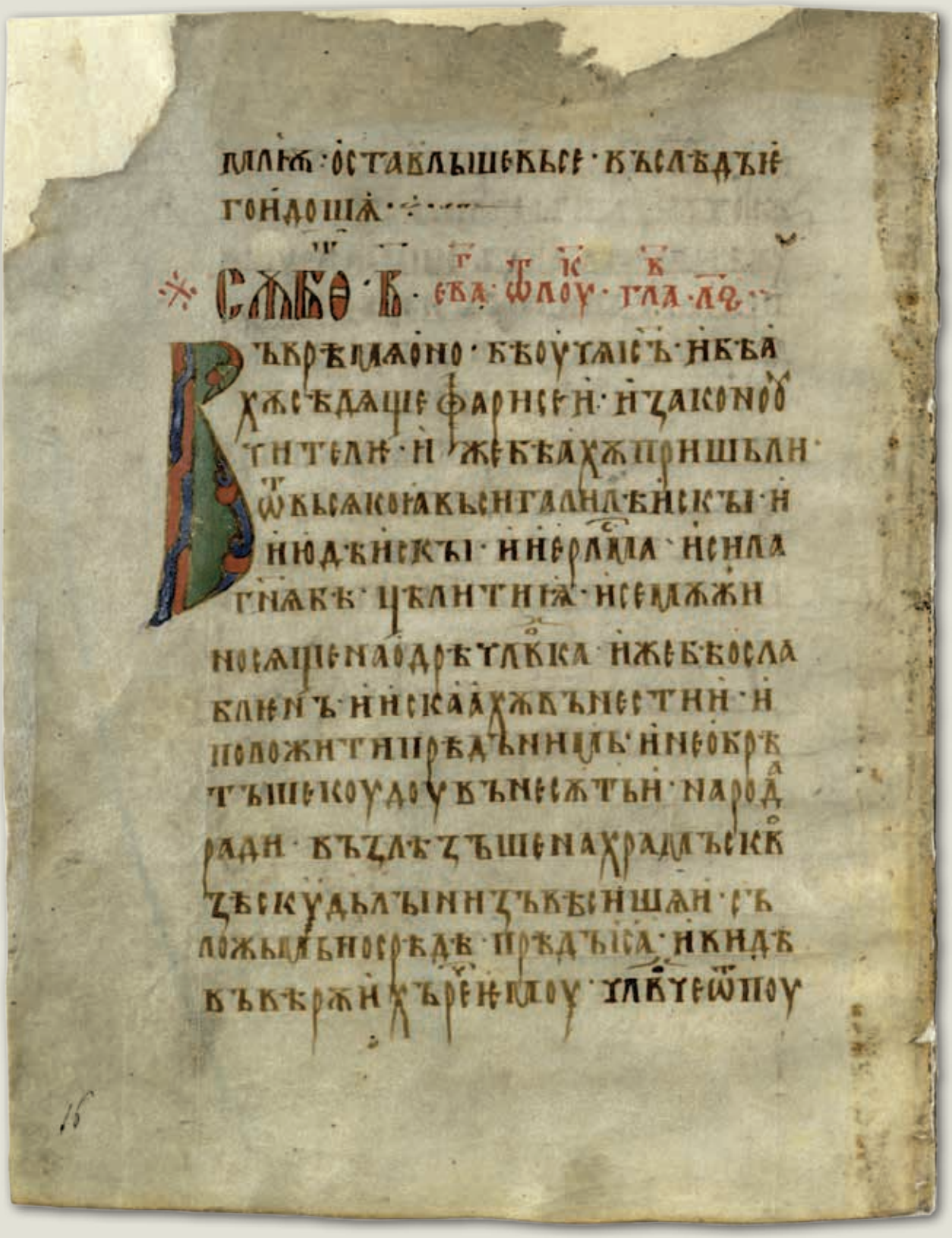








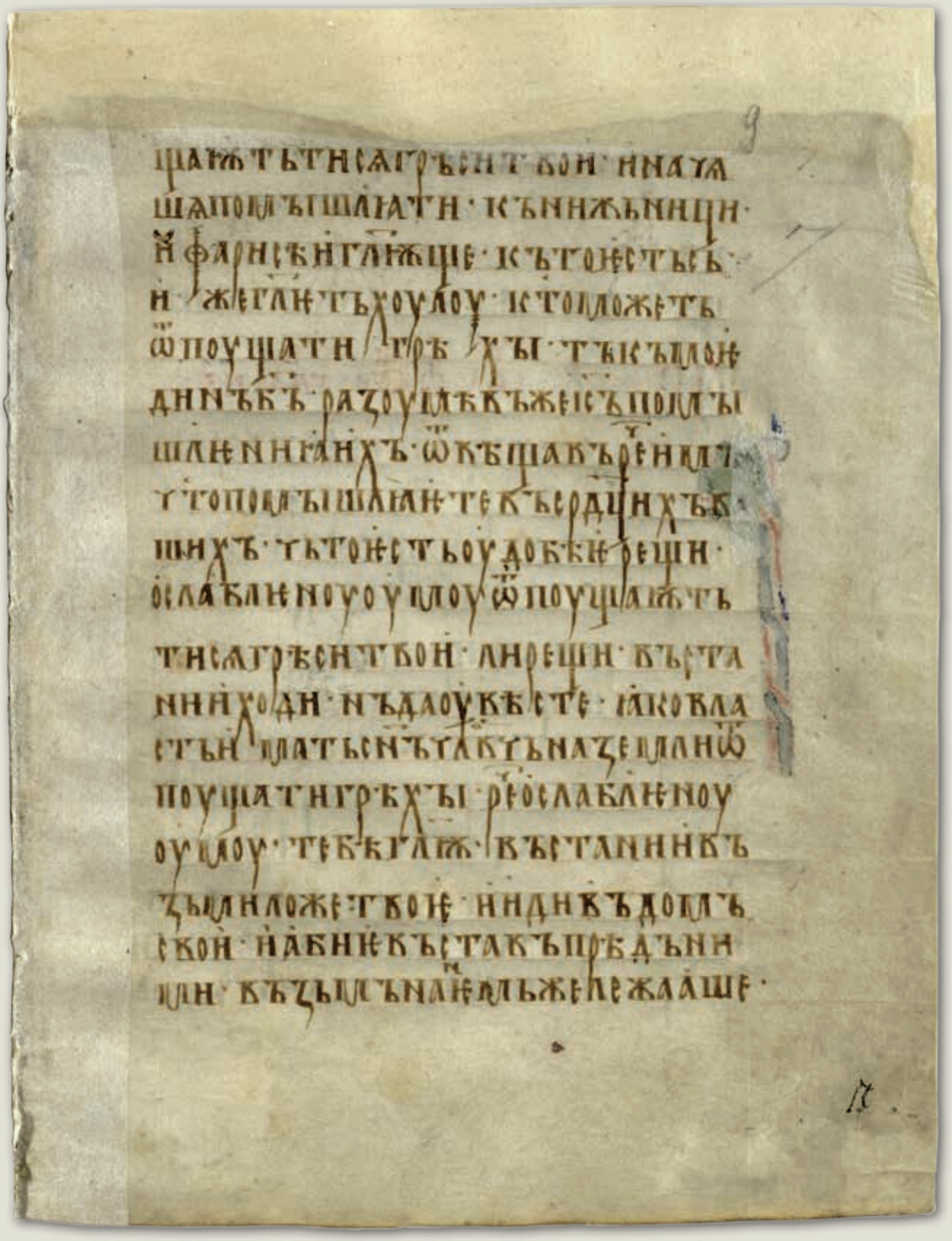


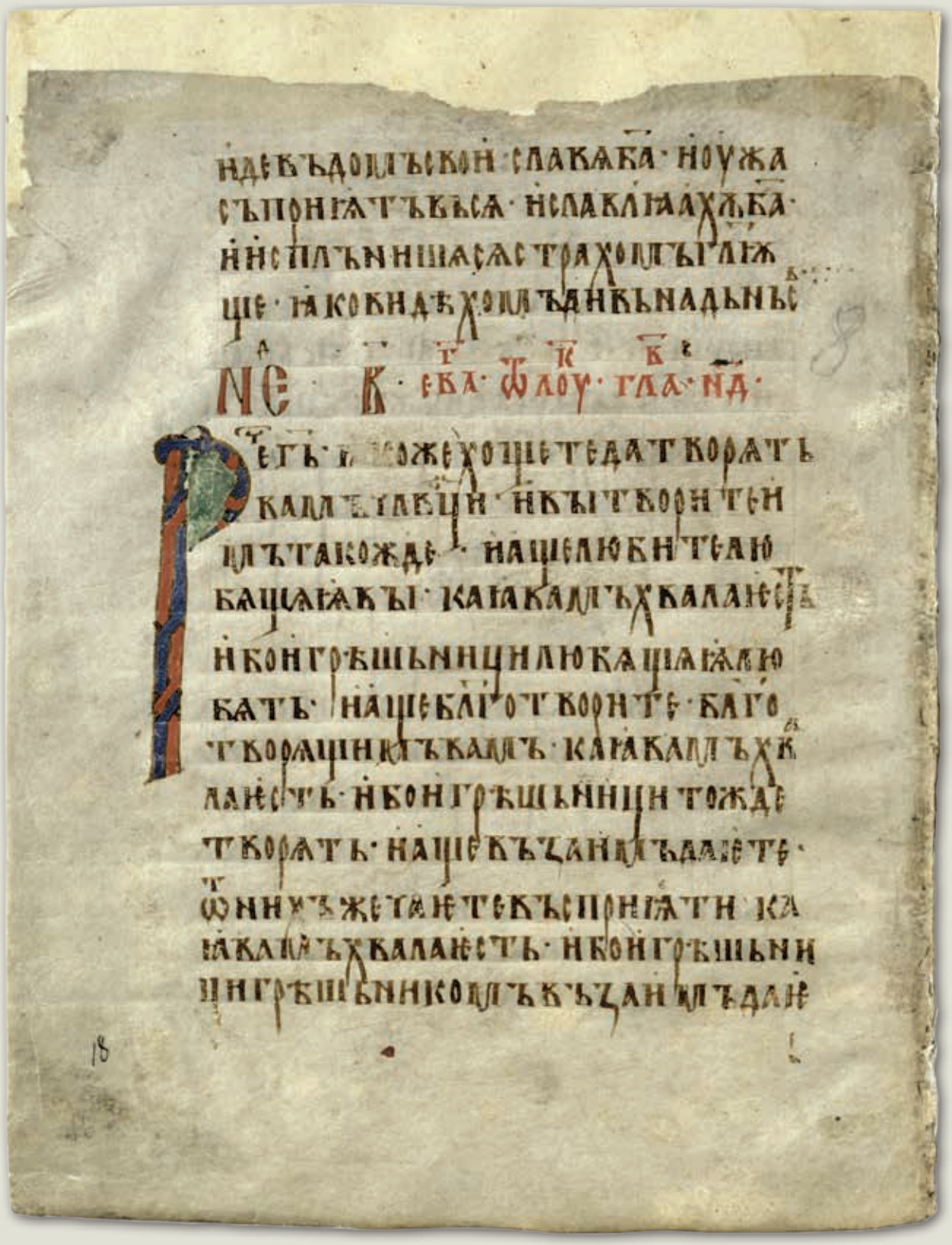


плнѫ: оставлышекыс: къслѣдъıѥ
гонѧошѧ:

сѫбо: в: ѥва: ѳлоу: гла: лѕ

Въкрѣлѧѡно: бѣоутаісъ: нкѣа
хѫсѣдѧщѥ фарнсѣи: ѝзаконоу
тнтелѥ: и жѥбѣахѫ пришьлн
ѿкысакоѩакьсигалнлѣискы: и
нюдѣискы: иннерлѧла: исцла
гнакѣ: цѣлитиѩ: исѣлѧжи
нотѧщѥ наодрѣтлѣка: иже бѣосла
блѥнъ: иисказахѫ къмѣстнн: и
положитнпрѣдъннць: иневокрѣ
тъıшекоудоу въмѣжтьи: народ
ради: къзлѣзъшѥ нахрадъıскѣ
зѣскудьлъıннзъкѣіншан: съ
ложьıдьносрѣдѣ: прѣдъıса: икидѣ
въкѣржи хърѣпоу: улѣтѣѿпоу

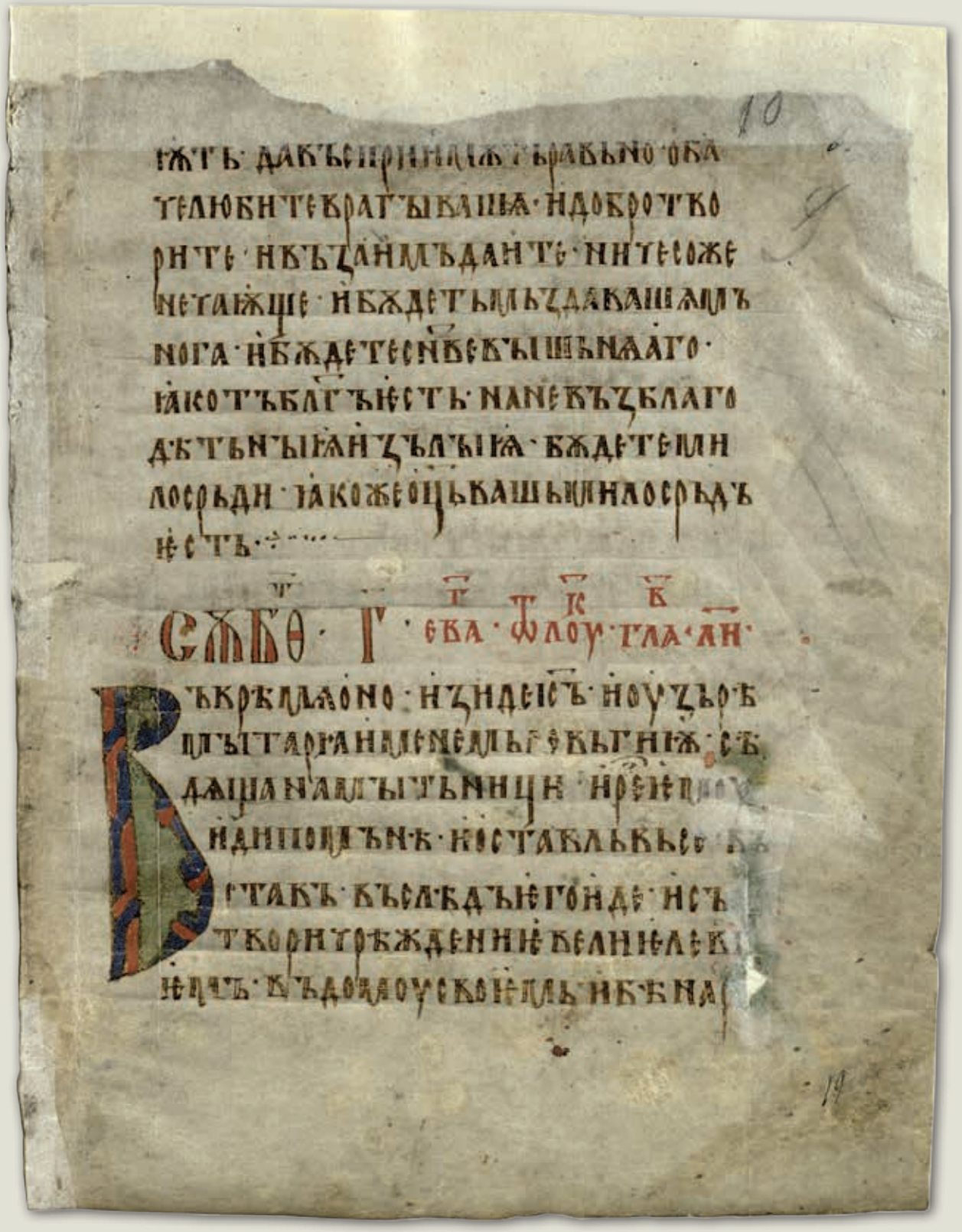




нде бъдолгъкон слакака ноужа
съпонѧтъвъса нслакнаахлъка
инсплъннша сстраходгъглѧ
ще накокнде хождъдинкънадьнъ

ПС К ѣка ѳлоу глана

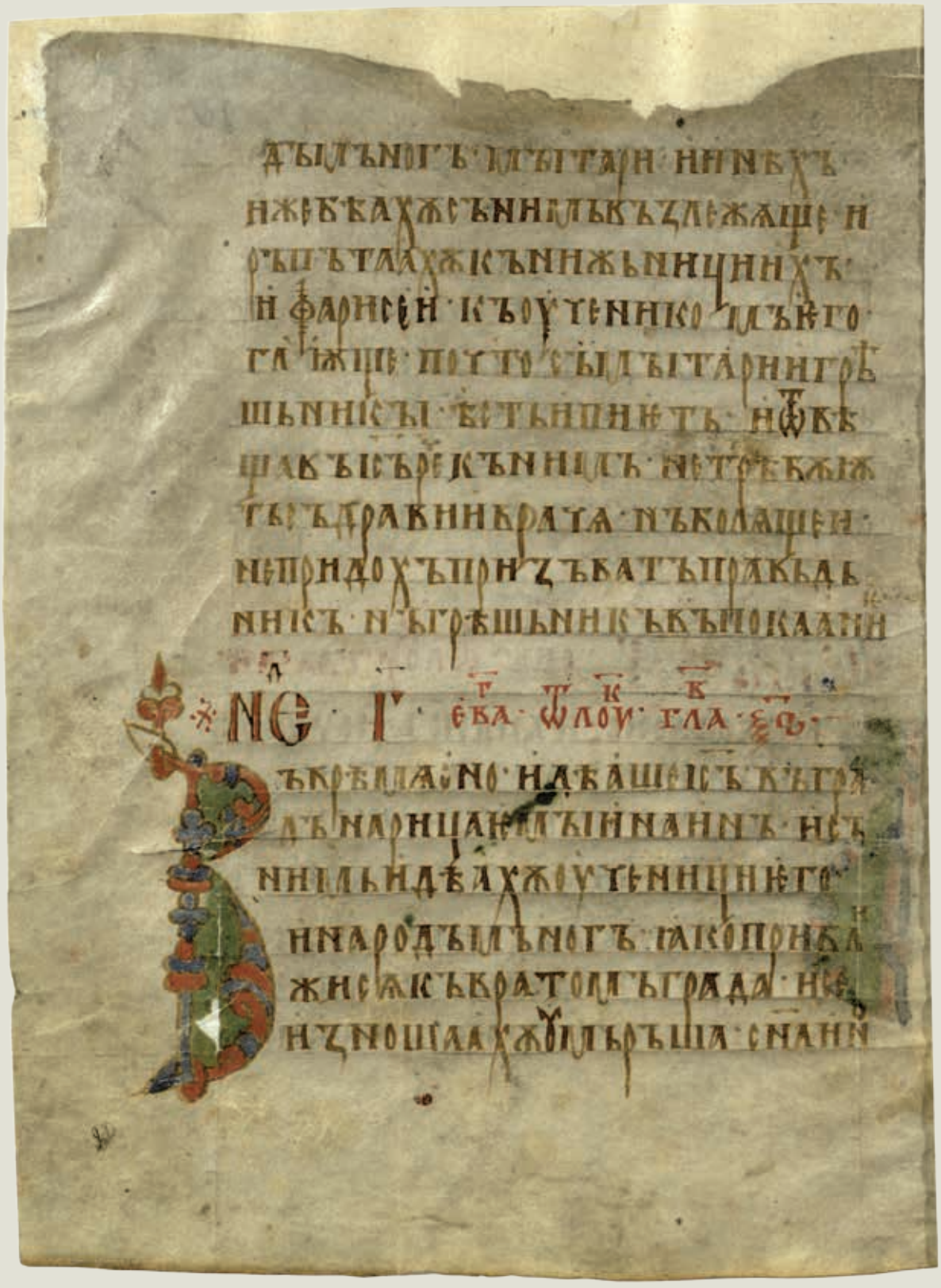
Ѣгъ к можехощетедатъкоратъ
кадлъглавцин нкъитворитъи
длътакожде нащелюбнтѣаю
бацѧѧкъкакакадлъхкалаетъ
нконгрѣшьнницнлюкащѧѧлю
бятъ нащебѣготворитъ бъго
творацинкътъкадлъ какакадлъхк
лаетъ нконгрѣшьнницн тожде
творятъ нащекъсанждъдаетъ
ѳннхъжетанетекъспрнѧтн ка
какадлъхкалаетъ нконгрѣшьни
цигрѣшьнникодлъкъсанждъдаѣ

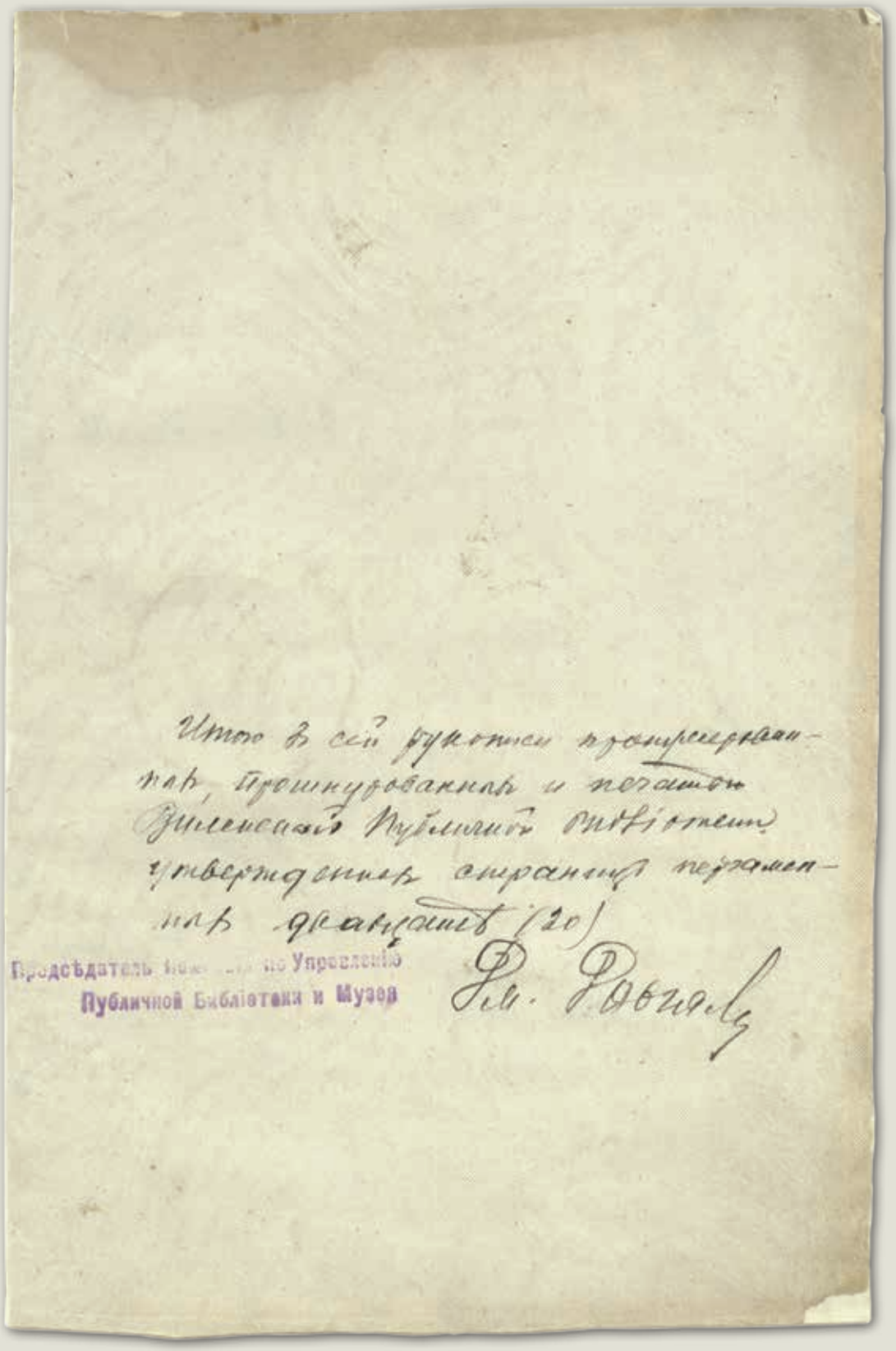


ѥⷭ҃ть дакъ сприѧлѧтъ правьно оба
телюбите братъıваша ндобротко
рите нвъзданлъданть нитеоже
нетаѧще нбждетъıлъздаваша лъ
нога нбждетесѧвекъıшьнаго
ѥкоттъблгъѥстъ нанѣвъзблаго
дктьнъıѧнзълъıѧ бждетеилн
лосрьдн ѥкожеоцьвашьıилосрьдъ
ѥстъ

сѧбѣ г̀ гл҃ва ѳлоу гла҃н

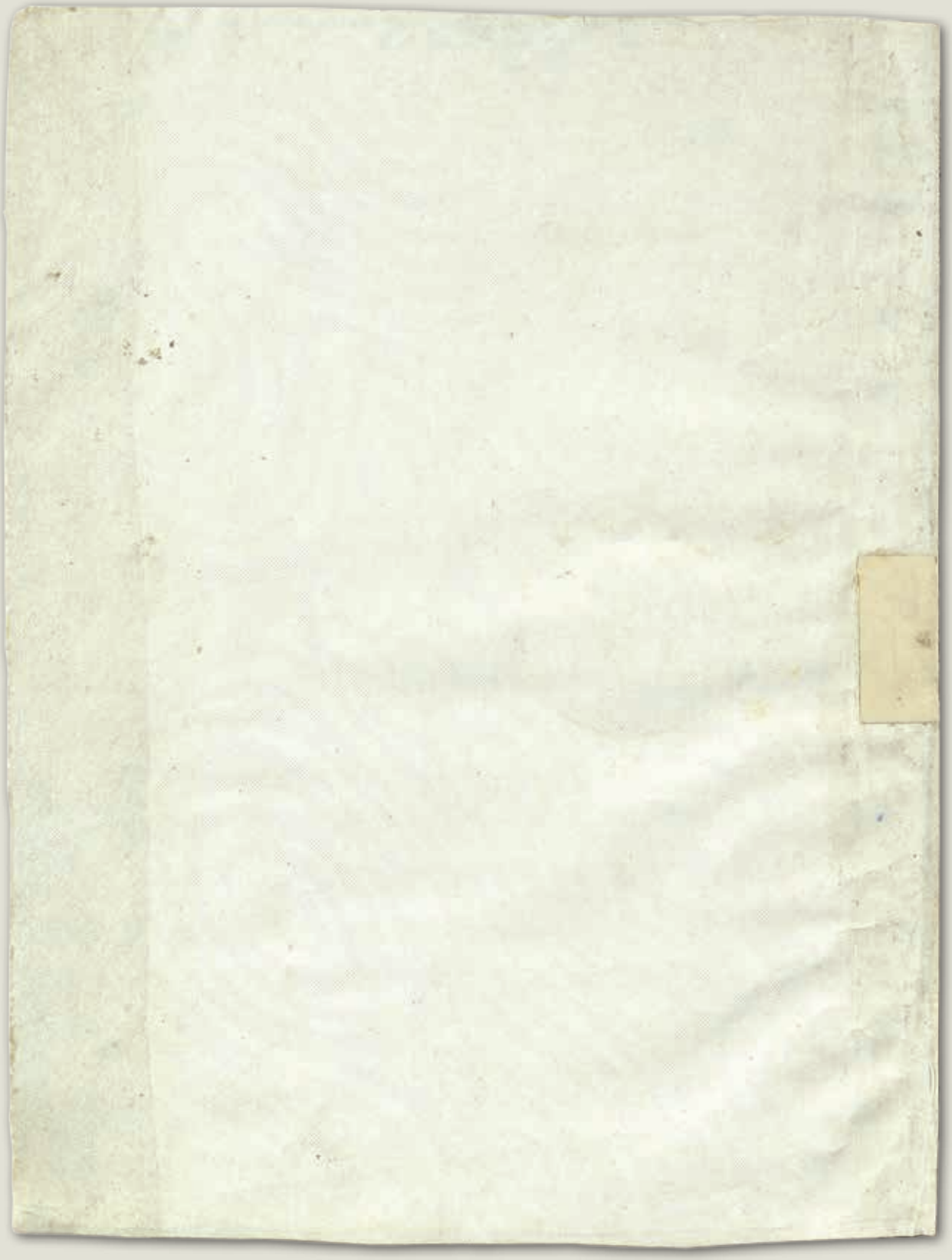
Ръкрѣлаѥно нзндесъ ноузъре
плъıтарганлѣнедьрѣкьгниѧ съ
дѧщанаалтьıтьнцн нрѣпоу
ндпоплънѣ ностаѣлькьѥ
стакъ къслкдъѥгондѣ нсъ
ткорнтрѣждѣнниѥелнѣлѣк
ндчъ къдоѣлоусковѣпль нбѣна





Итого в сей рукописи пронумерованных, прошнурованных и печатью Виленской Публичной Библіотеки утверждением скрепленных пергаментных листов двадцать (20)

Председатель Комиссіи по Управленію
Публичной Библіотеки и Музея







Sergejus Temčinas

The Metagraphed Text of the Turov Gospel

Typesetting rules

The text of the Turov Gospel is typeset according to the following rules:

1. The typesetting is done "folio by folio, line by line".

2. Of the superscript marks, only the *payerok* is reproduced. The dot, which the scribe regularly (with a few deviations) places over vowels following other vowel letters, including after the separating dot, is not reproduced.

3. Superscript letters correcting the scribe's original writing and inserted later in darker ink are not reproduced (fol. 2).

4. The titla, *payeroks*, and the letters written by the scribe himself are typed ignoring their regular displacement to the right by one letter.

5. The typesetting does not reflect the letter corrections made by the scribe himself, including by crossing out (these features are described separately).

6. Not shown are letters elongated in height, occasionally occurring in the middle or beginning of words, not only in the immediate vicinity of the end of a line.

7. For the convenience of the reader, a break down into words and numbering of the Gospel verses are done. In cases where double interpretation is possible, the break down into words is done with reference to the Greek text of the Gospel.

8. Missing letters and syllables (accidentally omitted by the copyist) are indicated in angle brackets < >. Excessively written letters are enclosed in square brackets [ ].

Liturgical structure and content of the readings of the Turov Gospel

Easter cycle of readings

fol. 1–1v	Thu the 5th after Easter	…John 10.1–9
fol. 1v	Fri the 5th after Easter	John 10.17–20…
fol. 2	Tue the 6th after Easter	…John 12.27–34…

Reading cycles for Pentecost and the New Year

fol. 3	Sat the 16th after Pentecost	…Matthew 24.40–44
fol. 3–4v	Sun the 16th after Pentecost	Matthew 25.14–29; 11.15
fol. 4v–5v	Sat the 17th after Pentecost	Matthew 25.1–13

fol. 5v–6v	Sun the 17th after Pentecost	Matthew 15.21–28
fol. 6v–7v	Sat the 1st of the New Year	Luke 4.31–36
fol. 7v–8v	Sun the 1st of the New Year	Luke 5.1–11
fol. 8v–9v	Sat the 2nd of the New Year	Luke 5.17–26
fol. 9v–10	Sun the 2nd of the New Year	Luke 6.31–36
fol. 10–10v	Sat the 3rd of the New Year	Luke 5.27–32
fol. 10v	Sun the 3rd of the New Year	Luke 7.11–12…

fol. 1: …John 10.1–8

1. <…>чии. нъ прѣлазѧи инѫдѣ тать есть̀
и разбоиникъ. 2. а въходѧи двьрьми.
пастъирь есть овьцамъ. 3. семоу двь-
рьникъ ѿврьзаѥть. и овьца гласъ
его слъишатъ. и своѭ овьца глаша-
ѥть по имени. и изгонить ѭ. 4. ѥгда-
же своѭ вьсѧ иж'денеть. прѣдъ ними
ходить. и овьца по ниемь идѫть. ѩко
видать гласъ его. 5. по шоуж'демь
же не идѫть. нъ бѣжать отъ ни-
го. ѩко не знаѭть шоужддаго гла-
са. 6. сиѭ притъчѭ р҃ѣ имъ і҃съ. они же
не разоумѣша чьто бѣша. ѩже гл҃а-
аше имъ. 7. рече же имъ пакы і҃съ. а-
минъ аминъ гл҃ѭ вамъ. азъ ѥ-
смь двьрь овьцамъ. 8. вьси ѥликоже
приде ихъ прѣжде мене. татые сѫ-
ть и разбоиници. нъ не послоуша-

fol. 1v John 10.8–9; John 10.17–20…

ша ихъ овьца. 9. азъ ѥсмь двьрь. и҆-
ноѭ аще къто вънидеть с҃псеть т҃
и вънидеть. и изидеть. и пажить
обрѧщеть ·:~
въ пѧтъ҆ѣ. ѳ҃. нѳ҃. ѳв҃а
ѿ иоана. глава. ѕ҃.
р҃ѣ г҃ъ. къ пришьдъшимъ къ ни-

John 10

моу иудеомъ. 17. сего ради мѧ о҃ц҃ь люб҃-
ть. ꙗко азъ полагаѭ д҃ш҃ѫ моѭ. да па-
кы приимоу ѭ. 18. никътоже възьм҃-
ть ѥѭ ѿ мене. нъ азъ полагаѭ о себѣ
область бо имамъ. положити ѭ. и о-
бласть имамъ пакы приѧти ѭ. с҃-
ѭ заповѣдь приѧ‹хъ о›тъ о҃ц҃а моего.
19. распьрѧ же пакы бысть въ иудеи-
хъ. за словеса си. 20. гл҃аахѫ же мно-
зи ѿ нихъ. бѣсъ имать. и неисто-

fol. 2 …John 12.27–34…

1 27. нъ сего ради придъ на годинѫ си-
з҃а ѭ ⁘
28. о҃ч҃е прослави имѧ твое. приде же
гласъ съ н҃б҃се. и прославихъ. и па-
кы прослав'лѭ. 29. народъ же стоѧи.
слъышавъ. гл҃аахѫ громъ бысть.
ини гл҃аахѫ. анг҃лъ гл҃а ѥмоу. 30. о-
тъвѣща і҃съ и р҃ѣ. не мене ради гла-
съ сь бысть. нъ народа ради. 31. нъ-
нѣ сѫдъ есть мироу семоу. нъ-
нѣ кънѧзь мира сего. изъ‹гъ›нанъ
бѫдеть вънъ. 32. и азъ аще възнесе-
нъ бѫ‹дѫ› отъ земла вьсѧ привлѣкѫ
къ себѣ. 33. се же гл҃ааше клепла. кое-
ѭ съмрьтьѭ хотѧаше оумрѣти.
34. ѿвѣща ѥмоу народъ. мы слъыша-
хомъ ѿ закона. ꙗко х҃с҃ъ прѣбъы-
ваѥть въ вѣкъ. и како ты гл҃ѥ-

fol. 3 …Matthew 24.40–44; Мт 25.14

1 40. тогда дъва бѫдета на селѣ. единъ
поѥм'лѥть. а дроугъıи оставлѧѥ-
ть сѧ. 41. дъвѣ мелющи въ жрьнъва-
хъ. една поѥмлѥть сѧ. и една

оставлаѥть сѧ. 42. бъдите оубо. ꙗко
не вѣсте въ кѫѭ годинѫ гъ вашь
придеть. 43. се же вѣдите. ꙗко аще бы
вѣдѣлъ гдинъ храминъı. въ кѫ-
ѭ стражѫ тать придеть. бъдѣлъ
оубо бъı. и не бъı оставилъ. подъ-
ръıти храминъı своеѭ. 44. сего ради
и въı бѫдѣте готови. ꙗко въ ньже
не мьните часъ. сн҃ъ чл҃вчь придет҃
ѫ҃ нѣ҃. ѕ҃ї. ев҃а. ѡ҃ ма҃. гл҃а сѕ҃ѳ.
Matthew 25 рѣ҃ гъ. притъчѫ сиѭ. 14. оуподоби
сѧ цр҃ьствие нб҃сьное. чл҃вкоу
цр҃ю. иже призъва рабъı своѭ. и

fol. 3v Matthew 25.14–21

дасть имъ имѣние свое. 15. и овомꙋ
дасть. пѧть талан'тъ. овомоу же
дъва. овомоу же единъ. комоу-
ждо противѫ силѣ своеи. и отид҃
абие. 16. шьдъ же приимъı пѧтъ
талан'тъ. дѣла о нихъ. и приобр҃-
те дроугѫѭ пѧть талан'тъ. 17. та-
кожде. иже дъва. приобрѣте дроу-
гаѭ дъва. 18. а приимъı единъ.
шьдъ раскопа зем'лѭ. и съкръı се-
ребро гд҃а своего. 19. по мъноз҃ѣ же вр҃ѣ-
мени. приде гъ рабъ тѣхъ. и съ-
таꙁа сѧ о словеси. съ ними. 20. и при-
стѫпль приимъıи пѧть тала-
нътъ. принесе дроугѫѭ пѧть т҃-
ланътъ. гл҃а емоу г҃и. пѧть тал҃-
нътъ ми еси прѣдалъ. се дроугѫ-
ѭ приобрѣтохъ ими. 21. р҃ѣ емоу гъ

fol. 4 Matthew 25.21–26

1 его. добрыи рабе блг҃ыи и вѣрь-
не. о малѣ бѣ вѣрьнъ. надъ мъно-
гыими тѧ поставл'ижѫ. въниди
въ радость г҃а своего. 22. и пристѫпль
5 же и приимъи двѣ таланъта. р҃ек҃.
г҃и. двѣ таланъта ми еси преда-
лъ. се дроугаꙗ двѣ приобрѣтохъ
има. 23. р҃ек҃ емоу г҃ь его. добрыи рабе
блг҃ыи. и вѣрьне. о малѣ бѣ вѣрь-
10 нъ. надъ мъногы тѧ поставлѭ.
въниди въ радость г҃а своего. 24. при-
стѫпль же и приимъıи единъ
таланътъ. р҃ек҃. г҃и. вѣдѣхъ тѧ. ꙗ-
ко жестокъ еси ч҃лвкъ. жьнѧ. и-
15 деже нѣси сѣꙗлъ. и събираꙗ. иж҃д-
же не расточилъ. 25. и оубоꙗвъ сѧ шь-
дъ съкрыхъ таланътъ твои въ
земли. се имаши свое. 26. ѡ҃вѣщавъ

fol. 4v Matthew 25.26–29; 11.15

1 же г҃ь его р҃ек҃ емоу. зълыи рабе и
лѣнивъıи. вѣдаѣши ꙗко жьнѭ.
идеже не сѣꙗхъ. и събираѭ. иж҃д-
же р҃асточихъ. 27. подобааше ти оу-
5 бо въдати. серебро мое тръжьни-
комъ. и пришьдъ азъ възмлъ оу-
бо бъıхъ свое съ лихвоѭ. 28. възмѣ-
те оубо ѡ҃ него таланътъ. и дади-
те имоущюоумоу. десѧть. тала-
10 нътъ. 29. имоущѫоумоу бо вьсьде
дано бѫдеть. и избѫдеть. а ѡ҃ не-
имѫщааго. и еже аще мьнить
сѧ имѣꙗ. възѧто бѫдеть ѡ҃ не-
Matthew 11 го. 15. се г҃лѧ възгласи. имѣꙗи оу-

ши слъıшати да слъı‹ши›ть ⁖
※ сжбо. зї. ева. ѡ мѳ. гла.
※ сѯи ⁖~

fol. 5 Matthew 25.1–8

1 Рѣ гѣ. притъıѭ сиѭ. 1. оуподоб҃
сѧ цр҃твиѥ нб҃сьноѥ. десѧти
дв҃ъ. ѥѧже приимъшѧ свѣтиль-
никъı своѥѧ. изидошѧ противѣ
5 женихоу и невѣстѣ. 2. пѧть же бѣ-
аше ѡ҃ нихъ бѫи. и пѧть мѫдръ.
3. бѫѥѧ бо. приимъшѧ свѣтиль-
никъı своѥѧ. не въѯѧшѧ съ собоѭ
олѣа. 4. а мѫдръıѥ приѥѧшѧ съ собо-
10 ѭ олѣи въ съсѫдѣхъ. съ свѣтиль-
никъı своими. 5. мѫдѧщю же жени-
хоу. въздрѣмашѧ сѧ вьсѧ и съпаа-
хѫ. 6. полоунощи же въпль бъıсть.
се женихъ градеть. исходите въ
15 срѣтениѥ емоу. 7. тогда въста-
шѧ вьсѧ дв҃ъı тъı. и оукрасишѧ б҃ѣ-
тильникъı своѥѧ. 8. а бѫѥѧ рѣшѧ
мѫдръıимъ. дадите н҃ѧмъ ѡ҃ олѣа

fol. 5v Matthew 25.8–13; Matthew 15.21–22

1 вашего. ѩко свѣтильници наши
оугасаѭть. 9. ѡ҃вѣщѧшѧ же. мѫдръı-
ѥѧ гл҃ѭщѧ. еда како не достанеть на-
мъ. и вамъ. идѣте же паче къ про-
5 даѭщиимъ. и коупите себѣ. 10. идоу-
щѧмъ же имъ коупитъ. приде же-
нихъ и готовъıѥѧ вънидоша съ н҃-
мъ на бракъ. и ѯатворенъı бъıша
двьри. 11. послѣди же придошѧ. и про-
10 чѧѥѧ дв҃ъı гл҃ѭщѧ. ги҃ ги҃. ѡ҃връѯи
намъ. 12. онъ же ѡ҃вѣщавъ рѣ҃. амиⷭ҃

глѧ вамъ. не вѣмъ васъ. 13. бъдите
оубо ꙗко не вѣсте дьне ни часа. въ
ньже сн҃ъ ч҃лвчь придетъ ⁘
15 ※ нд҃ зї. ев҃а. ѡ҃ мт҃а. гл҃а. рн҃z.
Matthew 15 Въ врѣмѧ оно. 21. изиде і҃съ въ стра-
нѫ тѷ̑рьскѫ и сидоньскѫ. 22. и се жен̂

fol. 6 Matthew 15.22–28
1 хананѣиска. ѡ҃ прѣдѣлъ тѣхъ. и-
шьдъши възъпи глѧщи. поми-
лоуи мѧ гн҃и сн҃е двдвъ. дъщи моѧ
зълѣ бѣсьноуѥть сѧ. 23. онъ же не ѡ҃-
5 вѣщѧ ѥи словесе. и пристѫпльше
оученици ѥго. молѧахѫ и глѧще.
ѡ҃поусти ѭ. ꙗко въпиѥть въ слѣ-
дъ насъ. 24. онъ же ѡ҃вѣщавъ рс҃. нѣ-
смь посъланъ. тъкъмо къ овьцѧ-
10 мъ погыбъшимъ домоу изл҃ѥ-
ва. 25. она же пришьдъши поклони сѧ
ѥмоу глѧщи. гн҃и. помози ми. 26. о-
нъ же ѡ҃вѣщавъ рече. нѣсть добро
отѧти хлѣба ѡ҃ чадъ. и по-
15 врѣщи и пьсомъ. 27. она же
рс҃. еи гн҃и. ибо и пьси ѣдѧть ѡ҃кроупи-
ць падаѭщихъ съ трапезы г҃по-
дии своихъ. 28. тогда ѡ҃вѣщавъ і҃съ

fol. 6v Matthew 15.28
1 рече ѥи. о жено. велиѭ ѥсть вѣра тв҃о-
ꙗ. бѫди тебѣ ꙗкоже хощеши. и и-
с҃цѣлѣ дъщи ѥѧ въ тъ часъ ⁘
и се подобаѥть вѣдѣти. аще бѫдеть па-
5 с҃ха. жтрь. чьтѫть сѧ сѫботьноѥ ѡ҃ сихъ.
до рожьства с҃тыѭ бц҃ѧ. ищи же сѫ̑три.
и нд҃. мц҃а. септ̑а. пр҃ѣ въздвижениꙗ
чьстьнаго кр҃ста. по въздвижении же

такожде. ищи. сѣ. и не. септа. ица. й
10 тоиь же по рядоу. ѡ прстыиа ѣца. даже
и до коньца. ⁘
сѫбѣ. а. новоуѕмѹ ѧѣ.
єва. ѡ лоу. гла. кг.

fol. 7 Luke 4.31–36

1 Въ врѣмя оно. въниде ісъ. 31. въ ка-
перънаоумъ. въ градъ галиле-
искъ. и бѣ оучя въ сѫботы. 32. и оу-
жасѧхѫ сѧ оученици его. ꙗко съ
5 властиѭ бѣ слово его. 33. и въ съ̀н-
ници бѣ чл̀вкъ имы дхъ бѣ-
сьнъ. нечистъ. и възъпи гла-
сомъ велиемь гла. 34. остани. чь-
то намъ. и тебѣ ісе назарѧнине.
10 пришьлъ иеси погоубитъ насъ. вѣ-
мь тѧ. къто иеси стыи бжии. 35. и за-
прѣти емоу ісъ гла. прѣмлъчи.
и изиди из него. и поврыгъ и бѣ-
съ посредѣ. изиде из него. никако-
15 же не врѣжды его. 36. и бысть оужасъ
на вьсѣхъ. и сътазаахѫ сѧ дроугъ
къ дроугоу глюще. чьто есть сло-
во се. ꙗко властиѭ и силоѭ велитъ

fol. 7v Luke 4.36; Luke 5.1–5

1 нечистыимъ дхомъ. и исходать. ⁘
҂ нѐ. а. єва. ѡ лоу. гла. кф.
Luke 5 Въ врѣмя оно. 1. стоя бѣ ісъ при езе-
рѣ генисарытьстѣ. 2. и видѣ дъва
5 кораблица стоѧща при езерѣ.
рыбари же ошьдъше ѡ нею. пла-
каахѫ мрѣжѧ. 3. въльзъ же въ е-
динъ ѡ кораблицю. иже бѣ си-
моновъ. моли и ѡ зем'ла възати

мало. и сѣдъ ис корабля оучаше
народы. 4. якоже прѣста гл҃а. р҃е къ
симоноу. възѣди въ глоубинѫ.
и въметѣте мрѣжѫ ваша въ лови-
твѫ. 5. и ѿвѣщавъ симонъ р҃е емоу.
наставьниче. об нощь вьсь тръ-
ждьше сѧ. ничесоже не ѧхомъ.
по гл҃оу же твоемоу. въметемъ

fol. 8 Luke 5.5–11

мрѣжѫ. 6. и се сътворьше. обѫша мн҃-
жьство. рыбъ мъного. протрьзаа-
хѫ же сѧ мрѣжѫ ихъ. 7. и поманоуша
причастьникомъ. иже бѣахѫ въ
дроузѣмь корабли. да пришьдъше
помогѫть имъ. и придоша. и и-
сплънишѧ оба корабля ѧко погръ-
жѧти сѧ има. 8. видѣвъ же симонъ
петръ. припаде къ колѣнома і҃сво-
ма гл҃а. изиди ѿ мене. ѧко мѫжь
грѣшьнъ есмь г҃и. 9. оужасъ бо одр҃-
жаше и. и вьсѧ иже бѣахѫ съ ни-
мь. о ловитвѣ рыбъ ѧже ѧша.
10. такожде же. иѧкова и иоана. с҃на
зеведѣова. ѧже бѣста обьщьн҃-
ка симонови. р҃е къ симоноу і҃съ.
не бои сѧ. ѿселѣ бѫдеши ч҃лвкы
лова. 11. и изведъше корабль на зе-

fol. 8v Luke 5.11; Luke 5.17–20

мѣ. оставльше вьсе. въ слѣдъ е-
го идоша ∴
сѫбо҃. в҃. єв҃а. ѿ лоу҃. гл҃а. лг҃ ∽
17. Въ врѣмя оно. бѣ оучѧ і҃съ. и бѣа-
хѫ сѣдѧще фарисеи. и законов-
чителе. иже бѣахѫ пришьли.

ѿ вьсѧкоѩ вьси галилѣискъı. и
июдѣискъı. и иер҃ли. и сила
г҃нѧ бѣ. цѣлити ѩ. 18. и се мѫжи
носѧще на одрѣ чл҃вка. иже бѣ осла-
блєнъ. и искаахѫ вънести и. и
положити прѣдъ нимь. 19. и не обрѣ-
тъше коудоу вънесѫтъ и. народ҃
ради. възлѣзъше на храмъ скв҃-
зѣ скv̑дьлъı низъвѣсиша и. съ
ложьмь посрѣдѣ. прѣдъ і҃са. 20. и видѣ-
въ вѣрѫ ихъ р҃е емоу. чл҃вче ѿпоу-

fol. 9 Luke 5.20–25

щаѥтъ ти сѧ грѣси твои. 21. и начѧ-
ша помъıш'лѩти. кънижьници.
и фарисѣи г҃лѫще. къто єсть сь.
иже г҃лєть хоулоу. к'то можеть
ѿпоущати грѣхъı. тъкъмо є-
динъ бг҃ъ. 22. разоумѣвъ же і҃съ помъı-
ш'лєниѧ ихъ. ѿвѣщавъ р҃е имъ
ч'то помъıшлѩєте въ ср҃дцихъ ва-
шихъ. 23. чьто єсть оудобѣıе рещи.
ослабленоуоумоу ѿпоущаѥтъ
ти сѧ грѣси твои. ли рещи. въста-
ни и ходи. 24. нъ да оувѣсте. ѩко вла-
сть имать сн҃ъ чл҃вчь на земли ѿ-
поущати грѣхъı. р҃е ослаб'лєноу-
оумоу. тебѣ г҃лѫ. въстани и въ-
зьми ложе твоє. и иди въ домъ
свои. 25. и абиє въставъ прѣдъ ни-
ми. възьмъ на ѥмьже лежааше.

fol. 9v Luke 5.25–26; Luke 6.31–34

иде въ домъ свои. славѧ бг҃а. и оужа-
съ приѧтъ вьсѧ. и слав'лѩахѫ бг҃а.
26. и исплънишѧ сѧ страхомъ г҃лѫ-

ще. ꙗко видѣхомъ дивьна дьньс҃ ⁘
5 Нч҃. В҃. єв҃а. ѿ лоу҃. гл҃а. нд҃.
Luke 6 Рч҃е гъ. 31. ꙗкоже хощете да творѧть
вамъ человѣци. и вы творите и-
мъ такожде. 32. и аще любите лю-
бѧщѧѧ вы. каꙗ вамъ хвала есть
10 ибо и грѣшьници любѧщѧѧ лю-
бѧть. 33. и аще блг҃отворите. блг҃о-
творѧщимъ вамъ. каꙗ вамъ хв҃-
ла есть. ибо и грѣшьници тожде
творѧть. 34. и аще въ заимъ даете.
15 ѿ нихъже чаете въсприѧти. ка-
ꙗ вамъ хвала есть. ибо и грѣшьни-
ци грѣшьникомъ въ заимъ да[е]-

fol. 10 Luke 6.34–36; Luke 5.27–29
1 ѧть. да въсприимѧть равьно. 35. оба-
че любите врагы ваша. и добротво-
рите. и въ заимъ даите. ничесоже
не чаѧще. и бѫдеть мьзда ваша мъ-
5 ногa. и бѫдете сн҃ве вышьнѣаго.
ꙗко тъ блг҃ъ есть. на невъзблаго-
дѣтьныѧ и зълыѧ. 36. бѫдете ми-
лосрьди. ꙗкоже о҃ць вашь милосрьдъ
есть. ⁘
10 сѫбо҃. Г҃. єв҃а. ѿ лоу҃. гл҃а. л҃и.
Luke 5 Въ врѣмѧ оно. 27. изиде і҃съ. и оузьрѣ
мытаꙗ именемь левьгиѧ. сѣ-
дѧща на мытьници. и р҃ече емоу
иди по мънѣ. 28. и оставль вьсе. въ-
15 ставъ. въ слѣдъ его иде. 29. и съ-
твори трѣѫдение велие лев҃и
емъ. въ домоу своемь. и бѣ наро-

fol. 10v Luke 5.29–32; Luke 7.11–12…

дъ мъногъ. мытари‹и›. и инѣхъ.
иже бѣахѫ съ нимь възлежѫще. 30. и
ропътаахѫ кънижьници ихъ.
и фарисеи. къ оученикомъ его.
глѣѫще. почто съ мытари и грѣ-
шьникы. ѣсть и пиеть. 31. и ѿвѣ-
щавъ ісъ рⷰ къ нимъ. не трѣбѫѭ-
ть съдравии врача. нъ болѫщеи.
32. не придохъ призъватъ правьдь-
никъ. нъ грѣшьникъ въ покаанїе ∽
∴ нѳ. г. ева. ѿ лоу. гла ѯг ∽

Luke 7 Въ врѣмѧ оно. 11. идѣаше ісъ. въ гра-
дъ наричаемъıи наинъ. и съ
нимь идѣахѫ оученици его.
и народъ мъногъ. 12. ꙗко прибл̑-
жи сѧ къ вратомъ града. и се
изношаахѫ вимьръша. сна ин̑-

Viacheslav Korniienko

Bibliographical Chronicle of the Turov Gospel: Essays on the History of Discovery, Publication, and Study of the Medieval Manuscript*

The medieval manuscript, more widely known as the "Turov Gospel of the 11th century", has been preserved in the form of a small fragment – ten parchment folios with the original text of the 11th century and marginalia from the beginning of the 16th century and to the end of the 18th century. Despite the small number of preserved pages and the relatively late discovery – mid-1860s, the monument today boasts an extensive bibliography, which, however, still leaves many unresolved questions in the history of the manuscript.

It is the existing bibliography of the Turov Gospel that is the main object of this scientific study, which is intended to shed light on the circumstances of the discovery of the manuscript, the main stages of its research and publication, as well as different views on its place among other monuments of medieval writing of Rus', to clarify some controversial points regarding the circumstances of its discovery, origin, etc. I would like to emphasize right away that the historiographical review presented below cannot replace codicological, decorative, linguistic, grapho-orthographical, and comparative textological studies of the Turov Gospel. It will only make it easier for researchers to navigate the vast bibliography of the monument and slightly reduce the burden on the historiographical presentation on this or that aspect of the study of the manuscript. After all, the analysis of the bibliography is the cornerstone of all scientific research, allowing us to trace the peculiarities of the coverage of considerations on various issues throughout the entire chronological period of the study of the manuscript, because previous studies, in one form or another, provided the basis and direction for the studies of subsequent researchers; some previously expressed assumptions gradually became statements without critical analysis, some factual errors were accepted on faith and replicated in subsequent works of researchers.

* Translated by Anatol Laskowski.

Looking ahead, I will note that so far there has not been a single scientific study of the Turov Gospel, in which the bibliography would be covered as fully as possible, not to mention its analysis. Often, the researcher used two or three works, and the rest was simply uncritically copied from the bibliography lists indicated by other scholars, replicating misprints and errors. This resulted in the fact that, despite the small number of preserved folios, the Turov Gospel is a manuscript in which many issues still remain controversial. Even regarding the time and place of its discovery, as well as the persons who were involved in it, there are different views in historiography.

Therefore, these essays are intended to shed light on some controversial issues or at least trace the formation in time, from the first to the last works, of different interpretations of the fate of the monument itself. In presenting the material, I have chosen the principle of coverage in chronological order, since this is the principle that is currently the basis for presenting bibliographies in codicological descriptions of monuments. That is, the presentation of the material resembles a chronicle coverage of events. If a publishing project dragged on for several years – and such publications related to the Turov Gospel also took place – then the lower date is taken as the beginning, and the upper one is indicated through a dash. In case of referring to certain works of authors in the text, the author's surname and the year of publication will be indicated. The bibliography list, compiled according to the thematic-alphabetical principle, published in this edition, will serve as auxiliary material for readers.

Having given comments on the external forms of presentation of the material, I consider it appropriate to give some comments on the content. Indeed, given that the Turov Gospel was studied by representatives of different scientific schools at different times, who used the terminology adopted then and there, it is worth clarifying some points regarding the meaning of certain terms that I will use in the article, for the purpose of unification and their correlation with the terms present in the works considered below.

I. Introductory Remarks on the Used Terminology

In modern Ukrainian scientific literature on the definition of the correct name of the language in which Slavic manuscripts of the 10th–11th centuries are written, the term *Church Slavonic language of the Ukrainian recension*[1] has gained a certain spreading. This definition will be used by me in relation to the language of the Turov Gospel in the following pages of the article. However, this term has other names in the historiography of other scientific schools; therefore, in order to avoid confusion for the reader, we will analyze these differences below.

Let us start with the first part of the term – *Church Slavonic language*. In Russian – first imperial, later Soviet and post-Soviet literature – the term *Old Church Slavonic language* or *Common Church Slavonic language*, which was used in relation to written monuments of that period, became more widespread. Since a number of countries spent part of their historical development in the grip of the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union, this term also became widespread in the scientific community of national schools of those countries that were part of it. This terminology is still used today. In addition, the dominant positions of Russian terminology resulted in the spread of this term among western scholars who had the opportunity to familiarize themselves mostly with the works of Russian philologists. However, under the influence of Bulgarian historiography, the term *Old Bulgarian language* is also found, which also became widespread in western philology. All these names are present in the works of the authors, which are the object of historiographical study.

In my opinion, the term *Church Slavonic language* is the most successful in relation to medieval Slavic manuscript monuments written in two graphic systems – Cyrillic and Glagolitic. After all, it emphasizes the specificity of its functioning as one of the languages of Christian peoples, allowed for use in Divine Liturgy by Pope Adrian II in 868[2], whose decision was later confirmed by Pope John VIII in 880[3]. And although in the future, the issue of Divine Liturgy in the Slavonic language was in a difficult state for a long time – there was a period of reaction – however, the impetus given in those years contributed to the further development of writing primarily from the position of church needs. Approximately a century later, this impetus reached the territory of the Ukrainian medieval state – Rus', after its baptism by the Kyivan Grand Prince Volodymyr Svyatoslavych. Naturally,

1 For a review of historiography regarding the term, see, e.g.: Наєнко Г. Українська редакція церковнослов'янської мови в парадигмі сучасної лінгвістики // Slavia Orientalis. 2022. T. LXXI, № 4. S. 779–795; Наєнко Г. Східнослов'янські редакції церковнослов'янської мови крізь призму українського мовознавства // Slavia Orientalis. 2023. T. LXXII, No. 3. S. 529–545.

2 Život sv. Konstantina, řečeného Cyrilla (Legenda Ponnonská) // Fontes rerum Bohemicarum I: Vitae Sanctorum et aliorum quorundam pietate insignium. I. Kapitel: Leben des hl. Konstantin (Pannonische Legende). Praha, 1873. S. 35.

3 Латински извори за българската история. Т. II. София: Изд. на Българските академия на науките, 1960. С. 173–176.

for the spread of Christianity in the state, it was necessary to provide the newly created temples and monasteries with appropriate book production.

This process was accelerated by books written in Church Slavonic, which was generally understandable to most of Volodymyr's subjects. The father's policy was supported by his successor on the princely throne, his son Yaroslav. In the first half of the 11th century, a powerful scriptorium functioned in the St. Sophia Cathedral, in which the prince, as the chronicler writes in the entry under 6545 (1037), "собра писцѣ многъı и прекладаше ѿ Грекъ ѝ Словѣньскоє писмо · и списаша книгъı многъı" ('gathered many scribes and they translated from Greek into Slavonic script and copied many books'), further including reflections on the benefits "ѿ оученьıа книжного" ('of book learning')[4].

In the process of expanding the number of books written in Church Slavonic (Old Church Slavonic / Common Church Slavonic / Old Bulgarian) language, the copyists of the scriptorium (and later the scriptoriums) mostly unconsciously introduced into the text the elements of the spoken language they used in everyday life. And gradually the number of such inclusions grew, modifying the Church Slavonic original. Thus, the Church Slavonic language was undergoing redaction in accordance with the linguistic features of the region in which these monuments were copied. It is here that we encounter the problem of the nomenclature of this redaction for our territory. The simplest, at first glance, is to give a name according to the name of the state where this book was transcribed.

In historiography, the names of the medieval Ukrainian state vary quite a bit, here we can see simply "Rus'", or "Kyivan Rus'", or "Rus'-Ukraine", or "Old Rus'". Since the word "Rus'" is found in all of the above, the term *Rus'ian / Old Rus'ian / Early Rus'ian recension* for the manuscript monuments written on these territories involuntarily comes to mind. However, I believe that such a term is inappropriate in this case for several reasons.

The term *Rus'ian recension* is widely and persistently used in relation to medieval written monuments by representatives of Russian historiography, as well as pro-Russian national historiographies – Ukrainian and Belarusian. This term is also used in Western historiography, formed under the influence of Russian-language scientific literature. Such spread is due, among other things, to the fact that in the Russian language there has been a semantic merger of the words "Russian" and "Rus'ian", which are conveyed by one and the same adjective, which sounds like "Rus'ian". Accordingly, in the interpretation of Russian philologists, *Rus'ian recension* is unambiguously perceived as *Russian recension*. In this regard, the interpretation by the Russian philologist Nikolai Durnovo of the "Russian language"

4 Полное собрание русских летописей, издаваемое постоянною историко-археографическою комиссиею Академии наук СССР. Т. 1: Лаврентьевская летопись, вып. 1: Повесть временных лет. Изд. 2. Ленинград, 1926. Стлб. 152.

in a broad sense as "the language of the entire Russian people or of all Eastern Slavs in all their diversity – local, class, or functional"[5], is telling.

The term *Old Russian recension* became particularly widespread under the influence of Soviet historical science in the post-war era (after World War II). This time is characterized by the active rocking by Russian scientific functionaries of the "cradle of three fraternal peoples – Russian, Ukrainian and Belarusian", with the clear dominance of the first, which was assigned the role of the "elder brother". Accordingly, manuscript monuments written in various scriptoria of different cities of Ukraine-Rus' in the 11th–13th centuries were declared the "common heritage" of these three peoples, and therefore became monuments of the Old "Rus'ian (= Russian) language". Researchers from the "fraternal" republics occupied by the Russian Soviet Empire – the Ukrainian or Belarusian SSR, had to always keep in mind the understanding of this "commonality" when studying monuments of medieval historical and cultural heritage.

The work of the Ukrainian literary scholar Leonid Makhnovets is indicative in this regard. While compiling the first volume of the bio-bibliographic dictionary *Ukrainian Writers*, he had to include the following telling passage in his preface:

"The literature of the 11th–13th centuries, that is, the period of Kyivan Rus', is the common heritage of the three fraternal East Slavic peoples – Russian, Ukrainian, and Belarusian. During this period, when there was one Old Rus'ian nation, one statehood, the literature had few distinct local features, and therefore, for example, *The Lay of Igor's Campaign*, created by a South Rus'ian on the territory of present-day Ukraine, as well as a number of other monuments of this period, are attributed to all three literatures. Accordingly, therefore, the works written, for example, in Turov (now Belarus) or Novgorod, the second centre of Kyivan Rus' and now a regional city of the RSFSR, should also be attributed to all three literatures"[6].

Gradually, the development of this idea of a "common cradle" even led to the emergence and spread, mainly in Russian and pro-Russian national historiographies – Belarusian and Ukrainian, of the term *Old Rus'ian language*. This term meant a language that was declared common to the entire population of the state of Rus'; in this linguistic community, several *dialectal zones* were distinguished, while recognizing that they generally did not affect the "unity" of the Old Rus'ian language, and only after the fragmentation by the Batu invasion, in the territories of the weakened former Rus', on the basis of "dialects of Old Rus'ian language", in the 14th–15th centuries were formed three East Slavonic languages – Ukrainian, Belarusian

5 Дурново Н. Н. Введение в историю русского языка. Москва: Наука, 1969. С. 8, 25, 27.

6 Українські письменники. Біо-бібліографічний словник. Т. І: давня українська література (XI–XVIII ст.) / уклав Л. Є. Махновець. К.: Держ. вид-во художньої літератури, 1960. С. 7.

and Russian[7]. The artificiality and politicization of this construction of the "common heritage" of Rus' long outgrew the purely philological and historical studies, turning into an instrument of ideological propaganda of Ruscism (the current form of Russian Nazism) within the framework of the anti-Ukrainian rhetoric of supporters of the concept of the "Russian World", which has already been noted by researchers[8].

However, the use of the terms "Rus'ian" and "Old Rus'ian" to designate the recension of the Church Slavonic language in our territories in the Middle Ages is inappropriate because of the modern negative political colouring of these philological twists. The nomenclatures of both come from the polyethnonym "Rus'", which referred to the population that lived in the territories of this state. Indeed, in political terms, the specific principalities were subordinated to the Grand Prince of Kyiv, although often such subordination became purely nominal. Meanwhile, this subordination maintained a certain political unity of the medieval state of Grand Prince Volodymyr and his descendants. However, such political unity did not mean the ethnic and linguistic unity of the population of the territories subordinate to the Kyivan prince. Simply put, the political subordination of the specific principalities to the Grand Prince of Kyiv did not mean that they all spoke the same language. In fact, given the traditions established in historiography, the terms "Rus'ian" or "Old Rus'ian" in relation to the edition of the Church Slavonic language *de facto* emphasize such unity. Therefore, in my opinion, the most appropriate way to describe the regional influence on the latter is to use the term *Ukrainian recension*, since this term covers the entire period of development of our language, regardless of its nomenclature in written sources of different periods[9].

That is why, for manuscript monuments of the period of the 11th–14th centuries, it is appropriate to use the terminology denoting the "Church Slavonic language" recension, taking into account the features inherent in the Ukrainian, Belarusian or Novgorodian languages.

In the latter case, it should not be confused with the one called the Russian (but actually Muscovite) language, because about this recension of the Church Slavonic language

7 See, e.g.: Иванов В. В. Древнерусский язык // Большой энциклопедический словарь. Языкознание. Изд 2-е, репринтное, Москва: Большая российская энциклопедия, 1998. С. 143; Хабургаев Г. А. Древнерусский язык // Языки мира: Славянские языки. Москва: Academia, 2005. С. 418–438. See also: Лопатин В. В., Улуханов И. С. Русский язык // Языки мира: Славянские языки. Москва: Academia, 2005. С. 448–449; Жовтобрюх М. А., Модован А. М. Украинский язык // Языки мира: Славянские языки. Москва: Academia, 2005. С. 517. Бирилло Н. В., Мацкевич Ю. Ф., Михневич А. Е., Рогова Н. В. Белорусский язык // Языки мира: Славянские языки. Москва: Academia, 2005. С. 553.

8 See, e.g.: Ковалів П. Основи формування української мови в порівнянні з іншими східнослов'янськими мовами. Нью-Йорк; Париж; Сідней; Торонто, 1959 (Записки наукового товариства ім. Шевченка, т. CLXVIII; Збірник філологічної секції, т. 29); Moser M. New Contributions to the History of the Ukrainian Language. Edmonton; Toronto, 2016. P. 3–36; Moser M. The late origins of the glottonym "русский язык" // Russian Linguistics. International Journal for the Study of Russian and other Slavic Languages. 2022. Vol. 46, iss. 3. P. 365–370.

9 See, e.g.: Шевельов Ю. Історична фонологія української мови. Харків: Акта, 2002. С. 44–47.

we can only speak from the 14th–15th centuries[10]. Its final consolidation occurred after a series of wars between the Muscovites and Novgorodians, when the Moscow Prince Ivan III destroyed the Novgorod independence in 1478 and relocated most of the Novgorodians to Moscow. Almost a century later, his insane grandson, Ivan IV the Terrible, practically completely exterminated the city's population and plundered it in the winter of 1569–1570, thus completely destroying the speakers of the "Old Novgorodian dialect", which Russian philologists themselves very cautiously admit[11]. This is how the Muscovite language became established, which later, as a result of the Russians stealing the term "Rus'" for the name of their state, gradually began to be called the "Russian language" (= "Rus'ian language"); and this term has now become widespread.

It is worth noting that at the beginning of the 20th century, after Ukraine gained independence, the use of the term "Muscovite language" increased in parallel with the use of the term "Russian language"[12]. Unfortunately, the subsequent occupation of the Ukrainian state and its inclusion in the Soviet Russian Empire – the USSR – interrupted the establishment of this term in the scientific literature, returning to the already familiar "Russian language".

I believe that at least with regard to the nomenclature of the Church Slavonic language recension, it is necessary to use terminology that will reflect the specifics of these influences on the territories of various principalities that were once united around the great Kyivan prince within the Ukrainian medieval state – Rus', and on which the corresponding languages were later formed: *Ukrainian, Belarusian, Novgorodian* and later – *Muscovite*.

Regarding the *Muscovite recension*, it is worth remembering that we can talk about it only from the 14th century. However, it is known that in Russian historiography and other national historiographies that were somehow influenced by the Russian one, for the period of the 11th–12th centuries, the terms "Rus'ian language", "Old Rus'ian language" or "single Rus'ian language" are used in relation to the language/ recension, emphasizing the illusory unity of the "three brotherly peoples". Therefore, the use of the term *Muscovite recension* in this context would significantly confuse the reader, because we can talk about it only from the 14th century, and the Turov Gospel dates back to the 11th century. Therefore, in relation to our manuscript, when reviewing the works written by Russian researchers, the use of the term "Muscovite recension" would be incorrect.

10 Лопатин В. В., Улуханов И. С. Русский язык. С. 449.

11 Зализняк А. А., Шевелёва М. Н. Древненовгородский диалект // Языки мира: Славянские языки. Москва: Academia, 2005. С. 444.

12 See e.g.: Дубровський В. Московсько-українська фразеольогія. К., 1917; Дубровський В. Словник московсько-український. К.: Рідна мова, 1918; Дубровський В. Словник українсько-московський. Вид. 6-те. К.: Рідна мова, б. р.; Євтимович В. Московсько-український словник для військових. К.: Друкарня Головної шкільної управи Військового міністерства, 1918; Короткий московсько-український словник судівництва та діловодства. 2-ге доп. Полтава: Вид. Полтавського українського правничого товариства, 1918; Леонтович В., Єфимов О. Московсько-український правничий словничок. К.: Друкар, 1919.

After all, for the 11th–13th centuries, regarding monuments copied in the territory of Rus', we can speak of three main recensions of the *Church Slavonic languag*e; let me remind you, these are *Ukrainian*, *Belarusian*, and *Novgorodian*. So, in order to emphasize the incorrectness of the terms listed above in Russian and other historiographies regarding the Russian/Muscovite recensions, in this article such names will be put in quotation marks – *"Old Rus'ian" recension*. This will mean the use of incorrect terms by Russian and pro-Russian researchers, such as the interpretation in their works that the Turov Gospel of the 11th century is considered as a monument of the "Russian/Muscovite language" that did not exist at that time. Therefore, when reviewing the bibliography in order to unify the various terminologies present in the analyzed works, I will use the corresponding names of the Church Slavonic language recension, which will be based on the above-described names of Slavonic languages, which, according to researchers, are present in the text of the Turov Gospel.

II. Sensational Find: History of Discovery and Further Fate of the Manuscript

The Turov Gospel became the focus of scientific studies approximately in the mid-1860s. The manuscript got its name from the fact of its discovery in the town of Turov, the then Mozyr district of the Minsk province. This is actually the fact on which all the information available in the bibliography converges. After all, various books provide information on the concrete church in Turov, the year the manuscript was discovered, and the number of "discoverers" differently. Among the versions presented in scientific works, the place of discovery is mostly called the Transfiguration Church, but one can also find a version about its being in the St. Elijah's Church. Within the framework of the chronology, we can find mentions of 1864, 1865, or 1866 as the time the manuscript was discovered. Ultimately, the discoverers of the monument are called Nikolai Sokolov, he and Vasiliy Gryaznov, or Simeon Lisitsky. Let us consider all these versions sequentially within the framework of chronology.

Chapter 1. Five Versions of the Discovery of the Turov Gospel

As already noted above, there are several different versions in the bibliography, in which the circumstances of the discovery of the manuscript are narrated differently.

Version 1. ***From Ivan Kornilov: Discovery of the Manuscript in 1864 by N. Sokolov and V. Gryaznov in the Church of the Transfiguration of Our Saviour***

The earliest date of discovery of the Turov Gospel – 1864, is contained in a handwritten note by the trustee of the Vilna Educational District Ivan Kornilov, a quote from which is cited by the Russian researcher Leonid Alekseev in his essays on the history of archaeology and local history of Belarus:

"During the holidays of 1864, N. Sokolov and the drawing teacher of the Vilna gymnasium, V. Gryaznov, while touring the Minsk province for scientific purposes, found in the city of Turov on the Pripyat, in the old wooden church of St. Transfiguration, several precious parchment folios of the Church Slavonic Gospel of the 11th century. The Gospel is kept in the Vilna Library".[13]

13 Алексеев Л. В. Археология и краеведение Беларуси XVI в. – 30-е годы XX века / под ред. академика Б. А. Рыбакова, Минск: Беларуская навука, 1996. С. 128, прим. 82. The original document to which Alekseev refers is, of course, currently unavailable to me for study. Here and below, the texts written in Moscow are translated into Ukrainian by me.

The author of this note was Ivan Kornilov, the trustee of the Vilna Educational District, who headed the relevant department on February 3, 1864[14]. One of the important tasks of Kornilov as a trustee was to strengthen archaeographic, ethnographic, and archaeological research in the region, which "confirms the indisputable primordial right to the Western region of the Russian word and Russian writing", so that "everyone could be convinced that Polish and all other literature is newly arrived, not folk, forcibly imposed, which has no legal right to prevail".[15]

It was precisely for these chauvinistic imperial motives that the Russian official, who was awarded, among other things, medals "for the capture of Warsaw" and "in memory of the suppression of the Polish uprising of 1863–1864", launched a real hunt for ancient monuments in the Educational District entrusted to him, which then covered the territories of the Vilna, Grodno, Minsk, and Kaunas provinces of the Russian Empire, which in the official's mouths was called "the scientific and literary activity". His subordinates were to write down folk tales, visit ancient monasteries and churches, search for antiquities, "take pictures and photographs", and at the same time acquire for the library[16] "old prints, manuscripts, and antiques"[17].

It was during the performance of such tasks that the teachers Nikolai Sokolov and Vasiliy Gryaznov, mentioned in Kornilov's note, discovered pages of the 11th-century handwritten Gospel in Turov.

However, this could hardly have happened in 1864, as stated in Kornilov's note. After all, if Gryaznov took up the position of junior teacher of drawing, drafting and calligraphy at the Vilna gymnasium on July 22, 1864[18], then Sokolov became a full-time teacher in the district only on January 9, 1865[19]. Therefore, "during the vacation time" of 1864, he could not have taken part in the mentioned expedition. Apparently, Kornilov made a mistake in the note in determining the year of the discovery of the Turov Gospel. Therefore, the first version contains contradictory points in terms of chronology, so it cannot be accepted.

14 Памятная книжка Виленской губернии на 1864 год (по 26 марта 1864 г.). Вильно, 1864. С. 60.

15 15 Корнилов И. Русское дело в северо-западном крае. Материалы для истории Виленского учебного округа преимущественно в Муравьевскую эпоху. Издание второе, проверенное и дополненное (посмертное). Выпуск первый. Санкт-Петербург, 1908. С. 404.

16 It is said here about the Vilna Public Library, founded on the initiative of I. Kornilov in 1865.

17 Корнилов И. Русское дело в северо-западном крае. С. 343–344.

18 Памятная книжка Виленской губернии на 1865 год. Составлена, с разрешения начальства, Виленским губернським статистическим комитетом. Вильна, 1865. С. 75.

19 Памятная книжка Виленской губернии на 1866 год. Составлена, с разрешения начальства, Виленским губернським статистическим комитетом. Вильна, 1866. С. 87.

Version 2. ***From Pyotr Hiltebrandt: Discovery of the Manuscript in 1865 by N. Sokolov in the Church of the Transfiguration of Our Saviour***

As already noted above, Sokolov took up the position of part-time teacher of the Vilna Educational District in January 1865, so it would be quite logical to assume that in the same year he made a trip around the district during the holidays.

This version is set out in the preface to the publication of the text of the Turov Gospel, made in 1869 by the Assistant Head of the Vilna Central Archives, Pyotr Hiltebrandt. He noted that the manuscript was discovered in 1865, in the second year of Kornilov's management of the Vilna Educational District[20]. A little further along in the text, in his "brief notes on the Turov Gospel", Hiltebrandt noted that it was discovered by Sokolov who was sent on an archaeological trip by Kornilov; and it was Sokolov who first guessed that it was an 11th-century manuscript[21].

Kornilov himself briefly mentions this trip and discovery in a note he wrote in 1868 regarding "Moscow scientific and literary activity in the provinces of the Vilna Educational District since 1864". The document contains a phrase concerning the Turov Gospel: telling that since 1865 teachers had been sent on missions to collect antiquities, he noted that "the part-time teacher N. I. Sokolov brought from Turov, among other items, several leaves of the 11th-century chartion Gospel with notes on them by Prince Kostiantyn Ivanovych Ostrozky and two handwritten books in the Belarusian dialect: Menaion for the month of December and spiritual poems"[22]. Important information on this issue is contained in the review by historian Mikhail Koyalovych of four issues of the "Archaeographical Collection of Documents", published on the initiative of the trustee of the Vilna Educational District. This work remains little known to researchers of the Turov Gospel; individual archaeographers[23] paid attention to it. However, it contains information that is missing in other works:

"…Every summer, persons selected by the trustee were sent to search for and, if possible, acquire manuscripts and incunabula. Thus, in 1865, the part-time teacher N. I. Sokolov travelled, among other things, to the Minsk province, where – namely in Turov, he found a fragment of the Gospel of the 11th century and other manuscripts. In 1866, the same Sokolov travelled to the Supraśl Monastery to study the local library, some of the monuments from which are published in V.I of the Collection"[24].

---

20 Гильтебрандт П. А. Туровское Евангелие одиннадцатого века. I. Краткое известие о Туровском Евангелии. II. Древний текст с современным насупротив, и с отменами по Остромировому Евангелию. Издание книгопродавца-печатника И. Г. Сыркина. Вильна, 1869. С. III.

21 Ibid. С. VIII.

22 Корнилов И. Русское дело в северо-западном крае. С. 343–344.

23 Улащик Н. Н. Очерки по археографии и источниковедению истории Белоруссии феодального периода. Москва: Наука, 1973. С. 150.

24 Коялович М. [Рец.] Археографический сборник документов, относящихся к истории Северо-Западной Руси, издаваемый при управлении Виленского учебного округа. Томы 1–4. Вильна, 1867 г. // Журнал Министерства народного просвещения. 1868. Часть CXL (четвертое десятилетие), октябрь. С. 225.

Thus, we have information from several sources indicating the discovery of the Gospel in 1865. However, since researchers of the Turov Gospel used the works of Hiltebrandt, it was from his work that this year became widespread in historiography[25].

However, the unconditional acceptance of this seemingly incontrovertible version is hindered by the fact that it contradicts the information of the author of the find – Sokolov.

Version 3. ***From Nikolai Sokolov: Discovery of the Manuscript in 1866 by Sokolov in the Church of the Transfiguration of Our Saviour***

Sokolov dated his find to a different year – 1866[26]. It is this year that is indicated in the note he personally wrote to the lithographic edition of the manuscript by the Vilna Educational District. This document was sent to the participants of the First Archaeological Congress, held in Moscow on March 19–26, 1869, by the former trustee of the Vilna Educational District, Kornilov, together with his own covering letter dated March 19, 1869. Both documents were published somewhat later in the proceedings of the congress[27].

25 Добрянский Ф. Описание рукописей Виленской публичной библиотеки, церковно-славянских и русских. Вильна, 1882. С. 1; Иконников В. С. Опыт русской историографии. Т. 2, кн. 1. К., 1908. С. 258; Никольский Н. Материалы для повременного списка русских писателей и их сочинений (X–XI вв.). Корректурное издание. Санкт-Петербург, 1906. С. 488; Огієнко І. Пам'ятки старослов'янської мови X–XI віків. Історичний, лінгвістичний і палеографічний огляд з повною бібліографією та альбом 155 знімків з пам'яток з кирилівською транскрипцією. Варшава: Друкарня Синодальна, 1929. (Огієнко І. Історія церковнослов'янської мови. Т. 5; Студії до української граматики, видають І. Огієнко та Р. Смаль-Стоцький, кн. V). С. 139; Тот И. Х., Хоргоши Э., Хорват Г. Туровские листки // Dissertationes Slavicae. Slavistische Mitteilungen. Материалы и сообщения по славяноведению. XIII. Szeged, 1978. С. 181; Куев К. М. Съдбата на стробългарските ръкописи през вековете. София: Наука и изкуство, 1979. С. 20; Сводный каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг, хранящихся в СССР. XI–XIII вв. Москва: Наука, 1984. С. 51; Тот И. Х. Русская редакция древнеболгарского языка в конце XI – начале XII вв. Диссертация на соискание ученой степени доктора филологических наук. Сегед, 1984. URL: https://doktori.bibl.u-szeged.hu/id/eprint/9698/1/1984_h_toth_imre.pdf (accessed 08.06.2025). С. 18; Тот И. Х. Русская редакция древнеболгарского языка в конце XI – начале XII вв. София: Изд. Болгарской АН, 1985. С. 20; Богданова С. Туровско Евангелие. Индекс на словоформите // Годишник на Софийския университет «Климент Охридски». Факултет по славянски филологии. Кн. 2 Езикознание. Т. 79, 2. 1985. София, 1991. С. 75; Нікалаеў М. Палата кнігапісная. Рукапісная кніга на Беларусі ў X–XVIII стагоддзях. Мінск: Мастацкая літаратура, 1993. С. 20; Запаско Я. П. Пам'ятки книжкового мистецтва: українська рукописна книга. Л.: Світ, 1995. С. 158; Szótár-index az óbolgár nyelv XI–XII. századi orosz másolatú emlékeihez. Словарь-индекс русской редакции древнеболгарского языка конца XI – начала XII в. Приложение. Тот И. К. Источники. Сегед, 1997. С. 16; Wierzchowska M. Warstwy cech fonetycznych w «Ewangeliarzu turowskim» z XI wieku na tle problemu jego pochodzenia // Dziedzictwo przeszłości związków językowych, literackich i kulturowych polsko-bałtowschodniosłowiańskich. T. V: Badania filologiczne. Białystok, 2000. S. 221–222; Нікалаеў М. Тураўскае Евангелле // Энцыклапедыя гісторыі Беларусі. У 6 тамах. Мінск: Беларуская энцыклапедыя імя Петруся Броўкі, 2001. Т. 6, кн. 1: Пузыны – Усая. С. 541; Нікалаеў М. Тураўскае Евангелле // Беларуская энцыклапедыя ў 18 тамах. Мінск: Беларуская энцыклапедыя, 2003. Т. 16: Трыпалі – Хвіліна. С. 37; Крутова М. С. Рукописи XI–XIV веков со специальными названиями // Записки Отдела рукописей / Российская государственная библиотека. Вып. 53. Москва: Пашков дом, 2008. С. 10–11; Лысенка П. Распаўсюджванне хрысціянства на Тураўскай зямлі // Тураў. Тураўскае Евангелле. Мінск: БелЭн, 2004. С. 117; Ляўшун Л. Тураўскае Евангелле // Тураў. Тураўскае Евангелле. Мінск: БелЭн, 2004. с. 159; Mironowicz A. Życie religijno-kulturowe w eparchii turowskiej do końca XV wieku // Białoruskie zeszyty historyczne / Беларускі гістарычны зборнік. Białystok, 2011. № 35. S. 7; Лысенка П. Тураўскае княства. Гістарычны нарыс // Тураўскае Евангелле = Туровское Евангелие = Turaŭ Gospel. Факсімільнае узнаўленне. Даследаванні. А. А. Суша (агулн. рэд.). Мінск: Нацыянальна бібліятэка Беларусі, 2014. С. 40.

26 Туровское Евангелие одиннадцатого века. Издание Виленского учебного округа. Санкт-Петербург: Литографии Бермелеева при Археографической комиссии, 1868.

27 Письмо И. П. Корнилова к В. В. Вельяминову-Зернову // Труды Первого Археологического съезда в Москве 1869. Т. 1. Москва, 1871. С. 108–110; Туровское Евангелие одиннадцатого века (Издание Виленского учебного округа. СПб. 1868.

In the note, Sokolov wrote that, on Kornilov's orders, in 1866 he made a trip to the "town of the Minsk province" – Turov, where he was welcomed by the local Orthodox clergy, as a result of which the rector of the Transfiguration Church in Turov, Father Zheleznyakovsky, with the assistance of the dean of the Mozyr district, priest Simeon Lisitsky, handed over to the trustee of the Vilna Educational District these 10 "bound in a spine" parchment folios[28]. At the same time, Sokolov emphasized: according to Father Zheleznyakovsky, in his childhood he remembered that initially the number of folios was much larger, but he does not know where they went[29].

Actually, if we follow up the career of the part-time teacher Sokolov at the Vilna Educational District, his trip "during the vacation time" of that year is quite possible, since he held this position from the beginning of 1865 until September-October 1866, when a certain rotation took place and the positions of part-time teachers were taken by other persons[30]. However, the review of M. Koyalovich clearly indicates that in the summer of 1866 Sokolov worked in the library of the Supraśl Monastery, and travelled to Turov in the summer of 1865[31]. Therefore, it is likely that 1866 appeared as a result of a slip of the pen or misprint during the setting in type of the "Notes".

Although Sokolov's note was included in the bibliography of descriptions of the Turov Gospel, however, the year of discovery of the manuscript indicated in it was not so often included in descriptions or mentions of the monument[32].

It is noteworthy that Sokolov does not mention participation in Gryaznov's expedition at all. Instead, there is testimony from Gryaznov who attributed to himself the main role in the discovery of the Turov Gospel. This may indicate the existence of a conflict between the two participants of the expedition regarding the right of the "discoverer" of such an important and resonant monument as the Turov Gospel of the 11th century. And this brings us to one more version.

Литография Бермелеева при Археограф. комиссии). Записка Н. И. Соколова // Труды Первого Археологического съезда в Москве 1869. Т. 1. Москва, 1871. С. 111–113.

28 Туровское Евангелие одиннадцатого века. Записка Н. И. Соколова. С. 111–112.

29 Ibid. С. 112.

30 Памятная книжка Виленской губернии на 1867 год. Составлена, с разрешения начальства, Виленским губернським статистическим комитетом. Вильна, 1867. С. 87.

31 Коялович М. [Рец.] Археографический сборник документов. С. 225.

32 Лысенко П. Ф. Туровская земля IX–XIII вв. Минск: Беларуская навука, 1999. С. 227; Лысенко П. Ф. Древний Туров. Минск: Беларуская навука, 2004. С. 8, 110. It is noteworthy that later Lysenko nevertheless switched to recognizing the date of discovery of the Turov Gospel as 1865, not 1866. For works by other authors about 1866, see: Шулежкова С. Г. Хрестоматия по старославянскому языку. Тексты. Словарь. Фоноприложение. 2-е изд. Москва: ФЛИНТА; Наука, 2012. С. 134.

Version 4. ***From Pompey Batyushkov: Discovery of the Manuscript in the 1860s by V. Gryaznov, with the Participation of N. Sokolov, in the Church of the Transfiguration of Our Saviour***

Pompey Batyushkov replaced Kornilov as trustee of the Vilna Educational District on March 13, 1868[33]. In general, Batyushkov continued the policy of his predecessor, encouraging the activities of his subordinates in matters of establishing the "primordial" affiliation of this region to the Russian Empire. Since Batyushkov was interested in the history and archaeology of the district entrusted to him, he could not ignore such a significant monument of antiquity as the Turov Gospel.

Regarding the version of the discovery of the manuscript, it is set out in Batyushkov's work "Belarus and Lithuania. Historical Fates of the North-West Territory", published in 1890. In the book, he included a depiction of one of the folios of the Turov Gospel[34] (fol. 1v[35]), and in a note to it he provided interesting details about the circumstances of the discovery of the manuscript:

"While examining the Turov Transfiguration Church together with the local priest and an official of the Educational Department, Sokolov, the artist Gryaznov noticed among the church trash a large wooden box filled with coal; interested in it, Gryaznov poured out the coal and found among the ancient manuscripts an ancient book, which turned out to be the Gospel of the 11th century"[36].

Such details are not mentioned in the works of other researchers, and they are also absent in Sokolov's "Note". Of course, we can assume that the information provided by Batyushkov was invented, not by him personally, but by Gryaznov who had the opportunity to tell his guardian about it. After all, while Batyushkov held this position (until October 24, 1869, when he was replaced by Nikolai Sergievsky[37]), Gryaznov continued to work at the Vilna gymnasium as a teacher of drawing and calligraphy[38].

So did Gryaznov invent such details, or did they really take place? The latter option seems more likely. The emphasis on Gryaznov's own leading role that it was he who drew attention to this box, and the silence on this matter of Sokolov who does not mention the teacher of drawing at all, indicates, in my opinion, a clear conflict between the two participants of the expedition. Having brought the manuscript to Vilna, Sokolov had the

33 Памятная книжка Виленской губернии на 1869 год. Вильна, 1869. С. 70.

34 Батюшков П. Н. Белоруссия и Литва. Исторические судьбы Северо-Западного края. С одной хромолитографией, 99 гравюрами и картой. Санкт-Петербург, 1890. С. 11.

35 Here and below, the folio numbers are given according to the modern numeration.

36 Батюшков П. Н. Белоруссия и Литва. Примечания. С. 152. Two other manuscript books – the December Menaion and spiritual poems mentioned by Kornilov: Корнилов И. Русское дело в северо-западном крае. С. 344.

37 Памятная книжка Виленской губернии на 1870 год. Издание Виленского губернского статистического комитета (с картой Виленской губернии). Вильна, 1870. С. 80.

38 Памятная книжка Виленской губернии на 1869 год. С. 73; Памятная книжка Виленской губернии на 1870 год. С. 83.

opportunity to present it personally to the trustee Kornilov, which he apparently took advantage of, appropriating the laurels of the discovery to himself and pushing Gryaznov into the shadow. And only the absence of the part-time teacher Sokolov from the staff of the Educational District Administration, and the management of the district by Batyushkov who was interested in the antiquities of the region, gave Gryaznov the opportunity to tell the circumstances of the discovery of the Turov Gospel, which were later described. And such details could have been described only by an eyewitness of the events. Although Batyushkov did not specify the year of the discovery of the Gospel, in historiography one can find a combination of this and Hiltebrandt's versions; according to it, the discovery of the manuscript occurred in 1865 with the participation of Sokolov and Gryaznov[39].

Version 5. ***From Yuri Labyntsev: Discovery of the Manuscript by Simeon Lisitsky and its Transfer in 1865 to Nikolai Sokolov from the St. Elijah's Church***

Four previous versions regarding the circumstances of the discovery of the Turov Gospel were published in the 19th century, but the fifth appeared recently – at the end of the 20th century. Its author is the Russian philologist Yuri Labyntsev.

According to this version, Sokolov was transformed from an active participant in the expedition into a "courier" to whom the ancient manuscripts, including the Turov Gospel, were handed over for Kornilov by Simeon Lisitsky, the archpriest of the Turov St. Elijah's Church.

According to Labyntsev, when Kornilov began his activity in the search for antiquities in the Vilna Educational District, Lisitsky "responded enthusiastically to the appeal" and began active search activities. In the process of his activity, he found the ancient Gospel, which until then could have been either in private hands (probably with some representative of the Turov Jewish community) or in one of the other Turov churches. Lisitsky actually took this monument to the St. Elijah's church, of which he was the "archpriest" and which was "considered the main one". And when the "most competent employee" of the trusteeship, Sokolov, arrived from Vilna, Lisitsky handed him the precious manuscript. Labyntsev made this conclusion on the basis that "the dean Fr. Simeon Lisitsky had at his disposal a whole series of currently unknown documentary sources, which he generously shared with all interested persons", and "some of them, including the originals, he transferred to scientific and church institutions of Belarus, including Minsk"; and then, Labyntsev writes about Lisitsky's work on the history of Turov and the Turov region, for

39 Шумейко М. Ф. Археография: курс лекций. Минск: Изд-во БГУ, 2005. С. 170; Шумейко М. Ф. Белорусская археография в XIX–XX вв. (Проблемы теории, истории, методики). Минск: БелНИИДАД, 2007. С. 204–205; Позднякова Н. В. Туровское Евангелие и его фразеологический корпус. Индекс устойчивых словесных комплексов Архангельського и Туровского Евангелий. Магнитогорск: Изд. гос. техн. ун-та им. Г. И. Носова, 2015. С. 85.

which he used a number of documents available only to him, and notes that the archpriest paid much attention to the education of children and that many of them studied at the St. Elijah's Church[40].

It is easy to see that all of Labyntsev's constructions regarding the circumstances of the discovery of the Turov Gospel are based on very arbitrary assumptions, not always supported by sources, and the real information about the manuscript concerns only the fact that Sokolov brought it from Vilna in 1865. This information is taken from Hiltebrandt's introduction to the edition of the Turov Gospel, realized in 1869.

Sokolov's "Note", published in the "Works of the Archaeological Congress", in which he presents his own version of the expedition, remained unknown to Labyntsev. But it is in it that the surname of Lisitsky is mentioned, thanks to whose assistance the rector of the Turov Church of the Transfiguration of Our Saviour, Zheleznyakovsky, handed the manuscript to Sokolov. The presence of the archpriest of the St. Elijah's Church should not be surprising, since the archpriest Simeon Lisitsky was also a dean of the Mozyr district of the Minsk province[41]. This administrative position, which he held from November 30, 1856[42], effectively obliged Father Simeon to oversee order in the district of the Minsk diocese entrusted to him; so he could not ignore the arrival in Turov of such important guests as Sokolov and Gryaznov, who were searching for antiquities in the churches of the part of the diocese entrusted to him. So Lisitsky indeed, in a certain sense, undoubtedly contributed to the discovery of the ancient manuscript and its transfer to Vilna, but no more than that. The claim that it was he who found the Turov Gospel and transferred it to the St. Elijah's Church, where it "awaited" Sokolov's arrival, has no source confirmation.

Despite the superficial nature of Labyntsev's version and the lack of clear arguments to substantiate it, it so captivated the Rivne local historian Andriy Klymchuk that he translated parts of Labyntsev's article into Ukrainian and, without any reference to the original source, included it in his own review work on the Turov Gospel[43].

***

The analysis of all five versions, which prompted us to pay more attention to the circumstances related to the discovery of the Turov Gospel and the figures who were involved in

40 Лабынцев Ю. Туровское Евангелие как особо чтимая святыня во времена Константина Острожского. Вестник Белорусского экзархата: Альманах. Т. 1. Благоверный князь Острожский / под ред. А. А. Петрашкевича. Минск: Изд-во Бел. Экзархата, 1998. С. 79–81; Лабынцев Ю. А. Новое о Туровских евангелиях // Матэрыялы Першых кнігазнаўчых чытанняў. (Мінск, 15 верасня 1998 г.) / склад. Т. І. Рошчына, Мінск: Национальная библиотека Беларуси, 2000. С. 39–44; Лабынцаў Ю. А. Новае аб Тураўскіх Евангеллях // Тураўшчына: Мінулае, сучаснасць, будучыня. Вып. 3 / редкал. П. Ф. Лысенка (гал. ред.). Тураў; Мінск: Беларуская навука, 2004. С. 161–162.

41 Памятная книжка Минской губернии на 1866 год, составленная Минским губернским статистическим комитетом. Минск, 1866. С. 142.

42 Памятная книжка Минской губернии на 1867 год. Издание статистического комитета. Минск, 1867. С. 70.

43 Климчук А. Турівське Євангеліє – видатна пам'ятка давньоруської писемності // Історія та сучасність Православ'я на Волині: матеріали VII науково-практичної конференції (Луцьк, 8 листопада 2016 р.). Луцьк, 2016. С. 179–180.

this discovery in one way or another, allows us to present the history of the discovery of the manuscript in the following form.

During the vacation of 1865, Nikolai Sokolov, a part-time teacher of the Vilna Educational District, and Vasily Gryaznov, a drawing teacher at the Vilna gymnasium, were sent on a business trip to search for antiquities that would prove the "historical rights of the Russian Empire to the south-west region".

The itinerary of Sokolov and Gryaznov's business trip included a visit to the then small town of Mozyr district of the Minsk province – Turov. Here they were accompanied by the dean Simeon Lisitsky, archpriest of the St. Elijah Church. With the participation of Lisitsky, who was friendly towards the guests from Vilna, they got acquainted with the antiquities of Turov, and in the Church of the Transfiguration of Our Saviour they discovered a number of manuscripts, including an ancient Gospel of the 11th century. These manuscripts were hidden in a wooden box among the church rubbish and covered with coal, but Gryaznov drew attention to this box and, shaking out the coal, "found" the ancient books. With the assistance (or rather the insistence) of Lisitsky, the archpriest of the Transfiguration Church, Father Zheleznyakovsky, had to give the "guests" the discovered books and tell all the information he knew about the ancient Gospel. The fact that such valuable ancient books were hidden in a box among church rubbish and even covered with coal indicates Father Zheleznyakovsky's intentions to hide them and leave them in Turov.

The motives for this act could be very different: from regional patriotism to preserve valuable manuscripts in the city and in the church with which they are associated, to a banal desire to sell them to some collector for a considerable sum. The available source base does not allow us to confidently establish such motives.

Zheleznyakovsky's "reliable" hiding place was exposed by "visitants", so the manuscripts, contrary to the will of the archpriest, were sent to Vilna. The fact that the transfer was not made "voluntarily" is also indicated by the Father's passing mention that, supposedly, in his childhood there were much more pages of the manuscript, but he does not know where they went. The thing is that this information contradicts the fact mentioned by Sokolov – that 10 folios were "bound in a spine", that is, they had a cover. Further studies of the cover, carried out during the restoration of the Turov Gospel in 1962-1963, although conditionally, allowed us to attribute it to the 17th century. It is unlikely that Father Zheleznyakovsky lived so long. Most likely, the mention of the presence of a larger number of folios that "disappeared unknown" was intended to at least somewhat dampen the joyful enthusiasm of Sokolov and Gryaznov – as though, what you took away is only a pitiful crumb of what was there.

Later, between the members of the "expedition" themselves – Sokolov and Gryaznov, a conflict arose over who had the main role in the discovery of these parchment folios of the Cyrillic text of the 11th century. After all, formally Gryaznov found them, but Sokolov was senior in the group. Sokolov, who was close to the trustee, was able to tip the scales in his favour, receiving the laurels of the discoverer of the Turov Gospel. Gryaznov was removed to the shadows, from which he was able to emerge only under the new trustee Pompey Batyushkov and the absence of the part-time teacher Sokolov from the Educational District Administration staff. However, this happened later – after Hiltebrandt's version of Sokolov's main role in discovering the manuscript was spread in historiography.

Shortly after the manuscripts were transported to Vilna, they ended up in the Manuscript department of the Vilna Public Library. Here, a prominent place was given to the "handwritten parchment Gospel of the 11th century, belonging to the Turov Transfiguration Church", on the pages of which there are two entries by Prince Kostianyin Ostrozky, made in 1508 and 1513. We can see a mention of this on the pages of the report of the Vilna Library for 1867[44].

Chapter 2. The Forced Emigration and the Return Home: the History of the Turov Gospel in the 20th Century

From the moment of being placed in the storage of the Manuscript department of the Vilna Public Library, the Turov Gospel was in Vilna until the events of the beginning of the First World War of 1914–1918. After a series of defeats suffered by the Russian army, representatives of the Russian occupation authorities of the western provinces of the empire began to flee to the east. At the same time, under the guise of evacuation of cultural values from the front-line territories, the most valuable ancient objects began to be taken out.

The Vilna Public Library was not spared this fate. The Muscovites took out 835 parchment and 2,000 paper handwritten monuments, all 16th-century incunabula and engravings, and an alphabetical catalogue; the taken out valuables "temporarily" settled in the library of the Rumyantsev Museum[45]. Among the "evacuated" manuscripts was the Turov Gospel.

44 Отчет о Виленской публичной библиотеке и музее за 1867 р. Вильна, 1868. С. 10.

45 Rigiel S. Sprawa zwrotu mienia kulturalnego Wileńszczyzny z Rosji // Ateneum Wileńskie: czasopismo naukowe poświęcone badaniom przeszłości ziem W. X. Litewskiego: wydawnictwo III Wydziału Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk w Wilnie. R. 2, z. 5–6, Wilno 1924. S. 178. In 1924, the museum library was transformed into the "Russian Public Library named after V. I. Ulyanov (Lenin)",in the following year it was renamed as the "State Library of the USSR named after V. I. Lenin"; now the institution is called the "Russian State Library".

In the 1920s and 1930s, rumours circulated that the manuscripts of the Vilna Public Library had been taken to Yaroslavl, where the Turov Gospel had burned down along with other manuscripts in 1917[46]. I assume that the source of these rumours was the Muscovites themselves, who were preparing the ground for another theft of historical heritage so as not to return these monuments to Vilna, which was then part of Poland.

Indeed, during the 1920s and 1930s, the issue of restitution of cultural values "evacuated" from Vilna was one of the acute diplomatic issues between the Polish and Russian Soviet governments[47]. The acuteness of the issue disappeared only as a result of the occupation of the territories of the Polish state by the Nazi and Soviet totalitarian regimes of Hitler and Stalin in September 1939. This marked the beginning of the Second World War of 1939–1945. After its end, the three Baltic countries (Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia) "voluntarily", and in fact as a result of the occupation, became part of the Soviet Union. The city of Vilna, and then already Vilnius, became the capital of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic.

The second occupation of Lithuania by the Russian Soviet authorities raised the issue of the return of historical and cultural heritage items taken from there in 1915. Since the Russian authorities considered these republics "unified forever", most of the removed monuments were already returned to Vilnius in 1945–1946 (some a little later).

In 1946, after a 36-year "evacuation", the 11th-century Turov Gospel was returned to the Central Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Lithuanian SSR[48]. The manuscript is kept there to this day, and the institution is now called "The Wróblewski Library of the Academy of Sciences of Lithuania". The manuscript has the code "F 19-1".

46 Огієнко І. Пам'ятки старослов'янської мови. С. 141. Перетц В. Н. Рукописи библиотеки Московского университета, Самарских библиотеки и музея и Минских собраний. Ленинград: Изд-во АН СССР, 1934. С. 6.

47 Rigiel S. Sprawa zwrotu mienia kulturalnego Wileńszczyzny z Rosji. S. 159–182; Biblijoteki Wileńskie. Praca zbiorowa pod red. A. Łysakowskiego. Wilno, 1932. S. 5.

48 Lietuvos TSR mokslų akademijos Centrinė biblioteka / sud. A. Ivaškevičius. Vilnius. 1959. P. 25–26; Rankraščių rinkiniai: Lietuvos TSR Mokslų akademijos Centrinės bibliotekos XI–XX amžių rankraščių fondų trumpa apžvalga / sud. V. Abramavičius. Vilnius: Laikraščių ir žurnalų l-kla, 1963. P. 60; Petrauskienė V. Rusų rankraštinė knyga Lietuvos bibliotekose // Rusų knygos spausdinimo pradžia ir Lietuva. Vilnius: Mintis, 1966. (Bibliotekininkystė ir bibliografija, t. III). P. 44

III. A Century and a Half of Scientific Studies: Publications and Research on the Turov Gospel

As already noted above, 10 parchment folios have survived from the ancient manuscript of the Gospel. They contain texts from three chronological periods.

The original text of the 11th century is on folios 1–2, 3–10v. It is written in one column, with 18 lines per page. When there is a title on a page, it occupies two lines, so on such pages the text has 17 lines. Folio 2v has remained blank. It is likely that during the writing of the Gospel readings this page was left without text – for an illumination here. However, it was not made. As the only decoration of the preserved part of the manuscript, we can name the titles, eleven initials and one horizontal headpiece.

At the beginning of the 16th century, two donation charters of Kostiantyn Ivanovych Ostrozky, his wife Tetiana, and son Ilya were recorded on the pages of the Gospel, according to which the Church of the Transfiguration of Our Saviour in Turov was granted certain property. The writing of such charters on the Gospels kept in the church was a common occurrence for that period[49]. One of them was written on a blank page – fol. 2v (1513), and the other – on the margins of fol. 6v.

In addition, at the end of the 18th century, on the margins of fols. 2v, 6v–7, and 7, notes were written in Polish, confirming the property granted by the Ostrozkys to the Turov Church. That is, they attested to the authenticity of these charters.

All these texts from different periods were the object of meticulous attention of researchers, although their scientific interest decreased as the records "rejuvenated". Of course, the primary text of the monument aroused more interest. Below we will consider the works related to scientific studies of the Turov Gospel in chronological order.

Chapter 1. Three Pillars on the Study of the Turov Gospel: Sreznevsky, Bermeleev, Hiltebrandt

Sokolov's discovery of the Turov Gospel in 1865 had, to some extent, the effect of a bomb exploding in the scientific community of the then Russian Empire. Moreover, it became known about the existence of a new previously unknown medieval Cyrillic manuscript of princely times, which could probably be dated to the 11th century. It is therefore not surprising that the trustee of the Vilna Educational District, Kornilov, who, thanks to an incredible find, found himself in the focus of attention of scholars, made every effort to involve the most authoritative researchers of that time in the study and publication of the

49 See, e.g., the charters on the pages of the Lutsk Gospel of the 14th century: Корнієнко В. В. Українські грамоти XV ст. на сторінках Луцького Євангелія XIV ст. // Ucrainica Mediaevalia. 2021. Vol. 4. С. 288–301.

manuscript. I assume that on Kornilov's initiative, the study of the monument began practically as soon as ten parchment folios appeared on the shelves of the Manuscript department of the Vilna Public Library. The first publications of the Turov Gospel appeared in 1867, and by the beginning of the 1870s, the first research stage was generally completed. During this time, the works of Izmail Sreznevsky, Ivan Beremeleev, and Pyotr Hiltebrandt were published, which introduced the monument to scientific circulation. Their works became the basis for all further studies of the monument; so, without exaggeration, these scholars can be considered the three pillars (in this field) on whom the entire subsequent bibliography of the Turov Gospel was and continues to be based. That is why the works of these three scholars are worth considering in more detail.

***

The First Pillar: Izmail Sreznevsky

The monument was officially presented to the scientific community of the Russian Empire by the authoritative linguist ***Izmail Sreznevsky***. This took place in St. Petersburg on May 11, 1867, at a session of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in the Department of Russian Language and Literature. *Sreznevsky* presented to the members of the academy part of the work he had conceived, entitled "Information and Notes on Little-Known and Unknown Monuments". Among a number of such monuments, a manuscript was discovered in Turov in 1865. At that time, the manuscript had not yet received its now well-known proper name, "The Turov Gospel". *Sreznevsky* presented it as a "Fragment from the Book of Gospel Readings of the 11th Century"[50].

A small part of the text entitled "Fragment from Another Russian Book of Gospel Readings, 11th Century", identified as belonging to Kornilov and found "somewhere in Western Russia", was published by *Sreznevsky* in the appendices to *Zapiski* (Notes) of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in the same 1867. Later, studies of the manuscript were continued, and over a period of time *Sreznevsky* published the full text of the monument. However, before proceeding to the analysis of scientific works, it is worth highlighting certain specifics of the publication of the then research of the St. Petersburg philologist.

His work "Information and Notes on Little-Known and Unknown Monuments" was published for more than one year, periodically supplemented by texts from new manuscripts. Usually, such a publication would go through several editions at the initiative of the author himself. The first was the publication in the appendices to a certain volume of "Notes" – a periodical of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences. Then the same text of "Information and Notes on Little-Known and Unknown Monuments" was published in

50 Записки императорской Академии наук. Том 11. Санкт-Петербург, 1867. С. 223–224.

the "Collection of Articles Read in the Department of the Russian Language and Literature of the Imperial Academy of Sciences", which later became known as the "Collection of the Department of the Russian Language and Literature of the Imperial Academy of Sciences". And then *Sreznevsky's* "Information and Notes on Little-Known and Unknown Monuments" was published in a separate edition. Usually, the same pagination was maintained. All three publications often appeared in the same year, but it happened that they were published in different years. This should be taken into account when studying the bibliography of authors who refer to *Sreznevsky's* works published in this way.

1867

As already noted, it was this year that *Sreznevsky's* first publication of "Fragment from the Gospel Readings" took place. In his "Information and Notes", the monument was listed under the number XXXIII. The work was first published in the appendix to the 11th volume of the "Notes" of the Academy of Sciences[51], a little later in the first volume of the "Collection of Articles Read in the Department of Russian Language and Literature", issue IV[52], and then in a separate edition[53]. All of this is dated by the same year, all publications retain the same pagination; therefore, in the following, references will be made to the first edition.

Before publishing the text, *Sreznevsky* provided brief information about the monument, describing the physical condition of the manuscript. It was noted that the fragment that remained from the Gospel Readings, written in quarto, has dimensions of 4×<5 vershoks (approximately 17.78 × 22 cm), the text is written in elegant single-column uncial so that less than ½ of vershok (approximately 2.2 cm) remains on the inner (to the spine) and outer upper margins, and up to 1 vershok (less than 4.4 cm) on the other two margins; the number of lines on the page is 18, they are not located at the same distance from each other, but are sometimes wider, sometimes denser; the initials ("painted letters") are made in red and black or red and blue, light and dark; sometimes ink strokes are visible under the paint, which, like in ancient manuscripts, have a light yellow colour[54]

Regarding grapho-orthographical and palaeographic observations, *Sreznevsky* noted that in terms of the form of writing the letters, the monument is closest to the Ostromir Gospel of 1056–1057 and the Pandects of Antiochus of the 11th century. At the same

51 Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки о малоизвестных и неизвестных памятниках // Записки императорской академии наук. Т. 11. Санкт-Петербург, 1867. Приложение № 2. С. 30–33

52 Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки о малоизвестных и неизвестных памятниках // Сборник статей, читанных в отделении русского языка и словесности императорской Академии наук. Т. 1, № 6, 7, 8, 9. Вып. IV. Санкт-Петербург, 1867. С. 30–33.

53 Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки о малоизвестных и неизвестных памятниках. I–XL. Санкт-Петербург, 1867. Вып. 4. С. 30–33.

54 Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки. 1867. С. 30.

time, precisely for the latter has a bent the manuscript under study, in which the *yuses* (ѧ and ѫ) are often mixed with оу and ꙗ, which is incorrect, but such a spelling is still not often found in the monument. So, on the whole, the monument complies with the rules of the Church Slavonic language, only with slightly corrupt misspellings of the local scribe. At the same time, certain differences were noted with the manuscripts mentioned above. *Sreznevsky* noted that our manuscript differs from the Pandects of Antiochus in that the iotated ѥ is written here not only with a dot – ѥ̇, but also with / in front – ꙗѥ̇. Differences were also highlighted with the Ostromir Gospel, *Sreznevsky* singled out two of them: a) the constant use of a dot over vowels not only iotated, but also over those that begin a syllable (ꙗ̇ко, а̇ще, своеꙗ̇)[55]; b) a small number of different readings in the spelling of words, the most important of which is the use of the adjective иноуѧдъ (fol. 10v – сн҃а и҃н҃ //) instead of ꙗединоуѧдъ. Based on the grapho-orthographical and palaeographic features of the monument, *Sreznevsky* dated the time of the appearance of the manuscript to the 11th century[56].

As for the place of writing of the manuscript, *Sreznevsky* ignored it. We can assume that if he compared the manuscript with the monuments that were considered to have been created in Novgorod at that time – the Ostromir Gospel[57] and the Pandects of Antiochus[58] – then he also considered our Gospel to be a Novgorod monument. However, *Sreznevsky* did not state anything definite about this.

On the following pages, the original text of the 11th century was published, placed on folios 3–3v and 10–10v[59] In this publication, *Sreznevsky* was interested in the ancient text as such; he did not indicate a division into specific Gospel readings, which in the first case covered Mt. 24:40–44 and Mt. 25:14–23 (the last verse is not complete), and in the second Lk. 6:34–36 (the first verse is not complete), Lk. 5:27–32 and Lk. 7:11–12 (the last verse is not complete). The original text was presented by *Sreznevsky* according to the principle of "line by line, letter by letter", with the preservation of all superscript marks.

In parallel, for comparison, *Sreznevsky* cited a similar text from the Ostromir Gospel of 1056–1056 according to the above-mentioned 1843 edition of Alexander Vostokov. If there were different readings in both texts, *Sreznevsky* presented them directly in the text in brackets with the sign "=".

55 Here and below will be given only a few examples available in the works of researchers.

56 Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки. 1867. С. 30–31.

57 Остромирово Евангелие 1056–57 года с приложением греческого текста Евангелий с грамматическими объяснениями, изданное А. Востоковым. Санкт-Петербург, 1843. С. II.

58 Амфилохий архимандрит. Исследование о Пандекте Антиоха XI века, находящимся в Воскресенской Новоерусалимской библиотеке. С таблицей оттиснутых букв, резанных на пальме в 1859 г. Удостоенное Демидовской премии в 1863 году в 714 р. с. Москва, 1880. С. 98.

59 Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки. 1867. С. 31–33.

For a better understanding of the look of *Sreznevsky's* publication, I will give an excerpt from the text he published, lines 1–4 on folio 3:

"тогда дъва бѫдета (= бѫдета дъва) на селѣ. ѥдинъ
поѥмлеть. а дроуг!ѝ ѡставлѩѥ
тьсѧ. дъвѣ мелюци въ жрьнъва (=жрънъва–)
хъ. ѥдина поѥмлѥтьсѧ. ѝ ѥдина"[60]

It is worth noting that in some moments *Sreznevsky* was inaccurate in copying letters, which some researchers would pay attention to in due course. For example, in the quoted passage the word поѥмлеть is given with an error, since in the original it is written as поѥмлѥть. At the same time, this publication was of great importance for introducing the monument into scientific circulation.

1868

This year, *Sreznevsky* published the next work, devoted to a review of the monuments with the "*yus* script", one of which was the Turov Gospel. In this work, it appeared as the "Turov Book of Gospel Readings of the 11th Century". This work was published in the third volume of the "Collection of Articles Read in the Department of the Russian Language and Literature"[61], later published as a separate monograph[62].

In his work, *Sreznevsky* repeated the previously mentioned thesis that the Gospel belongs to the group of monuments that are written according to all the rules of the Church Slavonic language, with only minor interference from copyists who, copying the protograph on the territory of Rus', hardly ever destroyed the consistency of the language with their slips of the pen[63].

To illustrate this thesis, *Sreznevsky* published part of the Gospel Readings, starting from fol. 5 to fol. 10v (but without the last 7 lines)[64]. As in the work of 1867, Sreznevsky was more interested in the text itself as such; he did not indicate the corresponding readings, given in the published passage in the following sequence: Mt. 25:1–13, Mt. 15:21–28, the precept on fol. 6v, Lk. 4:31–26, Lk. 5:1–11, Lk. 5:17–26, Lk. 6:31–36, Lk. 5:27–32.

When publishing, Sreznevsky changed the principle of presenting the material: the text was no longer presented "line by line", but the "letter by letter" writing with the preservation

60 Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки. 1867. С. 31. For both different readings given by Sreznevsky, see: Остромирово Евангелие 1056–57 года. Арк. 83зв.

61 Срезневский И. И. Древние славянские памятники юсового письма с описанием их и с замечаниями об особенностях их правописания и языка // Сборник статей, читанных в отделении русского языка и словесности императорской Академии наук. Т. 3. Санкт-Петербург, 1868. С. 168–172.

62 Срезневский И. И. Древние славянские памятники юсового письма с описанием их и с замечаниями об особенностях их правописания и языка. Санкт-Петербург, 1868. С. 168–172.

63 Ibid. С. 168.

64 Ibid. С. 168–172.

of superscript marks remained. And this edition no longer provided the different readings as in the Ostromir Gospel. However, the insertions in the text still remained, but now they indicated the incorrect spelling of the yuses in the text.

For example, in this edition the text published by *Sreznevsky* looked like this:

"Въ врѣмѧ ѻно. стоѩ́ (вм. стоѩ́) бѣ Гсъ при ѥ́зерѣ Генисарѣ́тьстѣ. и видѣ дъва кораблица стоѩщиа (вм. стоѩщиа) при ѥ́зерѣ"[65].

It is worth noting that this publication also allowed certain inaccuracies in the copying of individual letters. For example, in the text on fols. 10–10v "и бѣ наꙋ̊//дъ мъногъ · мытари · и инѣхъ иже бѣа́хѫ съ нимъ възлежащіе" instead of мъногъ was printed многъ, instead of бѣа́хѫ was printed бѣаа́хѫ, instead of съ нимъ was printed съ ними. However, despite such inaccuracies, *Sreznevsky's* work was still a significant step forward on the path to the publication of the monument.

1873–1876

In fact, with this work of *Sreznevsky*, there is the greatest confusion in the bibliography.

Often, researchers refer to this work of *Sreznevsky* with the publication of the Turov Gospel, allegedly placed under number LXV on pp. 105–136 of the 3rd appendix of the 20th volume of the "Notes of the Imperial Academy of Sciences", published in 1871[66]. However, in this volume one cannot find information about the Turov Gospel of the 11th century on "pp. 105–136", because appendix 3 of this volume ends on p. 104, with the text "Greek Iberian Pilot Book of the 9th–10th centuries" – No. XLIV according to *Sreznevsky's* numeration. This actually corresponds to the content placed in this appendix[67]. However, the general content for book 1 of the 20th volume of "Notes" indicates that "Information and Notes" should be placed on pp. 1–140 of the appendix[68], but the book content for the entire volume (in book 2) of "Notes" indicates the correct number of pages – 1–104[69].

After all, another portion of his "Information and Notes on Little-Known and Unknown Monuments", where under number XLV are placed "*The Turov Gospel Leaves* of the 11th Century", was published in 1873[70], in the appendix to volume XXII of "Notes" of the Academy of Sciences[71].

65 Срезневский И. И. Древние славянские памятники юсового письма. С. 170. Текст з арк. 7зв., рядки 3–5.

66 Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки о малоизвестных и неизвестных памятниках // Записки императорской Академии наук. Т. 20. Санкт-Петербург, 1871. Приложения. № 3.

67 Ibid. С. 1.

68 Записки императорской Академии наук. Т. 20. Санкт-Петербург, 1871. Оглавление книжки 1-й тома XXI. С. [II].

69 Записки императорской Академии наук. Т. 20. Санкт-Петербург, 1871. Оглавление двадцатого тома XXI. С. [II].

70 However, this reference is incorrect, as this volume publishes only part of the appendix, ending with "Greek Iberian Pilot Book of the 9th–10th centuries" (No. XLIV according to Sreznevsky's numeration). At the same time, the number of pages in the appendix varies: while in the general contents of the volume "Information and Notes" should occupy pages 1–140 of the appendix.

71 Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки о малоизвестных и неизвестных памятниках // Записки императорской Академии наук. Т. 22. Санкт-Петербург, 1873. Приложения. № 3. С. 105–136.

The following year, 1874, these same "Information and Notes" were republished in the 1st issue of the 12th volume of the "Collection of the Department of Russian Language and Literature"[72].

In 1875, the general XII volume of the "Collection of the Department of Russian Language and Literature" was published, which included the 1st and 2nd issues[73].

Finally, in 1876, these "Information and Notes" were published in a separate edition[74].

Thus, the same work by *Sreznevsky* was published four times in different years, so in the bibliography to the Turov Gospel, one can find a reference to one of these four editions that was at hand with the researcher[75]. However, the pagination remained the same everywhere; I will give a reference to the first edition of 1873.

In general, as *Sreznevsky* himself notes, his work was prepared earlier, but due to various circumstances he was able to publish it only three years later, after the appearance of the works of two other pillars – Bermeleev and Hiltebrandt[76].

In the introductory part, *Sreznevsky* mentioned his two previous editions of the "Turov Leaves", so he did not stop at describing the physical condition of the manuscript, but immediately began to publish the full text of the 11th century, placed on fols. 1–2 and fols. 3–10v[77]. Actually, here again the principles of the publication were somewhat changed. The text was printed "line by line, letter by letter", with all superscript marks preserved.

It is worth noting that the mistakes mentioned above (on fol. 10v) in this text were corrected, but some occurred again. If we turn to the last line of this very fol. 10v, then in the phrase "изношаахѫ ѹмьрѣша · сн҃а йн҃ //" instead of ѹмьрѣша is printed ѹмьрьша, that is, with a soft ь,and not with a hard one. These nuances, seemingly trifles, are very important for philological studies.

Actually, after the publication of the text itself, *Sreznevsky* gave some explanations regarding the preserved part of the monument. He determined that from the ancient Aprakos Gospel, three separate fragments of the original text have been preserved:

1) a fragment that consists of one folio (fol. 1–1v) and is the second half of the reading for Thursday of the 5th week after Easter and the beginning of the reading for Friday of the same week; these are the readings of John 10:1–9 and John 10:17–20;

72 Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки о малоизвестных и неизвестных памятниках // Сборник Отделения руського языка и словесности императорской Академии наук. Том XII, № 1. Санкт-Петербург, 1874. С. 105–136.

73 Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки о малоизвестных и неизвестных памятниках // Сборник Отделения руського языка и словесности императорской Академии наук. Том XII. Санкт-Петербург, 1875. С. 105–136.

74 Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки о малоизвестных и неизвестных памятниках. XLI–LXXX. Санкт-Петербург, 1876. С. 105–136.

75 Sometimes, as was noted, reference is made to the 1871 edition, but this is the result of a mistake.

76 Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки. 1873. С. 107, прим.

77 Ibid. С. 107–117.

2) a fragment that consists of one folio (fol. 2) and is the middle part of the reading for Tuesday of the 6th week after Easter; this is the reading from John 12:27–34;

3) a fragment that occupies the last eight folios (fols. 3–10v) and includes the end of the reading for Saturday of the 16th week after Pentecost and the full reading for Sunday, for Saturday and Sunday of the 17th week, for Saturday and Sunday of the 1st and 2nd weeks of the Beginning of the Church year, for Saturday of the 3rd week and the beginning of the reading for Sunday of the 3rd week; these are the passages Mt. 24:40–44, Mt. 25:14–29, Mt. 25:1–13, Mt. 15:21–28, Lk. 4:31–36, Lk. 5:1–11, Lk. 5:17–26, Lk. 6:31–36, Lk. 5:27–32, Lk. 7:11–12[78].

Sreznevsky somewhat expanded his own observations by comparing the manuscripts of the Turov Gospel with the monuments of the 11th century, which are close in time – the Ostromir Gospel of 1056–1057, the Izborniks of 1073 and 1076, and the Menaia of 1096 and 1097. As we can see, for some reason the Pandects of Antiochus were excluded from this list, but *Sreznevsky* did not explain in any way the reasons for the exclusion of this manuscript.

In his observations on the forms of writing letters, *Sreznevsky* mentioned that our monument is closest to the Ostromir Gospel. At the same time, he noted that the form of writing some letters is still closer to the Izbornik of 1076 (ѕ) and to the Izbornik of 1073 (ѯ and ѹ). The Gospel is similar to the latter, as well as to the Menaia of 1096 and 1097, in that the copyist actively uses a superscript mark – a dot over vowels (а҃зъ, о҃но, о҃ужасъ). The Gospel is also similar to both Menaia in that it exclusively uses щ instead of шт, and also uses titlo more often in words like ѿ (отъ), р҃е (рече). However, the frequent use of ѫ and ѭ, mostly correct, to a greater extent corresponds to the same phenomenon in the Ostromir Gospel and the Izbornik of 1073, since in Menaia, instead of them, оу and ю are already used. The above observations allowed *Sreznevsky* to conclude that the manuscript discovered in Turov is younger than the Ostromir Gospel of 1056–1057, but older than the Menaia of 1096–1097[79].

Sreznevsky focused in quite some detail on the peculiarities of the writing of *yuses* in the Gospel, in particular on their erroneous use, which indicates the involuntary intervention in the text by a copyist from the territories of Rus'. Examples of such editing, according to *Sreznevsky*, are as follows: writing ѫ instead of оу (имоуцѫоумоу, вѫй, вѭа҃ѣѧ) or оу instead of ѫ (прйимоу, имоуцѫоумоу), ю instead of ѭ (мелюци), ѧ instead of ѣ (овьцамъ, распьрѧ, всакоѧ҃), ѣ instead of ѣ (имѣѭа҃и, ѣ҃хомъ)[80]. It is worth noting that in fact *Sreznevsky* listed the different readings here, which he gave in brackets in the 1868 edition.

In addition to the erroneous use of *yuses*, the hand of the local copyist, according to *Sreznevsky*, is evident by his use of є instead of ъ (вѫдете, по средъ), the paleophonic -ере-

78 Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки. 1873. С. 124.
79 Ibid. С. 120.
80 Ibid. 1873. С. 121.

instead of -ꙗ҇ѣ- (сереⷣро), the writing ж instead of жд (ꙗожьства, пр҇ѣ), as well as the omission of ъ and ь (мнози), the use of о instead of ъ (тогда, гласом), є instead of ь (шєдъ), ъ instead of ь (гласомъ, страхомъ), ь instead of и (татые), ѣ instead of є (хананѣиска, зеведѣова), є instead of ѣ (вьсьдє), и instead of ии (бл҃готворящимъ)[81].

The copyist's errors were listed separately (writing видать instead of вѣдать, вьсж instead of вьсиж)[82].

Sreznevsky wrote that if these copyist's errors were eliminated, we would obtain the Church Slavonic language in its purest form.

Having examined in detail all these errors and slips of the pen, *Sreznevsky* republished the readings of the "Turov Leaves". Moreover, in this case, he divided the publication into three passages, according to the preserved parts of the text, after which he gave the corresponding Gospel reading in each passage, indicating the corresponding chapter and verses in front of it (according to the Langton-Etienne division), and the numbers of the latter were entered in brackets directly to the text. And although here *Sreznevsky* deviated from the principle of "line by line", he nevertheless preserved the principle of "letter by letter" with the preservation of superscript marks. In parallel with the text of the "Turov Leaves", under the original text, common and different readings were given with the oldest known at that time copies of the Gospels – Ostromir, Zograf, Vatican (Assemani), etc.[83] These different readings were given in two columns: the left one indicated the same reading, and the right – the different one. For the convenience of the reader, I will give an example of such a comparison:

Text of the Turov Gospel (fol. 1v): "· сего ради ма о҆ц҃ь люв҃//ть ·"

17. сего ради. Zogr., Ostr., Vat. = сего дѣла. Voskr.[84]

It is noteworthy that even in this passage there were differences not only between the published text and the original, but even between the two published texts. For example, in the phrase on fol. 10v "· нъ гр҇ѣшьникъ въ покаа́ниѥ" the last word was rendered in the first version as покаа́ниѥ and in the second as покаꙗ́ниѥ[85].

In addition to the original text of the 11th century, *Sreznevsky* also included in his work the publication of the marginalia of the beginning of the 16th century on fols. 2v and 6v. The first was a charter dated February 10, 1513, which said about the donation by Prince Kostiantyn Ostrozky, his wife Tetiana, and son Ilya of property to the Church of the Transfiguration of

81 Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки, 1873. С. 121–122.
82 Ibid. С. 122.
83 Ibid. С. 123–134.
84 Ibid. С. 124.
85 Ibid. С. 117, 134.

Our Saviour in the city of Turov. It occupied a free page of fol 2v. The second charter, dated May 2, 1508, was on the pages of fol. 6v; it said about the donation on behalf of the same persons of property to the same Transfiguration Church in Turov. *Sreznevsky* arranged both donation charters in chronological order – first of 1508, and then of 1513[86], while adhering to the principle of "line by line, letter by letter" with the preservation of superscript marks.

Sreznevsky considered these records to be important evidence that they accurately fix the presence of the Gospel in Turov at the beginning of the 16th century, as well as the fact that at that time the manuscript was intact, it was carefully preserved, and therefore the corresponding entries of the donation charters were made on the pages[87]. These marginalia were an important historical source for the history of the Ostrozky family and Turov itself, because the certificate of 1508 clearly recorded the time when Kostiantyn Ivanovych Ostrozky received Turov into his possessions, which had previously been owned by Mykhailo Lvovych Glinsky who had been deprived of his property for treason and going over to the Moscow prince[88].

The existence of Polish-language corroborating notes from the 18th century, which were on the margins of fols. 2v, 6v–7 and 7, was not mentioned in *Sreznevsky's* work.

Although with the publications of the 1870s *Sreznevsky* completed the introduction of the full text of the manuscript monument into scientific circulation, we must nevertheless conclude the review of his work in this direction by mentioning two more works that are often found in the bibliography for the Turov Gospel.

1882

This year, *Sreznevsky's* description of written monuments from the 11th–14th centuries was published, in which he provided brief information about them, including the Turov Gospel. They were placed in the section "before 1100", by which *Sreznevsky* outlined the upper chronological limit of the probable appearance of the manuscript. The manuscript appeared under the title "The Book of Gospel Readings, called the Turov Gospel after the place where it was found". The article briefly mentioned the size of the manuscript and the number of pages preserved. It was further stated that the text was published twice; in Part II of "Information and Notes on Little-Known and Unknown Monuments" (pp. 107–117 and pp. 123–124), moreover, it was underlined: after the original. Among other works, Hiltebrandt's edition of 1869 was mentioned[89].

86 Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки. 1873. С. 118–119.
87 Ibid. С. 120.
88 Ibid. С. 135–136.
89 Срезневский И. И. Древние памятники русского письма и языка (XI–XIV веков). Общее повременное обозрение. Второе издание. Санкт-Петербург, 1882. Стлб. 37.

1885

Another work by *Sreznevsky* with a mention of the Turov Gospel, to which one can find references in the bibliography, is his course of lectures on palaeography, which he read at St. Petersburg University in 1865–1880. Here, indeed, in the list of monuments of the 11th century, in the text of which there is no indication of the time of writing, the "Book of the Gospel readings" is mentioned (fragment), 2 folios in quarto, at Kornilov's. At the same time, *Sreznevsky* referred to his work in 1867[90].

***

Thus, within several years, *Sreznevsky* prepared and introduced into scientific circulation the full text of the Turov Gospel of the 11th century. At the same time, since in the 1867 edition the monument had the number XXXIII, and in 1873–1876 – XLV, in the bibliography, researchers sometimes confused both monuments (for example, Volkov). Similarly, certain readings different from the original, even at the level of publication within the same article, somewhat reduced the significance of this publication for studying the peculiarities of the language of the manuscript, which is important for clarifying the origin of the Gospel. The last issue was not reflected in *Sreznevsky's* works, except for the fact that the monument written in Church Slavonic was copied in the territory of Rus' in the second half of the 11th century. However, despite certain shortcomings, *Sreznevsky's* considerations regarding the grapho-orthographical and palaeographic features of the monument, as well as the approach he applied to the publication of the text with different readings according to the oldest lists of Gospel readings, were accepted by the scientific community and continued to develop in the studies of other researchers. Thus, *Sreznevsky* became the first pillar in the study of the 11th century Turov Gospel.

The Second Pillar: Ivan Bermeleev

1868

Sreznevsky's work concerned the introduction into scientific circulation of the text of the Turov Gospel, but for other areas of scientific studies (grapho-orthographical, palaeographic, decorative) it was necessary to have the original manuscript at hand. It was in the Manuscript department of the Vilna Public Library, which created certain difficulties for the work of scholars working in other cities of the Russian Empire. Therefore, the trustee of the Vilna Educational District, Kornilov, felt the need to make the monument more accessible. To solve this problem, the Educational District began preparations for a chromolithographic edition of the Turov Gospel. To produce the images of the pages, a St. Petersburg artist was

90 Срезневский И. И. Славяно-русская палеография XI–XIV веков. Лекции, читанные в императорском С.-Петербургском университете в 1865–1880 гг. Санкт-Петербург, 1885. С. 129.

invited, who worked for some time at the Academy of Sciences, taking part in a number of expeditions[91], and as of 1868, having the title of collegiate assessor, worked at the Archaeological Commission[92]. This was ***Ivan Bermeleev***.

It is possible that the choice of the artist of the lithographic copies was made at the suggestion of Sreznevsky, who was working with the monument at that time, through Afanasiy Bychkov, who was considered an authority in the field of bibliography, archaeography and palaeography, combining his work in the Public Library with work in the Archaeological Commission, where he managed the affairs at the time of the discovery and scientific study of the Turov Gospel[93]. Therefore, it is likely that it was through Bychkov that the task of preparing the lithography was given to the artist of the Archaeological Commission, *Bermeleev*. However, I believe that the choice fell on him not only by the will of circumstances due to his work in the commission, but also because *Bermeleev* himself was interested in ancient books; he had a rather large valuable library. Oddly enough, the evidence of this is connected with Kyiv.

It is known that *Bermeleev's* library contained a collection of incunabula fragments collected under a single binding of the Bible of 1557, published in Geneva by Robert Etienne the Elder. And among these fragments was a rare and unknown edition of Johannes Gutenberg, entitled "Provinciale Romanum", first attributed to Ukrainian bibliographer Boris Zdanevich; the belonging of this book to *Bermeleev* is evidenced by the inscription on the binding: Johannes Bermeleev; biblioth. No. 101. Anno MDCCCXLIV. St. Peterburgi[94].

The book was kept in the Central Scientific Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR (now the V. I. Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine), but this only known copy of the Gutenberg's incunabula in the world disappeared shortly after the appearance of Zdanevich's first publication in 1941[95]; its location is currently unknown. In contrast, *Bermeleev's* creation, a lithographic reproduction of the Turov Gospel, has survived to this day. This edition was published in 1868[96].

In general, *Bermeleev's* edition accurately reproduced the general appearance of the manuscript, although the colours of the letters, initials, and headpieces were brighter and

91 Гофман Э. Северный Урал и береговой хребет Пай-хой. Исследований экспедиции, снаряженной императорским Русским географическим обществом в 1847, 1848 и 1850 годах. Санкт-Петербург, 1856. Т. 2. С. 174, 180.

92 Всеобщая адресная книга С.-Петербурга с Васильевским островом, Петербургскою и Выборгскою сторонами и Охтою. В 5-ти отделениях. Санкт-Петербург, 1867–1868. Отд. III. С. 45.

93 Академик Афанасий Федорович Бычков. Пятидесятилетняя ученая его деятельность. 1840. октября 7. 1890. Очерк жизни. Список ученых трудов и изданий // Русская старина. Ежемесячное издание М. И. Семеновского. 1890. Т. LXVIII (21 год издания). Октябрь-ноябрь-декабрь. С. 283–284.

94 Зданевич Б. І. Provinciale Romanum. Невідоме видання Йоганна Гутенберга. К.: Вид-во АН УРСР, 1941. С. 15, іл. XVIII; Каталог інкунабул / укл. Б. Зданевич. К.: Наукова думка, 1974. С. 10, 171. У першому виданні рік помилково вказаний як 1854 (MCCCLIV), замість правильного 1844 (MCCCXLIV).

95 Ломонос-Рівна Г. Від упорядника // Каталог інкунабул. С. 6.

96 Туровское Евангелие одиннадцатого века.

more saturated than in the original. Let me remind you that it was this colour edition that was presented at the First Archaeological Congress of 1869, which was held in Moscow.

However, the lithographic edition of 1868 had two significant shortcomings that distinguished it from the original manuscript not only by its brighter colour.

The first is that the lithographs did not show the 18th-century confirming notes of the two charters of Kostiantyn Ostrozky. That is, the texts of the charters of 1508 and 1513 were written on the pages, but the confirming inscriptions on the margins of fol. 2v, spread of fols. 6v–7, and folio 7 were not; a clean surface was marked in their place on the parchment. In general, the irregularities of the parchment and losses along the edges were not indicated by *Bermeleev*.

The second drawback is that the arrangement of the pages in the 1868 edition was shifted: the manuscript opened with pages of fols. 6–6v. That is, in the edition, the initial pages 1 and 2 actually began in the middle of the manuscript, the end of the preserved part of the manuscript – fols. 10–10v, was in the middle of the 1868 edition, and the beginning – fols. 1–5v, moved to the end – on pp. 11–20. Therefore, if we follow the published text, the Gospel readings were not arranged in the order typical of the aprakos, which somewhat complicated the work with the published lithographic edition.

However, despite the described shortcomings, the *Bermeleev's* edition was also a significant step forward in introducing the Turov Gospel into scientific circulation. The only thing that needed to be taken into account was the situation with the mixed pages. The third pillar, Hiltebrandt, was the first to draw attention to this discrepancy, and he tried to correct it in his own edition of the manuscript, which was published in 1869[97].

Third Pillar: Pyotr Hiltebrandt
1867

It so happened that simultaneously with the publication of "Fragments from the Book of Gospel Readings of the 11th Century", Sreznevsky, on the pages of the "Archaeographic Collection of Documents", which was published on the initiative of the trustee of the Vilna Educational District, Kornilov, the donation charters of Kostiantyn Ivanovych Ostrozky, his wife Tetyana and son Ilya, who in 1508 and 1513 transferred a number of properties to the Church of the Transfiguration in Turov, were introduced into scientific circulation. This publication was carried out by the Assistant Head of the Vilna Central Archives, ***Pyotr Hiltebrandt***. The charters in the publication were arranged in chronological order: the first was the charter of 1508 from fol. 6v[98], and the second of 1513 from fol. 2v[99]. The text

97 Гильтебрандт П. А. Туровское Евангелие одиннадцатого века. С. IX, прим. 8.

98 Археографический сборник документов, относящихся к истории северо-западной Руси, издаваемый при управлении Виленского учебного округа. Том 4. Вильна, 1867. С. V–VI, 1–2.

99 Ibid. С. V–VI, 2.

was given in simplified orthography, the titles were revealed without indicating the missing parts of the words.

In addition to the publication of the texts of the 1508 and 1513 charters, *Hiltebrandt* also noted the presence of 18th-century records in Polish confirming these two entries. For the 1508 charter, there is a certificate of its presentation to the Pinsk Zemstvo Court in 1782, recorded on October 31, as well as a certificate of the lustrator on July 6, 1790; for the 1513 charter, there is a certificate of its presentation to the Pinsk Zemstvo Court in 1791, recorded on October 31[100]. The texts of the confirming notes were not given, *Hiltebrandt* only retold their content.

Brief information was also given about the bearer of the published letters, that is, about the Turov Gospel itself. It was noted that the manuscript is written in quarto, has dimensions of 4 vershoks in length and about 5 vershoks in length (approximately 17.78×22 cm). This data was apparently taken from the work of Sreznevsky in 1867, which was known to *Hiltebrandt* and which he mentions in this passage. It is interesting that the publisher defines our manuscript as part of the Sunday Aprakos Gospel, indicating that the passage began with the parable of the ten virgins[101]. But the text of the parable of the ten virgins begins on the fol. 5, i.e., for this period, a clear sequence of pages of the preserved manuscript was not established, which to some extent justifies Bermeleev's oversight in the 1868 edition.

1868

The charters of Kostiantyn Ostrozky from 1508 and 1513, previously published on the pages of the "Archaeographic Collection of Documents", were reprinted on the pages of the historical and literary journal "Bulletin of Western Russia", which was then published in Vilna. The text repeated the publication of the previous year[102].

1869

This year, the edition of the text of the Turov Gospel prepared by *Hiltebrandt* was published.

The publication of the manuscript itself was preceded by an introductory part in which the publisher provided a description of the monument. In it, to confirm the dating of the monument to the 11th century, *Hiltebrandt* relied on the authority of Izmail Sreznevsky and Afanasiy Bychkov[103]. And then he cited a large quote from Sreznevsky's work of 1867,

100 Археографический сборник документов. С. 2.

101 Ibid. С. 1.

102 Документы, относящиеся к истории православия в Западной России // Вестник Западной России. Историко-литературный журнал. 1868. Год VI. Кн. X, т. IV. С. 19–21

103 Unfortunately, I have not yet been able to find any publication by Bychkov that mentions the Turov Gospel. I have not come across any references to it, except for the mention of Bychkov's confirmation of the antiquity of the monument. It is possible

in which the Turov Gospel was compared with the Ostromir Gospel of 1056–1057 and the Pandects of Antiochus of the 11th century. After that, Hiltebrandt set out his own observations on the physical condition of the manuscript, noting its dimensions (4 vershoks in width and about 5 vershoks in length, i.e. approximately 17.78×22 cm), the number of lines per page – 18, as well as the characteristics of the parchment: dense, polished, with rulers, which also limit the margins. It was noted that the main text is written in "chestnut-coloured" ink, and vermilion is used only in the headings and capital letters, with blue and dark green colouring, which in places turns into bluish and greenish; it was indicated that the capital letters ß occur six times, Р – four times and Ѳ – once[104].

Compared with Sreznevsky's edition of 1867 and 1868, *Hiltebrandt* dwelled in detail on the structure of the Gospel readings in the surviving part of the manuscript. Compared to the mention in the 1867 work that the Gospel fragment began with the parable of the ten virgins (i.e., from fol. 5), *Hiltebrandt* had already changed his approach and arranged the readings in the correct order according to the surviving folios, noting that "it begins with the 89th chapter (without beginning) of John"[105] (i.e., John 10:1–9). In fact, in the nomenclature of chapters, *Hiltebrandt* relied on the manuscript itself, which differed from the widespread Langton-Etienne division of the Gospels into verses and chapters. Without this nuance, the sequence of chapters corresponds to that given by Sreznevsky in his work of 1873–1876. However, an important aspect of *Hiltebrandt's* list is that in parentheses he provided information about the location of the corresponding reading in the Turov Gospel and in the Ostromir Gospel. For example: "from John, ch. 92 (without ending, p. 2, O. G. Fol. 36)"[106]. Since at the time of publication of the text, *Hiltebrandt,* following Sreznevsky, gave different readings with the Ostromir Gospel, such a symphony of references to both sources was supposed to help the reader and, if necessary, to compare not only words, but also the entire reading as a whole.

In the question of grapho-orthographical and palaeographic features of the manuscript, *Hiltebrandt* generally relied on Sreznevsky's observations of 1867, given, as noted above, in the form of an extensive quotation. However, *Hiltebrandt* also added his own considerations regarding such features, highlighting three most important observations: 1) superscript marks (dots) above vowels replace the Greek signs of heavy and light aspiration[107]; 2) line dots are placed at the top level of the line; 3) the unusual writing of the number 92 (fol. 1v). The scribe's tendency to abbreviations under the titlo in comparison with Ostro-

that such confirmation was oral: since Sreznevsky worked with the monument in St. Petersburg, he could have shown it to his colleague, who is authoritative in the field of palaeography. After all, it was Bychkov, as I assume, who was at the origins of Bermeleev's 1868 edition.

104 Гильтебрандт П. А. Туровское Евангелие одиннадцатого века. С. IX.

105 Ibid. C. IX.

106 Ibid. C. IX.

107 Hiltebrandt used their Latin names spiritus lenis and spiritus asper (in Greek ψιλή and δασεῖα, respectively).

mir Gospel (ѡ̃ instead of отъ, Гс̑ъ instead of Ис̑ъ) was also noted. In the same introductory part, a short selection of differences in the use of lexical word forms between the two manuscripts was made (e.g. двьрьникъ in Turov, вратарь in Ostromir Gospels)[108].

After the introductory part, *Hiltebrandt* already cited the text of the monument itself[109]. It is worth noting that at the time of preparation, Sreznevsky had already published several fragments from the manuscript, from which *Hiltebrandt* borrowed the principle of printing with the indication of different readings according to the Ostromir Gospel of 1056–1057. However, he presented a different spelling of words in subpage references. In general, *Hiltebrandt* adopted the principle of printing "page by page, line by line, letter by letter", while preserving the superscript marks.

At the same time, on each page of the text of the Turov Gospel readings, was given in parallel the text of similar readings according to the Church Slavonic text of the 21st edition (by 21st stamping) of the Elizabethan Bible[110], published in 1863[111].

In terms of its structure, *Hiltebrandt's* presentation of the text was generally in accordance with the original, but certain points were not emphasized. For example, in the last two lines on fol. 6, the word г̑по//дии was corrected from г̑по//дина, but no such corrections were noted in the text. In order to see them, one had to hold either the original or at least Bermeletv's lithographic edition in hand, where this correction was noted. This somewhat narrowed the source potential of the text of the Turov Gospel published by *Hiltebrandt* for studying the peculiarities of the work of a medieval copyist.

Some "transformation" occurred with the publication of the marginalia of the early 16th century: if in previous editions the text was presented in a simplified form, here both donation charters of Kostiantyn Ostrozky and members of his family were printed more precisely, according to the principle of "letter by letter" and with the preservation of superscript marks. The charter of 1513 on the fol. 2v was included in the publication of the text on the corresponding folio, with vertical lines indicating the division into lines[112]. Instead, the text of the charter of 1508 on the margin of fol. 6v, due to the impossibility of placing it directly in the publication of the manuscript, was placed by Hiltebrandt in the preface[113]. He printed it also according to the principle of "letter by letter" and with the preservation of superscript marks, but he no longer gave the division into lines.

108 Гильтебрандт П. А. Туровское Евангелие одиннадцатого века. С. X.
109 Ibid. С. 1–20.
110 Ibid. С. X, 1–3, 5–20.
111 This particular edition of the Elizabethan Bible remained inaccessible to me. However, a comparison of the passages cited by Hiltebrandt with the text of the fourth edition of 1762 available to me did not reveal any significant discrepancies. See: Бібліа, сирѣчь кн̑ги сѣщеннагѡ писанія Ветхагѡ и Новаго Завѣта. Москва, 1762.
112 Гильтебрандт П. А. Туровское Евангелие одиннадцатого века. С. 4.
113 Ibid. С. X.

It is worth noting that the 1869 edition no longer contains any references to the confirming records of the late 18th century, which are present in *Hiltebrandt's* works of 1867 and 1868.

1871

This year, *Hiltebrandt's* description of the Manuscript department of the Vilna Public Library was published, in which the first place was given to the Turov Gospel. In the corresponding section, *Hiltebrandt* provided brief information about the appearance of the manuscript, its structure, and the peculiarities of the writing of some words compared with the Ostromir Gospel[114]. However, all this was an abbreviated version of the introductory part from the 1869 edition.

From there, two small excerpts of the Gospel readings were taken on fol. 1 (lines 1–6) and on fols. 3–3v (lines 15–16 and 1–2, respectively), which were presented with different readings according to the Ostromir Gospel and in parallel with the Church Slavonic text of the Elizabethan Bible of the 1863 edition, as well as the precept on fol. 6v[115]. Actually, it is precisely in the form of the publication of the precept that there are small technical changes – vertical lines indicated the division into lines.

1874

This year saw the sixth issue of the album of the edition *Monuments of Rus' Antiquity in the Western Provinces of the Empire*, which was published on the initiative of Pompey Batyushkov. The album included a high-quality image of the fol. 1v of the Turov Gospel[116], which would later be included in other publications (Batyushkov, Polevoy). A separate edition of explanations to the figures, prepared by *Hiltebrandt*, was added to the album.

In the commentary to Figure 12, which presented the Turov Gospel in the album (along with the image of fol. 1 and the headpieces of the Mstizh Gospel), *Hiltebrandt* again resorted to republishing the introductory part of his book of 1869 (description, contents, observations on grapho-orthographical features, differences from the Ostromir Gospel in the spelling of individual words) and also republished the text on fol. 1v, with different readings according to the text of the Ostromir Gospel and in parallel to the Church Slavonic text of the Elizabethan Bible of 1863[117].

114 Гильтебрандт П. Перечневая опись // Рукописное отделение Виленской публичной библиотеки, состоящей под августейшим покровительством его императорского высочества государя-наследника цесаревича Александра Александровича. Издание Виленской публичной библиотеки. Вып. 1. I. Церковно-славянские рукописи. II. Русские пергамены. Вильна, 1871. С. 1–2, 4.

115 Ibid. С. 2-3.

116 Памятники русской старины в западных губерниях империи, издаваемый по высочайшему повелению П. Н. Батюшковым. Вып. 6: 18 рисунков. Санкт-Петербург, 1874. Рис. 12.

117 Гильтебрандт П. А. Объяснения к рисункам, приложения и указатель // Памятники русской старины в западных губерниях империи, издаваемый по высочайшему повелению П. Н. Батюшковым. Вып. 6: текст к 18 рисункам. Санкт-Петербург, 1874. С. 137.

***

Thus, in parallel with Sreznevsky, *Hiltebrandt* prepared and introduced into scientific circulation the text of the Turov Gospel of the 11th century. His work of 1869 actually supplemented the lithographic Bermeleev's edition of 1868. Actually, the title of the manuscript – The Turov Gospel – was given to the manuscript at the initiative of the Vilna Educational District, because, as we remember, Sreznevsky mentioned the Gospel with slightly different titles. Despite *Hiltebrandt's* greater accuracy in preserving the original text, Sreznevsky's works were considered more authoritative among Russian scholars, despite the inherent, as noted above, inaccuracies in copying individual parts of the text. However, *Hiltebrandt*, thanks to his work, also became one of the three pillars in the study of this manuscript monument of the 11th century.

***

Thus, during the second half of the 1860s and the first half of the 1870s, through the efforts of Sreznevsky, Bermeleev, and Hiltebrandt, the Turov Gospel was introduced into scientific circulation as a full-fledged source for studying various aspects of the history of medieval writing. Indeed, despite the efforts of the three pillars, various issues of studying the manuscript – its decorative design, grapho-orthographical or palaeographic features, the specificity of the language, establishing the place of writing of the manuscript – still remained practically unexplained. This allowed future researchers to expand the study of the manuscript by profound investigation of these aspects of the history of the monument. For this purpose, they had in their hands both the printed text of the Turov Gospel in several versions and lithographic copies of its pages.

That is why Sreznevsky, Bermeleev, and Hiltebrandt should be considered the three pillars in the manuscript research. The observations made by scholars in their works regarding the appearance of the manuscript, the text, grapho-orthographical and palaeographic features, etc., have become firmly established in historiography. Moreover, they have to some extent determined the directions of the research thought. After all, practically every researcher who touched upon certain aspects of the study of the Turov Gospel in his works could not do without mentioning, quoting, or referring to the work of at least one of the three pillars. Their works were then distributed to various scientific centres and libraries; the lithographic edition of 1868 even got into museum exhibits[118].

118 See, e.g.: Katalog archeologiczno-bibliograficznej wystawy Instytutu Stauropigiańskiego we Lwowie, otwartej dnia 10. października r. 1888., a mającej się zamknąć dnia 12. stycznia r. 1889. n. st. Według wskazówek znawców zestavił I. Szaraniewicz. Drugie porrawione wydanie. Lwów, 1888. S. 111.

Chapter 2. After the Three Pillars: the Second Stage in the Study of the Turov Gospel (Second Half of the 1870s – First Half of the 1910s)

Publications by Sreznevsky, Bermeleev, and Hiltebrandt introduced the Turov Gospel into scientific circulation, to some extent provoking a growth of interest in this manuscript as one of the oldest preserved monuments of medieval writing. Actually, from that time on, scientific studies that in one way or another touched on various aspects of the history of the culture of Rus' could not do without mentioning our manuscript. Teachers of the history of the Church Slavonic language included it in their own lectures, publishing individual Gospel readings in the textbooks prepared for these courses. Of course, due to the small number of preserved leaves, the Turov Gospel did not become a separate object of research attention at this time; it was always presented on the pages of research works in the context of other manuscript monuments of this period. And the shadow of one of the three pillars, whose authority determined the direction of scientific studies, almost always hung over the manuscript. Usually, the main information about the Turov Gospel was given in the work of one of them.

At the same time, during this period, researchers tried to answer such questions that were not reflected in the works of the three pillars – the questions concerning the peculiarities of the language, decorative design, and, perhaps most importantly, the place of writing of the monument. Extremely cautious, not always sufficiently reasoned attempts to answer these questions belong to this time, which will find appropriate development in the following periods of the study of the Turov Gospel. In the meantime, it is worth highlighting in chronological order the main points in the study of the manuscript, presented in the bibliography of the monument.

1876

Chronologically, the first to include the Turov Gospel in his research was the then teacher at the Pavlo Galahan Collegium, the Ukrainian philologist ***Pavlo Zhytetsky***.

In his work devoted to the sound history of the Ukrainian language, in the context of highlighting the circumstances and time of the transition in the Ukrainian language from ѣ to и and the reflection of this transition in written monuments, *Zhytetsky* mentioned the Turov Gospel among the early manuscripts where such a transition occurs[119]. Traces of this sound phenomenon, as the scholar believed, can be found later in various examples of Ukrainian dialect, especially in the "northern dialects"[120].

119 Житецкий П. Очерк звуковой истории малорусского наречия. К., 1876. С. 134.
120 Ibid. С. 136.

The zone of distribution of the latter ones, according to *Zhytetsky*, covered the Dnieper and Pripyat areas, and for it, Kyiv was the southern point that united all these dialects at the early stage of the history of Rus'[121]. These observations about some features of the language of the Turov Gospel, which would later become characteristic of the Ukrainian language, could, to some extent, determine the place of writing the monument. However, *Zhytetsky* did not go further than the considerations about the similarity of some features to the future "northern dialects". And the work of the Ukrainian philologist itself, in the context of studying the Turov Gospel, remained little known, being mentioned mainly by Ukrainian researchers, for example, Yakym Zapasko.

1879

In the works of the three pillars, the issue of highlighting the decorative design of the Turov Gospel was practically not covered; Both Hiltebrandt and Sreznevsky only briefly mentioned the initials written in blue, red, and green. The first to touch, albeit very briefly, on the art-historical aspect of studying the manuscript was the Russian philologist and art critic ***Fyodor Buslaev***.

This was not a separate art-historical study, but only a mention in the context of *Buslaev's* review of the work of the French scholar Eugène Viollet-le-Duc[122]. In fact, *Buslaev* devoted the main attention in this passage to the headpieces and initials of the 13th-century Gospel[123] from the library of the Moscow Archangel Cathedral, drawings of which were presented in his work by Viollet-le-Duc[124]. The latter reprinted them from an album on the history of ornament, prepared under the supervision of Viktor Butovsky[125].

According to *Buslaev*, the "Byzantine-Bulgarian style" is still noticeable in the headpieces of the Gospel of the Moscow Archangel Cathedral, but it is "clumsily smeared" by a local copyist who, instead of "reproducing it with thin sketches and delicate paints on the gold, smeared it with a wide brush, abundantly dipping it in all the paints he had at hand – namely, in red, yellow, green and blue"[126]. And already in this context, the Turov Gospel was mentioned in passing, as one of the examples. *Buslaev* writes that it has the same "Byzantine-Bulgarian style" of the headpieces and initials, written with a broad brush, as in the Gospel of the Moscow Archangel Cathedral, but thanks to the "finer sketches" it has

121 Житецкий П. Очерк звуковой истории. С. 276.

122 Viollet le Duc E. L'Art Russe. Ses origines, ses elements constitutifs, son apogee, son avenir. Paris, 1877.

123 Buslaev dated it to the 12th–13th centuries.

124 Viollet le Duc E. L'Art Russe. Tab. V (entre les pages 54–55).

125 История русского орнамента с X по XVI столетие по древним рукописям. Москва, 1870. Таб. XXX.

126 Буслаев Ф. Русское искусство в оценке французского ученого // Критическое обозрение. Журнал научной критики и библиографии в области наук историко-филологических, юридических, экономических и государственных. 1879, 22 января (год 1). № 2. С. 4.

not lost its "Byzantine appearance"[127]. For his observations, the author used Bermeleev's lithographic edition of 1868.

Let us summarize *Buslaev's* too vague opinion: the decoration of the initials of the Turov Gospel, although it was made by a local copyist in the territory of Rus', nevertheless preserved traces of the Byzantine-Bulgarian style due to his efforts to follow the existing original. And although a detailed examination of the decorative design of the manuscript was not carried out, he nevertheless took a step forward compared to those researchers who simply adopted Hiltebrandt's theses.

1881

In his major essay on church history, Professor ***Yevgeniy Golubinsky*** mentioned the Turov Gospel in the "list of pre-Mongol liturgical books that have been preserved".

Golubinsky, following Sreznevsky, believed that we can speak with certainty about the history of the Turov Gospel from the beginning of the 16th century, when this Gospel was attached by the princes Ostrozkis to the Transfiguration Church in Turov[128]. That is, the interesting idea was first expressed that this manuscript was donated to the church by Kostiantyn Ostrozky. And it "untied" the early history of the manuscript from Turov, forcing us to look for the homeland of the Turov Gospel in the region where the princes Ostrozkis' main estates were, from which the prince could take a valuable book as a gift to the church in his new ownerships. And such were the lands of Volhynia, where this family came from. However, *Golubinsky* ignored the issue of the place of creation and the early history of the monument.

It is also worth noting that *Golubinsky's* work already contains a brief bibliographical mention of the Turov Gospel for the first time: it is indicated that the text was published in full in Vilna by Hiltebrandt in 1869 under the title "The Turov Gospel of the 11th Century", and then by Sreznevski in "Information on Little-Known and Unknown Monuments" in 1876[129].

1882

1) Since a decade had passed since the publication of Hiltebrandt's description of the Manuscript department of the Vilna Public Library, in the early 1880s the question arose of preparing a new, revised description of this collection. The task was entrusted to ***Flavian Dobryansky***, a teacher at the Vilna Theological Seminary.

127 Буслаев Ф. Русское искусство в оценке французского ученого. С. 3–5.

128 Голубинский Е. История русской церкви. Т. 1: период первый, киевский или домонгольский. Вторая половина тома. Москва, 1881. С. 447.

129 Ibid. С. 447.

The main source for the description of the Turov Gospel contained in his work was Hiltebrandt's description of 1871, from which the characteristics of the physical condition of the manuscript, its dimensions, the indication of the colour scale of letters and initials, as well as observations of the specifics of the execution of the text and the presentation of the noted lexical differences between the Turov and Ostromir Gospels were taken[130]. However, while Hiltebrandt presented the latter as a continuous text, *Dobryansky* placed them in a column.

Also from Hiltebrandt's work of 1871, *Dobryansky* conscientiously copied a quote from the first publication of the Turov Gospel by Sreznevsky in 1867, which spoke of the closeness of the manuscript to the Ostromir Gospel and the Pandects of Antiochus. In general, *Dobryansky's* bibliographical list did not go beyond 1871: only the works of Sreznevsky of 1867 and Bermeleev's edition of 1868 were mentioned[131]. However, it should not be assumed that *Dobryansky* simply rewrote Hiltebrandt's text. Some of the author's additions were also made.

Considering that Hiltebrandt published the full text of the Turov Gospel in 1869, *Dobryansky* did not give examples, but provided a list of the pages of the monument with an indication of the initial and final sentences or with the headings of the Gospel readings. Next to the original chapter numbers, *Dobryansky* gave the corresponding numbers of chapters and verses according to the Langton-Etienne division[132]. In this matter, *Dobryansky* actually repeated the principle that Sreznevsky used in his work of 1873–1876. Although *Dobryansky* did not refer to it.

But part of the text was still printed: the charter of 1513 on fol. 2v, the precept on fol. 6v, and the charter of 1508 written on the margins of the same folio[133]. *Dobryansky* tried to adhere to the principle of publication "letter by letter", but still made a number of inaccuracies. For example, in the charter of 1508 at the end of the second line, *Dobryansky* gave the name in the form of Костентй instead of Костентъ҃тй, as was given by Hiltebrandt[134]. However, the latter also made a mistake, unlike Sreznevsky and Bermeleev, giving ъ instead of ь, as in the original: Костеньт҃й. Such attention of *Dobryansky* to the secondary text on the pages of the manuscript of the 11th century is explained by the fact that he considered the charters of Ostrozky an important source for studying the history of the Orthodox Church in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

2) In 1868, Bermeleev's edition was used by ***Grigoriy Voskresensky***, an associate professor at the Moscow Theological Academy, who was forming an educational reading list of "Slavonic dialects" for his lecture work.

130 Добрянский Ф. Описание рукописей Виленской публичной библиотеки. С. 1, 5–6.
131 Ibid. С. 1–2.
132 Ibid. С. 3–5.
133 Ibid. С. 3–5.
134 See: Гильтебрандт П. А. Туровское Евангелие одиннадцатого века. С. X.

In the 1st section – "The Old Church Slavonic Language" – he included some Gospel readings from the Turov Gospel: Mt. 25:1–13 on fols. 4v–5v, Lk. 5:17–26 on fols. 8v–9v, Lk. 5:27–32 on fols. 10–10v, Jn. 10:1–9 on fols. 1–1v. Since in the latter (Jn. 10), the first verse began from the middle, it was supplemented with the text of the Ostromir Gospel of 1056–1057[135].

As we can see from the arrangement of the readings, *Voskresensky* repeated the mistakes of Bermeleev's edition, where the arrangement of the pages was mixed up. The text itself was printed in a somewhat simplified form: adhering to the principle of printing "letter by letter", *Voskresensky* retained the superscript marks, but the superscript letters at the end of the lines, which is a certain specificity of writing the book, were moved into the main line space.

At the end of the text part, *Voskresensky* gave a brief description of the monument and its bibliography, in which he included the works of all three pillars: Sreznevsky's edition of 1867, 1868 and 1874, Bermeleev's of 1868, and Hiltebrandt's of 1869. At the same time, as we can see from this description, *Voskresensky* used Sreznevsky's 1874 edition for a brief description of the manuscript, including the thesis that the Gospel was written in pure Church Slavonic, only slightly spoilt by a local copyist[136]. It is difficult to say how much in detail the other works were worked out. At least the shortcomings of Bermeleev's edition – the confused pages, which Hiltebrandt drew attention to, were not taken into account by *Voskresensky*.

3) Simultaneously with *Voskresensky's* anthology, in 1882 another anthology was published – by Professor of St. Petersburg University ***Vatroslav (Ignatiy) Jagić***.

In his anthology, he collected under one cover the samples of the oldest monuments written in Church Slavonic – Glagolitic and Cyrillic ones. They also included the readings from the Turov Gospel. It is interesting that Jagić used the nomenclature "Turov Leaves", or in Latin "Euangeliorum libri fragmentum Taurinum", although this term did not catch on. In his work, Jagić used Bermeleev's edition of 1868 with the inherent incorrect arrangement of the leaves; therefore, the first Gospel readings appeared at the end, arranged as follows: Mt. 15:14–29 on fols. 3–3v, Lk. 5:1–11 on fols. 7v–8v, Jn. 10:1–9 on fols. 1–1v, Jn. 12:24–28 on fol. 2v[137]. During publication, the words with titlo were expanded, and the missing letters were given in parentheses; Arabic numerals were inserted directly into the text, indicating the verse numbers ln the chapters of the Gospels.

135 Воскресенский Г. Славянская христоматия. С. 11–13.
136 Ibid. С. 13–14.
137 Ягич И. В. Образцы языка церковнославянского по древнейшим пам'ятникам глаголической и кирилловской письменности (Specimina linguae Paleoslovenicae). Санкт-Петербург, 1882. С. 73–76.

1884

This year, a review by the then professor of St. Petersburg University, ***Vatroslav (Ignatiy) Jagić***, of two works by Archimandrite Amphilochius, "The Old Slavonic Psalter of the 13th–14th Centuries"[138], was published.

In the review, *Jagić* briefly mentioned the 11th-century Turov Gospel. This mention was made in the context of the supposition that a number of Church Slavonic manuscripts of the Bulgarian recension could have reached the territories of Rus' not through Byzantium, i.e., across the Black Sea to Constantinople and up the Dnieper to Kyiv, but overland – through Romania, Transylvania, Bukovyna, and Galicia. So he suggested that the Turov Gospel should be considered a "South Rus'ian" or "South-west Rus'ian" monument[139]. That is, if we take into account *Jagić's* considerations regarding the place of writing of such manuscripts, then regionally it is the territories of the Galician-Volhynian lands, with a greater probability of Volhynian.

1887

1) This year, an album of ancient ornaments by ***Vladimir Stasov*** was published, in which the Turov Gospel was also mentioned.

The album of ornaments included two initials Ѣ from fols. 7 and 8v, one initial Ѳ from fol. 2, and four initials Р from fols. 1v, 3, 5, and 9v. However, during the publication, *Stasov* indicated the wrong folio numbers: Ѣ is indicated as located on fols. 1 and 3, Ѳ – on fol. 2v, Р – on fols. 8, 12, 15, 19. Also, the images of the initials themselves are presented in a simplified form and even with changed colours: in the initial Р on "fols. 12" – 3, blue is replaced by black[140].

In general, the appearance of *Stasov's* initials differs from similar images in Bermeleev's 1868 edition, as does the numeration of folios and pages. Therefore, we can conclude that *Stasov* used either sketches provided to him, execbted to order directly from the original manuscript, or he could have made these sketches himself. Unfortunately, in the preface he did not mention either his work in the Vilna Library or the help he received from any of its employees. Since the drawings of the initials were published in a table signed as "West

138 Амфилохий архимандрит. Древнеславянская Псалтирь XIII–XIV века с греческим текстом из толковой Феодоритовой псалтири X века с замечаниями по древним памятникам. Т. 1. Москва, 1874; Амфилохий архимандрит. Древнеславянская Псалтирь XIII–XIV в. с греческим текстом из толковой Феодоритовой псалтири X в. с замечаниями по древним памятникам. Т. 2. Москва, 1877.

139 Ягич И. В. Отчет о присуждении Ломоносовской премии за 1883 г. с приложением. С тремя литографическими таблицами // Сборник Отделения русского языка и словесности императорской Академии наук. 1884. Т. XXXIII. № 2. С. 71–72. At the time of writing Jagić's work, the «South-west Rus'ian lands» he outlined, that is, Galicia and Bukovyna, were part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

140 Стасов В. Славянский и восточный орнамент по рукописям древнего и нового времени. Санкт-Петербург, 1887. С. 33–34, табл. LXXXIX, 1–7.

Rus'ian ornament", this suggested reader to the idea that the Gospel was written in the Belarusian lands. The work did not provide an explanation of the reasons for attributing the decoration of a particular manuscript to "West Rus'ian", "South Rus'ian", or some other ornaments. Other scholars have already tried to refute or confirm this in their reviews.

The considerations set out on the pages of the album, or rather the principle of determining the regional affiliation of a particular ornament or initial, caused a lively discussion; almost immediately after its publication, the first reviews appeared. One of them, Sobolevsky's, was published in the same year, the second, Jagić's, the following year. Both had important consequences in terms of determining the place of writing of our manuscript.

2) The first review was published by Professor of Kyiv University ***Oleksiy Sobolevsky***.

He believed that Stasov placed the initials of the Turov Gospel in the table of "West European ornaments" only on the grounds that the manuscript was discovered in Turov; however, he rightly noted that such a location can only be said from the beginning of the 16th century, basing on the marginalia. As for the earlier time, there is no reason to say that the manuscript was written there.

In fact, from this review by *Sobolevsky*, the superficial phrase was widely circulated that "the language of the Turov Gospel does not contain anything Belarusian, and if we are to attribute this monument to any group, then it is most convenient to give it a place among the Kyiv monuments"[141]. *Sobolevsky* did not provide a detailed justification for this thesis, although from certain passing mentions we can conclude that he relied not only on linguistic observations.

Sobolevsky was inclined to include in the Kyivan circle of monuments the capital letters of the Cyrillic part of the 11th-century Reims Gospel, placed in the album by Stasov on the same table of "West European ornaments" with the initials of the 11th-century Turov Gospel[142].

At the same time, *Sobolevsky* noted that the use of "blue paint (instead of the usual vermilion) for the "titles and initial letters of the Gospel readings" allows us to bring it closer to the Pandects of Antiochus, the manuscript – in which we are quite ready to agree with Mr. Stasov – being Kyivan"[143]. Let me remind you that Sreznevsky also brought the monument closer to the Pandects of Antiochus.

Therefore, the Turov Gospel was attributed by Sobolevsky to Kyiv monuments not only on the basis of the absence of bright Belarusian features in the language of the monument, but also on the basis of results of the similarity of the design of the initials with other chronologically close to our manuscript monuments that came out of the Kyiv scriptorium.

141 Соболевский А. И. Новый труд В. Стасова // Университетские известия. Год XXVII (1887). № 5, май. К., 1887. Критика и библиография. С. 53.

142 Стасов В. Славянский и восточный орнамент. Табл. LXXXIX, 8–21.

143 Соболевский А. И. Новый труд В. Стасова. С. 53.

1888

1) As noted above, the second review of Stasov's work was from the Croatian philologist ***Vatroslav Jagić***; in fact, it concerned not only the book of ornaments, but also Sobolevsky's review of 1887.

On the one hand, *Jagić* supported and developed Sobolevsky's reasoning regarding the convergence of the Turov and Reims Gospels with the Pandects of Antiochus in terms of ornaments, "especially in colours". *Jagić* himself added the Chudov Psalter to this trio of manuscripts, although he noted that in terms of ornamentation the manuscript differs from the other three.

On the other hand, *Jagić* did not support Sobolevsky's reasoning regarding the attribution of the Turov Gospel to the Kyiv group of monuments, believing that the place of writing of the monument should be sought further west[144].

Jagić expressed doubts that the place of writing of the Turov Gospel could have been Kyiv, as Sobolevsky believed, or Novgorod, although he did not directly indicate an alternative place of possible writing of the monument. Regarding Stasov's placing of the Turov and Reims Gospels among Belarusian monuments ("West Rus'ian"), *Jagić* noted that this opinion is "difficult to prove, but even more difficult to refute". Later, this thesis will be actively used by researchers regarding the place of writing of the Gospel in the context of the fact that, allegedly, our version is difficult to prove, but at the same time it is difficult to refute. However, more on that below, and now let's return to *Jagić's* review, because later he himself questioned his reasoning.

Having sent off the reader to his own reasoning expressed back in 1884, *Jagić* once again emphasized the hypothesis of the existence in the Middle Ages of a land route by which manuscripts got from the Balkans to Rus', bypassing Byzantium. It was precisely on this route – "in this western strip" – that *Jagić* cautiously suggested the possibility of searching for the "homeland" of the Turov Gospel[145]. As noted above, this "strip" lay within the borders of Galician-Volhynian lands, most likely in Volhynia.

2) In "Lectures on the History of the Russian Language" by Professor ***Alexei Sobolevsky***, published this mentioned year, the most important medieval manuscript monuments of Rus' were included among the sources for its study.

Among them we see the "Fragment from the Turov Gospel" with an indication that the text was published by Sreznevsky in "Information and Notes on Little-Known and Unknown Monuments" in 1873[146]. The Turov Gospel was mentioned in the same paragraph with other manuscripts of the "Kyiv group" – the Pandects of Antiochus, the 13 Sermons

144 Ягич И. В. [рец.] Труд В. В. Стасова «Славянский и восточный орнамент» // Вестник изящных искусств, издаваемый при императорской Академии художеств под ред. А. И. Сомова. 1888. Т. 6. Вып. 2. С. 176–177.

145 Ibid. С. 176–177.

146 Соболевский А. И. Лекции по истории русского языка. К., 1888. С. 11–12.

of Gregory the Theologian, and the Cyrillic part of the Reims Gospel. Thus, the belonging of all manuscripts to the Kyiv circle was formally emphasized.

1890

1) The historian ***Pompey Batyushkov***, already mentioned above, the former trustee of the Vilna Educational District, published an outline of the history of Belarus and Lithuania, which had several illustrations. One of them was an image of fol. 1v[147] of the Turov Gospel. It is reprinted from the album of the 6th issue of "Monuments of Antiquity" of 1874[148].

It is important to note that *Batyushkov* added comments to the outline that explained the drawings, including the image of the folio on our manuscript. He briefly quoted the text from the commentary prepared by Hiltebrandt for the 1874 edition of the album regarding the dimensions, physical condition of the manuscript, and its content. A brief bibliography was also provided: *Batyushkov* mentioned Hiltebrandt's 1869 edition of the monument, Sokolov's note from the "Works of the First Archaeological Congress", and the 6th issue of "Monuments of Antiquity"[149].

It is worth noting separately that *Batyushkov* wrote in the commentary to the drawing that "the headpiece for the third chapter of this edition was borrowed from the Turov Gospel"[150]. The manuscript does indeed have a braided headpiece, located on fol. 6v. However, instead of it, at the beginning of the third chapter of *Batyushkov's* book, a headpiece of three intertwined circles with five sprouts at the corners and at the top in the centre is made[151]. In the Turov Gospel of the 11th century, such a headpiece cannot be found, but it is present on the pages of the Second Turov Gospel, which was brought from Turov by the same Sokolov and Gryaznov simultaneously with the manuscript of the 11th century; this second manuscript was then dated to the 15th century[152], but now – to the last third of the 16th century[153]. Interestingly, this headpiece from *Batyushkov's* book will later appear on the pages of essays on palaeography by Professor of the Warsaw University, Yefim Karsky, but with the correct name – "headpiece in the neo-Byzantine style: circles that intertwine. The Turov Gospel of the 15th century"[154]. However, researcher Vaclav Lastovski will present it as a " headpiece from the Turov Gospel of the 11th century"[155].

147 Батюшков П. Белоруссия и Литва. С. 11.
148 Памятники русской старины. Рис. 12.
149 Батюшков П. Белоруссия и Литва. Примечания. С. 152.
150 Ibid. С. 152.
151 Ibid. С. 82.
152 See, e.g.: Гильтебрандт П. А. Перечневая опись. С. 33–35.
153 Морозова Н. Сводный каталог кириллических рукописных книг, хранящихся в Литве: предварительный список // Slavistica Vilnensis. 2016. Vol. 261. P. 273.
154 Карский Е. Ф. Очерк славянской кирилловской палеографии. Из лекций, читанных в императорском Варшавском университете. Варшава, 1901. С. XIII, 86.
155 Ластоўскі В. Гісторыя беларускай (крыўскай) кнігі: Спроба паясьніцельнай кнігапісі ад канца X да пачатку XIX стагодзьдзя. Коўна: Адціснута ў друкарні Сакалоўскага і Лана, 1926. С. 15.

2) In "Readings at the Historical Society of Nestor the Chronicler", an article by Professor of the Kyiv University of St. Volodymyr, ***Petro Vladimirov,*** was published; it was dedicated to a general review of "South Rus'ian" and "West Rus'ian", that is, Ukrainian and Belarusian monuments of medieval written lainguage[156]. At the same time, the review was published in a separate edition with separate pagination[157].

In the bibliographic part, *Vladimirov* mentioned the publications of the text of the Turov Gospel by Sreznevsky in "Information and Notes on Little-Known and Unknown Monuments" under No. XLV, the lithographic edition of Beremeleev of 1868, and also the 1887 review by Sobolevsky[158]. It was on the basis of Sobolevsky's phrase that there was nothing Belarusian in the language of the Gospel, and that this monument had been in Turov only since the beginning of the 16th century due to the presence of donation charters from Kostiantyn Ostrozky, that *Vladimirov* attributed it to the group of Kyiv monuments[159].

1891

This year, ***Aleksei Sobolevsky***, already a professor at St. Petersburg University, prepared the second edition of "Lectures on the History of the Russian Language". The descriptive part about the Turov Gospel, as compared to the 1888 edition, was not changed[160]. Instead, the list of monuments in this paragraph was "diluted" with the mention of the Putyatin Menaion, which was considered a monument of the Novgorod circle. So gradually the Kyivan circle of monuments mentioned by Sobolevsky began to lose its clear outlines. And in the next two editions of "Lectures", *Sobolevsky* completely removed "Fragments of the Turov Gospel" from this list[161].

1894

In the work of ***Grigoriy Voskresensky***, devoted to the study of translations of the Gospel of Mark into Church Slavonic, brief information about the Turov Gospel was provided.

It is worth noting that in the preserved part of the Turov Gospel, readings from the Gospel of Mark are absent. However, *Voskresensky* included a description of this manuscript in a note to the description of the Reims Gospel. This happened under the influence

156 Владимиров П. В. Обзор южнорусских и западнорусских памятников письменности от XI до XVII ст. // Чтения в историческом обществе Нестора Летописца. Кн. IV. К., 1890. С. 108.

157 Владимиров П. В. Обзор южнорусских и западнорусских памятников письменности от XI до XVII ст. К., 1890. С. 8.

158 Ibid. С. 8.

159 Ibid. С. 8.

160 Соболевский А. И. Лекции по истории русского языка. Издание второе, с изменениями и дополнениями. Санкт-Петербург, 1891. С. 12.

161 Соболевский А. И. Лекции по истории русского языка. Издание третье, с изменениями и дополнениями. Санкт-Петербург, 1903. С. 11–12; Соболевский А. И. Лекции по истории русского языка. Издание четвертое. Москва, 1907. С. 12–13.

of Sobolevsky's work, in which these two manuscripts were considered to belong to the same circle of monuments. At least, this is how *Voskresensky* understood it.

In the note, following Bermeleev's edition of 1868, with incorrect arrangement of the folios, Voskresensky gave the list of the Gospel readings that had survived on 10 folios, and also the main characteristics taken from Sreznevsky: the manuscript is in quarto, with 18 lines per page, written in a good 11th-century uncial, the spelling is ancient, with yuses, with traces of the Rus'ian local pronunciation[162]. In general, this description was an expanded text included in Voskresensky's 1882 reading-book, including a bibliographical addition: a review of Stasov's work, published by Sobolevsky in Universitetskie Vedomosti (University News) of 1887, was mentioned, in which the monument was attributed to "the group of Kyiv monuments, since there is nothing Belarusian in its language"[163]. However, Voskresensky did not focus the reader's attention on the question of the origin of the Turov Gospel.

1896

This year, another work by *Grigoriy Voskresensky* was published, devoted to a survey of the Slavic recensions of the Gospel of Mark, in which he repeated the text of the note on the Turov Gospel from the 1894 edition[164].

1897

This year, "Statistical Information" on the surviving manuscripts of the 11th–14th centuries, compiled by ***Nikolai Volkov***, was published.

Under No. 4, he provided a brief description of the Turov Gospel of the 11th century, indicating that this fragment (10 folios) is in the Vilna Public Library. The structure of his work did not provide for detailed bibliographical sketches. However, as for the Turov Gospel, *Volkov* marked it with a corresponding note, which meant that the description of this manuscript is available in Sreznevsky's work of 1882[165].

In the context of *Volkov's* work, it is worth noting that the Turov Gospel appears here twice: also under No. 6 and the title "Gospel Fragment, 2 fols, 11th c.", belonging to Kornilov[166]. This mistake was unwittingly caused by Sreznevsky, who in 1867 published, as we remember, two pages of the Turov Gospel under the number XXXIII, and when

162 Воскресенский Г. Евангелие от Марка по основным спискам четырех редакций рукописного славянского евангельского текста с разночтениями из ста восьми рукописей Евангелия XI–XVI вв. Сергиев Посад, 1894. С. 37–38.

163 Ibid. С. 38.

164 Воскресенский Г. Характеристические черты четырех редакций славянского перевода Евангелия от Марка по сто двенадцати рукописям Евангелия XI–XVI вв. Москва, 1896. С. 31.

165 Волков Н. В. Статистические сведения о сохранившихся древнерусских книгах XI–XIV веков и их указатель. Санкт-Петербург, 1897. (Известия Общества любителей древней письменности, т. 123). С. 51.

166 Волков Н. В. Статистические сведения. С. 51.

publishing the entire text in 1873–1876, he gave the number XLV to the manuscript. Ohienko would later draw attention to this discrepancy.

1899

This year saw the publication of the second edition of essays by ***Grigoriy Kipriyanovich*** on the history of Orthodoxy in Belarus and Lithuania, in which the Turov Gospel is mentioned in passing.

Kipriyanovich noted that "together with Orthodoxy, the ecclesiastical written language spread in the north-western Rus'", and "to our time", the oldest Gospel belonging to the Turov Transfiguration Church of the 11th century has survived[167]. Therefore, it can be conditionally attributed to the supporters of the "autochthonous", i.e. Turov origin, manuscript.

1900

This year, the three-volume "History of Russian Literature from the Most Ancient Times to Our Days" by literary scholar ***Pyotr Polevoy*** was published. The first volume contained a drawing depicting folio 1v, which we have already encountered in the 1874 edition of "Monuments of Antiquity" and Batyushkov's 1890 edition[168]. The drawing is given precisely as an illustration of a sample of Cyrillic writing from the 11th century, without any comments on it.

1901

This year, essays on palaeography by the aforementioned professor of the University of Warsaw, ***Yefim Karsky***, were published. Among the printed editions of the Turov Gospel, he mentioned Bermeleev's edition of 1868, as well as the book by Polevoy, considering it extremely useful in terms of studying palaeography due to the publication of many photographs from other manuscripts[169]. But *Karsky* himself worked with the original Turov Gospel.

However, the expected detailed observations on the palaeographic features of the manuscript are not so many in the sketches of this pillar of medieval palaeography. *Karsky* noted the peculiarities of writing ѕ and the iotated letters ѩ, ѥ̀ and ѥ, of which the latter often have a crossed connecting bar. According to the scholar, this specificity has no palaeographic meaning for determining the time and place of writing the manuscript. The specifics of writing the numeral 92 on fol. 1v with a koppa – ҁ (=90) and with an

167 Киприянович В. Г. Исторический очерк православия, католичества и унии в Белоруссии и Литве с древнейшего до настоящего времени. Второе, значительно дополненное издание. Вильна, 1899. С. 4.

168 Полевой П. Н. История русской словесности с древнейших времен до наших дней. В трех томах. Том I. Санкт-Петербург, 1900. С. 42.

169 Карский Е. Ф. Очерк славянской кирилловской палеографии. С. 81, 470–471.

incomprehensible sign before it were separately considered[170]. True, other scholars also paid attention to this.

Two considerations were expressed by *Karsky* regarding some features of the decorative design of the Turov Gospel. The first was rather critical: *Karsky* was sceptical about the idea that the colour of the paints for decoration could indicate that the monument belonged to certain regions. In the context of the Turov Gospel, the use of red, blue and green paints for writing initials and headpieces cannot indicate that it was made in the territory of Belarusian lands: he considered such a set of paints to be more of a coincidence[171]. That is, the copyist used the paint that was simply at hand.

The second consideration concerned the specifics of writing the iotated letters ѩ, ѥ, and ѩ with a crossed connecting bar: he considered this form of writing to be an embryonic ornamentation associated with crossing out, putting behind and under the line, adding wavy endings and other decorations[172], when the letters on the folio and their arrangement already by themselves create a certain ornamental canvas together with other decorations (headpieces, initials).

Karsky also turned to the Turov Gospel in his work in the context of listing, according to Sobolevsky, the main features of the so-called "Old Rus'ian" (in fact, in the sense of the Russian/Muscovite, which did not yet exist at that time) recension of the Church Slavonic language, one of which he called "the mixing of ѣ and ѥ". As examples, two words from the Turov Gospel were given: вероуѩ and гнѥвъ[173].

Also in his essays, *Karsky* published a small excerpt from the Turov Gospel: Lk. 4:31–36 on fols. 7–7v, following the rule of printing "line by line, letter by letter", preserving all superscript marks[174]. It is important to emphasize once again that *Karsky* is probably the only one who checked the textual set with the original manuscript in the Manuscript department of the Vilna Public Library[175].

In addition to the original text, *Karsky* published a marginal entry on fol. 2v – the 1513 charter of Kostiantyn Ostrozky, but not in full. The text was given only as an example, that such charters are written on the pages of the manuscript and sometimes there are several of them. Therefore, in order to shorten the example, the publisher omitted the "unnecessary" parts, putting three dots in this place[176]. We can assume that *Karsky*, checked it with the original, just like the original text he published, when working in the Vilna Public Library.

170 Карский Е. Ф. Очерк славянской кирилловской палеографии. С. 193, 214, 222–223.
171 Ibid. С. 157.
172 Ibid. С. 214.
173 Ibid. С. 340.
174 Ibid. С. 364.
175 Ibid. С. 483.
176 Ibid. С. 307.

1903

The second edition of the "History of Russian Literature from the Oldest Times to the Present Day" by literary scholar ***Pyotr Polevoy*** was published, in which the same drawing of fol. 1v of the Turov Gospel was printed, without any comments on it[177].

1904

1) At this time, the second edition of essays on Church history by ***Yevgeniy Golubinsky*** was published, revised and supplemented. But as for the Turov Gospel, the text has not undergone any edits or additions, as compared to the 1881 edition[178].

2) Excerpts from the Turov Gospel were included in the reading-book of the St. Petersburg University professor ***Nikolai Karinsky***.

Rellying on Bermeleev's lithographic edition of 1868, *Karinsky* published the following readings: Lk. 4:31–36 on fols. 7–7v, Lk. 5:1–11 on fols. 7v–8, Jn. 10:1–9 on fols. 1–1v, Mt. 25:14–30 on fols. 3–4v, and Mt. 25:21–28, with a precept on fols. 5v–6v[179]. During publication, the principle of "letter by letter" was observed, and the division into lines was indicated by vertical strokes.

The publication of the text was preceded by a small introductory article, which generally repeated briefly the already published information about the Turov Gospel: its discovery in Turov, the presence on the pages of marginalia of the early 16th century, the publication of the text by Hiltebrandt in 1869 and Sreznevsky in 1876, as well as the lithographic edition by Bermeleev in 1868[180].

1906

This year, a guide ("materials") on manuscripts and copyists of the 10th–11th centuries was published by Professor ***Nikolai Nikolsky*** of the St. Petersburg Theological Academy. In his work, he tried to summarize all the information about ancient monuments that was known at that time, with an emphasis on the historiographical side of the issue.

Of course, the collection also provided brief information about the Turov Gospel, but *Nikolsky* did not provide anything new here. It was noted that this was a fragment from the Aprakos Gospel written in uncial, of which 10 folios, with 18 lines per page, have sur-

177 Полевой П. Н. История русской словесности с древнейших времен до наших дней. Второе стереотипное издание. В трех томах. Том I. Санкт-Петербург, 1903. С. 42.

178 Голубинский Е. История русской церкви. Т. 1: период первый, киевский или домонгольский. Вторая половина тома. Издание второе, исправленное и дополненное, напечатанное императорским Обществом истории и древностей российских при московском университете. Москва, 1904. С. 526.

179 Каринский Н. Хрестоматия по древнецерковнославянскому и русскому языкам. Пособие при преподавании руського языка в университетах и других высших учебных заведениях. Ч. I: Древнейшие памятники. С приложением словаря и четырех фототипических снимков с древнерусских нотных книг. Санкт-Петербург, 1904. С. 115–118.

180 Ibid. С. 114–115.

vived[181]. At the same time, its descriptions are not always accurate. For example, it was noted that the manuscript was donated on May 2, 1508, by Kostiantyn Ostrozky to the Turov Church of the Transfiguration of Our Saviour, "as can be seen from the entry on the 4th page of the text"[182] (fol. 2v). Let me remind you that the entry indicates a gift of property, but not the Gospel. In this context, *Nikolsky* misinterpreted Golubinsky's reasoning.

The bibliographical part also contains such inaccuracies. Thus, *Nikolsky* merged Bermeleev's 1868 lithographic edition and Hiltebrand's 1869 edition of the text into one, attributing to the latter in his work the "chromolithographic reproduction of the entire manuscript". Of the other publications, two works by Sreznevsky were mentioned, of 1867 and 1873.

In the research part of the "bibliography", Sreznevsky's 1867 edition was mentioned again, but only as the 1867 "Notes" of the Academy of Sciences, without mentioning Sreznevsky's work. This research section also mentions Sreznevsky's 1868 work, which should be included, according to *Nikolsky's* division, in the publications section. Among other works, the following are mentioned here: the work by Sreznevsky of 1882, the statistical description by Volkov of 1897 and the review of written monuments by Vladimirov of 1890, the descriptions of the Manuscript department of the Vilna Public Library by Hiltebrandt ofby 1871 and Dobryansky of 1882, Sobolevsky's review of Stasov's work of 1887, the history of the church by Golubinsky of 1881 and the essay of palaeography by Karsky of 1901[183].

The mentioned errors clearly indicate that in the design of the bibliography, *Nikolsky* made the same mistake, which, unfortunately, is also made by present-day researchers: the bibliography was partly borrowed from other works and uncritically checked and submitted.

1908

This year, a professor at the Kyiv St. Volodymyr's University, ***Volodymyr Ikonnykov*** published his major work on historiography, in which the Turov Gospel was also mentioned.

With reference to Sobolevsky, that there is nothing Belarusian in the language of the Turov Gospel, *Ikonnykov* included it in the group of Kyiv monuments[184].

1910

1) In an essay on the history of the Manuscript department of the Vilna Public Library, the keeper of the Vilna Museum of Antiquities, ***Aleksandr Milovidov***, mentioned among

181 Никольский Н. Материалы для повременного списка. С. 488–489.
182 Ibid. С. 488.
183 Ibid. С. 488–489.
184 Иконников В. С. Опыт русской историографии. С. 258.

the most important manuscripts of the collection the "Turov Gospel of the 11th century" (fragment) delivered by Sokolov, referring to the descriptions of Hiltebrandt (1871) and Dobryansky (1882). From there, the description included also bibliographical references to the publications of Sreznevsky of 1867, the lithographic editions of Bermeleev of 1868 and Hiltebrandt of 1869[185].

2) In the reading-book by professor at the University of Vienna ***Waclav Wondrák***, one reading from the Turov Gospel was printed: Lk. 4:31–36 on fols. 7–7v[186].

Unlike the reading-books by other lecturers, he did not use Bermeleev's work, although he was aware of it. *Wondrák* published the text that Karsky had previously printed in his essays in 1901. The only difference was that all the dots above the vowels disappeared from his superscript marks, only the titla remained (however, this can be explained by a technical oversight during printing).

Wondrák was familiar with Sreznevsky's publication of 1874, but he refused to expand the text of the Turov Gospel in his reading-book. He gave the reason as the fact that Sreznevsky had published the text twice, and there were discrepancies with the original. *Wondrák* pointed out some of them: if in the manuscript on fol. 1, line 9, the word is written as видѧть, then in Sreznevsky's we read вѣдѧть; or on fol. 10, line 7, it is written бѫдєтє, but it is printed бѫдѣтє[187]. At the same time, these examples were given by Sreznevsky to illustrate the confusion of the copyist between the letters и and є with ѣ.

It is worth noting that *Wondrák* was the first to draw the attention of scholars to such discrepancies between the original and the text published by Sreznevsky, since before that the latter was considered one of the greatest authorities. That is why *Wondrák* gave a higher assessment of the publication of the text by Karsky, who compared the typed text with the original of the monument, which caused the trust of the Viennese professor[188].

1910–1911

In these years, the "Course of History of the Russian Language" by Professor of St. Petersburg University ***Aleksei Shakhmatov*** was published.

The Turov Gospel of the 11th century was attributed to those manuscript monuments in which the influence of the so-called "Old Rus'ian" (in the sense of Russian/Moscow) recension is noticeable. *Shakhmatov*, supporting Sreznevsky's reasoning, included the mixing of *yuses* with the letters ѧ, ѩ and оу, ю;; the use of ж instead of жд (рожьства, прѣ);

185 Миловидов А. Рукописное отделение Виленской публичной библиотеки. Его история и состав. Вильна, 1910. С. 17, 37–38.
186 Wondrák W. Kirchenslavische Chrestomathie. Göttingen, 1910. S. 143
187 Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки. 1874. С. 123, 133.
188 Wondrák W. Kirchenslavische Chrestomathie. S. 142–143.

the use of є instead of ѣ (бѫдете, посрѣдє); spellings like хотѧше; the form серебро (twice) instead of Church Slavonic сръребро[189].

1917

The work of the art critic ***Fyodor Buslaev***, published in 1879, was republished in a collection of his works of an "archaeological nature", prepared by the Department of the Russian Language and Literature. The editorial board was headed by Nikodim Kondakov, who noted in the introduction that this collection of *Buslaev's* works had illustrations[190] absent in his previous editions; however, among the monuments from which these illustrations were made, there was no Turov Gospel. Actually, as for our manuscript, all the considerations that were set forth by *Buslaev* back in 1879 are repeated here[191].

***

When analyzing the results of the publication and research of the Turov Gospel during the second half of the 1870s – the second half of the 1910s, we must state that in fact the monument was on the margins of scientific studies. Although the manuscript found its way onto the pages of reading-books and review works along with other manuscripts, it was still mentioned in passing. This state of affairs can be explained by the fact that the scientific community formed the opinion that the main work had already been done by the efforts of the three pillars, and the text had been fully published by authoritative scholars. And these authoritative shadows loomed behind the researchers, preventing them from taking a critical view of some of their arguments, which were mechanically transferred from one work to another – without scientific criticism and sometimes even without holding the book itself in their hands.

At the same time, I must emphasize that during this period, studies moved somewhat in those issues that Sreznevsky and Hiltebrandt did not particularly touch upon – namely observations of the language and the peculiarities of decorative design. However, these were only hints, often fleeting mentions, casually thrown remarks, not put into the focus of the study of the monument itself. So all these publications were rather the substrate on which the researchers' further views were already formed, focusing more clearly on the need to clarify the issues raised earlier – including the place of writing of the Turov Gospel.

189 Шахматов А. А. Курс истории русского языка. (Читан в С.-Петербургском ун-те в 1908–9 у. г.). Ч. I. Санкт-Петербург, 1910–1911. С. 245.

190 Кондаков Н. От редакции // Исторические очерки Ф. И. Буслаева по русскому орнаменту в рукописях. Издание Отделения русского языка и словесности Академии наук. Петроград, 1917. С. IV.

191 Буслаев Ф. Русское искусство в оценке французского ученого // Исторические очерки Ф. И. Буслаева по руському орнаменту в рукописях. Издание Отделения русского языка и словесности Академии наук. Петроград, 1917. С. 5–7.

During this period, we can distinguish several views on this issue. In many works, researchers stopped at the thesis expressed by Sreznevsky, that it is possible to speak with certainty about the location of the monument in Turov only from the beginning of the 16th century, when two reliably dated charters of 1508 and 1513 appeared on the pages of the manuscript, and that the early history of the manuscript will remain unknown. However, in some works, directly or indirectly, thoughts were still expressed, which were designed to more clearly outline the region where this Aprakos Gospel could have been copied. Actually, this region was then defined as Belarusian or Ukrainian lands.

Among those who adhered to the first view, it is worth mentioning Stasov who, as we recall, placed the initials of the Turov Gospel to the "West Rus'ian", that is, Belarusian, ornaments. According to cursory data, we can conditionally include here Kipriyanovich and Batyushkov, who did not specifically mention the place of writing of the manuscript, however, the general context of their reasoning on this issue still allows us to make an assumption that they were inclined to see the manuscript as a Belarusian ("West Rus'ian") monument.

There were many more who adhered to the opinion about the Ukrainian origin of the monument. At the same time, the majority relied on the phrase casually thrown by Sobolevsky about the absence of Belarusian features in the language of the Turov Gospel and on the attribution of the monument to the group of Kyiv monuments. Such authors were Vladimirov, Ikonnikov, and with some convention – Voskresensky who cited Sobolevsky's quote but, however, did not indicate his support or rejection of this thesis. Also, regardless of Sobolevsky's opinion, Zhytetsky noted some features of the language that would later become characteristic of Ukrainian, and the focus of this was also concentrated in Kyiv. Regarding the place of writing of the Gospel, the views of Jagić and possibly of Golubinsky were somewhat different, according to which the Volhynian lands were most likely such a region.

With such results, the research of the Turov Gospel entered a new period of study.

Chapter 3. Between the Two World Wars: the Third Stage in the Study of the Turov Gospel (Early 1920s – Early 1940s)

The First World War of 1914–1918 resulted in the collapse of empires, in particular the European ones – the Austro-Hungarian and Russian. These processes were caused, among other things, by the activation of national movements of the peoples conquered by the Habsburgs and Romanovs, which ended with the emergence of a number of national states on the ruins of the empires. With the activation of national movements, there grew interest in the past, the search for each people's place in it and its own historical heritage. In the context of this upsurge, national scientific cadres were formed, who tried to combine the old academic traditions of the late 19th – early 20th centuries with new approaches to solving certain historical issues.

One of the pressing issues on the agenda at that time was the question of whether the manuscript heritage of the Rus' period belonged to Ukrainians, Belarusians, or Muscovites. One of the important features of the study of this issue was linguistic studies. In their context, the 11th-century Turov Gospel was mostly mentioned, among other monuments. Let me remind you that this was the period of the forced "emigration" of the manuscript to the Moscow Rumyantsev Museum; its stay there was not advertised, so only a few researchers were able to get acquainted with the original monument. In fact, during this period there was only one – Karinsky. The others had to use previously published texts and facsimile editions.

***

1920

The first to include the Turov Gospel in the context of the Ukrainian language was the Ukrainian specialist in museum management, philologist-Slavist ***Ilarion Sventsitsky***. In his essays on the history of the Ukrainian language, the Turov Gospel is mentioned among the monuments of "11th-century written language"[192].

Sventsitsky's linguistic studies of the 11th-century monuments, including the Turov Gospel, concerned the elucidation of "signs of the East Slavic origin of these first monuments of Old Rus'ian written language". From the Turov Gospel, as an example of one such sign – the replacement of жд by one ж, along with examples from the Ostromir Gospel of 1056–1057, the Izbornik of 1073, and the 13 Sermons of Gregory the Theologian, only the word рожства was cited[193]. As we can conclude from the bibliographical references, in his work *Sventsitsky* relied on the publication of the text by Hiltebrandt in 1869[194].

192 Свєнціцький І. Нариси з історії української мови. Львів: Діло, 1920. С. 22–23.
193 Ibid. С. 26.
194 Ibid. С. 22.

However, *Sventsitsky* did not mention any clear signs of the Ukrainian recension in the Turov Gospel, focusing on the consideration of three monuments that he considered the oldest monuments of the "South Rus'ian language, the mother of modern Ukrainian" – the inscription on the Tmutorokan Stone, and the records of the copyists of the Izborniks of 1073 and 1076[195].

In general, *Sventsitsky* considered the handwritten monuments of the princely era (11th-12th centuries) to be copied from South Slavic (Bulgarian) originals with accurate preservation of the spelling and associated pronunciation in "Southern Rus', Kyiv region, and west of the Dnieper to the Syan – Bug, and the Carpathians"[196]. That is, the place of writing of the manuscript was indirectly recognized as Ukrainian lands, but without specifying the localization within the then division of Rus' into principalities.

1922

The Turov Gospel was singled out as an important monument for studying the early stage of the history of the Ukrainian language by the Ukrainian philologist, the indispensable secretary of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, ***Agatangel Krymsky***.

According to *Krymsky*, the fragments of the 11th-century Turov Gospel are a monument originating from Volhynia[197].

Unfortunately, I was unable to find the arguments on which *Krymsky* relied. I assume that in this he relied on the opinion of Jagić, whom he considered one of the most authoritative Slavists, calling him "the patriarch-head of all contemporary Slavists"[198]. As noted above, it was Jagić who expressed the opinion that the monument was written in the Galician-Volhynian lands, and with greater probability – in the Volhynian territories.

1923

This year, a work by ***Oleksandr Kolessa***, Rector of the Ukrainian Free University in Prague, dedicated to the monuments of Horodyshche, was published in the University Collection[199]. It was soon published as a brochure, but with a different pagination[200]. In this work, *Kolessa* briefly touched on the Turov Gospel. This was done in the context of studying

195 Свєнціцький І. Нариси з історії української мови. С. 26–28.

196 Ibid. С. 39.

197 Кримський А. Українська мова: звідкіля вона взялася і як розвивалася // Шахматов Ол., Кримський Аг. Нариси з історії української мови та хрестоматія з пам'ятників письменської староукраїнщини XI–XVIII вв. К.: Друкар, 1922. С. 97.

198 Крымский А. Е. Древне-киевский говор // Известия Отделения русского языка и словесности императорской Академии наук. Т. XI. Кн. 3.Санкт-Петербург, 1906. С. 368.

199 Колесса О. Південно-Волинське Городище і городиські рукописні памятники XII–XVI в. // Науковий збірник Українського університету в Празі. Т. 1. Прага: Держ. друкарня, 1923.

200 Колесса О. Південно-Волинське Городище і городиські рукописні памятники XII–XVI в. Прага: Держ. друкарня, 1923. (Відбитка з Наукового збірника Українського університету в Празі, т. 1). Further references will be given to this edition.

the palaeography of Christinopol (Horodyshche) Apostolos of the 12th century. In his work with the Turov Gospel, *Kolessa* relied on Beremeleev's lithographic edition of 1868[201].

As *Kolessa* noted, the Horodyshche Apostolos, like the Turov Gospel of the 11th century, has "tongues at the intersections of the letters и and ѣ[202]". *Kolessa* noted a similar form of writing these letters in the First Fragment of the Lauriv Parchment Leaves of the 12th–13th centuries[203]. The Christinopol Apostolos of the 12th century, like the Lauriv Leaves of the 12th–13th centuries, according to *Kolessa*, were written in the monastery in Horodyshche [204], which in the 12th–13th centuries was part of the sphere of influence of the Volhynian princes[205], and in which a peculiar "graphic manner of the 12th century" developed in the 12th century[206].

Without analyzing here the truth or fallacy of such an interpretation, I will note that in the context of the historiography of the Turov Gospel, *Kolessa's* version is important because he considered the "Horodyshche" manuscripts to be Volhynian in origin, or rather, South Volhynian[207]. True, he did not directly include the Turov Gospel of the 11th century in this category. However, the noted proximity of some palaeographic characteristics of this monument to the Christinopol Apostolos allows us to assume that he considered the Turov Gospel in the same graphic manner that was finally formed in the 12th century in the South Volhynian lands.

1924

1) This year, the work of ***Agatangel Krymsky*** on the history of the Ukrainian language of 1922 was republished, in which, as we remember, he attributed the Turov Gospel to Volhynian monuments as to origin[208].

2) In the essay on the history of the Ukrainian language by ***Oleksandr Kolessa***, among the written monuments of the 11th century, which to one degree or another can serve as a source for the history of the Ukrainian language, the Turov Gospel of the 11th century was mentioned[209].

---

201 Колесса О. Погляд на історію української мови. Інавгураційний виклад, виголошений в Українському В. Університеті в Празі дня 23 жовтня 1921. Прага: Держ. друкарня, 1924. С. 9.

202 Колесса О. Південно-Волинське Городище. С. 20.

203 Ibid. С. 14.

204 Currently, the village of Horodyshche, Stryi district, Lviv region.

205 Колесса О. Південно-Волинське Городище. С. 27.

206 Колесса Ол. Лаврські перґамінови листки з XII–XIII ст. // Записки наукового товариства імені Шевченка, що виходять у Львові що два місяці під редакцією Михайла Грушевського. Т. LIII. 1903. С. 5.

207 Колесса О. Південно-Волинське Городище. С. 27.

208 Кримський А. Українська мова: звідкіля вона взялася і як розвивалася // Шахматов Ол., Кримський Аг. Нариси з історії української мови та хрестоматія з пам'ятників письменської староукраїнщини XI–XVIII вв. К.: Друкарня УАН, 1924. (Збірник історично-філологічного відділу ВУАН, № 12). С. 97.

209 Колесса О. Погляд на історію української мови. С. 9.

However, like Krymsky, in the subsequent pages of his work, *Kolessa* relied on larger manuscripts of this period.

1924–1927

During these years, in several issues of the Serbian journal "Јужнословенски филолог", the Moscow philologist ***Nikolai Durnovo*** published his research on ancient manuscripts of the 11th–12th centuries.

This work was a logical continuation of *Durnovo's* previous scientific studies, so for a better understanding of the author's thoughts it is worth making a short digression to his previous works. *Durnovo* considered the history of early monuments of Russian writing from the position of the unity in the historical past of the so-called "Old Rus'ian" language, which later "split" into Russian, Ukrainian and Belarusian, which, in turn, are subdivided into dialects[210]. In 1924, *Durnovo*, taking advantage of a foreign business trip, escaped from the Soviet "paradise" and lectured on the history of the Russian language at the University of Brno, developing and spreading among Western Slavists the above-mentioned views on the "single" or "common" language of the written monuments of Rus'.

For the lecture program, *Durnovo* prepared a review of the manuscript monuments of the 11th and 12th centuries, highlighting some important signs of the influence on them of the so-called common "Old Rus'ian" recension of local copyists, highlighting some "undoubted" elements of the "Rus'ian" (in the sense of Russian/Muscovite) pronunciation of the era of this ephemeral "unity". He singled out several such features for the Church Slavonic monuments of the 11th–12th centuries. Among them, I will name a few – interesting for observations on linguistic features in the context of their mentions for the Turov Gospel: mixing ѫ, ѩ with оу, ю and а, ꙗ with а, ꙗ; writing paleophonic -ерѣ-, -елѣ- instead of -рѣ-, -лѣ-; writing in the third person of verbs the ending ть instead of -тъ, etc[211].

Some of these observations regarding the Turov Gospel were also expressed by Sreznevsky. By the way, *Durnovo* considered the "Turov Gospel Leaves" to be the 11th century monument as rather archaic in the writing of letters and in orthography, in which he singled out just an example of replacing -рѣ- with -ерѣ-, namely the word сереврѣ, which occurs twice (fols. 3v and 4v); Examples of mixing ѫ, ѩ with оу, ю, and а, ꙗ with а, ꙗ were also traced, which occurred on the pages of the manuscript 9 times and 24 times, respectively; the exclusive writing of participles ending in -зі was noted; cases of alternation of ѣ with е were analyzed, etc.[212].

---

210 For details, see: Дурново Н. Н. Очерк истории русского языка. Москва; Ленинград: Гос. изд-во, 1924. С. 69–108.

211 Ibid. С. 102–103.

212 Дурново Н. Н. Русские рукописи XI и XII вв. как памятники старославянского языка // Јужнословенски филолог. Повремени спис за словенску филологију и лингвистику. Књига IV. Београд, 1924. С. 78, 88–91, 93–94; Дурново Н. Н.

The examples analyzed by *Durnovo* allowed him to express the opinion that the copyist of the Turov Gospel was guided in his work by South Slavic manuscripts written in Church Slavonic, and at the same time the inclusions of the general so-called "Old Rus'ian" recension were minimal. So, as we can see, in general, Sreznevsky's considerations were repeated.

1925

As noted above, only a few scholars had the opportunity to get acquainted with the original Turov Gospel *de visu*. Such was the palaeographer ***Nikolai Karinsky***, who at that time taught at the Second Moscow State University.

In the essays on palaeography published this year, *Karinsky* presented an image of the folio 8v. [213]The very appearance of this page, with uneven edges of the parchment, leaves no doubt that *Karinsky* had at least a photograph of the original TurovGospel at his disposal. Although it seems more likely to me that he had the opportunity to work with the manuscript itself.

Karinsky made some interesting observations on the palaeography of the Turov Gospel in the context of analyzing the features of the 11th–12th century uncial. He emphasized that the monument, which researchers date to the 11th or at the latest to the first half of the 12th century, is, to some extent, an exception among the manuscripts of this period, since the forms of writing letters tend, to a greater extent, to the monuments of the 14th century, which Sobolevsky cited in his essay on palaeography[214]. *Karinsky* based his own observations on the ratio of the height and width of the letters. He pointed out that according to Sobolevsky, the wide uncial has dimensions of 3×5 mm, and an example of such writing can be the Ostromir Gospel of 1056–1057, in which the dimensions of the letters are 6×8 mm. The dimensions of the narrow uncial given by Sobolevsky are 5¼×5 mm, and the letters in the Turov Gospel have dimensions of 4×4 mm. Noting this fact, *Karinsky* suggested that simultaneously with the wide uncial writing, typical of the 11th–12th centuries, there also existed a narrow writing style, perhaps quite rare for this period, represented just by the copyist of our monument[215].

1926

1) A bit above, I have given some signs of the "Old Rus'ian" recension of the South Slavic (Bulgarian) manuscripts, which were singled out by Durnovo. However, this year,

Русские рукописи XI и XII вв. как памятники старославянского языка // Јужнословенски филолог. Повремени спис за словенску филологију и лингвистику. Књига V. Београд, 1925–1926. С. 11, 22, 26, 34–36, 39–41, 51, 57, 60–61; Дурново Н. Н. Русские рукописи XI и XII вв. как памятники старославянского языка // Јужнословенски филолог. Повремени спис за словенску филологију и лингвистику. Књига VI. Београд, 1926–1927. С. 93–94, 97.

213 Каринский Н. М. Образцы письма древнейшего периода истории русской книги. 60 фототипических снимков с древнерусских памятников, преимущественно XI в., на 29 таблицах. Ленинград: Изд-во АН СССР, 1925. Табл. 27.1

214 See:. Соболевский А. И. Славяно-русская палеография. Лекции с 20 палеографическими таблицами. Изд. 2-е, императорского Археологического института. Санкт-Петербург, 1908. С. 49.

215 Каринский Н. М. Образцы письма. С. 6; 15.

the work of the Ukrainian philologist ***Vasyl Simovych*** appeared, who in his essays on the grammar of the Church Slavonic language defined the same signs as those that indicate a Ukrainian recension: mixing ѫ, ѭ with оу, ю; а, ѧ with ꙗ; writing -оро-, -оло-, -ере-, -ele- instead of ра-, ла-, рѣ, лѣ; writing in the third person the ending -ть instead of тъ [216].

Since similar forms occurred in the Turov Gospel, *Simovych* included the manuscript in the "Ukrainian Church Slavonic" group of manuscript monuments[217].

2) This year, a work by ***Václav Lastoŭski*** was published, dedicated to the history of the Belarusian book, which included a brief description of the Turov Gospel (the story of its discovery by Gryaznov in a box of coal, a brief description of the colour of the ink), mentioned the existence of two Ostrozky's charters with a small quote from the end of the charter dated 1508, as well as a drawing of the fol. 1v with the headpiece Р [218].

1927

1) In the essay on the history of the Russian language by ***Nikolai Durnovo***, published this year, lists of manuscripts of the 11th–12th centuries were given, which can serve as sources for its study.

Among the manuscripts under No. 12, the "Turov Leaves of the Gospel Readings" were mentioned, and the bibliography included here was as follows: Bermeleev's lithographic edition of 1868, publication of Hiltebrandt's text of 1869, publications of the text in Karinsky's readibg-book of 1904, and *Durnovo's* own article in the journal *Јужнословенски филолог*, which was mentioned above[219]. Actually, *Durnovo* used these publications for his work on the text of the Turov Gospel, the results of which were covered in his article of 1924–1927, although he considered the facsimile edition of the "Turov Leaves" (i.e. Bermeleev's of 1868) to be a somewhat unreliable source for work on the monument[220].

2) Instead, in essays on the history of the Ukrainian language published this year by the Ukrainian philologist ***Petro Buzuk***, who at the time of the book's publication worked at the Institute of Belarusian Culture (the future Belarusian Academy of Sciences), the Turov Gospel was mentioned among the monuments of the Ukrainian language of the 11th century (sometimes the author uses the term "South Rus'ian language" in parallel)[221].

---

216 Сімович В. Нарис граматики староболгарської (староцерковнослов'янської) мови. Курс викладів для студентів іст.-літ. відділу Інституту ім. Драгоманова у Празі. Прага, 1926. С. 26a.

217 Ibid. С. 25b–25a.

218 Ластоўскі В. Гісторыя беларускай (крыўскай) кнігі. С. 18–20.

219 Дурново Н. Н. Введение в историю русского языка. Ч. 1. Источники. 1. Письменные памятники. 2. Нынешние русские диалекты. Brno: Vid. Filosofická fakulta, 1927. С. 34.

220 Дурново Н. Н. Русские рукописи XI и XII вв. Књига IV. С. 88, прим. 1.

221 Бузук П. Нариси історії української мови. Вступ, фонетика і морфологія з додатком історичної хрестоматії. К., 1927. С. 18.

However, *Buzuk* did not separately analyze the language of the manuscript, and later, when considering the peculiarities of the Ukrainian language, he gave examples from other, larger monuments of this period.

1928

This year, a work on palaeography by ***Yefim Karsky*** was published, which is still considered one of the most authoritative palaeographic publications today. However, in essence, it was a reprint of his essays on palaeography from 1901. At least in the matter of the study of the Turov Gospel, no new data was introduced, and some even became shorter.

Thus, the bibliographic part mentioned the same Bermeleev's lithographic edition of 1868 and the book by Polevoy of 1900[222].

From the same 1901 edition, the text of the fragment of the Turov Gospel (Lk 4:31–36), located on fols. 7–7v[223], was transferred to the 1928 edition, as well as the abbreviated text of Kostiantyn Ostrozky's donation charter of 1513 on fol. 2v[224].

And some grapho-orthographic and palaeographic observations were even abbreviated: the author repeated the mentions about writing ѕ and the iotated letters ꙗ, ѩ and ѥ, noting that in the latter case such a crossing is not a palaeographic feature. Unlike the 1901 edition, he no longer focused on the specifics of writing the number 92 (on fol. 2v) using a koppa – ҁ (=90) with an incomprehensible sign before it[225].

1929

This year, an edition appeared, the author of which set himself the goal of summarizing the results of research on medieval handwritten monuments, including the Turov Gospel. This was the work by a professor at the Studium of Orthodox Theology (in Warsaw) ***Ivan Ohienko*** (in the future – Metropolitan Hilarion). His description of the monument, its structure, features of language and script was at that time the most complete of the works on the Turov Gospel, summarizing the results of research on the manuscript for more than half a century.

Against the background of isolated mentions of works about the Turov Gospel, the extensive bibliography of the monument compiled by *Ohienko* stands out. He mentioned the works of all three pillars, in particular, several editions of Sreznevsky in the "Information and Notes on Little-Known and Unknown Monuments"; the first publications of 1867 (publications in the "Notes" of the Academy of Sciences and in the "Collection"

222 Карский Е. Ф. Славянская кирилловская палеография. Ленинград: Изд. АН СССР, 1928. С. 82–83.
223 Ibid. С. 82–83, 190, 207, 287, 340–341.
224 Ibid. С. 287.
225 Ibid. С. 190, 207, 216.

of the Department of Russian Language and Literature), of 1868 and 1875; Bermeleev's lithographic edition of 1868 and Hiltebrandt's work of 1869; descriptions by Dobryansky of 1882, Volkov;s of 1897 and Vladimirov's of 1890, Sobolevsky's review[226]. However, this bibliography is somewhat incomplete, since the list at the end of the article does not include some works to which *Ohienko* refers in his description of the Gospel – the Archaeographic Collection with publications of 16th-century charters, works by Karinsky of 1925 and Karsky of 1928.

However, it is worth noting that *Ohienko* personally familiarized himself with the above bibliographic list. He briefly described this or that edition from the standpoint of its usefulness for research work, and eliminated some inaccuracies. For example, in Volkov's statistical description of manuscripts, *Ohienko* points out that mentions of the Turov Gospel are repeated here twice – under No. 4 and No. 6, one of which is titled "The Turov Gospel", and the other is indicated as a fragment of the Gospel in 2 folios belonging to Kornilov[227]. It was *Ohienko* who established that the latter was included in the list by mistake: Volkov accepted the fragment published in 1867 by Sreznevsky as a separate manuscript[228]. The bibliography was preceded by a detailed description of the monument itself.

Ohienko noted that the manuscript consists of 10 folios in quarto, measuring 21×17.5 cm; The text is written in one column, in a large font with a letter height of 3.5×4 mm[229]; there are 18 lines on the page, ruled with thick lines, and the size of the text field is 15×10.5 cm. Interesting observations that are absent in other researchers' works were made by *Ohienko* regarding the fact that the entire text was written by one person, although the letterforms on fol. 10 are slightly higher and thinner, which creates the impression of being made by another copyist. In general, the closeness of the handwriting and text to the Ostromir Gospel of 1056–1057 was noted, which Sreznevsky also wrote about. The latter also gave a list of the Gospel readings preserved in three fragments. Regarding the decorative design of the monument, *Ohienko* only repeated the theses mentioned by Sreznevsky and Hiltebrandt about the presence of the initials Ѣ, Р and О on the pages of the manuscript, about the use of red, blue and green paint for their decoration, about the writing of the headings before each reading with vermilion (cinnabar)[230].

Ohienko defined the grapho-orthographic features of the Turov Gospel as follows: at the beginning of a word or syllable, ѥ is very consistently written, less often є; sometimes ѥ is also written in the middle of a word with soft ʌ and ѧ; ѭ is often and correctly used;

226 Огієнко І. Пам'ятки старослов'янської мови. С. 143–144.
227 Волков Н. В. Статистические сведения. С. 51.
228 Огієнко І. Пам'ятки старослов'янської мови. С. 139, 143.
229 These dimensions are different from those given by Karinsky in his 1925 work.
230 Огієнко І. Пам'ятки старослов'янської мови. С. 139–140.

щ is written everywhere, the combination шт is absent; a dot as a superscript mark is used above vowels[231].

As an example, *Ohienko* published two images of the pages of the Turov Gospel: fol. 5 and fol. 7. And although the images for publication were taken from Bermeleev's lithographic edition of 1868, in which, as was noted, the folios were mixed up, *Ohienko* avoided inconsistencies in page numbering thanks to a careful study of the literature, including Hiltebrandt's work of 1869[232].

In the descriptive part, Ohienko highlighted a number of specific linguistic features of the Turov Gospel, among which the following can be called as the main ones: nasal letters are used correctly, but they are often confused with pure ones, which is especially noticeable in the case with ѧ and ѩ; On the other hand, the confusion between ѫ and оу, emphasized by other researchers, is quite rare, it occurs 9 times out of 90 correct cases; the pleophonic form is encountered once – the often mentioned word сєрєбро; when combined with liquid sounds, the voiceless is placed after them (исплъниша, прѣмлъчи, etc.); the combination dj is everywhere written as дж, but the exception is the already mentioned рожьства, прѣ; writing in the third person the ending -ть; the use of и instead of ѣ, etc.[233] *Ohienko* did not directly indicate to which language all these specific features adhere – since in the context of his research direction he was specifically interested in the Church Slavonic language, which he proposed to divide into redactions which he called '*izvody*' (recensions): for the written monuments of Rus', he singled out two – Kyivan and Novgorodian[234]. Regarding the language of the Turov Gospel, *Ohienko* limited himself to citing Sobolevsky's phrase from his review of Stasov's book that the manuscript should rather be attributed to the Kyivan group of monuments[235]. That is, he was more inclined to consider the Turov Gospel to be of "Kyivan *izvod*".

In addition, the initial lines of the marginalia of the early 16th century were printed – the charters of 1508 on fol. 6v and of 1513 on fol. 2v, with a note about the publication of the full text by Hiltebrandt in the "Archaeographic Collection" and by Sreznevsky in the "Information and Notes on Little-Known and Unknown Monuments" of 1875. In *Ohienko's* opinion, these entries indicate that at the beginning of the 16th century the manuscript was a whole book and was used in worship[236].

231 Огієнко І. Пам'ятки старослов'янської мови. С. 141.
232 Ibid. С. 356–357, мал. 116–117.
233 Ibid. С. 141–142.
234 Ibid. С. 7.
235 Ibid. С. 143.
236 Ibid. С. 140–141.

1930

This year, a collection of works by the Russian art critic ***Fyodor Buslaev*** was published, in which he mentioned the Turov Gospel in passing, noting that the pages of the monument show a "Byzantine-Bulgarian style" of the headpieces and initials written with a broad brush, which, however, thanks to the "thinner stokes" did not lose its "Byzantine appearance" [237]. In general, compared to the 1917 edition, no new additions were made in this direction.

1932

This year, the Old Ukrainian language reading-book by ***Vasyl Simovych***, a professor at the Ukrainian Higher Pedagogical Institute named after Mykhailo Drahomanov (in Prague), was published.

Simovych included small excerpts from the Turov Gospel in this anthology. These were two Gospel readings: Lk. 5:1–11 on fols. 7v–8v and Jn. 10:1–9 on fols. 1–1v.

The text was presented in a simplified form, with the titla partially revealed without reservations, and in some places they were left; other superscript marks were not given.

Also in the original text of the 11th century. Arabic numerals were used to indicate the division of chapters into verses[238]. In general, it seems that *Simovych* took, as a basis for his publication of the text of the Turov Gospel, the text that was published in Jagić's reading-book in 1882.

1941

This year, essays on the history of the Ukrainian language by philologists ***Mykola Hrunsky*** and ***Panteleimon Kovaliv*** were published, in which the Turov Gospel was considered precisely as a source for the history of the Ukrainian language of the late 11th century[239].

The corresponding part included a brief bibliography, in which appeared the editions of Sreznevsky of 1876, Bermeleev of 1868, and Hiltebrandt of 1869, as well as Volkov's statistical description of 1897[240].

***

Thus, during the 1920s and 1930s, the Turov Gospel was the focus of research attention only in context of other medieval Cyrillic manuscripts. It was also overshadowed by more fully preserved chronologically close manuscripts – the Ostromir Gospel of 1056–1057, the Izborniks of 1073 and 1076, etc.

237 Буслаев Ф. Русское искусство в оценке французского ученого // Сочинения Ф. И. Буслаева. Том 3: Сочинения по археологии и истории искусства. Ленинград: Изд-во АН СССР, 1930. С. 7.

238 Сімович В. Хрестоматія з памятників староукраїнської мови (старого й середнього періоду до кінця XVIII ст.) з додатком вибору зі староболгарських пам'яток зі словничком. Прага: Вид. тов. «Сіяч», 1932. С. 100–102.

239 Грунський М. К., Ковальов П. К. Нариси з історії української мови. Львів: Українське вид-во, 1941. С. 23.

240 Ibid. С. 23.

However, even in such a cursory study, certain positive developments took place in determining further directions of scientific studies, especially the direction of linguistics. Researchers of the 1920s highlighted examples specific to Ukrainian pronunciation, which were found, among other things, on the pages of the 11th century Turov Gospel. In the scientific community, the attitude towards the manuscript as a source for the history of the Ukrainian language was actively formed. In the context of determining the region of possible writing of the Gospel, here, as in the previous period, the Volhynian or Kyivan lands were called probable.

Not finding in such ancient monuments of the Church Slavonic language any distinct features of the Muscovite recension, about which, as noted above, can be said not earlier than the 14th century, Russian philologists resorted to the usual substitution of concepts. Those features that Ukrainian philologists singled out as Ukrainian were declared common in the form of a single "Old Rus'ian" language that supposedly dominated in the territories of Russia before the Mongol invasion of Khan Batu (until 1240). This is clearly visible in Durnovo's works of that time. Later, a similar idea became dominant in Soviet historiography, passing to modern Russian, and in some places Ukrainian and Belarusian. However, this version became dominant not so much as a result of scientific discussions and the use of arguments, but rather through the actions of the Soviet repressive machine.

In the 1930s, the national cadres of the Soviet republics, nurtured by the policy of indigenization, were subjected to mass repressions by the power structures of the Russian Soviet Republic, and this repression was directed not only against representatives of national scientific schools, but also against representatives of Russian pre-revolutionary science itself. Later, the devastating consequences were caused by the Second World War of 1939–1945, unleashed by two dictatorial regimes – of Hitler and Stalin, under the "peacemaking" policy of Western European governments, which once again reshaped the map of Europe. After its completion, Soviet scholars found themselves in completely different conditions, which decisively determined the possible directions and specifics of further research on the manuscript heritage of the times of Rus', which also affected the study of the 11th-century Turov Gospel.

Chapter 4. In the Shadow of the "Single Cradle": the Fourth Stage of Research on the Turov Gospel (Second Half of the 1940s – Early 1990s)

The Second World War of 1939–1945 reshaped the map of Europe and strengthened a new form of the Russian Empire – the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). In addition to occupying a number of countries that "voluntarily" joined the USSR as Soviet republics, it also extended its influence to a number of countries in the so-called "socialist camp". Perhaps the only positive aspect of this study is that the Muscovites dared to return back to occupied Lithuania the manuscripts that had been taken out during the First World War. Thus, the Turov Gospel emerged from the shadows and became accessible to scholars again.

In accordance with Soviet ideological principles dictated by the Moscow scientific nomenclature, a view was formed of the heritage of the Ukrainian medieval state – Rus' as the common heritage of "three fraternal peoples". That is, Moscow scholars, unable to scientifically substantiate their cultural affiliation to the Rus' era, adopted the tactic of declaring this heritage a "common" acquisition. In terms of the topic under study, it looked like this: all manuscripts of the 11th–13th centuries were declared monuments containing distinctive features of the common "Old Rus'ian" language, regardless of the city or region of writing. Within the framework of this concept, the works of Soviet scholars were massively reproduced; these views were purposefully spread and instilled by the Soviet nomenclature in Western scientific schools, which was easy to organize in the totalitarian conditions of the Soviet government.

It was in this context that the study of the Turov Gospel took place during the Soviet era. However, I must still note that during this period several works appeared, which somewhat supplanted the three pillars – Sreznevsky, Bermeleev and Hiltebrandt, although they could not replace them as a foundation for basing scientific studies.

***

1949 (1976)

This year, the dissertation of the American philologist-Slavist ***Horace Gray Lunt*** was prepared, which, however, was published much later.

Considering the peculiarities of the language of manuscript monuments of the 11th century, *Lunt* also used the Turov Gospel as one of the sources. He worked with publications by two of the three pillars – Bermeleev's of 1868 and Sreznevsky's of 1875, as well as with Karinsky's 1904 chrestomathy (mistakenly calling him "Karsky"). *Lunt* was critical of both pillars' editions, noting that Sreznevsky's work suffered from poor quality

of proof-reading; regarding the language, his quotations are not accurate (see Wondrák 's remarks above), and the lithographic edition suffers from incorrect page layout[241].

Regarding his observations on the language of the Turov Gospel, *Lunt* was captive to Sreznevsky's concepts developed by Durnovo: the manuscript is a monument of the South Slavonic (Bulgarian) language, which was copied in the lands of Rus', as a result of which the text contained certain deviations inherent in the general "Old Rus'ian" recension. On the whole, his observations did not contradict Sreznevsky's already outlined examples: the mixing of ѫ, ѩ with оу, ю and ѧ, of ѩ with ѧ and ѣ, the replacement of жд with ж, etc. Based on these examples, *Lunt* concluded that the copyist generally tried to follow Church Slavonic orthography, although he made certain mistakes that betray his local origin[242].

1957

In essays on the history of literacy and book affair by the Lithuanian bibliographer ***Vladas Abramavičius***, a photograph of one page of the Turov Gospel (fol. 7v) was published[243].

1958

In the late 1950s, the Russian researcher ***Eugenia Granstrem*** raised the question of the need to compile a combined catalogue of all Slavonic manuscripts, which were hidden in the holdings of various museums or archival institutions. Her report, delivered at the IV International Congress of Slavists, was published in the corresponding collection[244], and was also published as a separate brochure with changed pagination[245].

The 11th-century Turov Gospel was placed by *Granstrem* among the monuments of the "Old Rus'ian" language[246]. I would like to emphasize that all manuscripts copied in the territory of Rus' were included among them, without taking into account regional or linguistic specifics. The article contained a short bibliography of the monument, which included publications by Hiltebrandt of 1869[247], and by Sreznevsky of 1876[248]

241 Lunt H. G. The orthography of eleventh century Russian manuscripts. Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Philosophy Columbia University. New York, 1949. [Authorised facsimile copy made by microfilm xerography in 1976]. P. 145–146.

242 Ibid. P. 145, n. 1.

243 Abramowicz W. Piśmiennictwo i książka na Litwe. Wilnius: Państwowe w-wo literatury politycznej i naukowej. 1957. P. 43, r. 9.

244 Гранстрем Е. Э. О подготовке сводного печатного каталога славянских рукописей // IV Международный съезд славистов. Славянская филология. Сборник статей. II. Москва, 1958. С. 417.

245 Гранстрем Е. Э. О подготовке сводного каталога славянских рукописей. Ленинград, 1958. С. 29.

246 Гранстрем Е. Э. О подготовке сводного печатного каталога. С. 417; Гранстрем Е. Э. О подготовке сводного каталога. С. 29.

247 There was a typo in the year indication: «1896» instead of «1869».

248 Гранстрем Е. Э. О подготовке сводного печатного каталога. С. 417; Гранстрем Е. Э. О подготовке сводного каталога. С. 29.

1959

In the general outline of the history of the Central Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, compiled by the Lithuanian bibliographer ***Adolfas Ivaškėvičius***, an image of another page of the Turov Gospel (fol. 8v) was published[249].

1960

1) This year, a bio-bibliographic dictionary of Ukrainian writers was published, compiled by the Ukrainian literary scholar ***Leonid Makhnovets***, which included a short article on the Turov Gospel.

The bibliographic part included Bermeleev's lithographic edition of 1868; publications by Hiltebrandt of 1869 and by Sreznevsky of 1875; a review note by Sokolov, published in the proceedings of the Moscow Archaeological Congress; a bibliographic article by Nikolsky of 1906. Although the nomenclature of works on the Turov Gospel was far from complete, a positive aspect of *Makhnovets'* work is the provision of brief information about the content of these works[250].

2) At the same time, the Croatian philologist ***Josip Hamm*** included in his "Old Slavonic Chrestomathy" an excerpt from the Turov Gospel of the 11th century. This was the reading of Mt. 25:14–29 on fols. 3–4v[251].

From the "primary source" – Karinsky's Chrestomathy of 1904, *Hamm* took the basic principles of publishing the text: "letter by letter", marking with vertical strokes the division into lines, indication in brackets of the corresponding verse number. Parallel to the Gospel reading, the text of the corresponding passage from the Gospel of Matthew was given, reconstructed in Church Slavonic by the Czech Slavist Josef Weiss[252]. In this, *Hamm's* publication somewhat resembled Hiltebrandt's approach, which compared the Turov Gospel with the Church Slavonic text of the Elizabethan Bible.

1961

This year, the first volume of the "Dictionary of Slavic Antiquities" prepared by Polish scholars was published, which contained an article on the Turov Gospel of the 11th century. Its author was the Polish philologist ***Leszek Szneider***[253].

249 Lietuvos TSR mokslų akademijos Centrinė biblioteka. R. 29.

250 Українські письменники. Біо-бібліографічний словник. С. 658–659.

251 Hamm J. Staroslavenska čitanka. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1960. S. 44–46.

252 Vajs J. Evangelium sv. Matouše: Text rekonstruovan. Praha, 1935, S. 97.

253 Schnaider L. Ewangeliarz Turowski // Słownik starożytności słowiańskich. Encyklopedyczny zarys kultury słowian od czasów najdawniejszych / pod red. W. Kowalenki, G. Labidy, T. Lehra-Spławińskiego. T. 1: A–E. Wrocław; Warszawa; Kraków: Widwo PAN, 1961. S. 468.

Szneider provided basic brief information about the monument, noting that ten folios have survived from a larger manuscript of the 11th century, written on the quarto-size parchment; he mentioned the presence of a charter of Kostiantyn Ostrozky, written on fol. 2v (i.e., of 1513). Among the specific features of the monument, *Szneider* noted the noteworthy verb ending -ть in the third person. Among the bibliographical information, publications by Bermeleev of 1868 and Sreznevsky of 1868 and 1873 were mentioned. It is worth emphasizing that the article contains a false statement that in the interwar period the Gospel was kept in the city museum in Vilna. However, the monument was in the Moscow museum at that time.

1962

This year, the Russian historian ***Isaak Budovnits*** published the "Dictionary of Russian, Ukrainian and Belarusian Written Lbguage and Literature", which contained an article about the Turov Gospel.

This bibliographical dictionary article included the works by Nikolsky of 1906, Karsky of 1928, and Makhnovets of 1960, indicating the relevant pages on which the Turov Gospel of the 11th century was discussed[254].

1963

1) At this time, a sketch of the manuscript holdings of the Central Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Lithuanian SSR was published, compiled by the bibliographer ***Vladas Abramavičius***.

In the part where the story was about the Turov Gospel, there was a small bibliographical mention of the description of the Manuscript department of the Vilna Public Library by Dobryansky in 1882, and Hiltebrandt's work dedicated to the publication of the Turov Gospel, although erroneously dated to 1878[255].

As a supplement to the story, a photo of a manuscript page (fol. 10v) was published here; however, the image was slightly cropped from the left margin, so the initial ß did not fully enter the field of the photograph[256].

2) In the first part of the textbook on the Russian language grammar by Professor of the Berlin Free University ***Valentin Kiparski***, the Turov Gospel of the 11th century is mentioned among the sources.

Kiparski included it among the monuments of the Church Slavonic language of the "Old Rus'ian" recension[257]. I would like to emphasize that *Kiparski* singled out among the manu-

254 Будовниц І. У. Словарь русской, украинской, белорусской письменности и литературы до XVIII века. Москва: Изд. АН СССР, 1962. С. 346.
255 Rankraščių rinkiniai. P. 60, 62.
256 Ibid. P. 59.
257 Kiparski V. Russische historische Grammatik. Band I. Die Entwicklung des lautsystems. Heidelberg, 1963. S. 34.

scripts those that had "Ukrainian features", but only from the 12th century: he considered the first such monument to be the Galician Gospel of 1144[258]. The bibliographical part mentioned Bermeleev's lithographic edition of 1868 and Sreznevsky's publication of of 1867, with an erroneous indication of the number of the published manuscript – XLV[259] (this is according to the editions of 1873–1876), because in this 1867 edition the Gospel had the number XXXIII.

1966

1) This year, a survey work on the history of bookmaking in Lithuania was published, one of the chapters of which, dedicated to the manuscript heritage in Lithuanian library collections, was prepared by bibliographer ***Vira Petrauskienė***.

Her book included a photograph of one of the pages of the 11th-century Turov Gospel (fol. 8v) [260], and in addition to the image itself, *Petrauskenė* included a brief description of the manuscript in her work, mentioning for the first time the binding made of wooden boards covered with leather with embossed floral ornamentation, which was dated to the 16th century[261].This is interesting to note, because if this dating were correct, it would be necessary to admit that already in the 16th century the book had lost almost all its folios. But it is more likely that here was a misprint, and the binding should still be dated to the 17th century.

2) As part of the continuation of the work on compiling a combined catalogue of Slavonic manuscripts, this year, a preliminary list of manuscripts of the 11th–14th centuries stored in the USSR, prepared by ***Nina Shelamanova***, an employee of the Archaeographical Commission at the History Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences, was published.

It is clear that the 11th-century Turov Gospel is also defined in this list as a monument of the "Muscovite" language; the bibliographic part included descriptions of the Vilna Library by Dobryansky, essays by Ivashkevich and Abramavičius[262]. Although *Shelamanova's* preliminary list was rather short and did not contain a complete bibliography, it firmly established itself on the pages of bibliographic publications, and this work was subsequently cited in practically all reviews of manuscript books, including the 11th-century Turov Gospel.

1968

This year, the work of the Russian philologist ***Lydia Zhukovskaya*** was published, dedicated to the typology of the Aprakos Gospels of the 10th–14th centuries.

---

258 Kiparski V. Russische historische Grammatik. S. 36.

259 Ibid. S. 36. S 35.

260 Petrauskienė V. Rusų rankraštinė knyga Lietuvos bibliotekose. P. 38.

261 Ibid. P. 45–46.

262 Предварительный список славяно-русских рукописей XI–XIV вв., хранящихся в СССР (для «Сводного каталога рукописей, хранящихся в СССР, до конца XIV века» включительно) / сост. Н. Б. Шеламанова // Археографический ежегодник за 1965 год. Посвящен памяти академика М. Н. Тихомирова. Москва: Наука, 1966. С. 189, № 20.

The list of such monuments also included the 11th-century Turov Gospel, coded "*Ty(p)*" and with a brief bibliography of this monument. *Zhukovskaya* mentioned Shelamanova's previous list, Bermeleev's 1868 lithographic edition of the manuscript, and Hiltebrandt's 1869 publication of the text, as well as Voskresensky's note to the description of the Reims Gospel from his 1894 work[263].

1969

1) This year, the work "Introduction to the History of the Russian Language" by the Russian researcher ***Nikolai Durnovo*** was reprinted (from the 1927 edition). Although the author was repressed in the 1930s, his concept of a common "Old Rus'ian" language of the Middle Ages appealed to Soviet historical and philological trends; so his work was again prepared for printing.

In the book of Durnovo, the part devoted to the Turov Gospel (which was listed under No. 12) did not undergo any changes. Only the compiler (philologist Tatyana Sumnikova) indicated in a note "in" the then location of the manuscript[264].

2) In the same year, a work appeared that actually initiated the revival of the idea of the Belarusian origin of the Turov Gospel of the 11th century. This is a book by the researcher of the history of Belarusian art, ***Mikhail Katser***.

In his essays on the history of fine arts in Belarus, *Katser* included a drawing of the headpiece from the Turov Gospel of the 11th century. and its brief description: the headpiece is made in blue, green and red colours, composed of a wondrous intertwining of plant shoots, which form a complex pattern from circles, segments; the shoots are depicted either from straight or curved lines, in one case they have a smooth bend, in the other – a sharp break-up[265].

However, the mentioned headpiece is not found in the manuscript of the 11th century; instead, it is very similar to the headpiece of the Second Turov Gospel of the 16th century, published, as mentioned above, by Batyushkov, Karsky and Lastoŭski. Unfortunately, I was not able to get acquainted with the manuscript of the Second Turov Gospel itself to compare whether the headpiece described by *Katser* was taken from it. In the description of the Manuscript department of the Vilna Library, Dobryansky mentions "fine headpieces with circles" on fols. 86 and 133, as well as just the headpieces on fols. 13 and 213[266]. Ultimately, for an overview of the historiography of the Turov Gospel, it is enough to know

263 Жуковская Л. П. Типология рукописей дренерусского полного апракоса XI–XIV вв. в связи с лингвистическим изучением их // Памятники древнерусской письменности. Язык и текстология. Москва, 1968. С. 328.

264 Дурново Н. Н. Введение в историю русского языка. 1969. С. 54.

265 Кацер М. С. Изобразительное искусство Белоруссии дооктябрьского периода. Очерки. Минск: Наука и техника, 1969. С. 17–18.

266 Добрянский Ф. Описание рукописей Виленской публичной библиотеки. С. 38.

that this headpiece is taken from another manuscript and is absent from the manuscript under study. Other researchers also drew attention to the inconsistency of this design of the headpieces for the period of the 11th century[267].

1971

This year, the "Old Slavonic Reading-book" by the Croatian philologist ***Josip Hamm*** was republished, in which the Gospel reading on fols. 3–4v (Mt. 25:14–29) was included[268]. Compared to the work of 1960, there were no changes in the publication of the monument.

1973

1) This year, a chrestomathy of old and medieval Slavonic texts was published, prepared by the American philologist ***Charles Edward Gribble***[269]. This work included excerpts from the 11th century Turov Gospel. However, this publication was only a reprint of the relevant part of Karinsky's 1904 reading-book, including his introduction. Let me just remind you that these are excerpts from the following Gospel readings: Lk. 4:31–36 on fols. 7–7v, Lk. 5:1–11 on foks. 7v–8, Jn. 10:1–9 on fols. 1–1v, Mt. 25:14–30 on fols. 3–4v, and Mt. 25:21–28, with a precept on fols. 5v–6v.

2) In the same year, in the third volume of the five-volume edition of the works by the Ukrainian philologist ***Agatangel Krymsky***, who was repressed by the Soviet authorities[270], his 1922 essay on the history of the Ukrainian language was published. As we remember, in it, the Turov Gospel was attributed to Volhynian monuments[271].

---

267 Шматаў В. Ф. Беларуская кніжная гравюра XVI–XVII стагодзяў. Мінск: Навука і тэхніка, 1984. С. 17.

268 Hamm J. Staroslavenska čitanka. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1971. S. 44–46.

269 Gribble Ch. E. Medieval Slavic Text. Vol. 1. Old and Middle Russian Texts. Cambridge, Mass., 1973. P. 69–71.

270 In order to take advantage of the opportunity to publish the works of the repressed scholar, the compilers had to "correct" Krymsky's biography somewhat. Thus, in the preface to the five-volume edition, Academician Ivan Bilodid wrote about Krymsky's fruitful scientific activity in the 1920s and 1930s, which was interrupted by the outbreak of the war between Nazi Germany and the communist USSR (the only possible terminology at the time – the "Great Patriotic War"), which is why Krymsky was evacuated to Kazakhstan, where he died on January 25, 1942. (Білодід І. К. Творчий подвиг ученого // Кримський А. Ю. Твори в п'яти томах. Т. 1. Поетичні твори. Оповідання. К.: Наукова думка, 1972. С. 42). In fact, in the 1930s, Krymsky was actually removed from scientific life. A slight 'thaw' came for him in 1940 – the first half of 1941, after the occupation of West Ukrainian lands by the Soviet authorities. By attracting Ukrainian scholars, including Krymsky, the Soviet authorities wanted to win over part of the scientific and educational forces of the occupied territories to their side. So Krymsky just became «useful» for the Soviet leadership. However, on July 20, 1941, after the outbreak of the war between Germany and the USSR, the scholar was arrested for «Ukrainian nationalism», his awards and passport were confiscated. Krymsky was «evacuated» to the Kustanai prison, where he died on January 25, 1942, in a prison hospital cell (Матвєєва Л., Циганкова Е. А. Ю. Кримський – неодмінний секретар Всеукраїнської академії наук. Вибране листування. К.: Обереги, 1997. С. 39–50).

271 Кримський А. Ю. Твори в п'яти томах. Т. 3. Мовознавство. Фольклористика. К.: Наукова думка, 1973. С. 259.

1976

This year, a major work by the Russian philologist ***Lidia Zhukovskaya*** was published, devoted to highlighting the results of textual and linguistic observations on the oldest Slavic written monuments. Among those, the Turov Gospel of the 11th century was also mentioned with the code "*Ty(p)*" [272].

However, there are practically no references to a manuscript with such a code in the body of the book. One was found in the context of comparing the use of synonyms in a number of other manuscripts – with an adjective "милосрьдъ"[273] as an example, which occurs twice on fol. 10. Apparently, this is due to the small number of preserved folios, which is why the Turov Gospel loses out in competition with more completely preserved manuscripts of this period.

1978

1) Among the bibliography of the Turov Gospel, the work of the Russian historian ***Boris Sapunov*** is mentioned, devoted to the history of books in the Middle Ages, which was published this year. In the context of the spread of books in the territories of Rus' and an attempt to outline the minimum set of the church book depository for the period of the 11th–13th centuries, fragments of the Turov Gospel were also mentioned as one of the preserved manuscripts of this time. *Sapunov* did not provide more complete information about the monument, except for the indication of its holding location[274]. Although it can be confidently asserted that *Sapunov*, like other Russian researchers, considered the manuscript precisely as a monument of general "Old Rus'ian" book culture, because even the very title of his work indicates this.

2) The collective work of the Hungarian philologists-Slavists – ***Imre Tóth, Ödön Horgosi, and Gábor Horváth*** – should be recognized as epoch-making in the history of the study of the Turov Gospel. It included coverage of the existing historiography, grapho-orthographic and lexical observations on the monument, as well as a facsimile edition of the 11th century Turov Gospel[275]. Later, their photographs significantly weakened the position of Bermeleev's lithographic edition of 1868, although they could not completely displace it on the margins of scientific studies.

According to the areas of research, their work was divided into three components:

Horváth outlined the history of publications and research on the monument[276], *Tóth*

272 Жуковская Л. П. Текстология и язык древнейших славянских памятников. Москва: Наука, 1976. С. 363.
273 Ibid. С. 91.
274 Сапунов Б. В. Книга в России в XI–XIII вв. / под ред. С. П. Луппова. Ленинград: Наука, 1978. С. 64.
275 Тот И. Х., Хоргоши Э., Хорват Г. Туровские листки. С. 239–258, рис. 1а–10б.
276 Ibid. С. 181–186.

highlighted the results of observations on the graphic, phonetic and morphological features of the text[277], and *Horgosi* – on the lexical ones[278].

In his work, *Horváth* provided information on the results of publications of all three pillars with parallel critical remarks on Bermeleev's edition, in which the pages were mixed up, and on Sreznevsky's – with his inaccurate rendition of the text, which, as we remember, was also noted by Vondrák. The work of the latter is also mentioned by *Horváth*, but with an error: the pages of publication of the text in Vondrák's chrestomathy are indicated as "136–176", but this is an indication of an entire part in which Vondrák published fragments of manuscripts written in the territories of Rus', while the publication of a fragment of the Turov Gospel occupies only a third of the page (p. 143). It is difficult to say what caused this error, but other authors, "without a shadow of a doubt", simply borrowed these page indications for their works, not even thinking that such a volume of pages allowed to publish all 10 folios of the Turov Gospel, both the text and the drawings.

In addition to these works, publications of images or texts of the monument were mentioned in the 1963 review of manuscript collections of the Central Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Lithuanian SSR under the editorship of Abramavičius, in Hamm's chrestomathy of 1960, Karinsky's editions of 1904 and 1925, the review of monuments by Ohienko of 1929, the book by Polevy of 1900, and the chrestomathy by Jagić of 1882. For each book, it was described what exactly from the text of the Turov Gospel was printed.

The results of the observation of grapho-orthographic and palaeographic characteristics were then briefly summarized: 1) most researchers support Sreznevsky's opinion about dating the monument to the 11th century; 2) the text was written by one copyist, although Ohienko emphasized the possibility that fol. 10 was written by another copyist; 3) according to its orthographic properties, the manuscript is recognized as a monument of the so-called "Old Rus'ian" origin, copied from a Church Slavonic original; 4) there is no consensus on the place of writing of the monument: according to Stasov, the manuscript is of Belarusian origin; according to Sobolevsky, it is Kyivan; 5) Ohienko's considerations regarding the archaic nature of the morphological system of the monument are separately mentioned; 6) the structure of the publications of the text by Hiltebrandt and Sreznevsky with a parallel indication of different readings with other monuments, in particular with the Ostromir Gospel, facilitate the work of contemporary researchers; 7) the structure of the manuscript is confidently determined (the preserved fragments are enumerated according to Sreznevsky) [279].

277 Тот И. Х., Хоргоши Э., Хорват Г. Туровские листки. С. 186–231.
278 Ibid. С. 231–238.
279 Ibid. С. 183–184.

This summary was followed by a list of brief descriptions or mentions of the Turov Gospel, which included the works of the authors already pointed above, as well as reviews by Vladimirov of 1890, Volkov of 1897, Granstrem of 1958, Dobryansky of 1882, Durnovo of 1925 and 1969, Ivaškevičius of 1959, Lunt of 1976, Karsky of 1928, and Shelamanova of 1966[280].

It is worth noting that the historiographical review also lacks accuracy. For example, indicating Volkov's statistical description, *Horváth* mistakenly noted that under No. 6 Volkov published the Turov Gospel, calling it "Kornilov's leaves". However, as noted above, under No. 6, Volkov marked "Kornilov's leaves" because Sreznevsky in 1867 published two folios of the Turov Gospel under No. XXXIII, and in 1873–1876 the entire monument – under No. XLV. Therefore, Volkov placed it in his description under No. 4. All these nuances were covered in detail by Ohienko in 1929, which *Horváth* referred to, but did not pay attention to them. Therefore, I must state that despite the extensive bibliography, its analysis was carried out superficially. However, one can agree with *Horváth's* observation that, despite the presence of a significant amount of literature, a systematic description of the Turov Gospel has still not been made, and the work of Hungarian philologists-Slavists is just intended to rectify this situation.

Actually, *Tóth* aimed to carry out a detailed systematic description of the Turov Gospel. That is why he began it with the graphic system, in particular, by highlighting the features of the use of diacritical marks at the beginning and in the middle of words, detailing the cases of their use over vowels and partly over consonants in each word of the monument. Based on these observations, *Tóth* concluded that some of these marks could have entered the pages of the Turov Gospel from the protograph, but some of the marks, in place of the omitted ъ and ь, could have been inserted by the copyist himself[281].

The next research stage was the study of the specifics of the use of individual letters, in particular, both jers (ъ and ь) and four *yuses* (ѧ, ѩ, ѫ and ѭ), as well as the letters ѥ and ѣ. As before, *Tóth* carefully analyzed the cases of the correct use of these letters, as well as their etymologically incorrect use and the replacement of ѫ, ѭ with оу, ю, as well as ѧ, ѩ with (ѩ, а). *Tóth* considered examples of such a replacement as evidence of the writing of the Turov Gospel in the territory of Rus' by a local scribe. The same, in his opinion, was evidenced by the analyzed specifics of the writing of consonant letters.

And the noted peculiarity of the combination of consonant +ѧ (and not ѩ), especially in the context of writing a softened consonant and ѧ (вьсѧкоѩ, хотѧаше), allowed *Tóth* to prove the kinship of this phenomenon with other monuments, in particular the Gali-

280 Тот И. Х., Хоргоши Э., Хорват Г. Туровские листки. С. 181–186.
281 Ibid. С. 186–190.

cian Gospel of 1144. In turn, this allowed to conclude that "the Turov leaves arose on the same territory of Kyivan Rus', where the Gospel of 1144 was written"[282].

Among other peculiarities of the use of letters highlighted by *Tóth*, it is worth mentioning the highlighted method of word division inherent in the manuscript: at the end of a line, a consonant is written, and above it, without diacritical marks, a vowel (отид҃|, т҃|лаѣт). It is inherent, although not in such quantity, in the "Life of Thekla"[283]– a manuscript of the 11th century, which is close to the Izbornik of 1073 and the Chudov Psalter[284]. As we will see below, other researchers have brought the Turov Gospel closer to the latest monuments of Kyiv origin.

Tóth's analysis of the correlation of the letters ж, ш, ч, ц, щ, жд with vowels allowed him to conclude that the copyist generally clearly adhered to this correlation with the protograph, but in some cases allowed the writing of a softened consonant + ѣ: чѧ, цѧ, шѧ, щѧ, жѧ according to the Old Slavonic writing model, which from the 12th century became widely used in manuscripts copied in the territories of Rus'[285].

On the following pages, *Tóth's* observations on the phonetic features of the Turov Gospel were placed, in particular the writing of the reduced (ъ and ь), ѣ, etc.[286] In the context of observing the case of replacing ѣ with the letter и – видѧть глаⷭъ его, *Tóth* cites Shakhmatov's opinion that such cases of writing и in the first syllable instead of ѣ are found among monuments of Ukrainian[287] origin; the Hungarian philologist concludes that this can also be considered a sign of the origin of the "Turov leaves" from the same region[288]. On the following pages, *Tóth* provides a description of the morphological characteristics of the text of the Turov Gospel, focusing on some spellings of words that indicate a local redaction during the copying of the monument from the protograph[289]. The same conclusion can be drawn on the basis of an analysis of the lexical features of the Turov Gospel in the part written by *Horgosi*.

3) It is worth mentioning another work by ***Imre Tóth***, published in the same year, in which *Tóth's* observations described above were set out – on the peculiarities of the writing of the letters ѫ, ѭ and ѧ, ѩ in the Turov Gospel, as well as their replacements with оу, ю and ꙗ[290].

282 Тот И. Х., Хоргоши Э., Хорват Г. Туровские листки. С. 190–196.
283 Ibid. С. 196–198.
284 Тот И. Х. К изучению графической системы русской редакции старославянского языка // Hungaro-Slavica 1978. VIII Международный съезд славистов. Загреб, 3–9 сентября 1978 г. Будапешт, 1978. С. 371–374.
285 Тот И. Х., Э. Хоргоши, Г. Хорват. Туровские листки. С. 198–199.
286 Ibid. С. 199–217.
287 Following Shakhmatov, the term «South Rus'ian» was used.
288 Тот И. Х., Э. Хоргоши, Г. Хорват. Туровские листки. С. 211.
289 Ibid. С. 217–231.
290 Тот И. Х. К изучению графической системы. С. 374–378, 384–387.

Thus, the descriptions of the grapho-orthographic and linguistic peculiarities of the Turov Gospel made by Hungarian philologists were distinguished by the maximum possible completeness at that time, which made their work, simultaneously with the facsimile publication of the pages, a new model on which further studies of the manuscript were based.

1979

1) This year, the work on palaeography by ***Yefim Karsky***, published in 1928, was reprinted. The edition itself completely repeated the previous text, so this book did not add anything new to the study of the Turov Gospel[291], except for slightly fuelling the interest of scholars in the monument.

2) Also among the editions published this year, it is worth mentioning the work of the Bulgarian linguist *Kuyo Kuev* who mentioned the Turov Gospel in the list of Old Bulgarian manuscripts.

In a short article about the monument, *Kuev* provided a brief bibliography, mentioning the publications of Sreznevsky in 1876 and Hiltebrandt in 1869, as well as a description of the Manuscript department of the Vilna Public Library in 1882, belonging to the pen of Dobryansky[292].

In addition to the bibliography, *Kuev* provided a small list of evidence regarding the redaction of the Old Bulgarian protograph in the territory of Rus' by the copyist of the Turov Gospel. These included examples of replacing *yuses* with оу or ѩ (приимоу instead of приимѫ, глоубинѫ instead of глѫбинѫ), replacing ъ with о (тогда instead of тъгда), replacing жд with ж (рожьства), pleophony (сереброо instead of сребро) [293]. As noted above, similar examples were repeatedly cited by other researchers following Sreznevsky.

1984

1) In the work of the Belarusian art historian ***Viktor Shmatov***, certain observations were made regarding the decorative design of the Turov Gospel – an issue that had long been on the margins of scientific studies of the monument.

In general, *Shmatov* considered the initials on the pages of the manuscript from Buslaev's position – as the result of creative reworking of Bulgarian manuscripts in the territory of Rus', which, in turn, reflected the reworking of Byzantine traditions by Bulgarian copyists. As for the concrete headpieces of our manuscript, in *Shmatov's* opinion, they are executed in two styles – linear and silhouette, and modelled in red, blue and green colours "with a sense of taste" [294].

291 Карский Е. Ф. Славянская кирилловская палеография. Москва: Наука, 1979. С. 82–83, 190, 207, 216, 287, 340–341.
292 Куев К. М. Съдбата на стробългарските ръкописи. С. 20.
293 Ibid. С. 20.
294 Шматаў В. Ф. Беларуская кніжная гравюра. С. 16–17.

2) The publication of the *Union Catalogue of Manuscripts Kept in the USSR: the 11th–13th Centuries*, prepared under the editorship of the Russian philologist ***Lidia Zhukovskaya***, had a significant impact on the further study of the Turov Gospel and the formation of further directions of scientific studies on it.

In general, the compilers tried to provide a detailed description of the manuscript, indicating the exact dimensions of the folios (21×16.2–16.4 cm), noting the nature of the damage on each folio of parchment (stains from the ink of the initials, from water or chemicals, traces of glue), the different pagination affixed later on the folios, as well as later signatures already during the period of keeping the manuscript in the Vilna Public Library until the restoration period of 1962–1963, when the parchment folios were glued at the edges, the binding was replaced with a cardboard one, and the old binding, which probably dated to the 17th century, was kept separately[295].

It was emphasized that the manuscript was written in the same handwriting, and Ohienko's assumption regarding certain visual differences in the handwriting of the copyist of the fol. 10 was not confirmed[296].

The *Union Catalogue* provided some characteristics of the decorative design of the monument. It was noted that the initials of the "old Byzantine" style are divided into two types. The first is on fols. 1–2: the initial Р on fol. 1v, it is made with an ink outline, painted in red and blue, the background is green; also the initial О on fol. 2 – with an ink outline, the background is green. The second type is seen in the rest of the initials: they are of coarser ornamentation, the outline is ink, painted in red and blue, the background is green. In addition, the headpiece on fol. 6v was described, which consists of an alternation of three vertical lines and two circles, which are connected with a dot in the middle; the ends are decorated with bunches executed with ink and vermilion. It was noted that the headings on fol. 1v[297] are contoured with vermilion, and on the remaining folios are contoured with ink[298].

As for the coverage of the content of the preserved passages, the compilers provided a list of preserved fragments of the Gospel readings, which was based on the work of Sreznevsky[299].

As for the bibliography, the compilers of the *Union Catalogue* tried to present the most complete version of it. The list of publications included the works of Sreznevsky in 1867, 1868, 1874, 1882 and 1885, the lithographic edition of Bermeleev in 1868, the publication of Hiltebrandt in 1869 and his description of the Manuscript department of the Vilna

295 Сводный каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг, хранящихся в СССР. XI–XIII вв. Москва: Наука, 1984. С. 50–51.
296 Ibid. С. 50.
297 There was obviously a typo here, because it indicates fol. 1 which has no headings.
298 Сводный каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг. С. 50.
299 Ibid. С. 51.

Public Library in 1871. In addition to the works of the three pillars, the works of Jagić in 1882, Dobryansky in 1882, Stasov in 1887 and the review on it by Sobolevsky in 1887, Vladimirov in 1890, Voskresensky in 1894 and 1896, Volkov in 1897, Polevoy in 1900, Karinsky in 1904 and 1925, Nikolsky in 1906, Vondrák in 1910, Durnovo in 1924–1927 and 1969, Karsky in 1928, Ohienko in 1929, Granstrem in 1958, Abramavičius in 1957; the reviews of the history of the Vilna Public Library compiled by Ivashkevych in 1959 and Abramavičius in 1963, the works of Petrauskenė in 1966, the "Preliminary List" by Shelamanova in 1966, Zhukovskaya in 1968 and 1976, the collective work of Tóth, Horváth and Horgosi in 1978, the separate work of Tóth in 1978, the book by Kuev in 1979. In addition to the list, the compilers briefly provided information about the content of the works by particular researchers in terms of publication or study of the Turiv Gospel[300].

However, from the above list we can see that the bibliography was incomplete, even compared to the information contained in the article by Tóth, Horváth and Horgosi of 1978, from which information about the content of Vondrák 's book was mistakenly written off (see above). Some works were presented also with errors; for example, in the work by Durnovo of 1924–1927, the numbers of the published parts and pages in them were mixed up. Therefore, there is every reason to believe that some of the books included in the list of bibliography were simply copied from other editions without proper working out by the compilers.

An important achievement of the publication of the *Union Catalogue* can be considered the first publication of the text of the 18th century entries, which confirmed the content of the charters of Kostiantyn Ostrozky and members of his family, dated 1508 and 1513. Their content was also given by the compilers[301]. As we remember, only in Hiltebrandt's edition of 1867 and 1868 were these entries briefly mentioned.

The study of these marginalia of the 18th century became possible in 1979, when the entries on fols. 4, 6v and 7 were subjected to photo analysis. Thanks to this, it was possible to read in more detail the text on fol. 2v, which confirmed the donation charter of 1513. Thus, it was read that this charter was presented in 1781 or 1731 (by Hiltebrandt – in 1791) in the Pinsk Zemstvo Court, in the month < … > (by Hiltebrandt – October) on the 31st day, before their graces, Messrs. Adam < … >, Kazimierz Swieżynski, Michal Szyrm, and then it was said about the donations of the Ostrozkys, inscribed in this Gospel[302].

The entry confirming the 1508 donation charter on fol. 6v could not be read, except for the signature of the same Kazimierz Swieżyński[303] (Hiltebrandt gives the date as October 31, 1782).

300 Сводный каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг. С. 51–52.
301 Ibid. С. 50–51.
302 Ibid. С. 50.
303 Ibid. С. 51.

On fol. 7, the entry was read almost in full; it testified that on July 6, 1790, the parish priests of the Church of the Transfiguration of Our Saviour in Turov, Jan Rumkiewicz, and Mykolaj Orda, presented these entries during lustration, which was certified by commissar Jan Kenewicz[304].

It is worth dwelling on these entries in more detail, because the photo analysis indicated two possible dates for the presentation of the documents in the Pinsk Zemstvo Court – 1731 or 1781 (and 1782, if we take into account Hiltebrandt's reading). This is important to clarify, because later in historiography both 1731 and 1781 are found.

In fact, when reviewing the list of the Pinsk Zemstvo judges, we can also find those mentioned in the inscription on fol. 2v – Adam Skirmunt (whose last name was not read) who held this position in 1773–1792, Kazimierz Świężyński who was a judge in 1778–1793, and Michal Szyrm, a judge in 1780–1793[305]. For clarification, I would like to note that the commissar Jan Kęniewicz mentioned in the 1790 entry is also givven in the documents of this time[306].

Therefore, all the supporting entries date back to the end of the 18th century.

1984–1985

During these years, the doctoral dissertation of the aforementioned Hungarian philologist-Slavist ***Imre Tóth*** was defended, which was published the following year after the defence in the form of a separate monograph. In general, both texts are practically identical, although there are some differences in pagination.

In the list of sources for the dissertation research, *Tóth* provided brief information about the Turov Gospel of the 11th century (under No. 3 and the title "Turov Leaves of Gospel Readings"). It was noted that 10 folios, measuring 21×17.5 cm, have survived from the book, the text is written in brown ink in one column of 18 lines, the initials are coloured with cinnabar, blue and dark green paints, which in some places turn into pale blue and green (the description is taken with reference to the work of Dobryansky). It was mentioned that, according to some scholars (with an erroneous reference to Karinsky, not Ohienko), fol. 10 could have been copied by another scribe, but this is unlikely. It was noted that the "Turov Leaves" are a fragment of the Aprakos Gospel, and after Sreznevsky, the corresponding chapters and verses were named. The presence

304 Сводный каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг. С. 51.

305 Urzędnicy Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego. Spisy. Tom VIII: Ziemia brzeska i województwo brzeskie, XIV–XVIII wiek / Pod red. A. Rachuby; oprac. H. Lulewicz, T. Jaszczołt, A. Radaman, A. Rachuba, P. P. Romaniuk, A. Macuk, A. Danilczyk, A. Haratym. Warszawa ((Instytut Historii Polskiej Akademii Nauk)), 2020. S. 293–294, № 1694, № 1695 та № 1697.

306 Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės seimelių instrukcijos (1788–1790) / atsakingasis red. R. Jurgaitis; parengė R. Jurgaitis, A. Stankevič, A. Verbickienė. Vilnius (Mykolo Romerio universitetas, Parlamentarizmo istorijos tyrimų centras), 2015. (serija «Fontes historiae parlamentorum Lituanicorum», t. I). P. 318.

of donation charters of Kostiantyn Ostrozky from 1508 and 1513 on the margins of the monument was recorded, on the basis of which it was assumed that during this period the book was still intact and, probably, was on the throne of the Transfiguration Church in Turov[307].

Regarding the dating of the monument, *Tóth* cited Sreznevsky's reasoning that the Turov Gospel is younger than the Ostromir Gospel of 1056–1057 and older than the Menaia of 1096–1097, as well as Durnovo's opinion that the monument is older than other undated monuments of the 11th century or no later than the first half of the 12th century (while *Tóth* mistakenly refers to Karinsky's work) [308].

It is important to note that *Tóth* also cited several palaeographic features that were supposed to substantiate the dating of the Turov Gospel to the 11th century: ѣ is completely in a line, ѡ has a high connecting bar, ж is written in three strokes, the connecting bar of ѥ is in the middle, the connecting bar of и is slightly tilted[309].

Regarding the determination of the place of writing of the manuscript, *Tóth* cited Stasov's reasoning regarding the Belarusian ("West Rus'ian") origin of the manuscript, the denial of this statement by Sobolevsky who saw the manuscript as a "monument of Kyivan origin", and Vladimirov's thesis about its Ukrainian ("South Rus'ian") origin. In this part, the scholar did not give preference to any of the statements, only mentioning them[310]. Instead, considering the grapho-orthographic characteristics of the monument, in particular, in the writing of the softened consonant + ѧ (вьсѧкоѭ, хотѧаше), as well as the replacement of ѣ by the letter и (видать гласъ его), *Tóth* expressed his opinion on the probability of writing the monument in the Ukrainian territory, approximately within the Galician-Volhynian lands[311].

In general, the dissertation and the book actually repeat *Tóth's* observations on graphic-spelling and linguistic features, set out in the 1978 edition – the use of *yuses*, iotated letters, *yat*, reduced vowels, diacritical marks, etc.; they were also included in his doctoral dissertation and monograph[312].

In the bibliography, *Tóth* used the same works that were cited by Horváth in the 1978 collective work, supplementing them with references to a brief description of the monument in the works by Jagić of 1884, Golubynsky of 1904, Shakhmatov of

307 Тот И. Х. Русская редакция. 1984. С. 18–19; Тот И. Х. Русская редакция. 1985. С. 26–27.
308 Тот И. Х. Русская редакция. 1984. С. 19; Тот И. Х. Русская редакция. 1985. С. 27.
309 Тот И. Х. Русская редакция. 1984. С. 20; Тот И. Х. Русская редакция. 1985. С. 28.
310 Тот И. Х. Русская редакция. 1984. С. 19; Тот И. Х. Русская редакция. 1985. С. 27.
311 Тот И. Х., Хоргоши Э., Хорват Г. Туровские листки. С. 196, 211; Тот И. Х. Русская редакция. 1984. С. 79, 280; Тот И. Х. Русская редакция. 1985. С. 87, 288.
312 Тот И. Х. Русская редакция. 1984. С. 74–81, 142–147, 178–180, 216–220, 262, 279–281, 303; Тот И. Х. Русская редакция. 1985. С. 82–89, 150–155, 186–188, 220–228, 270, 287–289, 306.

1910–1911, and Kiparsky of 1964, as well as the publication of the text by Gribble (based on Karinsky's 1904 reading-book) [313]. At the same time, part of the bibliography was also given without proper elaboration. For example, the work of Vondrák, which is a litmus-paper for determining familiarization with the full bibliography, was again indicated with an error. Indeed, it was noted above that in his reading-book the publication of an excerpt from the Turov Gospel takes up only one page. So, taking into account this information about Vondrák's work, *Tóth* did leave one page, but indicated it incorrectly: from p. 136, as indicated in his work, began Vondrák's publication of fragments of manuscripts written in the territory of Rus', and the text itself from our manuscript was published in the reading-book on p. 143. Similarly, the erroneous assumption that fol. 10 was possibly written in a different handwriting, expressed by Ohienko, was attributed to Karinsky.

1985

1) In the context of studying the illuminated book, the works of the Russian art historian ***Vasyl Putsko*** also mentioned the 11th-century Turov Gospel – in fact, the specifics of the design of its initials.

Putsko noted that the initials are made with an ink outline, painted in red and blue, some have a green background[314]. As an illustration to the article, a photograph of the spread of the manuscript fols. 1v–2, which contained the initials Р and О [315], is given.

According to *Putsko*, typologically, some of the initials are close to the Chudov Psalter of the 11th century, and some to the Ostromir Gospel of 1056–1057. It was separately emphasized that these manuscripts, just like the Cyrillic part of the Reims Gospel of the 11th century, mentioned by *Putsko* above, do not contain "clear traces of their illuminators' acquaintance with the Constantinople book art of the 11th century". In this context, as the researcher believed, the Turov Gospel stands chronologically between the Reims and Ostromir Gospels, since in the latter he sees examples of the "Bulgarian prototype" that were "subjected to radical processing" by local masters under the influence of Constantinople book art; the character of the manuscript headpieces and initials imitated the style of cloisonné enamels, and this reflects the new artistic tastes that "dominated in the Kyiv scriptorium" from the middle of the 11th century[316].

313 Тот И. Х. Русская редакция. 1984. С. 20–22; Тот И. Х. Русская редакция. 1985. С. 28–30.

314 Пуцко В. Г. Славянская иллюминированная книга X–XI веков // Byzantinoslavica. Revue internationale des études Byzantine. Prague, 1985. T. XLVI. P. 149.

315 Ibid. Рис. 10.

316 Ibid. P. 149–150.

In subsequent works, *Putsko* gradually developed the theses expressed here.

2) This year, a small note by ***Ödön Horgosi*** (prepared back in 1980) was published, dedicated to the lexical and textological analysis of the Turov Gospel[317]. In this work, *Horgosi* substantiated the thesis about the Bulgarian origin of the manuscript's protograph, comparing the words and phrases used in the text with the Ostromir Gospel and other ancient manuscripts, noting that some of the words belong to the circle of rare words found in the Old Bulgarian language. A separate part of the scholar's research was the comparison of the texts of the Turov Gospel with the texts of Sava's Book, the Asemani, Ostromir, and Archangel Gospels, and the mention of some differences шт the texts.

1986

This year, the second edition of the work by the Bulgarian researcher ***Kuyo Kuev*** was published, but in the part dedicated to the Turov Gospel, no new data was provided compared to the 1979 edition[318].

1987

1) In the new work of art historian ***Vasyl Putsko***, the arguments were repeated that in terms of decorative design the Turov Gospel is closest to the Reims Gospel, or rather to its Cyrillic part. At the same time, the uncial script is close to the uncial used in writing the Pandects of Antioch and the Chudov Psalter. With all this, the monument is calligraphically close to the Ostromir Gospel of 1056–1057.

Based on these observations, *Putsko* attributed all these manuscripts to the products of the Kyiv scriptorium of the 11th century[319]. As an illustration, a spread of fols. 6v–7 was provided, which, in addition to the horizontal headpiece and the initial Ѣ, also contained depictions of secondary texts of the 16th and 18th centuries[320].

2) A more detailed exploration of the decorative design of the Turov Gospel is contained in a collective work on the history of Belarusian art, prepared by the Belarusian art critic ***Viktor Shmatov***.

Brief descriptions of the initials were given and their order was indicated: Р (fol. 1v), О (fol. 2), Р (fols. 3, 5, 9v), Ѣ (fols. 5v, 7, 7v – an illustration with this initial was shown in

317 Хоргоши Э. Опыт лексического и текстологического анализа Туровских листов XI века // Годишник на Софийския университет «Св. Климент Охридски». Факултет по славянски филологии. Проблеми на българистиката и славистиката. Т. 1974, 3 (1980). София, 1985. С. 67–74.

318 Куев К. М. Съдбата на стробългарските ръкописи през вековете. София: Наука и изкуство, 1986. С. 20–21.

319 Пуцко В. Художественное оформление древнейших славянских рукописей // Slovo: časopis Staroslavenskoga instituta u Zagrebu. Zagreb, 1987. Sv. 37. S. 86.

320 Ibid. S. 85, рис. 17.

the photo, 8v, 10, 10v); their dimensions were indicated: height 7.5 cm, occupy 8 lines of text; most are modelled in three colours: red, blue and green; executed in two styles: linear and silhouette, with those executed in the latter style being more expressive[321]. *Shmatov* did not analyze the horizontal headpiece on fol. 6v.

According to *Shmatov*, in some of them one can see the primary forms of the lush representational style inherent in late Romanesque manuscripts[322]. The closeness of the design of these initials to the Reims Gospel of the 11th century was also noted[323]. Noting this similarity, *Shmatov* pointed out that the reasoning of Stasov, who, as mentioned above, reckoned those of both manuscripts in the Belarusian ornaments, is not contradictory; therefore, cautiously, without emphasizing this, he nevertheless spoke in favour of the Belarusian origin of the Turov Gospel[324].

1988

This year, another article by the Russian art critic ***Vasyl Putsko*** was published, in which his reasoning was repeated about the closeness in decorative design of the Turov Gospel to the Cyrillic part of the Reims Gospel, the Pandects of Antiochus, the Chudov Psalter, and partly the Ostromir Gospel of 1056–1057.

Based on this, *Putsko* suggested that our manuscript belongs to the production of the Kyiv princely scriptorium of Yaroslav the Wise[325]. Compared to previous editions, *Putsko* specified that the headings in the Turov Gospel are executed with vermilion and ink[326].

1989–1997

During this period, the publication of the project of the aforementioned Hungarian philologists-Slavists ***Ödön Horgosi*** and ***Imre Tóth*** continued, which for technical reasons was extended for several years. This project included the preparation and introduction into scientific circulation of a dictionary-index of words of the Old Bulgarian language that are found in manuscript monuments of the 11th–12th centuries, copied in the territories of Rus'. In fact, it was a dictionary of those monuments that *Tóth* used in his dissertation research, among which was the Turov Gospel.

321 Гісторыя беларускага мастацтва у шасці тамах. Т. 1: Ад старажытных часоў да другай паловы XVI стагоддзя. Мінск: Навука і тэхніка, 1987. С. 90–91, іл. 36.
322 Ibid. С. 91.
323 Ibid. С. 91.
324 Гісторыя беларускага мастацтва у шасці тамах. С. 91.
325 Пуцко В. Г. Книжкова продукція київських та південно-західних скрипторіїв XI–XIII ст. // Писемність Київської Русі і становлення української літератури. Збірник наукових праць. К.: Наукова думка, 1988. С. 11–12.
326 Ibid. С. 12.

During this time, the first[327], second[328] and third (in the first[329] and second[330] parts) volumes and supplements with a brief description of the sources were published, including the "Turov Leaves of Gospel Readings"[331]. The characteristics of the Turov Gospel given in the latter case corresponded to the descriptions in the dissertation research of *Tóth* in 1984 and the monograph published in 1985. An exception can be called the correction of the misprint in the description of the letter и: in the previous edition it was noted that in the letter и "a horizontal loop is slightly raised"; therefore, now it has been corrected: "a horizontal crossbar"[332]. And such was also in Bogdanova's work included in the bibliographical description, which will be discussed below.

1991

1) This year, two works by the Russian art historian ***Vasyl Putsko*** were published, in which he continued to develop his own views on the development of the Slavic handwritten book, including the Turov Gospel.

Having once again emphasized the similarity of the manuscript design with the Cyrillic part of the Rheims Gospel, the Pandects of Antiochus, and the Chudov Psalter, *Putsko* noted that the illumination of these codices does not show any traces of familiarity with the design of manuscripts, which was an achievement of the Constantinople scriptoria of the 11th century, and the ornamentation is closer to the design of Greek manuscripts of Italian origin. From this, *Putsko* concludes that the leader in the decorative design of the manuscript monuments listed above was Bulgaria, which, in his opinion, is fully consistent with linguistic observations. However, from the middle of the 11th century, in the princely scriptorium in Kyiv, under the influence of the Constantinople "enamel style", which took shape precisely during this period, certain changes took place in the design of manuscripts,

327 Szótár-index az óbolgár nyelv XI–XII. századi orosz másolatú emlékeihez. Словарь-индекс русской редакции древнеболгарского языка конца XI – начала XII в. По материалам Слуцкой Псалтыри, Туровских листков, Евгениевской Псалтыри, Жития Кондрата, Жития Феклы, Минеи Дубровского, Бычковской Псалтири, Реймсского Евангелия, Листка Викторова, Русской части Саввиной книги, Ленинградскои минеи. Szeged, 1989. T. 1 [А–И].

328 Szótár-index az óbolgár nyelv XI–XII. századi orosz másolatú emlékeihez. Словарь-индекс русской редакции древнеболгарского языка конца XI – начала XII в. По материалам Слуцкой Псалтыри, Туровских листков, Евгениевской Псалтыри, Жития Кондрата, Жития Феклы, Минеи Дубровского, Бычковской Псалтири, Реймсского Евангелия, Листка Викторова, Русской части Саввиной книги, Ленинградскои минеи. Szeged, 1992. T. II [К–О].

329 Szótár-index az óbolgár nyelv XI–XII. századi orosz másolatú emlékeihez. Словарь-индекс русской редакции древнеболгарского языка конца XI – начала XII в. По материалам Слуцкой Псалтыри, Туровских листков, Евгениевской Псалтыри, Жития Кондрата, Жития Феклы, Минеи Дубровского, Бычковской Псалтири, Реймсского Евангелия, Листка Викторова, Русской части Саввиной книги, Ленинградскои минеи. Szeged, 1993. T. III/1 [П–С].

330 Szótár-index az óbolgár nyelv XI–XII. századi orosz másolatú emlékeihez. Словарь-индекс русской редакции древнеболгарского языка конца XI – начала XII в. По материалам Слуцкой Псалтыри, Туровских листков, Евгениевской Псалтыри, Жития Кондрата, Жития Феклы, Минеи Дубровского, Бычковской Псалтири, Реймсского Евангелия, Листка Викторова, Русской части Саввиной книги, Ленинградскои минеи. Szeged, 1995. T. III/2 [С–ѱ].

331 Szótár-index. Приложение. С. 16–20.

332 Ibid. С. 18.

represented by the Ostromir Gospel of 1056–1057 or the Izbornik of 1073[333]. Since the initials of the Turov Gospel have features inherent in both monuments written before and after this artistic revolution, the manuscript actually served as a connecting link between both styles[334].

Therefore, if the manuscript is similar in style to the Cyrillic part of the Reims Gospel, written, according to *Putsko,* between 1037–1044 and which lacks signs of this "enamel style", and at the same time, the features of the manuscript are noted in the decoration of the Ostromir Gospel of 1056–1057, which has certain signs of "enamel style", then the Turov Gospel can be dated between the mid-1040s and mid-1050s[335].

Considering that the Pandects of Antiochus and the ChudovPsalter, which are close to the mentioned monuments, tend to this group, *Putsko* noted that it is difficult to assume the existence of the same principles of decorative design in different centres, separated by a large space; therefore, most likely, all the manuscripts are the products of the Kyiv scriptorium, which was founded by Prince Yaroslav at the St. Sophia Cathedral and mentioned in the 1037 chronicle[336].

2) This year, the edition of the text of the Turov Gospel, prepared in 1985 by the Bulgarian researcher ***Sabka Bogdanova*** and based on the work of Tóth, Horgosi and Horváth of 1978, was published, printed according to the principle of "line by line, letter by letter" while preserving the titla, but without indicating diacritical marks[337]. The author's publication included a dictionary of words found in the Turov Gospel[338], which apparently impelled Hungarian philologists-Slavists to begin preparing their own dictionary (realized during 1989–1997).

***

Therefore, the return of the Turov Gospel to the library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences had a positive impact on the study of the handwritten monument. During this period, additional studies of the manuscript were carried out, resulting in the republication of the facsimile part with a detailed description of the grapho- orthographic features, carried out by Tóth, Horgosi and Horváth in 1978, the publication of the new facsimile of the manuscript text by Bogdanova and the compilation of a corresponding dictionary,

333 See also the later work of V. Putsko on this topic: Пуцко В. Византийский емальернный стиль в оформлении греческих и иноязычных рукописей // Зборник радова Византолошког института. В. XXXII. Београд, 1993. С. 12–13. However, the researcher did not mention the Turov Gospel in this work.

334 Пуцко В. Г. Эмальерный стиль в художественном оформлении киевских рукописей XI в. // Книжные центры Древней Руси. XI–XVI вв.: Разные аспекты исследования. Санкт- Петербург: Наука, 1991. С. 32; Пуцко В. Г. Византия и становление искусства Киевской Руси // Южная Русь и Византия: Сборник научных трудов (к XVIII конгрессу византинистов). К.: Наукова думка, 1991. С. 92.

335 Пуцко В. Г. Византия и становление искусства Киевской Руси. С. 92.

336 Пуцко В. Г. Эмальерный стиль. С. 32.

337 Богданова С. Туровско Евангелие. С. 74–100.

338 Ibid. С. 86–100.

which was later taken up by Horgosi and Horváth, and the reading of the marginal notes of the late 18th century, contained in the 1984 *Union Catalogue*. These three works gradually became new "samples" in the field of the study of the Turov Gospel, although they did not replace the works of the three pillars of the 19th century (Sreznevsky, Bermeleev and Hiltebrandt), only slightly shifting them to the side.

As for the clarification of the place of writing of the Turov Gospel, during this period – the second half of the 1980s – two main views on this issue were formed, which were based on the study of the decorative features of the manuscript design. The Belarusian art critic Shmatov very cautiously suggested the rightness of Stasov who considered the Turov and Reims Gospels as monuments being "West Rus'ian", that is, Belarusian. The Russian art critic Putsko held an opposite view; while emphasizing the closeness of both monuments, he considered the Turov Gospel as a product of the Kyiv princely scriptorium of Yaroslav the Wise. However, these issues will be substantiated in more detail in the next period of studying the manuscript, for which the question of the origin of the manuscript will become the main one, gradually acquiring almost political importance.

Chapter 5. In Search of Historical Identity: the Fifth Stage of Research on the Turov Gospel (Early 1990s – Second Decade of the 2000s)

The collapse of the Soviet Empire – the USSR – in the early 1990s led to the formation of independent states – the former "union" republics. The breakup of dependence on the imperial Russian centre caused a new wave of interest in national history, in persons and topics which study previously was not tolerated or tacitly prohibited by Soviet academic functionaries. In general, these processes were somewhat reminiscent of those that took place during the national upsurge caused by the collapse of the Russian Empire at the end of the second decade of the 20th century.

One of such taboo topics in Soviet times was the criticism of the theory of the "common cradle of three fraternal peoples" and the view of the early medieval history of Rus' as an early stage of national statehood. And if similar topics were developed by representatives of national historiographies – Ukrainian and Belarusian, then the Russian one took a course towards cementing the old Soviet concept of a "common cradle", which gradually, within the framework of the development of the ideology of "rascism" (modern Russian Nazism), took shape in general in the recognition of the heritage of Rus' as exclusively a component of the history of the Russian state. Accordingly, these directions were reflected in the perception of the medieval handwritten heritage of Rus', which was also considered the property of the "Russian language and literature".

And this view, especially with the formation of the concept of the "Russian world", began to be purposefully imposed not only within Russian academic schools, but also outside them, through pro-Russian representatives of national (Ukrainian, Belarusian) or Western historiographies, generously financed through federal grant programs of the federal Russian government. All this must be taken into account when analyzing the latest bibliography, in particular for the Turov Gospel, because for this period, an important issue was to clarify the place of writing of the manuscript, and therefore the view on its interpretation as a Ukrainian, Belarusian or "common historical" monument, acquiring not only historical, but also political colouring.

1993

1) This year, the Russian philologist ***Yuri Labyntsev***, in a popular scientific essay on the history of the Turov-Pinsk land, gave a brief description of the Turov Gospel, noting that the monument was written in uncial, decorated with initials of the Old Byzantine type, painted in blue, red and green, as well as with a headpiece[339].

The author's story was illustrated by an image of fol. 7 with the initial Ⱃ[340]. The author also cited the reading of the 1508 donation charter of Kostiantyn Ostrozky on the margins of fol. 6v, and it was noted that this and other charters were also the subject of a court case, as evidenced by the entries of the 18th century[341].It is not difficult to notice that the main source for the author's work was information from the 1984 *Union Catalogue*. And although it was not directly written about this, the general context of the story about the excavations of ancient Turov, which testified to the high culture of this city of the Middle Ages, and the story about the ancient stone crosses, between which an essay about the Turov Gospel was placed, left no doubt in the readers that this, "one of the most ancient books of Rus'", also comes from here[342].

2) Also this year, a work by an employee of the Russian National Library – philologist ***Nikolai Nikolaev***, was published, dedicated to a review of the history of the handwritten books in Belarus in the 10th-18th centuries.

It described the Turov Gospel rather briefly. As in Labyntsev's previous work, *Nikolaev* very briefly described the monument itself, noting minor defects in the parchment and the presence of initials written in blue, green, and red. It is noteworthy that the same image of fol. 7 with the initial Ⱃ[343] was chosen for illustration.

339 Лабынцаў Ю. А. Старая казка Палесся (Турава-Пінская зямля). Мінск: Полымя, 1993. С. 18.
340 Ibid. С. 18.
341 Ibid. С. 30.
342 Ibid. С. 29–31.
343 Нікалаеў М. Палата кнігапісная. С. 20, 22.

In more detail, *Nikolaev* focused on the retelling of the texts of the charters of 1508 and 1513 and on the confirming entries of the 18th century. *Nikolaev* briefly retold the contents of both donation charters of the early 16th century and noted that with the help of photo analysis, it was possible to read two postscripts which testified that the confirmation was carried out by the clerks and judicial officials of the Pinsk district, Kazimierz Swierzynski and Michal Szyrm, in 1731; later, the Gospel with these charters was presented by the abbots Jan Rumkiewicz and Michal Orda to Commissar Jan Kenewicz, who confirmed them with the corresponding postscript in 1790[344]. It is not difficult to see that *Nikolaev* also transmitted information from the *Union Catalogue* of 1984, with an error in the date of confirmation – being 1731, but not 1781. As we recall, in the *Union Catalogue,* both dates were considered as options of reading, but *Nikolaev* accepted only the earlier one. As in the case of Labyntsev's work, *Nikolaev* called the Turov Gospel the oldest of the survived books that "comes from Belarusian lands"[345], although he did not provide any arguments for such a statement.

1994

1) In their efforts to substantiate the Belarusian origin of the Turov Gospel, Belarusian researchers actively turned to republishing individual works of three pillars of the 19th century in order to update the history of research on the region and on the monument itself. So this year, in one of the collections of the historical and documentary chronicle "Memory", the introductory part of the work of ***Pyotr Hiltebrandt***, which preceded the publication of the text of the Turov Gospel in 1869, was republished.

In the new edition, they used as an illustration the headpiece of probably the Second Turov Gospel of the 16th century from Katser's work of 1969, and fol. 10v from Bermeleev's edition of 1868. At the same time, both drawings were signed separately: the headpiece as "the headpiece of the Turov Gospel", and the image of the page as "the page of the Turov Gospel of the 11th century"[346].

2) Also this year, a study on the origin of the Supraśl Chronicle by the Ukrainian linguist ***Vasyl Nimchuk*** was published, which is sometimes mentioned in the context of the Turov Gospel[347].

In his article, *Nimchuk* mentioned the above-mentioned considerations of Jagić regarding the fact that the Turov Gospel could have been written in the Galician-Volhynian

344 Нікалаеў М. Палата кнігапісная. С. 20.

345 Ibid. С. 19.

346 Гильтебрандт П. Краткое известие о Туровском Евангелии // Памяць. Гісторыка-дакументальная хроніка Жыткавицкага раёна / рэд.-укл. В. Р. Феранц. Мінск: Ураджай, 1994. С. 89.

347 This is worth noting, because in the literature one can find a false statement that Nimchuk is "developing" Jagić's version: Шакун Н. Туровские Евангелия в литовских библиотечных фондах // Žmogus kalbos erdvėje. Mokslinių straipsnių rinkinys. № 6. Kaunas, 2010. С. 207.

lands[348], but did not comment on the question of the origin of this manuscript, but only gave a quotation from the 1884 work in the context of Jagić 's considerations on the origin of the Supraśl manuscript.

1995

This year, a classic work was published – a catalogue of Ukrainian manuscript books by bibliographer ***Yakym Zapasko***.

In the corresponding article on the Turov Gospel, *Zapasko* provided a brief general information about the appearance of the manuscript and its content, a brief description of the initials and bibliography that were contained in other publications, in particular in the 1984 *Union Catalogue*[349]. The article was illustrated with images of fols. 8v and 9v[350].

It was the 1984 *Union Catalogue* that formed the basis for the bibliographical part of the article on the Turov Gospel in *Zapasko's* book, often with its inherent shortcomings – for example, in the already classic erroneous indication of pages in Vondrák's chrestomathy. For some reason, references to Durnovo's work disappeared, but *Zapasko* expanded the list of bibliography by adding references to the works by Ikonnikov of 1908, Buslaev of 1917, Sventsitsky of 1920, Hrunsky and Kovaliv of 1941, Makhnovets of 1960, Krymsky of 1973, and Sapunov of 1978; the bibliography list was also supplemented by works published after the publication of the *Union Catalogue* of 1984 – by the Belarusian art critic Shmatov in 1984, the second edition of the work by the Bulgarian researcher Kuev in 1986, and articles by Putsko in 1985 and 1987[351]. In addition to providing the title, *Zapasko* gave brief characteristics of a particular book from the perspective of its information about the Turov Gospel. To this day, this list remains the most complete bibliography of the monument.

At the same time, if *Zapasko* was guided by information from the 1984 *Union Catalogue* when describing some of the physical features of the manuscript, then a number of observations was made independently, in particular regarding palaeography, linguistic features, and the marginalia of the early 16th century.

Thus, *Zapasko* published the donation charters of Kostiantyn Ostrozky of 1508 and 1513. The text was given according to the principle of "letter by letter", but with the disclosure of the titled words – the missing letters were indicated in brackets. The marginalia were published in chronological order – first the charter of 1508 on fol. 6v, then – of 1513

348 Німчук В. В. Про походження Супрасльського рукопису // Мовознавство. Науково-теоретичний журнал Інституту мовознавства ім. О. О. Потебні та Інституту української мови НАН України. 1994. № 6 (168). С. 6.
349 Запаско Я. П. Пам'ятки книжкового мистецтва. С. 156, 158.
350 Ibid. С. 157.
351 Ibid. С. 158–159.

on fol. 2v. It was also mentioned that there were confirming entries of the 18th century in Polish, with a separate mention of the inscription of 1790[352].

Regarding the palaeographic features of the monument, *Zapasko* highlighted the following: the letter ѣ completely in a line; ρ with a narrow head and a long stem, which almost touches the upper level of the lower line; м with a thin connecting bar, barely protruding beyond the lower level of the line; ѵ in the form of a small bowl; и with a shortened connecting bar; и and ѥ with a connecting bar, which is slightly raised to the right; ѡ with a high middle[353]. Regarding linguistic features, *Zapasko* highlighted the following regional ones of the Ukrainian recension: the replacement of є with ѣ (хананѣиска, заведеѣова, июдѣискъ, фарисѣи); pleophony (середро); soft ц (овьца); hard ρ (двьръ); dative case with the ending -ови (Симонови); writing ж instead of дж (рожьства); use of the word възѣди[354]. Some of these features of the Ukrainian recension have already been repeatedly cited by researchers; however, such a number is indicated for the first time.

Based on the highlighted palaeographic features and certain linguistic features of the Turov Gospel, *Zapasko* attributed the monument to manuscripts of Ukrainian origin, and Kyiv was recognized as the probable place of writing of this monument from the second half of the 11th century[355].

1998

1) This year, the work of ***Yuri Labyntsev*** was published, in which the author again paid attention to the overview of the Turov Gospel through the prism of its veneration by the princes Ostrozkys.

We have already become acquainted with this work when one of the versions of the discovery of the Turov Gospel was discussed.

In this article, *Labyntsev* cited the reading of the 1513 charter of Kostiantyn Ostrozky and his family members, written on fol. 2v[356]. However, *Labyntsev's* statement that it is impossible to exclude that the place of writing of the Turov Gospel was Turov itself, taking into account the "special history of Turov and the Turov region", because one of the first bishoprics in the territory of Rus' was founded here; at the end of the 16th century, there were fourteen parish churches in the city, and at the beginning of the 19th century, there were seven of them[357].

352 Запаско Я. П. Пам'ятки книжкового мистецтва. С. 158.
353 Ibid. С. 156.
354 Ibid. С. 158.
355 Ibid. С. 156, 158.
356 Лабынцев Ю. Туровское Евангелие как особо чтимая святыня. С. 83.
357 Ibid. С. 83–84.

2) In the same year, the work of the Russian art critic ***Vasyl Putsko***, dedicated to the decorative design of the Turov Gospel, was published in the *Belarusian Historical Review*. The article was illustrated with spreads of fols. 1v–2, 7v–8, 9v–10, 10v[358].

On the pages of this work, *Putsko* attempted to present a historiographical overview of the research and publications of the Turov Gospel, especially in the light of Stasov's and Sobolevsky's considerations regarding the origin of the manuscript, and to highlight his own vision of this issue. In general, this was an article not so much about the illumination of the manuscript as about the manuscript itself as a whole.

Regarding the main topic stated in the title of the article, as much as one paragraph is devoted to the description of the illumination of the manuscript. It is noted that the initials Ѣ and Р, which occur on the pages of the manuscript, in some cases belong to the plant intertwined ornament well known from Greek manuscripts of the 10th–11th centuries, but in slightly modified versions; therefore, it is impossible to consider them as a simple copy of Greek samples. The initial Р on fol. 3, as *Putsko* writes, is made in a zoomorphic motif: a smoothly curved head of a bird that is cleaning its feathers; the Р on fol. 5 also tends towards this initial, although the design of this letter is significantly simplified, and the loop is filled with green paint (as in a number of other initials), which contradicts the aesthetic tastes of the Greek illuminators of the book. On fols. 7 and 10v, there are initials Ѣ, which contain exclusively plant motifs; on the other hand, in the initial Р on fol. 1v, this type is rather guessed[359].

According to *Putsko*, all the above-mentioned features highlight the main points of the development of handwritten book illumination in the territory of Rus', which were already considered in his works of 1985, 1987, 1988 and 1991. That is, the connection of the Turov Gospel with the products of the Kyiv princely scriptorium of Yaroslav the Wise was outlined, as well as the closeness of the design to the Reims Gospel, the Pandects of Antiochus the Monk, and the Chudov Psalter; and at the same time, the similarity to the Ostromir Gospel of 1056–1057, in which the motifs of the "enamel style" are already clearly traced. With this interpretation, the Turov Gospel was declared to represent a kind of "transitional stage" between the listed monuments. This statement allowed *Putsko* to date the book to around 1050 and to attribute its writing and decoration to the hand of a master who was associated with the Kyiv princely scriptorium. But at the same time, *Putsko* made an elegant curtsey to Belarusian historiography: the master's connection with Kyiv does not mean that the Turov Gospel was written in Kyiv, because the master, who learned to work here, could have moved to some other subordinate principality of

358 Пуцко В. Ілюмінацыя Тураўскаго Евангелля // Беларускі гістарычны агляд: навуковы часопіс. 1998. Т. 5, сш. 1. С. 88–102. URL: https://www.belhistory.eu/archives/373. (accessed 28 May 2025).

359 Ibid.

Rus', where there was an episcopal centre, at least to Turov, and to write the book there – a fact that can neither be proven nor refuted[360]. In the future, this thesis will become a kind of mantra for supporters of the "Belarusian" origin of the manuscript.

3) A rather brief mention of the short parchment Aprakos Gospel of the 11th century with an indication of the location of the manuscript, as well as its lithographic edition by Bermeleev in 1868, is contained in the collective work of Russian researchers on *The Gospel of John in the Slavic Tradition*[361].

1999

This year, an essay on the history of the Turov land by the Belarusian archaeologist ***Petro Lysenko*** was published.

It is clear that when reviewing the history of the region, it was impossible to avoid mentioning our significant monument. Indeed, *Lysenko* considered the Gospel "written in a solemn uncial of the mid-11th century" as evidence of the spread of literacy among the Turov clergy, who used it to conduct spiritual rites. However, he emphasized that "there is no indication of its local origin"; therefore, it is more likely that the manuscript was brought to Turov by "one of the local princes or a bishop from other centres for copying and distributing spiritual literature"[362]. Somewhat later, under the influence of the general trend in the development of Belarusian historiography, *Lysenko* would change his approach to this definition.

2000

1) Another work by ***Yuri Labyntsev*** was published, dedicated to the Turov Gospel, in which he repeated in a somewhat shortened version the arguments expressed in the 1998 work regarding the circumstances of the discovery of the Turov Gospel and considerations regarding the possibility of writing the manuscript in Turov[363]. The article was illustrated with an image of a fol. 2v, which contained the text of the 1513 charter of Kostiantyn Ostrozky, also published by *Labyntsev* in this edition[364].

2) This year, a research by the Polish scholar ***Monika Wierzchowska*** was published, dedicated to the phonetic features of the Turov Gospel of the 11th century.

Despite the narrow focus of the article, *Wierzchowska* listed the main characteristics of the monument, relying mainly on Ohienko's descriptions of 1929 for indication of the

360 Пуцко В. Ілюмінацыя Тураўскаго Евангелля.

361 Евангелие от Иоанна в славянской традиции / Изд. подг. А. А. Алексеев, А. А. Пичхадзе, М. Б. Бабицкая, И. В. Азарова, Е. Л. Алексеева, Е. И. Ванеева, А. М. Пентковский, В. А. Ромодановская, Т. В. Ткачева. Санкт-Петербург (Российское библейское общество), 1998. Приложение 2. Обзор рукописей. С. 78.

362 Лысенко П. Ф. Туровская земля IX–XIII вв. С. 227–228.

363 Лабынцев Ю. А. Новое о Туровских евангелиях. С. 39–49.

364 Ibid. С. 42, 45.

characteristic physical features (page size, text amount, number of lines, presence of entries from the early 16th century) and the 1984 *Union Catalogue* (a detailed description of the Gospel readings)[365]. Analyzing the text of the preserved pages of the Turov Gospel, *Wierzchowska* identified three main phonetic layers in it.

The first, South Slavic, testified to the origin of the protograph of the Aprakos Gospel[366]. From this protograph, which got into the territory of Rus', the local scribe carefully copied the text, but still made certain mistakes. They formed two other phonetic layers.

The second phonetic layer highlighted by *Wierzchowska* contained the following features: confusion of ѧ with ѣ, ѫ with оу (глоубинѫ, ѣже); ending of verbs in the third person in -ть (приⷣеть, идѫть); writing ж instead of жд (рожьства, прⷭ҃ть); pleophony (серебро); use of є instead of ѣ (срⷣєдѣ); ending of the noun in the instrumental case -ьмь (ложьмь)[367]. Actually, the highlighting of these features as evidence of the rewriting of the monument in the territory of Rus' has already been repeatedly in one form or another cited in the works of various researchers. But in the context of the issue of the origin of the monument, the highlighting of the third layer is important.

Wierzchowska labelled this layer Proto-Ukrainian, and its features were as follows: mixing и with ѣ (видѧть), hard *jer* instead of etymologically soft (двьръ), writing о in place of є after iotated letters in foreign words (июдєомъ)[368]. Based on the presence of precisely this, Proto-Ukrainian layer, *Wierzchowska* concluded that the Turov Gospel originated in Kyiv[369].

2001

1) In the *Encyclopedia of the History of Belarus*, a work by ***Nikolai Nikolaev*** was published, dedicated to a brief description of the Turov Gospel, illustrated by the same image of fol. 7 with the initial ß.

A brief description of the monument was given, reproducing the information of the 1984 *Union Catalogue*, with the correction of the years of the confirming entries from 1731 to 1781; the list of literature included: the publication of the monument by Hiltebrandt in 1869, the 1984 *Union Catalogue*, the works of *Nikolaev* in 1993 and Putsko in 1995. At the same time, it was unequivocally stated that the Turov Gospel is the oldest book "created in Belarusian lands"[370].

2) This year, another work by art historian ***Vasyl Putsko*** appeared, deducated to the peculiarities of the illumination of medieval manuscripts of Rus'.

365 Wierzchowska M. Warstwy cech fonetycznych w «Ewangeliarzu turowskim». S. 220–223.
366 Ibid. S. 223–225.
367 Wierzchowska M. Warstwy cech fonetycznych w "Ewangeliarzu turowskim". S. 225–226.
368 Ibid. S. 226–227.
369 Ibid. S. 226–228.
370 Нікалаеў М. Тураўскае Евангелле. 2001. С. 541.

The researcher once again repeated his own thesis that the Turov Gospel is a transitional link between the decorative design of the Reims Gospel in the style of the "Graeco-Oriental artistic tradition inherited from the Bulgarians" and the Ostromir Gospel of 1056–1057, decorated in the "enamel style"[371].

3) From 2000, there livened up investigations of Russian scholars who unambiguously interpreted the Turov Gospel as an "Old Rus'ian" monument, which in their understanding meant a manuscript written in Church Slavonic language of the "Old Rus'ian" recension. In this version, the monument is presented in the description of manuscripts (f. 19) of the library of the Academy of Sciences of the Lithuanian Republic, prepared by Russian researchers ***Olga Knyazevskaya***, ***Aleksandr Lifshits*** and ***Anatoliy Turilov***.

The authors indicated that ten folios measuring 21–21.3 × 16.2–16.6 cm have been preserved from the manuscript, which come from different parts of the codex; the text is written in uncial script in a single hand (although they put a question mark before this statement), the height of the letters is 0.4 cm; the pages contain initials of the "Old Byzantine style", while on fols. 1–2 they are of finer work: ink outline, green background, colouring with red and blue paints; headings: vermilion (fol. 1) and ink (fols. 2–10) outlines. It was also noted that the binding in the manuscript is new, while the old one, probably from the 17th century, is kept separately. Regarding the content of the preserved part of the book, the Gospel readings were briefly given, divided into three passages, proposed earlier by Sreznevsky[372]. The 2001 description of the manuscript was based on the one taken from the 1984 *Union Catalogue* – in some places somewhat shortened by the compilers, and in some places somewhat supplemented. Moreover, certain inaccuracies in terms of description and bibliography were transferred from the *Union Catalogue* to the work of 2001.

Knyazevskaya, *Lifshits* and *Turilov* included an almost complete list of literature from the 1984 *Union Catalogue* – along with errors, for example, in the form of mixed up issues and pages of Durnovo's work of 1924–1927 or the indication of pages of Vondrák's reading-book. The bibliography was supplemented with an incorrect reference to the publication of an image of fol. 1v (but not 1) in the 1874 "Monuments of Antiquity" under the editorship of Batyushkov, with works by Kipriyanovich of 1899, Kuev of 1986, and Nikolaev of 1993[373].

On the pages of the description by *Knyazevskaya*, *Lifshits* and *Turilov* were completely printed the marginalia of the early 16th century. The donation charters of Kostiantyn

371 Пуцко В. Г. Иллюмированная древнерусская книга XI–XIII в. // Древняя Русь: вопросы медиевистики. 2001. № 3 (5). С. 45.

372 Князевская О. Л., Лифшиц А. Л., Турилов А. А. Пергаменные рукописи собрания Виленской публичной библиотеки (Библиотека Академии наук Литовской Республики, ф. 19) // Krakowsko-wileńskie studia slawistyczne. T. 3. Kraków, 2001. S. 8–10.

373 Ibid. S. 10–12.

Ostrozky and his family members were published in the order of their location within the manuscript: first, the charter on fol. 2v of 1513 was published, and only then the one on fol. 6v – of 1508. When publishing the text, the authors adhered to the principle of "letter by letter", preserving the titla and superscript letters. In addition, they published – with lacunas caused by the poor preservation of the text – a Polish inscription on fol. 2v, which confirmed the charter of 1513. Following the compilers of the *Union Catalogue*, this inscription was dated 1731, although, as a possible option, 1781 was also questioned in brackets – as we saw above, it was correct. As for other texts in Latin, it was only mentioned that there was an inscription on fol. 7 with the date 1790, as well as "entries on fol. 2v" (here, apparently, a misprint – instead of "6v") [374].

In general, the description and bibliography were significantly inferior to Zapasko's description of 1995.

2003

1) A new edition of the *Encyclopedia of the History of Belarus* was published, which reprinted the article on the Turov Gospel by ***Nikolai Nikolaev***, which repeated the 2001 edition, with the unequivocal statement that the manuscript was created on Belarusian lands[375].

2) Small excerpts from the text of the Turov Gospel were included in the Church Slavonic study guide by the Russian researcher ***Katerina Voylova***.

These were the Gospel readings: Jn. 10:1–9 on fols. 1–1v, Lk. 4:31–36 on fols. 7–7v, and Mt. 15:21–28 with part of the precept on fols. 5v–6v[376]. The manuscript is presented as a monument to the Church Slavonic language of the "Old Rus'ian" recension[377].

In the introductory part, *Voylova* mentioned the publications of Hiltebrandt in 1869 and Sreznevsky in 1876[378], whose principles of publication she tried to follow: printing "letter by letter" with preserving the titla, albeit without superscript marks. However, mistakes were made in the process of preparing the text. Thus, the beginning of the reading on fols. 5v–6 was given by *Voylova* as follows: "Въ врѣмя оно · иде Ісъ въ странѫ тирьскѫ и сидоньскѫ · и жена хананѣиска · ѡ прѣдѣлъ тѣхъ · ишьдъши възъпи глѫщѥ·"[379]. However, part of the text was given incorrectly: instead of иде, in the original is written изиде; instead of и жена, in the original – и се жена; instead of глѫщѥ, in the original – глѫщи.

374 Князевская О. Л., Лифшиц А. Л., Турилов А. А. Пергаменные рукописи. S. 9–10.
375 Нікалаеў М. Тураўскае Евангелле. 2003. С. 37.
376 Войлова К. А. Старославянский язык: Пособие для вузов. Москва: Дрофа, 2003. С. 331–332.
377 Ibid. С. 331.
378 Ibid.
379 Ibid.

2004

1) Another work by ***Yuri Labyntsev***, dedicated to the Turov Gospel, was published. Actually, it was a Belarusian translation of his work written in 2000[380].

2) A monograph by archaeologist ***Petro Lysenko*** was published, dedicated to the coverage of the history of ancient Turov.

And in this case, it was impossible to avoid mentioning the Turov Gospel, as in the 1999 edition. However, here *Lysenko* is not so categorical about the place of manuscript writing: the sentence about the lack of information concerning the place of origin of the manuscript disappeared. Instead, it was noted that the Turov Gospel is "the only oldest manuscript in Belarus, which testifies to the development of literacy in the territory of Belarus since the 11th century". And in the next paragraph it was said that the monument was not the only written work in ancient Turov, because with the adoption of Christianity and the subsequent establishment of the Turov bishopric, churches began to be built in the city, monasteries were founded, and perhaps one of them had its own centre for writing books[381].

Thus, the reader was indirectly led to the idea that the book was probably written in Turov. It is worth noting that the mention of the Turov Gospel in this work was supplemented by a hybrid illustration that combined two images: of the headpiece from Katser's 1969 work and of the fol. 10v from Bermeleev's edition of 1868; all this was signed as "Turov Gospel"[382].

3) This year, a popular science edition "Turov. Turov Gospel" was published under the editorship of ***Mikhail Nikitin***, which included a facsimile publication of the chromolithographic Bermeleev's edition of 1868[383]. The shortcoming, noted by Hiltebrandt in 1869, was unnoticed by the compilers, as a result of which the pages of the manuscript were also mixed up in this edition.

The republished Bermeleev's work contained an introductory article by the Belarusian researcher ***Liubou Liaushun***. The general structure of the Aprakos Gospels was outlined and brief characteristics of our manuscript were given: the monument is written in "chestnut ink" on thick parchment folios in quarto (approximately 22.2×17.8 cm), eleven initials written in blue, red, and green ink have been preserved, and the pages contain two charters of Kostiantyn Ivanovych Ostrozky and members of his family, as well as confirming notes of 1731 and 1790[384]. In the article, *Liaushun* avoided the question of the place of writing

380 Лабынцаў Ю. А. Новае аб Тураўскіх Евангеллях. С. 161–163.
381 Лысенко П. Ф. Древний Туров. С. 110.
382 Ibid. С. 9, рис. 3.
383 Тураўскае Евангелле. Тураў. Тураўскае Евангелле. Мінск: Беларуская энциклапедыя, 2004. С. 161–183.
384 Ляўшун Л. Тураўскае Евангелле. С. 158–159.

of the Gospel, limiting herself to the remark that the manuscript of Bulgarian origin was copied by an unknown scribe in East Slavic lands[385].

Archaeologist ***Petro Lysenko*** expressed a little more in this context; his article on the history of the spread of Christianity in the Principality of Turov was published in the same collection. In its pages, *Lysenko* repeated his assumption about the possibility of establishing a workshop for writing books in Turov. *Lysenko* considered it probable to associate the promotion of the growth of literacy among the city's population with the arrival there of the retinue of "Prince Svyatopolk's spouse, Barbara, a Greek woman", as well as with Prince Svyatopolk's interest in books – as the chronicle reports[386].

2007

In the process of reconstructing the Church Slavonic book collection of the Supraśl Annunciation Monastery, while examining the copy of the *Chronicle of George Hamartolus*, which could have been written in the Church of the Transfiguration of Our Saviour in the city of Turov, a Lithuanian researcher ***Sergejus Temčinas*** mentioned the Turov Gospel of the 11th century in the context of the donation charters (1508 and 1513) of Kostiantyn Ivanovych Ostrozky and members of his family, written on fols. 2v and 6v[387], – with reference to the work of Knyazevskaya, Lifshits and Turilov of 2001.

2008

1) In connection with a peculiar anniversary of the charter of Kostiantyn Ostrozky of 1508, written on the margins of fol. 6v, its republication was carried out by the Russian researcher ***Lyudmila Shchavinskaya***, and the text was accompanied by a lithograph of this page of the manuscript taken from Bermeleev's edition of 1868[388].

2) In an article dedicated to the problem of compiling a combined catalogue of Galician-Volhynian monuments, the Ukrainian researcher ***Viktoriya Lyubashchenko*** tried to strengthen the above considerations of Jagić regarding the Galician-Volhynian origin of the Turov Gospel[389].

385 Ляўшун Л. Тураўскае Евангелле. С. 158.

386 Лысенка П. Распаўсюджванне хрысціянства на Тураўскай зямлі // Тураў. Тураўскае Евангелле. Мінск: БелЭн, 2004. С. 117.

387 Темчин С. Супрасльский список Хроники Георгия Амартола середины XVI века и его антиграф 1494 года // Knygotyra. 2007. T. 49. P. 71.

388 Щавинская Л. Л. Полтысячелетия дарственной записи князей Острожских на Туровском евангелии // Международная электронная конференция «Белорусский текст: от рукописи к электронной книге» (к Дню белорусской письменности, сентябрь 2008 г.). [Минск], 2008. URL: https://belrus-seminar2008.narod.ru/Schavinskaja-Kr_stol.htm (accessed 28 May 2024).

389 Любащенко В. До питання про зведений каталог християнських рукописів Галицько-Волинської держави (історіографічний аспект) // Княжа доба: історія і культура. 2008. Вип. 2. С. 173–174.

Lyubashchenko identified two such indirect supporting arguments, both with reference to Labyntsev's works. The first argument is the presence on the pages of the manuscript of donation charters by Kostiantyn Ostrozky of 1508 and 1513, which indicate that "the work was revered as a spiritual shrine in the Ukrainian-Belarusian border region, in particular in the family of the princes Ostrozkys" [390].

The second argument is the presence of an Armenian entry on the "reverse of the 172nd folio of the Turov Gospel copy" [391], which indicates "the attention to the text by representatives of the Armenian community[392], which has long been widespread in Ukrainian lands" [393].

2009

In the context of highlighting the role of Kostiantyn Ostrozky and his family in the life of the church, the Ukrainian researcher ***Vasyl Ulyanovsky***, in his monograph dedicated to the prince, mentioned the donation charters of the Ostrozkys to the Transfiguration Church of the city of Turov, written in the Turov Gospel.

On the pages of the book, *Ulyanovsky* retold the main content of both charters of 1508 and 1513. It was noted that despite the prohibition of writing in the Holy Scriptures, such records, which were not particularly rare in Ukraine, were intended to "immortalize" such grants and strengthen them with "sacred power", as well as symbolically serve as a constant prayer for the donors[394].

2010

1) In his work on the review of the oldest liturgical monuments of Rus', Ukrainian musicologist ***Yuriy Yasinovsky*** attributed the 11th-century Turov Gospel to monuments of Kyivan origin[395].

Yasinovsky relied in this definition on the general historical and cultural context of Kyiv as the political, public, clerical, and cultural centre of Rus' at that time [396].

2) A brief description of the Turov Gospel is contained in the work of the Lithuanian researcher ***Nadežda Shakun***.

In terms of bibliography, *Shakun* relied on the publications of three pillars – Sreznevsky's of 1867 and 1876, Bermeleev's of 1868 and its reprint in 2004, Hiltebrandt's of 1869, as

390 Любащенко В. До питання про зведений каталог. С. 174.
391 It is about the Second Turov Gospel.
392 Лабынцев Ю. А. Новое о Туровских евангелиях. С. 47.
393 Любащенко В. До питання про зведений каталог. С. 174.
394 Ульяновський В. «Славний для всіх часів чоловік»: князь Костянтин Іванович Острозький: монографія. Острог: Вид-во Національного університету «Острозька академія», 2009. (Видатні постаті острогіани, вип. 2). С. 120–121.
395 Ясіновський Ю. Найдавніші літургійні пам'ятки Княжої доби // Καλοφωνια: Науковий збірник з історії церковної монодії та гимнографії. 2010. Ч. 5. С. 24.
396 Ibid. С. 23.

well as on the "fourth pillar" – the 1978 work by the Hungarian philologists-Slavists: Tóth, Horgosi and Horváth. It is likely that from the latter work were taken some bibliographical characteristics of the editions and mentions of the works of scholars absent from the list of literature (Vondrák, Sobolevsky). Detailed attention was paid to the review of Putsko's work of 1998 – in the context of dating the manuscript to the middle of the 11th century and its connection with the Kyiv scriptorium. Separately, Jagić's considerations in his work of 1884 and their citation by Nimchuk[397] were mentioned, however, as shown above, they were not interpreted quite correctly.

From Tóth's work, examples of archaic features of the Turov Gospel were given – namely, the consistent use of two reduced vowels in combination with liquid consonants, the presence of all four *yuses*, the writing of щ in place of the Proto-Slavonic **tj*. However, as *Shakun* notes, the copying of the manuscript in the East Slavic territories is indicated by such spellings as the pleophonic form сереⷠро, the writing ж instead of жд – рожьство, the endings -ьмъ, -ъмъ of nouns with **ŏ*, **jŏ* stems in the forms of the instrumental singular and dative plural. At the same time, it was stated that the identification of any bright local features that would allow us to more clearly clarify the place of writing of the manuscript was impossible due to the antiquity of the monument[398]. But *Shakun* nevertheless made an attempt to clarify the region of origin of the manuscript.

Supporting the thesis that the Turov principality was early integrated into the zone of spread of Christian culture in the territories of Rus', and simultaneously with it – literacy, *Shakun* suggested that in Turov from the end of the 11th or at least from the beginning of the 12th century a scriptorium functioned. Having partially examined the bibliography of the monument, especially regarding the issue of linguistic observations, *Shakun* came to the conclusion that the connection of the Gospel with the Turov region is based on "extralinguistic facts". After all, linguistics may indicate that the manuscript was copied in the lands of Rus' in the traditions of the Kyiv scriptorium, as most researchers consider, but the monument does not have any bright local manifestations. However, it was suggested that "due to the peculiarities of the grammar of the language and palaeography" the Turov Gospel is built into the system of monuments that were created in the territories of the West-Central Polissya (centres: Kyiv, Chernihiv, Turov, Pinsk, Supraśl)"[399].

As we can see, here too the reader's opinion is indirectly led to the Belarusian origin of the monument, although the author's chronology of the appearance of the scriptorium in Turov and the tentative time of writing of the manuscript do not coincide. The researcher's attempt to strengthen her own argument by relying on Jagić's reasoning, which are

397 Шакун Н. Туровские Евангелия в литовских библиотечных фондах. P. 206–207.
398 Ibid. P. 207.
399 Ibid. P. 205–207.

supposedly developed by Nimchuk[400], is not entirely successful. After all, as was noted above, the localization of the possible place of writing of the Gospel according to Jagić's theses goes beyond the boundaries of the region outlined by *Shakun*, and Nimchuk did not so much "develop" Jagić's theory as quote his reasoning.

3) In the context of studying ancient manuscripts, with the aim of involving as many manuscripts as possible for comparative lexical analysis, the Polish researcher ***Jerzy Ostapczuk*** mentioned fragments of the 11th-century Turov Gospel as the oldest codex, although he did not clearly state which studies were carried out with involvement of this particular monument[401].

2011

A brief description of the 11th-century Turov Gospel was included by the Polish historian ***Anton Myronowicz*** in his essay on the history of religious life of the Turov diocese until the 15th century.

It is noted that the manuscript contains 17–18 lines of text on each page, written without spaces, sometimes separated by headings; the initials are made in blue, red, and green. *Myronowicz* also mentioned the presence of two inscriptions from the early 16th century – charters of Kostiantyn Ostrozky and members of his family on the donation of property to the Turov Church, as well as confirmation of this donation in 1790[402].

2012

1) In the extensive monograph of the Ukrainian researcher ***Vasyl Ulyanovsky***, dedicated to the figure of Kostiantyn Ostrozky, the charters of 1508 and 1513 on the pages of the Turov Gospel were mentioned.

In addition to retelling the main content and significance of these charters, *Ulyanovsky* published the text of a curse in the entry of the charter of 1508 for the violation of property rights to assets donated to the church[403].

2) In the context of studying two Serbian short Gospels, the Polish researcher ***Jerzy Ostapchuk*** added the Turov Gospel of the 11th century to the monuments important for the comparative analysis together with a number of other short Aprakos Gospels; as can be seen from the short description, in his work he used the text published by Bogdanova[404].

400 Шакун Н. Туровские Евангелия в литовских библиотечных фондах. P. 207.

401 Ostapczuk J. Dwie karty ewangeliarza macedońskiego (popa Jowana) (kon. XII – pocz. XIII w.) z Biblioteki Patriarszej w Belgradzie // Полата књигописьнаѣ. Polata knigopisnaia. A journal devoted to the study of early slavic books, texts and literatures. 2010. Vol. 38 (лѝ). P. 77.

402 Mironowicz A. Życie religijno-kulturowe w eparchii turowskiej. S. 7.

403 Ульяновський В. Князь Василь-Костянтин Острозький: історичний портрет у галереї предків та нащадків. К.: Вид. Дім «Простір», 2012. С. 252–253.

404 Ostapczuk J. Perykopy liturgiczne okresu po święcie Pięćdziesiątnicy w dwu serbskich apostołachewangeliarzach krotkich (Sv-17 i KM-512) // Rocznyk teologiczny / Chrześcijańska akademia teologiczna w Warszawie. 2012. R. LIV, z. 1–2. S. 46, 66.

3) In his another work, in the context of studying the recension of the Archangel Gospel of 1092, *Jerzy Ostapchuk* provided a brief information about the bibliography of the Turov Gospel: the mentioned publications of three 19th-century pillars – Bermeleev in 1868, Hiltebrandt in 1869, and Sreznevsky in 1874, as well as newer republications – of Tóth, Horgosi and Horváth in 1978, and the textual one by Bogdanova of 1985 (1991) [405].

4) A short description of the Turov Gospel was placed before the publication of fragments of the text by the Russian philologist ***Svetlana Shulezhkova***.

Shulezhkova noted that this monument contains 20 folios (sic!) that have survived from a large Cyrillic manuscript of the 11th century, written in "chestnut ink" on parchment[406]. As we can see, even in such a short description there are errors and inappropriate phraseologisms.

Two Gospel readings were included in the reading-book: Mt. 25:1–30 on fols. 3–4v and Mt. 25:1–13 on fols. 5–5v[407]. In her work, *Shulezhkova* relied on the publications of Hiltebrandt in 1869 and Sreznevsky in 1876 and tried to adhere to the principle of printing "letter by letter", preserving the titla, but not the superscript marks. However, the text was presented with certain discrepancies with the original. Thus, the first line of the parable on fol. 3 in the printed version looks like this: "Рѣ Гъ · притъчѫ сиѫ · оуподоби сѧ цр҃ствиѥ нбсьноѥ · чл҃вкоу ц҃ри ·"[408]. However, in the original text we read цр҃ьствиѥ, but not цр҃ствиѥ, ц҃рю, but not ц҃ри.

In addition to publishing the texts, *Shulezhkova*, relying on Sreznevsky's observations, which were later developed by Durnovo, noted that the text consistently uses "reduced marks", *yuses* (ѧ, ѫ), and as evidence of "East Slavic" influence, the ending -ть in third-person verbs was considered[409].

An interesting component of *Shulezhkova's* work were the tables, which were supposed to demonstrate to readers "expressions of the Russian language" (i.e. "stable verbal complexes"), "genetically connected" with fragments of quoted texts of the Turov Gospel[410], which was supposed to lead readers to the awareness of the "genetic connection" of manuscripts written in Church Slavonic with the present-day Russian language. That is, it was intended to justify the view of the medieval written heritage of Rus' as a "community" from which the present-day Russian language originated. However, the presence of such "stable complexes" in the Russian language is evidenced only by the fact that medieval Muscovites borrowed some verbal structures from the

405 Ostapczuk J. Edycje Ewangeliarza archangielskiego (1092 r.) na tle wydań innych zabytków piśmiennictwa słowiańskiego // Rocznik Slawistyczny / Revue Slavistique. 2012. T. LXI. S. 72.
406 Шулежкова С. Г. Хрестоматия по старославянскому языку. С. 134.
407 Ibid. С. 134–138.
408 Ibid. С. 134.
409 Ibid. С. 134.
410 Ibid. С. 137, 139.

Church Slavonic language, which, having settled in the Middle Ages on the Finno-Ugric-Tatar linguistic substratum, became the basis for the formation – but in no way before the 14th century – of the Muscovite language, from which it is already appropriate to derive the present-day Russian language.

2013

In the context of observations of the decorative design of the Ostromir Gospel of 1056–1057, the Russian researcher ***Elena Ukhanova*** briefly mentioned the Turov Gospel of the 11th century.

Ukhanova assumed that the decoration of our manuscript, as well as of the Pandects of Antiochus and the Sermons of Gregory the Theologian, which are close to it, probably preserved archaic South Slavic ornamentation. In these monuments, she saw traces of such "South Slavic ornamentation" in the form of the used "half-acanthus" motif[411].

This motif of the acanthus leaf, according to *Ukhanova*, was quite widespread in Latin codices of the 8th–10th centuries, from where it penetrated into Italian and Greek manuscripts, and from them it passed to South Slavic, primarily Glagolitic codices, and already from Bulgarian manuscripts it passed to manuscripts written in the territories of Rus'. According to *Ukhanova*, in all three of the above-mentioned manuscripts in the design of the initials we can see the motif of the acanthus leaf with a braid, which was maintained in the manuscript tradition as early as the second half of the 11th century[412].

2014

The second edition of the 11th-century Turov Gospel, prepared under the general editorship of the Belarusian culture scholar ***Ales Susha***, was published. Structurally, the book can be divided into four components.

The first part was a facsimile edition of all ten pages of the 11th-century Turov Gospel[413].

The second part was an investigation by archaeologist ***Petro Lysenko*** of the history of the Turov principality, published in Belarusian, Russian, and English.

In the article, *Lysenko* attempted to summarize the arguments expressed in his previous works regarding the origin of the Turov Gospel. The archaeologist believed that the manuscript was written at about the same time as the Ostromir Gospel of 1056–1057, that is, in the middle of the 11th century.

411 Уханова Е. В. Западноевропейские источники в древнерусской книжной культуре XI века и Остромирово Евангелие // Путем орнамента. Исследования по искусству византийского мира. Сборник статей. Москва: Макс-пресс, 2013. С. 212, прим. 26.

412 Ibid. С. 223.

413 Фасімільнае ўзнаўленне Тураўскага Евангелля // Тураўскае Евангелле = Туровское Евангелие = Turaŭ Gospel. Факсімільнае узнаўленне. Даследаванні. А. А. Суша (агулн. рэд.). Мінск: Нацыянальна бібліятэка Беларусі, 2014. С. 7–30.

By drawing the reader's attention to the fact that there is no information regarding by whom and where the manuscript was written, *Lysenko* attempted to argue the hypothesis that a book-writing centre could have existed in Turov.

The problem of locating such a centre in Turov was the lack of mention of the construction of churches in the 11th century, since the ruins of a church discovered during excavations dated to the 12th century. However, based on the fact that during the 1993 excavations the remains of a 10th-century pagan shrine were discovered, and according to tradition, Christian churches were built on the site of such shrines, *Lysenko* suggested that before the construction of the stone church of the 12th century, there was a wooden church of the 11th century here, in which divine services were held according to books, among which was the Turov Gospel[414].

And although Turov was not directly indicated as the place of writing of the manuscript, nevertheless the manuscript received a "registration" in this city from the 11th century, and not from the beginning of the 16th century, as was previously believed.

The third part was an essay by ***Ales Susha***, also published in Belarusian, Russian, and English, devoted to a certain summary of the research on the Turov Gospel. In fact, the very title of the article "The Turov Gospel – the oldest book monument of Belarus" revealed the main direction in which *Susha* seeks to direct his reader – to prove the Belarusian origin of the manuscript.

In the first part, the author attempted to summarize the available information about the history of the discovery of the handwritten monument, which was the result of the "great program of scientific research on the history of Belarus", initiated by the Russian authorities[415]. The colonial essence of this "program", about which *Susha* delicately remained silent, was outlined by me above. During such an "exploratory" expedition for recovering antiquities, the Turov Gospel was also discovered – in 1865 by Sokolov; although *Susha* was familiar with the work of Shumeyko, who correctly identified Gryaznov's participation in these trips, *Susha* still preferred the "classical" recognition of Hiltebrandt's version of Sokolov's sole participation in the discovery, and called the information mentioned by Shumeyko as "some data" [416].

In the following pages, *Susha* briefly covered the publications of the manuscript by three pillars – Hiltebrandt, Sreznevsky and Beremeleev, as well as by the Hungarian Slavists – Tóth, Horgosi and Horváth, while also mentioning the works by other authors – Sobolevsky (1887), Dobryansky (1882), Milovidov (1910), Abramavičius (1963) and Petrauskienė (1966) [417].

414 Лысенка П. Тураўскае княство. Гістарычны нарыс. С. 40–41.

415 Суша А. Тураўскае Евангелле – найдаўнейшы кніжны помнік Беларусі // Тураўскае Евангелле = Туровское Евангелие = Turaŭ Gospel. Факсімільнае узнаўленне. Даследаванні. А. А. Суша (агулн. рэд.). С. 84.

416 Ibid. 84–85.

417 Ibid. 85–89.

In the following sections, *Susha*, having briefly retold the content of the manuscript, expounded observations on the language of the monument, which proves that the manuscript was copied in Rus', and on its physical characteristics, including a mention of restoration of the monument in the 2000s, as well as observations of the palaeographic features of the monument, its decorative design[418]. In presenting these parts, *Susha* relies on the publications of other researchers, excerpts from which he includes in his own research in whole paragraphs and with available references (for example, from the work by Putsko of 1998).

But on the following pages, *Susha* tries to substantiate the Belarusian origin of the manuscript – against the background of a small essay on the history of the city of Turov, which from the 10th century was the political and spiritual centre of the principality, with a high level of culture in the 11th-12th centuries, a manifestation of which was the activity of Cyril of Turov. All these facts, in *Susha's* opinion, give grounds to assume, in accordance with Lysenko's previous essay, that there was a workshop for writing books in Turov, in which the Gospel could have been written, – although with reservation borrowed from Putsko, but also expressed earlier by Jagić, that "we cannot confirm for sure that the Turov Gospel was produced in Turov, as we cannot refute it either"[419]. *Susha* further notes that the existence of the manuscript in Turov is testified by the early 16th century charters of Kostiantyn Ivanovych Ostrozky and his family and confirmed by the entries of the 18th century (1731 or 1781, and also 1790) [420]. In this part, the author is not original and retells the information from the 1984 *Union Catalogue*, and from Putsko's work of 1998. The story ends with a brief outline of the history of the Manuscript department of the Vilna Public Library and the place of the Turov Gospel in it.

The fourth component of this book, dedicated to the new edition of the Turov Gospel of the 11th century, was the publication of a facsimile of Hiltebrandt's work of 1869[421].

2015

1) This year, a work by the Russian researcher ***Natalia Pozdnyakova*** appeared, dedicated to the identification of the "stable verbal complexes" identified by Shulezhkova on all preserved pages of the Turov Gospel. *Pozdnyakova* identified 97 such complexes in 130 cases of their use[422].

418 Суша А. Тураўскае Евангелле – найдаўнейшы кніжны помнік Беларусі. 84–99.
419 Ibid. 99–102.
420 Ibid. 102–103.
421 Туровское Евангелие одиннадцатого века. I. Краткое известие о Туровском Евангелии. II. Древний текст с современным насупротив, и с отменами по Остромировому Евангелию. Редакция текста и объяснения П. А. Гильтебрандта. Издание книгопродавца-печатника И. Г. Сыркина. Вильна, 1869. С. X, 1–20 // Тураўскае Евангелле = Туровско Евангелие = Turaŭ Gospel. Факсімільнае узнаўленне. Даследаванні. А. А. Суша (агулн. рэд.). Мінск: Нацыянальна бібліятэка Беларусі, 2014. С. 149–184.
422 Позднякова Н. В. Туровское Евангелие и его фразеологический корпус. С. 87–91

In the introductory part, *Pozdnyakova* provided brief information about the Turov Gospel of the 11th century. She noted that the folios used for the book were 22.2×17.8 cm in size, the text was written in "chestnut ink", 17–18 lines each; there are eleven initials painted in blue, green, and red, as well as the charters of Ostrozky of the early 16th century and the confirming entries of 1731 and 1790[423]. This information was taken from the article by Liaushun of 2004, which preceded the facsimile reprint of Bermeleev's lithograph.

In the introductory part, *Pozdnyakova* also included a short bibliography of the monument's editions, indicating the classical works by three pillars – Hiltebrandt in 1869, Bermeleev in 1868 (as well as the 2004 reprint), and Sreznevsky in 1867; also newer works by Labyntsev of 1998, and Putsko of 1998, dedicated to the monument, as well as an electronic publication of the monument, hosted on the "Manuscript" portal[424], which the researcher actually used in her work[425].

2) At the same time, a work by ***Ales Susha*** was published with a title similar to the article in the 2014 edition, but in a slightly changed format[426]: for example, from the previous edition, the last part ("The Idea of Republishing") [427] was partially moved to the introductory part of the new article; the history of the discovery and publication of the monument, and the history of the Manuscript department of the Vilna Public Library – were omitted.

However, the main aspect and purpose of this publication was also to convince the reader that it is impossible either to prove or disprove the fact of writing the Gospel in Turov[428] – so on this basis, the monument can be wholly considered a Belarusian manuscript[429].

2016

1) A separate article about the Turov Gospel of the 11th century was published by the Rivne local historian ***Andriy Klymchuk***. The work attempts to summarize the available information about the manuscript, but this is done in a very specific way: the text is composed of passages of works by other researchers, to which the author "forgot" to refer.

423 Позднякова Н. В. Туровское Евангелие и его фразеологический корпус. 85–86.

424 Евангелие апракос краткий (Туровское евангелие) (ЦБАН ЛитССР, F19-1, XI в.). URL: http://manuscripts.ru/mns/main?p_text=42435676 (accessed 28 May 2025).

425 Позднякова Н. В. Туровское Евангелие и его фразеологический корпус. С. 85–86.

426 Суша А. Тураўскае Евангелле – самая старажытная кніга Беларусі // Беларускі гістарычны часопіс. 2015. № 8. С. 22–32.

427 Ibid. С. 84.

428 Ibid. С. 30.

429 Although in both articles Susha did not explicitly indicate Turov as the place of writing of the manuscript, only assuming such a possibility, a somewhat categorical nature of the headings of both articles had the consequence that the monument really began to be perceived as «the oldest Belarusian book», as stated in the essay of the Belarusian writer Yuriy Kuryanovych: Курьянович Ю. Г. Туров: история и легенды. Белорусская земля в воспоминаниях и документах XIX–XX вв. Часть 2. Москва: Ин-т мировой литературы им. А. М. Горького РАН, 2019. С. 171–172.

As already noted above, without any reference, a portuon of Labyntsev's article appeared in *Klymchuk's* work (pp. 179–180); the paragraph about the cycles of the Aprakos Gospels was lifted from the article by Pozdnyakova of 2016 (p. 180), about the illumination of the manuscript – from the work by Putsko of 1998 (p. 181), the text of the charter of 1508 – from the article by Shchavinskaya of 2008 (p. 181), the text of 18th-century entries with confused indications of their location in the manuscript – from the 1984 *Union Catalogue* (p. 181), a brief description of the physical characteristics of the monument – from the article by Hiltebrandt of 1994 (p. 181) [430].

Of all this, only the translation of passages from Belarusian or Russian into Ukrainian can be included among *Klymchuk's* "achievements". At the same time, the list of literature mentions only the *Union Catalogue* of all the written passages, the works of other authors are not mentioned. Therefore, proceeding from the fact that his article is a clear example of academic plagiarism, I have the right to refuse to include his work in a detailed historiographical review, since the works of the authors from whom *Klymchuk* "borrowed" paragraphs for his work have already been considered above.

2) The catalogue of Cyrillic manuscripts stored in libraries, museums and scientific institutions of the Republic of Lithuania, prepared by the Lithuanian researcher ***Nadežda Morozova***, provides brief information about the 11th century Turov Gospel: format, number of folios, dating (second half of the 11th century), place of discovery[431].

***

Therefore, the studies of the Turov Gospel, carried out after the 1990s, have sharply outlined the problem of determining the place of writing of the Turov Gospel.

In Belarusian historiography, the dominant position is occupied by the tendency according to which – in the context, but without emphasis on it, of the common medieval manuscript heritage of Rus' – Turov is considered the place of writing of the Aprakos Gospel. At the same time, no evidence is provided in favour of this, the main one being the argument "and why not". This thesis is reinforced by the phrase, said by Jagić and then repeated by Putsko, that it is impossible to prove that the monument was written in Turov, but it is even "more impossible" to refute this thesis. Putsko himself, justifying the connection between the Turov Gospel and the Kyiv scriptorium, tried to shatter this connection by the thesis that the master could have worked in any centre of Rus', not necessarily in Kyiv; while, of course, "forgetting" to indicate where such "centres" were in the middle of the 11th century. After all, according to the chronicle, at that time the scriptorium was known only in Kyiv.

430 Климчук А. Турівське Євангеліє. С. 179–182.
431 Морозова Н. Сводный каталог кириллических рукописных книг. Р. 267.

And the Kyivan (broadly – Ukrainian) origin of the manuscript, in addition to its similarity to Kyivan monuments, is also indicated by the results of linguistic observations carried out not only by Ukrainian, but also by Hungarian or Polish researchers. So we can say with confidence that as of today, the version about the writing of the manuscript known as the "Turov Gospel of the 11th century" in Kyiv, is the most well-argued – which, of course, does not eliminate the need for in-depth investigation of the manuscript.

Despite such an extensive bibliography, a number of questions have remained unresolved. The weak point of the study of the Turov Gospel remains the decorative side: to date, no detailed professional art-historical description of the manuscript initials and headpiece has been carried out, and the similarity in the design of these initials with the monuments to which the manuscript is related has not been clearly outlined: to the Cyrillic part of the Reims Gospel, the Pandects of Antiochus, the Sermons of Gregory the Theologian, the Chudov Psalter, etc. The palaeographic description of the monument also requires in-depth coverage, which will allow us to talk about the similarity or difference of the handwritings of the indicated monuments. The study of the Ukrainian layer in the language of the Turov Gospel highlighted by **Monika Wierzchowska** also requires a more thorough analysis, because in the classical work of Hungarian philologists-Slavists, more attention is paid to the Church Slavonic side of the linguistic issue. Undoubtedly, the marginalia of the beginning of the 16th century and the end of the 18th century are worth of a repeated and more thorough research, which, perhaps, will allow to read them over with the use of the latest technologies, as compared to the photo analysis of 1979. In general, it would be good to conduct a whole complex of such studies using the methods of modern sciences – for investigation of the composition of ink, paints, the origin of parchment, etc. In the future, the results of such studies will be useful for clarifying a whole range of issues related to the history of the medieval manuscript heritage not only of Rus', but also of all of Europe. However, this is a matter for future scientific studies. And now, in this publication, an attempt has been made to shed more light on at least a number of the problems outlined above, which will allow us to get closer to the truth and see more clearly the history of the Turov Gospel within the context of the activities of the Kyiv scriptorium of princely Rus'-Ukraine in the 11th century.



Fig. 1. Ivan Trutnev, *Portrait of Ivan Kornilov, Trustee of the Vilna Educational District*, early 20th c.

Fig. 2. Ivan Trutnev, *Tsar Alexander II Visiting the Vilna Public Library on 13 June 1867,* second half of the 19th c.

Nadežda Morozova

Codicological Description of the Turov Gospel*

The brief information reported about the Turov Gospel in scholarly and popular-scholarly publications is approximately as follows: ten parchment folios containing fragments from the short-aprakos Gospel of the 11th century, later named the Turov Gospel, were discovered in 1865 in Turov (Mozyr District of the Minsk Governorate) by Nikolai Sokolov, an part-time teacher of the Vilna Educational District, during an archaeographic expedition initiated by Ivan Kornilov, the trustee of the Vilna Educational District; the folios were brought to Vilna and, in the same year, transferred to the Vilna Public Library1[1] (Figs. 1 and 2)[2]. This "canon" took shape almost immediately after the discovery of the manuscript and was subsequently repeated in palaeographic descriptions or in press mentions[3].

Sokolov himself, in a report at the First Archaeological Congress in Moscow in 1869, described the circumstances of the discovery somewhat differently: "The Turov leaves were bound together at the spine and were kept in the Turov Transfiguration Church, and were placed at the disposal of the trustee of the Vilna Educational District by the rector, Father Zheleznyakovsky, with the assistance of the dean, Father Lisitsky, owing to the trust with which, in the western region, the clergy as a whole endows representatives of the educational department. Nevertheless, this monument did not pass into private

* Translated by Anatol Laskowski.

1 The Vilna Public Library was officially opened on 24 May 1867; however, various preparatory activities had been undertaken since 1865, which is why this year is considered the date of its foundation.

2 The illustrations include paintings by Ivan Trutnev, dating from the second half of the 19th to the early 20th century: "Portrait of Ivan Kornilov, Trustee of the Vilna Educational District", preserved in the Lithuanian National Museum of Art: URL: https://www.limis.lt/valuables/e/805180/20000003316693 (accessed 18.07.2025), and "Tsar Alexander II Visiting the Vilna Public Library on 13 June 1867", preserved in the Vilnius University Museum. Among the books depicted, there must also have been the jewel of the collection – the Turov Gospel of the 11th century. For the purposes of this article, a reproduction from the following publication was used: Griškaitė R. Vilniaus universiteto atkūrimo viltys ir nusivylimai (1855–1919) // Alma Mater Vilnensis: Vilniaus universiteto turtai istorijos skersvėjuose (XVI–XXI amžiai). Kolektyvinė monografija, Vilnius: Vilniaus universiteto leidykla, 2016. (Fontes et studia historiae Universitatis Vilnensis). P. 359.

3 An apparent exception is provided by reports by I. Sreznevsky who in 1867 wrote that the manuscript belonged to Kornilov himself rather than to the Public Library; cf. the statement: "the fragment <…> belongs to I. P. Kornilov and was found somewhere in Western Russia", as well as the signature beneath the image of the Turov Gospel (fol. 1v, drawing by Chemodanov) in Pompei Batyushkov's album in volume 6 of his work «Памятники Русской старины в Западных губерниях империи»: «Туровское Евангеліе XI вѣка, пожертвованное въ Виленскую Публичною Библіотеку И. П. Корниловымъ». See: Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки о малоизвестных и неизвестных памятниках // Записки императорской академии наук. Т. 11. Санкт-Петербург, 1867. Приложение № 2. С. 30; Памятники русской старины в западных губерниях империи, издаваемый по высочайшему повелению П. Н. Батюшковым. Вып. 6: 18 рисунков. Санкт-Петербург, 1874. Рис. 12.

hands. It remained with the church only because the Gospel contains two records of Prince Kostiantyn Ivanovych Ostrozky in favour of the Transfiguration Church. Father Zheleznyakovsky remembers from childhood that there were not ten leaves but significantly more. Where the remaining leaves went, he does not know […]"[4]. From Sokolov's account, it follows that the specified Gospel fragments were found by the rector of the Turov Transfiguration Church, Zheleznyakovsky, who, with the assistance of the Turov dean Simeon Lisitsky, informed the Vilna Educational District of the find. Having assessed the importance of this information, Kornilov specifically sent Sokolov to Turov to assess the find *de visu* and bring it to Vilna, which Sokolov did.

Despite Sokolov's public report, the fame of the discoverer of the Turov Gospel became attached to him rather than to the Turov clergymen[5]. Over time, this story acquired additional details: allegedly, the manuscript was found in a box of coal[6] or in a basket of papers for kindling[7], and new participants appeared in the very process of discovering and saving the manuscript – among them, in particular, the drawing teacher of the First Vilna Gymnasium, Vasilii Gryaznov[8].

In July 1915, together with other valuables of the Vilna Public Library, the Turov Gospel was evacuated to Moscow, where it was kept in the library of the Rumyantsev Museum (from 1924 – the V. I. Lenin State Library of the USSR, now the National Library of Russia). In the spring of 1946, after the end of the Second World War, the monument was returned to Lithuania and transferred to the Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Lithuanian SSR (now the Wróblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences)[9],

4 Туровское Евангелие одиннадцатого века (Издание Виленского учебного округа. СПб. 1868. Литография Бермелеева при Археограф. комиссии). Записка Н. И. Соколова // Труды Первого Археологического съезда в Москве 1869. Т. 1. Москва, 1871. С. 112.

5 According to Yuri Labyntsev, the Gospel fragments of the 11th century in Turov were discovered by Lisitsky: Лабынцев Ю. Туровское Евангелие как особо чтимая святыня во времена Константина Острожского. Вестник Белорусского экзархата: Альманах. Т. 1. Благоверный князь Острожский / под ред. А. А. Петрашкевича. Минск: Изд-во Бел. Экзархата, 1998. С. 79–80. See also: Щеглов Г. Знаменитые выпускники Минской духовной семинарии: биографический справочник. Жировичи: Минская духовная семинария, 2016. С. 108.

6 Cf., for example, the statement by Vaclau Lastouski (without reference to sources): "Discovered in Turov by Gryaznov who found it in a box of coal in the 1860s and transferred it to the Vilna Public Library". See: Ластоўскі В. Гісторыя беларускай (крыўскай) кнігі: Спроба паясьніцельнай кнігапісі ад канца X да пачатку XIX стагодзьдзя. Коўна: Адціснута ў друкарні Сакалоўскага і Лана, 1926. С. 18.

7 Cf.: "Only by a miracle were the remains of the Turov liturgical Gospel-aprakos saved in 1865 […]. The Vilna inspector of public schools, M. Sokolov, noticed the ancient manuscript in a basket of papers intended for kindling a stove in Turov". See: Лысенка П. Тураўскае княства. Гістарычны нарыс // Тураўскае Евангелле = Туровское Евангелие = Turaŭ Gospel. Факсімільнае узнаўленне. Даследаванні. А. А. Суша (агулн. рэд.). Мінск: Нацыянальна бібліятэка Беларусі, 2014. С. 40.

8 Mikhail Shumeiko names Gryaznov, without indicating the source of his information, as a participant in the Turov expedition (as opposed to Lastouski who regarded him as the discoverer of the manuscript): Шумейко М. Ф. Археография: курс лекций. Минск: БГУ, 2005. С. 170. See also: Суша А. Тураўскае Евангелле – найдаўнейшы кніжны помнік Беларусі // Тураўскае Евангелле = Туровское Евангелие = Turaŭ Gospel. Факсімільнае узнаўленне. Даследаванні. А. А. Суша (агулн. рэд.). Мінск: Нацыянальная бібліятэка Беларусі, 2014. С. 85 (with reference to Shumeiko's publication); Griškaitė R. Turovo evangelijos leidėjas Piotras Hiltebrantas (1865–1871) // Archivum Lithuanicum. 2024. T. 26. P. 334.

9 On 24 January 1946, a proposal by the Committee for Cultural and Educational Institutions under the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR to return the collections of the Vilna Public Library evacuated in 1915 was sent to A. Sniečkus, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, and to M. Gedvilas, Chairman of the Council of

where it is still held under the shelfmark F19-1[10]. In 1962–1963, the manuscript was restored; in 1979, the entries on fols. 2v, 6v, and 7 were subjected to photo analysis.

On May 2, 2007, the Turov Gospel was recognized as a documentary heritage monument of regional significance and included in the Lithuanian national register of UNESCO's *Memory of the World* program[11].

At present, it is the oldest written monument preserved in Lithuania.

A modern study by Viacheslav Korniienko is devoted to the history of the study and publication of the monument's text[12]; here, we shall draw attention only to the works most essential for our purposes. Among the first Russian Slavicists-palaeographers to see the original of the Turov Gospel were Izmail Sreznevsky and Afanasii Bychkov. In 1867, Sreznevsky published a brief notice about the discovery (dating the monument to the second half of the 11th century) and the first fragments of the manuscript in his "Information and Notes on Little-Known and Unknown Monuments", in Appendix No. 2 to Volume 11 of the *Proceedings of the Imperial Academy of Sciences*[13]. A few months later, brief information about the discovered manuscript was placed by Pyotr Giltebrandt (Fig. 3) in the comments to the publication of the donation records of Kostiantyn Ostrozky from 1508 and 1513, located on a free leaf and in the margins of the Turov Gospel[14]. In 1874, Sreznevsky printed the complete



Fig. 3. Pyotr Giltebrandt (1840–1905)

People's Commissars. In March–April of the same year (the transfer act was signed on 16 March, and the materials were delivered to Vilnius at the end of April), owing to the efforts of the staff of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences and the Library, the majority of the evacuated book valuables were returned to Vilnius. Among them, under no. 3 in the "List of Manuscript Books of the Vilnius Library", was the Turov Gospel (Wróblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, Manuscript Department, F75-347, fols. 2–3, 36).

10 A digital copy of the monument is available at: http://elibrary.mab.lt/handle/1/21095 (accessed 10.03.2025).

11 Mašanauskienė M. (sudar.). Fiksuoti istoriją. Lietuvos dokumentinis paveldas, įrašytas į UNESCO programos «Pasaulio atmintis» tarptautinį ir nacionalinį registrus. Skiriama paminėti UNESCO programos «Pasaulio atmintis» 30-ties metų sukaktį. Vilnius ([Lietuvos nacionalinės UNESCO komisijos sekretoriatas]), 2022. P. 13–14.

12 For a thorough analysis of the historiography, see the article by Viacheslav Korniienko in this edition.

13 Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки. 1867. С. 30–33. In the same year (1867), the first five parts of Sreznevsky's "Information and Notes on Little-Known and Unknown Monuments" (for the years 1865–1867) were published as a separate edition: Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки о малоизвестных и неизвестных памятниках. I–XL. Санкт-Петербург, 1867. Вып. 4.

14 Археографический сборник документов, относящихся к истории северо-западной Руси, издаваемый при управлении Виленского учебного округа. Том 4. Вильна, 1867. С. 1–2.

text of the monument with a thorough textological characterization and a description of the features of its language and drawing, substantiation of its dating, and some considerations regarding the origin of the monument, with a special warning that he was publishing the work "as a result of accidental circumstances, three years after preparing it for print[15]. In the interval between 1867 and 1871, a chromolithographic edition of the Turov Gospel was produced in Saint Petersburg[16], in 1869, Giltebrandt published, as a separate book, a typeset edition of the monument with a parallel text of the Gospel published in 1863 and variant readings according to the Ostromir Gospel of 1056–1057, as well as a concise characterization of the manuscript[17].

After these publications, information about the Turov Gospel, small samples of its text, copies, and tracings from lithographs entered studies and reference works on the history of Old Slavic writing, manuals on palaeography, and the like.

After the manuscript's return to Vilnius, brief information about this monument and photographs of individual leaves began to appear in the Lithuanian press[18], however, the first detailed palaeographic description of the Turov Gospel was made by Nina Shelomanova[19] for the *Union Catalogue of Slavonic-Russian Manuscripts Kept in the USSR*[20]. A detailed description of the manuscript in Ukrainian historiography belongs to Yakym Zapasko[21]. The most recent formal palaeographic description was prepared by Moscow archaeographers Olga Knyazevskaya,

15 Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки о малоизвестных и неизвестных памятниках // Записки императорской академии наук. Т. 22. Санкт-Петербург, 1873. Приложения. № 3. С. 105–136.

16 Туровское Евангелие одиннадцатого века. Издание Виленского учебного округа. Санкт-Петербург: Литографии Бермелеева при Археографической комиссии, 1868. During the production of the chromolithograph, the sheets were mixed up, see: Гильтебрандт П. Перечневая опись // Рукописное отделение Виленской публичной библиотеки, состоящей под августейшим покровительством его императорского высочества государя-наследника цесаревича Александра Александровича. Издание Виленской публичной библиотеки. Вып. 1. I. Церковно-славянские рукописи. II. Русские пергамены. Вильна, 1871. С. 2, прим. 1.

17 Гильтебрандт П. А. Туровское Евангелие одиннадцатого века. I. Краткое известие о Туровском Евангелии. II, Древний текст с современным насупротив, и с отменами по Остромировому Евангелию. Издание книгопродавца-печатника И. Г. Сыркина. Вильна, 1869.

18 See, e.g.: Abramowicz W. Piśmiennictwo i książka na Litwie. Wilnius: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Literatury Politycznej i Naukowej, 1957. S. 43; Абрамавичюс В. Русские рукописные книги в Центральной библиотеке Академии наук Литовской ССР // Библиотечно-библиографическая информация библиотек Академии наук СССР и академий наук союзных республик. 1958. № 18. С. 105−119; Petrauskienė V. XI–XVI amžių rankraštinių knygų (kodeksų) Lietuvos TSR bibliografija: Diplominis darbas. Vilnius, 1963 // Бібліотека ім. Врублевських Академії наук Литви, Відділ рукописів, F26-1221. P. 10–11; Petrauskienė V. Rusų rankraštinė knyga Lietuvos bibliotekose // Rusų knygos spausdinimo pradžia ir Lietuva. Vilnius: Mintis, 1966. (Bibliotekininkystė ir bibliografija, t. III). P. 38, 45–46 (nr. 1); and others. The brief description by V. Petrauskienė, included in her diploma thesis of 1963, is of great importance for the history of the manuscript, as it records the condition of the codex after its return from Moscow prior to the restoration of the early 1960s. Her 1966 article prepared on the basis of the diploma thesis, evidently in 1964, also reflects the condition of the manuscript before restoration.

19 Shelomanova worked with the manuscript *de visu* in 1978. Here and below, the dates of researchers' *de visu* work with the monument are taken from the manuscript usage sheets.

20 Сводный каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг, хранящихся в СССР. XI–XIII вв. Москва: Наука, 1984. С. 50–52.

21 Запаско Я. П. Пам'ятки книжкового мистецтва: українська рукописна книга. Л.: Світ, 1995. 26, 156–159 (№ 8). Zapasko worked with the manuscript *de visu* in 1988.

Aleksandr Lifshits, and Anatolii Turilov at the end of 1997[22]. These descriptions provide an extensive bibliography devoted to this monument of writing. A brief description of the manuscript, compiled by Rima Tsitsenene, is also included in the catalogue *Lietuvos sakralinė dailė* (2009)[23]. In 2014, at the initiative of the National Library of Belarus in Minsk, a facsimile edition of the monument, accompanied by articles, was prepared[24].

Binding

The discovered parchment leaves, according to Sokolov, "were bound together at the spine", that is, the monument had some kind of binding, about which all compilers of palaeographic descriptions of the manuscript in the 1860s–1880s subsequently remained silent. It is possible that the manuscript was unpicked in Saint Petersburg during the production of the lithographs, and after the work was completed, the removed binding was not reattached. The manuscript was formally returned to Vilna without a binding, as recorded in all pre-revolutionary descriptions[25]. If this conjecture is correct, then evidently at the end of the 19th or the beginning of the 20th century (in any case, after the publication of Flavian Dobryansky's description in 1882), the Turov leaves were bound in the Vilna Public Library in a leather-tooled binding traditional for old books (or the Turov "spine" was returned to them). On the reverse of the inner board, an ex-libris of the Manuscript Department of the Vilna Public Library with the printed number "1" appeared[26]. On the flyleaf near the lower board, a certification note was made by the head of the Commission for the Administration of the Public Library and Museum, Dmitry Dovgyallo: "Total in this manuscript there are twenty (20) parchment pages that are numbered, laced, and approved with the seal of the Vilna Public Library. [Signature] Dm. Dovgyalo". At the lower left, there is a stamp "Chairman of the Commission for the Administration of the Public Library and Museum". The entry is undated, but it is known that Dovgyallo assumed the post of chairperson of the

22 Князевская О. Л., Лифшиц А. Л., Турилов А. А. Пергаменные рукописи собрания Виленской публичной библиотеки (Библиотека Академии наук Литовской Республики, ф. 19) // Krakowsko-wileńskie studia slawistyczne. T. 3. Kraków, 2001. P. 8–12.

23 Dolinskas V., Liškevičienė J. (sudar.). Lietuvos sakralinė dailė, XI–XX a. pradžia = Sacred art of Lithuania, 11th – early 20th c.: Lietuvos tūkstantmečio programos ir Jubiliejinių 2000 metų parodos „Krikščionybė Lietuvos mene" katalogas: paroda skirta Kristaus gimimo jubiliejui bei Lietuvos karaliaus Mindaugo krikšto (1251) ir karūnavimo (1253) 750 metų sukakčiai. T. 5: Dokumentai, knygos, parodos kronika, XI–XX a. = Documents, books, exhibition chronicle, 11th –20th c. Vilnius: Lietuvos dailės muziejus, 2009. P. 68–69.

24 Тураўскае Евангелле = Туровское Евангелие = Turaŭ Gospel. Факсімільнае узнаўленне. Даследаванні. А. А. Суша (агулн. рэд.). Мінск: Нацыянальная бібліятэка Беларусі, 2014.

25 See: Гильтебрандт П. А. Туровское Евангелие одиннадцатого века. С. VIII–X; Гильтебрандт П. А. Перечневая опись. С. 1–4; Добрянский Ф. Описание рукописей Виленской публичной библиотеки, церковно-славянских и русских. Вильна, 1882. С. 1–6; and others.

26 This label is now difficult to discern beneath another ex-libris of the Vilna Public Library; see below. At some point, a new label bearing the inscription "Виленская Публичная / БИБЛІОТЕКА" was pasted over the previous ex-libris, with "№ 1" written on it.

Commission on September 2, 1913[27], therefore, it could have appeared in the period from September 2, 1913, to July 19, 1915, when the Turov Gospel, together with other valuables of the Public Library, was evacuated to Moscow[28]. Evidently, at the same time, wax seals of the Temporary Commission were affixed to the flyleaves with the inscription: "ВРЕМЕННАЯ КОМИССІЯ ПО УСТР. ВИЛЕН. ПУБЛ. БИБЛ. И МУЗЕЯ" (Temporary Commission for the Organization of the Vilna Public Library and Museum)[29].

After the end of the Second World War, the manuscript returned to Vilnius in the same condition as it had been reconstructed at the time of evacuation. This condition is recorded (without mention of Dovgyallo's certification note: the note was either omitted or not noticed by the researcher. – *N. M.*) in the brief description of the monument included in the above-mentioned diploma work by Petrauskienė of 1963.[30]

As noted earlier, in 1962–1963, the manuscript was restored. During restoration, losses of parchment were filled with heavy paper and additionally reinforced with condenser and mica-tape paper. Damaged parchment leaves were also reinforced with mica-tape paper.

The binding boards were also restored, apparently in the early 1960s. The leather on the spine, the corners, and edges of the lower board (possibly the entire lower board) were reinforced with dyed linen fabric. The former flyleaf paper, fragments of which are now visible near the seals, was removed and replaced with ordinary writing paper. On the inner side of the upper board, a cut-out old ex-libris of the Vilna Public Library with the handwritten number "No. 1" was pasted; beneath it, upon careful examination, an earlier special label is visible with the inscription "Manuscript / Department / of the Vilna / Public / Library" with the typographically printed number "1" inside and a barely noticeable entry "А, 1 витр"[31] (Fig. 4). Old wax seals of the Vilna Public Library with threads are secured on the inner sides of the boards of the renewed binding. At the beginning and end of the manuscript, one protective (flyleaf) sheet of moiré paper from the Vilna Public Library has been preserved; on the lower sheet is the above-mentioned certification note by the Commission Chairman Dovgyallo. During restoration, when pasting the upper protec-

27 Отчет Виленской публичной библиотеки и музея за 1914 год. Вильна, 1915. С. 5.

28 The decision to evacuate museum and library valuables to Moscow, to the Rumyantsev Museum, was taken on 21 July 1914, after which preparations for evacuation began: books and museum objects designated for removal were packed and placed in boxes. Library materials were evacuated from Vilna on 19 July 1915. See: Griškaitė R. Vilniaus universiteto atkūrimo viltys ir nusivylimai (1855–1919). P. 378. Incidentally, the reason for the appearance of the binding note by the chairman of the commission and the seals is also not entirely apparent: whether it marked the acquisition of a binding, recorded the number of leaves after another inspection, or served to "seal" the manuscript before evacuation. The latter interpretation seems the most probable.

29 The Temporary Commission for the Organisation of the Vilna Public Library and Museum was established on 10 June 1871. The "temporary" status of the commission was officially retained until 1915, when the library was evacuated. See: Griškaitė R. Vilniaus universiteto atkūrimo viltys ir nusivylimai (1855–1919). P. 360.

30 Petrauskienė V. XI–XVI amžių rankraštinių knygų (kodeksų) Lietuvos. P. 10–11.

31 The label indicates the hall number and the number of the display case in which the Turov Gospel was kept in the Vilna Public Library. It was exhibited in Hall A, first row, first case. See: Перечень документов из рукописного отделения Виленской публичной библиотеки, помещенных в витринах, и старопечатных книг. Вильна, 1867. С. 3, № 1.



Fig. 4. The Vilna Public Library label: the original one, and after graphic processing

tive moiré sheet, the right and left sides were confused. Between the binding boards and the old moiré flyleaves, a sheet of thick white paper was inserted, as a result of which the parchment leaves appear to be dressed in an additional protective paper folder-interleaf.

In connection with the restoration and subsequent palaeographic descriptions, one clarification is necessary. In the description prepared by Shelomanova, it is reported that "the 20th-century binding is cardboard covered with brown smooth book cloth. The old binding [17th century (?)] is kept separately". It is further specified that the label of the Vilna Public Library and the seals removed from the old binding were transferred to the inner sides of the boards of the new cardboard binding[32]. Subsequently, information about the new book-cloth binding (without mention of labels and seals) is almost verbatim repeated in the 1997 description[33]. From December 28, 1999, to July 5, 2000, the manuscript was exhibited at the exhibition *Krikščionybė Lietuvos mene* (Christianity in the Art of Lithuania) at the Lithuanian Art Museum, where, according to the catalogue (published in 2009), it was exhibited in a leather-tooled binding[34]. Thus, a reasonable question arises: whether the manuscript was restored before the exhibition and its wooden binding returned, or an error that occurred in the 1978 description was mechanically repeated in the 1997 description. Thus, Ales Susha (without references to sources) wrote that the Turov Gospel was returned

32 Сводный каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг. С. 50, 51.
33 Князевская О. А., Лифшиц А. Л., Турилов А. А. Пергаменные рукописи собрания Виленской публичной библиотеки. С. 8.
34 Dolinskas V., Liškevičienė J. (sudar.). Lietuvos sakralinė dailė. P. [20], 68–69.

to its original binding made in the Vilna Public Library and that the most conspicuous traces of the previous restoration were also removed on the eve of 2009, when Lithuania solemnly celebrated the 1000th anniversary of the mention of Lithuania in historical sources[35]. Examination of the preserved library restoration documentation, as well as consultations with restorers, indicates that the Turov Gospel was restored once, in 1962–1963, and that it was subsequently only slightly tidied up. In other words, it is quite likely that an error occurred in the description published in the *Catalogue of Slavic-Russian Manuscripts of the 11th–13th Centuries*: during restoration, the original wooden binding was removed and replaced with an ordinary library binding. Later, this error was repeated in the 1997 description. The reason for such a substitution may lie in the fact that researchers are usually given two objects: the Turov Gospel in a separate cardboard box (cf. "the old binding < … > is kept separately") and an album of photocopies of the monument made before restoration, in a cardboard binding covered with dark (black?) leatherette.

Precisely dating the binding boards is rather difficult. Shelomanova, and later Knyazevskaya, Lifshits, and Turilov, cautiously date them to the 17th century[36] These are thin boards covered with leather, exquisitely decorated with Renaissance-type tooling. For the tooling, stamps, and rollers, vegetal ornament was used. The central panels are rhomboid, composed of four stamps depicting a stylized fig or rosehip branch (?). The size of the upper central panel is 7.0 × 5.8 cm, of the lower panel 9.2 × 4.3 cm; the different sizes of the central panels are because the stamps composing them are arranged differently: on the upper board, they are combined crosswise, on the lower, they are arranged vertically. At the corners of the central panel and in the free space between the central panel and the frame, there are palmette-shaped stamps. Along the edges, a roller with a curling vegetal ornament is used. On the upper and lower boards, the same tooling instruments are used, but the pattern scheme differs somewhat. Typologically similar variants of stamps depicting palmettes are very widely represented both on bindings made in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and beyond its borders, and their chronological range is also very wide. The current size of the binding is 22.8 × 17.0 cm. The leather on the lower board is worn and torn at the upper part; on the spine, edges, and corners, slight defects are noticeable.

Writing Material and Script

The Turov Gospel is written on smooth, well-prepared parchment, although, as on any natural material, minor defects are occasionally noticeable. Thus, on fol. 6, between the

35 Суша А. Тураўскае Евангелле – найдаўнейшы кніжны помнік Беларусі. С. 93; Суша А. А. Тураўскае Евангелле – самая старажытная кніга Беларусі // Беларускі гістарычны часопіс. 2015. № 8. С. 25.

36 Сводный каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг. С. 50; Князевская О. А., Лифшиц А. Л., Турилов А. А. Пергаменные рукописи собрания Виленской публичной библиотеки. С. 8.

4th and 5th lines from the bottom, the parchment was damaged, and the Gospel scribe elegantly "worked around" this spot.

Unfortunately, of the voluminous manuscript only 10 leaves have survived, or two incomplete quires: from the first quire two leaves have been preserved (in a bend, not from the middle of the quire; now fols. 1–2); the second quire may have survived in full – 8 leaves (if the quires were of eight leaves; now fols. 3–10)[37]. The format of the preserved leaves is approximately 20.3–21.0 × 16.0–16.4 cm, i.e., a quarto. On some leaves the upper margins are partially torn away (and the text of the entry on fol. 6v has been slightly affected); the leaves are sewn into the binding with synthetic threads (on fol. 7 old slits for sewing the leaves into a quire are visible; on the remaining leaves the old pricking falls into the fold of the leaves); on fols. 1, 2v, 3, 10v the parchment is soiled; on fols. 2v, 3, 5, 7, 8v there are traces of glue near the spine; on fols. 1, 5, 5v, 7, 7v, 8, 9, 10, 10v there are stains from the paint of initials that have seeped through the parchment; on fol. 6, there is a stain from water or some reagents. On fols. 3 and 10, on the left at the place of vertical ruling, the parchment is damaged; on fol. 3 at the bottom, the parchment is damaged (eaten away) by the background paint from the initial Р. Minor damage to the parchment is also noticeable at the places where green paint was applied in the loops of the initials on fols. 9v and 10v.

Some researchers tend to explain the soiling of the parchment on the outer sides of the quires (fols. 1/2v and 3/10v) by the fact that these two fragments, which contain the donation records of Prince Kostiantyn Ostrozky (see below), could have been separated from the book block quite a long time ago and "lived" an independent life (possibly without any protective leaves) as legal documents confirming the right of the Turov Transfiguration Church to certain landholdings – something that, incidentally, is also evidenced by the Polish-language entries of 1781 and 1790 (see below)[38].

The text area is approximately 14.0–14.5 × 10.2–10.5 cm, 18 lines per page. The ruling is not entirely even; the line height varies between 7.5 and 8.0 mm[39]. The inner margin is approximately 2.2–2.9 cm, the outer 3.5–4.0 cm, the upper 3.0–3.5 cm, and the lower margin is somewhat larger than the upper, from 3.6 to 4.1 cm.

As is well known, in the history of book art, there existed a fairly stable proportion between the text area and blank space, with the sum of the upper and lower margins equal to half the height of the column, and the sum of the side margins equal to half the width of

37 Sokolov wrote that, according to the recollections of Zheleznyakovsky, already in the first half of the 19th century, the manuscript was much larger than the ten surviving leaves; see above: Туровское Евангелие одиннадцатого века. Записка Н. И. Соколова. С. 112.

38 Лабынцев Ю. Туровское евангелие как особо чтимая святыня. С. 81–83; Суша А. А. Тураўскае Евангелле – самая старажытная кніга Беларусі. С. 25.

39 Measurements were taken along the marking-out line, without taking into account that the text occasionally extends beyond the text area.

the column[40]. In our case, this is approximately 7.0 × 6.2 cm; that is, in height it matches almost perfectly, while in width the text area is somewhat smaller than it should be according to the stated proportion; yet, in general, the 1:2 proportion is maintained. Taking this into account, one may assume that the original format of the Turov Gospel was approximately the same as it is now, i.e., the edges of the parchment suffered only minor damage.

The ruling of the leaves was carried out according to the following scheme. Two vertical lines were drawn over almost the entire height of the leaf and outlined the lateral boundaries of the text area. The upper and lower boundaries of the text area were fixed by three horizontal lines (two at the top and one at the bottom), likewise drawn over almost the entire width of the leaf. The horizontal lines within the outlined segment can sometimes extend beyond its boundaries on both the left and the right. The ruling was done with a special stylus, and sometimes excessive pressure led to the damage (a cut) in the parchment, which also occurred during the ruling of the Turov Gospel. An approximate scheme of leaf ruling was published in the appendix to the 1997 description of the manuscript[41]

The manuscript has four paginations: at the bottom – in black ink by pages (19th century, evidently entered by someone from the staff of the Vilna Public Library); at the top – in pencil by leaves; in addition, traces of two more paginations are visible in the upper part of the leaves: in ink (chaotically) and in pencil (pp. 11–19 and 1–9). The latter was probably entered during the production of the chromolithographic copy of the manuscript in 1868, when the order of the leaves was confused. The current pagination is the upper foliation (in pencil in the upper right corner) and the ink pagination at the bottom (by pages); the non-current pagination is crossed out in pencil in most cases.

The manuscript is written in a fine, even uncial, in brown and red (in headings) ink (cinnabar), in a single hand. The width of the letters, depending on the complexity and character of the strokes, varies within 1.7–5 mm (except the decimal, whose width is ~1 mm), and the height is approximately 3.5–4.0 mm; that is, the letters occupy half of the interlinear space. The text is written above the line. Thanks to a well-calculated (or well-guessed) proportion between the height and width of the letters, the thickness of the strokes, and the spacing between letters, a very harmonious visual impression is created. There is no looseness, which is not uncommon in manuscripts; on the contrary, the text has a very slender, light, and refined appearance, with a certain internal rhythm. This is also facilitated by the elongated "tails" of the letters ѳ, ѯ, ѵ, ф, which not only rest against the upper parts of the letters of the following line but may also descend to their base (that is, occu-

40 Пуцко В. Ілюмінацыя Тураўскаго Евангелля // Беларускі гістарычны агляд: навуковы часопіс. 1998. Т. 5, сш. 1. С. 88–102. URL: https://www.belhistory.eu/archives/373. (accessed 10.03.2025).

41 Князевская О. А., Лифшиц А. Л., Турилов А. А. Пергаменные рукописи собрания Виленской публичной библиотеки. С. 49 (1).

ру the entire interlinear space). The manuscript uses exclusively the ligature ѱ, and the preposition and prefix *отъ*(-) are marked predominantly by the ligature ѿ, as Sreznevsky already noted[42]. All this accords well with the long-noted tendency of the Turov Gospel scribe to use abbreviated spellings of words under the titlo or with superscript letters.

Characteristic features of the script of the Turov Gospel also include a narrow elongated head of ⱡ (often with a barely noticeable inclination to the left) with a long "tail"; ѣ written in-line, with a crossbar positioned below its top level; и with a connecting bar slanted upward; ѡ (ѿ) with high inner side strokes and their junction point virtually at the upper level of the letter; ѫ written in three strokes; ѵ with a small bowl on a symmetrically placed stem; ѧ with a thin upper connecting bar and a smoothly rounded loop

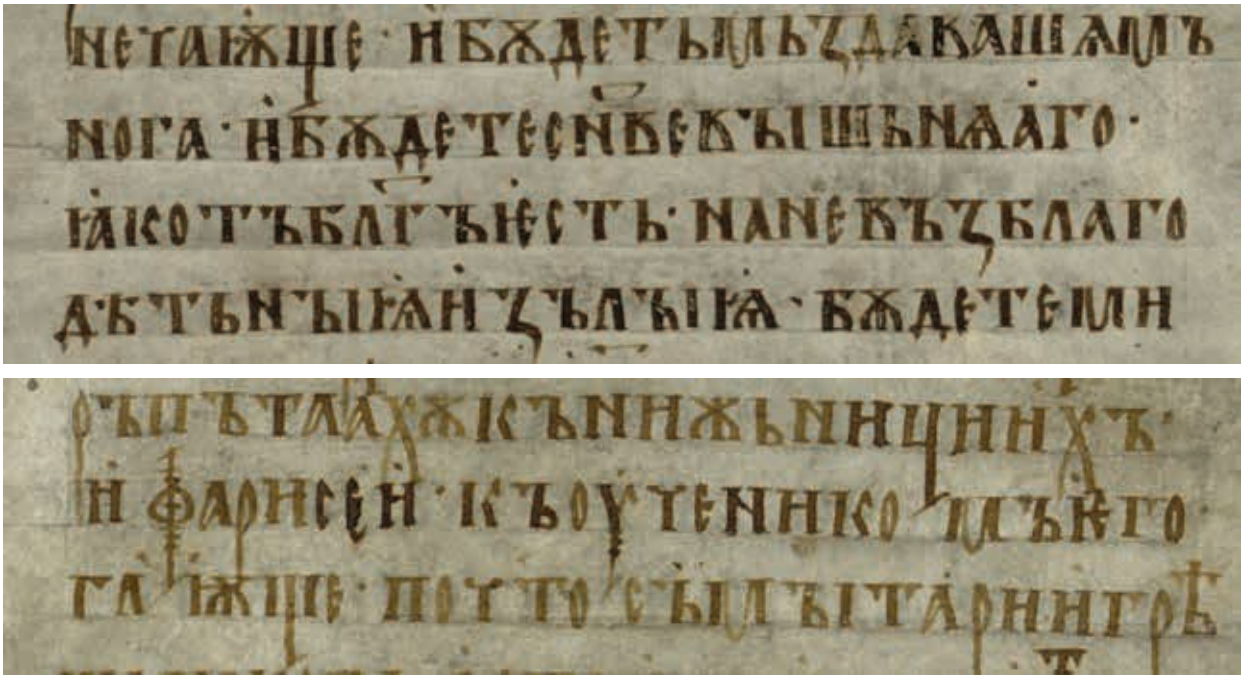


Fig. 5. Ornamental notches on the letters ѩ, ѧ, ꙗ (fol. 10) and the "tails" of ф and ѵ (fol. 10v)

lowered slightly below the baseline; and some others[43]. A distinctive "highlight" of the copyist's hand in the Turov Gospel is the small, refined notches (or dots) on the connecting strokes of the iotated vowels ѩ, ѧ, ꙗ, used for decorative purposes. The same decorative function is performed by the thin notches on the stem of the letter ф and the lower part of ѵ[44] (Fig. 5). A characteristic feature of the Turov Gospel scribe is the

42 Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки. 1874. С. 120.

43 See also: Запаско Я. П. Пам'ятки книжкового мистецтва. С. 156; Пуцко В. Ілюмінацыя Тураўскага евангелля. С. 91–92; Суша А. А. Тураўскае Евангелле – самая старажытная кніга Беларусі. С. 27.

44 Similar notches occasionally occur in the letters ф, ѱ, у in the Chudov Psalter: State Historical Museum, Chudov collection, no. 7; URL: https://catalog.shm.ru/entity/OBJECT/178845 (accessed 15.03.2025).

dots he places almost level with the upper boundary of the letters, approximately 3 mm above the baseline. Although the scribe strives to write perpendicular to the ruled lines, in rare cases, a slight, barely perceptible leftward slant can be observed in the shapes of individual letters. In general, it is felt that the copyist sought to make his manuscript not only easy to read but also beautiful, although his hand is not entirely calligraphically flawless.

At times, "for technical reasons", the Gospel text slightly "extends" beyond the boundaries of the text area: this is because the copyist was unable to calculate the line length correctly and was forced to write part of a letter, or an entire letter, beyond the vertical delimiting line[45]. Often, the last letter that did not fit into the line is raised into the interlinear space. Several times, to save space at the end of a line, instead of ordinary small letters, the copyist writes the letters т and ѣ with high stems.

Already in the first reports on the Turov fragments Sreznevsky noted the similarity of the hand of the newly discovered monument to the Ostromir Gospel: "In the forms of the letters it resembles the Ostromir Gospel most of all: it has the same proportions of letter height and width and the thickness of the strokes, the same design of almost each of them and, by the way, also ж, ѡ, ѯ, ц, ч, ѫ; only the letters к and ѵ are written somewhat differently, as in the Izbornik of 1073, and the letter ꙁ is more similar to the ꙁ of the Izbornik of 1076[46]. Subsequently, this observation became a real textbook. Researchers also note similar features in the script of the Turov Gospel with those of other early monuments of the so-called Kyiv circle: the Chudov Psalter, the Cyrillic part of the Reims Gospel, and the Izborniks of 1073 and 1076[47]. In terms of the ratio between letter height and line spacing, the Turov Gospel is closest to the Ostromir Gospel – in both monuments, the letters occupy approximately half of the interlinear space. In the Reims Gospel and the Chudov Psalter, the letters are proportionally smaller – they occupy approximately one-third of the interlinear space. If, with similar shapes of certain letters, one compares, for example, the overall visual impression of the hands of the Turov and the Reims Gospels, the hand of the Turov Gospel appears even, fine, and fairly calligraphic. In contrast, the script of the Reims Gospel leaves an impression of carelessness and a certain awkwardness (cf.: Turilov writes that it is written in a non-calligraphic hand and is very modest in its decoration[48]) (Figs. 6, 7).

45 An exception is the spelling of гл҃а|аше (fol. 1, 6th line from the bottom) and келикоже (fol. 1, 3rd line from the bottom), where one and a half letters extend beyond the text area.

46 Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки. 1874. С. 120.

47 Запаско Я. П. Пам'ятки книжкового мистецтва. С. 156; Пуцко В. Ілюмінацыя Тураўскага евангелля XI ст. С. 91–92; and others.

48 Турилов А. А. Реймсское Евангелие // Древняя Русь в средневековом мире. Энциклопедия. Е. А. Мельникова, В. Я. Петрухин (ред.). 2-е изд. Москва: Ладомир, 2017. С. 677–678.

Ivan Ohienko noted that the preserved part was written by one hand, although fol. 10 "gives the impression of a somewhat different script, higher and thinner[49]". Indeed, upon closer examination, it is noticeable that the upper part of fol. 10 is written more compactly than other parts of the text, but this is more likely connected with the scribe's desire to fit the text within the boundaries of the text area. Such lines with denser text can be observed elsewhere in the manuscript as well. In addition, one must not forget about the variability of a scribe's hand within a single manuscript, which has recently been actively discussed in paleoslavistics[50]. It should also be borne in mind that Ohienko made his palaeographic notes not from the original manuscript or its photographs, but from the chromolithograph of 1868, which reduces the precision of his observations, since comparison of the original with the lithographs shows discrepancies in the forms of individual letters.

The overall impression made by the script of the Turov Gospel does not allow one to doubt that it was executed by an experienced and talented professional calligrapher who commanded various writing techniques and felt the rhythm of the text and its placement on the page, rather than by a self-taught scribe. In the opinion of Vasyl Putsko, he probably underwent training in a large, well-organized scriptorium – possibly at the princely court in Kyiv[51].

Decorative Design

The small part of the manuscript that has survived does not allow us to judge how richly the entire codex was decorated and what the overall aesthetic program of its creator was. We do not know how the beginning and the end of the manuscript were decorated, or whether it contained a colophon indicating the place and time of the codex's creation and the name of its creator. It is also difficult to say to what extent the decoration of the Turov Gospel was influenced by the immediate antigraph, the wishes of the patron, and the imagination and skill of the copyist himself. However, since the part of the Turov Gospel that has come down to us is not separate, scattered leaves but integral fragments of text, some considerations regarding the appearance of the main (text) part of the manuscript and its decoration can still be expressed. Three types of scripts were used to decorate the textual space of the Turov Gospel: the main script of the Gospel text, executed in

49 Огієнко І. Пам'ятки старослов'янської мови X–XI віків. Історичний, лінгвістичний і палеографічний огляд з повною бібліографією та альбом 155 знімків з пам'яток з кирилівською транскрипцією. Варшава: Друкарня Синодальна, 1929. (Огієнко І. Історія церковнослов'янської мови. Т. 5; Студії до української граматики, видають І. Огієнко та Р. Смаль-Стоцький, кн. V). С. 139.

50 See, e.g.: Корогодина М. Варьирование почерка в восточнославянских рукописях XV–XVI веков // Studia Slavica et Balcanica Petropolitana. 2022. № 2. С. 60–75; Коробенко Л. Шведская коллекция славянских пергаменных фрагментов. Кодикологическое и палеографическое исследование. Stockholm: Department of Slavic and Baltic Studies, Finnish, Dutch and German, Stockholm University, 2024. (Stockholm Slavic Papers, 33). С. 57–59.

51 Пуцко В. Ілюмінацыя Тураўскага евангелля. С. 91.

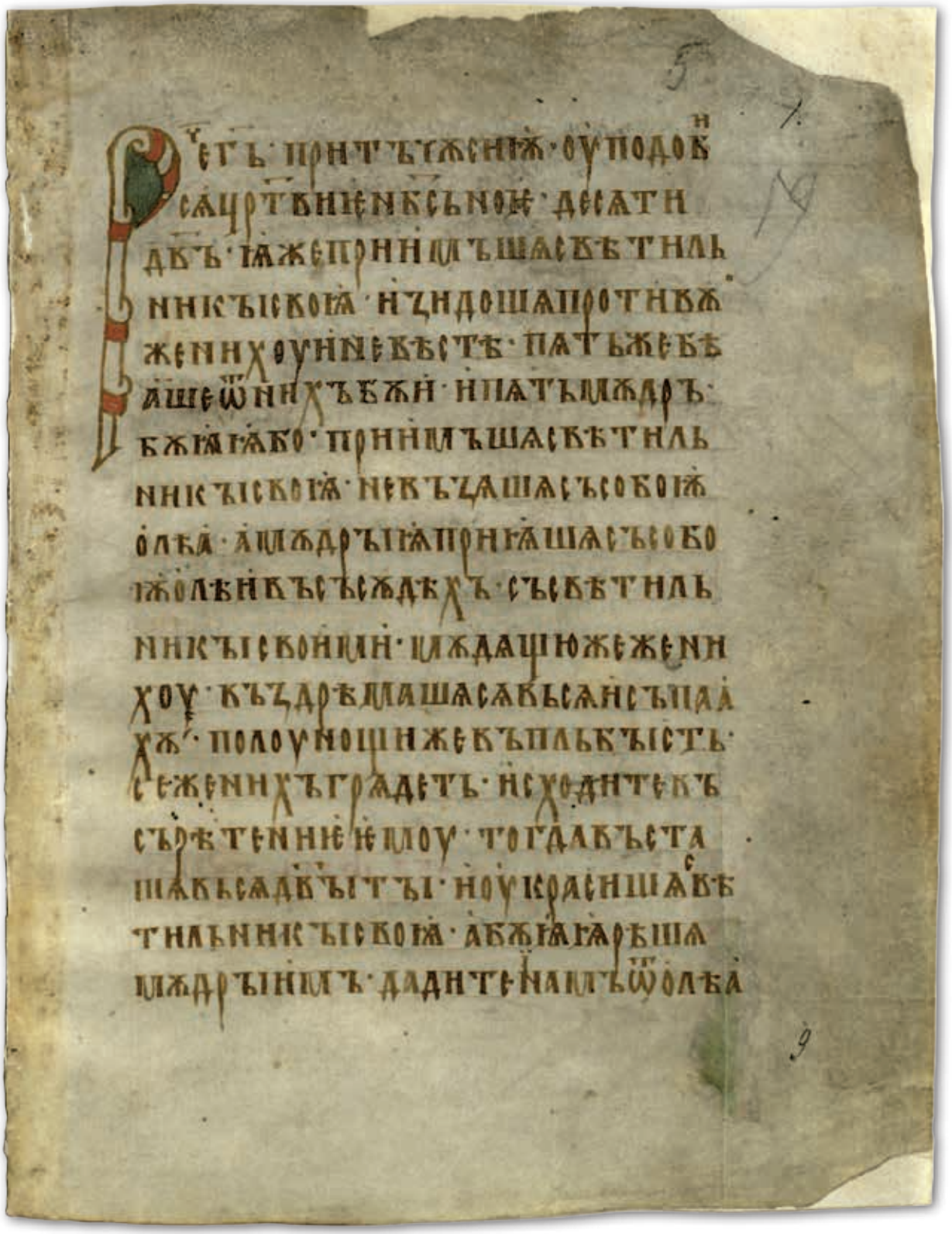


Fig 6. *The Turov Gospel* (fol. 5)

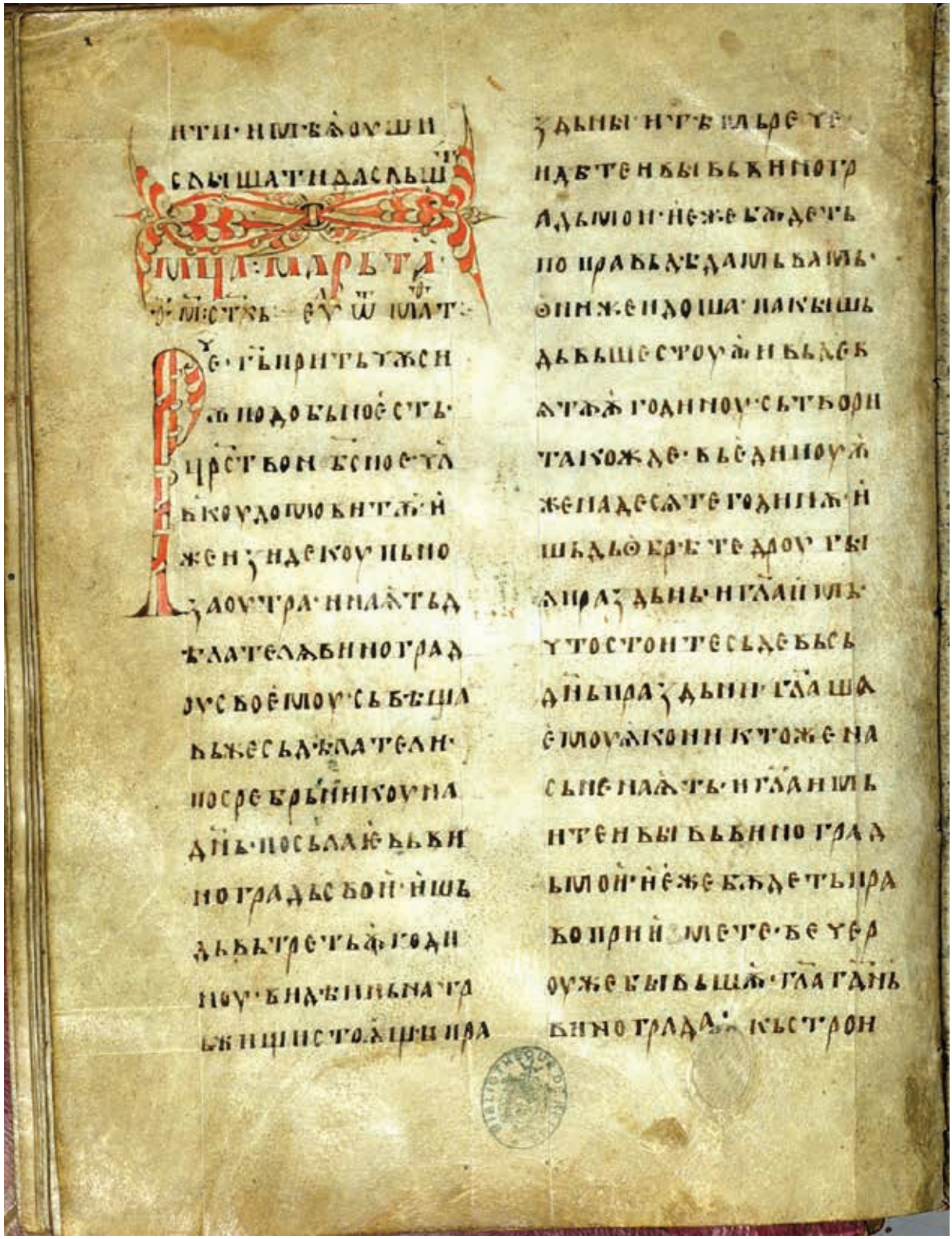


Fig. 7. *The Reims Gospel* (fol. 16v)

brown ink, about ~4 mm high; the script for writing "reference" information in headings, about ~3.1–3.5 mm high, executed in cinnabar; outline cinnabar and ink headings, about ~8 mm high, as well as divider bands. But the main emphasis of the manuscript's artistic decoration proper is the large polychrome initials. The character of the ornamentation of the preserved part makes it possible to suppose that the codex was nevertheless decorated rather modestly and that gold was probably not used in its decoration. Putsko writes that the masters of the Kyiv grand-princely scriptorium began to use gold somewhat later than, probably, the Turov Gospel was copied[52].

The beginning of a significant fragment of text is marked with large letters (initials). Since the Turov Gospel is liturgical (aprakos), rather than the more familiar tetraevangelion, its basic structural unit is the reading (pericope) assigned to a certain day of the church year. Gospel readings in such a case begin with the words "Во время оно" (In days of old) or "Рече Господь" (The Lord said), that is, the minimal standard set of initials of the main part of an aprakos (without the menologion) may consist of two letters: Ѣ and Р[53].

On the ten preserved leaves of the Turov Gospel, we find 11 polychrome initials of the Old Byzantine type, with an ink contour and red and blue colouring of the interlaced strands (or ribbons) of the letter framework, as well as green filling of the inner space of the loops. The distribution of initials is as follows: the letter Ѣ occurs 6 times, the letter Р 4 times, and the letter О 1 time. Shelomanova, in the palaeographic description of 1978, distinguished two kinds of initials: of finer execution on fols. 1–2 and of coarser ornamentation on fols. 3–10[54]; Moscow scholars who described the manuscript at the end of the 20th century agreed with her[55] In fact, when comparing the initials presented in the monument, four types of initials can be distinguished:

1) the initial О (fol. 2) in the form of a small rosette, coloured green;

2) the initials Р (fols. 1v, 3, 5) of the knee-shaped type, with the initial on fol. 1v of finer drawing, with an ornamental vegetal offshoot at the bottom and a decorative knot at the top. The initial on fol. 5 may have remained unfinished: the "knees" of the stem and the component elements of the loop are partially uncoloured; cf. an analogous initial on fol. 3, where the "knee-shaped" stem and the loop are coloured red and blue (the inner part of the loop was probably filled with green paint, which proved very aggressive and "ate" the parchment). Putsko, who published a special and, it seems, so far the only work devoted to the ornamentation of the Turov Gospel, notes that in the initial on fol. 3 a zoomorphic motif

52 Пуцко В. Ілюмінацыя Тураўскага евангелля. С. 89.

53 For example, in the preserved part of the Archangel Gospel of 1092 (excluding the menologion), in addition to the standard large initials Ѣ and Р the letter Н, appears only twice as an initial (fols. 113 and 121) (Russian State Library, fond 178.1, no. 1666).

54 Сводный каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг. С. 50.

55 Князевская О. А., Лифшиц А. Л., Турилов А. А. Пергаменные рукописи собрания Виленской публичной библиотеки. С. 8.

is clearly visible: the loop of Р in it is a smoothly curved neck and head of a bird "preening its feathers" (initials of this type are found in other early Slavic manuscripts as well)[56]. As for the initial on fol. 5, the researcher writes that it is probably executed closest to the Byzantine "standard", but at the same time, its structure is simplified, and the loop is filled with thick green paint, which ran counter to the aesthetic preferences of Greek masters[57] (Fig. 8);



Fig. 8. Initials Р on fol. 5 (left) and on fol. 3 (right)

3) the initials Р (fol. 9v) and В (fols. 5v, 7v, 8v, 10), which consist of a stem braided from two straps (or ribbons) of blue and red, and loops in the form of curved branches also in blue and red, while the space inside the loops is filled with green. The initials В of this group are very similar in outline: in all of them, the upper head is relatively small (about 1/3–1/4 of the height of the letter); therefore, the scribe, to diversify them somehow, "braids" and colours the stems differently. If the colours alternate in a checkerboard pattern (fols. 5v, 8v), then the straps are simply crossed; if the ribbons are not only crossed but also twisted, the alternation of red and blue will be different (fol. 9v, 10 – twisting / crossing / twisting; fol. 7v – twisting only) (Figs. 8–8v);

4) the initials В (fols. 7, 10v) are decorated with vegetal elements: their stems are covered with small flowers (cruciform blossoms), rings and knots, with an ornamental vegetal



Fig.9. Initials Р (fol. 9v) and В (fols. 5v, 7v, 8v, 10) which differ in the way the vertical stem ribbons are braided

offshoot at the top and a small "tail" at the bottom; they are coloured blue and red, and the inner space of the loops is again filled green.

56 Пуцко В. Ілюмінацыя Тураўскага евангелля. С. 94.
57 Ibid.

The appearance of a small initial ◊ on fol. 2 should be regarded as unexpected and symptomatic. With it, the copyist marked the beginning of a new fragment of the Gospel text (*pericope*) within the reading for Tuesday of the 6th week after Easter. This means that the manuscript may have contained other small initials within readings for certain days of the church year. In addition, one would expect a somewhat greater variety of initials in the menologion part of the manuscript. For example, in the same Reims Gospel (only part of the Menologion has survived), Ⰵ, Ⰽ, ◊, I are used besides the standard initials Ⱂ and Ⱋ; a similar set of large initials is also found in the Menologion of the Archangel Gospel of 1092.

The initials are of different heights: the height of Ⱂ is from 4.6 to 6 cm (it is limited to 7 lines or partly descends into the lower margin, as on fol. 3); the height of Ⱋ is from 3.5 to 7.3 cm, measured by 6–8 lines or partly extends into the lower margin (fols. 5v, 10v). The initial ◊ (fol. 2) is inscribed in a square of 1.2 × 1.2 cm and is placed entirely in the inner margin, to the left of the left vertical delimiting line.

The copyist uses both the text area and the free space on the left and (as needed) below to create initials, thereby organizing the space of the manuscript leaf more diversely. The placement of the text and initials on the pages of the Turov Gospel indicates that the scribe drew the initials himself as he wrote the Gospel text. This is evidenced, in particular, by the relationship between the contour of the initials and the text itself: the text neatly frames the space near the initial, nowhere encroaching upon its "field"; and conversely, the initial fits precisely into the place intended for it – under the heading, almost level with the height of the text line or slightly raised above the line. Compositionally, almost all initials are placed on the page so that the left vertical delimiting line roughly bisects the initial. This device is often used in book ornamentation (see, e.g., the Ostromir Gospel, the Reims Gospel, the Archangel Gospel, and others) for decorative purposes.

On fol. 6v, there is a divider band executed in ink (consisting of alternations of three vertical strokes and circles bisected by a vertical line, with dots in the centre inside each half), with marginal ornaments in the form of a bunch (or bud) along the edges, in ink and cinnabar. Although this band is somewhat lower than the letters, due to its monochrome appearance and placement on the next line without an additional downward shift, it visually almost merges with the main text. In this sense, writing the divider below the baseline would have increased the distance between the text blocks above and below the dividing band. It would have visually highlighted the liturgical instructions placed below – especially since they are written in the same script as the main Gospel text.

In general, the entire fol. 6v, as for its composition, is not very successfully arranged. The divider band is visually lost in the text; between the block of liturgical instructions and the heading of a new structural section of the manuscript, three blank lines are left,

and only at the very bottom of the text area are the two lower lines occupied by the heading of a new part of the Gospel-aprakos.

In the preserved part of the manuscript, headings of two types are used: an outline heading executed in cinnabar without fill (fol. 1v), and outline headings executed in ink and coloured (filled) with cinnabar (fols. 3–10). Among the uniform headings of the codex, the title of the structural section stands out: ϹѪБ҃ ·А҃· ИѲЕѴѸѪ ЛѢ҃, where the scribe attempts to diversify the outward appearance of the letter Ѵ. The main part of the heading (the purpose of the reading) is written to the full height between the lines. In contrast, the indication of the specific Gospel text is written in cinnabar in a smaller script within the line, in the centre, or even somewhat shifted toward the upper level; thus, superscript



Fig. 10. Heading on fol. 6v with usage of various designs of the letter ѵ

letters may be written on the upper level, or else they are wholly or partially transferred to a second line, as on fols. 1v, 4v, and 6v (Fig. 10).

Putsko, who specifically studied the decoration of early Slavic manuscripts, notes that "the Turov Gospel adjoins a small group of manuscripts of Kyiv origin in terms of the character of illumination <…>. Some of the initials (of the Turov Gospel – *N. M.*) are typologically close, on the one hand, to the Chudov Psalter, and on the other, to the Ostromir Gospel"[58]. In his view, the artistic decoration of the Turov Gospel demonstrates a transitional stage in the history of East Slavic book culture: the hand with all its calligraphic techniques and the initials strewn with cruciform flowers come very close to the Ostromir Gospel, which is already decorated in the enamel style with abundant use of gold[59].

Content

Since separate studies are devoted to the analysis of the preserved Gospel fragments of the Turov Gospel, here we shall limit ourselves to indicating their composition. To the present time, three fragments of different sizes of the short aprakos (liturgical Gospel)

58 Пуцко В. Г. Славянская иллюминированная книга X–XI веков // Byzantinoslavica. Revue internationale des études Byzantine. Prague, 1985. T. XLVI. P. 149.

59 Пуцко В. Ілюмінацыя Тураўскага евангелля. С. 97.

from two liturgical cycles have survived: the Paschal cycle (2 excerpts), and the cycles after Pentecost and the New Year (one excerpt). The fragments of the Paschal cycle are read on fols. 1–2 and contain excerpts from the readings for Thursday (without the beginning) and Friday (without the end) of the 5th week after Easter (fols. 1–1v), and for Tuesday of the 6th week after Easter (fol. 2, without beginning and end). The third part (the cycles after Pentecost and the New Year; fols. 3–10v) contains readings from the end of Saturday of the 16th week after Pentecost to the 3rd Sunday of the New Year (without the end). Fol. 2v, from the very beginning, for some reason, was probably left blank, although the text on the preceding page (fol. 2) breaks off mid-word and one would logically expect its continuation on the verso of this leaf. Ales Susha assumes that the 11th-century text on fol. 2v was washed off[60]; however, upon careful inspection with the naked eye, no traces of washed-off text were noticed[61]. Later, on fol. 2v, the donation record of Kostiantyn Ostrozky from 1513 (in Cyrillic script) and its judicial certification of 1781 (in Latin) were entered.

Entries

On the preserved leaves of the manuscript, there are five entries. Two inscriptions, written in Cyrillic semi-uncial, date to the first two decades of the 16th century (fol. 2v – 1513, and fol. 6v – 1508; written in different hands) and contain donation records of Prince Kostiantyn Ostrozky, his wife Tetyana, and their son Illia to the Transfiguration Church in Turov. Three more entries were made on the same or neighbouring leaves in Polish in the last quarter of the 18th century; they confirm the Turov Transfiguration Church's ownership rights to the lands donated by Prince Ostrozky at the beginning of the 16th century.

It is characteristic that in no pre-revolutionary description of the Turov Gospel are the Polish-language entries of the last quarter of the 18th century mentioned. The only exception is the publication of Kostiantyn Ostrozky's donation records in Volume 4 of the *Archaeographic Collection of Documents Relating to the History of North-western Rus'*, prepared by Giltebrandt, where in the comments to the charters it is noted that after their texts there follows "a judicial certification in Polish that the record was presented in the Pinsk Zemstvo Court"[62]. Moreover, these entries were not reproduced in Ivan Bermelev's chromolithographic edition of 1868, which, for many years, became almost the only iconographic source for the monument's appearance[63]. A careful comparison of the original Turov Gospel and the 1868 chromolithograph, which lacks the Polish-language

60 Суша А. А. Тураўскае Евангелле – самая старажытная кніга Беларусі. С. 24.

61 See also: Князевская О. А., Лифшиц А. Л., Турилов А. А. Пергаменные рукописи собрания Виленской публичной библиотеки. С. 8.

62 Археографический сборник документов. С. 1–2.

63 See: Туровское Евангелие одиннадцатого века. 1868.

entries, reveals inaccuracies in the drawing of letters (Figs. 11, 12). The omission of Polish-language entries in the edition probably reflected the official policy of the Russian authorities after the uprising of 1863–1864.

Today, the Cyrillic entries have partially faded; the text in the lower left margin on fol. 6v is especially difficult to read, as are its last two lines. The Polish entries on fol. 2v, on the lower margin of fol. 6v (one line), and their continuation on the upper margin of fol. 7 have suffered much more. Another entry along the outer margin on fol. 7 is legible satisfactorily.

As Shelomanova noted in 1979, the leaves with Polish-language entries underwent photo analysis, as a result of which she was able to read a significant part of the entries and include them in the monument's description[64]. The Latin-script texts published below partly rely on Shelomanova's decipherment, but they were prepared mainly from the preserved photographic materials from the restoration period of the early 1960s (Wróblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, Manuscript Department, F19-1a) and based on "revealing" the text by processing modern scans of the manuscript with computer graphic editors.

The text of Kostiantyn Ostrozky's donation records of 1508 and 1513 was published many times[65]. For the present article, these texts were retyped anew. In addition, the text of the donation record of May 2, 1508 (fol. 6v) was compared with the only surviving photograph of the Turov Gospel, evidently made shortly after the monument was transferred to the Vilna Public Library. This photograph is included in the album *Palaeographic Photographs of North-western-Rus' Script and Print*, kept in the Library of Vilnius University. The album has no imprint data or any notes indicating the author of the photographs or the time of their creation. The photographs are pasted onto cardboard leaves with an inscription under the frame in the corners: (left) "РУССКАЯ ФОТОГРАФІЯ ВЪ ВИЛЬНѢ. 1864 г." (Russian Photography in Vilna. 1864); (right) "ПО БОЛЬШОЙ УЛИЦѢ Д. ГИМНАЗІЇ N14" (In Bolshaya Street, house of the Gymnasium No. 14); produced typographically. As recent research shows, in 1864–1867 in Vilna, under the name "Russian Photography in Vilna", a photo studio of Ivan Petrov operated; from the very beginning, it was founded for photographing exhibits of the Vilna Museum of Antiquities, and later expanded its activity to landscape and portrait photography[66]. Since we know that the

64 Сводный каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг. С. 50–51.

65 See: Археографический сборник документов. С. 1–2; Гильтебрандт П. А. Туровское Евангелие одиннадцатого века. С. X, 4; Добрянский Ф. Описание рукописей. С. 3–5; Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки. 1874. С. 118–119; Князевская О. А., Лифшиц А. Л., Турилов А. А. Пергаменные рукописи собрания Виленской публичной библиотеки. С. 8–9; and others.

66 I am grateful to Dainius Junevičius for his help with identifying this photo studio. For further details on Ivan Petrov and his work in Vilna, see: Karpova-Čelkienė V. Fotografinis palikimas Vilniaus viešojoje bibliotekoje ir Senienų muziejuje // Kova dėl Istorijos: Vilniaus senienų muziejus (1855–1915). Vilnius: Lietuvos nacionalinis muziejus, 2015. P. 190; Junevičius D. XIX amžiaus VI–IX dešimtmečio (šlapiojo kolodijaus laikotarpio) Lietuvos fotografija ir ją determinuojantys socialiniai faktoriai. Daktaro disertacija. Vilnius: Lietuvos kultūros tyrimų institutas, 2023. P. 62–66, 215–216; and others (with literature).

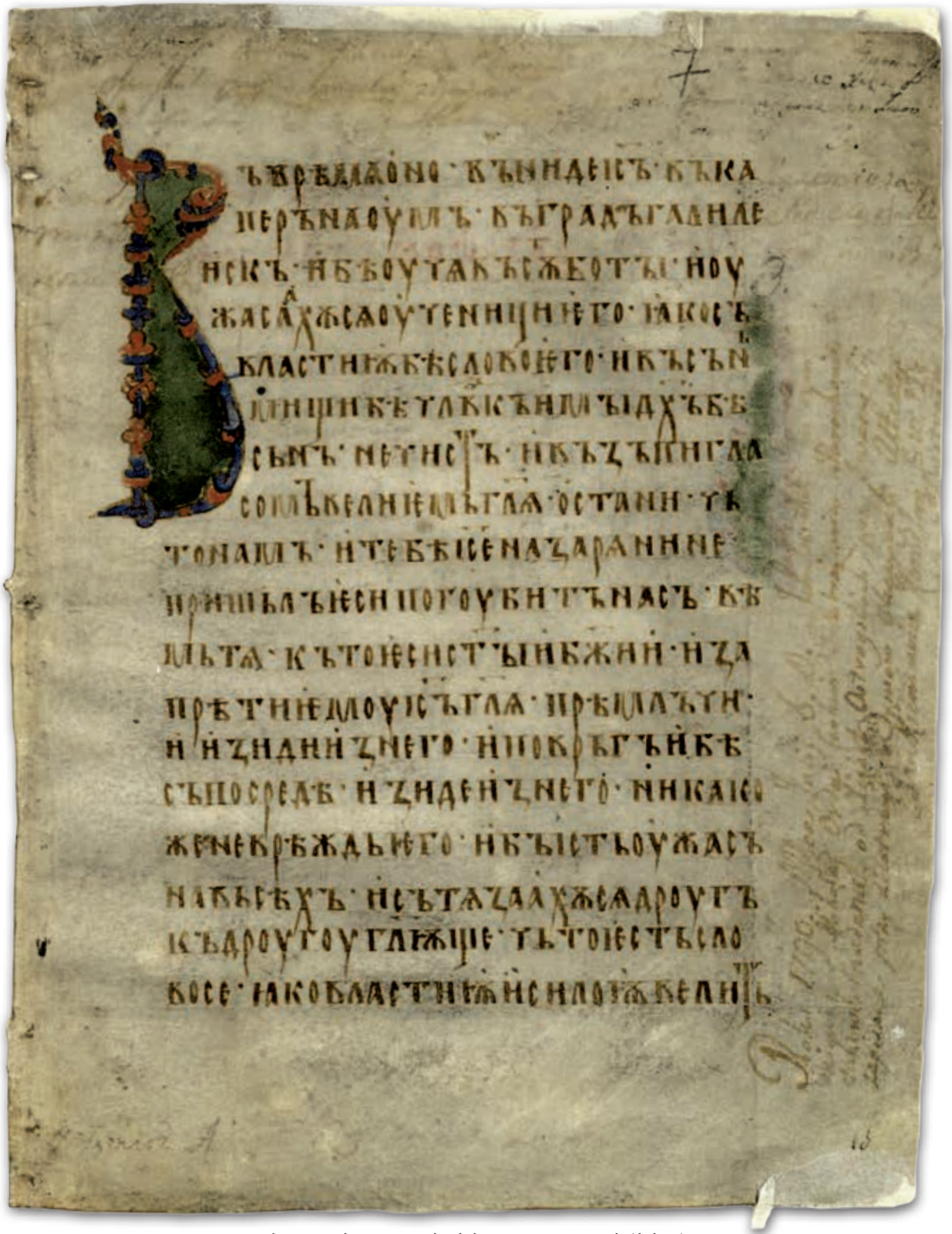


Fig. 11. The original of the *Turov Gospel* (fol. 7)

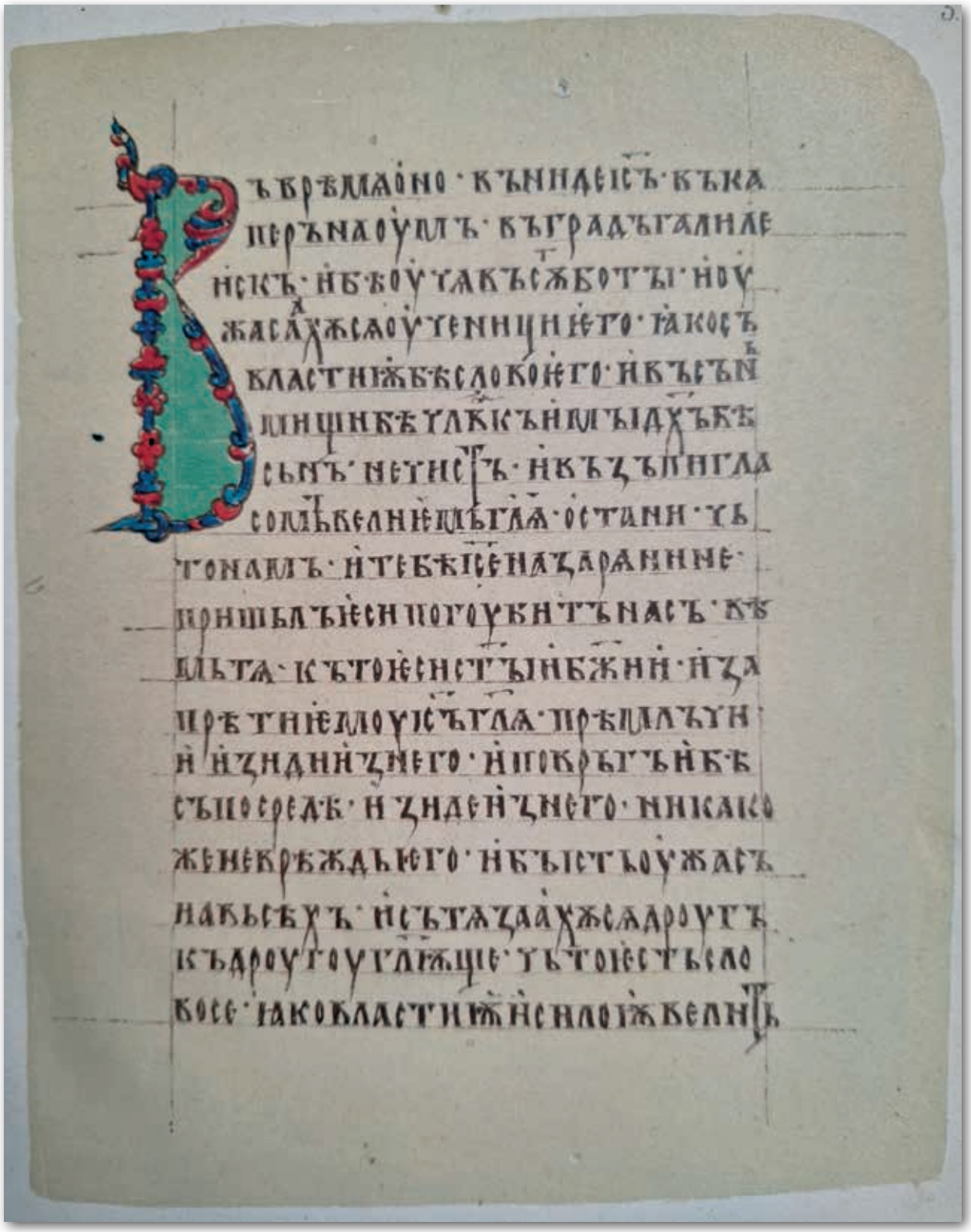


Fig. 12. The chromolithographic copy of the *Turov Gospel* (fol. 7), 1868

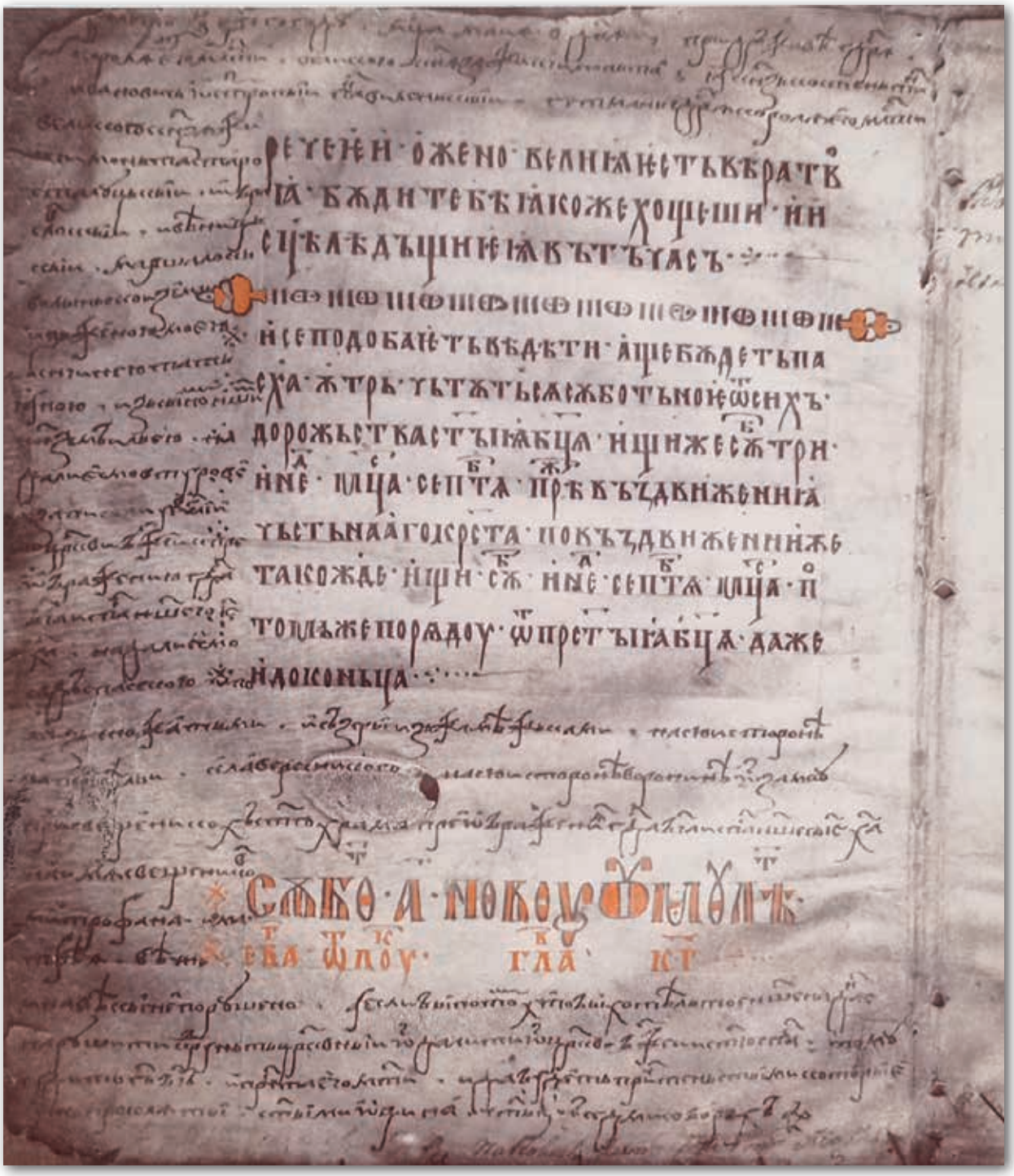


Fig. 13. The photo of fol. 6v, taken in Vilna in 1865–1867 (?)

Gospel manuscript was brought to Vilna in 1865, the photograph could not have been made earlier than 1865. In other words, Petrov's studio used frames printed in 1864 for mounting the photographs, after receiving permission to open a photo workshop.

For presenting the Turov Gospel, fol. 6v was chosen, which contains a sample of the main text written in uncial (11th century), as well as the 1508 donation entry executed in semi-uncial. The image that interests us is signed in calligraphic civil cursive: "Gospel of the 11th century. Of the Turov Transfiguration Church, with two records of Prince Konstantin Ivanovich Ostrozhskiy (1508 and 1513)"[67]. The photograph was probably taken before the manuscript was sent to Saint Petersburg for the production of chromolithographs, since the photo still lacks the pencilled page number "2", which, as researchers believe, was added during lithograph production[68]. This photograph allows assessment of the state of preservation of the parchment and the manuscript text as received by the library in 1865. Incidentally, one line of the Polish confirmation entry that follows Ostrozky's donation is also partially visible here. This archival photo is published for the first time (Fig. 13).

When publishing entries in Cyrillic script, superscript letters and titlo marks are retained; other superscript marks are not reproduced, and abbreviated spellings are not expanded. When reproducing the entries in Latin, abbreviated spellings are expanded in square brackets, as they are not always obvious and comprehensible; unread passages are marked with three dots in square brackets.

Fol. 2v. Donation entry of Prince Kostiantyn Ostrozky of February 10, 1513: "въ лѣто ҃ѕ҃. к҃а.го годѕ. м҃ца ѳеврала. і҃. д҃нь | индік҃та .а҃ го. при дрⷯвѣ. гра кролѧ єго м҃лти. вели|кого кн҃зѧ жикгимонъта. ꙗ. кнѧ костенътинъ | ивановичь. ѡстрозьскыи. п҃а виленъскыи. гетьманъ | гдра королѧ єго м҃лти. великого кн҃ѧзѧ жикгимонъта. | староста лоуцкыи. и брасловъскыи. и вѣницкыи. маршалокъ. волыньскои земли. и зь женою моєю кнагинею тать|ꙗною. и зь сн҃омъ н҃шимъ к҃нзе҃ ильею. надали есмо в тѵро|ве. и записали. оу є҃вл҃їи. к ц҃ркви б҃жіи. к прѣображенію | г҃а б҃га сп҃а н҃шего. і҃с х҃а три поли. на пер҃есѣльи. села вере|сницького. и зь припашьми. и зь сеножатьми. и҃ замѣжь|ками. по самую тѣчькѹ. и долинѹ. при свещеникохъ с҃тго | храма прѣображенїѧ. г҃а б҃га сп҃са н҃шего. і҃с х҃а. на имѧ | свещениковъ. митрофана. и матѳѣѧ. вѣчно. и на вѣ|кы непорокшено. а если бы потомъ. хто бы хотѣлъ | тое н҃ше наданье нарѹшити тои кр҃втъ ѿдалити. | ѿ ц҃ркви б҃жїи с҃тго сп҃са. томѹ соудить г҃ь б҃гъ. и п҃рта | єго м҃ти. и да бѹдеть причтенъ. с тыми. которыи соуть | проклаты с҃тыми ѿци на с҃ты҃ѧ с҃ѣми съборехъ. ||"

Next follows a faded Polish-language entry of 1781, stating that the above-mentioned Ostrozky's entry was presented in the Pinsk Zemstvo Court to confirm the holdings of the

67 I am grateful to Sergejus Temčinas for pointing out this important source. For more details about this album see.: Морозова Н. К истории фотоателье «Русская фотография в Вильне»: «Палеографические снимки северо-западно-русского письма ипечати» // Literatūra. 2025. T. 67 (5). P. 214–226.

68 See, e.g.: Сводный каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг. С. 50.

Turov Transfiguration Church by the donation of the princes Ostrozkys[69]: "Roku 1781 miesiąca O[ktom]bra 31 dnia na Rokach ziemsk[ich] P[o]w[iatu] Pińskie|go S[więto] Michalskich w mieście J[ego] K[rólewskiej] M[ości] Pińsku sądownie od|prawujących się, przed nami Adamem Skirmuntem | Prezesem, Kazimierzem Swiezynskim, Michalem | Szyrmą, sędziem, y Tomaszem Antonim Kurzenieckim, | pisarzem, urzednikami sądowemi ziems[kimi] P[o]w[iatu] Piń[skiego] corpa|[ra]rzno personaliter M[ość] P[an] Antoni Junkiewicz Płotnicki | Patron, iż nadanie od xiążat[70] Ostrogskich na cierkew | Preobrażenia w Turowie sytuowaną ad acta per obla|tum podali".

At the very end there are signatures, among which the names of the persons mentioned in the entry are readable: "Kazimierz Swiezyński, Michał Szyrma marszałek, Adam Skirmunt sędz[ia] ziem[ski] P[o]w[iatu] Pińs[kiego], Tomasz Ant[oni] Kurzeniecki ziemski pisarz […]".

Fol. 6v. Donation entry of Prince Kostiantyn Ostrozky of May 2, 1508: (on the outer margins around the main text) "в҃ лѣто ҂ѕ҃ѕ҃го годѧ. і҃ца маиа .к҃. д҃нѧ, при дръжавѣ г҃дрѧ. | короля его м҃л҃ти. великого кн҃ѧза жикгимоньта. и кн҃зь костеньт҃и | ивановичь остр҃о҃кыи п҃а виленьскыи. гетманъ г҃дрѧ короля его м҃л҃ти | великого кн҃ѕѧ жи|кгимоньта старо|ста лѧцькыи. и бра|сл҃о҃скыи. и вѣниць|кыи. маршалокь | волыньскои земли | и зь женою моею | кн҃гинею тать|ѩною. и зь сын҃о҃ н҃ш҃и҃ | кн҃земъ ильею. на|дали есмо в турове | и записали оу е҃в҃лїи | ко ц҃ркви б҃жеи к пре|ображению г҃да | б҃га и сп҃а н҃шего і҃с | х҃а. надали есмо | садъ с пасекою и по|ле зь сеножатьми. и с-ъзеры и зь жалѣжьками. на сюи сторонѣ | на пер҃е҃сѣльи. села вересникого. на сюи сторонѣ воронинѣ ѿ замкѹ | при свещеникохъ с҃тго храма пресображен҃и. г҃да б҃га и спса н҃шего і҃с х҃а | на имѧ свещеник҃о҃ | митрофана. и ма|тфѣѧ. вѣчно. | и на вѣкы непорѹшено. а если бы пото҃ хто бы хотѣль тое н҃ше над҃а҃е | нарѹшити кр҃ѹньть[71] ц҃рк҃вныи ѿдалити ѿ ц҃ркви б҃жеи и с҃тго сп҃а. томѹ | судить г҃ь б҃гъ. и пр҃тта его м҃л҃ти. и да будеть пр҃и҃тень с тыми которыє | сѹть проклѧты. с҃тыми ѡци на с҃тыхъ седми соборехъ. ||"

Fols. 6v–7. Under the 1508 donation entry, on the lower margin of fol. 6v and on the upper and lower margins of fol. 7 there are barely visible faded Polish-language entries. At present, without special equipment, it has been possible to read only individual words and/or parts of sentences, from which it follows that this entry repeats the information given on fol. 2v about the confirmation of the holdings of the Transfiguration Church by the donation of the princes Ostrozkys; fols. 6v–7: "Roku 1781 m[ie]s[ią]ca O[ktom]bra 31 dn[ia] na Rokach ziems[kich] P[o]w[iatu] Pinsk[iego] J[ego] K[rólewskiej] M[ości] […] | S[więto], || [Mi]chalskich Są[…] Sądowne odprawuyących (?) […] | […] Antoni Junkiewicz Płotnicki

69 I am grateful to Denis Liseichikov (Minsk, Belarus) for assistance in interpreting specific fragments of this entry.

70 Above the words "iż nadanie od xiążat", there is an addition: "przy Ewangelij wpisane".

71 Thus in the manuscript. In other publications of the entry, this word is read differently, e.g.: к҃ѹньть (see: Гильтебрандт П. А. Туровское Евангелие одиннадцатого века. С. X; Добрянский Ф. Описание рукописей. С. 5), к҃ѹньть (Князевская О. А., Лифшиц А. Л., Турилов А. А. Пергаменные рукописи собрания Виленской публичной библиотеки. С. 9).

[…] Ich Miłości Xiężat | Ostroskich przy ewangelii zapisano na Cerkiew Preobrażenia w Turo|wie sytuowaną ad acta per oblatum podali […]". Sideways on the inner and outer margins, there are signatures: (left) "Adam Skir|muntt | ziemski pisarz"; (right) "Kazimierz | Swiezyński, | sedz[ia] ziemskiy, | Michał Szyrma […]". On the lower margin of fol. 7 there is a barely visible signature: "Tomasz Antoni Kurzeniecki ziemski pisarz".

On the outer margin of fol. 7 there is an almost faded Polish-language entry of 1790 also concerning the confirmation of the Transfiguration Church's holdings by the donation of the princes Ostrozkys: "Roku 1790, m[ie]s[ią]ca Julij 6 D. Ich m[i]l[o]ść XX. Jan Rum|kiewicz y Mikolay Orda Cerkwi Preobrażenia Parochowie | takowe nadanie od Xiążat Ostrogskich przy Ewangelij | zapisane przy lustracyi Dymow okazywali. Attestor | Jan Kieniewicz Komisarz C[ywilno] W[ojskowy] P[owiatu] P[ińskiego] | y lustrator".

And finally, a few words about the possible origin of the Turov Gospel. Unfortunately, we do not know the exact location and date of creation of this monument. However, analysis of its script and ornamentation, as well as comparison with other early East Slavic written monuments, allows researchers to determine the approximate time of its creation, the circle of "related" monuments, and, in general terms, to characterize its creator-copyist.

As already noted, Academician Sreznevsky, as early as the late 1860s, noted the "similarity" of the Turov Gospel to the Ostromir Gospel and dated it to the second half of the 11th century, placing it between the Ostromir Gospel and the Novgorod Menaia of 1096 and 1097. All palaeographers agreed with this dating (though some dated it more broadly within the 11th century). Putsko, relying on the analysis of the monument's decoration, concluded that "with full right one can assert the likelihood of the creation of the Turov Gospel around 1050 and attribute it to the hand of a master who, in one way or another, was connected with the Kyiv princely scriptorium. Certainly, this does not mean that the book was produced in the specified workshop. The bookmen of Yaroslav the Wise could continue their activity in various cities of Ancient Rus', especially where there was an episcopal see". The researcher further emphasized that the Turov Gospel, as a specimen of calligraphic art, cannot be considered in isolation from the broader history of book writing in the 11th century, since it occupies a special place in the development of book ornamentation in the "pre-Ostromir" period[72].

There are no grounds to disagree with the arguments and dating already expressed, because the source base (early parchment manuscripts precisely dated and precisely localized) for comparison has practically not changed over recent decades. Therefore, until we have additional weighty grounds for a narrower dating, one should accept the Turov Gospel's dating to the second half of the 11th century – especially since some features of

72 Пуцко В. Ілюмінацыя Тураўскага евангелля. С. 97–98.

the hand and decoration may have an individual character and may also be explained by the influence of the antigraph.

The history of the manuscript's existence from its creation until the beginning of the 16th century is unknown. Probably, at the beginning of the 16th century, the manuscript was already in the Transfiguration Church in Turov, since it was precisely into this Gospel that on May 2, 1508, the donation charter of Prince Kostiantyn Ostrozky for certain land holdings in favour of the Transfiguration Church was entered. It is possible that Ostrozky also donated the manuscript to the Turov church, but here we can only presume, since there is no documentary evidence. From 1508, this parchment Gospel-aprakos was kept in the Turov Transfiguration Church not only as a valuable liturgical book, but also as an important legal document confirming the church's rights to land holdings (as evidenced by the confirmation entries in Polish of 1781 and 1790). Perhaps the very presence of donation entries on the preserved fragments contributed to their being kept in the Turov church for so long, since, according to Sokolov, they were discovered precisely in the Transfiguration Church[73]. By the mid-1860s, the documents had probably lost their significance. With the assistance of the Turov clergymen, Zheleznyakovsky and Lisitsky, the parchment excerpts of the ancient Gospel-aprakos, along with the donation entries of Kostiantyn Ostrozky, were brought by Sokolov to Vilna. There, they took the honourable first place in the manuscript collection and display cases of the Vilna Public Library; and now, after the certain troubles of the 20th century, they are preserved in the Wróblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences.

73 Туровское Євангелие одиннадцатого века. С. 112.

Poulina Yanitskaya, Viacheslav Korniienko

The Illumination of the Turov Gospel in the Context of Development of Manuscript Book Art in 11th-Century Kyiv*

Ten folios of an ancient manuscript were discovered in the city of Turov during one of the «expeditions» carried out on the initiative of the trustee of the Vilna Educational District, Ivan Kornilov, by his subordinates. Already from the second half of the 1860s, i.e. from the time the manuscript was discovered, this story was overgrown with a bunch of different versions regarding time, place, persons and circumstances, which somehow played a role in the fact that the manuscript changed its location, «moving» from the Church of the Transfiguration of Our Saviour in Turov to the Vilna Public Library. The manuscript has been in Vilna for more than a century and a half, with the exception of a short period of time, approximately three decades, when it was «evacuated» to the library of the Rumyantsev Museum in Moscow (now the Russian Public Library). Today, a valuable monument of Ukrainian medieval literature under the shelfmark F 19-1 is a real gem of the manuscript collection of the Wrróblewski Library of the Academy of Sciences of Lithuania.

From the very beginning of its discovery, the ancient manuscript was not deprived of research attention: on the pages of scientific works, different opinions were expressed about the time and place of writing of the Turov Gospel, the specifics of the copyist's language, textological features, etc.[1] Some researchers included in their own studies certain observations on the artistic decoration of the manuscript, seeking to highlight certain points regarding the specifics of the execution of the initials, taking into account the colour scheme and modelling of some of their components, to find analogies in other manuscript monuments, thanks to which to try to answer the question about the time and place of the execution of the Gospel[2], of which a small

* Translated by Anatol Laskowski.

1 For a detailed overview of the historiography, see in the article by V. Korniienko in this edition.

2 See, e.g.: Пуцко В. Г. Книжкова продукція київських та південно-західних скрипторіїв XI–XIII ст. // Писемність Київської Русі і становлення української літератури. Збірник наукових праць. К. (Наукова думка), 1988. С. 11–12; Пуцко В. Г. Славянская иллюминированная книга X–XI векав // Byzantinoslavica. Revue internationale des études Byzantine. Prague, 1985. T. XLVI. P. 149; Пуцко В. Художественное оформление древнейших славянских рукописей // Slovo: časopis Staroslavenskoga instituta u Zagrebu. Zagreb, 1987. Sv. 37. S. 86; Пуцко В. Г. Эмальерный стиль в художественном оформлении киевских рукописей XI в. // Книжные центры Древней Руси. XI–XVI вв.: Разные аспекты

part remained – let me remind you, only 10 parchment folios of a relatively small size: 21×16.2–16.4 cm[3].

A common shortcoming of the studies on the decorative design of the manuscript was that the 11 initials and the ornamental dividing line on its pages were not the subject of a purposeful art analysis[4]. The initials of the Turov Gospel were mentioned precisely in a more general context with the illumination of other manuscripts, which was based on long-established historiographical views on the development of Kyivan Rus' book art and sources from which medieval artists drew inspiration while working on the decoration of manuscripts in scriptoriums. To this day, there are no works devoted to a detailed art history description of the initials of the Turov Gospel in historiography. However, it is the detailed art history description of the initials, which can be compared with the correct and complete reading of the document by a researcher who uses it as a source for historical studies which will allow us to answer a number of important questions related to the work of the medieval artist, to highlight important decorative elements that will later allow us to place the monument in the context of the historical development of Kyivan Rus' book art of the 11th century.

Therefore, the goal of the article is to describe in detail and, based on this description, to analyze the artistic decoration of the Turov Gospel, to carry out a comparative analysis of close ones in terms of chronological framework and stylistic techniques of handwritten monuments that have survived to this day.

***

On ten parchment folios, as mentioned above, there are 11 initials in the titles and one dividing line. Of them, the letter ⱃ is performed six times (fols. 5v, 7, 7v, 8v, 10 and 10v), ⱂ – four times (fols. 1v, 3, 5 and 9v); ⱁ – once (fol. 2). Since the number of graphic elements in the manuscript is relatively small, below we consider it appropriate to provide their description, following sequentially folio by folio, but not by individual letters.

The title is executed only in cinnabar and occupies two lines of the text block (Fig. 1). The letters of the upper line occupy the height of the entire line, and of the lower one – about a half, similar to the rest of the text on the page. When modelling the letters, the

исследования. Санкт-Петербург (Наука), 1991. С. 32; Пуцко В. Г. Византия и становление искусства Киевской Руси // Южная Русь и Византия: Сборник научных трудов (к XVIII конгрессу византинистов). К. (Наукова думка), 1991. С. 92; Пуцко В. Ілюмінацыя Тураўскаго Евангелля. Беларускі гістарычны агляд: навуковы часопіс. 1998. Т. 5, сш. 1. С. 88–102. URL: https://www.belhistory.eu/archives/373 (accessed 15 May 2025); Пуцко В. Г. Иллюмированная древнерусская книга XI–XIII в. // Древняя Русь: вопросы медиевистики. 2001. № 3 (5). С. 45; Уханова Е. В. Западноевропейские источники в древнерусской книжной культуре XI века и Остромирово Евангелие // Путем орнамента. Исследования по искусству византийского мира. Сборник статей. Москва (Макс-пресс), 2013. С. 212, 223; Гісторыя беларускага мастацтва у шасці тамах. Т. 1: Ад старажытных часоў да другай паловы XVI стагоддзя. Мінск (Навука і тэхніка), 1987. С. 90–91.

3 Сводный каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг, хранящихся в СССР. XI–XIII вв. Москва (Наука), 1984. С. 50.

4 Even in Putsko's article specifically dedicated to the illumination of the Turov Gospel, only one (!) paragraph is devoted to the description and analysis of the initials.



Fig. 1. Title and initial Р on folio 1v

copyist used triangular, square and rectangular elements of different sizes, as well as a double outline, which allowed him to give lightness and transparency to a rather bulky form.

The initial Р is placed approximately in the middle of the page to the left of the text block; the letter occupies ⅓ of its height, its forms are refined and elegant. The stem of the letter is made of alternating joints; these are elongated vertical elements with a curl at the end, which resembles a volute in the construction of a column. The base of the stem is made in the form of a knot, from which the tail of the letter is plaited on the left margin of the page with a spectacular finish, which has both a rounded solution and a graceful sharpening, which turns into a stroke of the pen. Unfortunately, this part of the image is not well preserved: the paint layer has thinned and crumbled in places, leaving only a pale memory of the pigment.

The upper part of the composition of the initial, which forms the loop of the letter Р, is made in the form of the head and body of a snake. The contour line of the image allows to highlight the snake's head with small horn protrusions and a gaping, toothy mouth. The thinnest, like a hair, barely noticeable line connects the "head" with the stem of the letter. The colouristic solution of the initial connects the use of cinnabar, azure and green, which fills the space inside the loop of the letter. In this case, the master uses azure in the decorated "head", in the area of the "eyes" and the protruding "tongue". It is worth emphasizing that the cinnabar "nose" and "neck" of the snake are separated from the blue elements of the decor not

only by a contour drawing, which was made with the same ink as the text block, but also by unpainted areas that preserved the primary colour of the parchment. This allowed the master to emphasize the sharp "tooth" against the background of the blue "tongue".

The "neck" and "body" of the snake combine both cinnabar and azure elements, separated by a contour line. In the highest part of the initial, the composition of the image is resolved in the form of a pointed knot with two expressive and seemingly conflicting triangles of blue, indicating the text, and red, pointing upwards. The alternation of cinnabar and azure is observed both in the stem of the letter and in its nodal base.

The initial О on folio 2 begins the second paragraph of the text block and occupies only two lines in height in the left margin of the page (Fig. 2). The outline drawing is made with the same ink as the main text. Outwardly, this letter resembles a small button with four slits

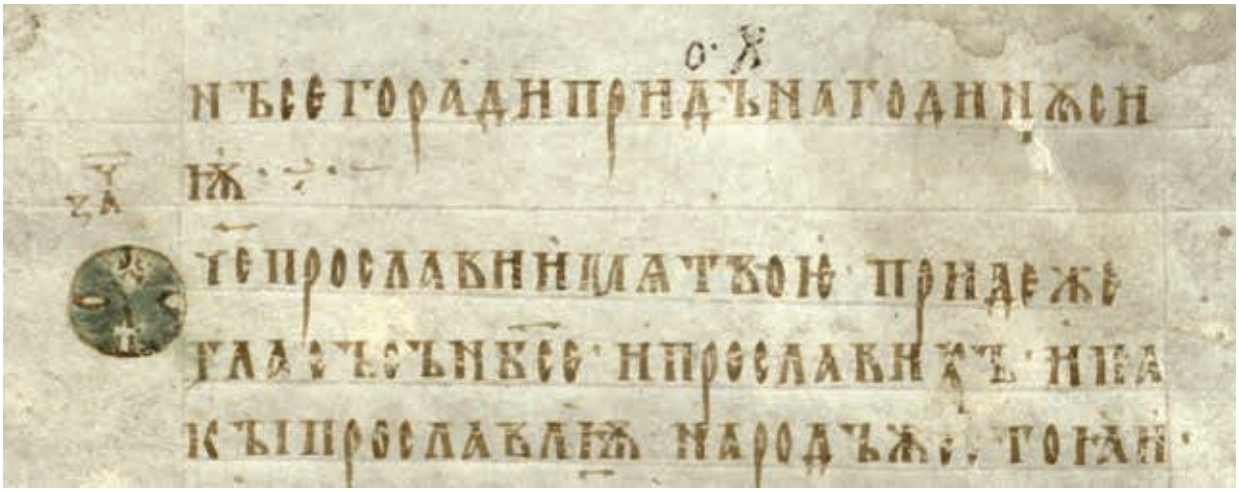


Fig. 2. Initial О on folio 2

directed from the outer contour of the letter to its centre. These slits are of different shapes, but they are also outlined by a contour line. The lower, vertical, is similar to a cross. With its top, it almost touches the upper vertical slit, which resembles a hanging bunch of grapes. In the widest part, the bunch is framed by branches that twist to the outer edge – in the manner of a volute. The two transverse slits are also directed towards each other, have an elongated oval shape on the left and a more rounded one on the right. The inner space of the initial is filled with green pigment; the inner decorative elements, except for the contour line, are left without filling with paint and convey the natural colour of the parchment, which creates the impression of slits in the viewer. In general, the combination of elements inside О can be considered as an allusion to the Eucharist transmitted by the master through the depiction of the symbols of grapes (cluster) and bread (left and right branches), which lead to the symbol of the Saviour's Atonement – the cross in the lower part.

The initial Р and the title on folio 3 are located at the bottom of the page (Fig. 3).

The first four letters of the title occupy the entire height of the line. Similar to the ones mentioned above, the letters are made by the master using triangular, square and rectangular elements of different sizes and double outline. The font of the first four letters on this folio is made in the same way as on folio 1v, with the only difference that the master outlines the letters with dark, almost black ink, and then fills them with cinnabar, which is not present in the title letters on folio 1v. The entire following title line occupies half the height of the line and is executed in cinnabar. Before the beginning, the title is marked with a

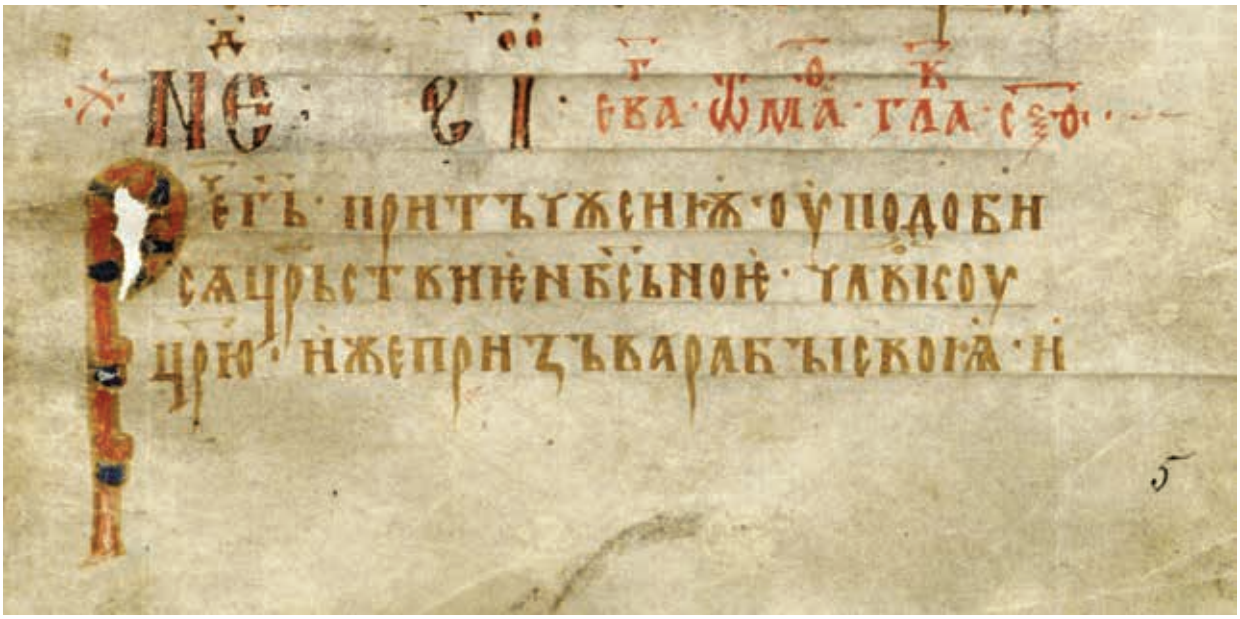


Fig. 3. Title and initial Р on folio 3

decorative element of an archaic form, consisting of two crossed lines, in the manner of an oblique cross, with dots in the four corners.

The initial Р occupies three lines of the text block in height and protrudes to the same height in the lower margin of the page. Compositionally, the letter consists of a stem and a loop that descends to a third of the height of the image. The base is simple, without knots, slightly bevelled to the left and down, with a small pointed tail. As in the case of the above-described initial Р on folio 1v, here the master uses the same method of joints with curl elements. In the loop of the letter, the curls are compacted, giving its inner contour line a conical shape. In a similar form, some researchers tend to see the stylization of the "acanthus leaf"[5]. We deliberately avoid such a comparison, since in the artistic decoration of the monument, which is considered, the plant forms of the acanthus leaf

5 Уханова Е. В. Западноевропейские источники. С. 223.

are not sufficiently expressive for such identification. Other researchers see in this initial a zoomorphic image of a "bird that cleans its feathers"[6], which is also not entirely true. Upon closer examination, which today's digital technologies allow, zoomorphic motifs in this particular initial were not noticed.

The colour solution of the initial is similar to the one described above – on folio 1, and it is also dominated by cinnabar, to which azure "beads" are added in the places where the elements of the scroll are articulated. The colour of the ink and, following it, the contour line of the letter differs from the previous pages and initials, it looks lighter. In filling the body of the letter with cinnabar, the contour almost merges with the red pigment. Unfortunately, the preservation of the paint layer and parchment in this place of the folio is disturbed, so without the necessary micro-chemical examination it is impossible to say with certainty whether green was used to fill the inner space of the loop of Р. However, given the closeness of the compositional and coloristic solution of both initials (on folios 1 and 3), we can assume that green pigment could have been there.

On folio 4, there is only a title written at the bottom of the page in two lines (Fig. 4). Its first six letters are the size of the entire height of the line, and the remaining letters of the title cover approximately half the height of the line, as do the letters of the main text. The font and style of execution with double outline repeats the decision of the title on folio 3. Both lines of the title

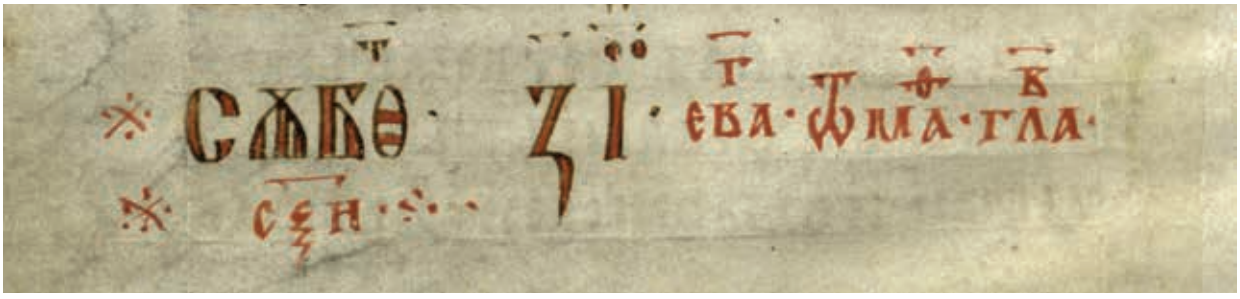


Fig. 4. Title on folio 4v

are marked with decorative elements of two crossed lines with dots at the four corners.

The initial Р on folio 5 actually opens the main text, occupying seven lines of the text block in height (Fig. 5). The stem of the letter has four joints with elements of curls. In the loop of the initial, the curls thicken, which gives its inner line a conical shape with a pointed end. Actually, this technique of the master repeats the solution of the initial on folio 3. In this case, the image has almost not suffered from the loss of the paint layer and, in a certain way, can visually supplement the structural elements of the initial Р on folio 3, which are missing or poorly traced. It is also worth noting that in this case the master uses only two pigments in the design of the capital letter: these are greens, which fill the

6 Пуцко В. Ілюмінацыя Тураўскаго Евангелля.

inner space of the loop, and vermilion, with which the artist separates and at the same time emphasizes the transparency of the alternating decorative details. Minimizing the colour solution allows him to give the letter lightness and emphasizes the plastic solution of this element of the artistic decoration of the folio.

The title and the initial Ѕ on folio 5v are located in the lower part of the text block (Fig. 6).

The first four letters of the title occupy the entire height of the line and are made using the same font as those mentioned above, written on folios 1v, 3 and 4v. This is a double outline in the colour of the ink of the main text and the use of an archaic form of decor at the beginning of the line in the form of two diagonally crossed lines with dots at the corners. The rest of the title is made in cinnabar half the height of the line.

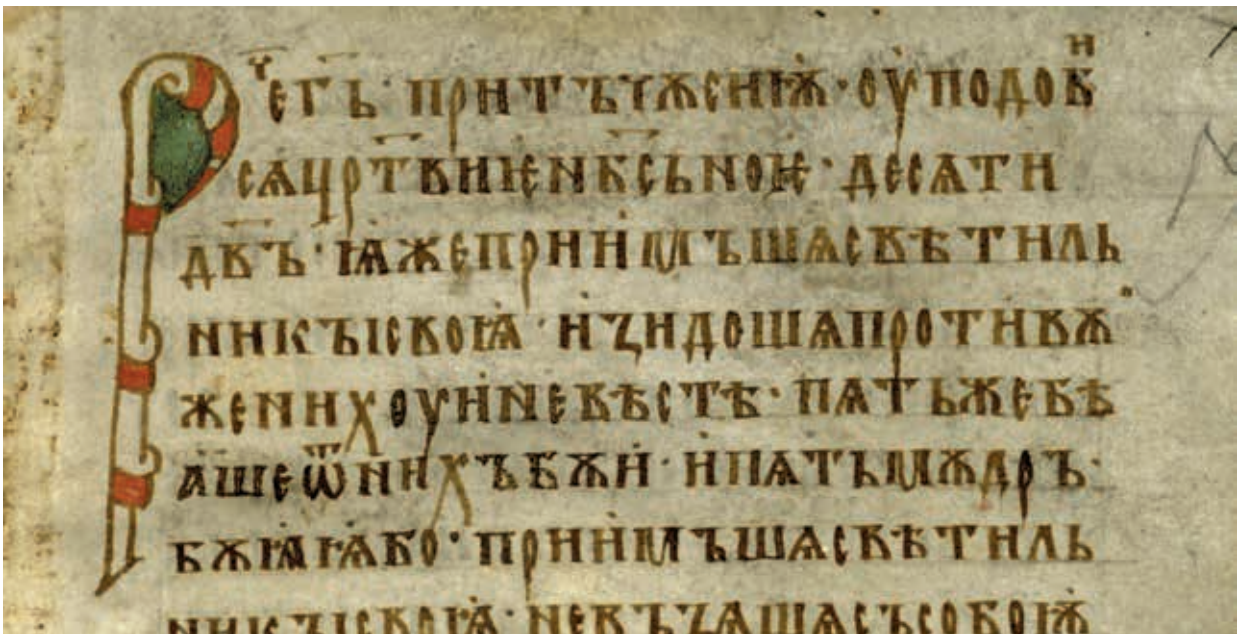


Fig. 5. Initial Р on folio 5

The initial Ѕ occupies the two lower lines and more than halfway descends into the lower margin of the page. In its decorative solution, the initial combines the rhythmically repeated crossing of two ribbons in the stem. Two unequal loops are decorated on the inside. The upper one is decorated with two drop-shaped protrusions of red and blue colours, with red dominating. The lower loop uses a motif of curls that increase in size and amplitude as you approach the most protruding part of the loop. The pointed tip of the last curl protrudes most intensely against the light green background of the loop and dynamically twists upwards, like the crest of a wave. Such a comparison seems most successful when describing this detail of the ornamental solution of the initial. The outer contour line of the loop connects to the stem of the letter, and from this same point the inner thin

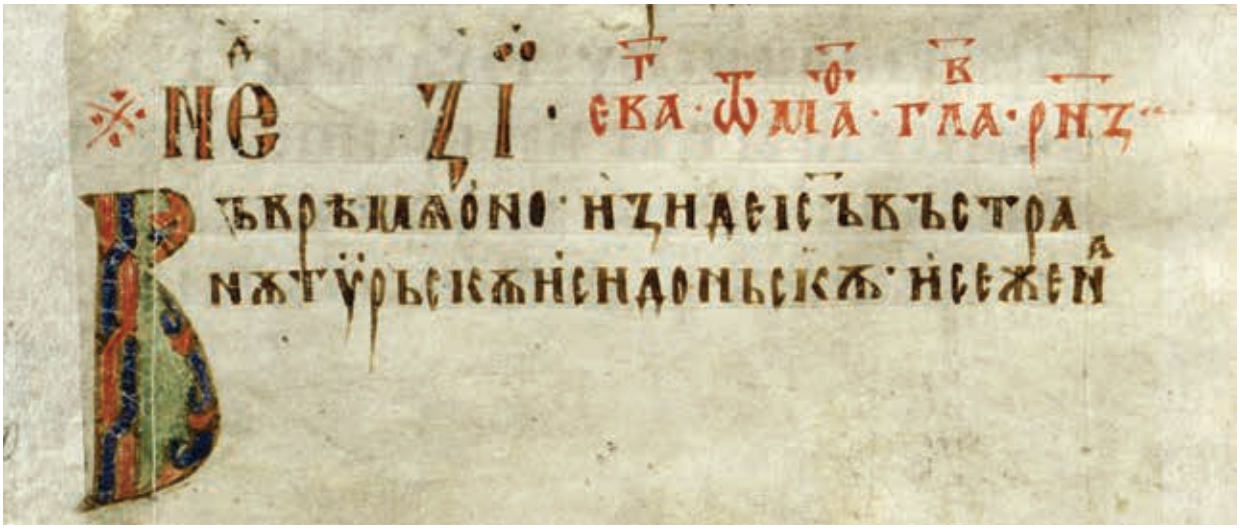


Fig. 6. Title and initial ⱃ on folio 5v

line forms a triangle, which with one of its sides touches the lower curl, supporting its dynamics of upward movement, strengthening it. Such a solution visually weighs down the composition, which slightly collapses to the left and down due to a small pointed protrusion to the left in the lower part of the stem.

The artistic decoration of the folio 6v includes a headpiece-divider above the precept and the title (Fig. 7).

The headpiece is made using the decor of archaic forms. This is an alternation of three vertical lines and ovals, stretched in width and separated by a vertical line. The semicircles of the ovals are marked with dots. The decoration is made in ink of the same colour as the text block; it is similar in size to the font of the main text letters and line width. On the left and right edges of the page, cone-shaped tops protrude, based on elements of curls resembling volutes. The decoration is drawn in ink and painted with cinnabar.

Between the headpiece and the title there is a precept indicating the order of readings. It occupies eight lines of the text block. The beginning of the first is marked by crossed oblique lines with dots in the corners in the centre. The next six lines are marked by a decor in the form of four dots, without crossed lines. And in the last, bottom line of the precept, the master again returns to the motif of crossed lines with dots in the corners in the centre at the beginning of the line, and at the end of the line there is a motif of four dots without crossed lines, as well as with two dots and a light tick stroke.

Both lines of the title are also marked with a cinnabar decoration of crossed oblique lines with dots at the corners in the centre. The upper line of the title is made using the same techniques that were mentioned earlier in the description of the titles on folios 1v, 3, 4v and 5v: this is a double outline with the colour of the main ink and painting with

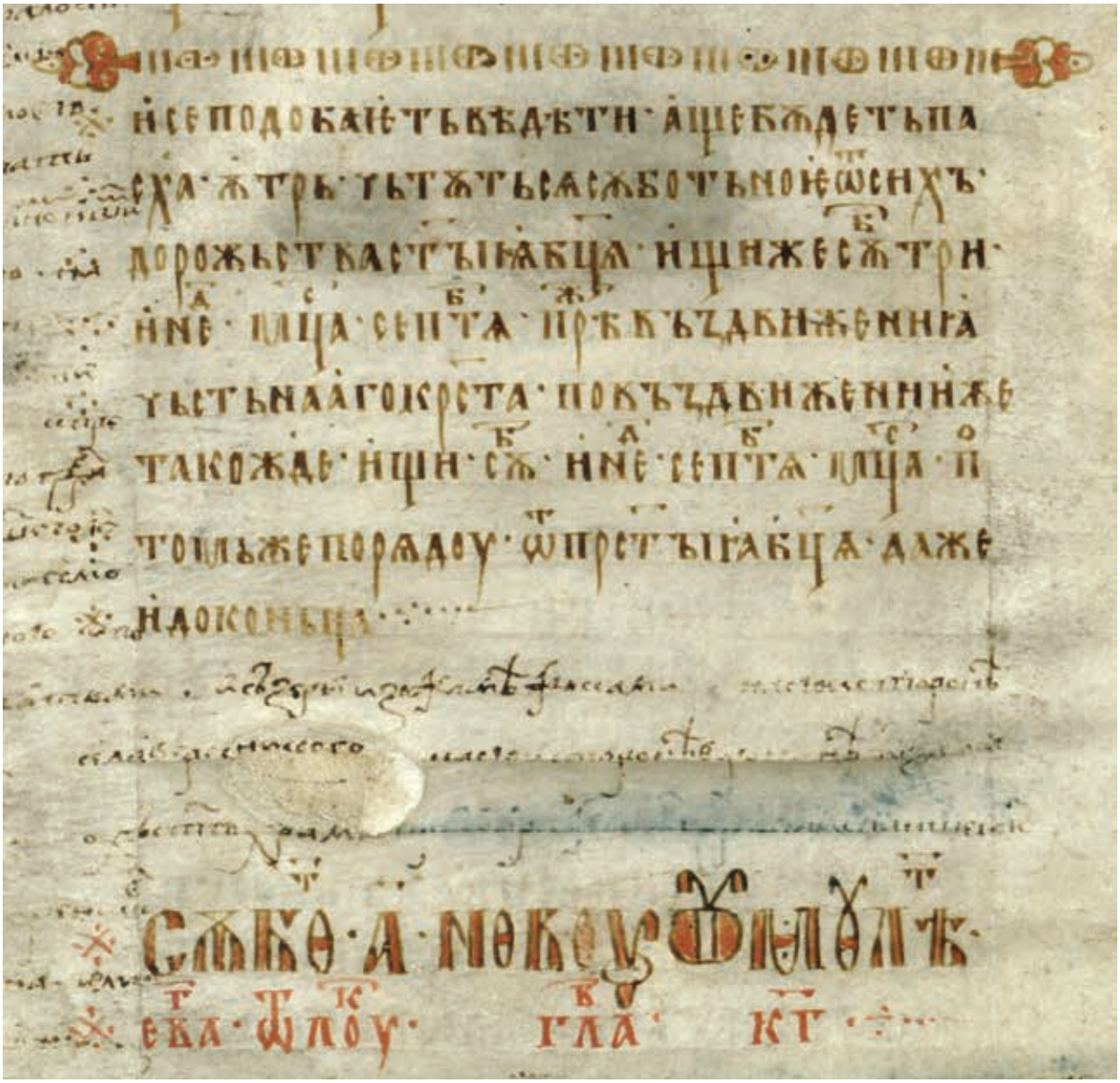


Fig. 7. Headpiece-divider and title on folio 6v

cinnabar. It is also worth noting that this title differs from the others on the pages of the manuscript with its spectacular decoration of the letters in the first line, its large volume and, due to this, greater decorativeness. The second line of the title is written in cinnabar in half the height of the line.

The artistic decoration of folio 7 contains the initial В, which is placed at the top of the page and occupies the height of eight lines of the text block (Fig. 8). The contour line is made in the same ink as the text and demonstrates a combination of complex form-making elements of the ornament.

The stem of the letter consists of stylized cross-shaped parts. Some of them resemble a four-leaf clover in shape. This decorative link alternates with another, similar in shape, but with a more massive double horizontal part. From above and below, the stem is depicted in the form of a knot with pointed tails, and the same complex braided knot is visible in its middle part.

The double loop of Ѣ seems to be braided from the stem, since the mentioned knots actually connect the two parts of the letter into one whole. The upper smaller loop is made



Fig. 8. Initial Ѣ on folio 7

in the form of a spectacular spiral that twists from the inside. It is formed by a double line, which outlines it and gives volume to this decorative element. The large lower loop has a rather drop-like shape, which gives the letter slender outlines. It is made of the articulation of elongated curls, which are separated from each other by small peculiar beads. The master also introduces a colouristic solution into this rather complex graphic composition. Red and blue are used to fill the links of the ornament. Alternating with each other, these colours fill the double outline of the letter. Red replaces blue, and vice versa. It is also worth noting that parts of red colour converge in the upper node of the stem, and in the lower one – blue. The colouring of the decorative elements is carried out so that the viewer can also see the forming contour line. In some places, such as the complex double knot in the middle part of the stem, some parts of the braiding are preserved in untouched

red strokes. The same moment is observed in the upper rounded part of the letter, namely in the twisting of the spiral. These unpainted areas allow to include another colour in the colouristic scheme, the colour of parchment, which in this case creates an effect similar to omissions. And in this way, the master hints at a kind of volumetricity of the decorative elements. Of course, today it is difficult to say with one hundred percent certainty whether this was an artistic decision of the author, or is a consequence of the shedding of the paint layer, an involuntary consequence of the influence of time.

The inner space of the loops of Ѣ is filled with a rich green colour. And this juxtaposition of contrasting colours of green and red, red and white, gives the decoration of the 7th folio exceptional elegance. It is also worth noting that the complex decorative solution of the initial is stylistically close to the solution of the initials Р on folios 1v, 3 and 5, but does not repeat them in fact.

The title on folio 7 is placed in the upper half of the page and occupies one line of the text block (Fig. 9). The master uses the same style as on the folios mentioned above. The beginning of the line is marked with a pattern of crossed oblique lines with dots on four sides. The first three letters occupy the entire height of the line, they are executed in ink with double outline and painted with cinnabar; the rest of the text is executed with cinnabar and occupies half the height of the line.

The next paragraph opens with the initial Ѣ, which occupies seven lines of the text block (Fig. 9). The outline of the letter and its complex rhythm of ornamental motifs are executed in the same ink as the text, and are subsequently filled with the colours inherent in the decoration of the Turov Gospel: blue, red, and green. Stylistically, the letter is close to the initial Ѣ on folio 5v.

The stem of the letter is designed in the form of evenly wide ribbons of red and blue colours with three interlacing links that divide the vertical of the letter into four not quite equal parts. The upper link is located opposite the small loop of Ѣ, the next two are opposite the large one. The ornamental motif of the stem is laconic, balanced by its geometric weight; on the other hand, the composition of the inner edge of the semicircle of the letter is the opposite in its dynamics. The curlicue motif, which is more than once repeated in the decoration of the initials on other pages of the manuscript, brings a certain excitement to the composition of the ornamental solution. In the upper loop of the letter, these curlicues run from the centre up and down, gradually decreasing to a thin line, connect this detail with the stem of the letter at the top and, not reaching the large lower loop, stop. A similar technique is used in the lower semicircle, although, due to the fact that the roundest protruding part is at the bottom, this loop resembles a drop in shape. This impression is also facilitated by a smooth, thin contour line: flowing into the

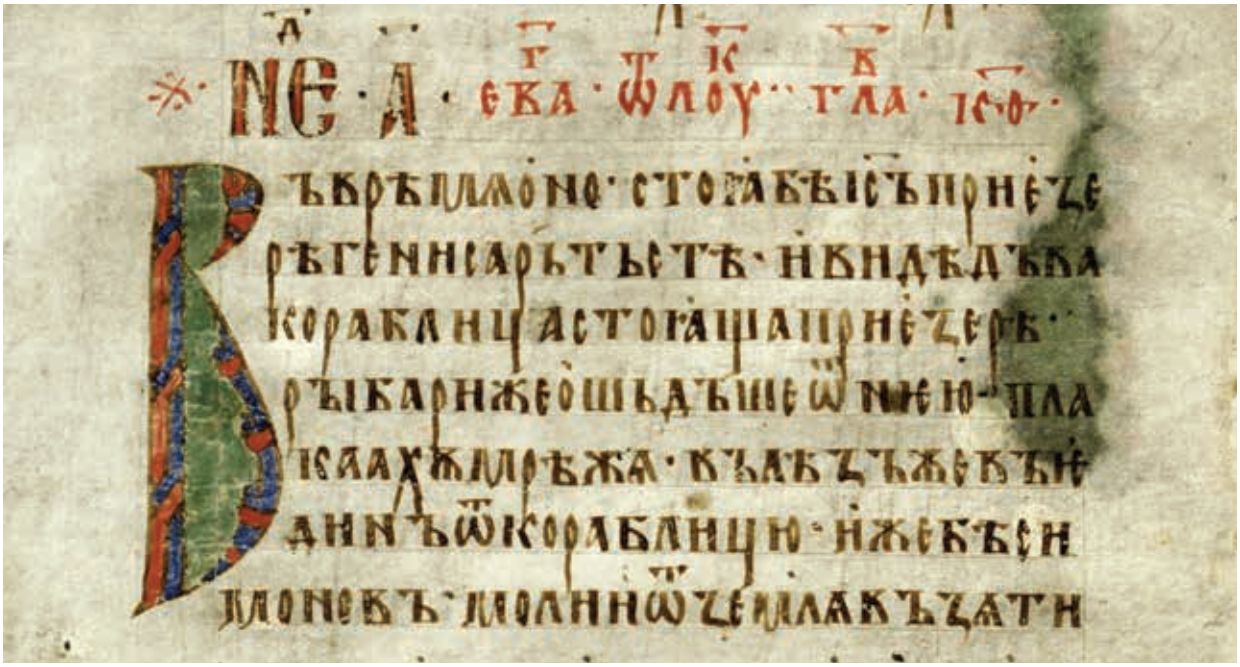


Fig. 9. Title and initial В on folio 7v

lower part of the stem, it forms its base along an oblique cut and ends with an effective pointed tip. In the widest part of the lower loop, the curls have the greatest mass and are inserted into a cone-shaped shape, which thins and eventually converges into a contour line. The same curls going upwards have a certain uniform width, and they rise above each other. The colour scheme alternates intense bursts of red and blue, which form a kind of rhythm, echoing each other in the semicircles of the loops and supporting the interlacing links in the vertical of the stem. The inner space of the initial is filled with green paint, the shade of which tends towards cold azure, so effectively braided into single rhythmic chains with hot cinnabar.

The title on folio 8v is placed in the first third of the page, occupying one line of the text block (Fig. 10). The beginning is marked by a decorative element of two oblique crossed lines with dots on four sides. The first five letters occupy the entire height of the line; they are made in ink of the same colour as the main text and are designed in the same stylistic key as the previous letters of the titles. The double outline of the letters is filled with cinnabar. The same colour is used in the decoration at the beginning of the line and the continuation of the words of the title.

The initial В located below occupies six lines of the text block. In its artistic solution, the letter repeats the previously used on folios 5v and 7v motif of the ornament and combines the rhythmic repetition of interlacing of equal-width ribbons in the stem and the decoration of the inner side of the contour line in loops of uneven size using the

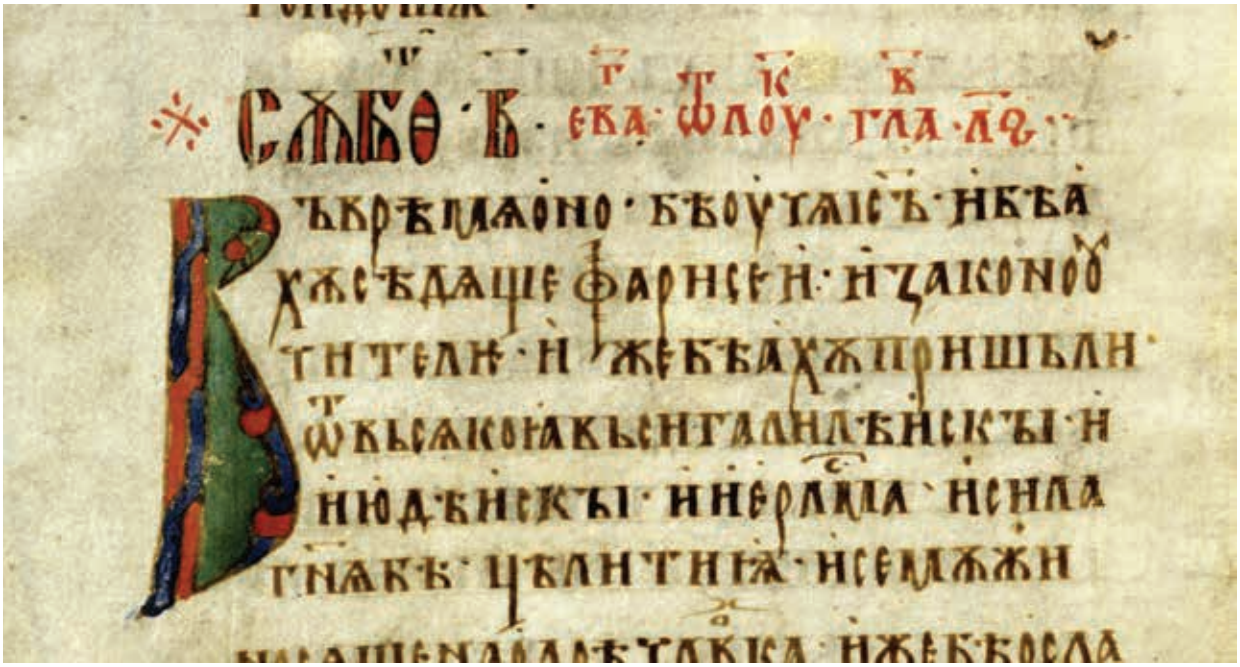


Fig. 10. Title and initial В on folio 8v

motif of a curl and beads. With the general similarity of the proportions of the form and decor of the initials, the difference in this case is the decision to decorate the upper loop, which resembles a green leaf that has blossomed from a bud, with a red bead in the centre. The lower loop demonstrates the alternation of blue curls and red beads. The decor, most pronounced in its middle part, in the places of contact with the stem converges into a thin contour line. The colouristic solution includes a uniform alternation of red and blue in the stem and lower loop, with the exception of the upper part, which is done in red and green. The interior space of the initial, free from ornament, is filled with green.

A peculiarity of the initial on this folio is also the preservation of its paint layer, which was subject to washing off, in some places to the parchment base. This is evidenced by the peculiar "flowing" form of filling in red and blue colours in the stem of the letter, overlapping the form-making contour line. This was not allowed in other initials. Whether this was a mistake of the master or an inevitable consequence of the fact that the book was used, is difficult to say with one hundred percent certainty today. But there are obvious traces of the "rescue" of the paint layer in the stem of the initial and the wiping of the azure that flowed beyond the contour of the letter. The loop section has been preserved in much better condition and clearly demonstrates the calligrapher's skill.

The title on folio 9v occupies one and a half lines of the text block (Fig. 11). The first three letters are made in ink of the same colour as the main text. Perhaps the main

difference here is the width of the line; it is very thin, barely noticeable, especially in the first two letters. The space of the double outline is filled with cinnabar. The master uses the same colour to write the rest of the words of the title.

The initial Р, placed here, is located lower on the left margin of the page, occupies seven full lines and emerges with a pointed base of the stem on the upper half of the eighth line. The initial is executed in blue, red and green colours, typical of the artistic decoration of the Turov Gospel. The master uses the same ornamental motif that we have already seen in most of the initials on folios 7v, 5v and 8v. The intertwining of red and blue ribbons divides the stem into four unequal segments. The base of the stem is traditionally bevelled to the left and down with a tiny pointed tip. The loop is decorated on the inside of the contour by means of a curlicue element with an amplitude that increases, starting from the

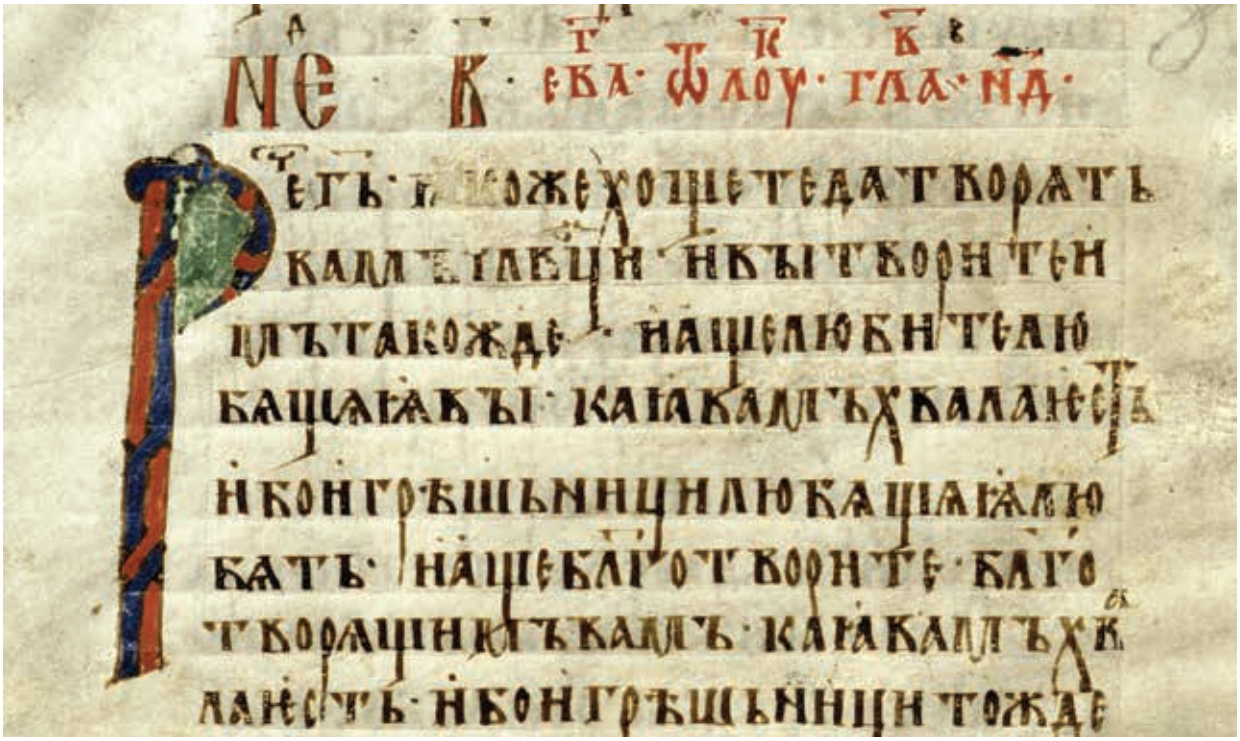


Fig. 11. Title and initial Р on folio 9v

middle, and ends in a thin, exquisite stroke at its end. If the thin stroke does not touch the stem, then the initial part of the loop is actually braided out of its blue ribbon. Consolidating into a bead at the top of the stem, it picks up the loop at its beginning and dissolves in it, breaking into small and large elements of curls. The inner space of the loop is filled with green. In this case, you can see the shedding of the paint layer in the upper part of the letter, namely in the part of the stem near the loop and the space between them. Restoration work to strengthen the base of the monument is also noticeable.

The title of folio 10 occupies one line of the text block (Fig. 12). The beginning of the line is marked by a decor of oblique crossed lines with dots at the corners in the centre. The cinnabar paint layer is now almost completely lost, but its remains can still be seen. The first five letters of the title occupy the entire height of the line. The double outline of the letters is made with a thin but clearly visible line, in ink of the same colour as the main text. The space between the double outline is filled with cinnabar. The rest of the words of the title are made in the same colour.

The initial Ⱋ, which follows the title, occupies seven lines of the text block, reaching its left margin. In fact, it decorates the entire second half of the folio. In its artistic solution, it is extremely close to the initial on folio 5v. The identical ornament of the stem consists of intertwined red and blue stripes, divided by interlacing into almost equal-sized segments

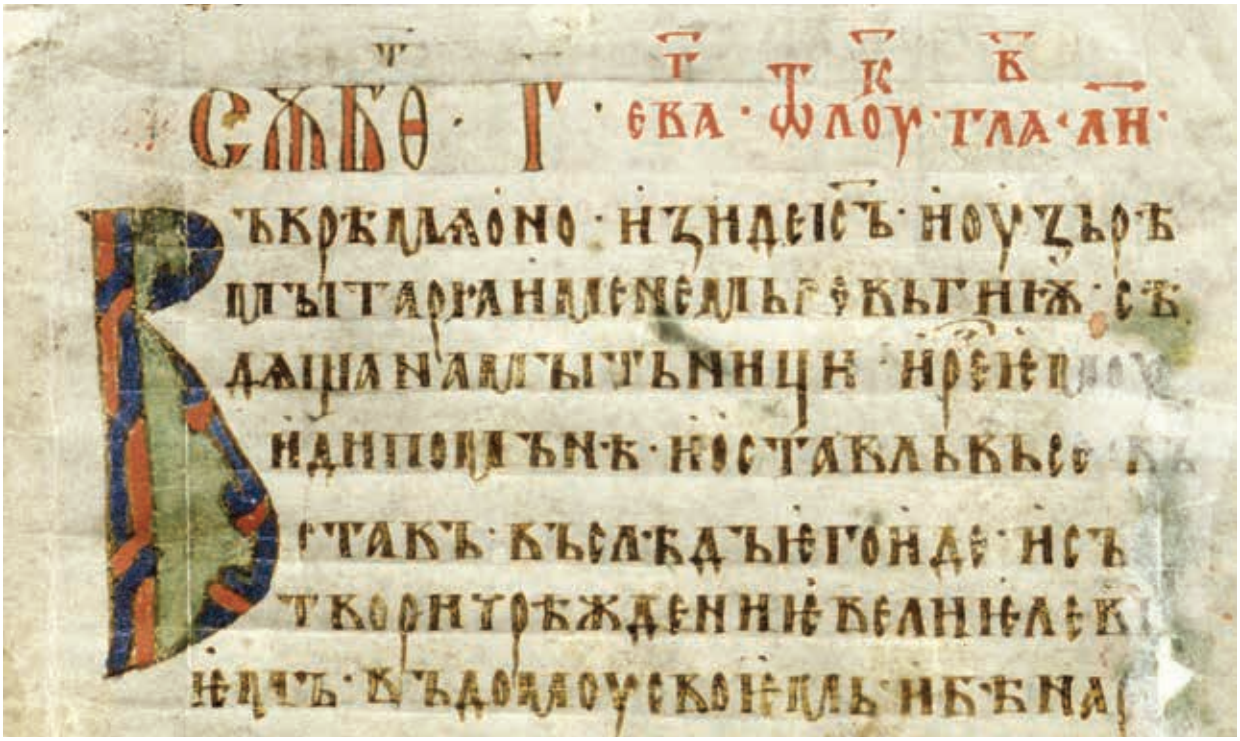


Fig. 12. Title and initial Ⱋ on folio 10

and their equal number. In one of the interlacing segments, the red and blue colours are interchanged, and the form-making element of the upper loop of the letter is completely filled with blue. Thus, the impression of the dominance of the blue colour in the composition of the initial is created. The inner edge of the loops of unequal size is decorated using the motif of curls. Their amplitude increases as they approach the high protruding part of the loop and, accordingly, narrows, turning into a thin line of contact with the stem. In the upper loop we can see how the movement of the curls gradually increases from a thin line, but by the time

they are completed they do not return to a thin line, but rather bifurcate. One sharp end is directed upwards, like the crest of a wave; the other points to the stem, but does not touch it. The curl motif continues in the larger lower loop of the initial. Starting with a thin line near the stem of the letter, the pattern has three dynamic parts made of protruding curl elements: the smallest in size is the upper part, the middle one is made in a slightly larger size, and the largest is the third, which completes the decorative construction of the inner contour. The entire ornament of the lower part descends in motion, thinning into a contour line that harmoniously passes into the base of the stem, tapering at the tip downwards. Later, when the initial is executed in colour, this sharp tip will be slightly levelled with a stroke of blue paint. The inner space of the loops of Ѣ is filled with light green.

It is also important to note that in the initial on this folio the paint layer has a significant colour saturation – both deep blue and dense red. The green is given in a thin translucent gradation. It is likely that in this case the master could have used a different paint composition, but this can only be established after micro-chemical examination and careful analysis of the results obtained, which will allow to somewhat reveal the secrets of the technological features of the manuscript design. Was the time favourable to the preservation of this initial? Sooner yes. But at the same time, the shedding of the paint layer is obvious, it is especially noticeable in the places where the lines of the folio are outlined.

The title and the initial on folio 10v are located at the bottom of the page (Fig. 13).

The title occupies one line of the text block; its beginning is marked by the already usual decorative element consisting of oblique crossed lines and dots in the corners formed by them. The next three letters are made to the full height of the line using the same manner of double outlining with ink of the main text and filling in red. As before, the continuation of the title is made in cinnabar. The letters are small, one third of the height of the line.

The initial Ѣ partially enters the left field of the text block, occupying six of its lines; at the same time, the details of the ornament are carried up – beyond the red line of the title, and down – to the bottom margin of the page.

The artistic decoration of the initial is extremely close to the similar letter on folio 7. In the central part of the stem of the letter, a combination of crosses, beads and wide rings is used, which, alternating with each other, form the vertical of the stem. Small in width red on top, it braids into the upper stem of the letter, and forming a perpendicular with it, it is tied into a spectacular knot. One tail of the knot goes up diagonally, and the other braids up vertically, continuing the stem of the letter and ending with a sharp tip with knots of red and "white" colour of the parchment itself. A vertical line of blue colour goes down from the centre. It also braids into the lower loop, forming a pointed knot of blue and red.

The upper and lower loops of the letter are decorated on the inside of the contour line.

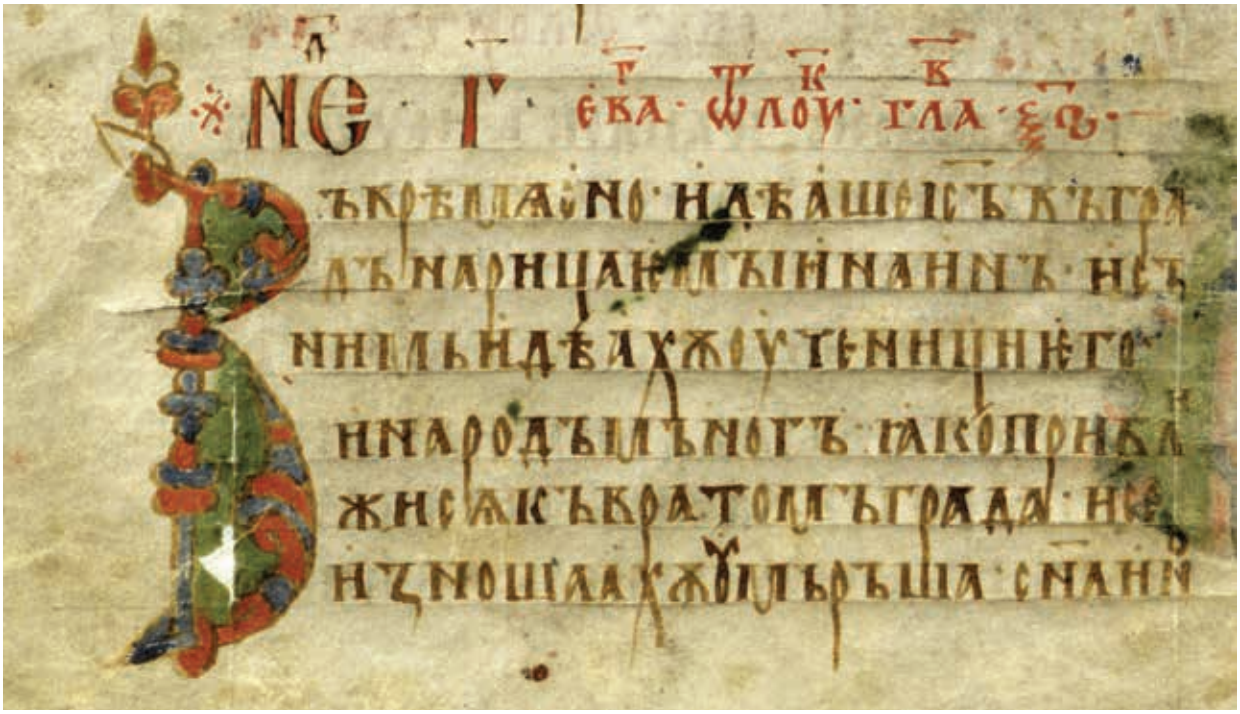


Fig. 13. Title and initial В on folio 10v

This is the same motif of curls used by the master. In the lower loop, the curls are laid out in a conical shape, tapering to the points of contact with the stem and the upper loop, the ornamental solution of which is somewhat more complex in its dynamics. Starting from the upper node, the loop is formed by two contour lines that outline its width. Interrupting into a bead and a ring, the lines are broken into curls that twist upwards, not downwards, as in the lower loop; and thus the decor acquires an excited state, which emphasizes the rhythmic alternation of red, blue and red again in the final thin chord of contact with the stem of the letter. The inner space of the initial is filled with light gradation green.

It is the inner part of the lower loop of the initial that has suffered severe damage to the base and was later strengthened by restoration inserts on the reverse side of the sheet. The tear in the parchment falls exactly at the place of the page outline and intersects above with another, already transverse tear in the base, which came from the second after the heading line and damaged the lower part of the upper loop of the initial. The restoration addition of the base and the strengthening of the paint layer allowed to preserve the integrity of the decorative design of this page.

***

Summing up the description of the illumination of the ten leaves of the Turov Gospel of the second half of the 11th century, it is worth noting that all the titles are made in the same stylistic key using the same font. The initials have two directions in their stylistics.

The first is characterized by writing, or rather, the assemblage of a stem from decorative elements of different shapes, which creates the impression of heterogeneity, intricacy and at the same time lightness. The use of knots, pointed tails protruding up and down, also emphasizes this impression. This is Р on folios 1v, 3 and 5, although the latter looks more laconic, as well as Ѣ on folios 7 and 10v.

The initials of the second direction are characterized by laconicism, completeness of lines and forms. These initials look heavier, although their size does not exceed the letters of the first type. All of them are characterized by the formation of a stem from equal-width ribbons that intertwine at more or less the same distance and divide the stem into three or four segments. These are the initials Ѣ on folios 5v, 7v, 8v and 10, and Р on folio 9v.

The unifying element of the design of all initials, with the exception of the letter О on folio 2, is the use of a curlicue element in the formation of the inner contour of the loops and, of course, the colour solution. Red (probably, cinnabar), blue (probably, lapis lazuli) and green of different gradations of colour density are present in all initials on a par with the use of colour of the base (i.e., parchment). All this betrays the hand of one master.

The above careful analysis of the specifics of the execution of the manuscript initials allows to see the meticulous creative approach of the master to his own work, when in a certain chosen form he finds different variations of the arrangement of decorative elements, which undoubtedly indicates both his individual manner of execution and the environment that formed the general outlines and tendencies for such decoration. That is, we are talking about the scriptorium in which the manuscript, now known as the Turov Gospel, was born.

In which scriptorium did this happen? In historiography today, there is no unambiguous answer to this question, which can be seen from the extensive review of it contained on the pages of this edition. Indicative in this case is the position of Putsko who, noting the connection between the stylistics of the illumination of the manuscript and the Kyiv scriptorium, hastened to point out that this does not mean that the manuscript itself was written and decorated in Kyiv, and not in some other city of Rus'[7]; this thesis is adhered to by Belarusian researchers trying to convince the scientific community of the Turov origin of the manuscript[8]. However, do we have grounds to speak of the polycentricity of book writing in Kyivan Rus' at the time of the writing of the Turov Gospel? Are we mechanically transferring the realities of the following – the 12th century, to the 11th century? This

7 Пуцко В. Ілюмінацыя Тураўскаго Евангелля.

8 See, e.g.: Суша А. Тураўскае Евангелле – найдаўнейшы кніжны помнік Беларусі // Тураўскае Евангелле = Туровское Евангелие = Turaĭ Gospel. Фасімільнае ўзнаўленне. Даследаванні. А. А. Суша (агулн. рэд.). С. 99–102. See the coverage of this issue in the works of other researchers of the Turov Gospel in the review by Viacheslav Korniienko in this edition.

question can be answered only through a thorough analysis of the results of the technological study of the preserved manuscripts, in connection with the historical realities of those times.

***

The issue of technological research of manuscripts is rarely raised in domestic science. Most often we encounter philological studies of various directions, on the results of which the belonging of the monument to a particular region was determined. The illumination of the manuscript, though being the subject to some kind of observation, was mainly for strengthening the argumentation. For example, it is worth mentioning the reasoning of Aleksei Sobolevsky who attributed the Turov Gospel to the Kyiv circle of monuments, including on the basis of the peculiarities of the colour scheme of the initials[9].

However, what is hidden behind the concept of red, blue and green? The answer to this question is unambiguous: this is the colossal amount of knowledge of the medieval master, the secrets of his skill in mixing pigments, and the preparation of the base for applying the paint layer. This information was preserved, supplemented, improved, and probably recorded, although written evidence about the technology of making paint during the Byzantine era are not known. This circumstance actually forces us to turn to the search for analogies, in particular, in the Western European book tradition.

The earliest collection of recommendations for masters is considered to be a manuscript written in Latin at the end of the 8th century (*Codex Lucensis 490* or *Compositiones variae*[10] from the capitular library of the city of Lucca), which is not perceived by many experts as a Byzantine source, although at the same time the involvement of Byzantine masters in the transmission of the secrets of some technologies of fine art, which later were included in the aforementioned collection, is certainly not excluded[11].

These secrets were revealed in the most detail by Chennino Chennini in a treatise on painting techniques, written at the beginning of the 15th century[12]. Of course, these testimonies date back much later than the time when the Turov Gospel was written, but the knowledge so carefully collected and recorded by Chennini was formed over more than one century. And although no written evidence of the technology of creating paints

9 Соболевский А. И. Новый труд В. Стасова // Университетские известия. Год XXVII (1887), № 5, май. К., 1887. Критика и библиография. С. 53.

10 See: Il codice 490 della Biblioteca Capitolare di Lucca. Ottantatre pagine per servire a studi paleografici scelte da Luigi Schiaparelli e riprodotte in fototipia a cura della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Vol. 1: Introduzione; vol. 2: Tavole; Roma (ed. Pompeo Sansaini), 1924; Burns Th. Compositiones Variae: A Late Eighth-century Craftsman's Technical Treatise Reconsidered. London (Archetype Publications), 2017.

11 Мокрецова И. П., Наумова М. М., Киреева В. Н., Добрынина Э. Н., Фонкич Б. Л. Материалы и техника визатнийской рукописной книги (по реставрационной документации Государственного научно-исследовательского института реставрации). Москва (Индрик), 2003. С. 18.

12 See, e.g.: Il libro dell'arte, o Trattato della pittura di Cennino Cennini; di nuovo pubblicato, con molte correzioni e coll'aggiunta di più capitoli, tratti dai codici fiorentini, per cura di Gaetano e Carlo Milanesi. Firenze, 1859.

in Kyivan Rus' has survived, the general principles of working with various pigments to obtain paints were certainly similar to those set forth in his *Il libro dell'arte*.

However, this stage of technological work – the production of ink and paints for writing and illumination of the manuscript – came later. In historiography, the idea of a certain disconnection between the customer, who paid for the work of the master, and the master himself is by default prevalent. That is, it seems that the customer (prince, governor or someone else) did not participate in the coordination and approval of the order, and the master produced the manuscript at his own discretion and skill. However, it is doubtful that the master did not discuss the artistic image of the book with the customer.

A temple cannot be built without architectural drawings, and its interior decoration is impossible without a previously agreed iconographic program. This was not done at random, the construction and painting were preceded by lengthy preparatory work; although the sketches are not known to our time, this does not mean that they could not exist. At least in the iconographic program of the temple's paintings, the figures of the customers are clearly traced. In particular, in St. Sophia Cathedral we can see the inclusion in the paintings of elements of the glorification of the donors – Volodymyr Svyatoslavych and Anna Porphyrogenita[13]. Obviously, the iconographic program was developed and agreed with the customers during the stage of preparation for construction at the beginning of the 11th century, just as later certain changes were agreed with the second founder and donator – Yaroslav, who completed the construction of the metropolitan residence begun by his father.

Liturgical books, the cost of which was extremely high, were also ordered for investment in the temple; this was a gift to the cloister in exchange for prayers for the salvation of the soul of the donor and his family members. Therefore, the customer of the manuscript had to clearly imagine the final result of his investment. And for this he had to see the prepared sketches, discussing certain changes to the program if necessary. Such sketches could make up entire albums with the most popular iconographic subjects, motifs of ornaments, collected for a narrow circle of masters. Are such sketches known at all?

Yes; however, in order to see an example of such an album, we must again turn to Western European materials (Fig. 14): one of the early examples of literature of this type is

13 See, e.g.: Никитенко Н. Русь и Византия в монументальном комплексе Софии Киевской: Историческая проблематика. К., 1999; Нікітенко Н. Образи засновників Софії Київської в сюжетах її бічних вівтарів // Матеріали V Міжнародних науково-практичних Софійських читань «Духовний потенціал та історичний контекст християнського мистецтва», присвячених 75-річчю Національного заповідника «Софія Київська», м. Київ, 28–29 травня 2009 р. Київ, 2011. С. 129–147; Нікітенко Н. Володимир Великий і Анна Порфірородна як «нові Костянтин і Олена» у фресковому розписі Софії Київської // Наукові записки НАУКМА. Історія і теорія культури. К., 2020. Т. 3. С. 36-42; Нікітенко Н. Володимир Великий на фресках Софії Київської // Софійський часопис. Вип.5. Збірник статей за матеріалами IX Судацької міжнародної наукової конференції «Причорномор'я, Крим, Русь», присвяченої 100-річчю від дня народження архітектора Є. І. Лопушинської (м. Київ, 24–25 вересня 2020 р.). К., 2021. С. 7–31; Нікітенко Н. Софія Київська Володимира Великого. К.: Горобець, 2022. С. 570–578.

considered to be 13th-century manuscript *Reiner Musterbuch* (Austrian National Library, Cod. 507) [14]. Like the *Compositiones variae*, this manuscript is not perceived in the context of its connection with Byzantium.

However, it was Byzantine art that determined the development of European fine arts – with technologies and styles, which, while entering the environment of the peoples of other countries, began to gradually change under the influence of the national aesthetic criteria of a particular region. At the same time, hand-written manuals and albums with sketches of modifications of ornamental motifs, such as *Reiner Musterbuch*, which helped the master to keep in memory the most successful samples, could play a huge role in spreading of technological and artistic techniques. Unfortunately, catastrophically few such manuscripts have reached our time, and for some regions, in particular Kyivan Rus', none has survived at all. Therefore, we are quite right to turn to European analogies, understanding the similarity of the work of medieval masters in different corners of the European continent.



Fig. 14. Samples of initials on folio 4 *Reiner Musterbuch*

The repetition of artistic techniques and patterns in different monuments of the same region and chronological range allows to attribute their appearance to a certain artistic centre. And in this case, for the 11th century, that is the time of writing the Turov Gospel, such a centre for Rus'-Ukraine was certainly Kyiv, or rather St. Sophia of Kyiv – the main metropolitan centre, which also housed the great-princely scriptorium, from where the books written here came to the newly established temples in various cities of the state together with the presbyters, who were supposed "оучити люди" (to teach the people) [15].

14 Sammelhandschrift für den Unterricht. Verschiedene [VerfasserIn]; Heinricus [Schreiber] et al. 1208–1213. 238 x 155 mm. Handschrift; 149 Bll. URL: https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_6432503&order=1&view=SINGLE (accessed: 15.05.2025).

15 Полное собрание русских летописей, издаваемое постоянною историко-археографическою комиссиею Академии наук СССР. Т. 1: Лаврентьевская летопись, вып. 1: Повесть временных лет. Изд. 2. Ленинград, 1926. Стлб. 153.



Fig. 15. Mosaic ornament with a motif of irises in the high altar of St. Sophia Cathedral



Fig. 16. Fresco ornament with a motif of irises in the high altar of St. Sophia Cathedral

The ancient walls of St. Sophia to this day preserve undeniable evidence that this remarkable cathedral itself served as a source of spiritual and creative power for Ukrainian medieval masters, which determined the direction and style of the further development of art in general and book writing in particular. Of course, the once unique work of art could become the primary source of artistic techniques and find its continuation in numerous repetitions and modifications.

For example, the motif of a medallion with a blooming iris, once created in the circle of masters of the scriptorium of the Studios Monastery in Constantinople, will find numerous repetition in the manuscripts of this workshop, and then will get to Kyiv, to be reflected in the ornamental decoration of the frescoes and mosaics of the high altar of St. Sophia Cathedral (Figs. 15–16), to later move on to the ornamental motif of the headpieces and frames of illuminations in the Ostromir Gospel of 1056–1057 (St. Petersburg Russian National Library, F.n. 1.5) (Fig. 17) and continue its journey in the design of the Mstislav Gospel of the late 11th – early 12th centuries (Moscow State Historical Museum, Syn. 1203) (Fig. 18) or in graffiti on the cathedral frescoes[16]. Of course, these

16 Корнієнко В. В. Корпус графіті Софії Київської (XI – початок XVIII ст.). Ч. VI: Приділ архангела Михаїла. К., 2015. С. 18.



Fig. 17. Headpiece from the Ostromir Gospel (folio 58)

patterns cannot be called identical, because each contains its own differences, variations in colour shades and composition. And they also reflect the tastes and needs of the customer. Let us consider this with a concrete example.

Thus, in many initials of the Ostromir Gospel, one can observe the image of an eagle's head (Fig. 19–20). And a remarkably similar image of a heraldic eagle, with the same head turned to the left, can be seen on the carved pyrophyllite slab of the parapets of the choir gallery of St. Sophia Cathedral (Fig. 21). In addition, images of eagles could be seen on the cloak of Prince Volodymyr from the princely portrait in the western part of the main nave of the cathedral[17], fixed in a drawing by Abraham van Westerfeld in 1651[18]. Such mantles with the image of eagles were worn by Byzantine emperors and the first after them persons; therefore, the appearance of this heraldic symbol on Volodymyr,s clothes and on the slab of the choir parapets is rightly associated with his receipt of royal insignia after his marriage to the sister of the Byzantine emperors, Anna, represents the great prince of Kyiv as an autocrat, reflecting the place of this ruler in the political system of the universal Christian empire, the centre of which was Constantinople[19]. But how is this appearance of eagles, associated with the figure of the great Kyivan prince, connected with the design of the manuscript, the customer of which was the Novgorod governor Ostromir? This connection can be traced through the figure of his wife Feofano, daughter of the royal marriage of Volodymyr and Anna[20], whose figure was depicted in the princely portrait[21]. Thus, the *blyzok* (collateral relative in his wife's line) of the then great Kyivan prince Izyaslav

17 Нікітенко Н. Софія Володимира Великого. С. 262–263.

18 Смирнов Я. И. Рисунки Киева 1651 года по копиям их конца XVIII века // Труды тринадцатого археологического съезда в Екатеринославе 1905. Том II. Москва, 1908. Табл. VI, 1.

19 See: Нікітенко Н. Софія Володимира Великого. С. 262–263; Однороженко О. Геральдика середньовічної Руси (України): у 3-х т. Т. 1: Генеза руської геральдики X–XIII ст. Харків (Фоліо), 2023. С. 172; Гордієнко Д. Під знаком тризуба. Володимир Великий та його доба. К. (ТОВ «Видавництво «Кліо»»), 2024. С. 189.

20 Поппэ А. Феофана Новгородская // Новгородский исторический сборник. Санкт-Петербург, 1997. Вып. 6 (16). С. 117–118.

21 Нікітенко Н. Софія Володимира Великого. С. 274–275.



Fig. 18. Image of the Evangelist Matthew in the *Mstislav Gospel* (folio 30v)

Yaroslavych, Ostromir, emphasized his high status in the system of family relations of the ruling dynasty. It is unlikely that the master, without the knowledge of the customer, included this motif in the decoration of the manuscript that came out of the great-princely scriptorium of St. Sophia Cathedral[22].

22 There is no doubt that the monument was written in St. Sophia of Kyiv. Undoubted evidence of the existence of a scriptorium in St. Sophia of Novgorod dates back to the late 11th – early 12th centuries: Медынцева А. А. Автографы писцов-каллиграфов из Новгородской Софии (рубеж XI–XII веков) // Краткие сообщения Института археологии. 2016. Вып. 244. С. 408–424.



Figs. 19–20. Initials Ѣ and Р with an eagle's head from the *Ostromir Gospel* (fol. 4, 19)



Fig. 21. Pyrophyllite parapet slab of the choir gallery of St. Sophia Cathedral, depicting an eagle

It is noteworthy that on this same slab, as on other slabs of the parapets of the choir galleries of St. Sophia Cathedral (or on the stone carvings of Kyiv architectural monuments)[23], we can observe elements of braiding which were also used in the artistic decoration of the initials of the Turov Gospel. Therefore, it is without exaggeration to say

23 See: Архипова Е. И. Резной камень в архитектуре древнего Киева (конец X – первая половина XIII вв.). К. (ИД «Стилос»), 2005.

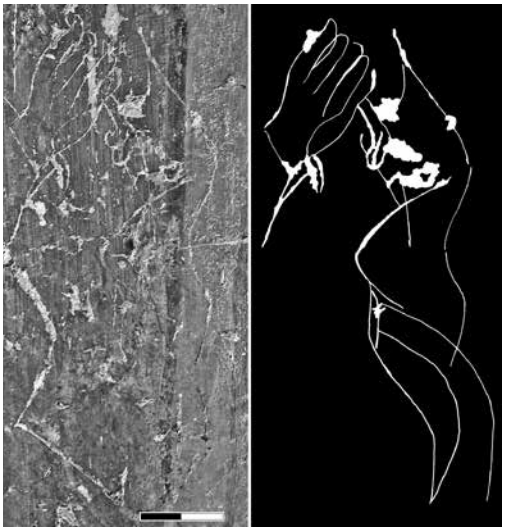


Fig. 22. Design of the initial Ꙁ in the altar of St. Michael's Chapel of St. Sophia Cathedral (graffito No. 3946)

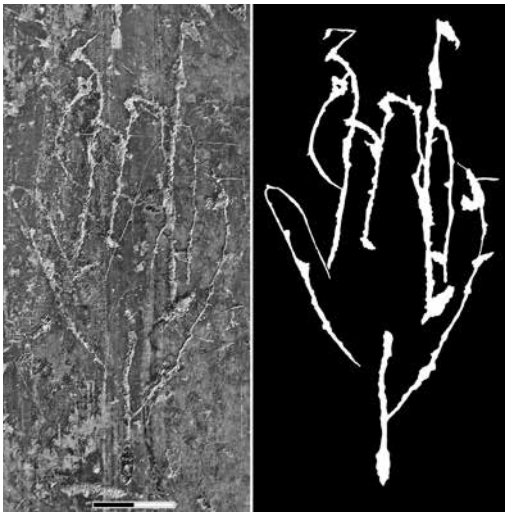


Fig. 23. Design of the initial ligature Ꙁl in the altar of St. Michael's Chapel of St. Sophia Cathedral (graffito No. 3945)

that the very walls of the cathedral become a kind of monumental *Musterbuch*, determining for a long period the style of ornamentation of monuments of art of Rus'-Ukraine, including books. It is noteworthy that the medieval scriptorium masters themselves considered the walls of the temple as *Musterbuch*, by drawing on the frescoes various samples of initial letters, including "experimental" ones which did not find further embodiment in manuscript monuments (Fig. 22–23)[24].

Turning to a comparative analysis of the artistic solution of initials in monuments close in time of creation to the Gospel of Turov, it is worth recalling that many researchers have repeatedly, although in passing, made some observations. Both Aleksei Sobolevsky[25] and Vatroslav (Ignatiy) Jagić[26], as well as the above-mentioned Vasyl Putsko[27] and Elena Ukhanova[28], discussed in their works the colour, similarities and differences, the origin and development of certain decorative elements. As we recall, experts did not reach a consensus on the place of writing of the monument. However, we note that in most monuments of the 11th century, which are identified by the Ukrainian specialist Yakym Zapasko as manuscripts created in Kyiv or Southern Rus'[29], there is a clear similarity of the decorative elements used both in the initials and in the headpieces and dividers of the Turov Gospel text.

24 See: Корнієнко В. В. Корпус графіті Софії Київської. Ч. VI. С. 23, 87–89, 439; Корнієнко В. В. Корпус графіті Софії Київської (XI – початок XVIII ст.). Ч. VIII: Внутрішня та зовнішня галереї. К., 2018. С. 439, 445, 456, 473.

25 Соболевский А. И. Новый труд В. Стасова. С. 53.

26 Ягич И. В. [рец.] Труд В. В. Стасова «Славянский и восточный орнамент» // Вестник изящных искусств, издаваемый при императорской Академии художеств под ред. А. И. Сомова. 1888. Т. 6. Вып. 2. С. 176–177.

27 See: Пуцко В. Г. Славянская иллюминированная книга. Р. 149.

28 Уханова Е. В. Западноевропейские источники. С. 223.

29 Запаско Я. П. Пам'ятки книжкового мистецтва: українська рукописна книга. Л.: Світ, 1995. С. 15–29, 125–173.



Fig. 24. Initial В from the *Ostromir Gospel* (fol. 34)



Fig. 25. Initial В from the *Reims Gospel* (fol. 4)



Fig. 26. Initial В from the *Turov Gospel* (fol. 10)



Fig. 27. Initial В from the *Sermons of Gregory the Theologian* (fol. 96)



Fig. 28. Initial В from the *Turov Gospel* (fol. 7v)



Fig. 29. Initial В from the *Reims Gospel* (fol. 5)



Fig. 30. Initial ѳ
from the *Turov Gospel* (fol. 2)



Fig. 31. Initial ѳ
from the *Reims Gospel* (fol. 14)

This is the use of the element of interlacing two equal-width ribbons of different colours in the stem of the letter, which we can observe both in the Ostromir Gospel – for example, the initial ѣ on folio 34 (Fig. 24), and in the Reims Gospel (Carnegie Library, Reims) on folio 4 (Fig. 25), as well as in the Turov Gospel on folio 10 (Fig. 26). And this same element is present in the manuscript *The Sermons of Gregory the Theologian* from the second half of the 11th century (Russian National Library in St. Petersburg, Q. n. 1.16) on folio 96 (Fig. 27). Made only in ink, the initial has the clarity of elaborate decorative details inherent in a monochrome image; It also contains a curlicue element, which is used in the execution of the initials of both the Turov Gospel – initial ѣ on folio 7 (Fig. 28) and the Reims Gospel – initial ѣ on folio 5 (Fig. 29). We can also note the obvious similarity of the artistic solution of the initial ѳ in the Turov Gospel on folio 2 (Fig. 30) and the similar initial of the Reims Gospel on folio 14 (Fig. 31).

Of course, the manner of execution of these or other initials in different manuscripts is extremely different both in terms of the professionalism and talent of the master, and the artistic tasks that faced him. At the same time, one should not hope for the identity of all the initials, since they were executed by different masters who worked in the St. Sophia's great-princely scriptorium. This scriptorium, founded at the metropolitan residence by Prince Yaroslav, who set himself the task of spreading literacy among the appanage princely thrones subordinate to the great-princely throne, in the middle of the 11th century could attract masters from different corners of the Byzantine oecumene. This was a period of formation of the artistic style of Ukrainian manuscripts, which

was influenced by various art schools. That is why in the illumination of Ukrainian manuscripts of the 11th century we can see the influence of different schools: the Byzantine, with its solemnity which is clearly visible in the decoration of the Ostromir Gospel; the Moravian, with its refined restraint of colour and sophistication of lines – an example of such influence can be the Reims Gospel[30]; the Macedonian, and the Bulgarian.



Fig. 32. Initial ѣ
from the *Assemani Gospel* (fol. 15)

However, it would be a mistake to consider this influence simply as a copying by Kyiv scribes of Byzantine, Bulgarian or some other examples of book art. There are monuments that are contemporary with the above-listed manuscripts of the Kyiv scriptorium; for example, the Assemani Gospel of the 11th century (Vatican Library, Vat. Slav. 3), written in Macedonia, demonstrates an equivalent, but not an unsurpassed, level of the artistic decoration of the manuscript, which, of course, indicates not so much the inheritance of artistic traditions as their simultaneous development with the Ukrainian manuscript school. An example of this thesis can be the initial on folio 15 (Fig. 32).

So, despite the small number of preserved folios of the Turov Gospel, which, unfortunately, do not give us any information about either the customer of the manuscript or the place of the book's insertion, the same approaches in the choice of variations and arrangement of decorative elements that are present in other manuscripts are clearly visible in the master's creative manner, which are confidently determined as the products of the great-princely scriptorium founded by Prince Yaroslav in St. Sophia of Kyiv. For the period from the middle to the second half of the 11th century, this workshop was the centre of distribution of book monuments throughout the territories of Rus'-Ukraine. Therefore, we have every reason to speak of the Kyiv origin of the Turov Gospel.

The closeness of ornamental motifs in the illumination of manuscripts, diverse in terms of artistry, which came from the pen of masters of St. Sophia scriptorium, should

30 It is noteworthy that in the 14th century its writing was associated with the work of St. Procopius of Sázava. It is worth noting that, according to some researchers, it was in Kyiv that the monks of the Benedictine Sázava Monastery could have found shelter: Мицько І. Українсько-чеські зв'язки та історія Підгір'я X–XI століть // П'яті «Ольжині читання». Пліснеськ, 7 травня 2010 року. Львів; Броди, 2011. С. 63–77.

be considered within the framework of the development of artistic processes in the 11th century on Ukrainian lands, which took place during the closest cultural contacts of the Great Kyivan principality, which represented the core of state power of the then Rus', not only with Byzantium – the universal Christian empire, with which the state of Volodymyr established equal contacts – but also with the countries of Central Europe and the Balkans, the contacts with which were no less active and where, at the same time, the same artistic processes continued, including in the art of book making. Openness to new trends in various fields of activity, and art in particular, characterized the state of the Volodymyrovychi as a European one, within which the foundations of the Ukrainian people's mentality were being formed.



Liudmyla Hnatenko

The Narrow Uncial (Ustav) of the 11th-Century Turov Gospel: Notes on Defining the Problem*

The script type of the Turov Gospel (The Wróblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, F 19-1)[1] remains, to date, the least studied: no specialized studies have been devoted to it, and in scholarly research on East Slavic written sources it is usually only stated that the manuscript is written in uncial (*Ustav*, further – Ustav). On the basis of palaeographic features in the execution of individual letterforms and orthography, scholars date the writing of the Gospel to the second half of the 11th century, or, at the latest, to the first half of the 12th century.

In the scholarly section of this facsimile edition of the preserved evangelic texts of the Turov Gospel, Viacheslav Korniienko presents the historiography of the manuscript's study in an extensive analytical survey. These essays examine the principal arguments of works by scholars who were directly or indirectly involved in its study[2]. In the codicological study prepared for this edition, Nadežda Morozova systematically presents the general characteristics of the Ustav script of the Turov Gospel[3].

Since the issue of the manuscript's *narrow Ustav script* has to this day remained outside the scope of scholarly research and has not even become a subject of academic debate, we consider it necessary to define this problem and to devote particular attention to it. It should be emphasized that it was Nikolai Karinsky who first characterized the script of the Turov Gospel as *narrow Ustav* in 1925[4], as will be discussed below.

After the manuscript was made available to the scholarly community in 1865, the general palaeographic and grapho-orthographic observations of its first researcher and publisher, Izmail Sreznevsky[5], became canonical and continue to be used by scholars

* Translated by Yuki Shkabura.

1 The electronic copy is available on the website of the holding institution, the Wróblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences. URL: https://elibrary.mab.lt/items/b587fe8c-a035-42b9-8851-9547d5920b2a (accessed 15.09.25).

2 See in this edition Viacheslav Korniienko's article "Bibliographic Chronicle of the Turov Gospel" and the bibliography compiled by thus authir.

3 See in this edition Nadežda Morozova's article.

4 Каринский Н. М. Образцы письма древнейшего периода истории русской книги. 60 фототипических снимков с древнерусских памятников, преимущественно XI в., на 29 таблицах. Л. 1925. С. 6, 15, табл. 27.1 (fol. 8v).

5 Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки о малоизвестных и неизвестных памятниках. XXXI–XL. Записки императорской академии наук. Т. 11. Санкт-Петербург, 1867. Прилож. № 2. XXXIII. С. 30–33 (Separate edition: Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки о малоизвестных и неизвестных памятниках. I–XL. Санкт-Петербург, 1867. Вып. 4. С. 30–33);

to this day. The scholar noted the closeness of the script and orthography of the Turov Gospel to those of the Ostromir Gospel of 1056–1057 (National Library of Russia, f. 560, F.п.1.5)[6] and the Pandects of Antiochus from the 11th century (State Historical Museum, f. 80370, Voskres. 30 perg.)[7], as well as the similarity of certain letterforms to other monuments of the 11th century, most notably Svyatoslav's Izbornik of 1073 and the Izbornik of 1076 (State Historical Museum, f. 80370, Syn. 1043 (Syn. 31–d); National Library of Russia, f. 885, Erm. 20)[8] and the Menaia of 1096 and 1097 (Russian State Archives of Ancient Acts, f. 381 (Synodal Typography), inv. 1, nos. 89 and 91)[9].

In his first report on the manuscript in 1867, the scholar merely noted that the handwriting was very fine and the forms of the letters, as well as the orthography, indicated that the book had been written in the 11th century. In terms of letterforms, the manuscript is closest to the Ostromir Gospel and to the Voskresensky Transcript of the Pandects of Antiochus, being more similar to the latter in its orthography. It differs from the Ostromir Gospel in its consistent use of a dot above vowels – not only iotated vowels, but also those that begin a syllable – and from the Pandects of Antiochus in that the iotated e is written not only with a dot (ѥ̇), but also with ꙗ in front (ꙗѥ̇)[10].

In his study conducted in 1870 and published only in 1873, Izmail Sreznevsky emphasized that, in terms of its date of writing, the Turov Gospel is younger than the Ostromir Gospel and older than the Menaia of 1096 and 1097. With regard to the script of the texts in the preserved fragments, he noted that they were "written in a large, fine uncial, with eighteen lines per page"[11]. Much later, Mikhail Durnovo observed that the script of the Turov Gospel is highly archaic both in letterforms and orthography, that

Срезневский И. И. Древние славянские памятники юсового письма с описанием их и с замечаниями об особенностях их правописания и языка. Санкт-Петербург, 1868. С. 168–172; Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки о малоизвестных и неизвестных памятниках // Записки Императорской Академии наук. XLV. Т. 22. Санкт-Петербург, 1873. Прилож. № 3. С. 105–136.

6 The electronic copy is available on the website of the National Library of Russia where the manuscript is kept. URL: https://nlr.ru/manuscripts/RA1527/elektronnyiy-katalog?ab=B42EB88E-8BD8-44A1-9754-EF88B39E7CAC (accessed 15.09.25).

7 On the website of the Russian State Historical Museum, an electronic copy of the manuscript is not available; only a single illustration is provided: URL: https://catalog.shm.ru/entity/OBJECT/178486?page=6&fund_ier=647760263&index=283 (accessed 15.09.25).

8 Electronic copies are available on the websites of the holding institutions of the manuscripts, including the Russian State Historical Museum. URL: https://catalog.shm.ru/entity/OBJECT/178472?fund=21&index=12 (accessed 15.09.25) and the National Library of Russia: http://nlr.ru/manuscripts/RA1527/elektronnyiy-katalog?ab=F0557166-7483-4F3C-853F-74B3D5424DC5 (accessed 15.09.25).

9 Electronic copies of the manuscripts are available on the website of the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts: URL: http://rgada.info/kueh/index2.php?str=381_1_89&name=%D0%9C%D0%B8%D0%BD%D0%B5%D1%8F%20%20%D1%81%D0%BB%D1%83%D0%B6%D0%B5%D0%B1%D0%BD%D0%B0%D1%8F and http://rgada.info/kueh/index2.php?str=381_1_91&name=%D0%9C%D0%B8%D0%BD%D0%B5 (accessed 15.09.25).

10 Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки о малоизвестных и неизвестных памятниках. 1867. С. 130–131.

11 Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки о малоизвестных и неизвестных памятниках. 1873. С. 120, 117.

the manuscript is older than other undated monuments of the 11th century, and that its protograph was a South Slavic manuscript[12].

Izmail Sreznevsky identified the following features of the script which prove that the Turov Gospel belongs specifically to the monuments of the 11th century: "In the form of its letters it is most similar to the Ostromir Gospel: it has the same proportions between the height and width of letters and the thickness of strokes, and nearly the same design of almost each letter, including, among others, ж, м, х, ц, ѵ, ѫ; only the letters к and ѱ are written somewhat differently, as in the Izbornik of 1073, while the letter ѕ is closer to ѕ of the Izbornik of 1076. The exclusive use of the letter щ instead of шт, which makes the manuscript similar to the Menaia of 1096 and 1097. The Turov Gospel is also close to the Izbornik of 1073 and to the Menaia of 1096 and 1097 in its use of a superscript mark in the form of a dot above vowels"[13].

Sreznevsky did not undertake a comparison of the Ustav script type of the Turov Gospel with South Slavic manuscripts, focusing instead on the scripts of the 11th-century book monuments of Rus'. Since then, his successors, for the most part, have merely stated that the monument is written in Ustav script. Below, we shall focus only on those studies that devote attention to the Ustav letterforms of the manuscript and directly to the narrow type of script.

We present illustrations of Ustav letterforms from the Turov Gospel and from the Ostromir Gospel of 1056–1057 based on the same text of the lection (chapter 92), which demonstrate, respectively, the use of narrow and wide Ustav scripts being slightly laterally compressed (see Figs. 1 and 2: the hand of the scribe, Deacon Gregory; as well as Fig. 3: the hand of the second scribe)[14]. We also present illustrations of the script of the Pandects of Antiochus from the 11th century and of the Chudov Psalter from the 11th century (State Historical Museum, f. 80370, Chud. 7)[15] (see Figs. 4 and 5).

In 1901, Yefim Karsky presented several palaeographic observations concerning the writing of individual letters in the Turov Gospel that had not been noted by Sreznevsky and which he subsequently reiterated in later palaeographic studies. Specifically, in place of the letter ѕ the letter ꙁ occurs, which is also used in the notation of numerals to denote the number 6 (pp. 5, 16). In the letters ѣ, ѣ and ѣ, the connecting bar is

12 Дурново Н. Н. Русские рукописи XI и XII вв. как памятники старославянского языка // Избранные работы по истории русского языка / Автор предисл. и сост. В. М. Живов. М. 2000. (Серия: Studia philologica). С. 398, 415, 416.

13 Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки о малоизвестных и неизвестных памятниках. 1873. С. 120.

14 Scripts of the Ostromir Gospel: 1) fols. 2–24v; headings in gold on all folios of the manuscript except fols. 21–40v and 131–154v; 2) fols. 25–294v (including headings written in ink), scribed by Deacon Grigorii; 3) headings in gold on fols. 21–40v and 131–154v. URL: https://expositions.nlr.ru/ex_manus/Ostromir_Gospel/_Project/page_Manuscripts.php?desc (accessed 15.09.25). Additionally, 4) inscriptions on the evangelists' miniatures (on books and scrolls). Fols. 1, 57v, and 125–125v do not contain the initial text.

15 The electronic copy of the manuscript is available on the website of the Russian State Historical Museum: https://catalog.shm.ru/api/spf/2z2zcrdfNyIa-HjCIju7np-rRQMILEzQ8WcmoQacdg9MBjoDFZ0soC3lwVjQqJVI.data (accessed 15.09.25).

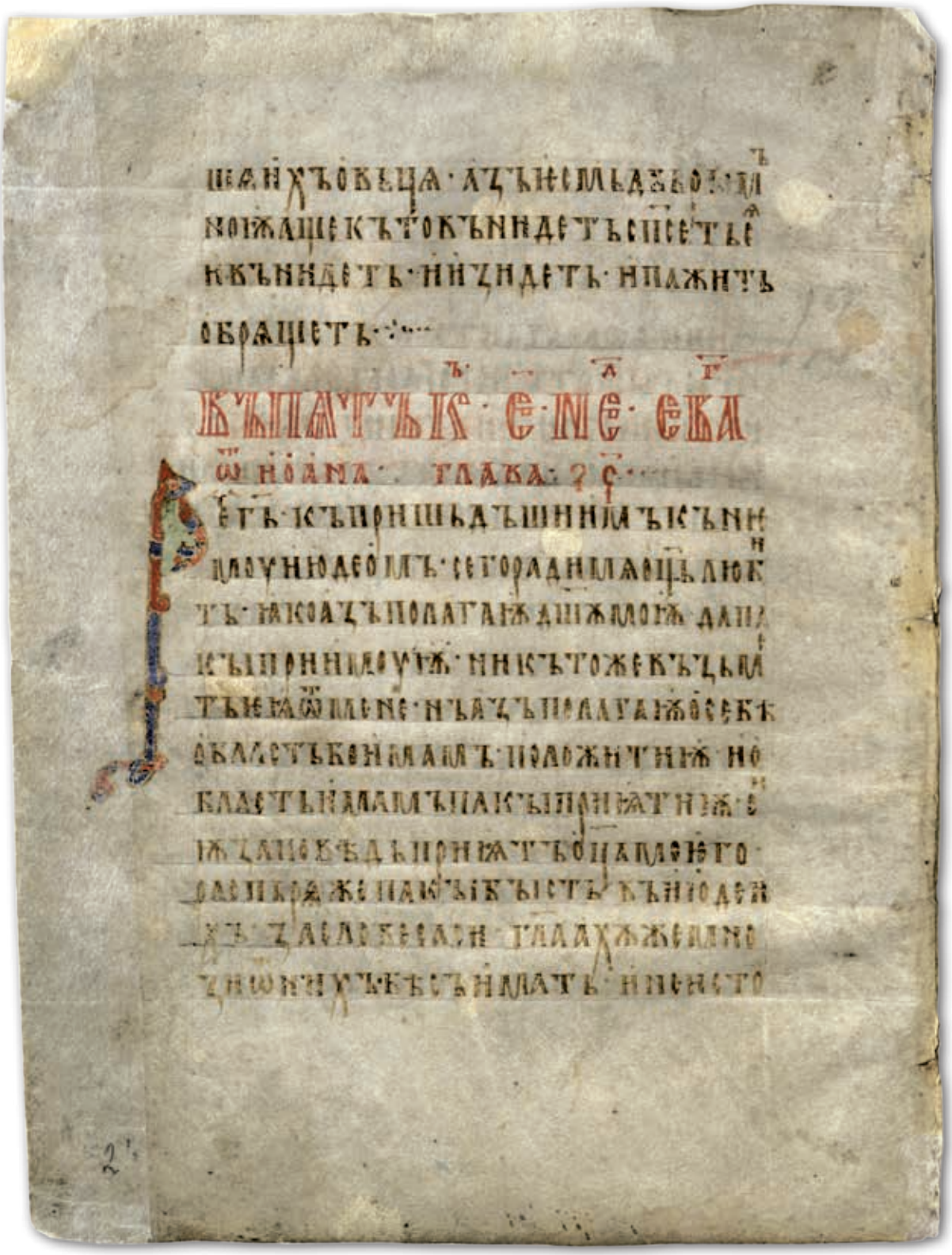


Fig. 1. *The Turov Gospel*, 11th c., fol. 1v

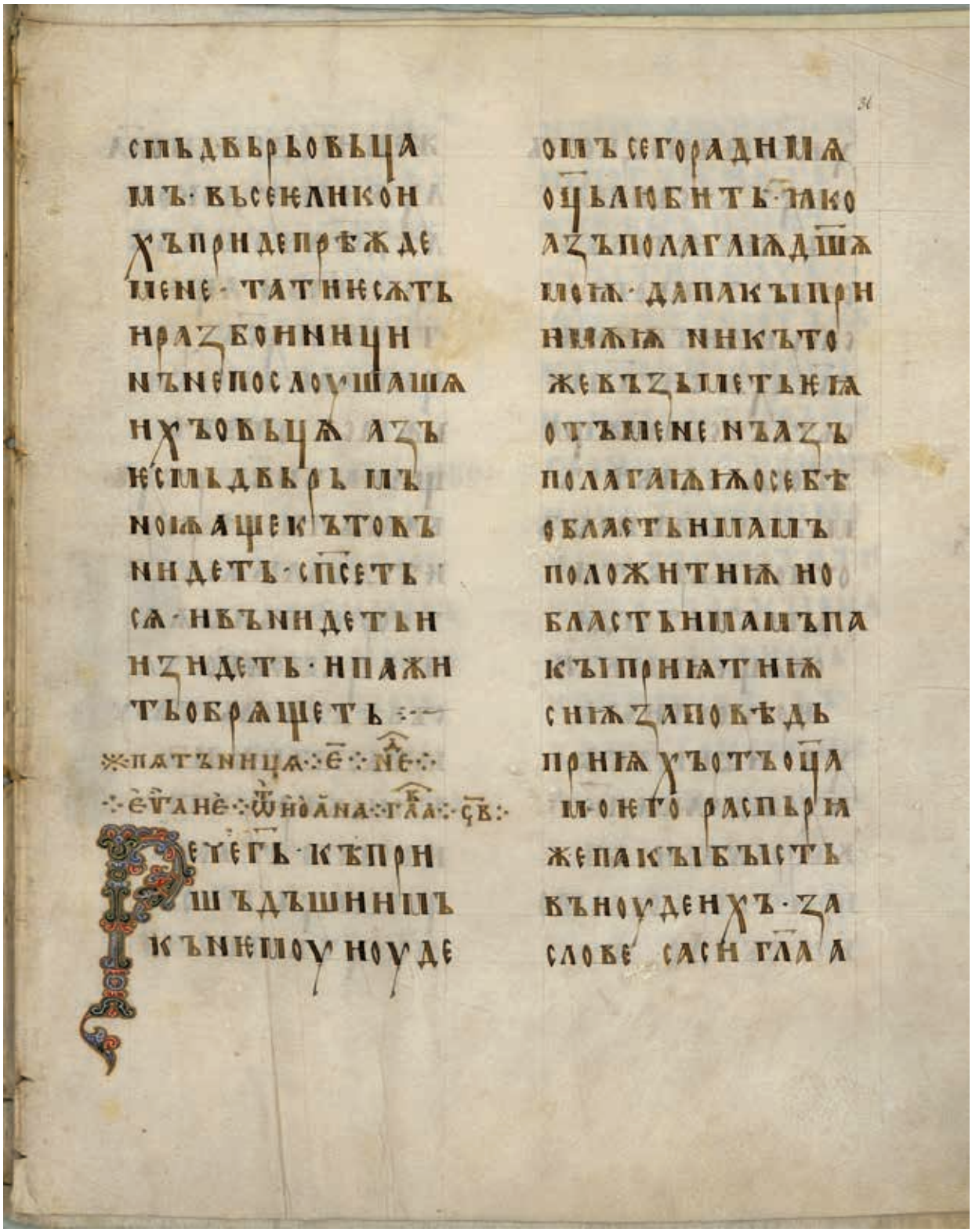


Fig. 2. *The Ostromir Gospel,* 1056–1057, fol. 36

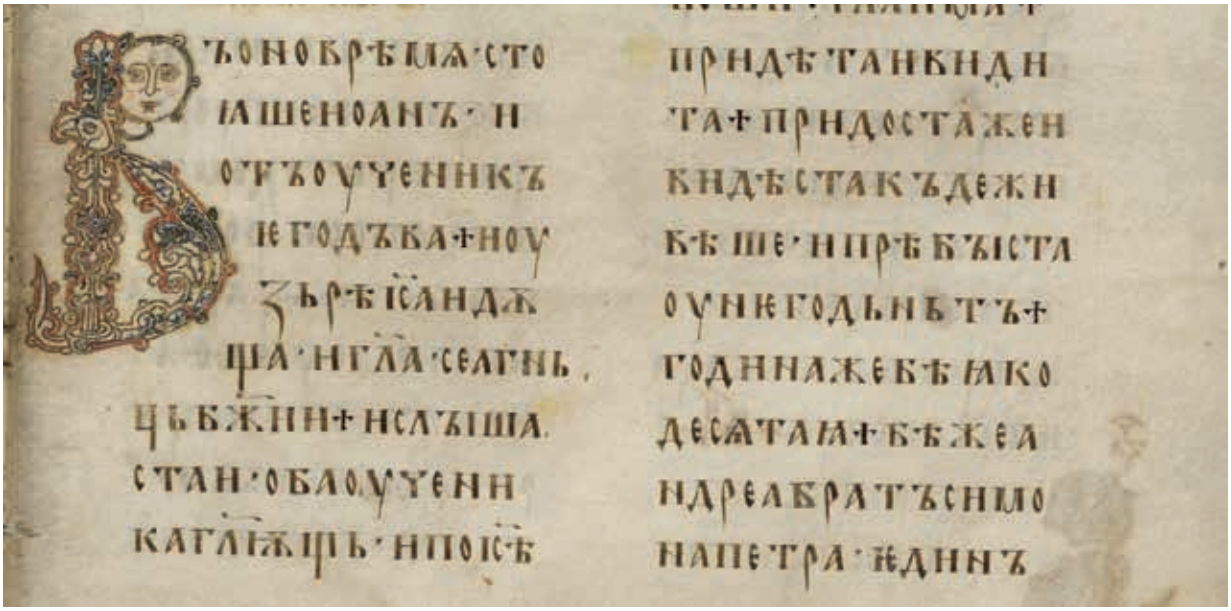


Fig. 3. *The Ostromir Gospel,* 1056–1057, fol. 6



Fig. 4. *The Pandects of Antiochus*, 11th c., fol. 2



Fig. 5. *The Chudov Psalter*, 11th c., fol. 22

crossed[16]. The latter graphic feature in the Turov Gospel was cited by the scholar as an illustration supporting his general conclusion regarding all iotated letters in manuscript books, in which the connecting bar is often crossed. This feature, he noted, naturally has no palaeographic significance for determining the time and place of writing; rather, it may represent an initial ornamental element of the letters[17].

Y. Karsky also noted, as did other scholars, that the notation ·ϧ҃· of the number 92 on fol. 1v is of interest, as it is rendered by means of special signs , where the second sign = ϧ (the Greek *koppa* – 90), while the first sign remains unclear[18] (see Fig. 1).

In our opinion, the scribe first wrote a reversed-form koppa (ϩ), and subsequently added the "proper koppa" (in the terminology of V. Shchepkin)[19] placing a titlo above it (ϧ҃). The letter denoting the numeral 2 was not entered, and the number was highlighted by dots on both sides. It is possible that in the protograph the number 92 was conveyed precisely by a reversed koppa together with the letter в (ϩв̄). A noteworthy early example of the use of the Greek koppa in two distinct forms is attested in epigraphy – namely, in the numerical marks on the gilded copper roofing plates of the Dormition

16 Карский Е. Ф. Очерк славянской кирилловской палеографии. Из лекций, читанных в императорском Варшавском университете. Варшава, 1901, С. 193, 222, 214. Карский Е. Ф. Славянская кирилловская палеография. Л.: Изд. АН СССР. 1928. С. 190, 216, 207.

17 Карский Е. Ф. Очерк славянской кирилловской палеографии. С. 214; Карский Е. Ф. Славянская кирилловская палеография. С. 207.

18 Карский Е. Ф. Очерк славянской кирилловской палеографии. С. 223.
In his work «Славянская кирилловская палеография» (1928), the scholar does not note this particular feature of rendering the number 92 in the Turov Gospel.

19 Щепкин В. Н. Русская палеография. М. 1967., С. 150 (first edition: 1918).

Cathedral in Vladimir (12th–13th centuries)[20], directly in the numerals 95 (ϙϵ) and 390 (τϛ)[21].

In 1920, V. Shchepkin argued that from the 11th century to the early 15th century, the Rus′ian script constitutes a continuous evolutionary development, differing in many respects from the South Slavic tradition and thus requiring independent consideration. He also noted that Rus′ian scripts of the 11th century should nevertheless be examined in relation to South Slavic models, as only during this period does Old Bulgarian influence remain evident in Rus′[22].

N. Karinsky, who in his work of 1925 was the first to suggest that the Turov Gospel was written in a narrow Ustav script, turned his attention in this direction and noted that the existence of this type of Ustav script in Rus' is not mentioned by scholars. We will provide a comprehensive quotation from the scholar, regarding the Ustav in general and the narrow type in particular, since this assertion is fundamental for our study and is presented in a work that is, today, a bibliographical rarity: "Usually, the Ustav of an earlier period (11th–12th centuries) differs from the Ustav of a later period (13th–14th centuries) in the width of letters and their comparatively smaller height, as well as in the larger spacing between individual letters – that is, it is not a cramped script. Academician A. I. Sobolevsky still assumes loose writing, wide and low letters in a 14th-century manuscript, but regarding the reverse case – narrow writing in 11th–12th-century manuscripts – he does not speak"[23]. Thus, Aleksei Sobolevsky assumed writing of manuscripts in Rus' in the so-called wide Ustav up to the 14th century inclusive, but he says nothing about the use of the so-called narrow Ustav in 11th–12th-century manuscripts. Further N. Karinsky continues that "indeed, as can be seen from the reproductions of this edition, wide writing is a characteristic feature of manuscripts of the older period of our literacy. Only one monument, the Turov Gospel (Vilna Public Library, Plate 27), represents an exception in this regard. Its attribution to the 11th century, or at the latest to the first half of the 12th century, is recognized by all. However, it is an example of narrow writing. The nature of the writing of this monument, in terms of the relative height and width of the letters and their tight arrangement in the line, more closely resembles the type of writing of the 14th century, as described by Academician A. I. Sobolevsky, than

20 Лихачев Н. П. Владимирская эпиграфическая запись XIV века // Известия Отделения русского языка и словесности Имп. Академии наук. 1901, Т. 6, Кн. 3. СПб., 1901. С. 292 and photo on the inset at the end of the article; Симонов Р. А. О некоторых особенностях нумерации, употреблявшейся в кириллице. Источниковедение и история русского языка. М., 1964. С. 17, 21.

21 Рыбаков Б. А. Русские датированные надписи XI–XIV веков. М., 1964. (Археология СССР. Свод археологических источников. Вып. Е 1-44). С. 10.

22 Щепкин В. Н. Русская палеография. С. 110.

23 See Соболевский А. И. Славяно-русская палеография. Лекции с 20 палеографическими таблицами. Изд. 2-е, императорского Археологического института. Санкт-Петербург, 1908. С. 49. Cf.: Карский Е. Ф. Очерк славянской кирилловской палеографии. Варшава, 1915. С. 101.

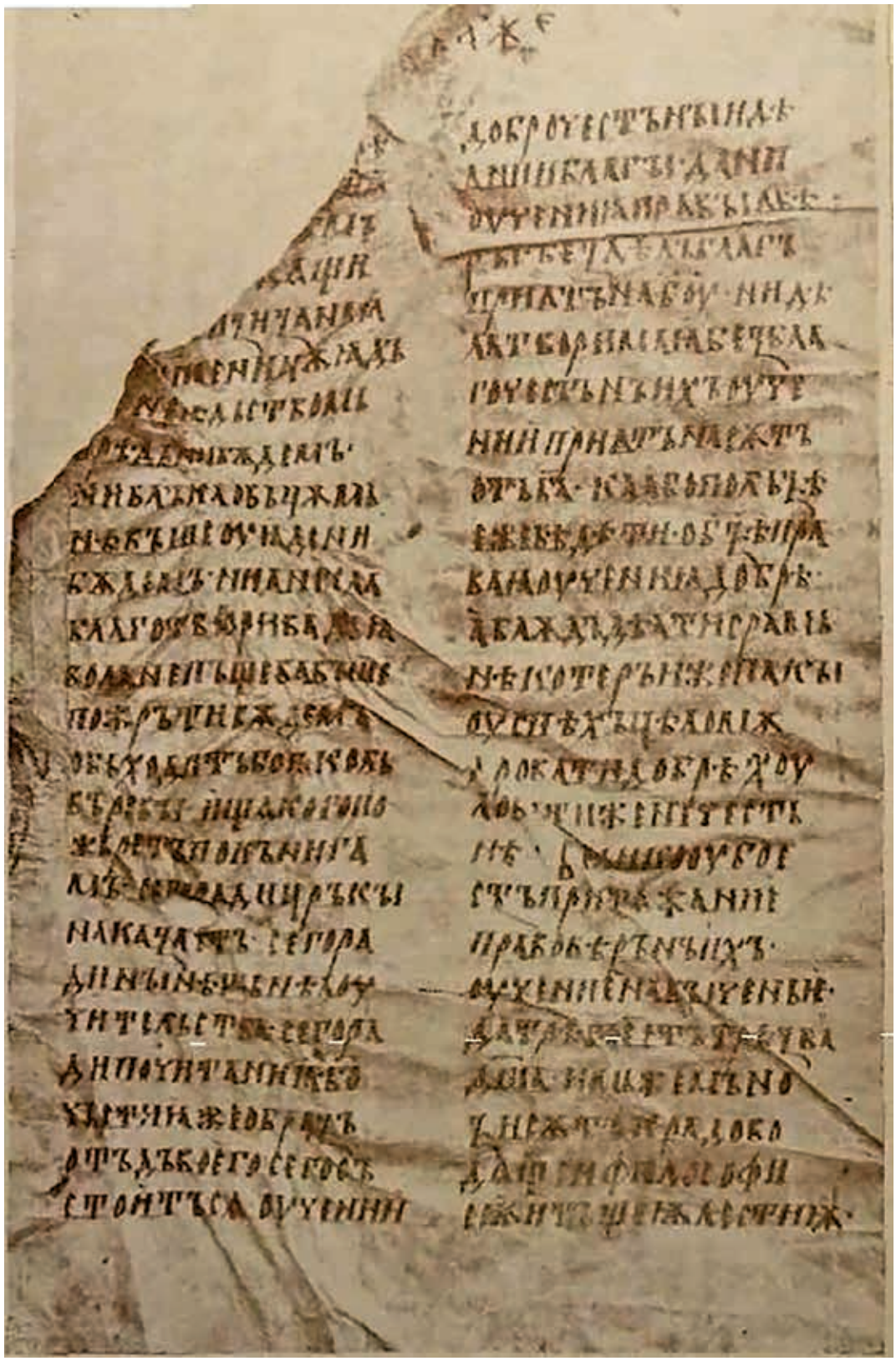


Fig. 6.
The Hilandar Leaves,
11th c., fol. 2v

the writing of 11th–12th-century monuments; it is almost as condensed as the compressed script of the 14th century, which is presented as a model in the Palaeography of Academician A. I. Sobolevsky[24]. It should be added that the handwriting of the Turov Gospel is quite even and stable, and its character is consistently maintained throughout the manuscript. The Turov Gospel does not stand alone: the Hilandar Leaves, a monument of Old Bulgarian literacy of the 11th century, share the same feature[25] (see Fig. 6 in our work – *L.H.*). Thus, there is reason to assume that, alongside the customary wide Ustav, a manner of condensed writing existed in the 11th–12th centuries, perhaps very rare for that time[26]". At the same time, N. Karinsky does not provide a description of the specific features of the narrow Ustav writing of the Turov Gospel. The scholar also emphasized that the scripts of 11th–-12th-century books are extremely diverse, exhibiting characteristics of scribal schools, as well as the individual traits of particular scribes[27]. It is evident that one of these scribal schools could have been the Kyiv princely scriptorium of the time of Yaroslav the Wise, to which books were brought from all Christian lands.

Ivan Ohienko, in his 1929 work, was also inclined to the view that the Turov Gospel was written in a narrow type of script; however, he did not refer to N. Karinsky and limited himself to merely stating this fact, noting that in some places the writing is narrow and condensed (as in the Hilandar Leaves)[28]. The scholar emphasized that "the text was written by a single hand; although folio 10 gives the impression of slightly different handwriting, taller and finer. The writing is carefully and beautifully executed in a fairly large Ustav (3.5 × 4 mm in height), which, in its character, closely resembles the writing of the Ostromir Gospel[29]". The dimensions of the writing given by Ohienko differ from those indicated by Karinsky[30]. Nadežda Morozova provides the following measurements: the width of the letters, depending on their complexity and the nature of their formation,

24 See the photolithographic edition of the entire text of the Turov Gospel, Vilna Educational District, 1868. The ratio of letter height to width (including inter-letter spacing) is approximately expressed in millimetres as follows: Ostromir Gospel – 6 (height) × 8 (width); the wide hand presented by A. Sobolevsky – 3 × 5; Turov Gospel – 4 × 4; the narrow hand presented by A. Sobolevsky – 5¼ × 5.

25 See the phototypical plates in the edition "Отделение русского языка и словесности Академии наук". Спб, 1900. The Hilandar Leaves of the 11th century are currently held at the Odesa National Scientific Library, Manuscripts Department, under the shelfmark R I 533 (former shelfmark No. 23). Due to Russia's aggressive war against Ukraine, the original manuscript is currently inaccessible for study.

26 Каринский Н. М. Образцы письма древнейшего периода истории русской книги. С. 6, 15; табл. 27.1 (f. 8r).

27 Ibid. С. 6.

28 Огієнко І. Пам'ятки старослов'янської мови X–XI віків. Історичний, лінгвістичний і палеографічний огляд з повною бібліографією та альбом 155 знімків з пам'яток з кирилівською транскрипцією. Варшава, 1929. (Огієнко І. Історія церковнослов'янської мови. Т. 5; Студії до української граматики, видають І. Огієнко та Р. Смаль-Стоцький, кн. V). С. 139–140. Ohienko includes in his book the illustrations from the Turov Gospel on pp. 356–357, figs. 116–117 (ff. 5, 7). The scholar also specifically examines the Hilandar Leaves, pp. 42–44, 253, 255, 257, 259, providing full illustrations of the excerpt on pp. 252, 254, 256, 258, figs. 28–31 (ff. 1–2r). For our work, we used illustration no. 31 with the better-preserved text (f. 2r) (see Fig. 6).

29 Ibid. С. 139–140.

30 See note 24.

varies between 1.7–5 mm (with the exception of the decimal **і**, which is approximately 1 mm in width), the height is about 3.5–4.0 mm, meaning that the letters occupy roughly half of the interlinear space[31].

Only in 1973 did Vladimir Moshin remind the scholarly community that Karinsky had identified a narrow Ustav in Rus'ian manuscripts of the Old Church Slavonic period, specifically in the Turov Gospel[32].

In his monographic study of 1985, Imre Tóth, addressing the type of script of the Turov Gospel, cautiously noted that the manuscript is written in a fine, even, slightly narrow script, which attests to an experienced scribe; the handwriting is careful and without slant. At the same time, he points out that Karinsky compares this narrow script with the same type of writing found in the Hilandar Leaves, in which this feature can likewise be observed. The scholar then cites Karinsky's view on the existence of a narrow Ustav and, on his own behalf, indicates the Dubrovsky Menaion as an example[33]. Tóth presents the principal palaeographic features that make it possible to date the manuscript to the 11th century (features not indicated by Sreznevsky): the letter **ѣ** is positioned within the line; its stem does not rise above the upper line level, and the crossbar lies slightly above the loop but below the upper line level; **ѡ** has a high connecting bar, with the lateral strokes likewise high, while the diagonals of the letter preserve a square form; the letter **ж** is written in three strokes; the connecting bar of **ѥ** is drawn in the middle of the vertical stem; in the letter **и** the horizontal crossbar is slightly raised[34].

In his monographic study of 1995, Yakym Zapasko noted that the Turov Gospel is written in Ustav – fairly large and carefully executed – resembling the handwriting of Kyiv monuments such as the Ostromir Gospel and the Izborniks of 1073 and 1076. The height of the letters is 3.5–4 mm. The scholar identified a number of characteristic palaeographic features in the forms of individual letters that had not been noted by previous researchers, with the exception of the letter **ѣ**, whose stem is positioned at the level of the line: **ρ** has a narrow head and a long tail that almost reaches the upper level of the lower line; in **ѡ** a thin connecting bar originates from the upper ends of the stems and, with a smooth curvature, slightly extends below the lower level of the line; **ѵ** appears as a high stem with a small rounded bowl symmetrically placed upon it; in **ѧ** the connecting bar is shortened; **ѡ** has a

31 See N. Morozova's article in this edition. P. 164.

32 Мошин В. А. Палеографическо-орфографические нормы южнославянских рукописей // Методическое пособие по описанию славяно-русских рукописей для Сводного каталога рукописей, хранящихся в СССР. Вып. 1. Москва, 1973. С. 51.

33 Dubrovsky Menaion, 11th c. RNB, f. 550, F.p. I.36. An electronic copy is available on the website of the National Library of Russia. URL: :https://nlr.ru/manuscripts/RA1527/elektronnyiy-katalog?ab=57863E4A-690D-4ECD-97F5-A19BE443D9B7 (accessed 15.09.25).

34 Тот И. Х. Русская редакция древнеболгарского языка в конце XI – начале XII вв. София: Изд. Болгарской АН, 1985. С. 27–28.

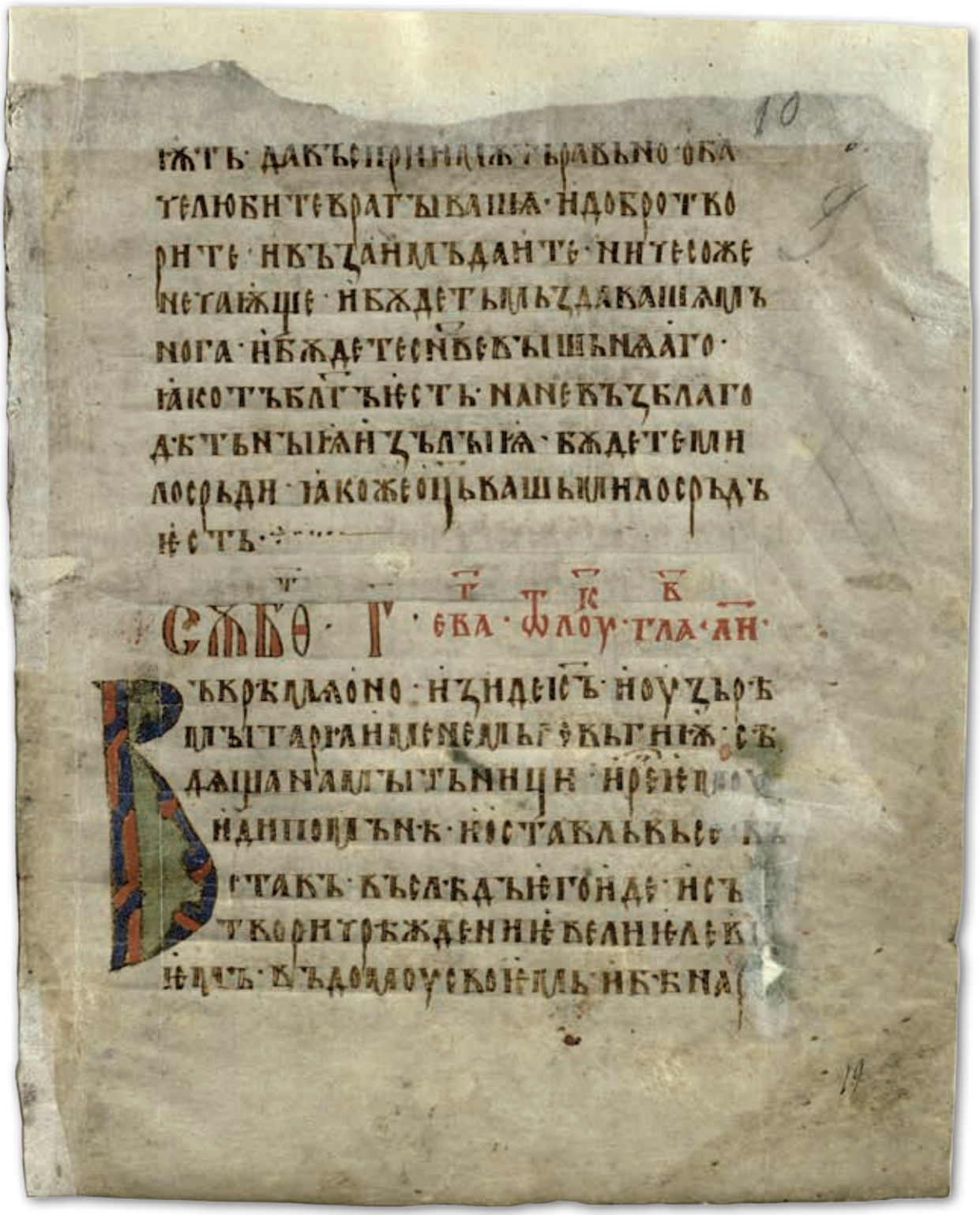


Fig. 7. *The Turov Gospel*, 11th c., fol. 10

high central panel; in the letters и and ѥ the connecting bar is slightly above the middle of the letter; in х the intersecting lines are of equal length[35].

In the 2001 catalogue of manuscripts, f. 19, of the Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, in the description of the Turov Gospel, the compilers Olga Knyazevskaya, Aleksandr Lifshits, and Anatolii Turilov indicated – tentatively, with a question mark – that the preserved leaves of the manuscript were written in a single hand in Ustav script. The height of the letters in the main text is 0.4 cm, while the headings are written with letters elongated to the upper level of the line, and in a smaller hand than that of the main text[36].

In the same year, 2001, Tatyana Mironova devoted palaeographic and grapho-orthographic attention to the Turov Gospel in her monographic study, within the context of research on Rus' handwritten books of the type of the Ostromir Gospel (1056–1057), which were created within a single grapho-orthographic system and are palaeographically close. The researcher placed the Turov Gospel within this group alongside the Ostromir Gospel and other manuscripts in chronological order: the Turov Gospel, the Novgorod Leaves (RNB, F.p.58), the Eugenius Psalter (RNB, Pogod. 9) and the Tolstoy Psalter (RNB, F.p.I.23)[37]. The protographs of these books could have reached Kyiv no earlier than the first half of the 11th century, following the defeat of the First Bulgarian Empire by Byzantium[38]. The scholar emphasizes that palaeography and the art of decorating these codices are not the principal criteria that would allow one to speak of their unquestionable affinity. The main feature that brings the manuscripts of this group closer to Old Church Slavonic prototypes is the system of four nasal letters, known from the monuments of the earliest Cyrillic script and further developed in monuments of later Cyrillic of a special type[39].

We will also cite Mironova's observations regarding the palaeographic features of the Turov Gospel: "The Turov Gospel follows the Old Church Slavonic graphic models of the earliest Cyrillic, and its graphic style more closely resembles the letter forms of the Hilandar and Zograf leaves. The similarity is evident in the large number of inclinations and notches on the stems of the letters а, д, м, л, н, к. The notches on the iotated letters are located on the connecting strokes. Among the special features indicating a kinship between the Turov Gospel and the Hilandar Leaves are the letter ꙁ, the tail of which is slightly bent to the left, and the placement of the medial strokes in the iotated letters, and in the letters ѣ, и slightly above the middle of the line. The graphemes of the Turov Gospel that resem-

35 Запаско Я. П. Пам'ятки книжкового мистецтва: українська рукописна книга. Львів: Світ, 1995. С. 156.

36 Князевская О. Л., Лифшиц А. Л., Турилов А. А. Пергаменные рукописи собрания Виленской публичной библиотеки (Библиотека Академии наук Литовской Республики, ф. 19) // Krakowsko-wileńskie studia slawistyczne. T. 3. Kraków, 2001. S. 8.

37 Миронова Т. Л. Хронология старославянских и древнерусских рукописных книг X–XI вв. Москва: Русская книга, 2001. С. 214, 242, 143–144 (codes of manuscripts are indicated).

38 Ibid. C. 374.

39 Ibid. C. 220, 242.

ble the letters of the Ostromir Gospel are ѧ, ѣ, ѫ, ѫ, ѯ, ѳ, ѵ, ѽ, ѱ, ѹ, ѣ, ѧ, ѭ. The Turov letter forms of ѡ, ѕ, ѥ are distinguished by particular traits. In the letter ѡ, the rounded loop descends below the line, which can be considered a "novelty" in Cyrillic graphic tradition; in the letter е the spur is slightly elongated, as in the Reims Gospel. Thus, the graphics of the Turov Gospel largely replicate the features of the Ostromir Codex"[40]. It can be assumed that Mironova accepted N. Karinsky's view, although she does not cite him regarding the similarity of the Ustav writing of the Turov Gospel to the Hilandar Leaves; she also notes, on her own, its resemblance to the writing of the Zograf Leaves.

We also add to our notes an important observation by Mironova: "The manner in which the 'shift' of graphic-orthographic systems occurred in Kyiv – the gradual abolition of archaic Cyrillic models and the introduction of later Cyrillic graphics – is evidenced by the 11th-century St. Sophia's graffiti, published by S. O. Vysotsky (Vysotsky 1966, 1976)[41]. The first point of importance for our palaeographic commentary is the closeness of the letter forms of the 11th-century graffiti to their book analogues in the Ostromir Gospel and the Turov Gospel. Moreover, the researcher demonstrates that a comparison of the same letter forms 'with those of the Novgorod birch-bark letters missive shows that there are no complete analogies between them; at the same time, these graffiti letters find correspondences in the Balkan manuscripts (Supraśl, Hilandar)' (Vysotsky 1966, p. 40)"[42].

In the works of Ales Susha (2014, 2015), a brief characterization of the writing of the Turov Gospel is presented, based on the findings of previous studies by scholars[43].

At the end of our notes, we will turn to Ivan Ohienko's view expressed in1929 regarding a certain peculiarity of the writing on folio 10[44], which was not supported in subsequent research. Imre Tóth, in his 1978 work, presents Ohienko's view that the handwriting on folio 10 differs, with letters higher and thinner than those on the other folios of the manuscript (as in the Hilandar Leaves)[45]. However, in his 1985 monograph, Tóth emphasizes that the Turov Leaves were written by a single scribe, although some scholars – including Nikolai Karinsky (erroneously – *L.H.*) – were inclined to consider folio 10 as the work of a second scribe, which is unlikely[46]. In the *Union Catalogue of Slavonic-Russian Manuscripts Kept in the USSR: 11th–13th centuries*

40 Миронова Т. Л. Хронология старославянских и древнерусских рукописных книг X–XI вв. С. 216–217.

41 Высоцкий С. А. Древнерусские надписи Софии Киевской. Вып. 1: XI–XIV вв. К.: Наукова думка, 1966; Высоцкий С. А. Средневековые надписи Софии Киевской (по материалам граффити XI–XVII вв.). К.: Наукова думка, 1976.

42 Миронова Т. Л. Хронология старославянских и древнерусских рукописных книг X–XI вв. С. 249. The scholar inaccurately cites V. Vysotsky and gives the wrong page (Vysotsky 1966, p. 40); the correct page is 43.

43 Суша А. Тураўскае Евангелле – найдаўнейшы кніжны помнік Беларусі // Тураўскае Евангелле = Туровское Евангелие = Turaŭ Gospel. Факсімільнае узнаўленне. Даследаванні. Мінск (Нацыянальная бібліятэка Беларусі), 2014. С. 94–99; Суша А. А. Тураўскае Евангелле – самая старажытная кніга Беларусі // Беларускі гістарычны часопіс, 2015, № 8, С. 27.

44 Огієнко І. Пам'ятки старослов'янської мови X–XI віків. С. 139.

45 Тот И. Х., Хоргоши Э., Хорват Г. Туровские листки. Dissertationes Slavicae. Slavistische Mitteilungen. Материалы и сообщения по славяноведению. XIII. Szeged, 1978. С. 183.

46 Тот И. Х. Русская редакция древнеболгарского языка в конце XI – начале XII вв. С. 27.

(1984), in the description of the Turov Gospel, it is stated that palaeographic analysis does not allow one to identify a distinct handwriting on folio 10[47]. In the 2001 description, it is indicated with reservation that the manuscript was written by a single scribe[48].

Our palaeographic analysis of the manuscript folios, including the handwriting on folio 10, confirmed, in our view, the correctness of Ohienko's observations. These observations were made possible thanks to modern digital technologies, which allow the magnification of letter forms in electronic copies without any loss of the quality of the handwriting.

We will present several markers that allow us to suggest that the text on folio 10 was written by a different scribe, who wrote more compactly and precisely than the main scribe.

In our opinion, the change of scribes occurred at the beginning of the first line of folio 10: the main scribe wrote the ending of the word дѧѥ[49]||ѭть, which had been started on the previous folio 9v, and put a period.

The main scribe writes the letters with a slight inclination, whereas the second scribe writes more upright.

The second scribe narrows certain parts of individual letters, in particular the upper left part of the letter ѣ; and writes ѱ more compactly.

He writes the components of the letters of the big *yus* and iotated big *yus* – ѫ, ѭ – clearly and evenly; whereas the first scribe, when forming ѫ, does not place the vertical crossbar exactly in the middle but slants it to the right:  folio 8,  folio 10. The same letter is written lower in the heading of the next reading: . It is probable that the headings of the Gospel readings in the manuscript were executed by the main scribe.

In the handwriting of the second scribe, differences can be observed in the formation of certain letters, in particular ꙁ and ѧ; the latter grapheme is written more rounded: ѧ (see Figs. 1 and 7).

In summary, we can state that the 11th-century Turov Gospel is the earliest and the only preserved Cyrillic manuscript of Rus', written in the narrow-type Ustav, the so-called *narrow Ustav* which has a South Slavic origin.

It is an evident historiographical fact that, to this day, the Ustav writing of the Turov Gospel has not been systematically studied or analyzed as a narrow-type Ustav, with reference to South Slavic manuscripts.

The Turov Gospel was written in Cyrillic – Church Slavonic language with elements of the Kyiv recension which developed gradually. The preserved fragments of Gospel read-

47 Сводный каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг, хранящихся в СССР. XI–XIII вв. М.: Наука, 1984. С. 50, № 10. This description is also available online via the 'Manuscript' project portal. URL: http://mns.udsu.ru/collection_xi/SK_10.html (accessed 15.09.25). Electronic publication of the manuscript text, URL: http://manuscripts.ru/mns/main?p_text=42435676 (accessed 15.09.25).

48 Князевская О. Л., Лифшиц А. Л., Турилов А. А. Пергаменные рукописи собрания Виленской публичной библиотеки. S. 8.

49 Most likely, the scribe wrote this letter by mistake and corrected it on the next page.

ings attest to the practice of writing books in Rus', using the narrow Ustav script. This scribal practice was likely earlier in time and was gradually supplanted, in the relevant book production centres, by the use of wider letter forms – the so-called wide type of Ustav writing.

The Turov Gospel was produced in Rus' at a time when various types of script were in use. It is likely that the scribe sought to adhere to the graphic conventions of the Gospel text he was copying.

The Turov Gospel is written in the narrow Ustav, the letter forms of which are closely related to South Slavic manuscripts written in this type of script, directly preceding the 11th-century Hilandar Leaves.

Among the preserved 11th-century book monuments of Rus', only the Turov Gospel exhibits the narrow type of writing; other book monuments are written in the wide Ustav, which indirectly attests to an earlier date for the creation of this codex. The script closest to the Turov Gospel, as noted by all scholars, is that of the Ostromir Gospel (1056–1057). At the same time, only Vyacheslav Shchepkin emphasized that the Ostromir Gospel features a large and elegant Ustav, slightly compressed at the sides[50].

Regarding the attribution of the origin and date of the Turov Gospel, we align with the conclusions of Vasil Putsko, relying also on our own observations of electronic copies of manuscripts concerning the writing of the Turov Gospel and the 11th-century book monuments of Rus', executed in wide Ustav mentioned in our study. It is likely that the codex was produced in the Kyiv princely scriptorium of Yaroslav the Wise during the "pre-Ostromir period[51]", and in terms of artistic decoration, the Turov Gospel is positioned between the Reims Gospel (Cyrillic part)[52] and the Ostromir Gospel[53] – with the time of writing most probably between the mid-1040s and the mid-1050s[54].

This facsimile edition of the Turov Gospel, accompanied by the latest scholarly studies, will contribute to further research on its script, which requires extensive engagement with contemporary Cyrillic book sources from both East and South Slavic traditions.

---

50 Щепкин В. Н. Русская палеография. С. 106.

51 Пуцко В. Г. Книжкова продукція київських та південно-західних скрипторіїв XI–XIII ст. // Писемність Київської Русі і становлення української літератури. Збірник наукових праць. К., 1988. С. 11–12; Пуцко В. Ілюмінацыя Тураўскаго Евангелля. Беларускі гістарычны агляд: навуковы часопіс. 1998. Т. 5, сш. 1. С. 97–98.

52 The latest palaeographic and codicological study of the Reims Gospel was carried out in the work: Гнатенко Л. Реймське Євангеліє – унікальна кирилично-глаголична писемна пам'ятка (палеографічно-кодикологічна розвідка) // Реймське Євангеліє. Видання факсимільного типу. Дослідження: у 2 т. К.: Горобець, 2019. Т. 2: Дослідження. С. 31–67 (Бібліографія Реймського Євангелія с. 58–67). URL: https://www.academia.edu/68667388 (accessed 15. 09. 2025).

53 Пуцко В. Г. Славянская иллюминированная книга X–XI веков // Byzantinoslavica. Revue internationale des études Byzantine. Prague, 1985. T. XLVI. P. 150.

54 Пуцко В. Г. Византия и становление искусства Киевской Руси // Южная Русь и Византия: Сборник научных трудов (к XVIII конгрессу византинистов). К., 1991. С. 92.

Sergejus Temčinas

Characteristics of the Scribe of the Turov Gospel and the Text he Transcribed

South Slavonic Protograph

The oldest East Slavonic codices contain some peculiarities going back to more or less distant South Slavonic (Bulgarian) originals, which makes it possible to consider East Slavonic manuscripts as monuments of the Old Slavonic language[1].

The Bulgarian protograph of the Turov Gospel was characterized by four-yus orthography (with the use of ѧ, ѫ, ѩ and ѭ), containing instances of the hardening of [s'] before non-front vowels (вьсѫ 7v 15)[2], preserving the soft sonorant in stem-final position in the form жьнѭ (4v 2), mutual substitution of the verbs вѣдѣти and видѣти (видѧть гласъ іего 1 9)[3], as well as archaic grammatical forms (aorist like придъ 2 1; participles like оставль 10 14), infrequently occurring words: the conjunction ꙗкоже in the temporal sense (7v 11), the adverb тожде (9v 13), the verbs клєпати (2 14), ꙗоудити (5 11), etc. The South Slavonic protograph was probably of Eastern Bulgarian origin.

It is not always possible to determine unequivocally whether this or that linguistic or orthographic feature of the Turov Gospel was the result of the activity of its scribe or whether it stems from the previous manuscript copy (the direct original, or antigraph) or a more distant South Slavonic source (the protograph).

Distribution of Scribes in the Antigraph

The spelling of the Turov Gospel shows that the preceding manuscript (antigraph) must have been written by at least two scribes with the seam between fol. 3v and 4v of the Turov copy, inside the reading for Sunday the 16th after Pentecost (Mt 25.14–29; 11.15), somewhere between verses Mt 25.15 and Mt 25.29.

1 See: Дурново Н. Н. Русские рукописи XI и XII вв. как памятники старославянского язика. Јужнословенски філолог. Књ. 4, 1924, с. 72–94; књ. 5, 1925–1926, с. 93–117; књ. 6, 1926–1927, с. 11–64 (reprint: Дурново Н. Н. Избранные работы по истории русского языка. Москва, 2000, с. 391–494).

2 Here and further I indicate (in brackets) the corresponding page and line numbers of the Turov Gospel after the quoted examples.

3 For more details see: Plevačová H. Záměny sloves věděti a viděti v staroslověnských textech. Slavia, č. 26, 1957, s. 249–255.

If we assume that the seam between the scribes in the antigraph coincided with the boundary of the folios of the Turov Gospel (which is possible in the case of exact copying of the codex, although not necessarily), then it can be localized with a certain degree of conventionality between the fol. 3 and 4 of the latter, somewhere within the verse Mt 25.21. In any case, the scribes changed around the middle of the short lectionary codex in the antigraph of the Turov Gospel.

Thus, almost exclusively up to this seam there are relics of the earlier way of spelling the preposition отъ and the prefix от- (отъ нѥго 1 10; прияѧ‹хъ о›тъ бц̃а моѥго 1v 14; отъвѣщꙗ 2 7; отъ ꙁемлѧ 2 13; отиⷣ 3v 4), whereas in the following text the ligature ѿ(-) is regularly written, with a single exception (отѧти 6r 14)[4].

We can learn how unevenly the above orthographic variants are distributed in the fragments of the Turov Gospel, reflecting the change of scribes in the preceding manuscript, from the corresponding quantitative data given in a table below (excluding the rubrication of readings where ѿ is always written)[5] along with their expression in per cent:

Fragments of the Turov Gospel	Spelling the preposition отъ and the prefix от-	
	от(-)	ѿ(-)
fol. 1–3v	5 (50%)	5 (50%)
fol. 4–10v	1 (3%)	33 (97%)

As we can see, the spelling от(-) in the first part appears, in percentage terms, almost seventeen times more often than in the second part. This contrast is quite sufficient for the conclusion about the non-randomness of the specified distribution of the considered orthographic variants, which can be logically explained by the situation in the antigraph.

On the other hand, only after the specified seam are situated all eight cases of writing ѫ for оу: имоущѫоуиоу (4v 10), бѫи (5r 6), бѫѣѧ (5r 7 and 17), иждѫщю (5r 11), ѫтрь (6v 5, in the liturgical note), трѫждьше сѧ (7v 15), трѣбѫѥть (10v 7)[6]. Consequently, the substitution оу → ѫ was made by the second scribe in the antigraph of the Turov Gospel.

4 See: Тот И. Х., Хоргоши Э., Хорват Г. Туровские листки. Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József nominatae. Dissertationes slavicae. T. 13. Szeged, 1978, p. 197.

5 The ligature ѿ is present (except for the rubrication of readings) in the following places in the manuscript: 1 4; 1v 11 and 17; 2v 16 and 17; 4 18; 4v 8, 11 and 13; 5 6 and 18; 5v 2, 10 and 11; 6 1, 4, 7, 8, 13, 14, 16 and 18; 6v 5 and 10; 7v 6, 8, 9 and 14; 8 10 and 17; 8v 7 and 17; 9 5, 7, 10, 13; 9v 15; 10v 6.

6 On this topic see: Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки о малоизвестных и неизвестных памятниках: XLV. Туровские евангельские листы XI века. Записки Императорской Академии наук. Приложения к 1873 г., т. 22, кн. 1, прилож. № 3, с. 121; Тот И., Хоргоши Э., Хорват Г., op. cit., p. 192.

Similarly, it was determined[7] that the part of the Ostromir Gospel of 1156–1157 written by its first scribe (fol. 2–24) in the preceding manuscript must have been executed by different scribes, the first of whom wrote the text of fol. 2–16, and the second – fol. 17–24.

The change of scribes in the antigraph can be noticed only if their orthographic techniques clearly differed at least in some respects, and later were not levelled by the canonocentric scribe of the subsequent (investigated) manuscript copy (see below).

Characteristics of the Scribe of the Turov Gospel

Depending on the general psychological attitude to copying, all scribes can be divided into two groups: the antigraphocentric scribes strived for an exact reproduction of their immediate original (antigraph), while the canonocentric scribes strived to bring it, at least in some respects, into conformity with their own orthographic and linguistic perceptions obtained during their training and/or subsequent experience of copying. Formal indicators of a canonocentric scribe are the presence of examples of hypercorrection (correction of forms that should not have been corrected at all in the scribe's more attentive work) and paracorrection (not complete, but only partial correction of spellings subject to correction) in the text he copied[8].

In any antigrafocentric or canonocentric setting, scribes carry it out with varying degrees of consistency, depending mainly on the scribe's attentiveness. It can be judged by the number and quality of noticeable corrections made by the scribe in his own text. In addition, in canonocentric scribes (only they consistently correct their antigraph) the lack of due attention is manifested in a significant number of examples of hypocorrection (accidentally omitted forms which otherwise were to be corrected).

The scribe of the Turov Gospel was undoubtedly antigraphocentric, since he strove for an exact copying of his original. Only in this case its text could preserve the numerous traces of the more or less distant Bulgarian protograph (the etymologically correct use of the *yuses* and the *yat*, as well as the South Slavonic incompleteness and the corresponding reflexes of the Proto-Slavonic combinations **tj*, **dj*, etc.)[9] and orthographic differences between the two antigraphic scribes.

---

7 Фортунатов Ф. Ф. Состав Остромирова евангелия. Сборник статей, посвященных В. И. Ламанскому. Ч. 2. Санкт-Петербург, 1908, с. 1416–1479.

8 For more details see: Темчин С. Ю. Писцы Синайской псалтыри по данным орфографии: диграфное и лигатурное написание št. Гудков В. П. (ред.). Международный филологический сборник в ознаменование 150-летия со дня рождения Ф. Ф. Фортунатова. Москва, 1998, с. 104–115; idem, Писцы Синайской псалтыри по данным орфографии: написание буквы ОТЪ (омеги). Dürrigl M. A., Mihaljević M., Velčić F. (eds.). Glagoljica i hrvatski glagolizam. Zbornik radova s Međunarodnoga znanstvenog skupa povodom 100. obljetnice Staroslavenske akademije i 50. obljetnice Staroslavenskog instituta (Zagreb–Krk, 2.–6. listopada 2002). Zagreb–Krk, 2004, s. 499–513.

9 By these features, the Turov Gospel considerably surpasses many of the oldest East Slavonic manuscripts, being in the same group with the Ostromir Gospel of 1156–1157 and the Izbornik of 1073, and by some other features (apparently stemming from the South Slavonic protograph) surpasses even them, see: Срезневский И. И., op. cit., p. 120–122.

The scribe of the Turov Gospel sometimes omits one syllable without noticing it: изъ‹гъ›нанъ (2 11)[10], бѫ‹дѫ› (2 13)[11], слы‹ши›ть (4v 15), мытари‹и› (10v 1). Once two syllables in a row are missing: приѩ‹хъ о›тъ о҃ц҃а (1v 14). Apparently, at work he syllabically dictated to himself the text to be written, which was quite a common practice.

In other cases the scribe noticed such omissions and inscribed the missing syllables above the line: р҃а҆сточ҃ихъ (4v 4), н҃алъ (5 18), к҃рогупиць (6 16), оужасâхѫ сѧ (7 3). A single missing sonorant consonant was inscribed in this way: на е҃мьже (9 18).

The scribe's regular use of superscript letters at the end of a line or in close proximity to it should be distinguished from the above examples: this phenomenon is connected not with the filling in of accidentally omitted letters, but with the scribe's desire to strictly observe the end of the line without crossing it.

Twice the scribe crossed out the letters that he had written incorrectly: приилъıи т҃ и҆динъ (4 12), трапєзъı г҃подина҃ своихъ (6 17). In the first case, the crossed out т҃ appeared under the influence of the previous consonant, and the spelling г҃подина҃ was the result of correcting *г҃подина for г҃подии, since the scribe first mistakenly wrote the plural form instead of the singular and then corrected it.

In other cases, the scribe corrected some misspelled letters, without resorting to crossing out (first, I cite the original form under the asterisk, and then the final result of the correction; the corresponding letters are underlined): *лѣнивы̲и → лѣнивъ̲и (4v 2); *бѫ̲ѩ → бѫ̲ѩѩ (5 7); *дьнѥ̲ → дьнѥ̲ (5v 13); *прип̲ьдъши → пришьдъши (6 11); *гласомь̲ → гласомъ̲ (7 7); *корабли҆ца̲ → корабли҆ца̲ (7v 5); *ꙁеведьова → ꙁеведѣ̲ова (8 15); *скꙋ̑дьлъı → скꙋ̲̑дьлъı (8v 15); *фарисс̲и → фарисє̲и (10v 4); *о̲мьръша → ѫ̲мьръша (10v 17). In most cases the correction was made immediately after writing the misspelled letter, before the writing of the corrected word-form was completed. Therefore, the misspellings I have given under the asterisk should be taken with a certain degree of convention: they would have the form I have quoted if they had not been corrected in time by the scribe himself.

Sometimes it can be hardly identified which misspelled letter has been corrected by the scribe: гр̲ѣшьнъ – from л̲? (8 11).

The above corrections made by the scribe show that he intended to follow not only the orthography (*бѫ̲ѩ → бѫ̲ѩѩ; *гласомь̲ → гласомъ̲)[12], but even the graphics of his antigraph: *лѣнивы̲и → лѣнивъ̲и; *скꙋ̲̑дьлъı → скꙋ̲̑дьлъı and possibly also *о̲мьръша → ѫ̲мьръша, where the scribe started to write the initial digraph оу-, but, having written only

10 In this example, the missing letter 'г' is written above the line, apparently by a later scribe who wrote in darker ink.

11 The presence in the manuscript of several mechanically omitted syllables allows us to explain this particular spelling in the same way and not to see in it the preservation of the hypothetical archaic verbal form бѫ, as is sometimes done, cf.: Тот И., Хоргоши Э., Хорват Г., op. cit., p. 225.

12 This example apparently reflects the mixing of ъ and ь in the Bulgarian protograph.

its first element ѳ, immediately corrected it to ѕ (alternative explanation: the scribe accidentally omitted the second element of the digraph оу-, and then, writing a few more letters, corrected his mistake).

In other cases, some misspellings appeared as a result of the influence of characters from the preceding context (*прип҃ьдъши → прише҃дъши; *фарисс҃и → фарисе҃и), as well as the misinterpretation of characters that are close in shape (and possibly also in pronunciation) (*зевед҃ькъ → зевед҃ѣкъ).

Finally, two mistakes reveal the soft East Slavonic pronunciation of both the originally soft consonants (*кораблицꙗ → кораблица) and those subjected to secondary positional softening before the front vowels (*дьнѥ → дьне).

On the verge of being (un)corrected is the spelling at the junction of folios 9v and 10: да[є]-ѭть, where the scribe started to write the singular form erroneously, but on the next folio correctly reproduced the plural form without correcting the last letter of the previous page.

Some mistakes were not noticed by the scribe and therefore remained uncorrected: с҃ѣ҃три instead of с҃ѣ҃тъı, apparently under the influence of the word ѫтрь of the previous line (6v 6, in the liturgical note)[13]; геннисарьтьстѣ instead of геннисаретьстѣ under the influence of the vowel of the subsequent syllable, probably facilitated by the pronunciation of ь as [e] (7v 4); къзѫти instead of къзити under the influence of the last letter of the preceding word-form ѿ зем҃лѧ (7v 9); ѥмъ instead of ѥмоу or ѥмꙋ for reasons which are not quite clear (10 17).

The uncorrected mistakes listed above are noticeable only because they represent obviously incorrect forms. If, on the other hand, formally correct spellings appear as a result of a mistake, they will be perceived as textual variants, and the time of their occurrence in the text under study can be hardly established: they may belong not only to the last scribe, but also to one of his predecessors. Besides, some mistakes are difficult to distinguish with certainty from relics of a more or less distant South Slavonic protograph, cf., for example, the spelling пѫтъ (3v 5) instead of пѫть (3v 2 etc.) or приимъи (3v 5 and 9; 4 5) instead of приимъıи (3v 14; 4 12).

It is curious that all the examples of corrections (by superscription, crossing out or correction) are attested in the part of the text which, according to the assumption formulated above, was written by the second scribe in the antigraph of the Turov Gospel (fol. 4–10v).

In the entire manuscript, eighteen examples of various kinds of corrections account for at least ten uncorrected mistakes. This allows us to estimate the degree of attentiveness of the scribe at 64%.

13 The assumption about the original form of с҃ѣ҃тъı is supported by the presence of exactly this spelling in a short lectionary copy of the mid-13th century, one of the seven later manuscripts of this structural type (late 12th–15th centuries) that preserve this liturgical note in the same place in the manuscript, cf.: Ostapczuk J. Sobotnie i niedzielne perykopy liturgiczne z Ewangelii Mateusza w cerkiewnosłowiańskich lekcjonarzach krótkich. Warszawa, 2013, s. 380.

Thus, the scribe of the Turov Gospel can be characterised as an antigraphocentric scribe of a rather high degree of attentiveness, who intended to follow his antigraph not only in orthography, but even in graphics. In this case, the examples of East Slavonic orthography (writing ѧ for ꙗ; ѹ for ѫ; ѭ for ѣѫ; ꙗ for ѣѧ, etc.)[14] recorded in the text, including phonetic features (examples of pleophonia, ѫ for ѫд), should be attributed to the previous East Slavonic scribes.

Consequently, the immediate original of the Turov Gospel, written by at least two scribes, must also have been East Slavonic, not Bulgarian.

14 For mose details see: Срезневский И. И., op. cit., p. 121–122.

Viktor Moisiienko

The Turov Gospel as one of the oldest monuments of the Church Slavonic language of the Kyivan (Rus'ian-Ukrainian) recension*

Ten extant manuscript folios, known in Slavonic studies as the "Turov Leaves" or the "Turov Gospel", are not yet dated or localized with certainty. The artifact's name refers to where it was found – the Church of the Transfiguration in the town of Turov (presently a settlement in Pinsk District of Brest Region, Belarus).

The earliest reports by Slavists about the manuscript already emphasized its great antiquity – all agreed that it could not have been written later than the 11th century (namely according to scholars such as Izmail Sreznevsky, Ivan Bermeleev, Pyotr Hiltebrandt, Ivan Ohienko, Imre Tóth, Ödön Horgosi and Gábor Horváth). V. Korniienko provided a thorough historiographical description of the Turov Gospel. For a more detailed discussion of how views about its date, provenance, and certain linguistic-orthographic traits have evolved, readers are referred to his article "Bibliographical Chronicle of the Turov Gospel: Essays on the History of Discovery, Publication, and Study of the Medieval Manuscript", published in this edition.

Among the most rigorous linguistic and orthographic studies of the Turov Gospel are those by Hungarian researchers Imre Tóth, Ödön Horgosi and Gábor Horváth[1]. They upheld Sreznevsky's proposal that it was copied in the 11th century, and cautiously suggested that it may have originated in Southern Rus'.

I should note that my generalizations about the linguistic and orthographic traits of religious books copied in Rus' are based on the fact that the earliest penetrations of vernacular speech elements took place precisely in the scriptoriums of the Rus' capital, Kyiv; hence, the emerging new Slavonic recension of Church Slavonic in the eastern Slavic lands was Rus'ian – in particular Kyivan, that is Ukrainian.

Before delineating the linguistic and orthographic features of the monument, we shall conduct a comparative analysis of corresponding text fragments from the Turov Gospel

* Translated by Yuki Shkabura.

1 Тот И. Х., Хоргоши Э., Хорват Г. Туровские листки // Dissertationes Slavicae. Slavistische Mitteilungen. Материалы и сообщения по славяноведению. XIII. Szeged, 1978. С. 181–232.

with four of the oldest Gospels which dates are unequivocally placed by Slavists in the 11th century or earlier: the Glagolitic ones – the Assemani Gospel, from the end of the 10th to the beginning of the 11th century (Macedonia), and the Marianus Gospel, from the first half of the 11th century (Macedonia / Western Bulgaria); and the Cyrillic ones – two copied in Rus'-Ukraine, namely in Kyiv – the Ostromir Gospel (1056–1057) and the Archangel Gospel (1092), as well as the Sava's Book, 11th century (Eastern Bulgaria) (see comparative table below).

The use of ѫ, ѭ, ѧ, ѩ in the Turov Gospel mostly aligns with that in the Assemani Gospel, the Marianus Gospel, the Sava's Book and the Ostromir Gospel, and sharply diverges from the Archangel Gospel. For example: in Matthew 15:22 странѫ тоурсыкѫ и сидонъскѫ in fragments of 4 manuscripts, whereas in the Archangel Gospel въ страны тоурсыкы и сидоньскы; помилоуи in fragments of 4 manuscripts, whereas in the Archangel Gospel помилѫи; in Matthew 15:23 отъпоусти ѭ in fragments of 4 manuscripts, whereas in the Archangel Gospel ѿпоусти ю; in Matthew 15:27 падаѭщи/штихъ / падаѭщииихъ in fragments of 4 manuscripts, whereas in the Archangel Gospel падающииихъ; in Matthew 24:40 бѫдета/те in fragments of 4 manuscripts, whereas in the Archangel Gospel боудета; in Luke 5:23 отъпоущаѭтъ / ѿпоущаѭть in fragments of 4 manuscripts, whereas in the Archangel Gospel ѿпоущають; Luke 5:24 гл҃ѭ / гл҃ѫ in fragments of 4 manuscripts, whereas in the Archangel Gospel гл҃ю; Luke 6:32 любѧщаѧ҃ / любѧщѧ҃ / любѧщаѧ in fragments of 4 manuscripts, whereas in the Archangel Gospel любѧщаѧ.

The Turov Gospel and the Ostromir Gospel are grouped together with the South Slavonic texts, in contrast to the Archangel Gospel, also on the basis of other linguistic features: in Luke 5:23 о҃слабленоумоу / ослабленоугумоу in fragments of 4 manuscripts, whereas in the Archangel Gospel ослабленомоу.

In some fragments, the use of nasal and over-short vowels aligns the Turov Gospel with South Slavic usage: Matthew 15:22 гл҃ѫщи, whereas in Ost and Arch – гл҃ющи; Matthew 24:42 въ кѫѭ, whereas in Ost – въ къıи, in Arch – въ коую; Matthew 25:24 in Mar and SB – ѭдоу, Tur – ѭдѫ, whereas in Ost – оудоу; Matthew 25:22 in Mar, SB, and Tur – талантъта, whereas in Ost – талантa.

The fragments presented in the comparative table demonstrate how the Rus'ian-Ukrainian written norm began to emerge, where the South Slavic texts show one reflex, and the Rus'ian-Ukrainian texts other: Matthew 15:23 – Mar, SB: пристѫпьше, Tur, Ost, Arch: пристѫпльше; Matthew 25:22 – Mar, SB: пристѫпь, Tur, Ost: пристѫпль; Matthew 25:25 – Mar, SB: въ земи, Tur, Ost: въ земли; Matthew 24:44 – Mar, SB: придетъ, Tur, Ost, Arch: придеть; Luke 6:31 – Ass, SB: творѧтъ, Ost, Tur, Arch: творѧть; Matthew 15:24 – Mar, SB, Ost: къ овъцамъ, Tur, Arch: къ овьцамъ; Matthew 24:41 – Mar, SB, Ost:

мелѧщи, Tur, Arch: мелюци; Mar, SB, Tur: жрѣнъваχъ /жрьнъваχъ, Ost: жърнъваχъ, Arch: жьрнъваχъ; Luke 5:25 – Ass, SB: на немь, Tur, Ost, Arch: на нѣмь; Luke 5:29 – Mar, AsG: ѹрѣждениѣ, Tur, Ost: ѹрѣждениѥ, Arch: ѹрежениѥ; Luke 6:33 – Ass, SB, Tur, Ost: тожде / тако^{жде}, Arch: тоже.

Of course, researchers do not have access to the full text of the manuscript, but the ten surviving folios nevertheless provide grounds for generalizations. Thus, indisputable evidence of the antiquity of the analyzed manuscript – at least comparable with the time of the Ostromir Gospel's copying (though earlier dates cannot be excluded) – includes:

1. The use of all the nasal vowels - ѫ, ѩ, ѧ, ѣ, most of which are etymologically correct, with occasional confusions: примоу /instead of примѫ/ 1*v*, глоубиноу 1*v*, въ глоубинѫ / instead of глѫбинѫ/ 7*v*, хоулоу /instead of хоулѫ/ 9, бѫи /instead of боуи / 5, трѫждьше сѧ /instead of троуждьше сѧ/ 7*v*, мелюци /instead of мелѧщи/ 3; имѣѣ 4*v* /instead of имѣѣ/, стоѣ /instead of стоѣ/ 7*v*, всѧкоѣ 8*v* /замість всѣкоѣ/; распьрѧ /instead of распьрѣ/ 1*v*, корабла /instead of корабла/8, погрѫжѫти /instead of погрѫжѣти/ 8, врауѧ /instead of врауѣ/ 10*v*, велиѧ /instead of велиѣ/ 6v.

2. The use of ultra-short vowels ь and ъ indicates that the manuscript was copied before their decay had taken place; there are only a few cases where these letters are omitted: мно¬зи 1*v*, мн^{ъ}жьство 8. In the spellings кт̏о 9 and ѵт̏о 9 the reduced vowels ъ and ь respectively, are omitted, yet a diacritical mark is placed above the letter т̏, which may indirectly suggest that the scribe was aware of the omission. There are no examples of *jer* vocalization in strong positions.

3. Almost without exception, the long forms of adjectives and verbs are used: надъ мъногъими 4, мѫдръимъ 5, огъибъшиимъ 6, падаѫщиихъ 6 ѹьстьнаго 6*v*, ослабленоуоумоу 9 etc.; хотѧаше 2, подобааше 4*v*, молѧахѫ 6, искаахѫ 7*v* etc.

The correlation of the copied text with the time of the Ostromir Gospel is also indicated by the shapes of the graphemes, as noted in the study by Liudmyla Hnatenko.

Among the *orthographic features* suggesting the interference of a Rus'ian scribe, we may distinguish the following:

- the use of ь in place of the tense reduced vowel и: татые 1*v*, съмрьтыѫ 2;

- the use of singular nouns with ending *-ьмь* in instrumental case, corresponding to *-емь* in the Old Bulgarian protographs: съ ложьмь 8*v*;

- the reflection of palatalized sibilants: ѿвѣщѧша 5v, оучѧаше 7*v*, погрѫжѧти 8, ваша 10, врауа 10*v*, where ѧ appears in place of ѣ.

Linguistic features:

- the use of *u* corresponding to old **ě*: видать 1 /corresponding to ѣ in the protograph, cf. вѣдать in the Ostromir Gospel/;

- the use of ѕ corresponding to old **ě*: посредѣ 7, as well as confusion in writing between ѣ and е: фарисѣи 9, фарисеи 10*v*, галилѣискъı 8*v*, галилеискъ 8;

- spellings reflecting the paleophonic compound *epe*: серебро 3*v*, 4*v*;

- spellings with explicit marking (by means of iotated letters ѥ, ѧ and / or a diacritic above л҆) of the soft pronunciation of primary soft *l'*, *n'*: по нѥмь … отъ нѥго 1, 4*v*, ѿ нѥю 7*v*, поѥмл҆ѥть 3, ослабленъ 8*v*, ослабл҆ѥноуоумоу 9, помъıшл҆ѧти … помъıшл҆ѥниѧ 9, славл҆ѧаχѫ 9*v*; at the same time, after other consonants, the scribe consistently wrote е and never placed a diacritic above it: рече 1, приде 1, клепла 2, бъдите 3, вѣрьне 4, не достанеть 5*v*, посредѣ 7, etc.;

- the use of *ж* corresponding to the old clusters *dj* and *жд* in the Old Bulgarian protograph: до рожьства 6*v*; the example прѣ* 6*v* with a superscript letter * is not representative;

- consistent spellings with an inserted *l'* in place of former *labial* + *j* clusters: пристѫпль 4, въ земли 4, кораблича 7*v*, корабла 8, славл҆ѧаχѫ 9*v*, оставль 10;

- the reflection of *ų'*: овьцамъ 1, къ овьцамъ 6;

- consistent preservation of vocative case forms: жено 6*v*; рабе 4, назаранине 7, наставниче 7*v*, чл҃вче 8*v*;

- spellings with contracted inflection in adjectival/participial forms: бл҃готворѧщимъ вамъ 9*v*;

- the use of *-mь* in third-person singular and plural verb endings: глашаѥть … изгонить … ходить 1, градеть 5, бѣсноуѥтьсѧ 6; идѫть 1, помогѫть 8*v*, творѧть 9*v*, etc.

All the identified features originated in Kyiv, in the princely scriptorium, during the copying of the first books brought to Rus' from other centres of Slavonic literacy. The same features can be observed in other eleventh-century texts copied in Kyiv, such as the Reims Gospel, the Ostromir Gospel, the Archangel Gospel, Svyatoslav's Izborniks (Miscellanies) of 1073 and 1076, the Pandects of Antiochus, the 13 Sermons of Gregory the Theologian, the Dubrovsky Menaia, the Chudov and Bychkov Psalters, the Sinai Patericon, the Life of Thecla and Quadratus. It was precisely in the first half to the middle of the eleventh century that a distinct linguistic and orthographic Rus'ian–Ukrainian norm was formed by Rus'ian (Kyivan) scribes, which later spread to other territories of Rus'. This development provided grounds in Slavonic studies to designate it as a distinct Rus'ian recension of Church Slavonic. However, due to the terminological confusion in the use of the ethno- and glottonyms *rus'kyi* (Rus'ian) and *russkii* (Russian), introduced by Moscow Slavicists, texts created on the territory of Rus'-Ukraine were not directly associated with Ukrainian written language.

The analysed manuscript exhibits a set of orthographic and linguistic features that unequivocally justify interpreting its language as Church Slavonic of the Kyivan (Ukrainian) recension. The time of the book's copying may be dated to approximately

the same period as the Ostromir Gospel, namely the mid-11th century. This conclusion is supported by the fact that the orthography and language of the Archangel Gospel, most likely produced in the same Kyivan scriptorium half a century later, demonstrate clear and pronounced features of Ukrainian written language, as shown in the comparative table.

Nevertheless, due to circumstances tragic for Rus′ (Rus′-Ukraine, White Rus′, and the Novgorod Republic), when the literacy and culture of Rus′ were appropriated by Muscovy, which later self-designated as Russia, this distinct Kyivan, in essence Rus'ian-Ukrainian, recension came to be labelled "Russian" and identified primarily with a single people, the Russians, who had no involvement in its formation during the early stages of Rus'ian literacy in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries.

The surviving folios of the Turov Gospel therefore provide sufficient grounds for including this manuscript in the register of Church Slavonic manuscript books of the Kyivan (Rus'ian-Ukrainian) recension.

Comparative Table of Excerpts from the Marianus (Mar), Assemani (Ass), Turov (Tur), Ostromir (Ost), Archangel (Arch) Gospels, and Savva's Book (SB)

Gospel excerpts quoted from:

Mar – Евангелие от Матфея в славянской традиции, изд. подг. А. Алексеев, И. Азарова, Е. Алексеева, М. Бабицкая и др., Санкт-Петербург: Российское Библейское общество, 2005.

Ass – Evangeliarium Assemani. Codex Vaticanus 3. slavicus glagoliticus. Editerunt Josef Vais, Josef Kurz. Tomus II. Editid Josef Kurz. Pragae: Acad. Scientiarum et Artium Bohemicae, 1955.

SB – Щепкин В. Саввина книга. Издание русского языка и словесности императорской академии наук. С приложением 4 фототипических снимков. (Памятники старославянского языка. Т. 1, вып. 2). Санкт-Петербург, 1903.

Ost – Остромирове Євангеліє 1056–1057 р. = Остромирово евангелие 1056–57 года, хранящееся в Императорской Публичной библиотеке, 2-е фотолитогр. изд., СПб. 1889. URL: https://archive.org/details/ostromirovo/page/n4/mode/1up (accessed: 20.04. 2025).

Arch – Архангельське Євангеліє (1092 рік), Росія, Москва, Російська державна бібліотека, ф. 178, № 1666. Архангельское Евангелиє 1092 года. Исследования, древнерусский текст, словоуказатели, изд. подгот. Л. Жуковская, Т. Миронова, Москва 1997. URL: https://dlib.rsl.ru/viewer/01003149175#?page=1 (accessed: 20.04. 2025).

Gosp. Read.	Mar, Ass	SB
Mt. 15: 22–28	(p. 85) 22 і ишедъ отътоудѣ їс. отиде въ странѫ тоурськѫ и сидонъскѫ і се жена хананеиска. отъ прѣдѣлъ тѣхъ ишедъши. възъпи глѧшти. помилоуи мѧ гї сн̃оу давдвъ. дъшти моѥ. зълѣ бѣсъноуетъ сѧ. 23 онъ же не отъвѣща еи словесе. і пристѫпьше оученици его молѣхѫ и глѧще. отъпоусти ѭ ѣко въпиеть въслѣдъ насъ. 24 онъ же отъвѣщавъ реѵе нѣсмъ посъланъ тъкмо. къ овъцамъ погыбъшимъ домоу изл̃воу. 25 она же пришедъши поклонисѧ емоу глшти. гї помози ми. 26 онъ же отъвѣщавъ реѵе. нѣстъ добро отѧти хлѣба ѵдомъ и повръщи псомъ. 27 она же реѵе еи гї. ібо и пси ѣдатъ отъ кроупицъ падаѭштихъ съ трапезы господеи своихъ. 28 тъгда отъвѣщтавъ їс реѵе еи. ѡ жено. вельѣ есть вѣра твоѥ. бѫди тебѣ ѣко же хощеши. і исцѣлѣ дъщи еѧ во то ѵасъ	(fol. 66) въ оно^{е} 22 выниде їс въ странѫ тоурськѫ и сидоньскѫ и се жена хананѣиска. отъ прѣдѣлъ тѣхъ ишъдъши. възъпи глѧщи. помілоуи мѧ гї. сн̃оу дв̃ъ дъщи моѧ зѣло бѣситьсѧ. 23 онъ же не отъвѣща ѥі словесе. и пристѫпьше оученици ѥго. молѣхѫ и глѧще. отъпоусти ѭ. ѩко выпиѥть вь слѣдъ насъ. 24 онъ же отъвѣщавъ реѵе. нѣсмь посъланъ. тъкмо къ овьцамъ погыбъшимъ домоу изл̃ва. 25 она же пришъдъши поклонисѧ ѥмоу глѧщи. гї помози ми. 26 онъ же отъвѣщавъ реѵе. нѣстъ добро отѧти хлѣба ѵѧдомъ. и повръщи и пьсомъ. 27 она же реѵе. ѥи гї. ибо и пьси ѩдѧтъ о^{тъ} кроупиць падаѭщихъ съ трапезы гїи своіхъ. 28 тогда отъвѣщавъ їс реѵе ѥі ѡ жено велиѧ ѥсть вѣра твоѧ. бѫди тебѣ ѩко же хощеши. и исцѣлѣ дъщи ѥѧ въ тъ ѵасъ

	Tur	Ost	Arch
	(fols. 5v–6v) въ врѣмѧ ѻно 22 изиде їс̃ъ въ странѫ тѷ̈рьскѫ и сидоньскѫ. и се жена хананѣ́иска. ѿ прѣдѣлъ тѣхъ и́шьдъши възъпи г̃и глѣѭщи. помилоуи́ мѧ г̃и сн̃е дв̃двъ. дъщи моꙗ зьлѣ бѣсьноуѥ́тьсѧ. 23 онъ же не ѿвѣща ѥ́и словесе. и пристѫпльше ѹ́ѹ̈ченици ѥ́го. молѧахѫ и глѣѭще. ѿпоусти ѭ́. ꙗко въпиѥть въслѣдъ́ насъ. 24 онъ же ѿвѣщавъ ре҃. нѣсмь посъланъ. тъкъмо къ ѻвьцамъ погꙑбъшиимъ домоу и́зл̃ева. 25 ѻна же пр̀ишьдъши поклониса ѥмоу глѣѭщи. г̃и. помози ми. 26 онъ же ѿвѣщавъ рече. нѣсть добро отати хлѣба ѿ ча҃дъ. и повръщи и́ пьсомъ 27 ѻна же ре҃. ѥ́и г̃и. и́бо и пьси ѣ́дать ѿ кроупиць падаѭщии́хъ съ трапезъı гн̃одии́ свои́хъ 28 тогда ѿвѣщавъ і̃съ рече ѥ́и ѻ жено. велиꙗ ѥ́сть вѣ́ра тво҃ꙗ. бѫ́ди тебѣ ꙗко же хощеши. и́ исц̀ѣлѣ дъщи ѥꙗ въ тъ ча҃съ	(fol. 86v) въ врѣмѧ оно 22 изиде иі̃с. въ странѫ турськѫ и сидоньскѫ и се жена хананеиска. отъ прѣдѣлъ тѣхъ ишедъши. възъпи глѭщи помилоуи мѧ сн̃оу дв̃двъ дъщи моꙗ. зьлѣ бѣсьноуѥтьсѧ 23 онъ же не отъвѣща ѥи словесе и пристѫпльше оученици ѥго. молѣахѫ ѥго глѣѭще. отъпусти ѭ ꙗко въпиѥть въслѣдъ насъ 24 онъ же отъвѣщавъ рече нѣсмь посъланъ тъкъмо. къ овьцамъ погꙑбъшиимъ домоу изл̃ева 25 она же пришьдъши поклониса ѥмоу глѣѭщи г̃и помози 26 онъ же отъвѣщавъ рече нѣсть добро отати хлѣба чадомъ. и повръщи и пьсомъ 27 она же рече ѥи г̃и ибо и пьси ѣдать отъ кроупиць падаѭщиихъ отъ трапезъı господии своихъ 28 тогда отъвѣщавъ и̃іс рече ѥи о жено. велика ѥсть вѣ́ра твоꙗ. бѫ́ди тебѣ ꙗко же хощеши и исцѣлѣ дъщи ѥи томь часѣ	(fols. 70v–71) въ врѣмѧ оно 21 вънидѣ і̃съ въ страны тоурсъкы и сидоньскы 22 и се жена хананеиска. ѿ прѣдѣлъ тѣхъ. изълѣзъши възъпи глѣющи. г̃и помилѫи мѧ г̃и сн̃оу дв̃двъ. дъщи моꙗ зьлѣ бѣсьноуѥтьсѧ. 23 онъ же не ѿвѣща ѥи словесе. и пристоупльше оученици ѥго молѧахоути и глѣюще. ѿпоусти ю. ꙗко въпиѥть въслѣдъ насъ. 24 онъ же ѿвѣщавъ рече. нѣсмь посъланъ. тъкъмо къ овьцамъ погꙑбъшиимъ домоу изл̃ева. 25 она же поклоньшиса ѥмоу глаше. г̃и помози ми. 26 онъ же ѿвѣщавъ рече. нѣсть добро отати хлѣба ѿ чадомъ. и повреци пьсомъ. 27 она же рече. г̃и ибо и пьси ѥдать ѿ кроупиць падаюшиихъ съ трапезъı г̃ии своихъ тъгда ѿвѣщавъ і̃съ

Gosp. Read.	Mar, Ass	SB
Mt. 24: 40–44	(pp. 132–133) 40 тъгда дъва бѫдете на селѣ единъ поемлѭтъ. а дроугъı оставлѣатъ сѧ. 41 дъвѣ мелѭщи въ жрънъвахъ едина поемлетъ сѧ и едина оставлѣатъ сѧ. 42 бъдите оубо ѣко не вѣсте въ кѫѭ годинѫ г҃ь вашъ придетъ. 43 се же вѣдите. ѣко аще би вѣдѣлъ г҃нъ храма. въ кѫѭ стражѫ тать придеть. бьдѣлъ оубо би. и не би оставилъ подърыти храма своего. 44 сего ради и въı бѫдѣте готови. ѣко вь ньже не мьните часъ. сн҃ ч҃ск҃ъı придетъ	(fol. 89) 40 тогда бѫдета в҃ на селѣ ѥ̀динъ поѥ́млеть сѧ а дроугъı оставлѣѥ́тъ сѧ. 41 в҃ мелѫщи въ жрънъвахъ. ѥ̀дина поѥ́млеть сѧ. и ѥ̀дина оставлѣѥ́ть сѧ. 42 бъдите оубо ꙗко не вѣсте. въ кѫѭ годинѫ г҃ь вашъ придетъ. 43 се же вѣдите. ꙗко аще би вѣдѣлъ г҃нъ храминѣ въ кѫѭ стражѫ тать придетъ. бьдѣлъ ѹ҃бо би и не би оставилъ подърꙋıти храма своѥ́го. 44 сего ради и въı готови бѫдѣте. ꙗко вь ньже не мьните часъ сн҃ь ч҃лск҃ъı придетъ

	Tur	Ost	Arch
	(fol. 3) 40 тогда бѫдета дъва на селѣ единъ поиемлѣть. а дроугъıй ѡставлаѥть са. 41 дъвѣ мелюци въ жрьнъвахъ. ѥдина поѥмлѣть са. и ѥдина оставлаѣть са. 42 бъдите оубо. ѩко не вѣсте. въ кѫѭ годинѫ г҃ь вашь придеть. 43 се же вѣдите. ѩко аще бъı вѣдѣлъ господинъ храмоу. въ кѫѭ ноущь тать придеть. бьдѣлъ оубо бъı и не бъı ѡставилъ. подърътити храминъı своеѧ. 44 сего ради и въı бѫдѣте готови. ѩко въ ньже не мьните часъ. сънъ ч҃лвчьскъıи придетъ	(fols. 83v–84) 40 тогда дъва бѫдета на селѣ единъ поиемлють. а дроугъı оставлаѣть са. 41 дъвѣ мелѭщи въ жърнъвахъ. ѥдина поиемлѣть са а дроугаѧ оставлаѣть са. 42 бъдите оубо ѩко не вѣсте въ къıи часъ г҃ь вашь придеть. 43 то же вѣдите. ѩко аще бъı вѣдѣлъ господинъ храмоу. въ кѫѭ стражѫ тать придеть. бьдѣлъ оубо бъı. и не бъı оставилъ подъкопати. храминъı своеѧ. 44 сего ради и въı бѫдѣте готови. ѩко въ ньже часъ не мьните. сн҃ъ ч҃лчьскъı придеть	(fols. 47–47v) 40 тъгда два боудета на селѣ. единъ поимоуть. а дроугыи оставлаѣть са. 41 двѣ мелюци въ жьрнъвахъ ѥдина поѥмлѣть са. а дроугаѧ оставлаѣть са. 42 бъдите оубо ѩко не вѣсте въ коую годиноу г҃инъ вашь придеть. 43 се же видите. ѩко аще бы видѣлъ г҃ин храмины. въ коую стражю тать придеть бъдѣлъ оубо бы. и не бы далъ подърыти. храма своего. 44 сего ради и вы боудѣте готови. ѩко вь ньже не мьните часъ сн҃ъ ч҃лв҃чьскыи придеть

Gosp. Read.	Mar, Ass	SB
Mt. 25: 1–8	(p. 135) тъгда оуподобитъ са цр҃ствие нб҃ское. десати дѣвъ. ѩже приимъша свѣтильникъı своѩ. ізидж противоу женихоу 2 пать же бѣ ѿ нихъ боуи. и пать мждръ. 3 боуѩ бо приемъша свѣтилъникъı своѩ. не възаша съ собоиж олеа 4 а мждръıѩ приѩша съ собоиж олѣи. въ съсждѣхъ съ свѣтилъникъı своими. 5 къснащю же женихоу. въздрѣмаша са вьса и съпаахж. 6 полоуношти же въпль бъıсть. се женихъ градеть. ісходите вь срѣтение его. 7 тъгда въсташа дѣвъı тъı вьса. и оукрасиша свѣтильникъı своѩ. 8 а боуѩ рѣша мждръıимъ. дадите намъ отъ олеа	(fols. 89v–90) тогда оуподоби са цр҃ствиѥ нб҃скоѥ. ї дѣвъ. а҆же приаша свѣтильникъı своа҆. и҆ и҆зидж противоу женихѹ и҆ невѣстѣ 2 е҃ же бѣ отъ нихъ боуı. и҆ е҃ мждръ. 3 боуа҆а҆ бо приимъша свѣтилъникъı своа҆. не възаша съ собоиж олѣıа 4 а мждръıа҆ приа҆ша съ собоиж олѣı. въ съсждѣхъ съ свѣтилъникъı свои҆ми. 5 мѹ҆дащю женихоу. въздрѣмаша са вса и съпахж. 6 полоунощи же въпль бъıсть. се женихъ градетъ. исходите вь срѣтениѥ ѥго. 7 и тогда въставъша дѣвъı тъıа҆. и оукрасиша свѣтильникъı своа҆. 8 а боуа҆а҆ рѣша мждръıимъ. дадите и намъ отъ олѣıа

	Tur	Ost	Arch
	(fol. 5) Ре҃ѵ г҃ь притъчѫ. сиѭ оуподобиса ц҃рствиѥ нб҃сьноѥ. десати дв҃ъ. ѩже приимъша свѣтильникъı своѧ. ѵзидоша противѫ женихоу ѵ невѣстѣ. 2 пать же бѣ҆ше ѿ нихъ бжи҃. ѵ пать мѫдръ. 3 бжıѧ҆ѧ бо. приимъша свѣтильникъı своѧ. не възаша съ собоѭ ѵлѣ҆ 4 а҆ мѫдръıѧ҆ прияша съ собоѭ ѵлѣѵ҆ въ съсѫдѣхъ. съ съвѣтильникъı своимѵ҆. 5 мѫдацю же женихоу. въздрѣмаша са вьса ѵ съпа҆хѫ. 6 полоуноци же въпль бъıсть. се женихъ градеть. ѵсходите въ срѣтениѥ ѥ҆моу. 7 тогда въсташа вьса дв҃ъı тъı. ѵ оукрасиша ѥ҆вѣтильникъı своѧ. 8 а҆ бжıѧ҆ѧ рѣша мѫдръıмъ. дадите ї намъ ѿ ѵлѣ҆	(fols. 85v–86) Реѵе г҃ь притъчѫ сиѭ подобьно ѥсть ц҃рствиѥ небесьноѥ. десати дѣвъ. ѩже приимъша свѣтильникъı своѧ. изидоша противѫ женихоу. и невѣстѣ. 2 пать же бѣ отъ нихъ боуи и пать мѫдръ 3 боуıѧıѧ бо приимъша свѣтильникъı своѧ. не възаша съ собоѭ елѣ 4 а мѫдръıѧ прияша елѣи. въ съсѫдѣхъ. съ съвѣтильникъı своими 5 мѫдацоу же женихоу. въздрѣмаша са вьса и съпаахѫ 6 полоуноци же въпль бъıсть се женихъ идетъ. исходите въ срѣтениѥ немоу. 7 тогда въсташа вьса дѣвъı тъı и оукрасиша свѣтильникъı своѧ 8 а боуıѧıѧ рекоша мѫдръımъ дадите намъ отъ олѣ	

Gosp. Read.	Mar, Ass	SB
Mt. 25: 21–26	(pp. 137–138) 21 добрꙑ рабе и благꙑ и вѣрьне о малѣ бѣ вѣрьнꙑ. надꙑ мꙑногꙑ та поставлѭ. вьниди вь радость г҃и твоего. 22 пристѫпь же и приемꙑ дъва талантꙑта реѵе. г҃и в҃ талантꙑта ми иеси прѣдалъ. се дроугаѣ дъва приобрѣтъ има. 23 реѵе емоу г҃ь его. добрꙑ рабе благꙑ и вѣрьне. о малѣ бѣ вѣренꙑ надꙑ мꙑногꙑ та поставлѭ. вьниди въ радость г҃и твоего 24 пристѫпь же приемꙑ единъ талантꙑтъ. реѵе г҃и. вѣдѣхꙑ та ѣко жестокъ иеси ѵл҃къ. жьна идеже нѣ си сѣлъ. и събираѭ ѫждоу же не растоуꙑ. 25 и оубоѣвꙑ са шьдъ съкрꙑхꙑ талантꙑ твои въ земи. се имаши твоѥ. 26 отъвѣштавꙑ	(fol. 91) 21 добрꙑ рабе благꙑ вѣрьне. о малѣ бѣ вѣрьнꙑ. надꙑ мꙑногꙑ та поставлѭ. вьниди вь радость г҃а своѥго. 22 пристѫпь же и приімꙑ в҃ таланта реѵе г҃и в҃ талантꙑта ми ѥси прѣдалъ. се дрꙋгаѣ в҃ приобрѣтъ има. 23 и реѵе ѥмоу г҃ь ѥго добрꙑ рабе благꙑ вѣрьне. о малѣ бѣ вѣрьнꙑ надꙑ мꙑногꙑ та поставлѭ. вьниди въ радость г҃а своѥго 24 пристѫпи же приімꙑ а҃ талантꙑ. реѵе г҃и вѣдѣхꙑ та ѣко жестокъ ѥси ѵл҃къ. жьна идеже нѣси сѣлъ. и събираѧ ѫждоу же не растоуꙑ. 25 и оубоѣавꙑ са шъдъ съкрꙑхꙑ таланьтꙑ твои вь земи. се имаши твоѥ. 26 отъвѣштавꙑ

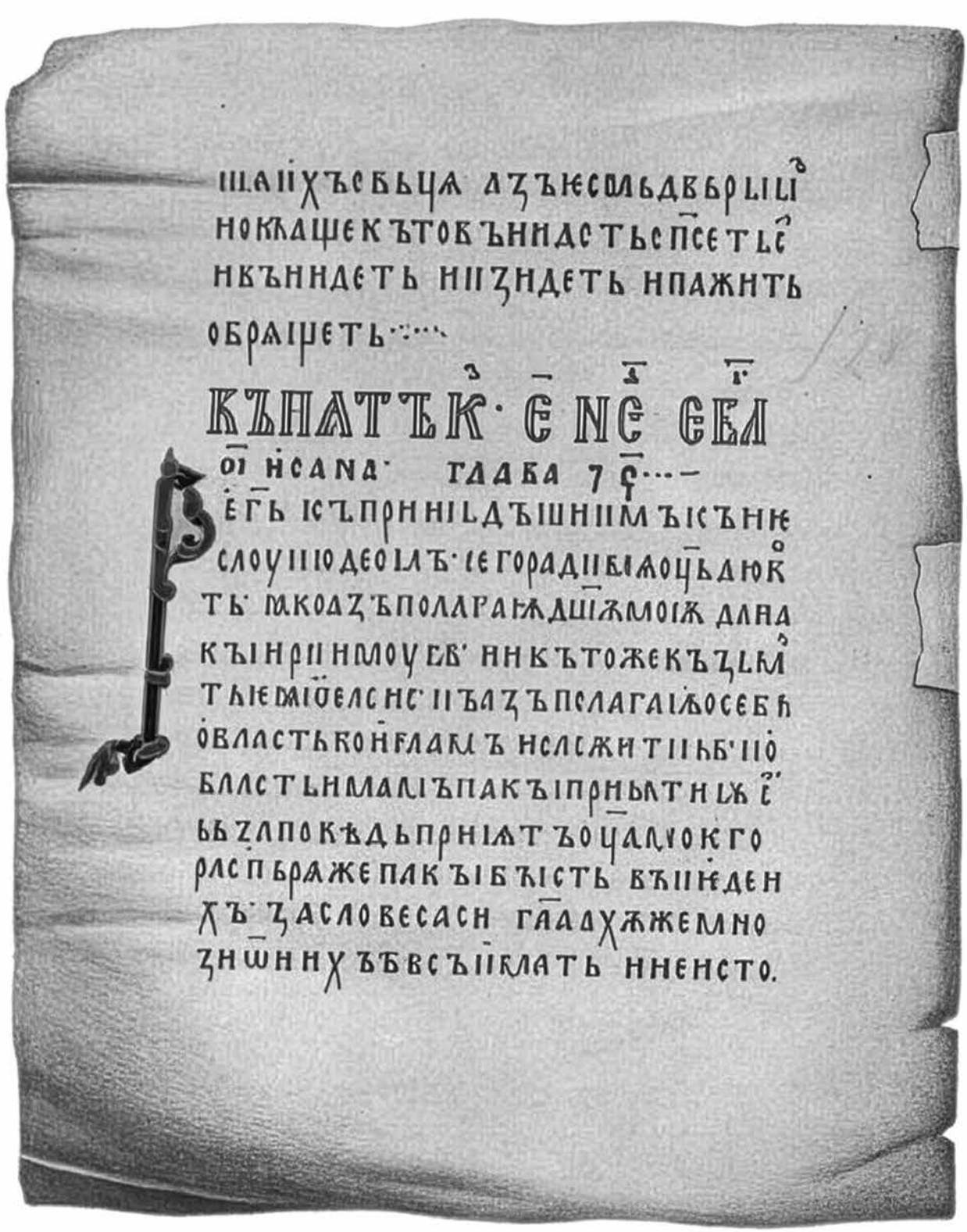
	Tur	Ost	Arch
	(fol. 4) 21 добрꙑи рабе благꙑи и вѣрьне. о малѣ бѣ вѣрьнъ. надъ мъногꙑимъ та поставлѭ въниди въ радость г҃а своѥго. 22 и пристѫпль же и҆ прииꙗ дъва талантъта. рє҃ѵ. г҃и. дъва талантъта ми ѥси прѣдалъ. се дроугаꙗ дъва приобрѣтохъ има. 23 рє҃ѵ ѥмоу гь ѥго. добрꙑи рабе блгꙑи и вѣрьне. о҆ малѣ бѣ вѣрьнъ. надъ мъногꙑ та поставлѭ. въниди въ радость г҃а своѥго. 24 пристѫпль же и҆ прииꙗ ѥдинъ талантъ. рє҃ѵ. г҃и. вѣдѣхъ та. ꙗко жестокъ ѥси ѵл҃вкъ. жьна. иде же нѣ си сѣꙗлъ. и҆ събираꙗ. ѭдѫ же не растоуилъ. 25 и҆ оу҆боꙗвъса шьдъ съкрꙑхъ талантъ твои въ земли. се имаши своѥ. 26 ѿвѣщавъ	(fols. 84v–85) 21 добрꙑи рабе благꙑ и вѣрьне. о малѣ бѣ вѣрьнъ надъ мъногꙑ та поставлѭ въниди въ радость г҃и своѥго. 22 пристѫпль же прииꙗ дъва талантa. рєче г҃и. дъва талаи҆та ми ѥси прѣдалъ се дроугаꙗ дъва талантa приобрѣтохъ има. 23 рєче ѥмоу гд҃ь ѥго добрꙑи рабе блгꙑ и вѣрьне о малѣ бѣ вѣрьнъ надъ мъногꙑ та поставлѭ въниди въ радость г҃а твоѥго. 24 пристѫпль же прииꙗ ѥдинъ талантъ. рєче. г҃и. вѣдѣахъ та. ꙗко жестокъ ѥси ѵл҃къ. жьнеши идеже нѣ си сѣꙗлъ. и събираѥши оудоу же не растоувъ. 25 и оубоꙗвъса. шьдъ съкрꙑхъ талаи҆тъ твои въ земли. се имаши твоѥ. 26 отъвѣщавъ	

Gosp. Read.	Mar, Ass	SB
Lk. 5: 20–25	Ass (fols. 51–51v) 20 о^{т}поущаютъ сѧ тебѣ грѣсі твои. 21 и наѧша помъішлѣті. кьніжьніци и фарісеи. гл҃ще. кт̀о ѣстъ сь. і҃же гл҃еть власвімиѫ҃. кт̀о можетъ о^{т}поущаті грѣхъі. тъкъмо ѣдінъ бъ҃. 22 разоумѣвъ же и҃съ помъішленіѣ йхъ. ѿвѣщавъ реѵе имъ ѵт̀о помъішлѣѣте въ ср҃дційхъ вашіхъ. 23 ѵьто ѣсть оу҃добѣѣ рещі ѡслабленоумоу о^{т}поущаѭ҃тъ ті сѧ грѣси твои҃. лі рещи. въстани и҃ ході. 24 нъ да ѡувѣсте. ѣко властъ иматъ сн҃ъ ч҃лчь на земли ѿпоущаті грѣхъі. реѵе ^{же}ѡслабленоумоу. тебѣ гл҃ѭ҃. въстані и҃ възъми ложе твоѣ. и҃ йді въ домъ свой. 25 и҃ ѧбие҃ въставъ прѣдъ нимі. възатъ на немъ же лежа҃ше	(fol. 48) 20 отъпоущаѭ҃тъ ти сѧ грѣсї твои. 21 и наѧшѧ помъішлѣти. къниж҃ьници и фарисеї. гл҃ѭ҃ще. кто ѣ҆сть сь йже гл҃еть власвимиѫ҃. кто можетъ отъпоущати грѣхъі тъкмо бъ҃ ѣ҆динъ. 22 разоумѣвъ же і҃с помъішлениѧ йхъ. отъвѣщавъ реѵе їмъ ѵ^{т}то помъішлѣѣ҆те въ ср҃дцихъ вашихъ. 23 ѵто ѣ҆сть оудобѣѣ҆ рещи ослабен^{нѫ}моу отъпоущаѭ҃тъ ти сѧ грѣси твоїи҃. нъ да рещи. въстани и ходи. 24 нъ да вѣсте ꙗко власть имать сн҃ъ ч҃лскъі на земи. отъпоущати грѣхъі. реѵе ослабеноумоу тебѣ гл҃ѭ҃ въстани. и҆ възъмъ одръ свѧ҃їи҆ йди въ домъ 25 и҆ абие҆ въста прѣдъ ними. възъмъ на немь же лежаше
Lk.: 27–29	(fol. 52) въ оно^{в}. 27 изіде и҃съ. и҃ оузьрѣ мъітарѣ именемь леѵ҃ѣиѫ҃. сѣдѧщъ на мъитьници. и҃ реѵе ѣмоу иді по мьнѣ. 28 и҃ ѡставлъ вьсѣ. въставъ въ слѣдъ ѣго 29 йде и҆ сътвори ѵрѣждение҃ велие҃ левѣиі҃ емоу въ домоу своѣмь.	

	Tur	Ost	Arch
	(fol. 9) 20 ѿпоущаютъ ти сѧ грѣси твои. 21 и наѹаша помъıшлѧти. кънижьници и фарисѣи глѭще. къто ѥсть сьи. иже глѥть хоулоу. кто можеть ѿпоущати грѣхъı. тъкъмо ѥдинъ бъ. 22 разоумѣвъ же іс̃ъ помъıшлѥниѧ ихъ. ѿвѣщавъ ре҃ имъ что помъıшлаѥте въ ср̃дцихъ вашихъ. 23 что ѥсть оудобѣѥ рещи ѡслабленоуоумоу ѿпоущаѭтъ ти сѧ грѣси твои. ли рещи. въстани и ходи. 24 нъ да оувѣсте. ꙗко власть имать сн̃ъ чл̃вчь на земли ѿпоущати грѣхъı. ре҃ ѡслабленоуоумоу. тебѣ глѭ. въстани и възъми ложе твоѥ. и иди въ домъ свои. 25 и абиѥ въставъ прѣдъ ними. възъмъ на нѥмь же лежаше	(fols. 91–91v) 20 отъпоущаѭтъ ти сѧ грѣси твои 21 и наѹаша помъıшлати кънижьници и фарисеи глѭще. къто сь ѥсть. иже глѥть хоулѭ къто можеть отъпоущати грѣхъı тъкъмо ѥдинъ бъ 22 разоумѣвъ же иіс̃ помъıшлениѧ ихъ. отъвѣщавъ рече имъ что помъıшлѧѥте въ ср̃дцихъ вашихъ. 23 что ѥсть оудобѣѥ рещи ослабленоуоумоу. отъпоущаѭтъ ти сѧ грѣси твои. или рещи въстани и ходи 24 нъ да оувѣсте. ꙗко власть имать. сънъ чл̃вчьскъıи. на земли отъпоущати грѣхъı. рече ослабленоуоумоу тебѣ глѭ въстани и възъми ложе твоѥ. и иди въ домъ твои. 25 и абиѥ въставъ прѣдъ ними възъмъ на нѥмь же лежаше	(fols. 49–49v) 20 ѿпѭщаютъ ти сѧ грѣси твои. 21 и наѹаша помышлати въ собѣ. кънижьници и фарисѣи глѭще. къто ѥсть сь иже глѥсть хоулоу. къто може ѿпоущати грѣхы. тъкмо ѥдинъ бъ. 22 разоумѣвъ же іс̃ъ помъıшлениѧ ихъ. и ѿвѣщавъ же рече имъ. что помъıшлаѥте въ ср̃дцихъ вашихъ. 23 что ѥсть оудобѣѥ рещи ослабленому. ѿпоущаютъ ти сѧ грѣси твои. или рещи въстани и ходи. 24 нъ да оувѣсте ꙗко власть имать сн̃ъ чл̃вчьскыи на земли ѿпоущати грѣхы. Рече же ослабленому тебѣ глю. въстани и възъми ложе своѥ. и иди въ домъ свои. 25 и абиѥ въставъ прѣдъ ними възъмъ на нѥмь же лежаше
	(fol. 10) въ врѣма. ѡно 27 ѩзиде іс̃ъ. и оу҃зьрѣ мъıтара ѩменемь ловьгиѭ. сѣдаща на мъıтьници и ре҃ ѥмоу ѩди по мънѣ. 28 и ѡставль вьсе. въставъ. вслѣдъ ѥго 29 ѩде. и сътвори чрѣждениѥ велиѥ левгиѥмъ въ домоу своѥмь.	(fols. 92–92v) въ врѣма оно. 27 изиде иіс̃. и оузьрѣ мьздоимьца именемь левгиѭ. сѣдаща на мъıтьници. и рече ѥмоу иди по мънѣ. 28 и оставль вьса. въставъ вслѣдъ ѥго 29 иде и сътвори чрѣждение велико леѵ̈иѥмоу въ домоу своѥмь.	(fols. 50–50v) въ оно в̃. 27 прѣхода іс̃ъ. видѣ члка мъıтара. именемь левгию сѣдаща на мъıтьници. и рече ѥмоу иди по мънѣ. 28 и оставивь вьса. въставъ вслѣдъ ѥго иде. 29 и сътвори чрежение велие левги ѥмоу въ домоу своемь.

Gosp. Read.	Mar, Ass	SB
Lk.: 31–36	Ass (fols. 51v–52) Реүе гѣ. 31 ѣко хощете да творѧтъ вамъ ѵл҃ци. и въı творіте имъ такожде. 32 и аще любіте любѧщıѧ҃ въı. каѣ вамъ хвала е҃сть. ибо и грѣшъници. любѧщıѧ҃ любѧтъ 33 и аще блготворите. блготворѧщиимъ вамъ каѣ вамъ хвала есть. ибо и грѣшьніци тожде творѧтъ 34 и аще въ заемъ даете ѿ них же ѵаете въспріѧ҃ти каѣ вамъ хвала е҃сть ибо и грѣшъници грѣшъникомъ. въ заемъ даю҃ть. да въспріимю҃тъ равъно 35 обаүе любіте врагъи ваша. и добро творіте. имъ. и въ займъ дадіте. ниүесоже не ѵаю҃ще. и бжденъ мъзда ваша мно҃га. и бждете сн҃ве вышънѣго. ѣко тъ благъ е҃сть. на не възблагодѣтъныıѧ҃. и зьлъıѧ҃. 36 бждѣте м^ср҃ьдı ѣко и оц҃ь ваш м^ср҃ьдъ е҃стъ.	(fol. 48v) Реүе гѣ. 31 ꙗко хощете творѧтъ вамъ ѵл҃ци. и въı твориτе имъ такожде. 32 и аще любите любѧщѧ҃ въı. каꙗ вамъ хвала е҃стъ. и грѣшьнї бо любѧщѧ҃ ихъ любѧтъ. 33 и аще бл҃готворите. бл҃готворѧщимъ вамъ. каꙗ вамъ хвала е҃сть. ибо и грѣшъници тако^жде^ творѧтъ 34 и аще и въ заїмъ даете отъ нихъ же ѵаете вьсприя҃ти. каꙗ вамъ хвала е҃сть. ибо и грѣшъници грѣшъникомъ творѧтъ въ заїмъ даю҃тъ. да въсприимю҃тъ равьно 35 обаүе любите врагъı ваша. и добро твориτе. и въ заимъ даите ни (the text ends abruptly).

	Tur	Ost	Arch
	(fols. 9v–10) Ре҃ᵛ гл҃ь 31 ꙗко же хощете да творѧть вамъ ꙋл҃ᵛвци. и̑ вы̑ творите и̑мъ такожде. 32 и̑ а̑ще любите любѧщаꙗ а̑ вы̑. каꙗ вамъ хвала ѥ̑сть. и̑бо и̑ грѣшьници любѧщаꙗ а̑ любѧть 33 и аще бл҃го творите. бл҃готворѧщимъ. вамъ. каꙗ вамъ хвала ѥ̑сть. и̑бо и̑ грѣшьници тожде творѧть. 34 и̑ а̑ще въ заи̑мъ даѥ̑те. ѿ нихъ же ꙗѥте въсприиѧти каꙗ̑ вамъ хвала ѥ̑сть. и̑бо и̑ грѣшьници грѣшьникомъ въ заи̑мъ даѥ̑// ѭть. да въсприи̑мѭть равьно 35 обаче любите врагы̑ ваша. и добро творите. и въ заимъ да̑йте. ниче҆соже не ꙗѥ҆ще. и̑ бѫдеть мьзда ваша мънога. и̑ бѫдете сн҃ве вы̑шьнаа̑го. ꙗ̑ко тъ бл҃гъ ѥ̑сть. на не възблагодѣтьнъꙗ̑ и̑ зълъꙗ̑. 36 бѫдете милосрьди ꙗ̑ко же о҆ц҃ь вашь милосрьдъ ѥ̑сть.	(fols. 91v–92) Рече гл҃ь. 31 ꙗко же хощете да творѧть вамъ ꙋловѣци. и вы̑ твориτе имъ такожде. 32 и аще любите любѧщаꙗ вы̑ каꙗ вамъ хвала ѥсть. ибо и грѣшьници. любѧщаꙗ ихъ любать 33 и аще благо творите благотворѧщиимъ вамъ. каꙗ вамъ хвала ѥсть. ибо и грѣшьници тожде творѧть 34 и аще въ заимъ даѥте. отъ нихъ же ꙗѥте въсприиѧти. каꙗ вамъ хвала ѥсть ибо и грѣшьници грѣшьникомъ въ заимъ даѭть. да въсприиѭть равьно 35 обаче лѭбите врагы̑ ваша и добро творите въ заимъ даите. ниче҆соже не ꙗю҆ще. и бѫдеть мьзда ваша мънога и бѫдете сн҃ве вы̑шьнааго. ꙗко тъ благъ ѥсть. на не възблагодатьнъꙗ и зълъꙗ. 36 бѫдѣте оубо милостиви. ꙗко же о҆ц҃ь вашь милостивъ ѥсть.	(fols. 49v–50) Рече гл҃ь. 31 ꙗко хощете да творю вамъ ꙋл҃ᵛвци и вы творите имъ тако же. 32 аще любите любѧщаꙗ вы. каꙗ вамъ хвала ѥсть. ибо грѣшьници любѧщиихъ любать. 33 и аще бл҃готворите. бл҃готворѧщиимъ вамъ. каꙗ вамъ хвала ѥсть. ибо грѣшьници тоже творѧть. 34 и аще въ заѥмъ даѥте ѿ нихъ же ꙗѥте въсприиѧти каꙗ вамъ хвала ѥсть ибо и грѣшьници грѣшьникомъ въ заимъ даѥте въсприимоуть равьно. 35 обаче любите врагы̑ ваша. и бл҃го творите. и въ заимъ даите. ниче҆соже не ꙗю҆ще. и бѫдеть мьзда ваша мънога. и бѫдете сн҃ве вышьнааго. ꙗко тъ бл҃гъ ѥсть. на не възблагодѣтьнъꙗ. и зълыꙗ. 36 бѫдѣте щедри. ꙗко же и о҆ц҃ь вашь щедръ ѥсть.



Folio 1 verso of the *Turov Gospel* from the album *Monuments of Rus' Antiquity in the Western Provinces*, Vilna, 1874, iss. 6

Jerzy Ostapczuk

Typological, Textual and Liturgical Analyses of the Turov Gospel Lectionary

Introduction

The Turov Gospel Lectionary belongs to the oldest group of handwritten monuments of Cyrillic heritage. Many of them, especially those dated to the 10th and the 11th centuries, are preserved partially. This also applies to the Turov Gospel Lectionary. Only ten parchment folios are extant from this 11th century[1] Slavonic manuscript nowadays. Despite a small number of the preserved leaves, this manuscript is of great importance for the study of the Cyrillic manuscript heritage, the history of translation of the Gospel text into the Church Slavonic language, as well as for reconstruction of the liturgical tradition of the East Slavs' religious services. No wonder that the Turov Gospel Lectionary has long attracted scholars' attention and has been consulted in various scientific studies for many decades[2].

Typological Analysis

Only thirteen Gospel readings, five of which are extant partially, have been attested in ten folios widely known as the Turov Gospel. These pericopes come from the first three, out of the five[3], cycles of movable[4] liturgical year, i.e. synaxarion[5], which served as the basis for the typological classification of Greek and Church Slavonic lectionaries.

Three liturgical Gospel readings come from the Paschaltide cycle. These pericopes are prescribed to be recited during the liturgies on Thursday and Friday of the 5th week and on Tuesday in the 6th week after Easter. Based on the fragmentarily preserved Turov Gospel,

1 The Turov Gospel Lectionary is sometimes dated more precisely, i.e. to the 2nd half of 11th century (Морозова Н. Кириллические рукописные книги, хранящиеся в Вильнюсе. Каталог. Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautoskas institutas, 2008. С. 3).

2 For example, see Сводный каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг, хранящихся в СССР. XI–XIII вв. Москва: Наука, 1984. С. 51–52.

3 I.e. Easter cycle (1st), Pentecostal cycle (2nd), New Year cycle (3rd), Great Lent cycle (4th) and Passion Week (5th). Sometimes a period preceding the Great Lent is treated as a separate one (see Garzaniti, M. 2013. The Gospel Book and its liturgical function in the Byzantine-Slavic tradition, // Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts in their Liturgical context. Subsidia I, Ed. Klaas Spronk, Gerard Rouwhorst, Stefan Royé, Brepols 2013, P. 43).

4 A fixed or immovable liturgical year is called a menologion. It supplies readings from twelve months, from September to August.

5 Synaxarion supplies Gospel readings from Easter Sunday up to Holy Saturday.

one can suppose that it may originally have stemmed from a short[6] (*l*esk)[7] or long[8] (*l*e)[9] lectionary[10], as merely these two[11] types of *aprakoses* – fundamental ones in Greek and Slavonic traditions[12] – provide liturgical pericopes for all days of the week, i.e. from Monday to Sunday, starting from the Resurrection of Jesus up to the feast of the Holy Pentecost (i.e. Withsun), as well as for the very following Monday, i.e. the feast of the Holy Spirit.

The second cycle of Synaxarion, which lasts from the Whitmonday until the commence of the liturgical New Year, in the Turov Gospel is represented by four readings. These pericopes are prescribed to be recited during Saturday and Sunday of the 16th and 17th weeks after the Holy Pentecost. This set of Gospel readings in this very order is attested only in short (*l*esk) and Saturday-Sunday[13] (*l*sk) lectionaries.

The third cycle of the Synaxarion in the Turov Gospel is represented by six readings. These pericopes are prescribed to be recited during Saturday and Sunday of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd weeks of the New Year's cycle. This set of Gospel readings in this very order are again, as in the previous case, attested only in short (*l*esk) and Saturday-Sunday (*l*sk) lectionaries.

Liturgical Gospel readings for the next cycle, i.e. Great Lent, as well as for the whole Passion week, are missing in the Turov Gospel Lectionary.

Based on the above-stated evidence, it is clear that these three groups of the liturgical Gospel readings – the first coming from the Eastertide cycle, the second concluding with the pericopes of Matthew and the third beginning the Luke cycle – could have originated only from one type of the lectionary, out of the three above-mentioned. Therefore we can safely

6 It is also sometimes called an *abridged* or *abbreviated* lectionary. As these terms suggest that they were shortened from a more extensive lectionary, i.e. *complete*, thus the term *short* as a neutral one should be preferred (Garzaniti M. The Gospel Book. P. 41).

7 In the Greek New Testament scholarship, this structural type of a lectionary, i.e. *l*esk, can be also referred as Saturday-Sunday in Matthew and Luke, while in John that is read from Easter until the Holy Pentecost, i.e. the Paschaltide cycle, it features pericopes also for weekdays.

8 It is also sometimes called a *complete* or *full* lectionary. In Slavonic tradition this structural type is usually called as a *polnyi aprakos*.

9 In the Greek New Testament scholarship, this structural type, i.e. *l*e, is called a weekday lectionary.

10 There is also a term *evangelistarium* that is sometimes used for denoting the Gospel lectionary (Jordan Ch. R. D. The Textual Tradition of the Gospel of John in Greek Gospel Lectionaries from the Middle Byzantine Period (8th – 11th century). A dissertation submitted to the University of Birmingham for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. [Birmingham], 2009. P. 624)

11 One more type of the Church Slavonic lectionary features liturgical readings for every day in the Eastertide. Only one copy of it, called as Easter-Sunday aprakos (*l*ek), is extant. It is stored at the Archive of Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (A-49) and dated to the 16th century. More about this codex see: Кодов Хр. *Опис на славянските ръкописи в Библиотеката на Българската Академия на науките*, София: Изд-во на Бълг. акад. на науките, 1969. С. 49; Темчин С. Ю. Пасхально-воскресный апракос – неизвестный структурный тип славянского служебного Евангелия // Ученые записки Российского православного университета ап. Иоанна Богослова. Вып. 4. Москва, 1998. С. 61–79; Ostapczuk J. Cerkiewnosłowiański przekład liturgicznych perykop okresu Paschalnego i święta Pięćdziesiątnicy w rękopiśmiennych ewangeliarzach krótkich, Warszawa: Wyd. Nauk. Chrześcijańskiej Akademii Teologicznej w Warszawie, 2010. S. 58–61.

12 Garzaniti M. The Gospel Book. P. 41.

13 The Saturday-Sunday lectionary (*l*sk) has pericopes only for Saturdays and Sundays in the whole Synaxarion, i.e. even from the Easter until the Holy Pentecost. It can feature pericopes for some weekdays in the Synaxarion that are of great theological and liturgical importance (for example, Thursday and Friday of the Holy Week).

deduce – as it has been sometimes stated[14] – that the Turov Gospel, without any doubt, represents a short lectionary (*l*esk), known in the Slavonic tradition as a *kratkiy aprakos.* This lectionary's type provides in the first cycle of Synaxarion, i.e. in the Paschaltide, liturgical readings for seven days of a week, and in the two following, i.e. Pentecostal and New Year cycles, – only for Saturdays and Sundays, as the 11th-century manuscript in question does.

The following table illustrates all liturgical Gospel readings extant in the Turov Gospel, as compared with the consulted short lectionaries and relevant literature on this topic[15]. The first column indicates the day when the pericope is supposed to be recited, the second – a traditional form of Gospel reading attested in most of consulted manuscripts, the third – the Good News' text extant in the Turov Gospel, and in the fourth – the folios with respective pericopes that can be found in this codex.

Identification of the structural type of each codex to be analysed is normally a precondition for a scholarly research. A textual analysis of any manuscript or an early printed book should employ all available copies of the same typological type, as this is the only way to determine the place and significance of the codex in question in a typologically homogeneous group of manuscripts. Bringing other structural types of codices into consideration also has its advantages. It creates possibility of obtaining a more general view of the matter or reaching other specific objectives. For instance, in order to prove successfully that the scribe abbreviated a weekday lectionary to produce a short one, several other *aprakoses* of the type *l*e had been consulted[16].

---

14 For example, Сводный каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг. С. 50 (№ 10); Евангелие от Иоанна в славянской традиции / Изд. подг. А. А. Алексеев, А. А. Пичхадзе, М. Б. Бабицкая, И. В. Азарова, Е. Л. Алексеева, Е. И. Ванеева, А. М. Пентковский, В. А. Ромодановская, Т. В. Ткачева. Санкт-Петербург (Российское библейское общество), 1998. С. 78 (2nd pagination); Ostapczuk J. Cerkiewnosłowiański przekład liturgicznych perykop. S. 48; Ostapczuk J. Sobotnie i niedzielne perykopy liturgiczne z Ewangelii Mateusza w cerkiewnosłowiańskich lekcjonarzach krótkich, Warszawa: Wyd. Nauk. Chrześcijańskiej Akademii Teologicznej w Warszawi, 2013. S. 178..

This manuscript was also quite regularly described succinctly as a lectionary, without pointing to its specific structural type (Гильтебрандт П. Перечневая опись // Рукописное отделение Виленской публичной библиотеки, состоящей под августейшим покровительством его императорского высочества государя-наследника цесаревича Александра Александровича. Издание Виленской публичной библиотеки. Вып. 1. I. Церковно-славянские рукописи. II. Русские пергамены. Вильна, 1871. С. 2 (№ 1); Добрянский Ф. Описание рукописей Виленской публичной библиотеки, церковно-славянских и русских. Вильна, 1882. С. 1–6 (№ 1); Тот И. Х. Русская редакция древнеболгарского языка в конце XI – начале XII вв. София: Изд. Болгарской АН, 1985. С. 26; Garzaniti M. Die altslavische Version der Evangelien. Forschungsgeschichte und zeitgenössische Forschung. Köln; Weimar; Wien: Böhlau, 2001. S. 537).

15 Gregory C. R. *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes*, Leipzig, 1909. S. 387–464; Metzger B. M. The Saturday and Sunday Lessons from Luke in the Greek Gospel Lectionary (=Studies in the Lectionary Text of the Greek New Testament, Vol. II, No. 3), Chicago,1944; Specht W. F. The Saturday and Sunday Lessons from Matthew in the Greek Lectionary, A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Division of the Humanities in Candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Department of New Testament and Early Christian Literature, The University of Chicago, Chicago Illinois, 1955; Buck H. M. *The Johannine Lessons in the Greek Gospel Lectionary* (=Studies in the Lectionary Text of the Greek New Testament, Vol. II, No. 4), Chicago, 1958; Ostapczuk J. Sobotnie i niedzielne perykopy liturgiczne. S. 313–334 i 365–380 (with relevant literature).

16 See Ostapczuk J. Czy cerkiewnosłowiańskie ewangeliarze krótkie były kopiowane z pełnych? // Mosty mostite. Studi in onore di Marcello Garzaniti (=Biblioteca di Studia Slavistici 34), red. Alberto Alberti, Maria Chiara Ferro, Francesca Romoli, Firenze: Firenze University Press, 2016. P. 119–133.

Table 1

Liturgical Readings of the Turov Gospel

Day the pericope should be recited	Gospel readings attested in liturgical tradition[17]	Liturgical readings extant in the Turov Gospel	Folios with pericopes to be found
1. The Easter Cycle			
Thursday, 5th week	J 9, 39–10, 9	...J 10, 1–9	1–1v
Friday, 5th week	J 10, 17–28 (or 17–30)	J 10, 17–20....	1v
Tuesday, 6th week	J 12, 19–36	...J 12, 27–34....	2
2. Pentecostal cycle (Matthew's)			
Saturday, 16th week	Mt 24, 34–44[18]	...Mt 24, 40–44	3
Sunday, 16th week	Mt 25, 14–29 (or 14–30)[19] and Mt 11, 15 [20]	Mt 25, 14–29	3–3v and 4–4v
Saturday, 17th week	Mt 25, 1–13	+	4v–5v
Sunday, 17th week	Mt 15, 21–28	+	5v–6v
3. New Year cycle (Luke's)			
Saturday, 1st week	Lk 4, 31–36	+	6v–7v
Sunday, 1st week	Lk 5, 1–11	+	7v–8v
Saturday, 2nd week	Lk 5, 17–26	+	8v–9v
Sunday, 2nd week	Lk 6, 31–36	+	9v–10
Saturday, 3rd week	Lk 5, 27–32	+	10–10v
Sunday, 3rd week	Lk 7, 11–16	Lk 7, 11–12...	10v

Once the typological classification of the Turov Gospel Lectionary has been established, or more precisely, has been reassured, the corpus of manuscripts consulted in this study can be presented.

17 Minor variations (i.e. omission from one up to three verses in the middle of the Gospel pericope) caused by *homoioarcton* or *homoioteleuton* were not presented here.

18 See Ostapczuk J. Sobotnie i niedzielne perykopy liturgiczne. S. 317, 328.

19 See Ibid. S. 317.

20 This additional verse is in verbatim correspondence with Lk 8, 8, but resembles Mt 11, 15; 13, 9 and 13, 43, Mark 4, 9 and 4, 23, as well as Lk 14, 35. It is hardly possible that in the second cycle of synaxarion, where in short lectionaries only fragments from the Gospel of Mathew occur, one verse was borrowed from the Gospel of Luke. Thus, one can suppose that this verse, which is attested additionally in some manuscripts at the end of the pericope for the 11th Sunday after the Holy Pentecost (Mt 18, 23-35), stems from one of three above-mentioned places of the first Gospel, most probably Mt 11, 15.

This additional verse is also attested in the Greek lectionaries (see Specht W. F. The Saturday and Sunday Lessons from Matthew. P. 23).

Sources of Textual and Liturgical Studies

In order to obtain objective results in any study, it is required to use as many sources as possible, preferably all of the same structural type. Thus, the liturgical and textual analyses of the Turov Gospel – the subjects of the next two sections of the present publication – are based on all, with one exception, short Cyrillic and Glagolitic Church Slavonic Gospel lectionaries.

Sixty-five short lectionaries (*l*esk)[21] were consulted in this study[22]. Here they are enumerated in a chronological order[23]: Vt-pal[24], As, Os, Ar, SK, Mk, Pg-11, Rl-13, Qv-23, Mu, Pt, RA-816, Pl, Je, NR, Vl, Kb, Kx, Es, Fl-99, Ab-5, Li-680, Nk-2, Pn-4, Qv-26, Qv-43, Tp-12, Rm-108, KM-508, Qv-59, KM-849, Xl-31, DC-3, Rm-107, Sn-401, Vc, Ut-89, Fl-108, SA-2, Pg-16, Tp-10, Sn-64, Cd-1, Cr-236, Sv-17, Eg-108, KB-1, AR-6, CU, KM-512, Tl, Fl-120, Pc-27, Pc-26, BN-496, Pr-326, OR, St, Ćr-4, Lu, HB-452, AR-354, CL, Fl-395 and Zg-16. Only one lectionary of this structural type was not consulted in this study (Sn-8)[25], although its structural type was clearly affirmed in the past.

Four other consulted codices. i.e. B(n), F(l)-13, A(b)-7 and K(M)-111, could stem from short (*l*esk) or Saturday-Sunday (*l*sk) Gospel lectionaries. Four manuscripts, i.e. Sv(r), AR(m)-676, Qv(t)-1a and KM(f)-868, could have been originally part of short (*l*esk) or long (*l*e) lectionaries. One manuscript, i.e. P(at)-307, the single or double folios of which are preserved in various repositories of several countries, is a lectionary; the structural type of it – due to heavy losses – is not possible to be established, even approximately. Since all nine of the listed in this paragraph codices, with greater or lesser losses, could have been originally part of short lectionaries (*l*esk), they were to be consulted in the present study.

Thus, the liturgical and textual analyses of the Turov Gospel – which are the subject of the next two sections – were based on a total number of seventy-four Church Slavonic lectionaries.

---

21 Most of the consulted lectionaries featured only Gospel pericopes (*l*esk), while several of them had also Apostle fragments preceding Gospel pericopes (*l*$^{+a}$esk). The second type of the lectionary is usually called *Apostoloevagnelion* (Ostapczuk J. Sobotnie i niedzielne perykopy liturgiczne. S. 173–196).

22 For the sources consulted in other studies see Garzaniti, M. The Gospel Book. P. 42.

23 Also, in next paragraphs and sections of this publication, all manuscripts are enumerated in a chronological order. Only in bibliography all consulted manuscripts are arranged according to alphabetical order.

24 For the purposes of the present publication, the system of manuscript abbreviations of the Gospels developed by L. P. Zhukovskaya was adapted (for details see Жуковская Л. П. Типология рукописей дренерусского полного апракоса XI–XIV вв. в связи с лингвистическим изучением их // Памятники древнерусской письменности. Язык и текстология. Москва, 1968. С. 314–332). According to it, festival lectionaries have a one-letter abbreviation, short – a two-letter abbreviation, and weekdays – a three-letter abbreviation. As more than one manuscript was kept in the same collection, additional information was added after the hyphen to identify the specific manuscript, e.g. Qv-23, Qv-43, KM-508, KM-849, Rm-107, Rm-108, etc. The extant fragments of some manuscripts, e.g. AR(m)-676, KM(f)-868, contain only the pericopes of the Easter cycle, so these codices may come from a short or long lectionary. For this reason, their abbreviation is written in two letters with a third one in brackets. This abbreviation indicates that the fragmentary manuscript may have originally belonged to a long or short lectionary.

25 This manuscript, dated to the 15th century, is kept at the Russian State Historical Archive (RGIA) in Synodal Collection (op. 1), shelf number 8.

Liturgical Analysis

The term 'lectionary' applied to the Turov Gospel manuscript points that this codex contains pericopes and was produced for use in religious services. Thus, it reflects the liturgical tradition of reciting the Gospel readings in the Orthodox Church.

Presented in a tabular form in the first part of this publication comparison of Gospel readings, attested in the consulted short lectionaries (*l*esk) and in scholarly publications based on Greek and Church Slavonic manuscripts[26], as well as in the Turov Gospel, proves that this 11th-century lectionary closely follows the liturgical tradition of the Orthodox Church.

The pericope[27] for **Thursday of the 5th week after Easter**, partially extant in the Turov Gospel as J 10, 1–9, with the lost beginning (i.e. verses 9, 39–41), can be treated as indirectly attested in fifty-eight short *aprakoses*[28] (As, Vt-pal, Os, Ar, Mk, Pg-11, Rl-13, Qv-23, Pt, RA-816, Mu, Vl[29], Je, NR, Kb[30], Kx[31], Es, Fl-99, Li-680, Nk-2, Pn-4, Qv-26, KM-508, Qv-59, KM-849, Ab-5, Xl-31, DC-3, Rm-107, Sn-401, Vc, Ut-89[32], Fl-108, SA-2, Tp-10, Pg-16, Sn-64, Cd-1, Cr-236, Eg-108, KB-1, AR-6, CU, KM-512, Fl-120, Tl, Pc-27, Pc-26, BN-496, Pr-326[33], OR, Ćr-4, St, Zg-16, HB-452, AR-354, CL, Fl-395), as well as in three other manuscripts that could have been originally part of short or long lectionaries (i.e. Sv(r)[34], AR(m)-676 and Qv(t)-1a) and in one more, extant only partially (i.e. P(at)-307)[35].

The pericope for **Friday of the 5th week after Easter**, partially extant in the Turov Gospel as J 10, 17–20, with the lost ending (i.e. verses 10, 21–28 or 10, 21–30[36]), can be treated as indirectly attested in fifty-seven short *aprakoses*[37] (As, Vt-pal, Os, Ar, Mk, Pg-11, Rl-13, Qv-23, Pt, RA-816, Mu, Vl[38], Je, NR, Kb, Kx, Es, Fl-99, Li-680, Nk-2, Pn-4, Qv-26, KM-508, Qv-59, KM-849, Ab-5, Xl-31, DC-3, Rm-107, Sn-401, Vc, Fl-108, SA-2, Tp-10,

26 Ostapczuk J. Sobotnie i niedzielne perykopy liturgiczne. S. 313–334 and 365–380.

27 The Turov lectionary features only Gospel pericopes for Divine Liturgies. There are no readings for Sunday Orthros, Vigils, Hours or other services.

28 In one short lectionary (Qv-43), an extant fragment of the Gospel pericope for Thursday of the 5th week after Easter (i.e. 9, 39–41...) does not allow to draw any definitive conclusion in this case.

29 In Vl, only part of this Gospel reading is extant, i.e. ...10, 1–9.

30 In Kb, only part of this Gospel reading is extant, i.e. ...10, 4–9.

31 In Kx, only part of this Gospel reading is extant, i.e. ...10, 9.

32 In Ut-89, only part of this Gospel reading is extant, i.e. 9, 39–10, 8...

33 In Pr-326, only part of this Gospel reading is extant, i.e. …10, 9.

34 In Sv(r), only part of this Gospel reading is extant, i.e. ...10, 3–9.

35 In P(at)-307, only part of this Gospel reading is extant, i.e. ...10, 4–9.

36 The Gospel pericope in the form J 10, 17–30 was attested only in 10 short lectionaries consulted, i.e. in Vt-pal, Ar, RA-816, Mu, Es, Pn-4, SA-2, KM-512, Pc-26 and BN-496. In Qv-43 only the ending of this reading is extant, i.e., …10, 29-30, and in Pt omission of verses 28-29 is attested.

37 In one short lectionary (Tp-12), an extant fragment of the Gospel pericope for Friday of the 5th week after Easter (i.e. …10, 27–28) does not allow to draw any definitive conclusion in this case.

38 In Vl, only part of this Gospel reading is extant, i.e. 10, 17–27…

Pg-16, Sn-64, Cd-1, Cr-236, Eg-108, KB-1, AR-6, CU, KM-512, Fl-120, Tl, Pc-27, Pc-26, BN-496, Pr-326, OR, Ćr-4, St, Zg-16, HB-452, AR-354, CL and Fl-395) and in four other manuscripts that could have been originally part of short or long lectionaries (i.e. Sv(r)[39], AR(m)-676, Qv(t)-1a and KM(f)-868).

The pericope for **Tuesday of the 6th week after Easter**, partially extant in the Turov Gospel as J 12, 27–34, with the lost beginning (i.e. verses 12, 19–26) and ending (i.e. verses 19, 35-36), can be treated as indirectly attested in fifty-five short *aprakoses* (As, Vt-pal, Os, Ar, Mk, Rl-13, Qv-23, Pt, RA-816, Mu, NR, Kb[40], Kx, Es, Fl-99, Nk-2, Pn-4, Qv-26, Qv-43, Tp-12, KM-508, Qv-59, KM-849, Ab-5, Xl-31[41], DC-3, Rm-107, Sn-401, Vc, Fl-108, SA-2, Tp-10, Pg-16, Sn-64, Cd-1, Cr-236, Eg-108, KB-1, AR-6[42], CU, KM-512, Fl-120, Tl, Pc-27, Pc-26, BN-496, Pr-326, OR, St, Ćr-4, Zg-16, HB-452, AR-354, CL and Fl-395) and in one manuscript that could have been originally part of a short or long lectionary (i.e. KM(f)-868).

Only in one manuscript, i.e. Pg-11 (previously dated in the range of the beginning of the 12th century – beginning of the 13th century and now re-dated to the 11th century)[43], the Gospel reading in the form of J 12, 19-36 is prescribed for Monday of the 6th week after Easter, while the traditional pericope for Monday of this week (i.e. J 11, 47–54) is supposed to be recited on Tuesday. Such a transposition of pericopes for adjacent days occurs relatively often in various cycles of a synaxarion in short and other structural types of lectionaries[44]. Another anomaly in the form of Gospel reading related to J 12, 19–36 was attested in Je (dated to the middle of the 13th century), where the shorter Gospel reading, i.e. J 12, 19–27, is attested for Tuesday of the 6th week after Easter. Verses missing from the traditional form of this pericope, i.e. J 12, 28–36, precede the common reading for the following day, i.e. Wednesday, in the widely known form, i.e. J 12, 36–47.

39 In Sv(r), only part of this Gospel reading is extant, i.e. 10, 17–26...

40 In Kb, only part of this Gospel reading is extant, i.e. ...12, 32–36.

41 In Xl-31, only part of this Gospel reading is extant, i.e. ...12, 30–36.

42 In AR-6, only part of this Gospel reading is extant, i.e. ...12, 26–36.

43 Alberti A. RNB. Pogodin. 11 e lat tradizione testuale dei vangeli slavi. Le variant testuali e lessicali e confront // Studi Slavici. Rivista dell'Associazione Italiana degli Slavisti. 2022. XIX, 1. P. 203 (та цитована література); Молков Г. Особенности языка и письма Погодинского евангелия (РНБ, ПОГОД. 11) // Die Welt der Slaven: Internationale Halbjahresschrift für Slavistik. 2016. Jahr. 61(2). S. 230–231, 248, 250.

44 See Темчин С. Ю. Было ли краткоапракосное Евангелие первой славянской книгой, переведенной с греческого // Исследования по славянскому историческому языкознанию: памяти проф. Г. А. Хабургаева, ред. Б. А. Успенский, М. Н. Шевелева. Москва: Изд-во МГУ, 1993. С. 24–47; Темчин С. Ю. Пасхально-воскресный апракос. С. 72; Темчин С. Ю. Исследования по кирилло-мефодиевистике и палеославистике (=Krakowsko-Wileńskie Studia Slawistyczne, T. 5), Kraków, 2010. С. 89; Ostapczuk J. Sobotnie i niedzielne perykopy liturgiczne. S. 330–331.

The pericope for **Saturday of the 16th week after the Holy Pentecost**[45]**,** partially extant in the Turov Gospel as Mt 24, 40–44, with a lost beginning (verses 24, 34–39), can be treated as indirectly attested in fifty-six short *aprakoses*[46] (Vt-pal, As[47], Os, Ar, Mk, Pg-11, Rl-13, Pt, RA-816, Mu, Pl, Je, NR, Kx, Es, Fl-99, Ab-5, Li-680, Nk-2, Pn-4, Qv-26, Qv-43, Tp-12, KM-508, DC-3[48], Rm-107, Rm-108, Qv-59, Xl-31, Vc, Fl-108, SA-2, Pg-16, Tp-10, Sn-64, Cd-1, Cr-236, Sv-17, Eg-108, KB-1, CU, KM-512, Tl, Fl-120, Pc-27, Pc-26, BN-496, Pr-326, OR, St, Ćr-4, Lu, HB-452, AR-354, CL and Fl-395) and in three other manuscripts that could have come from the short or Saturday-Sunday lectionaries (i.e. F(l)-13, A(b)-7 and K(M)-111).

Only in one short *aprakos* (i.e. Zg-16) this Gospel reading has at its end three additional verses (i.e. 45–47). Their presence can be caused by the fact that the scribe used the Tetraevangelion for production of this codex[49]. Also in one manuscript, i.e. Sn-401 (dated to the 1st half of the 14th century), this day with its liturgical Gospel reading was completely omitted[50].

The pericope for **Sunday of the 16th week after the Holy Pentecost** in the form Mt 25, 14–29, which is intact in the Turov Gospel, was attested in thirty-seven short *aprakoses*[51] (Vt-pal, Os, Mk, Pt, RA-816, Mu, Je, Pl, NR, Kx, Fl-99, Ab-5, Nk-2, Qv-26, Qv-43, Rm-108, Qv-59, Xl-31, Vc, Pg-16, Tp-10, Cd-1, Sv-17^{I}, Eg-108, KB-1, CU, KM-512^{I}, Tl, Pc-27, BN-496, Pr-326, OR, Lu, HB-452, AR-354, CL and Fl-395)[52] and in three other manuscripts that could have been originally part of the short or Saturday-Sunday

45 For the analysis of forms of Saturday and Sunday liturgical Gospel pericopes after the Holy Pentecost in the short lectionaries see Ostapczuk J. Sobotnie i niedzielne perykopy liturgiczne. S. 313–334.

46 In one short lectionary (SK), an extant fragment of the Gospel pericope for this day (i.e. 24, 34-37…) does not allow to draw any definitive conclusion in this case.

47 In As, only part of this Gospel reading is extant, i.e. 24, 34–40...

48 In DC-3, only part of this pericope is provided (i.e. 24, 34–36 and 44), which was supplemented with information where the rest of it is to be found.

49 Ostapczuk J. Sobotnie i niedzielne perykopy liturgiczne. S. 332–333.

50 Omission of Gospel readings was also attested in other cycles of the short lectionaries (see Темчин С. Ю. Исследования по кирилло-мефодиевистике и палеославистике. С. 88).

51 In case of this day, two consulted short lectionaries (Sv-17 and KM-512) attest complexity of the liturgical tradition. They have the reference for the Gospel reading supplemented with verses that commence and close this pericope (marked in the present study as Sv-17^{I} and KM-512^{I}) with a full text of the Gospel pericope (marked as Sv-17^{II} and KM-512^{II}) writen after the indication и то приложи (‘and add this’).

52 Three short manuscripts (Vt-pal, Je and KM-512^{I}) feature the reference for this Gospel reading with fragments of the commencing and closing verses (i.e. Mt 25, 14 and 25, 29). In Sv-17^{I}, only the reference is present, while all Gospel verses, even their fragments, are completely missing. In the first two cycles of Synaxarion, Sv-17 and KM-512 are textually and liturgically related, as was already proved in the textual studies (Ostapczuk J. Cerkiewnosłowiański przekład Ewangelii Mateusza w okresie po święcie Pięćdziesiątnicy w serbskich apostołach-ewangeliarzach krótkich Sv-17 i KM-512 (rękopis nr 17 ze zbioru P.I. Sewastjanowa (f. 270) Rosyjskiej Biblioteki Narodowej w Moskwie oraz nr 512 Biblioteki Narodowej św. Cyryla i Metodego w Sofii) // Slavistica Vilnensis: Kalbotyra. 2012. T. 57, № 2. P. 15–32; Ostapczuk J. Perykopy liturgiczne okresu po święcie Pięćdziesiątnicy w dwu serbskich apostołachewangeliarzach krotkich (Sv-17 i KM-512) // Rocznyk teologiczny / Chrześcijańska akademia teologiczna w Warszawie. 2012. R. LIV, z. 1–2. S. 31–67).

lectionaries (i.e. F(l)-13, A(b)-7 and K(M)-111). This pericope can be treated as indirectly attested in four other codices (Ar[53], Rl-13[54], AR-6[55] and B(n)[56]).

Almost one third of all short lectionaries as a Gospel reading for Sunday of the 16th week after the Holy Pentecost attests the form Mt 25, 14–30, i.e. the traditional pericope for this day, expanded with one subsequent verse (Mt 25, 30). This form of the Gospel reading is attested in nineteen consulted short *aprakoses* (Pg-11, Es, Li-680, Pn-4, Tp-12, KM-508, DC-3 Rm-107, Fl-108, SA-2, Sn-64, Cr-236, Sv-17II, KM-512II, Fl-120, Pc-26, St, Ćr-4 and Zg-16)[57]. This form of the Gospel reading does not differ significantly from the traditional pericope for this day and thus can indirectly attest in favour of the one that is present in the Turov Gospel and in thirty-seven short lectionaries.

The Gospel reading for Sunday of the 16th week after the Holy Pentecost in the Turov Gospel Lectionary features one additional[58] verse (Mt 11, 15)[59], an exhortation[60]. Presence of this verse was attested in most of consulted codices, i.e. forty-five manuscripts[61], while its absence – in thirteen[62] only.

Only in one manuscript, i.e. Sn-401 (dated to the 1st half of the 14th century), this day with its liturgical Gospel fragment was completely omitted.

The presence of pericopes for **Saturday and Sunday** of the **17th week after the Holy Pentecost** was attested in the Turov Gospel Lectionary, as well as in most of consulted manuscripts[63]. However, they are absent from ten short lectionaries (Fl-99, Li-680, Pn-4, Qv-26, Rm-108, SA-2, Fl-120*[64], BN-496, Pr-326 and Lu) and one other manuscript (B(n)). In one short lectionary (i.e. Rm-107) the presence of these two Gospel readings can be only presupposed. This conclusion is based on the liturgical information in f. 48*v* "Saturday 17th, Gospel from Matthew" (ѕ҃ѵ ѕ҃ı. ѥѵ҃а ѿ мѳ҃а) and bits of ripped out page(s).

53 In Ar, only part of this Gospel reading is extant, i.e. 25, 14–28...

54 In Rl-13, only part of this Gospel reading is extant, i.e. 25, 14–21...

55 In AR-6, only part of this Gospel reading is extant, i.e. …25, 23–29.

56 In B(n), only part of this Gospel reading is extant, i.e. …25, 23–29.

57 Two short lectionaries (Pg-11 and DC-3) feature only the reference for this Gospel reading supplemented with fragments of the commencing and closing verses (i.e. Mt 25, 14 and 25, 30).

58 This additional verse was also attested in one short *aprakos* (Je). It was appended to the end of the pericope for the 11th Sunday after the Holy Pentecost.

59 As the source of this additional verse, Mt 11, 15 is sometimes indicated. Several other places in the Gospel of Matthew (13, 9 and 13, 43) and Mark (4, 9 and 4, 23), as well as Luke (14, 35), have a very similar expression.

60 Burns Y. A Comparative Study of the Weekday Lection Systems Found in Some Greek and Early Slavonic Gospel Lectionaries. Thesis submitted to the University of London for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, London, 1975. P. 121–122.

61 I.e. Vt-pal, Tu, Os, Mk, B(n), F(l)-13, Pt, RA-816, Mu, Pl, NR, Kx, Fl-99, Ab-5, Li-680, Nk-2, Qv-26, Qv-43, Rm-107, Rm-108, Qv-59, Xl-31, Vc, Tp-10, Sn-64, Cd-1, Sv-17I, Eg-108, KB-1, AR-6, CU, KM-512I, Tl, Fl-120, Pc-27, BN-496, Pr-326, OR, St, Lu, Zg-16, HB-452, AR-354, CL and Fl-395.

62 I.e. Pg-11, Es, Pn-4, Tp-12, KM-508, DC-3, Fl-108, SA-2, Cr-236, Sv-17II, KM-512II, Pc-26 and Ćr-4.

63 The study of these two Gospel pericopes, their presence and form, in the short lectionaries occupies a whole chapter (3.4) in the monograph. See Ostapczuk J. Sobotnie i niedzielne perykopy liturgiczne. S. 365–380.

64 In Fl-120, these two Gospel readings were not originally included, however they were later written on additional leaves and binded into the manuscript.

One manuscript, i.e. Mk, has only the following reference related to these two pericopes: сбⷮ҂ ѕ҃ı и нᴬє ѕ҃ı ѿ мдⷭ иɯ̑й на кᵒнцы. The forms of these two Gospel readings, for the 17th week, is not possible to be established, as the end of this manuscript has been lost and no Gospel verses follow this liturgical information.

The pericope for **Saturday of the 17th week after the Holy Pentecost** in the form Mt 25, 1–13, which is fully preserved in the Turov Gospel, was also attested in forty-four short *aprakoses* (Vt-pal, Tu, Os, Pg-11, Pt, RA-816, Mu, Pl, Je, NR, Kx, Es, Ab-5, Nk-2, Qv-43, Tp-12, KM-508, DC-3, Qv-59, Xl-31, Sn-401, Vc, Fl-108, Pg-16, Tp-10, Sn-64, Cd-1, Cr-236, Sv-17, Eg-108, KB-1, AR-6, KM-512, Tl, Fl-120^{supp}, Pc-27, OR, St, Ćr-4, Zg-16, HB-452, AR-354, CL and Fl-395)[65] and in three other manuscripts that could have been originally part of the short or Saturday-Sunday lectionaries (i.e. F(l)-13[66], A(b)-7 and K(M)-111). This pericope can be treated as indirectly attested in one additional short *aprakos* (CU)[67].

Only in one short lectionary (i.e. Pc-26) the reference to this Gospel reading, indicating October 14th (иɯи wктє҃ д҃ı) as the place where it is to be found, is attested.

The pericope for **Sunday of the 17th week after the Holy Pentecost** in the form Mt 15, 21-28, which is intact in the Turov Gospel, was also attested in forty-three short *aprakoses* (Vt-pal, Os, Pg-11, Pt, RA-816, Mu, Je, Pl, NR, Kx, Es, Ab-5, Nk-2, Qv-43, Tp-12, KM-508, DC-3, Qv-59, Xl-31, Sn-401, Vc, Fl-108, Pg-16, Tp-10, Sn-64, Cd-1, Cr-236, Sv-17, Eg-108, KB-1, AR-6, KM-512, Tl, Fl-120^{supp}, Pc-27, Pc-26, OR, St, Ćr-4, Zg-16, HB-452, AR-354 and Fl-395)[68] and in three other manuscripts that could have been originally part of short or Saturday-Sunday lectionaries (i.e. F(l)-13, A(b)-7 and K(M)-111)[69].

Only in one manuscript (i.e. CL) the Gospel reading for this Sunday was completely omitted, despite the presence of the pericope for the previous Saturday.

In the Turov Gospel Lectionary in f. 6*v*, there is a liturgical information, eight lines long, concerning the early Easter and application of Saturday and Sunday periocopes of the 17th week after the Holy Pentecost at the end of the New Year cycle. This information or a relevant text is present only in ten short lectionaries (Pg-11, RA-816, NR, Qv-43, DC-3,

65 In three manuscripts (i.e. KM-508, Sv-17 and KB-1), only the reference for this Gospel reading and a fragment of the verse commencing the perciope (i.e. Mt 25, 1) are attested.

In eight manuscripts (i.e. Vt-pal, Pg-11, Mu, Je, DC-3, Qv-59, Xl-31 and KM-512), only the reference for this Gospel reading and fragments of two verses (i.e. Mt 25, 1 and 13) are attested.

66 In F(l)-13, only the reference for this Gospel reading and a fragment of Mt 25, 1 are attested.

67 In CU, only part of this Gospel reading is extant, i.e. 25, 1–10...

68 In two manuscripts (i.e. Mu and Ab-5), only the reference for this Gospel reading and a fragment of the verse commencing the perciope (i.e. Mt 15, 21) are attested.

69 In K(M)-111, only part of this Gospel reading is extant, i.e. 15, 21–26...28.

Qv-59, Xl-31, Sv-17, KM-512 and Fl-120)[70]. Eight consulted short *aprakoses* (As, SK, Rl-13, Qv-23, KM-508, Rm-107, CU and Lu) have a lacuna in this part of manuscripts. In the Turov Gospel, as in most of consluted Church Slavonic short lectionaries, no liturgical reading for the weekdays in the week preceding Saturday of the 1st week of the New Year was attested. Only three younger codices are exceptions to this. Two of them, i.e. Sn-64 and Cd-1, feature only one Gospel pericope intended to be recited on Monday (Lk 3, 19–22), and one, i.e. Zg-16, attests readings for all five weekdays of this week (Monday: Lk 3, 19–22; Tuesday: Lk 3, 23-4, 1; Wednesday: Lk 4, 1–15, Thursday: Lk 4, 16–22 and Friday: Lk 4, 22–30). Worthy of mention is a fact that also the Eusebius Gospel (Es) features the pericope assigned to Thursday (Lk 4, 16–22), the origin of which is unclear as compared with the two examples above.

The pericope for **Saturday of the 1st week of the New Year** cycle in the form Lk 4, 31–36, which is fully preserved in the Turov Gospel, was also attested in fifty-four short *aprakoses* (Vt-pal, As, Os, Mk, Pg-11, Mu, Pt, RA-816, Pl, Je, NR, Kx, Es, Fl-99, Ab-5, Li-680, Nk-2, Pn-4, Qv-26, Qv-43, Tp-12, Rm-108, Qv-59, Xl-31, DC-3, Rm-107, Vc, Fl-108, SA-2, Pg-16, Tp-10, Sn-64, Cd-1, Cr-236, Sv-17, Eg-108, KB-1, AR-6, KM-512, Tl, Fl-120, Pc-27, Pc-26, BN-496, Pr-326, OR, St, Ćr-4, Lu, HB-452, AR-354, CL, Fl-395 and Zg-16) and in three other manuscripts that could have been originally part of short or Saturday-Sunday lectionaries (i.e. B(n), F(l)-13 and A(b)-7). This pericope can be treated as indirectly attested in two additional short *aprakoses* (Qv-23[71] and Vl[72]), as well as in K(M)-111[73].

Only in one manuscript, i.e. KB-1 (dated to the end of the 14th – the beginning of the 15th century), as a liturgical Gospel reading for this day Mt 15, 21–28, a traditional pericope for Sunday of the 17th week after the Holy Pentecost was written[74]. Another anomaly in the Gospel reading for this Saturday was attested in Sn-401 (dated to the 1st half of the 14th century), where Lk 5, 1–11 – a traditional pericope for the next day, i.e. Sunday, was provided.

The pericope for **Sunday of the 1st week of the New Year** cycle in the form Lk 5, 1–11, which is fully preserved in the Turov Gospel, was also attested in fifty-

70 In Dc-3 and Fl-120, the liturgical information recorded in this place follows a completely different tradition, even in case of Fl-120 that textually is closely related to Sv-17 and KM-512 (Ostapczuk, J. 2014. The corrected Gospel's text in a Slavic manuscript from the National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg F.p.I.120 in the Light of lesk Lectionaries // Slavia 83(3). P. 294–309).

71 In Qv-23, only part of this Gospel reading is extant, i.e. …4, 34–36.

72 In Vl, only part of this Gospel reading is extant, i.e. …4, 35–36.

73 In K(M)-111, only part of this Gospel reading is extant, i.e. …4, 33–36.

74 A transposition of adjacent Gospel readings was also attested in other cycles of Synaxarion in short *aprakoses* (see Burns Y. A Comparative Study. P. 102–103, Темчин С. Ю. Было ли краткоапракосное Евангелие первой славянской книгой. С. 24–47; Темчин С. Ю. Пасхально-воскресный апракос. С. 72; Темчин С. Ю. Исследования по кирилло-мефодиевистике и палеославистике. S. 89; Ostapczuk J. Sobotnie i niedzielne perykopy liturgiczne. S. 330–331).

three short *aprakoses* (As, Os, Mk, Pg-11, Qv-23, Mu, Pt, RA-816, Pl, Je, NR, Vl, Kx, Es, Fl-99, Ab-5, Li-680, Nk-2, Pn-4, Qv-26, Qv-43, Tp-12, Rm-108, Qv-59, Xl-31, DC-3, Rm-107, Vc, Fl-108, Pg-16, Tp-10, Sn-64, Cd-1, Cr-236, Sv-17, Eg-108, KB-1, KM-512, Tl, Fl-120, Pc-27, Pc-26, BN-496, Pr-326, OR, St, Ćr-4, Lu, HB-452, AR-354, CL, Fl-395 and Zg-16) and in three other manuscripts that could stem from short or Saturday-Sunday lectionaries (i.e. B(n), F(l)-13 and A(b)-7). This pericope can be treated as indirectly attested in two additional short *aprakoses* (SA-2[75] and AR-6[76]), as well as in K(M)-111[77].

Only in one manuscript, i.e. Sn-401, as a liturgical Gospel reading for this day Lk 4, 38–44, a traditional pericope for Monday of the 1st week of the New Year cycle was written.

The pericope for **Saturday of the 2nd week of the New Year** cycle in the form Lk 5, 17–26, which is fully preserved in the Turov Gospel, was also attested in fifty-four short *aprakoses* (As, Os, Mk, Pg-11, Qv-23, Mu, Pt, RA-816, Pl, Je, NR, Vl, Kx, Es, Fl-99, Ab-5, Li-680, Nk-2, Pn-4, Qv-26, Qv-43, Tp-12, KM-508, Rm-108, Qv-59, Xl-31, DC-3, Rm-107, Vc, Fl-108, Pg-16, Tp-10, Sn-64, Cd-1, Cr-236, Sv-17, Eg-108, KB-1, KM-512, Tl, Fl-120, Pc-27, Pc-26, BN-496, Pr-326, OR, St, Ćr-4, Lu, HB-452, AR-354, CL, Fl-395 and Zg-16) and in three other manuscripts that could have been originally part of short or Saturday-Sunday lectionaries (i.e. B(n), F(l)-13 and A(b)-7). This pericope can be treated as indirectly attested in four additional short *aprakoses* (Ar[78], SK[79], Rl-13[80] and CU[81]), as well as in K(M)-111[82].

Only in one short lectionary, i.e. Sn-401, as a liturgical Gospel reading for this day Lk 6, 31–36, the traditional pericope for the following day, i.e. Sunday, was written.

The pericope for **Sunday of the 2nd week of the New Year** cycle in the form Lk 6, 31–36, which is fully preserved in the Turov Gospel, was also attested in fifty-five short *aprakoses* (As, Os, Ar, Mk, Pg-11, Rl-13, Qv-23, Mu, Pt, RA-816, Pl, Je, NR, Vl, Es, Fl-99, Ab-5, Li-680, Nk-2, Pn-4, Qv-26, Qv-43, Tp-12, KM-508, Rm-108, Qv-59, Xl-31, DC-3, Rm-107, Vc, Fl-108, SA-2, Pg-16, Tp-10, Sn-64, Cd-1, Cr-236, Eg-108, KB-1, CU, KM-512, Tl, Fl-120, Pc-27, Pc-26, Pr-326, OR, St, Ćr-4[83], Lu, HB-452, AR-354, CL, Fl-395 and Zg-16) and in four other manuscripts that could stem from short or Saturday-Sunday lectionaries (i.e. B(n), F(l)-13, A(b)-7 and K(M)-111).

75 In SA-2, only part of this Gospel reading is extant, i.e. 5, 1–8…
76 In AR-6, only part of this Gospel reading is extant, i.e. 5, 1–6…
77 In K(M)-111, only part of this Gospel reading is extant, i.e. …5, 5–8…
78 In Ar, only part of this Gospel reading is extant, i.e. …5, 19–26.
79 In SK, only part of this Gospel reading is extant, i.e. ...5, 18–26.
80 In Rl-13, only part of this Gospel reading is extant, i.e. ...5, 25–26.
81 In CU, only part of this Gospel reading is extant, i.e. …5, 23–26.
82 In K(M)-111, only part of this Gospel reading is extant, i.e. 5, 17…19–26.
83 In Ćr-4, part of the primary text of this pericope had been lost and was supplemented later in time (c. 1520).

This pericope can be treated as indirectly attested in three additional short *aprakoses* (SK[84], Kx[85] and Sv-17[86]).

Only in one manuscript, i.e. Sn-401, as a liturgical Gospel reading for this day Lk 6, 24–30, a common pericope for Monday of the 2nd week of the New Year cycle was written.

The pericope for **Saturday of the 3rd week of the New Year** cycle in the form Lk 5, 27–32, which is intact in the Turov Gospel, was also attested in fifty-three short *aprakoses* (As, Os, Ar, Mk, Pg-11, Rl-13, Qv-23, Mu, Pt, RA-816, Pl, Je, NR, Es, Fl-99, Ab-5, Li-680, Nk-2, Pn-4, Qv-26, Qv-43, Tp-12, KM-508, Rm-108, Qv-59, Xl-31, DC-3, Rm-107, Vc, Fl-108, Pg-16, Tp-10, Sn-64, Cd-1, Eg-108, KB-1, CU, KM-512, Tl, Fl-120, Pc-27, Pc-26, BN-496, Pr-326, OR, St, Ćr-4[87], Lu, HB-452, AR-354, CL, Fl-395 and Zg-16) and in four other manuscripts that could have originated from short or Saturday-Sunday lectionaries (i.e. B(n), F(l)-13, A(b)-7 and K(M)-111). This pericope can be treated as indirectly attested in two additional short *aprakoses* (Vl[88] and SA-2[89]).

In two manuscripts, i.e. Sn-401 and Cr-236 (dated to the end of the 13th – the begining of the 14th century), as a Gospel reading for this day Lk 7, 11–16, a traditional pericope for the following day, i.e. Sunday, was provided.

The pericope for **Sunday of the 3rd week of the New Year** cycle, partially extant in the Turov Gospel as Lk 7, 11–12, with the lost beginning (verses 7, 13–16), can be treated as indirectly attested in fifty-six short *aprakoses* (Vt-pal[90], As, Os, Ar, Mk, Pg-11, Rl-13, Qv-23, Mu, Pt, RA-816, Pl, Je, NR, Es, Fl-99, Ab-5, Li-680, Nk-2, Pn-4, Qv-26, Qv-43, Tp-12, KM-508, Rm-108, Qv-59, Xl-31, DC-3, Rm-107, Vc, Fl-108, SA-2, Pg-16, Tp-10, Sn-64, Cd-1, Sv-17, Eg-108, KB-1, CU, KM-512, Tl, Fl-120, Pc-27, Pc-26, BN-496, Pr-326, OR, St, Ćr-4, Lu, HB-452, AR-354, CL, Fl-395 and Zg-16) and in four other manuscripts that could have originated from short or Saturday-Sunday lectionaries (i.e. B(n), F(l)-13, A(b)-7 and K(M)-111).

Only in one manuscript, i.e. Cr-236, as a liturgical Gospel reading for this day Lk 5, 27–32, a traditional pericope for the previous day, i.e. Saturday, was written. Another anomaly was again attested in Sn-401, where for Sunday of the 3rd week of the New Year cycle a pericope in the form Lk 7, 36–50, meant to be recited on the following day, i.e. Monday, was attested.

84 In SK, only part of this Gospel reading is extant, i.e. 6, 31–35...
85 In Kx, only part of this Gospel reading is extant, i.e. 6, 31–35…
86 In Sv-17, only part of this Gospel reading is extant, i.e. 6, 31–33…
87 Ćr-4 is a manuscript with serious losses, thus some pericopes or its fragments were later supplemented (c. 1520) to recreate the lectionary that can be again used in services. Thus, in Ćr-4, the Gospel reading for Saturday of the 3rd week of the New Year cycle is an example of the mixed case. Its older part, which contains the extant text of Lk 5, 30–32, was supplemented with the text Lk 5, 27–31, as a whole previous pericope (i.e. for Sunday of the 2nd week of the New Year cycle).
88 In Vl, only part of this Gospel reading is extant, i.e. 5, 27–28…
89 In SA-2, only part of this Gospel reading is extant, i.e. …5, 31–32.
90 In Vt-pal, only part of this Gospel reading is extant, i.e. …7, 12–16.

The presented evidence proves that the liturgical tradition and forms of Gospel readings attested in the Turov lectionary closely follow the rigid structure of Slavic short lectionaries. They all share a common liturgical tradition. Merely six consulted short *aprakoses* (i.e. Pg-11, Je, KB-1, Sn-401, Cr-236 and Zg-16) prove existence of some deviations caused by the copyists' mistakes, but not the 11th century codex in question.

Almost every[91] fragment extracted from the continuous text of the Holy Writ and adopted as a liturgical pericope features an **introductive formula,** also called as an incipit. The following six appear most often[92]:

1) въ оно врѣмѧ;
2) рече господь (къ) своимъ оученикомъ;
3) рече господь къ пришьдъшиимъ къ немоу июдеомъ;
4) рече господь къ вѣровавшимъ къ немоу июдеомъ;
5) рече господъ;
6) рече господъ притъчѭ сиѭ.

Only in ten, out of thirteen[93], pericopes extant in the Turov Gospel, the introductive formulas are preserved.

The Gospel reading for Friday of the 5th week after Easter in most of consulted short lectionaries, including the Turov Lectionary, was preceded by the third introductive formula. Only in one codex, i.e. Pc-27, the fourth incipit was attested.

In the Gospel reading for Sunday of the 16th week after the Holy Pentecost[94], in most of consulted short lectionaries, including the Turov Lectionary, the sixth incipit was attested. The second introductive formula was found only in one manuscript, i.e. CL, and the fifth – in three codices, i.e. Pn-4, SA-2 and Tp-10.

The Gospel reading for Saturday of the 17th week after the Holy Pentecost in most of consulted short lectionaries, including the Turov Lectionary, was preceded by the sixth introductive formula. Only in four codices, i.e. Nk-2, KM-508, Cd-1 and Sv-17, the fifth incipit was attested.

---

91 As an example of a liturgical Gospel reading without an introductive formula, the pericope for Easter can be pointed out. See also Burns Y. A Comparative Study. P. 120.

92 Garzaniti M. Die altslavische Version der Evangelien. S. 41; The Gospel Book. S. 47; Ostapczuk J. Sobotnie i niedzielne perykopy liturgiczne. S. 295.

For the Greek forms of these introductive formulas see Gregory C. R. Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes. P. 341; Colwell E. C., Riddle D. W. Prolegomena to the Study of the Lectionary Text of the Gospels (=Studies in The Lectionary Text of the Greek New Testament, Vol. I), Chicago, 1933. P. 84; Metzger B. M. Greek Lectionaries and a Critical Edition of the Greek New Testament // Arbeiten zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung. Bd. V. Berlin; New York, 1972. S. 482–483; Burns Y. A Comparative Study. P. 122; Евангелие от Иоанна в славянской традиции. С. 6 (3rd pagination).

93 The following three liturgical pericopes in the Turov Gospel Lectionary have their beginning with an introductive formula lost: the 5th Thursday and the 6th Tuesday after Easter, as well as the 16th Saturday after the Holy Pentecost.

94 On the study of introductive formulas attested in the liturgical Gospel pericopes recited after the Holy Pentecost in short lectionaries see Ostapczuk J. Sobotnie i niedzielne perykopy liturgiczne. S. 293–311.

Four consecutive Gospel readings – i.e. for Sunday of the 17th week after the Holy Pentecost and 1st Saturday, 1st Sunday, as well as 2nd Saturday of the New Year – in all consulted short lectionaries, including the Turov Lectionary, were preceded with the first introductive formula.

In the Gospel reading for Sunday of the 2nd week of the New Year, in most of studied short lectionaries, including the Turov Lectionary, the fifth introductive formula was attested. Only in three codices, i.e. Mu, Tl and Pc-27, the second incipit was found.

The two next Gospel readings, i.e. for 3rd Saturday and Sunday of the New Year, which are the final ones in the Turov Lectionary, in all consulted short lectionaries were preceded with the first introductive formula.

The presented evidence proves that introductive formulas in the Turov Gospel rigidly follow the Church Slavonic tradition. The variations attested in some younger manuscripts[95] are originated as omission, addition or change of words in the incipits. Omission of притъчиѫ сиѫ in the sixth introductive formula caused it to be the fifth, while addition of своимъ оученикомъ turned the fifth incipit into the second. Change of one word, i.e. пришьдъшиимъ into вѣровавшимъ, caused the third incipit to be the fourth.

In the Turov *aprakos*, ten out of thirteen liturgical Gospel pericopes have the lection and the Gospel pericope identifiers extant. In all these ten cases, each time, indication of the Evangelist is followed by a respective Ammonian section number. This fact may suggest that during the composition of the Turov Gospel or its immediate antigraph – what may seem correct only at first sight, or its distant protograph predecessor[96] – what was proved to be right in this case, the scribe had at his disposal the lectionary tables, appended to the continuous text manuscripts (i.e. to Tetraevangelion). These Ammonian section numbers, which are present in the lectionaries before the beginning of the Gospel readings, stem from the lectionary tables. They were copied for a more convenient searching of the respective pericope in the continuous Good News' text original[97]. Later in time, the scribes, while copying lectionaries, could omit the Ammonian section numbers as redundant for this type of book information[98]. Thus, the Turov Gospel[99] can be considered as a close copy of its direct East Slavonic *exemplar* or antigraph that passed down the Ammonian section numbers from the distant South Slavonic (i.e. Bulgarian) protograph created on the basis of Tetraevangelion with appended lectionary tables. The scribe of the Turov

95 Only some of short lectionaries attest variations in an introductive formula (Ostapczuk J. Sobotnie i niedzielne perykopy liturgiczne. S. 311).

96 Most of lectionaries are rather copies of lectionaries, because creating this type of a book from Tetraevangelion with a lectionary table was a laborious task (Jordan Ch. R. D. The Textual Tradition of the Gospel of John. P. 337).

97 Jordan Ch. R. D. The Textual Tradition of the Gospel of John. P. 336–337..

98 Ibid. P. 337.

99 Some other short Gospel lectionaries (for example As, Os, Ar, etc.) also feature the Ammonian section numbers.

Gospel was antigraphocentric, i.e. he closely followed and copied the *exemplar* he had had at his disposal, as it was proved by S. Temčinas[100]. Antigraphocentric attitude of the Turov Gospel's scribe explains presence in the codex in question of numerous traces of the protograph, including the Ammonian section numbers.

The presence in lectionaries, which is also the case in the Turov *aprakos*, of Gospel readings for Saturday and Sunday of the 17th week after the Holy Pentecost[101] is usually considered as a later stage, although still very early, in development of the liturgical tradition of the Orthodox Church[102].

Significance of the results obtained in the liturgical study of the Turov Gospel, which is, as it was reassured, a short lectionary, is also emphasized by the fact that in this structural type of *aprakos*[103] the influence of the Typikon of the Great Church in Constantinople is evident[104].

Textual Analysis

The Turov Gospel Lectionary is an 11th century manuscript written in the East Slavonic recension of the Church Slavonic Language. It was copied from the source of the same recension and has – what was already proved[105] – a more or less distant South Slavonic (Bulgarian) origin. Only a few of short Church Slavonic lectionaries, such as Vt-pal, As, Os, Ar or SK, are dated to the 11th century. Thus, it is essential to study the text of the Turov Gospel and determine its relationship not only to codices of the same age, but to all manuscripts of the same structural type. Younger manuscripts can also feature textual variants and liturgical traditions that had originated very early and had been reflected in the oldest codices, which have been lost over the centuries.

As a manuscript of great significance for the Church Slavonic studies, the Turov Gospel Lectionary has been consulted relatively frequently for a long period of time. I. I. Sreznevsky already noted several differences in comparison with the Ostromir Gos-

100 See the article by Sergius Temchinas in this issue.

101 Analogous situation, i.e. codices with Gospel readings for seventeen or only sixteen weeks in the second part of Synaxarion, was also attested in the Greek lectionaries. See Specht W. F. The Saturday and Sunday Lessons from Matthew. P. 8–11; Burns Y. A Comparative Study. P. 51, 227, 233; Ostapczuk J. Sobotnie i niedzielne perykopy liturgiczne. S. 376–380.

102 Burns Y. A Comparative Study. P. 28; Burns Y. The Canaanitess and other additional lections in early Slavonic lectionaries // Revue des Études du Sud-Est Européennes. 1975. T. XIII, № 4. P. 526; Жуковская Л. П. Текстология и язык древнейших славянских памятников. Москва: Наука, 1976. С. 260, 285; Ostapczuk J. Sobotnie i niedzielne perykopy liturgiczne. S. 374–379.

103 Some of the Church Slavonic short lectionaries, dated even to the 16th century, have a direct indication that the system of liturgical Gospel readings agrees with one of the great churches in Constantinople. For example, in AR-354 on f. 53 there is the following information: коньча са ивѣань и нача са маѳеи. с҃ѣты и н^ела с҃тьмь ев҃ѵлиемь. ꙗко же чьтеть велика цр҃кви. ѿ пен^икостиж до великаго поста.

104 Garzaniti M. The Gospel Book. P. 49.

105 See Тот И. Х., Хоргоши Э., Хорват Г. Туровские листки // Dissertationes Slavicae. Slavistische Mitteilungen. Материалы и сообщения по славяноведению. XIII. Szeged, 1978. С. 237. See also the article by Sergius Temchinas in this issue.

pel (Os)[106]. The most noteworthy, in his opinion, was the use of the adjective иноѵадъı instead of ѥдиноѵадъı (Lk 7, 12)[107]. P. Gilterbrandt and F. Dobryansky – in their description of this codex – provided a set of significant textual readings against the Ostromir Gospel (Os), i.e. двьрникъ – вратарь (J 10, 3); клепла – ҙнаменаа (J 12, 33); въ кѫѣ стражѫ – въ кѫıа ноцьı (Mt 20, 43); подъръıти – подъкопати (Mt 24, 43); въ съıмици – въ съборици (Lk 4, 33); въҙати – отъстоупити (Lk 5, 3); въметемъ – въврьжемъ (Lk 5, 5); исполъниша – наполъниша (Lk 5, 7); сквозѣ скоудълъı – сквозѣ покровъ (Lk 5, 19); дивьна – прѣславьна (Lk 5, 26); милосрьди – милостиви (twice in Lk 6 36); мытарıа – мьҙоимьца (Lk 5, 27); велиѥ – велико (Lk 4, 33 and 5, 29)[108]. Ö. Horgosi studied these pairs of lexemes, consulting only two manuscripts (one short lectionary (Os) and one weekday *aprakos*)[109]. The Turov Lectionary was also investigated in a preliminary study of numerous Church Slavonic Gospel manuscripts for publishing of the critical edition of the Gospel of John[110]. Unfortunately, most probably due to its serious losses, contrary to the Assemani (As) and Ostromir (Os)[111] short lectionaries, it was not employed as a source of textual variants in the edition of John's and Matthew's critical editions[112].

The presented evidence proves that the previous studies of the Turov Gospel were based on a small number of manuscripts, mostly the oldest ones. None of the cited publications consulted all Gospel manuscripts of the same structural type. Neither have they examined younger codices. Thus, the diachronic textual analysis of all[113] short lectionaries allows to analyse occurrence of numerous variants and modifications in the Good News' text that have emerged from the very beginning of the Church Slavonic tradition and their distribution in younger codices of the same structural type. The present textual study will be an attempt to fill this gap.

The presented below analysis of the Church Slavonic lexemes in the Gospel text of the Turov lectionary, and its relation to other short *aprakoses*, follows the order the

106 Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки о малоизвестных и неизвестных памятниках // Записки императорской академии наук. Т. 11. Санкт-Петербург, 1867. Приложение № 2. С. 30–33. See also Гильтебрандт П. Перечневая опись. С. 2–3; Добрянский Ф. Описание рукописей Виленской публичной библиотеки. С. 2.

107 Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки. С. 33. Гильтебрандт П. Перечневая опись. С. 3; Добрянский Ф. Описание рукописей Виленской публичной библиотеки. С. 2.

108 Гильтебрандт П. Перечневая опись. С. 4; Добрянский Ф. Описание рукописей Виленской публичной библиотеки. С. 6.

109 Тот И. Х., Хоргоши Э., Хорват Г. Туровские листки. С. 231–238; Хоргоши Э. Опыт лексического и текстологического анализа Туровских листов XI века // Годишник на Софийския университет «Св. Климент Охридски». Факультет по славянски филологии. Проблеми на българистиката и славистиката. Т. 1974, 3 (1980). София, 1985. С. 67–74.

110 Евангелие от Иоанна в славянской традиции. С. 78 (2nd pagination).

111 Two more short Gospel lectionaries (i.e. SK and Ar) served as sources for textual readings in the Gospel of John (Евангелие от Иоанна в славянской традиции. С. 39–40 (1st pagination) and one additional (Qv-43) for the Gospel of Matthew (Евангелие от Матфея в славянской традиции. Изд. подготовили: А. А. Алексеев, И. В. Азарова, Е. Л. Алексеева, М. Б. Бабицкая, Е. И. Ванеева, А. А. Пичхадзе, В. А. Ромодановская, Т. В. Ткачева, Санкт-Петербург: Филфак СПбГУ, Синод. б-ка МП, Российское библейское общество, 2005. С. 10).

112 Евангелие от Иоанна в славянской традиции. С. 39–40 (1st pagination); Евангелие от Матфея в славянской традиции. С. 9–10.

113 Only one, as is already stated, short Gospel lectionary, i.e. Sn-8, was not consulted in this study.

pericopes occur in the codex in question. The Cyrillo-Methodian and Preslav lexemes were studied separately, and the esults of this analysis come next. The outcomes of the textual study of the liturgical information, present in folio 6*v* 4–11, are given in the final part of this section.

The Greek noun ὁ λῃστής, present in **J 10, 1**[114] (**5th Thursday** of the Easter cycle) in the Turov Gospel, as well as in most of consulted manuscripts[115], was translated with the noun разбоиникъ. Only in two codices, i.e. Vc and Tp-10, it was rendered, most probably due to the context, with оубоиникъ[116].

The Greek verb φωνέω (in form φωνεῖ), present in **J 10, 3**[117] (**5th Thursday** of the Easter cycle) in the Turov Gospel, as well as in most of consulted manuscripts[118], was translated as глашаетъ. Derivative forms възъглашаетъ and оглашаетъ were found in three manuscripts, the first one in Es and Ab-5, and the second in CL. Two other verbs, зоветъ and призываетъ, were also attested. The first one is in fourteen manuscripts, i.e. Ar, Pg-11, Rl-13, Pt, Tp-10, Pg-16, Cd-1, Eg-108, KB-1, AR-6, OR, Fl-395, St and Tl, and the second – only in two, i.e. Mu and HB-452.

The Greek verb ἀκολουθέω (in form ἀκολουθεῖ), present in **J 10, 4**[119] (**5th Thursday** of the Easter cycle) in the Turov Gospel, as well as most of consulted manuscripts[120], was translated with the verb идѫтъ[121]. Only three codices feature the textual variants ходатъ (Mk, Es and Pc-26) or one послѣдоуѫтъ (NR). In the Turov Gospel and most of consulted manuscripts[122], the verb идѫтъ was preceded with по немъ. Only one codex, i.e. Cr-236, features предъ нимъ, and one, i.e. NR, – емоу.

---

114 See also Евангелие от Иоанна в славянской традиции. С. 47 (1st pagination).

115 I.e. As, Vt-pal, Os, Ar, Mk, Pg-11, Rl-13, Qv-23, Pt, RA-816, Mu, Vl, Je, NR, Es, Fl-99, Li-680, Nk-2, Pn-4, Qv-26, KM-508, Qv-59, KM-849, Ab-5, Xl-31, DC-3, Rm-107, AR(m)-676, Ut-89, SA-2, Pg-16, Sn-64, Cd-1, Cr-236, Eg-108, KB-1, AR-6, CU, KM-512, Qv(t)-1a, Fl-120, Tl, Pc-27, Pc-26, BN-496, OR, Ćr-4, St, Zg-16, HB-452, AR-354, CL, Fl-395 and KM(f)-868.
In Sn-401, this passage was omitted, and Fl-108 has a lacuna in this place.

116 Textual variant ὁ φονεὐτης was not attested in the Greek sources (see Soden H. F., von. Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte. Teil II.Text mit Apparat Nebst ergänzungen zu teil I. Göttingen, 1913. S. 438).

117 See also Евангелие от Иоанна в славянской традиции. С. 47 (1st pagination).

118 I.e. As, Vt-pal, Os, Mk, Qv-23, RA-816, Je, NR, Vl, Fl-99, Li-680, Nk-2, Pn-4, Qv-26, KM-508, Qv-59, KM-849, Xl-31, DC-3, Rm-107, Sn-401, Vc, AR(m)-676, SA-2, Sn-64, KM-512, Fl-120c, Pc-26, BN-496, Ćr-4, Zg-16, AR-354 and KM(f)-868
Three codices, i.e. CU, Qv(t)-1a and Pc-27, have omitted this verb, and two, i.e. Fl-108 and Ut-89, have a lacuna in this place.

119 See also Евангелие от Иоанна в славянской традиции. С. 47 (1st pagination).

120 I.e. As, Vt-pal, Tu, Os, Ar, Pg-11, Rl-13, Qv-23, Pt, RA-816, Mu, Vl, Je, Kb, Sv(r), Fl-99, Li-680, Nk-2, Pn-4, P(at)-307KM-508, Qv-59, KM-849, Ab-5, Xl-31, DC-3, Rm-107, Sn-401, Vc, AR(m)-676, Ut-89, Fl-108, SA-2, Tp-10, Pg-16, Sn-64, Cd-1, Cr-236, Eg-108, KB-1, AR-6c, CU, KM-512, Qv(t)-1a, Fl-120, Tl, Pc-27, BN-496, Ćr-4, St, Zg-16, HB-452, AR-354, CL, Fl-395 and KM(f)-868. Qv-26 has omitted this passage.

121 One codex, i.e. OR, features ида.

122 I.e. As, Vt-pal, Tu, Os, Ar, Mk, Pg-11, Rl-13, Qv-23, Pt, RA-816, Mu, Vl, Je, Sv(r), Kb, Es, Fl-99, Li-680, Nk-2, Pn-4, KM-508, Qv-59, KM-849, Ab-5, Xl-31, DC-3, Rm-107, Sn-401, Vc, AR(m)-676, Ut-89, Fl-108, SA-2, Tp-10, Pg-16, Sn-64, Cd-1, Eg-108, KB-1, AR-6c, CU, KM-512, Qv(t)-1a, Fl-120, Tl, Pc-27, Pc-26, BN-496, OR, Ćr-4, St, Zg-16, HB-452, AR-354, CL, Fl-395 and KM(f)-868.

The Greek verb ὁράω (in the form οἴδασιν), present in **J 10, 4**[123] (**5th Thursday** of the Easter cycle), in most of the consulted manuscripts[124] was translated as вѣдать. Other variants such as знаѭтъ (in As, Qv-23, Kb, KM-512 and Pc-26) or слъıшать (Rm-107, Cr-236, Pc-27, AR-354 and CL) were also attested. In the Turov Gospel and ten short lectionaries, i.e. Ar, Pt*, Ab-5, SA-2, Cd-1, CU, OR, St, HB-452 and Fl-395, the textual variant видать was revealed. The most popular variant of this case comes from the verb вѣдѣти, while the last one seems to be based on видѣти. Although, the change of ѣ into и could also cause appearance of the reading attested in the Turov and in ten other Gospels or their *exemplars*. Thus, this textual variant in the codex in question could be treated as stemming from the one attested in most of consulted short lectionaries or a verbal translation of the verb ὁράω in the perfect form οἴδασιν. The same form of the Greek verb, i.e. οἴδασιν, present in **J 10, 5**[125] (**5th Thursday** of the Easter cycle) in the Turov Gospel and most of the consulted short lectionaries[126], was translated as знаѭтъ. Only some were attested: познаютъ (OR), and вѣдатъ (KM-512).

The Greek noun ἡ ἐξουσία, present twice in **J 10, 18**[127] (**5th Friday** of the Easter cycle) and once in **Lk 5, 24** (**2nd Saturday** of the New Year cycle), was translated in the Church Slavonic Gospel manuscripts as область or власть[128]. In V. Jagić's opinion, the first lexeme – relpaced sometimes by власть – dominates in the oldest codices[129], while in A. S. Lvov's viewpoint, they both are present from the very early times, but in their own meaning[130], i.e. to have the right or ability to do something (J 10, 18), or the power over something (Lk 5, 24)[131]. In the first case, in J 10, 18, the Turov lectionary, as well as most of consulted codices[132], feature the lexeme область, while the noun власть is present only in nine manu-

123 See also Евангелие от Иоанна в славянской традиции. С. 47 (1st pagination).

124 I.e. Os, Vt-pal, Mk, Pg-11, Rl-13, Ptc, RA-816, Mu, Je, NR, Es, Fl-99, Li-680, Nk-2, Pn-4, Qv-26, KM-508, Qv-59, KM-849, Xl-31, DC-3, Vl, Sv(r), Sn-401, Vc, AR(m)-676, Ut-89, Pg-16, Sn-64, Eg-108, KB-1, AR-6, Qv(t)-1a, Fl-120c, Tl, BN-496, Zg-16 and KM(f)-868.
One codex, i.e. Tp-10, has omitted this passage, and two, P(at)-307 and Fl-108, have a lacuna in this place.

125 See also Евангелие от Иоанна в славянской традиции. С. 47 (1st pagination).

126 I.e. As, Vt-pal, Tu, Os, Ar, Mk, Pg-11, Rl-13, Pt, Qv-23, RA-816, Mu, Vl, Je, Sv(r), NR, Kb, Es, Fl-99, Nk-2, Pn-4, P(at)-307, Qv-26, KM-508, Qv-59, KM-849, Ab-5, Xl-31, DC-3, Rm-107, Sn-401, Vc, AR(m)-676, Ut-89, SA-2, Tp-10, Pg-16, Sn-64, Cd-1, Cr-236, Eg-108, KB-1, AR-6, CU, Qv(t)-1a, Fl-120c, Tl, Pc-26, BN-496, Ćr-4, St, Zg-16, HB-452, AR-354, CL, Fl-395 and KM(f)-868.

127 See also Евангелие от Иоанна в славянской традиции. С. 48 (1st pagination).

128 Jagić V. Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Kirchenslawischen Sprache. Zweite Hälfte (=Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch – Historische Classe, B. XLVII). Wien, 1900. S. 62; Vrana J. Evolucija leksičkih varijanata u staroslavenskom prijevodu evanđelja od kraja X stoljeća do početka XIV stoljeća // Slovo: časopis Staroslavenskoga instituta u Zagrebu. 1993. Sv. 41–43. S. 11.

129 Jagić V. Entstehungsgeschichte der Kirchenslawischen Sprache, Neue berichtige und Erweiterte Ausgabe. Berlin, 1913. S. 290.

130 Львов А. С. Очерки по лексике памятников старославянской письменности. Москва: Наука, 1966. С. 69–71.

131 Ostapczuk J. Sobotnie i niedzielne perykopy liturgiczne. S. 334–335.

132 I.e. As, Os, Ar, Rl-13, Qv-23, Vl, Kx, Pt, RA-816, Mu, Je, NRsupp, Kb, Sv(r), Es, Li-680, Nk-2, Pn-4, Qv-26, Qv-59, KM-849, Ab-5, Xl-31, DC-3, Rm-107, Sn-401, Vc, AR(m)-676, Fl-108, SA-2, Pg-16, Sn-64, Cr-236, KB-1, AR-6, KM-512, Fl-120, Tl, Pc-27, BN-496, Ćr-4, OR, Zg-16, AR-354, CL and KM(f)-868.
It is omitted in six following manuscripts: Vt-pal, Mk, CU, Qv(t)-1a, Pc-26 and Pr-326.

scripts, i.e. Pg-11, Fl-99, KM-508, Tp-10, Cd-1, Eg-108, St, HB-452 and Fl-395. In the second case, in J 10, 18, the Turov lectionary, as well as most of consulted codices[133], feature the lexeme **область**, while the noun **власть** is present only in eight manuscripts, i.e. Pg-11, Mu, Fl-99, Tp-10, Eg-108, CU, St and CL. In Lk 5, 24, the Turov Gospel, as well as all other consulted short lectionaries[134], feature the lexeme **власть**. Thus, presence of two lexemes **область** or **власть** in the Turov Gospel agrees with the message of respective verses.

The Greek noun ἡ ὥρα^{II}, present in **J 12, 27**[135] (**6th Tuesday** of the Easter cycle) and **Mt 24, 42**[136] (**16th Saturday** of the Pentectostal cycle), was translated into Church Slavonic as **година**, **часъ** or **годъ**[137]. V. Jagić treated the first noun as the primary one, which was lately replaced by others[138], while A. S. Lvov pointed to using all these nouns in the oldest codices with difference in their meaning[139]. In J 12, 27, the Turov Gospel and most of consulted codices[140] feature the noun **година**, while only fourteen manuscripts, i.e. Rl-13, Mu, Je, NR, Fl-108, Cd-1, CU, KM-512, Fl-120, Pc-26, Ćr-4, Zg-16, HB-452 and KM(f)-868, have **часъ**. In Mt 24, 42, the Turov lectionary and thrity-five consulted short *aprakoses*[141] have the first noun, while twenty-one, i.e. Rl-13, Pl, Ab-5, Pn-4, Je, Tp-12, A(b)-7, KM-508, Fl-108, SA-2, Pg-16, Sn-64, K(M)-111, Sv-17, Eg-108, KM-512, Fl-120, Pc-26, St, Ćr-4 and Zg-16, feature the second lexeme.

The Greek verb σημαίνω present in **J 12, 33**[142] (**6th Tuesday** of the Easter cycle), was originally translated into Church Slavonic with the lexeme **клѣпати** and later replaced by

133 I.e. i.e. As, Vt-pal, Os, Ar, Rl-13, RA-816, Vl, Kx, Je, NRsupp, Sv(r), Es, Nk-2, Qv-26, Qv-59, KM-849, Xl-31, DC-3, Rm-107, Sn-401, Vc, AR(m)-676, Fl-108, Pg-16, Sn-64, Cr-236, AR-6, KM-512, Fl-120, Tl, Pc-27, Pc-26, Pr-326, Ćr-4, Zg-16, AR-354 and KM(f)-868.

It is omitted in fifteen following manuscripts: Qv-23, Pt, Mk, Li-680, Pn-4, Ab-5, KM-508, SA-2, Cd-1, KB-1, BN-496, Qv(t)-1a, OR, HB-452 and Fl-395. Kb has a lacuna in this place.

134 I.e. As, Os, Ar, SK, Mk, Pg-11, Qv-23, B(n), F(l)-13, Mu, Pt, RA-816, Pl, Je, NR, Vl, Kx, Es, Fl-99, Ab-5, Li-680, Nk-2, Pn-4, Qv-26, Qv-43, Tp-12, A(b)-7, KM-508, Rm-108, Qv-59, Xl-31, DC-3, Rm-107, Vc, Fl-108, Tp-10, Sn-64, Cd-1, Cr-236, K(M)-111, Sv-17, Eg-108, KB-1, CU, KM-512, Tl, Fl-120, Pc-27, Pc-26, BN-496, Pr-326, OR, St, Ćr-4, Lu, HB-452, AR-354, CL, Fl-395 and Zg-16.

In Pg-16, this passage was omitted.

135 See also Евангелие от Иоанна в славянской традиции. С. 59 (1st pagination).

136 See also Евангелие от Матфея в славянской традиции. С. 133.

137 The same Greek noun, present in Mt 24, 44, was translated as in all consulted short lectionaries – with **часъ**.

138 Jagić V. Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Kirchenslawischen Sprache. 1900. S. 64; Погорелов В. Из наблюдений в области древнеславянской переводной литературы III. Опыт изучения текста Саввиной книги // Sborník Filosofické Fakulty University Komenského v Bratislavé. 1927. R. V, č. 46. S. 119.

139 Львов А. С. Очерки по лексике памятников. С. 260–265.

140 I.e. As, Vt-pal, Os, Ar, Mt, Pg-11, Qv-23, Pt, RA-816, Es, Fl-99, Nk-2, Pn-4, Qv-26, Qv-43, Tp-12, KM-508, Qv-59, KM-849, Ab-5, DC-3, Rm-107, Sn-401, Vc, SA-2, Tp-10, Pg-16, Sn-64, Cr-236, Eg-108, KB-1, AR-6, Tl, BN-496, Pr-326, OR, St, AR-354, CL and Fl-395.

In two manuscripts, i.e. Kx and Pc-27, this noun is omitted.

141 I.e. Vt-pal, Os, Ar, Mk, Pg-11, F(l)-13, Pt, RA-816, Mu, NR, Kx, Es, Fl-99, Li-680, Nk-2, Qv-26, Qv-43, Rm-107, Rm-108, Qv-59, Xl-31, Vc, Tp-10, Cd-1, Cr-236, KB-1, CU, Tl, Pr-326, OR, Lu, HB-452, AR-354, CL and Fl-395.

In two codices, i.e. Pc-27 and BN-496, this noun is omitted.

142 See also Евангелие от Иоанна в славянской традиции. С. 59 (1st pagination).

ꙁнаменати or наꙁнаменати[143]. The Turov Gospel and thirty consulted short lectionaries[144] feature the lexeme клепати. In nine codices, i.e. Os, Mu, Kx, Nk-2, Vc, Tp-10, Sn-64, Cr-236 and Pc-26, the verb ꙁнаменати is attested, while наꙁнаменати – in fifteen manuscripts, i.e. As, Qv-23, NR^{supp}, Tp-12, KM-508, Fl-108, KB-1, CU, Pr-326, Ćr-4, Zg-16, HB-452, CL, Fl-395 and KM(f)-868.

In all these above-mentioned cases stemming from the Easter cycle of Gospel readings, the Turov lectionary follows the predominant manuscript tradition attested in the oldest codices, which can be identified as the Sts. Cyril and Methodius's translation or very close in wording to it.

The Greek noun ὁ κύριος, present in **Mt 24, 42**[145] (**16th Saturday** of the Pentecostal cycle) and in **Mt 25,** verses **18, 19, 21 (twice), 23 (twice) and 26** (**16th Sunday** of the Pentecostal cycle)[146], in the consulted codices was translated as господь, господинъ or sometimes even as владъıка. The Turov Gospel, as well as only five other codices, i.e. Mu, Kx, Es, Pn-4 and SA-2[147], in these eight places always attest господь. In two codices, i.e. Pt and NR, господинъ was found only once – in Mt 25, 19.

The second root in a compound Greek noun ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης, present in **Mt 24, 43**[148] (**16th Saturday** of the Pentecostal cycle), in the Turov Gospel, as well as in most of consulted codices[149], was translated as господинъ. Only three manuscripts, i.e. Fl-108, Ćr-4 and Zg-16, feature владъıка.

The first root in a compound Greek noun ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης, present in **Mt 24, 43**[150] (**16th Saturday** of the Pentecostal cycle), was translated as храмъ, храмина or домъ. The first one was attested in most of consulted manuscripts[151], the second – in the Turov Gospel and in five following codices: Ar, Mu, RA-816, Fl-99 and Fl-395, while the third[152] – in twelve manuscripts, i.e. F(l)-13, Ab-5, A(b)-7, Fl-108, SA-2, Sn-64, K(M)-111, KB-1, CU, Pc-26, Ćr-4 and Zg-16.

143 Jagić V. Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Kirchenslawischen Sprache. 1913. S. 354; Львов А. С. Очерки по лексике памятников. С. 146–150.

144 I.e. Vt-pal, Ar, Mk, Pg-11, Rl-13, Pt, RA-816, Kb, Es, Fl-99, Pn-4, Qv-26, Qv-43, KM-849, Ab-5, Qv-59, Xl-31, DC-3, Rm-107, Sn-401, SA-2, Pg-16, Eg-108, AR-6, KM-512, Fl-120, Pc-27, BN-496, OR and AR-354.
Two manuscripts, i.e. Je and Cd-1, attest noun ꙁнамение, and one (St) reads гдⷭ плⷮ. Tl omits this verb.

145 See also Евангелие от Матфея в славянской традиции. С. 133.

146 See also Ibid. С. 136–138.

147 In Pn-4 and SA-2, in Mt 24, 42, тать is present.

148 See also Евангелие от Матфея в славянской традиции. С. 133.

149 I.e. Vt-pal, Tu, Os, Ar, Mk, Pg-11, Rl-13, F(l)-13, Pt, RA-816, Mu, Pl, Je, NR, Kx, Es, Fl-99, Ab-5, Li-680, Nk-2, Pn-4, Qv-26, Qv-43, Tp-12, A(b)-7, KM-508, Rm-107, Rm-108, Qv-59, Xl-31, Vc, SA-2, Pg-16, Tp-10, Sn-64, Cd-1, Cr-236, K(M)-111, Sv-17, Eg-108, KB-1, CU, KM-512, Tl, Fl-120c, Pc-27, Pc-26, BN-496, Pr-326, OR, St, Lu, HB-452, AR-354, CL and Fl-395.

150 See also Евангелие от Матфея в славянской традиции. С. 133.

151 I.e. Os, Mk, Pg-11, Rl-13, Pt, Pl, Je, NR, Kx, Es, Li-680, Nk-2, Qv-26, Qv-43, Tp-12, KM-508, Rm-107, Rm-108, Qv-59, Xl-31, Vc, Pg-16, Tp-10, Cd-1, Cr-236, Sv-17, Eg-108, KM-512, Tl, Fl-120, Pc-27, BN-496, Pr-326, OR, St, Lu, HB-452, AR-354 and CL.

152 In Vt-pal, only one letter (м) was deciphered. Thus Vt-pal can attest in favour of two textual readings, i.e. храмъ or домъ.

The Greek noun ἡ οἰκία, present in **Mt 24, 43**[153] (**16th Saturday** of the Pentecostal cycle), was translated, like in the previous case, as храмъ, храмина or домъ. The first lexeme was attested in twenty-nine consulted codices[154], i.e. Ar, Mu, Rl-13, F(l)-13, Pl, Es, Fl-99, Ab-5, Qv-26, KM-508, Rm-107, Rm-108, Vc, Fl-108, SA-2, Sn-64, Cr-236, Eg-108, KB-1, Tl, Fl-120^{c}, BN-496, Pr-326, St, Lu, Zg-16, HB-452, CL and Fl-395; the second – in the Turov Gospel and twenty-six manuscripts, i.e. Vt-pal, Os, Mk, Pg-11, Pt, RA-816, Je, NR, Kx, Li-680, Nk-2, Pn-4, Qv-43, Tp-12, Xl-31, A(b)-7, Qv-59, Pg-16, Cd-1, K(M)-111, Sv-17, KM-512, Fl-120*, Pc-27, OR and AR-354, while the third – only in three, i.e. Tp-10, Pc-26 and CU.

The Greek noun τὸ δῶμα, present in **Lk 5, 19** (**2nd Saturday** of the New Year cycle), was also translated in the consulted manuscripts as храмъ or храмина. The first lexeme was attested in the Turov Gospel and most of consulted codices[155], while the second – in the following twelve short lectionaries: Ar, Mk, NR, Pl, Kx, Nk-2, Rm-108, Rm-107, Pc-27, Pc-26, Lu and Zg-16.

The Greek noun ἡ φυλακή, present in **Mt 24, 43**[156] (**16th Saturday** of the Pentecostal cycle), was translated in the consulted manuscripts as стража, нощь, часъ or even година. The first lexeme was attested in the Turov Gospel Lectionary and a vast majority of consulted short lectionaries[157], the second – in five codices, i.e. Os, Vc, Cd-1, CU, Tl, the third – also in the same number of manuscripts, i.e. Pn-4, KM-508, SA-2, CL and Pc-26, while the fourth – only in one, i.e. Tp-12. One short lectionary, i.e. Pl, features a compound variant, i.e. combination of the first two nouns (стража нощи).

The Greek verb διορύσσω, present in **Mt 24, 43**[158] (**16th Saturday** of the Pentecostal cycle), was translated into Church Slavonic with the use of three following verbs: подъкопати, подъкопавати and подъръıти[159]. The first one was found in most of consulted manuscripts[160], the second – only in one, i.e. HB-452, and the third – in the Turov Gospel and in nine other codices, i.e. Ar, Pg-11, Rl-13, Qv-59, Fl-108, NR, Qv-26, Xl-31 and Ćr-4.

153 See also Евангелие от Матфея в славянской традиции. С. 133.

154 In Ćr-4, only the first three letters (хра) are extant from this word.

155 I.e. As, Os, SK, Pg-11, Qv-23, B(n), F(l)-13, Mu, Pt, RA-816, Je, Vl, Es, Fl-99, Ab-5, Li-680, Pn-4, Qv-26, Qv-43, Tp-12, A(b)-7, KM-508, Qv-59, DC-3, Xl-31, Vc, Fl-108, Pg-16, Tp-10, Sn-64, Cd-1, K(M)-111, Sv-17, Eg-108, KB-1, KM-512, Tl, Fl-120, BN-496, Pr-326, OR, St, Ćr-4, HB-452, AR-354, CL and Fl-395.
In Cr-236, this noun is omitted.

156 See also Евангелие от Матфея в славянской традиции. С. 133.

157 I.e. Vt-pal, Tu, Mk, Ar, Pg-11, Rl-13, F(l)-13, Pt, RA-816, Mu, Je, NR, Kx, Es, Fl-99, Ab-5, Li-680, Nk-2, Qv-26, Qv-43, A(b)-7, Rm-107, Rm-108, Qv-59, Xl-31, Fl-108, Tp-10, Pg-16, Sn-64, Cr-236, K(M)-111, Sv-17, Eg-108, KB-1, KM-512, Fl-120, Pc-27, BN-496, Pr-326, OR, St, Ćr-4, Lu, Zg-16, HB-452, AR-354 and Fl-395.

158 See also Евангелие от Матфея в славянской традиции. С. 133.

159 Two other verbs were also attested, i.e. вълести in Pc-27 and пожьрьти in Vt-pal. Fl-395 has this passage omitted.

160 I.e. Os, Mk, F(l)-13, Pt, RA-816, Mu, Pl, Je, Kx, Es, Fl-99, Ab-5, Li-680, Nk-2, Pn-4, Qv-43, Tp-12, A(b)-7, KM-508, Rm-107, Rm-108, Vc, SA-2, Pg-16, Tp-10, Sn-64, Cd-1, Cr-236, K(M)-111, Sv-17, Eg-108, KB-1, CU, KM-512, Tl, Fl-120, Pc-26, BN-496, Pr-326, OR, St, Lu, Zg-16, AR-354 and CL.

The Greek noun ἡ βασιλεία, present in **Mt 25, 1**[161] (**17th Sunday** of the Pentecostal cycle), in most of consulted manuscripts[162] was translated as цѣсарьство. Only in the Turov lectionary and three other codices, i.e. Os, Pg-11 and Sn-401, it was rendered as цѣсарьствиѥ.

It is worth noting that some Gospel readings also feature additional verses placed at the beginning or their end. The pericope for the 16th Sunday after the Holy Pentecost, which was preceded by оуподоби сѧ цѣсарьство небесноѥ with several attested variations, can serve as an example. In this passage the noun ἡ βασιλεία was translated as цѣсарьство in most of consulted codices[163], while as цѣсарьствиѥ – only in the Turov Gospel, like in the previous case, and two other manuscripts[164], i.e. Os and Cd-1.

The Greek noun ἡ λαμπάς, present in plural in **Mt 25**, verses **1, 3, 4, 7 and 8** (**17th Sunday** of the Pentecostal cycle)[165], in the Turov Gospel, as well as in most of consulted manuscripts[166], was in all five cases translated as свѣтильникъ. Several manuscripts in some of these five cases feature other nouns:

– свѣща, i.e. in RA-816 (Mt 25, 1, 3, 4), Es (Mt 25, 3 and 4), Sn-401 (Mt 25, 1 and 3), Sn-64 (Mt 25, 1), St (Mt 25, 1, 4 and 8)[167] and Ar-6 (Mt 25, 7);

– свѣщникъ, i.e. in Pl (Mt 25, 4), Eg-108 (Mt 25, 1);

– свѣтило, i.e. in RA-816 (Mt 25, 7), Es (Mt 25, 8), Sn-401 (Mt 25, 7 and 8).

The Greek expression εἰς ὑπάντησιν, present in **Mt 25, 1**[168] (**17th Saturday** of the Pentecostal cycle), in the Turov Gospel, as well as in most of consulted manuscripts[169], was translated as противоу. Only five codices, i.e. Fl-108, Fl-120supp, Pc-27, Ćr-4 and Zg-16, feature въ сърѣтениѥ.

161 See also Евангелие от Матфея в славянской традиции. С. 135.

162 I.e. Vt-pal, F(l)-13, Pt, RA-816, Mu, Pl, NR, Kx, Es, Ab-5, Nk-2, Qv-43, Tp-12, A(b)-7, KM-508, DC-3, Qv-59, Xl-31, Vc, Fl-108, Pg-16, Tp-10, Sn-64, Cd-1, Cr-236, K(M)-111, Sv-17, Eg-108, KB-1, AR-6, CU, KM-512, Tl, Fl-120supp, Pc-27, OR, St, Ćr-4, Zg-16, HB-452, AR-354, CL and Fl-395.
In Je, this verse was omitted.

163 I.e. Vt-pal, Ar, Mk, Pg-11, Rl-13, F(l)-13, Pt, Mu, Pl, NR, Kx, Fl-99, Ab-5, Li-680, Nk-2, Qv-43, Tp-12, KM-508, Rm-107, Rm-108, Qv-59, Xl-31, Vc, Pg-16, Tp-10, Cr-236, Eg-108, KB-1, CU, KM-512i, Tl, Pc-27, BN-496, Pr-326, OR, Lu, AR-354, CL and Fl-395.

164 Several codices, i.e. RA-816, Je, Es, Pn-4, Qv-26, A(b)-7, DC-3, Fl-108, SA-2, Sn-64, K(M)-111, Sv-17II, KM-512II, Fl-120, Pc-26, St, Ćr-4, Zg-16 and HB-452, have this passage omitted.

165 See also Евангелие от Матфея в славянской традиции. С. 135.

166 I.e. Os, Pt, NR, Kx, Ab-5, Nk-2, Qv-43, Tp-12, A(b)-7, Vc, Fl-108, Pg-16, Tp-10, Cd-1, Cr-236, K(M)-111, CU, Tl, Fl-120supp, Pc-27, OR, Ćr-4, Zg-16, HB-452, AR-354, CL and Fl-395.
In Tp-10, this passage in Mt 25, 3 was omitted. K(M)-111 in Mt 25, 8 has a lacuna in this place.

167 In St, this noun was omitted in Mt 25, 3.

168 See also Евангелие от Матфея в славянской традиции. С. 135.

169 I.e. Os, Pt, RA-816, Pl, NR, Kx, Es, Ab-5, Nk-2, Qv-43, Tp-12, A(b)-7, Sn-401, Vc, Pg-16, Tp-10, Sn-64, Cd-1, Cr-236, K(M)-111, Eg-108, AR-6, OR, Tl, St, HB-452, AR-354, Fl-395, CU and CL.

The Greek expression εἰς ἀπάντησιν, present in **Mt 25, 6**[170] (**17th Saturday** of the Pentecostal cycle), in the Turov Gospel, as well as in most of consulted manuscripts[171], was translated as въ срѣтение[172]. Only one codex, i.e. Sn-64, features противоу[173].

The Greek noun τὸ πλοῖον, present in **Mt 25**, verses **2, 3 and 7** (**17th Saturday** of the Pentecostal cycle), was usually translated as корабл҃ь and корабиць[174]. In Lk 5, 2, the Turov Gospel and most of consulted codices[175] feature the second lexeme[176], while twenty manuscripts, i.e. As, Mk, B(n), Pt, Es, F(l)-13, Ab-5, Qv-26, A(b)-7, KB-1, Fl-108, AR-6, Fl-120, Pc-27, Ćr-4, Lu, HB-452, CL, Fl-395 and Zg-16, – the first one. In Lk 5, 3[177], the situation is the same. The Turov Gospel and most of consulted codices[178] feature the second lexeme, while seventeen codices, i.e. B(n), NR, Pt, Ab-5, Qv-26, Qv-43, A(b)-7, Fl-108, Sn-64, Eg-108, Fl-120^{c}, Pc-27, Pr-326, Ćr-4, HB-452, CL and Zg-16, – the first one. It is worth noting that some unusual lexemes were also attested here, i.e. корабльникъ in Sn-401 (Lk 5, 2) and Rm-107 (Lk 5, 3), as well as кораблевь in AR-6 (Lk 5, 3) and рꙑбарь in Sn-401 (Lk 5, 3). In Lk 5, 7[179], in the Turov Gospel and most of consulted manuscripts[180] the first above-mentioned lexeme, i.e. корабл҃ь, was attested, while the second one – only in three following codices: Qv-23, OR and Lu.

The Greek verb χρονίζω, present in **Mt 25, 5**[181] (**17th Saturday** of the Pentecostal cycle), was translated mainly with the use of three following verbs: мьдлити, къснити and мѫдити[182]. The first one was attested in most of consulted manuscripts[183], the second – in ten codices, i.e. Pl, NR, Ab-5, Nk-2, A(b)-7, Fl-108, K(M)-111, Fl-120^{supp}, Ćr-4 and Zg-16, while the third – in the Turov Gospel and in merely five other short lectionaries, i.e. Os, Kx, Qv-43, HB-452 and AR-354.

---

170 See also Евангелие от Матфея в славянской традиции. С. 135.

171 I.e. Tu, Os, Pt, RA-816, Pl, NR, Kx, Es, Ab-5, Nk-2, Qv-43, Tp-12, A(b)-7, Sn-401, Vc, Fl-108, Pg-16, Tp-10, Cd-1, Cr-236, K(M)-111, Eg-108, AR-6, CU, Tl, Fl-120supp, Pc-27, Zg-16, OR, Ćr-4, HB-452, AR-354, CL and Fl-395.

172 Only St features на срѣтеніе.

173 Presence of въ срѣтение in Mt 25, 1 and противу in Mt 25, 6 could have been caused by presence of εἰς ἀπάντησιν in Mt 25, 1 and εἰς ὑπάντησιν in Mt 25, 6 (see Soden H. F., von. Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments. S. 96–97).

174 None of the consulted short lectionaries attested the noun ладица or алъдии. See also Евангелие от Матфея в славянской традиции. С. 135.

175 I.e. Os, Pg-11, Qv-23, Mu, Pl, RA-816, Je, NR, Vl, Kx, Fl-99, Li-680, Nk-2, Pn-4, Qv-43, Tp-12, Rm-108, Qv-59, Xl-31, DC-3, Rm-107, Vc, SA-2, Pg-16, Tp-10, Sn-64, Cd-1, Cr-236, Sv-17, Eg-108, KM-512, Tl, Pc-26, Pr-326, OR, St and AR-354.

176 Reading корл attested in Bn-496 is corrupted.

177 In Tl, this passage in Lk 5, 3 was omitted.

178 I.e. As, Os, Mk, Pg-11, Qv-23, F(l)-13, Mu, RA-816, Pl, Je, Vl, Kx, Es, Fl-99, Li-680, Nk-2, Pn-4, Rm-108, Xl-31, Qv-59, DC-3, Vc, Pg-16, Cd-1, Tp-12, SA-2, Tp-10,Cr-236, Sv-17, KB-1, KM-512, Pc-26, St, AR-354, BN-496, Fl-395, OR and Lu.

179 Two manuscripts, i.e. Pn-4 and SA-2, have omitted this passage.

180 I.e. As, Os, Mk, Pg-11, B(n), F(l)-13, Mu, Pt, RA-816, Pl, Je, NR, Vl, Kx, Es, Fl-99, Ab-5, Li-680, Nk-2, Qv-26, Qv-43, Tp-12, A(b)-7, Rm-108, Qv-59, Xl-31, DC-3, Rm-107, Sn-401, Vc, Fl-108, Pg-16, Tp-10, Sn-64, Cd-1, Cr-236, K(M)-111, Eg-108, Sv-17, KB-1, KM-512, Tl, Fl-120c, Pc-27, Pc-26, BN-496, Pr-326, St, Ćr-4, HB-452, AR-354, CL, Fl-395 and Zg-16.

181 See also Евангелие от Матфея в славянской традиции. С. 135.

182 Three following textual variants were also attested, i.e. мѫдрѣцоу (in Vc), ноудаіцоу (in CU), and градѫцоу (in RA-816 and Pc-27).

183 I.e. Pt, Es, Tp-12, Sn-401, Pg-16, Tp-10, Sn-64, Cd-1, Cr-236, Eg-108, AR-6, OR, Tl, St, CL and Fl-395.

In all these above-mentioned cases stemming from the Pentecostal cycle of Gospel pericopes, the Turov lectionary in most cases follows the predominant manuscript tradition attested in the oldest codices, although several times it remains in agreement with a limited group of manuscripts, which are dated sometimes also to the 11th century.

The Greek verb ἐκπλήσσω, present in **Lk 4, 32** (**1st Saturday** of the New Year cycle), was translated mainly with the use of three following verbs[184]: оужасати сѧ, дивити сѧ and чоудити сѧ. The first one was attested in the Turov Gospel and most of consulted codices[185], the second one – in six codices, i.e. Mk, Qv-43, A(b)-7, Tl, Fl-120c and Fl-395, and the third – only in one, i.e. Lu.

The Greek adjective μεγάλη (related to the noun φωνή), present in **Lk 4, 32** (**1st Saturday** of the New Year cycle), in the Turov Gospel and most of consulted lectionaries[186] was translated as велиемъ. Only fifteen codices, i.e. Pg-11, B(n), Pt, F(l)-13, Es, Tp-12, Tp-10, Sn-64, Cd-1, KB-1, AR-6, Tl, Pr-326, Lu and HB-452, feature the form великимъ. Study of the same adjective, present in **Lk 5, 29** (**3rd Saturday** of the New Year cycle), gave the same results. The lexeme велии was attested in the Turov Gospel and most of studied lectionaries[187], while великъ – only in sixteen, i.e. Os, Mk, B(n), Rl-13, Es, Vc, Qv-59, Pg-16, Cd-1, Cr-236, Eg-108, Pc-27, Pr-326, St, Lu and HB-452.

The Greek noun ὁ ἁλιεύς, present in **Lk 5, 2** (**1st Sunday** of the New Year cycle), in the consulted manuscripts[188] was translated as рꙑбарь, рꙑбитва, as well as ловъца, or was even rendered as рабъ. The Turov Gospel and most of studied codices[189] feature the first lexeme, while the second was attested in seventeen manuscripts, i.e. As, Mk, Qv-23, F(l)-13, RA-816, Vl, Li-680, Nk-2, Qv-26, Rm-108, Rm-107, Cr-236, Eg-108, KB-1, Tl, HB-452 and Fl-395. The third one was found only in Pg-11 and NR, while the fourth – in Pc-27.

The Greek compound verb ἀποπλύνω, present in **Lk 5, 2** (**1st Sunday** of the New Year cycle), in the Turov Gospel and most of consulted manuscripts[190] was translated as плакаахоу. Several other textual variants were also attested: полоскахоу (in Pt, Fl-99, Tp-12, KB-1,

184 In CL, the reading оужахѫ сѧ was attested.

185 I.e. Vt-pal, As, Os, Pg-11, B(n), F(l)-13, Mu, Pt, RA-816, Pl, Je, NR, Kx, Es, Fl-99, Ab-5, Li-680, Nk-2, Pn-4, Qv-26, Tp-12, Rm-108, Qv-59, Xl-31, DC-3, Rm-107, Vc, Fl-108, SA-2, Pg-16, Tp-10, Sn-64, Cd-1, Cr-236, Eg-108, KB-1, Sv-17, KM-512, Pc-27, Pc-26, BN-496, AR-6, OR, Pr-326, St, Ćr-4, HB-452, AR-354 and Zg-16.

186 I.e. Vt-pal, As, Os, Tu, Mk, Mu, RA-816, Pl, Je, NR, Kx, Fl-99, Ab-5, Li-680, Nk-2, Pn-4, Qv-26, Qv-43, A(b)-7, Rm-108, Qv-59, DC-3, Xl-31, Rm-107, Vc, Fl-108, SA-2, Pg-16, Cr-236, K(M)-111, Sv-17, Eg-108, KM-512, Fl-120, Pc-27, Pc-26, BN-496, OR, St, Ćr-4, AR-354, CL, Fl-395 and Zg-16.

187 One codex, i.e. Pl, features междоу, and one, i.e. CU, – много. Three manuscripts, i.e. Rm-108, Rm-107, CL, have omitted this passage.

188 In Tp-12, рꙑбꙑ was written.

189 I.e. Os, B(n), Mu, Pt, Pl, Je, Kx, Es, Fl-99, Ab-5, Pn-4, Qv-43, A(b)-7, Qv-59, Xl-31, DC-3, Sn-401, Vc, Fl-108, SA-2, Pg-16, Tp-10, Sn-64, Cd-1, Sv-17, AR-6, KM-512, Fl-120, Pc-26, BN-496, Pr-326, OR, St, Ćr-4, Lu, AR-354, CL and Zg-16.

190 I.e. As, Os, Mk, Pg-11, Qv-23, B(n)*, Mu, Pl, RA-816, Je, Vl, Kx, Es, Ab-5, Li-680, Pn-4, Qv-26, A(b)-7, Rm-108, Qv-59, Xl-31, DC-3, Rm-107, Sn-401, Vc, SA-2, Fl-108, Cr-236, Pc-26, BN-496, Ćr-4, AR-354 and Zg-16.

Tp-10, AR-6, Tl, HB-452, Fl-395 and OR), плакнѣхоу (in KM-512 and Fl-120^{c}), влачахоу (in F(l)-13, Nk-2, Eg-108, Pc-27, Pr-326, St and Lu), врьгохоу (only in Sv-17), влакаахѫ (only in B(n)^{c}), влагахѫ (in Qv-43), положахоу (in Cd-1), полагахѫ (in Pg-16), помагахѫ (in Sn-64), плѣтахѫ (in CL), as well as изпираахѫ (in NR).

The Greek compound verb ἐπανάγω (in connection with expression ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς), present in **Lk 5, 3** (**1st Sunday** of the New Year cycle), in most of consulted manuscripts[191] was translated as отъстѫпити. The second most often attested reading възити was found in six codices, i.e. As, Fl-99, Pn-4, Tp-12, SA-2 and Tp-10. The Turov Gospel and five additional manuscripts, i.e. Pg-11[192], Vl, Eg-108, Pc-27 and AR-354, feature the variant възати. Two more readings отъриноути and възвести were also confirmed in some consulted codices: the first one – in B(n), Pt, Pr-326 and St, while the second – merely in Kx.

The Greek compound verb ἐπανάγω (in connection with expression εἰς τὸ βάθος), present in **Lk 5, 4** (**1st Sunday** of the New Year cycle), was translated with several Slavonic verbs expressing movement, i.e. ѣхати, ити, възлазити, постоупати or отъстпоупати, sometimes with added prefixes. In sixteen consulted manuscripts, i.e. Mk, F(l)-13, Ab-5, Li-680, Nk-2, Qv-26, Rm-108, Rm-107, Sn-401, Pg-16, Sv-17, KB-1, Lu, CL, OR and Fl-395, the form ѣди was attested. In the Turov Gospel Lectionary, as well as in three manuscripts, i.e. Os, Pg-11 and RA-816, a prefixed form възѣди was found, while in As, Je and Es, въѣди is present. Only in four manuscripts, i.e. Qv-23, Pl, Sn-64 and AR-6, the simple verb иди was attested. Prefixed forms were also found: възиди in six codices, i.e. NR, Fl-99, Tp-12, Cr-236, Tp-10 and BN-496, въниди (or вънидѣте) in nine manuscripts, i.e. Pt, Kx, Pn-4, Qv-59 (plural form), Xl-31, Vc, SA-2, Cd-1, Eg-108 and Tl, as well as съниди – merely in one short *aprakos*, i.e. KM-512. Some other lexemes were also attested in this place, i.e. възѣзи (in Vl, Qv-43, A(b)-7, DC-3, Pc-27 and AR-354), постѫпи (in B(n), Mu, Fl-108, Fl-120^{c}, Pc-26, Pr-326, St and Zg-16), as well as отъстоупи (in HB-452)[193]. It is worth noting that in eighteen consulted manuscripts, i.e. Mk, Qv-23, F(l)-13, Ab-5, Li-680, Nk-2, Qv-26, Qv-43, Rm-108, Rm-107, Sn-401, Pg-16, Sv-17, KB-1, AR-6, KM-512, Lu and CL, but not in the Turov Gospel, the main verb expressing movement was also preceded with the verb виждь.

The Greek verb χαλάω, present in **Lk 5, verses 4 and 5** (**1st Sunday** of the New Year cycle), was translated with two main lexemes въмѣтати and въврѣщи, in various forms and sometimes

191 I.e. Os, Mk, Qv-23, F(l)-13, Mu, RA-816, Pl, Je, NR, Es, Ab-5, Li-680, Nk-2, Qv-26, Qv-43, A(b)-7, Rm-108, Qv-59, Xl-31, DC-3, Rm-107, Sn-401, Vc, Fl-108, Pg-16, Sn-64, Cd-1, Cr-236, Sv-17, KB-1, AR-6, KM-512, Tl, Fl-120, Pc-26, BN-496, OR, Lu, HB-452, CL, Fl-395 and Zg-16.
Ćr-4 has a lacuna in this place.

192 This manuscript has възатъ са.

193 In Ćr-4, only стоупи is extant.

with the omitted prefix въ[194]. The Turov Gospel and twelve consulted codices, i.e. Pg-11, Pt, RA-816, Je, Vl, Kx, Fl-99, Nk-2, Cr-236, Pc-26, AR-354 and Fl-395, feature in both verses the first lexeme, while the second in both cases was found in twenty-one studied manuscripts, i.e. B(n), Mu, Pl, Es, NR, Li-680, Pn-4, A(b)-7, DC-3, Qv-59, Sv-17, Fl-108, Eg-108, KM-512, Fl-120, Pc-27, Pr-326, St, Ćr-4, HB-452 and Zg-16. Other codices attest variation in occurrence of these two lexemes, i.e. in Lk 5, 4[195] въмєтати is present in twenty-three codices (As, Os, Mk, Qv-23, F(l)-13, Ab-5, Qv-26, Tp-12, Qv-43, Rm-108, Xl-31, Rm-107, Sn-401, Vc, Pg-16, Tp-10, Sn-64, Cd-1, KB-1, OR, Lu, BN-496 and CL), while въвръщи – merely in one (SA-2); and in Lk 5, 5[196] въмєтати was found only in two manuscripts (As and SA-2), but въвръщи – in twenty-three (Os, Mk, Qv-23, F(l)-13, Ab-5, Qv-26, Qv-43, Rm-108, Xl-31, Rm-107, Sn-401, Vc, Pg-16, Sn-64, Cd-1, K(M)-111, KB-1, AR-6, Tl, BN-496, OR, Lu and CL).

The Greek noun ἡ ἀγρά, present in **Lk 5, 4** (**1st Sunday** of the New Year cycle) in the form εἰς ἀγράν, in the Turov Gospel, as well as in most of consulted manuscripts[197], was translated as въ ловитвѫ. Some other lexemes were also attested: въ морє (in Pl), въ глоубиноу (in Es and Fl-395), вь краи (in NR and Tl), as well as оуловити рыбъ (in Lu) or even вь молитвоу (in Qv-26). A compound variant въ глоубиноу въ ловитвоу was also found in two codices, i.e. Qv-23 and Ab-5.

The Greek noun ὁ μέτοχος, present in **Lk 5, 7** (**1st Sunday** of the New Year cycle), in the Turov Gospel, as well as in most of consulted manuscripts[198], was translated with the lexeme причастьникъ. Although two other nouns were also attested: корабникъ (in Pn-4 and SA-2) and приставникомъ (in BN-496).

The Greek verb πίμπλημι (in the form ἐπλήσαν), present in **Lk 5, 7** (**1st Sunday** of the New Year cycle), in the Turov Gospel and most of consulted manuscripts[199] was translated as испльниша, while sixteen codices, i.e. Os, Pl, Es, Fl-99, Nk-2, Xl-31, Sn-401, Vc, Sn-64, Cd-1, Tl, Pc-26, Pr-326, OR, St and Lu, feature наплъниша.

194 Nevertheless, the verbs въмєтати and въвръщи with an omitted prefix въ should be treated as separate forms, i.e. мєтати and врѣщи; in this case they will not be considered separately. In Lk 5, 4, the verb мєтати was attested in the following six codices: Mk, Qv-23, Je, Nk-2, Rm-107 and Lu, while врѣщи – only in two, i.e. Pn-4 and SA-2. In Lk 5, 5, only врѣщи was attested in one codex, i.e. OR.

195 In two codices, i.e. AR-6 and Tl, this passage was omitted.

196 Two manuscripts, i.e. Tp-12 and Tp-10, feature воуди in this place.

197 I.e. As, Os, Tu, Mk, Pg-11, B(n), F(l)-13, Mu, Pt, RA-816, Je, Vl, Kx, Fl-99, Li-680, Nk-2, Pn-4 , Qv-43, Tp-12, A(b)-7, Rm-108, Qv-59, Xl-31, SA-2, DC-3, Rm-107, Sn-401, Vc, Fl-108, Pg-16, Tp-10, Sn-64, Cd-1, Cr-236, Sv-17, Eg-108, KB-1, AR-6, KM-512, Fl-120, Pc-27, Pc-26, BN-496, Pr-326, St, Ćr-4, HB-452, AR-354 and Zg-16.
In Or and CL, this passage is omitted.

198 I.e. As, Os, Mk, Pg-11, Qv-23, B(n), F(l)-13, Mu, Pt, RA-816, Pl, Je, Vl, Kx, Es, Fl-99, Ab-5, Li-680, Nk-2, Qv-26, Qv-43, Tp-12, A(b)-7, Rm-108, Qv-59, Xl-31, DC-3, Rm-107, Sn-401, Vc, Fl-108, Pg-16, Tp-10, Sn-64, Cd-1, Cr-236, K(M)-111, Sv-17, Eg-108, KB-1, KM-512, Tl, Fl-120, Pc-27, Pc-26, Pr-326, OR, St, Ćr-4, Lu, HB-452, AR-354, CL, Fl-395 and Zg-16.

199 I.e. As, Pg-11, Qv-23, B(n), F(l)-13, Mu, Pt, RA-816, Je, NR, Vl, Kx, Ab-5, Li-680, Pn-4, Qv-26, Qv-43, Tp-12, A(b)-7, Rm-108, Qv-59, DC-3, Rm-107, Fl-108, SA-2, Pg-16, Tp-10, Cr-236, K(M)-111, Sv-17, KB-1, Eg-108, KM-512, Fl-120, Pc-27, BN-496, Ćr-4, HB-452, AR-354, CL and Fl-395.
Two manuscripts, i.e. Mk and Zg-16, feature испльниша сѧ.

The Greek noun ὁ κοινωνός, present in **Lk 5, 10** (**1st Sunday** of the New Year cycle), in the Turov Gospel, as well as in most of consulted manuscripts[200], was translated with the lexeme обьщьникъ. One other noun was also attested in this place: причастьникъ (only in Fl-395)[201].

The Greek expression ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, present in **Lk 5, 11** (**1st Sunday** of the New Year cycle), in the Turov Gospel and more than half of consulted manuscripts[202] was translated as на землю. In twenty-six codices, i.e. Mk, Qv-23, F(l)-13, Mu, Je, Es, Ab-5, Li-680, Qv-26, Rm-108, Rm-107, Sn-401, Pg-16, Sn-64, Cd-1, Sv-17, KB-1, KM-512, Tl, Fl-120*, Pc-26, BN-496, OR, Lu, CL and Fl-395, this expression was rendered as на сухо, and only in one, i.e. Pc-27, as на краи. The compound textual variant на землю на сухо was found in Nk-2.

The Greek participle παραλελυμένος, present in **Lk 5, verses 18, 23 and 24** (**2nd Saturday** of the New Year cycle), was translated as ослабленъ (sometimes with the noun жилами) and раслабленъ. All three possibilities were attested only in Lk 5, 18[203]. The Turov Gospel, as well as most of consulted codices[204], feature ослабленъ. Only in eight manuscripts, i.e. Je, Vl, Li-680, Qv-59, Fl-120c, Pc-27, OR and Lu, the Greek participle was rendered with two nouns, i.e. ослабленъ жилами. The variant раслабленъ was attested merely in seven codices, i.e. NR, Es, Fl-108, Cr-236, Ćr-4, CL and Zg-16. In Lk 5, 23, only the variant ослабленъ was attested. It is present in the Turov Gospel and most of consulted manuscripts[205]. In Lk 5, 24, the Turov Gospel and most of consulted codices[206] feature ослабленъ, while only three, i.e. B(n), Mu and OR, attest раслабленъ.

The Greek noun ὁ κέραμος[207], present in **Lk 5, 19** (**2nd Saturday** of the New Year cycle), was translated in the oldest Church Slavonic Gospel manuscripts as покровъ or скоудѣль. The first noun is attested only in eight consulted short lectionaries, i.e. Os, Rm-108, Qv-59, Vc,

200 I.e. As, Os, Tu, Mk, Pg-11, Qv-23, B(n), F(l)-13, Mu, Pt, RA-816, Pl, Je, Vl, Kx, Es, Fl-99, Ab-5, Li-680, Nk-2, Pn-4, Qv-26, Qv-43, Tp-12, A(b)-7, Rm-108, Qv-59, Xl-31, DC-3, Rm-107, Sn-401, Vc, Fl-108, Pg-16, Tp-10, Cd-1, Cr-236, Sv-17, Eg-108, KB-1, KM-512, Tl, Fl-120, Pc-27, Pc-26, BN-496, Pr-326, OR, St, Ćr-4, Lu, HB-452, AR-354, CL and Zg-16.

201 One codex, i.e. NR, has only съ, and one, i.e. Sn-64, has this passage omitted.

202 I.e. As, Os, Pg-11, B(n), Pt, RA-816, Pl, Vl, Kx, Pn-4, Qv-43, Tp-12, A(b)-7, Qv-59, Xl-31, DC-3, Vc, Fl-108, Tp-10, Cr-236, Eg-108, Fl-120c, Pr-326, St, Ćr-4, HB-452, AR-354 and Zg-16.

Only Fl-99 feautres на зимли, and NR – къ земи.

203 In St, this passage in Lk 5, 18 was omitted.

204 I.e. As, Os, Mk, Pg-11, Qv-23, B(n), SK, F(l)-13, Mu, Pt, RA-816, Pl, Kx, Fl-99, Ab-5, Nk-2, Pn-4, Qv-26, Qv-43, Tp-12, A(b)-7, KM-508, Rm-108, Xl-31, DC-3, Rm-107, Vc, Pg-16, Tp-10, Sn-64, Cd-1, Sv-17, Eg-108, KB-1, KM-512, Fl-120*, Tl, Pc-26, BN-496, Pr-326, HB-452, AR-354 and Fl-395.

205 I.e. As, Os, Ar, SK, Mk, Pg-11, Qv-23, F(l)-13, Mu, Pt, RA-816, Pl, Je, Vl, Kx, Es, Fl-99, Ab-5, Li-680, Nk-2, Pn-4, Qv-26, Qv-43, Tp-12, A(b)-7, KM-508, Rm-108, Qv-59, Xl-31, DC-3, Rm-107, Vc, Pg-16, Tp-10, Cd-1, Cr-236, K(M)-111, Sv-17, Eg-108, KB-1, KM-512, Tl, Fl-120, Pc-27, Pc-26, BN-496, Pr-326, OR, St, Lu, HB-452, AR-354, CL and Fl-395.

This passage is omitted in seven codices, i.e., B(n), NR, Fl-108, Sn-64, Fl-120c, Ćr-4 and Zg-16. CU has a lacuna in this place.

206 I.e. As, Os, Ar, SK, Mk, Pg-11, Qv-23, F(l)-13, Pt, RA-816, Pl, Je, NR, Vl, Kx, Es, Fl-99, Ab-5, Li-680, Nk-2, Pn-4, Qv-26, Qv-43, Tp-12, A(b)-7, KM-508, Rm-108, Qv-59, Xl-31, DC-3, Rm-107, Vc, Fl-108, Pg-16, Tp-10, Sn-64, Cd-1, Cr-236, Sv-17, Eg-108, KB-1, CU, KM-512, Tl, Fl-120, Pc-27, Pc-26, BN-496, Pr-326, St, Ćr-4, HB-452, Lu, AR-354, CL, Fl-395 and Zg-16.

In Je, this passage is omitted. K(M)-111 has a lacuna in this place.

207 As well as the Greek νουν ἡ στεγη, that was not attested in Lk 5, 19 (see Soden H.F., von. Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments. S. 260).

Pg-16, HB-452, Pc-27[208] and Fl-395, while the second – also its derivatives скѫдѣльникъ, сыкѫделница or скоудѣлы – in the Turov Gospel and most of consulted manuscripts[209].

The Greek noun τὸ κλινίδιον, present in **Lk 5**, **verses 19 and 24** (**2nd Saturday** of the New Year cycle), which as a textual variant in Greek sources has ὁ κράββατος[210], was rendered with two nouns: ложе and одръ[211]. In Lk 5, 19, in the Turov Gospel and more than half of consulted codices[212] the first lexeme was found, while in twenty-five manuscripts, i.e. SK, Mk, B(n), Mu, A(b)-7, KM-508, Qv-59, Xl-31, Fl-108, Cr-236, K(M)-111, Eg-108, KM-512, Fl-120, Pc-27, Pc-26, BN-496, Pr-326, St, Ćr-4, Lu, AR-354, CL, Fl-395 and Zg-16, the second lexeme was attested. In Lk 5, 24, this proportion was changed. The second lexeme is attested in most of consulted codices[213], while the first one – which is the proper translation of the Greek noun in question – is present in the Turov Gospel and sixteen following codices: As, Os, Ar, Pt, Vl, Kx, Es, Ab-5, Li-680, Nk-2, Qv-26, Qv-43, Vc, Cd-1, CU, Fl-395.

The Greek noun ἡ βλασφημία, present in **Lk 5, 21** (**2nd Saturday** of the New Year cycle), was translated with two nouns: хоула and власвимиꙗ. Most of consulted codices feature the second lexeme[214], while the Turov Gospel and twenty-one manuscripts, i.e. Os, Ar, B(n), F(l)-13, Vl, Es, Nk-2, Qv-59, Vc, Fl-108, Sn-64, KB-1, Pc-27, Pc-26, Pr-326, OR, St, Ćr-4, Lu, HB-452 and Zg-16, have the first one.

The Greek adjective in plural παράδοξα, present in **Lk 5, 26** (**2nd Saturday** of the New Year cycle), was translated with two lexemes: дивнъ and прѣславнъ. The first lexeme was attested in the Turov Gospel and most of consulted codices[215], while the second was found

208 Pc-27 has покровь храмине.

209 I.e. As, Ar, SK, Pg-11, Qv-23, F(l)-13, RA-816, NR, Fl-99, Ab-5, Li-680, Pn-4, Qv-26, Qv-43, Tp-12, A(b)-7, KM-508, Rm-107, Fl-108, Tp-10, Cd-1, Cr-236, K(M)-111, Sv-17, Eg-108, KB-1, KM-512, Tl, Fl-120, Ćr-4, AR-354, CL and Zg-16.

210 Soden 1913, 260.

211 The Greek noun ἡ κλίνη, present in Lk 5, 18 (2nd Saturday of the New Year), was in all consulted manuscripts, including the Turov Gospel, translated with the noun одръ.

On the use of these two nouns in the Church Slavonic manuscripts see Jagić V. Entstehungsgeschichte der Kirchenslawischen Sprache. 1913. S. 359; Львов А. С. Очерки по лексике памятников. С. 168–172.

212 I.e. As, Os, Ar, Pg-11, Qv-23, F(l)-13, Pt, RA-816, Pl, Je, NR, Vl, Kx, Es, Fl-99, Ab-5, Nk-2, Qv-26, Qv-43, Tp-12, DC-3, Vc, Pg-16, Tp-10, Sn-64, Cd-1, Sv-17, KB-1 and HB-452.

One codex, i.e. Rm-107, has the verb сложиша here, and five manuscripts, i.e. Li-680, Pn-4, Rm-108, Tl and OR, have a lacuna in this passage.

213 I.e. SK, Mk, Pg-11, Qv-23, B(n), F(l)-13, Mu, RA-816, Pl, Je, NR, Fl-99, Pn-4, Tp-12, A(b)-7, KM-508, Rm-108, Qv-59, Xl-31, DC-3, Rm-107, Fl-108, Pg-16, Tp-10, Sn-64, Cr-236, Sv-17, Eg-108, KB-1, KM-512, Tl, Fl-120, Pc-27, Pc-26, BN-496, Pr-326, OR, St, Ćr-4, HB-452, AR-354, CL and Zg-16.

In Lu, this passage was omitted, and K(M)-111 has a lacuna in this place.

214 I.e. As, SK, Mk, Pg-11, Qv-23, Mu, Pt, RA-816, Je, Pl (власвимисаѥтъ), NR, Kx, Fl-99, Ab-5, Li-680, Pn-4, Qv-26, Qv-43, Tp-12, A(b)-7, KM-508, Rm-108, Xl-31, DC-3, Rm-107, Pg-16, Tp-10, Cd-1, Cr-236, K(M)-111, Sv-17, KM-512, Fl-120, Tl, BN-496, AR-354, CL and Fl-395.

One codex, i.e. Eg-108, has the following reading: власть имѣю.

215 I.e. As, Ar, SK, Mk, Pg-11, Qv-23, Rl-13, Mu, F(l)-13, Pt, RA-816, Pl, Je, Vl, Kx, Ab-5, Fl-99, Li-680, Nk-2, Pn-4, Qv-26, Qv-43, Tp-12, KM-508, Rm-108, Qv-59, Xl-31, DC-3, Rm-107, Tp-10, Cr-236, Sv-17, Eg-108, KB-1, CU, KM-512, Fl-120*, Pc-27, Pc-26, BN-496, HB-452, AR-354, CL and Fl-395.

In one manuscript, i.e. Cd-1, this passage was omitted.

only in sixteen following manuscripts Os, B(n), NR, Es, A(b)-7, Vc, Sn-64, Fl-108, Tl, K(M)-111, Fl-120^{c}, Pr-326, OR, Zg-16, St and Ćr-4.

The Greek verb ἀγαθοποιέω, present in **Lk 6, verses 33 and 35** (**2nd Sunday** of the New Year cycle), was translated with two verbs: благотворити and добротворити. In Lk 6, 33, the Turov Gospel and most of consulted codices[216] feature the first lexeme, while the second is present only in three manuscripts, i.e. Pl, Pg-16 and Pc-26. In Lk 6, 35, the first lexeme was attested in most of consulted codices[217], while the second one is present in the Turov Gospel and in twenty-one following manuscripts: As, Os, Pg-11, Qv-23, Pt, RA-816, Je, Pl, Vl, Kx, Fl-99, Tp-12, KM-508, Xl-31, Vc, Pg-16, Tp-10, Cd-1, Cr-236, Pc-26 and OR.

The Greek adjective οἰκτίρμων, present twice in **Lk 6, 36** (**2nd Sunday** of the New Year cycle), was usually translated with two adjectives: милостивъ and милосрьдъ. In the first occurrence of this adjective in Lk 6, 36, the first lexeme was attested in thirteen codices, i.e. Os, Mu, Je, Pl, Nk-2, Pn-4, Tp-12, SA-2, Vc, Tp-10, Cr-236, Eg-108 and AR-354, while in the Turov Gospel and most of consulted manuscripts[218] the second one was found. One additional lexeme цѣдръ was attested in Ar and NR, as well as the compound reading моудри и мр҃ди – in CU. In the second occurrence of this adjective in Lk 6, 36, the first lexeme was found only in six codices, i.e. Os, Pl, Vc, Cr-236, Eg-108 and AR-354, while the second – in the Turov Gospel and most of consulted manuscripts[219]. An additional lexeme, i.e. цѣдръ, as in the previous case, was also attested in Ar and NR, and the verbal corrupted form ѫмрди сѧ, which originated from *ѫмилосрди сѧ, – in Pc-27.

The Greek noun ὁ τελώνης, present in **Lk 5, verses 27, 29 and 30** (**3rd Saturday** of the New Year cycle), was usually translated with two nouns: мъıтарь and мьꙁдоимьць. In Lk 5, 27, the Turov Gospel and most of consulted codices[220] feature the first lexeme, while

216 I.e. As, Os, Ar, SK, Pg-11, Rl-13, Qv-23, F(l)-13, Mu, Pt, RA-816, Vl, Kx, Es, SA-2, Ab-5, Li-680, Nk-2, Pn-4, Qv-26, Qv-43, Tp-12, A(b)-7, Rm-108, Qv-59, Xl-31, DC-3, Rm-107, Sn-401, Vc, Fl-108, Sn-64, Cd-1, Cr-236, K(M)-111, Sv-17, Eg-108, KB-1, CU, KM-512, Tl, Fl-120, Pc-27, Pr-326, Ćr-4^{supp}, Lu, Fl-395 and Zg-16.

In one codex, i.e. Tp-10, only твориτε is present, while in ten manuscripts, i.e. B(n), Mk, Je, NR, Fl-99, KM-508, OR, St, HB-452 and AR-354, this passage was omitted.

217 I.e. Ar, SK, Mk, Rl-13, B(n), F(l)-13, Mu, NR, Es, Ab-5, Li-680, Nk-2, Pn-4, Qv-26, Qv-43, A(b)-7, Rm-108, Qv-59, DC-3, SA-2, Rm-107, Fl-108, Sn-64, K(M)-111, Eg-108, KB-1, CU, KM-512, Tl, Fl-120, Pc-27, Pr-326, St, Ćr-4^{supp}, Lu, HB-452, AR-354, Fl-395 and Zg-16.

Two codices, i.e. Sn-401 and CL, feature благословитε.

218 I.e. As, Mk, Pg-11, Rl-13, Qv-23, B(n), F(l)-13, Pt, RA-816, Vl, Es, Fl-99, Ab-5, Li-680, Qv-26, Qv-43, A(b)-7, Rm-108, Qv-59, Xl-31, DC-3, Rm-107, Sn-401, Fl-108, Pg-16, Sn-64, Cd-1, K(M)-111, KB-1, KM-512, Tl, Fl-120, Pc-27, Pc-26, OR, St, Ćr-4^{supp}, Lu, HB-452 , CL, Fl-395 and Zg-16.

Two manuscripts, i.e. KM-508 and Pr-326, feature adjective милосрьдьнъ.

219 I.e. As, Pg-11, Rl-13, Qv-23, B(n), Mk, F(l)-13, Mu, Pt, RA-816, Vl, Es, Fl-99, Ab-5, Li-680, Nk-2, Pn-4, Qv-26, Qv-43, SA-2, Tp-12, A(b)-7, KM-508, Rm-108, Qv-59, Xl-31, DC-3, Rm-107, Sn-401, Fl-108, Pg-16, Tp-10, Sn-64, Cd-1, K(M)-111, KB-1, CU, Tl, Fl-120, Pc-26, KM-512, Pr-326, OR, St, Ćr-4^{supp}, Lu, HB-452, CL, Fl-395 and Zg-16.

In one codex, i.e. Je, this passage was omitted.

220 I.e. As, Pg-11, Qv-23, B(n), Pt, RA-816, Pl, Je, NR, Vl, Es, Fl-99, Tp-12, A(b)-7, Xl-31, DC-3, Fl-108, Cd-1, Tp-10, Cr-236,

the second is only in two manuscripts, i.e. Os and Vc. It is worth noting that twenty codices, i.e. Mk, Rl-13, Mu, Ab-5, Li-680, Nk-2, Pn-4, Qv-26, Qv-43, KM-508, Qv-59, Sn-64, CU, KM-512, Tl, Pc-27, BN-496, OR, CL and Fl-395, attest the noun ѵловѣкъ, which in six codices, i.e. Ar, F(l)-13, Rm-108, Rm-107, Pg-16 and KB-1, occurs together with the first lexeme, i.e. мытарь. In Lk 5, 29, the Turov Gospel, as well as almost all consulted codices[221], – except Ar that has мьздьникъ – feature the first lexeme. Almost the same situation is attested in Lk 5, 30. The Turov Gospel and most of consulted codices[222] feature the first lexeme, the second is present only in Mk, and мьздьникъ again exclusively in Ar.

The Greek noun ἡ δοχή, present in **Lk 5, 29** (**3rd Saturday** of the New Year cycle), was usually translated as ѵрѣждениѥ or пиръ[223]. The Turov Gospel and most of consulted codices[224] feature the first lexeme, while the second was attested only in one manuscript, i.e. Pc-27. Three other lexemes were also found: (по)ѵьсть in B(n) and OR, оупование in NR, and дать in HB-452.

The variations in the translation of the Greek adjective μονογενής in **Lk 7, 12** (**3rd Sunday** of the New Year cycle) are even more extensive in the short lectionaries consulted[225] than already mentioned above. The following three forms, out of four noted in the publications[226], were attested in the studied codices: иноѵадъ, ѥдиноѵадъ and ѥдинородынъ, as well as ѥдинъıи.

The first form is present in the Turov Gospel – only part of it, i.e. ин° …, is extant (f. 10*v* 17) – and in eighteen consulted short lectionaries, i.e. Ar, Pg-11, F(l)-13, Mu, Pl, Nk-2, Pn-4, Qv-43, Tp-12, Xl-31, Sn-401, SA-2, KB-1, BN-496, St, AR-354, CL and Fl-395. The second one was attested in thirty-six consulted codices, i.e. As, Os, Mk, Rl-13, Qv-23, B(n), Pt, RA-816, Je, NR, Es, Fl-99, Ab-5, Li-680, Qv-26, A(b)-7, KM-508, Rm-108, Qv-59, DC-3, Vc, Pg-16, Tp-10, Sn-64, Cd-1, Cr-236, K(M)-111, Eg-108, Tl, Fl-120, CU, Pc-27, Pc-26, Pr-326, OR and Lu. The third one was revealed only in six short lectionaries, i.e. Fl-108, Sv-17, KM-512, Ćr-4, HB-452 and Zg-16, while the fourth is present only in one codex, i.e. Rm-107.

K(M)-111, Eg-108, Fl-120[c], Pc-26, Pr-326, St, Ćr-4[supp], Lu, HB-452, AR-354 and Zg-16.

221 I.e. As, Os, Mk, Pg-11, Rl-13, Qv-23, B(n), F(l)-13, Mu, Pt, RA-816, Pl, Je, NR, Es, Fl-99, Ab-5, Li-680, Nk-2, Pn-4, Qv-26, Qv-43, Tp-12, A(b)-7, KM-508, Rm-108, Qv-59, Xl-31, DC-3, Rm-107, Vc, Fl-108, Pg-16, Tp-10, Sn-64, Cd-1, Cr-236, K(M)-111, Eg-108, KB-1, CU, KM-512, Tl, Fl-120[c], Pc-27, Pc-26, BN-496, Pr-326, OR, St, Ćr-4[supp], Lu, HB-452, AR-354, CL, Fl-395 and Zg-16.

222 I.e. As, Os, Pg-11, Rl-13, Qv-23, B(n), F(l)-13, Mu, Pt, RA-816, Pl, Je, NR, Es, Fl-99, Ab-5, Li-680, Nk-2, Pn-4, Qv-26, Qv-43, Tp-12, A(b)-7, KM-508, Rm-108, Qv-59, Xl-31, DC-3, Rm-107, Vc, Fl-108, Pg-16, Tp-10, Sn-64, Cd-1, Cr-236, K(M)-111, Eg-108, KB-1, CU, KM-512, Tl, Fl-120, Pc-27, Pc-26, BN-496,Pr-326, OR, St, Ćr-4[supp], Lu, HB-452, AR-354, CL, Fl-395 and Zg-16.

Ćr-4 has a lacuna in this place.

223 On the use of these two nouns in the Church Slavonic manuscripts see Jagić V. Entstehungsgeschichte der Kirchenslawischen Sprache. 1913. S. 416; Львов А. С. Очерки по лексике памятников. С. 266–269.

224 I.e. As, Os, Ar, Tu, Mk, Pg-11, Rl-13, Qv-23, F(l)-13, Mu, Pt, RA-816 , Pl, Je, Es, Fl-99, Ab-5, Li-680, Nk-2, Pn-4, Qv-26, Qv-43, Tp-12, A(b)-7, KM-508, Rm-108, Qv-59, Xl-31, DC-3, Rm-107, Vc, Fl-108, Pg-16, Tp-10, Sn-64, Cd-1, Cr-236, K(M)-111, Eg-108, KB-1, CU, KM-512, Tl, Fl-120, Pc-26, BN-496, Pr-326, St, Ćr-4[supp], Lu, AR-354, CL, Fl-395 and Zg-16.

225 In Vt-pal, this word was not deciphered.

226 The adjective инородынъ was not attested in the consulted short lectionaries.

The two forms иноѧдъ and ѥдиноѧдъ are attested in the oldest Church Slavonic short lectionaries dated to the 11th century, while two others – ѥдинородьнъ and ѥдинъıи – in the codices dated only to the 14th century.

According to V. Jagić, the form иноѧдъ is older and primary[227]. It was later replaced by ѥдиноѧдъ[228]. This opinion was widely acknowledged by other scholars[229]. Thus, the Turov Gospel and other eighteen short lectionaries preserve the primary and original wording introduced by Sts. Cyril and Methodius.

In all these above-stated cases coming from the New Year cycle of Gospel pericopes, the Turov lectionary in most cases follows the predominant manuscript tradition attested in the oldest codices and often identified as the Sts. Cyril and Methodius's translation. Although the codex in question sometimes remains in agreement with the limited group of manuscripts dated also to the 11th century.

Some Church Slavonic Gospel lectionaries, as well as Tetraevangelia, besides the so-called Cyrillo-Methodian layer, can also attest the lexemes conceived by the Preslav Literary School[230] that was established by Boris I in 886 in Bulgaria's capital – Pliska. The presented below evidence examines distribution of Preslav lexemes in the consulted Gospel codices.

In J 10, 1 (5th Thursday of the Easter cycle), only fifteen[231] abbreviated lectionaries, i.e. Pg-11, Pt, Es, Rm-107, Vc, Ut-89, Tp-10, Pg-16, Sn-64, Cd-1, Eg-108, KB-1, St, HB-452 and Fl-395, attest пастоухъ instead of пастырь, which is present in the Turov and most of consulted codices.

In J 10, 3 (5th Thursday of the Easter cycle), only eleven[232] abbreviated lectionaries, i.e. Os, Pg-11, Rl-13, Mu, Tp-10, Sn-64, Cd-1, Cr-236, Eg-108, St and HB-452, attest the noun вратарь instead of двьрникъ, which is present in the Turov Gospel and most of consulted codices.

227 V. Jagić pointed out that in the Glagolitic Codex Marianus only иноѧдъ occurs (Ягич И. В. Памятник глаголической письменности. Мариинское Евангелие с примечаниями и приложениями. Издание Отделения русского языка и словесности императорской Академии наук. Сенкт-Петербург, 1883. С. 467; see also Люсен И. Греческо-старославянский конкорданс к древнейшим спискам славянского перевода Евангелий (codices Marianus, Zographensis, Assemanianus, Ostromiri). Uppsala, 1995. (Studia Slavica Upsaliensia, 36). С. 157–158).

228 Jagić V. Entstehungsgeschichte der Kirchenslawischen Sprache. 1900. S. 77; Jagić V. Entstehungsgeschichte der Kirchenslawischen Sprache. 1913. S. 350. V. Pogorelov pointed out that in Sava's Gospel (SK) иноѧдъ was replaced by ѥдинородъ only once, while in the Ostromir Gospel (Os) – six times (Погорелов В. Из наблюдений. С. 107).

229 Крыжановский Г. Рукописные Евангелия киевских книгохранилищ. Исследование языка и сравнительная характеристика текста, К., 1889, С. 360; Horálek K. Význam Savviny knigy pro rekonsturkci stsl. překladu evangelia // Věstník Královské České Společnosti nauk, Třída filosoficko–historicko–filolologická, r. 1946, čís. 3, Praha, 1948. S. 33.

230 For the list of the Cyrillo-Methodian and Preslav lexemes and their distribution in Gospel manuscripts see Славова Т. Преславска редакция на Кирило-Методиевия старобългарски евангелски превод // Кирило-Методиевски Студии. София: Изд-во на Българската академия на науките, 1989. Кн. 6. С. 15–129; Ostapczuk J. Sobotnie i niedzielne perykopy liturgiczne. S. 261–293..

231 In one codex, i.e. Sn-401, this word is missing, and one, i.e. Fl-108, has a lacuna in this place.

232 Some manuscripts instead of двьрникъ attest in this place вратникь (KM-849) or двери (CL). Xl-31 omits this lexeme, and Fl-108 has a lacuna in this place.

In J 10, 7 (5th Thursday of the Easter cycle), only nine[233] abbreviated lectionaries, i.e. Mk, Vl, Je, Li-680, KM-849, AR(m)-676, Tp-10, KM-512 and AR-354, have право, право право or правь правь instead of аминь or аминь аминь, which is present in the Turov Gospel and most of consulted codices. In Mt 25, 12 (17th Saturday after the Holy Pentecost), another six manuscripts, i.e. RA-816, Ab-5, Es, Sn-401, Cr-236 and AR-6, feature the Preslav lexeme.

In J 10,19 (5th Friday of the Easter cycle), only two[234] manuscripts, i.e., Vl and Kb, have the noun жидъ instead of июдеи, which is present in the Turov Gospel and most of consulted codices. In Lk 5, 27 (2nd Saturday of the New Year cycle), only two[235] codices, i.e. Vl and B(n), attest the adjective based on the noun of the Preslav origin.

In J 12, 27 (6th Tuesday of the Easter cycle), only three manuscripts[236], i.e. Cd-1, KB-1 and HB-452, feature дѣлѧ instead of ради, which is present in the Turov Gospel and most of consulted codices. In J 12, 30 (the same pericope), only in CU instead ради twice[237] occurs дѣла, while in Cd-1 only in the first[238] and in Mu merely in the second case[239]. In Lk 5, 19 (2nd Saturday of the New Year cycle), only two[240] consulted codices, i.e. B(n) and Sn-64, feature дѣлѧ for ради. In J 10, 17 (5th Friday of the Easter cycle) and Mt 20, 44 (16th Saturday of the Pentecostal cycle), all consulted manuscripts feature ради.

In Mt 25, verses 2, 3 and 8[241] (17th Saturday of the Pentecostal cycle), only four manuscripts, i.e., Es, Sn-401, Cd-1 and Zg-16, in these three cases have жродивъ instead of the adjective боуи, which is present in the Turov Gospel and most of consulted codices.

In Mt 25, 3 (17th Saturday of the Pentecostal cycle), instead of the noun олѣи – which is present in the Turov Gospel and most of consulted codices – eleven codices, i.e. Pt, Vc, Tp-12, Pg-16, Sn-64, Cd-1, Cr-236, Eg-108, Tl, OR and HB-452, have масло, and four, i.e. RA-816, Es, Sn-401 and AR-6, attest a compound variant масло дрѣвѣнаѥ. In Mt 25, 4 (17th Saturday of the Pentecostal cycle), instead of the noun олѣи twelve[242] codices, i.e. RA-816, Es, Sn-401, Vc, Pg-16, Sn-64, Cd-1, AR-6, CU, Tl, OR and HB-452, have масло. In Mt 25, 8 (17th Saturday of the Pentecostal cycle), instead of the noun олѣи eighteen codices[243], i.e., Pt, RA-816, Es, Tp-12, Sn-401, Vc, Pg-16, Tp-10, Sn-64, Cd-1, Cr-236,

233 In one codex, i.e. Cr-236, this word is omitted.
234 In two codices, i.e. Pn-4 and SA-2, this noun is missing, and one, i.e. Pc-26, attests людехь.
235 Twelve manuscripts, i.e. Mk, Es, Ab-5, Pn-4, Pg-16, Cd-1, Cr-236, Tl, Pc-26, BN-496, Lu and CL, have this word omitted, and K(M)-111 has a lacuna in this place.
236 Only one manuscript, i.e. NR, attests ꙗ се, and two, i.e. Kx and Pc-27, have omitted this word. Fl-108 has a lacuna in this place.
237 I.e. in не мене ради гласъ съ бысть and нъ народа ради.
238 In J 12, 30, in the first occurrence this word is missing in three manuscripts, i.e. NR, Sn-401 and BN-496.
239 In J 12, 30, in the second place this word is missing in NR.
240 In three manuscripts, i.e. Es, OR and Lu, instead of народа ради there is народомь.
241 Only Ab-5 featers абиѥ in this place.
242 Four consulted manuscripts, i.e. Kx, Tp-12, Cr-236 and St, have this word omitted.
243 One codex, i.e. K(M)-111, has a lacuna in this place.

AR-6, OR, Tl, Fl-120*?, Ćr-4, Zg-16, HB-452, have масло. Thus, only seven mentioned abbreviated lectionaries, i.e. Vc, Pg-16, Sn-64, Cd-1, Tl, OR and HB-452, in all these three verses consequently attest масло instead of олѣи. Other pointed manuscripts attest масло twice[244] or just once[245].

In Lk 4, 33 (1st Saturday of the New Year cycle), eleven[246] short lectionaries, i.e. Os, Mk, B(n), Mu, Es, Ab-5, Nk-2, Qy-43, Vc, Sn-64 and Cd-1, instead of the noun сънмище – which is present in the Turov Gospel and most of consulted codices – attest сборище.

In Lk 5, 19 (2nd Saturday of the New Year cycle), nine short lectionaries[247], i.e. B(n), Vl, Kx, Es, Nk-2, DC-3, Sn-64, Pr-326 and St, instead of покровъ or скѫдѣль(никъ) – which is present in the Turov Gospel and most of consulted codices – attest the noun стропъ. Some other lexemes, as оконце (in Mk), окно (in Pl), стѣнѫ (in Mu), дъскоу (in Pt), жлѣбиние (in Xl-31) or even храминоу (in Lu), were also found in this place.

In Lk 5, verses 20 and 24[248] (2nd Saturday of the New Year cycle), in three short lectionaries, i.e. B(n), Fl-120c and Pr-326, instead of the lexeme отъпоуштати – which is present in the Turov Gospel and most of consulted codices – оставлѧти is attested in both cases, while in three manuscripts, i.e. NR, Fl-108 and Ćr-4, it applies only to the first, and in one, i.e. in Vl, to the second case.

In Lk 5, 30 (3rd Saturday of the New Year cycle), only one manuscript[249], i.e. KB-1, instead of the noun кънижьникъ – which is present in the Turov Gospel and most of consulted codices – has книгъчии[250].

The presented evidence proves that the Turov Gospel, as some of the consulted short lectionaries, i.e., As, CL, Fl-99, KM-508, KM-849, Pn-4 and SA-2[251], lacks any of the Preslav lexemes.

The Turov Gospel Lectionary, as it was mentioned in the previous section, features the liturgical information on recitation of Saturday and Sunday periocopes of the 17th week after the Holy Pentecost at the end of the New Year cycle in case of the early Easter. This

244 Three codices, i.e. Pt, Tp-12 and Cr-236, have олѣи in J 25, verses 3 and 5; four manuscripts, i.e. RA-816, Es, Sn-401 and AR-6, also have олѣи in J 25, verses 4 and 5.

245 Eg-108 attests масло only in J 25, 3, CU only in Mt 25, 4 and Tp-10, Fl-120*?, Ćr-4 and Zg-16 exclusively in Mt 25, 5.

246 In K(M)-111, only the first letter (с) from this noun is extant, and AR-6 has only the first letter (ꙁ).

247 Four codices, i.e. Je, Pc-26, BN-496 and OR, omit this word.

248 K(M)-111 has a lacuna in this place.

249 In one manuscript, i.e. Vc, this noun is missing, and Ćr-4 has a lacuna in this place.

250 On distribution of this pair of lexemes in the Church Slavonic Gospel Codices see also Львов А. С. Очерки по лексике памятников. С. 163–168; Темчин С. Ю. О разграничении лексических архаизмов и инноваций в церковнославянском тексте: варианты кънижьникъ и кънигъчии в списках евангелия XI–XVI вв. // Slavistica Vilnensis: Kalbotyra. 1995. T. 45, № 2. P. 64–81.

251 These seven short lectionaries lack any Preslav lexeme in Gospel pericopes in the second section of Synaxarion, i.e. after the Holy Pentecost (Ostapczuk J. Sobotnie i niedzielne perykopy liturgiczne. S. 288). Although, they may attest the Preslav lexemes in other parts of the Synaxarion and even in Menologion (see Темчин С. Ю. О разграничении лексических архаизмов. P. 76, table no 6).

text is written after the Gospel reading for the 17th Sunday of Matthew and before the one for the 1st Saturday of the Luke. It occupies verses 4–11 in folio 6*v*.

The textual analysis of this short liturgical information, present in the Turov lectionary and additional texts written in the very same place, in 10 codices proved that two manuscripts (i.e. DC-3[252] and Fl-120[253]) follow a different tradition. Thus, the text collation of this liturgical instruction attested in the Turov Gospel was based on a total number of 8 codices, i.e. Pg-11, RA-816, NR, Qv-43, Qv-59, Xl-31, Sv-17 and KM-512, which share mostly common, as well as some unusual variants.

In the introductive formula, i.e. (и) се подобаетъ вѣдѣти, present in the Turov Gospel and five other sources (Pg-11, RA-816, NR, Qv-59, and Xl-31), the demonstrative pronoun се is missing in Sv-17 and KM-512, while the verb вѣдѣти attested in the codex in question and other seven codices (Pg-11, RA-816, NR, Qv-59, Xl-31, Sv-17 and KM-512) was changed into вѣщати in Qv-43.

The collation of the first sentence аще боудетъ пасха оутрь ѹтеть са соуботьноѥ отъ сихъ до рожьства с҃тыꙗ бц҃а also proved existence of textual variants in the consulted codices, i.e.:

– omission of оутрь in Sv-17 and KM-512, and presence of въноутрь in Qv-59;

– presence of отъ нихъ in Sv-17 and KM-512, and соубота (before ѹтеть са) in Qv-59;

– presence of прѣс҃тыꙗ бц҃а in Pg-11, RA-816, NR, Sv-17 and KM-512.

The collation of the second sentence ищи же соуботъı и недѣлѣ[254] м҃ца септевра прѣжде въздвижениꙗ ѹстьнаго кръста revealed the following readings:

– presence of же (after ищи) only in Tu, NR and Qv-43;

– presence of иже instead of м҃ца септевра and omission of прѣжде въздвижениꙗ in Qv-59;

– presence of прѣдъ (before въздвижениемъ) in Pg-11;

– omission of ѹстьнаго in Xl-31;

– omission of ѹстьнаго кръста in RA-816, as well as its displacement after по въздвижении in Qv-59.

The collation of the second part of the liturgical information, i.e. по въздвижении же такожде ищи соуботѣ и недѣлѣ септевра м҃ца по томъ же по радоу отъ пр҃с҃тыꙗ бц҃а даже и до коньца, pointed to the following textual variants:

– presence of conjunction и (before по въздвижении) in Xl-31, Sv-17 and KM-512;

252 In DC-4, this text reads as follow: пⷭобаѥт же вⷭвти ꙗко ѥуг҃ліе се w хⷭ҃неи понеже многаци прилоуѹаѥт са далг҃е выг҃ пасцѣ. нⷭе оубо не вымѣщаѥт са в саⷣтаѫ. и в нⷭелѣѫ маⷣевѣѫ. понг҃е нг҃в ѹтено николи҃ ꙁі нⷭе ѹтетг҃е са прѣжⷭе в луцѣ нⷭе фарисевва. аще бо не достатъѹень бⷭать лу҃ ꙗкоже рѣхь понг҃е далг҃е выг҃ пасцѣ пⷭобаѥт же вⷭвти ꙗко наѹинаѥт са лоука ѹести ѿ нⷭе по вьꙁⷭвижены. тогⷭа бо равно дн҃ы и ноцы бываѫг҃. иже нарицаѥт са новоѥ лⷱѣ или ꙗко ѿ кг҃ сⷣетⷣе лоу҃ ѹтет са сⷣаты же и нⷭе. гл҃ы маⷣвва иже҃ прилоуѹить или г҃і сⷣа или д҃і нⷭе или е҃і или ѕ҃і. да не наѹинаѥши наⷣло новоу лⷱтоу. саⷣта или нⷭелѫ луѹиноѫ прьвоа. на ути мⷣа на редоу сⷣати и нⷭелѫ. ѿ изобилныѫ него и пог҃мь ути сⷣата и нⷭелѫ по вьꙁⷭвыжены. пог҃ пнⷭе наѹинаѥг҃ сг҃ты лу҃а пог҃ сⷣѫ и нⷭе.

253 In Fl-120, the following text is present: пⷭобаѥт же вⷭвти ꙗко мⷭа поѹинаѥг҃ ѿ всⷯ сг҃ѝ и тако дрьжиг҃ до раг҃половениа сг҃е мц҃а. ищи соуⷣ и нⷭелю мц҃а септевра прѣжⷭе вьꙁⷭвижениа ѹ҃енаго кр҃та. и по вьꙁⷭвижени тожⷭе. соуⷣ и нⷭелѣ. по тоⷬже поѹинаѣть лоука.

254 In Xl-31, insted of the text ищи же соуботъı и недѣлѣ is present ищи сг҃е нⷭе, and ѿ was attested before прѣжде въздвижениꙗ.

– omission of по въздвижении in RA-816;

– presence of же такожде only in Tu, NR and Qv-43, while та҃къ only in Pg-11, иже такоже in RA-816, тожᴬе in Sv-17 and KM-512;

– omissions of: ици and септевра м҃ца in Sv-17 and KM-512, же такожде ици in Xl-31, as well as же такожде ици соуботъ и недѣлъ септевра м҃ца in Qv-59 and по томъ же по радоу in Qv-43;

– presence of отъ in Tu (with omission of рождьства), while отъ рождьства in Pg-11, RA-816 and NR, по рождьствѣ in Qv-43, as well as до рождства in Qv-59, Xl-31, Sv-17 and KM-512;

– presence of пр҃тыа бц҃а only in Tu, Pg-11 (прѣдъ с҃тыа бц҃а {SIC!}) and RA-816, while с҃тыа бц҃а – in six other consulted short lectionaries;

– presence of тажᴬе instead of даже in Sv-17 and KM-512, до селѣ instead of до коньца in RA-816; дрьжи instead of даже with addition of радь (after коньца) in Qv-59;

– omission of даже и до коньца in Xl-31.

The presented evidence of textual readings revealed in this liturgical instruction points that the highest verbatim correspondence of the Turov Gospel Lectionary is in relation to NR – a Bulgarian manuscript dated to the middle of the 13th century. The textual analysis of this short addition proved that the Turov Gospel is also very closely related to three other following codices:

– Pg-11 – East Slavonic manuscript previously dated in the range of the beginning of the 12th – the beginning of the 13th century and recently re-dated to the end of the 11th century[255];

– RA-816 – East Slavonic codex dated to the 13th century[256];

– and Qv-43 – Bulgarian manuscript dated to the end of the 13th – the beginning of the 14th century[257].

All these three manuscripts attest several unusual textual readings.

It is also worth noting that eight out of all consulted short lectionaries have a lacuna in this place. Out of these eight codices, two (i.e. As and SK) are dated to the 11th century, two (i.e Rl-13 and Qv-23) to the 13th century, two (i.e. KM-508 and Rm-107) to the 14th century, and two (i.e. CU and Lu) to the 15th–16th centuries. Each of these eight mentioned here codices, especially the oldest ones, if fully preserved, could contribute to the liturgical and textual study of this specific addition related to the service celebration in the Turov Gospel Lectionary.

255 Молков Г. Особенности языка и письма. С. 230–231, 248, 250; Alberti A. RNB. Pogodin. 11. H. 203.

256 Князевская О. А. Коваль Н. С., Кошелева О. Е., Мошкова Л. В. 1988. Каталог Славяно-русских рукописных книг XI–XIV вв. хранящихся в ЦГАДА СССР, Москва, 1988. С. 96–97 (№ 33).

257 See: Христова Б., Загребин В., Енин Г., Шварц Е. 2009. Славянские рукописи Болгарского происхождения в Российской Национальной Библиотеке Санкт-Петербург. София: Унив. изд. Св. Климент Охридски, 2009. С. 62–63 (№ 22); Левшина Ж. Л. Рукописи сербского правописания Российской Национальной Библиотеки. Каталог. Санкт-Петербург: Российская национальная библиотека, 2021. С. 151 (№ 260), and cited literature.

The textual study of the Church Slavonic Gospel's translation in all three partially extant cycles of the Turov lectionary lectionary proved that it follows the tradition the tradition reflected in most of the short *aprakoses* consulted. The codex in question has a number of textual readings in common with other codices studied even as far back as the 11th century and, like some of these codices, does not contain any lexeme typical of the Preslav Literary School. This reveals that the traditions of the Turov Gospel and consulted codices are similar, they share a common textual history.

Summary

This study of the Turov Gospel with the above-stated evidence, based on seventy-four Church Slavonic lectionaries, has proved that:

– this fragmentarily preserved *aprakos* was originally a short lectionary (*l*esk);

– the system of Gospel readings attested in the Turov Codex, as well as introductive formulas, rigidly follow the Slavonic and Greek liturgical tradition of the Orthodox Church of Byzantine times, reflected in almost all short lectionaries consulted (*l*esk);

– the presence of Gospel identifiers, i.e. the Ammonian section numbers, before Gospel pericopes suggests that the *exemplar* of the Turov Codex was produced with the use of lectionary tables appended to the continuous text manuscripts (i.e. to Tetraevangelion), and its antigraph(s) passed down these elements;

– the textual tradition of the Church Slavonic Gospel translation in the Turov Lectionary, which does not feature any Preslav lexeme, shares a common textual history with other, dated even as far back as the 11th century, consulted codices.

Thus, the significance of the Turov Gospel Lectionary for Slavonic Biblical and liturgical scholarship, as well as for linguistics, is unquestionable. This 11th-century codex even today deserves scholars' attention.

List of Consulted Manuscripts

Ab-5 – Scientific Archive of Bulgarian Academy of Sciences in Sofia, no 5.

As – Vatical Library, Cod. Slav 3. Ed. Kurz J. Evangeliarum Assemani, Codex Vaticanus 3. Slavicus Glagoliticus. Tomus II. Praha, 1955.

Ar – Russian State Library in Moscow, M. 1666. Ed. Архангельское евангелие 1092 г. Издание Румянцевского Музея, Москва, 1912.

AR-6 – Romanian Academy Library in Bucharest, Slav 6.

AR-354 – Romanian Academy Library in Bucharest, Slav 354.

AR(m)-676 – Romanian Academy Library in Bucharest, Slav 676.

A(b)-7 – Scientific Archive of Bulgarian Academy of Sciences in Sofia, no 7.

BN-496 – National Library of Serbia in Belgrade, no 496.

B(n) – Russian State Library in Moscow, V. I. Grigorovich's Collection (no 87), no 8 (M. 1690).

Cd-1 – State Historical Museum, Cudov Monastery's Collection (no 80370), no 1.

CL – The "Sextil Puscariu" Institute of Linguistics and Literary History, Cluj Napoca, no 22.

Cr-236 – State Historical Museum, A. D. Chertkov's Collection (no 80497), no 236.

CU – „Lucian Blaga" Central University Library in Cluj-Napoca, no 4095.

DC-3 – Visoki Dečani Monastery, Crkolez no 3.

Ćr-4 – University library "Svetozar Markovic" in Belgrade, Ćorović's Collection, no 4.

Eg-108 – Russian State Library in Moscow, E. E. Egorov's Collection (no 98), no 108.

Es – Russian State Library in Moscow, M. 3168. Ed. Евсевієве Евангеліе 1283 року. Наукове виданния / ред.: В. В. Німчук, Г. А. Арполенко, З. Г. Козирєва, Г. І. Лиса, К. С. Симонова, Г. Х. Щербатюк (підготували до видання). (Пам'ятки української мови XIII ст. Серія канонічної літератури). К.: Київський славістичний університет, 2001 and *microfilm*.

Fl-99 – The National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg, F.п.I. 99.

Fl-108 – The National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg, F.п.I. 108.

Fl-120 – The National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg, F.п.I. 120.

Fl-395 – The National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg, F.п.I. 395.

F(l)-13 – The National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg, F.п.I. 13.

HB-452 – National Historical Museum of Belarus Republic in Minsk, no 452.

Je – Library of Orthodox Patriarchate in Jersualem, slav. 19.

Kb – The Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, N. J. Kolobov's Collection (no 10), no 617a; State Historical Museum in Moscow, M. 763*.

KB-1 – The National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg, Kirillo-Belozersky Monastery's Collection (no 351), no 1.

KM-508 – SS. Cyril and Methodius National Library in Sofia, no 508.

KM-512 – SS. Cyril and Methodius National Library in Sofia, no 512.

KM-849 – SS. Cyril and Methodius National Library in Sofia, no 849.

KM(f)-868 – SS. Cyril and Methodius National Library in Sofia, no 868.

K(M)-111 – SS. Cyril and Methodius National Library in Sofia, no 111.

Kx – Odessa A. M. Gorky State Scientific Library, Odessa, no 1/3 (49). Ed. Коссек Н. В. Евангелие Кохно, Болгарский памятник XIII в. София: Изд. болгарской Академии наук, 1986 and *de visu*.

Li-680 – The St. Petersburg Institute of History of the Russian Academy of Sciences, ZES 680.

Lu – Metropolitan Theological Seminary in Lublin, Poland, no 563.

Mk – Archive of Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, III c 1 (Мошин, В. 1954. Македонско евангелие на поп Јована (=Стари текстови Т. 1), Скопје, 1954; Ostapczuk J. Dwie karty ewangeliarza macedońskiego (popa Jowana) (kon. XII – pocz. XIII w.) z Biblioteki Patriarszej w Belgradzie // Полата къниговисьнаѣ. Polata knigopisnaia. A journal devoted to the study of early slavic books, texts and literatures. 2010. Vol. 38 (λ̄ѝ). P. 67–98 as well as *de visu*.

Mu – State Historical Museum in Moscow, M. 3178 and A. S. Uvarov's Collcetion (no 4911) no 289.

Nk-2 – The Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, N. K. Nikolskiy's Collection, no 2.

NR – National Library of Romania in Bucharest, no 10848; Zograf Monastery, Mount Athos, no 283, and Rila Monastery in Bulgaria, no 12.

Os – The National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg, F.п.I. 5. Ed. Остромирово Евангелие 1056–1057: Факсимильное воспроизведение памятника. Ленинград; Москва 1988.

OR – Russian State Library in Moscow, Manuscripts Collection (no 218), no 1987.

Pc-26 – Pec Monastery, no 26.

Pc-27 – Pec Monastery, no 27.

Pg-11 – The National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg, M. P. Pogodin's Collection, no 11.

Pg-16 – The National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg, M. P. Pogodin's Collection, no 16.

Pl – Ivan Vazov National Library in Plovid, no 9 (67 and 65). Ed. Michel G. M. Das Plovdiver Evangeliar: Slavische Handschrift Nr 67 der Plovdiver Nationalbibliothek – Ein Denkmal der mittelbulgarischen Sprache des 13 – 14 Jahrhunderts. Edition und Untersuchung

(Typoskript – Edition Hieronymus. Slavische Sprachen und Literaturen, Bd. 14). Neuried, 1987 and *de visu*.

Pn-4 – St. Panteleimon Monastery, Mount Athos, no 4.

Pr-326 – Stefanyk National Scientific Library in Lviv, Ukraine, collection of A. S. Petrushevich (no 77), no 326.

Pt – Putna Monastery, Romania, no 114.

P(at)-307 – seven fragments kept at: National Library of Serbia in Belgrade, no 1; National Church Historical-Archaeological Museum at the Holy Synod in Sofia, no 488; Library of Serbian Patriarchate in Belgrade, no 307; Romanian Academy Library in Bucharest, Slav 682 (ed. Smochină N. N., Smochină N. Unul dintre cele mai vechi texte slave scrise de un romîn (sec. XI–XII) // Biserica Ortodoxă Romînă. 1961. LXXIX (11–12 : Noemb.-Decemb. P. 1111–1141); State Historical Museum in Moscow, P. I. Ščukin's Collection, no 39 and 884; University library "Svetozar Markovic" in Belgrade, Ćorović Fragments Collection, no 2.

Qv-23 – The National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg, Q.п.I 23.

Qv-26 – The National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg, Q.п.I 26.

Qv-43 – The National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg, Q.п.I 43.

Qv-59 – The National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg, Q.п.I 36 and 59.

Qv(t)-1a – The National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg, Q.п.I 1.

RA-816 – Russian State Archives of Ancient Documents, Collection no 188, no 816.

Rl-13 – Rila Monastery in Bulgaria, no 13.

Rm-107 – Russian State Library in Moscow, N. P. Rumiantsev's Collection (no 256), no 107.

Rm-108 – Russian State Library in Moscow, N. P. Rumiantsev's Collection (no 256), no 108.

SA-2 – Archive of Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Belgrade, no 2.

SK – Russian State Archives of Ancient Documents, Synodal Typography Collection (no 381), no 14. Ed. Князевская О. А., Коробенко Л. П., Дограмаджиева Е. П. Саввина Книга, Древнеславянская рукопись XI, XI–XII и конца XIII века, Москва: Индрик, 1999.

Sn-64 – State Historical Museum in Moscow, Sinodal Collection, no 64.

Sn-401 – State Historical Museum in Moscow, Sinodal Collection, no 401.

St – Andrey Sheptytsky National Museum in Lviv, no 587.

Sv-17 – Russian State Library in Moscow, P. I. Sevastianov's Collection (no 270.II), no 17.

Sv(r) – Archive of Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Belgrade, no 63. Ed. Родич Н. Сврљишки одоломци еванђеља (XIII в.). Ниш, 1994.

Tl – Tula Regional Museum of Local Lore, no 304.

Tp-10 – Russian State Archives of Ancient Documents, Synodal Typography Collection (no 381), no 10.

Tp-12 – Russian State Archives of Ancient Documents, Synodal Typography Collection (no 381), no 12.

Ut-89 – The Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, Ustiug Collection, no 89.

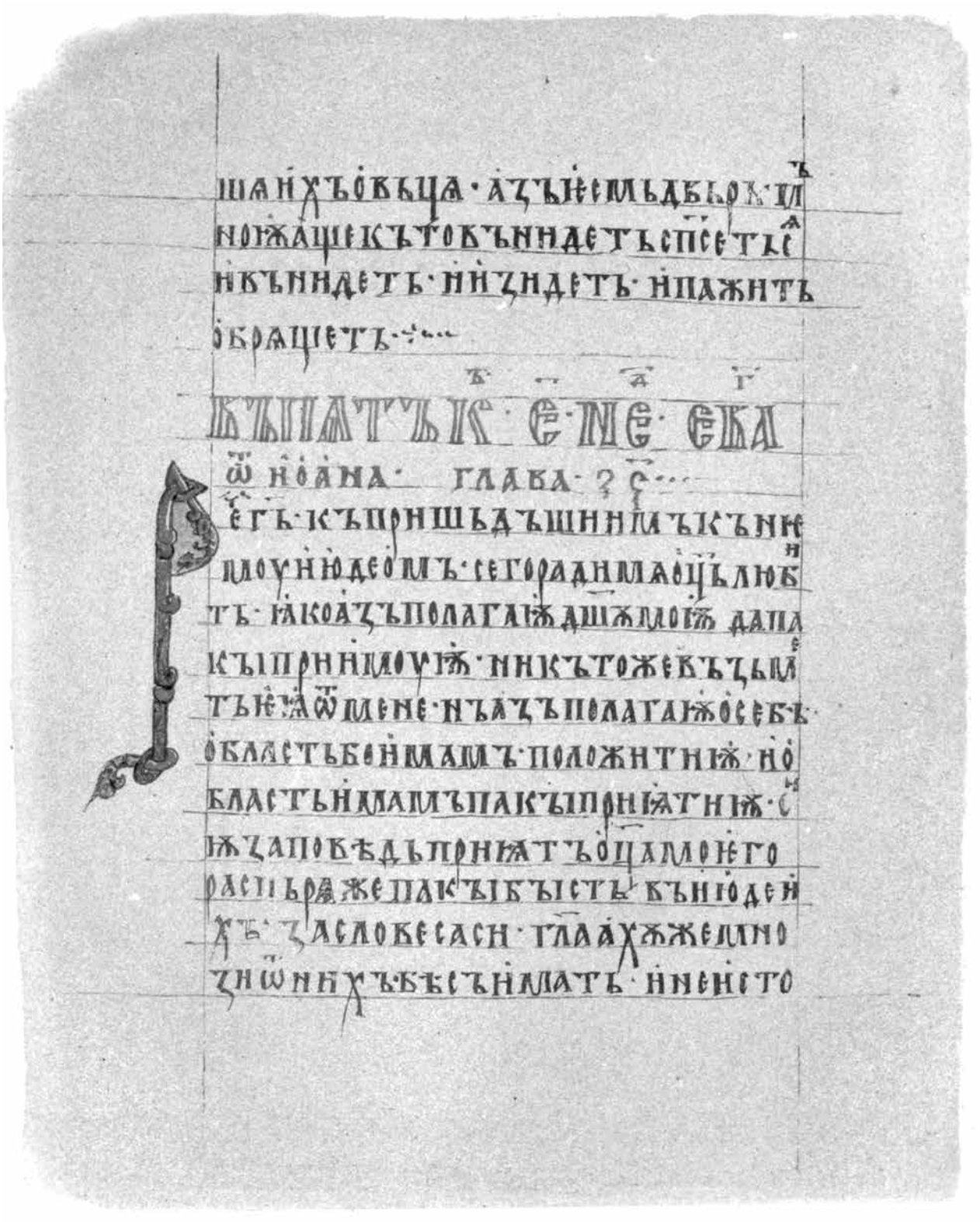
Vc – SS. Cyril and Methodius National Library in Sofia, no 19. Ed. Цонев Б. Врачанско евангелие: Среднобългарски паметник от XIII век (=Български старини, кн. 4), София, 1914 and *de visu*.

Vl – SS. Cyril and Methodius National Library in Sofia, no 18.

Vt-pal – Vatical Library, Gr 2502. Ed. Кръстанов, Тотоманова, Добрев 1996.

Xl-31 – State Historical Museum in Moscow, A. I. Chludov's Collection (no 294), no 31.

Zg-16 – Zograf Monastery, Mount Athos, no 16.



Folio 1 verso of the *Turov Gospel* from *The Turov Gospel of the Eleventh Century. Edition of the Vilna Educational District. Lithography by Bermeleev at the Archaeographic Commission*. St. Petersburg, 1868

BOOKS ABOUT THE BOOK: THE MAIN BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE TUROV GOSPEL*

In this bibliography, I tried to highlight the existing data regarding the full or partial publication of the Turov Gospel's illustrations and text, as well as related research works. Consequently, certain publications may appear in both sections of this list. The entries are organized as follows: first, works in Ukrainian; second, books in Cyrillic script (Belarusian, Bulgarian, or Russian); and finally, publications in Latin script.

I. Publication of the Monument

Digital Editions: *Images*

[Туровское Евангеліе (Евангелие Апракос Краткий)]. URL: https://elibrary.mab.lt/handle/1/21095.

Digital Editions: *Text*

Евангелие апракос краткий (Туровское евангелие) (ЦБАН ЛитССР, F19-1, XI в.).
URL: http://manuscripts.ru/mns/main?p_text=42435676.

Facsimile Printed Editions

Complete Manuscript

Тот И. Х., Хоргоши Э., Хорват Г. Туровские листки // Dissertationes Slavicae. Slavistische Mitteilungen. Материалы и сообщения по славяноведению. XIII. Szeged, 1978. С. 239–258, рис. 1а–10б.

Тураўскае Евангелле = Туровское Евангелие = Turaŭ Gospel. Факсімільнае узнаўленне. Даследаванні. А. А. Суша (агулн. рэд.). Мінск: Нацыянальна бібліятэка Беларусі, 2014. С. 7–30.

Туровское Евангелие одиннадцатого века. Издание Виленского учебного округа. Литография Бермелеева при Археографической комиссии. Санкт-Петербург, 1868. [without 18th-c. entries].

The same: Тураўскае Евангелле // Тураў. Тураўскае Евангелле. Мінск (Беларуская энциклапедыя), 2004. С. 161–183. [facsimile reprint of the 1868 edition, without 18th-c. entries].

Manuscript Fragments

Запаско Я. П. Пам'ятки книжкового мистецтва: українська рукописна книга. Л.: Світ, 1995. С. 157. [fols. 8v, 9v; image partially cropped].

Огієнко І. Пам'ятки старослов'янської мови X–XI віків. Історичний, лінгвістичний і палеографічний огляд з повною бібліографією та альбом 155 знімків з пам'яток з кирилівською транскрипцією. Варшава: Друкарня Синодальна, 1929. (Огієнко І. Історія церковнослов'янської мови. Т. 5; Студії до української граматики, видають І. Огієнко та Р. Смаль-Стоцький, кн. V). С. 356–357, мал. 116–117. [fols. 5, 7].

* Translated by Anatol Laskowski.

Батюшков П. Н. Белоруссия и Литва. Исторические судьбы Северо-Западного края. С одной хромолитографией, 99 гравюрами и картой. Санкт-Петербург, 1890. С. 11. [fol. 1v].

Гильтебрандт П. Краткое известие о Туровском Евангелии // Памяць. Гісторыка-дакументальная хроніка Жыткавицкага раёна / рэд.-укл. В. Р. Феранц. Мінск: Ураджай, 1994. С. 89. [fol. 10v; also a headpiece from another monument].

Каринский Н. М. Образцы письма древнейшего периода истории русской книги. 60 фототипичеких снимков с древнерусских памятников, преимущественно XI в., на 29 таблицах. Ленинград: Изд-во АН СССР, 1925. Табл. 27.1. [fol. 8v].

Лабынцаў Ю. А. Старая казка Палесся (Турава-Пінская зямля). Мінск: Полымя, 1993. С. 18. [fol. 7].

Лабынцев Ю. А. Новое о Туровских евангелиях // Матэрыялы Першых кнігазнаўчых чытанняў. (Мінск, 15 верасня 1998 г.) / склад. Т. І. Рошчына, Мінск: Национальная библиотека Беларуси, 2000. С. 45. [fol. 2v].

Ластоўскі В. Гісторыя беларускай (крыўскай) кнігі: Спроба паясьніцельнай кнігапісі ад канца X да пачатку XIX стагодзьдзя. Коўна: Адціснута ў друкарні Сакалоўскага і Лана, 1926. С. 19. [fol. 1v; also a headpiece from another monument].

Лысенко П. Ф. Древний Туров. Минск: Беларуская навука, 2004. С. 9, рис. 3. [fol. 10v; also a headpiece from another monument].

Нікалаеў М. Палата кнігапісная. Рукапісная кніга на Беларусі ў X–XVIII стагоддзях. Мінск: Мастацкая літаратура, 1993. С. 22. [fol. 7].

Нікалаеў М. Тураўскае Евангелле // Энциклапедыя гісторыі Беларусі. У 6 тамах. Мінск: Беларуская энциклапедыя імя Петруся Броўки, 2001. Т. 6, кн. 1: Пузыны – Усая. С. 541. [fol. 7].

The same: Нікалаеў М. Тураўскае Евангелле // Беларуская энциклапедыя ў 18 тамах. Мінск: Беларуская энциклапедыя, 2003. Т. 16: Трыпалі – Хвіліна. С. 37. [fol. 7].

Памятники русской старины в западных губерниях империи, издаваемый по высочайшему повелению П. Н. Батюшковым. Вып. 6: 18 рисунков. Санкт-Петербург, 1874. Рис. 12. [fol. 1v].

Полевой П. Н. История русской словесности с древнейших времен до наших дней. В трех томах. Том I. Санкт-Петербург, 1900. С. 42. [fol. 1v].

The same: Полевой П. Н. История русской словесности с древнейших времен до наших дней. Второе стереотипное издание. В трех томах. Том I. Санкт-Петербург, 1903. С. 42. [fol. 1v].

Пуцко В. Г. Славянская иллюминированная книга X–XI веков // Byzantinoslavica. Revue internationale des études Byzantine. Prague, 1985. Т. XLVI. Рис. 10. [fol. 1v–2].

Пуцко В. Художественное оформление древнейших славянских рукописей // Slovo: časopis Staroslavenskoga instituta u Zagrebu. Zagreb, 1987. Sv. 37. S. 85, рис. 17. [fols. 6v–7].

Пуцко В. Ілюмінацыя Тураўскаго Евангелля // Беларускі гістарычны агляд: навуковы часопіс. 1998. Т. 5, сш. 1. С. 88–102. URL: https://www.belhistory.eu/archives/373. [fols. 1v–2, 7v–8, 9v–10, 10v].

Стасов В. Славянский и восточный орнамент по рукописям древнего и нового времени. Санкт-Петербург, 1887. С. 33–34, табл. LXXXIX, 1–7. [initials ⱃ from fols. 7 and 8v, one initial ⱁ from fol. 2 and four initials ⱂ from fol. 1v, 2v, 5 and 9v].

Суша А. Тураўскае Евангелле – самая старажытная кніга Беларусі // Беларускі гістарычны часопіс. 2015. № 8. С. 23. [fol. 1v].

Щавинская Л. Л. Полтысячелетия дарственной записи князей Острожских на Туровском евангелии // Международная электронная конференция «Белорусский текст: от рукописи к электронной книге» (к Дню белорусской письменности, сентябрь 2008 г.). [Минск], 2008. URL: https://belrus-seminar2008.narod.ru/Schavinskaja-Kr_stol.htm. [fol. 6v].

Abramowicz W. Piśmiennictwo i książka na Litwe. Wilnius: Państwowe w-wo literatury politycznej i naukowej, 1957. P. 43, r. 9. [fol. 7v].

Lietuvos TSR mokslų akademijos Centrinė biblioteka / sud. A. Ivaškevičius. Vilnius, 1959. R. 29. [fol. 8v].

Petrauskienė V. Rusų rankraštinė knyga Lietuvos bibliotekose // Rusų knygos spausdinimo pradžia ir Lietuva. Vilnius: Mintis, 1966. (Bibliotekininkystė ir bibliografija, t. III). P. 38. [fol. 8v].

Rankraščių rinkiniai: Lietuvos TSR Mokslų akademijos Centrinės bibliotekos XI–XX amžių rankraščių fondų trumpa apžvalga / sud. V. Abramavičius. Vilnius: Laikraščių ir žurnalų l-kla, 1963. P. 59. [fol. 10v].

Text Editions

Complete Manuscript

Богданова С. Туровско Евангелие. Индекс на словоформите // Годишник на Софийския университет "Климент Охридски". Факултет по славянски филологии. Кн. 2 – Езикознание. Т. 79, 2. 1985. София, 1991. С. 77–86.

Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки о малоизвестных и неизвестных памятниках // Записки императорской Академии наук. Т. 22. Санкт-Петербург, 1873. Приложения. № 3. С. 107–117 [text on fols. 1–2, 3–10v]; 118–119. [text of 16th-century charters on fols. 2v and 6v]; 123–134 [on fols. 1–2, 3–10v, with variant readings from the Ostromir, Zograf, and Vatican (Assemani) Gospels, etc.].

The same: Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки о малоизвестных и неизвестных памятниках // Сборник Отделения русского языка и словесности императорской Академии наук. Том XII, № 1. Санкт-Петербург, 1874. С. 107–117 [text on fols. 1–2, 3–10v]; 118–119. [text of 16th-century charters on fols. 2v and 6v]; 123–134 [on fols. 1–2, 3–10v, with variant readings from the Ostromir, Zograf, and Vatican (Assemani) Gospels, etc.].

The same: Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки о малоизвестных и неизвестных памятниках // Сборник Отделения русского языка и словесности императорской Академии наук. Том XII. Санкт-Петербург, 1875. С. 107–117 [text on fols. 1–2, 3–10v]; 118–119. [text of 16th-century charters on fols. 2v and 6v]; 123–134 [on fols. 1–2, 3–10v, with variant readings from the Ostromir, Zograf, and Vatican (Assemani) Gospels, etc.].

The same: Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки о малоизвестных и неизвестных памятниках. XLI–LXXX. Санкт-Петербург, 1876. С. 107–117 [text on fols. 1–2, 3–10v]; 118–119. [text of 16th-century charters on fols. 2v and 6v]; 123–134 [on fols. 1–2, 3–10v, with variant readings from the Ostromir, Zograf, and Vatican (Assemani) Gospels, etc.].

Туровское Евангелие одиннадцатого века. I. Краткое известие о Туровском Евангелии. II. Древний текст с современным насупротив, и с отменами по Остромировому Евангелию. Редакция текста и объяснения П. А. Гильтебрандта. Издание книгопродавца-печатника И. Г. Сыркина. Вильна, 1869. С. X, 1–20 [text on fols. 1–2, 3–10v, based on the Ostromir Gospel (1056–1057) with parallel text from the 1863 edition of the Elizabeth Bible; of 16th-century charters on fols. 2v and 6v].

The same: Туровское Евангелие одиннадцатого века. I. Краткое известие о Туровском Евангелии. II. Древний текст с современным насупротив, и с отменами по Остромировому Евангелию. Редакция текста и объяснения П. А. Гильтебрандта. Издание книгопродавца-печатника И. Г. Сыркина. Вильна, 1869. С. X, 1–20 // Тураўскае Евангелле = Туровское Евангелие = Turaŭ Gospel. Факсімільнае узнаўленне. Даследаванні. А. А. Суша (агулн. рэд.). Мінск: Нацыянальна бібліятэка Беларусі, 2014. С. 149–184. [text on fols. 1–2, 3–10v, based on the Ostromir Gospel (1056–1057) with parallel text from the 1863 edition of the Elizabeth Bible; of 16th-century charters on fols. 2v and 6v].

Manuscript Fragments

Запаско Я. П. Пам'ятки книжкового мистецтва: українська рукописна книга. Л.: Світ, 1995. С. 158. [texts of charters by Kostiantyn Ostrozky on fols. 2v and 6v].

Сімович В. Хрестоматія з памятників староукраїнської мови (старого й середнього періоду до кінця XVIII ст.) з додатком вибору зі староболгарських пам'яток зі словничком. Прага: Вид. тов. «Сіяч», 1932. С. 100–102. [selected Gospel readings on fols. 1–1v, 7v–8v].

Археографический сборник документов, относящихся к истории северо-западной Руси, издаваемый при управлении Виленского учебного округа. Том 4. Вильна, 1867. С. V–VI, 1–2. [texts of charters by Kostiantyn Ostrozky from 1508 and 1513].

The same: Документы, относящиеся к истории православия в Западной России // Вестник Западной России. Историко-литературный журнал. 1868. Год VI. Кн. X, т. IV. С. 19–21.

Войлова К. А. Старославянский язык: Пособие для вузов. Москва: Дрофа, 2003. С. 331–332. [Gospel readings on fols. 1–1v, 5v–6v, 7–7v].

Воскресенский Г. Славянская христоматия. Сборники по славянским наречиям: древнему церковнославянскому, древнерусскому, болгарскому, сербо-хорватскому, словинскому, чешскому, лужицкому и польскому, с сведеньями и замечаниями о памятниках и общими характеристиками наречий. Вып. 1. Языки древний церковнославянский и древнерусский. Москва, 1882. С. 11–13. [selected Gospel readings on fols. 1–1v, 4v–5v, 8v–9v, 10–10v].

Гильтебрандт П. Перечневая опись // Рукописное отделение Виленской публичной библиотеки, состоящей под августейшим покровительством его императорского высочества государя-наследника цесаревича Александра Александровича. Издание Виленской публичной библиотеки. Вып. 1. I. Церковно-славянские рукописи. II. Русские пергамены. Вильна, 1871. С. 2–3. [text on fol. 1 (lines 1–6) and on fols. 3–3v (lines 15–16 and 1–2 respectively) with variant readings from the Ostromir Gospel (1056–1057) and parallel text from the 1863 edition of the Elizabeth Bible.; precept on fol. 6v].

Гильтебрандт П. А. Объяснения к рисункам, приложения и указатель // Памятники русской старины в западных губерниях империи, издаваемый по высочайшему повелению П. Н. Батюшковым. Вып. 6: текст к 18 рисункам. Санкт-Петербург, 1874. С. 137. [text on fol. 1v with variant readings from the Ostromir Gospel (1056–1057) and parallel text from the 1863 edition of the Elizabeth Bible].

Добрянский Ф. Описание рукописей Виленской публичной библиотеки, церковно-славянских и русских. Вильна, 1882. С. 3–5. [opening and closing lines of the pages; headings; 16th-century charters on fols. 2v and 6v].

Каринский Н. Хрестоматия по древнецерковнославянскому и русскому языкам. Пособие при преподавании русского языка в университетах и других высших учебных заведениях. Ч. I: древнейшие памятники. С приложением словаря и четырех фототипических снимков с древнерусских нотных книг. Санкт-Петербург, 1904. С. 115–118. [text on fol. 1–1v, 3–4v, 5v–8v].

Карский Е. Ф. Очерк славянской кирилловской палеографии. Из лекций, читанных в императорском Варшавском университете. Варшава, 1901. С. 307, 364. [text on fol. 7–7v; partial 16th-century charter on fol. 2v].

Карский Е. Ф. Славянская кирилловская палеография. Ленинград: Изд. АН СССР, 1928. С. 287, 340–341. [text on fol. 7–7v; partial 16th-century charter on fol. 2v].

The same: Карский Е. Ф. Славянская кирилловская палеография. Москва: Наука, 1979. С. 287, 340–341. [text on fol. 7–7v; partial 16th-century charter on fol. 2v].

Князевская О. Л., Лифшиц А. Л., Турилов А. А. Пергаменные рукописи собрания Виленской публичной библиотеки (Библиотека Академии наук Литовской Республики, ф. 19) // Krakowsko-wileńskie studia slawistyczne. T. 3. Kraków, 2001. S. 9–10. [text of 16th-century charters on fols.. 2v and 6v; 18th-century text in Latin script on fol. 2v].

Лабынцаў Ю. А. Старая казка Палесся (Турава-Пінская зямля). Мінск: Полымя, 1993. С. 30. [text of the 1508 charter on fol. 6v].

Лабынцаў Ю. А. Новае аб Тураўскіх Евангеллях // Тураўшчына: Мінулае, сучаснасць, будучыня. Вып. 3 / редкал. П. Ф. Лысенка (гал. ред.). Тураў; Мінск: Беларуская навука, 2004. С. 162. [text of the 1513 charter on fol. 2v].

Лабынцев Ю. Туровское Евангелие как особо чтимая святыня во времена Константина Острожского // Вестник Белорусского экзархата: Альманах. Т. 1. Благоверный князь Острожский / под ред. А. А. Петрашкевича. Минск: Изд-во Бел. Экзархата, 1998. С. 83. [text of the 1513 charter on fol. 2v].

Лабынцев Ю. А. Новое о Туровских евангелиях // Матэрыялы Першых кнігазнаўчых чытанняў. (Мінск, 15 верасня 1998 г.) / склад. Т. І. Рошчына, Мінск: Национальная библиотека Беларуси, 2000. С. 45. [text of the 1513 charter on fol. 2v].

Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки о малоизвестных и неизвестных памятниках // Записки императорской Академии наук. Т. 11. Санкт-Петербург, 1867. Приложение № 2. С. 31–33. [text on fols. 3–3v, 10–10v; with variant readings from the Ostromir Gospel (1056–1057)].

The same: Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки о малоизвестных и неизвестных памятниках // Сборник статей, читанных в Отделении русского языка и словесности императорской Академии наук. Т. 1, № 6, 7, 8, 9. Вып. IV. Санкт-Петербург, 1867. С. 31–33. [text on fols. 3–3v, 10–10v; with variant readings from the Ostromir Gospel (1056–1057)].

The same: Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки о малоизвестных и неизвестных памятниках. I–XL. Санкт-Петербург, 1867. Вып. 4. С. 31–33. [text on fols. 3–3v, 10–10v; with variant readings from the Ostromir Gospel (1056–1057)].

Срезневский И. И. Древние славянские памятники юсового письма с описанием их и с замечаниями об особенностях их правописания и языка // Сборник статей, читанных в Отделении русского языка и словесности императорской Академии наук. Т. 3. Санкт-Петербург, 1868. С. 168–172. [text on fols. 5–10v, excluding the last 7 lines; with notes on the erroneous use of *yuses*].

The same: Срезневский И. И. Древние славянские памятники юсового письма с описанием их и с замечаниями об особенностях их правописания и языка. Санкт-Петербург, 1868. С. 168–172. [text on fols. 5–10v, excluding the last 7 lines; with notes on the erroneous use of *yuses*].

Шулежкова С. Г. Хрестоматия по старославянскому языку. Тексты. Словарь. Фоноприложение. 2-е изд. Москва: ФЛИНТА; Наука, 2012. С. 134–138. [text on fols. 3–5v].

Щавинская Л. Л. Полтысячелетия дарственной записи князей Острожских на Туровском евангелии // Международная электронная конференция «Белорусский текст: от рукописи к электронной книге» (к Дню белорусской письменности, сентябрь 2008 г.). [Минск], 2008. URL: https://belrus-seminar2008.narod.ru/Schavinskaja-Kr_stol.htm. [text of the 1508 charter on fol. 6v].

Ягич И. В. Образцы языка церковнославянского по древнейшим памятникам глаголической и кирилловской письменности (Specimina linguae Paleoslovenicae). Санкт-Петербург, 1882. С. 73–76. [text on fols. 1–1v, 2v, 3–3v, 7v–8v].

Hamm J. Staroslavenska čitanka. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1960. S. 44–46. [text on fols. 3–4v].
The same: Hamm J. Staroslavenska čitanka. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1971. S. 44–46. [text on fols. 3–4v].
Gribble Ch. E. Medieval Slavic Text. Vol. 1. Old and Middle Russian Texts. Cambridge, Mass., 1973. P. 70–71. [text on fols. 1–1v, 3–4v, 5v–8v].
Wondrák W. Kirchenslavische Chrestomathie. Göttingen, 1910. S. 143. [text on fols. 7–7v].

II. Studies, Descriptions, and Interpretations of Texts

Бузук П. Нариси історії української мови. Вступ, фонетика і морфологія з додатком історичної хрестоматії. К., 1927. С. 18.
The same: Бузук П. Нариси історії української мови. Вступ, фонетика і морфологія з додатком історичної хрестоматії. К., 1927. Фотопередрук з післясловом Олекси Горбача. Мюнхен, 1985. (Українські граматики, редагує Олекса Горбач, вип. 4). С. 18.
Грунський М. К., Ковальов П. К. Нариси з історії української мови. Львів: Українське вид-во, 1941. С. 23.
Запаско Я. П. Пам'ятки книжкового мистецтва: українська рукописна книга. Л.: Світ, 1995. С. 156, 158–159.
Климчук А. Турівське Євангеліє – видатна пам'ятка давньоруської писемності // Історія та сучасність Православ'я на Волині: матеріали VII науково-практичної конференції (Луцьк, 8 листопада 2016 р.). Луцьк, 2016. С. 179–182.
Колесса О. Південно-Волинське Городище і городиські рукописні памятники XII–XVI в. // Науковий збірник Українського університету в Празі. Т. 1. Прага: Держ. друкарня, 1923. С. 40.
The same: Колесса О. Південно-Волинське Городище і городиські рукописні памятники XII–XVI в. Прага: Держ. друкарня, 1923. (Відбитка з Наукового збірника Українського університету в Празі, т. 1). С. 20.
Колесса О. Погляд на історію української мови. Інавгураційний виклад, виголошений в Українському університеті в Празі дня 23. жовтня 1921. Прага: Держ. друкарня, 1924. С. 9.
Кримський А. Українська мова: звідкіля вона взялася і як розвивалася // Шахматов Ол., Кримський Аг. Нариси з історії української мови та хрестоматія з пам'ятників письменської староукраїнщини XI–XVIII вв. К.: Друкар, 1922. С. 97.
The same: Кримський А. Українська мова: звідкіля вона взялася і як розвивалася // Шахматов Ол., Кримський Аг. Нариси з історії української мови та хрестоматія з пам'ятників письменської староукраїнщини XI–XVIII вв. К.: Друк. УАН, 1924. (Збірник історично-філологічного відділу ВУАН, № 12). С. 97.
The same: Кримський А. Ю. Твори в п'яти томах. Т. 3. Мовознавство. Фольклористика. К.: Наукова думка, 1973. С. 259.
Любащенко В. До питання про зведений каталог християнських рукописів Галицько-Волинської держави (історіографічний аспект) // Княжа доба: історія і культура. 2008. Вип. 2. С. 173–174.
Німчук В. В. Про походження Супрасльського рукопису // Мовознавство. Науково-теоретичний журнал Інституту мовознавства ім. О. О. Потебні та Інституту української мови НАН України. 1994. № 6 (168). С. 6.
Огієнко І. Пам'ятки старослов'янської мови X–XI віків. Історичний, лінгвістичний і палеографічний огляд з повною бібліографією та альбом 155 знімків з пам'яток з кирилівською транскрипцією. Варшава: Друкарня Синодальна, 1929. (Огієнко І. Історія церковнослов'янської мови. Т. 5; Студії

до української граматики, видають І. Огієнко та Р. Смаль-Стоцький, кн. V). С. 139–144.

Пуцко В. Г. Книжкова продукція київських та південно-західних скрипторіїв XI–XIII ст. // Писемність Київської Русі і становлення української літератури. Збірник наукових праць. К.: Наукова думка, 1988. С. 11–12.

Свєнціцький І. Нариси з історії української мови. Львів: Діло, 1920. С. 22–23, 26, 39.

Сімович В. Нарис граматики староболгарської (староцерковнослов'янської) мови. Курс викладів для студентів іст.-літ. відділу Інституту ім. Драгоманова у Празі. Прага, 1926. С. 26[a].

Українські письменники. Біо-бібліографічний словник. Т. І: давня українська література (XI–XVIII ст.) / уклав Л. Є. Махновець. К.: Держ. вид-во художньої літератури. К., 1960. С. 7.

Ульяновський В. «Славний для всіх часів чоловік»: князь Костянтин Іванович Острозький: монографія. Острог: Вид-во Національного університету «Острозька академія», 2009. (Видатні постаті острогіани, вип. 2). С. 120–121.

Ульяновський В. Князь Василь-Костянтин Острозький: історичний портрет у галереї предків та нащадків. К.: Вид. Дім «Простір», 2012. С. 252–253.

Ясіновський Ю. Найдавніші літургійні пам'ятки княжої доби // Καλοφωνια: Науковий збірник з історії церковної монодії та гимнографії. 2010. Ч. 5. С. 24.

Алексеев Л. В. Археология и краеведение Беларуси XVI в. – 30-е годы XX века / под ред. академика Б. А. Рыбакова, Минск: Беларуская навука, 1996, с. 128, прим. 82.

Археографический сборник документов, относящихся к истории северо-западной Руси, издаваемый при управлении Виленского учебного округа. Том 4. Вильна, 1867. С. V–VI, 1–2.

Батюшков П. Н. Белоруссия и Литва. Исторические судьбы Северо-Западного края. С одной хромолитографией, 99 гравюрами и картой. Санкт-Петербург, 1890. Примечания. С. 152.

Богданова С. Туровско Евангелие. Индекс на словоформите // Годишник на Софийския университет «Климент Охридски». Факултет по славянски филологии. Кн. 2 – Езикознание. Т. 79, 2. 1985. София, 1991. С. 75–77, 86–100.

Будовниц І. У. Словарь русской, украинской, белорусской письменности и литературы до XVIII века. Москва: Изд. АН СССР, 1962. С. 346.

Буслаев Ф. Русское искусство в оценке французского ученого // Критическое обозрение. Журнал научной критики и библиографии в области наук историко-филологических, юридических, экономических и государственных. 1879, 22 января (год 1). № 2. С. 4.

Буслаев Ф. Русское искусство в оценке французского ученого // Исторические очерки Ф. И. Буслаева по русскому орнаменту в рукописях. Издание Отделения русского языка и словесности Академии наук. Петроград, 1917. С. 7.

The same: Буслаев Ф. Русское искусство в оценке французского ученого // Сочинения Ф. И. Буслаева. Том 3: Сочинения по археологии и истории искусства. Ленинград: Изд-во АН СССР, 1930. С. 7.

Владимиров П. В. Обзор южнорусских и западнорусских памятников письменности от XI до XVII ст. // Чтения в историческом обществе Нестора Летописца. Кн. IV. К., 1890. С. 108.

The same: Владимиров П. В. Обзор южнорусских и западнорусских памятников письменности от XI до XVII ст. К., 1890. С. 8.

Войлова К. А. Старославянский язык: Пособие для вузов. Москва: Дрофа, 2003. С. 331–332.

Волков Н. В. Статистические сведения о сохранившихся древнерусских книгах XI–XIV веков и их указатель. Санкт-Петербург, 1897. (Известия Общества любителей древней письменности, т. 123). С. 51.

Воскресенский Г. Славянская христоматия. Сборники по славянским наречиям: древнему церковнославянскому, древнерусскому, болгарскому, сербо-хорватскому, словинскому, чешскому, лужицкому и польскому, с сведеньями и замечаниями о памятниках и общими характеристиками наречий. Вып. 1. Языки древний церковнославянский и древнерусский. Москва, 1882. С. 13–14.

Воскресенский Г. Евангелие от Марка по основным спискам четырех редакций рукописного славянского евангельского текста с разночтениями из ста восьми рукописей Евангелия XI–XVI вв. Сергиев Посад, 1894. С. 37–38.

Воскресенский Г. Характеристические черты четырех редакций славянского перевода Евангелия от Марка по сто двенадцати рукописям Евангелия XI–XVI вв. Москва, 1896. С. 31.

Гильтебрандт П. Перечневая опись // Рукописное отделение Виленской публичной библиотеки, состоящей под августейшим покровительством его императорского высочества государя-наследника цесаревича Александра Александровича. Издание Виленской публичной библиотеки. Вып. 1. I. Церковно-славянские рукописи. II. Русские пергамены. Вильна, 1871. С. 1–2, 4.

Гильтебрандт П. А. Объяснения к рисункам, приложения и указатель // Памятники русской старины в западных губерниях империи, издаваемый по высочайшему повелению П. Н. Батюшковым. Вып. 6: текст к 18 рисункам. Санкт-Петербург, 1874. С. 136–138.

Гильтебрандт П. Краткое известие о Туровском Евангелии // Памяць. Гісторыка-дакументальная хроніка Жыткавицкага раёна / рэд.-укл. В. Р. Феранц. Мінск: Ураджай, 1994. С. 88–89.

Гісторыя беларускага мастацтва у шасці тамах. Т. 1: Ад старажытных часоў да другай паловы XVI стагоддзя. Мінск: Навука і тэхніка, 1987. С. 90–91, іл. 36.

Голубинский Е. История русской церкви. Т. 1: период первый, киевский или домонгольский. Вторая половина тома. Москва, 1881. С. 447.

The same: Голубинский Е. История русской церкви. Т. 1: период первый, киевский или домонгольский. Вторая половина тома. Издание второе, исправленное и дополненное, напечатанное императорским обществом истории и древностей российских при московском университете. Москва, 1904. С. 526.

Гранстрем Е. Э. О подготовке сводного печатного каталога славянских рукописей // IV Международный съезд славистов. Славянская филология. Сборник статей. II. Москва, 1958. С. 417.

The same: Гранстрем Е. Э. О подготовке сводного каталога славянских рукописей. Ленинград, 1958. С. 29.

Добрянский Ф. Описание рукописей Виленской публичной библиотеки, церковно-славянских и русских. Вильна, 1882. С. XXXIX–XL, 1–6.

Дурново Н. Н. Русские рукописи XI и XII вв. как памятники старославянского языка // Јужнословенски филолог. Повремени спис за словенску филологију и лингвистику. Књига IV. Београд, 1924. С. 78, 88–91, 93–94.

Дурново Н. Н. Русские рукописи XI и XII вв. как памятники старославянского языка // Јужнословенски филолог. Повремени спис за словенску филологију и лингвистику. Књига V. Београд, 1925–1926. С. 11, 22, 26, 34–36, 39–41, 51, 57, 60–61.

Дурново Н. Н. Русские рукописи XI и XII вв. как памятники старославянского языка // Јужнословенски филолог. Повремени спис за словенску филологију и лингвистику. Књига VI. Београд, 1926–1927. С. 93–94, 97.

Дурново Н. Н. Введение в историю русского языка. Ч. 1. Источники. 1. Письменные памятники. 2. Нынешние русские диалекты. Brno: Vid. Filosofická fakulta, 1927. С. 34.

The same: Дурново Н. Н. Введение в историю русского языка. Москва: Наука, 1969. С. 54.

Евангелие от Иоанна в славянской традиции / Изд. подг. А. А. Алексеев, А. А. Пичхадзе, М. Б. Бабицкая, И. В. Азарова, Е. Л. Алексеева, Е. И. Ванеева, А. М. Пентковский, В. А. Ромодановская, Т. В. Ткачева. Санкт-Петербург: Российское Библейское общество, 1998. Приложение 2. Обзор рукописей. С. 78.

Житецкий П. Очерк звуковой истории малорусского наречия. К., 1876. С. 134.

Жуковская Л. П. Типология рукописей дренерусского полного апракоса XI–XIV вв. в связи с лингвистическим изучением их // Памятники древнерусской письменности. Язык и текстология. Москва, 1968. С. 328.

Жуковская Л. П. Текстология и язык древнейших славянских памятников. Москва: Наука, 1976. С. 91, 363.

Иконников В. С. Опыт русской историографии. Т. 2, кн. 1. К., 1908. С. 258.

Каринский Н. М. Образцы письма древнейшего периода истории русской книги. 60 фототипических снимков с древнерусских памятников, преимущественно XI в., на 29 таблицах. Ленинград: Изд-во АН СССР, 1925. С. 6; 15, прим. 7.

Карский Е. Ф. Очерк славянской кирилловской палеографии. Из лекций, читанных в императорском Варшавском университете. Варшава, 1901. С. 81, 157, 214, 222–223, 340, 470–471, 483.

Карский Е. Ф. Славянская кирилловская палеография. Ленинград: Изд. АН СССР, 1928. С. 82–83, 190, 207, 216.

The same: Карский Е. Ф. Славянская кирилловская палеография. Москва: Наука, 1979. С. 82–83, 190, 207, 216.

Кацер М. С. Изобразительное искусство Белоруссии дооктябрьского периода. Очерки. Минск: Наука и техника, 1969. С. 17–18. [заставка та її опис помилкові, взяті з пам'ятки XVI ст.].

Киприянович В. Г. Исторический очерк православия, католичества и унии в Белоруссии и Литве с древнейшего до настоящего времени. Второе, значительно дополненное издание. Вильна, 1899. С. 4.

Князевская О. Л., Лифшиц А. Л., Турилов А. А. Пергаменные рукописи собрания Виленской публичной библиотеки (Библиотека Академии наук Литовской Республики, ф. 19) // Krakowsko-wileńskie studia slawistyczne. T. 3. Kraków, 2001. S. 8–12.

Коялович М. [Rev.] Археографический сборник документов, относящихся к истории Северо-Западной Руси, издаваемый при управлении Виленского учебного округа. Томы 1–4. Вильна, 1867 г. // Журнал Министерства народного просвещения. 1868. Часть CXL (четвертое десятилетие), октябрь. С. 225.

Крутова М. С. Рукописи XI–XIV веков со специальными названиями // Записки Отдела рукописей / Российская государственная библиотека. Вып. 53. Москва: Пашков дом, 2008. С. 10–11.

Куев К. М. Съдбата на стробългарските ръкописи през вековете. София: Наука и изкуство, 1979. С. 20.

The same: Куев К. М. Съдбата на стробългарските ръкописи през вековете. София: Наука и изкуство, 1979. С. 20.

Курьянович Ю. Г. Туров: история и легенды // Белорусская земля в воспоминаниях и документах XIX–XX вв. Часть 2. Москва: Ин-т мировой литературы им. А. М. Горького РАН, 2019. С. 171–172.

Лабынцаў Ю. А. Старая казка Палесся (Турава-Пінская зямля). Мінск: Полымя, 1993. С. 30.

Лабынцаў Ю. А. Новае аб Тураўскіх Евангеллях // Тураўшчына: Мінулае, сучаснасць, будучыня. Вып. 3 / редкал. П. Ф. Лысенка (гал. ред.). Тураў; Мінск: Беларуская навука, 2004. С. 161–163.

Лабынцев Ю. Туровское Евангелие как особо чтимая святыня во времена Константина Острожского // Вестник Белорусского экзархата: Альманах. Т. 1. Благоверный князь Острожский / под ред. А. А. Петрашкевича. Минск: Изд-во Бел. Экзархата, 1998. С. 79–86.

Лабынцев Ю. А. Новое о Туровских евангелиях // Матэрыялы Першых кнігазнаўчых чытанняў. (Мінск, 15 верасня 1998 г.) / склад. Т. І. Рошчына, Мінск: Национальная библиотека Беларуси, 2000. С. 39–49.

Ластоўскі В. Гісторыя беларускай (крыўскай) кнігі: Спроба паясьніцельнай кнігапісі ад канца X да пачатку XIX стагодзьдзя. Коўна: Адціснута ў друкарні Сакалоўскага і Лана, 1926. С. 18–20.

Лысенка П. Распаўсюджванне хрысціянства на Тураўскай зямлі // Тураў. Тураўскае Евангелле. Мінск: БелЭн, 2004. с. 117.

Лысенка П. Тураўскае княство. Гістарычны нарыс // Тураўскае Евангелле = Туровское Евангелие = Turaŭ Gospel. Факсімільнае узнаўленне. Даследаванні. А. А. Суша (агулн. рэд.). Мінск: Нацыянальна бібліятэка Беларусі, 2014. С. 40–41.

The same in Russian: С. 57–58.

The same in English: С. 73–75.

Лысенко П. Ф. Туровская земля IX–XIII вв. Минск: Беларуская навука, 1999. С. 227–228.

Лысенко П. Ф. Древний Туров. Минск: Беларуская навука, 2004. С. 8, 110.

Ляўшун Л. Тураўскае Евангелле // Тураў. Тураўскае Евангелле. Мінск: БелЭн, 2004. с. 158–159.

Миловидов А. Рукописное отделение Виленской публичной библиотеки. Его история и состав. Вильна, 1910. С. 17, 37–38.

Морозова Н. Сводный каталог кириллических рукописных книг, хранящихся в Литве: предварительный список // Slavistica Vilnensis. 2016. Vol. 261. P. 267.

Никольский Н. Материалы для повременного списка русских писателей и их сочинений (X–XI вв.). Корректурное издание. Санкт-Петербург, 1906. С. 488–489.

Нікалаеў М. Палата кнігапісная. Рукапісная кніга на Беларусі ў X–XVIII стагоддзях. Мінск: Мастацкая літаратура, 1993. С. 20.

Нікалаеў М. Тураўскае Евангелле // Энциклапедыя гісторыі Беларусі. У 6 тамах. Мінск: Беларуская энциклапедыя імя Петруся Броўки, 2001. Т. 6, кн. 1: Пузыны – Усая. С. 541.

The same: Нікалаеў М. Тураўскае Евангелле // Беларуская энциклапедыя ў 18 тамах. Мінск: Беларуская энциклапедыя, 2003. Т. 16: Трыпалі – Хвіліна. С. 37.

Отчет о Виленской публичной библиотеке и музее за 1867 р. Вильна, 1868. С. 10.

Письмо И. П. Корнилова к В. В. Вельяминову-Зернову // Труды Первого Археологического съезда в Москве 1869, Т. 1. Москва, 1871. С. 108–110.

Позднякова Н. В. Туровское Евангелие и его фразеологический корпус // Индекс устойчивых словесных комплексов Архангельского и Туровского Евангелий. Магнитогорск: Изд. гос. техн. ун-та им. Г. И. Носова, 2015. С. 85–91.

Предварительный список славяно-русских рукописей XI–XIV вв., хранящихся в СССР (для «Сводного каталога рукописей, хранящихся в СССР, до конца XIV века» включительно) / сост. Н. Б. Шеламанова // Археографический ежегодник за 1965 год. Посвящен памяти академика М. Н. Тихомирова. Москва: Наука, 1966. С. 189, № 20.

Пуцко В. Г. Славянская иллюминированная книга X–XI веков // Byzantinoslavica. Revue internationale des études Byzantine. Prague, 1985. T. XLVI. P. 149.

Пуцко В. Художественное оформление древнейших славянских рукописей // Slovo: časopis Staroslavenskoga instituta u Zagrebu. Zagreb, 1987. Sv. 37. S. 86.

Пуцко В. Г. Эмальерный стиль в художественном оформлении киевских рукописей XI в. // Книжные центры Древней Руси. XI–XVI вв.: Разные аспекты исследования. Санкт-Петербург: Наука, 1991. С. 32.

Пуцко В. Г. Византия и становление искусства Киевской Руси // Южная Русь и Византия: Сборник научных трудов (к XVIII конгрессу византинистов). К.: Наукова думка, 1991. С. 92.

Пуцко В. Ілюмінацыя Тураўскаго Евангелля // Беларускі гістарычны агляд: навуковы часопіс. 1998. Т. 5, сш. 1. С. 88–102. URL: https://www.belhistory.eu/archives/373.

Пуцко В. Г. Иллюмированная древнерусская книга XI–XIII в. // Древняя Русь: вопросы медиевистики. 2001. № 3 (5). С. 45.

Сапунов Б. В. Книга в России в XI–XIII вв. / под ред. С. П. Луппова. Ленинград: Наука, 1978. С. 64.

Сводный каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг, хранящихся в СССР. XI–XIII вв. Москва: Наука, 1984. С. 50–52, № 10.

Соболевский А. И. Новый труд В. Стасова // Университетские известия. Год XXVII (1887), № 5 – май. К., 1887. Критика и библиография. С. 53–54.

Соболевский А. И. Лекции по истории русского языка. К., 1888. С. 11–12.

Соболевский А. И. Лекции по истории русского языка. Издание второе, с изменениями и дополнениями. Санкт-Петербург, 1891. С. 12–13.

Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки о малоизвестных и неизвестных памятниках // Приложение к XI[му] тому Записок имп. Академии наук. № 2. Санкт-Петербург, 1867. С. 30–31.

The same: Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки о малоизвестных и неизвестных памятниках // Сборник статей, читанных в Отделении русского языка и словесности императорской Академии наук. Т. 1, № 6, 7, 8, 9. Вып. IV. Санкт-Петербург, 1867. С. 30–31.

The same: Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки о малоизвестных и неизвестных памятниках. I–XL. Санкт-Петербург, 1867. Вып. 4. С. 30–31.

Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки о малоизвестных и неизвестных памятниках // Сборник Отделения русского языка и словесности императорской Академии наук. Том XII, № 1. Санкт-Петербург, 1873. С. 105–107, 117–118, 120–123, 135–136.

The same: Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки о малоизвестных и неизвестных памятниках // Сборник Отделения русского языка и словесности императорской Академии наук. Том XII, № 1. Санкт-Петербург, 1874. С. 105–107, 117–118, 120–123, 135–136.

The same: Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки о малоизвестных и неизвестных памятниках // Сборник Отделения русского языка и словесности императорской Академии наук. Том XII. Санкт-Петербург, 1875. С. 105–107, 117–118, 120–123, 135–136.

TThe same: Срезневский И. И. Сведения и заметки о малоизвестных и неизвестных памятниках. XLI–LXXX. Санкт-Петербург, 1876. С. 105–107, 117–118, 120–123, 135–136.

Срезневский И. И. Древние памятники русского письма и языка (XI–XIV веков). Общее повременное обозрение. Второе издание. Санкт-Петербург, 1882. Стлб. 37.

Срезневский И. И. Славяно-русская палеография XI–XIV веков. Лекции, читанные в императорском С.-Петербургском университете в 1865–1880 гг. Санкт-Петербург, 1885. С. 129.

Суша А. Тураўскае Евангелле – найдаўнейшы кніжны помнік Беларусі // Тураўскае Евангелле = Туровское Евангелие = Turaŭ Gospel. Факсімільнае узнаўленне. Даследаванні. А. А. Суша (агулн. рэд.). Мінск: Нацыянальна бібліятэка Беларусі, 2014. С. 84–108.

The same in Russian: С. 109–133.

The same in English: С. 133–146.

Суша А. Тураўскае Евангелле – самая старажытная кніга Беларусі // Беларускі гістарычны часопіс. 2015. № 8. С. 22–32.

Темчин С. Супрасльский список Хроники Георгия Амартола середины XVI века и его антиграф 1494 года // Knygotyra. 2007. T. 49. P. 71.

Тот И. Х. К изучению графической системы русской редакции старославянского языка // Hungaro-Slavica 1978. VIII Международный съезд славистов. Загреб, 3–9 сентября 1978 г. Будапешт, 1978. С. 374–378, 384–387.

Тот И. Х. Русская редакция древнеболгарского языка в конце XI – начале XII вв. Диссертация на соискание ученой степени доктора филологических наук. Сегед, 1984. URL: https://doktori.bibl.u-szeged.hu/id/eprint/9698/1/1984_h_toth_imre.pdf]. С. 18–22, 74–81, 142–147, 178–180, 216–220, 262, 279–281, 303.

Тот И. Х. Русская редакция древнеболгарского языка в конце XI – начале XII вв. София: Изд. Болгарской АН, 1985. С. 26–30, 82–89, 150–155, 186–188, 220–228, 270, 287–289, 306.

Тот И. Х., Хоргоши Э., Хорват Г. Туровские листки // Dissertationes Slavicae. Slavistische Mitteilungen. Материалы и сообщения по славяноведению. XIII. Szeged, 1978. С. 181–238.

Туровское Евангелие одиннадцатого века. I. Краткое известие о Туровском Евангелии. II. Древний текст с современным насупротив, и с отменами по Остромировому Евангелию. Редакция текста и объяснения П. А. Гильтебрандта. Издание книгопродавца-печатника И. Г. Сыркина. Вильна, 1869. С. I–X.

Туровское Евангелие одиннадцатого века (Издание Виленского учебного округа. СПб. 1868. Литография Бермелеева при Археограф. комиссии). Записка И. Н. Соколова // Труды Первого Археологического съезда в Москве 1869, Т. 1. Москва, 1871. С. 111–113.

Улащик Н. Н. Очерки по археографии и источниковедению истории Белоруссии феодального периода. Москва: Наука, 1973. С. 150.

Уханова Е. В. Западноевропейские источники в древнерусской книжной культуре XI века и Остромирово Евангелие // Путем орнамента. Исследования по искусству византийского мира. Сборник статей. Москва: Макс-пресс, 2013. С. 212, 223.

Хоргоши Э. Опыт лексического и текстологического анализа Туровских листов XI века // Годишник на Софийския университет «Св. Климент Охридски». Факултет по славянски филологии. Проблеми на българистиката и славистиката. Т. 1974, 3 (1980). София, 1985. С. 67–74.

Шакун Н. Туровские Евангелия в литовских библиотечных фондах // Žmogus kalbos erdvėje. Mokslinių straipsnių rinkinys. № 6. Kaunas, 2010. С. 207.

Шахматов А. А. Курс истории русского языка. (Читан в С.-Петербургском ун-те в 1908–9 у. г.). Ч. I. Санкт-Петербург, 1910–1911. С. 245.

Шматаў В. Ф. Беларуская кніжная гравюра XVI–XVII стагодзяў. Мінск: Навука і тэхніка, 1984. С. 16–17.

Шулежкова С. Г. Хрестоматия по старославянскому языку. Тексты. Словарь. Фоноприложение. 2-е изд. Москва: ФЛИНТА; Наука, 2012. С. 134, 136–138.

Шумейко М. Ф. Археография: курс лекций. Минск: Изд-во БГУ, 2005. С. 170.

Шумейко М. Ф. Белорусская археография в XIX–XX вв. (Проблемы теории, истории, методики). Минск: БелНИИДАД, 2007. С. 204–205.

Ягич И. В. Отчет о присуждении Ломоносовской премии за 1883 г. с приложением. С тремя литографическими таблицами // Сборник Отделения русского языка и словесности императорской Академии наук. 1884. Т. XXXIII. № 2. С. 71–72.

Ягич И. В. [Rev.] Труд В. В. Стасова «Славянский и восточный орнамент» // Вестник изящных искусств, издаваемый при императорской Академии художеств под ред. А. И. Сомова. 1888. Т. 6. Вып. 2. С. 176–177.

Gribble Ch. E. Medieval Slavic Text. Vol. 1. Old and Middle Russian Texts. Cambridge, Mass., 1973. P. 69–70. [reprint of the introduction from the chrestomathy by N. Karinsky].

Kiparski V. Russische historische Grammatik. Band I. Die Entwicklung des lautsystems. Heidelberg, 1963. S. 34.

Lietuvos TSR mokslų akademijos Centrinė biblioteka / sud. A. Ivaškevičius. Vilnius. 1959. P. 25–26.

Lunt H. G. The orthography of eleventh century Russian manuscripts. Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Philosophy Columbia University. New York, 1949. [Authorised facsimile copy made by microfilm xerography in 1976]. P. 145–146.

Mironowicz A. Życie religijno-kulturowe w eparchii turowskiej do końca XV wieku // Białoruskie zeszyty historyczne / Беларускі гістарычны зборнік. Białystok, 2011. № 35. S. 7.

Ostapczuk J. Dwie karty ewangeliarza macedońskiego (popa Jowana) (kon. XII – pocz. XIII w.) z Biblioteki Patriarszej w Belgradzie // Полата књигописьнаѣ. Polata knigopisnaia. A journal devoted to the study of early slavic books, texts and literatures. 2010. Vol. 38 (λ̅и̅). P. 77.

Ostapczuk J. Perykopy liturgiczne okresu po święcie Pięćdziesiątnicy w dwu serbskich apostołach-ewangeliarzach krotkich (Sv-17 i KM-512) // Rocznyk teologiczny / Chrześcijańska akademia teologiczna w Warszawie. 2012. R. LIV, z. 1–2. S. 46, 66.

Ostapczuk J. Edycje Ewangeliarza archangielskiego (1092 r.) na tle wydań innych zabytków piśmiennictwa słowiańskiego // Rocznik Slawistyczny / Revue Slavistique. 2012. T. LXI. S. 72.

Petrauskienė V. Rusų rankraštinė knyga Lietuvos bibliotekose // Rusų knygos spausdinimo pradžia ir Lietuva. Vilnius: Mintis, 1966. (Bibliotekininkystė ir bibliografija, t. III). P. 45–46.

Rankraščių rinkiniai: Lietuvos TSR Mokslų akademijos Centrinės bibliotekos XI–XX amžių rankraščių fondų trumpa apžvalga / sud. V. Abramavičius. Vilnius: Laikraščių ir žurnalų l-kla, 1963. P. 60, 62.

Schnaider L. Ewangeliarz turowski // Słownik starożytności słowiańskich. Encyklopedyczny zarys kultury słowian od czasów najdawniejszych / pod red. W. Kowalenki, G. Labidy, T. Lehra-Spławińskiego. T. 1: A–E. Wrocław; Warszawa; Kraków: Wid-wo PAN, 1961. S. 468.

Szótár-index az óbolgár nyelv XI–XII. századi orosz másolatú emlékeihez. Словарь-индекс русской редакции древнеболгарского языка конца XI – начала XII в. По материалам Слуцкой Псалтыри, Туровских листков, Евгениевской Псалтыри, Жития Кондрата, Жития Феклы, Минеи Дубровского, Бычковской Псалтири, Реймсского Евангелия, Листка Викторова, Русской части Саввиной книги, Ленинградской минеи. Szeged, 1989. T. 1 [А–И].

Szótár-index az óbolgár nyelv XI–XII. századi orosz másolatú emlékeihez. Словарь-индекс русской редакции древнеболгарского языка конца XI – начала XII в. По материалам Слуцкой Псалтыри, Туровских листков, Евгениевской Псалтыри, Жития Кондрата, Жития Феклы, Минеи Дубровского, Бычковской Псалтири, Реймсского Евангелия, Листка Викторова, Русской части Саввиной книги, Ленинградской минеи. Szeged, 1992. T. II [К–О].

Szótár-index az óbolgár nyelv XI–XII. századi orosz másolatú emlékeihez. Словарь-индекс русской редакции древнеболгарского языка конца XI – начала XII в. По материалам Слуцкой Псалтыри, Туровских листков, Евгениевской Псалтыри, Жития Кондрата, Жития Феклы, Минеи Дубровского, Бычковской Псалтири, Реймсского Евангелия, Листка Викторова, Русской части Саввиной книги, Ленинградской минеи. Szeged, 1993. T. III/1 [П–С].

Szótár-index az óbolgár nyelv XI–XII. századi orosz másolatú emlékeihez. Словарь-индекс русской редакции древнеболгарского языка конца XI – начала XII в. По материалам Слуцкой Псалтыри, Туровских листков, Евгениевской Псалтыри, Жития Кондрата, Жития Феклы, Минеи Дубровского, Бычковской Псалтири, Реймсского Евангелия, Листка Викторова, Русской части Саввиной книги, Ленинградской минеи. Szeged, 1995. T. III/2 [ҁ–ѱ].

Szótár-index az óbolgár nyelv XI–XII. századi orosz másolatú emlékeihez. Словарь-индекс русской редакции древнеболгарского языка конца XI – начала XII в. Приложение. Тот И. К. Источники. Сегед, 1997. С. 16–20.

Wierzchowska M. Warstwy cech fonetycznych w «Ewangeliarzu turowskim» z XI wieku na tle problemu jego pochodzenia // Dziedzictwo przeszłości związków językowych, literackich i kulturowych polsko-bałto-wschodniosłowiańskich. T. V: Badania filologiczne. Białystok, 2000. S. 219–228.

Wondrák W. Kirchenslavische Chrestomathie. Göttingen, 1910. S. 142–143.

Compiled by *Viacheslav Korniienko*

About the Authors

Liudmyla Hnatenko – Doctor of Historical Sciences, Senior Researcher, Senior Researcher at the Department of Codicology and Codicography, Institute of Manuscript of the Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine, Kyiv, Ukraine.

Viacheslav Korniienko – Doctor of Historical Sciences, Senior Researcher, Deputy Director General for Research at the National Reserve "St. Sophia of Kyiv", Kyiv, Ukraine.

Viktor Moisiienko – Doctor of Philological Sciences, Professor at the Ivan Franko Zhytomyr State University, Corresponding Member of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine.

Nadežda Morozova – Doctor of the Humanities, Chief Researcher at the Research Centre for Written Heritage, Institute of the Lithuanian Language, Vilnius, Lithuania.

Jerzy Ostapczuk – Habilitated Doctor of Theology, Professor, Dean of the Faculty of Theology at the Christian Theological Academy in Warsaw, Poland.

Sergejus Temčinas – Habilitated Doctor of the Humanities, Professor, Chief Researcher at the Research Centre for Written Heritage, Institute of the Lithuanian Language, Vilnius, Lithuania.

Poulina Yanytskaya – Art Historian, Leading Archaeographer at the Department of Foreign Sources on the History of Ukraine, the Hrushevsky Institute of Ukrainian Archeography and Source Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv, Ukraine.

Contents

The Turov Gospel
Facsimile 5

Sergejus Temčinas
THE METAGRAPHED TEXT OF THE TUROV GOSPEL 33

Viacheslav Korniienko
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL CHRONICLE OF THE TUROV GOSPEL:
Essays on the History of Discovery, Publication, and Study of the Medieval Manuscript ... 45

Nadežda Morozova
CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE TUROV GOSPEL 155

Poulina Yanitskaya, Viacheslav Korniienko
THE ILLUMINATION OF THE TUROV GOSPEL IN THE CONTEXT
OF DEVELOPMENT OF MANUSCRIPT BOOK ART
IN 11TH-CENTURY KYIV 183

Liudmyla Hnatenko
THE NARROW UNCIAL (USTAV) OF THE 11TH-CENTURY TUROV GOSPEL:
Notes on Defining the Problem 213

Sergejus Temčinas
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SCRIBE OF THE TUROV GOSPEL
AND THE TEXT HE TRANSCRIBED 229

Viktor Moisiienko
THE TUROV GOSPEL AS ONE OF THE OLDEST MONUMENTS
OF THE CHURCH SLAVONIC LANGUAGE OF THE KYIVAN
(RUS'IAN-UKRAINIAN) RECENSION 235

Jerzy Ostapczuk
TYPOLOGICAL, TEXTUAL AND LITURGICAL ANALYSES
OF THE TUROV GOSPEL LECTIONARY 253

BOOKS ABOUT THE BOOK: THE MAIN BIBLIOGRAPHY
OF THE TUROV GOSPEL (Compiled by V. Korniienko) 295

About the Authors 309

THE TUROV GOSPEL of the 11th Century

Facsimile and Studies

Photocopies of the original manuscript were provided for publication
by the Wróblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences

Executive Editors *Liudmyla Hnatenko, Viacheslav Korniienko*
Language Editor and Proofreader *Anatol Laskowski*
Cover Designer *Oleksandr Kalmykov*
Layout and Typesetting *Volodymyr Gurovych*

GOROBETS
publishing house

Gorobets Publishing House
Printed in Ukraine

ukrmanuscript.com

ТУРІВСЬКЕ ЄВАНГЕЛІЄ XI ст.

Факсиміле і дослідження
(англ. мовою)

Фотокопії оригіналу рукопису надані для публікації
Бібліотекою імені Врублевських Академії наук Литви

Відповідальні редактори *Людмила Гнатенко, Вячеслав Корнієнко*
Літературний редактор *Анатолій Лясковський*
Обкладинка *Олександр Калмиков*
Верстка, підготовка оригінал-макета *Володимир Гурович*

Видання підготовлено за підтримки Українського культурного фонду.
Позиція Українського культурного фонду може не співпадати з думкою авторів

Підписано до друку 30.06.2026
Формат 60x90 1/8. Умов. др. арк. 19,5

ВИДАВНИЦТВО ГОРОБЕЦЬ

Видавництво «Горобець»
Вул. Скарбова, 24, м. Київ, 03170
Свідоцтво ДК № 2852 від 16.05.2007 р.

Друк і післядрукарські роботи
ТОВ «Майстер книг»

ukrmanuscript.com