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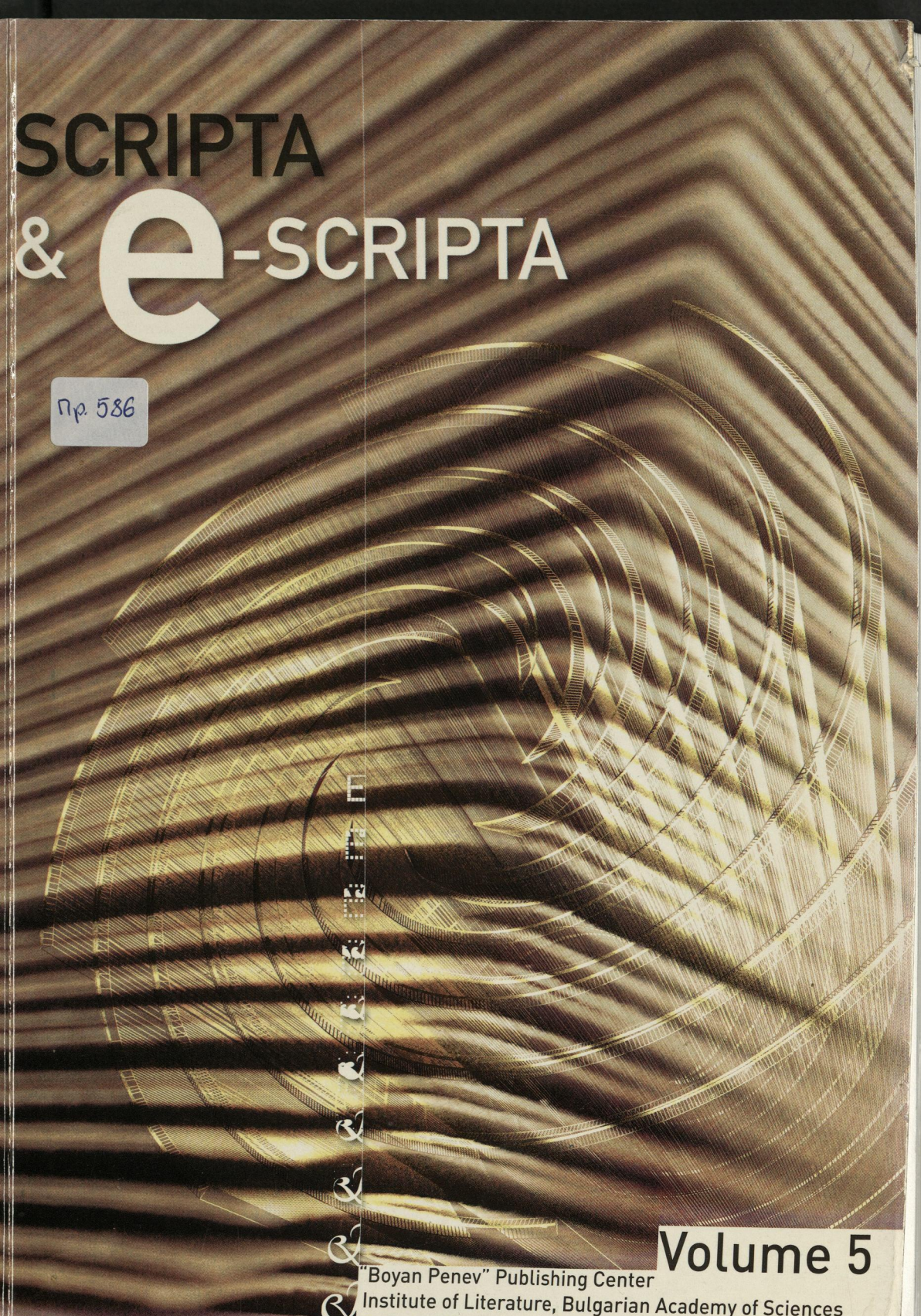

Volume 5

"Boyan Penev" Publishing Center
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Sofia, 2007

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INSTITUTE OF LITERATURE

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The Journal of Interdisciplinary Mediaeval Studies

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2007

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Digitization Department at IMI-BAS:Three Years of Experience

Milena Dobreva [1]
Nikola Ikonomov [1,2]

1. Introduction

The fast development and wide application of digital methods, combined with broadened access to the Internet and falling computing costs, have created intense interest in electronic presentation and access to cultural and scientific heritage resources: original manuscripts, early printed books, epigraphic inscriptions, analog audio records, historical photographs, etc. Information technologies (IT) have offered cultural institutions new opportunities for the electronic presentation of their holdings, which are now made accessible not only to the specialists, but also to the citizens and interested parties worldwide.

These changes influence the interest and understanding of cultural and scientific heritage. The broader access places the society of researchers, educators and citizens in a new reality where the offering of high quality resources and the interconnection of existing resources become of crucial importance.

On this setting, the electronic resources presenting Bulgarian cultural and scientific heritage, are still scarce. In a small country like Bulgaria it is impossible, due to the lack of specialists, and economically not efficient to form digitization groups attached to the various cultural and scientific heritage institutions. However, this is the reality we face while there is no national roadmap and coordination of digitization activities.

---

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On this national setting, the Department for Digitization of Scientific Heritage was created with the mission to foster research related to digitization, and to combine it with transfer of knowledge and practical activities to the cultural institutions which are interested in digitization.

The department is not a mechanical collection of specialists with various areas of expertise. In these years it enjoyed the support of the European Commission through the project Knowledge Transfer for Digitization of Cultural and Scientific Heritage to Bulgaria which was one of its basic sources to cooperate with researchers from the EU.

2. Current Challenges In Bulgaria

The current situation in digital presentation of and access to cultural and scientific heritage could be summarized as follows:

- Bulgarian collections are of European importance but they are still not widely accessible in electronic form.
- Experience exists basically in the pre-digitization stages of work such as cataloguing, and text encoding, real mass digitization projects are planned in several libraries; while not launched in archives and museums despite some small pilot attempts[3].
- Digitization work *per se* has not been done, thus the country does not match current EC priorities where the accent is on the improved access and organization of available digital materials.
- No regular governmental programme (respectively, funding) is available, digitization in Bulgaria strongly depends on external financial support. The Ministry of Education and Science had one stand-alone call for projects on cultural heritage in 2006. Through it several libraries in Bulgaria have started their own digitization projects which are not interoperable. Currently, the State Agency for Information and Communication Technology is working on a national strategy for the accelerated development of information society in Bulgaria in 2007-2010 and digitization is included amongst the priority areas as a general topic. This is a positive sign that the field of work becomes officially recognized, but this is not sufficient for the success of the efforts of various institutions.
- National cooperation in the field of digitization does not seem to be realistic. The experience so far shows that the cultural institutions which try to

[3] In 2007, the Ministry of Culture allocated for digitisation in Bulgarian Museums 50 000 EUR. Taking into account that the basic instrument to attract visitors to museums nowadays is the websites with digitised and virtually reconstructed museum objects, this amount of support is completely inadequate to the modern socialisation realities.

launch digitization measures set up their own workflows and use different software solutions. This potentially causes interoperability issues. However, Regional cooperation in the field is realistic. SEEDI (South Eastern Europe Digitization Initiative, [1]) is a joint effort to develop awareness about digitization of cultural and scientific heritage in the region along the Lund Principles of the European Union. SEEDI had three successful international events so far.

- Important areas, such as long-term preservation and e-Science data curation, are not developed in Bulgaria at all.

Thus, currently there is not only a niche but an urgent need for several interconnected efforts:

- creating a national framework;
- boosting wide-scale digitization work;
- promoting cooperation of local institutions,
- improving the excellence in the profession.

The efforts of the department are targeted to all these country needs.

3. The Experience of the Digitization of Scientific Heritage Department

In 2004, the Institute of Mathematics and Informatics at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences created the Digitization of Scientific Heritage department which hosts the first and still unique in the country digitization line for scanning books and archival documents. The department has set the ambitious goal not only to do research work but to serve as a competence centre, providing following basic activities:

- assistance to technology and content providers;
- development of state of the art workflows and best practices in various areas of digitization of scientific and cultural heritage;
- implementation of new technologies related to the digitization of cultural and scientific heritage;
- organization of specialized trainings;
- active participation at the elaboration of a National strategy for digitization of cultural and scientific heritage;
- contribution to the international cooperation within regional and European initiatives;
- representation of the country at international fora;
- methodological guidance and practical implementation within participation in various projects.

4. Current Activities

4.1. Cooperation With the General Department of Archives

The Digitization of Scientific Heritage department cooperates with the General Department of Archives at the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria (GDA) since 2004. GDA is contributing with defining the priorities for selecting materials for digitization; developing the strategy for preparing descriptions and metadata; preparing specification of the search tools and their future improvement. The Digitization of Scientific Heritage department is contributing with providing its know-how for scanning and optical character recognition, workflow choice, digital image processing and with ensuring the necessary equipment and qualified personnel.

The selection and preparation of documents for digitization (single documents, parts of the archival funds and complete archival funds) are based on the holdings of the Regional Unit "State Archive" – Sofia which include interesting materials, related to the management of Sofia Municipality, the history of Sofia University, the archives of the former Bulgarian communist party, archival funds of the Monarchy Institute, The Parliament, the Council of Ministers, etc. Selected materials contain valuable manuscripts and printed documents, photographs, sketches, geographical maps, rare books, etc.

The joint work has already brought practical outcomes. In March 2005 both institutions released a multimedia disk "Sofia. Religious spaces", containing items displayed during an exhibition of the same name, and including scanned documents, digital copies of canonical and dogmatic books, and photographs of paintings, ritual clothes and cult objects.

Recently GDA and the Digitization of Scientific Heritage department started another joint project aimed at the electronic publishing of archive documents related to the Temporary Russian Governance which was established after the liberation of Bulgaria and ruled in the period 1878–1879. This collection of documents is being prepared as a combination of digitized images and full text. It will be organized as a semantic web portal. Scientists and general public will benefit from the availability of full-text transcriptions and tools for semantic search of the archival documents, mostly hand-written sources in Bulgarian and Russian.

Another ongoing effort is aimed at building an electronic archive of documents issued by the Bulgarian Ministry of Education in the 40ies and 50ies of the 20th century [2]. The department provides the methodological guidance in this project. The collection of documents is stored in the Archive of the Ministry of the People's Education within the State Archival Fund of the General Department of

Archives. This is a mixed collection which contains quite diverse documents - official documentation following specific templates; letters; notes, certificates; photographs; newspapers, etc. The text documents are printed, typewritten or handwritten. The basic aim of this work is to provide access to different users (specialists in education, historians, and citizens) to the educational documentation of this historical period. The long-term goal is to build a joint collection of such documents from Bulgaria and Greece.

4.2. Joint Work With the Scientific Archive of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences

Both institutions cooperate since 2005. The Scientific Archive of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences stores precious documents, related to the history of the Academy. A pilot project was initiated in December 2006, aimed at the digitization of personal archives of famous Bulgarian scientists. As a kick-off both institutions selected the archive of Marin Drinov, one of the founders of the Academy of Sciences. It contains valuable documents, letters, personal notes and pictures. All of them had been digitized and then prepared for electronic publishing. Thus scientific archives will become easily accessible both for the wide public and the researchers.

The most interesting about the interface of the electronic collection of archival documents is that it follows the logic of the traditional archival description and for some documents presents not only an image, but also a transcribed text version. The photographs are organized in a mini-gallery which can be browsed image by image, or as a slide show.

The documents are accompanied by short biographical sketches and by bibliographical references (both of Marin Drinov's publications and publications which present his life and work).

This is a typical example of digitization effort which was combined with additional collection of materials aimed at a better and more complete presentation of the context for the digitized collection.

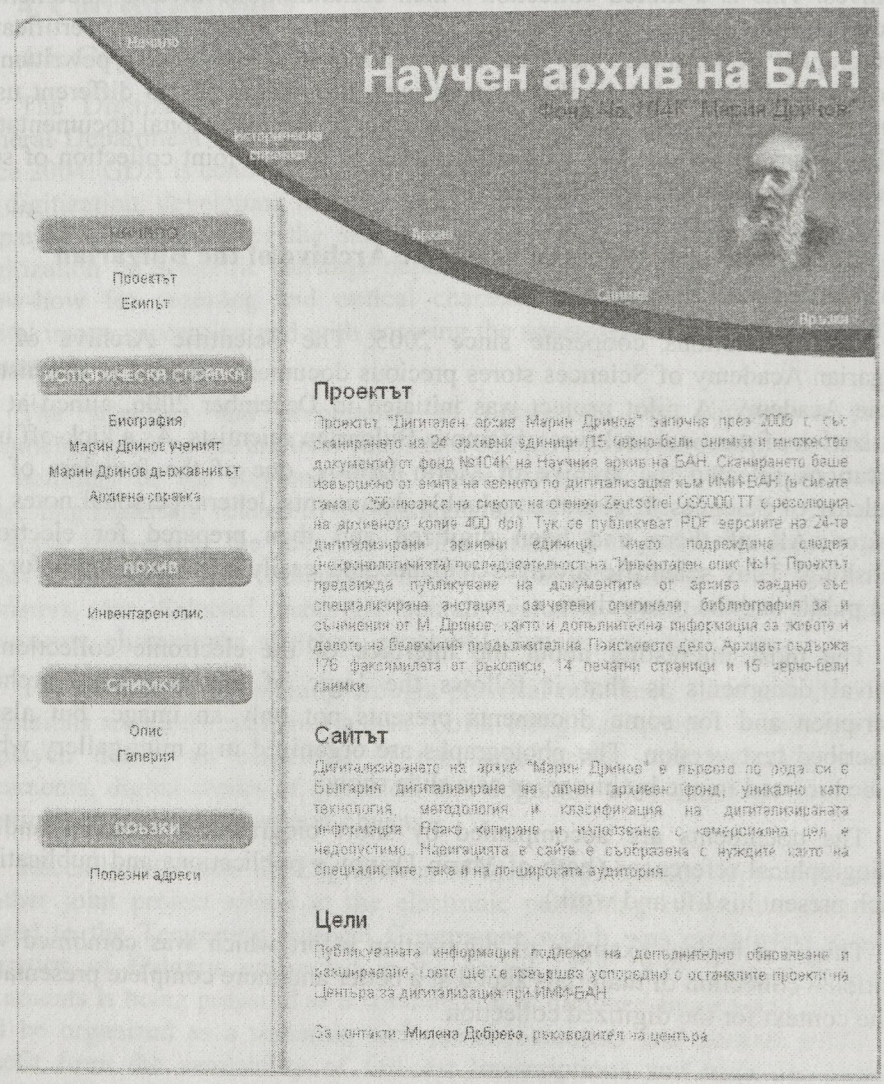


Fig. 1. Screenshot of the web presentation of Marin Drinov's archival fund from the holdings of the Scientific Archive of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences,
(available on: http://www.math.bas.bg/digi/indexdrinov.html)

4.3. Involvement In the Digmap Project

DIGMAP (Discovering our Past World with Digitized Maps) is a project which is supported through the eCONTENT*plus* programme [3]. It proposes to develop solutions for geo-referenced digital libraries, especially focused on historical materials and in the promoting of our cultural scientific heritage. The final results of the project will consist in a set of service available in the Internet, and in open-source software solutions that will be able to be reused in other services.

The main service will be a specialized digital library, reusing metadata from European national libraries, to provide discovery and access to contents. Also, relevant metadata from third party sources will be reused, as also descriptions and references to any other relevant external resource. Ultimately, DIGMAP will pursue the purpose to become the main international information source and reference service for old maps and related bibliography.

The project will develop solutions for geo-referenced digital libraries, especially focused on historical materials and in the promoting of our cultural and scientific heritage. The final results will consist in a set of services available in the Internet, and in reusable open-source software solutions.

The project will make a proof of concept reusing and enriching the contents from the National Library of Portugal (BNP), the Royal Library of Belgium (KBR/BRB), the National Library of Italy in Florence (BNCF), and the National Library of Estonia (NLE). In a second phase, that will be complemented with contents and references from other libraries, archives and information sources, namely from other European national libraries members of TEL – The European Library [4]. DIGMAP might became an effective service integrated with TEL - in this sense the project is fully aligned with the vision "European Digital Library" as expressed in the "i2010 Digital Libraries" initiative of the European Commission.

The technology will be developed by the Department of Information Systems and Computer Engineering of the *Instituto Superior Técnico* — Lisbon (IST), in cooperation with the Group *MERCATOR* of the Polytechnic University of Madrid (UPM).

The project started in October 2006, and will last 24 months. The project coordinator is Prof. José Borbinha, of the IST. The Department for Digitization of Scientific Heritage within the Institute for Mathematics and Informatics of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences will provide assistance to the evaluation, liaison

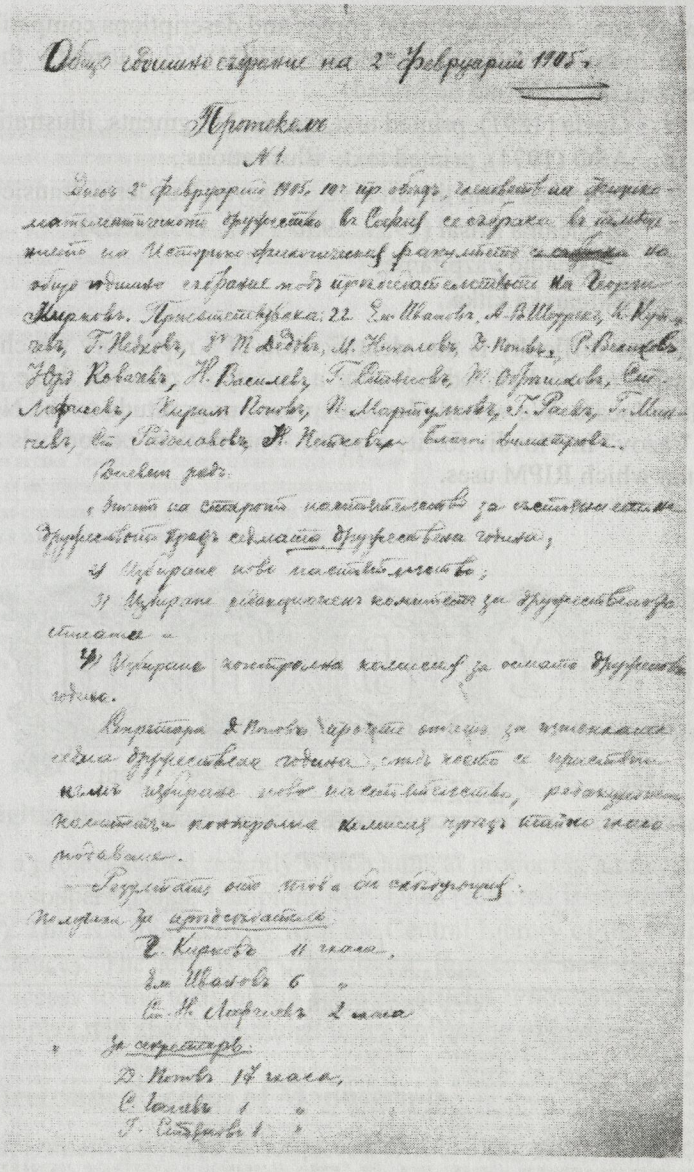
with the Southern East Europe, and to the dissemination. In particular, discussions were already started in order to find out the interest to maps digitization in the General Department of Archives, the Central Library of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, and the National Library "Ivan Vazov" in Plovdiv. Electronic records on these objects are not available yet and the participation in this project would be a chance for exposure of local materials.

4.4. Digitisation of Bulgarian Mathematical Heritage

One of the principal activities of the department is the digitization of mathematical publications of Bulgarian mathematicians, with the aim to build BulDML – Bulgarian digital mathematical library. Following journals and documents have been recently digitized:

1. Physical-Mathematical Journal (in Bulgarian), 1958–1991, 1993;
2. Serdica (articles in different languages): 1975, 1995–2000 г.;
3. Archive on the development of the Union of Bulgarian Mathematicians: Book with records of board meetings, 1905–1936. In addition to the digital images full texts are also entered. Research on obtaining photographs of the mathematicians whose names appear in the records is being done – this will allow us to offer a complete resource on the dawns of Bulgarian mathematics;
4. Full collection of books and publications of Nikola Obreshkov, a famous Bulgarian mathematician.

The digitized texts are still not OCR-ed and presented in text form. One of the reasons is the lack of a consensus amongst the international community on a preferred representation of the texts and widely accepted specialized tools for search within mathematical formulae.



Общо годишно събрание на 2 февруари 1905 г.

Протоколъ

№ 1.

Днесъ 2 февруарий 1905 г. въ обядъ, явиха се на дневния математическото дружество въ София се събрахъ въ помѣщението на Историко-филологическия факултетъ и събрание на общо редовно годишно събрание на дружеството. Присъствуваха: 22. Ем. Ивановъ, А. Райковски, К. Кулавъ, Г. Недковъ, Ст. Т. Недѣвъ, М. Николовъ, Д. Попвъ, Р. Вълковъ, Юр. Ковачевъ, Н. Василевъ, Г. Цанковъ, Т. Ормановъ, Ст. Лефтеровъ, Кирилъ Поповъ, П. Мартулковъ, Т. Райковъ, Г. Мишевъ, Ив. Гайдаровъ, Х. Петковъ и Благи Димитровъ.

Взематъ редъ:

1. Избиране на секретарь помощникъ-председатель за настоящето събрание.
2. Отчетъ на секретаря на дружеството върху дѣлата на дружеството.
3. Избиране нови членове.
4. Избиране ревизионенъ комитетъ за дружествения отчетъ.
5. Избиране контролна комисия за остатъка отъ дружествената година.

Секретаря Д. Поповъ прочете отчетъ за дѣятелността на дружеството презъ изтеклата година, слѣдъ което се пристъпи къмъ избиране нови членове, ревизионенъ комитетъ и контролна комисия върху касата на дружеството.

Резултатитѣ отъ гласуването бѣхъ слѣдующитѣ:

Председатель на дружеството

Г. Кирковъ 11 гласа,
Ем. Ивановъ 6 „
Ст. М. Лефтеровъ 2 гласа

За секретарь

Д. Поповъ 14 гласа,
С. Цонковъ 1 „
Г. Стефановъ 1 „

Fig. 2. Sample of the digitized Record Book of the Physics-Mathematical Society (1905-1936)

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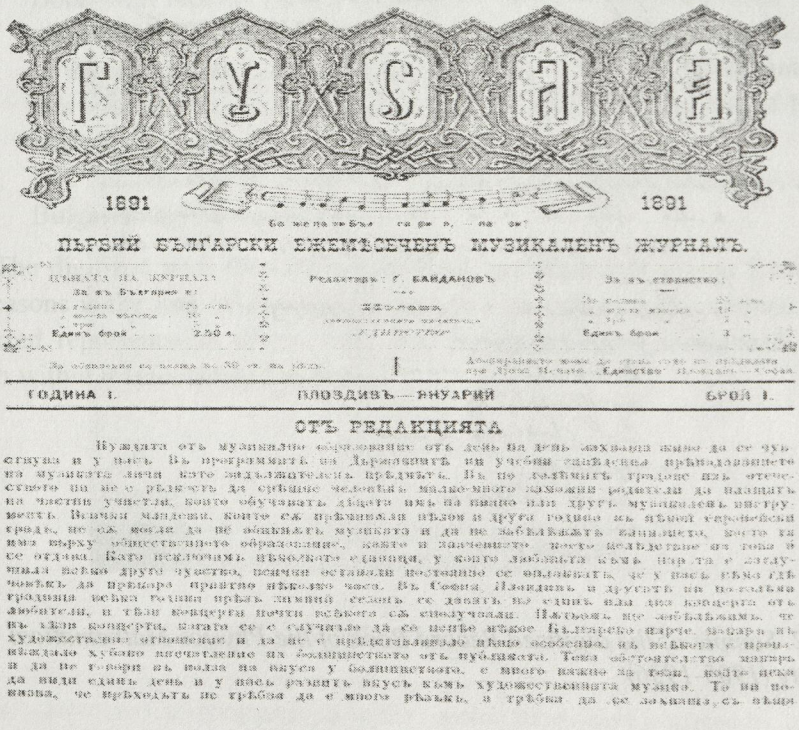
4.5. Digitisation of Historical Musical Periodicals

This work aims to prepare digital copies and descriptions compatible with the Retrospective Index of Musical Periodicals (RIPM) [5]. Currently the following sources has been digitized and described.

- Gusla (1891), printed text, musical fragments, illustrations;
- ASO (1934), printed text, illustrations;
- Materials from the archive of Stoyan Kenderov (musicologist);
- Musicalna Misal (1929, 1936-1937, 1938-1939);
- Musicalno vazpitanie;
- Balgarska kitka.

One specific difficulty is the identification of a repository which holds Bulgarian historical musical periodicals. For a variety of reasons, these publications are difficult to locate. We would like to express our gratitude to the National Library "Ivan Vazov" in Plovdiv for its support. The musical periodicals are described in a format which RIPM uses.



1891 1891

ПЪРВИЙ БЪЛГАРСКИ ЕЖЕМѢСЕЧЕНЪ МУЗИКАЛЕНЪ ЖУРНАЛЪ.

Редакторъ: Г. БАЙДАНОВЪ

ГОДИНА I. ПЛОВДИВЪ — ЯНУАРИЙ БРОЙ I.

ОТЪ РЕДАКЦИЯТА

1891

0	Vol. I No. 1.			Януарий 1891
1	1	Отъ редакцията [Необходимост от музикално образование. Споменават се любителски концерти в София и Пловдив без имена на произведения, композитори или изпълнители. Споменава се, че няма достатъчно български произведения. Подчертава се ролята на артистите, учителите по музика в училищата и капелмайсторите на военните музики (оркестри) за развиване на музикалната култура. Покана за съдействие]	***	1-3	
2		Писмо на руски език от композитора Николай Лисенко от Киев [В отговор на покана от „*Гусла*" за сътрудничество (негово произведение е включено в 1 бр.)]	***	3	Николай Лисенко = Микола Лисенко
1	2	Значението на пението [За значението на обучението по пеене, тясната връзка между текст и музика, сближаването на хората чрез хоровото пеене и ролята му за музикалното образование, за природната даденост на гласа. Значението на пеенето за композитора - по-голямо от това на инструментите и трябва да започне от детска възраст]	Б. Маркс	4-5	
1	3	Църковно славянский напев [За произхода, същината и значението на сръбски и български напеви и връзката с руската и българска църковна музика (Следва)]	***	5-8	
7	m	*Българский^напев*	***	7	
1	4	Погледъ върху развитието на музиката у разните народи [Следва]	***	8-9	
1	5	Историята на музиката от старо време (превод Мирчо) [Следва]	***	10-12	
1	6	Хроника	***	12-13	

Fig. 3. Digitised image and fragment from the description of the journal Gusla, 1891

4.6. Digitisation of Historic Newspapers

This is a project started recently which aims at producing a collection of digitized old newspapers: Dăga, Lampion, Mir, Dnes (selected issues from the period 1890–1930). This is a joint activity with the Central Library of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. The idea is to offer digital images of newspaper pages as a whole, and access to the texts of the separate articles. Photographs which appear in the newspapers will also be included into a collection of images.

4.7. Electronic Records of Manuscripts

The department prepared descriptions of Old Bulgarian manuscripts in TEI conformant XML (the total number of these descriptions is 806). Manuscripts are not digitized because due to different library policies. However, the detailed description is an important preliminary activity.

Audio Archives

Practical activities in the field of digitization of audio archives go back to 1997 when initial work on digitization and restoration was done within the Institute for Bulgarian Language. The Dialectological Archive of IBL consists of 250 audio tapes, recorded between 1955 and 1965, which cover almost the whole dialectological map of Bulgaria. The records typically contain interviews, usually with aged people, inhabitants of small villages. Interviewers are dialectology researchers from the Institute for Bulgarian Language. More than 30% of the records have been digitized and stored on CD's. The workflow included following steps:

- Digitization (sampling frequency of 44.1 KHz,16 Bits, Stereo, using a professional sound card equipped with a high-end ADC);
- Digital restoration (elimination of most frequently encountered disturbances: impulsive disturbances, wideband noise, and harmonic disturbances);
- Recording on a CD-R.

Since then the digitization of audio archives continues on a regular basis. Nowadays the efforts are focused on the creation (jointly with IMI-BAS) of a digital corpus for the needs of the scientific community and institutions with similar audio archives.

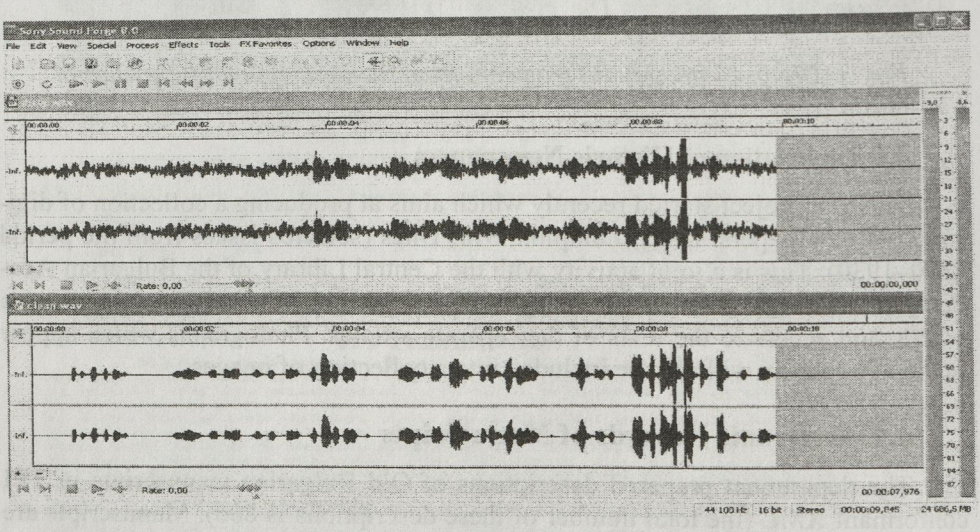


Fig.4 Sound wave before and after digital restoration

4.9. Photographic Resources

The department also works on the creation of a digital collection of historical photographs of distinguished artistic and documentary value from and about Bulgaria. This collection will highlight events with important political, economic and cultural value. It will also follow the technological development of the photographic processes from daguerreotype till digital photography. The most important achievement will be the documentary presentation of the life in Bulgaria over the last 150 years – what were the central issues of the human lives, what difficulties had to be overcome and how the prosperity of the nation had been built. The photographers which worked in all these decades succeeded to show in a touching manner important events from the lives of historical figures, and in fact made the first selection of photographs which currently serve as important witnesses of the historical memory. This collection is not just a set of images, the photographs in it are accompanied by a brief explanation which provides the cultural and historical context.

Fig. 5 Digital copies of photographs of Andrej Nikolov and Simeon Petrov (two of the first Bulgarian pilots)

5. Swot Analysis

The SWOT analysis is used to evaluate the *Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats* involved in a process or more specifically in a project or in any other situation of an organization or individual requiring a decision in pursuit of an objective. It involves monitoring and analyzing the environment internal and external to the process in question. In order to provide a precise picture of the current situation we have tried to summarize all relevant conditions to the digitization of scientific and cultural heritage in Bulgaria and the place of the Department.

Strengths	Weaknesses
• **Experience already available in several fields.** The positive influence is that some institutions already have the feeling what efforts are needed. • **Good contacts with colleagues from the region and other EC countries.** This is important for being in line with the current practices. • **Trainings/specialists meetings done on a regular basis.** The circle of specialists from the community of practice grows although this is a quite slow process.	• **Need to improve the access to digitized content.** Currently the department maintains a local archive and does offer access to selected collections through the Internet. • **Strong dependence on external funding.** The state support for research is insufficient; the department depends on its success in application for external funding.
Opportunities	**Threats**
• **Great amount of work to be done, space for creativity.** Since digitization and online accessibility are in an early stage of development, this gives space for creative approaches and innovative solutions. • **Local specifics may provide interesting cases.** For organizations which seek extension of their activities to Bulgaria, the local cultural materials might be very interesting and enrich their vision on the work which they are doing.	• **Copyright issues.** The unclearness on copyright issues and how they should be approached and solved may create tension for those who do digitization work. • **Work in conditions where neither governmental nor institutional policies are well established.** In most cases this will mean that institutions will reinvent the wheel.

8. Conclusion

The work of the department falls in with the digital libraries area, which is one of the current flagship initiatives of the strategy "i2010 – A European Information Society for growth and employment". Amongst the basic aims in the joint European efforts are to *avoid duplication*, to *cooperate in networking and standards*, as well as in *developing common and more cost-effective solutions* [6].

Without any doubt, the availability of high quality digital content is in the basis of humanitarian and social research. Most countries from the South-Eastern Europe are still far from moving in line with the European Commission (EC) guidelines in this area. The *EC Recommendation of 24 August 2006 on the digitization and online accessibility of cultural material and digital preservation* [7] emphasizes the importance of setting up of large and sustained digitization facilities, encouraging partnerships between cultural institutions and the private sector, solving the problems around orphan works as well as developing clear quantitative targets for digitization efforts.

Furthermore, the *Council Conclusions on the Digitization and Online Accessibility of Cultural Material and Digital Preservation* (2006/C 297/01) [8] suggest an action plan which can not be followed in countries where there is neither national strategy nor large scale digitization facilities or recognized competence centers promoting digitization activities.

Recently at the closing of the Conference on Scientific Publishing in the European Research Area: Access, Dissemination and Preservation in the Digital Age (Brussels, 16 February 2007), Ms. Viviane Reding, EU Commissioner on IS & Media stressed:

> *"... if we do not actively pursue the preservation of digital material now, we risk having* ***a gap in our intellectual record****. If you allow me another historical reference, we do not want to experience the digital equivalent of the destruction of the Alexandria Library. Scientific assets are just too valuable to be put at risk."* [9].

Countries like Bulgaria, which still do not have a national framework for digitization of cultural and scientific heritage, are even in more danger of deeper digital divide. Not only the structured effort to digitize and preserve is missing, but there is yet another danger. The extensive brain drain causes a gap in the community of those who could work on content provision, the experts expected not only to take care of digitization of cultural and scientific material, but also to place it in the local and wider European context. The experienced researchers which are still active in their profession do not have to whom to transfer their knowledge because local research career is not attractive to the young generation.

Having in mind the already existing experience and this EU-setting, we will direct the efforts of the Digitization of Scientific Heritage Department in IMI-BAS in the next years to:

- Improving of the expertise and currently used workflows for higher efficiency;
- Emphasizing on the quality of metadata (the metadata bottleneck is a well known issue in the recent years, and in various areas where estimations had been made, metadata are available for 1/3 to 2/3 of the digital objects; a separate issue is their completeness and quality);
- Introducing the areas of long-term preservation and digital curation and appraisal to the Bulgarian practice;
- Launching research on data protection and integrity within digitization work which are currently not used in the cultural heritage sector in Bulgaria;
- Continuing the research efforts on image recognition for specific types of documents;
- Affecting the training and educational gap in the digital preservation and access field;
- Contributing to the efforts of establishing a national infrastructure in the area of the Humanities.

What are the basic ingredients for a successful department? How a new research structure could fit the realities in Bulgaria where the state support for research has been very restricted in the last years? We think that our strengths so far are that the department functions in an area where expertise is needed in Bulgaria; in fact the local processes still are underdeveloped compared to EU guidance. The department also was able so far to confirm its local and international standing. It also is clearly a group of specialists with a vision. We believe that these are the key factors for our work in the future.

Acknowledgments

We would like to acknowledge the support of the projects DIGMAP (Discovering our Past World with Digitized Maps, Programme eContentplus – Project: ECP-2005-CULT-038042) and KT-DigiCULT-BG (Knowledge Transfer for the Digitization of Cultural and Scientific Heritage to Bulgaria – Project MTKD-CT-509754-2004).

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[4] The European Library website: http://www.theeuropeanlibrary.org/

[5] The Répertoire international de la presse musicale (RIPM) http://www.ripm.org/

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[7] *EC Recommendation of 24 August 2006 on the digitization and online accessibility of cultural material and digital preservation* http://europa.eu.int/information_society/activities/digital_libraries/doc/recommendation/recommendation/en.pdf

[8] *Council Conclusions on the Digitization and Online Accessibility of Cultural Material, and Digital Preservation, (*2006/C 297/01, Official Journal of the European Union, 7.12.2006, 5 pp. http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/site/en/oj/2006/c_297/c_29720061207en00010005.pdf

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& e-SCRIPTA
5/2007

'RomanCyrillic Std' – a Free Font for Slavists (and other Philologists)

Sebastian Kempgen

The author has developed and released two high-quality free fonts for the scientific community, *RomanCyrillic Std* and *Kliment Std*. The latter font has already been introduced in a separate paper (see Kempgen 2006c); the purpose of this paper is to introduce the *RomanCyrillic Std* font which has originally been released at the same time as *Kliment Std* but has been considerably updated and expanded this year. Much of what has been said regarding the *Kliment Std* font is also true for *RomanCyrillic Std* and needs not be repeated here again.

1. Download URL, license

The official web page for the *RomanCyrillic Std* font is:

http://kodeks.uni-bamberg.de/AKSL/Schrift/RomanCyrillicStd.htm

As can be seen from the address, it is part of the material offered on the 'Kodeks' server run by the author, online since 1996. The Kodeks server is a server dedicated to help with teaching and studying Slavic medieval languages, and the cultural history of the Slavic peoples and countries, and it contains a section on the Slavic scripts, too. The font page is part of this sub-section of the server. At the same time, the font is being mirrored on the 'Repertorium' web-site maintained by David Birnbaum at:

http://clover.slavic.pitt.edu/~repertorium/resources/fonts/fonts.html

The licensing conditions of the font allow it to be freely used for any scholarly research and publication; however, commercial use is not covered by the license (a similar commercial font exists). That the font is free for use does not mean that is in the public domain; rather, the author retains all copyright to the outlines used for the characters and to the final product. The main reason for this is that the author has licensed the basic outlines himself from another, commercial font vendor. For any user of the font this has two important consequences: 1) The font is fully licensed and legal to use which means it does not violate anyone else's copyrights – in contrast to many other free fonts available on the internet! This is the most important consequence. 2) This also means that the font may not be altered, modified, changed, renamed etc. by the end-user. For most users this is

completely without importance and practical relevance. If you would like to see additions, or if you have suggestions regarding the font and its character set, the advice is really simple: contact me and I will add new characters, signs etc.

Also downloadable from the Kodeks server is a 21-page pdf file containing tables for all Unicode blocks supported by the font. The same figures contained in this pdf file are also available online along with the font itself which is why we limit ourselves to use just some of them in this article.

2. Font format, platforms, encoding, compatibility

The font is made available as a Unicode 5.0 OpenType font in TrueType format (i.e. as a file with name ending with the suffix .tff).[1] Because computers running Mac OS X as well as those running Windows support such .tff files, this font can be used on Windows PCs as well as Macintoshes – there is only one font file for use on both platforms. This means that there is complete compatibility and interoperability between these two platforms for any documents that use this font. The same is true for web-sites that assume the presence of a specific font in their html code.

The encoding of the current release of the font (v. 2.2) is based on version 5.0 of the Unicode standard; the first releases were based on version 4.1 of Unicode. Being a strict Unicode font means that the correct Unicode number and slot are being used for any given character.[2] However, the Unicode standard itself is evolving, with more characters being added and introduced from time to time, especially in areas of relevance to Slavic philology. Consequently, the font itself will evolve over time to incorporate new characters, accents etc. Therefore, it is a good idea to check the website given above from time to time to see if a newer version might be available. The font does not make use of the so-called 'private area' to incorporate characters which are not yet a part of the Unicode standard so as to guarantee maximum compatibility.

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[1] Terminologically, fonts are now referred to as being either 'OpenType – TrueType flavored' or 'OpenType – PostScript flavored', with suffixes being .ttf or .otf . Until now, these fonts were instead referred to as being 'TrueType' (.ttf) or 'OpenType' (.otf) which implied that only PostScript fonts were or could be OpenType fonts, while .ttf fonts were platform-specific and Windows-TrueType fonts by origin. The TrueType font format itself, however, has been developed by Apple.

[2] Interestingly, Unicode defines only character numbers, not their names, although all Unicode docs use names to describe each character. However, the font uses established character names though technically this is not a requirement.

3. Design

RomanCyrillic Std is a serifed font that most closely matches the ubiquituous *Times* font, a standard in desktop publishing and a basic font whose presence is presupposed by any PostScript-compliant printer. Below is a sample using the usual nonsensical sentences used to display a distinctive selection of the characters and their shapes.

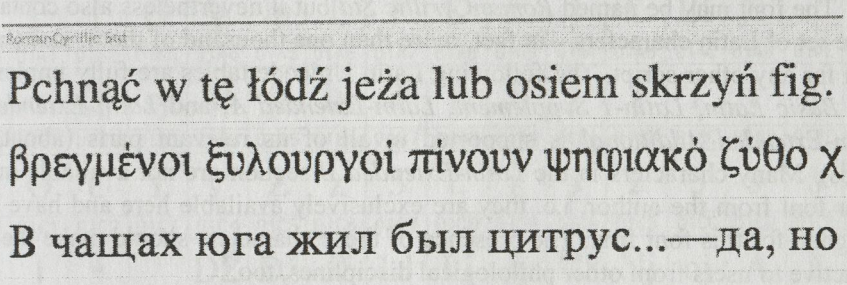

Fig. 1: Sample scripts supported by RomanCyrillic Std

Because *Times* is itself very similar to *Times New Roman*, *RomanCyrillic Std* can be and should be used along with both these fonts, just as *Kliment Std*. The font uses the same outlines as his commercial counterpart (named *RomanCyrillic Three*) and as his non-Unicode predecessor (named simply *RomanCyrillic*), so there is no difference or restriction in print quality. Also, one could even mix the non-Unicode predecessors with this Unicode version of the font without disrupting the visual appearance of the text. The only restriction that one should be aware of is that this free version of the font currently comes in one weight only, i.e. as a regular or upright typeface. At present, there is no free bold or italic version. An italic version may be mimicked by slanting the font – selecting 'italic' as the style in a word processor will result in a pseudo-italic oblique font. Similarly, selecting 'bold' may somewhat fatten the typeface but again this will not be a real bold font. Of course, *RomanCyrillic Std* also shares many of its characters – and characteristics – with *Kliment Std* which means these two fonts also match in all aspects relevant for typesetting. In fact, whenever both fonts have the same character shape (or glyph), the characters are simply identical. The main differences between the fonts are that a) *RomanCyrillic Std* has much more characters in it (more Cyrillic, more Latin, plus Classical Greek, and IPA), and that b) *Kliment Std* uses older shapes for certain characters (like Ꙗ) which is why this font aims at medievalists while *RomanCyrillic Std* implements current character shapes and designs (i.e. in this case Я).

In the following sections, we will outline some of the main features of the *RomanCyrillic Std* font. Some of them may be obvious and trivial, others may be

more or less hidden and may merit special attention. The table in the Appendix presents a structured overview of what is available in *RomanCyrillic Std* in comparison to fonts like *Times* or *Times New Roman*. All in all, the font contains now more than 2200 characters.

4. Latin and Numbers

The font may be named *RomanCyrillic Std* but it nevertheless also contains a large set of Latin characters – in fact, more than one thousand of them, many more than for any other script. The following Latin Unicode tables are fully implemented: *Basic Latin*, *Latin-1 Supplement*, *Latin-Extended A*, and *Latin Extended B*. *Latin-Extended Additional* is supported in all of its relevant parts (about two thirds). Many characters in the *Latin-Extended B* section are not available in any other font from the author, i.e. they are exclusively available here and have been designed for this font first. The presence of these characters should make the font attractive to users from other philological disciplines, too.[3]

In the *Latin-Extended B* table (see Fig. 2), characters such as the *Serbocroatian digraphs* (DZ Dz dz – DŽ Dž dž – LJ Lj lj – NJ Nj nj) are present, as well as *Macedonian transliteration* (Ǵ ǵ), *nasal o* (Ǫ ǫ), uppercase and lowercase *Štokavian accents* (ȁ ȃ ȅ ȇ ȉ ȋ ȍ ȑ ȓ ȕ ȗ). Support for even more Latin letters is in the *Latin-Extended Additional* block, where characters for the transliteration of *historical Russian*, and *Macedonian* (Ḱ ḱ Ḟ ḟ Ẏ ẏ) are available along with character used for the transliteration of Near East languages (Arabic etc.). For typographical perfection, the font also features the 'presentation forms' defined in Unicode for the Latin script, i.e. a basic set of ligatures (ﬆ ﬅ ffl ffi ff).

In other words: *RomanCyrillic Std* implements not only the contemporary orthography of all Slavic languages but also the (Latin) transliteration of all Slavic languages using the Cyrillic alphabet. It also supports other 'Western' and Near East philologies; however, at this time it does not try to implement all characters

[3] From a font designer's view, it is very interesting to see how different designers implement certain rare characters differently, for example the uppercase Schwa: Ə ə (phonetics) or Ә ә (Cyrillic). The *Times* font has essentially the same lowercase schwa as *RomanCyrillic Std*, but has another design for the uppercase schwa: Ə ə. In the *Times* font, the uppercase schwa is simply a 'blown up' (enlarged) lowercase character. This, we think, is a mistake. Uppercase characters should have a true uppercase design, in this case using a design similar to the character pair C c. This last remark concerning the design of uppercase characters is also valid for quite a few other characters in Unicode. For a font designer, it is obvious that many new Latin uppercase characters that have been invented by missionars or others often simply are 'blown up' lowercase characters instead of being true uppercase designs.

for Asian languages like Vietnamese. – The font also has a full set of Roman numerals, fractions, and superscript and subscript numbers.

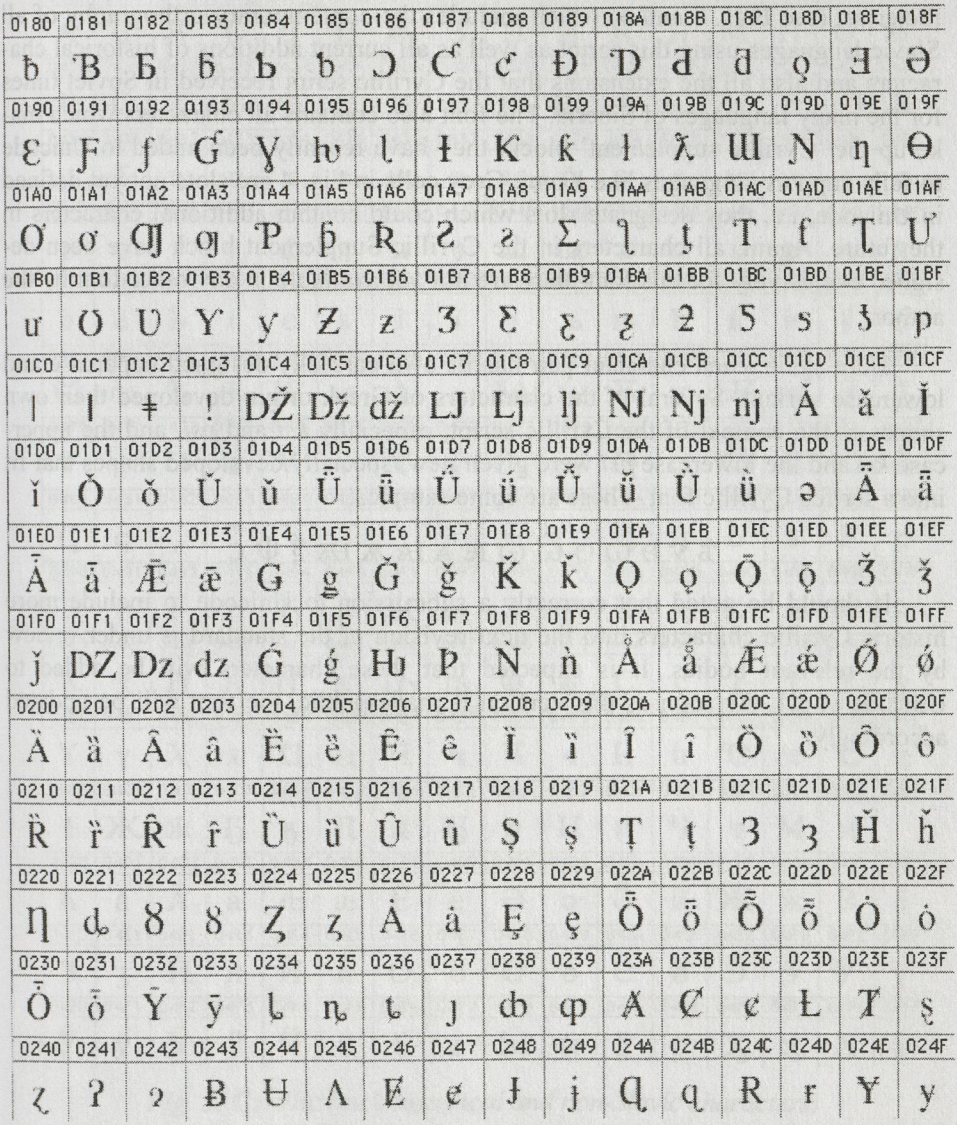

Fig. 2: Latin-Extended B

5. Cyrillic

Let us now turn our attention to Cyrillic. The font features a full Cyrillic character set (see Figs. 3 and 4) which includes the contemporary orthography of all Slavic languages using this script as well as all current additions of historical characters and also all the extensions that the Cyrillic script received in Soviet times for the many languages of Siberia. The font also contains all characters which make up the 'Cyrillic supplement' block; they have recently been added to Unicode to fully support languages like Komi. Grey cells in Fig. 4 are slots not yet defined in Unicode, i.e. they designate slots which could contain additional characters in the future. Again, all characters in the Cyrillic Supplement block have been designed exclusively for this font; they are not yet available in any other font by the author.

Here again, each character pair has its own carefully designed uppercase and lowercase variant. Several of the characters of Greek origin developed their own shapes in the context of the Cyrillic script, especially *ksi* and *psi*, and the uppercase *ksi* and the lowercase *psi* were given new, specially developed shapes that fit into a serifed Cyrillic font. These are some samples:

Ѣ ѵ ѳ ѡ ѻ ѽ ѿ ҀҀ Ꙗ Ꙗ҆ Ѫ Ѫ҆ ҙ ѱ ҁ

It should be noted that currently a submission to Unicode to include more historic Cyrillic characters into the next revision of the standard is under review by the relevant bodies. It is expected that these characters will be added to Unicode v. 5.1. As soon as this version is made public, the font will be updated accordingly.

0400	0401	0402	0403	0404	0405	0406	0407	0408	0409	040A	040B	040C	040D	040E	040F
È	Ё	Ъ	Ѓ	Є	S	І	Ї	J	Љ	Њ	Ћ	Ќ	Й	Ў	Џ
0410	0411	0412	0413	0414	0415	0416	0417	0418	0419	041A	041B	041C	041D	041E	041F
А	Б	В	Г	Д	Е	Ж	З	И	Й	К	Л	М	Н	О	П
0420	0421	0422	0423	0424	0425	0426	0427	0428	0429	042A	042B	042C	042D	042E	042F
Р	С	Т	У	Ф	Х	Ц	Ч	Ш	Щ	Ъ	Ы	Ь	Э	Ю	Я
0430	0431	0432	0433	0434	0435	0436	0437	0438	0439	043A	043B	043C	043D	043E	043F
а	б	в	г	д	е	ж	з	и	й	к	л	м	н	о	п
0440	0441	0442	0443	0444	0445	0446	0447	0448	0449	044A	044B	044C	044D	044E	044F
р	с	т	у	ф	х	ц	ч	ш	щ	ъ	ы	ь	э	ю	я
0450	0451	0452	0453	0454	0455	0456	0457	0458	0459	045A	045B	045C	045D	045E	045F
è	ё	ђ	ѓ	є	s	і	ї	j	љ	њ	ћ	ќ	ѝ	ў	џ
0460	0461	0462	0463	0464	0465	0466	0467	0468	0469	046A	046B	046C	046D	046E	046F
Ѡ	ѡ	Ѣ	ѣ	Ꙗ	ꙗ	А	а	Ꙗ	ꙗ	Ж	ж	Ꙗ	ꙗ	Ꙟ	ꙟ
0470	0471	0472	0473	0474	0475	0476	0477	0478	0479	047A	047B	047C	047D	047E	047F
Ψ	ψ	Θ	ѳ	V	v	Ѵ	ѵ	Оу	оу	О	о	Ѿ	ѿ	Ѽ	ѽ
0480	0481	0482	0483	0484	0485	0486	0487	0488	0489	048A	048B	048C	048D	048E	048F
Ҁ	ҁ	҂	◌҃	◌҄	◌҅	◌҆		◌҈	◌҉	Й	й	Ь	ь	Р	р
0490	0491	0492	0493	0494	0495	0496	0497	0498	0499	049A	049B	049C	049D	049E	049F
Ґ	ґ	Ғ	ғ	Ҕ	ҕ	Ж	ж	Ҙ	ҙ	Қ	қ	К	к	К	k
04A0	04A1	04A2	04A3	04A4	04A5	04A6	04A7	04A8	04A9	04AA	04AB	04AC	04AD	04AE	04AF
Ҡ	ҡ	Ң	ң	Ҥ	ҥ	Ҧ	ҧ	Ҩ	ҩ	Ҫ	ҫ	Ҭ	ҭ	Ү	ү
04B0	04B1	04B2	04B3	04B4	04B5	04B6	04B7	04B8	04B9	04BA	04BB	04BC	04BD	04BE	04BF
Ұ	ұ	Ҳ	ҳ	Ҵ	ҵ	Ҷ	ҷ	Ҹ	ҹ	Һ	һ	Ҽ	ҽ	Ҿ	ҿ
04C0	04C1	04C2	04C3	04C4	04C5	04C6	04C7	04C8	04C9	04CA	04CB	04CC	04CD	04CE	04CF
І	Ӂ	ӂ	Ӄ	ӄ	Ӆ	ӆ	Ӈ	ӈ	Ӊ	ӊ	Ӌ	ӌ	Ӎ	ӎ	
04D0	04D1	04D2	04D3	04D4	04D5	04D6	04D7	04D8	04D9	04DA	04DB	04DC	04DD	04DE	04DF
Ӑ	ӑ	Ӓ	ӓ	Æ	æ	Ӗ	ӗ	Ә	ә	Ӛ	ӛ	Ӝ	ӝ	Ӟ	ӟ
04E0	04E1	04E2	04E3	04E4	04E5	04E6	04E7	04E8	04E9	04EA	04EB	04EC	04ED	04EE	04EF
Ӡ	ӡ	Ӣ	ӣ	Ӥ	ӥ	Ӧ	ӧ	Ө	ө	Ӫ	ӫ	Ӭ	ӭ	Ӯ	ӯ
04F0	04F1	04F2	04F3	04F4	04F5	04F6	04F7	04F8	04F9	04FA	04FB	04FC	04FD	04FE	04FF
Ӱ	ӱ	Ӳ	ӳ	Ӵ	ӵ	Ҁ	ҁ	Ы	ы	Ӷ	ӷ	Ӽ	ӽ	Ӿ	ӿ

Fig. 3: Cyrillic (incl. historical and non-Slavic characters)

ВАША БИБЛИОТЕКА

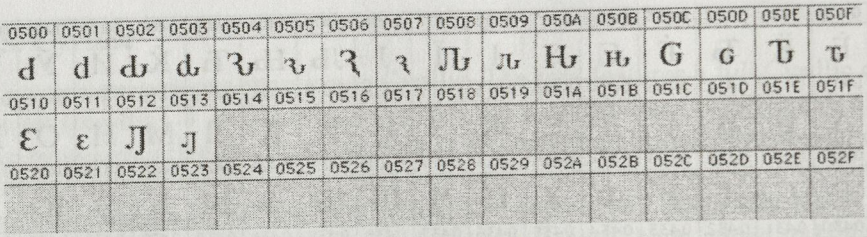

Fig. 4: Cyrillic Supplement

The font also has the 'thousand' number sign (҂), the non-spacing, i.e. combining titlo (◌҃), the palatalization hook (◌ҕ) which is also a combining symbol, and the two breathing marks *dasi pneumata* and *psili pneumata* (◌҅ ◌҆) in their corrected Cyrillic forms (not in the Glagolitic forms attested in the Kiev folia which were used for the official Unicode documents up until version 4.1). Of course, all combining accents from the IPA-section can also be used in conjunction with the Cyrillic characters which means that one can write accented Cyrillic with this font, too. This is a sample:

á é и́ ó ý ы́ ѣ́ à è ѝ ò ỳ ы̀ ѣ̀

From their appearance, many characters in the lower half of the table in Fig. 3 are identical to corresponding Latin characters (like ÄÖ etc.). However, because these characters are part of Cyrillic alphabets, it is essential to have them in Unicode defined as such, i.e. as Cyrillic characters.[4] If we were concerned only with the 'presentation side' of a text, i.e. with its on-screen or printed appearance, one could mix Latin and Cyrillic characters at will to achieve the desired result; however, the underlying encoding of characters is of equal importance. That is, for a string of characters that are meant to be Cyrillic characters, Cyrillic characters should be used, for text in the Latin script only Latin Unicode characters etc. And, of course, to make this possible, there should be all necessary Cyrillic characters defined in Unicode, regardless whether 'the same character' also exists in the Latin portion of Unicode or not.[5]

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[4] Of special importance to Slavists is the presence of character 04D0 and 04D1, i.e. Ăă, among the 'Soviet' extensions to the Russian alphabet, because this same character has been used by Petăr Beron in his famous 'Riben Bukvar' for the 'schwa' character, i.e. where contemporary orthography uses Ъъ. The Bulgarian Slavic-Cyrillic importance of Ăă has not been noted before, it seems.

[5] The same argument is, of course, also true for the relation of the Glagolitic script to Cyrillic. Because the flying accents in the Cyrillic block were changed by the Unicode organization from their 'Glagolitic' shapes to reflect their true Cyrillic shapes, it is only

6. Glagolitic

Another unique feature of the *RomanCyrillic Std* font is its implementation of the support for Glagolitic. The Glagolitic script had been adopted for version 4.1 of the Unicode standard, i.e. each character had been given its official 'slot' and unique number. *RomanCyrillic Std* does not include Glagolitic characters as such; instead, the author chose to implement automatic transliteration of Glagolitic into Cyrillic in this font. This means that instead of Glagolitic letters, *RomanCyrillic Std* has the matching Cyrillic letters in the appropriate slot. Thus, Cyrillic letters are present twice in the font: once as Cyrillic letters and once as automatic transliteration characters for Glagolitic. The Cyrillic transliteration of Glagolitic letters used in this font is the standard transliteration used in well-known text editions by Jagić and others. In contrast to the *Kliment Std* font, *RomanCyrillic Std* does not use older character forms but standard forms instead. For example, it uses Ч and not Ҷ. A feature common to both fonts is the use of a true Cyrillic Iota (uppercase and lowercase), a specially designed character shape for the 'second' or 'spidery x' (Ҳ) and the vertical OY ligature (Ꙋ). A non-smiling 'smiley' appears in the slot for the 'Glagolitic Pe' character for reasons that will be explained in Kempgen (2008; forthcoming): there is no transliteration for this character. Because of the 1:1 correspondence between Glagolitic and the transliteration characters used by *RomanCyrillic Std*, the transliteration will work flawlessly both ways: it is possible, for instance, to take an already available Glagolitic text (as long as the encoding is Unicode-compliant), and to simply change the font to *RomanCyrillic Std* to have the text correctly transliterated into Cyrillic. This also works the other way around: instead of writing directly in a true Glagolitic font, it is possible to use the Cyrillic letters from the Glagolitic section of *RomanCyrillic Std* and then afterwards to switch the font to a Glagolitic one to see what the text looks like in Glagolica. Thus, the font is a useful educational tool and a tool for editors, librarians etc. alike.

7. Greek – Monotonic and Polytonic

The *RomanCyrillic Std* font has a full set of Greek characters that cover a) monotonic or Modern Greek as well as b) polytonic or Classical Greek (see Fig. 5). In contrast, the current version of the *Kliment Std* font so far only has support for monotonic Greek. In Unicode, all combinations of diacritics with their base characters are defined for Greek as such, that is, each combination can be optimally designed. This leads to a large number of characters (256), but on the other hand the typographic result is perfect. The addition of Classical Greek to the *Roman Cyrillic Std* font is the more important because the current version of *Times New Roman* lacks support for this script – it only supports Modern Greek.

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logical that the removed 'Glagolitic' diacritics should now be added to the Glagolitic portion of Unicode because one font can have them in one shape only, but one font should be capable of serving all of its supported scripts at the same time with all necessary characters.

What may be worth mentioning here (again) is the fact that the author has implemented all of the *historical characters* of the Greek script which are useful for Slavicists, too, for example when writing about Old Church Slavonic number signs. Thus, the font features symbols like *archaic Koppa* (03D8, 03D9), *Stigma* (03DA, 03DB), *Digamma* (03DC, 03DD), *Koppa* (03DE, 03DF), and *Sampi* (03E0, 03E1), all of them in lowercase and uppercase forms. Further remarks concerning the design of these characters can be found in the article accompanying the release of the *Kliment Std* font.

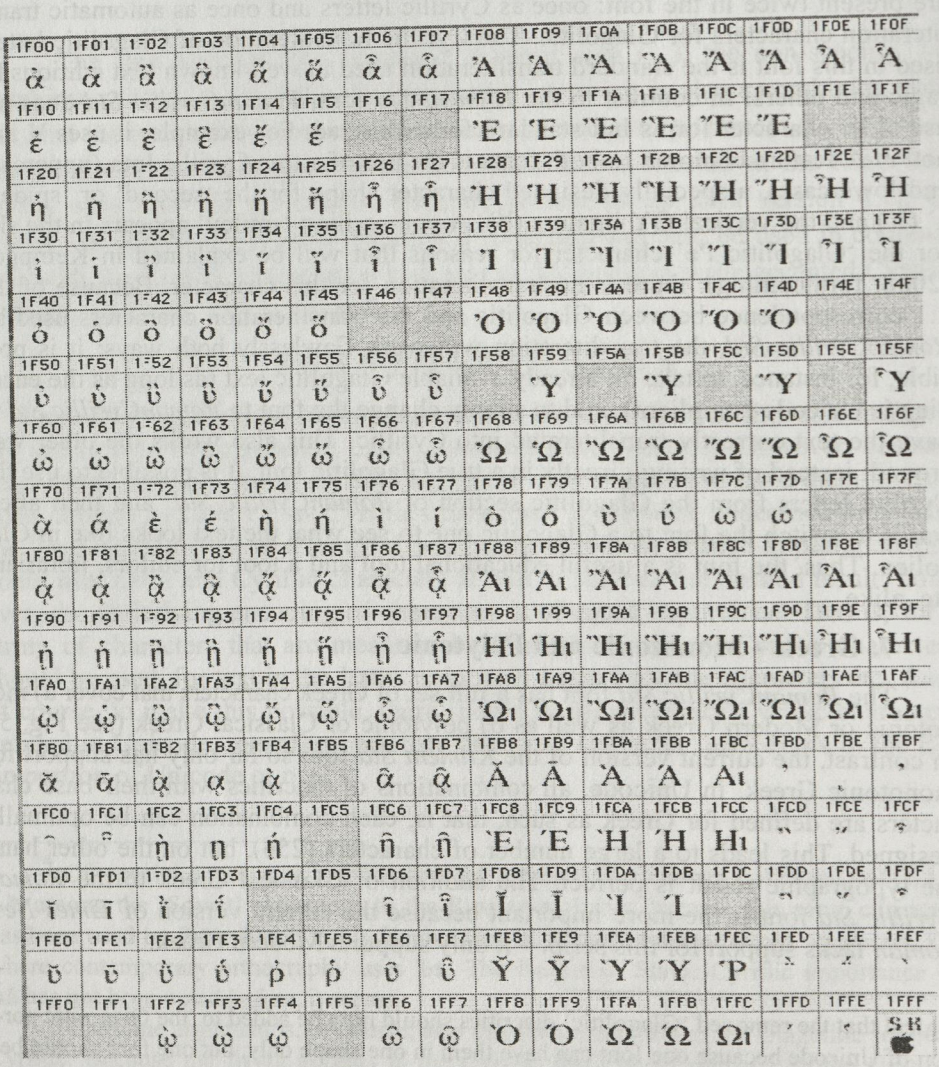

Fig. 5: Polytonic Greek

8. IPA Characters

Phonetic signs (Unicode block 'IPA Extensions') are fully implemented in this font – *Kliment Std* has only selected phonetic characters. Again, the addition of IPA characters is important for philologists because neither *Times* nor *Times New Roman* has any real support for these signs. The phonetic symbols in *Roman Cyrillic Std* have been imported from a commercial font by the author (*Trubetzkoy* and *Trubetzkoy Pro*); therefore, the design and the print quality is of the highest standard and all characters match the base font perfectly.

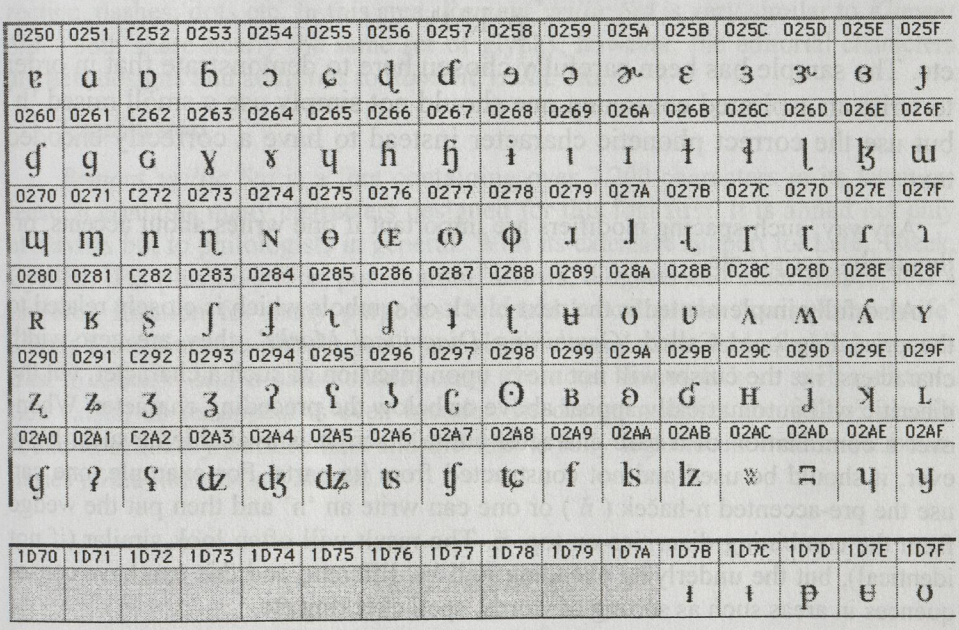

Fig. 6: IPA Phonetics & Phonetics Extended

Implemented in *RomanCyrillic Std* for the first time in any Unicode font by the author are the characters in the *Phonetics Extended* block. The first of these new Unicode characters, the small ɪ with a horizontal stroke, is of special importance to Slavic philology because of its use in Russian phonetics. Here are some sample characters from the font:

ɐ ɑ ʌ ɘ ə ɛ ɪ ɨ ɪ̈ ɪ̈ ʁ ʁ ʃ ʒ ʔ ʤ ʤ ʦ ʧ

There are even more phonetic characters defined in Unicode, especially for caucasiologists, but these have not yet been implemented in *RomanCyrillic Std*. A future update could possibly add them.

9. Diacritics (Spacing and Non-Spacing)

RomanCyrillic Std has the same set of diacritics as *Kliment Std*, and that means a full implementation of the corresponding Unicode blocks. As these signs were already documented in the article about *Kliment Std*, we need not repeat all information here. 'Spacing' modifiers are accents or other symbols that have their own character width, i.e. they behave like a character and will appear next to the preceding character. These spacing modifiers are an important part of the Unicode support for phonetics. With these characters, one can write aspirated consonants like

$$p^h\ k^h\ t^h$$

etc. The sample has been carefully chosen here to demonstrate that in order to write an aspirated consonant one should not simply use a small raised 'h' but use the correct phonetic character instead to have a correctly encoded text.

Anyway, such spacing modifiers are important if one writes about accents, orthography, scripts etc.[6]

Also fully implemented is the next block of symbols which is closely related to the preceding one. Called '*Combining Diacritical Marks*', they are zero-width characters, i.e. the cursor will not move upon insertion of such a character, but the diacritic will automatically appear above or below the preceding character. Whenever a combination of a base character and a diacritic is available as such, however, it should be used and not constructed from its parts. For example, one can use the pre-accented n-haček (ň) or one can write an 'n' and then put the wedge from the combining diacritics on top: ň. The result will often look similar (if not identical), but the underlying encoding will be different, and this can have consequences in areas such as sorting of words, spell checking etc.

To sum this up: the *RomanCyrillic Std* font fully supports *all* diacritics, spacing or non-spacing, which are defined in the corresponding sections of the Unicode standard, but the advice is to use these diacritics only where appropriate, i.e. where no pre-accented character is available.

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[6] Under Mac OS X, the German translation of 'Spacing Modifiers' is a typical example of a translation not being done by a specialist in the field: 'Abstandssteuerungszeichen' is a ridiculous ad-hoc translation, and a misleading one at the same time. These character do not 'control the distance' between neighbouring characters, as the name would imply – that's what the en-dash, em-dash etc. are for. The German translation for 'Combining Diacritics', namely 'Diakritische Zeichen – Kombinierende Zeichen' is much better which makes one wonder why the non-spacing modifiers have not simply been transliterated as 'Nicht-kombinierende Zeichen' or '… Diakritika'.

10. Other Symbols

Concluding this overview of the features of the *RomanCyrillic Std* font, I'd like to mention some additional Unicode blocks that are supported in the font. These include a full support for *Roman numerals* in uppercase and lowercase (MCDLIX), fractions (⅟ ⅓ ⅔ ⅕ ⅖ ⅙ ⅞), arrows (← ↑ → ↓ ↔ ↕), mathematical (logical) operators (∀ ∃ ∈ ∉), selected geometric shapes (■ □ ► ▷ ● ○), Zodiac signs and various dingbats (★ ✪ ✓ ❋ ❦ ❧ † ☩ ☭) etc. *Punctuation* has also been given extensive support, including symbols used for marking up text for correction, dashes, dots etc. In this area, *RomanCyrillic Std* is very similar to *Kliment Std* – both share nearly the same set of glyphs; however, the editorial characters are new designs and additions to *RomanCyrillic Std.*

Conclusion

RomanCyrillic Std is a font containing over 2.200 characters in its latest release. It contains many characters designed for this font first. It is aimed not only at slavists but to philologists in general. With its extensive support for Latin, Greek, Cyrillic, IPA plus diacritics, punctuation, arrows, dingbats and other shapes, it is a one-stop solution for many purposes. It could be called the 'swiss-army knife' among fonts aimed at philologists – see also the comparison table (below). In contrast to *Kliment Std*, it uses contemporary character shapes (where such a distinction exists) so its appeal is even broader. Its design matches the font(s) usually found in scholarly publications and the font is fully legal to use within the boundaries of the license (see above).

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Unicode: Unicode Inc.: http://www.unicode.org/charts/

Appendix: Features of 'RomanCyrillic Std' in comparison to other fonts

	Roman Cyr Std v. 2.2 (Win/OSX)	Times / Helvetica v. 5.0d10e1 (OS X)	Times New Roman / Arial v. 3.05 (Win/OS X)
Basic **Latin**	✓	✓	✓
Latin-1 Supplement (= Western Europe)	✓	✓	✓
Latin Extended-A (= Eastern Europe & more)	✓	✓	✓
Latin Extended-B	**208/208** !	most	some
Croatian Digraphs	✓	✓	– –
Maced. Translit. (ǵ)	✓	✓	– –
Štokavian Accents	✓	✓	– –
Nasal o	✓	✓	– –
Latin Extended Additional (256)	✓	✓	ca. 1/3
Maced. Translit. (ḱ)	✓	✓	– –
Russ. Hist. Translit. (ḟ, ẏ)	✓	✓	– –
Sorbian (ḿ, ṕ)	✓	✓	– –
IPA – Phonetic	**96/96!**	2/96	1/96
Spacing Modifiers	**80/80!**	11/80	9/80
Translit. of Jers	✓	– –	– –
Combining Diacritics (= "Flying Accents")	**112/112!**	40/112	5/112
Greek			
Modern Greek	✓	✓	✓
Archaic Letters (Koppa, Stigma, Sampi…)	✓	– –	– –

Classical Greek	✓	✓	– –
Cyrillic			
Std. Russian & Slavic	✓	✓	✓
Macedonian Add. (è, ѝ)	✓	✓	– –
Hist. Add. (ѣ ѧ ѫ ...)	**41/41!**	– –	– –
Ukrainian Ghe (Ґ ґ)	✓	✓	✓
Non-Slavic Cyrillic (ex GUS-Countries)	**132/132!**	ca. 1/2	ca. 1/10
Glagolitic			
Transliteration into Cyrillic	✓	– –	– –
Armenian, Georgian, Hebrew, Arabic, Ethiopian	– –	– – (supported by other fonts)	Hebrew, Arabic
General Punctuation	**70/112**	18/112	27/112
Superscripts/Subscripts (0...9)	**30/46**	– –	– –
Currency (Euro...)	1/48	3/48	6/48
Comb. Diacr. for Symbols (O)	✓	– –	– –
Number Forms	**49/64**		
Add. Fractions (2/3...)	✓	– –	6/13
Roman Numerals	✓	✓	– –
Arrows	6/112	– – (complete in Apple Symbols)	7/112 (complete in Wingdings)
Mathematical Operators (∏, ∫, ≠ ...)	**45/256**	12/256 (complete in Apple Symbols)	15/256 (complete in other fonts)

About the author . . . .

Sebastian Kempgen is a Professor of Slavic Linguistics at the University of Bamberg, Germany, since 1991. Research areas include the writing systems, phonology and morphology of the Slavic languages, history and typography of Slavic scripts, quantitative typology, computing in the humanities, and Balkan philology. Director of the Center of Foreign Languages at the University of Bamberg 1996–2000, Dean of the Faculty of Languages and Literatures 2002–2006, currently president of the German Association of Slavists (2006–2008), founding member of the *Center for Medieval Studies* at the University of Bamberg.

An on-going project is the "Kodeks" web-server dedicated to teaching and learning Slavic medieval philology (online since 1996, address http://kodeks.uni-bamberg.de). Publications (see also http://web.uni-bamberg.de/split/slavling/Books.htm) include: *Die Kirchen und Klöster Moskaus. Ein landeskundliches Handbuch*, München 1994 (The Churches and Monasteries of Moscow) ; *Rusistika, Slavistika, Lingvistika. Festschrift für Werner Lehfeldt zum 60. Geburtstag*. Hrsg. von S. Kempgen, U. Schweier und T. Berger. München 2003; "Spezifika slawischer Schriften" // S. Kempgen (Hg.). *Slavistische Linguistik 1992*, München 1993, pp. 111-143. "Complex Script Systems on Today's Personal Computers". // *Computer Processing of Medieval Slavic Manuscripts. Proceedings. First International Conference, 24.-28. July, 1995, Blagoevgrad*, Bulgaria, Sofija 1995, pp. 68-78; "Nezhit – quid sit ignoratur" Zu Deutung und Bedeutung eines mittelbulgarischen Amulettes // W. Girke (Hg.). *Slavistische Linguistik 1995*, München 1996, pp. 162–200 (with Ulrich Schweier). So far, he has organized three excursions to Bulgaria for his students.

See http://web.uni-bamberg.de/split/slavling/Exkursion.htm.

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5/2007

Gregory Camblak – On Some Controversial Issues

Donka Petkanova

A lot has been written about Gregory Camblak in the course of more than two hundred years. Hundreds of books and articles have been published as Camblak is one of the most brilliant writers and personalities in the east-orthodox Middle Ages. It is well-known that he tries his quill in the field of hagiography, the art of public speaking, hymnography and leaves large literary heritage. With each new study unknown aspects of his artistic portrait are discovered, we can see more clearly his elevated culture and the way he used a wide range of religious and secular works – vitas, sermons, chronicles, annals, documents – from the Byzantine and Serbian literature.[1]

Despite Gregory Camblak's huge importance as a writer, leader of a monastery confraternity, church organizer, despite his popularity during his lifetime and his influence on the literature after him (Serbian, Russian, Bulgarian), many questions connected to his life and work are not yet made clear.[2] There are a lot of suggestions about them. Every scientist tries to see through the heavy fog of the non-documented time or to reveal the contents of separate phrases of the work of Camblak himself, where we can find autobiographical confessions. I cherish no illusion that I can settle the controversial scientific issues, but I will try to add my part to the choir of scientific hypothesis in the hope of coming closer to the truth.

1. About the Name Camblak

P. A. Syrku, P. P. Sokolov, A. I. Jacimirskij, M. Genov, G. I. Teoharid, I. Bogdanov, Al. Milev, N. Kovačev, B. Simeonov have been debating about Gregory

[1] Newer publications on this issue: (Alissandratos 1982, Anguševa 2001: 75–82; Angusheva-Tihanova 2004: 217–138; Petkanova 2005:128–215).

[2] F. Thomson deals profoundly with controversial issues connected with Gregory Camblak's biography in his publication (Thomson 1998). The author's task is to point out what is unclear or wrong in the studies and not have a certain opinion.

Camblak's name. I will generalize the opinions expressed as assumptions and linguistic manipulations without going into detail. There is no doubt about the name Gregory. It is his name in religion and is too widely spread in the whole Christian world. On the ground of the Byzantine tradition – when one becomes a monk his new name starts with the first letter of the name by birth – it can be conjectured on the writer's personal non-clerical name. All reflections in this direction, however, are vain, as they have no documentary point of support. What is more, in Bulgarian Middle Ages it is often the case that the principle is violated – there are plenty of examples from the 10th as well as from the 14th centuries. The more significant problem is the surname "Camblak". Monks do not usually point out theirs surname. They reveal their nationality (for example, Gerasim Bulgarian), the monastery they live in, their eparchy if they are bishops (Kliment Velički), very rarely their birth place and most often their religious order. The name Camblak can hardly be linked to a nationality, birth place, monastery for learning or a position. In addition, it is not marked in separate cases – Camblak himself mentions it, as well as authors who have written years after him. The Constantinople patriarch Joseph II calls him "Camblak" in an epistle to the Moscow bishop from 1416.[3] He is called that way in Russian annals from the 15th century[4] and later on, even in Serbian annals. There is a collection with selected works by Camblak – "The Book of Gregory Camblak".[5] Obviously 'Camblak' is a family name that he valued a lot and presented himself with it. Considered exactly a family name, it is declared by various scientists as Romanian by origin, Bulgarian, Byzantine, Cumanian, or that is not a real family name but a nickname.

It is indisputable that Gregory Camblak is connected with Tărnovo from his childhood. This is accepted by all explorers. He is a disciple of Euthymius of Tărnovo and in отроческыи возрасть he welcomes Cyprian – the bishop of Kiev in the capital city. His father is also present at the reception side by side with the patriarch, which indicates that he is a person of high standing in Tărnovo. The written records do not allow us to judge of his position. The fact that the father descends from an eminent Tărnovo family, whose representatives have earlier held high court posts, is a well-known addition to Tsar Boril's Synodikon, which glorifies the primikerios Camblak (примикюрю вѣчнаа памѧть). The great primikerios kept the court records, organized meetings with the foreign delegations and other ceremonies connected with the tsar.[6] The kinship relation

[3] Begunov 2005: 163.

[4] Begunov 2005: 198, 200, 203.

[5] Dončeva-Panajotova 2004: 246.

[6] (Andreev, Lazarov, Pavlov 1999: 391). According to other authors the title "primikerios" can mean a military, as well as a religious post. Whatever was the primikerios Camblak he was defined "great" which shows his significant place in the post hierarchy.

between the primikerios Camblak and Gregory remains a mystery. The opinion that this courtier lived during the time of tsar Ivan Alexandăr (1331–1371) prevails.

The cited facts, as well as others, define Gregory's Bulgarian origin. In documents and chronicles he is often called "Bulgarian".[7] It is most likely that Camblak presented himself as a Bulgarian and that is the way he is remembered. Cyprian is not called that in any record, although he is a churchman with wide popularity and who is also Bulgarian.

Taking into consideration these circumstances, the assumptions about the Romanian and Cumanian origin of the name 'Camblak' are groundless. They are not based on serious historical, linguistic or logical arguments. Without treating the issue on the name Camblak in particular, F. Thomson rightly mentions of "unrewarding" and "speculative etymologies suggested for the name".[8]

In the sources the surname of the Bulgarian writer is written in various ways: Camblak (repeatedly), Čamblak. Čamablak (in an epistle of the Moscow bishop Photios from 1417)[9]; Camâvlak (in Byelorussian annals from 1446)[10], Cemivlak (in Annals from Volyn from the end of the 15th century)[11], Samlak, Samblak and Camblak (in Nikon Annals, 1520)[12]. Most often and in most reliable sources the name 'Camblak' is seen and therefore it is accepted in science as an authentic one.

I cannot agree to N. Kovačev's hypothesis that 'Camblak' is a nickname.[13] In the daily Bulgarian life there have been many nicknames and they will always exist. In medieval literature, however, there are not any bynames for copyists and authors. Such may be found with secular persons. If a relative of Gregory's, his ancestor, had accepted this nickname, it is inexplicable why the writer supports it. N. Kovačev's proofs in favour of his hypothesis are not convincing. "As a rule" in the name "a word with a humorous meaning had to be sought" (p. 204). For

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[7] In Byelorussian-Lithuanian annals from the 15th century ("постави Киеву митрополита Григориа блъгарина", "Григориа з болгарское земли"), in the Russian Stepennaja kniga from the 16th century ("поставиша Григориіа Цамблака Болгарина"), in the Russian illustrated annals arch (here under date 1414 – "и избраша Григоріа Цамблака, родомь болгарина"), see (Dončeva-Panajotova 2004: 156–157, 161, 173).

[8] Thomson 1998: 6.

[9] Begunov 2005:166–167.

[10] Begunov 2005:198.

[11] Begunov 2005: 203 and in other records from the 17th century.

[12] Begunov 2005: 206–207. Camblak and Samblak take turns in other records.

[13] Kovačev 1984: 201–206.

Kovačev it is "sufficient" to point out nicknames such as Debelak, Prostak, Tumbalak, etc. from the respective common names (fat, fool, paunchy). In that sense we could continue – Dărtak, Glupak, Goltak, etc. (old, stupid, poor) but this is not enough. We should not proceed from the new Bulgarian language but from observations and analogies in the literary language by the end of the XIV century. Moreover, in spoken Bulgarian there are many more words with Slavonic and non-Slavonic origin with the suffix *-ak*, which do not have humorous sounding. By trying to interpret the "byname" Camblak, N. Kovačev thinks that it could be derived from the work "*cambalak*", although he himself says about it that it is "not attested".

The Bulgarians maintain the closest and longest lies with Byzantium. Centuries on end there has been movement of people from Bulgaria to Byzantium and back. That is why the idea that Camblak's family and his name respectively have a Byzantine origin is implausible.[14] The Camblaks had property in Macedonia, where Gregory's ancestors came from. A few scholars acknowledge this opinion. At attempt to explain the name philologically has been made, but unconvincingly.

The presence of Tzamplakones in Byzantium was once mentioned by A. I. Yacimirskij in his main work on Gregory Camblak.[15] He listed seven people in high office by the end of the 14th century. Teoharid added others. The first attested Camblak (Τζαμπλάκων) is from about the middle of the 13th century. In the 15th century the Tzamplakones are famous in Moldova too.[16]

"The Byzantine theory" about the origin of the family and the name Camblak, even though it is credible on the surface, contains some uncertain issues. The meaning of the word cannot be derived from a Greek lexeme. The problem of why some Camblakon settles in the Bulgarian capital (or in the area) stands over, and why Gregory Camblak does not allude to the Byzantine descent of his family.

In the journal "Bălgarski ezik" there was a brief report about the word "*camblak*".[17] The collectors of folk names of artisan's tools from the Vraca and Vidin regions came across this word meaning "a special iron goldsmith's hammer". Without making definite conclusions the authors of the report draw the attention to the fact that the word "*camblak*" coincides with the name of the medieval writer Gregory Camblak and that is "particularly interesting". Indeed, it is in-

[14] Θεοχαρίδες 1963:125–183.

[15] Jacimirskij 1904: 15–16.

[16] (Jacimirskij 1904: 17). On the issue of the Byzantine Tzamplakones see (Thomson 1998: 6–8) with bibliographical references.

[17] Mihailova, Bučinski 1985: 359.

teresting, but it may be due to a chance. What is more, we do not have any information that Gregory's ancestors had anything to do with the goldsmith's craft. Therefore it is risky to explain the writer's surname with a goldsmith's term.

An opinion that has not been much discussed is that of B. Simeonov.[18] It is expressed in a resume of a delivered report and due to its brevity it does not contain concrete evidence. According to Simeonov the family Camblak "descends from the south-west Bulgarian lands" (on the basis of what does he make this conclusion it is not clear) and that the name "Camblak is proto-Bulgarian by origin", inherited from the Kuber Bulgarians.

I consider this opinion worthy of attention. Whether the name is a legacy from the Kuber or Asparux's Bulgarians we cannot definitely claim. There is, however, some reason to believe that it is not Greek but proto-Bulgarian. I would like to support it with some arguments and considerations.

The origin of the name Camblak should be sought in the word form. Names with the suffix *-ak*, *-ag* (probably also pronounced as *-ak*) are repeatedly documented in writing with the proto-Bulgarians. Sak is a mythological figure in the mythology of the Volga Bulgarians. Attila's eldest son's name is Elak, and the youngest is Hernak, cited also as Irnah (in Byzantine sources[19]). It is well-known that a large branch of the proto-Bulgarians – the Kutrigurs – unites with Attila's Huns and in the second half of the 5th century "constitute a strong Kutrigur kingdom"[20]. In Jagfar's history[21] Attila's eldest son is called Illak (almost like is the Byzantine sources without the author's knowledge). By tradition this name is later found in the history of the Bulgarians. Other proto-Bulgarian names in a similar form: Kotrag (Khan Kubrat's second son), Omurtag (already in Danube Bulgaria). A great number of names of this type are attested in the annals of the Volga Bulgarians.[22] Proper names: Tubyak, khan, son of Boyan Čelbir (beginning of the 7th century), Birak (10th century), Alpak (a merchant), Išak, Atrak (founder of the Atrak family), second Atrak, a hatter (10th – 11th century), Illak (a traders' family,

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[18] Simeonov 1988: 11–12.

[19] Zlatarski 1970: 77–78.

[20] Zlatarski 1970: 83.

[21] (Bakši 2005). Contains annals from the 13th, 15th and 16th centuries, united by Bakshi Iman by the orders of seid Jagfar in 1680. He presents the story of the Volga-Bulgars, as he mentions the background from the 5th–7th centuries based on older annals and legends. The work was written in Bulgarian "Tyurki" and in 1939 translated into Russian. A considerable part of the scroll was published in 1993, where the Bulgarian translation comes from.

[22] The following data comes from Jagfar tarihi.

a river and the region around it), Tarak (a leader, 11th century), Kučak, Abrak-Hum (a family), Kulbak, Bermak (a family). Fortresses and areas: Honjak (a property, 7th century), Timar-Kabak (a camp of the khan), Matak (a fortress), Bellak (a province), Tiganak (a fortress), Tubjak (a Bulgarian province), Biš-Kalpak (a city-fortress of the Kalpak family), Kama-Bulak (a channel in Kazan, an arm of the outfall of the Kazanka river), Kipčak (a region with an independent khan), Čanak, Albak and Yamalak (towns), Bailak (this is what Bulgarians used to call Poland), Ulag-Bulgar (this is how Volga Bulgars used to call Danube Bulgaria). With words ending is *-ak* they used to call tribes, too: Bajanak (Pecheneg), Kotrag (a member of the tribe Kotrags).

Personal names with the suffix *-ak* are found in the Bulgarian folklore and everyday life as well, for example Novak and Levak [a beginner and left-hander] (in Krali Marko's epic), Budak, Rusak.[23] Some of these names are probably remains by tradition from the proto-Bulgarian ethnos; others are created from, Slavonic words on an approved model.

Names with the suffix *-ak* had people from other eastern peoples as well, who proto-Bulgarians had ties with, even before the foundation of Kubrat Bulgaria and after that – Khazars, Persians, Tatars, Armenians.[24] The Armenian names which remind of the proto-Bulgarian ones, while others resemble them, are impressive. Here is a list which does not pretend to be full but it is food for thought.[25] Mažak (a priest mentioned in an ancient Armenian epic), Vaharšag (an Armenian tsar, 2nd century BC), Aršag I (an Armenian tsar, son of Vaharšag), Tavtag Kertog (a poet, 7th century), Eznak (a philosopher, 5th century), Saint Sahak (Armenian saint, patriarch, 5th century), Sahak (prince 10th–11th centuries), Hovanes Sargavak (a poet, 12th century), Nahamed Kučak (a poet 16th century), Bidžak and Avag (medieval miniaturists).

Bulgarians have close connections with the Armenians even before their resettlement towards the Balkan Peninsula. They live as their neighbours. What is more, a tribe settled in Armenia in the 3rd century.[26] It is well-known that Armenians-Catholics were populated in the 8th–9th centuries near the Bulgarian-Byzantine border; a large part of them were later, when the respective lands go into the borders of the Bulgarian state, were Slavianized. During Basileios II's campaigns

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[23] Gerov 1978: 623 (list of the Bulgarian names).

[24] The Turks also have names and words ending in *–ak* (čolak, čirak, čomak, etc.) but here I ignore the Turkish language as by the beginning of the 15th century it does not influence on the Bulgarian names.

[25] The names come from the work of Basmadžian (Basmadžian 2001).

[26] Basmadžian 2001: 149–150.

against the Bulgarians, according to an Armenian history form the 11th century, three Armenians (prince Sahak and others) were taken prisoners by the Bulgarians[27] (before that Armenians-strategos were employed by Krum). According to response 106 by pope Nikolaus I to the Bulgarians from 13 November 866 Christian preachers, who speak differently come to Bulgaria, "i.e. Greeks, Armenians and people from other places".

From the given data two hypotheses may appear: 1) the name Camblak has proto-Bulgarian origin, and 2) it is Armenian. I think that the first supposition is more probable. Motives: 1) the abundance of names ending in *-ak* in the proto-Bulgarian tribes, 2) Historical and linguistic considerations.

During the 8th–10th centuries Bulgarians were the most numerous of all peoples and tribes the Slavs come into touch with. They found Danube Bulgaria and dominate in its government till the 10th century. In the old Bulgarian literary language from the 10th–11th centuries (for example in The Codex Suprasliensis, in The Codex Savvae, in Hexaemeron by Joan Ekzarx, in The Erotapokriseis by Pseudo-Kaisarios, etc.) enter many proto-Bulgarian words.[28] Among them there are such that end in *-ak*. For instance, it is considered indisputable that the word "*krăčag*" (pail, pitcher) is proto-Bulgarian. It is preserved up to the present in the dialects as: *krăčak*, *krăčak*, *kărčak*. In the 9th–10th centuries the proto-Bulgarian proper names are alive and we often find them in literary documents. This is quite natural, as proto-Bulgarians have not yet disappeared as an ethnos. Pagan are the names of prince Boris and his brother Dox, attested in the prologue to "Heavens" by Joan Ekzarx. All Simeon's sons receive Christian names (Mixail, Petăr, Ivan), but the youngest one keeps his proto-Bulgarian name Boyan. It is enough to remind about Sondoke and Komir (diplomats who were delegates of prince Boris in Rome), Esach (boyar in Pliska from the end of the 9th century), Varakur (who left his signature in the Ravna monastery), Tegči (who put his name on a ring, 10th century) etc. After the 10th century the number of proto-Bulgarian names decreases. Only exceptions are left, but they do not disappear till the end of the 14th century. The boyar Pagan is famous in the 13th century. The name Hinat is found in the 10th, 12th and 13th centuries.[29] Some names become a family tradition, although their bearers are Christians, for example Boris and Boyan. Tsar Asen's byname

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[27] Basmadžian 2001: 435–436.

[28] For example, коумиръ, бѣлѣгъ, уриторъ, капище, тикъ (mirror), ковьуегъ, шаръуии (artist), писъръ, тоиага, бъбрек, кънигъуии (writer), самъуии (governor), сокауии (cook), коцоуна (fabrication), мьуьтъ (mystery, dream), дълъı (jar), etc. Also in dialects, for example: сокай, капия (sheath), талига, etc.

[29] For the cited names see (Andreev, Lazarov, Pavlov 1999: 304, 390).

Belgun has a proto-Bulgarian origin.[30] Among the protectors of the state and the faith againt the Turks there are Slavonic, as well as non-Slavonic names – Semir, Karach, Raten, Botul, commanders or defenders of fortresses of "mixed Bulgarian-Cumanian origin"[31], they are recorded in the addenda to Tsar Boril's Synodikon and refer to the second half of the 14th century. It is more likely that these names are purely proto-Bulgarian, preserved throughout the centuries as a memory of the antecedent boyars and bagains.

Taking into consideration the cited facts and reasons, as well as the family traditions of the Bulgarian nation when giving names to children, it may be assumed that the name Camblak too is a formal remainder of the proto-Bulgarian ethnos, Slavianized long ago.

A number of words in the Russian language, which according to different linguists have Tatar, Turk or proto-Bulgarian origin, are evidence for the strong linguistic influence of the proto-Bulgarians on the Slavs. Among them there are such with the suffix *-ak*, *-ag*: *kazak*, *burlak*, *kabak*, *kolpak* (in Bulgarian *kalpak*) (hat), *očag* (fireplace) etc. In order to explain the presence of these words in the Russian language it is not necessary to seek the influence of neighbouring and further peoples, as it is known that the Russians in the 9th century on occupy territories populated by proto-Bulgarians, they are at war with them, and Volga Bulgaria exists till the late Middle Ages.

2.About the Camblak Family

I have already mentioned that recently the belief about Camblaks' Byzantine origin prevails. From Greek Macedonia one (or more) Tzamplakone moved to Bulgaria. Some logical considerations could object this opinion. In the Bulgarian part of Tsar Boril's Synodikon where "eternal memory" is given to the great primikerios Camblak Byzantine dignitaries are not honoured; Gregory's Bulgarian sense cannot be doubted. He is proud to point out Cyprian's homeland to the Russians, which is also his land of birth (Ѥгѡж ѕво наше ѿчьство изнесе) and points out his unspeakable joy (неизглаголаныа радости), when he sees his fatherland well governed. On this background and in connection with the thesis about the proto-Bulgarian origin of the name Camblak the question about the relation between the Byzantine and the Bulgarian Camblaks could be put in a different way. As likely it is that the Tzamplakones moved from Byzantium to Bulgaria, even more probable is the migration of a Camblak from Tărnovo to Byzantium. Due to his boyar

[30] Tafradžijska 1980: 46.

[31] Andreev, Lazarov, Pavlov 1999: 164.

descent there he received land and a high post. All the next Camblaks also obtain significant military and civil offices (domestikos, megas papias, great dux).[32]

M. Genov[33] defends the Byzantine Tzamplakones' Bulgarian descent, but his opinion is not seriously discussed in science and it is not suppored by arguments. Here I am also incapable of delivering unknown facts but I will refer to some indirect evidence. It is interesting that the first well-known Byzantine Tzamplakon receives a property not far from Kavala, another Tzamplakon has family estate near Thessalonike – places populated mainly with Slavs of the Bulgarian group. The Tzamplakones make over land to the Mount Athos monastery Vatopedi where in the 14th century live many Bulgarian and Serbian monks too (let us remember the Vatopedi honorary diploma of tsar Ivan Asen II from 1230). Probably all this is not accidental. We should also emphasize that many cases of Bulgarians going to work in Byzantium are recorded. They receive privileges and high ranks. For instance, Vladchert (11th century) obtains a master's dignity, Lăv the Bulgarian (11th–12th centuries, protospatarios and strategos), Nikola Mito (13th century, governor of Mesinopol), Petăr the Bulgarian (14th century)[34], Hranislav (13th century, captured, after that freed, receives court title megas tsausios).[35] Particularly striking is the example with Mitzo and his generation Asens. Around the middle of the 13th century "the tsar's son in law" Mitzo, who was temporary holding the Bulgarian throne (1256–1257), due to political reasons delivers to the emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos a possession in Mesemvria and in return receives an estate in Asia Minor[36] (near ancient Troy). His son Joan Asen is honoured with a despot title. After unsuccessful attempts to stabilize on the Bulgarian throne, Joan finally settles down in Byzantine as a despot.[37] Joan's fifth son holds an important place in Byzantine political history and has titles – in the beginning great dux and then panipersebastos.[38]

These facts and the other given logical considerations allow us to claim that the Byzantine Tzamplakones are a branch of the Bulgarian ones. Regarding the Moldavian ones, they appear only in the 15th century, when many emigrants from

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[32] One of the last Byzantine Tzamplakones is Alexios Palaiologos Camblak, responsible for the emperor's office. Georgios Sfrances who attests the wedding in his memoirs work married his daughter Irina. See (Matanov 1996: 87–89).

[33] Genov 1930.

[34] See (Božilov 1995).

[35] Andreev, Lazarov, Pavlov 1999: 390–391.

[36] Božilov 1985: 110–111. Also (Andreev 1988: 150).

[37] Božilov 1985: 249–252.

[38] Božilov 1985: 283–285. About the other sons and grandsons of Joan Asen, the relation with the emperor's family and their high titles, see (Božilov 1985).

Bulgaria set off for Moldova – some of them before Tărnovo's fall. The family does not leave traces in the Bulgarian lands because, as it is well-known, Tărnovo aristocracy was massacred, exiled or concerted to Mohammedanism. In Russia where Cyprian Camblak and Gregory Camblak work and die they do not leave offspring as they are high-ranking clergymen.

3. When Was Gregory Camblak Born

This issue has been discussed more than once. Various opinions have been expressed.[39] All of them are based on the same scenes from "Lament for Cyprian" which contain autobiographical confessions. They are: 1. the meeting of the Kiev metropolitan in Tărnovo where Gregory was present **wтроуьскыи еще носѧщѧ возрастъ**; 2. when he wrote the Homily **до тридесѧть и нѣгдѣ** years had passed since the meeting.

According to P. Syrku Gregory's infant age in 1379 was 15, according to Sokolov – 13 and according to E. Golubinski – 14. Accordingly the date of birth is calculated – 1364, 1365 and 1366. These dates are repeated in Bulgarian scientific literature: with K. Mečev[40], V. Velčev[41], B. St. Angelov[42]. V. Kiselkov moves Camblak's date of birth a year or two earlier – he believes that Gregory "must have been born in Tărnovo in 1362 or 1363".[43] The author reasons: as the writer remembered very well what had happened 30 years earlier, we should assume that at the meeting of Cyprian in Tărnovo "he must have been no less than 15–16 years old", "it is hard to believe" that he could have been younger. What is logical here is totally illogical. Childhood memories are the clearest ones and are kept in the mind till the end of our lives. Gregory was perfectly capable of remembering the festive welcoming of a high-ranking clergyman (especially if he was a relative) even if he was 7–8 years old.

None of the cited authors does not undertake the task to clarify what does it mean for the medieval Bulgarian **wтроческыи возрастъ**, what are its limits; it cannot be within a few years, it is logical that it is longer.

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[39] Jacimirskij 1904: 24–25.

[40] "It is accepted that Gregory was born around 1364, maybe a year or two earlier or later" (Mecev 1969: 15).

[41] "If we accept that in 1379 he was about 15, therefore his birth should be referred to the middle of the 60s of the 14th century" – История на българската литература. Т. 1. Старобългарска литература. С., 1962, 226.

[42] "Gregory Camblak was born in the capital city of Tărnovo in 1364–1365". See (Angelov 1981:118).

[43] Kiselkov 1956: 232.

A. I. Jacimirskij also sets about elucidating Gregory Camblak's date of birth but on the grounds of another index. In one of the codes of monk Gavriil from the Niamt monastery he finds the notice that in 1450 when the author wrote the book he was 86. Therefore he was born in 1364. Jacimirskij considers Gavriil identical with Gregory Camblak and this he claims that this is the writer's date of birth, which is, according to him "вполне достоверной" ["totally reliable"][44]. This is how again we get to the year 1364 but by an entirely wrong way. It is already proved in science that Gavriil from Neamț and Gregory Camblak are two different people, and that Gregory died in Kiev in the beginning of 1420.

Lately M. Spasova[45] has made a new attempt to define Camblak's date of birth. She has also used the popular autobiographical moments from "Lament for Cyprian", but gives another explanation of certain phrases and thus expresses a new judgment. Once again I need to quote "Lament" – the episode that is mostly a subject of reasoning.

> Мыж сѵ̑го юного лица в' малѣ сподобихом сѧ видѣти, ѡтроческыи еще носѧща возрастъ. Ꙗвїе ж ѿ нас ѿтиде и старости нас постигши, не к' томѹ того видѣхомъ.[46]

By a linguistic analysis and a "word transformation" of the text M. Spasova wishes to prove that: a) ѡроческыи возрастъ refers to Cyprian and not Gregpry; b) the phrase should be translated "young age" not "infant age", as some translators suggest; c) in the text it is mentioned about a meeting between Cyprian and Gregory which took place long before 1379 when Cyprian was "by 15–16 years old", and Camblak was 6–7.[47] At the second meeting – the receiving of Cyprian in Tărnovo – Gregory was about 40; 40 years in the Middle Ages was already considered old age.

As a result from of all reasoning Spasova indicates the years 1338–1340 as Gregory Camblak's date of birth. This opinion provokes doubts and objections. It is difficult to agree that the phrase ѡроческыи возрастъ refers to Cyprian. The text loses its logic if we interpret it this way. Why would the author remind of a meeting taken place when Cyprian had been young? Such a meeting would not matter for Camblak himself or for his work. Young Gregory's participation in the meeting of the Kiev metropolitan in Tărnovo, however, is a great event for the city and the author's personal biography. The fact that Camblak personally saw Cyprian

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[44] Jacimirskij 1904: 25.
[45] Spasova 1998: 69-86.
[46] Dončeva-Panajotova 2004: 416.
[47] Spasova 1998: 70.

then adds authenticity and persuasiveness to his story. In another place in the Homily it is said that the metropolitan lays his hand on Camblak's head to bless him and foretells his fortune. This is what it is done with the young ones, not with the 40-year olds who have already been educated and determined their course of life. What if Euthymius's disciple was 40 in 1379? How old would his master be? At least about 60. Therefore at the fall of Tărnovo under Turkish power he was about 74 and at the exile – 75. If we take into consideration the few known facts, this is not realistic. In "Eulogy to Euthymius" Camblak writes that at parting with the people he did not suffer from illness, nor from old age, but because of the children's tender age. This is to say that Eythimius was still healthy and relatively young – not an old man. It is not clear how M. Spasova determines that Cyprian's young age at the supposed first meeting with Gregory was 15–16 and Camblak was 7–8. There are no points of support for such assumption. It turns out that between the two of them there is only 7–8 years distinction. If we believe that Cyprian is Gregory's uncle (an opinion that cannot still be completely rejected), this is not possible.

I accept M. Spasova's interpretation that the words **не к' томѣ того видѣхомъ** should be translated "we did not see him until now". Nevertheless, I think that "until now" refers to the time of Homily's creation. "Then", as Camblak writes at another instance (**тогда великое сїе свѣтило видѣхом**), refers to the meeting in Tărnovo, and **к' томѣ** about the moment of writing, i.e. 1409.

The content of the phrase **втроческыи возрастъ** is of a great importance for solving the problem about Camblak's date of birth.

During the Middle Ages a person's age is divided in time periods. Therefore we need records to define the limits of the different ages. There are such documents. In a code from the 15th century, containing an illustrated Story of Alexander the Great and some other works, on p. 208 we read: **Възрасть ѹлка. ѿ рождєнїа даже до д҃[4] лѣт (младеньц?), ѿ петиѫ летеѫ до д҃ї [14] детищ. ѿ ї҃ї [15] лѣт до к҃в [22] отрок. ѿ к҃г [23] лѣт до м҃д [44] юноша. ѿ м҃є [45] лѣт до н҃ѕ [57] мѫжь. ѿ н҃и [58] лѣт до ѯ҃и [68] старь. ѿ ѯ҃ѳ [69] лѣт даже до конѹине живота своего старьць.**[48]

The same note together with the "mistake", but immediately after the information about the years of Alexander the Great is in Alexandria, copied by priest Mavrudi in 1791[49] – it was spread throughout the centuries without changes be-

[48] Conev 1923: 434, ms. 771.

[49] It is kept in a Center for Slavonic-Byzantine Studies "Iv. Dujčev", ms. Sam P.B. Славо 2.

cause of the stability of the views. The ages of a person are recorded in the circle of life as well, depicted by Zakhary Zograph in the church of Arbanasi. According to him the person from 7 to 14 is отроуе, from 14 to 21 – отрокъ, at 21 they are already юнъıи up to 30 when they become "young" (understanding a young man), from 30 to 44 he matures and becomes "a man", at 56 he has become "old", in that case an adult man, ages up to 70, when he is already an old man (in the fresco it is also written "old" but it obviously refers to advanced in years).

In the beginning the differences between the two schemes are insignificant. According to the marginalia the person from 5 to 14 is a child. Instead of дѣтищь in the circle of life it is written отроуе, which means the same (Old-Bulgarian ѿроуѧ – child), but it starts at 7. Camblak announces that at Cyprian's welcoming he was with his master, apparently Euthymius. From vita sources it is known that children went to school when they were 6, most often 7 years old. It is hard to believe, however, that Euthymius taught little children how to read and write. Probably Camblak went through primary education with an elementary teacher and after that started studying with Euthymius and maybe in 1379 he was still his student. In addition, the word wтроуьскъ; wтроуескыи can be derived from ѿроуѧ as well as from ѿрокъ. Ѻ̈рокъ means a lad, young slave, servant. That is why I also believe that by wтроуескыи возрастъ Camblak thought of young, not infant age, but meant himself. Further on the two schemes differ more considerably, although by the end of the circle of life again they come closer (they diverge with a year or two).

Judging by the cited considerations, I believe that in 1379 Gregory Camblak must have been not younger than 16 and not older than 22. Therefore he must have been born between 1357 and 1363.

In order to get closer to Gregory's actual date of birth we should have in mind another age indicator. When Camblak writes "Lament for Cyprian" (1409), the author is already close to the old age. He uses the verb form достигши. The expression is usually translated: "caught up by old age" or according to M. Spasova "the old age caught us up", or maybe: "I reached the old age" or "as the old age reached us". Relying on only one example, Spasova concludes that "according to the medieval concepts 40 is already old age"[50], thinking about the "new meeting" between Gregory and Cyprian in 1379. In fact this is not so. From the marginalia I quoted it may be seen that a person is old from 58 to 68 and from 69 until the end of their life is already an old person, i.e. really old. In the circle of life from the 19th century they are already old (adult) at 56, and after that they are

[50] Spasova 1998: 70.

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becoming extremely old. Therefore people at 56–58 were considered adult but not yet old. In this case it cannot be believed that men at the age of 40 were already considered old and Camblak was 40 when he met Cyprian. How old was he, however, in 1409? If he was about 51–53, i.e. approaching the adult period – almost reached – he must have been born between 1356 and 1359. This calculation is really close to the years estimated on the basis of the age "отрок". If we take the average year – 1357 – at Cyprian's meeting in Tărnovo Camblak was 21 – a completely appropriate age to be allowed to take part in such a celebration, side by side with the patriarch. Not only as a member of the Camblaks family but as an educated man as well. At the same time he was young enough to be blessed and wished future progress.

After 1409, at the age of 51–53, Camblak had enough energy to struggle for the Kiev throne, to undertake a long and hard journey to Konstanz, to be active at the council and make concrete suggestions about the future of the two Christian churches.

One of M. Spasova's arguments that Camblak was born in 1338–1340 is her observation on the illustrations where Camblak is portrayed – Russian annals arch from the 16th century and the Aulendorf Codex from 1438–1450. It is fine to use artistic images for evidence, however 1). the used records are not contemporary, the artists had not see Camblak; 2). in the medieval painting there are many conventionalities. M. Spasova has noticed that Gregory Camblak was painted with white beard and hair and deduces that he is "in advanced age". She has not seen, however, that many other faces around him, as well as Cyprian's illustrations, also have white beards – the bishops, the monks and even most of the secular people. Were they all old? White hair and beard are more of a sign of honour and wisdom than of age. Even if we agree that at the council Camblak was actually white-bearded this doe not contradict my idea of Camblak's birth year. If in 1409 he was 51–53, 9 years later when in 1418 he participates in the council, he is already 60–62 – at this age most men already have white hair and beards. Nonetheless, if graying is indeed individual, let us refer to other records with illustrations.

In the Augsburg edition of Ulricht Richental's Chronicle from 1483 Gregory is portrayed with black hair and grayish beard.[51] In the Konstanz Codex of Rihel-tal's chronicle from 15th century Camblak is depicted only with black hair and black beard.[52] In a manuscript from the National Library of Vienna (15th century)

[51] Begunov 2005: 408.
[52] Begunov 2005: 415.

at the Konstanz council the Kiev metropolitan is also represented only with black hair and black beard.[53] The people around him are no exception.

It turns out that Latin manuscripts from the 15th century represent Camblak younger. If we judge by them, we should claim that in 1418 Camblak was far from being an old man. Should we trust these miniatures as well? To me the manuscript images are not a reliable base for conclusions. Not even one image is a portrait. The least reliable one is the Russian annals arch from the 16th century where symbolism and the east-orthodox tradition are of greater importance than the realistic representation.

4. Was Camblak Present at Tărnovo's Enslavement

One of the questions connected with Camblak's biography is whether he was in Tărnovo at its conquering by the Turks. There is no direct information about that on Camblak's part. If there were, no hypotheses would appear. Without going into detail I generalize the opinions expressed in scientific literature. 1). Camblak leaves Tărnovo *before* its fall under Turkish power and never comes back; 2). Camblak goes to Tzarigrad and Mount Athos in order to continue his education, after that he comes back to Tărnovo and there he personally suffers the Tărnovo tragedy; 3. Camblak emigrates *after* Tărnovo's conquering and even after Euthymius's exile.

I support the second belief – Camblak arrives in Byzantium before Tărnovo's enslavement and spends the rest of his life abroad. It is too little to say that I support an opinion – it is more important to motivate it.

In "Eulogy to Euthymius" Camblak tells about the dishonestly killed Tărnovo notables in one of the city's churches. From a historical point of view this episode is credible as the exact number of the victims is appointed (110 people) – a number which is not symbolic, not is it round, as to contain figurative meaning. What is more, in the story of the Ottoman invasion in the Balkan Peninsula shows that soon after they conquer significant cities with influential intellectuals, the Turks take precautions to destroy the people – they massacre, convert to Mohammedanism, exile. This is what happens to the population of Thessalonike, Novo Bărdo, etc.

Most killed Tărnovo citizens are clergymen (**люди божїа**) and notables (**и именем, и добродѣтелїю, и благородїемь иных прѣвысходящаѧ**).[54] Camblak tells about this moment of history not as a historian but as a panegyrist. He emphasizes

[53] Begunov 2005: 180, 162.

[54] Rusev, Gălăbov, Davidov, Dančev 1971: 208.

that the killed ones behaved with dignity and in spite of the death of so many notable people the "net" of faith is not torn. That is why he concludes: **Такова блаженнаго Єѵѳимїа ѵѧда.**[55]

If all this is true we could expect that among the killed 110 people was Camblak himself if he was in Tărnovo at the time. Whichever hypothesis about Gregory's year of birth we accept at the fall of Tărnovo in 1393 he was already a mature man, educated, heir of an aristocratic family and in a religious order. There is no reason that he would be spared, unless he adopted Mohammedanism (impossible!) and if he was not in Tărnovo. Even if we suppose that for some unknown reason Gregory escaped the massacre at the church, it is not likely that he avoided the second act of violence over the population of Tărnovo – the exile. Among the exiles there are also notables – those who are different are taken away **ρѡдом, и вѡгатствѡм, и красотоѫ лица.**[56] Why did Camblak survive again? He came from a well-known family which means he was not poor. The answer is simple – he was not in Tărnovo and that is why he escaped the hard lot of the exile.

What are the arguments of the scientists who claim that Camblak personally underwent Tărnovo's enslavement? They are not based on facts or comparisons but the artistic representation of the events depicted by the author. Camblak's presence in the Bulgarian capital in 1393–1394 was proved by the events listed in "strict logical order"[57] about Tărnovo's destiny, by episodes which "unambiguously"[58] supported the view that Camblak was an observer of what had happened. It was obvious that under the "firsthand" influence of experienced by him events, Camblak told "in a deeply felt, sincere and moved way", "sensibly seen, plastically presented".[59] The given arguments are not convincing. A gifted writer can reproduce life emotionally, touchingly, logically, sensibly without being an eyewitness, but on the basis of witnesses' stories or historical and literary sources. In Gregory Camblak's work there are many examples about concrete, excited, even realistic description of events, which he surely could not have observed. Such can be seen in Vita of Stephan from Dechany, in "Eulogy of St. Demetrios", etc.

M. Spasova does not add any new argumentation on the issue either. She believes that the episodes of the "Eulogy" where the destiny of Tărnovo is described are indicative. "This is not an account by memories; it is the story of a witness

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[55] Rusev, Gălăbov, Davidov, Dančev 1971: 210.
[56] Rusev, Gălăbov, Davidov, Dančev 1971: 218.
[57] Mečev 1969: 48.
[58] Dinekov 1953: 89.
[59] Rusev 1971: 33.

who personally suffered the tragedy of his people and homeland".[60] According to her Camblak is "side by side with Euthymius during the days of Tărnovo's fall", as he knows the number of the killed notables, "depicts the heart-breaking scene of his parting the people of Tărnovo".[61] Here there is only an inference of the Camblak's talent as a writer but no evidence about his presence in Tărnovo during these events. The author goes through them as a Bulgarian and is able to represent with a talent the tragedy of the times. However, it does not mean that he was an eyewitness of the events.

F. Thomson is more moderate with the conclusions. He seeks direct indications about Camblak's presence at Tărnovo's conquering and the immediate precautions by the conqueror. As he does not find clear data he states that it is proved that Camblak was a witness of what happened in Tărnovo. No evidence about the exact date of his departure from Tărnovo existed.[62] Many issues in science are solved, however (if not accurately then approximately) through comparisons, analogies and logical conclusions on the basis of oblique information.

Thomson himself notices that Camblak does not state that he witnessed the described events, which he does in other cases. This can now be an argument that he was not in Tărnovo in order to hint about his presence there. I have already mentioned the other important argument: Camblak survives so many massacres, exiles, conversions to Mohammedanism because he left Tărnovo before its conquest and did not have the opportunity to return. Regarding the exact date of his departure, it is unlikely that we would be able to determine it.

Another oblique argument we should not ignore. None of Camblak's works can be related to Tărnovo as a place of origin. He works in the Serbian "Pantocrator", in Constantinople, in Moldova, in Kiev but not in Tărnovo. This is to show that he left it when he was young.

When we talk about touching, excitedly illustrated scenes in "Eulogy to Euthymius", we should seek not just direct observations but also literary influences. In Camblak's work some descriptions are created by a previous model. It is easy to notice that between the description of the location of the Dečany monastery in "Vita of Stephan from Dečany" and the narrative of the place near Tărnovo, where there are pagan celebrations, there are similarities, even repetitions of one and the same phrases. That is why D. Freidank reaches the conclusion that Camblak "quotes Camblak"[63]. There is a resemblance between the episode of Cyprian's wel-

[60] Spasova 1998: 84.
[61] Spasova 1998: 84.
[62] Thomson, op.cit.: 22–23.
[63] Freidank 1985: 38.

coming to Tărnovo and that of Euthymius's exile in "Eulogy to Euthymius". In both works people fall in the protagonist's feet, kiss his hand, women put their children before him. Those who "are repulsed by the crowd" ("Lament for Cyprian"), "pressed by the people" ("Eulogy") cannot reach him; they receive blessing from distance and are comforted. The main difference is in the mood as Camblak takes into consideration the historical situation of the mass scenes: the occasion in the first case is joyous, and in the second – sorrowful. The similarities speak of the use of stereotypes of somebody else's works which are adopted to a certain case. This is not in favour of the view that Camblak tells by the help of personal memories. Along these lines here are more concrete examples. The account of the death of the youngest son of Stephan from Dechany in Constantinople is very moving, but this episode is not experienced – it is an elaboration from John Chrysostom's work against the lament for the dead.[64] In the field of the oratorical prose Camblak creates a new sermon ("The Sermon on the Transfiguration" is in mind), combining models discovered in the early Christian authors.[65] If we accept with trust the description in "Lament for Cyprian", as Camblak explicitly announces his presence at the meeting of the Kiev metropolitan, at the episode of Euthymius's parting with the people of Tărnovo this is not so.

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[64] Petkanova 2005: 180–183.

[65] Angusheva-Tihanova 2004: 237.

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The Notitia Archiepiscoporum of Bulgaria (according to codices Paris Gr. 880, Mosq. Syn. Gr. 286 and Tyrnavo 18)

Ilias Evangelou

At the end of the 17th century, C. Du Cange published a by than unknown list of the Archbishops of Bulgaria (Ochrid).[1] This list, which goes back to the 12th century,[2] was found by Du Cange in a manuscript kept to this day in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, numbered Paris. Gr. 880.[3] The codex dates from the 13th century, is on paper and consists of 408 leaves (320×215 mm). For the most part, it contains legal works.[4] The list of archbishops of Bulgaria (Notitia Archiepiscoporum) is on leaves *407–408* and follows the list of the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Rome, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, which are placed on leaves *402–407*.

The list of Archbishops of Bulgaria from the Parisian codex which was brought to light by Du Cange has been reprinted a good number of times. It was first republished, with quite a few mistakes, by M. Le Quien, in the middle of the 18th century.[5] Later, in the mid-19th century, Z. von Lingenthal proceeded to study and annotate it.[6] He was followed, at the beginning of the 20th century, by H. Gelzer, who, in his publication of the sources of the Archbishopric of Ochrid, which he edited, republished the same list, with critical annotation, to which he added Du

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[1] Du Cange 1964: 174–175.

[2] Tăpkova-Zaimova 2000: 25–26.

[3] In Du Cange the codex was known as no. Cod. Reg. 2423. Later, after 1682, it was given the number Mazarin Reg. 1994. See (Tăpkova-Zaimova 2000: 22).

[4] According to H. Omont, codex number Paris Gr. 880 contains the following works: "Niconis monachi Pandectes (*1*); – accedunt Timothei, presbyteri et scevophylacis magnae ecclesiae, libellus de proselytis (*399v*) – et Methodii, CP. patriarchae, constitutio de apostatis (*402*) – Ordo episcoporum CP., Romae, Alexandriae, Antiochiae, Hierosolymae et Bulgariae (*402*); – Hymni in laudem beate Virginis (*408*)". See (Omont 1886: 165).

[5] Le Quien 1740: 289. Cf. (Tăpkova-Zaimova 2000: 22–24).

[6] Von Lingenthal 1864.

Cange's transcription.[7] Thereafter, the list of Archbishops of Bulgaria was republished by J. Ivanov with a parallel translation in Bulgarian[8] and this was followed a little later by a republication within the context of the series "Grăčki izvori za bălgarskata istorija" (Greek Sources for Bulgarian History) of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, for which the work of Gelzer and the Bulgarian translation of Ivanov were used. The annotations for the list were undertaken by Professor V. Tăpkova-Zaimova.[9] Finally, in Greece, the list of the archbishops of Bulgaria was republished with a brief explanatory introduction by Professor A. E. Tachiaos[10].

The list of the archbishops of Bulgaria has also been found in other two manuscript codices in Moscow and Tyrnavo, Thessaly. The first was mentioned by V. Beneshevich.[11] It was made subject of research relatively recently by V. Tăpkova-Zaimova[12] and was published by S. Bărlieva.[13] This codex of the Moscow State Museum, number Mosq. Syn. Gr. 286, comes from the collection of the Synodal Library.[14] It dates to the end of the 13th century, is on paper and has 247 leaves (266×188 mm).[15] Apart from the lists of the archbishops of Bulgaria and the heads of the five ancient patriarchates, the codex contains Church canons and scholia by I. Zonaras.[16] The lists of the heads of the Churches are on leaves *1–8* of the codex, which are, however, mixed up.[17] A study of them reveals that here, too, as in the Paris codex, the tables are presented in the same order.[18] Thus, the list of the archbishops of Bulgaria comes sixth in the series, after that of the heads of the Churches of Constantinople, Rome, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem.[19]

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[7] Gelzer 1902: 6–7; Tăpkova-Zaimova 2000: 24.

[8] Ivanov 1970: 565–569; Tăpkova-Zaimova 2000: 24.

[9] GIBI 1968: 109–111; Tăpkova-Zaimova 2000: 24.

[10] Tachiaos 1990: 56–58.

[11] Beneševič 1915: 59–60

[12] Tăpkova-Zaimova 2000: 25.

[13] (Bărlieva 2000: 50–65). Bărlieva also published a brief description of the Moscow codex in her article (Bărlieva 2001: 94–99). At this point I would like to express my warmest thanks to Prof. A. Miltenmova and Prof. V. Tăpkova-Zaimova for their willingness to bring to my attention photographs of the list of archbishops of Bulgaria from the Moscow codex and to Prof. S. Bărlieva for giving me access to them.

[14] Tăpkova-Zaimova 2000: 25; Bărlieva: 2000 51.

[15] Bărlieva 2000: 52.

[16] Bărlieva 2000: 59–61.

[17] Bărlieva 2000: 60.

[18] Bărlieva 2000: 59.

[19] According to Bărlieva the list of the archbishops of Bulgaria is on leaves *5r – 5v, 2r*; the list of the primates of Constantinople is on leaves *3v, 7, 8, 1r – 1v*; the list of the primates of Rome is on leaves *1v, 6r – 6v*; the list of the primates of Alexandria is on lea-

The third list of the archbishops of Bulgaria was found by Professor A. E. Tachiaos in codex No. 18 of the Public Library of Tyrnavo.[20] According to L. Politis, who studied and made an inventory of the manuscript collection of the Public Library of Tyrnavo,[21] the codex contains mainly homiletic works, is on paper, cut off at the beginning and end and contains 541 leaves (250×165 mm).[22] The list of the archbishops of Bulgaria is on leaf *541* and is the last in the series – as in the Paris and Moscow codices – following the lists of the patriarchs of Constantinople, Rome, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, which are on leaves *537–541*.

Φ. 537^{r}
Ὅσοι ἐπεσκόπησαν ἐν τῷ Βυζαντίῳ:
α΄ Ὁ μέγας ἀπόστολος Ἀνδρέας ...

Φ. 539^{r}
ριζ΄ Λουκᾶς μοναχὸς ὁ Χρυσοβέργης ἔτη ιβ΄
(ἔπονται οἱ ἐπίσκοποι Ῥώμης)
α΄ Πέτρος ὁ ἀπόστολος ἔτη κβ΄...

Φ. 539^{v}
ξε Βονιφάτιος ἄλλος
Καὶ ὅσοι ἐπεσκόπησαν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ...
α΄ Μάρκος ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς ἔτη β΄...

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ves *6v – 4r*; the list of the primates of Antioch is on leaves *4r – 4v*; and the list of the primates of Jerusalem is on leaves *4v – 5r*. See (Bărlieva 2000: 60).

[20] At this point I would like to express my gratitude to A. E. Tachiaos, Emeritus Professor of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, who encouraged me to become involved in the list of archbishops of Bulgaria which survives in codex 18 of the Public Library of Tyrnavo and who placed at my disposal the relevant material, his annotated personal library and his great personal experience, which was of the utmost value to me.

[21] L. Politis studied the collection of the Public Library of Tyrnavo in two visits he made in 1957 and 1961. Cf. (Ελληνικά, 16, 1958–1959: 440–441). He later published a brief description of these manuscript codices in (Politis 1976: 49–53). The Tyrnavo manuscript collection was photographed for the Historical and Palaeographical Archive of the Cultural Foundation of the National Bank (MIET) in May 1976. See (Μικροφωτογραφήσεις χειρογράφων καὶ ἀρχείων, Ἀθήνα 1978, 16). Unfortunately the manuscripts were recently withdrawn for conservation, which meant that No. 18 was not accessible. We therefore relied on the observations of Politis as well as the photographs from the archives of the Cultural Foundation of the National Bank, to which we would like to express our thanks for their readiness to make the photographs available to us.

[22] Politis 1976: 51.

Φ. 540^{r}
μδ΄ Πέτρος ἔτη ι΄
Καὶ ὅσοι ἐπεσκόπησαν ἐν ᾽Αντιοχείᾳ ...
α΄ Πέτρος ὁ ἀπόστολος ἔτη β΄...

Φ. 540^{v}
ξγ΄ ᾽Αναστάσιος ἕτερος ἔτη θ΄
Καὶ ὅσοι γεγόνασι πατριάρχαι ἐν ᾽Ιερουσαλήμ ...
α΄ ᾽Ιάκωβος ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Κυρίου ἔτη κστ΄...

Φ. 541^{r}
μη΄ Σωφρόνιος ἔτη ... (δυσανάγνωστο).
Οἱ ἀρχιεπίσκοποι Βουλγαρίας:
α΄ Πρωτογένης ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Σαρδικῆς ...

Φ. 541^{v}
καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως κυροῦ Νικηφόρου τοῦ
Βοτανειάτου: +

According to L. Politis, the codex contains works dating from the 12th – 14th centuries. In particular, the lists of the heads of Churches which are contained in the last leaves of the codex can, on the basic of paleographic criteria, be placed in the 14th century.

Below we republish the list of the archbishops of Bulgaria on the basis of the codices Paris. Gr. 880 (**P**), Mosq. Syn. Gr. 286 (**M**) and Tyrnavo 18 (**T**). In the comments, note has also been taken of the interventions of H. Gelzer (**G**) and J. Ivanov (**I**) in the edition of the Paris codex as well as those of S. Bărlieva (**B**) in the edition of the Moscow codex.

Οἱ ἀρχιεπίσκοποι Βουλγαρίας

α΄ Πρωτογένης ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Σαρδικῆς, δι' οὗ ἀνταπεκρίθησαν οἱ ἅγιοι πατέρες τῷ φιλοσόφῳ περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος βλασφημοῦντι, καθὼς ἐν τῷ πρακτικῷ τῆς αὐτῆς πρώτης συνόδου ἔστιν εὑρεῖν.

β΄ Μεθόδιος ὁ αὐτάδελφος τοῦ ἁγίου Κυρίλλου τοῦ φιλοσόφου, χειροτονηθεὶς παρὰ Νικολάου πάπα τοῦ μετὰ Ἀδριανὸν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, Μοράβου τῆς Παννονίας ἀρχιεπίσκοπος.

γ΄ Γοράσδος χειροτονηθεὶς παρὰ Μεθοδίου, εἶθ' ὕστερον ἐκδιωχθεὶς παρὰ τῶν πνευματομάχων.

δ΄ Κλήμης, γενόμενος ἐπίσκοπος Τιβεριουπόλεως ἤτοι Βελίκας, ὕστερον δὲ ἐπιτραπεὶς παρὰ Βορίσου βασιλέως Βουλγάρων ἐφορᾶν καὶ τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῆς βουλγαρικῆς βασιλείας ἤγουν ἀπό Θεσσαλονίκης ἄχρις Ἰεριχὼ καὶ Καννίνων ἤτοι Τασηπιάτου.

ε΄ Δαμιανὸς ἐν Δωροστόλῳ, τῇ νῦν Δρήστᾳ· ἐφ' οὗ καὶ ἡ Βουλγαρία τετίμηται αὐτοκέφαλος. Οὗτος πατριάρχης ἀνηγορεύθη παρὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς συγκλήτου κελεύσει τοῦ βασιλέως Ῥωμανοῦ τοῦ Λακαπηνοῦ· ὕστερον δὲ καθῃρέθη παρὰ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Τζιμισχῆ.

2. Πρωτογενής P M: Πρωτογενης T || ὁ B || Σαρδικής M || δι' οὗ B **3.** ἀντ' ἀπεκρίθησαν M || ἁγίου B **4.** βλασφημούντι B **5.** εὑρεῖν ἔστιν M **6.** ἁγίου B **8.** Ἀνδριανὸν M: Ἀνδριανὸν I: Ανδριανὸν B || Πανονίας T: Παννωνίας G I **9.** Χοράσδος T || εἴθ' B **11.** Κλίμης T || ἐπίσκοπος γενόμενος M || Τιβερίουπολεως M || Μελίκας T **12.** ἐφ' ὁρᾶν M **13.** ἀπο M **14.** Θεσσαλωνίκης M: Θεσαλουνίκης B || ἄχρις M || Ἰεριχῶ M || Τασιπίατου T **15.** Δοροστόλῳ M || τι M || νυν B || Δρήστα B **16.** ἀνηγορείθν B **17.** κελεύση M: κέλευσει B || Ρωμανοῦ τοῦ Ρωμανοῦ M **18.** καθηραίθη M || Ιωάννου Τζιμισχῆ I B

στ΄ Γερμανὸς ὁ καὶ Γαβριὴλ ἐν Βοδινοῖς καὶ ἐν τῇ Πρέσπᾳ.

ζ΄ Φίλιππος ἐν Λυχνίδῃ, τῇ πάλαι μὲν Σασσαρίπῃ προσαγορευομένῃ, νῦν δὲ Ἀχρίδι.

η΄ Ἰωάννης καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν Ἀχρίδι. Οὗτος ἦν ἐκ Δεύρης χωρίου Ἀγνοανδνίκης, ἡγούμενος χρηματίσας τῆς ἐκεῖσε μονῆς τῆς Θεομήτορος.

θ΄ Λέων πρῶτος ἐκ Ῥωμαίων, χαρτοφύλαξ τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας, ὁ κτίσας τὴν κάτω ἐκκλησίαν ἐπ᾽ ὀνόματι τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ Θεοῦ Σοφίας.

ι΄ Θεόδουλος, ἡγούμενος τοῦ ἁγίου Μωκίου, ὁ κτίσας τὴν ἄνωθεν μεγάλην ἐκκλησίαν διὰ συνδρομῆς Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἀντζᾶ.

ια΄ Ἰωάννης ὁ Λαμπηνός, μοναχὸς τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Ὀλύμπου.

ιβ΄ Ἰωάννης ὁ Ἄοινος, ἡγούμενος τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Ἀριτζίου.

ιγ΄ Θεοφύλακτος ὁ ἐξ Εὐρίπου, ῥήτωρ ὢν καὶ διάκονος τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας.

ιδ΄ Λέων ὁ Μουγγός, ἐξ Ἰουδαίων ὤν, ἐκ προγόνων χρηματίσας διδάσκαλος τῶν ἐθνῶν.

19. ὁ M || Γαβρὴλ B || Βοδηνοῖς G I: Βοδινοὶς B || Πρέσπα B **20.** Φίλιππὸς B || Λιχνίδῃ M **21.** προσαγορευμένη B || Ἀχρίδῃ P M T: Ἀχρίδη B **22.** Ἀχρίδῃ P M T **23.** Ἀγνοανδνίκης B || χριματήσας M || ἐκεῖσαι M **24.** θεομήτρος I B **26.** κτήσας M || ἐπονόματι P T || ἁγίας B **28.** ἁγίου B || Μοκίου I || ὁ M **29.** Ἀντζῶ G **30.** Ὄλύμπου P **31.** Ἰάννης P **32.** Ευρίπου M || ὢν M: ὢν I

ιε' Μιχαὴλ ᾧ ἐπίκλην Μάξιμος, ὀστιάριος ὢν ἐν τοῖς πατριαρχικοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ διάκονος τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας, εὐνοῆχος.

ιστ' Ἰωάννης μοναχὸς ὁ Κομνηνός, ὁ ἐν τοῖς κοσμικοῖς Ἀδριανὸς πανσέβαστος σεβαστὸς καὶ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀοιδίμου δεσπότου τοῦ πανευτυχεστάτου πρώτου σεβαστοκράτορος κυροῦ Ἰσαακίου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ, τοῦ διὰ τοῦ θείου καὶ ἀγγελικοῦ σχήματος Ἰωάννου μετονομασθέντος, τοῦ αὐταδέλφου τοῦ βασιλέως κυροῦ Ἀλεξίου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀοιδίμου δεσποίνης τῆς πανευτυχεστάτης πρώτης σεβαστοκρατορίσσης κυρᾶς Εἰρήνης, τῆς διὰ τοῦ θείου καὶ ἀγγελικοῦ σχήματος Ξένης μετονομασθείσης, τῆς θυγατρὸς τοῦ πανευγενεστάτου ἐξουσιουκράτορος πάσης Ἀλανίας καὶ πρώτης ἐξαδέλφης τῆς δεσποίνης κυρᾶς Μαρίας τῆς Ἀλανίσσης, τῆς χρηματισάσης συμβίου τοῦ βασιλέως κυροῦ Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Δούκα καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως κυροῦ Νικηφόρου τοῦ Βοτανειάτου.

36. Μηχαήλ I || ᾧ M: ὁ G I B || ὢν καὶ ἐν B **37.** διακονος M **39.** Ιωάννης B **40.** Ἀνδριανὸς M || ἀοιδήμου M **42.** σχήματος B **43.** Ἰωάννου μετ' ὀνομασθέντος M: μετονομασθέντος Ἰωάννου T: Ἰοάννου μετονομασθέντος B **44.** ἀοιδήμου M **46.** [θείου καὶ ἀγγελικοῦ σχήματος] M: illegible **47.** [τοῦ πανευγενεστάτου ἐξουσιουκράτορος] M: illegible **48.** καὶ πρώτης ... Ἀλανίσσης omit T

The study and comparison of the lists of the archbishops of Bulgaria which survive in the above codices brings us to the following observations:

a) Of the three lists of the archbishops of Bulgaria, only in one – which survives in the Tyrnavo codex – the names of the archbishops of Bulgaria are numbered.

b) In the list of the Moscow codex, the forms Ἀνδριανὸν (l. 8) and Ἀνδριανὸς (l. 40) are used. The other two both use the more correct forms Ἀδριανὸν and Ἀδριανὸς respectively. Ivanov also has Ἀνδριανὸν.

c) The list in the Tyrnavo codex has the spelling Πανονίας (l. 8) instead of the more correct Παννονίας, which is used in the lists of Paris and Moscow. This spelling was wrongly corrected to Παννωνίας by Gelzer and Ivanov.

d) The list in the Tyrnavo codex uses the form Χοράσδος (l. 9) instead of the more correct Γοράσδος and Μελίκας (l. 11), instead of the more correct Βελίκας, which are found in the lists of Paris and Moscow.

e) All three lists have the spelling Λακαπηνός (l. 18).

f) The spelling Βοδινοῖς (l. 19), which is found in all three lists can remain as it is, since the word is of Slavonic origin (вода, водьнъ), whence the name Βοδενά. At the time when the list was being composed, however, it is likely that the form Βοδινά was dominant.

g) The twelfth bishop in the series (Ἰωάννης ὁ Ἄοινος) is referred to as Ἰάννης (l. 31) in the Paris codex, while in the other two, Moscow and Tyrnavo, we have the more correct form of Ἰωάννης, which indicates that the mistaken spelling of the oldest manuscript was corrected. Du Cange was therefore right to emend it.[23]

h) Probably due to an oversight on the part of the copier, there is a phrase missing from the list of the Tyrnavo codex: "... καὶ πρώτης ἐξαδέλφης τῆς δεσποίνης κυρᾶς Μαρίας τῆς Ἀλανίσσης ..." (l. 47–48), which refers to the person of Eirini (Irene), the wife of the Sevastokrator Isaakios Komninos. She is mentioned in both the Paris and Moscow codices.

In evaluating the contents of the list of the archbishops of Bulgaria,[24] 23, we should note two particular features. The first is that it attempts to present the history of the Archbishopric of Ochrid without gaps and lacunae, beginning with Protogenes of Sardica. This is why it exhibits leaps in history and time and links with its history people who in reality had nothing to do with it. Its second special feature is that it refers in considerable detail to the enlighteners of the Slavs, Saints Cyril and Methodius, as well as their close associates Gorasdos and Klimis (Clement), whom it links indirectly with the history of the archdiocese of Ochrid, despite the fact that, with the exception of Clement, the others were not active in the Ochrid area.

The special features exhibited by the list of the archbishops of Ochrid demonstrate its importance not only for the history of the Archdiocese itself but also for that of the region as a whole and the need for research which will approach it with greater attention and study it more systematically.

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[23] He is also referred to as Ἰωάννης by Ioannes Skylitsis See (PG 122: 476).

[24] More about the content of the list of the archbishops of Bulgaria see (Gelzer 1902: 4 ff.; Zlatarski 1924: 49–76; Snegarov 1995: 26–32, 195–205; Dujčev 1985: 627–629; Tăpkova-Zaimova 2000: 26 ff.; Tăpkova-Zaimova 2001: 100–111.

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Das "Münchener Abecedarium" – ein neues Facsimile samt einigen neuen Beobachtungen

Sebastian Kempgen

1. Das sog. "Münchener Abecedarium"

Das Münchener Abecedarium (künftig: MA) ist ein slavischer Zusatz auf dem letzten Blatt einer ansonsten lateinischen Handschrift. Sie wird unter der Signatur CLm. 14485 in der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München aufbewahrt und ist nach ihrem Inhalt und ihrer Autorin auch als Hrothsvita-Handschrift bekannt. Erstmals herausgegeben wurde die Handschrift von ihrem Entdecker Conrad Celtis Nürnberg 1501. Die Handschrift stammt aus dem Regensburger St. Emmeran-Kloster und wurde im 10. Jh. geschrieben. Der slavische Zusatz nach dem Ende der eigentlichen Handschrift besteht aus einem kyrillischen sowie einem glagolitischen Alphabet. Die Bedeutung des MA liegt u.a. darin, es sich bei ihm – zusammen mit dem sog. "Pariser Abecedarium" des 12. Jh. um eine der ältesten slavischen Alphabetdarstellungen handelt.[1]

Erstmals publiziert wurde das MA von Trubetzkoy,[2] der auf Umwegen eine Photographie der betreffenden Seite erhalten hatte. Trubetzkoy publizierte in seinem Artikel gleichzeitig die Beschreibung der Alphabete durch Jagić,[3] der offenbar auch eine Abbildung der Alphabete besaß, sich an ihre Herkunft jedoch nicht erinnern und sie so nicht identifizieren konnte. Jagić geht auf die Alphabete im Kontext seiner Übersicht über die erhaltenen glagolitischen Texte ein, und hier wiederum im Zusammenhang mit "sonstigen Alphabeten". Trubetzkoys Artikel enthält ein Graustufen-Facsimile der ganzen Seite der betreffenden Handschrift, identifiziert Jagićs Beschreibung erstmals mit den von ihm im Facsimile abgebildeten Alphabeten und gibt ihnen den Namen "Das Münchner Slavische Abecedarium". Die Alphabete wurden

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[1] Zum Pariser Abecedarium (Abecenarium) vgl. die Abb. bei (Jagić 1911: Tab. VII), die Wiedergabe und Diskussion bei (Hamm 1974: 10ff.; Mareš 1971; Mošin 1973; Marti, Veder 2000) u.a.m. – Zum paläographischen Wert des MA vgl. auch (Marti 1991: 147f.).

[2] Trubetzkoy 1930.

[3] Jagić 1911.

lange Zeit nicht beachtet, dann zunächst als griechisch bezeichnet und schließlich 1876 erstmals als slavisch erkannt.[4]

Trubetzkoy überließ die paläographische Beschreibung Durnovo, der seinen Aufsatz im gleichen Heft der *Byzantinoslavica* gleich im Anschluß an den Artikel von Trubetzkoy publizierte[5]; von ihm wird hier auch der heute geläufige Name geprägt, d.h. das "Münchener Abecedarium". Weitere Wiedergaben des MA finden sich in der Folge an mehreren Stellen. Hamm[6] z.B. bietet eine Schwarz-Weiss-Zeichnung der Alphabete. In ihr sind jedoch Artefakte vorhanden, die sich jetzt als falsch herausstellen (s.u.). Eine neue Abbildung – in Graustufen – ließ sich Mareš anfertigen und publizierte sie zusammen mit einer Abbildung des Pariser Abecenariums im Anhang zu seinem Aufsatz, in dem er auch ausführlicher auf das Abecedarium eingeht.[7] Auf der Grundlage dieser Reproduktion findet sich bei Mošin[8] eine weitere Abzeichnung, die eine deutlich bessere Qualität als diejenige bei Hamm aufweist, andererseits ebenfalls Ungenauigkeiten und Artefakte enthält.[9] Eine kleine Abbildung des MA findet sich – samt ausführlicher Diskussion seiner Bedeutung im Hinblick auf die Rekonstruktion der ältesten slavischen Alphabete bei Velčeva;[10] vermutlich ist die Abb. mit der Reproduktion bei Mareš identisch. Marti[11] enthält eine weitere (allerdings nicht sehr gute) Abbildung des MA mitsamt dem ganzen letzten Blatt der Handschrift, Marti[12] ferner eine Wiedergabe sowohl des kyrillischen wie des glagolitischen Alphabetes des MA.

Im vorliegenden Beitrag soll das "Münchener Abecedarium" nun erstmals farbig reproduziert werden, und zwar in einer neuen Aufnahme. Die Abbildungen (s. Figs. 1 und 2) werden mit freundlicher Erlaubnis der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek verwendet. Technisch gesprochen, handelt es sich um den digitalen Scan eines Dias. Diese farbige Reproduktion ist aber nicht Selbstzweck, auch wenn eine farbige Ab-

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[4] Vgl. hierzu auch die Korrektur der entsprechenden Auffassung Trubetzkoys bei (Marti 1991, 147, Fn. 37).

[5] Trubetzkoy 1930; russisch zeitgleich.

[6] Hamm 1974: 10

[7] Mareš 1971: 152–155 sowie obr. 1, nach 200.

[8] Mošin 1973: 15.

[9] Für ein Artefakt halte ich z.B. die in dieser Zeichnung wiedergegebene innere Struktur des glagolitischen Ⱙ, s. u., 4.2. Weder in der Abbildung bei Mareš noch in dem Farb-Scan läßt sich davon irgendetwas erkennen, auch nicht in Andeutungen. Generell ist zu sagen, daß die Wiedergabe bei Mošin die dünnen Verbindungslinien der Vorlage zu stark wiedergibt und z.T. Verbindungen zwischen Strichen suggeriert, wo diese eigentlich nicht gegeben sind.

[10] Velčeva 1985: 24.

[11] Marti 1991: 160.

[12] Marti 1999: 199–200.

bildung zweifellos schon ein Wert an sich und ein Fortschritt ist. Parallel zur vorliegenden Print-Publikation wird die Farb-Abbildung des MA auch elektronisch online verfügbar gemacht, und zwar auf dem 'Kodeks'-Server des Verfassers (kodeks.uni-bamberg.de). Der Farbscan des MA ist insofern aufschlußreich, als er es – insbesondere in der Online-Version – erlaubt, manche Details der Alphabete in weit höherer Vergrößerung zu betrachten, somit viele bisherige Aussagen zu bekräftigen, manches aber auch zu korrigieren oder zu präzisieren, insbesondere in Bezug auf die Beurteilungen durch Hamm oder Durnovo.

2. Bisherige Erkenntnisse

Zunächst seien einige Ergebnisse in Erinnerung gerufen, die die Beschäftigung mit diesem Alphabet schon erbracht hat. Wir beziehen uns dabei insbesondere auf die schon genannten Erstveröffentlichungen bzw. -erwähnungen[13] sowie die anschließende weitere Diskussion durch Durnovo,[14] ferner Trubetzkoy,[15] Vaillant,[16] Mareš,[17] Mošin[18], Hamm,[19] Marti,[20] Marti,Veder.[21] Die Literaturangaben erheben keinen Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit.

Trubetzkoy beschäftigt sich in seinem Artikel auch mit der Frage, wann und durch wen die Alphabete wohl angebracht worden sein könnten, weist aber Überlegungen, die ins 16. Jh. zielen und einen Zusammenhang mit der slavischen Drucktätigkeit in Urach (bzw. Nürnberg) herstellen wollen, zurück. Trubetzkoy formuliert zwei wesentliche Erkenntnisse. Erstens: "Die slavischen Alphabete am Ende der Hrothsvitha-Handschrift müssen von jemandem eingetragen worden sein, der diese Alphabete gar nicht kannte und die slavischen Buchstaben mechanisch von einer alten Vorlage abzeichnete".[22] Und er beschließt seinen Artikel mit der folgenden Feststellung: "Paläographische Erwägungen gestatten nur zu behaupten, daß die Eintragung dieser Alphabete nicht vor dem XII. Jh. stattgefunden hat." (ebd.) Jagić[23] beschreibt die Alphabete als "очень грубо изображенными" und stellt zugleich fest, daß beide Alphabete von der gleichen Hand zur gleichen Zeit geschrieben worden sind.

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[13] Jagić 1911; Trubetzkoy 1930; Durnovo 1930.
[14] Durnovo 1931.
[15] Trubetzkoy 1968.
[16] Vaillant 1955.
[17] Mareš 1971: 152–155
[18] Mošin 1973: 15–16.
[19] Hamm 1974: 10–12
[20] Marti 1991; Marti 1999.
[21] Marti,Veder 2000.
[22] Trubetzkoy 1930: 31.
[23] Jagić 1911: 137.

Daß der Schreiber der Alphabete weder mit der Kyrillica noch mit der Glagolica, vertraut war, zeigt sich u.a. daran, daß er die prototypischen Buchstabenformen offensichtlich nicht kennt, sie mißversteht, und einfach ungeübt in ihrer Schreibung ist. So passieren dem Schreiber mehrfach Fehler: Buchstaben stehen auf dem Kopf oder sind seitenverkehrt, ihre Reihenfolge wird z.B. vertauscht, ihre Zeichnung wird gelegentlich durch Drüberschreiben verbessert. Allerdings ist es nicht einfach, Fehler in der vorliegenden Abschrift von Mängeln zu unterscheiden, die vielleicht schon in der Vorlage vorhanden waren.

Die paläographische Festlegung des Datums *post quem* (12. Jh.) ergibt sich für Trubetzkoy u.a. aus der Tatsache, daß einige Buchstaben der Glagolica bereits eine eckige Form aufweisen, jedoch nicht mit der kroatischen eckigen Glagolica zu identifizieren sind. Als Datum *ante quem* ergibt sich das Ende des 15. Jh., sofern die Handschrift zum Zeitpunkt ihrer Entdeckung durch Conrad Celtis die Alphabete schon aufgewiesen hat, ansonsten aber ebenfalls das 16. Jh., da Trubetzkoy überzeugend argumentiert, daß der Schreiber die in Deutschland hergestellten slavischen Drucke und die damaligen Buchstabenformen nicht gekannt haben kann. Dieser Zeitraum ist aber nach hinten viel zu weit gefaßt, denn schon Durnovo[24] datiert das MA auf "spätestens aus dem XII. Jh.", Vaillant[25] nennt explizit den Zeitraum XI.–XII. Jh., und Mareš[26] präferiert die 2. Hälfte des XI. Jh.s und nennt den Anfang des XII. den allerspätesten Zeitpunkt.

Den insgesamt etwas eckigen Duktus der Buchstaben kann man wohl dem Schreibmaterial zurechnen, dessen Spuren bei einzelnen Buchstaben deutlich zu erkennen sind, insbesondere dann, wenn die Tinte nicht die volle Strichbreite ausgefüllt hat, sondern nur die Ränder. Es läßt sich an dieser Stelle die Beobachtung anschließen, daß der Schreiber in beiden Alphabeten nie echte Kreisformen geschrieben hat, sondern Kreise immer aus Kreissegmenten zusammengesetzt hat, die meist aus einer horizontalen Bewegung plus einer vertikalen Bewegung bestehen. Dabei hat der Schreiber die Feder nicht gedreht, was eine wichtige Konsequenz hat: die horizontalen Striche sind vielfach so dünn ausgefallen, daß sie auf dem ersten Facsimile nicht zu erkennen waren und für nichtexistent gehalten wurden. In diesen neuen Details erlaubt das neue Facsimile jedoch – im Wortsinne – ganz andere Einsichten, auch nochmals gegenüber der Abbildung bei Mareš.[27] Die Abbildungen der einzelnen Buchstaben in den nachfolgenden Anmerkungen wurden dahingehend bearbeitet, daß sie nur die fraglichen Buchstaben selbst zeigen, nicht Teile benachbarter Buchstaben, die Buchstaben selbst bleiben unretouchiert.

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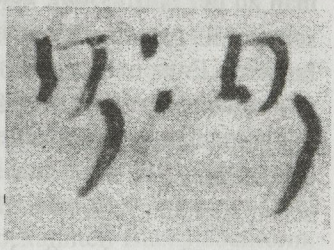
[24] Durnovo 1930: 35.
[25] Vaillant 1955: 14.
[26] Mareš 1971: 153
[27] Mareš 1971.

3. Anmerkungen zum kyrillischen Alphabet

3.1. Gut erkennbar in allen Details sind die Buchstaben für 'dz' bzw. 'z'. Jagić[28] beschreibt sie so: "...имеется после ѫ два раза ⷭ, первое с открытой, второе с закрытой головкой". Diese Beschreibung ist fast, wenn auch nicht vollständig zutreffend (s. Abb.). Durnovo[29] sagt im Text zunächst, im kyrillischen Alphabet käme der Buchstabe ⷭ "doppelt vor", gibt sie in der Wiedergabe des Alphabetes dann aber als ꙁ ⷭ wieder, was die Formen unterschiedlicher erscheinen läßt, als sie tatsächlich sind (s. Abb.). Mit einem zweifachen ⷭ geben auch Marti, Veder[30] die beiden Zeichen in ihrer Synopse der Abecedarien wieder. Durnovo erklärt die Doppelung des ⷭ mit dem Bestreben, den beiden unterschiedlichen Buchstaben des glagolitischen Alphabetes (ⰸ ⰵ, bei Durnovo kyrillisch wiedergegeben als ѕ ⷭ) jeweils eine kyrillische Entsprechung zu geben. Wenn man diese Auffassung vertritt, so ist es im übrigen nur konsequent, hier keinen distinktiven Unterschied in der Reihenfolge der Buchstaben zum glagolitischen Alphabet zu sehen. Die genannte Doppelung des ⷭ muß selbstverständlich auf die Struktur der Vorlage bezogen werden, nicht auf den Prozess des Abschreibens durch den Schreiber der Alphabete des MA. Das bedeutet aber auch, daß die Vorlage zu einem Zeitpunkt geschrieben worden sein dürfte, als für seinen Schreiber im kyrillischen Alphabet die funktionale Trennung zwischen ѕ / ⷭ und ꙁ schon verloren gegangen war.



In der Schwarz-Weiss-Zeichnung von Hamm[31] haben die betreffenden beiden Buchstaben eine Zeichnung, die nur durch Retouchieren und falsche Interpretation entstanden sein kann. Hamm schreibt die Lesung des Alphabetes auch fälschlich Trubetzkoy zu, wo richtig ein Verweis auf Durnovo gewesen wäre. Die Buchstaben gibt er als ꙁ ⷭ wieder,[32] was wenig Sinn macht, da beide Formen gewöhnlich als Varianten eines und desselben Buchstaben gebraucht werden. Während das glagolitische Alphabet mit den Buchstabenformen ⰸ ⰵ (d.h. ѕ ꙁ oder ⷮ ⷭ) eindeutig ist, scheint mir die Interpretation der kyrillischen Buchstaben ganz so einfach nicht. Das neue Facsimile zeigt jedenfalls die Buchstabenformen in allen Details: sie sind sehr ähnlich, aber eben doch nicht ganz identisch. Während beide Buchstaben im unteren Teil fast identisch sind, unterscheiden sich die oberen Teile, wie schon von

[28] Jagić 1911: 137.
[29] Durnovo 1930: 33
[30] Marti, Veder 2000: 34.
[31] Hamm 1974: 10.
[32] Hamm 1974: 12.

Jagić bemerkt. Von beiden wirkt, wenn überhaupt, dann der erste eckiger, der zweite im Schwung der oberen Hälfte runder geschrieben. Da das ⱬ eckiger ist als ⳍ und dieser letzte Buchstabe eher eine geschlossene obere Hälfte nahelegt, könnte man zu der Auffassung gelangen, daß die Buchstaben eher als ⱬ ⳍ wiederzugeben seien, d.h. gerade umgekehrt als bisher gewöhnlich wiedergegeben, aber in einer besseren Entsprechung zum glagolitischen Alphabet. Grundsätzlich bleibt die Beschreibung von Jagić richtig, der hier einfach von zwei ⱬ spricht, und wenn man sie einigermaßen getreu wiedergeben, andererseits zugleich differenzieren will, dann scheint mir ⱬ ⱬ eine gute Lösung – bei gleichzeitiger Entsprechung zum glagolitischen Alphabet – zu sein. Dies ist auch die Wiedergabe, die Mareš[33] wählt.

3.2. Ein zweiter Buchstabe läßt sich in den neueren Scans nunmehr korrekter erkennen: das "lateinische i" am Ende der ersten Zeile des kyrillischen Alphabetes ist ein ї, d.h. ein i mit zwei Punkten, die daneben – nicht darüber – gesetzt sind. Von diesen Punkten war auf dem Facsimile bei Trubetzkoy nur der rechte zu sehen, der aber so aussieht, als sei er ein gewöhnlicher i-Punkt, da der obere Teil des i's fehlt. Bei Hamm (1974, 10) ist der untere Teil des ı mit dem einen Punkt so verbunden, daß das Ergebnis wie ein krummes punktloses ı aussieht. Durnovo[34] gibt den Buchstaben mit і wieder, Hamm[35] konsequenterweise mit ı. Richtig, so können wir jetzt festhalten, ist ein ї, das auch Mareš[36] schon verwendet.

3.3. Das ћ ist auf den neuen Scans ebenfalls viel besser zu erkennen – die erste Aufnahme ließ ein bestimmtes Detail nur erahnen: Der Buchstabe hat hier die symmetrische auf dem Kopf stehende Kelch-Form ѧ, nicht die unsymmetrische spätere Form ћ. In der Reproduktion des MA bei Hamm[37] fehlt das linke Bein des Buchstabens ganz, bei Trubetzkoy ist – wenn man den neuen Scan kennt – das linke Bein zu erahnen, wurde aber offenbar seinerzeit so nicht richtig erkannt. Sowohl Durnovo wie Hamm wie Mareš geben den Buchstaben mit ћ wieder. Die Abbildung macht auch klar, daß Durnovos Bemerkung "ћ, bei dem die obere Linie des Querstriches entbehrt (nicht durchstrichen ist)"[38] hinfällig geworden ist. Für ihn ist das Vorkommen dieses Buchstabens im MA übrigens ein wichtiges Indiz dafür, daß der Buch-

[33] Mareš 1971: 154.
[34] Durnovo 1930: 33.
[35] Hamm 1974: 12.
[36] Mareš 1971: 154.
[37] Hamm 1974: 10.
[38] Durnovo 1930: 34.

stabe schon in der ursprünglichen Version der Kyrillica vorhanden war[39] – umso wichtiger ist es, seine genaue Form erkennen zu können. Sie sollte im Druck auch wiedergegeben werden.

3.4. Das **Ⰿ** ist "sehr verstümmelt" Durnovo[40]. Jagić[41] hatte sogar noch von einer "странное неразборчивое изображеніе" anstelle des normalen **Ⰿ** gesprochen. Dem Schreiber mußte das '**M**' – ob nun lateinisch oder griechisch – unbedingt als Buchstabe in der Abfolge **K-L-M-N** bewußt sein – diese Buchstabengruppe gehört in Alphabeten zu den stabilen und beim Lernen gewöhnlich gut memorierten, anders als andere Buchstabenfolgen. Obwohl dem Schreiber also klar gewesen sein dürfte, daß es sich an dieser Stelle um ein **M** handelt, versuchte er sich bei der Wiedergabe der Vorlage an einer ihm ungewohnten und unbekannten Buchstabenform, schrieb also nicht einfach die ihm geläufige normale Buchstabenform. Das kann eigentlich nur bedeuten, daß die Vorlage eben auch eine ungewöhnliche Form des Buchstabens enthielt. Mareš[42] erinnert sie an die Form des Buchstabens in der Samuels-Inschrift. Vielleicht sollte man diesen Buchstaben als Hinweis auf seine ungewöhnlich Form also lieber auch in einer etwas ungewöhnlichen Form wiedergeben, auch wenn die Drucktype nicht genau der Vorlage entspricht. Als Alternative zum 'normalen M' bietet sich für die Wiedergabe vielleicht **Ⰿ** an. Im übrigen zeigt dieser Buchstabe, wie leicht man durch Anfügen von Kringeln oder Zusatzstrichen die Herkunft eines Buchstabens leicht verschleiern und ihn verfremden kann. Mošin[43] gibt den Buchstaben übrigens deutlich runder wieder, als er tatsächlich ist.

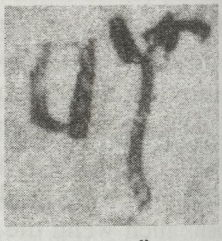
3.5. Was das **O** betrifft, so sei nur angemerkt, daß der neue Scan klar zeigt, daß der Buchstabe eine vollständige, wenn auch mit dünnen Strichen verbundene Form aufweist – bei Hamm[44] besteht er dagegen aus zwei unverbundenen Bögen.

3.6. Das **П** ist der nächste Buchstabe, zu dem etwas anzumerken ist. Er ist nämlich in der Form zu sehen, wie ihn das griechische Pi kennt: mit einem kurzen rechten Stamm, der den Buchstaben wie ein **Г** aussehen läßt (s Abb.). Wenn man sich aber nun den Farb-Scan in starker Vergrößerung anschaut, dann sieht man unterhalb des rechten Stammes merkwürdige Spuren und Reste von Tinte fast unten auf der Zeile. Es sieht ganz so aus, als habe das **П** keineswegs von Anfang an die 'griechische Form' gehabt, sondern habe wie ein 'normales' **П** ausgesehen. Erst-

[39] Durnovo 1931: 76.
[40] Durnovo 1930: 33.
[41] Jagić 1911: 137.
[42] Mareš 1971: 155.
[43] Mošin 1973: 15.
[44] Hamm 1974: 10.

aunlicherweise präsentiert Mošin[45] in seiner Abzeichnung der Alphabete dieses **П** in seiner 'Normalform', die es nun wirklich nicht hat. Daß hier tatsächlich ein Defekt (oder eine Korrektur) in der Schreibung vorliegt, zeigen die ganz parallelen Spuren, die das kyrillische **Ѳ** aufweist: auch dort fehlen einfach Teile der Tinte, und auch dort läßt sich das interpretieren (s. unten). Daß dieses erste (von zwei) 'P's nicht die normale Form aufweist, sollte jedenfalls in einer vollständigen paläographischen Beschreibung festgehalten werden, zumal das 'zweite P' ja anders aussieht (s.u.).

3.7. Der kyrillische Digraph **ОУ** ist auf dem neuen Scan ebenfalls viel besser zu sehen: das alte Facsimile ließ ein 'Schwänzchen' unten rechts am **О** vermuten, das Hamm (1974, 10) dann auch wiedergibt. Die neuen Scans zeigen, daß dies eine Fehlinterpretation ist. Auch sieht man deutlich, daß das **О** oben verbunden ist – bei Trubetzkoy ist das schwach zu sehen, bei Hamm fehlt die obere Verbindung, der Buchstabe wird wie ein 'nasales u' wiedergegeben, d.h. als **ѫ**. Deutlich zu sehen ist auf dem neuen Scan auch der horizontale Querstrich, der rechts oben am **У** angesetzt ist. In der Wiedergabe bei Mošin[46] hingegen wird aus den zwei klar erkennbar separaten Strichen ein einziger, durchgehender gemacht – der im Original vorhandene 'Fleck' im Überlappungsbereich der beiden Striche wird so eliminiert, ähnlich übrigens bei anderen Buchstaben auch. Bei Trubetzkoy war von dem angesetzten Strich nur der Endpunkt zu sehen; Hamm übernimmt ihn in dieser Form. Was diesen Querstrich betrifft, so sei allerdings auf die Bemerkung zu den Serifen in der Handschrift des Schreibers verwiesen (s.u.). Mit anderen Worten: wir halten ihn nicht für einen Teil der prototypischen Form dieses Buchstabens. Schließlich sei noch angemerkt, daß der Schreiber für das **У** die gerade lateinische bzw. griechische Form wählt, nicht jedoch die eigentliche kyrillische Form benutzt.



3.8. Was das kyrillische **Ф** betrifft, so zeigt der Scan eine Besonderheit in der Zeichnung auch dieses Buchstabens: die beiden kleinen Marken, die unterhalb des Kreises angebracht sind – bisher in der Literatur noch nicht kommentiert. Sie könnten auf Superscripte zurückgehen, wie sie in den lateinischen Abbreviaturen des Mittelalters sehr geläufig waren. Auch dem slavischen Schrifttum sind sie ja nicht unbekannt. Sie scheinen hier die Formen der kyrillischen Buchstaben **п** und **р** (oder **т**?) zu haben. Eine genauere Erklärung

[45] Mošin 1973: 15.
[46] Mošin 1973: 15

bleibt noch zu suchen.[47] – Ansonsten zeigen die neuen Scans noch, daß der mittlere Kreis dieses Buchstabens oben eine durchgehende Linie aufweist – im alten Facsimile bei Trubetzkoy und in der Wiedergabe bei Hamm fehlt sie.

3.9. Beim sog. "2. P" des kyrillischen Alphabetes, einem seiner interessanten Elemente, zeigt der Farb-Scan im Vergleich mit der Erstpublikation ein weiteres Phänomen: auf der Abbildung bei Trubetzkoy waren Elemente (Striche und Punkte) enthalten, die es eindeutig weder auf dem Farb-Scan noch in der Graustufen-Abbildung bei Mareš gibt. Da es aber andererseits dem Augenschein nach auch keine Rasier- oder Korrekturspuren an den betreffenden Stellen gibt, müssen die betreffenden Details der älteren Aufnahme schlicht Artefakte gewesen sein. Das betrifft in diesem Falle den linken Teil des Buchstabens, der früher aussah wie ein lateinisches **F**. Der Farb-Scan und auch schon die Abb. bei Mareš zeigen klar, daß der zweite Querstrich des **F** nicht verifizierbar ist. Das Ende dieses (früher gesehenen) zweiten Querstriches ist freilich zu identifizieren: es ist der etwas dunklere Punkt in der Mitte zwischen beiden Stämmen – ganz offensichtlich, wie der Farb-Scan zeigt, eine Eigenschaft des Pergaments, nicht der aufgebrachten Schrift. Was den unten am rechten Stamm angesetzten Strich betrifft, so sei auch hier auf die allgemeine Bemerkung zu den Serifen verwiesen (s.u.). D.h.: was auf dem älteren Facsimile wie ein **FL** aussieht, halten wir tatsächlich für eine um einen Serifenstrich (an falscher Stelle) erweiterte Form des **П**. Während Mareš[48] in seiner Wiedergabe des Alphabetes auf einen Abdruck dieses Buchstabens ganz verzichtet, scheint es uns doch zulässig, den Buchstaben wiederzugeben.

3.10. Vom im Alphabet folgenden Buchstaben sagt Durnovo (1930, 33), daß er "dem lateinischen *u* ähnlich" sei. Diese Ähnlichkeit drängt sich uns nicht auf, hingegen sehr wohl diejenige zum kyrillischen **Ч**, das der Schreiber gerade in der Zeile zuvor geschrieben hatte: es ist diesem Buchstaben fast identisch. So hatte auch Jagić geurteilt, und es fragt sich, ob bei Durnovo nicht ein Tippfehler vorliegt. Im vorliegenden Fall hat der Schreiber das gemeinte **Ц** wohl *horizontal* gespiegelt (andere Buchstaben sind ja *vertikal* gespiegelt). Vielleicht ist der lange linke Stamm auch ein Hinweis darauf, daß seine Vor-

[47] Roland Marti verdanke ich den folgenden Hinweis: es könnte sich bei diesen Zeichen um eine Notation derjenigen Laute handeln, durch die das – dem Slavischen ursprünglich ja fremde – **Ф** ersetzt werden konnte. Dann würden sich **п** und **т** als Lesung anbieten. Gleichzeitig müßte man annehmen, da unser Schreiber ja das Kyrillische nicht aktiv beherrschte, daß diese Buchstaben schon in seiner Vorlage vorhanden waren.

[48] Mareš 1971: 154.

lage die alte Form des Buchstabens enthielt, die ja wie ein eckiges Ч aussieht, d.h. also Ч.

3.11. Vom nächsten Buchstaben heißt es bei Durnovo,[49] daß das MA an dieser Stelle "ein Häckchen [sic!], das als ein umgekehrtes und entstelltes ъ aufgefaßt werden kann", enthalte. Auch Mareš[50] gibt das Zeichen ohne weiteren Kommentar als Ъ wieder. Ein Jer ist an dieser Stelle des Alphabetes sicher zu erwarten; die Beschreibung, die Jagić gegeben hatte, trifft die Form allerdings m.E. besser: er identifizierte diesen Buchstaben nämlich mit dem glagolitischen Ⱇ, und diesem Buchstaben – drei Zeilen weiter unten und ebenfalls gegen Zeilenende – ist der hier zu sehende Buchstabe in der Tat sehr ähnlich (aber nicht identisch). Die Beschreibung, daß aufgrund der Formähnlichkeit an dieser Stelle ein glagolitischer Buchstabe in das kyrillische Alphabet hineingeraten ist, scheint mir zutreffender zu sein als von einem vertikal geklappten Ъ zu sprechen, denn wenn man den abgebildeten Buchstaben vertikal spiegelt, ergibt sich ja eigentlich gar nicht die typische Form dieses kyrillischen Buchstabens, die aufgrund ihrer Ähnlichkeit zum lateinischen b eigentlich gar nicht zu missdeuten ist. Gegen die einfache Gleichsetzung mit einem geklappten Jer spricht eigentlich auch, daß der Schreiber die analoge Form beim Ъ ja durchaus richtig wiedergegeben hat, ebenso das glagolitische ⰱ (= Ⱃ), das ja von der Form her nichts weiter ist als ein Ь oder Ъ. Weiter unten wird sich zeigen, daß ganz entsprechend zu dem vorliegenden Fall in das glagolitische Alphabet auch ein kyrillischer Buchstabe hineingeraten ist.

Allgemein herrscht die Auffassung, daß der Schreiber der Vorlage versucht habe, beide Alphabete einander anzugleichen. Völlig zu recht stellt Marti[51] explizit die Frage, welches der beiden Alphabete denn dann das Muster gewesen ist, an das der Schreiber das andere Alphabet angepaßt hat. Die vorherrschende Meinung ist die, daß dies das glagolitische Alphabet gewesen ist, und in der Tat spricht dafür einiges. Als möglichen Einwand weist Marti richtig darauf hin, daß das kyrillische Alphabet ja zuerst steht, danach das glagolitische. Aber vielleicht kann man den Fehler mit dem vorliegenden Zeichen ja genau so erklären: der Schreiber der Vorlage hat womöglich beim Schreiben des kyrillischen Alphabetes beständig auf seine glagolitische Vorlage geschaut und sich dann schlicht vertan, wobei diesem Fehler die vielen Spiegelungs- und Drehrelationen zwischen kyrillischem und glagolitischem Alphabet ohne Zweifel Vorschub geleistet haben.

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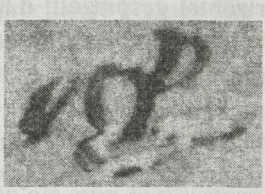
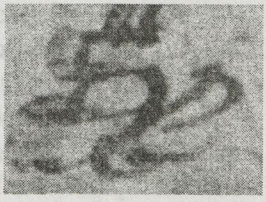
[49] Durnovo 1930: 33.
[50] Mareš :1971, 154.
[51] Marti 1991: 148

3.12. Beim abgebildeten Buchstaben gibt es eine interessante Divergenz zwischen den bisherigen Lesungen. Durnovo[52] und Hamm[53] geben ihn als Ъі wieder. Immerhin zeigt der neue Scan eine durchgehende obere Linie, die bei Trubetzkoy nur zu erahnen ist, bei Hamm ganz fehlt. Der Buchstabe ist insgesamt nicht besonders gut gelungen; wenn man ihn als gespiegeltes Ъі liest, so fragt sich aufgrund dieses Details, ob der Schreiber nicht vielleicht eher die verbundene Form dieses Buchstabens (Ъі) zur Vorlage hatte als die unverbundene. Eine andere Deutung des Buchstabens findet sich – unkommentiert – bei Mareš,[54] der diesen Buchstaben nämlich als ь wiedergibt; auch Marti[55] gibt ihn so wieder. In der Tat ist es so, daß der Buchstabe eher wie ein ь erscheint, vor allem, wenn man – ähnlich wie bei Ъ – auch hier davon ausgeht, daß der Buchstabe auf dem Kopf steht. Die Lesung als ь hat in jedem Falle für sich, daß so die Parallelität zum glagolitischen Alphabet gegeben ist; wir werden sie übernehmen. Merkwürdig bleibt in jedem Falle der klar erkennbar unten angesetzte separate Strich, der entweder überflüssig oder falsch ist, je nachdem, wie man diesen Buchstaben interpretiert.

3.13. Die nächste Anmerkung betrifft den abgebildeten Buchstaben des kyrillischen Alphabetes: ѳ. Durnovo[56] merkt hier an, dass es sich um ein "stark verstümmeltes" kyrillisches Theta handele, und zwar eben dieser Form: ѳ. Wenn der Schreiber wirklich diese Form als Vorlage und im Sinne gehabt hat, dann fragt sich, wieso er eigenmächtig die 'Zutaten' am oberen Rand des Buchstabens angebracht hat. In der Reproduktion von Trubetzkoy waren die unteren Füßchen des Buchstabens praktisch nicht zu erkennen, in der Wiedergabe bei Hamm fehlen sie denn auch ganz. Mošin[57] macht aus den beiden separaten unteren Bögen fälschlich einen durchgehenden Kreis, und der innere Teil des Buchstabens ist in seiner Abzeichnung stark verzerrt.



Wenn man sich überlegt, daß es sich bei diesem ѳ um den Buchstaben nach ѣ im kyrillischen Alphabet handelt, und im glagolitischen Alphabet nach ⰰ das 'spinnenförmige X', also ⱬ, auftaucht, dann wird die Ähnlichkeit dieser beiden Buchstaben zueinander sofort augenfällig. Das heißt: es scheint so, als habe der Schreiber hier für das ѳ eine Buch-



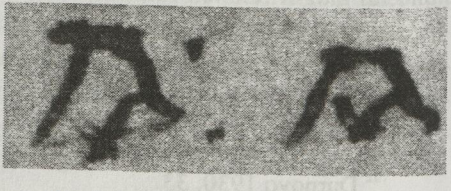
[52] Durnovo 1930: 33.
[53] Hamm 1974: 12
[54] Mareš 1971: 154.
[55] Marti 1999.
[56] Durnovo 1930: 33.
[57] Mošin 1973: 15.

stabenform geschrieben oder reproduziert, die dem an gleicher Stelle (nämlich nach ⍓) im glagolitischen Alphabet ähnlich war oder sein sollte. Die ursprünglich vorhandene Ähnlichkeit des ⍘ zum 'spinnenförmigen X' scheint mir jedenfalls frappant. Nachträglich wurden dann wohl Retouchen an den unteren Füßchen vorgenommen – die Spuren sind gut zu sehen, ähnlich wie beim 'ersten P' – siehe oben!

Eine alternative Interpretation dessen, was wir heute auf der Abbildung sehen, könnte allerdings auch anders lauten: der Schreiber könnte zuerst die Form ⍘ geschrieben haben, woraufhin er diese in die üblichere Form ⍔ korrigierte, indem er die 'Ohren' oben (statt in der Mitte) des Buchstabens ansetzte und dann versuchte, an der Unterseite des Buchstabens zu retouchieren. Dies wäre dann der zweite Fall (nach dem 'P'), bei der Schreiber selbst Buchstaben auf diese Weise korrigiert hätte. Wie auch immer: die 'starke Verstümmelung', von der Durnovo spricht, läßt sich jedenfalls möglicherweise doch etwas aufhellen.

3.14. Der hintere Nasalvokal hat in dem MA eine ungewöhnliche Form, bei der ein Strich rechts vom Grundzeichen angesetzt ist – s. Abb. Durnovo interpretiert diesen Zusatzstrich so, als wäre der Buchstabe sozusagen horizontal gespiegelt, d.h. er sieht hier einen jotierten Nasalvokal, ebenso dann Hamm. Trubetzkoy[58] hingegen nennt die Form ein "Versehen des Schreibers". Mareš[59] gibt das Zeichen als nichtjotierten Nasal wieder, auch Velčeva (1985) wertet es so. Die Frage, ob die Form den jotierten Nasal darstellt oder vielleicht doch den nichtjotierten, ist nicht ganz trivial, da das glagolitische Gegenstück nur schwer deutbar ist, der kyrillische Buchstabe also herangezogen wird, um zu näher zu bestimmen, was der glagolitische Buchstabe wohl darstellen könnte. Wir schließen uns der Meinung an, daß der nichtjotierte Nasal vorliegt, halten aber auch die andere Interpretation nicht für ganz ausgeschlossen.

3.15. Eine letzte Bemerkung betrifft die Darstellung des vorderen Nasalvokals ⍓. Auf dem Farb-Scan ist ganz klar sichtbar, daß der linke Buchstabe der beiden Buchstaben auf der Abbildung nicht nur einen unteren Querstrich aufweist, sondern auch ein v-förmiges Mittelteil. Eindeutig sind die Spuren der linken Hälfte zu sehen, bei deren Zeichnung die Feder allerdings im wesentlichen die Ränder gezeichnet hat, die Linie aber nicht komplett gefüllt hat (ganz ähnlich übrigens wie bei anderen Buchstaben auch, z.B. beim rechten Stamm des Ш). Dies wurde vom Schreiber



[58] Trubetzkoy 1968: 39, Fn. 1
[59] Mareš 1971: 154.

nicht korrigiert. Auf der Abbildung bei Trubetzkoy waren weder der untere Querstrich noch die linke Hälfte des v-förmigen Mittelteils zu erkennen. Durnovo beschrieb diesen Buchstaben als "von der Form, wie sie bei Sav. vorkommt, mit einem schiefen inneren Querstrich, aber ohne den unteren".[60] So auch die Wiedergabe bei Velčeva.[61] Diese Beschreibung ist nunmehr zu korrigieren. Die linke Hälfte des v-förmigen Mittelteils fehlt übrigens auch in der Abzeichnung bei Mošin,[62] da die Reproduktion von Mareš[63] zu klein ist, um sie erkennen lassen zu können. Dadurch, daß beide Varianten des vorderen Nasals den gleichen V-förmigen Mittelteil aufweisen, sind sie – bis auf die untere Querlinie – fast identisch gezeichnet. Das erinnert an das 'zweifache Z' (s. oben). Zu Durnovo ist ferner anzumerken, daß er von den beiden abgebildeten Buchstaben nur den ersten in seiner Liste der Buchstaben des kyrillischen Alphabetes berücksichtigt, weshalb die Liste bei Nr. 37 endet, obwohl er andererseits behauptet, beide Alphabete enthielten "je 38 Buchstaben".[64] Ein merkwürdiges Versehen also, das auch in der Wiedergabe bei Hamm[65] nicht korrigiert wird, obwohl auch seine Abzeichnung eindeutig beide Zeichen enthält. Abschließend sei noch darauf hingewiesen, daß der Schreiber offensichtlich auch bei diesem Buchstaben versucht, einander entsprechende Formen ähnlich zu schreiben. Vgl. die korrespondierende Form (nicht: den korrespondierenden Buchstaben) des glagolitischen Alphabets.

4. Anmerkungen zum glagolitischen Alphabet

Zum glagolitischen Alphabet gibt es weniger anzumerken als zum kyrillischen Alphabet, einige Kommentare können allerdings auch hier gemacht werden. Allgemein gilt, daß bei einigen Buchstaben, wie schon eingangs angemerkt, die sehr schmalen horizontalen Querstriche sicherer zu erkennen sind, was wir aber hier nicht im einzelnen dokumentieren wollen, sofern es zum gleichen Buchstaben nicht anderes anzumerken gibt.

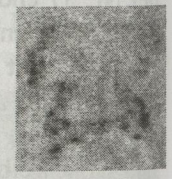
4.1. Hamm[66] gibt das 'O' des glagolitischen Alphabetes als 'u' wieder, da auf der alten Photographie der obere Querstrich nicht zu erkennen war. Das entspricht der Beschreibung, die Durnovo gegeben hatte: es stehe hier "statt des glagolitischen *o* ein

[60] Durnovo 1930: 34.
[61] Velčeva 1985.
[62] Mošin 1973: 15.
[63] Mareš 1971.
[64] Durnovo 1930: 33.
[65] Hamm 1974: 12.
[66] Hamm 1974: 10.

dem lateinischen *u* ähnlicher Buchstabe".[67] Mareš[68] gibt den Buchstaben einfach mit dem 'richtigen' glagolitischen Buchstaben, also ⰓⰔ, wieder, was der Abbildung nicht entspricht, allerdings insofern konsequent ist, als er auch den umgekehrten Fall, nämlich das Auftreten des glagolitischen ⱆ im kyrillischen Alphabet nicht notiert, sondern durch den 'richtigen' Buchstaben ersetzt.

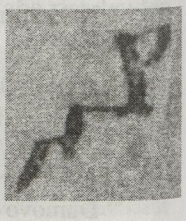
Der Farb-Scan zeigt schwach, aber doch eindeutig, daß der Buchstabe auch einen oberen Querstrich hat. Hingegen ist der Punkt unter dem Buchstaben ein Fleck im Pergament und kein Teil des Buchstabens. Der Buchstabe kann also mit Fug und Recht als ⰏⰔ wiedergegeben werden. Das bedeutet aber, um es nochmals zu betonen, daß wir hier eindeutig einen Fehler im glagolitischen Alphabet zu konstatieren haben, in das sich nämlich ein *kyrillischer* Buchstabe eingeschlichen hat.

4.2. Zum ⰒⰔ (= ⰃⰔ) ist anzumerken, daß es – dank des neuen Scans – in stärkerer Vergrößerung zu betrachten ist als bisher – schwach zwar, aber immerhin doch als Kontur gut erkennbar. Bei Hamm[69] fehlt der Buchstabe in der Abzeichnung praktisch komplett; es bleibt nur ein kleiner Winkel der unteren Hälfte übrig. Mošin[70] gibt diesen Buchstaben mit einer inneren Struktur wieder, also in der prototypischen Form. Davon können wir allerdings auch in maximaler Vergrößerung des Scans nichts entdecken. Da die betreffenden Elemente also wohl fehlen, so zeugt das davon, daß der Schreiber die Grundkonstruktion (Dreieck auf Kreis mit Überschneidungsbereich) nicht wahrgenommen oder auf seiner Vorlage ebenfalls nicht erkennbar sehen konnte, ebenso nicht das spiegelbildliche Verhältnis dieses Buchstabens zum ⰆⰔ.



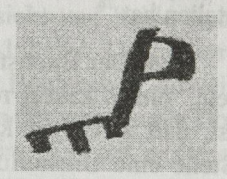
4.3. Vom Omega (ⰪⰔ) heißt es bei Durnovo[71] daß es "entstellt" sei. Wenn man sich den neuen Scan genau anschaut, dann hat man fast den Eindruck, daß der Schreiber hier so etwas wie das ⰡⰔ vor Augen gehabt hat, jedenfalls nicht die prototypische Form des Buchstabens.

4.4. Der nächste Buchstabe, ⰕⰔ, ist einer der rätselhaftesten des vorliegenden glagolitischen Alphabetes. Zu recht ist von mehreren Autoren seine formale Ähnlichkeit zum ⱨ der Prager Fragmente festgestellt worden (s. zweite Abb.). Da ein ⱨ im vorliegenden Alphabet ja schon vorhanden ist, kann der Schreiber jedenfalls nicht an den gleichen Lautwert gedacht haben, und er wieder-



[67] Durnovo 1930: 34.
[68] Mareš 1971: 154.
[69] Hamm 1974: 10.
[70] Mošin 1973: 15.
[71] Durnovo 1930: 34.

holt dieses Zeichen hier auch nicht. Trubetzkoys altes Schwarz-Weiss-Facsimile und auch die Abbildung bei Marti (1991) zeigt bei diesem Buchstaben zusätzlich links vom Stamm des 'P's einen Strich, der den Oberteil fast symmetrisch, wie ein ѱ, aussehen läßt. Der neue Farbscan ebenso wie die Abb. bei Mareš[72] weisen von diesem zusätzlichen Strich keinerlei Spur auf; es kann sich also nur um ein Artefakt handeln. Hamm[73] gibt den Buchstaben – offensichtlich wegen dieses zusätzlichen Striches in der alten Abbildung – mit ѱ wieder; das wird dem Unterteil des Buchstabens aber nicht gerecht. Mareš selbst sieht interessanterweise in dem Buchstaben ein auf dem Kopf stehendes ѱ↕, was graphisch wenig plausibel scheint.



Daß der Abschreiber dieser Alphabete mit den lateinischen Abkürzungen und Ligaturen des Mittelalters vertraut war, darf man wohl annehmen. Vor diesem Hintergrund fällt eine gewisse Ähnlichkeit dieses Buchstabens nicht nur mit dem genannten glagolitischen Buchstaben auf, sondern auch mit der lateinischen Abkürzung für 'pro' auf, und auch die glagolitische Ligatur für 'pr' (!) hat interessanterweise eine ähnliche Zeichnung (s. Jagić[74]); auch das glagolitische 'P' selbst hat ja schon eine ähnliche Form. Es könnte also sehr gut sein, daß der (Ab)Schreiber aufgrund des Lautwertes der betreffenden Zeile des Aktrostichons an ein lateinisches 'P' gedacht und dieses mit weiteren Strichen erweitert hat, wobei eben nicht klar ist, ob nicht ein Teil der Zusatzstriche auch auf das Konto der Serifen (s.u.) geht. Diese Zusatzstriche könnte man übrigens gegebenfalls sogar als schräggestelltes 'E' lesen und hätte dann einfach den lateinischen geschriebenen Buchstabennamen 'Pe'.

4.5. Interessant ist der hintere Halbvokal ѻ (Ъ). Er gehört im glagolitischen Alphabet des MA zu den am schlechtesten lesbaren Buchstaben überhaupt. Auf dem neuen Scan sind die blassen Linien des unteren Teil der rechten Hälfte nunmehr aber doch insoweit zu sehen, daß die Form des Buchstabens hier guten Gewissens behauptet werden kann. Hamm[75] hatte hier erstaunlicherweise schon die beiden senkrechten Striche gesehen (oder sehen wollen), nicht hingegen die untere Querverbindung. Mošin (1973, 15) hingegen gibt in seiner Abzeichnung den Buchstaben 'geschönt' wieder. Mit einer retouchierten zweiten Abbildung sei für diesen Buchstaben eine vielleicht etwas

[72] Mareš 1971: nach 200.
[73] Hamm 1974: 12.
[74] Jagić 1911: 221.
[75] Hamm 1974: 10.

bessere Anschauung davon gegeben, wie man ihn sich hier wohl tatsächlich vorzustellen hat.[76]

4.6. Der Buchstabe nach dem 'spinnenförmigen X' ist nicht eindeutig zu deuten: "опять какой-то неразборчивый знак, вроде ѱ" – so Jagić.[77] Offensichtlich ist, daß zwischen kyrillischem Alphabet und glagolitischem Alphabet an dieser Stelle eine Umstellung zweier benachbarter Buchstaben vorliegt, nämlich von Ⱁ und hinterem Nasal. Im glagolitischen Alphabet wird hier also ein nasales O oder JO erwartet. Das hat die bisherige Forschung dazu veranlaßt, den fraglichen Buchstaben als arg verstümmeltes ⰾ (den ersten Teil des ⰾⰵ) oder eben – der Form nach – als ѱ zu deuten, was rein graphisch besser paßt, aber nicht lautlich. Hamm[78] gibt den Buchstaben als ⱘ (ⰾⰵ) wieder, wobei ersteres natürlich auch nur graphisch einigermaßen paßt, aber noch ein weiterer kyrillischer Buchstabe wäre, der in das glagolitische Alphabet des MA hineingeraten wäre![79] Diese Wiedergabe erfolgt offensichtlich in Anlehnung an eine entsprechende Bemerkung Durnovos.[80] – Trubetzkoy hat ja aufgezeigt, daß einzelne kyrillische Buchstaben durch Drehung aus glagolitischen Buchstaben herzuleiten sind.[81] In Bezug auf den vorliegenden Buchstaben könnte man neben den bisherigen Deutungen womöglich auch an ein um 90° nach links gedrehtes ⰹⰵ denken, und hätte dann nasales O, nicht JO, was zur entsprechenden Lesung des kyrillischen Alphabetes sehr gut passen würde.

4.7. Eine weitere Anmerkung betrifft die Nummerierung der Buchstaben des glagolitischen Alphabetes bei Durnovo[82] und damit seine Segmentierung. Durnovo hält sich hier streng an die Vorlage und segmentiert immer dort, wo der Schreiber einen Doppelpunkt als Trennzeichen angebracht hat. Das ist einerseits korrekt und systematisch, andererseits haben wir ja schon gesehen, daß der Schreiber relativ viele Fehler gemacht hat – warum also nicht auch hier? Ein offensichtlicher Fehler in der Setzung dieser Doppelpunkte betrifft die Abfolge ⰸ ⰻ, zwischen denen der Punkt fehlt; außerdem steht der zweite Buchstaben Kopf. Durnovo faßt 1930 beide Buchstaben unter einer Nummer zusammen. Nur so kommt er nämlich auch auf die

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[76] (Marti, Veder 2000: 234) führen in ihrer Synopse der Abecedarien beim MA fälschlich zweimal den gleichen (hinteren) Halbvokal an, richtig dagegen (Marti 1999).

[77] Jagić 1911: 137.

[78] Hamm 1974: 12.

[79] Die Wiedergabe mit ⱘ würde sich dann besser erklären, wenn man ⱘ als den Ursprung von ѱ betrachtet, was graphisch ja durchaus möglich ist.

[80] Durnovo 1930: 34.

[81] Trubetzkoy 1968: 39.

[82] Durnovo 1930: 34.

'gewünschte', weil von Chrabr behauptete Zahl von 38 Buchstaben für das ganze Alphabet. Wenn man hier einen Fehler in der Punktierung sieht und beide Buchstaben trennt, so kommt man folglich auf 39 Buchstaben im Alphabet. Da das kyrillische Alphabet an gleicher Stelle eine klare Trennung beider Buchstaben aufweist, ist es wohl legitim, hier im glagolitischen Alphabet das Fehlen der trennenden Doppelpunkte zu konstatieren. Durnovo korrigierte denn auch seine Ansicht in diesem Punkte ein Jahr später:[83] "можно думать, что … перевернутое ш после ч соответствует букве ш и только по ошибке не от ч". Etwas weiteres fällt an dieser Stelle aber auf. Das kyrillische Alphabet enthält die folgende Buchstabenfolge:

У : Ш : Ъ : Щ : Ь : Ѣ .

Das glagolitische Alphabet enthält an gleicher Stelle die Buchstaben

ⱆ : Ш : ⱁ : Ш : Ⱏ : ⱅ : Ⱔ, d.h.

У : Ш : Ъ : Ш : І : Ь : Ѣ.

Das glagolitische Alphabet enthält also einen Buchstaben mehr. Es fehlt **Щ** – stattdessen ist **Ш** zweimal vorhanden. Hamm (1974, 12) gibt übrigens **Ⱏ** fälschlich als **Ⱋ** wieder – und umgekehrt.[84] Die Abfolge der Buchstaben entspricht nicht ganz dem von Durnovo (1931, 73) rekonstruierten Ende des slavischen Alphabetes (…**ⰹ – ⰿ – ⱆ – Ш – ⰾ – Ⱆ – ⰾⱏ – ⰾ – Ⰺ – Ⱚ – Ⱍ – Ⱄ**).[85] Das kyrillische Alphabet hingegen hat ja **ш** … **щ**, und in seinem Artikel von 1931 nennt Durnovo (der alle glagolitischen Buchstaben ja kyrillisch wiedergibt) das zweite **ш** des glagolitischen Alphabetes nunmehr ein "nicht zu Ende geschriebenes щ" ("недописанное щ").[86] Diese Annahme ist möglich, vielleicht aber nicht nötig, denn das vorliegende Alphabet könnte in diesem Punkte auch eine eher phonetische Wiedergabe der Zeilenanfänge von Konstantins Akrostich sein (zitiert hier nach Veder):[87]

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[83] Durnovo 1931: 73.

[84] Auch in der Wiedergabe des Pariser Abecenariums unterlaufen Hamm Fehler: ein Buchstabe wird bei ihm mit "ſlóuo" wiedergegeben (Hamm 1974, 24); tatsächlich heißt er in diesem Alphabet "cſlóuo", was man auch der von Hamm auf der gleichen Seite wie das MA wiedergebenen Abbildung des Pariser Abecenariums durchaus entnehmen kann.

[85] Andere Rekonstruktionen des Alphabetendes enthalten kein **ъı**, vgl. z.B. (Marti, Veder 2000: 231). Für das Vorliegende ist diese Frage jedoch ohne Belang.

[86] Durnovo 1931: 73.

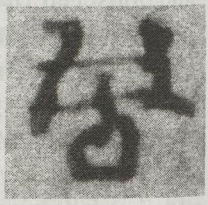
[87] Veder 1999: 74ff. Die Tatsache, daß die Jers nicht am Wortanfang vorkommen können, wird gewöhnlich als Begründung dafür genannt, daß es keine entsprechenden Zeilen in Alphabetdichtungen und Akrostichien gibt (vgl. etwa Marti, Veder 2000: 230). Wenn man die zweifachen Zeilen mit **ш** phonetisch anschaut, dann könnte man meinen, daß hier die Halbvokale vielleicht doch vertreten seien, und zwar angedeutet als der Vokal nach dem **ш**. Vielleicht sollte man hier den Silbenbeginn insgesamt betrachten? Ähnliches scheint in einer

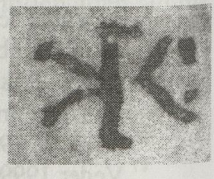
Ѹоудеса твоꙗ...
Шестокрилатъынмъ...
Шьстоуѭ нъынѣ...
Имени кмоу...
Ивѣ сътворѭ...

Von einer Umstellung von **Ъ** und **Ш** im glagolitischen Alphabet zu sprechen, wie es Durnovo tut,[88] ist weder im Hinblick auf das MA noch auf dieses rekonstruierte Alphabet nötig, nur im Hinblick auf spätere, etwas veränderte, Reihenfolgen. Jagić[89] hatte gemutmaßt, mit **Ꙑ** könnte **Ѫ Ꙑ** (= **ЪЫ**) gemeint gewesen sein, d.h. der erste Teil des zusammengesetzten Buchstabens wäre dann ausgefallen. Im übrigen könnte auch der lange Fuß des **Ꙑ** und seine Ähnlichkeit zum **Ꙉ** im kyrillischen Alphabet dafür verantwortlich sein, daß im glagolitischen Alphabet das **Ш** zweimal vorkommt und das **Ꙉ** fehlt – der Schreiber könnte hier ein weiteres Mal durcheinander gekommen sein. Wie auch immer: an dieser Stelle liegt in den MA eine gewisse Anomalität vor, und diese Stelle ist verantwortlich dafür, daß das glagolitische Alphabet 39 Buchstaben enthält, darunter nämlich drei Zeichen für [i], wärend das kyrillische Alphabet 38 Buchstaben enthält (s.u.).

5. 'Serifen' in der Handschrift des Schreibers

Wenn man die Alphabete des MA aufmerksam betrachtet, dann sieht man, daß der Schreiber es liebt, den Buchstaben unsymmetrische Serifen hinzuzufügen, die am Stamm des Buchstabens aussehen wie Fähnchen – manchmal auch symmetrische. Vgl. die Darstellung des kyrillischen **Ж**. Die gleiche Erscheinung läßt sich beim **Н**, beim **Х** sowie beim **Ц** beobachten. Beim **К** ist die Serife mittig über dem Stamm angebracht, wirkt dort jedoch genauso ungewohnt. Diese Beobachtung betrifft nicht nur die eine Eigenheit der Handschrift, sie ist insbesondere bei einem Buchstaben relevant, um seine prototypische Form richtig zu beschreiben. Gemeint ist das sog. "2. Р" des kyrillischen Alphabetes. Der am Ende des Buchstabens unten nach rechts weisende Strich: ist er Teil der Struktur oder ein serifenartiger Strich? Die Abbildung zeigt jedenfalls deutlich, daß der untere Strich separat angesetzt wurde, daß der Abstrich und der untere Strich nicht in einem Zuge geschrieben wurden. Da es nur die-





weiteren Quelle gegeben zu sein, vgl. (Marti,Veder 2000: 241). Quelle β = Moskau RGB f. 134, No. 145; vor 1350.

[88] Durnovo 1930: 34.

[89] Jagić 1911: 137.

ses eine Muster gibt, ist es folglich schwierig, die prototypische Form dieses Buchstabens mit Sicherheit bestimmen zu wollen. Er wird denn auch von allen Autoren einfach mit П wiedergegeben, allerdings ohne Kommentar, auch nicht zum Unterschied dieses П zum 'ersten P', das ja eher wie ein Г aussieht. – Die Beobachtung zu den Serifen gilt im übrigen sogar für die Glagolica. Der Schreiber versieht auch hier das К / ⱑ mit einer Serife, und auch ein unten angesetzter Strich zum Abschluß eines Buchstabens findet sich wieder, hier beim Ꙋ / ⱁ.

6. Die Alphabete des MA

Zum Abschluß seien hier die beiden Alphabete nochmals in Gänze mit einigen Hinweisen auf alternative Lesungen bzw. Rekonstruktionen wiedergegeben. Mit '↕' bzw. '↔' wird die vertikale bzw. horizontale Spiegelung eines Buchstaben notiert.

Kyrillisches Alphabet:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
А	Б	В	Г	Д	Є	Ж	Ꙁ	Ꙁ	Н	Ї
12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	
Ѯ	К	Л	М	Н	О	П	Р	С	Т	
22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30		
ѠѴ	Ф	Х	Ѡ	П	Ц↔	Ꙋ	Ш	Ꙑ *		
31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38			
Щ	Ь **	Ѣ	Ѫ	Ю	Ѫ †	Ѧ	Ѧ			

* glagol.; fälschlich für kyrill. Ъ (Jagić) oder: Ъ↕(Durnovo, Mareš)
** Ь (Mareš, Marti) oder Ы (Durnovo)
† Ѫ (Trubetzkoy, Mareš, Velčeva) oder ІѪ (Durnovo)

Glagolitisches Alphabet:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
ⰸ	ⰹ	ⰿ	ⰾ	ⰻ	ⰼ	ⰽ	ⰿ	ⱀ	
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
ⰵ	ⰷ	ⰾ	ⰽ	ⰻ	ⰿ	ⰴ	ⰾ *	ⰸ	Ⱏ
20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
ⰺ	ⰾⰾ	ⰻⰻ	ⰸ	ⰼ	ⰾ	ⰾ (!)	ⰿ	ⰽ	Ⱉ↕
30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39
ⰻ	Ⱉ **	ⰴ †	ⰻ	ⰰ	ⰺ	ⰾ/Ⱉ?	ⰾ	ⰵ	ⰻⰵ

* kyrill.; fälschlich für glagol. ⱑ [= o]
** anstelle eines eigtl. erwarteten ⱎ
† nach Jagić eigentlich ⱘⱔ [=ⱏⱏ]

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The Ideological Use of Biblical Motifs and Quotations in the Canon on the Translation of the Relics of St. Clement of Rome[1]

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The research on the biblical references in Church Slavonic hymnography hasn't been so developed as one should expect. In 1965 Roman Jakobson published a study of the canon devoted to Demetrius of Thessalonica, which is considered to be one of the earliest hymnographical compositions in Old Church Slavonic, and whose authorship is attributed to St. Methodius. Afterwards, this study was completed in the edition of his selected writings (Jakobson 1985: 286-346). In this article, Jakobson included an analysis of the biblical quotations and allusions of the canon.

At the end of the seventies, Riccardo Picchio pointed out the existence of "biblical thematic clues" not only in the hymnography, but in the whole literature of what he called *Slavia Orthodoxa*. The Italian scholar defined these "thematic clues" as special compositional devices with the purpose of bridging the semantic gap between the literal meaning of any event related in the narration, and its "spiritual" or symbolic meaning (Picchio 1977: 5–6). In order to confer this symbolic value to earthly events, the author used the Bible as a general referent. Actually, this is the well known technique of biblical typology, which was used throughout medieval Christianity to show how the Old Testament prefigured the New, and how this one is being fulfilled by the historical events (Franklin 1991: xxxi–xxxii). According to Picchio (Picchio 1977: 5–6), the references to the *Scriptures* could be direct quotations or indirect allusions, but they always were introduced by easily recognisable formal expressions, and occurred in structurally marked places. Picchio gave some examples of thematic clues that could be found in different works of hagiographical, homiletic or panegyrical character, such as the Lives of Constantine, Methodius, and the Russian princes Boris and Gleb, the

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Sermon on Law and Grace by metropolitan Hilarion of Kiev, or the *Sermon on the Life and Death of Grand-Duke Dmitrij Ivanovič*.

Shortly afterwards, Aleksander Naumow developed Picchio's theory on the use of biblical elements in the artistic structure of Church Slavonic literature in general, and regarding hymnographical compositions in particular (Naumow 1983: 53–161; Naumow 2004: 48–51, 117–130). Naumow distinguished three different levels in the process of creation of a literary work in Old Church Slavonic: the general idea about a saint, the abstract ideal images related with the saint, and the concrete expressive means. Such images would belong to what Naumow calls the "intermediate stage", halfway between the ideas and their concrete performance. At the author's disposal there would be a limited set of images or *topoi*, conditioned by the tradition. Likewise, he could choose just between a limited number of linguistic means to express those images. This way, by analysing the images or "thematic clues" used in a hymn, it's possible to identify the biblical motifs or quotations to which they are referring. And the repetition of the same images in different works devoted to the same type of saint would allow us to establish a catalogue of the *topoi* available for every typology. Therefore, the study of the biblical quotations and allusions can be very useful in understanding the composition technique of the works in Old Church Slavonic, as well as the ideological or doctrinal motivations of the author.

As an example, we will provide the study of the biblical motifs and quotations that can be found in the canon devoted to the translation of the relics of Saint Clement of Rome. We chose this hymn because of two main reasons: it is one of the earliest hymnographical compositions in Old Curch Slavonic (attributed to the same Constantine-Cyril), and it shows clearly ideological elements. The relics of Saint Clement, third Pope after Saint Peter, played a main role in two important periods of the Christianisation of the Slavs.

First of all, the *Vita Constantini* (Angelov, Kodov 1973: 96) tells us how in 861 Constantine the Philosopher supposedly found the remains of the Roman saint on an island off the coast of Cherson, in the modern Crimea. The transfer of those relics to Rome seven years later would get him the approval from the Pope for his mission in Moravia, including the translation of the canonical church writings and liturgy into Old Church Slavonic.

And secondly, in the *Povest' vremennyx let* it is attested that in 988 the Kievan prince Volodimer was baptised in the same city of Cherson, taking with him back to Kiev the relics of St. Clement (some of which apparently still remained) and those of his disciple Phoebus (Karskij 1926–1927: 116, 9–12). These relics were kept in the first Christian temple of the Kievan Rus': the church devoted to the Holy Mother of God (Karskij 1926–1927: 122, 1–3), the so called

"Tithe" Church[2]. At the beginning of the 11th c. this church was called "the temple of St. Clement" by Thietmar of Merseburg (Holtzmann 1935: 488–489). And the Roman pope became the first patron saint and "eternal defender of the Rus'ian land"[3], as he is referred in the *Sermon on the restoration of the Tithe Church*, whose composition dates back to the sixties of the 11th c. (Begunov 1974: 39). This way, the relics of St. Clement were used by the prince Volodimer to convey legitimacy to the newly embraced state religion, similarly as the emperor Constantine and his mother Helen with the relics of the Holy Cross.

Besides these allusions, the last mention of the relics by a Russian chronicle is to be found in the Hypatian Chronicle (Šaxmatov 1908: 340–341) on the occasion of the election of the metropolitan Klim Smoljatič in 1147, without the consent of the Constantinopolitan hierarchy. As professor Franklin recounts in his book *Sermons and Rhetoric of Kievan Rus'* (Franklin 1991: xlvi–xlvii), the bishop Onufrij of Černigov argued that the local synod did have the authority to elect its own metropolitan, on the basis of the following argument: "We have the head of St. Clement, just as the Greeks appoint by the hand of St. John"[4].

It is well-known the importance of the relics during the Middle Ages as instruments of legitimacy for the religious and political power, as well as for the adoption of the Christian faith as the new state religion. And the Slavs were not an exception. That's why the study of the hymns devoted to the relics of the saints can provide us a valuable evidence of the ideological use of biblical quotations.

Concretely, we focused on the Russian version of a canon which commemorates the finding of Clements relics and their subsequent translation to the city of Cherson. This hymn was intended to be sung during the liturgical service of January the 30th. This date is the only holiday in St. Clements honour that can be found in the oldest Kievan calendar included in the *Ostromir* Gospel (1056-1057). The other holiday consecrated to the Roman saint in the Orthodox Church, November the 25th (day of his death), doesn't appear in that calendar. The canon that we are examining is attested in a Russian manuscript dated back to the 12th–13th cc. It was published by M. F. Mur'janov (1991: 102–108, 129–143), and shortly afterwards by E. M. Vereščagin[5]. Both scholars agree to consider the canon as the Old Church Slavonic translation of the original Greek hymn composed by Constantine-Cyril, none of which would have been preserved.

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[2] Десѧтиньнаꙗ цьркъı (Franklin 1991: 23).

[3] присньıй ѕаступниче странѣ роѹстей (Begunov 1974: 35).

[4] а глава оѹ насъ есть сѷго Климента. ꙗкоже ставать Грѣци роѹкою сѷго Ивана (Šaxmatov 1908: 341, 15-17).

[5] Vereščagin 1993: 34–45; Vereščagin 1996: 176–193; Vereščagin 2001: 94–148

We are told about the existence of such canon by Anastasius the Librarian in his letter addressed to Bishop Gauderich of Velletri (Dujčev 1960: 203–207). According to Anastasius, Constantine wrote two other works connected with the same event: a sermon, and a historical narrative, also in Greek. The last one was translated into Latin by Anastasius. However, he refused to translate the hymn, he said, because of the different syllabic structure of the corresponding Latin words. Anyway, none of those three works came down to us, neither in Greek, nor in their Latin version. Just the narrative and the sermon would have survived in an Old Church Slavonic text which, according to the majority of scholars, would combine both works. It is the *Sermon on the Translation of the Relics of the most Glorious Clement* (Butler 1993–1994: 15–39). This sermon contains also some hymnographical excerpts, which were sung by Constantine and his companions at various stages of the search process. These excerpts could belong to the original canon written by the Byzantine missionary.

On the other hand, the Russian historian E. V. Uxanova, based on the ideological use of biblical quotations, came 1997–1998 to the conclusion that such hymnographical composition would have a Russian origin, dating from the period of the Christianisation of the Kievan Rus'. In this lecture, we will show how a careful rereading of those biblical motifs and quotations does not allow us to support either of these hypotheses.

In St. Clements canon they are referred both quotations and allusions, as well as characters and motifs belonging to the Bible, mostly to the Old Testament. This way, we can find biblical characters such as Isaiah, Jesse, Jacob, David, Joseph, Moses and Josiah. It is surprising the recurrence of the prophet Isaiah, who is mentioned four times directly, being quoted several times some of his verses in an indirect way. The only characters from the New Testament that can be found in the hymn are the apostles Peter and Paul, and Christ himself. Nevertheless, the reference to Peter and Paul is to be found in the *kathisma*, the additional strophe that was sung after the third ode, though in this case it was written at the beginning of the work.

These mentions of biblical characters can be grouped in several thematic units (or "clues" following Picchio´s terminology). First of all, there is the subject of the last wish of the patriarchs in exile. In the first *troparion* or strophe of the 4th and 7th odes St. Clement is compared with Jacob and Joseph respectively, who on their deathbed in Egypt asked their sons to be buried in the Promised Land, Canaan[6]. Concretely, the text of these *troparia* says as follows: "Jacob, when dying, charged his sons (to be buried) in Hebron in the cave, image of the offering of

[6] Gen 49:29–32; Gen 50:24–25.

Christ's body, transferring this in a figure to the festival celebrated now." (IV.1)[7]; "Joseph gloriously set the example of carrying (his body) to the land of Canaan, the same way as he taught the celebration of your bones. Therefore, your casket, O glorious one, is worthy to be consecrated." (VII.1)[8]. This way, it's being emphasized the necessity of translating the relics of the saint to his birthplace (Rome), or to a proper place (Cherson), where they could be worshipped. Together with Jacob, in the same *troparion* is alluded Christ's body, what could be pointing out the importance of being buried in a proper place, as a condition for the resurrection.

Secondly, there is the subject of the Ark of the Covenant. In the second *troparion* of the 4th ode the casket with the remains of the saint is associated with the Ark of the Covenant, which was transferred by King David from the Philistine lands to the capital city of Israel[9]. And the relics are put on the same level as the Tables of the Law that were kept inside the Ark (скрижали in Old Church Slavonic). Literally, the strophe says: "Just as in ancient times David brought the Ark of the Covenant from the Philistine land and played (instruments), carrying now Clement's casket let us look at the Tables of the Law, for we are carrying relics who illuminate the faithful." (IV.2)[10]. The ideological purpose is clear: the relics of Saint Clement would be the symbol of the New Covenant between God and the humankind.

We can find another allusion to the Ark of the Covenant in one of the hymnographical excerpts of the *Sermon on the Translation of the Relics* (ch. VI): "Let us proceed around the casket, therefore, as around the Ark of the Covenant, not carrying in it today what Moses carried in the Ark, but an apostle who sank the deceit of the invisible enemy"[11]. Unlike the aforementioned *troparion*, where the relics and the Tables of the Law were at the same level, in this excerpt is asserted

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[7] Ѯаповѣда Иаковъ оумирая с(ъ)н(о)мъ / въ Хевронѣ въ вьртьпѣ / телесе Х(рсто)ва прѣдъложенна образъ / търъжьство нынѣ / творимоуѹмоу прѣобраѯоуя. (Mur'janov 1991: 105).

[8] Образоваше преславьно Иосифъ / како въ ѯемлю Ханѣнскоу пренести / яко оуѹаше кости твоя тържьство / тѣмь же ракоу твою славьне / ею же с(ва)тнти са сподоби. (Mur'janov 1991: 106).

[9] 2 Sam 6:1–15; 1 Par 15:1–29.

[10] Д(а)в(ы)дъ древле яко принесе ѡт(ъ) ѯемла / иноплеменьникъ / ковьчегъ играше / ракоу же нынѣ носяще / Климентовоу въѯряемъ / скрижали бо носимъ моуи / просвѣщающа вѣрныя. (Mur'janov 1991: 105).

[11] Ракоу ѡбидѣмь оубѡ яко кивѡта носяще, не яко Моусеа днес в раце, но ап(осто)ла потопляюща лесть невиднмаго врага. (Butler 1993–1994: 25; English translation: Butler 1993–1994: 35).

the superiority of the first element over the second, that is, the pre-eminence of the Christian apostolic Grace over the Mosaic Law. Likewise, this is the main idea of the *Sermon on Law and Grace* by metropolitan Ilarion of Kiev, and it goes back to the Gospel of John 1:17 (Picchio 1977: 20–22; Franklin, 1991: xxxi–xxxii, 3–4).

We would like to comment on the terms used by the hymn and the sermon in order to refer to the Ark of the Covenant. While the first one employs the old Protobulgarian loanword **ковьчегъ**, which also denotes Noah's Ark in the translation of the Gospel into Old Church Slavonic (Cejtlin, Večerka, Bláhová 1994: 286), the second one shows the Greek loanword **кивотъ**. This could support the hypothesis according which the hymnographical excerpts of the sermon would be closer to the original Greek hymn written by Constantine.

On the other hand, this passage of the sermon that we were talking about doesn't match up exactly with any of the verses of the canon, but there can be found some similarities with two verses belonging to different *troparia:* "the same way as carrying now Clement´s casket let us proceed around" (V.1)[12]; "who slays all the invisible enemies" (VIII.2)[13]. Following Naumow´s theory about the composition technique of any work in Old Church Slavonic, it would be possible to explain these parallels either as recurrent *topoi* related with the saint, or as the recycling of previous hymnographical material.

Besides such coincidences, the hymnographical quotations of the sermon and the canon just have in common the *kathisma* that we mentioned before and the first *troparion* of the 8th ode. In the *kathisma* we are told that St. Clement was favoured to receive the Word, just like St. Peter and Paul. This way, the Roman saint is given the apostolic dignity. And in the other strophe, there is one more element related with the Ark of the Covenant: the "tabernacle", that is, the tent where the Ark was kept. Once again, this element is denoted by different words in every writing: the Greek loanword **скинии** in the sermon, and the term **крина** "jug, vessel" in the hymn, that actually shares the same etymological origin with **скрыни** "chest, box". The last one appears in the Slavic version of St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews (9,4) with the meaning "Ark of the Covenant", as it is attested in the manuscript *Apostolos of Enina* (Cejtlin, Večerka, Bláhová 1994: 607). Therefore, this could be confusion between **скинии** "tabernacle" and **скрыни** "Ark of the Covenant", due to the fact that the scribe couldn't understand the Greek word. This loanword would be one more evidence of the probable link between the hymnographical excerpts of the sermon and Constantine's canon. The epithet that goes before such terms in both works is **четвероустьна** "four-sided", and it would

[12] **яко носяще ракоу нынѣ Клименътовоу обндѣмъ** (Mur'janov 1991: 105).

[13] **врагы же невиднмыа оубивающа вса** (Mur'janov 1991: 107).

allude to the four sides of the tabernacle (one for every cardinal point), as it is related in the Book of Exodus (Ex 26:14-30). It is well known the cosmological interpretation that some Jewish writers gave to the tabernacle, such as Philo and Josephus (Koester 1989: 59–63). The word **ѵетвероѵастьна** may also refer to the four sacred objects that were kept inside of the "holy of holies", following the description of the Epistle to the Hebrews (Hebr 9:2-4): the lamp stand, the table, the golden incense altar and the Ark of the Covenant. That's why we disagree both with Mur'janov[14] and Vereščagin[15], who consider that in this passage the Ark of the Covenant is being referred to, forgetting the tabernacle.

The third main theme of the canon is the destruction of paganism. This is represented by the biblical character of King Josiah[16], who eradicated the idolatry in Israel and, according to the hymn, established the worship of the sepulchre of the mysterious "man of God". This anonymous prophet had predicted the end of the idolatry in the reign of king Jeroboam[17]. In the canon, it is said: "Set the example in the ancient times the glorious and pure Josiah, establishing the worship of the venerable bones belonging to the sepulchre of the man of God, as it is truly sung by the books. Therefore, now we never stop worshipping your relics" (IX.1)[18]. Actually, what Josiah said was to leave his bones alone, not to worship them. Anyway, this episode reminds us very much of the finding of St. Clements relics by Constantine-Cyril, and their respective missions against paganism. There is a detail in the biblical context which highlights even more this amazing coincidence, and reveals us the deep knowledge of the Scriptures showed by the author. Among the idols destroyed by Josiah were the so called *asherim*, tree-trunks which symbolized the Assyrian goddess of fertility *Asherah*, being set up under the shade of green trees. It's impossible not to associate this detail with the passage of *Vita Constantini* (ch. XII) where we are told how the Byzantine missionary managed to persuade the inhabitants of *Ful'*, close to Cherson, to cut down and burn the big oak worshipped by them under the name of *Aleksandr'* (Angelov, Kodov 1973: 103). From this we can infer that the author of the canon, or at least of this *troparion*, was acquainted with Constantine's Life, and therefore, it was written after his death by a different person.

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[14] Mur'janov 1991: 140-141.

[15] Vereščagin 1996: 188; Vereščagin 2001: 144.

[16] 2 Reg 23:16–18.

[17] 1 Reg 13:1–32.

[18] **Образоваше древле славьнъıн / ѵ(ь)стьнъıмъ ѵ(н)стъ / Носнıа ѵ(є)л(о)в(ѣ)ка божнıа гробъ / костьıн дана ѵьташе / ако же книжьноıе поютъ са вѣрно / тѣмь же твоıа моущн / нънѣ ѵьтоѵще не прѣстаıемъ.** (Mur'janov 1991: 107–108).

Among the biblical motifs of the hymn, the expression дрѣва мастїта "leafy trees" is referring precisely to the same subject, alluding to the verses of the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel[19]. All of them deal with the idolatry of Israel. In Jeremiah 3, 6 is mentioned also the king Josiah, and in Ezekiel (Ez 6:13, 20:28) we can find the same expression together with another element: благооуханиѥ, that is, the "fragrance" of the incense offered by the pagans to their gods. Both motifs appear together in the canon too, connected to the name of Isaiah: "The voice cried out by Isaiah verily stopped today. He appeared like a leafy tree, like "endless" fragrance. Let us rejoice carrying now Saint Clement" (I.3)[20]. In different *troparia*, the leafy trees worshipped by the Israelites and the fragrance of their offerings are replaced by the "leafy holy relics" (VI.1)[21], and their "odour of sanctity" (III.2)[22]. This image of the saint's relics as a leafy tree is related to other biblical quotations speaking about the bones of the righteous man, such as Isaiah (Jes 66:14) "(...) and your bones shall flourish like an herb (...)", or the Psalm (Ps 92:12–14) "The righteous shall flourish like the palm tree: he shall grow like a cedar in Lebanon. Those that be planted in the house of the Lord shall flourish in the courts of our God. They shall still bring forth fruit in old age; they shall be fat and flourishing".

Other recurring motifs of the canon are the images of the saint as a heavenly body or as an eternal spring. In the verses "like northern luminary, O glorious one" (V.2)[23] and "Like sunshine never setting, appear to us" (IX.2)[24], the saint is compared with the northern star and the sun. This comparison has its origin in the fact that the relics were shining when they were found, as we are told in the *Sermon on the Translation*: "(...) suddenly there shone before us from the very depths the radiant stars of the other members which had been preserved (...)"[25] (Butler 1993–1994: 34). But the same image appears also in the canons devoted to Constantine and Methodius. It may allude to the activity of these saints as "Illuminators" of the heathens. We must remember that the Greek words φώτισμα and φωτισμός "illumination" were used in the patristic vocabulary as synonyms of

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[19] Jes 57:5; Jer 2:20, 3:6.13; Ez 6:13, 20:28.

[20] Коньуа сѧ въ нстнноу глас(ъ) / нже въꙁпи Исаиа д(ь)н(ь)сь / ѩвнша сѧ ако дрѣва мастїта / бл(а)гооуханиа коньуаема / Климента с(ва)т(а)го ѩже нынѣ носаще / вселнмъ сѧ. (Mur'janov 1991: 104).

[21] моци с(ва)тыа мастнтъı (Mur'janov 1991: 106).

[22] Бл(а)гооуханиѥ (Mur'janov 1991: 104).

[23] свѣтнла ако сѣверьска славьне (Mur'janov 1991: 105).

[24] Ꙗко с(ъ)лн(ь)це свѣтло неꙁаходаще ѩвн сѧ намн (Mur'janov 1991: 108).

[25] абїе ѡт(ъ) пренспѡдних н проүнх оүдѡвъ съхранени свѣтлыа звѣꙁдъı намь воснаша (Butler 1993–1994: 25).

βάπτισμα "baptism" (Lampe 1961: 1509–1510). St. Clement is called "Illuminator" in the *kathisma*, one of the strophes shared by both the hymn and the sermon. It is significant that they use different words to denote this epithet: **просвѣтитель** in the canon, and **просвѣщьникъ** in the sermon, being attested the second one in much older manuscripts (Mur'janov 1991: 131–132).

Likewise, we can find the image of the saint as an eternal spring in two different *troparia*: "Spring of water running forever" (III.2)[26]; "your relics from the casket like a spring" (VIII.2)[27]. Such image refers to the biblical passage of Exodus (Ex 17:5–7), according to which Moses made water come out of a rock in the desert by smiting it with his rod, as well as to Isaiah (Jes 58:11) "And the Lord shall guide you continually, and satisfy thy soul in drought, and make fat thy bones: and thou shall be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water, whose waters fail not". On the one hand, this image dates back to a miracle attributed to Saint Clement during his exile in Cherson. According to the legendary narrative *Passio Sancti Clementis*, the Roman saint found a spring of water following the directions of a lamb (Delehaye 1936: 100). On the other hand, the motif of the spring may also be related to the custom of blessing water with the relics of the saint, as it is attested both in the *Sermon on the Translation* (Butler 1993–1994: 37), and in the *Sermon on the restauration of the Tithe Church* (Begunov 1974: 35, 37). Like this, we can confirm that such part of the ritual was preserved in the Kievan cult of St. Clement.

To summarize, all the biblical characters and allusions belonging to the three main thematic clues tie in with the figure of Constantine the Philosopher and his finding of the relics of St. Clement. Nevertheless, it is most unlikely that he was the author of the canon (as a whole), because of the following reasons: first of all, as we said before the author must have been acquainted with the *Vita Constantini* and its episode of the tree *Aleksandr'*; secondly, the hymnographical excerpts of the sermon scarcely match up with the *troparia* of the canon; and finally, it is quite unlikely that Constantine would have referred to himself as the king David or Josiah, praising himself more than St. Clement.

On the other hand, the same biblical allusions could be related also to the prince Volodimer and his introduction of the Christian Faith into the Rus'ian lands. According to this, Volodimer would be the new king David, translating the casket with the relics of the saint (the new Ark of the Covenant) to the capital city of his kingdom. Actually, Volodimer was compared also with the king David by metropolitan Ilarion in his *Sermon on the Law and Grace* (Müller 1962: 121;

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[26] **Источьника присно текоуща** (Mur'janov 1991: 104).

[27] **моущи твоа ѡт(ъ) раки яко же истокъ** (Mur'janov 1991: 107).

Franklin 1991: 23). Besides, Volodimer eradicated the idolatry in the Kievan Rus', just like did king Josiah in Israel.

However, there is no solid evidence to affirm the Russian origin of the canon. On the contrary, there can be found some South Slavic linguistic features, such as the archaic form of the place name **Херсонь**, attested also in *Codex Suprasliensis* (Cejtlin, Večerka, Bláhová 1994: 761), instead of the Old Russian variant **Корсунь** (Karskij 1926–1927: 109,2). In any case, we cannot dismiss the possibility of previous hymnographical material used in this canon.

Finally, we can conclude that in order to date more precisely the composition of the canon it will be necessary to compare it with other hymnographical and non hymnographical works devoted to St. Clement of Rome, as well as to the same type of saint "apostle", like St. Constantine-Cyril, St. Methodius, their disciples, or even the prince Volodimer, who was likened to an apostle by metropolitan Ilarion (Müller 1962: 126; Franklin 1991: xxxv, 20, 25).

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Some Notes on the Motif of Conversion to Christianity of the Bulgarians in *Chronica Pontificum Romanorum* by Thomas Ebendorfer*

Stilyana Batalova

One of the main groups of Latin historical works of the late Middle Ages is the one of the papal chronicles. In them the events, as a rule, are presented in the chronological sequence within the pontificate of every single pope.

The history of the papal chronicles could be divided into three periods and each of them was under the impact of a significant work. It is a matter of the following three historiographical works: *Liber Pontificalis* (6th – 12th c.), *Martini Oppaviensis Chronicon Pontificum et Imperatorum* and *Flores chronicorum seu catalogus pontificum Romanorum Bernardi Quidonis.*[1]

In the second half of the 13th c. the *Chronicon Pontificum et Imperatorum* by Martin of Oppava was adopted as a model for a papal chronicle.[2] It is preserved into three main recensions, the most wide-spread of which extends to the pontificate of pope John XXI.[3]

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[1] Melville 1991: 33

[2] Martin of Oppava (Troppau), is also known as Martinus Polonus, because he was member of the Polish Dominican order. For the first time his name was attested in a document from 1 May 1261, where he is mentioned as a *penitentiary* at the Roman Curia. After the election of pope Gregory X, in 1278 Martin was appointed as an archbishop of Gnesen, but he died before taking his seat. His *Chronicon Pontificum et Imperatorum* was published by L. Weiland, see (Weiland 1872: 377–475).

[3] John XXI (XX) – a Roman pontiff (1276–1277); for the three recensions of *Chronicon Pontificum et Imperatorum*, see (Melville 1991: 33); A.-D. von den Brinken speaks about five *groups*, not recensions, according to graphical criteria or arrangement of the two parallel texts – the one about the popes, and the other about the emperors, see in Bărlieva 1998: 39, note 59.

In fact, this universal chronicle in particular is organized systematically, but it is quite uncritical of historical data. [4] The innovation, presented in comparison to the papal chronicles of the previous period (6th – 12th c.), is the synoptic and synchronized arrangement of the events of the history of the popes and the emperors. Consequently, the main goals of the chronicler were rather practical than scientific.

Soon after its compilation *Chronicon Pontificum et Imperatorum* by Martin of Oppava became wide-spread and turned into a model for imitation. Thus, for a while, the characteristic aspiration of the former chroniclers (6th – 12th c.)for historical veracity yielded to the interest of fabulous facts. The end of that tendency, perhaps, was in 15th c., when the humanists tried to impose the acceptance of the historical criticism. Therefore the works dating back from the 15th c. are valuable not only for tracing out the development of a historiographical motif, but should also be studied as an evidence for sources, which did not reach so far.

The chronicle by Martin of Oppava contains a text about the pontificate of pope Nicolaus I, which was interpreted in some papal chronicles from the 15th c., including in *Chronica pontificum Romanorum* by Thomas Ebendorfer – a famous German theologist and historian, who began his studies at the University of Vienna. There he received his B.A. degree in 1409 and his M.A. in 1412. After finishing his studies he combined the activities as a doctor of theology, later as a professor, with the duties of a priest. Thomas Ebendorfer also made a political and diplomatic career, which began at the Council of Basel in 1432–1434, where he represented the University of Vienna. From 1440 to 1444 he was an ambassador of Friedrich III. Around the middle of June 1442 Ebendorfer accompanied Friedrich III for his consecration as a king in Aachen, and later in March 1452 – for his enthronization as an emperor of the Holy Roman empire in Rome.

The years spent by Ebendorfer in Basel (1432–1434) were of great importance for changing his previous political ideas.[5] In fact, this was precisely the reason for the controversial assessment given by contemporaries for his historiographical achievements.[6]

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[4] Kirsh 2007: (http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/09733a.htm); see also: (Paladini, de Marco 1987: 260), in (Bărlieva 1998: 41).

[5] Zimmermann 1998: 390.

[6] Zimmermann 1998: 403 sq.; Lhotsky 1957.

Ebendorfer's first historical work *Diarium* dates back to the same Basel period. Beside that, Ebendorfer wrote several others historical treatises, and also many sermons and theological commentaries.[7]

The first of Ebendorfer's major historical works is the *Chronica regum Romanorum*, ordered by king Friedrich III in relation to his voyage to Rome in 1452. In essence, the Chronicle is a kind of *Speculum principis*. Soon after finishing it, the historian from Vienna was overwhelmed by the idea to compose a treatise on the ecclesiastical history and thus to complement his chronicle of emperors. The influence of Martin of Opava is obvious in his intention. Thus in 1451 came out the short threatise on Papal schism from 1378[8], and soon after it Ebendorfer wrote the *Chronicon pontificum Romanorum* (furhter cited as *CPR*), which was his last. Most of these works are preserved in autographa – Cod. 3423, kept in Austrian National Library.[9]

Beginning his *Chronicon Pontificum Romanorum* in 1458, Ebendorfer worked on it until his death in 1464. The main idea of the autor was to supplement thus *Chronica regum Romanorum* and was supposed to be used for private study[10]:

> "... statui ortus et occasus summorum pontificum, ipsorum gesta, que ex variis cronicis et hystoriis...carpere potui, pro mea eciam informatione describere..."

Thus, the author's motive predetermined the search for profundity, veracity and completeness in the review of the history of the Catholic Church. As far as historical sources are concerned, I should stress that the historian from Vienna has mentioned Vincent of Beauvais as an authority only once. Nevertheless, the textual research by H. Zimmermann shows that Ebendorfer had often consulted *Speculum historiale*.[11] From it he borrowed references to Sigebert of Gembloux, Helinand of Froidmont and William of Malmesbery, pretending a direct contact with their works.

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[7] *Diarium* (ed. Birk 1857: 701–783); *Chronica Austriae* (ed. Lhotsky 1967); *Tractatus de schismatibus* (ed. Zimmermann 1954: 43–147); *Chronica pontificum Romanorum* (ed. Zimmermann 1994); *Chronica regum Romanorum* (ed. Zimmermann 2003).

[8] The Papal schism is also known as *Western schism* or *Great schism*. In fact, it was a split within the Catholic Church (1378–1417).

[9] The data are cited after Gerold 1864–1899: 287–288. See also: http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/hs/katalogseiten/HSK0751b_b0287_jpg.htm . The Papal chronicle, which includes the history of the Roman popes from St. Peter to Pius II, has been written on f. 15r–134v.

[10] After: Zimmermann 1994: 53–54.

[11] Zimmermann 1994: 13.

The fragment of the text by Sigebert of Gembloux, which concerns the conversion of the Bulgarians, convinced me that it is quite incredible Ebendorfer was using *Chronography* firsthand.[12]

Following in general the shape and content of the text by Martin of Oppava, the Cyrillo-Methodian motif and the evidence about the conversion of the Bulgarian people in Ebendorfer's chronicle are part of the text about the pontificate of Nicolaus I:

Cod Lat. 3423 (after Zimmermann 1994)
Fol.76v
[CVII Nicolaus I]

"Huius diebus rex Bulgarorum cum toto regno suo baptisatur et archiepiscopum dari sibi expetivit, ad quorum consulta plura respondit Nicolaus XXVIII D. capitulo finali et XV q. VIII capitulo finali. Ipse eciam mundum plurimum sedavit atque Phocium invasorem, de quo LXIII D. c. II, et neophitum et mechum eiecit et iuxta ritum Romane ecclesie ibi episcopum constituit.

Hic fecit ordinacionem I per Marcium presbiteros VIII, dyaconos IIII, episcopos per diversa loca LXV. Qui postquam virtuose sedem gubernavit apostolicam, ab hac luce subtractus sepultus est ydus Novembris ante fores ecclesie beati Petri. Et cessavit episcopatus annis VIII, menses VII, dies XIX. Ecce longa Romane ecclesie vacancia, sicut et VII annis vacavit post Marcellinum et I anno post passionem Martini. Sed an tunc ecclesia universalis fuerit acephala, absit, quia ipsa Romana ecclesia non est totum, sed de toto, ut XCIX D. capitulo penultumo, Christus enim est katholice ecclesie rector et caput principale, sponsus eciam unicus, thalamus, pastor, XXV q. I c. II. Papa autem paranimphus, filius, caput instrumentale secundum Bernardum ad Eugenium[13]. Hic prohibuit clamorosas venaciones clericis. Tunc sanctus Cyrillus Moravorum apostolus levavit de mari corpus sancti Clementis et Romam transtulit."

The uniting of the Cyrillo-Methodian motif, borrowed from the chronicle by Martin of Oppava, and the one about the conversion of the Bulgarians is the what is of interest here. The relation is rather mechanical than textual resembling the *Venetian chronicle* by Andrea Dandulo (14th c.)[14]. In the latter, at the beginning of the motif of the Conversion it is pointed out that "Constantine, a native from Thes-

[12] See note 16.

[13] There is a reference to Bernard of Clairveaux (12th c.) and his work *De consideratione ad Eugenium papam* IV, 23 . See: Zimmermann 1994: 297, note 23.

[14] See Book 8, ch.5, part 5–6: Muratori 1728: 13–378; Pastorello 1938–1958: 156. See also: Angelov 1972: 92; Bărlieva, Batalova 2002: 425–427.

saloniki, to whom the pope gave the name Cyril" took part in Bulgarians Christianisation, and the mission in its entirety has been an initiative of the Apostolic See.

In Ebendorfer's chronicle the two texts – the one about the conversion of the Bulgarian people and the one about the translatio Sancti Clementis I Papae – are elements in the textual frame of the narrative about the pontificate of Nicolaus I. Between them there is an "interruption" – an account about the ruling of the Roman Church by Nicolaus I. His death led to a vacancy in the Apostolic See, which ocurred only twice up to the 9th c. Ebendorfer added to this evidence a theological interpretation concerning the head of the Church, and in the very end of the narrative the transportation of the relics of St. Clement Romanus by St. Cyril is mentioned almost as a note. Nevertheless, when analyzing the elements, one should know that the evidence about the conversion of the Bulgarians is not an element of the life of Nicolaus I in Martin of Oppava' chronicle.

If searching for the historical source we draw in comparison the text about the conversion of the Bulgarians by Sigebert of Gembloux[15], we will see that this text has nothing in common with the text by Ebendorfer. In the *CPR* there is not even a trace of the narrative about the converted to Christian faith Bulgarian prince Boris, who had renounced from kingship in favor of his older son Vladimir-Rasate and went into a monastery. After the disappointment of Vladimir's ruling, Boris gathered up the reigns of his own kingship to punish his son. This narrative about the conversion of the Bulgarians by Reginon, as known, is the oldest in Western Latin historiography[16].

The mentioning of *plura consulta* led me to the suggestion that it is possible that the epistles of Nicolaus I to prince Boris-Michail have been used as a source, but unfortunately the comparison of the two texts did not confirm that supposition.

After H. Zimmermann pointed the *Liber Pontificalis,* also known as *Historia de vitis Romanorum pontificum,* as one of the Ebendorfer's sources concerning the Church history up to 12th c., even in an unidentified recension from the 14th c., I

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[15] Rex Bulgarorum ad christianismum sua gente conversus, missis ad eum a sede apostolica ministries sacri ordinis, acceptis, etiam a rege Ludowico subsidiis, adeo in fide solidatur, ut non multo post filio maiore in regnum ordinate, ipse abrenuntians seculo monachus factus sit. Sed cum filius eius iuveniliter agens ad gentilitatis cultum vellet redire, militiae cingulo et cultu regio resumpto, filium persecutus cepit et occulis eius effossis eum in carcere trusit; et filio iuniore in regnum locato, sacrum habitum recepit, et in eo usque ad finem vitae perseveravit. (Bethmann 1844: 341).

[16] See: (Pertz 1826: 580.; Kurze 1890: 95). On the topic about the conversion of the Bulgarians in Regino's chronicle see: (Zlatarski 1994: 243–244; Trifonov1927: 864–890.; Bărlieva, Batalova 2002: 421–422).

have taken it into consideration.[17] In its original form the Liber Pontificalis is a collection of papal biographies beginning with St. Apostle Peter and coming up to Stephen V (885–891).

The investigation of the text shows that most probably Ebendorfer used the *Liber Pontificalis* or a compilation with similar peculiarities as a source on the conversion of the Bulgarians.

As the later recensions of the *Liber Pontificalis* are not available to me, I am going to enclose here part of the *Life of pope Nicolaus I* (further cited as *VN*)[18], which is usualy ascribed to Anastasius the Librarian.[19] The passages that could be used by means of medieval compilation and abbreviation as a source of the *CPR* by Thomas Ebendorfer are in italics.

In § 608 from the *VN*:

„§ 608 Interea *meritis beatisimi huius* in orbe prorsus exuberantibus, operante potentia summi Dei... *Rex Bulgarum...meruit baptizari...* Et interim *sedis apostolicae missos* . Paulum scilicet Populoniensem et Formosum Portuensem, magnae sanctitatis *episcopos,* statuens, hosque monitis mellifluis atque doctrinis instruens, *ad proedicandum genti illi eos, ire decrevit.*

§609... Porro a proenominato rege Bulgarorum *apostolici missi* mente alacri magnaque suscepti devotione coeperunt salutaribus edocere populum monitis, et a minimo usque ad maximum sacro fonte cum Deo gratia abluerunt, *omnemque ritum Christianae fidei, sicut* a sanctissimo *papa instructi fuerant, in consuetudinem Bulgarorum tradiderunt.*

....*Bulgarorum rex* unumque ex his Formosum vita et moribus episcopum *sibi dari archiepiscopum expetierit.*

§610... Imperante autem Basilio in Constantinopoli, quoniam voluit Deus ipsius sancti pontificis iuges labores, quos pro sancta Constantinopolitana passus fuit Ecclesia, cum fine boni operis consummare, sicut fama se habuit, *Photius neophytus ac invasor ut moechus pellitur, et iuxta decretum sedis apostolicae patriarcha Ignatius Constantinopolitano redditur throno.*"

It is clear that in its first part the motif about the conversion of the Bulgarians in *CPR* synthesizes the content of §608–610, repeating almost a complete phrase. For example, *Archiepiscopum dari sibi expetierit* in *CPR* corresponds to *sibi dari archiepiscopum expetierit* in the *VN* from *Liber Pontificalis*. Another illustration for the propinquity between the two texts could be the fragment of *VN*, dedicated to the suspension of the Byzantine patriarch Photius.

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[17] Zimmermann 1994: 13–14

[18] Anastasius Bibliothecarius 1880: 1374–1375.

[19] Dujčev 1985: 65–70.

The unclear dating of the conversion is an oblique confirmation that the source of Ebendorfer is not a historiographical work sui generis, but a work with peculiarities similar to those of a biography. The exact year was not mentioned, not even an unreliable one. Instead of it *huius diebus* (in his days sc. of Nicolaus I) was used – as it would be in a biographical or hagiographical work.

One further argument in support of that statement is the fact that for the first time in a historiographical treatise we see evidence for the replies of the questions sent to the pope by Bulgarians and for the archbishop expected by them.[20]

From the examination of the text it became obvious that there is no link between the activities of St. Cyril and the conversion of the Bulgarians, i.e. there is no union of the cyrillo-methodian motif with that of Boris I. To certain extent such a development of the motif has been determined by the invention of unused source in Latin historiography, probably a hagiographic one, on behalf of the universal chronicler. This suggestion has been proved after tracing out the comparison between the fragments with the content needed of the *Liber Pontificalis*. In these two texts some resamblances were found which are not peculiar for the early medieval Latin historiographical narrative about the conversion of the Bulgarians.

In conclusion, it should be noted that later on, in the same century the narrative about the conversion of the Bulgarians became a significant element in the pontificate of Nicolaus I in several other chronicles – in the *Vitæ Pontificum Platinæ historici liber de vita Christi ac omnium pontificum qui hactenus ducenti fuere et XX* by Bartolomeo Sacchi, called Platina and in the *Liber chronicarum* by Hartmann Schedel.

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[20] There is no similar evidence in the chronicles and annals from the time of Bulgarian prince Boris (852–889), nor in the later ones from the 11th to the 13th c.

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The Slavonic Translation of Latin Vita of St. Anastasia the Widow and Her Companion St. Chrysogonus

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There are several Slavonic translations of saints' lives, namely the vita of St. Benedict of Nursia, of St.Vitus, of St.Apollinaris of Ravenna, of St.Stephen I the Pope, of St. George, and of St.Anastasia the Roman (the Widow), which are considered to be an evidence of the direct continuation of Cyrillo-Methodian (Great Moravian) literary tradition in Medieval Bohemia. This assumption, made at the beginning of the 20th century by the Russian scholar A. I. Sobolevskij (Sobolevskij 1903*a*, 1903*b*, 1903*c*, 1904, 1905), leans basically on the linguistic argument – in the Russian copies in which those texts are preserved (all of them later than 15th century) there are plenty of "Bohemisms" and "Latinisms". At first Sobolevskij claimed all of them have been translated at the end of the 9th century in Great Moravia (Sobolevskij 1900), but later he revised his opinion and attributed them to the activity of the 11th century Bohemian monastery of Sazava (Sobolevskij 1910). Nevertheless there were a few skeptic opinions about this attribution (Večerka 1970: 235; Večerka 1976: 105–106; Mareš 1979: 10), the hypothesis of Sobolevskij, based also on the fact that at his time no Greek sources of those works have been discovered, was commonly accepted amongst the Czech and Russian scholars (Dvorník 1970: 204–236, 344–350; Sázava 1988: 104–115). Having in mind also that there were no South Slavic copies known, all these hagiographic works have been referred as translations from Latin, done in 10th or 11th century Bohemia and in the same time as an evidence for the early medieval Czech-Russian literary communication.

Meanwhile, in the course of the second half of the 20th century, it was proved that the lives of St. George and St. Stephen I the Pope were definitely translated from Greek (Thomson 1983: 333–336; Thomson 1985), and that the lives of St. Benedict of Nursia and St. Apollinaris of Ravenna reflect Greek readings as well as Latin (Thomson 1983: 336–338; Jovčeva, Taseva 2006: 157–160, 183). As

concerned the case of St. Vitus' live, the question of the original of Slavonic translation remains still open. It appears to be clear already that there are extant Greek texts which could be considered as its possible sources (Dobrev 1981: 28, 32 note 62; Ehrhard 1938: I, 297, 344; Jovčeva 2006: 12). Moreover a considerable amount of the so called "Latinisms" in the text could be regarded as peculiar to the Old, and even to the contemporary, Bulgarian speech (Dobrev 1981: 29–30; Jovčeva 2006: 13–14). The profound linguistic analysis of the live of St. Apollinaris of Ravenna revealed linguistic features specific for the region of the Balkan Slavs (Jovčeva, Taseva 2006: 187–189). Furthermore, recently discovered original Old Bulgarian parts in the services for St. Stephen I the Pope and for Apollinaris of Ravenna give a stable ground for the hypothesis of Bulgarian origin of the translation of their lives (Jovčeva 2001, 2002). All this studies, however, appear to be either not taken into account, either not considered to be convincing enough for the Czech and Russian adherents of the traditional opinion which obviously has not been changed (Turilov, Florja 2002: 430–431).

As already noted, it is stated that none of the above-mentioned hagiographic works have left any traces in the written tradition of the Balkans. However, at least at the case of the life of St. Anastasia and Chrysogonus it turned out that there is a written evidence of its presence in the South Slavic literacy. Thus, up to the present moment there are already three manuscripts of this life known – two Russian, known from the beginning of the 20th century, and one Serbian by its orthography on which I came across a few years ago. The earliest Russian copy, dated from the beginning of the 16th century, is kept in the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg (sign. Q. I. 320 = Tolst.II, 364) and the later one, from the end of the same century, is a part of the collection of Undolskij in the State Library in Moscow (sign f. 310, 230)[1]. The single Serbian copy, dated from the last quarter of the 14th century, is kept now in the Archive of Croatian Academy of Science in Zagreb[2]. The text here is included under the date of 24th of November

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[1] For more details about Russian copies, see (Atanasova 2006*a*: 30, notes 19 and 20; Atanasova 2006*b*: 125, notes 3 and 4). The text was edited for the first time by Sobolevskij (1903: 323–326), and later reprinted in the edition of the Menaia Chet'i of mitropolit Makarij (Velikie Minei 1907: col. 1656–1660), and twice more by G. Kappel (Kappel 1971: 11–18) and by F.V. Mareš (Mareš 1979: 163–168).

[2] More details and the relevant bibliography, see (Atanasova 2006*a*: 30, notes 35 and 36; Atanasova 2006*b*: 125, note 1).

and announced as a "Martyrdom of St. Chrysogonus and St. Martyr Anastasia" (мнїе сто хрисогона и стые мнице анастасне) unlike the two Russian miscellanies in which it is listed under 21/22 of December and is entitled as a "Martyrdom of St. Anastasia" (мунїе стыа анастасїа).

The Latin text (BHL № 1796)[3] from the 12th century parchment codex from Bibliotheca Ambrosiana Mediolanensis (sign. E 84c), published by G. Kappel (Kappel 1971: 9–19, the text under the line),[4] is entered as "Martyrdom of St. Chrysogonus ("Passio sancti Grissogoni martyris") under 24th of November as noted at its end: "passus est autem beatus Grissogonus martyr Cristi die octavo Kalendarum decembrium sub Diocliciano imperatore, regnate domino nostro Iesu Cristo, cui est honor et gloria in secula seculorum. AMEN. pridie Kalendas decembres"[5]. Hence, it appears quite reasonable to suggest that in the 14th century Serbian copy the work was included as a text for the individual celebration of St. Chrysogonus in accordance with the Roman calendar rather than as a text for the feast of St. Anastasia the Widow, whose feast in the Orthodox tradition is celebrated on 22 of December (Atanasova 2006*a*: 33–35). The Serbian copy and the two Russian ones represent the same translation and go back to one common Slavic prime source. They belong to two different branches of the initial Slavonic translation that were based on two independent protographs – one Russian and one South Slavonic, although the differences between them are not that considerable (Atanasova 2006*b*: 1127–128).

It might be suggested that the life of St. Anastasia and Chrysogonus belongs to those Slavonic texts that were translated from Greek sources of a South-Italian origin, for a Greek life of St. Chrysogonus is attested at 23d of November[6] in the one volume menology for the whole year of Italian-Greek origin, Cod. Vat. gr. 866 from the 11th –12th century (Ehrhard 1938: I, 342[48]). Tracing back the history of the Old Bulgarian translation of the books of menologies in respect to their direct Greek sources, the Bulgarian scholar I. Dobrev points out that the reading

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[3] BHL 1188–1899: 270; BHL 1986: 208.

[4] As noted by Kappel the text is located at f. 266a–267a (Kappel 1971), while according to the printed description of the manuscript (Catalogus 1892: 307–319) it is the 90th reading in the codex, placed at f. 262r–263r between the lives of St. Clement and St. Andrew (Catalogus 1892: 317). Here is also noted down the precise date, i.e. "VI kalendas decembris", under which the live is included in the codex, while in the Kappel's edition this information is not rendered (Comp. Catalogus 1892: 317 and Kappel 1971: 9).

[5] Kappel 1971: 17.

[6] The name of saint Chrysogonus is listed at 24th of November as a fifth commemoration of the day in the Synaxarium of the Constantinople Church, but his life is enclosed at 22d of December (Delehaye 1902: 333–338).

about St. Erasmus (02.06.) from the 11th century Russian miscellany known as "Uspenskij miscellany" is not attested in the Byzantine multivolume menologies, but only in the same Greek manuscript, known also as *Codex Sirmondianus* (Dobrev 1981: 37), where the Greek life of St.Vitus is included (Dobrev 1981: 32, note 62; Ehrhard 1938: I, 344[102-103]). However, the comparison of all the extant Greek lives of St. Anastasia and Chrysogonus with the Slavonic version proves that none of them could be considered as its direct source and, as already pointed out by Fr. Thomson, there is no doubt that the text was translated from a Latin source (Thomson 1983: 345–347).

In accordance with the opinion of Fr. Thomson here I will point out only in brief two circumstances supporting this suggestion. At the first place, it should be noted that the Latin word *anus* (with the meaning of "woman", "old woman") remained not translated, but rather transliterated in Slavonic version as анось or анасъ[7], most likely perceived by the translator as a personal name. This reading could hardly reflect a Greek source (Atanasova 2006*b*: 129), especially having in mind that the Greek translation of the longer Latin life of St. Chrysogonus (BHG № 81–81a)[8] uses in this place the word γραῦς[9] which is the precise equivalent of Latin *anus* in its meaning of *old woman*. At the second place, it could be suggested that in the same way, i.e. as a personal name, was perceived also the Latin word *pretextatus* (*filia pretextati*), rendered in Slavonic translation as дьщере, протокта or протекта. Obviously perceived as a personal name this word is attested in Greek manuscripts of saint's life in variants such as Πρεπεξτάτου, Πραιτεξτάτου, πραιπεξάτου and others, but none of them could be considered close enough to the Slavic version (Atanasova 2006*b*: 129–130)[10]. Thus, the Slavonic version of the life of St. Anastasia and Chrysogonus could be considered as the only one of those hagiographic works, which is with no doubt translated from a Latin original. The only one extant South Slavic Serbian copy of this translation is an evidence that the text was known, although only sporadically spread[11], in the Slavonic written tradition of the Balkans, even though it is hardly

[7] Thomson 1983: 346, note 87.

[8] BHG 1957: 25; BHG 1984: 19. See also (Thomson 1983: 345, notes 84, 85.). – Ed.: Halkin 1973: 89–131.

[9] Halkin 1973: 92.

[10] In the printed edition of the Menaia Chet'i of Mitropolit Makarij on that occasion is noted that "Въ греческой служебной Минеи св. Анастасия названа дочерью някоего Препексаста" (Velikie Minei 1907: col. 1656, note 8).

[11] St. Anastasia and Chrysogonus are amongst those few saints who are not mentioned in the earliest Slavonic church rules, but whose lives are included in the earliest Slavonic reading menaion books (Atanasova 2007: 12)

to say where and when exactly this translation could have been done. Since the Serbian copy of this text has not been investigated in it its relations to the Russian ones, I considered it to be worthy to be edited.

The following edition of the text reflects the Mss III c 24 from Zagreb, which is the oldest one. The variants from the manuscript Q.I.320 kept in St. Petersburg (marked here with P) are given according to the edition of Kappel (Kappel 1971: 11 –18, main text). The variants from the manuscript № 230 from the collection of Undolskij kept in Moscow (marked here with M) are given according to the edition of Kappel (Kapell 1971: 18, variants) as well as according to my observations *de visu* from the manuscript, which I got during my stay in Moscow in 2005. The variants according to the Menaia Chet'i of mitropolit Makarij are marked as follows: the main text with Mak, the variants according to the Uspenski copy with U and according to Carski copy with C. In those cases in which the Slavonic copies reveal a big discrepancy between each other as well as in the cases of disparity of word order, after the variant I note down in brackets the Latin version according to the Mss E 84c from Bibliotheca Ambrosiana Mediolanensis, as edited by Kappel (Kappel 1971). I render the text of Mss III c 24 with maximum exactness in the respect of its punctuation and graphics, but I do not render its diacritic signs. The variants reflect lexical, syntactical and morphological peculiarities of Russian copies, but not the phonetic features inherent to the Russian usus.

The Slavonic translation of the Latin vita of St. Anastasia the Widow and her companion St. Chrysogonos

Text

f. 338 b

Мц҃а ѡ҃[тг] [1] [2] .кд҃.[3] дн҃ь.[4] м҃нїе [5] ст҃го хрисогона. н[6] с҃тые[7] м҃нце[8] анастасне.[9] [10] вл҃ко бл҃вн[11] ⁘

Вь врѣмена днѡклнтнана неуьстнваго ц҃ра. .прогонѥнніе[12] [13] хр҃тнѧнскоѥ растѣаше нанпаѵе[14]. бѣ же етерь мѫжь[15] нменемь хрисогонь. тоа҃[16],е҃, лѣ҃[17] вь свеза҃[18], за нме б҃жне посаж҃ень[19]. н ѡ҃ прогоннкь многымн пакостмн моучень. нже ѡ҃ блжнныѥ[20] анастасніе[21] дьшере протокта[22]. [23]оу ѥтера[24] же уьстна моужа пнщею жнвлѧше се[25]. вь нстнноу бо[26] по подѵенню[27] с҃таго а҃пла павла[28] твораше[29] все. да[30] тако же онь[31] пожннаше[32] тѣлеснаа. тако же[33] н она [34] д҃ховнаа сѣмена ѡ҃ нѥго[35]. жнвота вѣчнаго прїнмоваше[36]. юже тако вь[37] вѣрѣ вьспнтѣ[38], н равнѫ

вѣрнымь съ҃творн. вь нстннѡу[39] хоуѫ҆ьшїнмь[40] одѣаннѣмь одѣваше҃[41]. аще н[42] ѹ҃тнааго[43] рода[44] соущїн[45]. тако ннако[46] [47]хр҃ь слѫга[48] вь свезахъ[49] дрьжнмь посѣщатн се[50] не можаше.[51] нь тькмо отан[52] лю҆ ннца се[53] на землн, льжѫщн[54] твораше[55]. да бн богатство обрѣла нр҃сное. //

f. 338 c

сь ѥднною же отроковнцею тьмнницоу[56] обхо҆ждаше.[57] н[58] по тьмнницамь лю҆скымь[59] страже[60] тьмнныные.[61] [62]тако можааше[63] мь҆ою нанмаше[64]. да[65] бы свободно тьмнныннкы[66] [67]могла посѣщатн.[68] вьходещи же[69] вь тьмнницѫ, н[70] вс҃ѣ скрбьнмь ѥлнко можаше[71] слѫжаше.[72] ѫмнваше[73] ногы. помазаше[74] главы. ѹесаше[75] власы, юже на дль҃.[76] н заклепы тьмнныны дрьжахѫ.[77] такоже внноу[78] творещн[79]. н[80] ѡ подроужнга ѫ[81] [82]немощн мѫдещи оста.[83] оув҃ѣв же се[84] моужь нее пѫплїн[85]. страже[86-87] хра҃мѣ своѥ҃. таковы[88] прнставн.[89] нже[90] окьнца[91] ен зв҃ѣзды ѥдноѥ вьхода не пѫстнше[92] вндѣтн[93]. хр҃їсогон[94] же моужь бжїн бѣ тоа҆ ѫ воурфа[95] ѥтера весннка[96]. ѥго же гь҃ спс҃ь хр҃ь сь всею[97] ѹеладнею[98] своею[99] хр҃їсогономь[100] прнплодн[101] к[102] себѣ. вь нстнноу же не обрѣте ннкого же, ѥго же бн послаль кь анастасїн. анось[103] же ѥтера хр҃їстнана[104], обрѣте се[105] соущаа соусѣда с҃тѣн анастасїн[106]. таже пеуаше҃[107] вь нстнноу кр҃щенн҃ѥ[108], тако м҃тн ма҆нцемь. творещї ѫ҆помощь н[109] вс҃ѣмь зналема бѣше[110]. та вь домь анастасннь вьшшн.[111] наѹеть[112] бытн соль[113] ѡ ннее, н ѡ[114] вс҃ѣ нсповѣдннкь г҃нь. ѥе[115] же с҃ты хр҃їсогонь[116] прѣсвѣтлѣн вс҃ѣ прѣбы҃[117]. [118] ѡ с҃тѥ же //

f. 338 d

астасне[119] послаѧнѫ. прнѣть[120] снцевоу[121] рѣчь нмоущн. с҃ты нсповѣднчуе хр҃їсогоне[122]. аще н ѡщь мн[123] слѫга ндолскь[124] бѣ. то м҃тн мога фаоуста[125] [126]хр҃їстнана бѣ н ѹнса҃[127] таже ме нз мла҆ хр҃тнанѫ съ҃творн[128] н по ние[129] ошьствы[130] [131]ѥсмь ѥмѫ[132] ноудима прнвѣна, моужѫ трѣбнщнннкоу[133]. ѥго же бог шедрешѫ ложа[134] льжещн[135] немощню[136] ѫклонн҃ се н хр҃ѣхъ стопахъ пр҃ню прнстахъ[137]. ѥго же подрѫжнне моѥ недостонть[138] сы[139] прѣльстн[140] слѫже[141] жнвїн. н[142] тьщнтью[143] н ме тако вльхвоу вь тьмнницн горшнн з҃творнтн[144]. тако же н[145] мню, тако же н жнвот мн тѣлесны[146] оставнтн[147]. ннуесо же вещ ѥ҃ нь тьчню[149] ѡпоущенне[150] а҆ѯоу, съмрти повнннa[151] ѥсмь. вь нѣн же нсповѣды[152] г҃а[153] моего спс҃а хр҃а, ѹ҃тьноую[154] славѫ[155]. н сего а҆ра те прошоу[156] ѹлуе бжїн, да беспрѣстанн[157] г҃а[158] молншн за ме[159]. аз[160] же[161] ѫмрѣтн готова ѥсмь, нежелн[162] бжна с҃на[163] ѡврѣщн[164] се. м҃лн[165] ѹлуе бжїн, помнн[166] ме послаѧнноу[167], сь вс҃ѣмн нсповѣднкы. съ҃творн н ѫтѣшна словеса напн҃хъ[168]. тебе[169] же на вѣроу хр҃оу[170] ѫтврьдн. бы҃ же тоа҆ поуплїн[171] моужѫ нее на съвѣтѣ сѣдещѫ наснльство[172] ноудимн нтн на перскѫ землю. пеуалнь же кь[173] домоу[174] вьзвраш се. с҃тѣн[175] анастасїн таковоу[176] задѣ[177] стражбѫ[178], да свѣ //

f. 339 [a]

та ю ѿрещеть[179], и живота. рекь стражемь аще възвращоу се[180] и[181] живѣ ю обрѣщоу, все вы погоублю. [182]то же того[183] рⷣа твораше[184], да бн богатствоу[185] ѥе всемоу[186] гⷭь[187] быль[188]. стоую же анастасню стражнѣ[189] тако ѻ̑ахѣ[190] тако нн водн ѥн даюшн[191]. тогда она вь тѣзѣ[192] мнешн конуатн се[193]. напнса кь[194] стмѣ[195] хрїсогоноу[196] [197]. конунна тѣлесе моего прїнде, поменн ме[198] да нздоушоую дшѣ мою ть[199] прїнметь. занже любве рⷣа[200] трьплю, [201]тако нзь отрешн[202] мн [203] вѣсн[204]. кь семоу [205]хрїсогонь стын[206] вьзмагаѥ[207], и оутѣшнаа[208] словеса, и сьвршеноу вѣроу ен напⷬвь[209]. и[210] поѣстн ю[211] да бн доблествнѥ[212] вса снн за [213]нме хⷬо[214] прѣтрыпѣла[215]. прнклоун же се[216] моужоу ѥе на поутн смрть, и прнвезань[217] бы вь ладнн[218]. и всн нже[219] стрѣжахоу[220] [221]стоую анастню[222] разбѣгоше се[223]. нзьшшн[224] же стаа[225] нзбавленна. и[226] прїнде кь стмоу хрнсогонѣ[227], и вса емѣ [228] сьтворена ен[229] [230] сказа. распроданоу же всемоу[231] богатствоу[232] ѥе бывшѣ. [233]облькшн же се вь простнѥ рнзы[234]. тьмнчннкы[235] постѣшаше[236]. и тако же оун свон[237] тако и рабы бжнѥ[238], елнко можаше[239] хранѣаше[240]. тоⷣа дноклнтнань[241], на аквнльсцѣю[242] странѣ бы[243]. многы
страны[244] нзбавн[245], и напнса кь[246] кнезѣ румьскааго[247] гⷣа, все хⷬтнаны нзбытн. //

f. 339 [b]

ѥдного же хрїсогона[248] [249]кь себѣ повелѣ прнвестн[250]. томоу же послѣдоующн [251]ста анастасна[252], и ѳгоднаа боу слѣга. и[253] вь аквнлѣ[254] мнгымь стмь бжїнмь сьтворн слоужбы[255]. дноклнтнан[256] же еⷣа[257] вндѣ[258] хрїсогона. [259] ндолѡ пожрѣтн не може прнноуднтн и[260]. повелѣ и[261] вь мѣстѣ еже ѳ водь нсⷯны [262] усѣкноутн. и тѣло ѥго на брⷬгь нзврьжено бы. [263]тоⷣа же[264] трн вешн хⷬтнанне[265] сь спⷭомь[266] зонлемь[267], прншьше[268] вьзеше тѣло мⷩка[269] сто[270], и утное сьхранше[272]. емѣ же вь снѣ сказано бы мѣсто то[273]. нде же море главѣ ѥго нзьврьже, тоу же прншь обрѣте ю, тако и вь ть[274] уⷣа[275] ѳсѣкновенноу[276] бывшѣ[277]. и прнесь [278]тѣлесе его прложн. и самь ста зонль по .л.[279] днїн[280] блжнны [281] прїнде кь [282]спⷭѣ хⷬоу[283]. анастасна[284] же. [285]многымн моукамн разлнуымн[286] мⷩна. многы же[287] пⷭѣ собою хⷬтнаны, казаннемь[288] свонмь[289] [290] мню[291] пⷭставн [292] хⷬоу. послѣдже[293] [94] .ро. [295] моужскь[296] [297]поль298 и женьскь[299] прнвⷬ. она же[300] по[301] роуцѣ и по[302] ногѣ свезана[303] соущн. по лалкы[304] [305]посⷭѣ огнѣа вьстьуена[306]. гоу давцоу прѣдⷣ дхь. юже апелнана[307] кⷬтнана[308] утна вешь, ⷬно[309] погребе ю[310].и над нею црквь сьтворн, вь нмен же прославлаѥт се [311] бѣ всемогын. нже цроу[312]. [313] //

Variants:

[1] декавꙋра P, декавꙋра M. [2] add. въ P, M. [3] .ка. P, .кв. M. [4] om. P, M. [5-6] om. P, M, Mak. [7] стыа P, M, свѧтыа Mak. [8] om. P, M, Mak. [9] анастасїа P, M. [10-11] гн. блвї P, блгословн ѡуе M, add. .Глⷭ. .вг. P, om. Mak. [12] гоⷨ нїе P, M, Mak (persecucio). [13-14] бы хртїаньсько P, M, Mak (maxime crassabatur). [15] add. бжїн P, M, Mak [16-17] въ .в. ѣ лѣто P, въ ,в, лѣте M, въ в лѣтѣ Mak (per biennium). [18] вⷭа P, M, Mak (in vinculis). [19] посаженъ P, Mak. [20] блⷭнꙋны P, M, Mak (beata). [21] анастасїа P, M, Mak (Anastasia). [22] протекта P, M, Mak (pretextati). [23-24] вѳера P, Mak, оуфера M. [25] ожнвлаше P, M, Mak. [26] om. P, M, Mak [27] вуннїю P, M, Mak. [28] Паоула Mak. [29] творѧаше P, M, C. [30] до P. [31] add. еа P, ем M, Mak (illa) [32] пожнмаше P, пожнмаше C (metebat). [33] om. P, M, Mak. [34-35] ѡ него дховнам сѣмена P, M, Mak (ab eo spiritualia semina). [36] прїнмаше P, M, прїнмаше Mak. [37] om. Mak. [38] възпѣта P, воспнта M, Mak (nutrivit). [39] add. же P. M, Mak. [40] хвжшнⷨ P, M, хвжьшнⷨ Mak. [41] одѣаше P, одѣав ся M, wдѣваашесѧ Mak (induebat). [42] om. Mak. [43] велнка P, M, Mak (nobilis). [44] родоу Mak (generis). [45] свща Mak (fuisset). [46] еднакъ P, едначе M, еднако Mak (non aliter). [47-48] хвъ слвгъ P, M, Mak (cristi milites). [49] въ вⷭа P, въ соузахъ M, Mak (in vinculis). [50] om. P, M, Mak. [51] можаше P. [52] тан P, M, Mak (cultu). [53] om. P, M. [54] лшщы P, лжоущн M, лжющн Mak. [55] твораше P, творѧщн M, твореше Mak. [56] om. M. [57] обхождаше P. [58] om. M. [59] add. н M. [60] стража P, M, Mak (custodies). [61] темнуныа P, M темнунникъ Mak (carcerum). [62-63] om. P, M (prout potuit). [62-66] om. Mak. [64] нанмоваше P, M. [65] add. да P. [66] темнунникъ P, M, Mak. [67-68] посѣщатн могла P, M, Mak (visitare poterat). [69] om. P, M, Mak. [70] om. P, Mak. [71] можаше P, M, C. [72] om. P, M, Mak (ministravit). [73] вмываше P, C. [74] помазаше P, M, C. [75] чесаше P, C. [76] om. P, M. [77] дръжаахв P, C. [78] вынв P, M, Mak. [79] творѧще P, твореще M (ageret). [80] om. Mak. [81] om. P, M. [82-83] не мвгвщн вставтⷨ P, M, не могвщн оуставтнсѧ Mak (simulata infirmitate cessaret). [84] om. P. [85] пвплн P. M, Mak. [86] стража P, Mak, стражь M (custodies). [87] add. во P, M, Mak. [88] add. же P. [89] стражн P. M, Mak (instituit). [90] add. н Mak. [91] окона P, Mak, н конца M (per fenestrelle). [92] попвстнша P, пвстнша M, поствпнша Mak. [93] вѣднтн P (aspicere). [94] хрвсогонъ P, M, Mak. [95] om. P, M, Mak (Rufum). [96] сотнника P, M, Mak (vicarium). [97] со всѣⷨ P, M, Mak (cum omni). [98] домⷨ P, M, Mak (domo). [99] своⷨ P, M, Mak (sua). [100] Хрвсогонъ же Mak. [101] прнплодн P, M, прнплодникъ Mak (lucratus est). [102] .к. P, om. Mak. [103] анасъ M (anus). [104] add. жена P, M, Mak. [105-106] свщн стѣн анастасїн сосѣда P, M, Mak (inveniebatur manens in vicinio sancte Anastasie). [107] пеуаше P. [108] хрїстнане во нстнв P, M, крїана,

во нстнnнѫ Mak. (cristianorum etiam). [109] om. P, M, Mak. [110] бѣаше P. [111] add. н Mak. [112] наѹа̑ P, наѹатъ M, Mak. [113] посолъ P, M, Mak (legata). [114] ѡ P, M, Mak. [115] ею P, M, Mak. [116] хрнсогонъ P, Mak, хрвсогонъ P. [117] пребы P, M. [118-119] ѿ с̑тыа же анас̑тасїа P, M (a beata Anastasia). [120] прїатн P, M, Mak. [121] снцѫ P, M, Mak. [122] хрвсогоне P, M. [123] мон P, M, Mak (meus). [124] ндолес̑къ P, M, Mak (idolorum). [125] дѧвс̑та P. [126-127] om. P, M, Mak (cristianissima erat et casta). [128-129] ед же по P, M. Mak (post cuius). [130] ошес̑твїн P, Mak, отшествїн M (discessum). [131] add. се P, M, Mak. [132] om. P, M, Mak. [133] требещ̑нкѫ P, требнщнкѵ M, Mak. [134] лжа M. [135] л̑жѫщн P, M, лжющн Mak. [136] помощїю P (infirmitate). [137] прнстаах P, M, C. [138] недос̑тонъ P, M, Mak (indigne). [139] add. н M. [140] прелес̑тн P, M, Mak. [141] слвжа P, M, Mak. [142] om. P, Mak. [143] т̑щепнтїа P, тъщепнтїа M, Mak. [144] зат̑ворн P, M. [145] om. P, M, Mak. [146] телес̑ныа P, M, тѣлесныи Mak. [147] ѫностн P, M, Mak (amittere suspicor). [148] вще P, M, вщьше Mak (nihil enim). [149] тоуїю P, M, Mak. [150] ѿпѫщенѫ P, M, Mak (amissu). [151] повѣн̑на P, M. [152] нсповѣдн P, нсповѣда M (confessione). [153] гн̑ P, M. [154] ѵт̑на P, M, Mak. [155] словѫ P, M, Mak. [156] възпрашаю P, M, Mak (deprecor). [157-159] за мене гд̑ мл̑ншн P, M, Mak (pro me dominum depreceris). [158] om. M. [159] мене P, M, Mak. [160] add. бо P, Mak, оубо M. [161] om. P, M, Mak. [162-163] сн̑а бж̑їа P (dei filium). [164] ѿрещн M (denegare). [165] мозн P, M, Mak (vale). [166] пом̑нн P, помѧнн M (memento). [167] add. женѫ ѿпѫщь хрвс̑о̑нъ. мл̑твѫ за нею P, M, Mak (lecta epistola). [168] напнса P, M, Mak (rescripsit). [169] тѫже P, M, Mak (eamque). [170] om. P (in fide Cristi). [171] пѫп̑лїю P, M, Mak (Publius). [172] с̑ нас̑тол̑ннкн P, нас̑тол̑ннкѵ M, Mak (legatum accepit invitus). [173] om. P, M, Mak. [174] домовъ P, M, домовн Mak. [175] с̑тїн P, сѧтѣн M. [176] тако P, M, Mak (talem). [177] заповѣда P, M, Mak (imposuit). [178] стражѫ P, стражѵ M, стражю Mak (custodiam). [179] ореуе P, отреуе M, Mak (negaret). [180] обращь сѧ M (si revertens). [181] om. P, M, Mak. [182-183] того же P, M, Mak (quod ideo). [184] творѧше P, C. [185] бога̑ство P. [186] om. P, M, Mak (omnium). [187] гь̑ P, M, Mak (dominus). [188] бысть Mak (permaneret). [189] om. M (custodes). [190-191] да н воды ен не даѧахѫ P, M, Mak (ut aquam ei vix umquam per omnia illi darent). [192] тѵзн Mak. [193] сконуатн сѧ M. [194] om. Mak. [195] om. Mak. [196] хрвсогонѫ P, M. Mak. [197] add. сн с̑ловеса. нс̑повѣд̑нуе с̑тын хрвсогоне. P, M, Mak (verba hec: confessori sancto Grissogono). [198] add. н мл̑н P, M, Mak (memento mei et ora). [199] тон P, M, Mak (ipse). [200] add. сн P, M, Mak (hec). [201-202] та̑ ѿ ѫностн P, M, Mak. [203] add. сн P, M, Mak. [204] съвѣсн M (que a vetula ista cognoscis). [205-206] с̑тын хрвсогонъ P, Mak, хрѵ̑согѡнъ M, (sanctus Grissogonus). [207] м̑ногa P. M, Mak (multa). [208] ѫтѣш̑на P, M. [209] напнса P, M, Mak

(scripsit). [210] om. P. [211] пѫстїю P, поꙋстню M [212] дабѣльно P, дшблено M, Mak (pacienter). [213-214] х҃во имѧ P, M, Mak (pro Cristi nomine). [215] сѣтерпѣла P, Mak, пострадала M (sustineret). [216] add. авїе P, M, Mak. [217] прнвезен P, M, Mak (reductus est). [218] лодїи P, M, Mak (in nave). [219] add. ю P, M, Mak (eam). [220] сѣрѣтаахѫ P, M, срѣтахѫ Mak (custodiebant). [221-222] om. P, M, Mak [223] разбѣгахѫ сѧ P, M, Mak, разбѣгаахѫсѧ C. [224] нш̂ешн P, Mak, прншедшн M (egressa). [225] add. анастасїи P, M, Mak (sancta Anastasia). [226] om. P, M, Mak. [227] хрѫсогонѫ P, Mak. [228] add. ѣже P. M, Mak (que). [229] om. P, M, Mak. [230] add. бѣша P, Mak. [231] om. P, M, Mak (omnibus). [232] г҃ѣствѫ P, M, Mak (facultatibus). [233-234] во просты же рнзы оболькшн P, M, Mak (villisimo habitu). [235] темнынѹнкъ P, M, темнынѹнкь Mak. [236] постѣщаше P, Mak. [237] своа P, M, своѧ Mak. [238] б҃жїа P, M, Mak. [239] можаше P, Mak (prout potuit). [240] хранаше P, M, C. (procurabat) [241] дїокландїанъ P, дїоклнтїанъ M, Днѡклнтїанъ Mak. [242] акѵвѣльстїн P, акъвнлстѣн M, Mak. [243] сын P, M, Mak. [244] х҃рт̃їаны P, M, Mak (cristianos). [245] нзбї P, M, Mak (intrfecit). [246] om. P, M, Mak. [247] р҃нс̃ка P, M, Mak. [248] хрѫсогона P, Mak, хрѫсогѡна M. [249-250] повелн прнвестн к̃ себѣ P, M, Mak (sibi presentari). [251-252] анастасїа ѹ҃тнаа P, M (Anastasia nobilis). [253] om. P, M, Mak. [254] акѵвнлѣ P, Mak, акѵвнлѣн M. [255] слѫжбѫ P, M, Mak. [256] дїоклнтїанъ P, M, Днѡклнтїань Mak. [257] om. P, M. [258] om. P, M. Mak. [259] хрѫсогона P, Mak, хрѫ̃согѡна M. [260] om. P, M[261] om. P, M, Mak. [262] add. реѵет сѧ P, M, Mak (dicitur). [263-265] om. M. [264] om. P, Mak. [265] х҃рт̃їанѡма P, хрнстїанынѧ Mak. [266] попо̃ P, M, Mak (presbytero). [267] зонло̃ P, M, Mak. [268] прнше̂шн P, M, Mak. [269] om. P, M, Mak. (corpus eius sanctum). [270] add. хрѫсогона P, хрѫсогѡна M, Mak [271] ѵ҃тнѣ P, M, Mak (honorificeque sepelivit). [272] сохранншa P, M, Mak. [273] om. P, M. Mak. [274] тѫ P, M, Mak. [275] годнѫ P, M, Mak. [276] ѿстѣкновенѣ P, M, оустѣкновенн Mak. [277] быв̀шн P, M, Mak. [278] add. к̀ P, M, Mak. [279] трндесатѣ̃ P, M, Mak. [280] днехъ P, M, Mak. [281] бл̄жн̀но P, M, Mak. [282-283] б҃ѫ P, M, Mak. [284] анастасїн P, M, Mak. [285-286] мнозѣмн (многнмн M) н раз̀лнѷнымн мѫкамн P, M, Mak. [287] om. P, M, Mak. [288] каз̀ньмн P, M, Mak. [289] свонмн P, M, Mak. [290] add. н P, M, Mak. [291] мѫченїѣ̃ мѵ̄нꙑ̃ P, M, Mak. [292] add. ко P, M, Mak. [293] послѣднѣ̃ P, послѣднее же M, Mak, послѣднїн U. [294] add. есть P, M. [295] .н.б̃. P, сто н седмьдесать Mak. [296] мѫжеска P, M, соꙋщнн Mak. [297-303] om. Mak. [298] полѫ P, M, om. Mak. [299] женьска P, M. [300] om. P, M. [301] за P, M. [302] om. P, M. [304] лалокѫ P, M, Mak. [305-306] в̀сот̀ѵена посредн огнa P, M, восъѵтенаго срѣдѣ огнѧ Mak. [307] аполїана P, M, Mak. [308] om. P, M, Mak. [309] ѵ҃тнѣ P, M, Mak. [310] om. P, M, Mak. [311] add. вънѫ P, M, вонноꙋ Mak. [312] ц҃рквѣ̃ P, M, Mak. [313] add. въ всѧ вѣкн вѣко̃. амннь. P, M.

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О Скопльской минее XIII в.

Радослава Станкова

Скопльская минея XIII в. хранится в Народной библиотеке им. Кирилла и Мефодия в Софии под № 522. Ввиду открытых в ней оригинальных древнеболгарских произведений эта ранняя праздничная минея неоднократно упоминается в исследованиях по гимнографии, но как целостный кодекс она не была объектом исследования. Тем более Скопльская минея не была исследована в сопоставлении с сходными кодексами.

Прежде чем остановиться подробнее на указанную рукопись, необходимо выяснить один существенный вопрос: что собой представляют Скопльские минеи, бывшие во владении Скопльской митрополии, указанные Й. Ивановым (1931: 290, 345). Их две: одна из них содержит службу св. Кириллу Философу, другая, датированная 1451 г., содержит службу св. Иоанну Рыльскому. Первая все еще не идентифицирована (см. Попов 2003а: 653), вторая ныне находится в ЦИАИ под № 489 (см. Христова, Караджова, Икономова 1982, № 129). Особо нужно подчеркнуть, что этих двух служб нет в рассматриваемой рукописи, в ней также отсутствует и служба преподобной св. Петки Тырновской (ср. Славова 1992). В Скопльской минее читается служба мученице Петке (Параскеве Римской/Иконийской) под 14 октября[1].

Оригинальных древнеболгарских произведений, сохранившихся в Скопльской минее, десять: канон св. Димитрию Солунскому, приписываемый Мефодию (26 октября), два канона Константина Преславского – архангелу Михаилу (8 ноября) и на Рождество Христово (25 декабря), оригинальные анонимные азбучные стихири и трипеснецы с акростихом в двух циклах на Рождество и Богоявление[2], три оригинальных анонимных древнеболгарских канона с акростихом – на Введение Пресвятой Богородицы во храм (21 ноября),

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[1] Об этом более подробно см. в статье, посвященной службе св. Петке (Станкова 2007).

[2] Трипеснецы с акростихом на Рождество Христово с уверенностью приписывают Клименту Охридскому, для цикла на Богоявление (по аналогии и по структурным и формально-поэтическим сходствам с первым циклом) – авторство Климента предположительно (ср. Попов 1982: 15–16, Станчев, Попов 1988: 118–120, Попов 2003б: 43).

на Богоявление (6 января) и на Перенесение мощей Иоанна Златоуста (27 января). Большинство из них изданы по спискам в Скопльской минее[3]. То обстоятельство, что эти произведения сохранились в рамках одной рукописи, является одним из основных свидетельств переводческой и самостоятельной книжной деятельности учеников Кирилла и Мефодия, которые работали одновременно и совместно в одном и том же книжном центре.[4]

1. Кодикологические и палеографические заметки

Скопльская минея XIII в. ныне содержит 284 пергаменных листа (в Описи рукописей НБКМ[5] указано 279 листов; дополнительно прибавлена тетрадь из 6 листов). Кодекс без начала и конца. Размер листов 27×20 см, письменное поле – 19×13 см (кое-где 20×14 см). Рукопись содержит 39 тетрадей, переплета нет, хранится в коробке в насыпном виде.[6] Тетради перевязаны бечевкой с пятью проколами листов.

Рукопись писана полууставом (или мелким уницалом) в один столбец (с 28 или 29 строками на странице) черными чернилами, местами выцветшими. Орфография юсовая, одноеровая (ь), согласно определению Б. Цонева (1923: 52), – злетовско-кратовская. Буквы гласных регулярно йотируются, иногда встречается и ъ; ж пишется с усеченной верхней частью, а ꙁ – с острым извитием.[7]

Пагинация тетрадей оригинальная и последовательная (начинается с 7 тетради, отмечена сверху справа на л. 25а), незаметна на последних трех тетрадях. Вероятно в начале рукописи было еще 6 тетрадей. Заметно отсутствие листов в некоторых тетрадях (например, в 31, 33 и 34 по 7 листов, 38 содержит 4 листа, а 39 – 6 листов). Листы 168 и 169 срезаны сверху.

Заголовки цветные с киноварью, инициалы красного, желтого и зеленого цвета, заставки в конце служб (также как и цветные концовки с ручками

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[3] Канон св. Димитрию Солунскому (Ангелов 1958: 23–35), Канон Константина Преславского с фразовым акростихом архангелу Михаилу (Кожухаров 1983), Канон на Введение Пресвятой Богородицы во храм (Кожухаров 1991), первый цикл азбучных стихирь на предпразднество Рождества Христова шестого голоса (Иванова 1971, ср. Попов 2003б: 32–38), Канон на Рождество Христово Константина Преславского (Попов 1998), Канон на Богоявление с анонимным фразовым акростихом во мн. ч. (Попов 2005).

[4] Попов 1982: 21–26, Станкова 2008 (в печати).

[5] См.: Б. Цонев 1923: 52.

[6] В настоящее время рукопись реставрируют.

[7] На других особенностях орфографии здесь останавливаться не буду (см. Славова 1992).

снизу под последними словами листа) выполнены в красном и зеленом цвете. Рукопись, как и упомянутые выше рукописи в книге Й. Иванова, была собственностью Скопльской митрополии[8].

2. Содержание, состав и календарь

Текст рукописи начинается с середины службы на 14 сентября и кончается началом службы на 8 мая. Как содержание книга охватывает почти весь церковный год с исключением последних трех (летних) месяцев второго полугодия.

Согласно терминологии К. Станчева[9] на уровне макроструктуры текста эту рукопись следовало бы определить как "расширенная праздничная минея", так как она содержит избранные службы на сентябрь, октябрь, ноябрь, а на декабрь и январь отмечены почти все числа, некоторые из них только стихирами, а другие – расширенными службами на предпразднество и празднество двух христологических праздников – Рождество Христово и Богоявление (с оригинальным древнеболгарским материалом). На последние четыре месяца приходится небольшое число служб с упрощенной структурой.

Памяти годового богослужебного цикла в рассматриваемой праздничной минее относятся в наибольшей степени к календарю типикона Великой церкви в Константинополе IX–X вв.[10], однако в службах включены элементы иерусалимской по типу богослужебной практики (чин на часы[11] перед Рождеством Христовым и Богоявлением, и чин повечерие[12]), появившиеся скорее всего на Святой Горе.

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[8] На лл. 239–243 читается приписка.

[9] Станчев 2003; Станчев 2005.

[10] Служебный синаксарь типикона Великой церкви приспосабливался к употреблению в других церквах, несмотря на то, что он включал в себя немалое число частных константинопольских памятей. Но в целом в начале X в. общецерковные праздники и памяти крупным святым служились согласно этому типикону (архим. Сергий 1901*a*: 143). Этот типикон был авторитетным в IX–XII вв. (до падения Константинополя в 1204 г.), с XI–XII вв. начинается широкое применение типикона Студийского Константинопольского монастыря (ср. Лосева 2001: 45); см. еще работы Е. Коцевой (Коцева 1985) и А. М. Пентковского (Пентковский 2001).

[11] Уже в IX в. установлен чин часов (с седальными, степенными, кафизмами), предназначенный для келейного, а не для церковного употребления (Скабалланович 1910: 420). Царские часы или "Великие часы" – первый, третий, шестой и девятый (Чифлянов 1996: 186). Специфической особенностью Скопльской минеи являются указания на седьмой час перед Рождеством Христовым.

[12] Указания на повечерие (с исполнением канона), на литургию и на Великое славословие связываются с иерусалимской богослужебной практикой. В богослу-

С точки зрения иерархии календаря в Скопльской минее включены службы первого и второго ранга церковных праздников. При этом тексты **первого ранга** представлены с расширенной праздничной структурой. Из больших праздников[13] включены: пять Господних – Воздвижение Креста, Рождество Христово, Богоявление, Обрезание Господне, Сретение Господне; четыре Богородичных – Введение Пресвятой Богородицы во храм, Зачатие св. Анны, Собор Пресвятой Богородицы, Благовещение; три праздника Иоанна Предтечи – Зачатие Иоанна Предтечи, Собор Иоанна Предтечи, Обретение честной головы Иоанна Предтечи, и один *ангельский* праздник – Собор архангела Михаила.

Из текстов, посвященных **второму рангу** святых, включены: службы *апостолам* (Луке, Филиппу, Матфею, Иоанну Богослову), ветхозаветным *пророкам* (Даниилу, на неделю св. пророков, Малахии, Иеремии), ветхозаветным *патриархам* (Иосифу, Давиду, Иакову), большому числу *мученикам*, преимущественно раннехристианского периода I–IV вв. (Никите, Димитрию Солунскому, Мине, Клименту Римскому и Петру Александрийскому, Вонифатию, Игнатию Богоносцу, 10 мученикам в Крите, первомученику Стефану, 2 тысячам мученикам в Никомидии, 14 тысячам младенцам, избиенных царем Иродом, св. Власию, св. 40 мученикам, св. великомученику Георгию), *женщинам-мученицам* (Фекле, Параскеве Римлянке, Варваре, Иулиании, Анастасии, Евгении, Анисии, Мелании), некоторым *преподобным святым* (Иоанну Златоусту с двумя памятями, Василию Великому, Сильвестру, папе Римскому, Фостирию и Павлу Фивейскому, Афанасию Александрийскому, Николаю Мирликийскому и на неделю святых отцов 18 декабря), *святителям, чудотворцам, бессребренникам* (Косме и Дамиану).

жении Великой церкви в Константинополе чин панихиды заменял повечерие, которое, согласно Евергетидскому типикону, называлось агрипния (всенощное бдение, соединяющее утреню и вечерню). Это элементы кафедрального богослужения. В Скопльской минее указания на повечерие и литургию показывают смешение кафедрального с монастырским богослужением (ср. Пентковский 2001: 152; однако автор указывает ошибочный шифр рукописи: НБКМ 113 вместо НБКМ 522).

[13] Больших церковных праздников, исключая Пасху (праздника всех праздников), всего двенадцать. Это Господние и Богордичные праздники: Рождество Христово, Богоявление, Вербное воскресенье, Вознесение, Пятидесятница, Преображение, Рождество Пресвятой Богордицы, Введение Пресвятой Богородицы во храм, Успение Пресвятой Богородицы, Благовещение, Сретение Господне (Чифлянов 1996: 86, 102–109). В студийских уставах отсутствует распорядок о двенадцати праздниках. В XI в. император Алексий Комнин упоминает двенадцать праздников без конкретных указаний. В конце X–начале XII в. в Константинополе торжественно праздновалось двенадцать праздников, но точный список этих праздников неизвестен (архим. Сергий 1901а: 400–401). См. еще: Миркович 1961: 8–10, 13.

Памяти **третьего ранга**, посвященные местным болгарским святым (св. Кириллу Философу, св. Иоанну Рыльскому, св. Петке Тырновской и т.д.) отсутствуют.

Согласно С. Кожухарову[14], Скопльская минея по своему значению равняется Драгановой минее. Но между ними есть существенная разница: в исследуемой рукописи отсутствуют тексты, посвященные славянским святым, в то время как в Драгановой минее включены оригинальные древнеболгарские службы IX–X вв. и памяти XIII в. местных святых. Потому важно отметить, что гимнографический материал в Скопльской минее восходит к гораздо более ранней книжной традиции и содержит архаичный переводной слой древнего извода вместе с оригинальными древнеболгарскими текстами.

С точки зрения типологии Скопльская праздничная минея по составу приближается больше всего к ранним русским (Новгородским) минеям XI в., опубликованым В. Ягичем (1886), и сербской Братковой минее, однако с той разницей, что в Братковой минее представлен полный состав текстов на сентябрь и октябрь (в первой части, датированной 1234–1243 гг.[15]), тогда как в Скопльской минее это относится к месяцам декабрь и январь.

С точки зрения календаря памяти в Скопльской минее более близки к памятям в сербской минее САНУ 361, так как обе они отражают праздничный подбор чисел. Однако в рукописи САНУ 361 есть некоторые существенные отличия в календаре, свидетельствующие о специфической сербской редакции состава праздничной минеи древнего извода. Например, среди сентябрьских и октябрьских памятей отсутствуют мученики Никита, Фекла и Петка, Сергий и Вакх, но зато встречаются памяти Евстатия (20 сентября) и препод. Петки Тырновской (в конце кодекса); среди евангелистов и апостолов отсутствуют Лука, Матфей, Филипп, отмечен лишь апостол и евангелист Марк (25 апреля); декабрьских памятей всего три: Рождество Христово, Собор Пресвятой Богородицы и первомученик Стефан.

По сравнению с Скопльской минеей в сербской праздничной минее САНУ 361 на третье января отмечено Крещение Господне вместо памяти пророка Малахии; нет Богоявления, есть только Собор Иоанна Предтечи (7 января); нет февральских памятей ранних мучеников, но зато помещены служба св. Симеону Богоприимцу (предполагаемое оригинальное древнеболгарское произведение, отсутствующее в Скопльской минее) и Обретение честной головы Иоанна Предтечи (подобно Скопльской минее).

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[14] Кожухаров 2004: 46.

[15] См. Ранкович 2006: 111–112.

Необходимо подчеркнуть, что привлеченные к сопоставлению две ранние сербские праздничные минеи включают в свой состав по одной оригинальной сербской службе: в Братковой минее это служба св. Савве, первому сербскому архиепископу (14 января), а в САНУ 361 – служба св. Симеону Сербскому (13 февраля). Но зато в обеих минеях отсутствуют архаичные Константинопольские памяти: Поклонение честным веригам апостола Петра (16 января[16]) и Перенесение мощей св. Иоанна Златоуста (27 января).

В Братковой минее, подобно Скопльской, отмечен праздник Освящение храма св. Георгия (26 ноября), которого нет в ранних русских минеях XI в. Этот праздник отмечен еще в двух южнославянских минеях начала XIV в. (№ 75 собрания Ундольского в РГБ, писанная по Евергетидскому типикону и Синайская праздничная минея № 25) и в болгарской праздничной минее XV в. архаичного состава (БАН 23, София). Здесь необходимо отметить, что я разделяю мнение, впервые высказанное и аргументированное А. Стойковой[17], что в такой архаичной по составу календарной гимнографической книге, как Скопльская минея, празднование Освящения храма "Св. Георгия" скорее связано с византийским Константинопольским праздником и не относится к освящению митрополитом Иларионом в 1051/ 54 гг. одноименного храма в Киеве[18]. После работ М. Йовчевой и Ф. Бутлера[19] это мнение утвердилось в науке, и его можно считать неоспоримым.

Состав исследуемой болгарской праздничной минеи сознательно расширен для дат перед Рождеством Христовым и Богоявлением, потому что именно там расположен оригинальный древнеболгарский материал. Добавленные праздники на декабрь и январь должны были включать в состав своих служб азбучные стихири и трипеснецы на предпразднество (с 19 по 24 декабря и с 1 января по 5 января).

Нет объяснения, почему отмечены все числа после Собора Пресвятой Богородицы до конца декабря. Вероятно, там тоже были помещены оригинальные древнеболгарские произведения, так как примечательно увеличение количества вечерних стихирь для этих памятей, в некоторых из которых отсутствует даже канон (на 28, 30 и 31 декабря есть только указания для утрени и по три стихири и слава на вечерню).

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[16] В Скопльской минее служба неполная. Она содержит только вечерние стихири, из канона – два тропаря 4 песни, 5 и 6 песни, кондак и икос. О памяти 16 января в Константинопольском календаре и ее присутствии в древнеболгарских рукописях см.: Коцева 2004.

[17] Стойкова 2001: 88–92.

[18] Ср. архим. Сергий 1901а: 366; Мошин 1962: 84–85; Стефанович 1989; Лосева 2001: 68, 70–71, 95–98; Ранкович 2006: 114 и др.

[19] Йовчева 2005; Бутлер 2005.

Скопльская минея – самая ранняя болгарская гимнографическая книга, которая по своему составу сохранила не только Константинопольские, но и ранние общехристианские памяти: св. Иоанна Златоуста, епископа Константинопольского (13 ноября и 27 января[20]), св. Климента, папы Римского, и Петра Александрийского (25 ноября[21]), св. мученика Вонифатия (19 декабря[22], в рукописи отмечен как Авонифандий), св. мученицы Анастасии, вдовы (22 декабря[23]), св. мученицы Мелании (31 декабря[24]) и Сильвестра, папы Римского (ум. 31 декабря 335 г., день памяти 2 января).

Здесь появляются и две относительно новые памяти: преподобных отцов Фостирия и Павла Фивейского (4 и 5 января[25]). Обе памяти, савваитско-иерусалимского типа XIII в., синхронны составлению Скопльской минеи и единственно в месяцеслове Тырновского евангелия 1272 г. расположены та-

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[20] Служба о Перенесении мощей св. Иоанна Златоуста содержит оригинальный древнеболгарский акростих в каноне, в котором входят и богородичные тропари: 1 пес. **ѕлѧт**, 3 пес. **ооуѕт**, 4 пес. **ѧгоп**, 5 пес. **рцнїє**, 6 пес. **сїєн**, 7 пес. **иїєм**, 8 пес. **ошуии**, 9 пес. **поїѫ**. Служба до сих пор не издана (см.: Кожухаров 1984: 19). Г. Попов (Попов 2003б: 45) установил, что в этой службе в Скопльской минее есть 3 стихири на гѝ вѣзвахъ с начальными буквами **клѝ**, несохранившимися в русской минее XII–XIII вв., Типогр. 98, в которой, однако, частично представлен канон этой службы, см. Попов 1999: 17–18.

[21] Эта служба греческая, написанная Климентом Студитом (Йовчева 2005б: 66, примеч. 12), а не оригинальная древнеболгарская, как считал ее исследователь Б. Ангелов (Ангелов 1958: 9–17).

[22] В Метафрастовских четьи-минеях переведено старое латинское житие этого святого, написанное боландистами, согласно которому он умер между 290 и 307 г., т.е. в конце III или в начале IV в. Согласно О. В. Лосевой, Вонифатий пострадал в Тарсе в 290 г. (Лосева 2001: 67). По данным архим. Сергия (архим. Сергий 1901а: 388), он умер в 107 г. в городе Тарсе.

[23] См. Атанасова 2006.

[24] Эта память не отмечена в типиконе Великой церкви, но сохранилась в Менологии Василия X в., а в славянской богослужебной практике утвердилась позднее, вероятно в XII–XIII вв., так как она указана в месяцеслове Мстиславова евангелия XII в., в ранних древнерусских минеях, в двух болгарских евангелиях XIII в. – Зографском и Тырновском 1272 г. (архим. Сергий 1901б: 398).

[25] В старых типиконах (до XIII в.) 4 анваря отмечается Собор 70 апостолов, а 5 января – св. Аполинарий. Память св. Фостирия является четвертой на 4 января, практически чествуется 5 января после Феотемпта и Феоны, Аполинария и Григория. Согласно Савваитско-Иерусалимскому уставу память Павла Фивейского отмечается 5 января (вместо 15 января, как в календаре Великой церкви и в Студийском уставе), см. Лосева 2001: 47.

ким образом[26]. Память мученицы Петки/Параскевы 14 октября тоже инновация в рамках раннего календаря, где должны были быть отмечены память св. мучеников Назария, Протасия, Гервасия и Кельсия (как в Новгородских и Братковой минеях). Но в целом Скопльская минея отражает ранний минейный состав времен Кирилло-Мефодиевских учеников и содержит специфические Константинопольские памяти IX–X вв. из календаря типикона Великой церкви, сохранившиеся в месяцеслове Константинопольского греческого евангелия IX–X вв. и в криптофератских минеях XI или начала XII в.[27].

3. Структура служб

Как уже было указано, с точки зрения структуры служб, Скопльская минея обнаруживает близость с иерусалимским по типу богослужебной практики, она сочетает календарь Типикона Великой церкви (ТВЦ) с литургическими элементами Студийского Константинопольского типикона вместе с некоторыми богослужебными инновациями, которые в XIII в. были фунциональны только в монастырях Святой Горы.

Например, ТВЦ включает *повечерие* в канун больших праздников. В Скопльской минее указание на это есть только в некоторых из первых по рангу службах (Воздвижение креста, Собор архангела Михаила, Введение Пресвятой Богородицы во храм). Служба на Рождество Христово в Скопльской минее вместо повечерия есть чин часов. В неделе после Рождества (память праведников Иосифа, Давида и Иакова, брата Господня) предусмотрено повечерие с каноном, т.е. бдением.

Студийский устав вводит *предпразднество* и *попразднество* больших праздников, а в Иерусалимском уставе эта система сохраняется, но при этом увеличиваются дни чествования[28]. В Скопльской минее предпразднество Рождества Христова и Богоявления[29] продолжается пять дней. Попраздне-

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[26] И в Драгановой минее XIII в. служба Павлу Фивейскому, египетскому пустыннику IV в., тоже читается 5 января. В памятниках IX–X вв. память Павла является первой памятью на 15 января (архим. Сергий 1901б: 5). В Скопльской минее есть еще одно странное перемещение – служба Афанасию Александрийскому расположена 17 января, когда чествуется Антоний Великий, вместо 18 января (в Скопльской минее эта дата отсутствует).

[27] Архим. Сергий 1901а; 1901б.

[28] Ср. Лосева 2001: 48.

[29] В Скопльской минее не сохранились циклы стихирь с фразовым акростихом **Хвална пѣнїа Константинова** в службах с 1 по 5 января (всего 24 стихири, начинающиеся с 1-го голоса на вечерне, продолжающиеся 2-ым голосом на утрене и т.д. последовательно до 5-го голоса по 3 стихири). Эти стихири в полном объеме пока не

ство не предусмотрено, но в службах после Рождества (до конца месяца декабря, т.е. пять дней) стихири на вечерне дублированы, причем первая группа стихир (без специального указания) славит уже прошедший праздник, а вторая группа – святого. То же самое относится и к хвалитным стихирам, не отражаясь при этом на группы стиховных стихир (там, где они есть), а согласно указаниям в неполных службах стиховные на вечерне и на утрене взаимозаменяемы. После Богоявления в службе на Собор Иоанна Предтечи также есть стихири на попразднество.

Указания о чтении *паремий* на вечерне и о *стихословии* на утрене с седальными, кафизмами (или полиелеем), кафизмой *Блажен муж* и степенными антифонами на отпуст являются последованиями, связанные с иерусалимской литургической практикой *всенощного бдения*, которая была принята на Святой Горе еще в XII в.[30] В Скопльской минее эти последования относятся к большинству служб (с 26 октября по 6 января), из них полиелейными являются только две – на Рождество Христово и Обрезание Господне.

Указания на *Великое славословие* имеют всего две службы в Скопльской минее – св. мученику Никите и на Введение Пресвятой Богородицы во храм, а указания на *литургию* имеют четыре службы – на Рождество Христово, Богоявление, мученице Мелании, св. Сильвестру.

Дублирование гимнографических компонентов в анализируемой рукописи, кажется, не демонстрирует разрастание памятей в календаре. Речь идет о службах на Воздвижение Креста, св. мученику Никите, св. Косме и Дамиану, архангелу Михаилу, св. Николаю, в которых есть по два светильных. В службе св. Иоанну Златоустому на 13 ноября есть два светильных и два седальных. Служба св. Анне имеет два седальных, служба архангелу Михаилу – три седальных. Редкий случай *двух икосов* находим в службах на Рождество Христово и Богоявление. По-видимому, это можно объяснить смешением традиций двух типиконов. Два седальных относятся ко двум памятям только в службе на 29 декабря – св. младенцам, избиенным Иродом, и преподобному Маркеллу[31].

В Скопльской минее появляется также *скрещивание канонов*[32]: в службах на Зачатие Иоанна Предтечи (23 сентября) и архангелу Михаилу (8 нояб-

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засвидетельствованы в другой рукописи кроме Типогр. 98, отдельные стихири читаются в Драгановой минее и в Петербургской минее, РНБ F. п. I. 72 (Попов 1999, 2000: 45).

[30] Кожухаров 1974: 285; Скабалланович 1913: 104.

[31] Это показывает, что при добавлении новой памяти удваиваются в первую очередь седальны.

[32] Термин, используемый Т. Суботин-Голубович; см. также: Станкова 2005: 84.

ря); в службе на предпразднество Рождества Христова и св. Игнатию Богоносцу (20 декабря); в службе на предпразднество Рождества Христова и св. Анастасии (22 декабря); в службах на 24 и 25 декабря оба канона – на Рождество Христово; в службе на предпразднество Богоявления и пророку Малахии (3 января); в службе на предпразднество Богоявления и св. Павлу Фивейскому (5 января); в службе на предпразднество Сретения Господня и св. мученику Трифону (1 февраля).

Эти примеры показывают, каким образом в самой ранней по составу древнеболгарской праздничной минее элементы богослужебной практики XIII в. сочетаются (за небольшими исключениями) с предписаниями календаря IX–X вв.

Заключение

При анализе и сопоставлении состава (календаря) и структуры (литургических указаний) Скопльской минеи очень ясно выделяется противопоставление двух уровней: с одной стороны, по горизонтали (в установленной церковным типиконом иерархии годового богослужебного цикла в связи с памятями и праздниками церковного календаря), а с другой стороны, – по вертикали (в типологии и специфических особенностях жанровой структуры и формального развития гимнографической композиции[33]). Оказывается, что в рамках календаря кафедрального типикона IX–X вв. помещены гимнографические композици с элементами монастырской неосавваитской (Святогорской) богослужебной практикой XIII в. Этот факт подтверждает высказанное О. Лосевой[34] мнение, что распространение Иерусалимского типикона усиливает тенденцию к смешению разных богослужебных традиций, которые не зависят от календаря.

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[33] Ср.: Станкова 2005.

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"Слово Иоанна Златоуста о твари и о суде" в сборнике РНБ ОСРК F.I.4: краткий вариант гомилии, приписываемой Клименту Охридскому

Алексей Щекин

В некоторых списках Златоструя полной и краткой редакции, а также в ряде сборников смешанного содержания встречается гомилия, имеющая заглавие "Слово святого Иоанна Златоуста о святой Троице и о твари и о суде" (инципит: "Подобно есть нам, братия, присно сбирающеся в церковь с любовию…")[1]. Текст этого памятника был впервые опубликован Н. Л. Туницким, высказавшим предположение о принадлежности "Слова о святой Троице и о твари и о суде" Клименту Охридскому (Туницкий 1904). Основными аргументами в пользу такого предположения послужили наличие в "Слове о святой Троице и о твари и о суде" ряда мест, совпадающих с другими поучениями Климента Охридского и сходство между ними в употреблении лексики, а также упоминание имени Климента в заглавии одного из списков памятника. Мнение об авторстве Климента Охридского разделяется большинством исследователей (Сване 1971; Димитров 1987; Станчев, Попов 1988: 62–63; Христова 1994), хотя Ф. Дж. Томсон считает аргументы, приводимые в пользу авторства Климента Охридского, недостаточными. Согласно мнению исследователя, текст "Слова о святой Троице и о твари и о суде" был составлен из фрагментов различных греческих гомилий неким "малообразованным греком" (ineptissimus Graeculus), который при этом допустил ряд ошибок в изложении библейских событий и в цитировании текста Священного Писания (Томсон 1982: 14–15)[2].

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[1] Название и инципит приводятся по каталогу (Гранстрем, Творогов, Валевичус 1998: 103, под номером 298).

[2] Ошибки, на которые указывает Ф. Дж. Томсон, были отмечены уже Н. Л. Туницким, объяснявшим их тем, что автор цитировал текст Священного Писания по памяти (Туницкий 1904: 211).

Н. Л. Туницкий отметил, что наиболее ранний отрывок из "Слова святого Иоанна Златоуста о святой Троице и о твари и о суде" находится в Златоструе XII века РНБ ОСРК F.п.I.46 (Туницкий 1904: 201)[3]. Он также обратил внимание на наличие в рукописи Киевского Михайловского монастыря № 490 XV в. наряду с полным списком краткого варианта гомилии, в заглавии которого есть слова "сотворено Климентом". В этом списке последняя часть поучения значительно сокращена, но включена похвала составителю, заимствованная, как было установлено позднее, из одного из поучений Иоанна Златоуста (Станчев, Попов 1988: 63, 108, примечание 27)[4]. Н. Л. Туницкий опубликовал оба списка из этой рукописи с разночтениями по двум спискам XVI в.: РГБ собрания Иосифо-Волоколамского монастыря № 153 и РГБ собрания Московской Духовной Академии № 43 (Туницкий 1904: 215–232). Тексты полного и краткого списков "Слова о святой Троице и о твари и о суде", находящихся в сборнике Киевского Михайловского монастыря № 490, вместе с фотокопиями соответствующих листов рукописи были опубликованы Б. Ст. Ангеловым в первом томе собрания сочинений Климента Охридского (Климент Охридски 1970: 620–659). Кроме того, А. А. Туриловым и М. С. Фоминой был опубликован наиболее ранний полный список "Слова святого Иоанна Златоуста о святой Троице и о твари и о суде" из рукописи сербского происхождения ГИМ Воскресенского собрания № 115-бум., датируемой третьей четвертью XIV в. (Турилов, Фомина 2000).

Что касается краткого списка "Слова о святой Троице и о твари и о суде" из рукописи Киевского Михайловского монастыря № 490, то Н. Л. Туницкий предположил, что он является более поздним по сравнению с полными списками и привел среди аргументов в пользу этой точки зрения следующий, представляющийся важным и для предпринятого в настоящей статье исследования: "Только в полном виде слово соответствует своему заглавию, между тем как в сокращенной редакции картина суда опущена, хотя в заглавии сохранено выражение 'о суде' " (Туницкий 1904: 206). В собрании сочинений Климента Охридского этот вариант текста также рассматривается как краткая редакция гомилии (Климент Охридский 1970: 620), но К. Станчев и Г. Попов отмечают, что он является механически сокращенным списком, не имеющим отличий, которые позволили бы считать его отдельной редакцией памятника (Станчев, Попов 1988: 62–63).

Настоящая статья посвящена другому сокращенному списку "Слова святого Иоанна Златоуста о святой Троице и о твари и о суде". Текст, озаглав-

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[3] Согласно описанию состава рукописи, выполненному М. С. Фоминой, этот отрывок находится на лл. 30–30об., см. (Фомина 1993: 52).

[4] Работа Кл. Ивановой, на которую ссылаются К. Станчев и Г. Попов, к сожалению, осталась для нас недоступной.

ленный "Слово святого Иоанна Златоуста о твари и о суде", находится в рукописном сборнике второй половины XVI в. украинского происхождения из собрания Отдела рукописей Российской национальной библиотеки (РНБ ОСРК F.I.4, прежний шифр: собрание Ф. А. Толстого, I отделение, № 62), точнее, во второй части рукописи, имеющей заглавие "Истолкование книга гл(агол)емая Златоуст" (лл. 182–340об.), где занимает листы 213об.–217об.[5]. Орфография всей рукописи имеет ярко выраженные среднеболгарские черты. Что касается содержания сборника (здесь и далее речь пойдет только о второй части рукописи), то Р. Павлова характеризует его следующим образом: "Всъщност това не е някоя от разновидностите на книгата Златоуст. По-скоро тази част е взета от сборник с преписи на съчинения, в наслова на които често се среща името на Йоан Златоуст, като едновременно с това се сочат имената и на други византийски писатели, познати от старобългарския период, например Василий Велики, Ефрем Сирин, Григорий Богослов и др." (Павлова 1994: 52).

Действительно, этот сборник и по своей структуре, и по своему составу существенно отличается от традиционных разновидностей сборника Златоуст. Большинство статей сборника не имеет указаний на календарный порядок чтения. Лишь три статьи имеют такие указания, но они соответствуют не триодной (как следовало бы ожидать в сборнике Златоуст), а минейной разновидности календарных сборников, ср.: "мцⷣа ма́рта. ѳ. сты́ мчнкь, м̑." (лл. 292об.–295об.), "мцⷣа то́го̑ въ ѕ̑і. жи́тїе и̑ жи́ѕнь а̑леѳеа̀ чл҃ка бжїа̀" (лл. 295об.–299), "мцⷣа. дⷣе. въ к҃е. гри́горїа̀ бгосло́вца. наньзї̑аньскаго̀ е̑ппа. ѡ̑ ро́жествѣ хв҃ѣ" (лл. 301об.–308об.).[6] Включенные в состав сборника статьи весьма различаются и по своему жанру, и по содержанию, и по языку. Преобладают гомилетические произведения, надписанные именами отцов церкви: Иоанна Златоуста, Василия Великого, Ефрема Сирина, Григория Богослова и др., но встречаются и жития – помимо названных выше в рукописи находятся "Житие св. Симеона Столпника" (лл. 278–282) и "Житие св. Иоанна Постника" (лл. 282об.–287об.), а также апокрифические тексты: "Сказание Агапия о хождении в рай" (лл. 287об.–292об.), "Слово о Давиде пророке" (лл. 308об.–312об.), "Беседа трех святителей" (лл. 339об.–340). Некоторые статьи сборника имеют лексические особенности, характерные для староукраинского языка: "сло̑ сто̑го ве́ликаго цр҃а ко́ста̑тина. къ цр҃ⷣе и̑ къ пано̑, и̑ тым ко́торїи̑ маⷢ

[5] Первую часть сборника (лл. 1–181об.) составляют книги Ветхого Завета (перевод Франциска Скорины в украинизированном списке Василия Жугаевича). Описание всего сборника см. (Калайдович, Строев 1825: 30–35)

[6] "Слово на Рождество Христово" св. Григория Богослова (38-е в издании Ж.-П. Миня, см. PG 36: 311–334). Находящийся в сборнике F.I.4 список принадлежит редакции "Slav. 1", согласно классификации А. М. Бруни (Бруни 2004: 126), без толкований Никиты Ираклийского.

воєводы на̂ лю҃ми бж҃ими. ꙗ҆ко вла́сти дръжащи̑” (лл. 210об.–212об.), “сло̑ ка҃зана на ро҃ство хв҃о. і҃ѡа. г҃ а҃. в҆ початко҃ѹ бы́ло сло́во. а҆ сло́во бы́ло ѹ҆ бг҃а. а҆ такь прочти є҃ѵ҃лі҃є сто҃є до́ конца по́пь” (лл. 326об.–328об.), “сло́ва пр҃ѣмр҃дрыꙗ и҃ѕ҃враныꙗ” (лл. 329–336об.).

В сборнике F.I.4 помимо “Слова святого Иоанна Златоуста о твари и о суде” находятся списки еще двух гомилий, встречающихся в древнейших рукописях Златоструя: “Слова Иоанна Златоуста о втором пришествии” (лл. 267об.–272об.)[7] и “Сказания Иоанна Златоуста об Адаме” (лл. 274об.–278).[8] С другой стороны, весьма интересным представляется тот факт, что девять статей из сборника F.I.4 встречаются также в Паисиевском сборнике начала XV века РНБ Кир.-Белоз. собр. № 4/1081[9]: “Предисловие о покаянии” (лл. 198об.–202; в Паисиевском сборнике: лл. 174–183об.), “Слово святого Григория изобретено в толцех о том, како первое погани суще языци кланялися идолом и требы им клали, то и ныне творят” (отрывок: лл. 203–203об.; в Паисиевском сборнике: лл. 40–43), две малые статьи (вопросо-ответ и “Златоустаго, иже от Матфея”), направленные против чрезмерных пожертвований церквям (л. 203об.; в Паисиевском сборнике: лл. 59–59об.), “Слово святого Дионисия о желающих поучения” (лл. 222об.–226об.; в Паисиевском сборнике: лл. 35–39об.), “Поучение” (лл. 229об.–231; в Паисиевском сборнике озаглавлено “Поучение апостола”: лл. 85об.–88об.)[10], “Слово святого Иоанна Златоуста о лживых учителях” (лл. 232об.–237; в Паисиевском сборнике: лл. 69об.–80), “Поучение святого Василия” (лл. 243–245; в Паисиевском сборнике озаглавлено “Поучение святого Василия о смирении”: лл. 16об.–20об.), “Слово святого отца Ефрема о книжном чтении” (лл. 245–246об.; в Паисиевском сборнике: лл. 83об.–85об.). Эти статьи близки по своей тематике, они направлены против различных нарушений норм христианской жизни: поклонения языческим божествам, ересей, чтения отреченных книг, пьянства, лихоимства, гнева и др.

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[7] Его списки имеются также в Златоструе XII века РНБ ОСРК F.п.I.46 (лл. 64–66, без начала, см. Фомина 1993: 53) и в сербском Златоструе XIII века библиотеки Хиландарского монастыря № 386 (лл. 68об.–74об., см. Иванова 1976: 98).

[8] Его список имеется в сербском Златоструе XIII века библиотеки Хиландарского монастыря № 386 (лл. 165–172об., см. Иванова 1976: 100).

[9] Описание сборника см. (Срезневский 1876: 297–304).

[10] Показательно, что этот текст, восходящий к гомилии Псевдо-Златоуста “Слово о лжепророках и о лжеучителях, и о безбожных еретиках, и о знамениях конца мира сего” см. (Гальковский 1913: 191–199; Гранстрем, Творогов, Валевичус 1998: 135, под номером 411) и в Паисиевском сборнике, и в сборнике F.I.4 не имеет в своем заглавии имени Иоанна Златоуста.

“Слово Иоанна Златоуста о твари и о суде” в сборнике РНБ ОСРК F.I.4

Гомилия, озаглавленная в сборнике F.I.4 “Слово святого Иоанна Златоуста о твари и о суде”, представляет собой заключительную, третью часть полного текста “Слова святого Иоанна Златоуста о святой Троице и о твари и о суде”. Уже Н. Л. Туницкий обратил внимание на одну особенность композиции этого памятника: “Составные части слова слиты так слабо, что их очень легко разделить соответственно написанию. Содержание его составляют: учение о св. Троице, передача библейского сказания о творении мира и картинное изображение страшного суда” (Туницкий 1904: 207). Г. Сване, детально проанализировав риторическую организацию “Слова святого Иоанна Златоуста о святой Троице и о твари и о суде”, отметил, что в гомилии последняя часть, построенная как “една пространна апликация във вид на двоен паренесис”, заменяет отсутствующий эпилог (Сване 1971: 52). В отличие от краткого списка, находящегося в рукописи Киевского Михайловского монастыря № 490, в котором сокращению подверглась как раз последняя часть, в списке сборника F.I.4 совершенно исключены первая и вторая части первоначального текста “Слова святого Иоанна Златоуста о святой Троице и о твари и о суде”, но в полном объеме сохранена заключительная часть гомилии, посвященная страшному суду и покаянию. Можно предположить, что именно эта часть оказалась тематически наиболее близкой составителю сборника F.I.4, поскольку в ней содержатся энергичные порицания грехов, против которых направлены и многие другие статьи сборника, в особенности пьянства, ср.: и҃нако са мѫ́чѧ блаженици. а҃ дроугоѥ і҃ако прѣлюводѣйци. прѣблаженици же сѫ̀ мно́гы жѣ́нитвѣ прилепи́ници. и҃ бе҃зь по́каа҃нїа҃ оу҃мираѫ́ще. и҃нако па́кы та́тїе. а҃ дроугоѥ і҃ако разбоиници. и҃ пїа҃ница. (F.I.4 лл. 213об.–214)[11], и҃ нн҃ѣ мно́зи. лако́ство wмра́чени. и҃ невъзр҃ѣѫщесѧ нѝ ѿ чего же. нѫ̀ гла҃ то̀ почто ми далѣ є҃ бъ. бо́гатство по wбилїю. да є҃го не пїѫ̀ нѝ і҃амь. нѫ̀ тѣ р҃е даль ми є҃ бъ. да хва́лоу ѣ́моу вз҃ѧ́ѫ и҃. то̀ да строи́ши є҃го̀ до́брѣ. а҃ не скоскы въ нѣ́ жи́веши. оу҃пива́аса. и҃ непо́добнаа҃ тво́ра. (F.I.4 л. 214об.), нѝгдѣ́ же бо̀ бла҃жа жи́вѫщѝ въ пїа҃нствѣ. и҃ въ всакоѝ зло́бѣ бесѣ́престани. нѫ̀ сны рѫ̀ствоу wгньномоу нарица҃е. (F.I.4 л. 215об.), тогда р҃е соу́цїи wшоу́жю є҃го̀. ѿи҃дѣте ѿ мене про́клатїи. и҃дѣте ѿ мене́ нема́тви. въ wгнь вѣ́чныи. оу҃готованѣ́ныи дїа҃волоу и҃ слоу́га є҃го. по́неже того оу҃го́дїа҃ твористе. въ смѣсѣ въ пїа҃ньствѣ. и҃ не покаѫ́щесѧ прѣ́бысте. прїи́мѣте і҃аже оу҃готоваете. по и҃зво́ленію ва́шемоу. (F.I.4 л. 217). С другой стороны, нельзя совершенно исклю-

[11] Согласно наблюдениям Н. Л. Туницкого, это место в гомилии восходит к Слову Ефрема Сирина “О покаянии и о любви, еще же и о крещеньи и о исповеданьи и кресту похвала и о будущем суде”, входящему в состав славянского перевода Паренесиса (Туницкий 1904: 209).

чать и того, что этот сокращенный вариант “Слова святого Иоанна Златоуста о святой Троице и о твари и о суде” был создан в более ранний период истории славянской книжности, а составитель сборника F.I.4 воспользовался уже готовым текстом.

Отсутствие текстологического исследования “Слова святого Иоанна Златоуста о святой Троице и о твари и о суде” не позволяет точно установить отношение списка F.I.4 к другим спискам памятника. Сравнение с опубликованными списками гомилии показывает, что в списке F.I.4 имеются как чтения, общие с полным списком рукописи Киевского Михайловского монастыря № 490, так и чтения, общие со списком ГИМ Воскресенского собрания № 115-бум. (последние в большинстве случаев совпадают с чтениями списков РГБ собрания Иосифо-Волоколамского монастыря № 153 и РГБ собрания Московской Духовной Академии № 43, опубликованными в критическом аппарате издания гомилии). Приведем некоторые примеры соответствий первого типа[12]:

пѡ́тъщимс҃а до́брыми дѣлы оу҃го҆ни є҆моу ꙗ҆ви́тиса (F.I.4, л. 213об.) – потщи҃са добрыми дѣлы оугодни емоу ꙗвитиса (Мих.-490, л. 59) – потьщимсе добрꙑми дѣлꙑ. да некли оугодни немоу ꙗвимсе (Воскр.-115, л. 110);

ма́ла сло́веса и҆з҆рекшоу (F.I.4, л. 214) – мала словеса рекъшоу (Мих.-490, л. 60) – тькмо ѥдино слово рекшоу (Воскр.-115, л. 110об.);

бг҃е про́сти мѧ҃ ѡ҃ гр҃е́ховь мои҃ (F.I.4, л. 214) – бг҃же прости ма ѡ҃ гр҃ѣ мои҃ (Мих.-490, л. 60) – в(ож)е wцѣсти ме гр҃ѣшнаго (Воскр.-115, л. 111);

тѣ҃ бо̀ възно́сите выспрь дш҃ж и҆ тѣ́ло на нб҃са (F.I.4, л. 215об.) – тѣм҃ бо возносите воиспрь на нб҃са дшю и тѣло (Мих.-490, л. 61об.) – тѣма бо вьсходить д(ѵ)ша и тѣло на н(е)в(е)са (Воскр.-115, л. 113).

Приведем также некоторые примеры соответствий второго типа:

дꙑ҆ха́нїе (F.I.4, л. 213об.) – дыхание (Воскр.-115, л. 110) – доухновение (Мих.-490, л. 59об.);

мꙑ҆то́ѥмець (F.I.4, л. 214) – мытоѥмьць (Воскр.-115, л. 111) – мьздоимець (Мих.-490, л. 60);

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[12] Список Киевского Михайловского монастыря № 490 (Мих.-490) цитируется по публикации (Климент Охридски 1970: 639–646), список ГИМ Воскресенского собрания № 115-бум. (Воскр.-115) – по публикации (Турилов, Фомина 2000). В ссылках указываются номера листов рукописей, а не страниц публикаций.

и҃ми же сп҃обишисѧ нарецишисѧ с҃нь е҃моу҃ (F.I.4, л. 215об.) – ими же сподⷭ(о)бишисе нарецисе с(ы)нь ѥмоу (Воскр.-115, л. 113) – ими же сп҃обиша̀ достоини нарецисѧ спсени емоу (Мих.-490, л. 61об.).

Следует также обратить внимание на два случая близости чтений списка F.I.4 чтениям списка РГБ собрания Иосифо-Волоколамского монастыря № 153 в тех случаях, когда остальные опубликованные списки дают иные чтения:

и҃скрꙋ́на̀ (F.I.4, л. 215) – искрънаго (Вол.-153, цит. по: Климент Охридски 1970, с. 645, примечание 94) – ближнаго (Мих.-490, л. 61; Воскр.-115, л. 112);

и҃цетоша б҃жїа̀ оу҃ста̀ (F.I.4, л. 215об.) – изочтоша (Вол.-153, цит. по Климент Охридски 1970, с. 645, примечание 108) – изрекоша б҃жиа оуста (Мих.-490, л. 61об.; Воскр.-115, л. 113).

Кроме того, следует отметить и ряд чтений списка F.I.4, не находящих подтверждений в опубликованных списках "Слова святого Иоанна Златоуста о святой Троице и о твари и о суде". Некоторые из них, очевидно, являются результатом порчи текста, как, например, случаи написания е҃ства слнца (F.I.4, л. 213об.) на месте свѣтлѣиши ѥста с(о)лнца (Воскр.-115, л. 110) или е҃ствоу҃ б҃а (F.I.4, л. 215об.) вместо ѥ҃ оу҃ б҃га (Мих.-490, л. 61об.), а также написание плꙗ́тема (F.I.4, л. 214об.) вместо пол҃ма (Мих.-490, л. 60об.; Воскр.-115, л. 111об.) в евангельской цитате (Мт 24: 51). Незначительное количество чтений имеет в своей основе фонетические явления, свойственные региону, в котором был переписан текст, ср. случай смешения графем оу҃ и в в предлоге въ: оу҃ се́бе (F.I.4, л. 215) – в себѣ (Мих.-490, л. 61; Воскр.-115, л. 112об.). Следует обратить внимание и на случаи лексического варьирования, когда в списке F.I.4 лексемам, употребленным в других списках, соответствуют их синонимы, ср., например:

ме́дли т҃ (г҃ь мои҃ пр҃їити) (F.I.4, л. 214об.) – кьснить (Воскр.-115, л. 111–111об.) – ноудить (Мих.-490, л. 60);

въ ѵ҃а́мѣ х҃ (F.I.4, л. 217) – вь пѣниих (Воскр.-115, л. 114об.) – въ пѣснѣ х҃ (Мих.-490, л. 63).

Наконец, необходимо сказать и о трех случаях, когда в списке F.I.4 имеются небольшие фрагменты текста, отсутствующие в других опубликованных списках[13]: н҃бса съвїа̀т҃са ѿ̲ стра́ха ꙗ̀ко свитокь (F.I.4, л. 216); и҃ се҃ нн҃ѣ сѫ́дж повинень пр҃е́стож҃. и҃ ѡ҃гньнѣи҃ мѫ́цѣ. ѡ҃ нѣм҃ же вѣры пр҃ъвѣ́е҃ не и҃мѣ. н҃ѫ̀ с҃тыа̀

[13] В цитатах эти фрагменты выделены подчеркиванием.

книгы слы҃ша по въсѣ дн҃и ч҃то҃мы ѡ҃ сѐ то҃же не и҃мѣ вѣры (F.I.4, л. 216об.); и҃ да оу҃слы҃шимь с҃тыи҃ тъ҃ гла҃ гл҃аць. сѐ жен҃и҃ град҃е. и҃зыи҃дѣте въ срѣтенїѐ е҃го҃. слáваще е҃го҃ съ ѡ҃ц҃е и҃ съ с҃ты҃ дх҃ѡ҃ и҃ гл҃аще. бл҃вень градый въ и҃м҃а гн҃е. то҃моу слáва чсть и҃ дръ҃жава. по҃бае҃. ѡ҃ц҃оу и҃ сноу и҃ с҃тмоу дх҃оу. нн҃ѣ и҃ прно (F.I.4, л. 217об.). Но без текстологического анализа всех сохранившихся списков памятника невозможно утверждать, что эти фрагменты, весьма незначительные по своему объему, являются вставками списка F.I.4, поскольку они могут обнаружиться и в других списках, не публиковавшихся до настоящего времени. Можно лишь отметить наличие близкого соответствия последнему из перечисленных фрагментов в "Слове святого Иоанна Златоустаго о покаянии и о блудном сыне", где, как и в "Слове святого Иоанна Златоуста о твари и о суде", эта фраза входит в состав завершающей формулы: гл҃юще. бл҃говленъ градыи вы има гн҃е. ꙗко томоу подобаѥть слава чьсть и покланание ѡц҃ю и сн҃ѹ (Фомина 1993: 48; см. также Гранстрем, Творогов, Валевичус 1998: 116, под номером 343).

Анализ "Слова святого Иоанна Златоуста о твари и о суде" по списку F.I.4 уже сейчас позволяет охарактеризовать этот текст как сокращенный список или вариант "Слова святого Иоанна Златоуста о святой Троице и о твари и о суде". Отсутствие содержательных и стилистических изменений в тексте сравнительно с полными списками памятника не позволяет считать его, как и сокращенный список рукописи Киевского Михайловского монастыря № 490, самостоятельной редакцией памятника (см. Станчев, Попов 1988: 62–63).

Кроме того, есть основания предполагать, что сокращенный вариант "Слова святого Иоанна Златоуста о святой Троице и о твари и о суде", представленный в списке F.I.4, является более поздним, вторичным по отношению к полному тексту гомилии. В качестве обоснования этой точки зрения можно привести аргумент, аналогичный выдвинутому Н. Л. Туницким в пользу более позднего характера сокращенного списка рукописи Киевского Михайловского монастыря № 490, а именно название текста. В сборнике F.I.4 гомилия имеет название "Слово святого Иоанна Златоуста о твари и о суде", хотя часть, относящаяся к сотворению мира, в нее не входит. Можно предположить, что слова "о твари" попали в название из протографа списка F.I.4, хотя сейчас невозможно судить о том, был ли этим протографом полный список "Слова святого Иоанна Златоуста о святой Троице и о твари и о суде", включавший все три части гомилии, соответствующие ее полному названию, или только две (в соответствие с названием текста в сборнике F.I.4). Ответ на этот вопрос может дать дальнейшее исследование истории текста

"Слово Иоанна Златоуста о твари и о суде"
в сборнике РНБ ОСРК F.I.4

"Слова святого Иоанна Златоуста о святой Троице и о твари и о суде", для которого список F.I.4 представляет несомненный интерес. Во всяком случае, этот список является еще одним свидетельством того, что не только полный текст "Слова святого Иоанна Златоуста о святой Троице и о твари и о суде", но и его составные части существовали как самостоятельные литературные произведения.

СОКРАЩЕНИЯ

ГИМ – Государственный исторический музей (Москва).
ИРЛИ РАН – Институт русской литературы (Пушкинский Дом) Российской Академии наук.
РГБ – Российская государственная библиотека (Москва).
РНБ ОСРК – Российская национальная библиотека (С.-Петербург). Отдел рукописей. Основное собрание рукописной книги.

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ПРИЛОЖЕНИЕ

“Слово святого Иоанна Златоуста о твари и о суде” по списку РНБ ОСРК F.I.4

Сборник, озаглавленный: Истоκованїе книга глемаа златоустыи. съ бгw починаe (2-я часть рукописи РНБ ОСРК F.I.4 второй половины XVI в.: лл. 182-340об.); лл. 213об.-217об.

[л. 213об.] слово стго іwана златоустаго. w твари и w сждѣ. ги блви wче: — Такаго мрдаго вакж имаще братїа. потъщимсѧ добрыми дѣлы оугодити емоу іавитиса. не раєтъ бо са w паденїи грѣховнѣ. нж w покаанїи наше веселитсѧ. тѣм же не таймы прѣгрѣшенїи наши. нж испов҃данїемь исцѣленїе прїиме. ре бо са гь, не трѣбоуж здравїи врача. нж болащїи. тѣ же не прїиде призвати правены. но грѣшны на покаанїе. нж нѣ братїа врачнбныи. и позываe ны врачество растворивь крщенїе и по[ка]анными[14] слъзами. wмываа съблазны наша. да не потаймь оубо врѣдовь. сирѣчь грѣ наши. сѧ ними оумираe іако же бъ вѣ очи бжїи и тмами темь. свѣтлѣиши естества слнца. а како ли хощеши таити а. его дыханїе и зракь оу тебе e. да аще а таи здѣ. то непщже ли а оутаити тамо. иже іавatсѧ и дѣла наша и словеса. и помышленїа на страшнѣ сждици. идеже нази прѣстане. богатїи и убозїи. раби и свободнїи црї и силнїи. противоу дѣло прїемлаще. ли црство ли wжженїе. іако же бо сж wтранїи грѣси. тако и wраны мжкы тамо. іакw стоe писанїе оучи ны гла. инако са мжча блжници. а дроугоe іако прѣлюбодѣици. || [л. 214] прѣблжници же сж многы женитва прилепници. и безь покаанїа оумираще. инако пакы татїе. а дроугоe іако разбоиници. и пїаница. тоу бо оуже не бж[е][15] лзѣ помощи. ни wцоу снови. ни брат братоу. ни рабь гноу. нж аще бждe здѣ покаалиса. или матына ницїи сътворили. или странныа въвели въ домы своа. то весели престане. wдесноуж ртла бжїа възираще нейзренныа радости. ж си здѣ приwбрѣтше. покаанїемь и матинеж покаанїе бо e свѣтилникь дши. то бо e да на бъ на исцѣленїе дшевны врѣдо. тѣ бо разбоиникоу wврѣзе хс породоу. мала словеса изрекшоу. токмо, помани ма ги въ црьствїи си. тѣ блжный снь прїать бы възопивь къ боу. wче сгрѣши на нбо и прѣ тобож. оуже нѣсмь доинь нарещиса снь твои. прѣстоупивь твоа повеленїа. нж сътвори ма іако единаго w наемникь твои. тѣ блжница просвѣтиса. wмываще слъзами носъ ісвѣ. и власы wтираще. тѣмь мытоемець прїать бы иже въ цркви стоа. ни смѣаше на нбо очїж въздвести. нж бїасѧ въ прси глаше. бе прости ма w грѣховь мои. тѣми же словесы. и мы длъжни есмы братїа въпити къ боу.

[14] Слог ка дописан на левом поле листа.

[15] Буквы ѣ приписаны над строкой к выносной букве д.

непрѣстан'но слѣзами ѡмыва҃ще грѣхы своа. посто҃ дша своа, и телеса ѡчища҃ще. мт҃инеж, и мт҃вож. дшев'ныа свѣща вѣжига҃ще. а҆ко же рс҃ гь. бж҃дж҃ чрѣсла ваша прѣпоа҆сана. и свѣти || [л. 214об.] л'ници ваши гора҃ще. сѝрѣ до҆бра҃а ваша дѣла. и вы бж҃дете по҆бни до҆бры҃ раб҃ѡ. иже ж҃ть до҆ полоу҃ноци и до коу҃рьгла҃шенїа гс҃ своего. кѣгда прїи҆де҃ съ бра҃ка. блжени бо҃ рс҃ гь сж҃ ра҃би тїи. а҆ приш҃е ѡбра҃ще҃ гь тво҃ра҃а повеленїа его. а҆ще ли҃ рeть злы҃й ра҃бь въ ср҆ци свое҃. ме҃дли гь мои прїити. тъ҆ начне҃ пи҃ти оу҃пиватиса. прїи҆де же гь его въ дн҃ь его же не оу҃вѣ҆дѣ҆. и въ ча҃ его же не ра҃зоумѣ҆. и а҆ще ѡбра҃ще҃ его не го҃това соу҃ща. и а҆вїе и҃мы и и ра҃стеше҃ его плъ҃тема[16]. и ча҃сть его повръ҃же съ ли҃цемѣри зе҃мными. тоу бж҃де҃ рече гь пла҃ и скре҃же зж҃бо. сж҃ же оу҃бо и ннѣ мно҃зи. лако҃ство ѡмра҃чени. и невъзрѣ҆жа҃щеса ни҃ ѡ҃ чего же. нж҃ гла҃ то҃ почто ми дала҃ є҃ бъ. бо҃гатство по ѡбилїю. да его не пїж ни҃ ѣмь. нж҃ тѣ҆ рс҃ дала ми є҃ бъ. да҆ хва҃лоу ѥмоу въза҃ж и. то҃ да строи҃ши его до҃брѣ. а҆ не скоскы въ не҃ жи҃веши. оу҃пива҃са и непо҆до҃вна҃а тво҃ра. нж҃ да ко҃р'миши и а҆льч'ныа и жа҃ныа и нагыа. стра҃н'ныа и си҃рыа. тѣ҆ бо҃ ра҃ди да҃но ти҃ бы. а҆ не со҃бож҃ прѣѡ҃брѣте. тѣ҆м же своего ѥмоу да҃ж. да ти҃ пол'за бж҃де҃. е҃же бо҃ тѣ҆ твори҃те рс҃ гь. то҃ мнѣ҆ сътво҃рите. то҃ бо҃ є҃ а҆ко и҆скры҃тїе зде҃ е҃же тѣ҆ дати. и҆деже то҃го ни҃ чрѣ҆вїе ни҃ мо҃леве а҆да҃. ни҃ та҃тїе кра҃доу. нж҃ ѡнамо съгоу҃бо ѡбра҃ще҃ нетле҃н'но. и въ вѣкы прѣбыва҃еши. а҆ко҃ рече гь. непо҆бите҃са оу҃бо невѣрны глаще. то҃ почто҃ ѡнь та҃ко твори҃ бо҃гатѣ҆. и до҃брѣ жи҃ве. то҃ каа тебе тѣ҆ е҃ста. ко҃ѡ҃ бо҃ пожне҃, е҃же въсѣ҆вь. то҃го же оу҃бо жи҃воу со҃у || [л. 215] ща҃го злѣ҆ зде҃ жеть въ ѡбра҃ще҃нїа ѥмоу. и по҃каа҃нїа. да а҆ще и҆з него оу҃мре. то ѡнамо прїи҃ме҃ мж҃кж вѣчнжа҃. про҃тивоу дѣлѡ҃ свои҃. нж҃ ты҃ пра҃а҆ тече҃нїа сътвори своима но҃гама. да възможеши оу҃бѣжати въсѣ҆ злъ. послоу҃шаи ба҃ что҃ ти҃ въ за҃конѣ҆ написавь. повелѣвь тво҃рити. и хра҃нити рекь. не оу҃бїи ни҃ оукра҃ди. ни҃ прѣлюбы сътвори. ни҃ лъ҃жи послоу҃ бж҃ди. чти҃ ѡца҃ и мтр҃ь си҃. и възлюби и҆скрь҃на своего а҆ко самь себе. ближ҃ній же є҃ въса҃ пра҃вовѣрный. и҆ли҃ въса҃ того же е҃ства е҃. а҆ко же и гь рс҃. въсакомоу про҆са҃щемоу тебе да҃и. и хо҃тѧща҃го оу҃ тебе възати не ѡвра҃ща҃а. нж҃ бж҃дите мл҃тви а҆ко же ѡц҃ь вашь нб҃ный мл҃ти е҃. то҃ что҃ е҃ въ тѣ҆ заповѣ҆де҃ бра҃тїа та҃'ко. его же не може҃ сътво҃рити. и҆деже не про҆сить оу҃ на҃ ничто҃ же. нж҃ рс҃ а҆ко же хо҃щете да тво҃ра҃ ва҃ чла҃ци. то҃ же и вы тво҃рите и҃. да а҆ко же ко҃моужо҃ на҃ нѣ҆ лю҃бо ѡбида ни҃ при҃ кои же ве҃ци ни҃ таба. то҃ ни҃ дроу҃гоу то҃го тво҃рите. въ на҃ же бо҃ рс҃ гь мѣрж мѣрите, намѣри҃са ва҃. сѝрѣ ко҃моужо҃ по дѣ҆ло. тѣ҆м' же по҃вигнѣ҆са бра҃тїа. тъ҆ща҃щеса дроу дроу҃га къ чи҃стотѣ. и поще҃нїю дховномоу. да притагне҃ въ мирилѣ҆. блгть зло҃ж на҃ш. зло҃ба бо҃ а҆ще и ма҃ла бж҃де҃. то҃ ве҃ликж та҃готж и҃ма҃ оу҃ се҃бе. да то҃го ради соу҃гоубо до҃бро сътворя҃и. е҃гда҃ же что҃ тво҃риши ба҃ ра҃ди. лю҃бо по҃. лю҃бо мл҃тна. лю҃бо по҃каа҃нїе҃. лю҃бо смѣре҃нїе҃.

[16] Буква а исправлена из другой буквы.

люво̀ мл҃твѫ. мо́лѧще же сѧ. ре̑ гь, не́ лихоглите. ꙗ҆ко же || [л. 215об.] и̑ по́ганїи. се̑ же є̑ ли̑хогланїе. є҆же є̑ствоу ба̀ про́сити. и҆ли̑ кна́жнѣѧ и҆ли̑ са́на ве́ликаго. и҆ли̑ вра́го оу҆долена̀. и҆ли̑ бо́гатства по́гыбаѫ҆ща. въсѣ̑ бо тѣ̑ невѣрнїи̑ проса̀. нѫ̀ про́сите рече цр҃тва нб҃наго̀ и̑ пра̑вы є́го̀. да и̑ та̀ въса̀ подада́са ва̀. вѣ̑ бо̀ ѡ҆́ць ва̀шь нб҃ный. ꙗ҆ко тр҃бѫ́ете въсѣ̑ тѣ̑. слы́шав҃ же ба̀ нарицаѫ҆ща сѧ тебѐ ѡ҆́ца нб҃наго̀. по̑вигнѣ́мсѧ оу҆годнаѧ̀ сътворити є́моу̀. и҆ми же спо̑бишися нарецѣ́ися сн҃ь є́моу̀. покаа̀нїе́мь и̑ слѣзами. тѣ̑ бо прїа̀ть бы блг҃ный сн҃ь; мл҃тинеѫ҆ и по́ст҃о. тѣ̑ бо̀ ѡ҆чи́щаѫ҆ся гр҃е́си на́ши. смѣренїе[17] и̑ чи́стотоѫ҆. тѣ̑ бо̀ възно́сите выспрь дш҃ѫ и̑ тѣ́ло на нб҃са. кр҃отостїѫ҆ и̑ лю́бовїѫ҆ нели́цемѣрноѫ҆. тѣ̑ бо̀ покры́ваѣ́т҃сѧ мно́жество на́шь гр҃ѣховь. та́ковыѧ̀ бж҃їа̀ оу҆́ста блг҃ви̑ глаще. блг҃ени сме́ренїи̑ дх҃ѡ. блг҃ени пла́чѫщеса. блг҃ени кр҃оцїи̑. блг҃ени а҆л҃чѫще и̑ жаж҃щеи̑ пра́в҃ды. блг҃ени миротво́р҃ци ꙗ҆ко тїи̑ сно҃ве бж҃їи̑ на́рекѫ́ся. сїа̀ до́брыѧ̀ дѣтели слы́шав҃ше бра́тїа. ꙗ҆же и̑цетоша бж҃їа̀ оу҆́ста. и̑ та́ковыѧ̀ се́бе сны̑ сътво́риша. по̑вигнѣ́мсѧ и̑ мы̑ тѣ̑ дѣ́ло̀ оу҆го́дити. и̑ не ѿ҆пасти зло́боѫ҆ то́го сно҃вьства. ни́гдѣ же бо̀ блж҃а̀ жи́вѫщи̑ въ пїан҃ство̀. и̑ въ в҃сако̑и зло́бѣ бес҃престани. нѫ̀ сны̑ р҃ство̀у ѡ҆́гньномоу̀ нарицае́. ре̑ бо̀, чр҃ъвь и̑ не оу҆ми́раѣ́ть. и̑ ѡ҆́гнь и̑ не оу҆гасаѣ́ть. и̑ пои̑до́у̀ ре̑ сътво́р҃ше бл҃га̀ въ жи́знь вѣ҃чнѫ̀. а҆ сътво́р҃ше зла̀а̀ въ ѡ҆́гнь вѣ҃чный. да на кыи̑ оу҆спѣ̑ хо́ще на̀ бы́ти бра́тїа. жи́тїа сѐго вр҃ме́на̀а. || [л. 216] сла́сть. є҆же ꙗ҆ко ды̑ и̑цезае́. и̑ ꙗ҆ко сѣнь ми́мохо́да. и̑ ꙗ҆ко во́да ми́мотече. є́го же съ ѻ҆бо́ѫ҆ не мо́же ѿ҆нести[18] оу҆ми́раѫ҆щеи̑. то́к҃мо а҆́ще не ра҆зава́є хв҃ѣ бра́тїи̑. сѝ҆рѣчь ни́ци̑. то̀ гр҃е́хы є́го възе́м҃ше с ни́ми ѿ҆и́де. и̑ ѡ҆́но и҆́нѣ ѡ҆́станеть. кле́вета. на́[19] снискавшаго є̑. зл҃ѣ̑ гла. сїи̑ чл҃кь хы́щенїе́мь ма̀ събра. лъ́жами та҃ба́ми. кле́ветами ра́збои̑. и̑ се̑ є҆́динь точїѫ҆ съ гр҃ѣхы ѿ҆и́де. а҆ зд҃ѣ̀ въса ѡ҆́станоу̀. ѡ҆́ць бо̀ не мо́же помощи сно҃ву оу҆ми́раѫ҆щѫ҆. ни̑ бра бра́тоу̀. ни̑ мти дъ҆́щери. дѣти ѡ҆́ста́ноуть. а҆ дѣла̀ є҆ди́на не ѡ҆́станѫ҆. нѫ̀ пое́м҃ше дш҃ѫ. въ̀ гото́ван҃ноѥ̀ мѣ́сто пове́дѫ҆. и̑деже пр҃ѣбы́вати, жѫ҆щи вѣ҃чнаго въ҆́скр҃нїа̀. є҆гда̀ прїи̑де́ сн҃ь бж҃їи̑ въ сла́вѣ своего̀ бж҃тва. сѫ́дити хо́та жи́вы̑ и̑ мр҃твы̑. жи́вїи̑ же сѫ̀ правѐници. тѣ̑ бо̀ дша въ р҃ц҃ѣ бж҃ї сѫ́ть. и̑ не и̑ма҆ ѫ҆ ко́снѫтиса мѫ́ка. а҆ мр҃твыа̀ мѣ́нѝ гр҃ѣшныа̀. и̑же жи́тїа сѐго сла́ст҃ми оу҆давишаса. и̑ по́вин҃ни мѫ҆ц҃ѣ сътво́риша. да то́го ра҆ гра́дѣ̀ съ нб҃се. вб҃ои̑ хо́та възати про́тивоу̀ дѣлѡ̀. прїи̑де же ꙗ҆ко млъ́нїи̑. и̑ гро́зна съ сла́воѫ҆ неизрече́ноѫ҆. пр҃ѣтекѫщи пр҃ѣ̀ ни, бесплъ́ны̑ силь чи́но̀. і҆ а҆бїѐ ѿ҆ стра́ха то́го нб҃о въ҆́страсеса. зе́мла въсколѣблеса. а҆ зв҃ѣзы̑ спад҃ѫ. бе҃зны̑ ис҃сакнѫ҆. слцѐ помр҃ъкне. лоу́на пр҃ѣложиса въ кр҃въвь. нб҃са съвїѫ҆т҃сѧ ѿ҆ стра́ха ꙗ҆ко свитокь. а҆́гли

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[17] Так в рукописи!

[18] Буква є смазана.

[19] Буква а исправлена из другой буквы, вероятнее всего, из и.

прѣ̑текѫ̑. стра̑шны̑ гла̑ въпїѫ̑ще ~~прѣтекѫ̑~~[20] и̑ оу҃бѫ̑жа̑ще спа̑ща̀ а̑ вѣка. пра̑вѣ ||
[л. 216об.] ныа̀ же и̑ непра̑вены̑а̀. а̑вїѣ съ трепето̑ съста̑ви зе́мла тѣло. а̀ко же
коа̀ко̑ прїе́мши и̑ въни̑и̑де̑ па̑кы каа̀ко̑ дша. въ свои̑ съставь гро́зно трепещѫ̑ци. и̑
не въздри̑ ко́ко̑ на своѐ бо́гатьство. нѝ слоу҃гь прѣ̑стоа̑ць. нѫ̑ дѣ́ла то́чїѫ̑ на вы̑а̀
ви́саща. а̀ко бремена та́жка̀. и̑ въплъ го́рькь, а̑ въсѣ̑ и̑схо́даць. ко́ко̑[21] възопїе́ть
гла. а̑ го́ре мнѣ а̑каа̀нномоу҃. ка́ко прѣлъ́сти ма̀ поу҃стошны̑и а̑нь свѣ̑. и̑де́же въ
малѣ бо́гаствѣ зла̑ похоти наслаа̑ждьшеса. ли́шиса вѣчны̑а̀ сла́вы̑. и̑ се̑ нѣнѣ сѫ̑дѫ
повинень прѣ̑стоѫ̑. и̑ а̑гнынѣ̀и̑ мѫ́цѣ. а̑ нѣмь же вѣры прѣвѣ́ не и̑мѣ. нѫ̑ стыа̀
кни́гы слы́ша по въса дни ч҃то́мы а̑ се̑ то́же не и̑мѣ вѣры. нѫ̑ смѣа̑хса а̑каа̀нны̑и
гла. а̀зь ли̑ хо́цѫ лоучїи̑ въсеа̀ чади бы́ти. нѫ̑ да са наслаа̑ждѫ̑ вѣка се́го. нѣнѣ же
а̑нѝ по҃ници и̑ стран҃нопрїе́мници. стоа̑ а̑дѣ́сноуѫ̑ ба. вѣн҃ци неи̑зрен҃ными
оу҃кра̑ша́еми. а̀ко сно́ве бо҃у. а̀ а̑зь а̑каа̀нны̑и. пла́мен҃нѣ̀и̑ мѫ́цѣ а̑сѫ̑жень прѣ̑стоѫ̑.
не смѣ бо҃ а̀ко а̀влена и̑мѫ̑ бы́ти дѣ́ла моа̀. прѣ̑ се́лицѣмь народ҃о. и̑х҃ же нѣнѣ на
вы̑и̑ моей въси възираѫ̑. сѝ по́добнаа̀ сѝ грѣшникѡ̀ глаѫ̑ще. ра́злѫ̑ча а̑ а̑гглы,
про́тивоу҃ дѣлѡ̀. а̀ко же пастѫ̑ а̑вь҃ца а̑ ко́злиць. и̑ поставѣ̑ пра̑вены̑а̀ а̑дѣ́сноуѫ̑ ба.
а̀ грѣшны̑а̀ а̑шоуѫ̑ю. и̑ ре́ть цр҃ь соу҃ща̀ а̑дѣсноуѫ̑ е҃го. прїи̑дѣте бл҃вени̑и̑ а̑ца̀ мое́го.
прїи̑дѣте прїи̑мѣте оу҃гото҃ванно҃е ва̀ цр҃твїѣ и̑с пр҃ваго вѣка. вы̑ || [л. 217] бо҃ а̑ мнѣ
въсе своѐ ста́жасте. ал҃чѫщѐи̑ и̑ жа̑ждѫ̑щѐи̑. и̑ въ ѱа̑мѣ̑ и̑ въ посте̑. и̑ мл҃тинами а̑
мнѣ ве́селив҃шеса. тѣ́мь же нѣнѣ съ мноѫ̑ цр҃твїа̀ нб҃наго насла́дитеса. ал҃чень бы̑ и̑
на́питасте ма. жа́день и̑ напои̑сте ма. на́гь и̑ а̑дѣ́асте ма. стра́нень и̑ прїа̀сте. то́гда
а̑вѣщаѫ̑ е́моу҃ пра̑ве́ници глаще. ги ко́гда тѧ̑ видѣхѡ̀ а̑ль҃на и̑лѝ жа̑на и̑лѝ нага и̑
послѣшахо̀ те́бе. и̑ а̑вѣщавь цр҃ь и̑ ре́ и̑мь. пра́во гла ва. понеже сътво́ристе малы̑.
тѣмь ни́цѝ бра́тїи̑ моей, то̀ мнѣ сътво́ристе. то́гда ре́ соу҃ща̀ а̑шоуѫ̑ю е҃го. а̑и̑дѣте
а̑ мене про́клатїи̑. и̑дѣте а̑ ме́не не́мл҃тви. въ а̑гнь вѣчны̑и̑. оу҃гото҃ванны̑и̑ дїа̀волоу҃
и̑ слоу҃га̀ е҃го. по́неже то́го оу҃годи̑а̀ тво́ристе. въ смѣсѣ въ пїа̀ньствѣ. и̑ не пока̑ѫ̑ща
пр҃ѣ́бысте. прїи̑мѣте а̀же оу҃гото́васте. по и̑зво́ленїю ва́шемоу҃. слы́шаще бра́тїа̀ ка́ко
стра́ш҃на и̑ гро́зна мѫ́ченїа̀ а̑ждь на̑. по́не а̑ѫ̑елѣ въспра́нѣмь. и̑ оу҃дръ́жиса а̑ зла̑.
го́товыа̀ грѣхы и̑сповѣдаѫ̑ще и̑ ка̑ѫ̑ща. а̀ не при́тваре̑ѫ̑ще дроу҃гы. слы́шасте бо҃
что̀ прїи̑мѫ̑ та́мо нечь҃стивїи̑ и̑ грѣ́шнїи̑. и̑же не пока̑ѫ̑са зде̑. да́ чл҃ка ли̑ сты́даса
таи̑шї̑и̑ а̑. и̑ с ни́ми хо́щеши въ съмр҃ъ и̑ти. и̑ по съмр҃ти въ мѫ̑ вѣчнѫ̑а̀. а̀ ба са не
бои̑ши. нѝ сты́дишиса. чр҃ес҃ зако́нь хо́да. и̑же сло́веса твоа̀ и̑ по́мышленїа̀ твоа̀ въ
дла́ни съдръ́жи. и̑ прѣ̑ бес҃числыными[22] а̑гглы и̑ чл҃кы а̑вличити тѧ̑ и̑ма. и̑ вѣ́ || [л.
217об.] чнѣ̀и̑ мѫ́цѣ прѣдати, про́тивоу҃ дѣломь. нѫ̑ сїа̀ н҃равы поганьскыа̀

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[20] В рукописи зачеркнуто.

[21] Слово ко́ко̑ приписано за границей строки на левом поле листа.

[22] Так в рукописи!

"Слово Иоанна Златоуста о твари и о суде"
в сборнике РНБ ОСРК F.I.4

wврѣгоуще є҆го сѫ. оу҆бы́стрим҆ꙗ на мл҃ть бж҃їѫ. чи́стаѧсѧ дн҃ь днѐ мл҃тинеѫ. и҆ посто҆ и҆ до́брыми дѣа҆нїи. свѣ́ща своа҆ въжи́гаѫще въ цр҃кви пр҃ѣ́бываѥ́, въ҆и҆нѫ ѫщѫ є҆го. и҆ да оу҆слы́шимь с҃тыи тъ гла҃ глаѧ҆ть. сѐ же́нѝ гра҃дѣ. и҆зы҆и҆дѣ́те въ ср҃ѣтенїѐ є҆го̀. сла́ваще є҆го̀ съ w҆ц҃ѐ и҆ съ с҃ты́ дх҃w̃ и҆ глаще. бл҃вень гра҃дыи въ и҆мѧ гне. то́моу сла́ва ч҃ть и҆ дрѣ́жава. по҆бае҆. w҆ц҃оу и҆ сноу и҆ с҃тмоу дх҃оу. нн҃ѣ и҆ пр҃но: —

Коротко об авторе ...

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Автор статьи: Фрагмент "Слова св. Григория изобретено в толцех" из рукописного сборника XVI века РНБ F.I.4 и некоторые проблемы текстологии памятника. // *Грани русистики. Филологические этюды. Сборник статей в честь 70-летия профессора В.В. Колесова.* СПб., 2004 (в печати). 321-336.

Составитель словарных статей *Словаря обиходного русского языка Московской Руси XVI-XVII вв.* (отрезки "блин – бляшка", "бояться – брашен"). Т. 1. СПб., 2004.

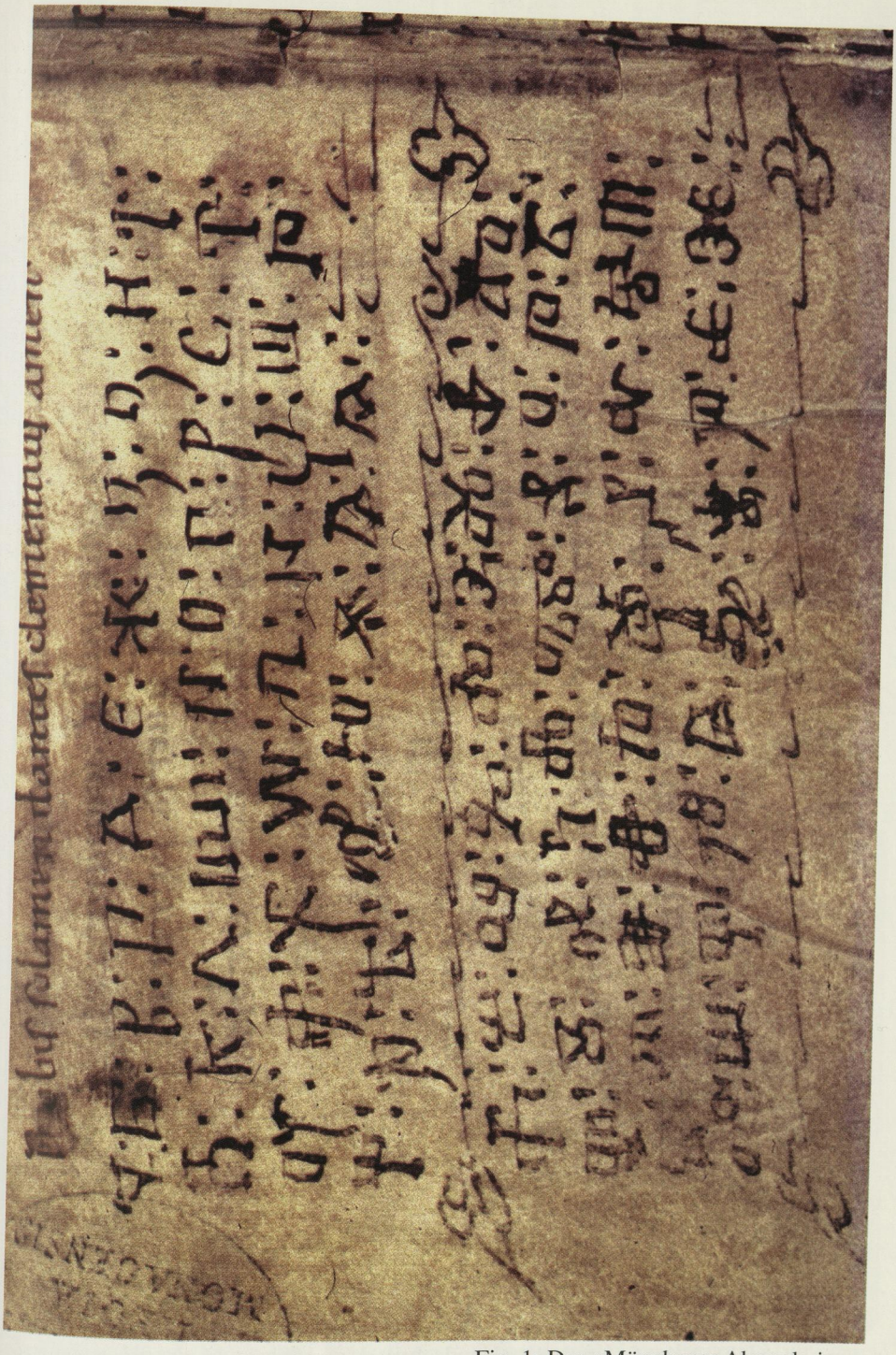


Fig. 1: Das «Münchener Abecedarium»

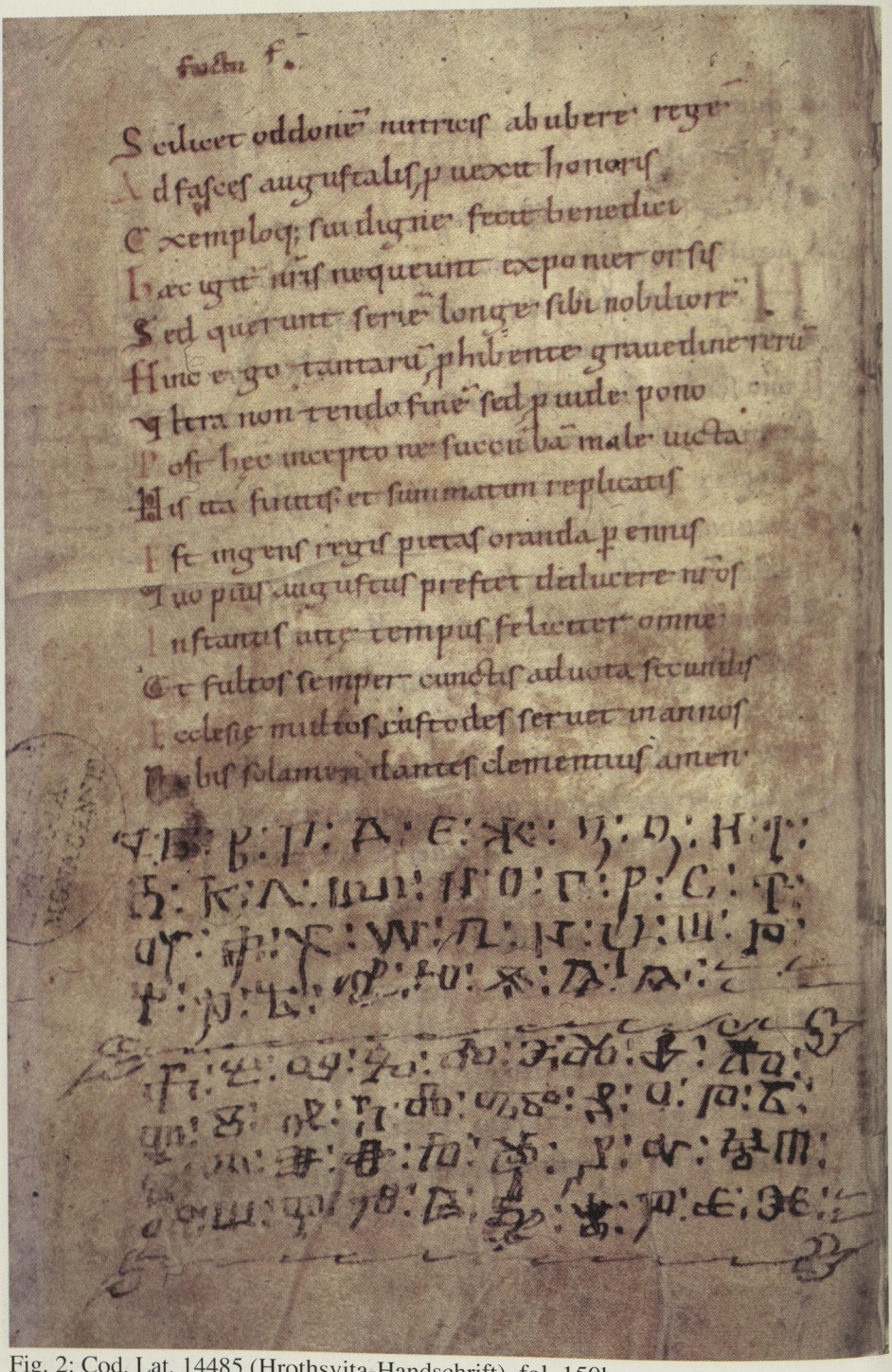
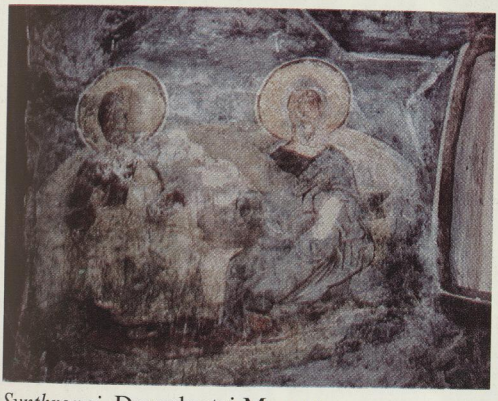
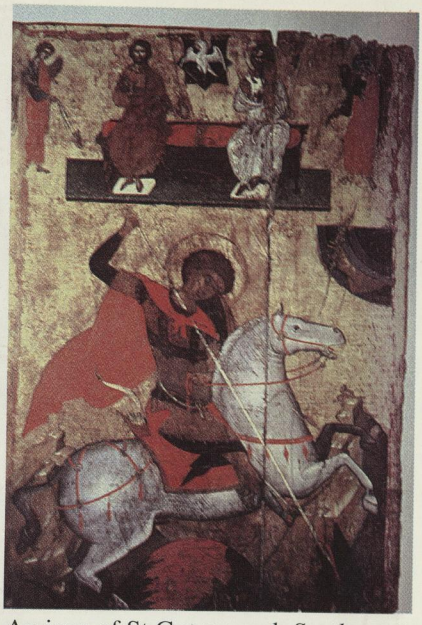


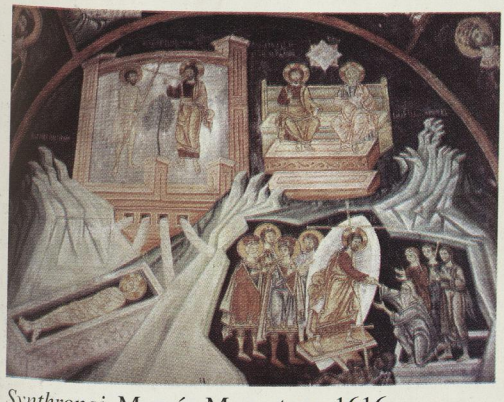
Fig. 2: Cod. Lat. 14485 (Hrothsvita-Handschrift), fol. 150b



Synthronoi, Dragalevtsi Monastery, Bulgaria, 16th century



An icon of St George and *Synthronoi* from the 15th-16th centuries

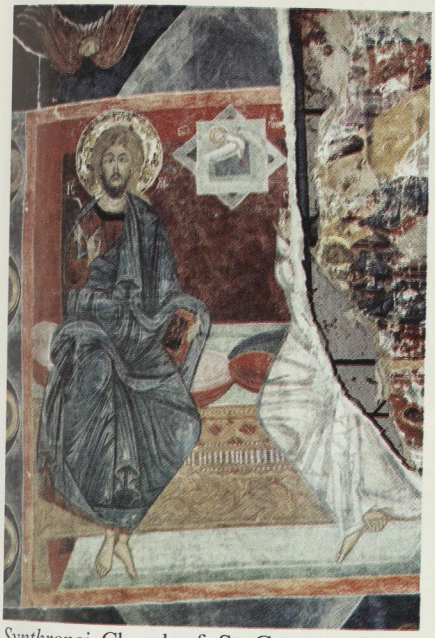


Synthronoi, Moraća Monastery, 1616

Synthronoi, icon, Georgie Mitrofanović, 1616

Synthronoi, Church of the Nativity of Christ, Arbanassi, Bulgaria 1649

Synthronoi, Church of St. Athanasius, Arbanassi, Bulgaria, 1667



Synthronoi, Church of St. George, Arbanassi, Bulgaria, 1709

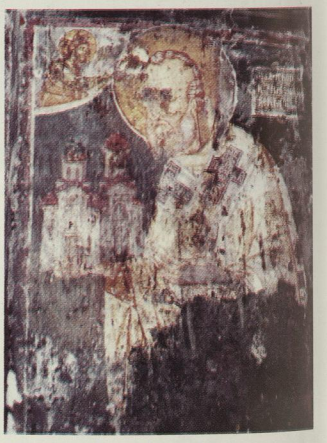
Synthronoi, Dragomirna Monastery, Romania, 1607-1609

Synthronoi, icon, Mt. Aretiou, Greece, 17th century

Synthronoi, the Refectory at the Monastery of Docheiariou, Mt Athos, ca. 1700

The Virgin Η ΧΩΡΑ ΤΟΥ ΑΧΩΡΙΤΟΥ (façade)

St. Demetrios and the Donor (façade)



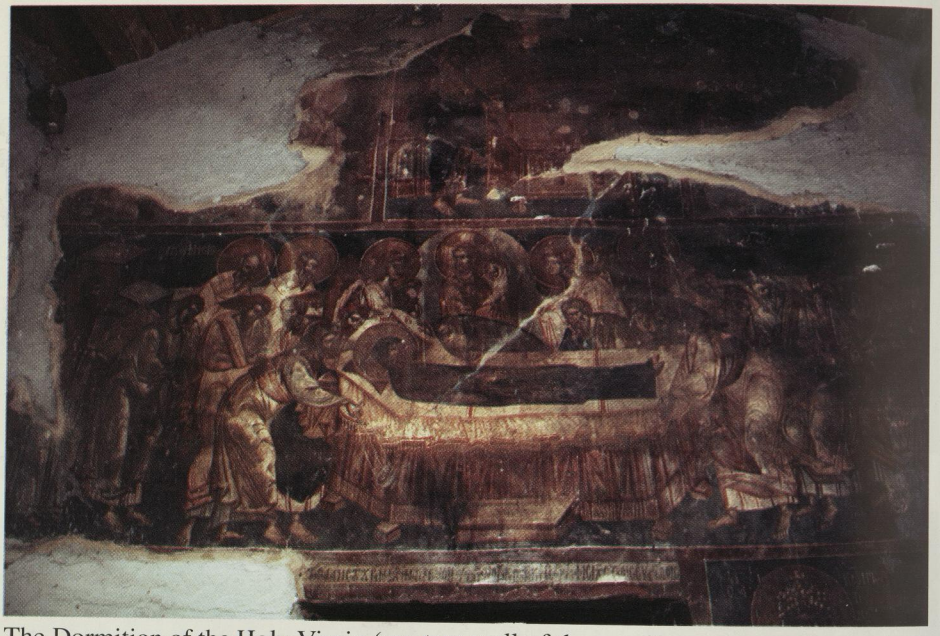
The Bishop Nimphon.
The church of Christ Zoodotes,
Embore (1390)

The Holy Virgin (Sanctuary apse)

The Melismos: St. John Chrysostom, St. Gregory the Theologian and St John the Almsgiver (Sanctuary apse)

The Melismos: St. Basil the Great, St. Athanasios of Alexandria and St. Gregory of Nyssa (Sanctuary apse)

The eastern wall. Archangel Gabriel



The Dormition of the Holy Virgin (western wall of the naos).

St. Constantine and St. Helena
(western wall of the naos)

St. Barbara (the entrance)

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& e-SCRIPTA
5/2007

The Face of God's Divinity: Some Remarks on the Origin, Models and Content of the Trinity Images of Synthronoi Type in Post-Byzantine Painting

Margarita Kuyumdzhieva

"Many of us retain rather child-like images of God. The old man with a long white beard above the sky, for example, or, perhaps more fundamentally a notion of God that sees him as the providential guider of the world's life, a sort of master puppeteer who pulls the strings to make what happens. I am not sure that it is such a view of God that I want to advocate today."[1] These judicial words were not addressed to the Eastern Orthodox believers; however, I would argue that they are not entirely foreign to the attitude of many of the followers of Orthodoxy in today's post-communist times, when it is more natural and much more possible to think about God with a kind of "abstract" freedom than it is to understand and follow the Orthodox tradition, which requires much more knowledge and devotion. Even the image of that very same God as an old man with a white beard is also well known to us, not only from Renaissance and Baroque paintings, but from the vaults of our own Revival-era churches; that is, not only is this image not foreign, but at some point it became in fact a part of that same Orthodox tradition.

The present text is an attempt to return to the pre-history of this image, to understand and to come closer to that which has been passed down through the centuries as the perception of God as the Holy Trinity, which has found its visual expression in art that in the Orthodox tradition has been transformed into an indivisible part of theology. This text is also an attempt to discern to what degree and during which period certain Western influences can be seen as a part of this visual tradition. To this end, I have chosen one of the variants for the visualization of the idea of the Holy Trinity that exists both in Eastern Orthodox and Western art with close formal characteristics, but in different contexts: the image of the Trinity of

[1] Sermon for Matins, 3 September 2006, Westminster Abbey, by the Reverend Robert Reiss, Canon of Westminster.

the *Synthronoi* type.[2] It represents God the Father and Christ in human form seated on the heavenly throne side by side, with the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove. For the Church Fathers both Eastern and Western, the uncircumscribed divine nature of God the Father is unbounded and invisible and therefore no portrait icon of Him is possible. Yet this "pure" theological concept has been ignored, both because such an image turned out to be necessary for believers and also because the artists themselves could not always be expected to be good theologians. These images of God the Father are an essencial element for the anthropomorfic imagery of the Trinity, part of which is *Synthronoi*. In the East *Synthronoi* images appeared already in Byzantine art, marking a later stage in the history of the visualization of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, but nevertheless remaining limited in their distribution. In the post-Byzantine era, however, such images became particularly popular in the art in the Balkans and in Russia, turning out to be the preferred way to visualize the triune God from the 18th century onward. What are the origins of this image, what is its meaning, what were the mechanisms for its spread and what are its basic models – these are the questions that the present text raises, without pretending to be able to answer them definitively.

Origin. Unlike one of the other anthropomorphic variants of the Holy Trinity – *Paternitas*, which has seen a series of academic studies dedicated to its origins, peculiarities and meaning[3] – the *Synthronoi* images until now have not been the

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[2] Images of the Holy Trinity in which God the Father appears as human are united in a specialized literature by the term "anthropomorphic" in analogy with anthropomorphism – the ascription of human and material qualities to God with the goal of vivid pictorial description with words and concepts from human language. The state of research on these images makes it necessary to offer certain preliminary terminological clarifications. In the art history literature, there is still no universally accepted unified terminology to designate different anthropomorphic variants of the Holy Trinity. Most often they are written about using the general term *New Testament Trinity*, which is perhaps preferable in order to distinguish this type of imagery from the Old Testament typological image of the Holy Trinity, i.e. the scene of the *Hospitality of Abraham*. Precision in this case, however, demands a clarification of this terminology, since the name *New Testament Trinity* is not sufficiently accurate in the context of Christian theology. It also has no basis in the visual arts tradition, where the corresponding names for this scene are not defined as "New Testament," but rather as simply the Holy Trinity. In addition, such a title does not differentiate between the various anthropomorphic variants. In the present text, the name *Synthronoi* is used in accordance with the terminology accepted in the German language art history literature, as well as in some newer Russian and Serbian research (Gerstinger 1956).

[3] Here only the basic articles will be quoted (Heimann 1934; Martin 1954: 180; Gerstinger 1956; Papadopoulos 1968; Lazarev 1970; Ivanić 1993–1994; Kuyumdzhieva 2005). For the discussion of the *Paternitas* image from the 14th-century Tomić Psalter held in The State Museum of History in Moskow (ГИМ 2752) see (Gagova 2005) where all the erlier literature is cited.

subject of specialized research. It is well known that in comparison to Byzantine art, in western painting this anthropomorphic variant arose in an earlier period in the manuscript illumination, most frequently in connection with the first verse of Psalm 109.[4] The theological commentaries on this Psalm, including the work of French theologians from the second half of the 12th century and in particular that of Pierre Lombard, played a fundamental role in the iconographycal development of the visualisation of this text by incorporating the dove of the Holy Spirit in already established dual images (Madsen 2004). The earliest triple images of the *Synthronoi* variant appear precisely in illustrated manuscripts with Lombard's text that was followed in the 13th century by the "standardization" of the visualization of Psalm 109,1 using exactly this composition. In the same period it also spread to manuscripts with different content, eventually becoming one of the established iconographic means of representing the Holy Trinity in eastern painting.

It is true that in Byzantine art this anthropomorphic variant remained for the most part an exception. Perhaps it is because of this that when faced with the *Synthronoi* variant, most researchers simply attribute its appearance in Eastern Orthodox art to Western influence, without offering any serious arguments for such a claim.[5]

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[4] The earliest examples examined in the literature as precursors to the triple images of the *Synthronoi* type are binary, i.e. they represent two figures next to each other, which, according to one of the hypotheses, designate the divine and humane nature in Christ's hypostasy – *Christus secundum divinitatem* and *Christus secundum humanitatem*, see (Kantorovitz 1947); according to another opinion that seems more plausible God the Father and the Son are represented in connection with sixth-century exegetical writings on the Psalm (Dufrenne 1978). Such a scene is used to illustrate Psalm 109: 1 in the Utrecht Psalter from the ninth century, which is also the most famous and often cited example (Boespflug, Zaluska 1994) and the earlier publications cited in this article.

[5] One rare exception to this opinion can be seen, for instance, in (Μαδερακης 1991, 1992: 141–146). According to the author, the iconographic model for this anthropomorphic variant has its own Byzantine origin, and as proof, he points to coins with the Emperor's image from the time of Valentinian and Justinian, which show the same scheme for organizing the figures. Similar idea was introduced much earlier by Ernst Kantorowitz (Kantorovitz 1947). Despite the formal similarity, it is unlikely that the appearance of this variant in Palaeologian art could be inspired exactly by these old images. On the other hand, this formal similarity can be attributed to the fact that both images in fact express a shared semantic model: that of inthronisation, in which the chosen one takes his place at the right hand of the deity. Other religious communities also use the same model in order to represent the transfer of power, privileges and divine protection. In the Old Testament, placement on the right-hand side also symbolizes divine patronage and protection. The same semantics is preserved in Christianity as well; most likely it is precisely because of these connotations that the place at the right hand of the Father is deserved for the Son after his Ascension. Thus, one general ideological model forms the basis of both the Impe-

Judging from the preserved examples of mural painting from the Byzantine era, such as those from the Virgin Mary Church in Mateić (1356–60)[6] and the church of St. Nicholas in Kastoria, mid-14th century (Sisiu 1996)[7] it appears that in this period, the image already represented a synthetic composition that could in principle be connected with the ideas from Psalm 109; however, the visualization of this Psalm does not appear to have been the main reason for its occurrence. It is a fact that for Byzantine theologians, as it is for their Western "colleagues" also, Psalm 109 is of essential importance in proving the ideas of the Son as Only – begotten by the Father, and of the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son, who atter redeeming the sins of humanity, once again resumes his place alongside his celestial Father on the heavenly throne.[8] However, in the vast majority of Byzantine manuscripts, this very same Psalm is not illustrated with the *Synthronoi* variant, but rather with the image of the prophet David before Christ, who is seated on a throne (Dufrenne 1978). Interestingly enough, we may take note of the existence in some Byzantine manuscripts of other earlier anthropomorphic images of God the Father as the *Ancient of Days* and of God the Son represented side-by-side, which can be connected to the ideas in Psalm 109. As early as the ninth century in the Cod. Paris. Gr. 923, on fol. 40r the text from the Acts of the Apostles 7: 55 is found, telling of St. Stephen, who was filled with the Holy Spirit and who bore witness to the Glory of God and the Son seated at the right hand of the Father. This text is accompanied by the images of Christ and the *Ancient of Days*, whose figures are surrounded by a shared mandorla; however, Christ is not seated on the Father's throne, but instead is standing next to him (Weitzmann 1979, Tsuji 1975).

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rial iconography as reflected on the coins pointed out by Maderakis, as well as in the *Synthronoi* variant. However, this does not provide sufficient basis to claim that the images indicated served as a direct model for the scene in Byzantine painting.

[6] Gabelić offers the first serious analysis of this image; however, she examines it as part of the cycle of Miracles and Deeds of the Archangels (Gabelić 1991: 99–101).

[7] The author discusses the same composition once again in his article in the volume Αφιερωμα στη μνημη του Σωτηρη Κισσα, Θεσσαλονικη 2001.

[8] See (Rondeau 1985). Here I will take the liberty of quoting only the Russian translation of parts of the interpretation of Psalm 109 by St. John Chrysostom: "Возбуждение внимания слушателей указанием на высокое значение Псалма, особенно для обличения различных еретиков и, во-первых, иудеев: Господь, Которому говорит Бог, есть, вопреки мнениям иудеев, Единородный Сын Божий, и такое объяснение не разногласит с основным учением Ветхого Завета; заповедь о почитании единого Бога дана ради немощи иудеев; пророчества о Христе, как исполнившиеся, служат неопровержимым доказательством истинности Ветхого Завета, в который веруют иудеи." Because of this meaning of the psalm the Orthodox Church has found a fitting place for it also in the liturgy for the feast of the Nativity of Christ (Hallelujah, fifth voice), see (Naumov 1984).

Another such image from fol. 130v of the Benaki Psalter dating from the end of the 12th century is already directly connected to Psalm 109, whose text it is meant to illustrate (Cutler 1992: 131, fig. 16)[9] Finally, in Cod. Slaw. 4 – the Serbian Psalter from the 14th century in Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, for the illustration of Psalm 109: 1 on fol. 146v the triple image of the *Synthronoi* has been selected.[10]

The question is whether such dual images can be seen as proto-*Synthronoi*, or as precursors of the variant that is familiar to us from the 14th-century art, and whether they constitute sufficient proof that this variant arose independently in Byzantine painting without being influenced by Western art. The thesis I would like to support at this stage of the work is that a similar image was formed in early-Palaeologian painting, and even if a model already established in the West was used for its formation, this model was entirely reworked within the context of the visual tradition existing in Byzantium. The main reason that we cannot speak about direct Western influence in this case is the incorporation of the *Ancient of Days* as an image of God the Father – this choice results from the continuous elaboration of the iconograhpy of the pre-existent God in Byzantine art, the aspect that is not at all typical for the West.[11] It is uncharacteristic primarily due to the different conception of the Holy Trinity held by Western theologians.

Among the most fundamental disagreements between the two Churches, which culminated in the Great Schism of 1054, is the controvercy on the proceeding of the Holy Spirit, which even today remains a major point of contention. According to the Orthodox interpretation, the Western doctrine of the "double procession" of the Holy Spirit – both from the Father and the Son, places too much emphasis on "simplicity"/unity of God, to the detriment of an understanding of the complexity of inter-hypostasic relationships and especially of the idea of the mon-

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[9] Other horizontal binary variants that combine the *Ancient of Days* and Christ are also in known, for example in Paris. Gr. 64 from the beginning of the 11th century (Tsuji 1975: 183–184). However, they appear to be not so much connected to the Holy Trinity, but rather address the theme of the unity of divine and human natures in the hypostasis of the Son and the consubstantiality of the Son and the Father (Tsuji 1975: 183). The same observation is made for the meaning of some of the dual images of the vertical variant, considered as proto-*Paternitas*.

[10] The *Ancient of Days*, holding a scroll in his left hand and making a blessing with his right, and Christ, holding the Holy Spirit in his left hand, are depicted side-by-side on the heavenly throne (Strzygowski 1906, Dufrenne, Radojčić, Stichel, Ševčenko 1978).

[11] Only the basic studies that concern the *Ancient of Days* will be quoted: (Millet 1945: 42–43, Grabar 1968: 52–55, Радовановић 1988). For the characteristics of this image in the illuminated manuscripts see (Galavaris 1979, Tsuji 1975, Avner 1982, McKay 1997, Musakova 1998, 2002, Moussakova 2002).

archy of the Father in these relationships.[12] In other words, while Byzantine theologians emphasize the difference between the three hypostases, in the West the consubstantiality of God is underscored, leading to a certain neglect of interhypostasic differences.

These theological divisions are also reflected in the preferred anthropomorphic variants used to visualize the doctrine of the Holy Trinity in Orthodox and Western religious art.[13] Here I would like to briefly note that analysis of early Western images shows that at least until the end of the 13th century, the tendency to rather emphasize the single substance than the characteristics of the three hypostases in Western theology was also reflected in art, in which the glory of the Holy Trinity was visualized through the image of the single Godhead that is still not visually defined as the Son or the Father, yet most often the figure of Christ served to represent the three Persons of the Holy Trinity.[14] Erwin Panofski has already noted that for early Western painting it was essential to represent the Holy Trinity through a single image: that of the glorified Christ, i.e. "*Majestas Domini*" (Panofski 1938).[15] They have undergone their own unique evolution, "splintering" into many different variants arising from the creative inventiveness characteristic of Western artists and their patrons. This evolution passed through the stage of the so-called "polymorphic" images of Christ, which in connection with the desire to show the different aspects of the Son of God, presented two or three Christological types side-by-side, for example Christ the King, Christ as God, or Christ as Man, which can be seen in examples as early as Carolingian painting in the 9th and 10th centuries. This horizontal model was subsequently also used for the representation of the three hypostases of the Holy Trinity in a specific iconographic model: the image of three identical human figures placed next to each other on a throne, which would become a patent image in Western painting and which, once again in

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[12] Here I will cite the explanation made by John Meyendorf, who quotes Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzus, Pseudo-Dionisius, John of Damascus, Gregory Palamas and other Greek Fathers: "Contrary to the concept which prevailed in the post-Augustinian West and in Latin Scholasticism, Greek theology attributes the origin of hypostatic "subsistence" to the hypostasis of the Father – not to the common essence" (Meyendorf 1976: 183).

[13] The term "Western" painting may seem amorphous and overly general, therefore I will clarify that in this case it primarily refers to works created by Italian, French, Anglo-Saxon and Flemish craftsmen.

[14] Regarding these questions, see (Boespflug, Zaluska 1994), which up to now remains the basic research on the problem.

[15] The author pointed out examples in which Christ in His glory has a Trinitarian meaning and it is precisely these images that have recently been examined as a basic starting point for the development of the anthropomorphic iconography of the Holy Trinity in Western painting (Boespflug, Zaluska 1994).

connection with the leading idea of the single substance of the Holy Trinity, emphasizes the similarity rather than the differences among the Persons of the Holy Trinity.[16] Out of these "polymorphic" images of Christ, other triple images later arose in the illustrated manuscripts of the West, including *Paternitas*, *Synthronoi* and the *Throne of Mercy*. From the 14th century onward, the independent image of God the Father as an old man was already widespread, as were images representing the three hypostases of the Holy Trinity; the general impression is one of great variety in representational choices and freedom to search for new representations.

What was the situation in Byzantine art, or rather Orthodox art, during the same period? First and foremost it should be noted that the search for an adequate representation of the Holy Trinity in the East also passed through a number of stages; however, given the difference in the theological conception of the Holy Trinity, the searches began from a different point of departure than those of the West, precisely due to their emphasis on the complexity of the hypostasic relationships. As early as Patriarch Photios (820–891) the Orthodox position is clearly emphasized: the claim that the Holy Spirit originated "also from the Son" ignores the independent features of each of the Persons (Haugh 1975). As a result of the reaffirmation of this viewpoint in direct contrast to the West, Orthodox iconography would undergo development in the direction of searching for an appropriate image that would emphasize precisely the interhypostasic differences: the characteristics of the Persons within the Trinity. The first steps in this direction date as early as the time of Photios; however, more concentrated efforts produce results slightly later, around the time of and after the schism of 1054 with the development of iconographic models of Christ of the Emmanuel type and the *Ancient of Days*, as well as with the appearance of anthropomorphic images of the Holy Trinity, especially the *Paternitas* composition, which remains purely Byzantine aming to visualise the idea of the monarchy of the Father so essential to Byzantine theology (Kuyumdzhieva 2005: 323, Gagova 2005: 301–302). Each of the images mentioned should be examined in connection with the others, as they are the result of one and the same process.

Just how great this difference in conception is can be clearly seen in the lack of widespread popularity in Byzantine art of the Trinity type showing three identical male figures seated side by side, which is so characteristic of Western painting;

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[16] The earliest and today most popular examples are from the end of the 12th century from a manuscript that does not survive to this day, which was known as "*Hortus Deliciarum*", in which the image is accompanied by the inscriptions "*Sancta Trinitas*" and "Trinus et unus Dominus, trinus in personis, unus in substantia, *hoc una facies trium personarum demonstrat*" [my italics – M.K.] and the similar image in the wall paintings from the altar of the Church in Vallepietra (Italy).

while such images are not totally absent from Orthodox art, they nevertheless remained isolated examples.[17] Also highly indicative is the considerably later distinction between the two human figures representing the Son and the Father in the Western variant of *Synthronoi*, which first become more noticable after the 13th century, while in Byzantine art even in the earliest anthropomorphic variants of the Holy Trinity the figures of the Son and the Father are clearly differentiated through formal characteristics that emphasize their individuality, a goal that was achieved precisely through the incorporation of the figure of the *Ancient of Days* in Trinity iconography. On the other hand, it should be stressed that in comparison to Western painting, in the East attempts to solve the problem of the representation of the three hypostases of the Holy Trinity through the use of anthropomorphic variants were no less inventive, but were fewer in number and, despite their dissemination, in the Orthodox tradition until as late as the 17th century the safest way to illustrate this doctrine was still to use the Old Testament scene *The Hospitality of Abraham*[18] in which the noncanonical idea of the human appearance of God the Father is avoided.

No matter which hypothesis about the origin of *Synthronoi* we argue for, the fact remains that early preserved examples of Orthodox painting dating from the 14th century show an already well-developed iconographic scheme. *Synthronoi* achieved its greatest popularity, however, in a later period, from the 16th century onward, when its existence and distribution was validated by a complexly intertwined constellation of sometimes contradictory reasons. On the one hand, they are the expression of a dogmatic-liturgical and visual tradition, while on the other hand, they are the representatives of an already different perception of the reli-

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[17] See for example Vat. gr. 1162, 12th century in (Lazarev 1986: ill. 255).

[18] As early as the ninth century, the perception was established that the three angels' visitation to Abraham was in fact an appearance of the Holy Trinity, an interpretation that is offered for example by Theodore of Stoudios. And if we judge by the canon by Joseph the Hymnographer (ca.886) for the Sunday of the Forefathers, Song V, or by the first part of the canon for the service for the Sunday of the Holy Fathers, or by the corresponding words from the vesper canons by Metrophanes from Smyrna (mid-9th century), then we can conclude that the idea of Abraham as one who has seen God and to whom the Holy Trinity has revealed itself is already fixed in the ninth-century hymnography. From the 10th century onward the composition of *The Hospitality of Abraham*, depicted in various manuscripts and in church decorations, began to signify the Holy Trinity. Other variants were also distributed along with this Old Testament episode, for example, in the composition the *Baptism of Christ* God the Father is present in the form of the Divine Right Hand, shown in the segment above the figure of Christ, while the Holy Spirit is depicted as a dove. Trinity symbolism is also found in the scene *Hethimasy* (Heavenly Throne), see (Babić1966, Townsley 1974).

gious image, in which the primeval connection between the image and theology begin to give way, being replaced by circumstances of other character, among them being even the fashionable trends among icon painters. Still, in the post-Byzantine epoch, the main theological context and doctrinal meaning of *Synthronoi* did not change; however, what did change are the details of the image, in which a distinct Western influence can be sensed. These two questions: the content and form of *Synthronoi* in post-Byzantine art, will be briefly discussed.

Meaning. While *Paternitas* alludes to the theological idea of the Monarchy of the Father and of the Son – Only-begotten by the Father, the *Synthronoi* composition from its very earliest appearances functioned in a different theological context, namely the idea of the Kingdom of Heaven, where Christ sits on the heavenly throne at the right hand of the Father. According to the Greek Fathers, Christ dwelt in the tomb only in flesh, resurrected on the third day and after the Ascension took his place on the right side of the Father on the heavenly throne. In Book Four of his work "Explanation of the Orthodox Faith," John Damascenus clarifies that after the Resurrection, Christ sat at the right hand of the Father, "both divine and human, desiring our salvation and indeed accomplishing it – divine as the providence of all things, yet human, remembering his deeds on earth and seeing and knowing that all creatures bow down before him... and by the right hand of the Father we understand the glory and honor of God, in which the Son of God is as God and consubstantial with the Father, existing since time immemorial, becoming flesh in the final days, remaining bodily at the right hand of God and the Father, since his flesh is glorified together with Him."[19] These ideas are also expressed in a series of theological texts, part of which are connected for example to the liturgical practices on the feasts of the Resurrection and the Ascension of Christ.[20]

One such text is the *troparion* "Bodily in the tomb" ("Εν ταφω σωματικῶς" "Во гробе плотски"),[21] which finishes with the words: "and You were on the

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[19] English translation by Angela Rodel, see (Točnoe izloženie1992: 270–27). The dominant motive for the position to the right hand of the Father is based again on David's words in Psalm 109: 1: "'Sit Thou at My right hand, until I make Thine enemies the footstool of Thy feet".

[20] In the first *troparion* of the first song of the canon for the Ascension it says that Christ ascended to heaven and was seated to the right side of the Father. The same motives are found in the Second Homily on the Ascension by John Chrysostom, or example: "Тот, кто воспринял Себе нашу плоть, получил отеческий престол, чтобы примирить рабов с Богом" (Ioann Zlatoust 1899: 860).

[21] The text of the *troparion* says: "In the tomb bodily, in hell with the soul like God, in heaven with the thief, and on the throne you were, O Christ, with the Father and the

throne, O Christ, with the Father and the Holy Spirit," which was originally part of the liturgy for the Resurrection of Christ, (Taft 1978: 248)[22] but which subsequently, judging from preserved manuscripts, became part of the Great Entrance from the 16th century onward (Marković 1998). It is as if the greater importance that this text received in the liturgy from the 16th century on also provided the impetus for its visualization,[23] which began precisely from that century onward[24] and which invariably included the *Synthronoi* scene.[25] In the context of the same theological ideas we can also explain the representation of *Synthronoi* painted directly next to the scene of the *Ascension of Christ* on the vaults in a series of churches from the post-Byzantine era.[26] Another direct connection between this image and

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Holy Spirit.", trans. A. Rodel, see (Марковић 1998). The *troparion* is recited quietly by the deacon after the Dismissal (Мирковић 1982: 64).

[22] After the changes in the Byzantine rubrics that introduced the *Diataxis* of Philotheos Kokkinos, since the middle of the 14th century it has been included in the sequence of the rite of the prothesis and is read at the altar during this part of the liturgy. See (Марковић 1998) and the cited in this article literature.

[23] The *troparion* is illustrated with four scenes: *The Descent into Hell* (or *The Women at the Lord's Tomb*), *Christ in the Tomb* (or *The Lamentation of Christ*), *Christ in Heaven*, and the final scene, which is related to the words "on the throne you were, O Christ, with the Father and the Holy Spirit" is *Synthronoi*.

[24] The earliest examples are from wall paintings of the narthexof the church of Grachanića monastery from the first half of the 16th century, from the church at the Dragalevtsi monastery, as well as from the icon from the iconostasis of Cathedral of the Assumption in the Kremlin (from the middle of the 16th century) (Марковић 1998, Тодић 1988: 251–252, Качалова, Маясова, Щенникова 1990: 62–63). The icon from the Moscow cathedral was painted after 1547 by master icon painters from Pskov who were invited to help in the restoration of the church's decorations that had been destroyed in the great fire in Moscow.

[25] In most cases the cycle is painted in the prothesis, as in the church at the Monastery of the Holy Trinity in Plevalja (1595) and in Moraća (1616), see (Петковић 1974: 61, 73–74). In addition to these examples, we can also point out the images in the prothesis of Nikolyats (1570–1580), Dobrichevo (ca.1615), and Krup (1617) see (Марковић 1998) and the cited literature. However, the cycle is also found in the wall paintings in narthexes, for example in Gracanića and in the Church of the Holy Virgin at Dragalevtsi Monastery. The reasons for this change in its location can be explained if we take into account the particularities of the use of this *troparion* in the Orthodox liturgy. The fact that the *troparion* is read in the prothesis during the course of every liturgy explains why it was used to illustrate precisely the space around the altar of the church, while its presence in the narthex can be traced the fact that the *troparion*'s content is directly connected with funeral themes, and commemorative and funeral rituals are enacted primarily in the narthex.

[26] Such examples can be seen most recently in Serbian monuments, including the churches of St. Nikolaos in Dubochića (1565), in Velika Hoća (c. 1577), and in the church

the hymnograhpy of this period is the incorporation of *Synthronoi* into the pictoral cycle of the *Akathistos of the Virgin*, where the 15th strophe is visualized using this anthropomorphic variant of the Holy Trinity, revealing the Word as incarnate on the earth and at the same time present in heaven.[27] This peculiarity differentiates the cycle of the *Akathistos of the Virgin* in a number of Romanian monuments,[28] and its existence has already been noted in the specialized literature, where it is generally explained as resulting from Mt.Athos influence, without any proof in support of this opinion being offered (Henry 1930, Vasiliou 1998: 165). Today, we have not discovered an earlier such model in the wall paintings of any of the monasteries on Mount Athos; of course, this does not mean that such models do not exist. Images similar to the Romanian examples can be pointed out, however, they are from a later date. One such example is the Cretan icon by the icon painter Ioanis Kastrofilakos from the 17th century, in which in the illustration of the 15th strophe *Synthronoi* has been inserted in the upper portion of the composition (ΕΙΚΟΝΕΣ 1993: 476, №120).[29] Tracing the paths of influence in the case of the Romanian examples remains an open question.

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of the Holy Trinity, Plevalja (1592–95), see (Петковић 1965). It is indicative that in a monument created during an earlier period in the same territory, there appears to have been an attempt to visualize similar ideas, however this anthropomorphic variant of the Holy Trinity was not yet used for that purpose. The monument in question is the unusual composition of the upper part of the scene *The Ascension of Christ* from the vault of St.Peter church, Bijelo Pole (c. 1320), which represents Christ in a mandorla, being lifted by angels towards the *Ancient of days* which await him; next to them, the Heavenly throne is depicted, and between Christ and the *Ancient of days* is the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove, see (Джурич 2000: 390–391, Simić 1975). For the iconographic peculiararities of this image, for the origins of the motif of heavenly gates in the Ascension of Christ and for the connection of this image with illustrations of Psalm 23 in certain Psalters, see (Wessel 1972). During the 16th and 17th centuries, however, the visualization of the idea of Christ seated at the right hand of the Father on the Heavenly Throne had already come into being through the *Synthronoi* variant. The geographic area in which this particularity was found also widened, judging from examples from the altar in the church of the Dragomirna Monastery in Romania (1607–1609), where the connection between the *Ascension of Christ* and *Synthronoi* is explicit, see (Vasiliou 1998).

[27] "The unbounded Word was complete among men below, and from Heaven above never absent...".

[28] Among the examples can be included Saint George in Suceava (1532–34), the church at the Probota Monastery (1532), in Humor (1535), Moldovitsa (1537), Sucevića (in the altar program from circa 1596), see (Henry 1930, Fabritius 1999: 211–212). Examples from Byzantine art are illustrated in a different way that is similar to the illustrations of the theophanies – visions of the prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel, see (Pätzold 1989).

[29] Also the earlier literature cited therein.

The motive from Psalm 109: 1 about the Son of God who through his Ascension raised human nature to the heavens, where He is seated on the throne next to the Father, has also been incorporated into the *Orthodox Creed*. It is likely that this literary context was the reason behind the appearance as early as the 16th and 17th centuries of the image of the *Synthronoi* in close proximity to scenes representing the Ecumenical Councils,[30] and later in pictoral illustrations of the *Orthodox Creed* itself in a series of later icons and wall paintings. The idea of the Heavenly church and the eternal existence of God's kingdom in which the Son is seated on the throne next to the Father and the Holy Spirit is repeated also in other liturgical texts that refer to all three Persons, for example the text of the *Epinikios hymn*, otherwise known as the *Seraphic hymn*, and the prayer of the *Trisagion* in the Mass of the Cathecumens. These texts are also connected with the image being examined here.[31] In addition, it should be noted that the strict connection of this image with the liturgy is also the reason for the frequent placement of the *Synthronoi* on the vault above the altar, the place where these liturgical texts are recited.[32]

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[30] This combination is identical to the wall paintings at the Bishop's residence in Roman, Romania, created during the 16th century. It is particularly at the Ecumenical councils summoned to combat the spread of different heresies that the formulations of the Creed that referred to the East-Orthodox teaching on the Trinity were reconfirmed. One such formulation reads: "I believe in one God Jesus Christ, the Son of God... he rose on the third day and ascended to heaven and is seated at the right hand of the Father." During the same century, however, on the vault of the narthex in the Catholicon of the Sucevița Monastery, also in Romania, the scenes of the Ecumenical Councils are still accompanied by the traditional image of the Holy Trinity in Orthodox painting – the Old Testament scene of the *Hospitality of Abraham* (Henry 1930). One particularly interesting example indicating a possible connection with the Symbol of the Faith is the *Synthronoi* scene from the gallery of the church of the Nativity of Christ (1649) in Arbanassi (Bulgaria), which is also surrounded by images of the Ecumenical Councils, which provide it with doctrinal significance (Kuyumdzhieva 2005: 332). This relocation of *Synthronoi* in the context of the Ecumenical Councils is not unprecedented, if we judge from the observations of Christopher Walter, who mentions unpublished, preserved fragments of an icon of the First Ecumenical Council from the Byzantine Museum in Athens, № 1497, which included an image of *Synthronoi*, see (Walter 2000: 184).

[31] For this connection see (Galavaris 1980–1981).

[32] Since the beginning of the 17th century in Ukrainian and Russian liturgical books, there has been an expansion of the prayer of the *anaphora* "Достойно и праведно есть", which in its edited versions already begins with the naming of the hypostases: "Достойно и праведно есть покланятися Отцу и Сыну и Святому Духу, Троице единосущной и нераздельней". Noting this change in the liturgical text, M. Timotiević uses it to explain the relocation of *Synthronoi* to the vault in the space around the altar in some Serbian

The Models. Although the idea of attributing the origin of *Synthronoi* in Byzantine art to significant Western influence has proved inadequate, the iconographic development of this variant in the subsequent periods nevertheless shows that certain influences from Western European painting can be identified, however not earlier than the middle of the 16th century. Similar images first appeared primarily in those territories where Orthodox and Catholic communities lived together, such as Crete, Cyprus and Corfu. Western iconographic models frequently found their way into the Orthodox art created in these regions, as did stylistic techniques characteristic of Western painting. It appears that at least until the end of the 16th century, it was precisely these productions that influenced Balkan art via their distribution through illustrated books and icons. During the 18th century, this channel of influence was supplemented by other sources for Western models such as the Ukrainian and Serbian baroque. Since it is not possible to examine here the whole range of Trinity images circulated during these centuries, I will briefly point out just the basic models characteristic of Balkan art during the 16th and 17th centuries.

The earliest post-Byzantine examples of *Synthronoi* date from the second half of the15th century onward. They are the work of Cretan icon painters and represent a frontal view of the seated figures of God the Father with a scroll in his left hand and Christ on his right hand side, holding a codex in his left hand and offering a blessing with his right; in contrast to the Byzantine examples, the place of the Holy Spirit in this scheme has already been fixed, being located between the two figures.[33] It is entirely possible that a similar clarification in iconography showing a more neutral attitude toward the series of the origins of the Holy Spirit took place following the lively discussions during the time of the Concil of Florence (1438–1445).[34] The Cretan model obviously originates from known images in Pa-

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monuments from the 18th century (Тимотијевић 1994). While not rejecting this possibility, I would like to note that this location is connected precisely with the liturgical character of the composition and it is not an 18th-century inovation.

[33] Examples include: an icon of Saint George with scenes from his life, in whose upper part is depicted *Synthronoi* from the end of the 15th century (ΕΙΚΟΝΕΣ 1993: 532); an icon of the Holy Trinity *Synthronoi* from the Benaki Museum in Athens circa 1500 (ΕΙΚΟΝΕΣ 1993: 541–543); an icon of Saint George and *Synthronoi* from the 15th and 16th centuries (ΕΙΚΟΝΕΣ 1993: 526), among others.

[34] A compromise formula was accepted by the Greek delegates at the Council of Ferrara-Florence, in which the procession was defined as being from the Father and through the Son. Some of the Greek delegates argued that both the Latin and Greek definitions were legitimate as the Greek formulation addressed the eternal nature of the Trinity, while the Latin addressed its temporal manifestation. For the discussions during the Council of Florence (1438–1445) see for example (Gill 1959, Acta Slavica 1976).

leologian art; this point has already been accepted in the literature, despite the lack of many Byzantine examples being cited whatsoever.[35] It is precisely these earlier images, however, that bear witness to the fact that the scene was widespread in monumental painting during the 14th century in different regions of the Balkans; thus, it was possible for at least some of the icon painters during the 16th century to follow just such models in their work, which were familiar to them precisely from these monuments. For example, this appears to be the case with the *Synthronoi* images in the narthexes of the churches in Studenitsa and Dragalevtsi, which are noted for their iconographic "archaism".[36] Nevertheless, it was precisely the Paleologian model revived by the Cretan icon painters that was the leading model for art in the Balkansduring the 16th and 17th centuries, when it was spread not only through icons,[37] but also through manuscript books with illustrations[38] and wall paintings.[39] This image was not yet influenced iconographically or stylistically by Western painting.

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[35] (ΕΙΚΟΝΕΣ 1993), and other literature cited in this publication.

[36] See n. 23.

[37] Besides the icons noted in footnote 34, other examples can also be pointed out: Cretan icons dating from the second half of the 16th century from a private collection (Galavaris 1981: pl. IVc); another icon of *Synthronoi* from the 17th century most likely belongs to the same icon painter (ΕΙΚΟΝΕΣ 1993: 507–508); the icon by the icon painter Georgi Mitrofanović from 1616 (Kajmaković 1977: 39). To these examples we can also add one icon from Arbanassi by the icon painter Hristo "The Virgin Mary with the Saints" from the beginning of the 18th century, which is now in the Veliko Turnovo History Museum (Popova 2002: 43), in which *Synthronoi* is depicted in the upper part and follows the same model.

[38] Printed books of particular significance for the spread of this model include the Miscellany of Yakov Krajkov, printed in Venice in 1566 in the former Vincenzo Vuković's printing press, see (Petković1994). For the same composition in an illustrated manuscript from this period see (Momirović 1985: 77).

[39] Sreten Petković's conclusion can be mentioned here that the image of *Synthronoi* from the prothesis of the Holy Trinity Church in Plevalja is a copy of the Cretan icon with the same scheme, which underwent certain adjustments to fit the given space (Petković 1974: 73). As S. Petković emphasizes, the influence of Cretan iconography in the painting of the Holy Trinity Church in Plevalja is the earliest known example of such a phenomenon, showing the penetration of the art of contemporary Greek masters into the territory of the Peć Patriarchate after its founding in 1557. The icon painter Father Strahinja who painted the Holy Trinity Church in Plevalja later repeated the model of the composition based on the *troparion* "Bodily in the tomb" in Moraća as well (1616), see (Petković 1986). The same Cretan model was also reproduced for example in the churches of the Nativity of Christ (1649) and Saint George (1709), it is preserved in a fragmentary state) in Arbanassi (Bulgaria). For a detailed description and dating of the wall paintings in the Church of Saint George, see (Gedrgova, Popova, Genova, Klisarov 2006: 113–126).

It appears that from some point in the middle of the 16th century onward variations on this model began to be spread that incorporated elements characteristic of *Synthronoi* in Western art. Among these details are the scepter in the hand of God the Father and the sphere which appears between the figures of the Father and the Son or in the hand of God the Father. It seems the sphere made its way into the composition of *Synthronoi* primarily through certain icons from the island of Corfu, (Βοκοτόπουλος 1990: 66, №41)[40] remaining a typical element for the images of *Synthronoi* originating from this island. It is precisely this adaptation of the image that appears on Mount Athos during the 16th century,[41] later becoming popular in Balkan painting as well.[42] In the West, however, the variant in which the sphere is located in the hand of God the Father is more widespread.[43]

Regarding the most widespread model of *Synthronoi* during the 18th century, which represents the Son holding a cross in his right hand and God the Father with

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[40] Vokotopulos points out other similar examples, all from the painting of Korfu. We would like to add to this one icon by Manuel Zanfurnari from the end of the 16th century, which is once again connected with the same geographical region (Χατζηδάκης 1987: 429).

[41] This image of *Synthronoi* is found in the blind dome of the vestibule of the Refectory at the Monastery of Docheiariou, with a hypothetical date from the 16th century (Onash, Schnieper 1997: 29). More sustainable seems the datation of these frescoes made by Yiannias – 1676 or 1700 (Yiannias 1991).

[42] We see it in the monuments from the 17th century in the work of masters from Linotopi and Epirus. In certain wall painting ensembles, including those in the church of the Transfiguration Monastery in Driovuno (1652) and in the church of the Castriu Monastery near Paliocastro (1670), we can find a re-created variant in which God the Father and the Son are sitting side by side on top of the clouds with a sphere placed between them, which has a cross painted above it. In an analysis of the wall paintings from Driovuno, Anastasia Turta notes that the Linotopi master appears to have been familiar with the Cretan icon of similar content, whose scheme he also repeated in the church painted by him (Τούρτα 1991: 130).

[43] This is a typical element found even in the early variants of *Synthronoi* and illustrated manuscripts from the14th century; see for example the composition in The Trés Belles Heures du Duc de Berry, c. 1380, Museo Civico d'Arte Antica, Turin. The incorporation of the sphere into the composition of *Synthronoi* is particularly characteristic of Italian painting from the second half of the 14th century onward (Iacobone 1997: 182–183), and is also found in illustrated Bibles printed in Venice during the 15th century. Once again, Cretan art is the most likely mediator in the appearance of this element in certain examples of Balkan art from the 17th century. The icon painter from the Church of St. Atanasios in Arbanassi (1667, Bulgaria) for example uses a slightly modified Cretan model in which the sphere is in the hand of God the Father, this image is published in (Răceva 2005: 45).

the scepter in his hand, I will merely note that in this case Western influence is already undeniable. The main channels giving rise to this influence include the printed production of the period, beginning for example with illustrated Bibles printed in Venice during the 15th century and passing through various engravings with similar images that were particularly widespread in the West during the 16th and 17th centuries.[44]

In conclusion, it must be clarified that the present text deliberately does not address the question of the dogma and canonical arguments connected with the existence of anthropomorphic variants of the Holy Trinity in Orthodox art. This aspect is inarguably important in order to be able to understand the spiritual climate and to clarify the reasons that made its widespread distribution possible, despite its noncanonical status;[45] however, our goal here is not so much to argue for the purity of faith as to probe more deeply into the particularities of its visual expression and into the eventual reasons for these particularities. The fact that these images are so widespread testifies above all to a fundamental change in the perception regarding the possibilities for representing God the Father. The reasons for this change are complex. During a period spanning from the 15th until the 18th centuries, Eastern Orthodoxy in the Balkans was forced to survive under new and complex conditions, defending its doctrines under pressure from various factors,

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[44] I have in mind the engravings of the Holy Trinity *Synthronoi* in illustrated Bibles from Venice – one was printed by Giovanni Rocco in 1487, and the other by Lucantonio di Giunta in 1490, see in (Early Bible 1957: ill. 36, 38); or, for example, an engraving from *La Practique solide du saint amour de Dieu*, P. Binet, Paris 1631 (Boespflug 1984: 284). A similar variant is also included in in Vinchenzo Vuković's Miscellany, which was printed in 1547 at his press in Venice to serve the needs of the Orthodox community (Медаковић 1958). The significance of the composition the *Coronation of the Virgin Mary*, so popular in Western painting, should also not be overlooked. The appearance of a similar composition in Orthodox art during the 16th century was still little more than an incidental occurrence, such as the image on the fasade of the church at the Suchevitsa Monastery (late 16th century) in Romania, which Paul Henry considers to have arisen out of models from Mt. Athos, which added the stylistic characteristics of Orthodox painting to the western scheme (Henry 1930: 275). Once again, it must be noted that as it seems such images from Mt.Athos monasteries date from a later period – for example, the *Coronation of the Virgin Mary* below the illustration of the hymn "Достойно ест" from the internal narthex of the Catholicon at the monastery of Vatoped is from 1760, see (Kukijaris 2003).

[45] These processes have been very well studied by Leonid Uspenski (Успенски 2001). In the literature, and especially in theological studies dedicated to this problem, there appears to be a tendency to oversimplify our approach to these images and to emphasize and comment more on their non-canonical nature, having already concluded that they are foreign to the Orthodox spirit and tradition and thus must be judged as a practice.

including the Muslim rulers and their religion, the growing influence of Catholicism, and the appearance and establishment of Protestantism. Under these new conditions, the Orthodox church through its institutions and representatives was called upon not only to preserve its own traditions, but also to actively defend them, adapting religious images to fit these needs. It appears that this adaptation tookplace also in the visual illustration of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, with the goal of offering the faithful a more accessible way to understand the idea of the mystery and majesty of the triune God, which had been discussed on such a sophisticated level by Byzantine theologians. The justification for this more liberal approach was best formulated by Gennadius Scholarius, the first patriarch after the fall of Constantinople, who compared his contemporaries to the first Christians; in light of their difficult fate, he was inclined to forgive their theological "degradation" and involuntary deviations from ritual purity. In that epoch more than ever it was necessary to forgive the minor things, in order to preserve the major one (Turner 1969: 449). Perhaps it is because of this that precisely during the period from the 16th to the 18th century that anthropomorphic variants including *Synthronoi* succeeded in becoming established as the appropriate representations of the Holy Trinity, despite their incongruence with the Canon. Perhaps it is because of this that sanctions on the part of the Church against these kinds of images were rare, unconvincing in their grounds and ineffective in their results. In fact, the choice to analyze in particular one of these images was motivated by the conviction that they are a unique expression of the spirit and atmosphere of this contradictory and interesting epoch. For this reason, deeper investigations of the entire complex of these images are still needed; and such work will certainly be pursued in the near future.

ABBREVIATIONS

ΔΧΑΕ: Δελτίο Χριστιανικής και Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας, Αθήνα

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The Murals of the St. Demetrios Church in Bobоštica:

Local Traditions and Constantinople Influences in the Ecclesiastical Art of the Prespa-Korča Region in the Fourteenthe Century

Ralitsa Rousseva

The fourteenth century was a period of spiritual and artistic growth for all Eastern Orthodox states, in contrast of the difficult political situation on the Balkans. In a spiritual and cultural aspect, Constantinople regained its position and turned into an undisputed centre of artistic thought and spread its influence throughout the Balkans. According to O. Demus, the whole of the Byzantine art during the second half of the 14th century is characterized by the pluralism of the ever stronger presence of the regional schools. A multitude of local ateliers were founded. They developed their own style and distinguished themselves with original iconographical choices, taken under the influence of one centre or another – Mount Athos, Salonika or Constantinople. During the same time they continued to follow the established regional traditions, dominated by some significant monuments in their respective regions. The relatively large number of preserved examples of mural painting in the region of Prespa and Korča shows that an active centre of spiritual life was formed there during the 14th century.[1] The iconography in the region developed closely connected with and under significant influence from the two large ecclesiastic and cultural centres in the vicinity, Ochrid and Kastoria. Here I will add, that the influence of Kastoria is much stronger and more direct. Despite this, the monuments of the region are distinguished by their diversity, as well as by their own distinctive characteristics – a tendency that is continued in the

[1] The church of Holy Virgin Eleusa on Mali Grad island (1344/45; 1368/69); the St. Demetrios church in Bobostica (second half of 14 th C.); the rock church of Holy Virgin Eleusa near Tuminec (the end of 14 th c.); the rock church of Archangel near Trăstenik (14th c.); the rock church of Annunciation at Cărnapešt near Globočica (second half of 14 th C.); the Christ Zoodotis church in Embore (1389/90); the village church in Globočica, (15th c.). To this group of monuments can be added also the church of St. Peter on Goljam Grad island (in RMacedonia; circa 1360–70) and the rock churches and separate frescoes at the Greek side of Prespas Lakes.

post-Byzantine period. The reason behind the formation of these common characteristics can be sought in the models used. In my opinion these are the two large basilicas – of St. Achillios on the island that bears the same name in Mala Prespa Lake and of St. Sophia in Ohrid. Their institutional and historical role naturally turned them into a central model of imitation and imposed certain aesthetic preferences on the region for a long period. When talking about the archiepiscopal church of St. Sophia as a centre of spiritual life in the diocese, such claims can hardly be questioned. It can only be assumed to what degree the murals of the St. Achillios basilica were influencing and dictating the iconographical norms in the region, because of its almost complete destruction. Despite this, taking into account the probable donorship of the Tsar (the tomb of Tsar Samuil in the south nave) and its overall historical significance, the decoration of the church was probably used as a model of inspirations. Testimonies of this influence and of continuity are the partially preserved murals of the church of the Holy Virgin in the village of Ljubonje (circa 1210).[2] This church, as well as the fragments from the rock church in Uraka (late 13th century),[3] besides being important by themselves, are also significant proof of the continuity of spiritual life in the region and also of the connection between the many preserved monuments from the 14th century and those of earlier periods.

The village of Boboštica (Boboštnica) is about 15 km from the city of Korča. Only four of the old churches in Boboštica have survived to the present day: St. Demetrios (14th – 17th century), St. John the Baptist (16th century)[4], St. Nicholas in ruins (17th, 19th century) and the Holy Virgin (19th century). The best known church was that of the St. Nicholas Stauropegion Monastery (1506), which has suffered an unusual fate – renovated in the 18th century, this church was destroyed during communism but has now been restored.[5] In his description of the region P. Milyukov lists the above-mentioned churches, but the only thing he notes about the St. Demetrios church is that the frescoes are of no interest, because they "are crude, late, with no inscriptions or dates".[6]

The St. Demetrios is a one-nave, one-apse church, which has been re-covered with a gable roof. Initially the church was taller, which we can determine by the preserved mural fragments on the upper parts of the eastern and western walls. The murals date from different periods. The first layer, which this study dates to around the last quarter of the 14th century, includes murals on the church façade

[2] Lozanova 2003a: 303–307; Ruseva 2005: 46–60.

[3] Ruseva 2006: 465–471.

[4] In the church there was an inscription in Greek which listed the donors – all of whom had Bulgarian names.

[5] Gelzer 1904: 203, 211–220; Snegarov 1932, II: 118, 227, 281, 494–495.

[6] Miljukov 1899: 77.

(the eastern wall of the narthex), the western wall of the naos and the eastern wall of the naos. There is an earlier layer under the scene of the Melismos in the apse, i.e. the church has been repainted again during the second half of the 14th century, whrereas the other murals date from the 17th-18th centuries.

In 2003 I published preliminary notes concerning the initial layer of murals in the St. Demetrios church in Bobоštica[7] in which I discussed the scenes on the façade and the western wall of the naos. In 2002 I read a report, now in press, dedicated to the murals of the church. In it I examined the images in the apse and the eastern wall from the 14th century, as well as the murals on the southern and northern walls of the church from the 17th and 18th centuries[8]. Here I will try to make a more thorough analysis of the murals from the 14th century and to situate them in the context of the monuments in the region.

The Inscription

On the western wall of the naos above the entrance, at the place of the donor's inscription, there is a one-line inscription. This inscription, preserved partly, without the beginning, is most probably paraphrase the Gospel of Matthew (Mt 22:39–40):"...τῆς ἀγάπης τὸ χρῆμα χρήματι ξένον, αὐτὴ τὰ νόμου καὶ προφητῶν κρεμάθρα ὡς φησὶ οὖν ἐν ἁγίοις εὐαγγελίοις" ("...the value of love, foreign to money, hangs on all the law and the prophets as, therefore, it is said in the Holy Gospels").[9]

Here we can naturally ask the question, why is there a paraphrase of a Gospel text in the place of the traditional donor's inscription and what is its connection to the history of the church and the will of the donor? The most productive "poet" of Constantinople Manuel Philes became especially popular in the beginning of the 14th century. His works found their place in the context of ecclesiastical art and were inscribed in churches, on icons, church plate and others, and were thoroughly studied by Alice-Mary Talbot[10]. During the 14th century epigrams began being inscribed in the churches in the capital. It is enough to point out the parekklesion of the church of the Virgin Pammakaristos in Constantinople and the Tomb of Michael Tornikes at the Chora Monastery (Kariye Cami). The presence of the epigrams in these Constantinople monuments is closely related to the funeral nature of the chapels and the images in them, but, as a whole, the epigrams have an evocative function. Taking into account the place, where the inscription is situated and the absence of an image of commemorating nature in the studied monument,

[7] Lozanova 2003b: 508–517.
[8] Rousseva 2002.
[9] I would like to thank Prof. K. Pavlikyanov for deciphering the text.
[10] Talbot 1999: 75–91.

the text can hardly be associated with the funeral theme. Also, the contents of the inscription have no connection to gratitude or a prayer to a saint. The addition of this adaptation of a Gospel text above the entrance could possibly have a moralizing, didactic function by reminding the people coming out of the church of the basic idea of Christianity – the love for God and fellowman. The questions surrounding this inscription remain open, but the very presence of this "poetic" text above the entrance of the church points towards a connection to Constantinople and towards influence by the tendencies in the capital, something which, as we will see later, is also confirmed by the images.

It is hard to find a parallel to this text which is put instead of the donor's inscription. However some similarities could be found in the donor's inscription in the Church of St John the Theologian in the Zemen Monastery, which is from the same epoch. It is an exception as well from the canon of donor's inscription and instead of the traditional cliché begins with a compilation of paraphrases of psalms (Ps 25:8; 41:2), but ends up with the donors names. „Гн̄и возлюбихъ благолѣпиѥ дома твоего и мѣсто вьселениа слави твоеѧ...истоуникы водыѫ сице желатъ дш̄а моа к тебѣ...".[11]

In this case, more interestingly, the obligatory elements of the donor's inscription are missing – the information about the donor and the epoch is entirely replaced by an interpretation of the basic Christian commandment regarding the love for God.

The Murals on the Façade. The Donor's Portrait and the Connections to Constantinople.

By tradition, the lunette above the entrance of churches represents the church patron; the representation here, however, is not of St. Demetrios but of the Virgin and Child, defined by the epithet *ἡ χώρα τοῦ ἀχωρήτου*. The background is dark blue, with the scene bordered by a stylized floral motif on the inside and on the outside by an oval border consisting of a triple zigzagging line in yellow, green and red. The face of the Virgin is elongated and expressive, with her head slightly inclined towards the Christ Child. The eyes are emphasized by dark shading and marked eyebrows rendered in detail. This is one of the best preserved images from the first layer and it reveals the hand of a master who was well-schooled in the tradition of Late Palaiologan painting. The Virgin wears a reddish brown maphorion and dark blue himation with tasselled sleeves. The Christ Child is facing the Virgin and blessing with His right hand. Christ has reddish hair on the side of the head only. The scene is distinctly intimate, with the Virgin gazing at the Christ Child, head bowed over Him in a motherly way – the bond between them is psycholo-

[11] Smjadovski 1998: 77.

gized, depicting a concrete relationship. H. Gelzer might have had this particular church in mind when noting that near the village there was a highly venerated chapel dedicated to the Virgin, in which there was a representation of the Virgin.[12]

The special significance of this representation, however, does not lie in its aesthetic characteristics but in the unexpected and almost unique epithet for the Virgin *ἡ χώρα τοῦ ἀχωρήτου* (The Dwelling-place of the Uncontainable [God]). This is the third such representation in ecclesiastical painting which I know of. The other two are in the Church of the Monastery of St. Saviour in Chora, in Constantinople.[13] One is in the lunette above the entrance, which features a mosaic portraying the Virgin Vlachernitissa defined as *ἡ χώρα τοῦ ἀχωρήτου*. The opposite lunette shows Christ defined as *ἡ χώρα τῶν ζώντων* (The Dwelling-place of the Living). The other representation of the Virgin *ἡ χώρα τοῦ ἀχωρήτου* is on a column to the right of the apse. The Virgin is portrayed standing, her head also slightly inclined towards the Christ Child, but here she holds Him in her right hand. Symmetrically to the left of the apse Christ *ἡ χώρα τῶν ζώντων* appears again.

The epithet for the Virgin is associated with the Incarnation of the Logos and is probably inspired by the first khaeretisme from the fifteenth stanza of the Akathistos Hymn of the Holy Virgin: "Χαῖρε, Θεοῦ ἀχωρήτου χώρα" ("Rejoice, O Dwelling-place of the Uncontainable God"). However, this epithet can also be found much earlier, e.g. in St. Cyril of Alexandria (5th century), Homily XI, "Ἐνκώμιον εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Μαρίαν τὴν Θεοτόκον", where he addresses the Virgin in a similar way: "Χαίροις, Μαρία τὸ χωρίον τοῦ ἀχωρήτου, ἡ τοῦ Μονογενῆ Θεὸν Λόγον χωρήσασα".[14] A similar phrase is also used by St. John Damascene in Homily (VII) on the Nativity of the Theotokos: "Χαῖρε, χωρίον Θεοῦ, τὸν ἐν πᾶσιν ἀχωρήτου εν χωρήσασα"[15], and in Sacra Parralela, commenting on the commentary of St. John Chrysostom on Psalm 44.[16] There is a similar phrase in the Menaion of August in the Office for Dormition of the Holy Virgin (Hypakoi): "...Θεοτόκε Παρθένε ἐν σοὶ γὰρ ὁ αχώρητος Χριστός ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν χωρηθῆναι ἐυδόκησε."[17] In his Homily on the Dormition of the Theotokos, St. Gregory Palamas uses this epithet for the Holy Virgin twice, the second one being closer to the variant under consideration: "...καὶ αὐτῶν οἴσονται τοῦ ἀχωρήτου χώραν ὅσοι δή γινώσκουσι Θεόν".[18] Naturally, the epithet χώρα,

[12] Gelzer 1904: 115.
[13] Underwood 1958: 283; Underwood 1966, 1: 40, 168; 1966, 3: tabl. 2, 187.
[14] PG 77: 1032; Underwood 1966: 41.
[15] PG 96: 696.
[16] PG 95: 1436.
[17] Μηναίιον του Αυγουστου 8: 151.
[18] PG 157: 472d, 473a.

referring to Christ and the Holy Virgin, is most frequent in the poems of Theodoros Metochites dedicated to the church reconstructed by him.[19] These examples show that this epithet for the Holy Virgin is sporadic in Orthodox literature and can be found in texts that differ by age and genre. In his book about the art of the Monastery of St. Saviour in Chora R. Ousterhout points out several interpretation of this image: the Virgin as a miraculous vehicle trough Christ comes to the earth, but also the Virgin is vessel, protector and portal.[20] Yet we cannot say for certain precisely what inspired the use of this rare epithet in the mosaics depicting the Holy Virgin in the Monastery of St. Saviour in Chora.

In the Palaiologan period, churches began to be dedicated to Christ and the Holy Virgin defined by epithets inspired by liturgical texts, by different functional aspects of their images or by the particular place. This process naturally spread to ecclesiastical art too, which started using various poetic, liturgical epithets for Christ, the Holy Virgin and some saints. As C. Grozdanov notes in connection with the appearance of representations of Christ Sotir-Saviour and Lifegiver, this is part of the broader presence and function of Christ defined by this epithet, which is also manifested in architecture – in the broad design of the Constantinople churches dedicated to Christ Saviour and the Virgin Eleousa. In those representations the epithet does not define the iconographic type, but only emphasizes the faith in the mercy of the Saviour.[21]

As regards the representation of the Virgin *ἡ χώρα τοῦ ἀχωρήτου* in Bobošica, I believe that an explanation should be sought not in the general tendencies towards using liturgical texts in painting, but in the direct connection with and adoption of a model from the Constantinople Church of St. Saviour in Chora, which was done on the request of the donor himself.

The entire wall to the right of the entrance is occupied by the *Donor's composition*, which is not rendered in the traditional 14th century manner. St. Demetrios stands in three-quarter profile, right arm outstretched in a gesture of prayer towards the above-mentioned image of the Holy Virgin and left arm around the donor in a patronizing embrace. St. Demetrios wears patrician dress – a red tunic and greenish chlamys fringed with pearls and fastened on the left shoulder. The figure of the saint is much taller than that of the donor, which expresses not only the hierarchical perspective but also the donor's humility, emphasized by his bowed head. The donor clasps a model of the church. He wears great schema vestments – a grey cloak, brown mantle and kukulion, but the inscription above is obliterated and his name is illegible. Both figures are strongly elongated, with the

[19] Dichtungen des Gross-Logotheten Theodoros Metochites 1895: 37–42.
[20] Ousterhout 1995: 91–109; Ousterhout 2002: 104–110.
[21] Grozdanov 1980: 40.

drapery accentuating the dominant vertical composition – yet even so, the figures appear to be three-dimensional and dynamic.

The iconographic formula of the donor's composition which represents a saint embracing the donor, is known even from the St. Demetrios Basilica in Thessaloniki and can be found in various 14th century monuments on the Balkans, for example, the St. Nicholas Church in Staničane (1331/32), the nartex of the Church of Christ Pantokrator (1346/7) in the monastery of Dečani, on the column in St. Demetrios Basilica in Thessaloniki (14th c.). The most expressive of these compositions is the one in the St. Anargiroi Church in Kastoria (14th c.) But one of the most distinctly intimate scenes of donor's embracing is that in Boboštica. Similar in composition but not in spirit is the donor's scene depicted on two pages of the manuscript Psalter and New Testament from the Pantokrator Monastery on Mount Athos (Pantokrator № 49; DO, Mss. №3, fol. 86v-87).[22] The origin and development of the iconographic motif of the patronizing embracing from antiquity up the 12th century are studied by S. Djurić [23], while the peculiarities and importance of this composition during the 12th – 14th centuries have been examined by V. Djurić.[24]

I will seek an explanation for the presence of the image of the Holy Virgin *ἡ χώρα τοῦ ἀχωρήτου* by considering the personage of the donor. For the purpose, I will return to the concrete features of the donor's portrait. His beard is short, white and bifurcated in two curving parts, which are of unconventional shape and look strangely three-dimensional. The similarity with the large donor's portrait of Bishop Nimphon in the Christ Zoodotes Church in the neighbouring village of Embore (Embore – in Bulgarian; Mborje – in Albanian) is self-evident. There the donor is represented in episcopal vestments and with a halo, but the beard is of the absolutely identical, rare shape.[25]

I believe this similarity suggests the following hypothesis. The donor of the two churches was one and the same person: Bishop Nimphon. He had a common purpose in dedicating the churches in Boboštica and Embore – a purpose associated with the Church of St. Saviour in Chora in Constantinople.

It is known that after reconstructing the church in the Monastery of St. Saviour in Chora, Theodoros Metochites dedicated it to both Christ and the Holy Virgin defined by the epithet *chora*. This dual dedication is confirmed not only by the surviving writings of Theodoros Metochites, but also by the iconographic pro-

[22] Der Nersessian 1965: 160, ill. 26–27.
[23] Djurić 1995a: 85–95.
[24] Djurić 1995b: 95–105.
[25] Popa 1965: 257; Džurić 1975: 31–51.

gramme of the mosaics in the narthex.[26] At the same time, the church was known by the name not only of *Chora* but also of Christ *Zoodotes*-Lifegiver. It appears under this name in Late Byzantine literature, e.g. in the Chronicle of George Franzes: "...τὴν μονὴν τοῦ Ζωοδότου τὴν καλουμένην τῆς χώρας."[27] According to the Greek ecclesiastical encyclopaedia, the Church of St. Saviour in Chora was dedicated to Christ Saviour Lifegiver.[28] This name is a variant derived from the four representations of Christ with the name *ἡ χώρα τῶν ζώντων* (The Dwelling-place of the Living). This is where we can find an explanation for the strange dedication of the church in Embore and its connection with the Church of St. Saviour in Chora in Constantinople[29]. Still, the monastery has been known by the name of *ἡ χώρα τοῦ ἀχωρήτου*, as testified by Constantinople documents of the second half of the 14th century, an example of which is the Synod act for the transfer of the bishop of Tzouroloi to Veroia[30].

Presuming that the donor of the two churches was one and the same person, he was probably well acquainted with the Church of St. Saviour in Chora and, inspired by the latter, decided to build two churches bearing the name of the Constantinople monastery – one dedicated to the Holy Virgin *ἡ χώρα τοῦ ἀχωρήτου* and another to Christ Zoodotes: Christ as the giver of eternal life and the Dwelling-place of the Living, and the Holy Virgin as the Dwelling-place of the Uncontainable God. Yet the question remains: why, even though the Holy Virgin *ἡ χώρα τοῦ ἀχωρήτου* is represented in the place traditionally assigned to the patron, is the church dedicated to St. Demetrios who, in turn, is depicted as presenting the donor to the Holy Virgin. In the Orthodox world, especially in Constantinople, the icon of the Virgin above the entrances appears as a protector of a city, monastery or church.

Unfortunately, we still have no evidence about the personality of the donor Nimphon, but he was obviously a senior cleric connected with the Constantinople Patriarchate, who probably brought the complicated theological-liturgical images and ideas from the capital to his place. If we assume that in the Embore church the

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[26] Underwood 1966: 27, 39.

[27] PG 156: 665.

[28] Θρησκευτική και ηθική εγκυκλοπαιδεία, 1968: τ. 12, 448.

[29] I know of only two other churches dedicated to Christ Zoodotes – in Mistra (second half of 14th c.) and in Germa, dating from 1725. Only several 14th–15th century representations of Christ Zoodotes are designated by this epithet: in the churches of Panagia Phaneromeni in Kastoria and of St. Nicholas Bolnički in Ohrid, and in an icon from the Treskavets Monastery; in the post-Byzantine period, however, this epithet entered iconography mainly by way of the Cretan School. (Τσιγαρίδας 1999: 287, 299, Ill. 169; Djurić 1969: 18–33; Subotić 1980: 105, 107, 176; Subotić 1969: 236).

[30] Darrouzés 1979: Fasc. V, No. 2466, 391.

donor is represented with a halo because he was already dead, then the St. Demetrios Church was probably built earlier, before he was consecrated bishop. Yet the halo might simply be a sign of the great importance of Nimphon and of his veneration. But the opposite might also be true – after serving as bishop, he retired to a monastery and that is why he is depicted in monastic dress. All those hypotheses will be the subject of further study and verification.

The entire wall to the left of the entrance – symmetrically to the donor's composition – is occupied by the scene of the *Baptism of Christ*. The mural is faded and badly damaged. The composition is balanced by a predominantly vertical approach. The figure of Christ is strongly elongated, with St. John the Baptist appearing to the left and quite above Christ. St. John is portrayed in three-quarter profile, head tilted back to gaze at heaven and right hand over the head of Christ. To the right there are three angels, against the backdrop of a rocky landscape. The whole composition – and especially the figure of St. John the Baptist – is reminiscent of certain miniatures from this period.

The representation of the scene of the *Baptism* on the facade – although found in churches in various parts of the Balkans from the Byzantine and post-Byzantine period – is a distinctive feature primarily of the monuments in Kastoria. A number of 12th–18th century churches in Kastoria feature a large scene of the Baptism of Christ on the external wall of the church or on the eastern wall of the narthex. [31] This is probably related to the function of the narthex, where the sacrament of Baptism, as well as blessing of water, was performed.[32] Besides this functional explanation, another explanation is also plausible: this scene serves to separate "profane" from "sacred" space, i.e. to separate the place assigned to the baptized or "faithful" only, from the "world" at large.

The Murals in the Naos

The murals in the altar apse are relatively well preserved. In style an colour the images are similar to the remaining ones from the 14th century. A restoration sample was made to the right of the altar window. It reveals the existence of an earlier layer of murals. The conch of the apse displays the Holy Virgin with the Child, sat upon a throne, between the archangels Gabriel and Michael. Under this image there is a scene of the Melismos – in the middle, on the altar table with a red cover the Christ Child is depicted, as the eucharistic sacrifice (Amnos) in a liturgical paten, to the right there is a chalice. To the left side are St. John Chrysostom with a rolled up scroll, St. Gregory the Theologian with a scroll and text (from the Prayer of the Trisagion): "ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος ὁ τρισαγίῳ φωνῇ ὑπὸ τῶν

[31] This scene is featured in the same place in the Kremikovci Monastery.
[32] Gerov 2002: 32.

σεραφὶμ" and St. John the Almsgiver, also with a scroll and text (from the Prayer of the second antiphon): Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν σῶσον τὸν λαόν σου καὶ ἐυλο-(γίσουν). To the right of the altar table are St. Basil the Great with a rolled up scroll; St. Athanasios with a scroll and text reading (from the Prayer during the Cherubicon): "Οὐδεὶς ἄξιος τῶν συνδεδεμένων ταῖς σαρκακαῖς ἐπιθυμί-αις"[33] and St. Gregory of Nyssa with a scroll and text (the beginning of Anapho-ra): ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον σ'αϋμνεῖν σε.

To the right of the apse, as a part of the Melismos scene on the eastern wall, is St. Cyril of Alexandria with the head held up, vertically holding a scroll that reads (Ecphonesis): "Ἐξαιρέτως τῆς Παναγίας... δεσποινίς Μ(αρια)".

The image of Archdeacon Stephan is partially preserved in the prothesis niche, while the space over it is filled by a geometrically shaped ornament. The same compositional approach with a similar ornament can be found in the rock church of Holy Virgin Eleusa near Tuminec.

On both sides of the apse there is a representation of the Annunciation on the background of the wall, which spans the entire composition. The figure of Archan-gel Gabriel is completely preserved. He has red wings, a red dalmatic and a golden loros, decorated with pearls. He is portrayed in similar attire in the same scene on the monuments from the 14th century in the regions of Prespa and Kastoria. The figure of the Virgin Mary is not as well preserved. She is portrayed standing up with one hand lifted towards her face. Stylistically and iconographically this image is similar to the one in the lunette over the entrance to the rock church of the Annunciation near Globočica.

Christ Mandilion is portrayed in the middle, over the apse. Above the Annun-ciation the scene of Ascension is depicted. The lower part of the figures of the Vir-gin Mary (in the middle) and the archangels and apostles is preserved. The upper part is not preserved because the new roof of the church is built from the middle of the scene upwards.

In the naos, along the length of the entire western wall, there is the traditional representation of the scene of the Dormition of the Holy Virgin ΚΟΙΜΕΣΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΥΠΕΡΑΓΙΑΣ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΥ. The body of the Virgin is very slender and elonga-ted, her head resting on a rectangular red pillow. Christ, surrounded by a bluish green mandorla and dressed in yellow, holds the soul of the Virgin. An angel stands on either side; at His left are two bishops and at His right one bishop hold-ing codices: St. James the Lord's Brother, St. Timothy (or St. Hierotheos) and St.

[33] This is the traditional text of St. Basil but the same is written on the scroll of St. Athanasios for example in: Bačkovo Monastery (12th c.), the Church of St. Cosma and Da-mian in Kastoria (12th c.), the Church of the Holy Virgin, Zahum (1361).

Dionysios the Areopagite. To the left stand St. Cosmas of Maiuma, holding a scroll and to the right, St. John Damascene without a scroll (the identification inscription is preserved). Apostle Peter swings a censer, St. John the Theologian leans over the Holy Virgin, and at his side Apostle Andrew rests his head on his hand. Christ, the angels and some of the apostles are red-haired. All are dressed in light-coloured vestments, rendered with reddish folds and shading.

The iconographic and stylistic features of the composition are in a way reminiscent of the scene of the Dormition in the Church of Christ Zoodotes in Embore, but there are nevertheless a number of differences. The composition of the Embore Dormition is almost square, Christ appears high above the Virgin, to the left stands an archangel – as in the Church of St. Athanasios in Kastoria – and the figures are much more expressive. On the other hand, the body of the Virgin in both monuments is strongly elongated and flattened. A parallel may also be drawn with the scene in the Chapel of Archbishop Gregory (14th century) in the Virgin Peribleptos Church in Ohrid, which not only demonstrates a similar compositional approach, but also portrays some of the apostles and angels as red-haired.

The small size of the church probably necessitated the representation above the Dormition of the Holy Virgin in three scenes. Only fragments from the right part of the left scene are preserved. It probably represents the scene of Judas's Betrayal or the Mocking of Christ. The scene in the middle, Christ before Pilate, is better preserved. The upright figure of Christ with tied hands and the figure of Pilate with a crown on his head, seated behind a table, as well as two more figures are easily distinguished. Only the figure of Christ bearing the cross is preserved from the next scene, the *Helkomenos* (Christ Being Led to the Cross).

On the lower section of the wall to the right of the entrance St. Constantine and St. Helena are represented with a tall cross between them, held by St. Helena at the top and St. Constantine at the bottom. Their faces are small and slender with dark shades, the figures are elongated and proportional, and the posture is traditionally static. The background is blue and the vestments are reddish and richly decorated with pearls, with St. Helena wearing a crown tapered at the base and wide at the top, of a kind frequently found in the monuments from the Kastoria-Ohrid circle. To the left of the entrance the figures of St. Cosmas and St. Damian are preserved, unfortunately, without the heads. The figures are modeled in volume, the wrinkles of their attire follow the shape and movement of the body.

The entrance is flanked by the half-length figures of St. Paraskevi Η ΑΓΗΑ ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΒΑΣ and St. Barbara Η ΑΓΗΑ ΒΑΡΒΑΡΑ, portrayed face to face on the both sides of the entrance. Representations of saints are rare in this particular place, which normally features crosses, Christograms and decorative elements –

but there are exceptions, especially in the region of Kastoria.[34] The nearest approximation are the representations of St. Kyriakia and St. Catherine, also portrayed face to face on the sides of the entrance of the St. Nicholas tou Kyritzi Church in Kastoria.

St. Paraskevi is in dark brownish dress with a maphorion on her head, right hand holding a cross and left hand turned with the palm outwards. St. Barbara wears a red mantle fringed with pearls, a purple dalmatic and violet head-dress of a rarely found shape; her hair is red and pulled back. St. Barbara also holds a cross in her right hand, left hand turned with the palm outwards. Both images are strongly individualized and differ from one another not only by their vestments.

Stylistic Features and Date of the First Layer

The stylistic features relate the murals in this church to the range of monuments in the Kastoria region from the second half of the 14th century.[35] It is possible to distinguish the hand of two painters who worked in the church. The murals on the façade and the scene of the Annunciation bear a great similarity to the frescoed icon above the entrance of the small rock church of the Annunciation near Globočica (Prespa region). The general silhouette of the elongated figures, the gestures of the Holy Virgin and Archangel Gabriel, and even the decorative ornament on the border are strongly reminiscent of the Boboštica murals.[36] The murals in this rock church have been dated by T. Popa to the late 14th century.[37]

Most of the surviving churches in the region belong to the post-Byzantine period, but about a dozen kilometres away lies the Church of Christ Ζωοδότης – Lifegiver (from 1390, according to the donor's inscription) in Embore.[38] The murals in this church seem to be the natural and closest approximation to those in the St. Demetrios in Boboštica.

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[34] For example, in the St. George tou Vounou Church there are representations of St. Symeonis Stylites and St. Marina.

[35] I would like to thank Acad. Cvetan Grozdanov, who helped me date those murals to around the last quarter of the 14th century.

[36] Popa 1965: ill. 16. A 14th century set of altar doors depicting the scene of the Annunciation and a 14th century icon of the Virgin Hodegetria (now in the Korča museum) from the same place have also been preserved. The figures on the altar doors are strongly elongated similarly to those in the donor's composition on the façade, and the facial features of the Virgin from the icon – the facial type and the shading under the eyes – as well as the shape of the hands and gestures, reveal a similarity with the image of the Holy Virgin from the icon above the entrance (Popa 1965: ill. 17, 18).

[37] Popa 1965: 83–85, 97.

[36] Miljukov 1899: 76; Stransky 1936: 43; Popa 1959: 257, 262; Djurić 1975: 31–51.

T. Popa, who studied the murals in Embore before they were overpainted, is of the opinion that the painters who decorated the Church of Christ Zoodotes also worked in the Chapel of the Annunciation in Prespa. This thesis is difficult to accept. Without discussing this problem in detail here, I will only note that according to the studies by V. Djurić and T. Popa, the same painters decorated the churches of St. Athanasios in Kastoria, of the Virgin Eleousa on Mali Grad island (1369) and of Christ Zoodotes in Embore (1390). Even if this thesis is assumed to be true on the grounds of a number of iconographic and thematic similarities in the three churches in question, those similarities could hardly be extended to murals distinguished by stylistic features such as those in the Chapel of the Annunciation near Globocica and in the St. Demetrios Church in Boboštica.

This paper has repeatedly drawn stylistic and iconographic parallels with the church in Embore not only because this is the nearest church in geographical terms, but also because it was probably commissioned by the same donor. Still, I will refrain from advancing the thesis that the two churches were decorated by the same team of painters, even if just because the majority of the murals in Embore have been overpainted and today we can only speculate about what they must have looked like in the original. It could be argued with greater probability, however, that the painters who decorated the Boboštica church are the same as those of the mural in the rock church of the Annunciation.

The 14th century saw the emergence of a number of regional art ateliers on the territory of Macedonia, Epirus and Thessaly, which shaped a rich and diverse picture of Byzantine painting in its last stage. These ateliers adopted iconographic models and themes created in the capital Constantinople or in some of the large metropolitan centres such as Salonika or Mistra, adapting them in the context of regional traditions and peculiarities, some of which were quite archaic. At the same time, concrete historical events, conceptual movements and personal requirements of the donors influenced this process. In the 14th century the western influences were not very clearly outlined and can be found mainly on the level of the details (architectural background, vestments, attributes etc.), and they were organically interwoven with the influences of Constantinople and the approved local traditions.

Although the monuments from the 13th and from the beginning of the 14th century have been preserved only in fragments they reveal the continuous existence of ecclesiastic life and the development of a local iconographic tradition: the rock churches in Urake, the Archangel cave church near Trăstenik; the first mural layer in the church of Holy Virgin Eleusa on Mali Grad island (1345), whose full implementation is confirmed by a relatively large number of monuments in the region of Prespa from the second half of the 14th to the beginning of the 15th century. Although they remain within the frame of general trends and transformations of

art on the Balkans, there are nevertheless some characteristic features that unite them. One could probably say this is primarily the definite presence of donors, either in the form of portraits or in inscriptions of varied character: the family of Cesar Novak on the facade, and another donors portrait with St. Paraskeva on the south mural of the naos in the church of Holy Virgin Eleusa on Mali Grad island (1369); the big portrait of unknown donor with St. Demetrius in St. Demetrius Church in Boboštica; the bishop Nimphon in the Christ Zoodotis church Embore (1390); the inscriptions of the donor and the painter in the rock church of Holy Virgin Eleusa near Tuminec. Then, there is the presence of scenes and images characteristic of the Kostur-Ochrida region in that period, as for example the Deesis with the Christ as King of kings (in Embore and in the village Church in Globočica, 15th c.) The presence of images of St. Clement of Ochrid is even more indicative (in the Holy Virgin Eleusa church on Mali Grad island – in the first decorative layer on the southern wall by the apse; then, albeit overpainted, his image is also present in the Christ Zoodotis church in Embore).

Third, we have the use of untraditional epithets of the Holy Virgin and Christ, inspired by hymnographic texts like as: the Virgin is defined by the epithet *ἡ πάντων χαρά* (Rejoice upon all; The Joy of All) in Embore and in the rock church of Holy Virgin Eleusa near Tuminec. This is an extremely rare epithet for the Virgin, which during this period can be found in the Church of St. Athanasios tou Mouzaki in Kastoria (1383/4) and on the fresco of the Holy Virgin (1398/9) on the rocks around Great Prespa, near the village of Nivitsa (Psarades). They obviously influenced the representation on the northern wall of the Church of Archangel Michael in Vithkuqi (1782) of the Virgin Enthroned, flanked by two angels holding scrolls and defined as *ἡ πάντων χαρά*. And, of course, there is the epithet *ἡ χώρα τοῦ ἀχωρήτου* which we already discussed. Here I will give just two examples of epithets for the Holy Virgin from monuments in the Korča region from the post-Byzantine period, because of their geographical proximity to the church under review: *ἡ κυρία τῶν αγγέλων* - Lady of Angels (Moscholoplis) and *ἡ ελπής τῶν χριστιανών* - Hope of Christians (Vithkuqi).[39]

The portrayal of the personages (Christ, angels and saints) with red hair is characteristic of the church being studied, as well as of the rest of the churches from the 14th century in the region. The decorative ornaments in all of the churches there also reveal similar, even identical features.

It could be assumed that there were "regional" models which were dominant and shaped the paintings from Prespa, the Korča and Kastoria regions. But in the second half of the 14th century several art ateliers of painters of varying professional levels worked there, with the iconographic influences spreading from one

[39] Rousseva 2006: 163–192.

church to another. It can be assumed that the painters which painted St. Demetrios church in Boboštica have also worked in the rock church of the Annunciation near Globočica.

The opportunity to familiarize ourselves with this rather unique monument of Palaiologue painting is rather limited for the monument is only partially preserved. The situation is complicated even further as the monuments in the Prespa region have been insufficiently studied, which impedes their full analysis. Still, in spite of its specific iconography, the church in Boboštica emerges in what is a relatively blank spot in the Byzantine cultural legacy. The existence of Constantinopolitan elements in a place equally detached from the Byzantine capital and the bishop seats in the hinterland questions our ideas of cultural centers and fringes, or at least convinces how volatile they can be.

ABBREVIATIONS:

CIEB: Actes du Congrès international des études byzantines

ГСУ ЦСВП: Годишник на Софийския университет "Св. Климент Охридски", Център за славяно-византийски проучвания "Иван Дуйчев"

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The Music Archive of the Eastern Rite Catholic Church In Bulgaria

Stefka Venkova

1. Research tasks

In order to investigate the musical traditions of the Eastern Rite Catholic Church in Bulgaria, it is necessary to study the existing musical scores and to write down the living liturgic music. Having in mind the fact that such research has not yet been conducted in the 150 years of existence of this community, the collection of a music archive is an important task. The main research tasks concern the collection, description and systematization of the available musical scores, both hand-written and printed. In this way a music archive has been made, which can serve as a database for statistic, musicology and comparative studies of the music and choral practice.

The musical scores are scattered around the parishes in Bulgaria and have not been systematizes and analyzed so far. It is a historical fact that the Eastern Rite Catholic Church in Bulgaria was founded in 1860 in Istanbul. The then existing parishes in Thessaloniki and Edirne are outside the borders of modern Bulgaria. The Catholic Apostolic Exarchate, centered in Sofia, was established in 1926. Therefore the musical scores collected so far are mainly of the time after 1926. (There is also a smaller number of late 19th- and early 20th-century sources.) This presupposes extensive field work of collection, classification and archivization of a great number of sources, which differ in origin and type.

2. Basic stages

Several basic stages of work have been outlined in the collecting and processing of the material.

2.1. Field work:

a) Collection of musical scores - manuscripts and printed issues in the following parishes of the Eastern Rite Catholic Church in Bulgaria: the Catholic Apostolic Exarchate in Sofia; the choir of Our Lady of the Assumption parish in Sofia; the Ascension Day parish in Plovdiv, as well as the related catholic colleges "St. Augustin" in Plovdiv and Jambol, founded by the Assumptionists; the Holly Trin-

ity parish in Malko Turnovo and the Resurrectionists; the religious communities of Sisters of the Eucharist in Sofia, Carmelitan Sisters in Sofia and the order of Don Bosko Sallesians in Kazanluk.

b) Recording and transcription of interviews with choir conductors, singers and parishioners, who deal with music activities in the various parishes. Of special interest to our research are the memoirs of the period between 1920s and mid-1940s, when the musical and cultural church activities were thriving.

c) Sound recordings of the present day liturgical musical practice – this makes possible the tracing of basic tendencies:

- the state of vocal church practice
- repertoire selection
- whether and to what extend older intonations and chants have been preserved and how and by what means the repertoire changes have been conducted.

2.2. Defining unified classificational principles of description and achivization of musical scores

The archive contains all musical scores, ordered according to the classificational principles given below. Every principle has a particular number in the archive entity (AE). Every AE has a title which contains: the archive it belongs to; number in the archive; chant type – vocal church tradition; genre; author; place; year.

The classificational principles are discussed below:

1. *Classification according to a particular vocal church tradition*

This principle refers to the chant type due to a particular tradition:

- orthodox tradition chants
  - one-part Greek chant
  - choral singing
- Roman Catholic tradition chants
  - choral works
  - religious songs (mostly one-part)

2. *Classification according to the genre (if a particular title is indicated in the original, it is given here too):*

- liturgy/mass
- litany
- songs
- collections (in the cases when AE is a collection of chants)

The problem of the AE of the type 'collections' is that they can be *notebooks* or *songbooks*, as well as *liturgies* with added chants. They are described as one AE and the chants they contain are listed in the section of principle 14.

3. *Classification according to the language of the text (the text author / translation author, if indicated, is also given here)*

- Church Slavonic
- Bulgarian
- Latin
- another language

4. *Classification according to the musical author*

- name of the composer
- anonymous work (if the work is anonymous, its tradition is indicated – Greek octoich, Russian octoich, Bolgarsii rospev, Roman Catholic religious song (Italian, French etc.)

This criterion distinguishes both the author and the nationality. The anonymous chants, which can be attributed to a particular tradition, are defined according to it.

5. *Classification according to the number of parts*

As previously mentioned, the principle in 1 distinguishes the chants according to the church vocal tradition and respectively if a chant is one-part or many-part. Principle 5 specifies further the number of parts in the many-part work. It distinguishes:

- one-part
- two-part
- three-part
- four-part
- more then four-part

6. *Classification according to the choir type*

- male/female
- mixed choir

7. *Classification according to the mode*

- modal
- tonal (the metre is indicated)

8. *Classification according to the variations*

- tonal (the metre is indicated)
- harmony
- rhythm

9. *Classification according to the date and place where it is written/copied*

This criterion is very important for establishing the chronology of copying and writing of the chants. It marks the original works and the copies of already existing works.

10. *Classification according to the notation type*

- neumatic notation
- modern notation

11. *Classification according to the method of writing*

- handwritten
- printed

12. *Classification according to the number of copies*

- 1, 2, 3…

13. *Classification according to the page numbers and enumeration*

- 1, 2, 3…
- specifics of the enumeration

14. *Collection*

When AE is a type of collection, the chants in it are listed. Each chant in the collection can be characterized according to these criteria too.

15. *Notes*

Some questions and specific details of the AE are given here.

2.3. Making a systematic inventory of the archives

The description of the AE according to the classifications principles is the basic part of the music archive specification. The AE is a basic unit in the overall structure of the whole archives. Six archives have been made:

- Archive #1 "Catholic Exarchate" – contains the musical scores of the Catholic Exarchate Library in Sofia
- Archive #2 "Choir "Our Lady of the Assumption" – contains the materials, related to the choir of Our Lady of the Assumption Catholic Cathedral church in Sofia.
- Archive #3 „Sisters of the Eucharist" – Sofia – contains music sources, related to the choir of the monastic community, as well as the religious songs used in this community.
- Archive #4 "Carmelitan Sisters"- Sofia
- Archive #5 "The Resurrectionists" – Malko Turnovo
- Archive #5 "The Assumptionists" – Plovdiv

Storing the information in computer text format allows various kinds of automatic processing, e.g. according the year, author, chant type etc.

3. Difficulties in the process of AE description

Various problems have accrued in the process of archivization of the existing musical scores. They basically concern:

- determining the exact date, year and place;
- the name of the copyist and author.

The objective has been to determine precise data about the chants – date and year, place, copyist, author and to establish precise chronology and factology. It has turned out that such information is very often not available. Several circumstances have made the process of identification even harder. Firstly, this is the first attempt to systematize this information. Secondly, a problem arises from the fact, that many of the people, who were actively engaged with the church music activities are no longer among the living and as they didn't leave any descriptions or comments, today we can only retrieve information from the musical scores. It is time consuming to identify the manuscripts according to the signature of the author or the copyist. When the signature is missing we have used the handwriting type and even the features of the paper and the ink as marks. In this way, by investigating such marks and by comparing them to those of manuscripts with already determined characteristics it became possible to reconstruct a big part of the archive.

Thirdly, a problem to the inventory work posed the fact that in the period after 1944 – when the Catholic church in Bulgaria was persecuted, many materials were lost, others were forgotten for decades or moved many times, which makes it difficult to identify them today. We have had to encounter this problem especially often when processing in particular Archive #1 "Catholic Exarchate", because it comprises materials from almost all parishes, which were put together without any indication of time or place and this has additionally complicated the identification and classification process.

Another problem is the storing of old musical scores. It is especially important in parishes with long vocal church tradition, where newer notebooks with musical scores of the choir singers or choir conductors replaced the older ones, which were lost and have gradually disappeared. As a result of this, nowadays, after 80 years of church music practice, when the researcher tries to reconstruct the repertoire of a choir, it turns out that there are blank spots due to these continuous changes in the repertoire. Many such interesting cases have been noted in the processing of Archive #2 – "Choir "Our Lady of the Assumption", which is related to the activities of the choir of the Cathedral church of the Catholic Exarchate in Sofia.

4. Conclusions

As a result of collection, description and ordering of the musical scores of the Eastern Rite Catholic Church in Bulgaria an archive has been created. This archive should give a solid base for further investigations of the cultural and musical traditions of the community. The selection of the classificational principles, being one of the major problems in the AE description, draws on already established archive models in Bulgarian and foreign musicology, such as the works of Christina Japova "The Archive of Dobri Hristov" and the Vatican Film Library, as given in "Manuscripta 2006". The making of an inventory by means of AE in text format provides conditions for future detailed and serious research work, based on this archive.

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The Origin of Bulgarian Relative Pronouns[1]

Ivan G. Iliev

I. Pronominal Stems and Relative Subordination

This article is part of forthcoming research on the history of Bulgarian relative pronouns. The question of their nature, origin, and evolution is inextricably bound up with the repeatedly discussed problem of the so-called replacement of their initial anaphoric stem by an 'interrogative' one. In Indo-European languages during their historical development relative function have acquired the following stems: *i̯-: Gr. ὅς, ἥ, ὅ; Old Bulg. іже, іаже, ієже; Old Ind. yá-ḥ; *t-: Gr. ὅ, ἥ, τό; Goth. sa, so; *kw-: Old Bulg. къи, каꙗ, кое – in relative function, forms of this root in Italic, Baltic, and Slavic languages, replace old pronouns of *i̯- stems.

In times immemorial it should have been difficult to talk about strictly defined functions of definite pronominal forms. Each of the shown stems facilitated fulfillment of several functions, and there are some traces of this even now. The acquirement of the relative function by the above-mentioned *kw- stems is not the only semantic transposition concerning Indo-European pronouns. The history of the separation of relative pronouns, as a subtype, has two main aspects: 1). Change of forms; 2). Change of functions.

Particularly, regarding Bulgarian relative pronouns in historical aspect, so far, attention has been paid mostly to the replacement of their old stem, called anaphoric, by an 'interrogative' one – the inverted commas are placed, because this definition can be criticized. The stem can also be called *indefinite* or *generalizing*. Aspects of the research on the mentioned process of replacement of stems can be divided into two main groups: 1. Causes of the replacement; 2. Way of replacement. However, so far all attempts to examine the phenomenon have done this only from one point of view – as occurring only in one definite type of subordinate clauses

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(substantive or attributive); and have not paid attention to the fact that substantive relative clauses are not the same, as attributive ones, and this may cause different premises for further development. Also, attention has not been paid to the origin of the relative forms of features (ꙗкъже → *какъвто*), and of size (ѥликъ → *колъвто/какъвто*).

II. Hypotheses About Causes of Establishing *kw- Stems in Relative Function

Former hypotheses about causes of establishing *kw- stems can be divided into four main groups: 1. Synonymy with other pronominal forms; 2. Ability of anticipation and inclination towards government of next phrases; 3. Expressiveness; 4. Connection with the actual division of the sentence.

1. Synonymy

Vondrák (Vondrák 1912: 624) and Slavova (Slavova 2006) suppose that the establishment of a relative function with the pronouns къи, къто, къторъи, чьто was facilitated by the previous expressing of indefinite meaning through these forms. This will be discussed further.

2. Ability of Anticipation and Inclination Towards Government of Next Phrases

Aleksandrov (Aleksandrov 1958: 163) does not agree with Vondrák's opinion. According to him interrogative and indefinite pronouns have meaning, while relative ones have function. And it is not correct to talk about a transition from meaning into function. However, in this case, Aleksandrov is right only regarding the use of the terms. Since it is about a **fulfillment** of relative function, not about **transition** to such function. And this can be done by elements of different origin: deictic (as the German *der* or the English *that*), or adverbial (Bulgarian *demo*). The same author has his own theory, according to which, the replacement of the stems is caused by the ability of 'interrogative' (here and further inverted commas are placed by me – Iv. Il.) pronouns to define the grammatical category of the required in the reply word. For example, къто requires an animate, or substantivized word, чьто requires an inanimate noun, которъı – one of several compared objects, къи – a characteristic of the object. According to Aleksandrov the 'interrogative' forms better express the modifying character of subordination, they are more convenient for connecting two independent sentences. As an advantage of the latter, this scholar states the fact that they do not require a special morpheme for expressing subordination (but this is also true for deictic stems, and the requirement for such a morpheme is rather an exception, even with forms of 'interrogative' stem).

Similar opinion about the replacement of stems is also held by Dobrev (Dobrev 2005: 392–393) – the root *i̯- of the old anaphoric pronoun reminds of already mentioned persons and objects (anaphoric ability): чловѣкъ єтєръ, **иже** бѣ богатъ, имѣ двѣа сѣинѣі – *Some man* (***and he*** *was rich*) *had two sons*. The parenthetic phrase, as this author thinks, is of pre-Indo-European (Japhetic) origin. It appears spontaneously in the mind of the speaker, and is a result of the tendency to accomplish the previous thought. Unlike the *i̯- stem, the *kw- stem directs the thought to the next phrase, which may consist of an, immediately asked by the collocutor, question (through an interrogative pronoun), which requires a quick reply. That is why the *kw- stem is more convenient for the relative function.

3. Expressiveness

This view is supported by Meillet (*1921*), who thinks that the renewing of relative links is caused by the necessity of strengthening language expressiveness of conjunctions. Although the two above-mentioned views are reasonable (that does not mean that one of them excludes the other), expressiveness also should be considered a factor in the examined process. A phrase, such as: *Ах, **много** е хубаво тук!* can easily be transformed into: *Ах, **колко** е хубаво тук!*, *Ах, **толкова** е хубаво тук!*, since semantically it expresses the same. Accordingly, in the so-called sentences of expressing intensification of some feature (see Nicolova 1986: 144), for instance: ***Какъвто*** *съм досадник, взех да обяснявам*, the relative pronoun has a deictic meaning (***такъв*** *съм досадник ...*), but emotion is also present. It would not be a mistake to say that, in the two shown cases, there is a special type of *expressive* pronouns: (*Ах!*) ***Толкова*** *голям досадник съм, че взех да обяснявам.*

4. Connection With the Actual Division of the Sentence

According to Ivančev (Ivančev 1978), while interrogative pronouns are used as **rheme**, with relative ones (and demonstrative, in most cases), the same word order position is interpreted into **rheme.** This is a process of deactualization, which in Bulgarian language is formally expressed by *-то*. From point of view of the text construction there is no difference between anaphoric pronouns and relative pronouns. However, demonstrative pronouns are insufficiently differentiated in anaphoric, relative or 3rd-personal position. When a demonstrative pronoun stays at the beginning of a main, or independent clause, it is regarded as anaphoric, or 3rd personal one; if it stays at the beginning of a subordinate clause, it is considered to be relative. The whole process of formation of relative pronouns, for Ivančev, is a process of deactualization and thematization.

III. Ways of Aquiring a Relative Function By *kw- Stems

So far, assumptions about two main ways of generating relative function by pronouns of *kw- stem have been made: 1. From interrogative structures; 2. After coincidence of meanings in some positions.

1. From Interrogative Structures

Korš (Korš 1877: 24) and Bauer (Bauer 1967) suppose a development of relative function from interrogative structures, for example: τίς θὲν' ἀκούῃ ἄσματα, αἰνίγματα καὶ λόγους καὶ ὑμνῳδιὰν (καὶ) τραγῳδιὰν, εἰς τὴν ταρσιὰν ἂς πάγῃ – in Russian translation: ***Кто*** *хочетъ слышать пѣсни, загадки и притчи и гимны и трагедія?* ***Тотъ*** *пусть идетъ къ Тарсиянкѣ.* Of this type is the example from *Parable of Troy*, which generates discussion: **кто** ми хощетъ помагати вь трояскомъ дѣлѣ(?), аꙁъ дамъ емоу три долꙑ ꙁлата (Ivanov 1935: 253; Bujukliev 1977: 112) thinks that it can be interpreted according to the intonation, while, for Boissin (Boissin 1946: 54), it is a pure interrogative pronoun.

2. After Coincidence of Meanings In Some Positions

Two different forms often can express the same relation. According to Slavova (Slavova 2006), the similarity of sentences, beginning with иже, and of sentences, beginning with аште къто, leads to contamination in certain positions, and to appearance of a relative къто: **иже** (anaphoric relative) хощетъ по мьнѣ ити... /**аще къто** (indefinite pronoun) хощетъ по мьнѣ ити... → **иже къто/къто иже** (transitional combination) хощетъ по мьнѣ ити... → **къто** (a relative pronoun of an 'interrogative' stem) хощетъ по мьнѣ ити...

Besides the mentioned, one may suppose other ways and factors, contributing to the appearance of the relative function. This will be done further, while showing the possible ways of appearance of relative structures.

IV. Possible Ways For Appearance Of Relative Structures

1. From a Clause, Containing a Demonstrative Pronoun

The use of a demonstrative pronoun as linking word is one of the ways of formation of relative structures. Demonstrative pronouns fulfill the relative function in some Germanic languages: English *The man **that** saw us*; Germ. *Der Man **der** uns sah* (CELGD 2005: 627). Demonstrative meaning had also the *i̯- stem (it directed the attention to already mentioned persons and objects). That is why, initially, Slavic relative pronouns were formed from that root, and in Old Bulgarian manuscripts, examples of synonymous usage of sentences with demonstrative, and sentences with relative pronouns of anaphoric root can be found. Many such ex-

amples from the Gospel can be shown: чл҃къ є҆динъ... **и҆же** бѣ кънзь съньмици (Lc 8:41) *Sav* – against:... **тъ** кьнзь бѣ... in *Assem*, *Zogr*, *Mar*; or: є҆динъ же отъ нихъ... **і҆же** бѣ самарѣнинъ (Lc 17:16) *Sav* – against:... **тъ**... in *Zogr*, *Mar*, *Assem*; or: дъщи иночадаıа болѣше емоу... **ıаже** оумираше (Lc 8:42) *Sav* – against:... **ı та** ... in *Zogr*, *Mar*, *Assem*, etc.

Passages with different forms can be found in the Book of the Apostles and the Psalter, too. They will not be shown here. There are differences also in the works of some Old Bulgarian writers, usually in quotations from the Bible, for example, in different copies of "Sermon on Fast and Prayer" by Peter Černorizec: вѣи своємоу въ **нѣгоже** им крьстивъше с – against:... в **тогоже** ... (Pavlova 1994: 279, 280). Such examples are observed with Climent of Ochrid:... **ть** оуготовити поути мое "Encomiastic Sermon of John the Baptist" – against: се аꙁъ посълıж анѣлъ мои ... **и** оуготовитъ пѫть твои (Mc 2:2) *Assem*.

The demonstrative meaning of relative pronouns is also obvious in usage before nouns: въ **ньже домь** вьнидете тоу прѣбъıваите (Lc 9:4) *Mar, Zogr* – ***Which home*** *you enter, there you stay.*

Although in smaller areas, and sometimes – in stylistic opposition with the new relative forms, in Slavic languages, some uses of relative pronouns of persons and features of the old *i̯- stems are still kept: Bulg. dialectal: ***Ажит*** *пые, нъмо м го фалиш* (Kabasanov 1963: 66); Czech: *Známý*, ***jehož*** *si vážím* (СЕГО 1994: 262); Pol.: ***Jaka*** *praca, taka płaca* (Zagorska-Brooks 1975: 303). However, examples with perceivement of deictic semantic in forms, which should be considered interrogative, or relative, can be found in modern Bulgarian folklore texts, too:... *да ходя да приказвам*(,) ***какво*** *съм видела по света* (РНП 1968: 114). Here *какво* may be interpreted either as an indefinite ('something'), or relative pronoun 'whatever'. Nevertheless, the actual meaning is: ... ***ей това*** 'that's what' *съм видела по света.* According to Kurz (Kurz 1963), sentences of the type: глаголıж вамъ **ıако** илиıа... приде mean not: *I am telling you*, ***that*** *Eliah came*, but: *I am telling you:* ***here/this is*** *Eliah, he came*. So, there is a deictic meaning of **ıако** (→ *какво*) in this case.

2. From a Clause, Containing an Interrogative Pronoun

This possibility is obvious from several examples in Bulgarian folk songs, which resemble the above-mentioned: **кто** ми хощетъ помагати въ троискомъ дѣлѣ(?) аꙁъ дамъ емоу три долъı ꙁлата ("Parable of Troy"). However, similar structures, which can be interpreted in two (or three) ways, had existed even before the establishment of the new relative stems, for instance: **єдикаже** чоудеса и **ıаковa** тамо сѣдѣше се раꙁличнымь нєдоугѡм исцѣлєнїа и бѣсѡм прогонєнїа **єди-**

каже сѫдѣаше се тамо изѫнеможет по дробноу изглаголати ѥзыкь *ESPJB* (Kałużniacki 1901: 107) – possible Modern Bulgarian translation: ***Колко*** *големи и* ***какви*** *чудеса се извършиха там? – Изцеляване на различни болести и прогонване на бесове.* ***Какви*** *се извършиха? – Не може подробно да каже езикът!* (or: ***Толкова*** *големи и* ***такива*** *чудеса се извършиха там! ...* ***Такива*** *бяха, че не може да разкаже езикът!*) – against: ***Колкото*** *големи и* ***каквито*** *чудеса се извършиха там (изцеляванията на различни болести и прогонванията на бесове,* ***каквито/колкото*** *се извършиха там) не може подробно да опише езикът.*

In Bulgarian folklore songs, the use of rhetorical questions – with or without a correlative sentence, is a popular artistic device (in some cases, it is difficult to say what exactly the pronoun is – interrogative or relative). For example: ***Кой*** *ще ми ся юнак нае/да си префарли зелен бор, листето да му преброи/да земе Рада сестра ни* (БНПБМ 1961: 149); or: *Личба личит во Стамбола града: /* ***Кой*** *йе юнак од юнака роден/да я фатит Шаина робиня/вамо жива да ми я донесит/И се найме жълтоно еврейче/ми пособра седумдес'т юнаци* (БНПБМ 1961: 282) or: *Ферманан бално казува:/***Кой** *има сина – да прати/***кой** *нѣма – самси да варви* (*НПСР 1973: 442*).

There are some cases of parallel uses of interrogative and relative pronouns (of 'interrogative' stem), which show a possible transitional stage between an interrogative, and a relative clause: ***Кой*** *ши са ф наем наеми/да ми Мумяна излъжи/излъжи и да я доведе ... /***Който** *е йзлъжи и дуведе/пулвина царство ши му дам* (Cvetko 2005: 22).

The used material shows that the development of part of relative clauses (substantive ones) from former interrogative ones is not impossible. Old interrogative meaning with extended 'demonstrative' *i̯- stems, is preserved in some Slavic languages, for example, in Polish: ***Jaki*** *to jest samochód?* 'what (kind of) car is that?' (Swan 2002: 179) or: ***Ile*** *to cosztuje?* 'how much is this?'.

3. From a Clause, Containing an Indefinite Pronoun

In Bulgarian language during the Middle Ages, not only the *i̯- stem could express indefinite meaning. This can be seen from some examples such as this one: на мѣстото ицѣлѣахѫ **кыимъ либо** неджгомъ сѫдръжѫщѥ се (Mirčeva 2006:286–287) 'in the same place they cured the people who had **some** illness/**whatever** illness they had'– against: ... **ѣцѣмъже** неджгомъ одръжимъ бъваѥше (Io 5:4) *Mar.* In (*Staroslavjanskij Slovar'* 1994: 797), the pronoun **ѩкъже**, in the second example, is interpreted as an indefinite one. More examples can be found in the above cited work of Joasaph of Bdin (Kałużniacki 1901: 110): **къ**

тебѣ глаголю трънovскые славы **ꙗкова** wт **каковa** бысть – Modern Bulgarian translation by V. Kiselkov (ТКШ 1996: 261): *На тебе говоря, търновска славо! От* ***каква*** *на* ***каква*** *се превърна*! The old diversity of meanings among pronominal stems can be illustrated also by the indefinite meaning, in Polish, of the extended 'deictic' *i̯- stem: *Może weźmiemy jeszcze* ***jakąś*** *sałatę?* 'shall we order **some** more salad?' (Mixalik 1990: 177).

There are disputes about what meaning is initial – indefinite or interrogative. For Dobrev (Dobrev 1980), the former has appeared earlier than the latter. We can see that this assumption is correct, if we make a comparison with some non-Slavic languages, for example, Korean: ***What*** *will you have? –* ***Muo****-l mogəl-he?* (*-l* is a direct object marker) – against: ***Muo*** *jemi-innən nyuz issoyo? – Is there* ***any*** *interesting news?* (LSEPD 2005: 10, 196). Or in the same context: ***How many*** *colleagues are there in Korea? – Hangugenən tehagi* ***myot*** *ge-na issəmnikka? – Sourenən* ***myot*** *ge-əi issəmnida – There* ***a few*** *colleges in Seoul* (GSK 2003: 156, 157). It is obvious that the logical development to an interrogative pronoun is the following: *има* ***нещо*** 'there is something'→ *има ли* ***нещо****?* 'is there something?' → ***какво*** *има?* 'what is there?'

In Old Bulgarian grammar-books (see Davidov 1993: 243), it is usually said that forms, such as: **аште къто, аште чьто** have an indefinite meaning 'if someone ...', 'if something...'. Slavova's opinion about development of relative pronouns of *kw- stem, after interweaving of their meanings in the same position, between the mentioned indefinite and the anaphoric relative pronouns, was cited above. Differentiating between semantic and function, it would be better to say that, in such position, there is a competition between indefinite and demonstrative pronouns in expressing relative function. Some of these synonymous examples will be cited below: **аще къто** хощетъ по мьнѣ ити да отъвръжетъ сѧ себе ... **иже бо** хощетъ дш҃ѫ своѭ сп҃сти погоубитъ ѭ (Mt 16:24-25) *Mar* — against: **иже** хоштетъ .... **иже бо аще** хоштетъ ... in *Zogr*, *Assem*. Or: і **еже аште** прииждивиши аꙁъ егда въꙁвраштѫ сѧ въꙁдамь ти (Lc 10:35). *Mar*, *Zogr* – against: ... **аще что** ... *Sav* – more such examples can be seen in (Slavova 2006). Indefiniteness could be expressed also by **любо** instead of **аще**: *і **чьто любо** прииждивиши аꙁъ егда въꙁвраштѫ сѧ въꙁдамь ти. This supposed variant is acceptable, due to examples, such as: **кто любо** тъпꙁчаѥ вида абые томоу иꙁвѣштаноу бъıти *Supr 546.4*.

The charters of Wallach rulers, written in Bulgarian, can witness the process of acquiring relative function from indefinite pronouns at a more advanced stage – instead of **иже**, in them, are used relative **къто** or **къıи**. This shows that relativization can be already completed (although, instead of indefinite, there may be an interrogative structure of the type: **кто ми хощетъ помагати**). However, in these

examples, there is still a competition between relative and indefinite uses. In the charters instead of аџе, there is еџе, which may be either its phonetic variant, or a word with another meaning – 'moreover', judging by the below example from "Charter of Rila", in which there is clear opposition between аџе 'if' and еџе 'moreover': и **еџе** къ симь **аџе кто** начьне... ходити с коупїѫ... да коупова и да продаваѫ свободно – for the interpretation of this passage see (Daskalova, Rajkova 2005: 65, 419). However, in support of the possibility for еџе, in the *Wallach charters,* to mean the same as phonetically changed аџе, stand the examples with либо, види, and the Romanian borrowing варе – all of them are context synonyms of аџе – see (Dobrev 1980: 489), who thinks that любо къто and къто варе have the meanings 'no matter who', 'someone', 'some', '**whoever**'. The same meaning, in Proto-Slavic, had the element *nê in the combination *nê къто → нѣкъто, which is a parenthetical clause with meaning 'not everybody', 'certain', 'definite', 'known' (Dobrev 1980: 491). From this we can conclude that нѣкъто means the same as любо къто, къто варе, къторо. More examples will be cited, some of them are even more eloquent because of the same context with the verb покоусити с.

1. With indefinite meaning: **варе кто** хощет да доидет ... **оуди кто** щет бит ... да ми сльжит (Miletič 1896, Charter № 71); ꙗко **варе** ѕ **кога** мѕ є̑ добитѫк бѧди колико да мѕ га повратите (№ 44); **еџе** же **кто** с щет *покѕсит* ... то таковии имат прїѣти велико зло (№ 16).

2. With relative-interrogative meaning: и **комѕ** що є̑ длъжно да си възимат слободно (№ 54); понеже **кои** с би *покѕсил* ... то таковы имат прїти велико зло (№ 24) – in these examples, we accept that би is a conditional mood verb particle; otherwise, if би is a modal pronominal particle, this sentence should be placed in the first group of examples; и **коего** би человѣка хотел Їѡанъшь ѕхватит кои би нам на зло хѡдил то да го є̑ волън ѕхватит (№ 43); тѡго радї **кто** с щет покѕсит ... то таковы имат прїт велико зло (№ 18) – in this example, it is also acceptable that щет is a modal pronominal, and not verbal particle; **хто** с щет покѕститъ ... то такови имат при велико зло (№ 25).

Very evincing is the next passage, in which there is observed twice an alternation between forms with варе, and without варе: и да ѯанесет въ брашев **кто** що любит или восѫк или лои ... или **варе ктото** що любит ... ѡ брашова да данесет въ ѯемли господства ми **кто** що любит и да тръгѕет или ... сребро ... или **варе кто** що любит (№ 23). The use of the form варе ктото (extended by -то) shows that forms with modal element (варе) are not always pure indefinite pronouns, and probably,

modal relative pronouns constitute a transitional stage from indefinite to relative pronouns, as the grammaticalizing elements ви and цѣт suppose.

The semantic proximity between the two types of forms (иже/къто/къи and аще къто/аще къи/либо къто) is evident from the further ability of *кой(то)* to be used with meaning, similar to 'if someone'. To this attention has been paid by Bajramova (Bajramova 1995: 118). She cites the following example from the Damaskin Book from Troyan: ꙁаще **кои** ('if someone') христїанинь донесѣше свѣщь и ꙁапалѣше а тои оугасѣше и ськрыаше. Another example from this manuscript can be cited, too: и цар се об҃рече голѣмь дарь да дадѐ **кои** ('if someone') го наиде (Ivanova 1967: 72). More examples of relative and interrogative forms, which interrogative meaning, without an auxiliary modal word аще, and which reflect the next level of development of the process of establishing of *kw- stems in relative function, can be seen in Tixonravov's Damaskin Book: прр҃кь исаїа така каже w горѣ и тежко **които** ('if some people') пїать вино съ̀ тьпане и свир҃кы а бж҃їа работа не тачать (Demina 1971: 324); праведно дѧмаше и wбличаваше **които** ('if someone') е немо́тивь и не ꙁнае ба (Demina 1971: 144), etc.

Such examples, which sometimes obviously deviate from the rules of the use of **dative**, **possessive**, and **animate** forms, are observed in folk songs and dialects: *Да са знай и да са помни/**който*** ('if someone', 'when someone') *баща си ни слуша!* (Keremedčiev 1931: 365). Or: ... *царът дава три кули с имане/...* ***който*** ('if someone') *хване Радула войвода...* (БНТЮП 1961: 532); Or: ***Ко̀йту*** ('if someone's', 'this, whose') *са къштите му кълъбълък, той зимъ* (Bojadžiev 1971: 44). Or: *Я ще да взема, юначе/...* ***който*** ('if someone') *докара през три планини/юначе, вода студена ...* (ДСКТПН 1987: 169).

The abundant examples given so far leave no doubt that **one** of the ways of appearance of relative function is exactly from the old indefinite → modal meaning (with possible transition through the following interrogative, described above). That is why the forms *кой да е*, *който и да е* 'whoever' traditionally are still called *indefinite pronouns* (see Čakărova 2000: 71). Many of these forms, but not all of them, have indefinite meaning. The cited author gives the following examples, which will make the shown situation more evident: *Безполезно е да криеш* ***каквото и да е*** ('something'); *Ни дъжд, ни кал, ни* ***каквото и да е*** ('some') *лошо време можеха да спрат моя черен дявол* (Čakărova 2000: 73).

4. From a Clause, Containing a Generalizing Pronoun

It seems that so far, nobody has tried to explain the origin of relative pronouns through generalizing ones. However, this is not impossible – if generalizing pronouns are not direct ancestors of relative pronouns of *kw- stems, they indi-

rectly help the process of establishment of the latter. The generalizing forms вьсь, вьсѣ, вьсе probably are closely related to the demonstrative сь, си, се. Generalizing pronouns have much in common with indefinite ones, too. In English, the latter can be used instead of the first, in some positions: *Has **anybody** got a pen?* – indefinite; against: ***Anybody*** (= everybody) *can learn to swim* – generalizing. The other generalizing forms – къжьдо, and the modal marker колижьдо, which has generalizing meaning, are from the same *kw- stem, as indefinite and interrogative pronouns, and contain the element -жь, which is a variant of the relative element -же (see Fasmer 1986: 158). Moreover with the rare relative form ижь, the coincidence between the two elements is full. It is possible that in combinations, such as in the following examples: **иже колижьдо** речет слово... отъпоуститъ с емоу (Mt 12:32) *Mar*, *Zogr*; блади **ѣкоже** азъ **колижьдо** сътворихъ *Euch 72 a 17*; идѫ по тебѣ **ѣможе колижьдо** идеши (Lc 9:57) *Zogr*, *Mar*, *Assem*, *Sav*, the relative word of *i̯-stem (иже, ѣкоже, ѣможе) has a pure demonstrative meaning, and the relative function can be fulfilled by the absolute relative колижьдо: '**this, who** says ...', '**such** sins, **what** I committed ...', 'I will go ... **there, where** you go'. The frequency of such combinations might have influenced the extention of the relative function among other *kw- forms.

The generalizing meaning of some Bulgarian, relative in form, words has been mentioned: *Лесно и скоро се сприятелява с **когото и да е*** ('with everybody') – see (Čakărova 2000: 73). The same author (Čakărova 2000:74) uses the term 'own modal' meaning, regarding the meaning of the mentioned forms: *Понякога четеше нещо, **каквото и да е**, от моите книги*; *Обикновена, сериозна работа, **каквато и да е***. It is not quite clear what 'own meaning' means, but it could be accepted that it is relative in nature. Generalizing nuance with these forms can be found even if a modal word (... *и да е*) is missing, for example, in the Damaskin Book of Raykovo: *И **какво*** ('all kinds of') *дубро да прави тое чилек, нема файда ... **каквоту*** ('everything that') *да прави, той гу прави за лице* (Stojanov 1972: 262).

Everything stated above proves the interweaving in the meanings of separate kinds of pronouns; and the resulting difficulties in classifying them as separate semantic units – which demonstrates the development of a relative function from more than one kind of pronoun.

V. Synthesis of the Possible Ways And Stages of Transition In Different Clauses

After showing the possible ways of acquiring a relative function from different types of pronouns, an attempt will be made to illustrate the process in the

three main types of clauses, containing relative pronouns: substantive, adjectival, and developing (commenting, procentential).

1. Substantive Clauses

The probable processes of development of relative function of this type of clauses have been described by Aleksandrov (Aleksandrov 1958: 150–152) and Bujukliev (Bujukliev 1977: 87). Here this process, with several more options, will be shown with the help of Old Byelorussian and Bulgarian examples.

A. Several independent phrases are realized as mutually dependent:

1. Old Byel. благословилъ есм своеи дочерѣ Аннѣ чаркѣ серебрiанѕ 2. а цѣна чаркѣ два рѕбли; or:

1. Bulg. *Петър си купи* ***книги*** *от книжарницата* 2. *Петър след това остави* ***книгите*** *в библиотеката.*

B. A category of words (demonstrative, anaphoric, or relative pronouns) begins to act as a linking word:

a. The repeated word is replaced by a demonstrative pronoun:

1. благословилъ есм своеи дочерѣ Аннѣ чаркѣ серебрiанѕ 2. а цѣна то/тои (чаркѣ) два рѕбли; or:

1. *Петър си купи* ***книги*** *от книжарницата* 2. *Петър след това остави* ***тези*** (***книги***) *в библиотеката.*

b. The repeated word is replaced by an anaphoric pronoun:

1. благословилъ есм своеи дочерѣ Аннѣ чаркѣ серебрiанѕ 2. цѣна є/еи два рѕбли; or:

1. *Петър си купи* ***книги*** *от книжарницата* 2. *Петър след това* ***ги*** *остави в библиотеката.*

c. The repeated word is replaced by a relative combination:

1. благословилъ есм своеи дочерѣ Аннѣ чаркѣ серебрiанѕ 2. еже чаркъı/которъı чаркъı цѣна два рѕбли; or:

1. *Петър си купи* ***книги*** *от книжарницата* 2. ***които книги*** *след това остави в библиотеката.*

d. The repeated word is replaced by a relative pronoun:

1. благословилъ есм своеи дочерѣ Аннѣ чаркѣ серебрiанѕ 2. еже/которъı цѣна два рѕбли; или:

1. *Петър си купи* ***книги*** *от книжарницата* 2. ***които*** *след това остави в библиотеката.*

With adjectival clauses **it is not possible** for interrogative pronouns to develop a relative function. However, there are some exceptions (see further) and a

foreseeable question is possible: *Кои книги остави Петър*? 'which books Peter left?'; nevertheless, at least theoretically, it is possible that indefinite or generalizing pronouns do that. That is why another unmarked stage – of generalizing meaning, can be supposed:

e. The repeated word is replaced by generalizing + demonstrative pronoun:

1. благословилъ есмь своеи дочерѣ Аннѣ чаркя сребрѧнѕ 2. а цѣна вьсе то/кожьдо то (чаркъı) два рѵбли; or:

1. *Петър си купи* ***книги*** *от книжарницата* 2. *Петър след това остави* ***всички тях*** *в библиотеката.*

Another variant is possible, too – one of choice:

f. The repeated word is replaced by an indefinite pronoun:

1. благословилъ есмь своеи дочерѣ Аннѣ чаркя сребрѧнѕ 2. а цѣна нѣкоторы (чаркъı) два рѵбли; or:

1. *Петър си купи* ***книги*** *от книжарницата* 2. *Петър след това остави* ***някои от тях*** *в библиотеката.*

2. Adjectival Clauses

With this type of clauses, the following possibilities of acquiring a relative function by pronominal words can be supposed:

A. Indefinite connecting word: **къто** (**ли**)/**аще къто** ми хощетъ помагати вь троискомъ дѣлѣ азъ дамъ емоу три долъı злата; ***пе̂ къто** (**ли**) ми хощетъ помагати ... азъ дамъ емоу три долъı злата → **нѣкъто** (**ли**) ми хощетъ помагати ... – for (Dobrev 1980: 491), *nê къто is a parenthetical clause with meanings 'it's not just anybody', 'certain', 'definite', 'known').

B. Interrogative connecting word: **Кто** (**ли**) ми хощетъ помагати вь троискомъ дѣлѣ? Азъ дамъ емоу три долъı злата. The above-mentioned interrogative uses of ѩкъ and ѥликъ, in Polish, presuppose the possibility for archaic interrogative meaning of *и, too: *и ми хощетъ помагати ... ? азъ дамъ емоу ...

C. Deictic connecting word: (**аще**) **тъ** ми хощетъ помагати вь троискомъ дѣлѣ азъ дамъ емоу три долъı злата; **аще** *и/*и же** ми хощетъ помагати ...

D. Generalizing connecting word: ***къжьдо** (**аще/ли**) ми хощетъ помагати вь троискомъ дѣлѣ азъ дамъ емоуимъ три долъı злата; ***вьсь** (**аще/ли**) ми хощетъ помагати вь троискомъ дѣлѣ ...

E. Relative combination of words: **иже человѣкъ** (**ли**) ми хощетъ помагати вь троискомъ дѣлѣ азъ дамъ емоу три долъı злата; **кто** (**ли**) **человѣкъ** ми хощетъ помагати вь троискомъ дѣлѣ ...

F. Relative pronoun: **иже** (**ли**) ми хощетъ помагати вь троискомъ дѣлѣ азъ дамъ емоу три долъı злата; **кто** (**ли**) ми хощетъ помагати вь троискомъ дѣлѣ ...

3. Procentential (Commenting, Developing) Clauses

This is the third type of relative clauses called by Nicolova (Nicolova 1986: 126) *procentential*, and in СЕГО (1994: 431), they are called *zdania rozwijające* 'developing clauses' (they can also be called *commenting*). The goal of these clauses is to expand the meaning of the previous main clause: вънемлѣте себѣ отъ кваса фарисѣиска **еже** естъ лицемѣрье (Lc 12:1) *Zogr*, *Mar*; *Той ми разказа тези случки, **което** ме изненада.*

The transposing word (combination), which connects the two clauses, in Modern Bulgarian, can be: *това*; *което*; *нещо, което*; *това нещо*; *нещо, което* (see Nicolova 1968: 512), *което нещо, всичко това*. When the possible ways for appearance of relativeness in this type of clauses, are investigated, it is obvious that, due to the obligatory neuter form of the connecting word, it is naturally impossible for it to be repeated. If this happens, the sentence automatically is transformed into two mutually dependent clauses: вънемлѣте себѣ отъ кваса фарисѣиска *(сь) квасъ естъ лицемѣрье; *Той ми разказа тези **случки**, **случките** ме изненадаха*. As with adjectival clauses, it is less possible for an interrogative pronoun, in this case, to be used as a connecting word. This decreases the possibility for relative pronouns, in this position, to originate from an interrogative word, unlike in substantive clauses (**Кто** ми хощетъ помагати... ?). However, a question can be foreseen (see Dobrev 2005: 392-393). Another peculiarity of this type of sentences is that some of the transposing pronouns (indefinite, generalizing) usually are used only in combination with another pronoun – it is less probable, in these clauses, that the relative pronoun derives directly from an indefinite pronoun. In them, the following variants of connecting words are possible:

*A. Demonstrative pronoun: Той ми разказа тези случки, **това** ме изненада* – possible foreseeable question: *Какво ме изненада*? 'what surprised me?'

*B. Demonstrative + indefinite: Той ми разказа тези случки, **това нещо** ме изненада*;

*C. Generalizing + demonstrative: Той ми разказа тези случки, **всичко това** ме изненада*;

*D. Relative combination: Той ми разказа тези случки, **което нещо** ме изненада*;

*E. Relative pronoun: Той ми разказа тези случки, **което** ме изненада.*

The relative pronoun in this case must be established by analogy, under the influence from the other relative structures, for example: и стьнѧваше рано на мол'ба, *това си имаше wбъічаи → и стьнѧваше рано на мол'ба що си имаше wб-

ѣчаи (Demina 1971: 191). Of course, is also possible borrowing of the relative word from foreseeable questions.

VI. Factors, Helping the Establishment of the *kw- Stem As Relative

Čakărova (Čakărova *2000: 71-75*) notices that examples, such as: *Безполезно е да криеш* ***каквото и да е*** ('something'); or: *Лесно и скоро се сприятелява с* ***когото и да е*** ('with everybody') lead to the conclusion that the lexicalization of the 'examined formations' (quotation marks are mine – Iv. Il.) has not come to an end (she means the forms *каквото и да е*, *който и да е*). It is obvious, inter-alia, that these formations in question, which have 'their own, modal' meaning, are nothing else, but relative pronouns, especially if their lexicalization is not finished yet, as stated.

There are several more factors besides the synonymy with other forms, in some positions, and the anticipatory abilities of these forms, that contribute to the establishment of 'interrogative' stems in relative function. Such a factor could be the ability of some relative pronouns of anaphoric stem (ѭкъже, ѥликъже, and why not иже, too) to **serve as interrogative**. This ability has raised the 'chances' for the *kw- stem to be used more and more in relative function, with the help of **intonation, context, and word order**, especially in **correlative** structures.

Intonation is another factor, catalyzing the process. It is in close connection with transposition of clauses. Through the change of intonation – from rising-falling into falling – and the change of the verb person, a main interrogative clause can be transformed into an objective clause: *На* ***коя*** *дата ще заминеш?* → *Бащата попита сина на* ***коя*** *дата ще замине* (Nicolova 1968: 507). In the same way, an interrogative clause, through change in intonation, can be transformed into relative, as was mentioned several times (кто ми хощетъ помагати ...). Due to intonation, in the so-called clauses, showing intensification of a feature (see Nicolova 1986: 144), the 'interrogative' word is interpreted as a relative pronoun. If there is a formal marker, relativeness is beyond doubt: ***Какъвто*** *съм досадник, взех да обяснявам*. In these examples, the pronoun *какъвто* logically is regarded as relative, due to the marker *–то*; however, in West Bulgarian dialects, where this marker is absent, only intonation can serve as a criterion for differentiating between relative and 'interrogative' pronouns: ***Какъв*** *съм досадник, взех да обяснявам*.

Correlativeness can also help the transformation of a non-relative structure into a relative one: *На* ***коя*** *дата ще заминеш? На* ***тази*** *дата ще те изпратим* → *На* ***която*** *дата заминеш, на* ***тази*** *дата ще те изпратим*. Take the follow-

ing example: и ѿ младость еднакь кога бѣше дѣте та се показъваше **какъвь** ще да въде и до напоконь (Демина 1971: 100). In it, due to the lack of the marker – то, it is not clear if there is a relative, or interrogative pronoun. Nevertheless, a correlative word (такъв, онакъв) automatically could turn the pronoun into relative: та се показъваше ***такъв, какъвь(то)** ще да въде и до напоконь.

Context should also be regarded as a catalyzing factor for the process of relativization of indefinite-interrogative pronouns. It was stated above that in adjectival clauses, origination of a relative pronoun, from an interrogative one, is not highly possible. However, in some context, that can be changed, as in the classic example: въпрашааше же часа отъ нихъ въ **которыі** сѹлѣе емѹ бѣістъ (Io 4:52) *Zogr*, about which Bauer (Bauer 1967: 50) thinks that the pronoun is not relative, but just an interrogative one, in a transformed compound sentence (*He was asking about the hour – In **which** he felt better?* = foreseeable question). It is easy to guess that, with other words and combinations, having interrogative nuance, besides въпрашати 'ask', for example, with 'want to know', 'inform o. s.' etc., similar transformation can be done, and a relative structure can be established: *He was asking about the hour, in **which** he felt better.*

Interrogative-conditional context must have been one of the decisive factors for reinterpretation of one indefinite pronoun into interrogative, or of indefinite/interrogative into relative: *някой идва → някой идва ли? → кой идва?*; or: *ако този иде.../ако някой иде... → който иде* (*ще спечели*); *този иде ли.../някой иде ли... → който иде* (*ще спечели*). The main conditional-interrogative elements were аще, ли, любо, же, би, вѣре. It is logical that, exactly in the position, in which the meanings of аще къто/къто любо, and и-же are interweaved, part or relative uses have been generated. The relation between the first and the second, on one hand, and the third, on the other, is synonymous, with additional nuance of concreteness with иже. While the first and the second mean 'if someone…' (indefiniteness is present), the third means 'if this…', 'and this…' (concreteness or definiteness is present) – compare this with Dobrev's example and its interpretation (Dobrev *2005: 392-393*). The interrogative-conditional semantic of же is preserved in the Russian *неже́ли*, and in the Old Bulgarian **аште же** 'and if' (соль обоуѣетъ чимъ осолитъ с) (Mt 5:13) *Zogr*.

These observations are supported by Bauer's suppositions (1967). According to this author in Old Czech texts from XIII–XIV centuries, relative pronouns and adverbs of the old stem, *jenž, jeliko*, always indicate **definite** persons, objects, or places; while the relative pronouns of the new stem, *ktož, což, kterýž, čiež*, indicate **indefinite** ones (West Slavic languages are most conservative, concerning the development of relative clauses). Old Bulgarian иже corellates with both mentioned

items, however, according to Bauer, this is influenced by Greek models, which do not differentiate between both these meanings. The author presupposes that the state in Old Czech, in which only, relative pronouns of old and new stems are wi**dely** used (besides the rare examples in *Codes Supraslensis*), is the best reflection of the state in Proto-Slavic, unlike Old Bulgarian manuscripts, which are influenced by Greek originals.

The most important factor, among all, that help the establishment of the relative function in *kw- stems, is **word order**. Through it, in the combination of clauses: (*На **коя** дата ще заминеш?* →) *Бащата попита сина на **коя** дата ще замине*, the second, compound, sentence can be easily transformed into one having a relative structure: *Бащата попита сина за датата, на **която** ще замине*. This transposition, which probably has relation with the actual division of the sentence (see Ivančev's opinion above), could be done even before the replacement of the old relative stem, which could also express (at least some forms) interrogative meaning: ктѡ изр҃ѣтъ є҃лїка зла ѿ нѣго въспрїеше жителїе странь онѣ҃х "Life of Stefan Lazarevič" (Kuev, Petkov 1986: 386). If, in this example, the interrogative-indefinite pronoun елика is placed after the noun зла, the pronoun will turn into a **theme** (it will direct the attention to the known word зла), and will acquire relative function: ктѡ изр҃ѣтъ зла, є҃лїка ѿ нѣго въспрїеше жителїе странь онѣх. Inversion is able to cause the opposite process, too – loss of the relative function and actualization into a **rheme**. The sentence: възыскати хощеⷮ дрѣво, на коемъ иса҃ распшж оц҃и наши (Mirčeva 2006: 267) can be easily transformed into a sentence, containing an 'interrogative' root, if the word order is changed: възыскати хощеⷮ на коемъ дрѣво иса҃ распшж оц҃и наши.

Examples showing unrealized transforming possibilities into relative structures are abundant in Damaskin Books. For instance, the relative structure from "Codex Supraslensis" (12.22): примъшлıаи оубо мжкы, ѥликы хоштеши, can be opposed to a still not relativized one in the Damaskins: и срам имам доуховниче да ти искажа тамо что видıахъ зълы мъки (Ivanova 1967: 138) → ... *да ти разкажа за мъки, **колкавито**/**каквито** видях* ... And while relative pronouns can not be seen there, where they are expected, they can be seen in positions, in which this is not usual: и пакь агг҃ла не можахѫ видѣ вн҃ıа влъсв҃ь как҃вьто е (Demina 1971: 267). In this case, instead of the 'relative' pronoun как҃вьто, 'interrogative' one, with deictic semantic, какъв, should be expected.

VII. Conclusions

The relativization is a process of transformation of mutually dependent sentences (interrogative: *who will ...?*; conditional: *if someone...*) into relative clauses, through changing their initial meaning, and transforming the noun or the pronoun, which unifies them semantically, into a relative conjunction, which, usually has gender, number, and case. The acquirement of relative function by the *kw-stem is a result of a choice between several alternatives (*i̯-, *t- и *kw- root). Several possible causes and ways for the course of this process, discussed in this article, can be suggested. The process of replacement of the old stem was catalyzed by several factors, which acted with different force, with different types of generated relative clauses, and with different relative pronouns. Probably, the relative *kw- stem was established lastly in the developing (commenting, procentential) clauses, under the influence of other relative clauses. Also, with pronouns of features (ꙗкъже), and of size (ꙗликъже) it was probably established later than with pronouns of persons and objects (иже), because in the 14th century, ꙗкъже still undergoes further development (→ ꙗковъже). A parallel can be seen in Polish, where there is: ***Jaka*** *praca, taka płaca*; but: *Ten,* ***kto*** *ma dzieci, może je zrozumieć*; *Ten,* ***który*** *mówi po polsku* ... (Swan 2002).

The polysemantic meanings of pronouns have resulted in some combined archaic uses of several forms in relative and also in interrogative function: нѣс родивъ сѧ **кто иже** может обнаходити силѫ бж̑іѫ (Мирчев 1978: 188); **что ѣко** 'why' искаашета мене (Lc 2:49) *Mar.*

The different possible ways of acquiring relative function by different types of pronouns is reflected in the additional nuances of the grammaticalized relative pronouns: *Лесно и скоро се сприятелява с* ***когото и да е*** ('with everybody'), *Безполезно е да криеш* ***каквото и да е*** ('something').

ABBREVIATIONS:

БНПБМ – *Български народни песни, събрани от братя Миладиновци*
БНТЮП – *Българско народно творчество – юнашки песни*
ДСКТПН – *Дето са солзи капали, тамо ще песен да никне*
НПСР – *Народни песни от Средните Родопи*
РНП – *Родопски народни песни*
СЕГО – *Славянски езици – граматични очерци*
ТКШ – *Търновска книжовна школа – Антология*
Assem – *Codex Assemanianus*
Bg (Old) – Bulgarian (Old)

CELGD – *Collins Easy Learning German Dictionary*
Euch – *Euchologium Sinaiticum*
Germ – German
Goth – Gothic
Gr – Greek
ESJB – *Encomiastic Sermon of John the Baptist*
ESPJB – *Encomiastic Sermon of Philothei* by Joasaph of Bdin
GSK – *Gateway to Speaking Korean*
LSEPD – *The Little Star English Picture Dictionary*
Mar – *Codex Marianus*
Old Byel – Old Byelorussian
Old Ind – Old Indian
Pol – Polish
Sav – *Sava's Book*
Supr – *Codex Supraslensis*
Zogr – *Codex Zographensis*

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The Cycle of Texts Dedicated to the Virgin Mary In an Unstudied Manuscript from the 14th Century

Marina Yordanova

The Patriarchate Library in Belgrade keeps a parchment codex under the shelfmark № 219 (referred to as *PL 219*). It was copied in 1381 and comprises II + 192 folios (384 pages) in quarto (235×150 mm), with 155×115 mm for the text field. The text is written in half-uncial by one hand and occupies one column with 18 to 24 lines per page. The titles and the initials are in red ink. The parchment is crude, damaged in places, with torn leaves, and faded ink which makes the red rubrics difficult to read. The miscellany consists of 25 quires, part of which irregular or with losses – 7 folios are preserved from the first one, 9 – from the eleventh, 7– from the twenty-second, 4 – from the twenty-fourth, and 6 – from the twenty-fifth. The remaining 20 quires have 8 folios each with modern pagination which I take into consideration further down. This codex has not been studied until now nor has it been compared with other similar manuscripts[1]. D. Bogdanović has identified it as a miscellany of apocryphal works[2].

The language of the texts in *PL 219* has retained traces of an older prototype. The orthography lacks obvious Serbian features. It has the two jers but not the juses; the jers being at their ethimological places; the scribe uses оу instead of the big nazal Ѫ. One should mention the frequent usage of uncontracted forms (for example пръжде вьсходеѭаа). In several places the number 6 is written like ƨ. V. Mošin attributes this peculiarity to the Serbian half-uncial and gives as examples the Hilandar copy of the Georgios Amartolos' Chronicle of 1386 and other ancient texts[3]. On p. 206 a text reads as: Ѡ оубогъı попе Романе. Ѡстави се ѕлиѫъ и

[1] I am very grateful to Anissava Miltenova that she directed my attention to the codex. The manuscript was available to me through photographs and microfilms made by her during her research work in Belgrade in 1985 and the copy is keeping now in the collection of General Department of Archives (now Archives State Agency), Sofia. I had no opportunity to work de visu with the codex till now.

[2] Bogdanović 1982: 38, № 346.

[3] Mošin 2000: 22, 91–102.

поревноуи благих дѣл. There is no doubt that the marginal note has been left by the compiler of the manuscript. On p. 366 the following note comprises the year 1381, according to which the miscellany is dated: ѿ адама даже до ноа лѣт вс҃мв, ѿ ноа до аврама а҃р҃о, ѿ аврама до мωусеа им҃д, ѿ моусеа до давида ѱ҃ѕ҃ф҃ и ѿ давида до хса а҃л҃е, ѿ рождьства хв҃а до сега а҃т҃н҃а лѣто (1381). The marginal notes are not registered in the corpus of L. Stojanović[4]. Apart from these, there are more notes written in a different handwriting, possibly from the 18th century, for example: Отъ тѣка за Благовещение.

The miscellany comes from Sremski Karlovci. On its title page we read: "Зборник овај поклања патриаршеской библиотеци у Срем. Карловцима д-р Емилијан Пиперковић, проф. богословије Св. Саве". Piperković himself, who has made the mentioned above pagination and left notes identifying the texts, sometimes accompanied with bibliographical references, has received the codex from a monk of St. Demetrios (or *Marko's*) Monastery near Skopje[5]. The binding is new, from the 20th century.

The miscellany includes twenty-one narratives of which the most interesting is the cycle of canonical and non-canonical texts, dedicated to the Virgin and arranged in sequence and not according to their calendar order. Three texts are provided for the feast of Dormition: Homily of St. John the Theologian on Dormition of Theotokos; a short story which is in fact a dialogue between St. Peter and the Lord about the destiny of the soul when it separates from the body; a short Homily of St. Thomas the Apostle on the Elevation of Panagia. The cycle continues with the Homily on Nativity of the Virgin (Protoevangelion of St. Jacob), two homilies on Annunciation and Homily of St. John Chrisostomos on the feast of Synaxis of the Most-Holy Mother of God. Following are: Homily on Presentation of Christ (Hypapante), Homily on Decapitation of St. John the Baptist, Life of St. Alexios the Man of God, Life of St. George, Life of St. Cyricus and St. Joulitta, Homily on Nativity, Homily on Annunciation, Homily of St. John Chrysostomos on the Apostles Peter and Paul, Life of St. Marina, Life of Job, Homily on Abraham's daughters, Homily of St Ephraim on Repentance.

The miscellany openes with the Homily of St. John the Theologian on Dormition: Мц҆а а҆гоу҆ста .е҃і. на оуспенїе пр҃ест҃ыѭ дѣви Маріи, incipit: Ст҃а҃а и пр҃ославнаа бц҆а и п҆рнодва Маріа по швъıуаю на ст҃ыи гробь г҃а нашего Іоу҆ Хр҃а ходеши кадити. И поклонши ст҃ѣи колѣне свои; and explicit: Мъı же а҆пл҃ъı видѣвше вънезапѫ ст҃а҃аго ее телесе уѣстноепр҃ложение прославихомь бг҃а показавшаго дивнаа уюдеса своа и пр҃ставление мт҃рь г҃а нашего Ісь Хр҃а ею же млт҃вами и млениемь

[4] Stojanović 1982, 1983, 1984, 1986.

[5] Stevanović 1921: 34–44.

Достоини боудемь вси wбрѣсти мл҃ть. и w҃поуш҃ениюгрѣхомь w҃ г҃а іс҃ь х҃а. вь нн҃ѣшнимъ вѣкѣ и вь б҃оущіи. вь коупѣ w҃ца и с҃на и с҃таго дх҃а. и н҃га и п҃рно и вь вѣкъı вѣком. It is the oldest and most widely spread Homily on Dormition. As it is well known, it originated from Byzantium in the fifth-century and was first published by K. Tischendorf[6]. The earliest version of the text was discovered in a 12th-century miscellany by Sreznevskij who published it in his *Сведения и заметки о малоизвестных и неизвестных памятниках* together with a summary text on copies of the 15th, 16th, and the 17th centuries[7]. On this basis the author has concluded on the antiquity of the Slavonic translation and proved that the later copies did not witness essential textological differences. Under the number 3483 in the Museum Collection of the State Historical Museum in Moscow is kept an intriguing manuscript from 1425. In the inventory book it is registered as *Bogorodičnik* and in it is the text of the Homily. The manuscript has been revealed to the scholarly world and studied by Klimentina Ivanova[8]. It is a miscellany of rhetoric and narrative texts dedicated to the Virgin in which the works do not follow the order of the holidays but are thematically arranged, in answer to the demands of the commissioner – Mara Leševa, the daughter (or wife?)[9] of the Montenegrin Vojvode Leša Crnojević. According to the researcher of the manuscript, St. John's Homily on Dormition is a "signal" to the old-versions type compositions, in which it is very often placed among other works provided for the same holiday.

On p. 24–25 of the Belgrade miscellany is the *Homily on Dormition of the Most Holy Mother of God* (**Слово w оусп҃енїе прⷭтыѥ Бц҃ѝ**) with the incipit: **Рече Петръ къ людѣмь: братіа, мы апостолы, ѥгда бъıли на прѣставлениѥ матере господа нашего...**; and explicit: **Пониже вьзлюбише тмоу паче свѣта. ї иже вьзлюбише свѣта моюго и д҃ше и вѣли соуть такоже.** The dialog is being carried between St. Peter, witness of the Virgin's Ascension, and the Lord, and concerns the soul separating itself from the body. This intriguing text deserves more attention and detailed study. On this preliminary stage of the research I am not aware of other similar texts. Two main plots could be discerned in general: 1. St. Peter the Apostle tells to people what the soul and body of the Virgin were at her Ascension to heaven (**тѣло аг҃лⷭкоѥ и вѣлоу седмьдⷭть седмоурицею паче слн҃ца**). 2. Dialog between St. Peter and the Lord, consisting of a question and an answer – Peter asks whose soul is as white as the soul of the Virgin and the Lord answers that

[6] Tischendorf 1866: 95–112.

[7] Sreznevskij 1867: 61–76.

[8] Ivanova 2001: 211–238.

[9] More details about the identification of the commissioner of the codex see in the research work of N. Georgieva-Gagova (Georgieva 1998).

everyone who has made good throughout his life and who loved the light more than the darkness, would have white soul at his leaving this world.

I have determined that this is an excerpt from the extensive Homily of John Archbishop of Thessalonika on the Dormition which is very popular in the South-Slavonic literature and in Russia. The text is a compilation from the homily of St. John the Theologian on Dormition and the homily of Pseudo-Meliton on the same subject, which is widespread in the Latin tradition. It is not a mere coincidence that exactly from this homily were excerpted two short texts on the Dormition (the apocryphal text mentioned above and the Homily of St. Thomas on the Elevation of the Holy Panagia) which spread out independently. The Homily of John of Thessalonika is much more particular about the Dormition and Ascension of the Virgin in comparison to the Homily of Pseudo-John Theologian. In the text there are many curious details, omens and miracles which have impressed the reader and most probably this is the reason why the mediaeval man of letters has decided to separate and give them individual life. In John's of Thessalonika homily St. Peter has been given a special role in the ceremony – he is above all the others and commands their actions, everybody seeks advice from him and nobody does anything without him. Therefore the fact of him being the leading character in the short apocryphal text is not perplexing.

In its form this small work is akin to the erotapocritical works on the subjects of the Old and the New Testament such as *Questions of St. John the Theologian to Abraham about the Righteous Souls on the Mount of Olives*, *Questions of St. John to the Lord (Apokryphal Revelation)*, *St. Bartholomeus' Questions to the Holy Mother of the Lord*, *Revelation of the Holy Apostles*, etc., in which essential aspects of the being and of the world beyond are elucidated in the spirit of the Eastern Orthodoxy[10].

The short stories about the death of the Virgin occur in mediaeval manuscripts with mixed content and non-stable composition which have no liturgical function and include works of the most varied content, the text arrangement of which do not follow the calendar order. These are prevailingly miscellanies of the 15th, the 16th and the 17th centuries, comprising the so-called "excerpts" from larger works, which "substitute" the extensive text and mark one renowned and solemnly celebrated event such as the Dormition of Theotokos. An exception to this is the miscellany *PL 219*, which is relatively earlier and whose first part could be called *Bogorodičnik*. It includes the extensive narrative of St. John as well as the narrative-dialog between St. Peter and the Lord, and the short homily of Apostle Thomas the on the Elevation of the Panagia. The capability of the apocrypha to disin-

[10] Miltenova 2004: 340–342.

tegrate into individual works has been established by D. Petkanova in her study on the apocrypha and the folklore[11]. In our case a new composition is constituted by these texts.

The earliest copy of John of Thessaloniki's Homily known to me is the one edited by A. Popov after the 14th-century № 13 from the Holy Trinity – St. Sergius Lavra. I. Y. Profiriev[12] has edited the Homily after a 16th-century miscellany (No 811 from the Solovets monastic library).

In this case I could presume that the short apocryphal text has been given the form of a separate story quite early, before the middle of the 14th century. What is envisaged in our research is the investigation of new Slavonic copies, as well as of the probable Greek source of the text or, to find sufficient evidence that the text originated on Slavonic soil as an excerpt from the homily of John of Thessalonika.

It is followed by the Homily of St. Thomas on the Elevation of the Panagia with the incipit: Єгда бис҃ оуспеніе пресвѣтіе Богородице, аггели и апостоли на облацѣхъ събираҳоу се...; and explicit: и повѣда апломь. шни же познаше и и кланяҳоу се ієи. И тако оумлькаше. Ѡвѣщавь и Петрь и рє҃. Блсвенн ієси Ѳѡма вь вѣкъı а҃мн.[13] The text was very popular in the South-Slavonic literature during the 15th–17th centuries and was one of the works most frequently to be found in the miscellanies of varied content, including apocryphal stories, teachings, narratives and homilies. Of all of the copies of the Homily (10 altogether of which eight are South-Slavonic and two are Russian) with which I have worked de visu, through photographs or microfilms and of the ten copies listed by Santos Otero[14], the copy *PL 219* is the earliest[15].

This particular version of the Homily is exceptionally interesting by its peculiarities and is unique in itself. The narration is led from a first person point of view, the author is participating in the event (Азъ же Ѳѡма, рекомъıи близньць...), a mean amplifying the suggestion of the text and increasing the impact on the imagination of the reader. In the next moment, however, the copyist priest Roman, led astray by the intriguing plot, has forgotten that the story has been carried on in the first person and continues it in the third person: Прс҃таıа Бца дадє ємоу ҙоуни-

[11] Petkanova 1978: 44.

[12] Porfir'ev 1890: 281–295.

[13] The text is published by N. Načov (Načov 1893: 400; Novaković 1886: 200–201).

[14] Santos-Otero 1981: 161–195.

[15] Jordanova 2003: 275–284. Concerning the preliminary classification, which I have made the copy of Homily of St. Thomas on the Elevation of the Panagia, included in the second branch of withnesses, together with in miscellany № 326 of collection in Natioanl library in Sofia, 17th c. (Adžar miscellany).

цоу и блѣви юго. Except for the confusion of the first and third person point of view, it also differs from the other copies by the inclusion of more dinamics in the narration. Not only the facts are laid out but the characters are given more striking features – the apostles, for example, are irate, angry, they can even curse. The peculiarities of this copy confirm the suggestion that the compiler of the cycle of the Virgin in *PL 219* has applied an individual approach to the texts.

The next homily is that on the Birth of the Holy Mother of God according to St. Jacob (the Protoevangelion of Jacob), a work translated already in the Old-Bulgarian period (10th–11th c.) This is the first of the three works dedicated to the feast of the Birth of the Virgin, included in the Miscellany of Mara Leševa. As K. Ivanova has pointed out, the copy of the Protoevangelion is belonging to the old-type traditon. With the term "old type tradition of the menaia panegyricons" she has denoted the panegyricons the basic content of which is related to the 'pre-Metaphrastes' translations made before the 13th century, regardless of the editorial revisions and additions[16]. In her study B. Hristova has published the Greek text of the Protoevangelion and parallel to it two of the Bulgarian translations – the first Old-Bulgarian and the Tărnovo one. The researcher has defined the Ohrid copy as "the second Old-Bulgarian translation"[17]. According to the preliminary textological observations on the text of *PL 219* it goes back to an early translation but with certain differences which should be subject to further analysis.

Next follow two Homilies of John Chrysostomos on the feast of Annunciation. Both are included into Codex Suprasliensis and have been edited after its St. Petersburg part. In Suprasliensis they follow each other as it is in *PL 219* but in reversed order and in another, earlier translation. The first Homily on Annunciation from the Belgrade miscellany, beginning with: Радостноє бл҃говѣщєниє, своводноє изв҃ѣщєниє, бг҃омоудрьнаꙗ радость is regarded as Pseudo-Chrysostomos. In the Miscellany of Mara Leševa of 1425 the same Homily on Annunciation is included in the same translation. According to the researcher of the manuscript the text put in it belongs to the "old tradition". The second homily in the Belgrade miscellany with the incipit: Ѡ цр҃ьскъıхъ таинь празьньство празьноуємь дн҃ь includes episodes of narrative character and is more extensive.

The last homily in the Mother-of-God cycle in the studied manuscript of the Patriarchal Library in Belgrade is the Homily on Synaxis of the Most Holy Mother of God by St. John Chrysostomos and the date 26 December is explicitly marked in the title. The text begins with: Вьсиꙗ намь слн҃цє праведноє соущєи. Прѣжде высходещаго ю҃ствомь свѣть. Some scholars have attributed it to St. Gregory Thau-

[16] Ivanova 2001: 215.

[17] Xristova 1991.

maturgus (3rd c.) The same homily has been included again in the miscellany ordered by Mara Leševa. As K. Ivanova has mentioned, this a rare example of redirection of the text for one holiday to another[18]. Usually this homily is related to the feast of Nativity, the Annunciation and occasionally – to the Synaxis of Theotokos. She points out to another two such cases – a manuscript from Zograph Monastery (the so-called *Zograph Miscellany*) from the 14th century and a panegyricon of 1538 from the *Oraxovitza* Monastery. The copy *PL 219* investigated here is fourth in specified succession, though it is dated 1381.

The preliminary observation of the cycle of works dedicated to the Virgin in the miscellany *PL 219* demonstrates once again that manuscripts containing undetermined source material can present the researcher with many surprises. Putting the works into cycles (without observing the calendar order) and their placement at the opening of the miscellany could be interpreted as intentional. Most probably the miscellany has been compiled for a church or monasteries dedicated to the Mother of God or rather to her Dormition because the texts provided for this holiday are three. This accumulation of the texts is an exception in the whole manuscript tradition with which I am acquainted. Detailed comparative examination of the texts and their translation, as well as of the history of the codex itself is yet to be carried out.

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PERSONALIA

Elena Tomova at 60

Elena Tomova is a senior researcher at the Department of Old Bulgarian Literature, Institute of Literature, and Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and a member of the Union of Scholars in Slovenia. She is working in the fields of theory and history of medieval Bulgarian, Russian, and Serbian literatures, medieval Slavonic hagiography and paleography, and computer supported processing of Slavonic manuscripts.

Elena Tomova was born in Plovdiv (1947) where she finished elementary and high school. She graduated at Sofia University, Russian and Bulgarian Philology in the Faculty of Slavic Studies (1965–1969). She received her PhD degree in 1977 in Moscow University, Russia, under the supervision of Prof. N.I. Kravcov. Her dissertation is entitled *Comparative study of the vitas of St. John of Rila, St. Theodosius of Pečera, and St. Stephan Neman'ja and their relation to folklore*.

She participated very actively in various initiates and publications in the Institute of Literature BAS, and at the first place in *Cyril and Methodius Encyclopaedia* in four volumes (I. 1985; II. 1995; III. and IV. 2003). She examined Cyrillic manuscripts in Russian collections (Moscow and Sankt-Petersburg) (1983, 1986, 1989, 2004), in Serbian collections, National Library in Belgrade and in Novi Sad (1985), in Poland collections, National Library in Warsaw, Cracov and Poznan (1981–1986), in Croatian collections (Zagreb), and in Kopitar collection, National Library in Ljubljana (1996–2001), etc. She was a lecturer of Bulgarian language and culture in Ljubljana University, Slovenia for five years (1996–2001), and she became indisputable authority on Slovenian-Bulgarian relationships in the literature and in the culture. Various texts translated from Polish, Croatian, Russian, Slovenian, and Serbian languages to Bulgarian language belongs to her.

Elena Tomova is a scholar with very wide and multilateral approach to the Slavic written heritage. Last ten years she participated in the project *Repertorium of the Balkan Cyrillic Manuscripts (encoding with computer tools)*. In the Department of Old Bulgarian Literature she directed a few projects in comparative studies of South Slavic and Balkan literatures: cultural and literary relationships between Romania and Bulgaria (14^{th}–19^{th} cc) (since 2006) and "Christian hagiology and pagan believes" (2003–2007). Elena Tomova is well known professor at

Plovdiv University (since 1980), and she teaches students in Russian and Bulgarian philology. Nowadays she teaches also Slovenian language, literature and culture. She participated in many international conferences and congresses with very interesting papers and collaborated with colleagues from Balkan and East European countries. Lately she is working on the cult of St. John of Rila, St. Hillarion of Măglen and St. Michael of Potuka. Her contributions to the analysis of unknown or less studied sources of Slavonic letters are very important, not only for specialists, but for wide audience.

Many happy returns!

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Anissava Miltenova

Aleksander Naumow, ***Idea-Immagine-Testo. Studi sulla letteratura slavo-ecdesiastica***, a cura di Krassimir Stantchev. Alessandria, edizioni dell'Orso, 2004 (Slavica, 7), 224 p.

Aleksander Naumow, ***Idea-Image-Text. Studies on Slav-ecclesiastical literature***, edited by Krassimir Stantchev. Alessandria, edizioni dell' Orso, 2004 (Slavica, 7), 224 p.

The editor's patient and valuable work, conducted in close contact with the author himself, provides us with a collection of studies that appeared originally in Polish, Serbian and Bulgarian between 1975 and 1987. Brought together in this way, however, the studies take on such an integrity of their own, (completed with the updating of the bibliography) that the reader is presented with a book which is an organic whole and in which the various contributions all inter-relate with each other. This is also witness to the underlying universality of the research – albeit divided into different aspects – that Aleksander Naumow has conducted and continues to conduct.

The author's underlying conviction, sustained throughout the book, is that Slav-Ecclesiastical literature (using these terms in their broadest sense, including the literature right from the origins of the Slav literary civilisation) is a unique framework, and that in this framework the Bible takes on a particular "modelling function". The Bible is in fact a "model of literary form" (p. 177) while the liturgy is the wellspring and hermeneutically binding context: the texts written specifically for liturgical use, which are the great majority, obviously refer back to it; but it also permeates all the other texts. In the book's four chapters, he demonstrates the significance of all this.

The first chapter illustrates in what sense Slavo-Ecclesiastical literature should be considered as a system in which the written works are ordered in a hierarchy. In this structure, starting obviously from actual liturgical use, there is a "subordination [...] of the less sacred works to the more sacred ones, of the less necessary ones to the more necessary ones, of those serving less for the glorification of God to those serving more" (p. 27). Right from the first chapter, space is given to certain reflections on apocryphal literature, on poetry and in particular on the poetic form that liturgical texts and hymnic compositions take; and on translation (which is so important in ancient Slav literature, being, as it is for the most

part, translated literature). The author presents this starting from the considerations that the texts themselves contain on the "art of translation" and on the terminology they themselves use.

The second chapter highlights the differing and original levels on which literary communication takes place in Medieval Orthodoxy. It is a form of communication in which the writer is only one of the elements of transmission while the real and genuine speaker("broadcaster") is God himself, in his work as Creator and Redeemer; God, to whom the writer must therefore be attentive. "The absolute subject of all the work is not therefore any internal author but only the God of the Fathers and merciful Lord, who through his Word has created all things (see Wisdom 9.1); everything that is positive, and therefore also language with its vocabulary and grammar, literary forms, meanings, information channels, the speaker/ broadcaster, the receiver, the underlying structures, the scholars, the readers of their works and so forth" (p. 78).

In the third chapter the author shows how "for the medieval Christian world, and also for that of the Slavs", the Word of God expressed in the Bible has been "cornerstone and sole absolute source, without exception, of every verbal statement of a ritual nature, the sole complete description of the work of the creation from the beginning of the world until the dreadful day of Universal Judgement (p. 95). The reasoning starts out from the hagiographic accounts, expressed also in iconographical representations, and from the expression of the Services of the Word in the various liturgical Offices. Thus, the author maintains that it is starting from the Bible that the hermeneutic criterion for the Slav Orthodox literary system can be discovered.

Then, in the fourth chapter, a series of highly interesting examples is given, in works "representative of the principal kinds of Slav-Orthodox ecclesiastical literature" (p. 115): hymnography , prayers, sermons and lives of the saints. Naumow convincingly presents the role of the biblical references in the Slav-Ecclesiastical texts. "The specific nature of medieval statement consists in the continual contact between the level of formal information, supplied by way of description, and the level of information – which we could define transcoded – evoked by a biblical quotation, reminiscence or comparison" (p. 175). The Bible is so ever-present in the self-comprehension of the writers that it becomes the criterion by which a sense of reality is revealed to them. This is particularly clear in the texts that refer to the saints, whether hymns, prayers, sermons or more specific 'Lives of the Saints'. The life of the saint, given in the description, is directly linked, literally by way of citations or biblical references, to the level of salvation of God. It is thus clear that the saint is the "present realisation" of the biblical event. In the understanding of the writers it is not only about applying to the present a superstructure of interpretation derived from the biblical texts; rather, the Bible reveals the real

meaning of the events, it is an intrinsic part of them, which the writer only brings to our attention; life, in other words, and in particular the life of the saints, is the new historical realisation of God's plan, announced in the Scriptures. Thus it is precisely starting from the Bible's images and references that the picture of a saint is built up, in the Lives and in the Eulogies.

I think that it is worth drawing attention to the paragraph referring to hymns, which helps even the western reader to enter into the richness of Orthodox hymnody; and even more to the paragraph referring to hagiography. In it the Life of Metodio is analysed as it is presented in the texts, highlighting precisely how they bring in "on the simple biographical level, a mystical-ecclesiastical dimension" (p. 169). Naumow draws the reader's attention to noticing all these dimensions, not just dwelling on the "historical-factual level [that] has interested, and has continued to interest, hundreds of scholars in the search for biographical particulars and historical facts" (p. 169), because by limiting oneself to that level, one cannot appreciate the full message that these texts convey, and were meant to convey.

After reading this very enriching book, one is left with the conviction that there remains a lot to study on these subjects, especially in the inter-weaving between the Byzantine and Slavic worlds, both in their individual and in their common areas. This is work that friends and disciples of Aleksander Naumow are continuing and developing with him.

This book is useful to Slavists for the hermeneutic perspectives it puts forward and documents, but it is also interesting for all who want to know more about the world of the Slavic Orient, the history and culture of which, profoundly marked by Christianity from the 10th century to the present, are so rich.

Also worthy of mention is the difficult task of the translators: the rendering of these texts in Italian, requires a range of skills – linguistic, theological, literary – and overall the result is satisfactory.

We hope moreover that a new edition of the book may correct the unfortunate, numerous, typographical errors.

Marco Scarpa

Вачкова, Веселина, Албена Миланова, Цветелин Степанов (съст.) ***Византия в собствените ѝ очи и в очите на другите*** // **Byzantium As Seen by the Byzantines and the Others**, eds. Vesselina Vatchkova, Albena Milanova, and Tsvetelin Stepanov. София: Гутенберг, 2007, 312 pp.

The Working Group "Byzantium" was created in 2004 as a non-formal circle of young scholars (Professors, Assistants, Students and Ph.D. Candidates) with different backgrounds and interests (Medieval History, Cultural Studies, Ethnology, Archaeology, Law, Philology) but all sharing a common passion – Byzantine History and Culture.

The collection "**Byzantium as seen by the Byzantines and the others**" is a colloquial volume of the Group (the colloquium was held 8-9 April 2005), published with the kind assistance of the Foundation *Maison des Sciences de l'Homme* - Paris, *Program Mellon*. It comprises 17 articles, lined up chronologically. They explore variety of issues, among which are Byzantine Hagiography and Literature, Urban Architecture, Military History, Diplomacy and Ceremonial, Medieval and Modern Images of the Byzantines and the Byzantine Empire.

Volumes like this are often faulted for failure to address a common central topic. In the case of the present anthology, one discovers to one's satisfaction that despite the seemingly incoherent diversity of subjects and the broad chronological scope, the volume embraces a plethora of key perspectives, concerning the image of Byzantium and covers comprehensively the chosen theme.

The article of Dr. Dimitar Iliev **Troy in Four Epigrams of Agathius Scholasticus** (pp. 9-21 in Bulgarian) sheds light over the traits of the 6th-century Byzantine epigraphic and rhetorical style. His research focuses on the epigrams of Agathius Scholasticus from the collection, known as *Antologia Graeca vel Palatina*. Dr. Iliev discusses their philological, rhetorical and ideological characteristics, as well as their relation to the Antique (Roman in particular) epigraphic heritage.

Georgi Kazakov's **Roman Trophies of Christianity: Ceremonial and Urbanization in the Early Constantinople** (pp. 22-31, in Bulgarian) is an expressive insight of a unique transmission: Constantinople was seen by the Byzantines as the true inheritor of Rome. The author demonstrates how they perceived the peculiar relation between God (the true Religion) and the Capital (the Empire with its institutions, legal and diplomatic practice) through the mediation of the Emperor. In G. Kazakov's view, the Imperial Ceremonial and urban tradition unite historical times and cultural spaces in the name of the true Christian mission – the Salvation.

Metodiy Rozhdestvenskiy (**With the Colors of the Basileus: The Nomadic Martial Ethos in the early middle Ages,** pp. 32-58, in Bulgarian) strives to look at the entire complex of factors that determined the superiority of the Nomadic horsemen in the 6th century: their weaponry, tactics and way of life, but above all – their martial ethos and mentality. The 6th century is regarded as the time when all these factors manifested to ensure the domination of the "Hun" mounted archer on the battlefield. The author explores the image of the "Barbarian" warrior-hero, his

perception by the contemporaries and traces back the actual historical deeds of the Bulgar warriors on the service of Justinian the Great (527-565) in his wars in Mesopotamia, North Africa and Italy.

Aptly analyzing the Persian, Greek and Latin sources and the historiography on the Byzantine-Persian relations, Theodor Dimitrov (**Observations on the Genesis of the Byzantine-Persian Political Symbiosis.** pp. 59-77, in Bulgarian) reveals the succession in Achaemenid, Parthian and Sassanid bureaucratic and ideological tradition. The implications of this continuity are found in the correspondence and the diplomatic practice of Persia and Rome. According to the author, their sources are profoundly mythological. The Persian diplomatic tradition implicitly comprises a pre-defined genealogical proximity between the rulers of the two Empires. Their "brotherhood" (*fraternitas*) dates back to the Hellenism and derives from their common origin and shared source of power.

Recreating the complex, in a way typically Byzantine, nature of the Pyre with its semiotic, religious, juridical and criminal aspects, Dr. Vesselina Vatchkova (**The Pyres in Byzantium: Of The Religious, Pseudo-religious and Antireligious Aggression**, pp. 78-107, in Bulgarian) emphasizes the ambiguous Byzantine attitude towards this phenomenon. The pyres were never officially adopted as a punishment or institutionalized in any way, although admitted by the Church and the Emperor in some cases. Most interestingly, they were not used against heretics, with three exceptions only. This reticent attitude led to the situation where "*there were, indeed, pyres and executions of sorcerers in Byzantium, but there was no Inquisition... The rhetoric and practice of the "Holy War" were developed there, but there were no Crusades; there were bloody pogroms, inspired by the faith, but no Religious wars.*" (p. 101)

The Bulgarian apocalyptic literature of the 11-13th centuries evoked some notions that put the Bulgarian state and culture into the frame of the Byzantine Christian eschatological paradigm. In his "**Imagining Byzantium from *Dusis*: Some *Topoi* in Bulgarian Apocalyptic Literature, 11-13th centuries**" (pp. 108-118, in English), Dr.Tsvetelin Stepanov identifies some *topoi* characteristic for the Byzantine ideology, that were adopted and interpreted by the Bulgarian medieval authors. They represented the Bulgarian Kingdom and people (considered in the 10th century to be the *Dusis* – the Western part of the Christian Empire) as holy and god-chosen, being most truly orthodox and consequently – center of the world. Dr. Stepanov refers to these cultural mechanisms as "*classical procedures of mimesis*" (p.111) in Eastern European medieval society which helped the Bulgarians to revive and conserve their statehood and ethnical identity during the Middle Ages.

The essay of Gerassim Petrinski (**De ceremoniis aulae Byzantinae: Studies on the Ritual of the Coronation**, pp. 119-130, in Bulgarian) examines the opus of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos *De ceremoniis aulae Byzantinae*. The emperor used the description of the coronation rituals to put forward his ideological and political ideas. *De ceremoniis* is, no doubt, a compilation, but it also represents a consolidated political theory that underlines the importance of two pillars of the Byzantine *Basileia*. The hierarchy and the legality could only assure the harmonious, blessed by God rule of the monarch, in a time when the power of the legitimate heir was endangered by another contestant.

The study of Dr. Albena Milanova, **The Town of the Byzantines and the Town of the Byzantinists. The idea of the town in Byzantium** (pp. 131-159, in Bulgarian), is focused on the Byzantine medieval towns in Bulgarian lands (Pernik in particular). The author uses a large spectrum of criteria to "define" the Byzantine town: its demographic potential (*polyanthropia*), the aristocracy living there, the religious image of the town, its economic functions, and architectural silhouette. Neither the Byzantines nor the byzantinists are able to offer a more or less clear concept of the Byzantine town. Therefore, she concludes, it is "*more a mobile body than a stable hierarchy of constant elements.*" (p.152)

The cultural life in Bulgaria during the 11-12th centuries was in decline. The Byzantine priests strived to associate the Bulgarian population to the Greek culture and language, but the literature from the same period equally provides evidence that the Byzantine *literati* respected the Bulgarian cultural heritage and tried to be true spiritual leaders of their subjects. The apocryphal and the hagiographic literature proves the existence of a Byzantine-Bulgarian cultural symbiosis. Lyuba Ilieva (**The life of St. Kliment of Ohrid and the problem of Bulgarian-Byzantine Cultural Synthesis**, pp. 160-176, in Bulgarian) distinguishes the "The Life of St. Kliment of Ohrid" as its brightest emanation.

"*It is beyond doubt that the great achievement of ancient Greeks – drama – failed to survive in Byzantium*" (p.177): with these words starts his analysis Dr. Przemislav Marciniak. (**Theatre that did not exist? Theatre and performances in Byzantium**, pp. 177-188, in English). He tries to answer the question why it so happened in this "*fundamentally performative society*" (p. 185) and searches for drama substitutes and theatrical traits in other public performances in Byzantium, such as liturgical spectacles and sermons.

Ivelina Kyoutchoukova (**Dissemination of Byzantine Culture through Dynastic Marriages**, pp. 189-216, in Bulgarian) explores the role of the dynastic marriages in the relations between medieval European states and Byzantine Empire. She dwells on the implication of the dynastic marriages as "instruments" of

the orthodox faith dissemination, diplomacy, and cultural influence of Byzantium to the West, trying to present a complete panorama of this phenomenon.

Valery Valeriev (**Crime and Punishment as Juridical and Theological Concepts**, pp. 217-234, in Bulgarian) takes us to the world of the Byzantine Theology to show us the dialectics of the reconciliation of the divine love and the profane justice. The Byzantine concept of the crime is theologically motivated but yet ambiguous. From a Christian perspective, the State can never be completely justified for its very existence depends on the sinfulness of men. Simultaneously, the Christian Kingdom is an irrevocable good. As to the criminal, he is always left the chance to discern the wrath of the *Basileus* from the love of God.

The paper of Vasil Ninov (**"Our Inheritance is Turned to Strangers..."** Lamentations 5:2, pp. 235-252, in Bulgarian) is dedicated to the political views of Niketas Choniates. The goal of the Byzantine author is to depict the fall of the Byzantine State, to name the guilty and to offer an alternative to the current rule. The noble origin (*eugeneia*), the dynasty (*kleronomia*), and the authority are those key characteristics of the 13th-century Byzantine society whose updated interpretation could, in Choniates' mind, revive the previous glory of the Empire.

The work of Mitko Delev **Who Took Constantinople in 1204? Few Notes on Geoffroy of Villehardouin's Text** (pp. 253-263, in Bulgarian) is yet another essay in the present volume that deals with the views of an eminent medieval historian, this time a Western one. When writing his Chronicle, Geoffroy of Villehardouin had quite specific goals in mind. First, he was to prove that the attack on Constantinople (April 1204) was not a crime, but the only path to success of the Crusade. Thus, his justification of the diversion was that there was actually no diversion. Second, following the same logic, Geoffroy updated the concepts of *Miles Dei* and *Hostis Dei*: The idea of *Graecus Perfidus* was reinvented. Therefore, the assault on Constantinople did not abolish the Byzantine Empire. It simply transferred the power to those who deserved it better. "*Let us not forget,* writes M. Delev, *that Villehardouin was not a theologist, but a knight for whom the victory in the tournament belonged to the god-chosen fighter.*" (p.260)

A Brief Note on "Dialogus", "Defensor Minor" and the Problem of *Ecclesia Graecorum* (pp. 264-268, in English) by Martin Ossikovski sheds light over a theological dispute between two prominent 14th-century scholiasts – William Ockham and Marsiglio of Padua. It reviews some notions in the works of Ockham ("Dialogus") and Marsiglio ("Defensor Minor") concerning the primacy of the Roman Bishop over the Greek Church.

Ramon Lull (1232-1316) was a notable representative of the late Crusade propaganda. The 13th-century Crusade ideology was dominated by the motive of *recuperatio et conservatio Terrae Sanctae*, but there were also a great deal of

contradictory concepts, regarding the recuperation of Constantinople from the Byzantines. Dr. Alexander Nikolov (**Ramon Lull's concept of Byzantium and the Byzantines**, pp. 269-275, in Bulgarian) studies the evolution of the argumentation and political ideas of Ramon Lull in the works of the latter "*Ars generalis ultima*", "*Tractatus de modo convertendi infidelium*", "*Liber de fine*" and "*Liber de acquisitione Terrae Sanctae*".

The volume is closed by the paper of Emilia Karaboeva **Semantics of the Term *Byzantium*: "Byzantine Style", "Byzantine Tricks", and 'Byzantine" as Used in Modern Everyday Bulgarian Culture** (pp. 276-310, in Bulgarian). As a whole, the connotations of "Byzantine" in everyday Bulgarian language are negative: this is the field of the unspoken obvious, the ambiguousness and the hypocrisy, the feminine against masculine. E. Karaboeva presents the "Byzantine" as a modern mythological concept of the elusive otherness: it is sophisticated to decadence but simultaneously positive in its willingness to survive at all costs.

In conclusion, I would note that the choice of the central theme of this collection is *per se* an ambitious project for identity, either material or imagined, is one of the pivotal issues in Cultural studies. And since concepts like "self" and "the other" are historically, linguistically and locally rooted, they must be studied in terms of these realities. In this respect, the approach of the editors and the authors towards the chosen theme is a step in right direction. Many of the essays offer significant contributions to their fields of study and will surely stimulate readers to regard the problems touched from a new perspective. It is to be hoped that some of the works would be expanded by the authors either in other collections of the Group, or in separate studies.

Metodiy Rožděstvenskiy

Архивски номоканон. Български ръкопис от XIV век. Фототипно издание. Съст. **Ангел Кръстев и Цветанка Янакиева**. УИ "Епископ Константин Преславски. Шумен, 2007, 258 с.
Архивский номоканон. Болгарская рукопись XIV в. Фототипное издание. Сост. **Ангел Крыстев и Цветанка Янакиева.** Издательство университета им. Епископа Константина Преславского, Шумен, 2007, 258 с.

Общеизвестен факт, что в русской и сербской исследовательской традиции тексты и памятники церковного права давно являются объектом разносторонних исследований – от каталожной дескрипции до историко-правовых, историко-литературных и историко-культурологических обобщений, которые вместе с выпуском самых ценных рукописных памятников превратились в национальный приоритет для осмыслении старого письменного наследия. Высказываются упреки в нехватке достаточного количества источ-

ников в этой области, как в старых, так и в совсем современных публикациях. Болгарское средневековье все еще не переломлено через призму данных из номоканонов, епитимийных редакций или церковно-юридических сборников. А в их "зеркале", если использовать удачную метафору А. Гуревича, отражено болгарское прошлое как социальный, институциональный и человеческий опыт.

Издание А. Крыстева и Цв. Янакиевой напоминает о том, что мы в долгу перед сохранившейся в Болгарии правно-канонической книжностью. Оно фототипическим способом воспроизводит самый ранний известный церковно-юридический сборник в современных болгарских рукописных собраниях. Это архивная единица под номером 1160 в депозитарии Церковно-исторического и архивного института при болгарской Патриархии. Из-за поступления рукописи едва в 1959 г. и отсутствия актуализированного каталога рукописей в депозитарии, до сих пор он был объектом только краткого каталожного описания в Сводном каталоге рукописей, хранившихся в Болгарии.[1] В нем он описан как Номоканон конца XIV в. Авторам настоящего издания и его первым системным исследователям мы обязаны его названием "Архивский", по названию книгохранилища, с которым оно связывается.

Сопровождающая статья к нему подчинена виду издания. Ее тематические ядра группируются в следующем порядке: короткое введение о рукописи и сродных ему доступных списков; кодикологические особенности; палеографические особенности; содержание рукописи; правописные особенности и языковые особенности. Подобное короткое представление отвечает поставленной авторами цели привлечь внимание палеославистов к Архивскому номоканону и инспирировать специализированные исследования по вопросам, которые отсутствуют в описательной схеме (с. 36). Бесспорно, первое необходимое условие в этом направлении – популяризация текста самой рукописи. Выбор фототипической формы в случае оправдан по двум причинам. Оригинальный текст читабельный, ясный, простой для визуализации, а заслуга принадлежит полностью основному кописту, оставившему запись на последних двух строчках в основном текстовом поле на л. 192: писавшаго сїе ѓи помѣни, въ ц҃ртвї своемъ. Сумеѡ, тѫ҃ ієр҃ѡмна҃. Воспроизведение текста с помощью современных дигитальных средств сохраняет его аутентичность и его читабельность, предлагая в то же время успешное практическое решение для немалого объема произведения в 205 листов +15 дополнительно переплетенных к ним в XVII в.; при наборном издании он увеличился бы значительно.

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[1] Христова, Б. Д. Караджова, А. Икономова. *Български ръкописи от XI до XVIII век, запазени в България. Своден каталог.* Том 1. С., 1982, 55–56.

Обобщенные данные, которые содержатся во вводной статье, представляют рукопись ЦИАИ 1160 как важный источник для истории болгарского языка, дающий сведения о покаянной письменности, распространяемой на болгарской языковой территории, о православной религиозной культуре болгар. Основные выводы сформулированы доц. Цветанкой Янакиевой, которой принадлежат существенные заслуги за представление рукописи в отдельных публикациях в периодических изданиях и сериях. На основе водяных знаков на бумаге подтверждается датировка конца XIV в. Здесь надо процитировать мнение румынского исследователя и автора описи славянских церковно-юрдических памятников Р. Константинеску, которое осталось незнакомым для автора. На основе филиграни вар. MT 1944 от 1352 г. он относит ЦИАИ 1160 к периоду 1351–1360 г. и дает как приблизительную локализацию город Видин.[2] На основе этого факта, исследованная рукопись выступает как более ранний представитель рассматриваемого типа произведений. Конечно, это видно и из названия цитированной Описи; в мнении ученого можно обнаружить и отголосок иногда преднамеренной северо-западно-болгарской локализации ряда средневековых памятников, в которых румынская школа славистов ищет основу для так называемой влахо-болгарской письменности, созданной на основе старой кириллицы после падения Болгарии под османским владычеством. В любом случае, однако, и перемещение датировки к третьей четверти XIV в., и гипотетическая все еще связь с Видином или Тырново – это вопросы, достойные спровоцировать научные дебаты в поисках места рукописи ЦИАИ 1160 в болгарской средневековой письменности.

Палеографические особенности дали основание Цв. Янакиевой говорить о, в общей сложности, не менее 6 рук, при ведущей роли иеромонаха Симеона как первый и вероятный его молодой ученик в качестве второго переписчика (с. 24). Это мнение требует серьезного анализа при продолжительной работе над рукописью, поэтому я не могу здесь его комментировать. По мнению автора, они оба проявляют специфические предпочтения к определенным орфографическим подвариантам, что разделяет рукопись на "текстовые зоны" по отношению к юсовой и еровой дистрибуции. В некоторых местах выводы сопровождаются статистическими данными, видно стремление к современной интерпретации диахронных данных и употреблению современной языковедческой терминологии. По существу, это не меняет общую картину орфографии рукописи ЦИАИ 1160 как двуеровый, двуюсовый памят-

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[2] Constantinescu R., *Vechiul drept românesc scris. Repertoriul izvoarelor 1340–1640*. Bucuresti, 1984, 131; Об этом см. еще: Цибранска, М., М. Райкова. "Езиковият критерий в описването и проучването на църковноправни паметници от XIV–XV в." (в печати).

ник с ятовой гласной в этимологической позиции, со знаком для аффрикаты дз и др. Подобное состояние орфографической системы ставит вопрос о взаимодействии между т. наз. реформой до Евфимия и орфографией Евфимия не просто в терминологическом плане, но и как фактор в конечной цели языкового исследования – датировки и локализации памятника.

Рассмотренные языковые особенности объединяют фонетические (деназализиция, выравнивание знаков ъı и и; особенно затвердевание согласной ꙗ) и морфологические (распад именных и глагольных флексивных парадигм; постпозитивные указательные местоимения для выражения определенности и др.) явления. Совместно взятые, они не оставляют места для сомнения о наличии "системно-языковых и структурно-категориальных болгаризмов" (с. 35), связанных с переходом от синтетизма к аналитизму, которые характерны для рукописи ЦИАИ 1160 и которые дают нам основание назвать его болгарским списком типа церковно-юридического сборника, который лег в его составе.

Так как перед научной общественностью находится очень ценная находка болгарской продукции списков в XIV в., а и, доказывая самой себе, что цель издателей спровоцировать размышление и исследовательские поиски достигнута, я позволю себе поделиться некоторыми мыслями, которые могут получить развитие после того как рукопись ЦИАИ 1160 будет поставлена на широкую сравнительную основу с другими схожими по типу или хронотопу памятниками.

1. На первом месте у этой рукописи привилегия освободить от анонимности своего основного переписчика. Для небольшого количества церковно-юридических списков можно указать на конкретное имя их создателя. В последнее время А. А. Турилов, на основе палеографического анализа[3], сделал успешную атрибуцию т.наз. болгарской части, хранящейся в Хлудовом собрании Русской государственной библиотеки в Москве, рук. Хлуд. 76 XIV в., которая сходится с Архивским номоканоном в основном составе текста. Он связал листы 1–90 кодекса со списками одного из учеников попа Филиппа и тырновских традиций переписывания. Как одно из будущих направлений для работы с рукописью ЦИАИ 1160 следовало бы сделать опыт идентификации таха иеромонаха Симеона. И монашеское прозвище, заимствованое из греческой письменности, так и собственное имя популярны в течении всего XIV в.[4]

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[3] Турилов, А.А. К истории тырновского "царского" скриптория XIVв. // СЛ 2005, кн. 33–34, 305–328.

[4] Куев, К. *Иван-Александровият сборник от 1348 г.* С., 1981, 401–403; Куев, К. Думата тах в славянските ръкописи. // *Славистични изследвания.* Т. 3. С., 1973, 64–67.

2. На втором месте обилие сборников со смешанным содержанием с разным текстовым профилем (вопросо-ответный корпус, патерические рассказы, житийные произведения и др.) эпохи царя Ивана-Александра (1331–1371) требуют поиска связи рук. ЦИАИ 1160 с некоторой из ведущих письменных тенденций эпохи создания литературных сборников разного предназначения, напр. богослужебные потребности, индивидуальное употребление при царском дворе или в монашеских центрах. Одна из ее разновидностей мог бы быть церковно-юридический сборник как энциклопедия актуальной канонической литературы, что совпало бы полностью с усиленными антиеретическими тенденциями в XIV в. и организованными в этой связи соборами, с борьбой за чистоту христианской веры, вдохновленной исихазмом и спровоцированной нависающей мусульманской опасностью на Балканах. Прямые доказательства этого дают сборники с доказанным времепоявлением при царе Иване Александре, как Ловчанский сборник монаха Пахомия, заказанный Иваном Александром, все еще деспотом апанажа Ловеч, т.е. до 1331 г., сборник попа Филиппа 1344–1345 г., Лаврентьевский сборник 1348 г. и др.; конкретные текстовые единицы, как Постниковый канонарий, выписки из Шестого вселенского (Трулского) собора в рук. ЦИАИ 1160 и русская Устюжская Кормчая XIII–XIV в., созданная по южнославянским протографам, и особенно центральное место занимает т. наз. Котелериевый (еще Псевдозонарин) епитимийный номоканон, который открывается не только в рук. ЦИАИ 1160, но и в близких по времени возникновения и болгарских по происхождению церковно-юридических сборников из русских собраний, как цитированный ГИМ Хлуд.76 (XIV в.), РГБ Муз. собр.3169 XIV–XV в. и РНБ Q.II.90 XIV в.

Издание А. Крыстева и Цв. Янакиевой – ожидаемое событие для всех, кто ищет болгарский след в славянском письменном праве, это материал для исследователей болгарского XIV в., радостное событие для болгарской медиевистики. Оно делает честь издательству Шуменского университета им. Епископа Константина Преславского, которое в очередной раз доказывает свое пристрастие к старой письменной традиции и отстаивает свою поддержку ее исследователям.

Марияна Цибранска

Анчо Калоянов, Мария Спасова, Тодор Моллов. ***"Сказание за железния кръст" и епохата на цар Симеон".*** Отг. ред. проф. Иван Харалампиев. УИ „Св. св. Кирил и Методий", Велико Търново, 2007, 224 с., ISBN-10: 954-775-686-9. ISBN-13: 978-954-775-686-1

Ančo Kalojanov, Maria Spassova, Todor Mollov. *"Tale of the Iron Cross" and the Epoch of Tsar Simeon.* Ed.-in-chief: prof. Ivan Haralampiev. University Publishing House "St. st. Cyril and Methodius" Veliko Tărnovo, 2007. 224 p. ISBN-10: 954-775-686-9. ISBN-13: 978-954-775-686-1

This scientific paper is the work of three lecturers from the University of Veliko Tărnovo "St. st. Cyril and Methodius" – prof. Ančo Kaloyanov, prof. Maria Spassova and associate professor Todor Mollov. In it they present their point of view towards one of the most interesting and, at the same time, one of the least studied written records of the early Old-Bulgarian literature, as well as their standpoint on the epoch of its creation.

In his part of the study, "The Bulgarian Miracles in 'Tale of the Iron Cross' ", prof. A. Kaloyanov examines some of the preceding publications of the writing, those by acad. B. Angelov, A. Turilov and others. Later prof. Kaloyanov addresses the plot, numerical symbols, anthroponymy and toponymy and the chronotope of the action. What follows is an extensive analysis of the two Bulgarian wonders, which „reveal two points of view on the wars of Simeon against the Hungarians and the patronage of St. George, which the Bulgarians received (p. 25). The second part of prof. Kaloyanov's text is dedicated to the problem of the potential authorship of tsar Simeon the Great of the Old-Bulgarian original texts. The correspondence between the Bulgarian ruler and the patriarch of Constantinople, Nicholas Mystikos (after his death in 925 – Theodore Daphnopatos), was thoroughly analyzed in order to address the problem. A thesis is promoted, that "Tale of the Iron Cross" is in fact the tsar's answer to the patriarch's 26th letter "with the sense of the author: 1) that because of his holy zeal he is one of the chosen sons of God, who was saved by St. George in the war against the Hungarians at Jesus' bidding; 2) that he, as a new Moses, has received the "ten commandments" for his people by St. George; 3) that despite his evil acts, for which he repents, he will live after death because on the road to paradise he will be protected by St. George again, this time from the evil taxcollectors; 4) that as a righteous man he will multiply on Earth, leaving as a testament to his sons his untarnished name in front of the court of descendants and History; 5) that he wanted peace by bringing his victorious weapon, the Iron Cross and its story, which was given to him by St. George during the war against the heathens, to the altar of the Church." (p. 63-64)

„The Bulgarian and Byzantine Wonders of St. George (Text and Context in Culture and History)" is asso. prof. Todor Mollov's contribution to the joint effort of the collective from Veliko Tărnovo University. It contains notes addressing the problem of the specifics of the poetics and the chronotope of "Tale of the Iron Cross", notes on the origin and specifics of some of the motifs of the record, a comparative examination of the wonders of St. George in both the Byzantine and

Old-Bulgarian (Slavonic) tradition and reflexions on the topic "The Wonders: Context or Text of the Bulgarian History". The transitional conclusion is that the "appropriation" of the cult to St. George in the context of Simeon's imperial traditions from 913 on is in itself an "answer" in the field of the strongly ideologized conflict between Bulgaria and Byzantium between the end of the 9th and the first third of the 10th centuries" (p. 111). Finally, it is confirmed that "precisely with the help of the cult of St. George the Bulgarian society manages to bridge its heathen past and its Christian future, including in the folklore version of Christianity, and that "Tale of the Iron Cross" is a great example of the renewal of the means of expression (language) of culture in the case of continuity in the sphere of ideas". (p. 114)

The analysis of prof. Maria Spassova is comprised of two parts: 1) Theoretical– "Language peculiarities of "Tale of the Iron Cross", where morphological, syntactical and lexical special features of the record are revealed, with an accent on the glagolitic traces. Here it is stated, that "Tale of the Iron Cross" has originated as a unified Slavonic text in a Bulgarian language environment and in the Preslav Literary School. It is highly probable that the Tale is either the work of a Cyrilomethodian disciple, or that of a Preslav scholar, who remembers and applies the old literary norm". (p. 171); 2) Concerning sources – Publication of the original texts and their New-Bulgarian translations with references to the many manuscripts and alternative readings.

The appendix was composed by assoc. prof. Todor Mollov and contains the following parts: 1) Selected bibliography of St. George and his cult; 2) Selected bibliography of the studies on „Tale of the Iron Cross"; 3) Archeography of "Tale of the Iron Cross" and the individual wonders in it.

The scientific work of the authors' collective from Veliko Tărnovo holds an important position in the line of the few studies of both the Old-Bulgarian cycle of narratives of the wonders of the St. martyr George Nicator and the Bulgarian-Byzantine ideological, cultural, language and other antagonism dating from the first thirty years of the tenth century.

The painstaking analysis, the fruitful hypotheses and the intelligible way of expression are some of the more distinctive advantages of this new composition over the preceding studies on the problem. The model of work created by the university scholars prof. A. Kalojanov, prof. Maria Spassova and asso. prof. T. Mollov can be successfully applied to other early epochs of the Bulgarian ethno-cultural history and to other medieval records, which are insufficiently assimilated by the philological branch of medievalism.

Rosen Malčev

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NEW BOOKS

Margaret Dimitrova

2003

BIRNBAUM, Marianna D. ***The Long Journey of Gracia Mendes.*** Budapest, New York: CEU Press, 2003, 147 pp.

The author examines in detail the sources about the life and endeavors of Gracia Mendes (Luna), a sixteenth-century rich widow of Portuguesse origin, who was initially a secret Jew and later openly embraced Judaism. She traveled from Iberian Peninsula to Italy and then to Turkey and to Ottoman-ruled Palestaine and had the strenghth to pursue her goals in spite of the limits of the time and societies. Thus, the book deals with the history of particular places where Gracia Mendes and her family lived: Portugal, Antwerp, Venice, Ferrara, Ragusa, and Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century. Two appendices are provided: 1. Money, Prices, Values; and 2. From Dubrovnik to Constantinople. Further, there are two indices: one of places and one of persons.

2004

ВАСИЉЕВ, Љупка и Мирослава ГРОЗДАНОВИЋ-ПАЈИЋ. ***Филигранолошки опис и албум грчких рукописа XIV века Центра за словенско-византијска проучавања „Проф. Иван Дујчев".*** Series catalogorum. Vol. X. Универзитетско издање "Св. Климент Охридски" и Народна библиотека Србије, Софија, 2006, 337 стр.// Vasiljev, Ljupka et Miroslava Grozdanović-Pajić. *La description des filigranes et l'album des manuscrits grecs XIV^e^ siècle du Centre de recherches slavo-byzantines "Prof. Ivan Dujčev".* Editions Universitaires "St. Clément d'Ohrid" et Bibliotheques nationale de Serbie, Sofia, 2004, 337 pp.

This Serbian-French bilingual catalogue includes about 1000 watermarks identified in 105 Greek manuscripts kept in the Research Centre "Professor Ivan Dujčev" in Sofia. The book opens with an introduction by Ljupka Vasiljev, contains a detailed description of watermarks and an album and ends with three indices: by manuscript date; by watermark date; and by watermark name (in Cyrillic alphabetical order).

СБОРНИК в чест на проф. дфн Георги Данчев. *Материали от международната научна конференция, Велико Търново, 13-14 декември 2002 г.* Велико Търново: Университетско издателство „Св. св. Кирил и Методий", 2004, 642 стр. [Festschrift for Professor Dr. Habil. Georgi Danchev. Proceedings of the international conference, Veliko Tărnovo, 13-14 December 2002. Veliko Tărnovo: SS Cyril and Methodius University Press, 2004, 642 pp.]

This festschrift contains 48 articles (45 in Bulgarian, 2 in Russian, and 1 in Ukrainian) dedicated to medieval and modern literature and culture, a biography and bibliography of the jubilee. Fifteen papers are included in the session on medieval Bulgarian literature dealing with the following topics: Old Bulgarian verses; Bogomils; Adamites; compositions by Gregory Camblak and their dissemination in the Orthodox literatures; Bulgarian Hesychasts; Bulgarian original hagiography and Tărnovo cults; sermons in Old Bulgarian and Old Russian literatures, and some other problems. The session on history and archeology contains 8 papers on khan and khagan in the First Bulgarian Empire; on Tsar Ivan Shishman; on apocalyptic literature in Bulgaria and Byzantium; on the historical memory among the Slavs, Walachians, and Moldavians in the 14th and 15th centuries; on the Bulgarian Anonymous Chronicle; on the evidence of anchorites in Kilifarevo; and on some other topics. Further, papers on the medieval period are included in the session on art and theology: some of them deal with prophetical, apocalyptic and eschatological elements in medieval Bulgarian literature, with Bogomil ideas and with Tărnovo Hesychasm.

СЛОВАРЬ книжников и книжности Древней Руси. **Вып. 3 (XVII в.)** Часть 4. Т-Я. Дополнения. Санкт-Петербург: Дмитрий Буланин, 2004 [Lexicon of the bookmen and literary activities in Old Rus'. Vol. 3 (17th century). Part 4. T-Ja. Supplement. St. Petersburg: Dmitrij Bulanin, 2004]

This is a volume of *Slovar' knizhninkov* whose aim is to put together information on bookmen, scribes, translators, book-collectors, book-production and literary activities in Old Rus'. The present edition is made with the support of the Russian Humanities Fund (01-04-162889). As the various data are put together in one volume, it successfully shows the main specifics of the Russian literary culture in the 17th century. This is the period when the picture of the participants in the literary process, of genres, motifs and themes became more diverse and heterogeneous. (Irina Morozova)

2005

РОДОПСКО книжовно наследство. Райковски дамаскин (ново пълно издание на текстовете в същинската част на сборника), съст. Христо Гиневски и Георги Митринов. Варна: Издателство на Варненския свободен университет „Черноризец Храбър", 2005, 276 стр. [Literary Heritage of the Rhodopa Mountains: the Rajkovo Damaskin (a new full edition of the texts from the core part of the manuscript), ed. by Hristo Ginevski and Georgi Mitrinov. Varna: Publishing House of Chernorizets Hrabăr Free University of Varna, 2005, 276 pp.]

This book opens with a study by Hristo Ginevski on the literary heritage of the region of the Rhodopa Mountains from the period of the Bulgarian National Revival (pp. 3–16). Further, Georgi Mitrinov gives information on this late (19th century) manuscript known as the Rajkovo Damaskin which is a miscellany written in the Bulgarian dialect of the Middle Rhodopa Mountains with Greek letters. Further, the author edits the main part of this manuscript with Cyrillic letters rendering also the accent signs in the source. The edition ends with a dictionary of those words in the manuscript which are not used in the present-day Bulgarian literary language.

СЕДАКОВА, О. А. ***Церковнославяно-русские паронимы: Материалы к словарю.*** Москва: Греко-латинский кабинет Ю. А. Шичалина, 2005, 432 с. [Sedakova, O. A. Church Slavonic – Russian paronyms: Materials for a dictionary. Moscow: Greek-Latin cabinet of U.A.Shichalin publishers, 2005, 432 pp.]

This dictionary contains more than 2 000 entries, which include interpretation of the semantics of the lexemes and information on their use in the liturgical literature and the Bible. Thus, the edition assists translations from Church Slavonic and interpretation of the old texts. Beside the Church Slavonic entries, the author provides a useful index of Greek lexemes with their Church Slavonic counterparts. (Valerij Budejko)

ТАХИАОС, Антоний-Эмилий Н. ***Святые братья Кирилл и Мефодий, просветители славян***. Сергиев Посад: Свято-Троицкая Сергиева Лавра, 2005, 392 стр. [Tachiaos, A.-E. The Saintly Brothers Cyril and Methodius, enlighteners of the Slavs. Sergiev Posad: Svjato-Troickaja Sergieva Lavra, 2005, 392 pp.]

This edition is a translation from Greek into Russian made by hieromonks Dionisij (Shlenov), Leontij (Kozlov), abbot Tixon (Zajcev), S. Kimos and edited by hieromonk Dionisij (Shlenov) and V.L. Shlenov. By this translation the readers in Russian could learn more about the lives and activities of the Thessalonian brothers Constantine and Methodius and about their mission among the Slavs in the 9th century. There are indices of place names and personal names. Also a translation of the Extensive *Vitae* (the so-called Pannonian Legends) of the two brothers and of that of St. Clement of Ochrid made by P. A. Lavrov is attached to the volume. (Irina Morozova)

VARPIO, Mirja. ***Evangelium cyrillicum gothoburgense. A Codicological, Palaeographical, Textological and Linguistic Study of a Church Slavonic Tetraevangel.*** (= Lund Slavonic Monographs 9). Lund, Department of East and Central European Studies, Lund University, 2005, 224 pp.

This is a thorough study of the provenance, binding, quires, paper, watermarks, script, ornament, textual version, orthography, accentuation, and language of a 17th-century Slavonic *tetraeuangelium* written in Rybotycze in the borderland between Ukraine and Poland and used for liturgical purposes. A special attention is paid to its *menologium* (calendar) and to the comparison of its textual version with the *Codex Marianus*, the Ostrih Bible, the Hilandar gospel 110 (which shows many similarities with the codex examined), and with several other gospel manuscripts. Thus, this research contributes to the history of book production in this border zone which retained very archaic features, on the one hand, but on the other introduced also new ones typical of the 17th century.

2006

BOLLETTINO della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata. Terza serie. Vol. 3, 2006, 358 pp.

The firs part of this issue includes papers on Byzantine music given at an international conference in Copenhagen in 2006. This part is entitled: *The Current State of Byzantine Musical Studies. After 75 Years of Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*. Acts of the International Conference, Held at Carlsberg Academy, Copenhagen, 16–17 June, 2006. It starts with a short introduction by J. Bergsagel devoted to the history of *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*, founded in 1931 (*Opening of the Conference*). The papers included are the following: M. Alexandru (*Preliminary Remarks on the Historiography of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*), A. Bugge (*Constantine-Cyril and Methodius Apostles (Teachers) of the Slavs*); F. D'Aiuto (*Per la storia dei libri liturgico-innografici bizantini: un progetto di*

catalogazione dei manoscritti più antichi); S. G. Engberg (*The Prophetologion and the Triple-lection Theory. The Genesis of a Liturgical Book*); G. Garofalo (*Father Bartolomeo Di Salvo and his Transcription of the Byzantine Chants Among the Albanians in Sicily)*; Š. Marinčák (*The Importance of the* MMB *Series for the Research into the Early Byzantine-Slavic Music in Central Europe*); I. Papathanasiou (*The Significance of* Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae *for the Study of the Heirmological Tradition);* B. Schartau (*Towards the* Editio Maior *of the "Hagiopolites"*); N. Schidlovsky (*Neumation and Musical Identity in Early Medieval Russia);* Ch. Troelsgård (*Transcription of Byzantine Chant: Problems, Possibilities, Formats),* and G. Wolfram (*Klassisch-Griechische und Patristische Elemente in der Spaäntund Postbyzantinischen Theoretischen Schriften zur Kirchenmusik*).

In the second part of the volume, an interdisciplinary collection of articles on the history of the church art and manuscripts heritage is published, in particular D. Cherra (*Collezionismo e gusto per l'arte bizantina in Italia tra Trecento e Quattrocento*); P. O. Folgerø, (*The Analepsis and the Conception of the Logos. Some Remarks on the Depiction of the Ascension / The Vision of Daniel (Dan 7: 9–13) on the Triumphal Arch of S. Stefano di Soleto (Lecce)*; P. Schreiner (*Ein Byzantinischer Gelehrter zwischen Ost und West. Zur Biographie des Isidor von Kiew und seinem Besuch in Lviv (1436)*; M. Stelladoro (*Note agiografiche su due santi ecisti del monachesimo italogreco: Elia*); S. Venezia (*Fra rinascita e declino. Dinamiche economiche e attività culturale in un monastero italo-greco siciliano dal XII al XVI secolo*) and G. Winkler (*The Antiochene Synods and the Early Armenian Creeds Including the "Rezeptionsgeschichte" of the Synod of Antioch 341 in the Armenian Version of the Anaphora of Basil*).

At the end of the volume we find the bibliography of the prominent Italian schollar in the field of Byzantine studies Vittorio Peri (1932–2006) made by F. Minuto Peri. This volume of the ***Bollettino*** contains also reviews and a list of publications of *Grottaferrata*. (Anissava Miltenova)

ГЕРГОВА, Иванка. ***Поменици от Македония в български сбирки.*** София: Академично издателство "Професор Марин Дринов", 2006, 226 стр. [Gergova, Ivanka. Beadrolls from Macedonia in Bulgarian Collections. Sofia: Professor Marin Drinov Academic Publishing House, 2006, 226 pp.]

Five late medieval beadrolls from Macedonia which are kept in Sofia are examined and published in this book. The book opens with a chapter on the practice of commemoration of the alive and dead in the Christian church, on the liturgical use of beadrolls and on their role as historical sources. The iconographical and historical data from the beadrolls published are compared with other information

on them. Thus, detailed research was dedicated to the monasteries to which these beadrolls belonged: "St. John the Forerunner" in the region of the present-day Siderokastron; the Polog Monastery "St. George" in Kavadar region; the Slepche Monastery "St. Nicholas" in Prilep region; and an untraced monastery. The book ends with a study of the iconography of the beadrolls from post-Byzantine period in the Balkans. An index of place names is also provided. There is a summary in English.

ГЕРГОВА, Иванка, Елена ПОПОВА, Елена ГЕНОВА и Николай КЛИСАРОВ. ***Корпус на стенописите в България от XVIII век.*** София: Академично издателство "Проф. Марин Дринов", 2006, 275 с. [Gergova, Ivanka, Elena Popova, Elena Genova, and Nikolaj Klissarov. *Corpus of Eighteenth Century Frescoes in Bulgaria.* Sofia: Prof. Marin Drinov Academic Publishing House, 2006, 275 pp.]

This corpus includes frescoes from 17 churches which are described by the use of a well-developed scheme of iconographic study. It includes information on architecture, restoration work, historical evidence, identification of scenes, date, parallels, authorship, inscriptions (in Bulgarian and Greek), and bibliography. For many of the frescoes, the attribution to a certain date and painter or school is made for the first time in this book; for others corrections of previous opinions are suggested. The written information is illustrated with photographies in black-and-white and in colour, and also with architectural plans and iconographic schemes. The unified method consistently followed in the descriptions of all the frescoes in the corpus allows for further juxtapositions of the repertoire of the frescoes in the Bulgarian lands and for further analysis of the iconographical models used. The corpus published is preceded by an introduction discussing the chronology of the renovation of churches in the Bulgarian lands, the role and social position of donators and painters, and the style of the paintings seen in the context of the Balkan eighteenth century. Further, two useful indices are added: first, a register of the sacred abbreviations identified and, second, an iconographic index. A summary in English is provided. (Elena Koceva)

ДЖУРОВА, Аксиния. ***Репертоар на гръцките украсени ръкописи от IX–X в.*** Т. 1. Център "Иван Дуйчев". София: Университетско издателство "Св. Климент Охридски", 2006, 327 с. // Džurova, Axinia. Répertoire des manuscrits grecs enluminés (IX^{e} – X^{e} s.). Centre de recherches slavo-byzantines "Ivan Dujčev", Université de Sofia "St. Clément d'Ohrid". Vol. 1. Sofia, 2006, 327 pp.

The Centre for Slavo-Byzantine Research "Ivan Dujčev" at Sofia University keeps the biggest collection – in Bulgaria – of Greek manuscripts dating from the 9th to the 19th century. In this volume, there are descriptions of 16 biblical, patristic, and liturgical manuscripts. The descriptions are accompanied by illustrations in black-and-white and in colour with special attention to initials, headpieces, ligatures, inter-linear and supra-linear signs. Further, there is an album with 140 beautiful photos of folios of the manuscripts described. A bilingual introduction in Bulgarian and French and an index of the places where the manuscripts mentioned in the book are kept are also provided.

***ITER philologicum**. Festschrift für Helmut Keipert zum 65. Geburtstag*, hrsg. von Daniel Bunčić und Nikolaos Trunte. (Die Welt der Slaven. Sammelbände). München: Verlag Otto Sagner, 2006, 342 pp.

This festschrift contains 21 papers (12 in German, 5 in Russian, 2 in Italian, 1 in Croatian, and 1 in English), an introduction by the editors and a bibliography of Helmut Keipert. The articles deal with grammar and lexis of present-day and 17th-19th-century Slavic languages and the with culture and history of the Slavs. A particular section is dedicated to medieval Slavonic texts and translations. The papers included in it discuss the following questions: the translation of the Canons for Methodius of Patara in East Slavonic *Menaea*; the *Vita* of St. Erasmus of Formia in Metropolitan Makarij's Chet'i *Menaea*; the lexical variety in medieval translations (a case study of the translations of *Triodion Synaxaria*); St. Methodius and Polychron Monastery; a translation from Novgorod; a translation by Paisij Velichkovksi; and the lexis of the translation of Nicodemus's Gospel.

КАРАГЬОЗОВ, Панайот. *Славянските свети мъченици. Светост и канонизация. Хронология и типология. Критика и апология на славянското мъченичество.* Университетска библиотека 458. София: Университетско издателство „Св. Климент Охридски", 2006, 331 стр. // Karagyozov, Panayot. *Slavic Saint Martyrs. Sainthood and Canonization. Chronology and Typology. Criticism and Apology of Slavic Martyrdom*. University Library 458. Sofia: St. Kliment Ohridski University Press, 2006, 331 pp.

This study covers the long period from the conversions of the Slavs to Christianity to the 20th-century totalitarian regimes: the data about Slavic martyrs who were victims of the pagans, of Islam, and Totalitarism are discussed in a broad political and cultural context. The cults of St. Wenceslas of Prague, SS Boris and Gleb, St. Andrej Bogoljubskij, St. Stefan Dećanski, St. Patriarch Euthymius, St.

Lazar of Serbia, St. Stanislaw of Cracow, St. Melichor Grodziecki, St. Jan Nepomuk, St. Jan Sarkander, St. Jozafat Kuncewicz, St. Andrzej Bobola, St. Gavril Zabludovski, St. Nikola the New of Sofia, St. Konstantin of Russia, saints bishops in Russia Philip (†1569) and Arsenij Maceevič (†1772), St. Dimitrij of Sliven, St. Maximilian Maria Kolbe, St. Gorazd bishop of Prague, St. Evgenij Bosilkov and several others are analysed in detail. A summary in English is provided.

ЉУБАВ према образовању и вера у Бога у православним манастирима. Књ. 1. 5. међународна хиландарска конференција. Зборник изабраних радова // *Love of Learning and Devotion to God in Orthodox Monasteries*. Vol. 1. 5th International Hilandar Conference. Selected Proceedings, eds. Miroljub Joković, Daniel E. Collins, M.A. Johnson, Predrag Matejic. Београд: Рашка школа, Columbus: Resource Center for Medieval Slavic Studies, the Ohio State University, 2006, 318 pp.

This volume contains 28 papers (8 in English, 8 in Bulgarian, 7 in Russian, and 5 in Serbian) given at the Fifth International Hilandar Conference, held on 8th –14th September 2002 in Kopaonik (Raška, Serbia). The book is dedicated to the Founder and first Director of the Hilandar Research Project at the Ohio State University (Columbus, Ohio) – the Very Reverend Dr. Mateja Matejic. The conference brought together scholars in palaeoslavic studies from different generations, schools, and countries. The papers in the plenary session highlight the main areas of the conference: learning, devotion, and culture in medieval orthodox monasteries, *Philologia* in *Slavia Cyrillo-Methodiana*, early redactions of the Chet'i-*Menaea* in late Serbian copies, St. Sava and his time. The papers in the volume cover a wide chronological range (from the 11th to the 18th century) and are distributed into 7 fields: Manuscript studies; Learning in Monasteries; Epigraphy; Monastic Centers and Culture; Saints as National Symbols, and Genres. There are papers on the Solovetskii Monastery library, on the Matica Srpska *Apostolus*, on the Rila *Tetraeuangelion* of 1361, on the late Hilandar Office for St. Joakim of Ossogovo (of 1789), on Hilandar hieromonks Domentijan and Teodosij, on monastic lexicon, on Bulgarian 9th-10th century monasteries, on the Lamentation of Kesaritsa Xreljova (epitaph of 1343 in the Rila Monastery), on biblical texts in churches of Old Rus', on Russo-Serbian contacts on Mount Athos, on Gabriel, the Athonite protos of the 16th century, on the Russian New Maidens' Convent, on Mount Athos and the cult of the Theotokos, on the Hilandar Typicon, on Archimandrite Iosif of Spaso-Iaroslavl' Monastery, on the cult of the Bulgarian Tsar Peter, on Svjatosha – the first prince-monk of Kievan Rus', on pre-baptismal prayers in Hilandar Prayer Books, on Maksim Grek's Prayerful Canon to the Holy and Venerated Paraclete, on the versions of Torzhestvenik in 5 Russian monastic collections, on the Serbian

version of *Margarit*. Abstracts in a language other than the language of the paper are provided (Iva Trifonova)

МИЛТЕНОВ, Явор. ***Диалозите на Псевдо-Кесарий в славянската ръкописна традиция.*** Науч. ред. Татяна Славова. София: Авалон, 2006, 590 стр. [Miltenov, Yavor. *Erotapokriseis* of Pseudo-Kaisarios in Slavonic Manuscript Tradition. Ed. Tatyana Slavova. Sofia: Avalon, 2006, 590 pp.]

The monograph is focused on the *Erotapokriseis* of Pseudo-Kesarios (6th century) and on its Bulgarian translation (10th century). The scholarship on this encyclopedic work is presented in the first chapter. The textological analysis in the second chapter proves that the Old Bulgarian archetype opens a long tradition which later – and through a Russian archetype – goes into two branches of the nowadays preserved 12 Russian copies (15th–17th centuries). The lexical analysis in the third chapter emphasises several types of synonym variability, a relatively high degree of Greek lexical borrowings, Proto-Bulgarian words, certain *hapax legomena,* and rare words. The fourth chapter studies those passages from this *Erotapokriseis* and from John the Exarch's *Hexaemeron* which hardly differ from their Greek parallels. The conclusion and the 20-page bibliography close this first half of the monograph. The second one is a model scholarly edition of the *Erotapokriseis* according to the Slavonic manuscript tradition. It is supplied with two useful indices of Greek words and their Old Bulgarian counterparts. (Ekaterina Pancheva)

МИРЧЕВА, Елка. ***Германов сборник от 1358/1359 г. Изследване и издание на текста.*** София: Валентин Траянов, 2006, 846 pp. [Mircheva, Elka. The Germanov Sbornik of 1358/ 1359: A Study and Edition. Sofia: Valentin Trajanov, 2006, 846 pp.].

The Middle Bulgarian manuscript published is a big parchement *panegyricon* of the Old Redaction. It was written during the reign of the Bulgarian Tsar John Alexander (1331–1371) and was commissioned by metropolitan German. It contains archaic translations of homilies for movable and immovable feasts. The scholar offers an excellent linguistic and textual study of all the homilies in the manuscript.

МОЛДОВАН, А. М. и др. ***Вереница литер. К 60-летию В. М. Живова***. Москва: Языки славянской культуры, 2006, 623 стр. [Moldovan, A. M. et al. (eds). *Verenica liter*, Festschrift for V. M. Živov. Moscow: Jazyki slavjanskoj kul'tury, 2006, 623 pp.]

This festschrift contains 40 papers dedicated to the medieval Slavonic, 17th–19th and modern Russian literature. The palaeoslavonic papers are 16 (15 in Russian and 1 in English). They address the following issues: the Bible and the typology of the literary languages (A. A. Alekseev); inscription 199 in St. Sophia cathedral in Novgorod (A.A. Zaliznjak); Vladimir Monomach and Apostle Paul (B. A. Uspenskij); newly discovered *graffito*-inscriptions and drawings in the Dormition of the Theotokos Church in Novgorod (T. V. Rožděstvenskaja); history of the composition of *Povest' vremennyx let* (A. A. Gippius); the entries of 1054 and 1073 in the Kiev Chronicle (Alan Timberlake); translation of impersonal constructions in John the Exarch's *Hexaemeron* (K. A. Maksimovič); -t''/-st'' Aoristus in Old Russian manuscripts (A. A. Pičxadze); a copy of the Slavonic translation of the Jerusalem Typicon (T. V. Pentkovskaja); anaphora of St. John Chrysostom's liturgy in 11th–14th-century Slavonic Service Books (T. I. Afanas'eva); Russian Pluperfect in a typological perspective (P. V. Petruxin and D. V. Sichanova); a non-literary construction with the auxiliary verb *byti* in the Pskov annals (M. N. Ševeleva); a Russian beneficial tale with the participation of St. Andrew the Fool (S. A. Ivanov and A. M. Moldovan); the cults of saints and personal names in medieval Rus' (A. F. Litvina and F. B. Uspenskij); the history of the idiom *prostoj put'* (B. E. Babaeva); medieval scribes and miniatures: a case study (A. A. Turilov); and several papers on the 18th–20th -century Russian literature.

НИКОЛОВ, Александър. ***"Вярвай или ще те убия!" "Ориенталците"в кръстоносната пропаганда 1270–1370.*** София: Унив. Издателство "Св. Климент Охридски", 2006, 505 стр. [Nikolov, Alexander. *"Believe either I will kill you!" "Orientals" in the Crusade propaganda 1270–1370.* Sofia: St. Kliment Ohridski University Press, 2006, 505 pp.]

In this book, the author traces out the development of Western European society ideas about the "nations" of the East according to a certain group of treatises from the 13th and 14th centuries which are dealing with Crusade. His attention is concentrated on the general western notions and stereotypes about the biggest three "nations" of the East: Greeks, Saracens and Tatars. The book consists of an Introduction (p. 7–17) and six chapters. In the first chapter (pp. 20-88), the author deals with the appearance and development of the idea of *Recuperatio Terrae Sanctae* in the 13th and 14th centuries. In the second (pp. 89–151 and the third chapters pp. 153–238), the content and ideology of his sources (treatises of the genre *Recuperatio Terrae Sanctae)* are discussed in detail. The fourth (pp. 239–310), fifth (pp. 311–396), and sixth (pp. 397–488) chapters are dedicated to the common western notions about the Saracens, Tatars, and Greeks. The book ends with lists of sources (pp. 491–495) and bibliography (pp. 495–502). (Dessislava Atanassova)

НИКОЛОВ, Ангел. ***Политическата мисъл в ранносредновековна България (средата на IX– края на X век).*** София: Парадигма, 2006, 352 с. [Nikolov, Angel. *Political Thought in Early Medieval Bulgaria (the mid- 9th–the end of the 10th Century).* Sofia: Paradigma, 2006, 352 pp.]

For the first time in this book, the author analyses a large number of unfamiliar sources and traces back the evolution of the Bulgarian political thought in the period after the official conversion to Christianity (864) and before the conquest of Eastern Bulgaria by the Byzantine emperor John Tzimisces (971), i.e. the period when the Bulgarian Khanate was transformed into a Christian Tsardom with an independent church organization and literature in the Slavonic (Old Bulgarian) language. A. Nikolov focuses on the theory of power and rule, on the image of the ideal ruler, and its biblical, Roman, Byzantine and Bulgarian paradigms, as well as on the idea of the eschatological mission of the state (*tsarstvo*) during the reign of Symeon I (893–927) as well as of his son Peter (927–969). Symeon is praised in the literature as a ***new Adam*** (a notion implicitly contained in *Hexaemeron* by John the Exarch), a ***new Moses*** (in one of his letters to Patriarch Nicholas Mysticus), a ***new Ptolemy*** (according to the *Eulogy* in the *Simeonov Sbornik* (*Izbornik* of 1073), and a ***new Justinian*** (in the oldest Bulgarian translation of Deacon Agapetus' *Expositio capitum admonitorum* – which was designed to create a suitable image for the newly proclaimed Bulgarian *tsar*). Tsar Peter has different characteristics: he was viewed in the framework of a new model of the perfect piety of the Christian ruler, 'Teacher of Orthodoxy', as revealed in the original and translated literature of the second half of the 10th c., mainly in monastic texts, containing instructions, maxims, and sermons. This image was very important for the legitimization of Bulgarian kingdom in the Balkans and Europe through the ages. (Anissava Miltenova)

ПАСКАЛЕВСКИ, Спартак (съст.) ***Диалог и духовност. Сборник в чест на Румяна Златанова*** // Festschrift für Rumjana Zlatanova zum 60. Geburstag, Hrsg. Spartak Paskalevski. София: ТЕМТО, 2006, 460 pp.

This festschrift contains 24 articles (12 in Bulgarian, 7 in German, 2 in English, 1 in Polish, 1 in Russian, and 1 in Serbian), an introductory paper on the works of Rumjana Zlatanova, and a list of her publications. The papers cover various topics of medieval Slavonic and modern European literatures. In the field of medieval studies, various linguistic, cultural, and historical problems are discussed in 14 papers. The first article by Nikolaj Šivarov (in Bulgarian) discusses the Proto-Masoretic text, the Septuagint and its Old Bulgarian translation. The paper of Anissava Miltenova (in English) focuses on apocryphal texts about David, Solomon, and

Samuel in medieval South Slavonic miscellanies. Several papers deal with linguistic questions, in particular: criteria for localisation of medieval Slavonic translations from Greek; the aspect in Old Bulgarian; the adversative conjunction нъ in Old Bulgarian; the Bulgarian words 'личба' and 'буля'. There are also papers on the early Christianity on the Balkans, on the history of book production in the Bulgarian lands, on the Serbian scribe Nikola who worked at the end of the 13th century, on the participation of Gregory Camblak in the Council of Konstance, and some others.

СИМЕОНОВА, Лиляна. ***Пътуване към Константинопол. Търговия и комуникации в Средиземноморския свят (края на IX–70-те години на XI век).*** София: Парадигма, 2006, 338 стр. [Simeonova, Liljana. En Route to Constantinople. Trade and Communications in the Mediterranean World, the late 800s to the 1070s. Sofia: Paradigma, 2006, 338 pp.]

This book is a study of the commercial travel to Constantinople, the capital of the Byzantine Empire. The author had limited her focus to a period of about two hundred years, from the late ninth century to the sixties-seventies of the eleventh century. However, the complex nature of the subject called for numerous digressions to earlier periods and for some overviews of later developments to be included in the study. The geographic scope of this book is enormous. Travelling traders are followed in the area of the Central and Eastern Mediterranean, in the regions of Central Europe, the Balkans and the Black Sea, Asia Minor, the Arabian Peninsula, Egypt, and Iraq. Moreover, the book takes into account the commercial sailings of the Vikings in the Baltic Sea and the movements of Eastern caravans through Central Asia all the way to the Indian Ocean and China.

This book contains an Introduction and a Conclusion, and it is divided into five chapters. Chapter 1 investigates the reasons for the revival of commerce and communications in the Mediterranean during the period in question. In Chapter 2 the author presents the primary sources, on which her study is based. Chapter 3 analyses different aspects of maritime travel and of travel by land. Chapter 4 is dedicated to Constantinople as a main destination for commercial travellers. And the last Chapter 5 deals with the problem of foreign traders staying in Constantinople. As the author points out, the main figure of her study is the long-distance travelling trader. His routes are 'visualised' for the readers with 14 maps and illustrations, added at the end of the book after the Conclusion. (Lilly Stammler)

СТАНКОВИЋ, Радоман. ***Филигранолошки опис и албум грчких рукописа XV-XIX века Центра за словенско-византијска проучавања „Проф. Иван Дујчев".*** Series catalogorum. Vol. XI. Софија: Универ-

зитетско издање "Св. Климент Охридски" и Народна библиотека Србије, 2006, 499 с.// La description des filigranes et l'album des manuscrits grecs XV-XIX siècle du Centre de recherches slavo-byzantines "Prof. Ivan Dujčev". Editions Universitaires "St. Clément d'Ohrid" et Bibliotheques nationale de Serbie, Sofia, 2006, 499 pp.

This is a Serbian–French bilingual edition containing an introduction analyzing the manuscripts and the watermarks examined, a detailed description and an album of the watermarks, and also indices by manuscript date, by watermarks in alphabetical order, and by date of the watermarks. In this book, 154 Greek manuscripts are dated on the basis of the watermarks identified in them. In the corpus of the manuscripts, there are convolutes and four manuscripts which have 14th-century portions.

СТОЯНОВ, Юри. ***Другият бог. Дуалистичните ереси от Античността до катарската ерес.*** Превод от англ. Леонид Дуков. София: ИК „Кралица Маб", 2006.

This is a Bulgarian translation of "The Other God" by Yury Stoyanov, a well-written, scholarly satisfying historical exposition of dualism and its competition with monotheism. Yury Stoyanov integrates political, cultural, and religious history in order to illuminate the dualist religious systems with their vivid worlds of striking ideas and beliefs. The book explores the evolution of the religious dualism from the late Egyptian religion and the revelations of Zoroaster and the Orphics to the Bogomils and the Cathars. Working with many sources, the author traces the succession of various dualist movements throughout the medieval period with special attention paid to the Bogomils. The book was acclaimed by the most distinguished medievalists in Europe and USA. (Diana Atanasova)

ТАНГРА. Сборник в чест на 70-годишнината на акад. Васил Гюзелев. София: Университетско издателство "Св. Климент Охридски", 2006, 884 с. [*TANGRA. Festschrift for Academician Vassil Gjuzelev.* Sofia: St. Kliment Ohridski University Publishing House, 2006, 884 pp.]

This festschrift contains articles by 57 authors, who are specialists in the field of history (church history, Balkan studies, European history), archaeology, philology, and art criticism. The predominant part of the papers present the contemporary state of the medieval studies in Bulgaria, achievements in the publication and commentary of historical and literary sources, as well as new ideas in the theory of political thought and analysis of the works of individual medieval authors. A num-

ber of unknown sources are published and analysed for the first time in this book. Many articles view Bulgaria and Bulgarian people in the broader perspective of the Mediterranean and European history and culture. The book contains also the full bibliography of Acad. Vassil Gjuzelev for the period 1964–2006. (Anissava Miltenova)

ТАСЕВА, Лора, Роланд МАРТИ, Мария ЙОВЧЕВА, Татяна ПЕНТКОВСКАЯ (съст.) ***Многократните преводи в Южнославянското средновековие. Доклади от международната конференция София, 7–9 юли 2005г.*** София: ГорексПрес, 2006, 538 стр.// Mehfachübersetzungen im südslavischen Mittelalter. Beiträge zur internationalen Konferenz, Sofia, 7.–9. Juli 2005, herausgegeben von Lora Taseva (verantwortl.), Roland Marti, Maria Yovcheva, Tatjana Pentkovskaja. Sofia: GorexPress, 2006, 538 pp.

This book contains 33 papers (8 in Russian, 7 in Bulgarian, 6 in German, 5 in English, 2 in Croatian, 2 in Macedonian, 2 in Serbian, and 1 in Czech, all supplemented with abstracts in a different language) given at the International Conference, held on 7-9th July, 2005 in Sofia, Bulgaria, on the multiple translations among the South Slavs in the Middle Ages. The topic on South Slavonic translation activities in the Middle Ages unites the research quests of scholars from 12 countries: Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Italy, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Slovenia, and Switzerland. The papers concentrate on the literary exchange between Byzantium and the South Slavs, on the specificity of literary processes, on the development of literary predilections, and on the relations among the various translation centers in the Middle Ages. Furhter, translation strategies and techniques, medieval approaches towards the translation, linguistic styles of particular translators and schools are discussed. (Iva Trifonova)

ТВОРЕНИЯ митрополита Никифора, изд. подгот. С. М. Полянским; отв. ред. М. Н. Громов, С.М. Полянский; Институт философии РАН, Российская государственная библиотека, Государственный исторический музей. (Памятники религиозно-философской мысли Древней Руси). Москва: Наука, 2006, 501 с. [*Writings by Metropolitan Nikiphor*, ed. by S. M. Poljanskij; editor-in-chief M. N. Gromov, S. M. Poljanskij; Institute of Philosophy, Russian Academy of Sciences, Russian State Library, State Historical Museum. Moscow: Nauka, 2006, 501 pp.]

This book continues the series of editions of religious and philosophical thought in Old Russia with commentaries. The edition of the texts by Metropolitan Nikifor is a result of the work of a team accomplished in the framework of a project supported by the Russian Sate Humanity Fund (№ 05-03-03467a). The personality and writings by Metropolitan Nikifor, who was born (in Greece) in the middle of the eleventh century and died in April 1121, are regarded in the context of the Russian–Byzantine cultural contacts in the commentaries supplemented to the edition. Such an approach allows for a reconstruction of the whole picture of spiritual culture and life in medieval Russia (Irina Morozova).

УСПЕНСКИЙ, Борис А. ***Крест и круг: Из истории христианской символики.*** Москва: Языки славянских культур, 2006, 488 с. [Uspenskij, Boris A. Cross and circle: On the history of Christian symbolism. Moscow: Jazyki slavjanskoj kul'tury, 2006, 488 pp.]

This book contributes to the history of religious ideas as reflected in Christian Church rituals and symbols. It includes three chapters (essays). The first one deals with the right and left in church rituals and with the history of cruciform sign. It answers the question why Orthodox and Roman Catholic Christians make the sign of the cross in two different ways. The second chapter discusses the right and left in the sacred space and the circular movement in church rituals. It addresses the question why the Old believers (staroobrjadcy) and the adherents of Patriarch Nicon's reform paid such a big attention to this motion. The third essay approaches the questions how old is the combination of cross and half-moon (crescent) and what the significance of it was. Greek, Latin, and Slavonic primary sources are used. There are two indices: a thematic one and an index of names. (Valerij Budejko)

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ВАЧЕВА, Ангелина и Илиана ЧЕКОВА (съст.). ***Реката на времето. Сборник статии в памет на проф. Людмила Боева (1934–2001).*** София: Унив. издателство "Св. Климент Охридски", 2007, 474 с. [Vacheva, Angelina and Iliana Chekova (eds). *The River of the Time. In memoriam Professor Ljudmila Boeva (1934-2001).* Sofia: St. Kliment Ohridski University Press, 2007, 474 pp.]

This volume contains 52 papers, biography and bibliography of late Ljudmila Boeva, a professor in Russian literature and folklore. The papers are divided into three sections: medieval Slavonic literature; 18th-century Russian literature; and modern Russian literature. The first section on medieval literature contains 16 pa-

pers (14 in Russian and 4 in Bulgarian) which discuss the following problems: historical motifs and *realia* in Old Bulgarian translations of Greek hagiographical texts; the first Russian redaction of the Short Life of St. John of Rila; Old Bulgarian questions and answers in Old Russian copies; the Sermon on Law and Grace by the Kievan Metropolitan Ilarion (1037-1050); "Skazanie o perelozhenii knig na slovenskij jazyk"; the "Danube project" of Svjatoslav Slavnij; medieval texts about SS Boris and Gleb; St. George and St. Demetrius in Old Russian literature; lamentations and grief in Old Russian texts about warriors; the *Vita* of Sof'ja Jaroslavnaja Tverskaja and its sources; the 16-17th-century Russian epistolography; a redaction of the Kievo-Pecherskij Paterikon; and images of animals in 17th–18th-century Russian miscellanies.

ДЖУРОВА, Аксиния. ***В света на ръкописите.*** София: Унив. издателство "Св. Климент Охридски", 2007, 471 стр. [Dzhurova, Aksinija. *In the World of Manuscripts*. Sofia: St. Kliment Ohridski Univ. Press, 2007, 471 pp.]

This study of the Byzantine, Slavic, and Latin medieval manuscripts explores the emergence, development and pragmatics of the medieval codex in its two main forms: the "high", luxurious tradition of splendidly decorated manuscripts and the "low" scriptorial production for everyday use. There are chapters on centers of manuscript production, on scribes, on paleographical styles, and manuscript illumination. The author discusses in detail the production of codices in Byzantium (in Constantinople, Sinai, Mount Athos) as well as in Slavic lands and in the West. The volume is richly illustrated with pictures and drawings and provides a valuable bibliographic information. (Diana Atanasova).

ЕТНОЛОГИЯ и демонология. Регионален исторически музей – Русе, съст. Николай Ненов, Росен Малчев и Константин Рангочев. София: Импресарско-издателска къща "РОД", 2007, 216 стр. // *Ethnology and Demonology*. Regional Historical Museum – Russe, ed. by Nikolaj Nenov, Rossen Malchev, and Konstantin Rangochev. Sofia: Impressario-Publishing House ROD, 216 pp.

This book contains 10 studies, publications of ethnological materials, and a bibliography on *demonologia* in the editions of Ongăl Association of Ethnology, Anthropology, and Folklore (Sofia) for 1995-2004. The structure of the book mirrors the structure of the *Sbornik za narodni umotvorenija, nauka i knižnina*, a periodical edition, emblematic for the Bulgarian scholarship and science. The papers in the present edition, all in Bulgarian, were initially given at two con-

ferences, one held in Russe and another held in Samokov, both in 2005, and concern both old folk-religious beliefs and present-day political mythology. In particular, they address the following questions: folklore and mythology (a theoretical approach); water personifications in the biblical Book of Job; Bulgarian legends about Rim-papa [Rome-pope]; an analysis of the popular tale "the ill carries the healthy" in the perspective of the calendar and ritual; reflections of a mythological model in the rituals and beliefs about the Tudorova sedmica (St. Theodore's week); legends about giants (židove ispolini) and water buffalo; count Drakula; the *post-mortem* life of the modern heroes; the nestinari ritual as a psycho-drama; and zoo-demonism. The second part of the book includes 50 records of ethnological interviews (1997–2004) on spirits Zdravičkite (the Healthy) from the village of Jugovo, the Rhodopa Mountains, and a study on them. (Albena Malcheva).

ПЕНЕВ, Пеньо и Христина ТОНЧЕВА. ***Пространно житие на св. Климент Охридски. Пловдивски (Хаджиевасилиев) препис от 1875 г.*** Пловдив: Унив. издателство "Паисий Хилендарски", 2007, 147 с. [Penev, Penjo and Xristina Toncheva. *The Extensive Vita of St. Clement of Ochrid. The Plovdiv copy of 1875*. Plovdiv: Paisij Hilendarski University Press, 2007, 147 pp.]

In the 19th century a copy of St. Clement's *vita* was produced by hadži Vasilij Totov, a priest in Karlovo, on the basis of the Bulgarian translation made from Greek in 1858 by Partenij of Zograph and published in *Bălgraski knizhici* 6 (Istanbul). The editors examine the orthographical, grammatical, and lexical features of this copy. They outline the differences between this copy and the published translation by Partenij of Zograph and give an index of all the lexical variants appearing in the copy. Also, they provide both diplomatic and facsimile editions of this late manuscript.

ПРЕСЛАВСКА книжовна школа. Т. 9, под ред. на Мария Тихова, Веселин Панайотов, Десислава Иванова, Анета Маринова, Грета Стоянова. Шумен: Унив. издателство "Епископ Константин Преславски", 2006, 450 стр. [*Preslav Literary School*. Vol. 9, ed. by Marija Tixova, Veselin Panajotov, Desislava Ivanova, Aneta Marinova, Greta Stojanova Shumen: Bishop Konstantin of Preslav University Press, 2006, 450 pp.]

This edition comprises 31 articles divided into two sections: 1. *Philology* and 2. *Archeology, History and Theology*, and two separate publications by Vladimir Vavřinek and Imre Tót (24 of the articles are in Bulgarian, 6 in Russian and 1 in English). The articles written in Slavic languages are supplied with abstracts in

English (one in German). Section *Philology* includes several papers that examine the earliest activity of SS Cyril and Methodius and their disciples in Great Moravia and its influence on Slavic culture through the centuries reconsidering once again textual evidence. The earliest hagiographical and hymnographycal works are revisited with an emphasis on newly discovered acrostics in the latter as evidence for their authorship. The volume provides valuable data on underexplored lexemes and word-formation patterns, as well as on the process of grammaticalisation of modal constructions. A study on the dissemination of orations of St. John Chrysostom sets a distinction between different types of copying and revisions performed on them. A group of articles, independently from each other, put emphasis on the Slavic reception of Ancient culture through Byzantine literature. Section *Archaeology, History and Theology* sheds light on everyday life and material culture in Preslav and presents new studies on Cyrillic epigraphic and sphragistic monuments. New insights are brought to the political and cultural role of the first Christian rulers of Bulgaria – Knjaz Boris and Tsar Symeon, as well as to the process of establishment of monastery order and architecture in Medieval Bulgaria. (Tsvetelina Hristova).

РАКОВА, Снежана. ***Четвъртият кръстоносен поход в историческата памет на православните славяни.*** София, Институт по балканистика, 2007, 348 + VIII стр. [Snezhana Rakova. *The Fourth Crusade in the Historical Reminiscences of Eastern Orthodox Slavs*. Sofia: Institute of Balkan Studies, 2007, 348 + VIII pp.]

Snezhana Rakova successfully explores the least studied part of the history and historiography of the crusade that changed dramatically the political map of the Balkans. The historical accounts of the events that took place around 1204, written by Slavic authors, are scarce and they offer a viewpoint quite different from what Byzantine and Western sources present. Thus, the author undertakes a comprehensive study not only of works, which explicit topic is the Fall of Constantinople, but of all literary sources mentioning that historical episode up to the 18th century. The data excerpted from historical writings, papal correspondence with Slavic rulers, hagiographical works and apocrypha is thoroughly analysed so that the main characteristics of the Slavic perception of Byzantium and Constantinople, on one hand, and the crusaders, on the other, be systematised into common tendencies and their development through the centuries be observed. Appendices include texts of sources in original and in Modern Bulgarian translation (some of them published for the first time in Bulgaria), as well as black-and-white representations of frescoes and manuscript illuminations depicting the historical events and personages related to them. (Tsvetelina Hristova)

ROTHE, Hans und Dagmar CHRISTIANS (hrsg). ***Liturgische Hymnen nach byzantinischem Ritus bei den Slaven in ältester Zeit.*** Beiträge einer internationalen Tagung, Bonn, 7.–10. Juni 2005. Abhandlungen der NordHein-Westfälischen Academie der Wissenschaften. Bd. 117. Patristica slavica (hrsg. von Hans Rothe) Bd. 15. Paderborn, München, Wien, Zürich: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 2007, 465 pp.

This book contains 23 papers in German and Russian (with abstracts) given at an international conference (held in Bonn in 2005) on medieval Slavonic hymnography seen in its Byzantine context. The papers address various general issues of hymnography and also analyse particular Slavonic manuscripts. The first paper in the volume by Rainer Stichel (in German) shows the Hebrew sources of the Byzantine hymnography and discusses the bridges between sermons by early Church Fathers and hymns, outlining those elements which differentiated the early Christian hymns from pagan services and those features which mark local liturgical traditions. Aleksej Pentkovskij (in Russian) draws a general picture of the liturgy in 10th-century Bulgaria as compared to its Greek originals and discusses the local traditions in Constantinople and Thessaloniki and their influence on Bulgarian literary centers. L'ubor Matejko (in Russian) compares Greek and Slavonic *heirmoi* in 11th–14th-century *Menaia.* He differentiates two archaic textual versions which are likely to have been translated in medieval Bulgaria. Marija Yovčeva (in Russian) puts forward the hypothesis that the *Octoechos* in its full content was translated in the Old Bulgarian period and that this early translation was later revised in accordance with later Greek originals. Elena Uxanova (in Russian) differentiates two versions of the Studite *Typikon* disseminated in East Slavonic centers. E. V. Šul'gina (in Russian) makes observations of the codicology and palaeography of the Novgorod Service *Menaea.* Vittorio Springfield Tomelleri (in Russian) discussing the textual history of East Slavonic copies of the Service *Menaea* for December, suggests methodological principles of studying and editing hymnographic texts. Krassimir Stančev (in Russian) suggests new terms to differentiate subtypes of *Menaea* and analyses individual manuscripts as illustrations of these types, paying particular attention to the *Il'ina kniga.* Dagmar Christians (in German) concentrates on the East Slavonic Service *Menaea.* She gives arguments corroborating the hypothesis that they are likely to have been translated and compiled in Old Rus'. Christian Hannick (in German) outlines main principles of the study of Slavonic manuscripts with *neumae* and analyses their specifics in comparison with Byzantine tradition. Galina V. Alekseeva's paper (in Russian) deals with signs of accentology in East Slavonic sources. Nikolaos Trunte (in German) studies the translation of *Triadika* and comes to the conclusion that the medieval Slavonic bookmen made faithful translations which rendered the theological ideas of the Greek originals. Viktor A. Baranov (in Russian) examines grammatical features of the 11th–

14th-century copies of the Slavonic Service *Menaeum* for May and comments on archaisms and innovations. Roman N. Krivko (in Russian) analyses the orthography, language, and translation techniques in medieval Slavonic Service *Menaea* for August. He puts forward the hypothesis that the second translation of this *Menaeum* was made at the end of the 13th or at the beginning of the 14th century in Bulgaria. Hans Rothe (in German) examines the methods of translation of Greek theological terms in Slavonic hymnography. Georgi Popov studies archaic Slavonic *Menaea* (of the Old Redaction) and identifies two stages in the textual history of the Canons for the Nativity of Christ. In his view, initially two Canons were used: an original Canon composed by Constantine of Preslav and a translation of Cosmas of Majuma's Canon; later, in all likelihood, in the time of the Bulgarian Tsar Peter, in Preslav, the Canon by Constantine of Preslav was replaced by a translation of a Canon by John Damascene and the earlier translation of Cosmas of Majuma's Canon was revised. Jurij Jasinovskij (in Russian) focuses on the *heirmoi* of the Canons for the Nativity of Christ as identified in 16th–17th-century Ukraine and Belorussian linear-notated musical *Heirmologia*. He concludes that they demonstrate a developed musical system. Sergej Temčin (in Russian) proposes a new argument that the earliest Office for St. Constantine-Cyril the Philosopher was initially composed in Greek, although only copies of the Slavonic translation survived. The scholar makes a translation of the initial words of the *troparia* from Slavonic back into Greek and thus reconstructs an acrostic in Greek Ω ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΩ (ΜΕΛ ΠΩ?) Bojka Mirčeva (in Russian) discovers acrostics in the Office for St. Clement of Ochrid. Dieter Stern (in German) juxtaposes hagiographical, hymnographical and archeological materials to shed light on the cult of the South-Italian saint Erasmus of Formia in Byzantine and Slavonic cultures, and particularly in Ochrid. Natal'a Seregina (in Russian) analyses the melismatic notation of *kontakia* for Boris and Gleb and for Teodosij Pečerskij and draws conclusions about the Russian singing. E. M. Vereščagin (in Russian) interprets the supra-linear signs in the Canon for the Exaltation of the Holy Cross in the *Il'ina kniga* not as melismatic signs but as ekphonetic signs for liturgical recitative. He compares this example of pre-melismatic recitation with archaic Greek sources. The last paper in the volume by Tatjana Subotin-Golubović (in Russian) traces back the changes in the Serbian hymnography dedicated to St. Sava, St. Symeon, and St. Peter Koriški which took place in the 14th century when the Jerusalem *Typikon* replaced the Studite Typicon.

SEMINARIO interdisciplinare sul libro del profeta Isaia, a cura di Riccardo Maisano e Viviana Mangogna. Napoli: Università degli studi di Napoli "L'orientale", Dipartamento di studi dell' Europa Orientale, 2007, 345 pp.

This book opens by an introduction by Riccardo Maisano and contains 11 studies, all in Italian. They deal with the following versions of the biblical book of Isaiah: the Hebrew one, the version in Qumran manuscripts, Targum, the Septuagint, Vetus Latina, Vulgate, medieval Slavonic versions, Croatian and Serbian versions, the oldest Rumanian manuscript of this book, the translations by Luter and Buber-Rosenzweig, and the modern Italian translation in verses by Guido Ceronetti. There are also studies on the commentaries by SS Basil the Great, John Chrysostom, and Jerome on this biblical book.

ХРИСТОВА-ШОМОВА, Искра. ***Книга Йов с тълкувания в славянски превод.*** София: Анубис, 2007, 496 с. [Hristova-Shomova, Iskra. The Book of Job with Commentaries in a Slavonic Translation. Sofia: Anubis, 2007, 496 pp.]

This book is the first thorough study of the textual history of the Book of Job in medieval Slavonic culture. The author compares the translation of the readings from this book in Parimijnik (*Prophetologion*), the earliest full translation, two later translations imbedded in *catenae* with commentaries and readings in 3 New Redaction *Triodia*. Further, she considers not only Cyrillic sources but also Croatian-Glagolitic ones: the archaic breviaries and mostly Vid of Omišalj's Breviary of 1396. The emphasis of her work is on the late translations of the biblical book accompanied by commentaries. One of them is preserved in a manuscript written in 1412 by monk Gavriil in the Hilandar Monastery (kept in State Historical Museum, Moscow, № 202) and in a manuscript of 1503 witten by Visarion in the Zograph Monastery (kept in the Library of Rumanian Academy, Bucharest, № 96). The other translation with commentaries of the same period (end of the 14th – beginnig of the 15th century) is preserved in manuscript 1/4 of the end of the 15th century kept in the Rila Monastery. A concise version of this *catena* is identified in manuscript 4/14 of 1456 kept in the same library. In it, the shortened commentaries are written on margins. The copy was made by the famous Balkan scribe Vladislav the Grammarian. This version of the *catena* is reproduced in Iskra Hristova's book: both diplomatic and phototype editions are provided.

Iskra Hristova identifies the Greek original of this *catena* and characterises the translation techniques and strategies of the Slavonic bookman. After a detailed comparison of all the versions of the biblical book of Job in Cyrillic manuscripts and archaic Croatian Glagolitic breviaries, the scholar concludes that the earliest translation of the readings from Job in the Parimijnik was used by later translators. In the same time, the version in Vladislav the Grammarian's manuscript shows a great degree of independence from the previous versions.

A chapter of the book is dedicated to the accent signs in Vladislav the Grammarian's manuscript in comparison with other sources. Further, a special attention

is paid to the lexis and to particular terms denoting ancient realia in the translation. A glossary of the words (with all their forms) used in the translation of the biblical text is provided. An index of Greek – Slavonic lexical correspondences follows it.

The book ends with an intriguing chapter on "Job between Satan and Sophia." (Iva Trifonova)

Vom Körper zur Schrift. Hrsg. von M. Schnitter, E. Vavra und H. Wenzel. Sofia, Ost-West Verlag, 2007, 225 pp.

The main part of the book includes the papers read at the international conference under the same title, hold in 2005 in Plovdiv. Authors from Germany, Austria and Bulgaria are speculating on the ways the Eastern and Western Christianity, being a book culture, exploited the spiritual and corporeal, the word and the image, as mighty communicative powers. G. Kapriev ("Byzanz: Eine Kultur des unerschöpflichen Logos und der sprächlichen Schriftproduktion") defines the Byzantine culture as that of the abundant Logos, the presentation of which transits from the body to the text. M. Schnitter ("Das Köperlose verkörpern. Uber einige Figuren der "himmlischen Scharen" in der literarischen Tradition und im ikonographischen Kanon der orthodoxen Kirche") has focused on the East Orthodox visualising of the incorporeal powers - the angels - by texts and iconography. H. Miklas ("Schrift und Bild. Zur Darstellungsfunktion der Glagolica der Slavenlehrers Konstantin-Kyrill") discusses the peculiarities of the glagolitsa as an iconising writing system, which has been conceived as a "*distance-script* (*Abstandschrift*)". E. Moussakova ("About the Figurative Initials in Bulgarian Medieval Manuscripts") connects the flourishing of certain 17th-century anthropomorphic initials in Bulgarian manuscripts with the intensified Orthodox propaganda in some scribal centres. K. Schreiner ("Vom Körper zur Schrift, von der Schrift zum Körper. Leihafte und symbolische Dimensionen mittelalterlichen Schriftlichkeit") observes the various ways in which the Christian piety and devotion are bodily achieved by and united with the medium of scriptures. H. Wenzel ("Verschobene Evidenzen zur Verstetigung der korperlichen Wahehmung in Schrift und Bild") exposes in several paragraphs the shift within the Christian context from corporeal memory-culture to manuscript culture. On the presumption that the viewing is an Occidental phenomenon Ch. L. Diedrichs ("Andacht - Neugier - Kunstgenuss Sehen im Reliquienkult in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit") reveals the significant changes in viewing of the sacred bones through the unique artistic history of the reliquaries. E. Vavra ("Leidende Körper - lächelnde Mienen Gedanken zur Darstellung des Schmerzes in Text und Bild") investigates the correlation between representation of pain and suffering of St. Margaret and St. Catherine on the one hand and their textual descriptions, on the other. On the example of a 14th century Psalter Ch. Lechtermann ("Maßnahmen - die Wunde zwischen Schrift, Bild und Zahl") is

exploring the side-wound of Christ in its qualities as symbol, icon and index. The volume opens with the introduction of H. Wenzel, who offers an analytical survey of the papers. High-quality colour and black-and-white illustrations accompany the articles. (E. Musakova).

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ABSTRACTS / РЕЗЮМЕТА

Центърът по дигитализация към ИМИ-БАН: Опитът от изминалите три години

Милена Добрева, Никола Икономов

Центърът по дигитализация на научно наследство беше създаден през 2004 г. в рамките на Института по математика и информатика към БАН. От самото начало на съществуването му бяха дефинирани и основните направления на неговата дейност, а именно: създаване на обща методология за дигитализация на културно и научно наследство и практическа дейност в тази насока, включваща дигитализация на средновековни ръкописи (в т.ч. сканиране, представяне на текст, електронно публикуване), на математически текстове и на аналогови аудио-архиви (в т.ч. и разработка на методи за цифрово възстановяване на записите). Като задачи на новото звено бяха включени и такива дейности като използване на количествени методи при изследване на данните, свързани с културното наследство.

В настоящата работа са представени някои обобщени резултати от разностранната тригодишна дейност на Центъра и постигнатите в тази област успехи. Направени са изводи за състоянието на процеса на дигитализация у нас и са предложени насоки за развитието му в бъдеще.

RomanCyrillicStd – безплатен шрифт за слависти (и други филолози)

Себастиан Кемпген

Шрифтът RomanCyrillicStd (както и шрифтът KlimentStd от същия автор, представен Scripta & *e*-Scripta, 3–4/2006) е резултат на работата на автора над редица шрифтове, използвани в медиевистичните издания – те включват глаголически шрифтове, шрифтове на старобългарска кирилица, специални диакритични знаци и шрифтове, съдържащи символи от гръцката и други азбуки, използвани в публикациите с медиевистична тематика. Въпреки че са добре известни от академичните издания, те не бяха широко достъпни за славистичната общност и това положение се коригира с разпростра-

няването на предлагания шрифт. Той се намира на официалната Web страница на автора и може легално да се използва за академични цели, издания и изследвания. Основните ограничения са: 1) да не се използва в издания и мероприятия, които нарушават авторското право; 2) потребителят няма право да изменя, модифицира или преименува този продукт.

Шрифтът е разработен на базата на стандарта Unicode 5.0 и се разпространява във формат TTF и OTF. Това го прави използваем както в системата MS Windows, така и в сиситемата Mac OS X. Тъй като съдържанието и разположението на старобългарската кирилица в Unicode пространството още не е окончателно установено, шрифтът има възможности за еволюция, за да се отразят адекватно всички изисквания на този стандарт.

Григорий Цамблак – по някои дискусионни въпроси

Донка Петканова

Изследванията за живота и творчеството на Григорий Цамблак са многобройни, извършвани в течение на повече от двеста години. Въпреки това ред въпроси, свързани с личността му и с книжовното му наследство, до днес остават неизяснени или спорни. В настоящата статия се прави опит да се отговори на следните дискусионни въпроси въз основа на факти, аналогии и логически разсъждения: произхода на името Цамблак и съответно на рода му; рожденната дата на Григорий; очевидец ли е бил на поробването на Търново от турците. Като се обсъждат изразени в науката хипотези, мотивират се следните мнения: името Цамблак има прабългарски произход, родът му е български, който дава разклонение във Византия; Григорий е роден между 1356 и 1359 г. (най-правдоподобно 1357) и на Констанцкия събор е бил на около 60-62 години, а не в дълбока старост; Цамблак напуска Търново преди завладяването му и никога повече не се завръща в отечеството си – художественото майсторство на писателя при изображението на поробено Търново не може да бъде доказателство, че неговите показания са свидетелски.

Списъкът на българските архиепископи (съгласно кодексите Paris. Gr. 880, Mosq. Syn. Gr 286 и Тирнаво 18)

Илиас Евангелу

Списъкът на българските архиепископи, публикуван от Дюканж в края на XVII век, има голямо разпространение и е преиздаван неколкократно в различни страни. Този списък, явяващ се ценнен източник за историята на

Охридската архиепископия, до неотдавна се споменаваше само в един кодекс – на Националната Библиотека в Париж, от където е издаден от Дюканж

Неотдавна Списъкът на българските архиепископи беше открит в още два кодекса. Проф. д-р Василка Тъпкова-Заимова го анализира по препис в ркп. No Mosq. Syn. Gr. 286 от сбирката на Държавния Исторически Музей в Москва (издаден от С. Бърлиева). Проф. А. Е. Тахиаос го откри в кодекс под No 18 на Градската Библиотека в град Тирнаво.

В рамките на този труд се преиздава Списъкът на българските архиепископи, изхождайки от кодексите Paris. Gr. 880, Mosq. Syn. Gr. 286 и Тирнаво 18. Под внимание са взети забележките на Х. Гелцер и Й. Иванов в изданието на Списъка от Парижкия кодекс, както и забележките на С. Бърлиева към изданието на преписа от кодекса в Москва.

"Мюнхенският абецедар" – ново факсмиле и някои нови наблюдения

Себастиан Кемпген

В статията се публикува за пръв път ново цветно факсимиле на т.нар. "Мюнхенски Абецедар". Новото факсимиле е много по-качествено от първите фотографии, публикувани от Трубецкой през 1930 г. Черно-белите копия, публикувани от Мареш през 1971 г., са значително по-добри, но настоящата публикация добавя цветни фотографии и on-line версия, която може да бъде подложена на различни увеличения за по-детайлно изучаване. В статията се коментират най-важните случаи, в които предишните четения и тълкувания на символите от азбуката се различават и се предлага нова, по-достоверна транскрипция на кирилската и глаголическата азбука на "Мюнхенския Абецедар".

Идеологическото използване на библейски мотиви и цитати в канона за пренасянето мощите на св. Климент Римски

Енрике Сантос Маринас

Химнът, посветен на откриването и последващото пренасяне на мощите на св. Климент Римски, представлява двоен интерес: той е една от първите химнографски композиции в старославянската традиция, а от друга страна, съдържа явни идеологически елементи. Мощите на св. Климент, третият папа след св. Петър, играят главна роля в два важни периода от християнизацията на славяните: мисията на братята Константин-Кирил и Методий в Моравия (863–869) и покръстването на руския княз Владимир в

988 г. Изучаването на канона за пренасянето на мощите на св. Климент може да ни даде важни сведения за идеологическата употреба на библейските мотиви и цитати. Редица учени са считали един вариант на химна за произведение на Константин Философ, създадено по случай откриването на мощите през 861.г. Обаче руската историчка Е. В. Уханова въз основа на използването на библейските цитати, прави заключението, че това химнографско произведение може да има руски произход, като го датира от периода на покръстването на Киевска Рус. В настоящата статия е показано, че внимателният прочит на библейските мотиви и цитати не ни позволява да предпочетем нито една от двете изказани хипотези.

Някои бележки за мотива за покръстването на българите в Хрониката на римските папи от Томас Ебендорфер

Стиляна Баталова

В статията се разглежда мотивът за покръстваното на българите в Хроника на римските папи от Томас Ебендорфер. От прегледа на текста в паралел с фрагменти от други хроники става ясно, че няма обединение на кирило-методиевския мотив с този за покръстването на българите от княз Борис. До известна степен подобно развитие на мотива се предопределя от изнамирането на неизползван до този момент в латиноезичната историография извор като модел. Вероятно това е *Liber pontificalis*, тъй като в текста за понтификата на папа Николай I в споменатото съчинение и Хрониката на Томас Ебендорфер се откриват прилики, които не са свойствени за ранносредновековния латински историографски наратив за покръстването на българите, модел на който се открива в Хрониката на Регинон, абат на Прюм.

Славянският превод от латински на житието на св. Анастасия и св. Хрисогон

Десислава Атанасова

Сред няколкото агиографски текста, които се смятат за преведени от латински източници в Чехия през X–XI, е и житието на св. Анастасия и Хрисогон, до неотдавна известно само по няколко късни (от XV в. нататък) руски преписа. Този текст, за който гръцки оригинал не е открит, може със сигурност да се смята за превод от латински, но фактът, че в южнославянски сборник от XIV в. се намира негов препис, поставя под съмнение хипотезата за чешкия му произход. Най-ранното южнославянско копие от житието на св. Анастасия и Хрисогон, на което попаднах преди няколко години, се на-

мира в сръбски ръкопис от втората половина на XIV в. от Архива на Хърватската академия на науките в Загреб (сигн. IIIc24). Тъй като текстът е особено интересен, а не изветен по сръбския си препис, тук предлагам негово критично издание.

Скопският миней от XIII в.

Радослава Станкова

В статията се разглежда най-ранният старобългарски празничен миней от XIII в. от Народната библиотека "Св. Кирил и св. Методий", в София № 522.

Ръкописът е анализиран в съпоставка със сходни сръбски кодекси. Направени са кодикологически и палеографски бележки. Подробно е разгледано съдържанието и съставът на минея с оглед на календара. Структурата на службите е анализирана според литургическата практика от IX–X до XIII в.

Изводите, до които се достига са: 1) Скопският празничен миней съдържа ранен минеен състав с Константинополски памети от IX–X в. и десет оригинални старобългарски произведения. И това е свидетелство за времето на превода на този тип богослужебна книга; и 2) В него се съчетават елементи на катедрално цариградско богослужение, с елементи от неосаваитска манастирска (вероятно светогорска) богослужебна практика. Кодексът показва смесване на литургичните традиции, които не зависят от календара.

"Слово на св. Йоан Златоуст за тварите и за Страшния съд" в сборник F.I.4 Осн. сб., РНБ: кратък вариант на хомилията, приписвана на св. Климент Охридски

Алексей Щекин

Текстът на Словото, включено в сборниците от типа Златоструй (в пълна и в кратка редакция), е публикувано най-напред от Н. Л. Туницки, който изказва предположение, че принадлежи на св. Климент Охридски. Същото мнение се поддържа от изследователите и издателите на съчиненията на св. Климент през XX в. (напр. Б. Ст. Ангелов, К. М. Куев, Хр. Кодов, Кл. Иванова и др.). Основен аргумент за това са редица общи четения между това Слово и други произведения на старобългарския писател. В настоящото изследване се анализира една кратка редакция на "Слово за тварите и за Страшния съд", по неизвестен досега препис от XVI в. в ръкопис F.I.4 Осн. сб., РНБ, с вероятен украински произход. Кодексът представлява сборник със смесено

съдържание, съдържащ редица преводни произведения на Василий Велики, Ефрем Сирин, Григорий Богослов и др. и е запазил редица архаични езикови черти. В заключение се изказва предположение за съществуването на съкратена редакция на Словото в ранен период. В приложение се публикува преписът от ръкопис F.I.4 с коментар.

Божият образ. Бележки за произхода, съдържанието и моделите на св.Троица от типа *Съпрестолие* в поствизантийската живопис

Маргарита Куюмджиева

Настоящият текст е опит да разберем и да се приближим до онова, което сме наследили през вековете като възглед за Бога Троица, и което е намерило визуален израз в изкуството, превърнало се за православието в неотделима част от богословието, в изразител на вярата в образи. За тази цел е избран един от вариантите за визуализиране на идеята за Бог-Троица, който съществува и в източноправославното и в западното изкуство, с близки формални характеристики, но в различен контекст – изображението на Троица от типа *Съпрестолие*. Какъв е произходът на това изображение, какво е неговото значение, какви са механизмите за неговото разпространение и кои са основните му модели – това са въпросите, които авторът анализира, без да има претенцията да разреши окончателно.

Живописта в църквата „Св. Димитър" в Бобощица – локални традиции и константинополски влияния в църковното изкуство на Преспанско-Корчанския регион през XIV век

Ралица Русева

Живописта в църквата "Св. Димитър" произхождат от различно време – на първия живописен слой, който според настоящето изследване датира към последната четвърт на XIV век, принадлежат стенописите върху фасадата на църквата (източната стена на притвор), източната стена с апсидата и западната стена на наоса, а останалите стенописи в наоса датират от XVI–XVII в. На традиционното за ктиторския надпис място, на западната стена на наоса, над входа в един ред е поместен надпис, който е парафраза на текста от Евангелие от Матея 22:37–40, за което не може да се посочи паралел.

В люнета над входа на църквата е представена св. Богородица с Младенеца, означена с епитета Η ΧΩΡΑ ΤΟΥ ΑΧΩΡΙΤΟΥ. Това е третият известен пример на Богородица с този епитет в църковната живопис въобще, а и двете други изображения се намират константинополската църква "Христос Хора". Вдясно от входа е поместена голяма ктиторска композиция – св. Димитър е прегърнал ктитор, облечен в монашески одежди. Обяснение за присъствието на образа на Богородица, означен епитета Η ΧΩΡΑ ΤΟΥ ΑΧΩΡΙΤΟΥ са потърсени в личността на ктитора. Неговите иконографски характеристики налагат сравнение с големия ктиторски портрет на епископ Нимфон в църквата "Христос Зоодотис" (Жизнедавец), в съседното село Емборе. Там той е представен с архиерейски одежди и ореол, но брадата има абсолютно същата, рядко срещана форма. Това сходство води до хипотезата, че ктиторът на двете църкви е един и същ - епископът Нимфон. Той е вложил общ замисъл в посвещаването и изписването на църквите в Бобощица и Емборе, който се крие в църквата "Христос Хора" в Константинопол.

В апсидата е представена Богородица на трон с Младенеца, под нея сцената Поклонение на жертвата; върху източната стена: Благовещение, Възнесение Христово, св. архидякон Стефан и св. Кирил Александрийски. Върху западната стена са сцените: Успение Богородично; Христос пред Пилат и Пътя към Голгота; в долния регистър, от двете страни на входа са св. Константин и св. Елена, и св. Козма и св. Дамян; в рамката на входа една срещу друга са св. Петка и св. Варвара.

Относително големият брой запазени паметници на монументална живопис в района на Преспа и Корча показва, че през XIV век там се е формирало активно средище на духовен живот. Живописта в региона се развива в тясна връзка, и под влияние на двата големи църковни и културни центъра, намиращи се в близост – Охрид и Костур, като много по-директно и силно е влиянието на Костур. Въпреки това, паметниците от този район се отличават както с многообразие, така и с някои собствени отличителни характеристики – тенденция, който продължава и през поствизантийския период. Може да се приеме, че са функционирали "регионални" модели, които са били доминиращи и са създавали облика на живописта в Преспа, Корчанско и Костурско. С голяма вероятност може да се твърди, че зографите изписали "Св. Димитър" в Бобощица са автори и на стенописа в скалната църква "Благовещение" край Глобочица на Преспа.

Музикалният архив на католическата църква от източен обряд в София: методологически аспекти

Стефка Венкова

В статията се разглеждат основните методологически аспекти при създаването на музикалния архив на Католическата църква от източен обряд в България. За да бъдат изследвани музикалните традиции на общността е необходимо да бъдат проучени съществуващите днес нотни материали, да се запише звучащата литургична музика. Предвид факта, че в близо 150-годишната история на Католическата църква от източен обряд в България досега не са правени подобни изследвания, създаването на музикален архив е задача от първостепенна важност. Основните научноизследователски задачи при създаването му са събирането, описанието и систематизирането на наличните нотни ръкописни и печатни източници. Създаденият музикален архив ще послужи като фактологическа база за статистическите, музикологичните и сравнителните изследвания на музикалнопевческата практика.

При описанието на архива се акцентира се върху особено важния проблем за изработване на единни класификационни принципи на архивните единици (а.е.), което позволява изготвянето на надеждна база данни, и е гаранция за систематичност и научност при анализа на данните. Съхранението на информацията като компютърен текстов формат е предпоставка за различни видове автоматична обработка. Поставят се някои основни проблеми при описанието на а.е., възникващи в процеса на установяването на точни данни за песнопенията – дата и година, място, преписвач, автор - с цел създаването на вярна хронология и фактология.

Произход на относителните местоимения в българския език

Иван Илиев

В настоящата статия се прави синтез на досегашните изследвания, засягащи произхода на българските относителни местоимения от така наречената въпросителна основа (авторът смята, че този термин не е съвсем уместен), като се излага и собствена гледна точка. След обобщаване на основните теории по въпроса, класифициращи причините за смяна на относителните основи в четири групи (синонимия, стремеж към антиципация, експресивност и деактуализация), се разглеждат начините и възможните пътища, по които евентуално е станало навлизането на новите форми, като се прави уговорка, че процесът не е бил праволинеен, а е допускал няколко алтернативи. Към досегашните предположения, че това е станало или от въпросителни структури, или от структури с неопределително значение, авторът добавя още

едно – от структури с обобщително значение. По-нататък следва схематично представяне на възможностите за развой в трите основни типа изречения с относителни местоимения (субстантивни, адиективни и коментиращи), понеже авторът е на мнение, че навлизането на релативите от *kw- основа е имало свои особености във всеки от видовете относителни изречения – на това досега не е обръщано внимение. Показват се и факторите, които катализират процеса на настаняване на новите релативи: интонация, корелативност, контекст и словоред.

Цикълът от текстове за св. Богородица в един ръкопис от XIV в. (предварителни бележки)

Марина Йорданова

Обект на изследването е ръкопис от Патриаршеската библиотека в Белград, № 219 от 1381 г., който до този момент не е бил предмет на проучване. Ръкописът съдържа цикъл от канонични и неканонични произведения, посветени на св. Богородица, подредени последователно, а не по календарен ред. Това са три текста за празника Успение Богородично: Словото на Йоан Богослов за Успение на св. Богородица; малък разказ-диалог между апостол Петър и Господ за съдбата на душата при отделянето ѝ от тялото; Слово на апостол Тома за Въздвижение на Панагията. Цикълът продължава със Слово за Рождество Богородично (Протоевангелие на Яков), две слова за Благовещение и слово на Йоан Златоуст за празника Събор на св. Богородица.

В статията е акцентирано на краткия разказ-диалог между апостол Петър и Господ, като е направено уточнението, че по форма произведението се доближава до много разпространените апокрифи с въпроси към различни свети лица от Стария и Новия завет, в които се разясняват съкровени въпроси от битието и задгробния мир, често в диалогична форма. Подобни кратки текстове се срещат в средновековни ръкописи с неустойчив състав, които нямат богослужебни функции и включват произведения с разнообразно съдържание. Това са сборници най-вече от XV, XVI и XVII в., съдържащи ексцерпти от по-големи произведения, които "заместват" обширния текст и маркират едно известно и любопитно събитие (в случая Богородичното Успение). Сборник № 219 е сравнителни по-ранен и неговата първа част може да бъде наречени "Богородичник". В него са паместени, както обширният разказ на Йоан Богослов, така и разказът-диалог между апостол Петър и Господ и краткото Слово за въздвижение на Панагията.

Предварителният обзор на текстовете с Богородична тематика в ръкописа от Патриаршеската библиотека в Белград показва, че тяхното циклизиране (без да се спазва календарният ред) и поместването им в началото на сборни-

ка би могло да се тълкува като преднамерено. Ръкописът е бил съставен за църква или манастир, носещи името на св. Богородица или на Успение Богородично, защото за този празник текстовете са най-много.

ABBREVIATIONS

EDITIONS AND PERIODICALS CITED

ABAW	Abhandlungen der königlichen Bayerishen Akademie der Wissenscheften. Philosofisch-philologische und historishe Klasse. München.
	Académie royale de Belgique. Bulletin classe de lettres. Bruxelles.
AE	American Ethnologist.
AB	Analecta Bollandiana. Bruxelles.
	Annales des Economies, Societies et Civilisations. Paris.
	Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU. Budapest.
	Aproach to semiotics.
	Balkan Cultural Studies. Boulder, Ca.
	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.
	Bulletin de la Société royale belge de géographie. Bruxelles.
	Byzantinoslavica. Praha.
	Byzantion. Bruxelles.
BZ	Byzantinische Zeischrift. Leipzig.
CA	Cahiers archéologiques. Paris.
	Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wischenschaften. – Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Wien.
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers. Washington.
ECQ	Eastern Churches Quarterly.
ECR	Eastern Churches Review.
EB	Études balkaniques. Sofia.
	Faith and Thought. Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute.
GJ	<The> Geographical Journal.
GOTR	<The> Greek Orthodox Theological Review.
HTR	Harvard Theological Review. Harvard.
	<Der> Islam.
HJ	Historishes Jahrbuch
JA	Journal asiatique. Paris.
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JÖB	Jahrbuch der österreeichischen Byzantinistik. Wien.
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies. London.
	Journal des savants. Paris.

	Mémoires de la Société finno-ougrienne.
MJ	Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch
	Missionary Herald.
MW	<The> Moslem World.
	<Le> Muséon. Louvain, Londres.
	Nachrichten der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philol.-hist. Klasse. Göttingen.
OCA	Orientalia christiana analecta. Roma.
OCP	Orientalia christiana periodica. Roma.
	Palaeobulgarica / Старобългаристика. София
PG	Migne J.-P., Patrologiae cursus completus. Seria Graeca. Paris, 1857–1866.
PL	Migne J.-P., Patrologiae cursus completus. Seria Latina. Paris, 1844–1855.
	Proceedings of the British Academy. London.
	Proche-Orient Chrétien
	Religion, State and Society. Oxford.
REB	Revue des études byzantines. Paris.
RHR	Revue d'histoire des réligions. Paris.
ROC	Revue de l'Orient chrétien. Paris.
RPhE	Revue de philologie et d'ethnographie.
RS	Richerche slavistiche. Roma.
	Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa. Roma.
	Rivista di studi bizantini e neoelenici. Roma.
	Semiotica.
	Slavia. Praha.
	<Die> Slawischen Sprachen. Salzburg.
	Slovo. Zagreb.
	Speculum. Cambridge, Mass.
	Starine. Zagreb.
SP	Studia patristica et liturgica. Regensburg.
	Südost-Forschungen. München.
ZfdA	Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur. Berlin.
ZdmG	Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Leipzig.
АП	Археографски прилози. Београд.
	Библиотекар. Београд.
БЕ	Български език. София.
БПр	Български преглед. София.

Abbreviations

БФ	Български фолклор. София.
	Векове. София.
ВЯ	Вопросы языкознания
ГСУД	Гласник Српскога ученог друштва. Београд.
	Годишник на музеите в Пловдивски окръг. Пловдив.
	Годишник на музеите от Северна България.
	Живая старина. Санкт Петербург.
ЗИК	Зборник историје књижевности Српске академије наука и уметности. Београд.
ЗЛУ	Зборник за ликовне уметности.
ЗРВИ	Зборник радова Византолошког института. Београд.
ИИБЛ	Известия на Института за българска литература. София
Изв. ОРЯС	Известия Отделения русского языка и словесности Императорской Академии наук. Санкт Петербург – Петроград – Ленинград.
Изв. НБКМ	Известия на Народната библиотека "Св. Св. Кирил и Методий". София.
	Изкуство. София.
ИРАИК	Известия Русского археологического института в Константинополе. Одесса – София.
ИП	Исторически преглед. София.
КМЕ	Кирило-Методиевска енциклопедия. Т. 1 – 3, С., 1982 – 2003.
КМС	Кирило-Методиевски студии. София.
ЛБКД	Летопис на Българското книжовно дружество. София.
ЛМ	Литературна мисъл. София
МСб = СбНУ	
ПИ	Проблеми на изкуството. София.
ПСп	Периодическо списание на Българското книжовно дружество. Браила – София
Сб ОРЯС	Сборник Отделения русского языка и словесности Императорской академии наук. Санкт Петербург – Петроград – Ленинград.
СбНУ	Сборник за народни умотворения, наука и книжнина. София
СЛ	Старобългарска литература. София.
	Современост. Скопје.
ТОДРЛ	Труды Отделения древней русской литературы Института литературы РАН, Санкт Петербург.
Трудове ВТУ	Трудове на Великотърновския университет "Кирил и Методий".
	Трудове на катедрата по история и богословие на Шуменския университет "Епископ Константин Преславски". Шумен.

	Университетские известия. Императорский университет св. Владимира. Киев.
ЧОИДР	Чтения в Императорском обществе истории и древностей российских при Московском университете. Москва.

LIBRARIES AND INSTITUTIONS

БАН – Българска Академия на науките
БАН СПб – Библиотека Академии Наук, Санкт Петербург.
БРАН – Библиотека Российской Академии Наук, Санкт Петербург.
ГБЛ – Государственная библиотека им. В. И. Ленина, Москва
ГИМ – Государственный исторический музей, Москва.
МАНУ – Македонска академија на науката и уметностите
МГУ – Московский Государственный Университет
МСПЦ – Музеј српске православне цркве, Београд
НБКМ – Народна Библиотека "Св. Св. Кирил и Методий", София
НБС – Народна библиотека Србије, Београд
НМРМ – Национален музей "Рилски манастир"
ОГБ – Одесская Государственная Библиотека, Одесса
ОР ГИМ – Отделение рукописей ГИМ, Москва
ПНБ – Народна библиотека "Иван Вазов", Пловдив
РАН – Румънска Академия на науките
РГАДА – Российский Государственный архив древних актов, Москва
РГИА – Российский Государственный исторический архив, Санкт Петербург
РГБ – Российская Государственная Библиотека, Москва
РНБ – Российская Национальная Бибилиотека, Санкт Петербург
САНУ – Српска академија наука и уметности
ЦДИА – Централен държавен исторически архив, София
ЦГАДА – Центральный Государственный архив древних актов, Москва
ЦИАИ – Църковно–исторически и архивен институт, София
ЦИАМ – Църковен историко–археологически музей при Св. Синод, София
ЦСВП – Център за славяно–византийски проучвания "Акад. Ив. Дуйчев"
УБ – Университетска библиотека
PIO – Pontificio Instituto Orientale, Roma.

Abbreviations of Biblical Books
Сокращенные названия библейских книг

Gen	Genesis	Бытие	Быт
Ex	Exodus	Исход	Исх
Lev	Leviticus	Левит	Лев
Num	Numeri	Числа	Чис
Deut	Deuteronomium	Второзаконие	Втор
Jud	Judicum	Судии	Суд
Sam	Samuel	Самуил	Сам
Jes	Jesaia	Исайя	Ис
Jer	Jeremia	Иеремия	Иер
Ez	Ezechiel	Иезекиил	Иез
Hos	Hosea	Осия	Ос
Joel	Joel	Иоиль	Иоил
Am	Amos	Амос	Ам
Obad	Obadia	Авдий	Авд
Jona	Jona	Иона	Ион
Mich	Micha	Михей	Мих
Nah	Nahum	Наум	Наум
Hab	Habakkuk	Аввакум	Ав
Hag	Haggai	Аггей	Агг
Zach	Zacharia	Захария	Зах
Mal	Maleachi	Малахия	Мал
Ps	Psalmi	Псалмы	Пс
Pr	Proverbia	Притчи	Пр
Hiob	Hiob	Иов	Иов
CC	Canticum Canticorum	Песнь Песней	ПП
Ruth	Ruth	Руфь	Руфь
Eccl	Ecclesiastes	Экклесиаст	Эккл
Esth	Esther	Эсфирь	Эсф
Dan	Daniel	Даниил	Дан
Esra	Esra	Эзра	Эз
Neh	Nehemia	Неемия	Неем
Mt	Euangelium sec. Mattheum	Евангелие от Матфея	Мт
Mc	Euangelium sec. Marcum	Евангелие от Марка	Мк
Lc	Euangelium sec. Lucam	Евангелие от Луки	Лк
Io	Euangelium sec. Iohannem	Евангелие от Иоанна	Ио
Acta	Acta Apostolorum	Деяния апостолов	Деян

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1 Pt	Epistula ap. Petri I	Первое послание ап. Петра	1 Пт
2 Pt	Epistula ap. Petri II	Второе послание ап. Петра	2 Пт
1 Io	Epistula ap. Iohannis I	Первое послание ап. Иоанна	1 Ио
2 Io	Epistula ap. Iohannis II	Второе послание ап. Иоанна	2 Ио
3 Io	Epistula ap. Iohannis III	Третье послание ап. Иоанна	3 Ио
Ju	Epistula ap. Judae	Соборное послание ап. Иуды	Иу
	Epistulae ap. Pauli	Послания ап. Павла	
Rom	- Ad Romanos	- к римлянам	Римл
1 Cor	- Ad Corinthios I	- первое к коринфянам	1 Кор
2 Cor	- Ad Corinthios II	- второе к коринфянам	2 Кор
Gal	- Ad Galatas	- к галатам	Гал
Ephes	- Ad Ephesios	- к ефесянам	Ефес
Philip	- Ad Philippenses	- к филиппийцам	Филип
Col	- Ad Colossenscs	- к колоссянам	Кол
1Thess	- Ad Thessalonicenses I	- первое к фессалоникийцам	1 Фесс
2Thess	- Ad Thessalonicenses II	- второе к фессалоникийцам	2 Фесс
1 Tim	- Ad Timotheum I	- первое к Тимофею	1 Тим
2 Tim	- Ad Timotheum II	- второе к Тимофею	2 Тим
Tit	- Ad Titum	- к Титу	Тит
Philem	- Ad Philemonem	- к Филимону	Филим
Hebr	- Ad Hebraeos	- к евреям	Евр
Ap	Apocalypsis	Откровение Иоанна Богослова	Откр